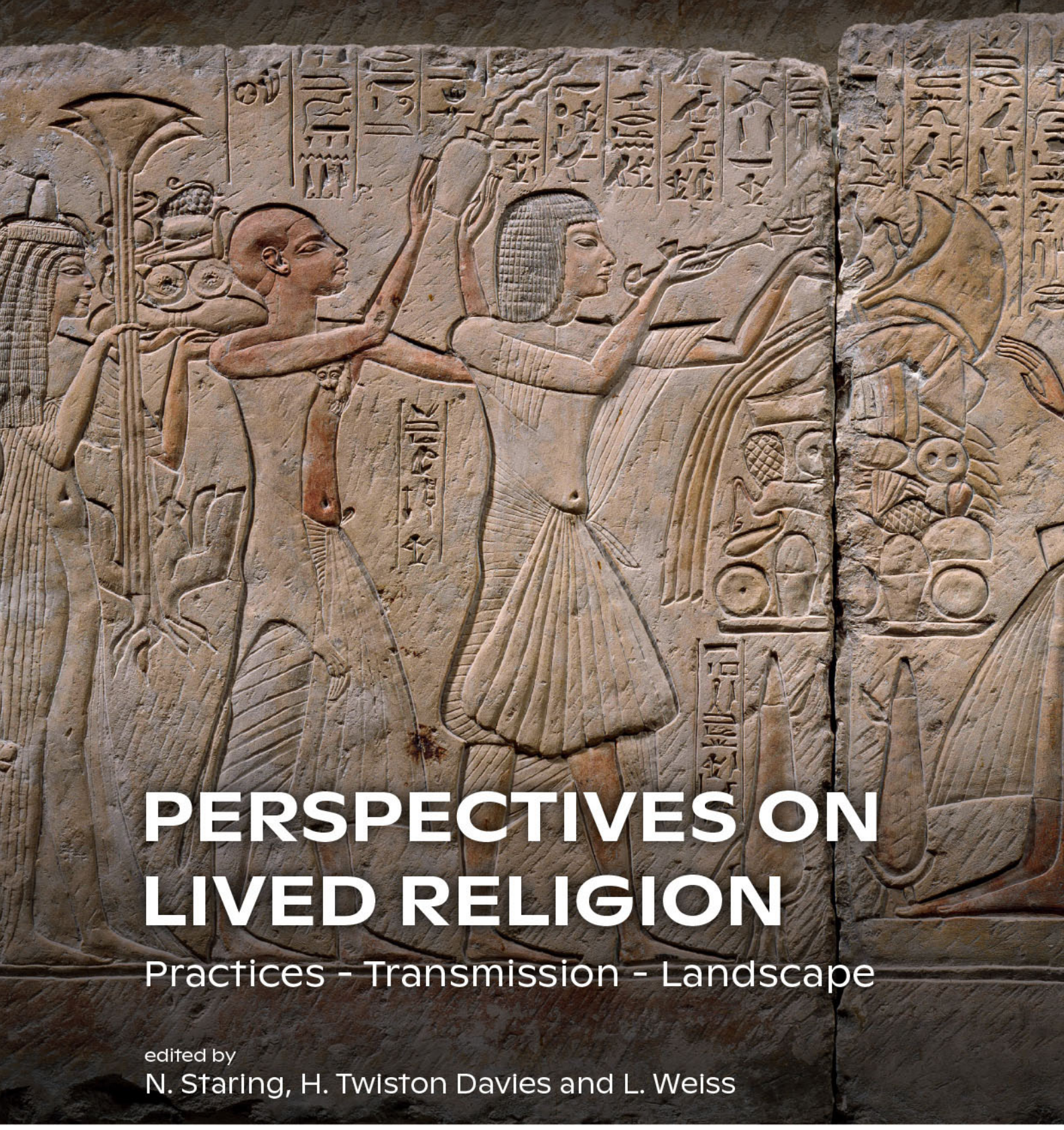

# PERSPECTIVES ON LIVED RELIGION

## Practices - Transmission - Landscape

edited by
N. Staring, H. Twiston Davies and L. Weiss

PALMA 21
PAPERS ON ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE LEIDEN MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES

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# Contents

Chapter 13

# From Landscape Biography to the Social Dimension of Burial

## A View from Memphis, Egypt, c. 1539-1078 BCE[1]

Nico Staring

### Landscape Biography

> "…[The] treatment of the deceased [by the living] is conditioned by their perception of death and their relationships with each other as much as by their relationship to the deceased whilst alive."[2]

As Mike Parker Pearson aptly states, the way people treat the deceased is highly influenced by their understanding of death and their relationships with both the living and the dead. Thus, studying the changing use of space within necropolis sites and the utilisation of the sites as a whole may allow for a fuller understanding of the social organisation that underlies the production of ancient monuments, and the structure of the society that created them. Moreover, the time-depth represented in a necropolis site makes it a "palimpsest landscape"[3] or "temporal collage".[4] In other words, the site bears witness to a visible accumulation of overlapping traces from successive periods. Each trace modifies, and is modified by, new additions. As a natural consequence of these processes, necropolis life, including tomb building and the participation in cult activities and festival processions, had to be "lived amidst that which was made before".[5] Tomb structures built in this multi-temporal landscape have the potential to continually influence the behaviour of people long after the initial builders had passed away. The presence of the deceased

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1 This paper was written for the interdisciplinary workshop, *The Walking Dead: The Making of a Cultural Geography*, held at Leiden University and the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, 7-9 November 2018. The paper arises from the research project 'The Walking Dead at Saqqara: The Making of a Cultural Geography', funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (dossier 016.Vidi.174.032), and hosted by the Leiden Institute for Area Studies. The author should like to thank the participants in the interdisciplinary workshop, and the *Walking Dead* team members Lara Weiss and Huw Twiston Davies, for their kind feedback and suggestions on earlier drafts of this article.

2 Parker Pearson 1993, 203 (after Pader 1982, 56-60).

3 Van Dyke/Alcock 2003.

4 Lynch 1972, 171.

5 Meinig 1979, 44.

Figure 13.1. View of the Unas South Cemetery, Saqqara, from atop the pyramid of Djoser, looking south. Photo: Nico Staring.

(materialised in their tombs) thus potentially continued to influence the actions of future generations – hence 'The Walking Dead'.

Questions fundamental to an understanding of the shaping of the cultural geography[6] at Saqqara, the prime cemetery site of Ancient Egypt's administrative 'capital' Memphis in the New Kingdom, c. 1539-1078 BCE (fig. 13.1),[7] include: Why were certain areas of the necropolis selected for burial in certain time periods? How were tombs accessed from the distant habitation areas? What effect did earlier structures have on the positioning of tombs and structuring of the necropolis in later times? What were the tombs' spatial relations to contemporaneous and older monuments? These questions touch broader issues that extend beyond this research. Rather, this article offers a method to address the issues underlying these questions and presents some preliminary answers to them.

This paper argues in favour of a biography-of-landscape approach to understanding the shaping of a cultural geography. At the core of the term 'landscape biography' lies the premise that it is useful to conceptualise the history of a landscape as a life-history.[8] Biographies of landscapes have no clear-cut beginning or end, unlike human biographies, which involve a more or less complete life cycle with a fixed beginning (birth) and end (death) and distinguishable life stages in between. A landscape's life-history or biography can be seen as a never-ending process of growth and aging. The making of a cultural geography may thus be viewed as a cumulative process. Landscapes play a part in the closed biographies of the individuals dwelling in them; the biographies of landscapes, on the other hand, far outlive those of their dwellers. The significance of studying the changing landscape and its interaction with humans in order to understand the formation of a cultural geography is

6 For the term 'cultural geography' as understood in the context of this study, see the Introduction to this volume, and Weiss 2018.

7 The dates of reigns of kings used in this paper are adopted from Gautschy 2014.

8 Tringham 1995.

perhaps best captured by Jan Kolen and Hans Renes, when they state that

> "…[a]s an essential part of human life worlds, landscapes have the potential to absorb something of people's lives, works and thoughts. But landscapes also shape their own life histories on different timescales, imprinted by human existence, affecting personal lives and transcending individual human life cycles."[9]

The relationships between the life histories of landscapes and people have in the last two decades attracted growing scholarly interest. This has resulted in the creation of landscape biography as a new approach to landscape history. Landscape biography as a "research strategy"[10] was developed by archaeologists, geographers and historians in the Netherlands in the mid-1990s.[11] While the approach they developed was new, its foundations were not. The landscape biography approach is rooted in theories borrowed from the disciplines of social anthropology and geography. It combines insights from anthropological studies of material culture – object biography (also known as "the social life of things") – as proposed by social anthropologists Igor Kopytoff[12] and Arjun Appadurai,[13] with those of cultural geographer Marwyn Samuels's "biography of landscape".[14] Current landscape biography also integrates insights from philosopher and cultural historian Michel De Certeau,[15] who is interested in the idea of the city as a locus of everyday life and the people who are actively engaged in the continuous production of living space. In his view, urban space is given structure and meaning from below as a result of the constant flow of daily activities and concerns of those who have adopted urban space – as residents, visitors, and passers-by. The same principles can be applied to necropolis sites. In doing so, the projection of De Certeau's views onto extra-urban contexts could balance Samuels's take on landscape "authorship". According to Samuels, the lives, works, ideals and ambitions of influential individuals are interwoven into the fabric of a landscape, its history and essence.[16]

Samuels's notion of "authored landscapes" in the sense of "the 'who' behind the facts of geography, or rather the specific role of authorship and human agency in landscape formation,' in which 'individuals continually 'write' the 'text' of the urban space",[17] is rather widespread in Egyptological scholarship. In histories of Ancient Egypt, powerful individuals, most of whom were kings, are considered to be the writers of the texts of urban landscapes and necropolis sites. This also applies to narratives of Memphis and its necropolis at Saqqara. Steven Snape, for example, argues that in the early Ramesside period, the lead 'author' of the text of both the city and its necropolis was a man named Khaemwaset, the fourth son of king Ramesses II (c. 1279-1213 BCE) and High Priest of Ptah at Memphis. He is singled out as the one responsible, on behalf of his father, for the monumental manipulation of the sacred landscape by stressing, in his activities, the projection of aspects of kingship.[18] As a result of this particular view of 'landscape authorship', which is primarily focused on powerful individuals, the landscape described is one devoid of any real practitioners. People are reduced to the role of passive onlookers, whereas in reality, the necropolis was very much alive.

