

THE FAMILY OF Wah-ib-Re I (TT 414) FROM THEBES

Julia Budka* and Tamás Mekis**

Abstract: *This article provides some new information on the descendants of Wah-ib-Re I who was buried in the tomb of Ankh-Hor, TT 414, during the 30th Dynasty/early Ptolemaic era. As a result of a joint puzzle of data deriving from material excavated by the Austrian Mission in TT 414 and from objects currently kept in European museums originating from non-scientific work in the tomb, previously unknown family members are reconstructed. This extended family tree is also of relevance for fine-dating funerary objects and assessing burial customs in Ptolemaic Thebes.*

Keywords: *Asasif, TT 414, Wah-ib-Re, tomb groups, Ptolemaic, mummy label*

1. Introduction

One of the most important discoveries of the exploration of the Theban necropolis during the 1970s was the finding of the intact burial of Wah-ib-Re I (G42)¹ in TT 414 in room 10/2.² The importance of this discovery datable to the 30th Dynasty up to the early Ptolemaic era derives from the fact that the burial belongs to a period which was until then less represented in the cemetery and more or less intact tomb groups have rarely survived.³ The

aim of this article is to reconstruct family members of Wah-ib-Re I, thus also enlarging our knowledge of corresponding burial customs and funerary objects.

As was custom in Wah-ib-Re's epoch, choachytes were responsible for selecting spacious tombs from earlier periods for new burials for any individual and his/her family.⁴ In the present case, choachytes chose the abandoned 26th Dynasty tomb of Ankh-Hor, TT 414, for this purpose (Fig. 1).⁵ Wah-ib-Re, his parents and siblings as well as their descendants were buried in this huge tomb over centuries.⁶ Unfortunately, when the Austrian mission started its work in the tomb in 1971, TT 414 soon turned out to be ransacked and robbed in antiquity as well as in more recent times.⁷ It was merely good luck that the burial chamber of Wah-ib-Re (room 10/2 of TT 414) escaped the 19th century AD sackings. But the burials of other members of his family were not as lucky: only scattered remains allow reconstructing these burials.⁸ Well-preserved and moveable parts of their burial equipment (e.g. Ptah-Sokar-Osiris-statues, stelae and boxes) were sent to Europe as part of the great collections of consuls and private collectors.⁹ This article aims to reveal some new

Tab. 1 Primary sources from TT 414 with find location

Doc. No.	Source	Registration No.	Find Location
Doc. 1	Mummy label	Asasif, Reg. No. 617 (09/04)	TT 414, room 4
Doc. 2	Mummy label	Asasif, Reg. No. 776	TT 414, room 4
Doc. 3	Mummy label	Asasif, Reg. No. 777	TT 414, room 4
Doc. 4	Mummy label	Asasif, Reg. No. 775	TT 414, room 4
Doc. 5	Mud seal	Asasif, Reg. No. 559	TT 414, room 10/1
Doc. 6	Coffin fragment	Asasif, Reg. No. 787	TT 414, room 7/1

* Ludwig-Maximilians Universität München/Austrian Academy of Sciences.

** University Eötvös Loránd Budapest, independent researcher.

¹ All of the G-numbers used in the following refer to the numbers in the genealogical register for TT 414 established by REISER-HASLAUER 1982b.

² BIETAK and REISER-HASLAUER 1982, 183–220; BUDKA 2008, 69–82; BUDKA 2010b, 57–58.

³ See ASTON 2003, 162; BUDKA 2010a, 358–362.

⁴ VLEEMING 1995, 241–255; DONKER VAN HEEL 2012, *passim*; REDFORD 2013, 277–285; BUDKA 2014, 45–53.

⁵ For the complex use-life of TT 414, see BUDKA 2008, 61–85.

⁶ For the genealogical relations and for the objects, see: REISER-HASLAUER 1982a, 252–256; REISER-HASLAUER 1982b, 267–284; BUDKA 2008, 69–82; BUDKA 2010b, 49–66.

⁷ See BUDKA 2008, 64–65; 75.

⁸ See BUDKA 2008, 61–85; BUDKA 2009, 23–31; BUDKA 2010a, 82–84; BUDKA 2010b, 49–66; BUDKA 2010c, 88–93; BUDKA, MEKIS and BRUWIER 2013, 209–251.

⁹ See already REISER-HASLAUER 1982a, 252–256; BUDKA 2008, 64–65; 75; BUDKA, MEKIS and BRUWIER 2013, 209–251.

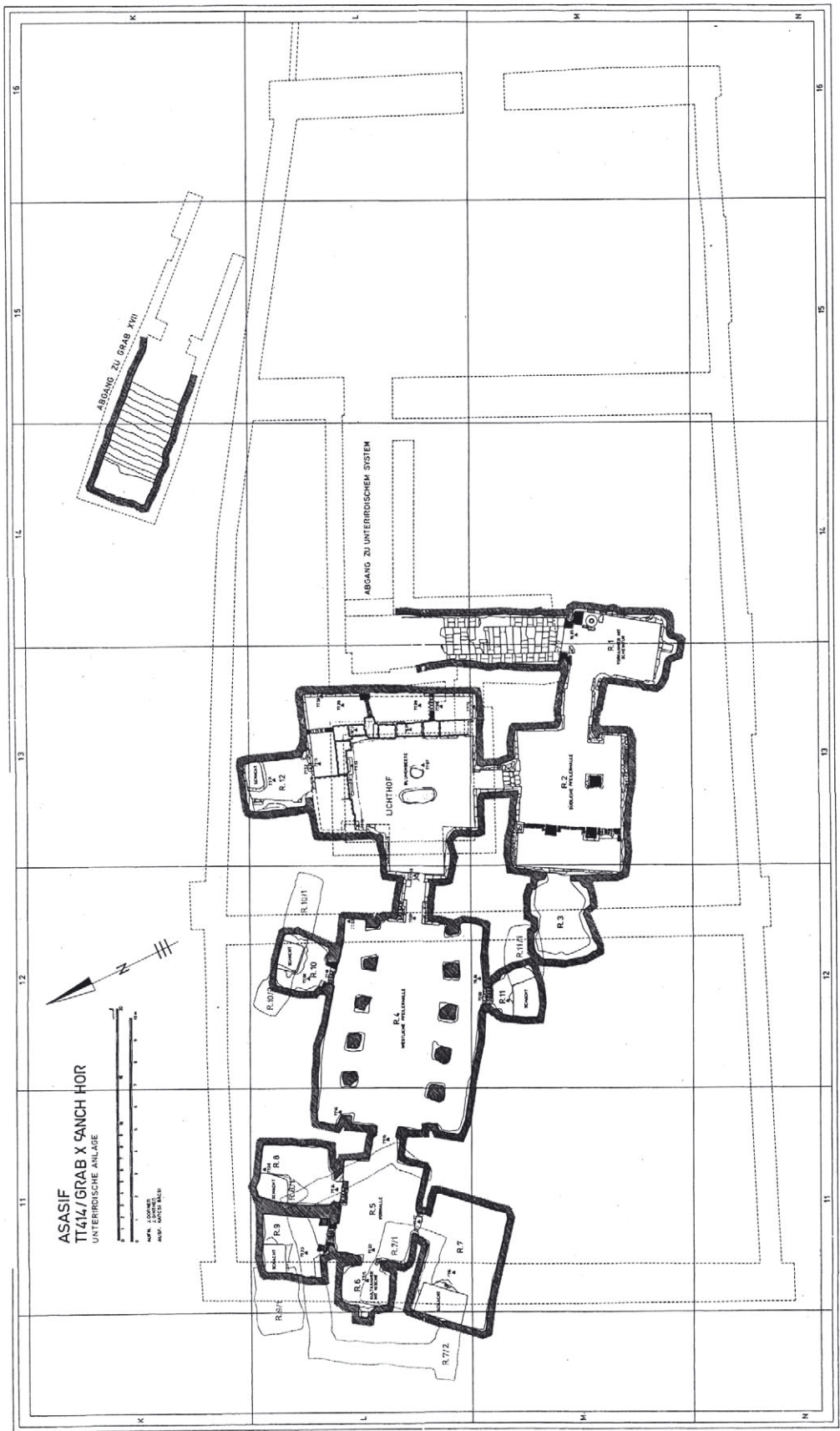


Fig. 1 Map of TT 414. After: BIETAK/REISER-HASLAUER 1978, Plan 3.

information on the descendants of Wah-ib-Re as the result of a joint puzzle of data deriving from both, material excavated by the Austrian Mission in TT 414 as well as objects currently kept in European museums originating from non-scientific work in the tomb.

2. Primary sources from TT 414

Reconstructing the family of Wah-ib-Re will start with the objects found in the tomb by the Austrian mission, taking into account objects originally coming from TT 414, but nowadays kept in museums outside of Egypt and not documented during scientific excavations in a second step. The present study does not deal with the already published *in situ* finds associated with the burial of Wah-ib-Re himself as found in the burial chamber 10/2.¹⁰

The primary sources for relatives of Wah-ib-Re include four demotic mummy labels found in room 4 (the pillared hall) of the tomb (Fig. 1). Detailed studies of these objects were presented by Quaegebeur in 1982¹¹ and by Vleeming in 2011.¹² Some new findings allow revisiting these results.

Doc. 1: Mummy label – Asasif, Reg. No. 617 (09/04) (Fig. 2)



Fig. 2 Mummy label – Asasif, Reg. No. 617 (09/04).
Photo: J. Budka.

One of the most important hints about the descendants of Wah-ib-Re I is the mummy label Reg. No. 617 (09/04). It was brought to light during the “excavation” undertaken in the magazine for the objects from TT 414.¹³ During the cleaning and consolidation of the coffin Reg. No. 590, discovered in room 4 (pillared hall) of the tomb, the demotic mummy label was found, stuck to the bottom part of the coffin and covered by resin.¹⁴ Reg. No. 590 originally belonged to the 26th Dynasty individual Iret-Hor-ru, called Nes-Ba-neb-Djed.¹⁵ The mummy label Reg. No. 617 (09/04) clearly proves that this coffin was reused at the beginning of the Ptolemaic times for someone else than Iret-Ho-ru.

