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## **Toward a Prosopography of New Kingdom Tomb Owners in the Memphite Necropolis**

Staring, N.T.B.; Bárta, M.; Coppens, F.; Krejčí, J.

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Miroslav Bárta / Filip Coppens / Jaromír Krejčí (editors)

# ABUSIR AND SAQQARA IN THE YEAR 2015



FACULTY OF ARTS,  
CHARLES UNIVERSITY

**ABUSIR AND SAQQARA  
IN THE YEAR 2015**

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# **ABUSIR AND SAQQARA IN THE YEAR 2015**

**Miroslav Bárta – Filip Coppens – Jaromír Krejčí (editors)**

**Faculty of Arts, Charles University  
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**This volume is dedicated to the memory of Nicole Alexanian (1965–2016)**



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*'Killed' for eternity. Artefacts and ritual behaviour from a unique ceremonial structure in Abusir South* **1**

The principal aim of this contribution is to provide a preliminary report, analysis and interpretation of a Fifth Dynasty structure discovered in Abusir South during the 2014 season. This structure is square-shaped in ground plan, built entirely of mud bricks. It is located immediately to the north of the Fifth Dynasty mastaba of Neferinpu (about 2370 BC, early reign of Djedkara), which was excavated during the seasons of 2006 and 2007. The archaeological context seems to reflect a single, short-term event of a specific symbolical handling, perhaps a performance related to the burial ceremonies, and ending with the ritual of breaking the red sherds as evidence provided by the pottery and stone pounders seems to suggest.

*Keywords:* Old Kingdom – Abusir – Fifth Dynasty – cemeteries – burial ceremonies – ritual of breaking red sherds

### **Edith Bernhauer**

*Erscheinungen und Wandel in der Privatplastik des Alten Reiches* **23**

*Abstract:* Die Privatstatuen des Alten Reiches sind bisher nur in Einzelartikeln ohne den Blick auf das Ganze, das heißt alle Statuentypen der Zeit, zu werfen, publiziert. Ihre Aufstellungsmöglichkeiten, teilweise zeitabhängig, schließen im Grab alle Räume, außerhalb das Dach und den Eingangsbereich mit ein. In den Tempeln sind sie dagegen selten belegt. Typologisch lassen sich nur im Serdab alle Statuentypen finden. Je nach Grabtyp (Mastaba, Felsgrab, Mischform aus beiden) können etwas unterschiedliche Dekorationskonzepte mit Statuen beobachtet werden. Parallel zur Vergrößerung des Verwaltungsapparates ab der 5. Dynastie nehmen die Anzahl der Gräber und die dazugehörigen Statuen zu. Insbesondere ab Niussere fallen die „Pseudogruppen“, „Familiengruppen“ und „Statuen mit der Kauernden“ auf. Entsprechend der zeitlichen Nutzungslage, darin spiegeln sich dann die Statuentypen wieder, sind die zwei Hauptnekropolen in Giza und Sakkara zu sehen. So ist zum Beispiel zu beobachten, dass die Beamten der Verwaltungsschicht durch Leserstatuen und ihre häufig dazugehörenden Statuenkomplexe mehr das Bild von Sakkara als das von Giza prägen. Auch ist nicht von der Hand zu weisen, dass mehr Holzstatuen in der 6. Dynastie aus Sakkara als aus Giza bekannt sind. Da allerdings die Nekropole von Sakkara noch weiterer Ausgrabungen bedarf und fundierte statistische Auswertungen bisher fehlen, müssen viele Fragen offen bleiben. Dieser Artikel kann daher nur ein Versuch sein, sich den komplexen Fragestellungen zur Privatplastik im Alten Reich anzunähern.

*Keywords:* Altes Reich – Serdab – Mastaba – Felsgrab – Scheintür – Privatplastik

### **Vivienne Gae Callender**

*Some Sixth Dynasty Queens: an historical perspective* **39**

*Abstract:* In contrast to the numerous names on the royal king lists, the number of known Egyptian queens is surprisingly small; even more noticeable is the limited quantity of secondary literature regarding these women. Thus, it is of great significance



that, over the last thirty years or more, a small number of archaeologists have increased that list of queens. Amongst these additions there have been some thrilling discoveries of Old Kingdom queens from South Saqqara to Abusir – the most recent addition being found only in the last months of 2014. These discoveries all add to our knowledge and understanding of these royal women in both minor and major ways – usually dependent upon the amount of evidence still remaining at the cemetery sites.

Once, we knew a little – mainly about their pyramids – regarding just ten queens who lived in the Sixth Dynasty. Today, thanks to a group of French archaeologists working at South Saqqara, that list now numbers nineteen named queens and two others whose names are not known. As a result of those discoveries, we also understand much more about the queen's importance and status in her society for this period because of their work. The women themselves are still enigmatic, and their royal role is not by any means properly understood, but in this discussion I would like to offer some ideas about the impact on Egyptian history made by some of those queens from the Sixth Dynasty.

*Keywords:* female gender role – cartouches – family discord – erasures – queens – Teti – Khuit – Ankhnespepy I – Ankhnespepy II – Pepy I – Pepy II – Neith – Merenre I – Merenre II

### **Vassil Dobrev**

*A necropolis from the First Intermediate Period at Tabbet el-Guesh (Saqqara South)* 53

*Abstract:* The IFAO Mission at Tabbet el-Guesh has already revealed the existence of two priests' necropolis at the excavated area of 60 x 50 m. One of them is from the end of the Old Kingdom (Sixth Dynasty) and is characterized by rectangular or square mud brick structures which are in fact enclosure walls surrounding and protecting open-air courtyards where funerary chapels, storerooms and shafts with burial chambers were built into the mountain. The ancient Egyptians called this type of funerary structure *per djet*, 'house of eternity'. The other necropolis is from the beginning of the Late Period (Twenty-Sixth and Twenty-Seventh Dynasties) and its tombs are organised in several North-South rows of small mud brick mastabas orientated East-West.

During the excavation season 2012–2013, the Mission discovered several small mud brick structures that could be dated to the First Intermediate Period (Seventh–Eighth Dynasties) and seem to be just a fraction of a much larger necropolis. Some of these structures are very simple, just white plastered niches with funerary shafts behind them, but others resemble to the so-called house-mastabas, characterised by a small courtyard and a low surrounding wall to the East. The house-mastabas H 1 and H 2' present an interesting feature on their eastern sides: an inscribed lintel was added over the false door stela, which has an offering table in front of it. The traditional Old Kingdom disposition of stela + offering table is modified here by the addition of a lintel over the stela and this could be considered as a criterion for dating structures from the First Intermediate Period.

*Keywords:* First Intermediate Period (FIP) – necropolis – house-mastabas – criteria for dating FIP structures – restoration of priest's funerary cult

### **Veronika Dulíková – Radek Mařík**

*Complex network analysis in Old Kingdom society: a nepotism case* 63

*Abstract:* The current state of Egyptological research faces a problem to process the huge volume of data. Researchers have dealt with the datasets consisting of thousands of entities. Such a volume cannot be evaluated efficiently and rigorously using a traditional manual manner of paper and pencil. Although methods of complex networks (CNA) have been used for the quantification of a number of historical aspects, nobody has yet applied CNA to the Old Kingdom context. This paper proposes a new approach based on the method of complex network analysis which

provides new possibilities for the better understanding of the Old Kingdom social and administrative developments. The treatise demonstrates the first promising results of this technique on an assessment of nepotism in the second half of the Old Kingdom exemplified in the numerous illustrative graphical visualizations.

*Keywords:* Old Kingdom – Fifth Dynasty – Nyuserre – complex network analysis – social network analysis – nepotism – society – administration – titulary – relational data mining

### **Andrés Diego Espinel**

*A neglected hunting scene from Saqqara (Pitt rivers 1926.14.6) and the iconography of the desert hunters during the Old Kingdom* 85

*Abstract:* Desert hunting is a well-known scene type in Old Kingdom monuments. They have been extensively analysed by egyptologists, who have mainly taken into account both their symbolic and social meanings and the animal information depicted on them. However, few authors have devoted specific studies on the iconography of the desert hunters. The present study takes into consideration their clothes, tools and gestures, analysing their development in time and space during the Old Kingdom. Moreover, depictions of the Old Kingdom desert hunters, their implements and techniques are compared with data from other periods, shedding light on the role of desert hunting and hunters during the pyramid age.

To this end, an unpublished fragmentary relief of a hunting scene, probably dating from the Sixth Dynasty, will be firstly examined. It is the relief Pitt Rivers 1926.14.6, donated in 1926 to the Oxonian museum by Cecil Mallaby Firth, who discovered it somewhere in Saqqara. Despite of its fragmentary state, it is an important document as it is the only known non-royal depiction of an Old Kingdom bowman in a Memphite hunting scene.

*Keywords:* Desert hunting – iconography – private tombs – pyramid complexes – Old Kingdom

### **Laurel Flentye**

*Royal and non-Royal statuary of the Fourth Dynasty from the Giza Necropolis* 123

*Abstract:* This article traces the development and interrelationships between royal and non-royal statuary during the Fourth Dynasty at the Giza Necropolis. Evidence for life-size statues and small-scale statuettes is attributed to the reigns of Khufu through Menkaura. Implicit within this discussion is the variety of contexts in which statuary occurred at Giza, namely the pyramid and valley temples of the royal pyramid complexes as well as the mastabas and rock-cut tombs in the surrounding cemeteries. From the outset, statuary is a feature of Khufu's reign in the early Fourth Dynasty at the Giza Necropolis. Although Khufu's pyramid complex is mostly destroyed, statue fragments are assigned to it including those excavated by Selim Hassan. Also attributed to Khufu's reign are a variety of sculptural types in the non-royal sphere, namely the seated statue of Hemiunu discovered in his serdab (G 4000), the reserve heads mostly found in the shafts or burial chambers of the mastabas of the Western Cemetery, as well as evidence for statue platforms. In the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000), different statue types also decorated the mastabas belonging to members of the royal family, such as the bust of Ankh-haf (G 7510), the scribal statues of Ankh-haf (G 7510) and Kawab (G 7120), and the seated statues of Kawab (G 7120) and Khufu-khaf I (G 7140) which are dated from Khufu's through Khafra's reigns. Their reconstruction in exterior chapels as well as offering chambers attests to the diversity of contexts in which statuary occurred as well as their particular function within the decorative program.

Based on the absence of a statuary program in Khufu's pyramid complex, Djedefra's statues from Abu Rawash provide a significant link between Snefru's and Khafra's statuary programs, which must have impacted the development of statuary

in the mid to late Fourth Dynasty at Giza. Djedefra's statues from Abu Rawash range in type, iconography, size, and materials which certainly is reflected in the statuary program of Khafra. Reconstructions of Khafra's pyramid and valley temples with seated and standing statues suggest that statuary was probably more a feature of the decorative program than relief decoration. In the non-royal sphere, the statue chamber of Minkhaf (G 7430) in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000) may resemble the layout of Khafra's pyramid temple based on Herbert Ricke's reconstruction, but certainly reflects the interest in statue niches also evident in Kawab's exterior chapel (G 7120).

In the late Fourth Dynasty, Menkaura's pyramid complex continues the predilection for statuary, both in the pyramid and valley temples, ranging in type, iconography, size, and materials, including an emphasis on the monumental. The series of greywacke triads from Menkaura's valley temple are almost three-dimensional relief decoration, which must have had a programmatic layout. Stylistically, Menkaura's greywacke statues have greater modeling as compared with Khafra's anorthosite gneiss statues. In the non-royal sphere, the rock-cut tombs in the Eastern Cemetery (G 7000), Khufu-Khafra Quarry, Central Field, and the Menkaura Quarry Cemetery were probably influenced by the statuary programs in the pyramid complexes and vice versa, particularly the use of multiple images of the tomb owner and gesture between statues, e.g., the rock-cut statues of Meresankh III (G 7530sub). However, the addition of servant statuettes in Meresankh III's rock-cut tomb (G 7530sub) reflects an interest in daily life iconography, occurring in both statuary and relief decoration, but also essential to the tomb owner's afterlife. In this respect, the Fourth Dynasty at Giza witnessed an expansion in the use of freestanding and rock-cut statuary in differing contexts, suggesting that three-dimensional representation became an important feature of the overall programmatic layout and cultic function of the tomb, similar to the statuary programs in the royal pyramid complexes.

*Keywords:* niches – pedestal – rock-cut – scribal – serdab – statues

### **Lucie Jirásková**

*Model stone vessels of the Old Kingdom – their typology and chronology* 145

*Abstract:* Assemblages of model stone vessels unfortunately never got enough attention of scholars dealing with the material culture of the Old Kingdom in the past. The article thus attempts to show their value, especially in respect of chronology. Firstly, the group was typologically described. The author divided vessels into several classes regularly appearing within the Old Kingdom burial chambers. Reflecting their numbers and material used for their production, the assemblages were compared. Such an analysis led to several "stages" with particular pattern of distribution. The turning points between them also reflected not only major changes in the burial and funerary customs, but also more general changes in the ancient Egyptian society.

During the whole Old Kingdom, the assemblages of model stone vessels represented social markers. In the Fourth and first half of the Fifth dynasty, they were made exclusively from travertine, and appeared in the tombs of members of the royal family and the highest officials. By the middle of the Fifth dynasty, the limestone sets took the place of earlier pottery model vessels, and found their way to the burial chambers of middle class officials. The Sixth dynasty brought another major change. Burial equipment became wealthier, and there was no more need for "humble" model vessels made of stone. From the beginning of the Sixth dynasty, the model stone vessels were slowly substituted by copper pieces, and by the middle of the Sixth dynasty they almost disappear in favour of real vessels made of different materials.

