

STUDIES IN THE SAQQARA NEW KINGDOM NECROPOLIS

FROM THE MID-19TH CENTURY EXPLORATION OF THE SITE TO NEW INSIGHTS INTO THE LIFE AND DEATH OF MEMPHITE OFFICIALS, THEIR TOMBS AND THE USE OF SACRED SPACE

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by

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SUMMARY

This study is presented in the form of a ‘thesis by publication’ comprising published journal articles and conference proceedings. The articles are thematically linked to the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara and grouped in three interrelated sections.

This thesis sets as its main aim the study of the tombs, tomb owners and the use of sacred space in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara by examining, as a point of departure, the sources pertaining to the early exploration of the necropolis.

In the first section, unpublished archival material pertaining to the early, mid-Nineteenth Century exploration of the necropolis is studied. This includes the photographs taken by Théodule Devéria at Saqqara in 1859 capturing monuments that are today “lost”. Investigations into the collection histories of the individual objects enable a reconstruction of the history of dismantling the tombs.

The second section examines the inscriptional sources that offer biographical information about the early Nineteenth Dynasty tomb owners. The officials’ titles constitute the main data of research in this section. The rationale of the tombs’ spatial distribution is analysed by combining information pertaining to groups of officials covering a longer period of time and extending over the whole necropolis. The titles are also used to study aspects of the administration of the city, Memphis, and its temples.

The final section examines the actual use of the necropolis and the tombs therein. Due to the activities of the early explorers, few archaeological traces pertaining to past activities have remained for us to study *in situ*. The figural and textual graffiti that were left on the tombs’ stone elements offer the main data for research.

STATEMENT OF CANDIDATE

I certify that the work in this thesis entitled “Studies in the Saqqara New Kingdom Necropolis: From the mid-19th Century Exploration of the Site to New Insights into the Life and Death of Memphite Officials, Their Tombs and the Use of Sacred Space” has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree to any other university or institution other than Macquarie University.

I also certify that the thesis is an original piece of research and it has been written by me. Any help and assistance that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself have been appropriately acknowledged.

In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, consisting of a stylized, cursive initial 'N' followed by a long horizontal line.

Nico Theodorus Bernardus Staring

(Student ID 42577772)

14 September 2015

For my parents
And for my fiancé Karuna

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AAASH</i>	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
<i>ÄA</i>	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
<i>ÄAT</i>	Ägypten und Altes Testament
<i>ABPO</i>	Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest
<i>ACE</i>	Australian Centre for Egyptology
<i>AcOr</i>	Acta Orientalia
<i>ADAIK</i>	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo. Ägyptologische Reihe
<i>ÄF</i>	Ägyptologische Forschungen
<i>AJA</i>	American Journal of Archaeology
<i>Ä&L</i>	Ägypten und Levante
<i>AM</i>	Archeologie Magazine
<i>AOB</i>	Acta Orientalia Belgica
<i>AoF</i>	Altorientalische Forschungen
<i>APAAA</i>	Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association
<i>ArOr Supp</i>	Archív Orientální Supplementa series
<i>ASAE</i>	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
<i>ASE</i>	Archaeological Survey of Egypt
<i>AVDAIK</i>	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo
<i>BÄBA</i>	Beiträge zur Ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde
<i>BACE</i>	Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology
<i>BAe</i>	Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca
<i>BAR IS</i>	British Archaeological Reports International Series
<i>BdE</i>	Bibliothèque d'Étude
<i>BEHE SHP</i>	Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, IVe section: Sciences Historiques et Philologiques
<i>BEM</i>	Bulletin of the Egyptian Museum
<i>BES</i>	Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar
<i>BEStud</i>	Brown Egyptological Studies
<i>BIA</i>	Bulletin d'information archéologique
<i>Bibl. Eg.</i>	Bibliothèque Égyptologique contenant les œuvres des Égyptologues français
<i>BIE</i>	Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égyptien
<i>BIFAO</i>	Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale
<i>BiOr</i>	Bibliotheca Orientalis
<i>BMSAES</i>	British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan
<i>BSAE/ERA</i>	British School of Archaeology in Egypt / Egyptian Research Account
<i>BSAK</i>	Beiheft SAK
<i>BSFE</i>	Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie
<i>CAA</i>	Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum
<i>CAJ</i>	Cambridge Archaeological Journal
<i>CASAE</i>	Cahiers Supplément aux ASAE
<i>CdE</i>	Chronique d'Égypte
<i>CENiM</i>	Cahiers « Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne »
<i>CGC</i>	Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes de Musée du Caire
<i>CHANE</i>	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East

<i>CMET Collez</i>	Catalogo del Museo di Torino Collezioni
<i>CNMAL</i>	Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden
<i>CNWS</i>	Centre of Non-Western Studies Publications
<i>CRAIBL</i>	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres
<i>CRIPEL</i>	Cahier de recherches de l'Institut de la papyrologie et égyptologie de Lille
<i>DE</i>	Discussions in Egyptology
<i>DFIFAO</i>	Documents de Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire
<i>DGÖAW</i>	Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
<i>EA</i>	Egyptian Archaeology: The Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society
<i>EAO</i>	Égypte – Afrique et Orient
<i>EES ASM</i>	Egypt Exploration Society Archaeological Survey of Egypt Memoir
<i>EES EM</i>	Egypt Exploration Society Excavation Memoirs
<i>EES OP</i>	Egypt Exploration Society Occasional Publications
<i>ENiM</i>	Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne
<i>EU</i>	Egyptologische Uitgaven
<i>FIFAO</i>	Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire
<i>FuB</i>	Forschungen und Berichte
<i>GHE</i>	(Golden House) Egyptology
<i>GM</i>	Göttinger Miscellen: Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion
<i>GOF IV</i>	Göttinger Orientforschungen IV. Reihe Ägypten
<i>HÄB</i>	Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge
<i>HÄS</i>	Hamburger ägyptologische Studien
<i>HdO</i>	Handbuch der Orientalistik
<i>HES</i>	Centre de recherches d'histoire et de philologie de la IVe section de l'École pratique des Hautes Études, II: Hautes Études Orientales
<i>HTBM 7</i>	Hall, H.R. 1925. <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae Etc., Part 7</i> . London.
<i>HTBM 8</i>	Edwards, I.E.S. 1939. <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc. Part 8</i> . London.
<i>HTBM 9</i>	James, T.G.H. 1970. <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae Etc., Part 9</i> . London.
<i>HTBM 10</i>	Bierbrier, M.L. 1982. <i>Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae, etc., in the British Museum, Part. 10</i> . London.
<i>HTBM 12</i>	Bierbrier, M.L. 1993. <i>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. Part 12</i> . London.
<i>IBAES</i>	Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie
<i>IJHS</i>	International Journal of Heritage Studies
<i>IJNA</i>	International Journal of Nautical Archaeology
<i>JAA</i>	Journal of Anthropological Archaeology
<i>JARCE</i>	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt
<i>JEA</i>	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
<i>JEOL</i>	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux"
<i>JES</i>	The Journal of Egyptian Studies
<i>JESHO</i>	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
<i>JHC</i>	Journal of the History of Collections
<i>JMEMS</i>	Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies
<i>JNES</i>	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
<i>JSA</i>	Journal of Social Archaeology
<i>JWAG</i>	Journal of the Walters Art Gallery

<i>KMT</i>	KMT. A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt
<i>KRI</i>	Kitchen, K.A. 1975–89. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> , Vols. 1–8. Oxford.
<i>KRITA</i>	Kitchen, K.A., <i>Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Translations</i> , Vols. I–III (Oxford, 1993–2000).
<i>KSG</i>	Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft Früher Hochkulturen
<i>LD</i>	Lepsius, C.R. 1897–1913. <i>Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien</i> . Leipzig.
<i>LGG</i>	Leitz, C. (ed.) 2002–3. <i>Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen</i> , I–VIII. OLA 100–16. Leuven.
<i>LingAeg SM</i>	Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica
<i>MAN NS</i>	Man New Series
<i>MÄS</i>	Münchner ägyptologische Studien
<i>MÄSB</i>	Mitteilungen aus der ägyptischen Sammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
<i>MÄU</i>	Münchner ägyptologische Untersuchungen
<i>MB</i>	Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin
<i>MDAIK</i>	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
<i>MEEF</i>	Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Fund
<i>Memnonia</i>	Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l’Association pour la sauvegarde du Ramesseum
<i>MET</i>	Mond Excavations at Thebes
<i>MIEAA</i>	Monographs of the Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology
<i>MIFAO</i>	Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale
<i>MIO</i>	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung
<i>MMJ</i>	Metropolitan Museum Journal
<i>MonAeg</i>	Monumenta Aegyptiaca
<i>MVEOL</i>	Mededeelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap “Ex Oriente Lux”
<i>NKMN</i>	New Kingdom Memphis Newsletter
<i>N.Y.H.S. Cat.</i>	Anonymous. 1915. <i>Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities of the New York Historical Society</i> . New York
<i>OBO</i>	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
<i>OIP</i>	Oriental Institute Publications
<i>OIS</i>	Oriental Institute Seminars
<i>OLA</i>	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
<i>OLP</i>	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica
<i>OLZ</i>	Orientalische Literaturzeitung
<i>OMRO</i>	Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden
<i>PALMA</i>	Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities
<i>PBSA</i>	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
<i>PdÄ</i>	Probleme der Ägyptologie
<i>PM</i>	Porter, B. and R.L.B. Moss. 1927–51 (and revisions edited by Jaromir Málek, 1960–). <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> , 7 vols. Oxford.
<i>PM III/2</i>	Porter, B. and R.L.B. Moss. 1978. <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. III² Memphis, Part 2. Šaqqâra to Dahshûr</i> . 2nd. rev. edn by PhDr. Jaromir Málek. Oxford.
<i>PMMA</i>	Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition
<i>PN</i>	Ranke, H. 1935. <i>Die ägyptischen Personennamen</i> . Glückstadt.
<i>RdE</i>	Revue d’égypologie

<i>RT</i>	Recueil de travaux relatives à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes
<i>SAGA</i>	Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens
<i>SAK</i>	Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur
<i>SAOC</i>	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
<i>SASAE</i>	Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
<i>SDAIK</i>	Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
<i>SEAP</i>	Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche
<i>SGKAO</i>	Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients
<i>SSEA</i>	The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities
<i>StudAeg</i>	Studia Aegyptiaca
<i>TTS</i>	Theban Tombs Series
<i>Urk. IV</i>	Helck, W. 1955–61. <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> , Heft 17–22. Berlin.
<i>UZK</i>	Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen archäologischen Institutes
<i>VA</i>	Varia Aegyptiaca
<i>WA</i>	World Archaeology
<i>WAW</i>	Writings from the Ancient World
<i>Wb.</i>	Erman, A. and H. Grapow. 1971 [1957]. <i>Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache</i> . Berlin.
<i>WdO</i>	Die Welt des Orients. Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes
<i>YEP</i>	Yale Egyptological Publications
<i>ZÄS</i>	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde
<i>ZDMG</i>	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

CONVENTIONS USED IN TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

()	in transliteration: grammatical additions
[]	in transliteration and translation: restoration of the original text
(...)	in transliteration and translation: text omitted – choice made by author
{ }	in transliteration: error / misinterpretation in original text
< >	in transliteration: suggested correction for misinterpretation in original text
///	lacuna
(?)	in transliteration and/or translation: doubtful reading
*	in transliteration: non-existing word
↓→	in hieroglyphic texts: example of a text column with the hieroglyphs facing right (i.e. reading right to left)

SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Theme and Rationale

Two days after the Prussian scientific expedition to Egypt (1842–45) led by Carl Richard Lepsius (1810–84) had set up camp at Saqqara, Georg Erbkam (1811–76), the expedition’s surveyor and architect, on 13 February 1843 described the necropolis as follows:

*Das Feld ist öde, wüst und langweilig, nichts als Schutthaufen und Brunnen; fast nirgends hat man einen Überblick als auf der Pyramide. Knochen, Schädel, Thiergebeine, Mumienfetzen, Alles liegt umhergeworfen rings um Einen, ein trostloser Anblick, zumal die Wüste selbst weder Formen noch Farben darbietet; dieses Todtenfeld hält gegen das von Ghize keinen Vergleich aus.*¹

That the desert plateau at Saqqara did not quite appeal to Erbkam – certainly in comparison to the pyramid field of Giza where the expedition had just previously worked – is an understatement. Erbkam was certainly not alone in expressing such sentiments. The quote rather captures a *communis opinio* shared by contemporary explorers. A mere twenty years before, the prominent art and antiquities collectors Henry Salt and Bernardino Drovetti, for example, preferred to “excavate” at sites such as Thebes due to the richness of standing monuments. To the mid-Nineteenth Century visitor, Saqqara had the appearance of a “barren, desolate, and boring” site which had to offer “nothing but piles of rubble and pits”. The cemetery site had been significantly (re)shaped by the large-scale digging of previous excavators. Since the 1820s, the whole plateau had been heavily exploited by art collectors, dealers and their local agents and gangs of workmen who were searching for portable ancient Egyptian objects. These activities continued when Lepsius’ expedition camped at Saqqara, and persisted long after they had left.² Of course without realizing it himself, Erbkam’s observations touch

¹ In: *Tagebuch meiner ägyptischen Reise. Teil 1: Ägypten, 1842–1843*, 149.

<http://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/book/view/erbkam_tagebuch01_1842?p=149>, accessed 3.8.2015

² Lepsius’ expedition would camp at Saqqara for a period of three months, leaving on 19 May 1843, as recorded by Erbkam: ‘... *Heut früh endlich erfolgt wirklich der Aufbruch von dem unseligen Sakkara*’ (*Tagebuch*, 213).

upon two major problems that have, in the past, affected the study of Memphis and its necropolis and which modern scholars are also facing to this day:

1. Saqqara as a scattered necropolis existing virtually outside the Memphite necropolis

The New Kingdom necropolis of Saqqara exists largely in public and private collections around the world. The large-scale and uncontrolled excavations of the (early) Nineteenth Century resulted in the unparalleled dismantling and (partial) removal of tomb structures. These early stages in the exploration of the Memphite necropolis were often poorly (if at all) documented. Moreover, the sale of the large collections gathered by prominent collectors led to the dispersion and worldwide distribution of tomb elements and funerary objects. These activities are, again, generally poorly documented. It goes without saying that these activities cumulatively led to the loss of information about the archaeological context and architectural setting of the scattered tomb elements and objects, which has ultimately detracted from their scientific value.

2. A biased view of Memphis in Egyptological literature

There exists a scarcity of surviving, standing monuments at Memphis (e.g. the temple of Ptah) and its necropolis. The comparatively favourable situation at Thebes has created a bias in the Egyptological literature. The “Southern City” and its necropoleis have long been the main sources of information for studies on a range of aspects of New Kingdom society. The idea has long persisted that Thebes functioned as the administrative capital of Egypt during the entire New Kingdom, and that its temple complexes represented the country’s most important sacerdotal centre.

These two main problems represent the central theme of this PhD thesis. This research sets as its focus the study of an area of the Saqqara necropolis that is only accessible via the unpublished archive material (early photographs) pertaining to the little-known excavations carried out by Auguste Mariette and Théodule Devéria in 1858–59, and the dispersed tomb elements and objects that are now in private and public collections around the world. The study of these sources can make a significant contribution to the study of the early exploration of the site and to an understanding of the dynamics that

underlie the organisation of the Memphite necropolis during the New Kingdom (late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty).

This year, 2015, marks the fortieth anniversary of the first large-scale and long-term excavation project centred on the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara. The former EES/Leiden archaeological mission started research in the area south of the Unas causeway in 1975, and it continues to this day as a cooperation of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (The Netherlands) and the Museo Egizio in Turin (Italy). Since 1975, multiple international excavation projects have unearthed various areas of the scattered New Kingdom necropolis on the Saqqara plateau, which includes the Macquarie University mission in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery over the years 1994–2010. The results of forty years of excavations provide a privileged setting for a holistic analysis of various aspects related to the New Kingdom tombs, their owners and the use of sacred space.

1.2 Aims and Objectives

This thesis sets as its main aim the study of the tombs, tomb owners and the use of sacred space in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara by examining, as a point of departure, the sources pertaining to the early exploration of the necropolis. By so doing, this research aims to make a contribution to two different fields related to the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara:

1. The early modern exploration of the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara;
2. The development of the New Kingdom necropolis during the transitional period from the late Eighteenth to the early Nineteenth Dynasty.

To achieve the first goal, unpublished archival material pertaining to the early, mid-Nineteenth Century exploration of the necropolis is studied. This part of the research includes the detailed study of photographs taken by Théodule Devéria at Saqqara in 1859. The photographs capture parts of the superstructures of New Kingdom tombs that are today “lost”, and thus present us with the only tangible evidence of their existence. The elements visible in the photographs will be traced in public and private collections and complemented with other objects that were once taken from these tombs. The

collection histories of the individual objects will ultimately enable us to reconstruct the history of the dismantling of the tombs and the early exploration of the necropolis: one chapter in the history of Egyptology.

To achieve the second goal, the data presented by the analysis of the photographs are first analysed in terms of the evidence they offer for tomb architecture and iconography. The research then proceeds to examine the inscriptional sources that offer biographical information about the tomb owners. The officials' titles present us with the main data of research. Combining the information of groups of officials covering a longer period of time and extending over the whole necropolis will ultimately provide us with information pertaining to the rationale of the tombs' spatial distribution. As the officials lived and worked in Memphis, their titles also provide us with information about the administration of the city. Finally, the actual use of the necropolis and the tombs therein will be studied. Due to the activities of the early explorers, few archaeological traces pertaining to past activities have remained for us to study *in situ*. The figural and textual graffiti that were left on the stone elements of the tombs offer the main data for research: a novel angle of investigation.

These aspects are reflected in the three sections of this thesis, focusing on the tombs, the tomb owners, and the use of sacred space.

1.3 Scope

1.3.1 Time Period

The time period covered by this thesis is the New Kingdom (*c.*1539–1078 BC) and more specifically the time frame of the late Eighteenth Dynasty (*c.* 1319–1290 BC, *temp.* Tutankhamun–Horemheb) to the early Nineteenth Dynasty (*c.* 1290–1213 BC, *temp.* Ramesses I–Ramesses II). Areas of the necropolis with clusters of tombs dated to the late Eighteenth Dynasty and the Nineteenth Dynasty have been extensively studied over the past few decades. The transitional period is not so well represented archaeologically, yet it is accessible via the archive material of Devéria and the dispersed museum objects. The late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty was a period of major political and social changes, and these can be expected to have had an

effect on private tomb architecture, iconography and the spatial distribution of tombs; as well as in the perception and use of space in the necropolis as a whole.

1.3.2 Site

Geographically, this thesis focuses primarily on the desert plateau at Saqqara. During the New Kingdom, Saqqara was used exclusively as a private necropolis: the kings had their tombs constructed at Thebes. Saqqara was the main necropolis for members of the higher echelons of society living and working at Memphis. During the period under investigation, Memphis appears to have served as the country's administrative capital. The study of the tombs built by these individuals, therefore, has the potential of highlighting various aspects of life in the capital and of the city's administration. The main area of investigation of this thesis lies the area of the cemetery located south of the Unas causeway. It is a well-preserved space with a substantial corpus of published data. It therefore provides a privileged setting for a holistic analysis of New Kingdom tombs.

1.4 Significance of this study

In an article published in 1986, Jaromir Málek discussed the information pertaining to selected monuments at Memphis as could be gleaned from the squeezes produced by Alice Lieder in May 1853. Málek began the article with the following statement:

*‘An old recording made at a site with ancient Egyptian monuments is always worth examining for evidence which may since have disappeared’.*³

This statement also holds true for the subject of this thesis. The early, Nineteenth Century, exploration of the New Kingdom necropolis south of the Unas causeway is very poorly documented, yet the vast majority of objects currently held in museum collections that provide us with the main sources of information about this necropolis were excavated during the Nineteenth Century. This PhD thesis therefore not only contributes to an understanding of the ancient necropolis, but it also contributes to

³ J. Málek, ‘The Monuments Recorded by Alice Lieder in the ‘Temple of Vulcan’ at Memphis in May 1853’, *JEA* 72 (1986), 101. Alice Lieder, the wife of the Reverend Johann Rudolph Theophilus Lieder (1798-1865), a Prussian missionary who lived in Cairo and who assembled a considerable collection of Egyptian antiquities, later purchased by the Baron Amherst of Hackney (1835–1909).

writing a history of Egyptology, being one chapter in the early modern (mid-Nineteenth Century) exploration of Saqqara and the formation of major museum collections.

1.5 Thesis by publication model

The structure of the present work is based on the ‘thesis by publication’ model. It therefore differs in form from the traditional humanities dissertation. The publication model is long accepted in the science disciplines and has become more common in other disciplines, including in the field of Egyptology.⁴ The choice to structure my PhD thesis based on the thesis by publication model was made at an early stage of conducting this research. It provided an excellent opportunity to approach a central theme from different angles of investigation, and to publish the research outcomes in various specialised journals aimed at a very specific readership.

The main body of text of this thesis consists of nine articles that were submitted for publication in peer-reviewed journals, conference proceedings, and a themed book. At the time of writing this introduction, eight article manuscripts were accepted for publication. The articles have not appeared in print yet, and therefore they are all presented here in their final manuscript form. As a result, the layout and style differs per article. The reader may also find that it was impossible to avoid some repetition between the articles. It is hoped that minor repetition and differences in style and layout do not distract the reader unduly.

1.6 Outline of this thesis

The articles of this thesis are thematically grouped in three sections. After this introduction, it proceeds with:

SECTION 2: MONUMENTAL TOMBS OF THE EARLY NINETEENTH DYNASTY

SECTION 3: PROSOPOGRAPHY OF THE EARLY NINETEENTH DYNASTY TOMB OWNERS

SECTION 4: TOMBS AND THE USE OF SACRED SPACE: FIGURAL AND TEXTUAL GRAFFITI

⁴ See e.g. J. Jones, *Textiles in Early Egyptian Funerary Contexts: Analysis of the Epigraphic and Archaeological Evidence* (PhD thesis, Macquarie University; Sydney, 2011). This thesis was a very useful example to have available at the start of my research.

Each section begins with an introduction to outline its aim and scope, and the sources covered. This is followed by a paragraph outlining the methods used. An in-depth discussion of the sources, data and a literature review are interwoven into every article separately, so that an all-inclusive discussion of these areas in the introduction would be redundant. A synthesis of the articles precedes the papers that follow.

Section 2 is based on the study of the scattered remains of two monumental private tombs: those of the Mayor of Memphis, Ptahmose, and the Overseer of Cattle and the Treasury (of the Ramesseum), Ptahemwia. The hitherto unpublished photographs taken by Devéria in March 1859 present the point of departure for the study of these early Nineteenth Dynasty monumental tombs. The early modern exploration of the necropolis is examined by combining the data obtained from archives with data obtained from the more recent archaeological exploration of the site. The studies in this section show that the research into old archives can yield new insights into the architectural and iconographical development of private tombs at Saqqara.

Section 3 employs a prosopographical approach to study the structure of the necropolis at Saqqara. An in-depth analysis of the titles held by a selected number of officials are used to explore aspects of the administration of Memphis and its status as administrative capital of Egypt during the New Kingdom. The articles proceed from the two main studies presented in Section 2. Both articles are based on the analysis of the titles that were identified in the photographs Devéria took in the tombs of the Mayor of Memphis, Ptahmose, and the Overseer of Cattle and the Treasury (of the Ramesseum), Ptahemwia.

Section 4 covers the long “afterlife” of the individual tombs and the use and re-use of the Memphite necropolis as a whole. The figural and textual graffiti that were scratched, carved, or painted on the extant stone structures present the primary sources for the study of the tombs’ visitors and their use of “sacred space”. A large part of the data was collected during fieldwork in the necropolis south of the Unas causeway.

Section 5 comprises a final, comprehensive and integrative conclusion that draws together the findings.

Section 6 of this thesis contains the Catalogue of New Kingdom Tomb Owners at Saqqara. It was designed as a “data base” to store as much information as possible about the Saqqara New Kingdom tombs and their owners with the aim of having a solid “context” for the tombs and tomb owners studied in the articles presented in this thesis.

1.7 Preliminaries: Saqqara during the early Nineteenth Dynasty

The modern-day archaeological site of Saqqara derives its name from the nearby village of Saḳḳāra, located at the foot of the southern end of the escarpment.⁵ The Ancient Egyptians employed a range of toponyms to refer to the specific locations on the vast desert plateau. Saqqara is located *c.* 20 km south of the 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 bordered by Abusir in the north and by Dahshur in the south. Saqqara had been in continuous use as a cemetery since Egypt’s formative period, approximately 3000 BC, until the abandonment of the Coptic monastery of Apa Jeremias in the middle of the Ninth Century AD. The site is dominated in the centre by the Step Pyramid of King Djoser (Third Dynasty).

To date, four main sections of the necropolis with clusters of tombs dated to the New Kingdom have been identified (Fig. 1). These are:

1. the eastern escarpment above Abusir Village;
2. the area north and east of the pyramid of King Teti (Sixth Dynasty);
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,⁶ the complete eastern escarpment may have contained rock-cut tombs as well.⁷ Recent archaeological

⁵ U. Haarmann, ‘Saḳḳāra’, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden, 1995), 894–5.

⁶ T.S. Tawfik, ‘The Extent of the New Kingdom Cemetery in the Memphite Necropolis’, in Z.A. Hawass and L. Pinch Brock (eds), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000*, Vol. 1: *Archaeology* (Cairo, 2003), 508.

⁷ Compare this patterning to the map of Saqqara produced by J. de Morgan, *Carte de la nécropole Memphite. Dahchour, Sakkarah, Abou-Sir* (Cairo, 1897). See also: Jaromir Málek, ‘An Early Eighteenth Dynasty Monument of Sipair from Saqqāra’, *JEA* 75 (1989), 61 n. 3; G.T. Martin, ‘Memphis: The Status

research has identified two additional locations with the material evidence of tomb clusters of New Kingdom date: at Abusir-South, at the foot of a prominent limestone outcrop approximately 1 km north-west of the Serapeum;⁸ and further south, approximately 2 km north of the so-called Red Pyramid of Snofru (Fourth Dynasty).⁹

The tombs discussed in this thesis are concentrated mainly in the necropolis located south of the Unas causeway. The area is bordered by the Fifth Dynasty causeway (connecting the pyramid and valley temple of Unas) in the north, the pyramid complex of the Third Dynasty King Sekhemkhet in the west, the escarpment in the east, and a wide shallow *wadi* in the south. After Mariette had worked in this area in the late 1850s/early 1860s, large-scale excavations were resumed only in 1906 by James Quibell, whose work concentrated mainly on the ruins of the Coptic monastery of Apa Jeremias. The New Kingdom remains in this area became the focus of research when in 1975 an archaeological mission of the Egypt Exploration Society in cooperation with the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden started a long term research project.¹⁰ Soon thereafter, in 1977, an archaeological mission of Cairo University began excavations immediately south of the Unas causeway. It initially focused on the Coptic remains and later shifted focus to the New Kingdom tombs in the area.¹¹

1.8 The New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara: A brief chronological overview¹²

1.8.1 The early Eighteenth Dynasty

We are rather ill-informed about the necropolis of Saqqara early in the Eighteenth Dynasty. During the preceding Second Intermediate Period, western Asiatics (Hyksos) ruled the north of the country and had their seat at Avaris in the Eastern Delta. The last

of a Residence City in the Eighteenth Dynasty”, in M. Bárta and J. Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000* (ArOr Supp 9; Prague 2000), 120.

⁸ See e.g. S. Yoshimura and N. Kawai, ‘Report on the Waseda University Excavations at North Saqqara’, *ASAE* 84 (2010), 467–83.

⁹ See e.g. S. Yoshimura and S. Hasegawa, ‘New Kingdom necropolis at Dahshur – The tomb of Ipay and Its Vicinity’, in M. Bárta and J. Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000* (ArOr Supp 9; Prague, 2000), 145–60.

¹⁰ From 1999 to 2013, the excavations were a joint mission of the Leiden Museum and Leiden University; since 2015 the excavations are a cooperation between the Leiden Museum and University and the Museo Egizio in Turin.

¹¹ Most tombs were unearthed during the years 1984–88, and the excavations were resumed in 2005.

¹² The text of this paragraph has been reworked as: N. Staring, ‘Saqqara: storia e topografia di una necropoli del Nuovo Regno’, in P. Giovetti and D. Picchi (eds), *Egitto: Splendore millenario. La collezioni di Leiden a Bologna* (Milan, 2015), 210–15.

king of the Theban Seventeenth Dynasty, Kamose, was not able to move further north than Memphis. The city was eventually taken in the second half of the reign of Ahmose, the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty who reunified Egypt. Two inscribed stelae at Tura (Maâsara) record the quarrying of white limestone for several “temples of millions of years” (royal memorial temples), including one at Memphis.¹³ It appears that the first kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty retained their ancestral city of Thebes as the administrative capital. A passage from the decree of Horemheb, inscribed on a stela at Karnak, indicates that he most probably resided at Memphis: a situation that had existed since the time of Thutmose III.¹⁴ This is corroborated by the fact that during the latter’s reign, the vizierate became a dual function. The Vizier responsible for the administration of the South resided at Thebes, and the Vizier of the North resided at Memphis. Meanwhile, Thebes (the “Southern City”) served as the major sacerdotal centre and as the site of the royal necropolis, a position briefly taken over by Akhetaten (Amarna) during the Amarna interlude.¹⁵ The fact that the tomb of Akhenaten’s Northern Vizier, Aper-el, was cut in the escarpment of the Bubastieion at Saqqara, indicates that Memphis retained its position as the administrative capital.¹⁶

The situation sketched above suggests that the Memphite necropolis early in the Eighteenth Dynasty became the prime burial place for the state’s high administrators. Indeed, the contemporary tombs built in the necropoleis at Thebes belong to individuals whose administrative responsibilities were primarily concerned with Thebes,¹⁷ including the administration of the town, temples, and the royal necropolis, and with the wider region including Upper Egypt and Nubia. Those with supra-regional responsibilities as well as high-ranking military men would have resided at Memphis. The earlier New Kingdom is, however, as yet underrepresented in the archaeological record.

The southern escarpment of the Bubastieion contains one rock-cut tomb dating

¹³ *Urk.* IV, I, 24–25 (Ahmose Year 22). See also: Málek, *JEA* 75 (1989), 75–6.

¹⁴ *Urk.* IV, 2150.7–9; J. Van Dijk, ‘The Development of the Memphite Necropolis in the Post-Amarna Period’, in A.-P. Zivie (ed.), *Memphis et ses nécropoles au Nouvel Empire: Nouvelles données, nouvelles questions* (Paris, 1988), 38.

¹⁵ Martin, ‘Memphis’, in Bárta and Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara Year 2000*, 119–20.

¹⁶ Tutankhamun was raised at Memphis and the rock-cut tomb of his wet nurse, Maia, is also located in the southern escarpment of the Bubastieion: A. Zivie, *La Tombe de Maïa, Mère Nourricière du Roi Toutânkhamon et Grande du Harem (Bub. I.20)* (Toulouse, 2009).

¹⁷ Martin, ‘Memphis’, in Bárta and Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara Year 2000*, 99–120.

to the reign of Hatshepsut–Thutmose III (the Chancellor, Nehesy, tomb Bub. I.6),¹⁸ and others cover the Eighteenth Dynasty from Amenhotep III down to the Ramesside Period. The area south of the Unas causeway will have also contained tombs of pre-Amarna date. This is where Giuseppe di Nizzoli in the 1820s discovered the (now lost) tomb of the Chief Steward Amenhotep Huy.¹⁹ Funerary chapels of the early Eighteenth Dynasty excavated at sites such as Thebes (Dra Abu el-Naga) and Abydos provide good parallels for the architectural form the chapels at Saqqara may have had.²⁰ The remains of similar chapels dating to the Amarna Period have been excavated recently in the area north-east of the pyramid of Teti.²¹ The small mud brick chapels in this area consist of a single room with a vaulted ceiling, preceded by an open courtyard and a tomb shaft. The chapels' interior and exterior walls were plastered and possibly whitewashed. The stela or false door, the focal point for the funerary cult, was embedded in, or set against, the west wall. Any additional decoration might have been added in paint. Architectural elements made of stone included only door jambs and (from the reign of Amenhotep III onwards) the pyramidion.

A number of tomb objects from Saqqara provide additional pictorial evidence for the appearance the tombs had. In the lower register of the round-topped stela of Hatiay, the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty Overseer of Cattle of Amun, the owner is depicted kneeling before a tree-goddess.²² His *ba*, one manifestation of the deceased's soul and depicted as a human-headed bird with arms, is positioned behind him atop the tomb's façade. The rectangular superstructure is surmounted by a torus moulding and cavetto cornice. The shape is reminiscent of the so-called naos-stelae that have the appearance of a door with projecting jambs and lintel framing the central recessed panel with decoration. A good example is provided by the stela of Nebneteru dated to the time of

¹⁸ A.-P. Zivie, 'Un chancelier nommé Nehesy', in *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub* (Montpellier, 1984), 247.

¹⁹ See the account of the excavations given by W.C. Hayes, 'A Writing-palette of the Chief Steward Amenhotep and Some Notes on Its Owner', *JEA* 24 (1938), 9–24.

²⁰ See: D. Polz, 'Dra' Abu el-Naga: Die thebanische Nekropole des frühen Neuen Reiches', in J. Assmann (ed.), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung. Internationales Symposium, Heidelberg, 9.-13.6.1993* (SAGA 12; Heidelberg, 1995), 25–42; *Id.*, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches: Zur Vorgeschichte einer Zeitenwende* (SDAIK 31; Berlin, 2007), 231–50; D. Raue, 'Zum memphitischen Privatgrab im Neuen Reich', *MDAIK* 51 (1995), 255–68; B. Gessler-Löhr, 'Pre-Amarna Tomb Chapels in the Teti Cemetery North at Saqqara,' *BACE* 18 (2007): 76–79.

²¹ See e.g. Z.A. Hawass, *Secrets from the Sand: My Search for Egypt's Past* (New York, 2003), 154–55, fig. on p. 156; B. Ockinga and S. Binder, 'Fragments of an Amarna-age Stele in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery North,' *Études et Travaux* 26 (2013): 502–16.

²² Florence, Museo Archeologico 2593 (ex-coll. Di Nizzoli, 1824): S. Bosticco, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze: Le Stele Egiziane del Nuovo Regno* (Rome, 1965), 43–4, fig. 36.

Amenhotep III.²³ It depicts the owner with his wife and his mother as they leave the tomb (“going forth by day”) to receive offerings presented to them by the living. The naos is topped by a lunette, which represents either the vaulted roof or an early form of the pyramid-shaped structure of mud brick positioned on the chapel’s roof. The same naos-shaped tomb façade topped with a lunette is depicted on the plinth of the stela of Ipu, the Royal Butler from the time of Tutankhamun.²⁴ Although these examples appear to represent free-standing tomb structures, one cannot exclude the possibility that one or more represent the porch-shaped entrance to a rock-cut tomb.²⁵

1.8.2 *The late Eighteenth Dynasty and the Ramesside Period*

The “typical” Memphite tomb chapel has a superstructure consisting of a pylon entrance in the east, a peristyle courtyard, and three chapels located in the west.²⁶ A mud brick pyramid was constructed around and/or over the central cult chapel and a pyramidion formed its capstone. A tomb shaft in the courtyard gives access to the subterranean burial chambers. A process of “sacralisation” characterises the development of the private tombs at Saqqara after the Amarna Period.²⁷ This affected decoration and architecture. This development is in line with the concept of an increasing emphasis on personal piety especially from the Ramesside Period onwards. It implies that the tomb transforms into a private mortuary temple where the tomb owner enjoys the proximity of the gods and where he could worship them in perpetuity.²⁸ The transformation is perhaps most explicitly formulated in a text inscribed in the tomb of Tia. It narrates how the tomb was built under the supervision of the owner’s brother-in-law, King

²³ N. Staring, ‘Naos-stela of Nebneteru’, in P. Giovetti, D. Picchi (eds), *Egitto: Le collezioni di Leiden e di Bologna / Displaying Ancient Egypt: The collections of Leiden and Bologna* (Milan, 2015), Cat. 171.

²⁴ N. Staring, ‘Stela of the Royal Butler, Clean of Hands, Ipu’, in Giovetti and Picchi (eds), *Egitto*, Cat. 174.

²⁵ F. Kampp, *Die Thebanische Nekropole: Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie* (Theben 13; Mainz, 1996), I, 72–4, figs 65–6.

²⁶ For an early study on the architectural layout of Memphite tombs, see: K.A. Kitchen, ‘Memphite Tomb-chapels in the New Kingdom and Later’, in M. Görg and E. Pusch (eds), *Festschrift Elmar Edel* (ÄAT 1; Bamberg, 1979), 273–84; and more recently: H.M. Hays, ‘On the Architectural Development of Monumental Tombs South of the Unas Causeway at Saqqara from the Reigns of Akhenaten to Ramses II’, in M. Bárta, F. Coppens, and J. Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010*, Vol. I (Prague, 2011), 84–105.

²⁷ For the term and its implications from a Theban perspective, see: J. Assmann, ‘The Ramesside Tomb and the Construction of Sacred Space’, in N. Strudwick and J.H. Taylor (eds), *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future* (London, 2003), 46–52. Also discussed by Raue, *MDAIK* 51 (1995), 260–4.

²⁸ Van Dijk, ‘The Development’, in A.-P. Zivie (ed.), *Memphis et ses nécropoles*, 42–5. Raue, *MDAIK* 51 (1995), 258 n. 13, prefers the more neutral term “*sakraler Gebäudetyp*” (sacral building), pointing at the fact that not all sacral features are found exclusively in temples.

Ramesses II, who ‘made it as a monument for his father Osiris’.²⁹ The sacralisation of the tomb is furthermore reflected by the introduction of statues of the gods that were positioned in the side chapels and the courtyard. Naophorous and block statues were previously found only in temples. The pyramid atop the central cult chapel reflects the tomb’s solar orientation, which becomes apparent in the reign of Amenhotep III; in the course of Ramesses II’s reign, the pyramids were constructed behind the chapel. Another feature introduced in the Ramesside period is the *djed* pillar, which makes reference to the resurrection of the sun-god Re. In tomb decoration, the scenes of daily life related to the tomb owner’s profession are increasingly replaced by numerous scenes of the deceased venerating the gods, and by texts and vignettes of the Book of the Dead. These are not solely references to the hereafter. To the contrary: in the funerary texts, the wish to “go forth by day” (*pr.t m hrw*) and to return to the world of the living takes an increasingly prominent position.³⁰ The early Nineteenth Dynasty tomb of Ptahmose that features prominently in this research, represents an interesting transitional phase. It contains Eighteenth Dynasty features – built of mud brick with a relief-decorated limestone revetment³¹ and provided with a mud brick pyramid – and the tomb displays a number of the Ramesside novelties – including the *djed* pillar and scenes of the tomb owner venerating the gods.

1.8.3 Saqqara: A sacred landscape of life and death

More than being the capital’s necropolis (*lit.* “that which is under the [charge of] the god”), Saqqara was first and foremost the ancient sacred abode of the Memphite deity Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, who had an important role in the mortuary cult.³² He gained further significance during the reign of Amenhotep III. The sacred landscape of Saqqara also included the monuments of deified rulers of the Old Kingdom; the Serapeum (the burial place of the sacred Apis bull); and the *Shetayet* shrine and *Henu*-barque sanctuary located in *Rosetau* in the desert between Saqqara and Giza.³³ Annual processions

²⁹ Van Dijk, ‘The Development’, in A.-P. Zivie (ed.), *Memphis et ses nécropoles*, 43.

³⁰ Assmann, ‘The Ramesside Tomb’, in N. Strudwick and J.H. Taylor (eds), *The Theban Necropolis*, 51; Id., *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca, 2005), 209–34.

³¹ Later Ramesside tombs are constructed of limestone throughout.

³² Van Dijk, ‘The Development’, in A.-P. Zivie (ed.), *Memphis et ses nécropoles*, 42; Raue, *MDAIK* 51 (1995), 257.

³³ See e.g. J. Málek, ‘A Meeting of the Old and New: Saqqâra during the New Kingdom’, in A.B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (EES OP 8; London, 1992), 57–76.

attracted large numbers of people to the desert plateau. Tomb owners reckoned with these visitors, as can be gleaned from the so-called Appeals to the Living. During the Sokar Festival, high officials had the honour of ‘following Sokar’, and even expressed the wish to bear the god’s *mefekh* sledge along with the ‘perfect god’ (i.e. the king) to the necropolis on the desert plateau. Tomb inscriptions express the wish for the gods to grant the deceased’s *ba*’s or statues to continue following Sokar after they had passed away.³⁴

NEW KINGDOM	c. 1539–1078 BC
<i>Eighteenth Dynasty</i>	<i>c. 1539–1290</i>
Ahmosé	1539–1515
Amenhotep I	1514–1495
Thutmose I	1494–1483
Thutmose II	1482–1469
Thutmose III	1468–1414
Hatshepsut	1468–1447
Amenhotep II	1414–1388
Thutmose IV	1388–1378
Amenhotep III	1378–1339
Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten	1339–1322
Smenkhkare	1322–1319
Tutankhamun	1319–1310
Ay	1309–1306
Horemheb	1305–1290
<i>Nineteenth Dynasty</i>	<i>c. 1290–1190</i>
Ramesses I	1290–1289
Seti I	1288–1279
Ramesses II	1279–1213
Merenptah	1213–1204
Seti II	1203–1198
Amenmesse	1203–1201
Siptah	1197–1193
Tawosret	1192–1190

TABLE 1. Chronology of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty.

The absolute dates are after: Gautschy, R. 2014. A Reassessment of the Absolute Chronology of the Egyptian New Kingdom and Its ‘Brotherly’ Countries. *Ä&L* 24: 141–58, table 8 (P1₁).

³⁴ Compare to Abydos, where officials constructed chapels to secure their perpetual presence at festivals and processions. See also: T. Bács, ‘Ahmosé at Rosetau: A Curious Early Ramesside Attestation’, in Á. Szabó and P. Vargyas (eds), *Cultus deorum studia religionum ad historiam I: de oriente antiquo et regione danuvii praehistorica. In memoriam Istvan Toth* (Pécs, 2008), 111–22.

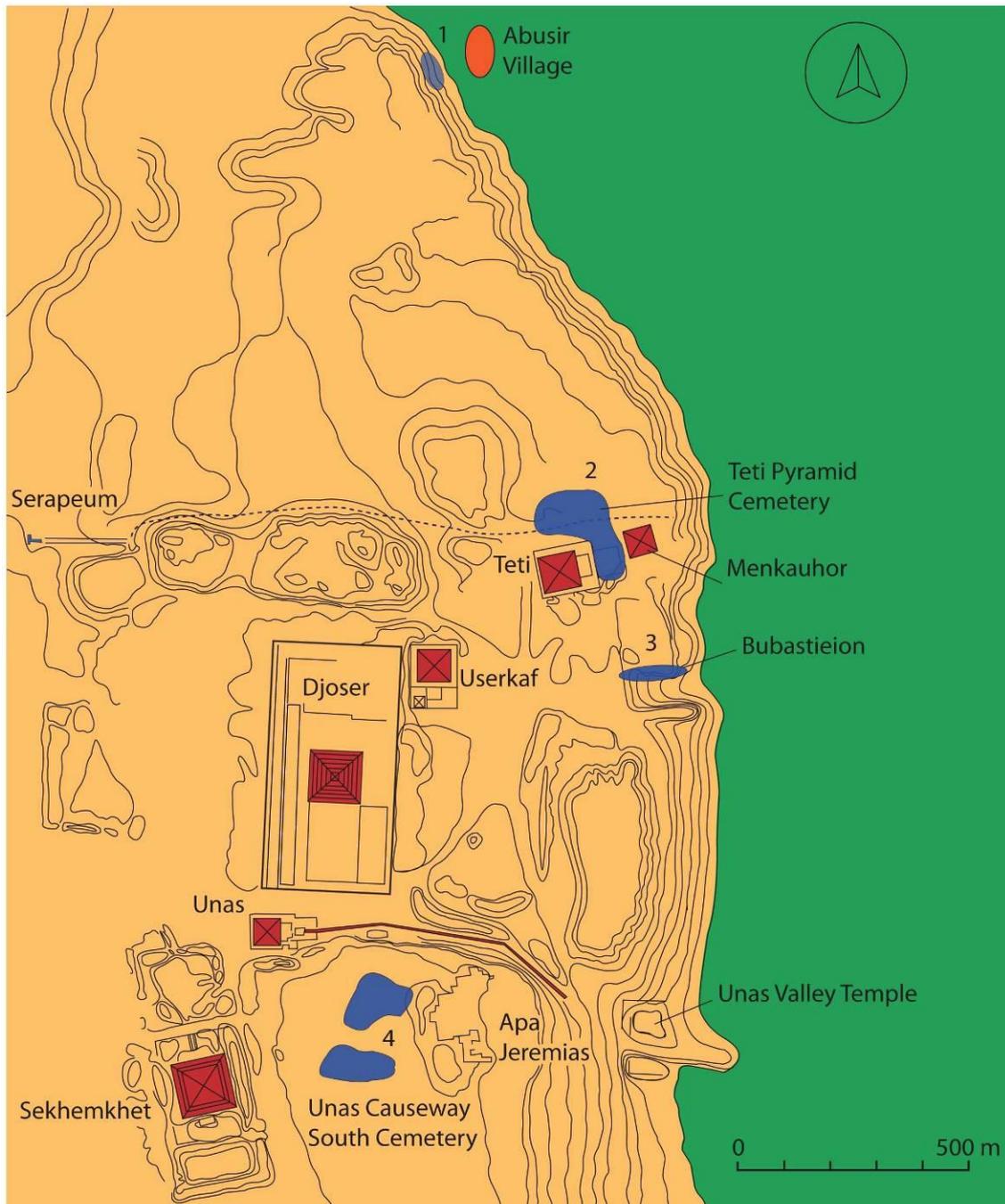


FIGURE 1. General map of Saqqara with clusters of New Kingdom tombs.

- [1] Eastern escarpment above Abusir Village
- [2] Area north and east of the pyramid of King Teti (Teti Pyramid Cemetery)
- [3] Southern escarpment of the Bubastieion
- [4] Area south of the Unas causeway

SECTION 2: MONUMENTAL TOMBS OF THE EARLY NINETEENTH DYNASTY

2.1 Preliminaries

The basic aim of Section 2 of this thesis is to study the “lost tombs” of early Nineteenth Dynasty date at Saqqara by examining the unpublished photographs that Théodule Devéria made when he assisted August Mariette during the little-known excavations in the cemetery south of the Unas causeway in 1858–59.

The recent archaeological investigation of the New Kingdom necropolis south of the Unas causeway has resulted in the uncovering of tomb clusters dating to the late Eighteenth Dynasty (*temp.* Akhenaten–Horemheb) and the Ramesside Period (*temp.* Ramesses II). The tombs belonging to the two groups differ considerably in terms of architectural layout and iconographical content. It is to be expected that the changes occurred not at once; this will have been a gradual process. The tombs dated to the supposed transitional period have not yet been uncovered during the modern archaeological investigation of the site. Tombs of this transitional period were, however, dismantled during the Nineteenth Century and their stone elements entered many private and public collections around the world. One source of documentation pertaining to their dismantling is provided by the photographs taken by Devéria in 1859. These unpublished photographs are at present our only source to study the tombs before they were completely dismantled and lost beneath the desert sand.

The broader aim of this study is to examine aspects of the architectural and iconographical development of individual tombs and the development of the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara as a whole from the late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty.

2.2 Methods

Achieving the main goal of this part of the thesis involves:

- demarcating the area of the necropolis where Mariette and Devéria worked during the late 1850s;

- investigating the circumstances of the dismantling the tomb structures during the Nineteenth Century;
- analysing the inscriptional, iconographical, and architectural information gleaned from the old photographs;
- contextualising the findings within the overall development of the Memphite necropolis during the New Kingdom utilising the results of more recent archaeological excavations.

The nature of the investigation requires both (1) an historical and (2) an archaeological approach to the study of the early Nineteenth Dynasty tombs.

(1) The historical data are those pertaining to the early exploration of the necropolis at Saqqara. The tombs that are the subject of this study are either “lost” or (completely) stripped of their stone elements. The elements that were taken from these structures are now largely kept in public and private collections around the world. This problem requires the study of the early exploration of the tombs and the processes involved in the dismantling of these structures. First, a list of all known tomb-elements (reliefs, stelae, statues, etc.) derived from the tombs in question are collected. Second, the collection history of these objects is analysed. By reconstructing the way in which the objects entered the collection(s) where they are now held (handed down by dealers, collectors, and middlemen), the circumstances and people involved in the dismantling of the tombs can be ascertained. The results of this study can be used to identify other elements deriving from the same monuments (housed in the same or in different collections), and may offer indications regarding the original architectural setting of these monuments.

The sources pertaining to the early exploration of the site and the processes of dismantling tomb structures and trading objects include contemporary published and unpublished material. The unpublished sources include the archives of museums, collectors, auction houses and art dealers. The full range of sources consulted for research in this section are elucidated in the relevant articles.

(2) The “lost tombs” are located in an area of the Saqqara necropolis which has been investigated by the (EES/Leiden archaeological mission since 1975. Forty years of research has resulted in the uncovering of a substantial part of the New Kingdom

necropolis which offers the possibility for a holistic analysis of tomb architecture, texts, and iconography. Material for comparison is also offered by the tomb elements and objects held in public and private collections. The basic data pertaining to 448 individual tomb owners and their Saqqara tombs are presented in the Catalogue of **Section 6** of this thesis.

2.3 Synthesis of the articles

The five articles that follow report on the analysis of two photographs taken by Devéria at Saqqara in March 1859. These sources provide the starting point for an in-depth investigation into the individual tombs and their position within the overall development of the necropolis in the early Nineteenth Dynasty. They also make a contribution to the study of the early modern exploration of the New Kingdom necropolis. The paper reproduced as **Section 2.4** introduces the little-known excavations of Auguste Mariette in the cemetery south of the Unas causeway. It aims at providing a solid context for the activities that resulted in the production of the photos taken by Devéria. **Section 2.5** comprises three articles focusing on aspects of the early modern exploration of the tomb of the Mayor of Memphis, Ptahmose. The first paper highlighted two aspects that are followed up in **Sections 2.5.2** and **2.5.3**. The article reproduced as **Section 2.6** reports on the examination of the tomb of the Overseer of Cattle and Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum, Ptahemwia.

Section 2.4: ‘Mariette, Devéria, and Vassalli at Saqqara, 1858–62’ will be published in a book entitled *Imaging and Imagining the Memphite Necropolis*, edited by C. Demarée, A.J. Stuart, and V. Verschoor. The article aims to provide a context for the photographs taken by Devéria in 1859 (discussed separately in **Sections 2.5.1** and **2.6**). Devéria worked as an assistant to Mariette who had just been appointed as the director of the newly founded Egyptian antiquities service. By consulting archive material and by comparing the published, unprovenanced finds made during Mariette’s excavation to the results of the more recent archaeological investigations in the area, this study demarcates the area of the New Kingdom necropolis where Mariette worked during the 1850s and early 1860s. In two respects, Mariette’s work at Saqqara signifies a break with the previous explorers who were active in the necropolis. First, Mariette worked not on behalf of foreign museums or patrons, but on behalf of the newly established

Egyptian Antiquities Service that was founded to regulate excavations and protect Egypt's heritage. Second, Mariette was the first archaeologist at Saqqara to (successfully) use photography to document the progress of his excavations in the field.

Section 2.5.1, 'The Tomb of Ptahmose, Mayor of Memphis: Analysis of an Early 19th Dynasty Funerary Monument at Saqqara', *BIFAO* 114/2 (2014), 455–518, is the outcome of a detailed study of the tomb of Ptahmose, the Ramesside Mayor of Memphis and Great Steward in the temple of Ramesses II in the House of Ptah. The photographs taken by Devéria in March 1859 provide the point of departure for this study. One photograph captures the a doorway containing (now-lost) *in situ* relief-decorated and inscribed limestone revetment blocks.

The article starts with a biographical note on Devéria, his role in the excavations of Mariette, and the early use of photography as an archaeological documentation method. The article then focuses on the tomb and its dispersed elements, resulting in an updated list of objects pertaining to the tomb. The list reflects the complex history of dismantling the tomb and the processes and people involved in the art trade. The main part of the article is concerned with the study of the architectural, textual and iconographical evidence offered by Devéria's photograph, and how these should be interpreted within a wider context.

The study published as **Section 2.5.1** highlighted two further lines of enquiry that were followed up in the articles published as **Sections 2.5.2** and **2.5.3**.

The articles focus on selected objects from the tomb of Ptahmose now held in different museum collections. They are included in the thesis as case studies to illustrate not only the complex collection histories objects can have; they may also serve as examples to emphasize the importance of studying the provenance of museum objects. The examples reveal new information about the objects' authenticity, about those who were involved in the art trade in a given time period, and provide clues regarding the monuments' original architectural setting.

Section 2.5.2, 'A Relief from the Tomb of the Memphite Mayor Ptahmose in the Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University', in *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 25 (2014), 117–46, presents for the first time a complete description and

discussion of a relief-decorated block from the tomb of Ptahmose currently housed in the collection of the Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University (Durham, North Carolina). It addresses the question of how the object got to the Nasher Museum: starting at Saqqara and then being passed on through the hands of art dealers, collectors and middlemen in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. While the block first came to the attention of scholars in the 1920s, its authenticity has long been doubted. Research on the block's provenance leads to the conclusion that both the texts and image are genuinely ancient. It is suggested that its physical appearance was altered in order to make it more attractive to potential buyers. Some of the art dealers highlighted in this study at one time also had other elements from the same tomb in their possession. The histories of these objects are also traced back to Saqqara and to their present owners.

Section 2.5.3, 'Revisiting Three Objects in Berlin Pertaining to the Mayor of Memphis, Ptahmose: The "Lost" Faience Stela ÄM 19718 and the Limestone Pyramid Panels ÄM 1631–1632', in *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 45 (2016; in press), presents a comprehensive study of three hitherto unpublished objects from the tomb of Ptahmose in the collection of the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin. The updated list of objects pertaining to the tomb of Ptahmose, compiled as part of the study presented in **Section 2.5.1**, initially contained two faience stelae: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology 1984.4.4 and Berlin ÄM 19718. Upon closer examination it was realised that they in fact represented one and the same object: the stela in the Kelsey Museum used to be in Berlin where it was lost during World War II. The paper examines how the stela got to Berlin, how it was lost and how it subsequently arrived in Ann Arbor. As a result of this investigation, the process of returning the stela back to Berlin has been set in motion.

Research into the Berlin stela prompted a closer examination of the two so-called door jambs of Ptahmose also held in Berlin. Research on their provenance results in a new interpretation regarding the blocks' original architectural setting. As panels embedded in the tomb's mud brick pyramid they represent a "missing link" in the development of monumental tombs at Saqqara during the transition from the late Eighteenth to the early Nineteenth Dynasty. It also provides new insights into the patron-artist relationship in the building of tombs for the Memphite elite.

Section 2.6, ‘The Tomb of Ptahemwia, ‘Great Overseer of Cattle’ and ‘Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum’ at Saqqara’, will be published in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 102 (2016; in press). The article comprises the study of another photograph taken by Devéria in March 1859. It captures the “lost” tomb Ptahemwia, who *inter alia* held the title Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum. The study of the tomb’s architecture, texts, and iconography gleaned from the photo is followed by the study of a number of other objects pertaining to this official and now held in different museum collections. These are pyramidion Cairo CG 17109; an “unidentified object” documented by A. Mariette; and theophorous statue Edinburgh, National Museums Scotland A.1920.306.10 found by W.M. Flinders Petrie at Abydos.

2.4

PUBLICATION NOTE

Staring, N. Forthcoming. Mariette, Devéria, and Vassalli at Saqqara, 1858–62. In *Imaging and Imagining the Memphite Necropolis*. C. Demarée, A.J. Stuart, and V. Verschoor (eds), in press (*Festschrift*). Egyptologische Uitgaven. Leiden.

Mariette, Devéria, and Vassalli at Saqqara, 1858–62

NICO STARING*

Introduction

FRANÇOIS Auguste Ferdinand Mariette (1821–81) visited Egypt for the first time in 1850 on behalf of the Musée du Louvre, and it is at the site of Saqqara where he made probably one of his most spectacular discoveries: the Serapeum.¹ That Mariette also worked in the area now known as the New Kingdom necropolis south of the Unas causeway is less well known. During the years 1858–59, he visited that area accompanied by Théodule Devéria (1831–71). Recently, a number of photographs made by Devéria at Saqqara in 1859 were identified. These capture various New Kingdom tombs that have since been lost, including that of Ptahmose, the early Nineteenth Dynasty Mayor of Memphis; Ptahemwia, the Overseer of Cattle and Overseer of the Treasury of the Rameseum;² and Khay, another Treasury Overseer of Ramesses II's Theban memorial temple.³ Those photographs provided the incentive for a closer examination of Mariette's exploration of the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara south of the Unas causeway. This article aims to demarcate the area of the necropolis where he worked, and to determine what his motives were to work there.

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

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

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

Mariette at Saqqara 1857–58

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

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

⁴ PM III/2, 666; A. Mariette, *Les Mastaba de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1885), 449; M.J. Raven and R. van Walsem, *The Tomb of Meryneith at Saqqara* (PALMA 10; Turnhout, 2014), 106–8, scenes [21] and [22].

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

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

⁷ Lauer, in Sainte Fare Garnot (ed.), *Mélanges Mariette*, 22–6.

⁸ Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 326–7.

⁹ The cousin of Emperor Napoleon III (1808–73).

¹⁰ E. David, *Mariette Pacha 1821-1881* (Paris, 1994), 99–102.

¹¹ Lauer, in Sainte Fare Garnot (ed.), *Mélanges Mariette*, 28; David, *Mariette Pacha*, 104–5.

assembled.¹² This provided Mariette with the opportunity to continue his work. Plans to protect Egypt's antiquities eventually materialised on 1 June 1858 with the founding of the Antiquities Service by Viceroy Said Pasha; again with the successful mediation of de Lesseps. Mariette was appointed as *mamur al-antiqat* or *directeur des monuments historiques de l'Égypte et du musée* by the Viceroy.¹³

When Mariette returned to Saqqara south of the Step Pyramid in the company of Devéria, his work in that area of the necropolis was probably motivated by the search for antiquities destined for the soon-to-be-opened Bulaq Museum:¹⁴ ‘... un musée fût élevé au Caire pour y recevoir tous les objets transportables; quinze cents ouvriers travaillent donc aux déblaiements et aux fouilles sous la haute direction de M. Mariette’.¹⁵ The museum was established to secure Egypt's antiquities threatened by the uncontrolled, illicit diggings and destruction of monuments. That this was a serious threat at Saqqara, was communicated by Mariette in a letter to de Lesseps in July 1857: ‘... J’ai vécu quatre ans parmi les fellahs, et en quatre ans, j’ai vu, ce qui est à peine croyable, sept cents tombeaux disparaître de la plaine d’Abouzyr et de Saqqarah’.¹⁶ And thus, in late 1858 Mariette started to assemble (often rather haphazardly)¹⁷ transportable objects and architectural elements to be sent to the Bulaq Museum.

Devéria and Mariette at Saqqara, 1858–59

Immediately upon his appointment as *mamour*, Mariette started excavating simultaneously at sites from the Delta down to Elephantine where he was authorised to employ over 7280 corvée labourers.¹⁸ Mariette had a few assistants to supervise these

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

¹³ E. de Rougé, ‘Une lettre écrite d’Égypte par M. Mariette’, *CRAIBL* 2 (1858), 115–21; Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 100.

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

¹⁵ Mariette, *CRAIBL* 3, 165.

¹⁶ David, *Mariette Pacha*, 100.

¹⁷ Cf. relief Cairo JE 4874: visible *in situ* in a photograph taken by Devéria in 1859. It was removed from the wall, discarded of “excess” stone (including hieroglyphic texts) and taken to the Bulaq Museum: Staring, *BIFAO* 114/2. See also: W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Seventy Years in Egyptology* (New York, 1969 [1932]), 129–30, on Mariette and Vassalli working in Meydum, January 1872.

¹⁸ Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 356. Mariette himself made a distinction between ‘*déblaiements*’ (clearing temples from the sand, by order of the Viceroy) and excavations (‘*fouilles proprement dites*’): letter of Mariette to Brugsch, written on 10 April 1859 at his

excavations in his absence,¹⁹ which he usually visited only once every few weeks.²⁰ From December 1858 to April 1859, French Egyptologist Théodule Devéria, then curator at the Musée du Louvre in Paris, jointly worked with Mariette in copying texts on these archaeological fieldwork campaigns.²¹ From December 1858 to early January 1859, and again in early March 1859, Mariette and Devéria worked at Saqqara. There, 330 local workers were hired to carry out the actual fieldwork.²² While the Serapeum continued to be one focus of his research,²³ the main focus were on other areas of the vast Memphite necropolis, and this included the New Kingdom cemetery south of the Unas causeway.

According to the biography written by his brother Gabriel Devéria, Théodule '... partit le 10 décembre 1858; quelques jours d'après, il assistait à Saqqarah aux fouilles qui aboutirent à la découverte d'une liste de cinquante-huit rois, comptés de Miébidos jusqu'à Ramsès II, puis il visitait Boulaq, Gizéh, le Sérapéum dont l'entrée était de nouveau envahie par le sable'.²⁴ The king-list from the tomb of Tjuneroy, Overseer of Works on all Monuments of the King (Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II), features prominently in Mariette's reports on the fieldwork campaigns of the years 1859–60.²⁵ In fact, that find may have provided the incentive for exploring that area further. In the catalogue of the Bulaq Museum, Mariette describes work in the New

house at Saqqara, Brugsch-Mariette Collection, no. 18, Egyptological Archives of the University of Milan: P. Piacentini, 'Auguste Mariette in the Egyptological Archives', in D. Magee, J. Bourriau, and S. Quirke (eds), *Sitting Beside Lepsius: Studies in Honour of Jaromir Malek at the Griffith Institute* (OLA 185; Leuven, 2009), 425–7.

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

²⁰ Petrie, *Seventy Years*, 52–3.

²¹ G. Devéria, 'Théodule Devéria (1831-1871): Notice biographique', in G. Maspero (ed.), *Bibliothèque Égyptologique 4: Théodule Devéria mémoires et fragments I* (Paris, 1896), x–xv; Lauer, in Sainte Fare Garnot (ed.), *Mélanges Mariette*, 30; Staring, *BIFAO* 114/2.

²² David, *Mariette Pacha*, 109; Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 100.

²³ D. Durand, 'Les photographies des sculptures grecques du Sérapéum de Memphis par Théodule Devéria', in R. Bertho, J.-P. Garric, and F. Queyrel (eds), *Patrimoine photographié, patrimoine photographique: « Actes de colloques »* <<http://inha.revues.org/3982>> accessed 31.03.2013. See also: Lauer, in Sainte Fare Garnot (ed.), *Mélanges Mariette*, 5–55; C. Ziegler, 'Recherches sur Saqqâra au musée du Louvre: étude des collections et mission archéologique', in Z. Hawass and L. Pinch Brock (eds), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000, Vol. 3* (Cairo, 2003), 442–3.

²⁴ G. Devéria, in Maspero, *Théodule Devéria mémoires et fragments*, xii.

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

Kingdom area at Saqqara as follows: ‘... 3°. Plateau situé au sud de la Pyramide à degrés. C’est la partie de la nécropole réservée à la sépulture des momies contemporaines des XVIII^e, XIX^e et XX^e dynasties. Les fouilles de ce plateau ont donné au Musée des monuments de toute sorte parmi lesquels nous citerons, à cause de son importance exceptionnelle, la Table de Saqqarah’.²⁶ He considered the king-list ‘... l’un des précieux monuments de notre Musée’.²⁷

On 6 January 1859 Mariette and Devéria departed for an inspection of sites in Upper Egypt. In Ombos, Devéria – who came from an artistic family – made a pencil drawing portrait of Mariette (fig. 1).²⁸ Mariette and Devéria returned to Saqqara on 12 March 1859: ‘... Hier notre vapeur nous a débarqués à Bédéréchîn, d’où nous avons gagné à âne les chantiers de Sakkarah. Après avoir visité plusieurs puits funéraires dont l’un contenait, chose très rare, des sarcophages inviolés, nous nous sommes rendus à la maison de terre habitée par Mariette pendant qu’il dirigeait les fouilles du Sérapéum’.²⁹ This is the only reference Devéria made to work at Saqqara, and it suggests that the tombs they visited were excavated for them in their absence. In one photograph taken by Devéria at Saqqara and capturing the tomb of Khay, Mariette – wearing the same distinct cap (tarboosh)³⁰ as observed in Devéria’s pencil drawing – can be observed sitting against a *djed* pillar in the tomb’s courtyard.³¹ Ropes and baskets are clearly visible in the photograph, which indicates that they were actually excavating (parts of) the tombs rather than merely recording texts. The statues that are visible *in situ* were taken to the Bulaq Museum. According to Borchardt they were found in March 1859.³²

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

²⁷ Mariette, *Notice des exposés*, 405.

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

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

³⁰ Cf. É. David, ‘To be or not to be Mariette’, *BSFE* 186–7 (2013), 8.

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

³² L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo* (CGC Nos 1–1294; Berlin, 1925), II, 154–5, 155–6. See also: J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte pendant la mission scientifique de M. le vicomte Emmanuel de Rougé* (Paris, 1877 [Milan, 1976]), pl. 30. The pillars are probably in the Cairo Museum as well: PM III/2, 775A and Addenda; Mariette, *Notice des exposés*, 63, Nos 18–21; J. Berlandini, ‘Contribution à l’étude du pilier-djed memphite’, in A.-

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

In Mariette's report of '*les principaux travaux archéologiques exécutés depuis huit mois en Égypte*' (of the year 1859), he indicates that the main finds at Saqqara were 'around twenty statues' from Old Kingdom tombs, and the king-list from the tomb of Tjuneroy – '*une nouvelle table d'Abydos*'.³⁵ Not one word is dedicated to the other tombs of New Kingdom date.³⁶ A selection of finds made at the excavations was prepared for publication in 1872 and posthumously published by Gaston Maspero (1846–1916)³⁷ in Mariette's *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie* (1889). The recently discovered modest collection of photographs taken by Théodule Devéria provides a valuable context to Mariette's work at Saqqara and to some of the tombs excavated in 1859.

P. Zivie (ed.), *Memphis et ses necropoles au Nouvel Empire: Nouvelles données, nouvelles questions* (Paris, 1988), 25.

³³ The large outer coffin features in a number of photographs taken by Devéria in 1859, probably in the Bulaq Museum: Musée d'Orsay PHO 1986 144 93, MS 163 89; PHO 1986 144 94, MS 163 90; PHO 1986 144 95, MS 163 91; PHO 1986 144 96, MS 163 92; PHO 1986 144 97, MS 163 93; PHO 1986 144 104, MS 164 4. See: <<http://www.musee-orsay.fr>> accessed 11.10.2014.

³⁴ G. Devéria, in Maspero, *Théodule Devéria mémoires et fragments*, xv–vii.

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

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

³⁷ Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 359–61.

Previous excavations and contemporary activities at Saqqara

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

LS 25: Iurokhy/Urhiya, General and Great Steward of the Ramesseum (*temp.*

Rameses II, first half);⁴¹

LS 26: Iry, Scribe in the Ramesseum (*temp.* Rameses II);⁴²

LS 27: Maya, Overseer of the Treasury (*temp.* Tutankhamun–Horemheb);⁴³

LS 28: Raia, Overseer of the Royal Apartments of the Harim at Memphis (*temp.*

Seti I);⁴⁴

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

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

⁴⁰ The tombs in the Cairo University concession area were published as: S. Tawfik, ‘Recently Excavated Ramesside Tombs at Saqqara 1. Architecture’, *MDAIK* 47 (1991), fig. 1 (years 1984–8); and O. El-Aguizy, ‘A Preliminary Report on Three Seasons of Excavations at Saqqara: 2005-2007’, *BEM* 4 (2007), fig. 14. The tomb of Ptahmose (excavated by El-Aguizy’s team in 2010) is indicated as a hypothetical plan (see Staring, *BIFAO* 114/2, fig. 8). The Leiden concession area (including the former EES/Leiden mission, 1975–99; and the joint mission of Leiden University and the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, 1999–present) presents the situation at the end of the 2013 season (after a plan produced by Annelies Bleeker). The approximate location of the tombs with Lepsius Saqqara (LS) number are after *LD*, pl. I.31.

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

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

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

⁴⁴ *LD Text*, I, 184; M.J. Raven, *The Tomb of Pay and Raia at Saqqara* (EES EM 74; London, 2005). Raven (*op. cit.*, xxi) indicates that Lepsius presumably did not see the tomb. He merely secured two stelae (now Berlin 7270–71) that might have been taken from their original position by previous visitors.

LS 29: Hormin, Overseer of the Royal Apartments of the Harim at Memphis (*temp.* Seti I–Ramesses II).⁴⁵

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

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

Indeed, the location of LS 28 on Lepsius’ map is indicated to the north-west of LS 27, whereas the tomb is actually located to its south.

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

⁴⁶ *LD Text*, I, 184.

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

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

⁴⁹ Bernardino Drovetti (1776–1852), Giovanni d’Anastasi (see n. 51, below), and Jean François Mimaut (1773–1837).

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

⁵¹ For Nizzoli at Saqqara, see A. Nizzoli, *Memorie sull’ Egitto e specialmente sui costumi delle donne orientali e gli harem, scritte durante il suo soggiorno in quel paese (1819-1828)* (Milan, 1841); W.C. Hayes, ‘A Writing-palette of the Chief Steward Amenhotep and Some Notes on Its Owner’, *JEA* 24 (1938), 9–24; C. Lilyquist, ‘The Gold Bowl Naming General Djehuty: A Study of Objects and Early Egyptology’, *MMJ* 23 (1988), 5–68. Nizzoli describes the provenance of excavated objects, including from Saqqara (excavated 1823–5) in ‘Memorie relative al gabinetto di antichità’, pages 371–6 (published as: Giovanni Battista Zannoni, ‘Museo Nizzoli, a. 1824: catalogo ed inventario’, *Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei musei d’Italia* (Florence, 1880), 346–76). Nizzoli was chancellor at the Austrian consulate in Egypt, 1818–28, and acquired objects through purchases made on the antiquities market in Cairo and by occasional private excavations. Not much is known about the person and activities of

Even during Mariette's directorship at the Antiquities Service, private excavations persisted – although these were to a certain degree regulated. Resolutions implemented by Said Pasha in 1858 meant to call an end to the practices that had resulted in the widespread disappearance of Egyptian antiquities.⁵² Mariette's assistant Bonnefoy is said to have been active in suppressing illicit digging,⁵³ which probably targeted only such activities undertaken by the local population.⁵⁴ Under the new regulations the local inhabitants would even risk imprisonment when setting foot in any ancient temple, which according to Mariette had the desired effects: '... *il n'est plus une pierre antique qui soit remuée sans ma permission*'.⁵⁵

Despite the new regulations, contemporary travellers such as Sir Charles Nicholson (1808–1903) were able to obtain objects from Saqqara for their private collections.⁵⁶ During his second trip to Egypt in 1862, Nicholson bought a number of antiquities from Hanna Massara, a dragoman for the British Consulate who ran an antiquities shop in Cairo.⁵⁷ He was a relative (brother?) of Youssef (Joseph) Massara

d'Anastasi. From Champollion we learn that, when the Franco-Tuscan expedition arrived in Egypt in 1828, Drovetti and d'Anastasi alone had *firmans* (official permits granted by the viceroy) to conduct excavations (David, *Mariette Pacha*, 49; Ridley, *Napoleon's Proconsul*, 157). Giuseppe (Joseph) Passalacqua (1797–1865; Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 418) excavated at Saqqara in 1826: J. Passalacqua, *Catalogue raisonné et historique des antiquités découvertes en Égypte* (Paris, 1926). His collection was acquired for the Berlin Museum by Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia in 1827.

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

⁵³ Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 67.

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

⁵⁵ Mariette, *CRAIBL* 3, 154.

⁵⁶ Nicholson travelled the country in 1856–57 and 1862, and on both occasions he visited Saqqara where he acquired antiquities: K.N. Sowada, 'Sir Charles Nicholson: An Early Scholar-traveller in Egypt', in K.N. Sowada and B.G. Ockinga (eds), *Egyptian Art in the Nicholson Museum, Sydney* (Sydney, 2006), 1–13; Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 404.

⁵⁷ C. Nicholson, *Aegyptiaca: Comprising a Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities Collected in the Years 1856, 1857, and now Deposited in the Museum of the University of Sydney* (London, 1891), 95; Sowada, in Sowada and Ockinga, *Nicholson Museum*, 4–5. Objects from New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara: statue fragment of Horemheb (late Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Tutankhamun; Sydney, Nicholson Museum R 1138: K. Sowada, 'A Late Eighteenth Dynasty Statue in the Nicholson Museum, Sydney', *JEA* 80 (1994), 137–43), naophorous statue of the Vizier Ta (Twentieth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses III; Nicholson Museum R 1144: K.A. Kitchen and B.G. Ockinga, 'A Memphite Monument of the Vizier T3 in Sydney', *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 99–103, pls 20–1), and pillar fragments of Mose (Loret tomb No. 5; Nineteenth Dynasty, Ramesses II, late; Nicholson Museum R 1131–35; Nicholson, *Aegyptiaca*, 93–112, pls 1–4).

(c.1760–1842+), who was employed as dragoman for the French Consulate.⁵⁸ Together with Girolamo Segato (1792–1836) he had opened Djoser's pyramid for Freiherr von Minutoli (1772–1846) in 1820–1.⁵⁹ He established an antiquities dealership in 1828 and acted as an agent for Drovetti in the Memphite area (i.e. Gizeh, Saqqara, and Mit Rahineh). Later he sold antiquities to Lepsius.⁶⁰ That Massara excavated at least some of these objects in the area of the necropolis under study here can be inferred from Kurt Sethe's report (1897) in Lepsius' *Denkmaeler*. The account of a visit to the antiquities shop of Massara in Cairo (on 7 November 1842) informs us that '... *In einem Grabe in Sakkara, das der Antikenhändler Massara hat öffnen lassen, sind eine Anzahl Gegenstände gefunden worden, die einem Manne Namens*  *gehörten.*⁶¹ [...] *In demselben Grabe ist der Goldring mit dem Namen des Amenophis IV gefunden, den ich gekauft habe (jetzt in Berlin No. 1785) [...]*'⁶² In the archaeological report of tomb shaft (*Brunnen*) LS 30, reference is made to that ring: 'Wo man den Ring

These tombs are located in the Teti pyramid cemetery (Mose) and south of the Unas causeway (Horemheb).

⁵⁸ J. Málek, 'El-Ma'sara and Masarra', *OLP* 17 (1986), 15; Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 359. Massara was of Syrian origin.

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

⁶⁰ *LD Text*, I, 16–18; M. Dewachter, 'Pour une meilleure utilisation des matériaux réunies en Egypte par l'expédition de Lepsius', *GM* 73 (1984), 28.

⁶¹ *LD Text*, I, 16. Lepsius obtained the following objects from the tomb of Serbykhen Iby, Prophet (*ḥm-ntr*) of Amun, Astarte, and Baal, for the Berlin Museum: No. 1882 (wooden lid of box), No. 1284 (wooden staff), No. unknown (scarab), No. 8665 (fragments of a necklace), No. unknown (wooden palette), No. unknown (carnelian snake's head). See also: PM III/2, 717; J.-C. Dégardin, 'À propos des objets rapportés par l'expédition de Lepsius', *RdE* 32 (1980), 137. Sethe indicates that he was informed by Steindorff that more objects of the same man were in the collection of the Louvre. Indeed, two carnelian amulets entered the museum through the collection of Clot Bey, 1852–3 (Paris, Musée du Louvre E 1155 and E 2208), and one was purchased from the collection Barrois (Louvre E 3860). Another amulet of the same man is in the Musée de Cherbourg (Inv. No. 1039; ex-coll. Maupas, 1910): P. Kriéger, 'Informations et documents: Note concernant les numéros d'inventaire des objets conservés au Départements des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Louvre', *RdE* 12 (1960), 96; M. Dewachter, 'L'Égypte dans les Musées, Châteaux, Bibliothèques et Sociétés Savantes de Province', *BSFE* 103 (1985), 29–31, fig. 2.

⁶² Other objects of New Kingdom date seen and/or bought on the same occasion and originating from Saqqara, include a stela of Saka, the '/// of the Treasury of the Temple of Ramesses-Meriamun in the House of Osiris' (present location unknown); limestone column Berlin No. 1446 of Nemtymose (its pedestal was left in Cairo), Overseer of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands; Ramesside ('*aus der vom General von Minutoli besuchten grossten Pyramide von Sakkara [No. XXXII]*': L. Borchardt, 'Zur Baugeschichte der Stufenpyramide bei Sakkara', *ZÄS* 30 (1892), 87–94; L. Borchardt, *Die ägyptische Pflanzensäule: Ein Kapitel zur Geschichte des Pflanzenornaments* (Berlin, 1897), fig. 80; Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften*, II, 318; PM III/2, 592); a stela of Pakharu (present location unknown; the stela contains the inscription *ḥr.y w^cb n.y ḥw.t-k3-Pth*). In 2002, a stela of the *im.y-r3 w^cb.w P3-ḥ3-rw* of Nineteenth Dynasty date was found reused in a shaft (No. 2002/8) by the Leiden expedition (No. 2002-R32): Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 164–6, No. 128), and this might be the same man.

des Dr. Abbott mit dem Vornamen Amenophis' II Aacheperu-Rā gefunden hat. In der Nähe, etwas südöstlicher ist unser Ring [mit dem Vornamen Amenophis' IV] gefunden'.⁶³

Christian Wilhelm von Huber (1804–71), the Austrian Consul-General in Egypt 1850–58, excavated at Saqqara in the same fashion as his illustrious predecessors did in the 1820s,⁶⁴ although without being granted a *firman*.⁶⁵ During a state visit to Egypt in 1855, Huber accompanied Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria⁶⁶ to Badraschein on 14 July ‘... to see the ruins and necropolis of Memphis’.⁶⁷ In a letter written in 1854, Mariette remarks that Huber often came to see him while he was working at the Serapeum, and that Huber ‘even made some excavations at Saqqara’.⁶⁸ While this seems to indicate that both men were on friendly terms, the opposite is suggested by Heinrich Brugsch (1827–84): ‘... dem Franzosen A. Mariette, der damals im Serapeum seine letzten Ausgrabungen leitete, stand Herr von Huber auf dem denkbar schlechtesten Fuße, während Mariette seinen Namen nur mit verächtlicher Miene erwähnte. Beide konnten sich nicht riechen, wie man zu sagen pflegt. Wie oft habe ich die Versicherung meines österreichischen Kollegen (i.e. Huber) nicht mit anhören müssen: „Der

⁶³ *LD Text*, I, 185. For Abbott’s ring, see *Ibid.*, 10, 18. For Abbott, see: Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 1–2. His personal collection of more than 1200 Ancient Egyptian objects was acquired by The New York Historical Society in 1860; it was on loan to the Brooklyn Museum in 1936, and purchased by the same museum in 1948.

⁶⁴ Uphill, Dawson, and Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 267.

⁶⁵ David, *Mariette Pacha*, 72. *Firman*s were issued by the viceroy (initially by Muhammad Ali), who controlled, in theory, all rights to undertaking any excavations in Egypt. On the practicalities of obtaining and working with a *firman*, see e.g. J. Thompson, *Sir Gardner Wilkinson and His Circle* (Austin, 1992), 65, regarding John Gardner Wilkinson in 1824 and onwards.

⁶⁶ Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph (1832–67) was the younger brother of Kaiser Franz Joseph I of Austria (1830–1916), and was crowned Emperor of Mexico as Maximilian I (1864–7): H. Satzinger, *Das Kunsthistorische Museum in Wien: Die Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung* (Mainz am Rhein, 1994), 72–3.

⁶⁷ G. Hamernik, ‘Ferdinand Maximilians Staatsbesuch in Ägypten und der Anfang der ägyptischen Sammlung von Miramar’, in I. Lazar and J. Holaubek (eds), *Egypt and Austria V: Egypt’s heritage in Europe* (Koper, 2009), 232–3. The objects obtained during the state visit were first taken to Maximilian’s castle at Miramar (Miramar Museum: S. Reinisch, *Die ägyptischen Denkmäler in Miramar* (Vienna, 1865), xiii–ix), and were later added to the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. See also: Satzinger, *Das Kunsthistorische Museum in Wien*, 74–80.

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

*Franzose in Sakkarah ist ein Dieb. Mein Agent, der spanische Jude Fernandez*⁶⁹ ist der eigentliche Entdecker des Serapeums [...]“.⁷⁰ When Mariette first set out to Saqqara, he clashed with Fernandez,⁷¹ who had been active there already since around 1830 and who controlled all transportable monuments from the site.⁷² Essentially, (before 1858) Mariette was one of many opportunistic explorers at Saqqara trying to secure antiquities for museum collections or for their personal trade. To the likes of Massara and Fernandez, Mariette was just another, new rival. Perhaps for the same reasons, Mariette in general was not very welcoming to strangers visiting his excavations.⁷³ The animosity between Mariette and Huber might also be traced to an event later quoted by Petrie: ‘... [i]t may not be on record elsewhere that “the collection at Miramar (see above) was a hoard of Mariette’s, hidden by him at the end of a season; it was ranked out, under compulsion, by his reises, under order of Ismail, who wanted a fine present for the French protégé Maximilian. Mariette returned, and gnashed”’.⁷⁴

Whereas some objects of Huber’s private collection were sent to Vienna in 1857, the larger part was acquired by Mariette on behalf of Said Pasha for the Bulaq Museum in April 1859.⁷⁵ Interestingly, that collection included two elements that were taken from New Kingdom tombs located south of the Unas causeway. These are the

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

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

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

⁷² David, *Mariette Pacha*, 58, 69.

⁷³ Donaldson, *TRIBA* (1861), 190; David, *Mariette Pacha*, 87–9.

⁷⁴ Petrie, *Seventy Years*, 110.

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

tomb of Ptahemwia (I), the late Eighteenth Dynasty Royal Butler (doorjamb Cairo JE 8383),⁷⁶ and Hormin, the early Nineteenth Dynasty Overseer of the Royal Apartments of the Harim at Memphis (relief Cairo JE 8376).⁷⁷ The doorjamb of Ptahemwia (I) was found in 1857, as we learn from Brugsch: ‘... *La-série d’inscriptions hiéroglyphiques que nous présentons aux lecteurs, est copiée sur des monuments qui furent découverts lors de notre séjour en Egypte 1857 dans la nécropole de Memphis, et devinrent les possessions de Mr. de Huber.*’⁷⁸ The tombs of Ptahemwia (I) and Hormin had been visited by art-collectors before. A pilaster from Ptahemwia (I)’s tomb formed part of the third collection of Nizzoli.⁷⁹ These objects were found at Saqqara between 1824 and 1827. The pilaster was sold to the Bolognese art collector and painter Pelagio Palagi (1775–1860) in 1831. His collection would form the nucleus of the Egyptian collection of the Museo Civico Archeologico in Bologna. The pilaster now has Inv. No. EG 1891.⁸⁰ The tomb of Ptahemwia (I) was rediscovered by the Leiden archaeological mission in 2007 due east of Generalissimo Horemheb’s tomb.⁸¹ The tomb of Hormin was visited by Lepsius’ expedition in 1843 and was given the tomb number LS 29. Its location was mapped to the north-west of Maya’s tomb and described as ‘*eine innere Thüre des Grabes*’,⁸² indicating that it was only partly exposed. Previously, two stelae from Hormin’s tomb entered the Berlin Museum through the collection of Passalacqua (Nos 7274 and 7305),⁸³ while a naophorous statue in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in

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

⁷⁷ PM III/2, 664–5; Reinisch, *Denkmaeler in Miramar*, fig. 29.

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

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

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

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

⁸² *LD Text*, I, 185; pl. I.31.

⁸³ Passalacqua, *Catalogue raisonné*, 45–47, Nos 136–63.

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

Mariette does not mention the tomb of Ptahemwia (I) in his *Monuments divers*, but he did visit the tomb of Hormin.⁸⁶ On that occasion, several relief blocks were removed and transported to the Bulaq Museum (Cairo JE 8374–5; 8377–82; TN 1.7.24.6),⁸⁷ where they arrived in 1860.⁸⁸ Mariette visited the tomb on a previous occasion, when excavating in preparation for Prince Napoleon's visit to Egypt. The relief-decorated limestone block depicting Hormin receiving the Gold of Honour from Seti I was taken from the tomb between October 1857 and March 1858. It was presented to the Prince in 1858 along with many other objects,⁸⁹ and the block now forms part of the collection of the Musée du Louvre (E 3337 = C213).

Tombs excavated by Mariette, Devéria and Vassalli at Saqqara, 1858–62

In 1858, Mariette started work in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara together with Devéria. Although their visit was brief (see discussion above), Mariette would revisit the area on several occasions in the early 1860s accompanied by Luigi Vassalli (1812–87), the Italian painter who, as an art dealer, became acquainted with Mariette by 1853,

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

⁸⁵ S. Curto, *L'Egitto antico nelle collezioni dell'Italia settentrionale* (Bologna, 1961), n. 140; S. Pernigotti, 'Il rilievo di Hormin nel Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna', in Anonymous (ed.), *L'impero ramesside: convegno internazionale in onore di Sergio Donadoni* (Rome, 1997), 143–50; S. Pernigotti, 'Materiali per il dossier di Hormin', *Ocnus: quaderni della scuola di specializzazione in archeologia* 9–10 (2001–2), 155–67. For a history of the Bologna collection, see: D. Picchi, 'The Egyptian Collection of the Archaeological Museum in Bologna: Past and Future', in A.-A. Maravelia (ed.), *Europe, Hellas and Egypt: Complementary Antipodes during Late Antiquity, Papers from Session IV.3, held at the European Association of Archaeologists Eighth Annual Meeting in Thessaloniki 2002* (BAR IS 1218; Oxford, 2004), 21–33 (esp. p. 23); D. Picchi, 'Le antichità egiziane di Pelagio Palagi e il mercato antiquario veneziano', *Egyptian & Egyptological Documents, Archives, Libraries* 1 (2009), 35–40. Palagi bought his Egyptian antiquities from Nizzoli in 1831–32. I thank Daniela Picchi for information on this relief and for sending me copies of the relevant articles.

⁸⁶ Mariette, *Mon. div.*, 20, pl. 60.

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

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

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

became his assistant in 1859, and served as Keeper (1865–83) and Director (1881) of the Bulaq Museum.⁹⁰ On 8 February 1861, Mariette recorded the find of the lower part of the stela of Iny, Overseer of the Gold-Workers of the Lord of the Two Lands, due south of the Great Pyramid at Saqqara.⁹¹ He assigned it tomb number H8. That same year, Vassalli revisited the limestone tomb-structure of Tjuneroy. Maspero described that structure as a ‘*petite construction en pierre calcaire, à moitié ruinée*’.⁹² The brother of Tjuneroy, Paser, Overseer of Builders of the Lord of the Two Lands, constructed his tomb immediately behind the tomb of Horemheb. In view of the emphasis on the royal ancestors in Tjuneroy’s private tomb, and the fact that the tomb of Horemheb – the “founder” of the Ramesside Dynasty – received a cult during the Ramesside period, it is highly likely that Tjuneroy’s tomb should be similarly located in that area.

Line drawings of a select number of monuments explored by Mariette, Devéria and Vassalli were included in Mariette’s *Monuments divers* (1872), and the texts accompanying the figures were written by Maspero (1889). Maspero had to rely on Mariette’s manuscript but, as indicated in the ‘*avertissement*’ preceding the texts he had to ‘*rédigier le texte qu’il avait souvent promis et dont pas une ligne ne s’était retrouvée dans ses manuscrits au moment de sa mort*’.⁹³ He described Mariette’s fieldwork over the years 1859–60 as follows: ‘... *Les découvertes de Mariette s’y succédaient si rapides qu’il n’avait plus le temps d’approfondir les documents qui en sortaient*’.⁹⁴ Thus, thirty years after Mariette’s work in the area, the objects and architectural elements from the tombs were published without reliable information on their provenance. Moreover, the Bulaq Museum, which accommodated also Mariette’s house, was flooded in 1878. This led to the loss of not only antiquities, but also of a substantial part of Mariette’s notes, manuscripts and squeezes.⁹⁵ Additionally, Eugène

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

⁹¹ Mariette, *Mastaba*, 450 (H8).

⁹² Mariette, *Mon. div.*, 17–18.

⁹³ Maspero in Mariette, *Mon. div.*, preface.

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

⁹⁵ David, *Mariette Pacha*, 249–52.

Grébaut (1846–1915)⁹⁶ borrowed Mariette’s *Journals de fouilles* on work in the Serapeum over the years 1850–4. These papers were never returned and are now lost.⁹⁷ His *Journal de fouilles* covering the years 1858–59 and 1859–60 was donated by Maspero to the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* in Paris.⁹⁸ However, Grébaut may have also borrowed material related to fieldwork carried out in the late 1850s. One Devéria-photograph taken in 1859, showing the tomb of Ptahmose at Saqqara, was recently acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and it originated from Grébaut’s private collection.⁹⁹

The New Kingdom tombs excavated by Mariette in partnership with Devéria and Vassalli respectively, and published posthumously in *Monuments divers* and *Mastaba de l’Ancien Empire* are tabulated below (table 1). The tombs photographed by Devéria are marked with an asterisk.

TABLE 1 *New Kingdom tombs explored by Mariette and/or his assistants in the area south of the Unas causeway at Saqqara as recorded in Monuments divers (1889 [1872]) and Les Mastaba de l’Ancien Empire (1885)*

Tomb owner	Title	Date	Date of (re)discovery	Cairo Inv. No.	Museum entry
ʾzḥ- ms(.w) ¹⁰⁰	sš ḥsb ḫ.w	Eighteenth Dynasty	Vassalli, January 1862	Stela JE 18181 = CG 34049	1862
ʾnḫwz ¹⁰¹	im.y-rz pr.w m/n.y	Late Eighteenth	Mariette/Vassalli,	Stela JE 10079	1860

⁹⁶ Director of the French Archaeological Mission at Cairo, 1883–86, and successor of Maspero as Director of the Antiquities Service, 1886–92: Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 223.

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

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

⁹⁹ MMA inv. no. 2005.100.321: Staring, *BIFAO* 114/2.

¹⁰⁰ PM III/2, 736; Vassalli MSS 15, right (at Castello Sforzesco, Milan); Mariette, *Mon. div.*, 18, pl. 56a; P. Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire* (CGC Nos 34001–64, 34065–189; Cairo, 1909–16), 84–6, pl. 29; Tiradritti, *L’egittologo Luigi Vassalli-bey*, 10–11. Ahmose’s son Mahu also made a career in cattle counting: sš ḥsb ḫ.w sš mš^c. While Lacau indicates that the stela was found in 1862, Tiradritti argues that the JE number suggests that the stela entered the Bulaq Museum in 1859. Cairo Museum’s numbering system(s) as explicated by Bothmer, *BdE* 64/3, 114, confirms the information provided by Lacau. Tiradritti’s claim that the stela is ‘... un tipico monumento dell’età ramesside’ should be corrected as well. Iconography and the erasure of the element ʾmn(.w) point at a pre-Amarna date.

	<i>Mn-nfr</i>	Dynasty	1860 ¹⁰²		
			EES/Leiden 1993		
<i>Iny</i> [H8] ¹⁰³	<i>im.y-r3 nby.w n.w nb</i>	Late	Mariette, February	Stela JE	1861
	<i>t3.wy</i>	Eighteenth/Early	8, 1861	15115 = TN	
		Nineteenth Dynasty		14.1.25.5	
<i>P3-R^c(.w)- hr-wnm=f</i> ¹⁰⁴	<i>sš wr n.y p3 ipw cš</i>	Twentieth Dynasty,	Mariette (1858?)	Stela JE 3299	1858
	<i>n.y Imn.w</i>	Ramesses III or later			
<i>Pi3y</i> ¹⁰⁵	<i>sš sb3.w m hw.t-ntr</i>	New Kingdom/	Mariette	“unidentified	n/a
	<i>N.t nb.t š3.t</i>	Twenty-sixth		object”	
* <i>Pth-m-wi3</i>	<i>im.y-r3 ih.w wr</i>	Nineteenth Dynasty,	Mariette 1859	“unidentified	n/a
		Ramesses II		object”	
			Mariette March	Pyramidion JE	1860 ¹⁰⁶
		1860	8371 = CG		
				17109	
* <i>Pth- ms(.w)</i> ¹⁰⁷	<i>h3.ty-c.w wr m Inb.w-</i>	Early Nineteenth	Mariette 1859;	Relief JE 4874	1859
	<i>hd</i>	Dynasty	Cairo University		
			2010		
<i>Mry(-ty)-Nt / Mry-R^c(.w) [H9]</i> ¹⁰⁸	<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y pr.w</i>	Late Eighteenth	November 30, 1850	Reliefs,	n/a
	<i>Itn.w m Mn-nfr</i>	Dynasty, Akhenaten		present	
				location	
			Leiden 2001	unknown	
<i>Nm.ty- ms(.w)</i> ¹⁰⁹	<i>ktn n.y hm=f</i>	Nineteenth Dynasty	Mariette	Stela TN	?
				22.1.21.1	
<i>Hr-mn(.w) [LS 29]</i> ¹¹⁰	<i>im.y-r3 ip.t-nsu n.yt</i>	Nineteenth Dynasty,	Lepsius 1843 ;	Reliefs JE	1860
	<i>Mn-nfr</i>	Seti I–Ramesses II	Mariette 1860?	8374[–8382]	

¹⁰¹ PM III/2, 707; Vassalli MSS 20, left; Mariette, *Mon. div.*, 18, pl. 57a; Schneider, *Iniuia*.

¹⁰² According to Schneider (*Iniuia*, 23, 71), the large stela (JE 10079), found by Mariette and Vassalli, was acquired by the Bulaq Museum in 1860.

¹⁰³ PM III/2, 667; Mariette, *Mon. div.*, 20, pl. 62b; Mariette, *Mastaba*, 450 (‘*Sud de la Grande Pyramide de Sakkarah*’); G.A. Gaballa, ‘Three acephalous stelae’, *JEA* 63 (1977), 125–6, pls 23.3, 23A.2.

¹⁰⁴ PM III/2, 737; Mariette, *Mon. div.*, 20, pl. 61; Devéria squeezes 6196,10 (at Musée du Louvre, Paris); J. Berlandini, ‘Varia Memphitica VI: La stèle de Parâherounemyef’, *BIFAO* 85 (1985), 41–62.

¹⁰⁵ PM III/2, 775; Mariette, *Mon. div.*, 20, pl. 61e.

¹⁰⁶ According to the *Journal d’Entrée*, the pyramidion was found at Memphis in March 1861 (K. Myśliwiec, ‘Zwei Pyramidia der XIX. Dynastie aus Memphis’, *SAK* 6 (1978), 139). According to the JE number, however, the object would have entered the museum in 1860 (cf. Bothmer, *Bib.Et.* 64/3, 114). The unpublished “Inventaire Mariette” similarly indicates a find-date of March 1860 (I owe this information to Stéphane Pasquali).

¹⁰⁷ PM III/2, 713–15; Mariette, *Mon. div.*, 20, pl. 62d; Berlandini, *BIFAO* 82, 85–103; Staring, *BIFAO* 114/2.

¹⁰⁸ PM III/2, 666; Mariette, *Mastaba*, 449; M. El-Ghandour, ‘Report on Work at Saqqara South of the New Kingdom Cemetery Seasons 1994, 1996, 1997’, *GM* 161 (1997), 12, pls II, XI; Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*.

¹⁰⁹ PM III/2, 737; Mariette, *Mon. div.*, 30, pl. 105; Mariette, *Mastaba*, 3.

¹¹⁰ PM III/2, 664–5, *LD Text*, I, 185; pl. I.31; Mariette, *Mon. div.*, 20, pl. 60.

<i>Hr(.w)-m- hb¹¹¹</i>	<i>im.y-r3 im.yw-r3 mšc nb t3.wy</i>	Late Eighteenth Dynasty, Tutankhamun	Mariette 1859? EES/Leiden 1975	Doorjambes, <i>in situ</i> Column panels JE 11332–34	? 1860
<i>Hwy¹¹²</i>	<i>hr.y šwty.w n.w t3 hw.t p3 'Itn.w</i>	Late Eighteenth Dynasty, Amenhotep IV/Akh.	Mariette, April 1860	Stela JE 10174 = CG 34182	1859?
* <i>Hcy¹¹³</i>	<i>im.y-r3 pr.wy-ḥd n.y t3 hw.t n.yt rnp.wt n.yt nsw.t bi.ty Wsr- M3c.t-Rc.w-stp.n-Rc.w m pr.w 'Imn.w</i>	Nineteenth Dynasty, Ramesses II	Mariette March 1859	Statues CG 604 and 606 (JE 4737)	1859
<i>Twnry¹¹⁴</i>	<i>im.y-r3 k3.t m mnw nb n.y nb t3.wy</i>	Nineteenth Dynasty, Ramesses II	Mariette 1858/9 Vassalli 1861	Relief CG 34516 Stela JE 18924?	1862

The location of four of these tombs – Iniuia, Ptahmose, Mery-Neith and Horemheb – has been ascertained by excavation. The location of a fifth tomb (Hormin) has been mapped by Lepsius. These are all located in the same general area (fig. 2). A number of the tombs were visited before: Iniuia, Ptahmose, Mery-Neith, Hormin, and Horemheb. Elements taken from these tombs entered private and public collections before 1850.

The tombs visited by Mariette are mostly of a late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty date, which might provide an indication for the area explored by Mariette. In view of that observation, and considering the architectural similarities between the tombs of Ptahmose and Ptahemwia (II), the latter tomb should probably be situated in the same area as well. This fits with Ptahemwia (II)'s chronological position and the general development of the New Kingdom cemetery from south (late Eighteenth Dynasty) to north (Ramesside). This hypothesis can be supported by the fact that this

¹¹¹ PM III/2, 655–61; Mariette, *Mon. div.*, 25–6, pls 74–5; G.T. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, commander-in-chief of Tut'ankhamūn, I: the reliefs, inscriptions, and commentary* (EES EM 55; London, 1989).

¹¹² PM III/2, 737; Mariette, *Mon. div.*, 18, pl. 56b; Lacau, *Stèles*, 222–4, pl. 69; B. Löhr, 'Aḥanjāti in Memphis', *SAK 2* (1975), 176–8.

¹¹³ PM III/2, 726; Mariette, *Mon. div.*, 21, pl. 63f; Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, II, 154–5; 155–6, pls 109–10; Pasquali, *BIFAO* 113, 315–16, figs 10–11; G. Maspero, *Guide du visiteur au Musée de Boulaq* (Boulaq, 1883), 44–5, Nos 285–6.

¹¹⁴ PM III/2, 666–7; Mariette, *Mon. div.*, 18–19, pls 57a, 58; Devéria squeezes 6165, i.10 (CG 34516); 6170A, 6, 14 (JE 18942); Maspero, *Guide*, 432–7, No. 872.

area was “inhabited” by more officials bearing similar titles. They include Overseers of Cattle (Pay, Iniuia) and the higher administrative personnel of the Ramesseum (Tia, Amenemone).¹¹⁵

Not all (inscribed) material excavated by Mariette was published in *Monuments divers*. A survey of additional funerary equipment published in the *Catalogue Général* of the Cairo Museum (canopics and funerary statuettes), has resulted in the list of tombs explored by Mariette, Devéria, and Vassalli presented in table 2. Three tomb owners are briefly discussed below.

Nedjem, the Chief Steward of the Ramesseum, served during the late reign of Ramesses II and early Merenptah. His canopic jars (Cairo CG 4161–4) were found at Saqqara in December 1859.¹¹⁶ His shabtis (Cairo CG 47188, 47209–10) were also found at Saqqara, but no find date is known.¹¹⁷ The JE numbers of the latter two shabtis (JE 5497; 6498) suggest that they were found in 1859–60,¹¹⁸ probably together with the canopic jars. More recently, an abacus was found reused in a secondary wall around shaft 2003/17 near the tomb of Mery-Neith at Saqqara,¹¹⁹ and a shabti fragment was found in the fill of the courtyard of the neighbouring tomb of Ptahemwia (I).¹²⁰ These finds suggest that the tomb of Nedjem was located nearby. A statue of the same man was found by Mariette in the temple of Ptah at Memphis (in 1871, 1872 or 1875).¹²¹ The provenance of his stela (Cairo CG 34508) is unknown, although it might derive from Nedjem’s tomb at Saqqara.¹²²

Another tomb perhaps explored by Mariette (and Vassalli?) is that of Tjay, who can be dated to the late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty. His titles are unknown.

¹¹⁵ See N. Staring, ‘The Personnel of the Theban Ramesseum in the Memphite Necropolis’, *JEOL* (2014–15), 51–92.

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

¹¹⁷ P.E. Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi* (CGC Nos 46530–48575; Cairo, 1937–57), 88–9, 97, pls XIX–XXI, XXXV.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Bothmer, *Bib.Et.* 64/3, 114.

¹¹⁹ Excav. No. Sak. 2003-72: Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 172, Cat. 163.

¹²⁰ Excav. No. Sak. 2007-16: Raven et al., *Ptahemwia and Sethnakht*, Cat. 67.

¹²¹ PM III/2, 838; Mariette, *Mon. div.*, 7, pl. 27f. The cubic statue is now in Memphis (Tennessee): Memphis State University Collection 1981.1.20 (formerly: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 29.730); D. Dunham, ‘Four New Kingdom Monuments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston’, *JEA* 21(1935), 150–1, pl. 19 (bought in 1929 from a private owner).

¹²² The stela is unpublished. A transcription of the text was provided by Kitchen: *KRI* III, 201. It names Nedjem’s father: the Royal Scribe Amenemope. Interestingly, a shabti of an untitled man named Amenemope was found at Saqqara in 1858: Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes*, 112 (Cairo CG 47240).

According to Borchardt, the seated dyad of Tjay and his wife, the Lady of the House Naya (Cairo JE 19181; CG 628) was found at Saqqara in April 1862.¹²³ Canopic jars (Cairo JE 6370–3; CG 4094–7) of a lady named Nay/Naia were found in February 1860.¹²⁴ The tomb might have been explored even earlier, as two shabtis inscribed for the *nb.t pr Nzy* (Cairo JE 6005–6; CG 47647–8) were found in 1859.¹²⁵

The stela (Cairo JE 48845) of the Vizier and High Priest of Ptah, (Pa-)Rahotep (Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II, second half), according to the *Journal d'Entrée*, was in the museum 'since the time of Mariette'.¹²⁶ Whether this indicates that the stela was actually excavated by Mariette, is not certain. The stela formed part not of his tomb structure, but of a *ka* chapel: his tomb is located in Sedment. Other elements deriving from the (lost) *ka* chapel include the naophorous statue found by Zakaria Goneim in December 1955 near the Apa Jeremias Monastery;¹²⁷ a red granite pyramidion fragment found in the surface debris near the south wall of the tomb of Horemheb;¹²⁸ and a limestone column fragment found in shaft 99/I, south of the south exterior wall of the inner courtyard of the tomb of Horemheb.¹²⁹

Other finds made in December 1859 are the wooden statues of a lady Henut-nakhtu¹³⁰ and the Lady of the House, praised by the Aten, Sat-mut.¹³¹ It is not certain which tomb(s) these objects belonged to.

At least some of the tombs explored by Mariette were revisited in 1863 or 1864 by Emmanuel de Rougé, who recorded texts *in situ*.¹³² In the tomb of Horemheb he copied

¹²³ PM III/2, 726; Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* II, 175–6, pl. 115. The statue is currently housed in the Alexandria National Museum.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 175; Reisner, *Canopics*, 59–62, pl. XIII: Lady of the House *Nzy / Nzi*.

¹²⁵ Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes*, 190. Another shabti inscribed for a Lady of the House Nay (CG 47237; JE 6003) found at Saqqara (no date provided) should also be part of the same corpus.

¹²⁶ M. Moursi, 'Die Stele des Veziers Re-hotep (Kairo JE 48845)', *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 321–9. It is also mentioned in Vassalli MSS, 24, 24A, 25, upper: PM III/2, 665–6.

¹²⁷ H. Altenmüller and A.M. Moussa, 'Eine wiederentdeckte Statue des Vezirs Rahotep', *MDAIK* 30 (1974), 1–14. The statue is since 1972 on display on-site near the ticket office at Saqqara.

¹²⁸ H.D. Schneider, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, commander-in-chief of Tut'ankhamūn, II: A catalogue of the finds* (EES EM 61; Leiden, 1996), 93, NK 11.

¹²⁹ M.J. Raven et al., *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb Commander in Chief of Tutankhamun, V: The Forecourt and the Area South of the Tomb With Some Notes on the Tomb of Tia* (PALMA 6; Turnhout, 2011), 58, No. 28 (Sak. 2003-R92).

¹³⁰ Cairo CG 804 (JE 6056): Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, III, 101, pl. 148.

¹³¹ Cairo CG 452 (JE 6059): Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, II, 48, pl. 75. This statue was found together with CG 803 of an anonymous woman (Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, III, 101, pl. 148).

¹³² Martin, *Horemheb* I, 5. The texts were posthumously published by his son Jacques, who had accompanied his father to Egypt: J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, pls 104–8. See also Maspero,

the stela with the hymn to Re, which was later smashed to pieces; the fragments were subsequently assembled and taken to the Cairo Museum.¹³³ As some of the stone elements of the tombs of Ptahmose and Ptahemwia (II) photographed by Devéria cannot be identified in any collection, it is possible that these had undergone the same unfortunate fate.

After Mariette, it was not until 1906 that the area south of the Unas causeway again became the focus of archaeological interest when James Quibell started work at the site of the Monastery of Apa Jeremias.¹³⁴ However, illicit and undocumented digging will have certainly continued in the meantime.¹³⁵

Conclusion

This paper has investigated the archaeological activities of Auguste Mariette south of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, at the site now better known as the New Kingdom necropolis south of the Unas causeway, principally over the years 1858–62. This area of the necropolis has been largely neglected in discussions relating to Mariette's work at Saqqara. The main aims of this article were to demarcate the area of the necropolis where Mariette excavated, and to determine what his motives were to work there. In order to do so, his work in that area has been reviewed in a historical context, and information on the tombs explored by him and (in the company of) his assistants Théodule Devéria and Luigi Vassalli has been systematically collected. Mariette's fieldwork in this area of the necropolis appears to have been prompted by the founding of the Bulaq Museum (created in order to protect Egypt's antiquities) and the subsequent need to assemble a proper collection for Egypt's national museum of antiquities. Focus of work in the area south of the Step Pyramid was primarily aimed at

Notice biographique Emmanuel de Rougé, 81: '... Mariette non seulement autorisa Rougé à copier et à publier tout ce qu'il avait au Caire, mais il le conduisit à Sakkarah et il lui montra ses mastabas', 85–7.

¹³³ Martin, *Horemheb I*, 5.

¹³⁴ J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1906-1907)* (Cairo, 1908), 63.

¹³⁵ A good example is the south-east door jamb from the doorway to the inner courtyard of Maya's tomb. It was copied in situ by Lepsius in 1843 (LD, pl. III.240b). After the Prussian expedition had left, it was at one point removed carelessly. The relief's left half was subsequently acquired for the Amherst collection around 1865 and in 1921 it entered the collection of Rochester Memorial Art Gallery, Inv. No. 42.55: E. Graefe, 'Das Grab des Schatzhausvorstehers und Bauleiters Maya in Saqqara', *MDAIK* 31 (1975), 220; E. Graefe, 'Ein Wiederaufgetauchtes Relieffragment aus dem Grabe des Maya in Saqqara', *MDAIK* 33 (1977), 31–3; Raven, *Maya II*, 17; Martin, *Maya I*, 29–30, scenes [26–7], pl. 23. Numerous unprovenanced relief-blocks, statues, etc. taken from Saqqara appeared on the art market during the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century. See e.g. N. Staring, 'A Relief from the Tomb of the Memphite Mayor Ptahmose in the Collection of the Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University', *BACE* 25 (2014), 117–46.

securing portable objects that were largely uncovered by previous (uncontrolled) excavations. Further interest in tombs located in this area was fuelled by the discovery of the so-called Saqqara king-list from the tomb of Tjuneroy – an object which Mariette considered as one of the most important pieces held in the Bulaq Museum. A number of the tombs explored by Mariette have been relocated during more recent archaeological fieldwork. It is to be expected that the now-lost tombs of Ptahemwia (II) and Khay, both photographed by Devéria in 1859, are located in the same area; perhaps between the current Egyptian and Dutch archaeological concession areas.



Fig. 1 Charles Théodule Devéria, French, 1831–1871 Portrait of Auguste Mariette, 1859 (TDevéria; Ombos 1859). Coloured pencils on tan paper, 35 x 23 cm (13 3/4 x 9 1/16 in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Gift of Mrs. Horace L. Mayer, 1978.571. Photograph © 2015 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

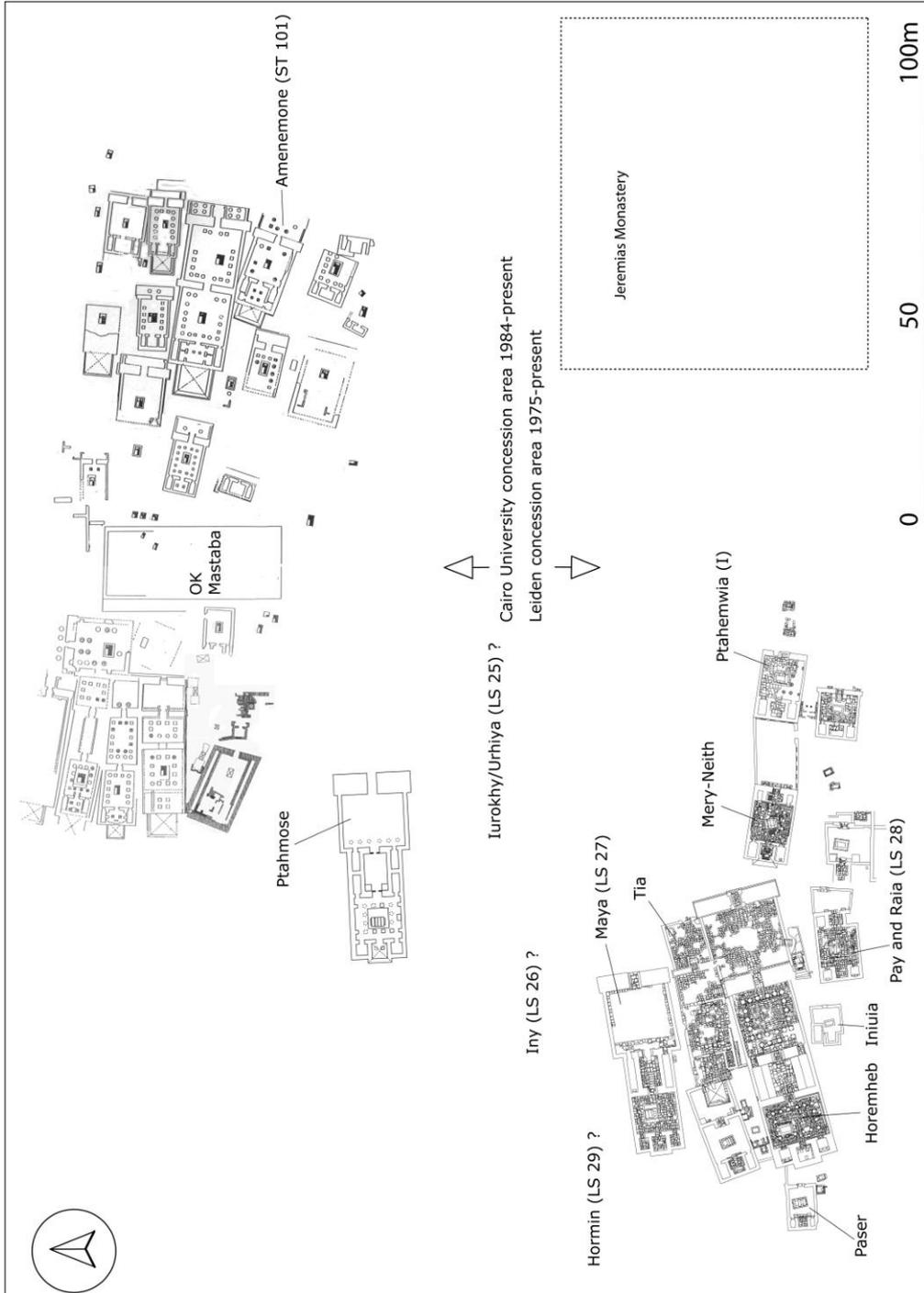


Fig. 2 General plan of the New Kingdom necropolis located south of the Unas causeway at Saqqara. Tombs marked are those discussed in the text.

TABLE 2 *New Kingdom tombs explored by Mariette and/or his assistants Devéria and Vassalli in the area south of the Unas causeway at Saqqara*

Find-date	Excavator	CG No.	JE No.	Object(s)	Name owner	Title(s) owner	Date	Reference
November 30th, 1850	Mariette	n/a	n/a	Reliefs	<i>Mry(-ty)-Ni/Mry-R^c(.w)</i>	<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y pr.w</i> <i>ʾImn.w m Mn-nfr</i>	D.18, late	Mariette, <i>Mastaba</i> , 449
1858?	Mariette	-	3299	Stela	<i>P3-R^c(.w)-hr-wmm=f</i>	<i>sš wr n.y p3 ipw sš n.y</i> <i>ʾImn.w</i>	D.20	Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 20, pl. 61
December 1858	Mariette / Devéria	34516	-	Relief	<i>Twnry</i>	<i>im.y-r3 k3.t m mnw nb n.y</i> <i>nb t3.wy</i>	D.19, early	Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 19, pl. 58
March 1859	Mariette / Devéria	-	-	Unidentified + tomb structure	<i>Ptḥ-m-wi3</i>	<i>im.y-r3 ḥ.w wr</i>	D.19, early	Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 20, pl. 62c
March 1859	Mariette / Devéria	-	4874	Stela + tomb structure	<i>Ptḥ-ms(.w)</i>	<i>ḥ3.ty-^c.w wr m ʾImb.w-ḥd</i>	D.19, early	Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 20, pl. 62d
March 1859	Mariette / Devéria	CG 604 / 606	4737	Statues	<i>Ḥcy</i>	<i>im.y-r3 pr.wy-ḥd n.y t3</i> <i>ḥw.t n.yt rrp.wt n.yt nsw.t</i> <i>bi.ty Wsr-ms^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w ʾImn.w</i>	D.19	Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 21, pl. 63f
December 1859	?	4161–64	6066–69	Canopics	<i>Nḡm</i>	<i>im.y-r pr.w wr n t3 ḥw.t</i> <i>Wsr-ms^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w ʾImn.w</i>	D.19 late	Reisner, <i>Canopics</i> , 116–20, pl. XXIV
1860	Mariette	-	11332–34	Column panels + tomb structure	<i>Ḥr-m-ḥb</i>	<i>im.y-r3 im.yw-r3 ms^c nb</i> <i>t3.wy</i>	D.18, late	Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 25–26, pls. 74–75
1860	Mariette	-	8374–82	Reliefs	<i>Ḥr-mm(.w)</i>	<i>im.y-r3 ip.t-t-nsw n.yt Mn-nfr</i>	D.19, early	Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 20, pl. 60
1860	Mariette / Vassalli	-	10079	Stela	<i>ʾIniw3</i>	<i>im.y-r3 pr.w m/n.y Mn-nfr</i>	D.18, late	Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 18, pl. 57a
February 1860	?	4094–97	6370–73	Canopics	<i>N3i3</i>	<i>nb.t pr.w</i>	D.18	Reisner, <i>Canopics</i> , 59–62
April 1860	Mariette	34182	10174	Stela	<i>Ḥwy</i>	<i>ḥr.y šwty.w n.w t3 ḥw.t p3</i> <i>ʾImn.w</i>	D.18, late	Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 18, pl. 56b

Find-date	Excavator	CG No.	JE No.	Object(s)	Name owner	Title(s) owner	Date	Reference
1861	Vassalli	-	18924?	Stela	<i>Iwry</i>	<i>im.y-r3 ks.t m mnw nb n.y nb t3.wy</i>	D.19, early	Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 18–18, pl. 57b
February 1861	?	4208	15002	Canopics	<i>Nb.t-knby</i>	<i>nb.t pr.w</i>	D.18/19	Reisner, <i>Canopics</i> , 150–51
February 8th, 1861	Mariette	-	15115	Stela	<i>Iry</i>	<i>im.y-r3 nby.w n.w nb t3.wy</i>	D.18, late/ D.19, early	Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 20, pl. 62b
December 1861	?	4325–26	17470–71	Canopics	<i>P3-sr</i>	<i>im.y-r3 niw.t t3.ty</i>	D.19, early	Reisner, <i>Canopics</i> , 221–22
January 1862	Vassalli	34049	18181	Stela	<i>I3h-ms(.w)</i>	<i>sš hsb ih.w</i>	D.18	Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 18, pl. 56a
March 1862	?	4322	19172–75	Canopics	<i>P3-R(.w)-m-hb</i>	<i>im.y-r3 ih.w wr n.y Imm.w</i>	D.20 (?)	Reisner, <i>Canopics</i> , 218–19
April 1862	?	628	19181	Statue	<i>I3y</i>	Unknown	D.18, late/ D.19, early	Borchardt, <i>Statuen II</i> , 175–76, pl. 115
October 1862	?	4220	20197–99	Canopics	NN	Unknown	NK	Reisner, <i>Canopics</i> , 154–55, pl. 33
October 1862	?	4389–90	20200–3	Canopics	<i>N^c-sš-///</i>	Unknown	?	Reisner, <i>Canopics</i> , 244–45
1864	Vassalli	TN 6.4.32.12	-	Fan-handle	<i>Mn.w-nht</i>	<i>sš kdw n.y pr.w R^c.w</i>	Mid D.18	Vassalli MSS, 14; Maspero, <i>Guide</i> , 530, No. 5337
Unknown	Mariette	-	-	Unidentified	<i>Pi3y</i>	<i>sš sb3.w m h^w.t-ntr N.t</i>	NK/D.26	Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 20, pl. 61e
Unknown	Mariette	TN 22.1.21.1	-	Stela	<i>Nm.ty-ms</i>	<i>ktn n.y hm=f</i>	D.19	Mariette, <i>Mon. div.</i> , 30, pl. 105

2.5.1

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The tomb of Ptahmose, Mayor of Memphis

Analysis of an early 19th Dynasty funerary monument at Saqqara

NICO STARING*

Introduction

In 2005 the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, acquired a photograph taken by French Egyptologist Théodule Devéria (figs. 1-2).¹ The albumen silver print image measures 21.2 x 28.1 cm, irregularly trimmed, and was produced from a paper negative.² The photo is titled in the negative, near the bottom of the image: *T. Devéria phot. 1859. Sakkarah (Memphis). Tombeau de Ptah-mès*. This is the tomb of Ptahmose, the early 19th Dynasty Mayor of Memphis and Chief steward in the Temple of Ramesses II in the house of Ptah,³ rediscovered in 2010 by an archaeological mission of Cairo University led by Dr. Ola el-Aguizy.⁴ It is located in the New Kingdom

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¹ MMA Annual Report 2005, p. 32: “Tomb of Ptahmose, Saqqara (Memphis)”, accession number 2005.100.321. The albumen silver print was a gift to the museum from Joseph M. Cohen, who purchased it from the Gilman Paper Company Collection which, in turn, acquired the print from Serge Plantureux in Paris. The print initially formed part of the collection of French Egyptologist Eugène Grébaut (1846-1915; DAWSON, UPHILL, BIERBRIER 2012, p. 223). I thank Malcolm Daniel and Meredith Friedman of the Department of Photographs of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, for allowing me to publish this photograph.

² The sheet measures 21.4 x 28.8 cm, irregularly trimmed. Paper photography was invented by the Englishman William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877) and started to replace the daguerreotype in the early 1850s (DANIEL 2008). His calotype process allowed for the production of many prints from a single negative. Gustave Le Gray (1820-1884) from France later (1850) refined this technique by waxing the negatives prior to sensitisation, resulting in a crisper image (DANIEL 2004). He taught photography to the likes of Maxime Du Camp and John Beasley Greene, pioneer photographers in Egypt. Glass negatives were introduced in the early 1850s and were the norm by 1860. Paper negative photography continued to be used during the 1850s especially for travel photography due to practical reasons (light weight).

³ PM III², p. 713-715: “Chief steward in the Temple of Ramesses II in the house of Ptah, etc., D.19, temp. Ramesses II or later” (with bibliographical references). For recent studies on Ptahmose, see: BERLANDINI 1982, MÁLEK 1987, VAN DIJK 1989, FRANKE 1993, GRECO 2011b. For the name, see: *PN I*, p. 140 [9].

⁴ ADLY, GRIMAL 2010, p. 82.

necropolis due south of the Unas causeway, roughly halfway between the tombs of Nebnefer and Huynefer (ST 217) to the north, and the Overseer of the treasury Maya to the south. Devéria's photograph presents the only testimony of this part of the tomb of Ptahmose: the reliefs are no longer there. The superstructure was accessible as early as the 1820s when several architectural elements and statues were removed from the structure. These were subsequently distributed to different public and private collections around the world (see *infra*).

The Devéria photograph shows one doorway in the accessible superstructure. The walls are constructed of mudbrick while limestone revetment blocks bear relief decoration. This construction method is characteristic of late 18th Dynasty elite tomb architecture at Saqqara. The two doorjamb are inscribed with four columns of text carved in sunk relief. Rectangular panels are visible below. The panel on the left-hand doorjamb holds the key to identifying the correct tomb owner. It depicts Ptahmose seated in front of an offering table and the inscription contains a number of his titles and his name. Devéria also photographed this panel, which is now in the collection of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (fig. 3a-b).⁵

The doorjamb and thickness on the right-hand side appear to have been previously damaged and subsequently repaired. The limestone blocks are crudely reassembled with mortar. In the process, parts of the text and decoration were damaged. The doorjamb thickness contains one column of text and the reveal preserves the representation of the tomb owner and, partly visible, his wife. In front of the tomb owner one can distinguish the lower section of a column of text. The upper course(s) of this wall, once bearing representations of the heads of the couple, are no longer preserved.

Judging from the style and particular details of this relief, one would be inclined to date this representation to the late 18th Dynasty. Such a date would accord well with

⁵ I thank Denise Faïfe of the musée d'Orsay (Service Recherche, Documentation) and Gaëlle Le Page of the Réunion des musées nationaux-Grand Palais (Agence Photographique) for providing me with information on the photographic collection of Devéria held in the musée d'Orsay. I also thank Stéphane Pasquali for bringing Devéria's photographic collection in the musée d'Orsay to my attention. The panel was published previously by BERLANDINI 1982, pl. X.

the architecture. However, previous studies have firmly established Ptahmose in the first half of the reign of Ramesses II.⁶

In this article, the technical and iconographical aspects of this relief are studied and compared to other New Kingdom monuments. First, the circumstances surrounding the tomb's (previous) excavation(s) are discussed along with a biographical note on Théodule Devéria. This is followed by an updated list of finds attributable to Ptahmose. Architecture and a detailed study of the texts and iconography are the subject of the main part of this article. The present study is concluded with an outline of this official's career, a partial reconstruction of his funerary monument, and a reconsideration of his position in the early 19th Dynasty.

A biographical Note on Théodule Devéria and the Tomb of Ptahmose until 1859

Charles Théodule Devéria (1831-1871)⁷ was introduced to Egyptology by Émile Prisse d'Avennes,⁸ a friend of the family, who upon his return from Egypt in 1843, ordered a portrait from Théodule's father, the painter and lithographer Achille Devéria.⁹ Devéria's interest in ancient Egypt was nourished further after visiting the Egyptian collection of the museum in Leiden, 1846: "[...] nous avons vu à Leyde un magnifique musée égyptien et indien, qui contient des tombeaux tout entiers [...] J'ai été bien fâché de ne pouvoir pas rester quelque temps au musée égyptien pour y estamper ou y dessiner quelques-unes de ces belles choses [...]"¹⁰ Devéria practised copying Egyptian reliefs held in his father's collection¹¹ and studied Coptic under Charles Lenormant.¹² Upon recommendation of Emmanuel De Rougé,¹³ Devéria was appointed curator at the Egyptian department of the Louvre in 1855, at a time when the collections were being greatly enlarged by the work of Auguste Mariette (1821-1881) in Egypt. In 1858

⁶ See e.g. BERLANDINI 1982 and GRECO 2011b.

⁷ DAWSON, UPHILL, BIERBRIER 2012, p. 475-476.

⁸ DAWSON, UPHILL, BIERBRIER 2012, p. 445-446. For Prisse d'Avennes and the use of photography (by A. Jarrot) during his 1858-1860 expedition, see: BOOM 1994 and AUBENAS 2011.

⁹ Achille Devéria 1844, lithograph in the musée d'Annecy (DEWACHTER 1984, fig. 1).

¹⁰ From: letter of Théodule to his father, dated August 14th 1846. Leyde = Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden. Théodule, aged fifteen, visited The Netherlands with his mother, Céleste Motte, daughter of the lithographic printer Charles Motte (G. DEVÉRIA 1896, IV). Both did not sign the guestbook, kept in the museum archives.

¹¹ DURAND 2013, p. 3.

¹² DAWSON, UPHILL, BIERBRIER 2012, p. 323.

¹³ Vicomte Emmanuel de Rougé (1811-1872): DAWSON, UPHILL, BIERBRIER 2012, p. 475-476.

Devéria travelled to Egypt to accompany Mariette on his excavations. He arrived on December 10th, 1858, and assisted Mariette – who in that year was appointed Director of Antiquities by Said Pasha – as a copyist until April 6th, 1859.¹⁴ Devéria started working at Saqqara, Gizeh and the museum of Bulaq a few days upon his arrival.¹⁵ Both men set sail for Luxor in early January 1859 and returned north in early March. At Saqqara, Devéria produced a fair number of photographs of finds uncovered by Mariette at the Serapeum a few years earlier.¹⁶

Devéria became acquainted with photography through his father, the French painter and lithographer Achille Devéria, in 1854.¹⁷ This explains his early practising of photography in field-archaeology.¹⁸ His optimism towards photography for the benefit of Egyptology is apparent from a passage in a letter addressed to the *Revue Archéologique* in 1861, in which he responds to De Rougé who accused Mariette of having made errors in copying a text at Karnak: “Si, malgré cela, cette copie contient

¹⁴ In 1858-1860 Prisse d’Avennes travelled through Egypt copying the reliefs of a great number of monuments. On May 22nd 1860 Prisse and his team arrived at Saqqara, and stayed there with Mariette for a short while (DE FAMARS TESTAS 1988, p. 178). Although their stay in Egypt overlapped, Willem De Famars Testas, the draughtsperson working for Prisse, makes no mention in his diary of meeting with Devéria.

¹⁵ G. DEVÉRIA 1896; ABOU-GHAZI 1897, p. 8; DURAND 2013. A portrait-drawing of A. Mariette produced by Th. Devéria in 1859 in Ombos, is kept in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (Acc. No. 1978.571: [<http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/portrait-of-auguste-mariette-272653>] accessed 18.06.2013). The drawing was probably part of the collection of the Italian Luigi Vassalli (1812-1887). Vassalli went to Egypt in 1841 to work there initially as a portrait painter and dealer. He became Mariette’s assistant at several of his excavations, including at Saqqara (TIRADRITTI 1994) in the early 1860s and was appointed as curator and subsequently as director of the Bulaq Museum (1865-1883). DAWSON, UPHILL, BIERBRIER 2012, p. 553-554.

¹⁶ DURAND 2013.

¹⁷ A. Devéria was appointed director of the department of engravings of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in 1849, where his son Théodule started work in 1851. For early photographs of father and son, see the family portrait album, prepared from 1853 until A. Devéria’s death in 1857: J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 84.XM.485.29. The photographs were enhanced with ink, possibly in preparation for printing lithographs from the photographs.

(<http://www.getty.edu/art/gettyguide/artObjectDetails?artobj=46796> accessed 18.06.2013). A. Devéria was the brother of French Romantic painter Eugène Devéria. A portrait of Th. Devéria painted by his uncle is now in the musée du Louvre, RF 2648.

¹⁸ Karl Richard Lepsius already took with him photographic material during his grand expedition to Egypt 1842-1846. He was even personally instructed by British photographic pioneer Fox Talbot to prepare photographic paper in order to produce calotypes (correspondence in the Fox Talbot Collection, acc. 26034 and doc. 4553, British Library, London). A friend of Devéria, the French-born American John Beasley Greene (1832-1856) is credited as being the first archaeologist to use photography for field-documentation: in 1853 at Medinet Habu. He left his negatives to Devéria and these are now in the musée d’Orsay, Paris. The very first photograph taken in Egypt dates to November 7th 1839: a daguerreotype of the harim palace of Muhammed Ali in Ras el-Tin, Alexandria, taken by Frenchmen Frédéric Goupil-Fesquet (1817-1878) and Gaspard Pierre Gustave Joly de Lotbinière (1798-1865). The print is preserved only as a lithographic copy (cf. RAMMANT-PEETERS 1994, p. 6; JACOBSEN 2007).

des fautes, ce qui n'est pas impossible, je puis contrôler au moyen de mes photographies et lever ainsi presque tous les doutes".¹⁹ Due to his weak health, Déveria was not able to accompany Mariette the next year. That his presence was duly missed can be deduced from a letter written by M. de Nieuwerkerke addressed to De Rougé: "Vous savez que M. Mariette travaille maintenant très difficilement et qu'on ne peut en tirer la copie d'aucune inscription quand il n'a pas M. Devéria pour aide".²⁰

Devéria eventually returned to Egypt again, but his weak health remained and he died at the age of forty. His private collection of photographs was donated by his mother to the Musées nationaux, after which they were transferred to the Department of Egyptian Antiquities of the musée du Louvre.²¹ In 1986 the collection of photographs was allocated to the musée d'Orsay in Paris. This collection contains a few more photographs of now-lost New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara, including an identical print of the doorway in the tomb of Ptahmose published here.²² Another substantial number of Devéria's photographs are kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. That collection interestingly includes a print previously attributed to Arthur Rhoné. Jocelyne Berlandini published a copy of this print in 1982 (fig. 4).²³ It captures another relief in the tomb of Ptahmose, *in situ* but now lost. This print was included in a photographic album prepared by Rhoné in 1885.²⁴ The main scene presents the tomb owner and family members standing on a papyrus boat while fishing and fowling in the marshes. Ever since Berlandini's publication, this wall has been referred to as the Mur Rhoné. Arthur Rhoné (1836-1910) was a French author and traveller with a profound interest in ancient Egypt. He travelled the country several times between 1865 and 1882.²⁵ On these visits he was accompanied by his friend A. Mariette, and later by Gaston Maspero (1846-1916), Mariette's successor as head of the Service des antiquités. Devéria met Rhoné in Paris and he may have also joined him on one of his journeys to Egypt. A Devéria photograph dated 1865 depicts a group portrait of "occidental men on a boat".

¹⁹ The letter was never sent to the *Revue archéologique* and was posthumously published in Th. DEVÉRIA, 1896. Cf. also BOOM 1994, p. 196.

²⁰ Paris, December 26th, 1861 (G. DEVÉRIA, 1896, p. XXIII). De Nieuwerkerke was the ministre d'État responsible for the Musées nationaux.

²¹ Forty volumes of his notes and manuscripts, and sixteen boxes of slips are now kept in the musée du Louvre. Additional papers are held in the Collège de France (DAWSON, UPHILL, BIERBRIER 2012, p. 153).

²² Musée d'Orsay, inv. nr. PHO 1986 144 66; negative: PHO 1986 131 225.

²³ BERLANDINI 1982, p. 86-92, fig. 1, pl. VII.

²⁴ RHONÉ 1885, pl. 16.

²⁵ DAWSON, UPHILL, BIERBRIER 2012, p. 463-464; RHONÉ 1877.

Arthur Rhoné has been tentatively identified as one of the men portrayed.²⁶ The supposed date of 1885 for the Mur Rhoné photograph was erroneously taken as a *terminus post quem* for the eventual destruction of the funerary monument of Ptahmose.²⁷ While Rhoné indeed possessed an identical print, it was Th. Devéria who actually produced that photograph. More prints are held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the musée d'Orsay,²⁸ and the J. Paul Getty Institute.²⁹ The prints kept in Paris reveal a short hand-written description: *Sakkarah (Memphis). Tombeau de Ptah-mès. T. Devéria phot. 1859*. It is clear, therefore, that Devéria produced more photographs of what must have undoubtedly been an impressive tomb. As “Mur Rhoné” has become a well-established term in Egyptological literature, and to avoid any confusion, I will continue using the term (in quotation marks) to refer to this scene.

Théodule's brother Gabriel recollects how Théodule was present when Mariette discovered the so-called Saqqara king-list in December 1858: “[...] il assistait à Saqqarah aux fouilles qui aboutirent à la découverte d'une liste de cinquante-huit rois, comptés de Miébidos jusqu'à Ramsès II [...]”.³⁰ Devéria produced squeezes of the reliefs,³¹ but no photographs of this find have yet been identified. More funerary monuments of New Kingdom date were excavated in the area south of the step-pyramid. The finds were summarily recorded by Mariette in his *Monuments divers* of 1872, and Devéria produced photographs of a selection of these.³² Since his photographs are signed 1859, they were probably taken when Mariette and Devéria

²⁶ Two others are tentatively identified as Henri Pereyre and M. Surell. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2009.85.1 (albumen silver print). I thank Ms. Karen Hellman of the J. Paul Getty Museum for sending me an inventory of Devéria material in the museum collection. See also: LAUER 1961, p. 43.

²⁷ GRECO 2011b, p. 196.

²⁸ Musée d'Orsay PHO 1986 144 65.

²⁹ J. Paul Getty Institute, Los Angeles, nr. 2009.85.14. This print is not signed by Devéria.

³⁰ G. DEVÉRIA 1896, p. xii. Relief Cairo CG 34516 (two-sided) from the tomb of the Overseer of works on all monuments of the king, Tjuneroy/Tjel (temp. Ramesses II). Published: MARIETTE 1872, p. 19, pl. 58. The limestone tomb-structure and a stela (probably Cairo JE 18924) of Tjuneroy were found by Luigi Vassalli, working for Mariette as “simple inspecteur” in 1861: MARIETTE 1872, p. 18-19, pl. 57b. Further references: PM III², p. 666-667, including statue Cairo CG 1105 and four canopic jars, Brooklyn Museum 48.30.1-4.

³¹ Devéria squeezes 6165, i.10 (CG 34516); 6170A, 6, 14 (JE 18924). The squeezes are kept at the musée du Louvre.

³² For photographs of the New Kingdom tomb of Khay, Overseer of the Treasury of the Temple of Usermaatre-setepenre (Ramesses II) in the house of Amun (PM III², p. 726; musée d'Orsay inv. nrs. 1986 144 60, MS 178 130 and 1986 144 63, MS 178 133), see: PASQUALI 2013, figs. 10-11. All New Kingdom tombs photographed in 1859 are now “lost”.

returned from their trip to Upper Egypt in March of that year. In one such photograph Mariette can be observed seated against a *djed*-pillar in the tomb of Khay at Saqqara.³³

From the acquisition data available for objects from the tomb of Ptahmose (*infra*), one is able to highlight some moments in history when this tomb was still accessible. Perhaps the first European visitors arrived at Saqqara in the early 18th c. The (now lost) pyramidion of Tia, brother-in-law of Ramesses II, was published by the Scottish traveller and author Alexander Gordon in 1737-1739.³⁴ The object left from Alexandria in 1722, becoming one of the earliest Egyptian antiquities to arrive in Great Britain. The statues of Inehyt (II.1-2, *infra*) were the first pieces from the tomb of Ptahmose to have travelled abroad. These most probably derived from the “excavations” of Giovanni d’Anastasi (1780-1860), Greek merchant and later consul-general in Egypt for Norway and Sweden (1820-1827), in the early 1820s,³⁵ as did the objects now in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden.³⁶ His former collection of objects from Saqqara indicates that his agents must have excavated a large number of New Kingdom tombs in the years 1823-1825.³⁷ The tomb of the Chief steward Amenhotep Huy (now lost) was excavated possibly in partnership with Giuseppe di Nizzoli (c.1792/4-1858), an Italian diplomat, chancellor at the Austrian consulate in Egypt (1818-1828) and collector of antiquities.³⁸ His wife Amalia Sola described the location of that tomb: “[...] at Saccarah, near Memphis, on the chain of hills which

³³ PASQUALI 2013, fig. 11.

³⁴ See G.T. MARTIN 1991, p. 114-115, with fig. 76.

³⁵ D’Anastasi employed agents to buy antiquities from the inhabitants of Saqqara (DAWSON, UPHILL, BIERBRIER 2012, p. 19). According to Maarten Raven (personal communication), it is not clear whether d’Anastasi hired people to work on his behalf, or whether these agents were the same his contemporaries, such as Henry Salt (1780-1827: DAWSON, UPHILL, BIERBRIER 2012, p.484-485) bought from.

³⁶ PM III², p. 714; DAWSON, UPHILL, BIERBRIER 2012, p. 19-20. For the early history of the Leiden collection, see: HALBERTSMA 2003. A second lot was sold to the British Museum in 1839, and a third was auctioned in Paris, 1857.

³⁷ HAYES 1938, p. 14.

³⁸ HAYES 1938, p. 12-16: both the museum in Leiden (ex-coll. d’Anastasi, sold to the Dutch government in 1828) and Florence (ex-coll. Di Nizzoli, sold to the Grand Duke Leopold II of Tuscany in 1824; in the collection of the Museo Archeologico at Florence since 1882) have objects from that tomb. For a list of monuments from the tomb of Amenhotep Huy, see: PM III², p. 702-703, 835, 836. Another share of Di Nizzoli’s collection was sold in 1831-1832 to the Bolognese art collector and painter Pelagio Palagi (1775-1860). A substantial part of that collection derived from the excavations conducted by Di Nizzoli and Sola at Saqqara, April-May 1825 (DARIS 2005, p. 57-74). This collection was merged with that of the Museum of the University of Bologna in 1881, and now forms the nucleus of the Egyptian department of the Museo Civico Archeologico in Bologna (PICCHI 2011, p. 277-301). The first part of Di Nizzoli’s collection was sold to the Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, in 1821.

separates the left bank of the Nile from the sands of the deserts ... not more than a quarter of an hour' from 'the town of Memphis'.³⁹ Hayes⁴⁰ remarks that *Saccarah* refers not to the plateau stretching from Abusir to Dahshur as it is used nowadays, but to the nearby village. Nizzoli thus designates a specific area near the Apa Jeremias monastery, also known as the *Ras al-Gisr*.⁴¹ There, Quibell⁴² found a quartzite stela inscribed for Amenhotep Huy, which was still visible on the desert surface in 2003.⁴³ This location is in close proximity to the tomb of Ptahmose. Since the collections of the museum in Leiden and the Museo Egizio in Florence also share objects from the tomb of Ptahmose, it is not unlikely that both men cooperated in excavating that tomb as well.⁴⁴

Lepsius, who stayed at Saqqara for some time in 1843, does not mention the tomb of Ptahmose in his *Denkmäler*, nor did he record its location. The tombs of Iurokhy (LS 25), Iry (LS 26), Maya (LS 27), Raia (LS 28) and Hormin (LS 29) are indicated on his general map of Saqqara.⁴⁵ If Lepsius had indeed visited the tomb of Ptahmose, he might have been able to make the connection with the pyramidion (III.6) he saw with Fernandez, and the doorjambs (I.9-10) he bought in Cairo for the Berlin Museum.⁴⁶

It is not until 1859 that the accessibility of the tomb is again confirmed by Devéria. His photograph shows that the tomb was preserved to a considerable height and that it still contained *in situ* reliefs. Mariette published the tomb quite summarily,

³⁹ NIZZOLI 1841, p. 371 (translation as quoted by HAYES 1938, p. 13). On Amalia Sola's *Memorie*, see e.g. PERNIGOTTI 1991, p. 3-84; PERNIGOTTI 2013, p. 182-183; SPACKMAN 2005, p. 35-54; POPOFF 2009.

⁴⁰ HAYES 1938, p. 14.

⁴¹ Cf. QUIBELL 1908, p. 63.

⁴² QUIBELL 1912, pl. LXXXIV.

⁴³ GESSLER-LÖHR 2007a, p. 68 and n. 18 (observed in 1988 and reconfirmed by Maarten Raven in 2003).

⁴⁴ Or they could have exchanged finds from their respective "excavations" at Saqqara.

⁴⁵ *LD Tafelwerke*, I, pl. 33. At one point Lepsius' expedition was attacked and robbed during the night by an armed gang that set fire to their camp (LEPSIUS 1853, p. 69-79). SCHNEIDER (2012, p. 25) argues that, under these circumstances, they may have left behind some antiquities they planned to send back to Berlin. During the excavation of the tomb of Iniuia in 1993, a collection of fine reliefs were found as if they had been intentionally stored there, pending transportation. Two columns from that tomb indeed made it to the Berlin Museum (nos. 1627-1628). However, *pace* Schneider, Lepsius worked at Saqqara several weeks instead of several days, and continued to work there after the incident (LEPSIUS 1853, p. 74-79).

⁴⁶ *LD Text*, I, p. 15 (pyramidion, present location unknown), p. 16 (two doorjambs, Berlin 1631-1632). It is noteworthy that on his map of Saqqara, LEPSIUS (*LD Tafelwerke*, I, pl. 33) indicates the location of LS 26 to the east of LS 27, while in the text (*LD Text*, I, 182) he describes its location as "somewhat north of tomb LS 27". LS 26 is attested by the broken stela of Iry, the *sš m t3 ḥw.t Wsr-m3ꜣ.t-Rꜥ stp[.n]-Rꜥ m pr Ḳmn*, Scribe in the temple of Ramesses II in the house of Amun (*i.e.* Theban Ramesseum).

giving only a transcription of the text on panel JE 4874 (I.2).⁴⁷ He also copied texts from a few other tombs that can with certainty be located in the same area: Horemheb, Iniua, Hormin and, years earlier, Mery-Neith.⁴⁸ A selection of objects from these tombs were sent to the Bulaq Museum, founded by Mariette in 1858 and opened in 1863. Statues CG 604 and 606 from the tomb of Khay were photographed *in situ* by Devéria in 1859, and, according to Borchardt (1925, p. 154-155, 155-156), were found in March of that year. The Ptahmose panels were probably removed at the same time. Mariette does not include them in his 1868 catalogue of the Bulaq Museum, although *a* (and probably the same) Ptahmose is mentioned: “A côté des tombeaux de Tounar-i, de Phtah-mès et d’autres fonctionnaires Memphites de la XIX^e dynastie, existent les ruines de l’édicule funéraire d’un autre personnage de rang le plus élevé, nommé Hor-emheb”.⁴⁹

Whatever happened to the tomb after 1859 is not known, and the same is true for its reliefs photographed by Devéria. That some tombs were accessible as late as the 1880s is confirmed by the find of newspaper fragments in the statue room of Horemheb’s tomb, years after Mariette had been working there.⁵⁰ A scenario similar to that in the nearby tomb of Maya is possible. There, the south reveal of the doorway

⁴⁷ MARIETTE 1872, p. 20, pl. 62d (prepared by Mariette 1870-1881, and posthumously published by Gaston Maspero, 1889): “Les debris de ce personnage sont dispersés dans les different musées: on en trouve à Florence, à Paris et à Londres, comme à Boulaq”. An undated photograph (probably late 1870s) produced by Félix Bonfils (1831-1885) and now in the collection of the Frank H. McClung Museum of the University of Tennessee (Bonfils photo no. 213: file no. egypt222; cat. no. 09/02/96) shows a plaster cast of panel JE 4875. The missing right-hand side is reconstructed and the photo has the caption: “*Roi Aménophis – Égypte*”. The photo is taken in the Egyptian Museum, at that time located at Bulaq (1858-1890: SALEH, SOUROUZIAN 1986, p. 10).

⁴⁸ Horemheb: MARIETTE 1872, p. 25-26, pl. 74, rediscovered by the EES-Leiden mission in 1975 (G.T. MARTIN 1989, p. 57-58, scenes [57] and [58], pls. 50, 56-57: entrance to statue room. These doorjambs were discovered *in situ*; Mariette made a sketch of one doorjamb and simply duplicated it (G.T. MARTIN 1976, p. 11). De Rougé also copied these doorjambs: DE ROUGÉ 1877, pls. CVII-CVIII; HARI 1964, pl. XIV (“Caire”). No Devéria photographs of the tomb of Horemheb have yet been identified); Iniua: MARIETTE 1872, p. 18, pl. 57 [a] (stela Cairo JE 10079), see now: SCHNEIDER 2012, scene [7], p. 71-73, fig. III.23; Hormin: MARIETTE 1872, p. 20, pl. 60 (JE 8374), see also: PM III², p. 664-665; Mery-Neith, MARIETTE 1885, p. 449 (tomb H9; relief fragments found amidst the tombs located south of the great pyramid, Saqqara November 30th, 1850), rediscovered by the Leiden-mission in 2001; see now: RAVEN, VAN WALSEM 2014, scenes [21-22] and [83]. Note that the name of Mery-Neith in his tomb is written as Mer-Neith, Mery-Neith, Meryty-Neith, and Mer-Neithy, later changed to Mery-Re – a change that was subsequently reversed (RAVEN *et al.* 2001-2, p. 79-82).

⁴⁹ MARIETTE 1868, p. 281: 905 à 908 (Horemheb). For *Tounar-i* (Tjuneroy), see: PM III², 666-667 (as Tenry); MARIETTE 1872, p. 19, pls. 57b, 58.

⁵⁰ Maarten Raven, personal communication. Note that no tomb of the New Kingdom in the area south of the Unas causeway is indicated by name on the map of De Morgan (1897). Only nameless structures of “New Kingdom” date are indicated.

between the statue room and inner court contained relief decoration, which was copied by the Lepsius expedition in 1843.⁵¹ Only part of that scene was rediscovered in 1987-1988, smashed to pieces.⁵² It is also possible that the Ptahmose relief was removed from the wall after 1859, to form part of a (private) collection where it has since remained unnoticed.⁵³

The Saqqara Tomb of Ptahmose

Objects Attributed to his Tomb

In the course of the first half of the 19th c. a number of statues, reliefs and pillars from the Memphite tomb of Ptahmose entered European public and private collections. A fair number of publications have since been devoted to individual objects. Lists of his monuments were published by Porter and Moss (PM III p. 192-193; PM III², p. 713-715), and Kitchen (*KRI* III, p. 171-180; VII, p. 112-113, 180). Berlandini (1982a), Málek (1987), Van Dijk (1989), Franke (1993) and Greco (2011), added and/or rejected further attributions. All *disiecta membra* identified to date are presented below as an updated list. For a more comprehensive description of the individual objects the reader is referred to the publications cited. Table 4 gives an overview of the titles of Ptahmose collected from these monuments.

- I. Reliefs

- I.1 Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 4873, TN 14.6.24.28 (55 x 42 cm)
- I.2 Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 4874, TN 14.6.24.27 (62 x 47 cm)
- I.3 Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 4875, TN 14.6.24.30 (62 x 27 cm).⁵⁴

⁵¹ LD III, pl. 240a.

⁵² LD III, pl. 240a; G.T. MARTIN 2012, scene [30], p. 30-31, pls. 24-25, 90 [1].

⁵³ I thank Geoffrey Martin for checking his records of photographs and line drawings of Saqqara New Kingdom material held in museum collections. Unfortunately none could be identified as the Devéria relief.

⁵⁴ MARIETTE 1872, pl. 62 [d]; BERLANDINI 1982, p. 94-97 (with further references); *KRI* III, p. 171-172.

Note that the sequential order of *Temporary Numbers* omits TN 14.6.24.29, a relief from the nearby tomb of Iniuia: PM III², p. 707 (as Nia); SCHNEIDER 2012, p. 86 [19], fig. III.34, pl. IX. Also relief Cairo TN 25.6.24.6 of Ptahmose (see I.7, below) is followed by a block of Iniuia, TN 24.6.24.7 (SCHNEIDER 2012, p. 90 [22a], fig. III.37), which may suggest that Mariette simultaneously worked in the tombs of Ptahmose and Iniuia. Preceding the Ptahmose panels in the *Journal d'Entrée* numbering is JE 4872 (TN 12.6.24.11), a block in raised relief depicting a group of dancing men, and women playing the tambourine: G.T. MARTIN 1995, p. 6 [3]; PM III², p. 754; MASPERO 1914, p. 155 [562]; WRZESZINSKI 1923, p. 419. Provenance: Saqqara, “temple de Kha’i” (after a subsidiary figure, the *sš* [n] *’Imn H’i*);

Three limestone panels with relief decoration and texts. All depict the tomb owner seated in front of an offering table. The panel visible on the right-hand doorjamb in the Devéria photograph is not in Cairo.

I.4 Florence, Museo Egizio 2557 (74 x 139 cm).⁵⁵

A limestone revetment block with relief decoration in two registers. Only the lower part of the upper register is preserved. The tomb owner and his wife (partly preserved) are each depicted seated (left side) with male and female offering bearers approaching them from the right. All texts are carved in sunk relief, except for the text identifying a daughter in the lower right corner of the lower register (Inehyt, raised relief).

I.5 Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 54 (108 x 128 x 20 cm).⁵⁶

This limestone relief contains the fragments of two registers. Van Dijk⁵⁷ demonstrated a join with relief Liebieghaus IN 1643 (see below, I.6), and pointed to a connection with Book of the Dead chapter 71 on account of the vignettes depicted on both blocks. The upper register is divided into three scenes: part of a scene that includes Inehyt standing, hands raised in adoration and standing behind Ptahmose; Ptahmose kneeling in adoration in front of a seated god Ra; and a Hathor cow in a bark. The lower register is also divided into three scenes: Ptahmose kneeling in adoration; Ptahmose standing in adoration before Ra; and the tomb owner and his wife seated on a chair. Five of their children are depicted sitting behind them, divided over two sub-registers.

I.6 Frankfurt, Liebieghaus IN 1643 (103 x 67 x 5 cm).⁵⁸

The right-hand side of this block joins Leiden AP 54 (I.5), and Franke⁵⁹ suggested that at the top it joins with Cairo TN 25.6.24.6 (I.7). The block contains three scenes, two of which continue on Leiden AP 54. In the upper register Ptahmose (and Inehyt) are standing in front of a pile of offerings, adoring a god (probably Osiris). The lower-right scene depicts Ra-Horakhty

50x105 cm (hwx). According to SALEH, SOUROUZIAN 1986, Cat. 214, and SULLIVAN 2002, the relief was found reused in the Serapeum, 1859. See also: Devéria Squeezes, 6170A, 13, 13bis, 18.

⁵⁵ BEREND 1882, p. 62-63, pl. 8 (as D.18); PM III², p. 714; KRI III, p. 172; GRECO 2011b, fig. 5.

⁵⁶ BOESER 1911, p. 8, No. 4e, pl. XXX; KRI III, p. 176-178; VAN DIJK 1989, p. 47-54; FRANKE 1993, p. 159-172, fig. 37,2; GRECO 2011b, fig. 2. The relief, together with the four pillars Leiden AP 51, arrived in Leiden in 1829 (ex-coll. d'Anastasi, 1828).

⁵⁷ VAN DIJK 1989, p. 47-54.

⁵⁸ MÁLEK 1987, p. 132; VAN DIJK 1989, p. 47-54; FRANKE 1993, p. 159-172; GRECO 2011b, p. 197-198, figs. 6-7.

⁵⁹ FRANKE 1993.

opposite a kneeling representation of Ptahmose (on Leiden AP 54). On the left side Ptahmose stands in adoration, in front of an enshrined and standing figure (statue) of Osiris.

I.7 Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 25.6.24.6 (59 x 76 cm).⁶⁰

This fragment may join Liebieghaus IN 1643. Ptahmose is seated on the left (monkey underneath the chair), overseeing activities in three sub-registers: bringing and preparing of fish (upper registers), and bringing and administering birds (lower register).

Due to their similar subject, it is possible that this fragment was located near the “Mur Rhoné” (I.11).⁶¹

I.8 Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University 1984.2.3 (44 x 33 x 8.9 cm).⁶²

Limestone relief fragment with the head of Ptahmose, five columns of text in raised relief and a single line of text in sunk relief.

I.9-10 Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 1631 (150 x 49 cm) and 1632 (201 x 49 cm).⁶³

Bought by Lepsius in 1842 from the antiquities dealer Solomon Fernandez in Cairo and subsequently transferred to the Berlin Museum.⁶⁴ These doorjambs are said to have been found together with the pyramidion presented here as III.6.

I.11 “Mur Rhoné” (± 161.7 x 74.8 x 13.1 cm) (fig. 4)

Five adjoining relief decorated limestone revetment blocks, photographed *in situ* by Devéria (1859); present location unknown.⁶⁵ For a discussion of these reliefs, see below.

I.12 “Block from Giza” (dimensions unknown).⁶⁶

⁶⁰ BERLANDINI 1982, p. 97-98; FRANKE 1993, p. 171-172; GRECO 2011b, p. 198, figs. 6-7. For a similar scene from the tomb of the Chief steward of Memphis, Iniuia, see: SCHNEIDER 2012, fig. III.38 [22b] (Cairo TN 3.7.24.13; north wall of sanctuary); and the Overseer of the treasury, Maya: G.T. MARTIN 2012, scene [37] and [38], pl. 29 (Cairo JE 4327a-e; north wall of inner courtyard).

⁶¹ BERLANDINI 1982, p. 93.

⁶² CAPART 1940, p. 249-250; BORCHARDT 1931, pl. 2 [12]; BERLANDINI 1982, p. 97-98 (“Fragment de paroi Berlin n° inconnu”); *KRI* III, p. 180 (“Slab [in trade], Saqqara”). For the modern history of this relief and a reconsideration of text and image, see: STARING 2014.

⁶³ *LD* Text, I, p. 16; *PM* III², p. 714; *KRI* III, p. 180. Text of 1631: ROEDER 1924, II, p. 217.

⁶⁴ Jewish antiquities dealer in Cairo (*fl.* 1830-1860) who mainly traded in antiquities he had found at Saqqara. DAWSON, UPHILL, BIERBRIER 2012, p. 190.

⁶⁵ First published by BERLANDINI 1982, p. 86-92, fig. 1, pl. VII; also *KRI* VII, p. 112; HOFMANN 2004, p. 145 and fig. 168. The dimensions are calculated with the aid of the mudbricks visible behind the limestone slabs. Mudbricks of this period at Saqqara have a length of approximately 33 cm (cf. RAVEN 2005, p. 11: outer courtyard of Raia, early D.19). BERLANDINI 1982, p. 86, reconstructs 165 x 75 x 13 cm.

⁶⁶ *LD* Text I, p. 126 [8]; MÁLEK 1981, p. 157, with n. 13; MÁLEK 1987, p. 133. In *PM* III², p. 310, the block is designated “probably Saite”.

This block was found by Lepsius in 1842-1843, built into an “Arabic” tomb in Gizeh. Unfortunately, Lepsius gives only a transcription of one line of text. No additional information is provided. Málek was the first to attribute this block to the corpus of Ptahmose. The title attested on the block bears close resemblance to that preserved on statue BM 1119 (II.6) and on Devéria photograph I.17D.

I.13-17 Devéria doorway

Doorjambs (front and thickness) and reveal photographed by Devéria *in situ*, 1859; now lost. See discussion below.

I.18 *In situ* (left block: ± 70 x 169 cm)

At least two relief decorated limestone revetment blocks were found *in situ* during the recent excavation of the tomb by the Cairo University mission in 2010. The tomb has not been published yet, but the press release on the discovery included the photograph of two adjoining *in situ* relief decorated revetment blocks, positioned on an east wall.⁶⁷ Only the left block is fully visible. To the left side of that block is a doorway. The scene itself is bordered by a block frieze and to the left-hand side two columns (originally three) of text are visible, both ending with the tomb owner’s name. The wall contains an undecorated dado of approximately 30 cm, and the scene and dado are separated by three superimposed lines, coloured red and yellow. The main scene depicts at least three papyrus boats each containing three men holding sticks or paddles. This representation resembles Old Kingdom mastaba scenes of boatmen in a tilting match.⁶⁸

• II. Statues

II.1 Walters Art Museum 22.106 (132 x 45.1 x 87.8 cm).⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Press release: “Discovery of the tomb of Ptahmes”: <http://www.drhawass.com/blog/press-release-discovery-tomb-ptahmes>. Accessed 11.04.2014.

⁶⁸ For a study of this subject in tombs of the Old to Middle Kingdom, see: HERB 2001.

⁶⁹ STEINDORFF 1946, p. 40, pls. XXI [106], CXII [106]; STEINDORFF 1942, p. 11-13, figs. 1, 3, 5; *KRI* VII, p. 113; MÁLEK 1987, p. 119-120. STEINDORFF (1946, p. 9-11) notes similarities with the statue of Meryt, wife of Maya: Leiden AST 2 (BOESER 1912, pl. V) and the double statue BM EA 36, recently identified as General Horemheb and his wife (VAN WALSEM, RAVEN 2011, p. 375-383). The statues’ (II.1-2) earliest appearance can be traced back to the collection of Count Jules de Castellane. His collection, formed around 1825, was accommodated in the Château des Ayalades, Marseilles (WALDSTEIN 1926, p. 190-191). According to STEINDORFF (1942), the two statues may have been brought to France in 1820 by the Frenchman Saulnier (cf. DAWSON, UPHILL, BIERBRIER 2012, p. 487) as part of a large collection which he sold there. Alternatively, they may have been acquired in Egypt by Jean François Champollion, 1828-1829. He was on very good terms with d’Anastasi (STEINDORFF 1942,

A seated statue of Inehyt, the Songstress of the Lady of the Sycamore, wife of Ptahmose.

II.2 Matsuoka Museum of Art, Tokyo, no. 568 (121.9 x 45.7 x 79.2 cm).⁷⁰

A seated statue of Inehyt, almost identical to Walters Art Museum 22.106.

II.3-4 Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, AST 7 and AST 8 (138 x 55 x 99 cm; 142 x 47.5 x 90 cm).⁷¹

The museum in Leiden has two near-identical seated statues of Ptahmose. These no doubt formed pairs with the seated statues of his wife, Inehyt (nos. II.1 and II.2).⁷²

p. 11). While Steindorff revised this option in view of information provided to him by B.V. Bothmer – who proposes that the statues were taken to France by officers of the Napoleonic expedition (STEINDORFF 1947, p. 58) – the Champollion-d’Anastasi connection, I would say, remains likely. After all, numerous monuments from the tomb of Ptahmose were acquired by d’Anastasi. After Count Jules de Castellane died (in 1861), the Château des Aygalades and its contents passed to his eldest daughter, the Marquise d’Estournel (WALDSTEIN 1926, p. 190-191). When she eventually passed away, her relatives sold both the Château and its contents. The antiquities were bought by a number of local dealers. There is no complete record of where these all went to. In 1917 Jacques Seligman from Paris purchased the Baltimore statue from an unnamed Marseilles dealer (<http://art.thewalters.org/detail/22976/seated-statue-of-nehyt>, accessed 21.03.2013). It subsequently changed ownership several times. From 1917-1921 it was in the possession of Henri Daguerre and Joseph Brummer. Brummer probably transported the statue to the United States, where it was eventually sold in 1922 to Samuel Untermeyer from New York. In 1925 it finally entered the private collection of Henry Walters from Baltimore and, by bequest, came to be part of the Walters Art Gallery (now: Museum) in 1931.

⁷⁰ STEINDORFF 1946, p. 11, 14, fig. 4, 6; CHRISTIE’S 1976, No. 117 with pl. 29; *KRI* III, p. 179; MÁLEK 1987, p. 119-120; WADA 1999. With the sale of the Castellane collection in 1917, the statues of Inehyt got separated. The current statue was acquired for the Reverend Theodore Pitcairn Collection in Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania (PM III², p. 715; STEINDORFF 1942, p. 11), and later bought by Sejiro Matsuoka (Japan) for his private collection. In 1975 he founded the Matsuoka Museum of Art, which in 2000 moved to the present location at Shirokane, Tokyo. I am grateful to Mr. Osamu Matsuoka of the Matsuoka Museum of Art for providing me with information on this statue. According to WADA (1999), the statues of Inehyt were purchased by d’Anastasi in the early 1820s and then by Champollion in 1828-1829 in Egypt.

⁷¹ AST 7: BOESER 1911, p. 8-9, pl. 31; *KRI* III, p. 179, GRECO 2011b, fig. 3; AST 8: BOESER *op. cit.*, p. 9, pl. 32; *KRI* III, p. 179; MÁLEK 1987, p. 118; GRECO 2011b, fig. 4.

⁷² The only parallel for a pair of life-sized seated private statues of a husband and wife from New Kingdom Saqqara is presented by the Overseer of the Treasury Maya (Leiden AST 1) and his wife Meryt (Leiden AST 2), both of which are actually over life-sized. For an overview of private funerary statuary from Saqqara, see MÁLEK 1987, p. 117-127. The number of six from the tomb of Ptahmose is surpassed only by Horemheb (“at least eight”, MÁLEK 1987, p. 127; now also VAN WALSEM, RAVEN 2011, p. 375: “at least one triad, four dyads (recently identified: BM EA 36, ex-coll. d’Anastasi 1839), two standing statues, one of which must have had a pendant, a quartzite statue, a kneeling statue, and a statue of Mudnodjmet”, *i.e.* at least 11 statues). There are various reasons to associate anonymous dyad Leiden AST 4 (BOESER 1912, p. 6 [14], pl. VIII; ex-coll. d’Anastasi 1828) and kneeling statue Leiden L.X.2 (BOESER 1912, p. 11 [25], pl. XII; SCHNEIDER 1996, 76; ex-coll. De Lescluze) with the Horemheb corpus as well (cf. VAN WALSEM, RAVEN 2011, p. 378-380). Only four statues are thus far known for Maya, see: G.T. MARTIN 2012, pls. 116-130. However, see G.T. MARTIN 2012, scene [43], pls. 32-33, for the

II.5 Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 41532 (h: 40 cm).⁷³

Dyad fragment of Ptahmose and Inehyt, seated. Found by James Quibell during excavations in the ruins of the Apa Jeremias monastery at Saqqara.

II.6 London, British Museum EA 1119 (35.5 x 34.5 x 21 cm).⁷⁴

Naophorous, kneeling statue, fragment of lower part. Ptahmose holds a naos with the god Ptah. The statue was found by Petrie at Saqqara, 1881-1882.

- III. Architectural elements

III.1-4 Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 51*a-d* (215/230 x 37/40 cm).⁷⁵

Four *djed*-pillars. In his discussion on Memphite *djed*-pillars, Van Dijk,⁷⁶ argues that Ptahmose's tomb must have contained at least six such pillars. Three pillars (*b-d*) belong to the so-called "southern" type and one (*a*) to the "northern", assuming that the image of the adoring tomb owner faces the central east-west axis of the tomb.

III.5 Cairo, Egyptian Museum 40.000 (h: 225 cm).⁷⁷

Papyriform column found reused by Quibell in the monastery of Apa Jeremias. The column contains text on the abacus and has a panel showing the kneeling figure of Ptahmose, adoring, with seven columns of text.

III.6 Pyramidion (present location and dimensions unknown).

dragging to the tomb of several statues represented in wall decoration. The naophorous and standing statues have not been found during excavation.

⁷³ QUIBELL 1912, p. 146, pl. LXXXVI [1, 2]; *KRI* III, p. 180; MÁLEK 1987, p. 119.

⁷⁴ WALLIS BUDGE 1909, p. 127 [450], described the statue as that of a "royal scribe, chief steward of Ptah, and prefect of the House of the Ka of Ptah at Memphis", 18th Dynasty, provenance Memphis. HELCK (1958, p. 225, n.14) included the statue in the corpus of monuments attributed to "our" Ptahmose. Later, MÁLEK (1987, p. 117-137) dedicated an article to this statue and thoroughly studied its texts, with special emphasis on the official's titles (for an earlier note on the statue, see: MÁLEK 1981, p. 157). A photograph preserved in the Griffith Institute archives at Oxford, taken by Petrie in 1881-1882, shows the statue lying in the sand. A handwritten comment added by Petrie described it as a "shrine of Ptah dedicated by Ptah-mes an architect. Sakkara" (MÁLEK 1987, p. 127). Therefore, the statue must be regarded as a tomb-statue and not as a temple-statue. For a brief overview of naophorous tomb-statues from Saqqara, see MÁLEK 1987, p. 121-122, and VAN DIJK 1993, p. 113-132.

⁷⁵ BOESER 1911, p. 7-8, pls. 26-29; *PM* III², p. 714; *KRI* III, p. 173-176; VAN DIJK 1993, p. 151-152; GRECO 2011b, fig. 1. Ancient Egyptian graffiti are incised on the pillars' surfaces: STARING 2011, p. 152-154, figs. 7-8. Two of these graffiti find a direct parallel in the tomb of Horemheb, north jamb and north reveal of pylon entrance. Compare: STARING 2011, p. 152-153, figs. 6-7, and RAVEN, VAN WALSEM 2011, fig. 1.8, Gr. 43 and 42: a royal head with white crown and a cynocephalus, respectively.

⁷⁶ VAN DIJK 1993, p. 152.

⁷⁷ QUIBELL 1909, p. 15; BERLANDINI 1982, p. 99-101, pl. XII; *KRI* III, p. 179. *PM* III², p. 715 has: "probably not in Cairo Mus."; however, see: G.T. MARTIN 1995, p. 11, no. 39.

V.1 Sarcophagus fragment, musée Antoine Vivenel de Compiègne Inv. L. 496 (39 x 37 x 5 cm).⁸⁴

The foot part of the outer granite (anthropoid) sarcophagus was donated to the musée Vivenel by Antoine Vivenel (Compiègne, 1799-1862) in 1843.⁸⁵ According to the 1870-1871 catalogue of the museum, the object came from Saqqara.⁸⁶ The foot-end of the the sarcophagus bears the image of a squatting Isis on a *nwb*-symbol, hands raised. The incised texts identify the deceased as the Royal scribe and Steward Ptahmose. The palaeography of especially signs ⌘ and 𐀓 is comparable to that on other monuments of Ptahmose.⁸⁷ The titles are the same as those held by him on the statues in Leiden (II.3-4), and on the stela (VII.1) and shabti (VII.2) from the Serapeum.

- VI. Offering tables

n/a.⁸⁸

- VII. Extra-sepulchral finds

VII.1 Paris, Louvre IM 5269 (55.5 x 30.8 x 7.8 cm).⁸⁹

The stela was found by Mariette in the Serapeum, 1853, in the “tombe isolée G”, for the Apis bulls that died in years 16 (VII) and 30 (IX) of Ramesses II.⁹⁰ The stela is divided into three sections: in the upper section Ptahmose and his wife stand in adoration in front of a seated Ptah; in the middle section both present a libation to the Apis bull; and in the lower section a male figure stands in front of an offering table with three seated females behind him.

⁸⁴ EVRARD-DERRIKS 1981, no. 14; C.L. 1988; DEWACHTER 1985, p. 35 n 33; CAMINO, PAPIER-LECOSTEY 2007, p. 242-243 [292]. Provenance: Saqqara. I owe this reference to Dr. Beatrix Gessler-Löhr.

⁸⁵ Successful French entrepreneur and architect based at Paris. He was a collector of art and, from 1839 onwards, donated objects to the musée Vivenel, including over 200 Egyptian antiquities. DAWSON, UPHILL, BIERBRIER 2012, p. 558; BLANCHEGORGÉ 2007. Vivenel did not visit Egypt and therefore he must have acquired this objet on the art market (cf. DEWACHTER 1985, p. 36).

⁸⁶ BLANCHEGORGÉ 2007, p. 6 with n. 10 (cat. 1870-1871 notice 81).

⁸⁷ E.g. doorjambs Berlin 1631-1632, and reliefs Cairo JE 4875 and Nasher Museum of Art 1984.2.3.

⁸⁸ The subdivision of monuments is in accordance with the prosopography of Memphite tomb owners used in my thesis. In order to avoid any confusion, I have included this heading as well, although no offering table from the tomb of Ptahmose is known.

⁸⁹ BERLANDINI 1982, p. 102-103; KRI II, p. 372-373; VII, p. 113; MALININE, POSENER, VERCOUTTER 1968, p. 9-10 [Cat. 9], pl. III; MARIETTE 1882, pl. 18 (left).

⁹⁰ MALININE, POSENER, VERCOUTTER 1968, p. 3, plan B; THUIS, forthcoming.

While the stela itself does not mention any date, it has generally been used to position Ptahmose around year 30 of Ramesses II. Like the shabti (VII.2, below) found in the Serapeum, this stela identifies its dedicator as *sš nsw.t* and *imy-r pr*; similar to statues Leiden AST 7-8 (II.3-4). The orthography of the name “Inehyt” differs from the other monuments,⁹¹ reading , *Iiw-hb.t*, although the *b* could also be read as a very slender , *nht*, and the horizontal line above the seated woman determinative might represent the *n*, resulting in a more common variation for the name *Nh.t*.⁹² The names of the figures in the lower section of the stela (their children?) are not attested in any other document. The garment worn by Ptahmose resembles that worn by him on the pillars Leiden AP 51, but the execution is different.

VII.2 Paris, Louvre SH 213 (20.7 x 5.5 cm).⁹³

Shabti found in the Serapeum. Inscribed with the titles *sš nsw.t* and *imy-r pr*. Another 19th Dynasty Mayor, Amenhotep Huy, also dedicated a shabti in the Serapeum. He is identified as *ḥ3.ty-ꜥ n(.y) Mn-nfr*.⁹⁴ This raises the question why Ptahmose identified himself “only” as Steward. It is possible that he donated the shabti and stela (VII.2) at an early stage of his career. Similarly, he is titled Royal scribe and/or Steward on the statues (II.3-4), stela (IV.1) and sarcophagus fragment (V.1).

- Attribution Uncertain

1. PM VIII/2, p. 582 lists the headless steatite statue of a *Mayor Ptahmosi*, of unknown provenance, temp. Ramesses II. The statuette, a kneeling and headless male figure

⁹¹ There are quite a number of variations for the spelling of this name, see ANDREWS 1978, p. 89: in the tomb of Nebsumenu (TT 183), no less than eight different spellings are recorded for his sister-in-law. According to Andrews, who lists a total of fifteen different spellings, these should all be considered variations of the name *Nhy.t*, or “Sycamore” (cf. *PN* I, p. 206 [26]). Therefore, a variant spelling of this name cannot solely be used to reject an identification. The name of Ptahmose has likewise been written with three varying forms in the current corpus of monuments.

⁹² Cf. *KRI* II, p. 372-373. Compare: ANDREWS 1978, p. 89; see also: *PN* I, 206 [22], *Nh.t*, “die Sykomore”.

⁹³ MARIETTE 1857, pl. 13 (“Apis III”); BERLANDINI 1982, p. 101, pl. XIII; *KRI* II, p. 372; VII, p. 113; AUBERT, AUBERT 1974, p. 86. South of Gizeh extrasepulchral shabtis have been found at different locations, including in the Serapeum. “Caveau no. 8” consisted of two rooms, the second of which contained sarcophagi of the Apis bulls that died in years 16 and 30 of Ramesses II. The shabti inscribed for Ptahmose is described as found against the second sarcophagus (AUBERT 1974, p. 86; SCHNEIDER 1977, I, p. 279, 282).

⁹⁴ *KRI* II, p. 369; SCHNEIDER *op. cit.*, no. 3.2.1.53, pl. 103.

presumably holding a naos in front of him, was auctioned at Christie's London, 1992.⁹⁵ The statue measures 11.7 cm (h) and has one column of text inscribed on the dorsal pillar. According to the description provided in the sale catalogue it reads: “/// to the Ka of the Hereditary Count, Ptah-mose, true [of voice]”. The statue is now in a private collection and only one photograph, *en profil*, is available. The title Hereditary count should be understood as a translation for *ḥꜣt.y-ꜥ*. The kneeling figure wears an ankle-length pleated garment identical to that of BM 1119 (II.6). The title, date, and garment all meet the criteria to include it in the current corpus. A detailed study of the object should eventually be decisive.

2. Another unprovenanced, granite block statue (h: 31 cm) in the collection of the musée archéologique in Strasbourg, 11.987.0.146 (M.A.D. LXXI.97), has a single vertical line of text on the front: *ḥꜣt.y-ꜥ Pth-ms(.w)*.⁹⁶ On stylistic grounds, however, Schulz dated the statue to Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV.⁹⁷

- Previously Attributed to Ptahmose, but Now Rejected

1. The identification of the statue Leiden AST 23 was proposed by Schiaparelli, initially accepted in Leiden, but recently rejected on account of the titles.⁹⁸
2. Relief Munich GL. 298 was listed by PM III, p. 193, but actually forms part of the Memphite tomb of the Chief goldsmith Amenemone.⁹⁹
3. Block statue fragment Cairo CG 642 of Ptahmose. His titles, Royal scribe of the double treasury, Overseer of cattle of Amun, and Royal scribe [lacuna] of the Lord of the Two Lands, exclude an identification with the Mayor.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ CHRISTIE'S 1992, p. 71 [150]. I thank Victoria Hearn of Christie's Antiquities Department, London, for sending me a digital copy of the catalogue.

⁹⁶ PM VIII/2, p. 619 (801-643-555): formerly in the P. Nelson collection and auctioned at Sotheby's in 1931.

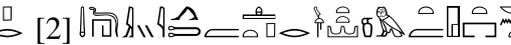
⁹⁷ SCHULZ 1992, I, p. 511 [312], II, pl. 133[c]. It is not certain whether *ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ* should be understood as an honorific or rank title. Compare the early 18th Dynasty cubic statue of the Mayor of Memphis *Ḥw-mꜥy*, who is identified as *ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ n(.y) Mn-nfr* (Paris, Louvre E 5336: SCHULZ 1992, I, p. 449 [267], II, pl. 118[a]).

⁹⁸ Ptahmose, God's Father of Ptah in the temple of Ptah: PM III², p. 728; BOESER 1912, p. 10-11 [24]; SCHIAPARELLI 1887, p. 326; SCHNEIDER, RAVEN 1981, p. 99; GRECO 2011a; GRECO 2011b. See also: KRI III, p. 416-417; GESSLER-LÖHR 2012, p. 186, with n. 162.

⁹⁹ KEIMER 1929, p. 84, pl. II; OCKINGA 2004, scene [6A-B], pls. 12-13, 53, 60-61.

¹⁰⁰ BORCHARDT 1925, p. 188; PM III², 667; KRI III, p. 172-173; MÁLEK 1987, p. 132; HELCK 1958, p. 394 (as the father of the Overseer of the Double Granary, Ptahmose). Previous identification rejected by BOHLEKE 1991, p. 314-316. Bohleke likewise rejects Berlandini's tentative suggestion (1982, p. 101 n. 2) that the shabtis of an Overseer of the double granary, Ptahmose (Cairo CG 46564) and Royal scribe and Overseer of the double granary, Ptahmose (Cairo CG 47181) can be related to the Mayor of Memphis.

Devéria Doorway: Translation of Texts¹⁰¹**Doorway, North Reveal (I.13)**

(←↓) [1]  [2]  [3] 


[1] /// iw p r (?)^a [2] dd mdw h(z)^b iyì.t(i) m htp^c r imnt.t hnm.t(w) m h_w.t=k^d n.t
 nhh is.t=k n.t [3] d.t krs.t(w)=k im m(-ht) izw nfr iw=k m hs.wt nsw.t r htp m ʿnh-
 t3.wy^e

[1] /// ? [2] *Recitation: Ha! Welcome (in peace) to the west (i.e. necropolis), may you unite with your place/house of eternity, your tomb of [3] everlastingness, may you be buried in it after an old age, you being in the royal favour to rest in Ankhtawy.*

Doorway, North Jamb, Thickness (I.14)

(←↓) [1] 

[1] /// [ns/r] s[h]r^f m h_w.t-k3-Pth sr hr^g[.y-tp m] šny.t^h w^c mn_h n n_{tr} nfrⁱ sš nsw.t
 im.y-r pr wr m [pr Pth ///^j Pth-ms m3^c-hrw nb im3h]

[1] /// [tongue/mouth] that appeases in Hutkaptah (i.e. Memphis), Nobleman, Chief [amongst] the courtiers, Unique and excellent one of the Perfect God (i.e. the king), Royal scribe, Chief steward in [the house of Ptah /// Ptahmose, true of voice, possessor of reverence].

Doorway, North Jamb, East Side (I.15)

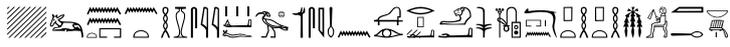
(←↓) [1] 

[1] [h_{tp} di nsw.t^k Wsir nb] dd.w^l nb p.t t3^m di=f t mw kbh.w sn_{tr}ⁿ hft nis[=f rn=k^o ///
 n Wsir /// Pth-ms m3^c-hrw nb im3h]

[1] [An offering which the king gives to Osiris, Lord of] Busiris, Lord of heaven (and) earth, may he grant bread, water, libation and incense when he calls [your

¹⁰¹ The texts are numbered in continuation of the list of monuments attributed to Ptahmose (*supra*). For the proposed orientation of the doorway, see the section “Location of the Devéria doorway”, below.

Doorway, South Jamb, East Side (I.17)

(↓→) [1] 

[1] [*h̄tp di nsw.t ///*] *iwnn.t n(.y)t ḥsy.w^u di=f ʒḥ wsr mʒ^c-ḥrw n Wsir (i)r(.y)-p^c(.t) ḥʒ.ty-^c sš nsw.t im.y-r pr n(.y) Pth Pth-ms mʒ^c-ḥrw nb imʒḥ*

[1] [*An offering which the king gives to ///*] *sanctuary/chapel of the praised/favourite/blessed one(s), may he grant a blessed state, power, and justification for the Osiris, the Noble and count, Royal scribe, Steward in the house of Ptah, Ptahmose, true of voice, possessor of reverence.*

(↓→) [2] 

[2] [*h̄tp di nsw.t ///*] *tʒ.w ḥr nb^v di=f smʒ^w ḥ.t m ḥw.t skry^x n Wsir (i)r(.y)-p^c(.t) ḥʒ.ty-^c im.y-r mš^c m pr-Pth Pth-ms mʒ^c-ḥrw nb imʒḥ*

[2] [*An offering which the king gives to ///*] *lands(?) and all people, may he grant a partaking in the offerings in the Mansion of Sokar, for the Osiris, the Noble and count, Overseer of the troops in the house of Ptah, Ptahmose, true of voice, possessor of reverence.*

(↓→)[3] 

[3] [*h̄tp di nsw.t ///*].*t iw.ty rdī ḥr-gs^y di=f ir(i) ḥpr.w m Bnw^z n Wsir (i)r(.y)-p^c(.t) ḥʒ.ty-^c im.y-r pr-ḥd^{aa} n(y) nb mʒ^c.t Pth-ms mʒ^c-ḥrw nb imʒḥ*

[3] [*An offering which the king gives to ///*] *one who is not biased, may he grant to transform into a Benu for the Noble and count, Overseer of the treasury of the Lord of Truth (i.e. Ptah), Ptahmose, true of voice, possessor of reverence.*

(↓→) [4] 

[4] [*h̄tp di nsw.t Wsir nb p.t ḥkʒ*] *nḥḥ iry d.t^{bb} di=f mʒʒ itn ḥ^{cc}=f n Wsir (i)r(.y)-p^c(.t) ḥʒ.ty-^c ḥʒ inb.w n(.w) Pth Pth-ms mʒ^c-ḥrw nb imʒḥ*

[4] [*An offering which the king gives to Osiris, lord of heaven, ruler of*] *eternity, who creates everlastingness, may he grant seeing the sun at its rising for the Osiris, the Noble and Mayor of beyond the Walls of Ptah, Ptahmose, true of voice, possessor of reverence.*

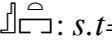
Doorway, South Jamb East Side, Panel (Cairo JE 4874; I.2)

(↓→) [1]  [2]  [3]  [4]  [5]  [6] 
 [7] 

[1] (*i*)*r*(.y)-*p*^c(.t) *ḥ*z.ty-^c *mrr*[2].ty ^cz *n nṯr-nfr sš nsw.t* [3] *m*z^c *mr*(.y)=*f im.y-r pr wr*
 [4] *m t*z *ḥw.t R^c-ms-sw mr.y-Imn m* [5] *pr Pth* [6] *Pth-ms* [7] *m*z^c-*hrw*

[1] *Hereditary prince, Governor, One much loved* [2] *by the Perfect God (i.e. the king), True royal scribe* [3] *whom he (i.e. the king) loves, Chief steward* [4] *in the temple “Ramesses-beloved-of-Amun” in* [5] *the house of Ptah, [6] Ptahmose, [7] true of voice.*

Notes on Text and Translation

- ^a Although individual signs are discernible, no satisfactory reconstruction can be proposed.
- ^b These signs are difficult to read and their interpretation depends on the preceding, illegible passage. One could also read  , *md.wt*, “words”, which implies a continuation from the preceding (single) upper column. For comparison, see the tomb of Maya: G.T. MARTIN 2012, scene [30], pl. 25.
- ^c For a similar construction, see: OCKINGA 2004, p. 108, pls. 36b, 82b: TNE 96: 119, face A (Text 70).
- ^d Alternatively, one may read  : *s.t=k n(y).t nḥḥ*, “your place of eternity”.
- ^e For a similar spelling of ^c*nḥ t*z.wy, see GOHARY 2009, pl. 49 [LB 13c]. For the term *ḥs.wt nsw.t*, see: GUKSCH 1994, p. 39ff (“*ḥs.wt*-Gefüge”); RAEDLER 2006, p. 54 (“Gunst des Königs”).
- ^f Compare: *ns shrr m t*z *r ḏr=f*: TAYLOR 2001, p. 133 [1227]: “One whose tongue makes peace in the entire land”. For *r shrr m t*z *r-ḏr=f*, see: TAYLOR 2001, p. 135-136, [1312-1318]: “spokesman who makes peace in (the midst of) [varying toponyms; none with *ḥwt-k*z-*Pth*].” Also: RAEDLER 2006, p. 47-49 (“*Der Beamte als Körperteil des Königs*”).
- ^g Although this sign is damaged, it doubtlessly reads *ḥr*. Cf. AL-AYEDI 2006, p. 428 [1460]: *ḥry-tp sr.w*, Chief nobleman. Compare for a different spelling: KRI III, p. 171,14 (JE 4873): *ḥry-tp wr m inb.w-ḥḏ*, Great chief in Memphis; cf. AL-AYEDI *op. cit.*, 425 [1447]: *ḥry-tp wr.w*, Chief of chiefs. The alternative reading

of this sign as *tp* would allow for the reconstruction of the honorary title , *sr tp.y m šny.t*, First official among the courtiers (cf. RAVEN 2005, p. 44 [70], pls. 74-75), or *sr tp.y m ḥz.t šny.t* (cf. *KRI* III, p. 94,6: *tp.y n.y [smr.w] m ḥz.t šny.t*); or Nobleman, head of the king's courtiers, in parallel to e.g. relief Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 714 of the General Amenemone: G.T. MARTIN 1987, pl. 1[b]); and *sr tp.y m inb(.w)-ḥd*, statue of the Vizier Paser from the temple of Mentuhotep II at Luxor: Frankfurt, Liebieghaus 271a-d/Philadelphia, University Museum E.534; *KRI* III, p. 18,6-7; RAEDLER 2012, p. 122. According to Raedler, this epithet is only very rarely attested for members of the royal court.

For the the terms *šn.wt* and *šny.t*, see RAEDLER 2006, p. 43; RAEDLER 2012, p. 124-129 (“Hofstaat / Hofleute”).

^h The damaged area allows for the inclusion of another block of signs, enabling e.g. the reconstruction *sr ḥr.y-tp m šny.t nsw.t*, Nobleman, greatest amongst the king's courtiers.

ⁱ Cf. TAYLOR 2001, p. 88 [799].

^j It is difficult to ascertain the remaining length of this column. One could argue that it ran to approximately the same level as the baseline of the two standing figures on the adjacent reveal and that it concluded with *Pth-ms mꜣꜥ-ḥrw nb imꜣḥ*. Such a reconstruction would allow for the inclusion of yet another title.

^k The subject of the corresponding panel below, *i.e.* the tomb owner receiving offerings while seated at an offering table, justifies this reconstruction.

^l Alternatively: *nsw Ddw*, “King of Busiris”, cf. Leiden AP 51*b* (BOESER 1911, pl. XXIX). *ddw* could also be understood as part of an epithet of Wennefer, cf. ASSMANN 1991, p. 79 [Text 93], pl. 36: *Wnn-nfr ḥr.y-ib Ddw*; “Wennefer, who lives in Busiris”.

^m This reading is not without difficulty. At first, one might be inclined to read *nb tꜣ.wy*. At closer inspection, the upper ‘*tꜣ*’-sign appears to be more rectangular shaped than the lower sign. One may read: *nb pt tꜣ* (cf. QUIBELL, HAYTER 1927, pl. 19: relief “A” from the tomb of Huy, as an epithet of Amun).

Alternatively, one could interpret the upper sign as *š*, reading *nb štꜣy* (*Wb.* IV, p. 553), an abbreviation for , commonly associated with Sokar (see below, ‘x’).

is attested for the 18th and 19th Dynasty, and again for the Ptolemaic period. I have not been able to find a parallel for *iwnn.t n.t ḥsy.w*. J. van Dijk (*personal communication*) points to the possibility that the 'temple of the blessed' could be a reference to the statues of the deceased placed in temples or, as in the present context, tomb superstructures (cf. *Wb* III, p. 157, 1: *ḥsi*, with determinative $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$, as 'Bez. für die durch Stiftung ihrer Statue in den Tempel Ausgezeichneten').

^v Presumably this is an epithet of a deity mentioned in the offering formula; "god X who made the lands and all people" (suggestion Boyo Ockinga). It is not clear which deity is addressed here.

^w Cf. BOESER 1911, pl. XXVIII, Leiden AP 51a.3: $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$.

^x See BROVARSKI 1984, col. 1064. For references to "Mansions of Sokar", see e.g. HELCK 1960, p. 924 (142) [11.a]: the *sm*-priest in the *ḥw.t-skr* Minmose (D.19, temp. Ramesses II); PETRIE 1902, pl. 67 [4]: statue of Wennefer, *sem*-priest in the *ḥw.t-skr* (D.19, temp. Seti I); and HAYES 1959, p. 158: on a statue of Thutmose date. According to PETRIE *op. cit.*, p. 46, the *ḥw.t-skr* was part of the temple of Seti I at Abydos, where, in Mariette's *Salle T*, it is repeatedly mentioned on the temple walls. In the context of Saqqara, it is possible that the "Mansion of Sokar" can be identified with the *Shetayet*-shrine (see above, 'm'), the location of which is suggested in the area of Rosetau (EDWARDS 1986, p. 28-29). Rosetau, then, may refer to the vast desert stretching between Saqqara and Gizeh (ZIVIE-COCHE 1984, col. 304-305). ABD EL-AAL (2009, p. 5 and pl. 3b) suggested that this is the place where some New Kingdom chapels were dedicated during the New Kingdom (*i.e.* Kafr el-Gebel or Nazlet el-Batran, to the south of the Gizeh plateau). On the Kafr el-Gebel monument of his superior Tia, Iurudef is attested with his title *im.y-r k3.t n nb=f n r-st3.w*. That title does not recur in his funerary monument at Saqqara.

A related structure is the *pr-ḥnw*, from where the Henu-barque of Sokar was carried forth around the walls of Memphis during the annual Sokar-festival (KITCHEN 1977, p. 119-120), and the *ḥw.t-ḥnw* (e.g. BADAWI 1944, p. 193: mentioned on the sarcophagus of the Mayor Amenhotep Huy).

During the Ramesside period, various priests of the "Mansion of Sokar" in the "Mansion of Amenhotep III" (at Thebes) are known (GABALLA, KITCHEN 1969, p. 29; HELCK 1960, p. 101, no. 15a; KEES 1958, p. 142).

Pillar Leiden AP 51*a* of Ptahmose also contains a reference to a *ḥw.t Skry*: “... Wennefer, Lord of the Sacred Territory. He who awakes safe, residing in the Mansion of Sokar”.

^y I have found no parallel for this epithet. Similar, but of a later date, is *iw.ty-gs3=f*, “Dessen Parteilichkeit es nicht gibt”: an epithet for Haroeris in the Graeco-Roman period: LEITZ 2002, p. 165.

For *rdi r-gs*, see: *Wb* II, p. 467: “parteiisch sein”.

^z Compare Ptahmose pillar Leiden AP 51*b.4* (BOESER 1911, pl. XXIX: ). The bird-sign has been variably read as *bḥ* (abundance: “<Anubis> *dī.f ir.t ḥpr.w bḥ tp t3 ...*”, “<Anubis> il donne de faire (ses) transformations, de bénéficié de l’abondance sur terre”: ZIVIE 2009, p. 63 [text 39], pl. 36); *ir.t ḥpr.w bḥ tp t3*, “Gestaltungen anzunehmen, die die Erde erfüllen”: ASSMANN 1991, p. 79 [text 93], pl. 36; GESSLER-LÖHR 1997, p. 52, pl. 8 [1]: MMA 36.3.272, doorjamb of the Theban tomb of the Mayor of Memphis, Menkheper) or *Bnw* (“<Anubis> *ir(i).t ḥpr(.w) m Bnw*”, “<Anubis> transform into a Benu (Phoenix)”: VAN LEER 1938, p. 32, pl. XVII; 8***: APM 8852, Scribe Ta).

In the present context, with the presence of the preposition ‘*m*’, the second translation is preferred. For what may be the complete writing of this spell, compare the stela of the mid-18th Dynasty Overseer of cattle of Amun Hatiaiy from Saqqara: Florence 2593 (ex-coll. Di Nizzoli 1824; BOSTICCO 1965, fig. 36): , *ir.t ḥpr(.w) m Bnw šnti*, “to transform into a Benu and Shenti”, and the fragment of a jamb from Saqqara (G.T. MARTIN 1979, p. 44 [136], pl. 39): [*ir(i).t ḥpr.w m*] *Bnw šnty*. For *šnty*, see *Wb* IV, p. 519: “als Vogel, in den sich die Seele des Toten verwandeln möchte” (BD 84). The transformation into a Benu refers to BD 83. The complete spell makes reference to BD chapters 83 and 84.

^{aa} The “stroke” encompassed by the *pr*-sign is not convincingly long or short, and could be read as either  or as . The readings result in two rather different titles: Steward in the house of the Lord of Truth, or Overseer of the treasury of the Lord of Truth. The first option is attested on several objects of Ptahmose (*i.e.* I.17a, II.3, 5, II.3–4, VII.1-2), while the latter is not (nor is it known from other sources). However, the stroke appears to be too long not to resemble the *ḥd*-sign.

^{bb} Cf. G.T. MARTIN 2001, p. 15 [Khay, 6] pl. 10.

As a final note on the text, one may refer to the “Ramesside orthography”.¹⁰² The squares of hieroglyphs on the doorjambs are crowded. This “aesthetic adjustment” in the spacing of signs, observable in the early 19th Dynasty, is well visible on the doorjambs. The texts on the doorjamb reveal, however, are neatly arranged according to the “ideal squares”.

Devéria’s Photograph of the Tomb of Ptahmose: Description of the Reliefs in the Doorway

Notes on the architecture

The doorway in the tomb of Ptahmose was still in a reasonably good condition at the time of Devéria’s visit. The mudbrick walls with limestone revetment were standing to nearly their original height. Only the upper course of blocks is missing on the north reveal. The relief(s) on the south reveal must have been preserved to exactly the same height: part of the limestone revetment is visible behind the left-hand doorjamb. The walls’ measurements can be estimated using relief Cairo JE 4874, which measures 62 x 47 cm (h x w). This allows for a total visible height of 178 cm. An undecorated dado can be discerned, which indicates that the lower section of the walls is concealed by sand. The undecorated dado underneath a similar scene in the nearby tomb of Pay measures 26 cm,¹⁰³ which accords well with the undecorated dado visible in the photograph of the scene with boatmen in a tilting match (I.18).¹⁰⁴ Taking that measurement, the photograph of Devéria captured just about the total height of that wall. The width of the doorway, measured between the two reveals, can be reconstructed at approximately 162 cm.

The two photographs of the tomb taken by Devéria present important information on the architecture. Both indicate that the walls are constructed with a mudbrick core to which a limestone revetment is added. The construction method is an important chronological denominator when considering monumental New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara. The mudbrick core with limestone revetment is characteristic for

¹⁰² LOPRIENO 1995, p. 21-22. The altered disposition of signs starts already during the Amarna period: JUNGE 2001.

¹⁰³ RAVEN 2005, scene [7], p. 24, pls. 20-21: tomb of Pay, panel on the north jamb, east face of the east doorway to the inner courtyard.

¹⁰⁴ The photograph includes a measuring rod.

tombs of the late 18th Dynasty. During the Ramesside period, walls are constructed exclusively of limestone blocks. Tombs that can be dated to the timeframe Ramesses I to Seti I have not been excavated yet.¹⁰⁵ It is to be expected that tomb construction did not change suddenly from one dynasty to the next. This is likely to have been a gradual process. The tomb of Ptahmose appears as a hybrid structure with “traditional” late 18th Dynasty architecture to which Ramesside novelties, such as the *djed*-pillars, are added.¹⁰⁶ A study of the architecture and decoration of this tomb can shed more light on the overall development of funerary monuments at Saqqara during the New Kingdom.

Decoration: Technical Observations

The standing figures of Ptahmose and Inehyt, the block frieze bordering that scene, and the figures and texts on both panels are executed in raised relief. The inscriptions on the doorjambs are incised, and the text column in front of the standing figure of Ptahmose is executed in a different manner. That text column is raised from the background of the image area,¹⁰⁷ and the individual signs appear to be executed in raised relief.¹⁰⁸ To find

¹⁰⁵ HAYS 2011, p. 88. An exception is the mudbrick forecourt built by Raia (D.19, early) against the tomb of his father, Pay (D.18, late), which he appropriated for his own use. The north-south oriented tomb of the Chief overseer of the royal harim Tjuroy called Ramessesnakht (ST 211) is dated to the period Seti I to Ramesses II, but has remained unpublished (see: TAWFIK 1991a, p. 406, fig. 1; GOHARY 1991a; GOHARY 2011). The monuments from other “hidden” tombs dated to the reign of Seti I are: General Iurokhy/Urhiya (LS 25): LD, Text I, p. 182; RUFFLE, KITCHEN 1979; General Kasa: PM III², 745, BERLANDINI 1977, p. 38-44; Overseer of the royal apartments of the harim at Memphis, Hormin (LS 29): PM III², p. 664-665; Head of goldworkers of the house of Seti I, Sayempetref: PM III², p. 716-717, Overseer of the army, Kasa: PM III², p. 745, Great scribe of the water in the temple of Seti I in the house of Amun, Amenmose: PM III², p. 773; and the Scribe of the offering table of the Lord of the Two Lands and Festival conductor of Osiris, Amenhotep Huy: HÖLZL 2007, p. 106-107; HOFMANN 2004, pl. XXVIII,77 (stelae Vienna ÄS 178, purchased by Burghart, 1821; Vienna ÄS 123); HÖLBL 1985, p. 18-23, pl. VIII (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli 1016).

¹⁰⁶ Similarly, two additional tombs photographed by Devéria in 1859 (Khay and Ptahemwia), also date to the early reign of Ramesses II. Their superstructures are likewise constructed of mudbrick. Moreover, the tomb of Khay also contains *djed*-pillars. Their iconography closely resembles those from the tomb of Ptahmose. The tomb owner is depicted standing, hands raised in adoration (PASQUALI 2013, fig. 11). For other examples, see: Chief steward in Memphis, Netjerwymes/Nemtyes (Bubastieion I.16, D.19, temp. Ramesses II: ZIVIE 2003, fig. on p. 121); the General Iurokhy/Urhiya (pillar Cairo JE 65061, tomb LS 25, D. 19, temp. Ramesses II, early: GAUTHIER 1935, pl. I); the Head of chamberlains of the Lord of the Two Lands, Iry-iry (*djed*-pillar fragment Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 45 45, D. 19, temp. Ramesses II: KOEFOED-PETERSEN 1956, pl LXXX [77]); and Amenhotep/Pendua (Cairo TN 20.1.25.5, Ramesside: VAN DIJK 1986, No. 15, pl. 1 [2]).

¹⁰⁷ Compare e.g. relief of Ipy: PASQUALI, GESSLER-LÖHR 2011, p. 290, fig. 1; references to other examples on p. 291 n. 53. The columns of text were incised directly on the surface and the background was lowered, which resulted in the text columns appearing as “irregularly shaped labels”. See also HOFMANN 2004, p. 150, who indicates that this feature occurs already on Old Kingdom stelae and that its application in tomb decoration re-emerges at the beginning of the reign of Ramesses II.

both text and image executed in raised relief is uncommon. Rare examples are found in the tombs of Maya and Mery-Neith.¹⁰⁹

Reliefs Florence 2557 (I.4), Leiden AP 54 (I.5), and Liebieghaus IN 1643 (I.6) have text columns carved like raised labels, hieroglyphs incised. Parallels can be found in the immediate post-Amarna tombs of Mery-Ptah, Maya, Horemheb, and Ipy.¹¹⁰ This feature is even less common for the 19th Dynasty. One example is presented by a relief block of the Steward of the Lord of the Two Lands, Horemheb.¹¹¹ Examples are also known for stelae¹¹² and statues.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ This, however, is very difficult to ascertain.

¹⁰⁹ Maya: entrance doorway, north reveal (G.T. MARTIN 2012, scene [3], pl. 79); Mery-Neith: north wall of court (RAVEN, VAN WALSEM 2014).

¹¹⁰ Mery-Ptah: GESSLER-LÖHR 2007b, fig. 1.7 (relief Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum H.1046); Maya: G.T. MARTIN 2012, scene [35], pl. 91; Horemheb: G.T. MARTIN 1989, scene [70], pl. 96; Ipy: PASQUALI, GESSLER-LÖHR 2011, fig. 1 (Chief steward Ipy, son of Chief steward Amenhotep Huy, temp. Amenhotep IV-Horemheb). For more references, see PASQUALI, GESSLER-LÖHR 2011, p. 290-291 n. 51-52. A further parallel of the late 18th to early 19th Dynasty, and of unknown provenance (but likely from Saqqara), is a relief from the tomb of the Overseer of scribes of the Lord of the Two Lands, Rama (Universität Leipzig, Inv.-Nr. 5069: ANONYMOUS 1981, p. 16-17, fig. 14; KRAUSPE 1987, p. 44-45, cover illustration). In the Amarna/post-Amarna period tomb of Mery-Neith, a text column was executed first in raised relief and was converted halfway its length to a raised label with text in sunk relief (north wall of courtyard: RAVEN *et al.* 2001-2, fig. 1; RAVEN, VAN WALSEM 2014, scene [30], p. 124 n. 110).

¹¹¹ Cairo TN 19.6.24.15–17: QUIBELL 1912, pl. LXVIII[1]; PM III², p. 667-668. Examples from Thebes: Vizier Paser (TT 106, temp. Seti I-Ramesses II, early: HOFMANN 2004, fig. 32); High Priest of Amun Nebwenemef (TT 157, temp. Ramesses II, early: HOFMANN 2004, figs. 35-36, 46).

¹¹² Examples include: Leiden AP 56 (V51) (rectangular naos stela, Overseer of cattle of Amun, Djehuty, D. 18, late, provenance unknown, ex-coll. d'Anastasi 1828: BOESER 1913, p. 11, pl. XXII [40]; AFFARA 2010); Louvre C149 [N298] (rectangular naos stela with pyramidion of the Stable master of the Lord of the Two Lands, Disuemib, D.18, late, provenance unknown; ex-coll. Drovetti 1827: ÉTIENNE 2006, cat. 129); Berlin 2791 (Kamose, Abydos D. 19: MÜLLER 1991, p. 142-143 [86]); Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli 1016 (round-topped stela of the Scribe of the altar of the Lord of the Two Lands Amenhotep Huy, D. 19, early, temp. Seti I: HÖLBL 1985, p. 18-23, pl. VIII; HOFMANN 2004, fig. 37); TNM: B13 (Teti pyramid north, Saqqara, D. 18, late: OCKINGA 2012, p. 385-388, fig. 5); SAK 2004-R 6 (niche shaped stela of Raia, D.19, temp. Seti I: RAVEN 2005, scene [72], pls. 76-77: scene in raised relief; inscription on the raised labels in sunk relief).

¹¹³ MMA 15.2.1, dyad of the Chief scribe Iuny with his wife Renenutet, D.19, temp. Seti I. The back of the statue features a stela, with the text incised on raised labels. The statue was found in or near the tomb-chapel of Iuny's father, the Chief physician Amenhotep, at Khashaba, Asyut, excavated by Ahmed Bey Kamal (1913-1914) on behalf of Sayyid Bey, local merchant and art collector (KAMAL 1916, p. 86-89 (no. 74); PM IV, p. 269; *KRI* I, 352-353; BERMAN 1999, p. 250-252; MMA online catalogue accessed 02.07.2013, www.metmuseum.org). The same raised labels are also present on a relief from the Asyut-tomb of Amenhotep (Deir Durunka). Now: Cleveland Museum 1963.100 and Archaeological Institute of the University of Zurich 1963/36 (formerly: Kunsthhaus Zürich) (BERMAN 1999, fig. on p. 250-252, cat. no. 180); HOFMANN 2004, fig. 164. More blocks from the tomb are now in Berlin, 1/64, 2/64, 2/63, 3/63 (KARIG 1967, p. 75-76, fig. 805; KARIG 1969) and the Toledo Museum of Art 62.24 (PECK 2011, p. 66-67, with fig. on p. 67).

A relief fragment found near – but not necessarily belonging to – the tomb of the Chief goldsmith Amenemone (Teti pyramid cemetery) has a representation executed in raised relief *and* a raised label-shaped column with text in raised relief.¹¹⁴

Although this feature appears most often during the late 18th Dynasty, it cannot be used *per se* as a dating criterion.¹¹⁵ Van Dijk¹¹⁶ noted that the use of inscriptions carved in sunk relief on a raised panel is confined to high quality workmanship dating to the late 18th Dynasty until the earlier decades of the reign of Ramesses II. However, at least one 20th Dynasty example is known as well.¹¹⁷

Scene on Devéria Doorway Reveal: Iconography and Style

In the doorway, Ptahmose is depicted standing, facing left, his right foot positioned in front of his left (figs. 1-2). He holds a double staff (*mdw* and *w3s*) in his right hand and both a sceptre (*shm*) and long, folded napkin in his left.¹¹⁸ Inehyt is positioned standing behind her husband and she grasps him by the arm. In her left hand she holds a *menat*.¹¹⁹ The blocks that bore the reliefs depicting their heads are now missing. One can just recognize the lower portion of their wigs. The lower tip of the striated, duplex wig of Ptahmose is visible.¹²⁰ Inehyt probably wears a long, braided wig.¹²¹

¹¹⁴ OCKINGA 2004, pl. 36 (fragment TNE 94: F93). The tomb of the army scribe Huy is suggested as provenance (OCKINGA 2004, p. 109, n. 183; cf. QUIBELL, HAYTER 1927, pl. 19). For the tomb of Huy (D. 18, late, temp. Ay-Horemheb), see: WENIG 1974; OCKINGA 2012, p. 374-377 and fig. 1 on p. 373.

¹¹⁵ Pace GESSLER-LÖHR, in PASQUALI, GESSLER-LÖHR 2011, p. 291.

¹¹⁶ VAN DIJK 1989, p. 53.

¹¹⁷ Dra Abu el-Naga, tomb of Ramessesnakht, K93.11: POLZ 2007, fig. 332. The raised labels are also present on stela fragment Vienna ÄS 9226 (provenance unknown), which has been dated by HÜTTNER, SATZINGER 1999, p. 142-144, to the time of Amenhotep III. It might actually date to the late 18th Dynasty.

¹¹⁸ These are the symbols of authority, referring to his role in ruling bureaucracy. The same combination of symbols form the determinative of the word for “official” (*sr*, Gardiner A21): ROBINS 2008, p. 211.

¹¹⁹ STAEHELIN 1982, col. 52-53. Compare e.g. Meryt, assuming the same pose as Inehyt, standing behind her husband, Maya: LD III, pl. 240a; G.T. MARTIN 2012, scene [30], pl. 25. A relief block of unknown provenance (Hannover, Museum August Kestner 1935.200.182, probably Saqqara) depicts an anonymous man, arms raised in adoration. His wife stands behind him, right arm raised, holding a sistrum and *menat* in her left hand (G.T. MARTIN 1987, p. 36 [88], pls. 34, 53). For a similar composition at Thebes, see TT 41: Amenemope and Nodjmet (temp. Horemheb-Seti I, ASSMANN 1991, scene [40], pls. XXXVb, 29).

¹²⁰ Compare Maya: G.T. MARTIN 2012, scene [1-2], pls. 8, 78; scene [30], pls. 24, 90; General Amenemone, Hannover, Museum August Kestner 1935.200.186: DJUŽEVA 2000, p. 97 [Dok. 17]; DRENKHAHN 1989, fig. 33.