The two lines of demotic inscription read as follows:

(1) *jt-ntr W3ḥ-jb-R^c z3 P3-dj-Jmn-[nsw]-t3.wj (?)*

(2) *z3 W3ḥ-jb-R^c p3 ḥm-ntr Jmn*

(1) God’s father Wah-ib-Re, son of Pa-di-Amun-(neb)-[nesu(t)]-tawy

(2) son of Wah-ib-Re, the prophet of Amun

The placement of the reused coffin in the northern part of room 4, just before shaft 10 leading to the intact burial chamber of Wah-ib-Re I, was almost certainly not incidental. The individual for whom the choachytes reused the coffin of Iret-Hor-ru was probably one of the descendants, precisely the grandson of Wah-ib-Re I, here named as “Wah-ib-Re, the prophet of Amun” in line two of the mummy label. It seems that up to the 19th century AD the newly identified Wah-ib-Re V (see 2.1 for the family tree) was placed in the re-used 26th Dynasty coffin in the pillared hall, close to the entrance of the shaft to the burial chamber of his grandfather. His funerary equipment was looted in the late 1810s and early 1820s, leaving only the mummy label as clear evidence for Wah-ib-Re V’s burial in TT 414.

Family tree 1

W3ḥ-jb-R^c

|

P3-dj-Jmn-[nsw]-t3.wj

|

W3ḥ-jb-R^c

¹⁰ See BIETAK and REISER-HASLAUER 1982, 183–220, pls. 119–148. See also ASTON 2003, 161–162; BUDKA 2010a, 358–360; BUDKA 2010b, 57–58.

¹¹ QUAEGBEUR 1982, 259–266.

¹² VLEEMING 2011, 11–15.

¹³ See BUDKA 2010b, 59–61.

¹⁴ BUDKA 2010b, 59–61.

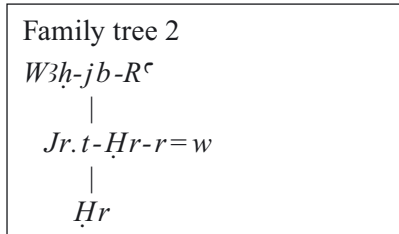
¹⁵ G33 (REISER-HASLAUER 1982b, 270).

Doc. 2: Mummy label – Asasif, Reg. No. 776

The demotic mummy label Reg. No. 776 was made for another of Wah-ib-Re I's grandsons.¹⁶

(1) *Jt-ntr Hr z3 Jr.t-Hr-r=w z3 W3h-jb-R^c*

(1) God's father Hor, son of Iret-Hor-ru, son of Wah-ib-Re



Doc. 3: Mummy label – Asasif, Reg. No. 777

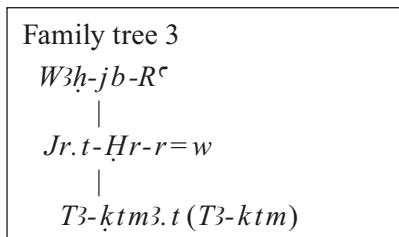
Another mummy label (Reg. No. 777) was probably made for Wah-ib-Re I's granddaughter, Ta-ketmat (Ta-ketem).¹⁷

(1) *sḥm.t T3-ktm3.t ta Jr.t-Hr-r=w*

(2) *z3 W3h-jb-R^c*

(1) Woman¹⁸ Ta-ketmat, daughter of Iret-Hor-ru

(2) son of Wah-ib-Re



Doc. 4: Mummy label – Asasif, Reg. No. 775

A fourth mummy label (Reg. no. 775) was probably made for another grandson, Pa-di-Amun-ipet.¹⁹

(1) *Jt-ntr P3-dj-Jmn-jp.t [...]*

(2) *z3 P3-dj-Jmn-nsw-t3.wj p3 zh [...]*²⁰

(1) God's father Pa-di-Amun-ipet [...]

(2) son of Pa-di-Amun-(neb)-nesu(t)-tawy, the scribe [...]

Family tree 4


P3-dj-Jmn-(nb)-nsw-t3.wj

[W3h-jb-R^c] ?

P3-dj-Jmn-jp.t

As noted in an earlier paper, it is significant that all the demotic mummy labels from TT 414 were found in room 4.²¹ They can all be assigned to the family of Wah-ib-Re I and testify that the burial customs varied within few generations. The grandsons and granddaughters of Wah-ib-Re I seem to have reused coffins of earlier periods and it is well attested for Wah-ib-Re V (Doc. 1) that making mummy labels was an essential part of the equipment which was not needed by older generations of the same family buried in other parts of the tombs in authentic coffins.²²

Doc. 5: Mud seal – Asasif, Reg. No. 559

Besides the demotic mummy labels found in the pillared hall of TT 414, another clue for a son of Wah-ib-Re I comes directly from the burial chamber (room 10/2, Fig. 1). A mud seal was found still in place, sealing a mould as one of the burial gifts associated with embalming.²³ The dimensions of the object are 1.72 x 1.72cm. Its inscription reads  *jt-ntr Jj-m-htp* – “The god's father Imhotep”. Although there is no filiation and reference to Wah-ib-Re on this seal, Reiser-Haslauer proposed Imhotep as son of Wah-ib-Re, because the person was obviously in charge of the burial of Wah-ib-Re (having left a seal within the burial chamber, connected with embalming material), giving an indirect hint for a father-son relationship.²⁴ The present study will provide further clues that this was indeed the real relationship of the two individuals.

¹⁶ QUAEGBEUR 1982, 262, no. 5 (fig. 120). Found in the southern portico of the pillared hall (room 4) among the debris. Dimensions: 6.5–6.8 x 4.3–4.6cm, thickness 0.6cm.

¹⁷ QUAEGBEUR 1982, 263, no. 6 (fig. 120). Found in the southern portico of room 4 among the debris. Dimensions: 6.7 x 4.9cm, thickness 0.7cm. For the name *T3-ktm3.t* and its variants, see: *DN*, 1215.

¹⁸ We follow the reading and translation by VLEEMING 2011, 13 (instead of *hm.t* – wife by QUAEGBEUR 1982, 263).

¹⁹ QUAEGBEUR 1982, 262, no. 4 (fig. 120). Found in the middle of the western pillared hall (room 4) among the debris. Dimensions: 4.5–4.8 x 4.7–4.8cm, thickness 0.8cm.

²⁰ Unfortunately, the father's name is on the missing part of the etiquette. Quaegebeur was cautious, avoiding recon-

structing the missing name. In the light of the recently found label Reg. No. 617 (09/04), it is now safe to assume that the name was identical with the recently identified *W3h-jb-R^c*.

²¹ BUDKA 2010b, 59–61. Cf. also VLEEMING 2011, 11.

²² Because the burial of Wah-ib-Re I himself was found intact, we know that no mummy label was used. See BUDKA 2010b, 60.

²³ BIETAK and REISER-HASLAUER 1982, 186, 188, 189, fig. 559, 190; pl. 123 A, B. See BUDKA 2010a, 360.

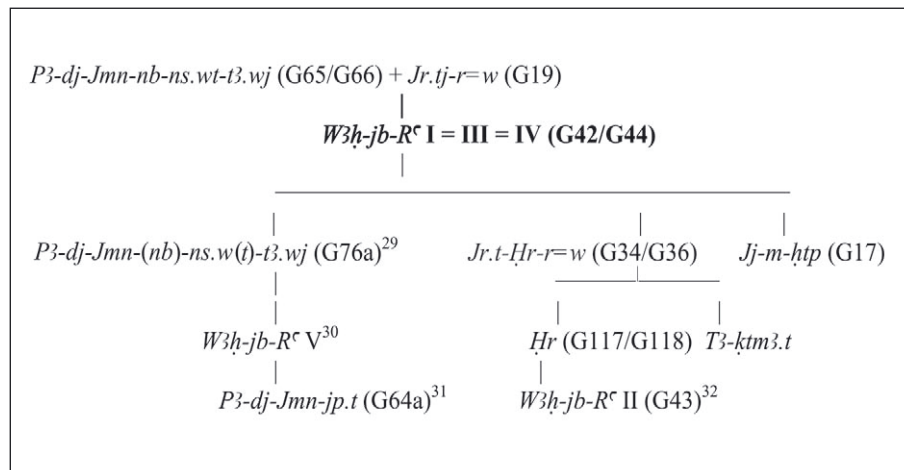
²⁴ REISER-HASLAUER 1982a, 256. See also BUDKA 2010a, 360 (with reference to an alternative interpretation of the object as “embalmer's stamp”).

Doc. 6: Coffin fragment
– Asasif, Reg. No. 787

The father of the owner of the coffin fragment Reg. No. 787, Hor (G118), is Iret-Hor-ru (G36).²⁵ The piece was found in room 7/1 of TT 414, which is the primary burial chamber of Ankh-Hor (Fig. 1). It is a small fragment from the middle part of the lid of an inner anthropoid coffin (34 x 4.2 x 1cm) of polished wood with incised and inlaid decoration.²⁶ This coffin style is well attested for other family members from TT 414, datable from the 30th Dynasty until the mid-Ptolemaic period.²⁷

2.1 Summary of primary sources

Based on the objects mentioned so far and including data from the burial of Wah-ib-Re I himself, the following family tree can be reconstructed:²⁸



As became obvious, some separate entries of the genealogical register by Reiser-Haslauer actually belong to only one person and should, therefore, be united: G65/G66;³³ G42/G44;³⁴ G34/36³⁵ and G117/118³⁶. However, this new reconstruction remains incomplete without the examination of collections of museums for further antiquities, which may belong to members of this family buried in TT 414, and will be discussed in the following.