## The Cultic Landscape of 'West of Memphis'

Memphis was, to a great extent, shaped by the presence of its prime local deities. Egypt's foremost temple complex of Ptah dominated the cityscape, and the elevated desert necropolis – commonly referred to as Ankhtawy[19] – was considered the ancient, sacred abode of the Memphite

9 Kolen/Renes 2015, 21.

10 Roymans et al. 2009.

11 For a comprehensive outline of the landscape biography approach and its place within the history of landscape studies, the reader is referred to: Kolen/Renes 2015; Roymans et al. 2009. For the theoretical and philosophical underpinnings of the approach, see Kolen 2005.

12 Kopytoff 1986.

13 Appadurai 1986.

14 Samuels 1979.

15 De Certeau 1984.

16 Kolen/Renes (2015, 32-35) aptly illustrate the opposing viewpoints of Samuels and De Certeau as regards "authorship" by highlighting the two authors' respective biographies of Manhattan. According to Samuels, the urban landscape of Manhattan is a prime example of an authored landscape inextricably linked to influential individuals. They include the urban planner Robert Moses and the 'father' of the skyscraper, Louis Sullivan, as well as influential families such as the Rockefellers and Harrimans. That view matches Caro's 1974 biography of Moses, in which it is argued that the city would have developed much differently without its 'master builder'. The life stories of all these influential individuals are linked to the life story of Manhattan. Their creations influence the daily lives of people living, working, and passing-by in the city. De Certeau, on the other hand, argues that to see the real authors of the urban space one should descend to street level and focus on the way in which everyday life takes place. At street level, one meets "the ordinary practitioners". These *Wandersmänner*, as De Certeau describes them, move through the "urban text", thereby embodying a fundamental, spatial form of existence. The same notion of 'embodied space' is exemplified in archaeologist Tim Ingold's study (1993) on the temporality of the landscape.

17 Samuels 1979, 62.

18 Snape 2011.

19 The deceased are here referred to as *ꜣḫ.w ꜥꜣ.w n.w ỉmn.tyt ꜥnḫ-tꜣ.wy*, "blessed souls of the Western Ankhtawy". See e.g. the graffito of the Scribe, Hednakhte (Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II year 47): Navrátilová 2015, 108-111, 170-173 (M.2.3.P.19.3).

deities, primarily Sokar.[20] Ptah and Sokar played important parts in the religious life and afterlife of the local residents. Since the Old Kingdom (c. 2543-2120 BCE), the chief deity of Memphis, Ptah, was connected to the chthonic deity Sokar, a god of death, and the syncretic connection Ptah-Sokar-Osiris has been well attested since the Middle Kingdom (c. 1980-1760 BCE).

Ptah-Sokar-Osiris gained further significance during the reign of Amenhotep III (c. 1378-1339 BCE), a rise to prominence which coincided with grand construction works in the temple of Ptah at Memphis, and with construction works in the Serapeum,[21] the underground tombs with aboveground chapels built for the sacred Apis bulls. The Serapeum was one of the foremost sites of religious significance at Saqqara. It was even considered the entrance to the netherworld and, by extension, every tomb shaft or cavern accessed from the same elevated desert plateau could be designated as *rꜣ-sṯꜣ.w*, 'mouth of subterranean passages'.[22] Rosetau is also where the so-called *štꜣy.t* shrine and *ḥnw* barque sanctuary of Sokar were located, supposedly in the desert between Saqqara and Giza.[23]

These sacred sites were visited at set times during annual festivals, or – as in the case of the Serapeum – at irregular intervals, depending on the age of a particular Apis bull.[24] The funeral of the sacred Apis bull was a major event,[25] and the carefully laid out necropolis infrastructure facilitated easy access for all who participated. The paved processional way leading up to the Serapeum, for example, was accessed from the valley below by making use of pre-existing, millennium-old pyramid causeways.[26] Precisely at the point of entry to the desert plateau is a cluster of New Kingdom tomb chapels from the late Eighteenth Dynasty.[27] Renewed interest in this section of the necropolis also led to a revival of the cults for the two deified Old Kingdom rulers whose pyramids stood at the 'entrance' to the cemetery: Menkauhor (Fifth Dynasty, c. 2373-2366 BCE) and Teti (Sixth Dynasty, c. 2305-2279 BCE). The section of the elevated desert plateau where the access route to the desert sanctuaries met the monuments of deified kings came to serve as a kind of magnet for tomb building in the New Kingdom.[28]

If the Teti Pyramid Cemetery represented such a prime piece of necropolis 'real estate', then how can we possibly explain the way some major tombs are located all the way south of the Unas causeway, far removed from all of the New Kingdom sacred sites? In the following section, I shall argue that the Unas South Cemetery was in fact favourably situated in relation to contemporary sacred sites located on the desert plateau and to the sanctuaries and urban areas in the valley below. Routes connecting these locations made this section of the necropolis a key point of entry to the elevated desert plateau. To support my argument, I will consider the wider landscape at Memphis and view the necropolis as a place that was meant to be visited by the living – on visits that were not exclusively associated with funerals. This will be illustrated with references to the annual festival of the god Sokar.

## The Sokar Festival at Memphis

The annual festival for the god Sokar offers textual evidence for tomb visits that were not related to the funeral.[29] After providing a brief introduction of the festival as celebrated at Memphis, I will explain how it relates to the necropolis.

The Memphite deities did not dwell exclusively in their sanctuaries built for the purpose of their veneration; rather, they would leave regularly in processions staged at multiple annual festivals in order to visit locations in the surrounding area. Although we are rather ill-informed about the festival and its particulars, the Sokar festival must have been one of the highlights on the Memphite temple calendar.

We are fortunately much better informed about the Theban Sokar festival, which was modelled after the old Memphite tradition. At Thebes, the festival took place between days 21 and 30 of the fourth month of the Akhet season, which corresponds to the end of the annual Nile flooding. These dates also correspond to the Khoiak festival, celebrated in honour of Osiris, Egypt's prime netherworld deity.[30] Khoiak was performed to promote the successful rebirth of Osiris. At the god's national centre

20 Raue 1995, 257; Van Dijk 1988, 42. In ancient Egypt, necropolis sites were, in general, regarded as domains of the gods. This is aptly illustrated by a common word for necropolis, *ḫr.t-nṯr*, which translates as "that which is under [the charge of] the god" (Ockinga 2007, 139 n. 2).

21 Vercoutter 1984.

22 Schneider 1977, I, 277.

23 Abd el-Aal (2009, 5 and pl. 3b) suggests that this is the place where some New Kingdom chapels were dedicated in the New Kingdom, at modern-day Kafr el-Gebel or Nazlet el-Batran, to the south of the Giza plateau. See also Abdel-Aal/Bács, forthcoming; Bács 2008. Edwards (1986, 36) considers the Shetayet shrine at Rosetau as the Lower Egyptian counterpart of the Abydene tomb of Osiris.

24 See Thijs 2018 with further references.

25 E.g. Frood 2016.

26 Dodson 2016, 13-15; Nicholson 2016.

27 Compare to the Theban necropolis at Dra Abu el-Naga, which was considered prime necropolis real estate because festival processions staged as part of the Beautiful Festival of the Valley started there, exactly opposite the temple of Amun at Karnak (Ullmann 2007). See also Rummel 2018; Ockinga 2007.

28 Compare, again, to the early New Kingdom cemetery at Dra Abu el-Naga North, where tombs clustered around the royal tombs of the Theban Seventeenth Dynasty: Polz 2007, 231-250.

29 The Sokar festival did, of course, have funerary connotations, see below.

30 Eaton 2006; Gaballa/Kitchen 1969.

of worship, Abydos, Osiris was led in procession from his temple, via a sacred route, to his desert tomb at *pḳr* (Peqer, modern-day Umm el-Qaab).[31] There, his mummified image produced in the previous year was buried. On the way to Peqer, various royal memorial temples and other local shrines were visited by the god and his entourage.[32] Non-royal individuals set up stelae and statues in chapels along this sacred route so as to remain present at the processions forever.[33] Like Khoiak, the Sokar festival had a funerary role, agricultural significance and connections with kingship as well. Memphis was considered the place where kingship "resided",[34] and Sokar's Memphite rituals and festivals were very likely influenced by the rites, mythology and festival usages of Osiris.[35] These facts make the festivals at Thebes and Abydos excellent material for comparison to the Memphite tradition.

Much of the Sokar festival took place behind closed temple doors – except for day 26. That day marked the zenith of public celebrations. From Theban sources, we know that the day was considered a 'public holiday'.[36] This suggests that the visit of the god's barque to the necropolis was a sort of public event, which may have attracted scores of people to watch the god make his way to and through the cemetery.[37] What exactly happened on day 26? From early times onwards, the festival on that day included what is referred to as *pḫr ḥɜ ỉnb.w*, the "circumambulation of the walls". This is when the god's image was placed in his so-called *Henu* barque and dragged (*sṯɜ*) on a *mfḏ* sledge or shouldered by priests. Prominent officials had the honour of 'following Sokar' on the occasion, and they even expressed the wish to bear Sokar's sledge along with the king around the temple walls and up to the necropolis.[38] This privilege was not the prerogative of living officials. The deceased, too, wished to participate, in perpetuity. This is what we gather from certain offering formulae carved in tomb walls, statues, and stelae. A text inscribed on the doorjamb of a senior official named Pay, for example, expresses the wish to "make the circuit around the walls" as he dwells in "the sacred land (i.e. the necropolis) together with those who are in the following of the Lord of Perpetuity, Osiris, the Ruler of the Netherworld (*ḫḳɜ ỉgr.t*)".[39]

A rare source for the Sokar festival as celebrated on day 26 at Saqqara is presented by the text carved on the stela of Ptahmose, the Overseer of the King's Apartments, whose tomb stood in the Unas South Cemetery.[40] The stela text starts with an offering formula addressing Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, and then references the start of the festival at Memphis:

> "…[1] An offering which the king gives to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris who is in the Shetayet shrine (*štɜy.t*), United with Life, Lord of Rosetau. When your processional image appears (*ḫᶜ sšm=k*) [2] in Memphis (*Ka* temple of Ptah, *Ḥw.t-kɜ-Ptḥ*, and White Walls, *ỉnb.w-ḥḍ*),[41] Mistress of Provisions, there is rejoicing in the noble Henu barque (*ḥnw spsy*)."

