Texts and Iconography of Padiamun’s Coffin in the Liverpool Museum

Luca Miatello

Abstract: This paper presents a study of texts and iconography on the coffin of Padiamun World Museum Liverpool 1953.72, dating to the Third Intermediate Period. The decorative program is discussed by means of a series of drawings in colour. Protective figures of the Litany of the Sun are depicted in the case interior around an anthropoid djed-pillar, as an expression of the solar-Osirian unity, marked also at the head end by solar representations, including an image of the arched body of Nut, and references to Stundenwachen figures and texts. Protective guardians of six portals of the netherworld are depicted on the sides of the case exterior, which is inscribed with an abridged version of spell 145 of the Book of the Dead. The presence of two hippocampi on the lid, with the vignette of the judgement and an abridged version of spell 125B of the Book of the Dead below, constitutes a further iconographic element of relevant interest.

The coffin set of Padiamun, ‘skipper of the sacred barque of the temple of Amun’ (nfw wji jmn-pr) and ‘chief-(boatsman)-of-one-side of the sacred barque of the temple of Amun’ (‘t n rj n p3 wji jmn-pr), composed originally of four pieces (three wooden coffins and the cartonnage), was sent from Luxor to London by James Burton in 1828. It was later acquired by Edmund Hopkinson of Edgeworth Manor, Gloucestershire, who hosted a mummy unwrapping party in September 1851. The mummy and coffins were then donated to the Gloucester Museum, which held them from 1860 to 1953. In 1953 the National Museum in Liverpool acquired what remained of the set: the third coffin and the back half of the cartonnage, as the upper half had been discarded after being kept in damp conditions.

This paper presents a study of texts and iconography in the third wooden anthropoid coffin, World Museum Liverpool 1953.72, which can be dated to the early Twenty-fifth Dynasty (c. 760–700 BC). Its dimensions are as follows:
- Length of lid and trough: 219 cm
- Maximum width of lid and trough: 82 cm (80 cm at shoulders)
- Depth of trough: 45 cm
- Depth of lid at head: 33 cm

1 For a detailed description of the coffin set and on historical accounts, see Cynthia Sheikholeslami in: Dautant, Lucarelli, Miatello, Sheikholeslami (forthcoming). See also Cooke 1996.
Depth of lid at foot: 55 cm
Depth of lid at centre: 20 cm

A two view plan of the coffin is shown in figure 1.

Fig. 1. Two view plan of wooden coffin World Museum Liverpool 1953.72. A. Lid and trough; B. lid; C. trough. Drawing by the author.

The decorative and textual program of the coffin presents numerous interesting features. It can be summarized as follows:

**Lid exterior:** vignette of the judgment in spell 125 of the Book of the Dead, with an abridged version of the ‘declaration of innocence’; two hippocampi depicted at the sides, with Isis and Nephthys kneeling in a gesture of respect or mourning.

**Head end of the case exterior:** $p(3) *bhtj$ written in large hieroglyphs.

**Sides of the case exterior:** abridged version of spell 145 of the Book of the Dead, with the text of the first six portals of the netherworld; representation of six guardian demons, each within a booth, and two images of the deceased.

**Sides of the case interior:** figures of the Litany of the Sun with names.
Floor of the case interior: anthropoid djed-pillar, with a complex solar representation on top.
Curved vertical board of the head end of the case interior: cosmographic representation of the arched body of the sky goddess Nut passed through by the sun, with two worshipping goddesses at the sides.

A comprehensive description of the decorative and textual program of the coffin, accompanied by drawings with hieroglyphic transcription and followed by the discussion of selected elements of text and iconography, is presented in this paper.2

1. Transcription, transliteration and translation of the texts with iconography

Lid exterior (Plate 1, Figures 2 and 3): vignette of Book of the Dead, spell 1253

Fig. 2. Vignette of the judgment (right part) on the lid exterior of coffin World Museum Liverpool 1953.72. Drawing by the author.

1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14
| 1 | dd-mdw | 2 | dhwtj | nb | hmn.w | 3 | nb | mdw-ntr | 4 | wsjr | 5 | pı-dj | 6 | w-jmn | m3-hrw | jw | 7 | n=k | jh=k | 8 | pr | jh.w | 9 | h:t=k | 10 | n=k | 11 | m | 12 | pr | 13 | 14 | h:t tt

2 I thank Ashley Cooke, Senior Curator of Antiquities at the World Museum Liverpool, for photographs and information. The drawings presented in this paper are accurate facsimiles, but the colours are only suggestive of those in the original scenes, with their multiple shades and nuances. Photographs of the coffin trough are published at: http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/wml/collections/antiquities/ancient-egypt/item-303545.aspx (accessed 20th October 2016). Padiamun’s coffin is due to be published with the coffin set of his brother in a monograph by Cynthia Sheikholeslami and Alain Dautant.

3 All transcriptions, transliterations and translations are the work of the author of this paper.
Words recited by Thoth, lord of Hermopolis, lord of the divine word. Osiris Padiamun, justified: you have your heart and the House of the Hearts. Your heart belongs to you, in the House of the Heart.

Figure labels:

Anubis; Maat; The Devourer of the west ($\varpi m\varpi t\ jmn.tr$).

Fig. 3. Vignette of the judgment (left part) on the lid exterior of coffin World Museum Liverpool 1953.72. Drawing by the author.

$dd-mdw\ (j)n\ wsjr\ p(t)-djw-jmn\ m3\ wsjr\ jp\ m3-hrw$

$khh-snw(=f)$

$jmst(tj)\ h^\dagger pj\ dw3-mw.t=f$

Words recited by Osiris: Padiamun the just, the Osiris Ip (is) justified.

Figure labels:

Qebehnenuf; Ims(eti); Hapi; Duamutef.
Fig. 4. ‘Declaration of innocence’ on the lid exterior of coffin World Museum Liverpool 1953.72. Drawing by the author.

\[\begin{align*}
|1| \ j \ jn^{-5} (=f) \ pri \ m \ m3^5.tj : \ n \ jr.t \ grg \ m \ s.t \ m3^5.t \ |2| \ j \ dsl-tp \ pri \ m \ k3r=f : \ nn \ h{t} \ bi \\
\quad \ \{t\} \ r \ pr.w \ p(3)-djw-jmn \ m3^5-hrw \ jm3h \ [r] \ ntr \ |3| \ j \ nhb-nfr.w \ pri \ m \ hrw.t=f : \ nn \\
\quad \ s<\ dw>^4 \ hm \ n \ hr=f^5 \ rwj3 \ n \ [...] \ |4| \ j \ wd-rhw.yt \ pri \ m \ z3w : \ nn \ m \ nh.t \ hm.w \ h(3)k.w \\
\quad \ t.w \ wsjr \ p(3)-djw-[jmn \ m3^5-hrw \ [...] \ |5| \ j \ j<\ h>^5 \ pri \ m \ nw.w : \ nn \ hm \ jr(4).t \ m \ r^s \ nhn \\
\quad \ jwp \ m3^5-hrw \ jm3h \ r \ pth \ |6| \ j \ rji \ m \ jf=f \ pri \ m \ tjw : \ nn \ jr.t \ snt.jw \ n \ ntr \ wsjr \ p(3)-djw-
\end{align*}\]

4 \(\text{[formula]}\) instead of \(\text{[formula]}\).
5 \(\text{[formula]}\) instead of \(\text{[formula]}\).
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http://birminghamegyptology.co.uk/journal/
servant to his superior. 14 |4| O commander of the common folk, coming forth from Sais: the Osiris Pad[amun, justified …], has not plundered bread with the strength of majesties. |5| O <musician>, coming forth from Nun: Ip, justified and revered by Ptah, has not driven back milk from the mouth of a child. |6| O the one who acts as he wills, coming forth from Tiu: Padiamun, justified and revered by […], has not made conjurations to the god. |7| O the one who leaves nothing, coming forth from Busiris: the Osiris Ip, justified and revered, has never been loud of voice. |8| O Nefertem, coming forth from the […] Mansion of the ka: the Osiris Padiamun, justified and revered […], was not imprudent (lit. ‘did not lean on water’). |9| O lord of the two horns, coming forth from A<s>yut: the skipper of the sacred barque of the temple of Amun, the middle one,15 has not caused troubles to the king. |10| O accuser, coming forth from (U)tjen(et): the Osiris Ip, [justified], has not made evil deed, nor damaged the poor. |11| O lord of the faces, coming forth from Nedit: Padiamun, justified, was not garrulous in speeches. |12| O the one with foretelling voice, coming forth from Wen(es): he has not damaged the skin of the bull […]. |13| O bringer of his offerings, coming forth from Sais: the Chief-(boatsman)-of-one-side of the [sacred barque…] was not impatient. |14| O the one who dwells in darkness, coming forth from the darkness: the Osiris Padiamun, justified and revered, was not violent. |15| O child, coming forth from the Osiris mystery: Ip […] has not been neglectful to the words of the god. |16| O the one who disturbs, coming from the Werit-sacred-building(?): the Osiris Padiamun, [justified …], has not made vituperation. |17| O lord of the sistrum(?), coming forth from Neset: the Osiris Ip has not been careless. |18| O chief of the elders, coming from Nar(et): Padiamun, justified and revered by the god, was not hot-tempered. |19| O <Mereh> who is bread, renewing the two sides of his temple: the skipper of the sacred barque of the temple of Amun, Ip, has not made transgressions. |20| O <Ua>memti-serpent, coming from the place of execution: the Chief-(boatsman)-of-one-side of the sacred barque of […] Amun, justified, has not created terror. |21| O the one who is evil, coming from the Busiris nome: the Osiris Padiamun, justified and revered by the god, has not been <unchaste>. |22| O gatekeeper, coming forth from Heliopolis: the Osiris Ip, justified and revered by Ptah, has not copulated with a married woman. |23| O strayer, coming forth from Bubastis: Padiamun, justified and revered, has not instructed against someone. |24| O lord of the two Maat, coming forth from the two Maat: I have not gone against the god. |25| O eater of entrails, [coming forth] (from) the Tribunal of the thirty: (…)
Lid exterior, sides below the collar (Plate 1, Figure 5): Isis and Nephthys with hippocampi