¹²¹ Compare e.g. to Meryt in the tomb of Maya: G.T. MARTIN 2012, scene [30], pl. 25.

The scene in the doorway of Ptahmose and Inehyt contains some features for which only few parallels can be found in the tombs of other New Kingdom officials buried in the Memphite necropolis.

1. Naturalistic Representation of Two Feet

Human figures in Egyptian art are commonly represented with two similar feet, as if both are viewed from the inside. A differentiation between far and near foot is exceptional, and is more commonly used for royals than for private people.¹²² Both Ptahmose (wearing sandals) and his wife (barefoot) are provided with two different views of their feet. Only a limited number of similar representations can be identified at Saqqara.¹²³

Two parallels are presented by the *djed*-pillars of Ptahmose (Leiden AP 51*a, d*). Note that the two other pillars present him with two identical feet.

In the cemetery south of the Unas causeway, a further three parallels can be identified.¹²⁴ In the tomb of the Director of the harim, Pay, no less than three scenes depict the deceased with a naturalistic presentation of his feet. In two scenes, Pay is seated on a chair while his feet are positioned side by side and therefore only the near foot is visible.¹²⁵ The third scene bears more resemblance to that of Ptahmose.¹²⁶

¹²² See RUSSMANN 1980. Russmann concludes that the differentiation between near and far foot started during the reign of Thutmose IV (first in paint, later in relief), initially only to represent female servants and female members of the family. Its exclusive use for members of the royal family during the Amarna period continued into the reign of Tutankhamun. However, RAVEN (2005, p. 54-55) noted that private individuals could be represented accordingly prior to the reign of Ay, as did Pay, a contemporary of Tutankhamun, in his tomb at Saqqara.

¹²³ Only feet depicted in a side-view, positioned flat on the surface, are taken into consideration. This excludes representations of the underside of a foot (e.g. Paatenemheb, Leiden AMT 1-32: BOESER 1911, pl. III; Mery-Neith: RAVEN, VAN WALSEM 2014, scene [30], kneeling female figure, north wall of court, east end; Horemheb: G.T. MARTIN 1989, scene [110b], pl. 130, kneeling tomb owner, fragment; G.T. MARTIN 1989, scene [113], pl. 135, kneeling female figure, south thickness of doorway to central chapel), and the representation of toes for kneeling figures (e.g. ZIVIE 2009, pls. 26-27).

¹²⁴ This number excludes relief fragment SAK 2009-R13 (unpublished), found by the Leiden-expedition in (but not necessarily belonging to) the Ramesside chapel of the *w^cb n(.y) ḥz.t n(.y) Pth, Wab*-priest of the front of Ptah, called Khay II (nr. 2009/6), located immediately due south of the first court of the tomb of Horemheb. The relief contains the near foot of a seated male (?) figure and two smaller feet (non distinct) approaching the seated figure. I thank Maarten Raven for information on its provenance and Peter Jan Bomhof for a photograph. For a preliminary report on the excavation of the 2009 season, see: RAVEN *et al.* 2010, p. 5-24 (Khay II: p. 6-9).

¹²⁵ 1) RAVEN 2005, scene [25], p. 30, pls. 36-37, west wall of inner court, between central and south chapel. Only the lower part of the scene is preserved; 2) RAVEN 2005, scene [50], p. 36, pls. 54-55, antechapel, north wall. Again, only the lower part of the wall is preserved. In scene [25] Pay wears sandals, in scene [50] he does not.

In the Teti pyramid cemetery, “two feet” are attested only in the tomb of the Chief goldsmith Amenemone.¹²⁷ It should be added that he is depicted exclusively barefoot.

The depiction of two different feet in Theban private tombs of the New Kingdom is similarly uncommon, although examples are more numerous compared to Saqqara.¹²⁸ At Saqqara this stylistic feature appears to be temporally constrained to the timeframe Tutankhamun-Seti I. At Thebes, this feature is chronologically more diffused. The earliest example can be dated to the reign of Amenhotep III (TT 8, TT 69), and the latest to the 20th Dynasty (TT 341). Nearly all examples are painted. Only TT 41 of Amenemope (temp. Horemheb-Seti I) is executed in relief.

The Memphite tombs of Horemheb and Maia also include royal figures with naturalistically represented feet. In her tomb near the Bubastieion (I.20), the child Tutankhamun sits on Maia’s lap.¹²⁹ His feet are positioned side by side and therefore

¹²⁶ RAVEN 2005, p. 35-36 [49], pls. 50-51, antechapel, north screen wall, east face.

¹²⁷ 1) OCKINGA 2004, scene [10], pls. 18, 65 (Cairo TN 29.6.24.8), south chapel: tomb owner and wife standing, only lower part preserved; 2) OCKINGA 2004, scene [11], pls. 19, 66 (Cairo TN 27.6.24.2), south chapel: tomb owner sitting on a chair and a woman sitting on a pillow, besides the chair; 3) OCKINGA 2004, scene [12], pl. 20 (Cairo TN 17.6.25.1), portico, only tomb owner depicted; 4) OCKINGA 2004, scene [14], pl. 23, portico, tomb owner sitting on a chair, approached by offering bearers.

¹²⁸ These tombs include, but are not necessarily limited to: TT 31, Khons (temp. Ramesses II: DAVIES 1948, pl. XI; figure of the owner); TT 41, Amenemope (temp. Horemheb-Seti I: ASSMANN 1991, pls. 13 [4], 25 [34], 26 [35-6], 27 [37], 60 [141]; HOFMANN 2004, pl. III,8; all figures of the owner); TT 51, Userhat (temp. Seti I, Userhat and his wife and mother, sitting; and two women standing behind Userhat, adoring Osiris: DAVIES 1927, p. 6-9, frontispiece, pls. V-VII, IX, XA; WILKINSON, HILL 1983, fig. 39; HOFMANN 2004, fig. 18); TT 65, Neb-Amun; usurped by Imiseba (temp. Hatshepsut and Ramesses IX, Imiseba and relatives: unpublished tracings of Norman and Nina de Garis Davies at the Griffith Institute, Oxford, accessed 25.03.2013, http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4TT65_intro.html); TT 111, Amunwakhshu (temp. Ramesses II, second half, figure of the tomb owner: HOFMANN 2004, pl. VIII,21); TT 217, Ipuy (temp. Ramesses II, first half; DAVIES 1927, pls. 23 (tomb owner and wife), 24 (wife only; tomb owner with two similar feet), 25 (deceased couple and their son acting as a priest; their daughter represented with two similar feet); TT 271, Nai (temp. Ay, the tomb owner and his wife seated before an offering table: HABACHI, ANUS 1977, pl. IIIB; HOFMANN 2004, fig. 17); TT 278, Amenemhab (late D.19, tomb owner and wife, seated in front of a tree goddess: VANDIER 1954, pl. 32); TT 324, Hatiay (“post-Amarna”; HOFMANN 2004, p. 18-20); DAVIES 1948, pls. XXXII (tomb owner and wife, twice), XXXIV (tomb owner and wife), XXXVI (only tomb owner, twice)); TT 331, Pa-en-niut/Penre (temp. Ramesses II, first half; KAMPP 1996, p. 577; DAVIES 1948, pls. XXXVII (tomb owner), XXXVIII (female figure)); TT 341, Nakht-Amun (D.20, various representations, including the tomb owner, his wife (?) and son: KAMPP 1996, pls. XXIV-XXVII). In addition, RUSSMANN 1980, p. 77 (with bibliographical references), lists seven examples from Theban private tombs of the pre-Amarna period: TT 8 (temp. Amenhotep III), Kha; TT 38, Djoserkaraseneb; TT 69, Menna (Amenhotep III); TT 78, Horemheb; TT 139, Paury; TT 181, Nebamun and Ipuky (fragments BM EA 37977/37986).

¹²⁹ ZIVIE 2009, pls. 21, 52. A comparable scene can be observed in the Theban tomb of Qenamun (TT 93), depicting the future king Amenhotep II seated on the lap of Amenemope, although with two similar feet (ZIVIE 2009, p. 99, fig. 4).

only the near foot is completely visible. The area containing Maia's feet is damaged. In the tomb of the General Horemheb, Tutankhamun and Ankhnesenamun feature in two scenes. On each occasion they are represented with two different feet, wearing sandals.¹³⁰ Horemheb also features in these scenes, but his feet are depicted in the traditional manner.

Name	Tomb	Title	Feet		Sandals		Date
			♂	♀	♂	♀	
<i>Imn-m-ınt</i>	Teti Pyr. (Loret no. 2)	<i>hr.y nbw.w n(.w) nb t3.wy</i>	√	√	?	?	D. 18 (Tut)
<i>P3y</i>	Unas, south (LS 28)	<i>imy-r ip.t-nsw n(.y) nb t3.wy / n(.y) mn-nfr</i>	√		√		D. 18 (Tut-Hor)
<i>Pth-ms</i>	Unas, south	<i>h3.ty-ꜥ wr n(.y) inb.w-ḥd</i>	√	√	√		D. 19, early
<i>Mꜥi3*</i>	Bubastieion (I.20)	<i>mnꜥ.t nsw(.t) šd.t nb t3.wy</i>	√		√		D. 18 (Tut)
<i>Hr-m-ḥb*</i>	Unas, south	<i>imy-r im.yw-r mšꜥ n(.y) nb t3.wy</i>	√	√	√	√	D. 18 (Tut)

TABLE 1. Naturalistic representation of two feet, as attested in the corpus of New kingdom tombs at Saqqara. Asterisk indicates royal figures.

2. Double Staff

In the doorway, the standing Ptahmose is equipped with the regalia that mark his high status. In his left hand he holds a *šhm* sceptre¹³¹ in combination with a folded “handkerchief” or “napkin”.¹³² As early as the Old Kingdom, the napkin is associated with high officials. From the Amarna period onwards it appears as a long, folded cloth that is often pleated and fringed at one end.¹³³ Ptahmose's napkin appears to be neither pleated nor fringed.

In his right hand Ptahmose holds two full-size staffs of different type. One staff has a forked end, the other ends straight. There can be little doubt that the bifurcated staff represents the *w3s*-sceptre.¹³⁴ The second staff can be undoubtedly identified as the

¹³⁰ 1) G.T. MARTIN 1989, p. 94-97 [76], pl. 112 (Leiden H.III.SSSS: BOESER 1911, p. 6-7, pl. XXIII), and 2) G.T. MARTIN 1989, p. 87-92 [72], pl. 108.

¹³¹ Also commonly referred to as *hrp*: BARTA 1984, col. 772-776.

¹³² He holds the same sceptre-and-napkin combination in relief Florence 2557 (lower register; napkin without fringed end), Cairo JE 4874 (long end of napkin fringed: fig. 3), and Cairo TN 25.6.24.6 (short end of napkin fringed).

¹³³ GESSLER-LÖHR, in PASQUALI, GESSLER-LÖHR 2011, p. 293 with n. 68-72. The traditional short, cord-like napkin started to be replaced by this longer form during the reign of Amenhotep III.

¹³⁴ See: K. MARTIN 1986, col. 1152-1154; HASSAN 1976, p. 6. The words *ꜥb3*, *šhm*, and *hrp* all designate the same staff: † (Gardiner S42). For the symbolism of the *w3s*, see: TE VELDE 1967, p. 89-91. The *ḏꜥm* is closely related and has a spiral shaft. For the giraffe and “serpopard” eventually becoming the *w3s*-

so-called staff-of-office, or *mdw*, characteristically held by high ranking officials.¹³⁵ The *wꜣs*-sceptre is associated primarily with deities and only rarely held by common people.¹³⁶ If indeed an official is attested with a *wꜣs*-sceptre, it is almost without exception in combination with a staff-of-office.

The corpus of Memphite New Kingdom reliefs includes another twelve such examples from ten individual tombs (table 2): Maya (3 scenes),¹³⁷ Mery-Neith,¹³⁸ Horemheb,¹³⁹ Raia,¹⁴⁰ Paatenemheb,¹⁴¹ Mery-Sekhmet,¹⁴² Ptahmose,¹⁴³ Ramessesnakht,¹⁴⁴ a relief block of an anonymous official,¹⁴⁵ a block of an anonymous

sceptre, see: WESTENDORF 1966, p. 207-208. According to GORDON and SCHWABE (2004, p. 138-145), the *wꜣs* and *ḏꜣm* originated from a dried bull's penis. In the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 49: DAVIES 1933, pl. XLVII, below), a servant, standing behind his superior, is depicted holding a long stick with bifurcated lower end; the upper part ends straight. Its length is too long to be used as a staff, and must have had a different function. The same staff is held by two servants bringing supplies (contained in baskets) to the temple: DAVIES 1933, pl. XLV (inner room, north wall, below, left). For the lower fragment of a wooden, bifurcated staff found in the tomb of Amenemope (TT 41), see: ASSMANN 1991, p. 242 [179], pl. LXXIIa-c.

¹³⁵ Ptahmose is shown holding this staff only in relief Cairo TN 25.6.24.6 (I.7).

¹³⁶ KUHLMANN, SCHENKEL 1983, II, p. 79 n. 310.

¹³⁷ 1) Doorway to chapels B and C; probably from north reveal (Leiden F 1993/8.1: G.T. MARTIN 2012, p. 26 [18a], pls. 21, 88[1]); 2) Doorway statue room to inner court, south reveal (LD III, pl. 240a; G.T. MARTIN 1991, pl. VIII; G.T. MARTIN 2012, scene [30], p. 30-31, pls. 24-25, 90[1]); 3) Doorway statue room to inner court, north reveal (LD III, pl. 240d (now lost); G.T. MARTIN 2010, scene [28], p. 30, pl. 23). Scene 3 from the tomb of Maya, copied by Lepsius in 1843, appears to contain two *wꜣs* sceptres (only the lower parts of the staffs are preserved), which is likely to be an error made by the draughtsperson copying this relief. Compare: G.T. MARTIN 2012, scene [30].

¹³⁸ RAVEN *et al.* 2001-2, fig. 1; VAN WALSEM 2001, fig. 3; RAVEN, VAN WALSEM 2014, scene [29]. The scene is located on the north wall of the courtyard and depicts the statues of Mery-Neith and his wife Anuy, positioned on a sledge, and facing left (west).

¹³⁹ G.T. MARTIN 1989, p. 84 [70], pls. 96-97.

¹⁴⁰ RAVEN 2005, scene [41], p. 33-34, pls. 44-45: south thickness of south chapel. The upper part of the scene that contained the upper end of the staff is lost. In his other (*i.e.* left) hand, the deceased holds a "lettuce" sceptre and a folded cloth.

¹⁴¹ BOESER 1911, p. 3, pl. V: chapel, east wall (west face), north part. Tomb owner standing (wearing sandals), his wife is positioned standing behind him (barefoot). In front of the tomb owner, two servants are depicted on two superimposed register lines. The lower servant carries sandals in his left hand, and appears to present the double staff to the tomb owner. The appearance of the upper end of both staffs held by Paatenemheb cannot be ascertained since the scene's upper part is not preserved. The image of the servant, however, is fully preserved and shows the staffs full-length: indeed the *wꜣs* and *mdw* sceptres. The servant standing on the upper register line, partially preserved, offers a libation and carries the tomb owner's folded napkin.

¹⁴² ZIVIE 2000, p. 189, fig. 5.

¹⁴³ Triangular-shaped stela Florence 2537 from Saqqara (ex-coll. Di Nizzoli 1824): BOSTICCO 1965, p. 41-42 [34].

¹⁴⁴ Relief fragment Brussels E.5183: BERLANDINI 1979, p. 249-253, pl. LI.

¹⁴⁵ IBRAHIM ALY 1998, p. 221 [4], pl. 22d: the block was found during restoration work near the chapel of the South Tomb in the Djoser complex at Saqqara, and may derive from the area around the Unas causeway, where it was removed during previous excavations. The block is now in Saqqara Magazine

vizier,¹⁴⁶ and on a relief of unknown provenance and ownership.¹⁴⁷ Note that in the representation of Raia, the lower part of the staff-of-office overlaps the forked staff, while for Ptahmose, Paatenemheb, Mery-Neith, Maya and Horemheb this is the other way round. In the tomb of the Chief goldsmith Amenemone, the double staff is held by the figure of the deified king Menkauhor.¹⁴⁸ Further scenes in the tombs of Pay (and Raia)¹⁴⁹ and Maya¹⁵⁰ contain a double-staff combination of two identical staffs-of-office, while a scene from the tomb of the General Amenemone contains two staffs of which neither top nor bottom are preserved.¹⁵¹

At Thebes, the double staff (*w3s* and *mdw*) is found in the tombs of Viceroy Amenhotep Huy (TT 40),¹⁵² Ibi (TT 36),¹⁵³ Basa (TT 389),¹⁵⁴ and the Mayor Paser at

No. 4. The seated tomb owner can be seen holding the *sh̄m*-sceptre and double staff. The decoration in the lower area of the block has vanished, while the scene breaks off at the upper edge of the block. It is not clear, therefore, which staff combination is depicted here. It is possible that traces of the stylised animal head, to indicate the *w3s*-sceptre, are visible. Part of his title is visible: *m ḥw.t n' b=f*. This can be indicative of the Mayor Amenhotep Huy, who held the title *im.y-r pr m t3 ḥw.t nb=f*, Steward in the temple of His Lord. During the restoration work another block from his tomb was found (IBRAHIM ALY 1998, p. 222-223 [6], pl. 23b), which has the same thickness (21 cm).

¹⁴⁶ Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet NME 26: PM III², 761; LIEBLEIN 1868, p. 23 [26]; MOGENSEN 1919, p. 50-51; PETERSON 1974, p. 8-10, fig. 2. The relief fragment (60 x 44 cm) was acquired before 1868 and is of unknown provenance. Parts of two registers are preserved. In the upper register, the feet of a seated man are visible on the right, the base of an offering table in the centre, and a rectangular base and the lower part of the double staff on the left. In the lower register, a Scribe of the room of gifts of Pharaoh I.p.h. (*sš n ʕ.t ḥnk.t pr wy-ʕ3 ʕ.w.s.*) named *R^c-ms-s(w)-nh̄t n(.y) Mn-nfr* presents incense to the seated deceased couple: a man wearing the typical vizier's garment and his wife, both without name and title. The same vizier possibly holds the double staff in the upper register. As the Vizier is not indicated by name, the block possibly belonged to an official (Ramessesnakht?) who included a representation of the Vizier in his tomb. Note that the tomb of the Vizier of the North (Pa-)Rahotep (temp. Ramesses II, 2nd to 6th decade) is located at Sedment (Cemetery B, tomb 201), and the location of the tombs of Nebamun (temp. Horemheb-Ramesses II) and Iri-[...] (6th decade?) are as yet unknown (RAEDLER 2004, with tables 1 and 2). Neferrenpet, Vizier of the South and High Priest of Ptah at Memphis (Ramesses II, end 6th decade) had a tomb at Saqqara (ST 101: TAWFIK 1991, 404, fig. 1, pls. 56, 57a).

¹⁴⁷ Relief Linköping, Stifts- och Landsbibliothek: G.T. MARTIN 1987, p. 19 [38], pl. 13; PM III², p. 759. The name of the deceased is partly preserved, concluding with a "bird sign", while a second name ends with '/y', and his titles include that of *sš nsw.t*, Royal scribe. His wife is called Ty and has the title *šm^cy.t n(.t) nb.t nh.t*, Songstress of the Lady of the Sycamore (*i.e.* Hathor).

¹⁴⁸ Relief Louvre B 48: BERLANDINI-GRENIER 1976, pl. 53; OCKINGA 2004, scene [13], pls. 21, 68.

¹⁴⁹ Three scenes: 1) associated with Pay: RAVEN 2005, scene [49], p. 35-36, pls. 50-51, antechapel, north screen wall, east face (lower part of scene preserved); 2 and 3) Pay or Raia, fragmentarily preserved scenes: RAVEN 2005, scene [51], p. 36, pls. 52-53, sanctuary, south screen wall, west face; RAVEN 2005, scene [57], p. 38-39, pls. 53-54, sanctuary, north screen wall, west face.

¹⁵⁰ G.T. MARTIN 2012, scene [20], pls. 21, 88,2 (= Frankfurt, Liebieghaus St. P 425).

¹⁵¹ On relief Louvre B8 of the General Amenemone: VANDIER 1973, p. 28, pl. XI[2]; DJUŽEVA 2000, p. 87, Dok. 12, pl. 3.

¹⁵² DAVIES 1926, pl. 35: one wall, four scenes: half-sized sceptres, being one double staff (right, second scene from above, while a Lector priest "makes purification with bowls of water") and three *w3s* sceptres.

Medinet Habu.¹⁵⁵ In the tomb of Amenemhat (TT 82), an offering bearer is depicted while carrying a chest with loin-cloths, vulture pectorals, bracelets, etc., while also holding a *ḏꜥm* sceptre, and another man carries a vessel stand with vessels, while holding a *wꜣs* sceptre.¹⁵⁶ These objects are destined for the tomb of Amenemhat. Other examples worth mentioning are P. Louvre N 3092 of Neferwebenef, vignette with Book of the Dead Chapter 110,¹⁵⁷ and the vignette with BD Chapter 110 of Yuya, father-in-law of Amenhotep III, overseeing activities in the Fields of Iaru, while two attendants bring offerings, including a libation.¹⁵⁸ The deceased owner of the papyrus is depicted holding a *wꜣs* sceptre and *ꜥnh* sign. In the Memphite tomb of Horemheb, the upper register of the scene representing the Fields of Iaru depicts one attendant presenting two staffs to Horemheb: one *wꜣs* and one *mdw* staff.¹⁵⁹ A second attendant libates. It is interesting to note that the fields of Iaru are included on the east wall, south side, of the chapel of Paatenemheb, and that the tomb owner, facing right (south), receives the double staff from his attendant on the same wall, north side, which is on the opposite side across the doorway.¹⁶⁰ The staff thus marks the deceased's newly acquired status of life after death, as Norman de Garis Davies already noted in relation to the scenes in the tomb of the Viceroy Huy: “[...] his attainment of sepulchral beatitude is marked by the *was*-sceptre (𓄿) which in some cases he holds.”¹⁶¹ This is enhanced further by the description associated with a scene in the tomb of Maya. This text indicates that Maya enters his tomb, a place where the god receives his offerings, “being given a staff” (see *infra*).

¹⁵³ KUHLMANN, SCHENKEL 1983, scene [17], pl. 29 and scene [148], pl. 61. Note that the double staff continues only as *wꜣs*-sceptre above the hand of the tomb owner.

¹⁵⁴ ASSMANN 1973, II, scene 6, T. 23, pl. IX. Note that both staffs have a forked end.

¹⁵⁵ SCHOTT 1957, pl. I (temp. Ramesses III).

¹⁵⁶ Steward of reckoning grain of Amun; 18th Dynasty, temp Hatshepsut-Thutmosis III: DAVIES, GARDINER 1915, p. 49-50, pl. XI (passage, south wall, upper register).

¹⁵⁷ ANDREU-LANOË 2013, fig. on p. 210-211 [67] (Theban region, D.18).

¹⁵⁸ DAVIS 1907, pl. XI; DAVIS 1908, p. 15-16, pl. XVIII. For the Fields of Iaru (*šꜥt iꜣrw*), see: LECLANT 1975, col. 1156-1160. The Fields are always localised in the East and have associations with Re.

¹⁵⁹ G.T. MARTIN 1989, scene [117], p. 123, pl. 137. Note that these men are standing “on top of” the outer canal and are therefore standing somewhere beyond the fields.

¹⁶⁰ For the Fields of Iaru in the chapel of Paatenemheb, see: BOESER 1911, pl. XII (Leiden AMT 1-35).

¹⁶¹ DAVIES 1926, p. 31.

Name	Tomb	Title			Date
<i>Imn-m-int*</i>	Teti Pyr. (Loret no. 2)	<i>ḥr.y nbw.w n(.y) nb t3.wy</i>	√		D. 18 (Tut)
<i>Imn-m-int</i>	Lost	<i>im.y-r mš^c wr n(.y) nb t3.wy</i>	?	?	D. 18 (Hor)
<i>P3-itn-m-ḥb</i>	Lost	<i>wb3 nsw w^cb^c .wy</i>	√		D. 18 late
<i>P3y</i>	Unas, south (LS 28)	<i>imy-r ip.t-nsw n(.y) nb t3.wy</i> <i>/ n(.y) Mn-nfr</i>		√	D. 18 (Tut-Hor)
<i>Pth-ms</i>	Unas, south	<i>ḥ3.ty-^c wr n(.y) inb.w-ḥd</i>	√		D. 19, early
<i>Pth-ms</i>	Lost	<i>wr-ḥrp-ḥmw.w</i>	√		D. 18 (A III)
<i>M^cy3</i>	Unas, south (LS 27)	<i>imy-r pr.w-ḥd(.w)</i>	√	√	D. 18 (Tut-Hor)
<i>Mr.y-Nt /</i> <i>Mr.y-R^c</i>	Unas, south (H9)	<i>imy-r pr n(.y) Itn [m Mn-nfr]</i>	√		D. 18 (Akh-Tut)
<i>Mr.y-Šhm.t</i>	Bubastieion (I.5)	<i>imy-r šnw.ty n(.y) nb t3.wy</i>	√		D. 18, late; D. 19, early
<i>NN</i>	Unknown	<i>sš nsw.t ///</i>	√		D. 18/early 19
<i>NN</i>	Unas, south?	<i>/// m ḥw.t nb-f ///</i>	√?		D. 19, R.II
<i>NN</i>	Unknown	<i>im.y-r niw.t t3ty (?)</i>	√		D. 19, R.II
<i>R^ci3</i>	Unas, south (LS 28)	<i>imy-r ip.t-nsw n(.y) (pr-ḥnr.t</i> <i>m) mn-nfr</i>	√		D. 18/early 19 (Hor-Seti I)
<i>R^c-ms-sw-nḥt</i>	Lost	<i>im.y-r mš^c</i>	√		D. 19 (R.II, first part)

TABLE 2. Depictions of the tomb owner holding the double staff, as attested in the corpus of New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara. Asterisk indicates royal figures.

3. Garments

In the doorway, Ptahmose wears a composite garment. It consists of a “bag tunic” with outward flaring ample pleated “sleeves” and “skirt” reaching to the ankles, in combination with a sash kilt wrapped around the buttocks and tied in front, resulting in a short “apron”.¹⁶² A knot is usually visible in front,¹⁶³ which here appears to be absent. The lower part of the short apron, which is formed by the fringed end of the sash kilt, appears to be smooth. The outer contour lines of the sleeves naturalistically take the form of the arms. The outlines of the right leg are clearly visible underneath the

¹⁶² After GESSLER-LÖHR, in PASQUALI, GESSLER-LÖHR 2011, p. 292, fig. 1 (Ipy); cf. FREED 1982, p. 171-172. See also: HOFMANN 2004, p. 168-169 (nrs. 16 and 18); VOGELSANG-EASTWOOD 1993, p. 130-154 (bag tunics). The short “apron” is paralleled most often in the period between the end of the Amarna period and the early reign of Ramesses II (VAN DIJK 1989, p. 52), but, as VAN WALSEM (personal communication) points out, occurs as early as the reign of Amenhotep III (e.g. RUSSMANN 1989, fig. 47: double standing statuette of Khaemwaset and his wife Menena from Bubastis, Cairo JE 87911; RUSSMANN *op cit.*, fig. 48: ebony statue of Tjay from Saqqara, Cairo JE 33255) and Akhenaten (Memphite tomb of Mery-Neith, tomb reliefs and statue Cairo JE 99076: RAVEN, VAN WALSEM 2014).

¹⁶³ G.T. MARTIN 1989, scene [73], pls. 109-110.

fabric.¹⁶⁴ Garments of comparable type are fairly common at Saqqara, typically worn by officials from the post-Amarna period onwards.¹⁶⁵

Over his shirt, Ptahmose wears a simple *wsh*-collar without clear visible evidence of the Gold of Honour, with which he is decorated in several representations from his tomb.¹⁶⁶ If indeed the *šbyw*-collar is absent, one could hypothesize that this doorway was decorated at a (relatively) early stage of his career. Otherwise, he would certainly have included it.¹⁶⁷

The image of Inehyt is not fully visible. Nevertheless, one is able to discern her ankle-length pleated robe. The now lost representation of Meryt in the tomb of Maya probably offered a close parallel, as does Nodjmet in the tomb of Amenemope (TT 41).¹⁶⁸

4. Position of the Wife's Right Hand

The co-occurrence of a male tomb owner and his wife in one scene is widely attested in the private tombs of the New Kingdom. Couples can be represented either seated or standing. Without exception, the male tomb owner is positioned in front of his wife. The wife usually embraces her husband or holds his arm. At least six different embraces can be distinguished within this corpus at Memphis:

¹⁶⁴ Compare Ptahemwia: RAVEN *et al.* 2007, fig. 8 (Saqqara, D.18, temp. Akhenaten-Tutankhamun); Mery-Neith: RAVEN *et al.* 2001-2, fig. 1 (Saqqara, D.18, temp. Akhenaten-Tutankhamun); Ptahmose, BM EA 160: BIERBRIER 1982, pls. 4-5 (Gizeh?, D.18, late). Mery-Neith is represented in raised relief; the others in sunk relief. Examples from Thebes, raised relief: Amenemope, TT 41: ASSMANN 1991, scene [40], pls. XXXVb, 29); Nebwenenef TT, 157: HOFMANN 2004, p. 34, fig. 36 (temp. Ramesses II, early).

¹⁶⁵ GESSLER-LÖHR, in PASQUALI, GESSLER-LÖHR 2011, p. 292-293 (with n. 66 on chronological implications pre/post-Amarna period, with the latter having longer and wider sleeves flaring outward and with many more pleats). Compare: HOFMANN 2004, p. 168-169, nos. 16 and 18 (found at Saqqara already during the early post-Amarna period; in Theban tombs from the reign of Ramesses II onwards). Ptahmose wears the garment on his own monuments: I.1-2, I.4-7, III.5. Only on the *djed*-pillars (III.1-4) the bald-headed Ptahmose wears a distinctly different garment (cf. HOFMANN 2004, table on p. 167-168 [no. 15]).

¹⁶⁶ To the left of the lower part of his wig, faint traces of what might be interpreted as the *šbyw*-collar can be observed. Scenes of Ptahmose decorated with the *šbyw*-collar: I.7, I.8, I.11, III.2 (two-row collar); III.3-4 (four collars of four strands). The two-row *šbyw*-collar is most commonly attested for officials decorated with the Gold of Honour: 187 out of 238 attestations during the New Kingdom (BINDER 2008, p. 211). The majority of his monuments show Ptahmose without the *šbyw*.

¹⁶⁷ Also: PASQUALI, GESSLER-LÖHR 2011, p. 292: monuments of the Chief steward Ipy, son of Amenhotep Huy. According to BINDER (BINDER 2008, p. 219), a direct relation between the variation in the number of rows of a single collar, or the varying combinations of the *šbyw*, and hierarchy within the practice of rewarding cannot be determined with certainty.

¹⁶⁸ Maya: LD III, pl. 240a; G.T. MARTIN 2012, scene [30], pl. 25; Amenemope: ASSMANN 1991, scene [40], pls. XXXVb, 29, doorway to transverse hall, south reveal.

1. One hand positioned on the sleeve of the husband's upper arm; embracing him with the other arm, the hand appearing on the husband's shoulder¹⁶⁹ or chest;¹⁷⁰
2. Raising one hand, embracing the husband with the other, the hand appearing on the man's shoulder;¹⁷¹
3. Holding her husband's arm with one hand, the other disappearing behind his back;¹⁷²
4. Holding attributes (e.g. flowers) in one hand, and embracing the husband with the other arm, the hand appearing at his shoulder¹⁷³ or chest;¹⁷⁴
5. Holding an attribute in one hand, the other arm between his arm and torso, resting her hand on his lower arm;¹⁷⁵
6. Holding an attribute in one hand, while grasping the upper arm of the husband, positioning her hand between his arm and torso.

Position nr. 6 is demonstrated by Inehyt in the Devéria photograph. With just six parallels in six private tombs at Saqqara, this is a very uncommon position.¹⁷⁶

¹⁶⁹ E.g. Nebansu (Cairo JE 33107/CG 34055: LACAU 1909-1916, p. 98-99, pl. XXXIII; GESSLER-LÖHR 2007a, p. 72-73, pl. 7; D.18, temp. Amenhotep III); Horemheb (G.T. MARTIN 1989, pl. 58 [lower]; D.18, late); Paser (stela BM 165: G.T. MARTIN 1985, pl. 9; D.19, temp. Ramesses II); Mose (GABALLA 1977, pl. XIIa; temp. Ramesses II); Hori (Neuchâtel, musée d'Ethnographie 428: MALEK 1988, pl. XX; D.20, temp. Ramesses III/IV).

¹⁷⁰ Iniuiia: SCHNEIDER 2012, scene [13], fig. III.28, pl. I (D.18, temp. Tutankhamun).

¹⁷¹ E.g. Pay (RAVEN 2005, scene [16], pls. 26, 30, 158; D.18, late); Maatmenet (RAVEN 2001, pl. 29 [20]; stela from tomb of Ramose; D.19); Hori (stela Leiden AP 50 (V. 57): BOESER 1913, p. 9 [30], pl. XX; RAVEN, STARING 2007, fig. on p. 10, p. 180, cat. 158; D. 19).

¹⁷² E.g. stela of Nehy (RAVEN 2005, scene [82], pl. 82; D.18, late/D. 19, early).

¹⁷³ E.g. Chief goldsmith Amenemone (stela Cairo TN 10.6.24.8: OCKINGA 2004, scene [1], pls. 5, 55; D. 18, late); Amenma (stela Berlin 7320; GESSLER-LÖHR 2007a, pl. 7; D.18, Thutmose IV-Amenhotep III).

¹⁷⁴ E.g. Chief goldsmith Amenemone: OCKINGA 2004, pls. 13, 61 (Munich G1 298; D.18, late), Roy; G.T. MARTIN 1991, fig. 122 (Berlin 7278; D.18, late/D.19, early).

¹⁷⁵ Huynefer, Saqqara tomb ST 217 (D. 19, temp. Ramesses II): EL-AGUIZY 2015, figs. 11-12; Sayempetref: Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 8851 (ex-coll. W.A. van Leer (D. 19, early, temp. Seti I). VAN LEER 1938, p. 30-31, No. 8**, pl. XVI; JANSSEN 1957, p. 17-19, no. 8**, pl. V; *KRI* I, p. 346-349; VAN HAARLEM, SCHEURLEER 1986, p. 35, 37, fig. 17; LUNSINGH SCHEURLEER 2009, p. 42-43 [Cat. 8]. All of these publications locate the tomb of Sayempetref at Abydos, while PM III², p. 716-717; G.T. MARTIN 1991, p. 201; MASQUELIER-LOORIUS 2013, p. 269, with n. 959, indicate Saqqara.

¹⁷⁶ One parallel at Thebes is presented in the tomb of the Vizier Ramose (TT 50, temp. Amenhotep III-Akhenaten). Two scenes present Ramose and Meryt-Ptah seated before an offering table. These would be the earliest representations of this position, at Thebes. See: DAVIES 1941, pls. XII, XX. The same position of the hand can be observed in the 20th Dynasty tomb of Nakht-Amun (TT 341), inner room, east and south walls, both registers, each depicting Nakht-Amun and his wife Kemena, seated: DAVIES 1948, pl. XXVIII.

Name	Tomb	Title	Date
<i>Imn-m-int</i>	Unas, south (ST 101)	<i>im.y-r pr.wy-ḥd n(.y) nb t3.wy</i>	D. 19 (R II)
<i>Pth-ms</i>	Unas, south	<i>ḥ3.ty-ꜥ wr n(.y) inb.w-ḥd</i>	D.19, early
<i>Mꜥy3</i>	Unas, south (LS 27)	<i>im.y-r pr.w-ḥd(.w)</i>	D. 18 (Tut-Hor)
<i>Mr.y-Nt / Mr.y-Rꜥ</i>	Unas, south (H9)	<i>imy-r pr.w n(.y) Itn [m Mn-nfr]</i>	D. 18 (Akh-Tut)
<i>Mr.y-Shm.t</i>	Bubastieion (I.5)	<i>imy-r šnw.ty n(.y) nb t3.wy</i>	D. 18, late; D. 19, early
<i>NN</i>	Unknown	?	D. 18, late

TABLE 3. Wife of tomb owner embracing her husband, holding him by the upper arm (embrace nr. 6), as attested in the corpus of New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara.

These gestures all differ slightly in their detail of execution. The earliest representation, in the tomb of Mery-Neith, shows Anuy placing her hand slightly below the armpit of her husband. All fingers are on his sleeve (fig. 5).¹⁷⁷ The possibly contemporary relief of an anonymous official shows his wife grasping her husband's arm somewhere between his elbow and wrist: four fingers clasp the arm and the thumb is positioned upwards.¹⁷⁸

In the tomb of Mery-Sekhmet (Bubastieion I.5), Iwy stands behind her husband while grasping him by his upper arm, directly under his armpit (fig. 6).¹⁷⁹ The fingers are positioned on his sleeve, thumb upwards.

One of the scenes from the tomb of Maya indicates a similar position for the hand of Meryt, fingers on the sleeve of Maya, thumb up.¹⁸⁰ As opposed to the previous examples, the couple is represented while seated. In the third scene from the tomb of Maya (standing), the position of the wife's hand differs (fig. 7). The right hand of Meryt rests on the tomb owner's bare arm and only her thumb and partially her index finger rest on her husband's pleated sleeve.¹⁸¹

Another representation, from the reign of Ramesses II and possibly of later date than Ptahmose, is that of the Overseer of the Treasury Amenemone (tomb ST 101).¹⁸² A relief from the central chapel of his tomb show him and his wife, the Chantress of

¹⁷⁷ RAVEN *et al.* 2001-2, fig. 1; VAN WALSEM 2001, fig. 3; RAVEN, VAN WALSEM 2014, scene [29]. Note: these are the representations of statues of Mery-Neith and Anuy, standing on a sledge.

¹⁷⁸ Chicago, Field Museum 31289; G.T. MARTIN 1987, p. 11, pls. 5, 42 (provenance unknown; possibly Saqqara).

¹⁷⁹ ZIVIE 2000, fig. 5 (raised relief). Location tomb Bubastieion I.5; ZIVIE 2012, fig. 2.

¹⁸⁰ 1) G.T. MARTIN 2012, scene [30], pl. 24; 2) G.T. MARTIN 2012, scene [20], pls. 21, 88(2) (Liebieghaus St. P 425), probably south thickness of doorway between first court and statue room.

¹⁸¹ LD III, pl. 240a; G.T. MARTIN 1991, pl. VIII; G.T. MARTIN 2012, scene [30], pls. 24-25, 90.

¹⁸² GOHARY 1991b, pl. 56 (panel 2).

Bastet *Mry.t-Pth*, seated in front of an offering table. Meryt-Ptah is seated “behind” her husband. She holds a large sistrum and lotus stems in her right hand, and grasps Amenemone by his upper arm, nearly under his armpit.

This specific iconographic feature is attested briefly during the late 18th Dynasty: reign of Tutankhamun to Horemheb. The example of Ptahmose is a relatively “late” attestation at the beginning of the 19th Dynasty.¹⁸³

Inehyt, wife of Ptahmose, grasps her husband with her right hand by his left upper arm. While doing so, her hand appears to be piercing through Ptahmose’s pleated sleeve. This “incorrect” rendering is somewhat reminiscent of that on a family stela of the Scribe of the treasury of the Perfect God, Huy,¹⁸⁴ and a relief fragment from the Memphite tomb of the Chief of goldworkers of the temple of Men-Maat-Re (Seti I), Sayempetref.¹⁸⁵ On the stela, three women are depicted seated behind their respective husbands.¹⁸⁶ Their hands appear to be piercing through their husbands’ sleeves, and the artist even coloured their arm throughout, whereas these are actually situated behind the male’s arm, and therefore not visible. On the relief fragment of Sayempetref, Neshay and her husband are depicted while seated, facing left. Sayempetref has lowered his left arm, holding a *hrp* sceptre and a folded napkin. Neshay rests her right hand on her husband’s left arm. The artist attempted to naturalistically render her arm behind Sayempetref’s sleeve, which takes the form of her arm. This results in a rather unusual representation, where the wife’s arm almost appears to be piercing through the elbow-length pleated sleeve of Sayempetref.

¹⁸³ While Zivie dates Mery-Sekhmet to the late 18th Dynasty, he may have lived well into the early 19th Dynasty (cf. BINDER 2008, p. 315 [112]).

¹⁸⁴ Stela Leiden AP 8 (V 26), ex-coll. d’Anastasi 1828, early 19th Dynasty: BOESER 1913, p. 4 [12], pl. III. The stela is of unknown provenance (possibly Abydos).

¹⁸⁵ N. 175, *supra*. Title: *hr.y nb.w n t3 hw.t Mn-M3°.t-R°*. Also compare to the rendering of the backrest of the chair on which Ipy is sitting. The outlines of that backrest are visible through the seated tomb owner’s sleeve (relief in private collection: PASQUALI, GESSLER-LÖHR 2011, p. 292 with n. 58, fig. 1).

¹⁸⁶ These couples are: the parents of Huy, the Royal scribe and Overseer of the double granary, Siese, and his wife, the Songstress of Atum, Tentiunet (second register); Huy and his wife, the Lady of the house and Songstress of Atum, Mutnofret (third register); the Overseer of cattle, Mahu, and his wife, the Lady of the house Tasenneferet (fifth register). The women almost seem to be “squeezing” the thin arms of their husbands. The same can be observed e.g. on the stela of Khaemipet from Qantir, temp. Ramesses II (Ägyptische Sammlung Tübingen 471: VON RECKLINGHAUSEN 2011, p. 106, Cat. 38). The woman’s hand pierces through the man’s sleeve, her thumb is positioned over his arm, and her fingers clasp around it. This appears as a later development of the position of the woman’s hand as observed during the late 18th to early 19th Dynasty at Saqqara.

To sum up, the specific iconographic details observed in the relief of Ptahmose, visible on the reveal of the doorway photographed by Devéria, have few parallels in the corpus of New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara. The naturalistic representation of two feet is observed only in reliefs dated to the late 18th Dynasty, Tutankhamun to Horemheb.

The double staff is more common, but restricted to holders of the highest offices. In tomb iconography at Saqqara, the double staff is attested from the reign of Amenhotep III to the early reign of Ramesses II, with a peak in the late 18th Dynasty.

The most distinguishing feature is the position of the wife's hand. It appears in the immediate post-Amarna period to the early 19th Dynasty and is observed in only six tombs.

When considering all examples, there are two scenes that present a direct parallel for the composition of a standing tomb owner holding the double staff and the "lettuce" and *shn* sceptre, accompanied by his wife who grasps her husband by his arm below his armpit. These scenes are from the tombs of Maya and Mery-Sekhmet (figs. 6-7).¹⁸⁷ Both tombs were probably constructed around the same time. The composition of these scenes is identical and they have the additional smaller-scale figure in common. This composition may have developed from earlier scenes such as those observed in the tomb of Mery-Neith.¹⁸⁸ The contents of the associated texts differ. Maya's scene is positioned on the south reveal of the doorway leading from the statue room towards the inner courtyard, orientated towards the west. The scene in Mery-Sekhmet's tomb decorates the chapel of his rock-cut tomb, orientated towards the south.

Location of the Devéria doorway

In view of the position of the sun, and assuming the usual east-west orientation¹⁸⁹ of the tomb in question, the doorway photographed by Devéria must have been represented from the south-east. The doorway opens into a wide-open space. That space is confined by a mudbrick wall, the top of which can be discerned in the sand slope in the background. The doorway is narrowed by the doorjambs at the near (east) end, whereas

¹⁸⁷ Although the scene on the north wall of the tomb of Mery-Neith is also similar, it depicts not the deceased couple, but their statues (n. 177, *supra*).

¹⁸⁸ Closely related are scenes from the tombs of Pay and Aper-El. For Pay, see: RAVEN 2005, scene [51], pl. 53 (without wife). Aper-El: ZIVIE 1988, pl. 14 (without both embrace and double staff).

¹⁸⁹ Note that the tomb of Tjay (ST 211) has a north-south axis (TAWFIK 1991, fig. 1). There are usually no doorways to the north or south, although there are exceptions, e.g. in the tombs of Ramose (secondary doorway in the north wall of the forecourt: MARTIN 2001, p. 2, pl. 1) and Tia (doorway in the south wall of the second court: MARTIN 1997, pl. 1).

the far (west) end is wider. The doorway might have originally been narrowed on both sides, implying an additional doorjamb is missing on the far-end.¹⁹⁰ The limestone blocks placed at a right angle to the doorjambs facing the observer form an important clue to determining where exactly the photograph was taken. These appear to be part of stone platforms similar to those observed in the tombs of Maya and Horemheb. The west end of their statue rooms – an architectural space attested at Saqqara only in these tombs – contain stone platforms that used to accommodate statues.¹⁹¹

As the reveal visible in the Devéria doorway should be situated on the north wall, Ptahmose and Inehyt are observed entering their tomb. The vertical inscription in front of the standing tomb owner (*supra*, I.13) confirms that hypothesis. The passage “Welcome to the west, may you unite with your place of eternity, your tomb of everlastingness [...]” indicates that this scene graphically represents the arrival of the couple at their tomb, on their way to the central cult-chapel located in the west.¹⁹² There is one close parallel for this passage, which is again found in Maya’s tomb. The vertical inscription immediately in front of the standing figure (fig. 7) reads: “Leaving his house for his tomb where the god receives his offerings (?)”.¹⁹³ This text makes explicitly clear that Maya and Meryt leave the world of the living and enter their tomb,¹⁹⁴ which is a movement in a westward direction. That movement is graphically emphasized by the figures’ orientation. I would like to propose a similar architectural setting for the Devéria doorway: the passage between the statue room and inner courtyard. The main scene would be on the north reveal showing the couple entering the inner sanctum of their funerary monument (fig. 8). The reveals appertaining to the doorway in the tomb

¹⁹⁰ Compare Maya: G.T. MARTIN 2012, pl. 1B; Horemheb: G.T. MARTIN 1989, pl. 6; Pay: RAVEN 2005.

¹⁹¹ Horemheb: G.T. MARTIN 1989, pl. 5; Maya: G.T. MARTIN 1989 2012, pls. 1, 70[2]. Note that small statue platforms are also present at the entrance to the central western chapel of the tomb of Maya: G.T. MARTIN 2012, p. 10, pls. 1, 77,1.

¹⁹² Compare e.g. relief Hannover, Museum August Kestner 1935.200.186 (G.T. MARTIN 1987, p. 8-9 [5], pl. 3). DJUŽEVA (2000, p. 82) on stylistic grounds tentatively attributes the block to the tomb of General Amenemone. The text “welcomes” the tomb owner to *t3-mry*, “after a long [life]”. Ipuky of TT 181 (DAVIES 1925, pl. XVIII, entrance doorway, east thickness) also walks into his tomb, accompanied by a text welcoming him while holding a *mdw*-staff and *shy*-sceptre.

¹⁹³ G.T. MARTIN 2012, p. 30, scene [30]. Note that this scene of entering is depicted in the north wall. The same orientation can be observed in the tomb of Tia (Chapel C), where scenes of entering and leaving are represented on the south and north wall of the doorway respectively (MARTIN 1997, scenes [88] and [89], pls. 49-50).

¹⁹⁴ Compare the representations on the pillars and pilasters in the transverse hall of the tomb of Paser (TT 106, temp. Seti I-Ramesses II). The spells indicate different movements: to Rosetau, the netherworld (*r n k̄ pr.t m ḥtp r r-sṯw*), to the world of the living (*r n pr.t m hrw*) and to see his house on earth (*r m33 pr=f tp-t3*): SEYFRIED 1990, p. 344-347, pls. 57ac-d, 58a; PM I, 220 (106).

of Maya have one broad column of deeply incised hieroglyphs with the titles and name of this official, which is similar to the Devéria doorway.¹⁹⁵ The question of what was depicted on the south reveal of this doorway remains open.

Second Devéria photograph: the “Mur Rhoné”

The five adjoining relief decorated limestone revetment blocks (I.11) that were photographed *in situ* by Devéria depict the tomb owner (as *ʿIpꜣ*, short name for *Pth-ms*) standing in a papyrus boat (fig. 4). His son, grandson and possibly a daughter or second wife (see below) are with him. The scene may have been inspired by Old Kingdom *sšꜣ wꜣd*-scenes.¹⁹⁶ On the left, the fragments of two sub-registers are visible: catching birds with a clapnet and fishing with a dragnet.¹⁹⁷ Both activities are situated in the same marsh area. On the right, the lower half of three columns of text, each with different title sequences of Ptahmose, are preserved.

Berlandini already described this remarkable scene in detail.¹⁹⁸ Therefore, only some remarks on the iconography, style and location will be added here.

An Archaising Feature: Fishing and Fowling in the Papyrus Swamp

According to Hofmann,¹⁹⁹ an old motif is used here in order to represent a new and local religious concept: the veneration of Hathor. The rustling of the papyrus suggests a rite connected with the Hathor cult. Hathor depicted as a cow in the marshes can be

¹⁹⁵ G.T. MARTIN 2012, scenes [31] and [32], pl. 25.

¹⁹⁶ BERLANDINI 1982, p. 88. For a discussion of such scenes in Old Kingdom mastaba tombs, see e.g. MUNRO 1993, p. 95-118; ALTENMÜLLER 2002; WOODS 2008. The fragment of a similar scene originates from the tomb of the General Amenemone: Université de Strasbourg, Institut d'égyptologie 2439A, D.18, temp. Horemheb (ANONYMOUS 1973, p. 37 [133], fig. 19; DJUŽEVA 2000, p. 77-98, Dok. 13, pl. 3.). The location of his Memphite tomb is unknown (cf. PM III², p. 701), but might have been situated in the New Kingdom cemetery north of the pyramid of Teti (LD Texte I, p. 138: “Einzelne Steine im Dorfe Abusir verbaut”, reliefs Copenhagen, Carlsberg Glyptothek ÆIN 714-715; DJUŽEVA 2000, p. 83-84). On the motif as an adaptation of an Old Kingdom scene, see below.

¹⁹⁷ The fragment of a block depicting two men pulling ropes, found on the surface above the tomb of Iniuia (excav. nr. R 93-91; SCHNEIDER 2012, p. 100 [26d], fig. III.56, “Old Kingdom”) may just as well have formed part of an “archaising” New Kingdom scene. It would match the dragnet scene on the left-hand side of the “Mur Rhoné”. A block appropriated for decoration in the tomb of Maya proved to be reused from an Old Kingdom mastaba: part of a dragnet scene is still visible on the side adjacent to the surface re-cut for the image of Maya’s stepmother Henutiunu (G.T. MARTIN 2012, scene [5], pl. 85).

¹⁹⁸ BERLANDINI 1982, p. 86-92.

¹⁹⁹ HOFMANN 2004, p. 145.

observed on the stela of the Singer of Ptah, Mentuy.²⁰⁰ The hilltop monument of Khaemwaset, fourth son of Ramesses II, at Saqqara North provides a parallel for the marsh scene.²⁰¹ It depicts Khaemwaset, standing on a papyrus boat, facing a goddess. He presents an offering table, from which fish and lotus flowers hang down.²⁰² As with the “Mur Rhoné”, the boat is surrounded by fish – and a hippopotamus.

The relief representing the slaughtering of cattle as represented on a relief from the tomb of Prince Khaemwaset, is another example of the adaptation of a stylistically Old Kingdom scene in a New Kingdom tomb at Saqqara.²⁰³

A third example of the archaising use of an Old Kingdom motif in Memphite New Kingdom private tomb decoration, is the agricultural scene from the tomb of the High Priest of Ptah at Memphis, Mery-Ptah.²⁰⁴ Farmers are depicted on two sub-registers, ploughing with hoes and plow, while Mery-Ptah himself is sowing. The postures and clothing of the farmers are stylistically Old Kingdom, whereas Mery-Ptah is wearing a New Kingdom garment. Comparable archaising agricultural scenes can be observed in the two lower registers of a relief slab from the tomb of Merymery.²⁰⁵ Mery-Ptah actively participates in the agricultural activities, which an Old Kingdom tomb owner would never do.²⁰⁶ Instead, he would be overseeing those activities, as is the case with Merymery. In both scenes, dialogues between the farmers are included.

²⁰⁰ Avignon, musée Calvet A 24 (Saqqara, ex-coll. Perrot 1843; D. 19, temp. Ramesses II, first half): Berlandini-Keller 2011, fig. 4. Mentuy and his wife, the Songstress of Amun, Nefertari, present offerings and a libation to the Hathor cow. Both are separated by an offering table. For an example (possibly) from Thebes, see e.g. Copenhagen, Carlsberg Glyptothek ÆIN 1553, stela fragment of Paser, Vizier of Seti I and Ramesses II: KOEFOED-PETERSEN 1948, p. 29, pl. 35.

²⁰¹ SAITO 2006, p. 180-186, fig. V-4-9; TAKAMIYA, KASHIWAGI, YOSHIMURA 2011, p. 408-409, fig. 5.

²⁰² As the block with the upper parts of their bodies is missing, it is not clear who presents and who receives the offerings. The excavators tentatively propose that Khaemwaset presents the offerings (TAKAMIYA, KASHIWAGI, YOSHIMURA 2011, p. 409).

²⁰³ Hannover, Museum August Kestner 1935.200.183: DRENKAHN 1989, p. 115-117, fig. 38; HOFMANN 2004, p. 144-146 and fig. 169.

²⁰⁴ Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe H.1046 (D. 18, late, Tutankhamun-Horemheb): GESSLER-LÖHR 2007b, p. 32-36; 54-55, fig. 1.7. For the position of Mery-Ptah in the succession of High Priests of Ptah at Memphis, see: RAEDLER 2011, p. 137 and table 1. Mery-Ptah was also High Priest at Heliopolis. I thank Beatrix Gessler-Löhr for notifying me of this relief and for sending me a copy of her article.

²⁰⁵ Custodian of the treasury of Memphis, D. 18, temp. Amenhotep III: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 6 (ex-coll. d’Anastasi 1828): BOESER 1911, p. 5-6, pl. XVIII; SCHNEIDER, RAVEN 1981, p. 96, fig. 84a.

²⁰⁶ GESSLER-LÖHR 2007b, p. 34, who convincingly rejects the interpretation of GAMER-WALLERT (1983, p. 108-111, with n. 4) of this scene as the Elysian Fields of Iaru (cf. Fields of Iaru in the tomb of Horemheb: G.T. MARTIN 1989, scene [117], p. 123-124, pl. 137, Bologna, Museo Civico 1885). Instead, she proposes that the artist copied a scene from a nearby Old Kingdom mastaba tomb.

The adaptation of pre-18th Dynasty tomb scenes in Ramesside private tombs is observed more frequently at Saqqara than at Thebes.²⁰⁷ According to Hofmann: “Hier (*i.e.* at Saqqara) leben in Ramessidengräbern Elemente des Alten Reiches wieder auf, ein Vorgang, der sich leicht damit erklären lässt, dass die Künstler an ihren Arbeitsstellen in der Nekropole von Saqqara unmittelbar mit bestem Relief konfrontiert waren, mit den Reliefs der umgebenden Mastabagräber des Alten Reiches”.²⁰⁸

A further interest in the Old Kingdom monuments at Saqqara is exemplified by the New Kingdom visitors’ graffiti written or scratched on their walls and correctly identifying those monuments.²⁰⁹ At the same time, Old Kingdom mastaba tombs were demolished and their (decorated) limestone blocks were reused as building material in New Kingdom tombs.²¹⁰

Location of the “Mur Rhoné”

Let us now turn to the position of the “Mur Rhoné” photographed by Devéria in 1859. Málek (1989, p. 134) proposed the north wall of one of the western chapels as the original position of these blocks.²¹¹ Van Dijk considered this hypothesis to be premature, pointing to the position of similar scenes on the north, east and south walls

²⁰⁷ PINO (2005, p. 95) noted that the representation of market scenes in New Kingdom tombs at Thebes is unusual (only in TT 57, Khaemhat; TT 162, Kenamun; TT 217, Ipuy; TT 54, Huy and Kenro, and TT A4), and that it occurred more frequently in tombs of the Old Kingdom, especially at Saqqara. The style of the reliefs at Thebes is however not archaising but genuinely New Kingdom.

²⁰⁸ HOFMANN 2004, p. 144-145. The same has been argued by ZIVIE (2000, p. 178) with reference to the artists responsible for the decoration in the tomb of Mery-Sekhmet (Bubastieion I.5), where Old Kingdom influence can be detected. For an earlier note, see MÁLEK 1992, p. 66-67 (“possible adoption of motifs from earlier tombs at Saqqâra”), who concluded that “[...] no case of direct relationship between the decoration of New Kingdom chapels at Saqqâra and their predecessors can be demonstrated. The artists who decorated these tombs drew on their own training and knowledge and did not look for their inspiration to the earlier local ‘Memphite’ school of art”.

²⁰⁹ Cf. NAVRÁTILOVÁ 2007, p. 134-139, who noted a diachronic development of the graffiti formulae, from predominantly “antiquarian” in the 18th Dynasty to “piety-oriented” in the Ramesside period.

²¹⁰ See e.g. the dyad of Maya and Meryt found in their tomb, the underside of which bears an Old Kingdom relief (G.T. MARTIN 2012, scene [59], p. 38-39, pl. 128,2). In the same tomb, an Old Kingdom relief block was recarved with the scene of Henutiunu (see n. 197, *supra*). In shaft i of the tomb of Horemheb, Old Kingdom blocks, a sarcophagus, and blocks from the colonnade of Djoser were found (G.T. MARTIN 1989, p. 135-136, pls. 145, 158), and the foundation of the north wall of the forecourt contained 2nd Dynasty stone vessel fragments (east and west chambers of shaft 2005/1 in the forecourt of the tomb of Tia: ASTON 2011, p. 231). For notes on the physical and ideological contacts between the old and the new at Saqqara, see: MÁLEK 1992, and more recently: SNAPE 2011 (esp. p. 468-469).

²¹¹ His main arguments: the orientation of the hieroglyphs in the bandeau texts (outward direction), the tomb owner facing left (west) while adoring the gods, and the deceased couple facing right (east) in offering scenes.

of the inner courtyard of the tomb of Maya.²¹² Greco proposed to situate the scene on the east end of the north wall of the tomb's courtyard, arguing that "daily life" scenes are attested there in other tombs at Saqqara. Blocks Leiden AP 54 (I.5), Liebieghaus IN 1643 (I.6), and Cairo TN 25.6.24.6 (I.7) must have been positioned in its vicinity.²¹³ Greco rejected Málek's hypothesis because of the reconstructed height of that wall to 309 cm, which is higher than any of the western chapels of New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara.²¹⁴ Instead, he suggested the eastern section of the north wall of the court. This indeed accords with similarly themed scenes on the north wall of Maya's inner courtyard.²¹⁵

The "Mur Rhoné" photograph of Devéria as published by Berlandini appears to be cropped on the right-hand side. The prints kept at the Bibliothèque nationale and in the musée d'Orsay clearly indicate that this relief must be positioned on the left side of a doorway. Therefore, Greco's reconstruction needs to be rejected as well.

To the right of the main scene, three text columns contain different titles of Ptahmose and each ends with his name. The doorjambs to the central chapel in the tomb of Maya provide a direct parallel for this setting.²¹⁶ The west wall of the inner court, to the left of the entrance to the central chapel, is therefore a likely candidate to position the "Mur Rhoné" (fig. 8). Alternatively, this scene can be reconstructed on the east wall of the inner court, if indeed it joins to the scene with boatmen in a tilting match (I.18). Then, the scene covers the wall between the doorway from statue chamber to the inner courtyard, and a chapel accessed from the court's east wall.²¹⁷ As a consequence of this reconstruction, the revetment block visible in the doorway to the right of the "Mur Rhoné" can be identified as the Devéria doorway.

Regardless of the reconstruction, the blocks that have previously been joined to the "Mur Rhoné" must also be reconstructed on this wall. The lower section of Cairo

²¹² VAN DIJK 1993, p. 152 n. 6.

²¹³ GRECO 2011, p. 198.

²¹⁴ However, compare tomb of Tia, where the walls of the enclosing peristyle of the inner courtyard are reconstructed to 3.235 meter: FRAZER 1997, p. 9.

²¹⁵ Centre of wall: upper register (Cairo JE 43274c), Maya adoring enshrined Hathor cow [right] and offering bearers approaching the seated deceased couple [left]; lower register (Cairo 43274d), Maya inspecting the arrival of foreign captives and a herd of cattle (G.T. MARTIN 2012, p. 33-34, pls. 1, 29).

²¹⁶ G.T. MARTIN 2012, scenes [53] and [53], pl. 34. Also compare the tomb of Tia, west wall of inner courtyard, south doorjamb of antechapel B, with text in sunk relief and a panel with the kneeling tomb owner beneath: G.T. MARTIN 1997, scene [64], pls. 38, 141. Columns on north doorjamb are lost.

²¹⁷ Chapels accessed from doorways in the east wall of the courtyard are present in the tombs of the Director of the Harim, Pay (RAVEN 2005, pl. 1; only north chapel made accessible), and the Steward of the temple of the Aten, Mery-Neith (RAVEN *et al.* 2001-2), fig. 2b).

TN 25.6.24.6 (I.7) contains the top of papyrus plants and a flying bird, which makes this the second, or middle register. Whether Liebieghaus IN 1643 (I.6) was indeed placed directly above, remains open for debate. Four superimposed registers are rarely observed in New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara, where three registers appear to be the standard. The head of the subsidiary figure in the lower section of Liebieghaus IN 1643 may just as well adjoin yet another scene. On the north wall of the inner courtyard of Maya's tomb, one register shows the adoration of a Hathor cow in a barque.²¹⁸ The adjoining lower register has Maya supervising activities on two sub-registers, with scribes recording. A similar composition with the tomb owner supervising two sub-registers with each containing a seated scribe is found on the north wall of the chapel of Iniua, being the middle register.²¹⁹ Blocks Liebieghaus IN 1643 and Leiden AP 54 (I.5) might have been situated on the north wall of the inner courtyard, west section.

Late 18th Dynasty Artistic Tradition at Saqqara

The iconography of the Devéria doorway exhibits similarities with a limited number of tomb scenes of the immediate post-Amarna period. Hofmann (2004, p. 101) already noted that the reliefs of Ptahmose are “Zeugnisse für einen Reliefstil der frühen Ramessidenzeit, zumindest einer richtung, die am Konventionellen festhält”.²²⁰ The parallels with the tomb of Maya are especially noteworthy. The statues of Meryt and Inehyt are also of comparable quality craftsmanship and execution. At least part of the tomb of Ptahmose was executed in the same “artistic tradition”. The mudbrick core with limestone revetment has been noted earlier as being characteristic for the late 18th Dynasty. The statue room, if indeed here identified correctly, is a feature seen only in the tombs of Maya and Horemheb. The *djed*-pillars, however, are a Ramesside novelty. The tomb of Ptahmose should therefore be considered as a transitional type, the like of which has so far not been attested archaeologically at Saqqara.

The sculptor responsible for the tomb of Maya might be identified in a scene of that tomb. Van Dijk pointed out that the *im.y-r k3.t m s.t nhh*, Overseer of works in the

²¹⁸ G.T. MARTIN 2012, scenes [37], [38] (Cairo JE 4327a-e), pl. 29.

²¹⁹ SCHNEIDER 2012, scene [22b] (Cairo TN 3.7.24.13), fig. III.38. Lower register: scene [22a] (TN 25.6.24.7), fig. III.37: “Iniua supervising the unloading of amphorae from boats”.

²²⁰ HOFMANN (2004, p. 101) indicates that the garment worn by Ptahmose on the *djed*-pillars (III.1-4) occurs at Thebes only at the end of the 19th Dynasty: “Saqqara war Theben nicht nur deutlich voraus, sondern es war stilbildend” (HOFMANN 2004, p. 105).

Place of Eternity, Userhat, may possibly be the same man as the well known *ḥr.y t3.y-md3.t n nb t3.wy Wsr-ḥ3.t*, “Chief sculptor of the Lord of the Two Lands” with the same name.²²¹ The sculptor Userhat is attested by a number of architectural elements from his Abydos memorial chapel,²²² by a stela from Gizeh,²²³ and a shabti from the Serapeum.²²⁴ Van Dijk (1995, p. 32) added a statue base from Saqqara.²²⁵ Willems (1998, p. 240-241) identified Userhat as the owner of house T34.1 in the North Suburb of Tell el-Amarna.²²⁶ Userhat’s career reached its apex in the late 18th Dynasty, during the period of restoration that started with the reign of Tutankhamun.²²⁷ This campaign

²²¹ VAN DIJK 1995, p. 31. *Ḥ3.t-t3y* is the short form of his name; *Pn-y3* (“he of Iia”) is a patronymic. Userhat’s father *Ii3* held the title *ḥr.y t3.y-md3.t*, while his brother Sa held office as Chief sculptor of the Lord of the Two Lands, and Chief craftsman in the Mansion of Gold of Ptah. The scene is in the inner courtyard, south wall: Userhat in front of a kiosk with offerings, pouring liquid from a vase as part of the funerary ceremonies: LD III, p. 242b [upper left figure]. The lower register depicts the transportation of a chest and kneeling statue. This relief (Berlin 2088) was much damaged during World War II. The scene with Userhat had probably been destroyed during the 19th c. and only small fragments were recovered during excavation (VAN DIJK 1995, p. 31, fig. 1; G.T. MARTIN 2012, scene [41], pl. 32). His title could refer to an assignment in the Valley of the Kings (VAN DIJK 1995, p. 33; WILLEMS 1998, p. 243). His other title in that scene: *ḥr.y smn gnw.t*, Chief of the annals/of the establishment of the records.

²²² GUKSCH 1983, p. 23-24. Stela with biographical text, Leiden AP 12 (V 1): BOESER 1913, p. 1-2, pl. I; see WILLEMS 1998; FROOD 2007, p. 117-129 [19A, B]; door frame, Leiden AP 14: BOESER 1911, p. 9, pls. XXXIII-XXXVI; the lintel is almost identical (in layout, iconography and textual content) to a lintel belonging to the Table scribe Kha, presumably also from Abydos (FROOD 2007, p. 118).

²²³ Cairo JE 72269: HASSAN 1953, p. 363, fig. 199 [stela no. 21]; Chr. ZIVIE 1976, p. 189-190 [NE 51]: stela from the temenos of the Great Sphinx, with Seti I kneeling in front of the Sphinx. VAN DIJK (1995, p. 33-34) indicates that this may not be the same man as the sculptor attested by the Leiden monuments, due to the “inferior” quality of the Gizeh stela.

²²⁴ *KRI* II, p. 369. To be associated with the Apis burial of either year 16 or 30 of Ramesses II (*Caveau* 8; Mariette room G). FROOD (2007, p. 117) agrees with VAN DIJK (1995, p. 33-34) that the Gizeh stela and Serapeum shabti might belong to another Userhat. A positive identification would imply that Userhat was in his 70s to 80s when he dedicated the shabti. WILLEMS (1998, p. 232 with n. 5) rejects the identification of both stela and shabti, drawing on the problems caused by the “long” reign of Horemheb as discussed by VON BECKERATH (1995, p. 38-39: “at least 26 years”). However, new evidence on the reign of Horemheb (on wine jar labels from KV 57), points at year 14 being his highest recorded regnal year (VAN DIJK 2008). The burial of Horemheb then would have taken place at the latest at the beginning of year 15. Thus, the supposed age of Userhat need not be a problem for attributing these monuments to the same man.

²²⁵ MARIETTE 1872, p. 26, pl. 77j.

²²⁶ PM IV, p. 200; FRANKFORT, PENDLEBURY 1933, p. 109, pl. XXIII[4]; LOHWASSER 2008; KEMP 2012, p. 75, 233, 242, 292, fig. 7.3-4, pls. XXV, XXX. The owner is named as the *im.y-r k3.t mh-ib n(y) nb t3.wy*, Overseer of works, Confidant of the Lord of the Two Lands, Hatiay. PENDLEBURY (1931, p. 237) notes that his tomb was known at Thebes, without reference to a TT-number.

²²⁷ VAN DIJK (1995, p. 32-33) emphasizes that the discourse in the text of stela Leiden AP 12 has close similarities with the autobiographical texts found in the private tombs at Amarna, and those of the immediate post-Amarna period at Saqqara (e.g. Maya, cf. GUKSCH 1994, p. 28-31). The statues of deities mentioned in the text are probably those produced to replace the statues destroyed during the reign of Akhenaten. The place names are concentrated mainly in Middle Egypt and south of Thebes (WILLEMS 1998, p. 232): the areas most heavily affected by Akhenaten’s reforms. The Memphite area seems to have

was led by his superior, the Overseer of the treasury Maya.²²⁸ Another craftsman perhaps named in the tomb of Maya is the Chief goldsmith Amenemone.²²⁹

Maya may have started his career during the reign of Akhenaten or even Amenhotep III²³⁰ and might perhaps be identified as the owner of South Tomb no. 14 at Amarna.²³¹ Construction work on his Memphite tomb started under Tutankhamun and his funeral probably took place in year 9 of Horemheb.²³²

Ptahmose probably started his career at the time of Seti I. He could have been in office as Mayor as early as year 2 of that king, which is just nine years after the burial of Maya.²³³ It is hypothetically possible that the same sculptor(s) working on the tomb of Maya was/were also involved in the decoration of Ptahmose's tomb. As Overseer of all works, Ptahmose would have been the direct superior of those working on his funerary monument.

suffered less (e.g. HAYS 2008-9, p. 15 with n. 15). WILLEMS (1998, p. 242 with n. 35) further points to the fact that important parts of the temple of Thoth at Hermopolis were built by Horemheb: Hatiaiy may have been overseeing these building activities – largely constructed with re-used *talatat*-blocks from Akhetaten – from his surprisingly well preserved house at Amarna.

²²⁸ Cf. restoration stela of Tutankhamun: Cairo JE 34183 (*Urk.* IV, p. 2025-2032), and the autobiographical text in the pylon gateway, south reveal, of Maya's tomb (FROOD 2007, p. 141-143 [23]; G.T. MARTIN 2012, p. 20: "I was one who carried out the plans of the king of my time and did not neglect what he had commanded [to make splendid (?)] the temples, in fashioning the images of the gods, their [rituals] being under my care".

²²⁹ OCKINGA 2000, p. 123. His title: *idnw (n) n3 n hmw.w pr.w-ḥd n.y pr.w ʿ3*, Deputy of these craftsmen of the treasury of Pharaoh. His son, Ptahmose, might also be present (suggestion in OCKINGA 2000, p. 200): the *sš šc.t n(y) p3 im.y-r pr.wy-ḥd*, Letter writer of the overseer of the treasury. It is doubtful whether the Goldsmith Amenemone lived to see the reign of Horemheb (OCKINGA 2004, p. 20).

²³⁰ VAN DIJK 1993, p. 76 with n. 41: perhaps the same man as the Royal scribe May appearing in a number of hieratic docketts from the palace of Amenhotep III at Malqata (dated Year 34).

²³¹ Titles: Fan-bearer on the right hand of the king, Royal scribe, Scribe of recruits, Steward of the house of Sehetep-Aten, Steward of the house of Waenra in Heliopolis, Overseer of cattle of the house of Ra in Heliopolis, Overseer of all the works of the king, General of the Lord of the Two Lands (DAVIES 1908, pl. IV). For the titles of Maya in his tomb at Saqqara, see: G.T. MARTIN 2012, p. 60-62, with only few parallels to the titles of May at Amarna. On the owners of tombs possibly both at Amarna and at Memphis, see: SALVOLDI 2008.

²³² VAN DIJK 1993, p. 76-79: a fragmentary hieratic docket (referring to "fresh fat") found in the subterranean chambers of his tomb mentions "regnal year 9". His latest recorded official duty is related to the restoration of the burial of Thutmose IV (KV 43, chamber I, graffito dated regnal year 8 of Horemheb). Maya's tomb remained unfinished.

²³³ Neferhotep (PM III², p. 572, 755) served as Mayor before Ptahmose, at least until year 2 of Seti I. He is mentioned in the administrative accounts dated to Seti I: SPIEGELBERG 1896, p. 15-16, no. V, pls. V-VI: P. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, pBN. 206: year 2, fourth month of *šmw* (harvest), day 23 (*KRI* I, p. 244,16), and first month of *šht*, day 7 (*KRI* I, p. 245,14); and SPIEGELBERG 1896, p. 14, nr. IV, pl. IV: pBN. 205a: year 2, fourth month of *šht* (inundation), day 7 (*KRI* I, p. 260,10). The nine years are calculated based on a reign of 14 years for Horemheb (VAN DIJK 2008), and 2 years for Ramesses I (ZIVIE 1984, col. 104).

Another tomb of an official who started his career in the time of Seti I, and who constructed his tomb in the first half of the reign of Ramesses II, is Tia, the brother-in-law of that king. He constructed his funerary monument in between the earlier superstructures of Maya and Horemheb. According to Van Dijk, the tomb was decorated towards the end of the second decade of his reign.²³⁴ The reliefs are reminiscent of a more advanced Ramesside style when compared to the reliefs of Ptahmose. According to Zivie (2003, p. 120) relief decoration in the Ramesside tomb of Netjerwymes/Nemtymes seems to be inspired by late 18th Dynasty funerary monuments, such as the Overseer of the treasury Maya.²³⁵ The style is more similar to Tia – with slightly more elongated figures – than to Ptahmose.²³⁶

There are strong indications that the start of the construction of the tomb of Ptahmose has to be dated to the late 18th Dynasty. In the style of the different reliefs we can observe the passage of time into the early Ramesside period. All reliefs photographed by Devéria are unfortunately no longer available and a proper iconographic analysis certainly requires the study of the original decoration. It is hoped that the ongoing excavations of this tomb will yield more reliefs to accommodate a more detailed study.

Ptahmose and his Family

The various elements from the tomb of Ptahmose enable the reconstruction of a large part of his family. No relief currently at our disposal reveals anything of his descent. This may seem odd for someone of his rank and stature. The 18th Dynasty Memphite Mayor Besau succeeded his father Herunefer in office,²³⁷ but no such filiation can be

²³⁴ VAN DIJK 1993, p. 102.

²³⁵ Bubastieion I.16, partly rock-cut, partly freestanding, second decade Ramesses II. See: ZIVIE 2003, p. 120, fig. on p. 121, 125, 129; LECLANT, CLERC 1998, pl. XX (12); HOFMANN 2004, p. 105, with fig. 128. The closest parallel for his *djed*-pillar are those of Ptahmose. The reliefs on the limestone revetment of the freestanding part of the tomb are stylistically similar to the tomb of Tia, although the human figures are less elongated. Further note that the reliefs are all in sunk relief.

²³⁶ For an iconographic study of selected reliefs from the tombs of Ptahmose and Tia, see: HOFMANN 2004, p. 101-106. Also compare to reliefs from the tomb of the High Priest of Ptah Iy-iry, where the figures are even more elongated (D. 19, temp. Sety II: ANTHES 1965, p. 79-85, fig. 7-8, pls. 27[a], 28, 29[a]; HOFMANN 2004, fig. 129).

²³⁷ Stela Leiden AES 7: BOESER 1913, p. 2 [4], pl. VIII; GESSLER-LÖHR 1997, p. 31-34, pl. I. Note that HELCK 1975, col. 878 and MÁLEK 1987, p. 136, n. 75, read the name of the father as *Prw-nfr*. The succession from father to son in office of Mayor has also been attested at Thebes (*ḥ3.ty-ꜥ m niw.t rsy(.t)*): Paser and his son Haunefer (HELCK 1958, p. 527-528, nos. 11 and 12; D. 19, second half to year 2 of

established for the other holders of that office during the New Kingdom. It is however not so uncommon for people of an undistinguished origin to rise to prominence. The Overseer of the treasury Tia is a case in point,²³⁸ and the Chief steward of Memphis Amenhotep Huy was also descended from a “humble” background.²³⁹

Ptahmose (fig. 9) seems to have had at least one wife: Inehyt, the *nb.t pr, šmꜥ.yt n.t nb.t n.t nh.t rsy.t*, Lady of the house and Songstress of the Lady of the Southern Sycamore (*i.e.* the specific Memphite form of Hathor).²⁴⁰ She has two statues of her own – Walters Art Museum 22.106 (II.1) and Matsuoka Museum of Art 568 (II.2) – and shares dyad Cairo JE 41532 (II.5) with her husband. She also features on relief Leiden AP 54 (I.5) and probably on the Devéria doorway (I.13). A lady called *Mw.t-nfr(.t)* is identified as *nb.t* on the “Mur Rhoné” (I.11). Whether this woman is his daughter or his second wife – as *nb.t [pr]* – is unclear.²⁴¹

That Ptahmose – short name *ꜥpꜣ* on the Mur Rhoné – must have reached a respectable age can be deduced from the fact that his grandson, the *wꜥb sꜣ n(.y) sꜣ=f*, *Wab*-priest, the son of his son, Ptahmose, is also depicted on the “Mur Rhoné”.

Relief Leiden AP 54 shows five children. All are seated on the right-hand side of the scene. The two sons bear titles: Wesy is a God’s Father and Chief *wab*-priest in the house of Ptah;²⁴² Iia is also *wab*-priest of Ptah. If indeed Wesy was in office during the reign of Seti I, as has been tentatively suggested by Gessler-Löhr,²⁴³ then Ptahmose could have acquired a prominent position already during the late 18th Dynasty.

Merenptah). Another son of Paser is the Great steward of the Lord of the Two Lands in Thebes, Nebsumenu (TT 183; also featuring in TT 16 of the Prophet of Amenhotep I, Panehsy: *KRI* III, p. 398,13).

²³⁸ VAN DIJK 1993, p. 91.

²³⁹ His father was the *sꜣb* Heby (pyramidion Leiden AM 6), and on statue Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1913.163, he indicates that the king promoted him to be Chief steward “on account of [his] excellent demeanour” (cf. HAYES 1938, p. 21).

²⁴⁰ BERLANDINI 1981; BERLANDINI 1983; PASQUALI 2011, p. 83-86, with n. 269 (“Hathor, maîtresse du Sycomore-du-sud”); ASSEM 2012.

²⁴¹ Note that a Lady of the house Mutnofret is indicated as the mother of the God’s Father in the temple of Ptah, Ptahmose, on statue Leiden AST 23. His sister (*i.e.* wife) is called Tamit and they have a daughter named Nafy and a son named Yuyu, the *ꜥr.y wꜥb n Ptꜥ*, Chief *wab*-priest of Ptah: BOESER 1912, p. 10-11 [24].

²⁴² See also VERNUS 1969, p. 96 [E], Ptahmose incorrectly indicated as High Priest. Also: GESSLER-LÖHR 2012, p. 185, with n.161 and table 2. The descendants of the High priest of Ptah, Ptahemhat-Ty, were also God’s father in the temple of Ptah, temp. Tutankhamun to Seti I: his son Hatiay, and his grandson Ty (son of Hatiay), Amenemhab and *NN* (sons of Say). For the title *it-nꜥr*, see e.g. GNIRS 1996, p. 95-97.

²⁴³ GESSLER-LÖHR 2012, p. 185.

The “Mur Rhoné” introduces another son, the Chief of the stables of the residence, named Ptahmose.²⁴⁴ It also mentions his grandson, the *wab*-priest Ptahmose, presumably a son of the Chief of the stables with the same name.

Another man named Ptahmose, Scribe in the temple of the house of Ptah, appears on relief Cairo TN 25.6.24.6 (I.7). His relation to Ptahmose is not indicated. Berlandini noted that this person has one title in common with the grandson of Ptahmose on the “Mur Rhoné”.²⁴⁵ A more likely candidate is the *sš n(.y) ḥw.t-nṯr m pr Pth*, Ptahmose, on relief Florence 2557 (I.4), who is indicated without filiation. Relief Florence 2557 is divided in two registers. Each register depicts offering bearers approaching the seated deceased. In the upper register, four people are seated: one man and three women. Three male and two female offering bearers are approaching. The upper part of the scene, which must have contained the inscriptions, is lost. Much of the lower register is preserved. On the left side, a deceased couple is seated in front of an offering table. The name and titles of the man are given as *sš n(.y) ḥw.t-nṯr m pr Pth Pth-ms*. This is clearly not the tomb owner, but probably his son, the same man depicted in the Cairo relief (I.7). Since Ptahmose is not mentioned as one of the sons on the Leiden relief (I.5), he was probably the eldest son, who had an active role in the funerary ceremonies. As such he was probably standing to the right of the deceased couple, on a block once adjoining Leiden AP 54 on the right. On Florence 2557, one male and five female offering bearers are approaching from the right and an additional two women are seated on the extreme right side of the scene. These figures are identified with name, title and filiation, being sons and daughters of the son of the mayor Ptahmose.²⁴⁶ The male figure is the *wab*-priest in the temple of Ptah, Hori. Two females are named Inehyt, although their spelling differs. One additional female figure,

²⁴⁴ AL-AYEDI 2006, p. 371-372 [1251] (Stable master of the residence); also in the tomb of the Mayor of Thebes (*ḥz.ty-ḥ n niw.t šmḥ.w*) Paser (SCHOTT 1957, p. 7, pl. I): male sitting behind the deceased couple, *Pz-sr* and his wife *Tty*, designated as “her son”, named *Pz-///*; and an officiant before the deceased couple *Ry*, Head of bowmen and Overseer of horses, and his wife, the Lady of the house and Songstress of Amun-Re, Maia: the *ḥr.y-ḥ(w)* (without further specification; their son?) is called *Mḥiḥ*. The block (Berlin 7278) of *Ry* is from his tomb at Saqqara, dated to the late 18th to early 19th Dynasty. It was acquired in 1828 from the Passalacqua collection (PM III², p. 715-716; ROEDER 1924, II, p. 181; G.T. MARTIN 1987, p. 20-21, pl. 15 [42]). Also *ḥr.y ḥw n ḥnw* on stela BM EA 154 (Hori, as brother of Wennefer; D. 19, late, ex-coll. d’Athanasia 1845); another Hori, on the stela of Hori, the Overseer of the fields of the Lord of the Two Lands (BM EA 132: JAMES 1970, p. 58, pl. XLV [1], D. 19; provenance and acquisition unknown [Thebes?]).

²⁴⁵ BERLANDINI 1982, p. 94.

²⁴⁶ This interpretation is *pace* e.g. GRECO 2011b, p. 197.

sitting on the right, is designated not as a daughter, but as the *mn.t n(.yt) Iniw-nh.t*, the Nurse of Inehyt, named Nafmentu. A daughter Inehyt is depicted sitting in the lower subregister. I would like to propose the family tree indicated below (fig. 9). The overview of titles of the sons and grandsons of the mayor Ptahmose, indicates they were all granted a position in the temple of Ptah at Memphis.²⁴⁷ Unlike their (grand)father, they held not administrative, but priestly titles.

Titles and epithets of Ptahmose in his Memphite tomb²⁴⁸

From the data available it is difficult to sketch the early career of Ptahmose. The title Royal scribe generally seems to be the starting point in the career of every high ranking official. This education provided access to wide-ranging positions in the state administration. Successive Stewards of the contemporaneous Theban Ramesseum were drawn from the ranks of the military,²⁴⁹ and therefore it is noteworthy that Ptahmose had been active in the civil administration throughout his career. The majority of his titles connect him with the temple of Ptah at Memphis and it is likely that this is where he started. As Steward or Majordomus Ptahmose was responsible for the day-to-day administration of this institution. He had control over the treasury of the Lord of Truth, a key economic position. Directly related to that office is that of Overseer of the granary, controlling the temple's prime agricultural income. Ptahmose must have been a successful official already during the reign of Seti I, as he was appointed Steward in the temple "Beneficial-is-Seti-Merenptah".²⁵⁰ He was subsequently appointed as the Chief steward of the Memphite memorial temple of Ramesses II. At the beginning of the 19th Dynasty the temple of Ptah witnessed considerable enlargements. Ptahmose's titles

²⁴⁷ Note that one High Priest of Ptah named Hori (II) was the son of a Ptahmose: MAYSTRE 1992, p. 142, 287 [88]; DARESSY 1889, p. 81, nr. XXIV (limestone column from Mit Rahina, Cairo TN 20.1.25.4).

²⁴⁸ This paragraph presents only a brief overview of the titles. In a forthcoming article (STARING 2015) I will discuss the position of the Mayor of Memphis at the start of the 19th Dynasty into more detail. That contribution also seeks to analyse the wider administration of the city and temple and its changes from the late 18th Dynasty into the early Ramesside period.

²⁴⁹ These men include the General Iurokhy/Urhiya (LS 25) and his son Yupa, the General and Commander of the troops Ramessesnakht, and the Royal herald of His Majesty Amenemone (ST 101). The Steward of the Lord of the Two Lands Horemheb had a non-military career (PM III², p. 667-668, KRI III, p. 187-191).

²⁵⁰ Possibly the great colonnade hall in the temple of Ptah at Memphis, later renamed as "Beneficial is Ramesses-Meryamun in the house of Ptah": KITCHEN 1991, p. 89; BRAND 2000, p. 146.

indicate that he was awarded a prominent position in these grand construction works.²⁵¹ He was Overseer of the troops (*i.e.* workforce) in the house of Ptah, and Overseer of works on all monuments of His Majesty, specifically in Hutkaptah.²⁵² The position of Mayor was traditionally concerned with the control of agriculture to ensure a steady food supply for the local population, the collection of taxes, and the management of the granaries, and this official was often commissioned with the support of local temples.²⁵³ His high rank assured him a position within the inner circle (*šn.yt*) of the king.²⁵⁴ His honorary titles included those of Chief [amongst] the courtiers, Eyes of the king in the house of Ptah, Mouth that appeases in Hutkaptah, and Vigilant administrator of the Lord of the Two Lands. Ptahmose did not hold any proper priestly titles, although he was One greatly loved by the gods, Lords of White Walls, and Guardian of the secrets of the temple of Ptah. The *ḥ3.ty-ꜣ*, Mayor, and *im.y-r pr*, Steward, appear to have previously been two separate offices.²⁵⁵ The fact that Ptahmose held two of the foremost positions in the civil administration of Memphis, and that he was Chief steward in the temple of Ptah, including the estate beyond the temple walls (*ḥ3 inb.w Pth*), may explain why the title of Mayor was changed into that of Great Mayor (*ḥ3.ty-ꜣ wr*).²⁵⁶ During his career Ptahmose was able to accumulate the impressive number of (at least) 52 titles. At Saqqara, that number is surpassed only by the Overseer of the treasury Maya and the Generalissimo Horemheb, both of the late 18th Dynasty (temp. Tutankhamun).²⁵⁷ After his death, a selection of his duties were distributed to a number of officials. The Mayorship and the supervisory duties over the construction works in the temple of Ptah were transferred to Amenhotep Huy,²⁵⁸ the civil administration of the temple and

²⁵¹ Another prominent official who has been connected with the enlargement of the temple is the fourth son of Ramesses II, the High Priest of Ptah at Memphis, Khaemwaset: e.g. GOMÀÀ 1973, p. 34-35.

²⁵² *Hw.t-k3-Pth* was the name of the main cult centre of Memphis, but from the New Kingdom onwards it was also used to refer to the metropolitan area or specific quarters and temple enclosures in the city (cf. JEFFREYS 2001, p. 373).

²⁵³ VAN DEN BOORN 1988, p. 243. Compare also: G.T. MARTIN 1971, p. 81 (index) and WEGNER 2001.

²⁵⁴ Cf. RAEDLER 2009; RAEDLER 2012.

²⁵⁵ Compare the “Berlin Trauerrelief”, Ägyptisches Museum 12411 (PM III², p. 711-712; ROEDER 1924, II, p. 179-180; WILDUNG, REITER, ZORN 2010, fig. 100), depicting the funeral procession for the High Priest of Ptah, Ptahemhat-Ty, during the reign of Tutankhamun. The cortege is composed of the highest ranking officials of late 18th Dynasty Memphis.

²⁵⁶ MÁLEK (1987, p. 136) considered this an “artificially inflated titulary”.

²⁵⁷ Compare G.T. MARTIN 1989, p. 171-174; G.T. MARTIN 2012, p. 60-62.

²⁵⁸ PM III², p. 770, 847. He is usually considered the predecessor in office to Ptahmose (e.g. GRECO 2011b, p. 197; PASQUALI 2012, p. 148).

Ramesse's memorial temple were taken up by Nebnefer,²⁵⁹ and Netjerwymes became the Chief steward of Memphis.²⁶⁰

As I hope to have demonstrated in this article, the “new” photograph of Devéria, which captures a “lost” doorway in the recently rediscovered tomb of Ptahmose at Saqqara, has yielded new information on the architectural development of tombs and iconographic features of tomb-decoration at Saqqara during the transition from the 18th to 19th Dynasty. This study also opens up a next stage of analysis, as well as new directions for research. The newly compiled list of titles forms the basis for a forthcoming article on the administration of Memphis (both town and temple) during the early Ramesside period. More photographs taken by Devéria, capturing tombs from the same period, allow for a wider study of tomb development at Saqqara, as well as the development of the necropolis as a whole. To the present date, the mutual coherence of tombs within this cemetery is not well understood.²⁶¹ It is hoped that the present article has contributed at least a little towards a better understanding of the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara.

Bibliography

The bibliography has been integrated into the general bibliography at the end of this thesis.

²⁵⁹ Attested in the tombs of his sons Huynefer (ST 217) and Mahu (ST 218): TAWFIK 1991; GOHARY 2009; GOHARY 2010.

²⁶⁰ Tomb: Bubastieion I.16: LECLANT, CLERC, 1998, p. 349, pl. XX(12); ZIVIE 2000, p. 179-180; ZIVIE 2003.

²⁶¹ On this problem, see RAVEN 2000, p. 134-138.

A. Related to the King, Royal Court, and Government (incl. honorific)	
<i>šh n nb=f</i>	III.1
<i>ir.y-rd.wy=f</i>	I.8
<i>ir.ty n(.y) nsw.t ʿnh.wy bity</i>	I.5
<i>ir.ty n(.y) nsw.t m pr Pth</i>	III.5
<i>ir.y-p^c.t</i>	I.1-5, I.7, I.11, I.15(1-4), I.17(1-4); II.5; III.1-6
<i>ʿkz ns m̄.t mhz.t</i>	I.8
<i>w^c mn̄h n n̄tr n̄fr</i>	I.14
<i>biš.t=f ikr rd̄i mrw.t=f</i>	I.8
<i>mr(.y) nb tš.wy</i>	I.5, III.4
<i>mrr.ty ʿz n n̄tr n̄fr</i>	I.2, I.5
<i>m̄h-ib ʿz n n̄tr n̄fr</i>	III.1
<i>[ns/r] shr̄r m ḥw.t-kz-Pth</i>	I.14
<i>ḥz.ty-^c</i>	I.1-5, I.11, 15(1-4), 17(1-3); II.5; III.1-5
<i>ḥ^c=tw [n sqm] ḥrw=f</i>	III.1
<i>ḥr.y tp wr.w m inb(.w)-ḥd</i>	I.1
<i>ḥr[y tp m] šny.t</i>	I.14
<i>ḥrp rs-tp n(.y) nb tš.wy</i>	III.2
<i>smr w^c.ty</i>	I.1, I.5
<i>sr</i>	I.14
<i>sqšw.ty bi.ty</i>	I.5, 9-10, 18; III.4
B. General Administration	
Temple of Ptah	
<i>im.y-r pr</i>	I.5; II.6; III.3-4; V.1; VII.1-2
<i>im.y-r pr wr</i>	I.5; III.5
<i>im.y-r pr wr m pr Pth</i>	I.4-5, 11, 14; III.1-5
<i>im.y-r pr m [tš] ḥw.t R^c-ms-s(w) mry-Imn m pr Pth</i>	III.6-7
<i>im.y-r pr wr m tš ḥw.t R^c-ms-s(w) mry-Imn m pr Pth</i>	I.2, 11
<i>im.y-r pr wr n(.y) Pth</i>	I.1; II.6; III.2; IV.1
<i>im.y-r pr m ḥw.t n̄tr šh-Sthy-mr-n-Pth m pr Pth</i>	III.6
<i>im.y-r pr (n.y) Pth</i>	I.17(1); II.3; 5; II.3-4
<i>im.y-r pr n(.y) pr Pth ḥz inb.w Pth</i>	I.12
<i>im.y-r pr n(.y) nb mš^c.t</i>	I.1, 3, 5, 9
Treasury	
<i>im.y-r pr ḥd</i>	I.5; III.7
<i>im.y-r pr-ḥd n(.y) nb mš^c.t</i>	I.17(3)
Granary	
<i>im.y-r šnw.ty</i>	III.7
<i>im.y-r šnw.ty n(.y) nb mš^c.t</i>	I.15(4)
<i>im.y-r šnw.ty n(.y) nb-nḥḥ</i>	I.11
Mayorship	
<i>ḥz.ty-^c wr</i>	I.11; II.6; IV.2

<i>ḥ3.ty-ꜥ wr m inb(.w) ḥd</i>	I.4-5, 11; III.1-2, 5
<i>ḥ3.ty-ꜥ wr m ḥw.t-k3-Pth</i>	III.4
<i>ḥ3.ty-ꜥ m inb.w-ḥd</i>	I.3; II.6
<i>ḥ3.ty-ꜥ ḥ3 inb.w</i>	II.6
<i>ḥ3.ty-ꜥ ḥ3 inb.w n(.w) Pth</i>	I.17(4)
C. Scribal	
<i>sš nsw.t</i>	I.4-5, 7, 11-12, 14, 15(3-4), 17(1); II.4-6; III.1-5, 7; IV.2; V.1; VII.1-2
<i>sš nsw.t mꜥ mr(.y)=f</i>	I.2
D. Public Works, Crafts	
<i>im.y-r mꜥ m pr Pth</i>	I.15(3), 17(2)
<i>im.y-r mꜥ wr m pr Pth</i>	I.5, 11; III.5
<i>im.y-r k3.wt</i>	I.10
<i>im.y-r k3.wt m mnw nb(.w) n(.y) nb t3.wy(?)</i>	I.8
<i>im.y-r k3.wt m mnw nb(.w) n(.y) nsw</i>	I.12
<i>im.y-r k3.wt m mnw nb n(.y) ḥm=f</i>	III.1
<i>im.y-r k3.wt m mnw nb(.w) n(.y) ḥm=f m ḥwt-k3-Pth</i>	I.3, II.6
E. Sacerdotal	
<i>mrr.ty ʕ3 n ntr.w nb.w inb(.w)-ḥd</i>	III.3
<i>ḥr.y-sšt3 n(.y) ḥw.t Pth</i>	I.5
Incomplete	
<i>/// n nb mꜥ.t</i>	I.3
<i>im.y-r ///</i>	I.7
<i>/// m pr [Pth]</i>	I.8, 15(2)

TABLE 4. List of titles of Ptahmose as attested on reliefs, statues, stelae and architectural elements from his tomb at Saqqara.

Addenda & Corrigenda:

Note 54: relief block Cairo JE 4872 was found by Auguste Mariette in the tomb of Khay, the Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum, April 1859: unpublished manuscripts of Mariette in the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, Paris. I owe this information to Dr Stéphane Pasquali, who is currently preparing a publication of the tomb of Khay.



FIG. 1. Théodule Devéria 1859, *Sakkarah (Memphis). Tombeau de Ptah-mès.* Albumen silver print from a paper negative, 21.2x28.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gilman Collection, Purchase, Joseph M. Cohen Gift, 2005 (2005.100.321). © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

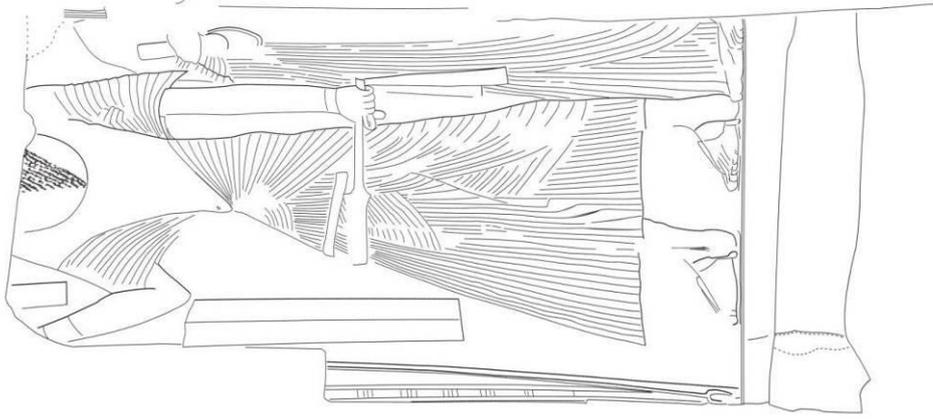


FIG. 2. Digital facsimile line drawing of Ptahmose and his wife, as represented on the Devéria doorway, north reveal. Drawing: Nico Staring.



FIG. 3a. Photograph of panel Cairo JE 4874 taken by Théodule Devéria, 1859. Musée d'Orsay, Paris, Inv. PHO 1986 144 124, MS 178 128: *Memphis, Sakkarah, Relief de la chapelle de Ptah-Mès.*
Printed on alumen paper from a salted paper negative, 22.8 x 18 cm.
© Musée d'Orsay, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Patrice Schmidt.



FIG. 3b. Panel Cairo JE 4874. After BERLANDINI 1982, pl. X.



FIG. 4. Théodule Devéria, 1859, “Mur Rhoné”: *Sakkarah (Memphis). Tombeau de Ptah-mes / T. Devéria.* Printed from a paper negative, 22.0 x 29.0 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département Estampes et Photographie, RESERVE EI-3-BOITE FOL B - n. 15 © Bibliothèque nationale de France.



FIG. 5. Anuy grasping the arm of her husband, Mery-Neith. Tomb of Mery-Neith, north wall of courtyard, detail of scene. Photo: Nico Staring.



FIG. 6. Relief of Mery-Sekhmet and his wife Iwy, tomb Bubasteion I.5. © Drawing Hypogées (MAFB / M.-G. Froidevaux). Reproduced with kind permission by Alain Zivie.



FIG. 7. Composition line drawing of a relief depicting Maya and his wife Meryt. Tomb of Maya, south reveal of doorway into inner courtyard. After LD III, pl. 240a and G.T. MARTIN 2012, scene [30], pl. 24. Image: Karuna Sewdas.

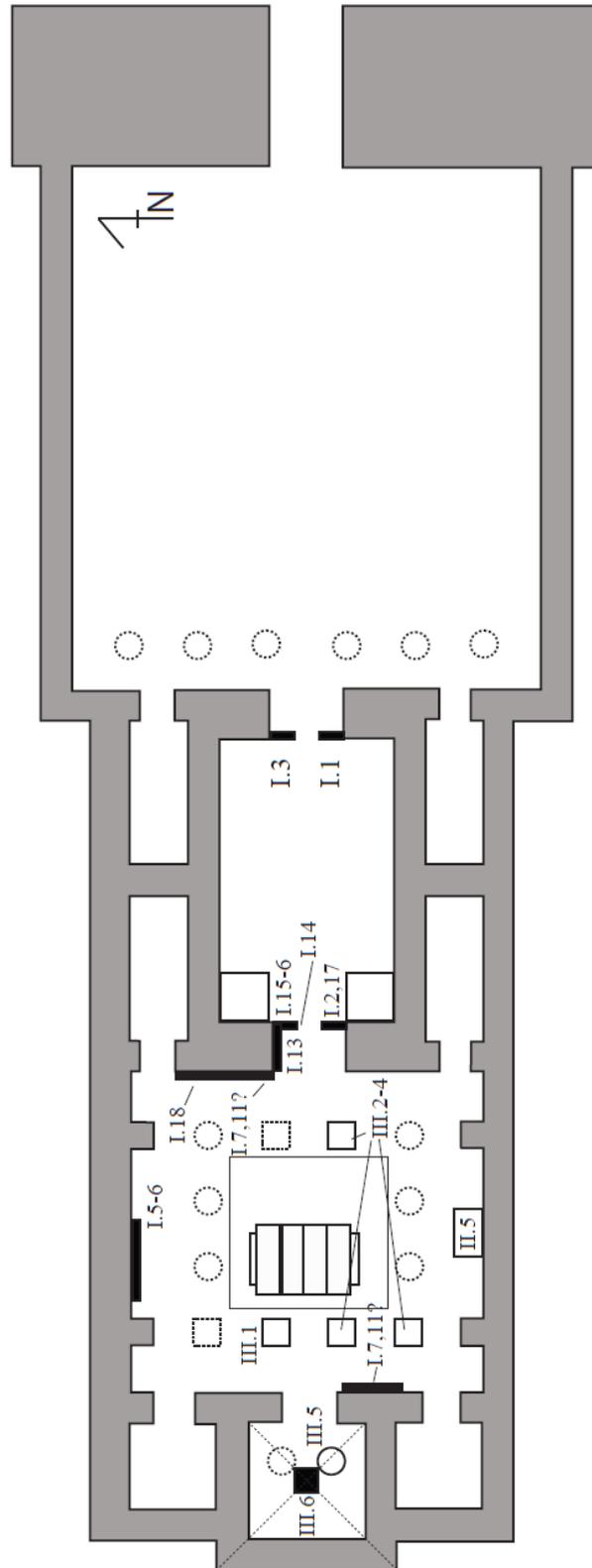


FIG. 8. Proposed positions of the Devéria doorway, “Mur Rhoné” and other elements in the hypothetical plan of the tomb of Ptahmose at Saqqara, adapted from the modular grid of the tomb of Maya.

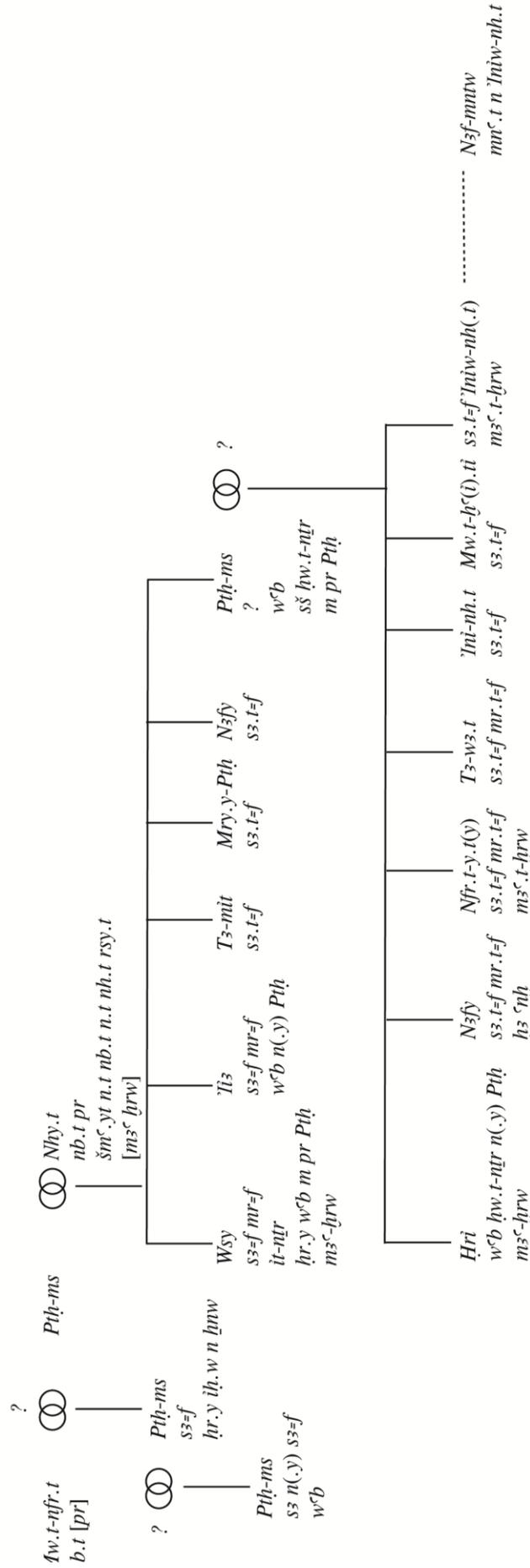


FIG. 9. Proposed family tree of Ptahmose.

2.5.2

PUBLICATION NOTE

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**A RELIEF FROM THE TOMB OF THE MEMPHITE MAYOR PTAHMOSE IN THE NASHER
MUSEUM OF ART AT DUKE UNIVERSITY***

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The Saqqara tomb of the early 19th-Dynasty Mayor of Memphis and Chief Steward in the Temple of Ptah, Ptahmose, was accessible to explorers as early as the 1820s.¹ Many items were taken from the tomb by art dealers and their local agents. These objects came into the possession of well-known collectors such as Giuseppe di Nizzoli and Giovanni d'Anastasi, and the sale of their collections further contributed to the objects' worldwide distribution.² The more scientifically motivated archaeological exploration of Ptahmose's tomb started in 1859 when Auguste Mariette and his assistant Théodule Devéria worked in the area.³ Two photographs taken by the latter in 1859⁴ had long been the last documentation of the tomb – until it was rediscovered as recently as 2010.⁵ After 1859, undocumented excavations and illicit diggings continued, and over the years, items originating from the tomb surfaced in museum collections. One such object is the relief-decorated block presented in this article. It is currently held in the Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University. This contribution aims to present for the first time a complete description and discussion of the block's iconography and texts, and to address the question of how the object got to the Nasher Museum: starting at Saqqara and then being passed on through art dealers, collectors and middlemen in the 19th and 20th centuries.

The Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University

The relief block discussed in this paper is currently held in the collection of the Nasher Museum of Art, which opened in 2005 on Duke University's campus in Durham, North Carolina, USA.⁶ In 1998, Duke University alumnus and art collector Raymond D. Nasher donated funds for the construction of a new art museum, later named in his honour. These premises replaced the Duke University Museum of Art, which had been founded in 1969 with the acquisition of 200 medieval works of art from the collection

of the antiquities dealer and art collector Ernest Brummer (1891–1964).⁷ In 1984, the relief-decorated block from the tomb of Ptahmose was presented as a gift by Ella Baché Brummer, Ernest Brummer's widow. There are two ways by which the block could have initially come to the museum, either through the Duke Classical Collection, or perhaps jointly to the Duke Classical Collection and the Duke University Museum of Art (DCC/DUMA). Ella Brummer donated three objects that year, and these were assigned a joint DCC/DUMA number as a group, although one piece had already been in the collection since 1979. The Duke Classical Collection remained largely in the custody of the Classics Department and only in the mid-1990s was it transferred to the museum.⁸ At the moment of writing this article, the block is not on display in the permanent exhibition of what is now the Nasher Museum of Art.

Relief from the tomb of Ptahmose: Nasher Museum of Art (1984.2.3)

General observations

The block of Ptahmose held at the Nasher Museum of Art is carved from limestone and measures 44 x 33 x 8.6 cm (Figures 1–2). Originally, it formed part of the revetment of limestone blocks on the interior walls of the tomb's mud-brick superstructure.⁹ The block bears the fragment of a relief depicting the head of the tomb owner, facing left, surrounded by (at least) six columns of text in raised relief. A single line of text (bandeau) in sunk relief borders the fragment's upper edge. The alternation of text in raised and sunk relief has also been observed on the now-lost doorjambs from the same tomb, photographed *in situ* by Théodule Devéria.¹⁰

The relief's surface is heavily worn. Many small scratches, pits and indentations cover its surface, and a large part is broken off on the right-hand side. Patches of plaster are added to a number of the incised hieroglyphic signs. The results of modern repairs are clearly visible on the tomb owner's nose and chin, and on the middle-section of the *shebyu* collar (see discussion below). The block's lower left corner has been damaged and subsequently repaired.

Only few traces of colour can be detected. Ptahmose's face is coloured with a faint reddish-brown pigment, and more traces of red can be observed in some hieroglyphic

signs of the bandeau text. The original colours have otherwise vanished, thus revealing the monochrome white limestone.

Technical observations

The block presents an example of high quality carving for which a few parallels exist in tombs of the immediate post-Amarna period at Saqqara. The technique used to carve this relief has been described by Eva Hofmann as a '*... Zwischenstufe zwischen Flach- und Hochrelief, die als Halbreief bezeichnet werden kann*'.¹¹ The stone's surface around the head of Ptahmose is cut away. This is especially visible directly in front of Ptahmose's forehead and above his head. As a result, the tomb owner's representation attains the appearance of proper raised relief. This technique blossomed in the relief art of the Memphite region during the post-Amarna period, and good examples can be observed on reliefs from the tombs of the Chief Steward of Memphis Ipy,¹² and the Overseer of the Treasury Maya.¹³ The same technique was also used for the figures of Ptahmose on his *djed* pillars (Leiden AP 51): the stone surface around the standing figure of the tomb owner was cut back, whereas the columns of text in the upper half of the same pillars were carved into the stone's original surface, which now appears to be "raised" (Figure 3).

Iconography

The head and part of the tomb owner's left shoulder are preserved in the block's lower left corner. Ptahmose wears a two-row *shebyu* collar (the Gold of Honour),¹⁴ probably worn over a plain *wesekh* collar. The two-row *shebyu* collar is the composition most commonly attested for officials who are decorated with the Gold of Honour.¹⁵ Ptahmose wears the same collar on a number of scenes from his tomb: reliefs Cairo TN 25.6.24.6 (see Table 1,¹⁶ I.7), the so-called "Mur Rhoné" (I.11), and pillar Leiden AP 51*b* (III.2). The majority of representations from his tomb, however, show Ptahmose without the *shebyu*; on the two pillars Leiden AP 51*c* and *d* (III.3–4),¹⁷ by contrast, he is adorned with four collars of four strands and also wears *mesketu* bracelets, one on each wrist.¹⁸

Ptahmose wears a shoulder-length, striated wig that covers his ears. It consists of twenty-two rows of crimped strands that end in a row of short cork-screw curls.¹⁹ This

type of wig is not very commonly attested for officials of the New Kingdom at Saqqara.²⁰ Ptahmose wears a similar wig, but with plain strands, on relief Leiden AP 54 (I.5)²¹ and on the "Mur Rhoné" (I.11).²² One relief block depicting the contemporary Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum Tia (the brother-in-law of Ramesses II), presents another close parallel. There, each pair of crimped strands is joined in a single curl.²³ The specific wig worn by Ptahmose is reminiscent of Old Kingdom examples.²⁴ The earliest depiction of such a wig at Saqqara can be found in the 3rd-Dynasty tomb of Hesy-Re.²⁵ Two short diagonal lines just under the jaw depict creases on Ptahmose's throat.²⁶

Texts

Translations of the texts have previously been published by both Kenneth Kitchen and Jocelyne Berlandini.²⁷ They had to rely on photographs of poor quality published by Ludwig Borchardt and Jean Capart (see below). The photograph provided by the Nasher Museum of Art, however, allows a slightly revised transcription and translation.

The hieroglyphs in the bandeau text are incised and those in the columns are executed in raised relief. The text columns on the now-lost upper area of this block (Figure 4; see below for discussion) were also executed in sunk relief. The individual signs here were smaller and less deeply incised than those on the bandeau text. Despite them being similarly executed, these signs do not form a coherent text. The hieroglyphic signs in the text columns face right and those in the horizontal text face left, which is the same orientation as the hieroglyphs in columns of raised relief below. A similar disposition of horizontal and vertical texts can be observed on another block from Ptahmose's tomb: Leiden AP 54 (I.5).²⁸ However, those text columns are executed differently: carved into the original surface of the block which appears as a raised panel.²⁹ Also, their measurements differ: the bandeau on Leiden AP 54 is 6.5 cm high, and that on the Nasher Museum relief measures 7.8 cm.

Both the bandeau text and the column on the right mark the end of a text. This indicates that the block formed part of a scene's right-hand end.

Top of relief, fragments of six columns, now lost (Figure 4)

(↓→) [x+1] [x+2] [x+3] [x+4] [x+5] [x+6]

/// [Pth-]ms m3^c-hrw /// r-st3.w /// ms(i) /// hpr sw /// t3.wy ^a

/// [Ptah]mose, true of voice /// Rosetau /// born(?) /// created(?) him /// two lands(?)

Bandeau text

(←) [x+1] [x+2] [x+3] [x+4] [x+5] [x+6]

/// m pr(.w) Pth^b Pth-ms m3^c-hrw nb krs nfr ///

/// in the house ³⁰ of Ptah, Ptahmose, true of voice, owner of a perfect burial ///

Above Ptahmose

(←↓) [x+1] /// [x+2] /// [x+3] [x+4] [x+5] [x+6]

///^c [ir.y-]rd.wy=f^d b3.t-f ikr di mr.wt=f^e k3 ns ml.tyt n(.yt) mh3.t^f imy-r k3(.w)t m
mnw nb n(.y) nb t3.wy ///^g pr(.w) [Pth]^h Pth-ms m3^c-hrw

/// One in his attendance, his excellent character, which causes the love of him, exact
of speech the likeness of a balance, Overseer of works in every monument of the
Lord of the Two Lands (?) /// house [of Ptah], Ptahmose, true of voice.

Commentary

^a As reconstructed by Berlandini, in: *BIFAO* 82 (1982), 98. Kitchen in *KRI* III, 180.7 reads: "Real King's Scribe (?), his beloved [...]" (*sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f*). Indeed, there appear to be more signs besides *t3.wy*. However, it is impossible to present a more conclusive reconstruction.

^b There are several options for the reconstruction of this title. The phrase *m pr(.w) Pth* forms part of a number of titles attested for Ptahmose: *im.y-r pr(.w) wr m t3 hw.t R^c(.w)-ms-s(w) mry-Imn(.w) m pr(.w) Pth*, "Chief Steward in the temple 'Ramesses-

beloved-of-Amun' in the house of Ptah"; *im.y-r pr(.w) m ḥw.t ntr ʒḥ-Stḥ.y-mry-Pth m pr(.w) Pth*, "Steward in the temple 'Beneficial-is-Seti-I-beloved-of-Ptah' in the house of Ptah"; *im.y-r mšꜥ wr m pr(.w) Pth*, "Great Overseer of troops in the house of Ptah"; *im.y-r pr(.w) wr m pr(.w) Pth*, "Chief Steward in the house of Ptah". The last option, Chief Steward in the House of Ptah, occurs most often, and seems to be the most likely reading here. Berlandini reached the same reconstruction.

Note that the preposition *m* is written as , as opposed to  (Gardiner Aa15), as it appears in all other documents. The same can be observed on block LB 4 from the tomb of Mahu (ST 218) at Saqqara in the writing of the title *im.y-r pr(.w) m ḥw.t Rꜥ(.w)-ms-s(w) mry-ʒmn(.w) m pr(.w) Pth*, Steward in the Temple 'Ramesses-beloved-of-Amun' in the House of Ptah (Gohary, *Nebnefer & Mahu*, pl. 46).

^c Berlandini, in: *BIFAO* 82 (1982) 98, reconstructs  *ḥs*. The visible remnants of the sign indeed allow for this reconstruction, perhaps *ḥs.wt nsw.t*, "royal favour"; or *ḥs.y ʕꜣ n.y ntr nfr*, "one greatly praised / highly favoured by the perfect god (i.e. the king)".

Other options are equally valid, for example , *mr*, as part of *sš nsw mꜣꜥ mr.y=f*, "True Royal Scribe whom he (i.e. the king) loves".³¹

^d Berlandini, in: *BIFAO* 82 (1982), 98, and Kitchen in *KRI* III, 441.2–3 read *tꜣ r rd.wy=f* "the land at his feet". Referring to Figure 1, however, it is clear that the sign , *tꜣ* (Gardiner N16), has been misread for  (Gardiner Y1) written upside-down. The construction with *rd.wy=f* is well attested in a series of honorific titles.³² Here, one should read     , *ir.y-rd.wy=f* "Guardian at his feet" or "One in attendance". This is the abbreviated form of a more substantial phrase, which is usually followed by either the person whom he (i.e. the official) attends, e.g. the king, or where he attends (the king), e.g. "in every place he (i.e. the king) has trodden".³³ The title *šmsw nsw ir.y rd.wy=f* "the King's retainer and his attendant" presents another possible reconstruction.³⁴

^e Note that Gardiner Sign-List U7, , is written with two vertical strokes, or "cross pieces",³⁵ which was not very common during the 19th Dynasty.³⁶

^f Note that the sign $\overline{\Delta}\overline{\Gamma}\overline{\Lambda}$ (Gardiner U38) is reversed.

^g Reading uncertain. The varying distances between the four horizontal signs indicate that the two upper signs belong together, to form the phrase *nb t3.wy*, "Lord of the Two Lands". It is not clear which word is denoted by the next group of signs. Possibly, these form part of an addition to the title "Overseer of works on all monuments of the Lord of the Two Lands", perhaps designating the place where Ptahmose performed his duties as Overseer. Compare this to the title on his statue London BM EA 1119 (II.6): "Overseer of works on all monuments of His Majesty in Hutkaptah".³⁷

^h The element *Pth* forms part of the tomb owner's name, because the male determinative (Gardiner A51/52) can be only placed to the right of the *ms*-sign. The preceding title might end with *pr(.w) Pth*, "house of Ptah", with 'Ptah' hierarchically positioned before the *pr* sign (honorific transposition). The exact title is more difficult to ascertain (see comment b above). In view of the limited space offered by the lacuna, the reading *im.y-r pr(.w) m pr(.w) Pth*, "Steward in the house of Ptah" can also be put forward.

From Saqqara to Durham: How the block got to the Nasher Museum of Art

The question of how this block from the tomb of Ptahmose at Saqqara got to the Nasher Museum of Art is an interesting one to follow up. Only few records and mentions of the block exist. The museum acquisition records indicate only that the block was received as a gift from Ella Brummer. In the scholarly literature the block appeared occasionally. These leads present the starting point to reconstructing the block's wanderings, which take us to some of the foremost art dealers of their time.

Clues offered in the scholarly literature

The block of Ptahmose (Nasher Museum of Art 1984.2.3) was first published by Ludwig Borchardt. In a supplement to the *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (1931),³⁸ he listed the block amongst 56 Egyptian antiquities which he considered to be modern works, although he did not give reasons why he thought so.

Borchardt commented that their photographs were sufficiently clear to illustrate the different schools of forgers known to be active in Egypt at that time. He published the photograph of the Ptahmose relief, taken in 1921, with the comment that the hieroglyphic texts were genuinely ancient.

In an article published in 1940, at a time when the whereabouts of this block were unknown, Capart questioned Borchardt's conclusion and argued in favour of the block's authenticity.³⁹ In support of his arguments, Capart published an undated photograph showing the same block in different condition at what must be an earlier point in time (Figure 4). In the time between the taking of the photo published by Capart and the more recent photo taken in 1921, the upper part of the original block had been removed and had not been seen since. The bandeau text which now forms the block's upper edge originally separated the texts above from the representation below. The now-lost upper part contained the lower sections of six columns of incised hieroglyphs. Capart pointed out that a similar composition, consisting of a large bandeau text with adjoining text columns, also occurs on the block Leiden AP 54 (I.5).⁴⁰ He correctly identified the tomb owner as the "Royal Scribe and Chief Steward in the temple of Ramesses II in the house of Ptah".⁴¹ Capart also noted that in the photograph of 1921 (in Borchardt's publication), Ptahmose's nose and collar showed signs of modern repair when compared to the older photograph.

This older photograph (published by Capart), by contrast, shows the relief block displayed on a table. Two additional ancient Egyptian objects are positioned to its left and right: a striding statuette (possibly wooden) of a man, and the white head (possibly of stone) of a life-size statue or an anthropomorphic sarcophagus. Two men are standing behind the table: on the left: a gentleman in a suit, wearing a tie and straw boater hat with a grosgrain ribbon around the crown, an expression of late 19th to early 20th century fashion; on the right a dark-skinned (possibly Egyptian) man wearing a jumper and indistinct cap whose left hand is placed on the stone head holding it upright. The whole setting appears to suggest that the photograph was taken at the premises of an antiquities dealer, presumably in Egypt.

The difference between the two photographs reveals clearly that the block was recut and retouched at some point before 1921. These alterations present Ptahmose's face with the

modern appearance that led Borchardt to consider it a forgery. It is interesting to note that Jaromir Málek followed this assessment and did not include the block in the section on Ptahmose in the revised edition of Porter and Moss on the Memphite region (1979).⁴² In an article published years later (1987), he reiterated his position, claiming that both the relief and its texts were fake.⁴³ Jacobus van Dijk rejected Málek's view in a short note (1989 and 1993) and recognized that the relief had definitely been retouched.⁴⁴ In 1982, Berlandini added the block to her corpus of objects from the tomb of Ptahmose.⁴⁵ She listed the block as a "*fragment de paroi Berlin n° inconnu*". Kitchen, likewise, included the block in the corpus of texts from the tomb of Ptahmose in his *Ramesside Inscriptions III* (1980).⁴⁶ Following Capart, he described the block initially as a "*slab (in trade), Saqqara*". In the corrigenda to his *Ramesside Inscriptions III* (1989), he adopted Berlandini's assessment in describing the block as a relief "*now in Berlin, N° unknown*".⁴⁷ More recently, Fiechter listed the block in his discussion of Borchardt's so-called fakes.⁴⁸ He does not seem to have been aware of the block's present whereabouts, nor does he discuss this object at length.

For many years the block was believed to be in the collection of the Berlin Museum. What happened to the block after it was photographed in 1921, when it was last seen by Borchardt, remained unknown. It eventually surfaced again many years later when Morris Bierbrier, in his 1985 book review of Kitchen's *Ramesside Inscriptions III*, noted that this relief block had just entered the collection of the Duke University Art Library.⁴⁹

The block of Ptahmose in the hands of art dealers

At this point, we know how and when the block of Ptahmose got to the collection of the Nasher Museum of Art. In order to trace the block's history back to Saqqara, its journey will be followed back in time.

a. Ernest and Joseph Brummer

As indicated above, the block of Ptahmose entered the collection of the Nasher Museum of Art as a gift from Ella Brummer, the widow of art collector and dealer Ernest

Brummer. This presents the first lead to reconstructing the object's journey that started in Saqqara.

Ernest Brummer, together with his brothers Joseph (1883–1947)⁵⁰ and Imre (1889–1928), opened Brummer Gallery in Paris in 1906. At the onset of World War I (1914), his brothers moved to New York to open their second gallery.⁵¹ Ernest initially stayed in France managing their European branch and purchasing objects for Joseph. He joined his brother in New York at the outbreak of World War II. Ernest continued running both galleries in Paris and New York after both his brothers had passed away. A major part of Joseph Brummer's collection – he was particularly interested in ancient sculpture⁵² – was sold to the Metropolitan Museum of Art after he died in 1947. The Brummer Gallery had already been one of the museum's regular suppliers of art. The sale in 1947 was followed by another three sales through the Parke-Bernet Galleries in 1949. A final 600 unsold pieces, which remained in possession of the family, were eventually inherited by Ella Brummer.⁵³ After Ernest died in 1964, part of the collection was sold at Sotheby's that same year.⁵⁴ A selection of objects inherited from Joseph, supplemented with objects from Ernest Brummer's collection, were to form the nucleus of Duke University's collection in 1966.⁵⁵

The complete documentation regarding objects from the Brummer collections (including acquisition data) remained in the possession of Ella Brummer until 1980, when she donated all documents to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁵⁶ In 1993, the Brummer Gallery Records were transferred to the MMA Cloisters Archives and Libraries.⁵⁷

The Brummer collection acquisition records list the Nasher Museum relief as object number P5440: "*1 Bas-relief Egypt. en calcaire*". Each object that entered the Brummer collection was provided with a card containing a photograph (Figure 5) and sale details. The following information was provided on the verso of object card P5440:

P 5440

#188 – EB

Polychromed bas-relief. Egyptian. 18th Dynasty.

17" high

13" wide

Egyptian relief in limestone, polychromed. Represents the head of a queen.

18th Dynasty. Interesting specimen, as the middle inscription is of a later period, reinscribed under the domination of another king.

Reproduced in "Chronique d'Egypte," No. 30 – Juillet 1940. Page 250

It is interesting to note that Ernest Brummer (EB), although aware of Capart's article, described the head as that of a queen. The "reinscribed middle inscription" must refer to the bandeau text, and the text in sunk relief must have been interpreted as a later alteration. The block entered the Brummer collection *before* Borchardt dismissed it as a modern reproduction. It is probably no coincidence that his article was not later added as a reference on the object-card. It is noteworthy that Figure 5 shows the object in a better shape than its present-day condition.⁵⁸

b. Kalebdjian Frères

Prior to entering the Brummer collection, Brummer object P5440 formed part of an acquisition number 868, signed in Paris, 2 October 1928. This acquisition number lists another 25 objects, none of which are ancient Egyptian.⁵⁹ The purchase was made by Joseph Brummer from *Kalebdjian Frères*. Between 1905 and 1930, this dealership was owned by the Armenian antiquities and oriental art dealers Hagop and Garbis Kalebdjian.⁶⁰ They had an art gallery in Cairo and later opened premises in Paris.⁶¹ Brummer object P5440 is listed in the Kalebdjian consular papers as a "*Bas-relief en calcaire, tête de personnage, Egypte 18è dynastie*". The block was bought for 12.000 Francs from "N. Maurice" in Paris, on 28 September 1928.

c. Maurice Nahman

The name "N. Maurice" must refer to Maurice Nahman (1868–1948), a leading Egyptian collector and dealer in antiquities from 1890⁶² who, from 1913, had an extensive gallery in his Arab-style house in Cairo at 27 Rue el-Madabegh (now: Sharia Sherif) that operated under the name *Maurice Nahman Antiquaire*.⁶³ The gallery was closed in 1953 when his son Robert Maurice Nahman (1901–1954), who carried on with the gallery, died. Maurice Nahman's curiously premature obituary was written by Capart in *Chronique d'Égypte* no. 22/43 in 1947,⁶⁴ the same issue that also contained his own obituary.⁶⁵ Capart described Nahman as "... *le plus grand marchand d'antiquités égyptiennes du monde*". The way in which Nahman came to possess the relief may be deduced from another passage, where Capart describes the Egyptian's gallery:⁶⁶

"... On se rendait compte rapidement que l'on se trouvait là au point d'aboutissement des nombreuses fouilles clandestines qui n'ont jamais cessé d'alimenter le marché égyptologique. Si Maurice Nahman avait eu la préoccupation de tenir un journal, les égyptologues y auraient appris bien des secrets qui leur restent fermés.

Lorsque Nahman se sentait en confiance et qu'il était en veine d'anecdotes, il racontait les aventures de pièces même célèbres qui, après avoir disparu des collections publiques, aboutissaient heureusement entre ses mains."

That Nahman also had fakes for sale was no secret to Capart:⁶⁷

"... Lorsque des polémiques s'ouvraient au sujet de l'authenticité de certaines pièces, son avis méritait toujours sérieuse considération. Je veux bien que, dans quelques cas, la rivalité professionnelle ait pesé sur son sentiment, mais, quant à moi, je n'ai jamais hésité lorsque Nahman me disait: « cette pièce est fausse et je sais qui l'a faite »."

Above, it was suggested that the photograph published by Capart (Figure 4) was taken in a gallery in Cairo. At that time, it was not uncommon for galleries to "improve" the aesthetics of their works of art. There are even sources to suggest that the Kalebdjian brothers were involved in similar practices as well.⁶⁸ Their nephew, the well-known

forger and dealer in Egyptian antiquities Oxan Aslanian (1887–1968), worked in their gallery in Cairo for some time.⁶⁹ However, the acquisition data and the (un)dated photographs indicate that the block must have been retouched before these brothers eventually acquired it. The most likely person responsible for the changed physical appearance of the block is Nahman. Another block traded by him, and for which a Memphite origin had long been debated, is the stela fragment Chicago, Oriental Institute 10507.⁷⁰ This block probably derived from Abydos and shows the Scribe of the Offering Table of the Lord of the Two Lands Amunwahsu and the Royal Scribe Tia before Seti I and his son, Prince Ramesses. It was purchased in 1919 in Cairo from Nahman. The top of the block was sawn off and the right side, bottom edge and back had been trimmed, which suggests that it had received a treatment similar to the block of Ptahmose now in the Nasher Museum of Art.

The art dealer portrayed in the photograph published by Capart can probably be identified as Nahman,⁷¹ and it may have been Capart himself who took this photo, perhaps in one of Nahman's two earlier shops.⁷² It is not clear how the block of Ptahmose came into possession of Nahman.⁷³ However, at around the same time, at least one other object originating from the tomb of Ptahmose was available on the art market. A stela that identified him as the Chief Steward of Ptah named Ptahmose was seen by Hans Ostenfeldt Lange with a dealer at Kafr el-Haram, Giza.⁷⁴ Lange was also a regular at Nahman's gallery, which he visited for the first time on 20 February 1920.⁷⁵

Nahman sold the block of Ptahmose to the Kalebdjian brothers on a visit to Europe. This may have been on the same occasion as when Capart acquired an Amarna tablet for the *Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* in Brussels. He describes the occasion in the obituary for Nahman.⁷⁶ Capart assisted Nahman with the unpacking of his cases upon arrival in Paris and was subsequently granted a first inspection of the objects.

Complex histories: Two statues of Inehyt, wife of Ptahmose

The block from the tomb of Ptahmose held in the Nasher Museum of Art presents just one example of many objects that passed through the hands of multiple art dealers and collectors. Coincidentally, two statues from the same tomb of Ptahmose were briefly in the possession of Joseph Brummer as well. These statues left Saqqara in the first half of the 19th century and have since travelled the world. They illustrate not only the

complex collection histories objects can have, but may also serve as an example to illustrate the importance of studying the provenance of museum objects. Such studies are especially desirable for material from the New Kingdom necropolis of Saqqara, which is located largely in public and private collections around the world. This may eventually shed some more light on when and under which circumstances these tombs were visited and dismantled.

From 1917 to 1921, two statues of Ptahmose's wife Inehyt (II.1–2; Figures 6–7),⁷⁷ who bore the titles Lady of the House and Songstress of Hathor Lady of the Southern Sycamore, formed part of the collection of Joseph Brummer. According to Georg Steindorff, who published the statues in 1942, they may have been brought to France in the 1820s by the Frenchman Sébastien Louis Saulnier (1790–1835) as part of a large collection which he sold there.⁷⁸ Alternatively, they may have been acquired in Egypt by Jean François Champollion in 1828–29.⁷⁹ Champollion was on very good terms with Giovanni d'Anastasi, who may have been involved in the first excavation of Ptahmose's tomb (see above). Steindorff revised this suggestion in view of information provided to him by Bernard V. Bothmer, who proposed that the statues had been taken to France by officers of the Napoleonic expedition.⁸⁰ According to Michel Dewachter, the statues must have been in France by 1824 as they were seen by Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863) in Paris with his friend the sculptor Abel Dimier (1794–1864) on 8 May of that year, if indeed the statues were correctly identified. Dimier had brought several objects from Egypt:

*"... deux statues assises qu'on prétend de la plus haute antiquité, quatre vases d'albâtre magnifiques et d'une belle exécution, et un sarcophage fort original."*⁸¹

It is also possible that the statues were obtained through the excavations of d'Anastasi at Saqqara (1823–25) and entered France not through Champollion but via an art dealer or collector who purchased them from d'Anastasi directly.⁸²

We are on firmer ground about when the statues first surfaced in the collection of Comte Jules de Castellane (1788–1862).⁸³ His collection, formed around 1825, was accommodated in his Château des Aygalades near Marseille.⁸⁴ He acquired his objects, a considerable part of which constituted ancient Egyptian artefacts, chiefly in Italy and

Greece.⁸⁵ When the count's eldest daughter, the Marquise d'Estournel (who had inherited her father's possessions), passed away, the Château and its contents were sold in 1917. One unnamed Marseilles art-dealer bought the statues and sold them to Paris-based Jacques Seligmann (1858–1923),⁸⁶ who subsequently sold them to Henri Daguerre and Joseph Brummer (a joint purchase) in 1917. The statues were then transferred from Brummer's gallery in Paris to New York. There, Judge Samuel Untermyer, also from New York, bought one of the statues.⁸⁷ The statue changed ownership for the last time in 1925, when art collector Henry Walters from Baltimore acquired it for his own collection. At his bequest, his private collection was made accessible to the public in 1931 as the Walters Art Museum (Figure 6). The second, near-identical statue of Inehyt was thus separated from its pendant after the sale of 1917. In 1921, the art collector Reverend Theodore Pitcairn (1893–1973) from Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, bought it from Joseph Brummer.⁸⁸ Pitcairn gifted the statue to The Lord's New Church in Bryn Athyn,⁸⁹ which subsequently offered it for sale at Christie's London in 1976.⁹⁰ There, the statue was purchased by the art collector Sejiro Matsuoka (1894–1988)⁹¹ who, in 1975, founded the Matsuoka Museum of Art in Tokyo (Figure 7), which moved to its present location at Shirokane, Tokyo, in 2000, and opened to the public.⁹²

Conclusions

The aim of this article was to provide the full object history and description of relief block 1984.2.3 in the Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University from the tomb of Ptahmose at Saqqara. The first part of this article focused on the description and discussion of the iconography and texts. Although the block's existence has been known for some time, its whereabouts were long unknown and its authenticity doubted. In this contribution it has been demonstrated that the block is genuinely ancient and that it can be added to the ever growing corpus of objects pertaining to Ptahmose, the early 19th-Dynasty Mayor of Memphis. The study of the texts has yielded new prosopographical data (epithets and titles). This study was also used to illustrate the often complex collection history of Egyptian antiquities. It has demonstrated that research into this history not only yields an object's provenance, but it also highlights the people who were involved in the worldwide distribution of objects from – in this case – a single tomb structure. Such activities form an integral part of a monument's non-systemic use

life. The New Kingdom necropolis of Saqqara exists largely in private and public collections, and these items were often removed from their original context without any (proper) documentation. Knowledge of the people involved in the activities that led to the dismantling of tombs and the worldwide distribution of the individual blocks and fragments is an important line of enquiry. In the case of Ptahmose, as has been demonstrated here, this approach has assisted in identifying and accurately assigning a good number of elements to the Saqqara tomb that had hitherto been of unknown provenance.

Corpus of Objects Pertaining to <i>Pth-ms(.w)</i>, Mayor of Memphis	
I	Reliefs
1-3	Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 4873–75
4	Florence, Museo Egizio 2557
5	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 54
6	Frankfurt, Liebieghaus IN 1643
7	Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 25.6.24.6
8	Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University 1984.2.3
9-10	Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 1631–32
11	“Mur Rhoné” (lost)
12	“Block from Giza” seen by Lepsius, built into an “Arabic” tomb (lost)
13-17	“Devéria-doorway” (lost)
18	<i>in situ</i> (2 joining relief blocks; excavated in 2010 by Cairo University)
II	Statues
1	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 22.106
2	Tokyo, Matsuoka Museum of Art 568
3-4	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 7–8
5	Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 41532
6	London, British Museum EA 1119
III	Architectural elements
1-4	Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 51a-d (<i>djed</i> -pillars)
5	Cairo, Egyptian Museum 40.000 (papyriform column)
6	Pyramidion (lost) seen by Lepsius with Solomon Fernandez
IV	Stelae
1	Notebook H.O. Lange 1899: seen with a dealer in Kafr el-Haram (lost)
2	Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 19718
V	Burial equipment
1.	Musée Antoine Vivenel de Compiègne Inv. L. 496 (Sarcophagus fragment)
VI	Offering tables
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VII	Extra sepulchral objects
1	Paris, Musée du Louvre IM 5269 (stela from Serapeum)
2	Paris, Musée du Louvre SH 213 (shabti from Serapeum)

Table 1: Overview: Corpus of objects pertaining to Ptahmose, Mayor of Memphis.

- ^{1*} I am grateful to the Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University for permission to publish this relief block. I owe a special word of thank you to Katharine Adkins, assistant curator of exhibitions;
- ¹ For Ptahmose, see: PM III², 713–15, 784. Previous studies on this official: J. Berlandini, "Varia Memphitica V: Monuments de la chapelle funéraire du gouverneur Ptahmès" in: *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 82 (1982) 85–103; J. Málek, "The Saqqara Statue of Ptahmose, Mayor of the Memphite Suburbs" in: *Revue d'Égyptologie* 38 (1987) 117–37; J. Van Dijk, "Two Blocks from the Tomb of Ptahmose, Mayor of Memphis and High Steward in the Domain of Ptah" in: *Göttinger Miszellen* 113 (1989) 47–54; D. Franke, "Reliefblock aus dem Grab des Ptahmose in Saqqara" in: E. Bayer-Niemeier *et al.* (eds.), *Liebieghaus-Museum Alter Plastik, Ägyptische Bildwerke. Band III. Skulptur, Malerei, Papyri und Särge* (Melsungen, 1993) 159–72; C. Greco, "The Lost Tomb of Ptahmes" in: P. Buzi / D. Picchi / M. Zecchi (eds.), *Aegyptiaca et Coptica. Studi in onore di Sergio Pernigotti*, BAR IS 2264 (Oxford, 2011) 34–38.
- ² D'Anastasi (1780–1860): W.R. Dawson, "Anastasi, Sallier, and Harris and Their Papyri" in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 35 (1949) 158–60; W.R. Dawson / E.P. Uphill / M.L. Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 4th rev. ed. (London, 2012) 19 (born Anastasiou, from c. 1801 assumed the name d'Anastasi when resident in Egypt). For Nizzoli (c. 1792/4–1858), see: Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 405.
- ³ N. Staring, "The tomb of Ptahmose, Mayor of Memphis: analysis of an early 19th Dynasty funerary monument at Saqqara" in: *BIFAO* 114 (2014) *forthcoming*. A selection of objects taken from these tombs was sent to the Bulaq Museum, founded by Mariette in 1858 and opened to the public on 16 October 1863 (D.M. Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Los Angeles, 2002) 103–08). The first entry in the museum's *Journal d'Entrée* is dated June 1858 (Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 100), with numbers JE 1–3360 issued in 1858, and nos. 3361–6138 in 1859 (B.V. Bothmer, "Numbering Systems of the Cairo Museum" in: *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique. Cent cinquante années de recherches 1822–1972: Hommage à Jean-François Champollion*, Bibliothèque d'Étude 64/3 [Cairo, 1972–74] 114). The museum was flooded in 1878 and as a result, part of the collection as well as Mariette's papers were destroyed (Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 356). This may explain why only short descriptions are provided for the monuments in Mariette's *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie* (Paris, 1889 [1872]), which was published posthumously in 1889 with texts written by Gaston Maspero. The tomb of Ptahmose is represented by only one panel (Cairo JE 4874), published on page 20 and plate 62d (copy of text), probably sawn from the doorjamb in March 1859 and subsequently taken to the Bulaq Museum. Devéria briefly described their work in Saqqara in a letter dated 15 March 1859, written aboard the Samanoud (Mariette's steamer) at Bulaq (G. Devéria, "Théodule Devéria (1831–1871). Notice biographique", in: G. Maspero, *Bibliothèque Égyptologique 4: Théodule Devéria mémoires et fragments I* (Paris, 1896) xiv–xvi; Staring, in: *BIFAO* 114 (2014) *forthcoming*).
- ⁴ (1) The so-called "Mur Rhoné" photograph capturing (*in situ*) five adjoining relief-decorated limestone revetment blocks: Berlandini, in: *BIFAO* 82 (1982) 86–92, fig. 1, pl. VII; Staring, in: *BIFAO* 114 (2014) fig. 4; (2) a doorway with limestone doorjambs and reveal, both with texts and relief decoration: Staring, in: *BIFAO* 114 (2014) figs. 1–2. For Devéria's photograph of the 19th-Dynasty tomb of Khay at Saqqara, see: S. Pasquali, "La tombe perdue de Bouri, employé du domaine d'Aton à Memphis" in: *BIFAO* 113 (2013) 315 with n. 19 and figs. 10–11.
- ⁵ By the Cairo University mission led by Dr Ola el-Aguizy; see E. Adly / N. Grimal, "Recherches et découvertes" in: *Bulletin d'information archéologique* 41 (2010) 82–83; C. Greco, "Het verloren graf van Ptahmes. Grafvondst in Egypte ook voor Leids onderzoek van groot belang" in: *Archeologie Magazine* 2010/4 (2010) 34–38.
- ⁶ The museum's permanent collection contains contemporary art, with other major strengths in European medieval art, European and American paintings, classical antiquities, African and American Pre-Columbian art.
- ⁷ Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 85.
- ⁸ I thank Marianne Eileen Wardle for this information; see also: K. Stanley, *A Generation of Antiquities: The Duke Classical Collection 1964–1994. Duke University of Art 20 January-26 March*

- 1995 (Durham, N.C., 1994). The block of Ptahmose is listed as Cat. No. 95 (pp. 75–76, pl. 36: "Fragment of a Limestone Tomb Relief", DCC/DUMA 1984.2.3).
- ⁹ The block's slight thickness would normally be indicative of it being part of a stela. Revetment blocks usually have a larger thickness. However, the block could have also been sawn from a thicker block. Compare, for example, joining blocks Leiden AP 54 (thickness 20 cm) and Frankfurt Liebieghaus IN 1643 (thickness 5 cm) from the same tomb of Ptahmose. Furthermore, a stela with a depiction of the tomb owner in this size would also need to be thicker in order not to break instantly (Maarten Raven, personal communication).
- ¹⁰ Staring, in: *BIFAO* 114 (2014) figs. 1, 3: doorway, south jamb, east side (I.17 and I.2 = Cairo JE 4874); and doorway, north jamb, east side (I.I.15–1). Compare also B. Gessler-Löhr, in: S. Pasquali / B. Gessler-Löhr, "Un nouveau relief du grand intendant de Memphis, Ipy, et le temple de Ptah du terrain-*bḥ*" in: *BIFAO* 111 (2011) 290 n. 51; E. Hofmann, *Bilder im Wandel. Die Kunst der Ramessidischen Privatgräber*, Theben 17 (Mainz, 2004) 101, fig. 122; G.T. Martin, *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt, I: The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary* (London, 2012) scene [20], pls. 21, 88,2.
- ¹¹ Hofmann, *Bilder im Wandel*, 150.
- ¹² Pasquali / Gessler-Löhr, in: *BIFAO* 111 (2011) 290, fig. 1: relief seen on the art market at David Aaron Ancient Arts, London.
- ¹³ Martin, *Maya I*, scene [20], pl. 88.
- ¹⁴ S. Binder, *The Gold of Honour in New Kingdom Egypt*, ACE Studies 8 (Oxford, 2008) 308–09, cat. [090], no. 4: "Relief fragment Berlin – no number".
- ¹⁵ Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 211: with 187 attestations of the two-row *šbyw* collar from a corpus of 238 attestations of the Gold of Honour during the New Kingdom.
- ¹⁶ The headings used in Table 1 are in accordance with the prosopography of Memphite tomb owners used in my Doctoral thesis. This explains why the heading "Offering tables" is included even though no such objects are attested for Ptahmose.
- ¹⁷ Indeed, the ends of four strings (one for each collar) can be observed on pillar Leiden AP 51*d.I*, below (behind) the shoulder of Ptahmose's raised right arm. Compare relief fragment Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Egizio Inv. No. 253 (anonymous tomb owner; late 18th/early 19th Dynasty, provenance Saqqara?): G. Botti / P. Romanelli, *Le sculture del Museo Gregoriano Egizio* (Vatican City, 1951) 78–79 [125], pl. LIX.
- ¹⁸ The *mktw* bracelet is rarely depicted. Only 24 New Kingdom officials are represented with these bracelets, four of whom wear one on both wrists (Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 214–15). For an actual set of three such bracelets from Saqqara, see H.D. Schneider, *Life and Death Under the Pharaohs. Egyptian Art from the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, The Netherlands* (Perth, 1997) cat. 153A (General Djehuty, 18th Dynasty, temp. Thutmosis III: Leiden AO 2a); Binder, *Gold of Honour*, cat. [226], figs. 4.12–13 (Leiden AO 2a1–2, AO 2b).
- ¹⁹ For a wig with rows of crimped strands that end in a row of short curls as represented in sculpture, see naophorous statue Leiden AST 5 of the Overseer of the Royal Apartments of the Harim at Memphis, Hormin (LS 29); Saqqara, early 19th Dynasty, temp. Seti I – Ramesses II: P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden. De monumenten van het Nieuwe Rijk. Tweede afdeeling: Pyramiden, Lijkenvazenkist, Offertafels, Beelden* (The Hague, 1912) 8 [19], pl. VII.
- ²⁰ A selection of comparable examples from the New Kingdom at Saqqara: chapel of Raia, Chief Singer of Ptah-Lord-of-Truth, early 19th Dynasty (G.T. Martin, *The Tomb-Chapels of Paser and Ra'ia at Saqqâra* [London, 1985] pls. 23–24); relief Boston 11.1532 of an anonymous official, 19th Dynasty (G.T. Martin, *Corpus of reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite necropolis and Lower Egypt* [London, 1987] 38 [94], pl. 35); relief Yale Art Gallery ILE 1998.5.2 of an anonymous official, Memphite origin, late 18th/early 19th Dynasty (C. Manassa, "Two Unpublished Memphite Relief Fragments in the Yale Art Gallery" in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 30 [2002] fig. 2, pl. 16); several blocks from the tomb of Ky-iri, Overseer of Craftsmen of the Lord of the Two Lands, 19th Dynasty (J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara [1908-9, 1909-10]: The Monastery of Apa Jeremias* [Cairo, 1912] pl. LXVIII[2], LXXV[1], LXXV[2]; W. Grajetzki, "Das Grab des *KII-IRI* in Saqqara"

- in: *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux"* 37 [2001–02], 115, scene 2); stela Berlin 7314 of Khay, Goldwasher of the Lord of the Two Lands, late 19th–20th Dynasty (G.T. Martin, *The Tombs of Three Memphite Officials: Ramose, Khay and Pabes* [London, 2001] pls. 12, 56 [8]); *djed* pillar from tomb ST 218 of Mahu, Chief Steward of Ptah, 19th Dynasty, temp. Ramesses II (S. Gohary, *The Twin Tomb Chapel of Nebnefer & His Son Mahu at Sakkara* [Cairo, 2009] pl. 35 and book cover); block of an anonymous official, Saqqara, 19th Dynasty (M. Ibrahim Aly, "Unpublished Blocks from Saqqara" in: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 54 [1998] 221 [4], pl. 22d).
- ²¹ P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden: De monumenten van het nieuwe Rijk. Eerste afdeeling: Graven* (The Hague, 1911) pl. XXX.
- ²² See n. 4 above.
- ²³ G.T. Martin, *The Tomb of Tia and Tia, a Royal Monument of the Ramesside Period in the Memphite Necropolis* (London, 1997) 42, scene [206], pl. 166 (left). The block is said to have been found at Mit Rahina. The crimped strands all end at the same horizontal level. See also: Martin, *Tia and Tia*, 23, scene [46], pl. 30 (only line drawing).
- ²⁴ For example, the stela of the Vizier Mennefer, 5th Dynasty: A. Radwan, "Sayed Tawfik in Saqqara. Einiges zu fünf Fundobjekten aus seinen Ausgrabungen" in: U. Rössler-Köhler / T. Tawfik (eds.), *Die ihr vorbeigehen werdet... Wenn Gräber, Tempel und Statuen sprechen. Gedenkschrift für Prof. Dr. Sayed Tawfik Ahmed* (Berlin–New York, 2009) 169–70, pl. 20a, Saqqara no. 90. His mastaba is located south of the Unas causeway amidst Ramesside tombs, a little north-east of Ptahmose's tomb: S. Tawfik, "Recently Excavated Ramesside Tombs at Saqqara 1. Architecture" in: *MDAIK* 47 (1991) 404, fig. 1 (opposite p. 408); his sarcophagus is in Leiden: PM III², 764; A.E.J. Holwerda and P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling I: De monumenten van het Oude Rijk* (Leiden, 1905) pl. XXX; H. Schneider / M.J. Raven, *De Egyptische Oudheid: een inleiding aan de hand van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* (The Hague, 1981) 56 [33], fig. 33). Another good example from Saqqara may be found in the tomb of the Vizier Ptahhotep: Y. Harpur / P. Scremin, *The Chapel of Ptahhotep. Scene Details*, *Egypt in Miniature II* (Oxford, 2008) figs. 64–65, 316–17.
- ²⁵ On two wooden panels from his tomb (Cairo JE 28504): J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1911–1912). The Tomb of Hesy* (Cairo, 1913) pls. XXIX [2], XXX [3]; M. Baud, "Du complexe enterré au mastaba révélé: l'invention de l'architecture funéraire et des dispositifs culturels" in: M. Étienne (ed.), *Les Portes du Ciel. Visions du monde dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 2009) 212–13, fig. 20.
- ²⁶ For a detailed study of this iconographic feature, see R. van Walsem, "Creases on the Throat as an Art Historical Particularity in Deir el Medina" in: B.J.J. Haring / O.E. Kaper / R. van Walsem (eds.), *The Workman's Progress. Studies in the Village of Deir el-Medina and Other Documents from Western Thebes in Honour of Rob Demarée*, *Egyptologische Uitgaven* 28 (Leiden–Leuven, 2014) 261–89; R. van Walsem, "The Double Statue of Meryre and Anuy", in: M.J. Raven / R. van Walsem, *The Tomb of Meryneith at Saqqara* (Turnhout, 2014) 212–13 [AA].
- ²⁷ Berlandini, in: *BIFAO* 82 (1982) 98; *KRI* III, 180; *KRITA* III, 125; *KRI* VII, 441.
- ²⁸ Boeser, *Beschrijving: Graven*, pl. XXX; Van Dijk, in: *GM* 113 (1989) 47–54, fig. 1; Franke, in: E. Bayer-Niemeier *et al.*, (eds.), *Liebieghaus-Museum*, 159–72, fig. 37,2. The relief, together with the four pillars Leiden AP 51, arrived in Leiden in 1829 (ex collection d'Anastasi, 1828). For the d'Anastasi collection and its 1828 sale to The Netherlands (Leiden Museum of Antiquities), see M.J. Raven, "History of the Leiden Mummy Collection" in: M.J. Raven / W.K. Taconis, *Egyptian Mummies. Radiological Atlas of the Collections in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* (Turnhout, 2005) 26–27.
- ²⁹ Another similar composition can be observed in the tomb of Maya: Martin, *Maya I*, 33–34, scenes [37–38], pl. 29 (bandeau text with adjoining text columns only below). For the so-called raised panels, see Gessler-Löhr, in: Pasquali / Gessler-Löhr, in: *BIFAO* 111 (2011) 290.
- ³⁰ The term *pr* is also often translated as "domain" or "estate". Many discussions interpret the phrase "in the house of god X" (e.g. *m pr(.w) Pth*) as the administrative incorporation or economic dependency of one temple to a chief temple. However, recent research has shown that economic dependence is

- expressed differently: the word *sdfz*, "provision" is used. The estate of an individual temple is indicated with the term *htp-ntr*, "god's offering", which can refer to all resources that make up the temple estate. Therefore, the literal, though neutral translation "house" is preferred here. For a summary discussion of the terms, and references to earlier literature on the subject, see B. Haring, "The Rising Power of the House of Amun in the New Kingdom" in: J.C. Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, HdO 104 (Leiden–Boston, 2013) 613–17.
- ³¹ The epithet occurs at this point in the sequence. One would expect the title to be positioned after the honorific titles, as it usually starts the list of rank and office titles.
- ³² A.R. Al-Ayedi, *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom* (Ismailia, 2006) nos. 575–83; J.A. Taylor, *An index of male non-royal titles, epithets & phrases of the 18th Dynasty* (London, 2011) 65–68.
- ³³ For the honorific title *ir.y-rd.wy n nb t3.wy* "One in attendance of the Lord of the Two Lands" at Saqqara, see Stela Munich ÄS 11, Head of Bowmen of the Lord of the Two Lands, Wesy, 18th Dynasty, temp. Amenhotep III: B. Löhr / H.W. Müller, *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst* (München, 1972) 64 [49b], pl. 30; tomb Saqqara ST 101, Overseer of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands and Chief Steward in the temple of Ramesses II in the house of Amun (i.e. Ramesseum), Amenemone: S. Gohary, "The Tomb-Chapel of the Royal Scribe Amenemone at Saqqara" in: *BIFAO* 91 (1991) 195–205. For an elaborate version of that title, *ir.y rd.wy [n] nb=f hr pri hrw pn n smz St.yw* "One in attendance of his lord upon the battlefield on this day of smiting the Asiatics", see G.T. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, commander-in-chief of Tut'ankhamūn, I: the reliefs, inscriptions, and commentary* (London, 1989) 57–58, scene [57], pls. 50, 57.
- ³⁴ Al-Ayedi, *Index*, 604 [2021]: attested for the Overseer of Works, Pahek-Amun (TT 343; PM² I:1, 182–83; *Urk.* IV, 1470).
- ³⁵ See H.G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy. A Beginner's Guide to Writing Hieroglyphs* (New York, 1979) 43.
- ³⁶ J. Moje, *Untersuchungen zur Hieroglyphischen Paläographie und Klassifizierung der Privatstelen der 19. Dynastie*, ÄAT 67 (Wiesbaden, 2007) 393 (zero attestations).
- ³⁷ Málek, in: *RdÉ* 38 (1987) 131, pl. 5 (left side of base).
- ³⁸ L. Borchardt, "Ägyptische »Altertümer«, die ich für neuzeitlich halte" in: *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 66, Beilage (1931) 1–4, pl. 2 [12]. His contribution was submitted in October 1930.
- ³⁹ J. Capart, "A propos d'un index égyptologique" in: *Chronique d'Égypte* 15/29 (1940) 249–50. Capart comments that contemporary colleagues doubted Borchardt's assumptions regarding other objects which he also considered to be modern productions.
- ⁴⁰ While the composition is indeed similar, the text columns on relief Leiden AP 54 are executed in a different manner (see above and n. 28). Moreover, the tomb owner's representations on both reliefs are executed on a different scale. Measured from the top of the head to his chin, Ptahmose's head measures 6.5 cm on Leiden AP 54, and 16 cm on Nasher Museum 1984.2.3.
- ⁴¹ Capart's references to PM III, 192–93 are outdated, and were revised in PM III², 713–15. For an updated list of monuments, see Table 1 and Staring, *BIFAO* 114 (2014) with detailed commentary. Capart also titled Ptahmose "High Priest" even though none of his actual titles associate him with that office. The confusion was probably caused by the large number of homonymous high officials buried at Saqqara, many of whom were in fact High Priests. On that issue, see W.J. Murnane, "Too Many High Priests? Once Again the Ptahmoses of Ancient Memphis" in: D.P. Silverman (ed.), *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer* (Chicago, 1994) 187–96.
- ⁴² PM III², 713–15.
- ⁴³ Málek, in: *RdÉ* 38 (1987) 132.
- ⁴⁴ J. van Dijk, *The New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis: Historical and Iconographical Studies*, Doctoral thesis (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 1993) 152, n. 5. An earlier version of this chapter was published as J. van Dijk, "The symbolism of the Memphite Djed-pillar" in: *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 66 (1986) 7–20.
- ⁴⁵ J. Berlandini, in: *BIFAO* 82 (1982) 97–98, with n. 5.

- ⁴⁶ KRI III, 180.6–7.
- ⁴⁷ KRI VII, 441.1–3.
- ⁴⁸ J.-J. Fiechter, *Faux et faussaires en art égyptien*, Monumenta Aegyptiaca XI (Turnhout, 2005) 22 [12], fig. on p. 23 (read PM III², 713–15 instead of 192–93, which refers to the first edition of PM III). R. Krauss, "Ludwig Borchardts Fälschungen-Recherche von 1930 aus den Quellen neu erzählt" in: *Egyptian & Egyptological Documents, Archives & Libraries* 3 (2012) 121–61, does not include the Nasher Relief in his discussion. I owe these references to Maarten Raven.
- ⁴⁹ M.L. Bierbrier, "Book review: 'Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical. By K.A. Kitchen. 290 x 205 mm. Volume III, fascs. 6–28. Pp. i–xxxii, 161–848. Oxford, Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1980. Price £2.50 each" in: *JEA* 71 (1985) 208. The reference to the Duke University Art Library is not correct (see above in the section on the Nasher Museum of Art).
- ⁵⁰ Born in Zombor, Hungary (now part of Serbia), he moved to Paris in 1906 to work in the atelier of sculptor Auguste Rodin (1840–1917): Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 85; T. Hardwick, "Five Months Before Tut. Purchasers and prices at the MacGregor sale, 1922" in: *Journal of the History of Collections* 23/1 (2011) 189. Rodin's atelier was turned into a museum in 1916: C. Goldscheider, *Rodin collectionneur. Musée Rodin, Paris, 1967-1968* (Paris, 1967) 4–5. His private collection included several Egyptian antiquities, including relief blocks from New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara: joining blocks Musée Rodin NI 104 and 235, tomb of Pay, Director of the royal harim, late 18th Dynasty (purchased between 1895 and 1917; Goldscheider, *Rodin collectionneur*, cat. 32; J. Berlandini, "Varia Memphitica II (II-III)" in: *BIFAO* 77 (1977) 29–31, pl. IV; M.J. Raven, *The Tomb of Pay and Raia at Saqqara* (Leiden–London, 2005) xxii, 28–29, scene [21], pls. 32–33); Musée Rodin NI 237, tomb of Amenemone, General, late 18th Dynasty: Goldscheider, *Rodin collectionneur*, cat. 51, pl. I; O. Djuževa, "Das Grab des Generals Amenemmet in Saqqara" in: M. Bartá / J. Krejčí (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000*, ArOr supplementa 9 (Prague, 2000) 81, pl. 4 (doc. 6).
- ⁵¹ British Museum Collection Database:
<http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=93652> (access 23.05.2013)
- ⁵² The relief block from a late 18th Dynasty tomb at Saqqara, depicting an anonymous, elderly official with hand extended (Brooklyn Museum 47.120.1; 31.3 x14.4 cm) was acquired from Joseph Brummer in 1947: PM III², 752; E. Riefstahl, "An Egyptian Portrait of an Old Man" in: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 10/2 (1951) 65–73; Martin, *Corpus*, 11–12, Cat. 14, pl. 5. Brummer bought the block from a Paris dealer in 1921. According to Riefstahl, in: *JNES* 10/2 (1951) 71, the block must have been in Egypt in the hands of an art dealer or, "more probably", *in situ* around 1912: a modern forgery based on the Brooklyn relief was purchased by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in Egypt in 1912, for which see Riefstahl, in: *JNES* 10/2 (1951), pl. VII.
- ⁵³ J.N. Carder, *A Home of the Humanities. The Collecting Patronage of Mildred and Robert Woods Bliss* (Washington, 2010) 224.
- ⁵⁴ Followed by a second sale at Gallerie Koller Zurich in 1979: "The Ernest Brummer Collection. Art objects from Ancient Egypt to the Renaissance" in: *The Connoisseur* 202/ no. 812 (October 1979) 79–85; anonymous (ed.), *The Ernest Brummer collection*, vol. II: *Ancient art: auction sale from 16th to 19th October 1979 at the Grand Hotel Dolder, Zürich by Galerie Koller in collaboration with Spink & Son* (Zürich); Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 85.
- ⁵⁵ The Joseph and Ernest Brummer Records, 1890–1949: The Cloisters Archives, Thomas J. Watson Library, The Catalog of the Libraries of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. See <<http://library.metmuseum.org/record=b1666900>> (access 23.05.2013).
- ⁵⁶ In the years 1920–40, the Brummer brothers sold more than 400 works of art to that museum. The corresponding documentation donated by Ella Brummer therefore provides valuable information on the provenance of the objects.
- ⁵⁷ The Joseph and Ernest Brummer Records, The Cloisters Archives of the The Metropolitan Museum of Art Libraries & The Cloisters Libraries. I thank Michael Carter of The Cloisters Library for his help in searching for information on the block of Ptahmose in the Brummer archive. The Brummer records are now in the process of being digitised:

<<http://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/landingpage/collection/p16028coll9>>

- ⁵⁸ The block has not been treated for restoration since entering the Nasher Museum of Art. Therefore, its condition must have deteriorated whilst in possession of Brummer.
- ⁵⁹ P5440, 1928, The Brummer Gallery Records, box number 23, folder number 2, The Cloisters Library and Archives, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- ⁶⁰ The British Museum collection database:
 <http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/term_details.aspx?bioId=96126> (access 23.05.2013). The Kalebldjian Frères should not be confused with the Kelekian family. Father Dikran Garabed Kelekian (1868–1951) was an Armenian art and antiquities dealer (mostly Islamic art, later also modern art including Van Gogh), had galleries in Paris, London, New York and Cairo, and is considered one of the key figures in the art and antiquities trade in the United States of that time: L.M. Berman, *The Cleveland Museum of Art. Catalogue of Egyptian Art* (New York, 1999) 12–13; Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 292–93. A large part of the collection of Henry Walters (see below) was purchased through Kelekian, whose gallery in Paris was located on 2 Place Vendôme, close to the Kalebldjian Frères' gallery. Son Charles Dikran Kelekian (1900–83) continued the family business, although the gallery in Cairo was nationalised in 1952 and the gallery in Paris closed the following year. After his death, many Egyptian objects were given to the MMA in New York. Both Kelekian and Kalebldjian sold art and antiquities to Louis Cartier on a regular basis: H. Nadelhoffer, *Cartier* (London, 2007 [1984]) 146; and both (also including Joseph Brummer) acquired objects from the MacGregor sale in 1922: Hardwick, in: *JHC* 23/1 (2011), 179–192 with supplement 1. For Kalebldjian and Kelekian, see also F. Hagen / K. Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880's-1930's. The H.O. Lange Papers (forthcoming)*, § 5.99 and 5.103, respectively (reference Maarten Raven).
- ⁶¹ On 12 Rue de la Paix, Paris, later relocated to 21 Rue Balzac.
- ⁶² Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 397; S. Raafat, "Robert Nahman – End of His Era" in: *Cairo Times* (November 10th, 1999); Hagen / Ryholt, *H.O. Lange Papers*, § 5.165. Nahman started his career in the world of finance, holding the position of Head Cashier at the Credit Foncier d'Égypte. Considerable parts of his stock were sold at his gallery in 1920, and at Christie's in London on 2 March 1937. Further sales were held after his death at Hotel Drouot in Paris (February and June 1953), and more objects with a Nahman provenance were sold through Christie's in South Kensington on 28 April 2004: "Property from The Maurice Nahman Collection (Lots 281-327)" in: Christie's South Kensington *Antiquities: Including the Heidi Vollmoeller Collection, Part 2 and Property from the Maurice Nahman Collection, Wednesday 28 April 2004* (London, 2004) 48–49. I thank Victoria Hearn of Christie's London for kindly sending me the sale catalogue.
- ⁶³ The gallery's Guest Book (1918–45) and various miscellaneous papers (1909–2006) are now in the Brooklyn Museum Libraries, Wilbour Library of Egyptology, Special Collections. Nahman started his business from two shops. One was located on Sharia Qasr el-Nil across from the Savoy Hotel, located some 500 metres from the Egyptian Museum. The other was situated at 20 Sharia Sheikh Abu el-Sibâ (now Gawad Hosny). According to Hagen / Ryholt, *H.O. Lange Papers*, § 5.165, the move to his gallery on El-Madabegh occurred around 1920, and the two earlier shops were operational at least until 1919.
- ⁶⁴ J. Capart, "Nécrologie: Maurice Nahman" in: *CdÉ* 22/43 (1947) 300–01. The obituary was written based on rumours about his death. Nahman passed away the following year, *after* Capart.
- ⁶⁵ B. van de Walle / P. Gilbert / M. Werbrouck / M. Hombert / J. Vergote / É. Bille-De Mot / A. Mekhitarian / C. Préaux / E. De Keyser / J.M. Taupin / M. Paul, "Jean Capart (1877-1947)" in: *CdÉ* 22/43 (1947) 181–215.
- ⁶⁶ Capart, in: *CdÉ* 22/43 (1947) 300.
- ⁶⁷ Capart, in: *CdÉ* 22/43 (1947) 300.
- ⁶⁸ R.S. Nelson, "Royall Tyler and the Bliss Collection of Byzantine Art", in: J.N. Carder (ed.), *A Home of the Humanities. The Collecting Patronage of Mildred and Robert Woods Bliss* (Washington, 2010) 37, describes how Elisina Tyler, on behalf of her husband Royall and of the collectors Mildred and Robert Bliss, visits the Kalebldjian gallery in Paris in 1926. There she is shown photographs of a treasure of Byzantine silver from Syria (from the village of Kurin; Greek Kaper Koraon). When she and her husband later travelled to Cairo to see the silver hoard in the Kalebldjian gallery, they are

- disappointed, as they find that "... the silver had been overcleaned to make it more attractive to buyers". They eventually advised Mildred and Robert Bliss against buying the silver.
- ⁶⁹ Fiechter, *Faux et faussaires*, 29–30; Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 27. Borchardt recognised Aslanian's hand in many fakes, mainly of the Old Kingdom and Amarna period, and referred to him as the "Berlin Master".
- ⁷⁰ See, for example, Martin, *Corpus*, 30–31 (cat. 74), pl. 27 (as "possibly Saqqara"); Martin, *Tia and Tia*, 47–48; van Dijk, *New Kingdom Necropolis*, 85–98 (as "Abydos"); E. Teeter, *Ancient Egypt: Treasures from the Collection of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago* (Oxford, 2003) 56–57 [25].
- ⁷¹ Compare this with the portrait photograph of an aged Nahman published in Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 397. The photograph published by Capart (predating 1921) was taken at least 27 years before Nahman's death (1948).
- ⁷² See n. 62 above. The photo appears to indicate a setting somewhere outside. For an impression of Nahman's gallery interior (on Rue el-Madabegh), see Christie's South Kensington, *Maurice Nahman Collection*, 48.
- ⁷³ The Nahman archive held in the Brooklyn Museum Libraries does not contain information regarding this object. I thank Eunice Liu and Deirdre Lawrence of the Brooklyn Museum for kindly checking the archives.
- ⁷⁴ H.O. Lange, *Notebook 1899/1900*, 41. This notebook is part of the Egyptological Archives, The Papyrus Carlsberg Collection of the University of Copenhagen. I owe this reference to Maarten Raven and thank Kim Ryholt for sending me a scan of the relevant page of the Notebook. For H.O. Lange, see Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 308.
- ⁷⁵ On the occasion, Lange bought a seated statue (dyad) of a man and a woman, now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, ÆIN 935: Hagen / Ryholt, *H.O. Lange Papers*, 259 with n. 957; L. Manniche, *Egyptian Art in Denmark* (Copenhagen, 2004) 188, fig. 83 (Ramesside, anonymous, provenance unknown). Several other objects seen with Nahman on the same visit are listed in H.O. Lange, *Notebook 1899/1900*, 210–12.
- ⁷⁶ Capart, in: *CdÉ* 22/43 (1947) 300.
- ⁷⁷ H. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I* (Glückstadt, 1935), 206.26; in the literature it is also written as Nehyt, Nehy, Nehet, Yinyhay, or Enehey, derivative of the name *Nhy.t*, "she of the sycamore", alluding to Hathor's specifically Memphite epithet "Lady of the Southern Sycamore".
- ⁷⁸ G. Steindorff, "Two Egyptian Statues of the Ramessid Period" in: *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 5 (1942) 11. For Saulnier, see Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 487. Saulnier financed explorations in Egypt, including an expedition by Jean Baptiste Lelorrain (Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 322) in 1820–21, the main aim of which was the removal of the Dendera Zodiac (now in the Musée du Louvre). Much of Saulnier's collection was acquired by the Berlin Museum. Lelorrain embarked for Marseille on 18 July 1821: D. Manley / P. Rée, *Henry Salt. Artist, Traveller, Diplomat, Egyptologist* (London, 2001) 194–96.
- ⁷⁹ Steindorff, in: *JWAG* 5 (1942) 11; Dawson, in: *JEA* 35 (1949) 159. D'Anastasi gave Champollion a friendly reception when he arrived in Egypt in 1828 as member of the Franco-Tuscan expedition with Ippolito Rosellini: J.–F. Champollion, *Lettres et journaux écrits pendant le voyage d'Égypte, recueillis et annotés par H. Hartleben* (Paris, 1986 [1909]) 25 (19 August 1828); also: G. Gabrieli, *Ippolito Rosellini e il suo giornale della spedizione letteraria Toscana in Egitto negli anni 1828-1829* (Pisa, 1994 [1925]) 8; both men corresponded as early as 1824: Dawson, in: *JEA* 35 (1949) 159. D'Anastasi, representing the Prussian Consul-General von Wagner during his absence, also facilitated Lepsius' expedition upon arrival in 1842 and introduced him to Mohammed Ali: K.R. Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, and the peninsula of Sinai*, translated by L. Horner and J.B. Horner (London, 1853) 39–40 ("Letter II, Alexandria, the 23rd of September, 1842").
- ⁸⁰ G. Steindorff, "Fakes and Fates of Egyptian Antiquities. A Supplement to the Catalogue of Egyptian Sculpture" in: *JWAG* 10 (1947) 58.
- ⁸¹ M. Dewachter, "Les artistes collectionneurs et un témoinage sur les débuts de l'antiquaire Joseph Brummer: les «Souvenirs» de Zadkine" in: *RdÉ* 40 (1989) 218–20, as quoted in A. Joubin (ed.), *Journal de Eugène Delacroix I, 1822–1852* (Paris, 1932) 97–98. See also Seymour de Ricci MSS D62,

fol. 36, 37 (Archives du Collège de France); for De Ricci, see Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 464–65.

- ⁸² For an account of d'Anastasi working at Saqqara (partly in partnership with Di Nizzoli), see, for example, W.C. Hayes, "A Writing-palette of the Chief Steward Amenhotep and Some Notes on Its Owner" in: *JEA* 24 (1938) 12–18 (tomb of the 18th Dynasty Chief Steward Amenhotep Huy, temp. Amenhotep III: PM III², 702–03, 835, 836). According to Dawson, in: *JEA* 35 (1949) 159, d'Anastasi "employed agents, both in Lower and Upper Egypt, to buy and collect antiquities, which he had no difficulty in exporting to Europe on account of his influence with the Pasha and the shipping facilities his business connections provided". D'Anastasi had been a merchant before he was appointed Consul-General in Egypt to Norway and Sweden and had worked with a number of local agents, such as François Barthou / Barthow (*fl.* 1805–1832): M. Dewachter, "Graffiti des voyageurs du XIX^e siècle relevés dans le temple d'Amada en Basse-Nubie" in: *BIFAO* 69 (1971) 139–41; Raven, in: *Egyptian Mummies*, 26; Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 44–45. He sold antiquities mainly within Egypt, but also sent large shipments to Europe, the first of which was in 1826 (see also n. 28 above).
- ⁸³ M. Dewachter, "Les collections Égyptiennes formées au moment de l'expédition d'Égypte" in: C.C. Gillispie / M. Dewachter, *Monuments de l'Égypte. L'édition impériale de 1809 (s.l., 1988)* 33, indicates that the future marshal De Castellane would have been too young to have taken part in Napoleon's expedition. Since the statues do not feature in the *Description d'Égypte*, they must have entered France another way.
- ⁸⁴ C. Waldstein, *Alcámenes and the Establishment of the Classical Type in Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1926) 190–91. Marseille was the home of more collectors of Egyptian antiquities, which included Antoine-Barthélémy Clot Bey (1793–1868). S. Bourlard-Collin, "Le Musée Borély et Clot-Bey" in: M. Nelson / G. Piérini, *Catalogue des Antiquités Égyptiennes. Collection des Musées d'Archéologie de Marseille* (Marseille, 1978) 5–7; R. May, *Cahier du Musée d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne: la collection Égyptienne. Guide du visiteur* (Marseille, 1989) 5–6.
- ⁸⁵ Note that one part of d'Anastasi's collection was sold in Livorno (Leghorn), Italy, in 1828 (a second sale of d'Anastasi's collection took place in London 1839, and a third in Paris in 1857. Another important collection acquired by the Leiden Museum of Antiquities was that of Dr Cimba, Henry Salt's personal physician, which was bought from his widow Maria Cimba also in Livorno in 1826, by Jean Emile Humbert, agent for the acquisition of antiquities on behalf of the King of The Netherlands. C. Leemans, *Description raisonnée des monuments Égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leyde* (Leiden, 1840) vii–viii; Raven, in: *Egyptian Mummies*, 25–26.
- ⁸⁶ Born in Frankfurt, Germany, he opened Jacques Seligmann & Cie in Paris in 1880 (from 1900: Galerie Seligmann on Place Vendôme; from 1912 on 9 Rue de la Paix), which closed in 1978 when his son Germain Seligman (with one 'n'; 1893–1978), died. Seligmann traded in antiquities, decorative arts, Renaissance art and contemporary European art, mainly for a growing American market, for which a branch was opened in New York (Jacques Seligmann & Co., Inc.). Smithsonian Archives of American Art: <<http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/jacques-seligmann--co-records-9936>> (access 09.06.2014).
- ⁸⁷ Website Walters Art Museum, Baltimore: <<http://art.thewalters.org/detail/22976/seated-statue-of-nehhy>> (access 21.03.2013); R. Schulz, "Statue of Nehy", in: R. Schulz / M. Seidel (eds.), *Egyptian Art: The Walters Art Museum* (Baltimore, 2009) 92–93. Schulz indicates that the statue derived "probably from Saqqara" and notes that the name of her husband is not known. She follows A.K. Capel / G.E. Markoe (eds.), *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1996), 97–98 (no. 35a) in suggesting that Ptahmay, Priest of Ptah, and his wife Hatshepsut were Inehyt's parents. The couple are known from stela Turin, Museo Egizio 91 (Fabretti no. 1572) with two daughters named Inehyt: a Songstress of Amun and a Songstress of Hathor: A. Fabretti, *Regio Museo di Torino* 1 (Turin, 1882) 157; G. Maspero, "Rapport a M. Jules Ferry, Ministre de l'Instruction Publique sur une mission en Italie", *Recueil de travaux relatives à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 4 (1883) 141, V (no. 91). Additional objects pertaining to Ptahmay (from Saqqara), include the group statue Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 2297 and the offering stand Paris, Louvre D36: A. Erman, *Ausführliches Verzeichnis der Ägyptischen Altentümer und Gipsabgüsse der königlichen Museen zu Berlin* 2 (Berlin, 1899) 136 and J. Vercoutter, "À propos des

autels brûle-parfums puniques (Autel D 36 du Louvre)" in: *Chronique d'Égypte* 20 (1945) 54–63, figs 9, 11–14 (in the collection from at least 1827). More stone elements inscribed for Ptahmay were found at Saqqara in the necropolis north of the Teti pyramid, and the remains of TNM New Kingdom Tomb 2 have been tentatively identified as his tomb: B.G. Ockinga, "In Search of the New Kingdom Tombs in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery North: Preliminary Results of the 2009 and 2010 Seasons Conducted by Macquarie University" in: M. Bárta / F. Coppens / J. Krejčí (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010* (Prague, 2011) I: 137 n. 19; B.G. Ockinga, "Evidence for New Kingdom Tomb Structures in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery North: Insights from the Macquarie Excavations" in: L. Evans (ed.), *Ancient Memphis 'Enduring is the Perfection'. Proceedings of the International Conference held at Macquarie University, Sydney on August 14-15, 2008*, OLA 214 (Leuven, 2012), 379–85. Note, however, that the name Inehyt and the title Songstress of Hathor are very common at Memphis. Moreover, additional genealogical information is absent from the records deriving from the tomb of Ptahmose and therefore, one should be cautious to identify both ladies Inehyt as the same person. For another lady Inehyt, Songstress of Amun, the wife of Paraherwenemef, Great Scribe of the Accounting of Amun, see stela Cairo JE 3299 from Saqqara: Mariette, *Monuments divers*, 20, pl. 61; J. Berlandini, "Varia Memphitica VI: La stèle de Parâherounemyef" in: *BIFAO* 85 (1985) 41–62.

⁸⁸ PM III², 715; *KRI* III, 179; Steindorff, in: *JWAG* 5 (1942) 11; G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946) 11, 14, figs. 4, 6; Málek, in: *RdÉ* 38 (1987), 119–120; K. Wada, "ネヘトの座像" ("On the seated statue of Nehet in the Matsuoka Museum of Art, Tokyo") in: *The Journal of Egyptian Studies* 7 (1999) 104–109; Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 436; E. Gyllenhaal, "From Parlor to Castle: The Egyptian Collection at Glencairn Museum" in: Z. Hawass / J. Houser Wegner (eds.), *Millions of Jubilees. Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman* (Cairo, 2010) I: 194 and n. 85. The statue was bought for \$32,000. Inehyt is visible in the background of the family portrait photograph (dated 1923) of Raymond Pitcairn (Theodore's brother), situated in the parlour hall of Cairnwood, the family's home in Bryn Athyn, see Gyllenhaal; in: *Studies Silverman* I, 194, fig. 7. John Pitcairn, father of Theodore and Raymond, already started collecting Egyptian antiquities in 1878 (Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 436).

⁸⁹ Theodore Pitcairn became the leader of The Lord's New Church Which is Nova Hierosolyma. Both Theodore and his brother Raymond (1885–1966), who often made purchases on the art market on Theodore's behalf during his absence, gave artworks to the Academy of the New Church Museum. Between 1928 and 1939, Raymond built Glencairn castle next to the family house of Cairnwood, both to serve as a house for his family and to display for the art collection. When his wife Mildred passed away in 1979, the castle and its contents were given to the Academy. The Academy's collection was then moved to Glencairn as well. Glencairn Museum opened to the public in 1982. Dawson / Uphill / Bierbrier, *Who Was Who*, 436; Gyllenhaal, in: *Studies Silverman* I, 197–98.

⁹⁰ Auctioned at Christie's London: Christie's Sale Catalogue July 6, 1976, no. 117 with pl. 29.

⁹¹ Japanese industrialist and real estate entrepreneur, founder of trading firm Matsuoka Shouten; see also Capel / Markoe (eds.), *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven*, 96, fig. 1, 199 n. 2.

⁹² I am grateful to Mr Osamu Matsuoka of the Matsuoka Museum of Art for providing me with information on this statue and for his kind permission to publish a photograph of it.

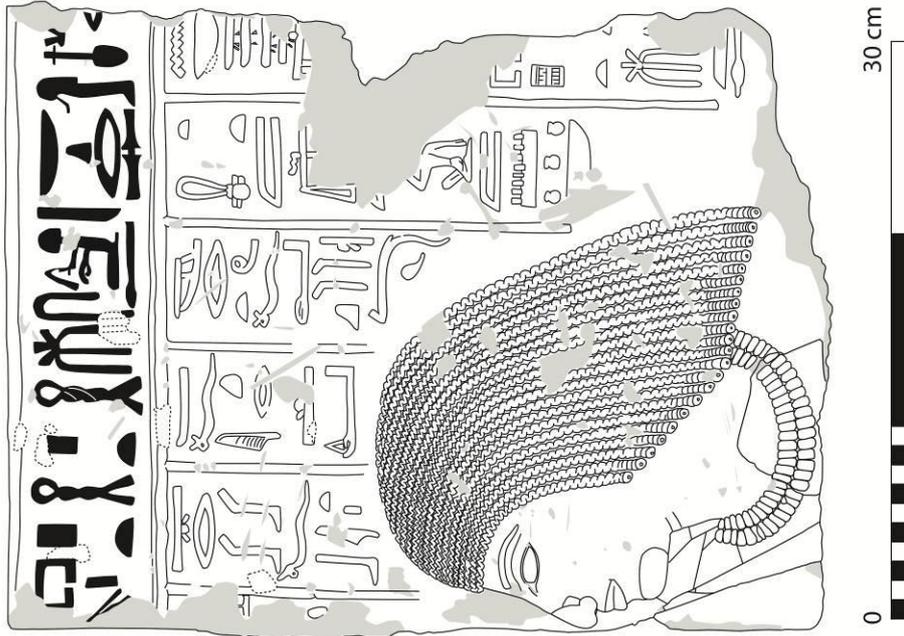


Figure 2. Relief block of Pthahmose. Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University Acc. no. 1984.2.3. Digital line drawing: Nico Staring.



Figure 1. Relief block of Pthahmose. Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University Acc. no. 1984.2.3. © Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University.

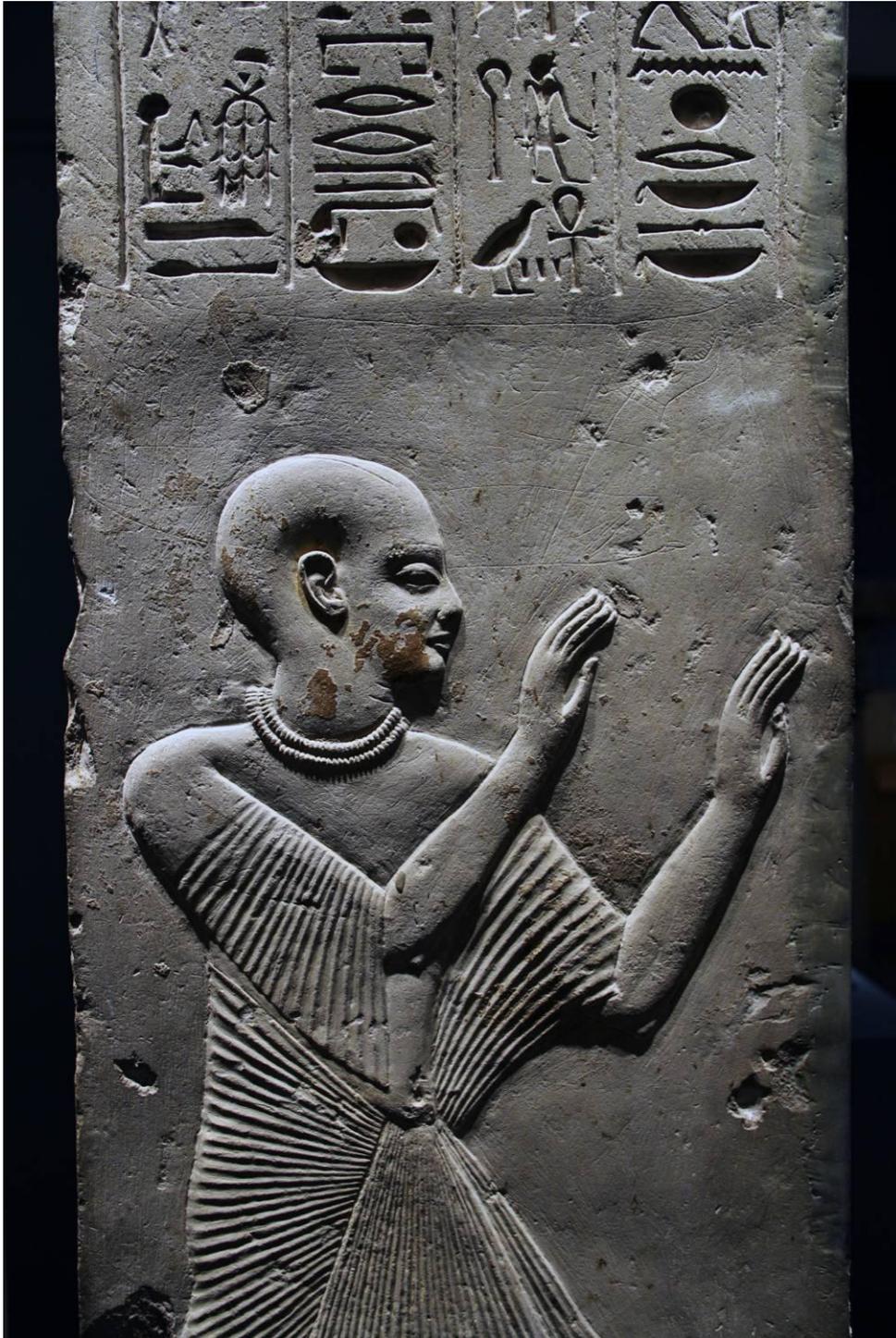


Figure 3. *Djed*-pillar of Ptahmose, detail. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 51*b.1*.
Photo: Nico Staring.



Figure 4. “*Fragment de la tombe de Ptahmès. Saqqarah*”, in: Capart, *CdÉ* 15/29 (1940), 250. Reproduced with kind permission.



Figure 5. Brummer object card P5440, recto. © The Brummer Gallery Records, box number 23, folder number 2, The Cloisters Library and Archives, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Figure 7. Seated statue of Inehyt, wife of Mayor Ptahmose. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum 22.106. Acquired by Henry Walters. 1925. © The Walters Art Museum. Baltimore.



Figure 6. Seated statue of Inehyt, wife of Mayor Ptahmose. Tokyo, Matsuoka Museum of Art 568. © Matsuoka Museum of Art.

2.5.3

PUBLICATION NOTE

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**Revisiting Three Objects in Berlin Pertaining to the Mayor of Memphis,
Ptahmose: The “Lost” Faience Stela ÄM 19718 and the Limestone Pyramid
Panels ÄM 1631–1632¹**

Nico Staring

(Taf. 1–5)

Abstract

This article presents three hitherto unpublished objects in the collection of the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung in Berlin. The faience stela ÄM 19718 and the pyramid panels ÄM 1631-1632 derive from the Saqqara tomb of the early Nineteenth Dynasty Mayor of Memphis, Ptahmose. This paper also explores the way in which the objects came to Berlin and how the stela was subsequently lost – and found. A careful study of the objects provides new insights into the architectural development of monumental tombs at Saqqara, and reveals something about the identity of the craftsman who was responsible for the tombs’ decoration.

The aim of this article is to present three hitherto unpublished objects in the collection of the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung in Berlin. The faience stela ÄM 19718 and the pyramid panels ÄM 1631-1632 pertain to the early Nineteenth Dynasty Mayor of Memphis, Ptahmose. This paper explores the way in which the objects came to Berlin, thereby highlighting various stages in the dismantling of the Saqqara tomb (Fig. 1).² The intricate early modern history of the pyramid panels introduces some of the Nineteenth Century’s notorious art dealers and collectors who were active in the Memphite necropolis. The blocks’ reinterpretation as pyramid panels sheds new light on

¹ PhD candidate, Macquarie University (Sydney, Australia). I owe a great debt of gratitude to Dr Jacobus van Dijk, who drew my attention to the stela held in the Kelsey Museum reserves. I should also like to thank Dr Caris-Beatrice Arnst, Prof. Friederike Seyfried, and Anke Weber (Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz); Prof. Terry Wilfong and Prof. Janet Richards (Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor); and Prof. Maarten Raven and Peter Jan Bomhof (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden) for advice regarding objects in their museum collections. Additionally, Dr Beatrice-Caris Arnst, Dr Dimitri Laboury, Prof. Janet Richards, Prof. Maarten Raven, my thesis supervisor A/Prof. Boyo Ockinga, and the anonymous peer reviewer of SAK are kindly acknowledged for their valuable feedback on earlier drafts of this article. Various aspects of this paper were presented at the Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015 conference (Prague, 26.6.2015) and at the Macquarie Ancient History Research Seminar (Sydney, 15.5.2015).

² For Ptahmose, see most recently: N. Staring, The tomb of Ptahmose, Mayor of Memphis: Analysis of an Early 19th Dynasty Funerary Monument at Saqqara, in: BIFAO 114/2, 2014, 455–518 (with references to previous studies). In 2010, the tomb was rediscovered by an archaeological mission of Cairo University led by Prof. Ola el-Aguizy.

the architectural development of private tombs at Saqqara from the late Eighteenth to the early Nineteenth Dynasty. The faience stela was lost during the Second World War, and it has now been identified in a museum collection in the United States. This paper examines the circumstances under which the stela was lost, and how it eventually entered the collection of another museum. Furthermore, the object may provide a clue regarding the master craftsman who was responsible for the tomb's decoration.

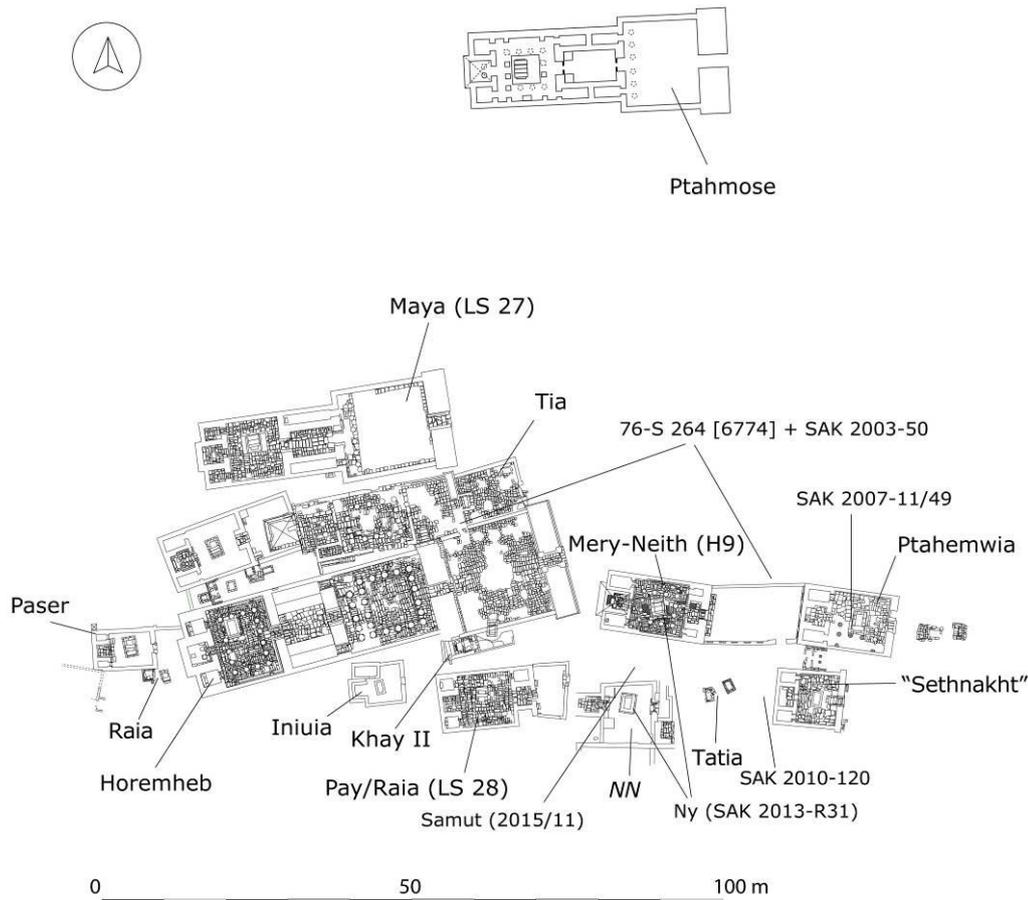


Fig. 1: General map of the New Kingdom necropolis south of the Unas Causeway (south area) at Saqqara, indicating the location of tombs and finds discussed in this article

1 Stela Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 19718 (Plate 1a)

Material: Faience

Dimensions: H. 14.0 cm; W. 22.4 cm (fragment of upper part)

Provenance: Mrs. L. Leitner, Woking (UK), 1910; Abteilung der Aegyptischen Alterthümer, Koenigliche Museen zu Berlin, 1910; Private owner, Berlin, 1945; S.A. Goudsmit, 1945; Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University

of Michigan, Ann Arbor, by bequest 1981 (Inv. No. 1981.4.4); Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin, returned 2016.

Bibliography: G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Band 2: *Inschriften des Neuen Reichs*, Leipzig 1924, 308; M.C. Root, *The Samuel A. Goudsmit Collection of Egyptian Antiquities: A Scientist Views the Past*, Ann Arbor 1982, 15; M.L. Allen/T.K. Dix, *The Beginning of Understanding: Writing in the Ancient World*, Ann Arbor 1991, 71, No. 59; J.E. Richards/T.G. Wilfong, *Preserving Eternity: Modern Goals, Ancient Intentions. Egyptian Funerary Artifacts in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology*, Ann Arbor 1995, 23, No. III.10.

1.1 How the stela came to Berlin and how it was lost

The Abteilung der Aegyptischen Alterthümer, Koenigliche Museen zu Berlin, acquired the faience stela in 1910 from Mrs. L. Leitner. It was sold as part of a collection of 54 objects, mostly scarabs and small bronze figures. Mrs. Leitner had bought the object earlier that year in Woking near London (UK), which may suggest that she made the purchase in consultation with someone from the museum in Berlin.³ There is no further information about the vendor, nor is there any record of how the object reached the UK.⁴ The stela was published by Günther Roeder (1881–1966) in volume 2 of his *Ägyptische Inschriften*, 1924 (Fig. 2). It included the inscriptions and a basic layout of the iconography. The publication does not provide information on the object's provenance, which explains why it has neither been included in the Topographical

³ Suggestion Dr Caris-Beatrice Arnst, personal communication.

⁴ A naophorous statue of Ptahmose, found by W.M. Flinders Petrie at Saqqara in 1881–1882, was also taken to the UK (London, British Museum EA 1119: E.A. Wallis Budge, *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture) [of the] British Museum*, London 1909, 127, No. 450; J. Málek, *The Saqqara Statue of Ptahmose, Mayor of the Memphite Suburbs*, in: *RdE* 38, 1987, 117–137). There is no indication that Petrie was also involved in the excavation and/or transportation of the faience stela. One may note that James Quibell excavated the monastery of Apa Jeremias, located within the confines of the New Kingdom necropolis, between 1906 and 1910. He excavated the dyad fragment (Cairo JE 41532) and column (Cairo “40.000”) that originally belonged to the tomb of Ptahmose (J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1908–9, 1909–10): The Monastery of Apa Jeremias*, Cairo 1912, 146, pl. LXXXVI.1–2, and J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1907–1908)*, Cairo 1909, 1, respectively). It is possible, therefore, that the faience stela was also excavated during this period (perhaps in an illicit manner) and subsequently entered the art market. Only a few years later, a relief-decorated block from the tomb of Ptahmose (now: Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University 1984.2.3) was sold by Cairo-based antiquities dealer Maurice Nahman (1868–1948) (see: N. Staring, *A Relief from the Tomb of the Memphite Mayor Ptahmose in the Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University*, in: *BACE* 25, 2014, 117–146).

Bibliography of Porter and Moss,⁵ nor discussed in previous studies on Ptahmose.

As part of Berlin's Egyptian collection, the stela was housed in the building of the Neues Museum, which since 1850 is located on Berlin's Museumsinsel. In 1939, at the outset of World War II, the museum closed its doors and it would suffer severe damage in the ensuing years.⁶ A large part of the collection was subsequently transferred to different locations for safe-keeping. This measure could not prevent the loss of an unspecified number of objects during transportation and storage. An additional number of objects that were left in the museum were damaged or destroyed during the bombings.⁷ Although in the first post-war years efforts were made to retrieve objects from the ruins,⁸ the heavily damaged building of the Neues Museum was left as an abandoned bombsite.⁹ The ruinous state of the museum building probably facilitated easy access to objects which may have led to their subsequent disappearance. Exactly

⁵ PM III/2, 713–715.

⁶ Especially on 22/23 November 1943 and on 3 February 1945: E. Hühns, Dokumentation zum Wiederaufbau der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin nach der Befreiung vom Faschismus, in: FuB 20: 150 Jahre Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1980, 27.

⁷ See most recently: M. Römer, Drei verlorene Schenkungsstelen in der ägyptischen Sammlung Berlin, in: JEA 100, 2014, 357–380. Objects from Saqqara lost during the Second World War include: pyramidion fragment ÄM 7781 of Sipair, Overseer of the Treasury (early Eighteenth Dynasty: Ausführliches Verzeichnis der Ägyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse der königlichen Museen zu Berlin, 2nd rev. edn, Berlin 1899, 157; PM III², 732; J. Málek, An Early Eighteenth Dynasty Monument of Sipair from Saqqâra, in: JEA 75, 1989, 62); stela ÄM 12748 of Emnefer, title(s) unknown ("New Kingdom": Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften, 214–215; PM III², 734, as "unidentified in Berlin or lost"); and wooden stela ÄM 822 of Minmose, Overseer of Cattle of Amun (late Eighteenth Dynasty: J. Passalacqua, Catalogue raisonné et historique des antiquités découvertes en Égypte, Paris 1826, 70–71, No. 1401; Ausführliches Verzeichnis, 159; Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften, 99; PM III², 734). Additionally, several relief blocks were much damaged: ÄM 2088–2089 of Maya, Overseer of the Treasury (late Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Tutankhamun – Horemheb: PM III², 662; E. Graefe, Das Grab des Schatzhausvorstehers und Bauleiters Maya in Saqqara, in: MDAIK 31/2, 1975, 187 n. 1; 200, fig 6a, pl. 58; G.T. Martin, The Tomb of Maya and Meryt, I: The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary, EES EM 99, London 2012, 36 [41–43], pls 32–33); and ÄM 2070 of Mery-Neith, Steward of the Temple of the Aten (late Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Akhenaten – Tutankhamun: PM III², 666; M.J. Raven/R. van Walsem, The Tomb of Meryneith at Saqqara, PALMA 10, Turnhout 2014, 106–107, scene [20a].

⁸ S. Morenz, Ägyptisches Museum, in: FuB 2, 1958, 128–129. For the accommodation of Egyptian objects in Sophienhof (in 1943) and the first post-war years, see also: K. Finneiser, Auslagerungen des Ägyptischen Museums in Sophienhof. Der Zweite Weltkrieg und die Folgen, in: J. Grabowski/P. Winter (eds), Zwischen Politik und Kunst. Die Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus. Schriften zur Geschichte der Berliner Museen vol. 2, Cologne 2013, 303–316.

⁹ For a brief history of the Neues Museum, see the new guide to the museum: Neues Museum Berlin. Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collection. Museum of Prehistory and Early History, Munich 2009, 14–28; and the museum website: <<http://www.smb.museum/en/museums-and-institutions/neues-museum/home.html>> accessed 24.02.2015. Photos of the "excavations" in the ruins of the museum building are now being exhibited in the Neues Museum. The first measures to consolidate the building were taken in the 1980s. A more thorough restoration project started in 2003, which resulted in the museum reopening to the public in 2009.

how or when the stela of Ptahmose disappeared is not known, but this probably happened soon after the war; since it was one of the small objects in the collection, it may have been amongst those evacuated from the museum for safekeeping and subsequently removed not from the museum but from the location in which it was stored. In 1945, the object was acquired for the private collection of Samuel Goudsmit who, according to his records, bought the object from a private owner in Germany.

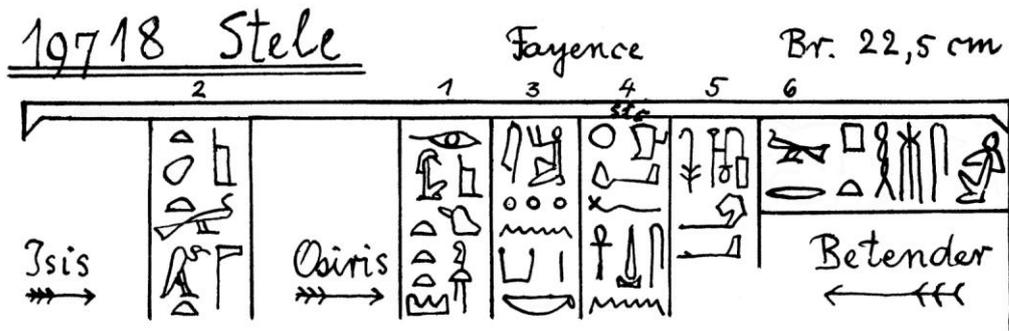


Fig. 2: Stela ÄM 19718 as published by Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften*, 1924, 308

1.2 From Berlin to Ann Arbor: The Goudsmit Collection

Samuel Abraham Goudsmit (1902-1978) was a Dutch-American physicist and art collector.¹⁰ Born in The Hague, The Netherlands, he studied theoretical physics at Leiden University under Paul Ehrenfest (1880-1933). In 1925, together with his fellow student George Uhlenbeck (1900-1988), he discovered the electron spin which was a major discovery in physics. During his student years, Goudsmit also developed a profound interest in Egyptology. For two years he attended courses on Egyptian language given by Pieter Aadriaan Aart Boeser (1858-1935), the first lecturer of Egyptology at a Dutch university (from 1910–1928), and keeper of the Egyptian collection at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (1892-1925).¹¹ In the early 1920s Goudsmit acquired his first Egyptian objects (a number of scarabs)¹² and he continued to expand his collection over the years to follow. After his retirement, he

¹⁰ Root, *The Samuel A. Goudsmit Collection*, 1–4; B. Bederson, *Samuel Abraham Goudsmit 1902–1978: A Biographical Memoir*, Washington 2008; W.R. Dawson/E.P. Uphill/M.L. Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 4th rev. edn, London 2012, 218–219.

¹¹ Dawson/Uphill/Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 65; O.E. Kaper, *De geschiedenis van de egyptologie aan Nederlandse universiteiten*, in: O.E. Kaper/J.G. Dercksen (eds), *Waar de geschiedenis begon: Nederlandse onderzoekers in de ban van spijkerschrift, hiërogliefen en aardewerk*. Uitgave naar aanleiding van het 75-jarig bestaan van het Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1939–2014, Leuven 2014, 40–41.

¹² From Galerie D. Komter in Amsterdam: S.A. Goudsmit, *Not for the Art Trade*, in: *Expedition 14/4*, 1972, 13.

would even publish three scientific articles on objects contained in his collection.¹³

After Goudsmit received his PhD,¹⁴ he moved to the United States to work at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor (1927-1975). His knowledge of nuclear physics proved to be valuable during the Second World War, when Goudsmit was appointed as the scientific head of Operation Alsos to monitor the progress of Nazi Germany's atomic bomb project. To that end, his team was sent via France to Germany in early 1945.¹⁵ There, they arrested some of Nazi Germany's key nuclear physicists including, on 3 May 1945, Werner Heisenberg (1901-1976), the 1932 Nobel laureate in physics whom Goudsmit had met for the first time in the Netherlands in 1925, and a few years later again during a visit to Ann Arbor.¹⁶ Heisenberg had been working (unsuccessfully) on the development of the atomic bomb for Nazi Germany.

The Alsos mission also took Goudsmit to Berlin. In his book *Alsos* he describes how he passed by the Egyptian Museum which he had visited many years before:

The place was an utter ruin. About the only thing left in it was a bomb-damaged, sadly dilapidated looking mummy of the Ptolemaic era. The poor old watchman who had been with the museum in its better days was so impressed that anyone remembered the place, he insisted that I take the mummy with his compliments. For a moment I was tempted to do so and send it back to Washington with instructions to "test for radioactivity." But it was too big for our jeep and I had to be content with a few fragments of painted mummy wrapping.¹⁷

¹³ Goudsmit, in: Expedition 14/4, 13–16; Id., An Illiterate Scribe, in: AJA 78, 1974, 7–8; Id., The Back View of Human Figures in Ancient Egyptian Art, in: JNES 40/1, 1981, 43–46.

¹⁴ S.A. Goudsmit, *Atoommodel en structuur der spectra*, PhD thesis, Leiden University, Amsterdam 1927.

¹⁵ Goudsmit narrates about the mission in: S.A. Goudsmit, *Alsos: The Failure of German Science*, New York 1947.

¹⁶ Goudsmit, *Alsos*, 101–127. During the war, Goudsmit used his scientific contacts in the Netherlands to try and help his parents escape the deportation of Jews. He had a letter sent to Heisenberg, but his help was to no avail. His parents (who received their American visas and final papers for travel four days before the German invasion of the Netherlands) had already been transported to the Auschwitz concentration camp, where they would die on 11 February 1943 (M. Cattaneo, *Heisenberg: Van kwantumrevolutie tot wereldformule*, transl. R. van der Veen, Amsterdam 2005, 126). Shortly after the war, the mission briefly took him to the Netherlands, where Goudsmit visited the war-damaged and ransacked house of his parents in The Hague (Goudsmit, *Alsos*, 46–49).

¹⁷ Goudsmit, *Alsos*, 124–125. The "fragments of painted mummy wrapping" can probably be identified with objects KM 1981.4.31a-b and KM 1981.4.32 in the Kelsey Museum collection, being cartonnage fragments cut from the chest of a mummy casing (525–30 BC). L.E. Talalay/M.C. Cool Root, *Passionate Curiosities: Tales of Collectors & Collections from the Kelsey Museum*, Kelsey Museum Publication 13, Ann Arbor 2015, 93–94, figs 6.32–33. I thank Prof. Janet Richards for pointing this out to me and for sending me scans of the latter publication.

According to the acquisition details provided in his own papers, Goudsmit bought the stela in 1945 from a German private owner. Details about where, from whom and under which circumstances this happened are not recorded. It is possible, however, that he acquired the stela at around the same time in Berlin.

Back in the United States, Goudsmit became a regular visitor to the University of Michigan's Kelsey Museum of Archaeology – in 1953 named after the founder of the university's archaeological collections, Francis W. Kelsey (1858-1927).¹⁸ Goudsmit bequeathed the bulk of his collection of Egyptian antiquities to the museum, which was formally handed over by his widow, Mrs. Irene B. Goudsmit, in 1981.¹⁹ The stela of Ptahmose received the inventory number 1981.4.4.

The following year, 1982, an exhibition was held to showcase the newly acquired collection, titled: "The Samuel A. Goudsmit collection: A Scientist Views the Past".²⁰ The exhibition catalogue included a short description of Ptahmose's stela based on the preliminary documentation prepared by Goudsmit:²¹

Fragment of a Funerary Stela of a Royal Scribe

Glazed limestone

Dynasty XIX–XX (c. 1300–1100 BC)

Kelsey Museum 81.4.4

Source: Private owner, Germany, 1945

A deceased royal scribe prays with upraised hands to Osiris and Isis. The stiff sleeve of linen garment is characteristic of Ramesside art. A standard inscription gives the offering formula in addition to the name and titles of the scribe.

