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# IMAGING AND IMAGINING THE MEMPHITE NECROPOLIS

LIBER AMICORUM RENÉ VAN WALSEM

*edited by*

Vincent Verschoor, Arnold Jan Stuart & Cocky Demarée



NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR HET NABIJE OOSTEN  
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2017

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# THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY EXPLORATION OF THE SAQQARA NEW KINGDOM NECROPOLIS\*

*Nico Staring*

## INTRODUCTION

François Auguste Ferdinand Mariette (1821-81) visited Egypt for the first time in 1850 on behalf of the Musée du Louvre, and it is at the site of Saqqara where he made probably one of his most spectacular discoveries: the Serapeum.<sup>1</sup> That Mariette also worked in the area now known as the New Kingdom necropolis south of the Unas causeway is less well known. During the years 1858-9, he visited that area accompanied by Théodule Devéria (1831-71). Recently, a number of photographs made by Devéria at Saqqara in 1859 were identified. These capture various New Kingdom tombs that have since been lost, including that of Ptahmose, the early Nineteenth Dynasty Mayor of Memphis; Ptahemwia, the Overseer of Cattle and Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum;<sup>2</sup> and Khay, another Treasury Overseer of Ramesses II's Theban memorial temple.<sup>3</sup> Those photographs provided the incentive for a closer examination of Mariette's exploration of the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara south of the Unas causeway. This article aims to demarcate the area of the necropolis where he worked, and to determine what his motives were to work there.

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\* It is with great pleasure that I dedicate this article to René van Walsem in gratitude for all that he has taught me about Egyptian archaeology and material culture, and for his continued support during my studies 'down under' at Macquarie University (Sydney, Australia). René first introduced me to the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara – which forms the subject of this paper – during a lecture held at an 'open day' for prospective Archaeology students to Leiden University, somewhere around 1999. I hope that this contribution to his *Festschrift* sheds some new light on one phase of the non-systemic use-life of the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara: the (early) scientific use-life. I thank Boyo Ockinga, Daniela Picchi, Maarten Raven, and René van Walsem for valuable feedback at an early stage of preparing this paper; Jason Livingstone-Thomas for polishing my English; and the editors of this *Festschrift* for inviting me to contribute to it.

<sup>1</sup> Since 1849, Mariette had a minor post at the Louvre. The museum sent him to Egypt to obtain Coptic, Ethiopic, and Syriac manuscripts. He arrived in Alexandria on 2 October 1850. After failing to acquire the manuscripts, he soon shifted attention to finding the Serapeum and started his work at Saqqara on 27 October 1850 (W.R. Dawson, E.P. Uphill, and M.L. Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (4<sup>th</sup> rev. edn; London, 2012), 356; J.-P. Lauer, 'Mariette à Saqqarah: Du Sérapéum à la direction des antiquités', in J. Sainte Fare Garnot (ed.), *Mélanges Mariette* (BdE 32; Cairo, 1961), 4-5).

<sup>2</sup> See N. Staring, 'The Tomb of Ptahmose, Mayor of Memphis: Analysis of an Early 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Funerary Monument at Saqqara', *BIFAO* 114 (2014), 455-518; N. Staring, 'The Tomb of Ptahemwia, "Great Overseer of Cattle" and "Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum" at Saqqara', *JEA* 102 (2016), 145-70. These articles also include a short biography of Théodule Devéria and notes on early photography in Egyptian archaeology. For Devéria's contribution to photography in Egyptology, see also É. David, 'Théodule Devéria (1<sup>er</sup> Juillet 1831 - 25 Janvier 1871): L'Égyptologue faiseur d'images', in F. Morfoisse and G. Andreu-Lanoë (eds), *Sésostris III: Pharaon de légende* (Gand, 2014), 246-51, which was published just before submitting the manuscript of the present article.

<sup>3</sup> S. Pasquali, 'La tombe perdue de Bourri, employé du domaine d'Aton à Memphis', *BIFAO* 113 (2013), 315-16, figs 10-11. A more detailed publication of the tomb of Khay by the same author (in collaboration with Jocelyne Berlandini-Keller) is currently in preparation (Stéphane Pasquali, personal communication).

## MARIETTE AT SAQQARA, 1857-8

The first time Mariette recorded fragments from a New Kingdom tomb south of the Step Pyramid was on 30 November 1850, only seven years after Lepsius visited the area (see below). The present whereabouts of the blocks he recorded (from the tomb of Mery-Neith) are unknown.<sup>4</sup>

Work on the Serapeum came to a close in October 1854. While the Louvre recalled him to Paris,<sup>5</sup> where he was awarded with an appointment as assistant curator at the Department of Egyptian Antiquities (1855-61),<sup>6</sup> Mariette did not envision a life as a philologist.<sup>7</sup> He would rather resume his excavations in Egypt, and work on a plan to put a halt to the ever deteriorating state of preservation of its antiquities. Ferdinand De Lesseps (1805-94), who had been appointed by Egypt's Viceroy Said Pacha (1822-63) to construct the Suez Canal (1859-69),<sup>8</sup> conceived an idea for Mariette to return to Egypt. De Lesseps informed the Viceroy of Prince Napoleon's (1822-91)<sup>9</sup> wish to visit the country, and proposed that Mariette should prepare the journey, which included making excavations on behalf of the Prince. Eventually, on 9 October 1857 Mariette was granted permission to excavate for a period of eight months,<sup>10</sup> and he immediately started work at Saqqara, Gizeh, Abydos, Thebes, and Elephantine. This mission was soon halted when in February 1858 Mariette received news that Prince Napoleon's journey had been cancelled, and he was recalled to the Louvre. Yet again he tried to find a way in which he could continue working on his projects in Egypt. An opportunity to extend his stay was presented by the Prince's wish to obtain a collection of antiquities as a 'souvenir' of the mission.<sup>11</sup> On the occasion of his state visit to Egypt in 1855, Austrian Archduke Maximilian had received as a gift a large collection of Egyptian antiquities from Viceroy Said (see below). Naturally, a gift of similar magnitude should be presented to Prince Napoleon. Since Maximilian's gift constituted the remainder of the former Muhammad Ali Egyptian Museum's collection, a new collection had to be assembled.<sup>12</sup> This provided Mariette with the opportunity to continue his work. Plans to protect Egypt's antiquities eventually materialised on 1 June 1858 with the founding of the Antiquities Service by Viceroy Said Pasha, again with the successful mediation of de Lesseps. Mariette was appointed as *mamur al-antiqat* or *directeur des monuments historiques de l'Égypte et du musée* by the Viceroy.<sup>13</sup>

When Mariette returned to Saqqara south of the Step Pyramid in the company of Devéria, his work in that area of the necropolis was probably motivated by the search for antiquities destined for the soon-to-be-opened Bulaq Museum:<sup>14</sup> '... un musée fût élevé au Caire pour y recevoir tous les objets transportables; quinze cents ouvriers

<sup>4</sup> PM III/2, 666; A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1889), 449; M.J. Raven and R. van Walsem, *The Tomb of Meryneith at Saqqara* (PALMA 10; Turnhout, 2014), 106-8, scenes [21] and [22].

<sup>5</sup> A. Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis* (Paris, 1857), 1; Lauer, in Sainte Fare Garnot (ed.), *Mélanges Mariette*, 22.

<sup>6</sup> Emmanuel de Rougé (1811-72) was the Louvre's curator of the Egyptian collection since 1849 (Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 475-6).

<sup>7</sup> Lauer, in Sainte Fare Garnot (ed.), *Mélanges Mariette*, 22-6.

<sup>8</sup> Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 326-7.

<sup>9</sup> The cousin of Emperor Napoleon III (1808-73).

<sup>10</sup> E. David, *Mariette Pacha 1821-1881* (Paris, 1994), 99-102.

<sup>11</sup> Lauer, in Sainte Fare Garnot (ed.), *Mélanges Mariette*, 28; David, *Mariette Pacha*, 104-5.

<sup>12</sup> D. Abou-Ghazi, 'The First Egyptian Museum', *ASAE* 67 (1988), 9; D.M. Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Los Angeles, 2002), 58.

<sup>13</sup> E. de Rougé, 'Une lettre écrite d'Égypte par M. Mariette', *CRAIBL* 2 (1858), 115-21; Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 100.

<sup>14</sup> Founded by Mariette in 1858 and opened to the public by Ismail Pasha on 16 October 1863: A.É. Mariette, 'Notice sur l'état actuel et les résultats, jusqu'à ce jour entrepris pour la conservation des antiquités égyptiennes en Égypte', *CRAIBL* 3 (1859), 155, 165; E.-F. Jomard, 'Lettre de M. A. Mariette sur ses dernières fouilles en Égypte', *CRAIBL* 4 (1860), 140-1; Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 103-8.

*travaillent donc aux déblaiements et aux fouilles sous la haute direction de M. Mariette*.<sup>15</sup> The museum was established to secure Egypt's antiquities, threatened by the uncontrolled, illicit diggings and the wanton destruction of monuments. That this was a serious threat at Saqqara, was communicated by Mariette in a letter to De Lesseps in July 1857: '... *J'ai vécu quatre ans parmi les fellahs, et en quatre ans, j'ai vu, ce qui est à peine croyable, sept cents tombeaux disparaître de la plaine d'Abouzyr et de Saqqarah*'.<sup>16</sup> And thus, in late 1858, Mariette started to assemble (often rather haphazardly)<sup>17</sup> transportable objects and architectural elements to be sent to the Bulaq Museum.

#### DEVÉRIA AND MARIETTE AT SAQQARA, 1858-9

Immediately upon his appointment as *mamur*, Mariette started excavating simultaneously at sites from the Delta down to Elephantine, where he was authorised to employ over 7,280 corvée labourers.<sup>18</sup> Mariette had a few assistants to supervise these excavations in his absence,<sup>19</sup> which he usually visited only once every few weeks.<sup>20</sup> From December 1858 to April 1859, French Egyptologist Théodule Devéria, then curator at the Musée du Louvre in Paris, jointly worked with Mariette in copying texts on these archaeological fieldwork campaigns.<sup>21</sup> From December 1858 to early January 1859, and again in early March 1859, Mariette and Devéria worked at Saqqara. There, 330 local workers were hired to carry out the actual fieldwork.<sup>22</sup> While the Serapeum continued to be one focus of his research,<sup>23</sup> the main focus was on other areas of the vast Memphite necropolis, and this included the New Kingdom cemetery south of the Unas causeway.

According to the biography written by his brother Gabriel Devéria, Théodule '... *partit le 10 décembre 1858; quelques jours d'après, il assistait à Saqqarah aux fouilles qui aboutirent à la découverte d'une liste de cinquante-huit*

<sup>15</sup> Mariette, *CRAIBL* 3, 165.

<sup>16</sup> David, *Mariette Pacha*, 100.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. relief Cairo JE 4874: visible *in situ* in a photograph taken by Devéria in 1859. It was removed from the wall, discarded of 'excess' stone (including hieroglyphic texts) and taken to the Bulaq Museum: Staring, *BIFAO* 114. See also W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Seventy Years in Egyptology* (New York, 1969 [1932]), 129-30, on Mariette and Vassalli working in Meydum, January 1872.

<sup>18</sup> Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 356. Mariette himself made a distinction between 'déblaiements' (clearing temples from the sand, by order of the Viceroy) and excavations ('*fouilles proprement dites*'): letter of Mariette to Brugsch, written on 10 April 1859 at his house at Saqqara, Brugsch-Mariette Collection, no. 18, Egyptological Archives of the University of Milan: P. Piacentini, 'Auguste Mariette in the Egyptological Archives', in D. Magee, J. Bourriau, and S. Quirke (eds), *Sitting Beside Lepsius: Studies in Honour of Jaromir Malek at the Griffith Institute* (OLA 185; Leuven, 2009), 425-7.

<sup>19</sup> From 1858 to the early 1860s they included Bonnefoy (like Mariette a native of Boulogne-sur-Mer; he died in 1859: Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 67); Charles Edmond Gabet (1818-69): *ibid.*, 203; and the Italian Luigi Vassalli (see n. 90, below).

<sup>20</sup> Petrie, *Seventy Years*, 52-3.

<sup>21</sup> G. Devéria, 'Théodule Devéria (1831-1871): Notice biographique', in G. Maspero (ed.), *Bibliothèque Égyptologique 4: Théodule Devéria mémoires et fragments I* (Paris, 1896), x-xv; Lauer, in Sainte Fare Garnot (ed.), *Mélanges Mariette*, 30; Staring, *BIFAO* 114.

<sup>22</sup> David, *Mariette Pacha*, 109; Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 100.

