FROM VISCERA TO SONS OF HORUS: REASSESSING CANOPIC PRACTICES IN THE EARLY FIRST MILLENNIUM BCE

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Abstract

The removal and treatment of the viscera through the mummification processes were an essential and characteristic element of ancient Egyptian funerary culture, traditionally associated with the preservation of the body for the afterlife. This understanding originates from Victorian interpretations of death and the body. Several recent studies have used anthropological concepts and frameworks to challenge these views and gain important new insights into mummification processes and ancient Egyptian mortuary practices more generally. Until now, evisceration and canopic practices have only been studied through a traditional framework—devaluing their importance in broader funerary practices as simply a necessary step towards preservation of the body. This thesis addresses this limitation by analysing canopic practices through an alternative interpretative framework and the study of conceptual and material perspectives.

The approach and analysis outlined in this thesis are grounded in the principles and methods of ritual practice theory, encompassing both conceptual and material perspectives. Borrowing from anthropology, the framework of 'rites of passage' provides a means to reinterpret evisceration processes as transformation of corporeal materiality. Within this framework, an analysis of textual sources and archaeological data is conducted to develop an emic understanding of canopic practices. The material perspective is addressed using the framework of material culture, that facilitates an understanding of past and present societies through the study of the material they created and used. Within this thesis, the key materials analysed include canopic jars and figurines of the four Sons of Horus. Interpretation of this material is made within the wider funerary context, from a variety of sites, across a time of transformative socio-economic change—the early first millennium BCE.

Through application of the alternative interpretative framework to existing concepts and materials, several new insights into canopic practices have been derived: (i) that the treatment of the viscera is a 'rite of passage'—where the viscera are materially and ontologically transformed into divine entities; (ii) that viscera were conceptualised as manufacturers of bodily fluids that supported transformation of body materiality; (iii) that the Sons of Horus played a role as protectors of the deceased; (iv) that canopic jars should be conceived as embodiments of the Sons of Horus, rather than containers; and (v) that despite material changes in early first millennium BCE canopic equipment (standard, pseudo- and dummy canopic jars; wax and wooden figurines), there is conceptual continuity in the representation of the Sons of Horus in the funerary context. In addition to contributing new knowledge and understanding of canopic practices, this thesis adds to a growing body of evidence that enables a more holistic interpretation of Egyptian funerary practices.

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Conventions

Most names are rendered in their most widely employed English form for ease of reading. NN (*nomen nescio*) is used as a placeholder for the name of the deceased when discussing canopic inscriptions in generic terms. Authorship of translations from ancient Egyptian, mine or otherwise, is clearly stated throughout the thesis, including for tables. Throughout the thesis, traditional conventions for transliteration are used.

[] losses in the original, sometimes with suggested restorations

() modern editorial additions and commentary

(...) omission of part of the original text by the present author

<> an emendation of the original text

{} signs to be deleted from the original

<u>Abc</u> marks a rubric

In translations of ancient Egyptian texts quoted from other authors, transliteration is sometimes added between () as an editorial addition, where relevant. In quotations from secondary sources, [] marks an emendation by the present author, while (...) marks an omission of part of the original text.

Abbreviations

Citations and references include full

BD: Book of the Dead; *The Book of the Dead. The chapters of Coming forth by day* by E. A. Wallis Budge (1898), 2 vols.

CT: Coffin Texts; *The ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* by A. de Buck (1935–1961), 8 vols.

L*D* Abth. III: *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien. Abtheilung* III. *Theben* by C. R. Lepsius (1900)

LGG: *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*. *Band* I-VII, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 110–116 by C. Leitz (2002), 7 vols.

MMA: The Metropolitan Museum of Art

PT: Pyramid Texts; *Die altägyptische Pyramidentexte* by K. Sethe (1908–1922), 4 vols.

Ranke: *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*. *Band* I. *Verzeichnis der Namen* by H. Ranke (1935).

TLA online: Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae

Wb: *Wörterbuch der Aegyptische Sprache. Band* I-V by A. Erman and H. Grapow (1971), 5 vols.

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1. Introduction

> Fascination with the method of embalming, and its eerie results, has led Egyptologists, and others, to focus on the efficacy of preservation and the perceived simulation of lifelikeness. The usual interpretation of mummification, which has been offered ad nauseum in books, in museum displays, and now on the Internet and television, is that the aim of the process was to preserve the body in a lifelike manner so that the soul could recognize and return to it. If we adhere to this interpretation, we are faced with a number of issues that remain unarticulated and unexplored.
>
> (Riggs 2014, 87)

Following Christina Riggs's assertion above, conventional interpretations of mummification also raise issues relating to the interpretation of the treatment of the viscera. At the heart of my research is the role of ritual treatment of the corpse and the viscera in transforming the deceased and their organs into divine beings, and of the Sons of Horus in protecting the newly created divine entity. I use a multi-disciplinary approach, thus highlighting problems which are relevant to this reconsideration of traditional Egyptological assumptions about evisceration and canopic practices, and which have largely been overlooked in scholarship. As part of the wider process of mummification, removal and treatment of the viscera are generally regarded as a necessary step for preservation (e.g. Peck 1998, 27; David 2000, 373; Wade *et al*. 2012, 1646). This dominant explanatory framework, however, emerges less directly from the sources than we might imagine and has not been the focus of detailed empirical research (Nyord 2018, 76). Canopic practices have, until recently, been embedded in a long history of mummy studies and neglected as an independent funerary practice *per se*. I argue that, at the core of canopic practices, is the creation of the Children of Horus through processes applied to the viscera, and that canopic equipment represented the Children in the burial environment to ensure the protection of the deceased.

The removal and treatment of the viscera through the mummification processes is believed to be an essential and characteristic element of ancient Egyptian elite funerary culture (Riggs

2014, 77–108); one that readily fits within traditional Egyptological understandings of the preservation of the body and preparations for the afterlife. Internal organs decompose rapidly after death. Their removal and treatment through the practice of evisceration thus became an essential step of the treatment of the body. While mummification practices have been studied extensively (bibliography of works relating to mummification: Vartavan and Waanders 2013), research has focused less on the practice of evisceration, including the treatment of the viscera that ensued, and the material associated with it. Despite its prominent role in the mummification process, the practice is only ever regarded as an integral step in embalming, hence understudied and oversimplified. At most, four clearly identified internal organs—the liver, spleen, lungs, and intestines—are said to be removed from the abdominal cavity to prevent and halt putrefaction and decomposition (e.g. David 2000, 373; Quirke and Spencer 2007 [1992], 112–5; Wade *et al*. 2012, 1646).[1] The internal organs removed during the mummification process are then desiccated with natron salts and treated with oils and resins before being wrapped and placed in dedicated canopic containers—the shape and nature of which transform through time—associated with the four Children of Horus. This thesis initiates a reassessment of these processes.

It is long established in scholarly literature as well as in popular imagination that these mummification processes, including evisceration, were intended to preserve the body and provide an eternal perfectly preserved form to the deceased.[2] Recent scholarship has begun to radically reinterpret this position. As most recently argued in detail by Riggs (2014), and supported by Rune Nyord (2018), 'the common assertion in Egyptological literature that the chief goal of mummification was to preserve the physical body for the afterlife is an

[1] *mjst* 'liver': *Wb* II, 44; *TLA* lemma 68520; *nnšm* 'spleen': *Wb* II, 276; *TLA* lemma 85010; *wfȝ* 'lungs': *Wb* I, 306; *TLA* lemma 45860; *mḫt(w)* 'entrails' or 'intestines': *Wb* II, 135; *TLA* lemma 74690.
[2] A representative sample of scholarship that follows and develops this position includes Taylor 2001; Smith 2009, 1; Ikram 2010, 1; Loynes 2015; Chapman 2017; Smith 2017, 13–4.

overstatement or oversimplification' (Riggs 2010, 4) that emerged in the 19th century 'Victorian framework of the universal human quest for immortality' (Nyord 2018, 78). Building on earlier works (e.g. Meskell 2004; Smith 2006; Taylor 2010a), Riggs and Nyord recognise instead that mummification processes entail a transition to a new divine state. The nature of this existential state, however, has been framed in slightly different terms by the two authors. While Riggs argues that the processes carried out on the body make it 'less human, more divine' (Riggs 2014, 89), tending towards an 'Osirification' of the deceased (Riggs 2014, 143–4; also, e.g. Smith 2008; Price 2020, 122), Nyord focuses on mummification as a material aspect 'of the transformation of the deceased into an ancestor' (Nyord 2018, 78). The notion of the ancestor brings a somewhat different emphasis to the idea of divinity implied by Riggs. A discussion of the status and roles of the deceased after their transformation (e.g. Troche 2021 on 'distinguished dead' vs 'deified dead') is beyond the scope of this thesis but I aim at encompassing both perspectives in describing the transformed deceased as a 'divine being', whether in ancestral or 'Osirification' terms. Both Riggs and Nyord view mummification as 'a fundamental transformation of the human's body own materiality' in which the preservation of the bodies 'was not so much the goal but the by-product of processes that were carried out on the body' (Riggs 2014, 89). Such analyses, discussed in more detail in section 1.4.2, open up possibilities for new interpretations of the evisceration and canopic practices.

Riggs (2014, 92–3) only touches on evisceration, viewing it as a way of removing a source of pollution. Nyord (2013a, 196) maintains a similar view. I argue that understanding the process as exclusively concerned with preventing decay is inherited from the conventional focus on the state of the body that both scholars challenged. Evisceration should be viewed as the starting act of canopic practices, which contributed instead to the transformation of

the materiality of the deceased to divine—it participated in the performative transformation. The conventional view of evisceration was formerly challenged by Jean-Claude Goyon (1992; 1.4.1), who recognised in evisceration an act of creation that permitted the transformation of the deceased and their organs into divine. In keeping with Goyon, I understand that the treatment of the viscera was also transformative through the creation of four gods—the Children of Horus Imset, Hapy, Duamutef and Qebehsenuef, more commonly known as 'Sons of Horus' (3.3)[3]—out of the four internal organs of the deceased—the liver, spleen, lungs, and entrails (ch. 2).

Despite the prominence of canopic equipment, especially canopic jars, in Egyptological studies of mummification and funerals (e.g. Ikram and Dodson 1998; Taylor 2001), this material remains poorly understood. Canopic jars are traditionally conceptualised as containers for the mummified viscera of the deceased which, through their association with the Sons of Horus, protected the organs physically and conceptually to guarantee the bodily integrity of the deceased. This view was most recently challenged by Maarten Raven (2005) who recognised in the canopic jars and their contents embodiments of the Children of Horus. This is in keeping with earlier work by Grafton Elliot Smith and Warren Dawson (1924) who identified viscera and canopic jars with the Sons of Horus. Building on this interpretation, I argue that, in embodying the four gods, canopic equipment (i.e. canopic jars and figures of the Children of Horus) ensured a conceptual protection of the deceased (ch. 3). The Children of Horus are appointed to protect the corpse of Osiris and therefore become equally involved in the protection of the corpse of the deceased (Servajean 2001, 263–9).

[3] I use 'Children of Horus' and 'Sons of Horus' interchangeably throughout the thesis.

I examine material that was produced during the early first millennium BCE (21st–24th dynasties, c. 1076–723 BCE). This designates the period also known as Third Intermediate Period, starting with the 21st dynasty, including the 22nd to 24th dynasties, also known as Libyan Period. It excludes the 25th dynasty, also known as Kushite Period.

While canopic equipment was continuously produced and used from the first unequivocal evidence in the 4th dynasty[4] until the Ptolemaic period,[5] the early first millennium BCE offers a wider range of material, in contrast to the consistent use of just canopic jars and chests in the preceding periods (e.g. Klein 2013). For example, 'wax' figurines or wooden figures of the Children of Horus and pseudo- and dummy canopic jars are also attested in the Third Intermediate Period.[6] The wax figurines of the four Children of Horus are amulets that accompanied the mummified organs when they were returned to the abdominal cavity after treatment; the wooden figures are freestanding statuettes of the four Sons that were placed in the burial chamber. The figures are identified by their heads: the human-headed Imset, the baboon Hapy, the jackal-headed Duamutef, and the falcon Qebehsenuef. Pseudo- and dummy canopic jars were not intended to be used as containers for the viscera, in contrast to standard canopic jars. Pseudo-canopic jars are partially hollowed out, albeit not used as containers, with a detachable lid. Dummy canopic jars are made of one block of stone, with the lid carved into it.

[4] Travertine canopic chest of Queen Hetepheres I (Cairo JE 52452): Reisner and Smith 1955, 21–2, pl. 44; Dodson 1994, 8, pl. Ia.
[5] One set of canopic jars now in Cairo Museum (CG 4235–4238) was tentatively dated to the Roman Period by Reisner (Reisner and Abd-ul-Rahman 1967, 163–6, pl. xxxvii). However, since the set has no provenance, the accuracy of the dating cannot be verified.
[6] Recent analyses of the 'wax' figurines in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (e.g. 25.3.156a-d found in the abdominal cavity of Nesenaset) revealed that some at least were made of resin (personal communication from Janice Kamrin, 09/2021).

Because of a perceived disruption in, and changes to, canopic equipment and practices, material from the early first millennium BCE has not received the same level of attention as from earlier periods (e.g. Reisner 1899; Sethe 1934; Lüscher 1990). Yet it is precisely these changes that make the study of this material (ch. 4) essential to understanding and assessing the rationale behind evisceration and canopic practices as divergences often help explain conventions.

1.1. Thesis aims and structure

In this thesis I revisit long-held beliefs in the Egyptological literature that (a) preventing and halting the process of putrefaction and decomposition was the primary reason for the evisceration process; (b) canopic practices ensured bodily integrity in preserving and protecting the organs for the deceased's benefit in the afterlife; (c) the Children of Horus were protectors of the viscera; (d) a fundamental change took place in canopic equipment and practices in the Third Intermediate Period. These are assumptions that have never been systematically evaluated and are also methodologically problematic as revealed by Riggs (2014) and Nyord (2018) and inferred from Klein (2016). My aims in this thesis are three-fold:

(i) to challenge the traditional understanding of mummification and evisceration processes and to integrate these practices within an alternative interpretive framework;

(ii) to characterise canopic practices within this revised framework and to review the conceptual and belief systems underlying canopic practices, reassessing in particular conceptions of the internal organs, roles of the Children of Horus and conceptualisation of canopic equipment in the burial;

(iii) to review developments in canopic equipment in early first millennium burials in light of the revision of canopic practices and to demonstrate conceptual continuity despite material change in canopic practices.

The thesis is divided into five chapters and structured around the exploration of conceptual and material issues. In this first chapter I introduce the corpus of material, provide a literature review that underpins the theoretical and methodological development of the thesis, and set out the broader theoretical framework and methods that I apply to the funerary practices I treat; practice theory and material culture studies constitute the core of this theoretical framework.

Chapter 2 (*Challenging traditional frameworks*) considers in more depth issues associated with understanding the practices connected to internal organs within common interpretive frameworks. The issues are addressed at a number of different levels, from abstract and philosophical (e.g. the 'aspective' analyses of the body) to considerations of concrete evidence (e.g. the positive role of decomposition) and are articulated around two modern assumptions of the rationale behind the practices: the restoration of integrity to the body and the prevention of decay. I propose an alternative interpretive framework characterising mummification and evisceration processes as transformative and protective processes. This characterisation is theoretically informed by the anthropological model of 'rites of passage' (e.g. Rakita and Buikstra 2005b), the archaeological inquiry into body materiality (e.g. Meskell and Joyce 2003) and the anthropological study of mortuary rites (e.g. Nilsson Stutz 2015). Chapter 2 concludes with an analysis of three diversely dated textual sources—P. Louvre-Carlsberg, the *Embalming Ritual*, and P. Rhind 1—in order to reassess ancient Egyptian perspectives on viscera treatment through this approach.

Chapter 3 (*Characterising canopic practices*) then draws on this revised framework to review the conceptual and belief systems underlying canopic practices, using both textual and archaeological data. It first addresses Egyptian conceptions of the viscera through the lens of 12th to 21st dynasties medical texts (P. Ramesseum III, P. Edwin Smith, and P. Ebers) and anatomical lists, exploring potential rationales for their unique treatment. The roles of the Children of Horus in canopic practices are then assessed through occurrences in the *Pyramid Texts*, the *Coffin Texts*, and the *Book of the Dead*. I consider canopic equipment as embodiments of the Children of Horus in the burial, thereby integrating canopic practices into the ritual and conceptual frameworks in which the Children of Horus operate. The material I use throughout chapter 3 to approach underlying conceptual systems of canopic practices (e.g. conceptions of the viscera, roles of the Children of Horus) is not restricted to the early first millennium BCE because the development and construction of conceptual and beliefs systems happen outside of delimited timeframes.

Chapter 4 (*Reassessing canopic equipment in early first millennium burials*) tests the interpretive positions developed in chapters 2 and 3 against case studies of canopic equipment from the Third Intermediate Period (21st to the 24th dynasty, c. 1076–723 BCE). I draw on a wide range of archaeological contexts, as well as chronological and social frameworks, to investigate ideas of disruption and fundamental change that have underpinned assessments of Third Intermediate Period canopic practices. The case studies are taken from the Tanite royal necropolis (21st and 22nd dynasties), the priestly necropolis of Memphis (21st and 22nd dynasties), and the necropolis of Herakleopolis Magna (22nd and 23rd dynasties), all in Lower Egypt. For Upper Egypt, I focus on the Caches of Deir el-Bahri (21st dynasty), and the priestly necropolis of the Ramesseum (22nd and 23rd dynasties).

Chapter 5 synthesises my findings, integrating theoretical, conceptual, and material perspectives to propose an interpretation of canopic practices firmly rooted in emic frameworks, and explores future possible avenues of research.

1.2. Setting the terms

Riggs (2014, 86) has observed that 'embalming' and 'mummification' are often used interchangeably in Egyptological literature, although the former strictly refers only to the treatment of the corpse for its preservation. Mummification is particularly ambiguous, being deployed for the drying and preservation of the corpse[7] but also 'as a blanket term for all processes carried out on the dead body, up to and including its anointing, wrapping and adornment' (Riggs 2014, 86). In light of the stance taken in this thesis against an understanding of the treatment of the body as preservation, I use 'embalming' sparingly, in its strict sense, in contexts that specifically refer to preservation. In parallel, I advocate for an emphasis on the transformation of body materiality with the use of 'mummification'. In the mummification process, the term evisceration refers to the removal of the organs and, in my thesis, the phrase evisceration processes also operates as a blanket term for all the processes carried out on the internal organs, up to and including their anointing, wrapping, and deposition.

In Egyptology, 'canopic' is used to designate the containers in which internal organs were deposited after mummification, whether a jar, a chest, or a box. This term is inherited from a mistake made by Athanasius Kircher in the third volume of *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (1652–1655), in which he confused the funerary jar with human-headed stopper with the hydria of

[7] In natural mummification, for instance, which refers to the unintentional process by which the skin and organs of a deceased person or animal are preserved—which I do not cover in this thesis.

Kanopos, a bulging water jar with a human head. The hydria can be identified both as a sacred image of Canopus (helmsman of Menelaus, the Homeric founder of Kanopos) and a form of Osiris (Osiris-Hydreios or Osiris-Kanopos: e.g. Germer 1997, 50; Ikram and Dodson 1998, 276; overview in Klein 2013, 35–8). While the inaccuracy of the term canopic has long been recognised and acknowledged (e.g. Budge 2010 [1925], 240; Quirke and Spencer 2007 [1992], 114–5; Ikram and Dodson 1998, 276), I continue to use it since it has become standard in the subject. It is noteworthy, however, that there exists a rare ancient Egyptian term for the canopic jars: *qby n wt* 'vessel of the embalmer' or 'vessel of the (mummiform) coffin' (e.g. Janssen 1975, 243; Dolzani 1979, 165). It is known from two sources, a 20th dynasty ostracon from Deir el-Medina (O. Florence 2616: Erman 1880; Golénischeff 1882; Maspero 1906 [1882], 243–7), also known as the 'ghost story' of Khonsuemheb, and a 19th–20th dynasty price text from Deir el-Medina (P. Berlin P 10485 recto: Burkard and Fischer-Elfert 1994, 62–3, no. 86).

The term 'canopic equipment' is usually used for the range of funerary material that contained the mummified internal organs. This includes canopic jars, canopic chests, and viscera chests. Canopic chests, rectangular-shaped boxes that contained canopic jars, are distinguished from viscera chests, tall naos-shaped boxes that contained mummified remains, without jars. Whether viscera chests should be considered canopic equipment *per se* has been debated since only a few contained mummified remains (Aston 2000, 162). I argue, however, for a broader understanding of canopic equipment beyond simply as containers for mummified viscera. A conceptualisation of canopic jars as embodiments of the Children of Horus extends the definition to encompass funerary equipment that represent these gods, such as wax figurines and wooden figures of them. Thus 'canopic equipment' includes standard, pseudo- and dummy canopic jars and chests, viscera chests, and figures

of the Children of Horus (wax figurines and wooden statuettes). Throughout the thesis I use 'canopic practices' when referring to practices associated with the treatment of the viscera from evisceration to post-evisceration treatment.

1.3. Characterisation of the datasets

I combine two datasets to reassess canopic practices. I approach these from different perspectives. The framework of the dataset used in chapters 2 and 3 differs from that used in chapter 4. These differences are representative of my different but complementary aims; while chapters 2 and 3 aim to characterise conceptual aspects of canopic practice, chapter 4 investigates material developments in canopic equipment of the early first millennium BCE.

In chapters 2 and 3, I adopt a diachronic approach to textual and archaeological sources for canopic practices, ranging from the third millennium BCE through to the first—following Bart Hellinckx's (2002) successful integrated approach to the function, meaning and symbolism of mummy equipment (1.4.3). This is necessitated by the fact that practices develop over time—hence attached belief systems and their conceptualisation cannot be confined to a limited period—as well as by the available sources. For example, key textual sources for the treatment of the viscera date to the New Kingdom and the Roman Period (2.6.2). A diachronic approach makes it possible to discern changes, conventions and patterns that can be overlooked when focusing on the evidence of a single period (Hellinckx 2002, 2). Chapter 4 builds on interpretive positions introduced in chapters 2 and 3 by reviewing developments in canopic equipment in early first millennium burials. This approach is informed by anthropological principles of practice theory (1.5.1), according to which 'many practices become more easily visible when looked at through studies of change' (Brandt 2015, x).

Differing timescales between discussions on conceptualisation of canopic practices (ch. 2 and ch. 3) and characterisation of canopic equipment (ch. 4) is not an issue since I am arguing for a conceptual continuity in canopic practices through time, from the Middle Kingdom onwards, despite changes in material expressions in the early first millennium BCE (4.4).

1.3.1. Defining the textual sources

In chapter 2, I discuss the 18th dynasty medical papyrus P. Louvre-Carlsberg, the 2nd–1st century BCE copies of the *Embalming Ritual*, and P. Rhind 1 from the early Roman Period for perspectives on the treatment of the viscera (2.6). These are the only three known textual sources for the treatment of the viscera. The analysis of these texts within the revised framework provides new insights while also supporting the ideas put forward.

Chapter 3 assesses Egyptian perspectives on the organs through the lens of medical sources—sources dating from the 12th (P. Ramesseum III) and 18th dynasties (P. Edwin Smith and P. Ebers)—and anatomical lists—ranging in date from the 6th–7th dynasty (*CT* 945) to the Ptolemaic Period (Dendera socle), with a cluster from the 19th and 20th dynasties (Litany of Re, P. Berlin 3027, P. Turin CGT 54050, P. Chester Beatty VII and VIII, P. Vatican 36). While the study of medical texts may offer insights into indigenous understanding of the location and function of internal organs in relation with the workings of the body (3.1.2), the anatomical lists, which equate parts of the dead body with deities in magical and funerary contexts, allow organs to be understood in terms of symbolic relationships (3.1.3). I then define the roles of the Children of Horus through a review of occurrences in the *Pyramid Texts*, the *Coffin Texts,* and the *Book of the Dead*—all funerary

texts that appear in the burial environments in which canopic equipment would also have been located (3.3.1).

1.3.2. Selecting canopic equipment

The wide range of canopic equipment and archaeological contexts analysed in chapter 4 is intended to encompass more than four centuries of canopic practice distributed geographically, chronologically, and across different social groups, albeit still restricted to high-ranking individuals. The scope of this material study is essential to allow a characterisation of canopic practices as well as to assess the interpretive and conceptual frameworks outlined in previous chapters.

The early first millennium BCE is usually recognised as a time of 'fundamental change in canopic practice' (Ikram and Dodson 1998, 289), with the introduction of 'wax' and wood figurines of the Children of Horus and pseudo- and dummy canopic jars alongside standard canopics; these object types are all included in my dataset. Canopic and viscera chests are mostly outside the chronological scope.

13 sets of standard canopic jars, 15 sets of pseudo-canopic jars, 9 sets of dummy canopic jars, one canopic chest, 108 figurines of the Children of Horus and 6 wooden figures of the Children of Horus from 6 sites are used in chapter 4 to characterise canopic equipment and define the geographical, chronological, and social specificities of canopic practices. To build a balanced and representative dataset of early first millennium burials, I have not imposed geographical or social limits on my dataset, especially as the period under scrutiny is shaped by politically divided rule and diffused power between the North and the South, leading to

regular shifts in cemetery locations. In practice, however, the picture is skewed towards royal and elite necropolises that provide a vastly greater quantity of material: Tanis, Memphis, Herakleopolis Magna and the Theban area (caches of Deir el-Bahri and Ramesseum).

Very few sites—esp. Third Intermediate Period cemeteries—have been excavated in Lower Egypt (Aston 2009, 39); and when they have been (e.g. non-elites of Memphis buried at Saqqara: Aston and Jeffreys 2007, 79), they were often secondary burials of poor nature, with very few associated grave goods (e.g. wooden coffins, palm rib mats, bead necklaces, bracelets) and no canopic jars. While there have been many more excavations of cemeteries in Upper Egypt, the poverty of the data limits the contribution that non-Theban sites in this area can make. Many are necropolises of poorer people (Aston 2009, 87) that were rarely provided with comprehensive funerary equipment in the first place. For example in Matmar, located south of Asyut in Upper Egypt, none of the 276 published intact tomb groups contained canopic equipment (Aston 2009, 114–39; Humphreys 2010). A broader cross-section of the population was buried at Abydos due to pilgrimages there, and canopic jars and figurines of the Children of Horus are known to have come from the site, tomb groups are either anonymous, unpublished, or incomplete which prevents their use (e.g. Peet and Loat 1913; Peet 1914; Aston 2009, 141–52). Third Intermediate Period burial grounds associated with the two major ancient Upper Egyptian towns are currently being explored (Herakleopolis Magna: Pérez Die 2010) or remain undiscovered (Hermopolis). It appears from a cursory assessment of David Aston's corpus of Third Intermediate Period tomb groups (Aston 2009) that the inclusion of canopic equipment in the burial assemblage may have been the prerogative of an elite (royal family and high-ranking individuals) that could afford a more developed burial assemblage, and this is reflected in my dataset. A broader

study is needed to confirm this indication and to establish whether the usage of canopic equipment is based on the social status or different concept of afterlife.

Third Intermediate and Late period cemeteries were often first excavated in the 19th and early 20th centuries, when these periods were considered to be of little interest. Consequently, most are only summarily published and the data poorly recorded. In the Delta, for example, excavators like Naville (e.g. at Tell el-Yahudieh) or Petrie (e.g. at Tanis, Tell Nebesheh, Tell el-Retabeh) were looking for evidence of the Biblical Israelites (Drower 1982, 15), ignoring overlying strata. Similarly, excavations by Garstang at Beni Hassan (1902–1904) in Upper Egypt revealed a series of Third Intermediate and Saite periods burials that were never published (Aston 2009, 113). These factors have implications for my dataset, which is confined to published necropolises, with tomb groups well documented through excavations. Although enough material has survived for analysis, any conclusions must be therefore tentatively drawn as absence of evidence is not evidence of absence.

With these considerations in mind, I selected 6 key necropolises from Lower and Upper Egypt, following these criteria:

(i) 'relatively large' clusters of canopic equipment from clear, datable archaeological context and relatively secure provenances are assigned to a necropolis area;

(ii) context and contents of the tomb groups and burials are adequately published

1.4. Existing discussions

A large body of work exists on mummies and mummification[8]—intellectual engagements with Egyptian mummies began in the 18th century (e.g. Stienne 2018)—but mummy studies often have a particular technical or medical approach that is not my focus (e.g. David 1979; Cockburn *et al.* 1998a; Aufderheide 2003). Campbell Price's *Golden mummies of Egypt* (2020) is a notable exception to that trend. Egyptological approaches to mortuary practices often adopt a particular disciplinary angle (either theoretical, conceptual, or material) which does not encompass the many defining aspects of the practice. I consider these to comprise the actions that constitute the practice, the material that resulted from these actions, the beliefs that are expressed through this practice, and the concepts associated with it. Despite their prominence in the mummification procedure, scholarly research into evisceration processes is scarce. To frame the intellectual context of my research, it is necessary to map the landscape of existing, recent discussions within which the treatment of the viscera has been considered. This section considers evisceration and canopic practices within the framework of mummy studies and recent reinterpretations of mummification, as well as within the study of canopic equipment. This is not exhaustive, but rather an introduction to the significant research and innovative approaches on which I depend and on which I expand throughout the chapters that follow.

1.4.1. Understanding evisceration processes

The Egyptian mummy is 'not an unfamiliar object, nor is it understudied' (Stienne 2018, 14). In fact, Egyptian mummies have been a focus for enquiry and study over the past 200

[8] Bibliography of works relating to mummification: Vartavan and Waanders 2013.

years (e.g. Seipel 1996; Raven *et al.* 2005, 40–51), with studies carried out as early as 1792 on the British Museum mummies by the German anthropologist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (Taylor 2014, 108). For much of that time, the opening of mummies was 'performed for a select, mostly scientific audience', and aimed at comprehending the embalming process (e.g. interest in the chemical properties of the substances used in the preservation of the bodies) and at advancing medical knowledge (Stienne 2018, 181). It was even used to prove or disprove racial theories on the origin of the ancient Egyptians (Stienne 2018, 147–8, 178–9, 181). These studies of embalming practice were anchored in a fascination for the corpse and its preservation. Angela Stienne (2018, 14) notes that our comprehension of 'the history, the scope and the practical applications of mummification practices' has gained from 'the furthering of technological advances' such as the use of X-rays (e.g. Gray 1967; Harris and Weeks 1973; Harris and Wente 1980) and computerised tomography (CT) scanning (e.g. Taylor and Antoine 2014; Hawass and Saleem 2016). The investigation of aspects of human biology (e.g. lifespan, state of health, genetics, diet) offers important insights into the lives of ancient people (Taylor and Antoine 2014, 11). It is evident from such studies (Taylor and Antoine 2014; Loynes 2015; Hawass and Saleem 2016) that modern approaches to Egyptian mummies are still taken up mainly with medical perspectives and remain fundamentally directed towards an increased understanding of embalming techniques behind their preservation. However, as Nyord observes (2018, 79), 'the Egyptological trope of mummification as aiming at the preservation of the body in a lifelike state for eternity is long overdue for rethinking' (e.g. Price 2020).

The practicalities of the mummification procedure are, therefore, familiar. And yet, the evisceration process has been largely overlooked. Explicit descriptions of evisceration (e.g. the placement of evisceration incisions, the presence and absence of many organs or the

nature and position of packing materials) are often excluded in mummy studies (Wade and Nelson 2013, 5). Our assessment of it as a stage in the preservation procedure rather than as an independently meaningful practice has meant that overall 'temporal, spatial and social variabilities in the evisceration tradition' (Wade and Nelson 2013, 5) (and consequently in canopic practices) is poorly appreciated in the literature, despite work such as Eugene Strouhal (1995), which has illustrated changes in embalming methods over time. Conscious of these shortcomings, Andrew Wade and Andrew Nelson used published descriptions of mummies to examine variability in evisceration (Wade and Nelson 2013) and excerebration (removal of the brain: Wade *et al.* 2011). While their work is at minimum a literature review of descriptions of mummies, it offers a relevant summary of the available data, and a clearer picture of the knowledge up to now. Their study shifts the focus to, and addresses the details of, evisceration more comprehensively, but it approaches the data with exclusively technical considerations, producing a limited analysis of the practice.

While ancient Egyptian human mummies have been a focus of research, very little research has encompassed canopic jars and their contents (Rühli *et al.* 2015, 105). Launched in 2012, *The Canopic Jar Project* at the Institute of Evolutionary Medicine at the University of Zurich (Galassi *et al.* 2017) moves away from conventional mummy studies and concentrates on the contents of ancient Egyptian canopic jars as well as on complete mummies. The research, however, remains medically orientated. It is concerned with the 'radiological, histological, and palaeomolecular examination of tissue specimens of embalmed viscera' for a better understanding of, and new perspectives on, pathogen evolution (Galassi *et al.* 2017, 77). While the ongoing medicalisation of the material has value, it is inherited from a focus on the state of the body that has since been challenged (e.g. Riggs 2014; Nyord 2018).

Goyon's 1992 article is the only discussion to approach evisceration processes from a conceptual and religious perspective. His analysis of evisceration and excerebration (Goyon 1992) which questions their nature—'chirurgie religieuse ou thanatopraxie?'—is influential for the interpretive framework that I set up in this thesis. He demonstrates that features of these procedures do not make medical or surgical sense (e.g. eviscerating by way of an incision on the left-hand side or the filling of the empty skull with resin material) and focuses instead on the potential religious rationale for these procedures. Using text-based evidence from the 2nd–1st century BCE copies of the *Embalming Ritual*, Goyon assesses the sacred nature of these procedures and notes the role of evisceration in the transformation of the deceased and their organs into divine, emphasising the creative nature of the evisceration act. I build on these discussions to develop an alternative interpretation of evisceration processes and canopic practices. Although Goyon appears to be the first to challenge conventional understanding of evisceration processes, his propositions have gone mostly unnoticed in later scholarship.

1.4.2. Introducing alternative frameworks

The reviews and critiques of established Egyptological scholarship by Riggs (2014), Tasha Dobbin-Bennett (2014), Nyord (2018) have shaped my approach to evisceration processes by moving away from the idea that mummification aimed to preserve the body and that evisceration aimed to prevent decomposition. Their approaches valuably position mummification, and ancient Egyptian mortuary practices more generally, within broader frameworks of interpretation and explanation that are rooted in theoretical approaches from archaeology and anthropology, in an attempt to get closer to the indigenous perspective.

Riggs' (2014) study of wrapping and unwrapping (of both human remains and objects) has guided my approach to the treatment of the viscera. In her chapter on 'Mummification', she 'criticises a number of tropes prevalent in popular ideas about mummification, but also very much in scholarly Egyptological literature', such as the idea that maintaining the lifelike appearance of an individual human body was the primary goal (Nyord 2016, 1). On the basis of textual and visual evidence from the *Apis Embalming Ritual*, the *Embalming Ritual*, and wrapping scenes in the 19th dynasty tomb of the scribe Tjay—in which the emphasis is on the wrapping and not the handling of the corpse—Riggs notes that 'focusing on the state of the corpse is a modern, not an ancient, proclivity' (Riggs 2014, 89) and views mummification instead as 'a performative, materials-based process' entailing 'a fundamental transformation of the human body's own materiality' in which the preservation of the bodies 'was not so much the goal but the by-product of processes that carried out on the body to make it less human, more divine' (Riggs 2014, 89). This is then taken forward by Nyord (2018). He traces and re-evaluates conventional Egyptological interpretations of ancient Egyptian mortuary religion (also Carruthers 2014a). As part of this analysis, Nyord convincingly shows how modern understandings of ancient Egyptian funerary practices were inherited from Victorian times (1820–1914). Riggs' and Nyord's studies are key steps towards more reflexive and theoretical approaches to Egyptian material (also Moreno García 2014). Whilst both authors challenge the traditional Egyptological understanding of mummification, discussions have not yet considered its implications for the interpretation of evisceration and canopic practices.

I also draw on Dobbin-Bennett's (2014) analysis of ancient Egyptian conceptions of decomposition, which deconstructs the idea that decomposition needed to be entirely prevented or halted. Examining the physical process of decomposition in relation to medical

and religious texts, she demonstrates that certain stages of decomposition and putrefaction were an essential part of the transformative process of the deceased. Dobbin-Bennett's reassessment complements Riggs' study and reaches similar conclusions about the indigenous role of the mummification process, via different datasets. Dobbin-Bennett productively combines frameworks drawn from physical anthropology, lexicography, and the archaeology of the body, illustrating the potential of multi-disciplinary approaches for the study of ancient funerary practices and material. However, in her study of Old Kingdom concepts and terminology surrounding bodily decay (2018), Katherine Eaton critiques Dobbin-Bennett's lexicographical approach to, and her resulting identification of, ancient terms with stages of decomposition determined from modern medicine (2018, 44–5). While I concur with Eaton's point on the difficulties inherent in 'equating Egyptian terms precisely and unequivocally with modern ones' (Nyord 2009, 67), it does not undermine Dobbin-Bennett's positive reassessment of the role of decomposition in mummification.

Eaton's (2018) own analysis of *fdt*-sweat and *rḏw*-efflux is useful for my discussion of these terms in the *Embalming Ritual* notably (2.6.2.2). The transformative and positive nature of the secretions that issue from the body when decaying was already recognised in Andreas Winkler's (2006) study on *rḏw* (efflux: *Wb* II, 469) in the *Pyramid Texts*.[9] His discussion of the duality of liquids (e.g. *rḏw*-efflux, libation) has been influential for my conceptualisation of evisceration, desiccation, and libation as rites of transition (2.5.2). Winkler maintains the position that decomposition was to be halted, in contrast to Eaton and Dobbin-Bennett.

[9] Conventionally translated '*rḏw*-efflux', 'putrefactive fluids' or 'purge fluids' (e.g. Winkler 2006, 125; Dobbin-Bennett 2014, 194, n. 552; Falk 2018, 30).

1.4.3. Studying canopic equipment

Canopic equipment, especially canopic jars, is often discussed only in general terms in Egyptological literature, despite its key role in the Egyptian funerary practices. It has been relatively little studied in any contextual or conceptual way. Typological and quantitative approaches have dominated the literature (Klein 2013, 8–18), beginning with Georges Andrew Reisner's (1899) selective and partial analysis of the shape of canopic jars from the 6th to the 30th dynasty and Kurt Sethe's (1934) textual classification based on a lexicographical and typological analysis of formulae inscribed on them. Reisner's and Sethe's studies were taken forward a few years later by Lucie Dor's 1937 unpublished doctoral thesis which combines archaeological sources with iconographic and textual analysis to characterise types of canopic jars from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period (1937, 61–76). Later studies similarly centred on characterising typological developments in the jars, complemented by the inclusion of canopic and viscera chests in some cases (Dobrowolska 1970; Lüscher 1990; Dodson 1994; Aston 2000). In adopting a narrowly-focused typological approach, these studies provide little insight into how canopic equipment gave new meaning to the mummified organs and bodies.

Treatments have largely focused on periods before the early first millennium BCE. For instance, the 21st–25th dynasties are only superficially covered by Reisner (1899) and Sethe (1934). This is probably, at least in part, because of the assumed disruption to and changes in canopic practices in comparison to earlier times. Thus, the figures of the Sons of Horus (wax figurines and wooden statuettes) are almost entirely omitted from discussion, receiving cursory mentions at best (e.g. Ikram and Dodson 1998, 289).

One important attempt to redress this chronological omission is Aston's (2009) study of burial assemblages of the Third Intermediate Period (defined by him as the 21st–25th dynasties, c. 1010–650 BCE), which reinvestigates the contents of burials to date grave goods and funerary assemblages more accurately. This was achieved by gathering all published Third Intermediate Period tomb groups and organising the burial equipment into constituent elements, arranging these into types, and analysing them according to chronological development. Aston's corpus constitutes a representative dataset of early first millennium burials and therefore serves as a starting point for more inclusive, contextual studies, including my own, since it presents information about complete contexts into which canopic equipment were integrated. My approach to canopic equipment in burial contexts (ch. 4) departs from Aston's typological aims (2009, 293–302) in that I focus on the geographical and social variations and conceptual systems that are expressed through the material.

Egyptological studies of funerary equipment have tended to focus on individual categories of grave goods. Such works address various issues, including the identification of workshops (e.g. Taylor 2009 on coffins of the 22nd to 25th dynasties), analysis of iconography (e.g. Lüscher 1990 on canopic chests) and the creation of typologies (e.g. Aston 2009), ensuring that object specific developments are fairly well understood. However, isolating objects from wider contexts of burial assemblages elides spatial, social, and conceptual variations and, more problematically, can hinder understanding of their role in the mortuary rituals. Canopic equipment has not been recognised as a specific range of funerary material that should be approached as an ensemble, even though it is associated with the treatment of the viscera and directly related to the conceptual protection of the deceased. In that regard, Aidan Dodson's 1994 monograph opened up new research perspectives by focusing on the

archaeological context of royal canopic sets (i.e. jars and chests). Although primarily descriptive, it offered significant new perspectives on understanding these objects as elements integrated into a burial assemblage.

Studies that depart from such typological and quantitative approaches and contextualise objects and practices by placing them at the centre of complex cultural and conceptual systems are particularly influential to my approach. Harco Willems' (1988) study of Middle Kingdom coffins, for instance, demonstrates the value of a combined typological and conceptual analysis. In addressing the religious and liturgical background of texts and representations, Willems conceptualises the function(s) ascribed to the coffin beyond that of container for the corpse. For example René van Walsem (2014) and Rune Nyord (2014) build on this work, interpreting the coffin 'as a material object with particular spatial and conceptual configurations' rather than focusing on particular areas 'as mediums for writing and decoration' (Nyord 2014, 29). More recently Price (2020) integrates his study of Graeco-Roman funerary material from Hawara in new interpretive frameworks surrounding mummification, demonstrating how it can positively transform our interpretation of the material.

Hellinckx's (2002) study of mummy equipment—specifically finger and toe caps, embalming-wound plates, headrests, and head end of mummy cases—adopts a 'diachronic, integral approach' (2002, 2) that illustrates the benefit of combining textual, iconographical, and archaeological sources using evidence from different periods of Egyptian history. He begins with analyses of the archaeological and textual sources specific to each class of objects before addressing the function, meaning and symbolism of the objects, critically examining functions habitually attributed to them. For example, in combining

archaeological data obtained from the examination of mummies (on the position of the plates in relation to the wound), with iconographical observations from the study of different types of embalming-wound plates, and textual data from the *Coffin Texts* (on the hiding and healing of wounds) and from P. Jumilhac (on the healing role of gold over a flesh wound of a divine being), Hellinckx demonstrates the role of embalming-wound plates in restoring the 'original, undamaged condition of the flesh' (Hellinckx 2002, 154).

These studies show the potential of the multi-disciplinary approach I apply to canopic equipment. An integrated conceptual and material approach to canopic equipment has the potential to extend interpretations of canopic practices as well as ancient Egyptian mortuary practices.

1.5. Theoretical frameworks and method

> Mortuary rites and their materialization in the archaeological record have been of enduring interest to anthropologists since the beginning of the discipline (…) Indeed, since mortuary rites involve manipulations of material culture, social relations, cultural ideals, and the human body, they represent a nexus of anthropological interests.
>
> (Rakita and Buikstra 2005a, 1)

Despite the long history of anthropological and archaeological works in explaining and understanding mortuary behaviour (Rakita and Buikstra 2005a, 2–9), the estrangement of Egyptology from anthropology has meant these have not been regularly applied (Adams 1997; Stevenson 2014, 19). As explained by Nyord (2016, 748):

> 'the encounter between modern conceptual frameworks and ancient conceptions and experiences has traditionally been less reflexive and theorised in the field of Egyptology than it has in other comparable fields, and many of the central ideas in the discipline owe much to its nineteenth century origins'.

This has been challenged in recent years owing to increased interest in integrating anthropological and archaeological approaches (e.g. Carruthers 2014b, esp. introduction;

Howley and Nyord 2018; also Moser 2006, esp. 1–10 for an epistemological framing of the discipline). The application of new analytical techniques and theoretical frameworks to Egyptian mortuary practices has opened the way to renewed discussion of the mummification process and, in turn, revealed the need to reconsider the treatment of the viscera.

My analysis of evisceration processes and canopic practices is shaped by various anthropological and archaeological approaches: no single method can encompass the complexity of ancient Egyptian funerary practices. Approaches that provide alternative frameworks to rethink conventional stances on canopic practices, that place the archaeological body as the inevitable starting point for our consideration of burial practices and focus on the narrative of objects and the ideas they convey are particularly relevant to my study.

1.5.1. Approaching canopic practices: ritual practice theory

Within Egyptian archaeology, mortuary practices have been viewed as evidence of belief in the afterlife. In contrast, Nyord (2018, 78) proposes a new approach to Egyptian mortuary conceptions and practices that 'is rooted (...) in the actual source material and the indigenous concepts found therein'. He uses shabtis as an example to explore this position. These figurines were conventionally understood as substitutes for the deceased that would take up his unpleasant corvée duties in the afterlife (e.g. Bovot 2003, esp. 11–8; also, with some nuances, Schneider 1977, esp. 8–24). Based on an assessment of *CT* 472—a pre-cursor of the *shabti*-spell found on two mid-12th dynasty coffins from Bersheh and one coffin from Meir—and on an examination of the archaeological context of early shabtis, Nyord suggests

instead that the shabtis may have allowed, in some contexts, the participation of the deceased in tasks of a cultic or even cosmological significance (2017; 2018, 74–6; also, e.g. Schneider 1977, 260–305). Following Nyord, I approach canopic practices through the lens provided by practice-based ritual theory which 'emphasises people's actions rather than prescribed meaning and symbolic content' (Nilsson Stutz 2015, 5). Instead of viewing material as evidence for pre-established, often non-indigenous, belief frameworks (inductive reasoning), practice theory offers a deductive reasoning based on the observation of the actions to deduce beliefs. Principles and methods of ritual practice theory inform my approach and shape my analysis in encompassing both conceptual (ch. 2 and 3) and material (ch. 4) perspectives.

Anthropologist Catherine Bell's (1992) influential theory of ritual practice 'emphasizes its role in the construction of social worlds and its activity in generating meaning structures and knowledge systems' (Creese 2016, 352). In the words of archaeologist and biological anthropologist Liz Nilsson Stutz (2015, 5–6), Bell views the ritual as 'a strategic way to act which, in the process of being carried out, creates a distinction from other practices, defining this specific practice (...) as ritual, privileged, significant and powerful'. Bell's work deconstructs 'the taken-for-granted distinction between 'theory' (belief) and 'action' (ritual) that underlies much existing thought about ritual' (Creese 2016, 352; brackets mine), and many existing Egyptological approaches to mortuary practices. Her recognition that 'belief (theory) is generated in practice (ritual) may be particularly helpful for understanding the socially transformative possibilities of mortuary rituals' (Creese 2016, 353; 1.5.2). In the practice-based ritual theory framework, mortuary practices are seen 'not as directed only by pre-existing beliefs about death but as themselves contributing to the very appearance and development of new concepts of belief' (Renfrew 2016, 9). This implies that indigenous

conceptual frameworks can be inferred from the material remains, a principle that is also applied in the field of cognitive archaeology (Renfrew 1994; 2016, 1). Nilsson Stutz (2015, 1)—who applied this framework to Mesolithic mortuary practices in Scandinavia—recognises the value of focusing on practice in archaeology 'since it is well adapted to the nature of our sources; the material remains of past actions'—and it also gives us a framework to reflect on the dynamics of ritual change, which is directly relevant to my focus on canopic equipment and practices from the Third Intermediate Period. According to practice theory, the understanding of the past actions will reveal the indigenous meaning of this process (Brandt 2015, xii).

1.5.2. Interpreting evisceration processes: deathways and body materiality

> (...) a new approach would have to abandon the trope of preserving the body for eternity and focus instead on mummification *and* grave goods as the material aspects of the transformation of the deceased.
>
> (Nyord 2018, 78)

Both mummification processes (Riggs 2014; Nyord 2018) and, as I argue, evisceration processes are concerned with the transformation of the human's bodily materiality. Thus their analysis should be integrated in the 'social passage' from human to divine being (Nyord 2018, 79). I anchor my analysis within the anthropological concept of deathways, which articulate change in material states (e.g. from subject to object, see 1.5.2.1), as well as consideration of the nature of these transformations (Creese 2016, 354). The concept of 'deathways'—a term coined by American historian Erik Seeman (2010, 1), and primarily used in North American anthropology—'capture[s] the diversity of mortuary beliefs and practices, including ideas about the afterlife, relations with the dead, the preparation of corpses, burial practices, and rites of commemoration and remembrance' (Fraser 2017, 2). 'Deathways are thoroughly ritualized human activities', so it is particularly appropriate 'to

consider them from the perspective of ritual theory', as pointed out by anthropological archaeologist John Creese (2016, 352) in his work on Northern Iroquoian deathways. Deathway (or death-course) is 'the specific pathway, or *chaîne opératoire*, of bodily treatments and transformations that could be undergone by a deceased person, as well as beliefs about the existential nature of those transformations' (Creese 2016, 351). As noted by Creese (2016, 354), 'one of the principal functions of deathways is to effect a change of states – from life to death, or this world to another'.

This progression from one state to the other and the transformations it entails can be observed and interpreted through the 'narrative progression' (Creese 2016, 354) of anthropologist Arnold Van Gennep's (1908 [1960]) three phase 'rites of passage' model. According to Van Gennep these rites move through phases of separation (preliminal), transition (liminal), and incorporation (postliminal). Building on Van Gennep's model, Victor Turner (1967, 93–111), in his study of Ndembu rituals, reframed the model in terms of the changes of state that occurred in the process: structure, anti-structure (liminality), structure. Nilsson Stutz (2015, 4) notes that Turner's model of liminality and anti-structure, while developed to understand initiation rites, is particularly applicable to define and understand the corpse in a ritual context more generally: 'it can be transposed to mortuary rituals as rites (...) which [transfer] an individual from a defined state to different but equally defined state' (also Van Gennep 1908 [1960], 3). As recognised by Nilsson Stutz (2015, 4), the 'not-yet-treated' corpse 'being no longer a subject nor an object' appears to occupy a position that integrates well into Turner's definition of the liminal being, that is an entity that is clearly in a 'betwixt-and-between' position (Turner 1969, 95; also 1967, 93–111), 'at once no longer and not yet classified' (Turner 1967, 96).

Studies that have applied the framework of 'rites of passage' to burial treatments have contributed to my approach. In his classic study, *Contribution à une étude sur la représentation collective de la mort*, anthropologist Robert Hertz (1960 [1907]) applied the idea of 'rites of passage' to the Dayak tribe's funerary practice of decomposition in Borneo. Hertz was concerned 'to offer a generalized explanation for the variety of temporary or secondary burial practices found cross-culturally' (Rakita and Buikstra 2005b, 97). He argued that the separation of the rotting flesh from the permanent dry bones through decomposition was the intended result of any extended processing of the corpse. He further suggested that 'the corpse's rites of passage [were mirrored] by rites of passage for the soul of the deceased' (Rakita and Buikstra 2005b, 97). Although Hertz's model of secondary burial treatments is problematic because of the binary division into body and soul (2.1), his use of a rites of passage framework—preceding Van Gennep (Venbrux 2007, 5–6)—to interpret the decomposition of the body and its role in the transition to another existential state is relevant to the interpretation of evisceration processes because it reveals the fundamental role of burial treatments in the transformative process.

Anthropologists and bioarchaeologists Gordon Rakita and Jane Buikstra (2005b) re-examined Robert Hertz's original formulation in relation to the Andean practice of mummification and proposed to interpret it as 'a method for sustaining the deceased in a liminal space', permitting the creation of ancestors (Rakita and Buikstra 2005b, 99–100; 105–6). While this interpretation is reasonable in the context of Andean ancestor cult, in which ancestors 'never entirely *leave* this world but are nevertheless not quite *of* this world' (Rakita and Buikstra 2005b, 105), it cannot be translated directly onto Egyptian mummification. In this case the completion of the mummification process is marked by the

removal of the corpse from the world of living as the deceased is transformed into a being with divine qualities.

Combining Hertz's model with Rakita and Buikstra's proposition, Dobbin-Bennett (2014, 340–4) recognises in decomposition the step necessary to the transition of the deceased to a new divine state, from this world to the next, and in mummification the processes that transform the body 'into its permanent state'. While Dobbin-Bennett's discussion is a useful starting point for my application of the 'rites of passage' framework to evisceration processes and canopic practices, she concurs with and maintains the separation of body and soul deployed by Hertz and adopted by Rakita and Buikstra, with which I fundamentally disagree. Further, I argue that decomposition was not the only step permitting the deceased to transition (2.5).

Practices known from sub-Saharan Africa support the understanding of burial treatments, such as decomposition, evisceration, and desiccation, as steps in the transformation of the deceased. Timothy Insoll (2016, 159), in a study of ancestor concepts in sub-Saharan Africa, notes how the corpse could be transformed through voluntary desiccation (e.g. with a lit fire in southern Nigeria), exposure (e.g. decomposition fluids dripped into a pit in west Africa), or embalming procedures to delay putrefaction (e.g. with holes burnt in parts of the body in Ethiopia). Insoll (2016, 159) remarks that 'desiccation, exposure, and embalming produce[d] different transformed states' corresponding with the progression of the deceased through phases of separation, transition, and incorporation. All these processes 'could serve to transform mortals into immortals by altering their physical state' (Insoll 2016, 159). A combination of these processes is found in ancient Egyptian funerary practices with the use

of natron (voluntary desiccation), early-stage decomposition (exposure) and removal of the internal organs (embalming). I integrate these into a 'rites of passage' framework in 2.5.

1.5.2.1 Body materiality

The transition of the deceased person to another existential state by way of deathways is paralleled with a change in the materiality of the human body (e.g. Meskell 2004, 124–30; Riggs 2014, 107–8). Modern Egyptological conceptions of the dead body are primarily anchored in bodily physicality, resulting in approaches to the human body in burial practices that often overlook the body as 'material' for the body as 'skeleton'. For example, medical perspectives that focus on the ways in which human remains are handled, processed, and treated dominate the study of mummies (1.4.1). Consequently, the role the corpse played in funerary practices as a material expression of conceptual and belief systems is often omitted or simplified.

Analytical frameworks that shift the focus to the materiality and agency of the dead body, such as archaeologies of embodiment, overcome these tendencies. For example, Classical archaeologist Emma-Jayne Graham (2015, 4–6) has emphasised the need to ' "re-embody" funerary practices by making the body the central component of investigations' of funerary practices and shifting the focus from the artefacts surrounding bodies to bodies themselves. In 're-embodying' Roman burial practices, Graham assesses the role of the body in the transformation of Roman mortuary practices (from cremation to inhumation) in the first century AD, highlighting the range of responses and the variety of forms the human body can take. Similarly, I approach canopic practices by examining Egyptian conceptions of the viscera and their treatment.

Through a close examination of archaeological approaches to the body in British and American archaeology, osteoarchaeologist Joanna Sofaer (2006) argues for an 'object-based' approach that focuses productively on agency and materiality. Soafer opposes the modern dichotomy between 'body' and 'object', recognising the body as a material entity possessing its own material qualities, to which material-culture-based archaeology may be applied. Her discussion of the archaeological body as fundamentally material and 'created in relation to a material world that includes objects as well as other people' (2006, xv), supports the idea that conceptual and beliefs systems associated with its treatment are expressed through material aspects of practice.

The primary focus on the treatment of the corpse, and its perceived state of preservation, means that 'the questions Egyptology has asked about mummification stem from modern valuations of materiality not ancient ones' (Riggs 2014, 108). Nyord (2009, 1–3; 2013a, 196) and Lynn Meskell (2004, 124–30) identify that the change in materiality enabled through the embalming ritual was an ontological transformation of the corpse (subject) into an artefact (object). Meskell and Rosemary Joyce's (2003) assessment of the dead body as a site of embodied agency in Egyptian and Mayan contexts provides new insights into mummification as a transformation of the body's own materiality. Meskell's analysis of Egyptian processes from the perspective of embodied archaeology strengthens the idea that the treatment of the body and viscera carried intentions beyond that of preserving the materiality of the body and contributed to transforming it.

Although Meskell (Meskell and Joyce 2003, 129) recognises the transformation of the materiality of the dead, she apprehends it within a framework that focuses on the state of the body and maintains ideas of completeness and 'lifelike appearance' (Meskell and Joyce

2003, 133). She understands that the materiality of the body had to be manipulated to be made perfect in form. In that regard, Riggs (2014) takes a fundamentally different stance. For instance, Meskell noted the difficulty in reconciling the 'violation' of the body via the visceral incision with requirements for bodily wholeness, forcing evisceration into the framework of completeness (Meskell and Joyce 2003, 129–32; also Hare 1999, 24; Loynes 2015, 1), and thus neglecting to recognise the interpretive value in considering evisceration as a meaningful counterexample to this traditional conceptualisation.

1.5.3. Assessing canopic practices: relational archaeology and materiality

> Beliefs are the content of the funerary practices, with rituals the forms in which the content, through the practices, are expressed. (...) When studying the physical material preserved we study the material of past actions, or the form of ritual/funerary practices
>
> (Brandt 2015, xii)

Egyptological approaches to mortuary practices have viewed burial practices as evidence of belief in the afterlife (Price 2020, 118). This approach led to the assumption that objects were deposited into the tomb because the deceased needed them in the afterlife (Nyord 2018, 77). In this understanding canopic jars are containers for embalmed viscera, preserved for the benefit and use of the deceased in the afterlife (3.3.2.1). Criticism of this position opens up burial practices to a wider range of interpretive approaches (Nyord 2018, 79).

Relational (or ontological) archaeology (Watts 2013), in particular, is relevant to Egyptian practices as it aims at overcoming conventional modern dualities (e.g. subject:object, mind:body, nature:culture) 'that affect our reconstruction of past beliefs and practices' (subject:object: 1.5.2.1; mind:body: 2.1). Relational approaches focus on 'the capacity of objects to express or elicit connections between entities [human, non-humans, and things], processes and places' (Nyord 2018, 79), shifting our analytical focus to 'the ways in which

entities, thought of as processes rather than existents, become entwined' (Watts 2013, 1). Material culture studies, as 'an approach to archaeology that focuses on the relationships between humans and the material they interact with' (Turnbull 2018), is relational.

At the core of this theoretical approach to objects, the concept of materiality (DeMarrais 2004; Meskell 2004; Miller 2005), as a dimension which is 'both socially created and creating' (Gosden 1994, 78), is a salient principle that provides a framework for my assessment of canopic practices through canopic equipment. The mutual constitution between material and social environments (Meskell 2004, 4) supports a study of the physical material that can shed light on past societies and reveal indigenous views of actions and processes. The concept of materiality also includes the expression of ideas, beliefs, and concepts in the material world, defined as materialisation by Elizabeth DeMarrais (2004, 1). Materialisation can be seen 'as an approach to studying the narrative of objects and the ideas they convey' (Turnbull 2018). Meskell (2004) approaches different classes of Egyptian material culture (e.g. stelae, ancestor busts, statues of gods, shabtis, coffins, ostraca) through a theory and practice of materiality. Her discussion of objects that have a 'tacit connection to bodily being' (Meskell 2004, 118) highlights the difference between our modern classification and Egyptian taxonomies, providing a useful foundation to my discussion of the conceptualisation of canopic jars (3.3.2). She observes that 'these objects were considered efficacious objects, with the perceived power to affect the phenomenological lifeworld. They were also potent simulacra for the real' (Meskell 2004, 118). However, her discussion of funerary material remains embedded in traditional views of Egyptian funerary beliefs (e.g. mummification was intended to provide a perfectly preserved body to the deceased: Meskell 2004, 125) leading to conclusions I disagree with. For example, she views canopic jars as 'copies of the individual' which, along with statues, shabtis, coffins and

masks, were ‘focused toward physical completeness and material perfection in the next life’ (Meskell 2004, 130). Despite this, her work demonstrates the significant potential of materialisation as applied to the study of ancient Egyptian material.

By examining ancient Egyptian funerary practices from the conceptual and material perspectives outlined above, I attempt to open up alternative interpretive frameworks for the analysis of canopic practice and performance in the early first millennium BCE. This approach could then be taken forward in the study of evisceration processes and canopic practices from any period.

2. Challenging traditional frameworks

> Believing in the immortality of the soul, the ancient Egyptians conceived that they were retaining the soul within the body as long as the form of the body could be preserved entire, or were facilitating the reunion of it with the body, at the day of resurrection, by preserving the body from corruption.
>
> (Pettigrew 1834, 13)

> Three basic conceptions underlie all ancient Egyptian beliefs and practices concerning the afterlife. The first is that of the continued survival of those who die as physical or corporeal entities. (...) The first of these conceptions explains why the Egyptians were so concerned to preserve the bodies of their dead.
>
> (Smith 2009, 1)

It is striking that the conceptualisation of mummification has evolved little since Thomas Joseph Pettigrew's statement, quoted first here, except for its Judeo-Christian wording (e.g. soul, resurrection; see for comparison Smith 2009, 1). He was a surgeon and antiquarian who became famous for staging the unwrapping of mummies as public spectacles, in the early 19th century.[10] The practice is often interpreted as 'an exercise in preservation and resemblance' which aimed at 'preserving the body in a lifelike manner so that the *ba*-soul could recognise it and return to it' (Riggs 2014, 87–8; for the *ba* see, for example, Assmann 2005, 90–6). However, if we adhere to this framework, we are faced with a number of issues, both methodological (Riggs 2014, 87–9) and conceptual (Nyord 2018, 76–9). These issues have implications for the interpretation of canopic practices (ch. 1, esp. 1.4).

The aim of this chapter is to propose alternative interpretive framework(s) to view canopic practices. This has implications for my thesis because moving away from established views might provide insight into how Egyptians themselves conceptualised the treatment of the viscera. In keeping with more recent scholarship (1.4.2), I argue that canopic practices, just like mummification processes, are concerned with *transformation* of corporeal materiality. In my view, modern methodological and conceptual frameworks have prevented the analysis

[10] e.g. Dobson 2018 for the reception of these unwrapping spectacles in the 19th century literature.

of mummification, evisceration, and canopic processes under these terms. The first section reviews the cultural frameworks that continue to dominate modern interpretations of ancient Egyptian funerary practices (2.1). The second and third sections address the central problem of understanding the practices connected to internal organs within conventional interpretive frameworks of mummification. It articulates the problem around two assumptions that generally shape the analysis of the practices: the preservation of integrity to the body (2.2) and the prevention of decay (2.3). The final sections of the chapter propose an anthropological model of 'rites of passage' as an appropriate theoretical framework with which to reassess the funerary practices associated with the dead body (2.5) and explore the implications of this revised framework for the interpretation of Egyptian textual sources on the treatment of the viscera (2.6).

In ancient Egyptian culture, death was not seen as the end of existence but as a part of it—a state of existence in which people would transition to a new state of being.[11] Connected with this is the dominant idea in Egyptological scholarship that the deceased could only take their place in the afterlife if their body was maintained in existence, i.e. that it was essential for the body to be preserved whole.[12] Consequently, it has been long established that mummification processes were intended to preserve the integrity of the body and provide an eternal perfectly preserved form to the deceased. This narrative that equates 'maintaining in existence' with 'preserving in perfect form', however, is imbued with a problematic Judeo-Christian conception of the afterlife (2.1; also Nyord 2018, 76–7), in which the preservation of the body is a prerequisite to the existence in the afterlife in a physical form.

[11] A representative sample of scholarship that follows and develops this position includes Hornung 1982, 160, 182; Assmann 2005, 141–63; Taylor 2010a, 221–3; see Finnestad 1986, 361 for the material-and-spiritual idea more specifically.
[12] e.g. Taylor 2001, 46–9; Assmann 2005, 23–38; Smith 2009, 1; 2017, 83–4; Chapman 2017; Price 2020, 123–9.

Canopic practices are viewed within the same interpretive framework as mummification. In consequence, preventing and halting the process of decomposition to preserve the integrity of the body is often cited as the primary reason for evisceration. However, the very principle of evisceration and removal of the organs from the abdominal cavity seemingly breaches any ideal of absolute bodily wholeness, challenging the intention of mummification, at least as many modern scholars have understood it. This perceived discrepancy has been identified (e.g. Hare 1999, 24–5; Loynes 2015, 1) and interpreted as an inevitable compromise: the internal organs were subject to very rapid decomposition, which would hinder the perfect preservation of the corpse that was thought to be essential (e.g. Lucas 1962 [1926], 271; David 2000, 373; Wade *et al.* 2012, 1646). This justification is not supported by an assessment of the archaeological and textual data: evisceration was not an absolute necessity and decay was not to be entirely halted (2.4). In fact, the viscera received treatments identical to the rest of the body (desiccation with natron salts, treatment with oils and resins before being wrapped in linen) and could have, therefore, been returned to the abdomen, as was sometimes done in the Third Intermediate Period (4.3.2). The fact they were usually not indicates that a separation from the body was intentional. The alternative framework proposed in this chapter (2.5) supports a different understanding.

2.1 Re-contextualising traditional frameworks

Death is 'as much a cultural process as it is a biological one' (Rakita and Buikstra 2005b, 97). Awareness of our own cultural perceptions of death is crucial to avoid transposing them to ancient (and other) cultures. For example, Colin Renfrew (2016, 2) has remarked on how beliefs of early Christian missionaries influenced their accounts of the cultures of pre-Hispanic Mexico or Peru, as they transposed Christian assumptions to indigenous attitudes to death. Although modern Egyptological scholarship is largely conscious of this potential

distortion, there is less recognition of the embedding of Western thought and beliefs in traditional interpretive frameworks that are now considered established facts within the subject (e.g. Nyord 2018). Judeo-Christian conceptions of the afterlife and the body, for instance, have had considerable influence on Western thought and consequently on the interpretation of ancient Egyptian funerary practices. For that reason, before rethinking these positions, it is necessary to re-contextualise the study of the ancient Egyptian afterlife and funerary practices within the wider intellectual and religious framework of the 19th century.

Egyptology is usually considered to have begun in the late 18th- and early 19th century, originating either with Napoleon's expedition to Egypt in 1798 or with the publication of Champollion's *Lettre à M. Dacier* in September 1822 (Thompson 2015, 2). The 19th century was an age when attitudes and customs relating to death and the management of the dying were particularly elaborated in European and American middle- and upper-classes because of high mortality rates (Jalland 1996, 1–2). In Victorian England for instance, a complex code of mourning was developed to express grief (e.g. Christ 1995). Lutz (2015, esp. 1–4) notes that 'the dead body's materiality held a certain enchantment for Victorians' for whom 'the body itself or its parts functioned (...) as mementos': lock of the deceased's hair were made into items of jewellery, death masks and photographs of the recently deceased (*memento mori*) were made to keep in existence the (beloved) individual now dead.

In modern times, the notion of the nature of death is often shaped by contemporary religious faith (e.g. Renfrew *et al*. 2016); funerary customs in the 19th century were ultimately determined by contemporary Christian beliefs about the afterlife. In Christian eschatology, the body occupied a central position. After the separation of body (corporeal) and soul (spiritual) at death, there exists the belief that a new resurrected life awaits the body; either

for the present body that will rise again after death or for a new ethereal body that will be given to the believer. Evangelical revivals of the 1830s and 1840s had a profound impact on the way the Victorians approached death; evangelicalism, which emphasised 'the duty of seeking to save souls by preaching and by missionary endeavour', revitalised the traditional assurances about death and immortality (Ditchfield 1998, 9; also Jalland 1996, 2–3). Notably, it popularised the idea of the 'good death', 'a set of beliefs that gave the corpse and its offshoots an illumination, a vitality, reflected from that shining afterlife where the individual was believed to have gone' (Lutz 2015, 2).

With the discovery, or rediscovery, of ancient Egypt in the late 18th- and early 19th century, mummies came fully into European awareness (Stienne 2018). Studies of mummies and mummification emerged at a crucial historical and scientific juncture—in a context where the mummified body would be assigned the status of scientific object defined by anatomical, physiological, and racial terms (Riggs 2014, 44–76). As identified by Riggs (2014, 80) 'Western responses to human mummies have been predicated on their human-ness' and the unwrapping and dissection of Egyptian mummies in Victorian England 'should be viewed against the background of controversies surrounding the supply of corpses for anatomical dissection' (Riggs 2014, 48; also Cherryson 2010; Day 2020) and embedded within the 19th century colonial project and discourses on race and gender (Riggs 2014, 47–9; esp. 70–6 for the latter). Such a discourse is visible, for example, in the introduction to Pettigrew's *Encyclopædia Ægyptiaca* (1842) which offers insights into the racial origins of the Egyptians as derived from mummy skulls as well as a number of perceived points of correspondence between Egyptians and biblical history (Moshenska 2014, 209).

In these revealing processes, attention was first and foremost turned to the bare body. Indeed, what seemed to be a remarkably well-preserved corpse remained under all the wrappings (Riggs 2014, 87). In an early 19th century Western context, dominated by Christian doctrines, it is not surprising that the vision of the mummified corpse led to the conclusions that Egyptian afterlife depended on the survival of the body, and that the chief purpose of mummification was to preserve the body. It does not consider, however, the fact that these bodies were not meant to be seen unwrapped, or unwrapped at all, suggesting that the actual state of the corpse may not have been as much of an intention than an effect of the process (Riggs 2014, 77–108; Nyord 2018, 79).

Egyptian funerary practices and beliefs were thus incorporated into a Western Christian system of beliefs. The influence of the contemporary religious framework on the construction of the Egyptian 'afterlife' is found, for instance, in John Kenrick's *Ancient Egypt under the pharaohs* published in 1852, as assessed by Nyord (2018, 76). Kenrick's work also includes a passage revealing of the 19th century view of mummification. Drawing a parallel between early Jewish conceptions of the afterlife and ancient Egyptian practices—on the basis of the Biblical presence of the Israelites in Egypt—he suggested that the soul of the dead reposes in a state of inactivity and unconsciousness inside the dead body, which would justify the necessity for preserving this body through mummification:

> If it be true that the original reason of embalmment was that the soul was believed not to quit the body till the body decayed, and might be detained in a state of consciousness while that change could be averted, we can understand the extraordinary pain which they bestowed in ornamenting their tombs and covering their walls with paintings exhibiting the scene of daily life (...)
> If on the contrary it [the soul] remained connected with the body as long as it could be preserved from putrefaction, that is, by the embalmer's art, for an indefinite period, we see a sufficient motive for surrounding it with the implements which it has used in life and representations of the scenes amidst which it has been passed.
>
> (Kenrick 1852, 398–9)

Apart from the problematic use of exclusively classical non-indigenous sources to support his argument, Kenrick also adopts a inductive reasoning constructed on a fundamentally Judeo-Christian dualistic conception of the body (Nyord 2018, 76), according to which man is a bipartite being consisting of a *body* and *soul* that separate at death (overview: Crane and Patterson 2000). On this conceptual basis he deduces that, if the soul was entirely detached from the body, such elaborate decorations of the tombs and mummy-cases 'could scarcely have originated' (Kenrick 1852, 399); hence he assumes this decorative treatment was motivated by the idea that the soul was living in the tomb for an indefinite period—for as long as the body was preserved. The purpose of mummification would thus be to prevent decay, and for the tomb to be an eternal habitation. However, the idea of a duality of mortal body and immortal soul, which is widely acknowledged in Western thought, simply represents one philosophical possibility; one which has often been assumed in Egyptological scholarship (e.g. Budge 1911, 117–39; Altenmüller 1976, 21–36; Hornung 1989, 181–200) but cannot be identified in Egyptian sources. While in Western religious thought the most influential ontology separates being into an earthly world and a world beyond it, in Egyptian thought there is no essential cleavage between body and soul, material and spiritual qualities, man's world and gods' world, the living and the dead (Finnestad 1986, 361; 1989, 31). Ragnhild Finnestad demonstrates, for instance, that the Egyptian concepts of man such as *ka*, *ba* or *akh* 'refer to concepts of *soul* because they designate man as a *transcending* being' but 'all involve material substance' denoting man as a body (Finnestad 1986, 362; italics in original).

Even though modern scholars are aware of the issues in the application of a mind-body (also termed Cartesian) dualism to the study of the body in ancient Egypt, discussions of Egyptian conceptions of being, notably after death, are still coloured by this western ontology. For

example, although modern studies have recognised that ‘a simple dualistic division into ‘body’ and ‘soul’ (...) does not reflect the reality of their (i.e. the Egyptians) approach’ (Taylor 2001, 15–6), they nonetheless maintain that ‘ancient Egyptians perceived man as a composite of physical and non-physical elements’ (Taylor 2001, 15–6), or alternatively but similarly, that they ‘perceive[d] each individual as having a ‘corporeal self’ and a ‘social self’ (Smith 2017, 7; also Assmann 2005, 87–90). The problem with these accepted divisions is that they are not fundamentally distinct from the original ‘body’ and ‘soul’ division and maintain the separation, specific to the mind-body dualism, between physical and immaterial elements, the evidence for which has been challenged.

Maintaining dualistic frames of reference, be it mind:body, material:immaterial, or physical:non-physical, has often prevented Egyptologists from seeing the mummification process through a different lens. Finnestad (1986, 362–6; also Nyord 2009, 45–6), who was amongst the first to dispute such dualistic oppositions, argues that Egyptian anthropology conceives of existence as an alternation between life and death, in which death is seen as part of existence and not absence of life. During these alternating states of existence, individuals have access to different forms of life between which they can transition. Accordingly, in Egyptian anthropology, ‘the whole of man is a *body* and a *soul*: a spiritual-and-material unit that can be transformed into other spiritual-and-material units’ (Finnestad 1986, 361; italics in original). This transition is rendered problematic by Cartesian dualism, which ‘precludes a linkage between the living (identified as minds) and the dead (identified as bodies)’ (Soafer 2006, 42). The view—asserted by Riggs (2014, 89) and Nyord (2018, 79)—of mummification processes as transformation of the deceased from human to divine (in which the deceased acquires an Osiris-aspect: Smith 2006, 333–4) by means of a transformation of body’s materiality aptly fits Egyptian anthropological conception(s). Even

more so, it requires a connection between the living and the dead, the human and the divine, the spiritual and the material. The theoretical framework of 'rites of passage' I implement (2.5) encompasses this Egyptian ontological perspective in viewing mummification (and consequently canopic practices) as contributing to the passage from one ontological category to the other: human to divine.

The epistemological foundations of the traditional framework are thus the result of a specific cultural and religious context shaped by 19th century death culture and prominent Christian thought. Consequently, the strong belief that 'eternal life' could only be achieved with a preserved body underpins much of our modern interpretations of Egyptian funerary practices. In the following two sections, I build on Riggs' challenging of perspectives of mummification rites to reassess aspects of the mummification processes that usually justify canopic practices, such as the focus placed on preserving body integrity and preventing decay. I reconsider the concepts and preconceptions that underpin these perspectives such as the conceptualisation of 'death as dismemberment' and the belief that decomposition was exclusively and entirely detrimental.

2.2 Prelude to the practice I: preserving integrity of the body

> If corporeal integrity was a prerequisite for posthumous survival, then why was mummification not more widespread?
>
> (Smith 2017, 43)

When surveying treatments of the body in the early dynastic period and the first half of the Old Kingdom, Smith (2017, 12–5, 43–4) questions the widely held view that corporeal integrity was a prerequisite for posthumous survival. Mummification, which is assumed to restore completeness of the body, was quite circumscribed during the period under survey—most bodies were simply wrapped in cloth, seemingly 'deemed sufficient to ensure

continued existence' (Smith 2017, 44; also 2.6.3 on wrapping). Additionally, the predynastic practice of dismembering the body is attested as late as the 6th dynasty (Theis 2011, 26–7; Smith 2017, 44; also Wengrow and Baines 2004, 1097–100). In light of these observations, Smith concludes that 'bodily integrity was not *yet* inextricably linked with posthumous survival' (2017, 44; emphasis mine), implying that this changed once mummification was more broadly established. This conclusion, however, reinforces the view of mummification as restoring and preserving corporeal integrity. But if bodily integrity was a key outcome of mummification processes, how is the removal of the organs from the body meant to fit into this framework? I re-evaluate Jan Assmann's (2005, 26–31) conceptualisation of 'death as dismemberment' that underlies the modern understanding of mummification rites as restoring and preserving the physical integrity of the body.

2.2.1 Death as dismemberment

> The image of death as dismemberment is derived (a) from the Egyptian image of the body as a multiplicity of members joined through the connective medium of blood into a living unity and (b) from the counterimage of redemption from death through collecting, joining, uniting, and knotting together.
>
> (Assmann 2005, 26)

Assmann—who provides the conceptual foundations to many modern discussions of Egyptian conceptions of death—understands death as bringing about a corporeal rupture severing the links, and thus the unity, between the constituent parts of the body. In effect, it was a form of dismemberment (formulated by Assmann 2005, 26–31; broadly accepted, e.g. Smith 2008, 2). The effects of death could be reversed through the piecing together of the body—a role that Assmann attributes to the embalming ritual (2005, 31–83; also Te Velde 1967, 91). By means of the embalming ritual, the limbs of the body, which were conceived as scattered *membra disiecta*, were reunited into a new entity, the mummy. While mummification provided a tangible means of restoring the physical sphere, the

'transfiguring' recitations acted as 'a connective medium' that magically ensured the reunification of what had been torn apart (Assmann 2005, 33–8). In taking the deceased through the process of death—with the (metaphorical) dismemberment of the body—and overcoming death—with mummification—the process would allow 'the dead to assume the "eternal form" in which they can at least enter the company of their ancestors' (Assmann 2005, 32). This piecing together of body parts, that is articulated in many Egyptian funerary texts,[13] has been interpreted within the framework of the 'mythology of Osiris, the murdered god-king whose dismembered body parts were reassembled by Isis and mummified by Anubis' (Riggs 2014, 95; 2.2.2).