The stela would be showcased in another two exhibitions before it permanently entered

¹⁸ For a concise history of the museum and its collections, see:

<<https://www.lsa.umich.edu/kelsey/collections/collectionshistory>> accessed 17.5.2015.

¹⁹ For an account of the Goudsmit collection, see most recently: Talalay/Cool Root, *Passionate Curiosities*, 93–97. The Kelsey Museum received additional objects from Goudsmit in 1935, 1974, and from his daughter Esther M. Goudsmit in 2001.

²⁰ From 30 January to 9 May 1982: Root, *The Samuel A. Goudsmit Collection*.

²¹ Root, *The Samuel A. Goudsmit Collection*, 15.

the museum's reserves.²²

1.3 From Ann Arbor back to Berlin

At the moment of writing this article, the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology is working toward the return of the stela to Berlin.²³ Together with the three fragments of Ptolemaic Period mummy cartonnage acquired by Goudsmit in Berlin, the stela will be formally returned to the Berlin Museum in February 2016.

1.4 Object description: technical observations

Faïence was used to produce a wide range of ancient Egyptian objects, but it rarely included stelae. Recent archaeological research at the mining site of Gebel el-Zeit has revealed that faïence stelae were introduced during the late Middle Kingdom (Thirteenth Dynasty).²⁴ A preliminary corpus of objects dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty contains fourteen examples depicting private individuals (Table 1).²⁵ At least

²² Allen/Dix, *The Beginning of Understanding*, 71, No. 59; Richards/Wilfong, *Preserving Eternity*, 23, No. III.10.

²³ Upon realising that the faïence stelae of Ptahmose held in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology and the Egyptian Museum in Berlin are in fact one and the same object, I contacted curators of both museums in late November 2014. The Kelsey Museum immediately took action to return the stela which, due to bureaucratic processes involved, could be finalised a little more than a year later.

²⁴ Interpreted as votive stelae; average dimensions *c.* 10 x 5 cm. The decoration and texts were painted in black. I. Régen/G. Soukiassian, *Gebel el-Zeit, II: Le matériel inscrit, FIFAO 57*, Cairo 2008, 9–65 (Nos 2-3, 6–12); D. Lorand, *Deux « nouvelles » stèles du Gebel el-Zeit attribuées aux pharaons Nebnéou Sémenkarê (13^e dynastie) et Nebmaâtrê (16^e dynastie)*, in: *CdE 85/169–170*, 2010, 92–107. The earliest dated specimen is Cairo JE 98137 depicting King Nebnenu Semenkare. The finds indicate that the stelae were not an innovation of the Nineteenth Dynasty, as has previously been suggested by F.D. Friedman, *Gifts of the Nile: Ancient Egyptian Faïence*, London 1998, 250, Cat. 167.

²⁵ The following objects could possibly be added as well: (1) stela London, British Museum EA 6133 of Amenemope, Royal Scribe and Overseer of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands, is dated to the “New Kingdom to Early Third Intermediate Period” (16.5 x 12.3 x 1.4 cm; rectangular stela; provenance Thebes?). It was described by Friedman, *Gifts of the Nile*, 156, 248, No. 162, as a “plaque placed on the chest of a mummy”. This interpretation has been contested (e.g. J. Van Dijk, *An 18th Dynasty Pottery Stela with a Hymn to Re*, in: K.N. Sowada/B.G. Ockinga (eds), *Egyptian Art in the Nicholson Museum*, Sydney, Sydney 2006, 298 [suggesting a Nineteenth Dynasty date, although erroneously referring to BM EA 24705]); (2) stela fragments London, Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology UC 45213 and 45220 (unpublished; see the online catalogue <<http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk>> accessed 18.02.2015; Nineteenth Dynasty; 5.61 x 6.3 cm and 7.3 x 6.8 cm), from the temple of Seth of Nubet at Naqada (Ombos); the representation of a private individual is missing; (3) Antwerp, Museum Vleeshuis AV 79.1.440 of the Vizier Paser (early Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Seti I – Ramesses II; provenance Tanis (probably from Qantir/Piramesse); round-topped, 9.5 x 6 cm; decoration on two sides; E. Warmenbol/L. Delvaux, *Stèle van Paser*, in: E. Gubel (ed.), *Egypte onomwonden: Egyptische oudheden van het museum Vleeshuis*, Antwerp 1995, 80–81, No. 19); (4) Cairo, Egyptian Museum S. 7161, a faïence votive stela of Paahaty represented before Seth (h: 16.7 cm; Ramesside, “possibly Twentieth Dynasty”: PM III², 828; H.S.K. Bakry, *The Stela of PA-aHAty, the Follower of Seth*, *ASAE 57*, 1962, 7–8).

half of the objects derive from the Memphite region (Saqqara and Mit Rahineh). Forty years of excavations by the (EES/)Leiden mission at Saqqara yielded only five fragments belonging to three stelae (see Annex).

Object ÄM 19718 represents the upper half of a stela made of faience.²⁶ Part of the upper right corner is broken off and it is chipped on the right hand side. The blue glazed surface is worn and it is covered with minor abrasions, indentations, a few little cracks, and spots of white discoloration. Despite all the damage, the main scene in the centre is well preserved.

It is impossible to determine what the object's original shape might have been. The few parallels display a variety of shapes (Table 1). If the central panel contained only the scene currently visible, then the object would have been square. However, one cannot exclude the possibility that one or more lines of text were present underneath the scene.

The fragment comprises a niche framed by a raised border and surmounted by a torus moulding and (slightly curved) cavetto cornice. The central plane is recessed and preserves the upper half of an adoration scene. There are two parallels for faience stelae with a recessed plane: Louvre C 91 and UPenn E 13578.

A shallow mould might have been used to render the general design, whereas the decoration in raised relief was extensively hand-worked.²⁷ There are two parallels for faience stelae with decoration executed in raised relief: Leiden AD 37²⁸ and UPenn E 13578.²⁹ No parallel is available for the hieroglyphs executed in raised relief. It is also remarkable that the scene's details have not been accentuated in black; a feature observed on all other faience stelae.

²⁶ Green glazed limestone according to Richards/Wilfong, *Preserving Eternity*, 23. For faience terminology, see: P.T. Nicholson/E. Peltenburg, *Egyptian Faience*, in: P.T. Nicholson/I. Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, Cambridge 2000, 177–194.

²⁷ For the technique, see: Friedman, *Gifts of the Nile*, 250, Cat. No. 168 (Leiden AD 37).

²⁸ Ex-coll. d'Anastasi, 1828 (probably from Saqqara): C. Leemans, *Description raisonnée des monuments égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide*, Leiden 1840, 277; P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden: De monumenten van het Nieuwe Rijk. Derde afdeeling: Stèles*, The Hague 1913, 11, No. 38, pl. XXIII; Friedman, *Gifts of the Nile*, 250, Cat. No. 168.

²⁹ PM III², 859 (as *temp.* Ramesses II); A.R. Schulman, *A Faience Stela from the New Kingdom, Expedition 2/4, July 1960*, 32–33 (as *temp.* Ramesses IX, Nineteenth Dynasty [*sic*]); D. Lorand, *Une stèle en « faïence » de la fin de la 17^{ème} ou du début de la 18^{ème} dynastie aux Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, in: *CdE* 88/176, 2013, 238. The stela was found during the excavations led by Clarence S. Fisher at Memphis, 1915–1923.

The small corpus of stelae indicates that two decoration techniques were in use.³⁰ One group of stelae has decoration in black pigment added on the blue glaze before firing. The second group has figures and texts filled by a faience paste of a colour different from that of the background (Berlin ÄM 17276, ÄM 10284, Leiden AD 37, and UPenn E 13578).³¹ Most stelae were small, which is not surprising given the fragile nature of the material. One exceptionally large specimen measures 50 cm high (Louvre C 91).³²

1.5 Description: iconography and style

The scene on the recessed plane is framed by thin lines in raised relief. The line along the upper edge takes the shape of the *p.t*-sign symbolising the sky.³³ The resulting framework sets the stage for the scene centred on the adoration of Osiris. Ptahmose stands with both hands raised in adoration before the deity, and a low offering stand separates the two. A *nemset* jar flanked by two circular loaves is positioned atop the stand,³⁴ and a papyrus umbel is positioned over the table, directed towards Osiris. Taking into account the wide gap between the offering stand and Osiris, it is likely that the latter was depicted seated on a throne. Isis is positioned standing behind him.

Ptahmose wears a shoulder-length, elaborately-plaited, pointed wig that ends in a row of short curls.³⁵ The wig's upper area is plain, which appears to indicate the

³⁰ Lorand, in: CdE 88/176, 237–238.

³¹ The earliest example is from the reign of Amenhotep III: stela Athens, National Archaeological Museum ANE 1798: A.P. Kozloff, *The Malqata/El-Amarna Blues: Favourite Colours of Kings and Gods*, in: E. Goring/N. Reeves/J. Ruffle (eds), *Chief of Seers: Egyptian Studies in Memory of Cyril Aldred*, London 1997, 178–192, fig. 2; Lorand, in: CdE 88/176, 237–238.

³² A. Caubet/G. Pierrat Bonnefois, *Faïences de l'Antiquité. De l'Égypte à l'Iran*, Paris 2005, 88, Cat. No. 246. Other large (moulded) objects made of faience include the statue of a lion biting an Asiatic captive, found at Qantir, *temp.* Ramesses II (h: c. 75 cm): M. Hamza, *Excavation of the Department of Antiquities at Qantir (Faquûs District) (Season, May 21st-July 7th, 1928)*, in: ASAE 30, 1930, 46–47, fig. 5.

³³ Compare the stela depicting Thutmose IV smiting an enemy before Ptah under a canopy, found at Memphis: W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Memphis VI*, in: R. Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis VI*, BSAE/ERA 25, London 1915, 33, No. 12, pl. LV.12.

³⁴ Compare: M.J. Raven, *The Tomb of Pay and Raia at Saqqara*, EES EM 74, Leiden 2005, 50–51 [87], pls 80–81 (block from an unknown tomb).

³⁵ Compare e.g. Tia, *Overseer of the Treasury (Nineteenth Dynasty, temp. Ramesses II)*: G.T. Martin, *The Tomb of Tia and Tia: A Royal Monument of the Ramesside Period in the Memphite Necropolis*, EES EM 58, London 1997, blocks 206–207, pl. 166, blocks seen on the art market in Paris, present location unknown; provenance Mit Rahineh); Amenemheb, *Scribe of the Altar of the Lord of the Two Lands*, on the stela fragment of Ptahhotep, *Chief Goldsmith of the Mansion of Gold (Bologna, Museo Civico KS 1945, Saqqara, Nineteenth Dynasty)*: S. Pernigotti, *Il rilievo Bologna KS 1945*, in: SEAP 7, 1990, 1–7); Hormin, *Overseer of the Royal Apartments of the Harim at Memphis (Bologna, Museo Civico KS 1944, early Nineteenth Dynasty, temp. Seti I – Ramesses II)*: G.A. Gaballa, *The Memphite Tomb-chapel of*

presence of a fillet (compare to plate 1b).³⁶ His garment is that typical for high officials of the early Nineteenth Dynasty: a full-length bag tunic in combination with an ample pleated sash kilt provided with a wide triangular pleated “apron” with undulating hem tied in front.³⁷ The ample pleated “sleeves” reach to the elbows. The pleating of the right sleeve is indicated with v-shaped, wavy lines, and it ends in a sharp, forward-pointed “triangle”, as if heavily stiffened. This pointed sleeve occurs on a number of representations of tomb owners at Saqqara during the early Nineteenth Dynasty,³⁸ both in stone (Plate 1b) and in faience (Plate 2). Ptahmose might be wearing either a broad *wesekh* collar or a two-row *shebyu* (Gold of Honour).

Osiris wears the *atef* crown and sports a divine beard. A broad collar marks the beginning of his close-fitting long garment. The arms are bent, as he holds the

Mose, Warminster 1977, pl. XL); Stela fragment R95–7 of Raia, Overseer of the Royal Apartments of the Harim at Memphis (stela fragment; Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Seti I: Raven, Pay and Raia, 45–46 [71], pls 76–77).

³⁶ Akhpet, Chief Lector Priest in the Two Houses of Mummification (relief fragment; early Nineteenth Dynasty: J. Leclant, *Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan*, 1965–1966, in: *Or.* 36, 1967, pl. XXVIII.11); Amenemone, Overseer of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands (tomb ST 101; Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II: S. Gohary, *The Tomb-Chapel of the Royal Scribe Amenemone at Saqqara*, in: BIFAO 91, 1991, panel No. 3, pl. 57).

³⁷ G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing*, Leiden 1993, 64–69, 130–150; Raven/Van Walsem, Meryneith, 55–56, 186.

³⁸ For example: Tjay/Tjuroy called Ramessesnakht, Overseer of the Royal Apartments in the Harim at Memphis (Tomb ST 211; early Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Seti I – Ramesses II: S. Gohary, *A Monument of the Royal Scribe Tjuroy*, in: BIFAO 91, 1991, fig. on p. 193); Djehuty, Overseer of Cattle of Amun (stela Leiden AP 56; late Eighteenth/early Nineteenth Dynasty: Boeser, *Beschrijving: Stèles*, pl. 22 [40]); Hori, *Wab* Priest and Lector Priest in the Temple of Ptah (stela Leiden AP 50; early Nineteenth Dynasty: Boeser, *Beschrijving: Stèles*, pl. 20 [30]); Raia, Overseer of the Royal Apartments of the Harim at Memphis (early Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Seti I: Raven, Pay and Raia, scene [65], pl. 71); Penrennut, Chief of *Medjay* (“Ramesside”: PM III², 669; Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1908–9, 1909–10)*, pl. 81.2); Wenefdjesen, Royal Butler (relief blocks Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 24.981; Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II: PM III², 572; D. Dunham, *Four New Kingdom Monuments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, in: *JEA* 21, 1935, pl. 18); Paraemheb, Chamberlain and Royal Butler (*djed* pillar Bologna, Museo Civico No. 1892; late Eighteenth/early Nineteenth Dynasty: S. Curto, *L’Egitto antico nelle collezioni dell’Italia settentrionale*, Bologna 1961, pl. 33.56); Paatenemheb, Royal Butler (stela Leiden AP 52; late Eighteenth/early Nineteenth Dynasty: PM III², 709–711; P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden: De monumenten van het Nieuwe Rijk. Eerste afdeling: Graven*, The Hague 1911, pl. IX); Nebnefer, Chief Steward of the Temple of Ptah (tomb ST 218, central chapel; Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II: S. Gohary, *The Twin Tomb Chapel of Nebnefer & His Son Mahu at Sakkara*, Cairo 2009, pl. 30c; relief block SAK 2007–99, which probably derives from Saqqara Chapel 2007/6 of an anonymous owner, located to the east of the tomb of the Royal Butler, Ptahemwia (M.J. Raven, et al., *The Tombs of Ptahemwia and Sethnakht at Saqqara*, Turnhout forthcoming, scene [63–65]), figs. I.5, III.29. Note, however, that this feature alone cannot serve as a stylistic dating criterion, as it can be observed also on tomb-elements of Ramesses-empere, the Chief Royal Butler who served under Ramesses II – Merenptah (stela fragment Vienne (Isère), Musée des Beaux Arts et d’Archéologie NE 1555 and lintel fragment Brooklyn Museum 35.1315: J. Berlandini-Grenier, *Le dignitaire Ramsès-em-per-Rê*, in: BIFAO 74, 1974, pls II–III).

customary regalia: the flail in the left hand and the crook in the right.

Isis wears a sheath dress with broad collar and the sign of her name is positioned atop the tripartite wig. Her hands are lowered as she holds a long *wadj* sceptre,³⁹ the top of which is visible directly behind Osiris' back.

1.6 Texts

The texts are divided over five columns separated by column dividers and one line of hieroglyphs executed in raised relief.

(↓→) [1] 

Wsir hn.t(y) imn.tyt

Osiris, Foremost of the West.

(↓→) [2] 

ʒs.t wr.t mw.t ntr^(a)

Isis the Great, Mother of the God.

(←↓) [3]  [4]  [5]  (←)[6] 

*(rdi.t) iʒw n kʒ=k^(b) Wsir^(c) di=f ʕnh.w wdʒ.w snb.w n sš nsw hʒ.ty-ʕ.w wr^(d) Pth-
ms(.w)*

(Making) adoration to your *ka*, Osiris, that he may give life, prosperity, and health to the Royal Scribe and Great Mayor, Ptahmose.

^(a) For this epithet, see also: stela Berlin ÄM 7271 of Raia, Overseer of the Royal Apartments of the Harim at Memphis (early Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Seti I; LD III, pl. 242d; Raven, Pay and Raia, 23–24 [5], pls 17–18.).⁴⁰

^(b) Compare: stela London, British Museum EA 211 of Thuthu (ex-coll. Salt, 1821; late Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ay; H.R. Hall, HTBM 7, London 1925, 12, pl. 35, where one also has the change from second to third person pronoun (*kʒ=k* / *di=f*); B. Gessler-Löhr, Pre-Amarna or Post-Amarna? The tomb of the God's Father Hatiay at Saqqara,

³⁹ Compare e.g. Martin, Maya I, 42–43, scene 3, pl. 40; 47, scene 6, pl. 49. See also A. Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe im Pharaonischen Ägypten bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*, MÄS 33, Munich 1976, 196–200.

⁴⁰ An unframed text-column continues the epithet: *hnw.t imn.tyt nb.t p.t tʒ.wy*, Mistress of the West, Lady of Heaven and of the Two Lands.

in: L. Evans (ed.), *Ancient Memphis ‘Enduring is the Perfection’*: Proceedings of the International Conference held at Macquarie University, Sydney on August 14–15, 2008, OLA 214, Leuven 2012, 176, No. 10, fig. 5).

^(c) The signs are not clear. One would expect to find here the name of Osiris written with the eye (D4) and the carrying chair (Q2). The eye, however, appears to take the form of the sun-disk (N5), resulting in the writing: $\odot\text{A}$. For a parallel, see the stela of Tatia (SAK 2009–R8; *temp.* Ramesses II), excavated by the Leiden archaeological mission at Saqqara in 2009: M.J. Raven, et al., *Preliminary Report on the Leiden Excavations at Saqqara, Season 2009: The Tombs of Khay II and Tatia*, in: JEOL 42, 2010, 12, fig. 9.

^(d) The title $ḥ\bar{z}.ty-^c.w wr$, Great Mayor, is an abbreviated form of the title Great Mayor in/of Memphis. The corpus of monuments pertaining to Ptahmose includes two variations: $ḥ\bar{z}.ty-^c.w wr m inb(.w)-ḥd$, “Great Mayor in White Wall(s)”; and $ḥ\bar{z}.ty-^c.w wr m ḥw.t-k\bar{z}-Pth$, “Great Mayor in Hutkaptah”.⁴¹ “White Wall(s)” and “Hutkaptah” are toponyms of Memphis.

2 The pyramid panels Berlin ÄM 1631–1632 (Plate 3)

Material: Limestone

Dimensions: ÄM 1631: H. 140 cm; W. 53.4 cm

ÄM 1632: H. 202.9 cm; W. 52.5 cm

Provenance: Bought by Lepsius from Solomon Fernandez in Cairo, probably 1842

Bibliography: LD *Text*, I, 16; Ausführliches Verzeichnis der aegyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse [der] Königl. Museen zu Berlin, 2nd edn, Berlin 1899, 147; Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften*, Leipzig 1924, 217 (ÄM 1631); Gudar och människor vid Nilen, Göteborg, 18 mars–20 maj 1973, No. 337 with pl. 28; Kunstmuseet i Ateneum Helsingfors, *Det eviga Egypten. Aegyptus aeterna*, 1973, No. 308 with fig. 31; Sofia, *Izlozhba Vechniyat Egipet*, 1975, *Vitr.* 8 [94] with fig (ÄM 1632); PM III/2, 714; *KRI* III, 180; *KRITA* III, 125.

⁴¹ For a discussion of the titles, see: N. Staring, *The Title ḥ\bar{z}.ty-^c.w ḥ\bar{z} inb.w n.w Pth*, “Mayor of Beyond the Walls of Ptah”, and Early 19th Dynasty Temple Building at Memphis, in: ZÄS 142/2, 2015, 167–190.

2.1 Provenance and how the blocks reached Berlin

During the Prussian expedition to Egypt and Nubia (1842-1845), Carl Richard Lepsius acquired for the Berlin Museum two blocks that originally formed part of the Memphite tomb of Ptahmose. The blocks were purchased from Solomon Fernandez, probably in 1842.⁴² A brief inventory, along with a description of some of the objects seen at the latter's antiquities dealership in Cairo, were included in the text volume of the *Denkmaeler* edited by Kurt Sethe.⁴³ The object mentioned on page 15 is a pyramidion, and the two "door jambs", or "Steinpfosten", are included on page 16. Only the objects noted on the latter page (with additional objects listed on page 222) were bought by Lepsius. No such information is added to the description of the pyramidion. Although some publications suggest that the object is held in the collection of the Egyptian Museum in Berlin,⁴⁴ there is no documentation to confirm this assertion.⁴⁵ Therefore, the present location of the pyramidion remains unknown.

2.2 The antiquities dealer Solomon Fernandez

Solomon Fernandez (*fl.* 1830–1860)⁴⁶ was an antiquities dealer in Cairo who traded mostly in objects he excavated at Saqqara. The earliest reference to his business is by John Gardner Wilkinson (1797–1875), who examined the collection in 1830.⁴⁷ This date provides a *terminus a quo* for the activities of Fernandez in the Memphite necropolis.⁴⁸

⁴² Lepsius was in Cairo between 5 October and 9 November 1842; 4-10 April and 21 July to 16 August 1843; and 27 June to 29 August and 21–25 September 1845 (LD Text, I, 6). On 7 November 1842, Lepsius bought objects from the antiquities dealer Massara, who was also based in Cairo (LD Text, I, 16–17). In his letters, Lepsius makes no mention of visiting Fernandez (see: K.R. Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Peninsula of Sinai*, ed. L. Horner and J.B. Horner, London 1853). The unpublished diary of the expedition's draughtsman Maximilian Weidenbach also makes no mention of Fernandez (the diary is in the collection of the South Australian Museum; I owe this information to Dr Susanne Binder (Macquarie University) who currently prepares the diary for publication).

⁴³ LD Text, I, 15–16, 222.

⁴⁴ Most recently: O. El-Aguizy, *Une stèle de famille à Saqqara. Reconsidération*, in: N. Castellano/M. Mascort/C. Piedrafita/J. Vivó (eds), *Ex Aegypto lux et sapientia. Homenatge al professor Josep Padró Parcerisa*, *Nova Studia Aegyptiaca IX*, Barcelona 2015, 204 n. 3.

⁴⁵ According to Dr Caris-Beatrice Arnst (personal communication) the pyramidion has never been part of Berlin's Egyptian collection.

⁴⁶ Dawson/Uphill/Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 190.

⁴⁷ Dawson/Uphill/Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 190. In preparation of his expedition to Egypt, Lepsius went to London (where he arrived on 16 July 1842) and met, among others, with Wilkinson (H. Mehlitz, *Richard Lepsius: Ägypten und die Ordnung der Wissenschaft*, Berlin 2011, 90–91).

⁴⁸ A man named Fernandez is also mentioned in letters addressed to Bernardino Drovetti (1776–1852), dated 1812 (two letters), 1821, and 1823: S. Curto/L. Donatelli, *Bernardino Drovetti Epistolario (1800–1951)*, Milan 1985, Nos. 23, 25, 139, 206. In the first three letters, neither his first name, nor the characterization "(Spanish) Jew" (see below), are added. Letter No. 26 names him as D. Fernandez.

At Saqqara, he obtained a prominent position among the agents working for diplomats and museum representatives seeking to build their collections of Egyptian art.⁴⁹ One of the private collectors he worked for was the Greek merchant and consul-general in Egypt for Norway and Sweden (*fl.* 1820–1827), Giovanni d’Anastasi (1780–1860), an ardent collector of Egyptian antiquities.⁵⁰ In 1838, he had his second large collection shipped from Alexandria to the seaport of Livorno (Leghorn) on Italy’s west coast. In the first half of the Nineteenth Century the city was an important distribution centre for (Egyptian) antiquities.⁵¹ Lepsius, who was on his way from Rome to Paris, went to Livorno to see d’Anastasi’s collection.⁵² Baron Prudhoe (Lord Algernon Percy, 1792–1865) was also interested in the collection and he agreed with Lepsius that if one of them decided to buy, they would divide the collection between the two of them.⁵³ After Prudhoe had left, Lepsius approached d’Anastasi’s representative Fernandez to negotiate a sale to the Berlin Museum, even though Lepsius was not authorized to do so.⁵⁴ The collection was subsequently forwarded to London, where it was again offered

Therefore, the letters do not appear to refer to Solomon Fernandez. Note that in letter No. 26, D. Fernandez is said to have a house at Livorno, which could indicate that he is somehow related to Solomon.

⁴⁹ E. David, *Mariette Pacha 1821–1881*, Paris 1994, 58, 69.

⁵⁰ Dawson/Uphill/Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 19. D’Anastasi was a merchant who used Italian trade companies to trade Egyptian grain for Swedish iron (H.D. Schneider, *De Laudibus Aegyptologiae: C.J.C. Reuvens als verzamelaar van Aegyptiaca*, The Hague 1985, 17–19). From 1828 to 1857, he acted as the consul-general for Norway and Sweden in Alexandria. During those years, he gathered three huge collections of Egyptian antiquities. Unlike Henry Salt and Bernardino Drovetti, whom Mohammed Ali granted exclusive rights to excavate, d’Anastasi acquired his large collections of Egyptian antiquities by buying from and trading with others. He had to work in the areas Salt and Drovetti considered to be less interesting (such as the Memphite necropolises), and had to buy mainly from local “Arabs” (Schneider, *De Laudibus Aegyptologiae*, 17–20; M. Hoijtink, *Exhibiting the Past. Caspar J.C. Reuvens and the Museums of Antiquities in Europe, 1800–1840*, PALMA History and Heritage 7, Turnhout 2012, 124–125). This explains why a substantial part of the antiquities sold by d’Anastasi derived from Saqqara.

⁵¹ See e.g. Hoijtink, *Exhibiting the Past*, 125.

⁵² When in 1827–1828 Jean-Émile Humbert (1771–1839) on behalf of the Dutch government negotiated (over the course of one year) the acquisition of the first collection of d’Anastasi from the brothers Tossizza in Livorno, François Barthow (*fl.* 1805–1832) and Francesco Castiglione (*fl.* 1811–1830) acted as *agents directeur* for d’Anastasi (Schneider, *De Laudibus Aegyptologiae*, 19; R.B. Halbertsma, *Scholars, Travellers and Trade: The Pioneer Years of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, 1818–40*, London 2003, 98–111). For Barthow and Castiglione, see also Dawson/Uphill/Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 44–45 and 107, respectively.

⁵³ Mehlitz, *Richard Lepsius*, 58. He was a trustee of the British Museum, but it is not clear whether he acted in Livorno on behalf of the museum, or whether he tried to purchase the collection for himself. For Algernon Percy, see: Dawson/Uphill/Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 423.

⁵⁴ Mehlitz, *Richard Lepsius*, 58 with n. 3. The first collection of d’Anastasi was sold in Livorno (Leghorn) in 1828 (bought by the Dutch government for the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden).

for sale in 1839 and bought by the British Museum.⁵⁵

When Auguste Mariette (1831–1881) first arrived at Saqqara (in 1850), he clashed with Fernandez. The latter obviously considered the Frenchman as a rival party.⁵⁶ In his Notice Biographique of Mariette, Maspero sketches the situation at Saqqara at the time of Mariette's arrival as follows:

A dire le vrai, les indigènes et les Levantins ou les Européens établis en Égypte ne s'en souciaient guère: à Saqqarah même, le consul général d'Autriche, M. de Huber, le marchand Fernandez, le révérend Lieders^[sic],⁵⁷ Jannovitch, Lanzone, Massara et vingt autres soudoyaient des bandes d'indigènes qui ravageaient les nécropoles sans se cacher. Ces rivaux, établis sur les lieux de longtemps, ne verraient certes pas de bon œil l'intrus qui venait leur disputer une part de leur butin; ils le toléreraient peut-être tant qu'il n'aurait pas une fortune trop insolente, mais si la chance se déclarait en sa faveur, ils n'hésiteraient pas à lui jouer tous les tours imaginables, et leur premier soin serait d'attirer l'attention du Pacha sur l'illégalité de ces recherches. Il ne tarda pas à en faire l'expérience.⁵⁸

In the early 1850s, Fernandez worked *inter alia* as an agent for Christian Wilhelm von Huber (1804–1871), the Austrian Consul-General in Egypt (1850–1858).⁵⁹ Mariette and

⁵⁵ D'Anastasi's third collection was auctioned in Paris, 1857: F. Lenormant, Catalogue d'une collection d'antiquités égyptiennes: Cette collection, rassemblée par M. d'Anastasi, consul général de Suède à Alexandrie, Paris 1857.

⁵⁶ However, according to Prisse d'Avennes (E. Prisse d'Avennes, Petits mémoires secrets sur la cour d'Égypte, suivis d'une étude sur les Almées, etc., Paris 1930, 40–41; E. Hecre, « Je vous écris en toute hâte [...] en débarrassant ma table encombrée ». Lettres d'Émile Prisse d'Avennes à Charles Courmault (1847–1875), in: M. Volait (ed.), Émile Prisse d'Avennes. Un artiste-antiquaire en Égypte au XIX^e siècle, BdE 156, Cairo 2013, 219 [letter dated 29 October 1858]), Mariette meanwhile bought objects from Fernandez, including the famous *scribe accroupi* (Paris, Musée du Louvre E 3023) which he instead claimed to have found himself on 19 November 1850 (A. Mariette, Choix de monuments et de dessins découverts ou exécutés pendant le déblaiement du Sérapeum de Memphis, Paris 1856, 11–12, pl. X; G. Maspero, Mariette (1821–1881). Notice biographique, BE 18, Paris, 1904, xxxii).

⁵⁷ Reverend (Johann) Rudolph Theophilus Lieder (1798–1865) sold his collection of Egyptian antiquities in 1861 to Lord Amherst (1835–1909). See Dawson/Uphill/Bierbrier, Who Was Who in Egyptology, 332–333 and 18, respectively. For Lieder, see also: J. Málek, The Monuments Recorded by Alice Lieder in the 'Temple of Vulcan' at Memphis in May 1853, in: JEA 72, 1986, 101–112.

⁵⁸ Maspero, in: BE 18, xxx–xxxii.

⁵⁹ Huber built up a large private collection of Egyptian antiquities. One part of his collection was sent to Vienna in 1857. The main share, however, was acquired by Mariette for the Bulaq Museum in April 1859. The collection included elements taken from the tombs of Hormin, Overseer of the Royal Apartments of the Harim at Memphis (Cairo JE 8376), and Ptahemwia, Royal Butler (door jamb Cairo JE

Huber were not quite on good terms. Huber is quoted by Heinrich Brugsch (1827–1894), saying: “Der Franzose in Sakkarah ist ein Dieb. Mein Agent, der spanische Jude Fernandez ist der eigentliche Entdecker des Serapeums”.⁶⁰ In describing Mariette’s friends and foes amidst Cairo’s European community, Maspero argues that the likes of Huber and Fernandez could be considered as “les jaloux et les collectionneurs ou les marchands, à qui sa (i.e. Mariette’s) présence interdisait les fouilles dans les nécropoles de Saqqarah”. Notwithstanding the apparent rivalry, Mariette initially made use of Fernandez’ pied-à-terre in the village of Saqqara to store the finds made during his excavations in the Serapeum.⁶¹ As the house was located at quite a distance from the Serapeum, and because he considered the place to be unsafe, Mariette soon decided to construct his own accommodation on the Saqqara plateau. One of the latest contemporary references to Fernandez also features his house at Saqqara: according to a late 1850s guidebook for people of weak health who spent the winter months in Egypt, one could stay overnight at Fernandez’ after having spent the day visiting the ancient necropolis.⁶²

The prominent position of Fernandez was probably curtailed when, on 1 June 1858, Mariette became the director of the newly established Antiquities Service. The fact that Mariette started working in the area south of the Unas causeway previously exploited by Fernandez – which included the tomb of Ptahmose – may provide a case in point. During their work in the tomb of Ptahmose in early 1859, Mariette’s assistant Théodule Devéria (1831–1871) produced several photographs. One photograph shows a well

8383). These tombs were located in close proximity to that of Ptahmose. See: N. Staring, Mariette, Devéria, and Vassalli at Saqqara, 1858–62, forthcoming.

⁶⁰ H. Brugsch, *Mein Leben und mein Wandern*, Berlin 1894, 156 (also: Maspero, in: BE 18, lii); J. Málek, *Who was the first to identify the Saqqara Serapeum?*, in: CdE 58, 1983, 65–72. Indeed, the “merchant from Cairo” Fernandez told Mariette that he had found in the sands of Saqqara the sphinxes held in the private collections of Zizinia in Alexandria, and Linant-Bey and Stéphan-Bey in Cairo. There, the statues had formed part of an avenue of sphinxes (Mariette, *Choix de monuments*, 6–7; Maspero, in: BE 18, xxvii). This clue led Mariette to work in the area and eventually find the Serapeum (Maspero, in: BE 18, xxxi).

⁶¹ Maspero, in: BE 18, xxxvi.

⁶² W. Reil, *Aegypten als Winteraufenthalt für Kranke: zugleich ein Führer für Cairo und Umgegend*, Braunschweig 1859, 197–198: “[...] der Besuch von Sakarah eine noch interessantere Unterhaltung gewährt als der von den Gizeh-Pyramiden. Man bedarf dazu mindestens eines vollen Tages [...] wohl besten, in Sakarah mindestens eine Nacht zuzubringen, wozu im Hause des Scheich oder eines Kaufmanns aus Cairo, Namens Ferrandez^[sic], Gelegenheit ist, wenn man nicht vorzieht, unter einem mitgebrachten Zelte zu übernachten”.

preserved relief-decorated doorway.⁶³ At least one relief-block was removed by Mariette and taken to the Bulaq Museum (Cairo JE 4874); the exquisite relief-decorated blocks visible in the doorway are now lost. The blocks were neither removed by Mariette, nor were they found during the recent excavation of the tomb. It is likely, therefore, that they were removed by someone else; or they were smashed to pieces, as had happened with the reliefs copied earlier by Lepsius in the tomb of Maya.⁶⁴ One may postulate the possibility that the animosity between Mariette and Fernandez led to the reliefs' destruction: if Fernandez was no longer able to stock his antiquities shop with objects from the tomb(s) he had been exploiting since a long time, he may just as well have the reliefs destroyed before his rival Mariette could remove them.

2.3 Lepsius at Saqqara and the tomb of Ptahmose

For a period of three months in early 1843, Lepsius set up camp at Saqqara.⁶⁵ His team surveyed the area and copied the decoration and texts of accessible (tomb) structures. Additionally, at least one small-scale excavation was recorded near the mastaba of Kagemni.⁶⁶ In the same area located north-west of the pyramid of Teti, Lepsius also marked the location of the Nineteenth Dynasty tomb of the Head of Custodians, Mery-Re (tomb No. LS 8).⁶⁷ He notes that the tomb had already been excavated by Fernandez and that, as a result, only few blocks had remained. The description given in the *Denkmaeler* includes a sketch of two adjoining relief-decorated blocks depicting the tomb owner standing in adoration before three mummiform gods. The present location of these blocks is unknown. Further south, in the area south of the Step Pyramid, Lepsius recorded a number of New Kingdom tombs, including that of Maya, the Overseer of the Treasury (LS 27).⁶⁸ Maya's tomb is located c. 50 m south of Ptahmose's funerary monument (Fig. 1). For that reason, it is difficult to understand why Lepsius

⁶³ Staring, in: BIFAO 114/2, 2014, fig. 1.

⁶⁴ LD III, pl. 240a; Martin, *Maya I*, 30–31, scene [30], pls 24–25, 90 [1].

⁶⁵ 11 February to 19 May 1843: Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt*, 69–79: "Letter VIII, Saqâra, the 13th April, 1843"; LD Text, I, 138–202; Mehlitz, *Richard Lepsius*, 111–119, colour pl. 15.

⁶⁶ LD Text, I, 145–161, No. 10: "Grosses Psametichgrab mit Brunnen. Grosse Ausgrabung".

⁶⁷ PM III², 556; LD Text, I, 144. The tomb's location is marked on pl. 33, which would be a little north-west of the tomb of the Chief Goldsmith Amenemone, excavated by Victor Loret (1859–1946) in 1898–1899 (Loret No. 2) and relocated by an archaeological mission of Macquarie University in 1996: B.G. Ockinga, *Amenemone, the Chief Goldsmith: A New Kingdom Tomb in the Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, ACE Reports 22, Oxford 2004.

⁶⁸ LD Text, I, 182–184; pls III.240–242. Blocks ÄM 2088–2089 were taken for the Berlin Museum: (see n. 7, above).

The title Steward of the Lord of Truth refers to the stewardship in the temple of Ptah at Memphis. The title is recorded on the following tomb-elements of Ptahmose: relief blocks Cairo JE 4873,⁷³ Cairo JE 4875 (possibly),⁷⁴ and Leiden AP 54.⁷⁵ Ptahmose also held the related titles *im.y-r3 pr.w n.y Pth*, “Steward of Ptah”; *im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y Pth*, “Chief Steward of Ptah”; and *im.y-r3 pr.w n.y pr.w Pth h3 inb.w Pth*, “Steward of the House of Ptah Beyond the Walls of Ptah”.⁷⁶

(b) On block ÄM 1632 only the top part of the seated man determinative and the signs of *m3^c-hrw* are preserved. Door jambs elsewhere in the tomb contain offering formulae concluding with the tomb owner’s name followed by “*m3^c-hrw nb im3h*”.⁷⁷ Note that the seated man determinatives Gardiner Sign-List A51 and A52 were variously used in the examples cited. Thus, either option can be reconstructed from what remains of the sign on ÄM 1632. Lepsius reconstructed the sign as A52.

(c) There is one document referring to a temple of the Moon at Memphis: an official named *///-ta* served as *s3w.ty n.y pr.w i^ch(-Dhw.ty) m Mn-nfr*, “Custodian of the temple of the Moon in Memphis”.⁷⁸ A late Eighteenth/early Nineteenth Dynasty First Prophet of the Moon (*hm-ntr tp.y n.y i^ch*) named Hatiay usurped the tomb of Mery-Neith, Steward in the Temple of the Aten (tomb Mariette H9; late Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Akhenaten – Tutankhamun).⁷⁹

(d) WB. II, 29; D. Kurth, in: LÄ III, 1185-1186, s.v. Manu. Since the Eighteenth Dynasty, Manu commonly referred to the place where the sun sets. It is mentioned in Book of the Dead Chapter 15B (hymn to the sun-god), and in the liturgical sun hymn of the Twelfth hour of the day.⁸⁰ By extension, Manu can refer to the resting place of

⁷³ J. Berlandini, *Varia Memphitica V: Monuments de la chapelle funéraire du gouverneur Ptahmès*, in: BIFAO 82, 1982, pl. IX.

⁷⁴ Berlandini, in: BIFAO 82, pl. XI: */// n.y nb m3^c.t*.

⁷⁵ Boeser, *Beschrijving: Graven*, pl. XXX.

⁷⁶ For a discussion of the titles, see: Staring, in: ZÄS 142/2, 2015.

⁷⁷ The so-called Mur Rhoné and Devéria-doorway: Staring, in: BIFAO 114/2, 2014, figs. 1, 4.

⁷⁸ Double shabti Museo Gregoriano Egizio Inv. 55025, late Eighteenth/early Nineteenth Dynasty; provenance Saqqara: J.-C. Grenier, *Les statuettes funéraires du Museo Gregoriano Egizio*, Rome 1996, 102–104, No. 143, pl. LXV.

⁷⁹ Raven/Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 53–56, 78–81, 127–130, stela [3] and wall-stela [32].

⁸⁰ É. Naville, *Das ägyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*, Berlin 1886, II, 25–26; J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott: Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I*, MÄS 19, Munich 1969, 139. Examples cited in Ockinga, *Amenemone*, 102 [c]. See also the recent study by G. Lapp, *Die Vignetten zu Spruch 15 auf Totenbuch-Papyri des Neuen Reiches*, Beiträge zum Alten Ägypten 6, Basel 2015, 2, 18–19.

different deities or celestial bodies, including the moon (the nocturnal sun).⁸¹ As the Western Mountain, *Manu* is the counterpart of *Bakhu*, the Eastern Mountain.⁸²

On two pyramids, the expression *m m3nw*, “in the Western Mountain” replaces the more common *3h.t imn.tyt [n.yt p.t]*, “the Western Horizon [of the sky]”.⁸³ On pyramidion Cairo JE 41665 of the Chief Goldsmith Amenemone (south face), *Manu* is the place where the sun sets: “O Re, you have arisen renewed, <until> you go to rest [in life] in your field, which is in *Manu* [...] Welcome, welcome!, you having gone forth that you may rest in *Manu*!”⁸⁴

Khaemwaset, the fourth son of *Ramesses II* and High Priest of *Ptah* at *Memphis*, bore the title *iwn-mw.t=f n.y pr.w-M3nw*, “*Iunmutef of Per-Manu*”, inscribed on a block excavated at *Saqqara*.⁸⁵ *Per-Manu* was used as a reference to the *Memphite necropolis*.⁸⁶

On the stela of *Ipyu* from *Deir el-Medina*, *Manu* also occurs in an epithet of *Ra-Horakhty*: *R^c.w-Hr.w-3h.ty ntr 3 hr.y-ib M3nw*, “*Ra-Horakhty, the Great God, Who resides in Manu*”.⁸⁷ On relief block *Leiden AP 54* from the tomb of *Ptahmose* (*KRI III*, 177, 11–12), *Ra-Horakhty* bears the epithet *nb p.t hr.y-ib sk.tt ntr 3*, ‘*Lord of the sky, Who resides in the Night Barque* (*WB. II*, 150: “*Schiff der Sonne am Abend und in der Nacht*”), the Great God’.⁸⁸ *Ptahmose* stands before the deity, his hands raised in adoration: *dw3 R^c.w nb imn.tyt ity hk3 hr.t-ntr*, “*Adoring Re, Lord of the West, Sovereign, Ruler of the Necropolis*”.

⁸¹ *WB. II*, 29.12 refers to Berlin *ÄM* 1632.

⁸² H. Milde, *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet: A Comparative Iconographical Study*, PhD Thesis University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam 1988, 22.

⁸³ These are: *Nestaut, God’s Father of Osiris* (Cairo TN 30.10.26.1; *Abydos, Twenty-first Dynasty: Rammant-Peeters, Les pyramidions*, 19–20, Doc. 16, pl. X.30); and *Amenemone, Chief Goldsmith* (Cairo JE 41665; *Saqqara, temp. Tutankhamun: Rammant-Peeters, Les pyramidions*, 23–24, Doc. 20, pl. XV.42; *Ockinga, Amenemone*, 101–102 [23C], South Face, pls 33a, 77). *Manu* is used exclusively in relation to the Sun God: *Rammant-Peeters, Les pyramidions*, 143–144.

⁸⁴ *Ockinga, Amenemone*, 101 (cols 4–6).

⁸⁵ Cairo JE 40016 (TN 17.11.24.2): J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1907-1908)*, Cairo 1909, 4-5 (excavated at the Monastery of *Apa Jeremias*); F. Gomaà, *Chaemwese: Sohn Ramses’ II. und Hoherpriester von Memphis*, *ÄA* 27, Wiesbaden 1973, 24–25, 81, Cat. 36; C. Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, *OBO* 113, Freiburg 1992, 315–316, No. 117.

⁸⁶ The *Memphite necropolis* is more commonly referred to as *Ankh-tawy* and (south of *Giza*) as *Rosetau*.

⁸⁷ *Stela Turin, Museo Egizio N.50031 (= Suppl. 7397), Nineteenth Dynasty, temp. Ramesses II*. See: *PM I:2*; M. Tosi/A. Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina*, Turin 1972, 63–64, 273; *KRI III*, 665.14. *Ipyu* held the title *sdm 3š m s.t m3^c.t hr imn.tyt W3s.t*, *Servant in the Necropolis* (‘Place of Truth’) on the West of *Thebes*.

⁸⁸ In tomb decoration in the *Memphite necropolis*, the *Night Barque of Re* has so far been attested only in the tomb of *Ta*, the *Twentieth (?) Dynasty Wab Priest and Lector Priest of Ptah*, located at *Dahshur-North* (S. Yoshimura/M. Baba/J. Kondo/S. Hasegawa/T. Nakagawa, *Preliminary Report of the Waseda University Excavations at Dahshur North: Tenth Season, 2004–2005*, *Waseda Global Forum* 2, 2005, 90 with n. 5).

(e) The rather generic title Overseer of Works probably refers to construction works at Memphis. Other titles held by the official are more explicit: *im.y-r3 k3.t m mnw nb n.y nsw / hm=f*, “Overseer of Works on All Monuments of the King / His Lord”,⁸⁹ *im.y-r3 k3.t m mnw nb n.y hm=f m hw.t-k3-Pth*, “Overseer of Works on All Monuments of His Lord in Hutkaptah”,⁹⁰ and *im.y-r3 k3.t m mnw nb n.y hm=f m hw.t Pth*, “Overseer of Works on All Monuments of His Majesty in the temple of Ptah”.⁹¹

With their reference to the rising and setting of the sun, it is clear, therefore, that the two texts are complementary. In their architectural setting, the eternal cycle of the rising and setting of the sun will have been graphically emphasized.

2.5 The architectural context

The stone blocks ÄM 1631–1632 have hitherto invariably been described as door jambs. In the *Denkmaeler*, Lepsius initially refers to the blocks as “Steinpfoften”,⁹² and in his 1871 catalogue of the Berlin Museum as “zwei Thürpfoften eines  Ptahmes”.⁹³ In the 1899 catalogue of the Berlin Museum they are described as “Thürpfoften eines Grabes”.⁹⁴ While, judging from their shape and dimensions, this interpretation appears to be most obvious, their identification as door jambs becomes problematic when trying to determine what their original architectural context might have been. Door jambs of a similar width often contain two, three or four columns of hieroglyphic text, and each column has an average width of 9 cm.⁹⁵ Door jamb thicknesses were also frequently inscribed with a single column of text, but those blocks are never as wide as 50 cm. The orientation of the hieroglyphic signs poses another problem, as they are facing right on both blocks. This excludes the possibility that they were originally positioned opposite each other across a doorway.

⁸⁹ On a “block from Giza” recorded by Lepsius; present location unknown: LD Text, I, 126, No. 8; and *djed* pillar Leiden AP 51a: Boeser, *Beschrijving: Graven*, 7–8, pls 26–29.

⁹⁰ Statue London, British Museum EA 1119: Málek, in: *RdE* 38, 1987, 117–137.

⁹¹ Relief Cairo JE 4875: Berlandini, in: *BIFAO* 82, 1982, pl. XI.

⁹² LD Text, I, 16.

⁹³ R. Lepsius, *Koenigliche Museen. Abteilung der Aegyptischen Antenthümer. Verzeichniss der wichtigsten Originaldenkmäler und der Gypse*, Berlin 1871, 38, No. 150.

⁹⁴ *Ausführliches Verzeichnis*, 147.

⁹⁵ See N. Staring, *The Tomb of Ptahemwia, ‘Great Overseer of Cattle’, and ‘Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum’, at Saqqara*, *JEA* 102, 2016, in press.

The dimensions of the hieroglyphic signs provide an indication for the blocks' use. The signs are very large, as if they had to be seen from a larger distance than the texts inscribed on the tomb walls. A parallel for the truly monumental hieroglyphs can be found in the tomb of Tia.⁹⁶ The pyramid's casing stones were inscribed on all faces with median vertical bands of text. The beginnings of the texts are lost, but these probably started with the words "giving adoration to".⁹⁷ The text columns presumably started immediately below the capstone (pyramidion), and they were interrupted by a rectangular relief panel depicting the tomb owner in adoration before a deity.⁹⁸ The pyramid, constructed of alternating strata of large limestone fragments, sand, limestone chippings, and levelling bands of laid mud bricks, stood behind the tomb's central chapel.⁹⁹ The casing was formed by limestone blocks with a thickness of *c.* 25 cm.¹⁰⁰

The oldest monumental tombs with remains of a pyramid excavated at Saqqara south of the Unas causeway date to the late Amarna and the immediate post-Amarna Period.¹⁰¹ Several tombs possess clear architectural remains of mud brick pyramids,

⁹⁶ Martin, 6–9, 34–35, pls 3, 54–55, 159–161. The extant sides of the pyramid have a slope of *c.* 67°. Comparably sized hieroglyphs also occur elsewhere in the tomb: on the exterior north and south wall of the entrance portico (horizontal text), and on the south and north door jamb thicknesses of the pylon entrance (Martin, Tia and Tia, 17–18, [1] and [5], pl. 8; [13] and [17], pls 9, 131). The subject matter of these texts differs from those inscribed on the Berlin blocks.

⁹⁷ The text on the west face reads: "[...] may you cause that (my) name be enduring in the favour of the Lord[s] of the Necropolis"; the text on the north reads: "[...] your [...] and to follow the Lord of Rosetau". Martin, Tia and Tia, 34, [98] and [97], pl. 54.

⁹⁸ Martin, Tia and Tia, 34 [97] and [98], pls 54, 159–161.

⁹⁹ Tombs of the Ramesside Period were usually constructed of limestone and their freestanding pyramids were normally built immediately west of the central chapel. See e.g. H.M. Hays, *On the Architectural Development of Monumental Tombs South of the Unas Causeway at Saqqara from the Reigns of Akhenaten to Ramses II*, in: M. Bárta/F. Coppens/J. Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010*, Vol. 1, Prague 2011, 91, 100. The pyramid pertaining to the tomb of Amenemone (ST 101) is constructed differently: it was positioned west of the chapel, but its apex was situated above the chapel's west wall (see: S. Tawfik, *Recently Excavated Ramesside Tombs at Saqqara, 1: Architecture*, in: *MDAIK* 47, 1991, fig. 1).

¹⁰⁰ K.J. Frazer, *The Architecture*, in: Martin, Tia and Tia, 6–7.

¹⁰¹ The earliest pyramidia from Saqqara belong to Amenhotep Huy, the Chief Steward in Memphis who served during the reign of Amenhotep III. Two of his pyramidia are known: Florence, Museo Egizio 2610 (E. Schiaparelli, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze: Antichità Egizie*, Rome 1887, 420) and Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AM 6-b (P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden: De monumenten van het Nieuwe Rijk. Tweede afdeling: Pyramiden, Lijkenvazen, Offertafels, Beelden*, The Hague 1912, 1). See also Rammant-Peeters, *Les pyramidions*, Docs 11 and 33; P. Giovetti/D. Picchi (eds), *Egitto: Splendore millenario. La collezione di Leiden a Bologna*, Milan 2015, Cat. V.13–14. The location of his tomb is lost, but there are indications that it was probably located in the cemetery south of the Unas causeway. For further references, see: PM III² 702–703, 835, 836. Representations of tomb-pyramids in the decoration programmes of Theban tombs are unattested during the pre-Amarna and Amarna Periods. They first appear during the reigns of Tutankhamun/Horemheb and gradually appear more frequently in the Ramesside Period (F. Kampp, *Die*

including those of Mery-Neith, Steward of the Temple of the Aten,¹⁰² Iniuia, Chief Steward in Memphis,¹⁰³ and the tomb structure of an anonymous official.¹⁰⁴ Step-laid courses of mud bricks were arranged slantwise against the west exterior wall (Mery-Neith), or enveloping the central cult chapel on three sides (Iniuia). The remains of the pyramid of Iniuia suggest an original height of six to seven metres. The heavy weight of the pyramid was supported by the chapel's thick mud brick walls which were provided with a limestone revetment. The inner screen walls and two papyriform columns further supported the roofing slabs and a lintel. None of the other tombs constructed of mud bricks provide direct architectural evidence for the pyramid constructed atop the cult chapel. However, their thick outer walls and the presence of interior screen walls and columns meant to support a heavy weight provide indirect evidence for pyramids being positioned on top of the cult chapels. None of the examples cited provide evidence for the decoration these pyramids might have had.¹⁰⁵

The tomb of Maya, the late Eighteenth Dynasty Overseer of the Treasury, originally had a pyramid as well. It was also constructed of mud bricks and positioned atop the tomb's central cult chapel, although remains of the actual pyramid have not survived.¹⁰⁶ It is the only tomb to offer evidence for the inscribed stone elements that were once embedded in the pyramid's faces. Moreover, the elements provide the only parallel for the Berlin blocks of Ptahmose. During the excavation of Maya's tomb, two fragments of one rectangular block were found in the inner courtyard.¹⁰⁷ A similar block in Leiden (AP 55), measuring 160 x 55 x 20 cm, has also been attributed to Maya.¹⁰⁸ The blocks bear one (framed) column of text. The hieroglyphic signs are incised in very deep sunk

Thebanische Nekropole: Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie, Theben 13, Vol. 1, Mainz 1996, 99–100, table 67). Archaeologically, however, pyramidal superstructures are attested as early as the reign of Amenhotep III (Ibid., 109).

¹⁰² Raven/Van Walsem, Meryneith, 65, figs. III.3–4

¹⁰³ H.D. Schneider, *The Tomb of Iniuia in the New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis at Saqqara*, PALMA 8, Turnhout 2012, 33, 35, figs. II.2a, II.4, II.6.

¹⁰⁴ Raven, et al., in: JEOL 44, 2013, 11, fig. 9.

¹⁰⁵ The representations of private tombs with a pyramid, such as block Cairo TN 19.6.24.3 (Berlandini, in: BIFAO 82, pl. XIVB), provide no indication for decoration or the placement of stelae or statues as observed in Theban tombs (e.g. Kampp, *Die Thebanische Nekropole*, fig. 80 [TT 277]).

¹⁰⁶ The pyramid's presence is suggested by the heavy mud brick walls, revetted to a thickness of 1.2 to 1.3 m, the two columns, and internal cross-walls: K.J. Frazer, *Architecture*, in: Martin, *Maya I*, 10.

¹⁰⁷ Martin, *Maya I*, 40 [70], pls 37, 93.2.

¹⁰⁸ Ex-coll. d'Anastasi, 1828: Leemans, *Description raisonnée*, 41 [C.7]; Boeser, *Beschrijving: Graven*, 10, No. 7, pl. 37.6; Martin, *Maya I*, 40 [70], pls 37 [left]. This block is ascribed to the tomb of Maya on account of its similarities with the blocks found in the courtyard. Note, however, that the name of Maya does not occur on both blocks.

relief, and they are equally detailed. The texts are comparable to those inscribed on the pyramid of Tia and read as follows: “[...] your [...] may my statue follow you at every festival of yours when you appear in glory”, and “[...] your [...], may my *ba* leave the Sacred Land in order to follow my lord at [his] festival [...]”.¹⁰⁹ Due to the panels’ similarities to the inscribed casing blocks of Tia’s pyramid, they probably served the same purpose: carrying texts embedded in the pyramid’s slopes. The texts’ contents do not give an indication for the side(s) of the pyramid where they were originally positioned. The panels of Ptahmose, on the other hand, do provide a clear indication.

2.6 Orientation

The text inscribed on panel ÄM 1631 makes reference to “Re in the Horizon”, and the text on panel ÄM 1632 mentions “the Moon when he sets in Manu”. The texts thus refer to the east and the west, respectively. Therefore, the east and west faces of the pyramid are the most likely candidates for the blocks’ positions (Fig. 3). The same disposition of texts and iconography can be observed on pyramidia bearing decoration on two opposite faces, representing the rising and the setting of the sun, or the eternal cycle of death and (re)birth.¹¹⁰ One cannot exclude the possibility that the north and south faces of Ptahmose’s pyramid were also inscribed.

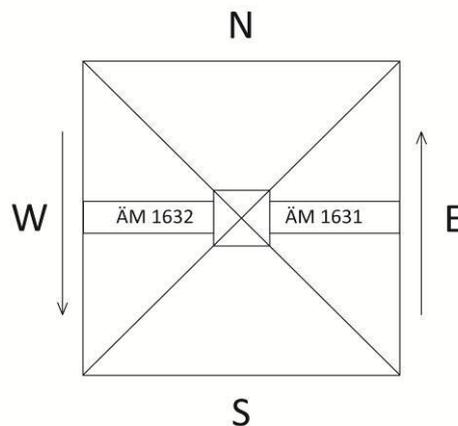


Fig. 3: Reconstructed position of blocks ÄM 6131 and 1632 on the mud brick pyramid of Ptahmose

In tomb decoration, the south is usually identified with the realm of Ra-Horakhty (sunrise), and the north can be identified with deities such as Atum and Osiris (the

¹⁰⁹ Martin, *Maya I*, 40 [70].

¹¹⁰ Rammant-Peeters, *Les pyramidions*, 197.

Netherworld).¹¹¹ Therefore, one could also argue for the alternative reconstruction where the pyramid's south face is identified with Re and the rising sun (ÄM 1631), and the north face with the west (realm of Osiris) and the moon as the nocturnal sun (ÄM 1632).¹¹²

2.7 The pyramidion

The pyramid's capstone was formed by the pyramidion seen with Fernandez (Fig. 4). There is no record of what material the pyramidion was made.¹¹³ According to the description, one face is dedicated to the adoration of the (rising) sun, one face to the adoration of Ra-Horakhty and Ra-Atum, and two faces depict the tomb owner before Osiris. The adoration of Ra-Horakhty and Ra-Atum probably faced east. This corresponds to the orientation of the individual signs in the writing of their names. Ra-Horakhty would be on the left (= south) and Ra-Atum on the right (= north). The north and south faces are dedicated to the adoration of Osiris. The west, then, depicts the tomb owner below a representation of the sun barque with the sun and two men in an adoring pose. Below the representation of Ptahmose, two framed lines of text identify him with a selection of his titles.



Fig. 4: Description of the pyramidion from the tomb of Ptahmose. After: LD Text, I, 15

The two lines of text read as follows:¹¹⁴

(→) [1] *im.y-r3 pr.w [m] t3 ḥw.t R^c.w-ms-s(w) mr.y-Imn.w m pr.w Pth Pth-ms(.w)*.

Steward of the Temple of Ramesses Mery-Amun in the House of Ptah, Ptahmose.

¹¹¹ Rammant-Peeters, *Les pyramidions*, 198–199.

¹¹² Compare the decoration of the lintel originally placed over the doorway to the cult chapel in the tomb of Iniuia (Schneider, *Iniuia*, 76–77 [11], fig. III.26). The lintel on the east side contains two mirrored adoration scenes. On the left (south), Iniuia kneels opposite Ra-Horakhty, and on the right (north) opposite Osiris.

¹¹³ Examples are known of limestone, granite, sandstone, faience, basalt, and alabaster: Rammant-Peeters, *Les pyramidions*, 105–106.

¹¹⁴ For a discussion of these titles, see Staring, in: *ZÄS* 142/2, 2015.

(→)[2] *im.y-r3 pr.w m ḥw.t-nṯr 3ḥ Sty-mr.y-Pth m pr.w Pth Pth-ms(.w).*

Steward in the Temple “Glorious is Sety Mery-Ptah” in the House of Ptah, Ptahmose.

2.8 A faience stela embedded in the mud brick pyramid?

At present, we have no indication regarding the architectural setting of the faience stela. None of the stelae listed in Table 1 were found in situ. It has been suggested that the Eighteenth Dynasty pottery stela with a hymn to Re (Sydney, Nicholson Museum R8) was originally embedded in the side of a small mud brick pyramid of a tomb located in the Theban necropolis.¹¹⁵ Is it possible that the faience stela of Ptahmose was likewise embedded in the mud brick pyramid? As has been observed above, the scenes on the south and north sides of the pyramidion contained scenes of Ptahmose in adoration before Osiris. Perhaps the adoration scene was replicated by embedding a stela in the corresponding face of the pyramid. With Osiris represented on the left-hand side, the stela would ideally have been positioned on the pyramid’s south face (Osiris being in the West). The stela (Leiden AP 9) of the late Eighteenth Dynasty Royal Butler, Ipu (*temp.* Tutankhamun) contains a representation of the tomb’s façade.¹¹⁶ The naos-shaped entrance is topped by a lunette containing the emplacement of what appears to be a small stela. The ancient Egyptian words for faience, *tHnt* and *xsbd*, were also used to refer to other materials, e.g. lapis lazuli and glass (all of blue colour), and the first was related to properties of “shining”, “gleaming”, and “dazzling”.¹¹⁷ Thus, the material was well suited for pyramidia¹¹⁸ – or a stela embedded in a mud brick pyramid.

2.9 A lintel attributed to the tomb of Mahu (ST 218): another element of Ptahmose’s pyramid?

In addition to the pyramid panels and pyramidion, it may be possible to identify a fourth architectural element of Ptahmose’s pyramid. In 1988, a limestone lintel was found

¹¹⁵ Van Dijk, An 18th Dynasty Pottery Stela, in: Sowada/Ockinga (eds), *Egyptian Art in the Nicholson Museum*, 298. Apart from stelae, the mud brick pyramids of private tombs at Thebes could also contain stelophorous statues. Such statues are unattested at Saqqara.

¹¹⁶ PM VIII/4, 15–16 (803–045–300); Boeser, *Beschrijving: Stèles*, 4–5, pl. 4.

¹¹⁷ Nicholson/Peltenburg, *Egyptian Faience*, in: Nicholson/Shaw (eds), *Materials and Technology*, 178.

¹¹⁸ For two pyramidia made of faience, see: Rammant-Peeters, *Les pyramidions*, Doc. 23 (Cairo JE 56354: anonymous, Nineteenth Dynasty, Qurna) and Doc. 31 (Cairo TN 20.2.24.1: Kenro, Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II; TT 253, Khokha (originally from TT 178 of Kenro; E. Hofmann, *Das Grab des Neferenpet gen. Kenro* (TT 178), Theben 9, Mainz 1995, 84–85, Obj. No. 4, Farbetafel XIVb).

during the excavation of the tomb of Mahu (ST 218) located south of the Unas causeway, c. 50 m north of the tomb of Ptahmose.¹¹⁹ Mahu held high-ranking titles including that of Chief Steward in the Temple of Ptah. He shared the tomb with his father Nebnefer, who held the same position as Chief Steward of Ptah.

The lintel was published by Gohary as Loose Block (LB) 4.¹²⁰ It measures approximately 1 m in length and its exact find spot is not known.¹²¹ The length may indicate that it was placed over the doorway of one of the tomb's west-chapels.¹²² In that position, it could have formed part of the support of the pyramid constructed on the roof. The lintel is inscribed with two lines of incised hieroglyphs. Both lines conclude with the titles held by the tomb owner whose name is missing. Said Gohary suggests that the lintel belonged to the tomb of Mahu. The titles indeed occur elsewhere in the official's tomb. Another loose block (LB 16), perhaps part of another lintel, provides a close parallel for the text on LB 4.¹²³ However, the same titles were also held by Ptahmose, and there are more indications to suggest that the lintel may derive from his tomb.¹²⁴ The evidence will be presented below, after the translation of the texts.

The texts inscribed on the lintel read as follows:

(←) [1] 

*dwꜣ Rꜥ.w m^(a) wbn^(b)=f in Wsir sš nsw im.y-rꜣ pr.w-ḥd im.y-rꜣ šnw.t im.y-rꜣ pr.w m
(tꜣ) ḥw.t Rꜥ.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w m pr.w Pth /// [N]^(c)*

Adoring the sun/Re when he rises by the Osiris, Royal Scribe, Overseer of the Treasury, Overseer of the Granary, Steward in the temple of Ramesses-beloved-of-

¹¹⁹ Tawfik, in: MDAIK 47, 1991, 407, fig. 1, pl. 60b; Gohary, Nebnefer & His Son Mahu.

¹²⁰ Gohary, Nebnefer & His Son Mahu, 33, pl. 46.

¹²¹ It was found probably not far from the tomb's outer courtyard where it currently rests on two pillar bases. I thank Prof. Said Gohary for providing me with this information.

¹²² The width of the doorway to the central chapel in Mahu's tomb cannot be precisely measured from the published tomb-plan (Gohary, Nebnefer & His Son Mahu, pls 2–3). Instead, compare the tomb of Ramose, Deputy of the Army, late Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Tutankhamun – Horemheb (Martin, Three Memphite Officials, 3), where the doorway to the central chapel has a width of 75 cm.

¹²³ Gohary, Nebnefer & His Son Mahu, 36, pl. 49. It bears an inscription in five framed columns of hieroglyphic text: “[Praising the sun/Re] when he rises by the Osiris, the True Royal Scribe whom he loves, Steward in the temple of Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amun in the House of Ptah, Mahu, true of voice, he says: “[Praise] everyone, Re when he rises, his peace is completed in life ?? [...] you all peace [unclear]”. Mahu is represented on the right-hand side, kneeling, hands raised in adoration.

¹²⁴ Note that more elements from the tomb were found at a distance from where they would have originally been positioned. These include the dyad fragment Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 41532 (h: 40 cm) and the papyriform column Cairo “40.000” (h: 225 cm). See note 4, above.

Amun in the House of Ptah /// [N].

(←) [2] 

*dw3 Wsir hn.t[y] imn.tyt in Wsir sš nsw im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd im.y-r3 šnw.t im.y-r3 pr.w
m (t3) ḥw.t R^c.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w m pr.w Pth /// [N]*

Adoring Osiris, Foremost of the West, by the Osiris, Royal Scribe, Overseer of the Treasury, Overseer of the Granary, Steward in the temple of Ramesses-beloved-of-Amun in the House of Ptah /// [N].

(a) Gohary translates: “Adoring Re Horus (?)”, misreading the -sign for the -sign. Compare with the text in line 2, where the *m* has been read correctly.

(b) Note the variant of Gardiner Sign-List N8 with five (instead of three) rays radiating from the sun-disk. The sun-disk with five rays is not commonly used on private monuments of the Nineteenth Dynasty.¹²⁵ Nearly all attestations dateable to the time of Seti I have three rays. During the time of Ramesses II, four rays are more commonly attested, while those dating to Seti II mostly have five.

(c) The stone surface on the right-hand side is damaged, thus obscuring in both lines the name of the tomb owner. The block is also damaged on the left-hand side. The texts start not at the edge of the block; they are indented. The same might have been the case on the right-hand side, which would imply that the name of the tomb owner was not present on the lintel. Instead, it may have been inscribed on the adjoining door jamb or tomb wall.

A parallel for the adoration of Re and Osiris, inscribed on a lintel at Saqqara, can be

¹²⁵ J. Moje, *Untersuchungen zur Hieroglyphischen Paläographie und Klassifizierung der Privatstelen der 19. Dynastie*, ÄAT 67, Wiesbaden 2007, 338, mentions one example for private epigraphic material outside Upper Egypt: Stela Berlin ÄM 7270 of Raia, Overseer of the Royal Apartments of the Harim at Memphis (see Raven, Pay and Raia, scene 6, pls 18–19). One may also add stela Berlin ÄM 7271 from the same tomb (Ibid., scene 5, pls 17–18). For an example with four and five rays, see: stela Turin, Museo Egizio 50042 of Pay (Deir el-Medina, *temp.* Seti I). For an example from the Eighteenth Dynasty at Saqqara, see M. Ibrahim Aly, *New Kingdom Scattered Blocks from Saqqara*, in: MDAIK 56, 2000, 234, No. 10, pl. 32b: a block (door jamb) from the tomb of an anonymous official, found reused in the Serapeum; the text probably forms part of Book of the Dead Chapter 15. For a discussion of the sign used in the immediate post-Amarna period (with the rays ending in hands), see: Raven, Pay and Raia, 44 n. 68; Gessler-Löhr, *Pre-Amarna or Post-Amarna*, in: Evans (ed.), *Ancient Memphis*, 159–167.

found in the tomb of Iniuia.¹²⁶

An analysis of the orthography of some words supports the assignment of the lintel to the tomb of Ptahmose:

(1) The orientation of sign Gardiner Q2 (↵) in the writing of the word , Osiris, to indicate the tomb-owner's deceased status, is reversed. Elsewhere in the tomb of Mahu, the word is written either as  (the name for the god Osiris is written similarly), or as  correctly orientated.¹²⁷ The reversed orientation has been recorded multiple times in the tomb of Ptahmose. On the north door jamb of the doorway, east side, between the statue room and inner courtyard, photographed *in situ* by Devéria, *Wsir* is written as (→) .¹²⁸ On the opposite, south doorjamb, the texts are read right to left, with the correct orientation of Gardiner Q2.

(2) The writing of the preposition *m* in the title 'Steward in the Temple of Ramesses-beloved-of-Amun in the House of Ptah': see note ^(d), above.

The writing of the name of Ramesses II's Memphite memorial temple would support an attribution to the tomb of Mahu:

The *nomen* of Ramesses II in the name of his Memphite memorial temple is written as . Ptahmose, Mahu, and Nebnefer were (Chief) Steward in this temple:

Ptahmose:

 (pyramidion seen with Fernandez)

 (so-called Mur Rhoné)

 (panel Cairo JE 4874)

Mahu:

 (tomb ST 218: block LB 16)

¹²⁶ East face: Schneider, Iniuia, 76–77 [11], fig. III.26: limestone, 30 x 194 x 25 cm. The deities and Iniuia, kneeling in adoration, are depicted.

¹²⁷ See: Gohary, Nebnefer & His Son Mahu, pl. 49 (LB 13d–e).

¹²⁸ Staring, in: BIFAO 114/2, 2014, fig. 1.

Edinburgh (A.1956.153), is inscribed for a man named Rekh-Amun,¹³¹ the *ir.w ḥsbḏ n.y Ṭmn.w*, “Worker in (i.e. Maker of) faience (*lit.* lapis-lazuli/ blue glass)¹³² of Amun”. On account of his title, it has been suggested that Rekh-Amun probably produced his own stela.¹³³ We also know of two craftsmen buried at Saqqara who had a stela made of faience. On account of their titles, they too were probably responsible for the production of their stelae. The anonymous owner of a stela (fragment) held the title *ḥr.y bḥbḥ*, “Chief Faience Maker” (Plate 5 and Annex, No. 3, below), and Amenemheb (Leiden AD 37) was titled *im.y-rꜣ ḥmw.w n.w pr.w Pth*, “Overseer of Craftsmen of the Temple of Ptah”. Stela Louvre C 91 of Khaempet probably also derives from Saqqara.¹³⁴ The man held the title *ḥk.w m ḥw.t-nbw m pr.w Pth*, “One with access in the Mansion of Gold in the Temple of Ptah”. Although of unknown provenance, his titles could be used to argue in favour of a Memphite provenance. Khaempet additionally held the title *wḥb n.y ḥꜣ.t Pth*, “Wab Priest of the Front of Ptah”. Three more officials who constructed their tombs at Saqqara south of the Unas causeway held the same rare title.¹³⁵ Moreover, Tatia was also a Goldsmith¹³⁶ and Ny held a title related to the House of Gold. Other

¹³¹ Ex-coll. Rhind: PM I/2, 803–804; M.A. Murray, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the National Museum of Antiquities Edinburgh*, Edinburgh 1900, 29, No. 449; 55, No. XI; Friedman, *Gifts of the Nile*, 250, Cat. No. 167. Another small stela (limestone) inscribed for the Sculptor Rekh-Amun might belong to the same man: Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts 11394: M.-C. Budischovsky/N. Genaille, *Les steles égyptiennes du Musée de Rennes (suite)*: 3. Imen-Rekh, in: ABPO 95/3, 1988, 225–246, pl. 1 (as: provenance Deir el-Medina; *temp.* Tutankhamun).

¹³² WB. III, 334. The more commonly used term for faience is tHnt (Nicholson/Peltenburg, *Egyptian Faience*, in: Nicholson/Shaw (eds), *Materials and Technology*, 178. See also n. 167, below.

¹³³ U. Luft, *Das Totenbuch des Ptahmose*. Papyrus Kraków MNK IX-752/1–4, in: ZÄS 104, 1977, 48–49.

¹³⁴ Caubet/Pierrat Bonnefois, *Faïences de l’Antiquité*, 88, Cat. No. 246.

¹³⁵ (1) Khay II, whose tomb is located south of Horemheb’s second pylon, was [*wḥb*] *n.y ḥꜣ.t n.y Pth ḥnd ḥꜣ n.y š n.y pꜣ š n.y pr.w-ḥꜣ ḥnh.w wḏꜣ.w snb.w* (Chief Gardiner of the Garden of Pharaoh, l.p.h.: Schneider, *Iniuia*, 102, No. 31, fig. III.61; 125–126, fig. VI.1a–d; Raven, et al., in: JEOL 42, 2010, 6–9); (2) Tatia, whose chapel is located south of the tomb of Mery-Neith, held the titles *wḥb n.y ḥꜣ.t n.y Pth*, *wḥb n.y Pth*, *ḥk.w m ḥw.t-nbw*, *ḥr.y nby.w*, *ḥr.y nby.w ḥk.w m ḥw.t-nbw n(.yt) Pth*, *ḥr.y nby.w m ḥw.t-nbw*, *ḥr.y nby.w n.w ḥw.t-nbw m pr.w Pth* (Excav. No. SAK 2009–R8: Raven, et al., in: JEOL 42, 2010, 9–13, fig. 9); and (3) Ny held the titles *wḥb n.y ḥꜣ.t n.y Pth* and the epithet *ḥk.w ḥr ḏsr m ḥw.t-nbw* (two adjoining stela fragments, one found on the surface over the tomb of Mery-Neith, the other reused in a secondary dry-stone wall around the rim of the shaft of an anonymous tomb due east of Pay and Raia: Raven/Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 162 [116], fig. on p. 163; and SAK 2013–R31 (unpublished); another Wab Priest named Ny, of Eighteenth Dynasty date, is known by a stela in Istanbul, *Archaeological Museum 10864*: PM III², 741; B. Pörtner, *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus Athen und Konstantinopel*, Strasbourg 1908, 6, No. 19, pl. 6). The relation between the priests and the “Mansion of Gold” is explained by a text inscribed on a relief fragment found near the tomb of Mery-Neith: “Performing the Opening of the Mouth in the House of Gold the [first] occasion [for the statue] being placed on a hill of sand, [its face to the] south [...]” (Raven/Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 162 [115]).

¹³⁶ As Vincent Oeters has pointed out, Tatia is also depicted in the tomb of Mose, Scribe of the Treasury of Ptah (Loret tomb No. 5; Teti Pyramid North Cemetery), bearing the titles *wḥb n.y ḥꜣ.t n.y Pth* and *ḥr.y*

craftsmen buried in this area include Iny, the *im.y-r3 ḥmw.t m Šmꜥ.w T3-mḥ.w*, “Overseer of the Workshops in Upper and Lower Egypt”. His stela (Cairo JE 15115) was found by Mariette on 8 February 1861 “south of the Step Pyramid”.¹³⁷ Thus, during the Nineteenth Dynasty the necropolis south of the Unas causeway appears to have been the preferred location for tombs of craftsmen attached to the temple of Ptah.¹³⁸ The observed clustering of tombs according to professional association can be very useful when trying to pinpoint the location of lost tombs known only through objects without a secure provenance. On account of his title *ḥr.y ir.w ḥsbd*, the original location of the pyramidal stela of a man named Hatiay (early Nineteenth Dynasty) should probably be sought in the same area.¹³⁹ Not only craftsmen, but also builders constructed their tombs in this part of the cemetery. During the 2015 fieldwork season of the Leiden archaeological mission at Saqqara, the four-sided stela of a *ḥrty-ntr*, “Stone-mason”, named Samut was found *in situ* in the area located between the tombs of Mery-Neith

nby.w n.w Pth (G.A. Gaballa, The Memphite Tomb-chapel of Mose, Warminster 1977, 9, pl. XI cols 32–36; V. Oeters, The Tomb of Tatia at Saqqara: A Study of the Ramesside Tomb of a Memphite Priest of the Front of Ptah and Chief of the Goldsmiths, MA thesis, Leiden University, Leiden 2012). It represents the only reference to the title “Wab Priest of the Front of Ptah” given by A.R. Al-Ayedi, Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom, Ismailia 2006, 221, No. 763.

¹³⁷ PM III², 667; G.A. Gaballa, Three Acephalous Stelae, in: JEA 63, 1977, 125–126, pl. 23.2; Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie (Texte par G. Maspero, 1889), Paris 1872, 20, pl. 62b; A. Mariette, Les mastaba de l’Ancien Empire, Paris 1889, fig. on p. 450 [H8].

¹³⁸ It would be interesting to know what the reason(s) behind this clustering of tombs would have been. One could think of a famous predecessor (Maya?) whose tomb acted as a “magnet” for later construction (suggestion Dr Dimitry Laboury). The nearby (private) tomb of Horemheb certainly attracted visitors, as for example indicated by visitors’ graffiti and votive stelae, and the presence of his tomb could have similarly influenced the clustering of tombs in this area of the necropolis (see: N. Staring, Products of the Physical Engagement with Sacred Space: The New Kingdom Non-textual Tomb-graffiti at Saqqara, in: B.J.J. Haring, et al. (eds), Decoding Signs of Identity: Egyptian Workmen’s Marks in Archaeological, Historical, Comparative and Theoretical Perspective, in press).

¹³⁹ Cairo JE 25641; limestone; provenance Saqqara: G.A. Gaballa, False Door Stelae of Some Memphite Personnel, in: SAK 7, 1979, 46, 51–52, fig. 2, pl. II. The representations in the upper register are executed in raised relief (with the text columns carved like “raised labels”), and those in the lower register in sunk relief. The same technique can be observed on the stela of the Overseer of Cattle of Amun, Djehuty (Leiden AP 56; late Eighteenth/early Nineteenth Dynasty: Boeser, Beschrijving: Stèles, 11, No. 40, pl. 22; Giovetti/Picchi (eds), Egitto: Splendore millenario, Cat. V.54), and the stela of the *ḥr.y n.y ḥmw.w n.w Pth*, Chief of Craftsmen of Ptah, named Hatiay (Cairo TN 2.11.24.1; late Eighteenth Dynasty). The latter is said to derive from Abydos (A. Mariette, Catalogue général des monuments d’Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville, Paris 1880, 379–380, No. 1054 [nécropole du nord]; Gaballa, in: SAK 46, 47–49, fig. 3, pl. III). However, the titles held by the owner point to a Memphite origin, and some of the monuments published by Mariette in the Catalogue général des monuments d’Abydos were actually found at Saqqara (Stéphane Pasquali, personal communication). Additionally, one may point to the reversed sign for the element HA.t in the owner’s name: a parallel can be found on the stela of the First Prophet of the Moon at Saqqara (Raven/Van Walsem, Meryneith, 53, 55, 78, 81 [3]: late Eighteenth/early Nineteenth Dynasty).

(north) and an anonymous official (south).¹⁴⁰ Thus, the tomb of the *hr.y hrty-ntr*, “Chief Stone-mason (of the King/Palace)”, named Amenhotep Huy (early Nineteenth Dynasty) might be located in the vicinity.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, the tomb of the *im.y-r3 kd.w n.w nb t3.wy*, “Overseer of Builders of the Lord of the Two Lands”, Paser (*temp.* Ramesses II), is located immediately due west of the tomb of Horemheb,¹⁴² and the now-lost tomb of his brother Tjuneroy, who bore the title *im.y-r3 k3.t m mnw nb n.y nb t3.wy*, “Overseer of Works on All Monuments of the King”, must be located nearby.¹⁴³ The titles held by Maya include “Overseer of All Craftsmen of the King” and “Overseer of All Works of the King”.¹⁴⁴ The Mayor of Memphis, Ptahmose, was not only the Chief Steward in the temple of Ptah, he also held various titles related to overseeing building activities in the temple.¹⁴⁵ Amenemheb too worked in the temple of Ptah and, as a craftsman, he would have been a subordinate of Ptahmose.

3.2 Amenemheb: the master craftsman in the tomb of Ptahmose?

The tomb of the Overseer of Craftsmen of the temple of Ptah, Amenemheb (stela Leiden AD 37) was probably located in the same cemetery south of the Unas causeway discussed above. Two door jambs (Cairo JE 46190-46191) found by Quibell in the ruins of the Monastery of Apa Jeremias are inscribed for the Chief Goldsmiths Amenemheb and Ptahemheb.¹⁴⁶ Admittedly, the two names are not quite uncommon at Saqqara. However, the two names in combination with their associated titles reduce the number of possible candidates. An identification of the two men with the two sons of the Chief Goldsmith Amenemone cannot therefore be ruled out. Amenemone lived during the late

¹⁴⁰ Excavation feature No. 2015/11: M.J. Raven, et al., Preliminary Report on the Leiden/Turin Excavations at Saqqara, Season 2015: The Tomb of an Anonymous Official (Tomb X) and Its Surroundings, in: JEOL 45, 2014–2015, 3–17.

¹⁴¹ Block statue Leiden AST 13; ex-coll. d’Anastasi, 1828: Boeser, Beschrijving: Pyramiden, Lijkenvazenkist, Offertafels, Beelden, 9, No. 20, pl. X; Giovetti/Picchi (eds), Egitto: Splendore millenario, Cat. V.58.

¹⁴² Martin, Paser and Ra’ia.

¹⁴³ PM III², 666–667.

¹⁴⁴ Full titulary related to works and crafts: *im.y-r3 hmw.w nb.w n.w nsw; im.y-r3 k3.t m S.t-nhh; im.y-r3 k3.t [m] mnw [nb n.y hm]=f; im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t [m] S.t-r-nhh; s3b ʿd-mr*.

¹⁴⁵ Full titulary related to works and crafts: *im.y-r3 mšc m pr.w Pth; im.y-r3 mšc wr m pr.w Pth; im.y-r3 k3.t; im.y-r3 k3.t m mnw nb n.y nb t3.wy (?); im.y-r3 k3.t m mnw nb n.y nsw; im.y-r3 k3.t m mnw nb n.y hm=f; im.y-r3 k3.t m mnw nb n.y hm=f m hw.t-k3-Pth*.

¹⁴⁶ PM III² 669; M. Effendi Châban, Le puits du Général Ankh-uah-ab-rê-si-nit à Saqqarah, in: ASAE 17, 1917, 180–182, Nos. 14 and 15; G.T. Martin, The Hidden Tombs of Memphis: New Discoveries from the Time of Tutankhamun and Ramesses the Great, London 1991, 201 (as Nineteenth Dynasty); Ockinga, Amenemone, 21.

Eighteenth Dynasty (*temp.* Tutankhamun) and constructed his tomb (Loret No. 2) in the cemetery at Saqqara north of the pyramid of Teti. In the tomb, his son Amenemheb bears the title *ḥr.y nb.yw*, “Chief of Goldsmiths”.¹⁴⁷ Boyo Ockinga argues that Amenemone’s career is reflected in the titles held by his sons:¹⁴⁸ from *nb.y*, “Goldsmith” (held by Nebmehyt) to *ḥr.y nb.yw*, “Overseer of Goldsmiths” (held by Amenemheb), and eventually to *im.y-rꜥ ḥmw.t n.yt nb tꜥ.wy*, “Overseer of Craftsmen of the Lord of the Two Lands” (held by Amenemone himself). If the career of Amenemone is reflected in the titles held by his sons, then one may also postulate a similar career path for Amenemheb. In this scenario, stela Leiden AD 37 would represent Amenemone’s son Amenemheb at a later date and stage of his career. Two more tomb-elements support this identification. Stela Cairo JE 18925 from Saqqara depicts a man named Amenemheb (also named Paraemheb) who bears the title *ḥr.y nby.w n.w nb tꜥ.wy*, “Chief of Goldsmiths of the Lord of the Two Lands”,¹⁴⁹ and the two door jambs Cairo JE 46190-46191 inscribed for the Chief Goldsmiths Amenemheb and Ptahemheb were already mentioned above. The style of the door jambs points to a later date than that observed in the tomb of Amenemone, which accords well with the later date the tomb of his sons would have had.¹⁵⁰

It has been suggested that Amenemone worked on the contemporary tomb of Maya, the Overseer of the Treasury (*temp.* Tutankhamun – Horemheb) who was presumably buried in Year 9 of Horemheb.¹⁵¹ Two individuals, named Amenemone and Ptahmose,

¹⁴⁷ Ockinga, Amenemone, 18-21, scenes 1–2, pls 55–56.

¹⁴⁸ Ockinga, Amenemone, 20. A third son who bears a title is Ptahmose, the Scribe of the Treasury.

¹⁴⁹ PM III², 736–737 (as: Nineteenth Dynasty); G.A. Gaballa, Three Funerary Stelae from the New Kingdom, in: MDAIK 35, 1979, 80–82, pl. 16b (as: late Eighteenth/early Nineteenth Dynasty (no acquisition details); S. Binder, The Gold of Honour in New Kingdom Egypt, ACE Studies 8; Oxford 2008, 293 [028] (as Eighteenth Dynasty, post-Amarna). The JE number suggests it entered the Bulaq Museum in 1862. The stela also depicts Amenemheb’s wife, the Lady of the House Aati. Gaballa tentatively identifies Amenemheb/Paraemhab with a man depicted on stela BM EA 141 (T.G.H. James, HTBM 9, London 1970, 23–24, pl. 19; no acquisition details). The stela is inscribed for the Chiefs of Goldsmiths Paraemheb and Panehsy alongside their family of Goldsmiths. The son of Paraemheb is also depicted on the stela. His name is Iny, the Goldsmith of the Mansion of Gold, “Who Fashions the Gods”. Gaballa tentatively identifies him as Iny, the Overseer of the Workshops in Upper and Lower Egypt, Who Knows Secrets in the Mansions of Gold, Overseer of Goldsmiths of the Lord of the Two Lands, whose stela (Cairo JE 15115) was found by Mariette (tomb H8; see above): Gaballa, in: JEA 63, 125–126. On stela BM EA 141, Tamit is identified as the mother of Paraemheb and/or Panehsy, whereas the wife of Amenemone, the Chief Goldsmith, is named Tahesy(t)/Nefertary. This renders Gaballa’s suggestion difficult to maintain.

¹⁵⁰ Ockinga, Amenemone, 21.

¹⁵¹ J. Van Dijk, The New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis: Historical and Iconographical Studies, PhD Thesis, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Groningen 1993, 76–79. Another sculptor who may have been

are depicted in the tomb's decoration, and their titles are similar to those borne by father and son.¹⁵² An iconographic analysis of the scenes in the tomb of Ptahmose (the Mayor of Memphis) indicates that the tomb shares a number of features not only with Maya's funerary monument, but also with Amenemone's.¹⁵³ The tomb of Ptahmose additionally contains Ramesside novelties such as the *djed* pillar, which situates the construction of his tomb largely in the Ramesside Period. Unfortunately we have no fixed dates regarding Ptahmose's career. The earliest possible date for his appointment as Mayor of Memphis is Year 2 of Seti I: it is the latest date recorded for Neferhotep, his predecessor in office. This is approximately nine years after Maya's funeral had taken place.¹⁵⁴ Considering the limited time span, it is not at all unthinkable that some of the same people (e.g. the master builder and master craftsman) worked on the construction and decoration of the tombs of both Maya and Ptahmose, who belonged to the same socio-professional sphere.

I would like to suggest that Amenemheb qualifies for the position of Ptahmose's master craftsman.¹⁵⁵ His faience stela (Plate 2) presents a first clue. In the discussion above, it was noted that his stela provides good parallels for the technical and iconographical features observed in the faience stela of Ptahmose (Plate 1a). Due to their rare occurrence, the two faience stelae could have been made by the same "Worker in Faience". As an Overseer of Craftsmen, Amenemheb was certainly in the position to "order" a stela for his own funerary monument. In turn, Ptahmose, whose impressive list of titles points to his prominent role in the large-scale construction works in the temple of Ptah, was a superior in rank to Amenemheb.¹⁵⁶ It suggests that the master

responsible for the tomb and who was also depicted in the decoration, is a man named Userhat, the *im.y-r3 k3.t m s.t nhh*, "Overseer of works in the Place of Eternity". He has also been identified as the well known *hr.y t3.y-md3.t n.y nb t3.wy*, "Chief Sculptor of the Lord of the Two Lands", Userhat Hatiay (J. van Dijk, Maya's Chief Sculptor Userhat-Hatiay: With a Note on the Length of the Reign of Horemheb', in: GM 148, 1995, 31).

¹⁵² Berlandini, in: BIFAO 76, 312; B.G. Ockinga, The Saqqara Tomb of the Overseer of Craftsmen and Chief Goldworker, Amenemone, in: M. Bartá/J. Krejčí (eds), Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000, ArOr Supp 9, Prague 2000, 123; Ockinga, Amenemone, 19–21. See: LD, pl. III.241b; Urk. IV, 2164.19; W. Helck, Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs, PdÄ 3, Leiden 1958, 188. Amenemone bears the title *idnw n3 (n.y) hmw.t pr.w h3 n.w pr.w 3*, "Deputy of these Craftsmen of the Treasury of Pharaoh". Ptahmose bears the title "Letter Writer of the Overseer of the Treasury".

¹⁵³ Staring, in: BIFAO 114/2, 2014.

¹⁵⁴ Staring, in: BIFAO 114/2, 2014.

¹⁵⁵ For the range of words and expressions constructed with the radical Hmw, see: WB. III, 82–87.

¹⁵⁶ Staring, in: ZÄS 142/2, 2015. In this article, it is argued that the various titles starting with "Overseer of Works" held by Ptahmose should be connected with the large-scale construction works at Memphis and the temple of Ptah during the early Nineteenth Dynasty.

craftsman working in the tomb of Ptahmose in everyday life was a subordinate of his patron.¹⁵⁷ The same has been observed in the tomb of Maya, where Userhat and Amenemone, as his subordinates, were responsible for (part of) the tomb's decoration.¹⁵⁸ The Theban necropolis also provides a good example for a craftsman (*in casu* a painter) who, in everyday life and usual business, was a subordinate of his patron. Amenhotep Sise (TT 75; Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Thutmose IV), the Second High Priest of Amun, was *inter alia* responsible for the supervision of the workshops of the temple of Amun.¹⁵⁹ The objects and monuments produced in the workshops are depicted in his tomb, and include diverse matters ranging from jewellery to statues and a monumental golden porch. The master painter responsible for the decoration of his tomb is also depicted: he was the Painter of Amun named Userhat. A nearly identical scene of the display of gifts depicted in the tomb of Sise can also be found in the temple of Amun at Karnak.¹⁶⁰ There can be little doubt that the two scenes were made by the same painter, and that Sise commissioned his subordinate to include a copy of the Karnak scenes in his own tomb.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁷ In a re-evaluation of Petrie's work at Amarna, Vanthuyne indicated that, like at Qantir, large state faience factories existed that were supplying both state and temple treasuries: B. Vanthuyne, *Amarna Factories, Workshops, Faience Moulds and Their Produce*, *Ägypten und Levante* 22/23, 2012–2013, 395–429. The titles of some of the men mentioned above suggest that similar factories were attached to the temple of Ptah at Memphis. For faience vessels found in the New Kingdom levels of Kom Rabi'a, see: L. Giddy, *Kom Rabi'a: the New Kingdom and Post-New Kingdom Objects*, *The Survey of Memphis II*, EES EM 64, London 1999, 265–275.

¹⁵⁸ Userhat as the Overseer of works in the Place of Eternity, and Amenemone as the Deputy of these Craftsmen of the Treasury of Pharaoh. See also D. Laboury, *Tracking Ancient Egyptian Artists, a Problem of Methodology. The Case of the Painters of Private Tombs in the Theban Necropolis during the Eighteenth Dynasty*, in: K.A. Kóthay (ed.), *Art and Society: Ancient and Modern Contexts of Egyptian Art. Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 13–15 May 2010*, Budapest 2012, 203, who remarks that textual sources suggest that the patron and tomb owner himself was responsible for the supply of human and material means needed for the creation of his own tomb.

¹⁵⁹ See: D. Laboury, *On the Master Painter of the Tomb of Amenhotep Sise, Second High Priest of Amun under the Reign of Thutmose IV (TT 75)*, in: R. Jasnow/K.M. Cooney (eds), *Joyful in Thebes: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Bryan, Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt 1*, Atlanta 2015, 327–337. I am grateful to Prof. Laboury for sharing with me a draft version of his (at the time unpublished) article. For the publication of the tomb, see: N. de G. Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials of Thutmose the Fourth (Nos 75 and 90)*, TTS 3, London 1923.

¹⁶⁰ Laboury, *Amenhotep Sise*, 328–331 (with further references), figs 4–5. The portico constructed by Thutmose IV was part of a vast architectural project to embellish the festival courtyard in the front of the Fourth Pylon of the temple of Amun at Karnak.

¹⁶¹ Cf. also: TT 65 of Imiseba (imitating scenes from the temple of Karnak, where the patron worked), T. Bács, *Art as Material for Later Art: The Case of Theban Tomb 65*, in: W.V. Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, London 2001, 94–100; TT 359 of Inherkhawy (professional association

Let us now return to Amenemheb. In light of the above discussion, it is quite possible that he assisted his father while working in the tomb of Maya. When construction on the next monumental tomb at Saqqara, that of Ptahmose, started, Amenemheb could have been commissioned to work on the decoration. He may have imitated at least one scene from the tomb of Maya.¹⁶² The pyramid panels present another direct link to the tomb of Maya. Much more than being simply a “copy” of Maya’s tomb, the funerary monument of Ptahmose is the product of its time. As a prominent citizen of Egypt’s capital, Memphis, Ptahmose made sure to prominently include the innovations of the Ramesside period. The *djed* pillars are a good example, as are the numerous scenes of the tomb owner venerating the gods. The architectural layout and some of the scenes make reference to the monumental tombs of famous men such as Horemheb and Maya, in the company of whom he is buried and wished to be remembered.

5 Conclusion

The aim of this article was to provide for the first time the full object history and description of the texts and iconography of three objects pertaining to the Mayor of Memphis, Ptahmose, in the Egyptian Museum in Berlin.

The faience stela ÄM 19718 was lost soon after the Second World War and has now been identified in the collection of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology in Ann Arbor (Inv. No. 1981.4.4). It was gifted to the museum by the collector Samuel Goudsmit, who acquired the stela in Germany in 1945. The focus of art looting during WWII has almost invariably focused on Nazi plunder. The art looted from Germany during and shortly after the war has received less attention¹⁶³ – despite the fact that numerous objects were lost from the Berlin Museum alone. The case of the faience stela of Ptahmose illustrates that the “lost” objects may have entered private and public collections abroad. The findings stress the need for thorough provenance research of museum objects. Also, in light of the current large-scale trafficking of antiquities from

between patron and artists), N. Cherpion/J.-P. Corteggiani, *La tombe d’Inherkhâouy (TT 359) à Deir el-Medina*, MIFAO 128, Cairo 2010.

¹⁶² With regards to cross-referencing between two pictorial compositions, see Laboury, Amenhotep Sise, 332, who uses the term “intericonicity” to describe this phenomenon: “... a creation by imitation, emulation, and/or (re)interpretation of previous works”.

¹⁶³ See e.g. <<http://www.monumentsmenfoundation.org/news/returning-the-spoils-of-world-war-ii-taken-by-our-side>> accessed 5.5.2015.

Egypt and conflict areas such as in Syria, it is somehow comforting to know that even as long as 70 years after initial theft¹⁶⁴ objects are repatriated.

The case of the pyramid panels ÄM 1631-1632 aptly illustrates that the study of the object history may also reveal new insights into the early exploration of an archaeological site, *in casu* Saqqara. Solomon Fernandez, whom Lespius bought the objects from, appears to have been one of the most prominent art dealers working at the site during the 1830s through to the 1850s. The study of the blocks' provenance has led to a new interpretation of their architectural setting, which opened the discussion of the architectural development of monumental tombs at Saqqara. The faience stela even led us to tentatively identify the craftsman who was (partly) responsible for the tomb's decoration, establishing the existence of a professional association between the patron and the craftsmen he employed.

Annex: faience stelae found at Saqqara south of the Unas Causeway

Since 1975, five fragments of faience stelae were found during the excavations conducted in the "Leiden concession area" of the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara. Two fragments that were previously published actually formed part of one stela. Three hitherto unpublished fragments formed part of another two stelae.

1 Faience stela fragment depicting four women: SAK 76-S 264 [6774] + 2003-50 (Plate 4a)

Excav. No.: 76-S 264 [6774]: "fragment of a faience stela"

Dimensions: 15 x 6.5 x 3.4 cm

Provenance: Found in the surface debris above the second pylon of the tomb of Tia

Date: New Kingdom (Nineteenth Dynasty)

¹⁶⁴ As we do not know anything about the circumstances under which Goudsmit acquired the faience stela, we must assume that he had not knowingly bought an object that rightfully belonged to the Berlin Museum.

Bibliography: H.D. Schneider, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut'ankhamūn, II: A Catalogue of the Finds*, EES EM 61, Leiden 1996, 16, Cat. 55, pls 7, 54.

Excav. No.: SAK 2003-50: "faience stela fragment"

Dimensions: 9.5 x 10.5 x 3.2 cm

Provenance: Found in the fill of shaft 2003/17, located north of the north exterior wall of the forecourt to the tomb of Mery-Neith

Date: Late Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasty

Bibliography: Raven/Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 224, Cat. 2, fig. on p. 225 (2003–50).

The fragment of a faience stela found in 1976 above the second pylon of the tomb of Tia presents a direct join to a fragment found in 2003 north of the north exterior wall of the forecourt to the tomb of Mery-Neith. It is impossible to determine what shape the stela had. The lower fragment (No. 2003-50) belongs to the lower part of the object. The scene is framed in the upper edge of fragment 76-S 264, but this need not coincide with the upper edge of the stela itself. The decoration was painted in black on the blue-glazed surface before firing. The surface of fragment 2003-50 has faded to a bluish green.

The scene depicts four women facing left. They all wear ankle-length translucent dresses. The profile of one woman is nearly intact. She wears a long, heavy tripartite wig. A large earring is partly visible from underneath the wig, and a perfume cone and lotus flower are placed on top. Her left raised hand holds a sistrum; her right hand is raised in adoration. The woman in front of her also raises both hands, while the woman standing behind her holds a papyrus flower in her lowered right hand. The names of two women are preserved in two columns of hieroglyphs, without column dividers, painted in black. The name in the column before the second lady reads $[T\bar{z}]-wr(.t) m\bar{z}^c(.t)-hrw$, "[Ta?]weret,¹⁶⁵ true of voice". The name in the column before the third lady reads $Wbn-?-^cn$.¹⁶⁶ Hans Schneider suggests that the text at the top of the fragment reads $nb.t pr.w sn.t=f$, "Lady of the House, His Sister (i.e. wife)". However, it is clear that the text is separated by at least one column divider. The signs on the left probably contain the final element of a name; on the right, only the suffix pronoun $\bar{=}f$, "his", is visible. This can be

¹⁶⁵ Ranke, PN III, 41–42.

¹⁶⁶ Ranke, PN I, 77.8–11; 77.13–14 ($wbn.../wbh...$); Ranke, PN III, 32 (... cn).

reconstructed to read “his wife” or “his daughter”. The latter option is more likely as one would expect to see the wife (of the stela owner) at the front of this row.

2 Faience stela fragment depicting two men before Osiris: SAK 2007-11 + 2007-49

(Plate 4b)

Excav. Nos: SAK 2007–11 and SAK 2007–49

Dimensions: 6 x 6.5 x 3.5 cm; 16 x 12 x 3.5 cm

Provenance: Tomb of Ptahemwia, fill of the courtyard; 1.7-2.0 m above floor level (2007–11); and east of tomb, 1.5-1.7 m above floor level.

Date: Late Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasty

Literature: Raven, et al., Ptahemwia and Sethnakht, Cat. 7a–b.

The two fragments of a round-topped faience stela were found in a disturbed context over the courtyard of the tomb of the Royal Butler, Ptahemwia (late Eighteenth Dynasty). The scene and texts of the stela are painted in black ink over a blue-glazed surface; the reverse is unglazed. The upper area depicts an adoration scene involving two male figures standing in adoration before Osiris. At least one line of text was indicated below.

Osiris is represented on the left. Considering the small distance between Osiris and the men standing opposite him, he was probably depicted standing. The *atef* crown and part of the epithet *nb p.t.*, “Lord of Heaven”, are all that is left of Osiris. Note that the *atef* crown interrupts the line bordering the scene.¹⁶⁷

The two men on the right are depicted standing in adoration before Osiris. Their heads are shaven. They wear broad collars and pleated sash kilts tied in front. The first, taller man raises both hands in adoration; the second raises his right hand and holds a lotus bouquet in his lowered left hand. Several columns of text separated by dividers were positioned in the upper area, above their heads. The remains of three columns (two column dividers) are visible. The signs are faintly preserved and read *sꜥnh rn=f*, “who

¹⁶⁷ Compare to a stela from the antechapel of the tomb of Paser (Martin, Paser and Ra’ia, 7, 23, Cat. 9, pl. 12; fragments 22.3 x 18.5 x 3 cm; and 5.7 x 5.5 cm; Nineteenth Dynasty): the *As.t*-sign atop Isis’ head interrupts the line bordering the scene. The same can be observed on a stela from the tomb of Ramose, outer courtyard (M.J. Raven, *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt II: Objects and Skeletal Remains*, EES EM 65, Leiden 2001, 22, Cat. 20, pls 9c, 29; stela of Suherawy-Amun, Nineteenth Dynasty; 55.5 x 35.5 x 4.9 cm): several figures and hieroglyphic signs overlap with the exterior border.

keeps his name alive". The text continues without a column divider with the name *P3-t3w-niw.t*.¹⁶⁸ The fragment of one line of text is visible underneath the scene, reading *///-ndm[.t] m3(.t)-hrw ? mr ///*, “///-nodjmet, true of voice”;¹⁶⁹ and *3(.t)-mrw.t*.¹⁷⁰

3 Faience stela fragment of a Chief Faience Maker: SAK 2010-120 (Plate 5)

Excav. Nos: SAK 2010–120

Dimensions: 4.4 x 3.4 x 2 cm

Provenance: West of the tomb reused by Sethnakht, square L-100, c. 1.5–2 m above floor level.

Date: Late Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasty

Literature: Raven, et al., Ptahemwia and Sethnakht, Cat. No. 8.

This fragment of a faience stela was found during the 2010 season of excavations due west of the anonymous Eighteenth Dynasty tomb reused in the Ramesside period by Sethnakht, Scribe of the temple of Ptah. It represents part of the right-hand edge of the stela and depicts a large sun disk and part of a column of text. The decoration and text were added in black pigment on a blue-glazed background before firing. The text probably formed part of an offering formula: */// n hr.y b3b3 ///*, “/// to the Chief Faience Maker ///”. The reverse is unglazed. The term *b3b3* was used to identify the makers of faience shabtis.¹⁷¹ The professional designation is known already during the Middle Kingdom.

¹⁶⁸ Not in Ranke; however, compare Ranke, PN I, 127–128 for similar names.

¹⁶⁹ Ranke, PN III, 215.24.

¹⁷⁰ Ranke, PN III, 57.21, 58.15. Note that the *mr*-sign (Gardiner U7) is reversed.

¹⁷¹ H.D. Schneider, *Shabtis: An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with a catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, Vol. 1, Leiden 1977, 241 with n. 85; A.H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, Vol. 1, Oxford 1947, 68*, No. 161 (“maker of faience”, doubtless properly “fuser [of glaze]”); WB. I, 447.5 (“*wohl der Glasirer (?) der Uschebtifiguren*”).

	Name	Title(s)	Provenance	Date	Dimensions	Shape	Literature
Berlin <i>ÄM</i> 19718	<i>Pth-ms(w)</i>	<i>šš nsw ; ḥz.ty-ḥ.w wr</i>	Saqqara	Dyn. 19 (early)	14 x 22.4 cm (fr.)	Naos	Roeder, <i>Aegyptische Inschriften</i> , 308.
Berlin <i>ÄM</i> 10284	<i>P3-sr</i>	<i>im.y-r3 nḥw.t ḥz.ty</i>	Unknown	Dyn. 19 (early)	Unknown	Unknown	Erman, <i>Ausführliches Verzeichnis</i> , 135.
Berlin <i>ÄM</i> 17276	<i>P3-sr</i>	<i>im.y-r3 nḥw.t ḥz.ty</i>	Unknown	Dyn. 19 (early)	H. 11 cm	Round-topped	Roeder, <i>Aegyptische Inschriften</i> , 308; Budischovsky/Gemalle, in: <i>ABPO</i> 95/3, 1988, 234, pl. 3.
Edinburgh NMS A.1956.152	<i>K3r</i>	<i>bsk n.y 'Imm.w</i>	Thebes (?)	Dyn. 19	28.6 x 14 x 1.3 cm	Pyramid topped	Friedman, <i>Gifts of the Nile</i> , 156, 250, Cat. 167.
Edinburgh NMS A.1956.153	<i>Rh-Imm</i>	<i>tr.w ḥsbd n.y 'Imm.w</i>	Thebes (?)	Dyn. 19 (Ramesses II)	28.5 x 20.8 x 0.9 cm	Round-topped	Friedman, <i>Gifts of the Nile</i> , 156, 250, Cat. 166.
Leiden RMO AD 37	<i>'Imm-n-ḥb</i>	<i>im.y-r3 ḥmw.w n.w pr.w Pth</i>	Saqqara (?)	Dyn. 19	25 x 26.5 x 4 cm (fr.)	Pyramid-topped	Boeser, <i>Beschrijving: Stèles</i> , 11, No. 38, pl. 23.
London BM EA 35628*	<i>P3-sr</i>	<i>im.y-r3 nḥw.t ḥz.ty</i>	Unknown	Dyn. 19 (early)	9.3 x 15.5 cm (fr.)	Unknown	<i>HTBM</i> 10, 17–18, pl. 32.
Paris Louvre C 91	<i>Ḥ(1)-m-p.t</i>	<i>ḫ.w m ḥw.t-nbw m pr.w Pth ; wfb n.y ḥz.t Pth</i>	Saqqara (?)	Dyn. 19–20	H. 50 cm	Pyramid-topped	Caubet/Pierrat Bonnefois, <i>Faïences de l'Antiquité</i> , 88, Cat. 246.
Paris Louvre 10819	<i>Knr</i>	<i>im.y-r3 msḥ n.y pr.w 'Imm.w</i>	Unknown	Dyn. 19–20	H. 15.3 cm (fr.)	Round-topped	Caubet/Pierrat Bonnefois, <i>Faïences de l'Antiquité</i> , 87, Cat. 245.
UPenn E 13578	<i>Ḥ(1)-m-wss.t</i>	<i>tr.y-p.t ḥz.ty-ḥ.w ; ḥ-nḥr mr.y nḥr ; sm wr-ḥrp-ḥmw.w ; im.y-r3 nḥw.t ḥz.ty</i>	Mit Rahineh	Dyn. 20 (Ramesses IX)	22 x 25 cm	Round-topped	Schulman, in: <i>Expedition 2/4, July 1960</i> , 32–33.
SAK 76-S 264 [6774] + 2003-50	Unknown	Unknown	Saqqara	Dyn. 18 (late) / Dyn. 19 (early)	16.4 x 14.9 x 3.3 cm (fr.)	Unknown	Schneider, <i>Horemheb II</i> , 16, Cat. 55, pls 7, 54; Raven/Van Walsem, <i>Meryneith</i> , 224, Cat. 2, fig. on p. 225.
SAK 2007-11 + 2007-49	Unknown	Unknown	Saqqara	Dyn. 18 (late)–Dyn. 19	17.5 x 16.3 x 3.5 cm (fr.)	Round-topped	Raven et al. <i>Ptahemwia and Sethmakht</i> , Cat. 7a–b.
SAK 2010-120	Unknown	<i>ḥr.y ḥḥḥ</i>	Saqqara	Dyn. 18 (late)–Dyn. 19	4.4 x 3.4 x 2 cm (fr.)	Unknown	Raven et al. <i>Ptahemwia and Sethmakht</i> , Cat. 8.
Turin Museo Egizio 1650	<i>P3-sr</i>	<i>im.y-r3 nḥw.t ḥz.ty</i>	Unknown	Dyn. 19 (early)	Unknown	Unknown	Maspero, in: <i>Rec.Trav.</i> 4, 1883, 141, No. 6.

Table 1: Corpus of faience stelae dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty. * Indicates the stela is decorated on two sides



1a) Faience stela Berlin ÄM 19718 of Ptahmose. Scan from a glass negative taken in the 1920s
(© SMB Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Foto: unbekannt)



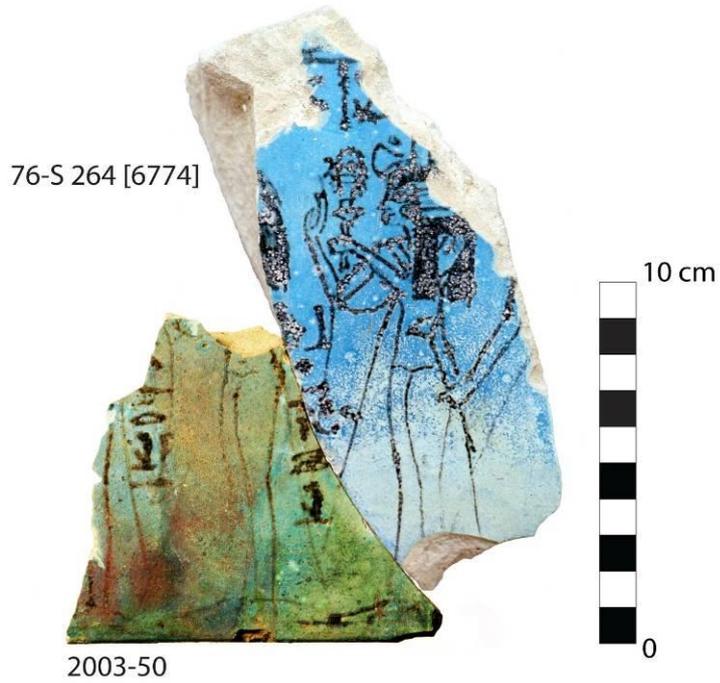
1b) Relief decorated block from the tomb of Akhpet, Saqqara
After: Leclant, in: *Orientalia* 36, 1967, pl. XXVIII.11
(Reproduced with kind permission)



2) Faience stela Leiden AD 37 of Amenemheb
(© Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden)



3a-b)Pyramid panels Berlin ÄM 1631 (left) and ÄM 1632 (right) of Ptahmose
(© Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Foto: unbekannt)



4a) Faience stela fragments 76-S 264, 6774 and 2003-50
(Photos: © Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden; Digital reconstruction: Nico Staring)



4b) Faience stela fragments 2007-11 and 2007-49
(Photos: © Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden; Digital reconstruction: Nico Staring)



5) Faience stela fragment 2010-120
(© Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden)

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THE TOMB OF PTAHEMWIA, ‘GREAT OVERSEER OF CATTLE’ AND ‘OVERSEER OF THE TREASURY OF THE RAMESSEUM’, AT SAQQARA*

By NICO STARING

In early 1859, French Egyptologist Théodule Devéria was in Egypt to assist Auguste Mariette – who had just been appointed as Director of Antiquities – with copying texts at a number of sites in Egypt. At Saqqara, Devéria photographed a doorway of the now-lost tomb of Ptahemwia, the early Nineteenth Dynasty Great Overseer of Cattle and Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum. This article starts with a note on Mariette’s work at Saqqara and early photography in Egypt. Then, the architecture, iconography, and texts of this doorway are analysed, followed by an updated list of objects pertaining to Ptahemwia. This paper concludes with a discussion on the titles and epithets held by this official.

Introduction

FROM December 1858 to April 1859, French Egyptologist Charles Théodule Devéria (1831–71), then curator at the Musée du Louvre in Paris, assisted Auguste Mariette (1821–81) in copying texts on archaeological fieldwork campaigns throughout Egypt.¹ These excavations were initiated upon Mariette’s appointment as *Directeur des travaux*

* PhD candidate, Macquarie University (Sydney, Australia). I should like to thank Boyo Ockinga, Elisa deCourcy, Daniela Picchi, Maarten Raven, René van Walsem, and the two anonymous peer-reviewers of the *JEA* for valuable feedback on earlier drafts of this paper; and Kelly Hamilton for polishing my English. I owe a great debt of gratitude to Stéphane Pasquali for bringing to my attention Devéria’s photographic collection at the Musée d’Orsay, Paris.

¹ G. Devéria, ‘Théodule Devéria (1831-1871): Notice biographique’, in G. Maspero (ed.), *Bibliothèque Égyptologique 4: Théodule Devéria mémoires et fragments I* (Paris, 1896), x–xv; N. Staring, ‘The Tomb of Ptahmose, Mayor of Memphis: Analysis of an Early 19th Dynasty Funerary Monument at Saqqara’, *BIFAO* 114/2 (2014), 455–518; N. Staring, ‘Mariette, Devéria, and Vassalli at Saqqara, 1858–62’, *forthcoming*. For Devéria at Saqqara, see also D. Durand, ‘Les photographies des sculptures grecques du Sérapéum de Memphis par Théodule Devéria’, in R. Bertho, J.-P. Garric, and F. Queyrel (eds), *Patrimoine photographié, patrimoine photographique: « Actes de colloques »* (2013) <<http://inha.revues.org/3982>> accessed 31.03.2013; and for Mariette at Saqqara, see also: J.-P. Lauer, ‘Mariette à Saqqarah: Du Sérapéum à la direction des antiquités’, in J. Sainte Fare Garnot (ed.), *Mélanges Mariette* (BdE 32; Cairo, 1961), 5–55; C. Ziegler, ‘Recherches sur Saqqâra au musée du Louvre: Étude des collections et mission archéologique’, in Z. Hawass and L. Pinch Brock (eds), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000, Vol. 3* (Cairo, 2003), 442–3.

d'antiquités en Égypte in June 1858.² Mariette had a few assistants to supervise these projects in his absence.³ At Saqqara, 330 local workers (corvée labourers) were hired to work on the excavation.⁴ When Mariette and Devéria returned in March 1859 from an inspection tour of sites in Upper Egypt, they concentrated part of their work at Saqqara in the area south of the Step Pyramid. That area had previously been the subject of uncontrolled and largely undocumented excavations. Both men visited the accessible remains of the tombs in the area, copied texts, and removed elements to be taken to the soon-to-be-opened Bulaq Museum. In order to copy texts, Devéria not only produced the customary squeezes,⁵ but he also took photographs, which at the time was a novel technique.⁶

After Devéria's untimely death at the age of forty, his photographs were consigned to the Musées nationaux (France), later to be transferred to the Department of Egyptian Antiquities at the Louvre. In 1986, the collection of photographs was subsequently allocated to the Musée d'Orsay in Paris, where Devéria's photographic collection remained largely unnoticed.⁷ The great value of the few photographs capturing New Kingdom tombs lies in the fact that these tombs have not been seen (or

² Appointed by Viceroy Said Pasha on 1 June 1858: E. de Rougé, 'Une lettre écrite d'Égypte par M. Mariette', *CRAIBL* 2 (1858), 115–21. Mariette started excavating simultaneously in Gizeh, Saqqara, Abydos, Thebes, and Elephantine.

³ At that time, his assistants also included the Frenchmen Marius François Joseph Bonnefoy (*d.* 1859: W.R. Dawson, E.P. Uphill, and M.L. Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (4th rev. edn; London, 2012), 67) and Charles Edmond Gabet (1818–69: *Ibid.*, 203); and the Italian Luigi Vassalli (1812–87; *Ibid.*, 553–4).

⁴ E. David, *Mariette Pacha 1821-1881* (Paris, 1994), 109; D.M. Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Los Angeles, 2002), 100.

⁵ See e.g. F. von Kaenel, 'Les mésaventures du conjurateur de Serket Onnophris et de son tombeau', *BSFE* 87–8 (1980), 31–45.

⁶ For notes on early photography in Egyptology, see also: J. Malek and E. Miles, 'Nineteenth-century 'Studio Photographs' of Egypt in the Collection of the Griffith Institute, Oxford', *VA* 2 (1986), 121–6; M.J. Raven, 'Insinger and Early Photography in Egypt', *OMRO* (1991), 13–27; A. Rammant-Peeters, *Palmen en Tempels: La Photographie en Égypte au XIX^e Siècle/19th-Century Photography in Egypt* (Leuven, 1994), 6–32, 166–78; P.T. Nicholson, 'Egyptology for the Masses: James Henry Breasted and the Underwood Brothers', in D. Magee, J. Bourriau, and S. Quirke (eds), *Sitting Beside Lepsius: Studies in Honour of Jaromir Malek at the Griffith Institute* (OLA 185; Leuven, 2009), 381–5; É. David, 'Théodule Devéria (1^{er} Juillet 1831 – 25 Janvier 1871), l'Égyptologue faiseur d'images', in F. Morfoisse and G. Andreu-Lanoë (eds), *Sésostri III: Pharaon de légende* (Gand, 2014), 246–51; N. le Guerin, 'D'une vision esthétique à la précision documentaire: quand la photographie s'alliait à l'égyptologie', in Morfoisse and Andreu-Lanoë (eds), *Sésostri III*, 252–7.

⁷ Rammant-Peeters, *Palmen en Tempels*, 172. Note that multiple prints of a single photograph can be in circulation. However, to my knowledge there is no second print available of the photograph published below.

at least not recorded) since Mariette and Devéria worked in the area.⁸ The tombs' locations are now lost and only select decorated stone elements were taken to the Bulaq Museum.

The Tomb of Ptahemwia at Saqqara: Devéria Photograph 1859 (fig. 1)⁹

Paris, Musée d'Orsay PHO 1986 144 64, MS 178 129

Théodule Devéria, 1859, *Saqqarah – tombeau*

Albumen paper from a salted paper negative

H. 21.5 cm, W. 27.5 cm (print); H. 26.5 cm, W. 34.5 cm (*montage*)

Inscriptions: on the print, bottom left: *Sakkarah (Memphis)*;¹⁰ on the montage, right side: *Memphis. Tombeau de Ptah-em-ua (règne de Ramsès II) Sakkarah*

Technical Details of the Photographic Print

Paper prints were introduced in 1835 by Fox Talbot and the albumen process followed in 1850 by Louis Désiré Blanquart Evrard (1802–72) – although the main period of use was between 1855 and 1890.¹¹ In 1854 commercially produced albumen photographic paper became available: the photographer needed only to sensitise the paper substrate (coated with salted albumen) with a silver nitrate solution. Pre-sensitised paper negatives became available for commercial use by 1872. This implies that the prints produced by Devéria had to be chemically prepared before use on-site. The development in the 1860s of the dry collodion process would make photography easier to use and made it readily available to a wider (amateur) audience.

The adhesive used for fixation of the paper print on the *montage* may have resulted in the image's disfiguration; these are the lighter areas.¹² The fact that the photo

⁸ Two other examples are the tombs of Ptahmose, the early Nineteenth Dynasty Mayor of Memphis and Great Steward of the Temple of Ptah (Staring, *BIFAO* 114/2, fig. 1), and Khay, the Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum (S. Pasquali, 'La tombe perdue de Bouri, employé du domaine d'Aton à Memphis', *BIFAO* 113 (2013), figs 10–11).

⁹ The photograph published in this contribution was mentioned in: Pasquali, *BIFAO* 113, 315 n. 19. Staff at the Musée d'Orsay have been very helpful in providing additional information and digitising the photographic print. In particular, I should like to thank Denise Faïfe (Musée d'Orsay, Paris) and Gaëlle le Page (Agence Photographique, Réunion des musées nationaux-Grand Palais, Paris).

¹⁰ More text appears to be preserved in the lower left corner, perhaps reading: *Tombeau de Ptah-em-ua / T. Devéria phot. 1859*.

¹¹ D.C. Stulik and A. Kaplan, *The Atlas of Analytical Signatures of Photographic Processes, The Getty Conservation Institute: Albumen* (Los Angeles, 2013), 5, fig. 2.

¹² *Ibid.*, 9.

was taken in the direction of the sun may have also contributed to the print's mediocre quality.

Observations on the Architecture

The photograph captures one doorway in the tomb's accessible superstructure. In view of the position of the sun, and assuming the usual east-west orientation of New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara, the doorway was probably photographed from the north-east.¹³

This part of the structure is remarkably well preserved. The east wall is constructed of mud bricks, while the doorway is made of limestone elements.¹⁴ The two lintels can be observed in their original position.

At Saqqara, mud brick walls with an interior limestone revetment are usually indicative of a late Eighteenth Dynasty date. Tombs of the Ramesside period, on the other hand, are constructed of hollow skin walls of limestone with stone rubble fill.¹⁵ These observations presume an early date for Ptahemwia, which does not agree with the official being firmly established in the reign of Ramesses II (see below). Similar observations were made for the tombs of Ptahmose and Khay referred to above (n. 15). These appear as "hybrid" structures containing both late Eighteenth Dynasty and (early) Ramesside architectural characteristics. Thus, with an increasing number of "exceptions",¹⁶ the strict dynastic division based on these architectural features proposed by previous scholars can no longer be maintained. Instead, it should be

¹³ Compare with Devéria's photograph of the tomb of Ptahmose: Staring, *BIFAO* 114/2, fig. 1.

¹⁴ Tomb reliefs of New Kingdom date at Saqqara are without exception made of high-quality limestone from Turah. Statues, stelae, and other portable elements can be produced from different, harder stones.

¹⁵ J. Van Dijk, 'The Development of the Memphite Necropolis in the Post-Amarna Period', in A.-P. Zivie (ed.), *Memphis et ses nécropoles au Nouvel Empire: Nouvelles données, nouvelles questions* (Paris, 1988), 42–4; M.J. Raven, 'Twenty-five Years of Work in the New Kingdom Necropolis of Saqqara: Looking for Structure', in M. Bárta and J. Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000* (ArOr Supp 9; Prague, 2000), 143; H.M. Hays, 'On the Architectural Development of Monumental Tombs South of the Unas Causeway at Saqqara from the Reigns of Akhenaten to Ramses II', in M. Bárta, F. Coppens, and J. Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010* (Prague, 2011), I, 99.

¹⁶ During the early Nineteenth Dynasty, Raia, the Overseer of the Royal Apartments of the Harim at Memphis, added to the tomb of his father (Pay) a courtyard made of mud brick walls: M.J. Raven, *The Tomb of Pay and Raia at Saqqara* (EES EM 74; Leiden, 2005). The limestone revetted mud brick tomb of Paser, the Overseer of Builders of the Lord of the Two Lands (the brother of Tjuneroy), dates to the reign of Ramesses II: G.T. Martin, *The Tomb-Chapels of Paser and Ra'ia at Saqqâra* (EES EM 52; London, 1985).

recognised that tomb architecture at Saqqara changed gradually during the early reign of Ramesses II.¹⁷

Whether the photograph captures the tomb's entrance doorway or any other doorway within the accessible superstructure is difficult to assess. The iconography and texts on the lintel, doorjambs and reveal can be instructive (see below).

The access to this part of the tomb has been partly excavated. From every direction, sand slopes mixed with rubble and occasional limestone blocks can be observed. One limestone block, possibly with decoration in sunk relief, is situated inside the doorway and another block with smooth upper surface is positioned against the west side of the south-east doorjamb.

At least two architectural spaces are visible beyond the doorway. The first appears to be rectangular: possibly a vestibule,¹⁸ statue room, or odd-shaped courtyard.

The lintel over the doorway is composed of two separate stone blocks. These are positioned over the limestone revetted mud brick walls. The constructional details can be compared to the tomb of Maya, the late Eighteenth Dynasty Overseer of the Treasury. The massive lintel rests predominantly on the doorjambs and the additional ceiling blocks rest on the vestibule's limestone revetment blocks.¹⁹

The photograph does not contain a scale and therefore the doorway's dimensions are not easily estimated (fig. 2). By means of comparison, one may refer to the original entrance to the tomb of Pay, the late Eighteenth Dynasty Director of the Harim at Memphis. The walls in the entrance doorway are approximately 70 cm wide.²⁰ Pay is depicted alone, seated on a chair behind an offering stand. That same wall surface would allow for two standing figures. This accords well with the measurements of a comparable scene showing a standing, anonymous couple in the Museum August-Kestner (Inv. No. 1935.200.182; see below). The area below the main scene in the

¹⁷ Discussion in: Staring, *BIFAO* 114/2.

¹⁸ See e.g. the tomb of Mery-Neith, Steward of the Temple of the Aten (*temp.* Akhenaten). The three meter wide rectangular vestibule gives access to the (inner) courtyard: M.J. Raven and R. van Walsem, *The Tomb of Meryneith at Saqqara* (PALMA 10; Turnhout, 2014), fig. III.4 (building phase 3).

¹⁹ K.J. Frazer, 'Architecture', in G.T. Martin, *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt, I: The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary* (EES EM 99; London, 2012), 6. The lintel measures 208.8 (originally 238.4) x 47.5 cm; the ceiling blocks measure c. 170 x 20 cm.

²⁰ Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 25, scene 9, fig. 6, pls 20–1. The same dimensions were observed in the tomb of Mery-Neith: see n. 25, above. The tombs of Tia (170 cm; G.T. Martin, *The Tomb of Tia and Tia, a Royal Monument of the Ramesside Period in the Memphite Necropolis* (EES EM 58; London, 1997), pl. 1) and Maya (330 cm: Frazer, in Martin, *Maya I*, 6) have entrance pylons of more monumental dimensions.

entrance doorway usually contains a register depicting offering bearers “entering” the tomb.²¹ Note, however, that Ramesside tombs usually have an undecorated dado.²² The width of entrance doorways at Saqqara varies between 140 cm²³ and 174 cm.²⁴ The doorjambs protrude inwards, usually around 15 cm.²⁵ Without exception, this protrusion is present at the eastend or outside of doorways – a fact further emphasizing the suggested orientation of this doorway.

The dimensions on the exterior can be compared to doorways in the tombs of the Mayor Ptahmose and the Generalissimo Horemheb. A doorway in the tomb of Ptahmose photographed by Devéria contains a doorjamb with offering formulae inscribed over four text columns. This jamb (Cairo JE 4874) measures 47 cm wide. The individual text columns are on average 9 cm wide. In the tomb of Horemheb, the jambs of the doorway leading from the second courtyard into the statue room likewise contain four text columns inscribed with offering formulae.²⁶ The nearly intact south jamb measures 243 x 56 cm, and the text columns are on average 9 cm wide. Reckoning with a width of 9 cm for the text columns, the doorjambs of Ptahemwia can be calculated to measure approximately 50 cm wide (note: 1 cubit = 52.5 cm). Due to the photograph’s oblique view, no exact measurements can be given.

Exterior Decoration: Lintel

The decoration on the lintel contains two mirrored scenes. These depict the tomb owner and, presumably, his wife. The image on the right-hand side, however, shows that both kneeling figures have the same size, which is not normally the case when the male tomb owner and his wife are depicted: the latter is always slightly smaller. Both wear long garments, are kneeling (in the left-hand image one is able to recognise the foot underneath the buttocks of the left-hand figure), and have their hands raised in adoration. Each representation is directed towards an enthroned deity holding a sceptre (probably the *wꜣs*). The two deities are separated by a single, framed column of text in

²¹ For example Pay (Raven, *Pay and Raia*, scene 9, pl. 21); Mery-Neith (Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 82–7, scenes 7 and 8); and Maya (Martin, *Maya I*, pls 9, 13).

²² Martin, *Tia and Tia*, pls 130–1; S. Gohary, *The Twin Tomb Chapel of Nebnefer & His Son Mahu at Sakkara* (Cairo, 2009), pl. 9a–b.

²³ Pay and Raia (Raven, *Pay and Raia*, pl. 1); Nebnefer and Mahu (Gohary, *Nebnefer & Mahu*, pl. 3); compare Tia: 155 cm (Martin, *Tia and Tia*, pl. 1).

²⁴ Maya (Frazer, in Martin, *Maya I*, 6, pl. 1B).

²⁵ Measurements from the tombs of Maya, Pay, and Tia.

²⁶ G.T. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-chief of Tut’ankhamūn, I: The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary* (EES EM 55; London, 1989), 32, scenes 9 and 10, pl. 23.

the centre. The text is largely illegible, although halfway the column the sign-group 𓆎 , *Wsir*, appears to be discernible. An offering table is positioned between the deities and the deceased couple. The scenes on the lintel are perfectly aligned with the outer framed text columns on the appertaining doorjambs. The lintel's upper area is damaged for most of the south half, which has caused the disappearance of the heads of both deities and the deceased couple on the left.

Saqqara offers a few parallels for the iconography on lintels: the lintel of Maya already mentioned,²⁷ a lintel of Iniuia, Chief Steward of Memphis,²⁸ and one from the lost tomb of Khaemneter, Royal Scribe and Inspector (*rwḏ*).²⁹ All depict two mirrored scenes with the deceased couple assuming an adoring position. The lintel of Khaemneter provides the closest parallel.³⁰ The two mirrored representations in sunk relief depict Ra-Horakhty seated in the centre. An offering table is set up in front of his throne, and Khaemneter and his wife Sati are kneeling in front of it, their hands raised in adoration. The accompanying text starts with *rdi.t iꜣw*, 'giving adoration'.

Since the heads of the two seated deities on Ptahemwia's lintel are missing and

²⁷ Martin et al., 'The Tomb of Maya and Meryt: Preliminary Report on the Saqqâra Excavations, 1987–8', *JEA* 74 (1988), 13, pl. II.2; Martin, *Maya* I, 22, scene 12, pls 18, 71.2. Maya and Meryt adore Anubis recumbent atop a shrine with *wedjat* eye above its back. The central column of text identifies the deity.

²⁸ (1) Iniuia and Iuy adoring Anubis recumbent: H.D. Schneider, *The Tomb of Iniuia in the New Kingdom Necropolis at Saqqara* (PALMA 8; Turnhout, 2012), 76–7, scene 11, fig. III.26. Excavation Nos R 93-53 A, B; R 93-56; 30 x 194 x 25 cm; (2) Iniuia and Iuy adoring Osiris and Isis (left) and Osiris and Nephthys (right) squatting: *Ibid.*, 79, scene 14, fig. III.29, Art Institute of Chicago Inv. 1894.246; max. dimensions of fragment: 24.5 x 71 x 5.5 cm (original width calculated at 110 cm).

²⁹ Schneider, *Iniuia*, 101, Cat. 28, fig. III.59, Excav. Nos R 93-2 (max. 59 x 85 x 13 cm) and R 93-19 (26 x 36 x 13 cm). The scene has a height of 30 cm. The location of Khaemneter's tomb is not known, although the lintel's find-spot indicates that it must be situated in close proximity to Iniuia, immediately due south of Horemheb's first court.

³⁰ For more lintels from New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara, but with different iconography, see: Horemheb, Generalissimo, late Eighteenth Dynasty (Martin, *Horemheb* I, 112–13, scene 102, pl. 98); Amenemope, Nineteenth Dynasty? (Saqqara No. 16697; A. Moussa, 'A limestone lintel of *Imn-m-ipt* from Saqqara', *ASAE* 70 (1984–5), 35, pl. I); Ramessesemperre, Royal Butler, Nineteenth Dynasty, Ramesses II–Merenptah (Brooklyn Museum NI 35.1315; J. Berlandini-Grenier, 'Le dignitaire Ramsès-em-per-Rê', *BIFAO* 74 (1974), 5–6, Doc. III, pl. III); Nebmose, Overseer of the Treasury, Nineteenth Dynasty (London, British Museum E1465; *HTBM* 10, 40, pl. 93); Amenemone, General of the Lord of the Two Lands, Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Horemheb (Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 27.6.24.10; O. Djuževa, 'Das Grab des Generals Ameneminet in Saqqara', in Bartá and Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000*, 95, Dok. 3, pl. 1); Iy-iry, High Priest of Ptah, Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Seti II (present location unknown; found at Mit Rahineh; R. Anthes, *Mit Rahineh 1956* (Philadelphia, 1965), 80, Cat. 9, fig. 7, pls 27a, 28a); Hatiay, God's Father, late Eighteenth Dynasty (Paris, Musée du Louvre AF 9923; B. Gessler-Löhr, 'Pre-Amarna or Post-Amarna? The tomb of the God's Father Hatiay at Saqqara', in L. Evans (ed.), *Ancient Memphis 'Enduring is the Perfection': Proceedings of the International Conference held at Macquarie University, Sydney on August 14-15, 2008* (OLA 214; Leuven, 2012), 151–3, figs 1a–b, 10).

the text column is illegible, one should be cautious to identify both. If one were to argue in favour of Ra-Horakhty, Ptahemwia and his wife would be depicted while adoring Ra-Horakhty (in the east), and the same theme is represented on the doorway's south reveal (see below). The presence of Ra-Horakhty would strengthen the hypothesis that this is the entrance to the tomb. His association with the rising sun connects him with the east. Osiris, on the other hand, would be typically represented in the westend of the tomb.³¹ If the signs for *Wsir* are correctly identified, this could be an indication for the writing of that deity's name.

In tomb decoration the north is usually associated with the netherworld and deities such as Osiris and Atum, while the south is associated with regeneration, the sunrise, and deities such as Ra(-Horakhty). The lintel's east face – visible when entering the tomb – was usually decorated with scenes, whereas the west face – visible when leaving the tomb – was inscribed with texts.³² This is another indication to support the hypothesis that the photograph of Devéria is taken from the north-east.

Texts on the Exterior Doorjambs

Each doorjamb is composed of two superimposed limestone revetment blocks, inscribed with four framed columns of hieroglyphic texts. Each column contains a *ḥtp di nsw* offering formula, concluding with Ptahemwia's varying title sequences and his name. The text columns appear to terminate at a slightly higher level than does the scene on the doorway reveal, which might indicate that the doorjambs continue underneath the sand, perhaps containing a panel showing the tomb owner seated behind an offering table. Such panels are commonly attested on the lower parts of doorjambs in the New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara.³³

The texts on the right-hand side doorjamb (north) are clearly legible when magnifying the digital image. Due to the less advantageous lighting conditions, no transcription of the texts on the left (south) side can be presented.

³¹ An exception should be noted in the tomb of Maya, where the enthroned Osiris is being adored by Maya. The scene is depicted in the entrance vestibule, north wall. However, Osiris is situated at the westend of the wall and Maya stands on the east, facing west: G.T. Martin, *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis: New Discoveries from the Time of Tutankhamun and Ramesses the Great* (London, 1991), 171–2, fig. 109; Martin, *Maya* I, 18–19, scene 3, pls 9–10, 79–80.

³² See the lintel of Iniua, Excav. Nos R 93-53 A, B, and R 93-56: Schneider, *Iniua*, 76–7, scene 11, fig. III.26.

³³ See e.g. the exterior doorjambs on the entrance pylon of the tomb of father and son Nebnefer and Mahu, both Chief Steward of Ptah, Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II (Gohary, *Nebnefer & Mahu*, pls 4b, 7b, 8a–b); and Maya (Martin, *Maya* I, scenes 1–2, pl 8, 78).

I.1 Doorway, north jamb, east face:

(←↓) [1] 

*ḥtp di nsw Pth rsy inb=f nb ʿnh-tz.wy^a di=k t₃w nḏm n.y mhy.t n Wsir sš nsw im.y-r
[ih.w wr] m t[₃] ḥw.t Wsr-m₃^c.t-R^c-stp.n-R^c m pr Imn Pth-m-wi₃ m₃^c-ḥrw.*

An offering which the King gives to Ptah Who-is-South-of-His-Wall, Lord of Ankhatawy, may you grant the sweet breeze of the north wind for the Osiris, Royal Scribe, Great Overseer [of Cattle] in the Temple of Usermaatse-Setepenre in the House of Amun (i.e. Ramesseum), Ptahemwia, true of voice.

(←↓) [2] 

*ḥtp di nsw R^c-Ḥr-₃h.ty ntr ʿ₃ nb p.t^b di=k t mw pr(i) [ḥr wdḥw?]^c n Wsir sš nsw
ḥtp.w-ntr n(.y) ntr.w nb.w T₃-mḥ.w Šm^c.w^d Pth-m-wi₃ m₃^c-ḥrw.*

An offering which the King gives to Ra-Horakhty, Great God, Lord of Heaven, may you grant bread and water that comes forth [upon the/your offering table?] for the Osiris, Royal Scribe of Divine Offerings of all Gods of Lower and Upper Egypt, Ptahemwia, true of voice.

(←↓) [3] 

*ḥtp di nsw (D)tm.w nb t₃.wy ʿIwn.w di=k pri(.t)-ḥrw t ḥnḳ.t k₃.w ₃pd.w [ḥ.t nb.t nfr.t
w^cb.t?] n Wsir sš nsw imy-r ih.w wr Pth-m-wi₃ m₃^c-ḥrw.*

An offering which the King gives to Atum, Lord of the Two Lands and of Heliopolis / the Heliopolite, may you grant an offering of bread, beer, oxen, fowl [and all good and pure things] to the Osiris, Royal Scribe, Great Overseer of Cattle, Ptahemwia, true of voice.

(←↓) [4] 

*ḥtp di nsw Ḥw.t-Ḥr ḥnw.t imnt.t nfr.t di-s ḥtp [/// n Wsir] sš nsw ḥtp.w-ntr n(.y)
ntr.w nb.w Šm^c.w T₃-mḥ.w Pth-m-wi₃ m₃^c-ḥrw.*

An offering which the King gives to Hathor, Mistress of the Beautiful West, may she grant an offering [/// to the Osiris], Royal Scribe of Divine Offerings of all the Gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ptahemwia, true of voice.

Notes on Text and Translation

^a For this writing of *ḥn-tꜣ.wy*, see e.g. *Wb* I, 203: stela of Urhiya and Yupa, Louvre E 3143 (ex-coll. d'Anastasi 1857; J. Ruffle and K.A. Kitchen, 'The Family of Urhiya and Yupa, High Stewards of the Ramesseum', in J. Ruffle, K.A. Kitchen, and G.A. Gaballa (eds), *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of H.W. Fairman* (Warminster, 1979), 55–74, pl. IVa–b; for sign-order $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\overline{\text{𓆏}}$, see H. Altenmüller and A.M. Moussa, 'Eine wiederentdeckte Statue des Vezirs Rahotep', *MDAIK* 30 (1974), 3; *KRI* III, 56.2: naophorous statue, found by Zakaria Goneim in 1955 near the Jeremias Monastery at Saqqara. For the epithet, see: C. Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* 3 (OLA 112; Leuven, 2002), 601–2; M. Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah* (Lund, 1946), pl. 63, No. 316, and pl. 64, No. 330: $\overline{\text{𓆎}}\overline{\text{𓆏}}\overline{\text{𓆑}}\overline{\text{𓆒}}\overline{\text{𓆓}}\overline{\text{𓆔}}\overline{\text{𓆕}}$ (as an epithet for Ptah).

^b For a parallel of these epithets at Saqqara, see e.g. the tomb of Horemheb: Martin, *Horemheb* I, 128, scene 124, pl. 139 (Horemheb adoring Ra-Horakhty); stela Avignon, Musée Calvet A4 of General Iurokhy (Saqqara, tomb LS 25): Ruffle and Kitchen, in Ruffle, Kitchen, and Gaballa (eds), *Studies Fairman*, pl. Va–b.

^c Compare e.g. Martin, *Horemheb* I, 35, scene 11, pls 24–5; Schneider, *Iniiua*, 83–4, scene 17, fig. III.32, pl. VII.

^d The usual word sequence is: *Šm^c.w Tꜣ-mḥ.w* (see text I.1,4). Here it appears to be reversed, although this is difficult to ascertain.

Doorway: Text on Doorjamb Reveal

The protruding doorjamb reveal contains one framed column of incised hieroglyphs, oriented right to left. The upper and lower sections are illegible. The text probably starts with an offering formula (as indicated by the element *n Wsir*, '... to the Osiris ...'), and

atop her striated wig, possibly in combination with a lotus flower.

A close, possibly Memphite parallel for this scene is relief block Hannover, Museum August-Kestner 1935.200.182.³⁵ It is a limestone block with the much-weathered raised relief representation of an anonymous tomb owner³⁶ and his wife, both facing left. This fragment was part of a larger scene, which now only preserves their torsos and part of their heads. The man raises both hands in adoration; the woman raises her right hand and holds a *menat* and sistrum with her left hand. The block measures 47 x 71 x 3.5 cm.³⁷ These dimensions are comparable to those calculated for the scene in Ptahemwia's doorway (see above).

The lighting conditions inside the doorway are less advantageous compared to the exterior, leaving many of the inscriptions illegible. Approximately ten short columns of text are inscribed above the couple's heads, and an uninscribed section (perhaps a frieze) separates it from the ceiling. In view of the scene's subject, one may suggest that the text starts with 'giving adoration', followed by the name of the deity and its corresponding epithets. The couple are represented while moving in an eastward direction, as if they are leaving their tomb in order to give praise and adore Ra-Horakhty, who is likely to be represented on the lintel above. Memphite parallels for this scene can be found in the Amarna Period tomb of Mery-Neith, who on the north reveal of the entrance doorway is depicted entering his tomb, and on the south reveal leaving the tomb to adore Ra-Horakhty.³⁸ Iniuia 'leaves' his tomb chapel (alone) with his hands raised in adoration.³⁹ On that chapel's north and south walls, Iniuia, his wife Iuy and their daughter Meryt-Ra are depicted standing with hands raised in adoration; the accompanying texts contain hymns and an offering prayer.⁴⁰ Scenes of entering and leaving (*ḥꜣ prt*) are also depicted in the entrance doorway of the tombs of Raia⁴¹ and

³⁵ Ex-coll. Von Bissing (Inv. No. S'.562): Martin, *Corpus*, 36, No. 88, pls 34, 53 (as Nineteenth Dynasty; provenance unknown but probably Saqqara); R. Drenkhahn, *Ägyptische Reliefs im Kestner-Museum Hannover* (Hannover, 1989), 104–5, Cat. 34. I wish to thank Christian Loeben for sending me scans of the museum inventory card.

³⁶ Drenkhahn (Ibid., 104–5), on stylistic grounds attributed the block to the tomb of Maya, the late Eighteenth Dynasty Overseer of the Treasury. However, compare the weathering on this block to that on block Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 715 of the General Amenemone, also from the late Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Horemheb (PM III/2, 701; M. Mogensen, *La Collection Égyptienne: La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg* (Copenhagen, 1930), 97, pl. 108).

³⁷ The slight thickness of this block should indicate that it was sawn from a larger block.

³⁸ Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 82–87, scenes 8 and 7, respectively.

³⁹ Schneider, *Iniuia*, 59, scene 1, fig. III.1 (h: 90 cm).

⁴⁰ Schneider, *Iniuia*, 81–4, scenes 16–17, figs III.31–2, pls VI–VII (h: 87.5 and 84 cm).

⁴¹ Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 23, scenes 3 and 4, pl. 16. Raia is depicted alone.

Tia.⁴² The pylon entrance doorway of the tomb of Tia is decorated with scenes of the tomb owner adoring before the King (south reveal) and the King facing a woman, perhaps Queen Tuya, Ramesses II's mother (north reveal).⁴³ The tomb of Mahu and Nebnefer depicts a male figure (probably Mahu) facing west before a striding deity on the north reveal, and facing east before a deity on the south reveal.⁴⁴ According to Gohary, the latter deity should represent Ra at dawn. If these few preserved and published Ramesside examples can be considered representative, there appears to be a development from representing the tomb owner implicitly adoring a deity during the late Eighteenth Dynasty (the deity being mentioned in the text), towards explicitly adoring the god (depicted) during the Ramesside period. The tomb of Ptahemwia contains the 'traditional', earlier scene, which indicates that this presumed change took place in the course of Ramesses II's reign.

Close parallels for Ptahemwia's scene can also be found in Theban tombs. Good examples are the tomb of Nefersekeru, the Deputy of the Treasury and Royal Scribe of the Divine Offerings of all Gods (TT 296),⁴⁵ and the tomb of Neferhotep, Overseer of Cattle of Amun (TT 49).⁴⁶ Both officials are (near) contemporaries to Ptahemwia and they held similar titles. On the south reveal of the entrance doorway, the deceased couple Neferhotep and Meryt-Ra leave their tomb and on the north reveal they are depicted while entering. The south reveal depicts them standing (Meryt-Ra holding a sistrum), hands raised in adoration and leaving their tomb, with the text *dwꜣ Rꜥ hft wbn=f m ꜣh.t iꜣb.tyt n.(y)t p.t*, 'Adoring Ra when he rises in the eastern horizon of the sky'. On the north reveal, the couple assume the same pose oriented towards the west, entering their tomb, and the corresponding text starts with: *dwꜣ Rꜥ-Hr-ꜣh.ty hft htp=f m ꜣh.t imn.tyt (n.yt) p.t*, 'Adoring Ra-Horakhty when he sets in the western horizon of the sky'. In the tomb of Neferrenpet-Kenro (TT 178), a doorway inside the tomb (south wall) contains a lintel with the representation of Osiris on the east side and Ra-Horakhty on the west side.⁴⁷ These examples indicate that one needs to be cautious when ascribing an orientation based on the deity represented.

⁴² Martin, *Tia and Tia*, scenes 88 and 90, pls 49–50.

⁴³ Martin, *Tia and Tia*, 18–19, scenes 14 and 18, pls 11, 14.

⁴⁴ Gohary, *Nebnefer & Mahu*, 14, scenes 3 and 4, pl. 9a–b.

⁴⁵ E. Feucht, *Das Grab des Nefersecheru (TT 296)* (Theben 2; Mainz am Rhein, 1985), scene 1, pl. VI. The tomb is dated to the reign of Ramesses II, mid to second half.

⁴⁶ N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-Hotep at Thebes* (New York, 1933), pls XXXVI–XXXVII.

⁴⁷ E. Hofmann, *Das Grab des Neferrenpet gen. Kenro (TT 178)* (Theben 9; Mainz, 1995), pls IIa, XXX.

I.3 Doorway, south reveal:

(←↓) ^[x+1]  ^[x+2]  ^[x+3]  ^[x+4]       

^[x+1] /// [Pth]-m-wi3 ^[x+2] [m3^c-hrw m] ḥtp /// ^[x+3] /// [sn.t=f mr.t=f] šm^cy.t n(.yt)
 Ḥw.t-Hr ^[x+4] [nb.t nh.t rsy.t] Šhm.t^a m3^c(.t)-hrw m ḥtp.

^[x+1] /// Ptahemwia ^[x+2] [true of voice in] peace /// ^[x+3] /// [and his sister (i.e. wife)
 whom he loves], the Songstress of Hathor ^[x+4] [Lady of the Southern Sycamore],
 Sekhmet, true of voice in peace.

^a *PN* I, 319.21. See also: relief Cairo TN 31.5.25.11, depicting the squatting grandchildren presumably of Iniua, Chief Steward of Memphis: s3.t n(.yt) s3=f Šhm.t m3^c.t-hrw (Schneider, *Iniua*, 121, fig. V.2); relief Bologna, Museo Civico KS 1945 (ex-coll. Palagi; Di Nizzoli) of Ptahhotep: s3.t=f šm^c.yt n(.yt) nb.t nh.t Šhm.t-m-ḥb (S. Pernigotti, 'Il rilievo Bologna KS 1945', *SEAP* 7 (1990), 1–7, pl. I); column Cairo TN 26.11.124.4, the wife of Wepwawetmose, Royal Scribe of the Offering Table (J. Berlandini, 'Varia Memphitica V: Monuments de la chapelle funéraire du gouverneur Ptahmès', *BIFAO* 82 (1982), 99 n. 3, pl. XIVa); on a stela found in Saqqara north-west of the pyramid of Ibi (present location unknown), the wife of Khonsu, Head of Servants: nb.t pr Šhm.t (Ramesside: PM III/2, 675; G. Jéquier, *La Pyramide d'Aba* (Fouilles à Saqqarah; Cairo, 1935), 30–1, No. 13, pl. XX; and named in a hieroglyphic graffito in the North Chapel of Djoser's pyramid complex: 'Songstress of Amu[n], Sekhmet' (H. Navrátilová, *The Visitors' Graffiti of Dynasties XVIII and XIX in Abusir and Saqqara* (Prague, 2007), 126, pl. 35a–b (M.2.3.P.19_20.2). A Memphite temple of Sekhmet is attested in the title of Niay, who was ḥm-nṯr n(.y) Šhm.t and ḥm-nṯr Šhm.t m ḥw.t Šhm.t (on relief Leipzig Inv. No. 2885: E. Blumenthal, 'Grabrelief des Niai', in R. Krauspe (ed.), *Das Ägyptische Museum der Universität Leipzig* (Mainz am Rhein, 1997), 96, No. 78; relief Berlin 7322: LD., Text I, 138, 'Einzelne Steine im Dorfe Abusir verbaut'; and relief Hannover, Museum August-Kestner 2933: PM III/2, 707–8; C.E. Loeben, *Die Ägypten-Sammlung des Museum August Kestner und ihre (Kriegs-)Verluste* (Rahden, 2011), fig. 5). A cult for 'Sekhmet of Sahure' was located in part of the pyramid temple of Sahure at Abusir.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sâ'hu-re^c*. Band 1: *Der Bau* (Leipzig, 1910), 120–35.

Identifying the Tomb-owner

Ptahemwia – ‘Ptah is in the barque’⁴⁹ – is not an uncommon name amongst officials of the New Kingdom at Memphis. At least five officials with the same name constructed their tombs at Saqqara,⁵⁰ and a Scribe named Ptahemwia left a graffito in the Old Kingdom mastaba of Vizier Ptahshepses at Abusir, dated Year 50 (of Ramesses II).⁵¹

The inscriptions visible on the right-hand side doorjamb of the photographed tomb further identify the owner *inter alia* as the (Great) Overseer of Cattle (see below). One Overseer of Cattle named Ptahemwia is known from a limestone pyramidion found at Saqqara, and there can be little doubt that this is indeed the same man. According to the *Journal d’Entrée* of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, it was found at ‘Memphis (Saqqara)’ in March 1861.⁵² In his publication of Ptahemwia’s pyramidion, Myśliwiec

⁴⁹ Ranke, *PNI*, 139.

⁵⁰ (1) Royal Butler, late Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Akhenaten–Tutankhamun (PM III/2, 751; tomb rediscovered in 2007 by the Leiden-expedition: M.J. Raven et al., ‘Preliminary Report on the Leiden Excavations at Saqqara, Season 2007: The Tomb of Ptahemwia’, *JEOL* 40 (2006–7), 19–39; M.J. Raven et al., *The Tombs of Ptahemwia and Sethnakht at Saqqara* (Turnhout, forthcoming)); (2) Royal Butler, father of the Royal Butler Hori, Twentieth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses III/IV, or later (PM III/2, 751; J. Málek, ‘The Royal Butler Hori at Northern Saqqara’, *JEA* 74 (1988), 125–36); (3) Chief of Retainers of Ptah, late Eighteenth Dynasty (pyramidion Leiden AM 7bis; P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden: De monumenten van het Nieuwe Rijk. Tweede afdeeling: Pyramiden, Lijkenvazenkist, Offertafels, Beelden* (The Hague, 1912), 1–2, pls I, XV; A. Rammant-Peeters, *Les Pyramidions Égyptiennes du Nouvel Empire* (OLA 11; Leuven, 1983), 38–9, Doc. 35; M.J. Raven and N. Staring, ‘Pyramidion von Ptahemwia’, in C. Ewigleben (ed.), *Ägyptische Mumien: Unsterblichkeit im Land der Pharaonen* (Stuttgart, 2007), 136–7); (4) Stable-master of the Residence (Stela BM EA 167; may have derived from Saqqara: *HTBM* 9, 29–30, pl. 25); (5) Overseer of All Priests of the Two Lands, late Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Amenhotep III? (a limestone stela excavated by the Waseda University archaeological mission 2 km north of Snofru’s Red Pyramid at Dahshur: S. Yoshimura and S. Hasegawa, ‘New Kingdom Necropolis at Dahshur – The Tomb of Ipay and Its Vicinity’, in M. Bárta and J. Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000* (Prague, 2000), 149); (6) Overseer of the Fillet(?) of the Lord of the Two Lands, Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II (PM III/2, 770); (7) Overseer of the Treasury of the Temple of a Million Years of Ramesses II in the Domain of Amun in Memphis, Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II (PM III/2, 775). The last two officials are in fact the same man, as argued in the present article.

⁵¹ Together with his father, the Scribe Yupa: PM III/2, 342; G. Daressy, ‘Inscription hiératique d’un Mastaba d’Abousir’, *BIE* 5 (1894), 107–13; *KRI* III, 43; A.J. Peden, *Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt: The Scope and Roles of Informal Writing* (PdÄ 17; Leiden, 2001), 95–6; Navrátilová, *Visitors’ Graffiti*, 58–61 (M.1.5.M.19.1.1).

⁵² See: Myśliwiec, *SAK* 6, 139 (*Journal d’Entrée*: Memphis, March 1861). According to the JE numbering system, JE 8371 would have been assigned in 1860 (see: B.V. Bothmer, ‘Numbering Systems of the Cairo Museum’, in *Textes et langages de l’Égypte pharaonique: Cent cinquante années de recherché 1822–1972, Hommage à Jean-François Champollion* (BdE 64/3; Cairo, 1972–74), 114). The

already identified this official with the man named Ptahemwia who left a statue at the temple of Osiris in Abydos.⁵³ With the identification of the tomb photographed by Devéria, Myśliwiec's suggestion that Ptahemwia was buried not in Thebes but in Saqqara can now be confirmed.

Pyramidion Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 17109 (JE 8371; TN 7.11.24.3)

Limestone

H. 38.5 cm; L. of base: 53 (east), 38 (south), 31.5 (west), and 41 cm (north)

Found at Saqqara in March 1860⁵⁴

Bibliography: PM III/2, 770 (as: 'Overseer of the Fillet(?) of the Lord of the Two Lands'); K. Myśliwiec, 'Zwei Pyramidia der XIX. Dynastie aus Memphis', *SAK* 6 (1978), 139–55 (esp. 139–45), figs 1–4, pls 36–7; J. Berlandini, 'Varia Memphitica II', *BIFAO* 77 (1977), 32 n. 2; A. Rammant-Peeters, *Les pyramidions égyptiennes du Nouvel Empire* (OLA 11; Leuven, 1983), 18–19, Doc. 15.

Texts

Side A (West): Deceased Kneeling in Adoration Before Atum Seated

(↓→) 

(*I*)tm nb t3.wy 'Iwnw.

Atum, Lord of the Two Lands and Heliopolis / the Heliopolite.

(←↓)* 

dw3 (*I*)tm m ḥtp=f n k3 n(.y) Wsir im.y-r iḥ.w Pth-m-wi3.

Adoring Atum when he sets, for the ka of the Overseer of Cattle, Ptahemwia.

Temporary Register No. 7.11.24.3 indicates that it was registered as the third object entered on 7 November 1924 (Ibid., 117–18).

⁵³ Myśliwiec, *SAK* 6, 144–5, with nn. 6–7.

⁵⁴ See the remarks in n. 59, above. The unpublished "Inventaire Mariette" in the Bibliothèque nationale de France indicate the correct find-date of 1860 (Stéphane Pasquali, personal communication).

The photographs published by Myśliwiec (especially on Side D) leave little doubt that this title should be read as , *im.y-r ih.w*.⁵⁵ The abbreviated writing with bovid head is not attested elsewhere in Ptahemwia's titulary. The title suggested by Rammant-Peeters is, as far as I am aware, unattested at Saqqara during the New Kingdom.⁵⁶

“An Unidentified Object”

The titles inscribed on the statue (see below) and the newly discovered entrance doorway indicate that a short text copied by Mariette⁵⁷ from “an unidentified object”⁵⁸ should derive from Ptahemwia's tomb as well. The hieroglyphic text reads as follows:

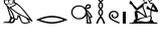


(i)r(.y)-p^c(.t) *htm.w-bl.ty smr w^c.[ty]/// im.y-r pr-ḥd nbw n(.y) t3 ḥw.t n(.y)t ḥḥ.w rnp.wt n(.y) nsw.t-bl.ty Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c-stp.n-R^c m pr Imn m Inb-ḥd Pth-m-wiz m3^c-hrw.*

*Hereditary Prince, Seal Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, Sole Companion, Overseer of the Treasury of the Temple of Millions of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermaatse-Setepenre in the House of Amun (and?) in*⁵⁹ *White Wall* (i.e. Memphis), *Ptahemwia, true of voice.*

This is the only document to record the title that associates Ptahemwia with the treasury of Ramesses II's Theban memorial temple. His association with the God's offerings and the cattle administration, as recorded on various tomb-elements, also situate him within the treasury (see below). Since no other high official named Ptahemwia held either of

⁵⁵ The reading on Side C is problematic due to the stone's damaged surface.

⁵⁶ Compare: , W.A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom: With a Glossary of Words and Phrases Used* (Beirut, 1982), 31.218.

⁵⁷ Mariette, *Mon. div.*, 20, pl. 62c; *KRI* III, 417.10–11.

⁵⁸ *PM* III/2, 775.

⁵⁹ The preposition *m* seems to refer to a memorial temple of Ramesses II in a 'domain of Amun' in Memphis: cf. W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, I: *Die Eigentümer* (Mainz, 1961), 921 (139). M. Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit: Die Häuser der Millionen von Jahren. Eine Untersuchung zu Königskult und Tempeltypologie in Ägypten* (ÄAT 61; Wiesbaden, 2002), 372–3 (as: *Inb-ḥd.t*), however, argues that the title indicates Ptahemwia officiated in Memphis. Compare this construction to one title held by Mery-Neith, Steward in the Temple of the Aten: *sš n(.y) pr Itn m 3ḥ.t-itn m Mn-nfr*, Scribe of the Temple of Aten in Akhetaten (and?) in Memphis (R. van Walsem, 'The Family and Career of Meryneith and Hatiay', in Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 42–4).

these titles, and since the homonymous officials buried at Saqqara held rather different titles (see n. 50, above), there should be little doubt that this unidentified object derives from the tomb photographed by Devéria.

Mariette probably copied the text on the same occasion that Devéria took his photograph. Whether or not Mariette sent this “unidentified object” to the Bulaq Museum, as he did with a great number of other monuments recorded in the same publication, is uncertain. He may just as easily have left it *in situ* after copying.⁶⁰ The tomb’s state of preservation in 1859 shows that at least this part of it had not been disturbed much by previous visitors. In fact, no tomb in this area of the necropolis has been (re)discovered in such a good state of preservation.

Osiriphorous Statue Edinburgh, National Museums Scotland A.1902.306.10⁶¹ (fig. 3)

Limestone

H. 128 cm; W. 37 cm

Gift from the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902⁶²

Bibliography: PM V, 47; W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Abydos, Part I* (London, 1902), 29, 31, 45, pls 65.2–4, 67 [top]. Texts: *KRI* III, 376–7, § XVII.18, No. 174; *KRITA* III, 273–4, § XVII.18, No. 174.

When Petrie excavated the Osiris temple at Abydos in 1902, he found a fair number of royal and private monuments dating to the New kingdom. At the back of the inner enclosure wall of the temple he found the statue of Ptahemwia, which he considered as the ‘principal piece’ of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Petrie misread the official’s name as Amun-em-per-Ptah-em-ua, taking part of the title as part of the name. Other officials who left their statues at Abydos, but officiated at Memphis, were the Northern Vizier

⁶⁰ Compare the doorjambs copied by Mariette and published in *Mon. div.*, 25–6, pl. 74. Because Mariette copied the doorjambs, scholars long assumed that he had sent them to the Bulaq Museum. However, they were rediscovered *in situ* by the EES/Leiden mission in 1975: Martin, *Horemheb I*, 57–8, scenes 57 and 58, pls 50, 56–7).

⁶¹ Previously: Royal Scottish Museums. I wish to thank Margaret Maitland, curator of the Ancient Mediterranean, Department of World Cultures, National Museums Scotland, for providing me with measurements and study-photographs of the statue, and Ms. Margaret Wilson for arranging for the final photographs published here.

⁶² It was given to the museum in return for subscription to the excavation.

(Pa-)Rahotep⁶³ and Nedjem, the Chief Steward of the Ramesseum.⁶⁴

The standing statue measures 128 x 37 cm in its present state of preservation. The torso from the elbows upwards has been heavily damaged. The right flap of his striated wig is partly visible folded back over the shoulder. The lower end of the wig is visible on the back.

Ptahemwia assumes a striding pose and is positioned on a base. He holds a smaller-scale mummiform statue of Osiris in front of him. He does not carry the deity, but rather touches Osiris at his shoulders, thus 'embracing' him. Osiris stands on a separate base that rests on the base supporting Ptahemwia. Osiris holds his characteristic attributes – flail and *heka* sceptre or crook – across his chest. Note that the flagellum is held in the left hand and the crook in the right, which is contrary to their canonical position.⁶⁵ His head is missing and the lower tip of his beard and the support between his head and Ptahemwia's torso remains. A circular hole is drilled into the top of the short neck. This might indicate that the head was made separately, perhaps even from different material. Each side of the support between the Osiris figure and Ptahemwia

⁶³ W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Abydos II* (London, 1903), 45, pls 35.2, 37. The cubic statue is now in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 03.1891 (EEF, 1903): R. Schulz, *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus: Eine Untersuchung zu den sogenannten „Würfelhockern“* (HÄB 33; Hildesheim, 1992), 90–1, No. 026, pl. 10. Previously, it was thought that there were two Viziers of the North with the same name (cf. H. de Meulenaere, 'Deux vizirs de Ramsès II', *CdE* 41/82 (1966), 223–32), but there is now scholarly consensus to identify them both as the same official named (Pa-)Rahotep, who served as Northern Vizier from the second to sixth decade of the reign of Ramesses II: D. Raue, 'Ein Wesir Ramses' II.', in H. Guksch and D. Polz (eds), *Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens. Rainer Stadelmann gewidmet* (Mainz am Rhein, 1998), 340–51; C. Raedler, 'Die Wesire Ramses' II. – Netzwerke der Macht', in R. Gundlach and A. Klug (eds), *Das ägyptische Königtum im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen- und Außenpolitik im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr., Königtum* (KSG 1; Wiesbaden, 2004), 354–75. The recently excavated limestone column fragment with the name and titles of this Vizier can be added to the corpus published by Raedler. It was found in shaft 99/I located south of the south exterior wall of the inner courtyard of the tomb of Horemheb at Saqqara: Raven et al., *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander in Chief of Tutankhamun, V: The Forecourt and the Area South of the Tomb With Some Notes on the Tomb of Tia* (PALMA 6; Turnhout, 2011), 58, No. 28, fig. on p. 59 (Sak. 2003-R 092). For (Pa-)Rahotep's tomb at Sedment, see: W.M. Flinders Petrie and G. Brunton, *Sedment II* (BSAE 35; London, 1924), 28–31, pls LXXI–LXXVI; H. Franzmeier, 'Neues von (Pa-)Rahotep: Die Funde aus dem Grab des Wesirs im Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago', in G. Neunert, K. Gabler, and A. Verbovsek (eds), *Nekropolen: Grab – Bild – Ritual. Beiträge des zweiten Münchner Arbeitskreises Junge Ägyptologie (MAJA 2) 2. bis 4.12.2011* (GOF IV/54; Wiesbaden, 2013), 63–4.

⁶⁴ Petrie, *Abydos II*, 36, No. 4, pls 35, 38. Recently, an abacus inscribed for the same man was found reused near the tomb of Mery-Neith at Saqqara (Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 172, Cat. 163), and a shabti fragment was found during the excavation of the neighbouring tomb of Ptahemwia (Raven et al., *Ptahemwia and Sethnakht*, Cat. 67).

⁶⁵ Also observed for the Osiriphorous statuette Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1957.410 of Amun-Nakht (late New Kingdom; provenance unknown): L. Pantalacci, 'Statuette of Amen-nakht Holding a Statue of Osiris', in S. D'Auria, P. Lacovara, and C.H. Roehrig (eds), *Mummies & Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston, 1988), 241, Cat. No. 203.

bears one unframed column of incised hieroglyphs.

Ptahemwia wears a composite garment consisting of a long bag tunic (reaching to the ankles) with pleated “sleeves”, in combination with a pleated wrap-around sash kilt tied in front. The pleating is indicated only on the back. The long kilt has a smooth and stiffened, trapezoid front panel and the back is covered below the waist with ten framed lines of incised hieroglyphs. Each line starts on the statue’s right-hand side. The garment is reminiscent of shabtis wearing the so-called dress of the living.⁶⁶ Note, however, that Ptahemwia does not wear sandals – an attribute otherwise attested for such shabtis.

Texts

Sash Kilt, Back Side

(→) [1] 

ḥtp di nsw R^c-Hr-3h.ty (D)tm nb [t3.wy] ṽwnw di=sn t3w mw n Wsir im.y-r ih.w Pth-m-wi3 m3^c-hrw.

An offering which the King gives to Ra-Horakhty and Atum, Lord [of the Two Lands] and Heliopolis / the Heliopolite, that they may grant breath and water for the Osiris, Overseer of Cattle, Ptahemwia, true of voice.

(→) [2] 

ḥtp di nsw Wsir hn.ty imn{r^[sic]}t.t di=f t ḥnk.t k3.w 3pd.w n k3 n(.y) Wsir im.y-r ih.w Pth-m-wi3 m3^c-hrw.

An offering which the King gives to Osiris, the Foremost of the West, that he may grant bread, beer, oxen and fowl for the ka of the Osiris, Overseer of Cattle, Ptahemwia, true of voice.

⁶⁶ Class VI in Schneider’s typology: H.D. Schneider, *Shabtis: An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with a Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden* (Leiden, 1977), I, 161–2. Compare e.g. Louvre N 2955: Ramessesmen, Director of the Royal Harim of the Lord of the Two Lands, Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II, probably Memphite (M. Dewachter, *La collection égyptienne du musée Champollion* (Figeac, 1986), 60–1, Cat. 62); various entries in P.E. Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi* (CGC Nos 46530–48575; Cairo, 1957), III, Nos 47220 (Twentieth Dynasty, Abydos), 47656 (Nineteenth Dynasty), 47651 (Nineteenth/Twentieth Dynasty, Saqqara 1858), 47208 (Nineteenth Dynasty), 47207 (Nineteenth Dynasty), 47222 (Nineteenth/Twentieth Dynasty), 47225 (Nineteenth/Twentieth Dynasty).

(→) [3] 

ḥtp di nsw Wsir Wn-nfr nb t3-dsr n k3 n(.y) Wsir im.y-r ih.w m t[3] ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c-stp.n-R^c m pr 'Imn Pth-m-wi3 m3^c-ḥrw.

An offering which the King gives to Osiris-Wennefer, Lord of the Necropolis, for the ka of the Osiris, Overseer of Cattle in the Temple of Usermaatse-Setepenre in the House of Amun, Ptahemwia, true of voice.

(→) [4] 

ḥtp di nsw 'Inpw ḥn.ty sh-ntr di=f ḥsw m-b3ḥ nsw n k3 n(.y) Wsir im.y-r ih.w m t[3] ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c-stp.n-R^c m pr 'Imn Pth-m-wi3 m3^c-ḥrw.

An offering which the King gives to Anubis, Chief of the God's Booth, that he may grant favour before the king for the ka of the Osiris, Overseer of Cattle in the Temple of Usermaatse-Setepenre in the House of Amun, Ptahemwia, true of voice.

(→) [5] 

ḥtp di nsw 'Inpw nb rh di=f ḥ'w nfr šms n k3=f n k3 n(.y) Wsir im.y-r ih.w m t[3] ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c-stp.n-R^c m pr 'Imn Pth-m-wi3 m3^c-ḥrw.

An offering which the King gives to Anubis, Lord of Knowledge, that he may grant a good lifetime, following his will, for the ka of the Osiris, Overseer of Cattle in the Temple of Usermaatse-Setepenre in the House of Amun, Ptahemwia, true of voice.

(→) [6] 

ḥtp di nsw Wsir di=f 3ḥ m p.t wsr m t3 m3^c [ḥrw] m s.t ir(.t) m3^c.t n k3 n(.y) Wsir im.y-r ih.w m t[3] ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c-stp.n-R^c m pr 'Imn Pth-m-wi3 m3^c[-ḥrw].

An offering which the King gives to Osiris, that he may grant a spirit-state in heaven, power on earth, justification in the place of doing justice, for the ka of the Osiris, Overseer of Cattle in the Temple of Usermaatse-Setepenre in the House of Amun, Ptahemwia, true [of voice].

(→) [7] 

ḥtp di nsw Wsir nb t3-dsr 'Inpw im.y wt di=sn šms Skr n k3 n(.y) sš nsw ḥtp(.w)-ntr

Osiriphorous Statues

Theophorous statues of various forms appeared during the reign of Hatshepsut.⁶⁷ Until the Amarna Period, such statues show the god in animal form. The deity is always supported by an altar, offering stand or, as in this case, a sockle. During the Ramesside Period, the god is usually represented in anthropomorph form.⁶⁸

Parallels for Osiriphorous statues are available for the New Kingdom,⁶⁹ but the type became particularly popular during the Late Period when they appear in large quantities in temple contexts.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ See E. Bernhauer, *Innovationen in der Privatplastik: Die 18. Dynastie und ihre Entwicklung* (Philippika 27; Wiesbaden, 2010), 58–63.

⁶⁸ H. Brandl, *Untersuchungen zur steineren Privatplastik der Dritten Zwischenzeit: Typologie – Ikonographie – Stilistik* (Berlin, 2008), I, 295.

⁶⁹ See: British Museum EA 2292: statuette of the Draughtsman Nebre (Deir el-Medina, Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II: PM VIII, 536; G. Andreu-Lanoë, *L'art du contour: Le dessin dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 2013), 126, No. 6b); anonymous official holding a headless statue of Ptah (Memphis, New Kingdom to Twenty-second Dynasty: University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania excavation, Clarence Fisher 1915–23; R. Schulman, 'Memphis 1915-1923: The Trivia of an Excavation', in Zivie (ed.), *Memphis et ses nécropoles*, 86 with nn. 47–8, pl. 12A: statue M-2218); BM 67.138: wooden statue of a standing priest with a statuette of Ptah (Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqara, Late New Kingdom (Excav. No. H5-504 [1193]: H.S. Smith et al., *The Sacred Animal Necropolis at Saqqara, The Main Temple Complex: The Archaeological Report* (EES EM 75; London, 2006), 214, pl. LIVd; E.A. Hastings, *The Sculpture from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqāra 1964-76* (EES EM 61; London, 1997), 12, No. 24, pls XV and XVI); Cairo JE 42086: limestone statue of Amenhotep III with Amun (J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne, Tome III: Les grandes époques: la statuaire* (Paris, 1958), pl. CVII.4); Cairo JE 42153: schist statue of Ramesses VI (Ibid., pl. CXXXI.6).

⁷⁰ Select examples: City Art Museum of St. Louis 222:24: Akh-pa-khered (Karnak cachette, Twenty-sixth Dynasty: B.V. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* (Brooklyn, 1960), 32–4, No. 28, pls 24–6, figs 56–9; M. Azim and G. Réveillac, *Karnak dans l'objectif de Georges Legrain: Catalogue raisonné des archives photographiques du premier directeur des travaux de Karnak de 1895 à 1917* (Paris, 2004), I, 334, No. X 12; II, 300); New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library Inv. 1: anonymous (provenance unknown, Twenty-sixth Dynasty: Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 46, No. 39, pl. 36, figs 84–5); New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 19.2.2: Hor-Bes (Karnak cachette, Twenty-sixth Dynasty: Ibid., *Egyptian Sculpture*, 55, No. 48, pls 44–5, figs. 106–9); Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 22.189: Djed-Khonséfankh (Karnak cachette: G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946), 59–60, No. 173, pl. 31); Walters Art Museum 22.215 (formerly Cairo JE 37890): Iret-Horru (Karnak cachette, Twenty-sixth Dynasty: Steindorff, *Catalogue*, 60–1, No. 174, pl. 31; Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 51–2, pls 40–1, figs 97–9; Azim and Réveillac, *Karnak*, I, 327, No. K 626; II, 282); Walters Art Museum 22.206: Psantik-mery-Re (provenance unknown, Twenty-sixth Dynasty: Steindorff, *Catalogue*, 61, No. 175, pl. 31); Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 42242 = JE 36746: Nesiptah (Karnak cachette: Azim and Réveillac, *Karnak*, I, 301–2, No. K 46; II, 221); Cairo JE 38599: Horsiese (Karnak cachette: Azim and Réveillac, *Karnak*, I, 331, No. K 741; II, 293); Paris, Musée du Louvre E 4299: anonymous (Twenty-sixth Dynasty: M. Étienne, *Les Portes du Ciel: Visions du monde dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 2009), 314–15, Cat. 266); Louvre E 3187 (wood): anonymous (Twenty-sixth Dynasty: Étienne, *Portes du Ciel*, 314–15, Cat. 267); Vienna, Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien ÄS 66: anonymous, unfinished (Twenty-sixth Dynasty: W. Seipel, *Götter, Menschen, Pharaonen: 3500 Jahre ägyptische*

Another type of statue akin to theophorous statues is the naophorous statue. Such statues of private individuals first appear during the reign of Hatshapsut in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty and were popular during the Ramesside Period.⁷¹ They were predominantly positioned in temples but examples are also known from tombs, such as the so-called temple-tombs at Saqqara.⁷² The significance of this type of statuary has been widely debated, interpreting the private individual as protector of the deity and *vice versa*,⁷³ or as depicting the presentation of a votive offering to the respective god.⁷⁴ With regards to the wishes expressed in the *hꜥp di nsw* formulae inscribed in naophorous statues, Van Dijk argued that while they could have been positioned in a temple during an individual's lifetime, they are specifically referring to eternity and life after death – and this observation should equally apply to all types of private statuary set up in temple contexts.⁷⁵ Its symbolism is rooted in temple ritual, showing all of its essential moments. It sees the individual embracing⁷⁶ the god ‘in order to revivify him and he “protects” him against the powers of chaos during his rebirth and resurrection’, and thus the private individual secures his participation in the eternal renewal of the god's life.⁷⁷ The dedication of Ptahemwia's statue in the temple of Osiris at Abydos was similarly motivated.

Kultur. Meisterwerke aus der Ägyptische-Orientalischen Sammlung des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien (Stuttgart, 1993), 236–7, Cat. 149).

⁷¹ J. van Dijk, ‘A Ramesside Naophorous Statue from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery’, *OMRO* 64 (1983), 51; J. van Dijk, ‘Naophorous Statue of Amenemwia’, in C.A.R. Andrews and J. van Dijk (eds), *Objects for Eternity: Egyptian Antiquities from the W. Arnold Meijer Collection* (Mainz am Rhein, 2006), 146; Bernhauer, *Innovationen*, 64–7. The earliest known statue of this type is that of Senenmut (Cairo CG 42117), and such statues continue to appear into the Graeco-Roman Period.

⁷² Van Dijk, *OMRO* 64, 51–2 (listing thirteen such statues); J. Málek, ‘The Saqqara Statue of Ptahmose, Mayor of the Memphite Suburbs’, *RdE* 38 (1987), 117–37.

⁷³ For the ideas of the individual protecting the god (*Schutzstatuen*), see H. Ranke, ‘Eine Spätsaitische Statue in Philadelphia’, *MDAIK* 12 (1943), 107–38; E. Otto, ‘Zur Bedeutung der ägyptischen Tempelstatue seit dem Neuen Reich’, *Orientalia* 17 (1948), 448–66. For the idea of the god protecting the individual holding the naos, see: H. Bonnet, ‘Herkunft und Bedeutung der naophoren Statue’, *MDAIK* 17 (1961), 91–8.

⁷⁴ D. Wildung, ‘Naophor’, in W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 4 (Wiesbaden, 1982), col. 341; Id., ‘Privatplastik’, *LÄ* 4 (Wiesbaden, 1982), col. 1116 and 1119 n. 43.

⁷⁵ Van Dijk, *OMRO* 64, 53.

⁷⁶ For the implications of the embrace, interpreted as an expression of love (*mri*), see: W.K. Simpson, ‘Amor Dei: *nꜥr mrr rmt m tꜥ wꜥ* (Sh.Sai. 147–148) and the Embrace’, in J. Assmann, E. Feucht, and R. Grieshammer (eds), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur. Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 493–8.

⁷⁷ Van Dijk, *OMRO* 64, 58.

Titles and Epithets of Ptahemwia⁷⁸

The identification of Ptahemwia's tomb and of a selection of objects bearing his name enable us to present a brief outline of his career. His titles are presented in table 1.

TABLE 1 *Overview of titles held by Ptahemwia*

A. Related to the King, Royal Court, and Government (incl. honorific)	
<i>ir.y-p^c.t</i>	IV.1
<i>smr w^c.ty</i>	IV.1
<i>sd³w.ty-bi.ty</i>	IV.1
B. General Administration	
Cattle	
<i>im.y-r ih.w</i>	II.1; III.1
<i>im.y-r ih.w wr</i>	I.1
<i>im.y-r ih.w wr m t³ hw.t Wsr-m³^c.t-R^c-stp.n-R^c m pr 'Imn</i>	I.1
<i>im.y-r ih.w m t[³] hw.t Wsr-m³^c.t-R^c-stp.n-R^c m pr 'Imn</i>	II.1
<i>im.y-r ih.w n nb t³.wy</i>	III.1
Treasury	
<i>im.y-r pr-h^d nbw n(.y) t³ hw.t n(.y)t h^h.w rnp.wt n(.y) nsw.t bi.ty Wsr-m³^c.t-R^c-stp.n-R^c m pr 'Imn m 'Inb-h^d</i>	IV.1
C. Scribal	
<i>sš nsw</i>	I.1
<i>sš nsw htp.w-n^{tr} n(.y) n^{tr}.w nb.w</i>	II.1
<i>sš nsw htp.w-n^{tr} n(.y) n^{tr}.w nb.w Šm^c.w T³-m^hw</i>	I.1

Legend: I.1–3: stone elements in tomb doorway; II.1: statue NMS A.1902.306.10; III.1: pyramidion Cairo CG 17109; IV.1: “unidentified object”

Honorific Titles

The honorific titles (*Hofrangtitel*) establish the official's social position and in particular his relation to the King. Such titles are considered as the most important

⁷⁸ This section is based on a more detailed study of the titles held by Ptahemwia within the context of the other holders of the same titles, buried at Saqqara, published as: N. Staring, 'The Personnel of the Theban Ramesseum in the Memphite Ramesseum', *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 45 (2014–15), 51–92.

markers of rankings at the Ramesside court.⁷⁹ Raedler indicated that during the reign of Ramesses II only the highest administrators displayed the complete sequence consisting of the epithets *ir.y-p^c.t ḥz.ty-^c sdz.w.ty-bi.ty smr w^c.ty*, ‘Noble and Count, Sealbearer of the King and Sole Companion’.⁸⁰ Mariette’s copy of Ptahemwia’s “unidentified object” gives *ir.y-p^c.t* without the component *ḥz.ty-^c*. While this normally should indicate that a different rank title is meant, it is here part of the usual sequence, which might indicate that the combination Noble and Count is implied as well.

Royal Scribe of Divine Offerings of all Gods in Upper and Lower Egypt

No other official buried at Saqqara is known to have held the title *sš nsw ḥtp.w-ntr n(.y) ntr.w nb.w šm^c.w Tz-mḥ.w*, Royal Scribe (of) Divine Offerings of all Gods in Upper and Lower Egypt. Three officials held titles related to the ‘divine offerings’:

- Mose, the Scribe of the Treasury of Ptah (tomb Loret No. 5), held the title *sš ḥsb ḥtp.w-ntr n(.y) ntr.w nb.w Inb.w-ḥd*, Scribe of Accounting the Divine Offerings of all Gods (in) White Walls (Memphis);⁸¹
- Seba, the Scribe of the Treasury of Ptah, held the title *sš ḥtp.w-ntr n(.y) pr Pth*, Scribe of Divine Offerings of the House of Ptah;⁸²
- Iurudef, the Scribe of the Treasury, held the title *sš ḥtp(.w) n(.y) ntr.w nb.w*, Scribe of Offering(s) of all Gods;⁸³
- Neferhotep, the Deputy in the Temple of Ptah, held the title *sš ḥtp(.w)-ntr n(.y) Pth*, Scribe of Divine Offerings of Ptah;⁸⁴

⁷⁹ C. Raedler, ‘„Kopf der Schenut” – politische Entscheidungsträger der Ära Ramses’ II.’, in H. Beinlich (ed.), *6. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie / 6th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology „Die Männer hinter dem König“* (KSG 4,3; Wiesbaden, 2012), 129.

⁸⁰ Raedler, in Beinlich, *Die Männer hinter dem König*, 129–30.

⁸¹ Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II, late: PM III/2, 553–5; G.A. Gaballa, *The Memphite Tomb-chapel of Mose* (Warminster, 1977). Full titles: [A] *ḥsy ///*; [B] *rwḏ mnti m pr Pth; sš [wr] m iz.t=f ip ib m mdw-ntr; sš pr-ḥd; sš pr-ḥd n(.y) Pth; sš n(.y) Pth; sš ḥsb ḥtp.w-ntr n(.y) ntr.w nb.w Inb.w-ḥd; sš ḥsb ḥd nbw n(.y) psd.t ʿz.t; sš ḥsb ḥt nb.w n(.y) nb Mz^c.t; sš ḥd nbw n(.y) nb Mz^c.t.*

⁸² Stela Berlin 7315 (ex-coll. Passalacqua, 1828), early Nineteenth Dynasty: PM III/2, 734 (as Eighteenth Dynasty); G. Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Zweiter Band: Inschriften des Neuen Reiches* (Leipzig, 1924), 172–3. Full titles: [A] *w^c ikr [hr] bi3.t=f pw d3i.t; ḥs.y ʿz n Pth nb Mz^c.t; [C] sš pr-ḥd n(.y) nb Mz^c.t; sš n(.y) pr.wy-ḥd n(.y) Pth; sš ḥtp.w-ntr n(.y) pr Pth.*

⁸³ M.J. Raven, *The Tomb of Iurudef: A Memphite Official in the Reign of Ramesses II* (EES EM 57; Leiden, 1991), 5 and pl. 4b.

⁸⁴ Hathor *djed* pillar, Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 18928 (Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II): PM III/2, 755; J. Berlandini, ‘Contribution à l’étude du pilier-djed memphite’, in A.-P. Zivie (ed.), *Memphis*

- Mery-Maat, held the title [sš] *hrp htp n ntr* : [Scribe and] Controller of the Divine Offerings.⁸⁵

The first two officials were employed at the Ptah temple at Memphis and Iurudef, a subordinate of Tia, was attached to the treasury of Amun(-Re). The office titles of these men are limited to scribal appointments. Two officials buried at Thebes held titles similar to Ptahemwia:

- Nefersekeru (TT 296) was sš (*nsw*) *htp(.w)-ntr n(.y) ntr.w-nb.w*, (Royal) Scribe of Divine Offerings of all Gods;⁸⁶
- Neferrenpet Kenro (TT 178) was sš *htp(.w)-ntr n(.y) (pr) 'Imn*, Scribe of Divine Offerings of (the House of) Amun.⁸⁷

Again, both of these officials held office titles limited to scribal appointments. As with the Memphite scribes, their office was related to the royal (Nefersekeru) and temple (Neferrenpet) treasury.

According to Feucht, Nefersekeru's title indicates that he was '... *überwiegend verantwortlich für die zu religiösen Zwecken abgeführten Bestände des Schatzhauses*'.⁸⁸ Without further discussion, the term *htp.w-ntr* is understood in its literal meaning as 'divine offerings', i.e. offerings presented during the temple's religious rituals.

In connection to the captions at offering procession scenes in Medinet Habu and Abydos, Haring signaled that one could not be certain whether the term refers to the

et ses necropoles au Nouvel Empire: Nouvelles données, nouvelles questions (Paris, 1988), pl. 1B; S. Gohary, 'A Staff Member of the God Ptah in Memphis', *ASAE* 73 (1998), 70–2, pls 1–2.

⁸⁵ Stela fragment SAK 2013 R-26 (Ramesside) found *in situ* embedded in the remains of the limestone chapel built against the south-east façade of the tomb re-used by Sethnakht: M.J. Raven et al., 'Preliminary Report on the Leiden Excavations at Saqqara, Season 2010: An Anonymous Tomb', *JEOL* 43 (2011), 8–9, figs 1, 6.

⁸⁶ Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II: Feucht, *Nefersecheru*, 97. Full titles: [A] *hsy ʕ3 n.y [ntr-]nfr; im.y-r mrwt; idnw n(.y) pr hḏ (n.y nb t3.wy / niw.t / niw.t rsy.t)* [C] *sš pr-hḏ n(.y) nb t3.wy; sš nsw idnw n(.y) pr-hḏ n(.y) nb t3.wy; sš nsw m3ʕ mr.y=f; sš nsw n(.y) pr-hḏ n(.y) nb t3.wy; sš nsw n mr=f; sš nsw htp-ntr n(.y) ntr.w-nb.w; sš htp-ntr n(.y) ntr.w-nb.w.*

⁸⁷ Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II: Hofmann, *Neferrenpet gen. Kenro*. Full titles: [A] *hsy ʕ3 n nb [t3.wy]; hsy n ntr=f; [C] sš pr-hḏ (n.y 'Imn/ pr 'Imn/ n.y pr 'Imn-Rʕ nsw ntr.w/ m pr 'Imn/ m pr 'Imn-Rʕ nsw ntr.w/ n.y nb t3.wy m pr 'Imn), sš nsw (m pr 'Imn), sš htp-ntr (n.y 'Imn/ pr 'Imn/ n.y pr 'Imn); [F] wʕb.*

⁸⁸ Feucht, *Nefersecheru*, 97.

offerings presented in the temple, or to an administrative word for the temple estate.⁸⁹ He argued that since temple departments such as the workshop and granary as well as personnel can be characterised as belonging to the ‘divine offering’, the term could be interpreted as a reference to all economic resources of a temple, i.e. the temple’s economic estate.⁹⁰ This included not only the treasury and the granary, but also fields, gardens, herds, towns, ships, and mines. The founder of that estate was the King. Haring further indicated that in representations of daily and festival processions in the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos, the *sš htp(.w)-ntr* records all items brought *into* the temple.⁹¹

Ptahemwia’s title indicates that he was involved in the administration of temple resources ‘of *all* gods in Upper and Lower Egypt’. Maya, the Overseer of the Treasury, was *hr.y-sšt3 pr nwb m r-pr.w ntr.w nb.w*, Guardian of the Secrets of the House of Gold in the Temples of all Gods. The two Viziers and High Priests of Ptah, (Pa-)Rahotep and Neferrenpet, were Overseers of the Priests of all Gods: *im.y-r hm.w-ntr n(.y) ntr.w nb.w Šm^c Mh.w*. Their titles indicate that the phrase ‘all gods of Upper and Lower Egypt’ is related to a central governing body. Maya, as Overseer of the (state) Treasury, had access to all temple treasuries in the country.⁹² With the close ties to the treasury that the Scribes of Divine Offerings are seen to have had, Ptahemwia probably served as a scribe in the state treasury. The state treasury was at that time led by the Overseer of the Treasury Tia, the brother-in-law of Ramesses II who had his tomb constructed at Saqqara.

Overseer of cattle

Ptahemwia held a number of variations to the title Overseer of Cattle: (Great) Overseer of Cattle / of the Lord of the Two Lands / of the Ramesseum. In Egypt, livestock and cattle represented an important part of the economy.⁹³ A number of officials of New Kingdom date buried at Saqqara held the title *im.y-r ih.w*.⁹⁴ Only three officials are

⁸⁹ B.J.J. Haring, *Divine Households: Administrative and Economic Aspects of the New Kingdom Memorial Temples in Western Thebes* (EU 12; Leiden, 1997), 200.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 200 and discussion on 192–210.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 230–1.

⁹² Cf. also W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* (PdÄ 3; Leiden, 1958), 186; B. Schmitz, ‘Schatzhaus(vorsteher)’, *LÄ* 5 (Wiesbaden, 1983), 538.

⁹³ W. Ghoneim, *Die ökonomische Bedeutung des Rindes im Alten Ägypten* (Bonn, 1977), 242.

⁹⁴ See: Staring, *JEOL* 45 (2014–15).

attested with the title Great Overseer of Cattle: Ptahemwia, Tia and Paraemheb.⁹⁵ These officials all date to the reign of Ramesses II. They additionally held high positions in the Ramesseum. Both Paraemheb and Ptahemwia served there as Overseer of Cattle, and Tia and Ptahemwia were Overseer of the Treasury. None of their Memphite predecessors in the office of Overseer of Cattle served in a king's memorial temple.

Overseer of the treasury of the Ramesseum

On the "unidentified object" copied by Mariette, Ptahemwia is identified as the Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum. Others who held that position and who were buried at Saqqara were Khay (see n. 8, above) and Tia.⁹⁶ According to Van Dijk⁹⁷ and Leblanc,⁹⁸ Tia was most probably the Ramesseum's first treasurer, which suggests that Ptahemwia succeeded him in that office.

Social position and date

The brief survey of titles presented above gives some clues about the course of Ptahemwia's career. Although there are no fixed dates and no texts to further illustrate his wanderings, an analysis of the titles and a comparison of Ptahemwia to the various title holders may provide support to sketch his career in broad lines. Ptahemwia, who was educated as a Royal Scribe, started his career as a Royal Scribe of Divine Offerings. This position would mark the starting point of his career within the state treasury. Cattle constituted one aspect of the resources that constitute the divine offerings. Ptahemwia served as the (Great) Overseer of Cattle at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Being in this high-ranking position at the start of Ramesses II's reign, he could have become the Ramesseum's first Overseer of Cattle at around the same time when Tia became the institution's first Overseer of the Treasury. Ptahemwia

⁹⁵ This official is only attested by a shabti (Rouen, Musée départemental des antiquités, No. unknown: V. Loret, 'Monuments Égyptiennes de Musée d'Antiquités de Rouen', *RT* 2 (1880), 151, I.1; *KRI* III, 376.8) and four canopic jars (CG 4322-3 = JE 19172-5: G.A. Reisner, *Canopics* (CGC Nos 4001-4740 and 4977-5033; Cairo, 1967), 218, pl. LIV; 219-20, pl. LVII. One jar is now in Yale University Art Gallery, YMP 6263: G.D. Scott III, *Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale* (New Haven, 1986), 116, Cat. 65.

⁹⁶ One treasurer was buried at Thebes: Khnumemheb (TT 26): PM I/1, 43, No. 26; Griffith Institute Archives photos 1209 and 1227; *LD Text*, III, 249, No. 291; *KRI* III, 373.15-16.

⁹⁷ J. Van Dijk, 'The Family and Career of Tia', in Martin, *Tia and Tia*, 55; J. Van Dijk, *The New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis: Historical and Iconographical Studies* (PhD thesis, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen; Groningen, 1993), 98.

⁹⁸ C. Leblanc, 'L'administration du Ramesseum: De la gloire à la décadence d'un temple de millions d'années. Des fonctionnaires au service de l'institution royale', *Memnonia* 23 (2012), 84-5.

will have concluded his career as Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum as the successor of Tia. It has been suggested that Tia died around Year 24 of Ramesses II,⁹⁹ and this suggests that Ptahemwia lived well into the third decade of that King's reign.

The exact position occupied by Ptahemwia within the succession of Memphite Overseers of Cattle and high officials of the Ramesseum is difficult to ascertain. A few officials holding the same offices can be dated at around the same time. That they shifted positions complicates matters further. Ptahemwia served at least part of his career alongside Tia, first as a subordinate and he later succeeding him as the Ramesseum's Treasurer.

The study of titles raises another interesting matter. Myśliwiec, in his article on Ptahemwia's pyramidion, briefly touched upon the official's social background. He argued that Ptahemwia, who held office at Thebes, must have originated from Memphis since he chose to be buried near his home-town. He further noted that: '*... [d]as Verfahren, einem aus Memphis gebürtigen Mann ein hohes Amt in Theben anzuvertrauen, scheint in der Ramessidenzeit durchaus gebräuchlich zu sein*'.¹⁰⁰ That the Memphite necropolis was the choice place of burial for other Ramesside officials attached to the Theban Ramesseum has been observed earlier by Berlandini¹⁰¹ and Van Dijk.¹⁰² The rationale behind this pattern has not been previously addressed. This subject is beyond the scope of this paper, and will be analysed in a future contribution.¹⁰³

Conclusion

This paper has analysed the doorway in the superstructure of a private tomb at Saqqara.

⁹⁹ A Year 24 date is recorded for Panehsy, who succeeded Tia as Overseer of the Treasury. Van Dijk, *New Kingdom Necropolis*, 106; O. Gardiner 86; J. Černý and A.H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca I* (Oxford, 1957), 22, pls 81–2; *KRI III*, 138–40. An additional document perhaps pertaining to a date for Tia's death is a flask with docket in two lines of hieratic (wine jar label) found in his tomb at Saqqara. It mentions Year 31, which might indicate the date of a (not necessarily his) burial: Raven et al., *Horemheb V*, 188, Cat. 329.

¹⁰⁰ Here Myśliwiec points also at Tia (four-sided stela Cairo JE 89624). He correctly positioned that tomb in Saqqara. The four-sided stela, however, derives presumably from the official's monument at Kafr el-Gebel (Martin, *Tia and Tia*, 1).

¹⁰¹ J. Berlandini, 'Varia Memphitica III: Le général Ramsès-nakht', *BIFAO* 79 (1979), 260–2.

¹⁰² J. van Dijk, 'The Development of the Memphite Necropolis Post-Amarna Period', in Zivie (ed.), *Memphis et ses nécropoles*, 39. Other officials listed by Van Dijk are: Tia, Horemheb, Iurokhy, Yupa, Ramessesnakht, Amenemone, and Nedjem.

¹⁰³ Staring, *JEOL* 45 (2014–15).

It was photographed by Théodule Devéria in March 1859 when he assisted Auguste Mariette in copying texts at different sites throughout Egypt. The texts inscribed on the doorway include the name and titles of the tomb owner: the Royal Scribe, Great Overseer of Cattle, and Royal Scribe of Divine Offerings of all Gods of Upper and Lower Egypt named Ptahemwia. The tomb's location is now lost and the stone elements visible in the photograph are not known from any public or private collection.

This study identified another three objects pertaining to this man: pyramidion Cairo CG 17109 (JE 8371; PM III/2, 770), found at Saqqara in March 1859; an "unidentified object" (PM III/2, 770) recorded at Saqqara and published by Mariette in *Monuments divers* (1889 [1872]), and an Osiriphorous statue (PM V, 47) excavated by Petrie (1902) in the temple of Osiris at Abydos. Mariette copied the "unidentified object" probably on the same occasion when Devéria took his photograph, and afterwards took the pyramidion with him to the Bulaq Museum.

The architecture and iconography of the tomb as photographed by Devéria yield new information regarding the development of monumental tombs at Saqqara. The method of construction (mud brick walls with a revetment of relief-decorated limestone blocks) had previously been used as a dating criterion for tombs of the late Eighteenth Dynasty. New data provided by the tombs of Ptahemwia, Ptahmose, and Khay indicate that tombs were continued to be constructed in this manner into the reign of Ramesses II. As such, these tombs appear as "hybrid" structures with characteristics of both the late Eighteenth Dynasty and early Ramesside Period. The decoration in the doorway suggests that the adoration scene of a tomb owner before a deity (*in casu* Ra-Horakhty) developed from the tomb owner implicitly adoring the deity during the late Eighteenth Dynasty (the deity is mentioned in the text), towards explicitly adoring the god (fully depicted) during the Ramesside period.

The complete list of titles born by this official now include two offices related to the Ramesseum, Ramesses II's Theban memorial temple: Overseer of Cattle and Overseer of the Treasury. Initially, Ptahemwia made a career in the State Treasury and he was subsequently employed at the Ramesseum. In both cases, Tia, the King's brother-in-law, would have been his superior. It is to be expected that Ptahemwia constructed his tomb in close proximity to that of Tia, and that in due course it will be (re)discovered in the necropolis south of the Unas pyramid.



FIG. 1. A doorway in the tomb of Ptahemwia at Saqqara, Théodule Devéria, 1859. Albumen silver print from a paper negative, 21.5 x 27.5 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris, PHO 1986 144 64, MS 178 129 ('*Saqqarah – tombeau*'). © Musée d'Orsay, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Patrice Schmidt.

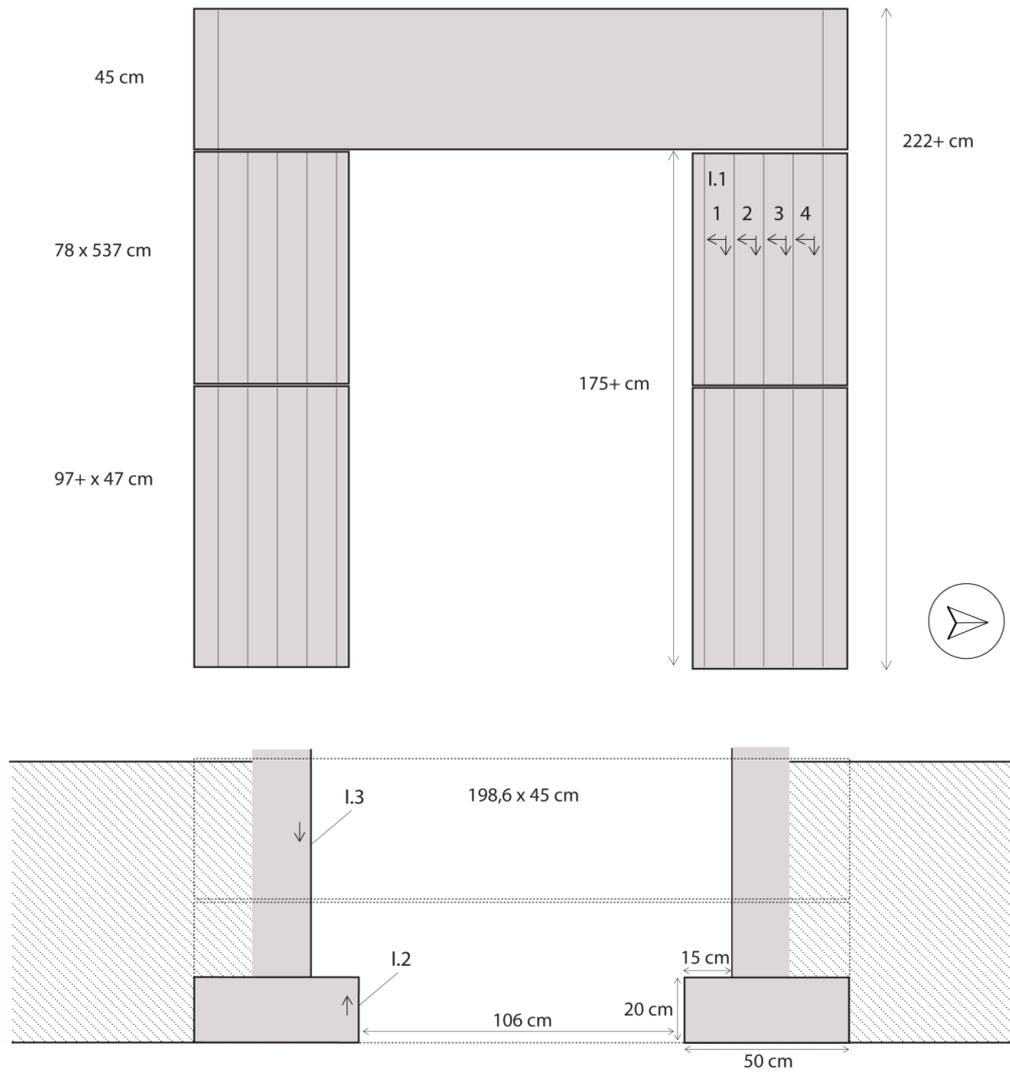


FIG. 2. Plan and section of the doorway in the tomb of Ptahemwia, after the photograph of T. Devéria. Drawing: Nico Staring.

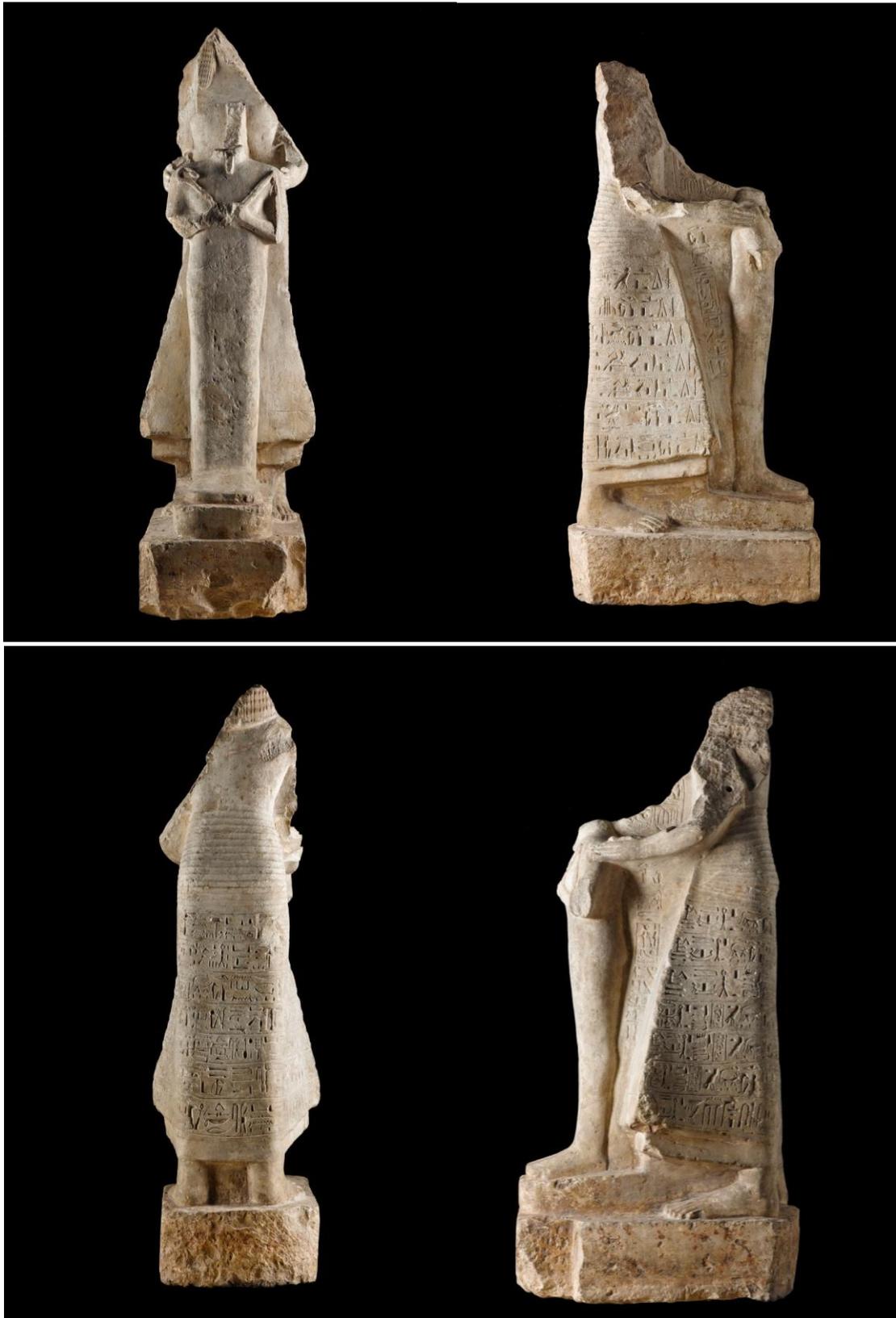


FIG. 3. Osiriphorous statue of Ptahemwia. Excavated by W.M. Flinders Petrie at Abydos, 1902. Edinburgh, National Museums Scotland A.1902.306.10. © National Museums Scotland.

SECTION 3: PROSOPOGRAPHY OF THE EARLY NINETEENTH DYNASTY TOMB OWNERS

3.1 Preliminaries

In this section the focus of research is shifted from the tombs discussed in **Section 2** towards the tomb owners and their place within the administration at Memphis. The main aim of this section is to examine the distribution of tombs at Saqqara and to study aspects of the administrative organisation of Memphis (the town and temples) by focusing on the titles of a select number of officials buried at Saqqara.

At Memphis the rather paradoxical situation exists where one of the most prominent ancient Egyptian cities has become one of the least accessible sites in terms of archaeological remains and inscriptional evidence. As a result, the idea has long persisted that Thebes, with its much better preserved monuments and a wealth of inscriptional evidence, was Egypt's administrative capital during the entire New Kingdom. In 1948 Ahmad Badawi published *Memphis als Zweite Landeshauptstadt im Neuen Reich* to argue in favour of a more balanced view.¹ Excavations in both Memphis and its necropolis at Saqqara have yielded much new information to further adjust this view. The large-scale and systematic excavations carried out in several areas of the Saqqara plateau with New Kingdom tombs yielded a wealth of biographical information pertaining to the high officials who were active at Memphis. Jacobus van Dijk (1988) argued that after the Amarna period, Tutankhamun did not merely move the administrative capital to Memphis, but in fact restored the situation that had existed since at least the time of Thutmose III.² More recently, Geoffrey Martin (2000) compared the titles of the highest officials buried in Amarna, Thebes and Saqqara and concluded that Memphis may have been Egypt's administrative capital for most of the New Kingdom, perhaps even from the very earliest Eighteenth Dynasty onwards and including the Amarna interlude.³ In his opinion, Thebes, and for a short while Amarna, merely functioned as the sacerdotal centres during the New Kingdom.

¹ A. Badawi, *Memphis als Zweite Landeshauptstadt im Neuen Reich* (Cairo, 1948).

² J. Van Dijk, 'The Development of the Memphite Necropolis in the Post-Amarna Period', in A.-P. Zivie (ed.), *Memphis et ses necropoles au Nouvel Empire: Nouvelles données, nouvelles questions* (Paris, 1988), 37–46.