Fig. 5. Hippocampi in the coffin of Padiamun, World Museum Liverpool 1953.72. Drawing by the author.

Head-end of the case exterior (Figure 6)

Fig. 6. Large hieroglyphs at the head-end of coffin World Museum Liverpool 1953.72. Drawing by the author.

*p(3) bhd.tj* ‘The one of Edfu’.
Sides of the case exterior (Plate 2, Figures 7–12): Book of the Dead, spell 145

Right-hand side, head end (portal no. 1)

Fig. 7. Right-hand side (head end) of the outer case of coffin World Museum Liverpool 1953.72. Spell 145 of the Book of the Dead, portal no. 1. Drawing by the author.

Osiris Ip. | 1 | First portal. Hail to you, says | 2 | Horus, [first] portal [of] the Weary-hearted one! Make | 3 | way for me! I know | 4 | you, I know [your name], I know the name of the god who guards | 5 | you. ‘Lady [of trembling],’ | 6 | lofty of ramparts, supreme one, lady of breaking, [foretelling] the matters, warding off [7] the storm, rescuing [the plundered] whether present [8] or far away’ is [your] name. ‘Terrible one’ is the name of the god who guards [9] you. I am purified [with] [10] these

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16 On the proposed reconstructions concerning the first portal, see, for example, the external side of coffin Cairo CG 41026, from the Late Period (Moret 1913: pl. 30, 261–262). The text is practically identical in P. Torino 1791, from the Ptolemaic Period (Lepsius 1842: pl. 61).
[waters wherewith Ra is purified,\textsuperscript{17} when he reveals himself in] [the eastern side of the sky. I am anointed with] the best oil of conifers and wrapped in a robe. [The] \textit{ames}- scepter in my hand is of \textit{heti}-wood. \textit{Proceed, you are pure [...]}.\textsuperscript{15} [ [...] ‘']

Right-hand side, middle (portal no. 2)

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=0.8\textwidth]{fig8}
\end{center}

Fig. 8. Right-hand side (middle) of the outer case of coffin World Museum Liverpool 1953.72. Spell 145 of the Book of the Dead, portal no. 2. Drawing by the author.

\begin{verbatim}
wsjr jp m3f-hrw 16 | sbh.t 2-nw dd-mdw p[t-djw]-jmn m3f-hrw jnd-hr=t 17 | jn hr.w sbh.t 2[-nw n.t] wrd-jb jr.t n 18 | =j wJ t jw=j [rh.kw] tn rh.k- 19 | w rn=t rh.kw rn [n ntr] z3w tn nb(t) p.t 20 | hnw.t-t3.wj snrw [bw hr=t] rn tn ms pth 21 | rn n ntr z3(w) tn [jw]=j w³b.kw m 22 | mw jpw w³b [wsjr m] dj n n=f ms[k- 23 | t h³n< m³n>d.t 16 m pri=f hr jmj-wr.t h³=j=f hr jmj 24 | sbh.t wr.t jw=j [wr]h.kw m stj- 25 | h³b sd.t.kw m [sŞ]d 3ms 26 | m t=j m bn[bn] jz[1] jr=k 27 | jw=k w³b t(w) p-[dj]w-jmn m3f-hrw jm³h
\end{verbatim}

Osiris Ip, the just. [16] Second portal. Words recited by Pa[di]amun justified. Hail to you, \textit{Hor}us, second portal \textit{of} the Weary-hearted one! Make \textit{way} for me! I [know] you, I know \textit{your name}, I know \textit{the name of the god} who guards you. ‘Lady of the sky, \textit{mistress of the two lands who terrifies} the site

\textsuperscript{17} Reconstruction based on the standard text of the first portal (e.g. in coffin Cairo CG 41026).
\textsuperscript{18} instead of \textit{...}.  

under you]’ is your name.19 ‘Child of Ptah’ [21] is the name of the god who guards you. I am purified with [22] these waters [wherewith Osiris is purified], when the night barque is given to him [23] with the <morning barque>, when he goes through the west and descends through [24] the great portal. I am [anointed] with the festival [25] fragrance and clothed with bandage. The ames-scepter [26] in my hand is of ben[ben]-wood. ‘Proceed, [27] you are pure, Padiamun justified and revered’.

Right-hand side, foot end (portal no. 3)

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19 For this reconstruction, see the second portal in P. Torino 1791 (Lepsius 1842: pl. 61). In the Twenty-first/Twenty-second Dynasty hieratic papyrus BM EA 10554 (P. Greenfield), the name of the guardian demon is ‘Lady of the sky, mistress of the two lands who terrifies the land of Tibu’ (Allen 1974: 129).
[28] [Third portal. Words recited by Padiamun justified] [29] [Hail to [you, says Horus, third portal of] [30] the Weary-hearted one! Make way for me! I [know] [31] you, I know your name, I know the name of [32] the god who guards you. [38] I am [purified] [33] with these waters [wherewith Ptah] is purified, when [34] he sails upstream and the Henu-barque is carried [on the day] of revealing- [35] the-face feast. I am [anointed with Libyan oil] [36] and dressed in linen. [38] The ames-scepter in my hand [37] is of ihmen-wood. ‘Proceed, you are pure’.

**Fig. 10. Left-hand side (head end) of the outer case of coffin World Museum Liverpool 1953.72. Spell 145 of the Book of the Dead, portal no. 4. Drawing by the author.**

|38| [sbh.t] 4-nw ðd-mdw [jn] p(3)-djw-jmn m3̄-hrw |39| [jw nd-hr]=t [jn] hr.w sbh.t 4-nw |40| n.t wrd-jb [jr].t n=j w3.t jw {r} |41| rh.kw tn rh.kw rn=t rh.kw |42| rn n ntr z3(w) tn shm(t) ds |43| [hw.w-t-t3.wj hd hftj.w n.w wrd-jb]22 |44| [...] rn=t |45| hw.i ngz(?) r[n n] ntr [z]3(w) tn jw |46| =j wσb.kw m mw jpw wσb |47| wnn-nfr m-m wpi =f ḫnε stš rdj m3̄-hrw |48| n wnn-nfr jw=j wrh.kw swn (= snw) |49| sd.t.kw m d<zj.w> nw 3ms |50| m c=j m wsh jzt jr=k jw=k wσb t(w)

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20 Here the names of portal and guardian demon are omitted.
21 Cf. the text in Cairo CG 41026 (Moret 1913: pl. 29, 262 III).
22 The hieroglyphs in this column are lost, but the initial part of the name for this portal is canonical.
Fourth [portal]. Words recited [by] Padiamun justified. [39] [Hail to] you, [says] Horus, fourth portal [40] of the Weary-hearted one! [Make] way for me! [41] I know you, I know your name, I know [42] the name of the god who guards you. ‘Mighty of knife, [43] [mistress of the two lands who destroys the enemies of the Weary-hearted one …] [44] […] is your name.23 [45] ‘Shepherd of the nega(?)-bull’ is the name of the god who [guards] you. [46] I am purified with these waters [47] wherewith Wennefer is purified, when he and Seth separate, giving justification [48] to Wennefer. I am anointed with wine of Pelusium [49] and clothed in swaddling \textit{d(au)i}-linen.24 The \textit{ames}-scepter [50] in my hand is of \textit{wesekh}-wood. ‘Proceed, you are pure’.