Tab. 2 Secondary sources from museums (originally coming from TT 414)

Doc. 7	Cartonnage axial naming strip	Louvre N 4603
Doc. 8	Cartonnage axial naming strip	Louvre N 3367
Doc. 9	Statue of mourning Isis	Louvre N 4130
Doc. 10	Statue of mourning Nephthys	BM EA 60859
Doc. 11	Offering table	Turin cat. no. 1756
Doc. 12	Canopic chest	BM EA 8535
Doc. 13	Stela	Durham, Oriental Museum EG 605 (N1982) Salt watercolour no. 12
Doc. 14	Panel of a canopic chest	Louvre N 4364

²⁵ See already QUAEGBEUR 1982, 265.

²⁶ See REISER-HASLAUER 1982a, 256. A small fragment of Reg. No. 787 was recovered in 2009 in the magazine in the Asasif and will be published together with all coffin fragments from TT 414 somewhere else.

²⁷ See BUDKA, MEKIS and BRUWIER 2013, 243, n. 215.

²⁸ See already REISER-HASLAUER 1982a, 253 and 256.

²⁹ REISER-HASLAUER 1982b, 276. She tentatively named *P3-dj-Jmn-jpj* (G64a) as his possible son.

³⁰ In 2009, Budka identified this new member of the family as Wah-ib-Re V; a previously unknown Wah-ib-re IV was proposed as his grandfather, but this person is probably identical with Wah-ib-re III (G44); BUDKA 2010b, 60, n. 82. According to the new information analysed in the present study, Wah-ib-re I, III and IV are all one and the same person.

³¹ REISER-HASLAUER 1982b, 274 (with the incorrect fatherhood of *P3-dj-Jmn-(nb)-ns.wt-t3.wj*, see n. 28).

³² Attested by the side board of a canopic box found by the Austrian Mission in the lower debris of the “Lichthof” of TT 414 (Reg. No. 377c, 43.5 x 8.2 x 1.3cm); see REISER-HASLAUER 1982a, 271 (G43); BUDKA 2006, vol. IV, 192, cat. 492; for details see below (Doc. 16).

³³ Identification based on the fragments of the Book of the Dead papyrus of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy (G65/66) preserved in London (British Museum, EA 10539, 10700, 10733), MOSHER 2016, I, 16–19. Due to the new secondary sources presented here, G65/66 may be distinguished from G76a; for details see below.

³⁴ Wah-ib-Re mentioned on mummy label Reg. No. 776, distinguished by Reiser-Haslauer as number II (G44), can now be identified with Wah-ib-Re I (G42).

³⁵ Iret-Hor-ru (G34), son of Wah-ib-Re I/II (G42/44), as mentioned on mummy label Reg. No. 776, may be identical with Iret-Hor-ru (G36), for details see below.

³⁶ Conclusion of the previous identifications.

3. Secondary sources from museums (originally coming from TT 414)

Doc. 7: Stucco covered linen axial naming strip – Paris, Louvre, N 4603 (Fig. 3)³⁷

The first object that may be attributed to the recently identified Wah-ib-Re V is a small fragmented cartonnage panel, which once belonged to a set equipping the mummy for its underworld journey. The cartonnage axial naming strip is today kept at the Louvre (Fig. 3).³⁸ The object entered the collection in 1824 together with 2500 Egyptian antiquities from the collection of Édme-Antoine Durand. Unfortunately, it is not known how the object came into the possession of Mr. Durand. Possibly, it was purchased in Italy where Mr. Durand had gathered the major part of his collection.³⁹

The strip has a central gilded part with a single line of hieroglyphic text. The text is surrounded by two lines with red and blue feather-like-decoration on each side. From the original piece, broken into four parts, only three are preserved. The text reads as follows:



³⁷ GUICHARD 2013, 257, P. 393 à 398. In its present state of preservation only three fragments remained of the whole piece, the first two were re-connected by conservators in 1991, measuring 34.5 x 5.2cm. The measurements of the third separate fragment are 9.2 x 5cm.

³⁸ The piece is kept in the reserve Galerie d'Alger.

³⁹ CH. 1836, 5–15; KANAWATY 1985, 34–36; KANAWATY 1990, 268.

Transliteration:

Dd-mdw hj Wsjr jt-ntr hm-ntr n Jmn-R^c-nb-ns.t-t3.wj m 3h-mnw W3h-jb-R^c m3^c-hrw z3 n jt-ntr zh3-bj3.(w)t n Jmn P3-dj-[Jmn]-nb-ns.t-t3.wj m3^c-hrw jr.t.n Jr.tj-r=w m3^c-hrw jw n=k [...] krs.t nf(r).t hr jmnt.t wr(.t) m W3s.t dj.s^c.wj=s n=k d.t



Fig. 3 Stucco covered linen axial naming strip – Paris, Louvre, N 4603.

Photo: © Musée du Louvre/Christian Décamps.

Translation

To recite: Hail Osiris god's father, prophet of Amun-Re, Lord of the throne of the two lands in the Akh-menu, Wah-ib-Re, true-of-voice, son of the god's father, scribe of the oracle(s) of Amun Pa-di-[Amun]-neb-neset-tawy, true-of-voice, born to Irty-eru, true-of-voice. May come to you [...], a beautiful burial in the great West of Thebes. She may give her hands to you forever.

Based on the text showing the axial naming strip, one could argue according to the filiation and titles that it may belong to Wah-ib-Re I. However, the burial chamber of Wah-ib-Re I was found intact and the Louvre cartonnage must, therefore, belong to someone else.⁴⁰ Most likely, this fragmentary cartonnage may be associated with the mummy laid in the 26th Dynasty coffin of Iret-Horru (Reg. No. 590) in the pillared hall (room 4), marked by mummy label Reg. No. 619 (Doc. 1). In the 19th century AD, Egyptian mummies were systematically damaged during the search for cartonnages, amulets and other finds. Objects like Louvre N 4603 entered large European museums mostly via Italian antiquity dealers.⁴¹ Up to now, except for Doc. 1 and Doc. 7, no other objects can be attributed to Wah-ib-Re V with certainty.

Family tree 5

<i>P3-dj-Jmn-nb-ns.wt-t3.wj + Jr.tj-r=w</i> <i>W3h-jb-R^c(V)</i>
--

Doc. 8: Cartonnage axial naming strip – Paris, Louvre N 3367 (Fig. 4)

The collection Durand held another find which may be attributed to the same family from TT 414, the axial naming strip N 3367. This object was made in cartonnage technique; the textile based cartonnage is thicker and thus better preserved than N 4603, which is only covered by stucco.⁴²

⁴⁰ See BIETAK and REISER-HASLAUER 1982, 207–209, fig. 94, pls. 137/a, 138 and 139 for the original cartonnage (Reg. No. 874) found *in situ* on the mummy of Wah-ib-Re I.

⁴¹ Cf. the similar history of a stela coming from TT 414, acquired in 1824 by the Kunsthistorisches Museum of Vienna, see BUDKA, MEKIS and BRUWIER 2013, 221, doc. 4.

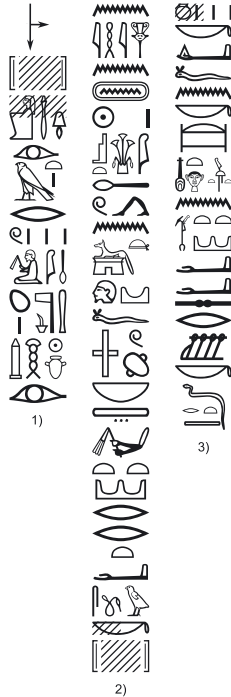
⁴² GUICHARD 2013, 257, P. 393 à 398. The cartonnage consists of three pieces. In its present state of preservation, two are adjacent, while a smaller third piece is possibly from the end of the text. Another one, which would connect the others, is missing. The dimensions are 46 x 3.4cm, as kindly communicated by Sylvie Guichard. For analogies, see MEKIS 2012, 30, n. 80.



Fig. 4 Cartonnage axial naming strip – Paris, Louvre N 3367. Photo: © Musée du Louvre/Christian Décamps.

The gilded cartonnage axial naming strip was once part of a multiple piece set with smaller cartonnage elements depicting possibly Nut, Api, and the Four Sons of Horus. Unfortunately, these small cartonnage panels are at present completely impossible to identify; generally, these panels do not name the deceased and thus an *in situ*-context or clear association is needed.

The text reads as follows:



Transliteration

1. [...] ḥz(.j) ʕ, mnḥ Jr.t-Ḥr-r=w mʕ^c-ḥrw z3
jt-ntr ḥm-ntr (n) Jmn W3ḥ-jb-R^c jr.//
2. n jḥj(.t) n Jmn-R^c ʕs.t-m-ʕḥ-bj.t mʕ^c-ḥrw
jw n=k Jnpw tp.j ḏw=fjmj w.t nb t3 ḏsr r rdj.t
srwḏ=k [...]
3. [...] nw.k dj.f n=k krs.t nfr.t ḥr Jmnt.t n
Wʕs.t^c.wj=s r šzp.k r ḏ.t

Translation

1. [...] the great and efficient praised one^a Iret-Horru, true-of-voice, son of the god's father, prophet of Amun, Wah-ib-Re, born
2. to the sistrum-player of Amun-Re Aset-(m)-akh-bit, true-of-voice. May come to you Anubis, who is at the top of his hill, who is at the embalming place, lord of the sacred land as to be given that you be strenghten

⁴³ SEIPEL 1989, 156–157, nos. 122 and 123.

⁴⁴ GUICHARD 2013, 123, A 620 = Salt no. 3649. Dimensions: height of statue 60.5cm, height of plinth 8.5cm, length 31cm, width 12.3cm.

3. [...] May be given to you a beautiful burial on the West part of Thebes. Her arms accept you for ever. Note

^a *ḥz.j* – “praised one”, an epithet that refers to the deceased's glorified state. EVRARD-DERRIKS and QUAEGBEUR 1979, 41–42.