³ G.T. Martin, 'Memphis: The Status of a Residence City in the Eighteenth Dynasty', in M. Bárta and J. Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000* (ArOr Supp 9; Prague 2000), 99–120.

This section aims to make a further contribution towards our understanding of the status of Memphis and its necropolis during the New Kingdom. The two articles of this section take as their point of departure the titles held by the officials whose tombs were studied in **Section 2**: Ptahmose and Ptahemwia. Ptahmose was Mayor of Memphis and Chief Steward of the temple of Ptah, making him one of the most prominent officials resident at Memphis. He was involved in both the administration of the city and its temples. Ptahemwia was (amongst other duties) the Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum. His office thus has a direct link to Thebes and the administration of one of the most important economic institutions of the ruling king. By focusing on these two officials, aspects of both the administration of Memphis (the town and temples) and the city's position within the wider state administration can be addressed. Moreover, both officials lived during the transitional period of the late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty. It is expected that the political and administrative changes of the period will be reflected in the titles held by these men.

This section will also make a contribution to our understanding of the structure of the Memphite necropolis and the distribution of individual tombs therein. Previous studies have suggested that the location of some tombs depended on family relations and professional association.⁴ By focusing on the two officials mentioned above, and on the officials bearing the same and related titles, this hypothesis can be tested.

3.2 Methods

The primary sources used for the studies of this section are the inscriptions recorded in the tombs of Ptahmose and Ptahemwia as documented by the photographs taken by Théodule Devéria in 1859. The complete titularies of these officials are further assembled from the additional tomb elements and objects pertaining to these officials. Their titles are then examined within a wider context using the data provided by the Catalogue of Tomb Owners in **Section 6** of this thesis.

⁴ For example: J. Málek, 'Saqqara: New Kingdom', in W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 5 (Wiesbaden, 1984), cols 410; Id., 'The Tomb-chapel of Hekamaetre-Neheh at Northern Saqqara', *SAK* 12 (1985), 43–60; M.J. Raven, 'Twenty-five years of work in the New Kingdom necropolis of Saqqara: Looking for Structure', in M. Bárta and J. Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000* (ArOr Supp 9; Prague, 2000), 133–44.

In **Section 3.4**, the title *ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ.w ḥꜣ inb.w n.w Pth* provides the point of departure for a re-evaluation of the office of Mayor of Memphis during the early Nineteenth Dynasty. The administration of town and temple are studied using prosopographical data as a primary source. The section first focuses on the traditional title to designate the Mayor of Memphis and establishes how the early Nineteenth Dynasty Mayors diverge from this model. A wide range of toponyms used to refer to Memphis are included in their titles. The section therefore continues to explore these toponyms, trying to answer such question as: what are their origins; what areas of the city do they refer to? The section concludes with a discussion of the building activities at Memphis early in the Ramesside period: the temple of Ptah and the memorial temple of Ramesses II.

Section 3.5 focuses on the high officials associated with the Theban Ramesseum. The catalogue of tomb owners (**Section 6**) provides the prosopographical data pertaining to these officials: names, titles, dates, provenances, etc. The necropolis of Saqqara south of the Unas causeway appears to have been the burial site of choice for the (Chief) Stewards, Overseers of the Treasury, and the Overseers of Cattle of the Ramesseum. In order to answer the question why these officials were buried at Saqqara and not at Thebes, all possible sources pertaining to these officials are collected. The sources include the tombs and/or tomb elements and objects taken from their tombs. The titles that were recorded on these monuments are collected and systematically analysed per individual (in order to establish their career path), in relation to their colleagues at Saqqara and Thebes, and within the (temple and state) administration.

3.3 Synthesis of the articles

The two articles that follow build on the results gathered from the study of the photographs of the tombs of Ptahmose and Ptahemwia taken by Théodule Devéria. The inscriptions that are visible in the photos cover a selection of the titles held by these officials, including titles that were not previously known. The focus on the officials' titular results in new information about their lives, careers, and their position within the administration. An integrated study of their titles in relation to other individuals buried at Saqqara and elsewhere may provide new insights into the status of (specific

parts of) the Saqqara necropolis, on the administration of Memphis, and its status as administrative capital of Egypt.

Section 3.4, ‘The Title *ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ.w ḥꜣ inb.w n.w Pth*, “Mayor of Beyond the Walls of Ptah”, and Early 19th Dynasty Temple Building at Memphis’, *ZÄS* 142/2 (2015), 167–90, proposes an interpretation for this enigmatic title. It was included in a sequence of titles held by Ptahmose, recorded on the now-lost doorway of his tomb photographed by Devéria. The title is not known from any other sources, although titles containing the element “beyond the walls of Ptah” occur in two additional titles held by the same official. The paper analyses the development of the title “Mayor of Memphis” during the New Kingdom and examines the toponyms used for the city (and its subdivisions) and its necropolis. It is argued that the title should be considered in light of the contemporary building activities at Memphis during the early Nineteenth Dynasty. The paper investigates Ptahmose’s role in these projects: in the temple of Ptah and the (memorial) temples of Seti I and Ramesses II.

Section 3.5, ‘The Personnel of the Theban Ramesseum in the Memphite Necropolis’, *JEOL* 45 (2014–15), 51–92, sets as its focus the study of the presence of tombs belonging to the high administrators of the Ramesseum in the cemetery at Saqqara south of the Unas causeway. This paper presents an overview of the archaeological and textual sources from Saqqara pertaining to these officials. It presents a prosopography of the Memphite officials who held office at the Ramesseum, and addresses the question why these officials were buried not in the Theban necropolis, but at Memphis.

The royal memorial temples were largely self-sufficient institutions of great economic significance built by the ruling king. The Theban Ramesseum was Ramesses II’s most important memorial temple. It is known that a number of the highest administrators of this institution built their tombs at Saqqara. A full study examining the rationale of their presence in the Memphite necropolis is yet to be undertaken. By focusing on the titles held by these men, this study aims to cover this issue. This study results in a broader discussion on the status of Memphis as the administrative capital of Egypt during the New Kingdom.

3.4

Publication Note

Staring, N. 2015. The Title *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w ḥ3 inb.w n.w Pth*, “Mayor of Beyond the Walls of Ptah”, and Early 19th Dynasty Temple Building at Memphis. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 142/2: 167–90.

NICO STARING

The title *ḥ3.ty-ꜥ.w ḥ3 inb.w n.w Pth*, “Mayor of beyond the walls of Ptah”, and early 19th Dynasty temple building at Memphis****Summary***

The Mayor of Memphis was a key player in the administration of Egypt’s capital. Despite that prominent position, we do not know much about the official’s duties. The recent identification of a photograph taken by Egyptologist Théodule Devéria in 1859, which features a doorway in the long-lost superstructure of the tomb of the Mayor Ptahmose, has added valuable new data to the subject. Texts on the structure’s two door jambs record a selection of his titles. One of these, *ḥ3.ty-ꜥ.w ḥ3 inb.w n.w Pth*, “Mayor of beyond the walls of Ptah”, is not known from any other sources. This paper proposes an interpretation of this title, which also requires a re-evaluation of the office of Mayor of Memphis at the very beginning of the 19th Dynasty. The administration of town and temple are studied using prosopographical data as a primary source, with special emphasis on the construction works in and around *inb.w*, “Walls”.

Keywords

Ptahmose – mayor of Memphis – Ptah temple – Ramesses I – Ramesses II

Introduction

The Mayor of Memphis was a key player in the administration of Egypt’s capital. Despite that prominent position, we do not know much about the official’s duties. The recent identification of a photograph taken by Egyptologist Théodule Devéria in 1859, which features a doorway in the long-lost superstructure of the tomb of the Mayor Ptahmose, has added valuable new data to the subject.¹ Texts on the structure’s two

* PhD candidate, Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia. I would like to thank A/Prof. Boyo Ockinga and Dr Jacobus van Dijk for valuable feedback on an earlier draft of this article.

¹ Staring 2014. For earlier studies on Ptahmose, see: PM III², 713–715; Berlandini 1982; Málek 1987; Van Dijk 1989b; Franke 1993; Greco 2011. The tomb was rediscovered in 2010 by an archaeological

door jambs record a selection of his titles. One of these, *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w ḥ3 inb.w n.w Pth*, “Mayor of beyond² the walls of Ptah”, is not known from any other sources. This paper proposes an interpretation of this title, which also requires a re-evaluation of the office of Mayor of Memphis at the very beginning of the 19th Dynasty. The administration of town and temple are studied using prosopographical data as a primary source, with special emphasis on the construction works in and around *inb.w*, “Walls”.

The title *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w n.y Mn-nfr* and variations

The earliest recorded attestation for the title *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w (n.y) Mn-nfr* is on a late Middle Kingdom private-name seal.³ At that time, pyramid-towns were also led by their designated mayors.⁴ The practice continued into the New Kingdom administration of royal memorial temples.⁵ The title *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w* is commonly translated as “Mayor”, to designate the chief official of a town.⁶ The eighteen Egyptian administrative centres distinguished by Helck were identified based on their corresponding mayors.⁷

The New Kingdom mayors of Memphis have previously been addressed by Helck (1958, 194ff, esp. 224–225; *Id.* 1975), Málek (1987, 135–137) and Gessler-Löhr (1997).⁸ Until the late 18th Dynasty their office title was *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w n.y Mn-nfr*.⁹ It has previously been observed that their early 19th Dynasty colleagues Ptahmose,

mission of Cairo University directed by Dr Ola el-Aguizy. The reliefs photographed by Devéria have not been seen since 1859.

² *Wb.* III, 8: preposition, “behind”, “around”. Cf. *pri r ḥ3*, ‘going out’ (*Wb.* III, 10, 4–7).

³ Seal of Amenemhat-seneb: G.T. Martin 1971, 20, No. 182; Málek 1997, 95. Note that Amenemhat-seneb also acted as *im.y-r3 ḥm.w-ntr*, Overseer of the Priests. For the co-occurrence of the title *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w* with *im.y-r3 ḥw.t-ntr*, compare e.g. G.T. Martin 1971, 81 (index), and Middle Kingdom stamp sealings from Abydos: Wegner 1998, fig. 16,2 (NN), 18,2 (Nakht), 18,5 (Ameni-Seneb).

⁴ Helck 1975, col. 878.

⁵ Amenemhat was *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w n.y pr.w 3-ḥpr-k3-Rḥ.w* (Thutmose I) at Memphis, temp. Thutmose III (stela Berlin 1638: Roeder 1924, 105; Gessler-Löhr 1997, 31 n. 4).

⁶ *Wb.* III, 25: “der Erste an Platz”. Cf. Helck 1958, 220f; Van Den Boorn 1988, 44. The office is referred to as “gouverneur” in French literature, and “Bürgermeister” in German. In the present context, the title of office *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w* should not be confused with the identical title of rank, often used in combination with *ir.y-pḥ.t* (Gessler-Löhr 1997, 31 n. 2) and commonly translated as “Count”.

⁷ Helck 1958, 220f (esp. 223–224); biographies of the “governors of Thebes” on p. 418–432, with a list of their titles and monuments on p. 422–433. The office of Mayor of Memphis is not discussed in detail. For the mayors of Thebes, see also: Leblanc 2005; *Id.* 2012, 87 n. 15 (temp. Ramesses II).

⁸ For nearby Heliopolis, only three New Kingdom mayors have been identified: Raue 1999, 177; Ockinga 2005, 93.

⁹ For an overview of their titles, see e.g. Gessler-Löhr 1997.

Amenhotep Huy,¹⁰ and Ramessesemheb¹¹ used somewhat deviating forms.¹² Both forms of the title were in use until after the Ramesside period.¹³ The variations observed in the early 19th Dynasty can be summarised as follows:

1. The use of *ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ.w wr*, an “artificially inflated titulary”¹⁴ which can be used in parallel with *ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ.w*;
2. The use of the preposition *m* instead of the indirect genitive adjective *n.y* with reference to Memphis;
3. A variety of toponyms to refer to Memphis.

The Title *ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ.w ḥꜣ inb.w n.w Pth*

Only two close parallels are known for the title *ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ.w ḥꜣ inb.w n.w Pth*. Both are attested on objects pertaining to Ptahmose:

Devéria photograph (↓→) 

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| 1. Statue BM 1119 | (→)  |
| 2. “Block from Giza” | (→)  |

¹⁰ PM III², 770, 847.

¹¹ Devauchelle 1992, 203–204: a relief fragment seen on the art market; now probably held in a private collection.

¹² The first 19th Dynasty Mayor, Neferhotep, still employs the early form of the title: *ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ.w n.y Mn-nfr*. See: relief fragment Geneva, Fondation Gandur pour l’art Inv. No. EG-271: Bianchi 2011, 66–67 [9].

¹³ Shedu-nefertem, reign of Siamun (Petrie 1909, 14, pl. 23 [right]); and the Vizier, Great Mayor of Memphis (*ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ.w wr n.y Mn-nfr*), Prophet of Osiris-Hemag, etc. *Ḥrw-(m-)ꜥh-bit*, 25th Dynasty, on his reinscribed 18th Dynasty basalt statuette (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 237: PM VIII(2), 801–626–475; Lillesø 1987, 230–234, pl. XVIII).

¹⁴ Málek 1987, 136. The element *wr* is considered as an adjective and not as an independent title *wr m/n.y Mn-nfr*. Note that the Overseer of the Double Granary of the Lord of the Two Lands, Mery-Sekhmet (Bub. I.5, late 18th–early 19th Dynasty), was titled *inter alia* as *ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ.w wr n.y nsw.t*, which is translated by the excavator as “Great Nobleman of the King”: A. Zivie 2000, fig. 5. See also Graefe 1978, 41: tomb of Ankhhor (Asasif tomb 414, Late Period): who was both *ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ.w* and *ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ.w wr Pmdt*, “Governor of Oxyrynchus”; *ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ.w n(.y) Dsds*, “Governor of the Bahariya Oasis”; and *ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ.w wr n.y Mn-nfr*; and Naville 1870, 107–112, pl. 1: statue of the *ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ.w wr Tꜣ-š*, “Great Mayor of the Fayum”, Sobekhotep.

1. Kneeling naophorous statue British Museum EA 1119. The inscription on the statue-base, right-hand side, includes: *ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ.w n.y ḥꜣ inb.w*.¹⁵ Málek translated the title as “Mayor of the Memphite suburbs”.¹⁶
2. Block built into an “Arabic” tomb at Giza and recorded by Lepsius: *im.y-rꜣ pr.w n.y pr.w Pth ḥꜣ inb.w /// Pth*, “Steward of the house¹⁷ of Ptah beyond the wall(s) [...] Ptah”.¹⁸ Málek reconstructed the lacuna with , which results in: *im.y-rꜣ pr.w n.y pr.w Pth ḥꜣ inb.w m pr.w Pth*, “Steward of the house of Ptah beyond “The Walls” in the house of Ptah”.¹⁹

The title preserved on statue BM 1119 should be understood as an abbreviated form of the “new” title *ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ.w ḥꜣ inb.w n.w Pth*. The latter title, in turn, prompts a reconsideration of the title preserved on the block from Giza. The lacuna indicated by Lepsius is precisely the space required for the group , *inb.w*, which results in the reading *im.y-rꜣ pr.w Pth [n.w] ḥꜣ inb.w Pth*, “Steward of the house of Ptah beyond the walls (of)²⁰ Ptah”. What exactly do “the walls of Ptah” refer to, and what can be located “outside” them?

Memphis, its Sub-divisions and its Walls

Before addressing the question of what exactly “beyond the walls of Ptah” designates, it is useful to first consider all additional designations used to refer to Memphis. The following toponyms are present in the titles of Amenhotep Huy and Ptahmose (figure

¹⁵ Fragment, lower part, limestone, 35.5 x 34.5 x 21 cm: Wallis Budge 1909, 127 [450]; Helck 1958, 225, n.14; Málek 1981, 157; Id. 1987, 117–137.

¹⁶ Málek 1987, 131.

¹⁷ The term *pr.w* is often translated as “domain” or “estate”. Traditionally, the phrase “in the house of god X” (e.g. *m pr.w Pth*) has been interpreted as a temple’s administrative incorporation into or economic dependency upon a chief temple. However, recent research has shown that economic dependence is expressed differently: the word *sdfꜣ*, “provision” is used. The estate of an individual temple is indicated with the term *ḥtp-ntr*, “god’s offering”, which can refer to all resources that make up the temple estate. Therefore, the literal, though neutral translation “house” is preferred here. For a summary discussion of the terms, and references to earlier literature on the subject, see: Haring 2013, 613–617.

¹⁸ *LD Text*, I, 126 [8]. No further information provided. PM III², 310, has: “probably Saite”, later correctly attributed to Ptahmose: Málek 1987, 133.

¹⁹ Málek 1987, 133. This reconstruction is followed by Pasquali, in: Pasquali, Gessler-Löhr 2011, 286.

²⁰ The indirect genitive adjective *n.y* is also absent in the title recorded on statue BM 1119. It is only present in the “Devéria-title”.

1). A complete inventory of the (tomb)objects and titles pertaining to the mayors Ptahmose and Amenhotep Huy is provided in tables 1–3.

Writing	Transliteration	Amenhotep Huy	Ptahmose
	<i>ḥ3.ty-ᶜ.w wr m/n.y inb.w</i>	√	
	<i>ḥ3.ty-ᶜ.w wr m/n.y inb.w-ḥd</i>	√	√
	<i>ḥ3.ty-ᶜ.w wr m ᶜnh-t3.wy</i>	√	
	<i>ḥ3.ty-ᶜ.w wr m/n.y mn-nfr</i>	√	
	<i>ḥ3.ty-ᶜ.w wr m mh3.t-t3.wy</i>	√	
	<i>ḥ3.ty-ᶜ.w wr m niw.t Pth</i>	√	
	<i>ḥ3.ty-ᶜ.w wr m niw.t nhḥ</i>	√	
	<i>ḥ3.ty-ᶜ.w wr m niw.t T3-ṯnn</i>	√	
	<i>ḥ3.ty-ᶜ.w wr m ḥw.t-k3-Pth</i>	√	√
	<i>ḥ3.ty-ᶜ.w wr n.y inb.w-Pth</i>	√	
	<i>ḥ3.ty-ᶜ.w ḥ3 inb.w n.w Pth</i>		√
	<i>ḥ3.ty-ᶜ.w n.y ḥ3 inb.w</i>		√

FIGURE 1. Toponyms of Memphis used in the titles of the early 19th Dynasty Mayors of Memphis Amenhotep Huy and Ptahmose.

Mn-nfr, inb.w-ḥd and the Location(s) of Memphis

During the New Kingdom, *Mn-nfr* was the name most commonly used for the “city” of Memphis.²¹ *Inb(.w)-ḥd*, “White Wall(s),”²² was in use already since Egypt’s formative periods.²³ Its plural form is attested as early as King Khasekhemwy, and the earliest reference to singular *inb-ḥd* dates to the reign of Djoser.²⁴ White Wall(s) may have been the name of a white-plastered mudbrick “fortification”, presumably situated a little south of modern-day Abusir village.²⁵ The name of the royal residence also referred to a

²¹ Note that our terms for “city”, “town” etc. have no direct Egyptian equivalents (Bietak 1979, 98–100). The same is true for ambivalent terms such as “royal residence” and “capital”, all charged with modern-day connotations (G.T. Martin 2000, 101; Raven 2009, 153–155). For a survey of terminology for “town” and “village”, see Shehab el-Din 2000–1, 173–178.

²² Alternately spelled as: , *inb.w* (P. Harris I, 58,16); , *inb-ḥd* (stela MMA 67.3, line 2; the Overseer of the Royal Apartments, Ptahmose, late 18th Dynasty).

²³ Kees 1961, 148; Jeffreys 2012, 222–223.

²⁴ Málek 1997, 91; Love 2003, 71.

²⁵ See: Giddy 1994a, 193–195; Love 2003, 71, 80; Jeffreys 2012, 226–229. Málek op. cit., 92, suggests the valley to the east or south-east of the Wadi of Abusir, below the escarpment lined with early dynastic elite tombs, as the location of early dynastic White Walls. Both the tombs’ orientation and the vertical stratigraphy support the view that the escarpment at North Saqqara was a highly favoured location for

quarter of that town,²⁶ and it was used as the name of the first Lower Egyptian nome.²⁷ The names Mennefer and Ineb-hedj were interchangeably used both as designations of the greater administrative area, as well as for the later New Kingdom town.²⁸ During the Ramesside period, *Mn-nfr* began to be used as the name for the Memphite nome.²⁹

In the 6th Dynasty *Mn-nfr* was used to refer in an abbreviated form to the pyramid town of Pepi I: *nīw.t Mn-nfr Ppy/Mr.y-Rḥ.w*. It must have been located due east of that pyramid at South Saqqara, which implies a location at a considerable distance south of White Walls. Later in the Old Kingdom Mennefer became the royal residence.³⁰ During that period, Memphis may have had the character of a dispersed urban conglomerate extending along the Memphite necropoles between the Nile in the east and the desert ridge in the west.³¹

It has been proposed that the location of the early temple of Ptah – as a local sanctuary probably predating the Early Dynastic foundation of White Walls – was at present-day Kom el-Fakhry, which was the site of the New Kingdom Ptah temple. According to Málek, at some point in history this site joined with Mennefer.³² Due to a progressive shifting of the Nile to the east, in the Ramesside Period the Ptah temple could expand to the east of the old town (see below).³³ *Ḥw.t-k3-Pth* was the name of the main cult centre at Memphis, but from the New Kingdom onwards it was also used to refer to the city itself.³⁴ This is reflected in a title of Mayor Amenhotep Huy: *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w*

early Dynastic elite tombs – in full view from the city. During Dynasties 1–3, the settlement was located nearby, on the west bank of the Nile. Smaller tombs were built in the Abusir Wadi, which indicates that the necropolis was accessed from the north (Jeffreys, Tavares 1994, 147–151). Recent archaeological fieldwork revealed that 2nd Dynasty elite tombs were also located south of the Unas causeway, “below” the New Kingdom necropolis (Regulski, Lacher, Hood 2010).

²⁶ Gardiner 1947, II, 123.

²⁷ Montet 1957, 27–48.

²⁸ Málek 1997, 93 and fig. 1.

²⁹ Gardiner 1948, II, 175; C.M. Zivie 1982, col. 25.

³⁰ According to C.M. Zivie, this name of the city is first documented at the beginning of the New Kingdom (tomb of Ahmose, son of Ibana at El-Kab): C.M. Zivie 1982, col. 25; *Urk.* IV, 3,9. However, see n. 3, *supra*.

³¹ Love 2003, 76–79 (with additional references).

³² Málek 1997, 95. Jeffreys (2012, 228) points out that this may have happened after the Old Kingdom, when a turtleback was formed by sand spread from the Wadi Tafla, situated in the area in between the 6th Dynasty pyramids.

³³ Giddy 1994a, 191–192; Love 2003, 77–78. This shift eastwards of the Nile appears to have started already during the Early Dynastic period (Giddy 1994), and may explain the decline of the town near the end of the Old Kingdom. This decline was successfully reversed with land reclamation projects during the Ramesside period, thus reuniting the town and the river.

³⁴ Sandman Holmberg 1946, 214–215; Badawi 1948, 6–7.

wr m niw.t Pth, Great Mayor in the “town of Ptah”. The great age of Memphis was already acknowledged by the Egyptians of the New Kingdom, when it was used in the comparison: “... its duration is like Hut-ka-Ptah”.³⁵

It has been suggested that the geographic situation of the city is reflected in the toponyms *mḥꜣ.t-tꜣ.wy*, “Balance of the Two Lands”, and *ꜥnh-tꜣ.wy*, “Life of the Two Lands”.³⁶ The latter is also known as a very common term for the Memphite necropolis located in the desert to the West of the city.

ꜥnh-tꜣ.wy and rꜣ-stꜣw

Badawi (1944, 201–202) argued that Ankh-tawy designated an area to the west of Memphis, i.e. the necropolis located in the desert, which is substantiated by the determinative  (Gardiner Sign-List N25). According to Kitchen (1991, 93, with fig. 1), this toponym refers to the inundation area west of Hutkaptah (Memphis), and it includes the edge of the desert plateau, once perhaps the location of the royal memorial temples.³⁷ Some Demotic papyri from the Memphite necropolis mention the *ḥw.t-ntr Thny n.y ꜥnh-tꜣ.wy*, “Temple of the Peak of Ankh-tawy”.³⁸ The Peak’s precise location is not established with certainty.³⁹ A. Zivie (2012, 427) suggests that the Bubastieion area, with its plateau dominating the surrounding landscape, may have been the central part of the “*dehenet*”⁴⁰ of Ankh-tawy”. Earlier, A. Zivie (1984, 203) argued that the “cliff (“*falaise*”) of Ankh-tawy” is also the place where the (lost) tomb of the late 18th Dynasty High Priest of Ptah, Ptahemhat-Ty, may be located, i.e. at North Saqqara.⁴¹

A fair number of inscriptions on the walls of New Kingdom elite tombs at Saqqara express the tomb owner’s wish to “rest in Ankh-tawy”. This is also true for the tomb of the Mayor Ptahmose. An inscription in his tomb reads: “... Welcome to the West (i.e. necropolis), may you unite with your place/house of eternity, your tomb of

³⁵ P. Anastasi II, 1,2–3: Caminos 1954, 37.

³⁶ C.M. Zivie 1982, col. 26; Jeffreys 2012, 222–223. The epithet *Pth m mḥꜣ.t tꜣ.wy* occurs on a relief inside the small Ptah chapel to the south-west of the Ptah precinct South Gate (Jeffreys, Malek, Smith 1984, fig. 3).

³⁷ As described in the autobiography of Amenhotep Huy, Great Steward in Memphis. See *infra*.

³⁸ C.J. Martin 2009, 49–50; Text 5a, line 11: P. Malcolm = P. BM EA 10384 (Ptolemaic period).

³⁹ In later times, it was surrounded by a wall and the *dromos* of Imhotep-son-of-Ptah may have led on to it (C.J. Martin, loc. cit.).

⁴⁰ *Wb.* V, 478: “Felswand, Bergvorsprung, Bergspitze”; “Bez. von einem Teil der Bergwand auf dem Westufer von Theben”.

⁴¹ See also: Málek 1981, 158 n. 17; Gessler-Löhr 2012 187–191: the rock-cut tombs “above Abusir village”. Cf. Gunn, Notebook 7, no. 42[i]; PM III², 571–572.

everlastingness, may you be buried in it after an old age, you being in the royal favour to rest in Ankh-tawy".⁴² In the nearby tomb of Mahu (ST 218), a group of musicians sing the words: "... Be happy, Steward. (How) pleasing for you is the West as you rest in the tomb which you built in Ankh-tawy. You join (with) your father and your mother, All your brothers are (there) before you. The proper place/judgment hall of your (fore)fathers [...] you being right and true, May you reach the West free of all evil [...]".⁴³ These phrases make it unequivocally clear that Ankh-tawy is the area where the tombs were situated, i.e. near the edge of the desert plateau.⁴⁴ In the same tomb of Mahu, the location of the official's funerary monument is described as: */// ḥr imn.tyt wr.t n.yt inb.w*, "at the great west of "Walls".⁴⁵ On stela MMA 67.3 of the Overseer of the Royal Apartments, Ptahmose, the location of his tomb (*s.t n.yt nḥḥ*) is described in a similar wording: *ḥr imn.tyt n.yt nḥw.t ḥw.t-k3-Pth*, "at the west of the "town" of Hutkaptah".⁴⁶ The designation "at the west of Memphis" occurs more often, for example on a stela of May, Scribe of the Treasury of the house of Tutankhamun, found in the temple of "Sekhmet of Sahure" at Abusir: "... *sm3 t3 ḥr imn.tyt Mn-nfr*", "... be buried at the West of Memphis".⁴⁷ The only document actually relating to the construction of tombs at Saqqara, P. Cairo 52002, describes the location as: "at the West of Memphis".⁴⁸ The Lector Priest Pamay, who is depicted on the stela of the 19th Dynasty Charioteer of his Majesty, Nemtymose, officiated in the West of Memphis as: *hr.y-ḥb n.y t3 imn.tyt m Mn-nfr*.⁴⁹ A common epithet of both Ptah and Anubis (at Memphis) is: *nb ḥn-t3.wy*, "Lord of Ankh-tawy".

Hathor was associated with the West as well. One epithet of hers at Memphis was: *nb.t nh.t ḥnw.t smi.t imn.tyt*, "Lady of the Sycamore, Mistress of the Western necropolis",⁵⁰ and she was also known as: *nb.t in.t ḥr.yt-ib imn.tyt nb.t t3.wy m t3 dsr*,

⁴² Staring 2014 (text I.13).

⁴³ Gohary 2009, 28–29 [30], pl. 40a.

⁴⁴ A. Zivie 2012, 426 n. 6.

⁴⁵ Gohary 2009, pl. 6 [3], south column of portico.

⁴⁶ Stela MMA 67.3, line 13. See: Kamal 1905 ("trouvée à Thèbes"); Mercer 1914 (with pl. IX). For Ptahmose, see: PM III², 308; Wallis Budge 1909, 178 [642] (for BM EA 160 erroneously as provenance Giza, see: Málek 1981, 156–157).

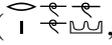
⁴⁷ Borchardt 1910, 121–122, fig. 165. For *sm3 t3* translated as "landing", being the first funerary ritual (i.e. procession to the necropolis), see: Hays 2010, 2–5.

⁴⁸ Posener-Kriéger 1981, 48, line 6. The tomb is said to be constructed for the Royal Scribe and General May (temp. Ramesses III), who is not known from any other sources.

⁴⁹ Stela Cairo TN 22.1.21.1: Mariette 1872, pl. 105. This stela was excavated by Mariette probably in near vicinity to the tomb of the Mayor Ptahmose.

⁵⁰ A. Zivie 2000, fig. 5; Pasquali 2011, 83 [B.31].

“Lady of the Valley, She who resides in the West, Lady of the Two Lands in the Sacred Land (i.e. necropolis)”.⁵¹ The same valley is mentioned in connection with the Sokar-festival at Memphis: *phr m in.t wr.t n(.yt) hw.t-k3-Pth*, “... the circuit of the Great Valley of Hut-ka-Ptah”.⁵²

Rosetau (, *r3-st3w*) is another common geographical reference included in offering formulae on tomb walls, as in *ꜥk pri.t m r3-st3w*, “to enter and leave in Rosetau”.⁵³ Rosetau refers to the vast desert stretching between Saqqara and Giza,⁵⁴ and has been proposed as the location of the *Shetayet* shrine of Sokar.⁵⁵ Both localities are mentioned on e.g. the block statue of the Stonemason of the Palace, Amenhotep Huy: *Pth-Skr-Wsir ntr 3 hr(.y)-ib šty.t Inpw nb r3-st3w*, “... Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, the great god who is in the Shetayet shrine (and) Anubis Lord of Rosetau”.⁵⁶ During the New Kingdom, Giza was known as *pr.w Wsir nb r3-st3w*, “the place (house) of Osiris, Lord of Rosetau”.⁵⁷ Abd el-Aal (2009, 3–4) suggests that Rosetau is the place where some private chapels were dedicated during the New Kingdom,⁵⁸ and where a temple of Osiris, Lord of Rosetau, was constructed by Ramesses II.⁵⁹ Indeed, only on the Kafr el-

⁵¹ Berlandini 1981, 10 [1], pl. V: limestone socle Cairo JE 14126 of Amenemone/Iny dedicated to Hathor (late 18th–early 19th Dynasty, probably Saqqara). Compare: *Hw.t-Hr hr.yt-ib Mn[-nfr ///]*, “Hathor who resides in Memphis”: Stela Berlin ÄM 345/67, anonymous owner, provenance unknown (probably Memphite), temp. Tutankhamun, Year 4 (PM VIII(4), 803–057–610; Raue 1999, 441 [E.2.6.]; Pasquali 2011, 52–53 [A.105], 86 [B.46]).

⁵² Stela MMA 67.3 (lines 8–9).

⁵³ *Wb* II, 398: I. “Kultstätte des „Soker“ bei Giseh”, II. “Allgemeine Bez. des Totenreiches oder eines Teils desselben”. Rosetau was also used as the name of the Theban necropolis; a use adapted from Memphis (Gaballa, Kitchen 1969, 68–69). In his Theban tomb, the vizier Paser (TT 106, temp. Seti I to early Ramesses II) is seen entering Rosetau: Brovarski 1984, col. 1065; PM I², 224 H (c).

⁵⁴ Petrie 1907, 1, 9, 24; Zivie-Coche 1984, col. 304–305: limestone foundation blocks and granite fragments found up to “more than one mile” south of the pyramid of Khufu. More granite fragments were reported 7 km south-east of the pyramid of Menkaura: Edwards 1986, 35 n. 50.

⁵⁵ Edwards 1986, 28–29. The possibility that the shrine was situated within the precinct, or even in the Ptah temple, is less likely according to Gaballa, Kitchen (1969, 46). His shrine may, however, have been located within the house of Ptah: cf. *hw.t Skr m pr.w Pth* (P. Cairo JE 86637, Verso IX, l. 9; Bakir 1966, pl. 39,9).

⁵⁶ Statue Leiden, Rijkmuseum van Oudheden AST 13: Boeser 1912, 9 [20], pl. X.

⁵⁷ C.M. Zivie 1976, 128. For faience miniature vases from Giza (temple deposits) inscribed for Sokar, Osiris, Sokar-Osiris, and Ptah-Sokar bearing the epithet Lord of Rosetau, see: Welvaert 2008, 165–182.

⁵⁸ See also Bács 2008. The “block from Giza” of Ptahmose mentioned above may in fact derive not from his tomb at Saqqara, but from his (lost) chapel at Rosetau.

⁵⁹ The temple’s foundations (containing monuments dedicated by private individuals) are all that remained. The results of the rescue excavations in Kafr el-Gebel carried out by the EAO (1982–1986), are prepared for publication by Abdel-Aal and Bács, forthcoming (see Bács 2008). For the the results of the 1987–1988 seasons of excavation, see Hawass 2006, 121–122.

Gebel monument of his superior Tia is Iurudef attested with his title *im.y-r3 k3.t n.t nb=f n r3-st3w*, “Overseer of works of his Lord at Rosetau”.⁶⁰ The village of Busiris, which used to be at approximately the site of modern-day Nazlet el-Batran, was called *why.t r3-st3w*.⁶¹ Similarly, the Serapeum at Saqqara was called *km r-gs r3-st3w*,⁶² which literally translates as “mouth of subterranean passages”; it was considered to be the entrance to the netherworld. According to Schneider (1977, I, 277), “every tomb-shaft or cavern in the desert plateau” could be designated as Rosetau. The Apis bull played an important part in the theology of Sokar, as the latter could reveal himself in the bull, as did Ptah. Khaemwaset, the High Priest of Ptah at Memphis and fourth son of Ramesses II, held the titles *(i)r(.y)-pḥ.t hn.ty r3-st3w*, “Hereditary Prince, foremost of Rosetau”,⁶³ and *hr.y-sšt3 m r3-st3w*, “Guardian of secrets in Rosetau”.⁶⁴ Furthermore, he was *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w m i3.t-t3mwt/tmt*, “Mayor of the place Temet” – another designation for the Memphite necropolis.⁶⁵

Since the Old Kingdom, Ptah at Memphis was connected with Sokar,⁶⁶ the god of the Memphite necropolis, and the syncretic connection Ptah-Sokar-Osiris is well attested from the Middle Kingdom onwards.⁶⁷ The god’s festival must have been one of the highlights of the Memphite calendar, although no actual temple calendar has survived from that city. Elsewhere, e.g. at Thebes, the festival took place between days 21 and 30 of the fourth month of Akhet, which corresponds to the Khoiak festival (*k3 hr k3*; inundation season) of Osiris that started on day 18.⁶⁸ Day 26 marked the highlight of the public celebrations. The last four days (27 to 30) were restricted to the temple ritual,

⁶⁰ Abd el-Aal 2009, Block No. 96, pl. 3b. Compare this with the titles attested in his funerary chapel, located in the outer courtyard of the tomb of Tia at Saqqara: Raven 1991, 2. The title *im.y-r3 k3.t n.y nb=f n r3-st3w* also occurs on a block formerly held in the Eid-collection (no. 4216; present location unknown), which has been assigned to Tia. The titles identify the beneficiary as Iurudef (PM III², 654; Van Dijk 1993, 99–100; Martin 1997, 46, scene [328a], pl. 94). Van Dijk notes that one cannot be absolutely sure whether the block derives from the Kafr el-Gebel chapel, and he sees the tombs of Tia or Iurudef as the more likely candidates. However, the find of the same titles by Abd el-Aal may favour the chapel at Kafr el-Gebel.

⁶¹ Edwards 1986, 35, n. 46 (on a stela of Ramesses III).

⁶² Schneider 1977, I, 277.

⁶³ Gomaà 1973, Cat. 108 (shabti Louvre E. 917).

⁶⁴ Gomaà op cit., Cat. 94 (stela fragment, private collection).

⁶⁵ Gomaà op cit., 25; Cat. 94; C.M. Zivie 1976, 295–297.

⁶⁶ A *hw.t Pth-Skr*, “temple of Ptah-Sokar” is mentioned on statue Florence 1790 of the High Priest of Ptah, Ptahmose, 18th Dynasty, temp. Amenhotep III (Schiaparelli 1887, 197, No. 1505; Maystre 1992, 275). Ptahmose addresses “... all future High Priests in the temple of Ptah-Sokar”.

⁶⁷ Te Velde 1982, col. 1179.

⁶⁸ Gaballa, Kitchen 1969, 34ff. For the Sokar festival at Thebes, see Graindorge-Héreil 1994, 55–77; for the Khoiak festival, see e.g. Daumas 1975; Eaton 2006.

which included the erection of the *djed* pillar on day 30. The festival had a funerary role, had agricultural significance and had connections with kingship.⁶⁹ From early times onwards, the festival on day 26 included the “circuit/circumambulation of the walls” in the Henu-bark (*ḥnw špsy*), dragged (*stꜣ*) on a *mḥ* sledge or shouldered by priests.⁷⁰ Those buried at Saqqara wished to be present at the celebrations, which is expressed in offering formulae in their tombs.⁷¹ High officials had the honour of “following Sokar”, and even expressed the wish to bear the *mḥ* sledge along with the “Perfect God” (i.e. the King) to the necropolis on the desert plateau.⁷² They expressed the wish that the gods would grant their *bas* and/or statues to continue following Sokar after burial.⁷³ From Theban sources we know that the 26th day of the festival was a “public holiday”,⁷⁴ and the procession with the barque visiting the necropolis may have had the character of a public event. On that occasion, *ka*-priests made offerings at the tombs *en route*.⁷⁵

Tatenen’s connection with Memphis appears to have started in parallel with the god’s syncretic connection with Ptah, which took shape during the reign of Ramesses II.⁷⁶ At the beginning of the 19th Dynasty, Tatenen could also be added to form Ptah-

⁶⁹ Gaballa, Kitchen 1969, 45.

⁷⁰ Sources point at more than one annual occasion of making the circuit of the walls. See e.g. the stela of Userhat Hatiay, Leiden AP 14a: *šms=k Skr pḥr=f inb.w m ḥb.w=f nb.w* (Boeser 1911, pl. XXXIII-IV [5]).

⁷¹ E.g. on stela Florence, Museo Archeologico 1605 (2600) (ex-coll. Rosellini), of the Overseer of the King’s private apartments, Pay: Raven 2005, 31 [27], pls. 36, 38. For *pḥr ḥꜣ inb.w*, see: *Wb.* I, 546; “Umzug um die Mauern” als Ceremonie bei der Thronbesteigung”, and “als Ceremonie beim Fest des „Soker“. Seit D. 18”. As a component of the coronation ceremony, the circumambulation of the wall by king Djer (1st Dynasty) is recorded on the Palermo stone (r.II.3, *pḥr ḥꜣ inb*: Bleeker 1967, 96; Wilkinson 2000, 92–95), and this probably took place at Memphis.

⁷² Gaballa, Kitchen 1969, 68 (cf. P. Skrine IV, 10: Blackman 1917, 128). See also TT 50 of the God’s Father of Amun, Neferhotep (temp. Horemheb): Hari 1985, 49–50, col. 142–145, pl. XXXV, “Registre median II”.

⁷³ The desire that the *ba* to go out and join the followers of the gods is expressed on e.g. statue Leiden AST 6 of the Overseer of the Royal Harim Tjayiry: Boeser 1912, 6–7, pl. VII. For the wish that their statues might follow Sokar when making the circuit of the walls, see e.g. Leiden AH 211: wooden statuette of the Scribe of the Treasury of the temple of Thutmosis IV, Ramose (Boeser 1925, 4, pl. VI [23]). Also: Kitchen, Gaballa 1969, 67.

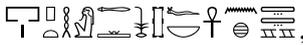
⁷⁴ On all other days, the temple rituals were attended only by high officials and by priests.

⁷⁵ Gaballa, Kitchen 1969, 67.

⁷⁶ Schlögl 1980, 54–55. The sources for Ptah-Tatenen date predominantly to the second half of the reign of Ramesses II. According to Schlögl, this may relate to the change of the monarch’s Horus-name in Year 34: “Lord of Sed-festivals like his father Ptah-Tatenen”. A statue of Ramesses II with Tatenen once stood at the North Gate of the Ptah temple at Memphis. Ramesses made it “... as a monument for his father Ptah”. The statue mentions Ramesses’ jubilees (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek AIN 1483: Manniche 2004, fig. 76).

Sokar-Osiris-Tatenen.⁷⁷ It is from that moment onwards that Memphis is referred to as *nṯw.t T3-ṯnn*, “Town of Tatenen”,⁷⁸ again observed in one of the titles of the Mayor Amenhotep Huy.

Ptah-who-is-south-of-his-wall

Ptah-who-is-south-of-his-wall became the most common epithet of Ptah during the New Kingdom.⁷⁹ By the Ramesside period, the temple (“house”) of the chief deity of Memphis, the *pr.w Pth*, was known as , *pr.w Pth ʿ3 rsy inb=f nb ʿnh-t3.wy*, “House of Ptah the great one, who-is-south-of-his-wall, Lord of Ankh-tawy”.⁸⁰ From the writing of [*Pth*]-*rsy-inb-ḥd* on a clay sealing found in the 5th Dynasty pyramid complex of Raneferef at Abusir, Verner (2012, 103) concluded that *inb=f* (“his wall”) in the epithet of Ptah refers to *inb(.w)-ḥd*.⁸¹ Previously, Málek (1997, 91) arrived at the same conclusion, situating the temple of Ptah-who-is-south-of-his-wall due south of the early foundation “White Walls”. This localisation is in line with Herodotus, who describes how the temple was located south of the (old) town of Memphis.⁸² On pyramidion Louvre D 20 of Taya/Ptahmose, Ptah has the epithet *Pth-rsy-inb=f m inb(.w)-ḥd*, “Ptah-who-is-south-of-his-wall in White Wall(s)”.⁸³ For a similar construction, compare *Pth rsy inb=f m w3s.t* for “Ptah-who-is-south-of-his-wall-in-Thebes”, and *Pth rsy inb=f m pr.w šps.t* for “Ptah-who-is-south-of-his-wall-in-the-house-of-the-Magnificent-one”.⁸⁴ Further, in P. Harris I, “Ptah-south-of-his-wall” is also referred to as “Lord-of-the-White-Wall”.⁸⁵ Clearly, “his wall” is not the same as “White Wall(s)”. Rather, “Ptah-who-is-south-of-his-wall” is (with)in White Wall(s), or

⁷⁷ Schlögl 1986, col. 238. At the end of the Dynasty, Tatenen started to be equated with Osiris. The earliest attestation of this chthonic deity is from Middle Kingdom Asyut.

⁷⁸ Schlögl 1980, 79–82.

⁷⁹ Sandman Holmberg 1946, 208; Eaton 2013.

⁸⁰ For an Old Kingdom attestation of the *ḥw.t-nṯr n.yt Pth rsy inb=f*, see the tomb of *Pr-sn* (5th Dynasty, temp. Sahure: Mariette 1889, 300; Selim 2002, 403).

⁸¹ This supposition was put forward earlier by Sethe (1905, 130).

⁸² Herodotus II, 99; Te Velde 1982, col. 1179. Málek (1997, 91), however, observes that Herodotus (II.99) situates the temple of Ptah *in* the city, not outside.

⁸³ Rammant-Peeters 1983, 58–59 (Doc. 54): 19th Dynasty, temp. Seti I, early (cf. Berlandini 1977, 32 n. 2). This epithet of Ptah is not included in LGG IV, 723–724, nor is it listed by Sandman Holmberg 1946, 1946, 204–220: “Ptah at and around Memphis”. Verner seems not to have been aware of this epithet either.

⁸⁴ LGG IV, 723c–724a. “The house of the magnificent one” refers to a temple or space in Dendera in the Graeco-Roman period. Other deities could also be located south of their walls.

⁸⁵ P. Harris 50,4.

The title on the Giza block of Ptahmose, however, implies a domain of (the temple of) Ptah located *outside* the “Walls of Ptah”, which is likely to be a reference to the temple walls.

According to Gaballa and Kitchen (1969, 5), the route of the “Circuit of the walls” performed at the Sokar-festival took the Henu-barque on a trip around ancient White Walls, north of the precinct of Ptah,⁹³ within Hutkaptah. Stela MMA 67.3 of Ptahmose has: *ḥḥ sšm=k*⁹⁴ *m ḥw.t-k3-Pth inb.w-ḥd*, “Your festival in Hutkaptah (and) White Walls”. This phrase opts for a circumambulation of both temple and city walls. The celebration of the same festival in the royal memorial temples of both Ramesses II and III at Thebes point to a circuit of the temple walls. Since this Theban festival had a Memphite origin, it is likely that in its original form the temple walls were circumambulated as well. Indeed, on the statue of the Overseer of the double granary and Chief Steward of the King, Ray, one reads: *phr inb.w n.w Pth*, “... circumambulating the walls of Ptah”.⁹⁵ The significance of the temple walls at Memphis is emphasized in the “oratory” of Seti I. This small chapel was located off the Ptah-temple’s South Gate and contained not only statues of Ptah and Mennefer, but also of Tesmet (see below), who was the personification of the temple-wall at Memphis.⁹⁶

Pasquali argues that *ḥ3 inb.w* was the area where the royal memorial temples were located.⁹⁷ He suggests that *ḥ3 inb.w* was situated in the *bḥ*-terrain,⁹⁸ or cultivated land to the west of Memphis, upon *ḥnḥ-t3.wy*. This is where, according to the inscription on the statue of the late 18th Dynasty Chief Steward of Memphis, Amenhotep Huy, the memorial temple of Amenhotep III was located: *m bḥ n.y imn.tyt Ḥw.t-k3-Pth ḥr idb*

⁹³ Inferred from the epithet, Ptah “South of White Wall”. One may question, however, whether New Kingdom “White Walls” referred to and/or concurred with the location of Early Dynastic “White Walls”, as suggested by Gaballa and Kitchen.

⁹⁴ Referring to *Pth-Skr-Wsir ḥr(.y)-ib šty.t hnm ḥnḥ nb r3-št3w*.

⁹⁵ Petrie 1909, pl. XIX, now: Dublin, National Museum 1908.514 (standing statue, lower part). His sarcophagus, which he usurped from Senqed (temp. Ay), was found in the New Kingdom necropolis south of the Unas causeway: El-Ghandour 1997, 10–11; Id. in Ockinga 1997, 49–53.

⁹⁶ Berlandini-Keller 2009, 35, with figs. 10–11. The presence of the personifications of both the city and the temple walls in this chapel might be interpreted as a reference to the contemporaneous large-scale building programme at Memphis (see below).

⁹⁷ In: Pasquali, Gessler-Löhr 2011, 286–287.

⁹⁸ For the localisation of the *bḥ*-terrain, see Kitchen 1991, fig. 1. For another reference to this terrain in relation to temples, see O. Louvre 2262 (Ramesses II, Year 42): “... *bḥ n.y pr.w Wsr-m3ḥ.t-Rḥ.w-stp.n-Rḥ.w ḥ.w.s. m Mn-nfr*” (Spiegelberg 1894, 64).

n(.y) ḥnh-tz.wy.⁹⁹ The memorial temple of Horemheb was probably located in the vicinity.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, there would have been a temple of Ptah, mentioned in the title of the Chief Steward in Memphis Ipy, son of Chief Steward Amenhotep Huy (late 18th Dynasty, temp. Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten–Horemheb).¹⁰¹ On a recently published block seen on the art market, Ipy is titled as *ḥm-ntr tp.y ḥw.t Pth m pꜣ bḥ*, “First prophet of the temple of Ptah in the “*bḥ*-terrain”.¹⁰² Indeed, the same location might be referred to by the qualification “house of Ptah beyond the Walls of Ptah” in the title of Ptahmose on the Giza block. In his capacity as *ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ.w n.y ḥꜣ inb.w*, Ptahmose would have been responsible for all temples that were located there. In his function as *im.y-rꜣ pr.w n.y pr.w Pth ḥꜣ inb.w Pth*, Ptahmose could have been the steward in the same temple of Ptah in the *bḥ*-terrain mentioned earlier by Ipy.

“Beyond the Walls of Ptah”

As indicated in the previous paragraph, Pasquali argues that the *bḥ*-terrain to the west of Hutkaptah was located “Beyond the Walls of Ptah”. While I agree that the *bḥ*-terrain is located beyond the walls of Ptah, the equation does not work the other way around. The term *ḥꜣ inb.w n.w Pth* is otherwise not attested as a designation of this specific locality to the west of Memphis. The designations *bḥ*, *ḥnh-tz.wy*, and the more general reference *ḥr imn.tyt Mn-nfr* are frequently used for the area located on that side of the city. I would like to argue that the “house of Ptah beyond the walls of Ptah” should rather be seen as a collective denominator for all the temple’s assets located outside of its temple walls,¹⁰³ and, in that context, “beyond the walls of Ptah” is its abbreviated

⁹⁹ Autobiographical inscription on scribe’s statue Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1913.163, found by Petrie within the temenos of the Great Ptah Temple at Memphis: PM III², 836; Petrie 1913, 33–36, pls. LXXVIII [bottom right], LXXIX, LXXX; *Urk*, IV, 1793–1801; Kozloff, Bryan, Berman 1992, 237, fig. VIII.1. Compare also P. Sallier IV, verso 2,1 (BM 10184), temp. mid-Ramesses II: “to the Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt who are in the West (of Thebes) and who are in the West of Hut-ka-Ptah” (Caminos 1954, 334).

¹⁰⁰ Relief Cairo TN 31.5.25.11, early 19th Dynasty: Legrain 1894, 196 [333]; Schneider 2012, 121–122, fig. V.2. The “son of his son” Iniuia, was First Prophet (*ḥm-ntr tp.y*) in *tꜣ ḥw.t Dsr-ḥpr(.w)-Rꜥ.w stp.n-Rꜥ.w sꜣ Pth mr.y-bḥ*, “the Temple of Djoserkheperura Setepenra (Horemheb) Son of Ptah who loves the inundated land”. This reading has been confirmed by Jacobus van Dijk (personal communication), who made a hand-copy of this block. Schneider (without discussion) translates: Island of “Ptah who loves the inundation”, reading *iw* instead of *sꜣ*. Pasquali 2011, 64 [A.127], and Pasquali, in Pasquali, Gessler-Löhr 2011, 285–286, has: *sꜣ Pth mr(.y) Pth bḥ.w*, “fils de Ptah aimé de Ptah du *bḥ*”.

¹⁰¹ PM III², 704.

¹⁰² Pasquali, Gessler-Löhr 2011, 281–299; Pasquali 2011, 93 [B.67] as *ḥm-ntr ḥm ḥw.t Pth m pꜣ bḥ*.

¹⁰³ Compare the construction *m pr.w Pth*, “in the house of Ptah”.

form. In the *Inscription Dédicatoire* inscribed by Ramesses II in the temple of Seti I at Abydos, one reads that: “... *ih.t=f wr.w m Šmḥ.w Mḥ.w ḥr-st-ḥr n(.y) im.y(w)-r3 pr.w=f*”, “his (i.e. the king’s) great properties (i.e. memorial temples) in the South and the North [are] under the care of his stewards”.¹⁰⁴ Seyfried (1991, 205) noted “... daß der gesamte Landbesitz des Tempels, auch der ausserhalb des „eigentlichen Einzugsbereiches“ unter der Leitung seines (i.e. des Tempels) Domänenverwalters steht”, in other words: all assets of the temple outside the temple precinct proper are under the control of the designated stewards. This does not explain why this area is referred to as “beyond the walls of Ptah” only in titles held by Ptahmose. The explanation might be found in the construction works in the temple of Ptah during the early Ramesside period, construction works for which Ptahmose, according to his titles, had been responsible. Jeffreys and Smith (1988, 58–59, 62–63) and Giddy (1994a, 191–192, with references) observe that as a result of the eastward shift of the Nile, the New Kingdom town was able to develop *beyond* (i.e. to the east) of the settlement’s earlier eastern boundary. Below the Ptah temple complex constructed by Ramesses II, no undisturbed earlier remains were found, indicating the temple was built on virgin ground. Further, a ramp down from the earlier settlement led to the new West Gate of Ramesses’ Ptah temple, and the east and west enclosure walls of that complex were not correctly aligned. It has been suggested that while the east wall was aligned with the Nile’s contemporary course, the west wall was aligned with a more westerly, earlier boundary wall. Ptahmose was appointed as Overseer of Works for the new temple constructed beyond the original east boundary wall. As the settlement also developed in an eastward direction, the new title Mayor beyond the Walls of Ptah was added to the titulary. Years later, when the boundaries of the town and temple had shifted, and the area “beyond the walls” had become an integral part of both town and temple, the designation would no longer apply. This should explain why Ptahmose’s successors as Mayor and Steward in the temple of Ptah do not hold a title with that reference.

The Mayors Ptahmose and Amenhotep Huy held some of the highest ranking administrative positions within temple hierarchy; the institution’s sacerdotal affairs were managed by the High Priest. As Chief Stewards, the Mayors were involved in construction works at Memphis. These grand works at the beginning of the 19th

¹⁰⁴ Gauthier 1912; Spalinger 2009, 56–57 (col. 78).

Dynasty reshaped the local “ritual landscape”. Let us now focus, therefore, on these construction works at Memphis as can be deduced from the Mayors’ titles.

Early 19th Dynasty Temple Building at Memphis

The temple of Ptah

Both Amenotep Huy and Ptahmose held the title Overseer of works in Hutkaptah (tables 1–2). The Chief Steward in Memphis, Netjerwymes, the Royal Envoy/Messenger to Khatti in Year 21 of Ramesses II, also acted as Overseer of works in the temple of Ptah.¹⁰⁵ A related title was held by May at the end of Ramesses II’s reign.¹⁰⁶ Such a specific reference to building activities at Memphis had not been included in the titulary of any 18th Dynasty Mayor.

In the “Blessing of Ptah” text, Ramesses II mentions that he enlarged the temple of Ptah at Memphis: “... I enlarged your temple (*hw.t*) in Hutkaptah (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) [...] I made for you a noble temple (*hw.t-[ntr] šps*) within (*m-hnw*) “Walls” (𓂏𓂏)”.¹⁰⁷ According to Kitchen (1991, 90), the temple in Hutkaptah is more specifically a reference to the colonnade “Glorious is Ramesses II in the house of Ptah” (see also below). “Walls” in this text designates a building (𓂏𓂏), an enclosure, or more generally all which is included in a “household” of a stately institution.¹⁰⁸ Kitchen argues that this building is unlikely to be the newly built West Hall¹⁰⁹ – located within the Ptah temple precinct – but rather the king’s memorial temple, the *t3 hw.t R^c.w-ms-s(w)-mr(.y)-Imn.w m pr.w Pth*, in Western Memphis (see below).¹¹⁰

In the opinion of Gomaà, Khaemwaset was responsible for the 19th Dynasty enlargement of the temple of Ptah at Memphis.¹¹¹ According to him, construction work would not have started immediately upon Ramesses’ accession to the throne; he argues

¹⁰⁵ Canopic jar, Musée de St. Omer, Inv. No. unknown: Seillier, Yoyotte 1981, 28, Cat. 123. For Netjerwymes, see e.g. Zivie 2000, 179–180; *Id.* 2007, 110–129. This official also bore the honorific title *ir.ty n.y nsw.t m pr.w Pth*, “Eyes of the King in the house of Ptah”, an epithet also held by the Mayor Ptahmose (see table 1).

¹⁰⁶ See n. 119, *infra*.

¹⁰⁷ *KRI* II 278,6, 279,6; Schmidt 1996, 295–296.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Kessler 2008, 90.

¹⁰⁹ According to Kitchen (1991, 90), in analogy with that in Pi-Ramesse, a jubilee-hall.

¹¹⁰ The expression *t3 hw.t* refers to the (memorial) temple of the living king: Haring 1997, 28–29.

¹¹¹ PM VII, 106; *KRI* II, 258f; *LD* III, pl. 194, l. 31–35; Breasted 1906, 175–182; Gomaà 1973, 34; Golet 1991 (stela Abu Simbel). The stela (speech of Ptah) also records the building of the Delta residence of Ramesses II, and (speech of Ramesses) the Memphite temple endowment.

that the king's involvement in conflicts in Syro-Palestine, and the grand construction works on his new Delta residence,¹¹² would have made the Ptah-temple at Memphis less of a priority. Instead, Gomaà proposes that work did not start until Khaemwaset was installed as High Priest.¹¹³ In that capacity, the King's Son would have had the overall supervision of all construction works in the temple. Work must have been at an advanced stage when Ramesses celebrated his first Sed-festival at Memphis, which probably took place in the newly built West Hall.¹¹⁴

From the dedicatory inscription at Abydos we know that Ramesses installed statues in the temple of Ptah from the inception of his reign, and the same is recorded in the Year 8/9 Manshiyet es-Sadr stela. What is more, his father Seti I had already started grand construction works at Memphis and it is not likely that Ramesses suspended those works. As High Priest, Khaemwaset had undoubtedly played a prominent part in the development of the Ptah temple at Memphis. By appointing his son as High Priest, Ramesses exercised direct influence in this major institution. However, Khaemwaset's titles suggest a strictly priestly appointment; none of his titles refer to building projects.¹¹⁵ That he *was* involved in such activities can be deduced from (a) foundation deposit(s) noted not far from the temple's West Hall, containing objects inscribed with his and his father's names.¹¹⁶

Ptahmose's involvement with the Ptah temple is reflected in the following titles:¹¹⁷

¹¹² However, recent archaeological work at Khataḥna-Qantir has established that Seti I already started the construction of an industrial, military site and a palace (Brand 2000, 129f).

¹¹³ His predecessor as High Priest of Ptah at Memphis was (another) Huy. His name is present on several objects found in conjunction with the burial of the Apis Bull that died in Year 16 of Ramesses II (Apis VII). For the chronology of New Kingdom High Priests of Ptah at Memphis, see Maystre 1992, 127–161; Raedler 2011, 136–142, with table 1.

¹¹⁴ Snape 2011, 466 with n. 13.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Gomaà 1973, 26.

¹¹⁶ Petrie 1909, 8, pl. XIX; PM III², 832, Gomaà 1973, 83. Three brick-shaped plaques (made of basalt, calcite, faience: Manchester Museum Acc. Nos. 4947–51), and probably also BM EA 49235. The foundation deposit of the hill-top shrine of Khaemwaset, located between Abusir and Saqqara, contained comparable objects with his name: six faience scarabs, two faience plaques, and many pottery vessels: Yoshimura 2006, 81–85, 296, fig. IV-1-1,2, pl. 4.

¹¹⁷ Only those explicitly relating to the temple of Ptah are listed; cf. table 1.

General administration	Treasury	Granary
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr m pr.w Pth</i>	<i>im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd n.y nb m3^c.t</i>	<i>im.y-r3 šnw.ty n.y nb m3^c.t</i>
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y Pth</i>		<i>im.y-r3 šnw.ty n.y nb-nḥḥ</i>
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y Pth</i>		
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y nb m3^c.t</i>		
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y pr.w Pth ḥ3 inb.w Pth</i>		
Works	Honorific	
<i>im.y-r3 m3^c m pr.w Pth</i>	<i>ir.ty n.y nsw.t m pr.w Pth</i>	
<i>im.y-r3 m3^c wr m pr.w Pth</i>	<i>ns/r3 shrr m ḥw.t-k3-Pth</i>	
<i>im.y-r3 k3.wt m mnw nb n.y ḥm=f m ḥw.t-k3-Pth</i>		
<i>im.y-r3 k3.wt m mnw n.y ḥm=f m ḥw.t Pth</i>		

Figure 2. Ptahmose: titles pertaining to the temple of Ptah at Memphis.

This official held key positions in the temple’s administration. He was the Chief Steward of the temple of Ptah, which included the “domain” beyond the temple precinct. He controlled the temple’s treasury (*pr.w-ḥd*) and agricultural income as Overseer of the Double Granary (*šnw.ty*). And Ptahmose was appointed as Overseer of works (*im.y-r3 k3.t*)¹¹⁸ on (all) monuments of His Majesty in Hutkaptah and in the temple of Ptah. In that context, the title *im.y-r3 m3^c (wr)* should be read not as Overseer of the Army (i.e. General), but as Overseer of the Troops,¹¹⁹ i.e. the workforce engaged in grand construction works.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ The *im.y-r3 k3.t* supervised the *k3w.ty*, who are attested as builders of temples (Haring 1997, 238–239).

¹¹⁹ Also compare with stela Cairo TN 14.10.69.1: *im.y-r3 k3.t ḥr.y pd.t m mnw nb n(.y) ḥm=f m pr.w R^c.w*, “Overseer of works and Troop-commander in all monuments of His Majesty in the temple of Ra”, and *im.y-r3 k3.t m mnw nb n(.y) nsw m pr.w Pth*, “Overseer of works on all monuments of the King in the house of Ptah”, May (Gaballa 1972, 129–133, pls. 23–25; C.M. Zivie 1976, 214–216, NE 66; *KRI* III, 280). May was the son of another Overseer of works, named Bakenamun.

¹²⁰ See also: Spalinger 2009, 55, n. 255, who notes that quarry expeditions, as well as work projects, were often led by “army commanders”, under the control of whom army troops were enlisted. He concludes that in the context of building activities “the *professional* designation “army” is inappropriate”. Gnirs (1996, 160–1) argues the same in relation to the career of May (see previous note). Compare also Schulman 1964, 41–44 (esp. 43) and 79, who proposes to translate *im.y-r3 m3^c* not as General, but as “military officer” (the General being the *im.y-r3 m3^c wr*). In the present context, the *m3^c* thus refer to the workforce employed at grand construction projects, who indeed may have been extracted from the military. See also P. Genf D 191, verso 16–17, in which an *im.y-r3 m3^c* is in charge of collecting people for unspecified transport related to construction work in Medinet Habu, late 20th Dynasty (Ullmann 2002, 510–511). Hunefer, as Mayor of Thebes, was responsible for stone transport to construct the temple *ḥw.t-ntr-R^c.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w-mr.y-mi-Pth* (Helck 1961, 56–57). According to Helck, this may be the same temple as the *ḥw.t-ntr R^c.w-ms-sw-mr(.y)-Imn.w-^cn-ḥr-ḥb-sd-mryt-mi-Imn.w* in which Amenmose served as Steward (BM EA 142: *HTBM* 12, 10, pls. 22–23; owner of TT 149; temple not known from any other sources). See also the discussion of the title “Troop-commander (*ḥr.y-pd.t*) of Traders of Pharaoh” held by Khay (Van Dijk 2001, 27–28). The title refers to the armed escort that saw to the safe transport of

Ptahmose was also Great Mayor in Hutkaptah. There, he served as the “Eyes of the King” and was considered a “Mouth that appeases”. These epithets emphasize his elevated position in the temple.

That construction work in the Ptah temple at Memphis had started already early in the reign of Ramesses can be deduced from his Manshiyet es-Sadr stela.¹²¹ The king recollects how he himself discovered stone quarries in the area of Gebel Ahmar. The stone was used to make statues for several temples, including the temple of Ptah at Memphis. The Chief of works – who is not mentioned by name – is bestowed with royal gifts:¹²²

“... Then His Majesty rewarded this Chief of Works (*im.y-r3 k3.wt*) with silver and gold in great quantity; and the valiant workforce who had worked on it, with royal favours.” (lines 4–5).

Meanwhile at Thebes, Penra had started supervising construction work on the memorial temple of Ramesses II –the Ramesseum.¹²³ Work at Thebes had probably started with the inception of Ramesses’s reign.¹²⁴ A foundation built by Seti I was later finished by Ramesses II and formed the temple’s core.¹²⁵

gold and silver used by the traders for buying and selling goods. Troop-commanders also headed (or rather: guarded) the workforce (mostly convicts and prisoners of war) involved in gold-mining expeditions and large construction works.

¹²¹ CG 34504 (JE 39503): PM IV, 62; Hamada 1938, 217–230, pl. 30; KRI II, 360–362, KRITA II, 193–195; Gnirs 1996, 162–164; Raue 1999, 406–408 (E.1.5.); Binder 2008, 176–177 [237]. Discovered in 1907 south of Heliopolis, it describes quarrying activities at Gebel Ahmar for the *twt(.w) ʕ3 Rḥ.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w p3 ntr*, “The Great Statue, Ramesses-Meryamun, the God”, Year 8, 3rd month of Shemu, day 21, to Year 9, 3rd month of Shemu, day 18, destined for the great temple of Piramesse, as well as the discovery (made by Ramesses himself) of more cores to quarry stone for statues destined for the temple of Ptah at Memphis, the temple of Amun-of-Ramesses at Piramesse, and for Heliopolis.

¹²² According to Gnirs (1996, 164), “... fällt es schwer, in dem Bauleiter von Gebel el-Ahmar *nicht* Mai (see n. 119, *supra*) zu sehen.”

¹²³ Ullmann 2002, 379. His titles included: *im.y-r3 k3.wt m t(3) ḥw.t Wsr-m3ḥ.t-Rḥ.w-stp.n-Rḥ.w m pr.w Imn.w* and *im.y-r3 k3.t m ḥw.t Wsr-m3ḥ.t-Rḥ.w-stp.n-Rḥ.w*.

¹²⁴ Ullmann 2002, 379: Penra, later succeeded by the Overseer of works Amenemone (cf. Gnirs 1996, 148f; Amenemone II). Gohary (1987, 99–100) suggests that Bunakhtef (identified by him as Penra’s father) started construction, that Penra took over in Year 16, and that Amenemone succeeded Penra in Year 21. However, neither affiliation nor titles are mentioned in the text. Another man, Bakenkhons (TT 35), was Overseer of works on all monuments of His Lord, Chief Steward in the house of Amun, and High Priest of Amun in Karnak, and he claims to have made the temple (*ḥw.t-ntr*) *Rḥ.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w-sdm-nht*, “the temple of Ramesses II-who-hears-prayers” at Karnak for Ramesses II (block statue Munich GL. WAF 38 from Karnak: Schulz 1992, I, 428–429, II, pl. 112; PM II², 215; KRI III, 297–299). His statue contains an Appeal to the Living, an overview of his career and autobiographical information

Some stewards of the Ramesseum (e.g. Iurokhy/Urhiya, Amenemone) had previously been army officials and were rewarded with this prestigious administrative position at the end of their active military careers.¹²⁶ The Stewards of the Memphite temples – Ptahmose, Amenhotep Huy, but also Mahu (see below) – held exclusively administrative positions right from the start of their careers.

The Temple “Beneficial is Seti-Merenptah” in the House of Ptah

A temple (*ḥw.t-ntr*) “Beneficial is Seti-Merenptah” in the house of Ptah is known from a limited number of sources. The foundation deposits – a scarab, glazed faience plaques, and a small inscribed block – are its only material testimony.¹²⁷ Additionally, just one official is known to have been affiliated with this foundation: the Mayor Ptahmose, who served as its Steward (*im.y-rꜣ pr.w*).¹²⁸

Brand (1999, 32ff; 2000, 146) indicates that the name of this temple parallels that of Seti’s Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, the *ḥw.t-ntr ꜣḥ Sty-mr.n-Imn.w m pr.w Imn.w*.¹²⁹ Due to this parallelism it is assumed that Seti’s contribution to the temple of Ptah at Memphis had been a hypostyle hall similar to those he had constructed at Abydos and at Karnak. Seti I probably did not live to see the hypostyle hall

regarding his building activities at Thebes (“Principal Chief of works in Thebes for Ramesses II”). Statue Cairo CG 42155 from the Karnak cachette probably paired with the Munich statue (see: Schulz 1992, 255–256 [140], pl. 58b–c). Bakenkhons was in office as High Priest of Amun in Year 46 (P. Berlin 3047: Helck 1963), and he may have served until year 66 (Bierbrier 1972), to be succeeded by his brother Romaroy (Haring 2013, 634). Bakenkhons is also depicted in the tomb of the Chief Steward Nebsumenu (TT 183; cf. Hofmann 2004, 42).

¹²⁵ Stadelmann 1984, col. 91–92.

¹²⁶ Similarly, high officials often received the office of *im.y-rꜣ ḥm.w-ntr*, “Overseer of Prophets” of the deities of their birthplace (Helck 1958, 222–223, 371; Ockinga and Al-Masri 1988, 15–16; Van Dijk 1993, 62). In his Coronation Text, Horemheb indicates that he appointed new temple personnel (*Wab* Priests, Lector Priests) *m stp n.y mnfy.t*, “from the pick of the army” (Gardiner 1953, 16, pl. II, l. 25; *Urk.* IV, 2120,9).

¹²⁷ Said to derive from Mit Rahina. See: Brugsch 1879, 235; Helck 1961, 917 [B,1]; *KRI* I, 124 [63a,b]; Clère 1985; Brand 2000, 146–147, 352; Masquelier-Loorius 2013, 116–117. Brand does not mention the pyramidion of Ptahmose in reference to this temple.

¹²⁸ Preserved on his pyramidion, seen by Lepsius with the antiquities dealer Solomon Fernandez in Cairo: *LD Text*, I, 15; *KRI* III, 179,14; current location unknown. Al-Ayedi 2006, 44–45 [148], reads *ḥw.t-ntr* instead of *ḥw.t ntr*. For a discussion of the term *ꜣḥ*, see Friedman 1986; Brand 1999 (esp. 32–33).

¹²⁹ Cf. earlier, Kitchen 1991, 89. More foundations of this king had the same name: the Theban memorial temple at Gurnah, *ꜣḥ Sty-mr.n-Imn.w m pr.w Imn.w ḥr imn.tyt Wꜣs.t*, and the Osireion at Abydos, *ꜣḥ Mn-mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ.w n Wsir*. According to Brand, it is possible that even more buildings had the same name, e.g. at Heliopolis, the cult centre of Re. Construction work on the Karnak hypostyle hall started probably in Seti I’s Year 2 (Brand 2000, 385).

completed.¹³⁰ Ramesses II continued that work, which he also did at Abydos and at Karnak. The king renamed the Memphite hypostyle hall “the Temple Beneficial is Ramesses-Meryamun in the house of Ptah” at a moment prior to his 43rd regnal year.¹³¹ In the *Inscription Dédicatoire* at Abydos, Ramesses II states that, in addition to what he did in Abydos, he fashioned one image of Seti at Thebes and another at Memphis (*ḥw.t-k3-Pth*), and that he repeated making statues for his (i.e. Seti I’s) *ka* at Thebes, Heliopolis and Memphis (*ḥw.t-k3-Pth*).¹³²

Another temple of Seti I, the *ḥw.t Mn-M3ꜥ.t-Rꜥ.w* is mentioned in the title of Sayempetref, who served there as Head of Goldworkers.¹³³ According to Brand (2000, 352), that name may have been an abbreviation of the temple “Beneficial is Seti I”, or it was the king’s memorial temple at Memphis. Another candidate for the monarch’s memorial temple is the *pr.w Sty-mr.n-Pth*, known exclusively from a textual source.¹³⁴

One small chapel built by Seti I is all that is left from his vast building programme at Memphis.¹³⁵ This Ptah-chapel was accidentally discovered by the Egyptian irrigation service in 1948 at Mit Rahina, situated within the south-west corner of the later enclosure wall of the Ptah temple.¹³⁶ The statues and reliefs are executed in a distinct post-Amarna period style, which is indicative of an early date.¹³⁷ In the debris

¹³⁰ The length of Seti I’s reign has been widely debated. Most recently, Van Dijk (2011, 330–331) demonstrated that the king probably died during his 9th year in office.

¹³¹ See P. Bulaq 19 (Cairo CG 58096), which dates to his 43rd regnal year: Helck 1961, 917 (1); *KRI* VII, 102, 15; 103,9; Ullmann 2002, 299 [13]. Helck identifies May (see n. 119, *supra*) as the Overseer of works of this temple. The Hypostyle Hall was accessed through the newly-built West Gate, connecting the old town to the new Ptah temple (Giddy 1994b).

¹³² Columns 26–27, and 79. See discussion in Spalinger 2009, 56 n. 261. According to the text, Ramesses began fashioning these images (at Abydos) in regnal year 1, which Spalinger (2009, 95) believes was not a retrospective date.

¹³³ Relief block Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 8851 (ex-coll. W.A. Van Leer): Lunsingh Scheurleer 2009, 42–43 [Cat. 8] (as Abydos). For the other objects from his (Memphite) tomb, see: PM III², 716–717.

¹³⁴ Badawi 1948, 108; Brand 2000, 353.

¹³⁵ Just one statue with the name of Seti I has been found at Memphis (*KRI* II, 494). Brand (2000, 353) suggests that the statue, together with another of Ramesses II (early *prenomen*), was commissioned at the end of Seti’s reign.

¹³⁶ The chapel was dismantled and rebuilt on-site at Mit Rahina. PM III², 843[j]; Habachi, in Anthes 1959, 4–5, pl. I and large folding map; Berlandini 1984; *Id.* 1988; Jeffreys 1985, 73–74, fig. 15, 37 (“Oratory” of Sethos I); Masquelier-Loorius 2013, 114–116.

¹³⁷ Brand 2000, 147–149, 352. For good photographs of the statues, see: Sourouzian 1993, 247f, pls. 46b, 47–48.

near this chapel, two more blocks were found – one commemorating the celebration of a jubilee festival, the other being a cornice with Seti I’s cartouches.¹³⁸

At Memphis, Seti I also constructed a chapel dedicated to Amun-Re and to Mut of Thebes.¹³⁹ Other temples at Memphis during the reign of Seti I included the Maat-temple (*ḥw.t-Mꜣꜥ.t*),¹⁴⁰ a temple of Neith,¹⁴¹ and possibly a temple for the Aten (*ḥw.t pꜣ Itn.w*).¹⁴²

Van Dijk (1989b, 53 n. 16) correctly remarks that Ptahmose’s stewardship in the “chapel of Seti” does not necessarily make him a contemporary of that king. He argues that such an institution may well have continued to function after the king had died.¹⁴³ Pasquali likewise considers this foundation to be the king’s memorial temple.¹⁴⁴ Its alternative identification as the hypostyle hall in the temple of Ptah at Memphis changes the perspective – and the arguments in favour of that identification are convincing. The hall changed name in the course of Ramesses II’s reign. Its early name is used on Ptahmose’s pyramidion, which indicates that Ptahmose had died before the name change had taken place. Thus, Year 43 of Ramesses II provides a *terminus ante quem* for this official’s death. His pyramidion is the only private document to attest to the

¹³⁸ Moussa 1982. According to Brand (2000, 352), the lintel with the running king is stylistically unrelated to the Ptah temple, and it does not belong to the early years of Seti I’s reign. It possibly belonged to yet another, unidentified structure. Both fragments are now in the Mathaf Ramsis at Mit Rahina. A possible further attribution: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 42 (Manniche 2004, 174–175, fig. 77; compare Berlandini 1988, pl. 3, block “suspended” between the statues of Ptah and Tesmet).

¹³⁹ Brand 2000, 149 (3.26): attested only by a lintel, Pennsylvania E.13573; PM III², 860.

¹⁴⁰ Spiegelberg 1896, pl. XIIIc,6: P. Bibl. Nat. 211, recto (*wꜥb Mr.y-Mꜣꜥ.t n.y pr.w mꜣꜥ.t*); also on pl. XVc, 3 (*pr.w mꜣꜥ.t*); Helck 1961, 921–922 (139–140). Cf. also the General (*im.y-rꜣ mꜣꜥ wr*) Amenemone (18th Dynasty, temp. Horemheb), who was titled *sšm.w-ḥb n.y Mꜣꜥ.t*, Festival Conductor of Maat (relief Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 714, face b: Manniche 2004, fig. 74 [right]).

¹⁴¹ At least two officials are known to have been associated with the temple of Neith: Mery-Neith *alias* Mery-Re was High Priest (*ḥm-nꜥr tp.y m ḥw.t N.t*) (Van Walsem, in Raven, Van Walsem 2014, 44–45[8]), and the Vizier Paser was Guardian of secrets (*ḥr.y sštꜣ m ḥw.t N.t*) (Helck 1958, 450). Furthermore, Piay was Scribe of the doors in the temple of Neith Lady of Sais (*sš sbꜣ.w m ḥw.t-nꜥr N.t nb.t šꜣ.t*) (“New Kingdom”: PM III², 775; Mariette 1872, 20, pl. 62e; unidentified object).

¹⁴² Constructed during the reign of Akhenaten (Years 5–9), this temple (*tꜣ ḥw.t pꜣ Itn.w*) is mentioned during the reign of Seti I (cf. Spiegelberg 1896, pl. XVIa, 4: P. Bibl. Nat. 213, recto; *KRI* I, 279,14; Löhr 1975, 146–147, Doc. 14; Van Dijk 1993, 32–33, n. 76). The temple may have been closed down and demolished during the reign of Horemheb or Seti I (Málek 1997, 95–99; Van Walsem, in: Raven, Van Walsem 2014, 50–51).

¹⁴³ Compare e.g. the late 18th Dynasty General Amenemone, who was *im.y-rꜣ pr.w m tꜣ ḥw.t Mn-ḥpr-Rꜥ.w*, Steward in the temple of Thutmose III (reliefs Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek ÆIN 714, Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian 205 + Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Parma E. 108).

¹⁴⁴ Pasquali, in Pasquali, Gessler-Löhr 2011, 286–287.

Nebnefer, Mahu and Ptahmose held the same position in the temple of Ramesses II. Ptahmose, with the early spelling, is likely to have held that position first.

Mahu's tomb (ST 218) is located at Saqqara immediately due south of the Unas causeway. Nebnefer is mentioned in the tomb of his son Huynefer (ST 217) and, according to Gohary (2009, 37), he may be the same man as Mahu's father, who features prominently in that tomb.¹⁵⁷ Mahu succeeded his father as Steward in Ramesses II's Memphite memorial temple.¹⁵⁸ Their titles indicate that they were both associated with the Ptah temple's administration: careers resembling those of the Mayors Amenhotep Huy and Ptahmose.

The only (recorded) priestly position in this memorial temple was held by Khaemwaset. He was born as Ramesses II's fourth son around the monarch's first year in office. He acted as High Priest of Ptah at Memphis (*sm wr-ḥrp-ḥmw.w*) during the Years 16–52. He was Crown Prince for a brief period during the early 50s and died shortly after his father's 55th year on the throne.¹⁵⁹ His tomb still remains to be found, but there are indications that it was located at Saqqara.¹⁶⁰ The Prince's building activities at the Serapeum and his interest in the old Memphite monuments are well-known, and his "restoration" endeavours in the Memphite necropolis are oft-quoted. It is likely that Khaemwaset was connected with the memorial temple of his father from its inception¹⁶¹ until he died. His titles "Sem Priest and Prophet" in the memorial temple of Ramesses II denote the office of High Priest.¹⁶² The colossal statue of Ramesses II containing these titles of Khaemwaset had once been set up at the South Gate of the Ptah temple. Gomaà suggests that the inscription on the base that once supported yet

¹⁵⁷ It should be noted that Nebnefer's title "Steward in the temple of Ramesses II in the house of Ptah" is attested only in tomb ST 217; not in ST 218. For the location of both tombs, see: Gohary 2009, pl. 1.

¹⁵⁸ Tomb architecture and style of tomb reliefs support his more advanced date. The title *im.y-r3 ḥtm n.y p3 w3ḏ-wr*, held by Nebnefer and subsequently also by his son Huynefer, should be understood not as Commander of the Fortress of the Great Green (suggested by Gohary 2009), but as Overseer of the (civil) administration of the Delta (suggested by Vandersleyen 2010), which indeed matches their additional administrative titles relating to the temple of Ptah.

¹⁵⁹ Gomaà 1975, col. 897–898.

¹⁶⁰ Stone fragments bearing his name were unearthed from the ruins of the monastery of Apa Jeremias, in the Serapeum, and near the pyramid of Teti: PM III², 572, 704, 819; Gomaà 1973, 48–54. His hilltop sanctuary located in the desert between Abusir and Saqqara has also been frequently mentioned as his possible place of burial: e.g. Yoshimura, Takamiya 2000; Takamiya, Kashiwagi, Yoshimura 2011, 401–421. For his building activities at Memphis (including the embellishment of Old Kingdom monuments), see: Gomaà 1973, 34–38, 61–66; Snape 2011.

¹⁶¹ This does not need to rule out a construction immediately upon Ramesses' accession to the throne, as the first Prophet could only be installed once the temple had been finished.

¹⁶² Compare: Haring 1997, 214–215.

another colossus of Ramesses II had been set up in the temple “Ramesses-beloved-of-Amun” in the house of Ptah.¹⁶³ That inscription refers to *p3 twt(.w) ʿ3 n.y inb-ḥd*: “the great statue of White Wall – a statue of the deified Ramesses II.”¹⁶⁴

The Temple Ramesses II “United with Maat of Ptah”

Another temple of Ramesses II constructed at Memphis is the *ḥw.t Rʿ.w-ms-sw mr(.y)-Imn.w ḥnm.t-m3ʿ.t-n(.yt)-Pth*, the temple Ramesses II “United with Maat of Ptah”. This foundation is well documented and we even know who was responsible for its construction. Mayor Amenhotep Huy commemorated his involvement in the autobiographical text inscribed on his fragmentarily preserved statue, which was found by Badawi at Memphis.¹⁶⁵ On the dorsal pillar, left edge, can be read:

‘... (the temple) “Ra`messes-Mery`Amun`-United-with-Maat-of-Ptah”; its columns of granite, the bases in every kind of stone – a great open court before it – like the pillars of the sky. Its columns ... [Northerners (?)] were stupefied by the monument (?); its door in real pine, the images thereof in gold and lapis lazuli; they are surrounded with copper ...’

On the dorsal pillar, rear, the text continues:

‘... I made [this] `temple` (with) great pylons of limestone, doorways of electrum, a monumental hall extending before it (with) gateways of granite stone, its [... ...] ... [I made this temple (?)] for Memphis (inb.w-ḥd), as a monument in the great name of His Majesty. I planted its (approach) way with trees, right up to this temple. I dragged statues of granite ...’¹⁶⁶

On this statue, Amenhotep Huy bears the titles “True Royal Scribe whom he loves”, “Great Mayor of White Walls”, and “Chief Steward”. On his outer sarcophagus found reused in Memphis (table 2: V.2), his title is *im.y-r3 pr.w m t[3] ḥw.t Rʿ.w-ms-sw-mr.y-*

¹⁶³ Gomaà 1973, 36–37, Cat. 49, fig. 18: two joining fragments, Vienna 3879 and 3880, in the collection since 1875. Their provenance is likely to be Memphis.

¹⁶⁴ Gomaà 1973, 37.

¹⁶⁵ Badawi 1944, 202–205, pl. XXII: standing statue, fragment of lower part (c. 70. cm). Also: Helck 1961, 920–921 [5]; *KRI* III, 169; *KRITA* III, 114; Pasquali 2012, 144–145.

¹⁶⁶ Translations adapted from Frood 2007, 171.

Imn.w ḥnm.t-m3ꜥt-n(.yt)-Pth, “Steward in the temple Ramesses-Meryamun “United with Maat of Ptah””.¹⁶⁷ It has been suggested that this temple is in fact the same building as “the temple of Ramesses-Meryamun in the house of Ptah” (discussed above).¹⁶⁸ As a result of that identification, Amenhotep Huy had long been considered as Ptahmose’s predecessor.

Badawi (1944, 205) initially identified this temple with the small structure he partially excavated at the south-west corner of the later enclosure wall of the Ptah temple. Amenhotep Huy’s statue was found in the debris inside the sanctuary. Anthes (1965, 7) dates the structure to around Year 34 of Ramesses II on account of the addition of the epithet “the god, ruler of Heliopolis” to the monarch’s throne name. However, the architecture of this structure appears not to match the description provided on Amenhotep Huy’s statue. Therefore, Anthes (1965, 9) rejected Badawi’s earlier claim. Archaeological and epigraphic work revealed that foundation to be a small temple built for Ptah. It underwent constructional changes during the reign of Ramesses II.¹⁶⁹ Blocks of 18th Dynasty date were reused in the Ramesside structure.¹⁷⁰ Earlier, Badawi considered the possibility that Huy constructed the temple upon the ruins of an 18th Dynasty royal memorial temple, a view later shared by Morkot,¹⁷¹ but rejected by Ullmann.¹⁷² Indeed, a temple of Amenhotep III, *Nb-M3ꜥt-Rꜥ.w ḥnm.t-Pth*, “Nebmaatre United-with-Ptah”, was built at Memphis. Its construction is recorded in the autobiographical text of the Chief Steward in Memphis, Amenhotep Huy.¹⁷³ He was also *im.y-r3 k3.wt m ḥnm.t Pth*, “Overseer of works in (the temple) “United with Ptah””. Morkot argues that the temple’s full name, in analogy with its Theban counterparts, may have been *ḥw.t n.yt ḥḥ.w m rnp.wt Nb-m3ꜥt-Rꜥ.w-ḥnm.t-Pth m pr.w Pth*, “temple of millions of years of “Nebmaatre United-with-Ptah” in the house of Ptah”.¹⁷⁴ According

¹⁶⁷ Badawi 1944, 199–200.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. e.g. Greco 2011, 197.

¹⁶⁹ EES-mission: Jeffreys, Malek, Smith 1984, 23–32; Jeffreys 1985, 72–73, fig. 30–36.

¹⁷⁰ Blocks with the name of Amenhotep III: Jeffreys, Malek, Smith, 1984, 31.

¹⁷¹ Morkot 1990, 336.

¹⁷² Ullmann 2002, 134–135.

¹⁷³ Badawi 1944, 206. Statue Ashmolean Museum 1913.163: see n. 99, above. For more on Amenhotep Huy and his monuments, see PM III², 702–703, 835, 836; Hayes 1938; Gessler-Löhr, in Pasquali, Gessler-Löhr 2011, 288–290. For more on the temple, see Morkot 1990; Ullmann 2002, 125–140. On the building programme of Amenhotep III at Memphis, see Garnett 2011, 55–59.

¹⁷⁴ Morkot 1990. Compare e.g. the temple of Ramesses II in Luxor, *Ḥnm.t-nḥḥ*; and in West Thebes, *Ḥnm.t-W3s.t* (Ullmann 2002, 328–381). For blocks belonging to a sanctuary of Amenhotep III at Memphis, see Petrie 1910, 39, pl. 29 [2–3]; references in Morkot 1990, 336 n. 93; Ullmann 2002, 125–140; Pasquali 2011, 34–37.

to the description provided by Amenhotep Huy, the temple was located “in the cultivated land west of Memphis (*m bḥ n.y imn.tyt Hw.t-kz-Pth*), upon the bank/foreshore of Ankh-tawy (*hr idb*¹⁷⁵ *n.y ḥh-tz.wy*)”. This temple continued to be in use at least until the reign of Ramesses II.¹⁷⁶

In a recent article, Pasquali convincingly rejects the identification of the temple “Ramesses-beloved-of-Amun” with the temple “United with Maat of Ptah”, and proposes an alternative location for the latter.¹⁷⁷ He argues that the title , also recorded on the outer sarcophagus of the Mayor Amenhotep Huy, is in fact an abbreviation of . The designations *hw.t ity* and *hw.t hm=f* refer to the same temple.¹⁷⁸ On the recently identified relief-decorated block from the Memphite tomb of an anonymous official,¹⁷⁹ the complete name of the temple “United with Maat of Ptah” is given as: *hw.t Rḥ.w-ms-sw-mr(.y)-Imn.w hnm.t-mzḥ.t-n(.yt)-Pth m [pr.w] Hw.t-Hr nb.t nh.t (rsy.t)*.¹⁸⁰ The addition “in the house of Hathor, Lady of the (Southern) Sycamore”, has consequences for its location. The temple of Hathor at Memphis was located south of the temple of Ptah.¹⁸¹ This situation explains some of Huy’s other titles. He was *im.y-rz kz.wt m pr.w nb.t nh.t [rsy.t]*, “Overseer of works in the house of the Lady of the [Southern] Sycamore”, *sšm.w-ḥb n(.y) nb.t nh.t rsy.t*, “Festival Conductor of the Lady of the Southern Sycamore”; and *sšm.w-ḥb n(.y) Mḥ.t-wr.t*, “Festival Conductor of Mehet-weret”.¹⁸² The location of Ramesses’ temple in the house of Hathor automatically precludes its identification with the temple “Ramesses-beloved-of-Amun” in the house of Ptah.

The temple “United with Maat of Ptah” is possibly mentioned on a stela of yet another man named Huy. In the Speos of Horemheb at Gebel Silsila, an inscription

¹⁷⁵ *Wb.* I, 153: “Ufer, Uferland (neben: Sandbank, Insel, u.A.), Acker, Flur”.

¹⁷⁶ As can be read in P. Sallier IV (verso 1,8), mentioning Ptah-who-is-under-his-moringa-tree-of-Nebmaatre-United-with-Ptah: Gardiner 1937, 88–92 (89,10); Caminos 1954, 333, 339–340; Morkot 1990, 335.

¹⁷⁷ Pasquali 2012, 141–142.

¹⁷⁸ Pasquali op cit., 141 with n. 18.

¹⁷⁹ Pasquali op cit., 139–145, fig. 3: Aphrodite Ancient Art, New York; 19th Dynasty, temp. Ramesses II or later. The block possibly originates from the tomb of Amenhotep Huy.

¹⁸⁰ Pasquali op cit., 142–144.

¹⁸¹ Erichsen 1933, 55 (P. Harris I, 49: 2-3); El-Sayed Mahmud 1978; Kitchen 1991, 92, fig. 2.

¹⁸² For Mehet-weret as a name for Hathor, see: P. Sallier IV, verso 1,9: “Hathor Lady of the Southern Sycamore in her name of Methwer” (Caminos 1954, 333). The title “Festival Conductor” was usually unrelated to priestly offices: Kees 1953, 322–324; Seyfried 1991, 204.

dated to Merenptah¹⁸³ identifies him as *im.y-r3 k3.wt m mnw nb n.y ḥm=f, wr n.y md3y.w, im.y-r3 pr.w n.y ḥw.t Rꜥ.w-ms-sw-mr(.y)-Imn.w n.y pr.w nb.t nh.t, im.y-r3 pr.w n.y p3-Rꜥ.w n.y Rꜥ.w-ms-sw-mr(.y)-Imn.w rsy Mn-nfr*. Further, in P. Leiden I.349 from Memphis, a *kṯn n.y iḥw Rꜥ.w-ms-sw-mr(.y)-Imn.w* named Huy records the hauling of sandstone (*iṯḥ bi3.t*) for the *p3-Rꜥ.w Rꜥ.w-ms-sw-mr(.y)-Imn.w ʿnh.w wd3.w snb.w rsy Mn-nfr*,¹⁸⁴ which, according to Gnirs (1996, 155–156), was destined for the funerary temple of Ramesses II in the temple of Hathor at Memphis – the same temple where the Chief of the Medjay Huy later became Steward and who, according to Gnirs, left his inscriptions in Gebel Silsila when he was quarrying sandstone for a temple of Merenptah. Huy was not the only Chief of the Medjay who was put in charge of building projects. Penra, who has been mentioned earlier in connection with construction work in the Ramesseum (n. 123, *supra*), was *im.y-r3 ḥ3s.wt mḥt(.wt), [wr n.y] md3y.w m-mit.t, kṯn n.y ḥm=f, wpw.ty-nsu r t3 nb, and im.y-r3 [k3.wt m t3] ḥw.t Wsr-m3ꜥ.t-Rꜥ.w-stp.n-Rꜥ.w m pr.w Imn.w*.¹⁸⁵ Helck also included the reference to the official May as a source for the temple Ramesses “United with Ptah”.¹⁸⁶ While some of his titles do indeed refer to building activities at Memphis (n. 119, *supra*), the main focus of his activities was in the temple of Re at Heliopolis.¹⁸⁷ He was also actively involved in construction works at Pi-Ramesse and in the house of Amun at Thebes.

Conclusion

This paper proposed an interpretation for the title *ḥ3.ty-ꜥ.w ḥ3 inb.w n.w Ptḥ*, “Mayor of beyond the walls of Ptah”, identified on a lost door jamb from the tomb of the Mayor of Memphis Ptahmose. It appears to be the full form of another title held by Ptahmose (inscribed on statue BM 1119): *ḥ3.ty-ꜥ.w n.y ḥ3 inb.w*, “Mayor of beyond the walls”. It also allows for the alternative reconstruction of a title recorded on a block of Ptahmose

¹⁸³ PM V, 210 (20); KRI IV, 125; Helck 1961, 923; Gnirs 1996, 156 (Huy VI); Pasquali 2012, 142 with n. 26.

¹⁸⁴ Gnirs 1996, 155–156 (Huy III); KRI III, 251,2-5; P. Leiden I 349, l. 14-16. This Huy is also mentioned on stela BM EA 166: KRI II, 388:10-13, 389:2,7,16–390:1. His father is Hanefer, Priest in the temple of Re (at Memphis?).

¹⁸⁵ KRI III, 268–271; Gnirs 1996, 157. Also: Gohary 1987.

¹⁸⁶ Stela Louvre C 94: Habachi 1954; Helck 1961, 920 (5). For a complete overview, see: Raue 1999, 196–198. This official is attested on several monuments and inscriptions (total: 7), including a statue from Memphis: Cairo JE 67878.

¹⁸⁷ Gnirs 1996, 160–5; Ullmann 2002, 296–301 (esp. 297–298 [2]).

seen by Lepsius: *im.y-r3 pr.w Pth [n.y] h3 inb.w Pth*, “Steward of the house of Ptah beyond the walls of Ptah”.

In order to address the significance of this “new” title, the development of the title “Mayor of Memphis” during the New Kingdom has been analysed. During the early 19th Dynasty the title changes in three respects: *h3.ty-ꜥ.w wr* starts to be used in parallel with *h3.ty-ꜥ.w*, the preposition *m* is used instead of the indirect genitive adjective *n.y* to refer to Memphis, and a variety of toponyms of the city are attested.

An analysis of the “walls of Ptah” at Memphis reveals that Ptahmose, in his capacity of “Mayor of beyond the walls of Ptah”, was responsible for all temples located there. That area included the so-called *bꜥh*-terrain where a temple of Ptah and several royal memorial temples were located. The “house of Ptah beyond the walls of Ptah” should be considered as a collective denominator for all the temple’s assets located outside of the temple walls. Such assets are usually under the control of the designated steward. The title Mayor of beyond the walls of Ptah can be related to building activities at Memphis initiated during the early 19th Dynasty (reign of Seti I), construction works for which Ptahmose had been responsible. The shifting eastwards of the Nile accommodated the expansion of the city and temple to the east: beyond the old boundary walls.

Ptahmose was responsible for the Ramesside expansion of the Ptah temple. This included the temple “Beneficial is Seti-Merenptah” in the house of Ptah – the great hypostyle hall in the Ptah temple, later renamed “Beneficial is Ramesses-Meryamun”. He was also responsible for the construction of the Memphite memorial temple of Ramesses II: the temple “Ramesses-beloved-of-Amun” in the house of Ptah. Another temple of that monarch, the “temple of Ramesses-Meryamun United with Maat of Ptah” located south of the temple of Ptah in the domain of Hathor was constructed by Ptahmose’s successor, the Mayor of Memphis Amenhotep Huy.

This paper argues that the early 19th Dynasty Mayors were not just the chief officials of this city, but were also related to the Ptah temple as Chief Stewards, attesting to the intimate administrative link between town and temple.

Table 1. Mayor of Memphis Ptahmose: titles.

A: Related to the king, royal court, and government (incl. honorific)	
<i>ḥ n.y nb=f</i>	III.1
<i>ir.y-rd.wy=f</i>	I.8
<i>ir.ty n.y nsw.t ꜥnh.wy bi.ty</i>	I.5
<i>ir.ty n.y nsw.t m pr.w Pth</i>	III.5
<i>ir.y-pꜥ.t</i>	I.1-5, I.7, I.11, I.15(1-4), I.17(1-4); II.5; III.1-6
<i>ꜥk3 ns mi.tyt mh3.t</i>	I.8
<i>wꜥ mnḥ n ntr nfr</i>	I.14
<i>bi3.t=f ikr di mr.wt=f</i>	I.8
<i>mr(.y) nb t3.wy</i>	I.5; III.4
<i>mrr.ty ꜥ3 n.y ntr nfr</i>	I.2, I.5
<i>mh-ib ꜥ3 n.y ntr nfr</i>	III.1
<i>[ns/r] shrr m Hw.t-k3-Pth</i>	I.14
<i>ḥ3.ty-ꜥ.w</i>	I.1-5, I.11, 15(1-4), 17(1-3); II.5; III.1-5
<i>ḥꜥ=tw [n sdm] hrw=f</i>	III.1
<i>hr.y tp wr.w m Inb(.w)-ḥd</i>	I.1
<i>hr[.y tp m] šny.t</i>	I.14
<i>hrp rs-tp n nb t3.wy</i>	III.2
<i>smr wꜥ.ty</i>	I.1, I.5
<i>sr</i>	I.14
<i>sd3w.ty bi.ty</i>	I.5, 9-10, 18; III.4
B: General administration	
Temple of Ptah	
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w</i>	I.5; II.6; III.3-4; VII.1-2
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr</i>	I.5; III.5
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr m pr.w Pth</i>	I.4-5, 11, 14; III.1-5
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w m [t3] ḥw.t Rꜥ.w-ms-s(w) mr.y-</i>	III.6-7
<i>Imn.w m pr.w Pth</i>	
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr m t3 ḥw.t Rꜥ.w-ms-s(w) mr.y-</i>	I.2, 11
<i>Imn.w m pr.w Pth</i>	
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y Pth</i>	I.1; II.6; III.2; IV.1
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w m ḥw.t ntr ḥ-Sthy-mr-n-Pth m</i>	III.6
<i>pr.w Pth</i>	
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w (n.y) Pth</i>	I.17(1); II.3, 5; II.3-4
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y pr.w Pth ḥ3 Inb.w Pth</i>	I.12
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y nb m3ꜥ.t</i>	I.1, 3, 5, 9

Treasury	
<i>im.y-r3 pr ḥd</i>	I.5, III.7
<i>im.y-r3 pr-ḥd n nb m3^c.t</i>	I.17C
Granary	
<i>im.y-r3 šnw.ty</i>	III.7
<i>im.y-r3 šnw.ty n.y nb m3^c.t</i>	I.15(4)
<i>im.y-r3 šnw.ty n.y nb-nḥḥ</i>	I.11
Mayorship	
<i>ḥ3.ty-^c.w wr</i>	I.11; II.6; IV.2-3
<i>ḥ3.ty-^c.w wr m inb(.w) ḥd</i>	I.4-5, 11; III.1-2, 5
<i>ḥ3.ty-^c.w wr m Ḥw.t-k3-Pth</i>	III.4
<i>ḥ3.ty-^c.w m Ḳnb.w-ḥd</i>	I.3, II.6
<i>ḥ3.ty-^c.w ḥ3 Ḳnb.w</i>	II.6
<i>ḥ3.ty-^c.w ḥ3 Ḳnb.w n.w Pth</i>	I.17(4)
C: Scribal	
<i>sš nsw.t</i>	I.4-5, 7, 11-12, 14, 15(3-4), 170(1); II.4-6; III.1-5, 7; IV.2; VII.1-2
<i>sš nsw.t m3^c mr(.y)=f</i>	I.2
D: Public works, crafts	
<i>im.y-r3 m3^c m pr.w Pth</i>	I.15(3), 17(2)
<i>im.y-r3 m3^c wr m pr.w Pth</i>	I.5, 11; III.5
<i>im.y-r3 k3.wt</i>	I.10
<i>im.y-r3 k3.wt m mnw nb n.y nb t3.wy(?)</i>	I.8
<i>im.y-r3 k3.wt m mnw nb n.y nsw</i>	I.12
<i>im.y-r3 k3.wt m mnw nb n.y ḥm=f</i>	III.1
<i>im.y-r3 k3.wt m mnw nb n.y ḥm=f m Ḥwt-k3-Pth</i>	I.3, II.6
E. Sacerdotal	
<i>mrr.ty ^c3 n.y nṯr.w nb.w Ḳnb(.w)-ḥd</i>	III.3
<i>ḥr.y-sšt3 n.y ḥw.t Pth</i>	I.5
Incomplete	
<i>/// n nb m3^c.t</i>	I.3
<i>im.y-r3 ///</i>	I.7
<i>/// m pr.w [Pth]</i>	I.8, 15(2)

Table 2. Mayor of Memphis Amenhotep Huy: titles.

A: Related to the king, royal court, and government (incl. honorific)	
<i>ḥs.y ʕ3 n.y nb t3.wy</i>	V.2
<i>ḥs.y ʕ3 n.y ntr nfr</i>	V.2
<i>ḥr.y sšt3 n ḥw.t-k3-Pth</i>	V.2
<i>r3 n.y nsw ḥn.ty ḥw.t-k3-Pth</i>	III.1
<i>rḥ nsw m3ḥ mr(.y)=f</i>	V.2
B: General administration	
Stewardship	
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w</i>	III.1; V.2
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr</i>	III.1
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w m [t3] ḥw.t ity</i>	I.1; V.1-2
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w m [t3] ḥw.t ḥm=f</i>	V.2
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w m [t3] ḥw.t Hr=f (nb=f)</i>	III.1; V.1-2
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w m [t3] ḥw.t Rḥ.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w ḥnm.t-m3ḥt-n(.yt)-Pth</i>	V.2
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w m [t3] ḥw.t sr</i>	V.2
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y Inb.w</i>	III.1
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y // [ḥw.t?] Ḥnm.t-m3ḥ.t-n(.yt)-Pth</i>	V.2
Mayorship	
<i>ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w</i>	II.2; V.1-2
<i>ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr</i>	V.2; V.4
<i>ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr m inb.w</i>	I.1; III.1; V.1-2
<i>ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr m inb(.w)-ḥd</i>	V.1
<i>ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr m ʕnh-t3.wy</i>	V.2
<i>ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr m mn-nfr</i>	V.2
<i>ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr m mḥ3.t-t3.wy</i>	I.1
<i>ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr m niw.t Pth</i>	V.2
<i>ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr m niw.t nhḥ</i>	V.1-2
<i>ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr m niw.t T3-ḥnn</i>	V.2
<i>ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr m ḥw.t-k3-Pth</i>	V.1-2
<i>ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr n.y inb.w</i>	II.2; III.1
<i>ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr n.y inb.w-Pth</i>	
<i>ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr n.y inb(w)-ḥd</i>	II.1; III.1
<i>ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr n.y mn-nfr</i>	VII.1
C: Scribal	
<i>sš nsw</i>	I.1; II.1; V.1

<i>sš nsw mꜣꜥ mr(.y)=f</i>	II.1; III.1; V.1-2
D: Public works, crafts	
<i>im.y-r kꜣ.wt m pr.w Nb.t nh.t</i>	V.4
<i>im.y-r kꜣ.wt m ḥw.t-kꜣ-Pth</i>	I.1
E: Sacerdotal	
<i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Mḥ.t-wr.t</i>	V.2
<i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Nb.t wr</i>	V.2
<i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Nb.t nh.t rsy.t</i>	V.2

Table 3: Corpus of objects pertaining to Mayors Ptahmose and Amenhotep Huy.

<i>Pth-ms(.w)</i>	<i>Imn-ḥtp Ḥwy</i>
<p><i>I. Reliefs</i></p> <p>1-3. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 4873–5</p> <p>4. Florence, Museo Egizio 2557</p> <p>5. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 54</p> <p>6. Frankfurt, Liebieghaus IN 1643</p> <p>7. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 25.6.24.6</p> <p>8. Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University 1984.2.3</p> <p>9-10. Berlin, Ägyptische Museum 1631–2</p> <p>11. “Mur Rhoné” (lost)</p> <p>12. “Block from Giza” (lost)</p> <p>13-17 “Devéria-doorway” (lost)</p> <p>18 Saqqara, <i>In situ</i></p>	<p><i>I. Reliefs</i></p> <p>1. Saqqara Magazine (excavated near Step Pyramid)</p> <p>2. Private collection, Aphrodite Ancient Art, New York</p>
<p><i>II. Statues</i></p> <p>1. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 22.106</p> <p>2. Tokyo, Matsuoka Museum of Art 568</p> <p>3-4. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 7–8</p> <p>5. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 41532</p> <p>6. London, British Museum EA 1119</p>	<p><i>II. Statues</i></p> <p>1. Present location unknown (excav. Badawi Mit Rahina)</p>
<p><i>III. Architectural elements</i></p> <p>1-4. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 51a-d (<i>djed</i> pillars)</p> <p>5. Cairo, Egyptian Museum 40.000 (papyriform column)</p> <p>6. Pyramidion (lost)</p>	<p><i>III. Architectural elements</i></p> <p>1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 7.11.24.1 (pyramidion)</p>
<p><i>IV. Stelae</i></p> <p>1. Lost (Notebook H.O. Lange)</p> <p>2. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung 19718</p>	<p><i>IV. Stelae</i></p> <p>-</p>
<p><i>V. Burial equipment</i></p> <p>1. Musée Antoine Vivenel de Compiègne Inv. L. 496 (Sarcophagus fr.)</p>	<p><i>V. Burial equipment</i></p> <p>1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 59128 (sarcophagus)</p> <p>2. Mit Rahineh, Mathaf Ramsis (sarcophagus)</p>

	3. Present location unknown (anthropoid coffin Memphis)
	4. Durham, Oriental Museum EG 518 (N 1859) (wooden shabti)
<i>VI. Offering tables</i>	<i>VI. Offering tables</i>
-	-
<i>VII. Extra sepulchral objects</i>	<i>VII. Extra sepulchral objects</i>
1. Paris, Musée du Louvre IM 5269 (stela from Serapeum)	1. Paris, Musée du Louvre (shabti from Serapeum)
2. Paris, Musée du Louvre SH 213 (shabti from Serapeum)	2-6. Saqqara, Magazine (5 shabtis from Serapeum, “lesser vaults”)
	7. Paris, Musée du Louvre N 519 = AF 450 (block-statue from Serapeum)

Addenda & Corrigenda

Note 158: Vandersleyen’s suggested translation of the term *wꜣd wr* has been criticised. See e.g. Quack, J.F. 2002. Zur Frage des Meeres in ägyptischen Texten. *OLZ* 98/4–5: 453–63; and Id. 2010. review of: Vandersleyen, Claude: *Le Delta et la vallée du Nil. Le sens de ouadj our (wꜣč wr)*. Brussels: Éditions Safran, 2008. 351 S. = *Connaissance de l’Égypte Ancienne* 20. Brosch., 42.00 €, ISBN 978-2-87457-021-6. *OLZ* 105/2: 154–62.

3.5

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THE PERSONNEL OF THE THEBAN RAMESSEUM IN THE MEMPHITE NECROPOLIS¹

NICO STARING

Abstract

The structure of the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara and the distribution of individual tombs therein have been the subject of a number of studies. It has been suggested that the location of some tombs depended on family relations and professional association. In the area south of the Unas causeway, a notable clustering of tombs constructed for the higher administrative personnel of the Theban Ramesseum can be observed. The title holders include the (Great) Overseers of Cattle, Overseers of the Treasury, and (Chief) Stewards. This paper presents an overview of the archaeological and textual sources from Saqqara pertaining to these officials; it aims to present a prosopography of the Memphite officials who held office at the Ramesseum, and to address the question why these officials were buried not in the Theban necropolis, but at Memphis.

I. Introduction

In March 1859, Théodule Devéria, who worked as an assistant to Auguste Mariette, the newly appointed director of Egypt's antiquities service, took a photograph of a doorway in the superstructure of the now-lost tomb of Ptahemwia at Saqqara.² The tomb is probably located in the New Kingdom necropolis due south of the Unas causeway, in the area between the tombs of Ptahmose and Maya (see fig. 1). The inscriptions visible on the door jambs enable one to identify Ptahemwia as the early Nineteenth Dynasty 'Great Overseer of Cattle' and 'Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum'. Interestingly, he was not the only high-ranking official of the Ramesseum who built his tomb in this part of the necropolis. The presence of the officials' tombs at Saqqara has been previously noted,³ but their distribution and the rationale behind their presence has not been hitherto addressed. This article aims to present a prosopography

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² Staring 2016.

³ Myśliwiec 1978, 145; Berlandini 1979, 260–2; Van Dijk 1988, 39; Nelson 1999, 59.

of the Memphite officials who held office at the Ramesseum, and address the question why these officials were buried not in the Theban necropolis, but at Memphis.

The study necessarily touches on issues related to the administration of Ramesses II's Theban memorial temple. The primary data, however, are not administrative documents, but the officials' titles recorded on the tomb walls and additional funerary objects. By their very nature, these data provide us with limited information about what exactly the officials did or what their positions in the hierarchy were.⁴ The main aim of this paper is not to study the administration of the temple per se, but to understand why its administrators were buried at Saqqara. The officials' full titulary reveals their professional background, and a study of the prosopographical data with a comparison to other title-holders at Saqqara and elsewhere (mainly at Thebes) provide us with information about the composition and status of the Memphite necropolis.

This study starts with an overview of the data pertaining to Ptahemwia, and an account of the titles he held in the course of his career. This is followed by paragraphs on the holders of the other high offices in the Ramesseum who were buried at Saqqara. These offices are: the (Great) Overseer of Cattle, the Overseer of the Treasury, and the (Chief) Steward of the Ramesseum.

An overview of the officials' titulary is provided in tables 2–5. The titles are divided into six groups: [A] Related to the king, royal court, and government (incl. honorific); [B] General administration; [C] Scribal; [D] Public works, crafts; [E] Sacerdotal; [F] Military.⁵

II. Ptahemwia: Great Overseer of Cattle and Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum

A number of objects and architectural elements pertaining to Ptahemwia provide us with information about his career. These are the stone elements in the doorway of his lost tomb photographed by Devéria in 1859, an "unidentified object" copied by Mariette at Saqqara in 1859, the pyramidion found at Saqqara in March 1860 (Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 17109), and a statue excavated by Flinders Petrie in the temple of Osiris at

⁴ For the problem, see e.g. Gnirs 1996, 5; Murnane 1997, 251; Raedler 2004, 279–81; Haring 2013, 610.

⁵ The subdivision used in relation to this study follows that of Martin 2012, 60–2.

Abydos in 1902 (Edinburgh, National Museums Scotland A.1902.306.10). The titles recorded on these objects are listed in table 1.⁶

TABLE 1. – *Overview of the titles held by Ptahemwia*

A. Related to the king, royal court, and government (incl. honorific)

ir.y-p^c.t

smr w^c.ty

sd³w.ty-bi.ty

B. General administration

Cattle

im.y-r³ ih.w

im.y-r³ ih.w wr

im.y-r³ ih.w wr m t³ hw.t Wsr-m³^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w 'Imn.w

im.y-r³ ih.w m t[³] hw.t Wsr-m³^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w 'Imn.w

im.y-r³ ih.w n.w nb t³.wy

Treasury

im.y-r³ pr.w-h^d nbw n.y t³ hw.t n.yt hh.w rnp.wt n.y nsw.t bi.ty Wsr-

m³^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w 'Imn.w m 'Inb-h^d

C. Scribal

sš nsw

sš nsw htp.w-n^{tr} n.y n^{tr}.w nb.w

sš nsw htp.w-n^{tr} n.y n^{tr}.w nb.w Šm^c.w T³-mh.w

None of the objects pertaining to Ptahemwia provide us with a year-date. Therefore, it is not clear in what order the titles were held, what the length of his career might have been, and exactly how he fits in the succession of officials bearing the same titles. Nevertheless, the official's career can be at least broadly reconstructed from the titles he has held.

Ptahemwia's administrative positions are particularly high-ranking, and therefore, his scribal titles mark his early career. Ptahemwia was educated as a Royal Scribe and this eventually provided him access to the (higher echelons of the) state administration.⁷ The title 'Royal Scribe of the God's Offerings of all gods (of Upper and Lower Egypt)' indicates he was employed in the Treasury. The element *sš nsw* marks an 'honorific

⁶ The objects are presented and discussed in: Staring 2016. I thank Dr Stéphane Pasquali for the correct find date of the pyramidion.

⁷ Van Dijk 1997, 54.

rank' among holders of the same title of office, which suggests that Ptahemwia held the highest position among an unspecified number of "common" scribes of the God's Offerings.⁸ In the temple administration, the term *ḥtp(.w)-ntr*, 'god's offering(s)', refer(s) to a temple's estate and resources, such as fields, gardens, cattle, personnel, granaries, and workshops.⁹ The scribes of the god's offerings administered the items brought into the temple.¹⁰ They are found in every Egyptian temple and each individual scribe was normally appointed at one institution. In a more advanced stage of their careers, the title-holders are known to have held high positions in various divisions of the state administration.¹¹ Menkheperre-seneb (TT 79), for example, held office as Overseer of the Double Granary of Upper and Lower Egypt,¹² and Rekhmira (TT 100) became Vizier.¹³ The indirect genitive construction in the two scribal titles held by Ptahemwia indicates that his responsibilities were not limited to one specific temple. Instead, he administered the god's offerings of all gods of Upper and Lower Egypt. This suggests an appointment in the state administration, and more specifically the State Treasury.

The next step in his career is marked by the title Overseer of Cattle. The cattle were included in the God's Offerings, and thus Ptahemwia's early career path logically explains his appointment in this office with administrative responsibilities. In a few instances, the title Overseer of Cattle is expanded with the adjective *wr*, "Great/Chief". It is doubtful whether the addition signifies an elevated rank;¹⁴ its introduction might be related to his appointment as Overseer of Cattle in the Ramesseum.

Finally, and possibly for a short period of time, Ptahemwia held the office of Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum.

Ptahemwia's appointment in the Ramesseum should probably be dated early in the reign of Ramesses II. Tomb architecture and iconography support a date within the first

⁸ Cf. Onasch 1998, 331–43; Binder 2010, 2.

⁹ Haring 2007, 165; 2013, 616.

¹⁰ Haring 1997, 230–1.

¹¹ Eichler 2000, 165–7.

¹² Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Thutmose III–Amenhotep II: PM I.1/2, 156–7; *Urk.* IV, 1178.11, 1205.10; Bohleke 1991, 154–64; Eichler 2000, 166, Cat. 264.

¹³ For example Rekhmire (TT 100, Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Thutmose III–Amenhotep II): PM I.1/2, 206–14; Eichler 2000, 166, Cat. 409. Rekhmire was *inter alia* Overseer of the Treasury of Silver and Gold. His son, Menkheperre-seneb, was *sš ḥtp(.w)-ntr tp.y n.y 'Imn.w*, First Scribe of the God's Offerings of Amun. In the tomb of his father, he is depicted while performing his duties as *sš ḥtp(.w)-ntr*: administering the produce from bakeries and breweries (Davies 1943, 39, pl. 38; Eichler 2000, Cat. 262).

¹⁴ The form was introduced early in the Nineteenth Dynasty (see below), and it can also be observed in the titulary of other officials, such as the Mayors of Memphis: *ḥz.ty-ḥ.w wr m Mn-nfr* (Staring 2015).

two decades of Ramesses II (c. 1279–1213 BC).¹⁵ As a result, his early career will have started during the reign of Seti I (c. 1288–1279 BC). The course of his career is intimately linked to the careers of other officials. As will be outlined below, the data available for these officials is often fragmentary as well. However, the drawing together of these fragmentary data may prove to fill some of the gaps, which eventually results in a secure succession of officials within the various departments. It may also reveal possible changes and developments within the administration.

III. Overseers of Cattle (of Amun)

In Egypt, livestock and cattle represented an important part of the (temple) economy.¹⁶ Temple herds met the high demands of meat required for festivals and the daily offering-cults. The *im.y-r3 ih.w*, Overseer of Cattle, was the highest ranking official in the cattle administration.¹⁷ He was also responsible for the domains producing fodder for the animals.¹⁸

In the temple of Amun at Karnak, the title *im.y-r3 ih.w n.w 'Imn.w* identified the highest ranking official within the cattle administration.¹⁹ No less than 27 such officials dateable to the Eighteenth Dynasty are identified by Eichler.²⁰

In relation to the Theban royal memorial temples, Haring (1997, 229) observes that the Overseer of Cattle, unlike his deputies and attendants, is not attested in the administrative papyri and ostraca from western Thebes. This indicates that the overseers were active on a higher level.

III.1 Prosopography: Overseers of Cattle (of Amun) (table 2)

This paragraph provides a chronological overview of the officials who held office as Overseer of Cattle (of Amun), and who constructed their tombs at Saqqara.²¹

¹⁵ For the chronology of the New Kingdom, and the absolute dates used in relation to this study, see: Gautschy 2014, table 8 (P1₁).

¹⁶ Ghoneim 1977, 242.

¹⁷ See Helck 1958, 171–9.

¹⁸ Wilbour Papyrus, Texts A and B, see Haring 1997, 377.

¹⁹ Eichler 2000, 78.

²⁰ Eichler 2000, 83–4, table 3.

²¹ A block inscribed with the title *im.y-r3 ih.w*, without the name of the title holder, was found by Quibell (1912, 26, No. [1895]) in the ruins of the Monastery of Apa Jeremias. The block may have belonged to the tomb of one of the officials listed in this section.

1. Hatiay

The round-topped stela of Hatiay (Florence, Museo Archeologico 2593) was excavated at Saqqara by G. Di Nizzoli.²² The tomb's location was not recorded. In the lower register of the stela, the tomb owner is represented kneeling before a tree goddess. His *ba* is depicted as a human-headed bird standing atop (the façade of) his tomb chapel. A secure pre-Amarna date is provided by the consistent erasure of the Amun-element in the owner's titles.²³

2. Iniuia

Iniuia's tomb was excavated by the EES/Leiden archaeological mission in 1993. It is located immediately due south of the second courtyard of General Horemheb's tomb.²⁴ Iniuia probably started his career during the early reign of Tutankhamun or the later years of Akhenaten.²⁵ As a Scribe of the Treasury of Silver and Gold of the Lord of the Two Lands (LTL), he may have been a member of staff in the Treasury led by Maya, who was buried nearby.²⁶ At a later stage of his career, Iniuia was promoted to become the Overseer of Cattle of Amun.²⁷ During the reign of Tutankhamun or Ay/Horemheb, he held office as Chief Steward of/in Memphis. In that office, he succeeded Ipy, the son of Amenhotep Huy.²⁸

3. Pay

Pay succeeded Iniuia when the latter became the Chief Steward in Memphis.²⁹ Pay's tomb was rediscovered in 1975 by the EES/Leiden archaeological mission, and it was excavated in 1993–4.³⁰ Pay spent much of his career in the Royal Harim. He was

²² Limestone, 81 x 47 cm (ex-coll. Di Nizzoli, 1824): PM VIII/4, 84–5 (803–048–959); Di Nizzoli 1880, 371; Bosticco 1965, 43–4, fig. 36; Eichler 2000, 303, Cat. 413; Étienne 2009, 187, Cat. 168. Hatiay is not accompanied by his wife, who thus remains anonymous.

²³ It also indicates that the stela was visible and accessible when the erasures were made.

²⁴ Schneider 2012.

²⁵ Schneider 2012, 119–22.

²⁶ His sons Ramose and Penanhor also worked as Scribes of the Treasury: in the temple of the Aten in Memphis. At the time, Mery-Neith, whose tomb is located in close proximity to that of Iniuia, served as the temple's Steward and Greatest of Seers (High Priest).

²⁷ One tomb-scene depicts Iniuia in the capacity of Overseer of Cattle. He supervises the cattle being herded by several attendants (Schneider 2012, 88–90, scene 21a–d, figs III.36a–d, pls X–XI).

²⁸ PM III/2, 704. For Ipy, see most recently: Pasquali and Gessler-Löhr 2011. According to Gessler-Löhr, Ipy died during the reign of Horemheb (Pasquali and Gessler-Löhr 2011, 288 with n. 35).

²⁹ Raven 2005, 5; Van Dijk 1995, 19.

³⁰ The tomb may have been visited first by the agents of G. d'Anastasi. A stela from his collection (gathered in the 1820s) was acquired by the British Museum in 1845 (Inv. No. EA 156: Raven 2005, 1).

Overseer of the Royal Apartments and Overseer of the Royal Harim in Memphis. His title *im.y-rꜣ ip.t nsw m grg-Wꜣs.t*, Overseer of the King's Private Apartments in "Restorer of Thebes", an epithet of Tutankhamun, serves as a *terminus a quo*.³¹ The title Overseer of Cattle of Amun occurs twice in his tomb, where it concludes the sequence of Harim-related titles.³² Pay died possibly towards the end of the reign of Tutankhamun, or early in the reign of Horemheb.³³

4. Djehuty

Stela Leiden AP 56 depicts Djehuty with his wife Tuy, the Songstress of Amun.³⁴ In the lower register, Djehuty and his wife are represented seated while the 'Lector Priest Ptahab³⁵ of his lord Djehuty' presents them with a libation and incense, possibly in the absence of a male heir. A group of children who are designated as *nꜣ ms.w n.y pr-s*, 'the children of her (i.e. Tuy's) house', are positioned standing behind Ptahab. Their designation implies that they are not the couple's biological children, but that they were adopted.³⁶ The girls Maiamen (*Mꜣiꜣ-mn*, 'Maya remains')³⁷ and Tjauenmaia (*Tꜣw-n-mꜣiꜣ*, 'Breath of Maya') have been identified as the children of Maya and Meryt. The girls were depicted at least once in their parents' tomb.³⁸ The date of Maya's funeral, Year 9 of Pharaoh Horemheb,³⁹ serves as a *terminus post quem* for the stela of Djehuty, who may have held office into the reign of Seti I.⁴⁰

³¹ Cf. also the *hw.t Nb-hpr.w-Rꜥ.w mr.y Imn.w grg Wꜣs.t*, constructed within the Karnak temple enclosure.

³² Raven 2005, scene [26] and stela [70].

³³ Raven 2005, 4. Pay's four sons are: Nebra/Neb-imentet, *sꜣ pr.w-hꜩ n.y nb tꜣ.wy*; Meh, *sꜣ pr.w-hꜩ n.y pr.w-Pth*; Hatiay, *hr.y-ih.w*; and Raia/Ramses, *im.y-rꜣ ip.t-nsw n.y Mn-nfr*, *ir.y-pꜩ.t n.y nb tꜣ.wy*, *tꜣy-hw hr wnm.y (n.y) nsw*, etc.

³⁴ Ex-coll. d'Anastasi, 1828: Boeser 1913, 11, No. 40, pl. 22; Affara 2010, 147–57.

³⁵ *PN I*, 138.10: *Pth-sb* or *sb-Pth*. Note that in the transcription, Affara mistakes Gardiner Sign-list R15, , for A28, .

³⁶ Franke 1983, 265 n. 2; Van Dijk 2012, 64–5.

³⁷ The name is written as *Mꜣiꜣ-mn.ti*, with the sign , (U 32) misinterpreted as , t (U 33) and expanded with , i (M 17): Van Dijk 1993, "additions and corrections", <http://www.jacobusvandijk.nl/docs/Maya_chapter.pdf> accessed 20.10.2014.

³⁸ See Martin 2012, scene 36, pl. 31: inner court, south end of east wall, upper register: only the 'label' bearing Maya-menti is preserved.

³⁹ Van Dijk 1990, 26.

⁴⁰ Year 14 is the highest recorded regnal year of Horemheb (on wine jar labels from KV 57: Van Dijk 2008, 193–200); Year 2 is the highest recorded regnal year of Ramesses I (stela Louvre C 57: PM VII, 130; *KRI I*, 2.9; Zivie 1984, col. 104). See also Gautschy 2014, 147, table 5.

5. Minmose

The wooden stela of Minmose (Berlin, ÄM 822) was excavated by G. Passalacqua 'at Memphis'.⁴¹ The stela identifies him only as Overseer of Cattle of Amun. His wife, the Lady of the House, Mia, his daughter, and other relatives (no son) are also represented. The inscriptions are coloured yellow and parallels for this use at Saqqara date to the early Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Seti I.⁴²

6. Pyiai

Two adjoining limestone blocks with decoration executed in raised relief, inscribed for a man named Pyiai, were found by the EES/Leiden expedition in shaft F outside the north-west corner of the tomb of Paser, the Overseer of Builders of the LTL.⁴³ Pyiai is depicted with his hands raised in a gesture of adoration, standing (?) before two seated deities (including the goddess Maat). The incised inscription mentions his titles: Overseer of Cattle and Royal Scribe of the Treasury of the LTL.⁴⁴ Martin dates the block to the late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty.⁴⁵

7. Iuy

A fragment of a limestone block with decoration in sunk relief held in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (Inv. No. I.1.a.5637 [4124]) is inscribed for the Overseer of Cattle of Amun, named Iuy.⁴⁶ The block depicts a funerary scene and is

⁴¹ Ex-coll. Passalacqua: Passalacqua 1826, 70–1, No. 1401 (from Memphis); Erman 1899, 159 ('*Grabtafel*'); Roeder 1924, 99; PM III/2, 734 (as Eighteenth Dynasty, "Unidentified in East Berlin or lost").

⁴² For example stela Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum AES 178 of Amenhotep Huy, Scribe of the Offering Table of the LTL, early Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Seti I: Hölzl 2007, 106–7.

⁴³ EES/Leiden excavation: Martin 1985, 16–17 [iv; v], pl. 26; limestone, 18 x 80 x 9/13 cm. Martin (1985, 16 n. 6) adds that a shabti of a scribe named Pyiai was found in shaft B of the tomb complex of Tia in 1983.

⁴⁴ Martin 1985, 16 [iv], reads: 'the royal scribe, [overseer] of the treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands'. Note, however, that the *pr*-sign nearly touches the column divider, which means there is no place for the *im.y-r3*-sign (Gardiner Sign-List F20) to reconstruct *im.y-r3 pr.w*, 'Steward'.

⁴⁵ Compare to a jamb fragment (Berlin ÄM 2087) from the tomb of Huy, Army Scribe of the LTL (Lepsius tomb LS 12 = Quibell S 2735; Teti Pyramid North): *LD*, Text I, 161; Wenig 1974, 239–40, Doc. 1, pl. 32a; Martin 1987, 10, No. 10, pl. 4. Huy has been dated to the late Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ay–Horemheb. For the location of his tomb and additional tomb-elements found recently during excavation, see Ockinga 2012, 374–7, fig. 1.

⁴⁶ 75.5 x 69 cm; ex-coll. Vladimir Golenishev: Hodjash and Berlev 1982, 122–3, No. 70, fig. 70. Golenishev started collecting Egyptian antiquities in the early 1870s, and sold them in 1908. Little information was recorded on the objects' provenance, or the circumstances under which they were acquired.

doubtlessly of Memphite origin. On stylistic grounds, the block has been dated to the early Nineteenth Dynasty.⁴⁷

8. Ptahmose

A fragment of a block statue (Cairo CG 642) inscribed for Ptahmose, the Overseer of Cattle of Amun, was found “south of the pyramid of Unas”.⁴⁸ Other titles inscribed on this statue include: Royal Scribe [of] the LTL and Royal Scribe of the Treasury. Kitchen tentatively attributes this statue to the homonymous Mayor of Memphis,⁴⁹ an identification that has been convincingly rejected by Bohleke.⁵⁰ According to Borchardt (1925, 188) and Málek (1987, 122), the statue was originally positioned in the owner’s tomb. Schulz (1992, I, 199 n. 2), on the other hand, suggests that this statue had originally been set up in the Serapeum.⁵¹ On stylistic grounds, she dates the statue to the early Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II,⁵² and follows Helck in considering the possibility that Ptahmose was the father of his namesake, the Overseer of the Double Granary of the LTL.⁵³ This view was rejected by Bohleke, who points to the fact that the texts copied by Borchardt do not mention the granary at all.⁵⁴ Instead, all titles should be considered as those of the statue’s owner, the Overseer of Cattle, Ptahmose.

⁴⁷ Gessler-Löhr (quoted as *personal communication* in Eichler 2000, 86 n. 390) also opts for the possibility that the relief dates to the late Eighteenth Dynasty.

⁴⁸ Statue Cairo CG 642 (= JE 27961), limestone, h: 45 cm; acquisition details unknown: Borchardt 1925, 188; PM III/2, 667; KRI 172–3.

⁴⁹ KRI III, 172–3 (as “not certain”).

⁵⁰ Bohleke 1991, 313–16.

⁵¹ She mistakes the find-spot of this statue with that of JE 41532, which is a dyad representing the Mayor of Memphis, Ptahmose, and his wife Inehyt. The dyad was found in the ruins of the Jeremias Monastery: Quibell 1912, 146, pl. 86.1–2; Staring 2014, II.5.

⁵² Schulz 1992, I, 199 n. 1.

⁵³ Helck 1958, 504, No. 19: attested by a shabti (CG 46546 = JE 1251: Newberry 1937–57, 20–1: Overseer of the Double Granary) found at Mit Rahîna, 1858, and a stela (London, British Museum EA 642: Budge 1909, 178, No. 642: “found near the pyramids of Gîzah”). According to Bohleke (1991, 314), the shabti was found by Maspero. However, Maspero, who was born in 1846, visited Egypt for the first time in 1880 (Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier 2012, 359–61). Instead, the shabti was probably found by Mariette, who worked at Mit Rahineh during the years 1858–63 (Jeffreys 2010, 184–5). BM “stela” No. 642 actually has Inv. No. EA 160 (ex-coll. Salt, 1835: *HTMB* 10, 9–10, pls 4–5; Málek 1981, 156–7), and it is not a stela, but a relief block. The provenance “Gîzah” is an error (see Málek 1981, 156–7). The block is of late Eighteenth Dynasty date and is inscribed for Ptahmose, the Overseer of the Royal Harim. Tomb-elements pertaining to this man are: a relief block held in a private collection in Australia (on display in the Ancient Times House, Melbourne); relief block Cairo JE 90221; stela New York, MMA 67.3; and stela Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Egizio 251.

⁵⁴ Bohleke 1991, 313–16.

Three more objects can be added to the corpus of objects pertaining to Ptahmose:

1. When John Gardner Wilkinson (1797–1875) visited Saqqara in 1856,⁵⁵ he noted ‘... blocks, including Opening-of-the-mouth-ceremony for Ptahmosi , Overseer of the cattle of Amūn, one with Ptah and Sekhmet, and another with priests dragging sledge with chest with four sons of Horus’, of Ramesside date.⁵⁶ It is not clear exactly where at Saqqara he recorded the blocks, nor do we know their present location.
2. A block depicting a *djed* pillar surmounted by two *ba* birds. The remains of a representation of Osiris are visible to the right, and on the left-hand side, the tomb owner is depicted standing with his hands raised in a gesture of adoration, facing left.⁵⁷ A text column of incised hieroglyphs identifies him as the *hs.y*  *n.y ntr nfr mrr.ty n.y nb t3.wy im.y-r3 ih.w Pth-ms m3c-hrw m htp*, ‘One greatly praised by the Perfect God (i.e. the King), beloved of the LTL, Overseer of Cattle, Ptahmose, true of voice in peace’. The block’s present location is unknown.
3. Three fragments of a block inscribed for Ptahmose were found near the tomb of Generalissimo Horemheb in 1981 by the EES/Leiden expedition.⁵⁸ Part of a column of text mentions the *im.y-r3 ih.w Pth-ms*, ‘Overseer of Cattle Ptahmose’.

9. Meryty

The Great Overseer of Cattle, Meryty, is depicted on the stela (London, BM EA 183) dedicated by the wife of the Vizier of the North, (Pa-)Rahotep, named Heli, Songstress

⁵⁵ On the occasion of his last visit to Egypt in 1855–56: Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier 2012, 579–80.

⁵⁶ PM III/2, 763: Wilkinson MSS. xiii. 25–6. The description of priests dragging a sledge with a canopic chest containing the four sons of Horus is reminiscent of the representations on two other relief-decorated blocks from Saqqara. The blocks of late Eighteenth Dynasty date in the Museum August-Kestner, Hannover (Inv. No. 1935.200.192), and the Pushkin-Museum, Moscow (Inv. No. I.1.a.5638 [4117]), depict the funeral procession (in two registers) of an anonymous official. The block in Hannover depicts the anthropoid coffin being dragged on a sledge, and the Moscow block represents the transportation of the sarcophagus. The two blocks do not join directly. As Loeben points out, the block depicting the transport of the canopic chest is missing. For the two blocks, see: Loeben 2007, 88–9, Cat. 82.

⁵⁷ Berlandini 1988, pl. 2A (her source: Archives photographiques du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte); Van Dijk 1993, 161, with fig. 27. For the *ba* birds positioned atop a *djed* pillar, see also the naophorous statue of Raia, Head of the Bakery of Ptah (Leiden AST 11, Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Seti I to Ramesses II: Boeser 1912, 11–12, No. 26, pl. 12; Van Dijk 1993, fig. 20; Martin 2009, 145–9, pl. 17).

⁵⁸ Van Dijk 1993, 161 n 24; Martin 1985, 17 [ix], pl. 26: “uncontexted surface find”, 19 x 42.5 x 14 cm.

of Hathor the Lady of the Southern Sycamore.⁵⁹ In the upper register, four men are represented standing with their hands raised in adoration before Osiris and Hathor, ‘Lady of the Southern Sycamore, Mistress of the West’. They are from left to right: the High Priest of Ptah, Pahemner (the father of Vizier (Pa-)Rahotep), the High Priest of Ptah, Dedia, the Vizier of the North (Pa-)Rahotep, and Meryty. Pahemner and Dedia both held office during the reign of Seti I⁶⁰ and (Pa-)Rahotep was Vizier from the second to the sixth decade of Ramesses II.

Although the provenance and acquisition details of this stela are unknown, a Memphite origin is quite likely. The men depicted in the upper register all held office at Memphis and the epithet of Hathor refers to her typical Memphite form. Meryty’s relationship to (Pa-)Rahotep is not made explicit. In light of the other individuals represented on the stela, one may assume that they were family. The question is whether Meryty was of the same generation as either Pahemner (*temp.* Seti I) or (Pa-)Rahotep (second to sixth decade Ramesses II). The epithet *mꜣꜥ-ḥrw m ḥtp*, which was added to the names of all individuals, except for (Pa-)Rahotep and Heli (who were only *mꜣꜥ(.t)-ḥrw*), possibly indicates that Heli dedicated the stela to her husband’s deceased family members. The title held by Meryty also suggests a date early in the Nineteenth Dynasty. As will be indicated below, the Overseers of Cattle at Memphis who held office during the reign of Ramesses II all held the additional title Overseer of Cattle in the Ramesseum. Meryty only bears the title *im.y-rꜣ iḥ.w wr n.w Imn.w*. While the *wr*-element points to a Ramesside date,⁶¹ the absence of a reference to the Ramesseum may indicate he held office before Ramesses II ascended the throne.⁶²

10. Tia

Tia was the brother-in-law of Ramesses II and his tomb constructed of limestone blocks is located at Saqqara, wedged between the funerary monuments of Maya and Horemheb. Little is known of Tia’s early career. He married the daughter of Pharaoh Seti I which, as Van Dijk (1993, 91) points out, was a non-royal marriage at the time. A

⁵⁹ Helck 1958, 176 n. 1; *HTBM* 9, 19–20, pl. 15; *KRI* III, 56–7 (as: “Memphis ??”); Raue 1998, No. 9; Raedler 2004, 358, Q_5.9 (with further bibliographic references); *Id.* 2011, 137 n. 14.

⁶⁰ Raedler 2011, 137–9, table 1.

⁶¹ The same can be observed in the title (Great) Mayor of Memphis: Staring 2015.

⁶² If Meryty had held the title Overseer of Cattle in the Ramesseum, it would have certainly been recorded. Compare to the stela of Pahemner from Sedment, depicting Yupa in his capacity of Steward of the Ramesseum (Petrie and Brunton 1924, pl. 68).

stela fragment of unknown provenance (Chicago OIM 10507), but probably dedicated at the temple of Seti I at Abydos, may hold the earliest reference to this official.⁶³ It depicts Tia, bearing the title of Royal Scribe, standing behind Amunwahsu, who held office as Scribe of the Offering Table of the LTL. Amunwahsu might have been Tia's colleague or superior in rank.⁶⁴ Both men are standing before Seti I and his son, crown prince Ramesses (II). Holders of the title *sš nsw wdḥ.w* later in their careers made it to the upper echelons of state administration, including the cattle administration and the treasury.⁶⁵ The Scribe of the Offering Table and the Scribe of the God's Offerings were professionally closely associated.⁶⁶ If indeed Tia was a colleague of Amunwahsu, one may postulate that Tia pursued a career path similar to that of Ptahemwia. The first significant office Tia held may have been that of Overseer of Cattle during the reign of Seti I.

11. Ptahemwia

Ptahemwia probably succeeded Tia in this office. As indicated above and further outlined below, the careers of both men were synchronous. Tia usually acted as Ptahemwia's superior in rank and predecessor in office. The office of Overseer of Cattle became vacant when Tia was promoted. There are two options for the occasion: (1) when Tia became the Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum at the very beginning of Ramesses II's reign; and (2) when Tia became the Overseer of the Treasury of the LTL after Year 16 of Ramesses II. The available data point to the latter option as the most likely occasion. Tia's shabtis are inscribed with the titles *im.y-rꜣ ih.w*⁶⁷ and *im.y-rꜣ pr.w-ḥd*.⁶⁸ This may suggest that he was succeeded as Overseer of Cattle when the preparations for his funerary monument were already at an advanced stage.

12. Paraemheb

See below, IV.2.4.

⁶³ Martin 1987, 30–1, No. 74, pl. 27 (as “possibly Saqqara”); Van Dijk 1993, 85–8 (as “Abydos”); Martin 1997, 47–8; Teeter 2003, 56–7, No. 25. Teeter rejects Van Dijk's suggestion that this is the same Tia as the Saqqara tomb owner: Teeter 2003b, 152.

⁶⁴ Van Dijk 1997, 86. According to Dodson and Hilton (2004, 170), Amenwahsu was Tia's father.

⁶⁵ Binder 2010, 1–13.

⁶⁶ Binder 2010, 6.

⁶⁷ Raven et al. 2011, 184–5, Cat. 317a, c.

⁶⁸ Raven et al. 2011, Cat. 316a–b.

III.2 Discussion

The earliest Overseer of Cattle of Amun who constructed a tomb at Saqqara dates to the late Eighteenth Dynasty. This need not necessarily indicate that no such official was active at Memphis before that date, as comparatively few data are available for Saqqara during the pre-Amarna period. The titles held by the Overseers of Cattle up to the reign of Ramesses II (table 2, Nos 1–9) highlight two points of interest:

1. The titles related to the officials' early careers (if indeed recorded) indicate that they started as treasury scribes;
2. For most officials, the title Overseer of Cattle marked the pinnacle of their careers. Only Iniuia attained a more elevated position as Chief Steward of Memphis.

The indirect genitive construction associates the title-holders with the god Amun.⁶⁹ This raises the question why the overseers of cattle of this Theban deity resided at Memphis. And what (if any) was their connection with the temple of Amun at Karnak?

The relation between Amun and his cattle in the north of the country has been touched upon by various scholars. Eichler (2000, 85) notes that the father of the Vizier Ramose (TT 55), Heby (*temp.* Amenhotep III), held office as *im.y-r3 ih.w n.w 'Imn.w im.yw sp3.wt T3-Mh.w*.⁷⁰ While she concludes that at least from the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards the cattle of Amun were held in the north, she also notes that it is uncertain why it is the only attestation of the title. She also argues that Iniuia administered the herds of the temple of Amun in the north of the country because he held office as Chief Steward of Memphis,⁷¹ even though these offices represent different stages of his career. She leaves it undecided whether the herds belonged to the temple of Amun at Karnak, or to a local temple of Amun in Memphis. Schneider similarly suggests that this official was responsible for the herds that belonged to (all) the temples of Amun, and notes that in view of Iniuia's post at Memphis, the herds must

⁶⁹ Note that the element "of Amun" is not recorded for all officials listed. Tia (No. 10) and Paraemheb (No. 12) held the title Overseer of Cattle both with and without the element "of Amun", which indicates that both could be variously used.

⁷⁰ Compare the title *im.y-r3 ih.w n.w 'Imn.w m t3 pn n.y Kš* held by Amenhotep Huy (TT 40, *temp.* Amenhotep III–Tutankhamun: *Urk.* IV, 2074.12). According to Eichler 2000, 84–5, the title reveals that there were herds of the temple of Amun in Nubia.

⁷¹ Eichler 2000, 79–80 with n. 355.

have been grazing in the Delta.⁷² According to Affara (2010, 147), ‘... *The existence of the title “overseer of the cattle of Amun” in Saqqara nobles’ tombs alludes to the cult of Amun in the Heliopolitan Nome [...] Also the title of his (i.e. Djehuty’s) wife Twj “the chantress of Amun, beloved one of Mut” shows that there was a cult of Amun in the Heliopolitan Nome*’.

The presence of a Memphite temple of Amun is not supported by archaeological evidence. Additional textual sources alluding to a temple of Amun at Memphis are extremely scarce and ambiguous.⁷³ It is therefore not very likely that the overseers were affiliated to a Memphite temple of Amun.

What about the possibility that these officials were affiliated to the Theban temple of Amun? If we turn our attention to the additional titles held by the Overseers of Cattle of Amun at Memphis (see Table 2), there is nothing to suggest that the officials were otherwise affiliated with a (Theban) temple of Amun. Instead, they were all drawn from the ranks of the treasury. Tia, who made the most impressive career (undoubtedly with the help of his [royal] family connections) even held office as Overseer of the Treasury⁷⁴ and as Overseer of the Treasury of the LTL, i.e. the chief treasurer of the state administration.⁷⁵

How do the Memphite careers compare to the Theban Overseers of Cattle of Amun? In the temple of Amun at Karnak, the cattle administration was placed under the direction of the Chief Steward of Amun.⁷⁶ Eichler (2000, 83–4, table 3) composed a list of 27 officials who bore the title Overseer of Cattle of Amun during the Eighteenth Dynasty. They all officiated at Thebes⁷⁷ and they usually constructed their tombs locally

⁷² Schneider 2012, 120 n. 98. He further states that the title Great Overseer of Cattle of Amun-Re King-of-the-Gods, held by Tia, implies the supervision of all the herds of Amun throughout the country.

⁷³ See Helck 1961, 921 (139). For a detailed study of references to Amun in Memphis during the New Kingdom, see: Pasquali 2009. Office titles with the element “Amun” include: ‘Sculptor of Amun’, and ‘Wab Priest of Amun’ (Pasquali 2011, 71–4). The abacus of a column fragment found in the debris over the first courtyard of the tomb of Horemheb was inscribed with the title *im.y-r3 pr.w ’Imn.w*, Steward of the temple of Amun (Schneider 1996, 94, NK 16; published without photograph or linedrawing). Note that the father of Paser, Overseer of Builders of the LTL, and Tjuneroy, Overseer of Works on All Monuments of the King, held this title (Martin 1985, 9). The tomb of Paser is located directly west of Horemheb, and that of his brother Tjuneroy should be located nearby.

⁷⁴ Martin 1997, 106–8; Van Dijk 1993, 95–6; *Id.* 1997, 54.

⁷⁵ Van Dijk 1993, 96. Tia may have succeeded Suty (*temp.* Ramesses II, early) in that office (Ibid, 96 n. 33; *KRI* III, 140–7).

⁷⁶ Seyfried 1991, table on p. 206, 207–9.

⁷⁷ The Office of the Overseer of Cattle, *hnw.n.y im.y-r3 ih.w*, is mentioned on the stelophorous statue of Neferperet (Cairo CG 42121; Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Thutmose III–Amenhotep II; provenance: Karnak cachette), see: *Urk.* IV, 1021.7; Eichler 2000, 87 with n. 399, Cat. 502.

in the western mountains. With some exceptions, they also held additional positions in the temple of Amun, but unlike their colleagues at Memphis, they were seldom attached to the treasury.⁷⁸

In contrast to the overseers of cattle of Amun, the Memphite necropolis presents only few sources for the officials connected with the administration of the cattle of Ptah. The following list of Overseers of Cattle of (the temple of) Ptah is given by Helck (1961, 916 [134]):

1. *im.y-r3 ih.w n.w Pth N3y3*;⁷⁹
2. *im.y-r3 ih.w n.w Pth Pth-m-hb*;⁸⁰
3. *Nby*;⁸¹
4. *P3-k3t3*;⁸²
5. Anonymous;⁸³
6. *im.y-r3 ih.w n.w pr.w Pth Hwy*.⁸⁴

All overseers are dated to the Ramesside Period. Four officials are attested by elements that were presumably taken from their tombs (i.e. shabtis and a canopic jar).⁸⁵ More substantial tomb elements, such as stelae, statues or relief-decorated blocks, are unattested.

Why is it that the Overseers of Cattle of Amun are so prominently represented at Memphis, when prosopographical data on the Overseers of Cattle of Ptah are so scarce? And why, judging from the objects pertaining to these officials, were the overseers of

⁷⁸ They include only Senenmut (TT 71/353), Djehuty (TT 11), and Ken-Amun (TT 93), all dated to the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

⁷⁹ Leiden AST 40b (D 71): serpentine shabti, h: 11.2 cm, early Nineteenth Dynasty, Saqqara (ex-coll. d'Anastasi; Boeser 1925, 14, No. 85; Schneider 1977, II, 82–3, pl. 105; III. pl. 31).

⁸⁰ Leiden CI 9: alabaster shabti, h: 15.5 cm, early Nineteenth Dynasty, Saqqara (ex-coll. Maria Cimba, 1826; Boeser 1925, 13, No. 72; Schneider 1977, II, 82, pl. 105; III. pl. 30).

⁸¹ According to Helck: attested by a canopic jar in the Louvre. Neby was also Overseer of Cattle of Sokar.

⁸² P. Wilbour A §§ 112, 149, 203: *temp.* Ramesses V.

⁸³ Hieratic letter, written by the Scribe Heriheb to the Overseer of Cattle and associated to the temple of Ptah (name not preserved), *temp.* Ramesses II: Lieblein 1873, 31–4, pl. VI.20.

⁸⁴ New York, MMA Inv. No. unknown: alabaster canopic jar (h: 34 cm) and human-headed stopper, probably Memphite area (ex-coll. Murch: Hayes 1959, 424).

⁸⁵ Note, however, that a shabti alone cannot serve as evidence for the supposed presence or localisation of a tomb. The statuettes are also found in extra-sepulchral contexts. At Saqqara, they could be dedicated in the Serapeum, or elsewhere in the Memphite necropolis (Rosetau) (see: Schneider 1977, I, 268–89; Pasquali 2009).

cattle of Ptah unable to construct tombs of comparably monumental dimensions?⁸⁶ As indicated by the additional titles held by the overseers of cattle of Amun, they were not attached to a/the temple of Amun, but rather to the state treasury. This also explains why they held office at Memphis: it was Egypt's administrative capital.

Other offices related to the cattle administration include the *sš ḥsb ḫ.w n.w pr.w im.y-r3 ḫtm*, 'Scribe and Reckoner of Cattle of the Office of the Overseer of the Seal'. The title was held by a man named Ahmose, who is attested by a stela (Cairo JE 18181 = CG 34049) of Eighteenth Dynasty date found by Vassalli at Saqqara in 1862.⁸⁷ A similar title, *sš ḥsb ḫ.w n.w 'Imn.w*, is inscribed on a statue fragment of Ramesside date found at Memphis.⁸⁸

III.3 Overseers of cattle of Amun: the reign of Ramesses II

Three Overseers of Cattle who held office during the reign of Ramesses II are identified at Memphis (Table 2, Nos 10–12). Two elements of their titulary set them apart from their predecessors:

1. The addition of the adjective *wr*, which results in the title *im.y-r3 ḫ.w wr*, Great Overseer of Cattle;
2. All Overseers of Cattle held additional offices in the Ramesseum.⁸⁹

According to Helck (1958, 176 n.1) and Van Dijk (1997, 54), the officials who held the title *im.y-r3 ḫ.w wr* belonged to the central administration overseeing the different local overseers of cattle. There are two arguments against this view. First, both titles,

⁸⁶ The title *šm^c.yt n.yt nb.t n.yt nh.t rsy.t*, Songstress of the Lady of the Southern Sycamore, refers to the specific Memphite form of the goddess Hathor, and it abounds in the prosopographical data from Saqqara. Note that there were no women bearing the title *šm^c.yt n.yt Pth*, Songstress of Ptah.

⁸⁷ PM III/2, 736; Mariette 1872, 18, pl. 56a; Lacau 1909–16, 84–6, pl. 29. His son is the *sš ḥsb ḫ.w sš mš^c M^c-ḫw*.

⁸⁸ Excav. No. M-2793: Schulman 1988, 86 n. 50 (as: "sš ḥsb k3.w n 'Imn").

⁸⁹ The connection of the cattle administration of Amun to a specific memorial temple was attested earlier at Thebes: Khaemwaset (Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Amenhotep III) was *im.y-r3 ḫ.w n.w 'Imn.w n.y Tḥn-'Itn.w*, Overseer of Cattle of Amun of *Tḥn-'Itn* (inscribed on a stela seen on the art market: *Minerva July-August 1992* (1992), opposite p. 48; Eichler 2000, 84, 309, Cat. 453). Nefersekeru (TT 107; *temp.* Amenhotep III, late), the Overseer of Cattle of Amun at Thebes, was also Steward in the temple of *Tḥn-'Itn*: *im.y-r3 pr.w n.y pr.w Nb-m3^c.t-R^c.w Tḥn-'Itn.w* (PM I.1/2, 224–5; Helck 1956, 11–26; Kampp 1996, I, 386–7; Eichler 2000, 84, 297–8, Cat. 378).

im.y-r3 ih.w and *im.y-r3 ih.w wr*, are recorded on one stela inscribed for Tia.⁹⁰ It implies that the titles could be variably used. Second, from the reign of Amenhotep III onwards, more than one Overseer of Cattle was active at any given time: one at Thebes and one at Memphis.⁹¹ During the Eighteenth Dynasty, however, an official bearing the title *im.y-r3 ih.w wr* is conspicuously absent. This implies that the title *im.y-r3 ih.w n.w* *Imn.w* was a general title for officials who supervised temple herds of any size and in any area, as has been suggested by Bryan (1991, 271). The various overseers of cattle operated under the supervision of the temple's Steward, a situation observed in the temple of Amun at Karnak,⁹² or under supervision of the Overseer of the Treasury, as was the case for the Memphite Overseers of Cattle of Amun. The responsibilities of the officials working in the temple and state administration might have been quite different, but this is not reflected in their title of office.⁹³

IV. The administration of the Ramesseum

IV.1 General

The New Kingdom royal memorial temples were primarily built for the royal cult.⁹⁴ The temples were also largely self-sufficient institutions of great economic significance.⁹⁵ They were not just built at Thebes; multiple memorial temples of one king could be constructed throughout the country, including Nubia.⁹⁶ A royal memorial temple, or temple of Millions of Years (*hw.t n.yt hh.w m rnp.wt*), was founded by the ruling king. The temple's estates were usually gradually reduced following the death of the king, when the resources were re-allocated.⁹⁷

The Theban memorial temple of Ramesses II is known by the name *t3 hw.t Wsr-m3c.t-Rc.w-stp.n-Rc.w hnm.t-W3s.t m pr.w Imn.w*, 'the temple of Usermaatre Setepenre

⁹⁰ See Tia, four-sided stela Cairo JE 89624: *KRI* III, 366–7; Martin 1997, 46–7, No. 331, pls 95–7.

⁹¹ Eichler 2000, 83–4 table 3.

⁹² The same will have probably been the case in the temple of Ptah at Memphis.

⁹³ The difference might instead be reflected in the financial resources the officials had to their disposal to construct their tombs.

⁹⁴ Leblanc 1997, 49; *Id.* 1999, 73–4; Ullmann 2002, 661–70. The central sanctuary of the royal memorial temples at Thebes was dedicated to Amun-Re (Stadelmann 1979, 303–21). In the Ramesside temples, Amun was worshipped in a specific form identifying him with the king (Haring 1993, 40).

⁹⁵ Haring 1997, 389; *Id.* 2007; Ullmann 2002, 652; Leblanc 2012, 81, 96.

⁹⁶ See Ullmann 2002. For the temples of Ramesses II, see *op cit.*, 289–393.

⁹⁷ Haring 1997, 392–3.

United with Thebes in the house of Amun'.⁹⁸ Construction work on the Ramesseum started with the inception of Ramesses II's reign (c. 1279 BC). Penra was the Overseer of Works,⁹⁹ and he was succeeded by Amenemone.¹⁰⁰

With regards to the administration of the Ramesseum, Leblanc (2012, 81–98) argues that it was in permanent contact with officials of the central government, such as the Vizier of the South¹⁰¹ and his delegates, or with the Theban authorities, such as the Mayor or governor of Western Thebes. The holders of the highest administrative positions, the Overseers of Cattle, Overseers of the Treasury, and the Stewards, are conspicuously absent from the administrative documents (papyri and ostraca) found at Thebes. The tombs of these officials were not constructed locally at Thebes, but at Saqqara south of the Unas causeway. Only after the reign of Ramesses II were their tombs also built at Thebes.

IV.2 *The Overseers of Cattle in the Ramesseum (table 3)*

The title Overseer of Cattle in the Ramesseum was held by four officials.¹⁰² Ptahemwia was the first official in charge of the Ramesseum's cattle administration, and only his (now lost) tomb has so far been attested archaeologically. Few titles are recorded for Mery-Ptah and Bakenamun. It is not certain whether they also held office as Overseer of Cattle (of Amun) outside the Ramesseum, as did Ptahemwia and Paraemheb. The objects pertaining to Mery-Ptah and Bakenamun were found outside

⁹⁸ PM II, 431–43; Helck 1961, 885–9 (103–7); Stadelmann 1984, 91–8; Ullmann 2002, 339–81.

⁹⁹ *KRI* III, 268–71; Goyon 1990–1, 53–65; Ullmann 2002, 379; Leblanc 2012, 83 n. 5. The titles held by Penra include: *im.y-r3 k3.t m t(s) hw.t Wsr-m3c.t-Rc.w-stp.n-Rc.w m pr.w Imn.w*; *im.y-r3 k3.t m hw.t Wsr-m3c.t-Rc.w-stp.n-Rc.w*; *wr n.y md3.yw*.

¹⁰⁰ Gnirs 1996, 148–52 (Amenemone II). Gohary (1987, 99–100) suggests that Bunakhtef (identified by him as Penra's father) started construction, that Penra took over in Year 16, and that Amenemone succeeded Penra in Year 21. For the father-son relation of Penra and Bunakhtef, Gohary points to the stela Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1894.106, although neither affiliation nor titles are mentioned in the text (see also: Petrie 1896, 15–16, pl. 19; *KRI* III, 270–1).

¹⁰¹ For a chronology of the Viziers of Ramesses II, see: Raedler 2004, 292–9. The Viziers of the South were: Paser (TT 106), Khay (Thebes), and Neferenpet (Saqqara ST 0). In the Great Harris Papyrus the cattle of one of the Theban memorial temples were under the authority of the Vizier of the South (Haring 1997, 201, 377).

¹⁰² See also: Leblanc 2012, 92 n. 29 (with some errors in titles and references). A closely related office is that of *im.y-r3 cb.w n.w t3 hw.t Wsr-m3c.t-Rc.w-stp.n-Rc.w m pr.w Imn.w*, Overseer of the Horned Cattle of the Ramesseum (abbreviated as: *im.y-r3 cb.w n.w t3 hw.t*). The title was borne by Panefer, who is attested by an inscribed statuette of the god Sobek (Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet MME 1977:1; ex-coll. Folkwang-Museum Essen, 1966; Peterson 1979, 3–8; provenance unknown, probably Theban region; *temp.* Ramesses II or later).

Saqqara.

1. Ptahemwia

When Ramesses II started planning the construction of the Ramesseum, Tia became the first overseer of the temple's treasury (see IV.3, below). Although he previously held (and probably continued to hold) office as Overseer of Cattle of Amun, he did not bear the title Overseer of Cattle in the Ramesseum: that title was first held by Ptahemwia. The cattle were administered as part of the temple's treasury. Ptahemwia succeeded Tia as Overseer of Cattle of Amun, which, as suggested above, presumably happened around Year 16 of Ramesses II.

2. Mery-Ptah

On a relief-decorated block found at Abydos,¹⁰³ Mery-Ptah is identified as the *im.y-r3 ih.w n.w t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w*, Overseer of Cattle of the Ramesseum, and as *sš nsw t3 š^c.t n.y pr.w-^c3 nḥ.w wd3.w snb.w*, Royal Scribe of the Letters of Pharaoh, may he live, prosper, and be healthy (l.p.h.). According to Helck (1958, 277–8), the title holder was the king's private secretary, and at any given time there would have been only one such official.¹⁰⁴ The secretary supervised the Scribes of the Place of Letters (*sš n.y t3 s.t š^c.t*). His office building at Piramesse, *t3 s.t n3 š^c.wt pr.w-^c3 nḥ.w wd3.w snb.w m pr.w R^c.w-ms-s(w)-mr.y-Imn.w p3 k3 ^c3 n.y p3 R^c.w*, is depicted in the tomb of Tjay (TT 23, *temp.* Merenptah).¹⁰⁵ The fact that the title was held by one official at any one given time makes it a useful tool to date Mery-Ptah. Amenemone, the owner of tomb ST 101 at Saqqara, held office as *sš nsw š^c.t* and *sš nsw š^c.t n.y nb t3.wy*.¹⁰⁶ If we follow Helck, Amenemone and Mery-Ptah cannot have been the king's secretary concurrently. Amenemone also held office as Chief Steward of the Ramesseum no earlier than the second half of Ramesses II's reign (see IV.4.6, below).

¹⁰³ Purchased at Akhmim, March 1886, present location unknown: Bouriant 1887, 90, No. 65; KRI III, 211, 377; Haring 1997, 445.

¹⁰⁴ Raue (1999, 198 n. 7, with a list of title holders) indicates that a secure succession of the holders has yet to be established.

¹⁰⁵ Borchardt 1907–8, 59–61, fig. 1.

¹⁰⁶ On statue St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum 738: KRI III, 211.2–3; Gohary 1991, 204–5, pls 51–4, 56–60.

The Royal Secretary at the time of Seti I was a man named Iuny from Asyut,¹⁰⁷ and the title *sš šꜥ.t n.y nꜥr nꜥr* concludes an impressive list of (predominantly) honorific and priestly titles inscribed on his dyad (New York, MMA 15.2.1). Mery-Ptah held the position of Royal Secretary after Iuny and before Amenemone, in the first half of the reign of Ramesses II. As Ptahemwia was the Ramesseum's first Overseer of Cattle, Mery-Ptah can have only succeeded him.

3. Bakenamun

Bakenamun is depicted on the stela (British Museum EA 132) of his brother, the *im.y-rꜣ ʒḥ.wt n.wt nb tꜣ.wy*, Overseer of Arable Lands of the LTL, named Hori.¹⁰⁸ Details on the provenance and acquisition of the stela are not available. According to James, a Theban provenance is likely in view of Bakenamun's association with the Ramesseum.¹⁰⁹ However, considering the fact that many of the Ramesseum's high officials were buried at Saqqara, a Memphite provenance of this stela cannot be excluded either.¹¹⁰ The round-topped stela is carved in sunk relief and divided into three registers. Bakenamun is depicted in the middle register. He is clad in the priestly leopard-skin as he presents a libation and incense to his brother Hori and his wife *T(ꜣ)-n.t-pꜣ-tꜣ*. On the left-hand side, Hori (now identified as *sꜣ=f sꜥnhꜥ rn=f*) presents an offering to his deceased parents Mery-Re and Iny, both without titles. The bottom register contains seven figures, all standing in an adoring pose.¹¹¹ Iconography and style point to a date late in the reign of Ramesses II.

4. Paraemheb

The tomb of Paraemheb is lost, but there are indications to suggest that it was located

¹⁰⁷ New York, MMA 15.2.1, dyad of the Chief Scribe Iuny with his wife Renenutet: PM IV, 269; *KRI* I, 352–3; Berman 1999, 250–2. Found in or near the tomb-chapel of Iuny's father, the Chief Physician Amenhotep, at Khashaba, Asyut: Kamal Bey 1916, 86–9, No. 74.

¹⁰⁸ Limestone, 90 x 55 cm: Budge 1909, 188. No. 675; PM I/2, II, 808; *HTBM* 9, 58, pl. 45.1; *KRI* III, 375.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. also Peterson 1979, 6.

¹¹⁰ A man named Mahu, the owner of a small dyad (Cairo JE 91915) of Nineteenth Dynasty date found at the temple terrace near the animal galleries at Saqqara, holds the similar title [*im.y-rꜣ*] *ʒḥ.wt n.wt Imn.w*. PM III/1, 821; Martin 1979, 46, No. 144, pl. 41.

¹¹¹ These are, from left to right: the *idnw n.y tꜣ šnw.t pr.w-ꜥꜣ ʿnhꜥ.w wdꜣ.w snb.w*, Deputy of the Granary of Pharaoh, l.p.h., Hori (probably the same man as the dedicator of the stela); his brothers, the *hr.y ihw n.y hnw*, Stable Master, Hor; the *tꜣy-mꜥꜣ.t*, Sculptor, Mery-Maat; and the *sš n.y tꜣ šnw.t*, Scribe of the Granary, Neferenpet; his sisters, *šmꜥ.yt n.yt ʒs.t*, Songstress of Isis, Aset; and Mut-Aset; and another brother, the *hm-nꜥr*, Prophet, Hornakht.

at Saqqara. The corpus of objects pertaining to this official includes four canopic jars and two shabtis.

The shabti is in the collection of the Musée départemental des antiquités in Rouen.¹¹² It is inscribed with the title *im.y-r3 ih.w n.w t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w*. There are no details about the object's provenance or acquisition.

The canopic jar is in the Cairo Museum (CG 4322). Paraemheb bears the title *im.y-r3 ih.w wr n.w Imn.w*.¹¹³ The jar was found at Saqqara in March 1862, and another jar, Cairo CG 4323, possibly belongs to the same set of four jars that were initially registered as JE 19172–5.¹¹⁴ One of these jars is now in the collection of the Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History, No. 6263.¹¹⁵ It identifies Paraemheb as the Chief Overseer of Cattle of Amun.

During the 1987 season of the EES/Leiden excavations at Saqqara, a faience shabti inscribed for the *im.y-r3 /// P3-R^c.w-m-hb* was found in the fill over chapel B of the tomb of Maya.¹¹⁶ Part of the title is preserved as , which allows the reconstruction *im.y-r3 ih.w*. A second shabti, of an anonymous Overseer of Cattle, was found on the surface over Maya's forecourt.¹¹⁷

IV.3 Overseers of the Treasury of the Ramesseum (table 4)

The Overseers of the Treasury are not attested in the papyri and ostraca related to the administration of the memorial temples at Western Thebes.¹¹⁸ Their local representatives were the treasury scribes.¹¹⁹ Haring (1997, 230) observes that the overseers are known from inscriptions at Gebel el-Silsila, which indicates that they were involved in the building of the temples. This observation corresponds with the view that

¹¹² Loret 1880, 151, I.1 (h: 24 cm); *KRI* III, 376.8.

¹¹³ Reisner 1967, 218, pl. 54 (without a lid); “XX Dynasty (?)”, calcite.

¹¹⁴ Reisner 1967, 219–20, pl. 57 (without a lid).

¹¹⁵ Previously Yale University Art Gallery; ex-coll. Barringer: Scott III 1986, 116, Cat. 65. The lid is in the form of a baboon head (Hapy), whereas the inscription mentions Duamutef (jackal). Canopic jar Cairo CG 4322 mentions Hapy.

¹¹⁶ Raven 2001, 44, Cat. 196, pl. 37 (Excav. No. 87–153; h: 4.4 cm); late Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasty. Chapel B is located north of the statue room.

¹¹⁷ Raven 2001, 42, Cat. 181, pls 19, 37 (Excav. No. 88–70); faience, late Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasty. Raven tentatively attributes the shabti to Iniuia.

¹¹⁸ Haring 1997, 230.

¹¹⁹ Iry, who held office as *s3 m t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp[n]-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w*, is the only Scribe of the Ramesseum who is attested at Saqqara. His round-topped stela (present location unknown) was found by Lepsius (*LD Text*, I, 182) and the tomb was numbered LS 26, located north of LS 27, the tomb of Maya. See also: *PM* III/2, 667.

Tia was probably the first treasurer of the Ramesseum.¹²⁰ Five holders of the title are listed below.¹²¹

1. Tia

A mud brick stamped with Tia's name was found not far from the Ramesseum,¹²² and a relief-decorated block depicting him has recently been excavated in the chapel of the memorial temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri, where it had been reused during the Coptic period.¹²³ On the relief-block, Tia bears the titles Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum and Fan Bearer on the Right of the King. He is positioned standing behind the larger-scale representation of Ramesses II. The king's *nomen* is written as [R^c.w-m]s-s(w), which points to a date early in the reign of that king.

Tia also held office as *im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd n.y nb t3.wy*, Overseer of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands: the chief treasurer of the country's central administration.¹²⁴ In that office, he probably succeeded Suty who had made a career in the army.¹²⁵ There are three indications to position Suty at the start of the Nineteenth Dynasty:

1. He served as Overseer of the Treasury of the Theban memorial temple of Seti I;¹²⁶
2. His statue found in the Karnak Cachette (Cairo CG 42172) bears the early *nomen* of Ramesses II;¹²⁷
3. A shabti (Paris, Louvre SH 198) inscribed for Suty was found in the Serapeum, in Room G (Rhoné C8), the burial place for the Apis bulls that died in Years 16 and 30 of Ramesses II.¹²⁸

¹²⁰ Van Dijk 1993, 98; *Id.* 1997, 55; Leblanc 2012, 84–5.

¹²¹ Leblanc (2012, 84–5 n. 7) also lists Piay (see *KRI* II, 923.7: O. Louvre 666), who held the titles *sš nsw im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd*. However, his titulary does not support his association with the Ramesseum.

¹²² Compton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, 40, fig. 34; Martin 1997, No. 334; PM II/2, 424; *KRI* III, 371, No. 8. His titles were: *ir.y-p^c.t ḥ3.ty-^c.w sš nsw im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd*.

¹²³ Barwik 2007, 67–70, pls 7–8: probably part of a stela.

¹²⁴ Van Dijk 1997, 54.

¹²⁵ Yoyotte 1954, 224–8; *KRI* III, 140–7; Gnirs 1996, 181–5; Van Dijk 1997, 54 n. 7. His titles were: *t3.y-ḥw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw, sš nsw, im.y-r3 mš^c wr n.y ḥm=f, im.y-r3 pr.w n.y nb t3.wy, im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd ḥw.t-ntr 3ḥ Stḥy-mr(i).n-Pth m [pr.w] Ḳmn.w*. His tomb is located at El-Khawaled, Asyut: Châban 1901, 137–40; Brunton 1937, 135–6. See also *KRI* III, 140–7; Kamal El-Din 2010, 131–42. Bohleke places Suty after Tia and succeeding Panehsy (Bohleke 1991, 321; *Id.* 2002, 158 n. 10).

¹²⁶ For this temple, see: Brand 2000, 228–49; Awad 2002, 192–3; Ullmann 2002, 258–88.

¹²⁷ Legrain 1909, 38–9, pl. 36.36; PM II, 145; *KRI* III, 141.7–11.

¹²⁸ Mariette 1857, pl. 14; Helck 1958, 409; Awad 2002, 192–3. Schneider (1977, I, 283) mentions three shabtis of Suty, found near the head-end of the right-hand sarcophagus in room G.

Tia thus succeeded Suty somewhere after Year 16, and he himself was succeeded by Panehsy, who was in office in Year 24,¹²⁹ a date that serves as a *terminus a quo* for Tia's death. Panehsy did not hold office as Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum. Tia's successor in that office, according to Van Dijk, may have been Khnumemheb, the owner of TT 26 in the Asasif.¹³⁰ Recent research has shown that tomb TT 26 should be dated to the late Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Sety II/Tausret.¹³¹ Thus, Tia must have been succeeded by someone else. In view of his close association with Tia, and given the course of his earlier career, this can have only been Ptahemwia.

Awad (2002, 193), who studied the Treasury in the New Kingdom, indicates that it is debatable whether Tia's position in the Ramesseum represented a stage in the development of his career to becoming the state Overseer of the Treasury, or whether he administered the temple treasuries by virtue of his position as the state treasurer. Without further discussion, Awad suggests the latter is the more plausible scenario. The available data, however, suggest otherwise: Tia became the Ramesseum's treasurer at the start of Ramesses II's reign, while he succeeded Suty only after Year 16. The overview of titles listed in table 4 further indicates that it was not at all a matter of course that the state treasurer also held office as the Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum.

2. Ptahemwia

The pinnacle of Ptahemwia's career was his appointment as Overseer of the Treasury in the Ramesseum.¹³² The title was recorded by Mariette at Saqqara in 1859 on "an unidentified object", undoubtedly in the tomb of Ptahemwia.¹³³ The full title reads as follows:

*im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd nbw n.y t3 ḥw.t n.yt ḥḥ.w rnp.wt n.y nsw.t-bl.ty Wsr-m3ꜥ.t-
Rꜥ.w-stp.n-Rꜥ.w m pr.w Imn.w m Inb-ḥd,*

¹²⁹ Van Dijk 1993, 106; O. Gardiner, 86; Černý and Gardiner 1957, I, 22, pls 81–2; *KRI* III, 138–40. A flask with docket in two lines of hieratic (wine jar label) found in the tomb of Tia mentions Year 31, which might indicate the date of a burial: Raven et al. 2011, 188, Cat. 329.

¹³⁰ Van Dijk (1993, 106 n. 76) argues that the carefully carved stela flanking the entrance suggest a date in the first half of the reign. The same suggestion is made in *PM* I/2, 43. The inscription giving the date Sety II, Year 5, is considered as a later addition mainly on account of the tomb owner's title mentioning the Ramesseum. See also: *KRI* III, 373 [171].

¹³¹ Kampp 1996, 212–13.

¹³² Haring 1997, 445, lists Ptahemwia only as Overseer of Cattle. Ptahemwia is also not listed by Awad 2002, 189 table IV, 193–94 (*Das Schatzhaus des Ramesseums*).

¹³³ Mariette 1872, 20, pl. 62c; *KRI* III, 417.10–11.

Overseer of the Treasury of the temple of millions of years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermaatre Setepenre in the house of Amun in White Wall.

The addition *m Ḳnb-ḥd*, “in Memphis”, has led to discussions on the nature and location of the temple. The preposition *m*¹³⁴ appears to refer to a memorial temple of Ramesses II in a ‘domain of Amun’ in Memphis. According to Helck (1961, 921 [139]), this was the memorial temple of Ramesses II in the temple of Amun at Memphis. Berlandini (1979, 260 n 2) similarly suggests that the temple was located in (the nome) White Walls, and that it should not be confused with the Ramesseum mentioned in the titles of some of the officials listed in the present paper. Ullmann (2002, 372–3), followed by Leblanc (2012, 84 n. 7), convincingly rejects this view. She argues that no royal temple designated as *m pr.w Ḳmn.w* was ever attested at Memphis, and that no Memphite temple of Ramesses II was written with his *prenomēn*.¹³⁵ Instead, she argues that the title indicates that Ptahemwia held office at Memphis in order to administer the estate of the memorial temple in Lower Egypt.¹³⁶ Another reference to an estate of the Ramesseum at Memphis can be found on O. Louvre 2262, dated to Year 42 of Ramesses II: ‘... *bḥ n.y pr.w Wsr-mꜣḥ.t-Rḥ.w-stp.n-Rḥ.w ḥ.w.s. m Mn-nfr*’, ‘... the vineyard of the house of Usermaatre Setepenre l.p.h. in Memphis’. Ullmann’s suggestion that Ptahemwia administered the Lower Egyptian estate of the Ramesseum from his office at Memphis can be expanded to include the overall administration of the temple, as has also been proposed by Nelson (1999, 60). The high officials resided at Memphis and limited themselves to inspection visits to Thebes. The day-to-day administration was in the hands of the locally resident lower clergy and priesthood who constructed their (rock-cut) tombs at Thebes.¹³⁷

3. Khay

In March 1859, Devéria photographed not only the tomb of Ptahemwia, but also the now-lost tomb of Khay, the *im.y-rꜣ pr.w-ḥd, im.y-rꜣ pr.w-ḥd m [tꜣ] ḥw.t Wsr-mꜣḥ.t-*

¹³⁴ Compare to the title *sš n.y pr.w Ḳmn.w m zḥt-Ḳmn m Mn-nfr*, Scribe of the Temple of Aten in Akhetaten (and?) in Memphis, held by Mery-Neith (late Eighteenth Dynasty: Van Walsem 2014, 42–4).

¹³⁵ See also Helck 1961, 862 (80), No. 13; Haring 1997, 22. These are written with the king’s *nomen*: *tꜣ ḥw.t Rḥ.w-ms-s(w) mr.y-Ḳmn.w m pr.w Ptḥ*, and the *ḥw.t Rḥ.w-ms-sw mr.y-Ḳmn.w ḥnm.t-mꜣḥ.t-n(.yt)-Ptḥ m [pr.w] Ḥw.t-Ḥr.w nb.t nh.t (rsy.t)*. The temples were situated in the “houses” of the Memphite deities Ptah and Hathor, respectively. For further discussion, see Staring 2015.

¹³⁶ Spiegelberg 1894, 64–5.

¹³⁷ See e.g. Nelson 1999, 58–62; Leblanc 2012, 86 n. 10.

R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Ḳmn.w, and *im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd n.y t3 ḥw.t n.yt ḥḥ.w n rnp.wt n.y nsw.t bi.ty Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Ḳmn.w*.¹³⁸ The walls of the tomb's courtyard were constructed of mud bricks and the western cult chapel was constructed of limestone. The remains of eight *djed* pillars were found standing upright in the courtyard and two naophorous statues (Cairo CG 604 and 606) were positioned on either side of the doorway to the chapel. As indicated by Mariette, at least four of the pillars and the two statues were taken to the Bulaq Museum in March 1859:¹³⁹

‘... *Quatre piliers extraits de l’une des chambres du tombeau d’un nommé Schai qui exerçait à Thèbes les fonctions de gardien du trésor du temple des milliers d’années du roi Ramsès II. [...] Le défunt est représenté sur chacun des monuments, debout et dans l’une des postures de l’adoration. [...] Le nom et la fonction du personnage thébain qui, par des raisons inconnues, eut son tombeau à Memphis, nous sont donnés par deux statues trouvées avec les quatre piliers et conservées au Magasin n^o 5 (n^{os} 900 et 901).*’

A shabti held in the Cairo Museum (CG 46563) inscribed for the *im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd* named Khay possibly belongs to the same man.¹⁴⁰

A relief-decorated block inscribed for Khay, excavated by Garstang at Abydos, is held in the collection of the *Musées royaux d’Art et d’Histoire* in Brussels (E. 5184).¹⁴¹ The fragment contains scenes divided over two registers. In the lower register, Khay and his wife Heretib-Mennefer¹⁴² are depicted seated at an offering table. An anonymous male figure presents a libation.

¹³⁸ PM III/2, 726; Helck 1958, 522; Pasquali 2013, figs 10–11. The photographs are in the Musée d’Orsay, Paris: PHO 1986 144 60, MS 178 130 and PHO 1986 144 63, MS 178 133. The material from the archives of Mariette and Devéria pertaining to the tomb of Khay are currently being studied by J. Berlandini-Keller and S. Pasquali. Preliminary results will be presented on 26.06.2015 during the conference *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015*, held at Charles University, Prague, entitled: ‘Auguste Mariette’s Excavations at Saqqara in 1859–1860’.

¹³⁹ Mariette 1864, 63 [18–21]; Mariette 1868, 99–100. See also: PM III/2 775A and Addenda; Berlandini 1988, 25. For the statues, see: Mariette 1872, 21, pl. 63f (Bulaq Nos 285–6); Borchardt 1925, 154–5, 155–6, pls 109–10 (mentioning the date March 1859); KRI III, 373; Málek 1987, 123; Schulz 1992, I, 189–92, Nos 093–94; II, pls 45–6. Schulz’ suggestion (op cit. I, 189 n. 2) that the statues were set up in a temple or in the Serapeum can now be rejected.

¹⁴⁰ Newberry 1937, 20 (JE 4647); Schulz 1992, 189 n. 1.

¹⁴¹ Limestone, 65 x 48 cm: Speleers 1923, 64, No. 267; KRI III, 373, 10; Leblanc 2012, pl. 16A.

¹⁴² PN I, 252.29: *ḥr(i).t-ib-Mn-nfr*, ‘*Bewohnerin von Memphis*’.

4. Amenemone

Amenemone and his wife Meryt-Ptah, Songstress of Bastet, constructed their monumental tomb at Saqqara (ST 101). It was excavated by the archaeological mission of Cairo University directed by Sayed Tawfik in 1984–88, located approximately 65 m south of the Unas causeway.¹⁴³ The monument is built of limestone and consists of a forecourt, pylon gate, courtyard, three chapels in the west, and a pyramid that partly covered the central cult chapel.

The unprovenanced statue of Amenemone held in the State Hermitage Museum (St. Petersburg 738) has been attributed to this official.¹⁴⁴ Its Memphite origin is suggested by the deities mentioned in the text: 'Ptah-who-is-south-of-his-wall, Lord of Ankhtawy', and 'all gods of Memphis'.

Amenemone held a number of titles associated with the state treasury, including those of Overseer of the Treasury of the LTL and Overseer of the Treasury of Upper and Lower Egypt. In that office, he probably succeeded Panehsy, who was attested in Year 24 of Ramesses II. Paytenheb is attested as the treasury overseer in Year 53, and he may have been Amenemone's successor.¹⁴⁵ Since no inscription pertaining to Amenemone contains a date, those of Panehsy and Paytenheb provide the earliest and latest possible limits for Amenemone, who probably served during Ramesses II's fourth and fifth decades on the throne.

"Panel 2" in the tomb of Amenemone contains an inscription with the title *im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd p3 /// pr.w R^c.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w ḥr.y-ib w3.t imn.tyt W3s.t*.¹⁴⁶ The wall is a little damaged and the published photographs are not very clear. Nevertheless, the title undoubtedly refers to the Ramesseum, the institution where Amenemone also held office as Chief Steward. It is not at all common for one individual to hold both these high-ranking titles in the administration of a Theban royal memorial temple.

5. Khnumemheb

The Overseer of the Treasury Khnumemheb constructed his tomb in the Asasif, near

¹⁴³ Tawfik 1991, 405, fig. 1, pls 57b, 58a; Gohary 1991, 195–205, pls 49–60.

¹⁴⁴ Van Dijk 1993, 156–7. See also: Lieblein 1873, 4–5, pl. I [1–3]; *KRI* III, 210–11; Gohary 1991, 204–5, pl. 60.

¹⁴⁵ *KRI* III, 147: O. Louvre 2261.

¹⁴⁶ Gohary 1991, pl. 56.

Sheikh Abd el-Gurna at Thebes (TT 26).¹⁴⁷ Lepsius copied four columns of text containing his titles: *sš nsw mšꜥ mr.y=f im.y-r3 mšꜥ n.y nb t3.wy m ḥ.t=f im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd [m/n.y] t3 ḥw.t Wsr-mšꜥ.t-Rꜥ.w-stp.n-Rꜥ.w m pr.w Imn.w*, True Royal Scribe whom he loves, General of the LTL in His Palace, Overseer of the Treasury (in/of) the Ramesseum.¹⁴⁸ The titles *im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd m ḥw.t-nsw* and *im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd n.y nb t3.wy (m ḥw.t=f)* can be understood as abbreviated forms of the title referring to the Ramesseum.¹⁴⁹ The addition *n.y nb t3.wy* confirms that Khnumemheb lived during the reign of Ramesses II. When it is mentioned in the titulary of officials, the phrase normally refers only to the living king. The forecourt of the tomb of Khnumemheb cuts that of TT 194 of Djehutyemheb, which dates to mid-Ramesses II.¹⁵⁰ Therefore, TT 29 dates from the second half of Ramesses II, or later.

IV.4 Chief Stewards of the Ramesseum (table 5)

The royal memorial temples were supervised by the Steward (*im.y-r3 pr.w*). The officials are not mentioned in the administrative papyri and ostraca from Western Thebes, which led Haring (1997, 225) to conclude that these men were court officials who resided at the residence or elsewhere.¹⁵¹ There, they were responsible for the temple fields, herds, and personnel throughout the country. Each temple had only one *im.y-r3 pr.w* at any one time.

During the reign of Ramesses II, at least nine officials held the office of Steward of the Ramesseum. Their tombs were located at Saqqara (7) and Thebes (1). The location of the tomb of one official is unknown (No. 7, Neferrenpet).

1. Ramessesnakht

Ramessesnakht held the office of Steward in the Ramesseum after a career in the military. He held the additional titles *tsw-pd.t* and *im.y-r3 mšꜥ wr*, Commander of the

¹⁴⁷ PM I:1, 43 [26], 44 (plan) and map IV (context plan of the necropolis); Griffith Institute Archives photos 1209 and 1227; Kampp 1996, 212–13. His wife is called Mery-Aset.

¹⁴⁸ *LD Text*, III, 249, No. 291; *KRI* III, 373.15–16: transverse hall, left end, upper register. The tomb has remained unpublished. See also Gnirs 1996, 8–9, 185.

¹⁴⁹ Gnirs 1996, 185 nn 1240–1.

¹⁵⁰ Gnirs 1996, 185 n 1238.

¹⁵¹ Haring 1997, 225. Two Nineteenth Dynasty Stewards of the Ramesseum are mentioned in the *miscellanies*: Yupa and Nedjem: P. Anastasi VI, 6, 2–12, and P. Sallier I 9, 1–9, respectively.

Troops and General.¹⁵² A relief-decorated limestone block in the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels (E 5183) contains part of a scene depicting Ramessesnakht seated along with his wife Tuy.¹⁵³ A Memphite provenance of this block is likely on account of Tuy's title: *šmꜥ.yt n.y(t) Ḥw.t-Ḥr.w nb.t nh.t rsy(.t)*, Songstress of Hathor, Lady of the Southern Sycamore. On stylistic grounds, the block has been dated to the early Nineteenth Dynasty.¹⁵⁴ Ramessesnakht thus held office at the beginning of Ramesses II's reign.

Two more objects pertaining to Ramessesnakht are known. A statue of his mother Nasha, dedicated by Ramessesnakht, is now in the Musée du Louvre (E. 11523),¹⁵⁵ and a libation base dedicated to the goddess Isis is in the Museo Egizio in Turin (N. 22052).¹⁵⁶ The provenances of both objects are unknown.

2. Nahuher

Nahuher bears the title of Chief Steward of the Ramesseum on a stela dedicated by his son, the Scribe Neferrenpet.¹⁵⁷ Although the stela is of unknown provenance, a Theban origin has been proposed on account of the representation of the deified King Amenhotep I, the patron deity of the Theban necropolis.

Helck identifies the owner of shabti Leiden AF 24e, Nahuher, who bears the titles Royal Scribe and Chief Steward, as the brother of Maya, the Overseer of the Treasury.¹⁵⁸ In the tomb of his (half)brother, Nahuher bears the titles Royal Scribe and Steward.¹⁵⁹ The Ramesseum was built fifteen years after Maya's funeral had taken

¹⁵² For this official, see: Helck 1961, 105; Berlandini 1979, 249–65; *KRI* III, 198–9; VII, 115; Schulman 1964, 141, No. 348d; Binder 2008, Cat. [155].

¹⁵³ Speleers 1923, 65, No. 270 (ex-coll. King Leopold II). Note that a block excavated by Quibell (1912, 20 [1736]) at the Monastery of Apa Jeremias mentions a lady with the same name: *sn.t=f nb.t pr.w Twy*. The name is frequently attested during the New Kingdom at Memphis.

¹⁵⁴ Berlandini 1979, 250 n. 1, 259 (relief style Ay/Horemheb to Seti I/Ramesses II); Leblanc 2012, 83. The very fine facial features may even suggest a date in the late Eighteenth Dynasty.

¹⁵⁵ Barbotin 1999, 36–7, Cat. 10a, pl. 4 (ex-coll. Nahman, Cairo 1915). Compare with statue Brussels E.2459 of Queen Nefertari dedicated by her son, Prince Mery-Atum (limestone; provenance unknown).

¹⁵⁶ Habachi 1977, 60–2, 150–1 (ex-coll. Drovetti).

¹⁵⁷ Stela fragment, lower part, ex-coll. Michaelides, Cairo; later coll. Samedá (*KRI* III, 187 [1]); present location unknown: Wente 1963, 30–6; *KRI* III, 187.5–6.

¹⁵⁸ Helck 1958, 375, 488 (as *temp.* Horemheb). For the shabti, see: Schneider 1977, Cat. 3.2.1.24: ex-coll. d'Anastasi, Eighteenth/Nineteenth Dynasty; h: 12.9 cm. Also: Van Dijk 2012, 64.

¹⁵⁹ Martin 2012, scenes 5, 29, 30, 35a, 36, 37. Two more brothers are depicted: Nakht, Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands, and Parennefer, Overseer of Bowmen and Overseer of Horses. The titles held by Nahuher need not necessarily be “relatively low and unspecific” (cf. Van Dijk 2012, 64): Ptahmose, the Mayor of Memphis and Chief Steward in the Memphite memorial temple of Ramesses II, bears the same two titles on the life-sized statues Leiden AST 7–8 (Staring 2014, 465, Nos II.3–4).

place.¹⁶⁰ If the Chief Steward of the Ramesseum, Nahuher, is to be identified as the (half-)brother of Maya, a considerable age difference between the two has to be reckoned with.¹⁶¹ This difference might explain why Maya's children were included in the household of his subordinate, Djehuty (see above, III.1.4) and his wife Tuy, and not in that of his brother.

3. Horemheb

A number of limestone blocks taken from the tomb of Horemheb were found reused in the Monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara.¹⁶² This indicates that his tomb was constructed somewhere in the vicinity.

Throughout his career, Horemheb held positions in the civil administration. His honorific titles include one of great distinction: *tꜣy-ḥw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw*, Fan Bearer on the Right of the King.¹⁶³ On most blocks, Horemheb holds the title of Chief Steward. His wife Ty held the titles *nb.t pr.w*, Lady of the House, and *šmꜥ.yt n.yt Imn.w nb ns.wt tꜣ.wy*, Songstress of Amun Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands.

The relief-decorated blocks from his tomb display a style comparable to those of the Mayor of Memphis, Ptahmose, and the Overseer of the Treasury, Maya. Blocks Cairo TN 19.6.24.15–17 and TN 19.6.24.18 bear texts inscribed on so-called “raised labels”: a feature observed on the blocks of a select number of Memphite tombs dating to the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasty.¹⁶⁴ The decoration of some blocks is executed in raised relief, which points to a date early in the Nineteenth Dynasty. The blocks' thickness suggests that they were part of the limestone revetment of walls constructed of

¹⁶⁰ Maya's funeral probably took place in Year 9 of Horemheb; Horemheb reigned fourteen years; Ramesses I reigned two years (see n. 40); and Seti I eight years (Van Dijk 2011, 330–1).

¹⁶¹ If the remains of Maya are correctly identified, he died at the age of 64.8 ± 9.5 years (Van Dijk 1993, 77). Wente (1963, 36 n. 21) rejects the view that Nahuher, the brother of Maya, is the same man as Nahuher mentioned on the stela and shabti, pointing to their “different” titulary: Steward versus Chief Steward.

¹⁶² PM III, 196 (attributed to the General Horemheb); PM III/2, 667–8; *KRI* III, 187–91; Quibell 1912, 143–5, pls 67.2, 72.1, 73.7 (Cairo JE 43276 and TN 17.6.24.5); 145, pl. 80.1 (Cairo TN 14.6.24.25), 143–4, pls 68.1, 73.2, 74.9 (Cairo TN 19.6.24.15–17); 144, pl. 74.10 (Cairo TN 19.6.24.18); 143–4, pls 67.3, 73.1 (Cairo JE 43277); 144–5, pls 73.6, 81.7 (Cairo TN 19.6.24.4–5); 144, pl. 73.3–4 (Cairo TN 19.6.24.11; TN 19.6.24.13); 144, pls 71.4, 72.2, 73.5, 8 (Cairo JE 43276). See also Berlandini 1979, 261, with n. 5; Raedler 2012, 129, with n. 28. I have not been able to identify the JE or TN numbers of all blocks recorded by Quibell.

¹⁶³ See: Pomorska 1987.

¹⁶⁴ Staring 2014.

mud bricks. From about the second to third decade of Ramesses II, tombs started to be constructed exclusively of limestone blocks.

4–5. Iurokhy/Urhiya and Yupa

Iurokhy/Urhiya and his son Yupa both held office as Steward of the Ramesseum.¹⁶⁵ They are attested on a fair number of objects,¹⁶⁶ and their titles suggest that they both made a career in the military. Iurokhy was *im.y-rꜣ mšꜥ* and *ḥr.y-pd.t n.y nb tꜣ.wy*, General and Troop Commander (*lit.* Head of Bowmen) of the LTL.¹⁶⁷ Yupa was also a General and he held the military title *im.y-rꜣ ssm.wt n.w nb tꜣ.wy*, Overseer of Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands.¹⁶⁸ Yupa additionally held a range of high administrative titles, including that of Chief Steward of the LTL and Overseer of works in all monuments of His Lord (i.e. the King).

The tomb of Iurokhy, located at Saqqara, was visited by the Prussian expedition led by Lepsius (numbered: LS 25) in early 1843.¹⁶⁹ A brief description is provided in the text volume of the *Denkmaeler*:

¹⁶⁵ Gnirs 1996, 179–81. Urhiya might be a name of foreign origin: Kitchen 1979, 74 (“pure Hurrian”). For genealogical clues, see statues Berlin 24022 and Krannert Art Museum 67-3-3 (ex-coll. Lady Meux) of Yupa, stela Louvre E.3143 (ex-coll. d’Anastasi), and Louvre Leather Roll col. 2 line 6. Ruffle (1979, 57–8) and Kitchen (1979, 71–2) consider Pahemnefer, the Lector Priest of His Lord (i.e. of Iurokhy) on stela Avignon, Musée Calvet A4 (see: Étienne 2009, 278–9, Cat. 247), as his son, but no such affiliation is indicated. Pahemnefer is the dedicator of stela Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts H 1380 (ex-coll. Drovetti). The inscription states that he made the stela for his lord Iurokhy (*iri.n ḥm ꜣḥ n.y nb=f*). The same is true for stela Birmingham, City Museum and Art Gallery 134’72, where Nebnehehabu officiates as Lector Priest (Ruffle 1979, 55–6; Kitchen 1979, 72). The stela depicts the family members of the Priest, not of Iurokhy. Yupa features on the stela (Turin, Museo Egizio 1465) of Mahu, Scribe of the Treasury of the Ramesseum (Ruffle 1979, 56–7, No. 3, pl. III). These stelae were undoubtedly introduced into the tomb of Iurokhy/Yupa, so that it eventually served their own cult by means of magically taking part in the diversion of offerings. Compare with the stela of Yamen, the Lector Priest for Maya and Meryt (Raven 1997, 146; Raven 2001, 21–2, Cat. 18, frontispiece, pls 8–9b, 28); and the stela in the Muzeum Narodwe (National Museum), Warsaw, 142294 (ex-coll. Hoffman) of Peraanerneh, another Lector Priest for Maya (Legrain 1894, pl. facing p. 24; Van Dijk 1993, 79–80, fig. 12; Raven 1997; Ramesside, also depicting Tyia, the daughter of Seti I).

¹⁶⁶ See: Helck 1958, 376–7; 490–2; Ruffle and Kitchen 1979, 55–74. Stela of Iurokhy, Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts H 1380 (was: Inv. No. 84; ex-coll. Drovetti, 1824): Kitchen 1979, 71; Étienne 2009, 281, Cat. 248; stela Turin 1465 of the Scribe of the treasury in the temple of Ramesses-Meryamun in the domain of Re, Mahu: Kitchen 1979, 72; Étienne 2009, 281, Cat. 250.

¹⁶⁷ Statue Berlin 24022 of Yupa: Wenig 1967, 95–8, pls 33–6; Ruffle 1979, 59, No. 9; Kitchen 1979, 71; Schulz 1992, I, 82; II, pl. 6d; Étienne 2009, 278, Cat. 246. Both titles are seldom held by one official (Gnirs 1996, 54).

¹⁶⁸ Statue Berlin 24022: see previous note.

¹⁶⁹ *LD Text*, I, 182 (erroneously mistakes the *w* for the *m*). Not included in the list of Ruffle and Kitchen.

‘... *Es waren hier 5 Säulen, sie sind bis auf eine weggeschleppt worden, eine ist in Sakkara, 3 sind in Tura. Die zurückgebliebene ist zerbrochen.*’¹⁷⁰

The present location of these papyriform columns is unknown. One *djed* pillar from the same tomb entered the collection of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo in 1935 (JE 65061). Before it arrived at the museum, the pillar had been standing in front of the house of the mayor of Saqqara village.¹⁷¹ The village is located near the area referred to as the *Ras el-Gisr*, which is the location of the monastery of Apa Jeremias where Quibell found many reused blocks taken from nearby New Kingdom tombs. The texts inscribed on the pillar identify Iurokhy as a Royal Scribe and General (*im.y-rꜥ mšꜥ wr*). The decoration and texts on “side A” are executed in raised relief. It depicts Iurokhy standing with his hands raised in a gesture of adoration. The same motif can also be observed on the *djed* pillars of the early Nineteenth Dynasty officials Ptahmose,¹⁷² Khay (see above), Iry-iry,¹⁷³ and Netjerwymes.¹⁷⁴

Iurokhy’s career probably started in the reign of Seti I or Ramesses I.¹⁷⁵ He served as a Troop Commander and, in the early years of Ramesses II, he became General. His appointment in the Ramesseum – in the words of Kitchen a “Theban appointment” – has been tentatively dated to Years 10–20.¹⁷⁶

The career of Yupa spans most of the reign of Ramesses II. In the so-called Louvre Leather Roll, dated to the king’s fifth year in office, Yupa is mentioned as one of forty members of the Great Stable of Ramesses-Mery-Amun (*ihw ꜥꜣ n.y Rꜥ.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imm.w*).¹⁷⁷ Towards the end of his life, Yupa is attested by an inscription at Armant as he proclaims the ninth Sed-festival of Ramesses II (in Year 54).¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁰ *LD Text*, I, 182.

¹⁷¹ Gauthier 1935, 81; Ruffle 1979, 59, No. 12.

¹⁷² Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 51: Mayor of Memphis and Chief Steward of the temple of Ramesses Meryamun in the House of Ptah: Staring 2014.

¹⁷³ Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 45; *im.y-hnt n.y nb ts.wy*, Head of Chamberlains of the Lord of the Two Lands: PM III/2, 756: Koefoed-Petersen 1956, 58–9, No. 77, pls 78–81; Martin 1987, 34, No. 84, pl. 31.

¹⁷⁴ Zivie 2007, fig. on p. 111 (sunk relief).

¹⁷⁵ Kitchen 1979, 72–3; Gnirs 1996, 56, 179.

¹⁷⁶ Kitchen 1979, 72–3.

¹⁷⁷ He is charged with the production of mud bricks. Virey 1887, 494; Kitchen, 1979, 72–3; *KRI* II, 790.12–13 (= col. II.6), 791.1–2 (= col. II.9).

¹⁷⁸ Mond and Myers 1940, 163, pls 7.1, 87.1, 93.1, *KRI* II, 396.10–11.

Yupa, bearing the title Steward of the Ramesseum, is also depicted on the stela of the Troop Commander (*ḥr.y-pd.t*), Pahemeter from Sedment.¹⁷⁹

According to Gnirs, Yupa, in addition to being the Ramesseum's Steward, may have also exercised the offices of Overseer of the Treasury and Overseer of the Granary in the Theban memorial temple.¹⁸⁰ The fact that a single official held these three positions in the most important economic institution of the living king is unusual and it would underline his high position at the royal court. While the two positions have indeed been held by Amenemone (ST 101), it is questionable whether the same has been the case for Yupa. He has neither been explicitly named as the Ramesseum's treasurer, nor has the often used abbreviated form to refer to the king's memorial temple, *ḥw.t ity* or *ḥw.t nb=f*, been added to Yupa's treasury-related titles.

There are four statues known to represent Yupa. These are Krannert Art Museum 67-3-3,¹⁸¹ Berlin 24022,¹⁸² Cairo CG 567,¹⁸³ and Cairo JE 1062.¹⁸⁴ The latter represents the lower part of a kneeling statue of Yupa holding a naos containing a statuette of Ptah. A Memphite provenance can be suggested on account of the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formulae mentioning the Memphite deities Ptah and Sekhmet. The same provenance can be suggested for statue Cairo CG 567, which contains inscriptions mentioning Ptah, Sekhmet, Osiris Lord-of-Rosetau, Horus Lord-of-the-Necropolis, and Osiris-Sokar Who-is-in-the-Shetayet. A Theban provenance has been proposed for block statue Berlin 24022,¹⁸⁵ which represents Yupa holding a naos with a statuette of Osiris Lord-of-Abydos. Schulz already noted the remarkably comparable damage to Yupa's face on statues Berlin 24022 (sandstone) and Cairo CG 567 (limestone).¹⁸⁶ This observation can be used to support the hypothesis that these statues were each other's pendants in Yupa's (lost) tomb at Saqqara.¹⁸⁷ The tomb of Iurokhy was also located at Saqqara, and

¹⁷⁹ As [Chief Steward of the] temple of Usermaatre-Setepenre in the domain of Amun: Petrie and Brunton 1924, II, pl. 68; *KRI* III, 244.8.

¹⁸⁰ Gnirs 1996, 180.

¹⁸¹ Ex-coll. Lady Meux: Budge 1896, 105–8, No. 193.

¹⁸² Wenig 1967, 95–8, pls 33.1, 34–36; Ruffle 1979, 59, No. 9; Schulz 1992, I, 82, Cat. 021; II, pl. 6d. The statue was purchased by the director of the Berlin Museum, G. Roeder, on the art market in Paris, 1943.

¹⁸³ Borchardt 1925, 117–18, pl. 96 (provenance unknown); Wenig 1967, pl. 33.3; Ruffle 1979, 59, No. 10; Schulz 1992, I, 176–7, Cat. 086; II, pl. 41.

¹⁸⁴ Borchardt 1934, 43–4 (provenance unknown); Ruffle, 1979, 59, No. 11.

¹⁸⁵ Schulz 1992, I, 82.

¹⁸⁶ Schulz 1992, I, 176 n. 2. The head of statue Cairo JE 1062 is missing.

¹⁸⁷ Compare the position of statues CG 604 and 606 in the tomb of Khay at Saqqara: Pasquali 2013, figs 10–11.

the stela Louvre E 3143 (ex-coll. d’Anastasi) of Iurokhy and Yupa (also depicting their wives Iwy and Inehyt, respectively), was dedicated by the Lector Priest Yupamen, who was responsible for the mortuary cult of both father and son.¹⁸⁸ Furthermore, the fragment of a block found in or near the tomb of Tia can be assigned to Yupa, as it preserves the remains of four columns of text, including the titles *im.y-r3 s[sm.wt]*, Overseer of Horses, and *im.y-r3 mšꜥ*, General.¹⁸⁹

One of Yupa’s sons, Hatiay, held office as Chief of Medjay and Overseer of works on all monuments of His Majesty, ‘erecting great pillars in the domain of Amun’.¹⁹⁰ According to Kitchen (1979, 73), the pillars refer to the Eastern Temple at Karnak, a sanctuary dedicated to Amun-Re-Horakhty and Ramesses II “Who Hears Prayers”. Construction work on that monument was supervised by Bakenkhons (TT 35), the Overseer of works on all monuments of His Lord, Chief Steward in the house of Amun, and High Priest of Amun in Karnak.¹⁹¹

Yupa probably succeeded his father as Steward in the Ramesseum.¹⁹² He held the title at least until Year 54, which is recorded in the inscription at Armant.

6. Amenemone (ST 101)

See above, IV.3.4. The Year 54 date of Yupa serves as a *terminus post quem* for the appointment of Amenemone in the office of Steward of the Ramesseum.

7. Nefferrenpet

The fragment of a limestone block with decoration in sunk relief recently auctioned at Sotheby’s, New York, is inscribed for a Steward (*im.y-r3 pr.w*) named

¹⁸⁸ Lenormant 1857, No. 57; Pierret 1874, 11; Ruffe 1979, 57, No. 4, pl. IV.

¹⁸⁹ Martin 1997, 49 [344], pl. 101. As far as I am aware of, no other official buried at Saqqara held these two titles.

¹⁹⁰ Inscription on statue Krannert Art Museum Inv. No. 67-3-3 (University of Illinois): Ruffe 1979, 58–9, No. 8. The statue was previously in the Lady Meux collection: Budge 1896, 140–3, pl. 16. The statue’s provenance is unknown, but on account of the shrine surmounted by a ram’s head, and the title Festival Conductor of Amun held by Yupa, Thebes is likely. For other Chiefs of Medjay involved in the construction works of monuments of Ramesses II, see: Staring 2015. On statue Berlin 24022 of Yupa (also mentioning Iurokhy), his son Hatiay bears the title Chief of Medjay.

¹⁹¹ Bakenkhons and Yupa are mentioned together in P. Anastasi VI, 80 (Helck 1958, 491, No. 29.3; Gardiner 1937, 78.6–7; Caminos 1954, 297). Another prominent official mentioned in the same line, is the Mayor of Thebes Haunefer (cf. Helck 1958, 528: second half Ramesses II to Merenptah, Year 2).

¹⁹² Cf. Helck 1958, 376; Gnirs 1996, 178 n. 1169.

Neferrēpet.¹⁹³ The fragment represents the lower left corner of what is presumably a stela. It depicts Neferrēpet kneeling in adoration. The style of the relief suggests an advanced date in the reign of Ramesses II. The remains of two incised columns of text are preserved in front of the kneeling figure. The second column ends with the owner's title and name. Due to a lack of space, the inscription was continued in front of and behind Neferrēpet's head: *ḥw.t Wsr-mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ.w-stp.n.-Rꜥ.w m pr.w Ḳmn.w*. This may be understood as a continuation of the title, which thus reads: Steward [in/of] the Ramesseum. Amun is written with the sign of a seated anthropomorphic deity.¹⁹⁴ The remains of two lines of text are preserved above the representation of Neferrēpet. The lower line gives the name of the king: *nsw.t-bꜣ.ty nb tꜣ.wy (Rꜥ///, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Ra-///, undoubtedly Ramesses (II).*

Although the style (especially the voluminous sash kilt and the thin arms) point to a date late in the reign of Ramesses II, it is not clear whether Neferrēpet should be positioned before or after Amenemone.

One may note that the son of Nahuher was also named Neferrēpet, and it cannot be excluded that the latter followed in the footsteps of his father. If Nahuher is indeed to be identified as the half-brother of Maya, and if he officiated early during the reign of Ramesses II, Neferrēpet cannot have succeeded his father directly. Note that the identification of the two men based solely on their name is not without problems, as the name Neferrēpet occurs very often.

8. Nebsumenu (TT 183)

Leblanc includes Nebsumenu, the owner of TT 183 in Khokha, in his overview of Stewards of the Ramesseum even though the title has not been preserved entirely. The

¹⁹³ See: <<http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2014/antiquities-n09236/lot.3.html>> accessed 23.5.2015. The block measures 45 x 38 cm, and was auctioned on 12.12.2014. The relief-block derives from a private collection in Austria, and was acquired in Egypt between 1926 and 1936 with the assistance and advice of the collector's friends, Ludwig Borchardt and Ernst Herzfeld. I owe this reference to Dr Robert Demarée.

¹⁹⁴ For a parallel writing, see the hieroglyphic graffito of Djehuty-her-hesef, the *sš n.y nsw.t m tꜣ ḥw.t Wsr-mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ.w-stp.n.-Rꜥ.w m pr.w Ḳmn.w* (Scribe of the King in the Ramesseum), in the sanctuary of Sekhmet-of-Sahure at Abusir: Borchardt 1910, 124, fig. 170. In the writing of the name Amenemone (Saqqara tomb ST 101; see above), the element for Amun is sometimes written with the seated deity. See: Gohary 1991, pls 51 (*djed* pillar, north, south and east sides), 52 (*djed* pillar, east side), 53 (*djed* pillar, north side), 54 (*djed* pillar, south side), 55 (panel 1), 57 (panel 3), and 59 (panel 6).

incomplete title reads: ‘Steward in the House of Usermaatre-Setepenre ///’.¹⁹⁵ Nebsumenu held a number of elevated titles, including (Chief) Steward of the LTL in the Southern City (i.e. Thebes), Chief Overseer of the Treasury of the LTL in Thebes, and Overseer of the Treasury of Amun(-Re).