\textbf{Left-hand side, middle (portal no. 5, corresponding to no. 3)\textsuperscript{25}}

Fig. 11. Left-hand side (middle) of the outer case of coffin World Museum Liverpool 1953.72. Spell 145 of the Book of the Dead, portal no. 5 (= no. 3). Drawing by the author.

\begin{verbatim}
[51] wsjr 3 rj3 p(t)-djw-jmn m32-hrw [52] sbh.t 5-nw ĉd-mdw jn p(3)-djw-jmn m32-hrw [53] jw nd-hr=t jn hr.w sbh.t 5-nw n.t [54] wrd-ib jr.t n=j w3.t jw=j rř.k- [55] w tñ rř.kw rn n nṯr z(kw) tñ nb(.t) [56] h3w.w(t) s3b.t smn.n [57] nṯr.w r-r s.t h(rw) p(w)j n hnt nšm(.t) [58] r 3bḏw rn=t b(3)k rn n nṯr z(kw) [59] tñ jw=j w³b.kw m mw
\end{verbatim}

23 For the reconstruction of the name of this portal cf. Allen 1974: 129; Moret 1913: pl. 29, 263 lines 20–23.
24 For the variants \textit{d(j)w}, \textit{d(j)w}, cf. DZA 31.327.690.
25 The portal is numbered as fifth, but the text corresponds to that of the third portal.
The portal is numbered as sixth, but the text corresponds to that of the fifth portal.
Sixth portal. Words recited by Padiamun justified. Hail to you, says Horus, sixth portal of the Weary-hearted one! Make way for me! I know you, I know your name, I know your name and the name of the god who guards you. ‘Protectress of fire, lady of praise, lady of all, to whom supplication is made without the bald one coming in’ is your name. ‘Repeller of the opponent’ is the name of the god who guards you. I am purified with these waters wherewith Horus is purified, (when) he serves as lector priest and His-beloved-son [for his father] Osiris. I am anointed with iber-unguent of divine property. The claw upon me is leopard’s. The ames-scepter in my hand is the smiter of the evil-intentioned ones. Proceed, you are pure, Padiamun justified!

Sides of the case interior (Plate 3, Figures 13–17): figures and names of the Litany of the Sun

Right-hand side (right part)

![Diagram of the right-hand side of the case interior](image-url)

Fig. 13. Figures and names of the Litany of the Sun on the right-hand side (right part) of the case interior of coffin World Museum Liverpool 1953.72. Drawing by the author.

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28 Some texts show m 3ḥj; e.g. Cairo CG 41026; Moret 1913: pl. 29, 263 line 12.
29 Presumable final part: ‘The ames-scepter in my hand is the smiter of the evil-intentioned ones. Proceed, you are pure, Padiamun justified!’: cf. Allen 1974: 130 e.


Right-hand side (left part)

Fig. 14. Figures and names of the Litany of the Sun on the right-hand side (left part) of the case interior of coffin World Museum Liverpool 1953.72. Drawing by the author.


30 Between brackets are figure numbers of the Litany of the Sun according to Hornung (1976b: 58–59).

**Foot end**

The decoration is now completely lost, apart from traces of the underlying linen and gesso. Figure 15 is a drawing with transcription after an illustration by Francis Niblett executed in 1859 (World Museum Liverpool, nos. 1962.311.1-8), when the coffin was in Gloucestershire.

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|1| nww p(3)-djw-jmn m3t-hrw |2| hw3(jtfj) p(3)-djw-jmn m3t-hrw jm3h |3| ntr.(t)

|1| Nun (of) Padiamun, justified (no. 20). |2| ‘The decomposed one’ (of) Padiamun, justified and revered (no. 22). |3| ‘The divine (eye)’ (no. 24).

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For a photograph of these illustrations see: [https://www.facebook.com/worldmuseum/photos/pb.267369845716.-2207520000.1433062075./10153871777955717](https://www.facebook.com/worldmuseum/photos/pb.267369845716.-2207520000.1433062075./10153871777955717) (accessed 20th October 2016).
**Left-hand side (left part)**

Fig. 16. Figures and names of the Litany of the Sun on the left-hand side (left part) of the case interior of coffin World Museum Liverpool 1953.72. Drawing by the author.

1. `dd-mdw wsjr jmst`  
2. `hw p(3)-djw-jmn m3-ḥrw`  
3. `dd-mdw wsjr ḫpj`  
4. `hw nfw`  
5. `db3 ḏmd p(3)-djw-jmn m3-ḥrw`  
6. `ḥntj krr.t=f p(3)-djw-jmn m3-ḥrw`

1. Words recited (by) Osiris: Imseti, 2. protection of Padiamun, justified. 3. Words recited by Osiris: Hapi, 4. protection of the skipper. 5. ‘The one who clothes the one who is joined together’ (of) Padiamun, justified (no. 1). 6. ‘The foremost of his cavern’ (of) Padiamun, justified (no. 3).

**Left-hand side (right part)**

Fig. 17. Figures and names of the Litany of the Sun on the left-hand side (right part) of the case interior of coffin World Museum Liverpool 1953.72. Drawing by the author.
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Curved vertical board at the head end of the case interior (Figure 18)

Fig. 18. Decoration of the curved vertical board at the head end of the case interior in coffin World Museum Liverpool 1953.72. Drawing by the author.

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2. Comment on texts and iconography

Lid exterior (Plate 1; Figures 2–5)

There are two iconographic elements on the lid: under the collar, the vignette of the judgment in spell 125 of the Book of the Dead, depicting the weighing of the heart of the deceased in the presence of Osiris; on each side of the collar, the representation of the horse-headed serpent, or hippocampus, with Isis and Nephthys in attitude of reverential salute or mourning (Plate 1).

On the right part of the vignette, Padiamun is led by hand to the judgment by the falcon-headed Horus. The deceased is bald, without wig, and his skin is dark. He is portrayed again on the left, kneeling with the heart in his hand. He is given his heart back by Thoth after the weighing: ‘you have your heart and the House of the Heart’. Noticeably, he has now a wig with fillet and a cone on his head; his skin, highlighted by the naked torso, is of light red colour. This seems to indicate a physical change marking the beginning of his new life, after the positive judgment. Red was a colour associated with childbirth.

The central part of the vignette shows the weighing of the heart, performed by Anubis in front of Maat, with Thoth behind recording the outcome. The Devourer is depicted as a female dog at the feet of Thoth. On the left Osiris, seated in his shrine, presides over the judgment. Next to the god is the sentence ‘words recited by Osiris’, followed by the two names of the deceased, Padiamun and Ip, justified. I would interpret this sentence as the declaration of justification by Osiris. The name $\text{jpw-wr}$ is shown as the $\text{rn nfr}$ of Padiamun on the cartonnage (53.72b).

Three of the four sons of Horus are depicted behind Osiris. All four names of the gods are mentioned in the scene, but the jackal headed Duamutef is missing, presumably due to lack of space.

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32 The term $\text{nnw}$ is a variant of $\text{nn.t}$ (Wb 2, 274.8).
33 The word $\text{b}\text{f}$ shows inversion of the signs.
34 On this gesture, see Wilkinson 1992: 34–35.
35 The $\text{pr jh.w}$ is mentioned in spell 26 of the Book of the Dead (Allen 1974: 37).
Under the vignette of the weighing of the heart is the series of denials of wrongdoing, characterizing spell 125B. 38 The declaration of innocence is proclaimed by the deceased to the judges of the tribunal of the dead, depicted as a series of seated divinities with knives (Figure 4). Padiamun in this spell is frequently called by his second name ūpw, jwp, orjp. In column 18 and 25 one notes the sign ☛ for pri, relatively uncommon for this period and widely used in the Ptolemaic Period.

The following is a list of coffins of the Third Intermediate Period and Late Period inscribed with spell 125B, usually accompanied by the vignette of the judgment.

A. Inner coffin of Tawherit, Cairo CG 61032 (J.E. 26196); Thebes; Twenty-first Dynasty. 39
B. Coffin of Pasenhor, London BM EA 24906; Thebes; Twenty-second Dynasty. 40
C. Cartonnage of Hor, Cambridge E 8.1896; Thebes; Twenty-second Dynasty. 41
D. Coffin of Penju, Hildesheim 1902b; Achmim; Twenty-second–Twenty-third Dynasty. 42
E. Coffin of Ankh-hor, Norwich 146-7.928; Thebes; Twenty-fourth Dynasty. 43
F. Coffin of Padiamun, Liverpool 1953.72; Thebes; Twenty-fifth Dynasty.
G. Coffin of Besenmut, Paris Louvre E 10374; Thebes; Twenty-fifth Dynasty. 44
H. Coffin of Neskhons II, Cairo CG 41003; Thebes; Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasty. 45
I. Coffin of Neskhons I, Cairo CG 41025; Thebes; Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasty. 46
J. Coffin of Djitankh, Cairo CG 41060; Thebes; Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasty. 47
K. Outer Coffin of Heribesenes; Third Intermediate Period. 48
L. Coffin of Taanetenmes(?), Bruxelles MRAH E 5890; Thebes; Third Intermediate Period–Late Period. 49
M. Outer Coffin of Nespaqashuti; Third Intermediate Period–Late Period. 50