Because of its enticing association with the myth of the dismemberment, Assmann's conception of death as dismemberment and of mummification as restoration of bodily integrity has been widely adopted and underlies many discussions of funerary practices and beliefs (e.g. Ikram and Dodson 1998, 18; Taylor 2001, 47–8; Smith 2008, 2–3). However, evisceration and canopic practices challenge the 'restorative' binding role attributed to the embalming ritual. Upon closer examination, Assmann's (2005, 26) image of death as dismemberment appears to be based on two questionable ideas:

(i) the mythical treatment of the dismembered body of Osiris (and the correlated counterimage of salvation from death by piecing together) as rationale behind mummification rites;

(ii) the Egyptian image of the body as 'a multiplicity of members joined through the connective medium of blood into a living unity' (Assmann 2005, 26).

[13] e.g. *PT* 616a; *CT* II, 117b–e [106]; *CT* III, 316m [238]; *BD* 181.

2.2.2 The myth of the dismemberment of Osiris

Assmann (2005, 25), along with numerous scholars (e.g. Ikram and Dodson 1998, 18; Taylor 2001, 47–8), recognises in the myth of dismemberment of Osiris 'the mythic counterpart to the embalming ritual'. As reported by Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* (chapter 13, 356c-d), and attested in the early Ptolemaic *Book of the Dead* of the priest of Horus Imuthes (P. MMA 35.9.21, New York Metropolitan Museum), Osiris, then king of Egypt, was murdered by his brother Seth at the age of 28 (col. 13–14f: Quack 2004, 330–1). Various sources from the second millennium BCE onwards describe Isis searching for and discovering his corpse, which was then reconstituted through the rites of mummification (Smith 2008, 6–7; older overview: Griffiths 1966, 1–41). It is argued that Osiris provided a model for the deceased whereby the effects of rupture caused by death were successfully reversed through the mummification process. Assmann (2005, 31–2; also Beinlich 1984, 14–6) suggests that the embalming ritual had to portray the corpse as dismembered to establish a parallel with the mythical incident and ensure a similar outcome for the deceased. This builds on a long-established equation, apparently first proposed by Petrie (1912, 8–15) as justification for the practice of body dismemberment. However, as noted by Riggs (2014, 95), 'myths come after human behaviour, not before' and a serious objection to Assmann's justification of the mummification rites with the mythical treatment of the body of Osiris is that—as recognised by Smith (2017, 14, 125–6)—the earliest Egyptian attempts at artificial preservation of the body, including evisceration and treatment with natron, predate the first appearance of Osiris by many centuries:

> The corpse of Osiris underwent this process, according to the myth, because ideally that was how the bodies of high status individuals were supposed to be treated at the time when the myth first arose. It was not a process that was devised specifically for his benefit.
> (Smith 2017, 126)

Additionally, Assmann's conceptualisation of death as dismemberment is largely rooted in the idea Osiris was dismembered at death. However, when it is not simply omitted, the details of Osiris' death are variable, depending on the sources. Almost all early Egyptian references to the murder remain euphemistic and retrospective, for example, in spells from the *Pyramid Texts* where Osiris is said only to be 'laid low'.[14] While some accounts report a death by drowning, others refer to a murderous assault (Griffiths 1966, 2–3); for example in three *Pyramid Text* spells there is mention of 'the place where you [Osiris] were drowned' (*PT* 24d, 615d, 766d). In others there is allusion to a murderous assault: 'There is brought to you the one who slew you' (*PT* 1339a, 1977b). It is only from the Ptolemaic Period (e.g. account of the Khoiak-festival in the temple of Hathor at Dendera: Eaton 2006, esp. 80) that the story of dismemberment and reintegration came to dominate over stories of death by drowning or assault—geographical factors and/or the spread of the cult may have played a role in framing the god this way—but it does not figure in the earliest attested sources (Griffiths 1966, 14–5).

2.2.3 The Egyptological conception of the Egyptian body

Assmann's conceptualisation of death also emerges from mainstream perspectives on Egyptian conceptions of the living body. The dominant trend in Egyptology is a view of the body as fundamentally fragmented and operating, 'not as a complex single organism, but more as a corporation, a loose association, of separate anatomical entities' (Walker 1996, 283; also, e.g. Meskell and Joyce 2003, 18; Riggs 2010, 4). This view arose, at least in part, from the application of a theory of aspectivity (Nyord 2009, 60, n. 233). 'Aspective' was introduced by Emma Brunner-Traut in her postscript to Heinrich Schäfer's monograph on

[14] *PT* 1256a-b; *PT* 1500f; *PT* 2188: Hare 1999, 12–3; Assmann 2005, 24.

Egyptian art (1963 [1919], 395–428) to replace Schäfer's 'geradvorstellig' (based on frontal image) in describing certain characteristics of Egyptian art. 'Aspective' is defined there as 'ein eingeschränktes Sehen, ein auf einen Einzelteil ausgerichtetes Anblicken' (1963 [1919], 402) in which '[j]eder Teil ist einzeln, aspektivisch gesehen' (1963 [1919], 404), and thus conceived as a cognitive system, rather than an exclusively artistic phenomenon (Nyord 2009, 60, n. 233; also Frandsen 1997, 71–81). She later integrated this theory into a total view of Egyptian culture (Brunner-Traut 1990), as a principle that could be applied to other cultural and conceptual phenomena, and notably to the conception(s) of the human body (1990, 71–81):

> Wie in aspektivischer Sicht ein differenzierter Gegenstand primär nicht als Einheit erkannt, vielmehr sukzessiv erfaβt wurde, d. h. als ein Nebeneinander seiner vergleichsweise selbständigen Teile, so wurde der menschliche Körper nicht als Organismus, sondern als ein Kompositum seiner Glieder verstanden.
>
> (Brunner-Traut 1990, 71)

She envisages the body as a sum of parts that are joined together to form a 'Gliederpuppe' and concludes '[d]aβ der Körper eine anatomisch-physiologische Funktionseinheit darstellt, dass die Organe gegenseitig voneinander abhängen, liegt weit abseits von ägyptischer Vorstellung' (Brunner-Traut 1988, 10; 1990, 73), negating the existence of an anatomical-physiological functional unity in the body. This conclusion is problematic at a number of levels—not least because of its reductive and racist rhetoric (Nyord 2013b, 140–3). For example, it does not acknowledge the circulatory system(s) that establish connections between various body parts, as described in medical papyri (Nyord 2009, 60, n. 233; also Bardinet 1995; Ritner 2006). Despite the criticisms, the idea of the Egyptian body/self as fundamentally made up of component parts remains dominant.

To balance Brunner-Traut's interpretation, and to integrate her 'Gliederpuppe' into a living body, Assmann restores 'connectivity' to her vision so that, to the aspective principle, there

corresponds a 'connective thought' (Assmann 2005, 26–8). This connective model assumes the existence of connective media that bind elements, thought to be unbound, into a comprehensive unity. From Assmann's perspective, 'the Egyptians recognized *the function of the blood and blood vessels* in integrating the limbs into a body. So long as the heart pumps blood through the vessels and its beating is perceptible ("speaks," as the Egyptians put it) in all the veins, the parts of the body remain integrated and thus alive' (2005, 28; emphasis mine). Assmann, therefore, attributes a binding function to the blood and blood vessels, the smooth running of which is guaranteed by the pumping of the heart. However, this applies to conceptions of the body a modern understanding of the cardiovascular system that is not representative of indigenous sources.

Two papyri sources, P. Ebers and P. Berlin 3038=P. Brugsch, are particularly revealing for Egyptian physiological representations.[15] The former provides an insight into the relationship between the heart and the *mtw*-conduits ('treatise on the heart': Bardinet 1995, 81–100; Ritner 2006), while both offer details on the path adopted by the *mtw*-conduits inside the body. Assmann's identification of the blood as a connective medium integrating the limbs into a body (2005, 28), which he attributes to Bardinet, may originate from a misunderstanding of Bardinet's discussion of the 'binding' role of blood (1995, 128–35, esp. 131 and 133): 'les textes montreront comment le rôle du sang sera de les [i.e. the dissolved elements brought by the *mtw*-conduits] lier pour assurer l'élaboration continuelle de la substance corporelle' (1995, 131). Thus, the role of the blood, as expressed by Bardinet, is to bind vital elements brought by the *mtw*-conduits to build up and maintain the body. The Egyptians did not recognise the function of the blood and *mtw* in integrating separated limbs

[15] P. Ebers (18th dynasty, c. 1550 BCE): Wreszinski 1913; Bardinet 1995, 251–373, 443–6; Lutz 2021 (Lutz' new edition of P. Ebers was not made available for me to consult). P. Berlin 3038=P.Brugsch (18th dynasty, c. 1200 BCE): Brugsch 1863, 102–20, pl. 85–107; Wreszinski 1909; Bardinet 1995, 45–3, 409–36.

into a united body, and, in medical texts at least, the human body does not appear to have been conceived of as fragmentary.

According to Assmann, the binding function of the blood was further guaranteed by the pumping of the heart. Assmann identifies the 'heart', itself a complex concept in Egyptian sources (e.g Nyord 2009, 55–68), as 'the epitome and the guarantor or generator of connectivity in the bodily sphere' (2005, 28; also Brunner 1965), the pumping of which was necessary to ensure the unity of the limbs—supposedly through the medium of the blood—and thus life to the body. Such a conception implies, conversely, that its stopping would end the integrity of the living body, which would then fall apart into a 'disparate multiplicity' (Assmann 2005, 31). However, the connective function he assigns to that organ stems from funerary spells, for example from the *Coffin Texts* (e.g. *CT* I, 171e-g [39]; *CT* I, 256e-f [61]), in which the restitution of the heart is a prerequisite for restoring corporeal unity as part of funerary rituals (Assmann 2005, 29). This notion of the separation of body parts at death is deeply impregnated with symbolic and religious values (i.e. the assimilation of the deceased to Osiris) and does not primarily pertain to the non-functioning of the heart. His identification of the heart as a pump assuming a centralising function is also not supported by Egyptian medical texts. P. Ebers and P. Berlin 3038 instead describe a circulatory system in which the heart is the centre of a network but does not appear to perform centralising functions (see schema in Bardinet 1995, 118). Assmann's view of the living body as fragmented, separated parts unified through the connective function of blood, blood vessels, and the centralising function of a pumping heart does not correspond with its conception as expressed in medical texts.

Assmann's foundations for 'death as dismemberment' are not supported in indigenous sources concerned with healing, yet this vision of the body has become embedded in secondary literature, including in discussions that are theoretically informed (e.g. Meskell and Joyce 2003). At present, it remains difficult to assess the way or ways the body was objectively or even subjectively conceived (e.g. 'body horizon' in Bussmann 2014). Religious texts are embedded within a non-factual set of beliefs, while medical texts had a 'magical' healing function rather than involving purely clinical diagnoses and treatments, and the different ways the body was conceptualised within different domains (i.e. healing or mortuary) requires further examination. For my thesis, the challenge to Assmann's now dominant conception of death is vital as his position further underpins modern understandings of mummification rites as restoring and preserving physical integrity of the body.

2.3 Prelude to the practice II: preventing decay

> Everything "foul," that is, everything perishable that could represent a danger to the goal of achieving an eternal form, was removed from the body.
>
> (Assmann 2005, 32)

To fit the conventional interpretation of mummification as preservation, and therefore evisceration as halting decay, 'any sign of decomposition must be taken as anomalous' (Riggs 2014, 88) and any mummy that does not display the high standard of preservation expected from the treatment of the body is considered 'defective' or of a 'poorer type' (e.g. Lucas 1962 [1926], 290; Peck 1998, 27). Riggs notes (2014, 88) that this interpretation has led to an evolutionary narrative based on the state of preservation of the body—a demonstrably modern, not ancient, bias—'whereby the technique of mummification was born, developed, flourished, and declined' (e.g. Iskander 1980, 74–91; Ikram and Dodson

1998, 118; Aufderheide 2003). This narrative depends on modern expectations of what the mummified corpse and a successful mummification should look like (Riggs 2014, 88).

In this perspective the removal of the internal organs through evisceration, and of all bodily fluids through desiccation, were considered necessary steps for effectively preventing the growth of bacteria that leads to decay and hinders this goal (Wade *et al.* 2012, 1646). The internal organs are highly perishable elements in the body and subject to very rapid decomposition, which would quickly spread corruption to the entire corpse if they were not removed or treated as soon as possible (e.g. Dzierzykray-Rogalski 1986, esp. 103; Taylor and Antoine 2014, 39). However, this position does not acknowledge variability in the practice of evisceration and instead implies its systematism; this is not supported by archaeological evidence, as discussed in section 2.3.1.

Hardly any accounts of mummification techniques address the change and variability in the treatment of the viscera specifically or with a critical or analytical approach, especially this notion of 'preventing decay'. Here I survey evisceration processes from their first attestation in the Old Kingdom to the end of the New Kingdom, thus also forming a material background for the early first millennium practices which are the focus of chapter 4. In keeping with Dobbin-Bennett's (2014; also 2016) reassessment of decomposition, I question whether this process was ever to be entirely halted.

2.3.1 Evisceration in ancient Egyptian mummies

Our dominant view of the evisceration process owes much to studies of New Kingdom mummies, carried out by Elliot Smith and Dawson (1924), Alfred Lucas (1962 [1926], 270–

326), and furthered by Zaky Iskander (1973). This focus is due, at least in part, to the number of bodies preserved from that period but also to the evolutionary narrative that suggests that the technique of mummification 'attained its highest degree of perfection in the New Kingdom' (Iskander 1973, 11–2). Iskander outlined the steps of (what he considered to be) the most complete and expensive manner of treating the body in the New Kingdom, which included the following for the viscera:

> 3. Extraction of the Viscera
> (...) The viscera were extracted through an incision which was usually made in the left side of the abdomen. (...) Through this incision, all the contents of the abdominal cavity, namely, the stomach, the liver, the spleen, and the intestines, were removed, but the kidneys were sometimes left in their places and sometimes removed. The diaphragm was then cut and the thoracic contents taken out except the heart and the aorta. (...)
>
> 4. Sterilization of the Body Cavities and Viscera
> The thoracic and abdominal cavities, as well as the extracted viscera, were then all washed with palm wine and spices [which would have had some sterilising effect]. (...)
>
> 5. Embalming the Viscera
> The viscera were freed of their contents, washed and sterilized as above. They were then, most probably, dehydrated by being buried in solid natron on a small slanting bed for about 40 days. After being dried and re-sterilized, they were anointed with perfumed oil and treated with molten resin. Lastly, they were wrapped in four separate packages and in some cases introduced into small anthropoid coffins (...) These small coffins (or more often the bandaged viscera without coffins) were put into canopic jars, each being identified with one of the Four Sons of Horus.
>
> (Iskander 1973, 12–4)

Relating this ideal, later process to periods preceding the New Kingdom is difficult due to relatively little evidence. Poor preservation of bodies, which are sometimes so damaged that it is impossible to tell if they had been eviscerated, is compounded by often inadequate publication, although CT-scan analysis of mummies is offering new possibilities (e.g. Taylor and Antoine 2014, 22–38). However, where and when earlier mummies are available, they demonstrate variability in practice.

Throughout most of the Predynastic period the dead were buried with no identifiable effort made to treat the corpse beforehand, and most bodies seem to have dried out without evisceration (e.g. Elliot Smith 1906b, 4–5; Lucas 1962 [1926], 270; Smith 2017, 12). For

example, one late Predynastic body from Gebelein (British Museum EA 32574) was CT-scanned, revealing naturally well preserved internal organs (Taylor and Antoine 2014, 33). The first known attempts to artificially treat bodies date to the Naqada IIA-C period (c. 3600–3400 BCE; e.g. Friedman *et al.* 1999, 6–7). These treatments do not typically include evisceration, although exceptions are known for example from the Predynastic cemetery HK43 at Hierakonpolis. In three burials (28, 44 and 71) textiles were used to wrap internal organs, which had apparently been removed and then replaced into the body cavity. These organs were found in the chest and abdominal cavity, but they have not been identified (Friedman *et al.* 2002, 65–6; Jones 2007, 981, 984). Renée Friedman (2002, 66) suggests that this practice, along with the paddings/wrappings of the bodies and use of resins, was 'developed for a ritual purpose that may have impeded putrefaction but had little if anything to do with the actual preservation of the appearance of the body'.

It also appears that evisceration and canopic practices were not consistently deployed during the Old and early Middle kingdoms. The boxes, recesses, and pits found in some Old Kingdom mastabas—and often identified as precursors of the jars associated with the viscera—are in fact 'either empty or contain linen packets with traces of resin or other ritually significant materials' (Riggs 2014, 92; also Rzeuska 2011, esp. 247). One example of evisceration is the 5th dynasty mummy of Setka (Cairo Museum JE 46697: Engelbach and Derry 1942, 244–5) found during Hermann Junker's excavations at Giza in 1925–1926 (shaft S 890). Setka's remains were examined by Douglas Derry in March 1931 and revealed that Setka was eviscerated, and the abdominal and thoracic cavities filled with linen (Engelbach and Derry 1942, 245). However, whilst four limestone canopic jars were found in the shaft with his body (Hildesheim, Pel.-Mus. Inv. Nrs. 2433–2636: Martin-Pardey 1980, 5,69–74, 5,83–8) they did not contain the viscera; in fact, two of the jars were not even

hollowed out. The fact viscera had been removed from the body, yet were not found in association with it challenges expectations of the role of canopic practices in maintaining bodily integrity as well as the necessity to keep hold of these organs in the first place (3.2). The presence of canopic jars that were not containers for the organs in a 5th dynasty tomb brings into question whether they were ever intended as such (3.3.2).

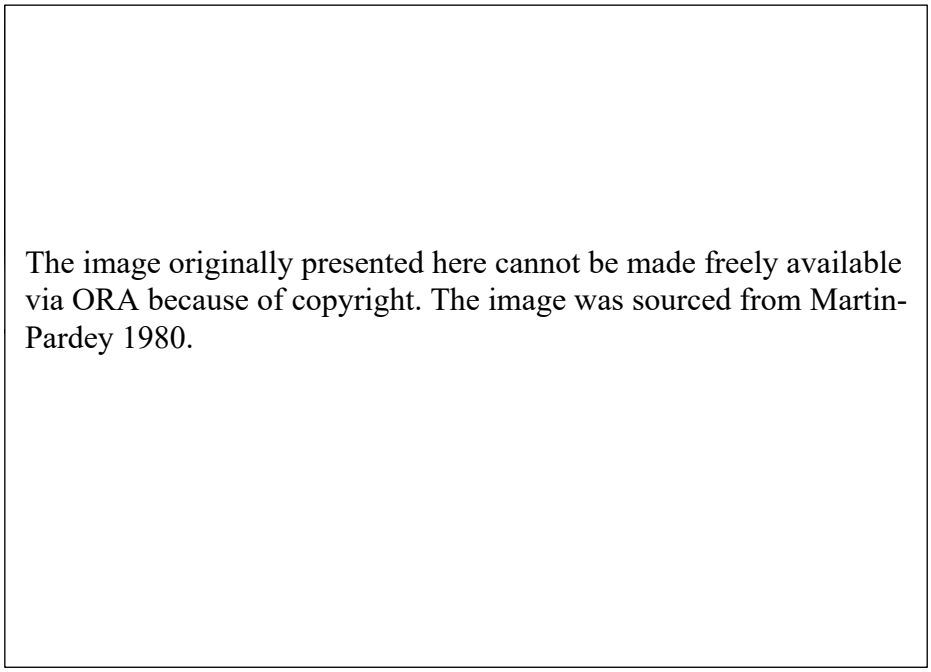


Figure 2.1. Limestone canopic jars. Hildesheim, Pel.-Mus. Inv. Nrs 2433–2636

Methods of mummification, especially wrapping, that developed in the Old Kingdom made the body look like a wrapped-up cult statue, conceptually transforming the body into a sacred image (e.g. the late 4th to early 5th dynasty mummy from mastaba G2220 BI at Giza, see Riggs 2014, 103–7; also 2.5.3). It is notable that the wrapping of the body and removal of the organs seem to have developed around the same time, albeit wrapping was much more consistent than the removal of the organs. The desired appearance of the body could be achieved without evisceration. A group of more than a dozen bodies from the 5th and 6th dynasty at Giza were carefully wrapped with plaster-impregnated bandages, then covered

with stucco-plaster; they had not been eviscerated (Engelbach and Derry 1942, 242; Ikram and Dodson 1998, 111; also Kowalska *et al.* 2009). I return to the significance of these processes in section 2.5.3.

Several mummies dating to the 11th dynasty were eviscerated through an incision made in the left side of the abdomen (Ikram and Dodson 1998, 114). In contrast, six bodies of royal women associated with the court of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetre, and three bodies of members of the royal court—all found in Deir el-Bahri—bore no traces of evisceration.[16] Seven were dissected and described by D. E. Derry.[17] All showed a dilation of both the vagina and the rectum (visceral prolapse); some bits of tissue, mainly pelvic contents, were protruding from the anus of Henhenet and DBXI. 26. Examination also revealed that the shrivelled remains of the viscera remained in the abdominal and thoracic cavities. The unusual dilation of the recta and vaginae and the tissue projections were considered by some scholars (e.g. Harris and Wente 1980, 13; Ikram and Dodson 1998, 114; Ikram 2003, 62) as indications that an oleoresin was injected into the anus to dissolve (with partial success) the organs, which were then partially extracted through the rectum—a method described by Herodotus (2.87; Waterfield and Dewald 2008, 127–8) and considered as the next-best, least-expensive procedure. However, the evidence is inconclusive: tissue 'projections' are only attested for two bodies; for the body numbered DBXI. 26, attempts to ascertain whether the rectum opened directly into the body-cavity, which would have supported the hypothesis of resin injected inside the body to dissolve organs, failed (Engelbach and Derry 1942, 252). Therefore, in this instance, it appears that the abdominal cavity had received no treatment. The identification of visceral prolapse is proof that some bodies underwent at least the first

[16] Naville 1907, 43–52; Winlock 1921, 36–53; Engelbach and Derry 1942, 246; Ikram and Dodson 1998, 114.
[17] Ashayet, Amunet, Henhenet, Mayt and bodies found in DBXI. 23, DBXI.24, and DBXI. 26: Engelbach and Derry 1942, 248–56. DB=Deir el-Bahri.

two stages of decomposition prior to the beginning of mummification (Taylor 2001, 82; Dobbin-Bennett 2014, 286–7). Apart from the woman in DBXI.26, the bodies were deemed to be 'in almost perfect condition' (Engelbach and Derry 1942, 248). The treatment and wrapping of these mummies indicates that absence of evisceration was not a sign of lower status (these women held the titles of 'priestess' of Hathor' and 'sole royal ornament': Morris 2011, esp. 76–8) and that bodies could be prepared for burial without evisceration.

Further examples of evisceration practices are known from the later 12th dynasty. The mummy of Wah, overseer of the storehouse of Meketre, was found in Southern Assasif in 1920.[18] The body was x-rayed in 1935 (Winlock 1936), and unwrapped in December 1939–January 1940, revealing that the liver, stomach, and intestines were removed through an incision in his lower abdomen;[19] the lungs and heart remained in place (Winlock 1940, 259). His burial was intact; yet no canopic jars accompanied the body. The mummy of Senebtisi, whose entire burial was found virtually intact in Lisht (Mace and Winlock 1916), was examined by Grafton Elliot Smith who reported that the viscera had been removed from a flank incision that was sealed with resin and resin-soaked cloth, and that the heart was left in situ in the thorax (Elliot Smith in Mace and Winlock 1916). Senebtisi's burial included a set of four canopic jars (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 07.227.1–4a-b) in which viscera were found. They had been wrapped in linen parcels and embedded in some molten resinous matter poured into each of the jars (Lythgoe 1907, 165).

As noted above, the dominant understanding of the evisceration process derives from studies of New Kingdom practices, and of royal mummies in particular; in comparison with earlier

[18] Tomb MMA 102: Winlock 1920, 31–2; Roehrig 2003; also Arnold 1991 for a dating to the early years of Amenemhat I.
[19] Herbert Winlock gives no indication of the side of the incision.

periods, the material for the New Kingdom is rich and chronologically continuous. Nine mummies of kings were discovered along with six mummies of royal family members in the Royal Cache of Deir el-Bahri (Elliot Smith 1912), while nine mummies of kings and two mummies of royal family members had been moved in the tomb of Amenhotep II during the reign of Sheshonq I for protection from tomb robbers (Loret 1899; Goyon 1989). The mummies of the kings were examined by Elliot Smith (1912). Three were excluded from this examination: Amenhotep I, who was deemed too perfect to be unwrapped (Elliot Smith 1912, 18); Ramses III, who had been previously unwrapped and examined by Gaston Maspero (1889; Elliot Smith 1912, 84); Ramses IX, for unknown reasons. Elliot Smith noted the presence of an embalming wound in all the mummies studied, indicating that evisceration was performed on all of them, but he did not comment on the treatment of the viscera, if any, within the abdominal cavity

Archaeological data for the New Kingdom confirms that lack of evisceration does not indicate lower quality mummification and/or a lower social status, contrary to common characterisations. From the cemetery of the community of tomb builders at Deir el-Medina (18th–20th dynasties), there is evidence of non-eviscerated bodies, well wrapped and buried with rich funerary material (Bruyère 1937a; 1937b, esp. 7 for this observation, 138–9). Despite a lack of evisceration, generally perceived as a rudimentary version of mummification, some of these bodies received high-quality treatments (Austin 2018, 30). The recent reinvestigation of the 18th dynasty mummies of Kha and Merit from Deir el-Medina[20] for instance, revealed the use of costly resins (Bianucci *et al.* 2015), which successfully preserved the bodies without removing the internal organs. This shows that, at this time, it was not integral to remove the organs even in higher society.

[20] TT8: Schiaparelli 1923–1927; Turin N13015 Suppl.8431 and Turin N13016 Suppl.8471, respectively.

This brief survey of evisceration practices before the first millennium BCE reveals that removal of the organs was either not performed, or not performed completely, on every mummified body that survives. Internal organs were not always removed and, when bodies were not eviscerated, the abdominal cavity and its content did not necessarily receive treatments. However, these practices did not match investigators' expectations of what a 'successful' evisceration process should look like in a context where a preserved body had to be achieved. As a result, the realities of the practice have often been framed as the markers of a defective 'lower quality' mummification. A clear example of this prejudice is apparent in the narrative surrounding the 18th dynasty burials of Senenmut's father and mother, Ramose and Hatnefer—where the discrepancy between Ramose's poorly preserved body and Hatnefer's carefully mummified body is seen as a marker of Senemut's rise in status (Lansing and Hayes 1937, 18, 22; also Eaton-Krauss 2008, 290). I argue these variations in practice were not the marker of a defective 'lower quality' mummification. The absence of evisceration and the marks of decay that could result from it do not appear to have been incompatible with a high-quality burial. Archaeological evidence shows that bodies could be treated with costly resins or carefully wrapped in linen regardless of their evisceration status or their stage of decomposition, confirming that the embalming ritual could be carried out to its end with or without a 'preserved' body. This suggests that halting decay by way of evisceration was probably considered beneficial, but not at all a requirement for successful mummification (Riggs 2014, 92). The blanket justification of evisceration as essential for effective preservation, and therefore inevitable, is incorrect and results from modern expectations of what a 'perfect' mummification procedure should entail. The wrapping of the body, however, appears to have been consistent through time.

Decomposition may instead reflect the time it took to get a body to the embalmer (Dobbin-Bennett 2014, 23–4). Because of high temperatures, bodies decompose quickly, as shown by the very decayed state of the 20th dynasty body of Horemkenesi (Taylor 1996, 90, 102); decomposition may have simply been technically unavoidable. Borrowing methods from forensic anthropology, Dobbin-Bennett (2014, 32–67) assesses stages of decomposition within the hypothesised four-day window prior to embalming. Her results demonstrate that within this timeframe the deceased would move into the early decomposition stage (or fresh stage of decomposition), e.g. mortis events, purging of putrefactive fluids in the cranio-facial region. Further, Dobbin-Bennett examines descriptors of decomposition events in medical texts (P. Edwin Smith and P. Ebers) and in funerary texts (primarily *Coffin Texts*) to argue that some form of decomposition was sought after and intended as part of a transformative process of the deceased. This has implications for the understanding of mummification processes, including evisceration. I highlight in the next section key elements of her study to which I return in 2.5.

2.3.2 Reassessing the role of decomposition

> As soon as death has set in, the body begins to decay. This strikes terror into man and fills him with disgust. Spells have to check the putrefaction of the body.
>
> (Zandee 1960, 56)

Spells from the *Coffin Texts* and the *Book of the Dead* for not letting the corpse putrefy or perish are often quoted to support the ideas that the destruction of the human body was feared, that decomposition was negative and, more broadly, that the body needed to be preserved intact (e.g. Assmann 2005, 126–7, also Falk 2018, 30). While the effects of death upon the human body were ideally to be optimised, 'not perishing' is not necessarily the same as 'being preserved intact'. A range of vocabulary describing decomposition in all its

stages and states is found in these spells, from putrefaction[21] and its products,[22] to insect colonisation,[23] to bloat,[24] and overall damage to the body.[25] The spells articulate the potential results of letting a body fully decay, carefully delineating the aspects that must be treated. The effects of each specific stage or event of decomposition are ritually negated. This is observed, for instance, in *CT* VI, 384h–385r [755] and, to an even greater extent, in *BD* 154.

Coffin Text Spell 755

> A man is not to putrefy (*ḥwꜣ*) in the realm of the dead. The members (*ꜥt*) in Osiris are inert, but <they> shall not be inert, they shall not putrefy (*ḥwꜣ*) or decay (*ꜣd*), [26] [they shall] not [swell up or] make foul fluid. (...)
>
> The tears of the god are the putrefaction (*ḥwꜣ*) of the members (*ꜥt*) in me, and it shall not putrefy (*ḥwꜣ*), it shall not rot, [it] shall not become maggoty (*fnṯ*), it shall not become corrupt(?) (...)
>
> (Faulkner 2004 [1977], 288–9; [brackets] in original, (brackets) mine)

Book of the Dead Chapter 154

> Recitation for the corpse not perishing. (...)
>
> Greetings to you, my father Osiris. You will have your body, you shall not putrefy (*nn ḥwꜣ=k*), you shall not become maggoty (*nn fnṯ.w=k*), you shall not become distended (*nn fꜣj=k*), you shall not stink (*nn snsn=k*), you shall not putrefy (*nn jmk=k*), you shall not become worms.
>
> I am Khepri. I will have my body for ever. I have not putrefied (*nj ḥwꜣ=j*), I have not decayed (*nj ḫn=j*). I have not putrefied (*nj jmk=j*), for I shall not become worms, and I shall not perish because of/in the Eye of Shu. I exist, I live, I exist, I live, I am enduring, I am enduring, I have awoken in peace. I have not decayed (*nj ḫn=j*). My viscera has not perished (*nj ḥtm ꜣjs=j*). (...) My corpse is established. It will not perish (*nj skj=s*). It will not be destroyed in this land for ever.
>
> (Dobbin-Bennet 2014, 357–9; (brackets) mine)

As nuanced by Nyord (2018, 78, n. 52; also 2015, 288), these spells 'often seem to be bound to specific mythological roles rather than characterising the fate of dead human beings in general'. In *BD* 154, for instance, the deceased assumes both an active role (as the eldest

[21] *jmk* 'putrefy': *Wb* I, 88; *TLA* lemma 26480; *ḥwꜣ* 'rot' or 'putrefy': *Wb* III, 50; *TLA* lemma 102640.
[22] *rḏw* 'discharge': *Wb* II, 469; *TLA* lemma 857620. Conventionally translated '*rḏw*-efflux', 'putrefactive fluids' or 'purge fluids' (e.g. Winkler 2006, 125; Dobbin-Bennett 2014, 194, n. 552; Falk 2018, 30).
[23] *fnṯ* 'maggot': *Wb* I, 577; *TLA* lemma 63890.
[24] *fꜣj* 'bloat': *Wb* I, 575; *TLA* lemma 63400.
[25] e.g. *ḫn* 'trouble': *Wb* III, 367; *TLA* lemma 123060; *skj* 'perish': *Wb* IV, 311; *TLA* lemma 146700; *ḥtm* 'destroy': *Wb* III, 197; *TLA* lemma 111600.
[26] Faulkner translates *ꜣd* in CT VI, 384k as 'shake' but from *TLA* lemma 348 suggests reading 'decay'.

son Horus who embalms his father Osiris) and a passive role (as Osiris who is subject to embalming), following the idea of 'embalmer embalmed' introduced by Willems (1997, 365–6), which 'places the deceased in a sphere of cyclical regeneration' (Dobbin-Bennett 2014, 245):

> *jnḏ-ḥr n=k jt=j Wsjr jy.n=j r srwḫ n=k srwḫ.n=k jwf=j pn*
> Greetings to you my father Osiris. It is in order to embalm for you, that I have come (active role), so that you might embalm this my flesh (passive role).
> (Dobbin-Bennet 2014, 355, 357; (brackets) mine)

The potentially destructive nature of putrefaction may have contributed to the negative connotations ascribed to the process (e.g. in *CT* VII, 227d [1011] and *CT* VII, 232p–233h [1014]). But, as posited by Dobbin-Bennett (2014, 35), if decomposition was a completely negative process that had to be prevented and eliminated by mummification and evisceration, why would texts also describe the nourishing, rejuvenating and even creative potential of putrefaction and putrefactive fluids (*rḏw*-efflux)? For example, in *PT* 510, putrefaction fluid becomes the material used to create god-like entities: 'I am purge fluid (*rḏw*), I have issued from the creating waters, I am a snake' (Falk 2018, 35; (brackets) mine); while the much later third division of the Ramesside *Book of Caverns* (Piankoff 1944; 1954) describes the nourishing qualities of putrefaction:

> Re speaks to this cavern: O corpse of <u>He whose soul is hidden, Osiris</u>, Regent of the West mysterious one of rottenness, whose decomposition is hidden, near whom the dead cannot approach, but from the odor of whose rot the inhabitants of the West live.
> (Piankoff 1954, 74)

Dobbin-Bennett (2014; 2021) persuasively argues that not all decomposition was negative. She demonstrates that positive associations are attached to early decomposition and purging of putrefactive fluids (*rḏw*-efflux) in *Coffin Texts*—such as the release of fluids from the cranio-facial region—as long as the integrity of the body was not compromised (2014, 222–3; 2021). The negative situation perhaps began with the development of bloat; the negation

of specific aspects of decomposition in funerary texts mostly refer to advanced phases of the decomposition process (Dobbin-Bennett 2014, 279–82).

The inherent dual (negative vs positive) nature of the putrefactive fluids has been long known. Andreas Winkler (2006), for instance, recognises in the *Pyramid Texts* the positive role of *rḏw* in libation—where it revivifies the deceased—while also acknowledging its negative connotations in decomposition contexts—where it can be a menace for the deceased (also Zandee 1960, 11, 57–8). Falk (2018, 35–6) highlights the positive contribution of the putrefactive fluids to the creation of gods, following a ritual conversion of the products of decomposition into products that are 'ritually pure and fit for the service to the gods'. Further, Falk (2018, 29) interprets the green and black coloration of the skin in depictions of gods, as associating the gods with putrefaction rather than fertility—in contrast to what is often suggested. This ambiguity of *rḏw* (and bodily secretions in general) is well captured by Nyord (2009, 323): 'they are at once full of creative potential as well as being something that needs to be removed from the body'. I return to the 'creative potential' of *rḏw*-efflux below (2.5.1).

Dobbin-Bennett (2014, 3, 344–5) proposes that 'partial' decomposition was intentional. She demonstrates that certain stages of decomposition were an essential part of the transformative process of the deceased and that mummification was the management of decay, rather than its elimination, to assist in moving the deceased from this world to the next. This view of decomposition is in keeping with Riggs's (2014) and Nyord's (2018) broader frameworks of interpretation. Further, I argue that in producing putrefactive fluids (*rḏw*) the rapid autolysis of the internal organs may have facilitated this initial

transformation, while their removal would have interrupted the putrefaction process before it developed into later (negative) phases of decomposition (2.5.2).

2.4 Preliminary conclusions

Whilst both Riggs (2014) and Nyord (2018) challenge aspects of the traditional Egyptological understanding of mummification, neither have proposed an alternative theoretical framework for mummification procedures more generally and evisceration and canopic practices in particular.

Conventional interpretations of the Egyptian afterlife have long recognised the role of mummification processes in the transformation of the deceased into a divine being, one aspect of which is termed an *akh* (e.g. Taylor 2001, 46–7; Martin 2013, 109–19). The body on which the proper rites of mummification had been performed would acquire the qualities of the gods. It is understood that the physical treatments that comprise part of the embalming ritual (e.g. purification, desiccation, mummification) were intended to create an eternal, perfectly preserved image of the deceased, whereas verbal treatment (i.e. recitations of mortuary liturgies; Assmann 2005, 237–8; Smith 2009, 209–11) would elevate the deceased to a new divine status of *akh* (Smith 2009, 3–4; 2017; Töpfer 2015, 63–4). The rituals performed and the 'transfiguring' spells (*sakhu*) recited in conjunction with the process conferred divine attributes upon their beneficiaries, endowing the deceased with an Osiris-aspect (Assmann 2005, 33–4; Smith 2009, 11–2 with refs; Smith 2017, 132, 528).

Such an understanding of the embalming ritual, however, is inherited from Cartesian dualism, and separates the physical (corporeal) transformation (dead body to preserved body i.e. 'eternal form') from the spiritual (social) 'transfiguration' ('eternal form' to ancestral

being *akh*). The primary focus on the treatment of the corpse, and its perceived state of preservation, means that 'the questions Egyptology has asked about mummification stem from modern valuations of materiality not ancient ones' (Riggs 2014, 108). It offers a limited view of the practice that largely emphasises the state of the body; its perfect integrity considered a prerequisite to the 'transfiguration' of the deceased into a divine being. Therefore, a conscious narrative shift is required towards an interpretive framework that approaches bodily treatments as transitional and transformative processes. I suggest that this framework is best found in anthropological and archaeological theoretical approaches to death and funerary practices.

2.5 Shifting narratives: mummification processes as 'rites of passage'

While shifting the analytical focus towards the transformative role of bodily treatments is somewhat novel in Egyptology, in other fields—such as anthropology and mortuary archaeology—the role of processes that were carried out on the body in the transition of the deceased has long been recognised (e.g. Robb 2013, 450; Insoll 2016, 159). Consequently, these fields have developed theoretical and conceptual frameworks that articulate funerary practices as transformative processes, as well as characterising the nature of the changes occurring through funerary processes and the role of individual processes in these changes. Anthropological frameworks, such as Arnold Van Gennep's (1908 [1960]; 1909) tripartite model of 'rites of passage' and Victor Turner's (1969) 'structure – anti-structure' approach to rituals, are particularly suited for an application to mummification and canopic processes (1.5.2).

According to Van Gennep's model, 'rites' (amongst which funerary rites) move a subject (living or dead) from this world to the next, and to another existential state, through three

phases of separation, transition, and incorporation (Van Gennep 1908 [1960], 11; also Dobbin-Bennet 2014, 340–1). In the first stage, or preliminal stage, the rites of separation remove the deceased, either physically, socially, or emotionally, from the world in which they exist. In funerary rites this phase is often initiated by biological death. The second stage, or liminal stage, is a period of transition where the deceased, 'at once no longer and not yet classified' (Turner 1967, 96), occupies a 'betwixt-and-between' position (Turner 1969, 95; also 1967, 93–111). Rites of transition are performed to assist in moving from the individual from a defined state to a different but equally defined state (Van Gennep 1908 [1960], 3). In the last stage, or postliminal stage, the deceased is introduced into a new world with incorporation rites. In this phase the subject is in a relatively stable state once more.

Viewing mummification processes as 'rites of passage' opens up individual steps in the process to new interpretation. Rather than regarding each bodily treatment as 'making a small improvement to the durability of the dead body', this perspective casts the practice 'as a transformation of both embodiment and personhood' (Nyord 2013a, 196), in which each step (e.g. partial decomposition, evisceration, wrappings) participates in transforming both the materiality of the body and the ontological state of the deceased. Whilst both Dobbin-Bennett (2014) and Riggs (2014) have respectively touched upon decomposition and wrappings as participating in transformation, their analyses do not integrate these processes within a broader approach to the total mummification process as a 'rite of passage', transforming the body into a shape materially and ontologically suitable for the new form of existence of the deceased. Drawing on their discussions and on Egyptian sources, I integrate individual steps of the mummification processes in a 'rites of passage' narrative. I assess the implications of this narrative for the interpretation of these processes and extend its application to canopic practices.

2.5.1 Decomposition from structure to anti-structure

Dobbin-Bennett (2014, 340–4), focusing exclusively on decomposition processes and following Hertz (1960 [1907]; 1.5.2), recognises Van Gennep's liminal stage in the decomposition process. However her focus is only on decomposition as part of transition. Other steps in the mummification processes, including evisceration, were not part of her analysis. This results in an understanding of decomposition as the only process that takes the deceased through the liminal stage onto the incorporation stage (Dobbin-Bennett 2014, 340–5). Decomposition, however, had a more circumscribed role. Allowing the body to partially decompose, and to release essential putrefactive fluids, permitted the body to transition from death to the liminal stage.

As convincingly argued by Dobbin-Bennett (2014, 222), in bathing the body in putrefactive fluids (*rḏw*-efflux), early purging events[27] 'assist in moving the deceased away from the ordered, defined world and allow the deceased to rejoin the chaotic waters of creation'(i.e. primeval waters). Based on an analysis of *CT* spells 876 and 352, Dobbin-Bennett (2014, 193) highlights that mentions of early stages of decomposition (e.g. making the skin (*jmn*) green (*swȝḏ*)) are found in contexts of recreation of the deceased 'occurring through his contact with the creative waters of Nun' (i.e. primeval waters) (Dobbin-Bennett 2014, 193). Combining these observations with the regenerative qualities of the putrefactive fluids from the divine eye described, for instance, in *CT* 617 and *CT* 686, Dobbin-Bennett (2014, 204) infers a connection between the putrefactive fluids (*rḏw*-efflux) and the creative primeval waters of Nun.

[27] Putrefactive fluids released from the deceased's facial region (Dobbin-Bennett 2014, 191).

Nyord's (2009, 321–3) analysis of the conceptualisation of body fluids reveals that bodily secretions are often ascribed a creative potential. In particular, he explores the concept of *rḏw*-efflux (Nyord 2009, 462–7), which is said to 'come into being inside the belly of human beings' (*CT* II, 105f [102]: *wr prr m rḏw ḫpr m ḫt rmṯ* 'the great one who comes forth from the efflux which comes into being in the belly of humans', Nyord 2009, 76, n. 357). In this context it has been identified by Jeannot Kettel (1994, 318, also n. 24) as 'une excretion des intestins' (e.g. *CT* II, 101a [101]: *rḏw.w n.w jwf≈f*). Thus the *rḏw.w* are the putrefactive fluids produced through the rapid autolysis of the internal organs. Nyord argues that removal of *rḏw*-efflux from the deceased's body was to '[spread] and [manifest] the creative potential of the deceased', not to 'get rid of an attribute of death' (Nyord 2009, 466). The creative potential of the *rḏw*-efflux is predominantly connected with the idea of procreation, as Nyord (2009, 462–7) emphasises using examples from the *Coffin Texts* where beings are engendered from the efflux of other beings. Nyord (2009, 467) notes that the efflux also appears to contain the germ for various manifestations of potential (e.g. Shu spells *CT* II, 30e [80]: Nyord 2009, 465; on manifestation: Billing 2002, 25–41, esp. 28 and 31). From this, I tentatively propose that the new divine state of the deceased comes into being, that it 'manifests', from the *rḏw*-efflux of the deceased. In producing such efflux, the autolysis of the internal organs enabled the deceased's transition to the liminal stage and their overall transformation.

In bathing the body in putrefactive fluids mimicking the creative waters of Nun, initial purging events moves the body towards the chaotic waters of creation, placing the body in a liminal context where it can be recreated, as 'regeneration is possible only outside of the ordered world of creation', as observed by Eric Hornung in connection with the rejuvenation of gods in death (1982, 161). In facilitating the transition from preliminal to liminal stage—

or from structure to anti-structure following Turner's (1969) designations—decomposition and its products permitted the body to move to a different state, from defined to 'not-yet classified' (Turner 1967, 96). The negative and positive properties of the *rḏw*-efflux, and putrefaction more broadly (2.3.2), has implications; for decomposition to remain positive it had to be contained (Dobbin-Bennett 2014, 20). As aptly put by Dobbin-Bennett (2014, 303), the post-mortem body needed stabilising after the body had moved through the initial stages of decomposition. I argue this was the purpose of evisceration, which would interrupt the autolysis of the internal organs, and desiccation, which would prevent further degradation.

2.5.2 Evisceration, desiccation, and libation as rites of transition

Mummification is a transformation blurring the distinction between human and object status (1.5.2.1; Meskell 2004, 124–30; Nyord 2013a, 196). As rites of transition evisceration, desiccation, and libation assist in moving the deceased between status (human to object) and state (human to divine). In managing decomposition through removal of internal organs and dehydration, evisceration and desiccation participated in transforming the materiality of the corpse from 'the soft, perishable remains of a living human, to a hard, immobile new shape' that is 'closer to the immutable divine ideal' (Nyord 2013a, 196–7).[28] Nyord (2013a, 196; also Martin 2013, 102–3) remarks that the materiality of this bodily transformation is expressed in a ritual text for the reconstitution of the body (Allen's *PT* *714=Faulkner's *PT* 723), in which the divine status of the deceased is connected 'to having an enduring body made of metal':

[28] Kathlyn Cooney (2011, 37–8) takes this argument a bit further, recognising in the treatments applied to the body, manipulations of 'the flesh of the dead to act as stand-alone funerary objects' that were 'crafted within a defensive funerary preparation to be religiously and socially functional for its owner'.

> *hꜣ NN pn ṯs ṯw ḥr qs.w=k bjꜣw ᶜ.wt=k nbw.t ḥᶜ=k pw n(y)-sw nṯr n ḫsḏ.n=f n ḥtm.n=f n ḥwꜣ.n=f*
> O Neith! Raise yourself on your metal bones and your golden limbs. This body of yours belongs to a god: it cannot moulder, it cannot end, it cannot decay (Allen 2015 [2005], 318–9)

This change in materiality corresponds to an ontological transformation from human to divine (Nyord 2013a, 196). Dobbin-Bennett (2014, 314) highlights the role of evisceration in the transformation of the status of the deceased into an *akh*. It is alluded to, for instance, on the sixth dynasty false door of Wernu at Saqqara (on the outer right jamb: Davies *et al.* 1984, pl. 26). Here the transfiguration (*sꜣḫ*) of Wernu follows an action performed by embalmers: *sꜣḫ.t(w)=f jn ḫry-ḥb srwḫ(=f) jn wt* 'that he may be transfigured by the lector-priest (after) he has been *srwḫ* by the embalmer' (Dobbin-Bennett 2014, 313).[29] While a description of the *srwḫ* act is not included, Dobbin-Bennett (2014, 311–2) proposes that *srwḫ* (orthographic variant: *sdwḫ*) may refer to the act of evisceration based on the relationship between the act of *srwḫ* and the embalming sphere in this text. She argues (2014, 307–10) that a translation of *srwḫ* as 'to treat medically', which is appropriate to the medical texts in which it mostly occurs (*Wb* IV, 193–4; *TLA* lemma 139310), does not encompass the full meaning of the term. Refining Dimitri Meeks's (2006, 403) understanding of the lexeme *srwḫ* as 'procéder à la momification', Dobbin-Bennett thus recognises in the *srwḫ* action connotations of surgical procedure and evisceration (2014, 308). Such an interpretation could also be suitable for the use of in P. Louvre E 32847 (2.6.2.1).

From the release of bodily fluids to the desiccation of the body, embalming is a dehydrating process (Winkler 2006, 129). This appears to have positive and negative connotations. Whilst dehydration is necessary for the preservation of the body's materiality (positive), it also 'function[s] as a sign of the body's death and disorder' (negative), hence also a sign of

[29] Based on the *TLA* (lemma 139310), this is the only attestation of the term in the Old Kingdom.

the body's liminal state.[30] The reversal of this disorder is achieved through libation, a mechanism of revivification that not only restores to the deceased the water lost in the decomposition and desiccation processes, but is also of lustrative nature (Winkler 2006, 130; also Borghouts 1980, 1014; Dobbin-Bennett 2014, 218–23). However, the role of libation in the transformative process does not reside solely in the gesture itself but also in the liquid that is offered in libation. The *rḏw*-efflux of Osiris is used as the mythological identification of the water offered as a libation both in the *Pyramid Texts* (e.g. *PT* 32; Winkler 2006, 129–30) and the *Coffin Texts* (e.g. *CT* VII, 34j-k [833], Nyord 2009, 322–3). The outcome of libation is therefore the result of the regenerative properties that are assigned to the *rḏw*-efflux when performing this act (Winkler 2006, 129). I recognise in libation the step that assists in moving the deceased away from the liminal stage and disorder towards the post-liminal stage and a stable divine state.

The reinterpretation of mummification processes as 'rites of passage' may justify the allusive character of mummification scenes. For example, recognising desiccation and libation as 'rites of transition' sheds light on two unusual scenes attested on two late Dynastic to early Ptolemaic coffins found in a family burial in el-Hibeh.[31] On the outside lids of the wooden coffins belonging to Mutirdis[32] and Djedbastetiuefankh[33] two similar scenes have been interpreted as depicting part of the mummification process (Andrews 1984, 14; Germer 1997, 18–9; Chapman 2017, 66–75). The first scene shows a black corpse lying on a lion-headed funerary bed, with a chevron pattern under the body (Fig. 2.1: 5th register Mutirdis; Fig. 2.2: 6th register Djedbastetiuefankh). It is unclear what step of the

[30] Winkler 2006, 129–30; and 126–8 for explanations of this dichotomy that also applies to decomposition.
[31] More precise dating of these coffins is not yet possible (Chapman 2017, 65). John Taylor (2001, 49) dates them to the Late Period.
[32] PM 1953, Roemer-und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim; 5th and 7th registers from the top.
[33] PM 1954, Roemer-und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim; 6th and 7th registers from the top.

mummification process the scene illustrates. The chevron pattern has been understood as representing the natron used to desiccate the body lying on the bed (Capart 1943, 195; Taylor 2001, 49). Renate Germer (1997, 18) views it instead as 'a schematic depiction of new life in the plant world, to symbolise the regeneration of the deceased in the afterlife'. Françoise Dunand and Roger Lichtenberg (2006, 100–1) and Sarah Chapman (2017, 67) interpret pattern as the reed matting that covered the funerary bed. Whatever the correct analysis, the scene depicts a process that happened before the libation of the body and hence one that took place in the liminal stage. The second scene includes a black corpse depicted twice and undergoing two types of water treatment—perhaps washing and libation (Fig. 2.1: 7th register Mutirdis; Fig. 2.2: 7th register Djedbastetiuefankh).

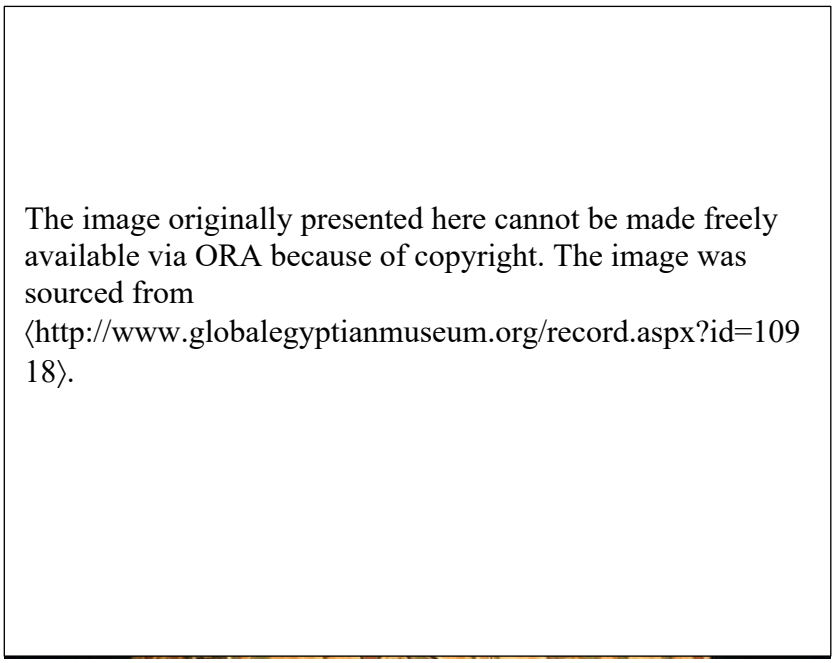


Figure 2.2. Detail of the 5th and 7th registers from the coffin of Mutirdis. ⟨http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/record.aspx?id=10918⟩



Figure 2.3. Detail of the 6th and 7th registers from the coffin of Djedbastetiuefankh. ⟨http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/record.aspx?id=10919⟩

The depiction of the deceased as a black corpse may represent its liminality. As described by Turner (1969, 359) 'liminal entities are neither here nor there' and, as such, they 'may be represented as possessing nothing (...), or even go naked, to demonstrate that as liminal beings they have no status, property, insignia, secular clothing indicating rank or role'. This interpretation is in agreement both with Chapman's observation (2017, 80) that 'images that include corpse depict liminal or transitory space' and with Manon Schutz's proposition that these beds—that are shown in a striding pose, which is unusual—symbolise the transition from the liminal space to the rebirth of the deceased (i.e. post-liminal space).[34] Price (2020, 141, n. 87) also recognises in these scenes the transformation of the corpse into a *sah*.

[34] Personal communication based on Schutz's doctoral research *Sleep, beds, and death in ancient Egypt. Studies on the bed as a female entity* (2022).

2.5.3 Wrapping as a rite of incorporation

As highlighted by Riggs (2014, 77–82), the purposefulness and importance of wrapping the body is attested in the *Apis Embalming Ritual* and the *Embalming Ritual*. Despite their modern titles, these two manuals are not concerned with the embalming of the corpse. They detail instead the process of anointing and wrapping the corpse. The primacy of wrapping in Egyptian ideas about mummification is also visible from the archaeological material. The survey of evisceration processes conducted in 2.3.1 suggests that wrapping practices were much more consistent than the removal of the organs through time, highlighting their importance in the mummification process. Further, as revealed by Jana Jones's textiles analyses (2007) 'ancient Egyptians applied oils and unguents and ritually wrapped the deceased well before the development of intentional desiccation via treatment with natron or control of decomposition via evisceration' (Jones 2007, 989). For instance, linen wrappings, soaked in resin, were used on bodies as early as the Badarian Period (c. 4400–4000 BCE) (Jones 2007, 989; also Peck 1998, 17 on Predynastic wrappings).

Riggs (2014, 87), building on a suggestion by Hornung (1982, 36) that to wrap something in linen conveyed divinity on the wrapped item, identifies that wrapping the body in linen is 'an integral part of making and keeping it (i.e. the body) sacred'. Combining an analysis of cloth-covered objects and human remains in the tomb of Tutankhamun, with discussion of religious practices centred on wrapping rituals, Riggs (2014, 19–27) recognises in 'the act of wrapping and the state of being wrapped (...) cultural metaphors for the hidden nature of the divine' (Riggs 2014, 23) and demonstrates a parallel relationship between wrapping and the divine in mummification context. I recognise in wrapping the rite of incorporation

that finalised the transformation of the deceased into divine being and incorporated them into a new world. Upon being wrapped, the human deceased became an embodied divinity.

The wrapping process results thus in a new ontological entity with a different materiality. The mummy was 'carefully crafted' to look not like a human but rather a sacred 'image fit for veneration' (Riggs 2014, 89). Riggs (2014, 96; 2.5.2) notes that desiccation modified the texture, colour, and plasticity of the body equating it to soft woods, while the application of resin and oils gave the skin luminosity. The material and ontological transformation of the human corpse into divine being was finalised with layers of cloth and other adornments 'to make it godlike, not lifelike' (Riggs 2014, 94).

Making the body look like a statue was one potential outcome of wrapping a body in textiles or stuccoed bandages (Nyord 2013a, 196; 2.3.1). Mummies echoed the arm positions and hand gestures visible in statuary (Riggs 2014, 96). The ontological alignment between the mummy and the statue is attested in the hieroglyphic writing system. The words *sᶜḥ* 'mummy' and *twt* 'statue' or 'image' share the same determinative: a wrapped body drawn in profile, with a human face, a divine headdress, and a beard (Gardiner A53; Assmann 2005, 105–9; Riggs 2014, 100, 106–7). The equation of the mummy with the cult statue is also clearly indicated with the rite of *Opening of the Mouth,* which was performed on both (Riggs 2014, 96–7). I propose that the *Opening of the Mouth* concluded the incorporation process in marking a birth for statue and mummy alike: 'the appearance in the world of something that had not existed before in that particular form' (Riggs 2014, 98).

2.6 'Retour aux sources': Egyptian perspectives on the treatment of the viscera

> Textual allusions are also scanty, and usually consist of no more than passing references to the duration of the deceased's sojourn in the embalming workshop, and rather formal listings of materials to be used in mummification.
>
> (Taylor 2001, 49)

Studies of the mummification process (e.g. Ikram and Dodson 1998, 103; Peck 1998, 19–23; Brier and Wade 2001) have often turned to Classical authors to supplement, or even replace entirely, Egyptian textual sources that are deemed comparatively uninformative, especially in relation to technical aspects such as evisceration and treatment of the viscera. The omission of these operations from the Egyptian texts has been explained as: (a) a prohibition against defiling the human body, a reasoning based on Diodorus' account discussed further below (2.6.1); (b) a trade secret, an explanation that accounts neither for the description of the ointment of the viscera in the *Apis Embalming Ritual* (Vos 1993, 123–6) nor for the description of evisceration in P. Louvre-Carlsberg (Bardinet 2018; Schiødt 2020, 141–2) (e.g. Smith 2009, 305; Brier and Wade 2001, 118). Susanne Töpfer (2015, 350–1), asserts instead that the subject is omitted from the *Embalming Ritual* because it does not adhere to decorum, describing essentially a profane act that does not belong within the strictly ritual setting of the embalming ritual. I dispute this perspective as I understand evisceration as an integral and important part of the embalming ritual that participated to the material transformation of the body, and as the act that initiated the transformation process for the internal organs. Evaluations of indigenous sources as 'relatively unrevealing' (Taylor 2001, 50), as well as these explanations, derive from an etic perspective that comes out of a medically orientated reading of the texts, concerned with surgical procedures and technical aspects of the processes. Reassessment of these sources reveals crucial information about the implications of the removal of the organs and therefore first-hand insight into Egyptian perceptions of this process. Here I emphasise the limitations of Classical sources before

returning to Egyptian textual sources to develop an emic perspective on the treatment of the viscera: the ontological transformation of the organs into Sons of Horus.

2.6.1 Classical sources

Herodotus' description of mummification (c. 5th century BCE; 27th dynasty), supplemented by the accounts of other late writers such as Diodorus Siculus (c. 1st century BCE; end of Ptolemaic Period) and Porphyry (c. 3rd century CE; Palmyrene Empire), has long underpinned our understanding of mummification processes. Although Strabo (c. 1st century BCE) and Pliny (c. 1st century CE) also wrote accounts of mummification, they are not included here as they do not mention the treatment of the organs.[35]

In the second book of his *Histories* (c. 484–420 BCE; Waterfield and Dewald 2008), Herodotus provides a description of the procedure as it was allegedly recounted to him, including some details about evisceration:

> Their first job, in the best embalming method, is to extract the brain by passing a hooked iron instrument through the nostrils; part of the brain is extracted in this way, and part of it by pouring in drugs. Next, they cut open the side of the corpse with a sharp Ethiopian stone knife and remove all the intestines. Then they clean out the cavity and rinse it first with palm wine and then with crushed spices. After this, they fill the corpse's belly with crushed myrrh and cassia and other perfumed spices (but not with frank-incense) and sew it back up. The next phase is to pack the corpse in natron and leave it to mummify for seventy days—but they are not supposed to leave it for longer.
>
> (Herodotus, 2.86; Waterfield and Dewald 2008, 127)

Diodorus' account in *Bibliotheca historica I* (c. 36–30 BCE; 1933) agrees with Herodotus in many respects, notably the evisceration of the corpse. He also supplies several additional details, particularly with reference to the embalmers:

> The first is the scribe, as he is called, who, when the body has been laid on the ground, circumscribes on the left flank the extent of the incision; then the one called the slitter cuts the flesh, as the law commands, with an Egyptian stone and at once takes the flight

[35] Strabo 16. 2. 41–2 and 45 (1956); Pliny 16.21 (1945); 31.46 (1963); 24.11 (1966).

> on the run, while those present set out after him, pelting him with stones, heaping curses on him, and trying, as it were, to turn the profanation on his head; for in their eyes everyone is an object of general hatred who applies violence to the body of a man of the same tribe or wounds him or, in general, does him any harm.
>
> The men called embalmers, however, are considered worthy of every honour and consideration, associating with the priests and even coming and going in the temples without hindrance, as being undefiled. When they have gathered to treat the body after is has been slit open one of them thrusts his hand through the opening in the corpse into the trunk and extracts everything but the kidneys and heart, and another one cleanses each of the viscera, washing them in palm wine and spices. And in general, they carefully dress the whole body for over thirty days (...)
>
> (Diodorus, 1. 91; 1933, 310–3)

Both accounts indicate that an incision was made on the side of the body with a stone, through which the viscera were removed; Diodorus specifies that the kidney and heart were left inside the body. However, they do not provide significant information on the treatment of the viscera after that, except that they were cleaned. The differences in their accounts could originate from the dates of their respective visits to Egypt. The reliability of Diodorus' description has been questioned due to the similitudes between his and Herodotus' account, despite the 400 years separating them, suggesting he was using Herodotus as a source (Peck 1998, 21). Although these descriptions seemingly preserve detailed information, 'they are more revealing of 'the construction of a Greek intellectual and political reality' than of 'actual Egyptian beliefs and practices' (Stephens 2003, 20–1). Further, these authors were foreigners visiting Egypt who may have obtained this information third hand or may not have fully understood some aspects of the process (Stephens 2003, 44–9).

In contrast to the accounts of Greek historians Herodotus and Diodorus, the account of philosopher Porphyry, born in Roman Syria, is revealing of a Roman 'intellectual and political reality'. In *De Abstinentia ab Esu Animalium IV* (c. 268–270 CE; 2000) Porphyry assesses evisceration with a view that animal consumption was a impure and unlawful. In that context, he justifies their removal from the body and disposal in the Nile—in which the viscera are held responsible for the eating and drinking of unlawful things in life. This is not

referenced in any Egyptian sources and instead must be understood within the wider framework of Porphyry's argument against the consumption of animals:

> But this point should not be omitted: when they [the Egyptians] embalm the dead of well-born families, they draw out the entrails separately and put them in a box, and during the other rites they perform for the corpse, they take hold of the box and call the sun to witness, one of the embalmers speaking on behalf of the corpse. (...) Having said this he throws it into the river [Nile], and embalms the rest of the body as being pure. In this way they thought that a speech for the defence was owed to the divinity about what they had eaten and drunk, and on account of this violence should be done
>
> (Porphyry, 4.10; 2000, 107–8)

Further, Porphyry mentions the post-removal treatment of the organs; once they were removed from the body, the viscera were put in a box. Porphyry's account refers to 'a box' in which the viscera are placed. This could be referring either to the canopic chest which, although not attested in burials at this point, may still be present in collective memory, or to the box described in chapter x+iv of the *Embalming Ritual* in which the viscera are placed after extraction and before further treatments (see p. 84).

2.6.2 Egyptian textual sources

There are three main indigenous textual sources providing information on the treatment of the viscera during the mummification process. This includes the 18th dynasty medical papyrus P. Louvre-Carlsberg,[36] the 1st–2nd century BCE copies of the *Embalming Ritual*,[37] and the early Roman papyrus P. Rhind 1.[38] Although it is not directly concerned with the treatment of the human body, the 2nd century BCE *Apis Embalming Ritual*[39] provides insights into some passages of the *Embalming Ritual.* These papyri are regularly mentioned

[36] P. Louvre E 32847 + P. Carlsberg 917: Bardinet 2018; Schiødt 2020.
[37] P. Boulaq 3, P. Louvre E 5158, P. Durham 1983.11 + P. St. Petersburg 18128: Sauneron 1952; Smith 2009, 215–44; Töpfer 2015.
[38] P. Edinburgh 908 + 540: Möller 1913; Smith 2009, 302–34.
[39] P. Zagreb 597-2 + P. Vindob. 3873: Vos 1993; Quack 1997/8.

in mummy studies but have comparatively been little examined for practical dimensions of mummification.

2.6.2.1 *P. Louvre-Carlsberg*

Dated by hieratic palaeography to the early to mid-18th dynasty,[40] P. Louvre-Carlsberg (P. Louvre E 32847 + P. Carlsberg 917) compiles medical and magical texts, notably medical treatises for the royal court (Bardinet 2018, 43–98, 227–54), and a treatise concerned with the diseases sent from Khonsu (Bardinet 2018, 131–210). P. Louvre E 32847 was acquired by the Musée du Louvre in 2006 from a private collector. It was first published by Thierry Bardinet (2018) in a monograph directed to a wider audience.[41] P. Carlsberg 917 was purchased from Roger Khawam & Co by the Papyrus Carlsberg Collection in 2015. It was first studied by Sofie Schiødt (2020) in her doctoral thesis (for research history: Schiødt 2020, 2, 26). Schiødt (2020, 26) notes that nothing is known of the archaeological provenance of the papyri.

P. Louvre-Carlsberg is preserved in two large sections which do not directly join one another (Schiødt 2020, 30, Fig. 2.1). On the verso of P. Louvre E 32847 is a set of technical instructions for the medical supervision of the mummification of high-ranking individuals from the royal court (vs. 16,17–vs. 19,4: Bardinet 2018, 211–26; vs. 16,x+4–x+6: Schiødt 2020, 415–35), and the preparation of unguents for the wrappings, the eyes and the mouth. This is the only extant Egyptian source that records the evisceration process on a human

[40] Bardinet 2018, 19–24; Shiødt 2020, 31–6. The palaeography can only offer a date for the time of writing of the papyrus, not for its textual content. The composition is written in standard Middle Egyptian (Schiødt 2020, 37). Bardinet's proposed dating of the composition of the text is based on his reading of an incomplete cartouche appearing in the second medical treatise for the royal court (vs. 20,3), that he reconstructs as that of Nebmaâtrê, a Theban king of the 16th Dynasty (Bardinet 2018, 20–4; also Schiødt 2020, 37).
[41] Schiødt (2020, 2, n. 2) indicates that a final text edition is planned for 2022 in collaboration with Marc Étienne.

body (Schiødt 2020, 141). Because of the importance of the texts included in papyrus P. Louvre-Carlsberg, Thierry Bardinet (2018, 31) suggests it was intended for use by the *wr swnw* 'head of the doctors', which could result in the text being quite idealised. Two lines at the bottom of column 16 read:



x+5 (...) *ḫr sḏr ỉḫ pn ḥr gs=f wnm.j ḥr dḥỉ n jt sd.ḫr.t*(*w*) {*n*} *jỉb.j*
x+6 *šd.w mjs*(*.t*)*=f nnšm=f wf*[*ỉ*]*=f mḫt=f ḫtm.w*⟨*-nṯr*⟩ *ntf sdwḫ m wꜥb.t* (...)

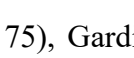
x+5 (...); then this *akh* has to lie on his right side, on barley straw. The left side must be opened.
x+6 his liver, his spleen, his lun[g]s, and his entrails are taken out. The ⟨god's⟩ sealer, he is the one who eviscerates in the place of embalming (lit. pure place) (...)[42]

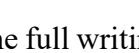
Commentary

(x+5) As noted by Schiødt (2020, 416) the *ḫr=f sḏm=f* and the *sḏm.ḫr=f* constructions in the sentence denote inevitable consequence and generic necessity respectively (Clayton 2018, 150–1, 160–5). It is noteworthy that the same modal obligation is not used in the sentence concerning the removal of the internal organs (x+6), perhaps indicating a greater autonomy in the selection of organs to be removed. Such a flexibility corresponds to archaeological evidence (3.1) and would support my argument that evisceration was not concerned with the treatment of any particular four organs (3.1).

(x+ 6) While a consensus has been reached regarding the meaning of *mjst*, *nnšm* and *wfỉ*,[43] the translation of  *mḫt(w)* as 'entrails' is more debatable. Although often understood to refer specifically to the intestines (*Wb* II, 135; *TLA* lemma 74690; also Walker 1996, 113), both Bardinet (2018, 215) and Schiødt (2020, 415) argue for a wider meaning as 'what is in

[42] vs. 16,19–20: Bardinet 2018, 215; vs. 16,x+5–7: Schiødt 2020, 415–7, pl. 44a-b. Translation is mine based on the transliteration and transcription from hieratic by Schiødt 2020, 415, pl. 44b.
[43] *mjst* 'liver': *Wb* II, 44; *TLA* lemma 68520; *nnšm* 'spleen': *Wb* II, 276; *TLA* lemma 85010; *wfỉ* 'lungs': *Wb* I, 306; *TLA* lemma 45860. Also, Walker 1996, 268–9, 271.

his torso' or 'entrails' respectively, which is closer to the emic designation as it allows anything within the torso to be captured by the process. James Walker acknowledged that the literal etymology of *mḫt(w)* is 'the part belonging to the torso' and that, since intestines are the largest organ inside the torso, the term is understood to refer to them (Walker 1996, 114). The recognition of *mḫt(w)* as an umbrella term is supported by its alternative writing  *jmj(.w)-ḫt* 'which is in the torso'. Previously seen as different terms (e.g. *Wb* I, 75), Gardiner (1947, 252*; also Walker 1996, 114–8) demonstrated that  is a variant writing of  and that they have, in fact, the same meaning.

—Bardinet (2018, 215), reads the title *wḏᶜ.w* 'le coupeur'  for which he takes from Diodorus' account of 'the paraschiste' who is said to make the incision (1.91; see 2.6.1), but is otherwise unattested. Schiødt (2020, 142) corrects this to the well-attested title *ḫtm.w-nṯr* 'god's sealer'  based on the full writing in the rubric that follows (x+7) which was illegible in the photographs available to Bardinet. Serge Sauneron (1951) defined the role of the god's sealer as an embalmer and a performer in funerary ceremonies in his study of reliefs and textual sources concerning the *ḫtm.w-nṯr* from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period, so the occurrence of the title is in keeping with the content of this text.

—A translation of *sdwḫ* as 'to eviscerate' rather than 'to embalm', following Dobbin-Bennett's suggestion (2014, 311–2) discussed in section 2.5.2, would be very suitable in this context.

The manual does not contain any other mentions of the viscera or their treatment after their removal from the body. It is followed by an introduction to the god's sealer in his role as 'the one who eviscerates in the place of embalming' (vs. 16,x+6–17,1: Schiødt 2020, 142).

Discussion

That the incision for evisceration is said to be on the left side of the body, corresponds to data from actual bodies, but the incision may be found in other locations as well (2.3.1). This text does not explicitly provide information on the treatment of other organs such as the heart or the kidneys, leading Schiødt (2020, 141) to suggest that they were left intact. This perpetuates a dominant idea in the literature that these organs were not treated, although this is not supported by archaeological data (e.g. Wade and Nelson 2013). The general consensus, based on anatomical lists, is that *mḫtw* encompasses organs such as the stomach, intestines, spleen, liver, and lungs (Walker1996, 111–8). However, if *mḫtw* is to be understood as an umbrella term referring to 'what is in the torso' it may also have included the heart or the kidneys.

2.6.2.2 *The Embalming Ritual*

The *Embalming Ritual* is one of the most important textual sources for the conduct of the mummification rites in late first millennium Egypt. It does not mention evisceration but does treat the preparation of the viscera.

Portions of the text are preserved in three unprovenanced fragmentary hieratic Roman Period papyri (Töpfer 2015, 31–2, 44, 57): P. Boulaq 3 (late 1st or early 2nd century CE),[44] P. Louvre E 5158 (second half or late 1st century CE),[45] P. Durham 1983.11 + P. St. Petersburg 18128 (late 1st century CE).[46] The title of the composition has not been preserved and 'embalming ritual' is a modern Egyptological construct (Töpfer 2015, 61–2). The

[44] Mariette 1871, pls. 6–14. Now in Cairo Museum, the manuscript has never received a CG-, JE-, RS- or TR-number (Töpfer 2015, 3, n. 7).
[45] Maspero 1875, 2, pls. 14–104
[46] P. Durham 1983.11: Reeves 1985; P. St. Petersburg 18128: Töpfer 2011.

composition itself is the result of combined themes and motifs, some of which date back to the Middle Kingdom (Töpfer 2015, 365–9). In the studies of the *Embalming Ritual*, P. Boulaq 3 and P. Louvre E 5158 are always mentioned together (Töpfer 2015, 33). The contents and facsimile of these papyri were first published by Mariette (1871), and Maspero (1875) produced a first translation. Sauneron (1952) provided a complete hieroglyphic transcription and comprehensive commentary. Smith (2009) included a complete translation of the texts with some comments in his anthology of afterlife texts from Ptolemaic and Roman times. Fragments of P. Durham 1983.11 were published by Reeves (1985) with a brief description. P. St. Petersburg 18128 was published in 2011 by Töpfer with transcription, translation, and comments as well as photographs and facsimiles. The most recent complete translation of these three papyri is presented by Töpfer (2015; research history and provenance: 2–3, 33, 45).

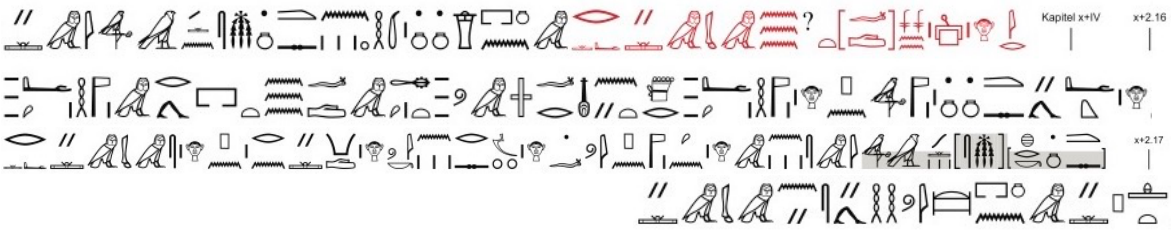
The *Embalming Ritual* was devised as a manual for those preparing the corpse. It prescribes and describes a series of practical operations to be performed on the body of the deceased and provides the liturgical texts to be recited at each stage in the process, following the manual operation to which it relates (Smith 2009, 218). The recitations provide what Assmann (2005, 349–55) calls the 'sacramental explanation' of the cultic acts. They attribute to these practical operations a divine meaning that goes beyond the material purpose, establishing 'a connection between the sphere of the cult and the divine sphere, thus triggering a process whereby a particular ritual action is transformed into an event in the world of the gods' (Smith 2009, 218).

Although its beginning is lost, P. Boulaq 3 is the longest preserved manuscript of the ritual, with eleven operations. These do not include the earlier stages of the mummification process

such as evisceration, desiccation, and lustration of the body; it is impossible to say whether these were treated in the now lost opening section, since its original extent is unknown (Smith 2009, 217–8).

The description of the fourth operation is imperfectly preserved. The fourth operation (chapter x+IV, x+2,16–2,17) concerns prescriptions for the treatment of the *jmj.w-ḫ.t* 'internal organs'. This operation only consists of the practical manipulations without the expected accompanying recitations that are addressed directly to the deceased and that usually detail the various products he receives from deities and the benefits they confer (Smith 2009, 218; Töpfer 2015, 263), although these are alluded to in the instruction to *jw=k ḥr šd r3 pn ḥr=s m wḥm* 'recite this formula over it again' (x+2,17: Töpfer 2015, 219). Töpfer (2015, 263) further argues that the designation of the internal organs as 'Children of Horus' and of 'perspiration' as ointment relates to the sacramental interpretation of the act.

Chapter x+IV offers a rare insight into an emic idea of the materiality and religious relevance of the treatment of the internal organs. The fourth operation describes their anointment and reads:



x+2,16 *jr ḥr-s3 nn* [*fd*].*t m wḥm rdj m-ḫnw b3s n ṯḥn.t gs ms.w Ḥr jm ḥr ᶜq gs n nṯr pn ḥr ḥᶜ-nṯr ḏr-n.tj nfr jmj.w-ḫ.t m fd.t pr m ḥᶜ-nṯr*
x+2,17 [*gs*].*ḫ*[*r=k*] [*ms.w Ḥr*] *jm=sn m-ḥr n nṯr pn jw=f ḥr m33 r=sn jw=k ḥr šd r3 pn ḥr=s<n> m wḥm rdj ḥtp=sn m-ḫnw hn r ḥḥ=sn m wḥm*

x+2,16 After this, [the secretion/putrefactive fluids] again. Place inside a vessel of faience, anoint the Children of Horus in (the secretion/putrefactive fluids), in letting the ointment of this god permeate the divine body, because the internal organs (lit. the ones which are in the

torso) are recreated (*nfr*) by means of the secretion/putrefactive fluids that has issued from the god's body.
X+2,17 [You] must [anoint] [the Children of Horus] in them before this god, as he looks at them, while you recite this formula over ⟨them⟩ again. Deposit them in a box until they are re-examined.[47]

Commentary

(x+2,16) This section of the papyrus is fragmentary. Smith (2009, 220) restores as '[take up/occupy yourself with the internal organs] again'. A more plausible restoration is that of *fd.t* 'perspiration' (*Wb* I, 582; *TLA* lemma 64260), as proposed by Töpfer (2015, 87). She suggests this on the similarity between the traces and the complete writing of *fd.t* later (l. x+2,16). In the discussion below I suggest that, in this context, *fd.t* could be understood as 'secretion' or 'putrefaction'.