The wife of Nebsumenu was Baket-Mut, the Lady of the House and Songstress of Amun (in the Southern City). Nebsumenu was the son of Paser, Mayor of the Southern City.¹⁹⁶ His brother, Haunefer, who also features in his brother’s tomb, succeeded Paser as Mayor of the Southern City, and he served as Steward in the Temple of King Djoserkare (Amenhotep I).¹⁹⁷ Another official mentioned in the tomb of Nebsumenu is Bakenkhons, the High Priest of Amun.¹⁹⁸ These networks and family connections firmly position this official late in the reign of Ramesses II.

9. Nedjem

Nedjem was the last Steward of the Ramesseum to serve during that King’s reign, and he served well into the reign of Merenptah.¹⁹⁹ Objects pertaining to Nedjem were found at Saqqara, Memphis, Heliopolis, and Abydos.

Saqqara

Four alabaster canopic jars bearing the name of Nedjem were found at Saqqara in December 1859 (Cairo CG 4161–64).²⁰⁰ Jars CG 4161 and 4164 are inscribed with the title *im.y-r3 pr.w*; CG 4162 with *sš nsw m3ꜥ mr.y=f im.y-r3 šnw.ty n.y Šmꜥ.w T3-mḥ.w*; and CG 4163 with *sš nsw m3ꜥ mr.y=f im.y-r3 šnw.ty n.y nb t3.wy*.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁵ Leblanc 2012, 23, 84 n. 6. See: PM I:1, 289–90; KRI III, 182–5; Seyfried 1999, 9–12; Hofmann 2004, 41–4; Assmann 2003, 42–5. Nebsumenu is also mentioned in the tomb of the Prophet of Amenhotep I, Panehsy (TT 16): KRI III, 398.13: “Steward Nebsumenu of the City (i.e. Thebes)”.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Helck 1958, 425.

¹⁹⁷ Helck 1977, col. 1054; Helck 1958, 425–7 (with further references). Haunefer is mentioned in P. Anastasi VI 6,9, alongside the High Priest of Amun, Bakenkhons (TT 35), and the Chief Steward Yupa (Gardiner 1937, 78.7; Helck 1958, 425: dated around Year 45 of Ramesses II). His tomb is likewise located at Thebes (unnumbered): Fakhry 1936, 126–9.

¹⁹⁸ Hofmann 2004, 42. Bakenkhons is the owner of TT 35 and he is depicted in TT 183 of Nebsumenu. See also n. 191, supra. Bakenkhons was in office as High Priest of Amun prior to Year 46 (P. Berlin 3047: Helck 1963, 65–73; Haring 2013, 634), and he may have served until Year 66 (Bierbrier 1972, 303). He was succeeded by his brother Romaroy.

¹⁹⁹ PM III/2, 771, 838, 861; Helck 1958, 378–80; KRI III, 199–202; Bohleke 1991, 374–85.

²⁰⁰ Reisner 1967, 116–20, pl. 24. Lids of a human head, baboon, jackal and hawk.

²⁰¹ Siese (III) was also Overseer of the Double Granary of Upper and Lower Egypt late in the reign of Ramesses II to Merenptah. His tomb is located at Asyut: Kahl 2007, 134–5, pl. 13; Bohleke 1991, 356–68; KRI III, 151–4; KRI IV, 100–1). Other objects pertaining to this man: statue MMA 17.2.5;

Four shabtis (Cairo CG 47188 and CG 47209–11) may have been found with the canopic jars.²⁰² On a shabti of unknown provenance (London, UCL), Nedjem bears the title of Chief Steward of the LTL.²⁰³ A sixth shabti was found during the recent excavations of the Leiden mission in the tomb of the Royal Butler Ptahemwia, and it identifies him as Royal Scribe and Steward.²⁰⁴

A limestone abacus inscribed for the Royal Scribe and Steward Nedjem was found by the Leiden mission at Saqqara in 2003.²⁰⁵ It was reused in a secondary drystone wall around shaft 2003/17, located north of the tomb of Mery-Neith.²⁰⁶ The peculiar orthography of the title , with the phonetic complement *r*, is similar to that observed on the objects from Abydos (see below).

A stela of unknown provenance inscribed for Nedjem (Cairo CG 34508) may derive from Saqqara.²⁰⁷ The stela is hitherto unpublished and only a transcription of the text is given by Kitchen.²⁰⁸ The scene in the upper register depicts Ramesses II offering to Amun-Re; the lower register depicts Nedjem (as *sš nsw im.y-r3 pr.w*) kneeling in an adoring pose. He is described as the son of the Royal Scribe Amenemope.²⁰⁹

Heliopolis

On the sandstone block statue of Nedjem (Cairo CG 1220), holding a naos with a statuette of Osiris, he bears the titles *sš nsw, im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y t3 ḥw.t Wsr-M3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w, im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nb t3.wy*, and the honorific epithet

naophorous statue Louvre A.73; wooden statue, Brooklyn Museum 47.120.2; standard-bearer statue Vienna ÄS 34; relief fragment (Kamal Bey 1916, 79); anthropoid sarcophagus, Berlin 1/72 (Settgast 1972, 245–8); and two shabtis (Kamal Bey 1916, 73, 79). On a wooden statue from Asyut he holds the title *sš nsw im.y-r3 šnw.ty m t[3] ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w*, and on statue Vienna ÄS 34 he holds the same title in the temple of Merenptah in the house of Amun.

²⁰² Newberry 1937–57, 88–9, pl. 35; 97–8, pls 19–21. The JE numbers 5497 (CG 47209) and 6498 (CG 47210) indicate the shabtis entered the Bulaq Museum in 1859 and in 1860, respectively (see Bothmer 1972–4, 114).

²⁰³ Petrie 1935, 14, No. 232, pls 19, 35.

²⁰⁴ Raven et al., forthcoming, Cat. 67 (SAK 2007-016).

²⁰⁵ Raven and Van Walsem 2014, Cat. 163 (Sak. 2003-72).

²⁰⁶ See Raven et al. 2003–4, 7, fig. 1.

²⁰⁷ PM III/2, 861 (Excav. No. 3201); *KRI* III, 201 [5]. According to Raue (1999, 224), this is the same stela as the one listed in PM III/2, 861 (“location unknown, possibly in Cairo Museum”): the upper part of a stela found in the Palace Area at Memphis (Kom el-Qal’a), Excav. No. 3201 (the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania archaeological mission led by Clarence Fisher, 1958–62).

²⁰⁸ *KRI* III, 201 [5].

²⁰⁹ Note that a shabti (Cairo CG 47240) of a man named Amenemope (no titles) was found at Saqqara in 1858: Newberry 1937–57, 112.

*ḥs.y ʿz n.y nṯr nfr.*²¹⁰ According to Raue, the statue belongs to a small group of ‘*auswärtigen Personen*’ who are otherwise unrelated to Heliopolis.²¹¹

Memphis

A block statue now in the Memphis State University Collection, Inv. No. 1981.1.20, represents Nedjem with a statuette of Ptah-Tatenen.²¹² According to Maspero, the statue was found by Mariette during excavations in the temple of Ptah at Memphis during the years 1871, 1872 and 1875.²¹³ Before it was taken to the Bulaq Museum, the statue was stored for some time in a cabin located in the garden at Memphis.²¹⁴ The inscription on the back pillar lists his titles as: *sš nsw, im.y-rz pr.w wr, wpw.ty nsw.t r ḥzs[.wt] nb[.wt]*,²¹⁵ and *im.y-rz šnw.ty n.y pz rwd imm.ty.*²¹⁶

Abydos

A dyad fragment found by Petrie at Abydos (present location unknown)²¹⁷ bears the titles *sš nsw* and *im.y-rz pr.w n.y t[ʿ] ḥw.t Wsr-mz^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imm.w*. An extra-sepulchral shabti also derives from Abydos (Cairo CG 47162).²¹⁸

Unknown provenance

A small amulet in the shape of a rectangular plaque, now held in the Petrie Museum (UC 12803), bears an inscription on the obverse: ‘Royal Scribe, Chief Steward, Royal Envoy to every foreign land, Nedjem, true of voice’.²¹⁹ The reverse depicts Nedjem standing with his arms raised in adoration before the lion-headed goddess Sekhmet.

²¹⁰ Borchardt 1934, 114–15 (as “Matarije”); *KRI* III, 199–200 (as Memphis); Schulz 1992, I, 238–9; II, pl. 53a–b; See also Raue 1999, 223–4 (*Journal d’Entrée*: as “Matariya”, i.e. Heliopolis).

²¹¹ Indeed, the texts make no reference to Heliopolitan deities.

²¹² Memphis (Tennessee); formerly Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 29.730: Dunham 1935, 150–1, pl. 19.

²¹³ Mariette 1872, 7, pl. 27f; Jeffreys 2010, 184–5 (1858–63, and 1871–5); PM III/2, 838. Note, however, that Alice Lieder, the wife of the Reverend Johann Rudolph Theophilus Lieder (1798–1865), produced squeezes of a selection of the texts inscribed on this statue during a visit to Memphis in May 1853: Málek 1986, 108, No. 7 (Lieder squeezes 16.6A, B).

²¹⁴ Dunham (1935, 150) reconstructs a different itinerary for the statue. He indicates the statue was bought from a private owner by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (1929), and that, according to the owner’s personal notes, the statue was acquired in Alexandria by an American ship’s captain at the time of the American Civil War, 1861–5.

²¹⁵ For this title, see: Valloggia 1976, 147.

²¹⁶ Mariette 1872, pl. 27f; Dunham 1935, pl. XIX.1; *KRI* III, 200–1; Bohleke 1991, 374–5.

²¹⁷ Petrie 1903, 36, pls 35.2, 38.

²¹⁸ Newberry 1937–57, 79, pl. 35.

²¹⁹ Petrie 1917, xliii, No. 154; *KRI* III, 200.13; Petrie Museum collection online:

Three more Stewards of the Ramesseum served probably directly after the reign of Ramesses II.

1. The Steward Hori is attested by two hieratic jar docketts from Deir el-Medina. The documents record wine deliveries in “Year 6”: *r-ḥt im.y-r3 pr.w Ḥri n.y t3 ḥw.t n.yt ḥḥ.w m rnp.wt nsw.t-bi.ty Wsr-m3̄.t-R̄.w-stp.n-R̄.w ʿnh̄.w wd3̄.w snb.w m pr.w Imn.w.*²²⁰ Although the inscription contains a date (Year 6), the name of the king is not mentioned. Ullmann (2002, 249) notes that the Ramesseum is not mentioned as the owner of the vineyard, but rather as the institution the officer in charge of the delivery belongs to. The vineyard would have belonged to a cult statue of the king.²²¹
2. The Steward Khaemty is attested by a graffito left in the temple of Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahri. The text is fragmentarily preserved and reads: *sš nsw im.y-r3 pr.w /// ḥ̄-m-ti[r] /// nsw-bi.ty Wsr-m3̄.t-R̄.w-stp.n-R̄.w ʿ.w.s ///.*²²² In the absence of any additional documentation, it is uncertain where this official should be positioned in the succession of stewards, if indeed the title refers to the Ramesseum.
3. The Steward Pashedu is represented by a fragmentarily preserved block statue found at Edfu.²²³ His titles include: *sš nsw; im.y-r3 pr.w n.y t3 ḥw.t Wsr-m3̄.t-R̄.w-stp.n-R̄.w; im.y-r3 ʿḥ̄.w m T3-Šm̄.w; im.y-r3 pr.w m T3-mḥ̄.w.* Curiously, the element “in the house of the God X” is not added to the title mentioning the king’s memorial temple. The fact it is written with Ramesses II’s *prenomen* could indicate that the Theban Ramesseum is meant. The statue has been roughly dated to the Ramesside Period.

V. Discussion and conclusion

Over the years, scholars have been uneasy with the presence of the Ramesseum’s high officials in the Memphite necropolis. As he described the objects taken from the tomb of Khay, Mariette remarked that while the name and office of this man pointed to

<<http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx?parentpreref=#>> accessed 6.2.2015.

²²⁰ Koenig 1980, II, pl. 33 (Nos 6291, 6293); *KRI* VII, 53–4; Ullmann 2002, 349–50.

²²¹ Ullmann 2002, 349–50; Kitchen 1992, 116.

²²² Marciniak 1974, 140, No. 106, pl. 74.4; *KRI* III, 365.15.

²²³ Farout 2007, 71–6.

a Theban provenance, for ‘reasons unknown’ he had his tomb at Memphis.²²⁴ Myśliwiec, who published Ptahemwia’s pyramidion (Cairo CG 17109), argued that the official, who ‘held office at Thebes’, must have originated from Memphis ‘since he chose to be buried near his home-town’.²²⁵ He further noted that ‘the custom of entrusting a native of Memphis with a high office in Thebes appears to be quite common during the Ramesside Period’ (mentioning Tia as a further example). More recently, Van Dijk cited the presence of the high officials of the Ramesseum in the Memphite necropolis to argue against the supposed connection between the residence city and the prominence of its necropolis: ‘... Unless one wants to assume that these officials had their offices in Memphis where they spent their lives signing documents and cutting through “red tape” while leaving the actual administration to their Theban subordinates, the presence of their tombs at Saqqâra is difficult to explain if a connection between the residence²²⁶ and the burial-ground of the high officials working in that residence is retained’.²²⁷ These observations lead us back to the main aim of this paper: to present a prosopography of the Memphite officials who held office at the Ramesseum, and to address the question why these officials were buried not in the Theban necropolis, but at Memphis.

At first sight, one would indeed expect to find the tombs of the high officials of the Theban Ramesseum at Thebes. It was supposedly the place where they exercised their authority. Indeed, during the Eighteenth Dynasty, officials with similar responsibilities were buried at Thebes, while those associated with the Memphite memorial temples built their tombs at Saqqara. Van Dijk (1988) argued that the leading officials of the post-Amarna Period choose the Memphite necropolis as the location for their tombs because it was the sacred abode of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris (the Memphite deity who came to play a prominent role in the mortuary cult), and because Memphis was Egypt’s administrative capital since the reign of Thutmose III. From a preliminary study of prosopographical data from the reigns of Ahmose I to Horemheb, Martin (2000, 119) concluded that the high administrators, at least from the reign of Thutmose III onwards

²²⁴ Note, however, that the name of his wife – ‘Resident of Memphis’ – could hardly have been more “Memphite”.

²²⁵ Myśliwiec 1978, 145.

²²⁶ Which, as Van Dijk points out, would have been the Delta capital at Pi-Ramesse.

²²⁷ Van Dijk 1988, 39.

(but possibly even earlier), appear to have held office at Memphis.²²⁸ The officials of the Ramesseum will have similarly held office at Memphis because it was the administrative capital of Egypt.

Van Dijk rightly questioned the direct connection between the residence city and the appropriation of its necropolis by the officials who were resident in that city. Unfortunately we lack the administrative documents to confirm the presence of the Ramesseum's officials at Memphis during their lifetimes. The available documents at Thebes, however, indicate that they did not hold office there. Almost without exception, the tombs of the Ramesseum's officials were constructed at Saqqara – more specifically in the area south of the Unas causeway. After the reign of Ramesses II, when resources of the memorial temple were reallocated, holders of the same titles started to construct their tombs at Thebes. This trend suggests that the chief officials of the living king's most important memorial temple, an institution of great economic significance, held office in Egypt's administrative centre.²²⁹ One of the titles held by Ptahemwia suggests that he held office 'at White Wall'.²³⁰

The high officials of the Ramesseum are the first and only administrators of a Theban royal memorial temple who held office at Memphis, and who constructed their tombs at Saqqara. How could this be explained? The prosopographical study indicated that the Overseers of Cattle of the Ramesseum were drawn from the ranks of the Memphite cattle administration that was part of the State Treasury. The Ramesseum's first Treasurer was the king's brother-in-law who would become the overseer of that institution. This organisation of the temple's management, as far as it can be inferred from the officials' titles, may suggest that those in charge were held close to the residence perhaps to secure the flow of financial resources towards the king's memorial

²²⁸ Martin (2000, 101) defines the main Residence City or capital as 'the place where the king and his courtiers and chief officials made their more-or-less permanent headquarters, necessitating an extensive complex of palaces, administrative buildings, storehouses and the like'.

²²⁹ Evidence from the Ramesside Delta residence indicates that some other high-ranking individuals had at least a temporary residence at Pi-Ramesses. Ptahmay, who held office as Steward in the temple of millions of years of Ramesses II in the house of Re (in Heliopolis), is attested by a limestone doorjamb from Qantir/Pi-Ramesses (Cairo JE 64730: Hamza 1930, 37–8; *KRI* III, 443.4–7; Raue 1999, 193). The Vizier of the South, Paser, whose tomb was constructed at Thebes (TT 106), is also attested by a lintel fragment from Qantir (Raedler 2009, 138–9, fig. 5). Unfortunately, we have no comparable sources from the residential quarters of the city of Memphis.

²³⁰ The choice for *Inb-ḥd*, instead of *Mn-nfr* or *ḥw.t-k3-Pth*, will have been a deliberate one. All three toponyms refer to Memphis. White Walls, however, originally designated the fortified residence of Egypt's early kings, while Mennefer appears to be commonly used to refer to the residential quarters and Hutkaptah denotes the temple grounds.

temple. The endowment text regarding the construction of the Memphite memorial temple of Amenhotep III, inscribed on the statue of the Chief Steward of Memphis, Amenhotep Huy,²³¹ indicates that the late Eighteenth Dynasty royal memorial temples at Memphis were administratively attached to the temple of Ptah.²³² The same situation existed at Thebes, where the memorial temples were administratively attached to the temple of Amun. From the Ramesside period onward, the memorial temples of Western Thebes were largely self-sufficient economic units, which had administrative and economic ties with other temples and with government departments.²³³ The fact that the Theban memorial temples were said to be *m pr.w 'Imn.w*, ‘in the house of Amun’, points to a religious dependence rather than one of administrative nature.²³⁴ While the overseers of the resources of the Theban memorial temples exercised their authority from a distance (at Memphis), and limited themselves to inspection visits to Thebes, their local representatives, deputies, attendants, and scribes, saw to the institutions’ day-to-day affairs. They were resident at Thebes and built their (rock cut) tombs there. The main authority on site would have been the *Sem* Priest, the memorial temple’s High Priest.²³⁵

The rationale behind the presence of the officials’ tombs at Saqqara during the early Ramesside Period may be further explained by the notion of Memphis as the royal city *par excellence*. Redford (1986, 297) notes that in the period beginning with Ramesses II, ‘the dominance of Memphis in the life and thinking of the Egyptian state can be amply demonstrated’. More than “just” being the administrative capital, Memphis was also the place where kingship resided. In the words of Snape (2011, 468; following Redford 1986, 297–8), it was ‘*the* royal city in terms of establishing a king, through mechanisms such as the coronation, the importance of the Apis, and the increasingly important role of the priesthood of Ptah’. The area of the Memphite necropolis at Saqqara south of the Unas causeway contains not only tombs constructed for the high officials of Ramesses II’s Theban memorial temple; the area also includes the tombs of Ptahmose, Nebnefer and Mahu (see fig. 1), the Chief Stewards of his Memphite memorial temple called *t3 ḥw.t Rꜥ.w-ms-s(w) mr.y-'Imn.w m pr.w Pth*, ‘the temple of

²³¹ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1913.163: PM III/2, 836; *Urk.* IV, 1793–1801.

²³² This is indicated by the term *ḥr sḏfꜣ*, ‘on the provision of’: Haring 1997, 169, 390.

²³³ Haring 1997, 389.

²³⁴ Ullmann 2002, 655–6; Haring 2013, 613–17 (with references to earlier discussion on the subject).

²³⁵ On the *Sem* Priest, see: Haring 1997, 214–20.

Ramesses Meryamun in the House of Ptah'.²³⁶ The king's fourth son, Khaemwaset, the High Priest of Ptah, officiated as the temple's High Priest, and his tomb may have been located south of the Unas causeway as well. The tomb of the official responsible for the construction of the temple 'Ramesses II "United with Maat of Ptah"', Amenhotep Huy, the Mayor of Memphis, probably constructed his tomb in the same area.²³⁷ Thus, the necropolis south of the Unas causeway was clearly composed of a large number of tombs built for officials who were closely associated with the royal court and who held offices in the service of the living king's memorial temples. Their tombs were constructed in visual connection to the royal temples constructed at the foot of the escarpment.²³⁸ The area south of the Unas causeway further contained the private tomb of the Generalissimo Horemheb. During the early Ramesside Period, the tomb served *de facto* as the memorial temple of the founder of the Ramesside Dynasty. Seti I and Ramesses II widely promoted the cults of their deceased fathers and the royal ancestors in order to reinforce their own legitimacy.²³⁹ At the same time, the temple of Ptah was largely expanded, and the Memphite necropolis witnessed major building activities as well, including the construction of the *petits souterrains* of the Serapeum. Snape (2011, 465) argued that the activities that reshaped the monumental landscape in the early Ramesside period were motivated by contemporary views of the past, and especially those views stressing the projection of aspects of kingship.²⁴⁰ It were those views that also shaped the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara south of the Unas causeway during the early Nineteenth Dynasty.

TABLES:

Legend: [A] Related to the king, royal court, and government (incl. honorific); [B] General administration; [C] Scribal; [D] Public works, crafts; [E] Sacerdotal; [F] Military.

²³⁶ Staring 2015. Ptahmose was also responsible for the large-scale construction works at Memphis.

²³⁷ PM III/2, 770, 847.

²³⁸ The Chief Steward of Memphis, Amenhotep Huy, described the location of Amenhotep III's memorial temple: '... in the cultivated/inundated land west of Hutkaptah, upon the bank/foreshore of Ankh-tawy' (Statue Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1913.163: *Urk*, IV, 1793–1801).

²³⁹ Ling 1992, 59–66.

²⁴⁰ By means of king-lists, the cult of the royal ancestors was incorporated into the private mortuary cult of the deceased (Van Dijk 1993, 202). The tomb of Tia also appears to have had a king-list. The fragment of a block with the representations and cartouches of Ahmose I and Amenhotep I was found in the courtyard of the neighbouring tomb of Maya (Martin 2012, 57 [37], pl. 67).

TABLE 2. – *Overseers of cattle of Amun: Memphis*

No.	Name	Title(s)	Date	Tomb
1	<i>H3.t-i3y</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 ih.w n.w Imn.w</i>	Mid-D.18, A. III	Saqqara, lost
2	<i>Iniwiz</i>	[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t h3.ty-^c.w ; mr.t n.y nb t3.wy ; sd3w.ty bi.ty</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w ; im.y-r3 pr.w wr ; im.y-r3 pr.w m/n.y Mn-nfr ; im.y-r3 ih.w n.w Imn.w</i> [C] <i>sš nsw ; sš nsw m3^c ; sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f ; sš pr.w-hd n hd-nbw n.y nb t3.wy</i>	Late A.IV/Akh–Tut.	Saqqara
3	<i>P3y</i>	[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t h3.ty-^c.w ; smr w^c.ty ; sd3w.ty-bi.ty</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 ip.t-nsw (n.y nb t3.wy) ; im.y-r3 ip.t-nsw n.y Mn-nfr ; im.y-r3 ip.t-nsw n.y t3 hm.t-nsw (m k3.t nb.t n.y hm=f) ; im.y-r3 ip.t-nsw m grg-W3s.t ; im.y-r3 nfr.wt n.t nb t3.wy ; im.y-r3 ih.w (n.w Imn.w-R^c.w) ; im.y-r3 pr.w n.y nsw</i> [C] <i>sš nsw (m3^c mr.y=f)</i> [D] <i>im.y-r3 k3.t n mn.w nb n.y hm=f</i>	Tut.–early Hor.	Saqqara, LS 28
4	<i>Dhw.ty</i>	[A] <i>hs.y n.y nb=f</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 ih.w n.w Imn.w</i> [C] <i>sš</i>	Early Hor. to late Hor./Seti I	Saqqara, lost
5	<i>Mn.w-ms</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 ih.w n.w Imn.w</i>	Late D.18 to early D.19, <i>temp.</i> Seti I	Saqqara, lost
6	<i>Pyizy</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 ih.w</i> [C] <i>sš nsw pr.w-hd n.y nb t3.wy</i>	Late D.18 to early D.19	Saqqara, lost
7	<i>Twy</i>	<i>im.y-r3 ih.w n.w Imn.w</i>	Early D.19	Saqqara, lost
8	<i>Pth-ms</i>	[A] <i>hs.y ^c3 n.y ntr nfr ; mrr.t(y) n.y nb t3.wy</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 ih.w ; im.y-r3 ih.w n.w Imn.w</i> [C] <i>sš nsw /// nb t3.wy ; sš nsw pr.wy-hd</i>	Early D.19	Saqqara, lost
9	<i>Mry.ty</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 ih.w wr n.w Imn.w</i>	Early D.19, Seti I	Probably Memphite
10	<i>Tiz</i>	[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t h3.ty-^c.w ; w^c ikr mty m3^c ; mrr.w n.y nb t3.wy (hr bi=f/hr shrw=f) ; hn.y tp.y n.y hm=f ; hs.y ^c3 n.y ntr nfr ; t3y-hw hr wnm.y n.y nsw</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 ih.w ; im.y-r3 ih.w wr ; im.y-r3 ih.w wr n.y Imn.w-R^c.w nsw ntr.w ; im.y-r3 pr.wy n.y hd-nbw ; im.y-r3 pr.w ; im.y-r3 pr.w wr ; im.y-r3 pr.w n.y Imn.w n.y R^c.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w ; im.y-r3 pr.w n.y nb t3.wy ; im.y-r3 pr.w-hd ; im.y-r3 pr.w-hd m t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w ; im.y-r3 pr.w-hd n.y nb-t3.wy</i> [C] <i>sš nsw ; sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f</i> [E] <i>[hm-ntr tp.y] n.y Imn.w n.y R^c.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w ; /// [n.y R^c.w]-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w-m-wiz</i>	Seti I – second decade R.II	Saqqara, south of Unas causeway
11	<i>Pth-m-wiz</i>	[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t ; smr w^c.ty ; sd3w.ty-bi.ty</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 ih.w ; im.y-r3 ih.w wr m t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w ; im.y-r3 ih.w m t[3] hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w ; im.y-r3 ih.w n.w nb t3.wy ; im.y-r3 pr.w-hd nbw n.y t3 hw.t n.yt hh.w rnp.wt n(y) nsw.t bi.ty Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w m inb-hd</i> [C] <i>sš nsw ; sš nsw htp.w-ntr n.y ntr.w nb.w Šm^c.w T3-mhw</i>	R.II, second to third decade	Saqqara, lost
12	<i>P3-R^c.w-m-hb</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 ih.w ; im.y-r3 ih.w wr n.w Imn.w ; im.y-r3 ih.w n.w Imn.w n.y t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w</i>	R.II, second half / D.19–20?	Saqqara, lost

TABLE 3. – *Overseers of Cattle in/of the Ramesseum*

Name	Title(s)	Date	Tomb
<i>Pth-m-wi3</i>	[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t</i> ; <i>smr w^c.ty</i> ; <i>sd3w.ty-bi.ty</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 ih.w</i> ; <i>im.y-r3 ih.w wr</i> ; <i>im.y-r3 ih.w wr m t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w</i> ; <i>im.y-r3 ih.w m t[3] hw.t wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w</i> ; <i>im.y-r3 ih.w n.y nb t3.wy</i> ; <i>im.y-r3 pr.w-hd nbw n.y t3 hw.t n(.y)t h^h.w rnp.wt n(.y) nsw.t bi.ty Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w m inb-hd</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i> ; <i>sš nsw htp.w-ntr n.y ntr.w nb.w</i> ; <i>sš nsw htp.w-ntr n.y ntr.w nb.w Šm^c.w T3-mhw</i>	R.II, early – third decade	Saqqara, lost
<i>Mr.y-Pth</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 ih.w n.w t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w</i> [C] <i>sš nsw t3 š^c.t n pr.w-^c3^c.w.s</i>	R.II, early second half	Unknown (Abydos/Saqqara?)
<i>B3k-n-Imn</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 ih(.w) n(.w) t[3] hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w</i>	R. II, second half	Unknown (Thebes/Saqqara?)
<i>P3-R^c.w-m-hb</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 ih.w</i> ; <i>im.y-r3 ih.w wr n.w Imn.w</i> ; <i>im.y-r3 ih.w n.w Imn.w n.y t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w</i>	R.II, late	Saqqara, lost

TABLE 4. – *Overseers of the Treasury in/of the Ramesseum*

Name	Title(s)	Date	Tomb
<i>Ti3</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w-hd m t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w [nsw ntr.w]</i> (more titles: see Table 2)	R.II, early – third decade	Saqqara
<i>Pth-m-wi3</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w-hd nbw n.y t3 hw.t n.yt h^h.w m rnp.wt n.y nsw.t bi.ty Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w m inb-hd</i> (more titles: see Table 2)	R.II, third decade	Saqqara, lost
<i>H^cy</i>	[A] <i>hsy^c3 n.y ntr nfr</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w-hd</i> ; <i>im.y-r3 pr.w-hd m hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w</i> ; <i>im.y-r3 pr.w-hd n.y t3 hw.t n.t h^h.w m rnp.wt n.y nsw.t bi.ty Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i> ; <i>sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f</i>	R.II, second half	Saqqara, lost
<i>Imn-m-in.t</i>	[A] <i>sh n.y nb=f</i> ; <i>ir.y-p^c.t h3.ty-^c.w</i> ; <i>ir.y rd.wy n.y nb t3.wy</i> ; <i>ir(i).w dd=f</i> ; <i>ir.ty n.y nsw</i> ; <i>w^c.ty</i> ; <i>nn r=f</i> ; <i>rđi n hft hr wp(.wty)-nsw r t3 nb</i> ; <i>hs.y^c3 n.y nb t3-đsr</i> ; <i>šms.w hr w3.t=f</i> ; <i>t3y-hw hr wnm.y n.y nsw</i> ; <i>/// nsw m t3 r đr=f</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w</i> ; <i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr</i> ; <i>im.y-r3 pr.w (wr) [m] t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w</i> ; <i>im.y-r3 pr.w-hd</i> ; <i>im.y-r3 pr.w-hd n.y nb t3-wy</i> ; <i>im.y-r3 pr.w-hd n.y Šm^c.w T3-mh.w</i> ; <i>im.y-r3 pr.w-hd p3 /// pr.w R^c.w-ms-sw Mry-Imn.w hr.y-ib w3.t imn.tyt W3s.t</i> ; <i>w^hm.w-nsw n.y nb=f</i> ; <i>šms.w n.y hm=f hr h3s.t nb.t</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i> ; <i>sš nsw hs.y n.y hm=f</i> ; <i>sš nsw š^c.t n(.yt) nb t3.wy</i> ; <i>sš š^c.t n(.yt) nb t3.wy</i> ; <i>Dhw.ty š^c.t n(.yt) nb t3.wy</i> [D] <i>im.y-r3 k3.t m pr.w ///</i>	R.II, fourth – fifth decade	Saqqara, ST 101
<i>Hnm-m-hb</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w-hd [n.y] t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w</i> ; <i>im.y-r3 pr.w-hd m hw.t-nsw</i> ; <i>im.y-r3 pr.w-hd n.y nb t3.wy (m hw.t=f)</i> [C] <i>sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f</i> [F] <i>im.y-r3 mš^c n.y nb t3.wy</i> ; <i>im.y-r3 mš^c n.y nb t3.wy m^ch.t=f</i>	R.II, late	Thebes, TT 26

TABLE 5. – (Chief) Stewards in/of the Ramesseum

No.	Name	Title(s)	Date	Tomb
1	<i>R^c-ms-sw-nḥt</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w m t[3] ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Ḥmn.w ḥr imnt.t W3s.t</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i> [F] <i>im.y-r3 m3^c ; tsw pd.t</i>	R.II, early	Saqqara, lost
2	<i>N3-ḥw-ḥr</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w ; im.y-r3 pr.w wr ; im.y-r3 pr.w wr m t[3] ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Ḥmn.w</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i>	R.II, early	Saqqara(?)
3	<i>Ḥr-m-ḥb</i>	[A] <i>(i)r(y)-p^c(t) ḥ3.ty-^c.w ; wr m ḥ3.t rh.y[t] ; smr w^c.ty ; sd3w.ty bi.ty ; t3y-ḥw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw ; [B] im.y-r3 pr.w ; im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nb t3.wy ; im.y-r3 pr.w n.y nb t3.wy ; im.y-r3 pr.w n.y t3 ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Ḥmn.w</i> [C] <i>sš nsw ; sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f</i>	R.II, first decade	Saqqara, lost
4	<i>Twrḥy</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w ; im.y-r3 pr.w wr ; im.y-r3 pr.w m ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w [m] pr.w Ḥmn.w ; im.y-r3 pr.w n.y nb t3.wy ; im.y-r3 pr.w n.y ḥw.t Ḥmn.w</i> [C] <i>sš nsw ; sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f</i> [F] <i>im.y-r3 m3^c wr ; ḥr.y-pd.t n.y nb t3.wy</i>	R.II, first – second decade	Saqqara, LS 25 (lost)
5	<i>Ywp3</i>	[A] <i>ḥs.y n.y ntr nfr</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w ; im.y-r3 pr.wy-ḥd ; im.y-r3 pr.w wr ; im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nb t3.wy ; im.y-r3 pr.w wr m t3 ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Ḥmn.w ; im.y-r3 snw.ty</i> [C] <i>sš nsw ; sš nsw m3^c mr(y)=f</i> [D] <i>im.y-r3 k3.t ; im.y-r3 k3.t m mnw nb n.y ḥm=f</i> [E] <i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Ḥmn.w ; sšm.w-ḥb n.y Ḥmn.w-R^c.w</i> [F] <i>im.y-r3 m3^c ; im.y-r3 ssm.wt n(yt) nb t3.wy</i>	R.II, third – sixth decade (Year 54?)	Saqqara, lost
6	<i>Ḥmn-m-in.t</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w ; im.y-r3 pr.w wr ; im.y-r3 pr.w (wr) [m] t3 ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Ḥmn.w</i> (more titles: see Table 4)	R.II, sixth decade	Saqqara, ST 101
7	<i>Nfr-rnp.t</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w [m/n.y] ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Ḥmn.w</i>	R.II, late	Unknown
8	<i>Nb-sw-mnw</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.wy-ḥd n.y Ḥmn.w ; im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y W3s.t ; im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nb t3.wy ; im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nb t3.wy m niw.t rsy.t ; im.y-r3 pr.w m [t3 ḥw.t] Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w /// ; /// pr.w R^c.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Ḥmn.w ḥr ḥr Ḥmn.w</i> [C] <i>sš nsw ; sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f ; sš nsw md3.t-ntr m pr.w ḥnh</i> [E] <i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Ḥmn.w ; sšm.w-ḥb n.y nb.w W3s.t</i>	R. II, late	Khokha, TT 183
9	<i>Nḏm</i>	[A] <i>ḥs.y 3 n.y ntr nfr</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w ; im.y-r3 pr.w wr ; im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nb t3.wy ; im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y t3 ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Ḥmn.w ; im.y-r3 snw.ty n p3 rwd imn.ty ; im.y-r3 snw.ty n.y nb t3.wy ; im.y-r3 snw.ty n Šm^c.w T3-mḥ.w ; wpw.ty nsw r ḥ3s[.wt] nb[.wt]</i> [C] <i>sš nsw ; sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f</i>	R. II, late to Merenptah	Saqqara, lost

SECTION 4: TOMBS AND THE USE OF SACRED SPACE: FIGURAL AND TEXTUAL GRAFFITI

4.1 Preliminaries

The basic aim of Section 4 of this thesis is to study the long “afterlife” of the tombs: what happened to the tombs after their owners had been buried? Who visited the tombs and for what purposes? This section examines how “sacred space” dictated human action by studying the figural and textual graffiti that were left on the tombs’ walls.

Graffiti research in Egyptology has a long tradition. However, studies traditionally focussed almost exclusively on the textual sources. Their figural equivalents have, in the past, been largely overlooked and only recently has graffiti research started to consider non-textual or figural graffiti as well.¹ The studies in this section are the result of the first systematic, large-scale survey of textual and figural graffiti in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara.

Why study ancient graffiti? The past decade has seen an increasing scholarly interest in ancient graffiti. It has been acknowledged that examples of ancient graffiti provide a graphic testimony to peoples’ attitudes towards earlier monuments.² Hana Navrátilová (2007) described graffiti as one of the key groups of sources for the study of Egyptian uses of the past,³ and Jitse Dijkstra (2012) considered graffiti as one of the richest sources of evidence available for the study of personal experience of religion in Ancient Egypt.⁴ In tombs, graffiti appear to be an integral part of the so-called *Besucherkult* (visitors’ cult), being the results of behaviour both expected by visitors and desired by tomb owners. Because they were mostly incised or scratched into the undecorated

¹ See also: N. Staring, review of: ‘J.H.F. Dijkstra – Syene I. The Figural and Textual Graffiti from the Temple of Isis at Aswan. (Beiträge zur Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde, 18). Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein, 2012’, *BiOr* 70/3–4 (2013), 381–7.

² See e.g. J. Málek, ‘A Meeting of the Old and New: Saqqâra during the New Kingdom’, in A.B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (EES OP 8; London, 1992), 57–76; N. Staring, ‘Interpreting Figural Graffiti: Case Studies from a Funerary Context’, in M. Horn et al. (eds), *Current Research in Egyptology 2010: Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Symposium which took place at Leiden University, the Netherlands January 2010* (Oxford, 2011), 145–56.

³ H. Navrátilová, ‘The Visitors’ Graffiti Database’, in J.-C. Goyon and C. Cardin (eds), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists 2004* (OLA 150; Leuven, 2007), 1371–9.

⁴ J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Syene I: The Figural and Textual Graffiti from the Temple of Isis at Aswan* (BÄBA 18; Mainz am Rhein, 2012).

surfaces of the limestone revetment or limestone built walls, they have largely escaped the sites' early explorers who dismantled the tombs. Therefore, they can be studied *in situ* and as such they provide one of the few opportunities to study traces of human behaviour that were the result of devotional or ritual acts.

The research presented in this section has its beginning in archaeological fieldwork carried out in the tomb of the Royal Butler, Ptahemwia (late Eighteenth Dynasty), located in the New Kingdom necropolis south of the Unas causeway. The tomb was discovered by the Leiden archaeological mission in 2007. The tomb's limestone revetment blocks appeared to contain an unusually large number of (predominantly figural) graffiti. The scholarly literature provided only few parallels for these graffiti, and thorough discussions focusing on their rationale were at the time unavailable. This motivated the author and the co-author of the article presented in **Section 4.4** to undertake the first systematic, large-scale survey of textual *and* figural graffiti in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara. The area under study provides a privileged setting for a holistic analysis of graffiti because it is a well-preserved space with a substantial corpus of published textual and figural material.

4.2 Methods

This section considers graffiti-making in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara through an integrated approach that combines the study of textual and figural material.

The data for this study were drawn from the published corpus and new data were collected during two seasons of fieldwork (2007 and 2013). The 2007 season of fieldwork focused on the tomb of Ptahemwia. A preliminary study along with an overview of previous scholarship was published by the author in 2011,⁵ and a catalogue of the graffiti is currently being prepared in association with W. Paul van Pelt.⁶ The results and prospects of these initial studies were later incorporated into the research proposal that resulted in the present PhD research.

⁵ Staring, in M. Horn et al. (eds), *Current Research in Egyptology 2010*, 145–56.

⁶ In 2007, we both participated in the excavation as student-assistants, being MA students in Egyptology and Archaeology at Leiden University. The catalogue will be published as part of the tomb's final publication, entitled: M.J. Raven et al., *The Tombs of Ptahemwia and Sethnakht at Saqqara* (Turnhout, forthcoming).

In 2013, the author extended the graffiti survey to include all other standing tombs in the Leiden concession area. The survey was primarily aimed at recovering and collating the previously published graffiti (1975–2006). New graffiti were recorded on the stone elements in the entrance pylon to the tomb of Horemheb.

During fieldwork, each individual graffito was photographed and 1:1 scale facsimile drawings were made from the originals. The line drawings were scanned and digitally “inked” by the author, using Adobe Illustrator CS3. Each graffito was measured and described in the field using forms that were designed for the purpose.

The present research covers a corpus of 243 graffiti that were recorded on the architectural remains of nine New Kingdom tombs (224 graffiti) and on loose stone elements taken from the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis that are now in public and private collections (19 graffiti). A total of 202 graffiti are figural (83.1%) and 41 (16.8%) are textual. This distribution already shows that in the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis it was far more common to leave figural graffiti than to leave texts.

4.3 Synthesis of the articles

Section 4.4, ‘Interpreting Graffiti in the Saqqara New Kingdom Necropolis as Expressions of Popular Customs and Beliefs’, in *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 23 (2015, in press), was co-written with W. Paul van Pelt (Trinity Hall, University of Cambridge). The basic aim of this study is to propose an interpretation for the figural and textual graffiti recorded in the New Kingdom necropolis south of the Unas causeway. The article starts with a discussion of the methodological and theoretical considerations, and proceeds to consider the content and form of particular groups of textual and figural graffiti, assigning them to provisional classifications based on their supposed purpose: graffiti as devotional act; graffiti as ritual act; and graffiti as secular expressions. The second part of this paper considers their spatial distribution and the relative importance of figural and textual graffiti. The study proposes that certain types of figural graffiti may be regarded as pictorial prayers in their own right which were intended to mark the permanent presence of the graffitist in the tomb or to protect and beatify the deceased in the afterlife. Since literacy is not a

prerequisite for drawing a picture, the important question is raised of whether the production of figural graffiti expanded throughout the social scale or like textual graffiti was restricted to the elite and sub-elite.

Section 4.5, ‘Products of the Physical Engagement with Sacred Space: The New Kingdom Non-textual Tomb-graffiti at Saqqara’, in B.J.J. Haring (ed.), *Decoding Signs of Identity: Egyptian Workmen’s Marks in Archaeological, Historical, Comparative and Theoretical Perspective* (Leiden, in press), is the outcome of a paper delivered at the invitation-only, international conference *Decoding Signs of Identity* at Leiden University, The Netherlands, December 2013. The study presented as **Section 4.4** showed that the motifs of the graffiti in general have apotropaic associations, or they are linked to ideas of regeneration and rebirth. In this paper the group of figural graffiti pertaining to human figures are analysed in further depth. Due to their ability to convey identity, human figures are a particularly interesting group when trying to answer such questions as who visited tombs and for what purposes. The main aim of this paper, therefore, is to propose an interpretation for the figural graffiti recorded in these tombs – specifically those depicting human figures and those with royal associations (royal figures, crowns). The latter group of graffiti are interpreted within the context of the socio-political developments of the early Nineteenth Dynasty.

4.4

Publication Note

Van Pelt, W.P. and N.T.B. Staring. 2015. Interpreting Graffiti in the Saqqara New Kingdom Necropolis as Expressions of Popular Customs and Beliefs. *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 23: in press.

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Interpreting Graffiti in the Saqqara New Kingdom Necropolis as expressions of Popular Customs and Beliefs¹

W. Paul van Pelt² and Nico T.B. Staring³

“Graffiti is one of the few tools you have if you have almost nothing”

Banksy (2001)

Previous examinations of ancient Egyptian graffiti have focused on textual graffiti and developed interpretations specific to this group of evidence. In contrast very few studies have considered the communicative power and meaning of figural graffiti, presumably as a result of the inherent challenges that this data set presents to academic research. To counterbalance the current emphasis on textual graffiti this contribution considers graffiti making in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara through an integrated approach that combines the study of textual and figural material. In accordance with the imagistic principle of Egyptian magic, it proposes that certain types of figural graffiti may be regarded as pictorial prayers in their own right which were intended to mark the permanent presence of the graffitist in the tomb or to protect and beatify the deceased in the afterlife. Since literacy is not a prerequisite for drawing a picture, the important question is raised of whether the production of figural graffiti expanded throughout the social scale or like textual graffiti was restricted to the elite and sub-elite.

Keywords: figural graffiti, textual graffiti, lay piety, ritual, *besucherkult*, New Kingdom, Saqqara

Introduction

In addition to formal reliefs and texts, the tombs of the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis bear hundreds of unofficial inscriptions and depictions, some incised, some executed in red or black ink. These ‘graffiti’ dating to the Pharaonic Period are a

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commonplace phenomenon in the Nile Valley and its surrounding deserts, and depict humans, animals and all manner of objects (Cruz-Uribe 2008a). Despite their proliferation there are currently very few monuments in Egypt for which a complete inventory of the graffiti has been published (e.g. Fábíán 1992; Raven 1999; Jacquet-Gordon 2003; Cruz-Uribe 2008b; Dijkstra 2012; Ragazzoli 2013). What is more, the few existing publications tend to consider only textual graffiti (e.g. Peden 2001; Navrátilová 2007, 2010; Darnell, in press). Non-textual or figural graffiti are rarely noted or recorded. Instead, they are often perceived as 'visual noise', obscuring the aesthetics of the tomb or temple decoration, or as mindless defacements of monuments. While this neglect of pictorial evidence is somewhat symptomatic for Egyptological studies on the whole, it is also partly due to the inherent challenges that figural graffiti present to academic research. In general they have proven difficult to date and interpret because the images vary greatly in quality and in the manner in which they are executed. Some are incised deep into the stonework and elaborately drawn, while others are little more than superficial, crudely-executed scratches. Yet the main challenge in documenting them lies not *per se* in the interpretation of the objects they depict, but in the interpretation of their meaning, attempting to answer such questions as: 'why was this graffito made?', 'why was it made in this location?', and 'who was the graffitist?' (cf. Turner 2006, 253). In many cases the best that can be expected is to identify reasonable possibilities by comparing the iconic likeness of the graffito to analogous motifs and symbols, and by studying the graffito's relationship to its surrounding architecture, installations, and other objects inside the relevant space.

Notwithstanding their challenging nature, figural graffiti are genuinely of interest and significance to scholarship. Textual and figural graffiti are both embedded in a built as well as a social environment, and provide mementoes of former visitors to a monument and clues about how people interacted with functioning or possibly desolate structures. They represent categories of tangible proof of the reception of a structure and about its 'resonance', albeit negative or positive. Understanding this resonance will allow researchers to address important social questions such as who does what, where, when, including or excluding whom, and why, for any sort of structure (cf. Turner 2006). More interestingly still, textual and figural graffiti may provide different windows into history. When literacy was the accomplishment of a minority, as was the case in New Kingdom Egypt (Baines 1983; Baines and Eyre 2007, 67), written graffiti were without doubt mainly the work of scribes or literate individuals belonging to the

elite and sub-elite administration (Helck 1969; Morenz 2003; Navrátilová 2007, 2010; Verhoeven 2012; Ragazzoli 2013).⁴ It is no wonder, therefore, that traditional accounts of written graffiti (Málek 1992, 67; Peden 2001, 96; Baines and Eyre 2007, 72 n. 6; Navrátilová 2007, 16, 2010, 329; Verhoeven 2012, 57) paint a somewhat tautological picture of a literate section of society visiting necropoleis and leaving graffiti. However, there is no obvious reason to assume that figural graffiti should necessarily be interpreted within a similar framework.⁵ Rather, the question arises whether figural graffiti were just as socially restricted as their textual counterparts, or whether they may reflect a means of recorded expression for the illiterate and/or less literate section(s) of the Egyptian population to make reference to popular customs and beliefs.⁶ The vast majority of the figural graffiti in the New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara do not convey the impression of being created by an (artistically-)educated section of society. Rather, they may well have been created by a broad variety of people: commoner, priest, or scribe; man, woman, or child, albeit literate or not. Thus, while written graffiti express the perspectives of the educated elite and sub-elite, figural graffiti may cross social divides and reveal folk practices and beliefs which have left a mark in them. This potential interaction between different groups participating in the same social system and built environment would be of particular interest, and makes figural graffiti an exciting data source to illuminate a shadowy area of Egyptian religious history: the study of aspects of lay piety.⁷

Such were the considerations which motivated the authors to undertake the first systematic large-scale survey of textual *and* figural graffiti in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara (Leiden concession area). The latter provides a privileged setting for a holistic analysis of graffiti because it is a well-preserved space with a substantial corpus of published textual and figural material.⁸ This may allow observations that shed

⁴ There are many possible interpretations of the word literacy, but it is important to recognize that there was a continuum of literacy levels (e.g. Der Manuelian 1999; Quirke 2004, 37–38), ranging from functional to scribal (Keegan 2011, 173).

⁵ Arguably anyone of able mind and body has the capacity to produce a representation, regardless of their gender, social status, civic position, economic conditions, or literacy competency.

⁶ Conversely, one can also consider the situation from the perspective of the observer. While the reading of names and texts was restricted to a small, albeit influential section of society, a much larger number of individuals would have been able to interpret, negotiate, and make meaning from information presented in the form of an image.

⁷ While monumental tombs and their fixtures and fittings present the scholar with a wealth of objects, they mainly reflect the hopes, ambitions, and customs of the very richest members of Egyptian society.

⁸ Ideally this analysis would have included the entire Saqqara necropolis, but inevitably such an undertaking draws largely upon fieldwork and at present the number of publications of tombs in the area

light on the motivations behind both categories of graffiti, and may facilitate an assessment of their relative cultural significance. Rather than discussing all of the graffiti recorded so far, many of which are badly eroded and largely indecipherable, this contribution provides a summary of some of the more significant and evocative discoveries. It first considers the content and form of particular groups of textual and figural graffiti and assigns them to provisional classifications based on their supposed purpose, distinguishing between devotional, ritual, and secular graffiti.⁹ It then investigates the spatial distribution and relative importance of textual and figural graffiti, as this may provide insights into how space was used, where textual and figural graffiti have a tendency to appear, and in what way textual and figural graffiti were conditioned by the space in which they were executed. However, as a preliminary it is useful to define what is meant by 'graffiti' in this contribution.¹⁰ This contribution continues to use the term in the somewhat inconsistent Egyptological manner, extending the narrow etymological sense of the word (from *graffiare* 'to scratch') to include all

with explicit attention to graffiti is still very limited. A team of archaeologists from Cairo University unearthed around 40 tombs and burial-pits belonging to the New Kingdom in the area immediately north of the Leiden concession area, but their preliminary reports make no mention of any graffiti (Tawfik 1991, 403–9; El-Aguizy 2007). Gohary (1991a; 1991b; 2009) also does not mention any graffiti in his publications of the tombs in this area. Of the New Kingdom tombs at the Abwab el-Qotat/Bubastieion only the tombs of Thutmose (I.19) and Maia (I.20) have been fully published (Zivie 2009; 2013), but here too no graffiti are mentioned. However, that graffiti exist in this cemetery is clear from a published photograph showing a jackal head graffito in the tomb of Aper-El/Aperia (I.1) (Zivie 1988, pl. 14). Ockinga (2004; 2011; 2012), who excavated in the northern part of the Teti cemetery, does not mention any graffiti in any of the New Kingdom tombs he excavated. However, one should be cautious in concluding from these reports that no graffiti are present in these buildings. It is often easy to pass over graffiti as many of them are only shallowly incised and nearly invisible in direct sunlight. Aside from monuments still *in situ*, a few reliefs from Saqqara in museum collections contain graffiti. These are a relief from the chapel of Merymery (Leiden AP. 6; Boeser 1911, pl. XVIII), Djed-pillars of Ptahmose (Leiden AP. 51; Boeser 1911, 8, pls. XXVI–XXIX; Staring 2011, 152–54, figs 5–8), a stela of Amenhotep-Huy and his son Ipy (Florence 2567; Pasquali and Gessler-Löhr 2011, fig. 3), reliefs of the royal butler Wenefdjedsen (Boston MFA 24.981; Dunham 1935, 149–50, pl. XVIII; Martin 1987, pl. 33; originally from the Teti Pyramid cemetery), and a relief of an anonymous official (BM 69667; Martin 1987, pl. 14.39). Because comparative material is still relatively scarce, the efforts at interpretation offered in this contribution may at times appear to contain a considerable amount of conjecture against a small quantum of fact. However, the main aim is to stimulate discussion and demonstrate that at the heart of the matter are questions of great significance, which deserve to be the focus of renewed and detailed research.

⁹ These should not be seen as strict and imposing categories.

¹⁰ For another definition of the term graffiti, underlining its complexity, see Cruz-Urbe (2008b, 197–225). For a critical discussion of the term graffiti as it is applied in Egyptology, see Navrátilová (2010, 306–307).

deliberately ‘added’ markings that are either incised, scratched, or painted onto the tomb’s architectural features.¹¹

Function and Content

Graffiti as a Devotional Act

Today the word graffiti often carries a negative connotation and tends to conjure up images of illegal activities and wanton vandalism. However, ancient Egyptian attitudes towards graffiti seem to have been very different and largely lacked the modern connotations that associate graffiti with destruction, defacement, and lawlessness. Because of the inherent magic of texts and images (Ritner 2001), graffiti had the capacity to be benevolent, commemorative expressions that kept the names and identities of individuals magically alive and communicated them to contemporary and future generations.¹² When applied in temples and tombs, graffiti were also a means of contacting the deceased and the gods of the necropolis (Navrátilová 2007, 140). Such a desire for ‘otherworldly’ interaction is made explicit in the so-called ‘piety-oriented’ graffiti, in which the graffitist invokes the deities of the site, not only on behalf of himself but occasionally also on behalf of family members (Peden 2001, 61).¹³ Although not stated as unambiguously, certain groups of figural graffiti also seem to interact with an eternal audience, such as the incised footprints or sandals (*plantae pedis*) on the pavement of the tomb of Maya and Meryt (Martin 2012, pls 60.29, 61.30) (Fig. 1) and on a statue niche in the tomb of Horemheb (Martin 1989, 107, 159, pl. 149) (Fig. 2).¹⁴ Such graffiti are relatively commonplace along the Nile Valley, and are also

¹¹ The fact that graffiti are unofficial markings does not automatically imply a secondary application. Several types of graffiti might just as well have been executed before the official tomb decoration was applied or even before the stone’s surface had been fully prepared (cf. Navrátilová 2010). For example, in the temple of Ptah at Karnak, a zone of graffiti was later formalised through the addition of official temple decoration (Frood 2013, 296).

¹² The idea that the memory of an individual could be kept alive through the written word is made explicit in the *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* (B1, 308–310) ‘When he is buried, and earth envelops him, his name is not effaced on earth and he is remembered on account of the goodness on earth. This is the norm of the god’s word [hieroglyphs]’.

¹³ This practice is also attested outside of Saqqara. For example, at the Osireion in Abydos graffitists invoke Osiris, Horus, and Isis to make their name endure and abide within the monument (Frankfort 1933, 89).

¹⁴ Martin (1989, 107) concludes that these foot graffiti were ‘undoubtedly executed in the Romano-Coptic era.’ However, Dijkstra (2012, 43, with n. 211) has shown that such graffiti are not restricted to Late Antiquity, but appear as early as the Old Kingdom and are also found in New Kingdom temples (cf. Castiglione 1970, 102–29). The location of many of these graffiti on the roofs of temples indicates they

found, for example, on the roof of the temple of Khonsu in Karnak, where many such examples were left by the lower clergy of the temple (Jacquet-Gordon 2003, 5). In contrast to their more elevated colleagues, these priests could not afford temple statues similar to those that have been found in large quantities in the 'Karnak Cachette'. However, by inscribing their name, title, and/or footprints on the temple roof, these priests too would remain forever in the presence of 'their' god, as texts accompanying some of the feet explicitly state (Jacquet-Gordon 2003, 5; Cruz-Uribe 2008a, 203; Dijkstra 2012, 43–46) (Fig. 3). The graffiti of feet or sandals in the Saqqara necropolis were presumably similarly intended to mark the permanent presence of the graffitist, and bore the hope that through these incised figures the funerary gods and/or the deceased could be reached. Because they represent the desire for an interaction, and even a contact, between the devout and divine these graffiti can be considered the product of a devotional act (cf. Plesch 2002, 182). To fully grasp the nature of these devotional graffiti, it is necessary to consider their appropriation of the sacred context of the temple or tomb. The latter functioned as 'liminal zones' where a dialogue between the devout and the divine or the living and the dead could be established (Meskell 2002, 184–85; Harrington 2013, 86–94). It may be significant too in this respect that many devotional graffiti were carved *into* the sacred world of the temple or tomb, becoming one with it (cf. Plesch 2002, 183). The very permanence of incised figures may also have been a mark of their potency. By carving the inscription the graffitist produced an image that was much more durable than a painted message, and so ensured that his or her appeal would endure virtually as long as the tomb or temple itself.

Other examples of devotional graffiti exist in the Saqqara area, for example in the pylon entrance of the tomb of Maya and Meryt (Martin 2012, 19–20, pls 12–13) and the inner courtyard of the tomb of Tia and Tia (Martin 1997, 25, pls 37, 144, 146–47), where graffiti of personal names and titles were carved next to figures of offering-bearers belonging to the official tomb decoration (Figs 4–5). In the case of the tomb of Maya and Meryt the carved titles are all connected with the Treasury, of which Maya was the overseer, while in the tomb of Tia and Tia the graffitists consistently identify themselves as '*servants*'. The clear suggestion must be, therefore, that by naming the figures in the tombs, Maya's and Tia's subordinates were marking their perpetual

were left by people who had access to these areas (i.e. temple personnel). Some examples are also found outside the temple building proper, and thus could have been left by other types of visitors (Dijkstra 2012, 44–46).

presence in their patrons' following in a manner comparable to the *planta pedis*. Because of the graffitists' close relationship with the deceased, it is highly likely that these inscriptions were envisaged as very direct and personal appeals and may have involved human sentiments of direct involvement, admiration, and concern.¹⁵ Perhaps leaving such graffiti was part of a cathartic experience that enabled healing for those who took solace in the belief that such inscriptions would be for the enduring benefit of the deceased or afforded a continued contact, or even existence, with them.¹⁶ Alternatively, the purpose of these signatures may have been to affirm and reinforce Maya's and Tia's status in the underworld, or perhaps piety and self-interest were tangled and the graffitists also wished to share in the wealth of their powerful overseers. By associating themselves with figures in the tomb decoration, the graffitists may have been able to partake of any offerings made in the tomb and benefit from the magical efficacy of the tomb's representations (cf. Den Doncker 2012, 24–25; Ragazzoli 2013, 288).

While allowing for some ambiguity, it is possible that other graffiti, that were less directly or even unassociated with the official tomb decoration, should also be interpreted as meaningful, devotional messages. This may apply, for example, to signatures or short texts indicating names and titles. On the south wall of subterranean

¹⁵ At Thebes the practice of adding signatures to figures belonging to the original tomb decoration is attested, amongst others, in the tomb-chapels of Amenemnet (TT 277), Nakht (TT 161), Senet and Antefoker (TT 60), and Neferronpe (TT 178) (Den Doncker 2012, 24–25; Ragazzoli 2013). However, in these cases the graffitists invariably adopt the generic title 'scribe' with no other specification or any mention of a specific institution. According to Ragazzoli (2013, 293) such titles were intended to indicate a certain status, not a function, and were used to create a collective space connected with a collective, scribal identity. This does not appear to have been the underlying motivation for the signatures in the tombs of Maya and Tia, because the graffitists either do not identify themselves as scribes or are scribes that are affiliated with a specific institution.

¹⁶ It is easy to dismiss this argument as emotive verbiage that is not to be taken seriously by academics. However, some individuals may have had very personal reasons for visiting tombs. To grieve over the loss of a loved one is arguably a natural phenomenon that is experienced by people from all classes and cultures (Bowlby 1969; 1980; Brown 1991; Pinker 2002), and pictorial and written evidence clearly show that grief was experienced and expressed openly in ancient Egypt, despite sanguine hopes for a long and prosperous existence for the deceased in the afterlife. In tomb scenes mourners are depicted fainting with grief, weeping, wailing, pulling at their hair, or heaping dust on their head. Bereavement is a very complex phenomenon and within each cultural group grief responses in ancient Egypt would have varied in each case and per individual, depending on the circumstances surrounding each death and important variables such as the age and personality of the mourner, the age and personality of the deceased, nuclear and extended family perceptions and support, prior experiences with death and loss, *etc* (cf. also Meskell 1999: 130–131). To deny or grant someone the desire to visit tombs to re-establish a contact with the deceased simply on the basis of their ability to read and write would be to adopt a hyper-intellectual view of the Egyptian past from which the human element has been almost entirely removed.

room K in the tomb of Maya and Meryt, there are three hieratic *dipinti* in black ink that were written upside-down and plastered over while the ink was still wet (Martin 2012, 53, pl. 59) (Fig. 6). Two of the *dipinti* are names (*Smn*[*t3.wy*?] and *Hꜥy*) and one may represent a cartouche. The practice of writing graffiti upside-down and subsequently concealing them has a striking parallel in medieval churches, where names or abbreviations of names were sometimes incised at locations that were hidden from view, for example written upside-down high on a column or plastered over (De Vries 2014). As a result, such graffiti could not be seen or read by ordinary people. Instead, they were purportedly aimed at an eternal audience, in this case God, who could read the graffiti from above (Esquieu 1992, 124; Fuchs 2009, 11). It is tempting to interpret the plastered-over graffiti in Maya's tomb in a similar fashion. Perhaps they were intended to be 'read' by the deceased, the deities depicted in the decoration of the subterranean parts of the tomb, or both.¹⁷

There are indications that figural graffiti could also be used to convey devotional messages. For example, in a scene from the tomb of Djehutymes (Bub. I.16) in the Abwab el-Qotat/Bubastieion area, diminutive figures were added to an offering scene in a different style, possibly enlarging family numbers, while in the nearby tomb of Ptahmose (Bub. II.x), a small naked boy and a larger bending figure were added in a 'scribal' hand to an offering scene. These graffiti bear tangible witness to a physical interaction with their sacred surroundings and seem to symbolically mark the permanent presence of the persons depicted in the inscriptions, forging a material and immaterial future where desires for posthumous interaction were solidified.¹⁸ It is important to acknowledge here that, because of the inherent magic of pictures, these graffiti would have been directly associated with an individual in much the same way as an inscribed signature would have been, setting the need for literacy aside. As such, they may represent a directly personal interaction between the individual and the deceased that did not require the mediations of a trained priest or scribe.

Other types of human figures were possibly also intended as expressions of devotional interaction. Graffiti of figures in poses of adoration (Martin 1997, 45, pl. 93.324; Martin 2012, pl. 61.27), in particular, may well be regarded as prayers cast in

¹⁷ This practice is comparable with positioning texts and/or images upside-down on the interior and exterior footboards of anthropoid coffins (e.g. Taylor 2001, figs 176–77; examples of 25–26th Dynasty date), allowing for the deceased to 'read' and 'see' these from his or her viewpoint within the coffin.

¹⁸ Examples of pictorial devotional graffiti possibly date back as far as the Old Kingdom. See, for example, Kanawati and Abder-Raziq (1999, 27, pls 11, 15, 53) and Altenmüller (1998, 90, pl. 5).

pictorial form that were set in stone for the enduring benefit of the deceased (Fig. 7).¹⁹ Two graffiti in the tomb of Maya and Meryt depicting women with unguent cones on their heads are also noteworthy in this context, both for their location, medium, and skill of execution (Martin 2012, pl. 60.14–15) (Fig. 8). These graffiti are located in Burial Chamber O in the subterranean part of the tomb at a depth of almost 22 m below the surface, and were executed in black ink by a skilled (perhaps professional) draughtsman, who was careful to respect the existing tomb decoration. In both cases, the graffiti are unobtrusively placed below depictions of Meryt – in two separate scenes – clearly indicating that defacement of the monument was not the intention of the graffitist. Rather, their systematic placement appears to associate the graffiti with the recurring figure of Meryt. Perhaps they depict one or more of Meryt’s family members, and were intended, albeit in visual form only, to establish an intimate link with the body of Meryt, which was interred in this very room.²⁰ The supposition that these graffiti were not momentary ideas or inspirations, but well thought-out messages with symbolic efficacy is also hinted at by the medium in which they are executed. If the graffiti were applied underground, the draughtsman would have gone through the effort of carrying a scribe’s outfit down two deep shafts and would also have taken a light source of some sort. On the other hand, if the graffiti were applied prior to the placement of the blocks in the subterranean part of the tomb, they can still be interpreted as devotional messages as in this case the graffitist may have anticipated the placement of the blocks in the burial chamber.²¹ In either case, it appears that the placement of these graffiti deep underground was deliberate, and so their location must have been deemed significant.

It certainly seems possible that some of the devotional graffiti discussed here were left by the illiterate, more humble section(s) of the Egyptian population. That the Saqqara necropolis was accessible to different levels of Egyptian society, at least during

¹⁹ For similar graffiti in the tomb of Senet and Antefoker at Thebes (TT60), see Ragazzoli (2013, 287–88, 307 [G]).

²⁰ That the subterranean area of the tomb of Maya and Meryt may have been partly accessible prior to Maya’s death is suggested by the presence of rock-cut stelae (Chambers G and E) and offering tables (Corridor J) (Raven 2001, 8; Martin 2012, 41, 58, pls 38, 69). Interestingly, one of these stelae depicts a priest in front of a seated figure of Meryt only (Martin 2012, 41, pl. 38; Raven 2001, 8).

²¹ It is unlikely that these graffiti should be interpreted as positioning marks, intended to ensure the correct delivery and positioning of the limestone casing of the subterranean corridors. Positioning marks normally carry information such as the numbers of the courses, indications of placements (above, below, etc.), and the number of the stone in the course (Arnold 1991, 20). Such information is completely lacking in this case. The two graffiti would also be unusually ornate and complex for setting marks (cf. for example Arnold 1991, 21, fig. 1.21).

the later New Kingdom, is clear from the presence of secondary, modest burials in or adjacent to many of the monumental tombs (e.g. Firth and Gunn 1926; Quibell and Hayter 1927; Goneim 1957, 23–29; Kanawati et al. 1984, 59–80; 1988, 42–48; Raven 1991; Sowada et al. 1999; Raven et al. 2006–7, 34–37; Raven and Van Walsem 2011, 35–47). Indeed, the very practice of burying the dead in simple pit-burials in or near the tombs of the highest elite, particularly that of Horemheb, which became the focus of a cult, should perhaps be interpreted as a premeditated devotional act aimed at posthumous interaction or as a wish for posthumous upward mobility through the appropriation of an elite tomb.

Graffiti as a Ritual Act

In addition to devotional motivations, there are indications that point to a ritual dimension for certain groups of graffiti.²² Repetition and standardisation are commonly recognised features of ritual (Muir 1997, 6). As already noted by Helck (1952, 40), certain types of written graffiti follow firmly established formulae and are extremely repetitive in their content.²³ Fischer-Elfert (2003, 132), Kahl (2006, 25–29) and Verhoeven (2012, 57) therefore suggested that writing visitors' graffiti was a topic taught at school. The subgroup of antiquarian or descriptive graffiti, which praise specific monuments and their owners, may particularly be considered a ritualised reaction to what is commonly called the 'Address to the Living' (Navrátilová 2007, 131–32, 2010). In this address, which is not only inscribed on tomb walls but also on stelae and statues, tomb-owners ask passers-by or visitors for offerings or a prayer (Müller 1975, 293; Salvador 2014, 153–54). In ancient Egypt the survival of an individual was amongst other factors linked to the memory of his or her name, which was revitalised each time it was pronounced or even read. Thus, to keep the name of a person alive through a graffiti, by identifying a certain monument with the name of its owner, can be interpreted as a benevolent, ritualistic act. This interpretation is supported by one of the more explicit statements from ancient Egypt as to the purpose of visitors' graffiti in tombs, dating to the Saite Period: '*Wherever you wish, write on the available*

²² It is important to point out that ritual activities are not necessarily highly elaborate ceremonies. A ritual act can be as simple as making the sign of the cross upon entering a church or uttering a prayer for a safe journey.

²³ This observation illustrates that not all written graffiti are as individualistic as some scholars argue (e.g. Peden 2001, xxi). The same holds true for pictorial graffiti that emulate already present decorations by replicating deities, offering tables, sacred barks, or flower bouquets, or adhere to otherwise conventional patterns and motifs, both in form and content.

surfaces, so that a man speaks to his companion, cut [in stone] in the available surfaces; it is there that it will be found to later serve as a motto' (Kuhlmann 1973, 210). While it is hard to determine whether this invitation was also extended in earlier periods and in other tombs, it seems that certain types of graffiti were sometimes welcomed in tomb contexts.

Textual graffiti may not have been unique in their capacity to materialize ritual acts. Certain types of representations, especially those of an intrinsically-religious nature, such as gods (Fig. 9), point towards a ritual dimension for some of the figural graffiti as well (cf. Froot 2013, 289–90). Most striking in this respect is a group of nine graffiti of standing jackals depicted atop standards in the tomb of Ptahemwia (Fig. 10). The standards are often accompanied by a bulge that is otherwise commonly identified as a uraeus (Graefe 1986, 863; Evans 2011). Although identifying labels are absent, it is reasonable to assume on the basis of analogous pictorial evidence that these images represent either Anubis or Wepwawet. Both these canine gods are intimately linked with the funerary cult, and it should therefore not be a matter of surprise if several ritual acts involving them were to be found amongst the graffiti in a tomb. Two aspects of these figures stand out in particular. First, differences in style and technique – most figures being scratched, but some being incised – strongly suggest that the jackals were applied by different individuals, each with their own idiosyncratic *modus operandi*. Second, all jackals face west and are oriented towards the inner sanctum of Ptahemwia's central chapel. This distinct pattern suggests that the orientation towards the focus of the funerary cult was an important part of the graffiti's creation. The frequency and the recognisable system in which these graffiti occur strongly suggest that they were purposeful messages with symbolic efficacy. This impression is enhanced by the medium in which most examples were executed. No less than eight out of nine specimens were originally painted in red ochre, implying that those responsible for their execution had to bring writing equipment to the tomb.

While it is difficult to establish the exact reasons for creating these graffiti, one may perhaps assume them to be a means of communication with the divine, intended to secure divine protection for the graffitist, the tomb-owner(s),²⁴ or both. If so, these graffiti were expressions of awe and piety intended to propitiate the benevolent aspects of mortuary deities to obtain safe conduct in their domain. Anubis' role as guardian of

²⁴ This practice may also have been connected with the use of the western chapels for mass burial, including a large number of children and adolescents (cf. Raven et al. 2006–7).

the necropolis and Wepwawet's capacity of *psychopompos* would certainly fit such an interpretation. Representations of Anubis sitting atop a shrine and protecting the deceased are very common from the Middle Kingdom onwards, and occur on a great variety of objects as well as in tomb paintings.²⁵ While jackal graffiti are lacking elsewhere in the Leiden concession area, they appear to have been commonplace throughout the Nile Valley. For example, a jackal head graffito is incised in the tomb of Aper-El at the Abwab el-Qotat/Bubastieion (Zivie 1988, pl. 14). Parallels are also present in tomb N13.1 in Asyut, where three representations of dogs/jackals have been found. One of these may have been represented on a divine stand (Ursula Verhoeven, personal communication). Even more striking are the graffiti of standing jackals incised on a Thirteenth Dynasty stela from Abydos that is now kept in the Louvre (Louvre C8, Staring 2011, 148–50) (Fig. 11).²⁶ As with the graffiti in the tomb of Ptahemwia, these figures appear to have been executed by several individuals using different styles and techniques, and are all facing a representation of Min-Horus to whom the adorations on the stela are dedicated.²⁷ Jackal graffiti thus seem to occur repeatedly, over prolonged periods and at widespread locations. The placement of these graffiti on tomb walls and stelae furthermore appears to follow a recognisable system in that they are oriented towards important foci of the funerary cult. As such, it is tempting to interpret them as standardised ritual acts, possibly reflecting folk practices and beliefs connected to the maintenance and protection of the deceased. The fact that each jackal graffito in the tomb of Ptahemwia respected previous inscriptions, and was in turn, respected, would

²⁵ For example, in the Valley of the Kings tombs were sealed with images of Anubis to protect the dead against harmful forces. In his mortuary temple at Thebes pharaoh Amenhotep III erected large statues of Anubis protecting an image of the king between its forepaws (Jaritz 1992). Two Ramesside (thus later added) limestone plinths in the tomb of Horemheb in Saqqara, positioned on either side of the doorway at the west end of the statue room, once had figures in the round of a recumbent Anubis (Martin 1989, 70–72, pls 68–71). Limestone statues of Anubis have furthermore been found in the vicinity of the Leiden concession area (Munro 1988, pl. 6: dedicated by Nefermes and Neferrenpet) and at the Bubastieion (Late Period statuettes, e.g. Jeffreys and Smith 1988, pl. 26a; Manchester Museum acc.no. 11498). In the post-New Kingdom levels of the Teti Pyramid North cemetery, mummified canines (dogs) were found in association with human burials. This led the excavators to interpret these dogs as theriomorphic manifestations of Anubis, the dogs, practically speaking, being amuletic animal mummies (Hartley et al. 2010, 27–29). Jackal-shaped amulets were also worn by the dead to propitiate the protective powers of Anubis and Wepwawet (Andrews 1994, 46–47).

²⁶ These canines can be interpreted as Anubis or Wepwawet. The latter deity is perhaps alluded to in the epithet in front of Horus-Min: *wp(i) w3.wt šmꜥ.w Mh.w*, 'Opener-of-the-ways of Upper and Lower Egypt'.

²⁷ The resulting alignment of figures is reminiscent of the New Kingdom Salakhana votive stelae from Asyut, dedicated to Wepwawet (Munro 1962; DuQuesne 2007). As opposed to the Salakhana stelae, the jackals on Louvre C8 are not part of the original decoration and are oriented towards Min.

also suggest that such practices were considered both appropriate and accepted forms of devotion.²⁸ This is further supported by the observation that none of the jackal graffiti have suffered defacement, despite being obvious to the casual observer due to the sharp contrast between the red pigment and the white limestone background.

Other figural graffiti such as those depicting *tyet* knots, *wedjat* eyes, or lotus flowers, might also have served an apotropaic purpose. A graffito of a *tyet* knot occurs in the tomb of Maya and Meryt, where it is incised into a painted *tyet* knot belonging to the official tomb decoration (Martin 2012, pl. 59.1) (Fig. 12). The *tyet* was closely associated with the goddess Isis and widely used as an amulet. According to *Book of the Dead* spell 156 it was considered a powerful charm for the protection of the deceased in the afterlife (Faulkner 1985, 155). The *wedjat* eye, which is depicted in a graffito in Ptahemwia's courtyard (Fig. 13), is perhaps the best known of all Egyptian protective symbols.²⁹ According to one myth it represents the eye of Horus which was plucked out by the god Seth and later restored by the god Thoth, making it into a symbol of wholeness, good health, and regeneration. Others associate it with the eye of Ra, which functioned as a violent force that subdued the sun god's enemies. The *wedjat* might therefore be imbued with both the healing power of the 'sound eye' of Horus and the protective power of the ferocious goddess who was the eye of Ra (Pinch 1994, 110). With these properties, the *wedjat* was clearly a motif well-suited to benevolent, ritualistic expressions associated with the protection of the deceased.³⁰ It features prominently in the decoration of New Kingdom tombs and also occurs on pyramidia, door lintels, and the lunette of stelae, often in combination with other protective symbols such as the *shen* ring and depictions of Anubis recumbent on a shrine. Lotus flowers, likewise, had many positive symbolic connotations. All growing plants were inherently symbolic of new life, but because the blue lotus flower (*Nymphaea caerulea*) closes and sinks under water at night only to rise and open again at dawn, it had

²⁸ If these graffiti depicted gods they may have been considered too hallowed to be interfered with.

²⁹ In the graffito in the tomb of Ptahemwia the graffitist made a mistake in the depiction of the markings around the falcon's eye, curling the 'teardrop' mark below the eye instead of the mark to its left. As the *wedjat* eye was also a hieroglyphic symbol, it is possible that the graffitist was not familiar with writing monumental hieroglyphs.

³⁰ Food offerings could also be called the Eye of Horus, for example in *Pyramid Texts* spell 87a–b. It is also possible that the graffitist had this symbolism in mind and intended the graffito to suffice instead of actual food offerings in the daily ritual.

particularly strong connotations of creation and rebirth (Andrews 1994, 88).³¹ Lotus images may also have evoked the image of the infant sun god, born from the primeval lotus, and thus symbolize the hope of rebirth (Pinch 1994, 109). It are perhaps such associations that account for the presence of the two lotus graffiti in the tomb of Ptahemwia (Fig. 14), with further examples being attested in the tomb of Maya and Meryt (Martin 2012, pl. 61), Horemheb,³² and Ramose (Martin 2001, 2, fig. 2). The solar association of these graffiti is perhaps hinted at by their location. No less than 10 out of the 11 examples in the Leiden concession area have been inscribed on the entrance doorway or east wall of the first courtyard of the tomb, and are thus oriented towards the rising sun.

The group of ritual graffiti can possibly be extended by including certain groups of animal graffiti, most notably depictions of baboons and lions. Although the baboon (Raven 2005, 36, pls 54–55; Raven and Van Walsem 2011, 29–30; Staring 2011, 153, fig. 8; Waseda University 2006, 90, No. 2, pl. 14.1) (Fig. 15) was associated with several deities, in particular Thoth, the funeral context of the graffiti suggests that they here may represent Hapy, one of the Sons of Horus, who was concerned with the protection of the deceased. Brown quartzite statues attributed to this god were found at Amenhotep III's mortuary temple at Thebes, one of which bears witness to the protective nature of the god in the epithet 'he who cuts off the face of him who cuts off your face' (Kozloff et al. 1992; Quirke and Spencer 1992). Alternatively, some of the baboon graffiti may depict Thoth, the patron god of scribes, in the guise of a baboon. Thoth's epithet 'true scribe of the Ennead' denotes his mediating qualities in the divine world, and perhaps some graffitists were invoking this intermediary role when scratching Thoth's representations into the walls of tombs (Stadler 2009; Froot 2013). Even if the proposed associations with Hapy or Thoth are incorrect, the baboon's ferocity would still turn it into a dangerous, apotropaic intercessory in the afterlife.³³ It

³¹ Cf. vignette DB chapter 81 (Wiese and Brodbeck 2004, fig. 89); painted on mummy cartonnage (Étienne 2006, fig. 95; Louvre N3661); wooden head of Tutankhamun placed on a lotus from tomb KV 62 (Cairo JE 60723).

³² Two lotuses scratched on the entrance to the tomb (unpublished). There is another depiction of a lotus in the tomb of Horemheb, but there it is part of a graffito of a pilgrim's foot (Martin 1989, 159, pl. 149.27). There is also an incised depiction of a lotus on a fragment of a stela or offering table found in the tomb of Horemheb (Schneider 1996, 15–16, pl. 6.52). A pottery ostrakon found between the tombs of Horemheb and Iniuia contains a graffito (black ink) of a lotus (Raven 2005, 79, pl. 103.82).

³³ Similar associations presumably underlie the selection of four baboon-like creatures for the protection of the mythical 'Lake of Fire' in the Egyptian underworld.

is also possible that graffiti of baboons were linked with rebirth and regeneration as a result of the baboon's sexual activity (cf. Andrews 1994, 67).

Graffiti of lions (Martin 1989, 158, pl. 147.15; Martin 2012, pl. 62.38) (Figs 16–17) can possibly also be interpreted as symbols associated with protection, death, and rebirth (cf. De Wit 1951). The lion's extraordinary strength, ferocity, and courage in combat rendered it a suitable protector and guardian against evil forces. This symbolism is evident on amulets, royal thrones, and various types of ritual furniture, such as funerary couches and embalming tables (Fig. 18). The lion was also portrayed on feeding cups for infants, magic wands, and rods. On the basis of the occasional inscriptions that accompany these representations, it is clear that they provided protection for pregnant women and infants, whom the Egyptians considered especially vulnerable to evil forces (Altenmüller 1965; Bourriau 1988, 114–16). From an early age, sculptures of lions were also occasionally set up flanking the entranceways to shrines and temples. Lions depicted in shrines also occur in tombs in the Valley of the Queens and private tombs at Thebes, where they are part of a series of apotropaic deities protecting gateways (Fig. 19) (Waitkus 1987; Assmann 1991a, 153, pl. 44). Leonine imagery furthermore abounds in ancient Egyptian religious iconography and is associated with various deities in the Pharaonic pantheon, including lioness goddesses such as Tefnut, Pakhet, Bastet, and Mut. Most notably, there was Sekhmet, the consort of Ptah at Memphis, who was represented as a woman with the head of a lioness. The name of the goddess, 'The Powerful One', refers to her wild and potentially dangerous character, which was a common feature of leonine goddesses (Sternberg 1984, 324). Sekhmet was considered the protector of the Pharaoh and the gods, and beginning in the 18th Dynasty (as early as the reign of Thutmose III), she had a special place of reverence in the southern part of the pyramid temple of Sahure at Abusir as 'Sakhmet of Sahure' (Borchardt 1910, 120–35; Baines 1973, 12–13; Bareš 2000, 5–9; Navrátilová 2007, 49–54; Wildung 2010, 275–77; Khaled 2011). Graffiti, stelae, and private votive statuettes found at the site provide evidence for the existence of a cult. It may be this goddess who is represented in a lioness graffito in the tomb of Maya and Meryt (Fig. 17). Lions also had strong solar associations. Most notably, the lion-god Aker guarded the gateway to the Netherworld through which the sun-god passed each day, allowing him to be born each morning and die each evening. In sum, lion graffiti in tombs may be interpreted as potent symbols of protection and/or rebirth, ensuring that the deceased would be protected and reborn in the afterlife.

Graffiti of geese (Martin 1989, 158, pl. 147) (Fig. 20) might likewise be associated with the regenerative associations of the animal. According to *Coffin Texts* spell 223 the world hatched out of an egg laid by the 'Great Cackler' or 'Great Honker', and the deceased is himself presented as another egg inside that Great Cackler waiting to hatch in the same way. In *Pyramid Texts* spells 336a/b and 1122a/b the deceased king hopes to ascend to the sky in the form of a goose. Funerary statuettes of geese discovered in the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings are presumably a later expression of these regenerative ideas (Abitz 1979; cf. also Davies 1920, pl. 17). A graffito of a goose on the roof of the Khonsu temple at Karnak (Jacquet-Gordon 2003, pl. 53.140) (Fig. 21) can potentially be interpreted as a symbol of Amun. The Nile goose was associated with this god because of its association with the creation of the primeval world.³⁴

Another graffiti-motif with a probable apotropaic function is that of the warrior with shield and spear (Martin 2012, pl. 61.27) (Fig. 22). This motif is reminiscent of depictions of hieracocephalous deities found on Late Period ostraca in the Saqqara area (Martin 2001, 43, pl. 33.63) (Fig. 23). These have been interpreted as depicting Horus combating Apophis, as represented, for example, on contemporary hypocephali (Raven 1980, pl. 3). It is possible that these ostraca, like certain types of graffiti, should be interpreted as products of meaningful ritual acts rather than mere trial pieces or idle sketches.³⁵ This hypothesis is not unattractive as the imagery of other ritual graffiti, such as lions (Raven 2005, pl. 103.81), *wedjat* eyes (Martin 1997, pl. 105.88), lotus flowers (Raven 2005, pl. 103.82; Schneider 1996, pl. 6.52), and gods (Martin 1997, pl. 105.90; Raven 2001, pl. 31.34), commonly appears on ostraca found in the New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara.³⁶ Particularly suggestive of a ritual function are two ostraca from the tomb of Tia and Tia, which contain a part of the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula (Martin 1997, pl. 104.74) (Fig. 24), and a depiction of a smoking, arm-shaped censer with the

³⁴ For a round-topped stela depicting two geese with 24 eggs (no inscriptions), see: Lacau 1909–16, 200, pl. 61: Cairo CG 34155 = JE 36161 from Karnak.

³⁵ Stevens (2006, 153–63) similarly suggested that some ostraca from domestic contexts at Amarna may have been used as cult images in the realm of private religion. In tomb contexts, ostraca with depictions of humans, heads, and faces may also have had a devotional character.

³⁶ Egyptologists typically deal with specific types of artefacts, but symbolism that crosses object boundaries may be vital to understanding how objects were understood and used. It could even be argued that a strict separation between 'ritual graffiti' and 'ritual ostraca' on the basis of their medium may be more of a modern concept that is untenable for ancient Egypt.

name of Amun in hieroglyphs below (Martin 1997, pl. 104.75) (Fig. 25).³⁷ The *hṭp-dī-nsw* formula is a well-known offering connected with the provision of the deceased that is understood as part of a ritual (Barta 1968, 267, 270–71),³⁸ while censuring rites were endowed with magic and associated with themes of rejuvenation and deification.³⁹ In some cases the ritual interpretation of ostraca gains additional support from the character of their decoration. While certain examples contain depictions of great artistic merit (Fig. 26), others bear only crudely executed representations that can hardly be considered trial pieces or sketches for wall reliefs from the hand of an accomplished draughtsman (e.g. Raven 2001, pl. 31.34) (Fig. 27). Like graffiti, ostraca could be created by individuals at little to no financial cost to themselves. In addition, ostraca were highly portable, meaning that they could have been prepared at a time and place convenient to the donor, for example within the home, in anticipation of a visit to the necropolis.

Further possible ritual graffiti include a graffito on an unfinished stela from the tomb of Mery-Neith (Raven and Van Walsem 2011, [4]). This graffito depicts a standing mummy that is being held by a kneeling widow (Fig. 28). The scene is very similar to offering scenes attested elsewhere in the Leiden concession area.⁴⁰ For example, a scene in the tomb of Khay (Martin 2001, 13, pls 8 and 52) shows Khay's mummy standing in front of his tomb-chapel with his widow kneeling at his feet and his son burning incense. Above, 12 columns of text illustrate the depicted activity, reading: *'Burning incense for Osiris, foremost of the West, Wenennefer, lord of the [Sacred Land?], that he may give offerings which come forth (upon his altar) to the Osiris, the*

³⁷ Also suggestive in this context is a roughly round-topped ostrakon from the tomb of Tia and Tia which essentially duplicates the decoration of a stela (Martin 1997, pl. 104.16). It consists of two registers with adoration scenes without any writing. While it is possible to interpret the ostrakon as a trial piece, it might also have been considered a crude 'stela' in its own right. Unlike formal stelae, it could have been produced at virtually no cost and as such it may have mimicked the votive gifts of the better off.

³⁸ The Egyptians believed that their vital life force continued to live after death, and needed to be sustained through renewed daily offerings. The *hṭp-dī-nsw* formula served as a safeguard in case real offerings ceased to be made, and its recitation was considered sufficient to provide the deceased with all of the basic amenities, such as food, drink, and clothing. Navrátilová (2010, 315) and Ragazzoli (2013, 276) mention the presence of *hṭp-dī-nsw* graffiti in Theban funerary monuments.

³⁹ Censuring rites had the ability to breathe vitality into inanimate objects, including offerings, statues, and the body of the deceased. During fumigation the body of the deceased appears to have 'inhaled' the breath of the god Osiris in the form of incense. Sharing the god's breath not only rejuvenated but also bestowed godhood onto the deceased. This symbolism is reflected in Egyptian lexicon as the word for incense, *sntr*, literally means 'to make divine'. The gift-giving nature of fumigation is hinted at by the censer's arm shape, which imitated the *drp* hieroglyph for 'offering' (Wise 2009).

⁴⁰ For a similar scene from Saqqara, see Martin 1985, pls. 20 and 22, scene [5]).

overseer of traders Khay, [justified]'. Potentially, the graffito in the tomb of Mery-Neith acts as a synecdoche for such an offering scene, in which case its ritual connection to the maintenance of the dead would be clear.⁴¹

The large numbers of ship graffiti in the Saqqara necropolis are more ambiguous in nature.⁴² The ships in the necropolis represent modest river boats rather than sacred barques, and as such their creation may be rooted as much in mirth as in piety. Twentieth-century ship-graffiti from Newfoundland, Canada, suggest that of key significance may be their potential to convey the relative importance of ships and shipping within the society of the graffitists (Turner 2006, 261). The Nile was a vital waterway for the transportation of people and goods from the earliest times of Egyptian history, and it would not be a matter of surprise, therefore, if similar ideas prompted the production of a number of Egyptian ship graffiti (Fig. 29). Another possibility is that certain ship graffiti simply represent idle sketches. Ships form a common element of the tomb iconography of all periods and could have inspired graffitists to create similar images. However, the funerary context of the graffiti may also suggest that they had a deeper meaning. Perhaps ship graffiti in tombs were intended to provide symbolic transportation for the deceased to help them undertake journeys in the hereafter, such as the pilgrimage to Abydos.⁴³ It is also possible that ship graffiti were left as a thanksgiving for a safe passage to the tomb⁴⁴ or commemorated the presence of the graffitist in a manner comparable to the *plantae pedis* (cf. Dijkstra 2012, 73–75). It may be important in this respect that nearly all of the ship graffiti in the New Kingdom necropolis were left on tomb entrances.

⁴¹ The graffito is also very similar to depictions of the *Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth* in funerary papyri and tomb paintings, although the pivotal funerary priests are not depicted.

⁴² Ship graffiti are very common along the Nile Valley and examples have been found deep inland at sites such as Jebel Tjauti in the Western Desert (Darnell 2002) and Rod el-Air in Sinai (Gardiner and Peet 1952; Wachsmann 1998, 30–38). The fact that these graffiti are far removed from the sea and waterways strongly suggests that they had both function and meaning.

⁴³ The voyage to Abydos to visit the burial place of Osiris was an important religious duty for any Egyptian that symbolised their own resurrection and rebirth (Dodson and Ikram 2008, 123). It was regularly depicted in tombs in connection with other funerary rituals beginning in the Eighteenth Dynasty (Altenmüller 1975). According to Manniche (1987, 41) ship models were set up in Theban tombs during one of the annual festivals to help the deceased undertake the journey to Abydos.

⁴⁴ Alternatively, they could be prayers for a safe passage on journeys yet to come. Today such prayers may hardly seem necessary for journeys across the calm waters of the Nile, but it is important to acknowledge that the current river bears little semblance to its pre-1900 state. Before the construction of the Aswan Dam it was much more dangerous to navigate the river during the low-Nile period for any but the smallest Nile boats as sand banks caused groundings and capsizes (Cooper 2014).

The meaning of gaming board graffiti is also open to various interpretations (Fig. 30). These graffiti may simply have provided a physical surface for mundane amusement, but they also could have carried ritual connotations. The introduction to Chapter 17 of the *Book of the Dead* describes the deceased playing the game of *senet*. The accompanying vignette shows the deceased seated at a checkerboard playing against an invisible opponent. The lack of an opponent suggests that, at least during the New Kingdom, *senet* became a metaphor for the deceased's journey into the afterlife in which winning the game was equated with a safe arrival and acceptance in the underworld (Pusch 1984, 852; Dodson and Ikram 2008, 111). Perhaps graffiti of gaming boards were made with this idea in mind and were intended to be used by the deceased to ensure his or her rebirth. It is also possible that such boards were used by the living to ritually ensure the well-being of their deceased relatives.

As suggested by an inscription from the Saite tomb of Ibi, copying parts of the tomb decoration may sometimes also have been encouraged by the deceased.⁴⁵ Most remarkable in this context is the attempt by a graffitist to copy a depiction of Ptahemwia on the north wall of his tomb (Fig. 31). Because all images of the deceased, in relief or painted depictions or even in spellings of their name, could function as a secondary repository for the spirit, leaving such images may have been considered a benevolent act.

A special group of graffiti that has so far remained unmentioned is that of depictions of royalty. The marked stress on such graffiti in the Leiden concession area has been connected with the later cult of Horemheb and his queen, Mutnodjmet, who was buried here, when this king's private tomb was nominally transformed into a royal memorial temple (Raven and Van Walsem 2011, 29). The limestone elements of the entrance gateway to the tomb display a marked patina and numerous shallow scratches, as if they were exposed to the elements and suffered from the passage of numerous visitors. It does not seem unreasonable to postulate that some participants of the cult left graffiti of royalty, most notably royal heads, as part of ritualistic acts. Perhaps these graffiti served as votive offerings seeking grace or giving thanks to the King. Several graffitists may have subsequently deviated from their course and left graffiti of royalty

⁴⁵ 'Copy from whatever you wish on empty papyrus, in order that my name will be known for the everlasting future ...' (Kuhlmann 1973, 209–10).

in the surrounding tombs as well (Fig. 32).⁴⁶ While this association between the cult of Horemheb and the graffiti of royalty is plausible, it is important to note that royal head graffiti are not restricted to the Saqqara area alone. Similar representations can be observed in Abydos (Fig. 33),⁴⁷ Asyut (Ursula Verhoeven, personal communication) and Karnak (Jacquet-Gordon 2003), albeit much less frequent in number. However, at places like Abydos and Karnak there would have been numerous royal figures in the existing temple decoration that could have inspired graffitists to create similar depictions. In private tombs the situation was very different – especially at Saqqara where, compared to Thebes, only a limited number of tombs contained official depictions of the King.

When drawing these seemingly disparate motifs together, it becomes clear that many figural graffiti are loaded with symbols that focus on themes of rebirth, regeneration, and the protection of the deceased. This choice of subject matter combined with the funerary context of the graffiti strongly suggests that such symbols were left as part of the conscious efforts of the living to influence the fortunes of the deceased.⁴⁸ In accord with the basic, imagistic principle of Egyptian magic, figural

⁴⁶ Of the 12 graffiti of humans in the tomb of Ptahemwia, no less than seven depict royalty. The tomb of Maya and Meryt has three further examples of royal heads, one wearing the blue crown (Martin 2012, pls 59.5, 61.19). In addition, there is a graffito in this tomb that depicts only the blue crown (Martin 2012, pl. 62.35). The tomb of Ramose has one example of a royal head wearing the blue crown (Martin 2001, 2, fig. 2). The tomb of Horemheb contained a limestone ostrakon depicting a king wearing the blue crown with uraeus slaying a foreign foe (Schneider 1996, 15, pl. 6.46), and a miniature stela depicting a king with blue crown and uraeus (Schneider 1996, 18, pl. 8.62). An additional pottery ostrakon with a head with uraeus comes from the tomb of Maya (Raven 2001, 38, pl. 35.141) and a stone ostrakon with a royal head with the blue crown was found in the tomb of Pay (Raven 2005, 73, pl. 98.17). This tomb also contained two further pottery ostraca with heads, including royal heads with the blue crown and uraeus (Raven 2005, 79, pl. 103.76, 78). A limestone ostrakon with a royal figure wearing the blue crown holding an *ankh*-sign was found south of Horemheb's First Pylon (Raven and Van Walsem 2011, 102 [103]). Another pottery ostrakon with a fragmentary depiction of a royal figure with blue crown was found east of Tia's forecourt (Raven and Van Walsem 2011, 104 [109]).

⁴⁷ Unpublished graffito of a standing king wearing the blue crown, incised on the undecorated dado of a wall (close to pavement level) in the memorial temple of Ramesses II at Abydos. The lower part of the king's body is roughly incised, while the upper part, head, and right hand are carefully executed. Surrounding the head are another blue crown and part of a face (Daniel Soliman, personal communication).

⁴⁸ When it comes to protective symbols, the notion of 'the more, the better' seems to have applied. If one symbol gave protection, multiple would furnish even more. For this reason, during the Third Intermediate Period some forms of *wedjat* amulets consisted of four *wedjats* instead of one (Andrews 1994, 44). Similar motivations may also have prompted the inclusion of six *wedjat* amulets in the grave of a child at Matmar, which was a far larger number than in any other grave at the site (Goulding 2013, 26–27). The Egyptians considered infants and young children especially vulnerable to evil forces and as such the child in this grave may have required greater protection.

graffiti may well be considered prayers in their own right, which were set in enduring stone to commemorate the deceased and secure favours on their behalf.⁴⁹ If the purpose of the accessible spaces of the tomb was to provide a space to commemorate and perform rituals for the deceased, then leaving such prayers in the form of figural graffiti can be understood as fulfilling such expectations.⁵⁰ In short, they can be seen as part of the *Besucherkult*, answering to the implicit and, in case an Address to the Living was present, explicit wishes of the tomb-owner for maintenance and protection.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Contemporary written sources indicate that the dead were considered very powerful and negative spirits of the deceased were on occasion held responsible for a variety of problems for the living, ranging from property disputes to ill health. On occasion the living wrote ‘*Letters to the Dead*’ (Gardiner and Sethe 1928; Wente 1990, 210–219; Harrington 2013, 34–37) to request the deceased to desist from exerting malign influences or to start legal proceedings in the afterlife against a fellow spirit who was held responsible for creating problems for the author of the letter. The Letters to the Dead suggest that the deceased were considered personalities to whom the living reacted pragmatically. It is possible, therefore, that some graffiti were not simply applied to commemorate or sustain the deceased, but were motivated by fear of an excellent *akh*-spirit.

⁵⁰ This interpretation does not contradict the so-called ‘sacralisation’ of the tomb in the course of the later New Kingdom. Ockinga (2007, 139, following Assmann 2003, 51) argued that in the later New Kingdom the tomb provided the deceased with ‘a place on earth where he can worship the gods and be close to them’. This idea is visually expressed in the tomb architecture at Saqqara through the mimicking of contemporary temple architecture in Thebes, and overtones relating to the personal veneration of the gods by the deceased are indeed strong in post-Amarna tombs. However, it is important to acknowledge that this new interpretation of the tomb is *laid over* the function of the tomb as place of commemoration and cult. Late New Kingdom tombs should be interpreted both as a temple for the veneration of the gods by the deceased and a temple for the veneration of the deceased by the living. This dualism is complimentary and mirrored in the decoration scheme of the tomb of Maya and Meryt, where the iconography of the accessible superstructure contains depictions relevant to the offering cult of Maya and Meryt (e.g. butchering scenes, offering bearers, depictions of the deceased in front of offering tables, etc.), while the iconography of the inaccessible substructure is almost completely dedicated to the veneration of the gods by the deceased.

⁵¹ There is such an appeal in the tomb of Maya (Frood 2007, 141–43; Martin 2012, 20) on the south reveal of the tomb pylon, and in the tomb of Tia (Martin 1997, 22) on the north wall of the inner courtyard. In his appeal Maya addresses ‘... *the people who come and wish to divert themselves in the West and walk about in the District of Eternity ...*’. As such his appeal was targeted at a general audience, who seemingly visited the Memphite necropolis to invigorate or amuse themselves. Tia, on the other hand, employed a somewhat more restrictive approach and specifically addresses ‘... *all you scribes who are skilled in [reading] hieroglyphs, all you chief priests of the temple of Ptah who will visit this [tomb]...*’. Such restricted appeals are sometimes taken as evidence that necropoleis were mainly visited by specialists. However, it is important to recognize that the evidence is also compatible with other readings, especially when one considers the physical, social, and psychological variables of the medium of the appeals in addition to and apart from the content they convey. For example, from a purely practical point of view one could seriously doubt the appropriateness of hieroglyphs as a medium to communicate with the illiterate because it would not be an effective means for the deceased to get their message across to this particular group, either exactly or approximately. From such a perspective the lack of appeals to the illiterate would be hardly surprising; they were not part of the intended audience of this particular medium. It is also possible that general appeals were considered too anonymous to be effective by many people, and perhaps hieroglyphs were used and specific groups of society invoked to make the appeals more personal. Because of the restricted literacy rates, the use of hieroglyphs may have helped to signify

Navrátilová (2010, 310–311) and Ragazzoli (2013, 271) already made a similar argument with regard to visitor inscriptions (*Besucherinschriften*). Yet, figural graffiti, too, were part of the magical mechanics that the living employed to interact with the deceased and/or the funerary gods after burial.

Importantly, Navrátilová and Ragazzoli both embed the phenomenon of graffiti making within a broader framework of commemoration and representation that was practised by the literate elite only. However, their strong emphasis on written graffiti necessarily restricts the range of practitioners to this group. If, on other hand, the idea is accepted that literacy was not a requirement for the production of figural graffiti in tombs, then it is possible to suggest that graffiti making may also represent aspects of lay piety at its most fundamental level, namely the informal, directly personal dialogue between an individual, the deceased and/or the gods of the necropolis. Educated scribes and priests were in many ways essential to the performative magic of the tomb, but it must be acknowledged that a large number of illiterate and less-literate individuals would have been able to interpret and react to information presented in tombs in the form of an image.⁵² The use of items such as amulets cut across boundaries of wealth

a shared scribal identity or group membership between the addressor and the addressees with the underlying aim of increasing the affective content (sympathy, empathy, etc.) of the appeals.

⁵² When people communicate they do not just utter their contributions randomly. Rather, they tailor their communicative acts, including the medium for sending or sharing information, to specific addressees – all this with a specific purpose in mind and under specific constraints. There is no doubt that only a small percentage of the ancient Egyptian population could read hieroglyphic texts. It is clear therefore that for the vast majority images must have been paramount in communicating and interpreting messages across time and space, even if only partially. The combination of both hieroglyphic texts and representations on tomb and temple walls suggests that 'written literacy' and 'visual literacy' were often combined to enhance the communicative success of messages. Readers who did not understand written text may have understood images and *vice versa* (compensation), while readers who understood both the text and the image may have gotten more out of the combination (collaboration). It is certainly possible that vital messages such as the 'Appeal to the Living' were intentionally communicated across different channels (effective redundancy) to address a heterogeneous audience, thereby increasing the likelihood that they would be noticed, understood, and reacted to. For example, depictions of desired products being born by attendants or piled on stands may have been designed to convey similar messages as the textual appeals, at least approximately, in a form that could be appreciated by virtually everyone, functioning as triggers for ritual response including the donation of offerings. Egyptologists tend to explain the combined use of image and text in tombs through magic alone: wall scenes were charged images supplemental to funerary texts and the offering ritual and were used as 'insurance' in case actual material offerings ceased to be made. However, in this as in other instances, 'magical' and 'rational' treatments may well have been paired, and the two methodologies can be seen as complementary rather than in conflict. Problems of dissemination of information contained in text may, of course, also have been overcome in other ways, including public recitation. In the tomb of Nefersekeru at Zawiyet Sultan scribes are requested to '*repeat the writings so that the illiterate and the workers know what is written on the walls of his tomb*' (Osing 1992, 43, 52, cf. Den Doncker 2012, 23). The fact that Nefersekeru specifically mentions the illiterate in his inscription provides a strong argument for their presence in this necropolis.

and class (Pinch 1994, 105), and it seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that many ancient Egyptians would have been familiar with the significance and basic meaning of common religious symbols such as the *wedjat*. The contents of humble graves throughout Egypt furthermore suggest that the same basic necessities for maintenance and protection in the afterlife applied whatever the economic level of the deceased (Smith 1992, 218–19; Grajetzki 2003).⁵³ As a corollary, it is highly likely that many Egyptians would have understood the function of a tomb or a grave as a place of commemoration and cult, and had a general understanding of what sort of behaviours and practices were desired of them in a funerary landscape.⁵⁴ It should also be stressed that cues for desired behaviour were encoded in the built environment itself, in the architecture, decoration, and furnishings of the tomb, which helped to make behavior more constant and helped to reduce the problem of totally idiosyncratic interpretation.⁵⁵ Such non-verbal prompts would have been much more ‘readable’ and easier to decode when the tombs were still in use, and ritual actors, their dress, behavior, interaction,

⁵³ Even though poorer burials often contained less and different provisions for the afterlife than the tombs of the elite, this cannot be simply taken as evidence for a lower commitment to funerary beliefs. The contents of poorer graves (figurines, amulets, etc.) are more likely to be a reflection of the limited economic means of the deceased as well as the limited self-sufficiency of most people to create certain types of objects such as inscribed stelae and statues.

⁵⁴ A related issue here is that the ability to employ specialists for the maintenance of the mortuary cult would have depended strongly on the wealth and social background of the deceased. In many cases this responsibility may simply have fallen to family or community members of the deceased (including the deceased’s son), whether literate or not, who carried out such duties according to varying levels of skill, technical knowledge, and commitment. By implication, we should allow for the possibility, or even inevitability, of slippage between the categories of ‘priest’ and ‘family member’. The knowledge and mortuary traditions of such groups may well have been passed down orally, perhaps in particular families, leaving no obvious material residue. Whatever the case, the essential is that illiterate individuals too would have been able to take care of the tomb and the image of the deceased; to learn, memorize, and recite the list of standard commodities, consisting of ‘*bread, beer, oxen, birds, alabaster, clothing, and every good and pure thing upon which a god lives*’; to bring food offerings to ‘feed’ the deceased, and so forth. Even if their practices would have been distortions or imperfect versions of the practices of the elite, it seems reasonable to postulate that any mortuary cult would have been preferable to no mortuary cult at all.

⁵⁵ The meaning of particular places is not constructed *de novo* through interaction in each case. Rather, once learned, places have associated expectations and norms that elicit predictable behaviour and proper responses (Rapoport 1990). In doing so, the built environment complements the regulatory function of social monitors (e.g. priests) and supernatural monitors (e.g. deities and the deceased). In the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis, the entrance gateways of the larger tombs (which mirrored the monumental gateways of an Egyptian temple), the recurrent use of well-known religious symbols, depictions of gods, etc. all provided visual prompts that helped visitors to identify the tomb as a sacred space and place of veneration, which, in turn, allowed them to adjust their behaviour accordingly. It is even possible that the use of images of gods and the deceased purposefully attributed a supernatural social agency to the tomb structure, giving visitors the feeling of being watched or monitored, thereby stimulating them to act and behave prosocially.

language, sounds (e.g. recitations, incantations), and smells (e.g. burned incense) were still directly observable.

Whereas the traditional trappings of self-presentation and religious expression in elite burials, such as stelae and statues, were expensive and exclusionary, graffiti could be created by individuals at no financial cost to themselves. They can perhaps be interpreted as low-cost forms of representation and commemoration that met the affordances and restrictions of the lower and illiterate echelons of Egyptian society.⁵⁶ Just because graffiti would have been free or inexpensive to make is no reason to suppose that they would have been considered of lesser value than traditional forms of ritual expression. The existence of invocation offerings, which caused no financial hardship for the speaker but nevertheless had lasting benefit for the deceased, clearly indicates that the value of ritual action was judged in more ways than simply financial. In fact, graffiti may have been considered a particularly valued component of the cultic 'tool kit' because they produced an enduring effect by being incised into the very fabric of the tomb itself. Unlike statues, stelae, and ostraca, graffiti could not be easily removed and de-contextualised.

Graffiti as Secular Expressions

While many textual and figural graffiti can be interpreted as resulting from ritualised or devotional acts, this by no means holds true for *all* ancient graffiti. The reason for choosing more secular motifs, such as certain geometric patterns, may rather have been driven by a *jeux d'esprit* or boredom. Although geometric shapes may have been used as identity markers in a pseudo-script, this is often difficult to prove beyond reasonable doubt, at least in the context of the Saqqara necropolis. Geometric shapes also do not appear to have had any intrinsic or apparent ritualistic properties.⁵⁷ Examples of *jeux*

⁵⁶ It is not easy to determine when the ritual graffiti discussed in this contribution were applied, but it is possible that in some cases this happened only after the tombs in the necropolis had been appropriated for secondary burials. On the whole, these burials are modest and do not belong to the privileged members of the elite. They mostly contain only a few funerary gifts, such as pots with foodstuffs and a small number of amulets, and in most cases the deceased was buried in an undecorated coffin or wrapped in a mat, without any coffin at all. Considering that mortuary cults would have been funded with the resources available, which, in these cases, appear to have been limited, graffiti may have been used as alternative, inexpensive methods to beatify and protect the deceased in the afterlife.

⁵⁷ A graffito of three incised triangles in the tomb of Maya and Meryt can perhaps be interpreted as representing the three main pyramids of Giza as suggested by Martin (2012, pl. 62.33). The exterior south face of the enclosure wall of the pyramid of Djoser was once covered with similar pyramid-shaped graffiti (Maarten Raven, personal communication), most of which have now faded or been erased by modern graffiti. Perhaps such graffiti were left in buildings to situate them within a larger sacred landscape.

d'esprit in the tomb of Ptahemwia may include a hieratic graffito, including part of the scribal text *Kemyt*, made by an apprentice scribe practising his art (Fig. 34). Making graffiti as part of an informal, pleasurable activity is also mentioned in textual graffiti commemorating a 'stroll' in which the graffitist explicitly states that he came to visit the necropolis simply to 'amuse' or 'invigorate' himself (Navrátilová 2007a).⁵⁸ While such mundane scribbles might approximate modern connotations of the term graffiti as mindless defacements, one should here too remain cautious not to make too apodictic statements. Most remarkable, especially given their significant quantity, is how unobtrusive the graffiti in the Leiden concession area are. Most graffiti are careful to respect the existing tomb decoration, the majority being located on the dado of the limestone casing and on undecorated wall surfaces in the courtyard. While this may hardly be surprising from a practical point of view (graffiti are better visible when not interfering with existing decoration and their size and number is also dependant on the amount of relatively flat space available), this observation does suggest that defacement of the monuments did not motivate those who left graffiti in the tombs of the Leiden concession area (cf. Benefiel 2010).⁵⁹ There is no cancelling out of elements or an attempt to 'appropriate' the tombs; indeed, many of the graffiti hardly aimed at attracting an observer's attention. Many examples are only shallowly incised below eye level and are quite difficult to discern even at close inspection, especially in direct sunlight. This suggests that the physical presence of the graffiti within the sacred space of the tomb was more important than their visibility.

Spatial Distribution and Relative Importance of Figural and Textual Graffiti

The following section considers the distribution and relative importance of textual and figural graffiti in the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis as a whole, as this may provide insights into how space was used, where graffiti have a tendency to appear, and in what way(s) graffiti were conditioned by the space in which they were executed. A corpus of 243 graffiti was compiled from nine New Kingdom tombs (224 graffiti) and stone

⁵⁸ Note, however, that piety was not incompatible with pleasure. Several graffiti address a prayer to the necropolis deities, but state at the same time that the scribe came 'to walk about [the necropolis] for leisure' (Quirke 1986, 88 n. 27).

⁵⁹ Textual graffiti in Theban tombs were likewise often careful to respect the official tomb decoration, and in some cases even interact with it. This demonstrates that some graffitists read and reacted to the official tomb decoration (Den Doncker 2012, 24; Raggazoli 2013, 274–75, 284).

elements taken from the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis that are now in public and private collections (19 graffiti).⁶⁰

Out of the 243 graffiti identified, 202 are figural (83.1%) and 41 (16.8%) textual. This shows that in the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis it was far more common to leave figural graffiti than to leave texts.⁶¹ The textual graffiti can be subdivided according to script: hieroglyphic (n=19) and hieratic (n=22). The almost even distribution of hieroglyphs and hieratic is noteworthy.⁶² Hieroglyphs were normally used only for monumental texts, whereas hieratic was mainly used for everyday purposes such as for writing administrative documents, legal texts, and letters. Although scribes generally would have been more familiar with hieratic, many of the graffitists in the New Kingdom tombs appear to have adapted their script to better 'fit' the monumental hieroglyphs used in funerary contexts, which were aimed at securing eternity (Assmann 1991b, 142–44) (Fig. 35). This use of the hieroglyphic script may reflect an immersion of the graffiti in the 'divine' world of the tomb rather than them being embedded in the 'real' world of the devout through the use of hieratic.

Following Dijkstra (2012), the figural graffiti can be divided into eight groups: human figures (n=95), human feet (n=9), animals (n=32), flowers (n=9), boats (n=18), geometric forms (n=18), furniture (n=3), and miscellaneous (n=18) (Fig. 36).⁶³ The 'human figures' category is the largest with 95 examples. Out of these, 40 depict only heads. 'Animals' represent the second largest category. Most species are only attested once (bovid, dog, crocodile, fish) or twice (horse, lion). Only three species occur more often and across several tombs: jackals (n=11), monkeys (n=7), and birds (n=5).

The spatial distribution of figural graffiti (Fig. 37) shows there was a clear preference to leave figural graffiti in tomb entrances (40.1%). The courtyards of the

⁶⁰ Each figure or text has been counted individually. A complete overview of the corpus is provided in Appendix 1.

⁶¹ Tomb N13.1 at Asyut has a markedly different distribution. Out of the 201 Pharaonic graffiti identified there, 142 (70.7%) are textual and 59 pictorial (29.3%).

⁶² The textual graffiti from the Memphite necropolis collected by Navrátilová (2007) show a different pattern. According to Navrátilová, 95.6% of the written graffiti in Abusir, Saqqara, and Dahshur were written in hieratic, whereas only two examples (4.4%), both dating to the Ramesside Period, were written in hieroglyphs. New Kingdom graffiti in tomb N13.1 in Asyut also predominantly used the hieratic script (Verhoeven 2012, 49).

⁶³ Defining categories largely depends on the nature of the data. For that reason, there are slight differences between the categories used here and those employed by Dijkstra. Most importantly, the category 'furniture' has been added and the category 'crosses' removed. In addition, the category 'gods and men' has been replaced with 'human figures' as the category 'gods' requires a confident interpretation of a figure, which is not always possible.

tombs were also a popular space for leaving figural graffiti (32.7%). Further into the tomb, towards the west, the number of figural graffiti decrease, and only very few figural graffiti are found in the chapels at the rear end of the tomb.⁶⁴ While at first glance it may be somewhat surprising to find so many figural graffiti in the relatively narrow entrances and passageways of tombs, the entrance is a place where a visitor might pause to get his bearings upon entering the tomb. Additionally, it may have been a pleasant location to sit in hot weather as there may have been shadow or a cooling draught. People would also have passed through entrances relatively frequently, thereby increasing the potential for inscribing, reading, and responding to existing graffiti (cf. Benefiel 2010). On a more metaphysical level, the doorway may perhaps have been considered a liminal zone *par excellence*, being a boundary between the realm of the living (profane) and the realm of the dead (sacred) (Chauvet 2011; Harrington 2013, 94). The courtyard, on the other hand, was a space where people spent time waiting during services in honour of the deceased (Assmann 2003, 51; Hays 2010, 8–9), which may have encouraged them to leave a graffito on the wall. In this large open space graffiti would also remain longer in the vision of earthly visitors and thus would have a greater chance of being read or seen by anyone entering the tomb.⁶⁵ In contrast, the less spacious side-chapels may have functioned as storage quarters and been less accessible. As evidenced by the tomb of Ptahemwia, at least some chapels, at a later stage, received subsidiary burials, restricting access and by extension the opportunity to leave graffiti. In contrast to figural graffiti, entrances do not appear to have been spaces of particular interest for leaving textual graffiti (Fig. 38). Most textual graffiti (29.2%) are located in courtyards, particularly in the second courtyards of the larger tombs, where they are inscribed in the vicinity of doorways and on stelae. There is a remarkable clustering of textual graffiti on the second pylon of the tomb of Horemheb, which suggests that graffitists were not only inspired by notions of space but also by already present graffiti. The same has been observed elsewhere in the Saqqara necropolis. For example, in Djoser's South Chapel graffitists attack each other, not by damaging each other's graffiti but by strongly commenting upon them (Černý and Gunn, in Firth and Quibell 1935, 78; Helck 1952; Navrátilová 2007, 100–1). A rude graffito in Userkaf's pyramid

⁶⁴ Although the side chapels of most tombs do not have a limestone revetment, people could still have left graffiti on the mud-plastered walls (either by painting or scratching).

⁶⁵ However, note that many graffiti hardly aimed at attracting an observer's attention, as noted above.

complex can potentially also be interpreted as a comment to an existing text (Navrátilová 2010, 310).⁶⁶

When the ratio of textual to figural graffiti is compared by tomb (Table 1; Fig. 39) it becomes clear that visitors to the tombs of Horemheb and Maya depended more on the written word than those to other tombs.⁶⁷ The tomb of the deified pharaoh had become a pilgrimage destination during the Nineteenth Dynasty, and as such may have attracted a greater number of elite or educated visitors than the surrounding tombs. When the ratio between textual and figural graffiti is compared with contexts outside of the funerary sphere another interesting point is revealed. Most notably, in temple contexts the emphasis on the written word is much higher still than in the tombs of Horemheb and Maya. However, based on these varied locations, it should not be surprising that a highly variable picture emerges in terms of the relative emphasis on textual or figural graffiti. Such variations ultimately reflect different sets of people frequenting different kinds of monuments for different reasons. As suggested by Navrátilová (2010, 329) diversity and representation are key words for describing ancient Egyptian graffiti, but this diversity can only be properly assessed and made visible if textual and figural graffiti are investigated as part of an integrated approach. Only then is it possible to consider the full range of human activities and social forces that resulted in their production.

Site	Total	Textual	Figural	Ratio of image to text
Horemheb	76	14	62	4.43
Khay	1	1	0	0
Maya and Meryt	60	9	51	5.67
Mery-Neith	9	2	7	3.50
Paser	3	2	1	0.50
Pay and Raia	12	5	7	1.40
Ptahemwia	48	4	44	11.00
Ramose	5	1	4	4.00
Tia and Tia	10	1	9	9.00
Hibis Temple*	269	146	123	0.84
Isis temple Aswan*	314	135	179	1.32
Khonsu temple**	334	230	104	0.45

⁶⁶ Textual responses to other graffiti are often straightforward to recognize and relatively easy to follow. In contrast it is far more difficult to unambiguously identify 'dialogues' between pictorial graffiti. In the latter case, the clustering of similar motifs made by different graffitists is possibly a useful criterion (e.g. the jackal graffiti in the tomb of Ptahemwia).

⁶⁷ These figures do not take into account the names and titles that devotionally 'tag' figures in the official tomb decoration.

Table 1: Overview of the ratio of figural vis-à-vis textual graffiti per tomb, with some temples added for comparison. * Graffiti described as 'modern' have not been taken into consideration. ** Figural graffiti with accompanying inscriptions have been counted as written graffiti. Figural graffiti forming composite scenes have been counted as a single graffiti. Where similar motifs have been added together without forming a composite scene, they have been counted individually.

Finally, it is possible in some cases to reconstruct the position that a graffitist assumed while making a graffiti by assessing the distance between the graffiti and the original pavement level. For the present study, walls were divided into segments: 0–50 cm; 50–100 cm; 100–150 cm; 150+ cm (Fig. 40). The majority (31.7%) of figural graffiti were added on the walls' lower sections, which indicates that graffitists most commonly assumed a seated or crouching position while making a figural graffiti. This tendency differs from that observed for textual graffiti, where a slight preference for a standing pose was observed.

Conclusion

The aim of this contribution was to counterbalance the tendency in Egyptological research to focus on textual graffiti and neglect figural graffiti. Although textual graffiti are relatively common in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara (n=41), they are nonetheless in a minority. Figural graffiti that have no associated text are far more common (n=202). It is clear, therefore, that by considering only the written evidence, previous studies of ancient Egyptian graffiti in the Saqqara necropolis have captured only part of a much larger phenomenon of graffiti making. The strong emphasis on written graffiti in these studies may also have introduced a significant social bias into their results as the written evidence necessarily restricts the range of graffitists to the literate members of the elite and sub-elite. The execution and content of figural graffiti, on the other hand, often hint at broader engagement and allow potential access to a broader section of ancient Egyptian society. In keeping with the imagistic principle of Egyptian magic, figural graffiti would have been directly associated with an individual or an object in much the same way as an inscribed name or text would have been and they would have been just as powerful magically speaking, setting the need for literacy aside. As such, figural graffiti in tombs may represent a meaningful and directly

personal interaction between the graffitist and the deceased and/or the funerary gods that did not require the mediations of a trained priest or scribe.

Admittedly, the interpretation of figural graffiti is challenging and subjective, but it is often possible to isolate reasonable possibilities by taking a close look at the context of the graffiti and by drawing upon the meaning and significance of similar motifs and symbols on other artefacts. What may seem to be mindless scribbles at first glance can become something much more sophisticated with detailed contextual analysis. As argued in this contribution, one should be cautious against drawing solid boundaries between textual and figural graffiti as the two are not necessarily disarticulated conceptually. In many cases the choice for one medium over the other may have to do more with the limited literacy rates of the New Kingdom and the problems of dissemination of information carried in word and image than with different motivations for the production of a graffito. It has been shown here that figural graffiti in tombs are rich in magical and mythological symbolism and can often be interpreted as figural prayers in their own right, which, like many of their written counterparts, were intended to mark the permanent presence of the graffitist in the tomb or to protect and beatify the deceased in the afterlife. As such, both textual and figural graffiti can be seen as part of the social and ritual interaction of which Egyptians wished to be part after their death and burial (cf. Assmann 2005, 41–56; 2010, 311), and as supplements to the more formal trappings of self-presentation and religious expression in the mortuary sphere, such as statues and stelae, many of which were expensive and exclusionary. In contrast, graffiti could be created by individuals at no financial cost to themselves and as such may have been a form of representation and commemoration that was within the means of the lower echelons of Egyptian society. As indicated by the presence of secondary burials, people with more modest means had access to the Saqqara necropolis, at least during the late New Kingdom, and the artefacts found in their graves, particularly amulets, suggest that they would have been familiar with the meaning and significance of common religious symbols such as the *wedjat* eye. There is, of course, little doubt that the scribal elite and sub-elite also produced figural graffiti as people might choose to draw instead of write (or use a combination of the two) for a variety of reasons. However, this interpretation must not stand at the beginning but at the end point of a comprehensive analysis that takes the archaeological context, the subject matter, and the manner of execution of a graffito into account.

Bibliography

The bibliography has been integrated in the general bibliography at the end of this thesis.

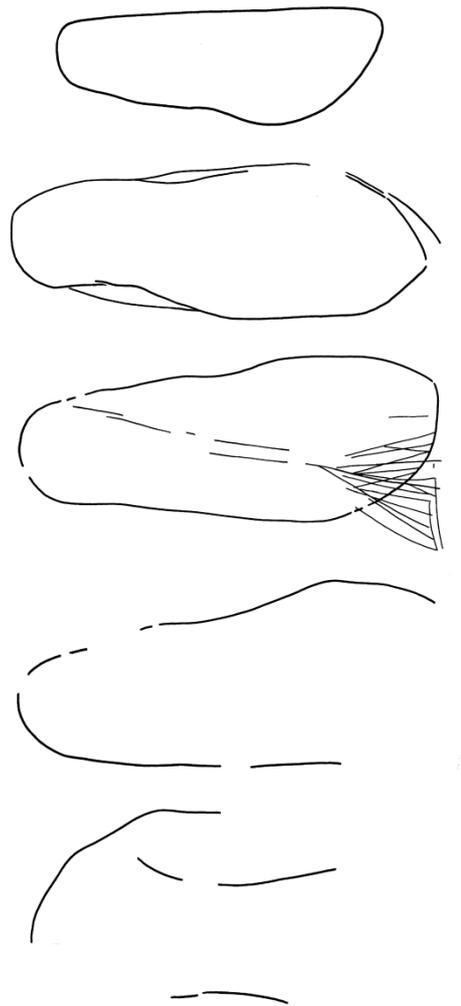


Fig. 1: Incised footprints on the pavement of the tomb of Maya and Meryt (Martin 2012, pl. 61.30). Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

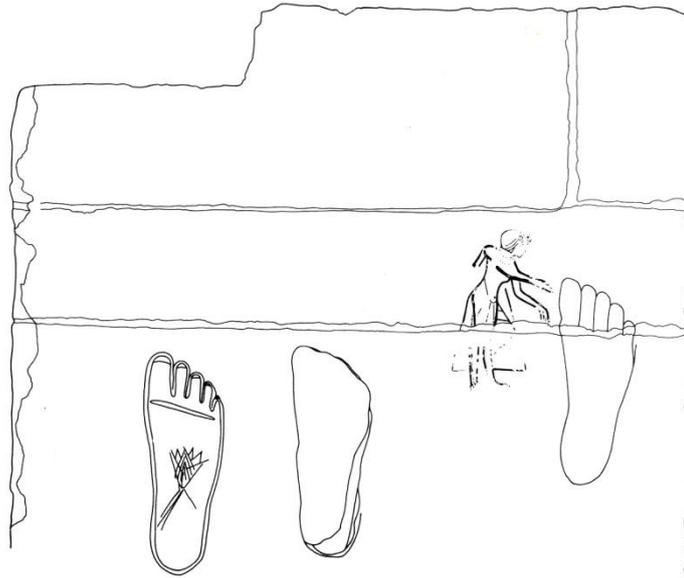


Fig. 2: Incised footprints on a statue niche in the tomb of Horemheb (Martin 1989, pl. 149). Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

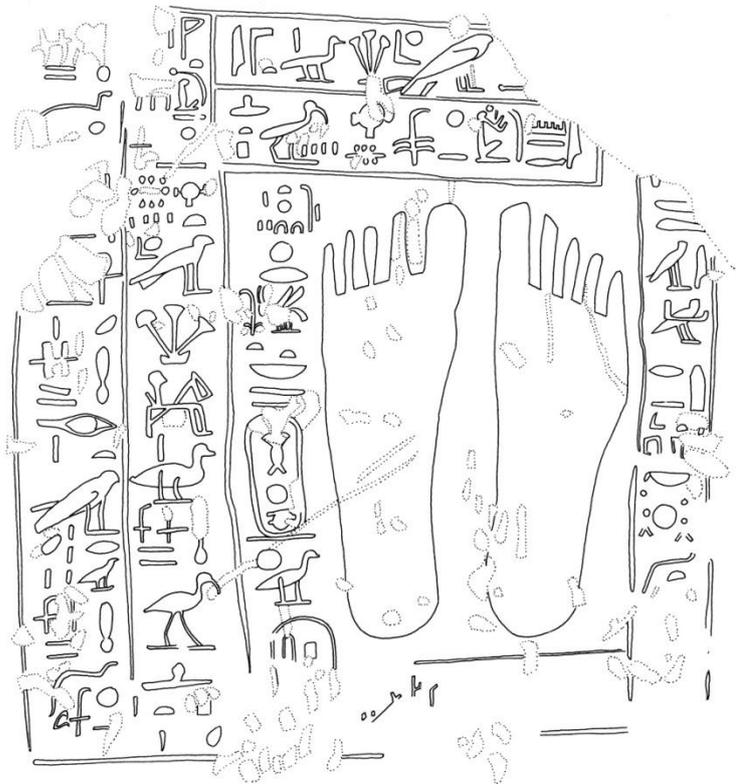


Fig. 3: Incised footprint on the roof of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak dating to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Jacquet Gordon 2003, pl. 106.275). The accompanying text states that the graffito is intended to make the name of the graffitist 'endure' (*iml mn rn-i*) in the temple of Khonsu for ever and ever. Image courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.



Fig. 4: Graffiti of personal names and titles carved next to figures belonging to the official tomb decoration in the pylon entrance of the tomb of Maya and Meryt (Martin 2012, pl. 12). Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

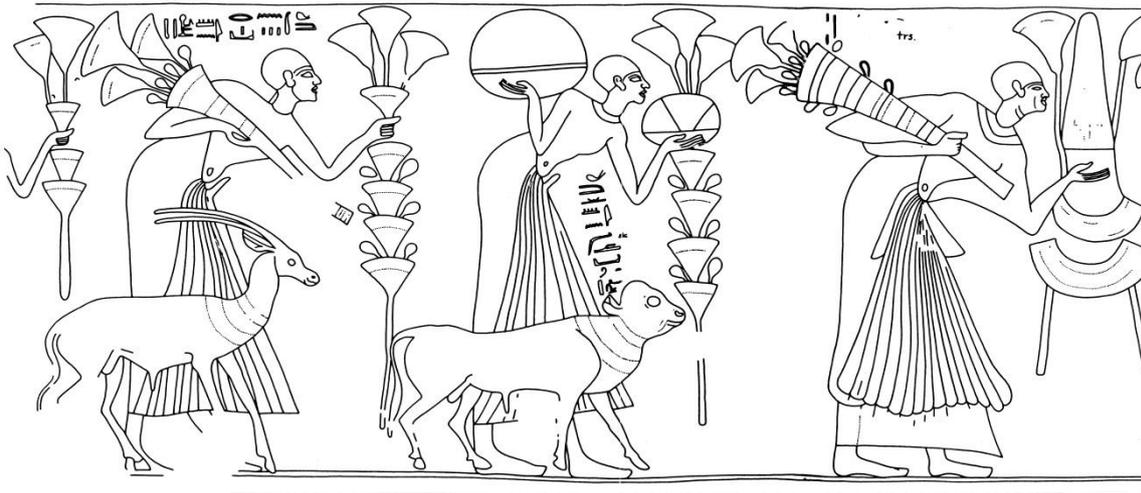


Fig. 5: Graffiti of personal names and titles carved next to figures belonging to the official tomb decoration in the inner courtyard of the tomb of Tia and Tia (Martin 1997, pl. 37). Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

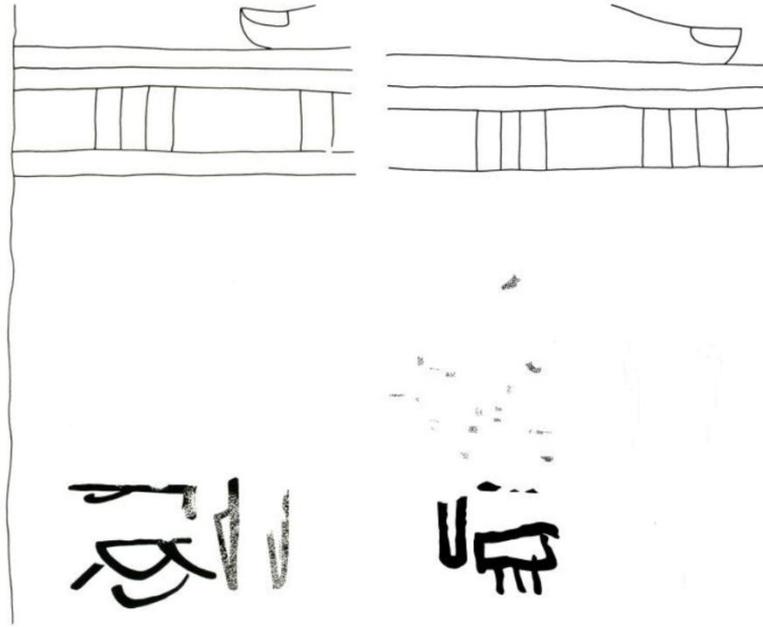


Fig. 6: Two hieratic *dipinti* of personal names in subterranean room K in the tomb of Maya and Meryt (Martin 2012, pl. 59.2–3). The *dipinti* were written upside-down and plastered over while the ink was still wet. Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.



Fig. 7: Graffiti of human figures in poses of adoration in the tombs of Tia and Tia (above: Martin 1997, pl. 93.324) and Maya and Meryt (below: Martin 2012, pl. 61.27). Images courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.



Fig. 8: Two graffiti in burial chamber O of the tomb of Maya and Meryt depicting women with unguent cones on their heads (Martin 2012, pl. 60.14–15). In both cases, the graffiti are unobtrusively placed below depictions of Meryt in two separate scenes. Drawing courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society. Photograph by Nico Staring.



Fig. 9: Graffito of the god Ptah in the inner courtyard of Tia and Tia, scratched on the flat upper surface of the unfinished triad statue (Martin 1997, pl. 93.320). Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

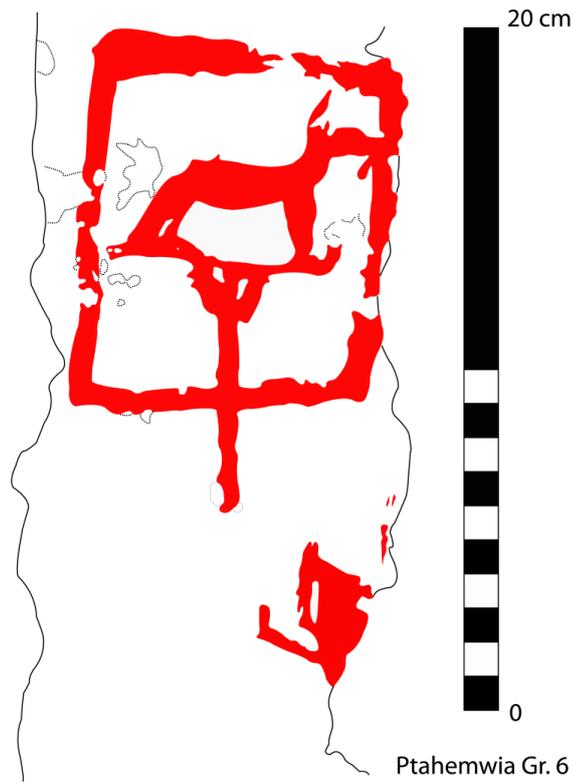


Fig. 10a: Dipinti of standing jackals atop standards in the tomb of Ptahemwia. Image by the authors.

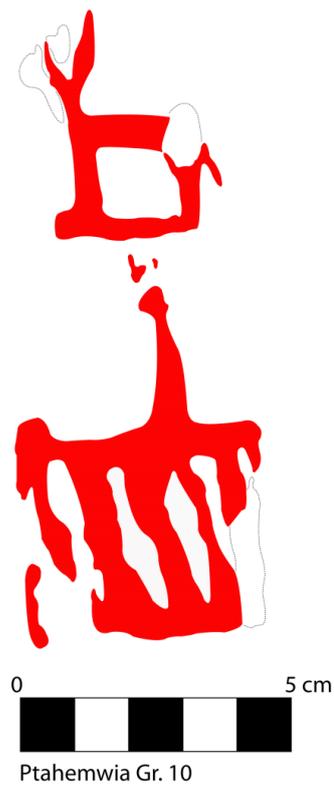


Fig. 10b: Dipinti of standing jackals atop standards in the tomb of Ptahemwia. Image by the authors.

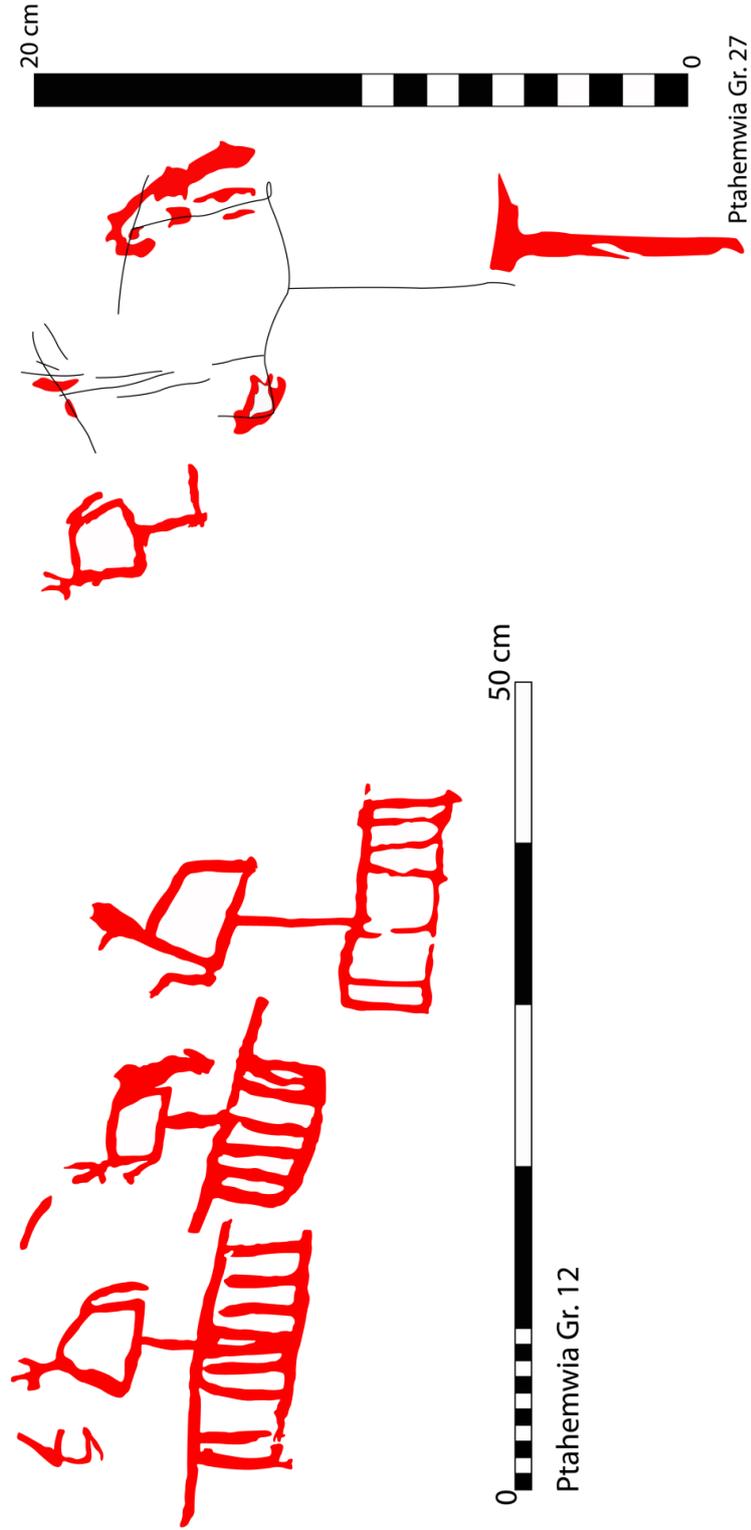


Fig. 10c: Dipinti of standing jackals atop standards in the tomb of Ptahemwia. Image by the authors.

Fig. 10d: Dipinti of standing jackals atop standards in the tomb of Ptahemwia. Image by the authors.

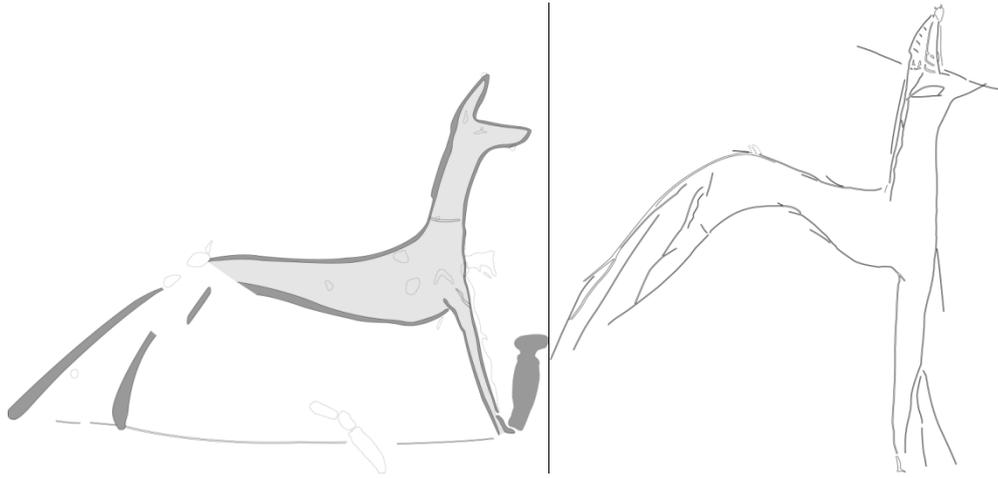


Fig. 11: Graffiti of standing jackals incised on a Thirteenth Dynasty stela from Abydos (Louvre C8). Images by Nico Staring.

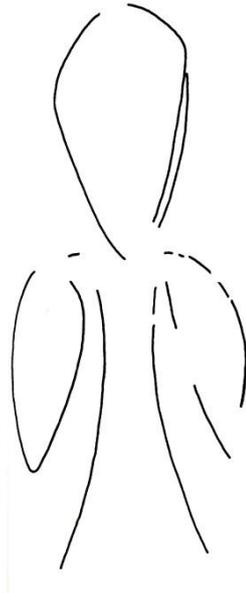


Fig. 12: Graffito of a *tyet* knot in the tomb of Maya and Meryt (Martin 2012, pl. 59.1). Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

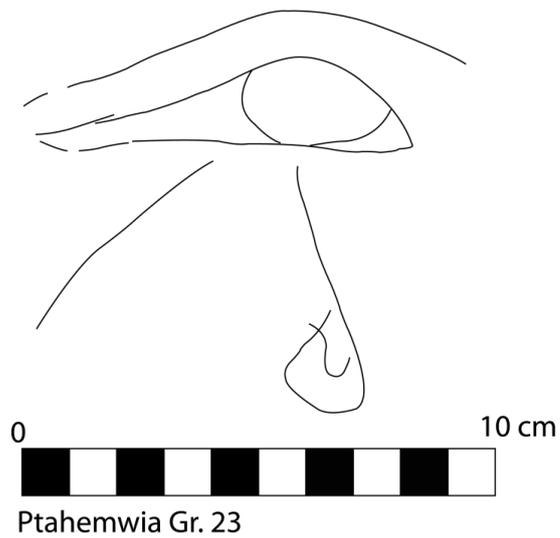


Fig. 13: Graffito of a *wedjat* eye in the tomb of Ptahemwia. Note that the graffitist made a mistake in the depiction of the markings around the falcon's eye, curling the 'teardrop' below of the eye instead of the marking to its left. Image by the authors.

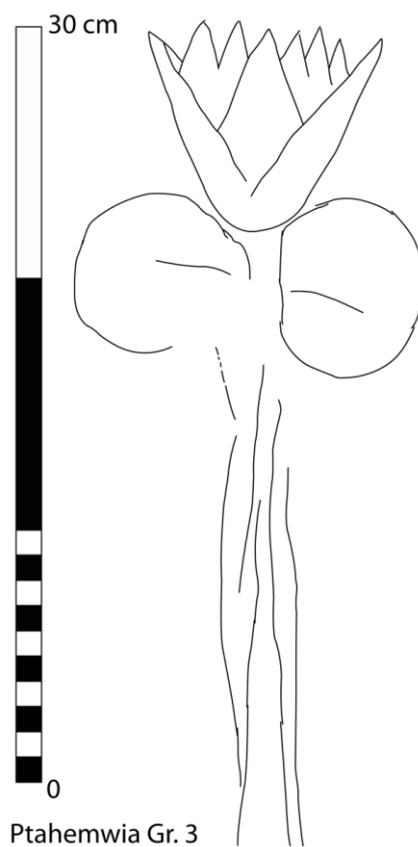


Fig. 14: Graffito of a lotus flower with 9 petals, 2 lotus flowers, and a shallowly scratched stem in the tomb of Ptahemwia. Image by the authors.

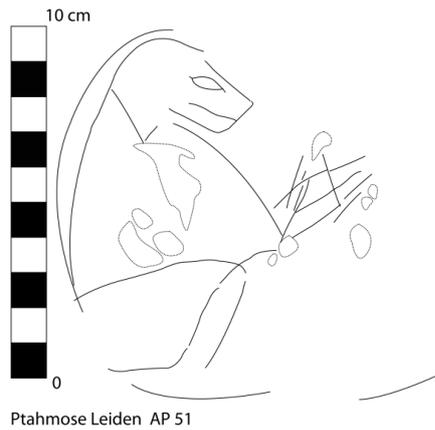


Fig. 15: Graffito of a seated baboon on a pillar from the tomb of Ptahmose (Leiden AP 51). Image by Nico Staring.

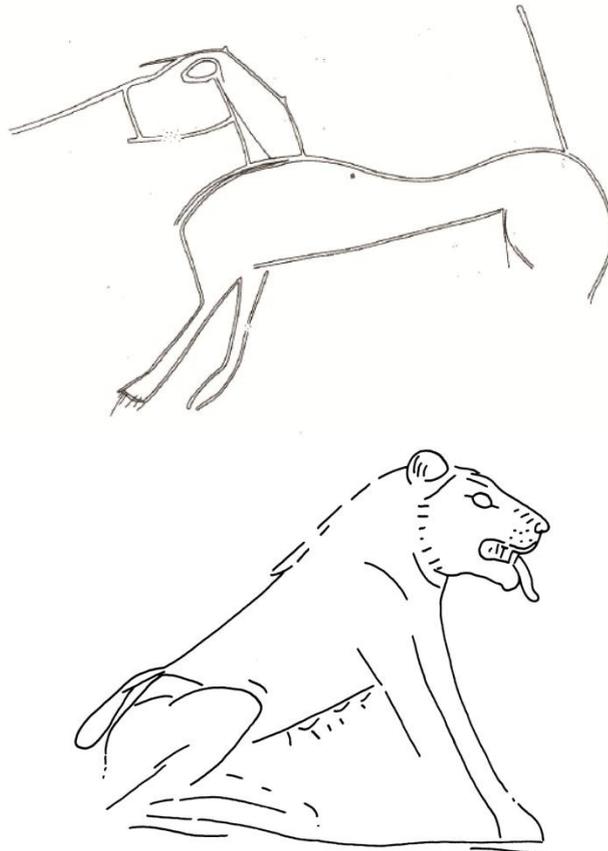


Fig. 16: Graffito of a lion in the tomb of Horemheb (Martin 1989, pl. 147.15). Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

Fig. 17: Graffito of a lioness in the tomb of Maya and Meryt (Martin 2012, pl. 62.38). The skillful execution of the drawing suggests that it was the work of a professional draughtsman. Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

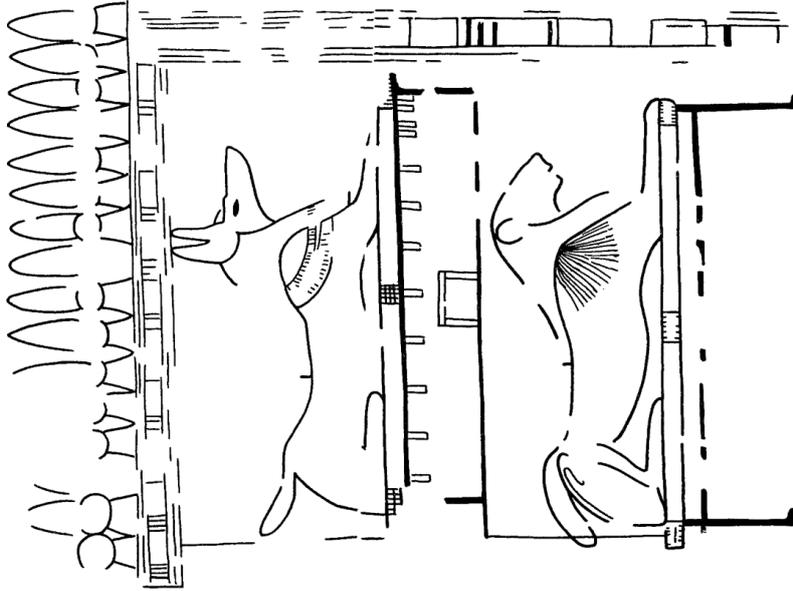


Fig. 19: Depiction of two shrines with a recumbent jackal and lion in the early Nineteenth Dynasty tomb of Amenemope (TT41) in Thebes (Assmann 1991a, pl. 66). Both animals can be interpreted as protectors and guardians of gateways in the Underworld. Image adapted from Assmann (1991a, pl. 66).

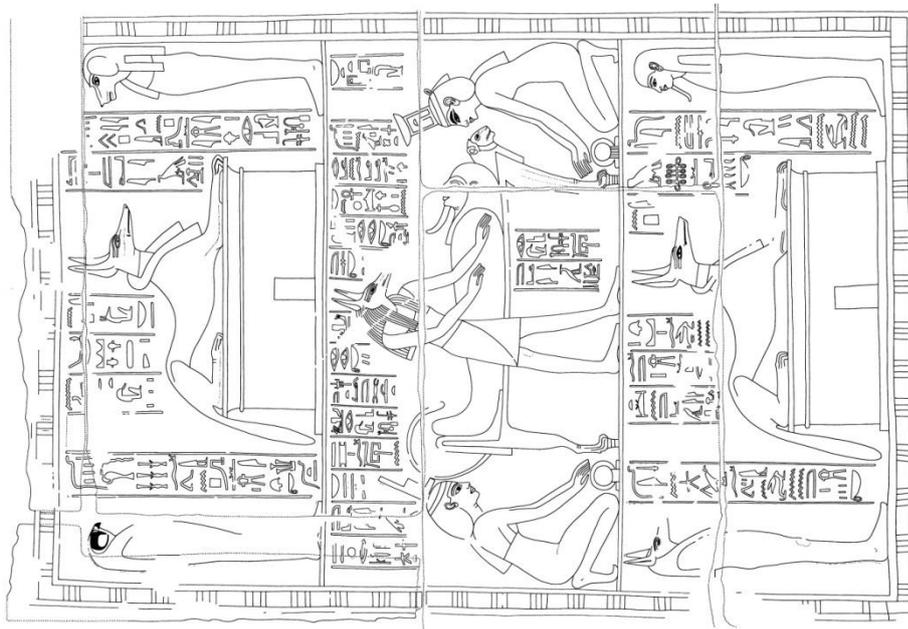


Fig. 18: Relief of the vignette of *Book of the Dead* spell 151, depicting the vigil for Osiris during the embalming process. The mummy of Maya lies on a funerary couch decorated with lion heads (Martin 2012, pl. 44). Note also the two recumbent jackals on shrines. The text accompanying the bottom jackal unambiguously states its apotropaic function: ‘Anubis, Lord of the Sacred Land, who dwells in the Island of the Righteous. Anubis, who is on his hill, who protects the burial (or ‘sarcophagus’) of this Maya’ (Martin 2012, 44). Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

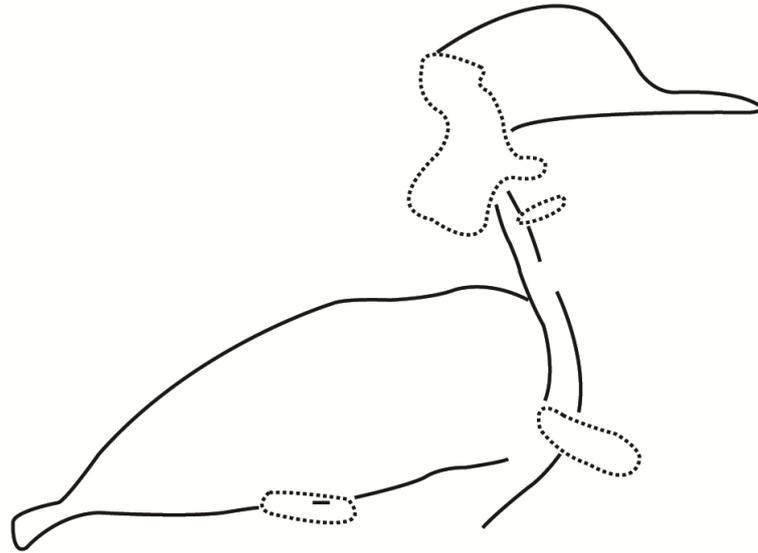


Fig. 20: Graffito of a goose in the tomb of Horemheb (Martin 1989, pl. 147.16). Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

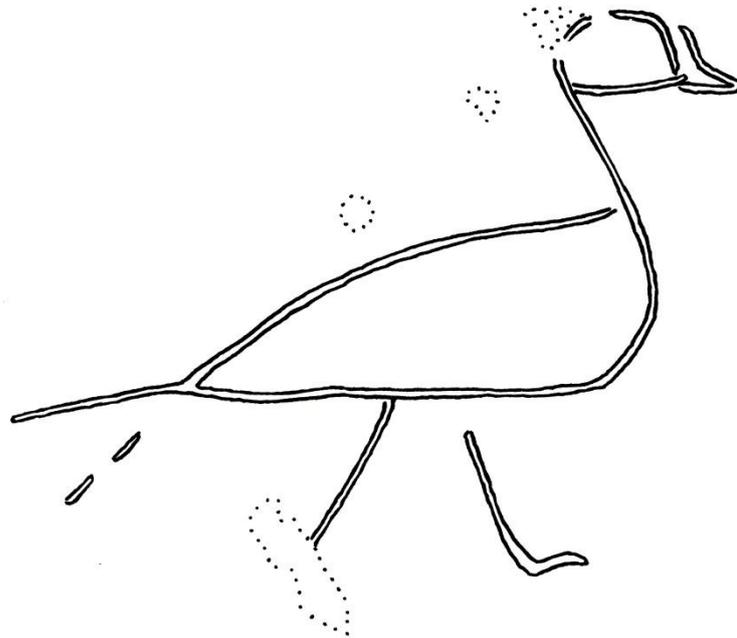


Fig. 21: Graffito of a goose on the roof of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak (Jacquet Gordon 2003, pl. 53.140). Image courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

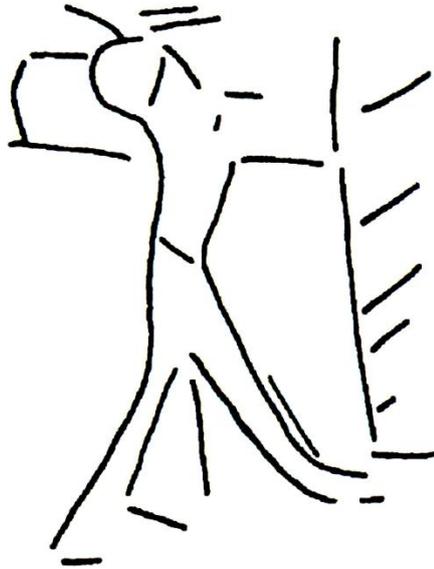


Fig. 22: Graffito of a warrior with a shield and spear in the tomb of Maya and Meryt (Martin 2012, pl. 61.27). Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.



Fig. 23: Late Period pottery ostracon with a depiction of a hieracocephalous deity holding a spear, painted in black ink (Martin 2001, 43, pl. 33.63). Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

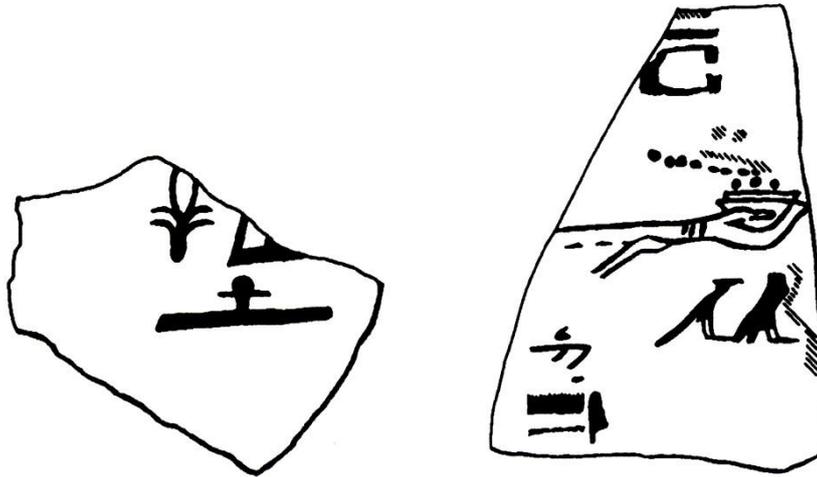


Fig. 24: Pottery ostracon from the tomb of Tia and Tia showing part of the *ḥtp-dī-nsw* formula (Martin 1997, pl. 104.74). Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

Fig. 25: Pottery ostracon from the tomb of Tia and Tia showing a censer and the name of Amun written in hieroglyphs below (Martin 1997, pl. 104.75). Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

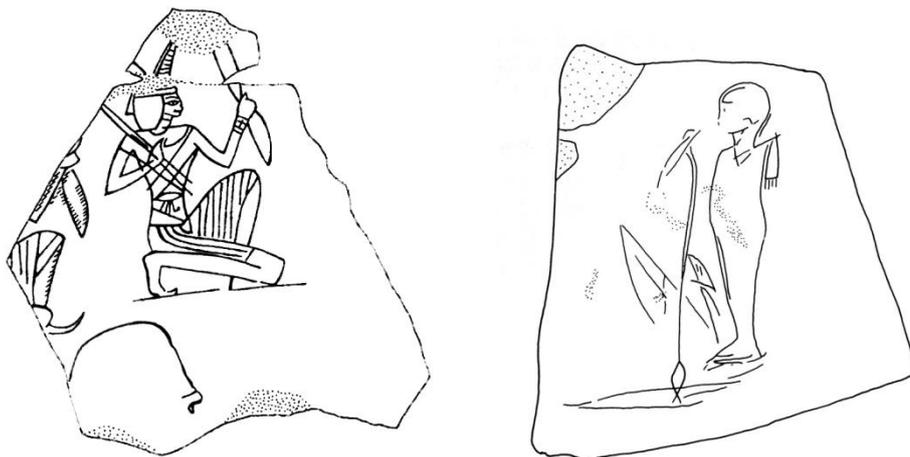


Fig. 26: Pottery ostracon depicting two nearly identical kneeling bowmen. The figure on the right is painted in black only. The figure on the left, on the other hand, is executed in red and corrected in black, which may indicate that this was a pupil's copy (Raven and Van Walsem 2011, 105, Cat. 107). Image courtesy of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

Fig. 27: Limestone ostracon with a painted representation of Ptah with *wꜣs* sceptre and *mꜥnḥt* tassel. The outlines of the figure are roughly incised (Raven 2001, pl. 31.34). Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

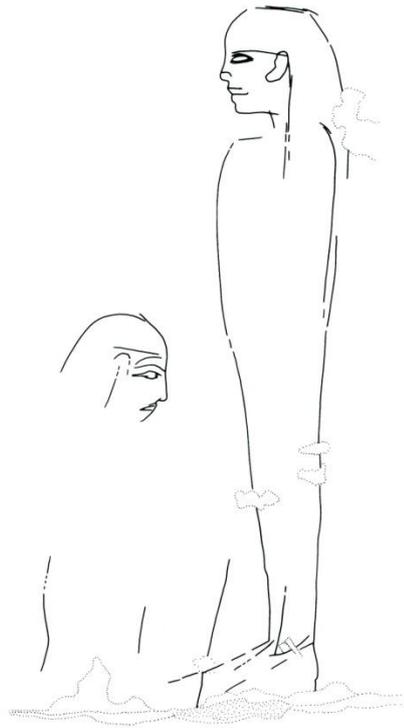


Fig. 28: Graffito of a standing mummy embraced by a kneeling widow incised on the lower slab of a stela that was probably never carved. The slab was found in the tomb of Mery-Neith (Raven and Van Walsem 2014, 81 [4]). Image courtesy of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

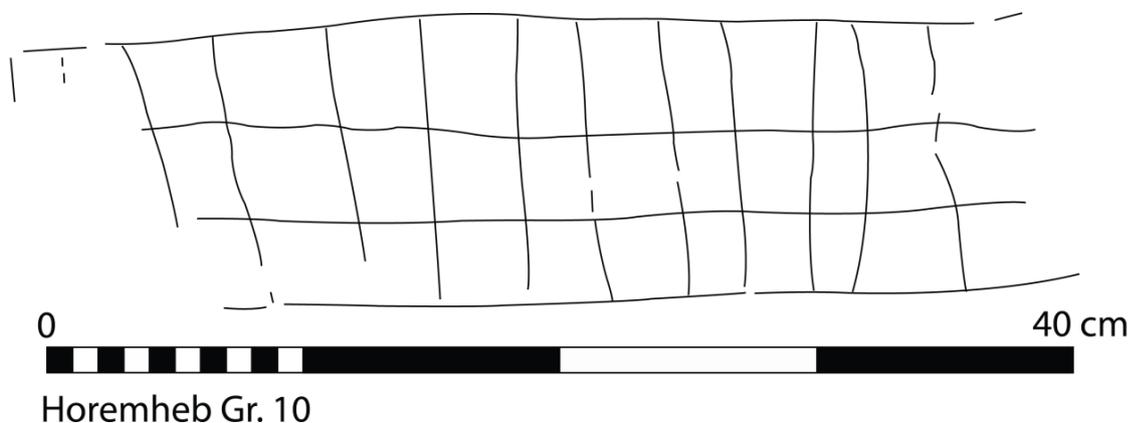


Fig. 30: Graffito of a gaming board scratched on a column bases in the tomb of Horemheb (Martin 1989, pl. 46.10).

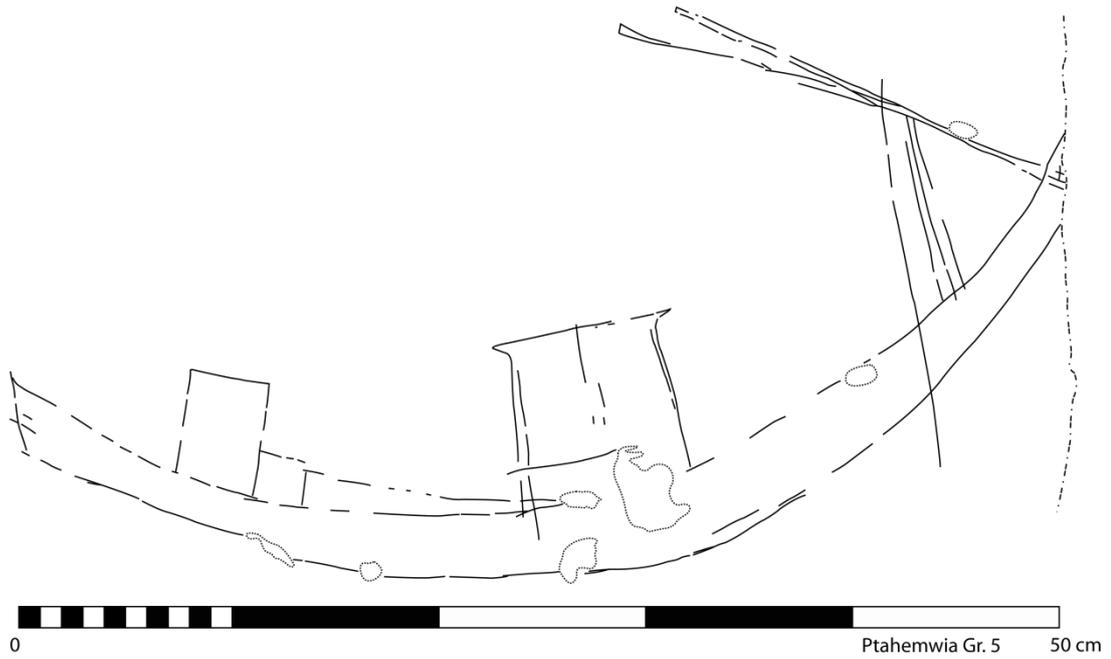


Fig. 29: Top: graffito of a ship with a slightly curved body in the tomb of Ptahemwia. Bottom: a crudely-drawn ship with oars in the tomb of Horemheb. Images by the authors.

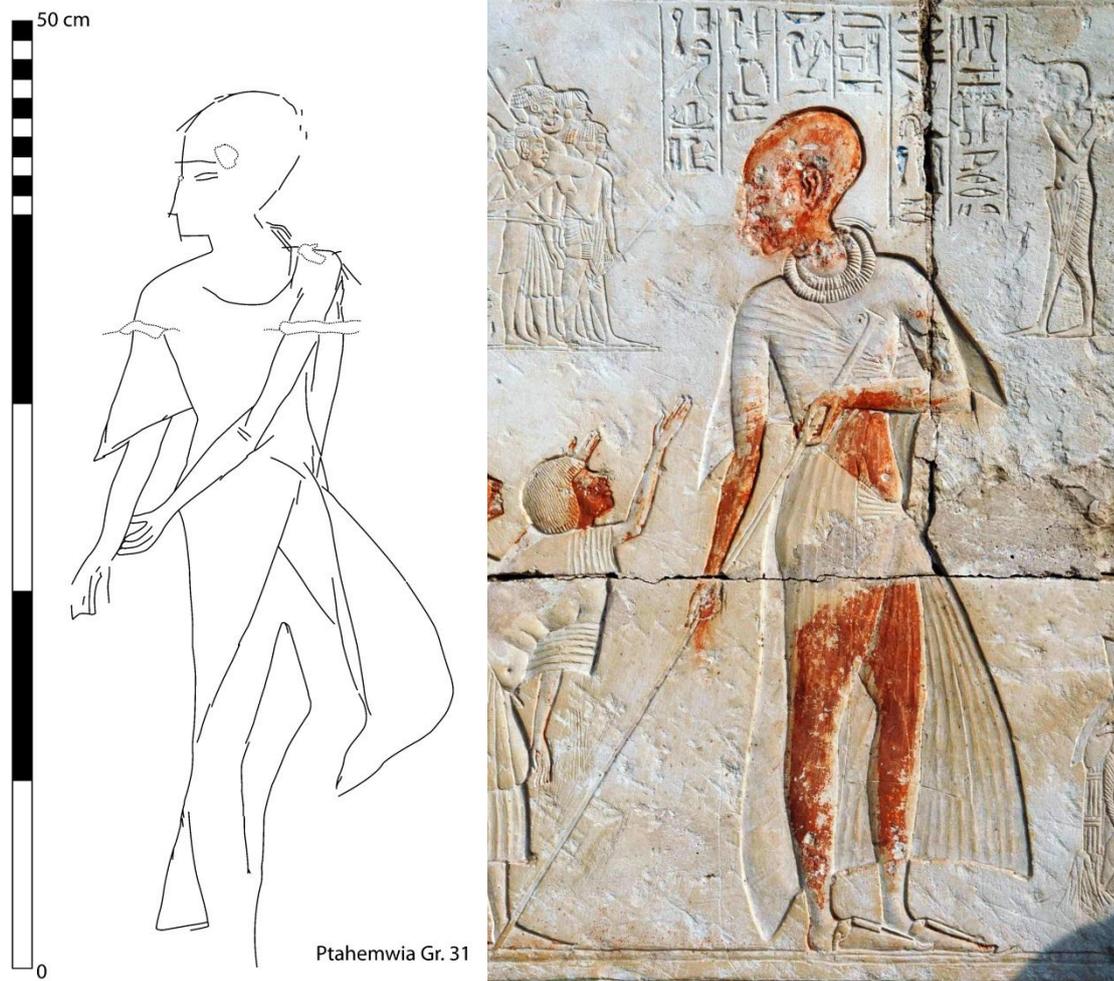


Fig. 31: Graffito copying a depiction of Ptahemwia on the north wall of the tomb. The graffito was carved on the east wall of the tomb in viewing distance of the original. Drawing by the authors. Photograph courtesy of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

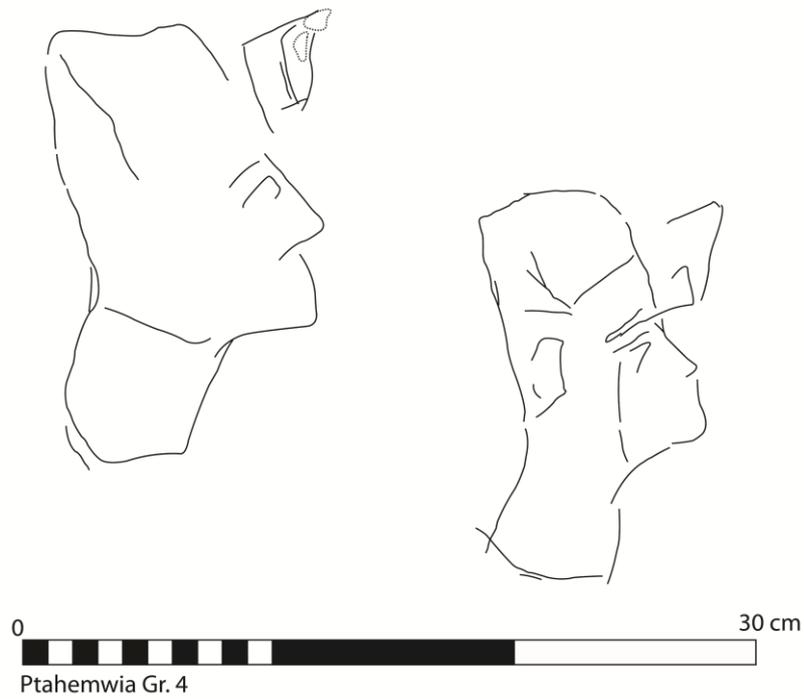


Fig. 32: Graffiti of two royal heads with blue crown adorned with a uraeus in the tomb of Ptahemwia. Image by the authors.

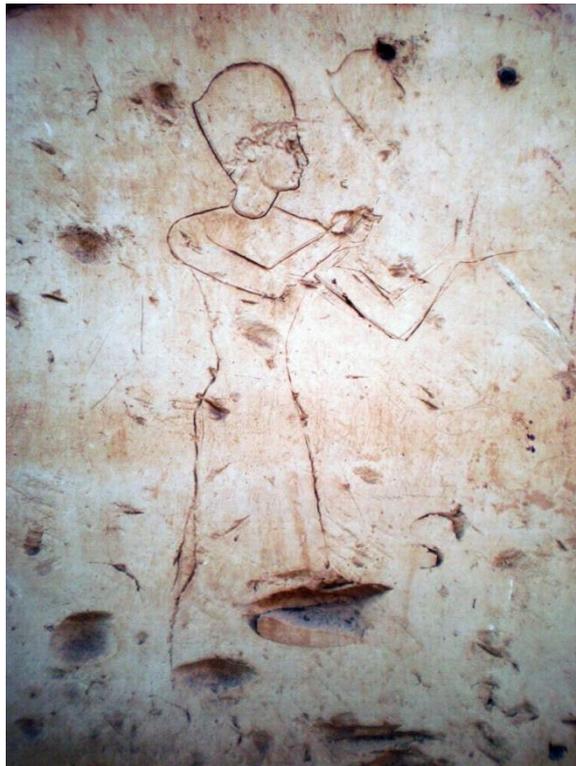
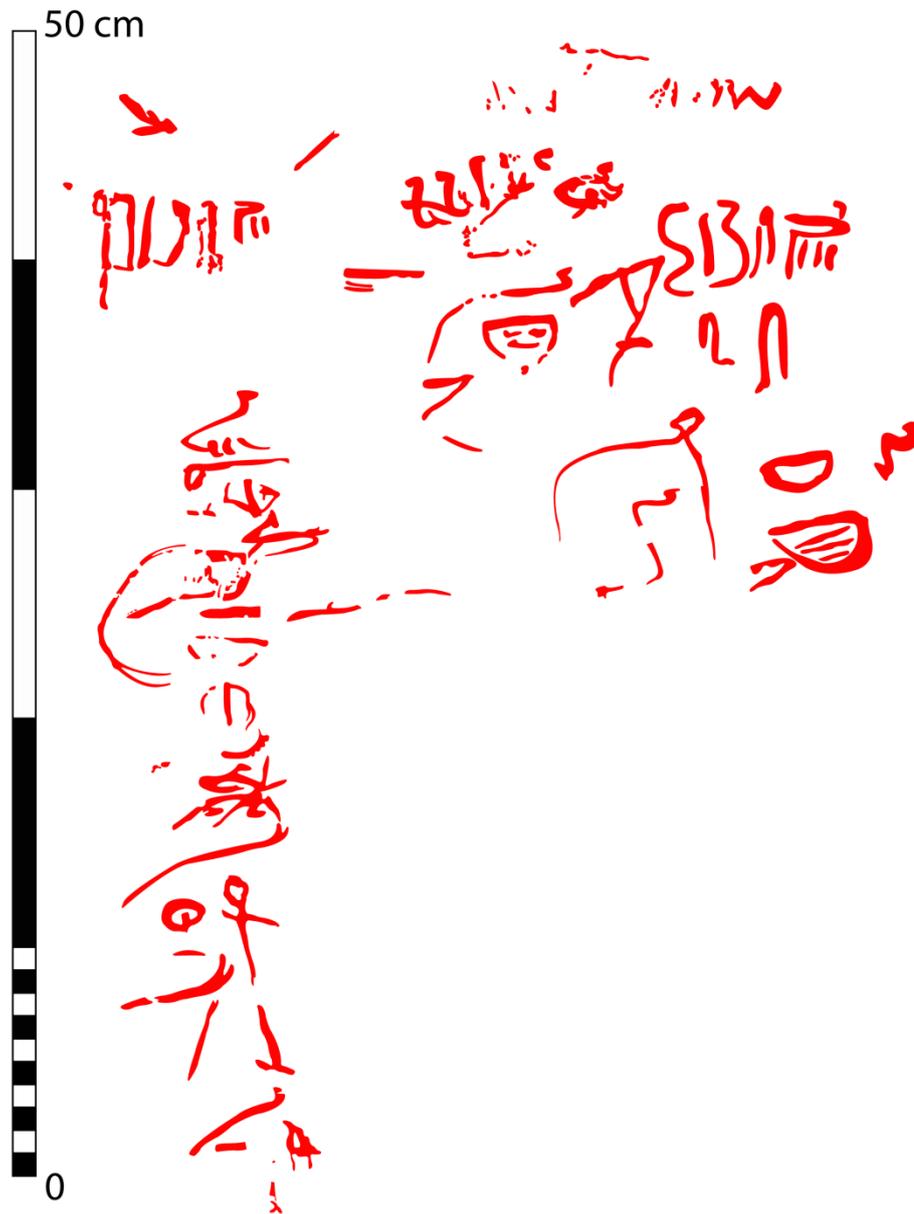


Fig. 33: Graffito of a king adorned with blue crown in the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos. Photograph by Daniel Soliman.



Ptahemwia Gr. 14

Fig. 34: Hieratic inscription in red ochre, consisting of one unframed column of hieratic and two horizontal lines with several loose signs without coherent meaning. The unframed column contains the first sentence of a well-known scribal exercise, the so-called *Kemyt*: ‘It is a servant who addresses his lord, whom he wished to live, be prosperous and healthy’. Possibly the two separate groups to the left and right can be translated as ‘Au’, who is the chief protagonist of the narrative section of the *Kemyt*. Image by the authors.



Fig. 35: Hieroglyphic graffito in proper sunk relief in the tomb of Horemheb (second pylon, doorway), mentioning the sculptor Pendua. Photograph by Nico Staring.

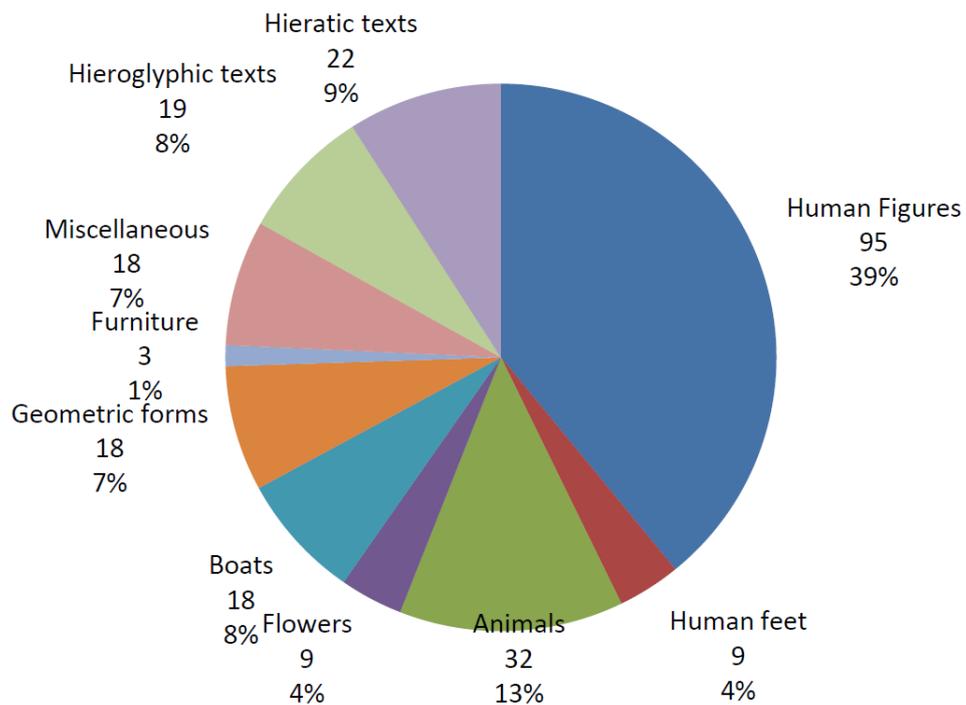


Fig. 36: Graffiti groups recorded in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara.



Fig. 37: Distribution of figural graffiti in the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis. Image by the authors.

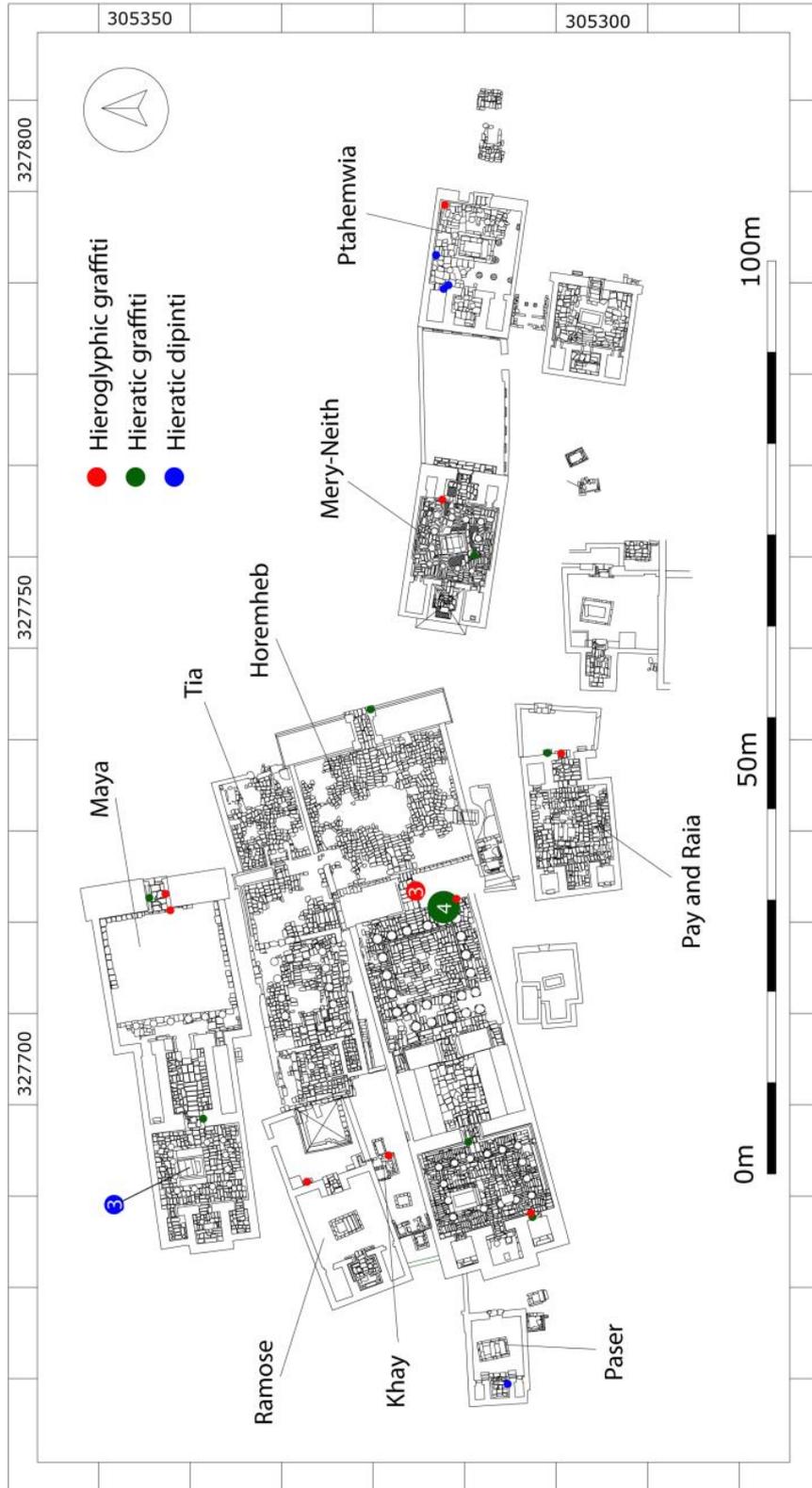


Fig. 38: Distribution of textual graffiti in the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis. Image by the authors.

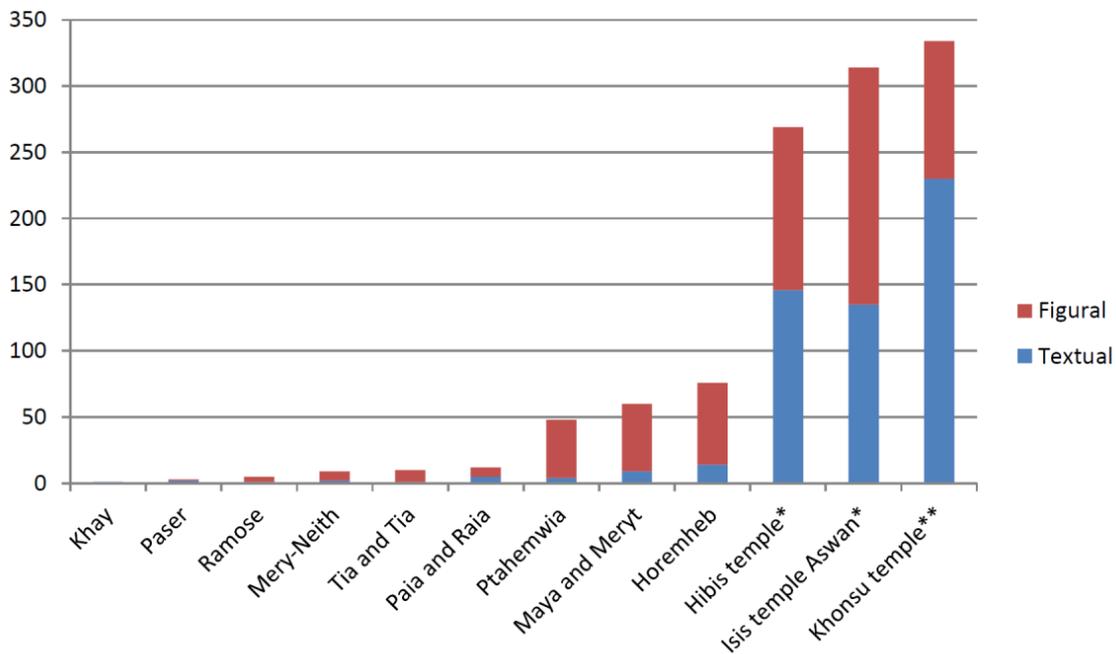


Fig. 39: Ratio of figural and textual graffiti in selected monuments. * Graffiti described as ‘modern’ have not been taken into consideration. ** Figural graffiti with accompanying inscriptions have been counted as written graffiti. Figural graffiti forming composite scenes have been counted as a single graffiti. Where similar motifs have been added together without forming a composite scene, they have been counted individually.

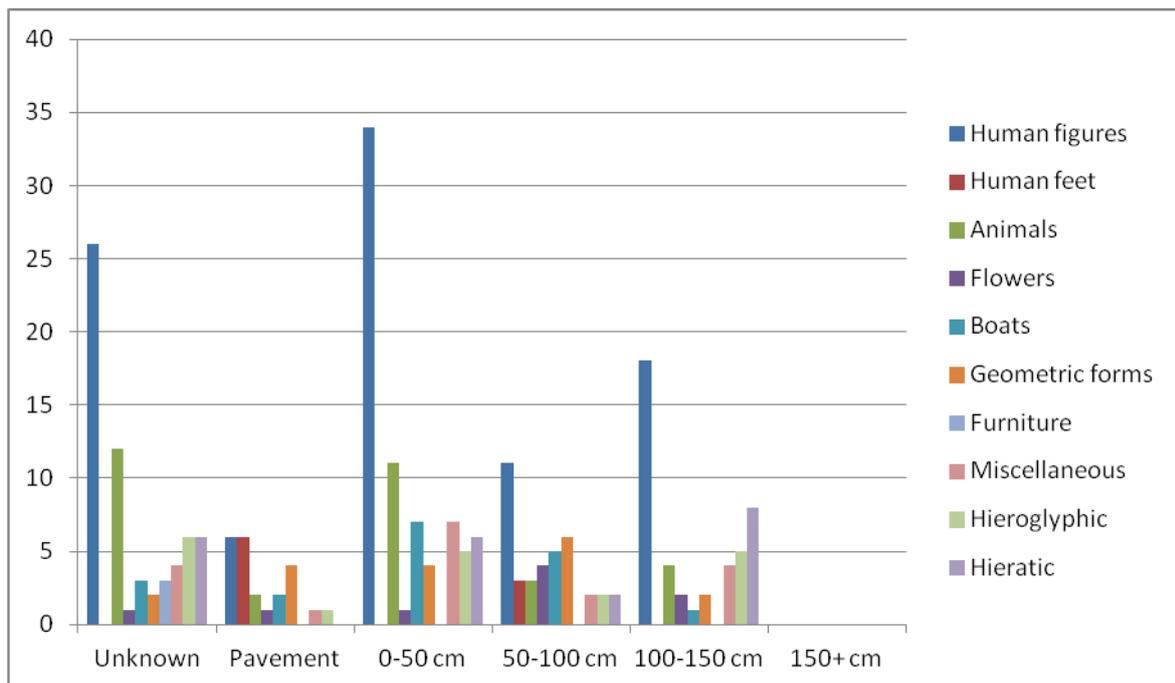


Fig. 40: Distribution of graffiti over wall sections in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara.

Appendix 1: Graffiti in the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis (Leiden concession area)

Number	Tomb	Type	DTP	Height	Width	Technique	Surface	Location	Literature
I.1_1	Horemheb	Human head (male)	77.1	21	17.4	Scratched	Wall	2nd court	Martin 1989, 158 [Gr. 9], pl. 148
I.1_2	Horemheb	Human figure (male)	0	14	7	Scratched	Column	2nd court	Martin 1989, 158 [Gr. 12], pl. 146
I.1_3	Horemheb	Horse with rider	119.8	23.2	18.2	Scratched	Jamb reveal	Staircase room	Martin 1989, 159 [Gr. 19], pl. 148
I.1_4	Horemheb	Human head (male)	0	6.8	5.4	Deeply incised	Pavement	Inner court	Martin 1989, 159 [Gr. 22], pl. 148
I.1_5	Horemheb	Human figure (male)	0	11.4	7.2	Incised	Pavement	Inner court	Martin 1989, 159 [Gr. 23], pl. 148
I.1_6	Horemheb	Human figure ?	39.2	4.2	2.6	Scratched	Dado	Inner court	Martin 1989, 159 [Gr. 24], pl. 148
I.1_7	Horemheb	Human figure (male)	38.2	15.4	7	Scratched	Dado	Inner court	Martin 1989, 105, 159 [Gr. 25], pls. 125, 149
I.1_8	Horemheb	Human figure (male)	38.2	21.7	18.9	Scratched	Dado	Inner court	Martin 1989, 105, 159 [Gr. 25], pls. 125, 149
I.1_9	Horemheb	Human figure (female?)	38.2	14.7	11.2	Scratched	Dado	Inner court	Martin 1989, 105, 159 [Gr. 25], pls. 125, 149
I.1_10	Horemheb	Human figure (female?)	38.2	14.7	11.2	Scratched	Dado	Inner court	Martin 1989, 105, 159 [Gr. 25], pls. 125, 149
I.1_11	Horemheb	Human figure (male)	38.2	16.1	6.3	Scratched	Dado	Inner court	Martin 1989, 105, 159 [Gr. 25], pls. 125, 149
I.1_12	Horemheb	Human figure (male)	38.2	15.4	13.3	Incised	Dado	Inner court	Martin 1989, 105, 159 [Gr. 25], pls. 125, 149
I.1_13	Horemheb	Human figure (male)	38.2	8.4	12.6	Scratched	Dado	Inner court	Martin 1989, 105, 159 [Gr. 25], pls. 125, 149
I.1_14	Horemheb	Human figure (male)	38.2	20.3	11.2	Incised	Dado	Inner court	Martin 1989, 105, 159 [Gr. 25], pls. 125, 149
I.1_15	Horemheb	Human figure (male)	38.2	10.5	6.3	Scratched	Dado	Inner court	Martin 1989, 105, 159 [Gr. 25], pls. 125, 149
I.1_16	Horemheb	Human eye	?	2	3.8	Painted	Statue niche	Inner court	Martin 1989, 107, 159 [Gr. 26], pl. 148
I.1_17	Horemheb	Human figure (royal)	94.1	18.5	11	Painted	Statue niche	Inner court	Martin 1989, 107, 159 [Gr. 27], pl. 149
I.1_18	Horemheb	Human figure (male)	?	9.6	6	Painted	Statue	Inner court	Martin 1989, 108-9, 159 [Gr. 32], pl. 147
I.1_19	Horemheb	Human head (female?)	?	46.9	4.2	Painted	Ceiling	Burial chamber	Martin 1989, 159 [Gr. 31], pl. 149
I.1_20	Tia	Human head	118	5	4.2	Scratched	Statue	Inner court	Martin 1997, 15, 45 [320], pls. 93, 134, 135 [right]
I.1_21	Tia	Human figure (Ptah)	118	4	2.5	Scratched	Statue	Inner court	Martin 1997, 15, 45 [320], pls. 93, 134, 135 [right]
I.1_22	Tia	Human head (male)	118	19	16.5	Scratched	Statue	Inner court	Martin 1997, 15, 45 [321], pls. 93, 134, 135 [right]
I.1_23	Tia	Human eye	?	4	9	Scratched	Pavement	Inner court	Martin 1997, 15, 45 [322], pls. 93, 134, 135 [left]
I.1_24	Tia	Human head (male?)	0	14	11.5	Incised	Pavement	2nd court	Martin 1997, 45 [323], pl. 93
I.1_25	Tia	Human figure (male)	?	23.2	16	Painted	Stair	Exterior	Martin 1997, 45 [324], pl. 93; BMSAES fig. 7
I.1_26	Pay and Raia	Human figure	21	4.2	13.2	Painted	Dado	Antechapel	Raven 2005, 36 [50], pls. 54-5
I.1_27	Prahemwia	Human head (royal)	31.1	14.9	10.6	Scratched	Wall	Entrance	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 4]
I.1_28	Prahemwia	Human head (royal)	29.2	13.8	8.6	Scratched	Wall	Entrance	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 4]
I.1_29	Prahemwia	Human figure (male)	24.2	4.8	2.8	Incised	Dado	Central chapel	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 8]
I.1_30	Prahemwia	Human head (royal)	36.4	6.9	5	Incised	Dado	Central chapel	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 9]
I.1_31	Prahemwia	Human head ?	100.2	22	13	Painted	Mud plaster	Side chapel	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 15]
I.1_32	Prahemwia	Human head ?	40.1	17	17	Painted	Mud plaster	Side chapel	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 17]
I.1_33	Prahemwia	Human figure (male)	37.7	17	13	Painted	Jamb	Side chapel	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 18]
I.1_34	Prahemwia	Human figure (male)	36.1	16	6	Painted	Jamb	Side chapel	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 19]
I.1_35	Prahemwia	Human head (male)	38.4	9	10	Roughly incised	Dado	Court	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 24]
I.1_36	Prahemwia	Human head ?	29.7	2	6	Roughly carved	Pavement	Court	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 28]
I.1_37	Prahemwia	Human head with hieroglyphs ?	0	9.1	6.8	Roughly carved	Pavement	Court	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 30]
I.1_38	Prahemwia	Human figure (male)	15.3	13	12	Incised	Dado	Court	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 31]
I.1_39	Prahemwia	Human head (royal)	59.4	20	25	Incised	Wall	Court	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 33]
I.1_40	Prahemwia	Human head (royal)	132	7.2	5.8	Incised	Wall	Court	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 34]
I.1_41	Prahemwia	Human head (royal)	125.9	3.9	4.3	Incised	Wall	Court	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 34]
I.1_42	Prahemwia	Human head (royal)	126.5	8.6	5.9	Incised	Wall	Court	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 34]
I.1_43	Prahemwia	Loincloth of standing male figure	112.4	16	35	Roughly carved	Reveal	Entrance	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 38]
I.1_44	Horemheb	Human figure (male)	?	1.8	4.5	Scratched	?	Block fragment	Schneider 1996, Cat. 50, p. 15, pl. 5

Number	Tomb	Type	DtP	Height	Width	Technique	Surface	Location	Literature
I.1_45	Maya	Human head (royal)	121.2	19.8	11.6	Painted/incised	Wall	Entrance	Martin 2012, 53 [5], pl. 13, 14, 59
I.1_46	Maya	Human head (royal)	121.4	18.1	9.9	Painted/incised	Wall	Entrance	Martin 2012, 53 [12], 60
I.1_47	Maya	Human figure (male)	80	?	?	Incised	Lintel	Mudbrick chapel	Martin 2012, 53 [13], pl. 17, 60, 71
I.1_48	Maya	Human figure	114.5	9	4	Incised	Wall	Entrance	Martin 2012, 53 [15], pl. 52, 60
I.1_49	Maya	Female figure	5	10.5	8	Painted	Dado	Subterranean room	Martin 2012, 53 [15], pl. 53, 60
I.1_50	Maya	Female figure	10	19.8	9.3	Painted	Dado	Subterranean room	Martin 2012, 53 [16], pl. 60
I.1_51	Maya	Human figure (deity)	?	?	?	?	?	?	Martin 2012, 53 [17], pl. 60
I.1_52	Maya	Human figure (male)	?	?	?	Incised	Jamb reveal	Side chapel	Martin 2012, 53 [18], pl. 61
I.1_53	Maya	Human head	?	?	?	Scratched/incised	Jamb reveal	Entrance	Martin 2012, 53 [18], pl. 61
I.1_54	Maya	Human head (male)	?	?	?	Scratched/incised	Jamb reveal	Entrance	Martin 2012, 53 [18], pl. 61
I.1_55	Maya	Human figure (male)	?	?	?	Scratched/incised	Jamb reveal	Entrance	Martin 2012, 53 [18], pl. 61
I.1_56	Maya	Human figure (male)	?	?	?	Scratched/incised	Jamb reveal	Entrance	Martin 2012, 53 [18], pl. 61
I.1_57	Maya	Human figure (male)	?	?	?	Scratched	Jamb reveal	Entrance	Martin 2012, 53 [18], pl. 61
I.1_58	Maya	Human figure (male)	?	?	?	Scratched	Jamb reveal	Entrance	Martin 2012, 53 [18], pl. 61
I.1_59	Maya	Human figure	?	?	?	Scratched	Jamb reveal	Entrance	Martin 2012, 53 [18], pl. 61
I.1_60	Maya	Human figure	?	?	?	Scratched	Jamb reveal	Entrance	Martin 2012, 53 [18], pl. 61
I.1_61	Maya	Human head (royal)	?	?	?	Scratched	Jamb reveal	Entrance	Martin 2012, 53 [18], pl. 61
I.1_62	Maya	Human figure ?	?	?	?	Scratched	Jamb reveal	Entrance	Martin 2012, 53 [18], pl. 61
I.1_63	Maya	Human head	61.2	3	3.5	Incised	Wall	Entrance	Martin 2012, 55 [20], pl. 13, 16, 61, 86[1]
I.1_64	Maya	Curly of wig	56.4	14.4	0.7	Incised	Wall	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [21], pl. 9, 10, 61
I.1_65	Maya	Human figure (male)	42	43.8	16.8	Incised	Wall	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [23], pl. 13, 15, 61
I.1_66	Maya	Human figure (male)	88.2	7.8	4.2	Incised	Wall	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [24], pl. 13, 15, 61
I.1_67	Maya	Human figure (male)	43.8	16.4	14.6	Incised	Wall	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [27], pl. 13, 15, 61
I.1_68	Maya	Human figure (male)	43.8	17.4	8.1	Incised	Wall	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [27], pl. 13, 15, 61
I.1_69	Maya	Human figure (male)	50.2	6.4	4.6	Incised	Wall	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [27], pl. 13, 15, 61
I.1_70	Maya	Human figure	0	?	?	Roughly incised	Fragment	?	Martin 2012, 54 [28], pl. 61
I.1_71	Maya	Human figure	57	5.4	4.8	Incised	Wall	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [37], pl. 13, 15, 62
I.1_72	Horemheb	Human figure (male)	105.9	32.8	20.8	Incised	Wall	Entrance	Raven et al. 2011, 29 [Gr. 35], fig. 1.8
I.1_73	Horemheb	Human figure (royal)	124.1	5.4	2	Incised	Wall	Entrance	Raven et al. 2011, 29 [Gr. 36], fig. 1.8
I.1_74	Horemheb	Human eye	89.7	0.6	3.2	Scratched	Jamb	Entrance	Raven et al. 2011, 29 [Gr. 38], fig. 1.8
I.1_75	Horemheb	Human head (royal)	120.7	6	3.4	Incised	Reveal	Entrance	Raven et al. 2011, 29 [Gr. 43], fig. 1.8
I.1_76	Horemheb	Human head (royal)	48.7	24	20	Incised	Jamb	Entrance	Raven et al. 2011, 29 [Gr. 44], fig. 1.8
I.1_77	Horemheb	Human head ?	67.5	5.1	7.5	Scratched	Jamb	Entrance	Unpublished
I.1_78	Horemheb	Human figure	117.1	12.4	5.7	Scratched	Jamb reveal	Entrance	Unpublished
I.1_79	Horemheb	Human figure (male)	56.1	77.6	25.8	Incised	Jamb reveal	Entrance	Unpublished
I.1_80	Ptahmose	Human head (royal)	122	19.6	8.9	Scratched	Pillar	Inner court	Staring 2011, 152-54, figs 5-6
I.1_81	Mery-Mery	Human head (royal)	35.4	7.2	5.4	Scratched	Wall	Chapel	Unpublished
I.1_82	Mery-Mery	Human head	34.5	1.8	1.2	Scratched	Wall	Chapel	Unpublished
I.1_83	Mery-Mery	Human head	27.9	4.5	4.2	Scratched	Wall	Chapel	Unpublished
I.1_84	Mery-Mery	Human head	48	2.1	1.8	Scratched	Wall	Chapel	Unpublished
I.1_85	Mery-Mery	Human head	42.9	3	2.1	Scratched	Wall	Chapel	Unpublished
I.1_86	Mery-Mery	Human head	42	2.4	1.8	Scratched	Wall	Chapel	Unpublished
I.1_87	Ramose	Human figure (male)	?	35.5	17.5	Incised	Jamb	Entrance	Martin 2001, 2, fig. 2
I.1_88	Ramose	Human head (male)	?	18	13	Incised	Jamb	Entrance	Martin 2001, 2, fig. 2
I.1_89	Ramose	Human head (royal)	?	8	6	Incised	Jamb	Entrance	Martin 2001, 2, fig. 2

Number	Tomb	Type	DfP	Height	Width	Technique	Surface	Location	Literature
L1_90	Ramose	Human head (male)	?	26.5	12.5	Incised	Jamb	Entrance	Martin 2001, 2, fig. 2
L1_91	Wenefdjesen	Human head	28.6	15.9	19	Incised	Wall	Chapel	Martin 1987, 35-36 [86], pl. 33
L1_92	Unknown	Human figure	?	8.3	7.7	Scratched	Jamb	?	Anthes 1965, 89 [21], fig. 11, pl. 32
L1_93	Unknown	Human figure	?	14.1	10.2	Scratched	Jamb	?	Anthes 1965, 89 [21], fig. 11, pl. 32
L1_94	Unknown	Human head (male)	?	8.8	5.9	Incised	Jamb	?	Unpublished
L1_95	Mery-Neith	Human figure (female) and mummy	?	44	18	Incised	Jamb	?	Raven, Van Walsem 2014, p. 80 [4], fig. on p. 81
L2_1	Horemheb	Right foot with lotus	73	26	9.5	Incised	Stela niche	Inner court	Martin 1989, 107, 159 [Gr. 27], pl. 149
L2_2	Horemheb	Right foot	74.4	24.5	9.5	Incised	Stela niche	Inner court	Martin 1989, 107, 159 [Gr. 27], pl. 149
L2_3	Horemheb	Right foot	83.1	24	9	Incised	Stela niche	Inner court	Martin 1989, 107, 159 [Gr. 27], pl. 149
L2_4	Maya	Left foot	?	?	?	Incised	Pavement	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [29], pl. 61
L2_5	Maya	Right foot	0	?	?	Deeply incised	Pavement	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [30], pl. 62
L2_6	Maya	Left foot	0	?	?	Deeply incised	Pavement	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [30], pl. 62
L2_7	Maya	Right foot with lotus	0	?	?	Deeply incised	Pavement	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [30], pl. 62
L2_8	Maya	Right foot	0	?	?	Deeply incised	Pavement	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [30], pl. 62
L2_9	Maya	Foot	0	?	?	Deeply incised	Pavement	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [30], pl. 62
L3_1	Paser	Monkey	37.6	8.8	9.6	Scratched	Stela	?	Martin 1985, 19 [XVI], pl. 27 [XVI]
L3_2	Horemheb	Lion	33.5	16.2	25.2	Scratched	Reveal	Statue room	Martin 1989, 158 [Gr. 15], pls. 67 [lower] and 147
L3_3	Horemheb	Goose	?	7.8	11	Scratched	Jamb reveal	Statue room	Martin 1989, 158 [Gr. 16], pl. 147
L3_4	Horemheb	Horse	37.8	13	20.4	Scratched	Reveal	Statue room	Martin 1989, 158-59 [Gr. 17, 18], pl. 148
L3_5	Horemheb	Horse with rider	119.8	23.2	18.2	Scratched	Jamb reveal	Statue room	Martin 1989, 159 [Gr. 19], pl. 148
L3_6	Horemheb	Monkey	?	5.8	3.6	Painted	Statue	Inner court	Martin 1989, 108-9, 159 [Gr. 31], pls. 148, 151 [right]
L3_7	Tia	Bovid head	0	5.5	5	Incised	Pavement	Inner court	Martin 1997, 45 [319], pl. 93
L3_8	Raia	Monkey	88.8	10.8	7.8	Incised	Jamb	Entrance	Raven 2005, 22-23 [1], pls. 5, 14 [left], 15 [left]
L3_9	Pay and Raia	Dog	0	12.6	28.2	Incised	Pavement	Inner court	Raven 2005a, 32 [32], pls. 39-40
L3_10	Pay and Raia	Monkey (baboon)	15	11.4	7.8	Painted	Dado	Antechapel	Raven 2005, 36 [50], pls. 54-5
L3_11	Ptahemwia	Jackal	?	14	10	Painted	Jamb	Side chapel	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 6]
L3_12	Ptahemwia	Jackal	36.4	4	2	Incised	Reveal	Chapel	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 7]
L3_13	Ptahemwia	Jackal	32.6	12	4	Painted	Column	Chapel	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 10]
L3_14	Ptahemwia	Jackal	29.5	23	23.5	Painted	Reveal	Chapel	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 12]
L3_15	Ptahemwia	Jackal	25.8	19.5	17.5	Painted	Reveal	Chapel	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 12]
L3_16	Ptahemwia	Jackal	14.8	27.5	17	Painted	Reveal	Chapel	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 12]
L3_17	Ptahemwia	Jackal	33.4	12	10.5	Painted	Reveal	Chapel	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 12]
L3_18	Ptahemwia	Quadruped	39.8	2	4	Incised	Dado	Court	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 21]
L3_19	Ptahemwia	Jackal	40.8	9	8	Painted/incised	Dado	Court	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 26]
L3_20	Ptahemwia	Jackal	33.4	15	9	Painted/incised	Dado	Court	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 27]
L3_21	Maya	Quail chicks	?	1.8	5.5	Incised	Reveal	Chapel	Martin 2012, 54 [22], pl. 61
L3_22	Maya	Monkey	121.2	8.1	5.3	Incised	Wall	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [32], pl. 13, 14, 62
L3_23	Maya	Lion	26	12	14.4	Incised	Dado	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [38], pl. 9, 12, 62
L3_24	Maya	Monkey (baboon)	96.1	4.4	2.8	Incised	Jamb	Entrance	Raven et al. 2011, 29 [Gr. 42], fig. 1.8
L3_25	Ptahemose	Monkey (baboon)	109	10.6	9.2	Scratched	Pillar	Inner court	Staring 2011, 152-54, figs. 5-6
L3_26	Ptahemose	Jackal	104.2	10.4	14.4	Scratched	Pillar	Inner court	Boesser 1911, 8, pl. XXXVI (4b.1)
L3_27	Ptahemose	Jackal	98.7	6.9	12.8	Scratched	Pillar	Inner court	Boesser 1911, 8, pl. XXXVI (4c.1)
L3_28	Unknown	Bird	?	2	3.6	Scratched	Wall	?	Martin 1987, 25 [55], pl. 18
L3_29	Unknown	Crocodile	?	4.5	6.4	Scratched	Jamb	?	Anthes 1965, 89 [21], fig. 11, pl. 32

Number	Tomb	Type	DtP	Height	Width	Technique	Surface	Location	Literature
I.3_30	Mery-Neith	Birds	?	?	?	Incised	Reveal	Entrance	Raven, Van Walsem 2014, 82-85 [7]
I.3_31	Mery-Neith	Fish	?	26.4	45	Roughly incised	Wall	Side chapel	Raven, Van Walsem 2014, 88-89 [10]
I.3_32	Mery-Neith	Bird	?	?	?	Scratched	Stela	Exterior Forecourt	Raven, Van Walsem 2014, 79-81 [3] (graffito not noticed)
I.4_1	Horemheb	Lotus (inside footprint)	75.1	26	9.5	Incised	Statue niche	Inner court	Martin 1989, 107, 159 [Gr. 27], pl. 149
I.4_2	Ptahemwia	Lotus	22.4	33	13	Incised	Reveal	Entrance	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 3]
I.4_3	Ptahemwia	Lotus	144.7	3	2	Incised	Wall	Court	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 32]
I.4_4	Maya	Flower bud	76.2	9	5.4	Incised	Wall	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [25], pl. 13, 15, 61
I.4_5	Maya	Flower bud	50.4	10.8	5.4	Incised	wall	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [26], pl. 9, 11, 61
I.4_6	Maya	Lotus (inside footprint)	0	?	?	Deeply incised	Pavement	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [30], pl. 62
I.5_7	Horemheb	Lotus ?	122.7	13.4	12.8	Incised	Jamb	Entrance	Unpublished
I.4_8	Horemheb	Lotus	54.6	17.9	10.3	Incised	Jamb	Entrance	Unpublished
I.4_9	Horemheb	Lotus	?	7.2	3.6	Incised	Fragment	?	Schneider 1996, pl. 6 [52] (77-S 84, 6905)
I.5_1	Horemheb	Boat	0	5.2	22.2	Scratched	Column base	2nd court	Martin 1989, 158 [Gr. 11], pl. 147
I.5_2	Tia	Boat	0	13.5	46	Painted	Plaster	Inner court	Martin 1997, 45 [326], pl. 93
I.5_3	Ptahemwia	Boat	28.8	25	50	Incised	Dado	Court	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 5]
I.5_4	Ptahemwia	Boat ?	39.2	4	4	Incised	Dado	Court	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 11]
I.5_5	Ptahemwia	Boat	124.6	39	65	Incised	Wall	Court	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 35]
I.5_6	Maya	Sail of boat	51	13.2	15	Incised	Wall	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [31], pl. 13, 16, 62
I.5_7	Maya	Boat	?	?	?	Scratched	Jamb	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [36], pl. 62
I.5_8	Horemheb	Boat	60	18.5	26.8	Scratched	Jamb	Entrance	Unpublished
I.5_9	Horemheb	Boat	50.5	20.5	35.8	Scratched	Jamb	Entrance	Unpublished
I.5_10	Horemheb	Boat	20.4	25	20.5	Scratched	Jamb	Entrance	Unpublished
I.5_11	Horemheb	Boat	24.9	16.4	20.7	Scratched	Jamb	Entrance	Unpublished
I.5_12	Horemheb	Boat	19.1	6.9	16	Scratched	Jamb	Entrance	Unpublished
I.5_13	Horemheb	Boat	12.3	7	13.1	Scratched	Jamb	Entrance	Unpublished
I.5_14	Horemheb	Boat	53.7	20.9	41.4	Scratched	Reveal	Entrance	Unpublished
I.5_15	Horemheb	Boat	30	32.5	24.9	Scratched	Reveal	Entrance	Unpublished
I.5_16	Ptahemwia	Boat ?	62	?	?	Scratched	Pillar	Inner court	Boeser 1911, 8, pl. XXVI (4b.1)
I.5_17	Mery-Neith	Boat	?	38	39	Incised	Stela	Outer court	Raven, Van Walsem 2014, p. 78-89 [1]
I.5_18	Mery-Neith	Boat	?	26	45	Incised	Stela	Outer court	Raven, Van Walsem 2014, p. 78-79 [2]
I.6_1	Horemheb	Gaining board	0	26.4	66	Scratched	Column	2nd court	Martin 1989, 158 [Gr. 10], pl. 146
I.6_2	Horemheb	Geometric shape and folding chair?	?	11.2	7.6	Scratched	Wall	2nd court	Martin 1989, 41, 158 [Gr. 12b], pls. 32 [upper], 34 [upper], 146
I.6_3	Horemheb	Five-pointed star	0	9.6	15	Incised	Pavement	Inner court	Martin 1989, 159 [Gr. 21], pl. 148
I.6_4	Horemheb	Gaining board?	0	16	9.8	Incised	Pavement	Inner court	Martin 1989, 159 [Gr. 28], pl. 148
I.6_5	Horemheb	Five-pointed star	?	41.3	44.1	Painted	Ceiling	Burial chamber	Martin 1989, 159 [Gr. 34], pl. 149
I.6_6	Horemheb	Cross	?	?	?	Painted	Ceiling	Burial chamber	Martin 1989, 159 [Gr. 34], pl. 149
I.6_7	Ptahemwia	Gaining board ?	0	21	27	Scratched	Pavement	Entrance	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 1]
I.6_8	Ptahemwia	Rectangle	10.2	15.9	20	Incised	Reveal	Chapel	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 8]
I.6_9	Ptahemwia	Unclear	71.5	48	35	Scratched	Reveal	Entrance	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 37]
I.6_10	Ptahemwia	Cross	126.7	5	2	Scratched	Reveal	Entrance	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 39]
I.6_11	Ptahemwia	Cross	126.7	5	2	Scratched	Reveal	Entrance	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 39]
I.6_12	Maya	Pyramid ?	18	?	?	Incised	Reveal	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [33], pl. 13, 16, 62
I.6_13	Maya	Pyramid ?	18	?	?	Incised	Reveal	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [33], pl. 13, 16, 62

Number	Tomb	Type	DRP	Height	Width	Technique	Surface	Location	Literature
I.6_14	Maya	Pyramid?	18	?	?	Incised	Reveal	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [33], pl. 13, 16, 62.
I.6_15	Horemheb	Circle	99.8	2.8	2.8	Incised	Jamb	Entrance	Raven et al. 2011, 29 [Gr. 39], fig. 1.8.
I.6_16	Horemheb	Unclear	90.1	5.7	4.8	Incised	Jamb	Entrance	Raven et al. 2011, 29 [Gr. 40], fig. 1.8.
I.6_17	Horemheb	Unclear	90.3	5.9	6	Incised	Jamb	Entrance	Raven et al. 2011, 29 [Gr. 40], fig. 1.8.
I.6_18	Mery-Neith	Five-pointed star	?	31	27	Incised	Stela	Outer court	Raven, Van Walsem 2014, 78-79 [2].
I.7_1	Horemheb	Headrest	?	8.4	9.2	Painted	Fragment	2nd court	Martin 1989, 158 [Gr. 14], pl. 147.
I.7_2	Tia	Divine stand	?	6	7	Incised	Stela base	Inner court	Martin 1997, 45, pl. 93 [325].
I.7_3	Prahemwia	Chair	?	10	13	Painted	Wall	Side chapel	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 16]
I.8_1	Pay and Raia	Set of wheels	15	9.6	21.6	Incised	Plinth	Inner court	Raven 2005, 32 [34], pls. 39-40.
I.8_2	Pay and Raia	Set of wheels	15	4.2	7.8	Incised	Plinth	Inner court	Raven 2005, 32 [34], pls. 39-40.
I.8_3	Pay and Raia	Set of wheels	15	3	2.4	Incised	Plinth	Inner court	Raven 2005, 32 [34], pls. 39-40.
I.8_4	Prahemwia	Knife?	0	32	7	Roughly carved	Pavement	Entrance	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 2]
I.8_5	Prahemwia	Unclear / chisel marks?	55.8	11	5	Roughly cut	Column	Court	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 20]
I.8_6	Prahemwia	Ovoid shape	28.6	4	1	Incised	Dado	Court	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 22]
I.8_7	Prahemwia	Wedjat-eye	41.4	8	9	Roughly carved	Dado	Court	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 23]
I.8_8	Prahemwia	Scribe's outfit?	38.8	7	4	Incised	Dado	Court	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 29]
I.8_9	Prahemwia	Collection of M-signs	46.4	15	46	Scratched	Reveal	Entrance	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 36]
I.8_10	Maya	Tyet-sign	103.6	15.6	7.2	Scratched	Reveal	Entrance	Martin 2012, 53 [1], pl. 9, 10, 59
I.8_11	Maya	Crown?	?	?	?	Roughly incised	Jamb reveal	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [34], pl. 62
I.8_12	Maya	Blue crown	130.2	8.4	3.6	Incised	Reveal	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [35], pl. 9, 10, 62
I.8_13	Maya	Uncertain	103.2	15.3	2.7	Incised	Reveal	Entrance	Martin 2012, 54 [39], pl. 13, 14, 62
I.8_14	Horemheb	Papyrusiform column	?	45	15	Painted	Fragment	?	Raven et al. 2011, 54-55 [17]; Martin, Maya I, 54[40], pl. 62
I.8_15	Maya	Uncertain	?	?	?	Bitumen	Wall	Subterranean room	Martin 2012, 54 [41], pl. 62
I.8_16	Horemheb	Hes-vase / mirror?	124	5.6	2.2	Incised	Jamb reveal	Entrance	Raven et al. 2011, 29 [Gr. 41], fig. 1.8
I.8_17	Horemheb	Uncertain	90.6	20.8	16.3	Scratched	Jamb	Entrance	Unpublished
I.8_18	Unknown	Wedjat-eye	?	1.9	4.5	Scratched	Jamb	?	Anthes 1965, 89 [21], fig. 11, pl. 32
II_1	Paser	Loose hieroglyphs	37.6	12.8	34.4	Scratched	Stela	?	Martin 1985, 19 [XV], pl. 27 [XV]
II_2	Horemheb	Name	53.6	2.2	5.8	Carved	Reveal	2nd pylon	Martin 1989, 157 [Gr. 1], pl. 146
II_3	Horemheb	Name and title	48.4	4.6	18.6	Carved	Reveal	2nd pylon	Martin 1989, 157 [Gr. 2], pl. 146
II_4	Horemheb	Name and title	55.6	3.6	18	Carved	Reveal	2nd pylon	Martin 1989, 157 [Gr. 3], pl. 146
II_5	Horemheb	Hieroglyphic sign	123.8	3.6	0.8	Scratched	Wall	2nd court	Martin 1989, 158 [Gr. 6], pl. 146
II_6	Horemheb	Toponym	?	3.2	2.6	Incised	Column	2nd court	Martin 1989, 158 [Gr. 12a], pl. 146
II_7	Horemheb	Name and title	148.6	1.8	8.6	Incised	Jamb	Side chapel	Martin 1989, 159 [Gr. 29], pl. 14.
II_8	Pay	Name and title	17.4	8.4	3.6	Incised	Jamb	Doorway	Raven 2005, 25 [8], pls. 20-1
II_9	Pay	Name and title	120	10.2	21	Incised	Stela reverse	?	Raven 2005, 45 [70, 1], pls. 74-5
II_10	Pay	Name and title	120	4.2	27.6	Incised	Stela reverse	?	Raven 2005, 45 [70, 2], pls. 74-5
II_11	Pay	Name and title	120	4.2	28.8	Incised	Stela reverse	?	Raven 2005, 45 [70, 3], pls. 74-5
II_12	Prahemwia	Hieroglyphic signs	0	12	27	Roughly carved	Pavement	Court	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 30]
II_13	Maya	Hieroglyphic signs	?	?	?	Incised	Jamb	Outer court	Martin 2012, 53 [8], pl. 60
II_14	Maya	Hieroglyphic sign	?	?	?	Incised	Wall	Entrance	Martin 2012, 53 [9], pl. 60
II_15	Maya	Name and epithet of deity	?	?	?	?	Fragment	?	Martin 2012, 53 [11], pl. 60
II_16	Ramose	Hieroglyphic signs	7	4.5	38.5	Incised	Stela	inner court	Martin 2001, 7 [1], pl. 5
II_17	Khay	Name	?	12.5	4.5	Incised	Jamb	Antechapel	Martin 2001, 17 [12], pl. 6
II_18	Amenhotep Huy/ Ipy	Hieroglyphic signs	9.8	4.4	18.1	Incised	Stela	?	Pasquali, Gessler-Löhr 2011, fig. 3

Number	Tomb	Type	DIP	Height	Width	Technique	Surface	Location	Literature
II.1_19	Mery-Neith	Hieroglyphic signs	?	?	?	Incised	Stela	?	Raven, Van Walsem 2014, 127-130 [32]
II.2_1	Paser	Name and title	127	?	?	Painted	Wall	Antechapel	Martin 1985, 6 [5], pl. 34
II.2_2	Horemheb	Name	155	6.6	26.8	Scratched	Wall	2nd court	Martin 1989, 157 [Gr. 4], pl. 146
II.2_3	Horemheb	Visitors' graffiti	134.3	14.6	46	Scratched	Wall	2nd court	Martin 1989, 157 [Gr. 5], pl. 147
II.2_4	Horemheb	Title	123.8	4.4	6.4	Scratched	Wall	2nd court	Martin 1989, 158 [Gr. 7], pl. 146
II.2_5	Horemheb	Date ?	134.3	3.6	2	Scratched	Wall	2nd court	Martin 1989, 158 [Gr. 8], pl. 147
II.2_6	Horemheb	Date ?	?	7.6	4.2	Painted	Fragment	?	Martin 1989, 158 [Gr. 13], pl. 146
II.2_7	Horemheb	Name and title	?	3	5.4	Scratched	Jamb reveal	Statue room	Martin 1989, 159 [Gr. 20], pl. 148
II.2_8	Horemheb	Name and title	?	5.2	9.8	Incised	Jamb	Side chapel	Martin 1989, 159 [Gr. 30], pl. 149
II.2_9	Tia	Name and title	125	?	?	Incised	Stela	?	Martin 1997, 45, pl. 93 [326a]
II.2_10	Raia	Name and title	58.2	4.8	6	Incised	Stela	Outer court	Raven 2005, 24 [6], pls. 18 [right], 19
II.2_11	Unknown	Name and title	?	2.4	5.4	Incised	Wall	?	Raven 2005, 47 [75], pl. 79
II.2_12	Paahemwia	Name and title	36.5	45	20	Painted	Jamb	Side chapel	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 13]
II.2_13	Paahemwia	Hieratic signs	9.8	73	58	Painted	reveal	Side chapel	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 14]
II.2_14	Paahemwia	Kemyt	5.4	45	121	Painted	Dado	Court	Van Pelt, Staring (forthcoming) [Gr. 25]
II.2_15	Maya	Hieratic signs	1	18.8	7	Painted	Dado	Subterranean room	Martin 2012, 53 [2], pl. 59, scene Room K, see: pl. 45
II.2_16	Maya	Name	1	6.8	12	Painted	Dado	Subterranean room	Martin 2012, 53 [3], pl. 59, scene Room K, see: pl. 45
II.2_17	Maya	Name	?	15.8	14.3	Painted	Fragment	?	Martin 2012, 53 [4], pl. 59
II.2_18	Maya	Name and title	158.8	16.2	25.8	Incised	Reveal	Statue room	Martin 2012, 53 [6], pl. 24, 60, 90[1]
II.2_19	Maya	Title	91.8	3.6	9	Incised	Reveal	Entrance	Martin 2012, 53 [7], 9, 11, 60
II.2_20	Maya	Cartouche ?	19	3.3	7.8	Painted	Dado	Subterranean room	Martin 2012, 53 [10], pl. 60
II.2_21	Horemheb	Name and title	120.9	2.2	6	Incised	Jamb	Entrance	Raven et al. 2011, 29 [Gr. 37], fig. 1.8
II.2_22	Mery-Neith	Visitors' graffiti	?	7	6.5	Incised	Column	Court	Raven, Van Walsem 2014, 130 [column c]

4.5

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**PRODUCTS OF THE PHYSICAL ENGAGEMENT WITH SACRED SPACE: THE NEW
KINGDOM NON-TEXTUAL TOMB-GRAFFITI AT SAQQARA**

*Nico Staring**

1. Introduction

Examples of ancient graffiti provide a graphic testimony to peoples' attitudes towards earlier monuments.¹ They have been described as one of the key groups of sources for the study of Egyptian uses of the past,² and are considered as one of the richest sources of evidence available of the personal experience of religion in Ancient Egypt.³ The past decade saw an increasing scholarly interest in ancient graffiti.⁴ While studies traditionally focussed almost exclusively on the textual component,⁵ more recent research has gradually included non-textual or figural graffiti as well.⁶

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¹ J. Málek, 'A Meeting of the Old and New: Saqqâra during the New Kingdom', in A.B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (London, 1992), 67; N. Staring, 'Interpreting Figural Graffiti: Case Studies from a Funerary Context', in M. Horn et al. (eds), *Current Research in Egyptology 2010: Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Symposium which took place at Leiden University, the Netherlands January 2010* (Oxford, 2011), 145.