38 For an analysis of attestations of this spell up to the Twenty-first Dynasty see Maystre 1937.
39 Daressy 1909: 146, 189-191, pl. 56.
40 Andrews 1984: 45, pl. 49.
41 Quibell 1898: 20, pls. 28, 30a.
42 Lembke and Schmitz 2006: 272, pl. 309.
46 Moret 1913: 244–246, pls. 26–27.
49 Seeber 1976: 216, n. 7.
N. Outer Coffin of Padiimenet; Third Intermediate Period–Late Period.\(^{51}\)

Twenty-five judges are mentioned in Padiamun’s version of spell 125B. The twenty-fifth denial of wrongdoing is missing, for lack of space. The first judge is \(jn \, \text{=} \, f\), which in other versions is the name of the last judge. In the coffin of Pashed, from the Nineteenth Dynasty, it is the name of the 41\(^{st}\) deity.\(^{52}\) The reversed order adopted in Padiamun’s coffin occurs also in the New Kingdom, for example in the papyrus of Ani.\(^{53}\) Such an order is adopted also in the papyrus of Henuttawy, wife of Pinudjem I, Cairo CG 40005 (Twenty-first Dynasty),\(^{54}\) and in the coffin of Pasenhor (B), London BM EA 24906 (Twenty-second Dynasty), which shows ten divinities, corresponding to judges 11–20 in Padiamun’s coffin. Forty-six judges, in the shape of serpent-headed mummmified divinities, are shown in the coffin of Tawherit (A), Cairo CG 61032, always with \(jn \, \text{=} \, f\) as first judge. The exterior coffin of Djitankh (J), Cairo CG 41060 (Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasty), mentions the same forty-two judges as papyrus Torino Museo Egizio 1791, beginning with \(\text{wsht-} \text{nmt.t}\) and ending with \(jn \, \text{=} \, f\).\(^{55}\)

Spell 125B is already inscribed on coffins in the New Kingdom, but the number of attestations from the Third Intermediate Period is far greater. After the Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasty the frequency of occurrence of the declaration of innocence in coffins is low, largely limited to sporadic appearances in sarcophagi of the Ptolemaic Period. In the Late and Ptolemaic Periods spell 125B usually appears in Book of the Dead papyri. This indicates that Padiamun’s coffin set was made in a phase of dynamic transition in funerary practice and coffin design.

The iconography of the horse-headed serpent, which is presumably inspired by the seahorse or hippocampus, appears in a limited number of coffins and sarcophagi in the Third Intermediate and Ptolemaic Periods.\(^{56}\) This hybrid creature is usually depicted in pairs just below shoulder level, as in the following examples.

a. Coffin of Djedkhonsuuiufankh (trough only), Paris Louvre N 2585; Twenty-second Dynasty; inner floor, below the shoulders.\(^{57}\)

b. Coffin of Perenbast, Manchester Museum 5053c; Twenty-second Dynasty; inner sides, below the shoulders.\(^{58}\)

\(^{51}\) Bruyère 1956: 11–33.

\(^{52}\) Zivie 1979: pl. 28.

\(^{53}\) See Faulkner 1994: pl. 31. The columns are read by Faulkner from left to right, but the writing is from right to left and \(jn \, \text{=} \, f\) appears in the second column from the right.


\(^{55}\) Lepsius 1842: pls. 61–62.

\(^{56}\) On these creatures, see also Rita Lucarelli in: Dautant, Lucarelli, Miatello, Sheikholeslami (forthcoming).

\(^{57}\) Thomas 2013: pl. 16c.

\(^{58}\) Details of the hippocampi are unpublished.
c. Coffin of Horkhebi, private collection in north Wales; Twenty-second Dynasty; inner sides, below the shoulders.  

d. Cartonnage of Nekhtkhonsiru Ameneminet, Louvre E 5534; Twenty-third–Twenty-fourth Dynasty; sides of the back, below the shoulders.  

e. Coffin of Padiamun, World Museum Liverpool 1953.72; Thebes; Twenty-fifth Dynasty; sides of the collar on the lid.  

f. Coffin of Nehemsumontu, Boulogne-sur-Mer 1C; Thebes; Twenty-fifth Dynasty; example lost.  

g. Inner coffin of Nehemsumontu, Boulogne-sur-Mer 1B; Thebes; Twenty-fifth Dynasty; sides of the collar on the lid.  

h. Coffin of Besenmut, Paris Louvre E 10374; Thebes; Twenty-fifth Dynasty; sides of the collar on the lid.  

i. Cartonnage fretwork, Liverpool Garstang museum SACE E.2002; Third Intermediate Period–Late Period.  

j. Coffin Liverpool Garstang museum SACE E.576; Late Period.  

k. Sarcophagus of Imeniu, Cairo TR 13/1/21/1 (JdE 1303); Saqqara; Ptolemaic Period; lower part of the lid.  

l. Sarcophagus of Udjahor, Paris Louvre D11 (N347); origin unknown; Ptolemaic Period; upper part of the lid, under the shoulders.  

m. Statuette in copper of a seahorse, Madrid Academia de Bellas Artes San Fernando (without Inv. no.); Late Period or Greco-Roman Period.  

Drawings of some of these examples are shown in Figures 19–25.

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59 Details of the hippocampi are unpublished.  
60 Kákosy 1987: pl. 1; Thomas 2013: pl. 12b.  
61 Thomas 2013: pl. 12a.  
62 Thomas 2013: pl. 16a.  
63 Thomas 2013: pl. 16b.  
64 Thomas 2013: pl. 12c.  
65 Unpublished.  
66 Kákosy 1987: pls. 2, 3a-b; Thomas 2013: pl. 12d.  
67 Kákosy 1987: pls. 4, 5a-b; Thomas 2013: pl. 12e.  
68 Thomas 2013: pl. 13a.
Fig. 19. Hippocampi in the coffin of Djedkhonsuiufankh (a), Paris Louvre N 2585. Inner floor of the case. Drawing by the author.

Fig. 20. Hippocampi in the cartonnage of Nekhtkhonsiru Ameneminet (d), Louvre E 5534. Drawing by the author.
Fig. 21. Hippocampi in the coffin of Nehemsumontu (g), Boulogne-sur-Mer 1B. Drawing by the author.

Fig. 22. Hippocampi in the coffin of Besenmut (h), Paris Louvre E 10374. Drawing by the author.
Fig. 23. Cartonnage fretwork of hippocampus (i), Liverpool Garstang museum SACE E.2002. Drawing by the author.

Fig. 24. Hippocampi in the sarcophagus of Udjahor (l), Paris Louvre D11 (N347). Drawing by the author.

Fig. 25. Statuette in copper of a seahorse (m), Madrid Academia de Bellas Artes San Fernando (without Inv. no.). Drawing by the author.
Very little is known of the god depicted as a horse-headed snake, or hippocampus. On top of each creature on the coffin lid of Besenmut (h), Louvre E 10374 (Figure 22), is the sentence jm.j dw3.t ‘the one who is in the dw3t’. Further above is the following sentence:

(left-hand side); (right-hand side).

John Taylor translates jm ‘the one who brings the doorkeeper’, restoring a stick in the hand of the forearm on the right-hand side (hieroglyph D40). Figure 26a shows a detail of this hieroglyph under the door sign. There is a vertical trace that can give the impression of an object held in the hand, but it is apparently a smudge. The stick of the sign D40 is drawn very clearly in a text on the right side of the coffin case (Figure 26b).

On the left-hand side there is only the sign of the door, and a plausible reading in both cases is jm ‘The one who closes (lit. brings back) the door’. The construction jm ‘to close the door’ is well attested, both in the singular and in

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70 I am grateful to Patricia Rigault-Deon and Audrey Viger of the Louvre Museum for the photographs with these inscriptions.
71 E.g. in Abydos rituals: jm.t jm ptH ‘The door is closed by Ptah’; cf. DZA 21.635.790.
the dual *jn usterity, which is also an epithet of wtb-priests in the Ptolemaic Period.\textsuperscript{72} Considering that the writing  \textsuperscript{73} ‘door’ is common, and its variant  \textsuperscript{74} even if rare, is attested, the reading *jn ‘the one who closes the door’ seems the most plausible. As we will see, the two creatures had an apotropaic function at the entrance and exit door of the tribunal of the dead, and there is also a partial homophony with *jn-usterity ‘The one who brings his arm’, which is usually the first or last of the judges.\textsuperscript{75} The vignette of the judgment appears under the collar of the coffin of Besenmut, as in that of Padiamun.