—I borrow from Smith (2009, 227) the translation of *ᶜq gs ḥr* as 'letting the ointment permeate', which nicely render the 'entering' of the ointment into the skin.

—*ḥᶜ-nṯr* occurs twice in line x+2,16. Following Walker's analysis (1996, 3–18) of the term *ḥᶜ*, I concur with Töpfer's rendering (2015, 87) as a collective (i.e. 'god's body' or 'divine body') rather than a plural (i.e. god's limbs) (*contra* Smith 2009, 227).

—The aims of the ritual are stated unequivocally as making the internal organs *nfr*, for which, in the context of mummification of the body, translations such as 'to make beautiful/perfect' (*Wb* II, 257; *TLA* lemma 83480), are in keeping with conventional understandings of the role of mummification. Smith (2009, 227) has 'to regenerate', and Töpfer (2015, 87) 'gut gehen'. I suggest that this passage might be referring instead to the material and ontological transformation of the internal organs, and I propose *nfr* could encompass meanings of 'recreation' or 'manifestation' in this context. I return to this proposition in the discussion below.

[47] Sauneron 1952, 4–5; §III, col. 2,16–2,17; Smith 2009, 227; Töpfer 2015, 87–8, pl. 5, x+2,16–2,17. Transliteration and translation mine based on the transliteration and transcription from hieratic by Töpfer (2015, pl. 5).

(x+2,17) Directions are then given to do something further with the internal organs in front of the mummy; the relevant verb is lost but Töpfer (2015, 87) convincingly restores instructions concerning the anointing of the children of Horus: [You] must [anoint] [the Children of Horus].

—Töpfer (2015, 88) proposes either that the suffix in *ḥr=s* refers to *fd.t* 'perspiration' as the ointment—the formula would then be recited along with the anointing of each organ, four times—or to emend the suffix to plural s<n>. I prefer this latter reading since the Children of Horus would then be identified with the internal organs, mentioned in the previous line.

Discussion

This passage is of central significance to interpreting treatments of the internal organs. Here the internal organs are made *nfr* by means of *fd.t* 'perspiration'. This perspiration is said to come from the divine body, which Töpfer (2015, 87) identified as the body of the deceased (*nṯr pn*). Töpfer (2015, 218) interprets perspiration and ointment as metaphors for cleaning water and/or cleansing fluids. I consider that *fd.t* should also be understood literally as a bodily 'secretion', as the putrefactive fluids issued in the initial purging events. In this it could be compared to the *rḏw*-efflux which is released by the autolysis of the internal organs in the early stages of putrefaction.

Bodily secretions are often ascribed a creative potential in texts, notably as the means by which various elements of the world (gods for instance) are created (Nyord 2009, 321; also 2.5.1 and 2.5.2). As a secretion of the body, *fd.t* could assume a creative role in the ontological transformation of the internal organs from human to divine. A parallel to the anointment of the internal organs with *fd.t* is found in the bathing of the body in *rḏw*-efflux (2.5.1). I argue that, in a similar way, the new divine state of the internal organs 'manifests'

from the bodily secretion *fd.t*. This agrees with Goyon's observation (1992, 218) that, through the ointment, 'les masses inorganisées de l'éviscération, qu'elles soient ensuite replacées ou non dans le cadavre, perdent leur origine humaine pour s'intégrer à la nature même du divin'. However, I depart from Goyon in understanding the transformation of viscera independently from that of the deceased body as Osiris. Placed inside a faience vessel, and anointed with—perhaps putrefactive—body fluids from the deceased divine body, the internal organs transform their materiality and their nature as human viscera into Children of Horus

The organs are then temporarily stored in a box until further treatment. The *Embalming Ritual*, however, does not encompass all the stages of the treatment of the viscera and, when they are next mentioned in the sixth operation, the organs appear to have already been replaced inside the mummy. This ontological and material transformation of the viscera into the Sons of Horus is confirmed in this operation (chapter x+VI),[48] in which the officiant is warned against turning the mummy over on its chest, face, or stomach, since this would displace *nṯr.w nty m-ḫnw ḥn=f* 'the gods who are inside his chest'. The 'gods who are inside his chest' certainly refer to the 'Children of Horus', mentioned in the previous operation and associated with the internal organs.

A parallel to the fourth operation of the *Embalming Ritual* is found in section §22b of the *Apis Embalming Ritual*.[49] This section, entitled 'Enumeration of pottery which is brought into the Slaughter-Room' (i.e. the room in which the embalmers proceed to the removal of the organs), lists vessels that are mostly associated with the treatment of the internal organs

[48] Sauneron 1952, 8, § V, col. 3,13–3,14; Smith 2009, 229; Töpfer 2015, 101, pl. 7, x+3,13–3,14.
[49] P. Vindob. 3873, §22b = rt. 5,1–6a,11: Vos 1993, 53–6, 251–3, for commentary: 123–9, 169–92; also Quack 1997/8.

and the abdominal cavity (Vos 1993, 171; Quack 1997/8, 44–8), and more specifically with their cleansing (e.g. rt 5, 30), treatment with resins (e.g. rt. 6a, 9–10) and their wrapping (e.g. rt 5, 27). The internal organs are designated as 'Children of Horus' eight times (Töpfer 2015, 218).[50] Particularly relevant is the passage where the Children of Horus (i.e. internal organs) and the (body) substances they contain are placed in vessels, after their removal from the abdominal cavity (rt. 5.4–5: Vos 1993, 54; Quack 1997/8, 44–6):

> 4 *mšj*-vessels: they are the ones to receive the Children of Horus when they are taken out of the abdominal cavity, as well as the (body-)substances (*jḫy.w)* that are in them, in 4 other *mšj*-vessels.
>
> (Töpfer 2015, 218; translation from German and (brackets) mine)

Joachim Quack has argued (personal communication) that this passage—in which the viscera are referred to as 'Children of Horus' at the very moment they are taken out of the belly, prior to any treatment—undermines my analysis of the fourth operation as describing the ontological transformation of the internal organs into Sons of Horus. I disagree. The *Embalming Ritual* is a text concerned with integrating practical operations and divine association, in which the designation 'Children of Horus' could be preferred to that of 'internal organs'. Both texts support my interpretation of the treatments applied to the organs as participating in the material and ontological transformation of human viscera into divine entities.

2.6.2.3 *P. Rhind 1*

The *Rhind Papyri* or *Rhind Bilingual Papyri* were found by Alexander Rhind in a New Kingdom rock-cut tomb reused in the early Roman Period, at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna in Thebes (Riggs 2003, 191–3).[51] The *Rhind Papyri* are bilingual and preserve hieratic and

[50] Vos read these instead as *ḥmt.w-Ḥr* 'Horus copper', and therefore embalming instruments (1993, 126–8). Quack (1997/8, 43–8), however, made it clear it should be read 'Children of Horus'.
[51] Birch and Rhind 1863, Brugsch 1865; Möller 1913; Smith 2009, 302–34 (P. Rhind 1), 335–48 (P. Rhind 2).

demotic versions of the same text. For each section, the hieratic version is written above the demotic (Smith 2009, 303). P. Rhind 1 (P. Edinburgh 908 + 540) was prepared for Menthesouphis, also called Hamsouphis, a relative of pharaoh and cavalry officer who lived in Armant and died in 9 BCE, during the first year of the reign of Emperor Augustus. P. Rhind 2 (P. Edinburgh 909) was inscribed for the benefit of Tanous, wife of Menthesouphis. P. Rhind 2 is essentially an abridged version of P. Rhind 1 (Smith 2009, 335–7). The hieratic version of the text was first published and translated by Samuel Birch and Rhind (1863). Heinrich Brugsch (1865) produced the first transliteration and translation of the demotic version. Georg Möller (1913) published a translation of both versions together, including a transcription of the hieratic and a transliteration of the demotic. The last complete translation of these texts is presented by Smith (2009; research history and provenance: 302, n. 1, 335, n. 1).

The *Rhind Papyri* have been used primarily to determine the timing of various mummification processes (e.g. Brier and Wade 2001) and the locations of the incisions made in the skin for packing material (e.g. Ikram and Dodson 1998, 124). P. Rhind 1 also reveals the (nature of the) relationship between the Sons of Horus and the internal organs, a relationship that, I argue, surpasses that of protecting the viscera (3.3). As analysed by Smith (2009, 310–3), the text preserved in P. Rhind 1 was intended to be functional in two distinct spheres: (a) that of the embalming chamber, as a text recited during the night immediately before the burial; this was also the time during which the nocturnal portion of the hourly vigil, or *Stundenwachen*, was conducted over the mummy of the deceased; (b) that of the underworld, as a papyrus buried alongside the deceased that they would have access to.

In the fourth section of the text (2,5–2,14: Möller 1913, 16–9; Smith 2009, 320–1), reference is made to the internal organs of the deceased. In each instance where the demotic refers to the actual organ, the hieratic replaces it with the name of the Son of Horus who is conventionally paired with it:

> The liver [hieratic: Imset] rejoices, having been taken on board at the embalming pavilion. The lungs [hieratic: Hapy] are in exaltation, as they have removed themselves from their woes. The spleen [hieratic: Duamutef] is jubilant because it has already passed beyond its troubles. The large intestine [hieratic: Qebehsenuef] is happy because it has already emerged from the embalming place (and) from weariness. (2,10–2,13: Smith 2009, 321; [brackets] mine)

The interchangeability between designations of internal organs and Sons of Horus has been framed in terms of protectorship by Smith (2009, 321, n. 97), i.e. the gods who are supposed to protect the organs are mentioned in their place. I suggest also that it reveals an assimilation of the internal organs to the Sons of Horus. In the absence of parallels for such replacements, interpretation must remain open, as both possibilities might stand: protecting and assimilating are not mutually exclusive as demonstrated by the embodiments of the Sons of Horus as canopic jars in the burial environment (3.3)

These Egyptian sources are certainly revealing of emic perspectives on the treatment of the viscera. The liver, spleen, lungs, and entrails are removed from the abdomen (*P. Louvre-Carlsberg*) to be anointed with bodily (potentially putrefactive) fluids (*Embalming Ritual*) with regenerative qualities and creative potential (2.5.1). This process may have aided the material and ontological transformation of the organs, resulting in an equation between the Sons of Horus and the internal organs (*P. Rhind 1*).

The textual analysis suggests that treatments applied to internal organs were intended to transform them into entities materially and temporally suitable for their new existence as Sons of Horus. At the core of canopic practices, therefore, is the creation of four divine

entities, the Sons of Horus. These revisions of the understanding of the treatment of the viscera necessitate a reconsideration of canopic practices and equipment. I begin this in the following chapters where I review the conceptual and belief systems underlying canopic practices (e.g. conceptions of the viscera, roles of the Children of Horus, and conceptualisation of canopic equipment) (ch.3) and assess the developments in canopic equipment in early first millennium burials (ch. 4).

3. Characterising canopic practices

> The name of "Canopic Jars" has long been applied to the four jars in which the viscera were placed after they had been removed from the body and separately embalmed (...) The sets of jars never exceed four in number and are never less than four, each jar being identified with one of the four children of Horus. The viscera were wrapped in four separate packages: (1) containing the liver which was identified with Imsety, (2) containing the stomach with Duamutef, (3) containing the lungs with Hapy, and (4) containing the intestines with Qebeh-snewef (sic).
>
> (Elliot Smith and Dawson 1924, 144–5)

> In earlier periods, the Egyptians preserved the liver, lungs, spleen or stomach, and intestines in special containers called canopic jars. Each of these organs was under the protection of one of the four children of the god Horus: Amseti guarded the liver, Hapi the lungs, Duamutef the spleen or stomach, and Qebehsenuef the intestines.
>
> (Smith 2009, 31)

Nearly a century separates these two characterisations of canopic practices and it is clear that much current understanding is inherited from early 20th century mummy and canopic jar studies (e.g. Reisner 1899; Elliot Smith 1906b). Four clearly identified internal organs (lungs, liver, spleen or stomach, and intestines) are said to be removed from the abdominal cavity, embalmed, and wrapped as individual 'visceral packages' placed in dedicated containers; the canopic jars. Each canopic jar was identified with one of the four Children of Horus: Imset, Hapy, Qebehsenuef, and Duamutef. When these embalmed viscera are returned to the abdomen instead—as sometimes done in the Third Intermediate Period (e.g. Wade and Nelson 2013)—they can be accompanied by figures of the Sons of Horus wrapped within the packages (4.3.2). The opinion is widely held among Egyptologists that the Children of Horus acted as the protectors of the viscera, with each organ being entrusted to a son in the following pairing: Imset (with a human head) protected the liver, Hapy (with a baboon head) the lungs, Duamutef (with a jackal head) the spleen, and Qebehsenuef (with a falcon head) guarded the intestines (e.g. Servajean 2001, 266; Taylor 2001, 65–6).[52] This position has not been reassessed against archaeological and textual data, but still is understood as a verified explanatory framework.

[52] Although the pairing has never been entirely consistent (e.g. Lüscher 1998, 27–31; Taylor 2001, 73).

The aim of this chapter is to characterise canopic practices within the 'rites of passage' framework set out in the preceding chapters, in which organs are transformed into Sons of Horus. Building on ritual practice theory, I reassess the conceptual and belief systems as well as the material expressions that constitute, determine, and define canopic practices, using both textual and archaeological data. The first part considers Egyptian conceptions of the internal organs, exploring potential rationales for their unique treatment (3.1). I suggest viscera were categorised differently than other body parts and that their nature permitted their differential treatment. The second part explores in greater detail the conceptual and functional identity of the Sons of Horus in the burial, focusing notably on the conceptualisation of canopic equipment as embodiments of these deities (3.3). Revisions of the roles of the Children of Horus and of the conceptualisation of canopic equipment as their embodiments offer new interpretations of canopic practices. These further sheds light on developments of canopic equipment in the early first millennium BCE (ch. 4). The third and final part of the chapter integrates canopic practices into some of the ritual and conceptual frameworks in which the Children of Horus operate, such as the *Stundenwachen* ritual in the embalming hall and the manifestation of the deceased in the sky (3.4). Sons of Horus were represented in the burial environment to ensure the protection of the deceased and to promote his/her transformation to a divine entity *akh*.

3.1. Inside the canopic jars: approaches to internal organs

> Throughout Egyptian history the same set of organs was singled out for attention in human mummification: the lungs, liver, stomach, and intestines. While the rationale for their selection is not fully understood, it is clear that they were related to the body's vital functions: respiration and the ingestion and processing of food, the basis of the body's continued existence in the afterlife.
>
> (Wade *et al.* 2012, 1646)

In Egyptology it is widely understood that four specific organs were singled out for treatment: the lungs (*wfȝ*), the liver (*mjst*), the stomach (*rȝ-jb*) or the spleen (*nnšm*), and the

intestines (*mḫt(w)*) because of their key respiratory and nourishing functions, thus their necessary role in the deceased's afterlife.[53] However this view emerges less clearly from the sources than we might presume. Identification of internal organs remains dependent on Pettigrew's and Elliot Smith's examinations of mummies in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Pettigrew 1834, esp. 57–61 for evisceration; Elliot Smith 1906b). A consequence of this is, for example, the inclusion of the stomach (*rʾ-jb*) in the list of organs treated. This identification which, according to Gardiner (1947, 250*), is inherited from Elliot Smith is not supported by any textual or archaeological data and is best set aside.

With the exception of details given in P. Louvre-Carlsberg discussed in chapter 2 (2.6.2.1), Egyptian written sources do not list which internal organs were removed from the thoracic and abdominal cavities. Despite potential scientific advancements in the examination of mummies, very few histological analyses have actually been carried out on the contents of canopic jars[54] or visceral packages to determine the nature of the organs preserved (e.g. Tapp 1979, 97–9; Walker *et al*., 1987). [55] This is in part due to an over-reliance on macroscopical and microscopical identifications of the organs that does not take into account modern contamination and disorganisation caused by previous 'investigations'. As pointed out by John Denton (2016, 279), tissues are often identified 'solely on the anatomical site from which they were removed'. This can lead to problematic identifications where the contents

[53] *wfꜣ* 'lungs': *Wb* I, 306; *TLA* lemma 45860; *mjst* 'liver': *Wb* II, 44; *TLA* lemma 68520; *rʾ-jb* 'stomach': *Wb* II, 393; *TLA* lemma 92710; *nnšm* 'spleen': *Wb* II, 276; *TLA* lemma 85010; *mḫt(w)* 'entrails' or 'intestines': *Wb* II, 135; *TLA* lemma 74690. Also, Gardiner 1947, 247*–9*.

[54] e.g. AAL 9b: Raven *et al*. 2005, 33; EA 51813: Taylor and Antoine 2014, 60–3. Iskander (1980, 21) refers to the 'examination of a large number of these jars [that] showed (...) the Imseti jar contained the liver, the Hapi jar contained the lungs, the Duamutef jar contained the stomach, and the Qebehsenuef jar contained the intestines'. It is unclear, however, whether he conducted his own (then unpublished) examination of canopic jars or whether he is referring to Elliot Smith's 1912 study.

[55] While CT-scanning has made it possible to visualise internal structures, providing clearer images that allow for better interpretation (Taylor and Antoine 2014, 18), it has limitations in terms of the identification of the cellular structure, meaning the contents of the packages, for instance, cannot always be determined (Taylor and Antoine 2014, 58).

of a canopic jar, visually identified as a sample of liver, turned out to be a leaf when examined by histological techniques (Denton 2016, 280). This gap also highlights the disregard for internal organs and their containers in the study of mummification and palaeopathological analyses, even though evidence of disease can be detected in organs. The results from the available analyses of canopic jars and visceral packages paint a different picture from that conventionally presented in overviews of mummification.

Some visceral packages have turned out to contain mainly resin and other preservatives with little trace of actual organs (e.g. mummy ÄS 1627d: Dawson and Gray 1968, xiii; Parsche and Ziegelmayer 1986, 84), while parts of the same organ were sometimes found to have been included in more than one visceral package. Mummy PUM II (Philadelphia Art Museum, c. 170 BCE, unknown provenance), for instance, had four visceral packages, in the abdominal cavity. But three of them contained only lungs and the fourth only spleen plus a small piece of intestine (Cockburn *et al*. 1998b, 74, 78). The four bundles in the abdominal cavity of mummy ÄS 73b (Institut fur Anthropologie und Humangenetik of the University of Munich, c. 200–300 BCE, unknown provenance) consisted of two lungs, one intestine and one liver (Walker *et al.* 1987, 45). Recent examinations of the contents of six canopic jars as part of *The Canopic Jar Project* have also revealed that only small fragments of the organs, rather than entire organs, were kept in the jars (Rühli *et al.* 2015, 110; Eppenberger *et al.* 2018).

While departures from the expected four whole internal organs have previously been interpreted as resulting from an unsuccessful preservation of soft tissues (Taylor 2001, 64–5) and framed within an inadequate evolutionary narrative (e.g. Cockburn *et al.* 1998b, 78) criticised by Riggs (2014, 88; 2.3), much of this interpretation emerges from modern

expectations of what evisceration process and a 'successfully' preserved viscera should look like. The apparent discrepancy between what was done by ancient Egyptians themselves and what is expected of them (by modern scholars) largely disappears when canopic practices are viewed within a transformative 'rites of passage' framework.

Traditional interpretations of the selection and preservation of internal organs places importance on the continued function of the organs in the afterlife. Problems with such explanations have been set out in the preceding chapters. Such interpretations also result from an etic approach to Egyptian medical terminologies in which internal organs have a role in the body's vital functions: respiration and the ingestion and processing of food. In the case of canopic practices, an 'insistence on equating Egyptian anatomical terms precisely and unequivocally' with modern understandings of physiological functions prevented an emic approach (Nyord 2009, 66).

Extending Goyon's interpretation of the evisceration process (1992, 218), and considering previous discussions (ch. 2), I question whether the exact selection of these four specific internal organs (lungs, liver, spleen, and intestines) was ever intended. Their absence from a majority of textual sources (3.1.2 and 3.1.3) supports the idea that canopic practices were focused on the creation of four entities rather than the transformation of any particular four organs specifically. As remarked by Taylor (2001, 65), the fact that the conventions for creating packages were observed regardless of their actual content 'is a strong indication of the predominantly ritualistic importance of the act'.

In the mummification process, internal organs from the abdominal and thoracic cavities received different treatments from the rest of the body and from other organs, such as the

brain or the heart, as it involved their physical separation from the body.[56] The peculiarity of the treatment of the viscera suggests they were conceptualised differently. Therefore, one might question whether the organs were characterised differently from the body or whether the conceptions attached to them might have impacted their treatment. I propose that viscera were not conceived of as body parts and may have been selected for their creative potential as producers of bodily fluids. Their unique nature may have facilitated the assignment of divine attributes and their transformation into Sons of Horus.

In the following sections I analyse indigenous medico-magical textual sources to assess how internal organs were characterised in relation to the body (as anatomical entities) before re-evaluating modern conceptualisations of them (3.1.2), notably their identification as elements of the *jb*. I then turn to anatomical lists in magical and funerary contexts to approach conceptions of internal organs in terms of symbolic relationships (3.1.3).

3.1.1 Ancient Egyptian conceptions of the viscera

In keeping with studies of Egyptian anatomical terminology (e.g. Lefebvre 1952; Weeks 1971, 69–75; Walker 1996), I approach ancient Egyptian conceptions of the viscera through the lens of medical sources and anatomical lists. While the study of medical texts could provide insights into indigenous understanding of the location and function of internal organs in relation with the workings of the body, the anatomical lists—which equate parts of the body of the deceased with deities in magical and funerary contexts—allow organs to be apprehended in terms of symbolic relationships. This allows for a comprehensive emic

[56] e.g. Wade *et al.* 2011 and Wade and Nelson 2013 on treatments of the brain and the heart; also Dobbin-Bennett 2014, 159–60 on treatments of the brain.

approach to Egyptian conceptions of the body encompassing both empirical science and magical spells (Nyord 2009, 2).

Recent scholarship has highlighted that divisions between magic and medicine is the result of a Western perspective on the sources that is not representative of an inseparability of Egyptian concepts of magic and medicine (e.g. Schiødt 2020, 9–11). While I agree with this, in the following discussions, I maintain a 'medical' and 'magical' categorisation of the texts since each category reveals different aspects of the internal organs. In that regard, I follow the categorisation of texts as 'magical' or 'medical' as set out in Westendorf's *Handbuch der Altägyptischen Medizin* (1999), with the understanding magical spells can be found in 'medical' texts and empirical science can be found in 'magical' texts.

For canopic practices, I focus on the human viscera that are listed in P. Louvre-Carlsberg (2.6.2.1) as receiving a treatment in the evisceration process: *mjs.t* 'liver', *wfꜣ* 'lungs', *nnšm* 'spleen', and *mḫtw* 'entrails'.[57] I also include the umbrella term designating viscera found in the *Embalming Ritual* (2.6.2.2): *jmj(.w)-ḫt*. The distinction between *mḫtw* and *jmj-ḫt* as anatomical terms designating two separate anatomical entities has been discussed by Walker (1996, 114–8, *contra* Gardiner 1935). For the lungs and the intestines, I also consider additional terms: *smꜣ* is used instead of *wfꜣ* to designate the respiratory track (including the lungs) in medical contexts (Walker 1996, 187–96); *qꜣb* is used instead of *mḫtw* for bowels (including the intestines) in some medical contexts (Lefebvre 1952, 36; Weeks 1971, 57, 71).[58]

[57] For translations and identifications of these terms, see, for example Lefebvre 1952; Weeks 1971; Walker 1996.
[58] *smꜣ* 'lungs': *Wb* III, 445; *TLA* lemma 134170; *qꜣb* 'intestines': *Wb* V, 9; *TLA* lemma 159270.

3.1.2 Anatomical perspectives on viscera

The viscera are found in three medical texts: P. Edwin Smith,[59] P. Ebers,[60] and P. Ramesseum III,[61] in the form of anatomical statements,[62] descriptions of pathological cases or recipes for remedies[63] and spells (e.g. P. Edwin Smith 19,2–5; P. Ramesseum III, B1).

Table 3.1 presents how organs are discussed in these medical papyri, including translations of the relevant passages where possible. These translations are not my own but taken from relevant text editions; authorship is given in the table after the passage translated.[64] The identification of relevant occurrences was made on the basis of Wolfhart Westendorf (1999, 180–1, 186–8) and Gustave Lefebvre (1952, 30, 34–6).

All portions of relevant texts have been included with the exception of prescriptions for pathological conditions in P. Ebers, which are 'incidental to theoretical concerns' (Ritner 2006, 101), and of P. Ramesseum III, which is too fragmentary. Characterisations of these are distinguished in the table with []. Bold is used to highlight mentions of the organs in the passages. Transliterations between () in translations are my additions.

[59] 18th dynasty, c. 1550 BCE: Breasted 1930; Bardinet 1995, 493–522; Allen 2005, 70–115.
[60] 18th dynasty, c. 1550 BCE: Wreszinski 1913; Bardinet 1995, 251–373, 443–6; Lutz 2021. Also, 2.2.3.
[61] 12th dynasty, c. 1800 BCE: Gardiner 1955; Bardinet 1995, 466–72.
[62] e.g. P. Ebers § 854 l, col. 100,8–10; P. Ebers § 854 m, col. 100,10; P. Ebers § 855 a, col. 99,12–14.
[63] e.g. P. Ebers § 188, col. 36,4–17; P. Ebers § 855 d, col. 99,21–100,2; P. Ebers § 204, col. 41,5–11.
[64] Lutz' new edition of P. Ebers is not included in the table as it was not made available for me to consult.

Internal organs	Medical papyri	Mentions in text	Publications [Selected]
mjst	P. Edwin Smith 19,2–5	Idem: another (spell). Ô jubilation jubilation. Do not take this my interior *jb* (and) this my *h³tj*-heart for Sekhmet. Do not take {this} my **liver** for Osiris. The hidden things that are inside Buto are not supposed to perish on the morning of the examination of the eye of Horus. The residence (Buto?) is my place of residence. (Westendorf 1999, 744; translation from German mine)	Breasted 1930; Bardinet 1995, 493–522; Allen 2005, 70–115; overview: Westendorf 1999, 21
	P. Ebers § 188, col. 36,4–17	Instructions for stomach ailments. If you examine a man with a blockage in his stomach (…) you should look at him stretched out on his back, and if you find his belly (*ḫt*) hot (and) a blockage in his stomach, then you should say to this: it is a case of the **liver**. (...) Then you should look at him again, and if you find his belly (*ḫt*) completely cold, then you should say: his **liver** is open, it has been enriched with water; he (the man) accepted the remedy. (Westendorf 1999, 578; translation from German mine)	Wreszinski 1913; Bardinet 1995, 251–373, 443–6; overview: Westendorf 1999, 34–5
	P. Ebers § 477, col. 67,7–9	[remedy to treat the liver]	*idem*
	P. Ebers § 478, col. 67,9–11	[remedy to treat the liver]	*idem*
	P. Ebers § 479, col. 67,11–13	[remedy to treat the liver]	*idem*
	P. Ebers § 480, col. 67,13–15	[remedy to treat the liver]	*idem*
	P. Ebers § 481, col. 67,15–16	[remedy to treat the liver]	*idem*
	P. Ebers § 855 d, col. 99,21–100,2	As for (the condition) 'frailty having developed in the heart'. That means it projects to the borders of the lungs and **liver**. Collapsed through their heat, its vessels go deaf for it, while its projection is relaxed and collapsed(?). (Ritner 2006, 103)	*idem*
	P. Ebers § 854 l, col. 100,8–10	There are four vessels (*mtw.w*) for the **liver**. They are the ones that give water and air for it, which are posterior. They are the ones that cause all diseases to come into existence against it in overfilling with blood. (Bardinet 1995, 99; translation from French mine)	*idem*
	P. Ramesseum III, B1 (P. BM EA 10756)	[fragmentary spell mentioning the liver, the lungs, the spleen and the entrails]	Gardiner 1955; Bardinet 1995, 466–72; also, Westendorf 1999, 15

nnšm	P. Ebers § 854 m, col. 100,10	There are four vessels (*mtw.w*) for the lungs and for the **spleen**. They are the ones that give water and air for it likewise. (Bardinet 1995, 99; translation from French mine)	Wreszinski 1913; Bardinet 1995, 251–373, 443–6; overview: Westendorf 1999, 34–5
	P. Ramesseum III, B1 (P. BM EA 10756)	[fragmentary spell mentioning the liver, the lungs, the spleen and the entrails]	Gardiner 1955, pl. 7–14; Bardinet 1995, 466–72; also, Westendorf 1999, 15
wfȝ	P. Ramesseum III, B1 (P. BM EA 10756)	[fragmentary spell mentioning the liver, the lungs, the spleen and the entrails]	Gardiner 1955; Bardinet 1995, 466–72; also, Westendorf 1999, 15
	see *smȝ*	–	–
smȝ	P. Edwin Smith 11,22–12, 2 (Case 34, Gloss A)	As for (the condition) 'a dislocation in his collar-bones' (...) Two vessels (*mtw.w*) are below, one on the right (and) one on the left, (leading) to his throat (and) to his throat; they give (air) to his **lungs**. (Westendorf 1999, 733; translation from German mine)	Breasted 1930; Bardinet 1995, 493–522; Allen 2005, 70–115; overview: Westendorf 1999, 21
	P. Ebers § 21, col. 6,17–7,1	[remedy to treat the lungs]	Wreszinski 1913; Bardinet 1995, 251–373, 443–6; overview: Westendorf 1999, 34–5
	P. Ebers § 35, col. 11,18–12,3	[remedy to treat the lungs]	*idem*
	P. Ebers § 185, col. 35,18–19	[remedy to treat the lungs]	*idem*
	P. Ebers § 855 a, col. 99,12–14	As for the air that enters into the nose, it enters to the heart and **lungs**. It is they that provide (it) to the entire body. (Ritner 2006, 103)	*idem*
	P. Ebers § 855 d, col. 99,21–100,2	As for (the condition) 'frailty having developed in the heart'. That means it projects to the borders of the **lungs** and liver. Collapsed through their heat, its vessels go deaf for it, while its projection is relaxed and collapsed(?). (Ritner 2006, 103)	*idem*
	P. Ebers § 854 m, col. 100,10	There are four vessels (*mtw.w*) for the **lungs** and for the spleen. They are the ones that give water and air for it likewise. (Bardinet 1995, 99; translation from French mine)	*idem*
	P. Ebers § 854 k, col. 101,5–8	As for 'the flexing (kneeing) of the heart'. That means his heart is constricted, with his heart in its proper position through the blood of the **lungs**. Through it, shrinkage comes about. That means the heart is hot. The heart is thus weary through it. His desire to eat is slight, as he is choosy. (Ritner 2006, 105)	*idem*

mḥt	P. Ramesseum III, B1 (P. BM EA 10756)	[fragmentary spell mentioning the liver, the lungs, the spleen and the entrails]	Gardiner 1955; Bardinet 1995, 466–72; also, Westendorf 1999, 15
	see *ḳꜣb*	–	–
qꜣb	P. Ebers § 204, col. 41,5–11	If you examine a man with an obstruction in his left (belly) half (...) then you should make him a powder: *psḏ* ; thoroughly cooked; eaten by the man for four days to fill his belly (and) to make his **bowels** *spꜣ*. (Westendorf 1999, 584; translation from German mine)	Wreszinski 1913; Bardinet 1995, 251–373, 443–6; overview: Westendorf 1999, 34–5
	P. Ebers § 207, col. 42,8–12	If you examine a man with an obstruction; his interior-*jb* is in fear, his face is pale, his interior-*jb* is beating (...) then you should make a remedy to wash out the hot roasted meat (*ḏꜣf*) (and) to open his **bowels** with a drink. (Westendorf 1999, 585; translation from German mine)	*idem*
jmj.w-ḫ.t	n/a	–	–

Table 3.1. Mentions of viscera in medical texts.

P. Ebers is the most informative on the location and function of the viscera in relation to the body. It provides insights, albeit limited, into the workings of the *smꜣ* 'lungs', the *mjst* 'liver' and the *nnšm* 'spleen'. It highlights, for instance, the anatomical role of the lungs in providing air to the entire body (§ 855 a, col. 99,12–14) and suggests a causal relationship between the workings of the liver and disorders of the *rꜣ-jb* 'stomach' (§ 188, col. 36,4–17). Paragraph 854 of P. Ebers (§ 854 l-m, col. 100,8–10) also describes the distribution of water and air to the lungs, liver, and spleen through the *mtw*-conduits:

> There are four vessels (*mtw.w*) for the liver (*mjs.t*). They are the ones that give water and air for it, which are posterior. They are the ones that cause all diseases to come into existence against it in overfilling with blood.
> There are four vessels (*mtw.w*) for the lungs (*smꜣ*) and for the spleen (*nnšm*). They are the ones that give water and air for it likewise.
> (Bardinet 1995, 99; translation from French and (brackets) with transliteration mine)

The *mtw*-conduits were conceived of as a conducting system of various dynamic currents (liquids, air) and vital elements through the body (Bardinet 1995, 66; Nunn 1996, 44–9). Water and air flowed within the *mtw*-conduits, alongside blood, nutritive elements, residue of undigested or unexpelled foods and *wḫdw* (Ritner 2006, 100). The liver, lungs and spleen thus appear to be viewed as parts of the elaborate network that is now viewed as the circulatory system. Bardinet (1995, 71, 76) further suggests that the viscera were conceived of as 'dilated' areas of the *mtw*-conduits, filled with vital elements such as blood and air. He derives from this conception his understanding of the viscera as an integral part of the 'interior-*jb*'.

Bardinet's interpretation (1995, 75–9) has formed the basis for modern conceptualisations of the placement of the organs in the four canopic jars (e.g. Servajean 2001, 265–9; Martin 2013, 46, n. 66, 112). As a result, I assess Bardinet's identification of the viscera as elements of the *jb* (1995, 68–80; esp. 74–9 for its relationship with the viscera) and subsequently

examine the implications of this interpretation for the conception of the internal organs and the interpretation of canopic practices.

3.1.2.1 Introducing the concept of jb as 'interior'

The anatomical identification of the *jb*—alternatively understood as heart, stomach, or interior has been subject to debate and still divides Egyptologists (overview: Nyord 2009, 55–68). Discussions relating to *jb* emerged from the need to characterise its core meaning and outline in comparison to the *ḥꜣtj*-heart. The two terms are written with the same sign (Gardiner F34; used as a determinative for *ḥꜣtj* and as an ideogram for *jb*), and appeared closely related in some contexts, which did not facilitate their distinction. However, their simultaneous presence in funerary spells and medical prescriptions suggests that the two terms had distinct meanings, and points to the necessity for nuanced translations. While in religious and funerary texts, *jb* characterises a place located within the *ḫt* where intelligence, emotions, and conscience reside, in medical texts the nature of *jb* is obscure, making it difficult to determine what anatomical structure it refers to and its relationship with the *ḥꜣtj*-heart (Dinarès Solà 2009, 236).

The early discussions of Alexandre Piankoff (1930) and Bendix Ebbell (1937) laid the foundation for the two interpretations of the *jb* that are still current: *jb* as (metaphorical) heart and *jb* as stomach/interior. An overview of the debate by Nyord (2009, 55–68) highlights that most authors have supported the '*jb* as (metaphorical) heart'-hypothesis, and therefore opted for an anatomical identification of *jb* with the (physical) heart *ḥꜣty*.[65] This

[65] e.g. Gardiner 1947; Lefebvre 1952; Grapow 1954; Walker 1996; Westendorf 1999.

interpretation is refuted by Bardinet (1995), supported by Nyord (2009, 128–30) who convincingly argued against a synonymous status of *jb* and *ḥ3tj*.

Bardinet instead identifies the *jb* as a larger anatomical area referring to everything contained inside the *ḫt* (torso/belly), except for the *ḥ3ty*-heart, thus proposing to understand *jb* as 'interior':[66]

> Contrairement au cœur-*haty* qui correspond à une réalité anatomique assez précise, le *ib* est un ensemble. Il comprend la totalité des parties corporelles situées derrière le cœur-*haty*, dans ce grand creux du corps qui forme ce que les Égyptiens appellent le *shet* et qui correspondrait, dans la terminologie moderne, à la fois au ventre et au thorax. Le *ib* le remplit presque totalement. Cette position du *ib* dans le *shet*, affirmée par les textes, n'indique pas une relation anatomique avec les « intestins » ou avec différents organes. Elle indique qu'il n'y a pas d'élément du corps contenu dans le *shet* qui ne soit partie intégrante du *ib*, le cœur-*haty* mis à part.
>
> (Bardinet 1995, 71)

Weighing in on the discussion, Nyord's (2009, 68–113) examination of the image-schematic and metaphorical structure of *jb* and *ḥ3ty* in the *Coffin Texts* concludes that the corpus 'lacks indications that would allow for a more precise localization [of the *jb*] beyond the fact that it is inside the *ḫt*' (2009, 112), although the '*jb* as stomach/interior'-hypothesis would offer a superior explanation of the material.

Therefore, although there does not seem to be much textual evidence supporting an identification of the *jb* with a precise modern anatomical reference, the designation of *jb* as 'interior' appears as the most suitable for two reasons: (a) it accounts for the location of *jb* within (i.e. in the *interior* of) the *ḫt* (torso) provided by Egyptian texts; (b) it does not insist 'on a precise anatomical reality as the central meaning of *ib*' (Nyord 2012, 175), but broadens the spectrum of meanings to encompass its metaphorical-and-physical uses. I return to the metaphorical-and-physical nature of the *jb* below (3.1.2.3).

[66] An anglicised version of 'intérieur-ib' (Bardinet 1995, 72) suggested by Nyord (2009, 113).

3.1.2.2 An identification of the viscera as elements of the jb

Bardinet further specifies the anatomical nature of the *jb* as being 'à la fois l'ensemble des conduits-*met* avec ce qu'ils contiennent (liquides, air animateur), et à la fois nos viscères (simplement des endroits particuliers du *ib* pour les Égyptiens)' (1995, 71). This interpretation appears to be a logical deduction from his proposed identification of the *jb,* but the supporting textual evidence is not obvious, because Bardinet does not indicate which textual passage(s) he bases his interpretation on. A connection between the *jb* and the *mtw*-conduits appears in glosses of the 'treatise on the heart' in P. Ebers.[67] To a specific disorder of the *jb* is ascribed a diagnosis, which sometimes relates to troubles with the *mtw*-conduits.[68] However, it becomes apparent from these glosses that it is the *ḥ3tj*, rather than the *jb*, which is anatomically linked with the *mtw*-conduits and indicated as their source or destination (Long 1986, 486; Walker 1996, 173).

Expanding on his understanding of the viscera as an integral part of the *jb*, Bardinet (1995, 74–9) recognises in canopic practices the funerary rites that are creating a new interior-*jb*. He identifies the practice of removing the organs and placing them in canopic jars with 'the mythological process of the recreation of the *ib* of Osiris (...) through two successive procreative cycles' Nyord 2009, 421). The first procreative cycle is the *post-mortem* conception of Horus, who thus carries an interior-*jb* identical to that of his father Osiris. The second procreative cycle is the conception of Horus' four Sons—Imset, Hapy, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuef—who each receive a quarter of the interior-*jb* of Horus/Osiris in the process (Nyord 2009, 421–2; also Klein 2013, 202–4). Bardinet draws a parallel between the quarter of interior-*jb* received by each of the four Sons of Horus and the four internal

[67] e.g. P. Ebers §855b, cols. 99/17–18; P. Ebers §855l, col. 101/8; P. Ebers §855t, cols. 102/2–4: Bardinet 1995, 94–5; Ritner 2006, 102–7.
[68] e.g. P. Ebers §855c, cols. 99/18–21; P. Ebers §855e, cols. 100/14–16; P. Ebers §855g, cols. 100/17–18.

organs, concluding that the *jb* is to be identified with the organs that were removed from the *ḫt* and placed in the canopic jars protected by the Sons of Horus: 'c'est bien l'intérieur-*ib* du défunt que l'on retire et que l'on va répartir dans les différents canopes' (Bardinet 1995, 76). Bardinet thus conceptualises canopic practices as a process of (re)creation of the individual through a reconstitution of his interior-*jb*. The placement of the four organs (conceived of as elements of the interior-*jb*) in canopic jars under the protection of the four Sons of Horus would represent the process of reconstitution.

The reception of Bardinet's hypotheses (identification of *jb* with the internal organs and creation of a new interior-*jb* in canopic practices) has been mixed. Wolfhart Westendorf (1996, 361–2; 1999, 109) argued that there was no evidence in the 'treatise on the heart' of P. Ebers to support Bardinet's interpretation of the viscera as elements of the *jb*, while Ritner (2006, 101, n. 15) characterised it as 'extensive speculation' without further justification. Frédéric Servajean (2001, 265–9), on the other hand, was convinced by Bardinet's conceptualisation of canopic practices and adjusted his procreative model to make it more systematic. Nyord (2009, 419–24) critiques the theoretical framework for the procreative model, arguing that 'a progressive division of each parent's contribution is somewhat suspect with its resemblance to a standard understanding of modern genetics' (2009, 423). Although the identification of 'interior-*jb*' with the organs is appealing, especially with regards to its potential explanatory value for canopic practices, it proceeds from the assumptions that (a) the *jb* relates to the *mtw*-conduits; and (b) that the viscera are distended areas of the *mtw*-conduits which, as I pointed out, is not explicitly stated in texts.

This lack of secure textual evidence—also noted by Nyord (2009, 112)—is a failing of Bardinet's hypothesis. However, despite these shortcomings, the identification of the *jb* with

the viscera offers an appealing explanation for some of the image-schematic and metaphorical structures of the *jb* and *ḥ3ty* found in the *CT*, notably when the two terms are structured by a NEAR-FAR schema as developed by Nyord (2009, 80–1). Both the *jb* and the *ḥ3ty* are in danger of being taken away, but only the *jb* is said to be *rdj* 'given' to the deceased, *rdj* 'placed' back in the belly of the person who had it removed or *jnj* 'brought' (Nyord 2009, 68–9; 80–1; 108). According to Nyord:

> From Westendorf's explanation, this can only be accounted for by fortuitousness or idiomatic usage, while Bardinet's identification of the *jb* with the totality of the organs inside the *ḫt*, that were removed during the process of mummification and put in the canopic jars, make this distribution exactly what would be expected.
>
> (Nyord 2009, 109)

Hence, while I agree with Nyord (2009, 423) that the procreative model proposed by Bardinet and Servajean should be put aside, I believe there is some value to be found in Bardinet's conceptualisation of the viscera as dilated areas of the *mtw*-conduits and integral parts of the interior-*jb*, notably regarding its metaphorical-and-physical nature.

3.1.2.3 Viscera as 'metaphorical-and-physical' or 'functional' entities

The *jb* denotes an anatomical entity to which 'physiological' functions, but also specific mental phenomena, are attached (Nyord 2009, 65–8). Nyord's analysis (2009, 86–106; also 2012, 173) of the metaphorical expressions involving *jb* in the *Coffin Texts* indicates its use as a *Leibesinsel* (an area of the body to which sensations related to physical emotions are located) confirming the metaphorical-and-physical nature of the *jb* as an entity that can physically conceptualise the non-physical (i.e. emotional or cognitive processes). This understanding of the *jb* as a metaphorical-and-physical entity is supported by a phenomenological view of the body, which does not envisage a mind-body separation, but operates a distinction between the body as *Leib* and as *Körper* instead (Schmitz 1965; Nyord

2009, 39–41)—the former being understood as *consciousness*, a nature which we are and the second as a *thing*, a nature which we have.

The examination of the conceptual structure of the term *jb* shows that it is frequently structured by the container schema (Nyord 2009, 13–4, 68–78), meaning it is quite often conceptualised as container for a wide range of 'substances', such as magic, creation, speech acts, efflux, and emotions (Nyord 2009, 83). Nyord (2009, 143) also observes that the terms for internal body parts found inside the torso quite often share some of these structural properties.

Because the Egyptian terms for viscera (lungs, liver, spleen and entrails) are seemingly easily and clearly identified with modern Western ones, their nature as physical anatomical parts has never been questioned. This etic approach to Egyptian anatomical terminologies results in fundamental misunderstandings of the nature of the internal organs. The potential correlation between the viscera and the *jb* (an entity that encompasses a myriad of non-physical phenomena) means viscera should be considered quite differently, perhaps as 'metaphorical-and-physical' entities too. An alternative view of the viscera was already proposed by Georg Rappe (1995, 279) whereby internal organs such as the heart, the lungs or the liver are conceived of as areas of the body *Leib* that are changeable in their physicality, and which can overlap and blur with other bodily impulses or their centres:

> Es konnte bisher gezeigt werden, dass sich Herz, Lunge und Magen als Leibesinseln nur schwer lokalisieren und als Organe des Körpermodells überhaupt nicht spüren lassen. Wenn also bei den Ägyptern von Herz und Magen gesprochen wird, so sind damit nicht anatomisch-physiologische Substrate moderner Medizinsysteme gemeint, sondern Zentren des Leibes, die die Eigenart besitzen, sich in ihrem spürbaren Bereich zu verändern. Sie können sich mit anderen Regungsherden oder leiblichen Regungen überdecken, überschneiden und mit ihnen verschwimmen.

As noted by Nyord (2009, 66, n. 254) this non-anatomical characterisation of the internal organs is also found in Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM). In TCM, for instance, 'terms such as "liver", "heart" and "spleen" do not mean the anatomical substrate but relate to a certain pattern of functions' (Ots 1990, 50), perhaps similarly to the Egyptian concept of *jb*. Mentions of organs in descriptions of pathological cases work as metaphors for emotions, thus physically conceptualising the non-physical.

While the parallel is tentative—as drawn from another culture—TCM model of the body proves to be equally relevant for understanding the role of the viscera in the Egyptian body. In TCM, the basic substances (e.g. energy *qi*, blood *xue*, body fluids *jin ye*) flow through a 'system of channels' (*jing luo*) that have branches connected to bodily organs and functions (Ross 1985, 10). These functions are associated with a primary functional entity that constitutes concepts rather than anatomical entities (Ross 1985, 12–3). The primary functional entities used by TCM include most notably the six *zang* organs, the six *fu* organs and their channels. The six *zang* organs are the heart, the lungs, the spleen, the liver, the kidney, and the pericardium, whose physiological functions is 'to manufacture and store *qi*, blood, and body fluid' (Aung and Chen 2007, 15). The six *fu* organs include the small intestine, large intestine, gallbladder, stomach, urinary bladder and the three jiaos, whose role is to 'receive, digest, transmit, and excrete' (Aung and Chen 2007, 15). It is easy to recognise in the TCM model similarities with the Egyptian model of the *mtw*-conduits and the organs described in P. Ebers, as well as with Bardinet's understanding of the viscera as larger areas of the *mtw*-conduits which are filled with blood and air. This could suggest that viscera were conceptualised similarly, as 'functional' entities.

While in-depth analysis would be required to accurately conceptualise the nature of the internal organs and understand the mental phenomena and metaphors attached to them, the preliminary discussions above make a generally convincing case that the internal organs tend to be categorised differently than other parts of the body. It is probable that it is their physiological functions as manufacturers of body fluids (which Nyord demonstrated could be ascribed a creative potential; 2.5.1) that justified their unique treatment.

In the following section I turn to anatomical lists to approach conceptions of internal organs in terms of symbolic relationships and to examine the role played by designations of the internal organs in magical and funerary texts. As noted by Walker (1996, 284), anatomical lists include information about anatomical terminology and concepts, and about the divine 'personalities attributed to the different bodily parts'. The analysis of these deities, the roles they play and the contexts in which they appear can indicate how Egyptians conceptualised internal organs (at least magically or religiously).

3.1.3 Anatomical lists in funerary and magical texts

Anatomical lists—although by no means biological in nature—are lists of body parts which seek to equate the various members and areas of the (deceased) body with gods and goddesses (Weeks 1971, 10). As a rule, the lists individually enumerate the members one after the other, in a fixed head-to-foot order and, most commonly, associate each area of the body with a particular deity. The lists range from brief mentions of a single body part, such as 'I am the flesh of Thoth who defied the Great Ones' (*CT* IV, 143j [319]) or 'My head is that of Re' (*CT* VI 701, 333l [701]), to a couple of lines, such as 'Your eye is Re, your arms

are Atum, your legs are the centipede-god, your head is Iwnmutef' (*CT* IV, 28f–I [280]),[69] to very detailed 'lists', such as *CT* VII, 159a–161p [945], which is quoted more fully in Table 3.2, and *BD* 172.

Adhémar Massart's (1959, 230–8) review of anatomical lists in funerary and magical texts reveals that they do not follow an established rigid pattern: the repertoire of body parts varies, as do the identification principles, and the bodily parts/gods relationships and correspondences. Although connections between individual body parts and deities 'are not canonical, neither are they arbitrary' (Walker 1996, 283). Bodily parts are usually allocated to deities following identification principles of divine function, physical likeness, grammatical gender, or phonetic similarity (Massart 1959, 241–4; Walker 1996, 283–4; Nyord 2009, 510–1). According to Altenmüller (1977, 624) this phenomenon finds its origin in the embalming ritual where the protection of the limbs and organs is sought after by the deceased (also, e.g. Assmann and Bommas 2002, 188). However, this is disputed by scholars such as Goyon (1972, 256, n. 1) and Quack (1995, 104–5) who identify apotropaic magical texts as the source.

Anatomical lists appear to be used in different contexts, with various intent, over slightly different periods of time: in funerary texts as *Gliedervergottung,* participating in bodily reconstitution and deification of the deceased, from the Old Kingdom to the early first millennium BCE; and in magical texts as spells preventing infections caused by snakes or scorpions bites (prophylactic) and averting evil influences (apotropaic) from the New Kingdom to the Roman Period (DuQuesne 2002, 245–6). The efficacy of such lists derives

[69] Additional examples include e.g. *PT* 213, 135a–b, *CT* VI, 342d [711].

from a belief in the 'performative' power of speech: in the appropriate ritual setting, their recitation would make a reality of what they stated (e.g. Smith 2009, 11–2).

Following Assmann's conception of death as dismemberment (2.2.1), the phenomenon of *Gliedervergottung*, or divinisation of body parts, has been seen as the verbal treatment that permitted the deceased to overcome the fragmentation of the body through the identification of body parts with deities (Assmann and Bommas 2002, 179; Assmann 2005, 33–6). By means of recitation, unity would be concretely restored to the individual *membra disiecta* which were re-joined into the *Gliedervergottung* text and described as constituting a new complete entity (Assmann 2005, 33–8). I instead adopt Nyord's (2009, 513–4) more nuanced understanding of *Gliedervergottung* as a process of reconstitution of the body, through which appropriate qualities and functions (prototypical attributes) of a fully functional body are restored (Nyord 2009, 481–7 on prototypical attributes). As a matter of course, the divinisation of body parts also contributed to the process of deification of the deceased—a necessary step into their transfiguration and glorification (*sꜣḫw*) (Assmann 2005, 239–40; Smith 2009, 11–2).

Mentions of viscera are found in ten anatomical lists. Three were used in funerary contexts: *CT* VII, 159q–159w [945] (*CT* 945 thereafter; 6th–7th dynasty), *Litany of Re* in the tomb of Seti I (19th dynasty), and *Litany of Re* on the papyrus of Gatseshen (21st dynasty). Seven were found in magical texts dating primarily from the New Kingdom: P. Berlin 3027 (18th dynasty), P. Chester Beatty VII and VIII (19th dynasty), P. Turin CGT 54050 (19th–20th dynasty), P. Vatican 36 (19th–20th dynasty); up to the Ptolemaic Period: Metternich stela (30th dynasty), and Dendera socle (Ptolemaic Period).

Table 3.2 presents mentions of viscera in anatomical lists, including translations of the relevant passages. These translations are not my own and authorship is given in the table after the passage translated. Translations borrowed from Walker (1996, 286–8) are reconstructed from the translations provided in his tables, using the relationship code provided (see below). The identification of relevant occurrences is based on Massart (1959, 228–9) and Walker (1996, 283–341). Bold is used to highlight mentions of the organs and the Sons of Horus in the passages.

Internal organ	Anatomical lists	Mentions of organs	Publications [Selected]
mjst	CT VII, 159q–159w [945]	My lungs (*sm³*) are I[sis], **my liver is the *nšmt*-bark**, my spleen is Mâat, my [entrails?] are the Greath Pathfinder, my [stomach?] is He-who-awakes-intact (*rs wḏ³w* i.e. Osiris). (Walker 1996, 297)	Faulkner 1973 [2004]
	Litany of Re Tomb of Seti I, 211–2	**His liver is the Living One (*ʿnḫt* i.e. Isis?)**, his spleen is He-with-the-nose (*fnḏty* i.e. Thoth), his lungs are the Breather (*ḥtyt*), his stomach is the Opener (*wpw* i.e. Wepwawet), his entrails are the Ones-with-mysterious-natures (*št³w ḫrt*). (Walker 1996, 313)	Piankoff 1964; Hornung 1975, 1976
	Litany of Re Papyrus of Gatseshen 11,8–11,10	**Her liver is the Living One (*ʿnḫ.t* i.e. Isis?)**, her backbone is that of the Still-of-heart (*wrḏ-jb* i.e. Osiris), her two sides are Horus and Thoth, her buttocks are Mehetweret, her vagina is Tatanen, her spleen is He-with-the-nose (*fnḏty* i.e. Thoth), her lungs are the Breather (*ḥtyt*), her <stomach> is the Two Wepwawets (*wp-w³wty*), her entrails are the Ones-with-mysterious-natures (*št³w ḫrt*). (Walker 1996, 313)	De Wit 1953; Lucarelli 2006a
	Mutter und Kind P. Berlin 3027, U, verso 5,3–5,4	Your lungs are Min, your *wdd* (gallbladder?) is the Summoner of Nefertem, your spleen is Sobek, **your liver is [...] of Herakleopolis (i.e. Herishef/Atum?)**, your entrails are the Health. (Walker 1996, 301–2)	Erman 1901; Yamazaki 2003
	P. Chester Beatty VII P. BM EA 10687, verso 4,5–4,6	You (i.e. the poison) shall not take your stand **in his liver,** in his lungs, in his *h³tj*-heart, in his kidneys, in his spleen, in his intestines, in his ribs, or in any tissues of his torso (*jwf nb n ḫt=f*); **Imset, Hapy, Duamutef, Qehbehsenuef, the gods who are in <his> torso,** are [against you]. (Gardiner 1935, 64, pl. 37)	Gardiner 1935
	P. Chester Beatty VIII P. BM EA 10688, recto 7,x–8,3	O N, born of M, I have rescued and protected you from all things bad and evil, and from all evil magic which they have said against you (...) For I have purified you; I am Thoth who makes truth mount up to Re. I give you your **liver** to accompany you, **for your liver is the liver of Atum**. No power shall be exercised over your **liver** by men, gods, or nobles. (Gardiner 1935, 69, pl. 41–2)	Gardiner 1935
	P. Turin CGT 54050 (=P. Turin Cat. 1995+1996), recto 6,9–6,10	His spleen, **his <liver>**, his lungs and his entrails are Imset, **Hapy**, Duamutef, Qehbehsenuef. (Gardiner 1947, 245*–246*)	Rossi and Pleyte 1869–1876; Popko 2022
	P. Vatican 36, recto 4,5–4,8	You (i.e. poison) shall not take your stand **in his liver**, in his spleen, <in his> lungs (or) in any tissue which is in his torso (*m jwf nbt jmy ḫt=f*); **Imset, Hapy, Duamutef, Qebehsenuef, the great gods who are in his torso**, <are against you>. (Gardiner 1947, 246*)	Suys 1934
nnšm	CT VII, 159q–159w [945]	My lungs (*sm³*) are I[sis], my liver is the *nšmt*-bark, my **spleen** is Mâat, my [entrails?] are the Greath Pathfinder, my [stomach?] is He-who-awakes-intact (*rs wḏ³w* i.e. Osiris). (Walker 1996, 297)	Faulkner 1973 [2004]
	Litany of Re Tomb of Seti I, 211–2	His liver is the Living One (*ʿnḫt* i.e. Isis?), **his spleen is He-with-the-nose (*fnḏty* i.e. Thoth)**, his lungs are the Breather (*ḥtyt*) , his stomach is the Opener (*wpw* i.e. Wepwawet), his entrails are the Ones-with-mysterious-natures (*št³w ḫrt*). (Walker 1996, 313)	Piankoff 1964; Hornung 1975, 1976
	Litany of Re Papyrus of Gatseshen 11,8–11,10	Her liver is the Living One (*ʿnḫ.t* i.e. Isis?), her backbone is that of the Still-of-heart (*wrḏ-jb* i.e. Osiris), her two sides are Horus and Thoth, her buttocks are Mehetweret, her vagina is Tatanen, **her spleen is He-with-the-nose (*fnḏty* i.e. Thoth)**, her lungs are the Breather (*ḥtyt*), her <stomach> is the Two Wepwawets (*wp-w³wty*), her entrails are the Ones-with-mysterious-natures (*št³w ḫrt*). (Walker 1996, 313)	De Wit 1953; Lucarelli 2006a

nnšm	Mutter und Kind P. Berlin 3027, U, verso 5,3–5,4	Your lungs are Min, your wdd (gallbladder?) is the Summoner of Nefertem, your spleen is Sobek, your liver is [...] of Herakleopolis (i.e. Herishef/Atum?), your entrails are the Health. (Walker 1996, 301–2)	Erman 1901; Yamazaki 2003
	P. Chester Beatty VII P. BM EA 10687, verso 4,5–4,6	You (i.e. the poison) shall not your stand in his liver, in his lungs, in his *hꜣtj* -heart, in his kidneys, **in his spleen**, in his entrails, in his ribs, or in any tissues of his torso (*jwf nb n ḫt=f*); **Imset, Hapy, Duamutef, Qehbehsenuef, the gods who are in <his> torso**, are [against you]. (Gardiner 1935, 64, pl. 37)	Gardiner 1935
	P. Chester Beatty VIII P. BM EA 10688, recto 8,3–8,6	O N, born of M, I have rescued and protected you from all things bad and evil, and from all evil magic which they have said against you (...) For I have purified you; I am Thoth who judges truth. I give you your **spleen** to accompany you, **for your spleen is the spleen of Re**. No power shall be exercised over your **spleen** by men, gods, or nobles. (Gardiner 1935, 69, pl. 41–2)	Gardiner 1935
	P. Turin CGT 54050 (=P. Turin Cat. 1995+1996), recto 6,9–6,10	**His spleen**, his <liver>, his lungs and his entrails are **Imset**, Hapy, Duamutef, Qehbehsenuef (Gardiner 1947, 245*–246*)	Rossi and Pleyte 1869–1876; Popko 2022
	P. Vatican 36, recto 4,5–4,8	You (i.e. poison) shall not take your stand in his liver, **in his spleen**, <in his> lungs (or) in any tissue which is in his torso (*m jwf nbt jmy ḫt=f*); **Imset, Hapy, Duamutef, Qebehsenuef, the great gods who are in his torso**, <are against you>. (Gardiner 1947, 246*)	Suys 1934
wfꜣ	Litany of Re Tomb of Seti I, 211–2	His liver is the Living One (*ʿnḫt* i.e. Isis?), his spleen is He-with-the-nose (*fnḏty* i.e. Thoth), **his lungs are the Breather (*ḥtyt*)**, his stomach is the Opener (*wpw* i.e. Wepwawet), his entrails are the Ones-with-mysterious-natures (*štꜣw ḫrt*). (Walker 1996, 313)	Piankoff 1964; Hornung 1975, 1976
	Litany of Re Papyrus of Gatseshen 11,8–11,10	Her liver is the Living One (*ʿnḫ.t* i.e. Isis?), her backbone is that of the Still-of-heart (*wrḏ-jb* i.e. Osiris), her two sides are Horus and Thoth, her buttocks are Mehetweret, her vagina is Tatanen, her spleen is He-with-the-nose (*fnḏty* i.e. Thoth), **her lungs are the Breather (*ḥtyt*)**, her <stomach> is the Two Wepwawets (*wpwꜣwty*), her entrails are the Ones-with-mysterious-natures (*štꜣw ḫrt*). (Walker 1996, 313)	De Wit 1953; Lucarelli 2006a
	Mutter und Kind P. Berlin 3027, U, verso 5,3–5,4	**Your lungs are Min**, your *wdd* (gallbladder?) is the Summoner of Nefertem, your spleen is Sobek, your liver is [...] of Herakleopolis (i.e. Herishef/Atum?), your entrails are the Health. (Walker 1996, 301–2)	Erman 1901; Yamazaki 2003
	P. Chester Beatty VII P. BM EA 10687, verso 4,5–4,6	You (i.e. the poison) shall not your stand in his liver, **in his lungs**, in his *hꜣtj* -heart, in his kidneys, in his spleen, in his entrails, in his ribs, or in any tissues of his torso (*jwf nb n ḫt=f*); **Imset, Hapy, Duamutef, Qehbehsenuef, the gods who are in <his> torso**, are [against you]. (Gardiner 1935, 64, pl. 37)	Gardiner 1935
	P. Chester Beatty VIII P. BM EA 10688, recto 8,6–8,9	O N, born of M, I have rescued and protected you from all things bad and evil, and from all evil magic which they have said against you (...) For I have purified you; I am Thoth propitiating the two brother and companion gods. I give you your **lungs** to accompany you, **for your lungs are the lungs of Him-whose-shrine-is-great**. No power shall be exercised over your **lungs** by men, gods, or nobles. (Gardiner 1935, 70, pl. 41–2)	Gardiner 1935
	P. Turin CGT 54050 (=P. Turin Cat. 1995+1996), recto 6,9–6,10	His spleen, his <liver>, **his lungs** and his entrails are Imset, Hapy, **Duamutef**, Qehbehsenuef. (Gardiner 1947, 245*–246*)	Rossi and Pleyte 1869–1876; Popko 2022
	P. Vatican 36, recto 4,5–4,8	You (i.e. poison) shall not take your stand in his liver, in his spleen, **<in his> lungs** (or) in any tissue which is in his torso (*m jwf nbt jmy ḫt=f*); **Imset, Hapy, Duamutef, Qebehsenuef, the great gods who are in his torso**, <are against you>. (Gardiner 1947, 246*)	Suys 1934
	see *smꜣ*	–	–

sm³	CT VII, 159q–159w [945]	**My lungs are I[sis]**, my liver is the *nšmt* -bark, my spleen is Mâat, my [entrails?] are the Greath Pathfinder, my [stomach?] is He-who-awakes-intact (*rs wḏ³w* i.e. Osiris). (Walker 1996, 297)	Faulkner 1973 [2004]
	see *wf³*	–	–
mḫt	CT VII, 159q–159w [945]	My lungs (*sm³*) are I[sis], my liver is the *nšmt* -bark, my spleen is Mâat, **my [entrails?] are the Greath Pathfinder**, my [stomach?] is He-who-awakes-intact (*rs wḏ³w* i.e. Osiris). (Walker 1996, 297)	Faulkner 1973 [2004]
	Litany of Re Tomb of Seti I, 211–2	His liver is the Living One (*ʿnḫt* i.e. Isis?), his spleen is He-with-the-nose (*fnḏty* i.e. Thoth), his lungs are the Breather (*ḥtyt*), his stomach is the Opener (*wpw* i.e. Wepwawet), **his entrails are the Ones-with-mysterious-natures (*št³w ḫrt*)**. (Walker 1996, 313)	Piankoff 1964; Hornung 1975, 1976
	Litany of Re Papyrus of Gatseshen 11,8–11,10	Her liver is the Living One (*ʿnḫ.t* i.e. Isis?), her backbone is that of the Still-of-heart (*wrḏ-jb* i.e. Osiris), her two sides are Horus and Thoth, her buttocks are Mehetweret, her vagina is Tatanen, her spleen is He-with-the-nose (*fnḏty* i.e. Thoth), her lungs are the Breather (*ḥtyt*), her <stomach> is the Two Wepwawets (*wp-wʾwty*), **her entrails are the Ones-with-mysterious-natures (*št³w ḫrt*)**. (Walker 1996, 313)	De Wit 1953; Lucarelli 2006a
	Mutter und Kind P. Berlin 3027, U, verso 5,3–5,4	Your lungs are Min, your *wdd* (gallbladder?) is the Summoner of Nefertem, your spleen is Sobek, your liver is [...] of Herakleopolis (i.e. Herishef/Atum?), **your entrails are the Health**. (Walker 1996, 301–2)	Erman 1901; Yamazaki 2003
	P. Chester Beatty VII P. BM EA 10687, verso 4,5–4,6	You (i.e. the poison) shall not your stand in his liver, in his lungs, in his *hʾtj* -heart, in his kidneys, in his spleen, **in his entrails**, in his ribs, or in any tissues of his torso (*jwf nb n ḫt=f*); **Imset, Hapy, Duamutef, Qehbehsenuef, the gods who are in <his> torso**, are [against you]. (Gardiner 1935, 64, pl. 37)	Gardiner 1935
	[P. Chester Beatty VIII P. BM EA 10688, recto 8,9–8,12]	**[*ḫt* corresponding here to the *mḫt* of the other texts according to Gardiner]** O N, born of M, I have rescued and protected you from all things bad and evil, and from all evil magic which they have said against you (...) For I have purified you; I am Thoth bringing Nile from the place where he is. I give you your belly (*ḫt*) to accompany you, for your belly is the belly of Nut, who bare the gods. No power shall be exercised over your belly by men, gods, or nobles. (Gardiner 1935, 69, pl. 41–2)	Gardiner 1935
	P. Turin CGT 54050 (=P. Turin Cat. 1995+1996), recto 6,9–6,10	His spleen, his <liver>, his lungs and **his entrails** are Imset, Hapy, Duamutef, **Qehbehsenuef**. (Gardiner 1947, 245*–246*)	Rossi and Pleyte 1869–1876; Popko 2022
qʾb	see *mḫt*	–	–
jmj.w-ḫ.t	Metternich stela, spell III, l. 32	O Re, come to your daughter, whom the scorpion has stung on a lonely road (...) O cat. **Your viscera are the viscera of Mehetweret**. May the poison that is in your **viscera** be beaten and driven out of all your bodily parts (*ʿ.wt*), of the bodily parts of the gods in the sky, of the bodily parts of the gods on earth. (Sander-Hansen 1956, 26, 28; translation from German mine)	Sander-Hansen 1956
	Dendera socle, l. 11	Your belly is Nut, **your viscera are the Lord of All (i.e. Re-Horakhty)**. (Walker 1996, 333)	Daumas 1957

Table 3.2. Mentions of viscera in anatomical lists.

Walker (1996, 289) encoded the deity-bodily part associations into six 'relationship codes' corresponding to different identification principles. The anatomical lists found in *CT* 945, the *Litany of Re*, P. Berlin 3027 and P. Turin CGT 54050 adopt a relationship of 'direct identification of a bodily part of a person with a deity' (Walker 1996, 289, code 2). P. Chester Beatty VIII follows the principle of 'identification of a bodily part of a person with a bodily part, attribute or activity of a deity' (Walker 1996, 289, code 3) while P. Chester Beatty VII and P. Vatican 36 use the 'identification of a deity as Lord or Protector of a bodily part' (Walker 1996, 289, code 4). Walker's analysis of deities involved in anatomical lists highlights that 'the most important factors that determined which deity was allocated to which bodily part were the deities' divine attributes and their actions and roles in popular mythological dramas' (Walker 1993, 84).

The nightly voyage of the sun god appears to be an important source of inspiration for the lists, whereby the body of the deceased becomes the body through which the sun journeyed, and bodily parts become the deities who participated in the passage of the sun god (Walker 1993, 84–6). Thus, inside the body, the sun god navigates into the chest region, where the various forms of the sun god himself are the preferred deities paired with the bodily parts: e.g. Herishef or Atum with the liver in P. Berlin 3027, Atum with the liver in P. Chester Beatty VII, Re with the spleen in P. Chester Beatty VIII or Re-Horakhty with the viscera (*jmj.w-ḫt*) on the Dendera socle. Beyond the chest region, once in the torso/belly *ḫt*, the sun god entered the realm of Osiris. There, Osiris was surrounded by his council of gods, including Imset, Hapy, Duamutef and Qebehsenuef, the four children of Horus the Elder the Lord of Letopolis, who are associated with the viscera (Walker 1993, 85).

In P. Turin CGT 54050, P. Chester Beatty VII and P. Vatican 36 the liver, spleen, lungs, and entrails[70] are associated with the four Sons of Horus—with a more specific assignment of the spleen to Imset, the liver to Hapy, the lungs to Duamutef and the entrails to Qebehsenuef in P. Turin CGT 54050. There are several other deities with prominent connections to the sun god who are equated with the liver, lungs, and spleen in the lists. Isis, for instance, is identified with the liver in the *Litany of Re* and the lungs in *CT* 945. She is closely affiliated with Re (e.g. the Legend of Isis and the Name of Re (P. Turin 1993): Ritner 1997) and appears in a mytheme that asserted that, at dawn, the sun god was handed over to Isis in the Day-bark (*PT* 222, 210; Walker 1993, 86). Thoth and Maât, who are respectively associated with the spleen in the *Litany of Re* and the liver in *CT* 945[71] were the two deities who stood on either side of Re's solar barque. Mehetweret, in her role as the nocturnal river along which the sun god travelled inside Nut (Walker 1993, 85), appears as the deity of the viscera in the Metternich stela.

Other bodily parts/deities pairing are plays on orthographic or phonetic similarities, divine function, or physical likeness. In P. Berlin 3027, the identification of the lungs with Min probably stems from a wordplay between (Gardiner Aa25)  *sm3*, the symbol of Min, and (Gardiner F36)  *sm3* the other term for the lungs (Walker 1996, 193). The association of the lungs with 'the Breather' in the *Litany of Re* is based on a functional similarity (breathing) between the respiratory organs and the god (Walker 1996, 193). In *CT* 945, the identity of 'the Great Pathfinder' is uncertain but may be indicating the 'great' path followed by the intestines inside the body.

[70] The entrails are not included in P. Vatican 36.
[71] While the list associates the liver with the Neshmet bark, Meeks (1995, 146–7) has convincingly argued for an erroneous substitution of the terms *nnšm* and *mjst*, based on the expected phonetic pairing between *nnšm* and *nšmt*, and on the association between the liver and Maât found in various other contexts (see e.g. *CT* III, 6b [165]).

3.1.3.1 Gliedervergottungen

With 50 anatomical entries (Walker 1996, 297–9), *CT* 945 is one of the most detailed *Gliedervergottungen* and includes individual mentions of the viscera. It is only attested from the 6th–7th dynasty P. Gardiner III (Oriental Institute Chicago, OIM E14062; De Buck 1961). Although spell 945 includes no indicative headings and is solely composed of a list of body parts, its purpose is clear from the sequence in which it occurs on the papyrus (Nyord 2009, 517–8). Preceding spells deal with the manifestations of the deceased in the sky, his identification with deities and his acceptance in the divine realm. This suggests that the context of *CT* 945 is not one of reconstitution but rather one of deification, 'in which the body of the deceased is transformed to span the entire divine world, probably conceived of in cosmological terms as the starry sky' (Nyord 2009, 518). It is noteworthy that the Sons of Horus, who are associated with the viscera in magical texts, are not identified with them in this *Gliedervergottung.* This is even more striking as they are usually connected with the four corners of the sky (Raven 2005, 42–3; 3.4.2) and would fit very well in the context of *CT* 945.

A *Gliedervergottung* which includes the viscera also appears after the seventh litany in some versions of the *Litany of Re*: on Thutmosis III's linen shroud (Hornung 1975, 209–17; 1976, 87–9, 142–4), in the tomb of Seti I (Hornung 1975, 209–17; 1976, 87–9, 142–4), and on the 21st dynasty hieratic papyrus of Gatseshen.[72] The series of litanies focus on including the deceased king in the course of the sun to ensure his daily regeneration as a united Re-Osiris. This was mostly achieved through recitations in which the pharaoh assumed parts of deities,

[72] Variant of *BD* 181: Naville 1914, pl. IX,13–XI,18; De Wit 1953, 93, pl. 13; Lucarelli 2006a, 69–70.

with a focus on the sun god. The aim of the *Gliedervergottung* in this context was, therefore, not the reconstitution of the deceased body but rather its transformation into a divine entity.

It is apparent from these *Gliedervergottungen* that the viscera appear in the context of the deification of the deceased—concerned with the identification of the deceased with the sky or with the sun god—rather than bodily reconstitution. Nyord (2009, 518) highlights that the connections between divinities and the body parts of the deceased do not seem to be dealing with the 'microcosmic prototype of the body's internal structure and functional attributes, but rather form a macrocosmic prototype' concerned with the transformation of the deceased into a cosmic being identified with the starry sky (*CT* 945) or merged with the sun god (*Litany of Re*).

As potential textual accompaniments to the embalming ritual, it is remarkable that internal organs are absent from *Gliedervergottungen* that are concerned with bodily reconstitution (e.g. *CT* VI, 391a–392f [761]; *CT* VII, 22p–23d [822]), suggesting that viscera may not have appeared as necessary to the restoration of appropriate qualities and functions to the deceased body; this assessment is in keeping with their separate treatment from the body. Additionally, their relative absence from these anatomical lists confirm that the internal organs tend to be categorised differently than other bodily parts.

3.1.3.2 Magical prophylactic and apotropaic texts

Mentions of the organs are associated with the Sons of Horus in these New Kingdom texts: P. Chester Beatty VII (Westendorf 1999, 68), P. Turin CGT 54050 (Popko 2022), and P. Vatican 36 (Suys 1934). In P. Berlin 3027 (Westendorf 1999, 72) and P. Chester Beatty VIII

(Westendorf 1999, 68) deities connected to the solar journey are paired with the organs (e.g. Atum, Re). The reason for this difference might be found in the focus of these texts.

Both P. Chester Beatty VII and P. Vatican 36 contain magical spells ensuring protection against scorpions and repelling a poison (Suys 1934, 64; Gardiner 1935, 55). The anatomical lists in both papyri adopt an identical structure; the list of members is preceded by an incomplete narration of a mythical incident that may relate to a passage in which Horus rescue Seth from poisoning in the *Contendings of Horus and Seth* (Suys 1934, 64–5; Gardiner 1935, 61–2). An association of the patient with Horus in spells protecting against poisonous bites and curing the illnesses caused by them is expected as it refers to the mythic precedent of Horus bitten by a snake as a child god (e.g. Pinch 2004, 79–80). In these texts, however, the patient is assimilated to Seth, in reference to a slightly less well-known story in which Horus cures Seth from a poisonous bite (Suys 1934, 64–73). The enumeration of the internal organs from which the poison needs to leave concludes with a sequence in which the Sons of Horus are identified with the contents of the torso: 'Imset, Hapy, Duamutef, Qebehsenuef, the gods who are in his torso are against you (i.e. the poison)'. Four gods are listed for three organs in P. Vatican 36. The entrails, associated with Qebehsenuef in P. Chester Beatty VII, have been omitted (Walker 1996, 36). As proposed by Servajean (2001, 267), it is possible that, in this instance, Qebehsenuef is not specifically assigned to the entrails but more broadly to *m jwf nbt jmy ḫt=f* 'any tissue which is in his torso'.

The recto of P. Turin CGT 54050 includes one long text for ritual purification in which the reciter of the text identifies himself with Thoth and acts as protector of the deceased (Popko 2022). The deceased is identified with Horus and his bodily parts with protective deities following a principle of direct identification (Walker 1996, 289, code 2). This results in a

pairing of the spleen to Imset, the liver to Hapy, the lungs to Duamutef and the entrails to Qebehsenuef, establishing a relationship of assimilation to the organs.

By contrast, P. Berlin 3027 and P. Chester Beatty VIII are not specifically directed at scorpions, snakes, and their poisonous bites, although they probably could have been used in such cases. Spell U of P. Berlin 3027, for instance, was intended to protect a child against childhood illnesses (Erman 1901, 8; DuQuesne 2002, 257), while the spells on the recto of P. Chester Beatty VIII were not directed against any specific danger or disease but were designed to be of a general apotropaic character, protecting the patient from 'all things bad and evil, and from all evil magic which they have said against you' (DuQuesne 2002, 259–60). The connection of these texts with myths concerning Horus is more tenuous, which might be why internal organs are not identified with the Sons of Horus in these lists.

The anatomical lists in P. Vatican 36 and P. Chester Beatty VII offer some additional insight into how the internal organs might have been anatomically conceptualised. Both lists catalogue bodily parts which make up the torso and conclude with *m jwf nb.t jmy ḫt=f* 'in any tissues that is in his torso' (P. Vatican 36, rt. 4,5) and *m jwf nb n ḫt=f* 'in any tissue of his torso' (P. Chester Beatty VII, vs. 4,6), respectively. Walker (1996, 37) notes that these terminal phrases 'are not additive to these short lists of body structures but are summary and inclusive; they categorise each cited structure as *jwf* or, at least, intimately associate it with *jwf*'. P. Vatican 36 and P. Chester Beatty VII are thus characterising the internal organs of the thoracic and abdominal cavities as *jwf*. The term *jwf* is commonly translated as 'flesh' (*Wb* I, 51; *TLA* lemma 22520; see Gardiner 1947, 246* for similar contexts). However, Walker's analysis (1996, 33–50) nuances that '*jwf* encompasses all the internal organs, the muscles and the skin but is not a specific term for any of these' (1996, 48). There is, however,

a consistency in the structures it denotes, 'all the soft, pliable and friable tissues of the body' which then expands possible translations to include renderings such as 'soft tissues' and more specifically 'internal tissues' (Walker 1996, 49).