² H. Navrátilová, 'The Visitors' Graffiti Database', in J.-C. Goyon and C. Cardin (eds), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists 2004* (OLA 150; Leuven, 2007), 1371.

³ J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Syene I: The Figural and Textual Graffiti from the Temple of Isis at Aswan* (BÄBA 18; Mainz am Rhein, 2012), 7.

⁴ J.A. Baird and C. Taylor (eds), *Ancient Graffiti in Context* (New York, 2011); P. Keegan, *Graffiti in Antiquity* (London, 2014).

⁵ For example D. Wildung, 'Besucherinschriften', in W. Helck and E. Otto (eds), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie 1* (Wiesbaden, 1975), cols 766–7; H.-J. Thissen, 'Graffiti', in W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie 2* (Wiesbaden, 1976), cols 880–2; J.C. Darnell, 'Graffiti and Rock Inscriptions', in J. Allen and I. Shaw (eds), *Oxford Handbook of Egyptology* (Oxford, in press), 10–13 (provisional page numbering).

⁶ M.J. Raven, 'The Temple of Taffeh, II: The Graffiti', *OMRO 79* (1999), 81–102; E. Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project Vol. 3: The Graffiti From the Temple Precinct* (San Antonio, 2008); Dijkstra, *Syene I*; J.C. Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey II: The Rock Shrine of Pahû, Gebel Akhenaton, and Other Rock Inscriptions from the Western Hinterland of Qamûla* (YEP 1; New Haven, 2013); W.P. Van Pelt and

The New Kingdom (c. 1539–1077 BC) necropolis at Saqqara – the foremost (elite) cemetery for the city of Memphis – provides the spatial and cultural context for the data discussed in this paper.⁷ The graffiti were recorded in the sub- and superstructures of the tombs, and on dismantled blocks now held in museum collections around the world.

The tomb in Egypt was considered as sacred space.⁸ Therefore, it is useful to emphasize the materiality of graffiti and their physical engagement with those spaces. The figural and textual graffiti were carved into the sacred context of the tomb, thus becoming one with it.⁹ In the words of Dorman and Bryan, ‘sacred space may be said to presuppose the actualization of ritual within it and inherently provides a setting that both frames religious ceremony and can even elicit a performative response on the part of the officiant’.¹⁰

One particular group of figural tomb-graffiti are the subject of this paper: the representations of human figures. How should these figures be interpreted, and what do they tell us about the use and users of the tombs?

2. Graffiti: Terminology

What exactly is understood by the term graffiti? This seemingly straightforward term appears to be rather difficult to define. This has to a large degree to do with the modern-day connotations of the word, where graffiti (from *graffiare*, ‘to scratch’) often represent certain momentary ideas or inspirations, and are considered as defacements

N.T.B. Staring, ‘Graffiti in the Saqqara New Kingdom Necropolis as Recorded Expressions of Popular Customs and Beliefs’, *BMSAES* 23 (2015, in press).

⁷ The unusually large number of figural graffiti documented in the tomb of the late Eighteenth Dynasty (c. 1353–1335 BC) Royal Butler Ptahemwia prompted this research. For the tomb, see: M.J. Raven et al., ‘Preliminary Report on the Leiden Excavations at Saqqara, Season 2007: The Tomb of Ptahemwia’, *JEOL* 40 (2006–7), 19–39; M.J. Raven et al., ‘Preliminary Report on the Leiden Excavations at Saqqara, Season 2008: The Tomb of Ptahemwia’, *JEOL* 41 (2008–9), 5–30; M.J. Raven et al., *The Tombs of Ptahemwia and Sethnakht at Saqqara* (Turnhout, forthcoming). The New Kingdom spans the time period between c. 1539–1077 BC, but the tombs excavated at this necropolis date predominantly to its second half. For the dates used throughout this study, see: E. Hornung, R. Krauss, and D.A. Warburton (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology* (HdO 83; Leiden, 2006), 492–3.

⁸ J. Assmann, ‘The Ramesside Tomb and the Construction of Sacred Space’, in N. Strudwick and J. H. Taylor (eds), *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future* (London, 2003), 51–2; B.G. Ockinga, ‘Use, Reuse, and Abuse of “Sacred Space”: Observations from Dra Abu al-Naga’, in P.F. Dorman and B.M. Bryan (eds), *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes* (SAOC 61; Chicago, 2007), 139.

⁹ V.B. Plesch, ‘Memory on the Wall: Graffiti on Religious Wall Paintings’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32/1 (2002), 183; Van Pelt and Staring, *BMSAES* 23 (2015, in press).

¹⁰ P.F. Dorman and B.M. Bryan, ‘Preface’, in Dorman and Bryan (eds), *Sacred Space*, xv.

and acts of vandalism.¹¹ The contents of Ancient Egyptian graffiti imply that they should not be interpreted along the same line. A Nineteenth Dynasty (1292–1191 BC) graffito left on a wall in the Old Kingdom mastaba of the vizier Ptahshepses at Abusir (near the sanctuary of Sekhmet-of-Sahure) aptly illustrates this: ‘... *We are (here) before our Mistress, and we are again [leaving?] an inscription to seek a reward from you (...)*’.¹² This statement reveals something about the custom (being a routine exercise), rationale (communication), and conditions (dependence and reciprocity) surrounding the creation of graffiti.

Recent studies of Egyptian graffiti focus largely on defining what is meant by the term, and the state of the debate may still be considered as inconclusive.¹³ Varying definitions have been proposed, even though most scholars appear to agree on *what* constitutes graffiti. On the whole, these definitions tend to be inherently inductive, whereas graffiti are often site-specific, or perhaps even period-specific.¹⁴ As a result, definitions based on the data from one specific context usually apply only partly to wider contexts.¹⁵ Common ground should therefore be pursued not in defining what constitutes graffiti, but in how to interpret certain graffiti in certain contexts. The carriers of the graffiti and the places in which they occur are essential to their interpretation.¹⁶

Definitions usually emphasize the informal character of graffiti – ‘invariably free of social restraints’¹⁷ or ‘constrained by fewer rules of public behaviour’¹⁸ –, and

¹¹ Cf. Dijkstra, *Syene I*, 19–22; T.M. Kristensen, ‘Pilgrimage, Devotional Practices and the Consumption of Sacred Places in Ancient Egypt and Contemporary Syria’, *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 20 (2014), 1–15.

¹² PM III/2, 342; KRI III, 437; G. Daressy, ‘Inscription hiératique d’un mastaba d’Abousir’, *BIE* 5 (1894), 107–13; A.J. Peden, *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt: Scope and Roles of Informal Writings (c. 3100–332 BC)* (PdÄ 17; Leiden, 2001), 95–6; H. Navrátilová, *The Visitors’ Graffiti of Dynasties XVIII and XIX in Abusir and Northern Saqqara* (Prague, 2007), 58–61. Inscribed (hieratic; black ink) by the Scribe Ptahemwia who visited the ‘shadow of the pyramids’ and the cult of Sekhmet-of-Sahure with his father, the Scribe Yupa and with the Scribe named Na[shuy] in Year 50 of undoubtedly Ramesses II.

¹³ H. Navrátilová, ‘Graffiti Spaces’, in L. Bareš, F. Coppens, and K. Smoláriková (eds), *Egypt in Transition: Social and Religious Development of Egypt in the First Millennium BCE* (Prague, 2010), 306.

¹⁴ Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project 3*, 201 (No. 2); Navrátilová, in Bareš et al. (eds), *Egypt in Transition*, 312.

¹⁵ Cf. Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project 3*, 187–230: a definition composed of a list of sixteen features. The list has been critically reviewed by Navrátilová, in Bareš et al. (eds), *Egypt in Transition*, 309–12.

¹⁶ Cf. F. Kammerzell, ‘Defining Non-Textual Marking Systems, Writing, and Other Systems of Graphic Information Processing’, in P. Andrassy, J. Budka, and F. Kammerzell (eds), *Non Textual Marking Systems, Writing, and Pseudo Script from Prehistory to Modern Times* (LingAeg SM 8; Göttingen, 2009), 303.

¹⁷ Peden, *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt*, xxi.

the fact that they were applied onto surfaces that were not originally intended to receive them.¹⁹ While this may reflect the nature of certain groups of graffiti in places with restricted public access (such as temples), the same cannot be maintained for tombs. In tombs, graffiti appear to be an integral part of the so-called *Besucherkult* (visitors' cult), being the results of behaviour both expected by visitors and desired by tomb owners.²⁰ Viewed with that perspective, such graffiti are indeed secondary inscriptions in the sense that they do not belong to the primary state of the place where they were applied.²¹ This does not exclude them from belonging to the primary *function* of that place (*in casu*: a tomb).²² The simple fact that the custom of leaving graffiti was so widespread in Ancient Egypt supports the hypothesis that they did belong to that primary function – if only as an expected and anticipated reaction to it.

For the reasons outlined above, the term graffiti in the context of the present paper is perceived in deliberately loose, generic terms, to include writings and drawings that are incised, scratched or painted²³ onto extant architectural features²⁴ and non-portable objects.²⁵

¹⁸ R. Mairs, 'Egyptian 'Inscriptions' and Greek 'Graffiti' at El Kanais in the Egyptian Desert', in Baird and Taylor (eds), *Ancient Graffiti in Context*, 157.

¹⁹ Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project* 3, 205–6 (No. 5); Dijkstra, *Syene* I, 22 n. 107; E. Frood, 'Egyptian Temple Graffiti and the Gods: Appropriation and Ritualization in Karnak and Luxor', in D. Ragavan (ed.), *Heaven on Earth: Temples, Ritual, and Cosmic Symbolism in the Ancient World* (OIS 9; Chicago, 2013), 286–7.

²⁰ See the oft-quoted Saite graffiti in the tomb of Ibi (TT 36): K.P. Kuhlmann, 'Eine Beschreibung der Grabdekoration mit der Aufforderung zu kopieren und zum Hinterlassen von Besucherinschriften aus saitischer Zeit', *MDAIK* 29 (1973), 205–10; W. Schenkel, 'Zur Frage der Vorlagen spätzeitlicher 'Kopien', in J. Assmann, E. Feucht, and R. Grieshammer (eds), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur: Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 417–44; K.P. Kuhlmann and W. Schenkel, *Das Grab des Ibi, Obergutsverwalters der Gottesgemahlin des Amun: Thebanisches Grab Nr. 36, 1: Beschreibung der unterirdischen Kult- und Bestattungsanlage* (AVDAIK 15; Mainz am Rhein, 1983), 71–3, pl. 23; Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey* II, 80.

²¹ C.C.D. Ragazzoli, 'The Social Creation of a Scribal Place: The visitors' Inscriptions in the Tomb Attributed to Antefiqer (TT 60) (With newly recorded graffiti)', *SAK* 42 (2013), 293.

²² Cf. Assmann, in Strudwick and Taylor (eds), *The Theban Necropolis*, 46 ('memory function' or function of 'biographical representation'); M.K. Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity in Ancient Thebes, 1419-1372 BCE* (MonAeg 10; Turnhout, 2004), 5–15.

²³ *Stricto sensu*, painted 'graffiti' should be termed *dipinti*.

²⁴ Van Pelt and Staring, *BMSAES* 23 (2015, in press). Darnell, in Allen and Shaw (eds), *Oxford Handbook*, 1–35, considers rock inscriptions (carved on natural desert surfaces) and 'graffiti proper' (carved on existing monuments) as two categories of graffiti. I consider the distinction between natural surfaces ('desert landscape (...) barren of points of socialized topography', Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey* II, 80) and man-made architectural surfaces (certainly of still functioning buildings) as a meaningful one.

²⁵ Non-portable objects (such as statues and stelae) formed an integral part of the tomb. Portable objects (such as votive stelae and ostraca) could be introduced into the sacred space at any time. As will be

3. New Kingdom Tomb-graffiti at Saqqara: Presentation of Data

The groups of graffiti to be analysed in this paper were recorded in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara. This necropolis was embedded within an ancient mortuary landscape.²⁶ It is located *c.* 20 km south of present-day Cairo, on the edge of the desert plateau to the west of the river Nile and the ancient capital Memphis. The tombs analysed in relation to this study belong to members of the highest echelons of society dating to the late Eighteenth Dynasty to the Nineteenth Dynasty, reign of Ramesses II (*c.* 1353–1213 BC).²⁷

A previous study of these groups of graffiti resulted in the formation of a framework for the interpretation of textual and figural tomb-graffiti.²⁸ It has been shown that the motifs of the graffiti in general have apotropaic associations, or are linked to ideas of regeneration and rebirth. In this paper the group of figural graffiti pertaining to human figures will be analysed in further depth. Due to their ability to convey identity, human figures are a particularly interesting group when trying to answer such questions as who visited tombs and for what purposes. The main aim of this paper, therefore, is to propose an interpretation for the figural graffiti recorded in these tombs – specifically those depicting human figures.

Let us start with the presentation of the data. A total of 243 graffiti have been recorded on the stone surfaces of the New Kingdom private funerary monuments at Saqqara. The two main groups are identified as figural ($n=202$; 83.1%) and textual ($n=41$; 16.9%). These numbers indicate that the practice of leaving figural graffiti was much more common than leaving texts.²⁹

The textual graffiti can be divided according to script: hieroglyphic ($n=19$; 46.3%) and hieratic ($n=22$; 53.7%). The figural graffiti can be divided in eight groups: human figures ($n=95$; 47%), human feet ($n=9$; 4.5%), animals ($n=32$; 15.8%), flowers

outlined below, there is a degree of overlap in the pictorial and textual content of graffiti and portable objects. Graffiti, however, had a permanent character.

²⁶ The earliest tombs recorded date to the First Dynasty, *c.* 2900–2730 BC.

²⁷ Late Eighteenth Dynasty, reigns of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten to Horemheb: 1353–1292 BC; Nineteenth Dynasty, reigns of Ramesses I to Ramesses II: 1292–1213 BC.

²⁸ Van Pelt and Staring, *BMSAES* 23 (2015, in press).

²⁹ Compare to graffiti at Karnak ($n=1428$): 82.9% figures; 17.1% texts. C. Traunecker, 'Manifestations de piété personnelle à Karnak', *BSFE* 85 (1979), 23.

(n=9; 4.5%), boats (n=18; 9%), geometric forms (n=18; 9%), furniture (n=; 1.5%), and miscellaneous (n=18; 9%).³⁰

The human figures (n=95; 39% of total) represent the largest group of graffiti at Saqqara, and they can be divided in four groups: human figures (n=48; 50.5%), human heads (n=42; 44.2%), human eyes (n=3; 3.1%), and anthropomorphic deities (n=2; 2.1%). A number of human figures depict the king in profile, either the complete profile (n=3; 3.1%) or the head (n=15; 15.8%).

Where were the graffiti left and is it possible to discern any patterns? The spatial distribution of human figures in the tombs (fig. 1.) does not deviate substantially from the overall distribution of figural graffiti as a whole.³¹ The entrance doorway was favoured, receiving 37.9% (n=36) of the figures. This is followed by the courtyards with 32.6% (n=31) and the chapels located in the west with 15.8% (n=15). This pattern may indicate a correlation between the increasing sacredness towards the inner spaces of the tomb (towards the west) and public accessibility, which is strikingly similar to the distribution of graffiti as observed in contemporaneous temples.³² For common people,³³ the outer spaces represented thresholds between the sacred and the profane.³⁴ Entrance doorways in general were considered as liminal zones, certainly in tombs.³⁵ The deceased dwelt in their houses of eternity (*ḥw.t n.t nḥḥ*), where they could be approached by, and interact with the living. The tombs' courtyard(s) accommodated statues of the deceased (inscribed with offering formulae and/or Appeals to the Living) and it was the place where mortuary cults and services for the deceased were staged.

The human figures do not generally interact with the extant tomb decoration: 83 figures (87.4%) were left on undecorated walls and on the undecorated dado of otherwise decorated walls. This indicates that their presence within the sacred space of

³⁰ Cf. the categorisation of figured graffiti applied by Dijkstra, *Syene I*.

³¹ Compare to Van Pelt and Staring, *BMSAES* 23 (2015, in press), fig. 37.

³² Traunecker, *BSFE* 85, 24; M.M. Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe: Untersuchungen zur Persönlichen Frömmigkeit in Ägypten von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (ÄAT 73; Wiesbaden, 2011), 58–9.

³³ The 'common people' are those people who do not belong to the temple's priesthood.

³⁴ Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe*, 59.

³⁵ L. Meskell, 'The Egyptian Ways of Death', in M.S. Chesson (ed.), *Social Memory, Identity and Death: Anthropological Perspectives on Mortuary Rituals* (Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association 10/1; 2001), 30; N. Harrington, *Living with the Dead: Ancestor Worship and Mortuary Ritual in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2013), 86, 94.

the tomb was considered more important than their possible interaction with the extant wall decoration (which is attested by tomb-graffiti at Thebes).³⁶

The figures do not form any coherent compositions when they are clustered together (fig. 2a–b). This indicates that each graffito represents the action of one individual unrelated to the actions that resulted in the production of the circumjacent graffiti. The clustering merely shows that a particular spot presented a popular, convenient and/or meaningful place to leave a graffito.

TABLE 1 *Textual graffiti recorded in New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara. Asterisk indicates a visitors' graffiti formula*

No.	Tomb	Name	Title	Script	Technique
II.1_2	Horemheb	<i>Pyi3y</i>	-	Hieroglyphic	Boldly incised
II.1_3	Horemheb	<i>P3-n-dw3</i>	<i>t3y md3t</i>	Hieroglyphic	Boldly incised
II.1_4	Horemheb	<i>[P3]-R^c-m-ḥb</i>	<i>t3y md3t</i>	Hieroglyphic	Boldly incised
II.1_7	Horemheb	<i>ḥ-p.t</i>	<i>sš pr-ḥd</i>	Hieroglyphic	Incised
II.1_8	Pay/Raia	<i>Nby-w^c.w</i>	<i>ḥry t3y</i>	Hieroglyphic	Incised
II.1_9	Pay/Raia	<i>Y///</i>	<i>w^cb</i>	Hieroglyphic	Incised
II.1_10	Pay/Raia	<i>Y^cḥ-ms</i>	<i>w^cb ḥr(y)-ḥb ḥw.t Pth</i>	Hieroglyphic	Incised
II.1_11	Pay/Raia	<i>///</i>	<i>///wr</i>	Hieroglyphic	Incised
II.1_17	Khay	<i>Ḥy</i>	-	Hieroglyphic	Incised
II.2_1	Paser	<i>Nḥt-Imn</i>	<i>i^cw</i>	Hieratic	Black ink
II.2_2	Horemheb	<i>P3y-s3w.ty</i>	-	Hieratic	Incised
II.2_3*	Horemheb	<i>Imn-m-ḥb</i>	<i>sš</i>	Hieratic	Scatched
II.2_4	Horemheb	<i>///</i>	<i>sš</i>	Hieratic	Scatched
II.2_7	Horemheb	<i>Imn-m[-ḥb]</i>	<i>sš</i>	Hieratic	Scatched
II.2_8*	Horemheb	<i>P3-n-t3-wr.t</i>	<i>sš</i>	Hieratic	Incised
II.2_9	Tia	<i>P3-šri-n-i^cḥ</i>	<i>sš</i>	Hieratic	Scatched
II.2_10	Pay/Raia	<i>Ms</i>	<i>sš</i>	Hieratic	Scatched
II.2_11	NN	<i>Ḥwy</i>	<i>sš</i>	Hieratic	Incised
II.2_15	Maya	<i>Smn///</i>	-	Hieratic	Black ink
II.2_16	Maya	<i>Ḥy</i>	-	Hieratic	Black ink
II.2_17	Maya	<i>Wsr///</i>	-	Hieratic	Black ink
II.2_18	Maya	<i>Dd-Pth-iw.f^cnḥ</i>	<i>sš</i>	Hieratic	Scatched
II.2_19	Maya	<i>///</i>	<i>sš nsw im.y-r///</i>	Hieratic	Scatched
II.2_21	Horemheb	<i>P3y-nḏm</i>	<i>sš</i>	Hieratic	Scatched
II.2_22*	Mery- Neith	<i>///</i>	<i>sš pr-ḥd</i>	Hieratic	Incised

³⁶ A. Den Doncker, 'Theban Tomb Graffiti during the New Kingdom: Research on the Reception of Ancient Egyptian Images by Ancient Egyptians', in K.A. Kóthay (ed.), *Art and Society: Ancient and Modern Contexts of Egyptian Art. Proceedings of the International Conference held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 13-15 May 2010* (Budapest, 2012), 25.

The techniques employed can reveal something about the backgrounds of the visitors who produced graffiti. Only a small proportion of the population would have had access to writing/painting equipment. Scratching a figure on the wall, on the other hand, could be done by anyone with any sharp tool (such as flint) at hand. In the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara, fourteen human figures (14.7%) were painted and 80 (84.2%) were incised. This distribution seems to indicate that not many graffitists will have been scribes carrying their writing equipment. The overview of techniques used to produce textual graffiti (see table 1, above) indicates that only few scribes used their scribe's outfit. Thus, the technique employed to produce a graffito (incised vs. painted) does not necessarily hint at the degree of literacy of the graffitist. It could also reveal something about intention (a scribe who had intended to leave a graffito while visiting the necropolis would have taken his writing equipment with him) or durability (an incised graffito naturally endures longer than does a graffito produced in ink).

The figures were on the whole rather unassuming in size: 36 (37.9%) measure less than 10 cm in height; 31 (32.6%) measure between 10 and 20 cm in height, and 14 figures are larger (13.7%).³⁷

4. The Spatial Context of the Graffiti: The Memphite Temple-tombs

As has been signalled in the introduction, it is useful to emphasize the materiality of graffiti and their physical engagement with the spaces in which they were introduced. The nature of the architectural setting can be instructive when analysing the nature of the graffiti. Let us therefore turn to the architectural setting for the graffiti discussed in relation to this paper: the Memphite New Kingdom temple-tombs.

A special feature of the tombs at Saqqara is that they held architectonic and decorative similarities to contemporary (mortuary) temples.³⁸ While the incorporation of the temple-function, which required a courtyard,³⁹ was not an exclusively Memphite development,⁴⁰ the tombs at Saqqara have the distinguishing feature that they are

³⁷ Ten specimens measure between 20 and 40 cm; three between 40 and 47 cm; and one measures 77.6 cm. The measurements of fourteen figures (14.7%) are unknown.

³⁸ J. van Dijk, *The New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis: Historical and Iconographical Studies* (PhD thesis, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen; Groningen, 1993), 200–2.

³⁹ Assmann, in Strudwick and Taylor (eds), *The Theban Necropolis*, 51.

⁴⁰ The same development can be observed in Theban tombs, see: B. Ockinga, 'Macquarie Theban Tombs Project TT 148 the Tomb of Amenemope: Report on the 1994/1995 and 1995/1996 Seasons', *BACE* 7 (1996), 67–9, fig. 1.

completely freestanding structures.

The so-called sacralisation of a private tomb gave it the character of a private temple which provided the deceased with a place on earth where he/she could worship the gods for eternity and be close to them.⁴¹ Moreover, the Memphite necropolis, commonly referred to as *r-sṯzW*, was considered to be the domain of the god (Ptah-) Sokar(-Osiris). Each tomb-shaft could be similarly designated as Rosetau.

The deceased provided the facilities for contact with the living by means of architecture, iconography, statues, and inscriptions. Visitors could seek interaction as well, for example by dedicating a votive stela. Stelae in general functioned as an interface; a mode of contact between the living and the dead. The vertical composition of scenes presented an idealised view of activities that were meant to take place within the confines of the tomb. This system (ideally) relied on dependence and reciprocity. The dead needed the living for securing a continuity of provisions, food and drink, and, perhaps most importantly, securing the memory of one's name among the living.⁴² The living, in turn, needed the dead as mediators for contact with the gods.⁴³

5. Textual Graffiti Commemorating Tomb-visits

Who were the people producing the graffiti? A major problem in the study of figural graffiti is the absence of any direct (i.e. written) clues (such as names, titles, or an explanation or motivation) about or by the graffitist. Results of research on textual graffiti, however, can be instructive when trying to interpret the rationale behind their figural equivalents, certainly as they are presumably the result of similar practices.⁴⁴ For

⁴¹ Assmann, in Strudwick and Taylor (eds), *The Theban Necropolis*, 49–51 ('temple function'); Ockinga, in Dorman and Bryan (eds), *Sacred Space*, 139.

⁴² Cf. the phrase *sṯnh rn=f*, 'who causes his name to live', which identifies the dedicator (usually the (eldest) son) of a stela to a deceased relative. See: M. Nelson-Hurst, '... who causes his name to live', *The Vivification Formula Through the Second Intermediate Period*, in Z. Hawass and J. Houser Wegner (eds), *Millions of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman* (ASAE Supp 39; Cairo, 2010), 13–31.

⁴³ As can be read in the Letters to the Dead, the living also sought help from the dead against perceived enemies amongst the dead (sometimes their deceased relatives), who were believed to have caused misfortunes suffered by the living (E.F. Wente, 'Correspondence', in D.B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2001), I, 313–14; Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, 34–7.

⁴⁴ Cf. E. Cruz-Uribe, 'Graffiti (Figural)', in W. Wendrich (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles, 2008), 1 <<http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz000s7j4s>> accessed 25.11.2014; Navrátilová, in Bareš et al. (eds), *Egypt in Transition*, 307; Frood, in Ragavan (ed.), *Heaven on Earth*, 286. See also the rock shrine of the *Wab* Priest Pahu (Eighteenth Dynasty, early second half), who left rock carvings comprising texts, figures and combinations of both (Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey II*, 7–82).

that reason, I will start with the textual graffiti in working towards an interpretation of the human figures.

A tomb presented an ideal place for the self-representation of its owner⁴⁵ (communicative character) and enabled him to make his name endure among the living (memory function).⁴⁶ The tomb owner availed himself of several visual (visual rhetoric)⁴⁷ and textual (Appeals to the Living)⁴⁸ strategies to attract prospective visitors. Visitors' graffiti can be considered as positive reactions to these visual and textual expressions,⁴⁹ and therefore they may represent a type of communication with the world of the dead. In some cases they could be interpreted as parallels to the Letters to the Dead⁵⁰ or as responses to the Appeals to the Living.⁵¹ This interpretation has recently been further explored by Ragazzoli who notes similarities in lexical choices between the corpora of visitors' graffiti and the Appeals.⁵²

The graffitists invariably identified themselves as scribes.⁵³ It has been demonstrated that this title should be understood not in the narrow sense to connote a title of office, but rather in the broader meaning as a literate person, conveying values of a certain scribal milieu.⁵⁴ Their fixed form may have communicated the graffitist's

⁴⁵ J. Assmann, 'Sepulkrale Selbstthematization im alten Ägypten', in A. Hahn and V. Knapp (eds), *Selbstthematization und Selbstzeugnis: Bekenntnis und Geständnis* (Frankfurt am Main, 1987), 208–32; B. Engelmann-von Carnap, 'Soziale Stellung und Grabanlage: zur Struktur des Friedhofs der ersten Hälfte der 18. Dynastie in Scheich Abd el-Qurna und Chocha', in J. Assmann et al. (eds), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung, Internationales Symposium Heidelberg 9.-13.6.1993* (SAGA 12; Heidelberg, 1995), 107–28.

⁴⁶ J. Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca, 2005), 41–56 ('Gedächtniskultur').

⁴⁷ M.K. Hartwig, 'Style and Visual Rhetoric in Theban Tomb Painting', in Z. Hawass and L. Pinch Brock (eds), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo 2000*, Vol. 2 (Cairo, 2003), 298–307; Den Doncker, in Kóthay (ed.), *Art and Society*, 23.

⁴⁸ C. Müller, 'Anruf an Lebende', in W. Helck and E. Otto (eds), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie 1* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 293–9; C. Salvador, 'From the Realm of the Dead to the House of the God: The New Kingdom Appeals to the Living in Context at Thebes', in K. Accetta et al. (eds), *Current research in Egyptology 2013: Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Symposium: University of Cambridge, United Kingdom March 19-22, 2013* (Oxford, 2014), 153–67.

⁴⁹ Den Doncker, in Kóthay (ed.), *Art and Society*, 23–34.

⁵⁰ Navrátilová, *Visitors' Graffiti*, 144.

⁵¹ Navrátilová, in Bareš et al. (eds), *Egypt in Transition*, 308.

⁵² Ragazzoli, *SAK 42*, 282–6.

⁵³ Outside the tomb-context, e.g. in the Theban mountains, a wide spectrum of titles of office are associated with the graffiti (Navrátilová, in Bareš et al. (eds), *Egypt in Transition*, 315–16), which probably reflects a different rationale.

⁵⁴ Den Doncker, in Kóthay (ed.), *Art and Society*, 26; Ragazzoli, *ZÄS*, 137, 158–9; Ragazzoli, *SAK 42*, 270, 276.

degree of literacy and scribal knowledge to future visitors.⁵⁵ As the graffiti texts are inscribed in anticipation of being read, they can be argued to have set in motion a ‘cycle of benefits’.⁵⁶ The visitor (graffitist) is attracted by the Appeals, reads the iconography and texts, and responds to it according to what is customarily expected – reciting texts, making adorations and presenting offerings – and perpetuates that act by leaving a graffito.⁵⁷ As this memento will eventually be read by future visitors, the graffitist secures his own space in the tomb to benefit from its magical efficacy.⁵⁸

The question arises whether (and if so, to what extent) the same applies to the graffiti recorded in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara. Their form and content are presented in Table 1.

In relation to the observations made in the discussion above, the set of data in Table 1 highlight four points of interest:

1. The variety of script.

Both hieratic (n=16; 64%) and hieroglyphic (n=9; 36%) are employed. Whereas the scribes’ script of choice was hieratic, more than one-third of tomb-graffiti at Saqqara were executed in hieroglyphs.

2. The distribution of graffiti formulae.

A minimum of twenty-three texts (92%) are so-called signatures and two (8%) are of a descriptive type.⁵⁹ The latter contain the typical visitors’ graffiti formulae. These normally start with *iwt pw ir*, ‘[The scribe *N*] came ...’ and *iy.t ir.n*, ‘there came [the scribe *N*] ...’. The majority of texts recorded at Saqqara are signatures. These probably commemorated the visit of the graffitist to a particular site and might be considered as an abbreviation of more elaborate (although unspecified) formulae.

3. The variety of titles.

⁵⁵ Den Doncker, in Kóthay (ed.), *Art and Society*, 28.

⁵⁶ Ragazzoli, *SAK* 42, 288–9.

⁵⁷ Due to the magical power of written texts to bring into existence that which is written, acts that were not performed in reality might be perpetuated by leaving a graffito: K.R. Ritner, ‘Magic in the Afterlife’, in Redford (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2001), II, 333–6; Hartwig, *Tomb Painting and Identity*, 8; E. Meyer-Dietrich, ‘Recitation, Speech Acts, and Declamation’, in W. Wendrich (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles, 2010), 3 <<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/1gh1q0md>> accessed 10.11.2014; Ragazzoli, *SAK* 42, 288.

⁵⁸ Den Doncker 2012, in Kóthay (ed.), *Art and Society*, 24–5; Ragazzoli *SAK* 42, 288–9.

⁵⁹ For the different formulae, see: Navrátilová, *Visitors’ Graffiti*, 132–3.

The title 'scribe' (n=9; 36%) is attested most often and a minimum of ten graffitists held other, or more specific scribal titles.

4. The correlation between titles and script.

Those who wrote in hieratic almost exclusively identified themselves as scribes.

The hieroglyphic graffiti were left exclusively by people bearing different titles.

These observations deviate from the trends observed both at Thebes and in the greater Memphite necropolis.⁶⁰

Furthermore, the observations are not in line with the argument that graffitists preferably identified themselves as scribes in compliance with a certain scribal culture. How should these deviating patterns best be explained?

The critical difference between the varying graffiti spaces is their relative age at the time of applying the graffiti. At Thebes and in the greater Memphite necropolis, the tombs represented monuments from the distant past. The people who visited these tombs may have been motivated by a sense of historic awareness. The graffiti that are the subject of this paper, on the other hand, were inscribed in contemporaneous structures. These were still functioning with an actively maintained mortuary cult and/or received (additional) burials. Visitors to these tombs may have had a closer personal relationship to the dead. The graffiti could have been left during visits connected to the funerary rituals performed during⁶¹ and mortuary practices after burial. This hypothesis is best illustrated by the (originally) anonymous offering bearers in the pylon doorways of the tombs of Maya and Tia.⁶² At some stage (possibly related to the burial of the tomb owner), short texts were inscribed in front of, or above these figures. The texts contained a title and name ('signatures') and were written (incised) in hieroglyphs. As a result, these generic offering bearers were transformed into very specific individuals. By so doing, these people secured their permanent presence in the following of the tomb owner and, more importantly, benefited from the magical efficacy offered by the tomb's

⁶⁰ These are New Kingdom visitors' graffiti left in Old Kingdom monuments at Abusir, Saqqara, and Dahshur. See: Navrátilová, *Visitors' Graffiti*, passim.

⁶¹ For the funerary rituals (ideally) performed at an (elite) tomb, see: C. Theis, *Deine Seele zum Himmel, dein Leichnam zur Erde: Zur idealtypischen Rekonstruktion eines altägyptischen Bestattungsritual* (BSAK 12; Hamburg, 2011), 139–73.

⁶² Maya: G.T. Martin, *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt I: The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary* (EES EM 99; London, 2012), pls 9, 11–13, 16; Tia: G.T. Martin, *The Tomb of Tia and Tia: A Royal Monument of the Ramesside Period in the Memphite Necropolis* (EES EM 58; London, 1997), pls 37, 39.

decoration programme.⁶³ The titles associated with these figures indicate that they were not random visitors, but rather subordinates to the tomb owner: officials of middle to lower rank. The hieroglyphic graffiti incised by people who identified themselves other than ‘scribes’ should undoubtedly be interpreted along the same line. Those graffiti were inscribed by people involved in the burial(s) (not necessarily of the main tomb owner) and/or the subsequent mortuary cult (such as (*wab*-)priests). The use of hieroglyphic script was a conscious choice: it is the monumental script used in funerary contexts and it was aimed at securing eternity.⁶⁴

6. Groups of Figural Graffiti Commemorating Tomb-visits

In addition to written graffiti, certain groups of figural graffiti also commemorated peoples’ visits to monuments. The best examples include the incised footprints (*vestigia; plantae pedis*) and depictions of boats. Footprints reflect the Ancient Egyptian custom to mark one’s worshipful presence before a deity,⁶⁵ which can be considered as a type of votive practice.⁶⁶ By inscribing their name, title and footprints on the Khonsu-temple roof at Karnak, lower-clergy priests would remain forever in the presence of ‘their’ god.⁶⁷ These wishes were made explicitly clear by the texts that often accompanied them, and they were similarly used later in the Demotic *rn=f mn*-formula (‘his name endures’). Depictions of boats served a similar goal, as they graphically represented one’s safe arrival at a sacred site and simultaneously ensured that person’s

⁶³ Compare e.g. to the stela dedicated by the Royal Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands, User (late Eighteenth Dynasty), who was probably a subordinate of the Overseer of the Treasury, Maya. His stela was positioned against the west face of the north wing of the pylon of his superior, where it was found *in situ* (M.J. Raven, *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt II: Objects and Skeletal Remains* (EES EM 65; Leiden, 2001), 9, 22, Cat. 19, pl 27). The example of Iurudef, who was buried in the forecourt of his superior Tia, illustrates that the wish for the permanent presence in the following of the tomb owner can be understood very literally. See M.J. Raven, *The Tomb of Iurudef: A Memphite Official in the Reign of Ramesses II* (EES EM 57; Leiden, 1991). For Theban tombs, Den Doncker, in Kóthay (ed.), *Art and Society*, 24–5, observed that ‘signatures’ preserved the integrity of images and in doing so ‘magically reused’ them by taking into account the symbolic value of the image.

⁶⁴ J. Assmann, ‘Gebrauch und Gedächtnis: Die zwei Kulturen des pharaonischen Ägypten’, in D. Harth and A. Assmann (eds), *Kultur als Lebenswelt und Monument* (Frankfurt, 1991), 142–4.

⁶⁵ Dijkstra, *Syene I*, 43–7, 153.

⁶⁶ G. Pinch and E.A. Waraksa, ‘Votive Practices’, in J. Dieleman and W. Wendrich (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles, 2009), 4.

<<http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz001nfbgg>> accessed 11.11.2014.

⁶⁷ H. Jacquet-Gordon, *The temple of Khonsu, Volume 3: The Graffiti on the Temple Roof at Karnak: A Manifestation of Personal Piety* (OIP 123; Chicago, 2003), 5.

perpetual presence at that place.⁶⁸ As such, these types of graffiti can be regarded as metonyms representing both identity and journey.⁶⁹

It is possible that representations of human figures in the Saqqara necropolis should similarly be interpreted as testimonies of devotional interaction, perhaps left by an illiterate (or less literate) section of the Egyptian population. The depiction of a human figure certainly represents a more explicit, personal expression of identity. It may explain the large quantity of human figures in the corpus of non-textual tomb-graffiti. In a temple-context, the footprints can be regarded as a cheaper alternative to the statues that were placed in courtyards by higher-ranking officials.

This hypothesis can be corroborated by graffiti left on a block that originally formed part of the (now lost) tomb of Pahemneter, the Memphite High Priest of Ptah (*sm wr-ḥrp-ḥmw.w*), at Saqqara (Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet NME 053; fig. 3).⁷⁰ On account of the block's dimensions (width: 46 cm), the four text columns,⁷¹ and the orientation of the signs, it will have formed part of a doorjamb on the right-hand side to the central axis of the tomb's accessible superstructure.⁷² At some point after the original tomb decoration had been applied, two male figures were roughly carved on the block's undecorated dado. The figure on the left is depicted in a striding pose and he raises his hands in adoration;⁷³ the second man, with shaven head, follows as he brings

⁶⁸ Dijkstra, *Syene* I, 73.

⁶⁹ This practice was not only used in Ancient Egypt and the wider Mediterranean, but also far beyond, as has been demonstrated for the San rock-engravings in South Africa: S. Ouzman, 'Seeing is Deceiving: Rock Art and the Non-visual', *World Archaeology* 33/2 (2001), 237–56.

⁷⁰ Previously NME 32014; probably ex-coll. d'Anastasi, 1826. See: PM III/2, 709; B.J. Peterson, 'Some Reliefs from the Memphite Necropolis', *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 5 (1969), 8–10, figs 4–5; G.T. Martin, *Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite Necropolis and Lower Egypt* (London, 1987), 42–3, No. 112, pl. 41. For the tomb of Pahemneter, see: PM III/2, 708–9 (possibly located near the Jeremias Monastery). Pahemneter officiated during the reigns of Seti I (1288–1279 BC) and Ramesses II (early): C. Raedler, 'Prestige, Role and Performance: Ramesside High Priests of Memphis', in R. Gundlach and K. Spence (eds), *5. Symposium zur altägyptischen Königsideologie/5th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology: Palace and Temple. Architecture – Decoration – Ritual. Cambridge, July 16th–17th, 2007* (KSG 4.2; Wiesbaden, 2011), 137 and table 1. This official is possibly depicted on the so-called 'fragment Daressy' alongside other 'famous men from the past': PM III/2, 571–2 (left fragment); B. Mathieu, 'Réflexions sur le "Fragment Daressy" et ses hommes illustres', C. Zivie-Coche and I. Guerneur (eds), *"Parcourir l'éternité": hommages à Jean Yoyotte 2* (BEHE SHP 156; Turnhout, 2012), 819–52 (esp. p. 834–35). I wish to thank Carolin Johansson and Ove Kaneberg of the Medelhavsmuseet for advice and permission to publish the block.

⁷¹ Each column undoubtedly started with a *ḥtp di nsw* offering formula, and concluded with the owner's title(s) and name.

⁷² Cf. N. Staring, 'The Tomb of Ptahmose, Mayor of Memphis: Analysis of an Early 19th Dynasty Funerary Monument at Saqqara', *BIFAO* 114/2 (2014), 455–518.

⁷³ For adoration-graffiti, see Van Pelt and Staring, *BMSAES* 23(2015, in press), fig. 7.

two censers and several jars clutched under his arms. Censers were used to initiate contact with the dead and the divine, and the jars will have contained liquids for offering purposes.⁷⁴ A short, incised hieroglyphic inscription in three framed columns identifies the second man as the *hry h3wt n(.y) Pth Pth-m-hb*, Chief of the Altar of Ptah, Ptahemheb.⁷⁵ Some signs are curiously arranged and orientated. The text should read from left to right, but the signs that make the words *Pth* and *hb* are arranged as if set in retrograde and the *m* sign (Gardiner Sign-List Aa15) is reversed. This could be explained as the scribe being uncomfortable in writing from left to right; perhaps being not fully proficient in writing monumental hieroglyphs.⁷⁶ The scribe had to configure the orientation of his text with that already extant on the same wall, and with the orientation of his graffito.

Graffiti of striding figures in adoring pose that were identified by a short text consisting of a name and title were observed also in the tomb ascribed to Antefiqer at Thebes (TT 60).⁷⁷ Ragazzoli connects this practice with the wishes expressed by the tomb owners of leaving votive offerings (*hṭp di nsw*). By inscribing graffiti, which were sometimes accompanied by additional ritual acts such as ‘making many adorations’, the graffitist complied with these wishes. The magical power of writing ensured that these acts of offering and giving adoration were perpetuated. In that sense, these graffiti texts can be seen as (part of) a votive act. The same can be observed on the block from the tomb of Pahemneter, where a Priest of the Altar and his colleague (perhaps on a professional assignment) bring offerings and make adorations. Their positioning at a doorway was certainly not coincidental, as they can be observed entering the tomb in perpetuity. It is conceivable that the offerings presented and adorations made by the priests were meant to eventually serve their own cult by means of magically taking part

⁷⁴ Both were often mentioned in offering formulae, e.g. *hṭp di nsw m snṯr kbḥ*, ‘an offering which the King gives comprising of incense and libation’ (stela of Ptah-Sety, Boston MFA 25.635; D. Dunham, ‘Four New Kingdom Monuments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston’, *JEA* 21 (1935), 148–9, No. 2, pl. 17.2).

⁷⁵ For the title, see e.g. N. de G. Davies, *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah* (London; 1948), 31–41, pl 22: TT 341, Nakht-Amun, Chief of the Altar in the Ramesseum, Twentieth Dynasty.

⁷⁶ Hieratic was always written from right to left.

⁷⁷ Ragazzoli, *SAK* 42, 287–8, fig. 12; 307, G. Amongst the walking figures at the entrance to TT 60 was also a human head, which may suggest that the head served as a *pars pro toto* for a human figure (in adoring pose) identified by a name and title. Compare also to the *orantes*, depictions of men in praying gesture, common in the Christian period in Egypt and Late Antiquity throughout the Mediterranean: Dijkstra, *Syene* I, 64.

in the diversion of offerings.⁷⁸ Such a wish could be materially substantiated e.g. by presenting a basin for libation.⁷⁹

Similarly, a faience plaque inscribed with a hieroglyphic text starting with the *hṯp dī nsw* formula for the Royal Butler and Chief Physician of the Lord of the Two Lands Nebmerutef was placed as an *ex voto* in the tomb (inner courtyard) of Horemheb. Its dedicator would thereby be able to (continue to) participate in the cult of this deified king.⁸⁰

The prospective aspect of graffiti is also apparent in the hieroglyphic text of Djehuty-her-hesef, Scribe of the King in the Temple of Ramesses II in the House of Amun (i.e. the Ramesseum), carved in four framed columns in the sanctuary of Sekhmet-of-Sahure.⁸¹ The scribe, who was of course alive when he carved the text, identifies himself as a *mꜣꜥ-hrw*, 'one true of voice', to indicate his deceased status. The graffito was therefore carved in anticipation of the scribe's perpetual presence after death.

7. Figural Graffiti = Illiterate Graffitists? On literacy and Orality, and Sensual Aspects

An Appeal to the Living inscribed on a niche-statue (Cairo JE 89046)⁸² originally placed in the accessible superstructure of the tomb of Pahemner, the High Priest of Ptah already mentioned above, is explicit about the oral dimensions of the text. The *hṯp dī nsw* formula needs to be pronounced:

⁷⁸ Cf. the stela of Yamen, the Lector Priest (*hr.y-hb*) who served in the offering cult for Maya and Meryt: M.J. Raven, 'A Stela Relocated', in A. Niwiński et al. (ed.), *Essays in Honour of Prof. Dr. Jadwiga Lipińska* (Warsaw Egyptological Studies 1; Warsaw, 1997), 146.

⁷⁹ Cf. the basin of Huy in the sanctuary of Sekhmet-of-Sahure: '[An offering which the King gives to Sekhmet] may she grant entering and leaving her temple with /// [to receive offerings that are brought forth] on the offering table of the Lady of the Two Lands to the *ka* of (Huy)' (L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Saahure*, 1: *Der Bau* (Leipzig, 1910), 120–1, fig. 164).

⁸⁰ H.D. Schneider, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tutaankhamūn II: A Catalogue of the Finds* (EES EM 61; Leiden, 1996), 17, Cat. 59, pls 8, 55. For a similar faience plaque, see: PM III/2, 559 (Huynefer; Cairo JE 39171); J.E. Quibell, *Saqqara (1906-1907)* (Cairo, 1908), 5, 79, pl. 35.4; from tomb shaft No. 332, Teti pyramid cemetery.

⁸¹ Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal*, 124, fig. 170.

⁸² G.A. Gaballa, 'Two Dignitaries of the XIXth Dynasty', *MDAIK* 30 (1974), 21–4, pl. 2b–c; *KRITA*, III, 411–12. The standing statue was found in the Jeremias Monastery (1950) alongside additional inscribed material from the tomb. It measures 160 x 72 cm and is carved half in the round and it is set in a shallow niche with which it forms a single piece.

‘... according as you say: “An offering which the King gives to...”’, and it continues with “... may you pronounce my name, while doing for me what is done for [the spirit of ... Pahemmeter, etc.]”’. (emphasis: NS)

Baines argues that reading out texts such as the Appeals and offering formulae served to activate the contents of those texts.⁸³ The emphasis on reading out indicates that visiting a tomb constituted acts that have not left any tangible, material traces; they belong to the less tangible arena of communication, which included words and gestures.⁸⁴

An Appeal to the Living inscribed in the tomb chapel of Mose, a Scribe of the Treasury of Ptah, at Saqqara pursues the same effect:

‘May [Ptah-Sokar-Osiris] grant a good remembrance before the sun disc enduring in the mouth of the living; and provisions and food offerings daily before my statue, [my] name abiding eternally, engraved forever’.⁸⁵ (emphasis: NS)

This text indicates that inscribing a name ensures that it will last forever, but that the remembrance of an individual endures by means of pronouncing one’s name by the living.

From the textual character of offering formulae and Appeals, it follows that one needs to be literate in order to read them. Literacy levels in New Kingdom Egypt, however, were low, with around 1% of the population being able to read and/or write.⁸⁶ The question arises whether figural graffiti were just as socially exclusive as their textual equivalents. Or could they be understood as a strategy employed by the non-

⁸³ J. Baines, ‘Orality and Literacy’, in J. Baines, *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2007), 147–8, 154. See also Meyer-Dietrich, *UEE* 2010, 1. Cf. also administrative texts: B. Haring, ‘From Oral Practice to Written Record in Ramesside Deir El-Medina’, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 46/3 (2003), 249–72.

⁸⁴ G. Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor* (Oxford, 1993), 339–42; S. Quirke, *Egyptian Literature 1800 BC: Questions and Readings* (GHP Egyptology 2; London, 2004), 45; Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe*, 239–41. Cf. also S. Kus, ‘Toward an Archaeology of Body and Soul’, in J.C. Gardin and C. Peebles (eds), *Representations in Archaeology* (Bloomington, 1992), 168–77 (the emotions, sights, smells, sounds, and experiential aspects of mortuary rites).

⁸⁵ *KRI* III, 422.5–8, *KRITA* III, 305; Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, 40–2.

⁸⁶ See e.g. J.J. Janssen, ‘Literacy and Letters at Deir el-Medina’, in R.J. Demarée and A. Egberts (eds), *Village Voices: Proceedings of the Symposium “Texts from Deir el-Medina and Their Interpretation,” Leiden, May 31 - June 1, 1991* (CNWS 13; Leiden, 1992), 81–94; P. Der Manuelian, ‘Semi-Literacy in Egypt: Some Erasures from the Amarna Period’, in E. Teeter and J.A. Larson (eds), *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente* (Chicago, 1999), 285–98; J. Baines and C. Eyre, ‘Four Notes on Literacy’, in Baines, *Visual and Written Culture*, 63–94.

literate to adapt to areas of life (and death) dominated by the literate?⁸⁷ Visiting elite tombs was not considered as an exclusively scribal affair. The Appeal texts, for example, addressed 'the living who exist upon earth, and everyone who comes (here) [after] years'.⁸⁸ Obviously, the dead did not bury themselves,⁸⁹ and a wide spectrum of people from different layers of society would have been involved in the different stages of constructing and maintaining the tomb, although we can only read the mementos of the literate. Moreover, burying the dead was not an exclusively elite affair. As the lower classes formed part of the same cultural system, one may assume that similar or adapted mortuary practices were performed by/for them. Materially, these were expressed differently. Thus, one cannot exclude the possibility that certain popular customs were introduced in the elite tombs as well, certainly when those tombs were reused for simple burials, which began in the late Nineteenth Dynasty.

Votive offerings similarly represent the surviving, material aspects of more substantial ritual acts of words and gestures.⁹⁰ Considering the low literacy rates in Egypt, many uninscribed objects may also have been dedicated with verbalised petitions to the deceased, thus serving the same purpose as those carrying texts.⁹¹ The saying or reading out of spells could serve to identify the object with that which it represented.⁹² The same can be suggested for the graffiti of human figures without texts to identify them.

Finally, one should also consider the visual value of graffiti: while texts could be conceived only by a minority, figures could be perceived by all. One should also add that certain symbols, such as the apotropaic *wedjat* eye, will have been effective only as a figure and not as a text. Literacy certainly has been an important factor in the choice

⁸⁷ Cf. Quirke, *Egyptian Literature 1800 BC*, 37–8.

⁸⁸ In the tomb of Nefersekeru ay Sawyēt Sultan scribes are prompted to read out the texts also to the illiterate: J. Osing, *Das Grab des Nefersecheru in Zawyēt Sulṭān* (AVDAIK 88; Berlin, 1992), 43–52.

⁸⁹ Cf. M. Parker Pearson, 'The Powerful Dead: Archaeological Relationships Between the Living and the Dead', *CAJ* 3.2 (1993), 203.

⁹⁰ Or non-representational culturally manufactured marks: cf. Ouzman, *World Archaeology* 33/2, 239.

⁹¹ Cf. the term *pṛt-ḥrw*, 'invocation offering': Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, 35 (referring to S. Donnat, *La peur du mort: Nature et structures des relations entre les vivants et les morts dans l'Égypte pharaonique* (PhD thesis, Université Paul Valéry – Montpellier III; Montpellier, 2003), 151). See also: G. Pinch, 'Redefining funerary objects', in Hawass and Pinch Brock (eds), *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first century* 2, 443. Cf. also L. Weiss, *Religious Practice at Deir el-Medina* (EU 29; Leuven, 2015), 159–61 ("pictorial act").

⁹² Pinch and Waraksa, *UEE* 2009, 6. For the magical potency of the spoken word (in societies that are primarily oral), see also E. Brunner-Traut, 'Wechselbeziehungen zwischen schriftlicher und mündlicher Überlieferung im Alten Ägypten', *Fabula* 20/1 (1979), 35; W.J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the World* (London, 1982), 32; Haring, *JESHO* 46/3, 256.

between textual and figural graffiti, but it was not the only or deciding factor. The purpose of the graffito (i.e. what was the graffitist's intention or what did the graffitist hope to achieve?) will have been just as important, and it could have made literate individuals produce a figural graffito.

8. Graffiti, Formal Graffiti and Votive Stelae

Above, an attempt was made to define the term graffito. The fact that this is necessary implies that there are other media closely resembling or overlapping with what have been considered graffiti in relation to this study. This should not be considered a problem, but an opportunity to broaden the scope for analysis.

The lengthy hieroglyphic texts and images of priests and gods at Karnak, which Froot considers 'formal graffiti', qualitatively approximate the extant temple decoration.⁹³ The same is true for the graffiti in figure 3. The men were roughly carved in proper sunk relief, and only a comparison with the overall tomb decoration enables one to make a distinction between the original iconography and that added later. In the temples of Luxor and Karnak, Brand distinguishes between simple *ex voto* (e.g. images of the god), formal graffiti (e.g. officials adoring a god), and graffiti in the form of reliefs carved by trained artists and commissioned by the clergy.⁹⁴

It has already been observed above that certain graffiti can be regarded as a votive act. The varying degrees of 'formality' enable one to also compare the graffiti to other media.

One characteristic of votive objects is that they were not intrinsically valuable. The symbolic value was of prime importance, and the objects were made by people of all

⁹³ E. Froot, 'Horkhebi's decree and the development of priestly inscriptional practices in Karnak', in L. Bareš, F. Coppens, and K. Smoláriková (eds), *Egypt in Transition: Social and Religious Development of Egypt in the First Millennium BCE. Proceedings of an International Conference, Prague, September 1–4, 2009* (Prague, 2010), 116–22, figs 4–7; Froot, in Ragavan (ed.), *Heaven on Earth*, 289, figs 13.4–5.

⁹⁴ P. Brand, 'Veils, Votives, and Marginalia: The Use of Sacred Space at Karnak and Luxor', in Dorman and Bryan (eds), *Sacred Space*, 64. Cf. also the remarks on the distinction between 'graffiti' and 'inscriptions' by S.P. Vleeming, 'A White Wall is a Fool's Paper', in A.M. Dodson, J.J. Johnston, and W. Monkhouse (eds), *A Good Scribe and an Exceedingly Wise Man: Studies in Honour of W.J. Tait* (GHP Egyptology 21; London, 2014), 323–4.

ranks.⁹⁵ Many of the crude stelae, figured ostraca and figural graffiti found at Saqqara do not convey the impression that they were produced by artistically skilled individuals. What does this qualification reveal about their makers? With regards to the small, so-called informal stelae found at Amarna, Stevens notes that quality can distinguish domestic from workshop production, but that despite their low artistic quality, the images are recognisable.⁹⁶ She argues that the painter had to work free-hand and that the differences in quality could be the result of differences in natural aptitude. The same qualifications apply to graffiti: despite their low artistic quality, the images are generally recognisable. Thus, graffiti of apparent low artistic merit need not necessarily be the products of individuals lacking artistic skills. Similarly, one may question the ability of someone who lacked any artistic experience to convey an image (recognisable even to the present-day observer) to a vertical stone surface with a random (i.e. not purpose-made) tool.

Formal Graffiti as Votive Stelae

'Formal graffiti' have been found in the New Kingdom sanctuary of Sekhmet-of-Sahure at Abusir.⁹⁷ Recesses for the placement of small votive stelae were cut in the surviving remains of the Old Kingdom walls. Such stelae could also be carved directly onto the walls ('formal graffiti').⁹⁸ The upper register of one such round-topped 'stela' contains three representations of the standing goddess Sekhmet with a lioness head. The dedicator of the stela – May, who was Priest of Sekhmet and Scribe of the Treasury of the Temple (*pr.w*) of Tutankamun – is represented in the lower register, kneeling and with his hands raised in adoration. The text inscribed in front of him starts with *rdi(.t) i3w n Shm.t*, 'Giving adoration to Sekhmet'.

⁹⁵ Pinch, *Votive Offerings*, 354–5; Pinch and Waraksa, *UEE* 2009, 5.

⁹⁶ A. Stevens, *Private Religion at Amarna: The Material Evidence* (BAR IS 1587; Oxford, 2006), 262. Note that even workshop-produced votive stelae could be made rather quickly, as has been demonstrated on O.DeM 246: *m p3 hrww*, 'on this day' (J. Moje, 'O.DeM 246: Ein Auftragsbeleg aus einer altägyptischen Werkstatt', *BIFAO* 106 (2006), 183–92).

⁹⁷ Located a little north of the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara: Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal*, 120–35; A.I. Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom* (HÄB 27; Hildesheim, 1987), 29–36.

⁹⁸ Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal*, 121–2, fig. 165: late Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Tutankhamun. The same practices can be observed at the nearby sphinx-cult in Giza (PM III/1, 39–47; S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza VIII: The Great Sphinx and Its Secrets* (Cairo, 1953), 56–7, figs 44–5 (tomb No. 4); Sadek, *Popular Religion*, 23–9.

A similar practice is attested on a block found in the second courtyard of the tomb of Horemheb.⁹⁹ This limestone block in sunk relief was taken for reuse from another tomb chapel. The lower part of the undecorated reverse was used to carve a round-topped stela in sunk relief (fig. 4).

Votive Ostraca

Limestone ostraca could similarly be used to serve as small votive stelae. A number of such crude stelae have been found in the Leiden concession area.¹⁰⁰ One limestone ostrakon contained on both the obverse and reverse the red-painted outlines of a round-topped stela.¹⁰¹ Another limestone ostrakon from the second courtyard of the tomb of Tia was roughly shaped to represent a round-topped stela (fig. 5).¹⁰² The design on the obverse, drawn in black, red, and yellow paint, presents scenes in two registers. The upper register depicts a man standing with his hands raised in adoration in front of an enthroned deity. The lower register depicts two individuals standing with their hands raised. Another ostrakon, found in the outer courtyard of the tomb of Maya, was shaped as a small round-topped stela bearing the representation of a human head, executed in sunk relief and painted in red and black (fig. 6).¹⁰³

Ninety-three figured ostraca found in the Leiden concession area at Saqqara have been published. Potsherds represent the medium most often used (n=62; 67%), followed by limestone (n=30; 32%), and one calcite fragment (1%). The depictions were painted (n=76; 81.7%), scratched/incised (n=10; 10.7%), or carved (n=5; 5.4%).

Most ostraca depict human figures (n=61; 66%), although predominantly only the heads (n=42; 45.1%). Nearly all human figures are males (n=51; 83.6%); females are depicted on 4.9% (n=3) of the corpus. Animals occur on 10.8% (n=10) of the ostraca. Other motifs are extremely rare.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ Nineteenth Dynasty; 143 x 58.2 x 24 cm: Schneider, *Horemheb II*, 91, NK 1, pl. 99 ('undoubtedly a trial piece of a sculptor').

¹⁰⁰ Schneider, *Horemheb II*, 19, Cat. 66, pl. 56 (6.8 x 5.3 x 2.1 cm); Martin, *Tia and Tia*, 68, Cat. 16, pl. 104 (15.5 x 11 x 4 cm).

¹⁰¹ Martin, *Tia and Tia*, 68, Cat. 20, pl. 171: 23 x 17.5 x 6.5 cm.

¹⁰² Raven, in Martin, *Tia and Tia*, 68 [Cat. 16], pl. 104.

¹⁰³ 10.2 x 9 x 4 cm; Raven, *Maya and Meryt II*, 25, pl. 31.37.

¹⁰⁴ These are: basket/jar (n=1); blue crown (n=1); censer (n=1); five-pointed star (n=1); gaming board (n=2); lotus (n=1); *wedjat* eye (n=1); circles (n=1); text (in combination with a figure; n=3); indistinct (n=9).

Most ostraca were found without a secure stratigraphic context, which makes it difficult to make any well-founded assertions regarding their original use and dating. In the area between the south wall of Horemheb's second courtyard and the north wall of Iniuia's tomb a number of figured ostraca were found. In this well-defined area, a dump of pottery originally placed in the cult chapel(s) of Horemheb's tomb (presumably after the burial of his wife/wives) has been identified.¹⁰⁵ The same area also contained several figured ostraca.¹⁰⁶

A pit dug in the forecourt of the neighbouring tomb of the Overseer of Builders, Paser, contained a cache of broken pottery, including some figured ostraca bearing the representations of human heads.¹⁰⁷ The ceramics included types used in funerary rituals and services in honour of the deceased.¹⁰⁸

Another dump was found in the area between the south wall of Tia's inner courtyard and the north wall of Horemheb's second courtyard. Besides pottery, it also included a range of objects such as a female (fertility) figurine¹⁰⁹ and figured ostraca, including the ostrakon with the painted outlines of a round-topped stela mentioned above. Finally, a deposit of used pottery under the staircase located in the same area contained a large number of figured ostraca (both pottery and limestone).¹¹⁰

Other types of votive objects found in the accessible tomb superstructures included an ear-stela (tomb of Horemheb),¹¹¹ and a limestone ostrakon bearing the representation of two ears in sunk relief (tomb of Maya).¹¹²

¹⁰⁵ M.J. Raven, *The Tomb of Pay and Raia at Saqqara* (EES EM 74; Leiden, 2005), 70; B. Aston, 'The Pottery', in M.J. Raven et al., *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander in Chief of Tutankhamun, V: The Forecourt and the Area South of the Tomb with Some Notes on the Tomb of Tia* (PALMA 6; Turnhout, 2011), 238.

¹⁰⁶ Aston, in Raven et al., *Horemheb V*, 238, Cat. 178–9, fig. VI.20. For the ostraca, see: Raven, *Pay and Raia*, Cat. 17–18, 75–80, 82, pls 98, 103 (interpreted as a workmen's deposit). The same area was later appropriated for two surface burials of Nineteenth Dynasty date: *Ibid.*, 70, burial 96/2, pl. 13.3, and burial 96/3, pl. 139.3.

¹⁰⁷ M.J. Raven, 'Catalogue of Objects', in G.T. Martin, *The Tomb-Chapels of Paser and Ra'ia at Saqqâra* (EES EM 52; London, 1985), 20, 24, Cat. 32–3, pl. 33 (described as artists' studies).

¹⁰⁸ Martin, *Paser and Ra'ia*, 3.

¹⁰⁹ Martin, *Tia and Tia*, 66, Cat. 6, pl. 70. See also the tomb of Maya: Raven, *Maya II*, 20, Cat. 9–10, pl. 14 (two figurines on beds).

¹¹⁰ Martin, *Tia and Tia*, 68, 74, 75 [18, 75–6, 78, 80–1, 83, 85–93], pls 104, 105.

¹¹¹ Schneider, *Horemheb II*, 18, Cat. 63, pls 8, 55. For ear-stelae in general, see: Pinch, *Votive Offerings*, 248–53.

¹¹² Raven, *Maya II*, 24–5, Cat. 35, pl. 31 (interpreted as a trial piece). Pinch (*Votive Offerings*, 250–3) argues that the ears encouraged the deity to hear a prayer. In a tomb-context, they may have served the same purpose towards the dead. Note that one form of Ptah at Memphis was *Pth sꜣm nꜣt*, 'Ptah-who-hears-prayers' (Sadek, *Popular Religion*, 16–29).

That certain figured ostraca, instead of being mere trial pieces,¹¹³ could also have been used as rudimentary cult images – intended as foci for worship or as votive offerings – has been argued for material found at other sites in Egypt. Additionally, an offering table found at Amarna contained a human head incised in profile and well centred on the reverse.¹¹⁴ While it is not clear whether the image is contemporaneous with the carving of the offering table, it is tempting to see them as belonging together. Perhaps the head should be interpreted as the representation of the object's dedicator, where it served a similar purpose as the texts usually inscribed on such objects.

9. Graffiti of Human Figures at Dahshur and Saqqara in the Context of the Early Nineteenth Dynasty

Dahshur, the necropolis south of Saqqara, presents a remarkable parallel for the graffiti depicting human figures. The walls of the *serdab* located in the subterranean apartments of the pyramid of the Twelfth Dynasty King Sesostri III (1837–1819 BC) are covered with nearly fifty human heads drawn in black ink.¹¹⁵ Most are just under life-size and a few are even larger. The presence of the graffito depicting a falcon has led to the suggestion that the graffiti have some connection with Sokar.¹¹⁶

Dieter Arnold initially connected the graffiti with the systematic robbery of pyramids during the later Second Intermediate Period (c. 1759–1539 BC), arguing that they represented 'portraits' of the foreign robbers.¹¹⁷ Later, he suggested that the graffitists were the people (foreigners and/or natives) who entered the monument in connection with its dismantling in the late Ramesside Period (1190–1077 BC).¹¹⁸ Due to the absence of texts, he proposed that these people were illiterate; recording their

¹¹³ That a number of the ostraca indeed represented artists' sketches is beyond doubt. Their very nature (as crudely produced images) make them difficult to distinguish from depictions made by people lacking artistic skills. However, even trial pieces or sketches could be later used as votive objects, even though they were not produced with that intention (cf. A.R. Schulman, 'Ex-votos for the Poor', *JARCE* 6 (1967), 153).

¹¹⁴ Stevens, *Private Religion*, 196–7, fig. II.9.2.

¹¹⁵ J. De Morgan, *Fouilles a Dahchour en 1894-1895* (Vienna, 1903), 93–6, figs 137–40; Di. Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur: Architectural Studies* (New York, 2002), 42–3, pls 21c, 23a,b–d, 24–26, 27a; Do. Arnold, 'Image and Identity: Egypt's Eastern Neighbours, East Delta People and the Hyksos', in M. Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects* (OLA 192; Leuven, 2010), 200–6, figs 3–5.

¹¹⁶ Di. Arnold, *Senwosret III at Dahshur*, pl. 25.

¹¹⁷ Di. Arnold, 'Zur Zerstörungsgeschichte der Pyramiden', *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 23.

¹¹⁸ Di. Arnold, *Senwosret III at Dahshur*, 42–3; T. Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten während des Mittleren Reiches und der Hyksoszeit, Teil 2: Die ausländische Bevölkerung* (ÄAT 42; Wiesbaden, 2003), 191–2.

identities with 'self-portraits'.¹¹⁹

Recently, Dorothea Arnold explored the possibility that the drawings were produced by a 'group of easterners' who left 'various images that convey their self-understanding almost entirely unencumbered by the confines of Egyptian artistic convention'.¹²⁰ This identification is based primarily on their 'wild and wiry' hairdo with a distinctive tuft. She argued that a SIP date is provided by the 'Middle Kingdom-style image' of a male figure, and that a Ramesside date should be rejected by this image alone.

A comparison with some graffiti at Saqqara, however, suggests that an early Ramesside date cannot be excluded. The kilt of the so-called Middle Kingdom figure is the same as the pointed kilt worn by deified Old Kingdom rulers depicted on Memphite reliefs and stelae.¹²¹ A graffito scratched in the pylon entrance of Maya's tomb has the same profile (see fig. 2b). Most heads at Dahshur do not have the distinctive 'Eastern' hairdo, and the tuft is visible also in a graffito scratched in the tomb of Maya (fig. 2a). The depiction of the heads in profile with the eyes in a frontal view is according to Egyptian artistic conventions. Finally, the peculiar way in which the mouths are drawn is similar to the beaklike mouths of the three kings' heads in the late Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of the Royal Butler Ptahemwia at Saqqara (fig. 7: Nos I.1_40-42).

New Kingdom visitors' graffiti are concentrated in the greater Memphite necropolis around royal complexes.¹²² During the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty (temp. Thutmosis III, 1479–1425 BC), Sesostris III enjoyed renewed private and royal interest,¹²³ and the visitors' graffiti texts demonstrate a sense of historic awareness.¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ Di. Arnold, *Senwosret III at Dahshur*, 42–3.

¹²⁰ The acculturated *Aamu*: Do. Arnold, in Marée (ed.), *Second Intermediate Period*, 200, 204.

¹²¹ For example Menkauhor (Fifth Dynasty, c. 2373–2366 BC) on a relief in the late Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Amenemone, Chief Goldsmith (Louvre B 48: B.G. Ockinga, *Amenemone, the Chief Goldsmith: A New Kingdom Tomb in the Teti Cemetery at Saqqara* (ACE Reports 22; Oxford, 2004), scene 13, pls 21, 68); Teti (Sixth Dynasty, c. 2305–2279 BC) on the late Eighteenth Dynasty Apis stela of May (Louvre IM 5305: M. Malinine, G. Posener, and J. Vercoutter, *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis* (Paris, 1968), Cat. No. 1, pl. 1); Teti on the late Eighteenth/early Nineteenth Dynasty stela of Ptah-Sety, Outline Draughtsman (Boston, MFA 25.635: Dunham, *JEA* 21, 148–49, pl. 17.2; Málek, in Lloyd (ed.), *Studies J. Gwyn Griffiths*, 68 [S6], fig. 3, pl. 7).

¹²² Navrátilová, *Visitors' Graffiti*, 27.

¹²³ PM III/2, 885; J. De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour, mars-juin 1894* (Vienna, 1895), 3, 77–80, figs 1, 183–6, 190–5; Peden, *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt*, 63–4; Navrátilová, *Visitors' Graffiti*, 134, 143, Table 1d–g; A. Oppenheim, 'The Early Life of Pharaoh: Divine Birth and Adolescence Scenes in the Causeway of Senwosret III at Dahshur', in M. Bárta, F. Coppens, and J. Krejčí (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010*, I (Prague, 2011), 171–88; H. Navrátilová, 'Graffiti from Dahshur', *Kmt* 24/3 (2013), 41–7; H. Navrátilová, 'New Kingdom Graffiti in Dahshur, Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III:

The same monuments continued to be visited during the Nineteenth Dynasty; at least partly for different reasons. The Ramesside graffiti at Dahshur can be connected with the dismantling of the complex. The inscriptions include both visitors' graffiti and control notes probably containing the names (in abbreviated form) of temples of Ramesses II.¹²⁵ Navrátilová interprets the temples mentioned in the control notes as the delivery addresses for the re-use of the blocks on which they were written.¹²⁶ Interestingly, a block found reused near the tomb of Mery-Neith at Saqqara contained part of the cartouche with the name of Sesostris III ($H^c-kz.w-R^c.w$).¹²⁷

The dismantling of ancient monuments in the Memphite necropolis during the reign of Ramesses II (1279–1213 BC) is well attested. Prince Khaemwaset, the High Priest of Ptah at Memphis and fourth son of Ramesses II, played a prominent part in the process.¹²⁸ His hill-top monument at Saqqara-north, constructed sometime after Year 30 of Ramesses II, contained building material taken from Old Kingdom monuments at nearby Abusir.¹²⁹ He simultaneously embellished the monuments he exploited as stone quarries, including the pyramid of Sesostris III.¹³⁰

10. Graffiti Depicting the King

A final group of graffiti from the Leiden concession area at Saqqara depict the king

Preliminary Report. Graffiti Uncovered in Seasons 1992-2010', *JARCE* 49 (2013), 113–42. For Abusir, see: L. Bareš, 'The Destruction of the Monuments at the Necropolis of Abusir', in M. Bartá and J. Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000* (ArOr Supp 9; Prague, 2000), 7; J. Baines, 'The Destruction of the Pyramid Temple of Sahure', *GM* 4 (1973), 12–13.

¹²⁴ Cf. Navrátilová, *Kmt* 24/3, 44.

¹²⁵ Navrátilová, *JARCE* 49, 118. The Ramesside temple of Ptah at Memphis was constructed at least partly with blocks taken from Old Kingdom monuments located in the Memphite necropolis: L. Giddy, 'Memphis 1989: The Ptah Temple Complex', *BACE* 1 (1990), 38–41; L.L. Giddy, D.G. Jeffreys, and J. Málek, 'Memphis, 1989', *JEA* 76 (1990), 1–15; Málek, in Lloyd (ed.), *Studies J. Gwyn Griffiths*, 73.

¹²⁶ Navrátilová, *Kmt* 24/3, 46; Navrátilová, *JARCE* 49, 118.

¹²⁷ M.J. Raven and R. van Walsem, *The Tomb of Meryneith at Saqqara* (PALMA 10; Turnhout, 2014), 158–9, No. 92 (SAK 2003-R75). The inscription is in sunk relief and, since the inscriptions in the pyramid complex of Sesostris III are in raised relief, it probably derived from a private mastaba tomb.

¹²⁸ F. Gomaà, *Chaemwese: Sohn Ramses' II. und Hoherpriester von Memphis* (ÄA 27; Wiesbaden, 1973), 34–8.

¹²⁹ I.H. Takamiya, H. Kashiwagi, and S. Yoshimura, 'Khaemwaset and His Monuments at North Saqqara: A Record of Multiple Aspects of "the First Egyptologist"', in V.G. Callender et al. (eds), *Times, Signs and Pyramids: Studies in Honour of Miroslav Verner on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday* (Prague, 2011), 412–17.

¹³⁰ Málek, in Lloyd (ed.), *Studies J. Gwyn Griffiths*, 65; A. Oppenheim and J.P. Allen, 'The Inscription of Prince Khaemwaset', in Di. Arnold, *Senwosret III at Dahshur*, 29–30, fig. on p. 30.

(fig. 7).¹³¹ These graffiti probably were left in connection with the cult of Horemheb.¹³² During the early Ramesside period his former private tomb was transformed into a royal memorial temple.¹³³ Most graffiti depicting the king, however, were recorded not in his tomb, but in those surrounding that monument.

Data

Eighteen graffiti depicting the king were recorded in the Leiden concession area (fig. 7), representing 8.9% of figural graffiti at the site. The king was depicted either standing (n=3; 16.7%) or represented only by his head (n=15; 83.3%). The figures are identified on account of their crown (n=16; 88.9%) or the uraeus attached to the forehead (n=2; 11.1%). Three types of crown are recorded: the *nemes* (n=1), the 'white' crown¹³⁴ (n=2) and the so-called 'blue' crown or *kheprsh* (n=11).

In a study on the iconography of the king wearing the *kheprsh* crown, Hardwick concludes that it represented the mortal aspects of the king's personality, i.e. the living King.¹³⁵ He is frequently shown offering to, and receiving benefits from deities. The aspect of mortality is further emphasized by what Hardwick defines as the "naturalizing eye".¹³⁶ These characteristics are present in a relief of Memphite origin depicting Ramesses II. Together with his mother Tuya he is engaged in a ritual act before Osiris.¹³⁷ Another block presumably from Saqqara shows a dyad of Ramesses II and the goddess Anat-of-Ramesses. The king wears the high, nearly vertical blue crown in combination with the formal eye.¹³⁸

¹³¹ These graffiti were drawn and/or redrawn from the original by the author. The drawings may therefore differ slightly from those published earlier (see bibliographic references).

¹³² Martin, *Horemheb* I, 70–3.

¹³³ The royal tomb of Horemheb is located in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes, KV 57 (T.M. Davis, *The Tombs of Harmhabi and Touatânkhamanou* (London, 1912)). His Memphite memorial temple was called *t3 ḥw.t Dsr-ḥpr(.w)-Rᶜ.w-Stp.n-Rᶜ.w iw-Pth-mr.y-bᶜḥ* (relief Cairo TN 31.5.25.11).

¹³⁴ Note that Osiris and Atum wear also this crown. The uraeus indicates that the crown is royal.

¹³⁵ T. Hardwick, 'The Iconography of the Blue Crown in the New Kingdom', *JEA* 89 (2003), 119–23. See also W.V. Davies, 'The Origin of the Blue Crown', *JEA* 68 (1982), 69–76; K. Goebis, 'Crowns', in Redford (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, I, 324.

¹³⁶ The naturalising eye is gradually replaced in the reign of Ramesses II in favour of the formal eye, emphasizing divinity.

¹³⁷ Relief Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 5091: A. Radwan, 'Ramses II. und seine Mutter vor Osiris', *SAK* 6 (1978), fig. on p. 158; Martin, *Tia and Tia*, 46 n. 5, pl. 46.

¹³⁸ J.D. Cooney, *Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art 1951-1956: Catalogue of an Exhibition Held at The Brooklyn Museum 11 December, 1956 to 17 March, 1957* (Brooklyn, 1956), 27–8, pls 51–2 (as provenance Tanis); E. Hofmann, *Bilder im Wandel: Die Kunst der Ramessidischen Privatgräber* (Theben

Most graffiti depicting the king wearing the *khepresh* indicate the naturalising eye, if the eyes are indicated at all. Only one graffito indicates the formal eye (fig. 7: No. I.1_76).

Horemheb in the Ramesside Period

At Saqqara, the king is seldom included in the relief decoration of New Kingdom tombs.¹³⁹ The few representations show him wearing a wig,¹⁴⁰ the *nemes* headdress,¹⁴¹ and the *khepresh* crown.¹⁴² Depictions of the king in graffiti, on ostraca¹⁴³ and stelae show him predominantly wearing the *khepresh*.

In the private tombs at Thebes, and on monuments from Deir el-Medina, Horemheb was recognised as the founder of the Nineteenth Dynasty.¹⁴⁴ That dynasty was founded on politically shaky ground, and its success was far from certain.¹⁴⁵ To reinforce their own legitimacy, both Seti I and Ramesses II widely promoted the cults of their deceased

17; Mainz am Rhein, 2004), 139, fig. 163. Three more reliefs probably deriving from the same structure were discovered in the ruins of the Jeremias Monastery at Saqqara: L. Habachi, 'Jubilees of Ramesses II and Amenophis III', *ZÄS* 97 (1971), 70–1, figs 4–5, pl. VIIa–b). Habachi suggests that the statues were erected on the occasion of a Sed-festival celebrated by the king, and that the blocks may derive from the (lost) tomb of Khaemwaset.

¹³⁹ In the tomb of Tia, only the lower part of Ramesses II depicted on the south and north reveals of the entrance pylon doorway remained: Martin, *Tia and Tia*, 18–19, scenes 14 and 18, pls 11, 13. Tombs with the representation of the King are more numerous at Thebes. See: PM I, appendix A, 1–3, 4; A. McDowell, 'Awareness of the Past in Deir el-Medîna', in Demarée and Egberts (eds), *Village Voices*, 95–109; G. Hollender, *Amenophis I. und Ahmes Nefertari: Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung ihres posthumer Kultes anhand der Privatgräber der thebanischen Nekropole* (DAIK Sonderschrift 23; Berlin, 2009).

¹⁴⁰ Seti I on relief Louvre E 3337 = C 213 (tomb of Hormin, LS 29: PM III/2, 664–5; C. Barbotin, *La voix des hiéroglyphes: promenade au Département des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Louvre* (Paris, 2005), 170–1, No. 92).

¹⁴¹ The Fifth Dynasty king Menkauhor as represented in the tomb of the late Eighteenth Dynasty Chief Goldsmith Amenemone (Louvre B.48; Ockinga, *Amenemone*, scene 13, pls 21, 68).

¹⁴² Martin, *Horemheb I*, 100, scene 81, pl. 117.

¹⁴³ For ostraca depicting the King, see also E. Brunner-Traut, *Die altägyptischen Scherbenbilder (Bildostraka) der deutschen Museen und Sammlungen* (Wiesbaden, 1956), pls 10–16 (Deir el-Medina); Schulman, *JARCE* 6, 154 (Ptah temple, Memphis); Stevens, *Private Religion*, 157 (Amarna).

¹⁴⁴ McDowell, in Demarée and Egberts (eds), *Village Voices*, 98.

¹⁴⁵ W.J. Murnane, 'The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty: A Study in the Resilience of an Institution', in D. O'Connor, and D.P. Silverman (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (PdÄ 9; Leiden, 1995), 185–220; P. Brand, 'Ideology and Politics of the Early Ramesside Kings (13th Century BC): A Historical Approach', in W. Bisang et al. (eds), *Prozesse des Wandels in historischen Spannungsfeldern Nordafrikas/Westasiens: Akten zum 2. Symposium des SFB 295 Mainz, 15.10 – 17.10.2001* (Würzburg, 2005), 27.

fathers¹⁴⁶ and the royal ancestors.¹⁴⁷ The emerging search for the past ascribed to the early Ramesside period conforms to these developments.¹⁴⁸

At Thebes, the cult of the deified king Amenhotep I and his mother Ahmes Nefertari was promoted during the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II.¹⁴⁹ According to Hollender, their cult served to emphasize a continuity with the pre-Amarna monarchy as well as the succession from father to son (Ahmose to Amenhotep I), with Ahmes Nefertari as the matriarch not only of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but also for the new Ramesside Dynasty.¹⁵⁰

A cult for the royal ancestors has also been demonstrated in some private tombs at Saqqara. By means of king-lists, the cult of the royal ancestors was incorporated into the private mortuary cult of the deceased.¹⁵¹

It is perhaps no coincidence that the most elaborate king-list at Saqqara was found in the tomb of Tjuneroy, the Overseer of Works on all Monuments of the king during the reign of Ramesses II.¹⁵² The building activities in the Memphite necropolis realised by Khaemwaset have been described by Snape as 'the manipulation of the monumental landscape in the early Ramesside period'.¹⁵³ He argued that this was

¹⁴⁶ T. Ling, 'Ramesside Filial Piety', *BACE* 3 (1992), 59–66.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. M. Becker, *Identität und Krise: Erinnerungskulturen im Ägypten der 22. Dynastie* (BSAK 13; Hamburg, 2012), 30: 'Erinnern konstruiert Vergangenheit'. Perhaps the restructuring and enlargement of the Serapeum by Khaemwaset should be evaluated in the same light.

¹⁴⁸ Ling, *BACE* 3, 63; J. Assmann, *Stein und Zeit: Mensch und Gesellschaft im alten Ägypten* (München, 1997), 306; J. Assmann, *Steinzeit und Sternzeit: Altägyptische Zeitkonzepte* (München, 2011), 261–78. However, Navrátilová (*Visitors' Graffiti*) noted that the Eighteenth Dynasty graffiti in the greater Memphite necropolis on the whole exhibit an awareness of the past (admiring old monuments) unattested in the Nineteenth Dynasty graffiti.

¹⁴⁹ Their representations initially appear sporadically in tombs dating to Amenhotep III (1390–1353 BC). During the reign of Seti I, a chapel for Amenhotep I and Ahmes Nefertari was constructed at Deir el-Medina. For Amenhotep I (1514–1494 BC) as an oracle god at Deir el-Medina, see: B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934 à 1935)*, III (FIFAO 16; Cairo, 1939), 321; A.G. McDowell, *Jurisdiction in the Workmen's Community of Deir el Medîna* (EU 5; Leiden, 1990), 107–41; L. Weiss, 'Markings on Oracle Ostraca from Deir el Medina: Conflicting Interpretations', in B.J.J. Haring and O.E. Kaper (eds), *Pictograms or Pseudo Script? Non-Textual Identity Marks in Practical Use in Ancient Egypt and Elsewhere. Proceedings of a Conference in Leiden, 19-20 December 2006* (EU 25; Leuven, 2009), 221–2, fig. 1.

¹⁵⁰ Hollender, *Amenophis I.*, 149–57. Compare Ramesses II and his mother Tuya on relief block Vienna 5091 (see n. 137, above)

¹⁵¹ As an appendix to Book of the Dead Chapters 141–2: D. Meeks, 'Une fondation Memphite de Taharqa (stèle de Caire JE 36861)', in J. Vercoutter (ed.), *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron 1927-1976*, I: *Égypte pharaonique* (Cairo, 1979), 245–6; Van Dijk, *New Kingdom Necropolis*, 202.

¹⁵² PM III/2, 666.

¹⁵³ S. Snape, 'Khaemwese and the Present Past: History and the Individual in Ramesside Egypt', in M. Collier and S. Snape (eds), *Ramesside Studies in Honour of K.A. Kitchen* (Bolton, 2011), 465.

motivated by contemporary views of the past, and especially those views stressing the projection of aspects of kingship. The tomb of Tjuneroy is lost, but that of his brother, the Overseer of Builders of the Lord of the Two Lands named Paser, is located immediately behind the tomb of Horemheb.

The Cult of the Deified King Horemheb

The cult of the deified King Horemheb was performed in the Nineteenth Dynasty by a number of priests.¹⁵⁴ Cult activities are corroborated by additional material evidence. Two deposits of pottery found in the first courtyard of the tomb contained material originally placed in the cult chapels.¹⁵⁵ Additionally, a number of offering stands and basins were introduced in the tomb in the course of the Nineteenth Dynasty.¹⁵⁶

There are indications to suggest that the exterior pylon was gradually covered with sand in the course of the Nineteenth Dynasty, but that the gateway itself was kept clear for a longer period of time.¹⁵⁷ Visitors thus frequenting the tomb also left graffiti. A large number of graffiti depicting boats were scratched into the stone surface of the entrance pylon doorway.¹⁵⁸

Miniature Stelae Depicting the King

The king was depicted not only in graffiti but also on additional votive objects. One irregularly shaped limestone round-topped miniature stela depicting the king was found in the tomb of Horemheb.¹⁵⁹ The standing figure of the king wearing the *khepresh* crown is boldly incised without much attention for physiognomic details. The king is

¹⁵⁴ The plinth of the *hr.y-ḥb n(.y) Ḥr-m-ḥb Ph=f-nfr* (who named one of his sons after Horemheb: *Ḥr-m-ḥb-m-ntr*) was found *in situ* in the tomb of Horemheb (Martin, *Horemheb* I, 70–3, scenes 65–6, pls 68–71; Nineteenth Dynasty); and the stela of the *wb3 nsw.t w3b ʿ.wy ḥm-ntr n(.y) Ḥr-m-ḥb Pth-p3-tnr* derives undoubtedly also from Saqqara (Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico EG 1906, *temp.* Ramesses I–Seti I; PM VIII/4, 803–045–020; E. Bresciani, *Le stele egiziane del Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna* (Bologna, 1985), 68–9, No. 24, pls 33–5; S. Pasquali, *Topographie culturelle de Memphis I, a- Corpus: Temples, et principaux quartiers de la XVIII^e dynastie* (CENiM 4; Montpellier, 2011), 65, A.133).

¹⁵⁵ Aston, in M.J. Raven et al., *Horemheb* V, 217–19, 223–4. The deposit contained some late Eighteenth Dynasty pottery (perhaps pertaining to the burial of Horemheb’s wife), but the majority dated to the first half of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The first deposit consisted of 151 vessels (with 138 (91%) so-called beer jars); the second contained a minimum of 142 vessels (with 110 (77%) beer jars).

¹⁵⁶ Martin, *Horemheb* I, 110–11, pls 171–4 (all uninscribed).

¹⁵⁷ Aston, in Raven et al., *Horemheb* V, 226.

¹⁵⁸ Eight boat-graffiti were recorded by the author in March 2013, see: M.J. Raven et al., ‘Preliminary Report on the Leiden Excavations at Saqqara, Season 2013: The Tombs of Sethnakht and an Anonymous Official’, *JEOL* 44 (2012–13), 21; Van Pelt and Staring, *BMSAES* 23 (2015, in press), fig. 30.

¹⁵⁹ Measuring 10.5 x 9.6 x 2.5 cm: Schneider, *Horemheb* II, 18, Cat. 62, pls I, 8, 56. For more, comparable votive stelae, see: *Ibid.*, Cat. Nos 60, 63 and 64; Raven, *Maya* II, 24, Cat. 33, pl. 31.

positioned in front of two offering stands painted in black ink.¹⁶⁰ The style of the figure appears to be indicative of a late Eighteenth Dynasty date. A close parallel for this miniature stela was found at Amarna.¹⁶¹

An ostrakon found in the tomb of Horemheb depicted the king in a similar pose, although without the offering stand (fig. 8).¹⁶² This suggests that while a different medium was used to carve the image, it served a similar purpose, i.e. as a votive object (votive miniature stela) deposited in the sacrosanct setting of the deified king's tomb.

The donors of votive stelae need not necessarily be represented on them, and neither do such stelae necessarily bear inscriptions.¹⁶³ Following Pinch¹⁶⁴ and Stevens,¹⁶⁵ New Kingdom stelae from Saqqara showing the king can be divided into three types:

1. The living or deceased king depicted as an intermediary to a deity.¹⁶⁶

For example the stela of the Outline Draughtsman Ptah-Sety (early Nineteenth Dynasty, from the Teti pyramid cemetery; Boston, MFA 25.635), depicting Teti offering to Osiris (upper register), and Ptah-Sety and his wife standing in adoration (lower register).¹⁶⁷

2. The deceased king, or his cult image, being worshipped, alone or on equal terms with deities.

For example the stela of the Overseer of Horses Amenemhat (late Eighteenth Dynasty, Teti pyramid cemetery; present location unknown), depicting

¹⁶⁰ Schneider, *Horemheb II*, 18, considered the object as an *ex-voto* placed in the tomb on the occasion of the burial of Horemheb's wife, and identified the King as Ay (cf. *Ibid.*, 18–19, Cat. 61 and 65, pls I, 8, 55, 56). Mutnodjmet was buried in the tomb, and the fragment of a votive stela depicting her (with her husband, wearing the *kheprsh*), left by a Ramesside visitor to the tomb of Horemheb, was found in the rubble covering the forecourt of the tomb of Tia; Raven and Van Walsem, *Horemheb V*, 74, Cat. 8, figs on p. 70, 75; measurements as preserved: 13.5 x 8.7 x 3.6 cm.

¹⁶¹ Stevens, *Private Religion*, 136, fig. II.5.4; approximately 7 cm high, current location unknown. For more royal votive stelae from Amarna, see: *Ibid.*, 133–8

¹⁶² Raven et al., *Horemheb V*, Cat. 103. The king holding an *ankh* scepter represents one iconographic marker denoting the king's deified status: P.J. Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical and Art Historical Analysis* (PdÄ 16; Leiden, 2000), 43–4.

¹⁶³ Pinch, *Votive Offerings*, 96, 98.

¹⁶⁴ See Pinch, *Votive Offerings*, 95–6; Stevens, *Private Religion*, 138.

¹⁶⁵ Stevens, *Private Religion*, 138.

¹⁶⁶ H. Altenmüller, 'Amenophis I. als Mittler', *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 1–7; A.R. Schulman, *Ceremonial Execution and Public Rewards: Some Historical Scenes on New Kingdom Private Stelae* (OBO 75; Freiburg, 1988), 3–4, 192–7. Schulman argues that the stelae commemorated the donor's attendance at a festival or temple ritual also attended by the king. See also K. Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers: A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stelae* (GHP Egyptology 10; London, 2009), 69–91, 133–4.

¹⁶⁷ Dunham, *JEA* 21, 148–9, pl. 17.2; Málek, in Lloyd (ed.), *Studies J. Gwyn Griffiths*, 68 [S6], fig. 3, pl. 7.

Amenemhat offering to Osiris (seated) and Teti (standing behind Osiris);¹⁶⁸ the stela of *NN* (Nineteenth Dynasty; Cairo TN 9.2.15.1), depicting Teti seated in front of an offering table (upper register), and various individuals standing in adoring pose (lower register);¹⁶⁹ the naos-shaped pedestal of the Scribe of the Altar of the Lord of the Two Lands Amunwahsu (Nineteenth Dynasty, temp. Seti I, Teti pyramid cemetery; Marseille, Musée d'archéologie No. 211), depicting Teti standing in his pyramid and adored by both Amunwahsu and his wife;¹⁷⁰ the stela of the Royal Butler and Priest (*ḥm-ntr*) of Horemheb, Ptahpatener (Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico EG 1906), depicting Ptahpatener and his wife bringing offerings to a seated (statue of) Horemheb; the stela of Mery-Ptah (late Eighteenth Dynasty, Teti pyramid cemetery; Cairo JE 34188) depicting Mery-Ptah and his son Thutmose (who dedicated the stela) in front of an offering table (lower register), and Teti represented by two cartouches in the upper register.

3. Statues of the living king as the object of worship.¹⁷¹

No examples from Saqqara.

Málek interprets the renewed interest for the Old Kingdom kings at Saqqara in the context of the location of their pyramids, particularly in the case of Teti.¹⁷² The area around the pyramid of Teti was densely populated by New Kingdom tombs, and it was located on the approach to the Serapeum. Teti's presence within the sacred and mortuary landscape may have made him a powerful local deity; one of several deities who dwelt in the Memphite necropolis.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁸ Gunn MSS XIX 2[2]; Notebook 7, No. 41; Málek, in Lloyd (ed.), *Studies J. Gwyn Griffiths*, 68, pl. 6.1–2. The reverse contains an offering formula mentioning Teti alongside Osiris Lord of Rosetau.

¹⁶⁹ J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1907-1908)* (Cairo, 1909), 114, pl. 77.4 [left].

¹⁷⁰ M. Nelson and G. Piérini, *Catalogue des Antiquités Égyptiennes: Collection des Musées d'Archéologie de Marseille* (Marseille, 1978), 33, fig. 64.

¹⁷¹ L. Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II* (ADAIK 5; Glückstadt, 1969), 34, pl. 21; R. El-Sayed, 'Stèles de particuliers relatives au culte rendu aux statues royales de la XVIII^e à la XX^e dynastie', *BIFAO* 79 (1979), 155–66.

¹⁷² Málek, in Lloyd (ed.), *Studies J. Gwyn Griffiths*, 72.

¹⁷³ With regards to the status of the Old Kingdom rulers during the Middle Kingdom, in the Memphite area, Málek argued that the deified kings, unlike the "real gods" of the Egyptian official religion, may have been 'invoked locally as intercessors because their posthumous state and local associations made them more "approachable" than other gods (J. Málek, 'Old-Kingdom Rulers as "Local Saints" in the Memphite Area during the Middle Kingdom', in Bartá and Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000*, 257.

Horemheb may have acquired the same status as a local deity at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The significance of Horemheb as the founder of the Ramesside dynasty, and the great emphasis on the ancestors, aptly made him a particularly powerful such deity. All representations of the king in graffiti, on ostraca, and votive stelae depict him standing, actively receiving offerings and mediating between the living and the gods.

The amuletic¹⁷⁴ use of an ostrakon bearing the representation of a deified king?

Graffiti depicting human figures may have been related to the later reuse of the monumental tombs.¹⁷⁵ The chapels of the tomb of Ptahemwia, for example, were reused for the burials (initially) of infants. The central chapel contained the graffito of a jackal on a divine stand: Wepwawet in his role as *psychopompos*.¹⁷⁶ A limestone ostrakon (fragment) was found in the same chapel (fig 9a–b).¹⁷⁷ It contains several representations carved in sunk relief that were painted in red and black ink. The obverse shows a depiction of a *wḏst* eye (a left eye): perhaps one of the best known Ancient Egyptian apotropaic symbols.¹⁷⁸ The same side depicts a partly preserved male human figure standing on a register line. The reverse shows the representations of a young boy raising his left hand, a hieroglyphic inscription, and part of a standing male figure. The hieroglyphic inscription was intended to read *ʿImn(.w)-R^c(.w)*, although curiously written as (→) .¹⁷⁹ The male figure appears to represent a standing king wearing the *nemes* headdress, holding an object (*ankh* sign?) in his right hand and extending his left

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Webster's *Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged*, 1 (Chicago, 1976), 74: Amuletic: 'functioning as an amulet'; and Amulet: 'a charm (as an ornament, gem, or relic) often inscribed with a spell, magic incantation, or symbol and believed to protect the wearer against evil (as disease or witchcraft) or to aid him (as in love or war)'.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Den Doncker, in Kóthay (ed.), *Art and Society*, 24–5.

¹⁷⁶ Van Pelt and Staring, *BMSAES* 23 (2015, in press), fig. 10.

¹⁷⁷ Measurements: 14.3 x 11.5 x 3.9 cm: M.J. Raven et al., *Ptahemwia and Sethnakht*, Cat. 127. I thank Maarten Raven for information on this object and permission to publish it here.

¹⁷⁸ C.A.R. Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1994), 43–4.

¹⁷⁹ A similar writing of the name Amun-Re can be observed on panel AP6-b from the (lost) Saqqara tomb of Merymery, Custodian of the Treasury of Memphis (Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Amenhotep III):  (→) (P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden: De monumenten van het Nieuwe Rijk. Eerste afdeling: Graven* (The Hague, 1911), pl. 18). Compare also to the graffito mentioning the same deity written as (↓→)  on a stela found at the hill-top monument of Khaemwaset at Abusir South: Waseda University, Institute of Egyptology, *Abusir South [II]* (Tokyo, 2006), 90, No. 2, pl. 14.1: object no. AK04-0131; limestone, 45.7 x 30.5 x 6 cm. The unfinished stela depicts an anonymous king before one standing and four sitting deities, and also contains graffiti depicting sitting baboons (2) and a horse.

hand towards what might be an offering table, which is similar to the depiction of kings on some votive stelae.¹⁸⁰ It is tempting to interpret this set of loose drawings as forming a coherent, apotropaic “amulet” introduced to (one of the) child burials. The young boy is represented on the object surrounded by protective symbols: the *wꜥꜣt* eye, the name of a god, and the figure of a king: perhaps the deified King Horemheb as the powerful, local deity. The tomb of Ptahemwia received an exceptionally large number of child burials, and a similarly large number of graffiti depicting the king were carved into its walls.

11. Conclusions

In this article, the graffiti recorded in the New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara were studied as the products of the physical engagement with sacred space. Graffiti can be considered as the material expressions of mental reflections of (individuals from) the (distant and recent) past, and they can be used to analyse the reception-history of a monument – an active process of memory-making through time, which contributes to a further understanding of contemplations of the past in the past.¹⁸¹ Memories of ancestors are perpetuated via the maintenance of predecessors’ monuments, and they are conveyed through ritual performances and commemorative ceremonies.¹⁸² Tomb-graffiti were produced in connection with exactly those activities.

The spatial distribution of graffiti depicting human figures revealed a preference for the entrance doorways. As with the depictions of footprints and boats, depictions of human figures mark an individual’s worshipful presence at a certain place. They are metonyms of both identity and journey, and the figural equivalent of certain textual graffiti that convey the same message more explicitly. Inscribing a figure secured one’s permanent presence in the following of the tomb owner and ensured that one would also benefit from the magical efficacy offered by the tomb’s decoration programme. Additionally, the spatial distribution of graffiti demonstrates a correlation between the increasing sacredness of the tomb from outside to inside spaces and public accessibility, which compares well with the distribution of graffiti in contemporaneous temples for

¹⁸⁰ Cf. fig. 8 and nn 159 and 162, above.

¹⁸¹ M. Rowlands, ‘The Role of Memory in the Transmission of Culture’, *World Archaeology* 25/2 (1993), 141–51.

¹⁸² S.D. Gillespie, ‘Personhood, Agency, and Mortuary Ritual: A Case Study from the Ancient Maya’, *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 20 (2001), 73–112.

the gods. The sacralisation of the tomb, and the appearance of the tomb as a contemporary temple may have provided easier access to the gods than provided by the state temples with a higher level of exclusivity.¹⁸³ Deceased family members provided direct access to the gods in return for offerings and adoration presented by the living.

The varying degrees of formality observed for graffiti enables their comparison with depictions on other media, such as (limestone and pottery) ostraca and miniature stelae, which stresses the opinion that graffiti should not be studied in isolation.

Because of the status inherent in written texts, one would expect the figural graffiti to have been produced by illiterate (or less literate) individuals. If a certain image (such as a human figure in adoring pose) was the equivalent of an inscription (such as the text '... adoring X by N'), then why would someone with the ability to write choose to carve an image? While the answer to this question may appear to be rather straightforward, this study suggested that the figural graffiti, including those of low artistic merit, need not necessarily have been produced by illiterate individuals. Moreover, the saying or reading out of spells could also serve to identify a figure with whom it should represent, so that these anonymous representations of human figures would have been just as effective as their presumed textual equivalents.

One group of graffiti from the New Kingdom necropolis south of the Unas causeway depict the king. These graffiti and additional votive objects (such as ostraca and miniature stelae) were left probably in connection with the cult of the deified King Horemheb, who may have acquired the status of a local deity at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

¹⁸³ Cf. Harrington, *Living with the Dead*, 102; J. Baines and P. Lacovara, 'Burial and the Dead in Ancient Egyptian Society: Respect, Formalism, Neglect', *Journal of Social Archaeology* 2/1 (2002), 12.

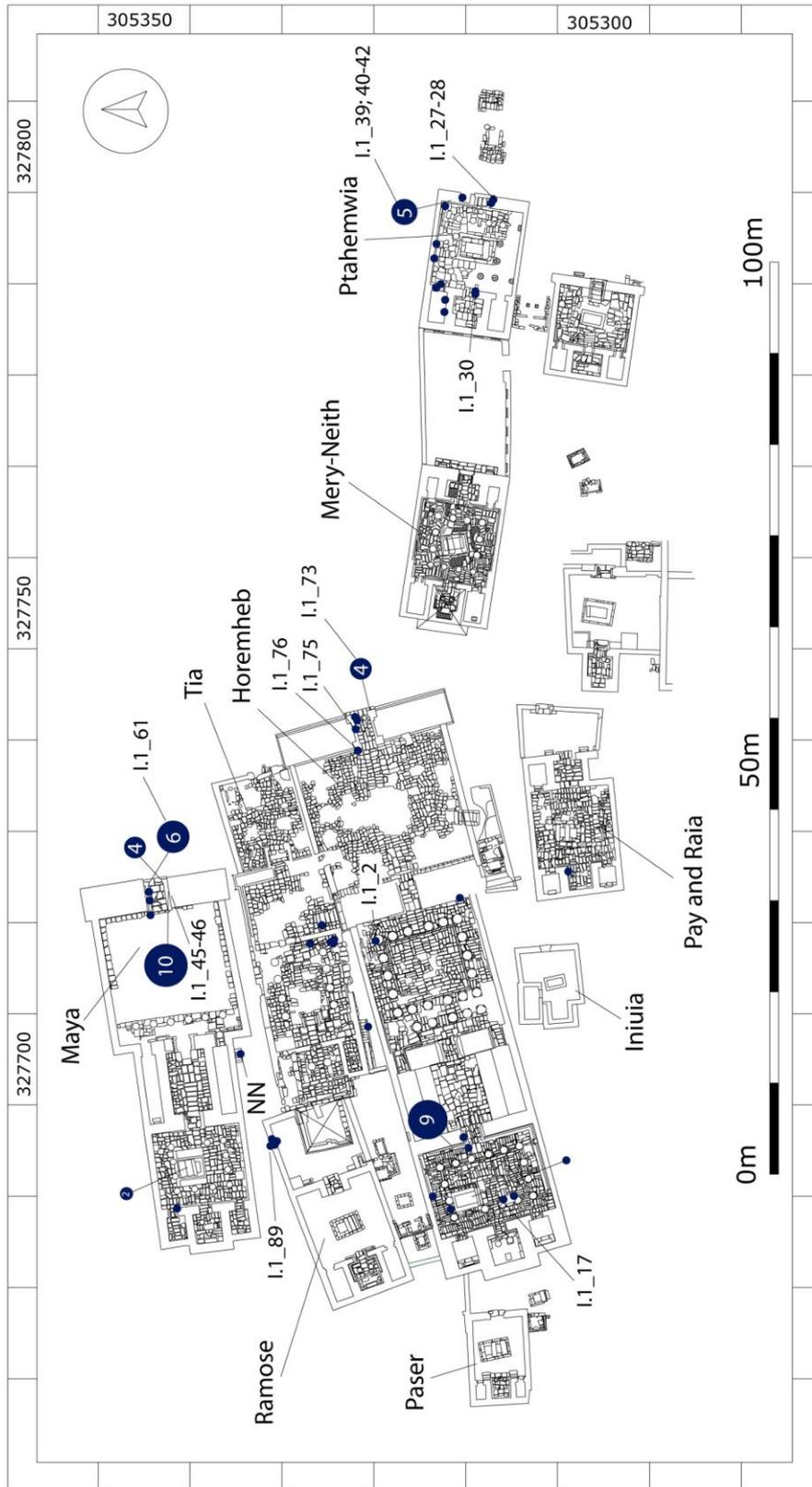


FIG. 1 General plan of the Leiden concession area of the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara showing the distribution of graffiti depicting human figures and the location of graffiti depicting the king (with Nos in accordance with FIG. 7).

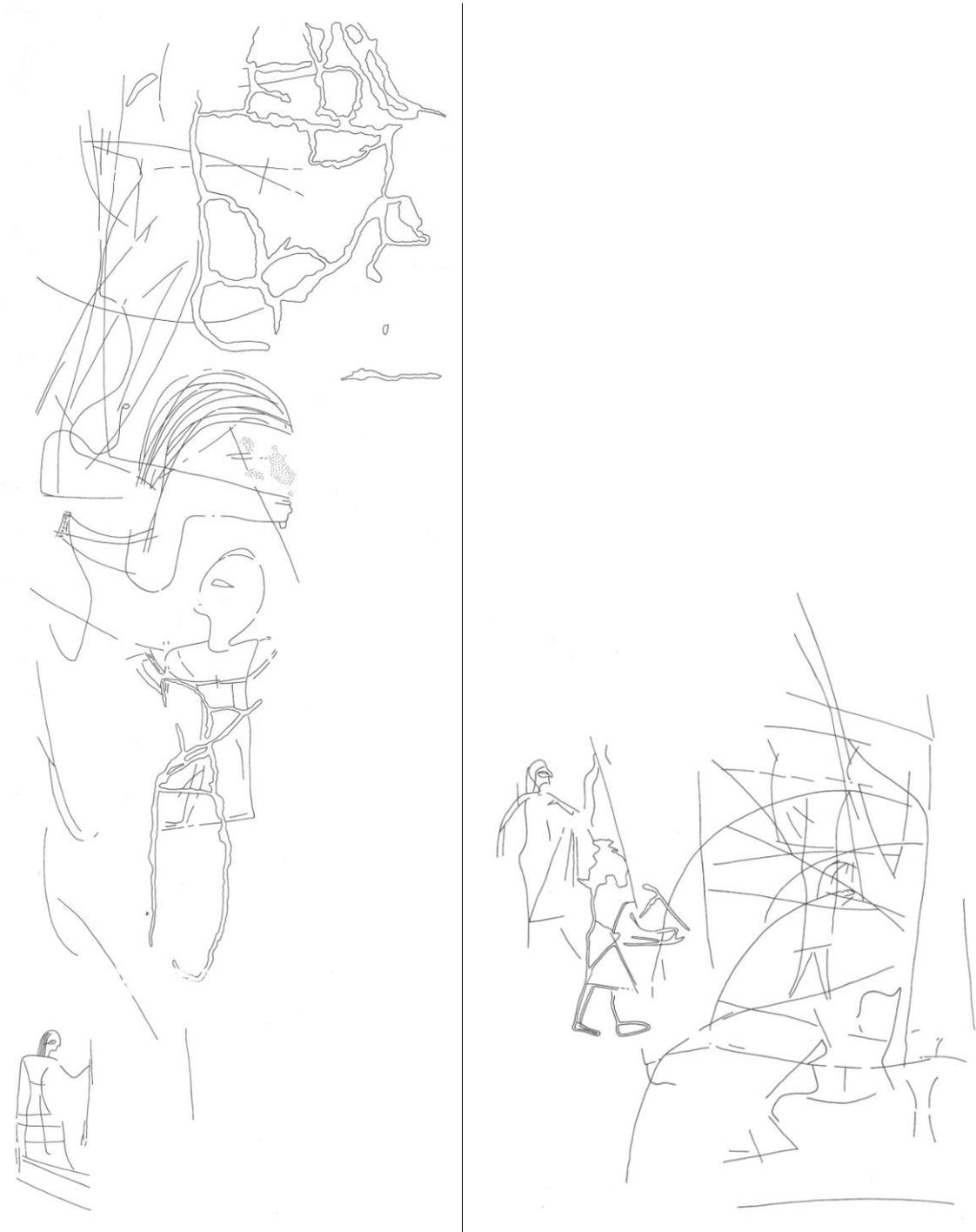


FIG. 2 Clusters of graffiti depicting human figures in the late Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Maya, Overseer of the Treasury (Martin, *Maya I*, pl. 61.18–19). Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

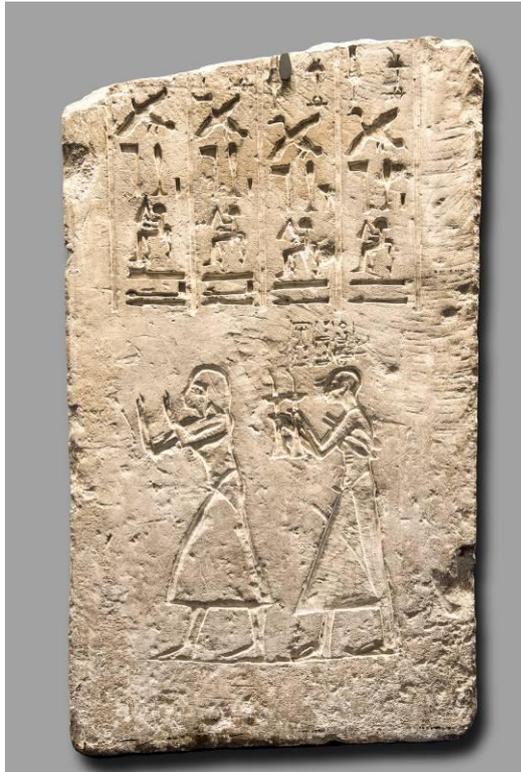


FIG. 3 Limestone doorjamb fragment (77 x 46 x 15.5 cm) from the tomb of Pahemneter, High Priest of Ptah, at Saqqara. Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet NME 053. © Medelhavsmuseet. Photograph by Ove Kaneberg.



FIG. 4 Reused limestone block (143 x 58.2 x 24 cm) with the representation of a round-topped stela carved on the reverse. Found in the second courtyard of the tomb of Generalissimo Horemheb (Schneider, *Horemheb II*, pl. 99, NK 1). Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

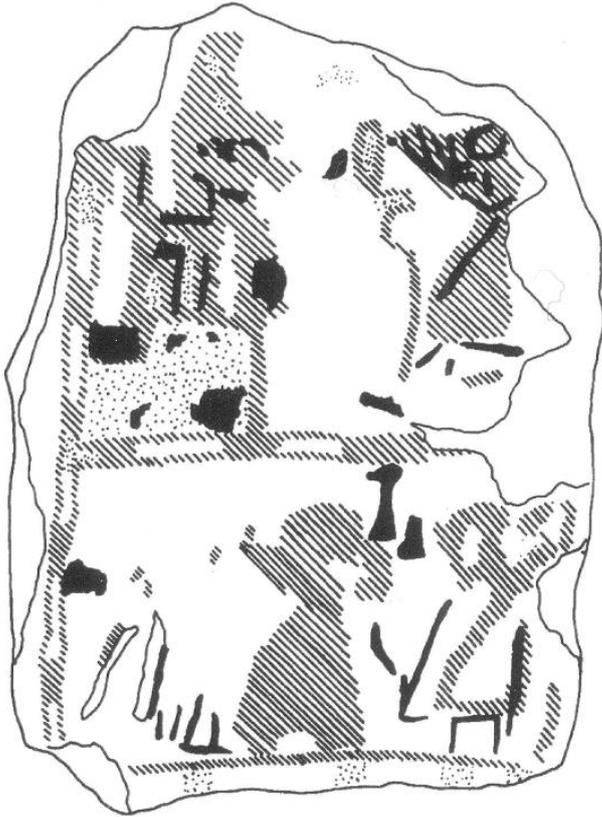


FIG. 5 Limestone ostracon (15.5 x 11 x 4 cm) roughly shaped as a round-topped stela, with depictions in red, black and yellow paint. Found in the second courtyard of the tomb of Tia, Overseer of the Treasury. (Martin, *Tia*, pl. 104.16). Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

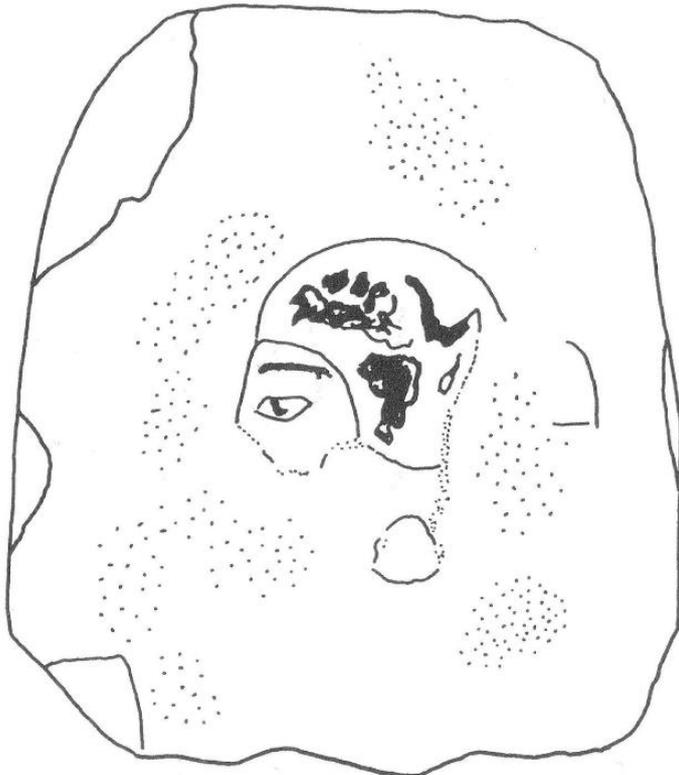


FIG. 6 Limestone ostracon (10.2 x 9 x 4 cm) shaped as a small round-topped stela. Found in the outer courtyard of the tomb of Maya. Depictions are executed in sunken relief and painted in red and black (Raven, *Maya II*, pl. 31.37). Image courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

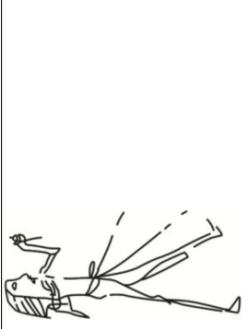
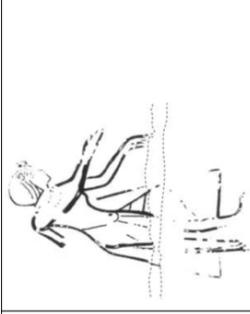
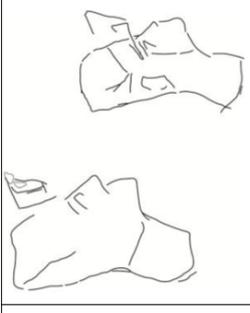
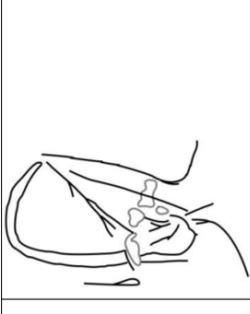
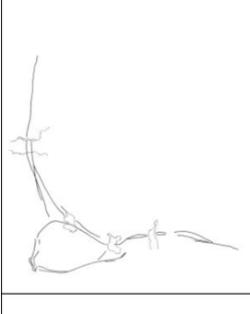
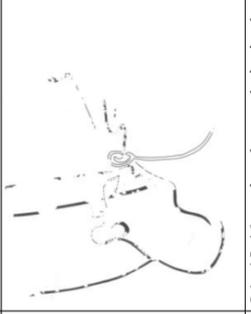
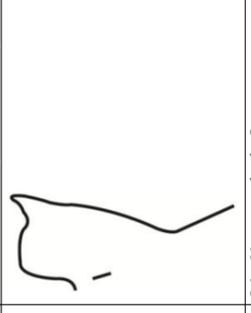
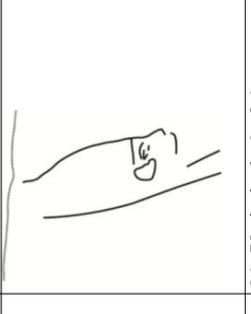
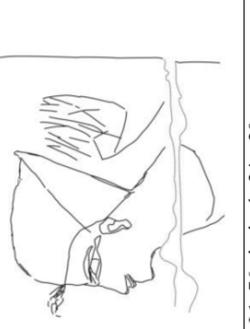
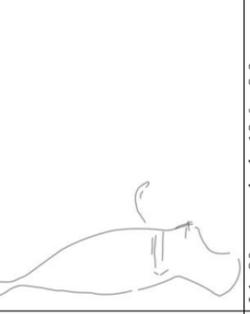
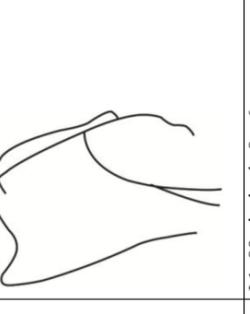
	I.1.2; scratched; 14 x 7 cm Horemheb, <i>in situ</i> Martin, <i>Horemheb</i> , 158, pl. 146.12		I.1.17; painted; 18.5 x 11 cm Horemheb, <i>in situ</i> Martin, <i>Horemheb</i> , 159, pl. 149.27		I.1.27-28; scratched; 16 x 24 cm Prahmwia, <i>in situ</i> Van Pelt, Staring, <i>BMSAES</i> , fig. 32		I.1.30; incised; 6.9 x 5 cm Prahmwia, <i>in situ</i> Unpublished		I.1.39; scratched; 20 x 25 cm Prahmwia, <i>in situ</i> Unpublished
	I.1.40-42; incised; 15 x 14 cm Prahmwia Unpublished		I.1.45-46; painted + partly incised 19.8 x 19.8 cm; Maya, <i>in situ</i> Martin, <i>Maya</i> I, 53, pl. 59.5		I.1.61; scratched; ? Maya, <i>in situ</i> Martin, <i>Maya</i> I, 53, pl. 61.19		I.1.73; incised; 5.4 x 2 cm Horemheb, <i>in situ</i> Raven <i>et al.</i> , <i>Horemheb</i> V, 29, Gr 36		I.1.75; incised; 6 x 3.4 cm Horemheb, <i>in situ</i> Raven <i>et al.</i> , <i>Horemheb</i> V, 29, Gr 43
	I.1.76; incised; 24 x 20 cm Horemheb, <i>in situ</i> Raven <i>et al.</i> , <i>Horemheb</i> V, 29, Gr 44		I.1.80; scratched; 19.6 x 8.9 cm Prahmose, Leiden AP 51d.4 Boeser, <i>Beschrijving</i> IV, 8, pl. 29		I.1.81; scratched; 7.2 x 5.4 cm Merymery, Leiden AP 6a Boeser, <i>Beschrijving</i> IV, 5-6, pl. 18		I.1.89; incised; 8 x 6 cm Ramosse, <i>in situ</i> Martin, <i>Three Memphite Officials</i> , 2		

FIG. 7 Graffiti at Saqqara depicting the king.

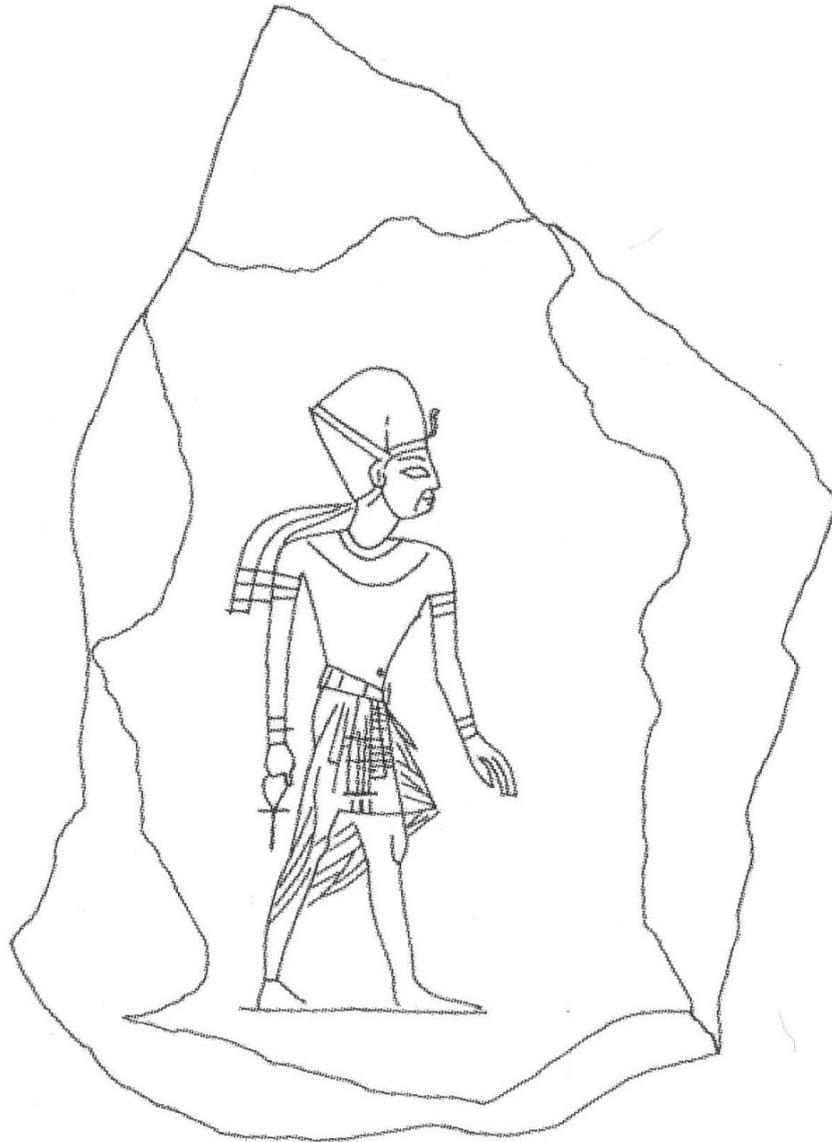


FIG. 8 Limestone ostracon (20 x 14.5 x 5 cm) with the incised depiction of a king (Raven *et al.*, *Horemheb V*, Cat. 103). Image courtesy of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.



FIG. 9 Figured limestone ostrakon (14.3 x 11.5 x 3.9 cm; above, obverse; below, reverse) found in the central chapel of the tomb of Ptahemwia, Royal Butler (excavation no. SAK 2007-037). © Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

SECTION 5: CONCLUSIONS

By examining, as a point of departure, the sources pertaining to the early exploration of the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis, this thesis aimed at making a contribution to two different fields of research. First, the thesis focuses on the early modern exploration of the site. Since the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis is a scattered necropolis existing virtually outside the Memphite necropolis, this approach highlighted some of the processes and people involved in the dismantling and subsequent worldwide distribution of tomb objects and elements. Second, this thesis focuses on the tombs, tomb owners and the use of sacred space during the transition from the late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty. Aspects of the tombs' architecture and decoration (iconography and style) were examined. The prosopography of early Nineteenth Dynasty tomb owners led to discussions of the distribution of tombs in the necropolis and the administration of Memphis (the town and its temples). The first systematic survey of figural and textual graffiti resulted in new insights into the use of the necropolis and individual tombs therein.

Grouped in three interrelated sections, the thesis proceeds in nine studies presented in the form of journal articles. This final, comprehensive and integrative conclusion, highlights the main outcomes of this research.

The first section focuses on the archival material pertaining to the excavations carried out by Auguste Mariette in 1858–59. The source material gives access to one hitherto little-known episode in the exploration of the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis. It proved to be a very good starting point to further examine both the earlier and later (illicit) excavations and dismantling of tombs in the area.

The unpublished photographs taken by Mariette's assistant, Théodule Devéria, represent the only sources of documentation currently available for some of the now-lost early Nineteenth Dynasty tombs located in the area south of the Unas causeway. The photographs are a graphic testimony of the changing field of Egyptology. During the years under investigation, Egyptology developed towards becoming a scientific discipline. For the very first time, the possibilities provided by the newly developed photographic techniques were successfully applied to document the progress of archaeological work in the field and to faithfully copy the texts covering the tomb-

walls. Mariette's work truly realises the optimism expressed (by the French in particular) since the development of the Daguerreotype a mere 20 years before.

Mariette's adoption of photography as a documentation method marks not the only change in the exploration of this site. Unlike his colleagues (and rivals) at Saqqara before him (and also in contrast to his earlier years on-site), he did not work on behalf of foreign clients (individuals or institutions) such as art collectors or museums. As the newly appointed director of Egypt's antiquities service, Mariette excavated with the aim of protecting the country's heritage. The at the time overt and widespread (mostly undocumented) excavations were curbed by new regulations and the sole right of the antiquities service to carry out excavations. Of course the illicit search for antiquities persisted (as it does to this day). Mariette's excavations in this particular area of the necropolis were also aimed at collecting objects for the soon-to-be-opened Bulaq Museum. Some of the inscribed and decorated stone elements and statues visible in Devéria's photographs were identified in the collection of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

One of the names that have been emphatically linked to the early exploration of the New Kingdom necropolis south of the Unas causeway is that of Solomon Fernandez. This merchant, who is commonly referred to by his contemporaries as the "Spanish Jew", was one of Mariette's rivals since the latter arrived at Saqqara in 1850. Fernandez worked for some of the most prominent art collectors of the time, such as Christian Wilhelm von Huber and Giovanni d'Anastasi. This research suggests that the area south of the Unas causeway excavated by Mariette had previously been exploited by Fernandez. The founding of the antiquities service and the new regulations may have put a stop to his activities.

The New Kingdom private tombs studied in this thesis represent just a fraction of the tombs that once stood in the vast necropolis at Saqqara. The fact that the great majority of Saqqara tombs were dismantled in the (early–mid) Nineteenth Century, and that they now largely exist in public and private collections around the world, emphasizes that priority should be given to the study of sources pertaining to the early exploration of the site. This study shows that the examination of the collection history of individual objects highlights various stages in the exploration of the necropolis and the dismantling of tombs, and that, by combining it with the results of archaeological investigation, it can make a significant contribution towards the (virtual) reconstruction of the necropolis. In this respect, the number of studies relying on archival material

presented during the “Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015” conference is very promising indeed.

Two of the tombs photographed by Devéria in March 1859 were selected for an in-depth study into the early Nineteenth Dynasty tombs and their owners. The tomb of Ptahmose in particular exists almost exclusively in numerous public and private collections around the world. The recently rediscovered tomb structure represents merely its mud brick skeleton. An updated list of objects pertaining to this official was drafted and used to highlight the intricacies in the long history of collecting and dismantling tombs at Saqqara. The approach proved to be quite rewarding. It has been demonstrated, for example, that research into the provenance of museum objects can shed new light on the architectural layout of dismantled tombs. An investigation into the collection history of two “door jambs” in the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin led to new insights into the architectural development of tombs from the Eighteenth to the Nineteenth Dynasty. Their reinterpretation as panels that were embedded in the tomb’s mud brick pyramid indicates that the development of monumental tombs at Saqqara proceeded more gradually than was previously thought. The rigid distinction of tombs dated to the two dynasties has to be revised. The early Nineteenth Dynasty tombs, largely accessible through the photographs of Devéria, appear as hybrid structures with “typically” Eighteenth Dynasty elements such as mud brick walls with a limestone revetment; and with Ramesside novelties such as *djed* pillars. This view has been further corroborated by the tombs’ decoration.

The iconographical analysis of the “lost” wall scenes photographed by Devéria indicates that the early Ramesside artists worked in the tradition of the late Eighteenth Dynasty. This study leads to the conclusion that some craftsmen had been working on selected tombs of both the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty. This can perhaps be best exemplified by the clear similarities between the tombs of Maya, the Overseer of the Treasury, and Ptahmose, the Mayor of Memphis. Moreover, one of the individuals involved in the construction and decoration of the tomb of Ptahmose has been identified as the Overseer of Craftsmen, Amenemheb. This identification indicates that the craftsmen who worked on the monumental private tombs at Saqqara were in daily life subordinates of their patrons. In this specific example, Amenemheb worked in the temple of Ptah where Ptahmose was (*inter alia*) the Chief Steward and Overseer of

Works. This artist-patron relationship thus sheds new light on the intricacies of private tomb building during the New Kingdom.

While this study highlights aspects of the style and iconography of the early Nineteenth Dynasty, an all-encompassing and in-depth study into the development of the relief art of this dynasty is still a *desideratum*. As can be gleaned from the Catalogue entries in Section 6, there are still numerous relief-decorated blocks that cannot be dated more precisely than e.g. “Nineteenth Dynasty” or “Ramesside”. The current research may provide an impetus to such a study.

In Section 3, the prosopographical data pertaining to the early Nineteenth Dynasty tomb owners represent the main sources for an examination of the organisation and spatial distribution of tombs in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara, as well as an examination of various aspects of the administration of Memphis and its necropolis.

The hitherto unknown title Mayor of Beyond the Walls of Ptah, held by the Mayor of Memphis, Ptahmose, and recorded on a “lost” door jamb photographed by Devéria, formed the starting point for a study into the administration of Memphis (the city and its temples) early in the Nineteenth Dynasty. The study links this enigmatic title to the large scale building projects that were initiated in the reign of Seti I and continued in the reign of Ramesses II. These include the great hypostyle hall “Beneficial is Seti-Merenptah” in the temple of Ptah, later renamed by Ramesses II; and the “temple of Ramesses-beloved-of-Amun” in the house of Ptah, which was Ramesses II’s Memphite memorial temple.

The analysis of the titles recorded in the second “lost” tomb photographed by Devéria, that of Ptahemwia, highlights other aspects of the administration of Memphis. The focus on the high officials who were affiliated with the Ramesseum, reveals that the administrators of the king’s Theban memorial temple during the reign of Ramesses II held office at Memphis (“White Wall”). They exercised their authority from a distance and may have limited themselves to inspection visits to Thebes where their local representatives saw to the institution’s day-to-day affairs.

Memphis was the royal city *par excellence*. It was not only the country’s administrative capital, it was also (and perhaps first and foremost) the place where kingship resided. It has previously been acknowledged that the Ramesside Dynasty began under politically difficult circumstances, and that its success was far from certain. In order to reinforce their own legitimacy, Seti I and Ramesses II widely promoted the

cults of their deceased fathers and the royal ancestors. These observations explain why the two kings showed such a profound interest in Memphis and its necropolis at Saqqara. Their building activities in the Memphite area were motivated by the contemporary views stressing the projection of kingship. The early Ramesside kings built on the foundations laid by the reign of Amenhotep III, which included the expansion of the temple of Ptah at Memphis and the Serapeum at Saqqara.

The large-scale building activities of the early Ramesside period reshaped the monumental, ritual landscape at Memphis and its necropolis. This will have had its effect on the organisation of the necropolis and the distribution of private tombs at Saqqara. Because there is currently little archaeological evidence available for the (location of) private tombs of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, it is difficult to know the extent to which the pattern observed in the Nineteenth Dynasty differs from earlier times.

The final section focuses on the actual use of the private tombs at Saqqara, i.e. after the funeral of the tomb-owner had taken place. The graffiti left on the walls and pavement stones of these tombs provide the main data for analysis.

As a result of the large-scale and uncontrolled excavations in the Nineteenth Century, little archaeological evidence within the confines of the tomb structures has remained *in situ*. Portable objects that were introduced into the tombs by ancient visitors have mostly been removed, or their original contexts have been disturbed. One of the few sources of data available for the study of ancient uses of sacred space are represented by the graffiti.

The special focus on figural graffiti was used to counterbalance the tendency in Egyptological research to focus mainly on textual graffiti and steer away from the social bias that had, as a result, been introduced into their results. The distribution of the two data sets already indicate that it was much more common to leave figures (83%) than to leave texts (17%). The approach followed in this thesis thus provides access to an important segment of society (the illiterate or less literate as opposed to the elite and sub-elite) otherwise not represented in the written sources pertaining to the use of elite tombs.

The first study on the graffiti resulted in the formation of a framework for the interpretation of figural and textual tomb-graffiti. The data were divided in three broad categories: graffiti as a devotional act; graffiti as a ritual act; and graffiti as secular

expressions. Like written graffiti (bearing a name and/or title), figural graffiti would have also been directly associated with an individual. It has been shown that in general the motifs of the graffiti have apotropaic associations, or they were linked to notions of regeneration and rebirth.

The analysis of the spatial distribution of graffiti demonstrates a correlation between the increasing sacredness of the tomb from outer to inner spaces and public accessibility, which compares well with the distribution of graffiti in contemporaneous temples for the gods. The spatial analysis also indicates a clear preference for leaving graffiti in (entrance) doorways. Depictions of human figures, footprints, and boats marked an individual's permanent, worshipful presence at a certain place. They can be seen as metonyms of both identity and journey and, in that perspective, also as the figural equivalent of certain textual graffiti that convey the same message more explicitly. Figural and textual graffiti can thus be seen as part of the social and ritual interaction of which Egyptians wished to be part after their death and burial. The varying degrees of formality observed for graffiti enabled a comparison with depictions on other media, such as (limestone and pottery) ostraca and miniature stelae. Graffiti were shown to be a cheaper alternative (available to the lower echelons of society) to building one's tomb (chapel) near or within the confines of the tomb of a superior in order to secure one's permanent presence in his following and to ensure that one would also benefit from the magical efficacy offered by the tomb's decoration programme. This observation may open up new lines of inquiry into the use of sacred space and the spatial distribution of tombs within the necropolis.

SECTION 6: CATALOGUE

6.1 Preliminaries

This catalogue contains the basic prosopographical data pertaining to 448 individuals belonging to the higher echelons of New Kingdom society who built substantial tomb structures at Saqqara. They are listed in Egyptian alphabetical order. Tomb owners whose names are unknown are entered as NN at the end of the catalogue. The index numbers were introduced to enable cross-referencing within the catalogue: the numbers are not used to refer to the individuals elsewhere in the thesis. 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.

For the sake of conciseness, the family members have been indicated only for a selected number of officials who are also explicitly dealt with in the thesis articles.

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.

In contrast to Thebes, the tombs at Saqqara have never been systematically numbered. At present, there is no single source available to provide an overview of all known tombs at Saqqara dated to the New Kingdom. That the majority of the tombs exist only in public and private collections complicates the matter further. The *Topographical Bibliography* of Porter and Moss (2nd. rev. edn, 1978) represents the most comprehensive source for New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara currently available.¹³⁹² 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 in print,

¹³⁹² B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. III² Memphis, Part 2. Saqqâra to Dahshûr* (2nd. rev. edn by PhDr. Jaromir Málek; Oxford, 1978). The first edition was published as: Id., *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, III: Memphis (Abû Rawâsh to Dahshûr)* (Oxford, 1931). The 1931-edition covered the necropolis south of the Unas causeway in only four pages (175–8).

and forty years of archaeological research on the larger Saqqara plateau has obviously yielded a huge amount of new data. PM III/2 formed the basis for this catalogue, and it has been supplemented with additional data that have been excavated and published since.

6.2 Methodological considerations

6.2.1 Sources

The tombs and tomb-elements included in PM III/2 provided the point of departure for the collection of data presented in this catalogue. 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. The bibliographic references can be found in the bibliography after this catalogue (pages 631–75).

Additionally, the unpublished data of two archives were consulted:

1. Material excavated by the Leiden archaeological mission working south of the Unas causeway, years 2007–14: archive in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden);¹³⁹³
2. The excavations carried out in the 1920s by the Inspector of Antiquities at Saqqara, Cecil Mallabi Firth (1878–1931), in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery as recorded in the notebooks and MSS of Battiscombe Gunn (1883–1950): archive of the Griffith Institute of the University of Oxford.¹³⁹⁴

Tomb owners are ideally identified by the physical presence of a tomb structure on the Saqqara plateau. The catalogue contains references to the actual tomb structures of 87

¹³⁹³ The archives were consulted on several occasions, between 2012 and 2015. A selection of the material excavated over the seasons 2007–14 has appeared in preliminary reports; final publications are in preparation.

¹³⁹⁴ These papers were consulted by the author in April 2013. For a preliminary index of the finds pertaining to the New Kingdom, see also: J. Málek, 'New Kingdom Personnel in Teti Pyramid Cemeteries III: A Preliminary List', *NKNM* 2 (1989), 4–7. Gunn assisted Firth in the excavations of the Egyptian Antiquities Service, 1924–7. The material is being prepared for publication by J. Málek and D.N.E. Magee: *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries III*.

officials,¹³⁹⁵ which represents only 19.4% of the total number of individuals listed. The majority of tomb owners are thus represented by a selection of (inscribed) tomb elements and/or funerary objects.

The catalogue contains, in principle, only objects with a secure Memphite provenance. Studying all those relief-decorated blocks, stelae, etc. without known, or with only possible, Memphite provenance, would be an enormous task which is beyond the scope of the present research.

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 could have been deposited (by the living) in the tombs of others, or they could have been deposited elsewhere in the necropolis (e.g. the Serapeum or on the desert surface at Rosetau). Thus these objects need not necessarily indicate the presence of a tomb at Saqqara. Therefore, they 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.

6.2.2 *Names*

Various names, such as Ptahmose, Ptahemwia, etc., occur more than once. 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 due to the often fragmentary state of the inscriptional evidence. In case of doubt, and without the availability of circumstantial evidence (e.g. iconographical indications), homonymous officials are listed as separate individuals. Additionally, some individuals may in fact turn out to be secondary figures who were mentioned or depicted in the tomb of someone else, for example as a family member or colleague of the tomb owner.

6.2.3 *Titles*

All titles held by the individual tomb owners were collected. For the purpose of this

¹³⁹⁵ The presence at Saqqara of a number of these tombs was recorded in the past and their location has since been lost.

study, not the complete title sequences, but each separate title has been listed once.

Egyptian titles can be assigned to three broad types: occupational titles (titles of office, denoting a profession), titles of rank (denoting the position in the hierarchy of a particular sector), and honorific titles or epithets. It is not always clear to the modern scholar what type a certain title should be assigned to. **Section 3** of this thesis is concerned with the study of the titles held by specific groups of officials. Similar studies covering all titles listed in this catalogue are a *desideratum*, but such an undertaking is far beyond the scope of the present research.

For reasons of clarity and to enhance searchability, 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 EES/Leiden archaeological mission at Saqqara.¹³⁹⁶ 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. It should be acknowledged that not every title may perfectly fit in one specific category, and that the categories are not mutually exclusive. 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’, 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).

6.2.4 Dating

The 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

¹³⁹⁶ See: G.T. Martin, *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt, I: The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary* (EES EM 99; London, 2012), 60–2.

received scholarly consensus, the “new” date has been indicated. In case of discussion, both the “old” date and the later suggestion are indicated.

6.2.5 Bibliography

The bibliographical references are not exhaustive. These basically contain a reference to Porter and Moss, to the name in Ranke’s *Personennamen*, and the earliest and/or most recent reference pertaining to the individual. The references to tomb owners who feature prominently in the thesis are more elaborate.

6.3 Key

Titles

- [A] Related to the king, royal court, and government (including honorific)
- [B] General administration
- [C] Scribal
- [D] Public works, crafts
- [E] Sacerdotal
- [F] Military

Remains:

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

6.4 CATALOGUE OF NEW KINGDOM TOMB OWNERS AT SAQQARA

[001]	<i>///y</i>	Royal Scribe
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	<i>///y</i>	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš nsw</i>	
Date	- PM: Ramesside - Style suggests a late 18 th /early 19 th Dynasty date, <i>temp.</i> Seti I	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Linköping, Stifts- och Landsbibliothek (Inv. No. unknown) 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Royal Scribe (the only title preserved on this fragment) was probably not the highest ranking title held by this official. 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 759 • MARTIN 1987, 19, No. 38, pl. 13.	
[002]	<i>///-Y</i>	/// of the Mansion of Gold (?)
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	<i>// -y</i>	
Title(s)	[B] <i>/// n.y pr.w nwb ///</i>	
Date	- SCHNEIDER 2012: late 18 th Dynasty - BERLANDINI 1981: Tutankhamun–Horemheb, or Seti I/early Ramesses II	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area, south of the pyramid of Iniuia [066]	
Discovered	EES/Leiden expedition, 1993	
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, SAK 93-12 – pyramidion (6 fragments) 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ VAN DIJK (in SCHNEIDER 1993a, 8) suggests to reconstruct the name of the owner as Iny, who might be the same man as the Scribe of the Treasury, Iny, a staff member of the Overseer of the Treasury, Maya, who is named in the latter's tomb: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ MARTIN 2012, 34, scene [38], pl. 29, relief Cairo JE 43274d (found by Quibell, reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias); ○ MARTIN 2012, 20, scene [6], pls 13, 16: pylon gateway, south wall, sub-register, inscription added between 8th and 9th servant; ○ In both cases Iny bears the title <i>sš pr.w-ḥd n.y nb t3.wy</i>. ▪ See also BERLANDINI 1981, 9–20: socle Cairo JE 14126: a monument of Amenemone/Iny dedicated to Hathor, titled: <i>im.y-r3 sš.w mr.y n.y nb t3.wy; sš pr.w-ḥd n.y nb t3.wy; sš pr.w-ḥd Imn-m-in.t</i> alias <i>Iny</i>. His wife is the Lady of the House, Nodjmet. His children are also mentioned. ▪ SCHNEIDER 2012, 128 reads: <i>w^cb^c.w^{wy}</i> as part of a title. However, it rather appears to be part of an offering formula. 	
Bibliography	SCHNEIDER 2012, 127–8, Cat. 3, fig. VI.3 • VAN DIJK, in SCHNEIDER 1993, 8.	
[003]	<i>///-wī3</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	<i>///-wia</i>	
Title(s)	?	

Date	19 th Dynasty
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area, reused in a secondary wall around shaft 2002/8
Discovered	Leiden expedition, 2002
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excavation No. 2002-R53
Comments	▪ Relief fragment with part of one framed column of text: <i>///-wiz mꜣꜥ-ḥrw m ḥtp.</i>
Bibliography	RAVEN/VAN WALSEM 2014, 166, No. 133, fig. on p. 167.

[004]	<i>///-m-ḥꜣt</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	<i>///-emhat</i>	
Title(s)	?	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area, in the surface debris west of the tomb of Horemheb [303]	
Discovered	EES/Leiden expedition, 1975	
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excavation No. (?) – red quartzite pyramidion (fragment) 	
Comments	▪ SCHNEIDER 1996, 93–4, reconstructs the owner’s name as Ptahemhat, and identifies him with the High Priest of Ptah also known as Ty [152]. However, there is no indication for the man’s title(s). For the localisation of the tomb of High Priest Ptahemhat Ty, see e.g. ZIVIE 1984a and GESSLER-LÖHR 2012.	
Bibliography	SCHNEIDER 1996, 93–4 [NK 12], pls 101, 106.	

[005]	<i>///-mꜣ(.w)</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	<i>///-mose</i>	
Title(s)	?	
Date	Late 18 th /early 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Unas Valley Temple	
Discovered	Moussa 1970	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, No. 17002 (fragment of lower part) 	
Comments		
Bibliography	MOUSSA 1981, 76, No. 6, pl. 8b.	

[006]	<i>///-r</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	<i>///-er (?)</i>	
Title(s)	?	
Date	Late 18 th to 19 th Dynasty (pyramidion); 19 th to 20 th Dynasty (stela)	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; south of the south exterior wall of the inner courtyard of Horemheb	
Discovered	Leiden expedition, 2000	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small chapel due west of shaft 99/VI 	

III. Architectural elements

- Saqqara Magazine, Excavation No. 2000-54 – anepigraphic pyramidion

IV. Stelae

- Saqqara Magazine, Excavation No. 2000-R8 – rectangular stela, fragment
- Comments** ▪ A small chapel once situated due west of shaft 99/VI contained a pyramidion and a stela fragment, both of which may have belonged to that chapel.

Bibliography RAVEN et al. 2011b, 58, No. 27, 60, No. 32, figs on p. 59 and 61, fig. I.16.

[007]	<i>/// r-nhh</i>	Chief of Serfs
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	///-erneheh	
Title(s)	[B] <i>hr.y mr.t</i>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery, Middle Section	
Discovered	Macquarie University expedition, 2008	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine (TNM: B13) – stela fragment 	
Comments		
Bibliography	OCKINGA 2012, 385–8, fig. 5.	

[008]	<i>ꜣs.t-nfr.t</i>	Noble Woman
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Isisnofret	
Title(s)	[A] <i>šps.t</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	Saqqara North: near the monument of Khaemwaset	
Discovered	Waseda University, 2008	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Burial chamber 	
	<u>V. burial equipment</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>In situ</i> – limestone sarcophagus • Berlin Museum Inv. No. (?) – three small statuettes (shabtis) 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ For the statuettes bought from Fernandez in Cairo, see <i>LD Text</i>, 1, 16: ‘... <i>Alle diese Totenstatuetten sind jetzt in Berlin nicht mehr sicher nachzuweisen</i>’. ▪ The burial chamber, accessed via a sloping east-west passage, is located underneath the pyramid of the anonymous tomb [426]. ▪ Was Isisnofret the daughter of Prince Khaemwaset or of King Merenptah? According to KAWAI 2010, she was a daughter of Khaemwaset (see also a relief block from his hilltop monument, showing both: KAWAI 2010, fig. 4). For a two-sided stela from the tomb of Horemheb [303], see: SCHNEIDER 1996, 94–5, pls 99, 107–8. Another fragment (2004-R17) was found in the fill of Horemheb’s forecourt (RAVEN et al. 2011b, 62 [34], fig. on p. 63). ▪ LEBLANC 1993, pl. IB: relief fragment with a representation and a single, framed column of text in sunk relief mentioning Isisnofret, found in the Cairo University concession area at Saqqara. 	
Bibliography	PN I, 4.7 ♦ KAWAI 2010, 497–511 ♦ RAVEN et al., 2011b, 62 [34] ♦ SCHNEIDER 1996, 94–5; NK 20] ♦ YOSHIMURA/KAWAI 2010, 467–83. 	

[009]	ḥ(i)-p.t	Chief Lector Priest in the Two Houses (of Mummification)
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Akhpet	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš nsw mꜣꜥ mr.y=f</i> [E] <i>im.y-rꜣ wt.w ♦ im.y-rꜣ wt.w n.w nb tꜣ.wy ♦ ḥr.y-ḥb ḥr.y-tp m pr.wy-nfr</i>	
Date	Early 19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Seti I–Ramesses II	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid Cemetery, mortuary temple area	
Discovered	Lauer 1965–6	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> • Fragments of a tomb superstructure and tomb shaft with burial chamber <u>1. Reliefs</u> • Saqqara Magazine (No. ?) <u>III. Architectural elements</u> • Saqqara Magazine (No. ?) – pillar (fragments) • Saqqara Magazine (No. ?) – column (fragment) <u>V. Burial equipment</u> • Saqqara Magazine (No. ?) – sarcophagus	
Comments	▪ LECLANT 1967, 189: ‘... <i>S’il ne reste que de faibles traces de la superstructure ... nombreux fragments de reliefs, d’une rare élégance.</i> ’ ▪ One relief (see LECLANT 1967, pl. 10) depicts the <i>ḥr.y-pd.t Mr.n-Pth</i> .	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 558–9 ♦ PN I, 71.3 ♦ GIDDY 1992, 4, pls 2, 4 ♦ LAUER 1966, 32–4, pl. 4 ♦ LAUER 1976, 178–9 and n. 180, pl. 153 ♦ LECLANT 1966a, 15, pl. 3 ♦ LECLANT 1967, 189, pls 26–8 ♦ LECLANT 1968, 105, pls 18–19 ♦ MÁLEK 1985, fig. 10.	
[010]	ḥ(i)-p.t	Physician
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Akhpet	
Title(s)	[B] <i>swnw</i> [C] <i>sš</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; reused in a drystone wall built around the rim of the shaft of an anonymous tomb [447].	
Discovered	Leiden expedition, 2013	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> • Saqqara Magazine, Excavation No. SAK 2013 R-50 – round-topped, fragment	
Comments		
Bibliography	Unpublished ♦ PN I, 71.3.	
[011]	Iꜣ-nfr	Royal Butler
Tomb. No.	ST 105	
Name	Ianefer	
Title(s)	[B] <i>wbꜣ nsw wꜥb ꜥ.wwy</i>	

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II
Provenance South of Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area
Discovered Cairo University expedition, 1984–8
Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Tomb superstructure constructed of limestone blocks

Comments
Bibliography TAWFIK 1991, p. 406, fig. 1, pl. 57[c].

[012]	<i>Ḳz</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ya	
Title(s)	?	
Date	New Kingdom	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery (north of tomb S2727)	
Discovered	Quibell and Hayter, 1912–14	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown (several blocks) 	
Comments	▪ Depicted with his wife Ti	
Bibliography	QUIBELL/HAYTER 1927, 36, pl. XV.	

[013]	<i>Ty-iry</i>	High Priest of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Iy-iry	
Title(s)	[A] <i>iri.w hrr.t k3=f ♦ ir.y-p^c.t ♦ ir.y-p^c.t m s.t Gbb ♦ ir.y-p^c.t ḥ3.ty-^c.w ♦ ir.y-p^c.t ḥr.y-tp t3.wy ♦ wni ḥr Ptḥ ♦ hr(i) nb t3.wy //s=f ♦ ḥrp wr.w</i> [E] <i>it-nṯr ♦ it-nṯr mr.y nṯr ♦ w^cb ^c.wwy m pr.w Ptḥ ♦ ḥm-nṯr ♦ ḥm-nṯr tp.y n.y Wsir nb r3-sṯ3.w ♦ ḥr.y-sṯ3 m ḥw.t Ptḥ ḥrp ḥm.w-nṯr ♦ sm ♦ sm wr-ḥrp-ḥmw.w ♦ sm n.y Ptḥ</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Seti II	
Provenance	Mit Rahineh: reused (presumably from Saqqara)	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown (4 blocks) <u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris, Musée du Louvre A 71 – block statue with naos <u>III. Architectural elements</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown – lintel 	
Comments	▪ Statue Louvre A 71 is dedicated by his son, the <i>it-nṯr n.y Ptḥ</i> , Penpadehu. ▪ Elements from Mit Rahineh: found reused in tomb W. ANTHES 1965 No. 10 (fig. 8c, pl. 28b), mentions several individuals: <i>s3=f ḥr.y iḥ.w n.y ḥnw Nfr-ḥtp; ḥr.y iḥ.w n.y ḥnw R^c.w-ms(.w); sṯ Mhy; s3.t Mr.t-Ptḥ; s3.t R^c-i3i.</i>	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 704, 845 ♦ PNI, 8.14 ♦ ANTHES 1965, 79–85, pls 27a, 28, 29a, figs 7–8 ♦ MAYSTRE 1992, 159–60, Doc. 156 ♦ PIERRET 1874b, 10.	

[014]	<i>Ḳi-nfr.t</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Iy-nofret	

Title(s)	?
Date	18 th Dynasty
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery (north of Kagemni)
Discovered	Abd el-Raziq and Krekeler 1986
Remains	<u>0. Remains of tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unknown; unclear from excavation report <u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine (?)
Comments	
Bibliography	PN I, 10.7 ♦ ABD EL-RAZIQ/KREKELER 1986, 218, fig. 1, pl. 31a.

[015]	<i>ḥms</i>	Army Scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ahmoose	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš mšꜥ n.y nb tꜣ.wy</i>	
Date	Mid-18 th Dynasty (or post-Amarna?)	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery (now lost)	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Monument” (cf. MÁLEK 1989, 69). • Saqqara Magazine (?) 	
Comments	▪ This is the same man as [019].	
Bibliography	PN I, 12.19 ♦ MÁLEK 1989, 69.	

[016]	<i>ḥms</i>	Overseer of the Treasury
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ahmoose	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-rꜣ pr.w ♦ im.y-rꜣ pr.wy-ḥꜣ</i> [C] <i>sš nsw ♦ wr di.w (5) m pr.w Dḥw.ty</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Serapeum (reused)	
Discovered	Statue: Mariette 1852; relief: E.A.O. 1986 (Ibrahim Aly)	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine 4/Serapeum Lesser Vaults No. ? <u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 42 (CG 38411) 	
Comments	▪ His wife is the Lady of the house <i>Mw.t-ndm.t</i> . ▪ The statue, representing Ahmoose and his wife kneeling before Osiris enthroned, is dedicated by the <i>sḏm n.y nb=f Bniꜣ</i> , the Servant of his Lord, Benia.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 819 ♦ PN I, 12.19 ♦ DARESSY 1906, 108–9, pl. 21 ♦ IBRAHIM ALY 2000, 229–30, pl. 31a.	

[017]	<i>ḥms</i>	Fan Bearer of the <i>iwꜥi.t</i>-troops of Pharaoh, l.p.h.
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ahmoose	
Title(s)	[A] <i>tꜣy[-sry.t] n.y tꜣ iwꜥi.t n.y pr.w-ꜥꜣ ḥnḥ.w wꜣꜣ.w snb.w</i>	

Date	Ramesside
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway (Ninetjer area)
Discovered	Munro 1988
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relief fragment D 3/4-18.6
Description	▪ His son is called <i>P3-n-hwy.t</i> and his wife is <i>T3y-sn-nfr.t</i> .
Bibliography	<i>PN I</i> , 12.19 ♦ MUNRO 1988, 78–9.

[018]	<i>Tḥ-ms</i>	Scribe and Reckoner of Cattle
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ahmose	
Title(s)	[A] <i>wᶜ ḥs.y=f nṯr m pr.w=f</i> [C] <i>sš ḥsb ḫ.w ♦ sš ḥsb ḫ.w n.w pr.w im.y-r3 ḫtm</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	According to Lacau: “ <i>Vassalli, Saqqarah, janvier 1862</i> ”	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 34049 (JE 18181) 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ His son is the <i>sš ḥsb ḫ.w sš mšᶜ Mᶜḥw</i> ▪ TIRADRITTI 1994, 10–11: ‘... È ritrovata a Saqqara, è un tipico monumento dell’età ramesside. ... Il numero del JE dimostra che la stele entrò nelle collezioni del costituendo museo di Bulaq nel 1859’. However, the JE number suggests the object was registered in 1862 (cf. BOTHMER 1972–4, 114). 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 736 ♦ <i>PN I</i> , 12.19 ♦ LACAU 1909–16, 84–6, pl. 29 ♦ MARIETTE 1872, 18, pl. 56a ♦ TIRADRITTI 1994, 10–11.	

[019]	<i>Tḥ-ms</i>	Scribe of the army of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	Loret No. 1	
Name	Ahmose	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš mšᶜ n.y nb t3.wy</i>	
Date	Late 18 th /early 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery: east of the OK mastaba of Ankhmahor	
Discovered	Loret 1898	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>In situ</i> (unpublished): east-west: approach with stairway towards a courtyard containing the tomb-shaft to the subterranean chamber(s); chapel (?) with four columns and a stela. Constructed of mud brick with architectural elements made of limestone. 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The east part, located above the monument of Queen Khuit, was left unexcavated. ▪ Constructed immediately south of the tomb of Neferrenpet, Controller of the Morning House [236]. ▪ This is the same man as [015]. 	
Bibliography	<i>PN I</i> , 12.19 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 2014 ♦ Loret 1899, 11.	

[020]	<i>Iwy</i>	Overseer of Cattle of Amun
Tomb. No.	-	

Name	Iuy
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-rꜣ ih.w n.w Imn.w</i>
Date	Early 19 th Dynasty
Provenance	Probably Memphis, Saqqara (HODJASH/BERLEV 1982)
Discovered	Unknown; ex-coll. Vladimir Golenischev
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • St. Petersburg, Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts I.1.a.5637 (4124)
Comments	
Bibliography	EICHLER 2000, 86 n. 390 • HODJASH/BERLEV 1982, 122–3, No. 70, fig. 70.

[021]	<i>Iwnw</i>	Chisel Bearer of Amun
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Iunu	
Title(s)	[D] <i>tꜣy bš n.y Imn.w</i> • <i>tꜣy mḏꜣt</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Saqqara South: found reused (“in recent times”) north-west of the pyramid of Ibi	
Discovered	G. Jéquier, 1930	
Remains	<u>II. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown 	
Comments	▪ Father of Pawah [104]. The second (= lower) register shows his son Pawah offering to Iunut and his wife.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 675 • PN I, 17.29 • JÉQUIER 1935, 23, No. 19, pl. 22.	

[022]	<i>Ṛw-rwḏ=f</i>	Scribe of the Treasury
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Iurundef	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš n.y pr.w-ḥḏ</i> • <i>sš pr.w-ḥḏ n.y Imn.w</i> • <i>sš pr.w-ḥḏ n.y Imn.w-Rꜥ.w</i> • <i>sš ḥtp.w n.w nṯr.w nb.w</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway: Leiden concession area	
Discovered	EES/Leiden, 1982	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb-chapel</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Iurundef had a chapel in the courtyard of Tia’s tomb [372] <u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excavation No. R 93-88 – block found in substructure tomb of Iniuia [066]; may have alternatively belonged to the tomb of Tia [372] <u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Durham, Oriental Museum N. 1965 <u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 99640 – shabti of a woman named Hener 	
Comments	▪ Depicted on the stela along with Amenemhab (main dedicator) called Pakharu [048] adoring their master Tia [372]; this stela might originate from the destroyed counterpart of Iurundef’s chapel (on the opposite north side of the courtyard of the tomb of Tia; RAVEN 1991, 4, n. 4). ▪ For two stelae from the Kafr el-Gebel monument (Nos 43–4), and the family relations (his father Amenemhab and his son Amenemope, who was Scribe of	

the Treasury and Overseer of Works in the temple of Ramesses II “beloved of *Imn-m-wi3*”), see ABDEL-AAL 2000.

Bibliography ABDEL-AAL 2000, 1–4, pls 1–2 ♦ ABDEL-AAL 2009, 2 [1], 3–4 [7], pls 1a, 3b ♦ RAVEN 1991 ♦ MÁLEK 1988, 131–2 ♦ RAVEN et al. 2011b, 166, No. 82 ♦ SCHNEIDER 2012, 104, No. 37, fig. III.66.

[023]	<i>Iwrhy</i>	General
Tomb. No.	LS 25 (now lost)	
Name	Iurokhy (Urhiya/Ourkhiya)	
Title(s)	<p>[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w m ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w [m] pr.w Imn.w</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y nb t3.wy</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y ḥw.t Imn.w</i></p> <p>[C] <i>sš nsw</i> ♦ <i>sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f</i></p> <p>[F] <i>im.y-r3 mš^c wr</i> ♦ <i>ḥr.y pḏ.t n.y nb t3.wy</i></p>	
Date	<p>- 19th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II, first half</p> <p>- PM: Ramesside</p> <p>- Kitchen: early Seti I to Ramesses II</p>	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, area between the Jeremias Monastery and the pyramid of Sekhemkhet	
Discovered	Lepsius 1843	
Remains	<p><u>III. Architectural elements</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 65061 – <i>djed</i> pillar • Present location unknown – 5 columns <p><u>IV. Stelae</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Avignon, Musée Calvet A4 (purchased from M. Perrot, Nimes, 1851) • Birmingham, City Museum and Art Gallery Inv. no. 134'72 (ex-coll. Salt) • Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Palais Saint-Pierre Inv. no. 84 (ex-coll. Drovetti) • Paris, Musée du Louvre E 3143 (stela of Iurokhy and Yupa) (ex-coll. d'Anastasi) 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Location of the columns according to <i>LD Text</i>, I, 182: 1 in Saqqara, 3 in Tura, 1 left <i>in situ</i> (broken). ▪ For the placement of the columns, compare e.g. tomb S 2735 (QUIBELL/HAYTER 1927, pl. 2). ▪ Iurokhy was the father of Yupa [079]; ▪ The wife of Iurokhy was named Tuy, the Lady of the House, Songstress of Amun, Great Chantress of Hathor; Wife of Yupa was Inehyt, the Lady of the House 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 661 ♦ BERLANDINI-KELLER 2011, 31–46 ♦ GAUTHIER 1935, 81–4, pl. 1 ♦ HELCK 1958, 376–7, 490–2 ♦ KRI III, 191–5 ♦ <i>LD Text</i> , I, 182 ♦ RUFFLE/KITCHEN 1979, 55–74, pls 1–8.	

[024]	<i>Iwti</i>	Outline Draughtsman of Re
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Iuti	
Title(s)	[D] <i>sš ḳdw.t</i> ♦ <i>sš ḳdw.t n.yt p3 R^c.w</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	

Provenance	Location lost
Discovered	Ex-coll. Passalacqua, 1828
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7269
Comments	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 732 ♦ RAUE 1999, 153–4 ♦ ROEDER 1924, 194, 196–7.

[025]	Ἰpay	Deputy Administrator of Memphis
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ipay	
Title(s)	[A] <i>ḥs.y n.y Pth nb Mz̄.t</i> [B] <i>idn.w w̄.w n.y Mn-nfr</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Near the Teti Pyramid	
Discovered	C.M. Firth, 1920s	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 572 ♦ GUNN, <i>Notebook</i> 6, No. 16 (text only) ♦ MÁLEK 1989b, 4 (block D2).	

[026]	Ἰpay	Royal Butler
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ipay	
Title(s)	[A] <i>mrr.w n.y nb t̄z.wy</i> [B] <i>im.y-r̄z pr.w ♦ wb̄z nsw w̄b̄ ̄.wwy</i> [C] <i>s̄š nsw ♦ s̄š nsw m̄z̄ mr.y=f</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, “post-Amarna”, <i>temp.</i> Tutankhamun.	
Provenance	Dahshur North; two km. north of Snofru’s Red Pyramid	
Discovered	Waseda University	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>In situ</i> (superstructure missing: only foundation/lower courses (mudbrick) with shaft and subterranean chambers. The plan included a ramp, two courts and a cult chapel with two side rooms. Total length approximately 47 m; width 17.7m). <u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dahshur Magazine (?) – limestone stela with pyramidal top (h: 46 cm), found in a deposit on the south side of the tomb’s ramp 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The tomb was reused during the time of Ramesses II, as it contained the sarcophagus and shabti of the Steward Mose [216]. ▪ Shaft opening constructed of limestone blocks measuring 52 x 26 x 22 cm, i.e. corresponding to the size of <i>talatat</i> blocks. ▪ Name of tomb owner stamped in mudbricks. ▪ Objects with names of Tutankhamun and Ankhesenamun found in shaft A; jar labels with Year 23 of Amenhotep III and another with Year 7 of Ramesses II. ▪ Others shabtis bear the names of Huy, Amenemopet and Pashedu: “multiple burials or a complicated serial use of the tomb”. 	

- YOSHIMURA et al. 2001, 11, tentatively suggest that Ipay might be the same man as Ipy [027], the Chief Steward who had a tomb at Amarna and Saqqara/(Dahshur-North).

Bibliography YOSHIMURA/HASEGAWA 2000, 145–60; YOSHIMURA et al. 2001, 5–20; YOSHIMURA et al. 2005, 89–96.

[027]	Ipy	Chief Steward in Memphis
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ipy	
Title(s)	[A] <i>tꜣy-ḥw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw</i> [B] <i>im.y-rꜣ pr.w ♦ im.y-rꜣ pr.w wr ♦ im.y-rꜣ pr.w wr m 'Inb.w-ḥd ♦ im.y-rꜣ pr.w n.y Mn-nfr</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i> [E] <i>ḥm-nṯr tp.y n.y Pth ♦ ḥm-nṯr tp.y ḥw.t Pth m pꜣ bꜥḥ</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep IV–Horemheb	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Florence: ex-coll. Nizzoli 1824 ; Leiden: ex-coll d'Anastasi	
Remains	<u>II. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Florence, Museo Archeologico 2567 (with his father, Amenhotep Huy [061]) • St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum 1072 <u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AAL 4c, d – canopic jars <u>VII. Extra sepulchral</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin 21597 (lintel from Amarna: ROEDER 1924, 399) Titles: <i>sš nsw im.y-rꜣ pr.w n.y Mn-nfr ; sš nsw im.y-rꜣ pr.w pꜣ kꜣp(?) - ʿꜣ n.w pr.wy-ʿꜣ ʿnh.w wḏꜣ.w snb.w m zḥt-Itn.w im.y-rꜣ pr.w</i> 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Son of Amenhotep Huy, Chief Steward in Memphis [061]. ▪ Letter of the Steward Ipy to King Akhenaten in Year 5: from Gurob (Griffith 1898, Text, 91–2 (I.1 and I.2), pl. 38. ▪ YOSHIMURA et al. 2001, 11, tentatively suggest that Ipy might be the same man as Ipay [026], who had a tomb in Dahshur-North. 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 704 ♦ PN I, 23.2 ♦ HELCK 1958, 370, 485, No. 15 ♦ LÖHR 1975, 142–4, Doc. I.1 ♦ RAVEN/STARING 2007, 80, Cat. 72 ♦ PASQUALI 2012, 133–8 ♦ PASQUALI/GESSLER-LÖHR 2011, 281–99; YOSHIMURA et al. 2001, 5–20.	

[028]	Ipy	Overseer of Honey Production (of the Temple of Amun)
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ipy	
Title(s)	[B] “Overseer of honey production (of the temple of Amun)”	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Tutankhamun	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery	
Discovered	Supreme Council of Antiquities excavations, 1990s	
Remains	<u>0. In situ tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small tomb chapel: remains of limestone paved floor, two column(bases) and stela. 	

Comments**Bibliography** *PN I*, 23.2 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 2014.

[029]	<i>ꜥpw</i>	Royal Butler
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ipu	
Title(s)	[B] <i>wbꜣ nsw wꜥb ꜥ.wwy</i>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Ex-coll. d'Anastasi	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 9 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ipu's wife if the Lady of the house, Nia. ▪ Ipu's father, Neferhat, was <i>hry-ḥb</i> of king Aa-kheperu-ra (Amenhotep II) and <i>Wab</i> Priest of Amun. His mother is named Tia. 	
Bibliography	PM VIII/4, 803–045–300 ♦ <i>PN I</i> , 23.6 ♦ BOESER 1913, 4–5, pl. 4 ♦ BERLANDINI 1982a, 202, figs. 42–3 ♦ BINDER 2008, 289, No. 015 ♦ FREED/MARKOWITZ/D'AURIA 1999, Cat. 257 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 1989, 28–9 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 2007a, 93 n. 98 ♦ PASQUALI 2009, 85 ♦ SCHNEIDER 1997, No. 196 ♦ STARING 2015a, Cat. 174.	
[030]	<i>ꜥpwꜣꜣ</i>	Chief of Goldsmiths of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	S2730 (+ 2736?) (Quibell)	
Name	Apuia	
Title(s)	[D] <i>im.y-rꜣ ḥmw.w ♦ hr.y nby.w ♦ hr.y nbw.w n.w nb tꜣ.wy</i>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery, now lost	
Discovered	J.E. Quibell and A.G.K. Hayter 1912–14	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mudbrick with limestone revetment; now lost (removed) <u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 44924 • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 21.6.24.12 • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 17.6.24.13 • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 21.6.24.16 (2x) <u>III. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 44884 (wood) <u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 44722 • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 27.3.25.17 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Part of the south exterior wall possibly excavated by Lepsius (see <i>LD Text</i>, I, 146). 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 555–6, pl. LVII ♦ <i>PN I</i> , 23.26 ♦ GIDDY 1992, 5, with n. 5 and pl. 4 (incorrect identification) ♦ QUIBELL/HAYTER 1927, 10–11, 32–6, pls 2, 8–14.	

[031]	<i>ʿImn-w3ḥ-sw</i>	Scribe of the Altar of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amenwahsu	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš wdḥ.w n.y nb t3.wy</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Seti I	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains		
Present loc.	<u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marseille, Musée d'archéologie No. 211 – naos-shaped pedestal with Osiris 	
	<u>VII. Extra sepulchral objects</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chicago, Oriental Institute 10507 (relief-decorated block/stela from Abydos) 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Marseille 211: naos-shaped pedestal, lower part of seated statue, probably of deified King Teti-Merenptah (6th Dynasty), and headless Amenwahsu and wife Henutwedjebu, kneeling, with scenes of both adoring Teti in his Pyramid in relief decoration on the sides of the pedestal. ▪ According to DODSON/HILTON 2004, 170, Amenwahsu is the father of Tia [372]. 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 729 ♦ PN I, 27.2 ♦ MARTIN 1987, 30–1, No. 74, pl. 27 ♦ NAVILLE 1887, 69–72, pl. 4 ♦ NELSON/PIÉRINI 1978, 33, fig. 64 ♦ VAN DIJK 1993, 85–98.	
[032]	<i>ʿImn-m-///</i>	Child of the Nursery
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amenem///	
Title(s)	[B] <i>ḥrd n.y k3p</i>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden-concession area; area east of courtyard of Iniua [066]	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1993	
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, SAK 93-17 – pyramidion 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ As suggested by Van Dijk, this may be Amenemheb, the father of Pay [099]. However, the title Child of the Nursery is not attested elsewhere for this man named Amenemheb (SCHNEIDER 2012, 127). His other titles are: <i>s3b</i> and <i>šms.w n.y ḥm=f</i>. 	
Bibliography	SCHNEIDER 2012, 126–7, Cat. 2, fig. VI.2 ♦ VAN DIJK, in SCHNEIDER et al. 1993, 8.	
[033]	<i>ʿImn-m-///</i>	/// of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amenem///	
Title(s)	[?] <i>/// n.y nb t3.wy</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; tomb of Horemheb [303], surface debris west of tomb	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1975	
Remains	<u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 75-S 11 – faience canopic jar fragment 	

Comments**Bibliography** SCHNEIDER 1996, 47, No. 293, pls 30, 72.

[034]	<i>Imn-m-ḥb</i>	Chief of Goldsmiths
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amenemheb	
Title(s)	[D] ḥr.y nby.w ♦ ḥr.y nbw.w n.w nb t3.wy	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias	
Discovered	J.E. Quibell	
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 46190–1 – jambs 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Shares the block with his brother Ptahemheb [155]. ▪ One block (No. 15, second register) also depicts R^c-ms(.w), who was the ḥr.y s3w.ty t3r.t; Head of Custodians of the Cabin; ▪ Ptahemheb and Amenemheb are possibly the sons of Amenemone [039]. 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 669 ♦ PN I, 28.14 ♦ Châban 1917, 180–2, Nos 14–15	

[035]	<i>Imn-m-ḥp.t</i>	Overseer of the Double Granary of the Lord of the Two Lands in Upper and Lower Egypt
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amenemope (Panehsi)	
Title(s)	[A] rḥ nsw m3 ^c mr.y=f ♦ ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr [B] im.y-r3 n.y p3 s.t n.yt Mn-m3 ^c .t-R ^c .w ♦ im.y-r3 šnw.ty ♦ im.y-r3 šnw.ty n.y nb t3.wy ♦ im.y-r3 šnw.ty n.y nb t3.wy m Šm ^c .w T3-mḥ.w [C] sš nsw	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty, temp. Horemheb	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris, Musée du Louvre C 65 	
	<u>V. Burial equipment</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two shabtis: one in Bologna, one in Florence (PETRIE 1935, pl. 16) 	
	<u>VIII. Varia</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Turin, Museo Egizio 6347 – cubit measure 	
Comments	▪ Amenemope features in TT 255 of the Steward Roy.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 773–4 ♦ PN I, 27.18 ♦ BOHLEKE 1991, 250–9 ♦ LEPSIUS 1865, 14 [1], pl. 1b ♦ PETRIE 1935, pl. 16 ♦ <i>Urk.</i> IV, 2173–4 [851].	

[036]	<i>Imn-m-ḥp.t</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amenemope	
Title(s)	?	
Date	19 th Dynasty (?)	
Provenance	MOUSSA 1984–5: "... found in the necropolis of the New Kingdom at Saqqara"	
Discovered	A.M. Moussa	
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements</u>	

- Saqqara Magazin, No. 16697 – lintel
- Comments**
- Measurements: 139 x 38 x 26 cm (four pieces).
 - Amenemope bears the epithet *wr n.t imnt.t*.
 - Same man as [037]?

Bibliography *PN I*, 27.18 ♦ MOUSSA 1984–5, 35, pl. 1.

[037] *Imn-m-ḫp.t* God's Father (of Ptah)

Tomb. No. -

Name Amenemope

Title(s) [A] *w^cb ̣.wwy shtp /// n.y Pth* ♦ *nb-nmt.wt m r3-st3.w*

[E] *it-nṯr mr.y nṯr (n.y Pth)* ♦ *ḫm-nṯr (tp.y) n.y Mw.t-ḫnti.t-^cb.wy-nṯr.w*

Date MUNRO 1988, 78: Ramesside, ‘not earlier than Dynasty XX/XXI’

Provenance South of the Unas Causeway, ‘Ninetjer area’

Discovered P. Munro, 1986

Remains II. Statues

- Saqqara, Imhotep Museum (Inv. No. D 3/4-17.86) – dyad

Comments

- Same man as [036]?

- The name of his wife is unknown.

Bibliography *PN I*, 27.18 ♦ MUNRO 1988, 77–8, pls 8–9.

[038] *Imn-m-ḫp.t / Nw.w* ? / Lady of the House

Tomb. No. -

Name Amenemopet (daughter of Baket) and Nu (Lady of the House)

Title(s) ? / Lady of the House

Date 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III

Provenance Teti Pyramid Cemetery

Discovered C.M. Firth, 1920s

Remains IV. Stelae

- Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet 11443

Comments

Bibliography *PM III/2*, 572 ♦ *PN I*, 27.18 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 2007a, 69, pl. 3.

[039] *Imn-m-ḫn.t* Chief Goldsmith of the Lord of the Two Lands

Tomb. No. Loret No. 2

Name Amenemone

Title(s) [D] *im.y-r3 ḫmw.t n.t nb t3.wy* ♦ *ḫr.y nbw.w n.w nb t3.wy*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Tutankhamun

Provenance Teti Pyramid North Cemetery

Discovered V. Loret 1898–9; Macquarie University archaeological mission 1995–96

Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Remains of a tomb constructed of mud bricks with a limestone revetment

I. Reliefs

- Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 11913
- Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 11975 (TN 5.7.24.15)
- Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 17.6.25.1 (a–e)
- Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 29.6.24.8
- Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 27.6.24.2

- Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst Gl. 298

II. Statues

- Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 8.6.24.10 – dyad

III. Architectural elements

- Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 41665 – pyramidion
- Paris, Musée du Louvre B 48 – pilaster

IV Stelae

- Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 10.6.24.8 (SR 11732)

Comments ▪ Possibly depicted in the tomb of Maya, Overseer of the Treasury [184], bearing the title *idn.w n3 n.y hmw.t pr.w-ḥd n.w pr.w-ꜥ3*. His son Ptahmose might also be identified in that tomb, bearing the title *sš šꜥ.t n.yt p3 im.y-r3 pr.wy-ḥd* (OCKINGA 2000, 123, with nn. 9–11).

Bibliography PM III/2, 552–3, 820 ♦ PN I, 27.22 ♦ ASSEM 2006, 63–6, pl. 15 ♦ BERLANDINI-GRENIER 1976, 301–16 ♦ GRAEFE 1988, 49–53 ♦ LD, pl. III.24b ♦ LORET 1899, 11 ♦ OCKINGA 2000, 121–32 ♦ OCKINGA 2004.

[040] *Imn-m-in.t* General of the Lord of the Two Lands

Tomb. No. -

Name Amenemone

Title(s) [A] *ir.y-pꜥ.t ḥ3.ty-ꜥ.w ♦ ḥr.y-ib n.y nsw ♦ ḥs.y ꜥ3 n.y ntr nfr ♦ sr tp.y m Inb.w-ḥd*

[B] *im.y-r3 pr.w m t3 ḥw.t Mn-ḥpr-Rꜥ.w*

[C] *sš nfr.w ♦ sš nsw ♦ sš nsw m3ꜥ mr.y=f*

[D] *im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t n.yt Šmꜥ.w T3-mḥ.w ♦ im.y-r3 k3.t m pr.w Rꜥ.w ♦ im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t n.yt nsw*

[E] *sšm.w-ḥb n.y M3ꜥ.t*

[F] *im.y-r3 mšꜥ wr ♦ im.y-r3 mšꜥ wr n.y nb t3.wy ♦ wḥm.w nsw tp.y ♦ ḥr.y pḏ.t*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Horemheb

Provenance Location lost

Discovered -

Remains

I. Reliefs

- (*) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1974.468 (adjoining Copenhagen Æ.I.N. 716)
- Brussels, private collection
- Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 714 (two sided)
- Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 715
- (*) Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 716 (adjoining MFA 1974.468)
- (*) Essen, Museum Folkwang P. 143
- (*) Hannover, Museum August-Kestner 1935.200.186
- Heidelberg, Sammlung des Ägyptologischen Instituts 559
- Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (facsimile only; original lost)
- Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian 205
- North Carolina, private collection Winston-Salem (Hanes collection)
- Paris, Musée du Louvre B 6

- Paris, Musée du Louvre B 8
- Paris, Musée Rodin 237 (as permanent loan to the Louvre)
- (*) Paris, private collection
- Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Parma E.108
- Strasbourg, Institut d'Égyptologie de l'Université de Strasbourg 2439A

III. Architectural elements

- Bologna, Museo Civico 1894 – column fragment
- Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 27.6.24.10 – lintel

Comments ▪ The asterisk (*) indicates that these elements could be attributed to Amenemone on stylistic grounds (see DJUŽEVA 2000, 82), although this is not certain.

Bibliography PM III/2, 701 ♦ PN I, 27.22 ♦ CARPANO 1994, 63, No. 46, pl. 9, fig. 29 ♦ DJUŽEVA 2000, 77–98 (with further references to the objects listed) ♦ LD Text, I, 138; pl. III.29e ('*Einzelne Steine im Dorfe Abusir verbaut*' = Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek ÆIN 714–15) ♦ KOEFOED-PETERSEN 1956, 36, No. 39, pls 38–9 ♦ MARTIN 1987, 7–9, Cat. 1–6, pls 1–3 ♦ Schneider 1985, 22–3, fig. 6.

[041]	<i>Imn-m-īn.t</i>	Overseer of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	ST 101 (Cairo University)	
Name	Amenemone	
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>šh n.y nb=f ♦ ir.y-p^c.t ḥz.ty-^c.w ♦ ir.y-rd.wy n.w nb t3.wy ♦ ir(i).w dd=f ir.ty n.y nsw ♦ w^c.ty ♦ rdī n ḥft ḥr wp(.wty)-nsw r t3 nb ♦ ḥs.y ^c3 n.y nb t3-<u>dsr</u> ♦ šms.w ḥr w3.t=f ♦ t3y-ḥw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw ♦ /// nsw m t3 r <u>qr=f</u></i></p> <p>[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w wr ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w [m] t3 ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w wr m [t3] ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd n.y nb t3.wy ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd n.y Šm^c.w T3-mḥ.w ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd p3 pr.w R^c.w-ms-sw Mr.y-Imn.w ḥr.y-īb w3.t imn.tyt W3s.t ♦ whm.w nsw n.y nb=f ♦ šms.w n.y ḥm=f ḥr ḥ3s.wt nb.wt</i></p> <p>[C] <i>sš nsw ♦ sš nsw ḥs.y n.y ḥm=f ♦ sš nsw š^c.t ♦ sš nsw š^c.t n.yt nb t3.wy ♦ sš š^c.t n.yt nb t3.wy ♦ Dḥw.ty š^c.t n.yt nb t3.wy</i></p> <p>[D] <i>im.y-r3 k3.t m pr.w ///</i></p>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area	
Discovered	Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88	
Remains	<p><u>0. Tomb structure</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb structure built of limestone blocks <p><u>II. Statues</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum 738 (probably: see VAN DIJK 1993) – block statue 	
Comments	<p>▪ His wife is the Chantress of Bastet, <i>Mry.t-Pth</i>.</p> <p>▪ The title Royal Scribe of Documents is consistently placed in the last position in the sequences of titles: highest office?</p> <p>▪ “Amun” in the name of Amenemone is sometimes written with the seated Amun-figure.</p>	

▪ For the baboon (Thoth) as Scribe: cf. also HELCK 1958, 278; BORCHARDT 1907–8, 59, fig. 1: Tjay (TT 23) offers to a baboon who is designated as *Dḥw.ty t3 s.t n3 šꜥ.wt pr.w-ꜥ3 ʿnh.w wd3.w snb.w*.

Bibliography *PN* I, 27.22 ♦ GOHARY 1991b, 195–205, pls 49–60 ♦ *KRI* III, 210–11 ♦ LIEBLEIN 1873, 4–5, pl. 1.1–3 ♦ TAWFIK 1991, 405, fig. 1, pl. 57b, 58a ♦ VAN DIJK 1993, 156–7.

[042]	<i>ʿImn-m-wi3</i>	Chief Steward
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amenemwia	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr</i>	
Date	New Kingdom	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs / III. Architectural elements ?</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown 	
Comments	“Block” seen in Maspero’s house at Saqqara in 1881.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 763 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 28.1 ♦ Wilbour MSS. 2 B, 170.	

[043]	<i>ʿImn-m-ḥ3t</i>	Overseer of Horses
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amenemhat	
Title(s)	[F] <i>im.y-r3 ssm.t</i>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid Cemetery	
Discovered	C.M. Firth, 1920s	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present clocation unknown (last seen with Tano, an art dealer in Cairo) 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Amenemhat offering to Osiris, with King Teti behind the god, and a (perhaps) later text on the <i>verso</i>. 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 572 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 28.8 ♦ GRDSELOFF MSS. 1.125–7 ♦ GUNN, MSS, XIX 2[2] ♦ GUNN, <i>Notebook</i> , 7, No. 41 ♦ MÁLEK 1989b, 5 (stela C1) ♦ MÁLEK 1992, 68 (S5), pl. VI [1, 2].	

[044]	<i>ʿImn-m-ḥ3t</i>	Chief Goldsmith
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amenemhat	
Title(s)	[D] <i>ḥr.y nby.w</i>	
Date	Mid 18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III	
Provenance	Saqqara North	
Discovered	Ex-coll. comte Louis de Saint-Ferriol, 1842	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grenoble, Musée des Beaux-Arts n° 20, Inv. 1963 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ His wife is the Lady of the House <i>T3-n.t-išrw</i>. ▪ The element <i>ʿImn.w</i> in the name of the tomb owner has been erased. 	
Bibliography	<i>PN</i> I, 28.8 ♦ GOURLAY 1979, 87–94, pl. 35 ♦ KUENY/YOYOTTE 1979, 37, cat. 20, fig. on p. 38–9 ♦ MORET 1919, 166–9.	

[045]	<i>Ḥmn-m-ḥb</i>	Head of Goldworkers of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amenemheb	
Title(s)	[D] <i>ḥr.y nby.w ♦ ḥr.y nbw.w n.w nb t3.wy</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 18925 (TN 27.3.25.15) 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 736–7 ♦ PN I, 28.14 ♦ GABALLA1979, 80–82, fig. 3, pl. 16b.	
[046]	<i>Ḥmn-m-ḥb</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amenemheb	
Title(s)	[A] <i>w^c ikr ♦ ḥs.y n.y ///</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III (?)	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	I. Rosellini, 1828–29	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Florence, Museo Archeologico 2592 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The title of office is damaged: illegible. 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 740 ♦ PN I, 28.14 ♦ BOSTICCO 1965, 36–8, No. 31, fig. 31.	
[047]	<i>Ḥmn-m-ḥb</i>	Overseer of Craftsmen of the Temple of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amenemheb	
Title(s)	[D] <i>im.y-r3 ḥmw.w n.w pr.w Pth</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Saqqara (probably)	
Discovered	Ex-coll. d'Anastasi, 1828	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AD 37 	
Description		
Bibliography	PN I, 28.14 ♦ BOESER 1913, 11, No. 38, pl. 23 ♦ FRIEDMAN 1998, 250, Cat. No. 168.	
[048]	<i>Ḥmn-m-ḥb P3-ḥ3-rw</i>	Head of Retainers
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amenemhab called Pakharu	
Title(s)	[B] <i>ḥr.y šmsw.w</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Durham, Durham University Gulbenkian Museum N.1965 	

- Comments** ▪ Being the main dedicator of the stela, he is represented together with Iurufef [022] adoring their master Tia [372].
 ▪ Amenemhab is the father of Iurufef (see ABDEL-AAL 2000). According to ABDEL-AAL (2000, 4), the stela is from Kafr el-Gebel.
- Bibliography** PM III/2, 740 ♦ PN I, 28.14/116.19 ♦ ABDEL-AAL 2000, 1–4, pls 1–2 ♦ MÁLEK 1988, 131–2.

[049]	<i>ʿImn-mꜣ</i>	Custodian of the House (Palace) of His Majesty
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amenmaa	
Title(s)	[B] <i>sꜣw.ty n.y pr.w ḥm=f</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Thutmose IV–Amenhotep III	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery	
Discovered	R. Lepsius, 1843	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7320	
Comments	▪ According to GESSLER-LÖHR 2007a, 71, with n. 44, the title must refer to the Memphite estate of the reigning king, being either Thutmose IV or Amenhotep III.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 557 ♦ PN I, 29.5 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 2007a, 71–2, pl. 5 ♦ LD Text, I, 146, 154, 156.	

[050]	<i>ʿImn-ms</i>	Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amenmose [perhaps also called Ramose]	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš pr.w-nsu ♦ sš n.y pr.w-ḥꜣ n.y nb tꜣ.wy</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Saqqara South: found reused (“in recent times”) north-west of the pyramid of Ibi	
Discovered	G. Jéquier, 1930	
Remains	<u>II. Stelae</u> • Present location unknown	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 675 ♦ PN I, 29.8 ♦ JÉQUIER 1935, 27, No. 3, pl. 18.	

[051]	<i>ʿImn-ms</i>	Head of the Quartermasters of the Army
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amenmose	
Title(s)	[F] <i>ḥr.y wꜣrtw.w n.w mšꜣ</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 34054	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 737 ♦ PN I, 29.8 ♦ LACAU 1926, 95–7, pl. 32.	

[052]	<i>ʿImn-ms</i>	General of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amenmose	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš nsw</i> [F] <i>im.y-rꜣ mšꜥ wr [n.y] nb tꜣ.wy</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	July 1881	
Remains	<u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 4330 – two canopic jars; according to Reisner (<i>Journal d'Entrée</i>), four jars were found 	
Comments	▪ One canopic jar: ex-coll. Hoffmann; the other was registered as JE 25145.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 770, 771 ♦ PN I, 29.8 ♦ LEGRAIN 1894, No. 76, fig. 76 ♦ REISNER 1967, 225.	
[053]	<i>ʿImn-ms</i>	Great Scribe of the Waters in the Mansion of Menmaatre (Seti I) in the House of Amun
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amenmose	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš ꜥꜣ n.y mw m pr.w ʿImn.w-Rꜥ.w nsw ntr.w</i> ♦ <i>sš ꜥꜣ n.y mw t[ꜣ] ḥw.t Mn-mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ m pr.w ʿImn.w</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Seti I	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>VIII. Varia</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • London, British Museum EA 12778 (palette) 	
Comments	▪ Purchased from Robert James Hay, 1868.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 773 ♦ PN I, 29.8 ♦ BUDGE 1925, 174 [middle] ♦ GLANVILLE 1932, 58, pl. 8.1 ♦ WILKINSON MSS. III [9A] ♦ KRI I, 332 [136].	
[054]	<i>ʿImn-ms</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amenmose	
Title(s)	?	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Saqqara: probably from the tomb of Amenemone [040]	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris, Musée du Louvre B 6 	
Comments	▪ Depicted with his wife <i>Dpi.t</i> .	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 701 ♦ PN I, 29.8 ♦ BINDER 2008, 293, No. 030 ♦ BOREUX 1932, 476–7, pl. 11.1 ♦ DJUŽEVA 2000, 77–98, Doc. 11, fig. on p. 98.	
[055]	<i>ʿImn-ms</i>	Head of Custodians of the Documents of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amenmose	

Title(s)	[C] <i>ḥr.y s3w.ty [n.y] sš.w n.w nb t3.wy</i> ♦ <i>ḥr.y s3w.ty sš.w n.w pr.w-ḥd</i> ♦ <i>sš nsw</i>
Date	19 th Dynasty
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area, found in a shaft behind the tomb of Raia [278], immediately west of the tomb of Horemheb, [303]), and s surface find west of the tomb of Raia.
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1981
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements</u>
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara magazine – fragments of two <i>djed</i> pillars ▪ Perhaps belonging to the unexcavated tomb abutting to the exterior south-west corner of the tomb of Paser [135]? ▪ The pillars are made in two parts and were originally joined with plaster (h: 161 cm; w: 28 cm). ▪ Iconography: three sides with the tomb-owner kneeling, carrying a <i>djed</i> pillar on his shoulder; once the tomb-owner standing with his hands raised in a gesture of adoration.
Bibliography	<i>PN</i> I, 29.8 ♦ MARTIN 1985, 17–18 [xi, xii], pls 25, 28, 29.

[056]	<i>Imn-nḥt</i>	Overseer of the Double Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands
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Tomb. No.	-
Name	Amunnakht
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.wy-ḥd n.y nb t3.wy</i> [C] <i>sš [nsw] m3^c mr.y=f</i>
Date	- PM: Ramesside - LEPSIUS: “Ptolemäerzeit”
Provenance	Saqqara North / Abusir South; LEPSIUS: “ <i>im Dorfe Abusir verbaut</i> ”
Discovered	R. Lepsius ,1843
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements</u>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown – pillar
Comments	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 763 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 29.21 ♦ <i>LD Text</i> , I, 139 [a].

[057]	<i>Imn-nḥt</i>	?
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Tomb. No.	-
Name	Amunnakht
Title(s)	-
Date	19 th Dynasty
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; against the east face of the north wing of Horemheb’s first pylon.
Discovered	Leiden archaeological mission, 2005
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 2005-R12 (stela fragment).
Comments	
Bibliography	<i>PN</i> I, 29.21 ♦ RAVEN et al. 2011, 62, No. 38, fig. on p. 63.

[058]	<i>Imn-Ḥr</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amen-Hori	
Title(s)	?	
Date	18 th Dynasty (?)	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> ?	
Comments	▪ The stela is dedicated by his brother Minmose.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 749 ♦ PETRIE, in SAYCE MSS 25b.	

[059]	<i>Imn-ḥtp(.w)</i>	Chief Steward of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amenhotep	
Title(s)	[A] <i>t3y-///</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nb t3.wy</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, “Ninetjer area”	
Discovered	P. Munro, 1986	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. D 4/4-16.86 – relief fragment	
Comments	▪ Son of <i>Nḥt-Dḥw.ty</i>	
Bibliography	PN I, 30.12 ♦ MUNRO 1988, 78.	

[060]	<i>Imn-ḥtp Pn-dw3</i>	Scribe of the house of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amenhotep (and) Pendua	
Title(s)	Amenhotep: [C] <i>sš n.y pr.w Pth</i> Pendua: [C] <i>sš n.y pr.w Pth</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements</u> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 20.1.25.5 – <i>djed</i> pillar	
Comments	▪ According to Van Dijk, Amenhotep and Pendua may just be two names of the same man.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 755 ♦ PN I, 30.12; 112.9 ♦ BERLANDINI 1988, pl. 1A ♦ VAN DIJK 1986, 11, No. 15, pl. 1 [2] ♦ VAN DIJK 1993, 158–9, No. 15.	