Further writings appear in the sarcophagi of Imeni and Udjahor, from the Ptolemaic Period. In the sarcophagus of Imeni, the horse-headed serpent on the right side, depicted near the goddess Ibat, is labelled hjiw  ‘hjiw of Lower Egypt’. On the left side, near the goddess Negait (nqjt), there is simply the writing hjiw. Both animals are perched on a rectangle, inscribed with five columns of text. The two texts are similar: the god says that he made live (*snh.n=j) the shadow, ba and mummy of the deceased, uniting the ba with the corpse in the necropolis. On the right side, a column of text reads: ‘the god who makes live the shadows and unites the ba with the corpse in the necropolis’. On the left side: ‘the god who makes live the ba in the necropolis, of mysterious forms in the realm of the dead’.\textsuperscript{76}

A similar representation appears in the sarcophagus of Udjahor (Figure 24). Both animals are perched on a rectangle, within which there is the identical text. In both cases the horse-headed serpent is identified as ‘the god who makes live the ba in the necropolis’ and is invoked to make live the ba of the deceased. On the right side there is the label jiss mh.w ‘jiss of Lower Egypt’; on the left side jiss smw ‘jiss of Upper Egypt’. A serpent called *jn f, ‘The one who brings his arm’, is depicted in front of the hippocampus on the right side; another serpent called jm.  \textsuperscript{77}  

As indicated by John Taylor, the pair of horse-headed snakes probably had an apotropaic function at the entrance and exit doors of the tribunal hall.\textsuperscript{78} In both sarcophagi, the horse-headed serpents lie above a rectangle, which might represent a double-leafed door. The doors of the tribunal hall are often drawn in profile at the two sides in vignettes of the judgment. The reference to Lower and Upper Egypt

\textsuperscript{72} LGG 1, 372.

\textsuperscript{73} Cf. DZA 21.632.870.

\textsuperscript{74} Seti I temple in Gurna: *smn=k istry pth; cf. DZA 21.636.270.

\textsuperscript{75} LGG 1, 371–372.

\textsuperscript{76} Kákosy 1987: 7–8, pls. 3a-b; Thomas 2013: 224–225, pl. 12d.

\textsuperscript{77} Andrews 1984: 45, pl. 49.

\textsuperscript{78} Taylor 2007: 415–416.
can be explained by the parallel between the tribunal of the dead and Egypt: the standard number of judges is 42, equal to the number of Egyptian nomes, and the two ends of the tribunal can be paralleled with the North and South of Egypt.

As we have seen, in the Ptolemaic Period the horse-headed snake is called ḥḥjss (or ḥḥjwwSS), and jss. László Kákosy and Pascal Vernus interpret ḥḥjss as a composite name formed by ḥḥj, Semitic word meaning ‘serpent’, and ss, from the Akkadian and Hebraic ‘horse’. The name jss would be a corrupted variant of ḥḥjss.79

I would propose, as an alternative, a possible Egyptian etymology. Male seahorses give birth by excreting, with a series of muscular contractions, hundreds of fry from a ventral pouch.80 The name could be composed of the terms ḫ ‘behind’ and jss ‘spittle’, ‘excretion’;81 ḫ-jss ‘the one behind the excretion’, or jṣss ‘the one who excretes’. This procreative feature, if known, could be the basis of the characteristic of regeneration of the ba attributed to the horse-headed snake, as a parallel to the spittle of Shu (jss n ssw) by Atum. It is doubtful that seahorses could be kept in captivity, although the possibility of their collection in vivaria or ponds cannot be excluded. It is quite possible, however, that the brood pouch was observed in dead examples, as seahorses are very common in the Mediterranean sea. This suggests a possible more neutral reading of the terms jss, jwwSS, or jṣss, as ‘mash (of eggs)’, from jwSS ‘mash’, ‘dough’, sometimes with the egg determinative.82 The name of the hippocampus would be ḫṣ-fjwwSS ‘the one behind the mash (i.e. the brood pouch)’. According to John Taylor, the fact that the hippocampi were in use in the early Twenty-second Dynasty ‘diminishes the likelihood of an early Greek or Levantine origin for the motif, which should perhaps be sought instead in the funerary iconography of northern Egypt’.83

Sides of the case exterior (Plate 2, Figures 7–12)

An abridged version of spell 145 of the Book of the Dead is inscribed on the two sides of the case exterior, each topped by an ornamental khekher frieze.

In spell 145 there is a series of portals of the netherworld, each guarded by a demon, and the deceased must know the names of each portal and its guardian in order to obtain passage. For each portal, the deceased also declares that he has been purified in waters wherein a god is purified, that he wears a certain clothing and

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80 See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MsHCqrU-Gk (accessed 20th October 2016).
81 Wb 1, 135.14-16.
82 Wb 1, 58.2–3.
holds a particular kind of scepter, etc. The word $\mathfrak{zA.w}$ ‘guardian’ is written either with the determinative of the forearm or the forearm with closed hand (Figure 7, col. 5 and 9; Figure 8, col. 21). This spell is rare in coffins. Only two other examples are known to me:

i. Coffin of Penju, Hildesheim 1902b; Achmim; Twenty-second–Twenty-third Dynasty. Portals of spell 145 on the left side of the outer case: nos. 1–4 and 10.

ii. Coffin of Horsaaset, Cairo CG 41026; Thebes; Late Period. Portals of spell 145, on the right and left sides of the outer case: nos. 1–6.

The version of spell 145 in the coffin of Padiamun comprises the first six portals as in the coffin of Horsaaset, but the text of the last two portals is defective: the text of the fifth portal corresponds to that of the third portal; the text of the sixth portal corresponds to that of the fifth portal.

The main features of the text for the six portals in the coffins of Padiamun and Horsaaset are shown in Tables 1 and 2 respectively.

The order of the numbered portals in Padiamun’s coffin is as follows:
Right-hand side, from the foot head to the head end: nos. 1, 2, 3.
Left-hand side, from the head hand to the foot end: nos. 4, 5, 6.

On the right-hand side are the following guardian demons, each within a booth surmounted by a sinuous snake:
1\textsuperscript{st} portal = shrew-headed(?) figure with headdress of \textit{maat} feathers (‘terrible one’).\footnote{In spell 146, which is very similar to spell 145, there is only the name of the portals and their doorkeepers.}
2\textsuperscript{nd} portal = human-headed figure with five cobras on the head (‘child of Ptah’).
3\textsuperscript{rd} portal = crocodile-headed figure with headdress of \textit{maat} feathers (\textit{bright} = 3\textsuperscript{rd}).

On the left-hand side are the following guardian demons, each within a booth surmounted by a sinuous snake:
4\textsuperscript{th} portal = bull-headed figure (‘shepherd of the \textit{nega}(?)-bull’).
5\textsuperscript{th} portal = crocodile-headed figure with headdress of \textit{maat} feathers (‘bright’ = 3\textsuperscript{rd}).
6\textsuperscript{th} portal = human-headed figure with horns and \textit{maat} feathers on the head (‘repeller of the opponent’ = 5\textsuperscript{th}).

\footnoteref{84}
\footnoteref{85}
\footnoteref{86}
\footnoteref{87}

I thank Kasia Szpakowska of Swansea University for the suggestion that the head of this demon is more likely that of a shrew than that of a crocodile.
Table 1. Features identifying the portals of spell 145 of the Book of the Dead on the outer sides of Padiamun’s coffin.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portal</th>
<th>Name of the portal</th>
<th>Name of the guardian</th>
<th>Purified god</th>
<th>Clothing of the deceased</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st portal</td>
<td>nb.t [sd3]w ...</td>
<td>[n]rw</td>
<td>r$e$</td>
<td>mn$h$.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd portal</td>
<td>nb.t p.t ...</td>
<td>ms pth</td>
<td>wsjr</td>
<td>$ss$.d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd portal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>[pth]</td>
<td>$ss$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th portal</td>
<td>sha.m.(t) ds ...</td>
<td>$hw$i ng3(?)</td>
<td>wnn-nfr</td>
<td>d(3jw) nw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th portal (=3rd)</td>
<td>nb.(t)</td>
<td>b(3)$k$</td>
<td>pth</td>
<td>$ss$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th portal (=5th)</td>
<td>$hw$.t h.t ...</td>
<td>$hw$nw rkJ</td>
<td>$hrw$</td>
<td>$n$.t ... [3bj]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Features identifying the portals of spell 145 of the Book of the Dead on the outer sides of Horsaaset’s coffin, CG 41026.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portal</th>
<th>Name of the portal</th>
<th>Name of the guardian</th>
<th>Purified god</th>
<th>Clothing of the deceased</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st portal</td>
<td>nb.t sd3w ...</td>
<td>nrw</td>
<td>r$e$</td>
<td>mn$h$.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd portal</td>
<td>nb.(t) p.t ...</td>
<td>ms pth</td>
<td>wsjr</td>
<td>$ss$.d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd portal</td>
<td>nb.(t) $hw$.t.w ...</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>[pth]</td>
<td>$ss$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th portal</td>
<td>sha.m.(t) ds ...</td>
<td>$hw$i ng3(?)</td>
<td>wnn-nfr</td>
<td>d(3jw) nw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th portal</td>
<td>$hw$w.t ...</td>
<td>$hw$n rkJ</td>
<td>$hrw$</td>
<td>$n$.t ... [3bj]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th portal</td>
<td>nb.(t) znk.tj ...</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The deceased is depicted in reverential attitude in front of the first and second portal on the right-hand side, with his name ‘Osiris Ip’ next to each figure, and in front of the fourth and fifth portal on the left-hand side, without name. He is clad in
a yellowish double apron,\textsuperscript{88} his face and body are executed with care and precision. There are traces of a yellow sinopia on the right-hand side, especially near the raised right arm of the deceased in front of portal no. 2.