*Keywords:* Old Kingdom – stone vessels – travertine – limestone – typology – chronology

### **Mohamed Ismail Khaled**

*Notes on the crews of workmen of Sahura* 157

*Abstract:* The new discovery from the northern wall of the causeway of Sahura at Abusir has added to our knowledge of the programme of royal scenes depicted on

the Old Kingdom's royal complexes. The reliefs came to light during the excavation by the Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities' mission around the pyramid complex of King Sahura, which started in 1994 and continued from 2002 until 2004. The exploration by the Egyptian team has so far revealed scenes listing a large number of crews of workmen who participated in different royal activities in the presence of the king himself. This paper sheds more light on the crews of Sahura, as well as presenting new names.

*Keywords:* Old Kingdom – Fifth Dynasty – Sahure – Abusir – causeway – relief decoration – workmen – crews.

### **Evgeniia Kokina**

*Alone or together: for whom were the private tombs of the Old Kingdom built?* 163

*Abstract:* Among the private tombs of the Old Kingdom there were so-called family tombs and family tomb complexes. Recent excavations at Saqqara and Abusir brought to light new examples of such tomb types. As the analysis of the Old Kingdom data shows tombs intended for one person were quite rare. At the same time the presence of several shafts did not influence in most cases the decoration of tombs which remained to be dedicated only to one person. The analysis of the cemeteries in the Memphite area and provinces reveals only about 300 private tombs in which cult places for other people besides the tomb owner were allocated. A cult place can be identified by false doors, offering table scenes, offering bearer scenes, depictions of priests, offering formulae, offering lists, offering tables, statues, offering rooms. The article intends to show who and how could obtain such a cult place besides the tomb owner; how the presence of cult places correlated with the number of shafts; why additional cult places were allocated; how such joint tomb possession was regulated.

*Keywords:* Old Kingdom – private tomb – tomb decoration – cult place – family

### **Jaromír Krejčí**

*Nakhtsare's cemetery in central Abusir – the burial ground for the royals?* 173

*Abstract:* A group of four tombs aligned along the north–south axis is located to the south and east of the mortuary temple of King Raneferef in the southern part of central Abusir and has been named the Nakhtsare cemetery. The results of the archaeological excavations of these much destroyed mastabas (excavated 1994–2016) represent an important supplement to our understanding of the development of the Abusir Royal Necropolis. Following the completion of the archaeological research, it is time to make an interim report on the group of these mastabas.

*Keywords:* Abusir – Fifth Dynasty – mastaba – royal family – royal mother – royal son – Raneferef – Khentkaus III – architecture

### **Hella Küllmer**

*„Das Verteilen von Gold“ – Einige Überlegungen zu den Webereien des Alten Reiches* 185

*Abstract:* After Hermann Junker published the Mastaba of Seneb in Giza V in the year 1941, including a study on some few other “Rewarding the female weavers”-reliefs, there has been little attention on this topic. This article provides a detailed description of the scenes and a discussion of the economic importance of the distribution of gold and other goods. A study of the titles and the social status of the persons engaged in the weaveries of the Old Kingdom shows a special connection to the king and the palace.

*Keywords:* weavers – titles – market – exchange – reward – Old Kingdom – reliefs

### **Audran Labrousse**

*Derniers hommages aux reines: Les autels de Noubounet et Inénék/Inti* 201

*Abstract:* During the excavation of the family necropolis of King Pepy I, inscribed fragments of altars were collected in the mortuary complexes of two of his wives:

Nebu-wenet and Inenek/Inti. These last tributes to the queens once belonged to the north chapel built on the access to the pyramid and to the offering room of the cult temple. We have now, for the first time, some knowledge of the altars of the north chapels. The altars belonging to the offering rooms, added to those already known, allow important differences in style, disposition of texts and material.

*Keywords:* Old Kingdom – Pepy I – South-Saqqara – altar – Nebu-Wenet – Inenek/Inti

### **Rémi Legros**

*Inhumations privées dans la nécropole de Pépy I<sup>er</sup>* 211

*Abstract:* La nécropole de Pépy I<sup>er</sup> est aujourd'hui connue essentiellement pour les complexes funéraires du roi et des reines de la VI<sup>e</sup> dynastie. Pourtant, de nombreux particuliers sont venus là pratiquer leurs dévotions et, pour certains, s'y faire inhumer, constituant ainsi ce qui apparaît comme un véritable lieu de mémoire.

Trois grandes phases se distinguent, qui témoignent de l'évolution de cette nécropole royale, dans sa perception et son occupation. L'Ancien et le Moyen Empires se caractérisent par une continuité de l'activité rituelle dans le temple. Ensuite, jusqu'au Nouvel Empire au moins, les sépultures de particuliers se multiplient, mais conservent une certaine considération pour les installations royales. C'est à la Basse Époque enfin qu'il faut situer la cessation des pratiques funéraires.

*Keywords:* Pépy I<sup>er</sup> – inhumations privées – sacralité – lieux de mémoire

### **Émilie Martinet**

*L'administration des nomes de Basse-Égypte sous l'Ancien Empire* 219

*Abstract:* In contrast to Upper Egypt, titles related to the Delta's administration are scarce on all levels: nomes but also in the region as a whole. Hence, the fact is that there are so few studies devoted to the organisation of this region during the Old Kingdom.

Although the epigraphic sources show that there was a territorial division initiated by the palatine elite, the nomes cannot be considered as provinces at the beginning of the Old Kingdom, in the sense where nothing proves their administrative nature at that time. This paper highlights the lack of a systematic and complete organisation based on the nome unit in Lower Egypt during the Old Kingdom. However, it is possible to perceive the importance of other administrative structures all along this period that we will describe, as well as a direct intervention of the royal power in some Lower Egypt sites.

In order to have a better understanding of the administration of Lower Egypt, one needs to take into consideration all the different officials, regardless of the position they held in the hierarchy and their sphere of influence. This paper tackles the importance of the supra-provincial level made up of men who played a role between the central institutions and province. With respect to the elites directly buried in the nomes of Lower Egypt under the Sixth dynasty and who have adopted the "formal palatine culture", it is unclear whether they had an influence on the entire nome. In any event, these elites were included in the Court society, as the elites of Upper Egypt.

In this paper, we will develop a more informal model of the Delta's administration than previously proposed. This model is based on a crossover study of the historical and archaeological sources dated from the end of the Old Kingdom, may they be royal or private. The ongoing process of territorial division especially in the oriental Delta, even at the end of the Fifth dynasty, is one of the factors which could explain the establishment of a peculiar administrative system in this part of the country.

*Keywords:* Old Kingdom – Delta – notes – administration – elites – local temple

### **Mohamed Megahed – Peter Jánosi**

*The pyramid complex of Djedkare at Saqqara-South – Recent results and future prospects* 237

*Abstract:* Until recently the pyramid complex of Djedkara at Saqqara-South was

considered one of the most neglected royal funerary monuments of the Old Kingdom. Identified only in 1945/46 the complex has seen a number of brief investigations, which however remained unpublished or largely passed without notice. Yet, recent surveys and documentation started by the SCA in 2010 have shown that this king's mortuary complex is better preserved than most of the pyramid temples of the late Fifth and entire Sixth Dynasty. While the valley temple must be considered entirely lost under the present-day village of Saqqara the other parts of the complex are quite well preserved and yield a number of interesting features. Despite this, no complete documentation of the monument has been achieved thus far and the entire complex with its different architectural parts remains largely a riddle. The plans by Vito Maragioglio and Celeste Rinaldi (published in 1962 and 1977) still forming the major basis for any scientific engagement, are – as can be gathered after the observations/documentations of the initial campaigns – misleading or wrong. This paper is briefly surveying the temple's main features and present condition. As the main focus of the paper the results of the recent work at Saqqara and future prospects is presented and discussed. The importance of the building and its potential for the art and architecture of the Old Kingdom highlighted.

This paper aims also to provide some new results of a project that started in 2009 with the aim to publish the material from the archaeological excavations of pyramid complex of Djedkare in South Saqqara. Numerous fragments of relief decoration were collected by the Egyptian missions in the king's complex, and therefore, a selection of fragments are presented in this paper.

*Keywords:* Old Kingdom – Fifth Dynasty – Djedkare – Saqqara–South – mortuary complex, architecture – relief decoration

**Massimiliano Nuzzolo** (with the collaboration of Patrizia Zanfagna)

*Patterns of tomb placement in the Memphite necropolis. Fifth Dynasty Saqqara in context* **257**

*Abstract:* This article investigates the patterns of spatial distribution of tombs in the Saqqara necropolis during the Fifth Dynasty. After some preliminary considerations on the tombs spatial distribution and GIS-analysis, and the peculiarities of the other main contemporary necropolises of the Memphite area (e.g., Giza and Abusir), attention will be focused on Saqqara, either because it was the main cemetery of private people during the above period, or, and most importantly, because its overall topographical development has still to be fully understood. By crossing several kinds of data, including size and location of tombs, titles of tomb owners, and landscape phenomenology (accessibility and visibility of tombs and royal monuments), the paper shall provide some new insights into the historical dynamics of formation of the sacred landscape of the necropolis at the Fifth Dynasty.

*Keywords:* Saqqara – Fifth Dynasty – private tombs – spatial analysis – titles – social status

**Martin Odler**

*For the temples, for the burial chambers. Sixth Dynasty copper vessel assemblages* **293**

*Abstract:* The article is a preliminary report on an assemblage of copper vessels found in the Sixth Dynasty tomb of the official Inti at the Abusir South cemetery (towards the end of the period of ca. 2305–2118 BC). The most important assemblage of full-size and miniaturized copper vessels comes from Shaft A of the complex with the burial of Inti Pepyankh, probably a relative or a client of Inti. The vessels contained a written reference to the ritual of funerary repast (*pr.t-hrw*), and their role in the ritual is explored in the article. The assemblage from this tomb is studied also from the point of view of regularized production of artefacts. It is then compared to other assemblages of copper vessels from Sixth Dynasty Egypt connected to the funerary repast and the Opening of the Mouth ritual. On the basis of the collected evidence, it is argued that the scope of vessels present in the burial equipment was similar to the vessels used in contemporary temples. The occurrence of the same types of vessels in several

specimens in full-size as well as miniaturized versions is explained as a possible trace of the agency of different participants in the provision of the burial equipment.

*Keywords:* Old Kingdom – Sixth Dynasty – copper vessels – funerary repast – Opening of the Mouth ritual – artefact regularization – agency

### **Adel Okasha Khafagy**

*New excavation at North Saqqara. Soped-Hotep tomb* 317

*Abstract:* This is a report on the re-discovery of the mastaba of Soped-hotep dating to the Fifth Dynasty. The mastaba was found in 2013 when an illegal digging in the North Saqqara area led to the exposure of the tomb's chapel. The tomb was originally discovered by Mariette and labeled as D15, being located about 150 m east of the tomb of Ti. This report provides an account of the mastaba's architecture, decoration and later history as reflected through archaeological finds.

*Keywords:* Saqqara – Old Kingdom – Fifth Dynasty – mastaba – Seped-Hotep

### **Dominic Perry**

*Requisition economics in provincial centres and Abusir in the Old Kingdom* 331

*Abstract:* The article examines the Old Kingdom's economic institutions from a new theoretical perspective: the theory of "requisitioning". It suggests that the Crown instructed and empowered consumers to collect goods directly from producers. Doing so, it avoided the institutional burden inherent in more redistribution-based systems. Evidence for this practice may be observed in various textual sources from Abusir, the Wadi al-Jarf accounts, royal decrees and autobiographies. It is concluded that requisitioning – legitimized appropriation – may have occurred in Egypt during these periods; its prominence, however, fluctuated wildly over different periods and regimes. The Crown's attitude frequently changed and requisitioning could be treated either as a necessary tool of management, or a harmful practice requiring prohibition.

*Keywords:* Redistribution – Requisitioning – Royal Economy – Abusir papyri – royal decrees

### **Marie Peterková Hlouchová**

*Gods with solar aspects in selected written and epigraphic sources of the Old Kingdom* 345

*Abstract:* In the Old Kingdom the cult of the main sun god Re reached one of its peaks which was reflected even in written material of that period. On the contrary, other gods with connection to the sun, such as Atum, Shu, Horus, Sokar, Nefertem or Weneg, are not attested so often and, moreover, some of these gods appears only in the religious texts. This study is based on an analysis of selected written sources of the Old Kingdom coming from the Memphite area: the Palermo Stone, papyri from Abusir, seal impressions and the South Saqqara List. The Gebelein papyri are also included, as a sample of provincial documents. Most of these sources have not been studied in this way so far. The material is rather selective and is somehow connected to the royal sphere. The majority of evidence is dated to the Fifth Dynasty, to the period when the cult of Re reaches its zenith. Therefore, it is worth comparing the frequency of the attestations of Re and other deities with solar aspects. This *sondage* provides us with interesting and significant information concerning various gods of the solar religion.

*Keywords:* sun cult – Palermo Stone – Abusir papyri – seal impressions – South Saqqara List – Gebelein papyri

### **Patrizia Piacentini**

*Excavating the egyptological archives of the Università degli Studi di Milano: The Varille's documentation on the pyramid complex of Djedkare-Izezi at Saqqara* 355

*Abstract:* Between 1944 and 1949, Varille worked as epigraphist at Saqqara for the Antiquities Service. He joined the mission of Abdel Salam Mohammed Hussein on

the excavations of the funerary complex of Djedkare-Izezi, but because of the premature death of both archaeologists their results were never published. Some large folders found in the Varille archives, housed in the University of Milan, contain materials that can be useful to understand the way in which the excavations were carried on and some of the objects discovered. This unpublished documentation consists in photographs, cards with notes and photographs, and a short report on the excavations. The aim of the article is to present and analyse these materials, as well as to discuss the role of some of the people who worked with Varille on the site, who are mentioned in his papers.