From line 6 onwards the text makes reference to visiting the necropolis:

> "…[6] When you (i.e. Ptah-Sokar-Osiris) open the sight of those in the necropolis (*n.ty m ỉwgr.t*), the Westerners say: "Welcome! Welcome!" (…) [7] (…) When your rays lift the hearts of those under the covers, they uncover [8] their limbs that they may breathe your breath of life. When your voice is heard going around in [9] the great valley (*pḫr m ỉn.t wr.t*, "necropolis") of Memphis (*Ḥw.t-kɜ-Ptḥ*), and you are pulled in your festival (*stỉ=k m ḥb=k*), every god gives to you [10] praise, their arms in adoration of your face, and they are excited, their hearts [11] pleased when they see your face."

31 See e.g. Julia Budka in this volume; Effland/Effland 2010a; 2010b.

32 The temple of Seti I at Abydos contained a chapel dedicated to Sokar (*ḥw.t Skr*: Eaton 2007), and we know of various priests of the Ramesside period connected to the *ḥw.t Skr* in the Theban temple of Millions of Years of Amenhotep III (Gaballa/Kitchen 1969, 29). The Saqqara tomb of Ptahmose, Mayor and Chief Steward in Memphis, records an offering formula expressing the wish to 'partake in the offerings in the *ḥw.t Skry*' (Staring 2014, 471, text I.17 [2].

33 Richards 2005, 125-172; O'Connor 1985.

34 Redford 1986, 298.

35 Gaballa/Kitchen 1969, 23.

36 For textual references to inactivity on day 26, see Jauhiainen 2009, 166-167; Helck 1964, 157 (no. 10), 160, as documented in hieratic ostraca from Deir el-Medina, dated to the Ramesside period. The references pertain to the highly specialised community of royal workmen at Deir el-Medina, c. 600 km south of Memphis. The question whether the work-free days could be extrapolated to the rest of Egypt and Egyptian society remains open to debate. One could argue, however, that if the community of workmen at distant Deir el-Medina were allotted a day off during the Sokar festival, a similar situation would have certainly existed at the centre of Sokar's veneration, at Memphis. For a discussion of the Ancient Egyptian concept of 'public holidays' (and the dissimilarities to the common national festivals of today), see also: Kemp 2018, 262-270 (references to the Opet festival and the Beautiful Festival of the Valley); Spalinger 1998, 245, 250-251 (references to the Opet festival and the Sed festival).

37 In stela Louvre C 226 the day is referred to as: *ḥrw n*(*.y*) *pḫr ỉnb.w r mɜ ḥb ᶜɜ m ỉnb*(*.w*)*-ḥḍ*, "day of going around the walls to see the great festival in Memphis" (Pierret 1878, 34).

38 For example, in the Theban tomb of Neferhotep (TT 50), God's Father of Amun (Hari 1985, pl. 35).

39 Florence, Museo Archeologico inv. no. 1605 = 2600 (Raven 2005a, 31 [27], pls 36, 38).

40 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. no. 67.3. Ptahmose is dated to the late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty.

41 For Memphis and its toponyms in the New Kingdom, see Staring 2015c, 169-172, with further references.

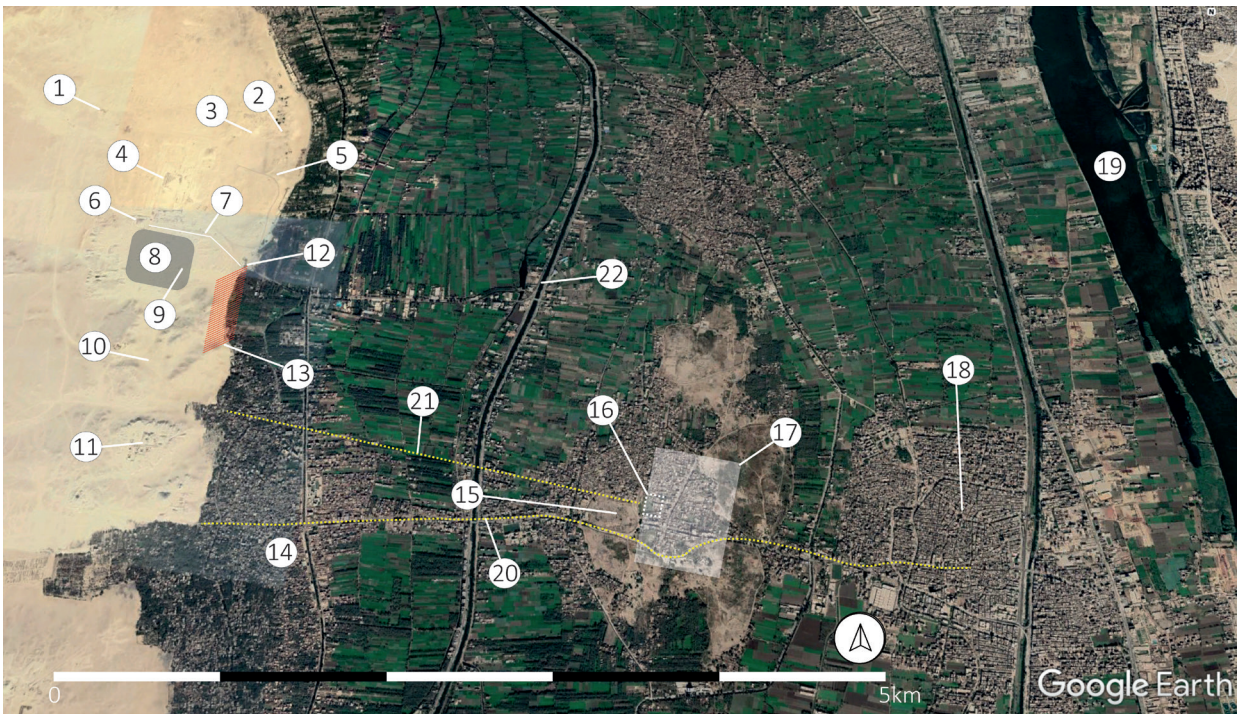


Figure 13.2. Satellite image of the Memphite region, showing the location of ancient Memphis and the desert plateau at Saqqara. Image by Google Earth, adapted by Nico Staring. **Legend**: 1. Serapeum | 2. Pyramid of Menkauhor | 3. Pyramid of Teti | 4. Pyramid of Djoser | 5. 'Bubasteion' rock-cut tombs | 6. Pyramid of Unas | 7. Unas causeway | 8. Unas South Cemetery | 9. 'Ras el-Gisr' | 10. Wadi Tabbet el-Guesh | 11. Pyramid of Pepi I | 12. Valley temple of Unas | 13. Proposed location of New Kingdom temples of Millions of Years | 14. Modern village of Saqqara | 15. Ancient Memphis | 16. Temple of Ptah, West Gate, Ramesside period | 17. Temple of Ptah precinct | 18. Modern city of Bedrashein | 19. River Nile | 20. Bedrashein-Saqqara road | 21. Shortest route from New Kingdom Memphis (temple of Ptah) to the necropolis at Saqqara | 22. Bahr el-Libeini.

The text concludes with Ptahmose who expresses the wish to continue to participate in the festival forever:

> "…[11] Ptahmose of Memphis [12], he says: "I am one of your true followers on this day of pulling you (i.e. Ptah-Sokar-Osiris), for I am in front of you (*ỉw=ỉ gr ḥꜣ.t=k*, i.e. in front of the god in his barque) (…) [13] (…) May you grant that I rest (in) a tomb (*s.t n.t nḥḥ*, lit. "place of eternity") on the west of my city, Memphis (*ḥr ỉmn.tyt n.t nỉw.t=ỉ Ḥw.t-kꜣ-Ptḥ*), [14] that I reach my father and my forefathers who have gone in peace, with my limbs firm in [15] royal favour (*ḥs.wt nsw.t*),[42] may he grant to me a good old age and that I reach the state of veneration (*ỉmꜣḫ*) without any evil in my limbs, all his followers [16] behind me/in my lead, pulling me to the west. How fortunate is the blessed one for whom these things are done."

What options did the deceased have to secure their perpetual participation in the procession? Evidently, there were two main routes to reach that goal. First, the deceased could wish (as expressed in writing) for the gods to allow their statue to continue following Sokar, an act which involved the living to carry actual statues of the deceased.[43] Second, the deceased could wish for their *ba* to continue following Sokar by possessing a tomb located along the processional way. Indeed, text sources

42 Compare the early Nineteenth Dynasty tomb of Ptahmose, Mayor and Chief Steward in Memphis: "Recitation: "Welcome (in peace) to the west, may you unite with your place/house/temple of eternity (*ḫnm.t(w) m ḥw.t=k n.t nḥḥ*), your tomb of everlastingness (*ỉs=k n.t ḏ.t*), may you be buried in it after an old age, you being in the royal favour to rest in Ankhtawy (*ỉw=k m ḥs.wt nsw.t r ḥtp m ʿnḫ-tꜣ.wy*)" " (Staring 2014, 469, text I.13).