Docs. 9 and 10: Statues of mourning Isis and Nephthys (Fig. 5–6)

Although the two statues are kept in different museums today, Isis at the Louvre (N 4130, Doc. 9) and Nephthys at the British Museum (EA 60859, Doc. 10), both were originally placed in TT 414. In 1978, Seipel already noted that due to their inscriptions they may be associated.⁴³ The Louvre statue was purchased as part of the Henry Salt collection in 1826,⁴⁴ the one in the British Museum was acquired in 1841 from the collection of Harry Osborn Cureton.⁴⁵



Fig. 5 (left) Statue of Isis – Louvre N 4130.

Photo: © Musée du Louvre/Pierre and Maurice Chuzeville.

Fig. 6 (right) Statue of Nephthys – London, EA 60859.

Photo: © Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

⁴⁵ See the Merlin database: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=125467&partId=1&museumno=60859&page=1 (last accessed 02.08.2015). Cureton acquired his antiqui-

From the Late Period onwards, it was a custom to equip the elite burials with statues of the goddesses Isis and Nephthys in the gesture of mourning. These statues were put onto the coffin⁴⁶ or just placed in the vicinity of the mummy.⁴⁷ Several examples are kept in museum collections today.⁴⁸ In most of the cases, the statues are kneeling on a small plinth, lifting one or both hands in the gesture of mourning, and are without inscriptions. The ones in question belonging to Iret-Hor-ru are executed with a remarkable finesse. Together with the Isis statue from the *in situ* finds in the burial chamber of his father, Wah-ib-Re I (G42, room 10/2 in TT 414) they may be considered as exceptions, featuring an inscribed plinth with the *dd-mdw jn* formula. Unfortunately, however, all texts of these statues are fragmented. On Wahibre's statue some words of the formula recited by Isis running around the base are preserved: *wn.j rs hr=k* – “I am to guard you!”

The symbolic aim of these statues was exactly to protect and guard the deceased as personification of Osiris, the husband and brother of Isis and brother of Nephthys.⁴⁹ The magical power of the goddesses is expressed by the inscriptions of the plinth as well as by the decoration along the base of the statues of Iret-Hor-ru: *ḥw w3s nb* – “all life and power”.⁵⁰

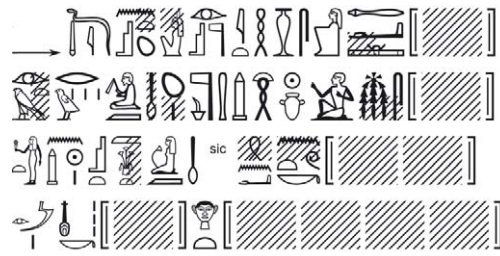
On the plinth of the Louvre statue (N 4130, Fig. 5), in front of Isis, there is a short text consisting of four lines as follow:

ties from auctions, and even though he was present at the auctions of the Salt and D'Athanasia collections, the piece must have been purchased on a different auction, BIERBRIGER 2012, 138. Among the objects from TT 414 coming from this collection, now in the British Museum is a shabti by Ankh-Hor himself, BM EA 33965 (purchased in 1851). For an early description of the statue, see ARUNDALE and BONOMI [1842], 35 pl. 18, fig. 62. Dimensions of the statue: height 59cm, length of the plinth 31.3cm, width 14cm.

⁴⁶ E.g. on the canopy of the Akhmimic priest Pasenedjemibnekheth dated to the mid-4th century BC, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, TR 21.11.6.12, GRIMM 1975, 23, cat. no. 40, pls. 76–77 a–b, for the dating of the canopy, see ELIAS and MEKIS forthcoming.

⁴⁷ As attested by means of an Isis statue of the burial of Wah-ib-Re I (Reg. No. 561, now Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. A 2128): BIETAK and REISER-HASLAUER 1982, 193–195, fig. 86, pl. 124; SATZINGER 1979, 105–106, cat. no. M 3, fig. 94, front cover.

⁴⁸ Without attempting to be comprehensive, some wooden kneeling Isis statues in the gesture of mourning: Aberdeen, Marischal College, cat. no. 415; Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, cat. no. (Laurent) 116; Guéret, Musée de Gué-



Text behind the statue



Transliteration

1. *Ḍd-mdw jn 3s.t Wsjr jt (-ntr) ḥz(.j) ʕ, [mnḥ]*
2. *Jr.t-Hr-r=w m3^c-ḥrw z3 jt-ntr ḥm-ntr Jmn W3ḥ-jb-R^c ms*
3. *jḥj.t n Jmn-R^c 3s.t-m-3ḥ-bj.t m3^c-ḥrw <n>[š]n^c.tw=k [...]*
4. *m33 nfr.w=k [...] ḥr.t [...]*

Single line behind the statue:

1. *z3, ḥw, ḏd, w3s ḥ3=f nb mj R^c dt*

Translation

1. To recite by Isis: Osiris, (god's) father great [and efficient] praised one
2. Iret-Hor-ru, true-of-voice, son of the god's father, prophet of Amun, Wah-ib-Re, born to the
3. sistrum-player of Amun-Re Aset-em-akh-bit, true-of-voice, may you <not> be repelled ...
4. as to see your beauty [...]

Single line behind the statue:

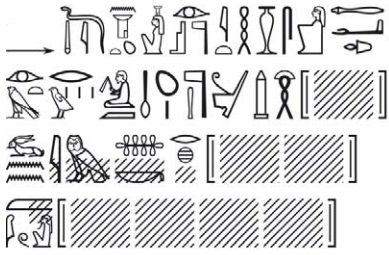
1. All protection, life, stability and power around him, like (around) Ra, forever

ret, inv. no. 84.9.132; Hildesheim, Roemer-Pelizaeus-Museum, inv. no. 1584; Coll. Lady Meux, cat. nos. 23–25; Coll. MacGregor cat. no. 593; Tübingen, Universität Tübingen, inv. no. 339; wooden kneeling Nephthys statues in the gesture of mourning: Aberdeen, Marischal College, cat. no. 486; Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, inv. no. 463; Coll. MacGregor cat. no. 592; Marseille, Musée d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne, inv. no. 439; Paris, Louvre N 4086; Hildesheim, Roemer-Pelizaeus-Museum inv. no. 1583; Coll. Hilton Price, cat. no. 2403a; Coll. Lady Meux, cat. nos. 26–28; Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, inv. no. 145; Tübingen, Universität Tübingen, inv. no. 340; further statues with missing crown: Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, inv. no. ME 247; Uppsala, Victoria Museum, coll. Beöthy, cat. no. B 405.

⁴⁹ On Isis' and Nephthys' role of mourning, see KUCHARÉK 2010.

⁵⁰ Such a base decoration – a frieze of *ḥw w3s nb* – is also very common on coffins and plinths of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris-statues, especially in the 26th Dynasty and then again in the 30th Dynasty and Ptolemaic times; see TAYLOR 1989, 56–61, figs. 45 and 49.

Positioned in the same way, the text on the London statue (EA 60859, Fig. 6) reads as follows:



Text behind the statue



Transliteration

1. *Dd-mdw jn Nb.t-ḥw.t Wsjr jt (-ntr) ḥz(.j) ʕ, mnḥ*
2. *Jr.t-Ḥr-r=w mʕ^c-ḥrw zʕ ḥm-ntr n Jmn Wʕḥ- [jb-R^c mʕ^c-ḥrw]*
3. *wnn.j m zʕ[=k] r ḥ[ftj.w=k] [...]*
4. *m Šw [...]*

Single line behind the statue:

1. *zʕ ʕnḥ dd wʕs ḥʕ=f nb mj R^c dt*

Translation

1. To recite by Nephthys: Osiris, (god's) father, great and efficient praised one
2. Iret-Hor-ru, true-of-voice, son of the prophet of Amun Wah-[ib-Re, true-of-voice]
3. I will be as [your] protection against [your] enemies [...]
4. as Shu [...]

Single line behind the statue:

1. All protection, life, stability and power around him, like (around) Ra, forever

Doc. 11: Offering table of Iret-Hor-ru – Turin, ME, cat. no. 1756 (inv. no. 22062) (Fig. 7)

The offering table of Iret-Hor-ru is kept at the Egyptian Museum of Turin today. Purchased by Bernardino Drovetti in Thebes, the museum acquired it from his collection in 1822.⁵¹ A similar offering table is known for Pa-di-Amun-nebnesut-tawy I, father of Wah-ib-Re I, found still *in situ* in the “Lichtof” in TT 414 during the Austrian excavations.⁵² It is likely that the Turin offering

table was also originally installed in the “Lichtof”.⁵³

Turin inv. no. 22062 has a remarkably fine decoration executed in high relief technique. It depicts a rich offering arranged on a *hotep*-form table: different types of bread, an ox-head and various pieces of meat, a pomegranate, and flowers. On the two sides, a hez-vase was carved with zig-zag motives, imitating flowing water running through the table towards the water-outlet. On the lateral side of the slab, two ba-birds are drinking from this stylised water flowing down on the water-outlet. The following inscription runs around the sides of the table:⁵⁴



Transliteration

1. *ḥtp-dj-njsw n Wsjr*
2. *ḥntj jmnt.t Jnpw nb tʕ-dsr dj.f pr.t-ḥrw t*
3. *ḥnk.t, kʕ.w, ʕpd.w, jrp, jrt.t, ḥt nb(.t) nfr(.t) n kʕ Wsjr ḥz(.j),*
4. *jt-ntr, ḥm-ntr Jmn m Jp.t-s.wt, zḥʕ pr-ʕ Jr.t-Ḥr-r=w mʕ^c-ḥrw zʕ ḥm-ntr*
5. *Wʕḥ-jb-R^c ms nb(.t)-pr ʕs.t-(m)-ʕḥ-bj.t mʕ^c-ḥrw*



Fig. 7 Offering table of Iret-Hor-ru – Turin, ME, cat. no. 1756 (inv. no. 22062). Photo: © Courtesy of the Museo Egizio di Torino.