[061]	<i>Imn-ḥtp Ḥwy</i>	Chief Steward in Memphis
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amenhotep Huy	
Title(s)	[A] <i>im.y-ib n.y Ḥr.w m pr.w=f ♦ ir.y-p^c.t ḥ3.ty-^c.w ♦ mḥ-ib mnḥ n.y nb=f ♦ r3 shrr m t3 r ḏr=f ♦ smr w^c.ty ♦ sd3.wty-bi.ty</i>	

- [B] *im.y-r3 pr.w wr ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w wr m Mn-nfr ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nsw ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nsw m 'Inb.w-ḥd ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w n.y Mn-nfr ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w n.y ḥd-nbw ♦ im.y-r3 ḥ3s.wt m t3 r dr=f*
- [C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw m3c mr.y=f ♦ sš nsw nfr.w*
- [D] *im.y-r3 k3.t m ḥnm.t Pth*
- [E] *im.y-r3 ḥm.w-ntr m ḥw.t Shm.t ♦ ḥm-ntr wr.t ḥk3.w ♦ sšm.w-ḥb n.y Pth rs.y inb=f n.y ntr.w nb.w 'Inb.w-ḥd*
- Date** - 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Amenhotep III
- Berlandini 1977, 32 n. 2: *temp.* Horemheb, end
- Provenance** South of the Unas causeway
- Discovered** Objects in Florence: ex-coll. G. di Nizzoli, 1824 ; Leiden: ex-coll G. d'Anastasi, 1828; and objects excavated by J.E. Quibell in the monastery of Apa Jeremias (CG 763)
- Remains** I. Reliefs
- London, private collection Salomon Aaron (David Aaron Ancient Art) – fragment, mentioning his son Ipy [027]
- II. Statues
- Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 1169 = JE 27862 (fragment)
 - Cairo, Egyptian Museum, no number
 - Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1913.163 (fragment)
- III. Architectural elements
- Florence, Museo Archeologico 2610 – pyramidion
 - Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AM 6-b – pyramidion
- IV. Stelae
- Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 763
 - Florence, Museo Archeologico 2567 (with his son Ipy [027])
- V. Burial equipment
- Florence, Museo Archeologico 2338–9 – alabaster jars
 - Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AM 2 – canopic chest
 - Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AH 126 – wooden chair leg
 - St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum 999 – ushabti coffin
- VII Varia
- Florence, Museo Archeologico 3078 – alabaster cubit measure
 - Florence, Museo Archeologico 3080 – alabaster model palette
 - New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 37.2.1 – alabaster model palette
 - Paris, Musée du Louvre A.F. 483 – alabaster model palette
- VII. Extra sepulchral
- London, British Museum 632 – cubic statue from Abydos
 - New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 08.205.3 – offering table from Memphis
- Comments** ▪ Father of Ipy, Chief Steward in Memphis [027]; brother of Vizier Ramose (TT 55).
- Bibliography** PM III/2, 702–3, 835, 836 ♦ PN I, 30.12 ♦ BERLANDINI 1977, 32 n. 2 ♦ BOESER 1912, 1, pl. 1 ♦ BORCHARDT 1934, 88 ♦ BOSTICCO 1965, 38–9, No. 32 ♦ ČERNÝ 1962, 144 ♦ HAYES 1938, 9–24 ♦ HELCK 1958, 302–4 (Vizier Ramose, TT 55), 368–70, 483–5, No. 14 ♦ EL-SAYED 1982, 123–7, pls 1–3 (statue Cairo CG 1169) ♦ MATHIEU 2012, 839–40 ♦ PETRIE 1903, 45, pl. 36 [below] ♦ PETRIE 1909, 7, pls 9, 18 ♦ PETRIE 1913, 33–6, pls 78 [bottom right], 79–80 ♦ QUIBELL

1912, pl. 84 ♦ SCHULZ 1992, 374, No. 216, pl. 97 ♦ STARING 2015a, Cat. 160–1, 66–7, *Urk IV*, 1801–2.

[062]	<i>Imn-ḥtp Ḥwy</i> Mayor of Memphis
Tomb. No.	-
Name	Amenhotep Huy
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>r3 n.y nsw ḥn.ty ḥw.t-k3-Pth</i> ♦ <i>rḥ nsw m3^c mr.y=f</i> ♦ <i>ḥr.y-sšt3 n.y ḥw.t-k3-Pth</i> ♦ <i>ḥs.y ʿ3 n.y nb t3.wy</i> ♦ <i>ḥs.y ʿ3 n.y nṯr nfr</i></p> <p>[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w m [t3] ḥw.t ity</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w m [t3] ḥw.t ḥm=f</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w m [t3] ḥw.t Ḥr.w=f (nb=f)</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w m [t3] ḥw.t R^c.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w ḥnm.t-m3^ct-n.yt-Pth</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w m [t3] ḥw.t sr</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y Inb.w</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y //[\ḥw.t?] ḥnm.t-m3^c.t-n.yt-Pth</i> ♦ <i>ḥ3.ty-^c.w</i> ♦ <i>ḥ3.ty-^c.w wr</i> ♦ <i>ḥ3.ty-^c.w wr m inb.w</i> ♦ <i>ḥ3.ty-^c.w wr m inb.w-ḥd</i> ♦ <i>ḥ3.ty-^c.w wr m ʿnh-t3.wy</i> ♦ <i>ḥ3.ty-^c.w wr m Mn-nfr</i> ♦ <i>ḥ3.ty-^c.w wr m mh3t-t3.wy</i> ♦ <i>ḥ3.ty-^c.w wr m niw.t Pth</i> ♦ <i>ḥ3.ty-^c.w wr m niw.t nhḥ</i> ♦ <i>ḥ3.ty-^c.w wr m niw.t T3-tnn</i> ♦ <i>ḥ3.ty-^c.w wr m ḥw.t-k3-Pth</i> ♦ <i>ḥ3.ty-^c.w wr n.y inb.w</i> ♦ <i>ḥ3.ty-^c.w wr n.y inb.w-Pth</i> ♦ <i>ḥ3.ty-^c.w wr n.y inb.w-ḥd</i> ♦ <i>ḥ3.ty-^c.w wr n.y Mn-nfr</i></p> <p>[C] <i>sš nsw</i> ♦ <i>sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f</i></p> <p>[D] <i>im.y-r3 k3.t m pr.w Nb.t nh.t</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 k3.t m ḥw.t-k3-Pth</i></p> <p>[E] <i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Mḥ.t-wr.t</i> ♦ <i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Nb.t wr(.t)</i> ♦ <i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Nb.t nh.t rsy.t</i></p>
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II
Provenance	Location lost
Discovered	
Remains	<p><u>I. Reliefs</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara, Magazine – excavated by M. Ibrahim Aly near the Step Pyramid • New York, private collection – Aphrodite Ancient Art <p><u>II. Statues</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown (excavated by A. Badawi at Memphis) <p><u>III. Architectural elements</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 7.11.24.1 – pyramidion <p><u>V. Burial equipment</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 59128 – sarcophagus • Mit Rahineh, Mathaf Ramsis – sarcophagus • Present location unknown – anthropoid coffin from Memphis (reused) • Durham, Oriental Museum EG 518 = N 1859 – wooden shabti <p><u>VII. Extra sepulchral</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris, Musée du Louvre No. unknown – shabti from the Serapeum • Saqqara, Magazine – 5 shabtis from the Serapeum (Ibrahim Aly) • Paris, Musée du Louvre N 519 = AF 450 – block statue from the Serapeum
Comments	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 770, 847 ♦ PN I, 30.12 ♦ ABOU-GHAZI 1987, 37 ♦ BADAWI 1944 ♦ HAMADA 1935 ♦ IBRAHIM ALY 1998 ♦ PASQUALI 2012, 138–49 ♦ RAMMANT-PEETERS 1983, 28–30, Doc. 27 ♦ SCHULZ 1992, 487–8, Cat. 292, pl. 129b ♦ STARING 2015b.

[063]	<i>Ḥmn-ḥtp Ḥwy</i>	Scribe of the Altar of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amenhotep Huy	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš wdḥ.w n.y nb t3.wy</i> [E] <i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Wsir</i>	
Date	Early 19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Seti I	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Stelae in Vienna since 1821; stela in Napoli between 1817 and 1824	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli 1016 • Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum AES 178 • Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum AES 123 	
Comments		
Bibliography	<i>PN I</i> , 30.12 ♦ HOFMANN 2004, fig. 37 ♦ HÖLBL 1985, 18–23, pl. 8 ♦ HÖLZL, 2007, 106–7.	
[064]	<i>Ḥmn-ḥtp Ḥwy</i>	Chief Stone Mason of the King
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Amenhotep Huy	
Title(s)	[D] <i>ḥr.y ḥr.ty-nṯr ♦ ḥr.y ḥr.ty-nṯr n.y p3 pr.w n.y pr.w-ḥ3 ♦ ḥr.y ḥr.ty-nṯr n.y p3 pr.w n.y pr.w-ḥ3 ḥnḥ.w wd3.w snb.w</i>	
Date	Early 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Ex-coll. d'Anastasi, 1828	
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 13 – block statue 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM VIII/2, 609–10 (801–643–340) ♦ <i>PN I</i> , 30.12 ♦ Boeser 1912, 9, No. 20, pl. X ♦ Bothmer 2004, 459–60, fig. 29.33 ♦ Schneider 1997, 69, Cat. 91 ♦ Schulz 1992, 346–47, No. 197, pl. 87 a–b ♦ STARING 2015a, Cat.196.	
[065]	<i>Ḥny</i>	Overseer of the Gold Workers of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	H8 (Mariette)	
Name	Iny	
Title(s)	[A] <i>mrr nb=f ḥr bi.t=f ♦ ḥs.y ḥ3 n.y nṯr nfr</i> [D] <i>im.y-r3 nby.w n.w nb t3.wy ♦ im.y-r3 ḥmw.t m Šmḥ.w T3-mḥ.w ♦ rh sšt3 m ḥw.wt-nbw</i>	
Date	Late 18 th / early 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Step Pyramid: location lost	
Discovered	A. Mariette, 8 February 1861	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 15115 (TN 14.1.25.5) 	
Comments	• Lower part of an offering text, with his wife Wiay.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 667 ♦ <i>PN I</i> , 33.16 ♦ GABALLA 1977b, 125–6, pls 23.3, 23.A[2] ♦ MARIETTE 1872, 20, pl. 62.b ♦ MARIETTE 1889, fig. on p. 450 [H8] (with mistakes in the text).	

[066]	<i>Iniwiz</i>	Chief Steward of Memphis
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Iniuia	
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t ḥz.ty-^c.w ♦ mr.y [n.y] nb t3.wy ♦ sd3.wty-bl.ty</i></p> <p>[B] <i>im.y-r3 iḥ.w n.w Imn.w ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w wr ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w m/n.y Mn-nfr</i></p> <p>[C] <i>sš pr.w-ḥd n.y ḥd-nbw n.y nb t3.wy ♦ sš nsw ♦ sš nsw m3^c ♦ sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f</i></p> <p>[E] <i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y nb m3^c.t</i></p>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> early Tutankhamun (/late Akhenaten?) to Horemheb	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area	
Discovered	A. Mariette / L. Vassalli, 1860; EEF/Leiden archaeological mission, 1993	
Remains	<p>0. Tomb structure</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb structure built of mud bricks with a limestone revetment <p>I. Reliefs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 25.6.24.7 • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 3.4.24.13 • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 14.6.24.29 <p>III. Architectural elements</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 1627–8 – 2 columns • Chicago, Art Institute 1894.246 – lintel fragment • Paris, Musée du Louvre D 14 [N.355] – pyramidion <p>IV. Stelae</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 10079 <p>V. Burial equipment</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1977.717 – double shabti coffin • Paris, Musée du Louvre D 2 [N.338] – anthropoid sarcophagus 	
Comments	▪ His wife is Iuy, Songstress of Amun, etc.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 707 ♦ PN I, 170.27 ♦ MARIETTE 1872, 18, pl. 57a ♦ ROEDER 1924, 398–9 ♦ SCHNEIDER 2012.	
[067]	<i>Inw-///</i>	Chief of Hour Watchers
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Inu-?	
Title(s)	[E] <i>ḥr.y wnw.ty(w) smn ḥr.y ms wdn.w n.y pr.w Pth</i>	
Date	Early Ramesside	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; south of the exterior wall of the inner courtyard of the tomb of Horemheb	
Discovered	K. Daoud, 1989 (sondage made for the Egyptian Antiquities Organization)	
Remains	<p>IV. Stelae</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. unknown (rectangular stela fragment) 	
Comments	▪ Found in the debris of a “destroyed later building”. Daoud has no reason to believe that the stela indeed originally belonged to that structure.	
Bibliography	DAOUD 1993, 261–5, pls 26.2, 27 ♦ RAVEN et al. 2011b, 58, figs. I.22, II.1 ♦ SCHNEIDER 2012, fig. I.1.	

[068]	<i>Intnzy</i>	Chief of Physicians in the Temple of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Inetnay	
Title(s)	[A] <i>w^c ikr ♦ wn mry [n.y] ntr niw.t=f ♦ nfr bi.t</i> [B] <i>hr.y swnw m pr.w Pth</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty (?)	
Provenance	Found reused in Mit Rahineh, laid on the roofing stones of Tomb Z	
Discovered	R. Anthes, 1955	
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements</u> • Memphis Magazine (?), Object No. 148 – doorjamb	
Comments	▪ On same block is also mentioned the <i>/// pr.w Pth P3-ḥ3.ty-^c.w m3^c-hrw m ḥtp.</i>	
Bibliography	BAKRY 1959, 43, No. 148, fig. 13, pl. 25d.	
[069]	<i>Iry</i>	Scribe of the Temple of Ramesses II in the House of Amun
Tomb. No.	LS 26 (Lepsius)	
Name	Iry	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš m t3 ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp[.n]-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II or later	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, north of tomb LS 27 (Maya [184]); location lost	
Discovered	R. Lepsius, 1843	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> • Present location unknown	
Comments	▪ Round-topped stela	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 667 ♦ PN I, 39.11 ♦ LD Text, I, 182, pl. 33.	
[070]	<i>Iry-iry</i>	Sculptor
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Iryiry	
Title(s)	[D] <i>gnw.ty / ks.ty</i>	
Date	New Kingdom	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid Cemetery	
Discovered	C.M. Firth, 1920s	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> • Present location unknown	
Comments	▪ For the title, see TAYLOR 2001, 232, No. 2246.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 572 ♦ PN I, 41.9 ♦ Gunn MSS, XV.2.6 (text only) ♦ MÁLEK 1989, 5 (block? D3).	
[071]	<i>Iry-iry</i>	Head of Chamberlains of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Iryiry	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-ḥnt n.y nb t3.wy</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Acquired on the art market in Egypt, 1890s.	
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements</u> • Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek ÆIN 45 – <i>djed</i> pillar fragment	

Comments

Bibliography PM III/2, 756 ♦ PN I, 41.9 ♦ KOEFOED-PETERSEN 1956, 58–9, No. 77, pls 78–81 (as: “Thébes ?”) ♦ MARTIN 1987, 34, No. 84, pl. 31.

[072]	<i>It=f-nfr</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Itefnefer	
Title(s)	?	
Date	?	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid Cemetery	
Discovered	C.M. Firth, 1920s	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> Present location unknown	

Comments

Bibliography PM III/2, 572 ♦ PN I, 50.22 ♦ GUNN, *Notebook* 7, No. 46 (text only) ♦ MÁLEK 1989b, 5 (stela C3).

[073]	<i>Itt</i>	Steward
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Itet	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w</i>	
Date	Late 18 th /early 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area, found over east wall of Mery-Neith [209] forecourt.	
Discovered	Leiden archaeological mission, 2003	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 2003-R34 (fragment) 	
Comments	▪ His wife is the Lady of the House, Ty.	
Bibliography	RAVEN/VAN WALSEM 2014, 170, No. 155, fig on p. 171.	

[074]	<i>Y3-mn</i>	Lector Priest
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Yamen	
Title(s)	[E] <i>hr.y-hb</i>	
Date	Late 18 th to early 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; chapel against exterior of south wall Chapel A	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1988	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 88-181 <u>VI. Offering tables</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine ? (found <i>in situ</i>) <u>VIII. Varia</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 88-179 (wooden statuette of man in striding pose) 	
Comments	▪ The stela was found <i>in situ</i> in a small mud brick chapel.	

▪ Round-topped stela, 72 x 50 x 9.7 cm, with representations in two registers, sunk relief. Upper register: Yamen offering to Osiris enthroned; lower register: offering scene of seated couple (Maya and Meryt), with Lector Priest Yamen.

Bibliography RAVEN 1997, 142–8 ♦ RAVEN 2001b, 9, 21–2 [Cat. 18], 35 [Cat. 121], pls 8–9b, 18, 28, frontispiece.

[075]	Yw-yw	Custodian of the Treasury
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Yuyu	
Title(s)	[B] <i>s3w.ty pr.w-ḥd</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Thutmose IV	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u>	
	• Paris, Musée du Louvre A 116 [E.5343] – dyad	
Comments	▪ Represented with his wife, Ty.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 730–1 ♦ PN I, 55.20 ♦ PIERRET 1874b, 32–6.	

[076]	Ywyw	Custodian, Child of the Nursery
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Yuyu	
Title(s)	[B] <i>ḥrd n.y k3p ♦ s3w.ty</i>	
Date	Early 18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>V. Burial equipment</u>	
	• Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum 37.440E – head rest	
Comments	▪ Formerly in the N.Y. Hist. Soc. Colln.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 774 ♦ PN I, 55.20 ♦ James 1974, I, 90, pl. 52.207 ♦ N.Y.H.S. <i>Cat.</i> , 31, No. 486.	

[077]	Ypw	[Ip]	Head of Sandal Makers
Tomb. No.	-		
Name	Yipu		
Title(s)	[D] <i>ḥr.y tb.w</i>		
Date	19 th Dynasty		
Provenance	Location lost		
Discovered			
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>		
	• Marseille, Musée d'archéologie 235		
Comments			
Bibliography	PM III/2, 745 ♦ PN I, 55.25 ♦ NELSON/PIERINI 1978, 58, fig. 236.		

[078]	Ypw	[Ip]	Overseer of the Treasury
Tomb. No.	-		
Name	Yipu		
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd</i>		

	[C] <i>sš nsw</i>
Date	Late 18 th /early 19 th Dynasty
Provenance	Location lost
Discovered	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum 37.1487E
Comments	▪ Block formerly in N.Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.
Bibliography	PM III/2, 752 ♦ PN I, 55.25 ♦ <i>N.Y.H.S. Cat.</i> , 25, No. 384.

[079]	<i>Ywpꜣ</i> [<i>Ip</i>]	Great Steward in the Ramesseum
Tomb. No.		
Name	Yupa	
Title(s)	[A] <i>ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr</i> [B] <i>im.y-rꜣ pr.w ♦ im.y-rꜣ pr.wy-ḥd ♦ im.y-rꜣ pr.w wr ♦ im.y-rꜣ pr.w wr m tꜣ ḥw.t Wsr-mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ.w-stp.n-Rꜥ.w m pr.w Ḳmn.w ♦ im.y-rꜣ pr.w wr n.y nb tꜣ.wy ♦ im.y-rꜣ šnw.ty</i> [C] <i>sš nsw ♦ sš nsw mꜣꜥ mr.y=f</i> [D] <i>im.y-rꜣ kꜣ.t ♦ im.y-rꜣ kꜣ.t m mn.w nb n.y ḥm=f</i> [E] <i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Ḳmn.w ♦ sšm.w-ḥb n.y Ḳmn.w-Rꜥ.w</i> [F] <i>im.y-rꜣ mꜣꜥ ♦ im.y-rꜣ ssm.t n.yt nb tꜣ.wy</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II, Year 5–54	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Krannert Art Museum 67-3-3, University of Illinois – naophorous statue (ex-coll Lady Meux; provenance unknown; black granite; with shrine surmounted by a ram’s head) • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 24022 – naophorous block statue (Schulz: “from Thebes”) • Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 567 – block statue (provenance unknown) • Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 1062 – naophorous statue (with statue of Ptah) <u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris, Musée du Louvre E 3143 (stela of Iurokhy and Yupa; ex-coll. d’Anastasi, provenance unknown) • Turin, Museo Egizio 1465 (stela of Mahu and Yupa) (from Abydos? See RAUE 1999, 207 n. 2) <u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brussels, Musées Royaux E 5189 – sarcophagus lid (destroyed by fire in 1946) • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 28.11.24.5 – pink granite sarcophagus lid <u>VII. Extra sepulchral</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris, Musée du Louvre E.25398 – statue fragment from Hermopolis (?): see LEBLANC 2012, pl. 15B 	
Comments	▪ Son of Iurokhy [023] (LS 25). ▪ Wife of Yupa is Inehyt, Lady of the House.	

- Stela Turin 1465: stela of Mahu and Yupa: both in the lunette; the two registers below include the family of Mahu only. For another monument of Mahu, see door jamb London, British Museum 1654 from Abydos. RAUE 1999, 207, argues that Yupa is included on the stela due to their appointment in the memorial temples (Heliopolis / Thebes) of the same king, with Yupa being a higher-ranking official.
- Sarcophagi: compare to those of the Mayor of Memphis, Amenhotep Huy [062]: HAMADA 1935, pls 1–2.

Bibliography *PN* I, 55.26 ♦ BORHARDT 1925, 117–18, pl. 96 (CG 567) ♦ BORCHARDT 1934, 43–4 (CG 1062) ♦ BUDGE 1896, 140–3, No. 61, pl. 16 ♦ HELCK 1958, 376–7, 490–2 ♦ *KRI* III, 95–198 ♦ RUFFLE/KITCHEN 1979, 55–74, pls 1–8 ♦ RAUE 1999, 207 ♦ SCHULZ 1992, 82, No. 021, pl. 6d (Berlin ÄM 24022) ♦ 176–7, No. 086, pl. 41a–c ♦ WENIG 1967, 95–8, pls 33–6.

[080]	<i>Y-ny-y</i>	Steward
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Yny-y	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	South of Unas causeway, “Ninetjer area”	
Discovered	P. Munro, 1986	
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u>	
	• Saqqara Magazine – kneeling statue fragment D 3/4-4.86a	
Comments		
Bibliography	MUNRO 1988, 75, 78.	
[081]	<i>Y-r-dd.y</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Irdjedy	
Title(s)	None attested	
Date	Early 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; immediately W of chapel of Pabes [105]	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1986	
Remains	<u>V. Burial equipment</u>	
	• Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 86-S88 – wooden anthropoid coffin	
Comments	▪ Rim and covering slabs of the shaft are partly covered by the west-wall of the chapel of Pabes [105]. Thus, this shaft predates that of Pabes (date: late 19 th /early 20 th Dynasty). The coffin is of early 19 th (or possibly late 18 th) Dynasty date. A tall beer jar found in the same context (Excavation No. 86-217, Cat. 33) is a 19 th Dynasty type (see RAVEN 2005, 58).	
Bibliography	FRAZER, in MARTIN 2001, 31; RAVEN 2001a, 40, Cat. 24, pls 29, 30, 72, 77; location: pls 1, 2.	
[082]	<i>ʿ3-n-mw</i>	Royal Scribe
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Aaenmu	

Title(s)	[C] <i>sš nsw mꜣꜥ mr.y=f</i>
Date	Late 18 th to 19 th Dynasty
Provenance	Serapeum (reused)
Discovered	E.A.O. (dir. Ibrahim Aly), 1986
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine 4/Serapeum Lesser Vaults No. ? (relief fragment)
Comments	
Bibliography	IBRAHIM ALY 2000, 230–1, pl. 31b.

[083]	<i>špr-iꜣr/l</i> var. <i>špriꜣ</i>	Vizier
Tomb. No.	Bub. I.1 (MAFB)	
Name	Aperel/Aperir/Aperia	
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>ir.y-pꜥ.t ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ.w</i> ♦ <i>smr wꜥ.ty</i> ♦ <i>sdꜣ.wty-bi.ty</i></p> <p>[B] <i>im.y-rꜣ niw.t tꜣ.ty</i> ♦ <i>wpw.ty nsw</i> ♦ <i>hrp ip.t-sw n.yt nb tꜣ.wy</i> ♦ <i>hrd n.y kꜣp</i></p> <p>[E] <i>it-nꜥr</i> ♦ <i>bꜣk tp.y n.y</i> <i>Itn.w</i></p> <p>[F] <i>im.y-rꜣ ssm.t n.yt nsw.t</i></p>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III–Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten	
Provenance	Bubastieion, south excarpment	
Discovered	WM. Flinders Petrie, 1880s; Mission Archéologique <i>Française</i> du <i>Bubasteion</i> (dir. A-P. Zivie), 1993	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rock-cut tomb <u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara, Imhotep Museum (various objects, unpublished) 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ His son is the General, Huy (see Zivie 2012): <i>ir.y-pꜥ.t ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ.w</i>; <i>sdꜣw.ty-bi.ty</i>; <i>smr wꜥ.ty</i>; <i>sꜣb ///</i> ; <i>///</i> ; <i>im.y-rꜣ kꜣ.t nb n.y psd.t</i> (?); <i>im.y-rꜣ mšꜥ wr n.y ḥm=f</i>; <i>hr.y-pd.t n.y nꜥr nꜥr</i>; <i>im.y-rꜣ ssm.wt n.y nb tꜣ.wy mr.y nb tꜣ.wy</i>; <i>sꜣb n.y s.t wr</i>; <i>hr.y-pd.t n.y nꜥr nꜥr</i>; <i>im.y-rꜣ ssm.wt n.y nꜥr nꜥr</i>. 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 562 ♦ PN I, 60.14 ♦ GILES 2001, 22 ♦ PETRIE, in SAYCE MSS 14b,c [top] ♦ ZIVIE 1979a, 21–32 ♦ ZIVIE 1988, 103–12 ♦ ZIVIE 2000, 173–92 ♦ ZIVIE 2002b, 1261–76 ♦ ZIVIE 2007, 46–51 (with figures).	

[084]	<i>šḥꜣ-ꜣ</i>	Wab Priest
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Aha-aa	
Title(s)	[E] <i>wꜥb</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid Cemetery	
Discovered	C.M. Firth, 1920s	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown <u>III. Architectural elements</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown – cornice 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 572 ♦ PN I, 44.8 ♦ Gunn, MSS. XIX.7 [1] (photo) ♦ GUNN, <i>Notebook</i> 6, No. 10; 8, No. 63 ♦ Gunn, <i>Notebook</i> 8, No. 63 ♦ GUNN MSS XIX.7[1] ♦ MALEK 1989b, 5 (cornice D1a; block D23).	

[085]	<i>W3d-ms(.w)</i>	Chief of Police of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	ST 220 (Cairo University)	
Name	Wadjmose	
Title(s)	[F] <i>wr md3y kt3nn n.y nb t3.wy</i> ♦ <i>wr n.y md3y.w n.y nb t3.wy</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area	
Discovered	O. El-Aguizy, 2006	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb structure built of mud bricks and limestone blocks 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • His wife is named <i>Ty3</i>. 	
Bibliography	<i>PN</i> I, 74.18 ♦ EL-AGUIZY 2007a, 41–50 ♦ EL-AGUIZY 2007b, 1–4.	
[086]	<i>Wp(i)-w3wt-ms(.w)</i>	Overseer of the Double Granary of Upper and Lower Egypt
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Wepwawetmose	
Title(s)	[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t h3.ty-^c.w</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 šnw.ty n.y nb t3.wy</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 šnw.ty n.y Šm^c.w Mh.w</i> [C] <i>sš wdḥ.w</i> ♦ <i>sš wdḥ.w n.y nb t3.wy</i> ♦ <i>sš md3.t nṯr</i> ♦ <i>sš nsw</i> ♦ <i>sš nsw wdḥ.w n.y nb t3.wy</i> ♦ <i>sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f</i>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost; south of the Unas causeway? The relief-blocks were found by the EES/Leiden earchaeological mission (1975–7: tomb of Horemheb [303], debris of Chapel C [i.e. south-west chapel]; 2009: south of the tomb of Ptahemwia).	
Discovered	Stela in Berlin: ex-coll. Passalacqua, 1828	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. (?) (relief fragment or doorjamb?) • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. SAK 2009-R 31 <u>III. Architectural elements</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 26.11.24.4 – column <u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7316 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • His wife is named Sekhmet. • SCHNEIDER 1996, 94 distinguishes between the Berlin and Cairo Wepwawetmose. • Frgament SAK 2009-R 31: single framed column (sunk relief): <i>Wsir sš wdḥ.w</i> (without name; unpublished). 	
Bibliography	<i>PN</i> I, 77.23 ♦ ERMAN 1899, 161–2, No. 7316, fig. 34 ♦ BERLANDINI 1982b, 99 n. 3, pl. 14 ♦ ROEDER 1924, 134–6 ♦ SCHNEIDER 1996, 94 [NK 19], pl. 102 ♦ PM III/2, 734.	
[087]	<i>Wn.f-dd.sn</i>	Royal Butler
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Wenefdjedsen	
Title(s)	[B] <i>wb3 nsw n.y nb t3.wy</i> ♦ <i>wb3 nsw tp.y (n.y) ḥm=f</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	

- Provenance** Teti Pyramid Cemetery
Discovered C.M. Firth, 1924
Remains I. Reliefs
 - Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 24.981 – 6 blocks**Comments**
Bibliography PM III/2, 572 ♦ DUNHAM 1935, 149–50, pl. 18 ♦ MÁLEK 1989, 5 (shabtis G6: same person?) ♦ MARTIN 1987, 35–6 [86], pl. 33.

[088]	Wsy	Head of Bowmen of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Wesy	
Title(s)	[A] <i>ir.y-rd.wy n.w nb t3.wy</i> [E] <i>t3y-sry.t n.y h3.t-nfr.w-Imn.w</i> [F] <i>hr.y pd.t n.y nb t3.wy</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>II. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst ÄS 11 (ex-coll. F. Michel) • Private Collection? – 2 canopic jars (ex-coll. Nugent) 	
Comments	• The element <i>Imn.w</i> in the title of the wife, the Lady of the house and Songstress (of Amun), Ipyu, has been erased.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 718 ♦ PN I, 84.17 ♦ LÖHR/MÜLLER 1972, 64, Cat. 49b, pl. 34.	

[089]	Wsr	Royal Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	User	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš nsw (n.y) pr.w-hd (n.y) nb t3.wy</i>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; tomb of Maya, pylon, against the west face of the north wing	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1988	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 88-18 (round-topped) 	
Comments	• RAVEN 2001b, 9: ‘... the cult of the high-ranking deceased (Maya) seems to have attracted other worshippers. One of these, a ‘royal scribe of the treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands’, User, deposited a stela against the west face of the Pylon. This man may well have been one of Maya’s subordinates.’	
Bibliography	PN I, 85.6 ♦ RAVEN 2001b, 9, 22 [Cat. 19], pl. 27.	

[090]	Wsr-Imn	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	User-Amun	
Title(s)	?	
Date	Late 18 th to 19 th Dynasty	

- Provenance** Teti Pyramid North Cemetery
Discovered Unknown
Remains II. Statues
 • Mastaba of Ankhmahor, no number – dyad
Comments
 - The owner's wife is the Songstress of Amun, Meryt.
 - At the time of publishing the statue (1981), it was positioned to the west of the Old Kingdom mastaba of Ankhmahor; the statue's present location is not known.**Bibliography** *PN I*, 85.8 ♦ MARTIN 1981a, 307–14, pls 48–9.

- [091]** *Wsr-ph(tī)-nsw* ?
- Tomb. No.** -
Name User-pehkti-nesu
Title(s) ?
Date Early 18th Dynasty
Provenance Location lost
Discovered
Remains IV. Stelae
 • Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum. 37.1353E
Comments
 - Stela formerly in the N.Y. Hist. Soc. Colln.
 - The round-topped stela was originally carved for others; reused and recarved (with addition of text above the couple) for Userpehtinesu.**Bibliography** *PM III/2*, 735 ♦ JAMES 1974, 71, pl. 44, No. 165 ♦ *N.Y.H.S. Cat.*, 13, No. 178.

- [092]** *Wsr-mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ(.w)-nḥt* **Overseer of Silver and Gold**
- Tomb. No.** ST 203 (Cairo University)
Name Usermaatrenakht
Title(s) [B] *im.y-rꜣ pr.w ḥꜣ nbw*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II
Provenance South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area
Discovered Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–8
Remains 0. Tomb structure
 • Tomb structure built of limestone blocks
Comments
Bibliography *PN I*, 82.16 ♦ HANDOUSSA 1998, 533–8 ♦ TAWFIK 1991, 406, fig. 1.

- [093]** *Bꜣk-n-Mn.w* **Stonemason**
- Tomb. No.** -
Name Bakenmin
Title(s) [D] *ḳd inr*
Date 19th Dynasty
Provenance Location lost
Discovered
Remains IV. Stelae
 • London, University College Museum UC12
Comments
 - Bought by Petrie in Cairo.**Bibliography** *PN I*, 91.1 ♦ *PM III/2*, 744 ♦ STEWART 1976, I, 31–2, pl. 23.

[094]	<i>B3k-dḥw.ty</i>	Chief Charioteer
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Bakdjehuty	
Title(s)	[F] <i>ḥr.y kṯn (?) / kṯn tp.y (?)</i>	
Date	Early Ramesside	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area, tomb of NN [425]	
Discovered	Leiden archaeological mission, 2010	
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine – naophorous statue fragment 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Lower portion of a naophorous statue. The text mentions Bakdjehuty and his wife Irynefer. 	
Bibliography	Unpublished.	
[095]	<i>B3k.t-wrrr</i>	Chantress of the Goddess <i>W3d.t</i>
Tomb. No.	ST 8 (Cairo University)	
Name	Baketwerner	
Title(s)	[B] <i>nb.t pr.w</i> [E] <i>šmꜥ.yt n.yt W3d.t</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area	
Discovered	Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb structure built of limestone blocks 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Baketwerner is undoubtedly the wife of the tomb owner. 	
Bibliography	PN I, 92.10 ♦ TAWFIK 1991, 405, fig. 1.	
[096]	<i>Bwri</i>	Overseer of <i>kr</i>-cargo of the House of the Aten
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Bouri	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r3 kr.w n.y pr.w ṯtn.w</i> [F] <i>ṯzy-sry.t n.y Ḥꜥ[w]-m-M3ꜥ.t</i>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Horemheb, to early 19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Seti I–Ramesses II	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Carlsberg statue: antiquities market Egypt, 1892; Hermitage stela: ex-coll. Auguste Richard de Montferrand, 1881; Liverpool statuette: ex-coll. Joseph Mayer 1867	
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 53 – block statue • Liverpool, National Museum M13980 – stelophorous statuette 	
	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • St. Petersburg, Hermitage дб 1092 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ See Pasquali 2013 for references on each individual object. ▪ Liverpool statuette: destroyed during World War II, 1941. 	
Bibliography	PASQUALI 2013, 305–23.	

[097]	<i>Bn-ꜥ3</i>	Scribe of the Royal Apartments of the Harim in Memphis
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Bena	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš ip.t nsw ♦ sš ip.t nsw n.yt hnr m Mn-nfr ♦ sš ip.t nsw n.yt hnr m hw.t-k3-Pth</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Unknown; probably Saqqara	
Discovered	The stela was acquired from G. d'Anastasi, 1837; who had acquired it from H. Salt, 1835	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • London, British Museum EA 149 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The naos-stela is topped by a pyramidion; ▪ James notes that all six people depicted on this stela are also depicted on stela BM EA 167 (ex-coll. Salt, 1835) of the Stable Master of the Residence, Ptahemwia [150]. ▪ Bena's wife if the Songstress of Hathor, Lady of the Southern Sycamore, Iniuhyt. 	
Bibliography	PM VIII/4, 803–049–842 ♦ PN I, 96.23 ♦ HTMB 9, 27–8, pl. 23 ♦ KRI III, 205–6.	
[098]	<i>P3y</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Pay	
Title(s)	?	
Date	?	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid Cemetery	
Discovered	C.M. Firth, 1920s	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 572 ♦ GUNN, <i>Notebook</i> 7, No. 40 (name) ♦ MÁLEK 1989b, 5 (stela C7).	
[099]	<i>P3y</i>	Overseer of the Royal Harim at Memphis
Tomb. No.	LS 28 (Lepsius)	
Name	Pay	
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>ir.y-pꜥ.t h3.ty-ꜥ.w ♦ smr wꜥ.ty ♦ sd3.wty-bi.ty</i></p> <p>[B] <i>im.y-r3 ip.t-nsw m grg-W3s.t ♦ im.y-r3 ip.t nsw n.yt Mn-nfr ♦ im.y-r3 ip.t nsw (n.yt nb t3.wy) ♦ im.y-r3 ip.t nsw n.yt t3 hm.t-nsw ♦ im.y-r3 ih.w (n.w Imn.w-Rꜥ.w) ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w n.y nsw ♦ im.y-r3 nfr.w n.w nb t3.wy</i></p> <p>[C] <i>sš nsw (m3ꜥ mr.y=f)</i></p> <p>[D] <i>im.y-r3 k3.t n.y mn.w nb n.y hm=f</i></p>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Tutankhamun	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area	
Discovered	F. Champollion/I. Rosellini, 1828–29 (?); R. Lepsius, 1843; EES/Leiden archaeological mission (dir. G.T. Martin), 1994	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Temple-tomb constructed of mud bricks with a limestone revetment 	
	<u>I. Reliefs</u>	

- Florence, Museo Archeologico 1606 (2601)
- Paris, Musée Rodin NI 104 (formerly Louvre E 15562)
- Paris, Musée Rodin NI 235

III. Architectural elements

- Florence, Museo Archeologico 1605 (2600) – 2 door jambs
- Kuybyshev, Regional Museum – door jamb (ex-coll. Count Vakano)
- Paris, Musée du Louvre N362 (= D 21) – pyramidion
- Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 5908 – pyramidion

IV. Stelae

- Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7270
- Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7271
- London, British Museum EA 156
- New York, MMA 04.2.527 (fragment)

V. Burial equipment

- Paris, Musée du Louvre N2657 – double shabti of Pay and Repit (in Paris at least before 1857)

Comments • Pay is the father of Raia [279].

Bibliography PM III/2, 655, pl. 62 ♦ RAVEN 2005.

[100]	<i>Pꜣy</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Pay	
Title(s)	?	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Unas Valley Temple area	
Discovered	A. Moussa, 1970	
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, No. 17021 – lintel fragment 	
Comments		
Bibliography	MOUSSA 1981, 77, No. 12.	

[101]	<i>Pꜣwty</i>	Royal Scribe
Tomb. No.		
Name	Pauty	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš nsw im.y-rꜣ pr.w n.y nsw ♦ sš nsw mꜣꜥ mr.y=f</i>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Tutankhamun	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Ex-coll. d'Anastasi, 1828	
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AMT 7 – pyramidion 	
Comments		
Bibliography	BERLANDINI 1977, 32, n. 2 ♦ BOESER 1913, 2, No. 3, pls 1, 16 ♦ RAMMANT-PEETERS 1983, 37–8, Doc. 34.	

[102]	<i>Pꜣ-Ḳn-m-ḥb</i>	Royal Butler
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Paatenemheb	

Title(s)	[A] <i>ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr</i> [B] <i>wb3 nsw</i>
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Horemheb
Provenance	Location lost
Discovered	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AMT 1–35 <u>IV. Stelae</u> • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 52 <u>VIII. Varia</u> • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden Inv. No. AH.140C – fragment of wooden stick
Comments	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 709–11 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 102.7 ♦ BOESER 1911, 1–5, pls 1–18 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 1989, 27–34 (esp. 31).

[103]	<i>P3-ḥ3wty</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Pa-ahaty	
Title(s)	-	
Date	Ramesside, “possibly 20 th Dynasty”	
Provenance	“South of Saqqarah (?)”	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum S. 7161	
Comments	▪ Votive stela, faience; dedicatee before Seth. ▪ BAKRY 1962a has: “Inventory No. S. 7161”.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 828 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 103.12 ♦ BAKRY 1962a, 7–8, with fig.	

[104]	<i>P3-w3ḥ</i>	Chisel Bearer (Stone Worker) of Amun
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Pawah	
Title(s)	[D] <i>ṯ3y bš n.y ṯmn.w</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Saqqara South: found reused (“in recent times”) north-west of the pyramid of Ibi	
Discovered	G. Jéquier, 1930	
Remains	<u>II. Stelae</u> Present location unknown	
Comments	▪ Pawah is the son of Iunu [021]. ▪ Depicted behind Pawah (upper register, in front of Osiris) stands his son, the <i>ṯ3y bš R^c-ms(.w)</i> . In the lower register, Pawah, his wife and his son present a libation to the seated couple Iuny and his wife, the parents of Pawah.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 675 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 103.19 ♦ JÉQUIER 1935, 25–6, No. 1, pl. 17 ♦ GABUS 1967, I, 54 [<i>paroi nord</i> , 3rd item].	

[105]	<i>P3-b3-s3</i>	Troop-commander of Merchants
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Pabes	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš m3^c n.y nb t3.wy</i> ♦ <i>sš n.y pr.w-ḥd</i> [<i>n.y Pth</i>] [D] <i>ḥr.y pḏ.t</i> ♦ <i>ḥr.y pḏ.t šw.ty</i> ♦ [<i>ḥr.y pḏ.t šw.ty</i>] <i>n.y pr.w Pth</i>	
Date	Late 19 th to early 20 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission (dir. G.T. Martin), 1986	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb chapel built of limestone blocks <u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AM 108 – group statue of Pabes and his wife Taweretemheb 	
Comments	▪ Son of Khay (?) [323]	
Bibliography	MARTIN 2001, 18–30.	
[106]	<i>P3-n-Ḳwny</i>	Royal Scribe of the Lord [of the Two Lands]
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Peniunu	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš nsw n.y nb</i> [<i>t3.wy</i>]	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Saqqara South: found reused (“in recent times”) north-west of the pyramid of Ibi	
Discovered	G. Jéquier, 1930	
Remains	<u>II. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown 	
Comments	▪ Rectangular stela with decoration in two registers, surmounted with a cornice, torus moulding and pyramidion.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, p. 675 ♦ PN I, 106.3 ♦ JÉQUIER 1935, 30, No. 12, pl. 20.	
[107]	<i>P3-n-Ḳmn</i>	Head of Custodians of Documents of the Temple
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Pen-Amun	
Title(s)	[C] <i>ḥr.y s3w.ty sš.w n.w t3 ḥw.t</i>	
Date	19 th /20 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Ex-coll. Passalacqua, 1828	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7307 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 733 ♦ PN I, 106.8 ♦ ROEDER 1924, 148–50.	
[108]	<i>P3-n-Ḳmn</i>	Great Overseer of Craftsmen
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Pen-Amun	
Title(s)	[D] <i>im.y-r3 ḥmw.w wr</i>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty	

Provenance	Location lost
Discovered	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum 37.1486 E
Comments	▪ Stela formerly in N.Y. Hist. Soc. Colln.
Bibliography	PM III/2, 735 ♦ PN I, 106.8 ♦ JAMES 1974, 177–8, pls 13 [434], 86 ♦ N.Y.H.S. Cat., 13, No. 179 ♦ WERBROUCK 1938, 91.

[109]	<i>P3-n-Imn</i>	Overseer of Embalmers?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Pen-Amun	
Title(s)	[E] <i>im.y-r3 wt.w</i> (?)	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	Saqqara North/Abusir South, “above Abusir village”	
Discovered	SCA excavations, 2000	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rock-cut tomb 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The title(s) of the tomb owner is/are not mentioned in the tomb’s publication; only preliminary notes and tomb-plan have been published; a full publication is being prepared by the SCA (now: MSA). ▪ A rock-cut tomb with exterior forecourt, hallway, pillared room, and stairs leading to three consecutive rooms, the last of which contains the burial-shaft. ▪ One inscription mentions a number of officials (left doorjamb to entrance of tomb): <i>sd3.wty ntr n.y pr.wy-nfr nb mhy.t Hsy; hm-ntr n.y hwt.t-Pth Imn-m-hb m3c-hrw; hm-ntr B3st.t Š3y m3c-hrw; ir(i) n.y nb.t-pr Kwy</i>. Say may be the same as the son of the High Priest of Ptah, Ptahemhat-Ty [152]. ▪ GESSLER-LÖHR 2014: the so-called <i>Fragment Daressy</i> might originally derive from this tomb. 	
Bibliography	PN I, 106.8 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 2014 ♦ MATHIEU 2012, 819–52 (<i>Fragment Daressy</i>) ♦ YOUSSEF 2011, 84–9.	

[110]	<i>P3-n-Imn</i>	Overseer of ///
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Penamun	
Title(s)	[B] <i>/// t3.wy ♦ im.y ///</i> (<i>im.y-r3 im.yw...?</i>)	
Date	Late 18 th /early 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area, found in the anonymous tomb [425]	
Discovered	Leiden archaeological mission, 2010	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. SAK 2010-R 045 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Relief fragment with two framed columns of hieroglyphs in raised relief. ▪ For a man named Penamun who bore the title <i>im.y-r3 wt.w</i>, see [109]: “above Abusir village”. 	
Bibliography	PN I, 106.8 ♦ Unpublished.	

[111]	<i>P3[-n]-Imn</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Penamun	
Title(s)	?	
Date	Late 18 th to 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery	
Discovered	Macquarie University archaeological mission, 1995	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. TNE 95: F109 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Round-topped limestone stela surmounted by a pyramidion (54.6 x 29.5 cm) with depictions in two registers executed in sunk relief. ▪ OCKINGA 2004, 110: ‘... Found at the head of a burial and associated with two or three pots.’ 	
Bibliography	PN I, 106.8 ♦ OCKINGA 2004, 110–11, pls 38a, 80a.	

[112]	<i>Pa-n-Anou</i>	“Attaché” at the Temple of Ptah
Tomb. No.	Loret No. 3	
Name	‘Pa-n-Anou’	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš nsw</i>	
	[B] “Attaché” at the Temple of Ptah	
Date	18 th /19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery, now lost	
Discovered	V. Loret, 1898	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb structure, now lost 	
Comments		
Bibliography	LORET 1899, 11.	

[113]	<i>P3-n-mhy(t)</i>	Wab Priest, Sculptor of Osiris Lord of Abydos
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Penmehy(t)	
Title(s)	[D] <i>t3y-md3.t n.yt Wsir nb 3bdw</i>	
	[E] <i>wcb</i>	
Date	New Kingdom	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid Cemetery	
Discovered	C.M. Firth, 1920s	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 572 ♦ PN I, 108.15 ♦ GUNN, <i>Notebook</i> 6, No. 15 (text only) ♦ MÁLEK 1989b, 5 (relief D7).	

[114]	<i>P3-n-ns.wt-t3.wy</i>	Troop Commander of the Temple of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Pennesuttawy	
Title(s)	[F] <i>hr.y pd.t n.y pr.w Pth</i>	
Date	New Kingdom	

- Provenance** Found in the Serapeum (reused)
Discovered E.A.O. (dir. Ibrahim Aly), 1986
Remains III. Architectural elements
 - Saqqara Magazine 4/Serapeum Lesser Vaults No. (?) – *djed* pillar**Comments**
Bibliography *PN I*, 109.9 ♦ IBRAHIM ALY 2000, 223–6, pl. 30a–d.

- [115]** *P3-n-Rnn-wtt* **Royal Butler**
- Tomb. No.** Bubastieion I.21 (MAFB)
Name Pen-Renenutet
Title(s) [B] *wb3 nsw wꜥb ꜥ.wwy* ♦ *wb3 nsw tp.y*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp.* Merenptah
Provenance Bubastieion, south excarpment
Discovered Mission Archéologique *Française du Bubasteion* (dir. A-P. Zivie), 1996
Remains 0. Tomb structure
 - Rock-cut tomb**Comments**
Bibliography ZIVIE 1997, 379 ♦ ZIVIE 2000, 179 ♦ ZIVIE 2007, 62.
 <<http://www.hypogees.org/pages/francais/tombes2.htm>> accessed 12.07.2013

- [116]** *P3-n-Rnn-wtt* **Chief of Medjay**
- Tomb. No.** -
Name Pen-Renenutet
Title(s) [F] *wr n.y mꜥzy.w*
Date Ramesside
Provenance South of the Unas causeway, found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias
Discovered J.E. Quibell
Remains I. Reliefs
 - Cairo, Egyptian Museum No. (?)**Comments**
Bibliography *PM III/2*, 669 ♦ *PN I*, 109.16–17 ♦ QUIBELL 1912, 145, pl. 81.2.

- [117]** *P3-n-dw3* **Royal Scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands**
- Tomb. No.** -
Name Pendua
Title(s) [C] *sš nsw n.y nb t3.wy*
Date Late 18th to 19th Dynasty
Provenance South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; tomb of Horemheb [303], Magazine B
Discovered EES/Leiden archaeological mission (dir. G.T. Martin), 1975
Remains V. Burial equipment
 - Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 75-S 30 – canopic jar**Comments**
 - A sculptor Pendua is mentioned in a visitors' graffito in the tomb of Horemheb [303]: II.1–3.**Bibliography** *PN I*, 112.9 ♦ MARTIN 1989, pl. 48 (canopic jar *in situ*) ♦ SCHNEIDER 1996, 25, No. 113, pls 18, 60.

[118]	<i>P3-n-dw3</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	[Pen]dua	
Title(s)	?	
Date	Late 19 th to 20 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; first pylon of Horemheb: against east face of south wing	
Discovered	Leiden archaeological mission, 2002–3	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb shaft 2002/2, without an indication of the chapel's superstructure <u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 2003-R83 – round-topped stela 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The stela was originally positioned on a low base against the pylon face and was associated with shaft 2002/2, situated immediately in front of it. ▪ The stela also mentions his wife, the Lady of the House, Ta(net)iunet, and his son, Ptah(?)emheb 	
Bibliography	PN I, 112.9 ♦ RAVEN et al. 2011, 60, No. 29, fig. on p. 61.	
[119]	<i>P3-nb-p3-h3w</i>	Sailor of the Bark of Amun
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Panebpahau	
Title(s)	[E] <i>w^cb ♦ nfw n.y p3 dp.t n.yt 'Imn.w</i>	
Date	18 th –19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Ex-coll. G. di Nizzoli, 1824	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Florence, Museo Archeologico 2588 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Panebpahau and wife Tenthetyt before Osiris and Isis, bark of Amun below, and at bottom, family before deceased and wife. 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 349 ♦ PN I, 112.20 ♦ BEREND 1882, 85–6 ♦ BOSTICCO 1965, II, 51–2, fig. 43 ♦ SCHIAPARELLI 1887, 353–5, No. 1619.	
[120]	<i>P3-nhsi</i>	Overseer of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Panehesi	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd n.y nb t3.wy</i> [C] <i>sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Florence, Museo Archeologico 2237 – canopic jar 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 772 ♦ PN I, 113.13 ♦ PELLEGRINI 1998, 89–91, Nos 25–7 ♦ SETHE 1934, 8* [XIII, D].	

[121]	<i>P3-nḥsy</i>	Scribe of the Altar of the Royal Apartments
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Panehesy	
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>wꜥ ikr</i></p> <p>[B] <i>im.y-r3 šnw.ty /// ♦ /// ḥm.wt</i></p> <p>[C] <i>sš wdḥ.w n.y ip.t-nsw</i></p>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Berlin stela fragment: Saqqara, location lost; second fragment: Saqqara, south of Unas causeway, south of the tomb of Horemheb [303]; relief fragment found reused in drystone wall above shaft 99/III, located south of the south exterior wall of the inner courtyard of Horemheb's tomb (see RAVEN et al. 2011b, fig. I.16).	
Discovered	Elements in Berlin: ex-coll. Passalacqua, 1828; elements found during recent excavation: EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1982; Leiden mission, 1999	
Remains	<p><u>I. Reliefs</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excavation No. 1999-R18 (relief fragment with decoration in sunk relief and framed columns of incised hieroglyphs) <p><u>IV. Stelae</u> (two fragments of same stela)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7317 • Saqqara Magazine – upper right corner 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ His wife is the Songstress of (Hathor, Lady of the) Sycamore, Neferup(tah). ▪ RAVEN et al. 2011b, 64: the official was buried probably in close proximity to the tomb of Pay [099]. 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 733 ♦ <i>PVI</i> , 113.13 ♦ MARTIN 1997, 48, No. 341, pl. 100 ♦ RAVEN et al. 2011b, 64, No. 39, fig. on p. 65 ♦ REISER 1972, 82–3 ♦ ROEDER 1924, 139–42.	
[122]	<i>P3-nḥt-m-ddw</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Panakhtemdedu	
Title(s)	?	
Date	(Late) Ramesside	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; in the forecourt of Khay II [326], 50 cm above (and probably associated with) burial 2009/20.	
Discovered	Leiden archaeological mission, 2009	
Remains	<p><u>IV. Stelae</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. SAK 2009-R 21 	
Comments	▪ Stela with decoration in three registers; upper part of stela is missing.	
Bibliography	RAVEN et al. 2010, 21–2, fig. 17.	
[123]	<i>P3-Rꜥ-m-ḥb</i>	Great Overseer of Cattle of Amun
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Paraemheb	
Title(s)	<p>[B] <i>im.y-r3 ḫ.w ♦ im.y-r3 ḫ.w wr n.y 'Imn.w ♦ im.y-r3 ḫ.w n.w 'Imn.w</i> <i>n.y t3 ḫw.t Wsr-m3ꜥ.t-Rꜥ.w-stp.n-Rꜥ.w m pr.w 'Imn.w</i></p>	
Date	<p>- 19th Dynasty</p> <p>- REISNER 1967: 20th Dynasty</p> <p>- SCOTT 1986: 19th–20th Dynasty</p>	
Provenance	Location lost	

- Discovered** Canopics in Cairo: Saqqara, March 1862
- Remains** V. Burial equipment
- Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 4322-3 – canopic jars
 - New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, 13.1.1953 (P.M. 6263) – canopic jar
 - Rouen, Musée départemental des antiquités, No. unknown – shabti (LORET 1880, 151)
- Comments** ▪ Originally, four canopic jars were found and registered in the Cairo Museum: Nos Cairo JE 19172–5.
- Bibliography** PM III/2, 771, 772 ♦ PN I, 114.13 ♦ HARING 1997, 444 ♦ KRI III, 376 ♦ LORET 1880, 151, No. 4 ♦ REISNER 1967, 218–20, pls 54, 57 ♦ SCOTT 1986, 116, No. 65.

- [124]** *P3-R^c-m-ḥb* **Overseer of ///**
- Tomb. No.** -
- Name** Paraemheb
- Title(s)** [B] *im.y-r3 ///*
- Date** Late 18th to 19th Dynasty
- Provenance** South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; tomb of Maya [184], fill of Chapel B
- Discovered** EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1987
- Remains** V. Burial equipment
- Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 87-153 – faience shabti fragment
- Comments** ▪ A relief fragment depicting a man named Paraemheb along with his four sons (including titles and names), was found by the Leiden expedition in the tomb of Khay II [326]: SAK 2009-R 19 (RAVEN et al. 2010, 9, fig. 6). The style points to a late 18th Dynasty date.
- Bibliography** PN I, 114.13 ♦ RAVEN 2001b, 44 [Cat. 196], pl. 37.

- [125]** *P3-R^c-m-ḥb* (and?) *Ḳm3(.w)* **Overseer of the Cabinet (Chamberlain), Royal Butler**
- Tomb. No.** -
- Name** Paraemhab and Kema (father and son, or the same person?)
- Title(s)** *Paraemheb:*
[B] *im.y-r3 ḥnw.ty*
Kema:
[B] *im.y-r3 ḥnw.ty ♦ wb3 nsw w^cb ḥ.wwy*
- Date** - PM: 19th Dynasty
- BINDER 2008, 302: late 18th Dynasty
- Provenance** Location lost
- Discovered** Ex-coll. P. Palagi
- Remains** III. Architectural elements
- Bologna, Museo Civico No. 1892 – pillar
- Comments** ▪ Blocks mentioning the brother of Paraemhab were found at the sacred animal complex, Saqqara North (cf. MARTIN 1979).
- Bibliography** PM III/2, 751, 824 ♦ PN I, 114.13 + 334.3 ♦ BINDER 2008, 302, Cat. 064 ♦ CURTO 1961, 85, pl. 33.56 ♦ GAUTHIER 1935, 87–90, pl. 2 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 1989, 29–31 ♦ MARTIN 1979, 131–2.

[126]	<i>P3-R^c-ḥr-wnm=f</i>	Great Scribe of the Accounting of Amun
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Paraherwenemef	
Title(s)	[A] <i>ḥs.y n.y nb.w ḥw.t-k3-Pth</i> [C] <i>sš wr n.y p3 ip.w ḥs n.y Imn.w ♦ sš nfr.w n.w p3 ip.w ḥs</i>	
Date	20 th Dynasty (?)	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	A. Mariette 1859 (the JE-number implies that it entered the Bulaq Museum in 1858)	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 3299	
Comments	• Paraherwenemef is designated as <i>m3^c-ḥrw n(.y) ḥw.t-k3-ptḥ</i>	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 737 ♦ PN I, 114.17 ♦ BERLANDINI 1985 ♦ MARIETTE 1872, 20, pl. 61 ♦ DEVÉRIA squeezes 6196,10.	
[127]	<i>(P3-)R^c-ḥtp(.w)</i>	Vizier and High Priest of Ptah
Tomb. No.	Not a tomb: <i>ka</i> -chapel	
Name	(Pa-)Rahotep	
Title(s)	[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t ♦ ir.y-p^c.t ḥ3.ty-^c.w ♦ ir.ty n.y nsw ♦ ḥnḥ.wy (n.y) bi.ty ♦ wḥm.w n.y bi.ty ♦ mh-ib n.y Hr.w m m3^c.t ♦ mh-ib n.y Hr.w m sh.t nhḥ ♦ mh-ib n.y Hr.w nb t3.wy ♦ mdw.t n.y 30 ♦ n.y Inb.w(-ḥd) ♦ nḥm m-^c ḥwr^c ♦ r3 Nhn ♦ r3 n.y nsw ♦ r3 n.y nsw ḥr ḥ3s.t nb.t ♦ r3 n.y nsw m t3 dr=f ♦ ḥ3.wty m ḥ3.t rhy.t ♦ ḥr.y-sšt3 m ḥw.t shm.w ♦ ḥr.y-sšt3 n.y pr.w-nsw ♦ ḥr.y-tp m t3 r dr=f ♦ ḥs.y=f mr.y=f ♦ ḥsb.w b3k.w nb.w m t3 r dr=f ♦ hn.w n.y nsw m tit=f dsr ♦ ḥrp wr.w ♦ si^ci M3^c.t n nb=f ♦ si^ci M3^c.t ḥr ḥ ♦ sb3 t3.wy ♦ sbḥ.t nsw ♦ sbḥ.t n.y ity ♦ shrr ḥm=f m ḥ špss ♦ st3-idb.wy ♦ stn t3.wy ♦ t3y-ḥw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 ḥ3 im.yw hnt n.y nb t3.wy m wsh.t ḥb-sd ♦ im.y-r3 niw.t t3.ty ♦ im.y-r3 hp.w n.y ntr-nfr m wsh.t/sh n.y wd^c m3^c.t ♦ ḥr.y-tp t3.wy ♦ ḥrp sp3.wt niw.wt ♦ s3b n.y rhy.t ♦ s3b t3y.ty / t3y.ty s3b ♦ t3y.ty (s3b) n.y p.t ♦ t3y.ty s3b t3.wy ♦ t3.ty ♦ t3.ty n.y rhy.t ♦ t3.ty wp t3.wy</i> [D] <i>im.y-r3 k3.t ♦ ḥrp ḥmw.w</i> [E] <i>im.y-r3 ḥm.w-ntr ♦ it-ntr mr.y ntr ♦ wr m3.w n.y R^c.w-Itm.w ♦ wr-ḥrp-ḥmw.w ♦ pr.y m pr.w Pth ♦ ḥm-ntr n.y W3d.ty Bik ♦ ḥm-ntr tp.y M3^c.t ♦ ḥr.y-sšt3 m ḥw.t bi.ty ♦ ḥr.y-sšt3 m ḥw.t M3^c.t ♦ ḥr.y-sšt3 m ḥw.t N.t ♦ ḥrp šnd.wt nb.wt ♦ stm n.y Pth ♦ sšm.w-ḥb n.y rs.y inb=f ♦ sšm.w tp-rd n.ty nb</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II, second half	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway; south-west of the monastery of Apa Jeremias?	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u> • Saqqara, on-site – granite naophorous statue, headless, kneeling, holding a naos of Ptah <u>III. Architectural elements</u> • Sak. 2003-R 092 – limestone column fragment (found by the Leiden archaeological mission in shaft 99/I, south of the south exterior wall of the inner courtyard of the tomb of Horemheb)	

- Saqqara Magazine, Leiden Excav. – red granite pyramidion (?) fragment

IV. Stelae

- Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 48845

Comments

- The elements found at Saqqara do not form part of the official's tomb (his tomb was located at Sedment), but of his *ka* chapel. The titles listed in this section were recorded on the objects found at Saqqara only. For an overview of all titles held by this official, see RAEDLER 2004.
- According to the *Journal d'Entrée*, stela Cairo JE 48845: in the collection "since the time of Mariette" (see MOURSI 1981).
- Pyramidion fragment: catalogue No. NK 11, found in the surface debris near the south wall of the tomb of Horemheb. On the smooth side there are traces of an inscription, reading: [x+?] r3 Nhn (?) hm-ntr m3^c im.y-r3 niw.t t3.ty. For the same sequence of titles, see: KRI III, 60.15 (Parahotep B).

Bibliography

PM III/2, 665–6; V, 43 ♦ PN I, 114.20 ♦ ALTENMÜLLER/MOUSSA 1974, 1–14, pl. 1 ♦ BIERBRIER 1988, 213–20 (= statue Bellagio) ♦ Franzmeier 2014, 151–79 ♦ KRI III, 52–67; VII, 109–10 ♦ MAYSTRE 1992, 145–7 (Docs 103–5) ♦ MOURSI 1981, 321–9, pls 52–3 ♦ RAEDLER 2004, 354–73 (esp. 363–4) ♦ RAUE 1998, 340–51 ♦ RAVEN et al. 2011b, 58, No. 28, fig. on p. 59 ♦ SCHNEIDER 1996, 93 [NK 11] ♦ SCHULZ 1992, 69–70, Cat. No. 014, figs 4–6; 90–1, Cat. No. 026, pl. 10 ♦ VAN DIJK 1989b, 12.

[128] P3-h3-rw ?**Tomb. No.** -**Name** Pakharu**Title(s)** ?**Date** Probably Ramesside**Provenance** Location lost**Discovered** Seen by R. Lepsius with the antiquities dealer Massara (Cairo)**Remains** IV. Stelae

- Private collection (?)

Comments ▪ Possibly the same man as [129].**Bibliography** PM III/2, 748–9 ♦ LD Text, I, 17.**[129] P3-h3-rw Overseer of Wab Priests****Tomb. No.** -**Name** Pakharu**Title(s)** [E] im.y-r3 w^cb.w**Date** 19th Dynasty**Provenance** South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area, fill around shaft 2002/8**Discovered** Leiden archaeological mission, 2002**Remains** IV. Stelae

- Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 2002-R32 (fragment)

Comments ▪ Possibly the same man as [128].**Bibliography** RAVEN/VAN WALSEM 2014, 164–6, No. 128, fig. on p. 165.**[130] P3-hm-ntr High Priest of Ptah****Tomb. No.** -

Name	Pahemmeter
Title(s)	[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t ḥz.ty-^c.w</i> ♦ <i>ʿz mrw.t</i> ♦ <i>w^c ikr</i> ♦ <i>mr.y nb=f m^z^c</i> ♦ <i>mrw.t=f mnti m</i> <i>pr.w-nsw</i> ♦ <i>smr [w^c.ty]</i> ♦ <i>stp mdw.t</i> ♦ <i>tit Twm-mw.t=f pw</i> ♦ <i>/// ʿk ḥr nb=f</i> <i>m s^zr.t=f</i>
	[E] <i>m^z sšt^z ntr.w nb.w</i> ♦ <i>ḥr.y-sšt^z m r-pr.w</i> ♦ <i>sm wr-ḥrp-ḥmw.w</i>
Date	Early 19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Seti I-Ramesses II (?)
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, in the vicinity of the monastery of Apa Jeremias
Discovered	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet 32011 • Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet 32013 • Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet 32014 + 32015 (= NME 053 + 054) <u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 89046 – naos with statue <u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 33 – anthropoid sarcophagus • London, British Museum EA 18 – anthropoid sarcophagus • Toulouse, Musée Georges Labit 49.289 – canopic jar <u>VIII. Varia</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AAL. 157 – alabaster palette fragment
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ PM III/2, 709: another Pahemmeter [131] with the same title is known from the end of the 19th/early 20th Dynasty, and some of these monuments might belong to him. ▪ According to GABALLA 1974, 21, the statue was found in 1950 reused in the ruins of the monastery of Apa Jeremias, along with a number of additional inscribed material believed to derive from his tomb; however, these are not mentioned in PM III/2, 708–9. ▪ On the statue of Rahotep (BM EA 712), Pahemmeter is mentioned as the Northern Vizier (Pa-)Rahotep’s father (see MAYSTRE 1992, Doc. 104). ▪ Mentioned on the so-called <i>Fragment Daressy</i> (PM III/2, 571; <i>temp.</i> Seti I), along with Sennefer and Dedia.
Bibliography	PM III/2, 708–9 ♦ PN I, 15.16 ♦ GABALLA 1974, 21–4, pl. 2b–c (with further references) ♦ HTBM 9, 21–2, pl. 17 ♦ MAYSTRE 1992, 142–5, Docs 94–102 ♦ PETERSON 1969, 5–15 ♦ RAEDLER 2011, 137, 139 table 1.

[131]	<i>P^z-ḥm-ntr</i>	High Priest of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Pahemmeter	
Title(s)	[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t ḥz.ty-^c.w</i>	
	[E] <i>it-ntr mr.y ntr</i> ♦ <i>wr-ḥrp-ḥmw.w</i> ♦ <i>wr-ḥrp-ḥmw.w n.w Pth</i> ♦ <i>sm wr-ḥrp-ḥmw.w n.w Pth</i>	
Date	Late 19 th to 20 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris, Musée du Louvre A. 72 – dyad 	

- Comments**
- For possible monuments attributed to this man, see Pahemneter [130] of the 19th Dynasty.
 - Dyad Paris A.72: with the Vizier Hori [308].
 - For the problem regarding the attribution of objects to one or more High Priests named Pahemneter, see: RAEDLER 2011, 139 table 1; 140.
- Bibliography** PM III/2, 731 (708–9) ♦ PN I, 15.16 ♦ BOREUX 1932, I, 55, pl. 4 ♦ DURAND/SARAGOZA 2002, 73, Cat. 52 ♦ KRI IV, 294 ♦ MAYSTRE 1992, 295–6.

[132]	<i>P3-ḥm-ntr</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Pahemneter	
Title(s)	?	
Date	Late 18 th to 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; tomb of Maya [184], Chapel E	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1987	
Remains	<u>VIII. Varia</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 87-89 – fragment of an alabaster writing palette? 	
Comments	▪ RAVEN 2001b, 24: perhaps this is one of the High Priests of Ptah with the same name.	
Bibliography	PN I, 15.16 ♦ RAVEN 2001b, 24 [Cat. 32], pl. 31.	

[133]	<i>P3-ḥry-pdt</i>	Excellent Scribe
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Paherypedjet	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš ikr</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area, tomb of Mery-Neith [209], Corridor E, niche 12 (subterranean complex)	
Discovered	Leiden archaeological mission, 2002	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. Nos 2002-R22, 2002-R23 (fragments) 	
Comments	▪ Right jamb of a stela, inscribed with one framed column of incised hieroglyphs.	
Bibliography	PN I, 115.27 ♦ RAVEN/VAN WALSEM 2014, 164, No. 126, fig. on p. 165.	

[134]	<i>P3-sr</i>	Scribe of the Vizier Ptahmose
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Paser	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš n.y t3.ty Pth-ms</i> [D] <i>hrp k3.t m ḥw.t Nw.t (?)</i>	
Date	- 18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III - BORCHARDT 1930: 19 th Dynasty or later.	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 827 	

- Comments** ▪ Son of Re, Mayor of Maaty (*ḥ3.ty-ꜥ.w n.y M3ꜥ.ty*).
Bibliography PM III/2, 725 ♦ *PN* I, 117.12–13 ♦ BORCHARDT 1930, 115, pl. 153.

[135]	<i>P3-sr</i>	Overseer of Builders of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Paser	
Title(s)	[A] <i>im3ḥ.y ḏd.w ḥsy.w</i> ♦ <i>ḥs.y ʕ3 n.y ntr nfr</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i> [D] <i>im.y-r3 ḳd.w n.w nb t3.wy</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area	
Discovered	Stela BM: ex-coll. Salt, 1835; EES/Leiden archaeological mission (dir. G.T. Martin), 1981	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chapel built of mud brick with a limestone revetment <u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> London, British Museum 165 	
Comments	▪ Brother of Tjuneroy [374]; also depicted on his stela (as <i>sš nsw ḥr.y-ḥb ḥr.y-tp</i>).	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 742 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 117.12–13 ♦ <i>HTBM</i> 9, 28–9, pl. 24a ♦ <i>KRI</i> III, 278–9 ♦ MARTIN 1985.	

[136]	<i>P3-sr</i>	Overseer of the Royal Harim
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Paser	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r3 ip.t nsw</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Present location unknown 	
Comments	▪ Seen by Wilkinson at Saqqara, 1856.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 763 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 117.12–13 ♦ Wilkinson MSS. XIII, 25–6	

[137]	<i>P3-sr</i>	Vizier
Tomb. No.	<i>Ka</i> -chapel; owner of Theban Tomb (TT) 106	
Name	Paser	
Title(s)	Only the titles recorded on objects from Saqqara: [A] <i>ir.y-pꜥ.t ḥ3.ty-ꜥ.w</i> ♦ <i>ḥr.y-sšt3 n.y pr.w-nsw</i> ♦ [<i>ḥr.y-tp n.y t3 [r-ḏr=f]</i>] [B] <i>im.y-r3 niw.t t3.ty</i> ♦ <i>s3b</i> ♦ <i>t3y.ty s3b</i> ♦ <i>t3.ty</i> [E] <i>it-ntr mr.y ntr</i> ♦ [<i>ḥr.y-sšt3</i>] <i>n.y ḥw.t[-nsw.t]</i> ♦ <i>ḥrp šnd.wt nb.wt</i> ♦ <i>sm</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Seti I to Ramesses II, at least Year 21/ <i>terminus ad quem</i> presented by the appointment of the Vizier Khay in Year 30	
Provenance	Location lost (<i>Ka</i> -chapel)	
Discovered	The canopic jars were found at Saqqara in 1861	
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 1.12.81.1 – miniature block statue, faience 	

- Hildesheim, Roemer-Pelizaes Museum 4886 – miniature block statuette (from the Temple Terrace animal galleries)
- Moscow, Puschkin-Museum 1295 – miniature block statue (provenance Saqqara?)

V. Burial equipment

- Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 4325–6 (JE 17470–1) – two canopic jars (Duamutef and Qebehseuef)

VII. Extra sepulchral

- From the Serapeum: Paris, Musée du Louvre IM.2894 [N. 762] (three shabtis); N. 772 (two shabtis); N. 773 (nine shabtis); N. 760 [E. 75], N. 762–3 [E. 68–9] (pectorals); N.760 [E. 75] (*wzḏ*-form); N. 725 [E. 70] (scarab); AF. 2434 [E. 71] (beads).

- Comments**
- The overview includes only elements/objects found at Saqqara. The titles are those recorded on objects from Saqqara. For a complete overview of his titles, see: RAEDLER 2004, 309–54 (Q_4.1 to Q_4.139).
 - Serapeum: Apis VII and IX [II and IV of D. 19] of Mariette, years 16 and 30 of Ramesses II Tomb C8 of Rhoné, G of Mariette.
 - Paser is the owner of tomb TT 106 in El-Khokha.
 - He was probably appointed as the Southern Vizier by Seti I.
 - Paser's father is mentioned on statue Cairo CG 630: *ḥm-nṯr tp.y n.y Ḳmn.w m [Iwnw] šm^c.w [s]m m ḥw.t-Pth Nb-nṯr.w ḏd.w n=f Tli*; his mother is the *wr.t ḥnr.t n.yt Ḳmn.w Mri.t-R^c.w n.y ḥw.t-k3-Pth*.

- Bibliography**
- PM III/2, 771, 783, 821, 838 ♦ PN I, 117.12–13 ♦ BARBOTIN 1999, 20–1 ♦ DONOHUE 1988, 103–23 ♦ EL-DAMATY 1990, 8, pl. 8b–c ♦ KRI II, 366–7 [130, B (II)] ♦ LEBLANC 2005, 72 ♦ LEBLANC 2012, 87, with n. 14 ♦ MARIETTE 1857, pl. 12 [middle] ♦ MARTIN 1979, 45, No. 140 ♦ MARTIN 1981b, 92, pl. 30 [1084] ♦ RAEDLER 2004, 309–54 ♦ RAEDLER 2012, esp. 137ff ♦ REISNER 1967, 221–2, pl. 64 ♦ REISNER 1899, 66–67, No. 21, fig. 5[middle] ♦ SCHULZ 1992, 419.

[138]	<i>P3-sr</i>	Custodian of Records of the Army, Royal messenger
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Paser	
Title(s)	[B] <i>šms.w nsw</i>	
	[C] <i>ḥr.y ir.yw sh3.w n.w p3 mš^c ♦ s3w.ty sš.w n.w p3 mš^c</i>	
Date	EL-AGUIZY: Ramesside, 20 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area	
Discovered	Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. O. el-Aguizy), 2013	
Remains	0. Tomb structure	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb structure built of limestone blocks 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Located directly to the north-east pylon of the tomb of Ptahmose [165]. The tomb measures 12 x 6 m. ▪ His wife is named Astarte-emheb. 	
Bibliography	PN I, 117.12–13 ♦ PRESS RELEASE < http://saqqara.fa-arch.cu.edu.eg/# > accessed 16.3.2015.	

[139]	<i>P3-sr</i> (?)	?
Tomb. No.	Shaft Quibell No. 381	

Name	Paser ?
Title(s)	?
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II (?)
Provenance	Teti Pyramid Cemetery, temple area, shaft No. 381
Discovered	J.E. Quibell, 1907–8
Remains	<u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum (?) – tomb furniture, incl. 75 shabtis
Comments	
Bibliography	<i>PN I</i> , 117.12–13 ♦ QUIBELL 1909, 21, fig. 4, pl. 58.5.

[140]	<i>P3-šd</i>	Lector Priest
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Pashedu	
Title(s)	[E] <i>hr.y-ḥb</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; subsidiary shaft L in front of (= east of) pylon tomb Maya [184]	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1986	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. (?) (fragment) 	
Comments		
Bibliography	<i>PN I</i> , 119.13 ♦ MARTIN 2012, 56–7, No. 30, pl. 66.	

[141]	<i>P3-grgr</i>	Chief Sculptor
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Pagerger	
Title(s)	[D] <i>hr.y t3y.w-md3.t ♦ t3y-md3.t</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Pyramidion Louvre: ex-coll. Hanterive, 1832; column base Berlin: ex-coll. Passalacqua, 1828; column base Leiden: ex-coll. de Lescluze, 1827	
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum 349 – naos with statue • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AM 14a, 15, 16b, 17 – 4 naoi with statues <u>III. Architectural elements</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 2286 – column base • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden L.XI. 7 – column base • Paris, Musée du Louvre D 44 [N.363] – pyramidion <u>VI. Offering tables</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 1554 • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AM 14b • Paris, Louvre D49 [E3070] 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 708 ♦ <i>PN I</i> , 120.16 ♦ BOESER 1911, 10, pl. 37 ♦ BOESER 1912, 2, No. 4, pl. 14; 5, No. 7, pl. 3 ♦ HOLTHOER 1990, 436–63 (with further references).	

[142]	<i>Pi3y</i>	Troop Commander of the Merchants of the House of Merenptah Hetephermaat
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Piay	
Title(s)	[B] <i>ḥr.y pḏ.t [n.y] n3 šw.ty n.y pr.w Mr.n-Pth-ḥtp-ḥr-m3^c.t</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Merenptah or later	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid Cemetery (location lost)	
Discovered	J.E. Quibell, 1905–6	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 38539 	
Comments	▪ Son of Khay [323] and brother of Pabes [105]?	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 737 ♦ PN I, 129.25 ♦ Cairo, Centre of Documentation photos. S.A. 23-4, 33 ♦ MARTIN 2001, 17, No. 13, pls 5, 59; 16, No. 9, pls 13, 57.	
[143]	<i>Pi3y</i>	Scribe of the Doors in the Temple of Neith Mistress of Sais
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Piay	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš sb3.w m ḥw.t-nṯr N.t nb.t š3.t</i>	
Date	- New Kingdom - Mariette: Saite - PM: New Kingdom or 26 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Mariette (around 1859)	
Remains	Unidentified object; location unknown	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 775 ♦ PN I, 129.25 ♦ MARIETTE 1872, 20, pl. 62e.	
[144]	<i>Pyi3y</i>	Overseer of Cattle
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Pyiay	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r3 iḥ.w ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥḏ n.y nb t3.wy</i> [C] <i>sš nsw [or: sš nsw n.y pr.w-ḥḏ n.y nb t3.wy]</i>	
Date	Late 18 th or early 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area: found in shaft F outside NW-corner of tomb of Paser [135]	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1981	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine 	
Comments	▪ MARTIN 1985, 16 n. 6: a shabti (83-S65) of a scribe Pyiay had been found in shaft B of the tomb-complex of Tia [372].	
Bibliography	PN I, 129.25 ♦ MARTIN 1985, 16–17 [iv; v], pl. 26.	
[145]	<i>Pn-33</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Pena	
Title(s)		

Date	Late Ramesside: the potsherds found in the same context suggest a date at the end of the 19 th or 20 th Dynasty, post-Merenptah
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area, south of Horemheb [303]; in area between Iniua [066] (west), Khay II [326] (east) and Pay/Raia [099/279] (south)
Discovered	EEF/Leiden archaeological mission, 1996
Remains	<p>0. Tomb structure</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb 96/1 (tomb shaft) <p>IV. Stelae</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine (Sak R 93-90; unfinished and anepigraphic stela) <p>V. Burial equipment</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine – 9 wooden shabtis of Pena'a (Excav. Nos 96-58-60, 96-70-74); 3 for Sementawy [347] (Excav. Nos 96-61, 96-64, 96-62); 3 for a lady Henut-pa-/// (Excav. Nos 96-66-68) • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 96-84 – wooden shabti-box for Pena'a)
Comments	▪ Not certain whether the objects originally belonged to this chapel.
Bibliography	RAVEN et al. 1997, 73, 76, fig. 4, pl. 4.2 (stela repositioned) ♦ RAVEN 2005, 20, 76–7 [Cat. 53, 54a–h, 55a–c, 56a–c], pls 4, 13, 80–1, 93–4, 100, 102 ♦ VAN WALSEM et al. 1999, 20, fig. 1.

[146]	<i>Pr-ꜣ-(r)-nhh</i> Lector Priest of the Overseer of the Treasury Maiay
Tomb. No.	-
Name	Per-aa-(er)-neheh
Title(s)	[E] <i>hr.y-ḥb n.y im.y-rꜣ pr.w Mꜣiꜣy</i>
Date	Early 19 th Dynasty
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; tomb of Maya [184], chapel against the exterior of the south wall of Chapel A, wedged between Yamen's [074] east wall and the protruding corner of Maya's outer courtyard.
Discovered	Stela: unknown. For the possible location of the chapel, see: RAVEN 1996
Remains	<p>IV. Stelae</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Warsaw, Muzeum Narodwe (National Museum) 142294 (ex-coll. Hoffmann, 1895)
Comments	<p>▪ Auction of the Hoffmann Collection in 1895: the stela was acquired for the Castle at Gołuchów, Poland; after World War II, it was requisitioned for the National Museum in Warsaw, 1958.</p> <p>▪ Round-topped stela (54.5 x 33 cm) with scenes in two registers; sunk relief. Upper register: Per'a(er)neheh and (his son?) the <i>wꜣb n.y 'Imn.w</i> Pia-nefer offering to Osiris enthroned; lower register: the <i>sdm-ꜣš</i> (servant) Medjeria, the Lady of the House, Tamit, and her daughter Ankh present offerings to a seated Lady of the House, Tyia.</p> <p>▪ Tyia could be the daughter of Ramesses II, the wife of Tia [372], which implies a relation between the funerary cults in the tombs of Maya and Tia.</p> <p>▪ Measurements of the chapel (as preserved): 128 x 116 x 60 cm.</p> <p>▪ There are also traces of a chapel due west of Yamen's.</p>
Bibliography	PN I, 134.8 ♦ KOŁODKO 1979, 26–32, fig. 15 ♦ LEGRAIN 1894, 24–6, No. 65 ♦ RAVEN 1997, 139–48 ♦ RAVEN 2001, 9 ♦ VAN DIJK 1993, 80, fig. 12.

[147]	<i>Pth-m-wiz</i>	Royal Butler
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ptahemwia	
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t ḥz.ty-^c.w ♦ wr m ^cḥ=f ♦ mrw.ty n.y nb t3.wy ♦ ḥs.y ^cz n.y ntr nfr ♦ smr w^c.ty ♦ sd3w.ty-bi.ty</i></p> <p>[B] <i>wb3 nsw w^cb ^c.wpy</i></p>	
Date	RAVEN 2006–7: 18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Akhenaten–Tutankhamun	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area	
Discovered	Leiden archaeological mission, 2007	
Remains	<p><u>0. Tomb structure</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb structure built of mud bricks with a limestone revetment <p><u>III. Architectural elements</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bologna, Museo Civico 1891 – pilaster • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 8383 (ex-coll. Huber, 1859) – doorjamb 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The panel of the northwest pillar in the courtyard records the name Imenemwia who bore the titles ‘Royal Butler, Clean of Hands, He of the favour of the Lord of the Two Lands, [Who followed] His Lord while he was yet a Prince ///’. It is not clear whether Imenemwia is the same person as Ptahemwia. 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 751 ♦ PN I, 139.18 ♦ RAVEN et al. 2006–7, 19–39 ♦ RAVEN et al., 2008–9 ♦ RAVEN et al, <i>forthcoming</i> .	
[148]	<i>Pth-m-wiz</i>	Overseer of Cattle of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ptahemwia	
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t ♦ smr w^c.ty ♦ sd3.wty-bi.ty</i></p> <p>[B] <i>im.y-r3 ḥ.w ♦ im.y-r3 ḥ.w wr m t3 ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w ♦ im.y-r3 ḥ.w m t[3] ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w ♦ im.y-r3 ḥ.w n.w nb t3.wy ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd nbw n.y t3 ḥw.t n.yt ḥḥ.w rnp.wt n.y nsw.t bi.ty Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w m inb-ḥd.t</i></p> <p>[C] <i>sš nsw ♦ sš nsw ḥtp.w-ntr n.w ntr.w nb.w Šm^c.w T3-mḥ.w</i></p>	
Date	<p>- PM: 19th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramses II or later</p> <p>- STARING 2014–15: early 19th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II</p>	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, location lost	
Discovered	A. Mariette/T. Devéria, 1859; L. Vassalli, March 1861	
Remains	<p><u>0. Tomb structure</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb structure built of mud bricks; location lost – photo T. Devéria • “Unidentified object” – recorded by A. Mariette <p><u>III. Architectural elements</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 17109 (JE 8371 / TN 7.11.24.3) – pyramidion <p><u>VII. Extra-sepulchral objects</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Museums 1902.306.10 – Osiriphorous statue from Abydos 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 770, 775; V, 47 ♦ PN I, 139.18 ♦ DEVÉRIA photograph, Musée d’Orsay PHO 1986 144 64, MS 178 129 ♦ MARIETTE 1872, 20, pl. 62c ♦	

MYŚLIWIEC 1978, 139–45, figs 1–4, pls 36–7 ♦ PETRIE 1902, 31, 45, pls 65.2–4, 67 [top] ♦ RAMMANT-PEETERS 1983, 18–19, Doc. 15 ♦ STARING 2014–15.

[149]	<i>Pth-m-wi3</i>	Chief of Retainers of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ptahemwia	
Title(s)	[E] ϵ_3 <i>mrw n.y Pth</i>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Ex-coll. d'Anastasi, 1828	
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AM 7bis (K 3) – pyramidion 	
Comments		
Bibliography	<i>PN</i> I, 139.18 ♦ BOESER 1912, 1–2, pls 1, 15 ♦ RAMMANT-PEETERS 1983, 38–9, Doc. 35 ♦ SCHNEIDER 1998, fig. 88 ♦ RAVEN/STARING 2007, 136, Cat. 133 ♦ STARING 2015a, Cat. 175.	
[150]	<i>Pth-m-wi3</i>	Stable Master of the Residence
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ptahemwia	
Title(s)	[B] <i>wpw.ty nsw r h3s.wt nb.wt ♦ hr.y ih.w n.y hnw</i> [C] <i>sš ip.t nsw ♦ sš wdh.w</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II (cartouche of Ramesses II in the lunette)	
Provenance	Unknown; possibly Saqqara; see also [097]	
Discovered	Ex-coll. Salt	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • London, British Museum EA 167 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Round-topped stela of Ptahemwia. In the second register, the seated High Priest of Ptah, Hori [307] is depicted. ▪ See comments [097], stela of Bena. 	
Bibliography	<i>PM</i> VIII/4, 803–045–446 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 139.18 ♦ <i>HTMB</i> 9, 29–30, pl. 25 ♦ <i>KRI</i> III, 206–7.	
[151]	<i>Pth-m-wi3</i>	Overseer of Prophets
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ptahemwia	
Title(s)	[E] <i>im.y-r3 hm.w-ntr nb.w t3.wy ♦ hm-ntr tp.y n.y N.t</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III?	
Provenance	Dahshur: 2 km north of Snofru's Red Pyramid	
Discovered	Waseda University archaeological mission	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine (?) 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Found north-west of the tomb of the Royal butler Ipay [026]: in shaft 17. 	
Bibliography	<i>PN</i> I, 139.18 ♦ YOSHIMURA/HASEGAWA 2000, 145–60.	
[152]	<i>Pth-m-h3.t Ty</i>	High Priest of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	

Name	Ptahemhat Ty
Title(s)	[A] <i>im.y-ib n.y ntr nfr</i> ♦ <i>ir.y-p^c.t ḥz.ty-^c.w</i> ♦ <i>ir.ty n.y nsw</i> ♦ <i>ḥnh.wy bi.ty</i> ♦ <i>smr w^c.ty</i> ♦ <i>sdz.wty-bi.ty</i> [E] <i>sm wr-ḥrp-ḥmw.w</i>
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Tutankhamun/Ay
Provenance	Location lost
Discovered	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 12411 (“<i>Trauerrelief</i>”) <u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • London, British Museum 972 (dedicated by his son, Say, Lector Priest of Bastet) • Private collection (?) – ex-coll. Amherst No. 213 <u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris, Louvre E.8420 – top of pottery model vase <u>VIII. Varia</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden I. 89 – wooden pommel of stick • Paris, Musée du Louvre E 8420 – “<i>disque en terre cuite</i>”
Comments	▪ For the fragment of a pyramidion that can possibly be attributed to Ptahemhat Ty, see [004]: found west of the tomb of Horemheb [303].
Bibliography	PM III/2, 711–12 ♦ PN I, 140.1 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 2012, 181–7 ♦ HTBM 10, 10ff, pl. 8 ♦ MÁLEK 1976, 43–6 ♦ MAYSTRE 1975, 175–9, pl. 14 ♦ MAYSTRE 1992, 138–41, Docs 70–3 ♦ RAEDLER 2011, 137, 138 table 1 ♦ ROEDER 1924, 179–80 ♦ ZIVIE 1984a, 200–3.

[153]	<i>Pth-m-ḥb</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ptahemheb	
Title(s)	?	
Date	New Kingdom	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias	
Discovered	J.E. Quibell, 1908–10	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 1.7.24.2 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Depicted with his wife, Roy. ▪ The reverse of this block contains a scene of Ky-iri [362], which indicates that the block was reused by one of the two tomb-owners. At a later stage, the block was again reused, in the monastery of Apa Jeremias. 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 668 ♦ PN I, 140.2 ♦ QUIBELL 1912, 145, pl. 80.2.	

[154]	<i>Pth-m-ḥb</i>	Deputy of the Treasury of Pharaoh I.p.h.
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ptahemheb	
Title(s)	[B] <i>idn.w n.y pr.w-ḥd n.y pr.w-^cz ḥnh.w wdz.w snb.w</i> [C] <i>sš nsw m^z^c mr.y=f</i>	
Date	Late 18 th to 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Found reused in the Serapeum	

- Discovered** E.A.O. (dir. Ibrahim Aly), 1986
Remains III. Architectural elements
 - Saqqara Magazine 4/Serapeum Lesser Vaults No. (?) – lintel**Comments**
Bibliography *PN I*, 140.2 ♦ IBRAHIM ALY 2000, 232, pl. 31e.

- | [155] | <i>Pth-m-ḥb</i> | Chief of Goldsmiths |
|---------------------|--|---------------------|
| Tomb. No. | - | |
| Name | Ptahemheb and Amenemheb | |
| Title(s) | [D] ḥr.y nby.w ♦ ḥr.y nbw.w n.w nb t3.wy | |
| Date | 19 th Dynasty | |
| Provenance | South of the Unas causeway, found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias | |
| Discovered | J.E. Quibell | |
| Remains | <u>III. Architectural elements</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 46190–1 – jambs | |
| Comments | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Shares the block with his brother Amenemheb [034]. ▪ One block (No. 15, second register) also depicts <i>R^c-ms(.w)</i>, who was the ḥr.y s3w.ty t3r.t; Head of Custodians of the Cabin. ▪ Ptahemheb and Amenemheb are possibly the sons of Amenemone [039]. | |
| Bibliography | PM III/2, 669 ♦ <i>PN I</i> , 140.2 ♦ Châban 1917, 180–2, Nos 14–15. | |

- | [156] | <i>Pth-m^cy</i> | Head of Chariot Makers |
|---------------------|---|------------------------|
| Tomb. No. | - | |
| Name | Ptahmay | |
| Title(s) | [D] ḥr.y ḥmw.w wr.r.t | |
| Date | Mid-18 th Dynasty | |
| Provenance | Location lost | |
| Discovered | Ex-coll. G. di Nizzoli, 1824 | |
| Remains | <u>IV. Stelae</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Florence, Museo Archeologico 2584 | |
| Comments | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ His son is the sš pr.wy-ḥd n.y nb t3.wy im.y-r3 ḥmw.t Dḥwty-ms. | |
| Bibliography | PM III/2, 740 ♦ <i>PN I</i> , 140.6 ♦ BOSTICCO 1965, 33–5, No. 28, fig. 29. | |

- | [157] | <i>Pth-m^cy</i> | Policeman |
|---------------------|---|-----------|
| Tomb. No. | - | |
| Name | Ptahmay | |
| Title(s) | [F] s ^c š3 | |
| Date | Late 18 th Dynasty | |
| Provenance | Location lost | |
| Discovered | | |
| Remains | <u>IV. Stelae</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst ÄS 48 | |
| Comments | | |
| Bibliography | PM III/2, 745 ♦ <i>PN I</i> , 140.6 ♦ DYROFF AND PÖRTNER 1904, 36–7, No. 26, pl. 18 ♦ LÖHR/MÜLLER 1972, 64, Cat. 49a, pl. 33. | |

[158]	<i>Pth-mꜣy</i>	Head of Bearers of 
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ptahmay	
Title(s)	[?] <i>hr.y tꜣy wꜣr.t</i> (?)	
Date	18 th Dynasty or later	
Provenance	Saqqara: location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris, Musée du Louvre C 210 [N.306] 	
Comments	▪ The stela was dedicated by his son, the <i>sš tꜣy n.y pr.w-ꜣnh</i> , Amunwahsu.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 746 ♦ PN I, 140.6 ♦ PIERRET 1878, 119–20.	
[159]	<i>Pth-mꜣy</i>	<i>Wab Priest of the Heret of the Lord of Truth</i>
Tomb. No.	TNM New Kingdom Tomb 2 (Macquarie University)	
Name	Ptahmay (?)	
Title(s)	[E] <i>wꜣb</i> ♦ <i>wꜣb hr.t n.yt nb mꜣꜣ.t</i> ♦ <i>fꜣi wr.t sꜣ.t n.t Pth</i> ♦ <i>hr.y-(hb) n.y Pth</i>	
Date	Ramesside (?)	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery, middle section	
Discovered	Macquarie University archaeological mission (dir. B.G. Ockinga)	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No traces of a tomb superstructure; only a shaft with burial apartments <u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. TNE 95: F116p • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. TNE 94/5 F24 • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. TNE 96: 122 • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. TNE 96: 199 (same man named Ptahmay?) <u>2. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 2297 – group statue <u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Turin, Museo Egizio 91 (Fabretti No. 1572) – round-topped stela surmounted by a pyramidion <u>VI. Offering tables</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris, Musée du Louvre D36 – offering stand 	
Description	▪ Louvre D36 and Turin 91 feature his son Iny, the <i>sš nsw hr.y tp sš šꜣ.t</i> = Iny of Stela Leiden V96 (BOESER 1913, 3 [10], pl. 2). His Other son is named <i>'Iiꜣ</i> (also on Stela Turin 91); his wife is the Lady of the House, Hatshepsut.	
Bibliography	PN I, 140.6 ♦ FABRETTI 1882, 157 ♦ MASPERO 1883, 141 ♦ OCKINGA 2004, 107–9, 115 ♦ OCKINGA 2012, 379–85, fig. 1 ♦ VERCOUTTER 1945, 54–63, figs 9, 11–14.	
[160]	<i>Pth-mꜣy</i>	<i>Wab Priest of Amun of the Portico</i> (?)
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ptahmay	
Title(s)	[A] <i>hs.y ꜣꜣ n.y Pth nb Mꜣꜣ.t</i> [E] <i>wꜣb n.y 'Imn.w n.y rw.t</i> (?) / <i>sbꜣ</i> (?) / <i>sbḥ.t</i> (?) / <i>tꜣ</i> (?) / <i>tri</i> (?)	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Saqqara North	

- Discovered** Ex-coll. comte Louis de Saint-Ferriol, 1842
Remains IV. Stelae
 • Grenoble, Musée des Beaux-Arts No. 24, Inv. 1953
Comments • His wife is the Lady of the House, Iwy.
Bibliography *PN* I, 140.6 ♦ GOURLAY 1979, 94–8, pl. 35 ♦ KUENY/YOYOTTE 1979, 42–3, cat. 24, fig. on p. 42–3 ♦ MORET 1919, 169–70 ♦ PASQUALI 2011, 73, B.6.

[161] *Pṯḥ-mꜣy* Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands

- Tomb. No.** -
Name Ptahmay
Title(s) [C] *sš pr.w-ḥd* ♦ *sš pr.w-ḥd n.y nb tꜣ.wy*
Date New Kingdom, late 18th/early 19th Dynasty
Provenance Unas Valley Temple area
Discovered A. Moussa, 1970
Remains I. Stelae
 • Saqqara Magazine, No. 16902 (fragment)
Comments
Bibliography *PN* I, 140.6 ♦ MOUSSA 1981, 76, No. 5, pl. 8a.

[162] *Pṯḥ(?)ms(.w)* Scribe

- Tomb. No.** -
Name Ptah(?)mose
Title(s) [C] *sš*
Date 19th Dynasty
Provenance South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; shaft 99/I, Chamber B; located south of the south exterior wall of the inner courtyard of Horemheb (cf. fig. I.16).
Discovered Leiden archaeological mission, 2003
Remains I. Reliefs / IV. Stelae (?)
 • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 2003-R89
Comments • The block's upper part shows the remains of a torus, which may imply the fragment derives from a stela rather than from a relief block (RAVEN et al. 2011b, 64).
Bibliography *PN* I, 140.9 ♦ RAVEN et al. 2011b, 64, No. 40, fig. on p. 65.

[163] *Pṯḥ-ms(.w)* ?

- Tomb. No.** -
Name Ptahmose
Title(s) Unknown
Date 19th Dynasty
Provenance Teti Pyramid Cemetery
Discovered C.M. Firth, 1920s
Remains I. Reliefs
 • Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 34.50
Comments
Bibliography *PM* III/2, 572 ♦ *PN* I, 140.9 ♦ GUNN, MSS XIX. 2[1] (photo) ♦ GUNN, Notebook 7, No. 43 ♦ MÁLEK 1989b, 5 (block D8).

[164]	<i>Pth-ms</i>	High Priest of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ptahmose	
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t ḥz.ty-^c.w</i> ♦ <i>ir.ty n.y nsw</i> ♦ <i>ḥz m pr.w nsw</i> ♦ <i>ḥnḥ.wy n.y bi.ty</i> ♦ <i>wr m iz.(w)t=f</i> ♦ <i>ḥnt.y n.y nb[=f]</i> ♦ <i>smr w^c.ty</i> ♦ <i>shṯp=f nfr-ḥr</i> ♦ <i>sdz.wty-bi.ty</i></p> <p>[E] <i>im.y-rz ḥm.w-ntr n.w Šm^c.w Mḥ.w</i> ♦ <i>it-ntr mr.y ntr</i> ♦ <i>wr-ḥrp-ḥmw.w m pr.wy</i> ♦ <i>ḥr.y-sštz n.y s.t wr.t</i> ♦ <i>ḥn.ty s.t m rz-sṯz.w</i> ♦ <i>sm</i> ♦ <i>sm wr-ḥrp-ḥmw.w</i> ♦ <i>sm ḥtp ib Pth</i></p>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Thutmose IV?–early reign Amenhotep III	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Stela Florence: ex-coll. G. di Nizzoli, 1824; pyramidion Berlin: ex-coll. G. Passalacqua, 1828; objects Leiden: ex-coll. G. d’Anastasi, 1828	
Remains	<p><u>II. Statues</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brooklyn, Museum 37.1512E – lower part of a seated statue (ex-coll. N.Y. Hist. Soc.) • Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 584 • Present location unknown (ex-coll. Lambruschini) – statuette of deceased grinding corn <p><u>IV. Stelae</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Florence Museo Archeologico 2537 –triangular stela • Florence, Museo Archeologico 2565 – stela of his father Thutmose [393] <p><u>III. Architectural elements</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 2276 – pyramidion <p><u>V. Burial equipment</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum 264 – vessel • Durham, University Gulbenkian Museum N 1379 – vessel • Formerly Anastasi, Lee and Amherst Collection – vessel lid • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden H. 299, 305, 309, 360 – vessels • London, British Museum 4640 – vessel • Paris, Musée du Louvre A.F. 6735 – vessel • San Jose, California Rosicrucian Museum 588 – vessel • Zagreb Museum 548, 567 – vessels <p><u>VIII. Varia</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 3427 (palette) • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden I. 635 (cubit measure) • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden I. 519 (alabaster rubber) • (*) London, British Museum 5472 (model knife) • (*) London, British Museum 56863 (pestle and mortar; formerly St. Helier, Collection of the Société Jersiaise) • (*) London, British Museum 54989 (vase-shaped model mace-head; ex-coll. Nash) 	

(*) = PM III/2, 712: “probably from this man (no indication of father) and from here” (other possibility: PM III/2, 727 [166]).

- Comments**
- Ptahmose features on the false door (Florence 2565) of his father [393], the *imy-r3 n̄iw.t t3.ty*, Thutmose.
 - Ptahmose features on the stela of his brother Mery-Ptah, the *im.y-r3 pr.w n.y t3 ḥw.t Nb-m3^c.t-R^c.w* (stelae Leiden AP 11/UCL 14463), which also includes their father, the Vizier Thutmose [393].
 - RAEDLER 2011, 138, table 1: “Ptahmose the elder”, son of the Vizier Thutmose; perhaps to be identified with Ptahmose II of MAYSTRE 1992 (i.e. the High Priest during the reign of Thutmose IV).
- Bibliography**
- PM III/2, 712–13, 721 ♦ PN I, 140.9 ♦ BOESER 1913, 8, No. 27, pl. 15 ♦ BORCHARDT 1925, 139–140 ♦ BOSTICCO 1965, 41–2, No. 34 ♦ MAYSTRE 1992, 130–1, Docs 37–58 ♦ MURNANE 1989, 189ff ♦ RAEDLER 2011, 138 table 1 ♦ RAMMANT-PEETERS 1983, 3, Doc. 1 ♦ STARING 2015a, Cat. 166–70 ♦ Stewart 1976, 26–7, pl. 16.

[165]	<i>Pth-ms(.w)</i>	Mayor of Memphis
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ptahmose	
Title(s)	[A]	<i>zḥ n.y nb=f ♦ ir.y-p^c.t ḥ3.ty-^c.w ♦ ir.y-rd.wy=f ♦ ir.ty n.y nsw ^cnh.wy bi.ty ♦ ir.ty n.y nsw m pr.w Pth ♦ ^ck3 ns m̄i.tyt n.yt mh3.t ♦ w^c mnḥ n.y ntr nfr ♦ bi.t=f ikr di mrw.t=f ♦ mr.y nb t3.wy ♦ mrw.ty ^c3 n.y ntr nfr ♦ mh-ib ^c3 n.y ntr nfr ♦ [ns/r3] shrr m ḥw.t-k3-Pth ♦ ḥ^c.tw [n.y sdm] ḥrw=f ♦ ḥr.y-tp wr.w m inb(.w)-ḥd ♦ ḥr[.y-tp m] šny.t ♦ ḥrp rs-tp n(.y) nb t3.wy ♦ smr w^c.ty ♦ sr ♦ sd3.wty-bi.ty</i>
	[B]	<i>im.y-r3 /// ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w wr ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w wr m pr.w Pth ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w m [t3] ḥw.t R^c.w-ms-s(w) mr.y-²Imn.w m pr.w Pth ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w wr m t3 ḥw.t R^c.w-ms-s(w) mr.y-²Imn.w m pr.w Pth ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y Pth ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w m ḥw.t ntr zḥ-Sthy-mr-n-Pth m pr.w Pth ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w (n.y) Pth ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w n.y pr.w Pth ḥ3 inb.w Pth ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w n.y nb m3^c.t ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd n.y nb m3^c.t ♦ im.y-r3 šnw.ty ♦ im.y-r3 šnw.ty n.y nb m3^c.t ♦ im.y-r3 šnw.ty n.y nb nhḥ ♦ ḥ3.ty-^c.w wr ♦ ḥ3.ty-^c.w wr m inb(.w) ḥd ♦ ḥ3.ty-^c.w wr m ḥw.t-k3-Pth ♦ ḥ3.ty-^c.w m inb.w-ḥd ♦ ḥ3.ty-^c.w ḥ3 inb.w ♦ ḥ3.ty-^c.w ḥ3 inb.w n.w Pth</i>
	[C]	<i>sš nsw ♦ sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f</i>
	[D]	<i>im.y-r3 m3^c wr m pr.w Pth ♦ im.y-r3 m3^c m pr.w Pth ♦ im.y-r3 k3.t ♦ im.y-r3 k3.t m mn.w nb n.y nb t3.wy (?) ♦ im.y-r3 k3.t m mn.w nb n.y nsw ♦ im.y-r3 k3.t m mn.w nb n.y ḥm=f ♦ im.y-r3 k3.t m mn.w nb n.y ḥm=f m ḥwt-k3-Pth</i>
	[E]	<i>mrr.ty ^c3 n.y ntr.w nb.w inb(.w)-ḥd ♦ ḥr.y-sšt3 n.y ḥw.t Pth</i>
	[?]	<i>/// n(.w) nb m3^c.t ♦ /// m pr(.w) [Pth]</i>
Date	PM: Ramesses II or later STARING 2014b: 19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Seti I–early Ramesses II	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area	
Discovered	Rediscovered by the Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. O. El-Aguizy), 2010; visited by art dealers and scholars as early as the 1820s	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u>	

- Tomb structure built of mud bricks with a limestone revetment: pylon entrance, forecourt, statue room with side chapels, inner court and three chapels in the west

I. Reliefs

- Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 4873–5
- Florence, Museo Archeologico 2557
- Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 54
- Frankfurt, Liebieghaus IN 1643
- Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 25.6.24.6
- Durham (US), Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University, 1984.2.3
- Berlin, Ägyptische Museum 1631–2
- “Mur Rhoné” (photo T. Devéria, 1859; now lost)
- “Block from Giza” (seen by Lepsius, 1843; present location unknown)
- “Devéria-doorway” (photo T. Devéria, 1859; now lost)

II. Statues

- Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 22.106
- Tokyo, Matsuoka Museum of Art 568
- Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 7–8
- Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 41532
- London, British Museum EA 1119

III. Architectural elements

- Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 51a-d – 4 *djed* pillars
- Cairo, Egyptian Museum 40.000 – papyriform column
- Pyramidion (seen by Lepsius with the art dealer Fernandez at Cairo, 1842)

IV. Stelae

- Notebook H.O. Lange (seen with an art dealer at Kafr el-Haram, Giza, 1899–1900)
- Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 19718 (1945–2015: Ann Arbor, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology 1981.4.4)

V. Burial equipment

- Musée Antoine Vivenel de Compiègne Inv. L. 496 – Sarcophagus fragment

VII. Extra sepulchral objects

- Paris, Musée du Louvre IM 5269 – stela from Serapeum
- Paris, Musée du Louvre SH 213 – shabti from Serapeum

Comments

Bibliography PM III/2, 713–15, 784 ♦ *PN* I, 140.9 ♦ BERLANDINI 1982b, 85–103 ♦ GRECO 2011b, 195–204 ♦ *KRI* III, 171–80; VII, 112–13, 180 ♦ *LD Text*, I, 15 ♦ QUIBELL 1912, pl. 86.1–2 ♦ ROEDER 1924, 217, 308 ♦ STARING 2014a, b ♦ STARING 2015a, Cat. 193–4 ♦ STARING 2015b ♦ VAN DIJK 1989a, 47–54.

[166]	<i>Pth-ms(.w)</i>	High Priest of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ptahmose	
Title(s)	[A]	<i>ir.y-p^c.t ḥz.ty-^c.w ♦ smr w^c.ty ♦ sdz.wty-bi.ty</i>
	[E]	<i>it-ntr mr.y ntr ♦ wr nmt.t m mflh Skr ♦ ḥr.y-sšt3 m ḥw.t-k3-Pth ♦ ḥr.y-sšt3 n.y s.t wr.t ♦ ḥrp n.y nb m3^c.t ♦ sm wr-ḥrp-ḥmw.w ♦ drp ntr.w wr.w</i>

Date	RAEDLER 2011: Amenhotep III–Amenhotep IV, Year 5
Provenance	Location lost
Discovered	
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Florence, Museo Archeologico 1790
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ptahmose is the son of the <i>hm-ntr tp.y</i>, Menkheper. ▪ MAYSTRE 1992: Ptahmes III; RAEDLER 2011: “Ptahmose the younger”. ▪ Block statue dedicated by Pahemneter, High Priest of Ptah, Son of Mahu(y), probably during the 19th Dynasty. ▪ Ptahmose also features on the stela of Mery-Ptah: Leiden AP 11 + UCL 14463. ▪ Some objects listed for Ptahmose [164] with the same titles (PM III/2, 712–13, 721), may actually belong to [166].
Bibliography	PM III/2, 727 ♦ PN I, 140.9 ♦ KOZLOFF/BRYAN/BERMAN 1992, Cat. 37, p. 241–2, pl. 21 ♦ MAYSTRE 1992, 234–7 (Ptahmes III), 273–7 (Doc. 69) ♦ RAEDLER 2011, 38, table 1 ♦ SCHIAPARELLI 1887, 197, No. 1505 ♦ STARING 2015a, Cat. 166.

[167]	<i>Pth-ms(.w)</i>	God’s Father of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ptahmose	
Title(s)	[E] <i>it-ntr m pr.w Pth</i> ♦ <i>it-ntr n.y Pth</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 23 – block statue 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ptahmose is possibly the son of the Mayor Ptahmose [165]. 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 728 ♦ PN I, 140.9 ♦ BOESER 1913, 10–11, No. 24 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 2012, 186, with n. 162 ♦ GRECO 2010, 38 ♦ GRECO 2011a, 101–9 ♦ KRI III, 416–17 ♦ SCHIAPARELLI 1887, 326 ♦ SCHNEIDER/RAVEN 1981, 99.	

[168]	<i>Pth-ms(.w)</i>	Brewer of the Temple of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ptahmose	
Title(s)	[B] <i>th.w n.y hw.t-Pth</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Ex-coll. Passalacqua, 1828	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, No. 7321 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 733 ♦ PN I, 140.9 ♦ ROEDER 1924, 107.	

[169]	<i>Pth-ms(.w)</i>	High Priest of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ptahmose	
Title(s)	[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t h3.ty-^c.w</i> ♦ <i>smr</i>	

	[E] <i>hr.y-sšt3 n.y p.t n.y t3 'Iwn.w ḥw.t-k3-Pth</i> ♦ <i>sm wr-ḥrp-ḥmw.w</i> ♦ <i>tkn m nṯr 3wi ʿ.wwy=f r ///</i>
Date	19 th Dynasty
Provenance	Location lost
Discovered	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> London, University College Museum UC 14477 – jamb fragment
Comments	▪ STEWART 1976, 53: ‘Several other Memphite high-priests of the same name are known, but there is insufficient evidence to identify this individual with any of them’.
Bibliography	PM III/2, 759 ♦ PN I, 140.9 ♦ Anthes 1936, 63ff ♦ Stewart 1976, 53, pl. 43.2.

[170]	<i>Pth-ms(.w)</i>	Overseer of Cattle of Amun
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ptahmose	
Title(s)	[A] <i>mrw.t[y] n.y nb t3.wy</i> ♦ <i>ḥs.y ʿ3 n.y nṯr nfr</i>	
	[B] <i>im.y-r3 iḥ.w</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 iḥ.w n.w 'Imn.w</i>	
	[C] <i>sš nsw [n.y] pr.wy-ḥd</i> ♦ <i>sš nsw [n.y] nb t3.wy</i>	
Date	Early 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown – “blocks” seen by Wilkinson at Saqqara, 1856 • Location unknown (?) – relief block with <i>djed</i> pillar, see: BERLANDINI 1988 • Saqqara Magazine – relief fragment, No. ix, see: MARTIN 1985, pl. 26 <u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 642 = JE 27961 – block statue 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Blocks seen by Wilkinson at Saqqara, 1856: ‘... opening of the mouth ceremony, one with Ptah and Sekhmet, and another with priests dragging sledge with chest with four sons of Horus’. ▪ The description of the latter block seen by Wilkinson resembles block Hannover, Museum August Kestner 1935.200.192. See: LOEBEN 2007, 88–9, Cat. No. 82. ▪ SCHULZ 1992, 199, identified Ptahmose (statue Cairo CG 642) as the Mayor of Memphis, Ptahmose [165]. ▪ According to BERLANDINI 1982b, this could be the father of Mayor Ptahmose [165], but this is difficult to maintain due to issues of chronology. Also, there is no textual or other evidence to support this hypothesis (see STARING 2014–15). 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 667; 763 ♦ PN I, 140.9 ♦ BERLANDINI 1988, 27, pl. 2A ♦ BOHLEKE 1991, 314 ♦ BORCHARDT 1925, 188 ♦ HELCK 1958, 394 ♦ KRI III, 172–3 ♦ MÁLEK 1987, 122, 132 ♦ MARTIN 1985, 17, No. ix, pl. 26 ♦ SCHULZ 1992, 199–200, Cat. 098 ♦ VAN DIJK 1993, 161, with. fig. 27 ♦ WILKINSON MSS. XIII, 25–6.	

[171]	<i>Pth-ms(.w)</i>	Steward
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ptahmose	

Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i>
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty
Provenance	Location lost
Discovered	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> • Castelfoffredo, Acerbi Collection
Comments	▪ Seated with wife (name lost), being censured and libated by their son, the Scribe of Troops of the <i>gb(.w)</i> of the Great House in Memphis.
Bibliography	PM III/2, 762 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 140.9.

[172]	<i>Pth-ms(.w)</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ptahmose and Taya	
Title(s)	Ptahmose: unknown Taya:	
	[D] <i>im.y-r3 kd.w n.w p3 pr.w-ꜣ3</i>	
Date	Early 19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Seti I PM: Ramesside	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements</u> • Paris, Louvre D. 20 [N.361] – pyramidion	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 770 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 140.9 ♦ BERLANDINI 1977, 32, n. 2 ♦ DE ROUGE 1883, 188 ♦ RAMMANT-PEETERS 1983, 58–59, Doc. 54 ♦ VANDIER 1948, 23.	

[173]	<i>Pth-ms(.w)</i>	Vizier, High Priest of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ptahmose	
Title(s)	[A] <i>ir.y-pꜣ.t h3.ty-ꜣ.w ♦ r3 Nhn ♦ r3 shrr m t3 r dr=f ♦ hr.y-sšt3 ♦ hr.y-sšt3 n.y p.t n.y t3 ♦ smr wꜣ.ty ♦ sd3.wty-bi.ty</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 niw.t n.yt t3 r dr=f ♦ im.y-r3 niw.t t3.ty ♦ im.y-r3 hww.wt wr ♦ t3.ty</i> [D] <i>im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t n.yt Pth</i> [E] <i>it-ntr mr.y ntr ♦ hm-ntr M3ꜣ.t ♦ sm wr-hrp-hmw.w</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Thutmose III	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Stela Leiden: ex-coll. d'Anastasi, 1828	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> • Leiden AM 1 (V 112) – false door stela <u>Burial equipment</u> • Louvre N 2986-2988 – 3 canopic jar lids <u>VIII. Varia</u> • Leiden Museum Inv. AD 54 – cubit measure • Paris, Louvre N.3026 – palette <u>VIII. Extra-sepulchral objects</u>	

- Cairo, Egyptian Museum 70038 – naos (from Abydos)
- Comments** ▪ For the High Priests of Ptah named Ptahmose, see most recently: RAEDLER 2001, 138 n. 15.
- Bibliography** PM III/2, 773, 774 ♦ PN I, 140.9 ♦ ANTHES 1936, 63 [IV.8a/b] ♦ BOESER 1913, 8, No. 28, pl. 18 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 1995, 135–43 ♦ MAYSTRE 1992, 128–30, Docs 36–7 ♦ HELCK 1958, 438, No. 8f ♦ SCHNEIDER/RAVEN 1981, 102–4, No. 94, fig. on p. 102 ♦ LEEMANS 1842-1896, II, 248 [634] ♦ LEPSIUS 1865, 15–16 [6], 57–8, pl. 3c ♦ MURNANE 1994, 187–96 ♦ PIERRET 1874b, 93–4 ♦ RAEDLER 2011, 138 n 15 and table 1 (Ptahmose I) ♦ VAN WIJNGAARDEN 1926, 15–16, Nos 85–7.

[174]	<i>Pth-ms(.w)</i>	Scribe of the Cadaster
Tomb. No.	Bubastieion II.x (MAFB)	
Name	Ptahmose	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš ꜥmꜣ.t</i>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III	
Provenance	Bubastieion, south excarpment	
Discovered	Mission Archéologique <i>Française</i> du <i>Bubasteion</i> (<i>dir.</i> A-P. Zivie), 1996	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rock-cut tomb 	
Comments	▪ Son of Pen-Amun, who held the same title.	
Bibliography	PN I, 140.9 ♦ ZIVIE 2000, 184 ♦ ZIVIE 2007, 141 ♦ ZIVIE 2010, 185–9, pls 46–8 ♦ ZIVIE 2012, 436.	

[175]	<i>Pth-ms(.w)</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ptahmose	
Title(s)	?	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid Cemetery	
Discovered	Relief-block acquired in 1973	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1973.483 	
Comments	▪ The block depicts officiants at the opening-of-the-mouth ceremony of Ptahmose.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 572 ♦ PN I, 140.9 ♦ GUNN, <i>Notebook</i> 6, No. 9; GUNN MSS XIX.11 [2] ♦ MARTIN 1987, 37, No. 92, pls 34, 54.	

[176]	<i>Pth-ms(.w) / Ms</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ptahmose / Mose	
Title(s)	?	
Date	Late 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area, tomb of Pay [099], north of chapel D	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1994	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u>	

- Saqqara Magazine, Excavation No. R94-75
- Comments** ▪ Small relief fragment 6.9 x 24.8 x 12.5 cm, with the raised relief depiction of a kneeling man with hands raised in mourning (?). One framed column of incised hieroglyphs reads: */// pr.w Pth-ms* or *pr.w Pth Ms*. The element *Pth* could be considered as part of the name Ptahmose, or as part of a preceding title, i.e. House of Ptah (cf. RAVEN 2005, 48 n. 105).
- Bibliography** *PN I*, 140.9 ♦ RAVEN 2005, 48, No. 77, pl. 79.

[177]	<i>Pth-ms(.w) n.y Mn-nfr</i>	Overseer of the Royal Apartments
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ptahmose	
Title(s)	[A] <i>/// mr.y nb t3.wy</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 ip.t nsw</i> [C] <i>sš nsw ♦ sš nsw m3c mr.y=f</i>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Saqqara (?)	
Discovered	Stela New York: ex-coll. M. Fournier, 1873; H.H. Goringe, 1885; MMA, 1967	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • London, British Museum EA 160 (fragment) • Melbourne, Ancient Times House (fragment; private collection) • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 90221 <u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 67.3 • Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Egizio 251 (fragment of lower part) 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Relief Cairo JE 9022: formerly in the possession of Hifnawi El Shaer. According to PM VIII, the stela probably derives from Saqqara. ▪ On the Vatican stela, his mother is depicted, kneeling, hands raised in adoration, and wearing a two-row <i>šbyw</i> collar: <i>mw.t=f ḥsy.t n.yt Wsir nb.t pr Rwy m3c.t-ḥrw in s3-s s'nh rn=s sš nsw im.y-r3 ip.t nsw Pth-ms m3c-ḥrw</i>. ▪ On stela MMA 67.3, his father is named as <i>Ḳwny</i>, the <i>s3b sš m3c</i>. 	
Bibliography	<i>PM III/2</i> , 308 ♦ <i>PN I</i> , 140.9 ♦ BINDER 2008, 308, No. [088] ♦ BOTTI/ROMANELLI 1951, 77–8, No. 124, pl. 60 ♦ BUDGE 1909, 178, No. 642 ♦ CROCKER 1990, 65–70, fig. 47 ♦ <i>HTBM</i> 10, 9–10, pls 4–5 ♦ KAMAL 1905, 29–31 (MMA 67.3 as: “trouvée à Thèbes”) ♦ MÁLEK 1981, 156–7 ♦ MERCER 1914, 176–8 ♦ SCHÄFER 1931, 70–1 ♦ C. ZIVIE 1976, 217, No. 67.	

[178]	<i>Pth-nfr</i>	Scribe of the Treasury
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ptahnefer	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš n.y pr.w-ḥd</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 10.6.24.12 Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 12.6.24.6	
Comments		

Bibliography PM III/2, 754 ♦ PN I, 140.14 ♦ HOFMANN 2004, fig. 121 ♦ MASPERO 1915, 164, No. 561 ♦ WERBROUCK 1938, 82, pl. 22.

[179]	<i>Pth-ḥtp(.w)</i>	Chief Jeweler of the Mansion of Gold
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ptahhotep	
Title(s)	[D] <i>ḥr.y nšdy n.y ḥw.t nbw</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Ex-coll. P. Palagi (= ex-coll. G. di Nizzoli)	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bologna, Museo Civico KS 1945 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ His wife is named Taweret; their son is named Amenemheb. 	
Bibliography	PN I, 141.5 ♦ PERNIGOTTI 1990, 1–7.	

[180]	<i>Pth-Sety</i>	Outline Draughtsman
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ptah-Sety	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš ḳdw.t</i>	
Date	Late 18 th /early 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid Cemetery	
Discovered	C.M. Firth, 1920s	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 25.635 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Upper register: deified King Teti before an offering table, adoring Osiris; lower register depicts Ptah-Sety and his wife <i>Ḥnw.t-Iwnw</i> standing, hands raised in adoration. 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 572 ♦ DUNHAM 1935, 148–9 (No. 2), pl. 17.2 ♦ GUNN MSS. 19.1[2]; R.1.2. (photos and tracing) ♦ MÁLEK 1989b, 5 (stela C8).	

[181]	<i>M-nfr</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Emnefer	
Title(s)	?	
Date	New Kingdom	
Provenance	Location lost (“Grabstein aus [Memphis]”)	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 12748 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ PM: unidentified in Berlin or lost. ▪ The lower inscription names the dedicator of the stela: <i>ir(i).n sš ḳdw.t n.t Imn.w /// f /// ḥtp /// mꜣꜥ-ḥrw.</i> 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 734 ♦ PN I, 143.6 ♦ ROEDER 1924, 214–15.	

[182]	<i>Mꜣꜥ</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Maia	

Title(s)	-
Date	Ramesside
Provenance	Saqqara South: found reused (“in recent times”) north-west of the pyramid of Ibi
Discovered	G. Jéquier 1930
Remains	<u>II. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown
Comments	▪ Rectangular stela with decoration in two registers, surmounted with a cornice, torus moulding and pyramidion.
Bibliography	PM III/2, 675 ♦ PN I, 146.1 ♦ JÉQUIER 1935, 26–7, No. 2, pl. 18.

[183]	Mꜣꜣ	Royal Nurse
Tomb. No.	Bubastieion I.20 (MAFB)	
Name	Maia	
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>mrr nb=f ♦ mrw.ty nb=f rꜥ nb ♦ mrw.ty n.y ity ♦ mrw.ty nb t3.wy hr bi.t=s ♦ mrw.ty nb t3.wy hr kd=s ♦ rdi.t snk n ntr nfr ♦ hsy.t ʕ3.t n.yt nb imn.tyt Wnn-nfr ♦ hsy.t ʕ3.t n.yt nb t3.wy ♦ hsy.t ʕ3.t n.yt nb t3-dsr im.y-wt hn.ty sh-ntr ♦ hsy.t ʕ3.t n.yt ntr nfr ♦ hsy.t n.yt ntr [nfr] ♦ šd.t nb t3.wy ♦ šd.t ntr ♦ šd.t hꜥ ntr ♦ šd.t hk3</i></p> <p>[B] <i>wr.t hnr.t ♦ mnꜥ.t nsw.t</i></p>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Tutankhamun	
Provenance	Bubastieion, south excarpment	
Discovered	Mission Archéologique Française du Bubasteion (<i>dir.</i> A-P. Zivie), 1996	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rock-cut tomb Bub. I.20 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PN I, 146.1 ♦ ZIVIE 1999, 9–18 ♦ ZIVIE 2000, 179 ♦ ZIVIE 2007, 72–109 ♦ ZIVIE 2009.	

[184]	Mꜣy3	Overseer of the Treasury
Tomb. No.	LS 27 (Lepsius)	
Name	Maya	
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>im.y-ib n.y [nsw] ♦ im.y-ib Hr.w m pr.w=f ♦ [iri m]rr(.w) hm=f ♦ iri.n nb t3.wy k3=f ♦ iri [s]hrr n.y nb t3.wy ♦ ir.y-pꜥ.t h3.ty-ꜥ.w ♦ ir.ty n.y nsw /// ♦ ʕ3 m pr.w nsw ♦ [ʕ3] m hsw [m Stp]-s3 ʕnh.w wd3.w snb.w ♦ ʕk.w r ʕh r3=f hr m3ꜥ.t r sgrh t3.wy n nb=f ♦ wꜥ mnh ib n.y ity ♦ wr m iz.t=f ♦ [wr?] mr.wt m-b3h hm=f ♦ wr m-h3.t rhy.t ♦ whm.w n.y bi.ty ♦ pr /// ♦ mn hsw m Stp-s3 ʕnh wd3 snb ♦ [mnh shr.w]=f hr ib [nsw] ♦ mnh=f [n ib nb]=f ♦ [mr.y nb t3.wy] hr shr.w[=f] ♦ mr.y [n.y] nb t3.wy ♦ mrw/mrr n(.y) nb t3.wy hr bit=f ♦ mh-ib [n.y nsw] ♦ mh-ib Hr.w [m] ʕh ♦ msw=f hr.y-tp rhy.t ♦ r3 n.y nsw ♦ r3 [n.y nsw (?) ... dd].tw.n=f imnw ♦ r3 hm[=f] ♦ r3 shrr m t3 r dr=f ♦ hr tw hr ir.n=f nb ♦ hr.y-shr.w[=f] 3h hr [ib]=f ♦ hr.y-sšt3 n.y pr.w-nsw ♦ hs.y n.y ntr nfr ♦ htm nb n.y nsw hr dbꜥ.wt=f ♦ s3w n.y bi.ty ♦ smi /// ♦ smr wꜥ.ty ♦ sꜥ3 n.y nsw ♦ [srwh?]=f nb t3.wy ir df3=f ♦ shnt iz.wt ♦ shnt n.y bi.ty ♦ sd3.wty-bi.ty ♦ šs3 wn-hr m k3.t nb.t ♦ tm mhy(.w) hr rdy(.t) m hr=f ♦ t3y-hw hr wnm.y n.y nsw ♦ ts t3 shr.w[=f] ♦ /// ikr n nb=f ♦ /// wrw(?) ♦ /// n.y pr.w-nsw ♦ /// n(.y) nb=f ♦ /// hr sp ///</i></p>	

- [B] *im.y-r3 pr.w* ♦ *im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd* ♦ *im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd n.y nb t3.wy* ♦ *im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd n.y ḥd-nbw* ♦ *im.y-r3 pr.wy nbw* ♦ *im.y-r3 pr.wy nbw ḥd* ♦ *im.y-r3 pr.wy-ḥd* ♦ [*im.y-r3 pr*].*wy ḥd-nbw* ♦ *hr.y-tp n.y t3 r-dr-f* ♦ *hrp idb.wy*
- [C] *sš nsw* ♦ *sš nsw m3^c* ♦ *sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f*
- [D] *im.y-r3 ḥmw.w nb.w n.w nsw* ♦ *im.y-r3 k3.t m S.t-nḥḥ* ♦ *im.y-r3 k3.t [m] mn.w [nb n.y ḥm]-f* ♦ *im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t [m] S.t-r-nḥḥ* ♦ *im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t n.t nsw* ♦ *s3b ʿd-mr*
- [E] *w^cb ʿ.wwy iy ntr <r> ḥtp hr ///* ♦ *w^cb ʿ.wwy hr [k3p] sntr* ♦ *hr.y-sšt3 pr.w nwb m r-pr.w ntr.w nb.w* ♦ *sšm.w-ḥb* ♦ *sšm.w-ḥb n.y Imn.w* ♦ [*sšm.w-ḥb n.y Imn.w [m Ip.t-rsy.t?] sšm.w-ḥb n.y [nb] ntr.w*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Tutankhamun–Horemheb

Provenance South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area

Discovered R. Lepsius, 1843; EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1986

Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Tomb structure built of mud bricks with a limestone revetment

I. Reliefs

- Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 22.86
- Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum, 2088–9
- Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 43274
- Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 19.6.24.1
- Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 19.6.24.13
- Frankfurt, Liebieghaus St.P. 425
- Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1924.123
- Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden F 1993/8.1
- Rochester (N.Y.), Memorial Art gallery 42.55
- Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 955.79.1

II. Statues

- Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 1 – statue of Maya
- Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 2 – statue of Meryt
- Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 3 – dyad

III. Architectural elements

- Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 43272–3 – door jambs
- Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 19.6.24.10 – door jamb
- Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 55 – pyramid panel

VIII. Varia

- Paris, Musée du Louvre N 1538 – cubit rod
- Cubit Rod Louvre N 1538: ex-coll. Drovetti, 1827

Comments

Bibliography PM III/2, 661–3, pl. 66 ♦ *PN* I, 146.7 ♦ GRAEFE 1975, 187–220 ♦ *LD Text*, I, 182–4; pls III.240–1 ♦ MARTIN 1987, 9–10, Cat. 7–9, pl. 3 ♦ MARTIN 2012 ♦ QUIBELL 1912 ♦ RAVEN 2001b.

[185] *M^cy3* Steward

Tomb. No. -

Name Maya

Title(s) [B] *im.y-r3 pr.w*

Date	Ramesside
Provenance	Unknown; probably Saqqara
Discovered	Acquired before 1868
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet NME 23
Comments	▪ His wife is <i>Ty</i> , Lady of the house.
Bibliography	<i>PN</i> I, 146.7 ♦ LIEBLEIN 1868, 22, No. 23 ♦ MARTIN 1987, 40–1, No. 105, pl. 38 ♦ MOGENSEN 1919, 38–40.

[186]	<i>Mꜣy</i>	Overseer of Magazines of Peru-nefer
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	May	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-rꜣ šnꜥ.w n.w Pr.w-nfr</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 34050	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 737 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 146.10 ♦ LACAU 1926, 86–90, pl. 30 ♦ <i>Urk.</i> IV, 1504–6, No. 476.	

[187]	<i>Mꜣy</i>	?
Tomb. No.	ST 221(?) (Cairo University)	
Name	May	
Title(s)	?	
Date	?	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area	
Discovered	Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. O. El-Aguizy), 2006	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Remains of a tomb chapel 	
Comments	▪ Stela <i>in situ</i> ; currently being studied for publication by Dr Ahmed Said.	
Bibliography	<i>PN</i> I, 146.10 ♦ EL-AGUIZY 2007a, 41–50.	

[188]	<i>Mꜣ[hw]</i>	[Overseer of] the Fields of Amun
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ma[hu]	
Title(s)	[B] <i>[im.y-rꜣ] ꜣh.wt n.wt 'Imn.w</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Saqqara North, temple terrace and neighbourhood of Animal Galleries	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 91915 – statuette, dyad 	
Comments	▪ Dyad together with his wife, the Lady of the House, <i>Tiꜣ</i> ; ▪ Found in a cache of objects in “Sector 6”.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 821 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 163.24–5 ♦ MARTIN 1979, 46, No. 144, pl. 41.	

[189]	<i>Mḥw</i>	Custodian of the Treasury of Memphis
Tomb. No.	Possibly Loret No. 6 (see GESSLER-LÖHR 2007a)	
Name	Mahu	
Title(s)	[B] <i>hr.y s3w.ty pr.w-ḥd n.y Mn-nfr</i> ♦ <i>nd sntr n.y 'Imn.w-R^c.w n.y ntr.w nb.w 'Inb.w-ḥd n.y psd.t n.y pr.w-nsw</i> ♦ <i>s3w.ty pr.w-ḥd</i>	
Date	- LORET 1899: 18 th /19 th Dynasty - PM: Ramesside - GESSLER-LÖHR 2007a: 18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery, above pyramid of Khuit	
Discovered	V. Loret, 1898–9	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 33258 • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 33260 <u>III. Architectural elements</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 33259 – door jamb <u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 33256 <u>VI. Offering tables</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 23094 = JE 23257 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Relief Cairo JE 33258 (block with Old Kingdom kings) is probably of Ramesside date and therefore does not belong to the corpus of objects pertaining to Mahu (see GESSLER-LÖHR 2007a, 79–80, No. 10). ▪ For a discussion of the title <i>hr.y s3w.ty pr.w-ḥd n.y Mn-nfr</i>, Custodian of the Treasury of Memphis / Head of the Department / Magazine Administrator of the Treasury of [Lower Egypt in] Memphis, see GESSLER-LÖHR 2007a, n. 102. ▪ Unique title: ‘Miller of incense’ (<i>nd sntr</i>) for Amun-Re, for All the Gods of Memphis (<i>Inb.w-ḥd</i>), for the Ennead and for the Palace (esp. the Royal Estate: <i>pr.w nsw</i>) (GESSLER-LÖHR 2007a, nn. 103–4). 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 556 ♦ PN I, 163.24–5 ♦ LORET 1899, 96 ♦ KAMAL 1909, 81, pl. 20 ♦ GAUTHIER 1906, 41–2 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 2007a, 76–80 (with additional references), figs 3–4, pls 12–16.	
[190]	<i>Mḥw</i>	Chief Steward of Ptah
Tomb. No.	ST 218 (Cairo University)	
Name	Mahu	
Title(s)	[A] <i>ir.y-rd.wy n.w nb t3.wy</i> ♦ <i>ḥs.y ʿ3 n.y ntr nfr</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w m [t3] ḥw.t R^c.w-ms-sw mr.y-'Imn.w m pr.w Pth</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y Pth</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr m/n.y ḥw.t ity</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y Pth</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.wy-ḥd n.y ḥd-nbw n.y Pth</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd n.y Pth</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd n.y nfr-ḥr</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 šnw.ty n.y nb m3^c.t</i> ♦ <i>wpw.ty nsw r t3 ḥty.w</i> ♦ <i>wpw.ty nsw ḥr ḥ3s.wt nb.wt</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i> ♦ <i>sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f</i> ♦ <i>sš nsw mr.y nb t3.wy</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	South of Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area	
Discovered	Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u>	

- Tomb structure built of limestone blocks

I. Reliefs

- Saqqara Magazine (relief-decorated block fragment, found in shaft K, due east of the pylon of the tomb of Maya by the EES/Leiden expedition on 7.2.1988; unpublished; field notebook J. van Dijk)
- Comments**
- GOHARY 2009 translates the title *im.y-r3 htm n.y p3 w3d-wr* as ‘Fortress Commander of the Great Green’; VANDERSLEYEN 2010 translates it as ‘Overseer of the (civil) administration of the Delta’.
 - Mahu is the son of Nebnefer [229], whom he shares the tomb with.
 - For Nebnefer, see also [298]: tomb ST 217 of his son Huynefer.
- Bibliography** PN I, 163.24–5 ♦ GOHARY 2009 ♦ GOHARY 2010, 159–63 ♦ TAWFIK 1991, 407, fig. 1, pl. 60b ♦ VANDERSLEYEN 2010, 7–8.

[191]	<i>Mḥwy</i>	Scribe of the Temple of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Mahuy	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš n.y pr.w Pth</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u>	
	• Boston, Museum of Fine Arts No. 1975.702	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 752 ♦ PN I, 163.25 ♦ MARTIN 1987, 12, Cat. 15, pl. 5.	

[192]	<i>Mḥwy</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Mahuy	
Title(s)	?	
Date	Late 18 th to 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery, context no. 1103 (at a depth of 8.5 m in the shaft)	
Discovered	Macquarie University archaeological mission, 1996	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	• Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. TNE 96: 121 – two fragments adjoined	
Comments	• Round-topped family stela (56 x 38.5 x 8 cm) with decoration in two registers.	
Bibliography	PN I, 163.25 ♦ OCKINGA 2004, 111–13, pls 38b, 80b.	

[193]	<i>Mn-ḥpr</i>	Steward of the Vizier
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Menkheper	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w t3.ty</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Thutmose IV–Amenhotep III	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Ex-coll. d’Anastasi, 1828	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	• Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 53 (V 77)	

Comments ▪ The lower register of the stela depicts two (deceased) couples: [left] the *idn.w n.y pr.w Mn-hpr-R^c.w* named *Dḥw.ty-ms* and his wife, and [right] the *idn.w n.y pr.w Mn-hpr-R^c.w* named *Imn.w-m-mrw=f*.

Bibliography PM VIII/4, 803–045–305 ♦ *PN* I, 150.13 ♦ BOESER 1913, 2, No. 3, pl. 4 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 1995, 151 ♦ PASQUALI 2011, [A.25] ♦ SCHNEIDER 1997, 63–4, Cat. No. 80 ♦ STARING 2015a, Cat. 151 ♦ *Urk.* IV, 1176.9.

[194] *Mn(.w)-ms* Overseer of Cattle of Amun

Tomb. No. -

Name Minmose

Title(s) [E] *im.y-r3 ḫ.w n.w Imn.w*

Date 18th Dynasty

Provenance Location lost

Discovered Ex-coll. Passalacqua, 1828 (“from Memphis”)

Remains IV. Stelae

- Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 822 (wood)

Comments ▪ According to PM: “Unidentified in East Berlin or lost”.

- His wife is named *Mi3*.

Bibliography PM III/2, 734 ♦ ERMAN 1899, 159 ♦ PASSALACQUA 1826, 70–1, No. 1401 ♦ ROEDER 1924, 99.

[195] *Mn.w-ms-sw* Deputy of Memphis

Tomb. No. -

Name Minmose

Title(s) [B] *idn.w n.y Mn-nfr*

Date Mid-18th Dynasty

Provenance Location lost

Discovered I. Rosellini, 1828–9

Remains IV. Stelae

- Florence, Museo Archeologico No. 2538

Comments ▪ Central area of stela much damaged (weatherworn)

Bibliography PM III/2, 740 ♦ *PN* I, 152.4 ♦ BOSTICCO 1965, 35–6, No. 29, fig. 28.

[196] *Mn.w-nḥt(.w)* Royal scribe

Tomb. No. -

Name Minnakht

Title(s) [C] *sš nsw*

Date 18th Dynasty

Provenance Teti Pyramid North Cemetery

Discovered Unknown, 1887 (see KAMAL 1909, 66)

Remains VI. Offering tables

- Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 23079 = JE 27914

Comments

Bibliography PM III/2, 557 ♦ *PN* I, 152.6 ♦ Kamal 1909, 66, pl. 17.

[197] *Mn.w-nḥt(.w)* Outline Draughtsman of the Temple of Re

Tomb. No. -

Name	Minnakht
Title(s)	[D] <i>sš kdw.t (ir.y w^cb m pr.w R^c.w) ♦ sš kdw.t n.yt pr.w R^c.w</i>
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Thutmose III
Provenance	Location lost
Discovered	Fan handle found by L. Vassalli, 1864
Remains	<u>VIII. Varia</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 6.4.23.12 – fan handle • Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 69023 = JE 95539 – scribe's palette
Comments	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 774 ♦ PN I, 152.6 ♦ MASPERO 1915, 530, No. 5337 ♦ RAUE 1999, 199–200.
[198]	<i>Mn.w-ḥtp(.w) ḏd.n=f Ḥw-tw-tw</i> Child of the Nursery
Tomb. No.	-
Name	Minhotep Hututu
Title(s)	[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t ♦ ḥnh.wy n.y bi.ty ♦ mh-ib ḥz n.y nb t3.wy m smnh rdy.t m ḥr=f ♦ mh-ib n.y ntr nfr ♦ r3 wsh.t ♦ r3 n.y nsw ♦ rh ḥh.y ḥnw nfr.w m sph.w n.y nsw</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 ḥrp n.y Šm^c.w Mh.w ♦ ḥrp Šm^c.w T3-mh.w m wsh.t n.y zh.w n.y nsw ♦ hrd n.y k3p</i> [C] <i>sš nsw ♦ sš nsw nfr.w ♦ sš pr.w-ḥd ♦ sš /// ssm.wt wrr.wt=sn n.y nb.w ḥr ḥd-nb.w ♦ sš ḥsb b3k.t t3.wy ḥrp.t Šm^c.w Mh.w</i> [E] <i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Pth nfr-ḥr</i>
Date	- Late 18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep II - GESSLER-LÖHR 2014: late 18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Thutmose III/IV–Amenhotep III
Provenance	Location lost
Discovered	
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements</u> Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 17.5.25.7 – column <u>IV. Stelae</u> Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 18.12.19.1
Comments	▪ TN 17.5.25.7: acquired from an inhabitant of Abusir: found in his house. ▪ TN 18.12.19.1: acquired from an inhabitant of Abusir, who had it in his possession (in his house). Measurements of the stela: 180 x 120 cm. ▪ The <i>sš pr.wy-ḥd Ḥw-tw-tw</i> is named in P. Petersburg 1116 B <i>verso</i> , line 39 (<i>temp.</i> Amenhotep II) (see <i>Urk.</i> IV, 1512).
Bibliography	PM III/2, 737 ♦ PN I, 152.9 ♦ DARESSY 1920, 127–30 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 2014 ♦ <i>Urk.</i> IV, 1512–14, No. 484.
[199]	<i>Mr-nḥw</i> ?
Tomb. No.	S 2720 (Quibell)
Name	Mernekhu
Title(s)	?
Date	18 th /19 th Dynasty
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery
Discovered	J.E. Quibell and A.G.K. Hayter, 1912–14

- Remains** 1. Reliefs
- Saqqara Magazine (?)
- III. Architectural elements
- Saqqara Magazine (?) – jamb
- Comments**
- Bibliography** PM III/2, 557 ♦ QUIBELL/HAYTER 1927, 11, pl. 2.

[200]	<i>Mr-n-Pth</i>	<i>Sem</i> Priest
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Merenptah	
Title(s)	[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t ḥz.ty-^c.w ♦ smr w^c.ty ♦ sdz.wty-bl.ty</i> [E] <i>ḥr.y-sštz m ḥm nb ♦ sm</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty (?)	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Ex-coll. Passalacqua, 1828	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	• Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7276	
Comments	▪ <i>ḥr.y-sštz m ḥm nb</i> : ‘Guardian of Secrets in Every Sanctuary’.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 733 ♦ PN I, 156.22 ♦ ROEDER 1924, 106–7.	

[201]	<i>Mry-z</i> [<i>Mry-Ḥr.w</i>]	Merchant
Tomb. No.	S 2727 (Quibell)	
Name	Merya / Mery-Hor	
Title(s)	[B] <i>šw.ty</i>	
Date	- Late 18 th Dynasty or early Ramesside - GESSLER-LÖHR 2014: immediate post-Amarna Period	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery	
Discovered	J.E. Quibell and A.G.K. Hayter, 1912–14	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u>	
	• Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 44926	
	• Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 44928	
	• Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 3.7.24.2	
	• Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 44925, JE 44929, JE 44930 (found with TN 3.7.24.2; 18 th Dynasty or Ramesside)	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 557 ♦ [PN I, 161.6] ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 2014 ♦ QUIBELL/HAYTER 1927, 11, 36–7, pls 16–18.	

[202]	<i>Mry-Pth</i>	Chief of Goldsmiths of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Mery-Ptah	
Title(s)	[A] <i>ḥs.y n.y Pth nb Mz^c.t</i> [D] <i>ḥr.y nbw.w n.w nb tz.wy</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Ex-coll. Passalacqua, 1828	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	

- Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7279
- Comments** ▪ The inscription on the pyramid-shaped top of the stela reads: *dwꜣ Rꜥ.w m ḥtp=f in šms.w n.y im.y-rꜣ pr.w n.y Mn-nfr ḥs.y n.y nb nḥḥ ḥr.y nby.w n.y nb tꜣ.wy Twtw-ỉꜣ.*
- Bibliography** PM III/2, 733 ♦ PN I, 160.14 ♦ ROEDER 1924, 145–7.

[203]	<i>Mry-Pth</i>	Steward in the Temple of Amenhotep III
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Mery-Ptah	
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>ir.y-pꜥ.t ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ.w ♦ ir.ty n.y nsw ♦ ḥnḥ.wy n.y bī.ty ♦ mḥ-ib n.y ntr nfr ♦ [ḥr.y-sštꜣ] pr.w-dꜣ.t ♦ ḥs.y n.y ntr nfr ♦ smr wꜥ.ty n.y mr.wt</i></p> <p>[B] <i>im.y-rꜣ pr.w ♦ im.y-rꜣ pr.w n.y tꜣ ḥw.t Nb-mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ.w</i></p> <p>[E] <i>wr-ḥrp-ḥmw.w m Twnw Šmꜥ.w ♦ ḥm-ntr m r-pr.w n.y tꜣ ḥw.t pr.w-ꜥꜣ ḥnḥ.w wꜣꜣ.w snb.w ♦ ḥm-ntr m ḥw.t (Nb)-mꜣꜥ.t-(Rꜥ.w) ♦ ḥm-ntr [n.y tꜣ ḥw.t Nb-mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ.w] ♦ sm m pr.w Pth ♦ sm m tꜣ [ḥw.t Nb-mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ.w]</i></p>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Ex-coll. d'Anastasi, 1828.	
Remains	<p><u>IV. Stelae</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 11 (V 14) [upper half] • London, Petrie Museum UCL 14463 [lower half] 	
Comments	<p>▪ Son of the Vizier Thutmose [393].</p> <p>▪ Mery-Ptah is depicted as a subsidiary figure in TT 55 (DAVIES 1941, pl. 9; <i>Urk.</i> IV, 1787.6).</p>	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 712 ♦ PN I, 160.14 ♦ ANTHES 1936, 60–8 ♦ BINDER 2008, 312–13, No. 104 ♦ BOESER 1912, 8, No. 27, pl. 15 ♦ BOSSE-GRIFFITHS 1955, 56–63, pl. 14 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 1995, 145, pl. 5a ♦ MURNANE 1994, 189–92 ♦ STARING 2015a, Cat. 166 ♦ STEWART 1976, 26–7, pl. 16.	

[204]	<i>Mry-Pth</i>	Chariot Warrior/Officer
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Mery-Ptah	
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>ḥr.y tꜣw ḥw-ꜥ ♦ ḥs.y n.y ntr nfr ♦ šms.w nb=f r nmt.t=f ḥr ḥꜣs.wt rsy.wt mḥt.wt ♦ šms.w nsw r nmt.t=f ♦ tꜣy-sry.t ♦ tꜣy-sry.t n.y ḥꜥ(.w)-m-mꜣꜥ.t ♦ tꜣy-sry.t n.y snny.w n.y ḥꜥ(.w)-m-mꜣꜥ.t</i></p> <p>[F] <i>ḥr.y ḥḥ.w tp.y ♦ snny ♦ snny n.y pꜣ Bnw ♦ snny n.y ḥm=f</i></p>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III	
Provenance	Location lost (or Abydos). KITCHEN 1990: possibly Abydos, but more probably Saqqara. HÜTTNER/SATZINGER 1999: most probably Abydos.	
Discovered	Fragments in Rio de Janeiro: ex-coll. Fiengo; gift of Dom Pedro I; Leiden V 107: ex-coll. Tulin.	
Remains	<p><u>I. Reliefs</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Basel, private collection of R. Bay • Rio de Janeiro, National Museum Inv. 648/649+650/651+655 [2438+2439+2443] – 5 relief fragments <p><u>IV. Stelae</u></p>	

- Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden V 107
 - Vienna ÄS 89
- Comments**
- KITCHEN 1990, I, 77: “[the relief-fragments in Rio de Janeiro] belonged to the right-hand wall of a small inner chapel of a tomb or a votive chapel”.
 - The tomb-owner’s wife is named Mut-em-weskhet, Lady of the House; his father is Tjena, Royal Scribe and Scribe of Recruits.
 - The decoration is executed in raised relief and the inscriptions are incised.
- Bibliography** *PN* I, 160.14 ♦ BOESER 1913, 2, No. 5, pl. 8 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 2007b, 96 n. 125 ♦ HÜTTNER AND SATZINGER 1999, 20–6 ♦ KITCHEN 1990, 77–81, No. 26, pls 55–6; 57 (Leiden V. 107), 58 (Vienna ÄS 89) ♦ MÁLEK 1993, 92 ♦ SCHLÖGL 1978, 64, No. 200, with pl. ♦ SCHULMAN 1963, 75–98.

[205]	<i>Mry-Pth</i>	High Priest of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Mery-Ptah	
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t ♦ ir.y-p^c.t ḥz.ty-^c.w ♦ mr.y nb=f ♦ ḥr.y-ib n.y ntr=f ♦ ḥr.y-tp i3.wt ḥnt.t ♦ ḥnt.y s.t m r3-st3.w ♦ sp=f m ir.t 3ḥ.t ♦ smr w^c.ty ♦ stp n.y nsw m ḥw.t Pth ḥr mnḥ=f ♦ sd3.wty-bi.ty ♦ th^c k3 n.y m^cb3 mdw.t=f nb m ḥ.w n.y sb3 ♦ /// i3.wt ḥn.ty</i></p> <p>[E] <i>ḥ3 m ḥw.t Pth ♦ ḥk.w ḥr sst3.w n(.w) ḥm nb nn wn imn r=f ♦ rh^c dsr.w n.y p.t t3 dw3.t Twn.w ḥw.t-k3-Pth ♦ ḥr.y-sst3 n.y wp-r3 ♦ ḥr.y-sst3 [n.y] s.t wr.t ♦ sm Pth ♦ sm wr-ḥrp-ḥmw.w</i></p>	
Date	- PM; GESSLER-LÖHR 2007: late 18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Horemheb - RAEDLER 2011, 137 with n. 11, and table 1: Tutankhamun(?)–Horemheb	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Shabti Leiden AST 45: ex-coll. d’Anastasi, 1828; statue Louvre A 60 (N 61): acquired before 1852; relief Karlsruhe: ex-coll. Slg. Carl August Reinhardt 1899, Cairo	
Remains	<p><u>I. Reliefs</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum H.1046 <p><u>II. Statue</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris, Musée du Louvre A 60 (N 61) – naophorous statue, lower part <p><u>V. Burial equipment</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 45 – shabti • Paris, Musée du Louvre N 2987–9 – 3 canopic jars <p><u>VI. Offering tables</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 2273 	
Comments	▪ Mery-Ptah was also High Priest of Heliopolis	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 706 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 160.14 ♦ BOREUX 1932, I, 54 ♦ DE ROUGÉ 1883, 34 ♦ ÉTIENNE 2006, 126, fig. 162 ♦ GAMER-WALLERT 1983, 99–129 ♦ GAMER-WALLERT/GRIESHAMMER 1992, 89–90, No. 10, fig. 10 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 2007b, 32–6, 54–5 ♦ HELCK 1960, 914 (132) ♦ MAYSTRE 1992, 80–1, 138, Docs 79–81 ♦ RAEDLER 2011, 137 with n. 11, and table 1 ♦ ROEDER 1924, 318 ♦ WIEDEMANN/ PORTNER 1906, 32, pl. VII.	

[206]	<i>Mry-Mꜣꜥ.t</i>	Doorkeeper in the Temple of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Mery-Maat	
Title(s)	[B] <i>ir.y-ꜥꜣ n.y pr.w Pth</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 27947 = TN 4.3.25.1  	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The JE-number implies that the stela entered the museum in 1887. 	
Bibliography	PN I, 160.19 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 2007a, 70, No. 2, nn. 29–36, pl. 4.	
[207]	<i>Mry-Mꜣꜥ.t</i>	Controller of the Divine Offerings
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Merymaat	
Title(s)	[B] <i>[sš] hrp htp.w n.w ntr</i> [C] <i>sš</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway: Leiden concession area	
Discovered	Leiden archaeological mission, 2010	
Remains	<u>0. Chapel</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb structure, <i>in situ</i> (Feature No. 2010/26) <u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. SAK 2013 R-26 – stela fragment, top 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Remains of a limestone chapel built against south-east corner of anonymous tomb [425], including a fragmentary stela. 	
Bibliography	PN I, 160.19 ♦ RAVEN et al. 2011a, 8–9, figs 1, 6.	
[208]	<i>Mry-mry</i>	Custodian of the Treasury of Memphis
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Mery-Mery	
Title(s)	[B] <i>sꜣw.ty pr.w-hꜥ n.y Mn-nfr</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Ex-coll. d’Anastasi, 1828	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 6-a + AP 6-b – 2 relief panels <u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 30a-b, AST 52 – three milling statuettes • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 44a–b – 2 shabtis • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden L.VII.14 – shabti (mummy on a bier) • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden S. 65 – papyrus-scepter amulet 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 705–6 ♦ PN I, 160.20 ♦ BOESER 1911, 5–6, No. 2, pls 13–20 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 2007a, 80–1 ♦ STARING 2015a, Cat. 161–5.	

[209]	<i>Mr.y-(ty-)Nt / Mr.y-R^c.w</i>	Steward of the Temple of the Aten
Tomb. No.	H9 (A. Mariette)	
Name	Mery-Neith / Mery-Re	
Title(s)	<p>[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w n.y pr.w 'Itn.w ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w n.y pr.w 'Itn.w m Mn-nfr</i></p> <p>[C] <i>sš n.y pr.w 'Itn.w m 3h.t-'Itn.w m Mn-nfr ♦ sš nsw</i></p> <p>[D] <i>im.y-r3 k3.t nsw</i> (uncertain whether this title is to be associated with Mery-Neith, see: VAN WALSEM, in RAVEN/VAN WALSEM 2014, 45).</p> <p>[E] <i>wr m3.w n.y p3 'Itn.w ♦ wr m3.w n.y p3 'Itn.w m pr.w 'Itn.w ♦ hm-ntr tp.y m hw.t N.t</i></p>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Akhenaten–Tutankhamun	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area	
Discovered	Berlin ÄM 2070: ex-coll. Baron Franz Von Koller, 1828; A. Mariette 1850; Leiden archaeological mission, 2001	
Remains	<p>0. <u>Tomb structure</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Temple-tomb constructed of mud brick with limestone revetment <p>I. <u>Reliefs</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 2070 • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 12694 • Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum 10595 • New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 21.2.25 • Present location unknown – A. Mariette: 3 relief-decorated blocks • Private collection – 1 relief-decorated block • Saqqara Magazine (?) – relief-block found by the SCA expedition <p>II. <u>Statues</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 99076 – dyad found <i>in situ</i> by Leiden expedition (south-west chapel) 	
Comments	▪ Mery-Neith's wife was Anuy, the <i>nb.t pr</i> and [<i>šm^c.yt n.yt</i>] <i>Imn.w-R^c.w n.y ///</i> .	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 666 ♦ PN I, 162.1/160.23 ♦ EL GHANDOUR 1997, 12, pls 2, 11 ♦ LÖHR 1975, 173–6 ♦ MARIETTE 1889, 449 ♦ PASQUALI 2011, Nos B.15, B.56 ♦ RAVEN/ VAN WALSEM 2014.	
[210]	<i>Mry-R^c.w</i>	Head of Custodians
Tomb. No.	LS 8 (R. Lepsius)	
Name	Mery-Re	
Title(s)	[B] <i>hr.y s3w.ty(w)</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery	
Discovered	Solomon Fernandez, 1830s (?); R. Lepsius, 1843 / earlier: Solomon Fernandez	
Remains	<p>I. <u>Reliefs</u></p> <p>Relief blocks, present location unknown</p>	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 556 ♦ PN I, 160.23 ♦ LD Text, I, 144, pl. 33.	
[211]	<i>Mry-R^c.w</i>	Steward of His Majesty
Tomb. No.	Bub. II.4 (MAFB)	
Name	Mery-Re	

Title(s)	[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t ḥ3.ty-^c.w ♦ r3 ^cḥ ♦ smr w^c.ty ♦ sd3.wty-bi.ty</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y ḥm=f ti sw m 'Inpw ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd ♦ im.y-r3 mn^c.t ♦ im.y-r3 mn^c.t n.yt nṯr nfr ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w n.y nsw ṯi sw m 'Inpw</i> [C] <i>sš nsw n.y nb t3.wy ♦ sš nsw ḥr.y-tp</i>
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III
Provenance	Bubastieion, south excarpment
Discovered	Mission Archéologique Française du Bubasteion (dir. A-P. Zivie), 1982
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rock-cut tomb <u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Riga, National Museum of Art Sk-95 (ex-coll. Count Nicolai von Lieven) – Stelophorous statue <u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 5814 (fragment) • Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 5815 (fragment)
Comments	▪ A man named Sennefer may have been the tomb's first owner. ▪ Mery-Re was the foster father or tutor of a prince named Sa-Atum, doubtless a brother of Amenhotep III or Amenhotep IV (ZIVIE 2007, 141).
Bibliography	PM III/2, 706 ♦ PN I, 160.23 ♦ BERG 1987, 213–16, pl. 15.2 ♦ KOZLOFF/BRYAN/BERMAN 1992, 292–4, Cat. 58–9 ♦ ZIVIE 1983, 51–5 ♦ ZIVIE 1985, 228–9, pls 1, 3 ♦ ZIVIE 1988, 108–9 ♦ ZIVIE 2000, 173–92, esp. fig. 6 ♦ ZIVIE 2007, 141 ♦ ZIVIE 2015a.

[212]	<i>Mry-R^c.w</i>	Overseer of the Seal
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Mery-Re	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y ḥm=f ♦ im.y-r3 ḥtm(.w)</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid Cemetery	
Discovered	C.M. Firth, 1920s	
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown – jamb fragment 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 572 ♦ PN I, 160.23 ♦ GUNN, <i>Notebook 7</i> , No. 49 (text only) ♦ MÁLEK 1989b, 6 (tomb A4; block D5).	

[213]	<i>Mry[-Hr.w]</i>	Overseer of the Double Granary of Memphis
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Mery[-Hor]	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r3 šnw.t(y) n.y Mn-nfr</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i>	
Date	Late 18 th /early 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Found reused in the Serapeum	
Discovered	E.A.O., 1986 (dir. Ibrahim Aly)	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine 4/Serapeum Lesser Vaults No. (?) • Saqqara Magazine 4/Serapeum Lesser Vaults No. (?) 	

Comments

Bibliography *PN I*, 161.6 ♦ IBRAHIM ALY 2000, 232–4, pls 31d, 32a.

[214] *Mry-Sḫm.t* Overseer of the Double Granary of the Lord of the Two Lands

Tomb. No. Bubastieion I.5 (MAFB)

Name Mery-Sekhmet

Title(s) [A] *w^c ikr stp bi.t ♦ ḥr.y-ib n.y nsw*
 [B] *im.y-r3 šnw.ty n.y nb t3.wy ♦ ḥ3.ty-^c.w wr n.y nsw*
 [C] *sš ikr ♦ sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f*

Date - ZIVIE: late 18th Dynasty
 - BINDER 2008, No. [112]: post-Amarna 18th Dynasty to early 19th Dynasty

Provenance Bubastieion, south excarpment

Discovered Mission Archéologique *Française du Bubasteion* (dir. A-P. Zivie), 1993

Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Rock-cut tomb

IV. Stelae

- Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek ÆIN 897 (fragment)

Comments ▪ This officials undoubtedly held more titles; the tomb has not been fully published.

Bibliography *PN I*, 161.10 ♦ JORGENSEN 1998, 173–92, fig. 5 ♦ KOEFOED-PETERSEN 1948, No. 37 ♦ SCHULMAN 1988a, 132–5 ♦ ZIVIE 1988, 109 ♦ ZIVIE 1997, 374 ♦ ZIVIE 2000, 173–92, fig. 5 ♦ ZIVIE 2007, 54–5, fig. on p. 55.

[215] *Ms* Scribe of the Treasury of Ptah

Tomb. No. Loret No. 5

Name Mose

Title(s) [A] *ḥs.y ///*
 [B] *rwḏ mnti m pr.w Pth*
 [C] *sš [wr] m i3.t=f ip ib m mdw-ntr ♦ sš pr.w-ḥḏ ♦ sš pr.w-ḥḏ n.y Pth ♦ sš n.y Pth ♦ sš ḥsb ḥtp.w-ntr n.w ntr.w nb.w Inb.w-ḥḏ ♦ sš ḥsb ḥḏ-nbw n.y psḏ.t 3.t ♦ sš ḥsb ḥ.t nb.t n.yt nb M3^c.t ♦ sš ḥḏ-nbw n.w nb M3^c.t*

Date 19th Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II, late

Provenance Teti Pyramid North Cemetery

Discovered V. Loret, 1898; SCA (dir. Z. Hawass), 1990s

Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Tomb chapel rediscovered in the 1990s by an archaeological mission of the Supreme Council of Antiquities directed by Zahi Hawass. Three new limestone blocks, four canopic jars, a pillar fragment, and eleven limestone relief block fragments were found. These are all unpublished and are currently stored in the MSA magazines at Saqqara.

I. Reliefs



- Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1974.315
- Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 25.1.15.7
- Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 17.6.25.5
- Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 22.5.25.1
- Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 17.5.25.1
- Barcelona, private collection of Dr E. Rotellar (possibly from this tomb)

- Saqqara Magazine – 11 relief-decorated blocks

III. Architectural elements

- Saqqara Magazine – 3 blocks
- Sydney, Nicholson Museum E/D – 7 *djed* pillar fragments (blocks)

V. Burial equipment

- Saqqara Magazine – 4 canopic jars
- Comments**
- MFA 1974.315 was acquired from a Paris art collector in 1974.
 - Mose is the brother of Tatia [368], Chief of Goldsmiths (see OETERS 2012).
 - Mose is the son of Huy, the *sꜣb sꜣ pr.w-ḥꜣ n.w Pth*.
- Bibliography**
- PM III/2, 553–5, pl. LVII ♦ PNI, 164.18 ♦ ANTHES 1940, 93–119, pls 17–18 ♦ GABALLA 1977a ♦ GAUTHIER 1935, 206 ♦ GUNN, *Notebook* 6, Nos 25–31 ♦ GUNN, *Notebook* 7, Nos 32–5, 64, 66 ♦ HAWASS 2003, 154–5, with fig. on p. 157 ♦ LORET 1899, 11–12 ♦ MÁLEK 1981, 157–65 ♦ NICHOLSON 1891, 93–112, pls 1–4 ♦ OETERS 2012 ♦ ORSENIGO 2013, 167–71, pls 25–6 ♦ PIACENTINI/ORSENIGO 2009, 83–102.

[216]	<i>Ms</i>	Steward
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Mose	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-rꜣ pr.w</i> [C] <i>sꜣ nsw</i> [F] <i>im.y-rꜣ ssm.t n.t nb tꜣ.wy</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II (around Year 7)	
Provenance	Dahshur: 2 km. north of Snofru's Red Pyramid	
Discovered	Waseda University archaeological mission, 1998	
Remains	<u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>In situ</i> – granite sarcophagus • Dahshur Magazine (?) – shabtis, one in sandstone (h: 36 cm), and “a group” in wood coated with resin, and in faience • Dahshur Magazine (?) – canopic jar fragment 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Found in the burial apartment of the Royal Butler, Ipay [026] (late 18th Dynasty). ▪ The title Overseer of Horses of the King is attested on a canopic jar fragment; it might belong to the same man, although this is not certain. ▪ A hieratic jar docket mentions “the seventh year of Ramesses-Meryamun”. 	
Bibliography	PNI, 164.18 ♦ YOSHIMURA/HASEGAWA 1999, 5–7 ♦ YOSHIMURA/HASEGAWA 2000, 145–60, pls 15–17.	

[217]	<i>Ms</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Mose	
Title(s)	?	
Date	- RADWAN 1987: Ramesside - Late 18 th Dynasty (?)	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Not indicated	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	

- Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 20.3.25.5
- Comments**
- Round-topped stela (h: 51 cm) surmounted by a pyramidion; two registers, sunk relief.
 - Radwan suggests a Ramesside period date; the style (wig, length of kilt) rather suggests an 18th Dynasty date.
- Bibliography** *PN I*, 164.18 ♦ RADWAN 1987, 227, pl. 6.

[218]	<i>Mss.y</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Messuy	
Title(s)	?	
Date	New Kingdom	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid Cemetery	
Discovered	C.M. Firth, 1920s	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown 	
Comments		
Bibliography	<i>PN I</i> , 165.6 ♦ GUNN, <i>Notebook</i> 7, No. 51 (sketch with text) ♦ MÁLEK 1989b, 6 (relief D6) ♦ PM III/2, 572.	

[219]	<i>N3-ḥw-ḥr [N3-ḥrḥ (?)]</i>	Chief Steward of the Ramesseum
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Nahuher	
Title(s)	<p>[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr m [t3] ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w</i></p> <p>[C] <i>sš nsw</i></p>	
Date	Late 18 th to early 19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Horemheb–[early] Ramesses II	
Provenance	Saqqara?	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Private Collection; ex-coll. Michaelides (probably from Thebes) <u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leiden 3.2.1.24 – shabti (from Saqqara) 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The stela (ex-coll. Michaelides) is dedicated by his son, Neferrenpet. ▪ Nahuher was the (half-)brother of Maya [184]. In the tomb of Maya, Nahuher bears the titles <i>sš nsw</i> and <i>im.y-r3 pr.w</i>. ▪ HELCK 1958, 375: ‘Wir gehen wohl nicht fehl, wenn wir seinen Vater, der bei M^cj3 nur mit seinem unägyptisch klingenden Namen Twj genannt wird ohne Titel, als Angehörigen der Ofiziersschicht ansehen, aus der der König selbst stammte’. 	
Bibliography	<i>PN I</i> , 170.3 ♦ HELCK 1958, 375 ♦ KRI III, 187 ♦ MARTIN 2012, 64 ♦ SCHNEIDER 1977, II, 63; III, pl. 21 ♦ VAN DIJK 1990, 23–8 ♦ VAN DIJK, in MARTIN 2012, 63–5 ♦ WENTE 1963, 30–6 (esp. 31–2, with fig. 1).	

[220]	<i>N3-ḥr-ḥw [N3-ḥrḥ (?)]</i>	Scribe of Commands of the Army
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Naherhu	

Title(s)	[C] <i>sš šhn.w n.w pꜣ mšꜥ</i>
Date	Ramesside, 19 th /20 th Dynasty?
Provenance	Teti Pyramid Cemetery
Discovered	C.M. Firth
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown
Description	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 572 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 170.3 ♦ GUNN, MSS. 19.1 [1] (photo) ♦ GUNN, <i>Notebook</i> , 7, No. 52 ♦ MÁLEK 1989b, 6 (stela C5)

[221]	<i>Nꜣ-ḥr-ḥw-ỉꜣ</i>	Charioteer of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Naherhuia	
Title(s)	[E] <i>[ḥm] tp.y n.y Wꜣdy.t</i>	
	[F] <i>kꜣn n.y nb tꜣ.wy ♦ /// n.y nb tꜣ.wy</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; east of outer courtyard of Pay/Raia [099/279].	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1994	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. R94-63.	
Comments	▪ His wife is the Lady of the House and Songstress of Amun, <i>Tꜣ-pw-///</i> .	
Bibliography	RAVEN 2005, 49–50, No. 86, pls 80–1.	

[222]	<i>Nꜣꜣy</i>	Prophet of Sekhmet in the Temple of Sekhmet
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Niay	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš nsw</i>	
	[E] <i>ḥm-nꜣr n.y Šm.t ♦ ḥm-nꜣr Šm.t m ḥw.t Šm.t</i>	
Date	- PM: 19 th Dynasty - HERZBERG: late 18 th – early 19 th Dynasty (Horemheb–Seti I)	
Provenance	Location lost (“Above Abusir Village?”)	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7322 • Hannover, Museum August-Kestner 2933. • Leipzig, Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff Inv. No. 2885 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 707–8 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 181.15 ♦ BLUMENTHAL 1997, 96, No. 78 ♦ DRENKHAHN 1989, 112–13, No. 37 ♦ HERZBERG forthcoming ♦ <i>LD Text</i> , I, 138 (“ <i>Einzelne Steine im Dorfe Abusir verbaut</i> ”).	

[223]	<i>Ny</i>	Head of 
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ny	
Title(s)	[B] <i>ḥr.y </i>	
	[E] <i>wꜥb ♦ ḥm.w</i>	

Date	18 th Dynasty
Provenance	Location lost
Discovered	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 10864
Comments	▪ For a 19 th Dynasty <i>Wab</i> Priest with the same name, see [224].
Bibliography	PM III/2, 741 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 181.18 ♦ MASPERO 1882, 120–2, No. 21 ♦ PÖRTNER 1908, 6, No. 19, pl. 6.

[224]	<i>Ny</i>	<i>Wab</i> Priest of the front of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	
Name		
Title(s)	[E]	ꜥꜥ.w ḥr ḏsr m ḥw.t-nbw ♦ wꜥb n.y ḥꜣ.t n.y Pth
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area: (1) surface south of south-east chapel of Mery-Neith [209]; (2) south of tomb of Mery-Neith, reused in secondary drystone wall around rim of shaft of anonymous tomb [447].	
Discovered	Leiden archaeological mission, 2001	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 2001-R277 (fragment) • Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 2013-R31 (fragment) 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Two joining fragments; round-topped stela, upper area; decoration executed in sunk relief. ▪ For the Mansion of Gold, see relief fragment 2001-R271 (RAVEN/VAN WALSEM 2014, 162 [115]): ‘... <i>Performing the Opening of the Mouth in the Mansion of Gold (conform) the [first] occasion [for the statue] being placed on a hill of sand, [its face to the] south, [naked] on the soil, by day, [its] clothes behind it. Recit[ation: ...].</i>’ ▪ For an 18th Dynasty <i>Wab</i> Priest with the same name, see [223]. 	
Bibliography	<i>PN</i> I, 181.18 ♦ RAVEN/VAN WALSEM 2014, 162 [116], fig. on p. 163.	

[225]	<i>Nb-ꜥn-sw</i>	Custodian of the “Splendour of the Aten”
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Nebansu	
Title(s)	[B]	sꜣw.ty n.y 'Itn.w-ḥn
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III, second half	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery (shaft 6 ?)	
Discovered	V. Loret, 1898–9	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 34055 = JE 33107 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 557 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 183.25 ♦ BRYAN 1990, 72–3, pl. 18, fig 3 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 2007a, 18, 72–3, pl. 7 ♦ HELCK 1960, 984ff (Nos 5c–d: on the palace of Aten-tjehen at Thebes) ♦ JOHNSON 1998, 75–7 ♦ LACAU 1909-1916, 98–9, pl. 33.	

[226]	<i>Nb-mrw.t=f</i>	Royal Butler, Chief Physician of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	

Name	Nebmerutef
Title(s)	[A] <i>ḥs.y ʿz n.y ntr nfr</i> [B] <i>wb3 nsw wʿb ʿ.wwy ♦ wr swnw n.y nb t3.wy</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i>
Date	Late 18 th to 19 th Dynasty
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; tomb of Horemheb [303], surface debris in the north-east corner of the second courtyard
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1975
Remains	<u>VIII. Varia</u>
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excavation No. 75-S 32 – faience plaque ▪ Perhaps of the same man: a shabti found on the surface west of the tomb of Paser [135]: SCHNEIDER 1996, 17; MARTIN 1985, [Cat. 42], pl. 34. ▪ The faience plaque is comparable to that of Huynefer [299].
Bibliography	<i>PN I</i> , 185.6 ♦ SCHNEIDER 1996, 17, No. 59, pls 8, 55.

[227]	<i>Nb-mḥy.t</i>	General
Tomb. No.	ST 7 (Cairo University)	
Name	Nebmehyt	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš nsw</i> [F] <i>im.y-r3 mšʿ</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area	
Discovered	Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb constructed of limestone blocks 	
Comments		
Bibliography	<i>PN I</i> , 185.7 ♦ TAWFIK 1991, 405, fig. 1.	

[228]	<i>Nb-ms(.w)</i>	Overseer of the Treasury
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Nebmose	
Title(s)	[A] <i>t3y-ḥw ḥr wnm.y (n.y) nsw</i> [B] <i>im.y-r pr.w-ḥd</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i> [E] <i>ḥm-ntr tp.y n.y 3s.t nb.t Ḥbyt</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Acquisition date BM: 1908, purchased from Panayotis Kyticas	
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • London, British Museum E1465 – lintel 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 759 ♦ <i>PN I</i> , 185.8 ♦ <i>HTBM</i> 10, 40, pl. 93 ♦ BINDER 2008, 319–20, No. 127 ♦ BUDGE 1909, 176, No. 635.	

[229]	<i>Nb-nfr</i>	Chief Steward of the house of Ptah
Tomb. No.	ST 218 (Cairo University)	
Name	Nebnefer	

Title(s)	[A] <i>p3 ḥs.y ///</i> ♦ <i>ḥs.y ʿ3 n.y nb t3.wy</i> ♦ <i>šḥm i3t nb</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y pr.w Pth</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nb M3^c.t</i> ♦ [<i>im.y-r3 pr.w m t3 ḥw.t</i>] <i>R^c.w-ms-sw mr.y-Imn.w m pr.w Pth</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd nbw</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 ḥtm</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 ḥtm n.y p3 w3d-wr</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 šnw.ty</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 šnw.ty m ḥw.t Pth</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 šnw.ty n.y Pth</i> ♦ <i>wpw.ty nsw</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i> ♦ <i>sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f</i> ♦ <i>sš nsw mr.y nb t3.wy</i> [E] <i>drp ntr.w</i>
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area
Discovered	Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb superstructure ST 218
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GOHARY 2009 translates the title <i>im.y-r3 ḥtm n.y p3 w3d-wr</i> as ‘Fortress Commander of the Great Green’; VANDERSLEYEN 2010 translates it as ‘Overseer of the (civil) administration of the Delta’. • Nebnefer is the father of Mahu [229]. • For Nebnefer, see also [229]: tomb ST 217 of his son Huynefer.
Bibliography	<i>PN</i> I, 185.18 ♦ El-Aguizy 2015, 203–17 ♦ GOHARY 2009 ♦ GOHARY 2010, 159–63 ♦ TAWFIK 1991, 407, fig. 1, pl. 60b ♦ VANDERSLEYEN 2010, 7–8.

[230]	<i>Nb-nḥḥ</i>	Head of Bowmen (Troop Commander)
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Nebneheh	
Title(s)	[F] <i>ḥr.y-pd.t</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	According to Borchardt, on 3.10.1873	
Remains	<u>II. Statue</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 597 – dyad 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dyad with his wife, the Songstress of Amun, Bakert 	
Bibliography	<i>PM</i> III/2, 726 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 185.23 ♦ BORCHARDT 1925, 150–1, pl. 107.	

[231]	<i>Nb-ntr.w</i>	Scribe of the Treasury
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Nebneteru	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš pr.w-ḥd</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AM 8-b 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Naos stela with three half-statues 	
Bibliography	<i>PN</i> I, 185.27 ♦ BOESER 1913, 3, pl. 10.7 ♦ ÉTIENNE 2009, 236–7, Cat. 189 ♦ STARING 2015a, Cat. 171.	

[232]	<i>Nfr-ms(.w)</i>	Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Nefermose	
Title(s)	[A] <i>ḥs.y ʿ3 n.y ntr=f</i> [C] <i>sš pr.w-ḥd n.y nb t3.wy</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, “Ninetjer area”	
Discovered	Munro 1986	
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u> • Saqqara Magazine (?) – Anubis-statue D 3/4-20.86	
Comments	• Same statue as [237], Neferrenpet.	
Bibliography	PN I, 196.29 ♦ MUNRO 1988, 75–6, 79, pl. 6.	
[233]	<i>Nfr-rnp.t</i>	Vizier, High Priest of Ptah
Tomb. No.	ST 0 (Cairo University)	
Name	Neferrenpet	
Title(s)	[A] <i>iri.w M3^c.t ♦ ir.y-p^c.t ♦ ir.y-p^c.t ḥ3.ty-^c.w ♦ ir.y-p^c.t ḥr.y-tp t3.wy ♦ ir.ty /// ♦ mr.y wr b3 ntr(y) ♦ r3 Nḥn ♦ ḥr.y-tp t3.wy ♦ t3y-ḥw ḥr wmn.y (n.y) nsw</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 niw.t t3.ty ♦ s3b ♦ s3b t3y.ty / t3y.ty s3b ♦ t3.ty</i> [E] <i>it-ntr ♦ [it-ntr] mr.y ntr ♦ im.y-r3 ḥm.w-ntr n.w ntr.w nb.w Šm^c.w Mḥ.w ♦ wr-ḥrp-ḥmw.w n.w Pth ♦ ḥm-ntr M3^c.t ♦ ḥr.y-sšt3 m p.t t3 dw3.t ♦ ḥr.y-sšt3 m ḥd Gbb ♦ ḥrp šnd.wt nb.wt ♦ s3b t3y.ty ir.y-Nḥn ♦ sm wr-ḥrp-ḥmw.w ♦ sm n.y Pth ♦ sšm.w-ḥb n.y Imn.w ♦ stm n.y Pth</i>	
Date	- 19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II - LEBLANC 2012: around Year 57 of the reign of Ramesses II	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area	
Discovered	BM EA 108: ex-coll. Salt, 1823; Berlin ÄM 2290: ex-coll. Athanasi, 1852; Cairo CG 1034: acquisition date 23 April 1882. Rediscovered in 1977 (see MARTIN 1989, 2) by the Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88.	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> • Tomb constructed of limestone blocks <u>II. Statues</u> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 713 = JE 18559 – block statue • Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 1034 – block statue with a naos of Ptah • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 2290 – naos • <i>In situ</i> in the tomb – kneeling naophorous statue with a naos of Ptah • London, British Museum 909 – standard bearer statue (provenance unknown; ex-coll. Rustafjaell) <u>III. Architectural elements</u> • Liverpool, Merseyside County Museums M. 11015 – pyramidion • New York, Private collection (Mr. and Mrs. Jack A. Josephson Collection) – panel of a column <u>V. Burial equipment</u> • Florence, Museo Archeologico 4542 – shabti (provenance unknown) • Florence, Museo Archeologico 1812 – shabti (provenance unknown)	

VI. Offering tables

- London, British Museum 108 – black granite libation trough (RAEDLER: “Kniefigur am Opferbecken”)

VII. Extra sepulchral sources

- Several sources, see: RAEDLER 2004, incl. an inscription regarding the tenth Sed-festival of Ramesses II in Year 57 (RAEDLER 2004, 391 [Q_7.13]), from the pylon of the temple of Armant (KRI II, 397.3–4), and an inscription regarding the eleventh Sed-festival in year 60 (RAEDLER 2004, 391 [Q_7.15]), also from Armant (KRI II, 397.6).

VIII. Varia

- Collection Amherst – plaque
- London, British Museum 4104 – plaque

Comments

- According to Tawfik, Neferrenpet was a Mayor (cf. *im.y-r3 niw.t t3.ty*, Vizier).
- PM III/2, 707 and MAYSTRE 1992, Doc. 147 also list statue Leiden AST 16, which actually belongs to another Neferrenpet [235], *temp.* Ramesses IV. RAEDLER (2004, 394 n. 470) argues that the statue was usurped by Neferrenpet II at the time of Ramesses IV and that it originally belonged to the the 19th Dynasty Vizier.
- According to Nouh, Neferrenpet followed Khaemwaset as High Priest and Vizier: High Priest in year 55; Vizier at end of his career.
- Liverpool M 11015: “born of the Lady of the House Qefariti (?)”; his wife is named Inehyt.

Bibliography

PM III/2, 706–7 ♦ PN I, 197.18 ♦ BORCHARDT 1930, 50–1, pl. 132 ♦ BORCHARDT 1934, 33 ♦ EL-AGUIZY 2007a, 41–50 ♦ GATTY 1877, 29, No. 151 ♦ HTBM 9, 16f, pls 13, 13A ♦ KRI III, 47–51 ♦ LEBLANC 2012, 87, with n. 14 ♦ MARTIN 1987, 32, No. 78, pl. 27 ♦ MAYSTRE 1992, 156–7, Docs 147–54 ♦ NEWBERRY 1906, 182, No. 24, pl. 35 ♦ NOUH 2010, 117–26 ♦ RAEDLER 2004, 386–97 ♦ TAWFIK 1991, 404, fig. 1, pls 56, 57a ♦ VAN DIJK 1983, 52.

[234]	<i>Nfr-rnp.t</i>	Royal Scribe
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Neferrenpet	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš nsw</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brussels, Musée Royale d’Art et d’Histoire E.3053-5 – 3 adjoining blocks 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 752 ♦ PN I, 197.18 ♦ SPELEERS 1923, 39–40, No. 149 ♦ WERBROUCK 1938, 79, pl. 32.	

[235]	<i>Nfr-rnp.t</i>	Vizier
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Neferrenpet	
Title(s)	[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t h3.ty-^c.w</i>	

	[B] <i>im.y-r3 niw.t t3.ty</i>
	[E] <i>wr-hrp-hmw.w</i>
Date	20 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses IV
Provenance	Location lost
Discovered	Ex-coll. d'Anastasi, 1828
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u>
	• Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 16 – naophorous statue
Comments	▪ PM III/2, 707: incorrectly attributed to Neferrenpet, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II, ST 0, [233].
Bibliography	PM III/2, 707 ♦ PN I, 197.18 ♦ BOESER 1912, 7–8 ♦ CHRISTOPHE 1956, 28–37 ♦ KRI VI, 78 ♦ VAN DIJK 1993, 120 with n. 24.

[236]	<i>Nfr-rnp.t</i>	Controller of the Morning House
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Neferrenpet	
Title(s)	[B] “Controller of the Morning House” (<i>hrp n.y pr.w-dw3.t ?</i>)	
Date	Late 18 th /early 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery, east of the mastaba of Ankhmahor	
Discovered	Loret 1898–9?	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u>	
	• Tomb constructed of mud bricks, limestone elements, orientated east-west, approach with stairs to courtyard containing a shaft to subterranean chamber(s); chapel (?) with four columns and a stela.	
Comments	▪ Identified by GESSLER-LÖHR: tomb next to (north of) Ahmose [019], Loret No. 1. Immediately next to (north of) Neferrenpet: small chapel of the Scribe Djehutyemheb [390].	
Bibliography	PN I, 197.18 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 2014.	

[237]	<i>Nfr-rnp.t</i>	Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Neferrenpet	
Title(s)	[A] <i>hs.y ʿ3 n.y ntr niw.t=f</i> [C] <i>sš pr.w-hd n.y nb t3.wy</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, “Ninetjer area”	
Discovered	P. Munro, 1986	
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u>	
	• Saqqara Magazine (?) – Anubis-statue D 3/4-20.86	
Comments	▪ Same statue as [232], Nefermose.	
Bibliography	PN I, 197.18 ♦ MUNRO 1988, 75–6, 79, pl. 6.	

[238]	<i>Nfr-hr</i>	Overseer of Craftsmen [of the Lord of the Two Lands]
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Neferher	
Title(s)	[A] <i>/// [nb] t3.wy</i> [D] <i>im.y-r3 hmw.w ♦ im.y-r3 hmw.w n.w nb t3.wy</i>	
Date	Ramesside	

- Provenance** Teti Pyramid Cemetery, mortuary temple area
Discovered C.M. Firth, 1920s
Remains I. Reliefs
 - Saqqara Magazine (?) – “jamb fragments”
 - Hannover, Museum August-Kestner 1935.200 (MARTIN 1987, 41)**Comments** ▪ Relief-block Hannover 1935.200: ex-coll. Von Bissing, 1935.
Bibliography PM III/2, 559 ♦ *PN* I, 198.6 ♦ DRENKHANH 1989, 134–5, No. 46 ♦ GUNN, *Notebook* 8, Nos 57, 65 ♦ MARTIN 1987, 41, No. 108, pls 38, 55.

[239]	<i>Nfr-ḥtp</i>	Mayor of Memphis
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Neferhotep	
Title(s)	[B] <i>ḥz.ty-ḥ.w</i> ♦ <i>ḥz.ty-ḥ.w n.y Mn-nfr</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, early (<i>temp.</i> Seti I)	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid Cemetery	
Discovered	C.M. Firth, 1920s	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 8.11.26.4 • Geneva, Fondation Gandur pour l’art inv. no. EG-271 (fragment) <u>V. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Current location unknown (fragment; GUNN <i>Notebook</i>, 6, No. 14) 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 572, 755 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 198.14 ♦ ARNST 1989, 205–7, pl. 2, fig. 2 ♦ BIANCHI 2011, 66–7, No. 9 ♦ Cairo, Centre of Documentation photo. S.A., 32 (probably) ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 1991, 172–4, No. 8, fig. 8 ♦ GUNN, <i>Notebook</i> 6, No. 14 (text only) ♦ <i>KRI</i> VII, 18 [9–16] ♦ MÁLEK 1989b, 6 (stela C6) ♦ MINERVA 17/2 (2006), 43, fig. 17 (Sotheby’s, New York, 5/12/2005, lot. 15) ♦ PASQUALI 2013, 312 n. 6, fig. 8.	

[240]	<i>Nfr-ḥtp</i>	Deputy in the temple of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Neferhotep	
Title(s)	[B] <i>idn.w m pr.w Pth</i> [C] <i>sš n.y Pth</i> ♦ <i>sš n.y ḥd-nbw n.y Pth</i> ♦ <i>sš ḥsb ḥd-nbw n.y Pth</i> ♦ <i>sš ḥtp.w-ntr n.w Pth</i> [D] <i>im.y-rz ḥmw.t n.yt Pth</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 18928 – Hathor <i>djed</i> pillar 	
Comments	▪ Neferhotep is designated as <i>s3 s3b im.y-rz ḥmw.t Ḥwy</i> .	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 755 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 198.14 ♦ BERLANDINI 1988, pl. 1B ♦ GOHARY 1998, 70–2, pls 1–2 ♦ MASPERO 1915, 183, No. 676 ♦ PERROT/CHIPIEZ 1882, fig. 343 ♦ VASSALI MSS 9 [left].	

[241]	<i>Nfr-ḥtp</i>	Chamberlain of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	ST 103 (Cairo University)	
Name	Neferhotep	
Title(s)	[A] <i>tꜣy-ḥw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw</i> [B] <i>im.y-rꜣ ḥnt n.y nb tꜣ.wy</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area	
Discovered	Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> • Tomb constructed of limestone blocks	
Comments		
Bibliography	PN I, 198.14 ♦ TAWFIK 1991, 405, fig. 1, pl. 57c, 59b.	
[242]	<i>Nfr-šḥr.w</i>	Wab Priest, Craftsman of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Nefersekeru	
Title(s)	[D] <i>ḥmw n.y Pth [nb Mꜣꜥ.t]</i> [E] <i>wꜥb</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery, near the mastaba of Mereruka	
Discovered	Z. Saad, 1942–43	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> • Saqqara Magazine (?)	
Comments	▪ The stela was dedicated by his wife, Mahu.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 557 ♦ PN I, 200.3 ♦ BAKRY 1958, 67–71, pl. 1.	
[243]	<i>Nfr-tm-ḥtp(.w)</i>	Overseer of Prophets
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Nefertemhotep	
Title(s)	[E] <i>im.y-rꜣ ḥm.w-ntr</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u> • Private collection (auctioned at Sotheby's)	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 732 ♦ PN I, 201.1 ♦ <i>Sotheby Sale Catalogue</i> , May 14–15, 1956, 17.	
[244]	<i>Nm.ty-ms(.w)</i>	Overseer of the Treasury
Tomb. No.		
Name	Nemtymose	
Title(s)	[A] <i>ir.y-pꜥ.t ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ.w ♦ wꜥ mnḥ /// ♦ ḥs.y ʿꜣ n.y ntr nfr ♦ tꜣy-ḥw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw</i> [B] <i>im.y-rꜣ pr.w-ḥd n.y nb tꜣ.wy ♦ im.y-rꜣ pr.w-ḥd</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i>	
Date	Ramesside, 19 th /20 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Step Pyramid enclosure	

- Discovered** Massara (in pyramid No. 32 [Djoser], opened for General Von Minutoli)
- Remains** III. Architectural elements
- Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 1446 – column fragment
 - Present location unknown (seen with Massara in Cairo) – pedestal
- Comments**
 - Lepsius acquired column Berlin ÄM 1446 from the Cairo antiquities dealer Massara; the pedestal was not bought and its present location is unknown.
 - Same person as [259], tomb Bubastieion I.16?
- Bibliography** PM III/2, 592 ♦ BORCHARDT 1892, 92 n. 3 ♦ BORCHARDT 1897, fig. 80 ♦ LD Text, ♦ROEDER 1924, 318.

[245]	<i>Nm.ty-ms(.w)</i>	Charioteer of His Majesty
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Nemtymose	
Title(s)	[F] <i>ktj n.y hm=f</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	A. Mariette, 1850s/60s	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 22.1.21.1 	
Description	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ His wife is the Mistress of the House, Songstress of the Mistress of the Southern Sycamore, Isisnofret. 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 737 ♦ MARIETTE 1872, 30, pl. 105 ♦ MARIETTE 1889, 3.	

[246]	<i>Nn3</i>	Servant in the Two Archives of the Perfect God (i.e. the King)
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Nena	
Title(s)	[B] <i>sdm 3š m pr.wy šfd.w n.y ntr nfr</i>	
Date	Mid-18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Ex-coll. F. Michel	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst ÄS 51 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 745 ♦ DYROFF/PÖRTNER 1904, 29–32, No. 22, pl. 14 ♦ LÖHR/MÜLLER 1972, 69, Cat. 58.	

[247]	<i>Nn-n3-m-dl-Imn</i>	Head of Sandal Makers
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Nennaemdiamun	
Title(s)	[D] <i>hr.y tb.w</i>	
Date	Ramesside, 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area: found on the pavement of a destroyed chapel south of the tomb of Paser [135].	
Discovered	Leiden/EES archaeological mission, 1981	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine 	

- Three stelae dedicated by family members (see RAVEN, in MARTIN 1985, 20, 22–3 [Cat. 7–9], pls 12, 30).
- Comments** ▪ Indicated on the plan of the cemetery as belonging to Shaft A, located south of the chapel of Raia [278] and east of the presumed tomb of Amenmose [055]: SCHNEIDER 2012, fig. II.1.
- Bibliography** MARTIN 1985, 19 [xiv], pl. 27.

[248]	<i>Nḥ.y</i>	Chief Guardian of the Harim in Memphis
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Nehy	
Title(s)	[B] <i>[ḥr.y rwd].w n.y pr.w-ḥnr m Mn-nfr</i>	
Date	Late 18 th /early 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; near south-east corner of inner courtyard of the tomb of Pay [099].	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1994	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. (?) (fragment) 	
Comments	▪ Nehy may have been a subordinate of Raia [279] (RAVEN 2005, 48 n. 106) who dedicated the stela at the tomb of his master (VAN DIJK 1995, 21).	
Bibliography	PN I, 217.19 ♦ RAVEN 2005, 48–9, No. 82, pls 78, 82 ♦ VAN DIJK 1995, 21.	

[249]	<i>Nḥm-ꜥy</i>	Troop Commander
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Nehmay	
Title(s)	[F] <i>im.y-rꜣ ḥꜣs.wt rsy.t ♦ ḥr.y iḥ.w ♦ ḥr.y pd.t</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III (?)	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 34098 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 737 ♦ PN I, 208.3 ♦ LACAU 1926, 151–2, pl. 46.	

[250]	<i>Nḥḥ-n-it=f</i>	Servant
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Nehehenitef	
Title(s)	[B] <i>sdm-ꜥꜥ</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Ex-coll. Passalacqua, 1828	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7273 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 733 ♦ PN I, 209.1 ♦ ROEDER 1924, 150–2.	

[251]	<i>Nḥsy</i>	Chancellor
Tomb. No.	Bubastieion I.6 (MAFB)	

Name	Nehesy
Title(s)	[A] <i>īwn knm(w).t</i> ♦ <i>īr.y-p^c.t ḥz.ty-^c.w</i> ♦ <i>mḥ-īb ///</i> ♦ <i>mḥ-^cnh.wy Ḥr.w m</i> <i>Mz^c.t</i> ♦ <i>mdw n.y nsw m w^c.w</i> ♦ <i>mdw rḥy.t</i> ♦ <i>ḥkz bz.t</i> ♦ <i>smiw bzk.(w)t</i> <i>tz.wy ḥrp.(w)t Šm^c Mh.w</i> ♦ <i>smr w^c.ty</i> ♦ <i>sdz.wty-bi.ty</i>
	[B] <i>īm.y-rz ḥtm.w</i> ♦ <i>ḥz.ty-^c.w ḥrp ns.ty</i> ♦ <i>ḥkz bzt</i>
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Hatshepsut/Thutmose III
Provenance	Bubastieion, south excarpment
Discovered	Mission Archéologique <i>Française</i> du <i>Bubasteion</i> (<i>dir.</i> A-P. Zivie), 1993
Remains	<u>0. Rock-cut tomb</u> • <i>in-situ</i>
Comments	▪ ZIVIE 2007, 140: ‘This is, in all likelihood, the Nehesy who was the organiser or even the actual leader of Queen Hatshepsut’s celebrated expedition to the land of Punt, described in her temple at Deir el-Bahari’. ZIVIE 1984b, 247: <i>r sbt mš^c r Pwn.t</i> , ‘envoyer une troupe à Pount’. ▪ His wife is the Songstress (<i>ḥs.t</i>) of Hathor, <i>Sb(š).t</i> .
Bibliography	<i>PN</i> I, 209.4 ♦ ZIVIE 1984b, 245–52 ♦ ZIVIE 1988, 109 ♦ ZIVIE 2000, 173–92.

[252]	<i>Nḥt</i>	Singer of Amun
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Nakht	
Title(s)	[E] <i>ḥsw n.y Ḥmn.w</i>	
Date	18th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> • Uppsala, Victoriamuseum för Egyptiska Fornsaker 35	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 747 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 209.16 ♦ LUGN 1922, 10–12, pl. 9.11.	

[253]	<i>Nḥt-Ḥmn</i>	Head of Servants of the Royal Butler Hori
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Nakht-Amun	
Title(s)	[B] <i>ḥr.y sdmw.w n.w wbz nsw Ḥri</i> ♦ <i>sdm-^cš n.y wbz nsw Ḥri</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid Cemetery	
Discovered	C.M. Firth, 1920s	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> Neuchâtel, Musée d’ethnographie Eg. 428	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 571 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 209.22 ♦ GABUS 1967, 55 [top] ♦ GUNN, MSS 19.3 [1, 3] (photos) ♦ GUNN, <i>Notebook</i> 6, No. 13 ♦ MÁLEK 1989b, 6 (tomb A1).	

[254]	<i>Nḥt-Mn(.w)</i>	Royal Messenger to All Foreign Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Nakht-Min	
Title(s)	[B] <i>wpw.ty nsw r ḥzs.t nb.t</i> [F] <i>kṯn tp.y n.y ḥm=f(?)</i> 	

Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II
Provenance	Saqqara North, “above Abusir village”
Discovered	SCA, 1993
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rock-cut tomb
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Rock-cut tomb with decoration applied on plaster (drawings; unfinished) and on limestone revetment blocks. Rock-cut part: at least five rooms; outside: columned courtyard paved with limestone flagstones. At least two rock-cut rooms contained painted decoration in plaster. The first rock-cut room is an inner courtyard originally decorated with high quality relief on white limestone panelling. ▪ Reuse of blocks (with relief decoration) from Old Kingdom monuments, possibly from nearby, late 5th or early 6th Dynasty tombs. ▪ Only preliminary notes are published; full publication is in preparation by the SCA (MSA) in association with the University of Liverpool.
Bibliography	<i>PN</i> I, 210.17 ♦ DAUD 2011, 7–9 ♦ <i>EA</i> 3 (1993), 44 with fig. in “Notes and News from Egypt” ♦ WILLEITNER 1993, 258 ♦ YOUSSEF 2011, 84–9

[255]	<i>Nḥt-mnt(.w)</i> ?
Tomb. No.	-
Name	Nakht-Montu
Title(s)	[A] <i>ḥsy ʕz n.y ntr nfr ♦ tzy-ḥw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw</i>
Date	Late 19 th Dynasty
Provenance	Saqqara: from the ruins of the Jeremias Monastery, reused in a <i>Gebetsnische</i> , Room 1811
Discovered	DAIK archaeological mission (dir. P. Grossmann), 1981
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The wife of the tomb owner is the <i>nb.t pr Ḥl</i>. ▪ Another block (doo rjamb fragment; three framed columns of text in sunk relief) found in <i>Westmausoleum 1823</i> is anonymous and preserves the titles: <i>sšm.w-ḥb</i> and <i>ḥs.y ʕz n.y ntr nfr</i>. It is uncertain whether the elements also belonged to Nakh-Montu. ▪ A block naming the <i>sšb Mnt(.w)-n[ḥt]</i> as the father of the <i>/// n.y nb tš.wy ///</i> <i>NN</i>, was found near the Setp Pyramid Complex in 1985 (IBRAHIM Aly 1998, 221–2, pl. 23a).
Bibliography	<i>PN</i> I, 210.17 ♦ POLZ 2009, 73–7, pl. 19a–b.

[256]	<i>Nḥt-Dḥw.ty</i> Overseer of the Double Granary of Upper and Lower Egypt
Tomb. No.	-
Name	Nakht-Djehuty
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-rz pr.w wr n.y ///</i> (Helck: <i>nsw.t</i>) ♦ <i>im.y-rz šnw.ty Šmʕ.w Tš-Mḥ.w</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i>
Date	Ramesside
Provenance	Location lost
Discovered	?
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u>

- “Seen in a Magazine at Saqqara” (PM)

III. Architectural elements

- Saqqara Magazine – *djed* pillar

Bibliography PM III/2, 763 ♦ PN I, 211.22 ♦ BERLANDINI 1988, 31, fig. 1 ♦ HELCK 1958, 504, No. 20.

[257]	<i>Nḥt.y</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Nakhty	
Title(s)	?	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, “Ninetjer area”	
Discovered	P. Munro, 1986	
Remains	<u>IV. Statues</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine – Anubis-statue D 3/4-20.86 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PN I, 212.9 ♦ MUNRO 1988, 76, 79, pl. 7.	

[258]	<i>Nḥt.y / Nḥt-ty</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Nakht-tuy	
Title(s)	?	
Date	Late 18 th to 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; tomb of Maya [184], inner courtyard	
Discovered	EES/Leiden expedition, 1987	
Remains	<u>VI. Offering tables</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 87-60 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PN I, 212.9 ♦ RAVEN 2001b, 19–20, Cat. 4, pl. 27.	

[259]	<i>Nṯr.wy-ms / Nm.ty[wy]-ms</i>	Chief steward of Memphis
Tomb. No.	Bubastieion I.16 (MAFB)	
Name	Netjerwymes (Nemtyemes?), also called Parekhnuua	
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t ḥz.ty-^c.w</i> ♦ <i>ir.ty n.y nsw m pr.w Pth</i> ♦ <i>tzy-ḥw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw</i></p> <p>[B] <i>im.y-rz pr.w wr</i> ♦ <i>im.y-rz pr.w wr n.y Mn-nfr</i> ♦ <i>im.y-rz pr.wy-ḥd</i> ♦ <i>wpw.ty nsw</i> ♦ <i>wpw.ty nsw r ḥzs.t nb.t</i></p> <p>[C] <i>sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f</i></p> <p>[D] <i>im.y-rz k3.t nb(.t)</i> ♦ <i>im.y-rz k3.t m pr.w Pth</i></p> <p>[E] <i>šsm.w-ḥb n.y Pth nb m3^c.t</i></p>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II; in office at peace treaty with the Hittites Year 21 (Karnak piece-treaty)	
Provenance	Bubastieion, south escarpment	

Discovered	Mission Archéologique <i>Française</i> du <i>Bubasteion</i> (dir. A-P. Zivie), 1996; seen before by Petrie and Pascal-Xavier Coste (1787-1879), 2 April 1820 (time of Mohammed Ali) (= the same tomb?)
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Partially a rock-cut tomb; partially a freestanding chapel <u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Musée de St. Omer, No. unknown – canopic jar (h: 41 cm)
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hemispeos with an outer pillared court. More titles were inscribed on the south-west <i>djed</i> pillar and on the west wall of the chapel: illegible on the published photographs. ZIVIE 2007 argues that the tomb’s wall decoration is inspired by late 18th Dynasty examples, such as the tomb of Maya, and that another part of the tomb is “more Ramesside” as a result of “politico-ideological visions”, or as the result of two different artists working on the tomb.
Bibliography	HOFMANN 2004, 105, with fig. 128 ♦ LECLANT/CLERE 1998, 349, pl. 20.12 ♦ SEILLIER/YOYOTTE 1981, 28, No. 123 ♦ ZIVIE 2000, 179–80 ♦ ZIVIE 2002a, 26–31 ♦ ZIVIE 2006, 68–78 ♦ ZIVIE 2007, 110–29 ♦ ZIVIE 2015b.

[260]	<i>Nđm</i>	Chief Steward of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Nedjem	
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>hs.y ʿ3 n.y ntr nfr</i></p> <p>[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w wr ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nb t3.wy ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y t3 hw.t Wsr-m3ʿ.t-Rʿ.w-stp.n-Rʿ.w m pr.w ʿImn.w ♦ im.y-r3 šnw.ty n.y p3 rwd imn.ty ♦ im.y-r3 šnw.ty n.y nb t3.wy ♦ im.y-r3 šnw.ty n.y Šmʿ.w T3-mh̄.w ♦ wpw.ty nsw r h3s.t nb.t</i></p> <p>[C] <i>sš nsw ♦ sš nsw m3ʿ mr.y=f</i></p>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II late to Merenptah, or later	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area	
Discovered	A. Mariette, December 1859 (canopics); 1871, 1872, or 1875 (statue Boston)	
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Saqqara Magazine – Abacus (Leiden expedition, Sak. 2003-72) <u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 34508 (unpublished; see <i>KRI</i> III, 201 [5]; according to Raue, this is the same as PM III/2, 861: upper part of stela from Palace Area at Memphis (Kom el-Qal’a), Excav. No. 3201) <u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 4161-4 – canopic jars Cairo, Egyptian Museum 47188, 47209–11 (shabtis Saqqara); 47221 – shabti (provenance unknown) London, Petrie Museum (UCL, No. 232: PETRIE 1935, pl. 19, 35) Saqqara Magazine – shabti (Leiden expedition: SAK 2007-016) <u>VIII. Varia</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> London, Petrie Museum (UCL, No. unknown) – plaque (provenance unknown) <u>VII. Extra sepulchral</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Present location unknown – dyad fragment (Abydos) 	

- Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 47162, 47165, 47186/7, 47194 – shabtis (Abydos)
- Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 1220 – naophorous block statue (Kitchen: Memphis; Borhardt: Matariya, Heliopolis)
- Memphis (Tennessee), Memphis State University Collection 1981.1.20 (formerly: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 29.730) – block statue from the Ptah-temple at Memphis

Comments

- Stela Cairo CG 34508 contains genealogical information: Nedjem is the son of the Royal Scribe Amenemope.
- Abacus Sak. 2003-72 was found reused in secondary wall around shaft 2003/17.
- Nedjem is also mentioned in P. Sallier I 9, 3 and 4 (see: GARDINER 1937, 87.9; HELCK 1958, 489).

Bibliography PM III/2, 771, 838 ♦ *PN* I, 215.8 ♦ BOHLEKE 1991, 374–85 ♦ BORCHARDT 1934, 114–15 ♦ DUNHAM 1935, 150–51, pl. 19 ♦ EL-DAMATY 1990, 7, pl. 6a–b ♦ HARING 1997, 446 ♦ HELCK 1958, 378–9 ♦ *KRI* III, 199–202 ♦ MARIETTE 1872, 7, pl. 27–8 ♦ NEWBERRY 1957, 79, 80, 88, 91 (pl. 35), 97 (pls 19–21), 103 (pl. 20) ♦ RAUE 1999, 223–4 ♦ PETRIE 1903, 36, No. 4, pls 35, 38 ♦ PETRIE 1917, pl. 43.154 ♦ PETRIE 1935, 14, No. 232, pl. 19, 35 ♦ RAVEN/VAN WALSEM 2014, 172, Cat. 163, fig. on p. 173 ♦ REISNER 1967, 116–20, pl. 24 ♦ REISNER 1899, 67, No. 24, fig. 5 ♦ SCHULZ 1992, 238, Cat. No. 129, pl. 53a–b; 416–17, Cat. No. 246, pl. 108a–c.

[261]	<i>Nđm-Mn-nfr</i> ?
Tomb. No.	-
Name	Nedjem-Mennefer
Title(s)	-
Date	- Abolataa 2008: Late New Kingdom to Third Intermediate Period - The style points to a Ramesside date
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area
Discovered	Cairo University archaeological mission, 1986–87
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine; Cairo University registration number 105 (round-topped stela)
Comments	
Bibliography	<i>PN</i> I, 215.16 ♦ ABOLATAA 2008, 41–4, pl.1.

[262]	<i>Ry</i>	Head of Bowmen (Troop commander)
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	<i>Ry</i>	
Title(s)	[A] <i>ḥ3.ty-ꜥ.w</i> ♦ <i>ḥs.y n.y ntr nfr</i> ♦ <i>smr wꜥ.ty</i> ♦ <i>sd3.wty-bi.ty</i>	
	[C] <i>sš n.y mnfy.t</i>	
	[F] <i>im.y-r3 ss[m.t]</i> ♦ <i>ḥr.y pd.t</i>	
Date	Late 18 th /early 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Elements in Berlin: ex-coll. Passalacqua, 1828	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u>	

- Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7275
- Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7277
- Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7278
- Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum 37.39E
- Jerusalem, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Museum (Inv. No. ?)

II. Stelae

- Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7290
- Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum 37.46E

Comments

- Stela: lower part with fourteen lines of a sun hymn.
- MARTIN 1987 on the Jerusalem block: late 18th to early 19th Dynasty, “if genuine”.

Bibliography

PM III/2, 715–16 ♦ PN I, 216.29 ♦ JAMES 1974, 175–6, pl. 85, No. 431; 178, pl. 87, No. 435 ♦ MARTIN 1987, 20–1, No. 42, pl. 15; No. 45, pl. 14 ♦ PICCIRILLO 1983, 79, with fig ♦ ROEDER 1924, 181, 198.

[263] R^c Wab Priest of Ptah

Tomb. No. -

Name Re

Title(s) [E] *im.y s.t-ꜥ rmn̄i m ḥz.t n.yt Pth̄ ♦ w^cb ♦ w^cb ʿz ♦ w^cb n.y Pth̄ ♦ s̄z nsw n.y Pth̄*

Date 18th Dynasty, first half

Provenance Saqqara (probably)

Discovered Unknown

Remains IV. Stelae

- Cairo, Egyptian Museum 20.1.21.4

Comments

- Limestone false door stela, 122 x 66 cm.
- With his second wife, Hatshepsut, he has a son ʿz-*ḥpr-n-R^c*, which is also the prenomen of Thutmose II.

Bibliography

PN I, 217.7 ♦ SELIM 2002, 399–411, fig. 1, pl. 42.

[264] R^c-ms(.w) ?

Tomb. No. -

Name Ramose

Title(s) ?

Date 19th Dynasty

Provenance Found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias

Discovered ?