43 See e.g. the inscription on the back-pillar of a statue of Ray, Overseer of the Double Granary (Nineteenth Dynasty), from the temple of Ptah at Memphis: "… may you follow Sokar and unite with the Lord of the *Henu* barque. May you lay your hands upon the draw-ropes (…) when [he] encircles the walls of Ptah" (Petrie 1909, pl. 19, right); and wooden statuette Leiden inv. no. AH 211 of Ramose (from Deir el-Medina), Scribe of the Treasury of the temple of Thutmosis IV (Boeser 1925, 4, pl. 6): "… may they (i.e. the gods) grant that this statue may endure and follow Sokar at the festival … when one goes around the walls….".

inform us that on the day of circumambulation and the subsequent necropolis procession, priests made offerings at the tombs.[44] Thus, one could imagine that it was highly desirable to have a tomb located in a prominent position along the processional route at one's disposal.[45] I would argue that this desire (more generally linked to aspects of landscape phenomenology)[46] had a profound effect on patterns of tomb placement. Before addressing that topic, I will first consider the question of where and how the Unas South Cemetery was accessed. In my view, part of the answer can be found in another text, dated to the reign of Amenhotep III. This text also sheds light on the wider cultic landscape "on the West of Memphis".

## Linking the Valley to the Desert Plateau: Royal Memorial Temples and Their Relationship to the Necropolis

The main source underlying my proposed evaluation of the cultic landscape west of Memphis (fig. 13.2) is the autobiographical text inscribed on the statue of Amenhotep Huy, a key official in the late Eighteenth Dynasty reign of Amenhotep III.[47] The statue depicts Huy as a seated scribe and it may have stood (in a secondary context?) in the temple of Ptah at Memphis – at least that is where the statue was found by archaeologist William Matthew Flinders Petrie.[48] The titles-of-office identify Huy as, *inter alia*, Chief Steward in/of Memphis and Overseer of (Construction-)works in United-with-Ptah. Excerpts from the autobiographical text relevant to our discussion are given below in translation:

> "…[1] [This statue was] given as a favour [from the king] (and placed) in the temple of Neb-Maat-Re United-with-Ptah (*ḥw.t Nb-Mɜʿ.t-Rʿ-ḥnm.t-Ptḥ*) which His Majesty, life, prosperity, health, made anew for his father [Ptah-who-is-south-of-his-wall in] ʿthe cultivated landʾ [on] the West of Memphis (*Ḥw.t-kɜ-Ptḥ*) on behalf of (…) Amenhotep (Huy)."

The statue, a gift from the pharaoh, was originally set up in a temple named Neb-Maat-Re (i.e. the prenomen of king Amenhotep III) United-with-Ptah – a temple constructed under the supervision of Huy:[49]

> "…he (i.e. the king) promoted me [13] to direct the construction works in his house of Millions of Years, which he made anew in his cultivated land west of Memphis [14] upon the bank/foreshore of Ankhtawy."

We only know of this temple from textual sources, there is no archaeological evidence of its former existence.[50] The description given by Huy provides us with a good indication for the temple's former location: it was built *m bʿḥ n.y ỉmn.tyt Ḥw.t-kɜ-Ptḥ ḥr ỉdb n.y ʿnḫ-tɜ.wy*, "in the cultivated land of West of Memphis, upon the banks of Ankhtawy". This is a very specific reference to the edge of the Nile valley at the foot of the escarpment of the Saqqara plateau.[51]

What kind of temple did Amenhotep Huy build for his king? The temple Neb-Maat-Re United-with-Ptah is of the so-called royal memorial type. Temples of that type were built primarily for the royal cult and were founded by the ruling king, even though the central sanctuary was dedicated to the prime local deity, which at Memphis would have been Ptah.[52] By drawing a parallel to Amenhotep III's royal memorial temple at Thebes (Kom el-Heitan), the full name of the Memphite temple can be reconstructed

44 See stela Louvre inv. no. C 226: Gaballa/Kitchen 1969, 67; Pierret 1878, 34. See also pAnastasi IV, 4,5: "…May your soul become divine among the living, may you mingle with the virtuous spirits and walk with Osiris in Rosetau on the day of the feast of Sokar" (Caminos 1954, 143, and further text references on p. 147).

45 See also Bács 2008, 111-122.

46 Landscape phenomenology studies the (past) human experience of the landscape. For a critical review of phenomenological approaches in archaeology, see Johnson 2012.

47 Murnane 1998, 213-214.

48 Statue Oxford, Ashmolean Museum inv. no. 1913.163 (*Urk.* IV, 1793-1801), found in a disturbed context: Petrie 1913: 33-36, pls 78 [bottom, right], 79-80. The fragment of another scribe's statue of Amenhotep Huy, probably from Memphis (Cairo JE 27862 = CG 1169), likewise contains a reference to the circumambulation made during the Sokar festival (El-Sayed 1982).

49 Built in the third decade of Amenhotep III's reign: Murnane 1998, 213.

50 A man named Mery-Ptah (*temp.* Amenhotep III) held the title Steward in the temple of Neb-Maat-Re. The upper part of a stela from his lost tomb (Leiden inv. no. AP 11; the lower part is in the Petrie Museum, London inv. no. UC 14463) shows him along with members of his family, including his brother, the High Priest of Ptah, Ptahmose, and his father, the Vizier, Thutmosis (Staring 2015a, 530, cat. V.27; Boeser 1913, 8, no. 27, pl. 14.

51 In pSallier IV, verso 2,1 ("A letter concerning the wonders of Memphis"), the *nsw.w-b.ty.w n.ty*(*w*) *ỉm.y-wr.t n.ty*(*t*) *ḥr ỉmnt n*(*.yt*) *Ḥw.t-kɜ-Ptḥ*, "the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt who are in the west and who are in the West of Memphis" (Gardiner 1937, 89, 15-16) may be the kings for whom memorial temples were built at Memphis. Papyrus Sallier dates to the reign of Ramesses II. According to Caminos (1954, 342), *ỉm.y-wr.t*, "the West", in the above passage refers to Thebes (cf. *Wb.* I, 73, 10: *ỉm.y-wr.t Wɜs.t*). However, since it is here mentioned as part of a list of deities at Memphis, I would argue that "the West" in both cases refers to the Memphite necropolis (see also *Wb.* I, 73,11). The same text also includes a reference to "Ptah-who-is-under-his-moringa-tree-of-Men-Maat-Re-United-with-Ptah" (pSallier IV, verso 1,8), the temple of Millions of Years of Amenhotep III which was over one century old when the papyrus text was composed.

52 Ullmann 2002, 661-670. The central sanctuary of the royal memorial temples at Thebes was dedicated to Amun-Re. In the Ramesside temples, Amun was worshipped in a specific form identifying him with the king.

| Ahmose, early Eighteenth Dynasty (c. 1539-1515 BCE) |
|---|
| The presence of possibly the earliest New Kingdom temple of this type at Memphis is suggested by the texts inscribed on two stelae formerly situated in the stone quarries of Maâsara (Tura), on the east bank of the Nile opposite Memphis.[a] The stelae are dated to year 22 of Ahmose and record the quarrying of white limestone for several temples of Millions of Years, including one at Memphis. |
| Thutmosis III, mid-Eighteenth Dynasty (c. 1468-1414 BCE) |
| The General of the Lord of the Two Lands, Amenemone (Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Horemheb), whose 'lost' tomb should be located at Saqqara,[b] bore the title Great Steward in the temple of Men-kheper-Re (prenomen of Thutmosis III).[c] |
| Amenhotep II, mid-Eighteenth Dynasty (c. 1414-1388 BCE) |
| Evidence for the Memphite temple of Amenhotep II is found in the tomb stela of the Royal Butler, Ipu (*temp.* Tutankhamun, c. 1319-1310 BCE).[d] Ipu's father, Neferhat, bears the title Lector Priest of Aa-kheperu-Re (prenomen of Amenhotep II). Possible material evidence for the temple is provided by the mud bricks stamped with the name Aa-kheperu-Re found in the Unas South Cemetery.[e] A number of these mud bricks were excavated from the fill of the burial shaft in the tomb of Ry (see the text, below). The quarrying of limestone, at Tura, destined for this temple is recorded on a stela of the Overseer of Works in the temples of the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, Minmose, dated to year 4 of Amenhotep II.[f] |
| Horemheb, late Eighteenth Dynasty (c. 1305-1290 BCE) |
| One tomb-inscription gives the name of a temple of Horemheb as *tꜣ ḥw.t ḏsr-ḫpr(.w)-Rᶜ-stp.n-Rᶜ sꜣ Ptḥ mr.y-bᶜḥ*, "the temple of Djeser-kheperu-Re Setep-en-Re (prenomen of Horemheb) Son of Ptah who loves the inundated land".[g] The reference to the *bᶜḥ*-terrain likely points to the same place as where the temple of Amenhotep III was located. An individual identified as the "son of his son", named Iniuia, served in the temple as a First Prophet (*ḫm-nṯr tp.y*). The relief-decorated block bearing the inscription was found during the excavation of the tomb of Iniuia, Chief Steward of Memphis (*temp.* Tutankhamun-Horemheb). The tomb of Iniuia is located immediately south of the tomb of Horemheb, which served as the *de facto* memorial temple of the deified king in the Ramesside period. |
| Ramesses II, Nineteenth Dynasty (c. 1279-1213 BCE) |
| Ramesses II's Memphite 'Ramesseum' was named "the temple of Ramesses Mery-Amun in the house of Ptah".[h] Three Chief Stewards of this temple built their tombs in the Unas South Cemetery: Ptahmose, Nebnefer, and Mahu. |

Table 13.1. Overview of a selection of temples of Millions of Years of the New Kingdom at Memphis.

a. *Urk.* IV, I, 24-25 (Ahmose, year 22).

b. Staring 2017, 603-608.