On the left-hand side of the coffin of Penju, Hildesheim 1902b, the guardians of the five portals are depicted as mumiform deities with knife, seated in a booth surmounted by a sinuous serpent. From left to right: human-headed figure; canine-headed figure; equine-headed figure; crocodile-headed figure; bull-headed figure.\textsuperscript{89}

In Horsaaæt’s coffin, Cairo CG 41026, the six portals are separated by the figures of the four sons of Horus.

Sides of the case interior (Plate 3, Figures 13–17)

On the two sides there is a series of figures of the Litany of the Sun with their names, each followed by that of the deceased. These figures are preceded by those of the sons of Horus: two on one side and two on the other. Three figures of the Litany of the Sun with names were also originally depicted at the foot end. They are now completely missing, erased by the humidity in which the coffin was kept in the nineteenth century. As previously mentioned, these figures were present in 1859, when Francis Niblett made drawings of the decoration on the case interior. At that time there were seventeen ‘classical’ figures of the Litany of the Sun, plus the four sons of Horus, for a total of twenty-one deities. Twenty-one is a multiple of seven, which was the main symbolic number for the Egyptians, usually linked to the sun gods.\textsuperscript{90}

The figure number is given by the order in the ‘Great Litany’, which shows 75 invocations to deities and demons. In the complete scheme there are 74 figures and 76 names, as two figures have a double name, and the form $b\delta \ r^\prime$ has no invocation.\textsuperscript{91} The forms of the sun god are ordered into two groups: the first one containing mostly figures corresponding to even numbered invocations; the second one containing mostly figures corresponding to odd numbered invocations. This order is followed in Padiamun’s coffin, which shows forms corresponding to even numbered invocations on the right-hand side (and originally on the foot end), and forms corresponding to odd numbered invocations on the left-hand side.

On the right-hand side, the falcon of Qebehseuf is called Imseti. This is apparently an error, as this name is attributed correctly to a human figure on the

\textsuperscript{88} This clothing appears in other vignettes of the Book of the Dead, e.g. in the papyrus of Ankhefen-Amun (Twenty-first Dynasty), Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden Inv. Aeg. 775: see Weber 2012: 53.

\textsuperscript{89} Hannig 2007: 55 (Tf. 1).

\textsuperscript{90} Cf. Barta 1986: 84 n. 8.

left-hand side. There are, however, attestations of Imseti depicted in falcon form from the Ptolemaic Period.\textsuperscript{92} Also, in the canopic jars Jerusalem BLMJ 3916 (Nineteenth–Twentieth Dynasty), the name Imseti is attributed to canopic jars with both a human head and a baboon head. More generally, there are several attestations of deviation from the standard iconographic association of the sons of Horus (Imseti with human head; Hapi with baboon head; Duamutef with jackal head; Qebehsenuf with falcon head). Table 3 shows examples of deviations with reference to the following cases:

1. Tomb of Roy TT255, south wall; Eighteenth Dynasty.\textsuperscript{93}
2. Tomb of Nefertari QV66, chamber C, north wall; Nineteenth Dynasty.\textsuperscript{94}
3. Canopic jar Torino Cat. 3464 (Duamutef); New Kingdom.\textsuperscript{95}
4. Canopic jar Torino Cat. 3465/b (Qebehsenuf); New Kingdom.\textsuperscript{96}
5. Papyrus of Amunemwiya, Berlin P. 3127; Thebes; Twenty-first Dynasty.\textsuperscript{97}
6. Papyrus of Tjesmehedkhonsu, Firenze Inv. 3663; Twenty-first Dynasty.\textsuperscript{98}
7. Canopic jars Wien Kunsthistorisches M. AE Inv. 3603; Third Intermediate Period.
8. Canopic jars London BM EA 9562; Twenty-fifth Dynasty.\textsuperscript{99}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Imseti</th>
<th>Hapi</th>
<th>Duamutef</th>
<th>Qebehsenuf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>Human</td>
<td>Baboon</td>
<td>Falcon</td>
<td>Jackal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>Human</td>
<td>Baboon</td>
<td>Falcon</td>
<td>Jackal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Falcon</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Baboon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>Human</td>
<td>Human</td>
<td>Jackal</td>
<td>Falcion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>Human</td>
<td>Jackal</td>
<td>Falcon</td>
<td>Baboon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>Human</td>
<td>Jackal</td>
<td>Baboon</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>Human</td>
<td>Baboon</td>
<td>Falcon</td>
<td>Jackal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Examples of deviations from the standard iconography of the four sons of Horus.

\textsuperscript{92} Cf. LGG I, 367 ff.
\textsuperscript{93} Foucart, Baud and Drioton 1928: 17 fig. 12.
\textsuperscript{94} McDonald 1996: 62.
\textsuperscript{95} Dolzani 1982: 24–25 (pl. 19).
\textsuperscript{96} Dolzani 1982: 24 (pl. 18).
\textsuperscript{97} Fellmann 1990: 37 fig. 24.
\textsuperscript{98} Piankoff and Rambova 1957: papyrus No. 14.
\textsuperscript{99} Quirke and Spencer 1992: fig. 68.
We can distinguish two main patterns in the representation of figures and names of the Litany of the Sun in coffins and papyri.

a) Figures and names of the Litany of the Sun presented in the original scheme and order of the invocations, with the possible addition of other deities.

This pattern is followed in Padiamun’s coffin: the four sons of Horus are added to the figures of the Litany, but respecting the ‘classical’ sequence of deities.\(^{100}\) In the Twenty-first Dynasty, the ‘classical’ scheme is found in the Book of the Dead of Inpehuefnakhet, papyrus Cambridge E.92.1904.\(^{101}\) In this papyrus the complete row of 74 forms of Ra with names begins on top of the columns of text of the ‘declaration of innocence’ with the form no. 2, 4, 6, 8, etc., followed by the form no. 1, 3, 5, 7, etc.\(^{102}\) The form 9a, ‘The ba of Ra-Horakhti’ is found on top of the last denial of wrongdoing. This long row of 74 deities is complemented by 24 further mummified gods, including Seth, and ends with the four sons of Horus. It is interesting to note that the form no. 1 is not called \(\text{dbt-dmd}\) ‘The one who clothes the one who is joined together’, which is the standard name inscribed in Padiamun’s coffin, but \(\text{wsjr nb nhh}\) ‘Osiris lord of eternity’. This indicates that the form no. 1 in the Litany of the Sun was associated with the body of Osiris. Most names are preceded by the term \(\text{h.t} \) ‘the body (of)’: the figures of the Litany of the Sun are corpses of divinities with which the \(\text{ba}\) of the sun god unites in the netherworld. Another peculiarity in this papyrus is the name given to the figure of the Asiatic prisoner (no. 8), usually called \(\text{njkj.w mnj.t}\) ‘The punished one (at) the stake’. In this papyrus the figure of the Asiatic prisoner is called \(\text{kj}\) ‘The other one’. In the Litany of the Sun, even the evil prisoner is a corpse at the service of the sun god. This figure is missing in the coffin of Padiamun, possibly because, as the name in the papyrus of Inpehuefnakhet indicates, the image of the prisoner is foreign to the canonical iconography of Egyptian deities.

The ‘classical’ scheme of figures of the Litany also appears on the inner sides of the inner coffin of Seramun at Besançon (A.778), dating to the Twenty-first Dynasty.\(^{103}\)

\(^{100}\) Already in the New Kingdom other deities are added to the classical series of figures of the Litany, for example in the tombs of Useramun and Ramses II. On this process: Hornung 1976b: 50.

\(^{101}\) See the photographs of the papyrus online at Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134405.

\(^{102}\) The exact scheme is as follows: 2, 4, 6, 8, ..., 58, 62, 64, 67, 69, 71, 73, 75, \(g\text{s}j\) (total 37 figures); 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 9a, 11, 13, ..., 63, 66, 65, 68, 72, 74 (total 37 figures). Figure nos. 60 and 70 are not shown: the deities 68 and 72, usually represented as one figure, are depicted separately, and another peculiarity is the depiction of a ram-headed mumiform god named \(g\text{s}j\), which is a name of Ra in the Litany (cf. Hornung 1976a: 85–87, 96, 106, 221; Wb 5, 208.4–6).