*Keywords:* Saqqara – Djedkare-Izezi – Alexandre Varille – Mohammed Hussein – Hassan Ahmed Osman – Fatouh Effendi

### **Joanne Rowland – Geoffrey John Tassie**

*A new funerary monument dating to the reign of Khaba: The Quesna mastaba in the context of the Early Dynastic–Old Kingdom mortuary landscape in Lower Egypt* **369**

*Abstract:* King Khaba of the Third Dynasty is most closely associated with the site of Zawiyet el-Aryan due to the finding of a series of stone vessels in and around mastaba Z500 inscribed with his *serekh*. Apart from a few *serekhs* on seal impressions found in Upper Egypt at Elephantine and Hierakonpolis, he is virtually unknown outside of the Memphite region. There are also unprovenanced references to Khaba, including the seal impression UC11755. Many have assumed that the king was buried in the Layer Pyramid, or mastaba Z500, although some, including Swelim have questioned this. In 2010 a mud-brick mastaba (14.1 × 9.0 m) oriented north–south, was discovered at the central Delta site of Quesna, with the excavation of this structure completed in 2014. From one of the two burial chambers within the mastaba, a mud seal impression bearing the *serekh* of King Khaba was identified. The initial analysis of the pottery vessels from this mastaba indicated a date from Huni to Khufu, but analysis of the most recently excavated vessels may include new types, and possibly inscriptions. A small number of stone vessel fragments were also located, which appear to be of a similar stone type to those from Zawiyet el-Aryan. The exact placement of Khaba in the succession of rulers of the Third Dynasty is much debated, and so the finding of this mastaba in the Delta brings fresh data which may contribute towards this debate. Architectural comparisons between Z500 and the Quesna mastaba will also help to illuminate this little known reign.

*Keywords:* Delta – mastaba tomb – Quesna – Old Kingdom – Khaba – funerary

### **Saleh Soleiman**

*An attempt to identify the erased figures of offering bearers in some scenes of Kagemni's tomb at Saqqara* **391**

*Abstract:* This study deals with the figures of nine offering bearers in the tomb of Kagemni, Teti cemetery at Saqqara. Some of these figures and all the identification texts had been for some reason erased. Detailed inspection of the erased texts leads to the conclusion that one of these representations is of Gemni, the eldest son of Kagemni and eight of the representations are of Kagemni/Gemnika, the second son of Kagemni.

The subsequent erasures of these two individuals may be the result of a dispute or power struggle between the sons of Kagemni's first marriage and the son of his marriage to the daughter of king Teti. Tetiankh, being of royal blood, would have been in a more powerful position and had the authority to carry out the erasures. Another possible explanation is that the erasures were part of the punishment of Gemni and Kagemni/Gemnika for involvement in the conspiracy to assassinate Teti.

*Keywords:* Saqqara – Teti – Kagemni – Teti cemetery – offering bearers

### **Anthony J. Spalinger**

*The trope issue of Old Kingdom war reliefs* **401**

*Abstract:* A discussion of the repeated topos of the Libyan enemy in Old Kingdom royal depictions. The presence of this one common enemy of Egypt within repeated



written and pictorial sources from the Old Kingdom parallels indicates a nationalist feeling, one connected to the self-identity of the Egyptians, can be traced to a very early time in history. Of great importance is that this “theme” persists throughout Egyptian history. Libyan–Egyptian relations must be seen as not merely hostile in attitude from a primordial era but also as a theme that could be re-used over and over to magnify the kings’ military performances.

*Keywords:* persistent enemies of Egypt – Libya – Libyan family scene – Pepi I – Pepi II – Sahure – war reliefs

### **Joris van Wetering**

*The Macramallah burials, Wadi Abusir, Saqqara* 419

*Abstract:* The Macramallah burials or M burials, found by Rizkallah Macramallah (in 1936) within the lower Wadi Abusir, are for several reasons an atypical feature in the funerary landscape of Saqqara. Here, an interpretation is proposed that links these burials to the funeral of certain members of the royal family of the First Dynasty who were buried within the elite cemetery at North Saqqara. It is argued that these persons formed the household of a high ranking deceased during the period. His body was at the embalming station which was situated at the entrance to the Saqqara necropolis (lower Wadi Abusir). There, the priests took care of the body’s embalming process while the souls of the buried servants took care of the needs of the deceased’s soul. It is also argued that the M burials may be indicative of the arrival of high ranking members of the royal family in the Memphite region during the reign of *Horus Den* (or just before it) which may suggest that Memphis became the capital of the Old Kingdom polity (First Dynasty to Eighth Dynasty) during this reign (mid-First Dynasty).

*Keywords:* Wadi Abusir – Macramallah burials – embalming stations – First Dynasty – Memphis – capital

### **Hana Vymazalová – Katarína Arias Kytnarová**

*The development of tomb AS 68c in Abusir South: burial place of the king’s daughter Sheretnebtj and her family* 435

*Abstract:* The article presents a brief summary of the evidence on the rock-cut tomb of princess Sheretnebtj in Abusir South, and its development over time. The archaeological evidence is complemented by the analysis of pottery finds from the chapel, burial shafts and burial chambers in this tomb.

*Keywords:* Old Kingdom – Abusir South – rock-cut tomb – burial shafts – pottery finds – Sheretnebtj

### **Hana Vymazalová – Gabriele Pieke**

*Iti and his statuette from the tomb of Princess Sheretnebtj in Abusir South* 451

*Abstract:* The paper presents a discussion concerning the identity of Iti, an official attested in the tomb of princess Sheretnebtj in Abusir South. The up-to-date available evidence is summarised and analysed in this paper, in order to present the possible explanations for Iti’s identity, as either the princess’ husband or her offspring.

*Keywords:* Old Kingdom – Abusir South – rock-cut tomb – serdab – statuette – Sheretnebtj – Iti

### **Leslie Anne Warden**

*Serdab, cult, and ‘home’: Domestic life and relationships in Old Kingdom mastabas* 467

*Abstract:* Serdabs housed statues of the deceased, acting as a supplementary home for the deceased’s *ka*. They have been understood to provide a point of participation for his cult. Closer examination of the corpus of tombs with serdabs shows that the role of this architectural feature was dependent in part upon its location: in the offering

room itself, the rooms before or after the offering chamber, or external to the chapel. Distinct locational traditions dominated Saqqara vs. Giza tombs, but within that framework there was a place for individual decision making in the number and location of serdabs placed in a tomb. Different locations served different purposes, with specific statuary types correlating to specific serdab locations. When both location and statuary are considered together, the serdabs appear to mimic spheres of the home in all of its multiple levels of decorum, with the formality increasing as the serdabs were placed in conceptually more 'private' areas of the mastaba. The serdab was not a simple addition or insurance for the cult of the deceased. Serdabs, especially those located outside of the offering chamber, were rather focused on recreating the home in a conceptual (rather than architectural) manner and establishing bonds to family. The serdab and its statuary thus served as a compliment to the cultic and ideological concerns apparent in the artistic program and the architecture of the tomb.

*Keywords:* serdab – mastaba – Old Kingdom – Saqqara – Giza – Abusir – statuary – architecture – kinship

### **Ayano Yamada**

*Some remarks on the evolution of the workers organization of the pyramid construction in the Old Kingdom through the examination of the so-called Mason's mark.* 489

*Abstract:* As transforming the volume and construction method of pyramids changed, it is assumed that the number of workers and their organization also necessarily changed. Although this assumption has been discussed in previous studies, the first appearance of the workers' organization named *ꜥpr* and its formation in the Fifth–Sixth Dynasty needs further consideration. This paper then reinterprets the phased development of the workers' organization as a stage through an analysis of the ratio of the appearance of the masons' mark. In addition, the factors which strongly influenced the changes in the worker's organization are examined.

As a result of the analysis, no team marks or names of organizations had appeared in the Third Dynasty (First stage). Some phyle-signs' team marks first appeared on the north pyramid in Dahshur, in the reign of Snefer (Second stage). The *ꜥpr* team name prefixed with the King's name (crew name) also appeared in this reign, but it is incised on a copper chisel, not painted on the stone. In the Third stage, from Khufu to Menkaure, a typical style of the workers' organization was completed: the crew name – phyle-signs' team mark – a single sign that refers to the smallest workers' group. According to Roth and other studies, it has been suggested that most of the names of those workers' organizations were involved with nautical terms. However, the oldest example where the sign of *ꜥpr* with the King's name was written is a copper chisel. In other words, the crew name may not be derived from nautical terms; it seems that originally it was the name of the carpenters' group. As well as changing society, innovations and improvements to do with the construction technology of the pyramid were spectacular during the First to Third stages. Because the timing of construction innovations and the stage of each change corresponded to each other, it can be inferred that the changes in the workers' organization at that time were forced by technical and physical necessity. After the middle of the Fifth Dynasty, interesting inscriptions were written that show the names of high officials and their titles (Fourth stage). In this case, the political and economic aspects of that period, and especially "the collapse of the Old Kingdom", were affected rather than the technical factors.

*Keywords:* workers' organization – formation – stage – factor – *ꜥpr*

### **Mohammad M. Youssef – Břetislav Vachala**

*Vier Grabplatten mit Opfertischszene aus Saqqara und Abusir*

503

*Abstract:* Four interesting funerary limestone relief slabs were discovered in the Memphite necropolis in the past, which remained yet unpublished and are so far unknown.

Two of them were discovered in 1966 in the area to the west of the Nefer tomb, near the Unas causeway in Saqqara, by Ahmed Moussa (reg. nos. 16204a, 16204b), and the third one in 1994 on the western border of the contemporary Muslim cemetery at Abusir by Mohammad M. Youssef (reg. no. 19156). The central dominant motif in the decoration of these slabs represents the offering-table scene, where the owner receives various kinds of offerings. Their names are occasionally added. The owners of the stelae are Tisatjet (m.; reg. no. 16204a), Nesptah (f.; reg. no. 16204b) and Denegnefer (m.; reg. no. 19156). One can suggest to date the slabs to the late Archaic Period (mid Second Dynasty: reg. no. 16204a; late Second Dynasty: reg. no. 19156) and the early Old Kingdom (late Third Dynasty: reg. no. 16204b). A similar limestone relief slab belonging to an unknown person was recently found in the South Abusir cemetery by the Czech mission (exc. no. 15/AS 39/2013). Its possible dating is early Fourth Dynasty.

*Keywords:* funerary relief slabs – Saqqara – Abusir – mortuary cult – funerary repast

## THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

### Jan-Michael Dahms – Elisabeth Kruck

*Ipiemsaef: a new insight into his tomb, his coffin, and his burial equipment* 513

*Abstract:* In 1906/07 J.E. Quibell excavated the tomb of Ipiemsaef and Khenu in the Teti Cemetery in Saqqara. Although it was intact little attention was paid to the burial as well as to the associated coffins. Furthermore the inscriptions of the coffin of Ipiemsaef (Sq8C) are not part of A. de Buck's edition of the Coffin Texts. The article introduces new aspects of the textual compilation of the coffin of Ipiemsaef which includes new parallels for the Nut-texts as well as for p.Gardiner II, and it presents new ideas concerning the burial arrangement and its dating.

*Keywords:* Ipiemsaef – Khenu – J. E. Quibell – Teti Cemetery – Saqqara – Sq8C

### Zahi Hawass

*The statue of Dedu-Amon* 527

*Abstract:* The article provides a detailed description of a statue of Dedu-Amon, currently in the private collection of Heide Betz (San Francisco). The serpentine statue of Dedu-Amon as a standing man, striding forward, can be dated to the Thirteenth Dynasty based on a comparison with similar statues.

*Keywords:* Middle Kingdom – Thirteenth Dynasty – statuary – private collection

### Ken Yazawa

*The late Middle Kingdom shaft tombs in Dahshur North* 531

*Abstract:* Since most of the Middle Kingdom shaft tombs in Egypt have been thoroughly plundered, until now analyses of cemeteries have relied on the patchy evidence of the remaining objects. However, the subterranean structure of the tombs was usually unaffected by robbery. It is possible to complement the lack of information and obtain an overall view of the cemeteries by analyzing these structures. This paper classifies the shaft tombs in Dahshur North by form and size, and then examines the relationship between date, social status of the owner and the result of the classification. Orientation of the shaft tombs is also investigated, and the result describes its significant relationship to the funerary landscape of the Saqqara–Dahshur region.

*Keywords:* Dahshur North – Middle Kingdom – shaft tomb – social status – funerary landscape

## THE NEW KINGDOM

**Robert Parker***An undisturbed minor burial in the Teti Cemetery*

545

*Abstract:* The discovery of an undisturbed burial is of importance for several reasons; it affords context to the burial assemblage which hints at the significance attached to the various objects interred by the people that performed the burial. It also provides a glimpse of possible social conditions such as wealth and status as applied to the deceased. Non-elite burials contain a wealth of information on the lower classes of Memphite society thereby representing a 'silent majority' who mainly speak to us not through biographies, monuments or inscriptions but through the nature, context and origin of their funerary assemblage.

Macquarie University, through the Australian Centre for Egyptology under the directorship of Naguib Kanawati, found such a burial during excavations in the Teti cemetery in January, 2008. Located in the N–W sector of the cemetery this intact minor burial contained several bodies complete with almost thirty artefacts including a large amount of imported ceramics.

Analysis of the previously unpublished contents will suggest the burial to have occurred either during the reigns of Hatshepsut or more likely Thutmose III. Context and type of artefact illustrate the possible burial practices of the common man at this period of Egypt's history. Further this interment will be compared with other minor burials in the Teti cemetery in an attempt to gain a more balanced understanding of this burial type.