⁵¹ HABACHI 1977, 110, pl. N. 22062. Dimensions of the table: 23.5 x 20 x 5.5 cm; water-outlet: 3.5 cm.

⁵² BIETAK and REISER-HASLAUER 1978, 146–151, reg. no. 646; BIETAK and REISER-HASLAUER 1982, 255, 274; BUDKA 2014, 46–47; BUDKA 2016, 178.

⁵³ See BUDKA 2016, 178–181.

⁵⁴ It seems to be a general characteristic of Theban late offering tables that they were inscribed on their sides; for further analogies see: Tübingen, Universität Tübingen, Inv. No. 1692 (Asasif), BRUNNER-TRAUT and BRUNNER 1981, 30, Tafelband, pl. 146; Cairo, EM, CG 23134 (Medinet Habu), KAMAL 1906, pl. XXXIII; KAMAL 1909, 105–106.

Translation

1. An offering that the king gives to Osiris
2. foremost of the West, to Anubis, Lord of the Sacred Land. He may give an invocation offering consisting of bread
3. and beer, ox and fowl, wine and milk, every good things to the Ka of Osiris, the praised one,
4. god's father, prophet of Amun in Karnak, scribe of the pharaoh Iret-Hor-ru, true-of-voice, son of
5. Wah-ib-Re, born to the mistress of the house Aset-em-akh-bit, true-of-voice.

Doc. 12: Canopic chest of Iret-Hor-ru – London, BM EA 8535 (Fig. 8)⁵⁵

The circumstances of the acquisition of this chest, now in London, are not preserved. BM EA 8535 is a relatively large box (56cm high), with slightly tapering sides furnished with a cavetto cornice, falling into type C2 by Aston.⁵⁶ Luckily, the lid of the box has also survived. The akhom-bird which was once on top of this lid is now lost, only its contours and holes for the tenons are still visible. On the two sides of this bird silhouette, two columns of text were inscribed facing rightwards, giving a rather detailed list of the titles of Iret-Hor-ru.



Transliteration

Right: *Dd-mdw jn Wsjr hz(.j) ʕ3, mnḥ m hr.t-ntr, jt-ntr, ḥm-ntr Jmn m Jp.t-s.wt /*
 Left: *zh3 pr-ʕ3, (zh3) t3š n njw.t Jr.t-Ḥr-r=w m3ʕ-hrw*

Translation

Right: To recite by the Osiris, great and efficient praised one in the necropolis, prophet of Amun in Karnak,
 Left: Scribe of the pharaoh, (scribe) of the district of the town, Iret-Hor-ru, true-of-voice.

Above all scenes on the box, the night sky was presented with small stars drawn in a light blue bordure running around at the top. On the frontal side, three vertical panels were created. In the central panel, a personified Djed-pillar was painted crowned with the Atef-crown and equipped with the royal regalia, flanked on each side by a single

column of text. The hieroglyphs of these lateral registers are facing towards the central pillar.



Transliteration

Right: *Dd-mdw jn j Dḥwtj sm3ʕ hrw Wsjr r ḥftj.w sm3ʕ hrw*
 Left: *{Dd-mdw (jn)} Wsjr ḥz(.j) ʕ3 m hr.t-ntr Jr.t-Ḥr-r=w r ḥftj.w=f*

Translation

Right: To recite: O, Thot, let (the god) Osiris triumph over the enemies^a

Left: {To recite by}^b let the Osiris, the great praised one in the Necropolis, Iret-Hor-ru, triumph over his enemies!

^a LGG VI, 331; LÜSCHER 1986, 18–20.

^b This *dd-mdw (jn)* introduction is redundant and possibly an implication that the box was a stock product with some inscriptions written in advance.

The left side panel of the box depicts two horizontal registers: the lower one shows the palace-façade-motif, in the upper one Hapy and Imsety are depicted in small compartments with a single column of text in front of each of them. Both genii are standing in a mummified body form grasping a long piece of mummy linen (šz); their heads are disproportionately large.



Transliteration/Translation

Ḥpjj jr(.j) z3 n Wsjr Jr.t-Ḥr-r=w m3ʕ-hrw – Hapy: (I) make protection for Osiris Iret-Hor-ru, true-of-voice

Jmstj d(d).f dj(.j) wd3 ḥ3.t=<k> {nb} nfr ḥʕ=k Jr.t-Ḥr-r=w m3ʕ-hrw / dj(.j) ʕnḥ, dd, w3s nb – Imsety (while) he says: I cause your corpse to be healed and your limbs beautiful, Iret-Hor-ru, true-of-voice.

I give all life, stability and power!

The backside panel of the box continues the division in two registers: the lower one again

⁵⁵ Its dimensions are 56 x 24.2 x 34cm, TAYLOR and STRUDWICK 2005, 82–83. See also BRUWIER 1991, 114–122.

⁵⁶ ASTON 2000, 169–170, pl. 10.

shows the palace-façade-motif, while the upper register depicts in a three-column-arrangement in the middle a Tjet-bundle flanked by the following text facing rightwards:



Transliteration

Right: *Dd-mdw jn 3s.t-wr.t mw.t ntrj.t dd.s wnn(.j) m z3=k*

Left: *Jr.t-Hr-r=w m3^c-hrw jr=j z3=k hpr=k nb z3*

Translation

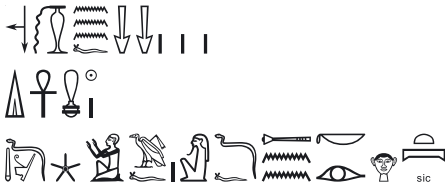
To recite by Isis-the-Great, divine mother, while she says: (I) will be your protection:

Iret-Hor-ru, true-of-voice, I make your protection, you become all protected.

The right side panel compares to the left side panel with Hapy and Imsety; here, Qebehsenuf and Duamutef are depicted standing, grasping mummy linen. In front of each deity the following texts were inscribed:



Fig. 8 Canopic chest of Iret-hor-ru – London, BM EA 8535. Photo: © Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Transliteration/Translation

Left: $\overline{K}bh\text{-}sn.w=f / dj(.j) \text{ } ^c nh \text{ } mj \text{ } R^c$ – Qebeh-senuef / (I) give life as Re.

Right: $\overline{D}d\text{-}mdw (j)n \text{ } Dw^3\text{-}mw.t=f \text{ } \overline{d}(d)=f \text{ } mj \text{ } n=k \text{ } jr.t \text{ } Hr$ – To recite by Duamutef: while he says take for you the eye of Horus.

The content of the chest has not survived, but according to Taylor and Strudwick: “drops of solidified black resin indicate that the chest held one or more bundles, probably containing the embalmed internal organs of the deceased.”⁵⁷

Doc. 13: Funerary stela of Imhotep – Durham, Durham University Museum, EG 605 (Figs. 9–10)

The existence of this stela and its relevance for TT 414 was first noted by Reiser-Haslauer.⁵⁸ She suspected that the stela may belong to the god’s father Imhotep, whose mud seal (Reg. No. 559, Doc. 5) was discovered in the burial chamber of Wah-ib-Re I.

As for the stela, it was found by the agents of the English consul Henry Salt in Thebes, possibly in 1818 when one of his friends, Alessandro Ricci, made a painting of it (Fig. 9).⁵⁹ The painting is now kept in the British Museum at the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, known as one of the “Salt watercolours”.⁶⁰ As Bierbrier noted, the watercolours may have been acquired together with the Salt antiquities in 1823.⁶¹ All watercolours are followed by some captions providing information on their finding place. In this case, the following was written by Salt: “*M* (referring to its order) *Tombstone on wood found in the same tomb as I. Copied by Dr. Ricci.*”

Stelas “I” (no. 8) and “H” (no. 7) respectively, London, British Museum EA 8461 and EA 8462, belong to two other members of the Wah-ib-Re family. The owner of EA 8461⁶² was possibly

Imhotep’s father Wah-ib-Re I. Stela EA 8462⁶³ follows in style the stela of Imhotep and its owner can be identified as Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy II (G67), a cousin of Imhotep.

Salt’s comments on the stelas are as follows:

“*I – A tombstone found by H. Salt in a tomb opened in the plain at Gournou – painted on wood. Copied by Dr. Ricci.*”

“*H – A tombstone painted on wood found by H. Salt at Thebes in a tomb in the plain. Copied by Dr. Ricci. This had steps to stand on like I and a gilt bird on the summit. The globe also is gilt.*”

The two stelas “I” (no. 8) and “H” (no. 7) were acquired by the British Museum in 1823, but the stela “M” (no. 12) was known only from its painting, whereas the actual object disappeared from the perspective of Egyptologists. It was Algernon Percy, Lord Prudhoe,⁶⁴ it seems, who acquired the piece from Salt prior to 1823 for his collection, which would become rich and valuable during his later travels to Egypt.⁶⁵ The stela was described in a detailed way in 1880 by S. Birch, who prepared the catalogue of the Alnwick castle collection.⁶⁶ Unfortunately, however, no details about its acquisition have survived.

The round topped wooden stela (Fig. 10) is made of two planks; the two halves are strung together with small tenons. In its present state of preservation it measures 53.34 x 35.56cm. Originally, the slab stood on two rampant supports, which have disappeared, just like the ba-bird once fixed with a notch into the hole in the middle of the upper edge.⁶⁷

The wooden stela is painted in red, blue, green, yellow and black. The middle pictorial section is bordered by a red edge. As is usual for such Theban stelae, Type IV A of Munro,⁶⁸ the lunette depicts a radiating winged sun disc flanked by two rampant uraei, distinguished by the Lower and Upper Egyptian crowns. In front of them, two jackals are lying with sekhem-scepters in their front paws.

Below, in a rectangular panel the night-bark of the sun god is depicted, adored by a ba-bird at its

⁵⁷ TAYLOR and STRUDWICK 2005, 82.