\(^{103}\) See Barbotin 2010: 144–155; Payraudeau 2011: 49–54. Unnamed figures of the Litany of the Sun and other deities appear on the inner sides of the outer coffin.
On the right side are figure nos. 3 (ḥntj-ḥjr), 2 (rꜣ-hprj), 8 (nkj-mn), 10 (ḥš ḫdw rṛw), 12 (ḥprj), 14 (ḥfnw), 16 (nwt), 18 (ḥnb-ḥwšt), 20 (nww), 22 (ḥwꜣš-štjt), (second line) 24 (ntr), 26 (sr-ꜣ), 28 (krr), 30 (ḥm-jn-mꜣw), 32 (ḥpré ḫnt jmnty), 34 (ꜣꜣ), 36?, 38?

On the left side are figure nos. 3 (ḥntj-hr), 9 (ḥnḫtj), 9a (ḥn-hr), 11 (ḥmjt), 13 (Ḥw-wz-ꜣ), 17 (ḥst), 19 (ḥrw-wz-ꜣ-ḥst), 21 (rmjt), 23 (ḥȝḏw), 25 (nṯwṯj), 27 (jmnty), 29 (jkḥj), (second line) 33 (mḏwṯj), 35 (nḥtj), 37 (ḥȝꜣ), 39 (jmnty), 41 (dws-štšt), 43 (dmd-hsw-st), 45 (ḥp), 47 (tn[tj]), 49 (ḥ<ḥ>ȝ).

In Plate 5 the forms of the sun god in Padiamun’s coffin are compared with similar ones in the tomb of Seti I, the coffin of Seramun, and the papyrus of Inpehunefrakhet.

b) Figures and names of the Litany of the Sun mixed up with those of other divinities and demons, without respecting the original scheme and order of the invocations.

This is the usual pattern in the Twenty-first Dynasty. For example, on the outer sides of the Twenty-first Dynasty outer coffin of Sutimes in the Louvre (N 2609), the figures of the Litany are found in open order, and mixed up with other deities like Anubis, Wadjet and Nehebkau. Another example of this scheme is the outer coffin of Nespaywrefy, Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum E.1.1822 (Twenty-first Dynasty), which contains figures of the Litany on the inner sides. On the right-hand side: form nos. 30 (ḥm-jn-mꜣw), 36 (srk.t), 38 (ḥn), 40 (ḥpr), 53? (ḥm), 65? (ḥtkj), 33 (mḏwṯj), 9a (ḥn-hr). On the outer sides of the early Twenty-first Dynasty coffins of Butehamun, Torino CGT 10102.b, there are the forms ḫpr.j (no. 2) and mj(w)-ꜣ (no. 56), and other images of deities and demons. A similar iconography appears in the coffin of Hatshepsut, Grenoble Inv. 3572.

Several papyri of the Twenty-first–Twenty-second Dynasty with hybrid iconography of the Litany of the Sun have been published and discussed by Piankoff. In these papyri, even the figure of the deceased and his wife can be included in the series of deities. A further example from the Twenty-first Dynasty is papyrus Berlin P3153, belonging to Nesy-amun-nesuttaui, in which a

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104 I am grateful to Alain Dautant, CNRS, for having shared with me photographs of the coffin interior.
105 Part of the left side is published in Niwiński 2006: pl. 3, showing figure nos. 21 (rmjt), 40 (ṛḥḥ), 9a (ḥn-hr), 6?, 45? (ḥp-r), 66 (tꜣ-ḥm), 54?, 30? (ḥm-ḥntj-hntj-ḥm-w), 2 (ḥpr), 19 (ḥrw-štšt). Even the form bḥr (9a) is a mummiiform corpse in this coffin.
106 Niwiński 1988: 133–134 no. 156.
107 Niwiński 2004: pl. 5.
108 Kueny and Yoyotte 1979: 85.
series of 21 images of deities appear. Some can be identified by their iconography and names as figures of the Litany of the Sun: nos. 39 (imn.t-h3.t), 8, 12 (hpr.fr), 20 (nw.n), 26, 24, 16 (nw.t), 2 (hpr.fr). Most additional figures are standing mummiform deities as in the Litany, sometimes with demonic features. For example, in place of the head they have serpents, or the hieroglyph of the brazier with flame.

It is noteworthy that Padiamun’s coffin shows the figures of the Litany of the Sun and the sbh.t-portals, as in the temple of Ramses II at Abydos. As Colleen Manassa indicated, ‘the Late Period sarcophagi equate the forms of Re in the Litany with the fierce demons that guard the sbh.t-portals in Chapters 144 to 146 of the Book of the Dead’. This aspect is present already in Padiamun’s coffin, in which the figures of the Litany are mostly shown with knives (see Plate 3). Protective demonic features are attributed to all deities in the coffin who are depicted with a knife, including the judges of the tribunal hall. As we have seen, in the Twenty-first Dynasty papyrus of Inpehuefnakhet the figures of the Litany are associated with the judges of the tribunal of the dead. Padiamun’s coffin associates the demons of the sbh.t-portals, the forms of Ra and the judges of the tribunal hall, in a complex scheme of protection of the deceased.

On the left side of the second coffin of the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty set of Paeftauauaset, from Thebes, Egyptian collection of the Civic Archaeological Museum in Milan (Inv. E.1011), there is a series of fourteen mummiform deities. Deities named tnj.t, rḫ, sn, kkr, precede a series of ‘classic’ figures with names from the Litany: šw (no. 13), hft (no. 14), gb (no. 15), nwt (no. 16), wsir (non-typical figure), īst (no. 17), Nbt-hwt (no. 18). The last one is labelled hhw ‘the one of the brazier’, depicted with a brazier in place of the head. Among further protective deities and demons depicted in an upper register, a lion-headed mummiform figure, named rrnr-nḫ ‘the nurse of life’, holds in front of its body the large hieroglyphic sign zt ‘protection’.

112 Piankoff (1964: 131 n. 11) interprets the mummiform deity with a scarab in place of the head as form no. 32 hpr (No. 16 in his numeration), but it is certainly form no. 2. Nut is depicted with several serpents on the head crown. Four serpents are depicted on the head of Isis, Nephthys, and Wadjet on the left-hand side of the outer coffin of Sutimes (leftmost part). Isis and Nephthys wear a modius with four serpents on the inner sides of the coffin of Neskhonsapkhered, London BM EA 47975 (Twenty-fifth Dynasty).
113 The Litany of the Sun in Abydos appears together with spell 144 of the Book of the Dead (see Mariette 1880: pls. 14–17).
114 Manassa 2007: 455.
115 Lise 1979: 78 (n. 33).
116 Cf. the epithet hh: LGG 4, 811.
117 A variant of the word rnr with initial part rr usually attested in later times (Philae): cf. DZA 25.962.150.
The forms of Ra, however, do not represent only protective deities: each god is at the service of the deceased in his journey to the netherworld. In fact, in Padiamun’s coffin each name is followed by that of the deceased, and the preposition n appears before Padiamun for the form no. 10 (see Figure 14, col. 7). In other coffins, as the outer coffin of Sutimes, Louvre N 2609, or the inner coffin of Seramun, Besançon A.778, each deity makes an offering to the deceased, as in the temple of Ramses II in Abydos. The sun god provides his vital energy to the divine corpses in the netherworld, and this regenerative energy is given back to the deceased in various forms. In Padiamun’s coffin the regenerative energy of the sun is depicted as a series of concentric red dots around the scarab (form no. 4), the \( w\delta.t\)-eye (form no. 24), the ram head (form no. 9), and the ram-headed \( ba\)-bird (form no. 9a). Concentric red dots around the \( w\delta.t\)-eye represent a common feature for this form, while the depiction of the sun disk with concentric red dots is very rare.\(^{118}\) Usually the entire disk is painted red.

**Head end of the case exterior (Figure 6)**

As we have seen, in spell 145 of the Book of the Dead the deceased is identified with Horus, and this identification is highlighted with large hieroglyphs at the head end: \( p(3)\ bhd.tj\) ‘The one of Edfu’. This label identifies both the falcon god and the sun disk, confirming the association of the head end with the sun, already highlighted by the decoration of the coffin interior, in which the figures of the Litany of the Sun represent apotropaic solar-Osirian forms in the netherworld, and the solar-Osirian rebirth is depicted and marked at the head end. Several coffins of this period show the term \( bhd.tj\) on the interior of the head end, on top of the image of a falcon-headed mummiiform god (Sokar-Osis) on the floor case, \(^{119}\) as a mark of the solar-Osirian unity.

**Floor of the case interior (Plate 4)**

An anthropomorphic \( djed\)-pillar holding crook and flail is depicted on the inner floor. A comparable iconography is that of the \( djed\)-pillar with human head, painted on the inner floor of the middle coffin of Peniu in Hildesheim (Twenty-second–Twenty-third Dynasty, from Akhmim),\(^{120}\) and of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty coffin of Isetemkheb in Lyon.\(^{121}\) The \( djed\)-pillar is topped by the sun disk, resting on horns and worshiped by two \( ba\)-birds. Above the sun disk is the hieroglyph of

\[^{118}\] It is found also in a Ptolemaic hypocephalus. See Miatello 2014: 78–79.

\[^{119}\] Cf. Sheikholeslami 2014: 467.

\[^{120}\] Hildesheim 1902b: Lembke and Schmitz 2006: 272, fig. 309.

the sky, on which the god Shu is kneeling. He is flanked by the *udjat*-eyes and supports, with upraised hands, the solar barque.