This review of the *Gliedervergottungen* shows that the lungs, liver, spleen, and entrails are included in the context of the deification of the deceased, where he/she is to be transformed into a cosmic being (*CT* 945, *Litany of Re*). In these anatomical lists viscera are—perhaps unexpectedly—not primarily allocated to the Sons of Horus but to deities connected with the nightly voyage of the sun. In the *Gliedervergottungen*, the Sons of Horus are preferably paired with the forearms and legs (e.g. *PT* 215, 148a–149c; *CT* VI, 391i–392e [761]), following their role as pillars of the sky (3.4.2). In magical prophylactic and apotropaic texts, viscera are associated with the Sons of Horus in texts that establish a parallel with myths concerning Horus (P. Chester Beatty VII, P. Vatican 36) or when the patient is assimilated to Horus (P. Turin CGT 54050). In these contexts, the Sons of Horus are identified with the four viscera.

3.2 Preliminary conclusions

The survey of medical texts confirmed that the viscera—that is the lungs, liver, spleen, and entrails—were categorised differently from other body parts (3.1.2). The four viscera appear to be parts of a network system, possibly conceived as dilated areas of the *mtw*-conduits, and categorised as 'soft tissues', *jwf*. This potential conceptualisation as parts of the interior-*jb* suggests a view of the viscera as entities that can physically conceptualise the non-physical. A tentative parallel drawn from Traditional Chinese Medicine highlights that the viscera might be best understood as 'primary functional entities' whose physiological functions is to manufacture and store energy, blood, and body fluid. This role as

manufacturers of bodily secretions, which can be ascribed creative potential, could be the reason for the different treatment they received.

Interestingly, for an association that is so dominant in Egyptological scholarship, in particular regarding canopic practices, there are very few mentions of the Sons of Horus in connection with internal organs in anatomical lists (3.1.3). This leads me to question the importance of internal organs as anatomical physical entities in the conceptualisation of canopic practices. Canopic practices may not have been concerned with internal organs in the first place; it is a modern view of the body that recognised in the mummified viscera, human internal organs rather than embodied deities, just like mummified bodies have been seen as perfectly preserved bodies rather than embodied gods. Consequently, the purpose of the treatment of the viscera may instead need to be framed as the *creation* of four divine entities, the four Children of Horus, rather than the *transformation* per se of internal organs.

3.3 'I have come to be as your protection': approaches to the Children of Horus

Whilst they never had a cult or a temple, the four Children of Horus—more frequently referred to as 'Sons of Horus'[73]—are recurring figures found in funerary context. First referenced to in the *Pyramid Texts* dating to the Old Kingdom, they are found throughout ancient Egyptian history and up to Graeco-Roman times (*LGG* I, 367; V, 119; VII, 180, 516), either mentioned in funerary texts or depicted on funerary equipment (e.g. coffins, canopic jars and chests, stelae) and in vignettes on papyri.

[73] But also known by other names such as the Children of Atum (*Ms.w Tm*), the Children of Geb (*Ms.w Gb*), the Four Adolescents (*fdw Ḥ^{c}3.w*), the Four Bypassers (*fdw Sw^{3}tj.w*), the Braid-wearers (*Ḥnsktj.w*) (Mathieu 2008, 8).

As a group, the Children of Horus are the gods in the following of Horus (*nṯr.w jmy.w-ḫt Ḥr*) and the tribunal behind Osiris (*ḏ3ḏ3t ḥ3 Wsjr*). They are the four bas of Pe and the great tribunal that is in Pe and Dep (*ḏ3ḏ3t ʿ3t jmt p dp*). As separate deities, Imset, Hapy, Duamutef and Qebehsenuef, are also included in various groups of deities that are 'before the enthroned Osiris' or 'in the entourage of Osiris' (Imset: *LGG* I, 368; Hapy: *LGG* V, 119; Duamutef: *LGG* VII, 516; Qebehsenuef: *LGG* VII, 181). They are responsible for the care and protection of Osiris—and by extension the deceased—and fulfil different roles as guardians and as protective deities in the day and night of the hourly vigil.

While the four Children of Horus are commonly regarded as the deities protecting the viscera placed in the four canopic jars, this role is, in fact, not evidently attested in texts (3.3.1) and stems, in part, from a conceptualisation of the canopic jars as containers (3.3.2). Because in magical prophylactic and apotropaic texts the internal organs are connected to the Children of Horus and because the canopic jars 'physically' contained the mummified organs, thereby 'protecting' them, the Children of Horus—which are identified with canopic jars from the Middle Kingdom onwards—are understood to protect, by extension, the mummified organs. This association also relies significantly on Elliot Smith's investigations (1906b, 37) of the visceral packages in 44 mummies of the 21st dynasty—mostly priests of Amun from the Second Cache of Deir el-Bahri (Bab el-Gusus). The arrangement of the figurines of the Sons of Horus with the organs (4.3.2) pointed to a preferred association between Imset and the liver, Hapy and the lungs, Duamutef and the stomach, and Qebehsenuef and the intestines. However, evidence for this is limited to the Second Cache (ch. 4, esp. 4.3.1) and there are a number of archaeological (3.1) and textual (Table 3.2) exceptions to this pattern (also, e.g. Bardinet 1995, 74–6; Taylor 2001, 66; Mathieu 2008,

11) which leads me to question the relevance of a defined pairing for the conceptualisation of canopic practices.

Moving away from an organ-focused approach to canopic practices, as I proposed above (3.2), shifts the focus from the organs to the Sons of Horus, reflecting more accurately indigenous sources that do not often acknowledge this pairing. The analysis of anatomical lists suggests that the Children of Horus have broad-ranging funerary roles that extend beyond their established assignment as protectors of the viscera. In the following sections, I review mentions of the Sons of Horus in funerary texts (3.3.1) before focusing on the conceptualisation of canopic equipment as embodiments of the Children of Horus (3.3.2) to define their roles in the burial environment in general, and in canopic practices in particular. These considerations allow to grasp an emic conception of canopic equipment and shed new light on ritual and conceptual frameworks of canopic practices (3.4).

3.3.1 The Children of Horus: conceptual and functional identity

Despite their prominence in funerary contexts, the Children of Horus have not been the focus of any comprehensive study, although they are cursorily mentioned in funerary material studies (e.g. canopic jars: Sethe 1934, 218–24; Dolzani 1979, 170–3), and in analyses of funerary texts and scenes (e.g. Lüscher 1998, 27–31; Willems 1998, 136–41; Roberson 2013, 20–2, 39–41). Only two studies depart from this proclivity to explore conceptual and functional identity of the Sons of Horus, albeit to a limited extent: Bernard Mathieu's (2008) short analysis of occurrences in the *Pyramid Texts*, which provides insights into their theological and astronomical nature, and Servajean's 2001 article which focuses, through *Book of the Dead* formulae, on the funerary motif of the Sons of Horus on the lotus flower.

Neither question the relationship of the Children of Horus with the internal organs, proceeding from the assumption they had a role in protecting the organs and in reconstituting the interior-*jb* of Osiris (3.1.2.2).

While an extensive study is required to grasp fully the extent of their roles and how these change over time, for the purpose of this work I review occurrences in the *Pyramid Texts*, the *Coffin Texts,* and the *Book of the Dead*—all funerary texts that appear in the burial environment in which canopic equipment would have been located. I focus on key conceptual and functional aspects of the Sons of Horus to provide further insights into their funerary roles and conceptual interpretation of canopic practices.

3.3.1.1 Pyramid Texts

Pyramid Texts have been found inscribed on the interior walls of the pyramids of eleven kings and queens of the Old Kingdom at Saqqara, starting with Unis (5th dynasty) up to Ibi (8th dynasty) (Allen 2015 [2005], 1–3). Table 3.3. presents mentions of the Children of Horus in the *Pyramid Texts,* including translations of the relevant passages. These translations are not my own but taken from James Allen (2015 [2005]). Section titles and architectural relationship are also borrowed from Allen. Bold is used to highlight mentions of the organs in the passages.

Spells	Mentions in text	Section titles [architectural relationship]
PT 215, (W/Unis, 148)	You shall become completed as every god: (…) your arms **Hapi and Duamutef**—when you demand to go up to the sky, you go up; your legs **Imseti and Qebehsenuef**—when you demand to go down to the undersky, you go down; (…). (Allen 2015 [2005], 35)	Resurrection ritual: Release from the duat and the earth [burial chamber]
PT 338, (T/Teti, 148)	**Hapi, Duamutef, Qebehsenuef, and Imseti** shall remove this hunger that is in the belly of Teti and this thirst that is on Teti's lips. (Allen 2015 [2005], 78)	Response to the offering ritual: Spells against hunger and thirst [burial chamber]
PT 670 (N/Pepi II, 348)	Atum has given to you, the Dual Ennead has acted for you.Your first-born child's children have raised you: **Hapi, Imseti, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuef**, [whose] identities [as firstborn] you made, [who washed your face], dried your tears, and opened your mouth with their metal fingers. (Allen 2015 [2005], 263)	Resurrection ritual: Commending the spirit to Isis and Nephthys [burial chamber]
PT 359 (T/Teti, 181)	The face of Teti has been washed by the gods, male and female: **Imseti, Hapi, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuef** (have washed) the right side of Teti, which is Horus; Djenderu-bark-striker, at the fore of his two papyrus columns, Nephthys, and Eyes-Forward, the left side of Teti, which is Seth. (Allen 2015 [2005], 80)	Spells for leaving the Duat: Summoning the ferryman [passage]
PT 688 (N/Pepi II, 522)	Those four royal property attendants of this Pepi Neferkare—**Imseti, Hapi, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuef**, Horus of Letopolis's progeny [children]—have stood up, that they might bind a rope-ladder for this Pepi Neferkare and make firm a ladder for Pepi Neferkare, and elevate Pepi Neferkare to the Beetle when he comes into being in the eastern side of the sky. (Allen 2015 [2005], 286)	Spells for approaching the sky: Ascending by ladder [antechamber]
PT 690 (N/Pepi II, 524)	Ho, Pepi Neferkare! Horus has come to you provided with [his] bas—**Hapi, Duamutef, Imseti, and Qebehsenuef**. They will get for you your identity of an Imperishable Star, and you will not perish, you will not be ended. (Allen 2015 [2005], 288)	Spells for approaching the sky: Sending the spirit to the sky [antechamber]
PT 505 (P/Pepi I, 459)	He has come from Awaret. His dangerous one is the cobra that came from the god, the uraeus that came from the Sun. Ferry him; put him in the Marsh of Reeds. Those four akhs who are with Meryre—**Hapi, Duamutef, Imseti, and Qebehsenuef**—are two on one side and two on the other side, and this Meryre is the helmsman. (Allen 2015 [2005], 161–2)	Spells for passing from the Akhet to the sky: At dawn [corridor]
PT 506 (P/Pepi I, 460)	Pepi is the She-Jackal, Meryre is He of the She-Jackal. Meryre is **Hapi**. Meryre is **Duamutef**. Meryre is **Imseti**. Meryre is **Qebehsenuef**. Meryre is Long-Wings. Pepi is those great gods at the fore of the lake. Meryre is the living Ba with the face of a centipede and the head of a sacred image, who saved his body and took his body from the disturbers. (Allen 2015 [2005], 162)	Spells for passing from the Akhet to the sky: At dawn [corridor]
PT 522 (P/Pepi I, 470)	O, **Hapi, Imseti, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuef**! Fetch for this Pepi that Khnum-made boat that is in the Winding Canal. (Allen 2015 [2005], 167)	Spells for proceeding towards the sky: Summoning the ferry [corridor]
PT 522 (M/Merenre, 353)	O, **Hapi, Imseti, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuef!** Fetch for Nemtiemzaf Merenre that Khnum-made boat that is in that Canal of the Goose. (Allen 2015 [2005], 227)	
PT 573 (P/Pepi I, 513)	For Pepi is one of those four gods—**Imseti, Hapi, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuef**—who live on Maat and lean on their electrum staves, the watchmen of the Nile-Valley land. (Allen 2015 [2005], 184)	Spells for entering and leaving the tomb: Invoking the sun at dawn [vestibule]
PT 573 (M/Merenre, 362)	For Nemtiemzaf Merenre is one of those four gods—**Imseti, Hapi, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuef**—who live on Maat and lean on their electrum staves, the watchmen of the Nile-Valley land. (Allen 2015 [2005], 227)	Spells for proceeding towards the sky: Invoking the sun [corridor]
PT 541 (P/Pepi I, 488)	You progeny of Horus—**Hapi, Duamutef, Imseti, Qebehsenuef**—escort your father, Osiris Meryre, and against that one who will give an obstacle to him with the gods. Strike Seth, save this Osiris Pepi from him from dawn onward. (Allen 2015 [2005], 175)	Spells for opening the door of the sky: Processing with the statue [vestibule]
PT 545 (P/Pepi I, 492)	Horus's progeny—**Hapi, Duamutef, Imseti, Qebehsenuef**—carry your father, this Osiris Pepi; lead him. (Allen 2015 [2005], 176)	Spells for opening the door of the sky: Processing with the statue [vestibule]
PT 580 (P/Pepi I, 522)	Father Osiris Pepi, I have struck for you as an ox the one who struck you, I have killed for you as a wild bull the one who killed you, I have broken down for you as a longhorned bull the one who broke you down. (…) what is in his scrotum is for the four gods that Horus gave birth to and desired, **Hapi, Imseti, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuef**. (Allen 2015 [2005], 188)	Spells for entering and leaving the tomb: Becoming Osiris at dusk [vestibule]

Table 3.3. Mentions of Children of Horus in *Pyramid Texts*.

The Children of Horus are descendants of Horus the Elder (*Ḥr smsw*), son of Nut and Geb—a funerary form of the creator and thus Osiris—and not of Horus the Younger (*Ḥr rnpwtj*), son of Isis and Osiris (Mathieu 2008, 9; also *CT* 157: 3.3.1.2). Although there are only

mentions of Horus (*PT* 541; *PT* 545) and not Horus the Elder in the *Pyramid Texts*, according to Mathieu (2008, 9) it is in their fundamental identity as descendants of the creator that the Children of Horus are also referred to as Children of Atum (*PT* 684), Children of Geb (*PT* 576), Children of Nut (*PT* 684) and even 'Children of Horus of Khem (Letopolis)' (*Msw.t Ḥr Ḫm*) (*PT* 688). These mentions do not include references to their mother; *PT* 580 further suggests that it is Horus that 'gave birth to and desired, Hapy, Imset, Duamutef, and Qebehesenuef'.

Two of the children, Imset and Hapy, were female and male counterparts. Taylor (2001, 65) notes that 'this original status is reflected in the grammatical dual-endings *-tj* /*-wj* of their original names; Imset was *Jms.tj*, and Hapy appears to have been *Hjp.wj*' (also Sethe 1934, 220–4; Dolzani 1979, 172; Adly 2003, 11–4). The original gender of Imset is sometimes indicated in canopic equipment, for example when the head of Imset appears beardless and painted yellow, a skin colour often associated with women (e.g. E.04352 and E.04353, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles: Reisner 1899, 61; Kees 1941, 167). Female gender is also attested in some texts on canopic equipment, such as a canopic jar from the Ramesseum where Imset's name is determined by a seated woman (Quibell 1898, pl. 19, t. II). The gender fluidity of these gods is captured in *PT* 359: 'by the gods, male and female (*m-bꜣḥ.w m ḥmt.w*): Imset, Hapy, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuef'.

The concept of the afterlife in the *Pyramid Texts* 'was predicated on the Sun's daily cycle of death and rebirth'. Consequently, 'the deceased [king]'s own afterlife was envisioned as a journey in company with the Sun. The Egyptians understood the solar circuit as a circumnavigation of the world by boat' (Allen 2015 [2005], 9). The Children of Horus appear to assist the deceased at different stages of their nightly journey from death to rebirth,

starting in the Duat (burial chamber), through the Akhet (antechamber) and into the sky (corridor and vestibule) (Allen 2015 [2005], 10–1).

In the burial chamber of Unis (*PT* 215), Teti (*PT* 338) and Pepi II (*PT* 670), the Children of Horus participate in the resurrection and offering rituals designed to 'provide the spirit with the means of life and to release it from the body so that it could begin its journey' (Allen 2015 [2005], 11). They are concerned with the manifestation of the deceased king in the sky and participate in his transformation into a new divine entity, with Hapy and Duamutef associated with the arms and Imset and Qebehsenuef with the legs (*PT* 215). They are also described as performing a wide range of actions on behalf of the deceased king. They eliminate hunger and thirst from his body (*PT* 338), wash his face (*PT* 359, *PT* 670), and use their fingers to open his mouth to enable him to eat and speak again (*PT* 670). In the antechamber (*PT* 688 and *PT* 690), the Children are identified as the 'royal property attendants' of the king as well as *bꜣ.w* of Horus, whose primary function is to aid the king to ascend the sky, thus enabling him to leave the Akhet. The characterisation of the Children as *bꜣ.w* of Horus indicates that they are 'ses émanations directes, son prolongement dans l'espace selon les directions cardinales' (Mathieu 2013, 11). I return to the celestial and stellar aspects of the Children in 3.4.2. Texts in the corridor (*PT* 505, *PT* 506, *PT* 522, and *PT* 573) are concerned mostly with the deceased king crossing from the Akhet towards the sky. In *PT* 505 the Children of Horus are recognised as the four akhs who ferry the king to the Marsh of Reeds, while they are to fetch the boat for the king in *PT* 522. Finally in the vestibule (*PT* 541 and *PT* 545) the Children of Horus are said to escort the deceased king and to lead him toward the exit. Thus, in these *Pyramid Texts*, the Children of Horus primarily assume a celestial role as helpers of the deceased king whose primary function is to assist him in his journey towards the sky.

3.3.1.2 Coffin Texts

Spells	Mentions in text
CT II, 344b–348c [157]	Now when he was a child, his sacrificial animal was a pig before his Eye had suffered-Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef, Qebehsenuef, whose father is the elder Horus and whose mother is Isis —and he said to Re: 'Give me two in Pe and two in Nekhen from this second company. May I be in my own right(?) an allotter of eternity, an opener of everlasting, a queller of strife in this my name of Horus who is on his pillar' I know the souls of Pe, they are Horus, Imsety and Hapy. (Faulkner 2004 (I), 135–6)
CT II, 357c–362b [158]	Then said Horus: 'Indeed I have placed Duamutef and Qebehsenuef with me so that I may watch over them, for they are a contentious company; further they are to be there while Nekhen is mine, according to the word of Re: 'Place them in the prison(?) of Nekhen, for <they> have done what used to be done by Her who is in the Broad Hall'; 'They are with me', you shall say, and they will end up with you until Seth knows that they are with you and complains'. O you who are in Nekhen, power is given to me, and I know the mystery if Nekhen; it is the hands of Horus and what is in them, for I have been introduced to the Souls of Nekhen. Open to me, that I may join with Horus. I know the souls of Nekhen; they are Horus, Duamutef and Qebehsenuef. (Faulkner 2004 (I), 137)
CT V, 90e–91c [397]	Bring her [i.e. the boat] to me with the best of the gods, (namely) Imseti, Hapi, Duamutef, Qebehsenuef, and he [i.e. the four gods?] will command her; the *ttwy* being placed in her bow, and he shall steer her to the place where you are. (Faulkner 2004 (II), 25)
CT V, 126b [398]	(…) Complete the barge; see, she is at the wharf (…) Her four openings are Imseti, Hapi, Duamutef and Qebehsenuef. (Faulkner 2004 (II), 34)
CT V, 192c–f [404]	WHAT IS TO BE SAID TO THE FERRYMAN OF THE FIELD OF RUSHES so that his regard may be on those gods who are on yonder side of the river (…) The ribs(?) in her hull are Imseti, Hapi, Duamutef and Qebehsenuef, (that is to say) 'He who plunders', 'He who acts as a robber', 'He who sees his father', and 'He who makes his own name'. (Faulkner 2004 (II), 49)
CT V, 357–8 [466]	XVII. Those who row him are Imseti, Hapy, Duamutef and Qebehsenuef XXVIII. Imseti, Hapi, Duamutef, Qebehsenuef. (Faulkner 2004 (II), 93–4)
CT VI, 109f–110i [520]	O N, I am Imseti, and my father Horus said to me: My son, come, betake yourself to my father N in your name of Imseti. You have come that you may gather my father N together; join him up, smoothe(?) him: and you will be his good fortune, for you are my son, a child of Horus. You have come to N; betake yourself beneath him and lift him up, do not be far from him, (even) N, in your name of Imseti. (Faulkner 2004 (II), 149)
CT VI, 111a–112f [521]	O N, I am Hapy, and I have come to you. My father Horus said to me: Run after my father Osiris and split open his mouth. I am Hapy and my father Horus said to me: You are the great runner; come, that you may join up my father N and not be far in this your name of Hapy, for you are the greatest of my children — so says Horus. You have come, O Great Runner, for you are my father N. (Faulkner 2004 (II), 150)
CT VI, 113a–114c [522]	O N, I am Duamutef, and my father Horus said to me: Come and worship my father N for me, just as you went that you might worship my mother Isis in your name of Duamutef. Join up my father N and do not be far from him, for you are my son, a child of Horus. You have come beneath N in your name of Duamutef, for you are his beloved son. I am Duamutef, and my father Horus said to me: Come to N. (Faulkner 2004 (II), 150)

CT VI, 114d–116b [523]	O N, I am Qebehsenuef, and my father Horus said to me: Come, refresh my father; betake yourself to him in your name of Qebehsenuef. You have come that you may make coolness for him after you, and do not be far from him; join him up, put him together, knit him up as regards his bones. O N, do not be far from him; O Qebehsenuef, come, betake yourself beneath N and refresh him. You are my father in your name of Qebehsenuef. (Faulkner 2004 (II), 150)
CT VI, 118a–d [525]	[four vertical lines] A boon which Imseti gives to the blessed N A boon which Hapi gives to the blessed N A boon which Duamutef gives to the blessed N A boon which Qebehsenuef gives to the blessed N. (Faulkner 2004 (II), 151)
CT VI, 358s–359f [728]	O Cloth, the Great One travels [...] multitudes; those who are among those who fly up(?) in front of Isis go to him [...] in wrath. She causes that her brother Osiris be made to travel about, she fights on behalf of her son Horus [...] Imseti, Hapi, Duamutef, Qebehenuef, in this his name of 'Three-weave cloth' [...] which is on the back of Osiris; there is none who [...], there is none who will rob you, O N, for ever. (Faulkner 2004 (II), 278)
CT VI, 380g–o [751]	O Imseti, Hapi, Duamutef, Qebehenuef, seek me out for this bread of mine, my heirs(?) reap for <me>, (namely) my surviving children. I, even I, will make a spirit of you, I give water to Thoth that he may make you content with it and you shall eat of bread of white emmer and beer of red emmer, for I give you your bread which will not go stale and your beer which will not go sour; be content with the king's boon and go [...]. (Faulkner 2004 (II), 286)
CT VI, 319r–s, 392d [761]	TO ASSEMBLE A AKH'S MEMBERS FOR HIM IN THE REALM OF THE DEAD (…) your arms are the two sons of Horus, Hapi and Imseti, your fingers and your finger-nails are the Children of Horus (*msw Ḥr*) (…) your feet are Duamutef and Qebehsenuef. (Faulkner 2004 (II), 293)
CT VII, 121q–122h [917]	O N [...] N, you standing on the earth that you may govern at the head of the gods who are before Anubis wherever he may be. An invocation offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl [... A boon which the king grants] (and also) Duamutef and Qebehsenuef. A boon which the king grants (and also) Isis and Nephthys. A boon which the king grants (and also) Imsety and [Hapy]. A boon which the king grants (and also) the god [...]. A boon which the king grants [...] at the head of the gods. O N, you are [...] Geb [...]. (Faulkner 2004 (III), 63)
CT VII, 457a-i [1126]	Apep and his backbone. Imseti, Hapi, Duamutef, Qebehsenuef. He who sees his father. He who made his own name. The sun-folk. The crew of Re, whose number is unknown. (Faulkner 2004 (III), 166)

Table 3.4. Mentions of Children of Horus in Coffin Texts.

Particular spells from the *Coffin Texts* provide further details on the filiation of the Children of Horus, specifying that their father is Horus the Elder, and their mother is Isis: 'Imset, Hapy, Duamutef, Qebehsenuef, whose father is Horus the Elder (*Ḥr smsw*) and whose mother is Isis' (*CT* 157). Spells *CT* 520–523, however, suggest that they were also starting to be understood as children of Horus the Younger, son of Isis and Osiris. Each of the Sons is called upon by their father Horus to take care of his own father Osiris (esp. *CT* 521 'My father Horus said to me (i.e. the Son of Horus): Run after my father Osiris and split open his

mouth'). They are still identified as *children* of Horus (*Msw Ḥr*) in *CT* 761, although in the spell Hapy and Imset are also 'sons' (*sꜣ.w*), suggesting the four children might now all be identified as male. Two spells, *CT* 157, and *CT* 158, allow the deceased to recognise the Souls of Pe (Buto/Lower Egypt) and Nekhen (Hierakonpolis/Upper Egypt), who symbolised the primeval kings of Egypt, served the deceased king, and also assisted the living king (Bonnet 2000 [1952], 129–30 (Buto), 299–300 (Hierakonpolis)). The identification of Imset and Hapy as Souls of Pe and Duamutef and Qebehsenuef as Souls of Nekhen alludes to their geographical reach (3.4.2).

The Children maintain from the *Pyramid Texts* their association with the ferry boat which the deceased summons in the realm of the dead and they are assimilated to some of its parts (e.g. *CT* 398, *CT* 404). In spells *CT* 520 to *CT* 523 the Children of Horus are called upon by their father Horus to care for his father Osiris and, by extension, for the deceased who is assimilated with Osiris. More specifically they are requested to 'join him up' and to 'not be far from him'. The act of 'joining up' Osiris or the deceased and staying by their side are references to the myth of Osiris. Following the attack by Seth, Osiris is reconstituted and receives protection through the hourly vigil, also called *Stundenwachen* (Assmann 1997, 7). Their role in the bodily reconstitution of the deceased, whereby appropriate qualities and functions are restored to the deceased body, is also highlighted in *CT* 761: Hapy and Imset are associated with the arms, Duamutef and Qebehsenuef with the feet, and the four of them as 'Children of Horus' with the fingers and fingernails. The four gods also grant offerings to the deceased (e.g. *CT* 525, *CT* 917). Therefore, in these *Coffin Texts*, the Children of Horus adopt a more involved and caring role towards the deceased than was articulated in the *Pyramid Texts*, and their protective role towards Osiris is starting to take shape.

3.3.1.3 Book of the Dead

Spells	Mentions in text
BD 17a, § S 12–13	(…) for I am one of these Attendants of Horus, one who speaks in behalf of the beloved of (his) Lord. WHO ARE THEY? Imseti, Hapi, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuef Hail to you, lords of truth, Council around Osiris, who inspire terror in sinners, Attendants of *Ḥtp.s-ḫw.s.* Behold, I am come unto you that you may do away with all the evil that adheres to me, just as you did for these 7 blessed ones who were in the Retinue of the lord <of nomes>, whose seats Anubis prepared on that day called Come You Thence. (...) AS FOR THE 'COUNCIL AROUND OSIRIS', these are Imseti, Hapi, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuef, who are back of the Great Bear in the northern sky. (...) AND AS FOR 'THESE 7 BLESSED ONES', (they are) Imseti, Hapi, [Duamutef], Qebehsenuef, He Whom (His) Father Has Seen, He Who Is under His Moringa Tree, and Horus with No Eyes in His Forehead. It means they were stationed by Anubis as magical protection of [Osiris]' coffin. (Allen 1974, 29)
BD 99, Intro § S 6; 99b	(...) '(With) whom, pray, have I brought it (i.e. the ship) to you?' You have brought (it) to me with the best of the gods, with <the Mzt-Staff-Bearer> himself, (along with Imseti), Hapi, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuef. (...) 'Tell me my name', say the planks in its hull. Imseti, Hapi, Duamutef, Qebehsenuef, Plundere, Taker by Force, He Who Looks <upon His Father>, and He Who Made His Own Name are your names. (Allen 1974, 79)
BD 112a, § S 2–3	(As for) Imseti, Hapi, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuef, (Horus is) their Father, and Isis is their Mother. So Horus said to Re: 'Pray give me 2 brothers in Pe and 2 in Hieraconpolis of this <company> and let (them) be with me by perpetual assignment, that the earth may grow green and turmoil cease. So originated his name of Horus on His Papyrus. I know the souls of Pe. They are Horus, Imseti, and Hapi. (Allen 1974, 91)
BD 113, § S 2–4	And Horus said: 'Then give <me> Duamutef and Qebehsenuef (to be) with (me), that I may keep them under guard, (for) they are my hostile company, that they may be put (there) under the god of Hierakonpolis'. And Re said: 'Pray put them there in darkness; do (to) them what is wont to be <done> to them that are in Hierakonpolis. Then they will prefer to be with you'. And Horus said: 'They are with you, (but they shall be with me as I hear Seth when (he complains)'. (You) souls of Hierakonpolis, I venture (to appeal to you), since I have access to (you) souls of Hierakonpolis. Open for me the knot of Horus. I know the souls of Hierakonpolis. They are Horus, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuef. (Allen 1974, 92)
BD 137A, § S 2	(O) children of Horus—Imseti, Hapi, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuef—exert you your protection over your Father Osiris Presiding over the Westerners, exert you your protection over N., as from now on. Do you away with the foulness of Osiris Presiding over the Westerners, that he may live with the gods. Smite (for) him Suty (and save N.) from him from dawn on, (even though) Horus is able to save his Father Osiris himself. Him who did this against your Father, dispossess you him. (This prayer is) for thy spirit, Osiris Presiding over the Westerners. The eye of Horus is thy savior. It exerts its protection over thee; it overthrows for thee all thy enemies. Your enemies are fallen for you from now on. Do you away with the foulness of Osiris N., that he may live with the gods. Smite the enemy of Osiris N., save Osiris N. from dawn on, (even though) Horus is able to save Osiris N. <Him> who did this against Osiris N., disposses you him. (This prayer is) for your spirit, Osiris N. The eye of Horus is your savior; it overthows for you all your enemies. Your enemies are fallen for you. (Allen 1974, 114)

BD 137A, § T 2	TO BE SAID OVER 4 FLAMES OF RED LINEN ANOINTED WITH PRIME LIBYAN OIL, IN THE HANDS OF 4 MEN WITH THE NAMES OF <THE CHILDREN> OF HORUS WRITTEN ON THEIR UPPER ARMS, AND LIT FACING THE BEAUTY OF RE. (Allen 1974, 114)
BD 141, § S 4	TO BE SAID BY N., who shall offer bread and beer, oxen, roast fowl, and burnt incense (...) to Imseti, to Hapi, to Duamutef, to Qebehsenuef (...). (Allen 1974, 117)
BD 151K	To be said by Qebehsenuef: I am your son, (O) Osiris N. I have come to be your magical protection. (I) unite for you your bones and assemble for you your members. (I have brought you your heart; I put it for you in its seat in your body. I have preserved your house after you,) while you are alive forever. (Allen 1974, 150)
BD 151L	To be said by Hapi: I am Hapi, (O) N. I have come that I may be your magical protection. (I) have attached for you your head and your limbs. (I) have smitten for you your enemies beneath you, while you are alive forever. (Allen 1974, 150)
BD 151M	To be said by Duamutef: I, (O) Osiris, I am your son Horus, your beloved. I have come that (I) may save my father Osiris from him who did him harm. I put him beneath your feet forever. (Allen 1974, 150)
BD 151N	To be said by Imseti: (I am) your son, (O) N. I have come that I may be your magical protection. (I) preserve your house abiding, abiding, as Ptah has commanded, as Re himself has commanded. (Allen 1974, 150)

Table 3.5. Mentions of Children of Horus in the *Book of the Dead*.

In terms of gender, by the time you get to these compositions, the Children are consistently male. A rubric in chapter 137A says that 'four men [are] with the names of the Children of Horus'. Imset, Duamutef and Qebehsenuef are also individually identified as 'sons' in chapter 151. Chapter 112a confirms their filiation with Horus and Isis, although it is unclear which form of Horus is referred to.

As expected, since spells of the *Book of the Dead* derive from the *Coffin Texts*, the Children's roles are similar across the compositions. They maintain their association with the ferry boat (*BD* 99), and the pairs Imset/Hapy and Duamutef/Qebehsenuef are identified as Souls of Pe and Nekhen respectively (*BD* 112a and *BD* 113). Chapter 17a also identifies them as 'these who are behind the Great Bear of the northern sky'. This association of the Children of Horus with the constellation Ursa Major (Great Bear) relates to their stellar nature and their

role in the manifestation of the deceased in the sky and is consistent in this with the *Pyramid Texts* and *Coffin Texts* (e.g. *PT* 215, *CT* 761; 3.4.2).

Similarly to the *Coffin Texts*, their protective role over Osiris is clearly stated. In chapter 137A, the Children are asked to exert their protection over Osiris and over the deceased, while in chapter 151 each of the sons announces to the deceased, who is identified as Osiris, that they have come to be his/her protection. These speeches in chapter 151 are adopted in a shorter version of one of the text types attested on canopic equipment (type XVII; 3.3.2.2). Chapter 17a explains that this protective role was conferred to them by Anubis: 'they were stationed by Anubis as magical protection of [Osiris]' coffin. A role for the Children as members of the 'tribunal which is behind Osiris' is also assigned to Imset, Hapy, Duamutef and Qebehsenuef in chapter 17a; this role is first attested in the *Book of the Dead*. This tribunal is constituted of 42 judges, all divine beings who presided over the Hall of Truth where Osiris judged the deceased.

In the *Book of the Dead*, the Children of Horus are more prominently associated with the protection of the body of Osiris and acquire a new role in the tribunal of Osiris. These roles are in alignment with their involvement in the hourly vigil (*Stundenwachen*) (3.4.1). Indeed, through the watch, Osiris—and by extension the deceased—is expected to receive protection from a second attack by Seth and assistance in court.

The analysis of attestations in the *Pyramid Texts*, *Coffin Texts*, and *Book of the Dead* confirms that the Children of Horus are not primarily defined as 'protectors of the viscera' in the burial environment and suggests instead that they are responsible for the care and protection of Osiris—and by extension the deceased—with roles evolving from granting

assistance to the deceased king in the nightly journey (e.g. *PT* 522, *PT* 541) to caring for the deceased (e.g. *CT* 520 to *CT* 523), to exerting protection and providing assistance in court (*BD* 17a).The texts also reveal the celestial and stellar roles of the Children, which Raven (2005, 42) argues was their primary function, preceding their role as protectors of the body as a whole. The Children of Horus thus assist with the ascension and manifestation of the deceased in the sky (e.g. *PT* 215, *CT* 761), and are directly associated with the directions of Egypt (e.g. Pe and Nekhen: *CT* 157 and *CT* 158) and the cosmos (e.g. constellation Ursa Major: *BD* 17a).

3.3.2 Children of Horus in the burial: conceptualising canopic equipment

The long-standing characterisation of the Children of Horus as protectors of the viscera stems, in part, from a reductive conceptualisation of canopic jars as containers that protected the viscera. In the following section, I reassess this conceptualisation of canopic equipment through a material and textual analysis. In agreement with Smith (2009, 31–2), I argue canopic jars were embodiments of the Sons of Horus in the burial.

The earliest equipment that has been explained 'as being intended to contain the viscera' (Ikram and Dodson 1998, 277) is the travertine canopic chest (Cairo Museum JE 52452) of 4th dynasty Queen Hetepheres I, wife of Snefru and mother of Khufu, found in her (putative) burial, Giza G7000X (Reisner and Smith 1955, 21–2, pl. 44; Dodson 1994, 8, pl. Ia). The canopic chest contained the remains of wrapped packages that were 'almost certainly the viscera' (Lucas 1962 [1926], 271). Mark Lehner (1985, 31) rightfully points out that, since the solid material has never been analysed, its nature cannot be stated with any certainty (also 3.1). It is likely that the packages are 'bundles of linen cloth soaked with substances

(...) associated with the embalming process' as seen in boxes, recesses, and pits found in Old Kingdom mastabas (Rzeuska 2011, 247; 2.3.1). The first recognised evidence of jars used as containers for internal organs is dated towards the end of the 4th dynasty; they belonged to Queen Meresankh III (Boston MFA 27–6–1 to 4: Brovarski 1978, 195–6; Ikram and Dodson 1998, 278). Similarly to Hetepheres I's canopic chest, no analyses of the content have been carried out, rendering the evidence disputable. Canopic equipment—stone or rock-cut chests and stone jars with flat or convex lids—are found throughout the Old Kingdom. While canopic equipment may have started off as containers for the organs or other ritually significant materials in the 4th dynasty, I argue this is not an appropriate conceptualisation of the equipment beyond the Old Kingdom.

From the First Intermediate Period, canopic jars start to gain human-headed stoppers, in place of the former flat or convex lids (Ikram and Dodson 1998, 278). This material change is accompanied by the inclusion of canopic inscriptions naming the Children of Horus on the body of the jars (Type I: Sethe 1934, 1*; 3.3.2.2). It marks the beginning of an association with the Sons of Horus. From the 12th–13th dynasties, canopic inscriptions start to evolve from the basic formulae invoking the Sons of Horus to more elaborate inscriptions calling for the protective embrace of the four goddesses—Isis, Nephthys, Neith, and Serqet—and proclaiming the deceased's honour before her and the relevant son of Horus (Ikram and Dodson 1998, 280–1; e.g. Type III: Seth 1934, 1*; 3.3.2.2). These provide the structure for most canopic inscriptions up to the Late Period. The use of human heads became standard for canopic jars from the First Intermediate Period into the New Kingdom, during which time there was a gradual switch from human-headed stoppers to those depicting the animal forms of the Children of Horus (e.g. Ikram and Dodson 1998, 278, 284; Klein 2013). Animal-headed stoppers were prevalent in the Ramesside Period (e.g. Dodson 1994, 76;

Klein 2013). Mentions of goddesses disappear from the canopic inscriptions and the protection of the deceased becomes entirely the responsibility of the Children of Horus (Type XII: Sethe 1934, 8*; 3.3.2.2). In the Ramesside Period a wider range of canopic equipment is first attested. Some individuals adopt miniature coffins, rather than jars, to contain viscera (Ikram and Dodson 1998, 288) and wax figurines of the Sons of Horus are found inside the mummified abdominal cavities of Ramesses III and Ramesses V (Hawass and Saleem 2016, 174, 184, 242).

Developments in canopic equipment and canopic inscriptions have been described at length in Egyptological scholarship (e.g. Dodson 1994; Ikram and Dodson 1998, 276–2; inscriptions: Sethe 1934). I depart from this approach and focus on the conceptualisation of these developments rather than their nature.

3.3.2.1 Canopic jars: from containers to Children of Horus

The characterisation of canopic jars as containers is the result of a conceptualisation of the viscera as representing the whole body. Because of similarities in their treatment and Middle Kingdom instances of visceral packages being treated as miniature mummies, with cartonnage masks placed over anthropoid wrapped visceral bundles (Ikram and Dodson 1998, 276, 279), 'each of the organs is regarded as an independent embodiment of the mummified deceased himself' (Taylor 2001, 64). From this parity established between the organs and the mummy is then inferred a functional and conceptual parity between the coffin and the canopic jar, whereby canopic jars, like coffins, are containers representing the deceased and protecting their contents.

While I agree that there exist parallels between the treatments applied to the body and those applied to the internal organs, they are markers of a transformation into divine rather than indicating an assimilation to the mummy, as demonstrated in chapter 2. What we perceive to be markers of a preserved mummified body—the wrapping of the body and the use of mummy masks—to ancient Egyptians were markers of divine status (Riggs 2014, 77–90).

The interpretation of viscera as embodiments of the deceased and the parity established between canopic jars and coffins has led some scholars (e.g. Engelbach 1961, 250–1; Dodson and Ikram 1998, 278) to interpret the human-headed stoppers that appear on 11th dynasty canopic jars as deriving from mummy masks and hence representing the deceased. In agreement with Taylor (2001, 67; also Reisner 1899, 62; Sethe 1934, 226), I consider instead that the human-headed lids represent the Children of Horus and I understand canopic jars as representations of the Sons of Horus from the beginning of the Middle Kingdom onwards. This interpretation of the iconography is supported by canopic inscriptions that appear on vases from the period, discussed below (3.3.2.2). Further, I reiterate that canopic jars and the viscera were essentially the same: embodiments of the Sons of Horus. This is in keeping with recent work by Uta Siffert on Middle Kingdom mummy-shaped coffins (2019). Siffert revises the idea of mummy-coffin as affording 'just protection' for the deceased suggesting instead that 'perhaps no functional distinction is to be made between the mummy-shaped coffin and the mummy itself, since they were essentially the same' (2019, 28).

The conceptual evolution from containers to embodiments of the Children of Horus that seems to have occurred in the Middle Kingdom is to be integrated within broader conceptual changes associated with the development of Osiris and related beliefs. As argued by Siffert

(2019, 29), the ‘meaning and interpretation of the mummy changed’ during this time, shifting from a ‘ritual object’ with all its attributes (late Middle Kingdom) to a representation of the deceased as Osiris at the very end of the Middle Kingdom. Similarly, canopic jars evolved from objects containing organs or ‘other ritually significant materials’ (Riggs 2014, 92) to being representations of the Sons of Horus, who had a duty towards the deceased as Osiris.

3.3.2.2 Canopic inscriptions: an emic perspective on canopic jars

Despite their potential in providing an emic understanding of the role of canopic jars and of the relationship between the Sons of Horus and the organs, canopic inscriptions and their developments have not been considered since Sethe’s 1934 publication. While these inscriptions would benefit from an integrated approach—looking at texts within a broader burial framework—I focus on aspects relevant for my argument that: (a) support the identification of canopic jars as Sons of Horus; and (b) demonstrate that Sons of Horus were not protectors of the viscera. In fact, the texts on the canopic jars never refer to the protection of the viscera.

The first attested canopic inscriptions give only names of the Sons of Horus (Type I: Sethe 1934, 1*) and appear on wooden vases of the early Middle Kingdom from tombs at Meir (e.g. CG 4253–4258: Reisner 1899, 61, 63; Reisner and Abd-ul-Rahman 1967, 177–80). Sethe (1934, 225) recognised in these inscriptions designations of the contents of the jar, as with food vessels. In agreement with Sethe, I see these first inscriptions as indicators that the viscera are embodiments, ‘Hypostasen’, of the Sons of Horus, but differently from him, I argue that the jars themselves are representations of the Sons of Horus in the burial (*contra*

Sethe 1934, 226), as is confirmed by the human-headed stoppers representing the Children of Horus discussed above (3.3.2.1).

It is regularly stated (e.g. Ikram and Dodson 1998, 278) that the inscriptions found on canopic jars of the Middle Kingdom attest to protection of the Sons of Horus over the viscera; this, however, needs to be nuanced. Inscriptions found on canopic jars from the 12th dynasty (Type II: Sethe 1934, 1*) refer to a particular son on each jar:

> *jm³ḫy ḥr Jms.tj NN nb jm³ḫy*
> The revered one before Imset NN, possessor of veneration

While the formula is generally understood to invoke the protection of the god who was associated with the contained viscera, I think it is best understood as a way of tying that protection to the deceased through their name. The same '*jm³ḫy*-phrases' are found on coffins, in captions to depictions of the Sons of Horus, in contexts where the Sons protectively surround the deceased *NN nb jm³ḫy* placed in the coffin (Willems 1988, 136–8).

In the 12th–13th dynasties a notion of protection appears in canopic inscriptions. The first formula of 'invoking protection' is Sethe's type III (1934, 1*):

> *(j) ³s.t stp s³=ṯ ḥr Jms.tj nty jm=ṯ jm³ḫy ḥr Jms.tj NN*
> (O) Isis, establish your protection over Imset who is in you, (and on) the revered one before Imset NN

A literal interpretation of this formula, in which one of four goddesses—Isis, Nephthys, Neith, and Serqet—protects the son of Horus *who is in her*, prompted Sethe (1934, 226) to conceptualise canopic jars as embodiments of the goddesses and the mummified organs as embodiments of the Sons of Horus. However, a similar formula is found on canopic chests (Type IV and VI: Sethe 1934, 1*–2*); challenging Sethe's literal interpretation, which also relies on the assumption that protection can only be achieved physically. It is possible, albeit

not necessary, that the goddesses were to be embodied in the canopic chest—on which they are represented—rather than the jars. The Sons of Horus, embodied by the jars, could thus be loosely understood as being 'in' the goddesses associated with the canopic chest, following 'nesting principles' observed in coffin nests (Bettum 2017). I propose that the formula is to be understood as a 'merging of layers' (Bettum 2018, 275) in which the canopic chest layer is incorporated into the textual composition of the canopic jar and that it is taken to render the canopic chest function; it would ensure the goddesses' protection for the Children of Horus should a chest become separated from its contents, the canopic jars.

From the end of the Middle Kingdom (13th–14th dynasties) canopic inscriptions are introduced with the formula 'words spoken by' (*ḏd mdw (jn)*), with the relevant goddess speaking of the protective embrace that she gives to the son of Horus and to the deceased who are with her (Type VI: Sethe 1934, 2*):

> *ḏd mdw jn ꜣs.t ḥꜣp ꜥ.wy=t ḥr Jms.tj nty ḫr=t jmꜣḫy ḫr Jms.tj NN*
> Words spoken by Isis: Embrace in your arms Imset who is in you (and) the revered one before Imset NN

Encompassing gestures represent a strong protective shield in Egyptian magic and religion and this action starts to be visualised on canopic chests from the New Kingdom, where the goddesses are depicted with their arms extended over the corners of the chest (e.g. Ikram and Dodson 1998, 282–3).

Although it was not apparent in funerary texts, in canopic equipment, the four Children of Horus are associated with—and protected by—four goddesses: Isis, Nephthys, Neith, and Serqet. In these roles, Isis was usually the protector of Imset, Nephthys of Hapy, Neith of Duamutef and Serqet of Qebehesenuef. As funerary goddesses, Isis and Nephthys were mourners, sustainers, and protectors of the deceased, having played an important part in assisting, protecting, and supporting Osiris in the Osirian myth. They contribute to the

transformation and protection of the deceased as an Osiris by carrying out a number of actions during the embalming ritual (e.g. Isis: Bonnet 2000 [1952], 327–8; *LGG* I, 63; Nephthys: Bonnet 2000 [1952], 519–20; *LGG* IV, 97). They appear in the *Pyramid Texts* assisting the deceased king and adopted protective and sustaining roles in the funerary texts of later periods.

Neith and Serqet were a second pair of funerary goddesses balancing that of Osiris' sisters (e.g. Neith: Bonnet 2000 [1952], 516–7; *LGG* III, 511; Serqet: Bonnet 2000 [1952], 696; *LGG* VI, 438). They both adopt this protective role early on and are associated with Isis and Nephthys as female mourners during the burial proceedings in the *PT* 555 (§1375: Hays 2010, 4). In *PT* 606, Neith and Serqet are said to watch over the deceased Osiris, along with Isis and Nephthys.

These four goddesses do not appear to have had a distinctive connection with the viscera beyond that implied, for previous commentators, by these canopic practices—no connection is shown in the anatomical lists (3.1.3). Because of this, Raven (2005, 44) suggests that any association they have is probably cosmic or stellar. While there certainly are celestial and stellar perspectives to the roles of these gods and goddesses in canopic practices (3.4.2), I believe that the goddesses are primarily associated with the Children of Horus and canopic practices for their roles as assistants to the deceased.

A shift in canopic inscriptions occurs from the end of the New Kingdom when mentions of goddesses disappear, to be replaced by words spoken by the Children of Horus (Type XII: Sethe 1934, 8*), thereby placing the protection of the deceased entirely in their responsibility:

ḏd mdw jn Jms.tj jnq ꜥ.wy=k ḥr ntt jm=k jmꜣḫy ḫr Jms.tj Wsjr NN
Words spoken by Imset: Embrace with your arms the one who is in you, the revered one before Imset Osiris NN

This shift is representative of the wider range of roles, including a more involved protective role, that the Children of Horus take on in the New Kingdom, as reflected in the *Book of the Dead*. From the 21st dynasty, the protection of the Children of Horus in relation to the deceased is clearly emphasised in inscriptions that identify each son of Horus as the son of the deceased (then Osiris) (*jnḳ sꜣ=k*) and states that the son 'has come to be as the protection'(*jy.j wn m sꜣ=k*) of the deceased (Type XVII: Sethe 1934*, 10*; e.g. Reisner 1899, 68–9). From the 26th dynasty, the protective formula inscribed on canopic jars adopts an identical structure to the anatomical lists found in magical prophylactic and apotropaic texts: 'the protection of [name of the body parts] is the protection of [name of deity]' (Walker 1996, 289, code 4); in the case of canopic jars the protection of the deceased is the protection of the son of Horus (Type XIX: Sethe 1934, 12*).

This iconographic and textual survey and initial reassessment of canopic equipment confirms that the jars were conceived of as embodiments of the Sons of Horus in the burial and demonstrates that the Children of Horus participated in the protection of the deceased, rather than the viscera. This has implications for the interpretation of canopic practices more broadly such as the roles of the Children of Horus and the conceptualisation of canopic equipment as their embodiments, and I take these implications further forward below (3.4).

3.4 Ritual and conceptual frameworks of canopic practices

Viewing canopic equipment as the materialisation of the Children of Horus in the burial sheds new light on the conceptual interpretation of canopic practices as they can be integrated into the ritual and conceptual frameworks in which the Children of Horus operate.

The *Stundenwachen* (also referred to as 'hourly vigil') in the embalming hall, for instance, constitutes a ritual setting in which the Children of Horus play active roles as protectors of the deceased/Osiris (3.4.1). Further, the celestial and stellar roles of the Children of Horus, whereby they are connected with the four corners of the sky and contribute to integrating the body of the deceased/Osiris into the cosmos, are indicative of an underlying conceptual framework of 'cosmic notions' (Raven 2005, 37) in which to view canopic practices (3.4.2).

While a detailed conceptual analysis of canopic practices would require an exploration of canopic material through time and in connection with other funerary equipment—notably coffins, because the Children of Horus are almost universally present on coffins from the Middle Kingdom (Willems 1988, 143) onwards—this lies beyond the scope of this thesis. In the following discussion I aim instead to highlight key aspects of these ritual and conceptual frameworks to outline new conceptual interpretations of canopic practices.

3.4.1 The *Stundenwachen* ritual

The *Stundenwachen* ritual is the title given within Egyptological scholarship to an hourly vigil performed over the body of the deceased in the embalming place and modelled on that conducted over the corpse of Osiris (Smith 2009, 37; Pries 2011, 10–1). The ritual is based on two episodes of the Osiris myth, which are transferred here to the deceased in the sense of a mythical model or precedent: it provides the deceased protection from attacks and assists in her or his judgement (Assmann 1997, 7). After the murder of Osiris, his mummified corpse was vulnerable to further attacks from his enemies, so a wake was instituted over it in the place of embalming to ward off Seth and his followers. The mummified Osiris then appears in court and brings the murderer to justice. In obtaining

justice against Seth, Osiris, declared free of wrongdoing, was restored to life since his death was an injustice (Smith 2008, 3). The model underlying the vigil is that of the twofold process of resurrection that Osiris underwent: mummification and justification (Smith 2008, 2–3).

The mummified corpse appears to have been the subject of a vigil (Assmann 1986), at least since the Middle Kingdom and potentially earlier. Martin Bommas (2007, 19) tentatively suggests that *Pyramid Text* spell 320 is a first attestation of the hourly vigil, on the basis of reference to the division of the night into hours. The earliest explicit reference to this watch, however, occurs in *Coffin Text* spell 49 (*CT* I, 217a: Assmann and Bommas 2002, 266–76) where the gods who are in the embalming hall are enjoined to: 'Set your protection about your master, divide up the hours for the lord of the white crown' (Smith 2009, 249). It is assumed that this watch took place the night before the day of burial, the so-called 'night of mummification', when an abbreviated version of the entire mummification process was re-enacted to make it conform in length with the mummification of Osiris (Assmann and Bommas 2002, 272–3; also Smith 2009, 37, 312). It is notable that the newly gained prominence of *Stundenwachen* in the embalming ritual in the Middle Kingdom corresponds to the appearance of Sons of Horus on canopic jars.

The performance of the *Stundenwachen* ritual is attested both in the cult of the dead and in temple rituals in favour of Osiris (Pries 2011, 10). The guarding of Osiris' body is detailed most notably in the *Stundenwachen* texts of the Ptolemaic temples of Dendera, Edfu, and Philae (Smith 2009, 249; Pries 2011, 4). The texts list the ritual acts to be performed, the words to be recited, and the deities responsible for Osiris' protection during each hour of the day and night (Smith 2009, 249–50; also Assmann 1986, 104; Pries 2011, 10–1). The

recitations for each hour start with the same formulaic structure that assigns a guardian god to the protection of Osiris and evokes formulae of canopic jars (type XVII and XIX): '[name] who is in the protection of Osiris for this hour' who 'comes to see Osiris' (Pries 2011, 12–3; Junker 1910, 2). During the 12 hours of the night, the same circle of protective gods, together with other gods, operates in hourly changing constellations. The four Children of Horus are guardians of the first four hours of the night (Pries 2011, esp. 100–2; also Junker 1910, 15–7) as well as the first four hours of the day (Pries 2011, 339; also Junker 1910, 10–1), and play an important role in this protective wake. Along with other deities, they enact the protection of the deceased against the enemies who might penetrate the embalming chamber and damage the corpse.

As highlighted by Smith (2009, 250; also Assmann 1986, 104), glorifications and lamentations figure prominently in the recitations of the ritual, revealing that the purpose of the *Stundenwachen* ritual was not only the protection of the deceased/Osiris but also their transfiguration. As part of this revivification process, Hays (2010, 6) notes that 'a ritualised judgment of the dead may have been enacted' during the nocturnal portion of the *Stundenwachen* ritual, 'with officiants filling the roles of the deities Isis, Nephthys, Horus, Anubis, and Thoth'. Additionally, texts such as P. Rhind I (2.6.2.3) would have been recited to ensure the deceased's justification (Smith 2009, 312); sections 12 and 16 of P. Rhind 1 provide clear insights into the roles of the Children of Horus in the *Stundenwachen*. In the twelfth section (8,6–8,12: Möller 1913, 38–41; Smith 2009, 328), the Children of Horus—who can represent components of the deceased's personality (Smith 2009, 309; also Assmann 1979)—'testify to the good treatment which they received from the deceased during their lifetime', attesting thus to the deceased's good character. In doing so, the

Children of Horus provide support to the deceased in the judgment process to ensure their justification:

> The four children of Horus are before you, adoring Osiris, their hands raised in his presence. They will say, namely Amseti, Hapi, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuef: We have come before our father at the end of his time of going to the West. He did not mistreat us during his lifetime. We drank to inebriation daily. ⟨We⟩ ate fowl and fish exactly as our hearts desired. We drank well and we slept well. We had man's sustenance before us. We grew venerable on earth. We have come to the West so that we might tell of his goodness in the presence of the lord of the West. May he hear our voices, the lord of the West. May he favour you for ever and ennoble you (...) (8,6–8,10: Smith 2009, 328)

The sixteenth section of the text (11,4–11,13: Smith 2009, 331–2) refers to the protective role of the Children of Horus over the deceased in the hourly vigil: 'the children of Horus watch over you at night, during the day, and at all times, every day'.

While the *Stundenwachen* ritual would have been performed before the burial, it was necessary to ensure the rite could be repeated perpetually (Smith 2009, 64–5). Texts and representations relating to the *Stundenwachen* are therefore found on the walls of some burial chambers or on sarcophagi and coffins deposited in them. Assmann (1997, 6) identified representations of deities that are performing the hourly vigil in the individual deities who are represented on the coffins with addresses to the dead. Expanding on Assmann's analysis (1997, 6), I propose that, as embodiments of the Children of Horus, canopic jars deposited in the burial were intended to perpetuate the protective role of the Children of Horus in the hourly vigil.

3.4.2 Canopic jars and celestial space

> As part of the rites of passage accompanying various critical phases in human existence, such as birth and death, it was essential that a person's body conformed to the directions of the cosmos. After all, the human body is nothing else than a microcosmos, a true model of the universe (Raven 2005, 40)

The conception of the universe in ancient Egypt was that of a quadripartite space, of which the limits were the four cardinal points (Lucarelli 2006b, 151; also Goyon 1987, 58). According to Raven (2005, 37), it was necessary for the ancient Egyptians to emulate the 'proper organisation of the cosmos' as an 'image of the ordered world' in a context of liminality. Raven (2005) argues that during rituals connected with liminal processes (i.e. periods of transition from one state of existence to another), such as mummification and burial, the body needed to conform to the four directions of cosmos, following an idea of identity between the human body (the microcosmos) and the universe (the macrocosmos). He further argues that funerary equipment (e.g. coffin, canopic jars) displays an 'underlying system of cosmic notions' (Raven 2005, 37).

Although Raven (2005, 44) recognises in the canopic jars and their contents embodiments of the Children of Horus, his interpretation of canopic equipment in the burial spatial framework is integrated within a traditional view of mummification—and of the role of the Children of Horus—as preserving 'the integrity and intact condition of the body, a logical connotation of their fourfold number (symbol of totality and completeness)' (Raven 2005, 43). As a result, he views canopic equipment (jars and chest) as a self-contained cosmos in which the canopic jars and their contents (i.e. the Children of Horus) are protected by the four goddesses mentioned in canopic texts and depicted on the sides of canopic chests: Isis, Nephthys, Neith and Serqet. I consider instead the celestial associations of the Children of Horus and their role in integrating the body of the deceased/Osiris into the celestial space.

In burial contexts, the Children of Horus are traditionally recognised as guardians of the four cardinal points that delimit the universe (e.g. Bonnet 2000 [1952], 315; Dodson 2001, 562), whereby Imset and Isis are linked with the south, Hapy and Nephthys with the north,

Qebehsenuef and Serqet with the west and Duamutef and Neith with the east (e.g. Sourdive 1984, 396–7; Dodson 2001, 562). These much-repeated connections appear to derive primarily from an inscription on the second pylon of the Ramesseum (L*D, Abth*. III. B1. 163: Eggebrecht 1975a; 1975b; 1977; Drenkhan 1980) and from the attempts to theorise the placement of the gods and goddesses on coffins and canopic equipment within this directional system (e.g. Raven 2005, 44). However, as Raven (2005, 45) notes, conflicting orientation systems can be observed on funerary equipment; the Children of Horus can either occupy corner positions or be represented on the four side walls of coffins and canopic chests (examples: Raven 2005, 52). Building on earlier scholarship (e.g. Schäfer 1908; Kurth 1975) and using Middle Kingdom coffin decoration as evidence—where the Children of Horus are found in the horizontal bands at the corners of the coffin—Willems (1988, 140–1) argues instead for an identification of the Children as 'personifications of the supports of the sky'. This spatial distribution results in a set of directional associations that differs somewhat from the classical cardinal connections, where the Children of Horus are associated with ordinal directions: Imset is northeast, Hapy is northwest, Duamutef is southeast and Qebehsenuef is southwest (Nyord 2009, 515–6). Raven (2005, 45; also Nyord 2009, 516) observes that this tendency of the Children of Horus to change orientation and positions over time makes it difficult to assign a specific cardinal direction to each god.

A different, but not completely unrelated, approach to the roles of the Children of Horus in the burial is found in Nadine Guilhou's (1997; also Nyord 2009, 515–6) interpretation of the roles of the Children of Horus in the *Gliedervergottung* list of *PT* 215,which is concerned with the manifestation of the deceased king in the sky and participates in his transformation into a new divine entity in identifying him with celestial bodies (Guilhou 1997, 227; Nyord 2009, 518). Guilhou recognises in the deities listed—which include the four Children of

Horus—representations of stars and constellations (Guilhou 1997, 227; also Mathieu 2008, 13; Nyord 2009, 515–6). She proposes to view the spatial and cardinal associations of the Children of Horus in a celestial context, in which the role of the Sons of Horus is to integrate the deceased into the cosmos:

> Ici, ils inscrivent Ounas dans l'espace, non pas seulement horizontalement, selon les directions cardinales, mais verticalement, entre le ciel d'en haut et le ciel d'en bas, et aussi entre le ciel du jour et celui de la nuit. (Guilhou 1997, 227)

This suggests that the Children of Horus should be viewed less specifically as representing specific cardinal directions and more comprehensively as a group defining a celestial space. In burial context, representations of the Children of Horus, such as canopic jars, might thus be viewed as a symbolic representation of the space in which the deceased/Osiris is to be integrated. Guilhou's proposition is in keeping with the astronomical transpositions of the Children of Horus into asterisms—patterns or groups of stars that can be seen in the night sky—discussed by Mathieu (2008, 11–4). Constellations such as Orion and Ursa Major provide asterisms that are particularly evocative of the role of the Children of Horus in integrating the deceased/Osiris into the celestial space. For instance, Orion's belt—equated in this context to Osiris—appears to be surrounded by four other stars—interpreted as the four Children of Horus; similarly in Ursa Major the Big Dipper provides an asterism where four stars (Children of Horus) are 'standing around' a figure of Osiris, invisible in that case (Mathieu 2008, 12; also 14 for figures). This stellar association with Ursa Major is articulated in chapter 17a of the *Book of the Dead* where Imset, Hapy, Duamutef and Qebehsenuef are 'these who are behind the Great Bear of the northern sky' (3.3.1.3).

In this context, I argue that canopic equipment functioned as an expression of these asterisms in the burial, whereby the Children of Horus as canopic jars surround the deceased/Osiris in

the coffin, permitting the permanent manifestation of the deceased/Osiris in the sky. Their presence in the burial ensured that the body complied to the four directions of the sky, which was so crucial in liminal events and spaces such as mummification and burial (Raven 2005, 37), and would have been particularly relevant when an abbreviated version of the entire mummification process was re-enacted in the *Stundenwachen*.

The astronomical connection of the Children of Horus also appears to wield extra protection. The quadripartite conception of the universe is transposed, to some extent, on the burial environment, thus configuring the burial as an ordered space threatened by dangers coming from beyond its limits (Lucarelli 2006b, 154–5). The celestial and geographical reach of the Children of Horus allows the effect of their presence in the burial to extend through towards the cosmos, repelling at the same time the negative influence of chaos from all direction, following principles of defensive magic connected to the protection of the tomb (e.g. four protective bricks: Roth and Roehrig 2002; Lucarelli 2006b, 157).

3.5 From organs to Sons of Horus: revisiting canopic practices

In this chapter I characterised canopic practices within the revised transformative framework of chapter 2. I reviewed the conceptual and belief systems underlying canopic practices, reassessing notably conceptions of the internal organs, roles of the Children of Horus and conceptualisation of canopic equipment in the burial—using both textual and archaeological data.

The review of medical texts and anatomical lists highlighted that the viscera—that is the lungs, liver, spleen, and entrails—were categorised differently than other body parts, and possibly conceived of as ‘primary functional entities’ whose physiological functions were

to manufacture and store energy, blood, and body fluid. Based on their absence from a majority of textual sources and supported by archaeological data, I suggested that the nature of the four organs to be removed may not have been essential. I proposed that canopic practices were focused on the creation of four entities—the Children of Horus—rather than on the preservation and transformation of a specific set of organs. This moves analysis away from an organ-focused approach to canopic practices, shifting focus to the Sons of Horus.

In specific groups of funerary texts, all of which are attested in burial environments in which canopic equipment would have been located, the Sons of Horus were responsible for the care and protection of the deceased/Osiris but also assumed celestial and stellar roles, such as assisting with the ascension and manifestation of the deceased in the sky. Canopic jars take on these roles as embodiments of the Children of Horus, confirming that the Children of Horus participated in the protection of the deceased, rather than that of the viscera. Canopic practices can therefore be integrated into the ritual and conceptual frameworks in which the Children of Horus operate—the *Stundenwachen* ritual and the manifestation of the deceased in the sky

Thus canopic practices can be characterised in the following terms:

(i) canopic practices may not have been concerned with internal organs; the purpose of the treatment of the viscera may instead need to be framed as the creation of four divine entities, the Children of Horus;

(ii) the conceptualisation of canopic jars as containers that protected the viscera is reductive; canopic jars are to be understood as embodiments of the Children of Horus in the burial;

(iii) canopic jars deposited in the burial permitted the roles of the Children of Horus to be perpetuated in the *Stundenwachen*; they also allowed the permanent manifestation of the deceased/Osiris in the sky.

Chapter 4 builds on these interpretive positions by reviewing developments in canopic equipment in early first millennium burials. Pursuing my approach of canopic practices using principles and methods of ritual practice theory—which encompasses both conceptual and material perspectives—I focus in chapter 4 on material that was produced during the early first millennium BCE (21st–24th dynasties, c. 1076–723 BCE). I review developments in canopic equipment of early first millennium burials in light of the new characterisation of canopic practices and I demonstrate conceptual continuity despite material change in canopic practices.

4. Reassessing canopic equipment in early first millennium burials

> During the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasties the practice of placing the viscera in Canopic jars was given up, and they were wrapped in four parcels, each with a wax image of its appropriate guardian deity, and returned to the body. Canopic jars of this period are known, but they are dummies, and figure amongst the burial equipment merely in servile obedience to the old tradition (Dawson 1927, 48)

> A fundamental change in canopic practice took place around the beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty. For apparently the first time, after separate desiccation and wrapping, the internal organs were replaced within the body cavity, often accompanied by small wax figures of the Four Sons of Horus. (...) Curiously, this did not result in the demise of canopic equipment (...) high-status individuals continued to possess such items – albeit empty (Ikram and Dodson 1998, 289).

In the century since Warren Dawson's publication, quoted first here, the portrayal of canopic practice developments in the early first millennium BCE has not progressed much, as the second quotation indicates. It is framed as a time where canopic practices fundamentally change, particularly by the replacement of internal organs inside the body—accompanied by figures of the Sons of Horus—and the interruption in the use of canopic jars as containers. This characterisation of the practice derives, however, from the modern reductive conceptualisation of canopic jars as containers protecting the mummified inner organs of the deceased (e.g. Bács *et al.* 2009, 101), which I argued against in chapter 3. Consequently, the maintenance of canopic jars in burials is commonly regarded as simply a continuation of older traditions. For basic economic reasons, at least, this seems unlikely. Pressures on the Theban economy in the 21st dynasty meant that no elaborate tombs were built, and cemeteries were 'managed' more rigorously, with mummies being hidden in cache tombs (Cooney 2012, 144–7). The quantity and range of funerary items is significantly reduced in comparison to earlier periods, and each element included in this restricted burial equipment must have been deemed absolutely necessary.

The aim of this chapter is to revisit this long-held belief that a fundamental change took place in canopic practice in the Third Intermediate Period. To that end, I review developments in canopic equipment from the 21st to the 24th dynasty (c. 1076–723 BCE; 1.3.2), assessing the nature of these developments in light of the new characterisation of canopic practices. I begin with canopic equipment from Lower Egypt: Tanite royal necropolis, the priestly necropolis of Memphis, and the necropolis of Herakleopolis Magna (4.2). I compare these with groups from Thebes, from the caches of Deir el-Bahri and the priestly necropolis of the Ramesseum (4.3).[74] I articulate the material analysis at a number of geographical, chronological, and demographical levels to propose a new characterisation of canopic equipment in the early first millennium BCE. I then assess material developments considering the revised theoretical and conceptual understanding of the practice and demonstrate conceptual continuity throughout Third Intermediate Period canopic practices despite material changes in canopic equipment (4.4). In keeping with the results of chapter 3, I argue that if canopic jars are to be understood as embodiments of the Sons of Horus in the burial, then pseudo-canopic jars, dummy canopic jars, wax figurines, and wooden figures of the Sons of Horus are not conceptually different

4.1. Introduction

The early first millennium BCE was a period of substantial changes and developments on many levels: political, economic, social, and religious (e.g. Taylor 2003a; Bareš *et al.* 2010; Taylor 2010b; Mushett Cole 2017). As a result from the gradual breakdown of the centralised state at the end of the 20th dynasty—including the loss of Egypt's provinces in Syria and Palestine—and further advances by Libyan tribes (Van Dijk 2003, 296–303), the

[74] The geographical and chronological distribution as well as the limits of the dataset were described in the introduction (1.3.2).

period is characterised by political fragmentation—with the gradual disintegration of centralised authority and the emergence of regional centres of power—and by the dominance of Libyan and Kushite rulers (Taylor 2003a, 335–9). In the 21st dynasty, Egypt was effectively split in two, with Lower Egypt under the authority of the king in Tanis, while the high priests of Amun in Karnak controlled Upper Egypt from Thebes (Jansen-Winkeln 2006a). In the 22nd dynasty the fragmentation intensified with the rise of collateral dynasties in parallel with the ruling line based in the north at Tanis, Bubastis, and Memphis (Mushett Cole 2017, 82): a Theban/Herakleopolitan 23rd dynasty (Aston 1989), and a 24th dynasty based in Sais (Dodson and Hilton 2004, 232–3; also Jansen-Winkeln 2006b). Due to the instabilities of the 22nd dynasty, the office of the high priest of Amun progressively lost influence, with power shifting in favour of the god's wife of Amun (Meffre 2016, 47–60, esp. 51). Further, as noted by Raphaële Meffre (2016, 56), 'the cult of Montu gained in importance in Thebes, alongside Amun's cult, during the second half of the 22nd dynasty; by the end of the Libyan Period, the high-ranking Theban families were involved in his priesthood'. In the 25th dynasty, while rulers of Kushite descent (Jansen-Winkeln 2000a, 5) managed to impose their authority over Egypt, principalities that had been autonomous under the rule of the Libyans retained their independence (Taylor 2003a, 346–8).

This chapter encompasses groups of material dating from the 21st to the 24th dynasty, but this should not be understood as a rigid temporal framework. In this thesis I adopt a definition of the period under study according to socio-cultural continuity rather than fluctuations of political power. As is well-recognised (e.g. Taylor 2003b, 95, esp. n. 6; Aston 2009, 19; Smith 2017, 2) cultural or material developments rarely correspond to standard divisions in ancient Egypt's political history. Nevertheless, the distinction between periods

and dynasties is observed in the material analysis in a loose chronological sense, to denote sequences in the development of canopic equipment.

Although the absolute and sometimes the relative chronology of the periods are still debated in the literature,[75] these do not significantly affect my analysis, and I do not treat them here. I follow the chronological table given in the volume edited by Erik Hornung, Rolf Krauss and David Warburton (2006, 493–4)—reproduced for reference (Fig. 4.1)—as a starting point which is occasionally nuanced, when and where relevant, by later research (e.g. Meffre 2015; Mushett Cole 2017).

[75] e.g. Kitchen 1986; Aston 1989; Jansen-Winkeln 2006a; 2006b; Payraudeau 2014; Meffre 2015.

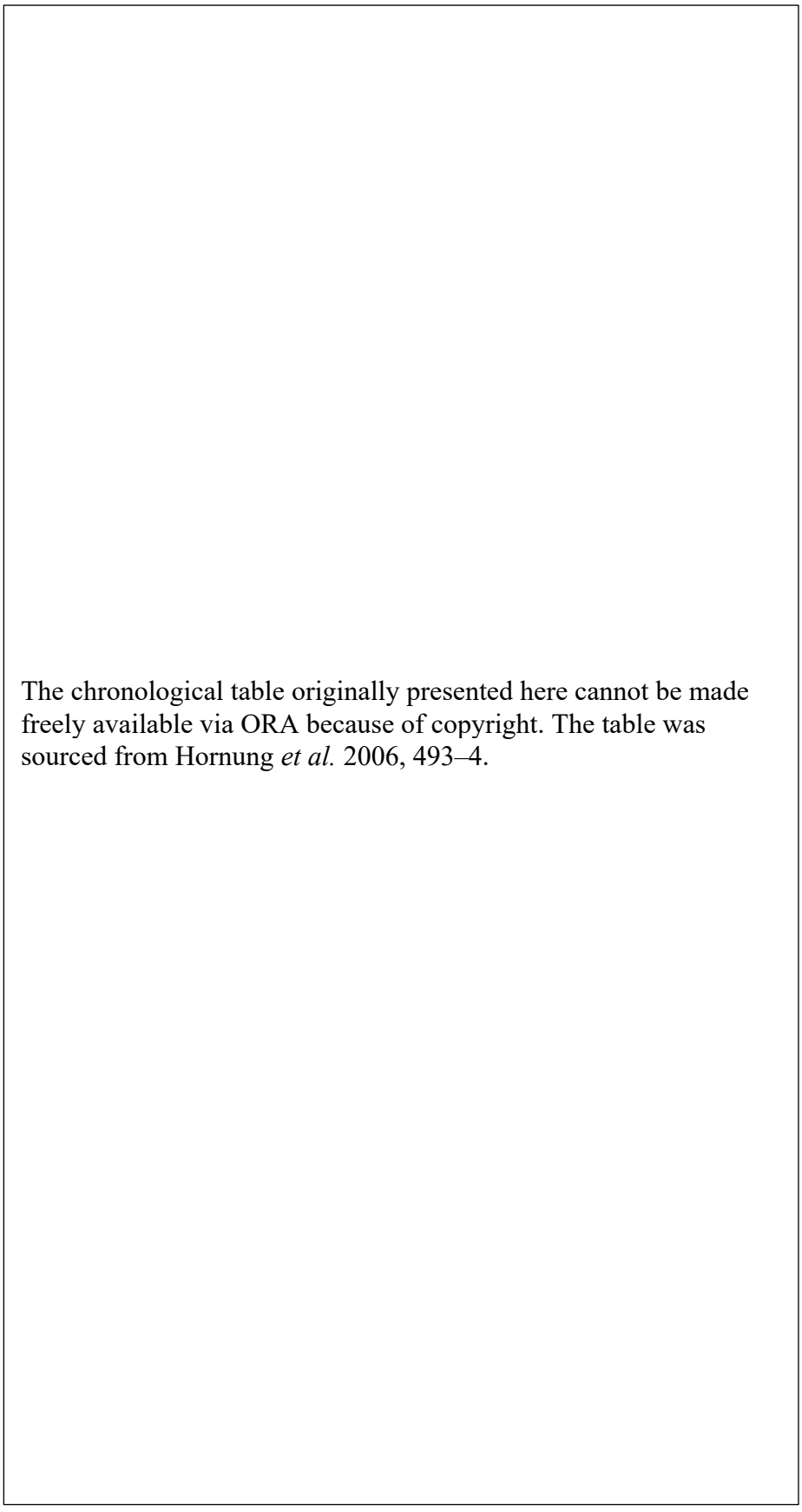


Figure 4.1. Chronological table for the Third Intermediate Period and early Late Period. After Hornung *et al.* 2006, 493–4.

Each case study follows the same *where*, *who*, *what* structure. After briefly reviewing the history of excavations, I provide an overview of the necropolis and of its demographics in the Third Intermediate Period, before introducing the tomb groups under study. I offer a succinct prosopographical analysis of the individuals buried in these tombs, presenting key familial relationships, as well as titles, where appropriate. I then turn specifically to the selected burials, discussing the treatment of the viscera and describing canopic equipment for each individual.

Throughout my analysis of canopic equipment, I refer to the typology developed by David Aston (2009, 293–7) for the evolution of canopic jars throughout the Third Intermediate Period, and to the typology developed by Sethe (1934, 1*–16*) for the canopic inscriptions. Three types from Aston's classification are referred to in this chapter and described below: Aston's types I, II and V. Half-hollowed, and mostly empty, canopic jars (type II) and one block canopic jars (type V) are often labelled, without distinction, as dummy canopic jars in publications and discussions (e.g. Ikram and Dodson 1998), without distinguishing whether the lid was carved as a separate, detachable element. However, it is necessary for the understanding of developments in canopic practice to differentiate between the two, which Aston's typology does. Canopics of types I, II and V have been defined by Aston (2009, 293, 295, 297) as follows:[76]

Type I – standard canopic jar

(i) a high shoulder and straight sides slanting in towards the base;

(ii) an inscription in two to four columns on the front;

[76] The added descriptive designations as 'standard canopic jars', 'pseudo-canopic jars', and 'dummy canopic jars' are mine.

(iii) a distinct break in profile between the shoulder of the jar and the lids themselves.

Aston (2009, 293) noted that all the jars of this type had lids with the human/animal heads of the Sons of Horus (i.e. jackal for Duamutef, falcon for Qebehsenuef, baboon for Hapy, and human for Imset)—apart from 21st dynasty Tanite canopics of Wendjebaendjed, which had human headed lids. All the published jars of this type (with one exception) are made of travertine, while the lids are more variable, either made of travertine or plastered wood (Aston 2009, 293). The headdresses are either plain or decorated with stripes. Jars of this type are fully hollowed out.

Type II – pseudo-canopic jar

(i) a high shoulder and straight sides slanting in towards the base, and more slender than type I;

(ii) usually only one column of text or uninscribed;

(iii) no distinct break in profile between the sides of the jar and the lids themselves;

(iv) detachable lids with the animal heads of the Sons of Horus.