c. The stela of the Steward of the Vizier, Menkheper (Leiden inv. no. AP 53), whose tomb is today lost, records two Deputies of the temple of Men-kheper-Re, Thutmosis and Amunemmeruef (Staring 2015b, 527, cat. V.12; Boeser 1913, 2, no. 3, pl. 14). The stela can be dated to the reigns of Thutmosis IV-Amenhotep III. At the time, Thutmosis (see n. 49) was the northern Vizier. Two members of the temple's priesthood are known as late as the Saite Period (Pasquali 2011, 11 [A.21-23]. Haring (1997, 432) assigns Amenemone to the Theban memorial temple of Thutmosis III.

d. Stela Leiden inv. no. AP 9.

e. Weiss 2015a; Raven et al. 2014-2015, 7 (with further references in n. 3). Another possibility is that the mud bricks originate from a structure of which an east-west oriented wall was excavated a few metres south of the Unas causeway (Lacher-Raschdorff 2014, 98, with figs 18, 47, and pls 18e, 42f). The wall includes bricks stamped with the name Aa-kheperu-Re (not the name Djeser-kheperu-Re, the prenomen of Horemheb, as initially proposed by the excavators and followed by Raven et al. 2011, 28). It is not clear what type of structure this has been. It is worth noting that some pre-Ramesside temples of Millions of Years, at Thebes, were constructed of mud bricks. Closer to the Tabbet el-Guesh approach to the Unas South Cemetery (see the text, below), c. 200m south of the tomb of Ry, an unspecified number of bricks stamped with the prenomen of Amenhotep II were found in a debris-filled space of an Old Kingdom tomb (El-Ghandour 1997, 13, no. 5, pl. 12). One further brick stamped with the prenomen of Amenhotep II was found in the brick work of a monument built atop a hilly outcrop c. 1 km north-east of the Serapeum at Saqqara North (Yoshimura/Takamiya 2000, 171, figs 2, 3.8, pl. 19).

f. *Urk.* IV, 1448, 4-14; Ullmann 2002, 96-102.

g. Relief Cairo TN 31.5.25.11 (Schneider 2012, 121-122, fig. V.2; early Nineteenth Dynasty).

h. Staring 2015c, 178-180.

to read *ḥw.t n.yt ḥḥ.w m rnp.wt Nb-mꜣᶜ.t-Rᶜ-ḫnm.t-Ptḥ m pr Ptḥ*, 'temple of Millions of Years of Neb-Maat-Re United-with-Ptah in the house of Ptah'.[53]

The location of the Memphite memorial temple of Amenhotep III mirrors the cultic landscape as we know it from Thebes. There, the remains of various temples of Millions of

53 This temple remained operational at least until the reign of Ramesses II, when reference to it was made in pSallier IV (verso 1,8): "Ptah-who-is-under-his-moringa-tree-of-Neb-Maat-Re-United-with-Ptah" (Morkot 1990, 335). The temple was administratively attached to the temple of Ptah at Memphis (Haring 1997, 169, 390).

Years are situated, to this day, on the edge of the cultivated land, the ancient *bꜥḥ*-terrain,[54] and the non-royal desert necropolis serves as a backdrop to the scene.

The Memphite temple of Amenhotep III did not stand in isolation. Text references point to the former existence of several royal memorial temples of predecessors and successors (Table 13.1).[55]

Besides being the location of various temples of Millions of Years, the foreshore of Ankhtawy also accommodated a temple of Ptah. The son of Amenhotep Huy, Ipy (*temp*. Akhenaten-Horemheb), who succeeded his father in office as Chief Steward of Memphis, bore the title *ḥm-nṯr tp.y ḥw.t Ptḥ m pꜣ bꜥḥ*, 'First Prophet in the temple of Ptah in the *bꜥḥ*-terrain'.[56]

The recovered tombs of high-ranking officials serving the above-mentioned temples are all situated in the Unas South Cemetery. At Saqqara, evidence for a spatial relationship between the royal memorial temples and the private tombs of those professionally associated with them is again provided by the autobiographical text of Amenhotep Huy. This text informs us about the income-generating endowment he created to maintain his tomb-cult and supply it with offerings in perpetuity. This arrangement involves the temple of Amenhotep III:

> "…[22] Now behold, I appointed property by written deed out of my fields, my serfs, and my cattle on behalf of the statue (*twt*)[57] of Neb-Maat-Re whose name is [United-with-Ptah] [23] which His Majesty [had made] for his father Ptah in this temple (*m r-pr pn*). (…) [31] I say: "Listen you *wab* priests, lector-priests and gods-servants of United-with-Ptah and every steward of the king [32] who shall exist hereafter in Memphis (*Ỉnb.w*), His Majesty has given you [33] bread and beer (…) and all good things to nourish you in [34] his temple of United-with-Ptah in the morning of every day; do not covet [35] my provisions which my own(?) god decreed for me so as to do me [36] honour at my tomb (*ỉs=ỉ*).[37] (…) I appointed property by written deed for this statue (*twt*) of the king which is in [38] his temple (*ḥw.t=f*) in exchange for his giving to me divine offerings that come in and came forth from [39] before his statue (*ḫnty*) after the ritual sacrifice has been made, so as to establish my provisions for [40] future generations to come"."

In this section of the text, we learn that Amenhotep Huy had donated all his property to the statue of the king in the temple United-with-Ptah. This property was then used by the temple to produce offerings for the statues of Ptah and the king. In an act of 'diversion of offerings', the same food offerings were taken up to the necropolis and deposited in the tomb of Amenhotep Huy, an act which had to be repeated daily, forever.[58] Those responsible for the maintenance of the offering cult were a *wab*-priest and a lector-priest. They would have been the final beneficiaries of these food-offerings. The same priests may have built their own chapels near the tomb of Huy. Such a practice is evidenced by the chapels (each including a stela and offering table) of Yamen and Peraa(er)neheh, built in the same Unas South Cemetery. Both men served in the offering cult of Maya, the great Overseer of the Treasury in the reigns of Tutankhamun and Horemheb. They possessed offering chapels for their personal cult, and these were built right against the south exterior wall of Maya's tomb.[59]

The relationship between the tomb of Amenhotep Huy and the royal memorial temple described in the autobiographical inscription suggests that the two were located not far from each other. There is additional archaeological evidence to corroborate this hypothesis. Huy's tomb was excavated in 1821 or 1822, and although its precise location is today lost, there are indications that it was situated in the east section of the Unas South Cemetery. Excavator Amalia Nizzoli recorded its location

54 As already suggested by Gardiner (1913, 35) and followed by Kitchen 1991, 93 and fig. 1. Others (e.g. Snape 2011, 466 with n. 6; Angenot 2008, 10; Jeffreys/Smith 1988, 63-64) propose to situate the temple United-with-Ptah adjacent to the temple of Ptah at Memphis and hypothesise that it was demolished under Akhenaten and that later Ramesses II built the West Gate of the temple of Ptah on the spot. Garnett (2011) and Johnson (2011) also situate it close to the temple of Ptah, although they argue that almost certainly the temple remained intact during the Amarna period.

55 This overview is not meant as an exhaustive list of Memphite New Kingdom temples of Millions of Years. The selection serves to illustrate the point that Amenhotep III built a temple in line with a local Memphite custom that had existed since the beginning of the New Kingdom and which continued into the Ramesside period. For more references, see e.g. Pasquali 2011, *passim*.

56 Pasquali/Gessler-Löhr 2011, 281-299; Pasquali 2011, 93 [B.67].

57 The *twt* statue is usually translated simply as 'statue'; *ḫnty* statue (mentioned below) refers to a 'processional statue': Morkot 1990, 331-332.

58 The quantities transported by them daily have been calculated to amount to over one sack of grain of c. 80 litres (380 sacks annually): Haring 1997, 142. The tomb of Amenhotep Huy may have been accessible for a prolonged period of time following his interment, because he features among the venerated ancestors depicted on the so-called *fragment Daressy*, a relief-decorated tomb-block from Saqqara dated to the Ramesside period. The block has not been seen since Egyptologist Georges Daressy (1864-1938) copied it at Saqqara. For the *fragment Daressy*, see Mathieu 2012 (p. 819 n. 1 has an extensive list of bibliographic references, and pp. 839-841 focus on Amenhotep Huy).

59 Raven 1997.

Figure 13.3. The tomb of Ry and chapel 2013/7 after excavation in 2013, looking north-west. Photo: Nico Staring.

> "...at Saccarah, near Memphis, on the chain of hills which separates the left bank of the Nile from the sands of the deserts (...) not more than a quarter of an hour from 'the town of Memphis'."[60]

Years later, archaeologist James Quibell referred to the same location as

> "...Ras el-Gisr "the head of the embankment" (...) that much-dug area on the desert edge at the end of the dyke leading from Bedrashein."[61]

The village of Badrashein is situated just east of the ruin fields of Memphis, on the banks of the Nile (fig. 13.2). The old road from Badrashein to the village of Saqqara ran through the ruins of the temple of Ptah at Memphis.[62] Ras el-Gisr is where the Coptic Monastery of Apa Jeremias is located on a gentle slope just below the high desert. There, Quibell found a quartzite stela inscribed for Amenhotep Huy,[63] which indicates that the tomb must be close by.

In sum, the sacred landscape at Memphis included the city-temples of Ptah and other deities, and to the west of the city, at the foot of the desert escarpment, New Kingdom pharaohs built temples of Millions of Years. Prominent citizens of Memphis built their tombs – or *ḥw.wt n.wt nḥḥ*, "temples of eternity"[64] – on (the slope of) the desert plateau, which could be seen from the monuments of their kings and the temple of Ptah at Memphis. Based on parallels to festivals celebrated at Thebes and Abydos, the procession of the god Sokar on day 26 of his festival travelled to chapels housed in various royal temples before heading up to the necropolis.[65] Easy access to this part of the necropolis was possible via a wadi just north of the pyramid of Pepi I (modern Tabbet el-Guesh),[66] via the gentle slope over the

60 Hayes 1938, 13.

61 Quibell 1908, 63. The dyke is visible in a photo showing the excavations at the time of the inundation season: Quibell 1909, pl. 2.