*Keywords:* context – Cypriote – intact – minor burial – trade

**Stéphane Pasquali***Les fouilles d'Auguste Mariette Saqqara (1858–1875). Les tombeaux du Nouvel Empire*

557

*Abstract:* A study about an important part of Auguste Mariette's excavations at the necropolis of Saqqara by means of archives of the time (handwritten and photographic archives of Théodule Devéria, the 'inventaire de Boulaq', etc.). The list of all inscribed objects from the New Kingdom is provided.

*Keywords:* Saqqara – Abydos – Auguste Mariette – Théodule Devéria – Bulaq Museum

**Maarten J. Raven***What the butler saw: the life and times of Ptahemwia, royal butler at Memphis*

583

*Abstract:* Ptahemwia was royal butler in Memphis, presumably during the reigns of Akhenaten and Tutankhamun. His tomb was found in 2007 by the joint Expedition of the Leiden Museum and Leiden University in the New Kingdom cemetery at Saqqara. It contains a number of wall-reliefs and inscriptions which, together with the architectural information and the remains of the funerary gifts, allow us to reconstruct Ptahemwia's biography. This information also helps to reconstruct the various tasks of a royal butler in general and provides further details on the political climate at Memphis during the Amarna and post-Amarna period.

*Keywords:* Memphis – Saqqara – Ptahemwia – royal butler – Amarna period – Tutankhamun

**Nico Staring***Toward a prosopography of New Kingdom tomb owners in the Memphite necropolis*

593

*Abstract:* This contribution takes as its point of departure the observation that the relationship between individual tombs in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara is still poorly understood and that no coherent internal patterns have been established. The organisation of this vast elite necropolis and the spatial distribution of tombs therein are here studied by analysing the prosopographical data of 448 individuals:

the tomb owners. After introducing the prosopographical method and its challenges, in particular as concerning the case study of Saqqara, its research potential will be demonstrated. The distribution of tombs according to the titles (occupational, rank, and honorific) of their owners and the observable changing patterns through time provide a first, tentative indication for the rationale of their distribution. Since the location of a majority of New Kingdom tombs is today lost, knowledge of the rationale underlying tomb placement is pivotal to allow for making statements about the original appearance and development of this necropolis. This research potential is illustrated with selected case studies.

*Keywords:* New Kingdom – Prosopography – spatial analysis – tomb placement – titles

## LATE PERIOD AND BEYOND

### **Renata Landgráfová – Filip Coppens – Jiří Janák – Diana Míčková**

*Myth and ritual in the burial chamber of the shaft tomb of Iufaa at Abusir: Snakes and snake-like beings* 613

*Abstract:* The shaft tomb of Iufaa at Abusir dates to the turn of the Twenty-Sixth and Twenty-Seventh dynasties and the extent of its interior decoration is unique among Late Period tombs. Only the Theban tomb of Padiamenipe (TT33) contains a similar range and extent of texts and representations. The unfinished western wall of Iufaa's burial chamber, as well as the upper part of the northern wall, contain a number of representations of snakes and snake-like creatures alongside their accompanying texts. Snakes similar to some of these creatures can be found in the 6<sup>th</sup> hour of the Amduat, that is, the deepest regions of the Underworld, whereas others have been identified on the astronomical ceiling at Esna, as well as in Papyrus Jumilhac. The northern wall of the burial chamber, which is the focus of the present paper, is almost entirely taken up by the text of the ritual of the purification of the Egyptian king, adapted for Iufaa. A comparison of the motifs in the text of the ritual indicated that the short mythological compositions and allusions to mythological events that accompany the snake-like beings hold, in fact, the myths that explain and underlie the various actions of the purification ritual.

*Keywords:* Abusir – Late Period – shaft tomb – Iufaa – snakes

### **Hassan Nasr el-Dine**

*La répartition des cimetières saïtes à Saqqara* 627

*Abstract:* Ce travail a essayé de mieux comprendre la répartition des cimetières de Basse Époque, et l'évolution de la nécropole à travers les époques tardives, y compris l'époque ptolémaïque. Pour aborder le sujet, on a tenté de présenter les tombes dont l'emplacement bien connues, puis celles dont l'emplacement est inconnu. Ensuite, on a indiqué les parties différentes où se regroupes ces tombes: au sud de la pyramide d'Ounas, sur l'emplacement du temple bas d'Ounas, dans le secteur au nord de la chaussée d'Ounas, autour de la pyramide d'Ouserkaf, autour du complexe de Djéser et entre la monastère de St. Jérémie et l'enceinte de Sekhemkhet.

*Keywords:* Saqqara – Basse Époque – Saïte – Bakenrenef – tombe – nécropole – cimetière – emplacement connu et inconnu

### **Květa Smoláriková**

*Some remarks on the architectural and religious aspects of the Late Period's shaft tombs* 641

*Abstract:* From an architectural point of view the construction of the Late Period's shaft tomb kept certain rules: its superstructure consists of a huge enclosure wall with a square plan, in front of the eastern wall could be a mortuary cult installation; but the feature most typical is a massive limestone burial chamber with vaulted roof and lavishly decorated walls, built at the foot of a huge and deep main shaft. This is

connected with the surface by narrow vertical subsidiary shaft(s) and long horizontal passage(s) starting from the bottom; and one cannot omit the embalmer's deposit strictly situated to the southern part, more precisely to the SW-corner of the funeral complex. And I would like to stress the latter feature especially, because it seems – judging from our research – that location of embalming remnants had direct connection with religious texts depicted on the southern walls of the burial chamber. Here, beside a list of offerings, a series of Spells from the Pyramid Texts mentioning resurrection were clearly identified. My central concern here is to examine these particular Spells in both religious and cultural contexts, using the background in architectural disposition.

*Keywords:* Late Period – shaft tomb – burial chamber – Pyramid Texts – Embalmer's deposit

## **VARIA**

### **Hana Navratilova**

*Miscellanea Graffitica I*

**649**

*Abstract:* *Miscellanea Graffitica* fill in on different aspects of graffiti studies in the Memphite area. The paper revisits 1) aspects of graffiti research methodology and research history, 2) archived records of the texts from the temple of Userkaf including visitors' graffiti, and 3) a Ramesside figural graffito found in the pyramid complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur, which is part of an extensive graffiti corpus dating to the New Kingdom that includes both textual and figural graffiti. It is a testimony to ancient skill and craftsmanship and its unusual features resemble period ostraca produced in the communities of Western Thebes, including Deir el-Medina. The character of the drawing inspires a reading of the piece as a caricature or satirical portrait showing upturned ideals of Egyptian elites. The piece inspires hypotheses regarding not only assumed purposes (or lack of) of the drawing, but also its wider social setting. The apparent skill of the maker is also an indicator of his social position and invites speculations about the community of workmen or artists.

*Keywords:* Graffiti – visitors – draughtsmen – scribes – epigraphy – Memphis – New Kingdom

### **Christian Orsenigo**

*James E. Quibell records on Saqqara in the archives of Alexandre Varille*

**675**

*Abstract:* This paper provides an overview of some archival materials from James E. Quibell archive, which is preserved at the Università degli Studi di Milano (State University of Milan, Italy). This wealth of materials (more than 3500 photographic prints, notebooks, etc.) is the object of an on-going project supported by a grant from The Michela Schiff Giorgini Foundation started in 2014. The paper presents some general considerations that emerged from the analysis of the photographs and illustrates through some different case studies the importance of the discovery of this documentation as well as that of the handwritten one. Besides documenting the major discoveries made by Quibell in Saqqara, the archival materials preserved in Milan is precious not only for the archaeological research *stricto sensu*, but also for the history of antiquities collecting and provides plenty of information on how could be working in Saqqara at the beginning of the XXth Century.

*Keywords:* Egyptological Archives – Università degli Studi di Milano – James E. Quibell – Saqqara

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## Foreword

*Miroslav Bárta, Filip Coppens and Jaromír Krejčí*

The *Abusir and Saqqara* meetings have been organised already four times by the Czech Institute of Egyptology at the Charles University in Prague – in 2000, 2005, 2010 and 2015 (Bárta and Krejčí, eds. 2000; Coppens, ed. 2002; Bárta, Coppens and Krejčí, eds. 2005 and Bárta, Coppens and Krejčí, eds. 2011). Over the years this event has become an established tradition to look forward to. Indeed, taking place every five years, it has developed into an effective and informative platform bringing scholars up to date with the most recent developments in the field, at Abusir and Saqqara in particular, but also taking into consideration the neighbouring pyramid fields as well as all other evidence and research relevant for gaining a better understanding of the primary subject of the conference. Scholars of Egyptian archaeology, philology, art history, anthropology, natural sciences and other disciplines active on the pyramid fields, but also colleagues whose works elsewhere has an impact on the history of the pyramid fields, meet for a week to discuss the latest development and discoveries in their respective fields and establish further cooperation.

It was not different during the last meeting that took place in Prague during June 22–26, 2015. In the present volume we offer 43 contributions by 53 scholars covering different fields and periods. The overwhelming number of the 31 contributions is dedicated to various aspects of Old Kingdom archaeology and most present specific aspects linked with archaeological excavations, both past and present. The successive period of the Middle Kingdom is represented by three studies; the New Kingdom period features four and the Late Period three articles, respectively. Finally, the volume is closed with two more studies which cannot be strictly dated to a specific period. The very nature of the individual contributions reflects well the current situation in Egyptology characterized by a focus on archaeology, the theory of artefacts, iconographic and art historian studies, and the research of largely unpublished archival materials. What is – rather unfortunately given the present state of affairs – in great demand are multidisciplinary projects making use of the current hi-tech standards in world archaeology. Such projects in most cases fail due to the current restrictions in sampling strategies and subsequent analyses, unlike, for instance, in Sudanese archaeology. As long as this situation persists, hardly any significant progress in the current quality of Egyptian archaeology and Egyptology in general can be envisaged.

The final but perhaps most important and heartfelt words are going to our dear colleague and friend Nicole Alexanian. This fine German scholar and close friend of many of us was made to leave this world too early. She devoted her professional career to the study of the Old Kingdom period, site, tombs and the Dahshur pyramid field in particular. She was the author of many stimulating articles and studies and a monograph on the tomb of Netjeraperef. In accord with her family, we take the liberty to dedicate the present volume to her. We are convinced that her name and memory will remain everlasting and will thus fulfil one of the most important wishes of the Ancient Egyptians – achieving endless and blessed presence through your deeds and thoughts. It is the very hope of the editors that she would enjoy the current volume and discussions on many themes emerging through the rich collection of the texts presented below.

It is probably not out of place here to thank all the contributors for their cooperation during the editorial process. Our sincere thanks go to Jolana Malátková and Martin Odler for their invaluable help during the preparation of the volumes and to the Serifa publishing house. We also wish to thank all members of our institute for their help and encouragement.

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2000 *Abusir and Saqqara in the year 2000*. Archiv orientální. Supplementa 9. Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Oriental Institute, Prague.

Coppens, F., ed.

2002 *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2001. Proceedings of the Symposium (Prague, September 25<sup>th</sup> – 27<sup>th</sup> 2001)*, Archiv Orientální Supplementa 70.3 (Prague 2002), 261–425.

Bárta, M., Coppens, F. and Krejčí, J., eds.

2006 *Abusir and Saqqara in the year 2005. Proceedings of the conference held in Prague, June 27-July 5, 2005*. Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, Prague.

Bárta, M., Coppens, F. and Krejčí, J., eds.

2011 *Abusir And Saqqara In The year 2005. Proceedings of the conference held in Prague, May 30 – June 4, 2010 (2 volumes)*. Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, Prague.



# Toward a prosopography of New Kingdom tomb owners in the Memphite necropolis

Nico Staring

## Introduction

This contribution takes as its point of departure the observation that the relationship between individual tombs in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara is still poorly understood and that no coherent internal patterns have been established (cf. Raven 2000). The organisation of this vast elite necropolis and the spatial distribution of tombs therein are here studied by analysing the prosopographical data of the tomb owners.

The subject of this article ties in with my PhD research project carried out at Macquarie University (2012–2015). Various aspects pertaining to this necropolis were studied: from the early nineteenth century exploration of the site to the use of sacred space by analysing visitors' graffiti. Since the structure is based on the "thesis by publication" model (Staring 2015b), the results are published elsewhere (e.g. Staring 2014–2015; 2015a, 2016). The unpublished section 6 of the thesis comprises a catalogue of New Kingdom tomb owners at Saqqara. It was designed as a "database" to store as much information as possible about the Saqqara New Kingdom tombs and their owners (at present 448 individuals).

The nature of the data collected in the catalogue creates a useful research tool. In the present article, I would therefore like to present the structure and content of this catalogue to a wider scholarly audience, thereby demonstrating the possible lines of inquiry resulting from it. The study is presented as a preliminary report: a more in-depth analysis of the data is forthcoming.

## Prosopography: preliminaries

This study takes as its point of departure the basic prosopographical data pertaining to 448 individuals belonging to the higher echelons of New Kingdom society who built substantial tomb structures at Saqqara. These individuals are listed (in Egyptian alphabetical order) in the catalogue of my PhD thesis. Each entry is identified by an index number. The numbers were introduced to enable cross-referencing within the catalogue. The heading to each entry also contains the main title by which the official is either commonly identified in the scholarly literature, or it is the official's "most important" or supposedly highest ranking title.

Each entry is structured to contain the following basic information: TOMB NUMBER; NAME; TITLE(S); DATE; PROVENANCE; details regarding the DISCOVERY of the tomb (elements); REMAINS (the elements by which a tomb and its owner are identified); COMMENTS; BIBLIOGRAPHY.