Aston (2009, 295) indicated that the jars of this type tend to be made of travertine or limestone. The headdresses are normally plain, except for some early examples that have more detailed wigs. Aston (2009, 295) specified that, where the details of the inner cavity are known, 'jars of this type are generally only half followed and unused'.[77] The characterisation of the jars as 'unused' colludes with previous limited interpretations of the jars as containers. I argue canopic jars effect the presence and protection of the four Sons of Horus for the deceased and, as such, half-hollowed and 'unused' jars may clearly thought to have been fully functional. I describe instead type II jars as half-hollowed and empty.

[77] But not always; mummified viscera were found in Harnakht C's canopic jars (4.2.1.4).

A similar issue occurs with type V 'dummy' canopic jars, a descriptive terminology that perpetuates conceptualisations of the jars as containers. I retain this term solely for its prevalence in the literature.

Type V – dummy canopic jar

(i) solid single block jars, mostly copies of jars of type II—some are copies of type I;

(ii) uninscribed or with a single column of text;

(iii) nondetachable lids with the human/animal heads of the Sons of Horus;

(iv) jars of this type are usually made of limestone.

The translations of canopic inscriptions in-text and in the tables found in appendices are mine, unless otherwise stated. When inscriptions are similar throughout the set of jars, with only the name of the Sons of Horus (or tutelary goddesses) changing, I provide one translation for the set, with the following formatting:
Imset/Hapy/Duamutef/Qebehsenuef*. The symbol (*) indicates that only one of each name listed is inscribed on each jar.

4.2. From Tanis to Herakleopolis Magna: canopic equipment in Lower Egypt

Six sets of standard canopic jars (type I) and two sets of pseudo-canopic jars (type II) are attested from the royal necropolis of Tanis. I focus on the 21st dynasty family burial of Psusennes I (NRT-III) and the 22nd dynasty family vault of Osorkon II (NRT-I). For the 21st dynasty and the first part of the 22nd dynasty, these kings ruled from the city of Tanis (San el-Hagar) in the north-eastern Delta. This resulted in the transfer of the royal necropolis from Thebes to Tanis in the 21st and 22nd dynasties. The necropolis at Tanis inaugurates

the practice of burials within temple precincts (e.g. Stadelmann 1971, 118–23; Kawai 1998; Lull 2002, 60–6).

The priestly necropolis of Memphis (Mit Rahina) is an adequate complement to Tanis as a cemetery for the members of the 22nd dynasty royal family related to Osorkon II.[78] The necropolis is just outside the southwest corner of the precinct of the temple of Ptah at Kom Rabia (Aston and Jeffreys 2007, 71; Dodson 2016, 113). Especially relevant for the discussion is a group of five 22nd dynasty tombs of the great chiefs of the Ma and high priests of Ptah, comprising of one set of standard canopic jars (type I) and 4 sets of pseudo-canopic jars (type II). Much of the history of Memphis and of its governance throughout the Third Intermediate Period remains unknown (Aston and Jeffreys 2007, 61). As explained by Aston (Aston and Jeffreys 2007, 61), 'the city may have been governed, like parts of the Delta, by chiefs of the Meshwesh or Libu' but 'it is also possible that secular power was administered by the high priests [of Ptah] and this is perhaps from the reign of Osorkon II until the end of the Twenty-second Dynasty'.

My corpus from Lower Egypt is completed with eight sets of canopic jars—including three sets of pseudo-canopics (type II) and one set of dummy canopics (type V)—found in eight burials of the necropolis of Herakleopolis Magna (Ehnasya el Medina). Members of the royal family (e.g. descendants of high priests of Amun at Thebes, sons of the great chiefs of the Libyan tribe Meshwesh) as well as high dignitaries of the 22nd and 23rd dynasties were buried in the necropolis (Pérez Die 2010, 10), located near the temple of the main local god Herishef (Pérez Die 2009, 304). Herakleopolis Magna, an important place in the First

[78] Claus Jurman's monograph (2020) was not made available to me on time to include results from his publication in my discussion.

Intermediate Period, became a centre again during the reign of Shoshenq I—the first Libyan king and founder of the 22nd dynasty (Bard 1999, 442). While Herakleopolis Magna is technically in ancient upper Egypt (modern Middle Egypt), not in Lower Egypt, its close connection to the necropolises of Tanis and Memphis as a place of interment for the royal family of the 22nd and 23rd dynasties makes its inclusion in the 'Lower Egypt' section appropriate.

4.2.1. The royal necropolis of Tanis (Dynasties 21–22)

The archaeological exploration of Tanis (San el-Hagar) was first undertaken by Auguste Mariette in 1860. In the years that followed, Flinders Petrie excavated at the site (1883–4 and 1886), and Alexandre Barsanti transferred the artefacts to the Cairo Museum (1903–4). Its systematic investigation, however, only started with Pierre Montet who excavated there from 1928 to 1956 (e.g. Bard 1999, 921; Le Guilloux 2010, 3–36). In 1939–1940, Montet discovered the relatively undisturbed royal necropolis of the 21st and 22nd dynasties, south-west of the entrance pylon of the temple of Amun, within the inner enclosure wall dated to the reign of Psusennes I (Bard 1999, 924; also Aston 2009, 39). The news and importance of discovery were overshadowed, however, by the course of WWII (Reeves 2000, 189–93). Five tombs were then discovered by Montet and numbered from I to V in reference to the order of their discovery (Bard 1999, 924–6). They belonged to two kings of the 21st dynasty—Psusennes I (NRT-III) and Amenemope (NRT-IV)— three kings of the 22nd dynasty—Osorkon II (NRT-I), Pami (NRT-II), and Shoshenq III (NRT-V)—and included the burials of a lesser co-regent king named Shoshenq-Hekakheperre (Shoshenq IIa) as well as few members of the royal family and high officials. As noted by Aston (2009, 60), the re-

clearance work in the royal necropolis revealed the existence of four more tombs, VI to IX, that had been dismantled in antiquity; named owners could not be identified.

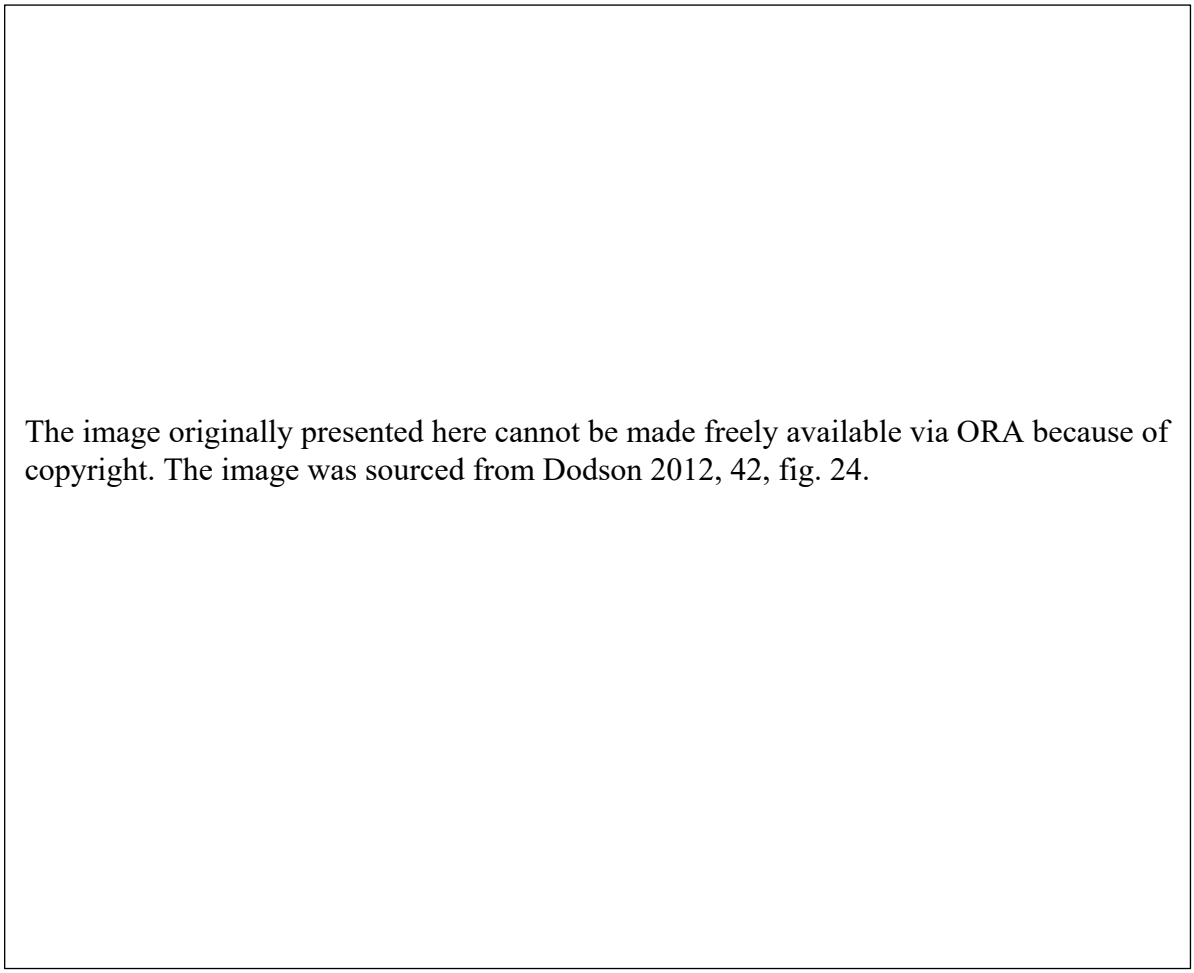
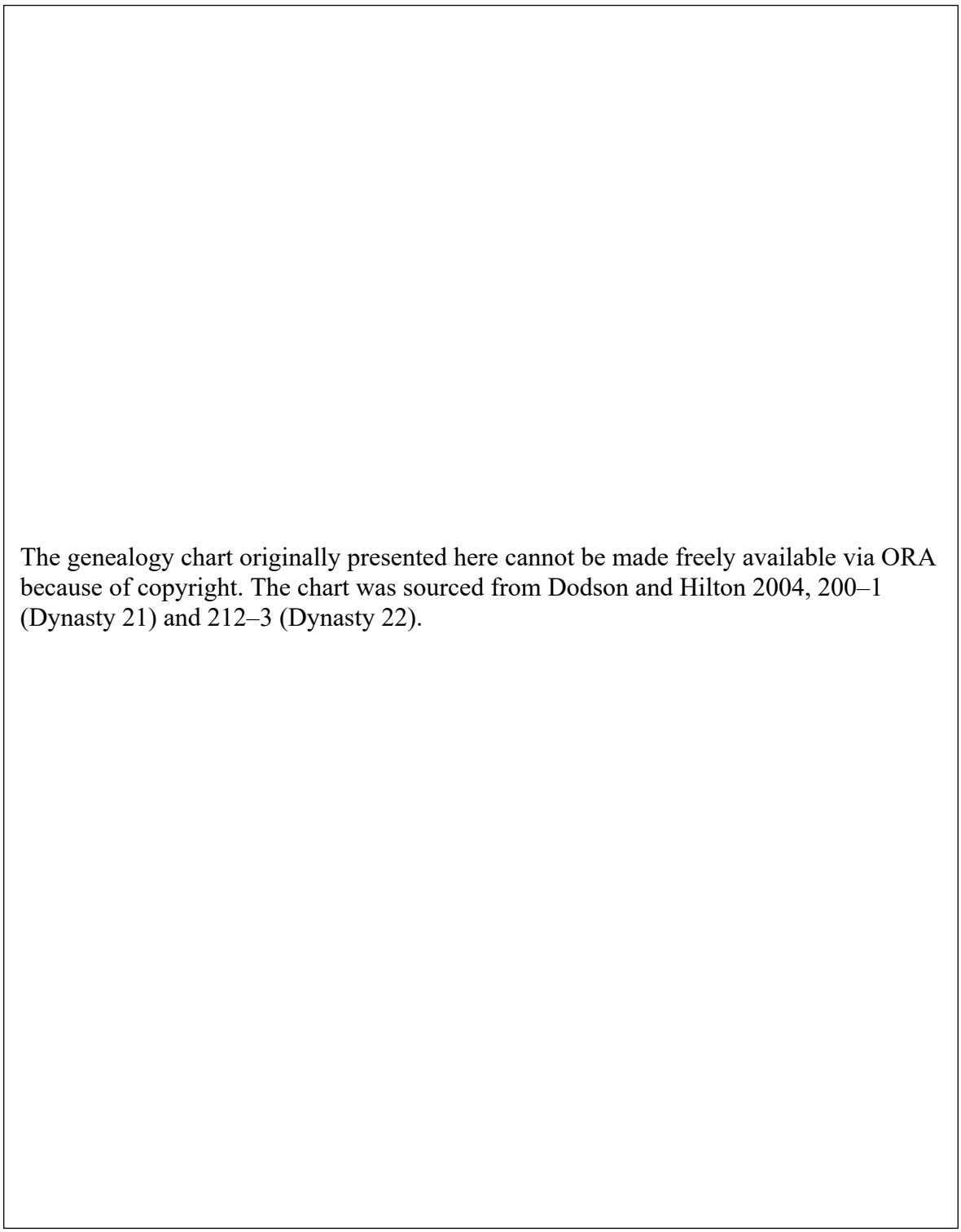


Figure 4.2. Royal burials at Tanis (Dodson 2012, 42, fig. 24).

With a few exceptions (e.g. Shoshenq IIa's ancestry: Jansen-Winkeln 2006b, 235–41; Dodson 2012, 101), the relationships between the individuals buried in these tomb groups have been fairly well established and are set out in the genealogical chart (Fig. 4.3) (Niwiński 1979, 66; Kitchen 1986, 473–5). This chart includes family members buried in

the Royal Cache of Deir el-Bahri to highlight the connections with individuals discussed in section 4.3.1.[79]



[79] Aston's Henuttawy A (2009, 224; also Kitchen 1986, 57, §47) is Dodson and Hilton's Henuttawy Q (2004, 205).

Figure 4.3. Genealogy chart for the 21st and 22nd dynasty. After Dodson and Hilton 2004, 200–1 (Dynasty 21) and 212–3 (Dynasty 22).
Font keys. Italics indicate women. Bold lower case indicates high priests of Amun. Bold capitals designate kings.
Dotted line: uncertain or hypothetical relationship.
Colour keys. Blue: Tanis (NRT-III); Orange: Tanis (NRT-I); Green: Royal Cache of Deir el-Bahri

I focus the analysis of canopic equipment, in chronological order, beginning with the 21st dynasty family burial of Psusennes I (NRT-III) and moving to the 22nd dynasty tomb group of Osorkon II (NRT-I). The groups of Pami (NRT-II) and Shoshenq III (NRT-V) are not presented in detail, because the canopic equipment is too poorly published or, in the case of Shoshenq IV (NRT V), too fragmentary. NRT-IV, although intended for Amenemope, is not included as it was not actually used for him and remained empty; Amenemope was buried in NRT-III. Appendix A presents an overview of canopic equipment in the royal necropolis of Tanis and includes hieroglyphic transcriptions.

4.2.1.1 NRT- III: Psusennes I (Dynasty 21)

On 17 March 1939, Montet discovered the intact tomb of Psusennes I (NRT-III; Montet 1951, 46–7). It was situated immediately south-west of the entrance pylon and positioned directly adjacent to the later NRT-I to the south (Aston 2009, 41). NRT-III was intended as a family burial for Psusennes I, his sister and wife,[80] Mutnodjmet and his son[81] Ankhefenmut C. However, the burial of a man named Wendjebaendjed appears to be the earliest, since the complete lack of access to his burial chamber suggests that he 'was placed within it whilst the tomb was being constructed' (Aston 2009, 41; Dodson 2012, 66). Whilst Wendjebaendjed was not a member of Psusennes I's family, he held high administrative,

[80] Initially thought to be Psusennes' mother (e.g. Montet 1951, 102, 178–9; Hornung 1964, 103; Kees 1964, 22), Mutnodjmet was Psusennes' sister and wife (e.g. Kitchen 1986, 45–7, §40; Niwiński 1979).
[81] It is generally assumed that Ankhefenmut C was a son of Psusennes I although there have been attempts to equate him with an Ankhefenmut, son of high priest of Amun Herihor (e.g. Jansen-Winkeln 1997; Lull 2009, 244–5).

military, and religious functions under this king (e.g. general, high dignitary, high priest: Montet 1951, 69–89; Kitchen 1986, 265–7, §222), which seemingly granted him access to the royal necropolis. It is unclear whether Mutnodjmet and Ankhefenmut C were ever buried in the chambers intended for them. Ankhefenmut's name is only attested on a sarcophagus and one travertine canopic jar and had been otherwise erased from the tombs wall decoration (Aston 2009, 44; also Dodson 1994, 81, n. 25, 85, n. 50). No objects belonging to Mutnodjmet were found in the tomb and Psusennes I's successor Amenemope was buried in her chamber instead (Niwiński 1995, 353–4). At some point in the 22nd dynasty—or, at least, after Sheshonq IIa's reign—NRT-III's antechamber was reused as cache (Montet 1951, 36, fig. 10) for the kings Siamun, Psusennes II, and Shoshenq IIa (on identification of the kings: Yoyotte 1988, 43; Bard 1999, 925; Dodson 2012, 80).

Treatment of the viscera

Due to the damp conditions in the Delta, none of the mummies in Tanis were well preserved (Montet 1951, 40) and only skeletons survived (1951, 20: Shoshenq II, Psusennes II and Siamun; 22: Psusennes I; 25: Wendjebauendjed). Closer examinations of the remains of Psusennes I, Amenemope, and Shoshenq IIa by Douglas Derry—then head of Cairo University's Anatomy Department—provide only limited information on the treatment of the viscera. In 1939, the skeleton of Shoshenq IIa was sent to Derry (1939; Qasr al-Eini Museum 3) for examination. He noted that, while the skeleton was intact, moisture—probably as a result of the damp conditions—had rendered the bones 'very friable' and that 'all traces of the tissues of the body and of the wrappings had disappeared' (Derry 1939, 549). Despite this, Derry was seemingly able to recognise that 'the organs had been removed and preserved'. The basis for this claim, however, is unclear to me since Shoshenq IIa's

canopic coffinettes did not contain viscera (4.2.1.2), nor were any viscera packages found (Derry 1942c, 264).

In 1940, Derry examined the skeletal remains of Psusennes I (Derry 1940; Qasr al-Eini Museum 2). While the decay of Psusennes' soft tissues did not allow for any conclusion to be drawn on the treatment of the viscera, Derry's report indicates that 'a ventral incision had been made (...) indicated by the finding of the gold plate which had covered it' (Derry 1940, 970). This observation, combined with the traces of contents found in Psusennes I's canopic jars, suggests that the organs had probably been removed and placed in the jars which accompanied the mummy. The examination of Amenemope's body was conducted in 1942 (Derry 1942a; Qasr al-Eini Museum 40). Derry noted that the 'skeleton was almost completely broken up' and no details are provided regarding the viscera or the treatment of the abdominal cavity. Amenemope's canopics bear traces of deposits, which could suggest viscera were placed in the jars.

4.2.1.2 Canopic equipment in NRT-III

Four—perhaps five—out of seven individuals possessed canopic equipment: Psusennes I, Amenemope, Wendjebaendjed, and Shoshenq IIa (Aston 2009, 41–54). Additional canopic equipment was found in the antechamber of NRT–III (Montet 1951, 36, fig. 10). Based on their inscriptions six of these canopic jars belonged to New Kingdom individuals.[82] Aston (2009, 53–4; also Dodson 2012, 80, n. 242) suggested that (some of) these jars might have

[82] Amenhotep: JE 87862 [M296]; Kenamun: JE 87860 [M309]; Amenmes: JE 87861 [M314]; User: JE 87865 [M319]; Djehutymes: JE 87866 [M320]; Meryefmenuf: JE87867 [M 321]: Montet 1951, 57–9, figs. 20–1; Aston 2009, 53. M236 in Montet 1951, 51 corrected to M296 by Aston (2009, 53).

been usurped and reused for Psusennes II and Siamun—who were interred in the antechamber—but this cannot be confirmed.

Translations of the texts are mine based on transcriptions of Montet (1951) and in some cases Dodson (1994). I have included photographs of the canopic jars, where possible. No photographs were included in cases where they are unavailable or far too poor to include. Appendix A presents an overview of canopic equipment in Tanis (NRT-III and NRT-I).

Psusennes I

A set of four inscribed travertine canopic jars with lids belonged to Psusennes I.[83] According to Montet's sketch plan of the tomb (1951, 94, fig. 36; also Dodson 1994, 80), the set was placed at the foot of the sarcophagus, towards the north-eastern corner of the burial chamber. The canopics have been identified by Aston as type I (Aston 2009, 47). The lids represent the four Sons of Horus in their human/animal forms. Each god wears a headdress decorated with stripes and enhanced with gilding and coloured inlays; a gilded bronze royal uraeus is placed on their forehead. The jars vary slightly in height—between 38 and 43 cm—with the tallest jars assigned to Imset and Duamutef. Patrice Le Guilloux (2010, 237) suggests that variations in size within the ensemble could indicate re-use and the combining of canopics from different sets. Information regarding the contents of the canopic jars is limited. Montet only noted that 'le contenu des vases était extrêmement détérioré' (1951, 93), which suggests that there were some contents. Four columns of text are inscribed on Psusennes I's jars (Montet 1951, 161, fig. 58; Dodson 1994, 174–5; Appendix A); the texts can be identified as type VIIIa of Sethe's typology (Sethe 1934, 3*–4*), a type regularly found on jars from

[83] Cairo JE 85914–85917: Montet 1951, 93–5, pl. 60–1 [M326–329]; Dodson 1994, 80–1, 129–30, pls. 33b and 34a [cat. 42a1–4]; Aston 2009, 47.

the 18th dynasty onwards.[84] As discussed in 3.3.2.2, type VIIIa describes the protection granted by the four goddesses to the Children of Horus and the deceased.

(M326)
ḏd mdw jn ꜣs.t ḥpt(.n)=t ꜥ.wy=ṯ ḥr nty jm=ṯ stp(.n)=t sꜣ=t [ḥr Jmsṯ] nty jm=ṯ ḫr Wsjr nsw ꜥꜣ-ḫpr-Rꜥ Stp-n-Jmn sꜣ Rꜥ Pꜣ-sbꜣ-ḫꜥ-n-njwt mry-Jmn mꜣꜥ-ḫrw ḫr Skr
Words spoken by Isis: You wrapped your arms around the one who is in you. You provided your protection [over Imset] who is in you, before the Osiris of king Aakheperre Setepenamun, son of Re, Psusennes, beloved of Amun, justified before Sokar

(M327)
ḏd mdw jn Njt jnq(.n)=t ꜥ.wy=ṯ ḥr nty jm=ṯ stp(.n)=t sꜣ=t ḥr Dwꜣ-mw.t=f nty jm=ṯ ḫr Wsjr nsw ꜥꜣ-ḫpr-Rꜥ Stp-n-Jmn sꜣ Rꜥ Pꜣ-sbꜣ-ḫꜥ-n-njwt mry-Jmn mꜣꜥ-ḫrw ḫr nṯr ꜥꜣ
Words spoken by Neith: You have embraced the one who is in you. You provided your protection over Duamutef who is in you, before the Osiris of king Aakheperre Setepenamun, son of Re, Psusennes, beloved of Amun, justified before the great god

(M328)
ḏd mdw jn Srq.t jꜥb(.n)=ṯ ꜥ.wy=ṯ ḥr nty jm=ṯ stp(.n)=t sꜣ=t ḥr Qbḥ-sn(w.)=f nty jm=ṯ ḫr Wsjr nsw ꜥꜣ-ḫpr-Rꜥ Stp-n-Jmn sꜣ Rꜥ Pꜣ-sbꜣ-ḫꜥ-n-njwt mry-Jmn mꜣꜥ-ḫrw ḫr Wsjr
Words spoken by Serqet: You joined your arms around the one who is in you. You provided your protection over Qebehsenuef who is in you, before the Osiris of king Aakheperre Setepenamun, son of Re, Psusennes, beloved of Amun, justified before Osiris

(M329)
ḏd mdw jn Nb.t-ḥw.t sḫn(.n)=t ꜥ.wy=ṯ ḥr nty jm=ṯ stp(.n)=t sꜣ=t ḥr Ḥpy nty jm(=ṯ) ḫr Wsjr nsw ꜥꜣ-ḫpr-Rꜥ Stp-n-Jmn sꜣ Rꜥ Pꜣ-sbꜣ-ḫꜥ-n-njwt mry-Jmn mꜣꜥ-ḫrw ḫr Wsjr
Words spoken by Nephthys: You extended your arms around the one who is in you. You provided your protection over Hapy who is in (you), before the Osiris of king Aakheperre Setepenamun, son of Re, Psusennes, beloved of Amun, justified before Osiris

Although no canopic chest was reported by Montet, Dodson (1994, 80–1) argues that the neat square positioning of the jars in Psusennes's burial, combined with the evidence of a canopic chest in Amenemope's burial, are strong arguments for its existence.

[84] Montet mistakenly recorded Psusennes I's canopic texts in the section dedicated to Amenemope's jars (1951, 161, fig. 58).

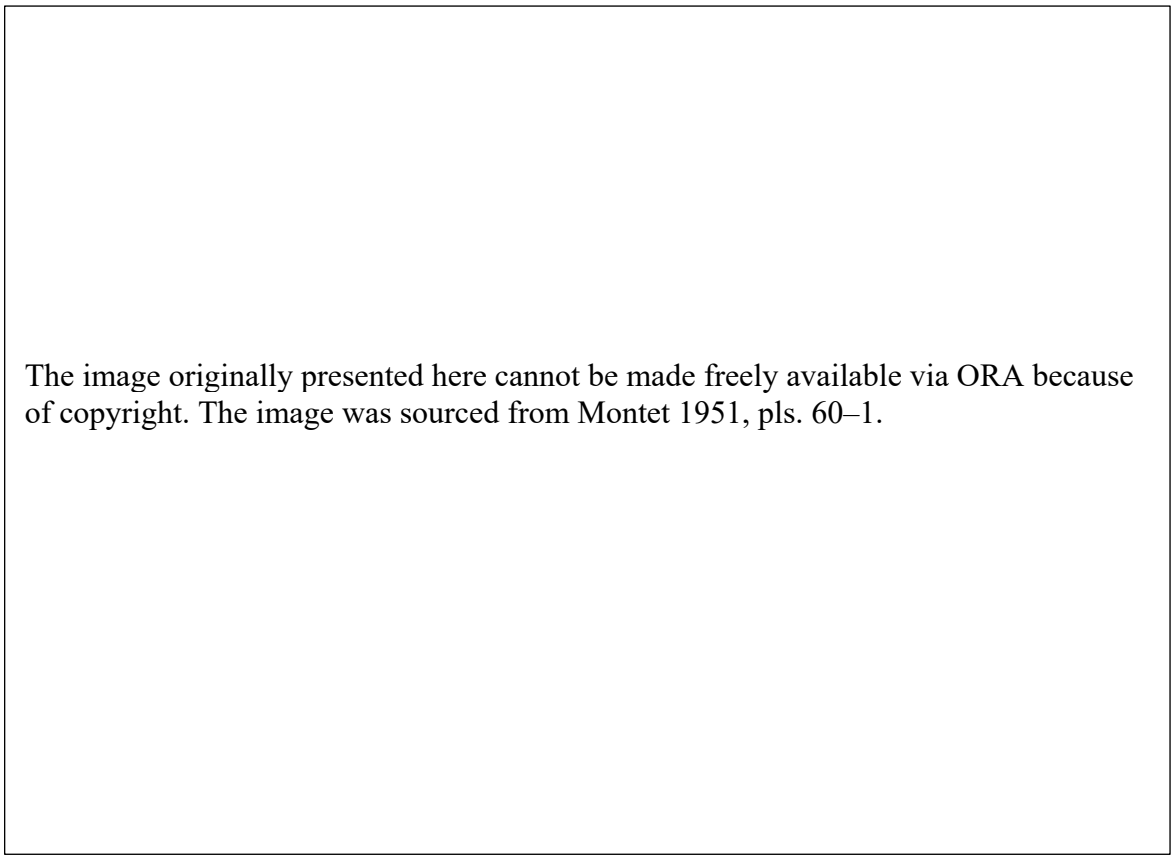


Figure 4.4. Canopic jars of Psusennes I (Montet 1951, pls. 60–1).

Amenemope

A set of four inscribed travertine canopic jars without lids belonged to Amenemope.[85] As indicated by Dodson (1994, 81; also Montet 1951, pl. 125) Amenemope's jars were placed at the foot of the sarcophagus, following a similar arrangement to that observed in Psusennes' burial (Dodson 1994, pl. 35). The canopics have been classified by Aston as type I (2009, 50). The lids were not preserved. Difference in height—similar to that observed with Psusennes I's canopics—is also seen here (Le Guilloux 2010, 237). In Amenemope's case, however, the tallest jars are dedicated to Imset and Qebehsenuef. Montet (1951, 161) observed 'un dépôt noirâtre' in all the jars, confirming that something—perhaps resinous contents or parts of viscera—was deposited in the jars. Further, fragments of wood were

[85] Cairo JE 86064–86067: Montet 1951, 161–2 [M625–628]; Dodson 1994, 81–2, 130–1, pls. 34b, 35 [cat. 43a1–4]; Aston 2009, 50.

found in three jars and fragments of ceramic in one (Montet 1951, 161), probably having fallen off surrounding equipment. Four columns of text are inscribed on Amenemope's jars (Montet 1951, 95, fig. 37; Dodson 1994, 176–7; Appendix A).[86] The texts can be identified as type VIIIa of Sethe's typology (1934, 3*–4*).

(i)
ḏd mdw jn ꜣs.t ḥpt(.n)=t ꜥ.wy=ṯ ḥr nty jm=ṯ stp(.n)=t sꜣ=t ḥr Jmsṯ nty jm=ṯ ḫr Wsjr nsw Wsr-mꜥꜣt-Rꜥ Stp-n-Jmn sꜣ Rꜥ Jmn-n-jpt mry-Jmn mꜣꜥ-ḫrw ḫr Wsjr
Words spoken by Isis: You wrapped your arms around the one who is in you. You provided your protection over Imset who is in you, before the Osiris of the king Usermaatre Setepenamun, son of Re, Amenemope, beloved of Amun, justified before Sokar

(ii)
ḏd mdw jn Njt jnq(.n)=t ꜥ.wy=ṯ ḥr nty jm=ṯ stp(.n)=t sꜣ=t ḥr Dwꜣ-mw.t=f nty jm=ṯ ḫr Wsjr nsw Wsr-mꜥꜣt-Rꜥ Stp-n-Jmn sꜣ Rꜥ Jmn-n-jpt mry-Jmn mꜣꜥ-ḫrw ḫr Gb
Words spoken by Neith: You have embraced the one who is in you. You provided your protection over Duamutef who is in you, before the Osiris of the king Usermaatre Setepenamun, son of Re, Amenemope, beloved of Amun, justified before Geb

(iii)
ḏd mdw jn Srq.t jꜥb(.n)=ṯ ꜥ.wy=ṯ ḥr nty jm=ṯ stp(.n)=t sꜣ=t ḥr Qbḥ-sn(w.)=f nty jm=ṯ ḫr Wsjr nsw Wsr-mꜥꜣt-Rꜥ Stp-n-Jmn sꜣ Rꜥ Jmn-n-jpt mry-Jmn mꜣꜥ-ḫrw ḫr Skr
Words spoken by Serqet: You joined your arms around the one who is in you. You provided your protection over Qebehsenuef who is in you, before the Osiris of the king Usermaatre Setepenamun, son of Re, Amenemope, beloved of Amun, justified before Sokar

(iv)
ḏd mdw jn Nb.t-ḥw.t sḫn(.n=t) ꜥ.wy=ṯ ḥr nty jm=ṯ stp(.n)=t sꜣ=t ḥr Ḥpy nty jm(=ṯ) ḫr Wsjr nsw Wsr-mꜥꜣt-Rꜥ Stp-n-Jmn sꜣ Rꜥ Jmn-n-jpt mry-Jmn mꜣꜥ-ḫrw ḫr nṯr ꜥꜣ
Words spoken by Nephthys: (You) extended your arms around the one who is in (you). You provided your protection over Hapy who is in (you), before the Osiris of king Usermaatre Setepenamun, son of Re, Amenemope, beloved of Amun, justified before the great god

As indicated by Dodson (1994, 81; also Aston 2009, 50), debris that may come from the canopic chest (Cairo JE 86068; not listed by Montet) were identified.

[86] Montet mistakenly recorded Amenemope's canopic texts in the section dedicated to Psusennes I's jars (1951, 95, fig. 37).

Ankhefenmut C

While the travertine jar found in the antechamber and attributed to Ankhefenmut C (Cairo JE 87864: Montet 1951, 58, 59, fig. 21 [M308]) has been identified as a canopic by Aston (2009, 44), I question this identification. The inscription differs from that usually found on canopic jars and does not include mentions of Children of Horus or the protective goddesses (also Dodson 1994, 85, n. 48; Appendix A). Further, the absence of lid and the lack of information on its content offer no support for Aston's identification. The text reads as follows:

Wsjr jmj-r(ȝ) mšᶜ wr n ḥm=f jmy-r(ȝ) pr wr n Jmn-Rᶜ nsw nṯr.w sȝ nsw Rᶜ-ms-ss ᶜnḫ=f-n-Mw.t mᶜȝ-ḫrw ḫr wsjr nb ḥḥ
The Osiris of the chief overseer of the army of his Majesty, high steward of Amun-Re, king of the gods, king's son Ramesses-Ankefenmut, justified before Osiris, lord of eternity

Wendjebaendjed

Four inscribed travertine canopic jars with lids belonging to Wendjebaendjed were recovered from NRT-III.[87] Similarly to Psusennes' and Amenemope's ensembles, Wendjebaendjed canopic jars were positioned against the north wall of the burial chamber (Montet 1951, 85). Classified as type I by Aston (2009, 43), they differ, however, from the standard type I in adopting human-headed stoppers. The stoppers, for instance, with the smooth wrapping headdress, visible ears, and beard, adopt a style found in the Middle Kingdom and early New Kingdom (e.g. Klein 2013, 125–6). As noted by Dodson (1994, 82), this may indicate reused items. While reuse of funerary material has previously been understood as expediency in time of crisis and scarcity (e.g. Cooney 2018), the reuse of material already imbued with divinity—canopic jars primarily served as manifestations of the Sons of Horus—may also have been desired and even valued. Two of the jars—Imset and Qebehsenuef—were described by Montet (1951, 86) as 'pleins jusqu'aux bords d'une

[87] Cairo JE 87769 A–D: Montet 1951, 85–6, fig. 33, pl. 57 [M676–679]; Dodson 1994, 82; Aston 2009, 43.

matière noire' while, in the other two—Duamutef and Hapy—this material formed a plug near the jars' opening. While no analysis has been conducted to identify the nature of this material, the contents were most likely associated with the embalming process and of divinifying nature. In contrast with the older style of the jars, the four columns of inscriptions are a variant of type XIII of Sethe's typology (Sethe 1934, 8*); a formulation that is found from the Ramesside Period onwards and anticipates the shorter texts of the Third Intermediate Period. The inscriptions on Imset [M676] and Duamutef [M677] jars are similar and together differ slightly from the inscriptions on Hapy [M278] and Qebehsenuef [M679] jars (Montet 1951, 86, fig. 33; Appendix A).

(M676 and M677)
ḏd mdw jmꜣḫy ḫr Jmstj/Dwꜣ-mw.t=f jmj-r(ꜣ) pr n Ḥnsw-m-Wꜣs.t-Nfr-ḥtp ḥm-nṯr n Ḥnsw jmj-r(ꜣ) mšᶜ ḥꜣwty nꜣ pḏ.t(y)w pr-ᶜꜣ jmj-r(ꜣ) ḥm.w-ntr n ntr.w nb.w ḥm-nṯr {n} Wn-ḏbꜣ-n-ḏd mꜣᶜ-ḫrw n pr Wsjr nb Ḏdw*
Words spoken: The revered one before Imset/Duamutef, estate overseer of Khonsu-in-Thebes-Neferhotep, priest of Khonsu, overseer of the army and chief of the archers of pharaoh, overseer of the priests of all gods, the priest Wendjebaendjed, justified. For the temple of Osiris, lord of Busiris

(M678 and M679)
ḏd mdw jmꜣḫy ḫr Ḥpy/Qbḥ-sn(w.)=f jmj-r(ꜣ) pr n Ḥnsw-m-Wꜣs.t-Nfr-ḥtp ḥm-nṯr n Ḥnsw jmj-r(ꜣ) mšᶜ ḥꜣwty nꜣ pḏ.t(y)w pr-ᶜꜣ ḥm.w-ntr n ntr.w nb.w Wn-ḏbꜣ-n-ḏd mꜣᶜ-ḫrw*
Words spoken: The revered one before Hapy/Qebehsenuef, estate overseer of Khonsu-in-Thebes-Neferhotep, priest of Khonsu, overseer of the army and chief of the archers of pharaoh, overseer of the priests of all gods, Wendjebaendjed, justified

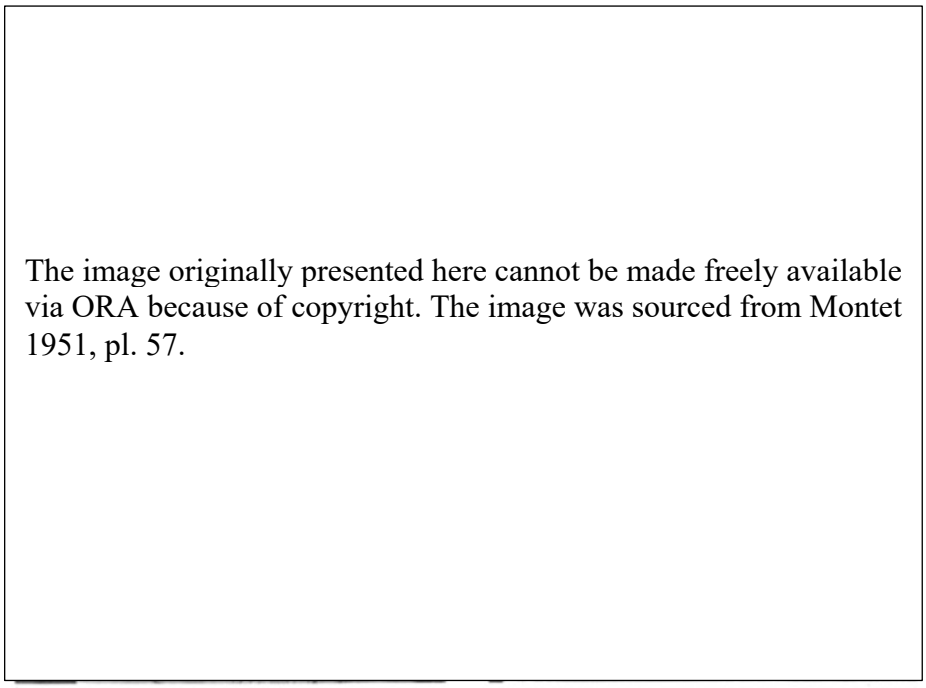


Figure 4.5. Canopic jars of Wendjebaendjed (Montet 1951, pl. 57).

Shoshenq IIa

A set of four uninscribed travertine canopic jars, three of which had no lids, was found in the antechamber of NRT–III (Montet 1951, 36, fig. 10).[88] The jars contained four miniature silver canopic coffins (also known as coffinettes) belonging to Shoshenq IIa.[89] The coffinettes are mummiform and human-headed. A linen-wrapped bundle was placed in each of these containers. These bundles did not contain viscera but were instead described by Derry (1942c, 264) as 'stiffened linen models of the mummy, or perhaps crude representations of wrapped viscera'.[90] It is possible that these bundles of linen were soaked with substances associated with the embalming process as seen in Old Kingdom mastabas

[88] Cairo JE 72155–72158: Montet 1951, 56–7, pl. 34 [M316, M300, M311, M304]; Dodson 1994, 86–9, 131–4 [cat. 45/1–4]; Aston 2009, 52–3.
[89] Cairo JE 72159–72162: Montet 1951, 56–7, pl. 35 [M305, M302, M317, M312]; Dodson 1994, 86–9, 131–4 [cat. 45/1–4**α**].
Dodson (1994, 86–8) has highlighted the difficulties surrounding the assignment of each coffinette to a jar, since Fougerousse's drawing and notes are not in agreement with the writings of Montet (1951) and Brunton (1939).
[90] Aston (2009, 52, n. 223) indicated that Derry erroneously attributed the bundles to Psusennes I.

(e.g. Rzeuska 2011, esp. 247; 2.3.1). The canopic coffins are inscribed with a short text, stating the filiation of the king to each of the Son of Horus (Dodson 1994, 178–9 [45]):

‘Imset/Hapy/Duamutef/Qebehsenuef, his son Shoshenq’

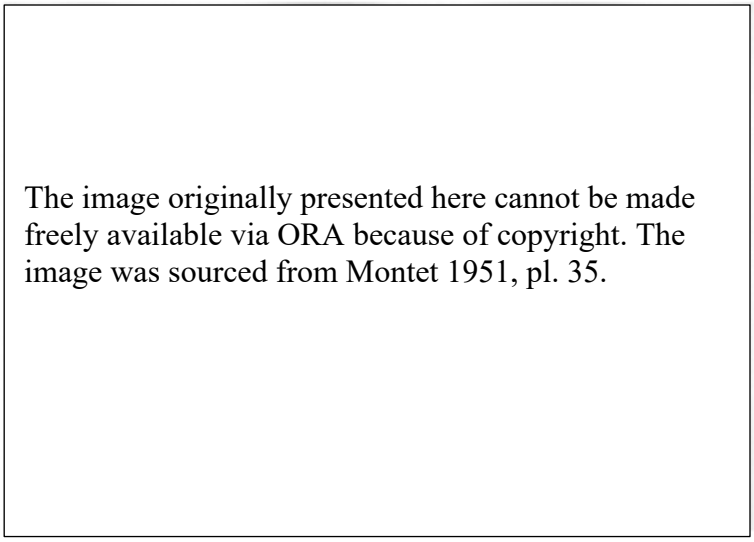


Figure 4.6. Canopic coffins (coffinettes) of Shoshenq II (Montet 1951, pl. 35).

Dodson (1994, 89) noted that ‘the presence of Shoshenq II within NRT III was the result of a reburial’ and the mixed group of canopic jars in which the coffinettes were placed — classified as type I by Aston (2009, 52–3)—were ‘secondhand jars’. This is supported by indications that the coffinettes had been moved around in antiquity (Dodson 1994, 88): traces of the damaged silver coffin of Imset were found in a travertine canopic jar with a lid representing Imset found in the antechamber (Cairo JE 86863: Montet 1951, 57, 60 [M298–299]). Dodson (1994, 89) argues that the absence of an original set of canopics suggests the coffinettes were originally placed in a container that could not be moved, such as a heavy stone chest or a rotten wooden box, following the practice observed with the coffinettes in the New Kingdom (e.g. Dodson 1994, 62).

The use of canopic coffins is attested from the 18th dynasty (e.g. coffinettes of Neferneferuaten appropriated by Tutankhamun: Dodson 1994, 61). Canopic coffins are

found throughout the 19th dynasty and up to the early 21st dynasty, either with human heads,[91] or with the mixed human/animal heads of the four Sons of Horus.[92] It is likely that canopic coffins evolved out of the visceral packages being treated as miniature mummies (Ikram and Dodson 1998, 278), whereby cartonnage masks placed over anthropoid wrapped visceral bundles marked a transformation of the viscera into the divine (3.3.2.1).

4.2.1.3 NRT- I: Osorkon II (Dynasty 22)

The tomb of Osorkon II (NRT-I) was the first tomb of the Tanite royal necropolis to be discovered by Montet (1947, 37–8), on 27 February 1939. The architectural and archaeological analysis he conducted (Montet 1947, 46–7; 1951, 27–30) revealed that the building of NRT-I could be dated before that of NRT-III; NRT-I had been appropriated and remodelled by Osorkon II from an earlier tomb (e.g. Montet 1951, 27; Aston 2009, 54; Dodson 2012, 109). The original owner of the tomb has been tentatively identified as Nesibanebdjedet (Smendes) I, the first king of the 21st dynasty (Lull 2002, 41–2; also Dodson 2012, 41).

Similarly to NRT-III, NRT-I was conceived as a family vault for Osorkon II and members of his family (Aston 2009, 54); it includes the burials of the high priest of Amun Harnakht C, son of Osorkon II, and of the king Takelot I, father of Osorkon II. Takelot I is the earliest burial found within the tomb.[93] Dodson (2012, 100–1) suggested that Takelot I was

[91] e.g. Sennedjem, 19th dynasty: CG 4249–52: Reisner and Abd-ul-Rahman 1967, 173–7; Sutymose, 21st dynasty: Louvre E 7655 ⟨https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010030365⟩.
[92] e.g. Nesyamun, 21st dynasty: Louvre E 13305–13308 ⟨https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010030850⟩; Tjauenhuy, 21st dynasty: Louvre N 2719 A–D ⟨https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010009759⟩.
[93] The burial has long been assigned to Takelot II until a reassessment of the evidence by Jansen-Winkeln (1987), seconded by Aston (1989, 143–4). Bard (1999, 926; 2015, 275) and Le Guilloux (2010, 8–9), however, still appear to be attributing the burial to Takelot II.

originally interred elsewhere and that his reburial in NRT-I may have been the result of flooding in a former royal necropolis; this 'movement might have coincided with the reburial of Shoshenq Iia in NRT-III' (Dodson 1994, 89–90). According to Aston (2009, 54; *contra* Montet 1947, 318), Harnakht C—who had died prematurely—was the second burial in the tomb; his interment required the extension of Osorkon II's burial chamber to accommodate both burials. Finally, the sarcophagus introduced into the northern half of the antechamber represents a later intrusive interment and its owner has not been identified (Dodson 2012, 111).

Treatment of viscera

As noted previously (4.2.1.1), human remains in Tanis were poorly preserved and the information available pertaining to the treatment of the viscera is extremely limited. It appears from Montet's report that the sarcophagus of Takelot I contained no remains ('il avait été violé': Montet 1947, 38), while the sarcophagus of the unidentified occupant contained only bones ('ne contenait que des ossements': Montet 1947, 38). Conversely, the remains of three—poorly preserved—bodies were found in the sarcophagus of Osorkon II (Montet 1947, 39, 58–9, fig. 7). Dodson (2012, 111; *contra* Aston 2009, 58, n. 246) proposed to identify the bodies as the mummies of 'intrusively buried children' suggesting some interference in antiquity (Dodson 1994, 91, n. 78). The remains of Harnakht C (Montet 1947, 38) were studied by Derry (1942b); however his one-page report does not provide any indications of treatment of the viscera.

4.2.1.4 Canopic equipment in NRT-I

All three individuals buried in NRT-I possessed canopic equipment: Takelot I, Osorkon II, and Harnakht C (Aston 2009, 54–9). Translations of the texts are mine and I have included

photographs of the canopic jars, where possible. Appendix A presents an overview of canopic equipment in Tanis (NRT-III and NRT-I) and includes hieroglyphic transcriptions.

Takelot I

A set of four uninscribed travertine pseudo-canopic jars with lids belonging to Takelot I was found in NRT-I.[94] According to Montet's report (1947, 82), the set of jars was found next to the sarcophagus. The canopics have been identified as type II by Aston (2009, 55). The lids depict the four Sons of Horus in their human/animal forms and the headdresses appear to be plain. As pointed out by Dodson (1994, 90), there are considerable variations in the size of the stoppers, as well as in the shape of the jars. The human-headed lid [M34], for instance, is much larger than the falcon-headed lid [M36], while the jar [M35] associated with the falcon-headed lid is more bulbous than the other vases (Dodson 1994, pl. 40). No information about the content of the jars is provided. According to Montet (1947, 82), the jars were not inscribed, but Dodson (1994, 90) raises the possibility that they may have been painted. Taking into consideration that Takelot I's sarcophagus was usurped from the Middle Kingdom (Dodson 1994, 90; Aston 2009, 54), I suggest that the variations observed within the canopic ensemble could indicate re-use from different sets just as it did with Psusennes I's canopics. The fact that in a reburial context—where the funerary equipment accompanying the deceased would be limited—the deceased is provided with a set of canopic jars reveals the necessity of their presence in the burial. Further, that the set of canopics could be usurped—without necessarily being used as a container—confirms that it is who or what they represented that mattered, rather than their container function. It might also be considered valuable to have such material hallowed by previous use—as seen, for

[94] Montet 1947, 82–3, pl. 54E [M33–40]; Dodson 1994, 90, 134–5, pl. 40 [cat. 46/1–4]; Aston 2009, 55. The canopic jars were stolen from the mission's magazines in 1943 (Montet 1951, 23; Dodson 1994, 90) and have never been recovered.

instance, with the wooden shabti of Ramesses II (BM EA69672) reused as an Osiris-figure by the vizir Pami in the 21st dynasty (Aston 1991).

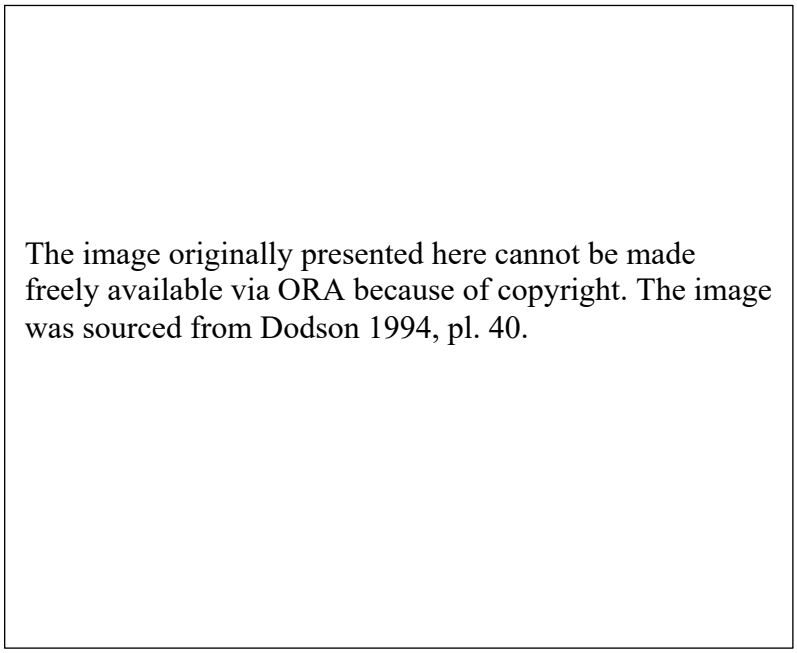


Figure 4.7. Canopic jars of Takelot I (Dodson 1994, pl. 40)

Osorkon II

A set of four inscribed travertine canopic jars with lids belonged to Osorkon II.[95] The four stoppers had been placed on the lid of the sarcophagus. Two of the jars—broken but complete—were found inside the sarcophagus, while fragments of the other two were found between the sarcophagus and the north wall (Montet 1947, 57; also 39, fig. 7). Because of the lack of space available at the foot of the sarcophagus, Dodson (1994, 90–1) suggested that the jars placed inside it were in their original positions, while the lids and the two other jars had been displaced by plunderers in antiquity. Osorkon II's canopics have been classified as type I by Aston (2009, 58). Because they were stolen, the information available on the set is restricted to the two jars pictured in Dodson (1994, pl. 41) and the description provided by Montet (1947, 57–8, 82). The two lids preserved are human-headed and

[95] Montet 1947, 57–8, [M59–M66]; Dodson 1994, 90–1, 135–6, pl. 41 [cat. 47/1–4]; Aston 2009, 58. Apart from one lid (Qebehsenuef [M62]), the canopic jars were stolen in 1943 (Montet 1951, 23; also Dodson 1994, 135–6).

baboon-headed. Montet (1947, 82–3) noted the similarity between the stoppers of Takelot I and of Osorkon II, tentatively suggesting they may have come from the same workshop. Variations in the shape of the jars are also noted with Osorkon II's set (Dodson 1994, 91). No information about the content is recorded. Osorkon II's jars were each inscribed with two columns of text giving an invocation for the protection of the Son of Horus and the deceased by the relevant tutelary goddesses. The texts do not correspond to a type from Sethe's classification. This, however, is typical of the early first millennium period in which texts can often be unparalleled (Sethe 1934, 236). The content is similar throughout the set, with only the names of the Sons of Horus and tutelary goddesses changing. Using the transcription provided by Montet (1947, 58, fig. 17; also Dodson 1994, 178; Appendix A), I translate the inscription as follows:

ꜣs.t/Nb.t-ḥw.t/Njt/Srq.t jr sꜣ (n) Jmsṯ/Ḥpy/Dwꜣ-mw.t=f/Qbḥ-sn(w.)=f* n Wsjr nsw Wsrkn sꜣ-Bꜣstt mry-Jmn*
Isis/Nephthys/Neith/Serqet provides protection (for) Imset/Hapy/Duamutef/Qebehsenuef (and) for the Osiris of king Osorkon, son of Bastet, beloved of Amun

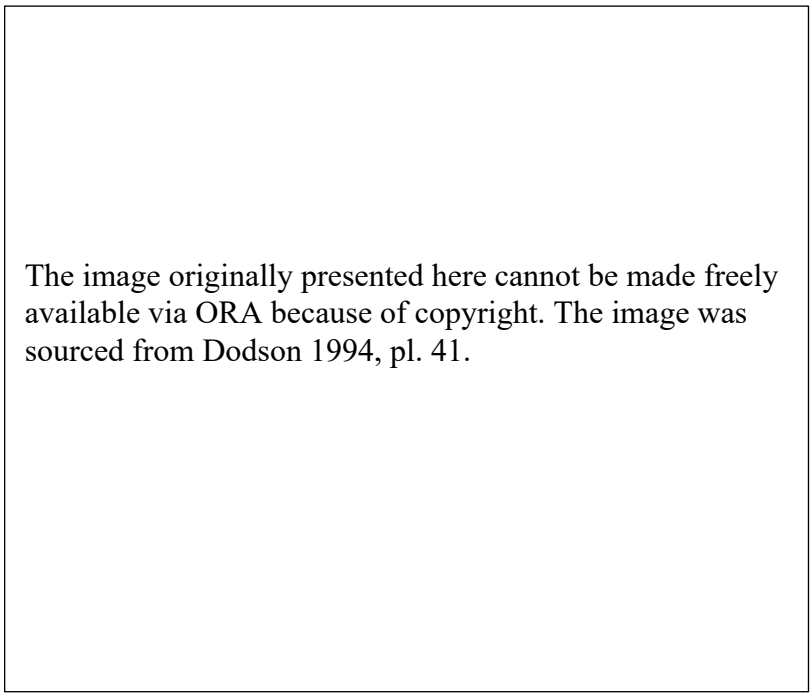


Figure 4.8. Canopic jars of Osorkon II (Dodson 1994, pl. 41)

Harnakht C

A second set of four inscribed travertine pseudo-canopic jars with lids was found in Osorkon II's burial chamber; they belonged to his son, Harnakht C.[96] The canopics were found buried in sand between the sarcophagus and the western wall of the burial (Montet 1947, 62). They have been identified as Aston's type II (2009, 55). The lids represent the four Sons of Horus in their human/animal forms; the headdresses are detailed with incised stripes and facial details are incised and highlighted with black. Montet (1947, 62) indicated that mummified viscera were found in all the jars: 'nous avons trouvé à l'intérieur des quatre vases un organe momifié en très mauvais état'. Each jar bears two columns of text (Montet 1947, 62–4, fig. 19, pl. 52) which do not correspond to one of Sethe's types and differs from jar to another. Drawing on Montet's transcriptions and translations (1947, 63, fig. 19; also Jansen-Winkeln 2007, 125 [49]; Appendix A) I read the texts as follows, adopting the <*jnk*> emendations proposed by Montet:

ḏd mdw jn ꜣs.t jr.n(=j) sꜣ sqꜣ(.n)=j nfr=k Jmsṯ nty jm=<j>
Words spoken by Isis: (I) provided protection so that I may increase your perfectness, (O) Imset who is in me!

ḏd mdw jn Nb.t-ḥw.t <jnk> nh(w).t <r> ḏw=k nṯr(y) ḏ.t=k Ḥpy nty jm=<j>
Words spoken by Nephthys: <I> am the one who protects <against> your wrongdoing. Your body is divine, (O) Hapy who is in me!

ḏd mdw in Njt <jnk> sqd(w).t ḥꜣ=k ḫw.t mḥ.j=k Dwꜣ-mw.t=f nty jm=<j>
Words spoken by Neith: <I> am the one who protects your back, the one who protects your immersion, (O) Duamutef who is in me!

ḏd mdw in Srqt <jnk> sᶜḥ(w).t ḏ.t ḥḥ(w).t kꜣ=k Qbḥ-sn(w.)=f nty jm=<j>
Words spoken by Serqet: <I> am the one who mummifies the body, the one who searched for your ka, (O) Qebehsenuef who is in me!

Commentary

[96] Cairo JE 87087A-D: Montet 1947, 62–4, pls. 52–3 [M74–7]; Dodson 1994, 91; Aston 2009, 55.

As noted by Sethe (1934, 229, n. 70), the second person feminine singular suffix *=t* can often be found as a substitute for the first person feminine singular *=j* in texts from the 19th dynasty onwards. I emended the reading of *jm=t* accordingly.

A quartzite canopic chest from the Middle Kingdom was previously identified as having contained Harnakht C's canopic jars (Montet 1947, 60–1 [M71]; also Aston 2009, 55). Dodson (1994, 91) explains, however, that its presence is due to its reuse as building material in the extension of the burial chamber.

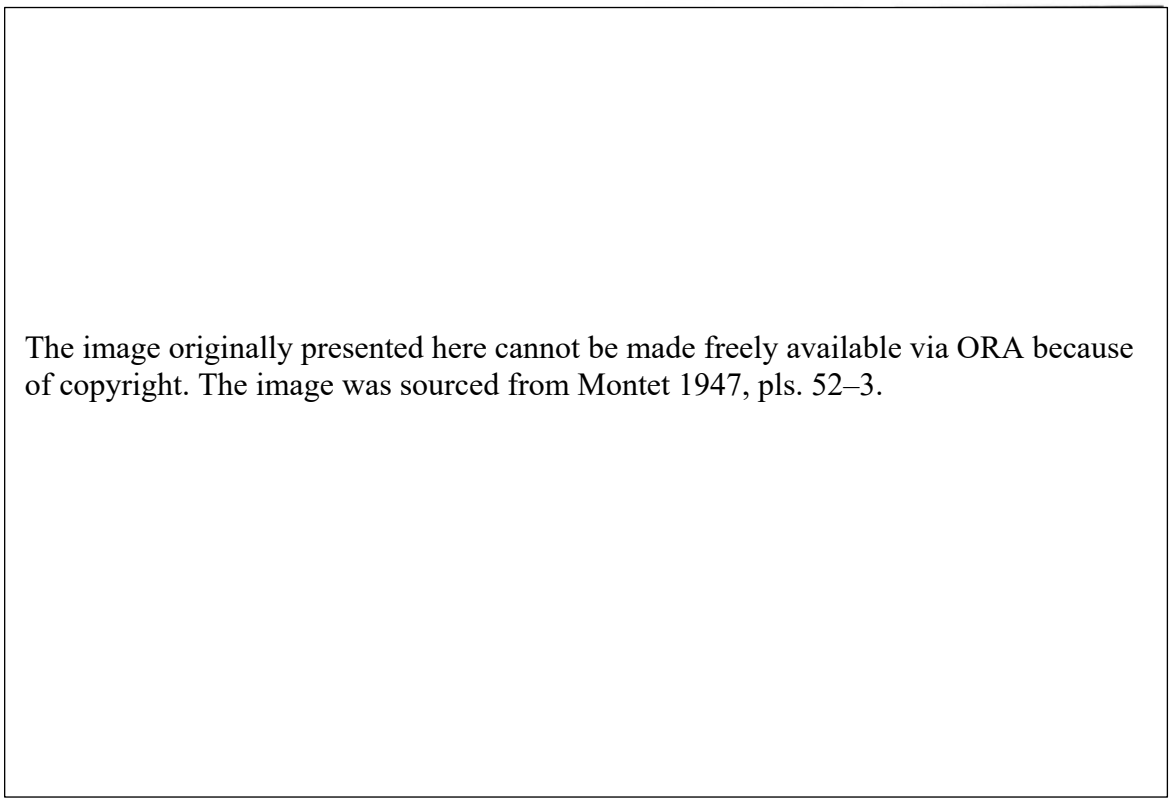


Figure 4.9. Canopic jars of Harnakht C (Montet 1947, pls. 52–3).

4.2.2. The priestly necropolis of Memphis (Dynasty 22)[97]

Surveys and archaeological investigations were regularly conducted at Memphis from the mid-19th century onwards (Jeffreys 1985, 12–6; also Bard 1999, 587–8). In 1940–1942, Ahmad Badawi and Mustafa el-Amir, from the Egyptian University of Cairo, brought to light a group of five tombs dating to the 22nd dynasty in the south-west corner of the Ptah temple enclosure (Badawi 1956, 157–8; Jeffreys 1985, 22; Aston and Jeffreys 2007, 4–5). In 1955, an additional group of five burials (tombs V–Z) was excavated in the same area by the Pennsylvania Museum expedition under the direction of Rudolf Anthes (Jeffreys 1985, 22; also Aston 2009, 76). Initially dated from the beginning of the 21st dynasty (Anthes 1959, 68–9; 1965, 18) and subsequently from the 22nd dynasty (Smith *et al.* 1983), later discussions (Jeffreys and Aston 2007, 71–5) have demonstrated these tombs are probably 20th dynasty.

The five burials discovered by Badawi and el-Amir belonged to members of the 22nd dynasty royal family related to Osorkon II: Sheshonq D (son of Osorkon II), his son Takelot B, his grandsons, Padiaset A and Harsiese,[98] together with Tabakhtenaskhet (the wife of Takelot II/F, Osorkon II's grandson) (Aston and Jeffreys 2007, 73; Aston 2009, 78). These relationships are visualised in the genealogical chart (Fig. 4.10). Sheshonq D, Takelot B, Padiaset A and Harsiese were all high priests of Ptah (*wr ḫrp.w ḥmw.wt*);[99] Takelot B, Padiaset A and Harsiese were also 'great chiefs of the Meshwesh' (Kitchen 1986, 193, §155). The Meshwesh—later abbreviated to Ma—were the most prominent tribe of the Libyans in the later New Kingdom. Traditional Libyan titles such as 'great chief of the

[97] As stated previously, Jurman's monograph (2020) was not made available to me on time to include results from his publication in my discussion. I invite the reader to bear this in mind when reading through the section.
[98] Harsiese i in Dodson 2012, Appendix 5.2, 128–9
[99] Kitchen 1986, 193–4, §155–6; Maystre 1992, 167–70, §65–7; Aston and Jeffreys 2007, 66.

Meshwesh/Ma' were maintained by Libyan kings and their lineage in the 22nd dynasty (Naunton 2010, 123).

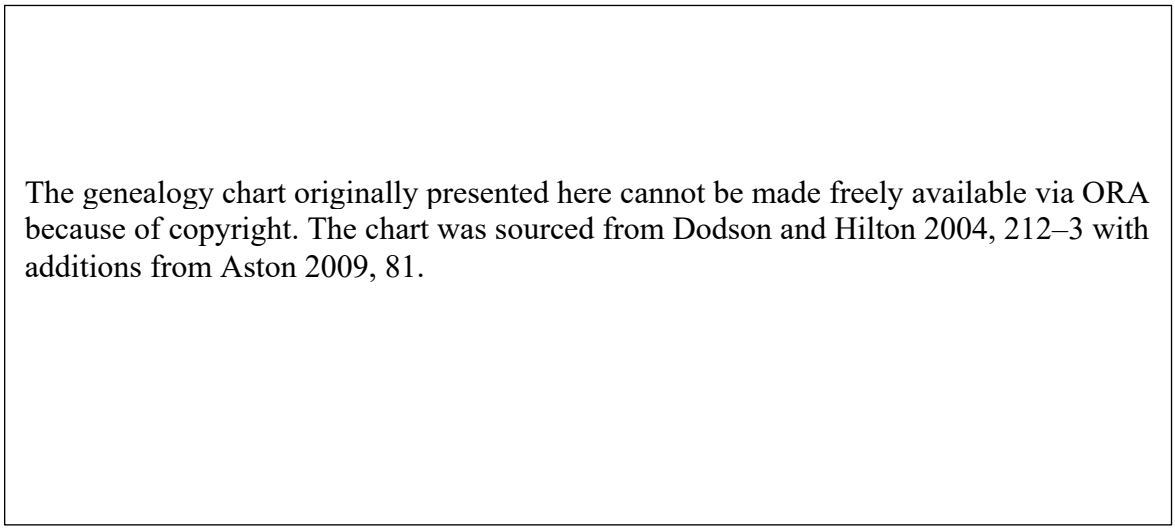


Figure 4.10. Genealogy chart for 22nd dynasty Memphis. After Dodson and Hilton 2004, 212–3 with additions from Aston 2009, 81.
Font keys: Italics indicate women. Bold lower case indicates high priests of Ptah. Bold capitals designate kings. Dotted line: uncertain or hypothetical relationship.
Colour keys. Orange: Tanis (NRT-I); Purple: Memphis

Human remains

No human remains have been reported, which prevents any assessment of the treatment of the body and of the viscera.

4.2.2.1 Canopic equipment in Memphis

All five individuals—Sheshonq D, Takelot B, Padiaset A, Harsiese, Tabakhtenaskhet—possessed canopic equipment in the form of canopic jars. According to Aston (2009, 80–1), these canopics are classified as type II—apart from Sheshonq D (Aston 2009, 78)—which implies they were pseudo-canopic jars, only half hollowed and empty. While I follow Aston's classification, it is unclear, however, whether the inner cavity of these jars is known to him as the material is poorly published with very limited descriptions or photographs (El-Amir 1946; Badawi 1956; 1984; also Meffre *et al.* 2017, 46, 54–5). The publications do not

allow for reading of the inscriptions. Appendix B presents an overview of canopic equipment in the necropolis of Memphis.

Sheshonq D

Sheshonq D possessed four inscribed travertine canopic jars with lids (Cairo JE 86764A–D: Badawi 1956, pl. 12A; Aston 2009, 78). The canopics are classified as type I by Aston (2009, 78). The variations in the size of the lids, as well as in the shape and size of the jars (between 33,9 cm and 39,5 cm: Badawi 1956, 176), observed in the set could indicate a re-use and combination of canopics from different sets. The lids adopt the human/animal heads forms of the Sons of Horus. Four columns of text appear to be inscribed on the body of the jars.

Takelot B

Four uninscribed yellow limestone pseudo-canopic jars with lids belonged to Takelot B (Cairo JE 86815A–D: Badawi 1984, pl. 31; Aston 2009, 80). Aston classified them as type II (2009, 80) and noted that they showed ‘no signs of use’. The ensemble displays some uniformity in shape and size. The lids represent the Sons of Horus with their human and animal heads. They adopt a more simplified style, with less details indicated; the headdresses appear to be plain.

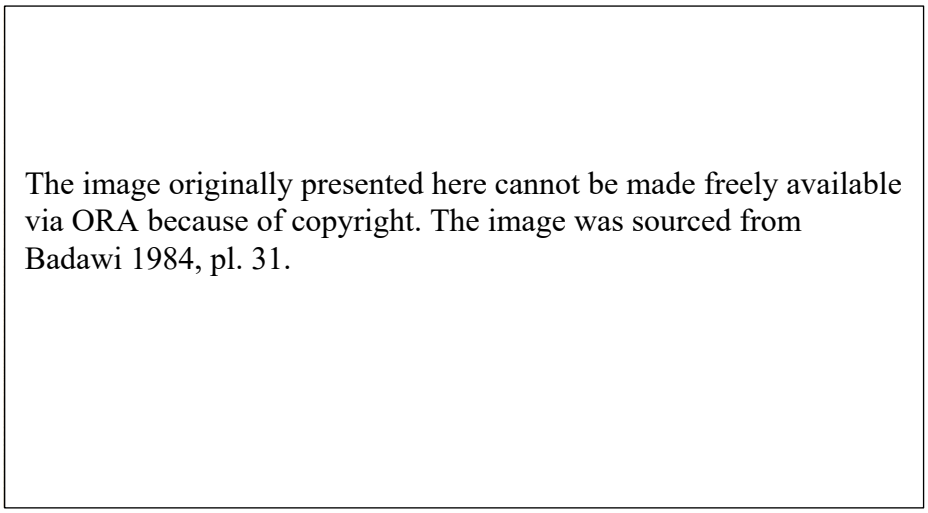


Figure 4.11. Canopic jars of Takelot B (Badawi 1984, pl. 31).

Padiaset A

Four uninscribed limestone pseudo-canopic jars with lids are attributed to Padiaset A (Cairo JE 86794A–D: Badawi 1984, pl. 16; Aston 2009, 80). They are classified as type II by Aston (2009, 80) who noted that they were empty. The set is similar to that of Takelot B in that it displays some uniformity in shape and size. The lids represent the four Sons of Horus in their human and animal forms. They adopt a more simplified style, with plain headdresses.

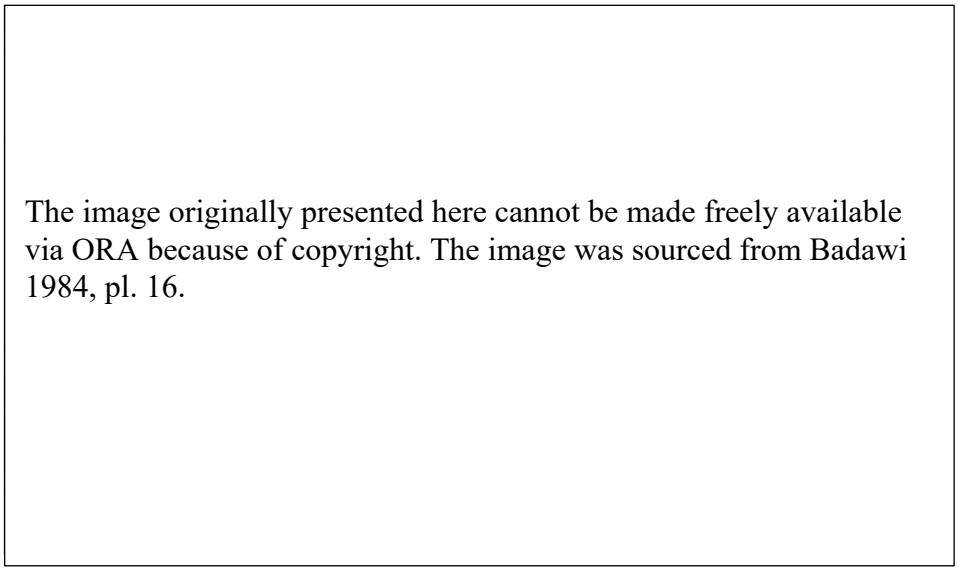


Figure 4.12. Canopic jars of Padiaset A (Badawi 1984, pl. 16).

Harsiese

Harsiese possessed a set of four inscribed limestone pseudo-canopic jars with lids, classified as Aston's type II (Cairo JE 86807A–D: Badawi 1984, pl. 24; Aston 2009, 81). The ensemble displays some uniformity in shape and size. The lids represent the four Sons of Horus with their human and animal heads. They adopt a more simplified style, with plain headdresses. While Aston has indicated that the jars are inscribed, it is unclear based on the poor-quality photographs of the set available in the publication by Badawi (1984, pl. 24).

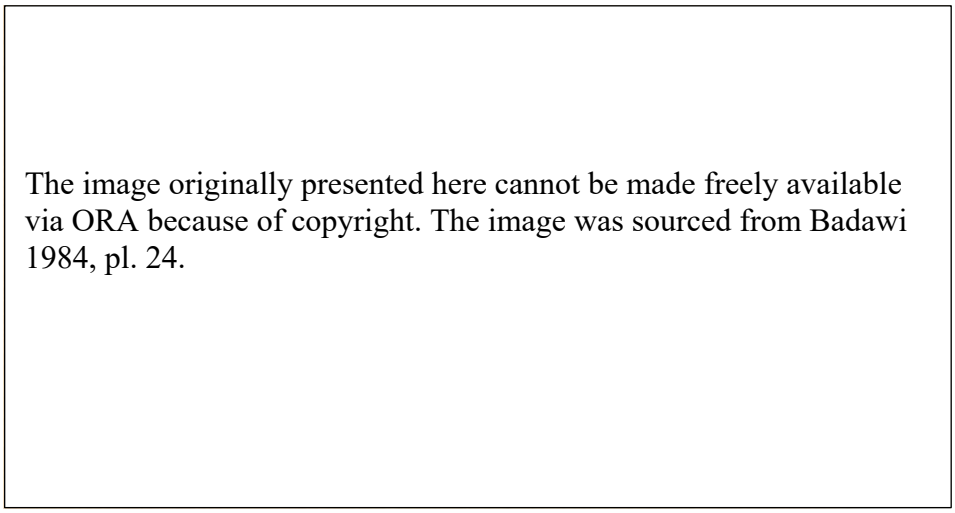


Figure 4.13. Canopic jars of Harsiese (Badawi 1984, pl. 24).

Tabakhtenaskhet

Four yellow limestone inscribed pseudo-canopic jars, two of them without lids, constituted Tabakhtenaskhet's canopic equipment (Cairo JE 86801 A–D: Badawi 1984, pl. 19; Aston 2009, 81). The set is classified by Aston as type II (2009, 81). The lids representing Hapy (baboon-head) and Qebehsenuef (falcon-head) are preserved, albeit Hapy is in poor condition. The jars are inscribed with a single column of text running down the vessel, but the text is illegible from the photographs.

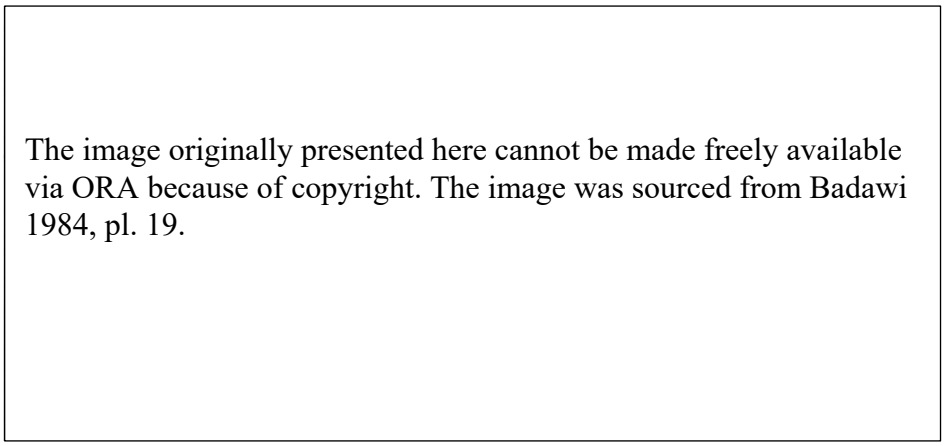


Figure 4.14. Canopic jars of Tabakhtenaskhet (Badawi 1984, pl. 19).

It should be noted that the inclusion of canopic equipment as part of the burial assemblage remained a prerogative of the elite (i.e. royal family and high-ranking individuals). This is visible notably with the burials of non-elites of Memphis at Saqqara (Aston and Jeffreys 2007, 79). For instance, the 70 secondary burials from the 20th–21st dynasties discovered in the 19th dynasty tomb of Iurudef (Raven 1991) were of an extremely poor nature with very few associated grave goods, and none of them included canopic jars (Aston and Jeffreys 2007, 79).

4.2.3. The necropolis of Herakleopolis Magna (Dynasties 22–23)

The Third Intermediate Period necropolis was discovered at Herakleopolis Magna (Ehnasya el-Medina) in 1977 by the Spanish Archaeological Mission; the discovery was followed by further excavations carried out by M. Carmen Pérez Die between 1984 and 1999 (Pérez Die 1995, 24; 2010, 15, 91; for excavation overview: Padró 1999, 15–22). In keeping with common practice in the Third Intermediate Period, the necropolis is located near the temple of Herishef (Pérez Die 2009, 304); its exact location in relation to the temple precinct is undetermined as the temenos wall of the temple is not yet located (Pérez Die 2021, 1202).

The necropolis was in use for many generations; the main tombs were built during the Libyan period (22nd and 23rd dynasties)—most probably around the reign of Osorkon II—and during much of the 8th century the cemetery was extended to the south, east and west (Pérez Die 2009, 303–4; 2010, 88–91, 763). It was used again during the 25th dynasty up to the beginning of the 26th dynasty, including the reign of Psamtik I. As indicated by Pérez Die (2009, 303), the necropolis is of a considerable size and occupies the upper levels of four sectors—A, C, L and M (Pérez Die 2010, 15, 17). The tombs are made up of various enclosures built of stone and mud brick (Pérez Die 2009, 304–5). The core of the Third Intermediate Period necropolis is found in sectors L and M where a total of 9 tombs and 43 burial chambers were excavated (Pérez Die 2010, 118–9; also Aston 2009, 109–1). An additional 6 tombs (Pérez Die 2010, 108–11) came from sector C and another 12 from sector A (Pérez Die 2010, 105–6).