<sup>23</sup> D. Durand, 'Les photographies des sculptures grecques du Sérapéum de Memphis par Théodule Devéria', in R. Bertho, J.-P. Garric, and F. Queyrel (eds), *Patrimoine photographié, patrimoine photographique: « Actes de colloques »*, <http://inha.revues.org/3982>, accessed 1 April 2016. See also Lauer, in Sainte Fare Garnot (ed.), *Mélanges Mariette*, 5-55; C. Ziegler, 'Recherches sur Saqqâra au musée du Louvre: Étude des collections et mission archéologique', in Z. Hawass and L. Pinch Brock (eds), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000, Vol. 3* (Cairo, 2003), 442-3.

rois, comptés de Miébidos jusqu'à Ramsès II, puis il visitait Boulaq, Gizéh, le Sérapéum dont l'entrée était de nouveau envahie par le sable'.<sup>24</sup> The king-list from the tomb of Tjuneroy, Overseer of Works on all Monuments of the King (Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II), features prominently in Mariette's reports on the fieldwork campaigns of the years 1859-60.<sup>25</sup> In fact, that find may have provided the incentive for exploring that area further. In the catalogue of the Bulaq Museum, Mariette describes work in the New Kingdom area at Saqqara as follows: '... 3°. Plateau situé au sud de la Pyramide à degrés. C'est la partie de la nécropole réservée à la sépulture des momies contemporaines des XVIII<sup>e</sup>, XIX<sup>e</sup> et XX<sup>e</sup> dynasties. Les fouilles de ce plateau ont donné au Musée des monuments de toute sorte parmi lesquels nous citerons, à cause de son importance exceptionnelle, la Table de Saqqarah'.<sup>26</sup> He considered the king-list '... l'un des précieux monuments de notre Musée'.<sup>27</sup>

On 6 January 1859 Mariette and Devéria departed for an inspection of sites in Upper Egypt. In Ombos, Devéria – who came from an artistic family – made a pencil drawing portrait of Mariette (Fig. 1).<sup>28</sup> Mariette and Devéria returned to Saqqara on 12 March 1859: '... Hier notre vapeur nous a débarqués à Bédéréchin, d'où nous avons gagné à âne les chantiers de Sakkarah. Après avoir visité plusieurs puits funéraires dont l'un contenait, chose très rare, des sarcophages inviolés, nous nous sommes rendus à la maison de terre habitée par Mariette pendant qu'il dirigeait les fouilles du Sérapéum'.<sup>29</sup> This is the only reference Devéria made to work at Saqqara, and it suggests that the tombs they visited were excavated for them in their absence. In one photograph taken by Devéria at Saqqara and capturing the tomb of Khay, Mariette – wearing the same distinct cap (*tarboosh*)<sup>30</sup> as observed in Devéria's pencil drawing – can be observed sitting against a *djed* pillar in the tomb's courtyard.<sup>31</sup> Ropes and baskets are clearly visible in the photograph, which indicates that they were actually excavating (parts of) the tombs rather than merely recording texts. The statues that are visible *in situ* were taken to the Bulaq Museum. According to Borchardt they were found in March 1859.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>24</sup> G. Devéria, in Maspero, *Théodule Devéria mémoires et fragments*, xii.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. E. de Rougé, 'Fouilles dirigées par M. Auguste Mariette dans la vallée du Nil pendant la campagne d'hiver de 1859-1860', *CRAIBL* 4 (1860), 72-3. The king-list is now in Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 34516; (PM III/2, 666-7).

<sup>26</sup> A. Mariette, *Notice des exposés dans les Galeries Provisoires du Musée d'Antiquités Égyptiennes de S.A. le Vice-Roi à Boulaq*, troisième édition (Alexandria, 1864), 275.

<sup>27</sup> Mariette, *Notice des exposés*, 405.

<sup>28</sup> His father was the painter and lithographer Achille Devéria, and his uncle was Romantic painter Eugène Devéria. The portrait drawing had probably been part of the collection of Luigi Vassalli. It entered the MFA collection as a gift of Horace L. Mayer, December 1978.

<sup>29</sup> G. Devéria, in Maspero, *Théodule Devéria mémoires et fragments*, xv: from a note written by Théodule Devéria on 13 March 1859 aboard the *Samanoud* (the steamer provided to Mariette by Viceroy Saïd in 1857, in anticipation of Prince Napoleon's visit) at Bulaq.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. É. David, 'To be or not to be Mariette', *BSFE* 186-7 (2013), 8.

<sup>31</sup> Photograph: Paris, Musée d'Orsay, Inv. PHO 1986 144 60, MS 178 130; Pasquali, *BIFAO* 113, fig. 11. For Khay, see PM III/2, 726.

<sup>32</sup> L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo* (CGC Nos 1-1294; Berlin, 1925), II, 154-5, 155-6. See also J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte pendant la mission scientifique de M. le vicomte Emmanuel de Rougé* (Paris, 1877 [Milan, 1976]), pl. 30. The pillars are probably in the Cairo Museum as well: PM III/2, 775A and addenda; Mariette, *Notice des exposés*, 63, Nos 18-21; J. Berlandini, 'Contribution à l'étude du pilier-djed memphite', in A.-P. Zivie (ed.), *Memphis et ses necropoles au Nouvel Empire: Nouvelles données, nouvelles questions* (Paris, 1988), 25.



Fig. 1: Charles Théodule Devéria, 1831-1871, *Portrait of Auguste Mariette*, 1859 (T Devéria; Ombos 1859). Coloured pencils on tan paper, 35 x 23 cm (13 3/4 x 9 1/16 in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Gift of Mrs. Horace L. Mayer, 1978.<sup>571</sup>  
Photograph © 2015 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

In the following note, dated to 22 March, Devéria describes their joint visit to the Serapeum, and reports on the discovery of the tomb of Queen Ahhotep I (Seventeenth Dynasty) made at Dra Abu el-Naga.<sup>33</sup> On the morning of the 22<sup>nd</sup>, Mariette left for Alexandria, and Devéria returned to France in early April. Their stay at Saqqara will have therefore lasted no more than a few days. The last note Devéria wrote in Egypt in 1859 is dated 28 March. He states that he supervised the transport and boarding of monuments that were selected for the Louvre.<sup>34</sup> Devéria also finished his copies (*'terminer des reproductions'*) for Mariette: perhaps these included the photographic prints referred to above?

In Mariette's report of *'les principaux travaux archéologiques exécutés depuis huit mois en Égypte'* (of the year 1859), he indicates that the main finds at Saqqara were 'around twenty statues' from Old Kingdom tombs, and the king-list from the tomb of Tjuneroy – *'une nouvelle table d'Abydos'*.<sup>35</sup> Not one word is dedicated to the other tombs of New Kingdom date.<sup>36</sup> A selection of finds made at the excavations was prepared

<sup>33</sup> The large outer coffin features in a number of photographs taken by Devéria in 1859, probably in the Bulaq Museum: Musée d'Orsay PHO 1986 144 93, MS 163 89; PHO 1986 144 94, MS 163 90; PHO 1986 144 95, MS 163 91; PHO 1986 144 96, MS 163 92; PHO 1986 144 97, MS 163 93; PHO 1986 144 104, MS 164 4. See <http://www.musee-orsay.fr>, accessed 1 April 2016.

<sup>34</sup> G. Devéria, in Maspero, *Théodule Devéria mémoires et fragments*, xv-vii.

<sup>35</sup> A. Mariette, 'Lettre de M. Auguste Mariette à M. le vicomte De Rougé sur les résultats des fouilles entreprises par ordre du vice-roi d'Égypte', *Revue archéologique* N.S. 2 (1860), 8-11. The same information is provided in: A. Mariette, 'Lettre de M. A. Mariette sur ses dernières fouilles en Égypte', *CRAIBL* 4 (1860 [1861]), 140; M. le vicomte de Rougé, 'Fouilles dirigées par M. Auguste Mariette dans la vallée du Nil pendant la campagne d'hiver de 1859-1860', *CRAIBL* 4 (1860 [1862]), 70-4. See also A. Mariette, 'La table de Saqqarah', *Revue Archéologique* 10 (1864), 169-86.

<sup>36</sup> In his personal letters, Mariette does not elaborate on their activities at Saqqara either. In the letter to Brugsch written on 10 April 1859 at his house in Saqqara, he writes: *'... Les fouilles de Memphis ont lieu à Myt-Rayneh, à Saqqarah et aux pyramides. Ici c'est le train ordinaire des découvertes.'* (Brugsch-Mariette Collection, no. 18, Egyptological Archives of the University of Milan; Piacentini, in Magee, Bourriau, and Quirke (eds), *Sitting Beside Lepsius*, 426).

for publication in 1872 and posthumously published by Gaston Maspero (1846–1916)<sup>37</sup> in Mariette's *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie* (1889). The recently discovered modest collection of photographs taken by Théodule Devéria provides a valuable context to Mariette's work at Saqqara and to some of the tombs excavated in 1859.

#### PREVIOUS EXCAVATIONS AND CONTEMPORARY ACTIVITIES

When Mariette set out to start work in the necropolis south of the Unas causeway,<sup>38</sup> he was not the first scholar to explore that area. Some tombs had been visited a mere fifteen years before, when the Prussian expedition led by Karl Richard Lepsius (1810–84) camped nearby and worked there for several weeks.<sup>39</sup> His team copied the reliefs of a number of tombs, and selected relief blocks and objects to be taken to Berlin. Lepsius also noted the location of five New Kingdom tombs on the general map of Saqqara (Fig. 2):<sup>40</sup>

- LS 25: Iurokhy/Urhiya, General and Great Steward of the Ramesseum (*temp.* Ramesses II, first half);<sup>41</sup>
- LS 26: Iry, Scribe in the Ramesseum (*temp.* Ramesses II);<sup>42</sup>
- LS 27: Maya, Overseer of the Treasury (*temp.* Tutankhamun–Horemheb);<sup>43</sup>
- LS 28: Raia, Overseer of the Royal Apartments of the Harim at Memphis (*temp.* Seti I);<sup>44</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 359–61.

<sup>38</sup> Note that the causeway had not been excavated yet. Mariette refers to this area as: '*au Sud de la grande Pyramide / Pyramide à degrés*'. Archaeological work in the area of the Unas pyramid temple started in 1899: A. Barsanti and G. Maspero, 'Fouilles autour de la pyramide d'Ounas (1899-1900)', *ASAE* 1 (1900), 149–90, 230–85. Selim Hassan and Zakaria Ghoneim in 1937–8 cleared the causeway over a length of 690 meters: S. Hassan-Bey, 'Excavations at Saqqara 1937-1938', *ASAE* 38 (1938), 503–21; S. Hassan, 'The Causeway of Wnis at Sakkara', *ZÄS* 80 (1955), 136–9. See also A. Labrousse and A. Moussa, *La chaussée du complexe du roi Ounas* (BdE 134; Cairo, 2002).

<sup>39</sup> K.R. Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Peninsula of Sinai* (ed. L. Horner and J.B. Horner; London, 1853), 69–79: Letter VIII, *Saqqara, the 13<sup>th</sup> April, 1843*.

<sup>40</sup> The tombs in the Cairo University concession area were published as: S. Tawfik, 'Recently Excavated Ramesside Tombs at Saqqara I: Architecture', *MDAIK* 47 (1991), fig. 1 (years 1984–8); and O. El-Aguizy, 'A Preliminary Report on Three Seasons of Excavations at Saqqara: 2005–2007', *BEM* 4 (2007), fig. 14. The tomb of Ptahmose (excavated by El-Aguizy's team in 2010) is indicated as a hypothetical plan (see Staring, *BIFAO* 114, fig. 8). The Leiden concession area (including the former EES/Leiden mission, 1975–99; and joint Leiden University and National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, 1999–present) presents the situation at the end of the 2013 season (after a plan produced by Annelies Bleeker). The approximate location of the tombs with Lepsius Saqqara (LS) number are after *LD*, pl. I.31.

<sup>41</sup> *LD Text*, I, 182; PM III/2, 661; J. Ruffle and K.A. Kitchen, 'The Family of Urhiya and Yupa, High Stewards of the Ramesseum', in J. Ruffle, K.A. Kitchen and G.A. Gaballa (eds), *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of H.W. Fairman* (Orbis Aegyptiorum speculum; Warminster, 1979), 55–74; J. Berlandini-Keller, 'Un secteur de Saqqâra prospecté avant Lepsius. Les Stèles Perrot de Iourekhy et de Mentouy, Musée Calvet, Avignon', *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 62 (2011), 31–46.

<sup>42</sup> *LD Text*, I, 182, pl. 33; PM III/2, 667: round-topped stela, present location unknown.

<sup>43</sup> *LD Text*, I, 182–4; *Ibid.*, III, pls 240–41; G.T. Martin, *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt, I: The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary* (EES EM 99; London, 2012); M.J. Raven, *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt, II: Objects and Skeletal Remains* (EES EM 65; Leiden, 2001).

<sup>44</sup> *LD Text*, I, 184; M.J. Raven, *The Tomb of Pay and Raia at Saqqara* (EES EM 74; London, 2005). Raven (*op. cit.*, xxi) indicates that Lepsius presumably did not see the tomb. He merely secured two stelae (now Berlin 7270–71) that might have been taken from their original position by previous visitors. Indeed, the location of LS 28 on Lepsius' map is indicated to the north-west of LS 27, whereas the tomb is actually located to its south.

LS 29: Hormin, Overseer of the Royal Apartments of the Harim at Memphis (*temp.* Seti I-Ramesses II).<sup>45</sup>

That Lepsius' expedition was not alone can be inferred from his description of work on the tomb of Maya: '... *In der letzten Zeit unserer Anwesenheit ist noch vieles umgeworfen, zerstört und fortgetragen worden*',<sup>46</sup> attesting to widespread 'illicit' activities. The team did not undertake any substantial excavations.<sup>47</sup> Instead, they recorded the accessible remains exposed by earlier exploration.<sup>48</sup>

During the 1820s the area had been widely disturbed and tombs stripped of most of their limestone relief blocks and portable objects by the hands of private collectors – or rather their local agents –, a fact well known to Mariette: '*Mais l'on voudra bien nous tenir compte de nos efforts si l'on se rappelle qu'après le grand naufrage des monuments égyptiens, les explorateurs que je viens de nommer*<sup>49</sup> *ont été les premiers à recueillir les épaves flottantes, laissant à leurs successeurs pour unique butin les débris qu'il nous faut ailer chercher maintenant jusqu'au fond des flots qui les ont englouti*'.<sup>50</sup> For the section of the necropolis under discussion here, the names of the early explorers Giovanni d'Anastasi (1780-1860), Giuseppe di Nizzoli (c. 1792/4-1858), and Giuseppe (Joseph) Passalacqua (1797-1865) are most relevant.<sup>51</sup>

Even during Mariette's directorship at the Antiquities Service, private excavations persisted – although these were to a certain degree regulated. Resolutions implemented by Said Pasha in 1858 meant to call an end to the practices that had resulted in the widespread disappearance of Egyptian antiquities.<sup>52</sup> Mariette's assistant Bonnefoy is said to have been active in suppressing illicit digging,<sup>53</sup> which probably

<sup>45</sup> *LD Text*, I, 185; PM III/2, 664-5. More on Hormin, see below.

