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Lara Weiss

THE WALKING DEAD AT SAQQARA

STRATEGIES OF SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS
INTERACTION IN PRACTICE

RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE
VERSUCHE UND VORARBEITEN

Lara Weiss

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Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten



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1 <https://www.nwo.nl/projecten/276-30-016-0>

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Contents

Chapter 1:

Introduction — 1

- 1.1 Scope and motivation — 1
- 1.2 Hypothesis: Strategies of creating and maintaining ‘reminiscence clusters’ — 9
- 1.3 Introducing the praxeological approach — 11
 - 1.3.1 What is agency? — 11
 - 1.3.2 What are practices? — 13
 - 1.3.3 What is religion? — 16
- 1.4 Finding religious practices at Saqqara — 18
 - 1.4.1 Funerary, post-funerary, mortuary, and other practices — 23
 - 1.4.2 The problem of preservation of mortuary practices — 36
 - 1.4.3 Eloquent buildings — 41
 - 1.4.3.1 The use of texts and images — 43
 - 1.4.3.2 Literacy and the tomb as auditive space — 47
- 1.5 Prospect — 50

Chapter 2:

Representation — 51

- 2.1 Tomb commemoration theory — 52
 - 2.1.1 Generic figures — 61
 - 2.1.2 Non-generic individuals — 61
- 2.2 Family commemoration in tombs — 63
 - 2.2.1 The tomb of Pay (i) and Raia (i) — 67
 - 2.2.2 The tomb of Khay (i) — 71
 - 2.2.3 The tomb of Raia (ii) — 73
 - 2.2.4 The tomb of Amenemone (i) — 76
 - 2.2.5 The tomb of Mose — 77
 - 2.2.6 The tomb of Tatia — 82
 - 2.2.7 The tomb of Paser (i) — 85
 - 2.2.8 Iniy’s family tomb — 87
 - 2.2.9 The tomb of Pabes — 94
 - 2.2.10 The tomb of Amenemone (ii) — 96
 - 2.2.11 The tomb of Ry (i) — 97
 - 2.2.12 Some notes on other family tombs in the Cairo concession area — 98

- 2.3 Commemoration of office — 99
- 2.3.1 The tomb of Ptahemwia (i) — 100
- 2.3.2 The tomb of Meryneith — 103
- 2.3.3 The tomb of Iniuia — 107
- 2.3.4 The rock-cut tomb of Maïa — 110
- 2.3.5 The tomb of Maya — 114
- 2.3.6 The tomb of Horemheb — 121
- 2.3.7 The tomb of Tia and Tia — 125
- 2.4 Strengthening reminiscence clusters by means of representation — 130

Chapter 3:

Offerings and other gifts at New Kingdom Saqqara — 133

- 3.1 Studying gift-giving — 133
- 3.1.1 Gift-giving theory — 133
- 3.1.2 Changing excavation methods — 135
- 3.2 Creating reminiscence clusters by means of gift-giving — 136
- 3.2.1 Votive shabtis — 137
- 3.2.1.1 The shabtis of Maya — 141
- 3.2.1.2 The shabtis of Meryneith and “Sethnakht” — 143
- 3.2.1.3 The shabtis of Pay (i) and Raia (i) — 144
- 3.2.1.4 The shabtis of Horemheb — 146
- 3.2.1.5 The shabtis of Tia and Tia — 147
- 3.2.1.6 A parallel from Sedment: The shabtis of Parahotep — 149
- 3.2.1.7 Summary of shabti donation at Saqqara — 153
- 3.2.2 Evidence for religious practices at the New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara — 155
- 3.2.2.1 The tomb of Samut — 156
- 3.2.2.2 Offering practices in the tomb of Maya — 159
- 3.2.2.3 Offering practices in the tomb of Tia and Tia — 163
- 3.2.2.4 The tomb of Horemheb — 170
- 3.3 Oral performance — 172
- 3.3.1 Genre — 172
- 3.3.2 The spatial distribution of religious texts and images at Saqqara — 176
- 3.3.2.1 South of Unas Causeway — 177
- 3.3.2.2 Bubasteion cemetery — 183
- 3.3.2.3 Teti cemetery — 184
- 3.3.2.4 Cairo concession area — 186
- 3.4 Occasional visits? — 187

Chapter 4:

The veneration of gods and ancestors at Saqqara and beyond — 189

- 4.1 The cultural geography of Memphis — 189
- 4.2 Worshipping gods and divine ancestors at Saqqara — 192
- 4.2.1 The Sokar festival — 194
- 4.2.2 Religious activity at the Serapeum — 196
- 4.3 Statue cults at Memphis and beyond — 208
- 4.4 Towards a wider understanding of cultural geography at Saqqara — 220

Chapter 5:

Conclusions — 221

Abbreviations and symbols — 225

Bibliography — 226

Index — 265

Chapter 1: Introduction

‘The Walking Dead’ in the title of the current study is of course a nod to the famous television series, but it also has a more serious meaning alluding to the fact that from an ancient Egyptian perspective, the deceased and other spiritual beings were actually part of the life of the living and interacted with them. A flowery description of this worldview has been provided by Thomas Mann in his famous *Josephroman*: “Nicht allein, daß Himmlisches und Irdisches sich in einander wiedererkennen, sondern es wandelt sich auch, kraft der sphärischen Drehung, das Himmlische ins Irdische, das Irdische ins Himmlische, und daraus erhellt, daraus ergibt sich die Wahrheit, daß Götter Menschen, Menschen dagegen wieder Götter werden können.”¹ A distinction between ‘this world’ and ‘the next’ or the like is therefore to be rejected. If borders existed, they were highly permeable in the context of everyday life in New Kingdom Egypt at Saqqara, for which the current study seeks to conceptualise the various strategies of interaction.

1.1 Scope and motivation

The ‘past’ does not exist as such. Rather, it exists only as it is incarnated and reincarnated in memories, texts, objects, and our ongoing collective activity of reconstruction. Nor is the past that is embodied in an object a fixed quality. It comes to be transformed as its audience and the circumstances in which it is encountered are themselves transformed. The historical significance of an object may itself be reconstituted historically.²

The above quote stems from a study of Indian images but it is highly relevant for the ancient Egyptian context as well, especially if we seek to understand how religious traditions developed over time and how we can reconstruct them in the archaeological record, which reflects the mutual interaction between humans and their environment.³ The current study seeks to understand the lived

¹ Quoted after Herbert Lehnert. ‘Ägypten im Bedeutungssystem des Josephromans.’ *Thomas Mann Jahrbuch* 6 (1993): 93–111; and see Erik Hornung. *Der Eine und die Vielen: ägyptische Gottesvorstellungen*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971, 149.

² Richard H. Davis. *Lives of Indian Images*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020 (first edition 1997), 85; quoted from David Morgan. *The Sacred Gaze: Religious Visual Culture in Theory and Practice*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005, 127.

³ See e.g. Phillip Sarasin. *Geschichtswissenschaft und Diskursanalyse*, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp 2003. For an Egyptologist’s perspective see e.g. Elisabeth Arend. ‘Von der Mimesis zur Konstruktion: zur Geschichte literarischer Vergangenheitsdarstellung.’ In: *jn.t Dr.w: Festschrift für Fried-*

religious traditions at Saqqara in Egypt, i.e. the cemetery of the ancient city of Memphis, around the time of the reigns of Amenhotep III and Ramesses IV (c. 1390–1129 BCE).⁴ To be precise, this study analyses the various strategies of socio-religious interaction of people⁵ in an interesting phase in the history of the site when the highest Egyptian officials built their monumental tombs in the shadow of the pyramids of Old Kingdom kings like Djoser, Unas, and Teti, which had already stood there for over 1000 years (Fig. 1).⁶

The site also provides an excellent case study because of the great work of almost 50 years of excavations by the now Leiden-Turin Expedition to Saqqara, the Egyptian⁷ and Australian expeditions⁸ at Teti cemetery and South of Unas,⁹

rich Junge 1 edited by Gerald Moers, Heike Behlmer, Katja Demuß, and Kai Widmaier, 45–58. Göttingen: Lingua Aegyptia, Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie, 2006; and Lutz Popko. *Untersuchungen zur Geschichtsschreibung der Ahmosiden- und Thutmosidenzeit 'damit man von seinen Taten noch in Millionen von Jahren sprechen wird.' Wahrnehmungen und Spuren Altägyptens. Kulturgeschichtliche Beiträge zur Ägyptologie* 2. Würzburg: Ergon, 2006.

4 For a recent summary of the work at the city of Memphis, see Aude G. Ohara. *Treasures from the Lost City of Memphis*. AERA, 2020. Open Access. <http://www.aeraweb.org/.../06/Treasures-From-Lost-City.pdf>. Accessed on 29 March 2022.