62 See e.g. the fold-out map of Memphis, 1955, in Anthes 1959.

63 Quibell 1912, 84. Until a few years ago, the quartzite stela was still visible lying at exactly the same spot as where Quibell had left it (Gessler-Löhr 2007, 68 and n. 18, after an observation by M.J. Raven). It was recently removed and transferred to the antiquities magazine at Saqqara (Mohammad M. Youssef, personal communication).

64 See e.g. n. 42, above.

65 Eaton 2007.

66 See Dobrev 2017, 53 and fig. 1.

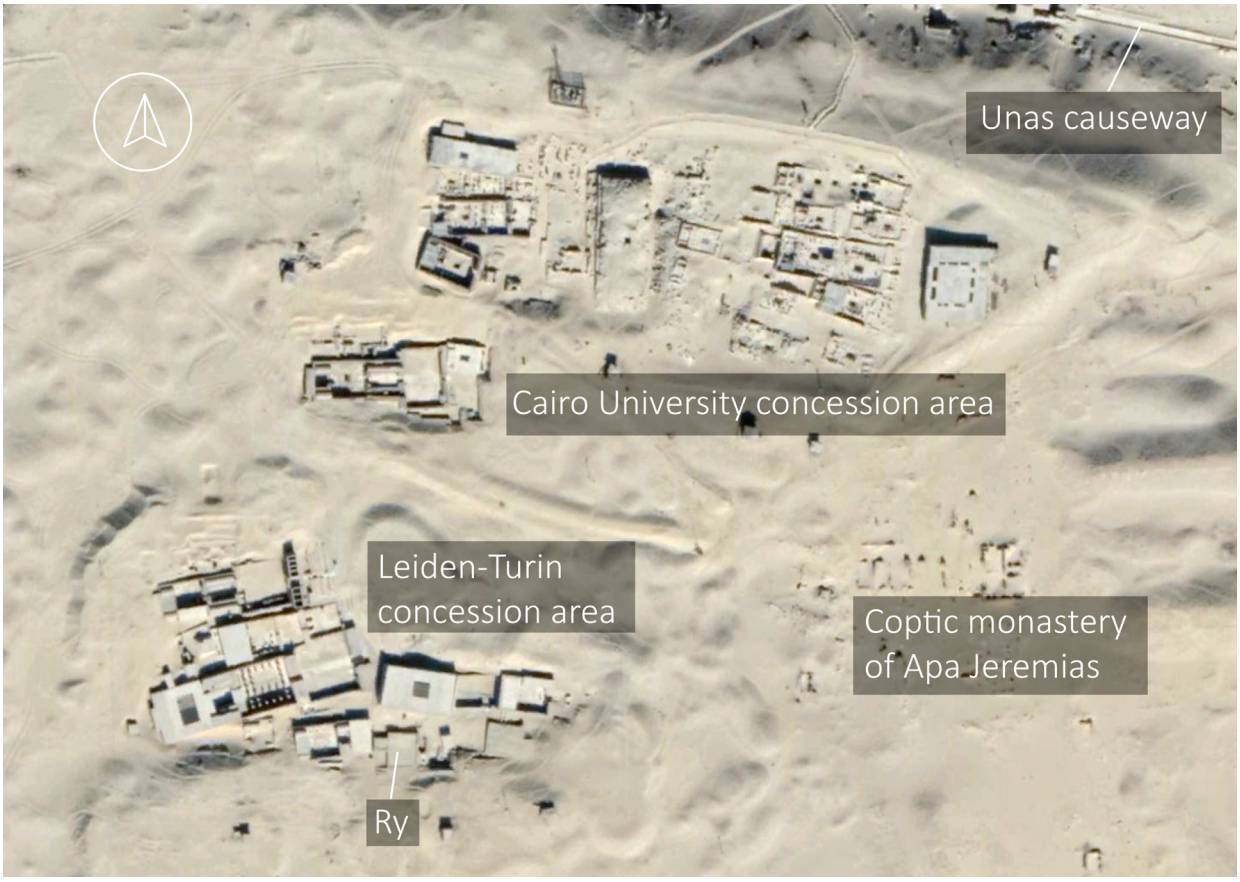


Figure 13.4. Satellite image of Saqqara showing the New Kingdom tombs in the Unas South Cemetery. Image: Google Earth (November 2017), adapted by Nico Staring.

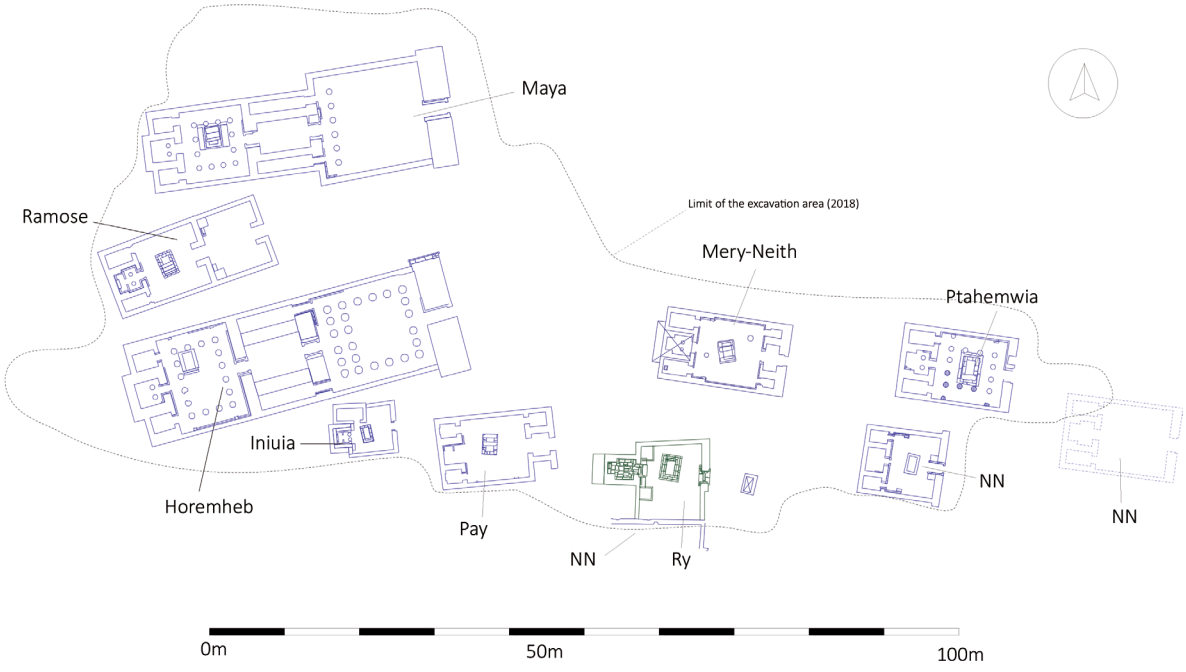


Figure 13.5. The Unas South Cemetery in the late Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Horemheb. Image: Nico Staring.

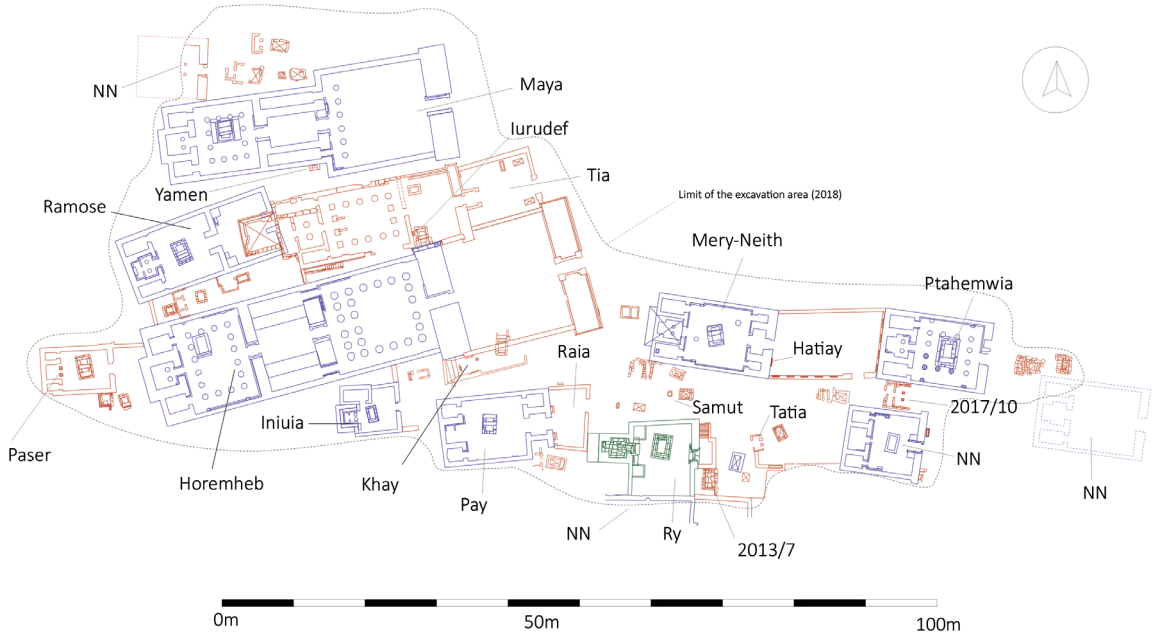


Figure 13.6. The Unas South Cemetery in the late Nineteenth Dynasty. Image: Nico Staring.

Ras el-Gisr, or via the Fifth Dynasty pyramid causeway of Unas.[67] Arriving from Memphis, the southern wadi-approach and Ras el-Gisr slope would have offered the shortest route. The spatial distribution of the monumental tombs shows that this cemetery grew in a northward direction from the Eighteenth to the Nineteenth Dynasty. This observation also favours a southern approach, with the earliest tombs situated closest to the point of entry.