<sup>46</sup> *LD Text*, I, 184.

<sup>47</sup> This is different from the area around the pyramid of Teti, where the team did excavate: *LD Text*, I, 145-6.

<sup>48</sup> G.T. Martin, *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis: New Discoveries from the Time of Tutankhamun and Ramesses the Great* (New Aspects of Antiquity; London, 1991), 19; Raven, *Maya* II, 17; Raven, *Pay and Raia*, xxi.

<sup>49</sup> Bernardino Drovetti (1776-1852), Giovanni d'Anastasi (see n. 52, below), and Jean François Mimaut (1773-1837).

<sup>50</sup> Mariette, *RevArch* N.S. 2 (1860), 34; R.T. Ridley, *Napoleon's Proconsul in Egypt: The Life and Times of Bernardino Drovetti* (London, 1998), 279.

<sup>51</sup> For Nizzoli at Saqqara, see A. Nizzoli, *Memorie sull' Egitto e specialmente sui costumi delle donne orientali e gli harem, scritte durante il suo soggiorno in quel paese (1819-1828)* (Milan, 1841); W.C. Hayes, 'A Writing-palette of the Chief Steward Amenhotep and Some Notes on Its Owner', *JEA* 24 (1938), 9-24; C. Lilyquist, 'The Gold Bowl Naming General Djehuty: A Study of Objects and Early Egyptology', *MMJ* 23 (1988), 5-68. Nizzoli describes the provenance of excavated objects, including from Saqqara (excavated 1823-5) in 'Memorie relative al gabinetto di antichità', pages 371-6 (published as: Giovanni Battista Zannoni, 'Museo Nizzoli, a. 1824: catalogo ed inventario', *Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei musei d'Italia* (Florence, 1880), 346-76). Nizzoli was chancellor at the Austrian consulate in Egypt, 1818-28, and acquired objects through purchases made on the antiquities market in Cairo and by occasional private excavations. Not much is known about the person and activities of d'Anastasi. From Champollion we learn that, when the Franco-Tuscan expedition arrived in Egypt in 1828, Drovetti and d'Anastasi alone had *firmani* (official permits granted by the viceroy) to conduct excavations (David, *Mariette Pacha*, 49; Ridley, *Napoleon's Proconsul*, 157). Giuseppe (Joseph) Passalacqua (1797-1865; Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 418) excavated at Saqqara in 1826: J. Passalacqua, *Catalogue raisonné et historique des antiquités découvertes en Égypte* (Paris, 1926). His collection was acquired for the Berlin Museum by Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia in 1827.

<sup>52</sup> According to David (*Mariette Pacha*, 109), even in 1859 *firmani* were granted to anyone who had resided in Egypt since long, and whom the government sought to satisfy.

<sup>53</sup> Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 67.

targeted only such activities undertaken by the local population.<sup>54</sup> Under the new regulations the local inhabitants would even risk imprisonment when setting foot in any ancient temple, which according to Mariette had the desired effects: ‘... *il n’est plus une pierre antique qui soit remuée sans ma permission*’.<sup>55</sup>

Despite the new regulations, contemporary travellers such as Sir Charles Nicholson (1808-1903) were able to obtain objects from Saqqara for their private collections.<sup>56</sup> During his second trip to Egypt in 1862, Nicholson bought a number of antiquities from Hanna Massara, a dragoman for the British Consulate who ran an antiquities shop in Cairo.<sup>57</sup> He was a relative (brother?) of Youssef (Joseph) Massara (c. 1760-1842+), who was employed as dragoman for the French Consulate.<sup>58</sup> Together with Girolamo Segato (1792-1836) he opened Djoser’s pyramid for Freiherr von Minutoli (1772-1846) in 1820-1.<sup>59</sup> He established an antiquities dealership in 1828 and acted as an agent for Drovetti in the Memphite area (i.e. Gizeh, Saqqara, and Mit Rahineh). Later he sold antiquities to Lepsius.<sup>60</sup> That Massara excavated at least some of these objects in the area of the necropolis under study here can be inferred from Kurt Sethe’s report (1897) in Lepsius’ *Denkmaeler*. The account of a visit to the antiquities shop of Massara in Cairo (on 7 November 1842) informs us that ‘... *In einem Grabe in Sakkara, das der Antikenhändler Massara hat öffnen lassen, sind eine Anzahl Gegenstände gefunden worden, die einem Manne Namens*

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<sup>54</sup> T.L. Donaldson, ‘Description of M. Mariette’s Excavations at Ghizeh and Saccara; Some Observations Upon the Domestic Architecture of the Ancient Egyptians as Existing Among the Present Arabs; And an Account of Catacombs at Alexandria Recently Discovered’, *Papers read at the Royal Institute of British Architects, 1860-1* (1861), 190.

<sup>55</sup> Mariette, *CRAIBL* 3, 154.

<sup>56</sup> Nicholson travelled the country in 1856-7 and 1862, and on both occasions he visited Saqqara where he acquired antiquities: K.N. Sowada, ‘Sir Charles Nicholson: An Early Scholar-traveller in Egypt’, in K.N. Sowada and B.G. Ockinga (eds), *Egyptian Art in the Nicholson Museum, Sydney* (Sydney, 2006), 1-13; Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 404.

<sup>57</sup> C. Nicholson, *Aegyptiaca: Comprising a Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities Collected in the Years 1856, 1857, and now Deposited in the Museum of the University of Sydney* (London, 1891), 95; Sowada, in Sowada and Ockinga, *Nicholson Museum*, 4-5. Objects from New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara: statue fragment of Horemheb (late Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Tutankhamun; Sydney, Nicholson Museum R 1138: K. Sowada, ‘A Late Eighteenth Dynasty Statue in the Nicholson Museum, Sydney’, *JEA* 80 (1994), 137-43), naophorous statue of the Vizier Ta (Twentieth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses III; Nicholson Museum R 1144: K.A. Kitchen and B.G. Ockinga, ‘A Memphite Monument of the Vizier T̄ in Sydney’, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 99-103, pls 20-1), and pillar fragments of Mose (Loret tomb No. 5; Nineteenth Dynasty, Ramesses II, late; Nicholson Museum R 1131-35: Nicholson, *Aegyptiaca*, 93-112, pls 1-4). These tombs are located in the Teti pyramid cemetery (Mose) and south of the Unas causeway (Horemheb).

<sup>58</sup> J. Málek, ‘El-Maṣara and Masarra’, *OLP* 17 (1986), 15; Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 359. Massara was of Syrian origin.

<sup>59</sup> Sowada, *JEA* 80, 139. See also Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 376 (Minutoli), 500 (Segato).

<sup>60</sup> *LD Text*, I, 16-18; M. Dewachter, ‘Pour une meilleure utilisation des matériaux réunies en Egypte par l’expédition de Lepsius’, *GM* 73 (1984), 28.

𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕𓆖𓆗𓆘𓆙𓆚𓆛𓆜𓆝𓆞𓆟𓆠𓆡𓆢𓆣𓆤𓆥𓆦𓆧𓆨𓆩𓆪𓆫𓆬𓆭𓆮𓆯𓆰𓆱𓆲𓆳𓆴𓆵𓆶𓆷𓆸𓆹𓆺𓆻𓆼𓆽𓆾𓆿𓇀𓇁𓇂𓇃𓇄𓇅𓇆𓇇𓇈𓇉𓇊𓇋𓇌𓇍𓇎𓇏𓇐𓇑𓇒𓇓𓇔𓇕𓇖𓇗𓇘𓇙𓇚𓇛𓇜𓇝𓇞𓇟𓇠𓇡𓇢𓇣𓇤𓇥𓇦𓇧𓇨𓇩𓇪𓇫𓇬𓇭𓇮𓇯𓇰𓇱𓇲𓇳𓇴𓇵𓇶𓇷𓇸𓇹𓇺𓇻𓇼𓇽𓇾𓇿𓈀𓈁𓈂𓈃𓈄𓈅𓈆𓈇𓈈𓈉𓈊𓈋𓈌𓈍𓈎𓈏𓈐𓈑𓈒𓈓𓈔𓈕𓈖𓈗𓈘𓈙𓈚𓈛𓈜𓈝𓈞𓈟𓈠𓈡𓈢𓈣𓈤𓈥𓈦𓈧𓈨𓈩𓈪𓈫𓈬𓈭𓈮𓈯𓈰𓈱𓈲𓈳𓈴𓈵𓈶𓈷𓈸𓈹𓈺𓈻𓈼𓈽𓈾𓈿𓉀𓉁𓉂𓉃𓉄𓉅𓉆𓉇𓉈𓉉𓉊𓉋𓉌𓉍𓉎𓉏𓉐𓉑𓉒𓉓𓉔𓉕𓉖𓉗𓉘𓉙𓉚𓉛𓉜𓉝𓉞𓉟𓉠𓉡𓉢𓉣𓉤𓉥𓉦𓉧𓉨𓉩𓉪𓉫𓉬𓉭𓉮𓉯𓉰𓉱𓉲𓉳𓉴𓉵𓉶𓉷𓉸𓉹𓉺𓉻𓉼𓉽𓉾𓉿𓊀𓊁𓊂𓊃𓊄𓊅𓊆𓊇𓊈𓊉𓊊𓊋𓊌𓊍𓊎𓊏𓊐𓊑𓊒𓊓𓊔𓊕𓊖𓊗𓊘𓊙𓊚𓊛𓊜𓊝𓊞𓊟𓊠𓊡𓊢𓊣𓊤𓊥𓊦𓊧𓊨𓊩𓊪𓊫𓊬𓊭𓊮𓊯𓊰𓊱𓊲𓊳𓊴𓊵𓊶𓊷𓊸𓊹𓊺𓊻𓊼𓊽𓊾𓊿𓋀𓋁𓋂𓋃𓋄𓋅𓋆𓋇𓋈𓋉𓋊𓋋𓋌𓋍𓋎𓋏𓋐𓋑𓋒𓋓𓋔𓋕𓋖𓋗𓋘𓋙𓋚𓋛𓋜𓋝𓋞𓋟𓋠𓋡𓋢𓋣𓋤𓋥𓋦𓋧𓋨𓋩𓋪𓋫𓋬𓋭𓋮𓋯𓋰𓋱𓋲𓋳𓋴𓋵𓋶𓋷𓋸𓋹𓋺𓋻𓋼𓋽𓋾𓋿𓌀𓌁𓌂𓌃𓌄𓌅𓌆𓌇𓌈𓌉𓌊𓌋𓌌𓌍𓌎𓌏𓌐𓌑𓌒𓌓𓌔𓌕𓌖𓌗𓌘𓌙𓌚𓌛𓌜𓌝𓌞𓌟𓌠𓌡𓌢𓌣𓌤𓌥𓌦𓌧𓌨𓌩𓌪𓌫𓌬𓌭𓌮𓌯𓌰𓌱𓌲𓌳𓌴𓌵𓌶𓌷𓌸𓌹𓌺𓌻𓌼𓌽𓌾𓌿𓍀𓍁𓍂𓍃𓍄𓍅𓍆𓍇𓍈𓍉𓍊𓍋𓍌𓍍𓍎𓍏𓍐𓍑𓍒𓍓𓍔𓍕𓍖𓍗𓍘𓍙𓍚𓍛𓍜𓍝𓍞𓍟𓍠𓍡𓍢𓍣𓍤𓍥𓍦𓍧𓍨𓍩𓍪𓍫𓍬𓍭𓍮𓍯𓍰𓍱𓍲𓍳𓍴𓍵𓍶𓍷𓍸𓍹𓍺𓍻𓍼𓍽𓍾𓍿𓎀𓎁𓎂𓎃𓎄𓎅𓎆𓎇𓎈𓎉𓎊𓎋𓎌𓎍𓎎𓎏𓎐𓎑𓎒𓎓𓎔𓎕𓎖𓎗𓎘𓎙𓎚𓎛𓎜𓎝𓎞𓎟𓎠𓎡𓎢𓎣𓎤𓎥𓎦𓎧𓎨𓎩𓎪𓎫𓎬𓎭𓎮𓎯𓎰𓎱𓎲𓎳𓎴𓎵𓎶𓎷𓎸𓎹𓎺𓎻𓎼𓎽𓎾𓎿𓏀𓏁𓏂𓏃𓏄𓏅𓏆𓏇𓏈𓏉𓏊𓏋𓏌𓏍𓏎𓏏𓏐𓏑𓏒𓏓𓏔𓏕𓏖𓏗𓏘𓏙𓏚𓏛𓏜𓏝𓏞𓏟𓏠𓏡𓏢𓏣𓏤𓏥𓏦𓏧𓏨𓏩𓏪𓏫𓏬𓏭𓏮𓏯𓏰𓏱𓏲𓏳𓏴𓏵𓏶𓏷𓏸𓏹𓏺𓏻𓏼𓏽𓏾𓏿𓐀𓐁𓐂𓐃𓐄𓐅𓐆𓐇𓐈𓐉𓐊𓐋𓐌𓐍𓐎𓐏𓐐𓐑𓐒𓐓𓐔𓐕𓐖𓐗𓐘𓐙𓐚𓐛𓐜𓐝𓐞𓐟𓐠𓐡𓐢𓐣𓐤𓐥𓐦𓐧𓐨𓐩𓐪𓐫𓐬𓐭𓐮𓐯𓐰𓐱𓐲𓐳𓐴𓐵𓐶𓐷𓐸𓐹𓐺𓐻𓐼𓐽𓐾𓐿𓑀𓑁𓑂𓑃𓑄𓑅𓑆𓑇𓑈𓑉𓑊𓑋𓑌𓑍𓑎𓑏𓑐𓑑𓑒𓑓𓑔𓑕𓑖𓑗𓑘𓑙𓑚𓑛𓑜𓑝𓑞𓑟𓑠𓑡𓑢𓑣𓑤𓑥𓑦𓑧𓑨𓑩𓑪𓑫𓑬𓑭𓑮𓑯𓑰𓑱𓑲𓑳𓑴𓑵𓑶𓑷𓑸𓑹𓑺𓑻𓑼𓑽𓑾𓑿𓒀𓒁𓒂𓒃𓒄𓒅𓒆𓒇𓒈𓒉𓒊𓒋𓒌𓒍𓒎𓒏𓒐𓒑𓒒𓒓𓒔𓒕𓒖𓒗𓒘𓒙𓒚𓒛𓒜𓒝𓒞𓒟𓒠𓒡𓒢𓒣𓒤𓒥𓒦𓒧𓒨𓒩𓒪𓒫𓒬𓒭𓒮𓒯𓒰𓒱𓒲𓒳𓒴𓒵𓒶𓒷𓒸𓒹𓒺𓒻𓒼𓒽𓒾𓒿𓓀𓓁𓓂𓓃𓓄𓓅𓓆𓓇𓓈𓓉𓓊𓓋𓓌𓓍𓓎𓓏𓓐𓓑𓓒𓓓𓓔𓓕𓓖𓓗𓓘𓓙𓓚𓓛𓓜𓓝𓓞𓓟𓓠𓓡𓓢𓓣𓓤𓓥𓓦𓓧𓓨𓓩𓓪𓓫𓓬𓓭𓓮𓓯𓓰𓓱𓓲𓓳𓓴𓓵𓓶𓓷𓓸𓓹𓓺𓓻𓓼𓓽𓓾𓓿𓔀𓔁𓔂𓔃𓔄𓔅𓔆𓔇𓔈𓔉𓔊𓔋𓔌𓔍𓔎𓔏𓔐𓔑𓔒𓔓𓔔𓔕𓔖𓔗𓔘𓔙𓔚𓔛𓔜𓔝𓔞𓔟𓔠𓔡𓔢𓔣𓔤𓔥𓔦𓔧𓔨𓔩𓔪𓔫𓔬𓔭𓔮𓔯𓔰𓔱𓔲𓔳𓔴𓔵𓔶𓔷𓔸𓔹𓔺𓔻𓔼𓔽𓔾𓔿𓕀𓕁𓕂𓕃𓕄𓕅𓕆𓕇𓕈𓕉𓕊𓕋𓕌𓕍𓕎𓕏𓕐𓕑𓕒𓕓𓕔𓕕𓕖𓕗𓕘𓕙𓕚𓕛𓕜𓕝𓕞𓕟𓕠𓕡𓕢𓕣𓕤𓕥𓕦𓕧𓕨𓕩𓕪𓕫𓕬𓕭𓕮𓕯𓕰𓕱𓕲𓕳𓕴𓕵𓕶𓕷𓕸𓕹𓕺𓕻𓕼𓕽𓕾𓕿𓖀𓖁𓖂𓖃𓖄𓖅𓖆𓖇𓖈𓖉𓖊𓖋𓖌𓖍𓖎𓖏𓖐𓖑𓖒𓖓𓖔𓖕𓖖𓖗𓖘𓖙𓖚𓖛𓖜𓖝𓖞𓖟𓖠𓖡𓖢𓖣𓖤𓖥𓖦𓖧𓖨𓖩𓖪𓖫𓖬𓖭𓖮𓖯𓖰𓖱𓖲𓖳𓖴𓖵𓖶𓖷𓖸𓖹𓖺𓖻𓖼𓖽𓖾𓖿𓗀𓗁𓗂𓗃𓗄𓗅𓗆𓗇𓗈𓗉𓗊𓗋𓗌𓗍𓗎𓗏𓗐𓗑𓗒𓗓𓗔𓗕𓗖𓗗𓗘𓗙𓗚𓗛𓗜𓗝𓗞𓗟𓗠𓗡𓗢𓗣𓗤𓗥𓗦𓗧𓗨𓗩𓗪𓗫𓗬𓗭𓗮𓗯𓗰𓗱𓗲𓗳𓗴𓗵𓗶𓗷𓗸𓗹𓗺𓗻𓗼𓗽𓗾𓗿𓘀𓘁𓘂𓘃𓘄𓘅𓘆𓘇𓘈𓘉𓘊𓘋𓘌𓘍𓘎𓘏𓘐𓘑𓘒𓘓𓘔𓘕𓘖𓘗𓘘𓘙𓘚𓘛𓘜𓘝𓘞𓘟𓘠𓘡𓘢𓘣𓘤𓘥𓘦𓘧𓘨𓘩𓘪𓘫𓘬𓘭𓘮𓘯𓘰𓘱𓘲𓘳𓘴𓘵𓘶𓘷𓘸𓘹𓘺𓘻𓘼𓘽𓘾𓘿𓙀𓙁𓙂𓙃𓙄𓙅𓙆𓙇𓙈𓙉𓙊𓙋𓙌𓙍𓙎𓙏𓙐𓙑𓙒𓙓𓙔𓙕𓙖𓙗𓙘𓙙𓙚𓙛𓙜𓙝𓙞𓙟𓙠𓙡𓙢𓙣𓙤𓙥𓙦𓙧𓙨𓙩𓙪𓙫𓙬𓙭𓙮𓙯𓙰𓙱𓙲𓙳𓙴𓙵𓙶𓙷𓙸𓙹𓙺𓙻𓙼𓙽𓙾𓙿𓚀𓚁𓚂𓚃𓚄𓚅𓚆𓚇𓚈𓚉𓚊𓚋𓚌𓚍𓚎𓚏𓚐𓚑𓚒𓚓𓚔𓚕𓚖𓚗𓚘𓚙𓚚𓚛𓚜𓚝𓚞𓚟𓚠𓚡𓚢𓚣𓚤𓚥𓚦𓚧𓚨𓚩𓚪𓚫𓚬𓚭𓚮𓚯𓚰𓚱𓚲𓚳𓚴𓚵𓚶𓚷𓚸𓚹𓚺𓚻𓚼𓚽𓚾𓚿𓛀𓛁𓛂𓛃𓛄𓛅𓛆𓛇𓛈𓛉𓛊𓛋𓛌𓛍𓛎𓛏𓛐𓛑𓛒𓛓𓛔𓛕𓛖𓛗𓛘𓛙𓛚𓛛𓛜𓛝𓛞𓛟𓛠𓛡𓛢𓛣𓛤𓛥𓛦𓛧𓛨𓛩𓛪𓛫𓛬𓛭𓛮𓛯𓛰𓛱𓛲𓛳𓛴𓛵𓛶𓛷𓛸𓛹𓛺𓛻𓛼𓛽𓛾𓛿𓜀𓜁𓜂𓜃𓜄𓜅𓜆𓜇𓜈𓜉𓜊𓜋𓜌𓜍𓜎𓜏𓜐𓜑𓜒𓜓𓜔𓜕𓜖𓜗𓜘𓜙𓜚𓜛𓜜𓜝𓜞𓜟𓜠𓜡𓜢𓜣𓜤𓜥𓜦𓜧𓜨𓜩𓜪𓜫𓜬𓜭𓜮𓜯𓜰𓜱𓜲𓜳𓜴𓜵𓜶𓜷𓜸𓜹𓜺𓜻𓜼𓜽𓜾𓜿𓝀𓝁𓝂𓝃𓝄𓝅𓝆𓝇𓝈𓝉𓝊𓝋𓝌𓝍𓝎𓝏𓝐𓝑𓝒𓝓𓝔𓝕𓝖𓝗𓝘𓝙𓝚𓝛𓝜𓝝𓝞𓝟𓝠𓝡𓝢𓝣𓝤𓝥𓝦𓝧𓝨𓝩𓝪𓝫𓝬𓝭𓝮𓝯𓝰𓝱𓝲𓝳𓝴𓝵𓝶𓝷𓝸𓝹𓝺𓝻𓝼𓝽𓝾𓝿𓞀𓞁𓞂𓞃𓞄𓞅𓞆𓞇𓞈𓞉𓞊𓞋𓞌𓞍𓞎𓞏𓞐𓞑𓞒𓞓𓞔𓞕𓞖𓞗𓞘𓞙𓞚𓞛𓞜𓞝𓞞𓞟𓞠𓞡𓞢𓞣𓞤𓞥𓞦𓞧𓞨𓞩𓞪𓞫𓞬𓞭𓞮𓞯𓞰𓞱𓞲𓞳𓞴𓞵𓞶𓞷𓞸𓞹𓞺𓞻𓞼𓞽𓞾𓞿𓟀𓟁𓟂𓟃𓟄𓟅𓟆𓟇𓟈𓟉𓟊𓟋𓟌𓟍𓟎𓟏𓟐𓟑𓟒𓟓𓟔𓟕𓟖𓟗𓟘𓟙𓟚𓟛𓟜𓟝𓟞𓟟𓟠𓟡𓟢𓟣𓟤𓟥𓟦𓟧𓟨𓟩𓟪𓟫𓟬𓟭𓟮𓟯𓟰𓟱𓟲𓟳𓟴𓟵𓟶𓟷𓟸𓟹𓟺𓟻𓟼𓟽𓟾𓟿𓠀𓠁𓠂𓠃𓠄𓠅𓠆𓠇𓠈𓠉𓠊𓠋𓠌𓠍𓠎𓠏𓠐𓠑𓠒𓠓𓠔𓠕𓠖𓠗𓠘𓠙𓠚𓠛𓠜𓠝𓠞𓠟𓠠𓠡𓠢𓠣𓠤𓠥𓠦𓠧𓠨𓠩𓠪𓠫𓠬𓠭𓠮𓠯𓠰𓠱𓠲𓠳𓠴𓠵𓠶𓠷𓠸𓠹𓠺𓠻𓠼𓠽𓠾𓠿𓡀𓡁𓡂𓡃𓡄𓡅𓡆𓡇𓡈𓡉𓡊𓡋𓡌𓡍𓡎𓡏𓡐𓡑𓡒𓡓𓡔𓡕𓡖𓡗𓡘𓡙𓡚𓡛𓡜𓡝𓡞𓡟𓡠𓡡𓡢𓡣𓡤𓡥𓡦𓡧𓡨𓡩𓡪𓡫𓡬𓡭𓡮𓡯𓡰𓡱𓡲𓡳𓡴𓡵𓡶𓡷𓡸𓡹𓡺𓡻𓡼𓡽𓡾𓡿𓢀𓢁𓢂𓢃𓢄𓢅𓢆𓢇𓢈𓢉𓢊𓢋𓢌𓢍𓢎𓢏𓢐𓢑𓢒𓢓𓢔𓢕𓢖𓢗𓢘𓢙𓢚𓢛𓢜𓢝𓢞𓢟𓢠𓢡𓢢𓢣𓢤𓢥𓢦𓢧𓢨𓢩𓢪𓢫𓢬𓢭𓢮𓢯𓢰𓢱𓢲𓢳𓢴𓢵𓢶𓢷𓢸𓢹𓢺𓢻𓢼𓢽𓢾𓢿𓣀𓣁𓣂𓣃𓣄𓣅𓣆𓣇𓣈𓣉𓣊𓣋𓣌𓣍𓣎𓣏𓣐𓣑𓣒𓣓𓣔𓣕𓣖𓣗𓣘𓣙𓣚𓣛𓣜𓣝𓣞𓣟𓣠𓣡𓣢𓣣𓣤𓣥𓣦𓣧𓣨𓣩𓣪𓣫𓣬𓣭𓣮𓣯𓣰𓣱𓣲𓣳𓣴𓣵𓣶𓣷𓣸𓣹𓣺𓣻𓣼𓣽𓣾𓣿𓤀𓤁𓤂𓤃𓤄𓤅𓤆𓤇𓤈𓤉𓤊𓤋𓤌𓤍𓤎𓤏𓤐𓤑𓤒𓤓𓤔𓤕𓤖𓤗𓤘𓤙𓤚𓤛𓤜𓤝𓤞𓤟𓤠𓤡𓤢𓤣𓤤𓤥𓤦𓤧𓤨𓤩𓤪𓤫𓤬𓤭𓤮𓤯𓤰𓤱𓤲𓤳𓤴𓤵𓤶𓤷𓤸𓤹𓤺𓤻𓤼𓤽𓤾𓤿𓥀𓥁𓥂𓥃𓥄𓥅𓥆𓥇𓥈𓥉𓥊𓥋𓥌𓥍𓥎𓥏𓥐𓥑𓥒𓥓𓥔𓥕𓥖𓥗𓥘𓥙𓥚𓥛𓥜𓥝𓥞𓥟𓥠𓥡𓥢𓥣𓥤𓥥𓥦𓥧𓥨𓥩𓥪𓥫𓥬𓥭𓥮𓥯𓥰𓥱𓥲𓥳𓥴𓥵𓥶𓥷𓥸𓥹𓥺𓥻𓥼𓥽𓥾𓥿𓦀𓦁𓦂𓦃𓦄𓦅𓦆𓦇𓦈𓦉𓦊𓦋𓦌𓦍𓦎𓦏𓦐𓦑𓦒𓦓𓦔𓦕𓦖𓦗𓦘𓦙𓦚𓦛𓦜𓦝𓦞𓦟𓦠𓦡𓦢𓦣𓦤𓦥𓦦𓦧𓦨𓦩𓦪𓦫𓦬𓦭𓦮𓦯𓦰𓦱𓦲𓦳𓦴𓦵𓦶𓦷𓦸𓦹𓦺𓦻𓦼𓦽𓦾𓦿𓧀𓧁𓧂𓧃𓧄𓧅𓧆𓧇𓧈𓧉𓧊𓧋𓧌𓧍𓧎𓧏𓧐𓧑𓧒𓧓𓧔𓧕𓧖𓧗𓧘𓧙𓧚𓧛𓧜𓧝𓧞𓧟𓧠𓧡𓧢𓧣𓧤𓧥𓧦𓧧𓧨𓧩𓧪𓧫𓧬𓧭𓧮𓧯𓧰𓧱𓧲𓧳𓧴𓧵𓧶𓧷𓧸𓧹𓧺𓧻𓧼𓧽𓧾𓧿𓨀𓨁𓨂𓨃𓨄𓨅𓨆𓨇𓨈𓨉𓨊𓨋𓨌𓨍𓨎𓨏𓨐𓨑𓨒𓨓𓨔𓨕𓨖𓨗𓨘𓨙𓨚𓨛𓨜𓨝𓨞𓨟𓨠𓨡𓨢𓨣𓨤𓨥𓨦𓨧𓨨𓨩𓨪𓨫𓨬𓨭𓨮𓨯𓨰𓨱𓨲𓨳𓨴𓨵𓨶𓨷𓨸𓨹𓨺𓨻𓨼𓨽𓨾𓨿𓩀𓩁𓩂𓩃𓩄𓩅𓩆𓩇𓩈𓩉𓩊𓩋𓩌𓩍𓩎𓩏𓩐𓩑𓩒𓩓𓩔𓩕𓩖𓩗𓩘𓩙𓩚𓩛𓩜𓩝𓩞𓩟𓩠𓩡𓩢𓩣𓩤𓩥𓩦𓩧𓩨𓩩𓩪𓩫𓩬𓩭𓩮𓩯𓩰𓩱𓩲𓩳𓩴𓩵𓩶𓩷𓩸𓩹𓩺𓩻𓩼𓩽𓩾𓩿𓪀𓪁𓪂𓪃𓪄𓪅𓪆𓪇𓪈𓪉𓪊𓪋𓪌𓪍𓪎𓪏𓪐𓪑𓪒𓪓𓪔𓪕𓪖𓪗𓪘𓪙𓪚𓪛𓪜𓪝𓪞𓪟𓪠𓪡𓪢𓪣𓪤𓪥𓪦𓪧𓪨𓪩𓪪𓪫𓪬𓪭𓪮𓪯𓪰𓪱𓪲𓪳𓪴𓪵𓪶𓪷𓪸𓪹𓪺𓪻𓪼𓪽𓪾𓪿𓫀𓫁𓫂𓫃𓫄𓫅𓫆𓫇𓫈𓫉𓫊𓫋𓫌𓫍𓫎𓫏𓫐𓫑𓫒𓫓𓫔𓫕𓫖𓫗𓫘𓫙𓫚𓫛𓫜𓫝𓫞𓫟𓫠𓫡𓫢𓫣𓫤𓫥𓫦𓫧𓫨𓫩𓫪𓫫𓫬𓫭𓫮𓫯𓫰𓫱𓫲𓫳𓫴𓫵𓫶𓫷𓫸𓫹𓫺𓫻𓫼𓫽𓫾𓫿𓬀𓬁𓬂𓬃𓬄𓬅𓬆𓬇𓬈𓬉𓬊𓬋𓬌𓬍𓬎𓬏𓬐𓬑𓬒𓬓𓬔𓬕𓬖𓬗𓬘𓬙𓬚𓬛𓬜𓬝𓬞𓬟𓬠𓬡𓬢𓬣𓬤𓬥𓬦𓬧𓬨𓬩𓬪𓬫𓬬𓬭𓬮𓬯𓬰𓬱𓬲𓬳𓬴𓬵𓬶𓬷𓬸𓬹𓬺𓬻𓬼𓬽𓬾𓬿𓭀𓭁𓭂𓭃𓭄𓭅𓭆𓭇𓭈𓭉𓭊𓭋𓭌𓭍𓭎𓭏𓭐𓭑𓭒𓭓𓭔𓭕𓭖𓭗𓭘𓭙𓭚𓭛𓭜𓭝𓭞𓭟𓭠𓭡𓭢𓭣𓭤𓭥𓭦𓭧𓭨𓭩𓭪𓭫𓭬𓭭𓭮𓭯𓭰𓭱𓭲𓭳𓭴𓭵𓭶𓭷𓭸𓭹𓭺𓭻𓭼𓭽𓭾𓭿𓮀𓮁𓮂𓮃𓮄𓮅𓮆𓮇𓮈𓮉𓮊𓮋𓮌𓮍𓮎𓮏𓮐𓮑𓮒𓮓𓮔𓮕𓮖𓮗𓮘𓮙𓮚𓮛𓮜𓮝𓮞𓮟𓮠𓮡𓮢𓮣𓮤𓮥𓮦𓮧𓮨𓮩𓮪𓮫𓮬𓮭𓮮𓮯𓮰𓮱𓮲𓮳𓮴𓮵𓮶𓮷𓮸𓮹𓮺𓮻𓮼𓮽𓮾𓮿𓯀𓯁𓯂𓯃𓯄𓯅𓯆𓯇𓯈𓯉𓯊𓯋𓯌𓯍𓯎𓯏𓯐𓯑𓯒𓯓𓯔𓯕𓯖𓯗𓯘𓯙𓯚𓯛𓯜𓯝𓯞𓯟𓯠𓯡𓯢𓯣𓯤𓯥𓯦𓯧𓯨𓯩𓯪𓯫𓯬𓯭𓯮𓯯𓯰𓯱𓯲𓯳𓯴𓯵𓯶𓯷𓯸𓯹𓯺𓯻𓯼𓯽𓯾𓯿𓰀𓰁𓰂𓰃𓰄𓰅𓰆𓰇𓰈𓰉𓰊𓰋𓰌𓰍𓰎𓰏𓰐𓰑𓰒𓰓𓰔𓰕𓰖𓰗𓰘𓰙𓰚𓰛𓰜𓰝𓰞𓰟𓰠𓰡𓰢𓰣𓰤𓰥𓰦𓰧𓰨𓰩𓰪𓰫𓰬𓰭𓰮𓰯𓰰𓰱𓰲𓰳𓰴𓰵𓰶𓰷𓰸𓰹𓰺𓰻𓰼𓰽𓰾𓰿𓱀𓱁𓱂𓱃𓱄𓱅𓱆𓱇𓱈𓱉𓱊𓱋𓱌𓱍𓱎𓱏𓱐𓱑𓱒𓱓𓱔𓱕𓱖𓱗𓱘𓱙𓱚𓱛𓱜𓱝𓱞𓱟𓱠𓱡𓱢𓱣𓱤𓱥𓱦𓱧𓱨𓱩𓱪𓱫𓱬𓱭𓱮𓱯𓱰𓱱𓱲𓱳𓱴𓱵𓱶𓱷𓱸𓱹𓱺𓱻𓱼𓱽𓱾𓱿𓲀𓲁𓲂𓲃𓲄𓲅𓲆𓲇𓲈𓲉𓲊𓲋𓲌𓲍𓲎𓲏𓲐𓲑𓲒𓲓𓲔𓲕𓲖𓲗𓲘𓲙𓲚𓲛𓲜𓲝𓲞𓲟𓲠𓲡𓲢𓲣𓲤𓲥𓲦𓲧𓲨𓲩𓲪𓲫𓲬𓲭𓲮𓲯𓲰𓲱𓲲𓲳𓲴𓲵𓲶𓲷𓲸𓲹𓲺𓲻𓲼𓲽𓲾𓲿𓳀𓳁𓳂𓳃𓳄𓳅𓳆𓳇𓳈𓳉𓳊𓳋𓳌𓳍𓳎𓳏𓳐𓳑𓳒𓳓𓳔𓳕𓳖𓳗𓳘𓳙𓳚𓳛𓳜𓳝𓳞𓳟𓳠𓳡𓳢𓳣𓳤𓳥𓳦𓳧𓳨𓳩𓳪𓳫𓳬𓳭𓳮𓳯𓳰𓳱𓳲𓳳𓳴𓳵𓳶𓳷𓳸𓳹𓳺𓳻𓳼𓳽𓳾𓳿𓴀𓴁𓴂𓴃𓴄𓴅𓴆𓴇𓴈𓴉𓴊𓴋𓴌𓴍𓴎𓴏𓴐𓴑𓴒𓴓𓴔𓴕𓴖𓴗𓴘𓴙𓴚𓴛𓴜𓴝𓴞𓴟𓴠𓴡𓴢𓴣𓴤𓴥𓴦𓴧𓴨𓴩𓴪𓴫𓴬𓴭𓴮𓴯𓴰𓴱𓴲𓴳𓴴𓴵𓴶𓴷𓴸𓴹𓴺𓴻𓴼𓴽𓴾𓴿𓵀𓵁𓵂𓵃𓵄𓵅𓵆𓵇𓵈𓵉𓵊𓵋𓵌𓵍𓵎𓵏𓵐𓵑𓵒𓵓𓵔𓵕𓵖𓵗𓵘𓵙𓵚𓵛𓵜𓵝𓵞𓵟𓵠𓵡𓵢𓵣𓵤𓵥𓵦𓵧𓵨𓵩𓵪𓵫𓵬𓵭𓵮𓵯𓵰𓵱𓵲𓵳𓵴𓵵𓵶𓵷𓵸𓵹𓵺𓵻𓵼𓵽𓵾𓵿𓶀𓶁𓶂𓶃𓶄𓶅𓶆𓶇𓶈𓶉