5 See also Jörg Rüpke. 'Establishing Self-World-Relations in Socio-Religious Practices. Looking at Roman Religious Communication.' *Arys* 18 (2020): 19–50 (focussing on the communication between humans and the divine).

6 A recent summary is Michael Stammers. *The Elite Late Period Egyptian Tombs of Memphis*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009, 12–25, and see e.g. Louise Gestermann. 'Das spätzeitliche Schachtgrab als memphitischer Grabtyp.' In: *jn.t Dr.w: Festschrift für Friedrich Junge* 1 edited by Gerald Moers, Heike Behlmer, Katja Demuß, and Kai Widmaier, 195–206. Göttingen: Lingua Aegyptia, Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie, 2006.

7 Zahi Hawass. 'Recent discoveries in the pyramid complex of Teti at Saqqara.' In: *Abusir and Saqqara in the year 2000* edited by Miroslav Bárta and Jaromír Krejčí, 413–444. Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Oriental Institute, 2000.

8 Boyo G. Ockinga. *Amenemone the chief goldsmith: a New Kingdom tomb in the Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*. Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports 22. Oxford: Aris and Phillips, 2004.

9 E.g. Ola El-Aguizy. 'Une stèle de famille à Saqqara: Reconsidération.' In: *Ex Aegypto lux et sapientia. Homenatge al professor Josep Padró Parcerisa, Nova Studia Aegyptiaca* IX edited by Núria Castellano, Maite Mascort, Concepció Piedrafità, Jaume Vivó, and Josep Padró Parcerisa, 203–217. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, Generalitat de Catalunya, Societat Catalana d'Egiptologia, 2015; Ola El-Aguizy. 'Une nouvelle "tombe-sarcophage à puits" à Saqqâra.' *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 110 (2010): 13–34; Ola El-Aguizy. 'A preliminary report on three seasons of excavations at Saqqara: 2005–2007.' *Bulletin of the Egyptian Museum* 4 (2007): 41–50; Ola El-Aguizy. 'Une stèle funéraire de l'époque tardive à Saqqara.' In: *Hommages à Jean-Claude Goyon offerts pour son 70e anniversaire* edited by Luc Gabolde and Jean-Claude Goyon, 21–28. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Bibliothèque d'Etude 143, 2008; Said Gohary. *The twin tomb chapel of Nebnefer & his son Mahu at Sakkara*. Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2009; Said Gohary. 'The cult-chapel of the fortress commander Huynefer at Saq-