## Use of Cemetery Space at Saqqara

Having established the spatial context in which the Unas South Cemetery is situated, let us now turn to the use of space within the cemetery itself. A premise underlying my narrative of the cemetery development is that movements of people who visited the necropolis influenced burial patterns (choice of tomb location), and vice versa.[68] The tomb of a high-ranking army official named Ry (figs 13.3-13.4),[69] or rather the section of the cemetery in which the tomb is located, will be taken as an example to illustrate this point.

The initial owner of the tomb, Ry, was a Chief of Bowmen and Overseer of Horses who had his tomb constructed in the late Eighteenth Dynasty reigns of Tutankhamun to Horemheb (early) (fig. 13.4). What did the Unas South Cemetery look like when Ry started building his tomb? Unfortunately, we are rather ill-informed about the pre-Amarna period development of this section of the necropolis. The earliest archaeological evidence for private tombs at this site dates to the reign of Amenhotep III, when Amenhotep Huy built his funerary monument, which is now lost. The tombs dated to this time period were probably (partially) cut into what the ancient Egyptians referred to as the *dhn.t wr.t ʿnḫ-tɜ.wy*, 'great cliffs of Ankhtawy'.[70]

In a later phase of the cemetery's development, in the time of the late Eighteenth Dynasty reigns of Tutahkhamun to Horemheb (fig. 13.5), we encounter the 'distinctly Memphite' monumental freestanding tomb superstructures, also referred to as 'temple-tombs'.[71] Thus, the plot selected by Ry was surrounded by monuments, which were fairly new at the time. Ry's neighbour to the west was Pay, the Overseer of Cattle and the Overseer of the King's Apartments at Memphis (*temp.* Tutankhamun);

67 Note that the valley temple of Unas is also situated at the edge of the cultivation, on the banks of an ancient lake. The valley temple and pyramid temple of Unas are connected by a causeway measuring 690 metres in length.

68 See Raven 2000, 136-138 ("patterns of association"), 140-141 ("access and communication"); Martin 1991, 117, for some preliminary observations on the same issues.

69 Staring 2019; Raven et al. 2012-2013.

70 C. Martin 2009, 49-50, listing Late Period attestations from the Memphite necropolis. The hypothesised situation in the cliff south of the Unas causeway likely compares to the contemporary rock-cut tombs in the cliffs near the later Bubasteion at Saqqara North (e.g. A.-P. Zivie 2012).

71 Van Dijk 1993, 198-203.

Figure 13.7. Chapel 2007/10, looking west, built between the tombs of *NN* (left) and Ptahemwia (right). Photo: Nico Staring.

to the north stood the tomb of Mery-Neith, the Greatest of Seers (high priest) and the Steward in the temple of the Aten in Memphis (*temp.* Akhenaten-Tutankhamun); and his neighbours to the east and south are still unknown. Moreover, located within a radius of 50 metres were the tombs of two of the most influential officials of Tutankhamun's tenure: Horemheb, the Generalissimo (several building phases), and Maya, the Overseer of the Treasury and Overseer of Works on All Monuments of the King. The latter may have been buried as late as year 9 of king Horemheb.[72] When we add to these archaeologically excavated tombs the prosopographic information recorded on tomb-elements taken from the same section of the cemetery (now kept in museum collections worldwide), the image of a field reserved exclusively for courtiers emerges. Thus, the court cemetery includes stewards of temples of Millions of Years (the temples that are located at the foot of the escarpment), high-ranking army officials (incl. royal butlers), overseers of (royal) construction works, "harim" officials, and high priests.[73]

Ry's tomb was built as a not completely freestanding structure. Its construction made use of the north exterior wall of a neighbouring tomb (?) to the south (fig. 13.5). This association by proximity may point to a certain relationship that Ry and his neighbour had while still alive, or one transcending the generations, either along family lines or through professional associations. Yamen and Peraaerneheh, the priests responsible for the maintenance of Maya's offering cult, perpetuated the professional relationship to their patron by connecting their chapels with the latter's monumental tomb. The case of Ry also likely reflects a perpetuated professional relationship. The superior in rank to

72 Van Dijk 1993, 76-79.

73 Staring 2017; 2014-2015.

Ry was the General, Amenemone (see table 13.1), who also served as the steward in the nearby Memphite temple of Millions of Years of Thutmosis III.

The cemetery continued to develop after Ry's funeral had taken place (fig. 13.6). Existing tombs were adapted, and new chapels were added in the ever-diminishing space available between pre-existing structures.[74] The son and successor in office of Pay, Raia (*temp.* Horemheb-Seti I), enlarged the tomb of his father by adding an open forecourt. It is clear that space between the tombs of Ry and Pay was limited, and this influenced the form and layout of Raia's annex. An axial approach to the new entrance doorway was not an option; therefore the entrance was shifted to the north.

In the areas to the north and east of the tomb of Ry, additional chapels were built, which date to the (early) Ramesside period. A four-sided stela inscribed for a Stonemason named Samut, apparently without an accompanying superstructure, was set up halfway between Ry and Mery-Neith;[75] a chapel for a Priest of the Front of Ptah, Tatia, occupied the open space to the east;[76] and a final Ramesside chapel, labelled feature 2013/7 and of unknown ownership, was built right against the southeast facade of Ry's tomb.[77] The position of the shaft of chapel 2013/7 (if indeed identified correctly) suggests that the "dead-end road" leading up to it served as its courtyard.

The changes and additions all around the tomb of Ry had their effect on the accessibility of certain parts of the cemetery. The corridor leading up to the entrance of Ry's tomb may have been constructed in conjunction with these later building activities. In so doing, those responsible for the tomb's maintenance, likely members of Ry's (extended) household, changed the approach by 'funnelling' visitors southward. The need to do so stemmed perhaps not so much from the building of new chapels immediately east of the tomb entrance, but rather from the blocking of a passage further east. In the 'street' between the tombs of Ptahemwia (late Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Akhenaten-Tutankhamun) and its anonymous neighbour to the south (late Eighteenth Dynasty), a chapel of Ramesside date was built (chapel 2007/10: fig. 13.7). After closing this passageway, the only remaining means of accessing the tomb of Ry would have been through the narrow space between the south wing of the pylon of Horemheb and the west wall of the tomb of Mery-Neith. The passage was, in fact, flanked by a stela inscribed for a man named [Pen]dua and his family, set against the exterior wall of Horemheb's pylon, and a tomb shaft situated immediately west of the exterior wall of Mery-Neith's tomb chapel (chapel 2002/2: fig. 13.6).[78] Thus, even via this route, people would have had to step over someone's burial space.[79]

The development of this cemetery in the Ramesside period was further influenced by the fact that general Horemheb became king. As pharaoh, he started to construct his royal tomb in the Valley of the Kings (KV 57) at Thebes.[80] Despite the new tomb in the south of Egypt, his Memphite monument, built when he was general of the army, did not go out of use. On the contrary, it was *de facto* transformed into a royal memorial temple.[81] Various priests maintained the cult of the deified king for an extended period of time, and "pious" visitors left graffiti.[82] As a result of this course of events, the tomb-turned-memorial temple of Horemheb came to serve as a magnet for subsequent construction works in the cemetery. This is, for example, illustrated by the tomb of Tia, the brother-in-law of Ramesses II. His tomb was wedged in the narrow space between the pre-existing tombs of Horemheb and Maya. Its construction makes use of the north exterior walls of Horemheb's tomb, thereby associating Tia, whose tomb is described by the excavators as a "royal monument",[83] with the 'founder' of the Ramesside dynasty.[84] It has been suggested that, in order to reinforce their own legitimacy, both Seti I and Ramesses II widely promoted the cults of their deceased fathers and the royal ancestors. A monument of the dynasty's founder, embedded in an ancient landscape of religious significance and royal presence (e.g. in terms of New Kingdom temples of Millions of Years and Old Kingdom pyramids), presented an excellent opportunity to do so. The tomb of the deified king may have also influenced

74 Note that high officials did not stop constructing monumental tombs in this cemetery. In the Nineteenth Dynasty, numerous monumental tombs were built in the north section of the Unas South Cemetery (see Tawfik 1991). Thus, the small chapels built in the available spaces between the big, late Eighteenth Dynasty tombs were not introduced because of a lack of available cemetery space.

75 Raven et al. 2014-2015, 13.

76 Oeters 2017.

77 Raven et al. 2012-2013, 11, figs 6-7.

78 Raven et al. 2011, 60, no. 29, fig. on p. 61 (date: "Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasty").

79 If indeed the space between the stela and tomb shaft was part of what could be termed 'burial space'.

80 Davis 1912.

81 Construction of his Memphite tomb may have continued when Horemheb became king. The subterranean complex, for example, was "directly modelled on the royal tombs of the last kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty before the Amarna period" (Van Dijk 1993, 46). The first pylon and forecourt may have also been constructed at that time (see also Raven et al. 2011, 27, who consider the option that the enlargement of the superstructure happened in the Ramesside period to facilitate the deceased king's cult). The tomb of Horemheb also served as the burial place of his first wife (?), Amenia (who may have died early in the reign of Tutankhamun), and his second wife, queen Mutnodjmet (who died in regnal year 13 of her husband). At a later stage, the tomb-complex (shaft-complex i) saw the interment of members of the court (?) of Ramesses II (Schneider 1996, 3).