he was working at the Serapeum, and that Huber ‘even made some excavations at Saqqara’.<sup>68</sup> While this seems to indicate that both men were on friendly terms, the opposite is suggested by Heinrich Brugsch (1827-84): ‘... dem Franzosen A. Mariette, der damals im Serapeum seine letzten Ausgrabungen leitete, stand Herr von Huber auf dem denkbar schlechtesten Fuße, während Mariette seinen Namen nur mit verächtlicher Miene erwähnte. Beide konnten sich nicht riechen, wie man zu sagen pflegt. Wie oft habe ich die Versicherung meines österreichischen Kollegen [i.e. Huber] nicht mit anhören müssen: “Der Franzose in Sakkarah ist ein Dieb. Mein Agent, der spanische Jude Fernandez<sup>69</sup> ist der eigentliche Entdecker des Serapeums [...]”’.<sup>70</sup> When Mariette first set out to Saqqara, he clashed with Fernandez,<sup>71</sup> who had been active there already since around 1830 and who controlled all transportable monuments from the site.<sup>72</sup> Essentially, (before 1858) Mariette was “one” of many opportunistic explorers at Saqqara trying to secure antiquities for museum collections or for their personal trade. To the likes of Massara and Fernandez, Mariette was just another, new rival. Perhaps for the same reasons, Mariette in general was not very welcoming to strangers visiting his excavations.<sup>73</sup> The animosity between Mariette and Huber might also be traced to an event later quoted by Petrie: ‘... [i]t may not be on record elsewhere that “the collection at Miramar (see above) was a hoard of Mariette’s, hidden by him at the end of a season; it was ranked out, under compulsion, by his reises, under order of Ismail, who wanted a fine present for the French protégé Maximilian. Mariette returned, and gnashed”’.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Dewachter, *RdE* 36, 57-8: letter written to *comte* de Nieuwerkerke, dated 20 June 1854. At ‘Mitrehenne’, Said Pasha offered Maximilian a choice of antiquities excavated at the site. Maximilian was also guided to the private excavations of Huber (started earlier by his predecessor Anton Ritter von Laurin (1789-1869): Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 311). They descended into a tomb shaft where a granite sarcophagus could be seen (Cairo CG 29306: Thaharpata, Thirtieth Dynasty, Year 15 of Nectanebo II, north of Step Pyramid: PM III/2, 504; Brugsch, *Recueil*, 9-12, pls VI-VII). In (or before) 1855, Maximilian bought a significant number of Egyptian antiquities from Laurin, including objects from Saqqara (Satzinger, *Das Kunsthistorische Museum in Wien*, 77).