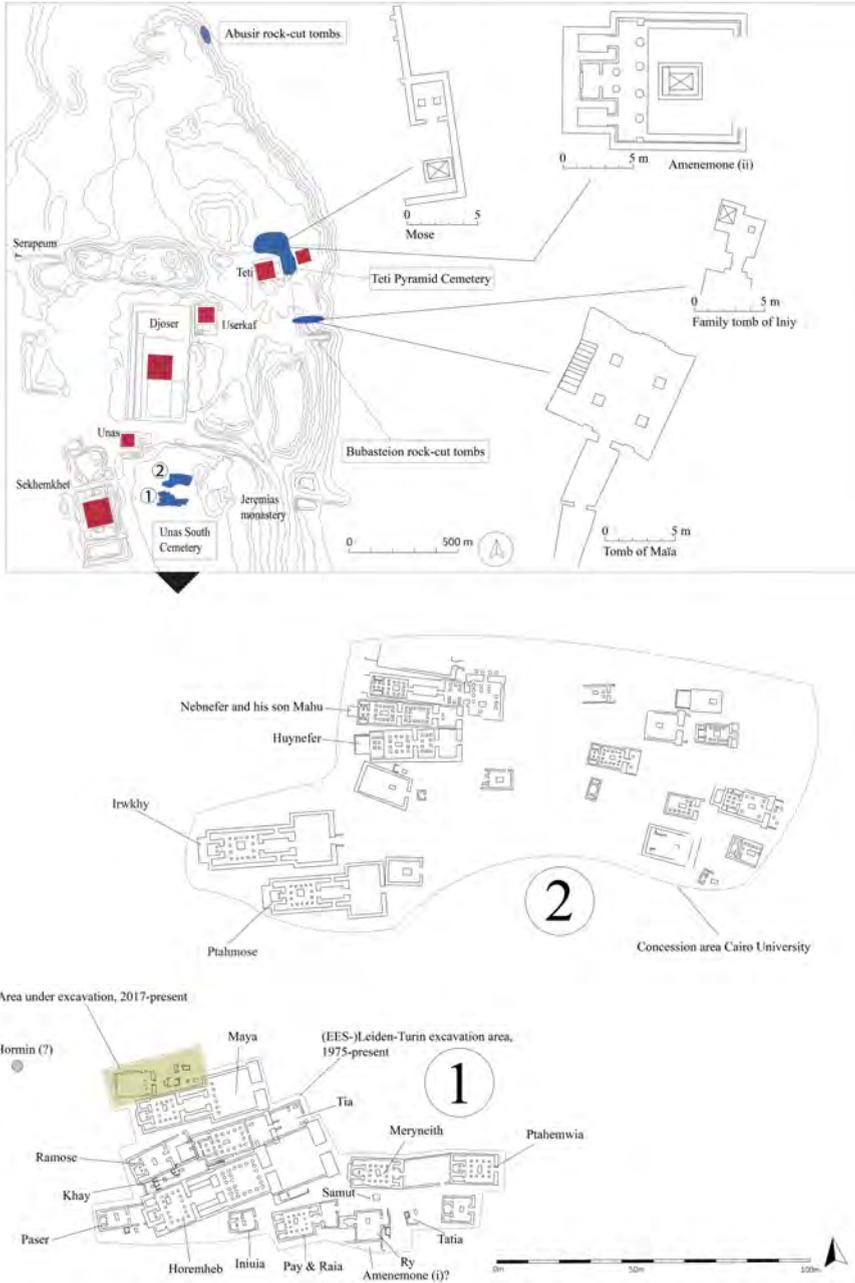


Fig. 1: Map of Saqqara with thanks to Nico Staring. This map shows the structures with known location mentioned in this study.

and the French expedition to the Bubasteion.¹⁰ These areas of what was in the past one large necropolis of about 12.5 km² preserved the choices people made regarding where to be buried, thereby integrating both their stories and monuments into the biography of the site.¹¹ It is therefore helpful to conceptualise Saqqara as ‘cultural geography’, i.e. the result of individuals and groups who continuously shaped their environment, and vice versa were shaped by it.¹² While the main interest is in tracing religious traditions, conceptualising the area as *cultural* geography should help to avoid the automatic presumption that all traces of practices in a cemetery are necessarily religiously motivated. The current study aims to capture the “mutual relationship between religion and [its] environment”,¹³ but also to detect the manifold ways “meaning and social under-

gara.’ In: *Egyptian culture and society: studies in honour of Naguib Kanawati* 1 edited by Alexandra Woods, Ann McFarlane, and Susanne Binder, 159–163. Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités, 2010. Tawfik, Sayed. ‘Recently excavated Ramesside tombs at Saqqara. 1: architecture’. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 47 (1991): 403–409; Tarek Tawfik. *A typology of the Tombs of the Nobles of the New Kingdom at Saqqara*, unpublished Msc Thesis, Faculty of Archaeology Cairo University 2001 (<http://fa-arch.cu.edu.eg/Library/Abstracts/MSCEgy/280.pdf>. Accessed on 6 September 2015); Tarek Tawfik. ‘The extent of the New Kingdom cemetery in the Memphite necropolis.’ In: *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first century: proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000* 1 edited by Zahi Hawass and Lyla Pinch Brock, 514–521. Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2003.

10 E.g. Alain Zivie. *La tombe de Thoutmes, directeur des peintres dans la Place de Maât (Bub. I.19), Les tombes du Bubasteion à Saqqara* 2, Toulouse: Caracara, 2013; Alain Zivie. ‘Amenhotep III et l’ouest de Memphis.’ In: *Ancient Memphis ‘Enduring is Perfection’, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 214, edited by Linda Evans, 425–443. Leuven: Peeters, 2012; Alain Zivie. *La tombe de Maïa Mère Nourricière du Roi Toutânkhamon et Grande du Harem (Bub. I.20), Les tombes du Boubasteion* 1, Toulouse: Caracara, 2009; Alain Zivie. *Découverte à Saqqarah: le vizir oublié*. Paris: Seuil, 1990; Alain Zivie. *Les Tombeaux retrouvés de Saqqara. Photographs by Patrick Chapuis*. Champollion. Monaco: Rocher, 2003; Alain Zivie. ‘La resurrection de hypogées du Nouvel Empire a Saqqara.’ In: *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000* edited by Miroslav Bárta and Jaromir Krejčí, 174–192. Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Oriental Institute, 2000. For the publications of the Anglo-Leiden, and now Leiden-Turin Expedition to Saqqara see e.g. listing a few publications by tomb till 2013: <https://www.saqqara.nl/tombs/>. Accessed on 29 March 2022. For more recent work see the team’s Rivista publications: <https://rivista.museoegizio.it/>. Accessed on 29 March 2022.