[011]	<i>ḫ3-nfr</i>	Royal Butler
<b>Tomb. No.</b>	ST 105	
<b>Name</b>	Ianefer	
<b>Title(s)</b>	[B] <i>wb3 nsw w' b' c. wwy</i>	
<b>Date</b>	Nineteenth Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
<b>Provenance</b>	Saqqara, South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area	
<b>Discovered</b>	Cairo University expedition, 1984–88	
<b>Remains</b>	<u>0. Tomb structure</u>	
	• Tomb superstructure constructed of limestone blocks	
<b>Comments</b>		
<b>Bibliography</b>	TAWFIK 1991, 406, fig. 1, pl. 57[c].	

Fig. 1. Example of a catalogue entry: No. [011] Royal Butler, Ianefer (tomb ST 105).

One of the biggest challenges in composing the catalogue was to establish a complete list of tombs that have been excavated at Saqqara. Despite the fact that the Memphite necropolis has received scholarly attention since the mid-nineteenth century, there is at present not a single source to provide a complete overview of New Kingdom tombs (including those that are today “lost”). The 2<sup>nd</sup> Revised Edition of the *Topographical Bibliography* of Porter and Moss (1978) presents the most comprehensive source of Saqqara New Kingdom tombs currently available.<sup>1</sup> The modern, large-scale and systematic excavation of the New Kingdom necropolis south of the Unas causeway had only started a few years before the publication appeared. Forty years of archaeological research within the larger Saqqara plateau has of course yielded an enormous amount of new data to supplement the entries in PM III/2.

As opposed to e.g. the Theban necropoleis, the New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara have never been systematically numbered. There are, however, various numbering systems that were introduced by archaeological expeditions working at Saqqara, past and present. These systems usually apply only to the isolated concession areas and do not take into account the wider necropolis as a whole. The numbering systems include those introduced by:

- The Mission archéologique française du Bubasteion (MAFB), working in the cliffs of the southern escarpment of the later Bubasteion since 1980: Nos. Bub. I.1–27 and Bub. II.1–7 (Zivie 2013, pl. I).
- Victor Loret, excavating in 1897–1899 on behalf of the *Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* in the area north of the pyramid of Teti. The New Kingdom tomb structures were numbered 1–5 (Loret 1899).
- Karl Richard Lepsius, working at Saqqara in early 1843, numbered tombs of varying date: LS (Lepsius Saqqara) 1–31 (*LD Text*, I, 139–186).
- Tomb structures and simple burials excavated by James Quibell in 1912–1914 in the area north of the pyramid of Teti were numbered (2600s and 2700s) (Quibell and Hayter 1927). The area overlaps with that excavated by Loret.
- The archaeological mission of Cairo University working in the necropolis south of the Unas causeway in 1984–1988 introduced ST (Saqqara Tombs) numbers (Nos. 0–9; 101–108; 201–219) (Tawfik 1991). The current Cairo University mission working in the same concession area since 2005 continues numbering the tombs in this manner (El-Aguizy 2007).
- The Macquarie University archaeological mission focusing on the New Kingdom levels in the area north of the pyramid of Teti introduced the TNM (Teti Cemetery North, Middle Section) New Kingdom tomb numbering, Nos. 1–4 (Ockinga 2011; 2012).

The Leiden-Turin archaeological mission (formerly the EES/Leiden mission) working since 1975 in the area south of the Unas causeway does not use a systematic tomb-numbering system.<sup>2</sup>

The introduction of a new and all-encompassing numbering system of tombs at Saqqara comparable to that employed in Thebes (cf. Kampp 1996, 139–143) is certainly a *desideratum*.

<sup>1</sup> The first edition was published in 1931. It covered the New Kingdom necropolis south of the Unas causeway in as little as 4 pages (175–178).

<sup>2</sup> In 1999, a numbering system was introduced to designate various archaeological features (shafts, walls, floors, etc.). It does not refer to tomb structures exclusively. The tomb of Mery-Neith (Mariette H9), for example, was initially designated feature 2001/7, but the number is never referred to in publication (Raven and Van Walsem 2014, 335–338).

## Methodological considerations

### Sources

The tombs and tomb-elements included in PM III/2 provided the point of departure for the collection of data. These were then supplemented with information contained in preliminary reports and final publications of archaeological missions that were/are active at Saqqara, museum and exhibition catalogues, and additional studies covering subjects pertaining to the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara. In addition, unpublished material excavated by the Leiden archaeological mission working in the area south of the Unas causeway, covering the years 2007–2014, was accessed in the archive of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.<sup>3</sup>

Tomb owners are ideally identified by the physical presence of a tomb structure, i.e. *in situ* on the Saqqara plateau. The catalogue contains references to the actual tomb structures of 87 individuals,<sup>4</sup> which represents as little as 19.4% of the total number of individuals listed. The majority of tomb owners are thus represented by a selection of tomb elements and/or funerary objects recording a name and/or title. These elements were found either during the modern excavation of the site – in which case the approximate location of the tomb can be established with good certainty – or their removal from the original context was not documented and the monuments found their way into public or private collections around the world – in which case information regarding their provenance is lost.

As a rule, the catalogue contains only objects with a secure Memphite provenance. Studying and reviewing all of those relief-decorated blocks, stelae, architectural elements, objects, etc. with an uncertain provenance would have been a huge task which is beyond the scope of the present study. However, it is hoped that the present study may form the point of departure for such an undertaking.

Relief-decorated blocks, statues, architectural elements, stelae, and burial equipment (sarcophagi) can serve as indicators for the supposed presence of a tomb at Saqqara. Funerary objects such as canopic jars and shabtis are problematic, as they could have been deposited (by the living) in the tombs of others (Franzmeier 2014, 176–178), or they could have been deposited elsewhere in the necropolis (e.g. the Serapeum or on the desert surface at Rosetau: Schneider 1977, 268–289). These objects need not necessarily indicate the presence of a tomb. Therefore, shabtis and canopic jars were not considered for inclusion in the catalogue unless the presence of a tomb had already been established by means of other objects or tomb-elements.

The tomb-elements are divided into the following categories:

0. Tomb structure; I. Reliefs; II. Statues; III. Architectural elements; IV. Stelae; V. Burial equipment; VI. Offering tables; VII. Extra sepulchral; VIII. Varia.

### Names

Various names, such as Ptahmose (16 entries), were relatively popular at Memphis during the New Kingdom. It cannot be excluded that certain homonymous officials in fact turn out to represent one and the same individual. Conversely, the tomb-elements and objects attributed to multiple individuals may in fact belong to one person bearing the same titles. The identification is complicated further due to the generally fragmentary state of the inscriptional evidence. In case of doubt, and without the availability of circumstantial evidence (e.g. iconographical indications),

<sup>3</sup> I thank Prof. Maarten Raven for allowing me access to the material and Peter Jan Bomhof for assistance with photographic material.

<sup>4</sup> The presence at Saqqara of a number of these tombs was recorded in the past and their location is lost since.

homonymous officials are listed as separate individuals. Composite names, such as Amenhotep Huy, are often abbreviated (e.g. Huy), which again complicates the identification of individuals.

The majority of relief blocks and other inscriptional and/or iconographical material at our disposal represent a small fraction of the tombs' total decoration programmes. It is often difficult to ascertain whom the names and titles recorded on relief fragments belong to. Some individuals may in fact turn out to be secondary figures who were mentioned or depicted in the tomb of someone else, for example a family member or someone otherwise affiliated with the tomb owner.

### **Titles**

All titles held by the individual tomb owners were collected. For the purpose of this study, every individual title has been listed separately instead of giving complete title sequences. The titles held by a single official could be recorded in quite different compositions. The resulting title sequences may thus present only a selection of the titles an individual once held.

Egyptian titles can be assigned to three broad types:

1. Occupational titles: titles of office, denoting a profession;
2. Titles of rank: denoting the position in the hierarchy of a particular occupational sector;
3. Honorific titles or epithets.

It is not always clear to the modern scholar what type a certain title belongs to.

For the purpose of this study, the titles have been divided into six broad categories, numbered [A]–[F]. This subdivision follows that employed by G.T. Martin and J. van Dijk in the tomb publications of the (former EES/)Leiden archaeological mission at Saqqara (see e.g. Martin 2012, 60–2). The subdivision makes a distinction between the Honorific titles, [A], and the titles of rank and office: [B] General administration; [C] Scribal; [D] Public works, crafts; [E] Sacerdotal; [F] Military.

Of course a more detailed subdivision is possible and perhaps even desirable. The General administration [B] could be further divided into e.g. the granary, treasury, temple administration, royal palace, etc. (cf. Staring 2015, tables 2–4).

It should be acknowledged that not every title may perfectly fit into one specific category, and that the categories are not mutually exclusive either. After all, the subdivision is a modern one and it may not necessarily comply with the subdivision an ancient Egyptian would have made. The honorific epithet “One greatly praised by the Lord of the Two Lands” (*hs.y ʕ n.y nb B.wy*), for example, will have been an expression of prestige and honour. It does not provide us with any information about the holder's occupation, but it does point to a certain favourable position with respect to the king and the royal court. It stands to reason that there is a degree of proportionality between the elevated position held within the administration and the number or type of honorific titles or epithets received by an official. Additionally, certain honorific titles may have been available exclusively to officials who were active in certain sectors of the administration (e.g. temple versus civil administration).

### **Dating**

A tombs' date normally follows that indicated by PM III/2 or proposed by the excavator. Where a date has been adjusted as a result of more recent research, and when it has received scholarly consensus, the “new” date has been adopted. In case of discussion, the “old” date and the later suggestion are both indicated. The large number of tomb owners who are only approximately dated, i.e. into a certain dynasty or narrower time-frame (e.g. Eighteenth Dynasty, late), indicate that there is still much work to be done in developing more precise dating criteria. A total number of 345 tomb owners are known by their title, and only 149 (43.2%) of them have been dated more or less precisely into the reign of one or more kings.

### The Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis

The modern-day archaeological site derives its name from the nearby village of Saqqāra, located at the foot of the southern end of the escarpment (Haarmann 1995). The Ancient Egyptians employed a range of toponyms to refer to (specific locations on) the vast desert plateau (such as e.g. *ḥꜥ-ḥꜣ.wy*, “Life of the Two Lands”). Saqqara is located c. 20 km south of the city centre of modern-day Cairo and occupies the central part of the larger Memphite necropolis. It covers the slope of the *gebel* and elevated desert plateau 3 km west of Memphis and spreads over c. 6.2 km north to south, bordered by Abusir in the north and by Dahshur in the south.

To date, four main sections of the necropolis have been identified to contain clusters of tombs dated to the New Kingdom:

1. The eastern escarpment above Abusir Village;
2. The area north and east of the pyramid of king Teti;
3. The southern escarpment of the Bubastieion;
4. The area south of the Unas causeway.

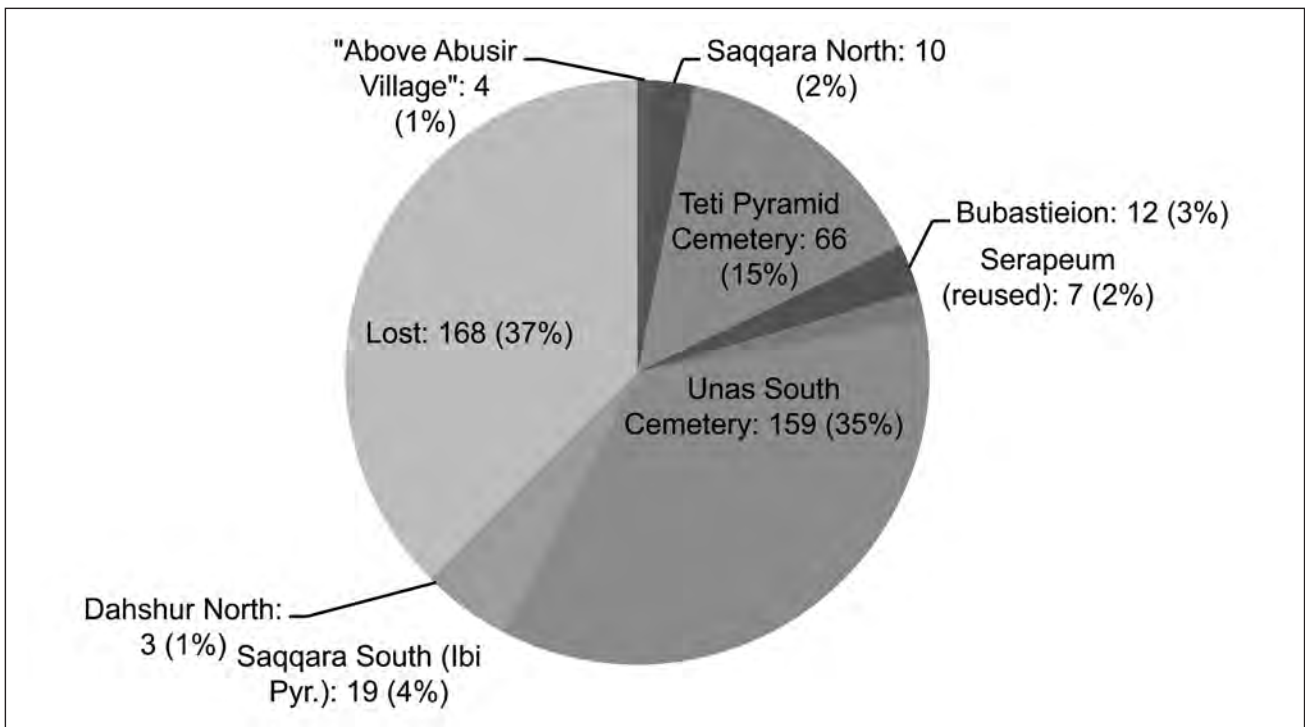
Although this patterning gives it the character of a scattered cemetery (cf. Tawfik 2003, 508), the complete eastern escarpment may have contained rock-cut tombs as well.<sup>5</sup>

Recent archaeological research has identified two additional locations with the material evidence of tomb clusters of New Kingdom date:

1. At Abusir-South, at the foot of a prominent limestone outcrop approximately 1 km north-west of the Serapeum (e.g. Yoshimura and Kawai 2010);
2. Further south, approximately 2 km north of the so-called Red Pyramid of Snofru (e.g. Yoshimura and Hasegawa 2000).