<sup>69</sup> Solomon Fernandez (fl. 1830-60) was a Cairo-based antiquities dealer who mainly traded in antiquities he found at Saqqara (Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 190). Youssef Massara claimed to have found the Serapeum even before Fernandez did (David, *Mariette Pacha*, 73). Both men sold objects to Lepsius, 1842-3 (cf. *LD Text*, I, 14-16). Lepsius notes to have seen the pyramidion of Memphite Mayor Ptahmose with Fernandez in Cairo, and on the occasion he bought several objects, including two ‘door jambs’ from the same tomb (Berlin Nos 1631-2; *LD Text*, I, 15-16); N. Staring, ‘Revisiting Three Objects in Berlin Pertaining to the Mayor of Memphis, Ptahmose: The “Lost” Faience Stela ÄM 19718 and the Limestone Pyramid Panels ÄM 1631-1632’, *SAK* 45 (2016), 341-74, three shabtis of Queen Iset-nofret, three of Prince Khaemwaset and one of Prince Ramessu. Later, Sethe was unable to identify the shabtis in the Berlin Museum. The four oriented stelae from the Saqqara tomb of General Kasa (Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses I-Seti I; Marseille, Musée d’archéologie Méditerranéenne 240-43) were also purchased from Fernandez (ex-coll. Clot Bey (1793-1868); PM III/2, 745).

<sup>70</sup> H.F.K. Brugsch, *Mein Leben und mein Wandern* (Berlin, 1894), 157-8. See also J. Málek, ‘Who was the first to identify the Saqqara Serapeum?’, *CdE* 58 (1983), 65-72.

<sup>71</sup> The antiquities collectors Charles Murray (1806-95; British Consul-General 1846-53; Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 332-3), Rudolf Lieder (1798-1865; German (Prussian) missionary; *ibid.*, 393), and Huber were hostile to Mariette and lobbied Viceroy Abbas Hilmi I (1813-54) against him, when the French bypassed Abbas to send the antiquities Mariette had excavated to the Louvre (Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 99).

<sup>72</sup> David, *Mariette Pacha*, 58, 69.

<sup>73</sup> Donaldson, *TRIBA* (1861), 190; David, *Mariette Pacha*, 87-9.

<sup>74</sup> Petrie, *Seventy Years*, 110.

Whereas some objects of Huber's private collection were sent to Vienna in 1857, the larger part was acquired by Mariette on behalf of Said Pasha for the Bulaq Museum in April 1859.<sup>75</sup> Interestingly, that collection included two elements that were taken from New Kingdom tombs located south of the Unas causeway. These are the tomb of Ptahemwia (I), the late Eighteenth Dynasty Royal Butler (doorjamb Cairo JE 8383),<sup>76</sup> and Hormin, the early Nineteenth Dynasty Overseer of the Royal Apartments of the Harim at Memphis (relief Cairo JE 8376).<sup>77</sup> The doorjamb of Ptahemwia (I) was found in 1857, as we learn from Brugsch: '... *La série d'inscriptions hiéroglyphiques que nous présentons aux lecteurs, est copiée sur des monuments qui furent découverts lors de notre séjour en Égypte 1857 dans la nécropole de Memphis, et devinrent les possessions de Mr. de Huber.*'<sup>78</sup> The tombs of Ptahemwia (I) and Hormin had been visited by art collectors before. A pilaster from Ptahemwia (I)'s tomb formed part of the third collection of Nizzoli.<sup>79</sup> These objects were found at Saqqara between 1824 and 1827. The pilaster was sold to the Bolognese art collector and painter Pelagio Palagi (1775-1860) in 1831. His collection would form the nucleus of the Egyptian collection of the Museo Civico Archeologico in Bologna. The pilaster now has Inv. No. EG 1891.<sup>80</sup> The tomb of Ptahemwia (I) was rediscovered by the Leiden archaeological mission in 2007 due east of Generalissimo Horemheb's tomb.<sup>81</sup> The tomb of Hormin was visited by Lepsius' expedition in 1843 and was given the tomb number LS 29. Its location was mapped to the north-west of Maya's tomb and described as 'eine innere Thüre des Grabes',<sup>82</sup> indicating that it was only partly exposed. Previously, two stelae from Hormin's tomb entered the Berlin Museum through the collection of Passalacqua (Nos 7274 and 7305),<sup>83</sup> while a naophorous statue in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden

<sup>75</sup> Brugsch, *Mein Leben*, 155; M. Dewachter, 'L'original de l'inventaire de Boulaq', *BIFAO* 85 (1985), 122-3. According to Dewachter ('Nouvelles informations relatives à l'exploitation de la nécropole royale de Draḥ Aboul Neggah', *RdE* 36 (1985), 123 n. 10), it is possible that objects from the Huber collection had been squeezed and photographed by Devéria. Prisse d'Avennes likewise visited Huber to see his collection and copy texts.

<sup>76</sup> PM III/2, 775; L. Reinisch, *Die Grabstele des Priesters Ptah'emwia* (Vienna, 1863), 1-15. In order to prevent any confusion with the homonymous, early Ramesside Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum, in the following the Royal Butler will be referred to as Ptahemwia (I) and the Overseer of the Treasury as Ptahemwia (II).

<sup>77</sup> PM III/2, 664-5; Reinisch, *Denkmaeler in Miramar*, fig. 29.

<sup>78</sup> H. Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments égyptiens dessinés sur lieux et publiés sous les auspices de son altesse le Vice-Roi d'Égypte Mohammed-Saïd-Pacha* (Leipzig, 1862), 11-12, pl. VII.1.

<sup>79</sup> G. Nizzoli, *Catalogo Dettagliato della Raccolta di Antichità Egizie riunite da Giuseppe Nizzoli* (Alexandria, 1827). The second collection (put together between 1820 and 1822) was sold to Leopold II of Tuscany in mid-1824, and the first collection was sold to Burghart in 1820.

<sup>80</sup> M.P. Cesaretti, 'Pannello a rilievo di Ptahemwia', in *Il senso dell'arte nell'antico Egitto: Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 25 marzo - 15 luglio 1990* (Milan, 1990), 112-13; S. Pernigotti, 'Amalia Nizzoli e le sue "Memorie sull'Egitto"', in S. Pernigotti (ed.), *Aegyptiaca Bononiensia I* (Pisa, 1991), 64 n. 6.

<sup>81</sup> M.J. Raven *et al.*, 'Preliminary Report on the Leiden Excavations at Saqqara, Season 2007: The Tomb of Ptahemwia', *JEOL* 40 (2007), 20 n. 2; M.J. Raven *et al.*, *The Tombs of Ptahemwia and Sethnakht at Saqqara* (Turnhout, forthcoming).

<sup>82</sup> *LD Text*, I, 185; pl. I.31.

<sup>83</sup> Passalacqua, *Catalogue raisonné*, 45-47, Nos 136-63.

in Leiden (AST 5) was acquired from d'Anastasi (1828),<sup>84</sup> and a relief in Bologna (EG 1944) came from the collection of Palagi (1860; ex-coll. Nizzoli 1824-31).<sup>85</sup>

Mariette does not mention the tomb of Ptahemwia (I) in his *Monuments divers*, but he did visit the tomb of Hormin.<sup>86</sup> On that occasion, several relief blocks were removed and transported to the Bulaq Museum (Cairo JE 8374-5; 8377-82; TN 1.7.24.6),<sup>87</sup> where they arrived in 1860.<sup>88</sup> Mariette visited the tomb on a previous occasion, when excavating in preparation for Prince Napoleon's visit to Egypt. The relief-decorated limestone block depicting Hormin receiving the Gold of Honour from Seti I was taken from the tomb between October 1857 and March 1858. It was presented to the Prince in 1858 along with many other objects,<sup>89</sup> and the block now forms part of the collection of the Musée du Louvre (E3337 = C213).

#### TOMBS EXCAVATED BY MARIETTE, DEVÉRIA AND VASSALLI, 1858-62

In 1858, Mariette started work in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara together with Devéria. Although their visit was brief (see discussion above), Mariette would revisit the area on several occasions in the early 1860s, accompanied by Luigi Vassalli (1812-87), the Italian painter who, as an art dealer, became acquainted with Mariette by 1853, became his assistant in 1859, and served as Keeper (1865-83) and Director (1881) of the Bulaq Museum.<sup>90</sup> On 8 February 1861, Mariette recorded the find of the

<sup>84</sup> P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden. De monumenten van het Nieuwe Rijk, Tweede afdeling: Pyramiden, Lijkenvazenkist, Offertafels, Beelden* (The Hague, 1912), 8, No. 19, pl. VII.

<sup>85</sup> S. Curto, *L'Egitto antico nelle collezioni dell'Italia settentrionale* (Bologna, 1961), n. 140; S. Pernigotti, 'Il rilievo di Hormin nel Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna', in Anonymous (ed.), *L'impero ramesside: convegno internazionale in onore di Sergio Donadoni* (Rome, 1997), 143-50; S. Pernigotti, 'Materiali per il dossier di Hormin', *Ocnus: quaderni della scuola di specializzazione in archeologia* 9-10 (2001-2), 155-67. For a history of the Bologna collection, see D. Picchi, 'The Egyptian Collection of the Archaeological Museum in Bologna: Past and Future', in A.-A. Maravelia (ed.), *Europe, Hellas and Egypt: Complementary Antipodes during Late Antiquity – Papers from Session IV.3, held at the European Association of Archaeologists Eighth Annual Meeting in Thessaloniki 2002* (BAR IS 1218; Oxford, 2004), 21-33 (esp. p. 23); D. Picchi, 'Le antichità egiziane di Pelagio Palagi e il mercato antiquario veneziano', *Egyptian & Egyptological Documents, Archives, Libraries* 1 (2009), 35-40. Palagi bought his Egyptian antiquities from Nizzoli in 1831-2. I thank Daniela Picchi for information on this relief and for sending me copies of the relevant articles.

<sup>86</sup> Mariette, *Mon. div.*, 20, pl. 60.

<sup>87</sup> Mariette, *Mon. div.*, 20, pl. 60 (JE 8374). According to PM III/2, 664-5, only JE 8376 is from the collection of Huber. See also Pernigotti, *Ocnus* 9-10, 156-66.

<sup>88</sup> Following the Journal d'Entrée numbers: B.V. Bothmer, 'Numbering Systems of the Cairo Museum', in *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique. Cent cinquante années de recherche 1822-1972: Hommage à Jean-François Champollion*, BdE 64/3 (Cairo, 1972-4), 114. Note, however, that Mariette's entries are not always accurate (Stéphane Pasquali, personal communication).

<sup>89</sup> I thank Christophe Barbotin for this information. For the relief, see PM III/2, 664; P. Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée Égyptien du Louvre, II* (Paris, 1878), 10; C. Barbotin, *La voix des hiéroglyphes: promenade au Département des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 2005), 170-1, No. 92.

<sup>90</sup> Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 553-4; F. Tiradritti, *L'egittologo Luigi Vassalli-bey 1812-1887: Guida alla Mostra, Museo Egizio del Cairo, 9 maggio - 9 luglio 1994* (Cairo, 1994); Istituti Culturali Milanesi, *L'egittologo Luigi Vassalli (1812-1887): Disegni e documenti nei Civici Istituti Culturali Milanesi* (Milan, 1994). For a photograph of Mariette and Vassalli excavating a tomb-shaft, see C. Ziegler, 'From Mariette's Field-work to Louvre's Excavations: The Mastaba E 17', *Etudes et Travaux* XXVI (Warsaw, 2013), 750, fig. 2.

lower part of the stela of Iny, Overseer of the Gold-Workers of the Lord of the Two Lands, due south of the Great Pyramid at Saqqara.<sup>91</sup> He assigned it tomb number H8. That same year, Vassalli revisited the limestone tomb-structure of Tjuneroy. Maspero described that structure as a '*petite construction en pierre calcaire, à moitié ruinée*'.<sup>92</sup> The brother of Tjuneroy, Paser, Overseer of Builders of the Lord of the Two Lands, constructed his tomb immediately behind the tomb of Horemheb. In view of the emphasis on the royal ancestors in Tjuneroy's private tomb, and the fact that the tomb of Horemheb – the 'founder' of the Ramesside Dynasty – received a cult during the Ramesside period, it is highly likely that Tjuneroy's tomb should be similarly located in that area.

Line drawings of a select number of monuments explored by Mariette, Devéria and Vassalli were included in Mariette's *Monuments divers* (1872), and the texts accompanying the figures were written by Maspero (1889). Maspero had to rely on Mariette's manuscript but, as indicated in the '*avertissement*' preceding the texts he had to '*rédigier le texte qu'il avait souvent promis et dont pas une ligne ne s'était retrouvée dans ses manuscrits au moment de sa mort*'.<sup>93</sup> He described Mariette's fieldwork over the years 1859-60 as follows: '*... Les découvertes de Mariette s'y succédaient si rapides qu'il n'avait plus le temps d'approfondir les documents qui en sortaient*'.<sup>94</sup> Thus, thirty years after Mariette's work in the area, the objects and architectural elements from the tombs were published without reliable information on their provenance. Moreover, the Bulaq Museum, which accommodated also Mariette's house, was flooded in 1878. This led to the loss of not only antiquities, but also of a substantial part of Mariette's notes, manuscripts and squeezes.<sup>95</sup> Additionally, Eugène Grébaut (1846-1915)<sup>96</sup> borrowed Mariette's *Journals de fouilles* on work in the Serapeum over the years 1850-4. These papers were never returned and are now lost.<sup>97</sup> His *Journal de fouilles* covering the years 1858-9 and 1859-60 was donated by Maspero to the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* in Paris.<sup>98</sup> However, Grébaut may have also borrowed material related to fieldwork carried out in the late 1850s. One Devéria photograph taken in 1859, showing the tomb of Ptahmose at Saqqara, was recently acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and it originated from Grébaut's private collection.<sup>99</sup>

The New Kingdom tombs excavated by Mariette in partnership with Devéria and Vassalli respectively, and published posthumously in *Monuments divers* and *Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire* are tabulated below (Table 1).