11 See also e.g. Jaromir Malek. ‘A meeting of the old and new: Saqqāra during the New Kingdom.’ In: *Studies in pharaonic religion and society in honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* edited by Alan B. Lloyd, 57–76. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1992.

12 Jon Anderson. *Understanding Cultural Geography: Places and Traces*, Routledge: New York, 2010, 5.

13 Sarah A. Soliman. ‘Sacred Social Spaces: Finding Community and Negotiating identity for American-born converts to islam’, Theses and Dissertations–Geography. Paper 24. <http://>

standings are constructed, contested and negotiated”.¹⁴ Hereby ‘cultural geography’ adds a spatial perspective to what Jörg Rüpke called *lived ancient religion*, i.e. variation, deviance, and invention of religious practices.¹⁵ This study thus seeks to understand how religious traditions at Saqqara were shaped and modified by means of practice in everyday life, but also to overcome the common misunderstanding that the ancient Egyptians were obsessed with death and immortality.¹⁶ Even though the evidence we have from ancient Egypt in general often stems from mortuary contexts, people’s lives did not centre around death. On the contrary, in the perception of the ancient Egyptians the deceased remained part of the world of the living. As Martin Fitzenreiter aptly described it:

they come forth and sit at [offering] tables; they haunt the living, sowing discord and disease; they offer themselves as healers, saviours and mediators to the gods; and their fate – in the terms of myths of the Osiris – plays an eminent role in the interpretation and manipulation of the nexus of culture and nature.¹⁷

This continuing interaction between the living and the deceased in ancient Egypt is exemplified, for example, by the practice of writing letters to the dead.¹⁸ Only a few examples have been preserved, but the practice is historically widespread and a prominent Leiden example dates to Ramesside Saqqara,¹⁹ i.e. the later

uknowledge.uky.edu/geography_etds/24, 2014, 35. Accessed on 29 March 2022, and see Manfred Büttner. ‘Religion and geography: impulses for a new dialogue between Religionswissenschaftlern and geography.’ *Numen* 21 (1974): 165–196; Lily Kong. ‘Geography and Religion – Trends and Prospects.’ *Progress in Human Geography* 14 (3) (1990): 355–371; Adrian Cooper. ‘New Directions in the Geography of Religion.’ *Area* 24 (2) (1992): 123–129; Chris C. Park. *Sacred Worlds: An Introduction to Geography and Religion*, London: Routledge, 1994.

14 David Atkinson. *Cultural geography: a critical dictionary of key concepts*. London: Tauris, 2005, xv.

15 Jörg Rüpke. ‘Lived Ancient Religion: Questioning ‘Cults’ and ‘Polis Religion.’ *Mythos* 5 (2011): 191–204.

16 Martin Fitzenreiter. “‘Die Unsterblichkeit ist nicht Jedermanns Sache’: Bemerkungen zum Tod und den Toten im pharaonischen Ägypten und ihrem Nach-(er)-Leben.’ In: *(Un)Sterblichkeit: Schrift – Körper – Kult. Beiträge des neunten Berliner Arbeitskreises Junge Aegyptologie (BAJA 9)*, 30.11.–2.12.2018 edited by Dina Serova, Burkhard Backes, and Matthieu W. Götz, 9–27. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

17 Fitzenreiter, ‘Unsterblichkeit’, 19.

18 Renata Schivavo has recently emphasised how these letters can also be interpreted positively as attempts to restore the role of ancestors as protectors of the household and thereby the household’s prosperity: Renata Schivavo. ‘Ghosts and Ancestors in a Gender Perspective.’ *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 25 (2020): 201–212.