Fig. 2. Spatial distribution of tombs at Saqqara.

The pie chart of figure 2 shows the spatial distribution of tombs and funerary objects pertaining to the tomb owners of New Kingdom date in the Memphite necropolis.



<sup>5</sup> Compare this patterning to the map of Saqqara produced by De Morgan (1897). See also Málek 1989, 61 n. 3; Martin 2000, 120.

According to this chart, the main areas selected for tomb construction were the Teti Pyramid Cemetery and the Unas South Cemetery. It is difficult to ascertain whether these numbers reflect the actual use of the necropolis during the New Kingdom. The area south of the Unas causeway has been the subject of large-scale excavations both in the early to mid-nineteenth century, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and again from 1975 onwards. The 159 “tombs” found in this area include not only the well known monumental “temple-tombs”, such as that of Horemheb (65 m. long), but also humbler graves marked only by a stela. A large number of tombs is virtually located in this area: their location is lost but the provenance of tomb elements held in museum collections have a secure provenance. Excavations in other areas, such as Dahshur North, have begun more recently.

One should note that little is known about past activities in the escarpment of the Saqqara plateau south of the Bubastieion and continuing down to the *Ras el-Gisr* (Quibell 1908, 63). One may hypothesize that the cliffs contain the rock-cut tombs of the High Priests of Ptah: situated in full view of the temple of Ptah located a mere 3 km. to the east. This study has collected the material remains of at least 13 tombs of High Priests. One tomb is located in the cemetery south of the Unas causeway (ST 0: Neferrenpet), and the remains of another three were found in the same general area (Pahemnefer, Hori, and Khaemwaset).

### Overview of titles: numbers

The officials included in the catalogue add to a total of 1576 titles. This number is made of 931 different titles. It indicates that a relatively small number of titles is held by two or more individuals. The fact that so many titles occur only once may seem surprising. The outcome is partly due to the fact that the variations of a single title are each counted separately. For example the title *im.y-r3 mšc* ([F], n=5), the military title commonly translated as General, can be expanded to: *im.y-r3 mšc wr* (n=4); *im.y-r3 mšc wr n.y nb t3.wy* (n=4); *im.y-r3 mšc wr n.y nsw* (n=1); *im.y-r3 mšc n.y nb t3.wy* (n=2). In addition, the same basic title has also been listed in category [D] (public works, crafts), where *im.y-r3 mšc (wr) m pr.w Pth* is understood not as (Great) General, but as (Great) Overseer of the troops (i.e. workforce) in the temple of Ptah (Staring 2015a). In category [A] (honorific title), we find a range of epithets starting with *hs.y* (ꜥ) *n.y* followed by various synonyms of the king, such as *nb t3.wy*, *nb=f*, *ntr nfr*, which may be followed by the reason why someone was praised by the king: *hs.y n.y nsw hr bi.t=f nfr.t*, “on account of his perfect character”.

The following titles were recorded in 10 tombs or more:

[A] *ir.y-pꜥ.t*, Hereditary Prince (n=10); *ir.y-pꜥ.t h3.ty-ꜥ.w*, Hereditary Prince and Count (n=42); *hs.y ꜥ n.y ntr nfr*, One greatly honoured by the Perfect God (i.e. the king) (n=15); *hs.y n.y ntr nfr*, One honoured by the Perfect God (n=16); *smr wꜥ.ty*, Sole Friend (n=22); *h3m.ty-bi.ty*, Seal Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt (n=20); *t3y-hw hr wnm.y n.y nsw*, Fan Bearer on the right side of the King (n=17).

[B] *im.y-r3 pr.w*, Steward (n=26); *im.y-r3 pr.w-hd*, Overseer of the Treasury (n=10); *im.y-r3 pr.w wr*, Great Steward (n=15); *im.y-r3 niw.t t3.ty*, Vizier (n=10).

[C] *sš*, Scribe (n=10); *sš nsw*, Royal Scribe (n=72); *sš nsw mꜥꜥ mr.y=f*, True Royal Scribe whom he (i.e. the king) loves (n=36).

[E] *it-ntr mr.y ntr*, God’s Father beloved of the god (n=11); *sm wr-hrp-hmw.w*, Sem Priest and Greatest of Directors of Craftsmen (i.e. High Priest of Ptah) (n=12).

The titles that are most frequently listed in category [D] are: *hr.y nby.w*, Chief Goldsmith (n=7) and *hr.y nbw.w n.w nb t3.wy*, Chief of Goldsmiths of the Lord of the Two Lands (n=7).

The most common military title, category [F], is *hr.y pd.t*, Chief of Bowmen (Troop Commander) (n=6).

The number of titles borne per individual varies considerably. When an official is attested by a single object such as a stela, the number of titles recorded is generally rather small. One may think that officials who are known by a greater number of monuments, such as a complete tomb, are able to present a longer list of titles. The example of the tomb of Ptahemwia, rediscovered by the Leiden archaeological mission in 2007, tempers this assumption. Despite the fact that a considerable number of relief-decorated revetment blocks were found *in situ* and scattered in and around his tomb, he only held the one title of office: [B] *wb3 nsw wꜥb ꜥ.wwy*, Royal Butler, clean of hands. In addition, he held at least seven honorific titles (Raven *et al.* 2006–2007).

Some of the highest ranking officials, who were among the most prominent residents of Memphis, produced quite impressive lists of titles. The Generalissimo Horemheb managed to acquire the most: 93. The “top 3” is completed by the Overseer of the Treasury (*temp.* Tutankhamun–Horemheb), Maya (n=77) and the Mayor of Memphis (*temp.* Seti I–Ramesses II), Ptahmose (n=52).

The general distribution of titles is presented in table 1. It lists the number of different titles per category and the number of tombs in which these titles were recorded.

**Table 1.** General distribution of titles.

Category	No. titles	% titles	No. tombs	% tombs
A	278	29.9 %	109	24.3 %
B	277	29.8 %	177	39.5 %
C	95	10.2 %	143	31.9 %
D	81	8.7 %	51	11.4 %
E	149	16 %	78	17.4 %
F	51	5.5 %	36	8 %
Unknown	n/a	n/a	95	21.2 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>931</b>		<b>448</b>	

A few preliminary general remarks can be made. First, the variety of titles is clearly linked to the number of tombs in which they are attested. The only category presenting a deviating result is [C]. There, the number of individual titles is lower than the number of tombs. The category includes the title *sꜥ nsw*, Royal Scribe, which marks the starting point in the careers of many high officials. Titles relating to scribal offices account for nearly one-third of the tombs.

It is also interesting to note that categories [A] and [B] each represent nearly one-third of the total number of titles. When their numbers are compared to the tombs in which they are recorded, a slight difference becomes apparent. The titles pertaining to the general administration are attested in nearly 39.5% of the tombs at Saqqara, while the honorific titles are less common with 24.3%. The latter figure in particular is noteworthy. Whereas the facts that an individual bore a title and that he had the financial means to erect a stone-made funerary monument in this necropolis already indicates he belonged to the highest echelons of society, it was by no means guaranteed that he was granted a honorific epithet.

The number of titles included in categories [D] and [F] are relatively low. The small number of tombs in which military titles are recorded is surprising, given the fact that they include some of the men that dominate the scholarly literature (e.g. Horemheb and Amenemone).

The number of sacerdotal titles [E] may seem high. They do not, however, necessarily represent individuals who were in their primary occupation priests. Officials who were

otherwise employed exclusively in the civil administration, for example, could also bear a title such as Festival Conductor (*sšm.w-ḥb*) of a certain deity.

### Overview of titles: spatial distribution

The spatial distribution of titles is presented in tables 2 and 3. The main focus of this study is on the cemeteries at Saqqara; the data from Saqqara South, Dahshur North, and Saqqara North are here collected under the label “other”. The “lost” tombs include those that are represented by monuments from the Memphite necropolis for which the exact provenance is not known.

Table 2 gives the spatial distribution of all titles; no distinction has been made between primary occupation and additional, assorted titles. The number of tombs in each area of the Saqqara necropolis has been indicated below in brackets.

It is not surprising to observe that the cemetery south of the Unas causeway yields the largest numbers of titles. Perhaps most striking is the small number of honorific titles [A] recorded in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery. The 66 tombs located in this area account for only eight such titles. Does this number reflect the status of this part of the necropolis and, by extension, provides an indication of the status of the officials who built their tombs there? In order to answer this question properly, one should also take into consideration the chronological distribution of titles. While the monumental, late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty temple-tombs in the Unas South Cemetery generally produce long lists of titles, the same section of the necropolis also contains humbler structures of later Nineteenth Dynasty date built against and in between the monuments of their predecessors. One should take the diachronic development into consideration in order to attain a more balanced view. In the present contribution I will limit myself to a more general discussion.

Table 2. Spatial distribution of titles: Total numbers.

Category	“Above Abusir”	Teti Pyr. Cemetery	Bubastieion	Unas South	Other	Lost	Total
A	–	8	43	280	3	148	<b>482</b>
B	2	30	28	221	13	158	<b>452</b>
C	1	28	9	103	16	83	<b>240</b>
D	–	12	5	57	4	35	<b>113</b>
E	1	11	3	96	6	94	<b>211</b>
F	1	3	5	30	3	36	<b>78</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>5 (4)</b>	<b>92 (66)</b>	<b>93 (12)</b>	<b>787 (159)</b>	<b>45 (39)</b>	<b>554 (168)</b>	<b>1576</b>

Table 3. Spatial distribution of primary titles of office.

Category	“Above Abusir”	Teti Pyr. Cemetery	Bubastieion	Unas South	Other	Lost	Total
B	2	20	9	57	10	72	<b>170</b>
C	–	13	2	15	5	23	<b>58</b>
D	–	8	1	9	3	15	<b>36</b>
E	1	4	–	20	4	21	<b>50</b>
F	–	3	–	13	1	14	<b>31</b>
Unknown	1	18	–	45	16	23	<b>103</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>168</b>	<b>448</b>

Table 3 presents the distribution of titles by which the tomb owners are commonly identified, i.e. their supposed main titles of office. The sometimes extensive sequences are now reduced to a single title. Doing so is not without problems, because how should one decide which was the “main” or highest ranking title? Fortunately, there



are only few instances in which the choice is difficult to make. The overview necessarily excludes the honorific titles because these do not provide an insight into the individual's day to day occupation. The numbers in this table are also projected on the map of Saqqara (Fig. 3), which gives a clear overview of the distribution of tombs based on their owners' occupations.

Since the Teti Pyramid Cemetery and the Unas South Cemetery are most prominently represented in terms of tomb numbers, an analysis of the distribution patterns focuses mainly on these two areas. When looking at these figures, one should again bear in mind that the diachronic perspective has not been represented; possible changes over time cannot be deduced from these figures.

In general terms, the distribution of titles does not differ fundamentally when comparing the two main cemeteries. In both, the main titles pertaining to general administration [**B**] account for one-third of the tomb owners: in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery 30% and in the Unas South Cemetery 36%. If one were to analyse the titles in more detail, it would become clear that the two cemeteries are composed of two rather different populations: the officials in the south are in general of higher rank. The southern cliff of the Bubastieion also contains the tombs of some of the most elevated court officials, including the Vizier of the North, Aper-El (Bub. I.1). In the course of the Ramesside period, the composition in the Unas South Cemetery becomes more heterogeneous with an increasing number of "lower" ranking officials.

With 20% against 9%, scribes are represented more prominently in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery than south of the Unas causeway. The same accounts for those employed in the public works and crafts: 12% against 6%. These figures support the assumption that the cemetery north of Teti's pyramid was utilised by officials of lower rank than those in the south. The scribes, such as for example Mose (Loret No. 5), Scribe of the Treasury of Ptah (Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II), will have been employed in the temple treasury managed by an official buried south of the Unas causeway, perhaps the contemporary Chief Steward of Ptah and Overseer of the Treasury of Ptah, Mahu (ST 218).