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<sup>91</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 450 (H8).

<sup>92</sup> Mariette, *Mon. div.*, 17-18.

<sup>93</sup> Maspero in Mariette, *Mon. div.*, preface.

<sup>94</sup> G. Maspero, *Notice biographique du vicomte Emmanuel de Rougé* (Bibl. Ég. 21; Paris, 1908), 70.

<sup>95</sup> David, *Mariette Pacha*, 249-52.

<sup>96</sup> Director of the French Archaeological Mission at Cairo, 1883-6, and successor of Maspero as Director of the Antiquities Service, 1886-92: Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 223.

<sup>97</sup> É. Chassinat, 'Textes provenant du Sérapéum de Memphis', *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 21 (1899), 56 n. 3; J. Vercoutter, *Textes biographiques du Sérapéum de Memphis: Contribution à l'étude des stèles votives du Sérapéum* (Paris, 1962), xix, 10 n. 2; M. Malinine, G. Posener, and J. Vercoutter, *Catalogue des Stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis* (Paris, 1968), viii n. 7. I thank Ad Thijs for pointing this out to me.

<sup>98</sup> Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits NAF 20181-20182 (Nos X-XI of the *Papiers et correspondance de A.-E. Mariette*).

<sup>99</sup> MMA inv. no. 2005.100.321; Staring, *BIFAO* 114.

Table 1. New Kingdom tombs explored by Mariette and/or his assistants Devéria and Vassalli in the area south of the Unas causeway at Saqqara.

(Re)discovery: date and excavator	Tomb owner's name and titles	Tomb built (date)	References: PM III/2	Reference: Mariette and contemporaries	Recorded finds (possibly) in Cairo Museum	Reference: other / Remarks
November 30 <sup>th</sup> , 1850 Mariette 2001 Leiden expedition	<b>Mry(-tp)-Nt/Mry-R(-w)</b> <i>im-y-s pr-w n-y pr-w Im-w m Mn-nfr</i> [H9]	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Akhaten	666	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 449	Reliefs, present location unknown Double statue JE 99076 (entered 2001)	M. El-Ghândour, 'Report on Work at Saqqara South of the New Kingdom Cemetery Seasons 1994, 1996, 1997', <i>GM</i> 161 (1997), 12, pls II, XI; Raven and Van Walsem, <i>Meryneith</i> .
1858? Mariette	<b>P3-R(-w)-Ipr-wnm-f</b> <i>si wr n3 ps ipw si n3 y Imn-w</i>	20 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Rameses III or later	737	Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 20, pl. 61; Devéria squeezes 6196, 10 (kept in Musée du Louvre, Paris)	Stela JE 3299 (entered 1858)	J. Berlandini, 'Varia Memphitica VI: La stèle de Parâtheroumenyef', <i>BIFAO</i> 85 (1985), 41-62.
December 1858/early 1859 Mariette/Devéria	<b>Imwry</b> <i>im-y-s ks.t m mnw nb n3 nb is-uy</i>	19 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Rameses II	666-7	Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 18-19, pls 57a, 58; Devéria squeezes 6165, i.10 (CG 34516); 6170A, 6, 14 (JE 18942)	Relief CG 34516 (entered 1862)	Visited subsequently by Vasalli in 1861 (see below).
March 1859 Mariette/Devéria	<b>Ptph-nr-uis</b> <i>im-y-s ip-w wr</i>	19 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Rameses II	770, 775	Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 20, pl. 62c; Devéria photo PHO 1986 144 64, MS 178 129	Unidentified object; pyramidion JE 8371 = CG 17109 (entered 1860)	Maspero, <i>Guide</i> , 432-7, No. 872.
March 1859 Mariette/Devéria	<b>Ptph-ms(-w)</b> <i>ip-ty-c-w wr m Imb-w-ld</i>	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty	713-15	Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 20, pl. 62d; Devéria photos PHO 1986 144 66, MS 178 126; PHO 1986 144 124, MS 178 128; PHO 1986 144 65, MS 178 127	Relief JE 4874 (entered 1859)	Berlandini, <i>BIFAO</i> 82, 85-103; Staring, <i>BIFAO</i> 114, 455-518.
March 1859 Mariette/Devéria	<b>Hfy</b> <i>im-y-s pr-wy-ld n3 is ipwt n3yt mp, ut n3yt nsut bity Wsr-ms<sup>c</sup>-t- R-w-sfp, n-R-w m pr-w Imn-w</i>	19 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Rameses II	726	Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 21, pl. 63f; Devéria pho- tos PHO 1986 144 60, MS 178 130; PHO 1986 144 63, MS 178 133	Two statues, CG 604 = JE 4737 and CG 606 = JE 4736 (entered March 1859)	Borchardt, <i>Statuen und Statuetten</i> , II, 154-5; 155- 6, pls 109-10; Pasquali, <i>BIFAO</i> 113, 315-16, figs 10-11; G. Maspero, <i>Guide du visiteur au Musée de Boulaq</i> (Boulaq, 1883), 44-5, Nos 285-6.
March 1859 Devéria	<b>NV</b> (titles unknown)	19 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty	-	Devéria photo PHO 1986 144 68, MS 178 124	-	F. Morfousse and G. Andreu-Lancé (eds), <i>Sesostris III: Pharaon de légende</i> (Gand, 2014), 294, nr. 24.
December 1859 Excavator unknown	<b>Ndm</b> <i>im-y pr-w wr n is ipwt Wsr-ms<sup>c</sup>-t- R-w-sfp, n-R-w m pr-w Imn-w</i>	Late 19 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty	771, 838	Reisner, <i>Canopies</i> , 116-20, pl. XXIV	Four canopic jars, CG 4161-64 = JE 6066-69	
1860 Mariette	<b>Hr-m-bb</b> <i>im-y-s im-yw-s ms<sup>c</sup> nb is-uy</i>	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Tur- ankhamun	655-61	Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 25-26, pls. 74-75	Three column panels, JE 11332-34 (entered 1860)	G.T. Martin, <i>The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, commander-in-chief of Tutankhamun, I: The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary</i> (EES EM 55; London, 1989).
1860 Mariette	<b>Hr-nm(w)</b> <i>im-y-s ip-t-nsw n3yt Mn-nfr</i> [LS 29]	19 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Seti I- Rameses II	664-5	Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 20, pl. 60	Nine reliefs JE 8374-82 (entered 1860)	Tomb visited by Lepsius in 1843. <i>LD Text</i> , I, 185; pl. I.31.
1860 Mariette/Vassalli 1993 EES/Leiden expedition	<b>Imuis</b> <i>im-y-s pr-w m/n3yt Mn-nfr</i>	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty	707	Vassalli MSS 20, left; Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 18, pl. 57a	Stela JE 10079 (entered 1860, according to Schneider, <i>Imiuta</i> , 23, 71)	Schneider, <i>Imiuta</i> .
February 1860 Excavator unknown	<b>N3is</b> <i>nb.t pr-w</i>	18 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty	771	Reisner, <i>Canopies</i> , 59-62	Four canopic jars, CG 4094-97 = JE 6370-73	

(table continues on next page)

(Re)discovery: date and excavator*	Tomb owner's name and titles	Tomb built (date)	Reference PM III/2	Reference: Mariette and contemporaries	Recorded finds (possibly) in Cairo Museum	Reference: other / Remarks
April 1860 Mariette	<b>Hwy</b> <i>ḥwy swꜣw n.w ts ḥwt ps 'Im.w</i>	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten	737	Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 18, pl. 56b	Stela CG 34182 = JE 10174	Lacau, <i>Stèles</i> , 222-4, pl. 69; B. Löhr, 'Ahanjati in Memphis', <i>SAK 2</i> (1975), 176-8.
1861 Vassalli	<b>Tumry</b> <i>ṯm.y-rs k3.t m mnw nb n.y nb ts.wy</i>	18 <sup>th</sup> /19 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty	(see above)	(see above)	Stela JE 18924? (entered 1862?)	Visited previously by Mariette/Dévéria in 1858/9.
February 1861 Excavator unknown	<b>Ma.t-knby</b> <i>mb.t pr.w</i>	18 <sup>th</sup> /19 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty	771	Reisner, <i>Canopies</i> , 150-51	Canopic jar CG 4208 = JE 15002	
February 8 <sup>th</sup> , 1861 Mariette	<b>'ny</b> <i>ṯm.y-rs nbyw n.w nb ts.wy</i> [H8]	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> /early 19 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty	667	Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 20, pl. 62b; Mariette, <i>Masabas</i> , 450 (' <i>Stud de la Grande Pyramide de Sakkarah</i> ') Reisner, <i>Canopies</i> , 221-22	Stela JE 15115 = TN 14.1.25.5 (entered 1861)	G.A. Gaballa, 'Three acephalous stelae', <i>JEA</i> 63 (1977), 125-6, pls 23.3, 23A.2.
December 1861 Excavator unknown	<b>Pz-sr</b> <i>ṯm.y-rs nḥwt ts.ty</i>	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty	771	Reisner, <i>Canopies</i> , 221-22	Two canopic jars, CG 4325-26 = JE 17470-71	
January 1862 Vassalli	<b>'sh-ms(w)</b> <i>š šb ḥ.w</i>	18 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty	736	Vassalli MSS 15, right (at Castello Sforzesco, Milan); Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 18, pl. 56a	Stela CG 34049 = JE 18181 (entered 1862)	P. Lacau, <i>Stèles du Nouvel Empire</i> (CGC Nos 34001-64, 34065-189; Cairo, 1909-16), 84-6, pl. 29; Tiradritti, <i>Legittologo Luigi Vassalli-bor</i> , 10-11.
March 1862 Excavator unknown	<b>Pz-R'(w)-nr-ḥb</b> <i>ṯm.y-rs ḥ.w nr n.y 'Imn.w</i>	20 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty (?)	771	Reisner, <i>Canopies</i> , 218-19	Four canopic jars, CG 4322 = JE 19172-75	
April 1862 Excavator unknown	<b>T'ny</b> (titles unknown)	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> /early 19 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty	726	Borchardt, <i>Startuen II</i> , 175-76, pl. 115	Statue CG 628 = JE 19181	
October 1862 Excavator unknown	<b>NW</b> (titles unknown)	New Kingdom	771	Reisner, <i>Canopies</i> , 154-55, pl. 33	Three canopic jars, CG 4220 = JE 20197-99	
October 1862 Excavator unknown	<b>N'-sš[...]</b> (titles unknown)	New Kingdom	771	Reisner, <i>Canopies</i> , 244-45	Four canopic jars, CG 4389-90 = JE 20200-3	
1864 Vassalli	<b>Ma.w-nbt</b> <i>š šb n.y pr.w R.w</i>	Mid 18 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty	774	Vassalli MSS, 14; Maspero, <i>Guide</i> , 530, No. 5337	Fan-handle TN 6.4.23.12	
Date unknown Mariette	<b>P'ny</b> <i>š šb.w m ḥwt-ntr N.t nb.t š.t</i>	New Kingdom or 26 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty?	775	Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 20, pl. 62e	Unidentified object	Mariette dates the unidentified object 'Époque saïte'.
Date unknown Mariette	<b>Nm.ty-ms</b> <i>kṯn n.y ḥmef</i>	19 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty	737	Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 30, pl. 105; Mariette, <i>Masabas</i> , 3	Stela TN 22.1.21.1 (entered at unknown date)	

\* The table lists (re)discovery by Mariette and/or his assistants, and by scholarly expeditions in the late 20<sup>th</sup>-early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. As tombs are listed in order of discovery by Mariette and assistants, it forms a timeline of his work at Saqqara.

\*\* Inv. nos. of Devéria photo collection at Musée d'Orsay (see Staring, *JEA* 102 (2016), 145-70).

\*\*\* According to the *Journal d'Entrée*, the pyramidion was found at Memphis in March 1861 (K. Mysliwiec, 'Zwei Pyramida der XIX. Dynastie aus Memphis', *SAK* 6 (1978), 139). However, the MSS of Mariette indicate a find date of March 1859 (Stéphane Pasquali, personal communication). According to the JE number, the object would have entered the museum in 1860 (cf. Bothmer, *Bib. Et.* 64/3, 114).

\*\*\*\* Almost one Mahu also made a career in cattle counting: *š šb ḥ.w š ms'*. While Lacau indicates that the stela was found in 1862, Tiradritti argues that the JE number suggests that the stela entered the Bulak Museum in 1859. Cairo Museum's numbering system(s) as explicated by Bothmer, *BdE* 64/3, 114, confirms the information provided by Lacau. Tiradritti's claim that the stela is '... un tipico monumento dell'età ramesside' should be corrected as well. Iconography and the erasure of the element '*Imn(w)*' point at a pre-Amarna date.

Table 1 (ctd). New Kingdom tombs explored by Mariette and/or his assistants Devéria and Vassalli in the area south of the Unas causeway at Saqqara.

The location of four of these tombs – Iniuiia, Ptahmose, Mery-Neith and Horemheb – has been ascertained by excavations in the late 20th/early 21st centuries. The location of a fifth tomb (Hormin) has been mapped by Lepsius. These are all located in the same general area (Fig. 2). A number of the tombs were visited before: Iniuiia, Ptahmose, Mery-Neith, Hormin, and Horemheb. Elements taken from these tombs entered private and public collections before 1850.