Remains IV. Stelae

- Cairo Museum JE 40693 (fragment)

Comments

- Ramose standing in adoration before the deified King Teti.

Bibliography

PM III/2, 667 ♦ PN I, 218.3 ♦ GRDSELOFF 1939, 393–6, fig. 17 (identified as King Ity) ♦ WILDUNG 1967, 97–9 [Doc. 17.70], pl. 8.2 (identified as King Sekhemkhet).

[265] R^c-ms(.w) Scribe of Recruits of the Lord of the Two Lands

Tomb. No. -

Name Ramose

Title(s)	[C] <i>sš nfr.w n.w nb t3.wy</i> [E] <i>idn.w m t3 ḥw.t</i>
Date	19 th Dynasty
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias
Discovered	J.E. Quibell
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum No. (?)
Comments	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 669 ♦ PN I, 218.3 ♦ QUIBELL 1912, 112, pl. 51.4.

[266]	<i>R^c-ms(.w)</i>	Deputy of the Army
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ramose	
Title(s)	[A] <i>nfr bi.t ♦ ḥs.y n.y nsw ḥr bi.t=f nfr.t ♦ ḥs.y n.y ntr nfr ♦ gr m3^c</i> [C] <i>sš nsw ♦ sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f</i> [E] <i>ḥm-ntr</i> [F] <i>idn.w n.y p3 m3^c ♦ ḥr.y pd.t n.y p3 m3^c ♦ ḥr.y pd.t n.y nb t3.wy</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Tutankhamun–Horemheb	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area	
Discovered	Stela Berlin: ex-coll. Passalacqua, 1828; EES/Leiden archaeological mission (dir. G.T. Martin), 1986	
Remains	Tomb	
Present loc.	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> • Mudbrick chapel with a limestone revetment <u>I. Reliefs</u> • Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. SAK 2009-R 23 (fragment) <u>IV. Stelae</u> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7306 • Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 86-S90 [Cat. 5] • Saqqara Magazine, Excavation No. (?)	
Comments	• Fragment SAK 2009-R 23: contains his name and part of the title: <i>/// n.y nb t3.wy</i> .	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 733 ♦ PN I, 218.3 ♦ MARTIN 2001 ♦ ROEDER 1924, 131–3.	

[267]	<i>R^c-ms(.w)</i>	Chief Steward of Khonsu
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ramose	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y Ḥnsw</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Saqqara North, Temple of Nectanebo II; temple terrace and neighbourhood of Animal Galleries; probably from the debris of the main temple terrace (Sector 3)	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements</u> • Present location unknown – alabaster column base	
Description		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 824 ♦ PN I, 218.3 ♦ MARTIN 1979, 46, No. 143, pl. 41.	

[268]	<i>R^c-ms(.w)</i>	Overseer of Chamberlains
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ramose	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r3 im.yw-hnt [n.y nb t3.wy]</i>	
Date	Ramesside, second half of the 19 th Dynasty to the 20 th Dynasty	
Provenance	North of the Unas causeway, close to the escarpment overlooking the Unas Valley Temple	
Discovered	Not indicated	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, No. (?) 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Limestone relief fragment (26 x 41 x 10 cm) with decoration in sunk relief and the lower fragments of eight framed columns of text. ▪ DAUD 1994, 208: ‘... There is no doubt that this loose block belongs to one of the Ramesside tomb-chapels south of the causeway of the Unas pyramid...’ 	
Bibliography	PN I, 218.3 ♦ DAUD 1994, 202–8, pl. 32b.	
[269]	<i>R^c-ms(.w)</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	[Ramose]	
Title(s)	?	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias	
Discovered	?	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 40693 (fragment) 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ [Ramose] represented before the deified King Teti. 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 667 ♦ PN I, 218.3 ♦ GRDSELOFF 1939, 393–6 (as Ity), fig. 17 ♦ WILDUNG 1967, I, 97–9, Dok. XVII.70 (as Sekhemkhet), pl. 8.2.	
[270]	<i>R^c-ms-s(w)-wsr-hpš</i>	“Royal scribe”
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ramesses-weserkhepesh	
Title(s)	[A] <i>t3y-hw hr wnm.y n.y nsw</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i>	
Date	Ramesside, 19 th Dynasty (?)	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid Cemetery, above the satellite pyramid of Teti’s pyramid complex	
Discovered	J.E. Quibell 1906–7	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quibell 1908, 4: ‘... a considerable number of pieces of inscription’, now in Saqqara Magazine (?). See also the description in the comments of [358]. 	
	<u>II. Statues</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara, magazine (?) – kneeling statue, lower half, holding an altar 	
Comments		
Bibliography	GIDDY 1992, 4–5 ♦ GUNN, <i>Notebook</i> 8, No. 59 ♦ QUIBELL 1908, 1, 4–6, 80, pls 4, 37.2–3.	

[271]	<i>R^c-ms-s(w)-m-pr-R^c</i>	Royal Butler
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ramesses-emperre (also known as: Meriunu and Benithen)	
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>tꜣy-ḥw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw</i></p> <p>[B] <i>wbꜣ nsw ♦ wbꜣ nsw ꜣꜣ n.y ꜣ.t n.yt ḥnk.t ♦ wbꜣ nsw ꜣꜣ n.y ꜣ.t n.yt ḥnk.t pr.w-ꜣꜣ nḥ.w wḏꜣ.w snb.w ♦ wbꜣ nsw ꜣꜣ n.y ḥnk.t ♦ wbꜣ nsw n.y nb tꜣ.wy ♦ wbꜣ nsw tp.y n.y ḥm=f ♦ wbꜣ nsw tp.y n.y nb tꜣ.wy ♦ wḥm.w tp.y n.y ḥm=f</i></p>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II–Merenptah	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<p><u>I. Reliefs</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Private Collection (seen with a dealer in Cairo, 1972) • Rome, Villa Torlonia 554 (ancient Villa Albani) – fragment • Rome, Villa Torlonia 557 (ancient Villa Albani) – fragment <p><u>II. Stelae</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vienne (Isère), Musée des Beaux Arts et d'Archéologie NE 1555 – fragment <p><u>III. Architectural elements</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bologna, Museo Civico NI 1913 – pillar, fragment • Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum 35.1315 – lintel, fragment <p><u>VII. Extra sepulchral</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brussels, Royal Museums of Art and History NI E 5014 – stela, from Medinet Gurob • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 51515 + JE 50340 f – hieratic ostrakon, from the Valley of the Kings • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 3.7.24.17 – stela, from Abydos 	
Comments	▪ Ostrakon Cairo JE 51515 + JE 50340: Year 7 and 8 of Merenptah.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 715 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 218.11 ♦ BERLANDINI-GRENIER 1974, 1–19, pls 1–4.	
[272]	<i>R^c-ms-s(w)-m-ḥb</i>	Mayor of Memphis
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ramessesemheb	
Title(s)	[B] <i>ḥꜣ.ty-ꜣ.w wr n.y Mn-nfr</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	Probably Saqqara	
Discovered	Seen on the Art Market	
Remains	<p><u>I. Reliefs</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Private collection – fragment 	
Comments		
Bibliography	DEVAUCHELLE 1992, 203–4.	
[273]	<i>R^c-ms-s(w)-mn(.w)</i>	Director of the Royal Harim of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ramessesmen	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-rꜣ ip.t nsw n.yt nb tꜣ.wy</i>	

Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II
Provenance	“Probably Memphite”
Discovered	
Remains	<u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Musée Champollion (Paris, Musée du Louvre N 2955) – shabti
Comments	• Probably the same man mentioned on Ostraca Louvre 2261 and 666 (SPIEGELBERG 1894, 65–67).
Bibliography	PN I, 218.13 ♦ DEWACHTER 1986, 60–1, Cat. 62 ♦ HELCK 1958, 263 n. 2.

[274]	<i>R^c-ms-sw-nḥt(.w)</i>	Royal Scribe
Tomb. No.	ST 107 (Cairo University)	
Name	Ramsesnakht	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš nsw</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area	
Discovered	Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb chapel, in-situ</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb superstructure 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PN I, 219.3 ♦ TAWFIK 1991, 406, fig. 1, pl. 58b.	

[275]	<i>R^c-ms-sw-nḥt(.w)</i>	General
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ramessesnakht	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w m t[3] ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w ḥr imnt.t W3s.t</i>	
	[C] <i>sš nsw</i>	
	[F] <i>im.y-r3 m3^c ♦ tsw-pd.t</i>	
Date	- 19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II - LEBLANC 2012, 83: first part of the reign of Ramesses II	
Provenance	Probably Saqqara	
Discovered	B. Drovetti (basin in Turin)	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brussels, Musées royaux d’Art et d’Histoire E 5183 <u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris, Louvre E. 11523 – glazed schist statue of his mother Nasha <u>VIII. Varia</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Turin, N. 22052 – libation basin (?) or support(?) of vase 	
Comments	• His wife is the songstress of Hathor, <i>Twy</i> .	
Bibliography	PN I, 219.3 ♦ BARBOTIN 1999, 36–7, Cat. 10a, pl. 4 ♦ BERLANDINI 1979, 249–65 ♦ BINDER 2008, 327, No. 155 ♦ EISENLOHR 1889, 261–2, No. 8 ♦ HABACHI 1977, 60–2; 150–1 ♦ HELCK 1960, 105 ♦ KRI, III, 198–9, 848; VII, 115 ♦ LEBLANC 2012, 81–98 ♦ SCHULMAN 1964, 141, No. 348d ♦ SPELEERS 1923, 65, No. 270.	

[276]	<i>R^c-ms-s(w)-nḥt(.w)</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	

Name	Ramessesnakht
Title(s)	?
Date	19 th Dynasty
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; tomb of Pay [099], subterranean chamber C; canopic jar fragments: found on the surface over the inner courtyard of the tomb of Maya [184].
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1996
Remains	<u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 96-37 – shabti • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 87-1 – alabaster canopic jar fragments
Comments	▪ There are several officials with the same name who were buried in the area. It is not certain whether the shabti and canopic jar belonged to the same man.
Bibliography	<i>PN</i> I, 219.3 ♦ RAVEN 2001b, 25–6, Cat. 44a–d, pl. 32 ♦ RAVEN 2005, 72, Cat. 10, pls 92, 102.

[277]	<i>R^c-ms-s(w)-nh.t(.w)</i>	Scribe of the Office of Presentation of Pharaoh I.p.h.
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ramessesnakht “of Memphis” (<i>n.y Mn-nfr</i>)	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš n.y ṣ.t hnkt pr.wy-ṣz ṣnh.w wdz.w snb.w</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Acquired before 1868, “provenance unknown”	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet NME 26 	
Comments	▪ Ramessesnakht presents incense to the seated deceased pair: a vizier and his wife (both anonymous). ▪ PETERSON 1974, 8: the <i>ṣ.t hnkt</i> of Pharaoh is an administration connected with the Royal Palace, foremost dealing with the management of provisions (cf. HELCK 1958, 254–5).	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 761 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 219.3 ♦ MOGENSEN 1919, 50–1 ♦ PETERSON 1974, 8–10, fig. 2.	

[278]	<i>R^ciz</i>	Chief Singer of Ptah-Lord-of-Truth
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Raia	
Title(s)	[E] <i>im.y-rz ḥsw.w nb mṣ^c.t ♦ ḥr.y ḥsw.w Pth nb mṣ^c.t ♦ ḥsw n.y Pth nb [mṣ^c.t]</i>	
Date	Early 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission (dir. G.T. Martin), 1981	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Remains of a small chapel built of limestone <u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden F 1987/3.3 – shabti fragment <u>VII. Extra sepulchral</u>	

- Possibly the same man: Liverpool, Merseyside County Museums Inv. 65 = 55.82. 119 (from Abydos, excavation Garstang, cenotaph 870; see MARTIN 1985, 15).

Comments ▪ His wife is named Mutemwia

Bibliography *PN* I, 220.7 ♦ MARTIN 1985.

[279] *R'iz* / *R'-msw* Overseer of the Royal Apartments of the Harim at Memphis

Tomb. No. LS 28 (Lepsius)

Name Raia

Title(s) [A] *tzy-hw hr wnm.y (n.y) nsw*

[B] *im.y-r3 ip.t nsw ♦ im.y-r3 ip.t nsw n.yt (pr.w-hnr.t m) Mn-nfr ♦ im.y-r3 ip.t nsw n.yt (pr.w-hnr.t m) hw.t-k3-Pth*

[C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw m3c mr.y=f*

[F] *im.y-r3 ssm.t (n.yt hw.t-k3-Pth) ♦ ir.y-pd.t n.y nb t3.wy ♦ hr.y ih.w*

Date Early 19th Dynasty, *temp.* Seti I

Provenance South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area

Discovered R. Lepsius, 1843; EES/Leiden archaeological mission (dir. G.T. Martin), 1994

Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Temple-tomb constructed of mud brick with limestone revetment: adopted and adapted the tomb of his father, Pay [099]

Comments ▪ Raia is the son of Pay [099].

Bibliography *PM* III/2, p. 663–4, pl. 66 ♦ *PN* I, 220.7/218.3 ♦ *LD Text*, I, 184 ♦ RAVEN 2005.

[280] *R'iz[y]* *H3.t-izy* Scribe of the Treasury of the Temple of the Aten in Akhetaten (and) in Memphis

Tomb. No. Bubastieion I.27 (MAFB)

Name Raia called Hatiay

Title(s) [C] *sš pr.w-hd n.y pr.w 'Itn.w ♦ sš pr.w-hd n.y pr.w 'Itn.w m 3h.t-'Itn m Mn-nfr ♦ sš pr.w-hd n.y pr.w 'Itn.w m Mn-nfr*

Date Late 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, and post-Amarna

Provenance Bubastieion, south excarpment

Discovered Mission Archéologique Française du Bubasteion (dir. A-P. Zivie)

Remains 0. Rock-cut tomb

- *In situ*

Comments

Bibliography *PN* I, 220.7 ♦ PASQUALI 2011, 78 [B.18] ♦ ZIVIE 2007, 141.

[281] *R'y* Overseer of the Double Granary

Tomb. No. -

Name Ra'y

Title(s) [B] *im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nsw.t ♦ im.y-r3 šnw.ty*

[C] *sš nsw ♦ sš nsw m3c mr.y=f*

Date Ramesside

Provenance South of the Unas causeway, SCA concession area

Discovered W.M. Flinders Petrie 1909 (Memphis); SCA (dir. el-Ghandour), 1997 (Saqqara)

Remains V. Burial equipment

- Saqqara magazine (?) – sarcophagus (re-used: 18th Dynasty)

- Saqqara magazine (?) – “sledge” sarcophagus

VII. Extra-sepulchral

- Comments**
- Dublin, National Museum 1908.514 – statue fragment (from Memphis)
 - Statue found in the temple of Ptah at Memphis.
 - Sarcophagus found in shaft No. 4 (Old Kingdom date) of the SCA excavation south of the Unas causeway; sarcophagus re-used: the original owner was Senqed, Overseer of Nurses, late 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Ay. Senqed’s tomb was located in Awlad Azzaz (see OCKINGA 1997).
- Bibliography** PM III/2, 833 ♦ PN I, 220.9 ♦ EL-GHANDOUR 1997a, 10–11 ♦ EL-GHANDOUR 1997b, 49–53, pls 66–74 ♦ PETRIE 1909, 8, pl. 19.

[282]	<i>Rꜥ.y/Rꜥi3</i>	Head of the Bakery of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ray(a)	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r3 ʕmr n.y Pth</i> ♦ <i>hr.y ʕmr n.y nb M3ꜥ.t</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Seti I to Ramesses II	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Statue Leiden AST 11: ex-coll. d’Anastasi, 1828	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u>	
	• Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, E.SS.49	
	<u>II. Statues</u>	
	• Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 11 – naophorous statue	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM VIII, 801–634–202 ♦ PN I, 220.7/9 ♦ BOESER 1912, 11–12, No. 26, pl. 12 ♦ BUDGE 1893, 78, No. 65 ♦ MARTIN 2009, 145–9 ♦ STARING 2015a, Cat. 198 ♦ VAN DIJK 1983, 51, No. 3 ♦ VAN DIJK 1986, 15, pl. 3 ♦ VAN DIJK 1993, 117–18, fig. 20.	

[283]	<i>Rm.y</i>	Infantryman
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Remy	
Title(s)	[F] <i>wꜥw</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid Cemetery	
Discovered	C.M. Firth, 1920s	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	• Present location unknown	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 572 ♦ PN I, 222.12 ♦ GUNN, <i>Notebook</i> 6, No. 18 (text only) ♦ MÁLEK 1989b, 6 (Stela C9).	

[284]	<i>Rḥ-inḥrt</i>	Overseer of the Treasury
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Rekhanhor	
Title(s)	[A] <i>hs.y ʕ3 n.y nḥr nfr</i>	
	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd</i>	
	[C] <i>sš nsw</i>	

Date	Ramesside, 19 th Dynasty, probably <i>temp.</i> Merenptah
Provenance	Teti Pyramid (North) Cemetery
Discovered	Unknown
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown <u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mastaba of Ankhmahor – kneeling naophorous statue fragment with Osiris
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ VAN DIJK (1983, 51) argues that, since the name is not common, this man might be the same as the scribe Rekhanhor who was the recipient of three model-letters in the Memphite P. Bologna 1094 (GARDINER 1937, 3, 10–11), dated to Year 8 of Merenptah. ▪ Relief, location unknown: according to VAN DIJK (1983, 51 n. 8), Jaromir Málek had seen in the archive of the Saqqara Antiquities Office a photograph of a stela inscribed for a man with the same name. The provenance of that stela is said to be the general area north-east of the Step Pyramid.
Bibliography	VAN DIJK 1983, 49–60.

[285]	Rš	Child of the Nursery
Tomb. No.	Bubastieion I.3 (MAFB)	
Name	Resh	
Title(s)	<p>[A] [ʕʕ n.y] bʕḥ n.y nsw ♦ ʕʕ n.y pr.w /// nb Ṛwny ♦ ḥs.y n.y nṫr nfr</p> <p>[B] im.y-rʕ ḥnw.ty ♦ hrd n.y kʕp ♦ tʕy-sry.t nʕ n.w hrd.w n.w kʕp</p> <p>[F] ʕʕ n.y ḥʕ.w n.y sbʕ m Mn-nfr ♦ nfw n.y Mr.y-Imn.w ♦ ḥr.y ih.w ♦ ḥr.y pd.t</p>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III	
Provenance	Bubastieion, south excarpment	
Discovered	Mission Archéologique Française du Bubasteion (<i>dir.</i> A-P. Zivie), 1976	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rock-cut tomb 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PN I, 227.10 ♦ ZIVIE 2000, 173–92 ♦ ZIVIE 1988, 109 ♦ ZIVIE 1979b, 135–51.	

[286]	Hʕ.t-ʕʕy	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Hatiay	
Title(s)	?	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias	
Discovered	J.E. Quibell	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 25.6.24.1 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 669 ♦ QUIBELL 1912, 144, pl. 74.1.	

[287]	Hʕ.t-ʕʕy	First Prophet of the Moon
Tomb. No.	H9 (Mariette)	
Name	Hatiay	
Title(s)	[A] ir.y-pʕ.t ḥʕ.ty-ʕ.w ♦ smr wʕ.ty ♦ sdʕ.wty-bi.ty	

	[C] <i>sš nsw ♦ sš nsw mꜣꜥ mr.y=f ♦ sš nsw ḥr.y-tp ♦ sš šꜥ.t ♦ sš šꜥ.t n.yt nb tꜣ.wy</i>
	[E] <i>ḥm-nṯr tp.y n.y iꜥḥ ♦ ḥr.y-ḥb ḥr.y-tp</i>
Date	Late 18 th /early 19 th Dynasty
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area
Discovered	Leiden archaeological mission, 2001
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hatiay usurped the tomb of Mery-Neith [209] <u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>In situ</i> – wall stela against east wall of courtyard, north half • <i>In situ</i> – proper stela placed against the tomb’s façade, south of the entrance
Comments	▪ Hatiay (partly) usurped the tomb of Mery-Neith [209]. He added two stela: a wall-stela against the east wall of the inner courtyard, and a stela against the tomb’s façade.
Bibliography	<i>PN I</i> , 233.2 ♦ RAVEN/VAN WALSEM 2014, 53–6, 78–80, 127–130, scenes 3 and 32.

[288]	<i>Ḥꜣ.t-īꜣy</i>	Scribe of the Double Granary of the Temple of the Aten in Memphis
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Hatiay	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš n.y šnw.ty pr.w ṯtn.w m Mn-nfr</i>	
Date	- 18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III, late, or Amenhotep IV, early - PASQUALI 2011: late 18 th Dynasty, Amarna/post-Amarna	
Discovered	Location lost	
Remains	<u>VIII. Varia</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden I.86 – wooden stick 	
Comments	▪ PECK 2011, 53: ‘It has been suggested that Hatiay and his family may have been reinterred at Thebes from their original tomb at Memphis’. The Theban tomb was excavated by Georges Daressy in 1896. ▪ Objects (from Thebes) inscribed for his wife Henut-wedjebu, Lady of the River Banks and Songstress of Amun: - Shabti (wood): Toledo Museum of Art 1993.52 - Coffin (wood; painted with bitumen and gilded): Mildred Lane Kemper Art Museum, Washington University in St. Louis 2292	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 775 ♦ <i>PN I</i> , 233.2 ♦ HASSAN 1978, 155, No. 43, pl. 6.3 ♦ PASQUALI 2011, 78 [B.17] ♦ Peck 2011, 53.	

[289]	<i>Ḥꜣ.t-īꜣy</i>	God’s Father
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Hatiay	
Title(s)	[E] <i>it-nṯr</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, around the Amarna period (see GESSLER-LÖHR 2012 for a discussion)	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery (?)	
Discovered	?	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u>	

- Paris, Louvre AF 9923
 - New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 55.144.5
- Comments** ▪ His son Ty was also God's Father. His other son, Mose, was *Wab* Priest.
▪ Block MMA 55.144.5: limestone; 25 x 23 cm; ex-coll. Tigrane Pasha D'Abro, Egypt (d. 1904); purchased from Michel Abemayor, New York, 1955.
- Bibliography** *PN I*, 233.2 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 2012, 147–91 ♦ MARTIN 1987, 11, Cat. 11, pl. 4.

[290]	<i>H3.t-izy</i>	Overseer of Cattle of Amun
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Hatiay	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r3 ih.w [n.w 'Imn.w]</i>	
Date	Mid 18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	G. di Nizzoli, 1824	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	• Florence, Museo Archeologico 2593	
Comments	▪ Name of Amun consistently erased from the title Overseer of Cattle [of Amun].	
Bibliography	<i>PN I</i> , 233.2 ♦ BOSTICCO 1965, 43–4, fig. 36.	

[291]	<i>H3.t-izy</i>	Chief Lapis (Faience) Worker
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Hatiay	
Title(s)	[D] <i>hr.y ir.w hsbq</i>	
Date	Late 18 th /early 19 th Dynasty (<i>temp.</i> Seti I?)	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	?	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	• Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 25641	
Comments	▪ Rectangular stela (119 x 71 cm) surmounted by a small pyramidion; representations in two registers; upper register in raised relief, with text incised on “raised labels”; the lower register is in sunk relief. ▪ His wife is the Lady of the House Nefertari. Their six children are depicted in three sub-registers.	
Bibliography	<i>PN I</i> , 233.2 ♦ GABALLA 1979c, 46, fig. 2, pl. 2.	

[292]	<i>Hy</i>	Scribe of the Army of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	LS12 (Lepsius); S 2735 (Quibell)	
Name	Huy	
Title(s)	[A] <i>hs.y n.y ntr nfr</i> [C] <i>sš mšc n.y nb t3.wy ♦ sš nsw ♦ sš nsw n.y nb t3.wy</i>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty (WENIG 1974: Ay–Horemheb)	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery	
Discovered	R. Lepsius, 1843; J.E. Quibel and A.G.K. Hayter, 1912–14	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u>	
	• Present location unknown	
	• Saqqara Magazine (?)	
	• Saqqara Magazine, TNE 94/5: F93	

- Saqqara Magazine TNE 94: F117

II. Statues

- Present location unknown unknown – fragments of a statue group, from tomb No. S 2721 (sandstone)

III. Architectural elements

- Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 2087 – jamb fragment (deceased adoring)
- Saqqara, magazine (?) – doorjamb, entrance (found *in situ*: deceased on a chair)
- Saqqara, magazine TNE 94: F118
- Saqqara, on-site magazine, tomb of Ankhmahor – 4 papyriform columns

Comments

- S 2735 (LS 12, incorrectly placed), see PM III/2, 556.
- Structure, *in situ* doorjamb and columns are visible on unpublished photographs taken by B. Thompson (excavation of Ali el-Khouli/Ali Hassan).

Bibliography

PM III/2, 556 ♦ PN I, 233.18 ♦ ABD EL-RAZIQ/KREKELER 1986, 218, fig. 1 ♦ GUNN, *Notebook* 8, No. 67 (texts) ♦ LD *Text*, I, 161 ♦ QUIBELL/HAYTER 1927, 20–21, pl. II ♦ MARTIN 1987, 10, pl. 4.10 ♦ OCKINGA 2004, 110, pls 37b, 81g ♦ OCKINGA 2012, 374–77, figs 1–3 ♦ WENIG 1974, 239–45.

[293]	<i>H</i> y	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Huy	
Title(s)	-	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Saqqara South: found reused (“in recent times”) north-west of the pyramid of Ibi	
Discovered	G. Jéquier, 1930	
Remains	<u>II. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Round-topped stela with decoration in two registers. ▪ A man named Khet-Amun presents a libation to Huy and Mutnofret, seated (upper register). In the lower register, a woman Mutnofret is seated opposite a seated couple, names not preserved. 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 675 ♦ PN I, 233.18 ♦ JÉQUIER 1935, 32, No. 17, pl. 22.	

[294]	<i>H</i> y	Head of Merchants of the Temple of the Aten
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Huy	
Title(s)	[E] <i>ḥr.y šw.tyw n.w t3 ḥw.t p3 `Itn.w</i> ♦ <i>šw.ty n.y t3 ḥw.t p3 `Itn.w</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	A. Mariette/L. Vassalli (?), April 1860	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 34182 = JE 10174 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ His wife is named Nedjem-Mennefer. 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 737 ♦ PN I, 233.18 ♦ Lacau 1926, 222–4, pl. 69 ♦ Löhr 1975, 176–8 ♦ Mariette 1872, 18, pl. 56b ♦ Pasquali 2011, 78–9, Doc. B.19.	

[295]	Hy	First Prophet of Sekhmet
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Huy	
Title(s)	[E] <i>hm-ntr tp.y n.y Shm.t sh^c.t hn.ty Sz-hw-R^c.w</i>	
Date	New Kingdom	
Provenance	Saqqara North: temple of Nectanebo II; Temple terrace and neighbourhood of Animal Galleries	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>V. Burial equipment</u>	
	• Present location unknown – sarcophagus lid fragment	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 824 ♦ PN I, 233.18 ♦ Martin 1979, 66, No. 238, pl. 55.	
[296]	Hy	Chief of Builders
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Huy	
Title(s)	[D] <i>hr.y kd.w</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid Cemetery, mortuary temple area	
Discovered	?	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	• Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 36853	
Comments	▪ Round-topped stela (h: 48 cm), surmounted by a pyramidion. ▪ With his wife, the Lady of the House <i>Km³.t-imnt.t(?)</i> .	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 559 ♦ PN I, 233.18 ♦ RADWAN 1987, 225–6, pl. 4.	
[297]	Hy	Troop Commander
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Huy	
Title(s)	[A] <i>tzy-sry.t n.y tz^c n.y Wsr-m³.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w mr.y-Imn.w</i> [F] <i>hr.y pd.t</i> (erroneously written as: <i>hr.y nb.t</i>)	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	Unknown, but probably Memphite (on account of the mentioning of Ptah-Sokar and the Shetayet shrine)	
Discovered	Unknown	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	• Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 5.11.24.9	
Comments	▪ Rectangular stela with cavetto cornice and representations in three registers; recessed panel; sunk relief. ▪ His wife is the Lady of the House, Isisnofret; his mother the Lady of the House, Irynemeh; his brother the Agent (<i>rwd.w</i>), Amenemope.	
Bibliography	PN I, 233.18 ♦ LOWLE 1981, 253–8, pl. 5.	
[298]	Hy-nfr	Overseer of (civil) Administration
Tomb. No.	ST 217 (Cairo University)	
Name	Huynifer	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r³ htm ♦ im.y-r³ htm n.y p³ w³d-wr</i>	

	[C] <i>sš nsw</i>
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area
Discovered	Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb structure constructed of limestone blocks
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ His father Nebnefer [229] is also mentioned in his tomb. ▪ The name and title Fortress Commander, Huynefer has been altered from Chief Steward of the Lord of the Two Lands, Nebnefer: GOHARY 2010, 162 n. 6. ▪ Loose blocks, square <i>djed</i> pillars and columns are stored in the SCA Magazine at Saqqara. These are said to be published by Gohary. ▪ The title <i>im.y-rꜣ ḥtm n.y pꜣ wꜣd-wr</i> is associated with a man labelled “his brother” on a relief-decorated block (raised relief) in the Musée Rodin (Inv. No. 94).
Bibliography	PN I, 233.25 ♦ EL-AGUIZY 2007a, 41–50 ♦ El-Aguizy 2015, 203–17 ♦ GOHARY 2009 ♦ GOHARY 2010, 159–63 ♦ GOLDSCHIEDER 1967, No. 10, pl. 10 ♦ TAWFIK 1991, 407, fig. 1, pl. 60b. 

[299]	<i>Hy-nfr</i>	Chief Scribe of the Altar of the Temple of Ptah
Tomb. No.	Shaft No. 332 (Quibell)	
Name	Huynefer	
Title(s)	[C] <i>ḥr.y sš wdḥ.w n.y pr.w Ptḥ</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Teti pyramid mortuary temple area	
Discovered	Quibell 1906–7	
Remains	<u>VIII. Varia</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo Museum JE 39171 – faience plaque 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Description Quibell 1908, p. 4-5. See also [358]: ‘... With these (i.e. 19th Dynasty) chapels were connected four shafts which sank through the pyramid pavement and opened into chambers below. The first of these, the one opposite the pillars was filled with clean sand and opened at 9 m. 50 cent. depth into a chamber, which opened into three others, all thoroughly looted; on the floor, however, one good object remained, a blue glaze plaque 0 m. 23 cent. by 0 m. 155 mill., pierced at the top for suspension and bearing this inscription in black fired in the glaze <i>n kꜣ n.y ḥr.y sš wdḥ.w n.y pr(.w) Ptḥ Hy-nfr</i>. This must have come from one of the original burials’. ▪ For the location of the shaft, see: QUIBELL 1908, pl. IV. ▪ Compare to the faience plaque of Nebmerutef [226]. 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 559 ♦ PN I, 233.25 ♦ QUIBELL 1908, 5, 79, pl. 35.4.	

[300]	<i>Hyꜣ</i>	Chief of Fattened(?) Fowl
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Huya	
Title(s)	[B] <i>ḥr.y ꜣpd.w ḥr.w</i> [C] <i>sš nsw mꜣꜥ</i>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the pyramid of Unas	

Discovered**Remains** IV. Stelae

- Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 27958

Comments**Bibliography** PM III/2, 667 ♦ *PN* I, 233.27 ♦ GABALLA 1979b, 42–3.

[301]	<i>H^cpy-^c3</i>	Scribe
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Hapy-aa	
Title(s)	[C] sš	
Date	Late 18 th to 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; tomb of Maya [184], fill of Chapel A + fill of the outer courtyard	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1987	
Remains	<u>V. Burial equipment</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 87-139 – faience shabti • Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 87-173 – faience shabti fragment 	
Comments		
Bibliography	<i>PN</i> I, 234.8 ♦ RAVEN 2001b, 42 [Cat. 179a–b], pls 19, 37a.	

[302]	<i>Hm.y</i>	Mayor of Memphis
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Hemy	
Title(s)	[B] <i>h3.ty-^c.w n.y Mn-nfr</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Thutmose III	
Provenance	Location lost; Memphis/Saqqara?	
Discovered	Ex-coll. Slg. Rousset Bey	
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris, Musée du Louvre E.5336 – block statue 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM VIII/2, 801–643–495 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 240.23 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 1997, 34, pl. 2.1 ♦ SCHULZ 1992, I, 449, No. 267; II, pl. 118a.	

[303]	<i>Hr-m-^hb</i>	Generalissimo
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Horemheb	
Title(s)	[A] <i>im.y-ib (n.y) nb=f r-tp r3=f ♦ im.y-ib n.y nsw m s.t nb.t ♦ im.y-ib n.y Hr.w m ^ch=f ♦ im.y-ib n.y /// ♦ im.y-ib i3w.t ^ch ♦ im.y-r3 i3w.t (nb.t) Šm^c.w T3-m^h.w ♦ ir.y-rd.wy nb=f hr pri hrw pn n.y sm3 Stt.yw ♦ ir.ty n.y nsw im.y-ht idb.wy ♦ ir.ty n.y nsw m sšm t3.wy m smn hpw idb.wy ♦ idn.w n.y nsw ♦ idn.w n.y nsw m s.t nb.t ♦ idn.w n.y nsw m t3 r-<u>dr</u>=f ♦ idn.w n.y hm=f ♦ idn.w n.y hm=f m t3 r-<u>dr</u>=f ♦ ^c3 m s^ch ♦ ^c3 n.y ^c3.w ♦ ^c3 r ^c3.w ♦ ^cš3 sp.w m nbw n.w ^hs.wt ♦ w^c ♦ w^c [hr] ^hw=f ♦ wr wr.w ♦ wr wr.w n.w smr.w ♦ wr m i3.wt=f ♦ wr mr.wt hr nb=f ♦ w^hm.w r3 bi.ty m smr.w ♦ w^hm.w r3 bi.ty n šn.wt=f ♦ mn^h /// ♦ ns shrr m t3 r <u>dr</u>=f ♦ rh nsw <u>kd</u>=f m hwn ♦ r3 shrr m t3 r <u>dr</u>=f ♦ h3.ty n.y smr.w nsw ♦ hr.y-sšt3 n.y W3^d.ty ♦ hr.y-sšt3 n.y pr.w-nsw ♦ hr.y-tp ^c3 n.y rhy.t ♦</i>	

ḥr.y-tp m pr.w-dw3.t ♦ *ḥs.y n.y ntr nfr* ♦ *sꜥ3y [m nsw ///]* ♦ *sꜥḥ smr.w* ♦ *smr [ꜥ3?]* *n.y mr.wt* ♦ *smr wꜥ.ty* ♦ *stp n.y nsw ḥn.ty t3.wy r ir(t) shr* *idb.wy* ♦ *sd3.wty-bi.ty* ♦ *sdm sdm.wt wꜥ.w* ♦ *t3y-ḥw ḥr wnm.y (n.y) nsw* ♦ */// m3ꜥ.t* ♦ */// w m sw3ḥ rnp.wt ity* ♦ */// n.y pr.w-nsw* ♦ */// n.y mnḥ=f* *m-b3ḥ* ♦ */// [n.y nb] t3.wy* ♦ */// hp.w=f ḥt ///* ♦ */// ḥm.w=f m ib=f* ♦ */// ḥnt.y t3.wy r ir.t shr.wt rḥy.t*

- [B] *im.y-r3 im.yw-r3 n.w idb.wy* ♦ *im.y-r3 pr.w* ♦ *im.y-r3 pr.w wr* ♦ *im.y-r3 ḥḥ.w m p.t t3.w nb.w* ♦ *hr.y-tp m t3 r dr=f* ♦ *ḥr.y-tp n.y t3 r dr=f* ♦ *ḥn.ty t3.wy* ♦ *s3b ꜥd-mr sp3.t* ♦ */// Šmꜥ.w T3-mḥ.w*
- [C] *im.y-r3 n.y im.yw-r3 sš.w nb.w n.w nsw* ♦ *ḥr.y-tp m pr.w-md3.t* ♦ *sš nfr.w* ♦ *sš nsw* ♦ *sš nsw m3ꜥ mr.y=f*
- [D] [*im.y-r3*] *k3.t m Šmꜥ.w T3-mḥ.w* ♦ *im.y-r3 k3.t n.t dw n.y bi3.t* ♦ *im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t* ♦ *im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t n.t nsw* ♦ *im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t n.t nsw m s.t nb* ♦ *im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t n.t Šmꜥ.w T3-mḥ.w* ♦ [*mḥ*]-*ib n.y nsw m mn.w* ♦ *mḥ-ib n.y nsw m mn.w nb* ♦ *mḥ-ib n.y nsw m smnḥ mn.w=f* ♦ *ḥr.y-tp m sh ḥmw.w*
- [E] *im.y-r3 i3.wt nb.t ntr.t* ♦ *im.y-r3 pr.w n.y Imn.w-Rꜥ.w* ♦ *im.y-r3 ḥm.w-ntr n.w Hr.w nb Sby*
- [F] *im.y-r3 im.yw-r3 mšꜥ nb t3.wy* ♦ *im.y-r3 mšꜥ n.y nb t3.wy* ♦ *im.y-r3 mšꜥ wr* ♦ *im.y-r3 mšꜥ wr n.y nb t3.wy* ♦ *im.y-r3 mšꜥ wr n.y nsw* ♦ *im.y-r3 nfr.w n.w nb t3.wy* ♦ *wpw.ty nsw* ♦ *wpw.ty nsw r-ḥ3.t mšꜥ=f r ḥ3s.t rsy.t mḥ.ty* ♦ *ḥr.y-tp mnf3.t nb.t ir.yw ḥn.t r rw.ty ꜥḥ* ♦ *ḥsb mnf3.t* ♦ *šms.w nsw r nmt.t=f ḥr ḥ3s.t rsy.t mḥ.ty*

Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Tutankhamun–Ay
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area
Discovered	G. d’Anastasi, early 1820s; A. Mariette 1858–9; EES/Leiden archaeological mission (dir. G.T. Martin), 1975
Remains	Tomb
Present loc.	<u>0. in-situ</u>

- Temple-tomb constructed of mud brick with a limestone revetment

I. Reliefs

- Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 22.128
- Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 20363
- Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 22663
- Bologna, Museo Civico 1885–9
- Chicago, Oriental Institute Museum 10591
- Florence, Museo Archeologico 2566
- Frankfurt, Liebieghaus 270
- Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, H.III.OOOO
- Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, H.III.PPPP
- Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, H.III.QQQQ
- Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, H.III.SSSS
- Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, EG-ZM3019
- Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, F 1914/4.1
- Munich, Ägyptische Sammlung 7089
- Brooklyn Museum 32.103

- Paris, Musée du Louvre E11273 (B 56)
- Paris, Musée du Louvre E11274 (B 57)
- Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 214

II. Statues

- Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, AST 4
- Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, L.X.2
- London, British Museum EA 36 (dyad)
- New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 23.10.1
- Sydney, Nicholson Museum R1138

III. Architectural elements

- Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 11332 – 3 column panels
- Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 11334 – column panel
- London, British Museum EA 550 – pilaster
- London, British Museum EA 552 – pilaster

IV. Stelae

- Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 8.6.24.20 – fragment
- London, British Museum EA 551
- St. Petersburg, Hermitage 1061 – fragment

Comments

Bibliography PM III/2, 655–61, pl. 62 ♦ PN I, 248.7 ♦ MARIETTE 1872, 25–6, pls 74–5 ♦ MARTIN 1989 ♦ SCHNEIDER 1996 ♦ SOWADA 1994, 137–43, pl. 12 ♦ RAVEN et al. 2011b.

[304]	<i>Hr-m-ḥb</i>	Chief Steward of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Horemheb	
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t ḥz.ty-^c.w ♦ wr m-ḥz.t rḥy.t ♦ smr w^c.ty ♦ sdz.wty-bi.ty ♦ tzy-ḥw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw</i></p> <p>[B] <i>/// m t3 ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nb t3.wy ♦ im.y-r3 pr.w n.y nb t3.wy</i></p> <p>[C] <i>sš nsw ♦ sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f</i></p>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias	
Discovered	Quibell	
Remains	<p><u>I. Reliefs</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 43276 and TN 17.6.24.5 • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 14.6.24.25 • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 19.6.24.15-17 • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 19.6.24.18 • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 43277 (+ another block) • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 19.6.24.4-5 • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 19.6.24.11 / TN 19.6.24.13 • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 43276 (+ more) 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The title <i>im.y-r3 pr.w</i> is attested most often. ▪ His wife is Ty, the <i>šm^c.yt n.yt Imn.w nb nsw.t t3.wy; nb.t pr.</i> 	

Bibliography PM III/2, 667–8 ♦ *PN* I, 248.7 ♦ *KRI* III, 187–91 ♦ Quibell 1912 (see reference in section above) ♦ RAEDLER 2012, 129, with n. 28.

[305]	<i>Hr-Mn(.w)</i>	Overseer of the Royal Apartments of the Harim at Memphis
Tomb. No.	LS 29 (Lepsius)	
Name	Hormin	
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr</i></p> <p>[B] <i>im.y-r3 ḥtm.w-nsw ♦ im.y-r3 ḥtm.w n.w nb t3.wy ♦ im.y-r3 ip.t nsw ♦ im.y-r3 ip.t nsw n.yt Mn-nfr ♦ im.y-r3 ip.t nsw n.yt pr.w-ip.t m Mn-nfr ♦ im.y-r3 ip.t nsw n.yt ḥnr m Mn-nfr</i></p> <p>[C] <i>sš nsw ♦ sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f ♦ sš nsw wdḥ.w</i></p>	
Date	Early 19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Seti I–Ramesses II	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, area between the monastery of Apa Jeremias and the pyramid of Sekhemkhet	
Discovered	G. d’Anastasi, early 1820s; R. Lepsius 1843; A. Mariette 1857–59	
Remains	<p><u>I. Reliefs</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bologna, Museo Civico EG 1944 • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 8374–82 • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 1.7.24.6 • Paris, Musée du Louvre C 213 [E.3337] <p><u>II. Statues</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 5 – naophorous statue <p><u>IV. Stelae</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7274 • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7305 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 664–5; VIII/2, 679 (801–634–200) ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 248.19 ♦ BARBOTIN 2005, 170–1, No. 92 ♦ BERLANDINI 1977, pl. 14.B (Cairo JE 8378) ♦ BOESER 1912, 8, No. 19, pl. 7 ♦ GOHARY 1991a, 94 n. 12 ♦ HOFMANN 2004, 102–3 and fig. 27 (stela Berlin) ♦ <i>LD Text</i> , I, 185, pl. 31 ♦ MARIETTE 1872, 20, pl. 60 ♦ PERNIGOTTI 1997, 143–50 ♦ PERNIGOTTI 2001–2, 155–67 ♦ STARING 2015a, Cat. 199.	

[306]	<i>Hr-ms(.w)</i>	Steward of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Hormose	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y nb t3.wy</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias	
Discovered	J.E. Quibell	
Remains	<p><u>I. Reliefs</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 669 ♦ <i>PN</i> I, 249.1 ♦ QUIBELL 1912, 145, pl. 72.7.	

[307]	<i>Hri</i>	High Priest of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	

Name	Hori (I)
Title(s)	[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t ♦ ir.y-p^c.t ḥz.ty-^c.w ♦ nb ʕk prī.t m r3-st3.w ♦ ḥr.y-tp t3.wy</i> [E] <i>it-ntr mr.y ntr ♦ ḥr.y-sšt3 m ḥw.t Pth ♦ sm wr-ḥrp-ḥmw.w</i>
Date	Late 19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II–Merenptah
Provenance	South of Unas causeway, found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeramias (pillar)
Discovered	J.E. Quibell
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 43271 – <i>djed</i> pillar <u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, (former) Collection Michaelides – from Mit Rahineh <p>+ Perhaps of the same man, or possibly of Hori II [311], the son of Ptahmose; cf. MAYSTRE 1992, 142; PM III/2, 704:</p> <u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Private collection? (seen with an art dealer by M. Grdseloff; MAYSTRE 1992, Doc. 89: dedicated by “his son”, the High Priest of Ptah Pahemneter ([130] or / [308]?), son of Mahu (also: pillar Florence 2607). See RAEDLER 2011, 140: Pahemneter II (son of Mahu, “son” of Hori) = Pahemneter III (“son” of Hori, “brother” of Vizier Hori (Siptah–Ramesses III)?) <u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • London, British Museum 845 (naophorous statue of Hori I or II; Maystre Doc. 91) <u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 57 – sandstone sarcophagus (MAYSTRE 1992, Doc. 90) • London, British Museum 36530-36535 – canopic jars <u>VIII. Extra-sepulchral objects</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris, Musée du Louvre 1738 (N 768) – from Serapeum; MAYSTRE 1992, Doc. 92)
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ PM and RAEDLER 2011: son of Khaemwaset (fourth son of Ramesses II) [319]. ▪ Mentioned on stela London BM EA 167 of Ptahemwia [150]. ▪ The stela (Collection Michaelides) depicts also his wife, the Songstress of Hathor, Lady of the Southern Sycamore, his son Kem, who is Prophet of Baal, daughters, and his father Khaemwaset. ▪ MAYSTRE 1992, 142: this is not the son of Khaemwaset, son of Ramesses II, but the son of Khaemwaset (I), the son of the Vizier Hori (cf. Stela Coll. Michaelides).
Bibliography	PM III/2, 703–4 ♦ PN I, 251.8 ♦ KRI IV, 292–3 ♦ MARIETTE 1857, pl. 10 ♦ MAYSTRE 1948, 449–55, pl. 1 ♦ MAYSTRE 1992, 142, Doc. 87 (Hori I) ♦ QUIBELL 1912, 144, pl. 70.1–3 ♦ RAEDLER 2011, 139 table 1, 140.

[308]	<i>Hri</i>	Vizier
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Hori	
Title(s)	[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t ḥz.ty-^c.w</i>	
	[B] <i>im.y-r3 niw.t t3.ty ♦ s3b</i>	

	[E] <i>it-nṯr</i> ♦ <i>ḥr.y-sštꜣ</i> ♦ <i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Ḳmn.w</i> ♦ <i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Ḳmn.w-R^c.w nsw-nṯr.w</i>
Date	Late 19 th –20 th Dynasty
Provenance	Location lost
Discovered	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Memphis Magazine, Excavation No. M-2218 (relief fragment found at Memphis) <u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris, Musée du Louvre A. 72 – dyad
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Relief block excavated by an archaeological mission of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania led by Clarence Fisher, 1958–62. ▪ Double statue with the High Priest Pahemneter [308].
Bibliography	PM III/2, 731 ♦ PN I, 251.8 ♦ BOREUX 1932, I, 55, pl. 4 ♦ DURAND/SARAGOZA 2002, 73, Cat. 52 ♦ KRI IV, 294 ♦ MAYSTRE 1992, 143 (HP Pehemneter), Doc. 101 ♦ SCHULMAN 1988b, 86 n. 47, pl. 12B.

[309]	<i>Hri</i>	Royal Butler
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Hori	
Title(s)	[B] <i>wbꜣ nsw</i>	
Date	20 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses III/IV (or later)	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery (above/adjacent to the pyramid temple)	
Discovered	C.M. Firth, 1920s	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb-chapel, <i>in situ</i></u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb chapel constructed of limestone blocks (removed) <u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gunn, <i>Notebook</i> 6, Nos 4, 13 – relief fragment <u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neuchâtel, Musée d'Ethnographie Eg. 428 (?) 	
Description	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Hori, son of the Royal Butler Ptahemwia. See: [253]: Nakht-Amun, Head of Servants of the Royal Butler Hori (Neuchâtel Eg.428). 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 751 ♦ PN I, 251.8 ♦ MÁLEK 1988, 125–36.	

[310]	<i>Hri</i>	Wab Priest and Lector Priest in the Temple of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Hori	
Title(s)	[E] <i>w^cb n.y Pth</i> ♦ <i>w^cb ḥr.y-ḥb n.y Pth</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Saqqara (?)	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 50 (V.57) 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PN I, 251.8 ♦ BOESER 1913, 9, No. 30, pl. 20 ♦ RAVEN/STARING 2007, 10, Cat. 158.	

[311]	<i>Hri</i>	High Priest of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Hori (II)	
Title(s)	[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t h3.ty-^c.w</i> [E] <i>it-ntr mr.y ntr ♦ w^cb sntr.wy (c.wwy?) iri sntr ♦ sm wr-hrp-hmw.w</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Mit Rahineh	
Discovered	?	
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 20.1.25.4 (limestone column found at Mit Rahineh) <p>+ Perhaps of the same man, or of Hori I [307], son of Khaemwas (see MAYSTRE 1992, 142; PM III/2, 704):</p> <u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Private collection? (seen with an art dealer by M. Grdseloff; MAYSTRE 1992, Doc. 89); dedicated by “his son”, the High Priest of Ptah Pahemmeter. <u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • London, British Museum 845 (naophorous statue of Hori I or II; Maystre Doc. 91) <u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 57 – sandstone sarcophagus (MAYSTRE 1992, Doc. 90) • London, British Museum 36530–5 – canopic jars <u>VIII. Extra-sepulchral objects</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris, Musée du Louvre 1738 (N 768) (from Serapeum; MAYSTRE 1992, Doc. 92) 	
Comments	▪ Hori is the son of Ptahmose (no titles added).	
Bibliography	PN I, 251.8 ♦ DARESSY 1889, 81, No. 24 ♦ MAYSTRE 1992, 142, Doc. 88.	
[312]	<i>Hri</i>	Overseer of the Northern Foreign Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Hori	
Title(s)	[A] <i>/// nb t3.wy ♦ hs.y n.y ntr nfr</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 h3s.t mh.tyt</i>	
Date	“New Kingdom”	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; tomb of Tia [372]	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1982–5	
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. (?) 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Statue: fragment of the back-pillar of a statuette (26 x 20 x 13 cm), much weatherworn. The fragment contains one framed column of incised hieroglyphs. ▪ Another statue(?) fragment with the name <i>Hri</i> (SAK 2010 R-044; preserving part of an incised inscription) was found in 2010 south of the tomb of Ptahemwia [147]. 	
Bibliography	PN I, 251.8 ♦ MARTIN 1997, 49, No. 350, pl. 101.	

[313]	<i>Hri</i>	<i>"kn.w"</i>
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Hori	
Title(s)	[?] <i>kn.w ʿz pr.w Pth m (p ʿ mhy.t ?)</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, "Ninetjer area"	
Discovered	P. Munro, 1986	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine (?) – relief fragment D 3/3-4.86a <u>III. Architectural elements</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine (?) – lintel fragment D 3/4-19.86 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ According to Munro, this otherwise unattested title refers to some sort of a police service in the temple of Ptah. ▪ Perhaps it <i>kn.w</i> should be considered as a noun: "the strong/brave one", i.e. a honorific title. 	
Bibliography	PN I, 251.8 ♦ MUNRO 1988, 78–9.	
[314]	<i>Hri dd.n=f Rʿ</i>	First Prophet of Weret-Hekau
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Hori Re	
Title(s)	[A] <i>hs.y n.y nb tʿ.wy</i> [B] <i>im.y hnt</i> [E] <i>hm-ntr tp.y Wr.t-Hkʿ.w</i>	
Date	Late 18 th /early 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 806 – statuette (wood) 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 726 ♦ PN I, 251.8 ♦ BORCHARDT 1930, 102–3, pl. 149.	
[315]	<i>Hsy-nb=f</i>	?
Tomb. No.	99/4B (Leiden mission)	
Name	Hesynebef	
Title(s)	?	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; south of the south exterior wall of the inner courtyard of Horemheb (cf. fig. I.16)	
Discovered	Leiden archaeological mission, 1999	
Remains	<u>0. In situ</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pit grave <u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 1999-127A – gabled rectangular wooden coffin [Cat. 14] with remains of a skeleton. • Saqqara Magazine – Wooden staff [Cat. 52] 	
Comments		
Bibliography	RAVEN et al. 2011b, 72, 76–80, Cat. 14; 90, Cat. 52, fig. I.20.	

[316]	<i>Hk3-m3^c.t-R^c-nhh</i>	First Royal Butler of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Hekamaatre-neheh	
Title(s)	<p>[B] <i>wb3 nsw n.y nb t3.wy</i> ♦ <i>/// tp.y n.y pr.w-^c3 ^cnh.w wd3.w snb.w / ///</i> <i>tp.y n.y hm=f</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 ^chnw.ty n.y nb t3.wy</i></p> <p>Perhaps also associated with this chapel:</p> <p>[A] <i>[t3y-hw] hr wnm.y n.y nsw</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w-hd</i></p>	
Date	20 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid Cemetery, mortuary temple area, above the south-east corner; probably directly to the west of the tomb of Akhpet [008]	
Discovered	C.M. Firth, 1921–2	
Remains	<p><u>0. Tomb structure</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb structure made of limestone blocks; blocks now in a Saqqara Magazine? 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 558 ♦ GIDDY 1992, 5 ♦ GUNN, MSS 19 [4–6] ♦ GUNN, <i>Notebook</i> 6, Nos 21 [8], 61, 63 ♦ MÁLEK 1985, 43–60, pls 2–5 ♦ MÁLEK 1989b, 7 (tomb A3).	
[317]	<i>Hk3-nhh</i>	Chief Steward of the King / in Memphis
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Heqaneheh	
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t h3.ty-^c.w</i> ♦ <i>smr w^c.ty</i></p> <p>[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nsw.t</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y Mn-nfr</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 s.t nb.t n.yt nsw.t</i> ♦ <i>šms.w nb=f hr h3s.wt rsy.wt mh.tywt</i></p> <p>[D] <i>im.y-r3 hmw.w</i> ♦ <i>im.y-r3 k3.t</i></p> <p>[E] <i>sšm.w-hb n.y [rs.y inb]=f</i></p>	
Date	Borchardt: 19 th Dynasty or later	
Provenance	Memphis (Helck)	
Discovered		
Remains	<p><u>II. Statues</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 1014 	
Comments	▪ Eight fragments of a seated statue, represented as Osiris (granite, h: 35 cm).	
Bibliography	PN I, 256.13 ♦ BORCHARDT 1934, 27 ♦ HELCK 1958, 487, No. 17.	
[318]	<i>H^c(i)-m-ip.t (?)</i>	Royal Scribe
Tomb. No.	ST 106 (Cairo University)	
Name	Khaemipet (?)	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš nsw</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area	
Discovered	Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88	
Remains	<p><u>0. Tomb structure</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb superstructure made of limestone blocks 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PN I, 263.18 ♦ TAWFIK 1991, 406, fig. 1.	

[319]	<i>H^c(i)-m-w3s.t</i>	High Priest of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Khaemwaset	
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>3h n.y Pth</i> ♦ <i>iri.w hrr.t k3=f</i> ♦ <i>ir.y-p^c.t h3.ty-^c.w</i> ♦ <i>hnt.y r3-st3.w</i> ♦ <i>snn mr.y n.y Pth</i></p> <p>[B] <i>h3.ty-^c.w m 'I3.t-Tmt</i> ♦ <i>hr.y-tp t3.wy</i></p> <p>[E] <i>rh n.ty m r-pr.w</i> ♦ <i>rh t3.w-dsr.w r-pr.w</i> ♦ <i>hm-ntr m t3 hw.t R^c.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w m pr.w Pth</i> ♦ <i>hr.y-sšt3 m r3-st3.w</i> ♦ <i>hr.y-sšt3 n.y p.t t3 dw3.t</i> ♦ <i>hr.y-sšt3 n.y Sht-ntr</i> ♦ <i>hrp i3.wt nb.wt</i> ♦ <i>hrp šnd.wt nb.t</i> ♦ <i>sm wr-hrp-hmw.w</i> ♦ <i>sm m s.t 'Iwn-mw.t=f</i> ♦ <i>sm n.y Pth</i> ♦ <i>sti-Gbb</i></p>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II; High Priest of Ptah: Ramesses II, Years 16–52	
Provenance	Location lost; blocks found reused in the Apa Jeremias Monastery and in the Serapeum	
Discovered	A. Mariette, 1850s; J.E. Quibell, 1908–12; C.M. Firth, 1920s	
Remains	<p><u>I. Reliefs</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 40016 • Hannover, Museum August-Kestner 1935.200.183 • Paris, Musée du Louvre E.25497 • Paris, Musée du Louvre N.518 • Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 5081–3; 5095–7 <p><u>II. Statues</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum 17.11.24.2 – socle of a statue • Location unknown – statue base, found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias <p><u>III. Architectural elements</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 41525 – column (fragment) <p><u>V. Burial equipment</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 87–108 – faience shabti • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 87–103 – faience shabti (fragment) • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 87–405 – faience shabti (fragment) 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Khaemwaset is the fourth son of Ramesses II. ▪ Shabtis of a <i>sm n.y Pth</i> named Khaemwaset were found in the tomb of Maya [184], on the surface over the statue chamber, the surface over the pylon and the top of shaft iii. The shabtis are dated by the excavators to the late 18th to 19th Dynasty. 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 572, 704, 819 ♦ PN I, 263.19 ♦ DEVÉRIA squeezes, 6170C, 5 (block with text) ♦ GOMÀÀ 1973 (Cat. Nos 76–84) ♦ GUNN MSS. 15.2, 1–3 (false door of deceased) ♦ GUNN, <i>Notebook</i> 7, No. 36 (column fragment) ♦ LAUER 1961, 15 [middle] ♦ MÁLEK 1989b, 7 (stela C12; block D4; monument G14) ♦ MARIETTE 1864, 283–4 [29] ♦ MAYSTRE 1992, 147–56, Doc. 107–46 ♦ QUIBELL 1909, 4–5 ♦ QUIBELL 1912, 16, 29 (‘... on another fragment, the name of Khaemuas’), 45–6 ♦ RAEDLER 2011.	

[320]	<i>H^c(i)-m-w3s.t Ky3-wi3</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Khaemwaset Kiawia	
Title(s)	?	

Date	19 th Dynasty
Provenance	Location lost
Discovered	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 18922
Comments	• Khaemwaset Kiawia is depicted as a harpist
Bibliography	PM III/2, 737 • <i>PN I</i> , 263.18 + 343.11 • HICKMANN 1961, 148–9, fig. 120.

[321]	<i>H^c(i)-m-ntr</i>	Controller (Inspector/Agent)
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Khaemneter	
Title(s)	[B] <i>rwḏ.w</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; c. 4 m south of outer court of Horemheb [303] (right half); just south of chapel A of Iniuia [066] (left half).	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1993	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. SAK 2009-R6 (relief fragment, found in the area between the tombs of Iniuia [066] and Horemheb [303]; unpublished) <u>III. Architectural elements</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excavation No. R 93-2 – lintel 	
Comments		
Bibliography	SCHNEIDER 2012, 101, No. 28, fig. III.59 • VAN DIJK, in SCHNEIDER et al. 1993, 8.	

[322]	<i>H^cy</i>	Overseer of the Treasury of the Temple of Ramesses II in the House of Amun
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Khay	
Title(s)	[A] <i>ḥs.y ʿz n.y ntr nfr</i> [B] <i>im.y-rz pr.w-ḥḏ • im.y-rz pr.w-ḥḏ n.y t3 ḥw.t n.yt rnp.wt n.yt nsw.t bi.ty Wsr-Mz^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w • im.y-rz pr.w-ḥḏ m ḥw.t Wsr-mz^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w</i> [C] <i>sš nsw • sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	A. Mariette, March 1859 (statues)	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constructed of mudbrick with limestone revetment and a court with <i>djed</i> pillars (photographed by Devéria in 1859; now lost) <u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [Possibly the same man:] Block found by Quibell reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias, bearing the name of <i>H^cy</i> (QUIBELL 1908, 65). <u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 604 (286) (with naos of Ra-Horakhti; <i>in situ</i>, 1859) 	

- Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 606 (285) (with naos of Osiris; *in situ*, 1859)

III. Architectural elements

- Cairo, Egyptian Museum Nos unknown – 4 *djed* pillars of Khay, *temp.* Ramesses II (see MARIETTE 1864, 63 [18–21]; 1868, 99–100 [101–104] (cf. also BERLANDINI 1988, 25).

V. Funerary equipment

- Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 46563 = JE 4647 – shabti (as: *im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd*).

VII. Extra-sepulchral objects

- Brussels E. 5184 (from Abydos; excavations of J. Garstang)

Comments ▪ Tomb photographed by Devéria, 1859: Musée d’Orsay PHO 1986 144 60, MS 178 130; Musée d’Orsay PHO 1986 144 63, MS 178 133;

▪ His wife is the *nb.t pr Ḥr(i).t-ib-Mn-nfr*.

▪ Shabti: “Sakḳāra (1859)”.

Bibliography PM III/2, 726, 775A and Addenda ♦ PN I, 265.7 ♦ BORCHARDT 1925, 154–5; 155–6, pls 109–10 ♦ KRI III, 373 (Cairo CG 604 and Brussels 5184) ♦ LEBLANC 2012, 81–98, pl. 14.A ♦ MARIETTE 1868, 99–100 ♦ MARIETTE 1872, 21, pl. 63f ♦ MASPERO 1915, 44–5 ♦ NEWBERRY 1957, I, 20 ♦ PASQUALI 2013, 315–16, figs 10–11 ♦ SPELEERS 1923, 64, No. 267 ♦ VAN DIJK 1983, 52, Nos 4–5.

[323]	Ḥꜣy	Merchant of the Treasury of Pharaoh, l.p.h.
Tomb No.	-	
Name	Khay	
Title(s)	[B]	<i>iꜣw</i> ♦ <i>iꜣw nbw</i> ♦ [<i>iꜣw</i>] <i>nbw n.y nb t3.wy</i> ♦ [<i>iꜣw</i>] <i>nbw n.y pr.w-ḥd</i> ♦ <i>hr.y pḏ.t n.y šw.ty n.y pr.w-ḥd</i> [<i>n.y</i>] <i>pr.w-ꜣ3</i> <i>ꜣnh.w wḏ3.w snb.w</i> ♦ <i>hr.y šw.ty</i> ♦ <i>šw.ty</i> ♦ <i>šw.ty n.y pr.w-ḥd</i> <i>n.y pr.w-ꜣ3</i> <i>ꜣnh.w wḏ3.w snb.w</i> ♦ <i>šw.ty n.y pr.w-ḥd</i> <i>n.y nb t3.wy</i>
Date	Late 19 th –20 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission (dir. G.T. Martin), 1986	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limestone-built tomb chapel <u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7314 	
Comments	▪ Stela formerly in Passalacqua collection, 1828. ▪ Father of Piay [142] and Pabes [105]?	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 733 ♦ PN I, 265.7 ♦ MARTIN 2001 ♦ ROEDER 1924, 152–3.	

[324]	Ḥꜣy	Head of Custodians of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb No.	-	
Name	Khay	
Title(s)	[B]	<i>hr.y s3w.ty n.y nb t3.wy</i>
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Ex-coll. Passalacqua, 1828	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7281 	

Comments ▪ Depicted with his wife Henutwedjeb. Both receive offerings from the *hr.y s3w.ty R^c-ms* and his wife.

Bibliography PM III/2, 733 ♦ *PN* I, 265.7 ♦ ROEDER 1924, 163–4.

[325]	<i>H^cy</i>	True Scribe of the Accounting
Tomb. No.	Burial No. 358 (Quibell)	
Name	Khay	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš m3^c n.y tp-hsb</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Seti I	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid Cemetery, pyramid temple area	
Discovered	J.E. Quibell 1907–8	
Remains	<u>0. In situ</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Intact mat-burial (present location unknown) 	
	<u>VIII. Varia</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 68001 (JE 39925) – senet game 	

Comments

Bibliography *PN* I, 265.7 ♦ PUSCH 1979, 299–302 (Br. 5), pl. 76 ♦ QUIBELL 1909, 21, 114, fig. 4 (p. 19), pls 58–9.

[326]	<i>H^cy</i>	Wab Priest of the Front of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Khay (“Khay II”)	
Title(s)	[B] <i>3 n.y š n.y p3 š n.y pr.w-3 3nh.w wd3.w snb.w</i> [E] <i>[w^cb] n.y h3.t n.y Pth</i>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty/Ramesside	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission (dir. H.D. Schneider), 1993 (pyramid and pyramidion); Leiden archaeological mission, 2009 (tomb structure)	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tomb chapel constructed of mud brick with a limestone revetment 	
	<u>I. Reliefs</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. R 93-71 – door jamb (?); without name; only the title ‘Overseer of the Garden of Pharaoh, l.p.h.’, which could be either Khay or his father) 	
	<u>III. Architectural elements</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Saqqara Magazine, SAK 93-18 – pyramidion 	
Comments	▪ Built against forecourt and second pylon of Horemheb. ▪ The pyramidion names Khay and his father, the Dignitary (<i>s3b</i>), <i>im.y-r3 hntyw[-š] n.y p3 š n.y pr.w-3 3nh.w wd3.w snb.w</i> (on block R 93-71 and pyramidion SAK 98-18), ‘Head Gardener of the Garden of Pharaoh, l.p.h.’, <i>h3-dy-dy</i> (Semitic hypocoristic derived from the name of the god Hadad, a form of Baal?).	
Bibliography	<i>PN</i> I, 265.7 ♦ RAVEN et al. 2010, 6–9 ♦ SCHNEIDER et al. 1993, 3, fig. 1, 8, pl. III.2 ♦ SCHNEIDER 2012, 102, No. 31, fig. III.61; 125–6, fig. VI.1a–d.	

[327]	<i>H^cc</i>	Scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	

Name Kha'
Title(s) [C] *sš* ♦ *sš n.y nb t3.wy*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp.* Seti I
Provenance Teti Pyramid Cemetery, mortuary temple area
Discovered J.E. Quibell 1907–8
Remains VIII. Varia
 Cairo CG 68001 – wooden draughts board

Comments

Bibliography PM III/2, 559 ♦ QUIBELL 1909, 21, 114–5, pls 58.1, 59 ♦ NEEDLER 1953, 74, No. 16.

[328] *Hns.w* **Head of Servants**

Tomb. No. -
Name Khonsu
Title(s) [B] *hr.y* ♦ *hr.y sdm.w*
Date Ramesside
Provenance Saqqara South: found reused (“in recent times”) north-west of the pyramid of Ibi
Discovered G. Jéquier, 1930
Remains II. Stelae
 • Present location unknown

Comments
 ▪ Rectangular stela with decoration in two registers; lower third containing 6 + x lines of text. The lower part of the stela is heavily worn.
 ▪ Wife of Khonsu is the Lady of the House *Shm.t*.

Bibliography PM III/2, 675 ♦ JÉQUIER 1935, 30–1, No. 13, pl. 20.

[329] *Hnswi3 / Hcy* ?

Tomb. No. -
Name “Khensia, Khay, and others”
Title(s) -
Date 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Amenhotep III
Provenance Teti Pyramid Cemetery
Discovered C.M. Firth, 1920s
Remains IV. Stelae
 Present location unknown

Comments

Bibliography PM III/2, 572 ♦ PN I, 265.7 ♦ AHMED FAKHRY, MSS (photo) ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 2007a, 70 with n. 28, pl. 3 ♦ GUNN, *Notebook* 7, No. 39 (text only) ♦ MÁLEK 1989b, 7 (stela C4).

[330] *Hns.w-p3-w3d* **Overseer of the Storehouse (?)**

Tomb. No. -
Name Khonsu Pawadj
Title(s) [B] *im.y-r3 s.t* (?)
Date Early 19th Dynasty
Provenance Location lost
Discovered Acquired in 1925 from a French dealer
Remains III. Architectural elements

- London, British Museum EA 36237 – *djed* pillar (4 fragments)

Comments

Bibliography VAN DIJK 1986, 9–10, fig. 2, pl. 1.1.

[331]	<i>Hnty-sz(?) - n-nb-tz</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Khent-sa-en-nebta	
Title(s)	?	
Date	Late 18 th / early 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 805 – statuette (wood) 	

Comments

Bibliography PM III/2, 726 ♦ Borchardt 1930, 102, pl. 149

[332]	S	Scribe of Documents of the Chief Steward
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Si	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš ♦ sš šc.t n.yt im.y-r3 pr.w wr ♦ sš šc.t n.yt im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nsw.t ♦ ir.w wstw m Mn-nfr r bw hri nsw.t m s.t=f nb.t</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Ex-coll. Passalacqua, 1828	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7272 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Scribe of documents / secretary. ▪ <i>wstw</i>: Wb I, 367, “<i>Amtliches Schreiben (an den König)</i>”; <i>r bw hri</i>: Wb I, 450: “<i>Aufenthaltort des Königs</i>” 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 734 ♦ ROEDER 1924, 109–10.	

[333]	Sz-sz.t	Royal Scribe
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Sa-ase	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš nsw</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Thutmose IV–Amenhotep III	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum 37.125E (formerly in Abbott and N.Y. Hist. Soc. Collns.) 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Statuette: bronze, Sa-ase grinding grain. ▪ Sa-ase is the son of the <i>Wab</i> Priest Ahmose. ▪ Brooklyn Museum X.701.2, the upper part of a small shrine with man in raised relief, asnd mentioning the Royal Scribe Sa-ase the son of the <i>szb</i> Ahmose, according to JAMES 1974, 124, may suggest a family relation with the owner of the statuette. 	

Bibliography PM III/2, 721 ♦ PN I, 278.21 ♦ JAMES 1974, 120, No. 271, pl. 70; 124, No. 280, pl. 72.

[334]	<i>S3-mw.t</i>	Scribe of the Treasury
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Samut	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš pr.w ḥd</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II–Merenptah	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Ex-coll. d'Anastasi, 1828	
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u> Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 22 – block statue	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM VIII/2, 610 (801–643–347) ♦ PN I, 282.3 ♦ Boeser 1912, 10, No. 23, pl. X ♦ Schneider/Raven 1981, 101, Cat. 90 ♦ Schulz 1992, 350, No. 200, pl. 89 ♦ STARING 2015a, Cat. 197 ♦ Vandier 1958, 670 [D. 50], pl. XLII [4].	

[335]	<i>S3-p3-ir</i>	Overseer of the Treasury
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Sipair	
Title(s)	[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t ḥ3.ty-^c.w ♦ ḥw [dr?]t=f [nrw(?)] ^cš3.t ♦ s^dm(?) mdw=f m šny.t n.t sr.w ḥr nsw ♦ ir(i) ^cḥ [nsw] r ir.t šhr t3.w ir(r.w) ḥr mw ir(r.w) ḥr t3 ♦ mtī m3^c (?) mh3.t nb t3.wy ♦ ḥtm.t nb.t n.t nsw ḥr ḏb^c.t=f ♦ s^cb t-nt-ḥr m ḥd nbw ḥsb^d mfk3.t ^c3.t nb.t šps.t ♦ s^cry n(?) smr.w n nsw ♦ th ^cḥ nsw</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 ^chnw.ty ♦ im.y-r3 pr.wy-ḥd ♦ im.y-r3 ry.t m p3 hbny ♦ im.y-r3 ry.t m p3 hbny n.y pr.w nsw ♦ im.y-r3 ḥd-nbw ♦ im.y-r3 s.t n.yt ^ct irp ♦ ḥr.y šsp b3k.t t3.wy ḥrp.wt Šm^c.w T3-mḥ.w ♦ ḥrd n.y k3p ♦ t3y-3bw n.y nb t3.wy</i> [C] <i>sš nsw ♦ sš nsw n.y mr(.wt)=f</i> [F] <i>mdw n.y mš^c ♦ ḥr.y iḥ.w n.y ḥm=f</i>	
Date	MÁLEK 1989a: 18 th Dynasty (<i>temp.</i> Ahmose)	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Hay and Wilkinson, first half of the 19 th Century	
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements (?)</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7781 – pyramidion fragment or niche with statues? • Private Collection (?) – pyramidion/niche fragment; copied by Robert Hay and Sir John G. Wilkinson at Saqqara, first half of the 19th Century). 	
Comments	▪ Pyramidion fragment/niche Berlin ÄM 7781: acquired in 1878 was lost during World War II.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 732 ♦ PN I, 281.24 ♦ Hay MSS 29812, 85 (British Library) ♦ MÁLEK 1989a, 61–76 ♦ ROEDER 1924, 231–2 ♦ WILKINSON papers (VII. 49) (Calke Abbey, Bodleian Library, Oxford).	

[336]	<i>S3y-m-pti=f</i>	Head of Goldworkers of the temple of Seti I
Tomb. No.	-	

Name	Sayempetref
Title(s)	[A] <i>ḥs.y n.y ntr=f</i> [D] <i>ḥr.y nby.w ♦ ḥr.y nbw.w n.w t3 ḥw.t Mn-m3ꜥ.t-Rꜥ.w ♦ ḥr.y nbw.w n.w nb t3.wy</i>
Date	Early 19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Seti I or later
Provenance	Location lost
Discovered	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 8851 (ex-coll. Van Leer 8**) • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 52542 (SR 11766) • Hannover, Museum August-Kestner 4506 • Hannover, Museum August-Kestner 1935.200.181 • Hannover, Museum August-Kestner 1935.200.187 • Private collection (Collection Jelgersma, Oegstgeest) <u>II. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Hague, Museon (formerly Gemeentemuseum voor Oude Kunst 1957)
Comments	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 716–17 ♦ PN I, 299.9 ♦ BLOK 1932, 81–94, pls 3–5 ♦ KEIMER 1929, 81–8, pl. 1 ♦ KRI I, 346–9 ♦ MARTIN 1991, 201 ♦ MARTIN 1995, 15, No. 67 ♦ VAN HAARLEM/SCHEURLEER 1986, 35, 37, fig. 17 ♦ VAN WIJNGAARDEN 1939, 264, pl. 4.

[337]	<i>S3y-m-pt(i)=f</i>	Outline Draughtsman
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Sayempetef	
Title(s)	[D] <i>sš kdw.t</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid Cemetery, mortuary temple area	
Discovered	J.E. Quibell 1906–7	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 39140 	
Comments	▪ According to Quibell: found on the west of the pyramid, on the level of the 19 th Dynasty pavement.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 559 ♦ PN I, 299.9 ♦ QUIBELL 1908, 80 [5], pl. 36.	

[338]	<i>S3rbyḥn Iby</i>	Prophet of Amun, Astarte, and Baal
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Serbykhen (or Serbybyn) Iby	
Title(s)	[A] <i>ḥs.y ʕ3 n.y ntr nfr ♦ mrr nb=f ḥr bl.t=f ikr.t</i> [E] <i>ḥm-ntr tp.y n.y Imn.w n.y psd.t m /// pr.w-nfr ♦ ḥm-ntr n.y Imn.w ♦ ḥm-ntr n.y ʕstr.t ♦ ḥm-ntr n.y Bꜥr</i>	
Date	Ramesside (?)	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, location lost	
Discovered	Objects bought by Lepsius from the antiquities dealer Massara (Cairo, 7 November 1842), who had excavated the the tomb at Saqqara.	
Remains	<u>VIII. Varia</u>	

- Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 1882 – wooden lid of box (“*mykenische Arbeit*”)
- Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 1785 – gold ring with name of Amenhotep IV
- Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 1284 – wooden staff of deceased (bought by Lepsius from Massara)
- Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum – *Totenskarabäus*; bought by Lepsius from Massara
- Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 8665 – *Stücke eines Halsbandes*
- Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum – wooden palette (number not known by Sethe)
- Paris, Musée du Louvre E 1155, E 2208, E 3860 – “*Länglichen Stück Kornaline*” : 3 cornaline amulettes, from the collection of Clot Bey: E 1155 and E 2208; and purchased from the collection Barrois: E 3860)
- Present location unknown – “*Schlängenkopf in Karneol*”

Comments ▪ See also *LD Text*, I, 185: LS 30, “*Brunnen*”: ‘... wo man den Ring des Dr. Abbott mit dem Vornamen Amenophis‘ II Aa-chepru-Ra [s. ob. p. 10, 18] gefunden hat. In der Nähe, etwas südöstlicher ist unser Ring [mit dem Vornamen Amenophis‘ IV, s. ob. p. 16] gefunden.’

Bibliography PM III/2, 716–17 ♦ Catalogue Barrois, 13, No. 37 ♦ DEWACHTER 1985a, 27–39 ♦ ERMAN 1899, 205, 209, 223 ♦ HASSAN 1976, 139, No. 15 ♦ *LD Text*, I, 16–17 ♦ PERROT/CHIPIEZ 1894, fig. 409 ♦ ROEDER 1924, 306.

[339] *S3k3* **/// of the Treasury in the Temple of Ramesses Meriamun in the House of Osiris**

Tomb. No. -
Name Saka
Title(s) [B] */// pr.w-ḥd m t3 ḥw.t R^c.w-ms-sw mr.y-Imn.w m pr.w Wsr*
Date 19th Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II or later
Provenance Location lost
Discovered Seen by Lepsius at Massara’s in Cairo (on 7 November 1842)
Remains IV. Stelae

- Present location unknown

Comments ▪ The stela also mentions the *sš pr.wy-ḥd S3b* (or: *Sth.y*)
Bibliography PM III/2, 748–9 ♦ *LD Text*, I, 17.

[340] *Sw-ḥr-^c.wy-Imn* ?

Tomb. No. -
Name Suherawyamun
Title(s) ?
Date 19th Dynasty
Provenance South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; tomb of Ramose [266], outer courtyard, niche in the exterior face of the north wall.
Discovered EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1988
Remains IV. Stelae

- Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 88-194

Comments ▪ Stela found *in situ* in a niche in the outer exterior wall of Ramose [266].
 ▪ Round-topped stela (55.5 x 45.5 x 4.9 cm) with representations in two registers, sunk relief.

Bibliography RAVEN 2001b, 22 [Cat. 20], pls 9c, 29.

[341]	<i>Swnr</i>	Royal Butler
Tomb. No.	ST 201 (Cairo University)	
Name	Suner	
Title(s)	[B] <i>wb3 nsw</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area	
Discovered	Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb structure built of limestone blocks 	
	<u>I. Reliefs</u>	
	• Yale, Yale University Art Gallery 1937.126 (?)	
Comments	▪ A man named Suner, titled Royal Secretary, is named in an inscription along with Khaemwaset in Gebel ek-Silsila (Speos of Horemheb; see HABACHI 1971, 64–72).	
Bibliography	SCOTT III 1986, 133–4, Cat. 75 ♦ TAWFIK 1991, 406, fig. 1, pl. 60a.	

[342]	<i>Swtw</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Sutu (Suner?)	
Title(s)	?	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Not indicated	
Remains	<u>IV. stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 14.3.25.6 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Round-topped stela (h: 41 cm) surmounted by a pyramidion, with representations in two registers, sunk relief. ▪ RADWAN 1987 reads the name as <i>St</i> or <i>Swt</i>. 	
Bibliography	RADWAN 1987, 226, pl. 5.	

[343]	<i>Sb3</i>	Overseer of Works
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Seba	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš nsw</i> [D] <i>im.y-r3 k3.t</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst Gl. WAF.33 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 729 ♦ PN I, 303.9 ♦ LÖHR AND MÜLLER 1972, 80–1, Cat. 71, pl. 43.	

[344]	<i>Sb3</i>	Scribe of Divine Offerings of the House of Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	

Name Seba
Title(s) [A] *w^c ikr [hr] bi.t=f ♦ hs.y ʕz n.y Pth nb Mz^c.t*
 [C] *sš pr.w-ḥd n.y nb Mz^c.t ♦ sš n.y pr.wy-ḥd n.y Pth ♦ sš ḥtp.w-ntr n.w pr.w Pth*
Date 19th Dynasty
Provenance Location lost
Discovered Ex-coll Passalacqua, 1828
Remains IV. Stelae
 • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7315
Comments
Bibliography PM III/2, 734 ♦ PN I, 303.9 ♦ ROEDER 1924, 172–3.

[345] *Sbk-msi(.w)* Scribe of the West of [the Aten]
Tomb. No. -
Name Sobekmose
Title(s) [C] *sš n.y t3 imn.tyt [n.y Itn.w]*
Date 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Tutankhamun
Provenance Location lost
Discovered Ex-coll P. Palagi (= ex-coll. G. di Nizzoli)
Remains I. Reliefs
 • Bologna, Museo Civico 1893
Comments ▪ Last part of title damaged, which renders the reading uncertain.
Bibliography PN I, 304.13 ♦ BRESCIANI 1975, 42–3, pl. 18 ♦ CURTO 1961, 86, No. 59, pl. 35.

[346] *Sbk-ḥtp(.w)* Custodian of the Temple of Thutmose I
Tomb. No. -
Name Sobekhotep
Title(s) [A] *hs.y n.y ntr nfr*
 [B] *sšw(.ty) ʕz n.y ḥz.ty ♦ sšw.ty n.y pr.w ʕz-ḥpr-kz-R^c.w*
Date - Late 18th Dynasty, *temp.* Amenhotep III
 - BINDER 2008, Cat. [197]: Amenhotep II–Thutmose IV
Provenance Location lost
Discovered Ex-coll. Di Nizzoli, 1824
Remains IV. Stelae
 • Florence, Museo Archeologico 2589
Comments ▪ Also on stela: his son Ptahmose (no titles; BINDER 2008, Cat. [085])
Bibliography PM III/2, 740 ♦ PN I, 305.6 ♦ BOSTICCO 1965, 29–31, No. 22, fig. 22 ♦ BRYAN 1990, 74–5 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 2007a, 87 n. 44 ♦ HELCK 1960, I, 983 ♦ *Urk* IV, 129, No. 50E.

[347] *Smn-t3.wy* Priest of the Carrying-chair
Tomb. No. -
Name Sementawy
Title(s) [E] *w^cb kny.t*
Date Late Ramesside (the potsherds found in the same context suggest a date at the end of the 19th Dynasty or 20th Dynasty, post-Merenptah)

Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area, south of Horemheb [303]; in area between Iniuia [066] (west), Khay II [326] (east) and Pay/Raia [099/279] (south)
Discovered	EEF/Leiden archaeological mission, 1996
Remains	<p><u>0. Tomb structure</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb 96/1 (tomb shaft) <p><u>IV. Stelae</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine (Sak R 93-90; unfinished and anepigraphic stela) <p><u>V. Burial equipment</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine – 9 wooden shabtis of Pena’ a [145] (Excav. Nos 96-58-60, 96-70-74); 3 for Sementawy (Excav. Nos 96-61, 96-64, 96-62); 3 for a lady Henut-pa-/// (Excav. Nos 96-66-68) • Saqqara Magazine, Excavation No. 96-84 – wooden shabti-box for Pena’ a
Comments	▪ Not certain whether the objects originally belonged to this chapel.
Bibliography	PN I, 307.11 ♦ RAVEN et al. 1997, 73, 76, fig. 4, pl. 4.2 (stela repositioned) ♦ RAVEN 2005, 20, 76–7 [Cat. 53, 54a–h, 55a–c, 56a–c], pls 4, 13, 80–1, 93–4, 100, 102 ♦ VAN WALSEM et al. 1999, 20, fig. 1.

[348]	Skh	Mayor of Memphis
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Sakeh	
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>ir.ty n.y nsw m t3 pn r dr=f ♦ im.y-ib n.y Hr.w m Inb.w-ḥd ♦ whm.w nsw ♦ [nb] mr.wt hr bi.t=f nfr.w ♦ nb ḥs.wt hr mdw.t r3=f</i></p> <p>[B] <i>ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w n.y Mn-nfr</i></p>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Tutankhamun–Ay[–Horemheb?]	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<p><u>I. Reliefs</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 5816 • Leipzig, Ägyptisches Museum Georg Steindorff Inv. No. 1827 	
Comments	▪ His wife in named Pypy, Beloved of Hathor Lady of the Sycamore. His son bears the title Stable Master, but his name is lost (relief Leipzig).	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 761 ♦ PN I, 321.9 ♦ HERZBERG forthcoming ♦ REINISCH 1865, 256, No. 21, pl. 39D ♦ VON BERGMANN/DEDEKIND 1894, 36, No. 8 ♦ SATZINGER 1994, 86–7, fig. 58 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 1997, 57–8, pl. 10.	

[349]	Sty	Head of Sailors of Maat
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Suty	
Title(s)	[E] <i>hr.y hn.yt n.yt M3ḥ.t</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<p><u>IV. Stelae</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 8781 (TN 5.11.24.4) 	
Comments		

Bibliography PM III/2, 737 ♦ PN I, 321.17 ♦ GABALLA 1979c, 42–4, fig. 1, pl. 1 ♦ LIEBLEIN, *Dict.*, no. 931, *Suppl.*, 975 ♦ VASSALLI MSS 22 [right].

[350]	<i>Sty</i>	Troop Commander of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Suty	
Title(s)	[F] <i>im.y-r3 ssm.t ♦ hr.y pd.t n.y nb t3.wy</i>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area. Found reused in the secondary staircase (seventh step) in the outer courtyard of the tomb of Pay and Raia [099/279].	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission (dir. H.D. Schneider), 1995	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. R94-83 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A textual graffito (hieratic) on incised on the block, reads: <i>sš Hw.y</i>. • VAN DIJK 1995, 21 n. 25, indicates it is tempting to identify this official with the standard-bearer of the regiment of Neferkheperure named Suty, who was the owner of a large and unfinished tomb at Amarna (No. 15; DAVIES 1906, 25, pls 38–9), although definite evidence is lacking. 	
Bibliography	PN I, 321.17 ♦ RAVEN 2005, 47, pl. 79 [75] ♦ VAN DIJK 1995, 20–1.	

[351]	<i>Stḥ / Stš</i>	Royal Butler
Tomb. No.	Bubastieion I.13 (MAFB)	
Name	Seth (Setesh)	
Title(s)	[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t ḥ3.ty-^c.w ♦ smr w^c.ty ♦ mr /// ♦ /// mr.y nb=f</i> [B] <i>wb3 nsw ♦ wb3 nsw w^cb ^c.wwy</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III/Amenhotep IV	
Provenance	Bubastieion, south excarpment	
Discovered	Mission Archéologique Française du Bubasteion (dir. A-P. Zivie), 1996	
Remains	<u>0. Rock-cut tomb</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>in-situ</i> 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PN I, 321.29 ♦ ZIVIE 1988, 109 ♦ ZIVIE 1997, 373–82 ♦ ZIVIE 2000, 173–92 ♦ ZIVIE 2007, 62–3, with photo of stela on p. 63.	

[352]	<i>Stḥ-ḥr-wnm=f</i>	Chief Steward of the Lord of the Two Lands / Royal Butler
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Seth-her-wenemef	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nb t3.wy ♦ wb3 nsw</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid Cemetery, mortuary temple area	
Discovered	J.E. Quibell 1906–7	
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements</u>	
	Saqqara Magazine? – column fragment	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • According to HELCK (1958, 273), Seth-her-wenemef is a foreign name. 	

Bibliography PM III/2, 559 ♦ PN I, 322.5 ♦ GIDDY 1992, 4–5 ♦ KRI III, 181 ♦ Quibell 1908, 81, pl. 37.4–5.

[353]	<i>Sth.y</i>	Scribe of Recruits
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Sety	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš nfr.w ♦ sš nsw</i>	
Date	Early 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Found reused in the Serapeum	
Discovered	E.A.O. excavations (dir. Ibrahim Aly), 1986	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u>	
	• Saqqara Magazine 4/Serapeum Lesser Vaults No. ? (fragment)	
Comments	▪ Relief fragment with representations in raised relief.	
Bibliography	PN I, 322.8 ♦ IBRAHIM ALY 2000, 231, pl. 31c.	

[354]	<i>Sth.y</i>	Custodian of the Treasury
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Sety	
Title(s)	[B] <i>sꜣw.ty pr.w-ḥd</i>	
Date	New Kingdom	
Provenance	Saqqara North, temple terrace and neighbourhood of Animal Galleries	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u>	
	London, British Museum EA 67156 – naophorous, with Ptah, lower part	
Comments	▪ Acquisition date: 1969. ▪ From a cache of objects in south-west corner, Sector I. ▪ The owner's father is probably the <i>sꜣw.ty pr.w-ḥd n.y nb tꜣ.wy Ḥ-Pth</i> , named on a tomb relief in the Detroit Institute of Arts.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 821 ♦ PN I, 322.8 ♦ MARTIN 1979, 58, No. 201, pl. 51.	

[355]	<i>Sty</i>	Sword Bearer in [front of] the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Sety	
Title(s)	[F] <i>ḥpšy m [///] nb tꜣ.wy ♦ tꜣy-ḥꜥ.w n.y šn.w ḥkꜣ m tꜣ.wy</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias	
Discovered	J.E. Quibell	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	• Present location unknown	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 667 ♦ QUIBELL 1909, 107–8, pl. 38.1–2.	

[356]	<i>Sty</i>	Scribe of Accounts of the Cattle of Amun
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Sety	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš ḥsb iḥ.w n.w Imn.w</i>	
Date	Early 19 th Dynasty	

- Provenance** Saqqara South: found reused (“in recent times”) north-west of the pyramid of Ibi
Discovered G. Jéquier, 1930
Remains II. Stelae
 • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 54155
Comments • The stela (157 x 34 cm) contains scenes in three registers. It is surmounted with a pyramidion, containing the sculpted representation of the tomb owner raising his hands in a gesture of adoration. The upper register contains the representation of the tomb owner, offering to Osiris (and Isis); the middle register depicts his father, the *tꜣy ḥꜣw n.y nb tꜣ.wy*, Weapons bearer of the Lord of the Two Lands, *Tw-sw*. He presents a libation to the young Scribe *Nḥtw-Imn*, who sits besides the Lady of the House, *Tꜣ-ḥꜣ(.t)*. The lower register depicts three offering bearers: two of his brothers, Mahu and Huy, and his mother Kefna.
Bibliography PM III/2, 675 • JÉQUIER 1930, 115, pl. 5 • JÉQUIER 1935, 29, No. 10, pl. 17.

- [357] *Ḳn-nḥt* ?
- Tomb. No.** -
Name Kennakht
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside
Provenance Teti Pyramid Cemetery, mortuary temple area
Discovered ?
Remains IV. Stelae
 • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 36856
Comments • PM: Kennakht adored by Mentuemweset
Bibliography PM III/2, 559.

- [358] *Ḳn-ḥr-ḥpš=f* (Royal) Butler
- Tomb. No.** -
Name Qenhirkhopshef
Title(s) [B] */// s.t šꜣ.t • wbꜣ (wdpw)*
Date Ramesside
Provenance Teti Pyramid Cemetery, above the satellite pyramid of the Teti pyramid complex
Discovered J.E. Quibell, 1906–7
Remains 0. Tomb structure
 • Tomb chapel constructed of limestone blocks; now lost
IV. Stelae
 Saqqara Magazine (?) – stela fragment, lower part
Comments • Reused in the Third Intermediate Period.
 • Description of the chapel by QUIBELL (1908, 4): ‘... Above the Neferkara pyramid, and at its east side, the lower part of a stela with the name [*Ḳn-ḥr-ḥpš=f*] was found. In front of it were the bases of several pillars in two rows and before these, on the same level, a large stone-lined shaft, the mouth of which had only been covered by slabs. These all clearly belonged together. Five metres south was another wall, running 7 metres to the west; only one block of the face remained (south face) but this bore in low relief the feet of two figures wearing sandals with turned up toes: the wall reappeared further west, above the

west wall of the pyramid yard and there turned south. Here again were fragmentary sculptures and before these walls was a pavement, above which a considerable number of pieces of inscription were found. One of these bore a cornice with two short columns of inscription *R^c.w-ms-s(w)-wsr-ḥpš* and *tzy-ḥw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw sš nsw* [270]’.

Bibliography PM III/2, 559 ♦ PN I, 334.23 ♦ GIDDY 1992, 4–5, pl. 4 ♦ GUNN, Notebook 8, No. 61 ♦ KITCHEN 1979b, fig. 14 ♦ MÁLEK 1985, fig. 10 ♦ QUIBELL 1908, 1, 4–6, 80, pls 4, 37.1.

[359]	<i>K3-msi(.w)</i>	<i>ššbw</i>
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Kamose	
Title(s)	[?] <i>ššbw</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris, Louvre C 208 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For the title <i>ššbw</i>: see <i>Wb.</i> IV, 410: “als Titel”. 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 746 ♦ PN I, 338.5 ♦ PIERRET 1878, 64.	

[360]	<i>K3(i)-nfr</i>	God’s Father
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Kanefer	
Title(s)	[E] <i>it-nfr</i> ♦ <i>ḥm-nfr n.y B3-nb-[dd] (nb) pr.w-k3</i>	
Date	New Kingdom	
Provenance	Saqqara North: Temple terrace and neighbourhood of Animal Galleries	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 91118 [203] – block statue 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • From a cache of objects in south-west corner, Sector I. 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 821 ♦ PN I, 340.10 ♦ EMERY 1967, 143, pls 21.4 [middle], 24.2, XXI. MARTIN 1979, 59, No. 203, pl. 52.	

[361]	<i>K3.y</i>	Head of Door-openers
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Kay	
Title(s)	[B] <i>ḥr.y ʿ3</i> ♦ <i>ḥr.y wnw</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	October 1862	
Remains	<u>V. Burial equipment</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 4220–4 (= JE 20197-99) – 3 canopic jars and lids 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • According to the <i>Journal d’Entrée</i>, a fourth jar was found broken. 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 771 ♦ PN I, 341.19 ♦ REISNER 1967, 154–8, pls 33–4.	

[362]	<i>Ky-iri</i>	Chief / Overseer of Craftsmen of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ky-iri	
Title(s)	[D] <i>im.y-r3 ḥmw.t ♦ im.y-r3 ḥmw.t /// pr.wy[-ʿ3] ♦ im.y-r3 ḥmw.w m p3-ḥpš ♦ im.y-r3 ḥmw.w n.w nb t3.wy ♦ ḥr.y ḥmw.w ♦ ḥr.y ḥmw.w wrr.t n.y /// ♦ ḥr.y ḥmw.w n.w p3-ḥpš ♦ ḥr.y ḥmw.w n.w nb t3.wy</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Found reused in the monastery of Apa Jeremias	
Discovered	J.E. Quibell	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum SR 11798 (not in Quibell) • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 17.6.24.9 <u>III. Architectural elements</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum (?) – 2 <i>djed</i> pillars 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 668 ♦ PN I, 343.6 ♦ GRAJETZKI 2001–2, 111–25 ♦ QUIBELL 1912, 145, pls 67.1, 68.2–6, 69.1–4, 75.1–11, 76.1–11, 77.3–9, 78.1–7, 80.4–6, 8–9, 11.	
[363]	<i>Km</i>	Sectional Chief of the New Poultry-yards of [the Temple of] Ptah
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Kama	
Title(s)	[B] <i>ʿ3 n.y kʿḥ n.y t3 mni.wt n.y Pth</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Location Isot	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7289 	
Comments	• Ex-coll. Passalacqua, 1828	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 733 ♦ PN I, 344.28 ♦ ROEDER 1924, 164–5.	
[364]	<i>Ks</i>	Chief Door-opener of the Stone Door
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Kasa	
Title(s)	[B] <i>s3w.ty n.y p3 sb3 n.y inr</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 8778 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 737 ♦ PN I, 348.13 ♦ BAKRY 1962b, 10–14, pls 2–3.	
[365]	<i>Ks</i>	Overseer of the Army
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Kasa	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš nsw ♦ sš nsw wr n.y nb t3.wy ♦ sš nsw m3ʿ mr.y=f</i> [F] <i>im.y-r3 mšʿ ♦ im.y-r3 mšʿ wr ♦ im.y-r3 mšʿ wr n.y nb t3.wy ♦ im.y-r3</i>	

	<i>mšꜥ n.y nb tꜣ.wy</i>
Date	Early 19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses I–Seti I
Provenance	Location lost
Discovered	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hannover, Museum August-Kestner 1935.200.196 • Marseille, Musée d'archéologie Méditerranéenne 240-3 – 4 stelae <u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marseille, Musée Borély NI 369/1 – shabti • Marseille, Musée Borély NI 369/2 – shabti • Marseille, Musée Borély NI 369/3 – shabti • Private collection – shabti • Private collection – shabti
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Son of the <i>sꜣb Hꜣ.t-iꜣy</i> and the <i>nb.t pr ꜣs.t</i>. ▪ Stela Hannover: dedicated by the <i>sš 'Imn.w-hrw</i>. ▪ Four stelae Marseille: ex-coll. Fernandez and Clot Bey.
Bibliography	PM III/2, 745 ♦ PN I, 348.13 ♦ BERLANDINI 1977, 38–44, pls 7–14 ♦ NELSON/PIERINI 1978, 72, figs 300–3 ♦ TAYLOR 2010, 120–1, Cat. 52–3 (Marseille Inv. Nos 240, 242).

[366]	<i>Kss</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Keses	
Title(s)	[A] <i>hs.y n.y nb tꜣ.wy</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; near the north-east corner of shaft 99/II, south of the south exterior wall of the inner courtyard of Horemheb [303] (cf. fig. I.16)	
Discovered	Leiden archaeological mission, 1999	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 1999-R34 (rectangular stela, fragment) 	
Comments		
Bibliography	RAVEN et al. 2011b, 60, No. 31, fig. on p. 61.	

[367]	<i>Tꜣ-sꜣ-ḥwi</i>	Royal Butler
Tomb. No.	ST 5 (Cairo University)	
Name	Tasahuy	
Title(s)	[A] <i>tꜣy-ḥw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw</i> [B] <i>wbꜣ nsw ♦ wbꜣ nsw wꜥb ꜥ.wwy ♦ wr swnw ♦ wr swnw m ꜥḥ nsw</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area	
Discovered	Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb constructed of limestone blocks 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ His wife is the Lady of the house, <i>Tꜣ-wr.t-m-ḥb</i>. ▪ His short name is <i>Tꜣ</i>; the son of <i>Hwy</i>. 	

Bibliography HANDOUSSA 1986, 409–19 ♦ TAWFIK 1991, 404, fig. 1, pl. 59a.

[368]	<i>T3-ti3</i>	Chief of Goldsmiths
Tomb No.	-	
Name	Tatia	
Title(s)	<p>[D] <i>ḳ.w m ḥw.t-nbw ♦ ḥr.y nby.w ♦ ḥr.y nby.w n.w Pth ♦ ḥr.y nby.w ḳ.w m ḥw.t-nbw n.yt Pth ♦ ḥr.y nby.w m ḥw.t-nbw ♦ ḥr.y nby.w n.w ḥw.t-nbw m pr.w Pth</i></p> <p>[E] <i>wḳb n.y Pth ♦ wḳb n.y ḥ3.t n.yt Pth</i></p>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area	
Discovered	Leiden archaeological mission (dir. M.J. Raven), 2009	
Remains	<p>0. <u>Tomb structure</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb chapel constructed of limestone blocks 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tatia was the brother of Mose, Scribe of the Treasury of Ptah [215] (Loret No. 5). 	
Bibliography	<i>PN I</i> , 372.7 ♦ GABALLA 1977a, 9, pl. XI cols. 32–36 ♦ OETERS 2012 ♦ RAVEN et al. 2010, 9–13, figs 8–11 ♦ RAVEN et al. 2011a, 15, figs 11–12.	

[369]	<i>T3</i>	Vizier
Tomb No.	-	
Name	Ta	
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>ir.y-pḳ.t</i></p> <p>[B] <i>im.y-r3 niw.t t3.ty</i></p>	
Date	20 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses III	
Provenance	Memphis (Ptah Temple or tomb?)	
Discovered	Bought by Sir Charles Nicholson from the antiquities dealer Massara, 1862	
Remains	<p>II. <u>Statues</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sydney, Nicholson Museum R. 1144 – naophorous statue with Ptah 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ta was Vizier during the reign of Ramesses III, Years 22–9, first Vizier of the South; in Year 29 both of the North and the South. • Ta held office until at least Year 2 of Ramesses IV, when Neferrenpet [235] was Vizier of the South. 	
Bibliography	<i>PN I</i> , 376.11 ♦ KITCHEN/OCKINGA 1992, 99–103, pls 20–1.	

[370]	<i>T3y-ḳnh(.w) (?)</i>	Chief of Initiates of Ptah
Tomb No.	-	
Name	Tay-ankh (?)	
Title(s)	[E] <i>ḥr.y ḳ.yw n.w Pth</i>	
Date	RAVEN/VAN WALSEM 2014: “unclear”	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area	
Discovered	Leiden-expedition, 2001	
Remains	<p>I. <u>Reliefs</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 2001-R290 (fragment) 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fragment with upper parts of five framed columns of text. • RAVEN/VAN WALSEM 2014, 164 n. 172: if the reading of the title is correct, the block may postdate the New Kingdom: the title is known only from the Graeco-Roman period. 	

Bibliography PN I, 354.24/377.24 ♦ RAVEN/VAN WALSEM 2014, 163–4, No. 119, fig. on p. 163.

[371]	Tyzy (Ty) ?
Tomb. No.	Loret shaft 52
Name	Tiyay
Title(s)	-
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III
Provenance	Teti Pyramid Cemetery, area of funerary temple of Khuit
Discovered	V. Loret, 1898
Remains	<u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 33172 = CG 48500 = Loret NI 116A – shabti • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 33176 = CG 48501 = Loret NI 118 – model coffin with funerary statuette
Comments	▪ According to Loret, it was a family tomb with 11 coffins; funerary equipment “poor”; he mentions 20 vessels, with some paint-decorated limestone vessels imitating more valuable stone vessels.
Bibliography	PN I, 377.22 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 2007a, 74–5, with nn. 72–80, pls 10–11 ♦ LORET 1899a, 96–7 ♦ LORET 1899b, 406–7 ♦ NEWBERRY 1957, 379–80, pls 15.380, 30.

[372]	Tīz	Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Tia	
Title(s)	[A]	<i>ir.y-p^c.t ḥz.ty-^c.w ♦ w^c ikr mty m^z^c ♦ mrr.w n.y nb t₃.wy (ḥr bit=f / ḥr šhrw=f) ♦ ḥn.y tp.y n.y ḥm=f ♦ ḥs.y ʿz n.y ntr nfr ♦ t₃y-ḥw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw</i>
	[B]	<i>im.y-r₃ ih.w wr ♦ im.y-r₃ ih.w wr n.y Imn.w-R^c.w nsw ntr.w ♦ im.y-r₃ pr.wy n.y ḥd-nbw ♦ im.y-r₃ pr.w ♦ im.y-r₃ pr.w wr ♦ im.y-r₃ pr.w n.y Imn.w n.y R^c.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w ♦ im.y-r₃ pr.w n.y nb t₃.wy ♦ im.y-r₃ pr.w-ḥd ♦ im.y-r₃ pr.w-ḥd m t₃ ḥw.t Wsr-m^z^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w ♦ im.y-r₃ pr.w-ḥd m t₃ ḥw.t Wsr-m^z^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w-R^c.w ♦ nsw ntr.w ♦ im.y-r₃ pr.w-ḥd n.y nb-t₃.wy</i>
	[C]	<i>sš nsw ♦ sš nsw m^z^c mr.y=f</i>
	[E]	<i>[ḥm-ntr tp.y] n.y Imn.w n.y R^c.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w ♦ /// [n.y R^c.w]-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w-m-wi₃</i>
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission (dir. G.T. Martin), 1982	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Temple-tomb constructed of limestone blocks <u>III. Architectural elements</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pyramidion, present location unknown – brought to England from Alexandria by William Lethieullier, 1722; later seen and copied by Alexander Gordon: MARTIN 1997, 7–8) <u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Durham, Oriental Museum N. 1965 – ex-coll. Duke of Northumberland; possibly derives from the Kafr el-Gebel chapel rather than the Memphite tomb: MARTIN 1997, 36) 	

- Florence, Museo Archeologico 2532

V. Burial equipment

- Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek ÆIN 48 – sarcophagus fragment (gift of Polack from Alexandria, 1858–9; possibly from the Kafr el-Gebel chapel; MARTIN 1997, 37)

Received by Leiden museum after excavation

- Two shabtis of the wife Tia, a stela fragment, a coffin mask, and a basket: F 1987/3.10-11, 13-15.

Comments

- The title */// [n.y R^c.w]-ms-sw-mry-ʿImn.w-m-wi3* : chapels for the sacred bark of Ramesses II existed in many temples including in the Ramesseum and Pi-Ramesse.
- The title Steward of Amun of Ramesses Meryamun: a special cult form of Amun linked with the deified Ramesses II, worshipped mainly at Pi-Ramesse.

Bibliography PM III/2, 654–5, pl. 62 ♦ PN I, 378.1 ♦ ABD EL-AAL 2009, 1–4 ♦ MARTIN 1997 ♦ RAVEN et al. 2011b, 153–89.

[373]	<i>Tn3</i>	Scribe of the Army of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Tena	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš ms^c n.y nb t3.wy</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>VIII. Varia</u>	
	• Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 8042 – palette	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 773 ♦ ROEDER 1924, 304.	

[374]	<i>Tnr (T)</i>	Overseer of Works on All Monuments of the King
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Tjuneroy	
Title(s)	[A] <i>mnḥ n.y nb t3.wy ♦ ḥs.y ʿ3 n.y nb t3.wy ♦ ḥs.y n.y ntr nfr</i> [B] <i>ḥr.y wdb ♦ ḥr.y-tp</i> [C] <i>sš nsw ♦ sš ḥr.y-tp</i> [D] <i>im.y-r3 k3.t m mn.w nb n.y nb t3.wy ♦ im.y-r3 k3.t m mn.w nb n.y nsw</i> <i>♦ ḥrp mn.w nb n.y nsw ḥr.y-tp</i> [E] <i>hr.y-ḥb ḥr.y-tp ♦ sšm.w-ḥb n.y ntr.w nb.w</i>	
	+ Titles held by <i>Nḥt</i> and <i>ʿImn.w-nḥt(.w)</i> , who might be identified as Tuneroy (cf. Martin 1985, 9 with n. 2): <i>im.y-r3 ip.t nsw Mr-wr ♦ im.y-r3 ip.t nsw n.yt ḥm.t nsw ♦ sš wdḥ.w n.y nb t3.wy sš nsw ♦ sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, area between the monastery of Apa Jeremias and the pyramid of Sekhemkhet	
Discovered	A. Mariette 1859 (blocks); L. Vassali 1861 (stela)	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u>	

- Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 34516 (two-sided)

II. Statues

- CG 1105 – naophorous statue (lower part)

IV. Stelae

- Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 18924 (probably)

V. Burial equipment

- Brooklyn Museum 48.30.1–4 – 4 canopic jars

Comments

- Brother of Paser [135].
- Brooklyn Museum 48.30.1-4: ex-coll. Duc de Gênes and Marquise de Casati.

Bibliography

PM III/2, 666–7 ♦ PN I, 381.18 ♦ BORCHARDT 1934, 58–9 ♦ DEVERIA squeezes 6165, I.10 (= CG 34516) ♦ DEVERIA squeezes 6170A, 6, 14 (= JE 18924) ♦ KRI III, 479–89 ♦ MARIETTE 1872, 18–19, pls 57b, 58.

[375]	<i>Tnr (Tl)</i>	Mayor of Memphis
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Tjel	
Title(s)	[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t ḥ3.ty-^c.w</i> ♦ <i>smr ʿ3 n.y mr.wt</i> [B] <i>mn^c msw nsw.t</i> ♦ <i>ḥ3.ty-^c.w n.y Mn-nfr</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Leiden objects: ex-coll. d’Anastasi, 1828	
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 15 – <i>sah</i> statue <u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Museo Gregoriano Egizio 19163 – model sarcophagus • Museo Gregoriano Egizio 19163 and 19164 – two shabtis • Russian private collection – shabti; ex-coll. Likchachev • Ex-coll. Omar Pasha – shabti 	
Comments	▪ A <i>sah</i> statue of his wife Ipay, the Songstress of Amun and Royal Nurse, One praised by Hathor, Lady of the House, is in Leiden: AST 14: <i>šm^c.yt n.yt Imn.w, mn^c.t nsw.t, ḥs.yt n.yt Ḥw.t-Ḥrw, nb.t pr.</i>	
Bibliography	PN I, 381.18 ♦ AUBERT AND AUBERT 1974, 69, No. 385 ♦ BOESER 1912, 12, No. 29, pl. 11; 13, No. 30, pl. 11 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 1997, 38–51, pls 3–5, 7 ♦ GRENIER 1996, 92–4, No. 132, pls 58; No. 131, pl. 57 ♦ RAVEN 2000a, 202, Cat. No. 7 ♦ STARING 2015a, Cat. 172 ♦ TAYLOR 2010b, 24, Cat. 1 ♦ TURAJEFF 1904, first page.	

[376]	<i>Tti</i>	Mayor of ‘Anu
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Teti	
Title(s)	[B] <i>ḥ3.ty-^c.w n.y ʿn.t</i>	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Ex-coll. Passalacqua, 1828	
Remains	<u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berlin, 7171, 7173 – canopic jars 	

Comments ▪ GAUTHIER 1925–31, I, 151: *ḥn.t* is a village in the southern district of the Memphite nome.

Bibliography PM III/2, 773 ♦ PN I, 384.4 ♦ MÜLLER 1974, 187.

[377]	<i>Ttw</i>	?
Tomb. No.		
Name	Tetu	
Title(s)	No titles indicated.	
Date	ABDALAAL 2008: first half 18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	1898–99	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 33238 (SR 14082) 	
Comments	▪ Round-topped stela	
Bibliography	PN I, 385.27 ♦ ABDALAAL 2008, 47–50, pl. 3, fig. 2.	

[378]	<i>Tz-iry (Wsr-ḥ^c.w-R^c.w-nḥt.w)</i>	Chief Overseer of the Royal Harim
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Tjayiry called Userkhaura-nakhtu	
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>mrr.w n.y nb t3.wy ♦ ḥs.y ʿ3 n.y ntr=f r^c nb ♦ ḥs.y ʿ3 n.y [ntr] nfr</i></p> <p>[B] <i>im.y-r3 ip.t nsw wr n.yt nb t3.wy ♦ im.y-r3 ip.t nsw wr n.yt Mn-nfr ♦ im.y-r3 ip.t nsw n.yt nb t3.wy ♦ im.y-r3 nfr.w ♦ im.y-r3 nfr.w n.w nb t3.wy</i></p> <p>[C] <i>sš nsw</i></p>	
Date	20 th Dynasty, Sethnakhte–Ramesses III	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Ex-coll. d’Anastasy, 1828	
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 16 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PN I, 386.24 ♦ BOESER 1912, 6–7 [16], pl. 7 ♦ VAN DIJK 1983, 52.	

[379]	<i>Tzy</i>	Scribe of the Store-room
Tomb. No.	Loret No. 4	
Name	Tjay	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš n.y ʿ.t ḥnḳ.t</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, first half	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery	
Discovered	V. Loret 1898	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 34542 (TN 22.11.24.9 = SR 13463) 	
Comments	▪ Dimensions: h: 140 cm, w: 87 cm.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 553 ♦ PN I, 388.11 ♦ ASSEM 2012b, 185–90 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 2007a, 74, with n. 70, pl. 9 ♦ HELCK 1958, 254ff, 258 ♦ LORET 1899, 95.	

[380]	<i>Tzy</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	

Name	Tjay
Title(s)	?
Date	Late 18 th /early 19 th Dynasty
Provenance	Location lost
Discovered	Saqqara, April 1862
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 628 (JE 19181; Now in Alexandria National Museum)
Comments	▪ Dyad with wife Naya
Bibliography	PM III/2, 726 ♦ PN I, 388.11 ♦ BORCHARDT 1925, 175–6, pl. 115.

[381]	<i>Tꜣy</i>	Overseer of Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Tjay	
Title(s)	[B] <i>šms.w nsw</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i> [F] <i>im.y-rꜣ ssm.t n.yt nb tꜣ.wy</i>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery; between shaft 9 and west wall of the pyramid of Iput (one of the shafts numbered 8–11?)	
Discovered	V. Loret, 1898	
Remains	<u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Luxor, Luxor Museum (= Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 33255 = Loret NI 197) 	
Comments	▪ In PM, the statue is erroneously assigned to Loret No. 4: another man named Tjay. ▪ Statue: ebony, found wrapped in linen with plaster.	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 553 ♦ PN I, 388.11 ♦ BINDER 2008, 344–5, No. 218 (as owner of tomb Loret no. 4, and post-Amarna) ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 2007a, 73–4, with nn. 66–71, pl. 8 ♦ LORET 1899, 99.	

[382]	<i>Tꜣy (Tꜣry) ḏd.n-f Rꜥ(.w)-ms-sw-nḥt</i>	Overseer of the Royal Harim in the House of the Harim (<i>pr(.w)-ḥnr</i>) in Memphis
Tomb. No.	ST 211 (Cairo University)	
Name	Tjay (Tjuroy) called Ramessesnakht	
Title(s)	[A] <i>rꜣ n.y nsw ♦ ḥnt.y Ḳnb.w-ḥḏ</i> [B] <i>im.y-rꜣ Ḳp.t nsw m pr.w ḥnr(.t) m Ḳnb.w-ḥḏ ♦ im.y-rꜣ nfr.w nb-tꜣ.wy</i> [C] <i>sš nsw ♦ sš nsw mꜣꜥ mr.y=f</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Seti I–Ramesses II	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area	
Discovered	Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb structure built of limestone blocks <u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine (see GOHARY 1991a) <u>II. Statues</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine – kneeling naophorous statue (fragment) 	

- Comments**
- Block Saqqara Magazine (?): found directly north of the Unas causeway; context unknown. Limestone, 80 x 50 cm.
 - According to GOHARY 1991a, 194, the title *im.y-r3 nfr.w nb-t3.wy*, can be translated either as Overseer of Recruits *or* as Overseer of the Harim.
- Bibliography** GOHARY 1991a, 191–4 ♦ GOHARY 2011, 199–205 ♦ TAWFIK 1991, 406, fig. 1.

[383]	<u>Ty</u>	Scribe of Recruits
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Ty	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš nfr.w</i>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Havana, Museo Nacional Inv. No. 2. • Birmingham, City Museums 688'66 	
Description	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The two blocks present a direct join. ▪ Ty is actually depicted as the son of an anonymous tomb-owner. 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 758 ♦ PN I, 389.30 ♦ MARTIN 1987, 14, Nos 21–2, pl. 8.	

[384]	<u>Tt</u>	Steward in the House of Ay
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Thuthu	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w m pr.w Hpr-hpr.w-Rc.w iri-M3c.t</i> [C] <i>sš nsw m3c mr.y=f</i>	
Date	- PM: late 18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ay - GESSLER-LÖHR 2012: end of 18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Ex-coll. Salt 1835 (Sotheby's sale).	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • London, British Museum E211 	
Comments	▪ Round-topped stela. Tutu (right) adoring a seated Sokar (left).	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 742 ♦ PN I, 395.22 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 2012, 176, No. 10, fig. 5 ♦ HTBM 7, pl. 35 ♦ <i>Urk.</i> IV., 2111, No. 821.	

[385]	<u>Tt</u>	Physician
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Tutu	
Title(s)	[B] <i>swnw</i> [C] <i>sš</i>	
Date	- Late 18 th Dynasty - BERLANDINI 1976: <i>temp.</i> Ay–Horemheb	
Provenance	Found reused in the Serapeum	
Discovered	A. Mariette 1850s; E.A.O. excavations (dir. Ibrahim Aly), 1986	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paris, Musée du Louvre, B. 50 [N.152 – N5414] 	
	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	

- Comments**
- Saqqara Magazine 4/Serapeum Lesser Vaults No. ?
 - Relief: depicting the deified king Menkauhor.
 - Stela (?) Saqqara Magazine: found reused in the Serapeum. Wife of the tomb owner: Songstress of Amun, Nemaui.
- Bibliography** PM III/2, 820 ♦ PN I, 395.22 ♦ BERLANDINI 1976, 315–16 ♦ BERLANDINI 1978, 25, fig. 2 ♦ IBRAHIM ALY 2000, 229–30, pl. 30g.

[386]	<i>Dḥw.ty</i>	General
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Djehuty	
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>im.y-ib ʿz n.y nb t3.wy ♦ ir.y-p^c.t ḥ3.ty-^c.w ♦ ir.ty nsw ♦ mh-ib ʿz n.y nb t3.wy ♦ mh-ib mnḥ n.y nb t3.wy ♦ mh-ib n.y nsw m t3 nṯr ♦ mh-ib n.y nsw ḥr ḥ3s.t nb.t ♦ mh wd3w m ḥsbd ḥd-nbw ♦ rh nsw ♦ ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr ♦ /// iw.w ḥr.yw ib n.w w3d-wr</i></p> <p>[B] <i>im.y-r3 ḥ3s.t ♦ im.y-r3 ḥ3s.t mh.tyt ♦ im.y-r3 ʿz n.y ḥ3s.t mḥt.t</i></p> <p>[C] <i>sš ♦ sš nsw ♦ sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f</i></p> <p>[E] <i>it-nṯr mr.y nṯr</i></p> <p>[F] <i>im.y-r3 iw^c.yt ♦ im.y-r3 mš^c ♦ šms.w nb=f ♦ šms.w nsw ḥr ḥ3s.t nb.t ♦ kny</i></p>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Thutmose III	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Ex-coll. B. Drovetti, 1824/27 (7 items sold to Turin and Paris); G. di Nizzoli, 1824 (4 items sold to Florence); G. d’Anastasi, 1828 (3 items sold to Leiden; 1 to Paris after his death); Jean-Baptiste de Lescluze, 1826 (acquired from François Barthe) sold to Leiden.	
Remains	<p><u>V. Burial equipment</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • London, British Museum EA 71492 (ex-coll. Earl of Ashburnham, 1825; excavated by [for] Drovetti) • Florence, Museo 2207 – canopic lid • Florence, Museo 2222-5 – canopic jars with lids • Turin, Museo Egizio 3225 – small bag-shaped ointment jar • Turin, Museo Egizio 3226 – large bag-shaped ointment jar with lid • Turin, Museo Egizio 3227 – two-handled ointment jar with lid • Turin, Museo Egizio 3228 – jug-shaped ointment jar • Paris, Musée du Louvre N 1127 – two-handled ointment jar • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AAL 37 – jug-shaped ointment jar • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden L.VIII.20 – bag-shaped ointment jar with lid • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AD 39 – palette • Turin, Museo Egizio 6227 – palette • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AO 1a – heart scarab • Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum – metal dagger with wood inlaid handle (ex-coll. Freiherr von Titzenhofer, 1875) • London, British Museum 69863 – lower half of a scribe statuette (acquired through Christie’s London, 1986) • Paris, Musée du Louvre E 4886 – decorated bowl (ex-coll. d’Anastasi, 1867 [1857]) 	

- Paris, Musée du Louvre N 713 – decorated bowl
- Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AO 2b – inscribed *mstkw* bracelet
- Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AO 1b – inlaid lotus clasp
- Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden No. ? – sixteen inlaid mandrake/persea-fruit pendants
- London, British Museum 3076 – nine inlaid mandrake/persea-fruit pendants (ex-coll. d’Anastasi, 1839)
- Florence, Museo Archeologico 2929-2937, 2788 – broad-collar elements, pendants and ring
- Paris, Musée du Louvre N 1854, AF 2297, AF 2799 – broad-collar elements, pendants
- Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden 341?, 347-349, 353, 131-133, 135, 137-138, 140, AO 4, 143-147 – broad-collar elements, rings, and pendants
- Paris, Musée du Louvre N 1852 – two-strand necklace with fish and lotus pendants
- Paris, Musée du Louvre N 1851 – chain and “clasp” with three fish pendants (inventoried between 1852 and 1857)
- Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden XLII 110 – inscribed bag-shaped jar
- Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden XLII 109 – inscribed shoulder jar (ex-coll. de Lescluze, 1826)
- Bologna, Museo Civico 3136 – inscribed scribe’s palette (ex-coll. di Nizzoli, 1831)

Comments

Bibliography PN I, 407.13 ♦ LILYQUIST 1988, 5–68 ♦ REEVES 1993, 259–61.

[387]	<i>Dḥw.ty</i>	Overseer of Cattle of Amun
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Djehuty	
Title(s)	[A] <i>ḥs.y n.y nb=f</i>	
	[B] <i>im.y-rꜣ iḥ.w n.w Ḥmn.w</i>	
	[C] <i>sš</i>	
Date	Late 18 th to early 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Probably Saqqara	
Discovered	Ex-coll. d’Anastasi, 1828	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 56 	
Description	▪ Djehuty’s wife is the Songstress of Amun and Lady of the House, <i>Twy</i> .	
Bibliography	PN I, 407.13 ♦ AFFARA 2010, 147–57 ♦ BOESER 1913, 11, No. 40, pl. 22 ♦ STARING 2015a, Cat. 192 ♦ VAN DIJK 1990, 24.	

[388]	<i>Dḥw.ty</i> (-?)	/// clean of hands
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Djehuty (-?)	
Title(s)	[B] <i>/// wꜣb ꜣ.wwy</i>	
Date	Late 18 th to 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; tomb of Horemheb [303], debris of Magazine B	

Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1977
Remains	<u>III. Architectural fragments</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 77-S 65, 6886 – pyramidion (fragment; limestone);
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Fragment of the top part of (presumably) a pyramidion; three sides bear traces of an inscription. ▪ The title could be reconstructed as “Royal Butler, clean of hands”.
Bibliography	SCHNEIDER 1996, 94 [NK 13], pl. 102.

[389]	<i>Dḥw.ty-m-ḥb</i>	Priest
Tomb. No.	ST 6 (Cairo University)	
Name	Djehutyemheb	
Title(s)	[E] “Priest”	
Date	19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area	
Discovered	Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–8	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb constructed of limestone blocks 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The name is inscribed on a wooden coffin found in the burial chamber. It is not clear whether the coffin belongs to the tomb’s original owner. 	
Bibliography	PN I, 408.2 ♦ TAWFIK 1991, 405, fig. 1, pl. 59a.	

[390]	<i>Dḥw.ty-m-ḥb</i>	Scribe
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Djehutyemheb	
Title(s)	[C] sš	
Date	Late 18 th /early 19 th Dynasty?	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid North Cemetery, east of the mastaba of Ankhmahor	
Discovered	V. Loret 1898–99	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small mudbrick chapel; unpublished. 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The tomb is located next to (north of) the tomb of Neferrenpet [236], which is located next to (north of) Ahmose [019], Loret No. 1. 	
Bibliography	GESSLER-LÖHR 2014.	

[391]	<i>Dḥw.ty-ms(.w)</i>	Head of Custodians of the Gate in Memphis
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Thutmose	
Title(s)	[B] ḥr.y sšw.ty n.y sbz m Mn-nfr	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	Ex-coll d’Anastasi 1837 (Sotheby’s sale)	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • London, British Museum EA 155 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 742 ♦ PN I, 408.5 ♦ HTBM 8, 47–9, pl. 39.	

[392]	<i>Dḥw.ty-ms(.w)</i>	Head of the Store-room
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Thutmose	
Title(s)	[B] <i>ḥr.y ḥ.t ḥnk.t</i>	
Date	New Kingdom	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered		
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Thutmose and his wife <i>Twi3y</i> are depicted before Osiris and Isis 	
Bibliography	PM III/2, 749 ♦ PN I, 408.5 ♦ WILKINSON MSS. xx.A.10 [left upper].	
[393]	<i>Dḥw.ty-ms(.w)</i>	Vizier
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	Thutmose	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r3 niw.t t3.ty</i>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III	
Provenance	Location lost	
Discovered	G. di Nizzoli, 1824	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Florence, Museo Archeologico 2565 (false door stela) 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Thutmose is the father of the <i>wr-ḥrp-ḥmw.w</i> Ptahmose [164] and the <i>wr-ḥrp-ḥmw.w m Iwnw šmḥ.w</i>; <i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y t3 ḥw.t Nb-M3ḥ.t-Rḥ.w</i>, Mery-Ptah [203]: stela Leiden AP 11 (second figure from left) and UCL 14463. ▪ Stela Florence 2565 also features his son, Ptahmose [164]. 	
Bibliography	PN I, 408.5 ♦ BOSTICCO 1965, 39–41, No. 33 ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 1995, 144–9, No. 5, pl. VIa ♦ MURNANE 1994, 189.	
[394]	<i>Dḥw.ty-ms(.w) / Imn.w-m-wi3</i>	Chief of Outline Draughtsmen in the Place of Truth
Tomb. No.	Bubastieion I.19 (MAFB)	
Name	Thutmose	
Title(s)	[D] <i>ḥr.y sš ḳdw.t ♦ ḥr.y sš ḳdw.t m S.t-M3ḥ.t ♦ sš ḳdw.t</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III/Amenhotep IV	
Provenance	Bubastieion, south excarpment	
Discovered	Mission Archéologique <i>Française du Bubasteion</i> (<i>dir.</i> A-P. Zivie), 1996	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rock-cut tomb 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ His father Amenemwia (<i>Imn/Rḥ-m-wi3</i>), who bears the same title (<i>ḥr.y sš ḳd</i>), also features in this tomb; another family member who is also depicted, <i>Ḳnn3 / Ḳn-Imn.w</i>, changed his name to <i>Ḳn-Itn.w</i>. He bears the title <i>ḥry sš ḳd m St-M3ḥ.t</i>, and was the son of the <i>im.y-r3 sš ḳd K3s3</i>. ▪ His wife is named Iny. 	
Bibliography	PN I, 408.5 ♦ ZIVIE 2000, 179 ♦ ZIVIE 2007, 66–71 (with figs) ♦ ZIVIE 2013.	
[395]	<i>NN</i>	Steward
Tomb. No.	-	

Name	?
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-rꜣ pr.w</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i>
Date	PM: late 18 th Dynasty BERLANDINI 1982b: 19 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Ramesses II.
Provenance	Location lost
Discovered	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> • Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 25.6.24.6.
Comments	▪ This block belongs to the corpus of objects pertaining to the Mayor Ptahmose [165].
Bibliography	PM III/2, 755 • BERLANDINI 1982b, 92–4, pl. 8 • MASPERO 1915, 180, No. 652.A • WRESZINSKI 1923–42, I, 84a.

[396]	NN	Royal Letter Scribe
Tomb. No.	LS 13 (Lepsius)	
Name	NN	
Title(s)	[C] <i>sš nsw šꜥ.t</i>	
Date	New Kingdom (?)	
Provenance	Teti Pyramid Cemetery, mortuary temple area	
Discovered	R. Lepsius, 1843	
Remains	Unknown; present location unknown	
Comments		
Bibliography	PM III/2, 558 • <i>LD Text</i> , I, 161.	

[397]	NN	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	NN	
Title(s)	?	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	Saqqara North, “Above Abusir Village” (cf. B. Gunn)	
Discovered	C.M. Firth, 1920s	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> • Present location unknown (6 relief blocks)	
Comments	▪ This is the son of Say, Prophet in the Temple of Bastet. Say is also mentioned in the tomb of Pen-Amun [109]. ▪ Four blocks: Opening of the Mouth ceremony before a statue performed by his brother Amenemheb (<i>it-nṯr m ḥw.t Ptḥ; ḥm-nṯr m ḥw.t Bꜣst.t</i>) and Amenmose (<i>ḥr.y-ḥb; ḥr.y sš.w-ḳd.wt m ḥw.t-nbw m pr.w Ptḥ</i>), son of Pashedu (<i>Pꜣ-šdw</i>); ▪ <i>Gunn, Notebook</i> , 7, No. 42[i]: • Two blocks: seated kings; mummiform figures of “famous men of the past”, including the Viziers Imhotep and Ptahshepses, and Ty [152], Ptahmose (PM III/2, 712) and Pahemmeter, all Greatest of the Directors of Craftsmen (i.e. High Priests of Ptah at Memphis), with others including Ipuwer (Overseer of Singers) and Amenhotep (Chief Steward of Memphis [061]).	

Bibliography PM III/2, 571 ♦ DARESSY, MSS B.Arch E.30/1 ♦ GARDINER, MSS 28.487–8 (photos) ♦ GESSLER-LÖHR 2012, 147–91 ♦ GUNN, MSS, 19.8 (photos) ♦ GUNN, *Notebook*, 7, No. 42 ♦ SIMPSON 1972, fig. 6 ♦ YOYOTTE 1952, 67–72.

[398]	<i>NN</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	NN	
Title(s)	? (not preserved)	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Saqqara South: found reused (“in recent times”) north-west of the pyramid of Ibi	
Discovered	G. Jéquier, 1930	
Remains	<u>II. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown 	
Comments		
Bibliography	PMIII/2, 675 ♦ JÉQUIER 1935, 27–8, No. 4, pl. 19.	

[399]	<i>NN</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	NN	
Title(s)	? (not preserved)	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Saqqara South: found reused (“in recent times”) north-west of the pyramid of Ibi	
Discovered	G. Jéquier, 1930	
Remains	<u>II. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown 	
Comments	▪ Round-topped stela.	
Bibliography	PMIII/2, 675 ♦ JÉQUIER 1935, 28, No. 5, pl. 19.	

[400]	<i>NN</i>	?
Tomb. No.	ST 1 (Cairo University)	
Name	NN	
Title(s)	?	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area	
Discovered	Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure, <i>in situ</i></u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb structure built of limestone blocks 	
Comments		
Bibliography	TAWFIK 1991, 404, fig. 1.	

[401]	<i>NN</i>	?
Tomb. No.	ST 2 (Cairo University)	
Name	NN	
Title(s)	?	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area	
Discovered	Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88	

Remains 0.Tomb structure, *in situ*
 • Tomb structure built of limestone blocks

Comments

Bibliography TAWFIK 1991, 404, fig. 1.

[402] *NN* ?

Tomb. No. ST 3 (Cairo University)

Name NN

Title(s) ?

Date Ramesside

Provenance South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area

Discovered Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88

Remains 0.Tomb structure, *in situ*

- Tomb structure built of limestone blocks

Comments

Bibliography TAWFIK 1991, 404, fig. 1.

[403] *NN* ?

Tomb. No. ST 4 (Cairo University)

Name NN

Title(s) ?

Date Ramesside

Provenance South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area

Discovered Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88

Remains 0.Tomb structure, *in situ*

- Tomb structure built of limestone blocks

Comments

Bibliography TAWFIK 1991, 404, fig. 1.

[404] *NN* ?

Tomb. No. ST 9 (Cairo University)

Name NN

Title(s) ?

Date Ramesside

Provenance South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area

Discovered Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88

Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Tomb structure built of limestone blocks

Comments

Bibliography TAWFIK 1991, 405, fig. 1, pl. 60a.

[405] *NN* ?

Tomb. No. ST 102 (Cairo University)

Name NN

Title(s) ?

Date Ramesside

Provenance South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area

Discovered Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88
Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Tomb structure built of limestone blocks

Comments
Bibliography TAWFIK 1991, 405, fig. 1.

[406] *NN* ?
Tomb. No. ST 104 (Cairo University)
Name NN
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside
Provenance South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area
Discovered Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88
Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Tomb structure built of limestone blocks

Comments ▪ TAWFIK 1991: “Name and titles not yet known”
Bibliography TAWFIK 1991, 405, fig. 1.

[407] *NN* ?
Tomb. No. ST 108 (Cairo University)
Name NN
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside
Provenance South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area
Discovered Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88
Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Tomb structure built of limestone blocks

Comments
Bibliography TAWFIK 1991, 406, fig. 1.

[408] *NN* ?
Tomb. No. ST 202 (Cairo University)
Name NN
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside
Provenance South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area
Discovered Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88
Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Tomb structure built of limestone blocks

Comments
Bibliography TAWFIK 1991, 406, fig. 1.

[409] *NN* ?
Tomb. No. ST 204 (Cairo University)
Name NN
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside

Provenance South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area
Discovered Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88
Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Tomb structure built of limestone blocks

Comments
Bibliography TAWFIK 1991, 406, fig. 1.

[410] *NN* ?

Tomb. No. ST 205 (Cairo University)
Name NN
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside
Provenance South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area
Discovered Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88
Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Tomb structure built of limestone blocks

Comments
Bibliography TAWFIK 1991, 406, fig. 1.

[411] *NN* ?

Tomb. No. ST 206 (Cairo University)
Name NN
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside
Provenance South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area
Discovered Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88
Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Tomb structure built of limestone blocks

Comments
Bibliography TAWFIK 1991, 406, fig. 1.

[412] *NN* ?

Tomb. No. ST 207 (Cairo University)
Name NN
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside
Provenance South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area
Discovered Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88
Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Tomb structure built of limestone blocks

Comments
Bibliography TAWFIK 1991, 406, fig. 1.

[413] *NN* ?

Tomb. No. ST 208 (Cairo University)
Name NN
Title(s) ?

Date Ramesside
Provenance South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area
Discovered Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88
Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Tomb structure built of limestone blocks

Comments
Bibliography TAWFIK 1991, 406, fig. 1.

[414] *NN* ?

Tomb. No. ST 209 (Cairo University)
Name NN
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside
Provenance South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area
Discovered Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88
Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Tomb structure built of limestone blocks

Comments
Bibliography TAWFIK 1991, 406, fig. 1.

[415] *NN* ?

Tomb. No. ST 210 (Cairo University)
Name NN
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside
Provenance South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area
Discovered Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88
Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Tomb structure built of limestone blocks

Comments
Bibliography TAWFIK 1991, 406, fig. 1.

[416] *NN* ?

Tomb. No. ST 212 (Cairo University)
Name NN
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside
Provenance South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area
Discovered Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88
Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Tomb structure built of limestone blocks

Comments
Bibliography TAWFIK 1991, 407, fig. 1.

[417] *NN* ?

Tomb. No. ST 213 (Cairo University)
Name NN

Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside
Provenance South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area
Discovered Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88
Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Tomb structure built of limestone blocks

Comments
Bibliography TAWFIK 1991, 407, fig. 1.

[418] *NN* ?

Tomb. No. ST 214 (Cairo University)
Name NN
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside
Provenance South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area
Discovered Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88
Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Tomb structure built of limestone blocks

Comments
Bibliography TAWFIK 1991, 407, fig. 1.

[419] *NN* ?

Tomb. No. ST 215 (Cairo University)
Name NN
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside
Provenance South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area
Discovered Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88
Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Tomb structure built of limestone blocks

Comments
Bibliography TAWFIK 1991, 407, fig. 1.

[420] *NN* ?

Tomb. No. ST 216 (Cairo University)
Name NN
Title(s) ?
Date Ramesside
Provenance South of the Unas causeway, Cairo University concession area
Discovered Cairo University archaeological mission (dir. S. Tawfik), 1984–88
Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Tomb structure built of limestone blocks

Comments
Bibliography TAWFIK 1991, 407, fig. 1.

[421] *NN* ?

Tomb. No. S 2732 (Quibell)

Name NN
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom
Provenance Teti Pyramid North Cemetery
Discovered J.E. Quibell and A.G.K. Hayter, 1912–14
Remains 0. Tombstructure, *in situ*

- Remains of a tomb chapel constructed of mud bricks (location lost)

Comments
Bibliography QUIBELL/HAYTER 1927, 11, pl. 2.

[422] *NN* ?

Tomb. No. S 2733 (Quibell)
Name NN
Title(s) ?
Date New Kingdom
Provenance Teti Pyramid North Cemetery
Discovered J.E. Quibell and A.G.K. Hayter, 1912–14
Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Remains of a tomb chapel constructed of mud bricks (location lost)

Comments
Bibliography QUIBELL/HAYTER 1927, 11, pl. 2.

[423] *NN* ?

Tomb. No. TNM New Kingdom Tomb 1 (Macquarie University)
Name NN
Title(s) ?
Date Late 18th Dynasty
Provenance Teti Pyramid North Cemetery, middle section
Discovered Macquarie University archaeological mission (dir. N. Kanawati), 1994–95
Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Lower courses of a mud brick tomb structure

Comments
Bibliography KANAWATI 2006, pl. 68 ♦ OCKINGA 2012, 372–4, fig. 1.

[424] *NN* ?

Tomb. No. TNM New Kingdom Tomb 3 (Macquarie University)
Name NN
Title(s) ?
Date Late 18th Dynasty
Provenance Teti Pyramid North Cemetery, middle section
Discovered Macquarie University archaeological mission (dir. B.G. Ockinga)
Remains 0. Tomb structure

- Lower courses of a mud brick tomb structure, fragmentary

Comments
Bibliography OCKINGA 2012, 377–9, fig. 1.

[425]	<i>NN</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	NN	
Title(s)	?	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Akhenaten/Tutankhamun (?) or transitional period post-Amarna/Ramesside (?)	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area	
Discovered	Leiden archaeological mission (dir. M.J. Raven), 2010	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u>	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb structure built of mud bricks with a limestone revetment; unfinished ▪ The burial chamber appears to have been reused in the Ramesside Period by a man named Sethnakht, the <i>sš n.y pr.w Pth</i>, Scribe of the temple of Ptah, whose blue faience shabtis and fragments of the canopic jars were found. 	
Bibliography	HAYS 2011, 84–105 ♦ Raven et al. 2003–4, 7, fig. 8 ♦ RAVEN et al. 2011a, 3–10 ♦ RAVEN et al. 2013 ♦ Raven et al. forthcoming.	
[426]	<i>NN</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	NN	
Title(s)	?	
Date	New Kingdom (Ramesside)	
Provenance	Saqqara North: rocky outcrop near the hilltop monument of Khaemwaset	
Discovered	Waseda University archaeological mission, 2008	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u>	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tomb chapel constructed of limestone blocks ▪ Located approximately 40 m to the NW of the hilltop monument of Khaemwaset. South-north orientated limestone tomb-chapel of 27 x 10.3 m (pylon width 12.45 m), consisting of an entrance pylon, peristyle courtyard, antechapel with four pilasters and three cult chapels in the north, and a pyramid. Only the foundations and floor-slabs are remaining. ▪ This may actually be part of the same substructure of [008], i.e. the tomb of Isisnofret. 	
Bibliography	YOSHIMURA/KAWAI 2010, 467–83.	
[427]	<i>NN</i>	Captain of Sailors / Chief Skipper
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	NN (ending on <i>-i</i> ?)	
Title(s)	[B] <i>hr.y nfw</i>	
Date	19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area: bottom of sondage pit, SW of the tomb of Horemheb	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission (dir. G.T. Martin), 1981	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u>	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine (fragment) ▪ Relief fragment of 143 x 71.5 x 11.5 cm (in three pieces). Upper register shows part of an official (the <i>///-i mšꜥ-hrw</i>) in front of a seated Osiris; the lower 	

register depicts a standing man offering incense to the anonymous, deceased tomb-owner.

Bibliography MARTIN 1985, 17 [x], pl. 27.

[428]	<i>NN</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	? (not preserved)	
Title(s)	? (not preserved)	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Saqqara South: found reused (“in recent times”) north-west of the pyramid of Ibi	
Discovered	G. Jéquier, 1930	
Remains	<u>II. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Rectangular stela with two registers. 	
Bibliography	PMIII/2, 675 ♦ JÉQUIER 1935, 28, No. 6, pl. 19.	

[429]	<i>NN</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	? (not preserved)	
Title(s)	? (not preserved)	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Saqqara South: found reused (“in recent times”) north-west of the pyramid of Ibi	
Discovered	G. Jéquier, 1930	
Remains	<u>II. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Stela fragment; only lower part preserved: priest (<i>hr.y-ḥb.t sš Ḥwy</i>) libating to two seated women. 	
Bibliography	PMIII/2, 675 ♦ JÉQUIER 1935, 29, No. 9, pl. 22.	

[430]	<i>NN</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	? (not preserved)	
Title(s)	? (not preserved)	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Saqqara South: found reused (“in recent times”) north-west of the pyramid of Ibi	
Discovered	G. Jéquier, 1930	
Remains	<u>II. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Rectangular stela surmounted by a pyramidion. 	
Bibliography	PMIII/2, 675 ♦ JÉQUIER 1935, 29–30, No. 11, pl. 21.	

[431]	<i>NN</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	? (not preserved)	
Title(s)	? (not preserved)	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Saqqara South: found reused (“in recent times”) north-west of the pyramid of Ibi	

- Discovered** G. Jéquier, 1930
Remains II. Stelae
 - Present location unknown**Comments** ▪ Rectangular stela surmounted by a pyramidion.
Bibliography PMIII/2, 675 ♦ JÉQUIER 1935, 31, No. 14, pl. 21.
- [432]** *NN* ?
- Tomb. No.** -
Name ? (not preserved)
Title(s) ? (not preserved)
Date Ramesside
Provenance Saqqara South: found reused (“in recent times”) north-west of the pyramid of Ibi
Discovered G. Jéquier, 1930
Remains II. Stelae
 - Present location unknown**Comments** ▪ Rectangular stela surmounted by a pyramidion.
Bibliography PMIII/2, 675 ♦ JÉQUIER 1935, 31, No. 15, pl. 21.
- [433]** *NN* ?
- Tomb. No.** -
Name ? (not preserved)
Title(s) ? (not preserved)
Date Ramesside
Provenance Saqqara South: found reused (“in recent times”) north-west of the pyramid of Ibi
Discovered G. Jéquier, 1930
Remains II. Stelae
 - Present location unknown**Comments** ▪ Stela fragment, lower part. The lower register depicts the Lady of the House, Iwy, seated before an offering table. Behind her chair is a smaller-scale male figure. Four men are standing opposite her. The first man is a priest (*hr.y-ḥb.t Pth-///*), the others are sons: *H^c-m-w3s.t*, *Pth-m-ḥb*, and *R^c.w-ms(.w)*.
Bibliography PMIII/2, 675 ♦ JÉQUIER 1935, 31–32, No. 16, pl. 22.
- [434]** *NN* ?
- Tomb. No.** -
Name ? (not preserved)
Title(s) ? (not preserved)
Date Ramesside
Provenance Saqqara South: found reused (“in recent times”) north-west of the pyramid of Ibi
Discovered G. Jéquier, 1930
Remains II. Stelae
Present location unknown
Comments ▪ Small rectangular stela (30 x 14 cm), much worn with traces of two persons. No illustration included in the publication.
Bibliography Jéquier 1935, 28, No. 7.
PMIII/2, 675.

[435]	<i>NN</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	? (not preserved)	
Title(s)	? (not preserved)	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Saqqara South: found reused (“in recent times”) north-west of the pyramid of Ibi	
Discovered	G. Jéquier, 1930	
Remains	<u>II. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Lower fragment of stela (in three pieces), 38 x 24 cm. 	
Bibliography	PMIII/2, 675 ♦ JÉQUIER 1935, 29, No. 8.	

[436]	<i>NN</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	? (not preserved)	
Title(s)	? (not preserved)	
Date	Ramesside	
Provenance	Saqqara South: found reused (“in recent times”) north-west of the pyramid of Ibi	
Discovered	G. Jéquier, 1930	
Remains	<u>II. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present location unknown 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Small round-topped stela, fragment in four pieces, 35x21 cm. No illustration included in the publication. 	
Bibliography	PMIII/2, 675 ♦ JÉQUIER 1935, 32, No. 18.	

[437]	<i>NN</i>	Royal Steward
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	<i>NN</i>	
Title(s)	<p>[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t ḥ3.ty-^c.w ♦ wr ///</i></p> <p>[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w nsw</i></p> <p>[C] <i>sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f</i></p>	
Date	Late 18 th to early 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area, reused in secondary wall around shaft 2001/15 + found in the tomb of Pay [099]	
Discovered	Leiden archaeological mission, 2001	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. Nos R94-30, R94-40, R94-56 • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. Nos 2001-R27 and 2001-R282 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ RAVEN/VAN WALSEM (2014, 162) argue that although Pay [099] was also Overseer of the King’s House, this is possibly another man, since no title of Pay [099] starts with the element <i>wr</i> (Chief). However, the fact that three fragments of this stela were found in the tomb of Pay certainly support such an the identification. Furthermore, the element <i>wr</i> should be read as part of the honorary titles, as it is followed by that of Royal Scribe, which usually starts the sequence of titles of office and rank. ▪ Rectangular stela, fr. of upper part, executed in sunk relief. 	

Bibliography RAVEN 2005, 6 with n. 28 ♦ RAVEN/VAN WALSEM 2014, 162, No. 117, fig. on p. 163.

[438]	NN	Servant
Tomb. No.		
Name	NN	
Title(s)	[B] <i>sdm-ꜥš</i>	
Date	18 th Dynasty, <i>temp.</i> Amenhotep III	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; south of the south exterior wall of the inner courtyard of Horemheb (cf. fig. I.16)	
Discovered	Leiden archaeological mission, 1999	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pit grave (feature No. 99/5) <u>V. Burial equipment</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 1999-130A – wooden anthropoid coffin • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 1999-130C – tripartite wooden headrest • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 1999-130G – bronze signet ring • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 1999-130E-F – heart scarab with remains of pectoral • Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 1999-130B – necklace • Saqqara Magazine, excavation no. 1999-130H – wooden pectoral 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ To date, this is one of the earliest burials in this part of the cemetery. ▪ The mummy is that of a 30–40 year old male. ▪ Undisturbed burial; head rested on a wooden headrest. 	
Bibliography	RAVEN et al. 2011b, 72, 81 [Cat. 15], 90 [Cat. 50], 95–96 [Cat. 72a–b, 73a–b, 76].	

[439]	NN	General
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	NN	
Title(s)	[F] <i>im.y-rꜣ mšꜥ ♦ im.y-rꜣ s[sm.t]</i>	
Date	“New Kingdom”	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; tomb of Tia [372]	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1982–85	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. (?) 	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Relief block, fragment (5.5 x 18.7 x 20 cm), found in or around the tomb of Tia [372]; exact location not indicated in the publication. The block preserves only the upper parts of four framed columns of incised hieroglyphs. Two columns contain the titles of the tomb owner. ▪ This anonymous tomb owner may be identified with Yupa [079]. He is the only official thus far identified at Saqqara who bore both these titles. His tomb at Saqqara is lost. Another possible candidate is Suty [351], who was Overseer of Horses and Troop Commander; one block from his lost tomb was found reused in the forecourt of the nearby tomb of Pay and Raia [099/279]. 	
Bibliography	MARTIN 1997, 49, No. 344, pl. 101.	

[440]	<i>NN</i>	Steward of ///
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	NN	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-rꜣ pr.w i///</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i>	
Date	Late 18 th to 19 th Dynasty (?)	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; tomb of Ramose [266], main shaft.	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u>	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. (?) ▪ MARTIN 2012, 57, No. 36: Overseer of the Temple of A[mun]? Note that the father of Paser [135] and Tjuneroy [374] held this title (the location of his tomb is unknown). 	
Bibliography	MARTIN 2012, 57, No. 36, pl. 67.	
[441]	<i>NN</i>	Quartermaster of the Army
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	NN	
Title(s)	[F] <i>wꜣrtw.w n.w mšꜣ</i>	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; tomb of Maya [184], surface over chapel A	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1987	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 87-97 (upper half; two fragments, rejoined) ▪ Round-topped stela (26 x 39.5 x 5.5 cm) with representations in two (?) registers. 	
Bibliography	RAVEN 2001b, 22–3 [Cat. 21], pl. 29.	
[442]	<i>NN</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	NN	
Title(s)	?	
Date	Late 18 th to 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; tomb of Maya [184], statue chamber: surface and floor level, and chamber A, surface (7 fragments, rejoined)	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1987	
Remains	<u>IV. Stelae</u>	
Comments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excavation Nos 87-419 and 88-192 (fragments, lower part) ▪ Seven fragments of a stela (40 x 38.5 x 2.7 cm). The upper register shows the legs of three women, two of whom are named: [Ine]hyt and Lady of the House, Ta[wa]h. The lower register depicts four individuals: three women carrying offerings: his daughter Baketamun, his daughter Werel, his daughter Henutwedjebu; and one man, his son [Pay]efsebet. 	
Bibliography	RAVEN 2001b, 23 [Cat. 22], pl. 27.	

[443]	NN	Overseer of Cattle
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	NN	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r3 ih.w</i>	
Date	Late 18 th to 19 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; tomb of Maya [184], surface over the forecourt	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1988	
Remains	<u>V. Burial equipment</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. 88-70 – faience shabti (fragment) 	
Comments	▪ RAVEN 2001b, 43: perhaps belonging to Iniuia [066].	
Bibliography	RAVEN 2001b, 42 [Cat. 181], pls 19, 37.	
[444]	NN	Vizier
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	NN	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r3 niw.t t3.ty</i>	
Date	New Kingdom	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; on the surface to the south-west of the tomb of Horemheb [303]	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1975–7	
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excavation No. (?) – quartzite pyramidion (fragment) 	
Comments	▪ One side bears the representation of a male individual, arms raised, and traces of three columns of text in sunk relief. No linedrawing or photograph has been published, nor does the author elaborate on the texts.	
Bibliography	SCHNEIDER 1996, 94 [NK 15].	
[445]	NN	Steward of Amun
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	NN	
Title(s)	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w Imn.w</i>	
Date	New Kingdom	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway: Leiden concession area; from the debris east of the tomb of Horemheb [303]	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1975–7	
Remains	<u>III. Architectural elements</u>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. (?) – column (fragment) 	
Comments	▪ SCHNEIDER 1996, 94 has: <i>im.y-r3 pr.w-Imn.w</i> . No linedrawing or photograph has been published. Note that the father of Paser [135] and Tjuneroy [374] held this title (the location of his tomb is unknown); cf. [440].	
Bibliography	SCHNEIDER 1996, 94 [NK 16].	
[446]	NN	Overseer of ///
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	NN	

Title(s)	[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 ///</i> [C] <i>sš nsw</i>
Date	Late 18 th / early 19 th Dynasty
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; tomb of Horemheb [303], centre of second courtyard (three fragments rejoined)
Discovered	EEF/Leiden archaeological mission, 1975–7
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. No. (?) – doorjamb (fragment)
Comments	▪ Inscription on two sides. On each side a single framed column of text in raised relief.
Bibliography	SCHNEIDER 1996, 95–6 [NK 22], pl. 101.

[447]	<i>NN</i>	?
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	NN	
Title(s)	?	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area	
Discovered	Leiden archaeological mission, 2013	
Remains	<u>0. Tomb structure</u> • Tomb structure built of mud bricks with a limestone revetment. A few blocks carrying decoration remain <i>in situ</i> , but these do not bear any inscriptions.	
Comments	▪ The tomb is built against the exterior north wall of another tomb that remains to be excavated.	
Bibliography	RAVEN et al. 2012–13, 9–11.	

[448]	<i>NN</i>	Overseer of the Wab Priests of Sekhmet
Tomb. No.	-	
Name	NN	
Title(s)	[A] <i>ḥ.w ir.ty nb mdw.w-ntr ♦ mrr nb=f r^c nb ♦ ///</i> ḥ [E] <i>im.y-r3 w^cb.w Šhm.t n.y nsw štp.w ḥm.t=s r^c nb ♦ ḥr.y-tp wr m pr.w- ḥn ♦ ///</i> n.y nšm.t	
Date	Late 18 th Dynasty	
Provenance	South of the Unas causeway, Leiden concession area; found just outside the south wall of the inner courtyard of the tomb of Pay [099]	
Discovered	EES/Leiden archaeological mission, 1994	
Remains	<u>I. Reliefs</u> • Saqqara Magazine, Excav. Nos R94-71a-b – door jamb with reveal (fragments, rejoined)	
Comments	▪ VAN DIJK (1995, 20) argued that the fragment could be from the tomb of Maya [184] in view of the titles that seem to connect the owner with the restoration of the traditional cults after the Amarna period. A possible location for the fragment: entrance to the chapels flanking the so-called statue room. RAVEN 2005, 46 n. 92, rejects Van Dijk's suggestion, as none of the titles mentioned on this fragment occur in the tomb of Maya.	
Bibliography	RAVEN 2005, 46–7, No. 74, pls 78–9 ♦ VAN DIJK 1995, 20, pl. 8.4.	

6.5. INDEX OF TITLES

A: Honorific	Catalogue No.
<i>ʒh n.y Pth</i>	[319]
<i>ʒh n.y nb=f</i>	[041] [165]
<i>iwn knm(w).t</i>	[251]
<i>imʒh.y dd.w hsy.w</i>	[135]
<i>im.y-ib iʒw.t ʕh</i>	[303]
<i>im.y-ib ʕʒ n.y nb tʒ.wy</i>	[386]
<i>im.y-ib (n.y) nb=f r-tp rʒ=f</i>	[303]
<i>im.y-ib n.y [nsw]</i>	[184]
<i>im.y-ib n.y nsw m s.t nb.t</i>	[303]
<i>im.y-ib n.y ntr nfr</i>	[152]
<i>im.y-ib n.y Hr.w m ʿInb.w-ḥd</i>	[348]
<i>im.y-ib n.y Hr.w m pr.w=f</i>	[061]
<i>im.y-ib n.y Hr.w m ʕh-f</i>	[303]
<i>im.y-ib n.y ///</i>	[303]
<i>im.y-ib Hr.w m pr.w=f</i>	[184]
<i>im.y-rʒ iʒw.t (nb.t) pr.w-nsw</i>	[303]
<i>im.y-rʒ n.y iʒw.t [nb.t] n.y nsw</i>	[303]
<i>ir.y-pʕ.t</i>	[013] [127] [148] [165] [198] [205] [233] [369] [446] [307]
<i>ir.y-pʕ.t m s.t Gbb</i>	[013]
<i>ir.y-pʕ.t n.y Šmʕ.w Tʒ-mḥ.w</i>	[303]
<i>ir.y-pʕ.t ḥʒ.ty-ʕ.w</i>	[013] [040] [041] [061] [066] [083] [086] [099] [127] [130] [131] [137] [147] [152] [164] [166] [169] [173] [184] [200] [203] [205] [211] [233] [235] [244] [251] [259] [287] [303] [304] [307] [308] [311] [317] [319] [335] [351] [372] [375] [386] [437]
<i>ir.y-pʕ.t ḥr.y-tp tʒ.wy</i>	[013] [233]
<i>ir.y-rd.wy=f</i>	[165]
<i>ir.y-rd.wy n.w nb tʒ.wy</i>	[041] [088] [190]
<i>ir.y-rd.wy nb=f ḥr pri hrw pn n.y smʒ Stt.yw</i>	[303]
<i>ir(i) ʕh [nsw] r ir.t šhr tʒ.w ir(r.w) ḥr mw ir(r.w) ḥr tʒ</i>	[335]
<i>iri.w Mʒʕ.t</i>	[233]
<i>[iri m]rr(.w) ḥm=f</i>	[184]
<i>iri.n nb tʒ.wy kʒ=f</i>	[184]
<i>iri.w hrr.t kʒ=f</i>	[013] [319]
<i>ir [s]hrr n.y nb tʒ.wy</i>	[184]
<i>ir(i).w dd=f</i>	[041]
<i>ir.ty n.y nsw</i>	[041] [127] [152] [164] [184] [203]
<i>ir.ty n.y nsw im.y-ḥt idb.wy</i>	[303]
<i>ir.ty n.y nsw ʕnh.wy bi.ty</i>	[165]
<i>ir.ty n.y nsw m pr.w Pth</i>	[165] [259]
<i>ir.ty n.y nsw m sšm tʒ.wy m smn hpw idb.wy</i>	[303]
<i>ir.ty n.y nsw m tʒ pn r dr=f</i>	[248]
<i>ir.ty nsw</i>	[386]
<i>ir.ty ///</i>	[233]

<i>idn.w n.y nsw</i>	[303]
<i>idn.w n.y nsw m s.t nb.t</i>	[303]
<i>idn.w n.y nsw m t3 r-dr=f</i>	[303]
<i>idn.w n.y hm=f</i>	[303]
<i>idn.w n.y hm=f m t3 r-dr=f</i>	[303]
<i>ʕ3 m pr.w nsw</i>	[164] [184]
<i>[ʕ3] m hsw [m Stp]-s3 ʕnh wɔ3 snb</i>	[184]
<i>ʕ3 m sʕh</i>	[303]
<i>ʕ3 mrw.t</i>	[130]
<i>ʕ3 n.y ʕ3.w</i>	[303]
<i>[ʕ3 n.y] bʕh n.y nsw</i>	[285]
<i>ʕ3 n.y pr.w /// nb ʔwny</i>	[285]
<i>ʕ3 r ʕ3.w</i>	[303]
<i>ʕnh.wy bi.ty</i>	[152]
<i>ʕnh.wy n.y bi.ty</i>	[127] [164] [198] [203]
<i>ʕs3 sp.w m nbw n.w hs.wt</i>	[303]
<i>ʕk3 ns mi.tyt n(.yt) mh3.t</i>	[165]
<i>ʕk.w ir.ty nb mdw.w-ntr</i>	[448]
<i>ʕk.w r ʕh r3=f hr m3ʕ.t r sgrh t3.wy n nb=f</i>	[184]
<i>wʕ</i>	[303]
<i>wʕ.ty</i>	[041]
<i>wʕ ikr</i>	[046] [068] [121] [130]
<i>wʕ ikr mty m3ʕ</i>	[372]
<i>wʕ ikr [hr] bi.t=f</i>	[344]
<i>wʕ ikr stp bi.t</i>	[214]
<i>wʕ mnh ib n.y ity</i>	[184]
<i>wʕ mnh n(.y) ntr nfr</i>	[165]
<i>wʕ mnh ///</i>	[244]
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<i>im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd n.y Pth</i>	[190]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd n.y nb m3^c.t</i>	[041] [120] [144] [165] [184] [244] [372]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd n.y nfr-ḥr</i>	[190]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd n.y ḥd-nbw</i>	[184]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd n.y Šm^c.w T3-mḥ.w</i>	[041]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd n.y t3 ḥw.t n.yt rnp.wt n.yt nsw.t bi.ty Wsr-M3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w ʿImn.w</i>	[322]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd nbw</i>	[092] [229]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd nbw n.y t3 ḥw.t n.yt ḥḥ.w rnp.wt n.y nsw.t bi.ty Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w ʿImn.w m inb-ḥd</i>	[148]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.wy n.y ḥd-nbw</i>	[372]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.wy nbw</i>	[184]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.wy nbw ḥd</i>	[184]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.wy ḥd</i>	[016] [079] [184] [259] [335]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.wy-ḥd n.y nb t3.wy</i>	[056]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.wy-ḥd n.y ḥd-nbw n.y Pth</i>	[190]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr</i>	[023] [027] [041] [042] [061] [062] [066] [079] [165] [190] [219] [259] [260] [303] [372]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr m ʿInb.w-ḥd</i>	[027]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr m pr.w Pth</i>	[165]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr m Mn-nfr</i>	[061]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr m/n.y ḥw.t ity</i>	[190]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr m (t3) ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n- R^c.w m pr.w ʿImn.w</i>	[041] [079] [219]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr m t3 ḥw.t R^c.w-ms-s(w) mry-ʿImn.w m pr.w Pth</i>	[165]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y pr.w Pth</i>	[229]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y Pth</i>	[165] [190]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y Mn-nfr</i>	[259] [317]

<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nb M3^c.t</i>	[229]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nb t3.wy</i>	[059] [079] [260] [304] [352]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nsw</i>	[061] [281] [317]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nsw m 'Inb.w-hd</i>	[061]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y Hnsw</i>	[267]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w 'Imn.w</i>	[260]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y ///</i>	[156]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w m pr.w Hpr-hpr.w-R^c.w iri-M3^c.t</i>	[384]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w m/n.y Mn-nfr</i>	[066]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w m hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w [m] pr.w 'Imn.w</i>	[023]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w m hw.t ntr 3h-Sthy-mr-n-Pth m pr.w Pth</i>	[165]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w m [t3] hw.t ity</i>	[062]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w [m] t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w 'Imn.w</i>	[041]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w m t[3] hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w 'Imn.w hr imnt.t W3s.t</i>	[275]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w m t3 hwt Mn-hpr-R^c.w</i>	[040]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w m [t3] hw.t R^c.w-ms-s(w) mr.y-'Imn.w m pr.w Pth</i>	[165]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w m [t3] hw.t R^c.w-ms-sw mr.y-'Imn.w m pr.w Pth</i>	[190] [229]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w m t[3] hw.t R^c.w-ms-sw-mr.y-'Imn.w hnm.t-m3^c.t-n.t-Pth</i>	[062]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w m [t3] hw.t hm=f</i>	[062]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w m [t3] hw.t Hr.w=f (/ nb=f)</i>	[062]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w m t[3] hw.t sr</i>	[062]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y 'Imn.w-R^c.w</i>	[303]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y 'Imn.w n.y R^c.w-ms-sw-mr.y-'Imn.w</i>	[372]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y 'Inb.w</i>	[062]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y pr.w 'Itn.w</i>	[209]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y pr.w 'Itn.w m Mn-nfr</i>	[209]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y pr.w Pth h3 inb.w Pth</i>	[165]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y Pth</i>	[190] [165]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y Mn-nfr</i>	[027] [061]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y nb m3^c.t</i>	[165]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y nb t3.wy</i>	[023] [304] [306] [372]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y nsw</i>	[099]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y nsw ti sw m Inpw</i>	[211]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y hw.t 'Imn.w</i>	[023]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y //[hw.t?] hnm.t-m3^c.t-n.t-Pth</i>	[062]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y hm=f</i>	[212]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y hm=f ti sw m Inpw</i>	[211]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y hd-nbw</i>	[061]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y t3 hw.t Nb-m3^c.t-R^c.w</i>	[203]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w nsw</i>	[437]
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w t3.ty</i>	[193]
<i>[im.y-r3 pr].wy hd-nbw</i>	[184]
<i>im.y-r3 mn^c.t</i>	[211]
<i>im.y-r3 mn^c.t n.yt ntr nfr</i>	[211]

<i>im.y-r3 n.y p3 s.t n.yt Mn-m3^c.t-R^c.w</i>	[035]
<i>im.y-r3 niw.t n.yt t3 r dr=f</i>	[173]
<i>im.y-r3 niw.t t3.ty</i>	[083] [127] [137] [173] [233] [235] [308] [369] [393] [444]
<i>im.y-r3 nfr.w</i>	[378]
<i>im.y-r3 nfr.w n.w nb t3.wy</i>	[099] [378]
<i>im.y-r3 nfr.w nb t3.wy</i>	[382]
<i>im.y-r3 ry.t m p3 hbny</i>	[335]
<i>im.y-r3 ry.t m p3 hbny n.y pr.w nsw</i>	[335]
<i>im.y-r3 hp.w n.y nfr-nfr m wsh.t/sh n.y wd^c m3^c.t</i>	[127]
<i>im.y-r3 hw.wt wr</i>	[173]
<i>im.y-r3 hh.w m p.t t3.w nb.w</i>	[303]
<i>im.y-r3 hd-nbw</i>	[335]
<i>im.y-r3 h3s.t</i>	[386]
<i>im.y-r3 h3s.t mh.tyt</i>	[312] [386]
<i>im.y-r3 h3s.wt m t3 r dr=f</i>	[061]
<i>im.y-r3 hnt n.y nb t3.wy</i>	[241]
<i>im.y-r3 hrp n.y Sm^c.w Mh.w</i>	[198]
<i>im.y-r3 htm</i>	[229] [298]
<i>im.y-r3 htm n.y p3 w3d-wr</i>	[229] [298]
<i>im.y-r3 htm.w</i>	[212] [251]
<i>im.y-r3 htm.w n.w nb t3.wy</i>	[305]
<i>im.y-r3 htm.w-nsw</i>	[305]
<i>im.y-r3 s.t n.yt ^ct irp</i>	[335]
<i>im.y-r3 s.t nb.t n.yt nsw.t</i>	[317]
<i>im.y-r3 s.t (?)</i>	[330]
<i>im.y-r3 sn^c.w n.w Pr.w-nfr</i>	[186]
<i>im.y-r3 snw.ty</i>	[035] [079] [165] [229] [281]
<i>im.y-r3 snw.ty m hw.t Pth</i>	[229]
<i>im.y-r3 snw.ty n.y p3 rwd imn.ty</i>	[260]
<i>im.y-r3 snw.ty n.y Pth</i>	[229]
<i>im.y-r3 snw.t(y) n.y Mn-nfr</i>	[213]
<i>im.y-r3 snw.ty n.y nb m3^c.t</i>	[165] [190]
<i>im.y-r3 snw.ty n.y nb nhh</i>	[165]
<i>im.y-r3 snw.ty n.y nb t3.wy</i>	[035] [086] [214] [260]
<i>im.y-r3 snw.ty n.y nb t3.wy m Sm^c.w T3-mh.w</i>	[035]
<i>im.y-r3 snw.ty n.y Sm^c.w Mh.w</i>	[086]
<i>im.y-r3 snw.ty n.y Sm^c.w T3-mh.w</i>	[260]
<i>im.y-r3 snw.ty Sm^c.w T3-Mh.w</i>	[256]
<i>im.y-r3 snw.ty ///</i>	[121]
<i>im.y-r3 kr.w n.y pr.w Itn.w</i>	[096]
<i>im.y-r3 ///</i>	[124] [165] [446]
<i>im.y-hnt</i>	[314]
<i>im.y-hnt n.y nb t3.wy</i>	[071]
<i>ir.y-^c3 n.y pr.w Pth</i>	[206]
<i>idn.w w^c.w n.y Mn-nfr</i>	[025]
<i>idn.w m pr.w Pth</i>	[240]
<i>idn.w n.y pr.w-hd n.y pr.w-^c3 nh.w wd3.w snb.w</i>	[154]
<i>idn.w n.y Mn-nfr</i>	[195]
<i>^c3 n.y š n.y p3 š n.y pr.w-^c3 nh.w wd3.w snb.w</i>	[326]
<i>^c3 n.y k^ch n.y t3 mni.wt n.y Pth</i>	[363]

<i>ʕth.w n.y h̄w.t-Pth</i>	[168]
<i>wb₃ (wdpw)</i>	[102] [271] [309] [341] [351] [352] [358] [367]
<i>wb₃ nsw ʕ₃ n.y ʕ.t n.yt h̄nk.t</i>	[271]
<i>wb₃ nsw ʕ₃ n.y ʕ.t n.yt h̄nk.t pr.w-ʕ₃ ʕnh.w wd₃.w snb.w</i>	[271]
<i>wb₃ nsw ʕ₃ n.y h̄nk.t</i>	[271]
<i>wb₃ nsw wʕb ʕ.wwy</i>	[011] [026] [029] [115] [125] [147] [351] [367]
<i>wb₃ nsw n.y nb t₃.wy</i>	[087] [271] [316]
<i>wb₃ nsw tp.y</i>	[115]
<i>wb₃ nsw tp.y n.y nb t₃.wy</i>	[271]
<i>wb₃ nsw tp.y n.y h̄m=f</i>	[087] [271]
<i>wpw.ty nsw</i>	[083] [259]
<i>wpw.ty nsw r h̄₃s.t nb.t</i>	[254] [259] [260]
<i>wpw.ty nsw r h̄₃s.wt nb.wt</i>	[150]
<i>wpw.ty nsw r t₃ h̄ty.w</i>	[190]
<i>wpw.ty nsw hr h̄₃s.wt nb.wt</i>	[190]
<i>wr swnw</i>	[367]
<i>wr swnw m ʕh nsw</i>	[367]
<i>wr.t h̄nr.t</i>	[183]
<i>wh̄m.w nsw n.y nb=f</i>	[041]
<i>wh̄m.w tp.y n.y h̄m=f</i>	[271]
<i>mnʕ msw nsw.t</i>	[375]
<i>mnʕ.t nsw.t</i>	[183]
<i>nb.t pr.w</i>	[095]
<i>nd sn̄tr n.y ʔmn.w-Rʕ.w n.y n̄tr.w nb.w ʔnb.w-h̄d n.y psd.t n.y pr.w-nsw</i>	[189]
<i>rwd.w</i>	[321]
<i>rwd mnti m pr.w Pth</i>	[215]
<i>h̄₃.ty-ʕ.w</i>	[062] [239]
<i>h̄₃.ty-ʕ.w wr</i>	[062] [165]
<i>h̄₃.ty-ʕ.w wr m ʔnb.w</i>	[062]
<i>h̄₃.ty-ʕ.w wr m ʔnb.w-h̄d</i>	[062] [165]
<i>h̄₃.ty-ʕ.w wr m ʕnh-t₃.wy</i>	[062]
<i>h̄₃.ty-ʕ.w wr m Mn-nfr</i>	[062]
<i>h̄₃.ty-ʕ.w wr m mh̄₃t-t₃.wy</i>	[062]
<i>h̄₃.ty-ʕ.w wr m niw.t Pth</i>	[062]
<i>h̄₃.ty-ʕ.w wr m niw.t nh̄h</i>	[062]
<i>h̄₃.ty-ʕ.w wr m niw.t T₃-tnn</i>	[062]
<i>h̄₃.ty-ʕ.w wr m h̄w.t-k₃-Pth</i>	[062] [165]
<i>h̄₃.ty-ʕ.w wr n.y ʔnb.w</i>	[062]
<i>h̄₃.ty-ʕ.w wr n.y ʔnb.w-Pth</i>	[062]
<i>h̄₃.ty-ʕ.w wr n.y ʔnb.w-h̄d</i>	[062]
<i>h̄₃.ty-ʕ.w wr n.y Mn-nfr</i>	[062] [272]
<i>h̄₃.ty-ʕ.w wr n.y nsw</i>	[214]
<i>h̄₃.ty-ʕ.w m ʔ₃.t-Tmt</i>	[319]
<i>h̄₃.ty-ʕ.w m ʔnb.w-h̄d</i>	[165]
<i>h̄₃.ty-ʕ.w n.y ʕ.n.t</i>	[376]
<i>h̄₃.ty-ʕ.w n.y Mn-nfr</i>	[239] [302] [348] [375]
<i>h̄₃.ty-ʕ.w h̄₃ inb.w</i>	[165]

<i>ḥz.ty-^c.w ḥz inb.w n.w Pth</i>	[165]
<i>ḥz.ty-^c.w ḥrp ns.ty</i>	[251]
<i>ḥr.y</i>	[328]
<i>ḥr.y ʒpd.w ir.w</i>	[300]
<i>ḥr.y ir.w ḥsbd</i>	[291]
<i>ḥr.y iḥw n.y ḥnw</i>	[150]
<i>ḥr.y ^cʒ</i>	[361]
<i>ḥr.y ^cmr n.y nb Mʒ^c.t</i>	[282]
<i>ḥr.y ^c.t ḥnk.t</i>	[392]
<i>ḥr.y wnw</i>	[361]
<i>ḥr.y wdb</i>	[374]
<i>ḥr.y pd.t [n.y] nʒ šw.ty n.y pr.w Mr.n-Pth-ḥtp-ḥr-mʒ^c.t</i>	[142]
<i>ḥr.y pd.t n.y šw.ty n.y pr.w-ḥd [n.y] pr.w-^cʒ nḥ.w wdʒ.w snb.w</i>	[323]
<i>ḥr.y mr.t</i>	[007]
<i>ḥr.y nfw</i>	[427]
<i>[ḥr.y rwd].w n.y pr.w-ḥnr m Mn-nfr</i>	[248]
<i>ḥr.y sʒw.ty(w)</i>	[210]
<i>ḥr.y sʒw.ty pr.w-ḥd n.y Mn-nfr</i>	[189]
<i>ḥr.y sʒw.ty n.y nb tʒ.wy</i>	[324]
<i>ḥr.y sʒw.ty n.y sbʒ m Mn-nfr</i>	[391]
<i>ḥr.y sʒw.ty [n.y] sš.w n.w nb tʒ.wy</i>	[055]
<i>ḥr.y sʒw.ty sš.w n.w pr.w-ḥd</i>	[055]
<i>ḥr.y sʒw.ty sš.w n.w tʒ ḥw.t</i>	[107]
<i>ḥr.y swnw m pr.w Pth</i>	[068]
<i>ḥr.y sdm.w</i>	[328]
<i>ḥr.y sdmw.w n.w wbʒ nsw Hri</i>	[253]
<i>ḥr.y šw.ty</i>	[323]
<i>ḥr.y šmsw.w</i>	[048]
<i>ḥr.y šsp bʒk.t tʒ.wy ḥrp.wt Šm^c.w Tʒ-mḥ.w</i>	[335]
<i>ḥr.y-tp</i>	[374]
<i>ḥr.y-tp m tʒ r dr=f</i>	[303]
<i>ḥr.y-tp n.y tʒ r dr=f</i>	[184] [303]
<i>ḥr.y-tp tʒ.wy</i>	[127] [319]
<i>ḥkʒ bʒ.t</i>	[251]
<i>ḥn.ty tʒ.wy</i>	[303]
<i>ḥrp ip.t-sw n.yt nb tʒ.wy</i>	[083]
<i>ḥrp idb.wy</i>	[184]
<i>ḥrp n.y pr.w-dwʒ.t</i>	[236]
<i>ḥrp ḥtp.w n.w ntr</i>	[207]
<i>ḥrp spʒ.wt niw.wt</i>	[127]
<i>ḥrp Šm^c.w Tʒ-mḥ.w m wsh.t n.y ʒḥ.w n.y nsw</i>	[198]
<i>ḥrd n.y kʒp</i>	[032] [076] [083] [198] [285] [335]
<i>sʒw.ty</i>	[076]
<i>sʒw(.ty) ^cʒ n.y ḥz.ty</i>	[346]
<i>sʒw.ty pr.w-ḥd</i>	[075] [189] [354]
<i>sʒw.ty pr.w-ḥd n.y Mn-nfr</i>	[208]
<i>sʒw.ty n.y pʒ sbʒ n.y inr</i>	[364]
<i>sʒw.ty n.y pr.w ^cʒ-ḥpr-kʒ-R^c.w</i>	[346]
<i>sʒw.ty n.y pr.w ḥm=f</i>	[049]

<i>s3b</i>	[137] [233] [308]
<i>s3b ʕd-mr sp3.t</i>	[303]
<i>s3b n.y rhy.t</i>	[127]
<i>s3b t3y.ty / t3y.ty s3b</i>	[127] [137] [233]
<i>(s3b) t3y.ty n.y p.t / t3y.ty (s3b) n.y p.t</i>	[127]
<i>s3b t3y.ty t3.wy / t3y.ty s3b t3.wy</i>	[127]
<i>swnw</i>	[010] [385]
<i>sdm-ʕš</i>	[250] [438]
<i>sdm ʕš m pr.wy šfd.w n.y ntr nfr</i>	[246]
<i>sdm-ʕš n.y wb3 nsw Hri</i>	[253]
<i>šw.ty</i>	[201] [323]
<i>šw.ty n.y pr.w-ḥd n.y pr.w-ʕ3 ʕnh.w wd3.w snb.w</i>	[323]
<i>šw.ty n.y pr.w-ḥd n.y nb t3.wy</i>	[323]
<i>šms.w n.y hm=f hr h3s.wt nb.wt</i>	[041]
<i>šms.w nb=f hr h3s.wt rsy.wt mh.tywt</i>	[317]
<i>šms.w nsw</i>	[138]
<i>t3y-3bw n.y nb t3.wy</i>	[335]
<i>t3y-sry.t n3 n.w hrd.w n.w k3p</i>	[285]
<i>t3.ty</i>	[127] [137] [173] [233]
<i>t3.ty wp t3.w</i>	[127]
<i>t3.ty n.y rhy.t</i>	[127]
<i>/// wʕb ʕ.wwy</i>	[388]
<i>/// pr.w-ḥd m t3 ḥw.t Rʕ.w-ms-sw mr.y-ʔmn.w m pr.w Wsr</i>	[339]
<i>/// m t3 ḥw.t Wsr-m3ʕ.t-Rʕ.w-stp.n-Rʕ.w m pr.w ʔmn.w</i>	[304]
<i>/// n.y pr.w nwb ///</i>	[002]
<i>/// hm.wt</i>	[121]
<i>/// s.t šʕ.t</i>	[358]
<i>/// Šmʕ.w T3-mh.w</i>	[303]
<i>/// t3.wy</i>	[110]
<i>/// tp.y n.y pr.w-ʕ3 ʕnh.w wd3.w snb.w / /// tp.y n.y hm=f</i>	[316]

C: Scribal	Catalogue No.
<i>im.y-r3 n.y im.yw-r3 sš.w nb.w n.w nsw</i>	[303]
<i>ir.w wstw m Mn-nfr r bw hri nsw.t m s.t=f nb.t</i>	[332]
<i>wr di.w (5) m pr.w Dh.w.ty</i>	[016]
<i>hr.y ir.yw sh3.w n.w p3 mšʕ</i>	[138]
<i>hr.y s3w.ty [n.y] sš.w n.w nb t3.wy</i>	[055]
<i>hr.y s3w.ty sš.w n.w pr.w-ḥd</i>	[055]
<i>hr.y s3w.ty sš.w n.w t3 ḥw.t</i>	[107]
<i>hr.y sš wdh.w n.y pr.w Pth</i>	[299]
<i>hr.y-tp m pr.w-md3.t</i>	[303]
<i>s3w.ty sš.w n.w p3 mšʕ</i>	[138]
<i>sš</i>	[010] [162] [207] [301] [327] [332] [385] [386] [387] [390]
<i>sš ip.t nsw</i>	[097] [150]
<i>sš ip.t nsw n.yt hnr m Mn-nfr</i>	[097]
<i>sš ip.t nsw n.yt hnr m ḥw.t-k3-Pth</i>	[097]

<i>sš ikr</i>	[133] [214]
<i>sš ʕ₃ n.y mw m pr.w ʾImn.w-Rᶜ.w nsw nṯr.w</i>	[053]
<i>sš ʕ₃ n.y mw t[ʒ] ḥw.t Mn-mʕᶜ.t-Rᶜ m pr.w ʾImn.w</i>	[053]
<i>sš [wr] m iʒ.t=f ip ib m mdw-nṯr</i>	[215]
<i>sš wr n.y pʒ ip.w ʕš n.y ʾImn.w</i>	[126]
<i>sš wdḥ.w</i>	[086] [150]
<i>sš wdḥ.w n.y ip.t-nsw</i>	[121]
<i>sš wdḥ.w n.y nb tʒ.wy</i>	[031] [063] [086]
<i>sš pr.w-nsw</i>	[050]
<i>sš pr.w ḥd</i>	[161] [198] [215] [231] [334]
<i>sš pr.w-ḥd n.y ʾImn.w</i>	[022]
<i>sš pr.w-ḥd n.y ʾImn.w-Rᶜ.w</i>	[022]
<i>sš pr.w-ḥd n.y pr.w ʾItn.w</i>	[280]
<i>sš pr.w-ḥd n.y pr.w ʾItn.w m ʒḥ.t-ʾItn m Mn-nfr</i>	[280]
<i>sš pr.w-ḥd n.y pr.w ʾItn.w m Mn-nfr</i>	[280]
<i>sš pr.w-ḥd n.y Pth</i>	[215]
<i>sš pr.w-ḥd n.y nb Mʕᶜ.t</i>	[344]
<i>sš pr.w-ḥd n.y nb tʒ.wy</i>	[161] [232] [237]
<i>sš pr.w-ḥd n.y ḥd-nbw n.y nb tʒ.wy</i>	[066]
<i>sš m tʒ ḥw.t Wsr-mʕᶜ.t-Rᶜ.w-stp[.n]-Rᶜ.w m pr.w ʾImn.w</i>	[069]
<i>sš mʕᶜ n.y nb tʒ.wy</i>	[105]
<i>sš mʕᶜ n.y tp-ḥsb</i>	[325]
<i>sš mʕᶜ n.y nb tʒ.wy</i>	[015] [019] [292] [373]
<i>sš mḏʒ.t nṯr</i>	[086]
<i>sš n.y ʕ.t ḥnḳ.t</i>	[379]
<i>sš n.y ʕ.t ḥnḳt pr.wy-ʕ₃ ʕnh.w wḏʒ.w snb.w</i>	[277]
<i>sš n.y pr.w ʾItn.w m ʒḥ.t-ʾItn.w m Mn-nfr</i>	[209]
<i>sš n.y pr.w Pth</i>	[060] [191]
<i>sš n.y pr.w-ḥd</i>	[022] [178]
<i>sš n.y pr.w-ḥd n.y nb tʒ.wy</i>	[050]
<i>sš n.y pr.wy-ḥd n.y Pth</i>	[105] [344]
<i>sš n.y Pth</i>	[215] [240]
<i>sš n.y mnfy.t</i>	[262]
<i>sš n.y nb tʒ.wy</i>	[327]
<i>sš n.y ḥd-nbw n.y Pth</i>	[240]
<i>sš n.y šnw.ty pr.w ʾItn.w m Mn-nfr</i>	[288]
<i>sš n.y tʒ imn.tyt [n.y ʾItn.w]</i>	[345]
<i>sš n.y tʒ.ty Pth-ms</i>	[134]
<i>sš nfr.w</i>	[040] [303] [353] [383]
<i>sš nfr.w n.w pʒ ip.w ʕš</i>	[126]
<i>sš nfr.w n.w nb tʒ.wy</i>	[265]
<i>sš nsw</i>	[001] [016] [023] [026] [027] [035] [040] [041] [052] [055] [061] [062] [066] [078] [079] [080] [086] [101] [112] [135] [136] [144] [148] [165] [171] [177] [184] [190] [196] [198] [209] [213] [216] [219] [229] [234] [244] [256] [260] [266] [267] [270] [274] [275] [279] [281] [284] [287] [292] [298] [303] [304] [305] [318] [321] [322] [333] [335] [343] [352]

	[353] [365] [367] [372] [374] [378] [381] [382] [386] [395] [440] [446]
<i>sš nsw wr n.y nb t3.wy</i>	[365]
<i>sš nsw wdḥ.w</i>	[305]
<i>sš nsw wdḥ.w n.y nb t3.wy</i>	[086]
<i>sš nsw m3^c</i>	[066] [184] [300]
<i>sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f</i>	[009] [023] [026] [040] [061] [062] [066] [079] [082] [086] [099] [101] [120] [154] [165] [177] [184] [190] [214] [229] [259] [260] [266] [279] [281] [287] [303] [304] [305] [322] [365] [372] [382] [384] [386] [437]
<i>sš nsw mr.y nb t3.wy</i>	[190] [229]
<i>sš nsw (n.y) pr.w-ḥd (n.y) nb t3.wy</i>	[089]
<i>sš nsw [n.y] pr.wy-ḥd</i>	[170]
<i>sš nsw n.y mr(.wt)=f</i>	[335]
<i>sš nsw n.y nb t3.wy</i>	[106] [117] [170] [211] [292]
<i>sš nsw nfr.w</i>	[061] [198]
<i>sš nsw ḥr.y-tp</i>	[211] [287]
<i>sš nsw ḥs.y n.y ḥm=f</i>	[041]
<i>sš nsw ḥtp.w-ntr n.w ntr.w nb.w Šm^c.w T3-mḥ.w</i>	[148]
<i>sš nsw š^c.t</i>	[041] [396]
<i>sš nsw š^c.t n.yt nb t3.wy</i>	[041]
<i>sš ḥr.y-tp</i>	[374]
<i>sš ḥsb iḥ.w</i>	[018]
<i>sš ḥsb iḥ.w n.w Imn.w</i>	[356]
<i>sš ḥsb iḥ.w n.w pr.w im.y-r3 ḥtm</i>	[018]
<i>sš ḥsb b3k.t t3.wy ḥrp.t Šm^c.w Mḥ.w</i>	[198]
<i>sš ḥsb ḥ.t nb.t n.yt nb M3^c.t</i>	[215]
<i>sš ḥsb ḥtp.w-ntr n.w ntr.w nb.w Inb.w-ḥd</i>	[215]
<i>sš ḥsb ḥd-nbw n.y psd.t ʿ3.t</i>	[215]
<i>sš ḥsb ḥd-nbw n.y Pth</i>	[240]
<i>sš ḥtp.w n.w ntr.w nb.w</i>	[022]
<i>sš ḥtp.w-ntr n.w pr.w Pth</i>	[344]
<i>sš ḥtp.w-ntr n.w Pth</i>	[240]
<i>sš ḥd-nbw n.w nb M3^c.t</i>	[215]
<i>sš sb3.w m ḥw.t-ntr N.t nb.t š3.t</i>	[143]
<i>sš šḥn.w n.w p3 mš^c</i>	[220]
<i>sš š^c.t</i>	[287]
<i>sš š^c.t n.yt im.y-r3 pr.w wr</i>	[332]
<i>sš š^c.t n.yt im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nsw.t</i>	[332]
<i>sš š^c.t n.yt nb t3.wy</i>	[041] [287]
<i>sš kdw.t</i>	[180]
<i>sš im3.t</i>	[174]
<i>sš /// ssm.wt wrw.wt-sn n.y nb.w ḥr ḥd-nbw</i>	[198]
<i>Dḥw.ty š^c.t n.yt nb t3.wy</i>	[041]

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<i>im.y-r3 mš^c wr m pr.w Pth</i>	[165]
<i>im.y-r3 mš^c m pr.w Pth</i>	[165]
<i>im.y-r3 nby.w n.w nb t3.wy</i>	[065]

<i>im.y-r3 ḥmw.t</i>	[362]
<i>im.y-r3 ḥmw.t m Šm^c.w T3-mḥ.w</i>	[065]
<i>im.y-r3 ḥmw.t n.yt Pth</i>	[240]
<i>im.y-r3 ḥmw.t n.yt nb t3.wy</i>	[039]
<i>im.y-r3 ḥmw.t /// pr.wy[-^c3]</i>	[362]
<i>im.y-r3 ḥmw.w</i>	[030] [238] [317]
<i>im.y-r3 ḥmw.w wr</i>	[108]
<i>im.y-r3 ḥmw.w m p3-ḥpš</i>	[362]
<i>im.y-r3 ḥmw.w n.w pr.w Pth</i>	[047]
<i>im.y-r3 ḥmw.w n.w nb t3.wy</i>	[238] [362]
<i>im.y-r3 ḥmw.w nb.w n.w nsw</i>	[184]
<i>im.y-r3 ḳd.w n.w p3 pr.w-^c3</i>	[172]
<i>im.y-r3 ḳd.w n.w nb t3.wy</i>	[135]
<i>im.y-r3 k3.t</i>	[079] [127] [165] [317] [343]
<i>im.y-r3 k3.t m pr.w Pth</i>	[259]
<i>im.y-r3 k3.t m pr.w Nb.t nh.t</i>	[062]
<i>im.y-r3 k3.t m pr.w R^c.w</i>	[040]
<i>im.y-r3 k3.t m pr.w ///</i>	[041]
<i>im.y-r3 k3.t m mn.w nb n.y nb t3.wy</i>	[165] [374]
<i>im.y-r3 k3.t m mn.w nb n.y nsw</i>	[165] [374]
<i>im.y-r3 k3.t m mn.w nb n.y ḥm=f</i>	[079] [165] [184]
<i>im.y-r3 k3.t m mn.w nb n.y ḥm=f m ḥwt-k3-Pth</i>	[165]
<i>im.y-r3 k3.t m ḥw.t-k3-Pth</i>	[062]
<i>im.y-r3 k3.t m ḥnm.t Pth</i>	[061]
<i>im.y-r3 k3.t m S.t-nḥḥ</i>	[184]
<i>[im.y-r3] k3.t m Šm^c.w T3-mḥ.w</i>	[303]
<i>im.y-r3 k3.t n.y mn.w nb n.y ḥm=f</i>	[099]
<i>im.y-r3 k3.t n.y ḳw n.y bi3.t</i>	[303]
<i>im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t</i>	[259] [303]
<i>im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t [m] S.t-r-nḥḥ</i>	[184]
<i>im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t n.yt Pth</i>	[173]
<i>im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t n.yt nsw</i>	[040] [184] [303]
<i>im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t n.yt nsw m s.t nb</i>	[303]
<i>im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t n.yt Šm^c.w T3-mḥ.w</i>	[040] [303]
<i>ḳ.w m ḥw.t-nbw</i>	[368]
<i>[mḥ]-ib n.y nsw m mn.w</i>	[303]
<i>mḥ-ib n.y nsw m mn.w nb</i>	[303]
<i>mḥ-ib n.y nsw m smnḥ mn.w=f</i>	[303]
<i>rḥ sšt3 m ḥw.wt-nbw</i>	[065]
<i>ḥmw n.y Pth [nb M3^c.t]</i>	[242]
<i>ḥr.y pḏ.t</i>	[105]
<i>ḥr.y pḏ.t šw.ty</i>	[105]
<i>[ḥr.y pḏ.t šw.ty] n.y pr.w Pth</i>	[105]
<i>ḥr.y nby.w</i>	[030] [034] [044] [045] [155] [336] [368]
<i>ḥr.y nby.w ḳ.w m ḥw.t-nbw n.yt Pth</i>	[368]
<i>ḥr.y nby.w m ḥw.t-nbw</i>	[368]
<i>ḥr.y nby.w n.w Pth</i>	[368]
<i>ḥr.y nbw.w n.w nb t3.wy</i>	[030] [034] [039] [045] [155] [202] [336]
<i>ḥr.y nby.w n.w ḥw.t-nbw m pr.w Pth</i>	[368]

<i>hr.y nbw.w n.w t3 hw.t Mn-m3^c.t-R^c.w</i>	[336]
<i>hr.y nšdy n.y hw.t nbw</i>	[179]
<i>hr.y hmw.w</i>	[362]
<i>hr.y hmw.w wrt.t</i>	[156]
<i>hr.y hmw.w wrt.t n.y ///</i>	[362]
<i>hr.y hmw.w n.w p3-hpš</i>	[362]
<i>hr.y hmw.w n.w nb t3.wy</i>	[362]
<i>hr.y hr.ty-ntr</i>	[064]
<i>hr.y hr.ty-ntr n.y p3 pr.w n.y pr.w-^c3</i>	[064]
<i>hr.y hr.ty-ntr n.y p3 pr.w n.y pr.w-^c3 nh.w wd3.w snb.w</i>	[064]
<i>hr.y sš kd.w.t</i>	[394]
<i>hr.y sš kd.w.t m S.t-M3^c.t</i>	[394]
<i>hr.y kd.w</i>	[296]
<i>hr.y-tp m šh hmw.w</i>	[303]
<i>hr.y t3y.w-md3.t</i>	[141]
<i>hr.y tb.w</i>	[077] [247]
<i>hrp mn.w nb n.y nsu hr.y-tp</i>	[374]
<i>hrp hmw.w</i>	[127]
<i>hrp k3.t m hw.t Nw.t (?)</i>	[134]
<i>s3b ^cd-mr</i>	[184]
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<i>sš kd.w.t (ir.y w^cb m pr.w R^c.w)</i>	[197]
<i>sš kd.w.t n.yt p3 R^c.w</i>	[024]
<i>sš kd.w.t n.yt pr.w R^c.w</i>	[197]
<i>kd inr</i>	[093]
<i>gnw.ty / ks.ty</i>	[070]
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<i>t3y md3t</i>	[021] [141]
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<i>im.y-r3 w^cb.w</i>	[129]
<i>im.y-r3 w^cb.w Šhm.t n.y nsu štp.w hm.t-s r^c nb</i>	[448]
<i>im.y-r3 wt.w</i>	[009] [109]
<i>im.y-r3 wt.w n.w nb t3.wy</i>	[009]
<i>im.y-r3 hm.w-ntr</i>	[127] [243]
<i>im.y-r3 hm.w-ntr m hw.t Šhm.t</i>	[061]
<i>im.y-r3 hm.w-ntr n.w ntr.w nb.w Šm^c.w Mh.w</i>	[233]
<i>im.y-r3 hm.w-ntr n.w Hr.w nb Sby</i>	[303]
<i>im.y-r3 hm.w-ntr n.w Šm^c.w Mh.w</i>	[164]
<i>im.y-r3 hm.w-ntr nb.w t3.wy</i>	[151]
<i>im.y-r3 hsw.w nb m3^c.t</i>	[278]
<i>im.y s.t-^c rmmi m h3.t n.yt Pth</i>	[263]
<i>it-ntr</i>	[013] [083] [233] [289] [308] [360]
<i>it-ntr m pr.w Pth</i>	[167]
<i>it-ntr mr.y ntr</i>	[013] [127] [131] [137] [164] [166] [173] [233] [307] [311] [386]
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<i>ʕ3 m hw.t Pth</i>	[205]
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<i>ʕk hr sšt3.w n(.w) hm nb nn wn imm r=f</i>	[205]
<i>wʕb</i>	[084] [113] [119] [159] [242] [263]
<i>wʕb ʕ3</i>	[263]
<i>wʕb ʕ.wwy iy ntr <r> htp hr ///</i>	[184]
<i>wʕb ʕ.wwy m pr.w Pth</i>	[013]
<i>wʕb ʕ.wwy hr [k3p] sntr</i>	[184]
<i>wʕb n.y ʕmn.w n.y rw.t (?) / sb3 (?) / sbh.t (?) / t3 (?) / tri (?)</i>	[160]
<i>wʕb n.y Pth</i>	[263] [310] [368]
<i>wʕb n.y h3.t n.yt Pth</i>	[326] [368]
<i>wʕb kny.t</i>	[145]
<i>wʕb hr.t n.y nb m3ʕ.t</i>	[159]
<i>wʕb hr.y-hb n.y Pth</i>	[310]
<i>wʕb sntr.wy (ʕ.wwy?) iri sntr</i>	[311]
<i>wr m3.w n.y p3 ʕtn.w</i>	[209]
<i>wr m3.w n.y p3 ʕtn.w m pr.w ʕtn.w</i>	[209]
<i>wr m3.w n.y Rʕ.w-ʕtn.w</i>	[127]
<i>wr nmt.t m mfh Skr</i>	[166]
<i>wr-hrp-hmw.w</i>	[127] [131] [235]
<i>wr-hrp-hmw.w m ʕwnw Šmʕ.w</i>	[203]
<i>wr-hrp-hmw.w m pr.wy</i>	[164]
<i>wr-hrp-hmw.w n.w Pth</i>	[131] [233]
<i>b3k tp.y n.y ʕtn.w</i>	[083]
<i>f3i wr.t s3.t n.t Pth</i>	[159]
<i>pr.y m pr.w Pth</i>	[127]
<i>m3 sšt3 ntr.w nb.w</i>	[130]
<i>mrr.ty ʕ3 n.y ntr.w nb.w inb(.w)-hd</i>	[165]
<i>nfw n.y p3 dp.t n.t ʕmn.w</i>	[199]
<i>rĥ n.ty m r-pr.w</i>	[319]
<i>rĥ t3.w-dsr.w r-pr.w</i>	[319]
<i>rĥ dsr.w n.y p.t t3 dw3.t ʕwn.w hw.t-k3-Pth</i>	[205]
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<i>hm-ntr wr.t hk3.w</i>	[061]
<i>hm-ntr m r-pr.w n.y t3 hw.t pr.w-ʕ3 ʕnh.w wd3.w snb.w</i>	[203]
<i>hm-ntr m hw.t (Nb)-m3ʕ.t-(Rʕ.w)</i>	[203]
<i>hm-ntr m t3 hw.t Rʕ.w-ms-sw-mr.y-ʕmn.w m pr.w Pth</i>	[319]
<i>hm-ntr M3ʕ.t</i>	[173] [233]
<i>hm-ntr n.y ʕmn.w</i>	[338]
<i>hm-ntr n.y ʕstrt.t</i>	[338]
<i>hm-ntr n.y W3d.ty Bik</i>	[127]
<i>hm-ntr n.y B3-nb-[dd] (nb) pr.w-k3</i>	[360]
<i>hm-ntr n.y Bʕr</i>	[338]
<i>hm-ntr [n.y t3 hw.t Nb-m3ʕ.t-Rʕ.w]</i>	[203]
<i>hm-ntr tp.y Wr.t-Hk3.w</i>	[314]
<i>hm-ntr tp.y m hw.t N.t</i>	[209]
<i>hm-ntr tp.y M3ʕ.t</i>	[127]

<i>hm-ntr tp.y n.y i^ch</i>	[287]
<i>hm-ntr tp.y n.y Imn.w n.y psd.t m /// pr.w-nfr</i>	[338]
<i>[hm-ntr tp.y] n.y Imn.w n.y R^c.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w</i>	[372]
<i>hm-ntr tp.y n.y Wsir nb r3-st3.w</i>	[013]
<i>hm-ntr tp.y n.y Pth</i>	[027]
<i>hm-ntr (tp.y) n.y Mw.t-hnti.t-^cb.wy-ntr.w</i>	[037]
<i>hm-ntr tp.y n.y N.t</i>	[151]
<i>hm-ntr tp.y n.y Shm.t sh^c.t hn.ty S3-^hw-R^c.w</i>	[295]
<i>hm-ntr tp.y hw.t Pth m p3 b^ch</i>	[027]
<i>hr.y ^ck.yw n.w Pth</i>	[370]
<i>hr.y wnw.ty(w) smn hr.y ms wdn.w n.y pr.w Pth</i>	[067]
<i>hr.y hsw.w Pth nb m3^c.t</i>	[278]
<i>hr.y hn.yt n.yt M3^c.t</i>	[349]
<i>hr.y-sst3</i>	[308]
<i>hr.y-sst3 pr.w nwb m r-pr.w ntr.w nb.w</i>	[184]
<i>hr.y-sst3 m p.t t3 dw3.t</i>	[233]
<i>hr.y-sst3 m r3-st3.w</i>	[319]
<i>hr.y-sst3 m r-pr.w</i>	[130]
<i>hr.y-sst3 m hw.t bi.ty</i>	[127]
<i>hr.y-sst3 m hw.t M3^c.t</i>	[127]
<i>hr.y-sst3 m hw.t N.t</i>	[127]
<i>hr.y-sst3 m hw.t Pth</i>	[013] [307]
<i>hr.y-sst3 m hw.t-k3-Pth</i>	[166]
<i>hr.y-sst3 m hd Gbb</i>	[233]
<i>hr.y-sst3 m hm nb</i>	[200]
<i>hr.y-sst3 n.y wp-r3</i>	[205]
<i>hr.y-sst3 n.y p.t n.y t3 Iwn.w hw.t-k3-Pth</i>	[169]
<i>hr.y-sst3 n.y p.t t3 dw3.t</i>	[319]
<i>hr.y-sst3 n.y hw.t Pth</i>	[165]
<i>[hr.y-sst3] n.y hw.t[-nsw.t]</i>	[137]
<i>hr.y-sst3 n.y s.t wr.t</i>	[164] [166] [205]
<i>hr.y-sst3 n.y Sht-ntr</i>	[319]
<i>hr.y šw.tyw n.w t3 hw.t p3 Itn.w</i>	[294]
<i>hr.y-tp wr m pr.w-nh</i>	[448]
<i>hsw n.y Imn.w</i>	[252]
<i>hsw n.y Pth nb [m3^c.t]</i>	[278]
<i>hn.ty s.t m r-st3.w</i>	[164]
<i>hrp iz.wt nb.wt</i>	[319]
<i>hrp n.y nb m3^c.t</i>	[166]
<i>hrp hm.w-ntr</i>	[013]
<i>hrp šnd.wt nb.wt</i>	[127] [137] [233]
<i>hr.y-hb</i>	[074] [140]
<i>hr.y-hb n.y im.y-r3 pr.w M^cizy</i>	[146]
<i>hr.y-(hb) n.y Pth</i>	[159]
<i>hr.y-hb hr.y-tp</i>	[287] [374]
<i>hr.y-hb hr.y-tp m pr.wy-nfr</i>	[009]
<i>s3 nsw n.y Pth</i>	[263]
<i>s3b t3y.ty ir.y-Nhn</i>	[233]
<i>sm</i>	[013] [137] [164] [200]
<i>sm wr-hrp-hmw.w</i>	[013] [130] [152] [164] [166] [169] [173] [205] [233] [307] [311] [319]

<i>sm wr-ḥrp-ḥmw.w n.w Pth</i>	[131]
<i>sm Pth</i>	[205]
<i>sm m pr.w Pth</i>	[203]
<i>sm m s.t Ḳwn-mw.t=f</i>	[319]
<i>sm m t3 [ḥw.t Nb-m3^c.t-R^c.w]</i>	[203]
<i>sm n.y Pth</i>	[013] [233] [319]
<i>sm ḥtp ib Pth</i>	[164]
<i>sšm.w-ḥb</i>	[184]
<i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Ḳmn.w</i>	[079] [184] [233] [308]
<i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Ḳmn.w-R^c.w</i>	[079]
<i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Ḳmn.w-R^c.w nsw-ntr.w</i>	[308]
<i>[sšm.w-ḥb n.y Ḳmn.w [m Ḳp.t-rsy.t?]</i>	[184]
<i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Wsir</i>	[063]
<i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Pth nb m3^c.t</i>	[259]
<i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Pth nfr-ḥr</i>	[198]
<i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Pth rs.y inb=f n.y ntr.w nb.w Ḳnb.w-ḥd</i>	[061]
<i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y M3^c.t</i>	[040]
<i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Mḥ.t-wr.t</i>	[062]
<i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y nb m3^c.t</i>	[066]
<i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y [nb] ntr.w</i>	[184]
<i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Nb.t wr.(t)</i>	[062]
<i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Nb.t nh.t rsy.t</i>	[062]
<i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y ntr.w nb.w</i>	[374]
<i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y rs.y inb=f</i>	[127] [317]
<i>sšm.w tp-rd n.ty nb</i>	[127]
<i>stī-Gbb</i>	[319]
<i>sim n.y Pth</i>	[127] [233]
<i>šw.ty n.y t3 ḥw.t p3 Ḳtn.w</i>	[294]
<i>šm^c.yt n.yt W3d.t</i>	[095]
<i>t3y-sry.t n.y ḥ3.t-nfr.w-Ḳmn.w</i>	[088]
<i>tkn m ntr 3wi^c.wwy=f r ///</i>	[169]
<i>drp ntr.w</i>	[229]
<i>drp ntr.w wr.w</i>	[166]
<i>/// n.y nšm.t</i>	[448]
<i>/// [n.y R^c.w]-ms-sw-mr.y-Ḳmn.w-m-wi3</i>	[372]

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<i>im.y-r3 iw^c.yt</i>	[386]
<i>im.y-r3 im.yw-r3 mš^c nb t3.wy</i>	[303]
<i>im.y-r3 mš^c</i>	[079] [275] [365] [386] [439]
<i>im.y-r3 mš^c wr</i>	[023] [040] [303] [365]
<i>im.y-r3 mš^c wr n.y nb t3.wy</i>	[040] [052] [303] [365]
<i>im.y-r3 mš^c wr n.y nsw</i>	[303]
<i>im.y-r3 mš^c n.y nb t3.wy</i>	[303] [365]
<i>im.y-r3 nfr.w n.w nb t3.wy</i>	[303]
<i>im.y-r3 ḥ3s.wt rsy.t</i>	[249]
<i>im.y-r3 ssm.t</i>	[043] [262] [350] [439]
<i>im.y-r3 ssm.t n.yt nb t3.wy</i>	[079] [216] [381]
<i>im.y-r3 ssm.t n.yt nsw.t</i>	[083]
<i>im.y-r3 ssm.t (n.yt ḥw.t-k3-Pth)</i>	[279]

<i>ir.y-pd.t n.y nb t3.wy</i>	[279]
<i>idn.w n.y p3 mšc</i>	[266]
<i>š3 n.y hš.w n.y sb3 m Mn-nfr</i>	[285]
<i>wšw</i>	[283]
<i>wšrtw.w n.w mšc</i>	[441]
<i>wpw.ty nsw</i>	[229] [303]
<i>wpw.ty nsw r-h3.t mšc=f r h3s.t rsy.t mh.ty</i>	[303]
<i>wr md3y kt3n n.y nb t3.wy</i>	[085]
<i>wr n.y md3y.w</i>	[116]
<i>wr n.y md3y.w n.y nb t3.wy</i>	[085]
<i>whm.w nsw tp.y</i>	[040]
<i>mdw n.y mšc</i>	[335]
<i>nfw n.y Mr.y-Imn.w</i>	[285]
<i>hr.y ih.w</i>	[249] [279] [285]
<i>hr.y ih.w n.y hm=f</i>	[335]
<i>hr.y ih.w tp.y</i>	[204]
<i>hr.y wšrtw.w n.w mšc</i>	[051]
<i>hr.y pd.t</i>	[040] [230] [249] [262] [285] [297]
<i>hr.y pd.t n.y p3 mšc</i>	[266]
<i>hr.y pd.t n.y pr.w Pth</i>	[114]
<i>hr.y pd.t n.y nb t3.wy</i>	[023] [088] [266] [350]
<i>hr.y kt3n (?) / kt3n tp.y (?)</i>	[094]
<i>hr.y-tp mnf3.t nb.t ir.yw hn.t r rw.ty šh</i>	[303]
<i>hsb mnf3.t</i>	[303]
<i>hpšy m [///] nb t3.wy</i>	[335]
<i>sš3</i>	[157]
<i>sny</i>	[204]
<i>sny n.y p3 Bnw</i>	[204]
<i>sny n.y hm=f</i>	[204]
<i>šms.w nb=f</i>	[386]
<i>šms.w nsw r nmt.t=f hr h3s.t rsy.t mh.ty</i>	[303]
<i>šms.w nsw hr h3s.t nb.t</i>	[386]
<i>kny</i>	[386]
<i>kt3n n.y hm=f</i>	[245]
<i>kt3n tp.y n.y hm=f (?)</i>	[254]
<i>t3y-hš.w n.y šn.w hk3 m t3.wy</i>	[355]
<i>t3y-sry.t n.y Hš[w]-m-M3c.t</i>	[096]
<i>tsw-pd.t</i>	[275]

? : Unknown**Catalogue No.**

<i>hr.y t3y wšr.t (?)</i>	[158]
<i>knw š3 pr.w Pth m (p š mh.y.t ?)</i>	[313]

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- . 2015b. À propos de la « tombe à la vache » de Saqqâra. In *Cinquante and d’éternité: jubilé de la Mission archéologique française de Saqqâra*. R. Legros (ed), 339–44. Mission archéologique de Saqqâra V. Cairo.
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APPENDIX: LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

SCHOLARLY BOOKS

- [1] Horn, M., J. Kramer, D. Soliman, N. Staring, C. Van den Hoven and L. Weiss (eds). 2011. *Current Research in Egyptology XI: Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Symposium which took place at Leiden University, January 2010*. Oxford.

SCHOLARLY BOOK CHAPTERS

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