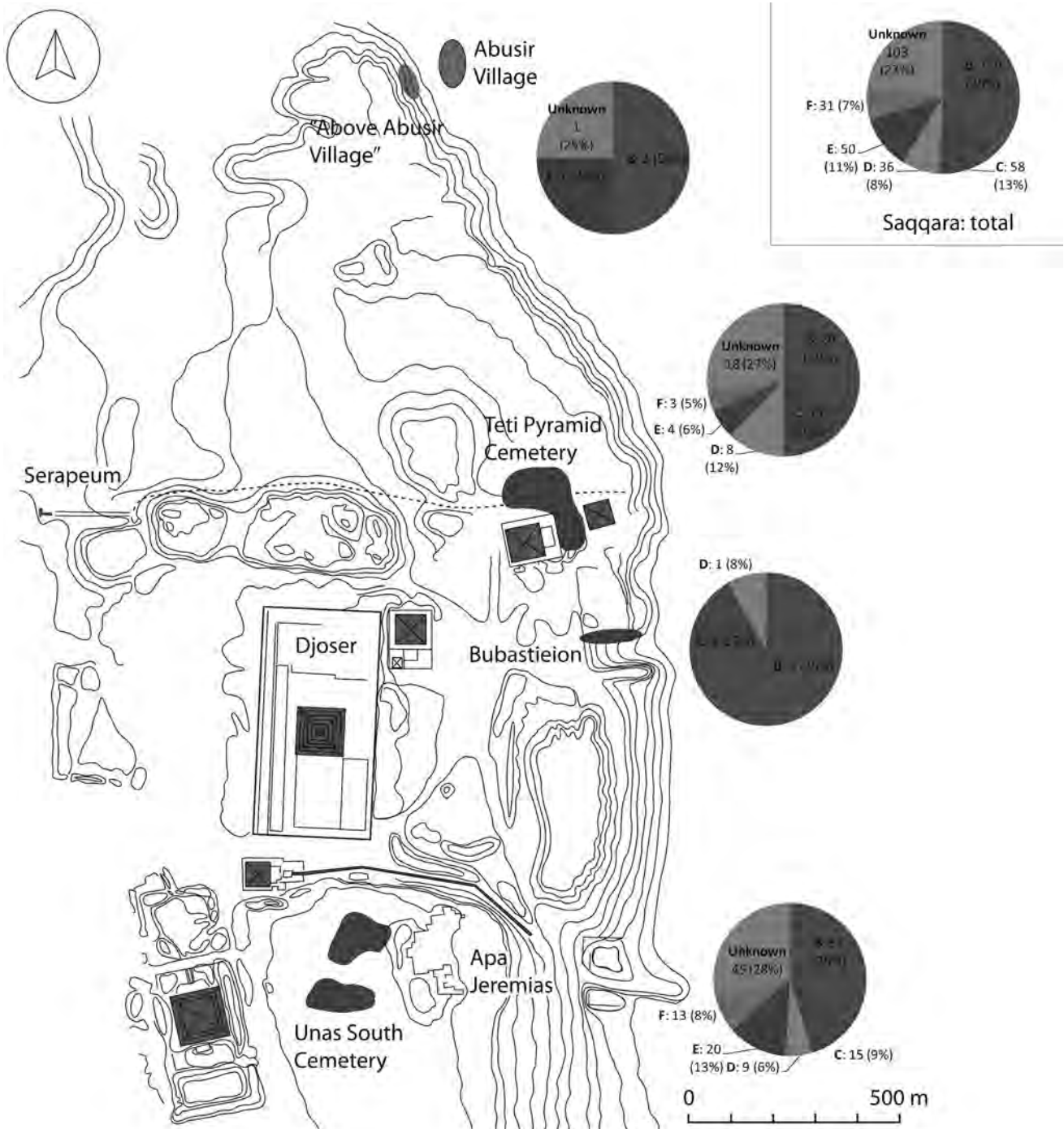
The distribution of priestly titles shows a rather different pattern. Priests are more commonly observed in the south than they are in the north (13% to 6%). The priests in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery include two *Wab* Priests, and the Unas South Cemetery includes two Overseers of *Wab* Priests. The latter area additionally includes at least five High Priests of Ptah. It is clear, then, that the higher ranking priests chose to be buried in the south rather than in the north.

The military offices do not differ much when comparing the two cemeteries. As will be observed below, military officials of higher rank preferred the Unas South Cemetery.

Drawing together these preliminary observations, it becomes clear that while the general composition of the two main cemeteries at Saqqara ("Teti" and "Unas") in terms of sectors of the administration is quite comparable, differences become apparent when considering the ranks held by the officials. The Unas South Cemetery contains the tombs of higher ranking officials than those located in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery. Adding a diachronic perspective to this analysis would shed light on possible changes over time. In the two sections below, one category [**D**] and one profession, Royal Butler, will be analysed in more detail.

*Close-up: Public works, Crafts [D]*

The officials that have their primary occupation in the domain of the Public works and Crafts represent 8% (n=36) of tomb owners (or 10.4% of owners with a known title). The spatial distribution indicates a slight preference for the Teti Pyramid Cemetery where 10 tombs are located. The tombs cover the time period of the late Eighteenth Dynasty (*temp.* Tutankhamun) to the Ramesside period. They include Apuia (S2730; Quibell and Hayter 1927) and Amenemone (Loret No. 2; Ockinga 2004),



both of whom were Chief Goldsmith of the Lord of the Two Lands. The early Ramesside tomb of the Overseer of Craftsmen of the Lord of the Two Lands, Neferher, was located nearby (PM III/559). The tomb owners of Ramesside date bear titles of lower rank. They include, amongst others, the Chief of Builders, Huy (PM III/2, 559; Radwan 1987, 225–226), two Outline Draughtsmen, Ptah-Sety (Dunham 1935, 148–149 (No. 2), pl. 17.2) and Sayempetef (Quibell 1908, 80 [5], pl. 36), and a Sculptor, Iry-iry (PM III/2, 572).

In the early Ramesside period, the highest ranking officials of this category “preferred” the Unas South Cemetery over the Teti Pyramid Cemetery. The officials attested in this area bear titles that characterize them exclusively as “Chiefs” or “Overseers” (n=9). The earliest dated tomb owner of category [D] in this area is the Overseer of Goldworkers of the Lord of the Two Lands (*im.y-r3 nby.w n.w nb t3.wy*), Iny (late

**Fig. 3. Distribution of tomb owners in the New Kingdom at Saqqara based on their main titles of office.**  
**Legend:** B. General administration; C. Scribal; D. Public works, crafts; E. Sacerdotal; F. Military titles.

Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty).<sup>6</sup> The others include three Chiefs of Goldsmiths (*hr.y nby.w*), Amenemheb (PM III/2, 669), Ptahemheb (PM III/2m 669) and Tatia (Raven *et al.* 2010), and the brothers Tjuneroy and Paser, who were Overseer of Works on All Monuments of the King (*im.y-r3 k3.t m mn.w nb n.y nsw*) and Overseer of Builders of the Lord of the Two Lands (*im.y-r3 kd.w n.w nb t3.wy*), respectively (Martin 1985).

A number of the lost tombs that belong to craftsmen could be assigned to the Unas South Cemetery on account of one specific additional title: *w<sup>c</sup>b n.y h3.t n.yt Pth*, Wab Priest of the front of (at the head of) Ptah (Staring 2016a). By analysing the spatial distribution and thereby recognising possible patterns of distribution based on occupation, it is possible to locate some of the lost tombs (see also below).

Outside the two main areas of the necropolis, the Bubastieion should also be mentioned. It contains the tomb (Bub. I.19) of the Chief of Outline Draughtsmen in the Place of Truth (*hr.y sš kd.w.t m S.t-M3<sup>c</sup>.t*), Thutmose (late Eighteenth Dynasty, Amenhotep III–Akhenaten: Zivie 2013). The stelae of two Ramesside Chisel Bearers of Amun (*t3y bš n.y Imn.w*) were found reused (in “modern times”) north-west of the pyramid of Ibi at Saqqara South (Jéquier 1935).

#### *Close-up: Royal Butlers [B]*

In discussions about the distribution of tombs at Saqqara, the example of the Royal Butlers (*wb3 nsw [w<sup>c</sup>b ˆ.wwy]*) is often quoted (e.g. Málek 1985, 50; Málek 1988, 136; Raven 2000, 136). Raven argues that “... [t]he royal butlers of the Ramesside period seem to have had a predilection for the cemetery near the Teti pyramid [...]. Yet three other royal butlers were buried in the area of the Cairo University excavations.”

The Royal Butlers are well represented by 18 officials documented in the available records (table 4).<sup>7</sup> They cover the time period from the late Eighteenth Dynasty (*temp.* Akhenaten) to the Twentieth Dynasty. Their tombs were located in three areas of the necropolis: the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, the Bubastieion, and the Unas South Cemetery. The exact provenance of four butlers who had their tomb at Saqqara is not known.

The Royal Butlers in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery (n=5) are indeed all of Ramesside date, reign of Ramesses II until the Twentieth Dynasty. However, one cannot conclude that there was a predilection for this area of the necropolis. Four out of five Royal Butlers buried in the Unas South Cemetery can also be dated to the (early) Ramesside period. In addition, the southern cliff of the Bubastieion contains the tombs of two butlers: Setesh (Bub. I.13) is the earliest recorded butler at Saqqara (reign Amenhotep III–Akhenaten; Zivie 2007, 62–63) and Parennutet (Bub. I.21; Zivie 2007, 62) is of late Nineteenth Dynasty date (reign Merenptah). The largest tomb is located at Dahshur South. The late Eighteenth Dynasty temple-tomb of Ipay (*temp.* Tutankhamun) measures approximately 47 m. in length, although no remains of its superstructure have been preserved (Yoshimura and Hasegawa 2000).

#### **Case study: The tomb of the General, Amenemone**

In this paper’s final section the lost tomb of Amenemone is used as a case study to demonstrate how the spatial distribution of titles can be used to determine the original location of lost tombs. By focusing on the spatial distribution of titles (as they are recorded in the tombs), the prosopographical data thus present a valuable research tool to better understand the organisation of the elite cemetery at Saqqara during the New Kingdom.

<sup>6</sup> Stela Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 15115 = TN 14.1.25.5, found by Mariette: Mariette 1872, 20, pl. 62.b. See also Gaballa 1977b, 125–126, pls 23.3, 23.A[2]; PM III/2, 667.

<sup>7</sup> Nebmerutef is not represented by a tomb or tomb-element, but by a faience plaque he had left in the second courtyard of the tomb of Horemheb (Schneider 1996, 17, No. 59, pls. 8, 55). A shabti inscribed with the same name, due west of the tomb of Paser, may have belonged to the same man (Martin 1985, Cat. 42, pl. 34).

Table 4. Overview of the Royal Butlers at Saqqara.

Name	Title	Other main title	Date	King	Provenience	Tomb
<i>T3-nfr</i>	<i>wb3 nsw w'fb 5.wwy</i>		D. 19	Ramesses II	Unas South – Cairo	ST 105
<i>ṯpꜣy</i>	<i>wb3 nsw w'fb 5.wwy</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w</i>	D. 18, Late	Tutankhamun	Dahshur North	
<i>ṯpw</i>	<i>wb3 nsw w'fb 5.wwy</i>		D. 18, Late	n/a	Lost	
<i>Wn=f-dd=sn</i>	<i>wb3 nsw n.y nb t3.wy / wb3 nsw tp.y (n.y) hm=f</i>		D. 19	Ramesses II	Teti Pyr. Cem.	
<i>P3-ṯtn-m-hb</i>	<i>wb3 nsw</i>		D. 18, Late	Horemheb	Lost	
<i>P3-n-Rm-wit</i>	<i>wb3 nsw w'fb 5.wwy / wb3 nsw tp.y</i>		D. 19	Merenptah	Bubastieion	Bub. I.21
<i>P3-R'c-m-hb / Km3</i>	<i>wb3 nsw w'fb 5.wwy</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 ʕhmw.ty</i>	D. 18, Late / D. 19	n/a	Lost	
<i>Pth-m-wi3</i>	<i>wb3 nsw w'fb 5.wwy</i>		D. 18, Late	Akhenaten – Tutankhamun	Unas South – Leiden	
<i>Nb-mw.t=f</i>	<i>wb3 nsw w'fb 5.wwy</i>	[B] <i>wr swmw n.y nb t3.wy</i>	D. 18, Late / D. 19	n/a	Unas South – Leiden	
<i>R'c-ms-s(w)-m-pr-R'c</i>	<i>wb3 nsw</i>	[B] <i>wb3 nsw ʕ n.y t n.yt hnk.t pr.w-ʕ ʕ.w.s (etc)</i>	D. 19	Ramesses II – Merenptah	Lost	
<i>Hri</i>	<i>wb3 nsw</i>		D. 20	Ramesses III/Ramesses IV	Teti Pyr. Cem.	
<i>Hk3-m3.t-R'c-nhḫ</i>	<i>wb3 nsw n.y nb t3.wy</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 ʕhmw.ty n.y nb t3.wy</i>	D. 20	n/a	Teti Pyr. Cem.	
<i>Swur</i>	<i>wb3 nsw</i>		D. 19	Ramesses II	Unas South – Cairo	ST 201
<i>Stḫ (4tḫ)</i>	<i>wb3 nsw w'fb 5.wwy</i>		D. 18, Late	Amenhotep III – Akhenaten	Bubastieion	Bub. I.13
<i>Stḫ-hr-wnm=f</i>	<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nb t3.wy</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nb t3.wy</i>	D. 19	Ramesses II	Teti Pyr. Cem.	
<i>Kn-hr-hpḫ=f</i>	<i>wb3 (wdpw)</i>		Ramesseide	n/a	Teti Pyr. Cem.	
<i>T3-s3-hwi wb3 nsw</i>	[B] <i>wr swmw m ʕt nsw</i>		D. 19	Ramesses II	Unas South – Cairo	ST 5
<i>Dḫw.ty (-?)</i>	/// <i>w'fb 5.wwy</i>		D. 18, Late / D. 19	n/a	Unas South – Leiden	

The tomb of the General (*im.y-r3 mšc wr n.y nb t3.wy*) Amenemone, dated to the late Eighteenth Dynasty reign of Horemheb, has received considerable attention in the scholarly literature.<sup>8</sup> In the nineteenth century, a large number of monuments deriving from his tomb were distributed to public and private collections around the world. The tomb's location is today lost.

In a study published in the first proceedings of the *Abusir and Saqqara* conference held in Prague, Djuževa (2000) drafted an updated list of relief fragments (n = 12) and architectural elements (n = 2) pertaining to the tomb of Amenemone.<sup>9</sup> She proposed to add to this corpus an additional five relief-decorated blocks, based on stylistic grounds.