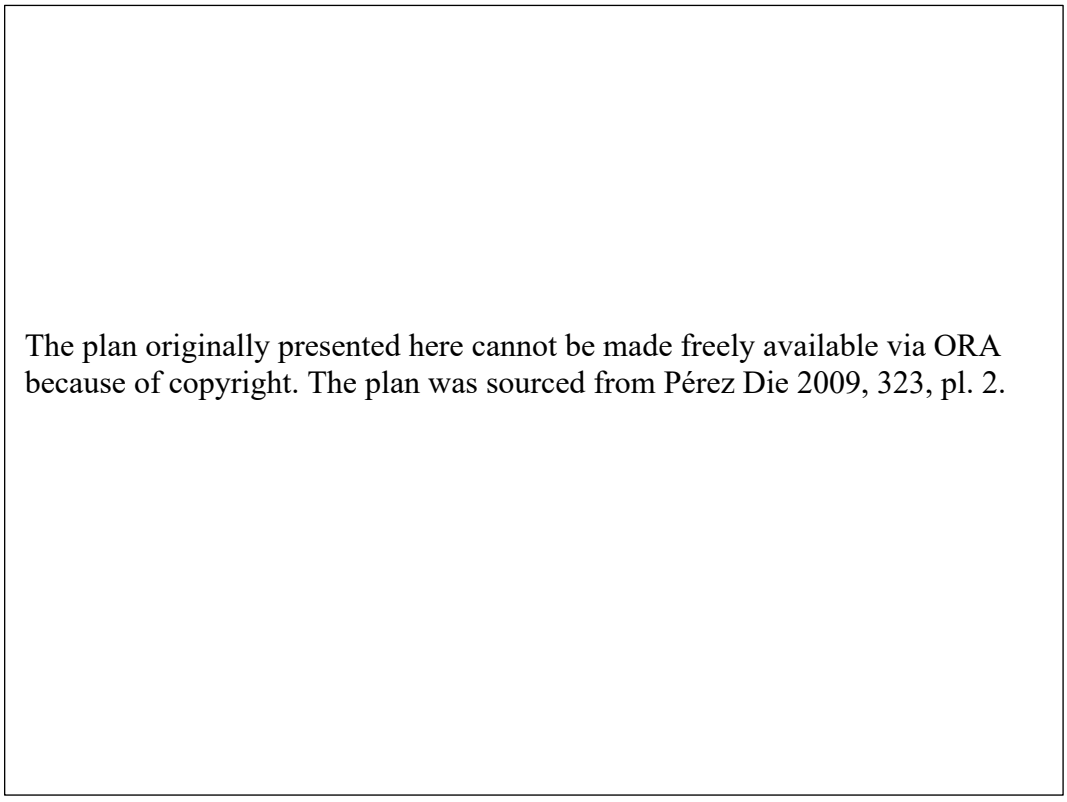


Figure 4.15. Plan of sectors L and M of Herakleopolis Magna. (Pérez Die 2009, 323, pl. 2)

Pérez Die's study of inscribed material found in the necropolis (Pérez Die and Vernus 1992, 39–76; also Pérez Die 2009, 306–14; 2010, 743–50) has revealed lineage and titles allowing her to ascertain that the tombs belonged to members of the royal family during the 22nd dynasty and included descendants of high priests of Amun at Thebes (e.g. Tanetamun, Osorkon 4), sons of the great chiefs of the Ma (the Libyan tribe Meshwesh) (e.g. Osorkon 1, Sheshonq), as well as high dignitaries from Hierakonpolis who lived during the Libyan Period (22nd and 23rd dynasties).[100] These dignitaries held military and religious offices (Pérez Die 2009, 320–2; 2010, 756–60). They comprised members of the priesthood of the main local god Herishef (e.g. Tanetamun, chief of the musical troupe of Herishef; Osorkon 2, high priest of Herishef) and overseers of the army (general) and army leaders (commanders), (e.g. Osorkon 2, overseer of the army; Osorkon 4, army leader).

It is notable that individuals whose funerary set included canopic equipment represent an extremely small portion of the 1287 individuals known to have been buried in the Third Intermediate Period necropolis (mid-9th to the mid-7th century BCE). Pérez Die (2009, 319) concluded that of these, only 563 individuals had items of burial equipment, 29 of whom can be identified by name and occasionally titles (Pérez Die 2010, 760–2; also Pérez Die and Vernus 1992). Only eight of these possessed canopic equipment (0.6% of the total), as summarised in Table 4.1: Djedptahiuesankh, Osorkon 2, Tanetamun, Tcheretch, Osorkon 7, Shesheq, Ipy, and Ankhsematauy.

The burial equipment which accompanied these eight high-ranking individuals was limited to canopic jars, shabtis, amulets, scarabs and remains of necklaces and bracelets, such beads

[100] Pérez Die 2009, 303, 320–2; 2010, 753–5, 760–2.

and shells (Pérez Die 2009, 318–9; also Aston 2009, 109–11). Only three of the eight were buried in cartonnage (Pérez Die 2010, 798); the others had no body container.[101] This seems to be in keeping with the general pattern across the necropolis: very few corpses were placed in sarcophagi (of wood or mud brick) (31 individuals: Pérez Die 2010, 776–7); cartonnage was preferred, but the numbers are relatively low (406 individuals i.e. 32% of the total; Pérez Die 2010, 780–1). In such contexts, the conventional argument that they were maintained out of habit is not supported.

		Owner	Lineage [Selected]	Titles [Selected]	Canopic material?
Sector A	**T 66-3**	**Djedptahiuesankh**		**x**	**Y**
	T 66-10	Pasenhor		x	N
Sector L	T 1.2	Osorkon 6		x	N
	T 2.1	Disibastet		x	N
	T 2.1	Horsiese		PA	N
	T 2.1	Shepensepedet		Kwife	N
	T 2.1	Tanetsheriteniah		x	N
	T 2.2	**Osorkon 2**		**OA HPH Kson**	**Y**
	T 2.2	Ihy		PA	N
	T 2.2	Padinaret		GChMa?	N
	T 2.2	Paenherishef 2		x	N
	Tomb 3	Paenherishef 1		GFK	N
	T 4.2	**Tanetamun**	**Father: HPA**	**ChMH**	**Y**
	T 5.3	Shepenaset		x	N
	T 6.2	**Tcheretch**		**x**	**Y**
	T 7.3	**Osorkon 7**		**Kson**	**Y**
	T 7.4	Padiaset		x	N
	NO.2	Sheshonq	Father: ChMa	x	N
	NO.3	**Shesheq**		**CD**	**Y**
		Abuenaset		x	N
		Osorkon 4	Father: HPA	OA AL PH	N
		Osorkon 5		x	N
		Paenimennesutauy		x	N
		Sheshonq		x	N
		Tanetsai		x	N
Sector C	**Tomb 10**	**Ipy**		**GFA PA**	**Y**
	Burial 1327	**Ankhsematauy**		***sameref*-P *heka-arek*-P**	**Y**
	T 79-1	Shepenbastet		x	N
		Hesen		x	N

Table 4.1. Identified individuals with burial equipment at Herakleopolis Magna (Pérez Die 2010, 760–2, 388–412).
Key. x: no information
Abbreviations. AL: Army Leader (Commandant); CD: Charriot Driver; ChMa: Chief of the Ma(shwesh); ChMH: Chief of the Musical troupe of Herishef; GChMa: Great Chief of the Ma(shwesh); GFA: God's Father of Amun; GFK: God's Father of Khonsu; HPA: High Priest of Amun; HPH: High Priest of Herishef; Kson:

[101] The three individuals who possessed both canopic jars and cartonnages are not identified by Pérez Die.

King's son; Kwife: King's wife; OA: Overseer of the Army (General); PA: Priest of Amun; PH: Priest of Herishef.

With the exception of Djedptahiuesankh and Tcheretch—for whom there is no information—it is clear from the titles and lineages that these people belonged to the highest ranks of the military and religious authorities. Aston (2009, 110) and Pérez-Die (2009, 315) consider Tanetamun and Osorkon 4 as children of the High Priest of Amun Nesibanebdjed (Smendes) III, son of Osorkon I. They also tentatively propose to equate Osorkon 4 (overseer of the army, army leader, priest of Herishef) with Osorkon 2 (overseer of the army, high priest of Herishef, king's son). From the data available, Pérez-Die (2009, 314) proposes the following genealogy connecting the Herakleopolitans with the 22nd dynasty royal family (Fig. 4.15).

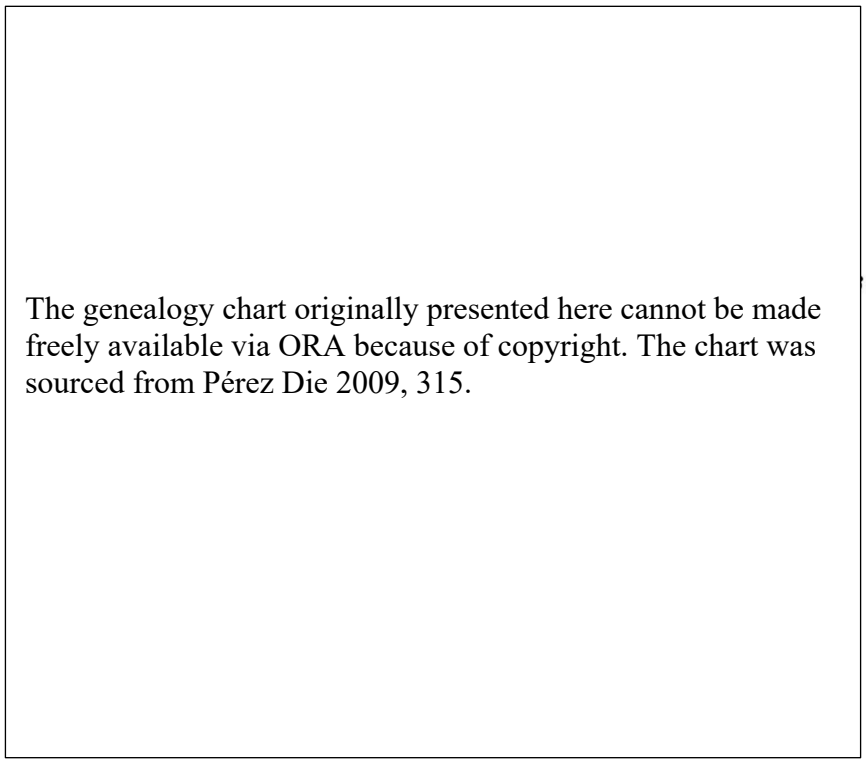


Figure 4.16. Genealogy chart for 22nd dynasty Herakleopolis Magna (Pérez Die 2009, 315).

Treatment of the viscera

The majority of the 1287 bodies recovered from the necropolis were incomplete or considerably deteriorated, making it very difficult to identify individual bodies and to obtain information about the treatment of the internal organs (Pérez Die 2009, 317; 2010, 764). Pérez Die concluded that 85 corpses conserved remnants of mummification (i.e. products used or undone bandages), barely 6.6% of the total number of individuals (Pérez Die 2009, 318; 2010, 779). No information is available about the treatment, if any, of the viscera.

4.2.3.1 Canopic equipment at Herakleopolis Magna

The canopic equipment of Djedptahiuesankh, Osorkon 2, Tanetamun, Tcheretch, Osorkon 7, Shesheq, Ipy, and Ankhsematauy was fully published by Pérez Die (2010, 388–412). According to her (2010, 786), six of the canopic sets were found inside the burial chambers, although not in their original position (Pérez Die 2009, 318); the sets of Shesheq and Ankhsematauy were found outside the burial chambers. Pérez Die (2009, 318) observed that all the jars were empty. Three types (I, II, and V) have been distinguished, following Aston (2009, 293–7).[102] Translations of texts are mine. Appendix C presents an overview of the canopic equipment of Herakleopolis and includes hieroglyphic transcriptions.

Djedptahiuesankh

A set of four anepigraphic limestone pseudo-canopic jars with lids (type II) were found inside his burial chamber.[103] The stoppers are plain and represent the four Sons of Horus in their human/animal forms. The jars and lids are consistent in height.

[102] While Pérez Die (2010, 388) developed her own typology—based on Aston's—I continue to follow Aston's.
[103] 76 114 a 1871–1874: Pérez Die 2010, 105, 107, fig. 26, 401–5; also Aston 2009, 108 [TG 260].

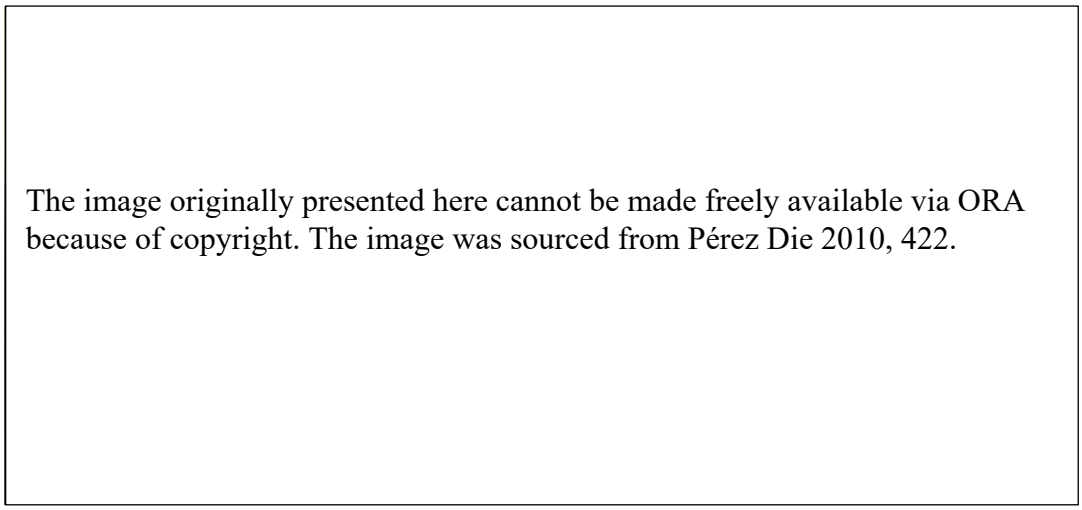


Figure 4.17. Canopic jars of Djedptahiuesankh (Pérez Die 2010, 422).

Osorkon 2

This high-ranking individual had a group of four anepigraphic canopic jars with limestone lids and travertine jars.[104] The set comprised jars and stoppers of different sizes and material that do not necessarily belong together, suggesting they might have been reused (Pérez Die 2010, 393). The mixed jars can be classified as Aston's types I and II. The lids represent the four Sons of Horus in their human/animal forms.

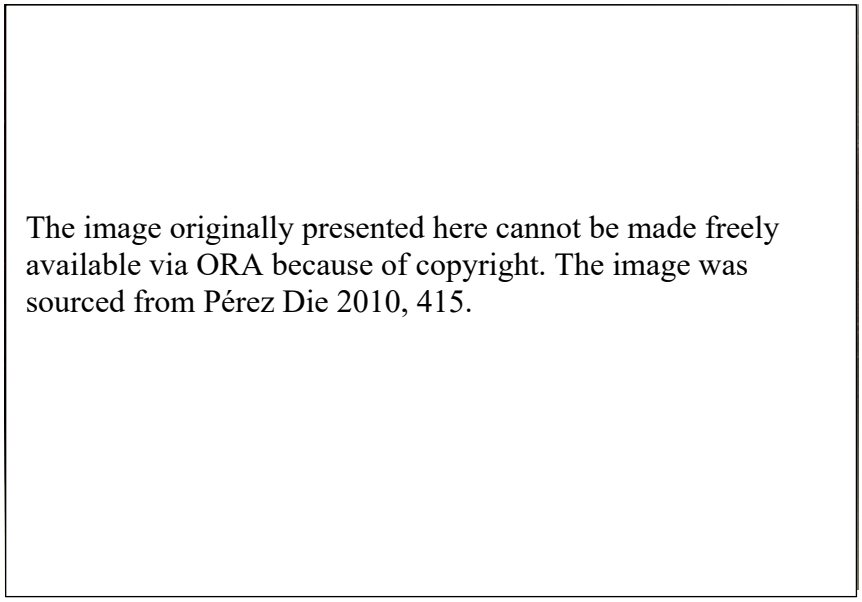


Figure 4.18. Canopic jars of Osorkon 2 (Pérez Die 2010, 415).

[104] HM 86 834 a–d: Pérez Die 2010, 242, 261, fig. 227, 393–5; also Aston 2009, 110.

Tanetamun

This set of four inscribed travertine canopic jars with lids (type I) belonging to Tanetamun, chief of the musical troupe of Herishef and daughter of Nesibanebdjed III, was also found in her burial chamber.[105] The lids represent the four Sons of Horus in their human/animal forms. Each god wears a headdress decorated with stripes and traces of blue paint; the name of each son is inscribed between the lappets of the headdress at the front. The jars and lids are consistent in height. Four columns of text are inscribed on each jar (Pérez Die and Vernus 1992, 56–7 [24], 130–1, figs. 18–9, 158, pl. 16b; Appendix C). The texts are closest to type XVIII of Sethe's typology (1934, 12*) found on jars from the 21st dynasty onwards and consisting of offering formulae for the Sons of Horus. The offering formula for Qebehsenuef and Dumautef is different to that for Imset and Hapy:

(HM 87 68 b and c)
ḥtp dj nsw (n) Qbḥ-sn.w=f/Dwꜣ-mw.t=f ḥr(y)-jb ḫr(y).t-nṯr dj=f ḥtp.t n bꜣ n Wsjr Ṯnt-Jmn mꜣᶜ-ḫrw sꜣ.t n ḥm-nṯr tpy n Jmn (j)m(y)-r(ꜣ) mšᶜ ḥꜣ(w).tj (j)m(y)-r(ꜣ) Ns-bꜣ-(nb)-ḏd.t mꜣᶜ-ḫrw*[106] *jr(w).t.n Jḫy*
An offering which the king gives (to) Qebehsenuef/Duamutef who is at the necropolis, so that he may give offerings to the ba of the Osiris of Tanetamun, justified, daughter of the High Priest of Amun, overseer of the army and first officer Nesibanebdjed, justified, engendered by Ikhe[107]

(HM 87 68 a)
ḥtp dj nsw n Jmst nb ḫr(y).t-nṯr nṯr=f bꜣ n Wsjr Ṯnt-Jmn mꜣᶜ-ḫrw sꜣ.t n ḥm-nṯr tpy n Jmn (j)m(y)-r(ꜣ) mšᶜ ḥꜣ(w).tj (j)m(y)-r(ꜣ) Ns-bꜣ-(nb)-ḏd.t jr(w).t.n Jḫy mꜣᶜ-ḫrw m ḫr(y).t-nṯr
An offering which the king gives to Imset, lord of the necropolis, so that he may divinise the ba of the Osiris of Tanetamun, justified, daughter of the High Priest of Amun, overseer of the army and first officer Nesibanebdjed, engendered by Ikhe, justified in the necropolis.

(HM 87 68 d)
ḥtp dj nsw n Ḥpy ḥr(y)-ib ḫr(y).t-nṯr nṯr=f Wsjr Ṯnt-Jmn mꜣᶜ-ḫrw sꜣ.t n ḥm-nṯr tpy n Jmn (j)m(y)-r(ꜣ) mšᶜ ḥꜣ(w).tj (j)m(y)-r(ꜣ) Ns-bꜣ-(nb)-ḏd mꜣᶜ-ḫrw jr(w).t.n Jḫy
An offering which the king gives to Hapy who is at the necropolis, so that he may divinise the Osiris of Tanetamun, justified, daughter of the High Priest of Amun, overseer of the army and first officer Nesibanebdjed, engendered by Ikhe.

[105] HM 87 68 a–d: Pérez Die 2010, 270, 283, fig. 254, 389–91; also Aston 2009, 110.
[106] Not included in the Duamutef formula.
[107] The reading of the name 'Ikhe' is proposed by Pérez Die and Vernus 1992, 57.

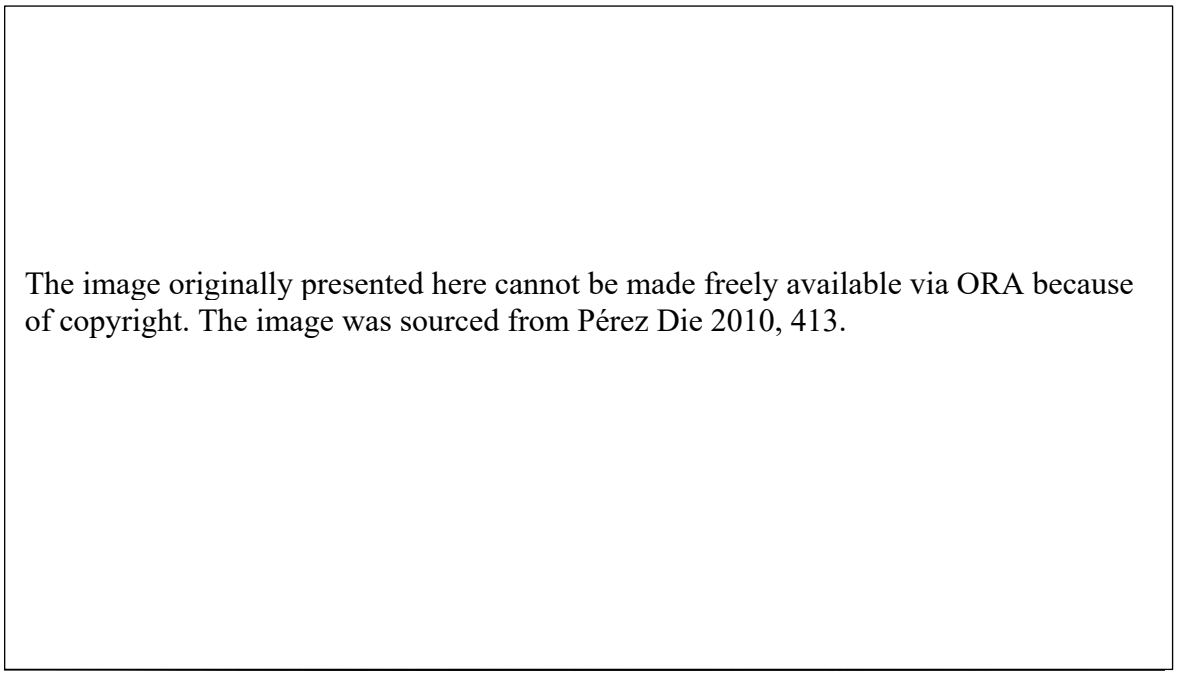


Figure 4.19. Canopic jars of Tanetamun (Pérez Die 2010, 413).

Tcheretch

Three inscribed limestone canopic jars (type I), two with lids, belonged to Tcheretch, son of Nimlot.[108] Pérez Die (2010, 392) indicated that the style of the vases and their palaeography are comparable with Tanetamun's, suggesting they were produced in the same workshop. The preserved stoppers represent Imset (human-headed) and Qebehsenuef (falcon-headed); the headdresses are detailed with stripes. The jars are similar in height and are inscribed with four columns of text (Pérez Die and Vernus 1992, 59–60 [27], 133–4, figs. 21–2, 160, pl. 18a; Appendix C). The canopic texts are reminiscent of Sethe's type XVIII (1934, 12*), which consists of an offering formula. However in these texts, the beneficiary of the offering is Osiris; the Sons of Horus are not mentioned:

(HM 89 241 a–b)
ḥtp dj nsw n Wsjr nb Ddw nṯr≠f bꜣ n Wsjr Ṯrrṯ mꜣᶜ-ḫrw sꜣ Nmꜣrṯ mꜣᶜ-ḫrw jr.n Tꜣ-ḫrd-n-ꜣs.t
An offering which the king gives to Osiris, lord of Busiris, so that he may divinise the ba of the Osiris of Tcheretch, justified, son of Nimlot, justified, engendered by Tasheritenaset

[108] HM 89 241 a–c: Pérez Die 2010, 296, 317, fig. 291, 392–3; also Aston 2009, 110.

The text on the jar without lid reads:

(HM 89 241 c)
ḥtp dj nsw n Wsjr <Wn>nfr nṯr≠f bꜣ (n) Wsjr Ṯrrṯ mꜣᶜ-ḫrw sꜣ Nmꜣrṯ mꜣᶜ-ḫrw mw.t≠f Tꜣ-ḫrd-n-ꜣs.t
An offering which the king gives to Osiris-Wennefer, so that he may divinise the ba (of) the Osiris of Tcheretch, justified, son of Nimlot, justified. His mother Tasheritenaset

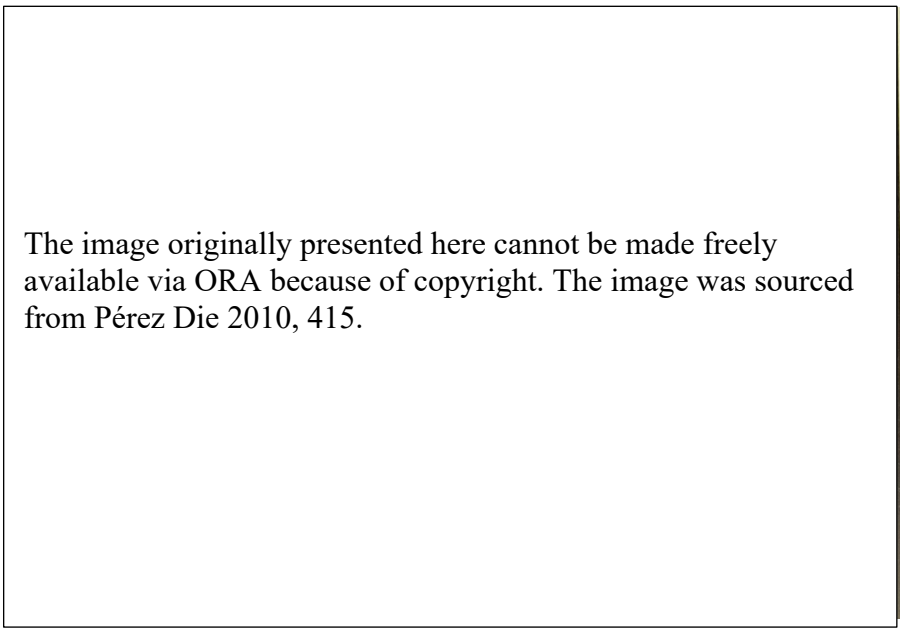


Figure 4.20. Canopic jars of Tcheretch (Pérez Die 2010, 415).

Osorkon 7

A set of four limestone pseudo-canopic jars (type II) with lids were found in the tomb of a prince Osorkon (HM 89 261a–d: Pérez Die 2010, 133, 148, fig. 69, 396–8; also Aston 2009, 111). The lids are plain and represent the four Sons of Horus in their human/animal forms. The jars are tall and narrow and bear a single column of inscription simply giving the name of the relevant Son and not the owner (Pérez Die and Vernus 1992, 72 [53], 139, fig. 27, 165, pl. 23b; Appendix C). The inscription is Sethe's type XVI (1934, 9*–10*):

*ḏd mdw Jmsṯ/Ḥpy/Dwꜣ-mw.t≠f/Qbḥ-sn(w.)≠f**
Words (to be) spoken: Imset/Hapy/Duamutef/Qebehsenuef

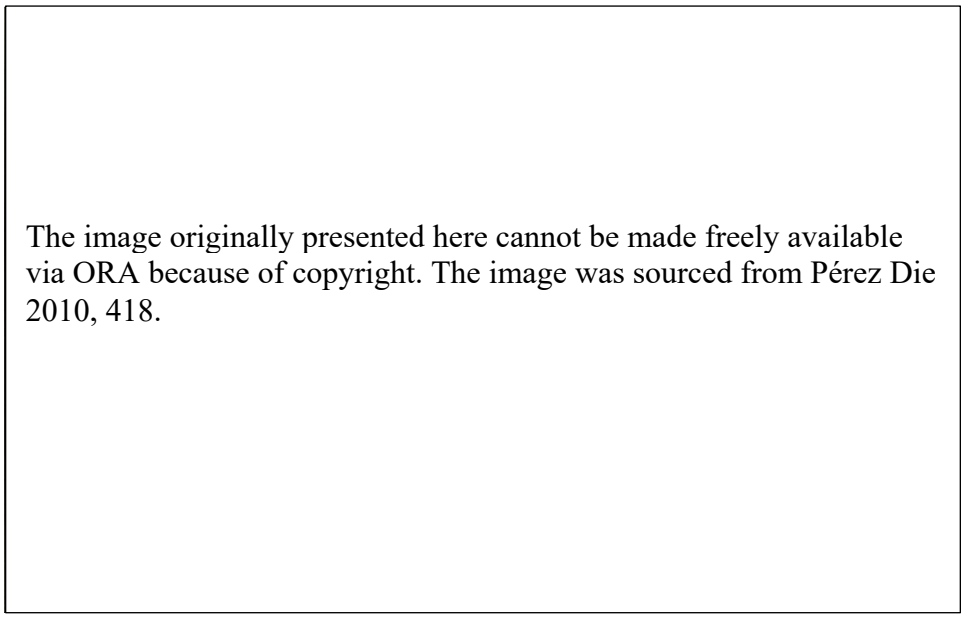


Figure 4.21. Canopic jars of Osorkon 7 (Pérez Die 2010, 418).

Shesheq

A canopic ensemble of four anepigraphic limestone canopic jars without lids and four silver plates with depictions of the Sons of Horus (HM 90 42 and HM 90 49 a–d: Pérez Die 2010, 133, 150, figs. 90–1, 411). Pérez Die (2010, 411) claims that the silver plates replaced the lids of the canopic jars, but a photograph of the canopic jars *in situ* does not show them covered with these plates (Pérez Die 2010, 426, fig. 473), so this assessment of function seems uncertain to me. The Sons of Horus are represented as standing figures with undifferentiated bodies, holding the hieroglyphic sign of the West, with their human/animal heads. The iconography is reminiscent of representations of the Sons of Horus following Osiris and facing the deceased found on funerary stelae of the 25th–26th dynasties (e.g. stela of Meresimen: Louvre N 4024). The replacement of the lids of the canopic jars with complete depictions of the Sons of Horus is revealing of the role as representations of the Sons of Horus that was then assigned to the jars.

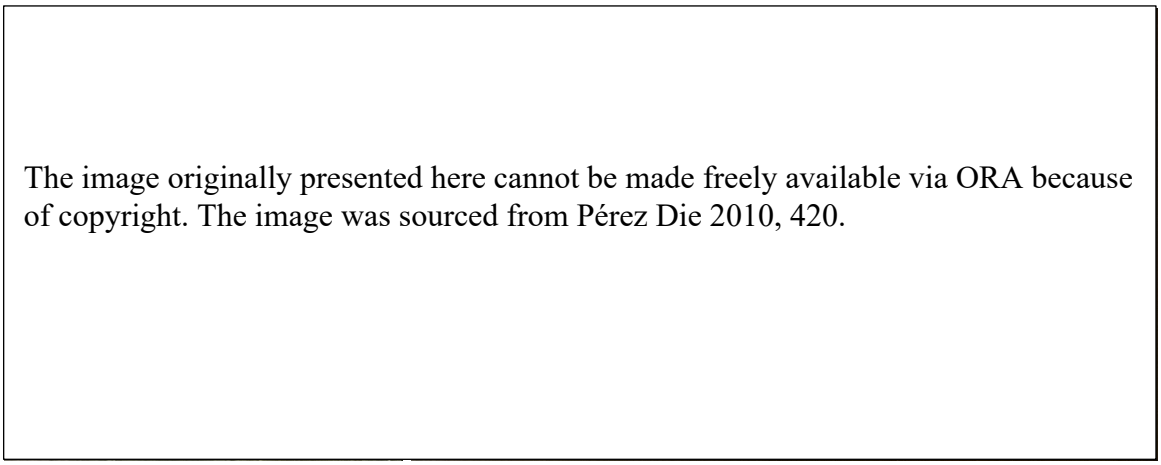


Figure 4.22. Canopic jars and silver plates of Shesheq (Pérez Die 2010, 420).

Ipy

Three anepigraphic travertine canopic jars with limestone lids and one limestone lid were found inside the tomb of the god's father and priest of Amun[109] Ipy (HM 2002–18 a–d: Pérez Die 2010, 108, 115, fig. 37, 399–401; also Aston 2009, 111). The jars and lids appear to be of different sizes and material, which could suggest they have been reused (Pérez Die 2010, 399). As pointed out by Pérez Die (2010, 399) the human-headed jar (HM 2002–18 a) is smaller and more rounded than the rest of the set—like Aston's type III, while the other two are closer to Aston's type I (HM 2002–18 d) and II (HM 2002–18 b).

[109] Pérez Die (2009, 314) identifies Ipy as belonging to the priesthood of Amun while Aston (2009, 111) assigns Ipy to Herishef.

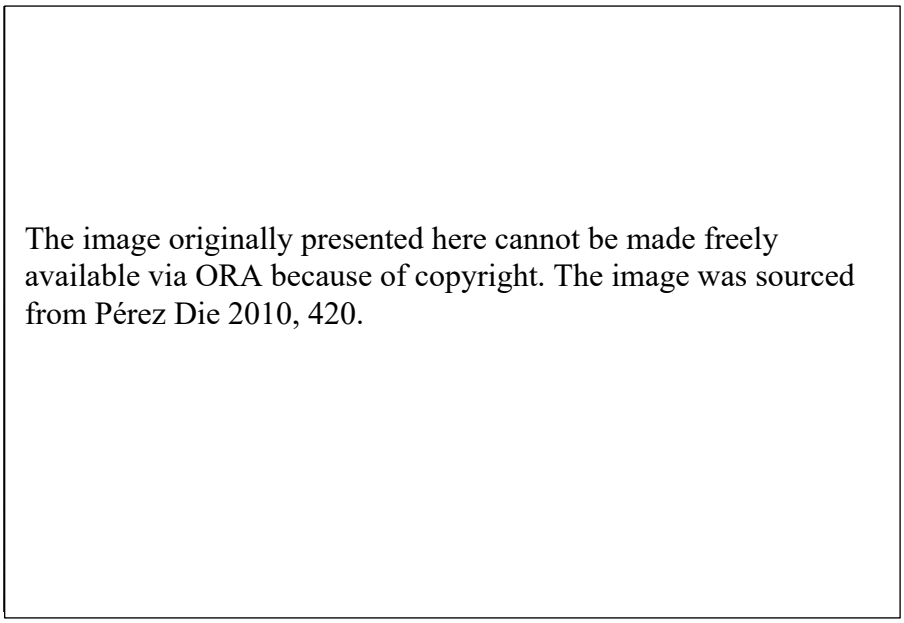


Figure 4.23. Canopic jars of Ipy (Pérez Die 2010, 420).

Ankhsematauy

The set of Ankhsematauy *sameref* priest and *heka arek* priest, is composed of three dummy and one pseudo-canopic jars (HM 2004 1 a–d: Pérez Die 2010, 110, 116, fig. 40, 406–10). The dummy jars (type V) are carved from single blocks of limestone. The fourth jar, also limestone, was partially hollowed out with a detachable lid (type II). It is clear this jar belonged to another set. Pérez Die (2010, 406) suggests it replaced a missing canopic in the original single block set. However, this jar represents Qebehsenuef, instead of the missing Imset that would have made the set complete. On the three dummy jars, a line was carved at the neck to simulate a separation between the lids and the jars. The headdresses of Duamutef (HM 2004 1 a) and Qebehsenuef (HM 2004 1 c) are detailed with stripes. The three dummy jars each bear a single column of inscription, while the fourth is anepigraphic. The inscription on Qebehsenuef's jar is different from those on Hapy and Duamutef's and is reminiscent of Sethe's type XVIII (Sethe 1934, 12*), although not quite a match.

(HM 2004 1 a)
ḥtp dj nsw n Wsjr Qbḥ-sn.w=f nṯr(=f) sꜣ-mr=f ꜥnḫ-smꜣ-tꜣ.wy

An offering which the king gives to Osiris-Qebehesenuef so that he may divinise the *sameref* priest Ankhsematauy

(HM 2004 1 b and c)
Wsjr Ḥpy/Dwꜣ-mw.t=f nṯr=f Wsjr ḥkꜣ-ꜥrk ꜥnḫ-smꜣ-tꜣ.wy*
Osiris-Hapy/Duamutef. May he divinise the Osiris of the *heka arek* priest Ankhsematauy

Commentary

—In these texts Osiris and the relevant Son of Horus appear to be combined. As noted by Sethe (1934, 230–2), this is first observed at the end of the 18th dynasty, on the canopic coffinettes of Tutankhamun notably. It results from the equation of the Osiris of the deceased with the relevant Son of Horus in earlier formulae where the tutelary goddess grants protection over both the Sons of Horus and the deceased (e.g. Type VI: Sethe 1934, 2*).

—The name of the Son of Horus mentioned in the text of Qebehsenuef's jar does not match with the jar it is paired with (Duamutef). Similarly the name of the Son of Horus on Duamutef's jar does not correspond to the son represented by the jar (Qebehsenuef). These inversions are probably scribal errors, as suggested by Pérez Die (2010, 406).

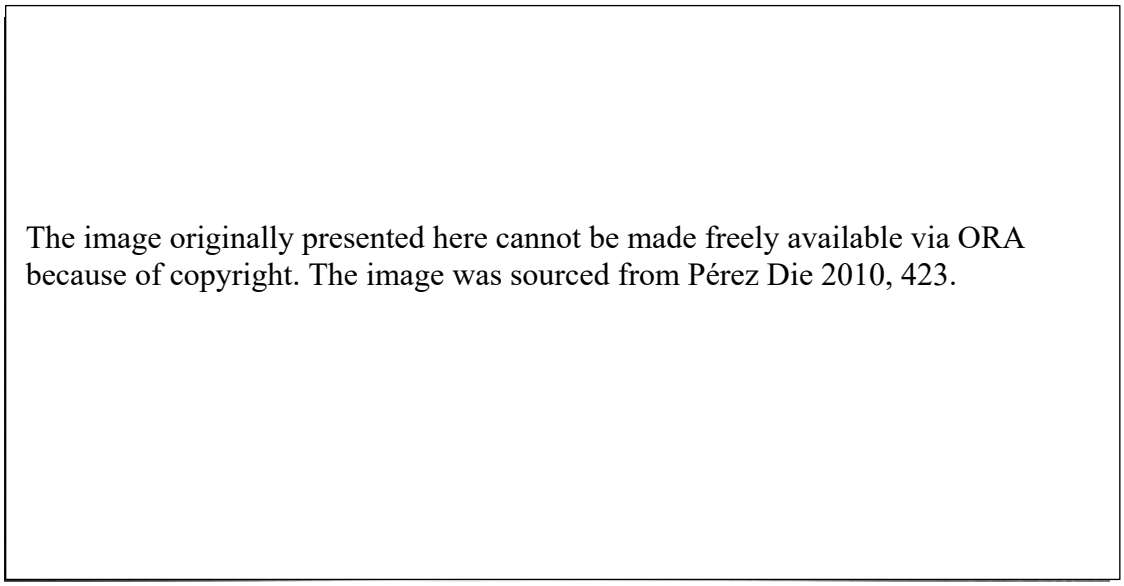


Figure 4.24. Canopic jars of Ankhsematauy (Pérez Die 2010, 423).

4.2.4. Preliminary conclusions: Lower Egypt

This survey of canopic equipment from the necropolises of Tanis, Memphis and Herakleopolis Magna invites considerations of what has been presumed to be the widespread practice of replacing the viscera in the body, wrapped with a wax figurine of Son of Horus, as well as the impact this practice is thought to have had on the developments of Third Intermediate Period canopic jars. No wax figurines of the Sons of Horus or visceral packages are attested in these necropolises. Although this outcome is certainly affected by the considerable deterioration of mummies (Tanis and Herakleopolis Magna), it can be assumed that wax figurines of the Sons of Horus would have been found in at least some of the human remains, even in very small numbers, if they had been used, as is the case with the bodies of the Second Cache of Deir el-Bahri. In any case, this absence emphasises the needs to revise the established idea of a 'fundamental change' defined by the return of the organs to the body accompanied by figures of the Sons of Horus in the 21st dynasty. Further, traces of contents were still found in the Tanite jars of Psusennes I, Amenemope, Wendjebaendjed, Shoshenq IIa, and Harnakht C. Regardless of their exact nature—black (perhaps resinous) deposits, linen-wrapped bundles or parts of viscera—the contents were most likely associated with the embalming process and of divinifying nature—which was considered enough to create an effective divine object (e.g. votive animal mummies for comparison).

The canopic equipment from Tanis NRT-III reveals that early 21st dynasty canopic jars are inherited directly from New Kingdom traditions, both in terms of form (Aston's type I) and inscriptions (Sethe's type VIIIa), with texts that invoke the protection of the tutelary goddesses over the Sons of Horus and the deceased (e.g. Psusennes I and Amenemope). Pseudo-canopic jars of type II, which are generally only half hollowed and empty (Aston

2009, 295), start to appear in Tanis NRT-I with Takelot I and Harnakht C, Osorkon II's son. Their texts still focus on the protection granted by the goddesses. The material development towards type II canopic jars noted in NRT-I is paralleled in canopic material from the priestly necropolis of Memphis. While Sheshonq D, son of Osorkon II, still owns type I canopic jars, pseudo-canopic jars of type II are found in the burials of the following generations. There, canopic jars of type II are not necessarily inscribed, and I argue that this shift announces further developments attested by type V dummy canopic jars. The first examples of such canopic jars in Lower Egypt are those from the burial of the *sameref* priest Ankhsematauy at Heraklepolis Magna. The rest of the very small number of canopic jars found at this site includes both empty type I canopic jars and pseudo-canopic jars of type II. The texts found on the type I canopics are the expected speeches enunciated by the Sons of Horus, which focus on the deceased's titles and on the offerings the Sons of Horus can provide to the deceased.

Developments in canopic equipment were progressive, with the staggered emergence of types II and V in tomb groups and the slow shift in textual contents suggesting that the conceptualisation of canopic equipment was evolving throughout the Third Intermediate Period. I understand the developments from standard to dummy canopic jars with inscriptions highlighting the duties of the sons towards the deceased as a reinforcement of the conceptualisation of the jars as Sons of Horus.

4.3. From Deir el-Bahri to the Ramesseum: canopic equipment in Upper Egypt

This section includes the Royal Cache of Deir el-Bahri (TT 320), in which the 21st dynasty high priests of Amun Pinedjem I and Pinedjem II are buried along with members of their

family, and the Second Cache of Deir el-Bahri (also known as Bab el-Gusus), including the burials of 153 individuals, all priestly members of Amun's cult in Thebes. In the 21st dynasty, the high priests of Amun assumed rule over Upper Egypt, in parallel with the Tanite kings in the north (e.g. Taylor 2003a, 325–9; Jansen-Winkeln 2006a). The Theban area thus became a 'state of Amun'. At that time, Deir el-Bahri became a priestly necropolis for the priesthoods of Montu and the Theban triad (Amun, Mut, and Khonsu)—and continued to be so up to the 25th dynasty. Most of the priestly burials were, therefore, located in the vicinity of Hatshepsut's temple, although the Deir el-Medineh cemeteries continued to be used (Aston 2009, 253–8), along with 21st dynasty intrusive burials found within New Kingdom tombs in the Assasif (TT 32, room 2: Aston 2009, 164) and Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 55; TT 97: Aston 2009, 234–5). Consequently, the caches of Deir el-Bahri provide most of the Theban prosopographical data for the 21st dynasty and beginning of the 22nd dynasty. While burials of priests of Montu have been found in the Deir el-Bahri-Assasif area, they are poorly published and thus not included in the discussion (Sheikholeslami 2003, 32).

The caches offer opportunity for a comparative case study analysis, as different types of canopic equipment are found in the burials: four sets of standard canopic jars (type I), one canopic chest and seven figurines of the Children of Horus (three individuals) in the Royal Cache; four sets of canopic jars and 92 figurines of the Children of Horus (23 individuals)[110] in the Second Cache. This approach sheds light on the variations in canopic practices between two social groups: the high priests of Amun (Royal Cache), and the priestly members of Amun's cult (Second Cache).

[110] Calculated on the assumption four figurines of the Children of Horus were retrieved from all 23 individuals that had figurines associated to organs within their bodies (Elliot Smith 1906b)

The corpus from Upper Egypt is completed with 33 burials of the Ramesseum priestly necropolis, 'which probably incorporates the greatest concentration of Third Intermediate Period tombs in western Thebes' (Nelson 2003, 88). From the 22nd dynasty onwards, the Ramesseum was used as a large cemetery for the priesthood of Amun. It comprised a number of burials of senior clergy members (e.g. Nakhtefmut A), but the majority of burials belonged to lower-ranked class of officiants such as god's fathers of Amun and musicians and songstresses of Amun. In addition to two sets of standard canopic jars (type I), six sets of pseudo-canopic jars (type II), eight sets of dummy canopic jars (type V) and nine 'wax' figurines of the Children of Horus (two individuals), six wooden figures of the Children of Horus are found placed beside the coffin in three burials—a unique canopic practice that is specific to the Ramesseum area.

4.3.1. The Royal Cache of Deir el-Bahri (Dynasty 21)

The history of the discovery of the Royal Cache (TT 320) on 5th July 1881 by Gaston Maspero and Emile Brugsch in the first valley south of Deir el-Bahri is well known (Brugsch and Maspero 1881; Maspero 1889, 511–26; Graefe and Belova 2010, 13–36). The cache was emptied by Brugsch in only two days, without any archaeological documentation (Graefe 2003, 74; Graefe and Belova 2010, 77) and consequently there is no precise description of how the interior looked.[111] However, it also appears that the tomb was not completely emptied at that time. Wilson (1887, 6) recorded that he visited the tomb with Brugsch a few weeks after the clearance of the cache and observed that many fragments of

[111] There is also a notable disparity between the numbers of objects recorded in Maspero 1889 and in the Journal d'Entrée (Aston 2009, 221).

grave goods were still scattered throughout the tomb; certain fragments remained there until 1998 (Graefe and Belova 2010, 77).

TT 320 contained the mummies and coffins of some pharaohs of the New Kingdom—in corridors ‘B’ and ‘C’ and niche ‘E’—as well as the funerary ensembles of members of high priestly families of the 21st dynasty in burial chamber ‘G’ (Reeves 1990, 185–6).

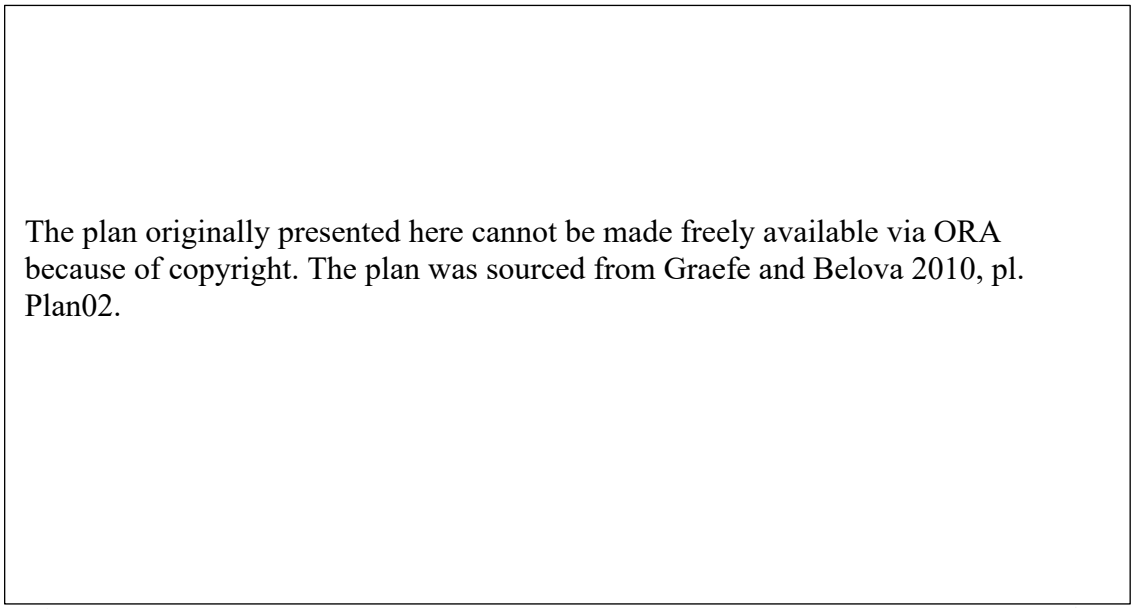


Figure 4.25. Plan of the Royal Cache (TT 320) (Graefe and Belova 2010, pl. Plan02)

The Royal Cache had a somewhat convoluted history and discussions of the initial date of the cutting of TT 320 (18th or 21st dynasty) and original ownership of the tomb (Ahmose-Inhapy or Pinedjem II’s family) have not yet reached an agreement; two scenarios are still considered. It is suggested that the original tomb was made for an 18th dynasty queen, although the queen’s identification is still discussed. It would have been subsequently usurped by Pinedjem II to serve as a vault for his own family (Winlock 1931; Černy 1946; Thomas 1979; Jansen-Winkeln 2000b; Aston 2009, 220). Alternatively, the tomb is thought to have been commissioned by and for Pinedjem II and his relatives (Dewachter 1975; Niwiński 1984; Reeves 1990, 187–8; Graefe 2003).

Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that TT 320 was used as the original family vault of the High Priest of Amun Pinedjem II including his two wives Isetemkheb D and Nesikhonsu A, his daughter Nesitanebashru A, and Djedptahiuefankh, who was possibly Nesitanebashru A's husband. They were all members of the priesthood of Amun, with Isetemkheb D and Nesikhonsu A bearing the title of 'first chief of the musical troupe of Amun-Re' (also translated 'chief of the harem'; see Naguib 1990, 188–91), Nesitanebashru A the title of 'Chantress of Amun' and Djedptaiuefankh that of 'third priest of Amun-Re'. At a subsequent date, the tomb was reused as a cache for the mummies and coffins of a number of pharaohs of the New Kingdom and for other high priestly families of the 21st dynasty:

(i) the wife of the high priest of Amun Herihor, mother of Pinedjem I and chief of the musical troupe of Amun-Re Nodjmet;

(ii) the high priest of Amun Pinedjem I, his wife the chief of the musical troupe of Amun Henuttawy A/Q[112], and their daughter, the god's wife of Amun Maatkare A;

(iii) the son of Pinedjem I, the high priest of Amun Masaharta A/B[113] and his wife(?) the chief of the musical troupe of Amun Tayuherit.

Identifying individuals and establishing genealogies is challenging in the Third Intermediate Period in general, and the 21st dynasty in particular, due to the scarcity of sources (e.g. Kitchen 1986, 40–71; Niwiński 1988, 37–52). However, the relationships between the high priestly family members buried in the Royal Cache have been well established thanks to a number of objects and texts—although aspects of it are still under discussion (e.g. Niwiński 1979; Kitchen 1986, 40–71; Naguib 1990, 133–86). As mentioned in section 4.2.1, there exists a familial connection between Pinedjem I, Pinedjem II and Psusennes I's families

[112] Aston's Henuttawy A (2009, 224; also Kitchen 1986, 57) is Dodson and Hilton's Henuttawy Q (2004, 205).
[113] Aston's Masaharta A (2009, 222) is Dodson and Hilton's Masaharta B (2004, 207).

through Isetemkheb C, daughter of Psusennes I and mother of Pinedjem II. These relationships are visualised in the genealogy chart (Fig. 4.17).

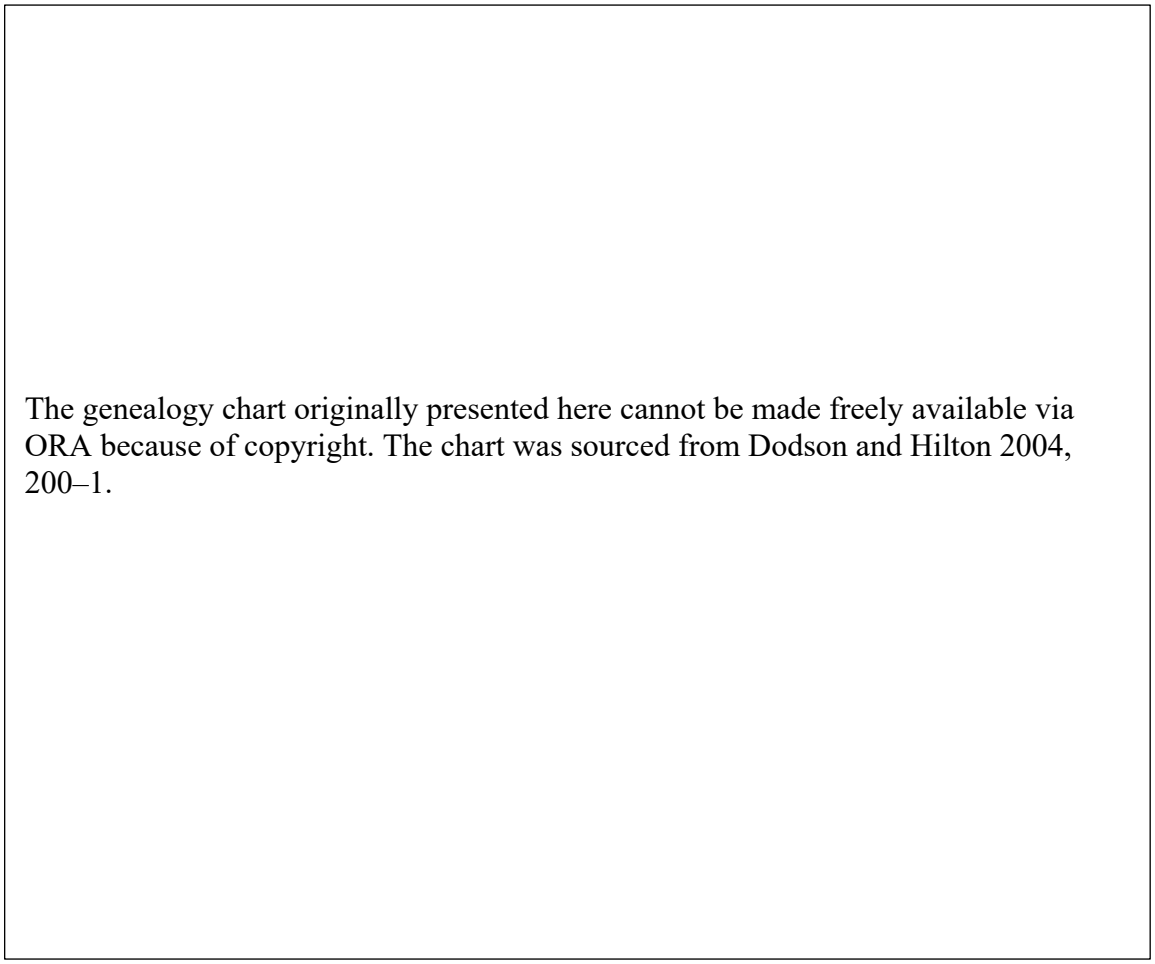


Figure 4.26. Genealogy chart of the 21st dynasty in the Royal Cache (Dodson and Hilton 2004, 200–1)
Font keys. Italics indicate women. Bold lower case indicates high priests of Amun. Bold capitals designate kings.
Dotted line: uncertain or hypothetical relationship.
Colour keys. Blue: Tanis (NRT-III); Green: Royal Cache of Deir el Bahri

Treatment of the viscera

The assessment of mummification practices in the Royal Cache provides some insight into the treatment of the viscera. The mummies of the Royal Cache were first partially unwrapped and examined by Maspero between June and July 1886 (Maspero 1889); the

process was then completed by Grafton Elliot Smith in 1909 (Elliot Smith 1912). Ten[114] out of the eleven bodies of high priests of Amun and their family members, were examined—although that of Tayuherit was only partially 'exposed' and that of Isetemkheb D was not unwrapped. These included: Nodjmet,[115] Maatkare A,[116] Henuttawy A/Q,[117] Tayuherit,[118] Masaharta A/B,[119] Isetemkheb D,[120] Pinedjem II,[121] Nesikhonsu,[122] Nesitanebashru,[123] and Djedptahiuefankh.[124]

From that group, visceral packages were found in only two—perhaps three—mummies: Pinedjem II, Djedptahiuefankh, and perhaps Henuttawy A/Q. While Elliot Smith (1912, 104) notes that 'two fragments [of] intestine' were found in Henuttawy A/Q's body cavity, it is unclear whether these are in the form of visceral packages. Further, figurines of Sons of Horus were also found in the abdominal cavities of Nodjmet, Djedptahiuefankh and Henuttawy A/Q. While Elliot Smith (1912, 107) merely indicated that 'several parcels of viscera were placed in the body cavity' of Pinedjem II—without further indications of what they contained—he provided more details for Djedptahiuefankh. As such he noted that, upon unrolling, a large parcel 'was found to consist of intestines along with a figure of the Ape-headed Hapi' (Elliot Smith 1912, 113). Further, the liver was 'wrapped in a linen bandage but without any funerary genius' and another parcel 'contained two organs which seem to be the kidneys, but no funerary genius' (Elliot Smith 1912, 113). The fact that the kidneys—

[114] The mummy of the High Priest of Amun Pinedjem I was apparently too dilapidated and was never published (Edwards 1882; also Aston 2009, 223, n. 1937).
[115] CG 61087: Maspero 1889, 569–70; Elliot Smith 1912, 94–8, pls. 69–71.
[116] CG 61088: Maspero 1889, 577; Elliot Smith 1912, 98–101, pls. 72–3.
[117] CG 61090: Elliot Smith 1912, 101–4, pls. 75–6.
[118] CG 61091: Elliot Smith 1912, 105, pls. 77–8.
[119] CG 61092: Maspero 1889, 571; Elliot Smith 1912, 106, pl. 79.
[120] CG 61093: Maspero 1889, 577; Elliot Smith 1912, 106–7, pl. 80.
[121] CG 61094: Maspero 1889, 571–2; Elliot Smith 1912, 107, pl. 81.
[122] CG 61095: Maspero 1889, 578–9; Elliot Smith 1912, 107–9, pls. 82–4.
[123] CG 61096: Maspero 1889, 579–81; Elliot Smith 1912, 109–11, pls. 85–8.
[124] CG 61097: Maspero 1889, 572–4; Elliot Smith 1912, 112–4, pls. 89–93.

which are not included in the conventional four organs to be preserved—appear to have constituted a visceral package tentatively support the idea put forward in chapter 3 that the selection of the organs to be removed and treated may not have been essential. It is possible that the 'missing' figurines of Sons of Horus are to be found in the abdominal cavity as Elliot Smith (1912, 112) pointed out it could not be 'explored' in its entirety. This could also explain why Elliot Smith (1912, 104) was only able to locate 'two wax genii' in Henuttawy A/Q's body cavity. Finally, if Elliot Smith (1912, 97) was not able to locate figures of the Sons of Horus in Nodjmet's body cavity, later examinations using non-invasive technologies such as X-rays have revealed four figurines of Sons of Horus (Harris and Wente 1980, fig. 8.22; Aston 2009, 221).

The other bodies, while having undergone the procedures customary of the time, were packed with sawdust with no traces of visceral packages or figurines of the Sons of Horus. However, the presence of an embalming incision—observed by Elliot Smith on all mummies—suggests they had been eviscerated.

4.3.1.1 Canopic equipment in the Royal Cache

The survey of the canopic material found in the Royal Cache (Dodson 1994, 78–80, 82–3; Aston 2009, 220–31) reveals that seven out of eleven individuals possessed canopic equipment. While Pinedjem II, Isetemkheb D, Nesikhonsu A, and Nesitanebashru A's equipment took the form of sets of four canopic jars only, Nodjmet was equipped with both a canopic chest and (wax) figurines of the Sons of Horus, Henuttawy A/Q had both canopic jars and (wax) figurines of the Sons of Horus; and Djedptahiuefankh had only figurines of the Sons of Horus. Canopic jars of the Royal Cache have all been classified as Aston's type I. Translations of texts are mine. I have included photographs of the canopic jars, where

possible. Appendix D presents an overview of canopic equipment in the Royal Cache and includes hieroglyphic transcriptions.

Pinedjem II

The high priest of Amun possessed a set of four inscribed travertine canopic jars with lids. Their present location is unknown and, in the absence of pictures, the following description relies on secondary sources (Edwards 1883, 79–80; Dodson 1994, 82–3; Aston 2009, 229).[125] As per Amelia Edwards's description, the stoppers represent the four Sons of Horus in their human/animal form and are made of travertine, departing thus from the set of the members of his family (Isetemkheb D, Nesikhonsu A, and Nesitanebahru A), who adopt wooden stoppers (Dodson 1994, 82–3). Three vases appear to be open with 'their contents abstracted' (Edwards 1883, 80); the fourth (Imset) is still closed. While Edwards appear to suggest the vases had been used as containers for the organs ('the fourth (...) doubtless contains part of the viscera'), the presence of visceral packages inside the mummy of Pinedjem II suggests instead that the canopics were not intended as containers for the organs. Three columns of texts are inscribed on the bodies of the jars, with traces of blue paint in the hieroglyphic signs (Edwards 1883, 80). The texts are the closest to Sethe's type XVIIID (Sethe 1934, 12*)—which Sethe categorised as an abbreviated version of the offering formula presented to the Sons of Horus in type XVIIII. The inscription is similar throughout the set, with only the names of the deities and of the Son of Horus changing: Ptah/Imset, the gods/Hapy, Osiris/Duamutef, Ptah/Qebehsenuef. As noted by Dodson (1994, 83; also Edwards 1883, 80) the formula is arranged so that the central column should be read first.

[125] Aston (2009, 224) notes that Edwards attributed this set of canopic jars to Pinedjem I. He argues however for an attribution to Pinedjem II, which I follow here.

Using Edwards' copies of the texts (1883, 79; Appendix D), I translate the inscription as follows:

Wsjr ḥm-nṯr tpy n Jmn P3y-nḏm m3ᶜ-ḫrw ḫr Ptḥ mry Jmsṯ* ntr-ᶜ3*
The Osiris of the High Priest of Amun Pinedjem justified before Ptah/the gods/Osiris/Ptah, beloved of the great god Imset/Hapy/Duamutef/Qebehsenuef

Isetemkheb D

A set of four inscribed travertine canopic jars with lids belonged to Isetemkheb D.[126] The stoppers represent the four Sons of Horus in their human/animal forms. They are made of wood and painted; much of the colour was retained: green for Duamutef's head, red for Hapy's face, and yellow for Imset's and Qebehsenuef's faces. The headdresses of Hapy, Imset, and Qebehsenuef are painted black. While the lids are comparable stylistically, the jars all have slightly different shapes, constituting a disparate set. No information is available regarding the contents of the canopics. The jars are inscribed with three columns of texts which I argue belong to type XVI of Sethe's classification despite Sethe's own classification of the texts as type XIV (1934, 9*; Appendix D). The formulae found on the jars take the simple form of a *ḏd-mdw jn* formulae to be recited by the Son of Horus for the deceased and does not include the list of offerings which would be expected in type XIV. Per Sethe's own classification, this would make it a type XVI rather than a type XIV. The inscriptions on the Hapy, Qebehsenuef, and Imset jars are similar, only the Imset jar omits the *ḏd-mdw jn* introduction.

(JE 26254 a and b)
dḏ mdw jn Ḥpy n Wsjr ḥry.t wr.t ḫnr.wt tp.yt n Jmn 3s.t-m-3ḫ-bj.t m3ᶜ-ḫrw*
Words spoken by Hapy/Qebehsenuef to the Osiris of the first chief of the harim of Amun, Isetemkheb, justified

(JE 26254 d)
(dḏ mdw jn) Ḥpy Jmsṯ n Wsjr ḥry.t wr.t ḫnr.wt tp.yt n Jmn 3s.t-m-3ḫ-bj.t
(Words spoken by) Hapy (and) Imset to the Osiris of the first chief of the harim of Amun, Isetemkheb

[126] Cairo JE 26254 a–d, SR 4/2138 a-d: Dodson 1994, 82–3, pl. 36a; Aston 2009, 226; Hawass 2020, 69.

(JE 26254 c)
(r)d(j).t n Dwꜣ-mw.t=f (n) Ḥpy n Wsjr ḥry.t wr.t ḫnr.wt tp.yt n Jmn ꜣs.t-m-ꜣḫ-bj.t
Give to Duamutef, (to) Hapy (and) to the Osiris of the first chief of the harim of Amun, Isetemkheb, justified

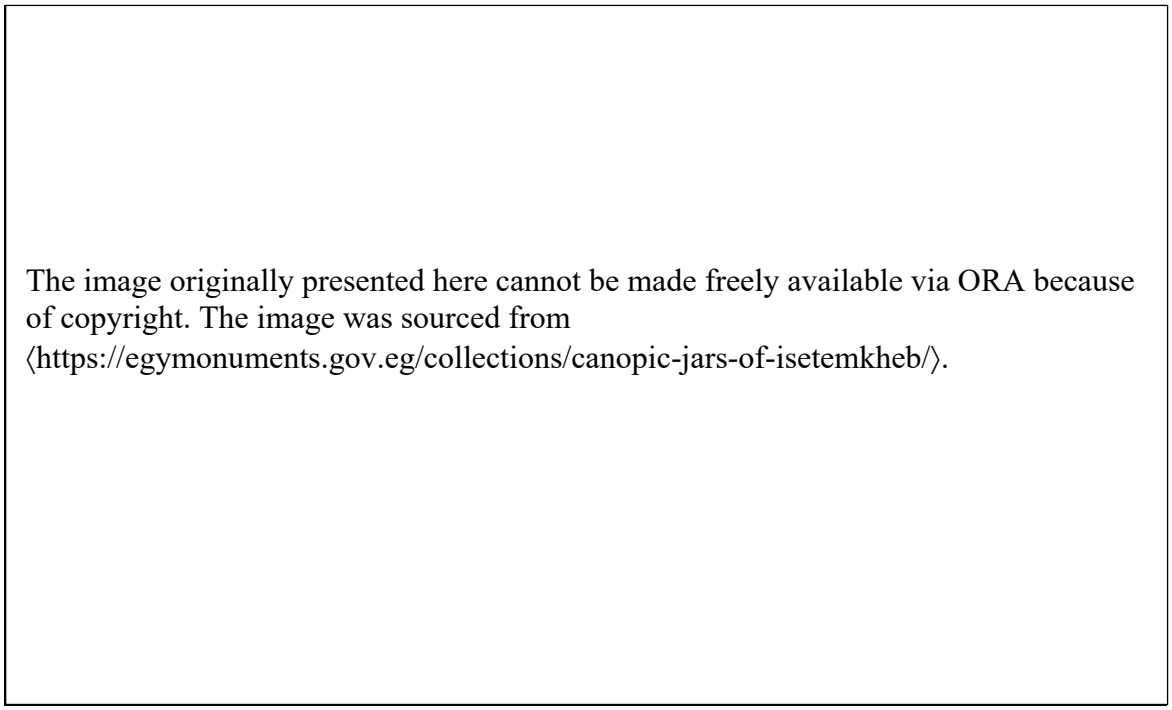


Figure 4.27. Canopic jars of Isetemkheb D
⟨https://egymonuments.gov.eg/collections/canopic-jars-of-isetemkheb/⟩

Nesikhonsu A

Pinedjem II's wife was buried with a set of four inscribed travertine canopic jars with lids.[127] In Nesikhonsu's set, the stoppers adopt the human/animal iconography of the Sons of Horus. The lids are carefully painted: Imset's and Hapy's faces are painted red, Duamutef is painted in green and Qebehsenuef in yellow. The details of the headdresses are shown with painted blue and white stripes. The consistency in size across the canopics indicates that this set was manufactured as an ensemble for Nesikhonsu A, rather than being reconstructed from reused material (e.g. Isetemkheb D). The jars are fully hollowed out without any trace of their contents, although there are some light-stained brown marks on the inside walls (personal

[127] BM EA59197–59200: Edwards 1883, 80–1; Aston 2009, 228; Taylor 2010a, 84, fig. 27.

observation). These marks may be the result of secondary deposition (sawdust, mud, or resin) that may have entered the jars following the burial. Indeed, their position at the top of the jars as well as their colour do not tally with the dark resinous material usually found at the bottom when viscera were contained in the jar (Klein 2013, 92). The four columns of text on Nesikhonsu's canopics are identified as type XIV by Sethe (1934, 9* [A]; Appendix D). The incised hieroglyphs are coloured in blue. The texts report the words spoken by the Sons of Horus to Nesikhonsu, giving her offerings of incense, cloth, food, and water, and the ability to come and go in the necropolis. The inscriptions are different for each jar:

(BM EA59197)
ḏd mdw (j)n Qbḥ-sn(w.)=f (m) Jmntt d=f snṯr ḥbs šs n sᶜḥ n Wsjr ḥry.t wr.t ḫnr.wt tp.yt n Jmn ḥry(.t) šps.wt Nsy-ḫnsw mɜᶜ(.t)-ḫrw
Words spoken by Qebehsenuef in the West so that he may give incense, cloth, alabaster for the mummy of the Osiris of the first chief of the harim of Amun, superior of the noblewomen, Nesikhonsu, justified

(BM EA59198)
ḏd mdw (j)n Dwɜ-mw.t=f d=f mw n bɜ n Wsjr ḥry.t wr.t ḫnr.wt tp.yt n Jmn ḥm(.t)-nṯr n Ḫnmw nb Qbḥw ḥry(.t) šps.wt Nsy-ḫnsw mɜᶜ.t-ḫrw
Words spoken by Duamutef so that he may give water for the ba of the Osiris of the first chief of the harim of Amun, the *ḥm(.t)-nṯr* priestess of Khnum, lord of the cataract region, superior of the noblewomen, Nesikhonsu, justified

(BM EA59199)
ḏd mdw (j)n Ḥpy nṯr ᶜɜ (n) Dwɜt d=f ᶜq pr m ḫr(.t)-nṯr n bɜ n pn {n} Wsjr ḥry.t wr.t ḫnr.wt tp.yt n Jmn-Rᶜ ḥry(.t) šps.wt Nsy-ḫnsw mɜᶜ(.t)-ḫrw
Words spoken by Hapy, the great god of the Duat so that he may allow to come and go in the necropolis for the ba of this Osiris of the first chief of the harim of Amun, superior of the noblewomen, Nesikhonsu, justified

(BM EA59200)
ḏd mdw (j)n Jmsṯ d=f ḏfɜ ḥr ḫɜw.t n.t Wn-nfr n Wsjr ḥry.t wr.t ḫnr.wt tp.yt n Jmn sɜ nsw n Kš (j)m(y)-r(ɜ) ḫ3s.wt šmɜ.wt Nsy-ḫnsw mɜᶜ(.t)-ḫrw
Words spoken by Imset so that he may give provision on the altar of Wennefer for the Osiris of the first chief of the harim of Amun, king's son of Kush, overseer of the southern lands, Nesikhonsu, justified

Commentary

— (BM EA59197) The reading *Qbḥ-sn(w.)=f (m) Jmntt* 'Qebehsenuef in the West' is not attested in the *LGG* (VII, 180–3). However, in light of the equation existing between the

Sons of Horus and Osiris in the early first millennium BCE canopic texts (e.g Ankhsematauy, 4.2.3.1), I propose this plausible reading.

— (BM EA59200) Nesikhonsu A unexpectedly bore the titles of *sꜣ nsw n Kš* 'king's son of Kush' and *(j)m(y)-r(ꜣ) ḫ3s.wt šmꜥ.wt* 'overseer of the southern lands'. Ordinarily held by men, both titles are attested for a woman for the first time. According to Naguib (1990, 169), these were probably honorary titles indicating that she received tax fees on Nubian trade, rather than evidence for an administrative function as such.

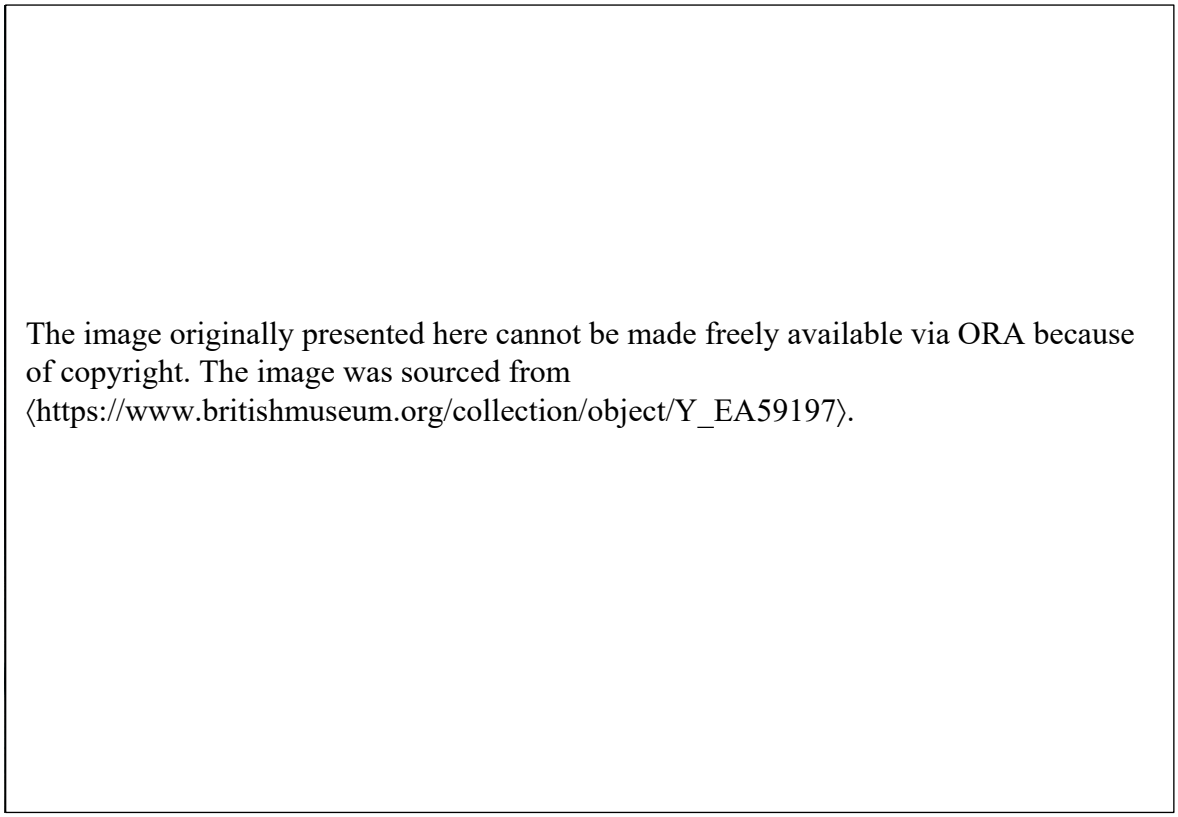


Figure 4.28. Canopic jars of Nesikhonsu A ⟨https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA59197⟩

Nesitanebashru A

Nesitanebashru A possessed four inscribed travertine canopic jars with lids.[128] The set is poorly published; black and white photographs are only available for the jars with falcon-

[128] Cairo JE 26256 A–D: Dodson 1994, 83, pl. 36b; Aston 2009, 230.

headed and human-headed lids (Brugsch and Maspero 1881, pl. 29; Dodson 1994, pl. 36b). From these pictures, the lids appear to be made of wood with painted details and, as noted by Dodson (1994, 83), the jars exhibit the variety of shapes observed in other sets of the family. No information is available regarding the contents of the canopics of Nesitanebashru A. Three columns of texts are visible on the bodies of these two jars. The texts are classified as type XIV by Sethe (1934, 9*; Appendix D) and, as noted by Dodson (1994, 83), appear to follow a similar arrangement to the texts seen on her father Pinedjem II's jars, where the central column is to be read first. The following translations are based on Reisner's transcriptions (1899, 68), completed with the one photograph available of the jar with human-headed lid (Brugsch and Maspero 1881, pl. 29), for the reading of the title and name that are not provided by Reisner. The text of the human-headed jar mentions Hapy.

Ḥpy dj=f ḫ.t nb(.t) nfr(.t) wꜥb(.t) n [šmꜥy.t n Jmn] Nsy-tꜣ-nb.t-jšr(.w)
Hapy. May he give all perfect and pure things for the [chantress of Amun][129] Nesitanebashru

Qbḥ-sn(w.)=f dj=f ḥtp ḏfꜣw n (šmꜥy.t n Jmn Nsy-tꜣ-nb.t-jšr(.w))
Qebehsenuef. May he give provisions-offerings for (the chantress of Amun Nesitanebashru)

Dwꜣ-mw.t=f dj=f t ḥnqt n (šmꜥy.t n Jmn Nsy-tꜣ-nb.t-jšr(.w))
Duamutef. May he give bread and beer for (the chantress of Amun Nesitanebashru)

Jmsṯ dj=f pr.t-ḫrw n jḫ ꜣpd n (šmꜥy.t n Jmn Nsy-tꜣ-nb.t-jšr(.w))
Imset. May he give invocation-offerings of oxen and fowl for (the chantress of Amun Nesitanebashru)

[129] The title is not really readable from the photograph; this proposition is more of an educated guess as titles for Nesitanebashru are known from her coffins (Maspero 1889, 579–81).