Curved vertical board of the head end of the case interior (Figure 18)

The long arched body of the sky goddess Nut extends across the curved vertical board of the head end. As in the standard cosmographic iconography, there are two disks, one at her mouth, the other at her belly. On the two sides, two goddesses worship the epithet ‘king of Upper and Lower Egypt Osiris-Wennefer’, written at the centre of two vertical lines. It is likely that Padiamun is paralleled with Osiris-Wennefer, not in a perfect identification with the god, but in a parallel between his solar-Osirian process of rebirth and that of the god.\(^\text{122}\) On the right side, next to the goddess upon whose head is the sun disk with a star inside,\(^\text{123}\) is the sentence *wn.t <t>p n.t hrw hỉt nfr.w n rˁ sbꜰ ‘The <first> hour of the day: the beauty of the sun with the star appears’. On the left side, near the goddess with a star on her head, is the text *wn.t grḥ nn.w ‘The hour of the night and the goddesses of darkness’. This is a reference to the first hour of the day, when the sun rises in the eastern side of the sky, and the first hour of the night, when the sun sets in the west. Hourly vigil (*Stundenwachen*) figures and texts, derived from the Book of Day and Book of Night, are occasionally inscribed on the underside of the lid of Twenty-sixth Dynasty coffins: beside the body of Nut with outstretched arms, a kneeling goddess with a star on her head is depicted for each hour of the night (*wnw.t n.t grḥ*), while a kneeling goddess with the sun on her head is depicted for each hour of the day (*wnw.t n.t hrw*).\(^\text{124}\) In comparable scenes showing the sun between the two worshipping goddesses, the emblems of East and West are usually depicted at the sides. Each cardinal sign can be found either on the left or on the right.\(^\text{125}\) The sun disk at Nut’s mouth on the right represents the sun swallowed by the sky goddess in the western side of the sky, and the other disk at her belly represents the sun given birth at dawn. During the night the sun passes through the body of Nut from West to East, while the day sky is gone through from East to West. Probably the body of Nut represents here the day sky, as the two goddesses worship the solar-Osirian resurrection.

\(^{122}\) For an attestation of Wennefer justified as the name (*rn*) of the deceased in the netherworld, from the Greco-Roman Period: LGG 2, 377 (C.e).

\(^{123}\) This star is presumably Sothis, which appears with the sun at dawn.

\(^{124}\) See, for example, the coffin of Pefijaumeith, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden Inv. Nr. AMM 5 (Schmidt 1919: 218, fig. 1238), showing for the first Day Hour the label *shꜰ nfr.w rˁ ‘The one who makes appear the beauty of Ra’. Usually the causative of *hỉt* is used in the Book of Day (Piankoff 1942: 2, 122). A common name for the first Night Portal is *nb.t ḫn.t ‘Lady of Gleaming* (Piankoff 1942: 35, 123, and the coffin of Pefijaumeith in Leiden). The spelling variant *ḥrḥ* ‘night’ appears also in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty coffin of Rames in the Museum of Narni (see Bresciani et al. 2003: 52 fig. 5a). For a Thirty-first Dynasty coffin showing on the lid interior the body of Nut and the names of Day Hours and Night Portals see Andelković and Elias 2015: 705–709.

\(^{125}\) See Baines 1985: 57 fig. 33, 58 fig. 35.
The decoration on top of the *djed*-pillar and that of Nut with two worshipping goddesses constitutes a complex ensemble, which is the union of three iconographic elements:

i. The vignette of the hymns to the rising sun from the Book of the Dead, in which Isis and Nephthys, baboons or *ba*-birds, worship the sun on top of the *ankh*, a *djed*-pillar with *ankh*, or the emblem of the west. A variant of this vignette is depicted at the head end of the interior of the inner coffin of Padiamun’s brother Nehemsumontu in Grenoble: the sun, supported with upraised arms on top of a *djed* with *ankh*, is worshipped by Isis and Nephthys and eight baboons.  

ii. The final vignette of the Book of Gates, in which the solar barque is supported by Shu with upraised arms. A variant of this scene is found at the head end of the inner case of the third coffin of Nehemsumontu in Boulogne-sur-Mer: Shu, depicted in the middle of four worshipping baboons and the *udjat*-eyes, supports the sun with upraised arms. Such an iconography is introduced in the composite vignette of spell 15 of the Book of the Dead that appears in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

iii. The cosmological scene in which the arched body of Nut is supported by Shu with upraised arms. This scene is depicted in several coffins of the Third Intermediate Period, sometimes with Shu supporting the solar barque beneath Nut.

3. Concluding remarks

Like the coffins of Padiamun’s brother Nehemsumontu (Boulogne-sur-Mer 1 and Grenoble 123), the coffin of Padiamun is probably dated to the early Twenty-fifth Dynasty. As we have seen, it is characterized by the combination of interesting decorative and textual elements. The figures of the Litany of the Sun, depicted at the sides of the case interior around an anthropoid *djed*-pillar, represent protective
deities of the deceased in the netherworld and manifestations of the solar-Osirian unity. The solar-Osirian resurrection in the day sky is represented at the head level and includes an image of the arched body of Nut and references to Stundenwachen figures and texts. This complex iconography shows elements that will become standardized stylistic features of funerary papyri and coffin design in the Saite Period: the solar barque supported by Shu and flanked by baboons will be inserted as a standard element of the composite vignette of spell 15 of the Book of the Dead in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, and the depiction of the body of Nut combined with the iconographic and textual reference to the first hour of day and night anticipates the depiction on the lid interior of the outstretched body of Nut surrounded by the goddesses of day and night, characteristic of coffins of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. The inspiration for the latter material comes from New Kingdom royal tombs, in particular the Book of Day and Book of Night depicted on the ceiling of the burial chamber of Ramses VI (KV 9). Already in Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period coffins a disk of reed labelled hnmt. wr.t ‘The Great Protectress’, representing the goddess Nut assuring the integrity of the deceased’s body, adorned the interior of rectangular wooden coffins at the head end. In this respect, Padiamun’s coffin can be considered an example of the funerary practice of this period combining traditional and innovative elements in the coffin design, in a phase of transition. As we have seen, the fact that the frequency of occurrence of the ‘declaration of innocence’ in coffins apparently drops after the Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasty is an indication of this phase of transition in funerary practice and coffin design. The wide use of a series of deities and demons as protectors of the deceased’s body is a further typical feature of coffins of the Third Intermediate Period and Saite Period. In Padiamun’s coffin protective guardians of the netherworld are depicted on the sides of the case exterior, and the two hippocampi on the lid constitute further apotropaic elements, connected with the protection of the entrance and exit doors of the judgment hall. The judges of the tribunal of the dead are also endowed with the demonic feature of the knife, as are numerous figures of the Litany of the Sun on the trough interior. The latter act as protectors at the service of the deceased as his body, like that of Osiris, undergoes solar regeneration in the netherworld, culminating at the head end in his rebirth like the sun at dawn. Figures and names of the Litany of the Sun are presented in the original scheme and order of the invocations, as in New Kingdom royal tombs, and not mixed up with other deities and demons, as in other coffins of the Third Intermediate and Saite Periods. This marks further the combination of traditional and innovative elements that characterizes the third coffin of Padiamun.

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132 The practice of depicting the goddesses of the hours around Nut on the lid interior, e.g. in coffins of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, also finds an antecedent in the coffin design of the Middle Kingdom, when the lid interior of wooden rectangular coffins was inscribed with the ‘diagonal star table’, and Nut was depicted with star deities in a vertical strip (see, for example, the coffin of Idy: Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 8, pls. 7–8).
As is usual in Theban coffins of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties, Padiamun’s wooden coffin is a description of the destiny of the deceased in the afterlife: from the positive judgment to the eternal rebirth like the sun, attained after a perilous nocturnal journey through the netherworld and encounters with the creatures that populate it and guard the gates, who grant passage only to those who know the proper magical formulae.
Plate 1. Lid exterior of coffin Liverpool 1953.72. Drawing by the author.
Plate 2. Sides of the case exterior (a = right-hand; b = left-hand) of coffin World Museum Liverpool 1953.72. Drawing by the author.
Plate 3. Sides of the case interior (a = right-hand; b = left-hand) of coffin World Museum Liverpool 1953.72. Drawing by the author.
Plate 5. Comparison of the figures of the Litany of the Sun in Padiamun’s coffin with other examples. Drawing by the author.
Abbreviations


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