⁵⁸ BIETAK and REISER-HASLAUER 1982, 256, n. 489.

⁵⁹ BIERBRIER 1983, 9–12; USICK 1999, 115.

⁶⁰ Its no. is 12. MALEK/SMITH 1983, 38.

⁶¹ BIERBRIER 1983, 9–12.

⁶² BIERBRIER 1987, 38–39, pls. 74–79; BUDKA 2008, 77.

⁶³ MUNRO 1973, 58, 235; BIERBRIER 1987, 36–38, pls. 70–73;

BUDKA 2008, 76–77, figs. 13–14.

⁶⁴ RUFFLE 2001, 15–84.

⁶⁵ BIERBRIER 2012, 423; THOMPSON 2015, 160.

⁶⁶ BIRCH 1880, N 1982, 321–323.

⁶⁷ Complete comparable examples are kept in the British Museum, see BIERBRIER 1987, EA 8461 (pl. 74), EA 8462 (pl. 70), EA 8468 (pl. 82), EA 54343 (pl. 92). See also BUDKA 2008, 76, figs. 13–14.

⁶⁸ MUNRO 1973, 43–71.



Fig. 9 Painting of the funerary stela of Imhotep by Alessandro Ricci, “Salt watercolours” no. 12, London, BM AES Ar.1515, © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

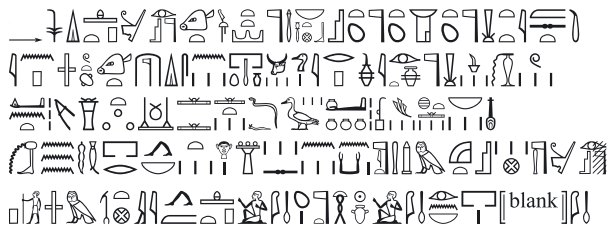


Fig. 10 Funerary stela of Imhotep – Durham, Durham University Museums, Oriental Museum EG 605. Photo: © Durham University Museums.

prow and poop. The personnel of the night-bark are named by small label texts from front to back: Isis, Maat, Re-Horakhty, chief of the gods, Atum, Lord of the bark.

Below, in another panel, Imhotep stands on the right in the pose of adoration in front of a row of gods: Re-Horakhty, chief of the gods, Atum, Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, Imsety, Anubis, who is at the place of embalming. In front of Isis and Nephthys, short texts name provisions to Imhotep: Isis gives textile, clothing and oil, while Nephthys gives myrrh.

The lower panel shows five lines of text, which is a simple offering formula in favour of Imhotep. As an unusual feature, the space reserved for the name of the owner's mother was left blank in the last line.



Transliteration

1. *ḥtp-dj-njsw n Wsjr-ḥntj-Jmnt.t ntr ʕ3 nb 3bdw 3s.t ntrj.t Nb.t-ḥw.t sn.t ntrj.t Jmstj*
2. *Jnpw-jmj-wt ḥntj sh-ntr dj.sn pr.t-ḥrw t, ḥnk.t, k3.w, 3pd.w, jrp, jrt.t, sntr, kbhw*
3. *ʕntjw, mrḥ.t, šsr, mnḥ.t, ḥtp.w, df3.w, ḥnk.wt, rnp.wt ḥt nb(.t) nfr(.t),*
4. *wʕb, ndm, bnr pr nb.wt ḥr wdḥw=sn n k3 jt-ntr ḥm-ntr Jmn m Jp.t-s.wt ḥm-ntr n Wsjr-*
5. *p3 sr ʕ3 m W3s.t Jj-m-ḥtp m3ʕ-ḥrw z3 jt-ntr W3ḥ-jb-Rʕ m3ʕ-ḥrw jr.n nb(.t) pr [...] m3ʕ-ḥrw*

Translation

1. An offering that the king gives to Osiris-foremost-of-the-West, Great god, Lord of Abydos, to the Divine Isis, to Nephthys, the Divine sister, to Imsety,
2. to Anubis-who-is-at-the-place-of-embalming, foremost of the divine tent. They may give invocation offering consisting of bread and beer, beef and fowl, wine and milk, incense and cold water,

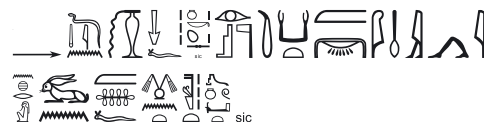
3. myrrh and oil, linen and clothing, offerings and provisions, donation offerings, vegetables, every beautiful,
4. pure, sweet and pleasant things, which may come from the offering tables of them for the ka of the divine father, prophet of Amun in Karnak, prophet of Osiris,
5. the great *ser* in Thebes, I-m-hotep, true-of-voice, son of the god's father Wah-ib-Re, true-of-voice, born to the mistress of the house [...] true-of-voice.

That the name of the mother is not given in line 5 is unfortunate for genealogical information. But, thanks to our knowledge of the wife of Wah-ib-Re by other sources (Docs. 8, 9, 11 and 12), it seems safe to reconstruct Aset-em-akh-bit here, assuming that this wife was also the mother of Imhotep. Another find from TT 414 gives additional support, see below (Doc. 15). The family ties are also supported by the rare title of Imhotep "prophet of Osiris, the great Ser of/in Thebes" – this title is also attested for Wah-ib-Re I (G42) and seems to have been inherited by his son.⁶⁹

Doc. 14: Panel of the canopic chest of a woman called Ta-ketmat – Louvre N 4364 (Fig. 11)⁷⁰

This panel can be assigned with a question mark to Ta-ketmat, daughter of Iret-Hor-ru. Unfortunately, the preserved part of the canopic chest only names the owner without reference to the parents. However, stylistic features and the decoration make a relation to the family of Wah-ib-Re I likely. The panel, which has a black painted frame, depicts Anubis standing behind an offering table; he is offering incense (?) to one of the four sons of Horus, Qebehsenuef, keeping a was-scepter and an ankh-amulet.

The preserved text reads:



Transliteration

Dd-mdw jn Kbh-sn.w=f: jnk z3={s}<f> Wsjr T3-(nt)-ktm m3ʕ-ḥrw jj. / n(.j) ḥr=f wn(.j) m z3=f dmd(.j) n=t ksw=t nw{.t}<j>

⁶⁹ For this title, see COULON 2010, 130.

⁷⁰ This panel is part of the Drovetti collection; measurement: 30.8 x 20cm.



Fig. 11 Panel of the canopic chest of a woman called Ta-ketmat – Louvre N 4364.

Photo: © Musée du Louvre/Christian Décamps.

Translation

To recite by Qebhsenuef: I am {her}<his> son the Osiris Ta-katem, true-of-voice. I have come to him, so that I may be his protection. I will unite to you your bones, I will assemble ...⁷¹

This scene with Anubis is unattested on canopic chests dated to the 4th and first quarter of the 3rd century BC in Thebes. A similar scene is preserved on the canopic chest Louvre AF 13480⁷² (Salt no. 3293): Anubis gives offerings in front of two of the four sons of Horus on the two sides of the chest. The owner of Louvre AF 13480, Horbik, was prophet of the efficient gods (Ptolemy III and Berenice II), providing as the date of the chest the

second half of the 3rd century BC. Louvre N 4364 can be considered as an important stage in the development of the iconography of the chests towards the second half of the 3rd century BC. Two other Ptolemaic canopic chests now kept in the Louvre (N 2696 and N 2662) can be attributed to family members of Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy I and derive from TT 414.⁷³

3.1 Summary of secondary sources

On the basis of the secondary sources, the family-tree now also includes some of the female members. Consistent with the findings by primary sources from TT 414, some modifications to the genealogical register established by Reiser-Haslauer are possible. The following unions of references are possible, as the objects refer to only one and the same person: G65/G66; G42/G44; G34/36 and G117/118⁷⁴.

Three primary sources mentioned above (Docs. 2, 3, 6) testify the name and genealogy of Iret-Horru (G34/36). They are complemented by five secondary sources (Docs. 8–12), now kept in European museums, adding some new data about this individual. In particular, some fresh observations on his titles are possible. It can be stated that several of his titles were inherited from father (Wah-ib-Re I, G42) to son.⁷⁵ As for the hierarchy of the titles, it must be noted that Iret-Hor-ru was possibly the second son of Wah-ib-re I, following Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy and preceding his other brother Imhotep;⁷⁶ his inherited titles were modest in comparison with his father's and elder brother's. Nevertheless, the richness and execution of his funerary equipment testifies that he must have been quite wealthy.

A new addition to Reiser-Haslauer's genealogical register is Wah-ib-Re V, previously not noted. It seems likely that the father of this individual, Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy, was the elder son of Wah-ib-Re I (G42), according to the well attested name giving custom in ancient Egypt. Thus, Wah-ib-Re V probably inherited the most important titles from his father and grandfather, but only two titles are known from the cartonnage (Doc. 7):

⁷¹ Late version of Elias' canopic spell 27, ELIAS 1993, 578. A possible continuation is: *nw(.j) n=t t t dt* – I will assemble for you your limbs forever.

⁷² GUICHARD 2013, 288–289.

⁷³ BUDKA, MEKIS and BRUWIER 2013, 238, n. 171; GUICHARD 2013, 298–299.

⁷⁴ Conclusion of the previous identifications.

⁷⁵ Common titles are god's father, prophet of Amun, *s3h-wd3.t*, scribe of the district of the town.

⁷⁶ Imhotep seems to be very young, almost a child, on his funerary stela (Durham, Durham University Museum, EG 605, Doc. 13).