82 Staring 2018; Martin 2016, 68.

83 Martin 1997. For critique of this view, see Teeter 2003.

84 A dynasty otherwise founded on "politically shaky ground", according to Brand 2005, 27.

Figure 13.8. Relief-decorated blocks (Berlin inv. no. ÄM 7278) from the north wall of Ry's tomb (antechapel), showing the deceased couple (left) and a group of offering bearers and officiants (right). Copyright SMB Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, photo: Jürgen Liepe.

the positioning of funerary monuments elsewhere in the cemetery. Anonymous chapel 2007/10 (figs 13.6 and 13.7), situated a mere 50 metres west of Horemheb's entrance pylon, serves as an example. It may have been built along one of the prevailing access routes leading up to the tomb-temple of the deified king. Visitors passed through the street in between the monumental tombs of Ptahemwia and *NN* when they arrived from the valley below. By building a chapel at precisely that location, the owner of chapel 2007/10 deliberately blocked one possible route leading up to the king's monument. Future visitors, entering the cemetery from the southern Tabbet el-Guesh or Ras el-Gisr approach, now had to pass by this chapel and make a detour to reach the same destination. The choice for that exact location may thus have been the result of strategic decision-making, aimed to attract the attention of a maximum number of passers-by, both in the present and future. The same choice and resulting changes to the cemetery infrastructure also affected the accessibility of other, pre-existing tombs, both positively and negatively.

## Patrimonial Relationships and the Social Dimension of Burial

The life histories of individual tombs at Saqqara, such as in the example of Ry, highlight a development in the social dimension of burial that was previously observed in the Theban necropolis of Deir el-Medina.[85] Research has shown that tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty tended to house individuals, couples, or small family groups.[86] Tombs of the Nineteenth

85 Meskell 1999.

86 See also the observations in Polz 1995, 30, 39. As early as the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasty, tomb complexes at Dra Abu el-Naga (consisting of a single-room funerary chapel with open courtyard and entrance pylon, and a tomb shaft, accessed from the court, with two chambers at the bottom) were used for the tomb owner's extended household, thus incorporating individuals of different social levels (Polz 2005, 235). Polz suggests that the superstructures associated to these shaft tombs may have been used not only for the extended household of the tomb owner, but also for those buried in the tomb shafts clustered around the chapel. Those shafts had no superstructures associated to them – at least not built in durable material such as mud bricks.

and Twentieth Dynasty were complexes that contained larger numbers of individuals, including several generations of the same family and extended families.

According to the data currently at our disposal, Ry and his wife, Maia, had no children. Consequently, mortuary rituals such as the purification of the deceased couple and their offering table (fig. 13.8) were performed not by their offspring, but by individuals who were professionally associated with Ry. The two officiants are identified, in writing, as subordinates in rank, or in other words, members of Ry's extended household. They are the Stablemaster, Maia, and the Servant, Ahanefer. By having their names and titles inscribed in the tomb of a powerful patron (a superior in rank), members of an extended household were able to secure their permanent presence in the following of their patron.[87]

The wish for one's permanent presence in the following of a patron can also take material form. Ry, as we have observed, built his tomb against the north exterior wall of another pre-existing structure. In so doing, he associated himself with that tomb owner, a man who has tentatively been identified as the General, Amenemone, Ry's superior in rank.[88] The chapel that was later added to the east facade of Ry's tomb (no. 2013/7) may be a further example of association by proximity, perhaps meant to accommodate one of the officiants (and their family) depicted in the tomb of Ry. In my view, this organisation of burials reflects the prevailing patrimonial household structure of Egyptian society in the New Kingdom.[89] The respective tombs and chapels position their owners in the funerary landscape as part of a grouping according to patrimonial household lines.[90]

According to the case study on Deir el-Medina, in the transition period from the late Eighteenth Dynasty into the Ramesside period, tomb architecture changed to accommodate extended households within the planned tomb complex. The same pattern can be observed at Saqqara. One example is provided by the tomb of the Overseer of the Treasury, Tia, the brother-in-law of Ramesses II.[91] A subordinate of Tia named Iurudef, a Scribe of the Treasury, was buried in the second courtyard of his superior in rank, along

87 Staring 2018, 90; Ragazzoli 2013, 288; Den Doncker 2012, 24-25. Two Saqqara tomb stelae derive from the tombs of servants (*sḏm-ᶜš*): stela Berlin inv. no. ÄM 7273 of Nehehenitef (Roeder 1924, 150-152; Nineteenth Dynasty; probably Unas South Cemetery); and stela Neuchatel inv. no. Eg. 428 of Nakht-Amun (*ḥr.y sḏmw.w n.w wbꜣ nsw Ḥrì* and *sḏm-ᶜš n.y wbꜣ nsw Ḥrì*: Málek 1988, 131-132; Nineteenth Dynasty; Teti Pyramid Cemetery). The stela of Nakht-Amun possibly derives from the tomb of his superior, the Royal Butler, Hori. This situation compares well to that of Iurudef, Scribe of the Treasury, who was buried within the tomb complex of his superior, Tia (see main text, above). The pit burial of only one *sḏm-ᶜš* has been attested archaeologically. Burial 99/5 is situated immediately south of the south wall of Horemheb's inner courtyard (Raven et al. 2011, 39, 72, figs I.16, I.21; *temp.* Amenhotep III).

88 Staring 2019.

89 For the patrimonial household system of New Kingdom Egypt, see: Warden 2014, 16-20; Schloen 2001, 255, 313-316. For patronage systems in Egypt, see also: Eyre 2016; Campagno 2014; Moreno Garcia 2014; 2013; Lehner 2000.

90 For a comparable grouping of cenotaph chapels in the Abydos North Cemetery (Middle Kingdom), near the temple of Osiris, see: Adams 2010 (with similar observations made earlier in O'Connor 1985, 174; Leprohon 1978; Simpson 1974, 4 n. 6). As to the case study, the chapel and stela of a man named Nakht, Adams (2010, 17) concludes that "[h]e is represented as both an individual and as part of a social unit, itself represented materially by the entirety of the grouping of architectural and archaeological features, the chapels with their stelae, the individuals represented on the stelae, the shaft tombs, and the burials they once contained." Polz (2007, 243, 249) has observed a similar grouping of tomb chapels in the late Seventeenth to early Eighteenth Dynasty cemetery at Dra Abu el-Naga (example: tomb chapel K91.3). The chapels built against the exterior wall of the pylon entrance of tomb K91.3 had no tomb shafts, which means that the burials of the individuals for whom the chapels (possibly including stelae) were built, were located somewhere else (see also Polz 2003, 81-83). Polz also suggests that the cenotaph tombs at Abydos were in fact used as cult places for those buried in unmarked shaft tombs at Thebes and other contemporary cemeteries. Smith (1992, 219) observed that, in the Theban necropolises of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasties, the "grouping of poorer burials with wealthier ones is clearly more the norm than the exception".

91 Martin 1997. Recently, the Cairo University mission in the Unas South Cemetery, led by Prof. Ola el-Aguizy, excavated a Ramesside tomb that was built over the course of three generations: Iurokhy, Yupa and Hatiay. https://www.livescience.com/62514-ancient-general-tomb-saqqara.html (last accessed on 03.07.2018).

with members of his own family.[92] Tia's forecourt contained another two tomb shafts to accommodate additional burials. This goes to show that a single tomb complex served to provide burial space for the extended household of the high-status main owner. In this manner, family members and subordinates were able to secure their permanent presence in the following of a higher-ranking individual.[93]

## Concluding Remarks

In this paper, I have proposed to study the development of the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis by focusing on the day-to-day use of the site. The built environment provides the setting for human activity, and spaces separating individual tomb structures create possible thoroughfares. Thus, in the cemetery, movement of people from location X to location Y is embodied[94] in the patterns of tomb distribution. The necropolis as a place for the living was illustrated by proceedings highlighted in the Sokar festival – one of many occasions for the inhabitants of Memphis to visit their cemetery. It has been proposed that the nearby royal monuments played an important part in the site-specific development in terms of tomb distribution. The brief biography of one section of the Unas South Cemetery, as illustrated with the tomb of Ry, showed that it developed rather organically. This development reflects departures from the desired life-paths or emic ideal biographies of tombs.[95] It shows that the life history of a tomb continues where the life of its builder ends, and whatever happens to such a tomb subsequently (in terms of architectural layout, occupancy, etc.) may not necessarily reflect the pre-conceived image that motivated its construction.[96] The same applies to the broader setting, the landscape in which the tombs are located. In the words of Samuels, there is a "landscape of impression", a layer of ideologies and cultural representations of space and place (including planning concepts), which provide the context to create the physically visible, materialised landscape, the "landscape of expression".[97] The two inform each other and are in constant motion. These concepts are key in the biographical approach. Thus by adopting a biographical approach to studying the history of a necropolis site, one is steered away from a view centred exclusively on the tomb owner and his (self-)interests. Instead, this approach emphasises the enduring influence that the landscape, including old monuments, can have on the behaviour of people. In that view, tombs should be regarded not as ready-made monuments but rather as, what archaeologist Cornelius Holtorf calls, "works in progress in a continuous state of becoming".[98] It is the necropolis at large where individuals and groups interact with and shape their environment, and where the environment influences the actions of individuals and groups. The landscape is, to conclude in the words of Tim Ingold, "never complete: neither 'built' nor 'unbuilt', it is perpetually under construction."[99]

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92 Raven 1991. The same court accommodated another chapel of which little remains.

93 This same wish underlies the act of inscribing certain types of graffiti. The graffitists secured their permanent presence in the following of the tomb owner without requiring to be buried there. Staring 2018. Some of these graffiti are also discussed in the contribution of Lara Weiss in this volume.

94 Ingold 1993, 167.

95 Fontijn 2013, 157.

96 Paraphrasing Ingold's observation (1993, 162), an argument made along the same lines as Fontijn (n. 95, above): "Virtually by definition, an artefact is an object shaped to a pre-conceived image that motivated its construction, and it is 'finished' at the point when it is brought into conformity with this image. What happens to it beyond that point is supposed to belong to the phase of use rather than manufacture, to dwelling rather than building."

97 Samuels 1979. Compare this to what is called "instantiation" in the Lived Ancient Religion approach, arguing that any cultural framework is made up of a "horizon of experience" and a "horizon of expectation" (Albrecht et al. 2018, 5-7). Both aspects are said to have an impact on an actors' interests and motivations for instantiating religion. These horizons can be equated to Samuels's "landscape of impression".

98 Holtorf 2015, 168.

99 Ingold 1993, 162.