The tomb of Amenemone was dismantled in the nineteenth century and its location was not documented. The only indication for the tomb's location is given by Richard Lepsius. His expedition camped at Saqqara for several weeks in early 1843. In the village of Abusir, a number of pharaonic relief-decorated blocks and architectural elements were noted, built into the houses (*LD Text I, 138–39: "Einzelne Steine im Dorfe Abusir verbaut"*). Two blocks were inscribed for Amenemone and these originated from his tomb (*LD Text I, 138, pl. III.29e*). The blocks later entered the antiquities market and were eventually purchased for the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (Copenhagen, *ÆIN 714–715*) in Egypt, 1890–1900 (Koefoed-Petersen 1956, 36–37, No 39, pls. 38–39). The fact that the blocks were reused in modern houses at Abusir led to the widely accepted assumption that the tomb should have been located nearby (e.g. Djuževa 2000, 79). In order to reinforce this suggestion, Djuževa argues that the cemetery north of Teti's pyramid contains the tombs of more military officials.

This hypothesis was strengthened by the results of the recent archaeological investigation of the eastern escarpment of the Saqqara plateau opposite Abusir village. A number of (partially) rock-cut tombs were discovered in the area. It includes the tomb of Nakht-Min, Ramesses II's Royal Messenger to All Foreign Lands<sup>10</sup> and First Charioteer (*ktn tp.y*) of His Majesty (Daoud 2011; Youssef 2011). The tomb of the anonymous "son of Say", the grandson of the High Priest of Ptah, Ptahemhat Ty, (*temp. Tutankhamun-Seti I; PM III/2 711–12*), is also said to be located "Above *Abûšîr village*" (cf. Gunn, Notebook 7, No. 43 [ii]; *PM III/2, 571–572*). Moreover, Say, the Priest of Bastet, is mentioned in the tomb of Pen-Amun, located in the same eastern escarpment (Youssef 2011, 85).

On account of the family relations, Zivie (1984, 200–203) and Gessler-Löhr (2012, 187–190) situate the tomb of Ptahemhat Ty (*PM III/2, 711–12*) in this area as well. The find of a fragment of the red quartzite pyramidion inscribed for a man named *///-emhat led Schneider* (1996, 93–94, NK 12) to believe that it belonged to the same High Priest, Ptahemhat Ty. In his view, the tomb was located in the cemetery south of the Unas causeway. That the tombs of members of the same family need not be located in the same area of the Saqqara plateau has been demonstrated recently by Oeters (2017). The chapel of Mose, Scribe of the Treasury of Ptah, is located in the Teti Cemetery North (Loret No. 5; *PM III/2, 554–5; Gaballa 1977a*), and that of his brother Tatia, Chief of Goldsmiths and *Wab* Priest of the front of Ptah, has been recently excavated in the cemetery south of the Unas causeway (Raven *et al.* 2010, 9–13).

A recently published find questions the seemingly strong connection between the find of blocks in Abusir and the location of a tomb in the adjacent part of the cemetery. In 1999, a large number of pharaonic blocks were found built into the foundation of two houses in the village of Menawat, located c. 5 km east of Abusir, in what would have been the north-west sector of New Kingdom Memphis (Johnson 2015). The find included relief-decorated blocks of New Kingdom date. Three fragments prove to originate from

<sup>8</sup> For extensive bibliographic references, the reader is referred to *PM III/2, 701*, Djuževa 2000, and Raue 1999, 158.

<sup>9</sup> For an earlier corpus of monuments, see: *PM III/2, 701–702*.

<sup>10</sup> The tomb of another Royal Messenger dated to the reign of Ramesses II was excavated in 2013 by an archaeological mission of Cairo University led by Dr Ola el-Aguizy, south of the Unas Causeway: <http://saqqara.fa-arch.cu.edu.eg/#>, accessed 16.12.2015.

the tomb of the Generalissimo, Horemheb. The blocks present a direct join to the relief decoration found *in situ* (cf. Martin 1989, pls. 18–19). Horemheb's tomb is obviously located at quite a distance from the place where the blocks were later reused.<sup>11</sup>

The spatial distribution of titles further challenges the proposed location of Amenemone's tomb in or near the Teti Pyramid Cemetery. At least three tombs of military men were located in the Teti cemetery: one Infantryman (*w<sup>c</sup>.w*), Remy (PM III/2, 572) and two Overseers of Horses (*im.y-r3 ssm.t*), Tjay (PM III/2, 553; Loret 1899, 99) and Amenemhat (PM III/2, 572). In addition, three tombs belonged to army scribes (*sš mš<sup>c</sup> n.y nb t3.wy*). Among the latter are tomb Loret No. 1 of Ahmose (Loret 1899, 11) and LS 12 = S 2735 (PM III/2, 556; *LD Text* I, 161; Quibell and Hayter 1927, 20–21, pl. II) of Huy. The tomb of Ahmose is located due east of the Old Kingdom mastaba of Ankhmahor. It was rediscovered in the 1980s by an archaeological mission of the former Egyptian Antiquities Organization (Málek 1989, 69).<sup>12</sup> The tomb of Huy was located south of the Old Kingdom tomb of Inumin. It was rediscovered by the archaeological mission of Macquarie University in 1994–1995 (see Ockinga 2012, 274–277, figs. 1–3). Both tombs are of late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty date and had an approach with stairway towards the courtyard.

The tombs of officials higher up the ranks of the military were located in the cemetery south of the Unas causeway. These include the Troop Commanders of the Lord of the Two Lands (*hr.y pd.t n.y nb t3.wy*), Suty (Raven 2005, 47, pl. 79 [75]: relief block) and Ramose (Martin 2001). The latter was also the Deputy of the Army (*idn.w n.y p3 mš<sup>c</sup>*) and he had his tomb constructed immediately north of his superior, Horemheb.

At least four Generals (*im.y-r3 mš<sup>c</sup> [wr]*) built their tombs in this part of the necropolis:

1. Nebmehyt (ST 7; Tawfik 1991, 405, fig. 1);
2. Iurokhy/Urhiya (LS 25; *LD Text*, I, 182; PM III/2, 661);
3. An anonymous official (Martin 1997, 49, No. 344, pl. 101);
4. Generalissimo (*im.y-r3 im.yw-r3 mš<sup>c</sup> nb t3.wy*) Horemheb (Martin 1989).

No. 3, the anonymous official, is attested on a limestone block found in or near the tomb of Tia, Overseer of the Treasury. Although the inscribed text is rather fragmentary, enough has been preserved to read the titles as *im.y-r3 mš<sup>c</sup>* and *im.y-r3 s[sm.t]*. The rare combination of both titles enables us to identify this man as Yupa, the son of Iurokhy (Staring 2014–2015, 76). Yupa's tomb is lost, but it is known by a number of monuments originating from it (see e.g. Ruffle and Kitchen 1979, 55–74, pls. 1–8).

Two more generals can be added to this list;

- Four stelae from the tomb of the General Kasa (Marseille, Musée d'archéologie Méditerranéenne 240–243; PM III/2, 745) passed through the hands of the antiquities dealer Solomon Fernandez (Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier 2012, 190). This dealer is known to have been involved in the excavation of various tombs located south of the Unas causeway and the subsequent sale of their tomb elements (Staring 2016).<sup>13</sup>
- The last General is Ramessesnakht (early Ramesses II; Berlandini 1979; Staring 2014–2015). He not only bears the military titles *im.y-r3 mš<sup>c</sup>* and *tsw-pd.t* (Commander of the Troops), but he was also Steward in the Ramesseum: *im.y-r3 pr.w m t[3] hw.t Wsr-mš<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup>.w-stp.n-R<sup>c</sup>.w m pr.w Imn.w hr imnt.t W3s.t*.

<sup>11</sup> Another block, now in Chicago's Oriental Institute Museum (OI 10591), presents a direct join to the Abusir blocks. Chicago OI 10591 was purchased in Cairo from Elie Albert Abemayor (1894–1954) by James Henry Breasted (1865–1935) in February 1920 (Martin 1979). It is possible that this block derived from the same hoard of blocks in Menawat (Johnson 2015).

<sup>12</sup> The tomb has remained unpublished. New Kingdom tombs excavated by the former EAO (later SCA) in this area of the necropolis are currently the subject of a study by Mr. Mohammad M. Youssef.

<sup>13</sup> Note, however, that Fernandez has also been active in the area north of the pyramid of Teti: see the Nineteenth Dynasty tomb of Mery-Re (LS 8), Head of Custodians, described by Lepsius (*LD Text*, I, 144, pl. 33).

In addition to his military titles, Amenemone can also be placed in the cemetery south of the Unas causeway on account of the titles pertaining to his involvement in the administration of a Memphite royal memorial temple (table 4). Amenemone was a Steward in the temple of Thutmosis III (*im.y-r3 pr.w m t3 hw.t Mn-hpr-R<sup>c</sup>.w*).<sup>14</sup> The Unas South Cemetery contains the tombs built for a number of officials who were affiliated with the royal memorial temples, including the Theban Ramesseum. Ptahemwia and Paraemheb were the Overseers of Cattle in the Ramesseum; Tia, Ptahemwia, Khay and Amenemone (ST 101) served there as Overseers of the Treasury; and Horemheb, Iurokhy (LS 25), Yupa, Amenemone (ST 101) and Nedjem were the (Chief) Stewards (Staring 2014–2015).

The high officials of Ramesses II's Memphite memorial temple were also buried in this area (Staring 2015a). The tombs of the (Chief) Stewards, Ptahmose, Nebnefer and Mahu (ST 218), have been excavated by the archaeological mission of Cairo University.

The connection between this section of the necropolis and the officials who were connected to the royal memorial temples has at least one certain precursor. The Chief Steward in Memphis (*im.y-r3 pr.w wr m Mn-nfr*), Amenhotep Huy, was responsible for the construction of Amenhotep III's Memphite temple "Nebmaatre United-with-Ptah".<sup>15</sup> The location of Huy's tomb was described by Amalia Sola, the wife of antiquities collector Giuseppe di Nizzoli, who managed the excavations at Saqqara on his behalf (Hayes 1938). Huy's quartzite stela was later found by Quibell in the ruins of the Monastery of Apa Jeremias, where it had been reused to form part of a stair (Quibell 1912, 6; 146, pl. 84).

The titles held by Amenemone related to the supervision of building projects present a final clue to place his tomb in the Unas South Cemetery. He was Overseer of works on all monuments of Upper and Lower Egypt (*im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t n.yt Šm<sup>c</sup>.w T3-mh.w*), Overseer of works in the house of Re (*im.y-r3 k3.t m pr.w R<sup>c</sup>.w*), and Overseer of all works of the king (*im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t n.yt nsw*). As has been observed above, some of the period's most prominent builders and supervisors of works had their tombs constructed in this section of the necropolis.<sup>16</sup> They included the Overseer of the Treasury, Maya (*temp.* Tutankhamun–Horemheb), who was *inter alia* Overseer of works in the Place of Eternity (*im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t [m] S.t-nhh*) and Overseer of all works of the king (*im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t n.t nsw*) (Martin 2012), and Ptahmose, who held the title Overseer of works in all monuments of his Majesty in Hutkaptah (Memphis) (*im.y-r3 k3.wt m mn.w nb n.y hm=f m hw.t-k3-Pth*) (Staring 2015a). In that capacity, Ptahmose will have been one of the officials responsible for the large-scale construction works in Memphis and its temple of Ptah early in the Nineteenth Dynasty (Seti I–Ramesses II) (Staring 2015a). Whether Amenemone had been involved in similar grand construction works is not known. The title does not provide us with more information as to exactly what construction works Amenemone had been occupied with in the temple of Re. However, as Raue (1999, 89–90, 158) has pointed out, the currently available evidence pertaining to Horemheb's activities in the temple of Re in Heliopolis solely point to restorations.

<sup>14</sup> The monuments on which the title had been recorded, include the relief-decorated blocks Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian 205; Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek ÆIN 714 and 715; and Museo Archaeologico Nazionale di Parma E 108.

<sup>15</sup> As can be gleaned from the autobiographical text recorded on his statue (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1913.163), found by Petrie within the temenos of the temple of Ptah: Petrie 1913, 33–36, pls. 78–80.

<sup>16</sup> One prominent builder of the Nineteenth Dynasty reign of Ramesses II constructed his partly rock-cut and partly freestanding tomb in the southern escarpment of the Bubastieion: Netjerwymes (also known as Parekhnuu; Bub. I.16) held the titles *im.y-r3 k3.t nb(.t)*, Overseer of all works, and *im.y-r3 k3.t m pr.w Pth*, Overseer of works in the temple of Ptah (Zivie 2007, 110–129).

Table 5. Titles held by the General, Amenemone.

A: Related to the king, royal court, and government (incl. honorific)	B: General administration
<i>ir.y-p<sup>c</sup>.t h3.ty-<sup>c</sup>.w</i>	<i>im.y-r3 pr.w m t3 h<sup>w</sup>.t Mn-hpr-R<sup>c</sup>.w</i>
<i>wr tp.y m Inb.w-h<sup>d</sup></i>	
<i>hr.y-ib n.y nsw</i>	
<i>hs.y ʕ3 n.y ntr nfr</i>	
<i>sr tp.y m Inb.w-h<sup>d</sup></i>	
C: Scribal	D: Public works, crafts
<i>sš nfr.w</i>	<i>im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t n.yt Sm<sup>c</sup>.w T3-mh.w</i>
<i>sš nsw</i>	<i>im.y-r3 k3.t m pr.w R<sup>c</sup>.w</i>
<i>sš nsw m3<sup>c</sup> mr.y=f</i>	<i>im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t n.yt nsw</i>
E: Sacerdotal	F: Military
<i>sšm.w-hb n.y M3<sup>c</sup>.t</i>	<i>im.y-r3 mš<sup>c</sup> wr</i>
	<i>im.y-r3 mš<sup>c</sup> wr n.y nb t3.wy</i>
	<i>whm.w nsw tp.y</i>
	<i>hr.y pd.t</i>

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