The tombs visited by Mariette are mostly of a late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty date, which might provide an indication for the area explored by Mariette. In view of that observation, and considering the architectural similarities between the tombs of Ptahmose and Ptahemwia (II), the latter tomb should probably be situated in the same area as well. This fits with Ptahemwia (II)'s chronological position and the general development of the New Kingdom cemetery from south (late Eighteenth Dynasty) to north (Ramesseum). This hypothesis can be supported by the fact that this area was 'inhabited' by more officials bearing similar titles. They include Overseers of Cattle (Pay, Iniuiia) and the higher administrative personnel of the Ramesseum (Tia, Amenemone).<sup>100</sup>

Not all (inscribed) material excavated by Mariette was published in *Monuments divers*. A survey of additional funerary equipment published in the *Catalogue Général* of the Cairo Museum (canopics and funerary statuettes), has resulted in the list of tombs explored by Mariette, Devéria, and Vassalli presented in Table 1. Three tomb owners are briefly discussed below.

Nedjem, the Chief Steward of the Ramesseum, served during the late reign of Ramesses II and early Merenptah. His canopic jars (Cairo CG 4161-4) were found at Saqqara in December 1859.<sup>101</sup> His shabtis (Cairo CG 47188, 47209-10) were also found at Saqqara, but no find date is known.<sup>102</sup> The JE numbers of the latter two shabtis (JE 5497; 6498) suggest that they were found in 1859-60,<sup>103</sup> probably together with the canopic jars. More recently, an abacus was found reused in a secondary wall around shaft 2003/17 near the tomb of Mery-Neith at Saqqara,<sup>104</sup> and a shabti fragment was found in the fill of the courtyard of the neighbouring tomb of Ptahemwia (I).<sup>105</sup> These finds suggest that the tomb of Nedjem was located nearby. A statue of the same man was found by Mariette in the temple of Ptah at Memphis (in 1871, 1872 or 1875).<sup>106</sup> The provenance of his stela (Cairo CG 34508) is unknown, although it might derive from Nedjem's tomb at Saqqara.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>100</sup> See N. Staring, 'The Personnel of the Theban Ramesseum in the Memphite Necropolis', *JEOL* (2014-15), 51-92.

<sup>101</sup> G. Reisner, 'The Dated Canopic Jars of the Gizeh Museum', *ZÄS* 37 (1899), 64, No. 24, fig. 5; G.A. Reisner, *Canopics* (CGC Nos 4001-4740 and 4977-5033; Cairo, 1967), 116-20, pl. XXIV. For Nedjem, see PM III/2, 771, 838. Objects with his name were found at Saqqara, Memphis and Abydos. For the most recent list of objects pertaining to Nedjem, see Raven *et al.*, *Ptahemwia and Sethnakht*, Cat. 67.

<sup>102</sup> P.E. Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi* (CGC Nos 46530-48575; Cairo, 1937-57), 88-9, 97, pls XIX-XXI, XXXV.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Bothmer, *Bib.Ét.* 64/3, 114.

<sup>104</sup> Excav. No. Sak. 2003-72: Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 172, Cat. 163.

<sup>105</sup> Excav. No. Sak. 2007-16: Raven *et al.*, *Ptahemwia and Sethnakht*, Cat. 67.

<sup>106</sup> PM III/2, 838; Mariette, *Mon. div.*, 7, pl. 27f. The cubic statue is now in Memphis (Tennessee): Memphis State University Collection 1981.1.20 (formerly: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 29.730); D. Dunham, 'Four New Kingdom Monuments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston', *JEA* 21 (1935), 150-1, pl. 19 (bought in 1929 from a private owner).

<sup>107</sup> The stela is unpublished. A transcription of the text was provided by Kitchen: *KRI* III, 201. It names Nedjem's father: the Royal Scribe Amenemope. Interestingly, a shabti of an untitled man named Amenemope was found at Saqqara in 1858: Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes*, 112 (Cairo CG 47240).

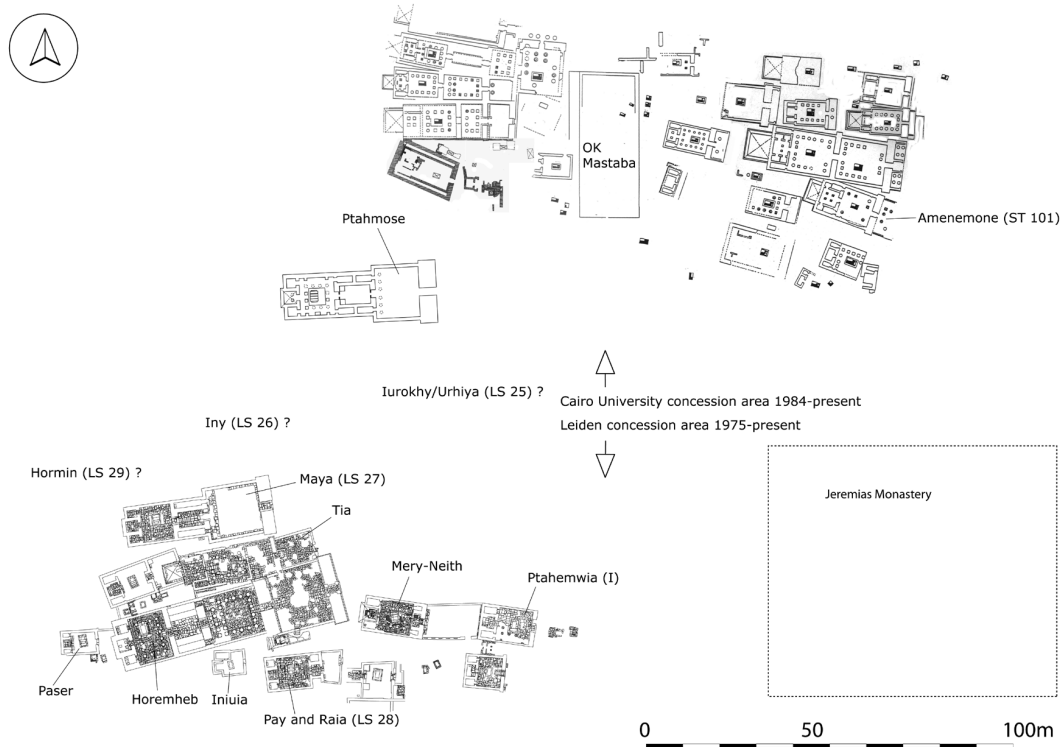


Fig. 2: General plan of the New Kingdom necropolis located south of the Unas causeway at Saqqara. Tombs marked are those discussed in the text.

Another tomb perhaps explored by Mariette (and Vassalli?) is that of Tjaj, who can be dated to the late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty. His titles are unknown. According to Borchardt, the seated dyad of Tjaj and his wife, the Lady of the House Naya (Cairo JE 19181 = CG 628) was found at Saqqara in April 1862.<sup>108</sup> Canopic jars (Cairo JE 6370-3 = CG 4094-7) of a lady named Nay/Naia were found in February 1860.<sup>109</sup> The tomb might have been explored even earlier, as two shabtis inscribed for the *nb.t pr N3y* (Cairo JE 6005-6 = CG 47647-8) were found in 1859.<sup>110</sup>

The stela (Cairo JE 48845) of the Vizier and High Priest of Ptah, (Pa-)Rahotep (Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II, second half), according to the *Journal d'Entrée*, was in the museum 'since the time of Mariette'.<sup>111</sup> Whether this indicates that the stela was actually excavated by Mariette, is not certain. The stela formed part not of his tomb structure, but of a *ka* chapel: his tomb is located in Sedment. Other elements deriving from the (lost) *ka* chapel include the naophorous statue found by Zakaria Goneim

<sup>108</sup> PM III/2, 726; Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* II, 175-6, pl. 115. The statue is currently housed in the Alexandria National Museum.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 175; Reisner, *Canopics*, 59-62, pl. XIII: Lady of the House *N3y / N3iz*.

<sup>110</sup> Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes*, 190. Another shabti inscribed for a Lady of the House Nay (CG 47237; JE 6003) found at Saqqara (no date provided) should also be part of the same corpus.

<sup>111</sup> M. Moursi, 'Die Stele des Veziers Re-hotep (Kairo JE 48845)', *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 321-9. It is also mentioned in Vassalli MSS, 24, 24A, 25, upper: PM III/2, 665-6.

in December 1955 near the Apa Jeremias Monastery;<sup>112</sup> a red granite pyramidion fragment found in the surface debris near the south wall of the tomb of Horemheb;<sup>113</sup> and a limestone column fragment found in shaft 99/I, south of the south exterior wall of the inner courtyard of the tomb of Horemheb.<sup>114</sup>

Other finds made in December 1859 are the wooden statues of a lady Henut-nakhtu<sup>115</sup> and the Lady of the House, praised by the Aten, Sat-mut.<sup>116</sup> It is not certain which tomb(s) these objects belonged to.

At least some of the tombs explored by Mariette were revisited in 1863 or 1864 by Emmanuel de Rougé, who recorded texts *in situ*.<sup>117</sup> In the tomb of Horemheb he copied the stela with the hymn to Re, which was later smashed to pieces; the fragments were subsequently assembled and taken to the Cairo Museum.<sup>118</sup> As some of the stone elements of the tombs of Ptahmose and Ptahemwia (II) photographed by Devéria cannot be identified in any collection, it is possible that these had undergone the same unfortunate fate.

After Mariette, it was not until 1906 that the area south of the Unas causeway again became the focus of archaeological interest when James Quibell started work at the site of the Monastery of Jeremias.<sup>119</sup> However, illicit and undocumented digging will have certainly continued in the meantime.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> H. Altenmüller and A.M. Moussa, 'Eine wiederentdeckte Statue des Vezirs Rahotep', *MDAIK* 30 (1974), 1-14. The statue is since 1972 on display on-site near the ticket office at Saqqara.

<sup>113</sup> H.D. Schneider, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut'ankhamun, II: A Catalogue of the Finds* (EES EM 61; Leiden, 1996), 93, NK 11.

<sup>114</sup> M.J. Raven *et al.*, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tutankhamun, V: The Forecourt and the Area South of the Tomb With Some Notes on the Tomb of Tia* (PALMA 6; Turnhout, 2011), 58, No. 28 (Sak. 2003-R92).

<sup>115</sup> Cairo CG 804 (JE 6056): Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, III, 101, pl. 148.

<sup>116</sup> Cairo CG 452 (JE 6059): Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, II, 48, pl. 75. This statue was found together with CG 803 of an anonymous woman (Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, III, 101, pl. 148).

<sup>117</sup> Martin, *Horemheb* I, 5. The texts were posthumously published by his son Jacques, who had accompanied his father to Egypt: J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, pls 104-8. See also Maspero, *Notice biographique Emmanuel de Rougé*, 81: '... Mariette non seulement autorisa Rougé à copier et à publier tout ce qu'il avait au Caire, mais il le conduisit à Sakkarah et il lui montra ses mastabas', 85-7.

<sup>118</sup> Martin, *Horemheb* I, 5.

<sup>119</sup> J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1906-1907)* (Cairo, 1908), 63.

<sup>120</sup> A good example is the south-east door jamb from the doorway to the inner courtyard of Maya's tomb. It was copied *in situ* by Lepsius in 1843 (*LD*, pl. III.240b). After the Prussian expedition had left, it was at one point removed carelessly. The relief's left half was subsequently acquired for the Amherst collection around 1865 and in 1921 it entered the collection of Rochester Memorial Art Gallery, Inv. No. 42.55: E. Graefe, 'Das Grab des Schatzhausvorstehers und Bauleiters Maya in Saqqara', *MDAIK* 31 (1975), 220; E. Graefe, 'Ein Wiederaufgetauchtes Relieffragment aus dem Grabe des Maya in Saqqara', *MDAIK* 33 (1977), 31-3; Raven, *Maya II*, 17; Martin, *Maya I*, 29-30, scenes [26-7], pl. 23. Numerous unprovenanced relief-blocks, statues, etc. taken from Saqqara appeared on the art market during the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century. See e.g. N. Staring, 'A Relief from the Tomb of the Memphite Mayor Ptahmose in the Collection of the Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University', *BACE* 25 (2014), 117-46.

## CONCLUSION

This paper has investigated the archaeological activities of Auguste Mariette south of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, at the site now better known as the New Kingdom necropolis south of the Unas causeway, principally over the years 1858–62. This area of the necropolis has been largely neglected in discussions relating to Mariette's work at Saqqara. The main aims of this article were to demarcate the area of the necropolis where Mariette excavated, and to determine what his motives were to work there. In order to do so, his work in that area has been reviewed in a historical context, and information on the tombs explored by him and (in the company of) his assistants Théodule Devéria and Luigi Vassalli has been systematically collected. Mariette's fieldwork in this area of the necropolis appears to have been prompted by the founding of the Bulaq Museum (created in order to protect Egypt's antiquities) and the subsequent need to assemble a proper collection for Egypt's national museum of antiquities. Focus of work in the area south of the Step Pyramid was primarily aimed at securing portable objects that were largely uncovered by previous (uncontrolled) excavations. Further interest in tombs located in this area was fuelled by the discovery of the so-called Saqqara king-list from the tomb of Tjuneroy – an object which Mariette considered as one of the most important pieces held in the Bulaq Museum. A number of the tombs explored by Mariette have been relocated during more recent archaeological fieldwork. It is to be expected that the now-lost tombs of Ptahemwia (II) and Khay, both photographed by Devéria in 1859, are located in the same area; perhaps between the current Egyptian and Leiden-Turin archaeological concession areas.