Tab. 3 Newly assigned pieces from TT 414 with find location

Doc. 15	Coffin	Asasif, Reg. No. 759	TT 414, room 7/1,2
Doc. 16	Canopic box	Asasif, Reg. No. 337c	TT 414, “Lichthof”

god’s father, prophet of Amun-Re, Lord of the throne of the two lands in the Akh-menu. In case that Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy had several offspring, Wah-ib-Re V was the eldest son, named after his grandfather Wah-ib-Re I. The fact that Wah-ib-Re V was buried in a re-used coffin with only modest cartonnage panels may suggest that the former splendour of the family, very well traceable by the burial of Wah-ib-Re I and his sons, was gone and his titles may not express actual power.⁷⁷

A completely new finding is also the identification of *ʒs.t-m-ʒh-bj.t* (G11) as wife of Wah-ib-Re I/III/IV. Thanks to this new, once missing part of the family tree, the coffin of the son Imhotep can probably be identified as well, as will be demonstrated in the following.

4. Newly assigned pieces from TT 414

Doc. 15: Coffin of son of Wah-ib-Re I/III/IV – Asasif Reg. No. 759

From the original burial chamber of Ankh-Hor, room 7/1,2, fragments of the footpart of a coffin were found in the debris (left: 25 x 24.5 x 19cm; right: 26 x 15cm, thickness 5cm). Reg. No. 759 was painted in the well-attested early Ptolemaic black and yellow style.⁷⁸ This piece allows the identification of G16 as one and the same person as G17.

On the fragment from the left side, two vertical text columns, facing right and giving the name and title of the owner, have survived:

1. *ḥm-ntr n Jmn m Jp.t-s.wt*

The prophet of Amun of Karnak

2. *Jj-m-ḥtp mʒc-ḥrw*

Imhotep, true-of-voice

More significant is the piece from the right foot part, again with two vertical lines, this time facing left:

1. *ḥm-ntr n Jmn-m-Jp.t-s.wt Jj- [...]*

The prophet of Amun of Karnak, I[Imhotep]

2. [...] *mʒc-ḥrw jr{t}.n nb.t-pr ʒs.t-(m)-ʒh-b[j.t...]*

...] true-of-voice, made by (born of) the mistress of the house, Aset-(m)-akh-b[it...].

Although only little of this coffin has survived, it allows identifying Aset-(m)-akh-bit of G16 with the person holding the same name, listed previously as G17. Furthermore, Reg. No. 759 as the coffin of Imhotep testifies the burial of the son of Wah-ib-Re I/III/IV within TT 414. Its find spot is not specific, but raises the question whether the original chamber of Ankh-Hor was used, illustrating the diversity of tomb-use by one and the same family in Ptolemaic times.⁷⁹

Doc. 16: Canopic box of Wah-ib-Re II – Asasif Reg. No. 377c (Fig. 12)

The side board of a canopic box was found by the Austrian Mission in the lower debris of the “Lichthof” of TT 414, in front of its northern wall.⁸⁰ Reg. No. 377c (43.5 x 8.2 x 1.3cm) can be assigned to type C2 by Aston, although little has survived. The preserved fragment is from the right side panel of the box, designed with three registers. The lowest one shows the palace-façade-motif; in the upper ones two deities are depicted. Imsety sits in the uppermost panel (identified by the text), accompanied by the lion-headed Bastet-tjay⁸¹ in the second panel. Both are holding two knives in their hands, facing to the right. They are dressed in red, their skin (hands and face) are painted in green. Accompanying texts name the gods and the owner of the box, who can be identified as the great-grandson of Wah-ib-Re I.

Horizontal line above Imsety (fragmented): *Wsjr zḥʒ [...]* – the Osiris scribe [...]

Vertical text in front of Imsety: *Jmstj jr(.j) zʒ n Wsjr Wʒh-jb-Rc zʒ n Hr*

Imsety: (I) make protection for Osiris Wah-ib-re, son of Hor

⁷⁷ Note, however, general remarks about possible variations and modifications in burial costumes during that time, BUDKA 2010b, 61–62.

⁷⁸ See BUDKA, MEKIS and BRUWIER 2013, 215 with references.

⁷⁹ See BUDKA 2010b.

⁸⁰ See REISER-HASLAUER 1982a, 271 (G43); BUDKA 2006, vol. IV, 192, cat. 492. For a close, complete analogy see: TZACHOU-ALEXANDRI 1995, 138, XXXV, X 72.

⁸¹ This genius forms a quartet with *Jnpw-jmj-wt*, *Hr-ḥrj-ns.t-f* and *Kfdnw*, also known as the “four sons of Osiris”, see COULON 2011, 99–102.



Fig. 12 Panel of the canopic chest – Asasif, Reg. No. 377c.
Photo: J. Budka.

Horizontal line above Bastet-tjay (fragmented):
ntr.w krs ms ? [...] – gods, the burial ? [...]

Vertical text in front of Bastet-tjay: *Bst.t-ḥj jr(.j) z3 n Wsjr Wḥ-jb-R^c ms (n) Jr.tj-r=w*

Bastet-tjay: (I) make protection for the Osiris Wah-ib-re, born of Irty-eru.

5. Conclusion

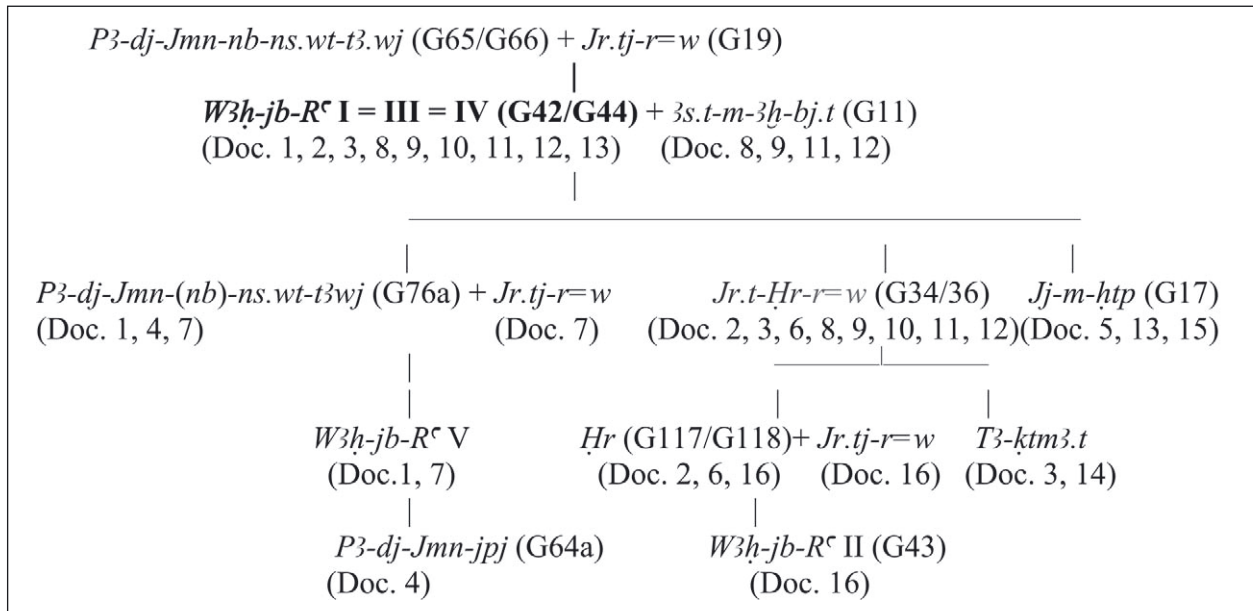
As illustrated, a joint analysis of objects from TT 414 and from museums and collections in Europe can provide fresh data for the prosopography of families buried during the 4th and 3rd centuries BC in the Asasif. On the basis of the complete set of objects presented above, the family-tree of Wah-ib-Re I takes the following form (see p. 237, top):

In particular, the demotic mummy labels from TT 414 proved to be highly relevant for identifying persons. Thanks to the reassessment of the data, fresh light was shed on the identities of several individuals with the name of Wah-ib-Re interred into TT 414. Firstly, it is now confirmed that Wah-ib-Re I is identical with Wah-ib-Re III and IV. Therefore, the ownership of objects like the BM stela 8641 was reassigned. Secondly, the demotic mummy label Reg. No. 617 (09/04) contributed to the identification of Wah-ib-Re V, a previously not known grandson of Wah-ib-Re I/III/IV. Wah-ib-Re II (G43), known only from Doc. 16, is now confirmed as great-grandson of Wah-ib-Re I/III/IV. Thirdly, the previously only proposed son of Wah-ib-Re I/III/IV, Imhotep, is now established as an offspring thanks to the Durham stela. Finally, a coffin fragment found in TT 414 attests the burial of this newly confirmed son in the tomb and also gives the name of his mother, wife of Wah-ib-Re I/III/IV, Aset-em-akh-bit. Moreover, the already published demotic mummy labels helped to clarify additional family ties of Wah-ib-Re I/III/IV: two further sons are attested and were buried in TT 414 (Pa-di-Amun-neb-nesut-tawy, G76a and Iret-Hor-ru, G34/36).

Although little has survived from the original burial equipment of the family from TT 414 itself, objects looted from the tomb and now distributed in various collections and museums add much information for the reconstruction of the tomb groups. Thanks to the newly established family relations, some of these objects are now fine-dated and will contribute to the general understanding of tomb groups during the 30th Dynasty and Ptolemaic times in Thebes.

Acknowledgments

First of all, our gratitude goes to the original excavators of TT 414 and the persons who originally studied objects related to Wah-ib-Re, providing the basics for all future work: Manfred Bietak, Elfriede Reiser-Haslauer and Jan Quaegebeur. We



are thankful for the permission to use pictures of both the British Museum (especially to John H. Taylor, Patricia Usick, Neal Spencer and Tania Watkins) and the Louvre (especially to Vincent Rondot, Catherine Bridonneau, Sylvie Guichard and Audrey Viger). We would like to express our thanks to Helen Armstrong at the University Museum of Durham for arranging that a photo

from the stela of Imhotep was taken for us. Special thank goes to Marie-Cécile Bruwier who kindly allowed us to cite her unpublished PhD thesis and who provided valuable advice concerning canopic chests. Last, but definitely not least, we are very grateful to the anonymous reviewers who helped us to improve some of the transliterations and translations given in this paper.