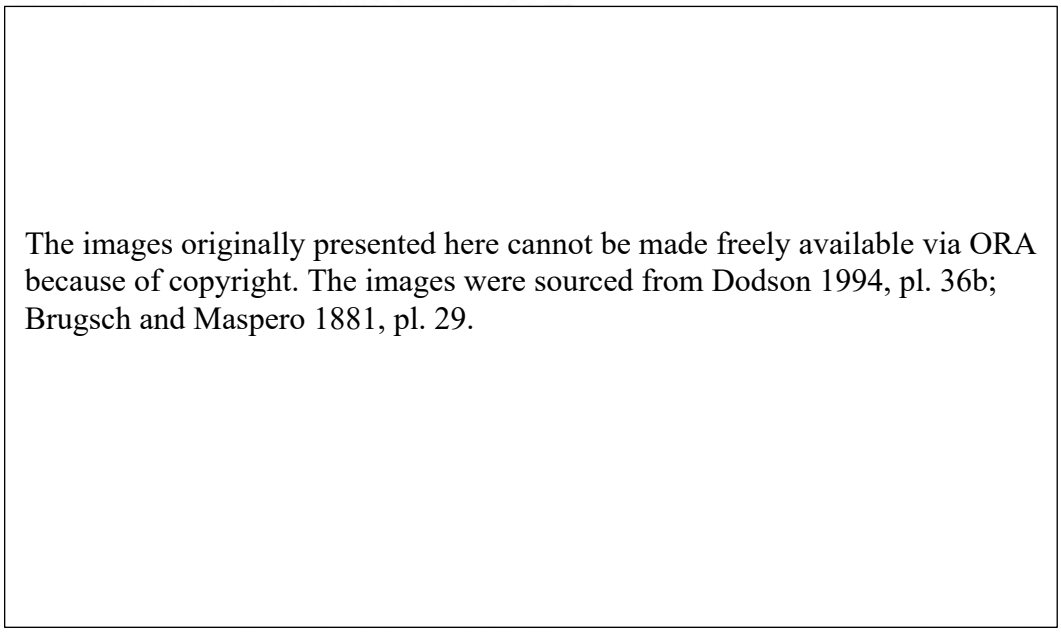


Figure 4.29. Canopic jars of Nesitanebashru (Dodson 1994, pl. 36b: left; Brugsch and Maspero 1881, pl. 29: right)

Djedptahiuefankh

One figurine of the 'Ape-headed Hapi' was retrieved from Djedptahiuefankh's abdominal cavity (Elliot Smith 1912, 113). The figurine was wrapped in a linen parcel along with intestines.

Nodjmet

A wooden canopic chest belonged to the chief of the musical troupe of Amun-Re Nodjmet, which is 'extremely rare' for the Third Intermediate Period (Aston 2009, 299).[130] The canopic chest adopted the form of a naos shrine, in a style characteristic of the New Kingdom (Aston 2009, 301; also Aston 2000, 159), and was set on a sledge. A recumbent Anubis figure was placed on the lid. Whilst Dodson (1994, 78, n. 6) notes that the chest contained only the ushebtis of Pinedjem I and Nesikhonsu A when found, Maspero's original publication suggests it also contained canopic jars (1889, 592). However, even if it did, there

[130] Cairo TR 20-12-25-11: Dodson 1994, 78, pl. 31b; Hornung and Bryan 2002, 163–4 [75]; Aston 2009, 221.

are no traces of these jars. The sides of the chest are decorated with friezes of cobras and depictions of the Isis knot and *djed*-pillar of Osiris; on the front side, Nodjmet is seen standing before both Osiris and Anubis

Four figurines of the Sons of Horus were also found in Nodjmet's body (Harris and Wente 1980, fig. 8.22; Aston 2009, 221). No further information is available.

Henuttawy A/Q

Henuttawy A/Q (full name: Duathathor-Henuttawy; Dodson and Hilton 2004, 206) possessed four inscribed travertine canopic jars with lids.[131] The set is heterogenous and most certainly constituted of reused jars and lids (Dodson 1994, 80). Three lids are human-headed, and one is falcon-headed (BM EA51817). The three human-headed lids are all different style, suggesting different dates. BM EA51816 for instance wears a headdress decorated with stripes—which Dodson (1994, 80) dates of the 18th dynasty—while BM EA51815 adopts a narrower shape with smooth headdress found in Third Intermediate Period jars. Dodson (1994, 80) identifies the Imset (BM EA51814) and Qebehsenuef (BM EA51817) jars as original 21st dynasty jars and the Hapy (BM EA51815) and Duamutef (BM EA51816) jars as earlier vessels with recarved texts. One of the jars in particular (BM EA51816) is decorated with an incised broad collar on the shoulder, that is directly paralleled by the decoration found on jars from the New Kingdom, 18th dynasty (e.g. CG 4095–4097: Reisner and Abd-ul-Rahman 1967, 59–62, pl. 13). The presence of the organs inside the mummy of Henuttawy A/Q indicates that the set was not necessarily intended for the organs. Yet, care had been taken to provide a set built of reused jars and lids—already imbued with divinity from previous use—effecting the presence and protection of the Four

[131] BM EA51814–51817: Dodson 1994, 80; Aston 2009, 224.

Sons for the deceased. According to Morris Bierbrier (personal communication to Dodson 1994, 80, n. 20), the jars contained 'sawdust, mud and possibly some resin' which 'may have entered the jars after the burial'. It is possible that the material found in the jars was connected with the treatment of the body—sawdust or resin used during the embalming process—and therefore kept because of its divine nature (e.g. 'waste' material in embalming caches). Four columns of texts identified as Sethe's type XIII (1934, 8*; Appendix D) are inscribed on the jars. The inscription is similar throughout the set, with only the names of the deities and of the Son of Horus changing: Osiris/Imset, Ptah/Hapy, Isis/Duamutef, Nephthys/Qebehsenuef. The texts are arranged so that the first column should be read independently from the rest of the text. They read as follows:[132]

(BM EA51814)
mry Wsjr nṯr ꜥ ḥnty Jmnt.t
jmꜣḫy ḫr Jmstj nṯr nfr Wsjr sꜣ.t nsw sꜣ.t ḥm.t nsw ḥm.t nsw mw.t nsw mw.t n pꜣ ḥm-nṯr tpy n Jmn nb.t tꜣ.wy Dwꜣ.t-Ḥw.t-ḥr Ḥnwt-tꜣ.wy
Beloved of Osiris the great god who presides in the West
The revered one before Imset, good god, the Osiris of the king's daughter, king's wife daughter, king's wife, king's mother, mother of the high priest of Amun, lady of the two lands, Duathathor-Henuttawy

(BM EA51815)
mry Ptḥ-Skr ḥry-jb Šty.t
jmꜣḫy ḫr Ḥpy nṯr ꜥ nb Dwꜣ.t Wsjr sꜣ.t nsw sꜣ.t ḥm.t nsw ḥm.t nsw [mw.t] ḥm.t nsw mw.t n ḥm.t nṯr n Jmn Dwꜣ.t-Ḥw.t-ḥr Ḥnwt-tꜣ.wy
Beloved of Ptah-Sokar who resides in the *Šty.t*-sanctuary
The revered one before Hapy, great god, lord of the Duat, the Osiris of the king's daughter, king's wife daughter, king's wife, [mother] of the king's wife, mother of the god's wife of Amun, Duathathor-Henuttawy

(BM EA51816)
mry ꜣs.t Mw.t ḥnw.t pr-nfr
jmꜣḫy ḫr Dwꜣ-mw.t=f nṯr ꜥ Wsjr sꜣ.t nsw sꜣ.t ḥm.t nsw mw.t-nṯr n Pꜣ-šd-n-Jmn(?) nb(.t) tꜣ.wy Dwꜣ.t-Ḥw.t-ḥr Ḥnwt-tꜣ.wy
Beloved of Isis-Mut mistress of the funerary workshop
The revered one before Duamutef, great god, the Osiris of the king's daughter, king's wife daughter, god's mother of Pashedenamun(?), lady of the two lands, Duathathor-Henuttawy

[132] In the absence of transcription and photographs of the texts, the reading was done through the glass of the British Museum's display case. In that context, not all signs were readable, which is the reason for some of the lacunas in translation.

(BM EA51817)
mry Nb.t-ḥw.t sn.t nṯr ḥnwt Jmntt
jmꜣḫy ḫr Qbḥ-sn(w.)=f Wsjr ḥm.t nsw sꜣ.t ḥm.t nsw wr.t ḫnr.wt tp.yt n Jmn mw.t nsw nb.t tꜣ.wy Dwꜣ.t-Ḥw.t-ḥr Ḥnwt-tꜣ.wy
Beloved of Nephthys, god's sister (of Osiris) mistress of the West
The revered one before Qebehesenuef, the Osiris of the king's wife, king's wife daughter, first chief of the harim of Amun, king's mother, lady of the two lands, Duathathor-Henuttawy

Commentary

— (BM EA51814, BM EA51816, BM E151817) The title *nb.t tꜣ.wy* 'lady of the two lands' is a queenly title used from the late 18th dynasty onwards (Dodson and Hilton 2004, 41).

— (BM EA51815) I suggest the reading *[mw.t] ḥm.t nsw* 'mother of the king's wife' based on known titles of Duathathor-Henuttawy (Dodson and Hilton 2004, 204) and the fact one of her daughter, Mutnodjmet B, was a 'king's wife'.

—(BM EA51816) The reading of the name following *mw.t-nṯr n* is uncertain, due to limited access to the text. Plausible readings include *pꜣ-šd-n-Jmn* or *pꜣ-šrj-n-Jmn* however, there are no attestations of either in Ranke and neither of these names is known to be connected to Duathathor-Henuttawy.

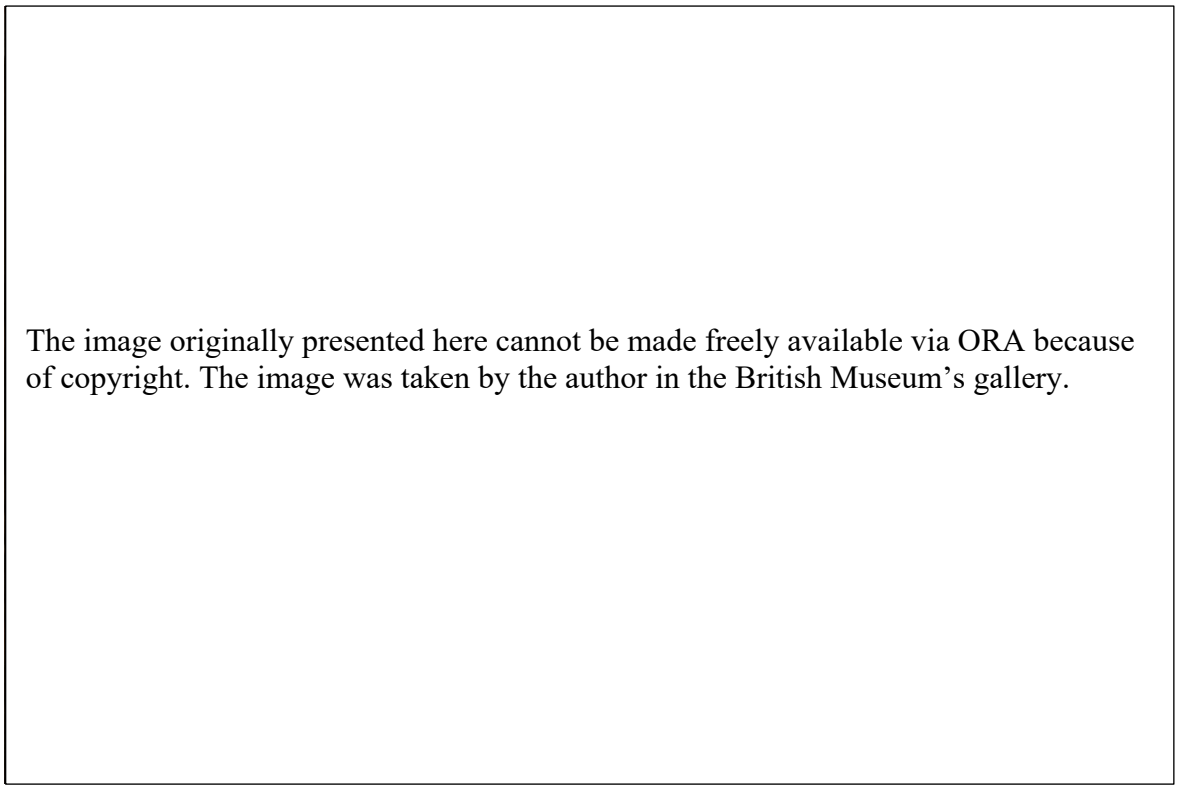


Figure 4.30. Canopic jars of Henuttawy A/Q © Solène Klein.

Two figurines of Sons of Horus were also found in Henuttawy A/Q's body cavity (Elliot Smith 1912, 104; Aston 2009, 224). They were 'mummy-shaped with heads of the jackal and the hawk respectively'. The jackal, measuring 104mm, 'was found in (...) the position usually occupied by the stomach', while the hawk-headed figure, measuring 95mm, was 'not in its usual position (in the abdomen), but high up on the right side of the thorax' (Elliot Smith 1912, 104). It is possible that the two additional figurines are in the abdominal cavity 'as it was not possible (...) to explore the whole body cavity'.

4.3.2. The Second Cache of Deir el-Bahri (Dynasty 21)

Placed in the courtyard of Hatshepsut's mortuary temple, near the north-eastern corner of the wall (Winlock 1924, 7, fig. 2, 20, n. 5), the Second Cache—also known as Bab el-Gusus—was excavated in 1891 by Eugène Grébaut and Georges Daressy for the Egyptian

government. It had been used as a cache for the burials of 153 individuals, all priestly members of Amun's cult in Thebes, in the 21st dynasty.[133] Many of these officiants of Amun had a considerable number of funerary goods stored with them but, as the cache was hastily emptied (Daressy 1900, 144–5), no records were kept of many of these objects—only the coffins were systematically numbered with Daressy's A-numbers (1907, 4–14)—and their present locations are unknown.

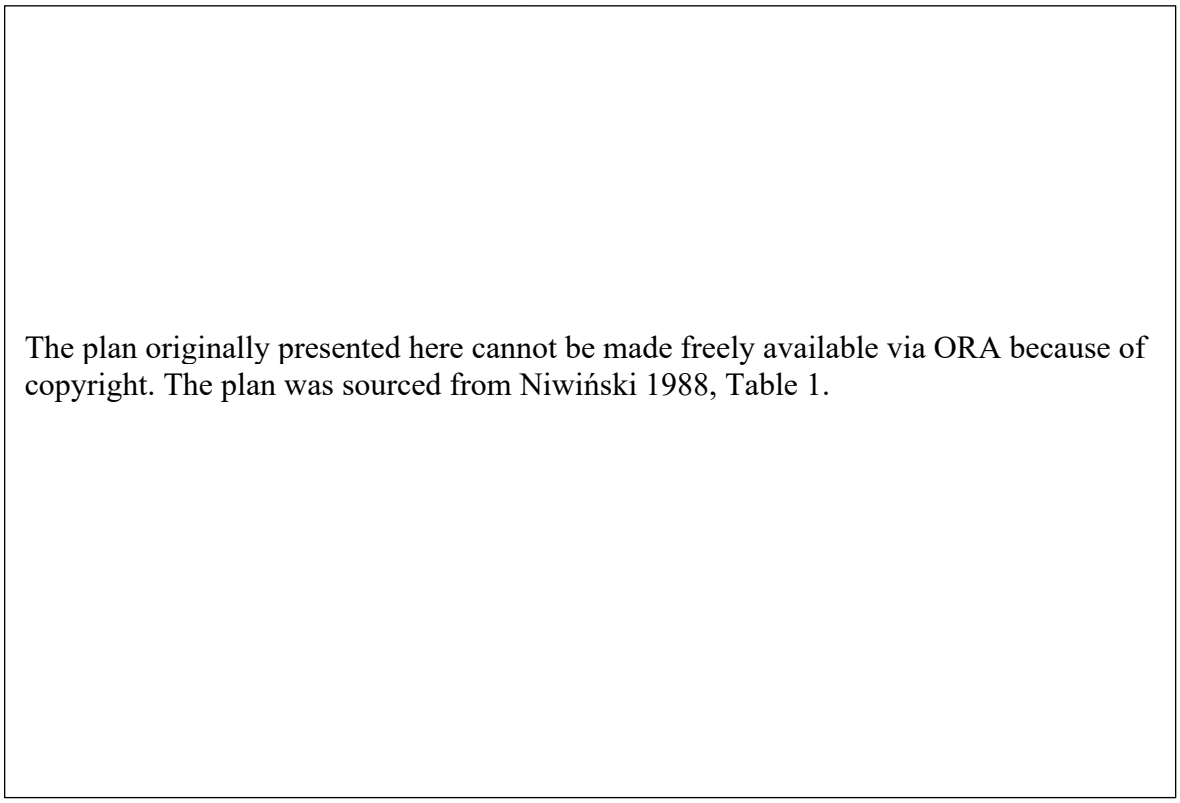


Figure 4.31. Plan of the Bab el-Gusus tomb, with positions of the coffins (Niwiński 1988, Table 1).

Similarly to the Royal Cache, the history of the Second Cache is still under discussion. According to Daressy (1900, 144), an old tomb had been enlarged and reused during Menkheperre B's pontificate (c. 1045–992 BCE) to accommodate coffins of members of the High Priest's family and was extended again later to house more coffins. Although some

[133] Daressy 1900; Maspero 1915, 274–81; Winlock 1924, 20–9; Aston 2009, 164–98 [TG 674–826].

scholars (Maspero 1910, 270; Winlock 1924, 21; Thomas 1966, 175) agreed with Daressy's hypothesis, Niwiński (1988, 25–6; 2007, 176–9) argues against such a multi-phased utilisation, due to the lack of evidence, and suggests that the tomb was made in the 21st Dynasty under the pontificate of the High Priest of Amun Psusennes II and was intended, from the beginning, as a burial place for the priests of Amun. Since coffins of various dates, and originating from different private tombs, were positioned side by side in the tomb corridors, one can assume that the cache was in use for a brief period only. Taking into consideration the latest chronological evidence from the inscribed bandages and mummy braces found on the mummies, it is likely that the coffins were placed in the cache between c. 958–945 BCE (Niwiński 1988, 26).

Out of the 153 individuals buried in the Second Cache, 110 held titles denoting a lower-ranked class of officiants (e.g. Doxey 2001; Spencer 2010). The most common title, held by 58 women, is *šmᶜy.t n Jmn* 'chantress of Amun'; a popular title in Thebes during the 21st dynasty borne by females 'from an economic cross-section of society' (Onstine 2001, 80–2, 136–7; also Naguib 1990, 235–9). The other major title, held by 25 men, is *ḥm-nṯr n Jmn* literally 'god's servant of Amun' but more commonly translated as 'priest of Amun'. The *ḥm-nṯr* priests were among the limited number of officiants that had access to the divine images. This title is often combined with other administrative roles such as 'scribe of the estate of Amun', 'scribe of the treasure of Amun', 'overseer of the treasure of the *pr-ḏwꜣt* of Amun' and 'overseer of the recruits of the estate of Amun'. Additional titles include *wᶜb*-priests (10 individuals) and *jt-nṯr n Jmn* 'god's father of Amun' (10 other individuals). As highlighted by Neal Spencer (2010, 257; also Doxey 2001, 69), the *wᶜb*-priests are 'generally accepted as a lower rank of priests than the *ḥm-nṯr* priests', but they were not necessarily excluded from sacred activities, such as carrying the god's image in processions. The god's

fathers were responsible for leading the processions held at festivals (Doxey 2001, 72). While most individuals in the cache are associated with the priesthood of Amun, 10 officiants—priests, god's fathers and chantresses—simultaneously undertook temple duties on behalf of Mut and Khonsu (e.g. Mutpairsekheru (A.13), Meretamun (A.71), Ankhefenmut (A.140)). While these titles may not indicate elite temple positions, they are still concerned with the performance of sacred activities indicating that the individuals buried in the Second Cache were still a select few. Five bore higher-ranking titles of 'third priest of Amun' and 'fourth priest of Amun'.

Treatment of the viscera

From May 1891 onwards, Daressy and Dr Daniel Fouquet started the examination of the mummies (Daressy 1907, 21–38), focusing on the material retrieved from them. Further examinations were then conducted by Daressy and Elliot Smith in May and June 1903 (Daressy and Elliot Smith 1903) on a limited number of bodies: Tauhenut (A 20), Nesipakaf (A.23), Neskhons (A.42),[134] and Nestanebtawy (A.88). The mummy of Taihuty (A.32) was also unwrapped by Elliot Smith in July 1905 in the presence of Brugsch and Daressy (Elliot Smith 1906a). A range of treatment of the viscera are revealed by these examinations. I quote relevant passages below, for each individual.

Tauhenut (A.20)

> The body cavity was stuffed with sawdust, and the viscera contained in it were not wrapped up in cloth. The stomach and intestines were placed along with the human-headed wax figure (Amsît) in the umbilical region. The hawk-headed (Kabhsnêuf) figure was situated in the cardiac region: the jackal-headed (Tiaumautf) figure in the upper left part of the thorax and the cynocephalus-headed (Hapi) figure in the right mammary region. The organs were not closely grouped around the wax figures, and it was not possible to say which bundles of viscera belonged to the various figures (Daressy and Elliot Smith 1903, 160)

[134] The mummy is assigned number A.98 by Daressy and Elliot Smith (1903, 154), which Aston identified as an error that should be corrected to A.42 (2009, 171, n. 1031).

Nesipakaf (A.23)

> 1° In the epigastric region there was a small mass of large intestine wrapped in linen. 2° Higher up there was a large bundle extending right across the thorax (...) It consisted of the stomach and the greater part of the small intestine wrapped around a wax figure (0 m. 09 cent. long) with a human head (Amsît), the whole enclosed in cloth wrappings; 3° A third parcel (wrapped in linen) (...) It contained the liver, spleen and the left kidney together with a wax figure with the jackal-head (Tiaumautf) (...) 4° In the lower part of the right side of the thorax there was a parcel containing the lungs and the diaphragm together with a figure with a hawk's head (Kabhsnêuf). (...) 6° In the lower part of the left side of the thorax there was a very small parcel wrapped in linen and containing the cynocephalus-headed figure (Hapi) (Daressy and Elliot Smith 1903, 157)

Taihuty (A.32)

> À l'intérieur du corps et entourés dans les viscères, on a trouvé les statuettes de cire de quatre génies funéraires ; par suite d'erreur il a été mis deux images d'Amset, à tête humaine, dont l'une remplace Duamutef à tête de faucon, les autres sont Hapi à tête de cynocéphale et Kebhsenuf à tête de chacal. Toutes ont la forme ordinaire, le corps momifié et les mains sur la poitrine (Daressy's notes quoted in Elliot Smith 1906a, 157)

> The lungs were thickly powdered with sawdust and without being wrapped up in cloth — in opposition to the customary practice — were replaced in the right side of the thorax (pl. I, *m*, *n*). in the left side of the thorax no viscera were replaced but two human-headed wax figures (pl. I, *c* and *d*) were put, one in front of the other (...) These figures (pl. VIII, fig. 7 and 8) were each about 0 m. 109 mill. long (...)
> (...) the liver was found (pl. I, *k* and pl. VIII, 9) wrapped around a wax figure with an Ape's head *e* (*Hapi*).
> To the left of the liver two small parcels (...) were placed : the upper one stomach (or? spleen) and the lower one the left kidney. These organs and the liver were packed in sawdust. The whole of the right side of the abdomen was occupied by a large vertically-placed mass of small intestines (pl. I, *g*) overlapping a broken, inverted, jackal-headed, wax figure (pl. VIII, 6) (Elliot Smith 1906a, 165)

Neskhons (A.42)

> There were only three wax figures in the body cavity (the hawk headed Kabksnêuf being absent, and instead of being put along the viscera, all three figures were placed side by side in the epigastric region in contact with the anterior abdominal wall.
> A large bundle consisting of the small intestines was placed in the right lumbar and right hypochondriac regions. The other viscera were so imperfectly preserved as not to be recognisable (Daressy and Elliot Smith 1903, 159)

Nestanebtawy (A.88)

> Les génies funéraires en cire de 0 m. 08 cent. de hauteur y étaient placés, Amset et Kebhsenuf à droite, Hapi à gauche ; Duamutef était remplacé par une seconde figurine d'Amset qui était enveloppée dans un viscère (Daressy and Elliot Smith 1903, 153)

Considering the variety in the treatment of the viscera, Elliot Smith compared the arrangement of the organs in 44 mummies of the same period—practically all of them priests of Amun coming from Bab el-Gusus (1906b, 13). It provided a broader understanding of the treatment of the viscera in the Second Cache: 'there is no uniformity in the treatment of the

viscera nor in the placing of the organs or the wax figurines' (Daressy and Elliot Smith 1903, 159–60). He observed that the organs could be either wrapped up in linen or left uncovered; that each organ could be 'placed in any situation'; that the figures of the Sons of Horus could be 'with the viscera or placed apart', and that they 'are not associated with the same viscera in different mummies' (Daressy and Elliot Smith 1903, 160). It is also apparent that the viscera receiving treatment were not exclusively the expected lungs, liver, spleen, intestines which support the idea that the selection of organs to be treated may not have been essential as long as they were four entities (3.1). Further, it is based on 15 of these mummies that Elliot Smith attempted to establish the relationship between the Sons of Horus and the viscera (1906b, 37–40)—on which modern identification of internal organs and their association with the Sons of Horus is based—and while the association Imset/liver is noticeable within that sample, the other associations are more tentative.

Canopic equipment

Elliot Smith noted that 'in about 50% of the mummies examined no funerary figures were found. In many cases this was due to the damage inflicted on the mummies (...) before they came into my possession; but in a considerable number of instances no Genii had been put in the body' (1906b, 37). More specifically, out of the 49 mummies which had their body cavity examined,[135] 23 individuals had wax figurines of the Sons of Horus associated to organs within their bodies; none of them had canopic jars included in their funerary set. Even though the sample is small (49 mummies out of 153 individuals) a pattern in canopic practices in the Second Cache seems to arise, wherein figurines of the Sons of Horus appear to be significantly preferred over canopic jars.

[135] Tauhenut (A 20), Nesipakaf (A.23), Taihuty (A.32), Neskhons (A.42), Nestanebtawy (A.88), in addition to the 44 mummies examined by Elliot Smith.

Only a limited number of figurines have been published (Elliot Smith 1906b, 40–1, pls. 17–9) and the scarcity of the related information makes it difficult to consider any typological developments. Based on the available information, however, the figurines are generally mummiform and depicted with their characteristic human/animal heads and tripartite wigs. Their fists are closed on their chest in a symbolic gesture of holding attributes. Elliot Smith (1906b, 40) also remarked that the figures varied considerably in size and material; while they are generally made of wax, examples are known of wax coated clay (e.g. Djedkhonsefankh (A.107)) and wax coated resin (e.g. Tendetmut (A.91)) figurines. In four cases from the cache, the set of figurines includes duplicates: Taihuty (A.32) and Nestanebtawy (A.88) have two human-headed figures at the expense of the falcon-headed figure of Qebehsenuef; Ankhesenmut (A.38) and Pasebkhaenet (A.85) have two jackal-headed figures at the expense of the falcon-headed figure. Contrary to Aston (2009, 169, n. 974) and Elliot Smith (1906a, 182), I do not think this was an unintentional 'mistake' as similar substitutions between the Sons of Horus are attested in sets of canopic jars.[136] I believe it is more likely to be the result of practical choices in a context of reuse of canopic material—whereby the presence of four Sons of Horus, any Sons of Horus, was sufficient for effectiveness.

Canopic jars were not entirely absent from the Second Cache, however; sixteen canopics were discovered (Aston 2009, 197; Sousa *et al.* 2021, 13), of which only four are traceable. The set belonged to a daughter of the High Priest of Amun Menkheperre A, the Chantress of Amun Meretamun (Aston 2009, 175–6). Its current location is unknown, but it appears to be in a private collection as it was last seen on the art market in 1922 (Aston 2009, 176, n. 1120). Appendix E presents and overview of canopic equipment in the Second Cache.

[136] e.g. Henuttawy A/Q, Royal Cache: BM EA51814–51817; Ankhsemataty, Herakleopolis: HM 2004 1 a–d.

4.3.3. Canopic practices in the caches of Deir el-Bahri[137]

In the Royal Cache (Appendix D), the organs were removed—as attested by the embalming incision on 10 mummies—but not necessarily replaced inside the body. Five mummies did not contain viscera: Nesikhonsu A, Nesitanebashru A, Nodjmet, Maatkare A, Masaharta A/B. These removed viscera were not systematically placed in canopic jars either given that there are no sets of jars for three of these individuals: Nodjmet,[138] Masaharta A/B, Maatkare A. In three other mummies the viscera were found within the body: for Djedptahiuefankh, figurines of the Sons of Horus are used; for Pinedjem II, canopic jars were associated with the burial; for Henuttawy A/Q, figurines and canopics occurred concurrently.

Canopic jars were present in five burials: Pinedjem II, Isetemkheb D, Nesikhonsu A, Nesitanebashru A, Henuttawy A/Q. Four of these individuals were members of Pinedjem II's family. The examination of these jars confirms that at least three of these sets were not used (Pinedjem II, Nesikhonsu A, Henuttawy A/Q); there is no information available on the contents of Nesitanebashru A's and Isetemkheb D's canopic jars. Additionally, figurines of the Sons of Horus were recovered from three bodies: Djedptahiuefankh, Nodjmet, Henuttawy A/Q. These were not used concurrently with the jars, except in the case of Henuttawy A/Q who possessed both. Finally, there is no canopic equipment in the burials of Pinedjem I, Maatkare A, Masaharta A/B and Tayuherit, all members of Pinedjem I's family. It is possible that this absence is the result of the reburial of Pinedjem I's family.

[137] This section resumes, with some updates, the conclusions I previously published in Klein 2016, 96–7.
[138] Nodjmet, however, had a canopic chest (Dodson 1994, 78, pl. 31b) indicating that she may have owned such items.

In contrast, in the Second Cache (Appendix E), the mummified organs seem to have been systematically replaced within the body—as they were apparently found within all 49 mummies studied (Daressy and Elliot Smith 1903, 159–60). They were accompanied by wax figurines of the Sons of Horus in 47% of the cases (i.e. 23 individuals). No sets of canopic jars were included in the equipment of these 23 individuals, but four sets were found in the cache. These observations are summarised in Table 4.2.

	Sample size	Visceral packages	Canopic jars sets	Figurines SoH
Royal Cache	11 individuals 10 mummies examined	3? out of 10 mummies	Yes (5/11)	Yes (3/10)
Second Cache	153 individuals 49 mummies examined	49? out of 153 mummies	Yes (4/153)	Yes (23/49)

Table 4.2. Canopic equipment in the caches of Deir el-Bahri.

Although individuals from these caches were buried within a similar geographical area and timeframe (Deir el-Bahri, 21st dynasty), the canopic equipment from both caches is substantially different, raising questions as to the reasons for this distinction. I suggest that the variation in canopic equipment reflects the difference in social status of the individuals buried in these caches: high priests of Amun and their direct family were found in the Royal Cache, while the Second Cache accommodated priests and chantresses of Amun. It appears that canopic jars were preserved within burials of higher-ranking priests and their family, whereas figurines of the Sons of Horus were preferred amongst lower-ranked class of priests. This tendency is reflected notably with Nesitanebashru A's husband, the third priest of Amun, Djedptahiuefankh, who is provided with figurines of the Sons of Horus rather than canopic jars, despite his association with the high priest of Amun Pinedjem II.

This proposition is nuanced by canopic material found in 21st dynasty burials, excavated by Herbert Winlock on behalf of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, outside the Second Cache (Winlock 1924; 1926; Aston 2009, 198–202). Figurines of the Sons of Horus were found within the bodies of two chiefs of the musical troupe of Amun—Djedmutesankh A,[139] Henuttawy C.[140] As noted by Aston (2009, 199–200), Djedmutesankh A's and Henuttawy C's title of 'chief of the musical troupe of Amun' suggests that they were wives of high priests of Amun. Therefore, in addition to belonging to a higher-ranked class of priests, they were probably family members of high priests of Amun. According to Aston (2009, 199–200), however, both burials were robbed in antiquity; it is possible that their funerary equipment included canopic jars that were stolen in the process.

4.3.4. The priestly necropolis of the Ramesseum (Dynasties 22–25)

The Third Intermediate Period necropolis was discovered in the northern sectors of the Ramesseum's annexes by Flinders Petrie and James Quibell in 1896–97 (Quibell 1898, 1; Li 2017, 61, fig. 3.2). The excavations uncovered over 200 burials in tombs which had been cut through the storage magazines surrounding the temple (Quibell 1898, 9–13, pl. I; also Aston, 2009, 238–43). Only three tombs—8 burials—were found intact (Quibell 1898, 9–11): tomb 102 (Aston 2009, 238–9), tomb 33 (Aston 2009, 239) and the tomb of Nakhtefmut E (Aston 2009, 239). In 1911 and 1913, a further 45 burials were excavated by Georg Möller on behalf of the Berlin Museum and published by Rudolf Anthes (1943; also Aston 2009, 248–51); most of the tombs had been disturbed. Since 1971, the necropolis is comprehensively re-examined by the Franco-Egyptian teams of the CNRS-CEDAE mission

[139] MMA 25.3.154A-D: Winlock 1926, 24, fig. 26; Aston 2009, 199–200 [TG 830]
[140] MMA 25.3.155A-D: Aston 2009, 200 [TG 831]

(Hassanein *et al*. 1986; also Aston 2009, 243–7) and new Third Intermediate Period burials—the majority of which have been plundered (e.g. Hassanein *et al.* 1986, 13; also Li 2017, 62, n. 3)—are regularly uncovered (*Rapports préliminaires* 2006–2021).

The Franco-Egyptian mission's work at the Ramesseum has shed light on the developments of the necropolis (e.g. Hassanein *et al.* 1989a; Nelson 2003, 90–2). The first phase of reuse appears to have begun with the construction of tomb chapels—also called 'niche-chapels'—on an artificial terrace behind the temple (Lecuyot *et al.* 1990, 90; Nelson 2003, 90–1). These tomb chapels belonged to senior members of the Theban priesthood (Nelson 2003, 91). According to Jonathan Elias (1993, 95), the funerary temple of Ramesses II was converted into a necropolis 'quite early in the 22nd dynasty, most certainly by the end of the reign of Shoshenq I'. As the demands on burial space grew larger, tomb shafts were then excavated in the storage magazines located on the northern, western, and southern sides of the temple, progressively turning the Ramesseum's annexes into a cemetery (Nelson 2003, 91; also Li 2017, 62). This repurposing of the magazines occurred between the 22nd and 25th dynasties (Lecuyot *et al.* 1990, 88). In that period, the necropolis also progressively extended beyond the temenos of the temple to integrate into a much larger ensemble including the Assasif, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna and Qurnet Murai (Lecuyot *et al.* 1990, 95).

The sheer size of the Ramesseum necropolis and the duration of its use (22nd to 25th dynasties) implies that its population is demographically diverse. The burials belonged primarily to members of the priesthood of Amun, but also to officiants of Montu, Mut and Khonsu (Leblanc and Nelson 1997, 61). Titles indicate the presence—albeit rather limited—of senior clergy members (Elias 1993, 99) (e.g. Nakhtefmut A, fourth priest of Amun; Karomama G, divine adoratrice) alongside the lower-ranked class of officiants who make

up the majority of the burials (Leblanc and Nelson 1997; 1998). Further, the study of the inscribed material reveals that women were better represented than men in the necropolis and held positions of equal or higher rank (Elias 1993, 99; Li 2017, 63). The titles ascribed to these women ranged from the frequently attested *nb.t pr* 'lady of the house' to higher-ranking positions related specifically to music, such as *ḥsw.t (n.t) ḫnw n Jmn* 'singer of the residence of Amun' and *jḫy.t n Jmn-Rᶜ* 'sistrum player of Amun-Re' (Elias 1993, 99, 101; Li 2017, 63). Men primarily bore the titles of 'god's father' or *wꜣb*-priest, which indicated 'minimal priestly duties and fairly low ranking' (Li 2017, 63; also Elias 1993, 98–9, n. 73).

Treatment of the viscera

The looting of the tombs that occurred after burial caused extensive damage to the mummies and the bodies are often found incomplete and/or fragmentary (Hassanein *et al.* 1989b, 189–90; also *Rapports préliminaires 2010–2011* [II.3]). Eight bodies were recovered from the three intact tombs discovered by Quibell (1898, 9–11): tomb 102, tomb 33, and the tomb of Nakhtefmut E. However, the only information available concerns the mummy of Nakhtefmut E. Quibell recorded that it 'had been soaked in bitumen, which had become much harder than the bones' (1898, 11). The fate of Nakhtefmut E's mummified body is unknown, suggesting that the mummified body may not have survived the unwrapping process, depriving us from information on the treatment of the viscera. From the tombs excavated by Möller, only the body of Padiamun from tomb 1911.23 was examined (Anthes 1943, 32). Anthes reported that the body was filled with sawdust and that a large organ—possibly the liver—was folded between the thighs. A mummified organ was also found in the shabti box that was placed on top of the coffin (Anthes 1943, 25, 31; also Aston 2009, 249). Excavation reports (*Rapports préliminaires* 2006–2021) from the Franco-Egyptian team suggest bodies did not necessarily receive treatment (Hassanein *et al.* 1989b, 190; also

Rapports préliminaires 2016 [II.3]). They provide no information regarding the treatment of the viscera.

4.3.4.1 Canopic equipment at the Ramesseum

The analysis of the canopic equipment at the Ramesseum is hindered by the plundering of the burials in antiquity that destroyed contextual and prosopographical data. Conversely, much unprovenanced material of Third Intermediate Period Ramesseum style is kept in museum collections but this resists straightforward interpretation. Given the scarcity of data for some material and the vast project that a comprehensive survey would entail, my material analysis is built on the much smaller sample of 83 burials identified and published by Aston (2009, 237–3).

As I further focus my analysis on identified individuals who possessed canopic equipment, it is important to emphasise that these only represent a small portion of the sample of 83 burials published by Aston (2009, 237–3), and an even smaller portion of the hundreds of individuals buried in the necropolis.[141] Indeed, only 33 of them possessed canopic equipment (40% of the total). Further, in 12 of these 33 burials, the canopic contents are too incomplete for study—either in a fragmentary state, with no attributable type due to lack of data or with only lids preserved—reducing the sample to 21 burials. Despite the reduced sample, however, a range of equipment is attested in these burials:

(i) canopic jars (type I) in one (potentially two) burial(s), of which one is identified: Karomama G Merytmut (Aston 2009, 238);

[141] Providing an exact number of burials is challenging in the absence of a comprehensive publication of the Ramesseum.

(ii) pseudo-canopic jars (type II) in six burials, of which three are identified: Nestanetjeret (Aston 2009, 241 [TG 948]), Tabektenasket ii (Aston 2009, 250 [TG 1000]), and Ankhpakhrod ii (Aston 2009, 250 [TG 1001]);

(iii) dummy canopic jars (type V) in eight burials, of which two are identified: Tanakhtbastru (Aston 2009, 243) and Harsiese (Aston 2009, 245–46);

(iv) wax Sons of Horus in two burials, of which one is identified: Paditukhonsu (Aston 2009, 244 [TG 961]);

(v) wooden figures of the Sons of Horus in three burials, of which two are identified: Nakhtefmut E (Aston 2009, 239 [TG 937]) and Iuefenamun (Aston 2009, 238–9 [TG 931]).

Translations of the texts are mine. I have included photographs of the canopic jars, where possible. Appendix F presents an overview of canopic equipment at the Ramesseum.

Karomama G Merytmut

Two inscribed travertine canopic jars without lids (type I) belonged to the god's wife of Amun Karomama G Merytmut.[142] Both jars are inscribed with three columns of texts identified as type XVI by Sethe (1934, 9*–10* [C]). The inscription is similar on both jars with only the names of the Son of Horus changing. Using the transcription provided by Jansen-Winkeln (2007, 227–8 [16]; also L*D*, *Abth.* III, pl. 256 b-c;), I translate the text as follows:

ḏd mdw jn Jmsṯ dw3 nb(.t) pt ḥm.t(-nṯr) nb(.t) tȝ.wy dwȝ.t nṯr n Jmn nb(.t) ḫᶜ.w Krm mry(.t)-mw.t*

Words spoken by Imset/Qebehsenuef: Praise the Lady of Heaven, God's Wife, Lady of the Two Lands, the Divine Adoratrice of Amun, Lady of the Crowns, Karomama Merytmut

[142] Berlin ÄM 2105–2106: L*D*, *Text* III, 136–7; L*D*, *Abth.* III, pl. 256 b-c; Aston 2009, 238.

Nestanetjeret

Nestanetjeret owned a set of four inscribed limestone pseudo-canopic jars with lids (type II).[143] The stoppers represent the four Sons of Horus in their human and animal forms. They adopt a more simplified style, with less details indicated. The faces are painted red, and traces of blue paint are visible on the headdresses of Hapy (E1870A–B), Imset (E1869A–B) and Qebehsenuef (E1872A–B). Stripes are detailed in red on the headdress of Duamutef (E1871A-B). Whilst the lid/jar pairings appear to be correct in Quibell's publication (1898, pl. 19 [top]), the lids of Duamutef and Hapy have been paired with the wrong jars in the Penn Museum's inventory: E1870A names Duamutef, yet it is paired with Hapy and vice versa for E1871A. Four columns of texts, surmounted by the sky-sign, are incised on the body of the jars; traces of blue paint are visible in the hieroglyphs. The texts have been identified by Sethe as type XVIII (1934, 12* [D]). The inscriptions are identical on all four jars, with only the names of the Son of Horus changing.

Wsjr Jmsṯ nb(.t) pr šps.t(j) iḫyt n Jmn-Rᶜ ḥr sȝ 4-nw Ns-Nṯr.t mȝᶜ.t-ḫrw sȝ(.t) n ḥm-nṯr n Jmn m Jp.t Ḥr mw.t=fᶜnḫ-n-ȝst mȝᶜ.t-ḫrw*
The Osiris-Imset/Hapy/Duamutef/Qebehsenuef of the Lady of the House, Noblewoman, Sistrum Player of Amun-Re accompanying the fourth phyle Nestanetjeret, justified, daughter of the priest of Amun in Opet Hor, her mother is Ankhenaset, justified

Commentary

—As previously observed in the canopic texts of Ankhsematauy at Herakleopolis Magna (4.2.3.1), Osiris and the relevant Son of Horus appear to be combined. Sethe (1934, 230–2) remarks this is first observed at the end of the 18th dynasty and results from the equation of these two entities in earlier formulae in which the tutelary goddess grants protection over the Sons of Horus and the deceased (e.g. Type VI: Sethe 1934, 2*).

[143] Philadelphia Penn Museum E1869–1872A–B: Quibell 1898, 17, pl. 19 [top]; Aston 2009, 241.

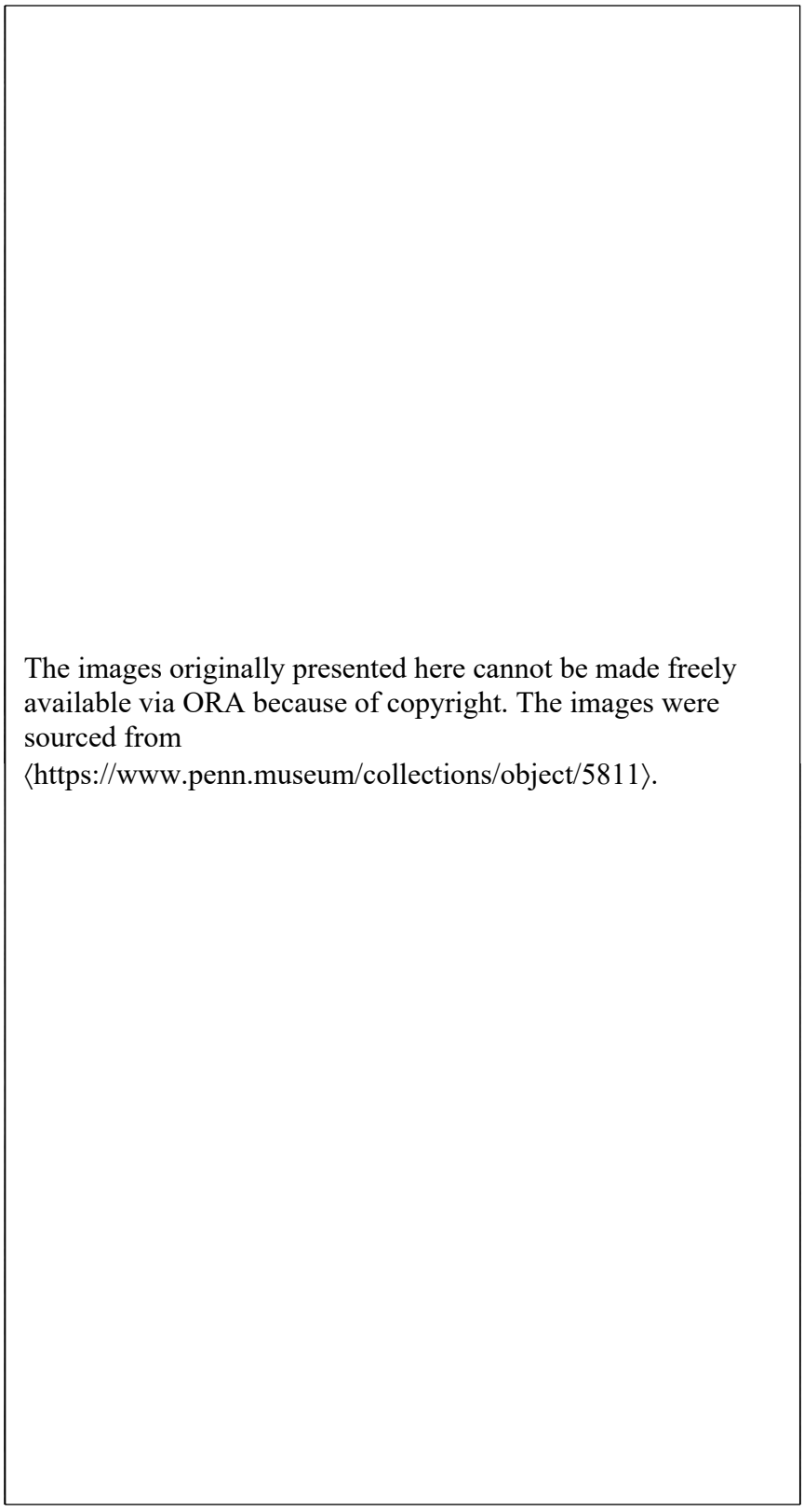


Figure 4.32. Canopic jars of Nestanetjeret
⟨https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/5811⟩

Tabektenasket ii (rn nfr Tamit)

Four inscribed limestone pseudo-canopic jars with lids (type II) belonged to Tabektenasket ii.[144] The lids depict the four Sons of Horus in their human and animal forms. They adopt a more simplified style, with incised features. Texts are painted in black in one column running down the jar. They have been categorised as type XVIII by Sethe (1934, 12* [C]) and are identical on all the jars, only the name Tamit is found associated with Imset (ÄM 20146) and Duamutef (ÄM 20148), whereas the name Tabektenasket is on Hapy (ÄM 20147) and Qebehsenuef (ÄM 20149). Using the transcription provided by Jansen-Winkeln (2007, 390 [19]), I translate as follows:

(ÄM 20146 and ÄM 20148)
ḥtp dj nsw n Wsjr nb(.t) pr Tȝ-mjt Jmst ḥry.t st=s mȝᶜ.t-ḫrw*
An offering which the king gives to the Osiris of the Lady of the House, Tamit-Imset/Duamutef, who is at her place, justified

(ÄM 20147 and ÄM 20149)
ḥtp dj nsw n Wsjr Tȝ-n.t-bȝk-n-tȝ-ᶜškt Ḥpy ḥry.t st=s mȝᶜ.t-ḫrw*
An offering which the king gives to the Osiris of Tabektenasket-Hapy/Qebehsenuef, who is at her place, justified

Commentary

—In these texts the Osiris of Tamit and the relevant Son of Horus appear to be combined. As noted by Sethe (1934, 230–2), this later identification of the Sons of Horus with the Osiris of the deceased—expressed by simple juxtaposition of their names—results from the equation of these entities in earlier formulae in which the tutelary goddess grants protection over the Sons of Horus and the deceased (e.g. Type VI: Sethe 1934, 2*). This identification of the Sons of Horus with the Osiris of the deceased is clearly stated in texts from the 26th dynasty onwards (e.g. Type XIX: Sethe 1934, 12*):

sȝ Wsjr NN sȝ Jmst Wsjr NN pw Jmst**
The protection of the Osiris of NN is the protection of Imset/Hapy/Dumuatef/Qebehsenuef. Osiris of NN is Imset/Hapy/Dumuatef/Qebehsenuef

[144] Berlin ÄM 20146–20149: Anthes 1943, 35, pl. 14a; Aston 2009, 250.

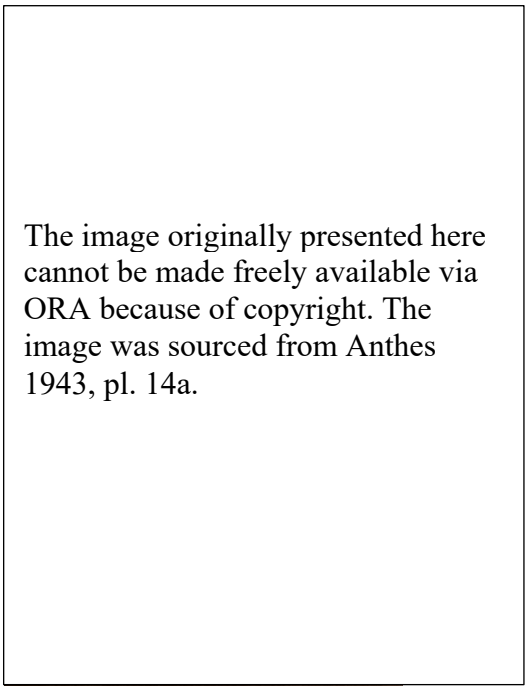


Figure 4.33. Canopic jar (Imset) of Tabektenasket ii (Tamit) (Anthes 1943, pl. 14a)

Ankhpakhrod ii

A set of four inscribed limestone pseudo-canopic jars (Anthes 1943, 37, pl. 13c; Aston 2009, 250) accompanied Ankhpakhrod ii. They are classified as Aston's type II (2009, 251). The lids depict the four Sons of Horus with their human and animal heads and details of the features are painted black. Each jar bears the name of a Son of Horus painted in black: Imset, Hapy, Qebehsenuef, and Duamutef.

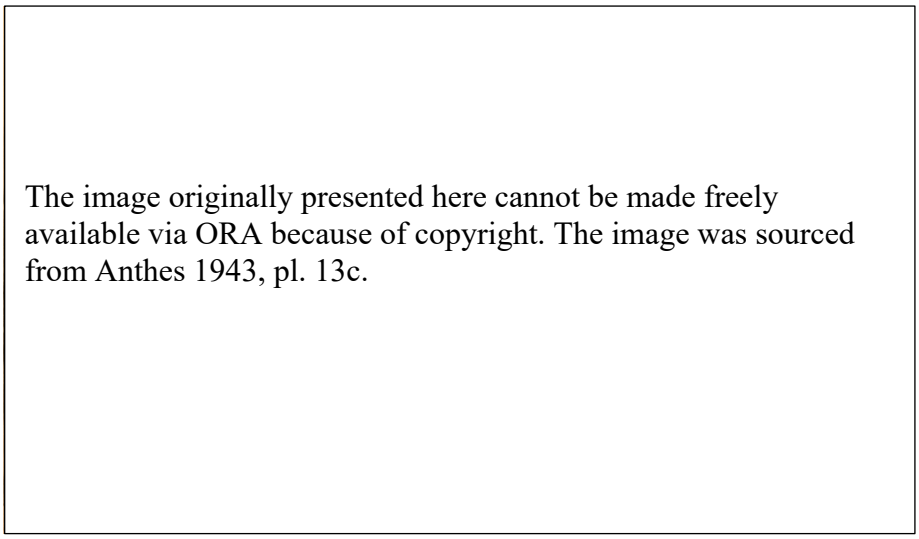


Figure 4.34. Canopic jars of Ankhpakhrod ii. (Anthes 1943, pl. 13c)

Tanakhtbastru

Four inscribed limestone dummy canopic jars of Aston's type V (2009, 297) belonged to Tanakhtbastru (Cairo JE 40435A–D: Daressy 1908; Aston 2009, 243). In the absence of images, the following description draws on Daressy's own description. The four Sons of Horus are represented with their individual human and animal heads painted in different colours: Imset's face is painted yellow, Hapy's face is painted pink, Qebhesenuef is white, and Duamutef has a black snout. Except for Duamutef's headdress—that is painted red—the headdresses are painted blue. Five columns of inscriptions are painted in black on the body of the jars, framed under a sky-sign. The inscription on Hapy's jar is completely erased. The texts have been classified by Sethe as type XVIIL (1934, 11* [L]) and they are different for each jar. Daressy (1908, 153) notes that there is a play on words between the names of the Son of Horus and the first verbs used in the formula (Imset and *mj*; Duamutef and *dj*; Qebehsenuef and *qb*). Using Daressy's transcriptions (1908), I translate the texts as follows:

(JE 40435A)
Jmst mj dj ḥtp.t ḥr s.t=j mj wn=t ḥr(j)-tp t3 Wsjr nb.t pr šps.t(j) T3-nḫt-Bstt-rw m3ʿ(.t)-ḫrw ḫr Skr
Imset: Come here so that you may sit down in my place as you were on earth, the Osiris of the Lady of the House, the Noblewoman, Tanakhtbastru, justified before Sokar

(JE 40435C)
D<wꜣ>-mw.t=f dj jmn.t.t ꜥ.wy=s r šsp=t ḥr jqr=t nḫ.w Wsjr nb.t pr šps.t(j) Tꜣ-nḫt-Bstt-rw mꜣꜥ-ḫrw ḫr Wsjr nb Ddw
Duamutef: May Imentet extend her arms to accept you because of your excellent protector, the Osiris of the Lady of the House, the Noblewoman, Tanakhtbastru, justified before Osiris lord of Busiris

(JE 40435D)
Qbḥ-sn(w.)=f qb n=t bꜥḥ ḫḫ=j sḫm=t n ḏ.t(=k) ḏ.t Wsjr nb.t pr šps.t Tꜣ-nḫt-Bstt-rw mꜣꜥ.t-ḫrw
Qebehsenuef: the waterflow refreshes my throat for you so that you may dispose of (your) body forever, the Osiris of the Lady of the House, the Noblewoman, Tanakhtbastru, justified

Harsiese

Three limestone uninscribed dummy canopic jars of Aston's type V (2009, 297) and two canopic jars lids are attributed to Harsiese.[145] The dummy jars represent Imset, Duamutef, and Qebehsenuef. Their 'lids' are indicated by an incised line where the separation from the jars would have existed if they had been detachable.

Paditukhonsu

As described by Aston (2009, 44), five wax figurines of the four Sons of Horus—measuring between 5,5 and 6,7cm—were found 'inside canopic packets retrieved from the bones of the deceased' (Leblanc and Nelson 1997, 82–3 [TPI-R-17], pls. 28 A–B, 29 A–B). The baboon-headed figure of Hapy was duplicated. The burial is dated from the end of 21st to the beginning 22nd dynasty which, according to Aston (2009, 244), 'would make these wax sons of Horus some of the latest known'. The lack of contextual and prosopographical data about Paditukhonsu prevents further conclusions to be drawn on the practice of wax figurines of Sons of Horus at the Ramesseum.

[145] Hassanein *et al*. 1989b, 194–5, Abb. 2; Lecuyot *et al.* 1990, 93 [right]; Leblanc and Nelson 1997, 77 [TPI-R-12].

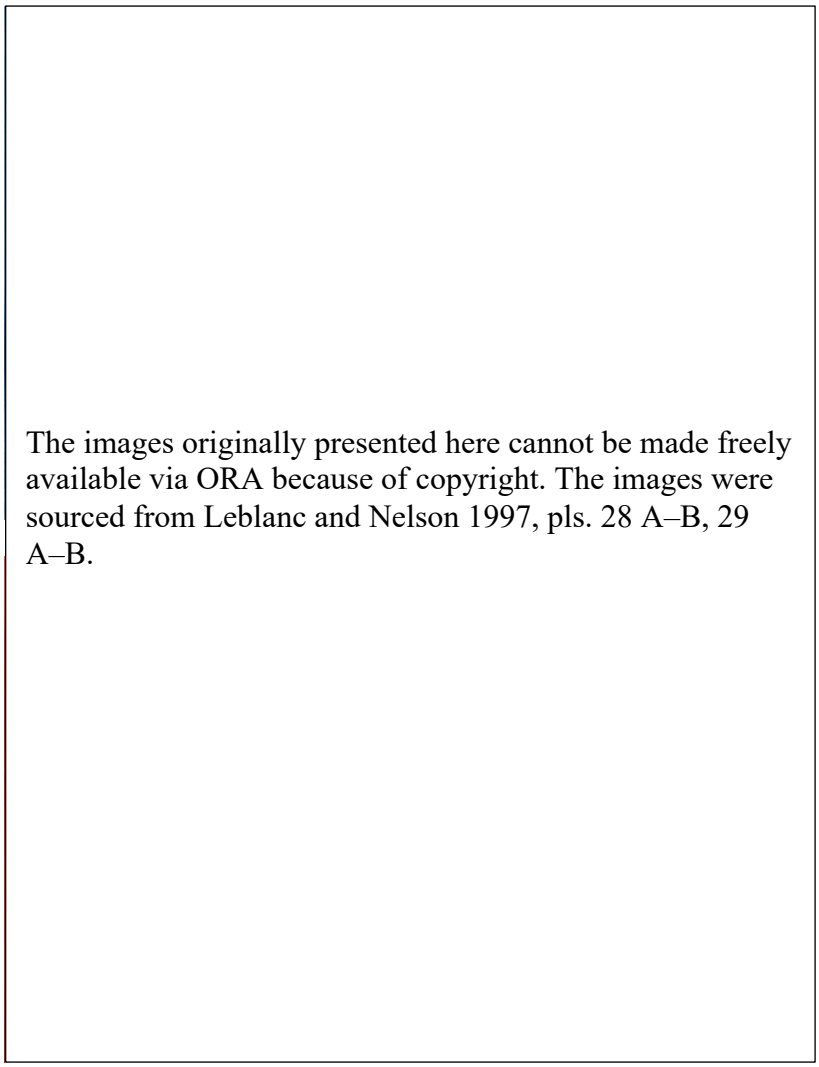


Figure 4.35. Top: Figurines of the Sons of Horus wrapped in visceral packages. Bottom: Figurine of Hapy. (Leblanc and Nelson 1997, pls. 28 A–B, 29 A–B)

Nakhtefmut E

Four wooden figures of the Sons of Horus were found on the west side of the coffin of Nakhtefmut E.[146] They are carved out of sycamore fig, covered with a black resin, and measure approximately 40 cm in height. The figures—although on a different scale—adopt a similar iconography to the wax figurines of the Sons of Horus. They are mummiform and

[146] Cambridge Fitzwilliam E. 87.1896–E.90.1896: Quibell 1898, 10 [19], pl. 17 [6-9]; Leblanc and Nelson 1997, 79–80 [TPI-R-13]; Aston 2009, 239; Strudwick 2016, 202–3, cat. 34.

are depicted with their characteristic human/animal heads and tripartite wigs. They are standing on a rectangular base and bear no inscriptions.

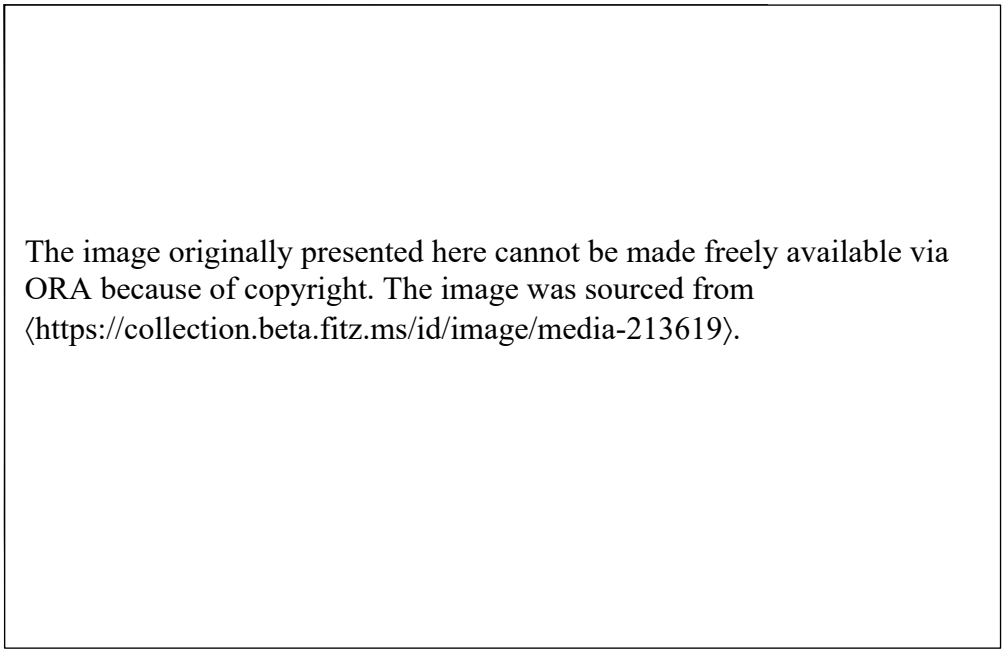


Figure 4.36. Wooden figures of Nakhtefmut E ⟨https://collection.beta.fitz.ms/id/image/media-213619⟩

Iufenamun

Two wooden figures and one clay figure of the Sons of Horus were discovered by Quibell in tomb 102 (Quibell 1898, 9 [17]; also Aston 2009, 238–9). He notes (1898, 9) that the 'wooden figure of one of the four genii stood at the head of the east body' whilst, nearer the feet of the other coffin, 'stood the hawk-headed genius, while the ape-headed figure lay by its side; the last was made of clay'. As two bodies were buried in the tomb—Iufenamun and an unidentified individual—it is unclear whether one, two, or all three figures should be attributed to Iufenamun. Whilst Aston (2009, 238) appears to assign one of the wooden figures (Qebehsenuef) and the clay figure of Hapy to Iufenamun, Christian Leblanc and Monique Nelson (1997, 80 [TPI-R-14]) consider all three to be part of Iufenamun's funerary equipment. Despite it being one of the three intact tombs, no images or detailed descriptions of the figures exist.

4.3.5. Canopic practices at the Ramesseum

The limited sample size (83 out of 300+ burials) makes it difficult to obtain an accurate picture of canopic practices at the Ramesseum. Nonetheless, some observations—if not conclusions—can be drawn from the material available.

It is apparent that canopic equipment was not often included in the burials. This absence may be indicative of the social classes that were buried in the necropolis, although the loss of contextual and prosopographical data caused by plundering hinders such an analysis. The Ramesseum was primarily the burial ground of lower-ranking religious officials associated with the priesthood of Amun (Leblanc and Nelson 1997; 1998). Whilst the position adopted by individuals in the temple may not necessarily reflect social class (e.g. Coulon 2018, 322)—for instance, chantresses of Amun could belong to high-ranking priestly families or be descendants of high-ranking officials—the absence of canopic equipment might suggest most of the burials belonged to individuals from lower socioeconomic status (1.3.2).

Despite the seemingly limited use of canopic equipment throughout the necropolis, a new type is found at the Ramesseum: wooden figures of the Sons of Horus. Wooden figures are used in two tombs, Quibell 102 (burials of Iuf-en-Amun and unidentified individual) and Quibell 87 (burial of Nakhtefmut E). There are no (known) prosopographical data about Iuf-en-Amun and Nakhtefmut E but, contextually, their tombs are juxtaposed (Quibell 1898, pl. 1), which could suggest a similar timeframe for the burials and/or a potential familial relationship that could explain this unique shared practice. Whilst these figures are only attested in two tombs in the Ramesseum necropolis, wooden figures of the Sons of Horus have also been found ‘with a small number of burials at Sedment, Abydos [and] Esna’

(Aston 2009, 389). Other sets of wooden figures exist and are stored in museum collections (e.g. MET 12.182.37a-d; Turin cat. 705–708). The museum examples appear to be dating from the 25th and 26th dynasties, rather than the 22nd dynasty; the Ramesseum's wooden figures might thus be amongst the first known attestations of this practice. Aston (2009, 389) also highlights that datable examples 'belong exclusively to the period c.950–750 BC when the sons of Horus are otherwise unattested in tomb groups'. Aston's remark indicates that he is not considering canopic jars—attested in tomb groups in the 22nd dynasty—as representations of the Sons of Horus in the burial. I disagree. Wooden figures are attested in burials without canopic jars suggesting that they replaced canopic jars in the burial, in a similar way to wax figurines. As free-standing figures representing the Sons of Horus, they combine characteristics of both the wax figurines that were placed inside the abdominal cavity and the canopic jars that were surrounding the body in the burial.

4.3.6. Preliminary conclusions: Upper Egypt

Canopic equipment in Upper Egypt is comparatively more diverse than the material observed in Lower Egypt. In addition to standard, pseudo- and dummy canopic jars, Upper Egyptian burials see the appearance of wax figurines of the Sons of Horus that are said to characterise the 'fundamental change' in canopic practices. While standard descriptions of the practice often suggest a widespread use of the wax figurines throughout the Third Intermediate Period (e.g. Ikram and Dodson 1998, 289), their adoption appears to be much more localised, with a large majority of figurines coming from the Second Cache of Deir el-Bahri. It becomes apparent that Elliot Smith 1906's study of the treatments applied to mummies from the Second Cache (1906b) became, along the way, a descriptive statement for the whole of the 21st dynasty (e.g. Aston 2009, 293), and even further for the whole of

the Third Intermediate Period (e.g. Ikram and Dodson 1998, 289; Grajetzki 2003, 97). It is noteworthy that before that, wax figurines are only found inside the mummified abdominal cavities of Ramesses III and Ramesses V (Hawass and Saleem 2016, 174, 184, 242). As mentioned in section 4.3.3, figurines of the Sons of Horus appear to replace canopic jars in burials, suggesting they may have filled in the same role in the burial and confirming the conceptualisation of canopic jars as representations of the Sons of Horus.

4.4. Canopic practices in the early first millennium

Although tentative—as the picture could be skewed by the statistically small and fragmentary sample, the lack of publication or archaeological record at the time of excavation and/or the modern dispersion of funerary components—the review of developments in canopic equipment from the Third Intermediate Period (c. 1076–723 BCE) offers new perspectives on canopic practices in the early first millennium BCE. A comprehensive delineation of the geographical, chronological, and demographical specificities of canopic practices is beyond the scope of this chapter but, based on the selected dataset, the following attributes can be outlined to nuance the conventional characterisation:[147]

(i) standard canopic jars (type I) are found in all the necropolises under observation, albeit in different quantities. While they are the primary type used in Tanis (6 sets) and the Royal Cache of Deir el-Bahri (4 sets); there are also attestations in Memphis (1 set), Herakleopolis Magna (2 sets), and the Ramesseum (2 sets). However, only the jars from Tanis appear to still be used as containers;

[147] Comments on canopic jars only concern canopic jars that have been assigned a specific type.

(ii) pseudo-canopic jars (type II) are primarily found in Memphis (4 sets) and the Ramesseum (6 sets). Fewer pseudo-canopic jars are attested in Tanis (2 sets) and Herakleopolis Magna (3 sets);

(iii) dummy canopic jars (type V) are primarily attested at the Ramesseum (8 sets); one set is also found in Herakleopolis Magna;

(iv) wax figurines of the Sons of Horus are only found in the caches of Deir el-Bahri, with an overwhelming majority coming from the Second Cache of Deir el-Bahri;

(v) wooden figures of the Sons of Horus are found at the Ramesseum.

From a geographical perspective there appears to be a divide between Lower and Upper Egyptian canopic practices. While in Lower Egypt, canopic equipment is primarily in the form of canopic jars, in Upper Egypt wax figurines and wooden figures of the Sons of Horus are attested in the Second Cache of Deir el-Bahri and at the Ramesseum. Further, this distinction appears to mirror, to some extent, the difference in demographics noted between the necropolises: Tanis, Memphis and Herakleopolis Magna were necropolises of high-ranking individuals (kings and members of the royal family), while the Second Cache and the Ramesseum were the burial grounds of lower-raking classes of priests. This distinction was also observed at a smaller level between the Royal and the Second caches of Deir el-Bahri, as discussed in section 4.3.3, whereby, in the Royal Cache, the high priests of Amun and their families still used, and even reused, canopic jars when many of the burials in the Second Cache had figurines of the Sons of Horus. These observations are summarised in Table 4.3.

	Dyn. 21 ca. 1076–944	Dyn. 22 943–ca. 746	Dyn. 23–Dyn. 24 845–ca. 723	Dyn. 25 ca. 722–ca. 655
Tanis Royal family	**Type I – Canopic jars (6 sets)**			
		Type II – Pseudo-canopic jars (2 sets)		
Memphis High Priests of Ptah		**Type II – Pseudo-canopic jars (4 sets)**		
		Type I – Canopic jars (1 set)		
Herakleopolis Magna Royal family		**Type II – Pseudo-canopic jars (3 sets)**		
		Type I – Canopic jars (2 sets)		
		Type V – Dummy canopic jars (1 set)		
Royal Cache High Priests of Amun and relatives	**Type I – Canopic jars (6 sets)**			
	Wax figurines of Sons of Horus (3 individuals)			
Second Cache Members of the priesthood of Amun (lower-ranked class of officiants)	**Wax figurines of Sons of Horus (23 individuals)**			
	Type unknown – Canopic jars (4 sets)			
Ramesseum Members of the priesthood of Amun (lower-ranked class of officiants)		**Type V – Dummy canopic jars (8 sets)**		
		Type II – Pseudo-canopic jars (6 sets)		
		Wooden figures of Sons of Horus (3 sets)		

Table 4.3. Canopic practices in the early first millennium BCE.
Font keys. Bold indicates primary equipment in the necropolis.

The application of an alternative interpretive framework to the ritual treatment of the viscera, in which viscera are catalysts in the creation of protective manifestations of the four Sons of Horus and canopic jars effect the presence of the gods in the burial (ch.3), allows to encompass different types of canopic equipment within the same interpretive framework and sheds a different light on canopic developments. The examination of canopic equipment in a variety of burial contexts distributed geographically, chronologically, and across different social groups provide evidence of the continued presence of the Sons of Horus in the burial across socio-economic, geographic, and class divides. It reveals a conceptual continuity between the different forms of canopic equipment in the Third Intermediate Period, despite material changes. Indeed, throughout material developments, the Sons of Horus remains a constant, only taking different forms.

The developments observed in canopic equipment were progressive, with the staggered emergence of types II and V in tomb groups and the slow shift in textual contents from goddesses protecting the Sons of Horus to Sons of Horus ensuring protection and care for the deceased themselves. I argue that the transformation of standard canopic jars into pseudo- and dummy jars and their replacement by figures of the Sons of Horus is the expected outcome of a conceptualisation of canopic jars as embodiments of the Sons of Horus that started in the First Intermediate Period/Middle Kingdom (3.3.2.1)—when canopic jars first adopted lids in the human/animal forms of the Sons of Horus. Rather than perceiving new canopic material as a departure from canopic jars, I argue they are integral to developments that reinforced the representations of the Sons of Horus in the burial through canopic equipment.

Thus, whilst the material developments observed in the Third Intermediate Period—and the resulting pseudo- and dummy canopic jars—have traditionally been framed as a radical change of function and fashioning of canopic jars (Ikram and Dodson 1998, 289) where the form (Sons of Horus) triumphs over the function (container), I believe that the evolution of canopic equipment from standard canopic jars into pseudo- and dummy jars and figures of the Sons of Horus is a triumph of their conceptual function over their material form.

5. Conclusion

5.1. Reviewing the question

The aims of this thesis were to provide a significant new perspective on the practice of eviscerating the human corpse during the ancient Egyptian mummification process and to offer a reassessment of the role of the deities known as the 'Four Sons of Horus' in connection with the transformation of the deceased. To achieve this, I followed principles of practice-based ritual theory, and critically assessed traditional assumptions and conceptions surrounding the ritual treatment of the corpse from theoretical, conceptual, and material perspectives, proposing alternative interpretations rooted in an emic analysis of the ancient Egyptian sources. This was done to evaluate the classical Egyptological understanding and tackle some rather firmly established tropes about mummification, evisceration, canopic vessels, and the Sons of Horus.

Chapter 2 critically assessed traditional assumptions about the integrity of the body after death, and the perception of decomposition, both with close reference to ancient Egyptian terminology, and adopted instead a 'rite of passage' interpretive framework as an alternative theoretical framework to understand and conceptualise the ritual treatments of the corpse and viscera. This enabled the treatments applied to the corpse to be framed as transformative, where the deceased is transformed into a divine being. The potential of this revised approach was applied to the analysis of Egyptian textual sources on the treatment of the viscera (P. Louvre-Carlsberg, *Embalming Ritual*, and P. Rhind 1), where passages considered 'unrevealing' were found to attest to the creation of manifestations of the Sons of Horus. Chapter 2 provided the theoretical foundation for all discussions going forward, including the textual and conceptual analysis of chapter 3 and material analysis of chapter 4.

In chapter 3, a close examination was undertaken of the terms for the viscera usually associated with removal during mummification. Through combined textual and archaeological analysis, Egyptian conceptions of the viscera were evaluated, exploring potential rationales for their unique treatment. This included medical texts, anatomical lists in funerary and magical context, and archaeological data on evisceration in mummies. The textual analysis of medical sources revealed that viscera had a different nature, and could be conceptualised as manufacturers of bodily fluids, potentially supporting their ability to transform the deceased into a divine being and to participate in the creation of four divine entities. The role of the 'Four Sons of Horus' was also reviewed based on occurrences in funerary literature, and in connection with the study of canopic jars, before relating these to liturgical and cosmological concepts. The analysis supported the idea that ritual treatment of the viscera and canopic practices were fundamentally intertwined to the Sons of Horus as protective manifestations.

To quantify what had been explored in the preceding chapters, chapter 4 offered a closer study of canopic equipment in the Third Intermediate Period (21st–24th dynasties, c. 1076–723 BCE), using a range of provenanced material. The case studies were selected from a diverse range of geographic, chronological, and demographic contexts, and included Tanis, Memphis, Herakleopolis Magna, the caches of Deir el-Bahri, and the Ramesseum. For each case study, selected burials were analysed to characterise the treatment of the viscera and use of canopic equipment. In contrast to conventional descriptions of the practice, the analysis across multiple case studies revealed nuances in the treatment of the viscera and in forms and use of canopic equipment. The Sons of Horus are represented in each case study through a variety of canopic equipment (standard, pseudo- and dummy jars; wax and wooden figurines)—showcasing conceptual continuity despite material changes. The study

reinforced insights revealed in preceding chapters, including the defining role of the Sons of Horus in connection with the transformation of the deceased and characterisation of canopic vessels as manifestations of the Sons of Horus in the burial.

My approach throughout the thesis was structured around deconstructing several classical Egyptological understandings and building on the suggestions of a number of recent scholars and anthropological and archaeological approaches to the discipline to propose plausible alternatives that are better integrated in an emic understanding of the practices. The combined findings from each chapter were mutually reinforcing and painted an emic perspective of evisceration and the role of the Sons of Horus. The analysis revealed that ritual treatment of the corpse aimed at the transformation the deceased into divine being with evisceration and the viscera themselves operating as the catalyst to transformation and resulted in the creation of protective manifestations of the four Sons of Horus. In these final pages, I review the alternatives proposed in this thesis, with the purpose of drawing together an overall vision of how mummification, evisceration and the role of the Sons of Horus were conceptualised. I also discuss some further questions that have arisen from work on this thesis.

5.2. New perspective: transformation of the deceased into a divine being

The understanding of mummification as an exercise in preservation of the body is strongly embedded in Egyptological approaches of the practice. As a result, the thesis is dedicated to demonstrating the unsustainability of mummification as preservation and of evisceration as halting decay—reinforcing positions previously stated by Goyon (1992), Riggs (2014), Dobbin-Bennett (2014), and Nyord (2018), to name a few—and to operating a conscious

narrative shift towards an interpretive framework that approaches bodily treatments as transformative processes.

The need for integrating anthropological and archaeological approaches into this reassessment was introduced at the beginning of the thesis (1.5). The idea treatments applied to the bodies could transform the materiality of the body and effect a change of state is central to understanding the ritual treatment of the corpse as aimed at the transformation of the deceased into a divine being. Questions of body materiality and boundaries between bodies and objects quickly emerged to be central to the ontological and material transformation of the corpse. Anthropological concepts of deathways and rites of passage (1.5.2) have proven to be particularly helpful in explaining and understanding ritual treatments of the corpse and the viscera as they articulate change in material states (e.g. from subject to object, see 1.5.2.1) and support the view that treatments applied to the body can be framed as transformative.

The ontological and material change from human to divine taking place through mummification processes (and wrapping) is reflected in the distinct words used to describe different statuses of the dead body: the corpse (*ḫꜣt*), the *ḏt*-body, and the wrapped body (*sꜥḥ*) on which all bodily processes had been performed, generally translated as 'mummy' (Nyord 2009, 344–50; Riggs 2014, 86). Based on a lexicographical study of *ḏt* in *Pyramid Texts* and *Coffin Texts*, Anaïs Martin (2013, 40–6, 60–1) demonstrated that the *ḏt*-body belonged to the divine sphere and was granted to the deceased who had become an *akh*. *sꜥḥ* specifically designated the social attributes assigned to the new divine entity that emerged with the wrapping of the corpse (Riggs 2010, 4; Martin 2013, 24). Encased in linen and wearing a

mummy mask with tripartite wig and divine beard, the *sꜥḥ* was no longer a human body, but a manifestation of the deceased imbued with divine quality.