Bibliography

- ARUNDALE, F. and BONOMI, J.
[1842] *Gallery of Antiquities Selected from the British Museum*, London.
- ASTON, D.A.
1999 Dynasty 26, dynasty 30 or dynasty 27? In search of the funerary archaeology of the Persian period, 17–22, in: A. LEAHY and J. TAIT (eds.), *Studies in Ancient Egypt in honour of H.S. Smith*, London.
2000 Canopic Chests from the Twenty-first Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period, *Ä&L* 10, 159–178.
2003 The Theban West Bank from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period, 138–166, in: N. STRUDWICK and J.H. TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis, Past, Present and Future*, London.
- BIERBRIER, M.L.
1983 The Salt Watercolours, *GM* 61, 9–12.
1987 *Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian Stelae etc., Part 11*, London.
2012 *Who was who in Egyptology*, London.
- BIETAK, M. and REISER-HASLAUER, E.
1978 *Das Grab des 'Anch-Hor, Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris I*, UZK 3, Vienna.
1982 *Das Grab des 'Anch-Hor, Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris II*, UZK 5, Vienna.
- BIRCH, S.
1880 *Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle*, London.
- BRUWIER, M.-C.
1991 *Les coffrets à viscères humaines en Égypte (de la 30e dynastie à l'époque romaine)*, Louvain-la-neuve.
- BUDKA, J.
2006 *Die Spätzeit in Theben-West: Das Asasif. Bestattungsbrauchtum und Friedhofsstruktur anhand der Ergebnisse der österreichischen Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1969-1977*, PhD thesis, 4 vols., Vienna.
2008 Neues zu den Nutzungsphasen des Monumentalgrabes von Anch-Hor, Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris (TT 414), *Ä&L* 18, 61–85.
2009 Ankh-Hor Revisited: Study, Documentation and Publication of Forgotten Finds from the Asasif/Thebes, 23–31, in: J. POPIELSKA-GRZYBOWSKA and J. IWASZCZUK (eds.), *Proceedings of the Fifth Central European Conference of Egyptologists Egypt 2009. Perspectives of research, Pułtusk 22 - 24 June 2009*, Pułtusk.

- 2010a *Bestattungsbrauch und Friedhofsstruktur im Asasif. Eine Untersuchung der spätzeitlichen Befunde anhand der Ergebnisse der österreichischen Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1969-1977*, *UZK* 34, Vienna.
- 2010b Varianz im Regelwerk. Bestattungsabläufe im Monumentalgrab von Anch-Hor, Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris (TT 414), *Ä&L* 20, 49–66.
- 2010c Wiederbestattungen im Grab des Anch-Hor (TT 414): Neufunde der Kampagne 2009, *Sokar* 20, 88–93.
- 2014 Totenkult im Tempelgrab. Zu rituellen Handlungen in Elitegräbern des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. in Theben (Ägypten), 41–57, in: G. THÜR (ed.), *Grabrituale. Tod und Jenseits in Frühgeschichte und Altertum, Akten der 3. Tagung des Zentrums Archäologie und Altertumswissenschaften an der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, *Origines* 3, Vienna.
- 2016 Kontinuität und Adaption – zur Einbindung von Ritualhandlungen in die Architektur spätzeitlicher Tempelgräber in Theben (25. Dynastie bis Ptolemäerzeit), 171–200, in: A. PRIES (ed.), *Die Variation der Tradition. Modalitäten der Ritualadaption im Alten Ägypten*, *OLA* 240, Leuven.
- BUDKA, J., MEKIS, T. and BRUIER, M.-C.
2013 Re-use of Saite temple tombs in the Asasif during the early Ptolemaic time – the tomb group of *Mwt-Mnw* from TT 414, *Ä&L* 22/23, 209–251.
- CH., S.Ph.
1836 *Notice sur feu m. le chever Durand*, Paris.
- COULON, L.
2010 Les formes d'Isis à Karnak à travers la prosopographie sacerdotale de l'époque ptolémaïque, 121–148, in: L. BRICAULT and M. J. VERSLUYS (eds.), *Isis on the Nile. Egyptian Gods in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. Proceedings of the IVth International Conference of Isis Studies, Liège, Novembre 27-29, 2008*, *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* 171, Leiden.
- 2011 Les *uræi* gardiens du fétiche abydnien. Un motif osirien et sa diffusion à l'époque saïte, 85–107, in: D. DEVAUCHELLE (ed.), *La XXVI^e dynastie continuités et ruptures. Actes du Colloque international organisé les 26 et 27 novembre 2004 à l'Université Charles-de-Gaulle – Lille 3. Promenade saïte avec Jean Yoyotte*, Paris/Lille.
- DONKER VAN HEEL, K.
2012 *Djekhy & Son. Doing Business in Ancient Egypt*, Cairo/New York.
- ELIAS, J.P.
1993 *Coffin Inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: A Study of Text Production and Use in Elite Mortuary Preparation*, Vols. 1-2, UMI Dissertation Services, Chicago.
- ELIAS, J.P. and MEKIS, T.
forthcoming 'Prophet-registrars' of Min-Horus-Isis at Akhmim.
- EVRRARD-DERRIKS, C. and QUAEGBEUR, J.
1979 La situle décorée de Nesnakhietou au Musée Royal de Mariemont, *CdÉ* 54, 26–56.
- GRIMM, G.
1975 *Kunst der Ptolemäer- und Römerzeit im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo*, *SDAIK* 1, Mainz am Rhein.
- GUICHARD, S.
2013 *J.-F. Champollion, Notice descriptive des monuments égyptiens du musée Charles X édition présentée et commentée par Sylvie Guichard*, Paris.
- HABACHI, L.
1977 *Tavole d'offerta are e Bacili da Libagione n. 22001 – 22067*, *Catalogo del museo Egizio di Torino Serie Seconda – Collezioni*, vol. II., Torino.
- KANAWATY, M.
1985 Les acquisitions du Musée Charles X, *BSFE* 104, 31–54.
1990 Vers une politique d'acquisitions: Drovetti, Durand, Salt et encore Drovetti, *Revue du Louvre* 4, 267–271.
- KUCHAREK, A.
2010 *Die Klagelieder von Isis und Nephthys in Texten der Griechisch-Römischen Zeit*, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien*, Band 4, *Supplemente zu den Schriften der Philosophisch-historischen Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften* 22, Heidelberg.
- MALEK, J. and SMITH, M.
1983 Henry Salt's Egyptian copies and drawings, *GM* 64, 35–52.
- MEKIS, T.
2010 Two Hypocephali and Some Other Ptolemaic Finds from Theban Tomb (Kampp) -43, *JSEA* 37, 9–37.
2012 The cartonnage of Nestanetjeretten (Louvre AF 12859; MG E 1082) and its Enigma, *BIFAO* 112, 243–273.
- MOSHER, Jr. M.
2016 *The Book of the Dead, Saite through Ptolemaic Periods; A Study of Traditions Evident in Versions of Texts and Vignettes, Volume 1, BD Spells 1-15; Volume 2, BD Spells 16, 18-30; Volume 3, BD Spells 31-49; Volume 4, BD Spells 50-63, 65-77*, *SPBDSeries*, Charleston.
- QUAEGBEUR, J.
1982 Demotic Inscription on Wood from the Tomb of Anch-Hor, 259–266, in: M. BIETAK and E. REISER-HASLAUER 1982.
- REDFORD, S.
2013 An Interment of the Early Ptolemaic Period, 277–285, in: P.P. CREASMAN (ed.) *Archaeological Research in the Valley of the Kings and Ancient Thebes. Papers Presented in Honor of Richard H. Wilkinson*, *Wilkinson Egyptological Series* 1, University of Arizona.

- REISER-HASLAUER, E.
 1982a B. Familien aus der zweiten Belegungszeit des Grabes (ca. Zeit der 30. Dynastie und frühe Ptolemäerzeit), 252–256, in: M. BIETAK and E. REISER-HASLAUER 1982.
 1982b IX. Genealogisches Register, 267–284, in: M. BIETAK and E. REISER-HASLAUER 1982.
- RUFFLE, J.
 2001 The Journeys of Lord Prudhoe and Major Orlando Felix in Egypt, Nubia and the Levant 1826–1829, 15–84, in: P. & J. STARKEY (eds.), *Travellers in Egypt*, London/New York.
- SATZINGER, H.
 1979 Theben, 95–114, in: *Funde aus Ägypten. Österreichische Ausgrabungen seit 1961*, Katalog einer Sonderausstellung der Ägyptisch-Orientalischen Sammlung, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Vienna.
- SEIPEL, W.
 1989 *Ägypten. Götter, Gräber und die Kunst. 4000 Jahre Jenseitsglaube*, Band 1, Linz.
- TAYLOR, J.H.
 1989 *Egyptian Coffins*, Shire Egyptology 11, Aylesbury.
- TAYLOR, J.H. and STRUDWICK, N.
 2005 *Mummies: Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt. Treasures from the British Museum*, Santa Ana, CA.
- THOMPSON, J.
 2015 *Wonderful Things. A History of Egyptology. 1: From Antiquity to 1881*, Cairo/New York.
- TZACHOU-ALEXANDRI, O.
 1995 Ο κόσμος της Αιγύπτου στο Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο = *The world of Egypt in the National Archaeological Museum*, Athens.
- USICK, P.
 1999 Not the travel Journal of Alessandro Ricci, 115–121, in: W.V. DAVIES (ed.), *Studies in Egyptian Antiquities a Tribute to T.G.H. James*, BMOP 123, London.
- VLEEMING, S.P.
 1995 The office of a Choachyte in the Theban Area, 241–255, in: S.P. VLEEMING (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, P.L.Bat. 27, Leiden, New York/Cologne.
 2011 *Demotic and Greek-Demotic Mummy Labels and Other Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications*, *A. Texts*, Studia Demotica 9, Leuven/Paris/Walpole.