This analysis is a major justification for the treatment of embalming 'detritus' and the existence of embalming deposits—so-called 'embalming caches'—attested to some extent in the Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom and particularly common in Late Period contexts (e.g. Ikram and López-Grande 2011, 219–24 for a list of embalming caches). Against the background of 'mummification as transformation of the deceased into a divine being', the existence of such embalming deposits can be more satisfactorily explained. As described by Marianne Eaton-Krauss (2008, 288), 'such deposits comprise the refuse from the embalming process (primarily sacks of natron and soiled linen strips and rags), packed in jars, boxes, or coffins, sometimes accompanied by whatever the corpse may have lain upon and, rarely, by embalmers' instruments'. The characterisation of the embalming by-products as 'waste' or 'detritus' is dismissive and colludes with interpretation of decomposition as negative. Rather, in a context where the ritual treatment of the corpse transforms the deceased into a divine entity, embalming 'waste' that had been used to prepare the divine body would be regarded as scared and buried.

Whilst framing mummification as a transformative process is not fundamentally new—conventional interpretations of the Egyptian afterlife have long recognised the role of mummification processes in the transformation of the deceased into a divine being—the novelty resides in shifting the emphasis away from the state of the body. The preservation of the body should be viewed almost as a by-product of treatments applied to the body not as a goal or prerequisite to transfiguration of the deceased into a divine being. Like Riggs (2014) and Nyord (2018), I dispute that preserving corporeal integrity and halting decay

were the goals of mummification and evisceration processes, respectively. I support their assertions that the effects of embalming techniques on the body have been confused with the intention: the transformation of the deceased from human to divine being by means of a transformation of the body's materiality (Riggs 2014, 89; Nyord 2018, 79) that started with decomposition (Dobbin-Bennett 2014).

Evisceration and the viscera themselves were an integral part of this process. Evisceration aided the transformation of the deceased by the creation of protective manifestations of the four Sons of Horus, with the viscera themselves operating as a catalyst to transformation and activation of the protection embodied by the four Sons of Horus. This is in alignment with Goyon's interpretation of the evisceration process (1972; 1.4.1). Because it creates four entities, Goyon (1972, 218) sees evisceration as an act of creation. The ritual treatment of the viscera was initiated by their removal from the abdominal cavity via evisceration, enacting the separation that initiated the transformation process for the internal organs. Examination of preserved internal organs indicates that, in many cases, they received treatments similar to the body itself, including desiccation, ointment, and individual wrapping (e.g. Taylor 2001, 64). I see the ritual treatment of the viscera as a rite of passage in which viscera are materially and ontologically transformed into divine beings and manifestations of the Sons of Horus are created. The results of integrating individual steps of the mummification and canopic processes in this 'rites of passage' narrative are summarised in Figure 5.1.

Van Gennep (1908) Turner (1969)	Separation *(preliminal)* Structure	»	Transition *(liminal)* Anti-structure	»	Incorporation *(postliminal)* Structure	
Mummification processes	Death	Decomposition	Evisceration Desiccation	Libation	Wrapping	Opening of the Mouth
Transformation process (body)	Human *ḫ3t*	to	Human *ḫ3t*	to	Divine *sꜥḥ* to *ḏt*	
Canopic processes	Evisceration	—	Desiccation	Libation	Wrapping	
Transformation process (viscera)	Internal organs *jmj.w-ḫt*	to	Internal organs *jmj.w-ḫt*	to	Sons of Horus *ms.w Ḥr*	

Figure 5.1. Mummification and canopic processes as 'rites of passage'.

5.3. From viscera to Sons of Horus: creation of protective manifestations

In my thesis a step is taken towards a more nuanced conceptualisation of canopic jars, proposing to move away from a restrictive characterisation as containers for the viscera, and recognising instead that they effect the presence and protection of the four Sons of Horus for the deceased.

As a result, the discussion is centred around understanding Egyptian conceptions of the internal organs and the role of the Sons of Horus in connection with canopic vessels.

I question specifically the importance of internal organs as anatomical physical entities in the conceptualisation of canopic practices. While it may appear contradictory to the modern reader that viscera could be both intrinsic to the mummification process—as catalyst to transformation and activation of the protection embodied by the four Sons of Horus—and not specific in their nature, it is not necessarily a contradiction from an ancient Egyptian perspective. The need for terminologies relating to the body to correspond to specific modern understandings *is* modern after all. An extensive analysis of the contents of canopic vessels and visceral packages may hint at a greater variety in contents than previously assumed. This, in fact, transpires from Wade and Nelson's analysis (2013) of available data

on 150 mummies described in the literature in which, for instance, the heart was in place in only 21 of the 80 individuals where the organ's position was recorded and the kidneys were not consistently intact in the body cavity—contrary to common assumptions (Wade and Nelson 2013, 10–5, table 3).

Evisceration and ritual treatment of the organs have been, to some extent, inconsistent in their implementation (2.3.1) and may not have been concerned with internal organs as anatomical entities in the first place. Far from being a necessity in the preservation of the deceased body, eviscerated organs might be better framed as by-products ('refuse') of the embalming process which were deemed divine because of their association to the divine being (the mummified deceased) and had to be collected, wrapped, and buried in a sacred space. Arguably, precursors of the jars associated with the viscera in the Old Kingdom are indicators to this fact. The boxes, recesses, and pits found in some Old Kingdom mastabas are in fact 'either empty or contain linen packets with traces of resin or other ritually significant materials' (Riggs 2014, 92; also Rzeuska 2011, esp. 247). Later on, some visceral packages have also turned out to contain mainly resin and other preservatives with little trace of actual organs (e.g. mummy ÄS 1627d: Dawson and Gray 1968, xiii; Parsche and Ziegelmayer 1986, 84). The identification of these packages as mummified human internal organs rather than components of divine nature is most likely the result of a modern view of the body. The viscera, as components issued from a divine being, were considered sacred and, in their divine nature, would have been 'enough' to create an effective divine object in the form of the Sons of Horus.

An important comparison, powerfully advancing this argument, is found in the extensive evidence of votive animal mummies—first attested in the earlier first millennium BCE—

which demonstrate that only 'part' of an animal—or only the 'waste' associated with them—was enough to create an effective divine object (Ikram 2019, 179, 181). Significantly, in the field of animal mummy studies, scholars take no issue with 'false', 'amalgam' or 'ancient fake' mummies—wrapped to resemble a specific animal but enclosing the bone of a different species, remnants of one or several animals, or a bunch of feathers or fragments of fur (Ikram 2019, 181). These are understood as valid for their purpose in the Egyptians' eyes, based on principles of magical iteration and conceptualisation that a part could signify the whole. Mummification processes applied to an animal are considered transformative whereby the 'normal' animal becomes a divine being and any 'detritus' created during the process are also deemed divine. Yet this interpretation has not been extended to the ritual treatments of human beings.

Organs were removed to effect the magical presence of gods in other forms, in a similar way to the creation of mummies of sacred animals with parts. The viscera, as components issued from a divine being, were considered sacred and would grant numinosity to the vessels in which they were placed, resulted in the creation of protective manifestations of the four Sons of Horus. This interpretation provides a strong explanation for the usurpation of canopic vessels in a few burials from the Third Intermediate Period. The reuse of material already imbued with divinity and hallowed by previous use may have been desired and even valued.

5.4. Future research

This thesis opens several exciting areas for future research. It would be desirable to expand the corpus of early first millennium BCE material for the assessment of change (or lack thereof) in canopic practices. To assess this change closely would require a survey of later New Kingdom material and an analysis of canopic equipment beyond the Third Intermediate

Period (21st–24th dynasties, c. 1076–723 BCE). I originally intended to include a chapter on canopic equipment beyond the Third Intermediate Period addressing 25th and 26th dynasties burials of Theban priesthoods in Medinet Habu and El-Assasif (e.g. Eigner and Dorner 1984) as well as elites' burial grounds on the West Bank, particularly from Giza (e.g. Zivie-Coche 1991, 267–304) and southwards to Abusir and Saqqara (e.g. Stammers 2009, 152–70). This, however, proved impossible within the confines of a thesis.

A potentially rewarding approach would be to study the inception of the use of canopic equipment as we might retrieve the idea behind their original use. The rare ancient Egyptian term for the canopic jars: *qby n wt* 'vessel of the embalmer' or 'vessel of the (mummiform) coffin', and other Egyptian terms regarding mummification and embalming earn a more detailed study as they might give a clue about function and concept. Additional insights could be derived by analysing canopic equipment within the broader context of the burial ensemble, providing a holistic perspective of mortuary practices.

Some anthropologically oriented topics would also benefit from further research. A prime example of this is the tentative characterisation of the viscera as 'functional' entities and how they may have been conceptualised as metaphorical-and-physical entities (3.1.2). If this were the case, internal organs may have been categorised differently than other parts of the body and the ritual treatment of the viscera may be informed by this conceptualisation. In addition, a philological analysis of the conceptualisation of internal organs—and their association with the Sons of Horus—could provide pertinent insights concerning some of the questions taken up, e.g. examining the role played by designations of the internal organs in (certain) funerary texts.

A detailed investigation into the broader representation and function of the Sons of Horus within the funerary context is missing. Building on the insights from this thesis, a logical starting point would be to focus on the role of the Sons of Horus within in burials of the first millennium BCE. However, research beyond this period could reveals greater insights into the changing perception of the Sons in the Egyptian belief system.

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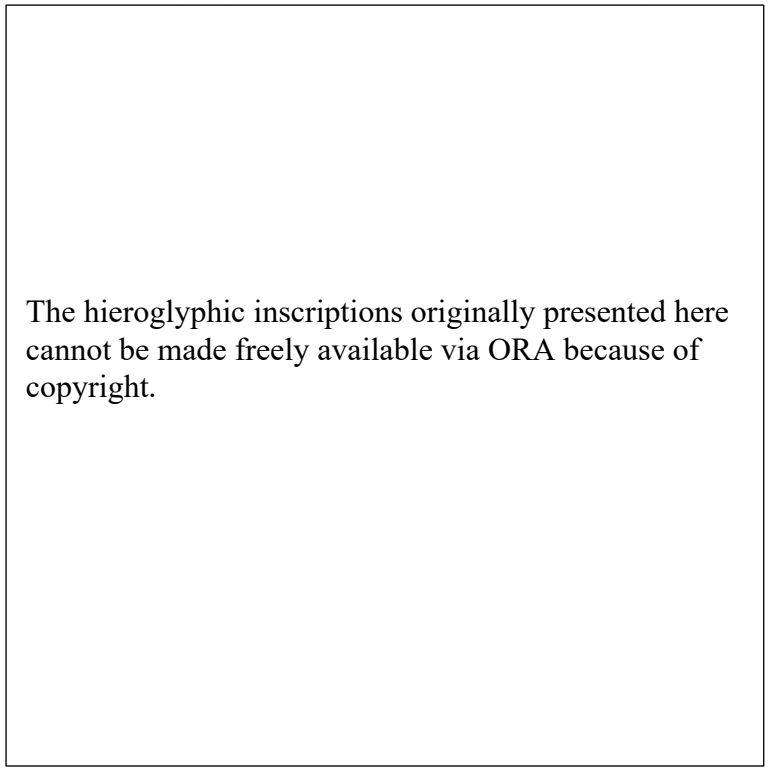
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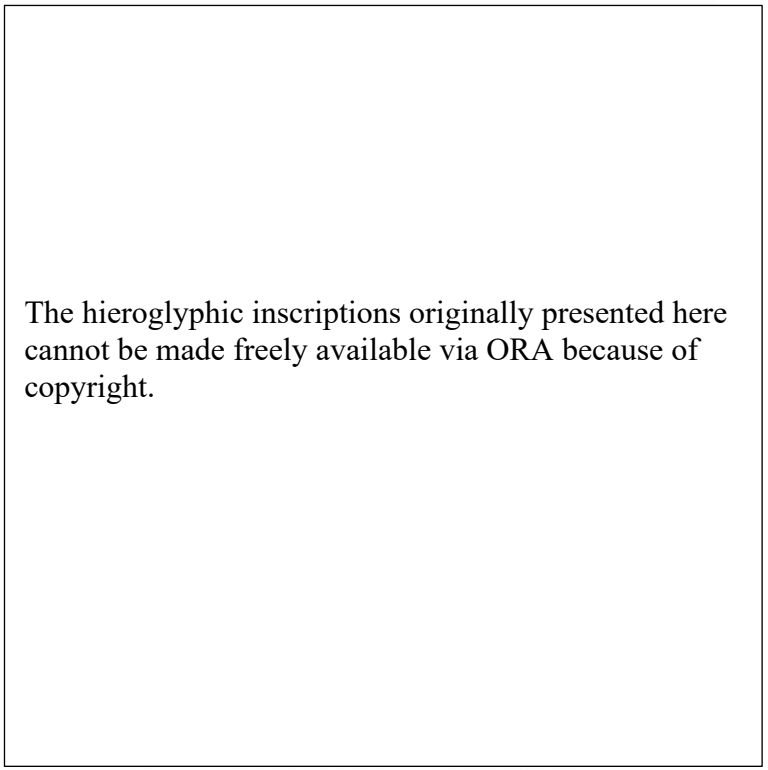
Appendix A: Canopic equipment in the royal necropolis of Tanis

Psusennes I



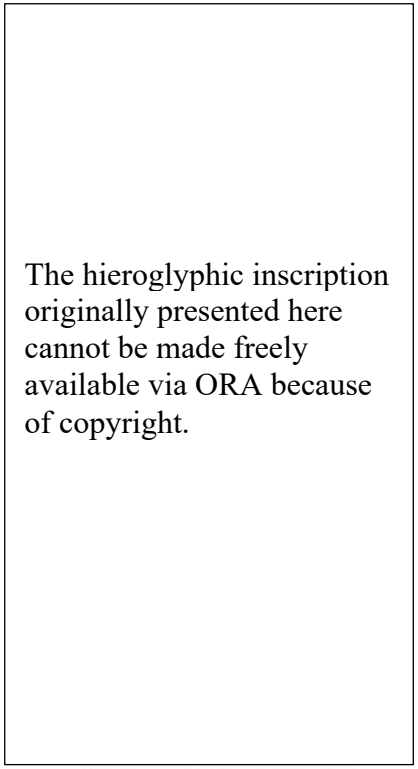
Montet 1951, 161, fig. 58

Amenemope



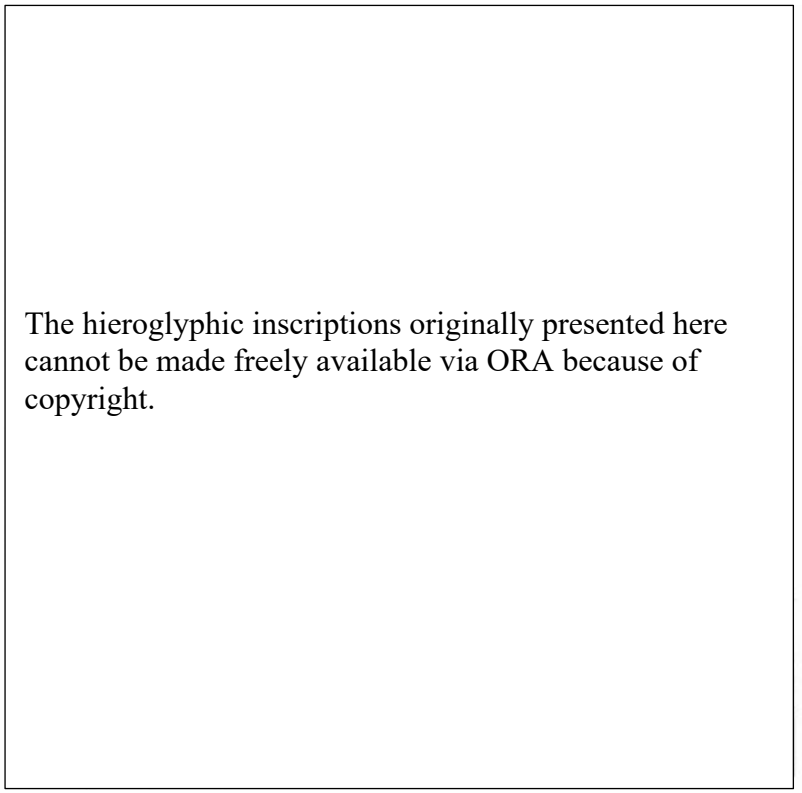
Montet 1951, 95, fig. 37

Ankhefenmut



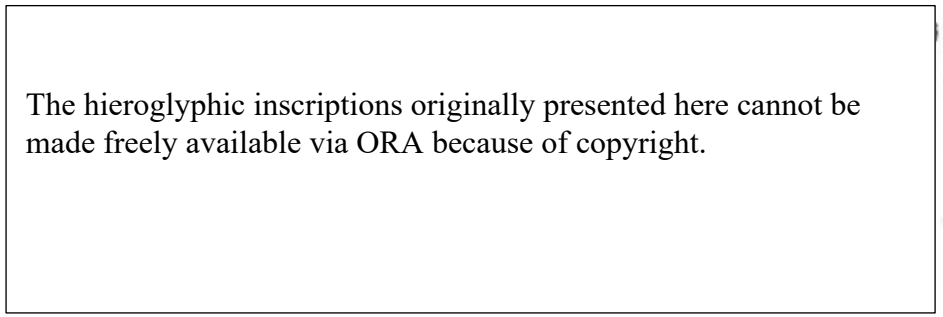
Montet 1951, 59, fig. 21

Wendjebaendjed



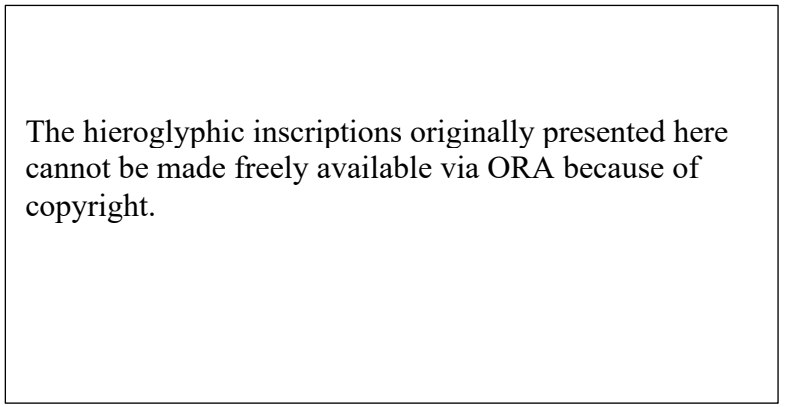
Montet 1951, 86, fig. 33

Osorkon II



Montet 1947, 58, fig. 17

Harnakht C



Montet 1947, 63, fig. 19

	Owner	Titles [Selected]	Canopic material	Material	Condition	Dimensions	Aston's type	Inscriptions	Sethe's type	Used?	Bibliography [Selected]
	Psusennes I	K	Four canopic jars w/lids. Cairo JE 85914–85917				Type I	Words spoken by Isis: You wrapped your arms around the one who is in you. You provided your protection [on Imset] who is in you, before the Osiris king Aakheperre Setepenamun, son of Re, Psusennes, beloved of Amun, justified before Sokar (M326) Words spoken by Neith: You have embraced the one who is in you. You provided your protection on Duamutef who is in you, before the Osiris king Aakheperre Setepenamun, son of Re, Psusennes, beloved of Amun, justified before the great god (M327) Words spoken by Serqet: You joined your arms around the one who is in you. You provided your protection on Qebehsenuef who is in you, before the Osiris king Aakheperre Setepenamun, son of Re, Psusennes, beloved of Amun, justified before Osiris (M328) Words spoken by Nephthys: You extended your arms around the one who is in you. You provided your protection on Hapy who is in (you), before the Osiris king Aakheperre Setepenamun, son of Re, Psusennes, beloved of Amun, justified before Osiris (M329)	Type VIIIa	Yes?	Montet 1951, 93–5, fig. 37, pls. 60–1 [M326–329]; Dodson 1994, 80–1, 129–30, 174–5, pls. 33b, 34a [cat. 42a1–4]; Aston 2009, 47 [TG 2]; Le Guilloux 2010, 86–9
NRT-III	Amenemope	K	Four canopic jars w/o lids. Cairo JE 86064–86067 Fragments of canopic chest. Cairo JE 86068				Type I	Words spoken by Isis: You wrapped your arms around the one who is in you. You provided your protection [on Imset] who is in you, before the Osiris king Usermaatre Setepenamun, son of Re, Amenemope, beloved of Amun, justified before Sokar Words spoken by Neith: You have embraced the one who is in you. You provided your protection on Duamutef who is in you, before the Osiris king Usermaatre Setepenamun, son of Re, Amenemope, beloved of Amun, justified before Geb Words spoken by Serqet: You joined your arms around the one who is in you. You provided your protection on Qebehsenuef who is in you, before the Osiris king Usermaatre Setepenamun, son of Re, Amenemope, beloved of Amun, justified before Sokar Words spoken by Nephthys: You extended your arms around the one who is in you. You provided your protection on Hapy who is in (you), before the Osiris king Usermaatre Setepenamun, son of Re, Amenemope, beloved of Amun, justified before the great god	Type VIIIa	Yes?	Montet 1951, 161–2, fig. 58 [M625–628]; Dodson 1994, 81–2, 130–1, 176–7, pls. 34b, 35 [cat. 43a1–4, cat. 43]; Aston 2009, 50 [TG 3]
	Ankhefenmut C	COA HSA Kson	No? Cairo JE 87864				n/a	The Osiris, chief overseer of the army of his Majesty, high steward of Amun-Re, king of the gods, king's son Ramesses-Ankefenmut, justified before Osiris, lord of eternity	n/a	x	Montet 1951, 58–9, fig. 21 [M 308]; Dodson 1994, 85; Aston 2009, 43–4

NRT-III	Wendjebaendjed	OA ChAP PK	Four canopic jars w/lids. Cairo JE 87769A-D				Type I	Words spoken: Honoured before Imseti/Duamutef, estate overseer of Khonsu-in-Thebes-Neferhotep, priest of Khonsu, overseer of the army and chief of the archers of pharaoh, overseer of the priests of all gods, priest of (?) Wendjebaendjed, justified. For the temple of Osiris, lord of Busiris(?) (M676 and M 677) Words spoken: Honoured before Hapy/Qebehsenuef, estate overseer of Khonsu-in-Thebes-Neferhotep, priest of Khonsu, overseer of the army and chief of the archers of pharaoh, overseer of the priests of all gods, Wendjebaendjed, justified (M678 and M679)	Variant of Type XIII	Yes?	Montet 1951, 85–6, fig. 33, pl. 57 [M676–679]; Dodson 1994, 82; Aston 2009, 43 [TG 1]
	Shoshenq IIa	K	Four silver coffinettes contained in four canopic jars. Three jars w/o lids Cairo JE 72155–72158; JE 87863 (canopic jars); Cairo JE 72159–72162 (coffinettes)				Type I	[canopic jars uninscribed; coffinettes inscribed] Imset/Hapy/Duamutef/Qebehsenuef, his son Shoshenq	n/a	Yes?	Montet 1951, 56–7, pls. 34–5 [canopics: M304, 300, 311, 316] [coffinettes: M302, 305, 312, 317]; Dodson 1994, 86–9, 131–4, 178–9, pl. 39b [canopics: cat. 45/1–4] [coffinettes: cat. 45/1–4**α**]; Aston 2009, 52–3 [TG 6]
	Psusennes II	K	No				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Dodson 1994, 85; Aston 2009, 51 [TG 5]
	Siamun	K	No				n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Dodson 1994, 85; Aston 2009, 51 [TG 4]
NRT-I	Takeloth I	K	Four pseudo-canopic jars w/lids. Stolen in 1943				Type II	[uninscribed]	n/a	x	Montet 1947, 82–3, pl. 54E [M33–40]; Dodson 1994, 90, 134–5, pl. 40 [cat. 46/1–4]; Aston 2009, 55 [TG 7]
	Osorkon II	K	Four canopic jars w/lids. Stolen in 1943 with the exception of one lid.				Type I	Isis/Nephthys/Neith/Serqet provides protection (for) Imset/Hapy/Duamutef/Qebehsenuef (and) for the Osiris king Osorkon, son of Bastet, beloved of Amun	[not in Sethe]	x	Montet 1947, 57–8, fig. 17 [M59–66]; Dodson 1994, 90–1, 135–6, 178–9, pl. 41 [cat. 47/1–4]; Aston 2009, 58 [TG 9]
	Harnakht C	HPA	Four pseudo-canopic jars w/lids. Cairo JE 87087A-D				Type II	Words spoken by Isis: (I) provided protection. I increased your beauty. Imset who is in you Words spoken by Nephthys: <I am> the one who protects <against> your wrongdoing. Your body is god. Hapy who is in you Words spoken by Neith: <I am> the one who protects your back, the one who protects your immersion. Duamutef who is in you Words spoken by Serqet: <I am> the one who wraps the body in bandages, the one who searched for your ka. Qebehsenuef who is in you	[not in Sethe]	Yes	Montet 1947, 62–4, pls. 52–3 [M74–7]; Dodson 1994, 91; Aston 2009, 55 [TG 8]
NRT-V	Shoshenq III	K	One canopic jar w/lid? Present location unknown				Type I	[uninscribed]	n/a	x	Montet 1960, 76, pl. 49; Dodson 1994, 92, 137, pl. 43a [cat. 49]; Aston 2009, 59
	Shoshenq IV	K	Fragments of two canopic jars. Tanis Mag. 270; NMS, SDR II, 1235				n/a	[fragmentary]	n/a	x	Montet 1960, 76, pl. 49; Dodson 1994, 93, 137, 178–9, pl. 43b [cat. 50/1–2]; Aston 2009, 59
NRT-II	Pami	K	One, maybe four, canopic jar(s)? Stolen in 1943				x	[traces of a cartouche of Userma'atre' setepenamun on one jar]	n/a	x	Montet 1947, 88–9 [M187–190]; Dodson 1994, 94–5, 137–8, 180, pl. 44a [cat. 51/1–4]; Aston 2009, 60 [TG 10]

Key. n/a: not applicable; x: no information
Abbreviations. ChAP: Chief of the Archers of Pharaoh; COA: Chief Overseer of the Army; HPA: High Priest of Amun; HSA: High Steward of Amun-Re; K: King; Kson: King's son; OA: Overseer of the Army; PK: Priest of Khonsu

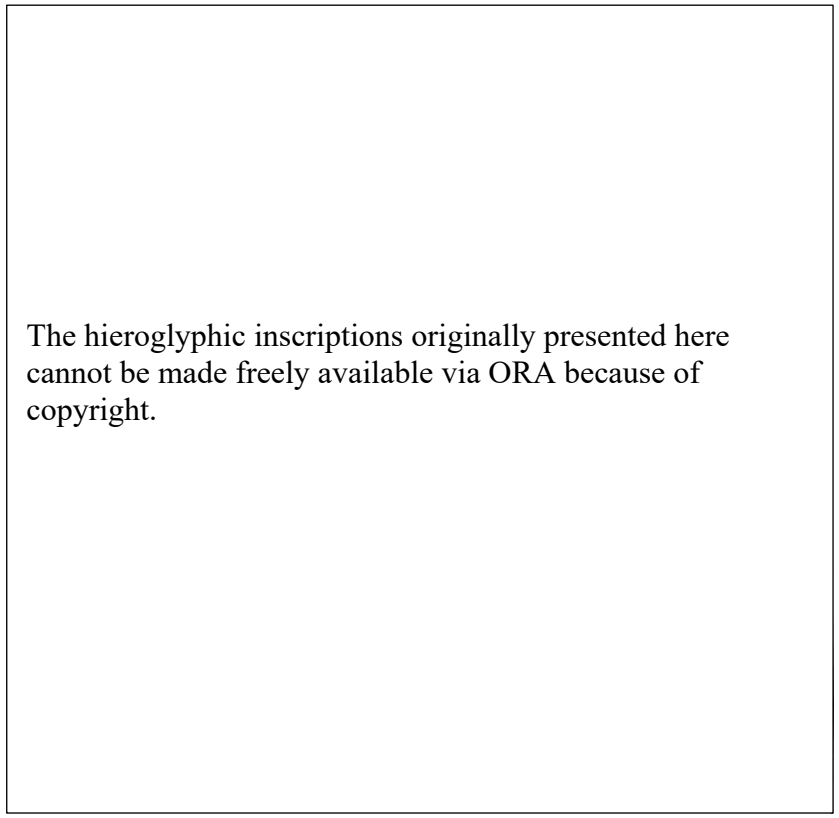
Appendix B: Canopic equipment in the priestly necropolis of Memphis

Owner	Titles [Selected]	Canopic material	Aston's	Inscribed?	Sethe's	Used?	Bibliography [Selected]
Sheshonq D	HPP	Four canopic jars. Cairo JE 86764A-D	Type I	Yes	x	x	Badawi 1956, 176, pl.12A; Aston 2009, 78 [TG 135]
Takelot B	HPP ChMa	Four pseudo-canopic jars w/lids. Cairo JE 86815A-D	Type II	No	n/a	No	Badawi 1984, pl. 31; Aston 2009, 80 [TG 136]
Padiaset A	HPP ChMa	Four pseudo-canopic jars w/lids. Cairo JE 86794A-D	Type II	No	n/a	No	Badawi 1984, pl. 16; Aston 2009, 80 [TG 137]
Harsiese	HPP ChMa	Four pseudo-canopic jars w/lids. Cairo JE 86807A-D	Type II	Yes?	x	x	Badawi 1984, pl. 24; Aston 2009, 80 [TG 138]
Tabakhtenaskhet	x	Four pseudo-canopic jars. Two w/o lids. Cairo JE 86801A-D	Type II	Yes	x	x	Badawi 1984, pl. 19; Aston 2009, 81 [TG 139]

Key. x: no information; n/a: not applicable
Abbreviations. ChMa = 'Chiefs of the Ma(shwesh)'; HPP = High Priests of Ptah

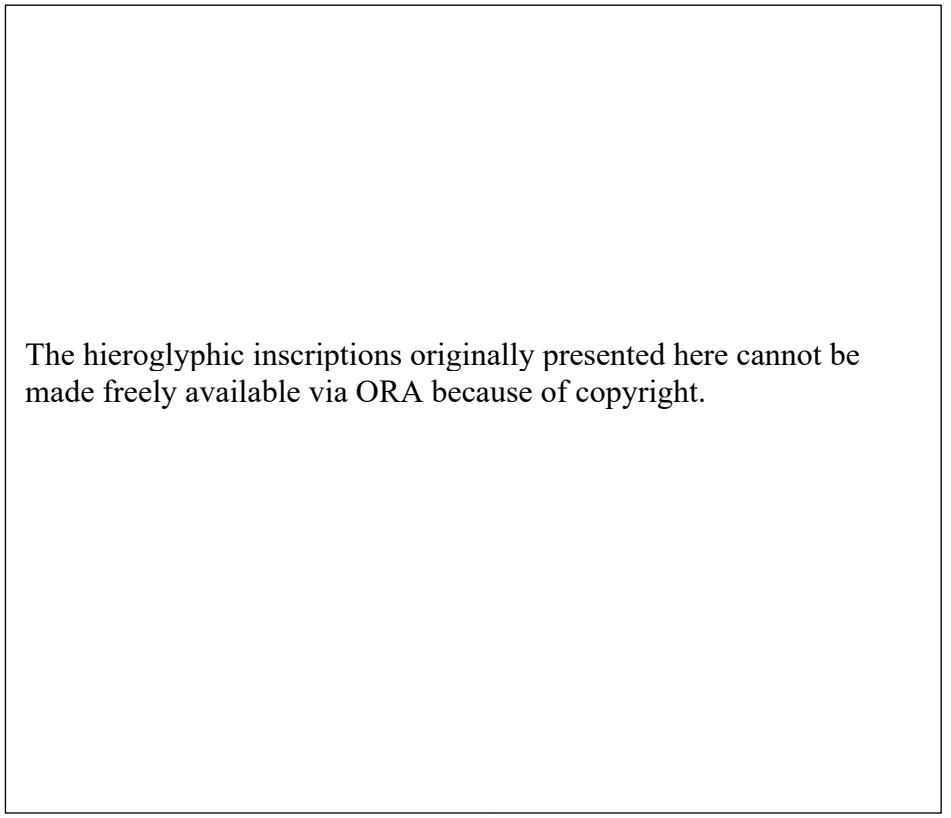
Appendix C: Canopic equipment in the necropolis of Herakleopolis Magna

Tanetamun



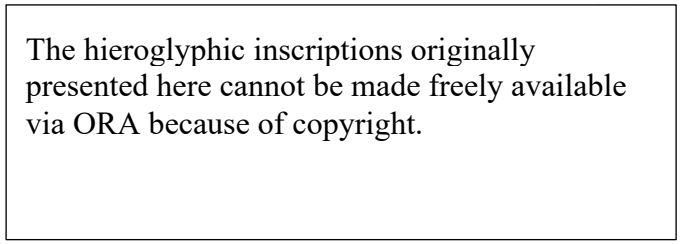
Pérez Die and Vernus 1992, 130–1, figs. 18–9

Tcheretch



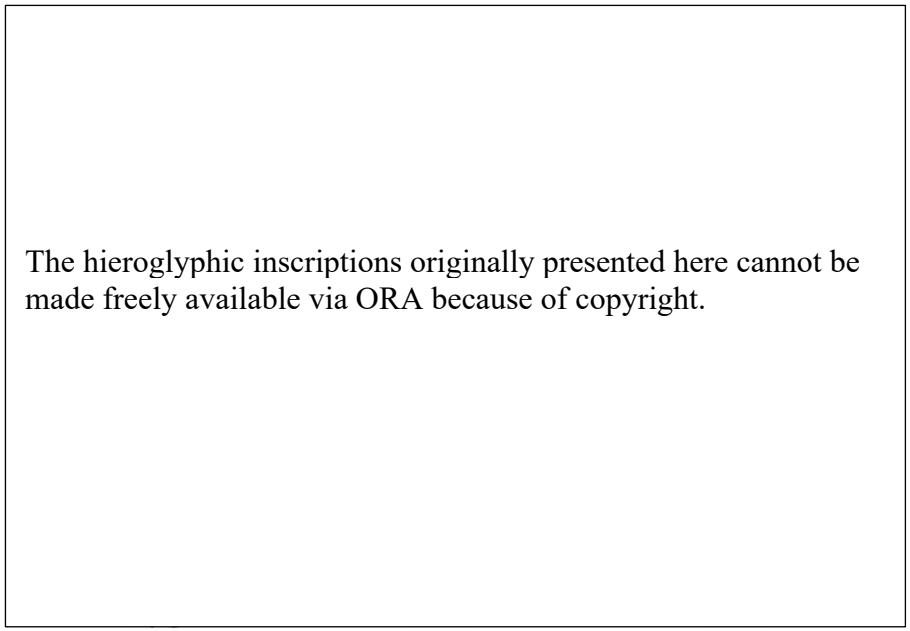
Pérez Die and Vernus 1992, 133–4, figs. 21–2

Osorkon 7



Pérez Die and Vernus 1992, 138, fig. 27

Ankhsematauy



Pérez Die 2010, 407–9

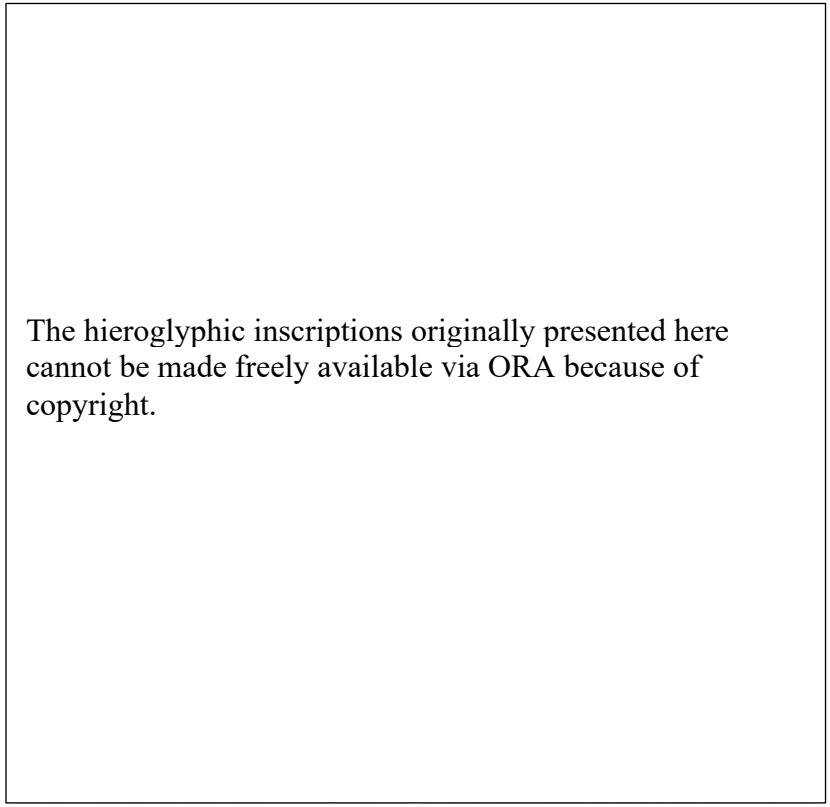
	Owner	Titles [Selected]	Canopic material	Aston's	Inscriptions	Sethe's	Used?	Bibliography [Selected]
Sector A, T 66-3	Djedptahiuesankh	x	Four pseudo-canopic jars w/lids. 76 114 a 1871–1874	Type II	[uninscribed]	n/a	No	Aston 2009, 108 [TG 260]; Pérez Die 2010, 105, 107, fig. 26, 401–5
Sector L, T 2.2	Osorkon 2	OA HPH Kson	Four canopic jars w/ lids. HM 86 384 a–d	n/a	[uninscribed]	n/a	No	Aston 2009, 110; Pérez Die 2010, 242, 261, fig. 227, 393–5
Sector L, T 4.2	Tanetamun	ChMH	Four canopic jars w/ lids. HM 87 68 a–d	Type I	An offering which the king gives (to) Qebehsenuef/Duamutef who is at the necropolis, so that he may give offerings to the ba of the Osiris Tanetamun, justified, daughter of the High Priest of Amun, overseer of the army and chief Nesibanebdjed, justified, engendered by Ihe (HM 87 68 b and c) An offering which the king gives to Imset, lord of the necropolis, so that he may divinise the ba of the Osiris Tanetamun, justified, daughter of the High Priest of Amun, overseer of the army and chief Nesibanebdjed, engendered by Ihe, justified in the necropolis (HM 87 68 a) An offering which the king gives to Hapy who is at the necropolis, so that he may divinise the Osiris Tanetamun, justified, daughter of the High Priest of Amun, overseer of the army and chief Nesibanebdjed, engendered by Ihe (HM 87 68 d)	Variant of Type XVIII	No	Aston 2009, 110 [TG 270]; Pérez Die 2010, 270, 283, fig. 254, 389–91 Texts: Pérez Die and Vernus 1992, 56–7 [24], 130–1, figs. 18–9, 158, pl. 16b
Sector L, T 6.2	Tcheretch	x	Three canopic jars, one w/o lid. HM 89 241 a–c	Type I	An offering which the king gives to Osiris, lord of Busiris, so that he divinises the ba of the Osiris Tcheretch, justified, son of Nimlot, justified, engendered by Tasheritenaset (HM 89 241 a–b) An offering which the king gives to Osiris-Wennefer, so that he divinises the ba (of) the Osiris Tcheretch, justified, son of Nimlot, justified. His mother Tasheritenaset (HM 89 241 c)	Variant of Type XVIII	No	Aston 2009, 110 [TG 271]; Pérez Die 2010, 296, 317, fig. 291, 392–3 Texts: Pérez Die and Vernus 1992, 59–60 [27], 133–4, figs. 21–2, 160, pl. 18a

Sector L, T 7.3	Osorkon 7	Kson	Four pseudo-canopic jars w/ lids. HM 89 261 a–d	Type II	Words (to be) spoken: Imset/Hapy/Duamutef/Qebehsenuef	Type XVI	No	Aston 2009, 111 [TG 272]; Pérez Die 2010, 133, 148, fig. 69, 396–8 Texts: Pérez Die and Vernus 1992, 72 [53], 139, fig. 27, 165, pl. 23b
Sector L, NO.3	Shesheq	CD	Four canopic jars w/ lids replaced by silver plates. HM 90 42 and HM 90 49 a–d	n/a	[uninscribed]	n/a	No	Pérez Die 2010, 133, 150, figs. 90–1, 411
Sector C, Tomb 10	Ipy	GFA PA	Three canopic jars w/ lids and one lid. HM 2002-18 a–d	n/a	[uninscribed]	n/a	No	Aston 2009, 111; Pérez Die 2010, 108, 115, fig. 37, 399–401
Sector C, burial 1327	Ankhsematauy	*sameref*- P *heka-arek*- P	Three dummy canopic jars. One pseudo-canopic jar. HM 2004 1 a–d	Type V (3) Type II (1)	An offering which the king gives to Osiris Qebehesenuef so that he may divinise the sameref-priest Ankhsematauy (HM 2004 1 a) Osiris Hapy/Duamutef. May he divinise the Osiris heka-arek-priest Ankhsematauy (HM 2004 1 b and c)	Variant of Type XVIII	No	Pérez Die 2010, 110, 116, fig. 40, 406–10

Key. x: no information; n/a: not applicable
Abbreviations. CD: Charriot Driver; CMH: Chief of the Musical troupe of Herishef; GFA: God's Father of Amun; HPH: High Priest of Herishef; Kson: King's son; OA : Overseer of the Army (General); PA: Priest of Amun; P: Priest

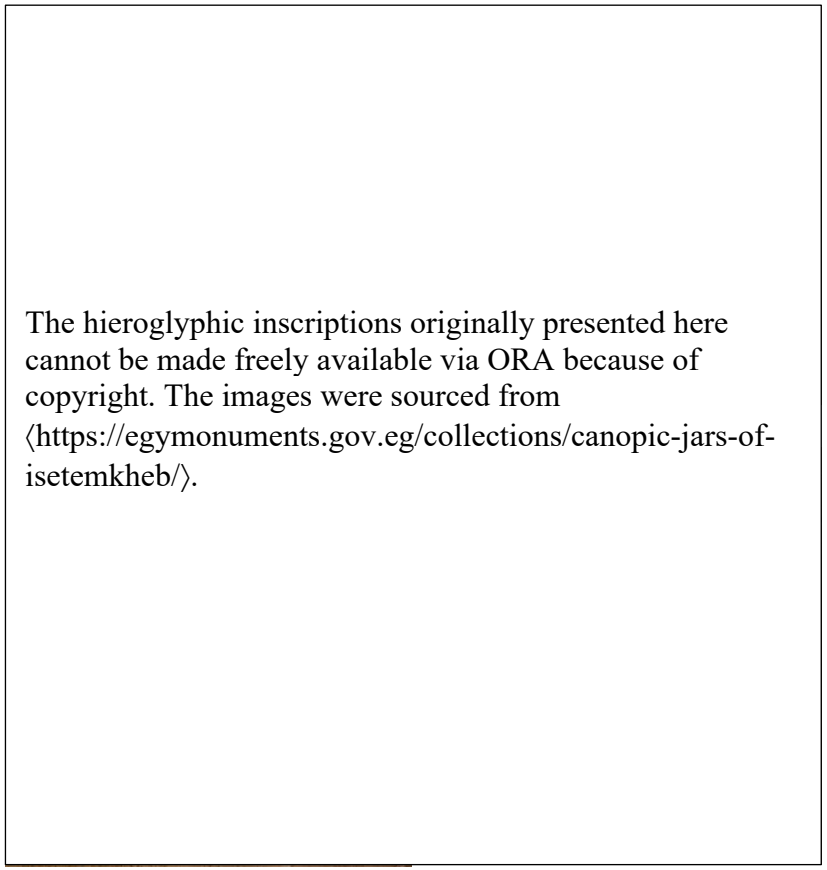
Appendix D: Canopic equipment in the Royal Cache of Deir el-Bahri

Pinedjem II

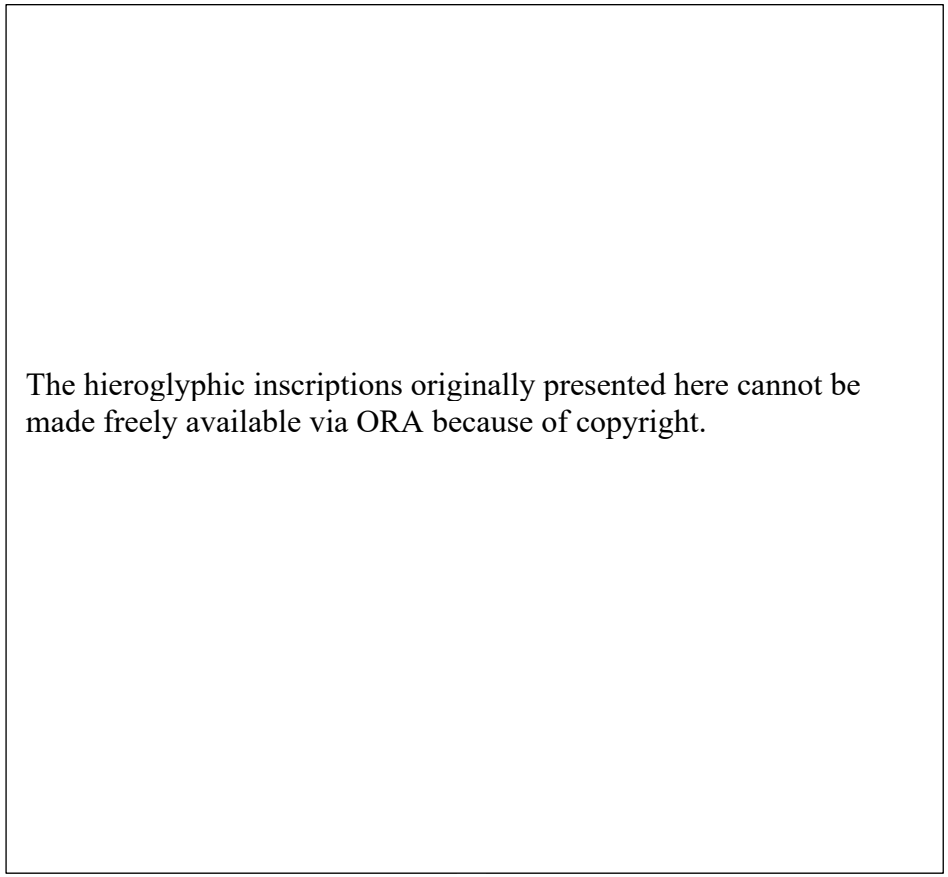


Edwards 1883, 79

Isetemkheb D

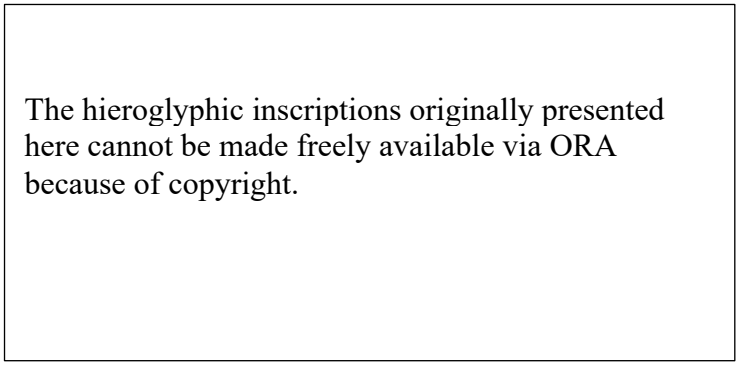


Nesikhonsu A



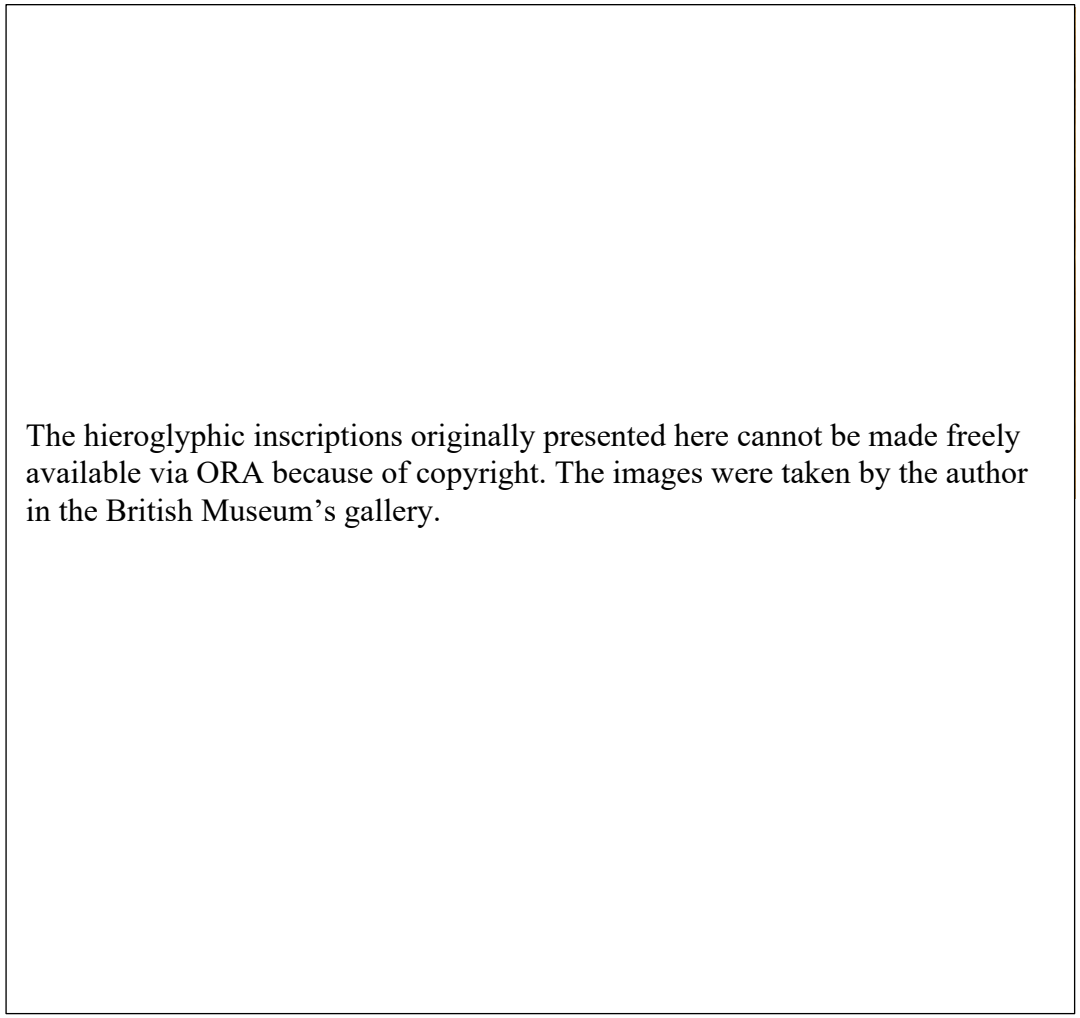
Edwards 1883, 80–1

Nesitanebashru A



Reisner 1899, 68

Henuttawy A/Q



Owner	Titles [Selected]	Visceral packages? (Mummy)	Figurines SoH	Canopic equipment	Aston's	Inscriptions	Sethe's	Used?	Bibliography [Selected]
Pinedjem II	HPA	Yes. Several visceral packages (CG 61094)	No	Four canopic jars w/lids. Formerly Brisco Eyre collection; present location unknown	x	The Osiris High Priest of Amun Pinedjem justified before [Ptah/the gods/Osiris/Ptah], beloved of the great god [Imset/Hapy/Duamutef/Qebehsenuef]	Type XVIIIID	No	Elliot Smith 1912, 107, pl. 81; Dodson 1994, 82–3; Aston 2009, 229–30 [TG 920]
Isetemkheb D	1ChMA	x (CG 61093)	x	Four canopic jars w/lids. Cairo JE 26254 a-d	Type I	Words spoken by [Hapi/Qebehsenuef/Hapi-Imset] for the Osiris first chief of the musical troupe of Amun, Isetemkheb, justified (JE 26254 a, b and d) May you give for Duamutef-Hapy (and) for the Osiris first chief of the musical troupe of Amun, Isetemkheb, justified (JE 26254 c)	Variant of Type XVI	x	Elliot Smith 1912, 106–7, pl. 80; Dodson 1994, 82–3, pl. 36a; Aston 2009, 226–7 [TG 918]
Nesikhonsu A	1ChMA SN KSonK	No (CG 61095)	No	Four canopic jars w/lids. London BM EA59197–59200	Type I	Words spoken by Qebehsenuef of the West: May he give incense, cloth, alabaster for the mummy of the Osiris, the first chief of the musical troupe of Amun, superior of the noblewomen, Nesikhonsu, justified (EA59197) Words spoken by Duamutef: May he give water for the ba of the Osiris, the first chief of the musical troupe of Amun, the priestess of Khnum, lord of Qebehu, superior of the noblewomen, Nesikhonsu, justified (EA59198) Words spoken by Hapi, the great god of the Duat: May he allow to come and go in the necropolis for the ba of this Osiris, the first chief of the musical troupe of Amun, superior of the noblewomen, Nesikhonsu, justified (EA59199) Words spoken by Imset: May he give food on the altar of Wennefer for the Osiris, the first chief of the musical troupe of Amun, king's son of Kush, overseer of the southern lands, Nesikhonsu, justified	Type XIV	No	Elliot Smith 1912, 107–9, pls. 82–4; Aston 2009, 227–9 [TG 919]
Nesitanebashru A	CA	No (CG 61096)	No	Four canopic jars w/lids. Cairo JE 26256 A-D	Type I	Hapy. May he give all perfect and pure things for the [chantress of Amun] Nesitanebashru Qebehsenuef. May he give provisions-offerings for (the chantress of Amun Nesitanebashru) Duamutef. May he give bread and beer for (the chantress of Amun Nesitanebashru) Imset. May he give invocation-offerings of oxen and fowl for (the chantress of Amun Nesitanebashru)	Type XIV	x	Elliot Smith 1912, 109–11, pls. 85–8; Dodson 1994, 82–3, pl. 36b; Aston 2009, 230 [TG 921]
Djedptahiuefankh	3PA	Yes. Three packages consisting of intestine, liver and kidneys (CG 61097)	Yes. One figurine of Son of Horus (Hapy)	No	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Elliot Smith 1912, 112–4, pls. 89–93; Aston 2009, 230–1 [TG 922]

Nodjmet	ChMA L2L	No (CG 61087)	Yes. Four? figurines of Sons of Horus	Canopic chest. Cairo TR 20-12-25-11	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Elliot Smith 1912, 94–8, pls. 69–71; Dodson 1994, 78, pl. 31b; Hornung and Bryan 2002, 163–4 [75]; Aston 2009, 221–2 [TG 912]
Pinedjem I	HPA	x	x	No	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Aston 2009, 223–4 [TG 915]
Henettawy A/Q	1ChMA KW L2L	Yes? Two fragments of intestine (CG 61090)	Yes. Two figurines of Sons of Horus (Duamutef and Qebehsenuef)	Four canopic jars w/lids. London BM EA51814–51817	Type I	Osiris the great god [...] Honoured before Imset, good god, the Osiris, king's daughter, king's wife daughter king's wife, king's mother, mother of the high priest of Amun, lady of the two lands Duathathor-Henuttawy (BM EA 51814) Ptah-Sokar who resides in the temple [...] Honoured before Hapy, great god, lord of the Duat, the Osiris, king's daughter, king's wife daughter, king's wife, mother(?) of the king's wife, mother of [...] of Amun Duathathor-Henuttawy (BM EA51815) Isis-Mut mistress of the funerary workshop(?) [...] Honoured before Duamutef, great god, the Osiris, king's daughter, king's wife daughter, god's mother of [...] child of Amun, lady of the two lands Duathathor-Henuttawy (BM EA51816) Nephthys, god's sister (of Osiris) mistress of the West Honoured before Qebehesenuef, the Osiris, king's wife, king's wife daughter, first chief of the musical troupe of Amun, king's mother, lady of the two lands Duathathor-Henuttawy (BM EA51817)	Type XIII	No	Elliot Smith 1912, 101–4, pls. 75–6; Dodson 1994, 80; Aston 2009, 224–5 [TG 916]
Maatkare A	GWA	No (CG 61088)	No	No	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Elliot Smith 1912, 98–101, pls. 72–3; Aston 2009, 225–6 [TG 917]
Masaharta A/B	HPA	No? (CG 61092)	No	No	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Elliot Smith 1912, 106, pl. 79; Aston 2009, 222 [TG 913]
Tayuherit	ChMA	x (CG 61091)	x	No	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Elliot Smith 1912, 105, pls. 77–8; Aston 2009, 222–3 [TG 914]

Key. x: no information; n/a: not applicable
Abbreviations. CA: Chantress of Amun; ChMA: Chief of the Musical troupe of Amun(-Re); 1ChMA: First Chief of the Musical troupe of Amun(-Re); GWA: God's Wife of Amun; HPA: High Priest of Amun; KsonK: King's Son of Kush; KW: King's Wife; L2L: Lady of the Two Lands; 3PA: Third Priest of Amun; SN: Superior of the Noblewomen

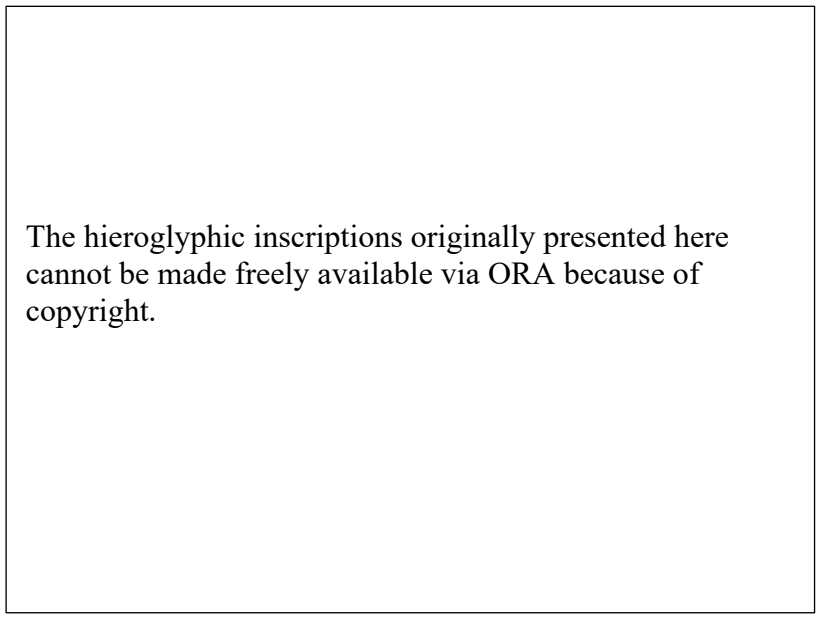
Appendix E: Canopic equipment in the Second Cache of Deir el-Bahri

Daressy's	Owner	Titles [Selected]	Canopic equipment	Bibliography [Selected]
A.12	Nespanebimakh	PA	Four wax Sons of Horus	Daressy 1907, 22; Aston 2009, 166 [TG 685]
A.13	Mutpairsekheru	PA PM PK	Four wax Sons of Horus	Daressy 1907, 22; Aston 2009, 166 [TG 686]
A.20	Tauhenut	x	Four wax Sons of Horus	Daressy and Elliot Smith 1903, 160; Aston 2009, 167 [TG 693]
A.23	Nesipakaf	PA	Four wax Sons of Horus	Daressy and Elliot Smith 1903, 157; Aston 2009, 167 [TG 696]
A.32	Taihuty	CA	Four wax Sons of Horus human-head (x2), baboon-head, jackal-head	Daressy 1907, 24; Aston 2009, 168–9 [TG 705]
A.38	Ankhesenmut	CA	Four wax Sons of Horus jackal-head (x2)	Daressy 1907, 24; Aston 2009, 170 [TG 711]
A.42	Neskhons	CA	Three wax Sons of Horus	Daressy and Elliot Smith 1903, 159; Aston 2009, 171 [TG 715]
A.43	Nesipakashuty	PA OTA	Four wax coated clay Sons of Horus	Daressy 1907, 25; Aston 2009, 171–2 [TG 716]
A.44	Tenetheret	CA	Four wax Sons of Horus	Daressy 1907, 25; Aston 2009, 172 [TG 717]
A.48	Nesmut	CA	Four wax Sons of Horus	Daressy 1907, 25–6; Aston 2009, 172–3 [TG 721]
A.54	x	x	Wax Sons of Horus	Daressy 1907, 26; Aston 2009, 173 [TG 727]
A.59	Satkhons	CA	Wax Sons of Horus	Daressy 1907, 27; Aston 2009, 174 [TG 732]
A.64	Henettawy E	CA	Wax Sons of Horus	Daressy 1907, 27; Aston 2009, 174–5 [TG 737]
A.65	Piamun	PA	Wax Sons of Horus	Daressy 1907, 27; Aston 2009, 175 [TG 738]
A.71	Meretamun	CA CM	Four canopic jars. Formerly MacGregor and Keiller collections	Aston 2009, 175–6 [TG 744]
A.85	Pasebkhaenet	x	Four wax Sons of Horus jackal-head (x2), human-head, baboon-head	Daressy 1907, 29; Aston 2009, 178 [TG 758]
A.88	Nestanebtawy	CA	Wax Sons of Horus human-head (x2), baboon-head, jackal-head	Daressy and Elliot Smith 1903, 152–3; Aston 2009, 178–9 [TG 761]
A.91	Tendetmut	CA	Three wax coated resin Sons of Horus	Daressy 1907, 29; Aston 2009, 179 [TG 764]
A.106	Khonsemheb	PA PK STA	Four wax Sons of Horus	Daressy 1907, 30; Aston 2009, 182 [TG 779]
A.107	Djedkhonsefankh	PA	Four wax coated clay Sons of Horus	Daressy 1907, 30–1; Aston 2009, 182–3 [TG 780]
A.119	Tenetopet	CA	Wax Sons of Horus	Daressy 1907, 32; Aston 2009, 185–6 [TG 792]
A.127	Isis	CA	Wax Sons of Horus	Daressy 1907, 33–4; Aston 2009, 187–8 [TG 800]
A.134	Shedhor	PA HSA	Wax Sons of Horus	Daressy 1907, 35; Aston 2009, 189 [TG 807]
A.135	Menkheperre	GFA	Wax Sons of Horus	Daressy 1907, 36–6; Aston 2009, 189 5TG 808]

Key. x: no information
Abbreviations. CA: Chantress of Amun; CM: Chantress of Mut; GFA: God's Father of Amun; HAS High Steward of Amun; OTA: Overseer of the Treasury of the *pr-ḏwꜣt* of Amun; PA: Priest of Amun; PK: Priest of Khonsu; PM: Priest of Mut; STA: Scribe in the Temple of Amun

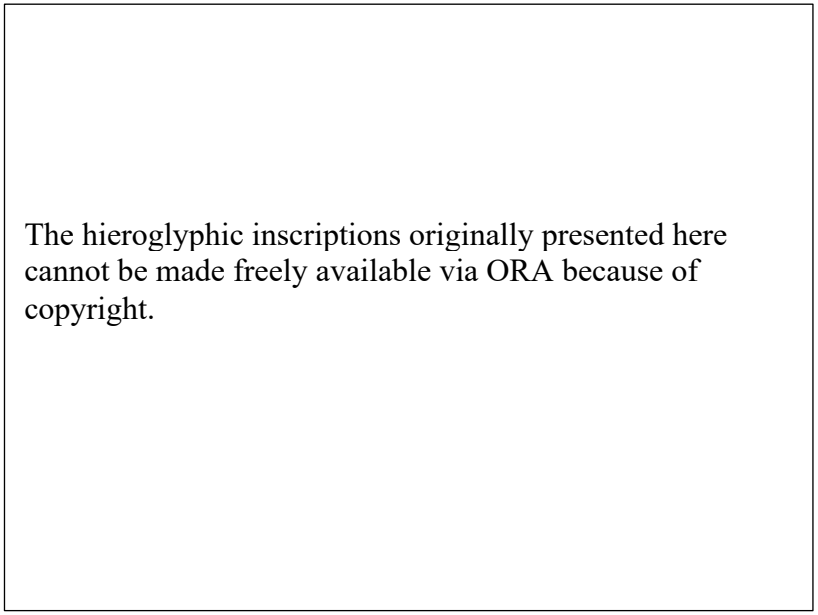
Appendix F: Canopic equipment in the priestly necropolis of the Ramesseum

Karomama G Merytmut



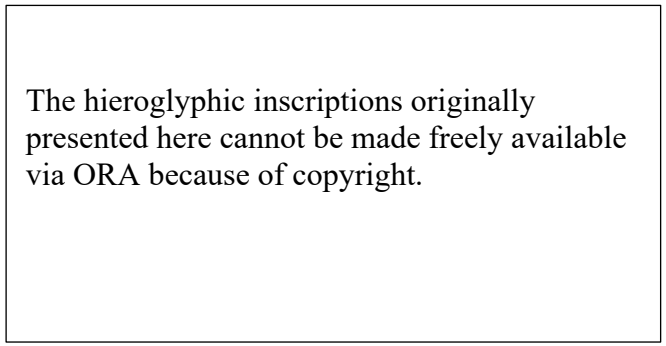
Jansen-Winkeln 2007, 227–8 [16]

Nestanetjeret



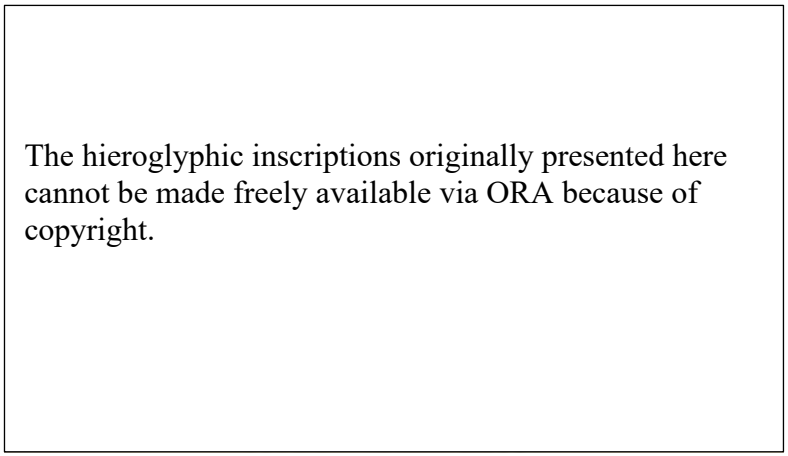
Quibell 1898, 17, pl. 19 [top]

Tabektenasket ii



Jansen-Winkeln 2007, 390 [19]

Tanakhtbastru



Daressy 1908, 152–3

	Owner [Dynasty]	Titles [Selected]	Canopic material	Aston's	Inscriptions	Sethe's	Used?	Bibliography [Selected]
Temple of Tuya, Tomb PF1147	Karomama G Merytmut [Dyn. 22]	GWA DA L2L	Two canopic jars w/o lids. Berlin ÄM 2105–2106	Type I	Words spoken by [Imset/Qebehsenuef]: Praise the Lady of Heaven, God's Wife, Lady of the Two Lands, the Divine Adoratrice of Amun, Lady of the Crowns, Karomama Merytmut	Type XVI	x	LD, *Text* III, 136–7; LD, *Abth*. III, pl. 256 b-c; Jansen-Winkeln 2007, 227–8 [16]; Aston 2009, 238; Gauthier 2017, 88–9
Tomb under Quibell room 5	x [Dyn. 21–22]	x	Four wax Sons of Horus. Present location unknown	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Quibell 1898, 3 [3]; Aston 2009, 238
Area A'", Tomb Quibell 102	x	x	One wooden figure of Sons of Horus. Present location unknown	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Quibell 1898, 9 [17]; Aston 2009, 238 [TG 930]
	Iuf-en-Amun [Dyn. 22]	x	One? wooden figure of Sons of Horus (Qebehsenuef). Penn Museum E1936 One clay figure of Sons of Horus (Hapy). Present location unknown	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Quibell 1898, 9 [17]; Leblanc and Nelson 1997, 80 [TPI-R-14]; Aston 2009, 238–9 [TG 931]
Area A'", Tomb Quibell 87	x	x	One dummy canopic jar. Present location unknown	Type V?	x	x	n/a	Quibell 1898, 10 [19]; Aston 2009, 239 [TGs 934–935]
	Nakhtefmut E [Dyn. 22, Osorkon I]	GF ODK	Four wooden figures of Sons of Horus. Cambridge Fitzwilliam E.87.1896–90.1896	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Quibell 1898, 10 [19], pl. 17 [6-9]; Leblanc and Nelson 1997, 79–80 [TPI-R-13]; Aston 2009, 239 [TG 937]
Unidentified Quibell's burials	Nestanetjeret [Dyn. 22]	SPAR	Four pseudo-canopic jars w/lids. Philadelphia Penn Museum E1869–1872A–B	Type II	The Osiris [Imset/Hapy/Duamutef/Qebehsenuef] Lady of the House, Noblewoman, Sistrum Player of Amun-Re in the fourth phyle Nestanetjeret, justified, daughter of the priest of Amun in Opet Hor, her mother is Ankh-en-aset, justified	Type XVIIID	No	Quibell 1898, 17, pl. 19 [top]; Jansen-Winkeln 2007, 252–3 [60]; Aston 2009, 241 [TG 948]
	Iset [Dyn. 22]	ChA	Two fragments of canopic jars. London Petrie UC14235–14236	n/a	Qebehsenuef the favourite […] the Chantress of Amun Iset, justified, daughter of the god's father, beloved of god Bakenkhonsu, justified, her mother Nesikhonsu, justified (UC 14235)	Variant of Type XVIIID?	n/a	Raisman and Martin 1984, 26–27, pl. 19 [44-45]; Jansen-Winkeln 2007, 466 [133]; Aston 2009, 242
	[...]-ankhef [Dyn. 22]	4PA?	Two fragments of canopic jars. London Petrie UC14237–14238	n/a	[fragmentary]	n/a	n/a	Raisman and Martin 1984, 27–28, pl. 19 [46-47]; Aston 2009, 242
	x [Dyn. 22]	x	One canopic jar lid (Hapy). London Petrie UC29799	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Raisman and Martin 1984, 28, pl. 15 [49]; Aston 2009, 242
	x [Dyn. 22]	x	Three dummy canopic jars (Duamutef, Hapy, Qebehsenuef). London Petrie UC29794-29796	Type V	[uninscribed]	n/a	n/a	Raisman and Martin 1984, 28–29, pls. 10–1 [48, 50, 51]; Aston 2009, 242
	x [Dyn. 22?]	x	One pseudo-canopic jar w/lid (Qebehsenuef). London Petrie UC29797A-B	Type II	[uninscribed]	n/a	No	Raisman and Martin 1984, 30, pls. 12, 14 [53]; Aston 2009, 242
	x	x	Four dummy canopic jars. Chicago OI 983–986	Type V	Osiris [Imset/Hapy/Duamutef/Qebehsenuef]	Variant of Type XVIIID?	n/a	Quibell 1898, 11 [20], 17, pl. 19 [bottom]

Baraize's tomb pit	Tanakhtbastru [pre-Dyn. 23]	LH	Four dummy canopic jars. Cairo JE 40435A–D	Type V?	Amset: Come here and sit down in my place (as) you were on earth, the Osiris, Lady of the House, Noblewoman, Tanakhtbastru, justified before Sokar (JE 40435A) Duamutef: the West extends its arms to receive you because of your excellence among people, the Osiris, Lady of the House, Noblewoman, Tanakhtbastru, justified before Osiris lord of Busiris (JE 40435C) Qebehsenuef: the waterflow refreshes my throat for you (so that you may) dispose of it for eternity, the Osiris, Lady of the House, Noblewoman, Tanakhtbastru, justified (JE 40435D) [Text erased on Hapy's jar JE 40435B]	Type XVIII.	n/a	Daressy 1908; Aston 2009, 243
Area I'", Tomb I'"b/B	Paditukhonsu [Dyn. 22]	x	Five wax Sons of Horus baboon-head (x2), human-head, jackal-head and falcon-head. Present location unknown	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Leblanc and Nelson 1997, 82–3 [TPI-R-17]; Aston 2009, 244 [TG 961]
Area I'", Tomb I'"r/A	Hekamaat [Dyn. 22?]	PA	One canopic jar lid (Hapy). Present location unknown	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Leblanc and Nelson 1997, 83–4 [TPI-R-19]; Aston 2009, 244 [TG 962]
Area K'", Chapel K'"IX/a	Peftjauawybast [Dyn. 22]	PM	One canopic jar lid (Imset). Present location unknown	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Leblanc and Nelson 1997, 71–72 [TPI-R-08]; Aston 2009, 245
Area K'", Chapel K'"XV/e	Harsiese [Dyn. 22]	ODK	Three dummy canopic jars (Duamutef, Qebehsenuef, Imset). Two canopic jar lids (Imset and Qebehsenuef). Present location unknown	Type V	x	x	n/a	Hassanein *et al.* 1989b, 194–5, Abb. 2; Leblanc and Nelson 1997, 77 [TPI-R-12]; Aston 2009, 245–6
Tomb CRB 07, Chapel P1	x	x	Four fragmentary pseudo-canopic jars w/lids. Present location unknown	Type II	[uninscribed]	n/a	Yes?	Guichard and Kalos 2000, 54, pl. 6a-b; Aston 2009, 246
Tomb CRB 07, Chapel P2	x	x	Four pseudo-canopic jars w/lids. Present location unknown	Type II	[uninscribed]	n/a	x	Guichard and Kalos 2000, 57, pl. 8a; Aston 2009, 246
Tomb APN 06, Pit 6/P.6	x	x	Four dummy canopic jars. Present location unknown	Type V	[uninscribed]	n/a	x	Guichard and Kalos 2000, 67, pl. 12b; Aston 2009, 246
Area PT, Shaft PT 9/III	x	x	Three fragmentary canopic jars w/o lids. Present location unknown	x	x		x	Lecuyot 2000, 126; Aston 2009, 246 [TG 973]
Tomb chapel of 'Khonsuirdis'	Nebnetjeru [Dyn. 25]	Vz	Four fragmentary canopic jars. Present location unknown	x	[inscribed with deceased's name]	x	x	Leclant 1976, 296; Aston 2009, 247 [TG 977]
	Karoma(ma)	x	Canopic jars. Present location unknown	x	x	x	x	Leclant 1976, 296; Aston 2009, 247 [TG 978]

Tomb 1911.2	Pasherienese [Dyn. 22]	x	Four canopic jar lids. Present location unknown	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Anthes 1943, 26; Aston 2009, 248 [TG 980]
Tomb 1911.11	x [Dyn. 25]	x	Three canopic jar lids. Present location unknown	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Anthes 1943, 28; Aston 2009, 248 [TG 989]
Tomb 1911.20	x	x	Two canopic jar lids. Present location unknown	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Anthes 1943, 30; Aston 2009, 249 [TG 995]
Tomb 1911.28	Tabektenasket ii (Tamit) [Dyn. 22, Takelot II?]	SPAR OWNK	Four pseudo-canopic jars w/lids. Berlin ÄM 20146–20149	Type II	An offering which the king gives to the Osiris, Lady of the House, Tamit [Imset/Duamutef], who is upon her seat, justified (ÄM 20146 and ÄM 20148) An offering which the king gives to the Osiris, Tabektenasket [Hapy/Qebehsenuef], who is upon her seat, justified (ÄM 20147 and ÄM 20149)	Type XVIIIC	x	Anthes 1943, 35, pl. 14a; Jansen-Winkeln 2007, 390 [19]; Aston 2009, 250 [TG 1000]
	x [Dyn. 22]	x	Two canopic jar lids. Berlin ÄM 20150–20151	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Anthes 1943, 35; Aston 2009, 250 [TG 1000]
Tomb 1911.29	Ankhpakhrod ii [Dyn. 22, Takelot II?]	PA 4PM OWNK	Four pseudo-canopic jars w/lids. Probably Cairo Museum	Type II	Imset/Hapy/Duamutef/Qebehsenuef	[not in Sethe]	x	Anthes 1943, 37, pl. 13c; Aston 2009, 250 [TG 1001]
Tomb 1913.G1a	x [Dyn. 25]	x	Four dummy canopic jars. Present location unknown	Type V?	x	x	x	Anthes 1943, 44; Aston 2009, 251 [TG 1003]
Tomb 1913.G1b	x [Dyn. 25]	x	Four dummy canopic jars. Present location unknown	Type V?	x		n/a	Anthes 1943, 44; Aston 2009, 251 [TG 1004]
Tomb 1913.G1b	x [Dyn. 25]	x	Four canopic jars. Present location unknown	Type I?	x		x	Anthes 1943, 44; Aston 2009, 251 [TG 1004]

Key. n/a: not applicable; x: no information
Abbreviations. ChA = Chantress of Amun; DA: Divine Adoratrice; GF: God's Father; GWA: God's Wife of Amun; LH: Lady of the House; L2L: Lady of Two Lands; ODK: Opener of the Doors of heaven at Karnak; OWNK: Overseer of the Wet-Nurses of Khonsu the Child; PA: Priest of Amun; 4PA: Fourth Priest of Amun; PM: Priest of Montu; 4PM: Fourth Priest of Montu; SPAR: Sistrum Player of Amun-Re; Vz: Vizier