19 Recently e.g. Michael O’Donoghue. ‘The “letters to the dead” and ancient Egyptian religion.’ *The Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 10 (1999): 87–104 with references. On the

phase of the historical period that interests us here. The interest in studying lived religious practices at Saqqara, however, is also biographical: it stems from my previous work on the domestic religious practices at Deir el-Medina,²⁰ a workmen's village near the southern city of Thebes which demonstrated the numerous intersections between the worlds of the living and the deceased. Seeing these intersections also triggered changing the research perspective by 180 degrees as a logical next step, and hence to not study the deceased in the domestic, but the living in a cemetery. Religious practices at Deir el-Medina houses were strongly motivated by the desire of regeneration²¹ and to maintain the cycle of life. 'Family religion' centred around requests to the gods for everyday concerns, including fertility and ancestor cults, both in and beyond the house, such as in the chapels and tombs (Fig. 2). As W. Lloyd Warner put it: "today's dead are yesterday's living, and today's living are tomorrow's dead. Each is identified with the other's fate. No one escapes".²² For the ancient Egyptians family continuity was vital because an eternal afterlife depended on an ongoing stream of offerings, and indeed descendants to perform them.

The evidence from Saqqara, however, requires widening the scope of research: the textual and material remains aimed at a broader audience and constituted wider 'extended families' or 'households' (see also chapter 2).²³ Susan Gillespie offered an apt definition for such households:

Saqqara example see Leiden inv. nos AH 114 and AMS 64, see Fitzenreiter, 'Unsterblichkeit', 20–21.

20 Lara Weiss. *Religious practice at Deir el-Medina. Egyptologische Uitgaven* 29. Leuven: Peeters, 2015.

21 On regeneration as main aim of Egyptian religion see already Erik Hornung. 'Zur Struktur des ägyptischen Jenseitsglaubens.' *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 119 (1992): 127–128. Note that in Egyptology benevolent deceased and deified ones are usually studied separately while of course the ancient Egyptians themselves shaped their understanding of the dead by the sum of their various experiences with the dead on all levels; see also Rune Nyord. 'Experiencing the dead in ancient Egyptian healing texts.' In: *Systems of classification in premodern medical cultures: sickness, health, and local epistemologies* edited by Ulrike Steiner, 86. London: Routledge, 2020.

22 W. Lloyd Warner. *The Living and the Dead: A Study of the Symbolic Life of Americans*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1959, 286.

23 Donald R. Bender. 'Refinement of the Concept of Household: Families, Co-Residence, and Domestic Functions.' *American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. 69/5* (1967): 493–504 is a classic. See also Martin Fitzenreiter. 'ʒḥ n jtn als ʒḥ jqr n R^c: die königlichen Familienstelen und die religiöse Praxis in Amarna.' *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 37 (2008): 103 with Egyptological references.

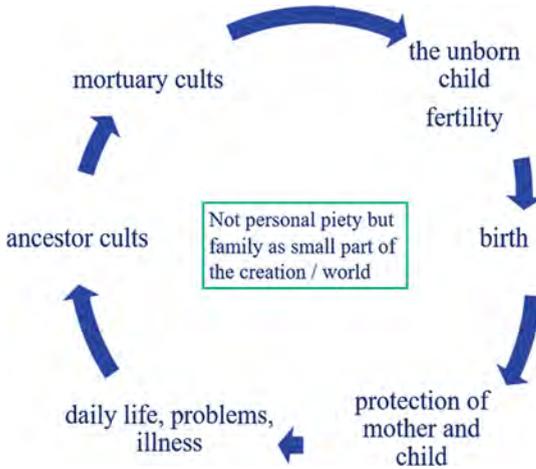


Fig. 2: Family religion in ancient Egypt. © Author.

Groups referred to by the term ‘house’ are corporate bodies, sometimes quite large, organized by their shared residence, subsistence, means of production, origin, ritual actions, or metaphysical essence, all of which entail a commitment to a corpus of house property, which in turn can be said to materialize the social group. Houses define and socially reproduce themselves by the actions involved with the preservation of their joint property, as a form of material reproduction that objectifies their existence as a group and serves to configure their status vis-à-vis other houses within the larger society.²⁴

While household archaeology typically refers to the study of the domestic,²⁵ we should not underestimate the household as a social category that extended beyond the limits of the house as a building²⁶ and indeed acknowledged simultaneous membership in various houses (or none).²⁷ Yet since the term ‘house’ is too

²⁴ Susan D. Gillespie. ‘Beyond Kinship: An Introduction.’ In: *Beyond Kinship: Social and Material Reproduction in House Societies* edited by Rosemary A. Joyce and Susan D. Gillespie, 1–2. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.

²⁵ Notably Miriam Müller (ed.). *Household studies in complex societies: (micro) archaeological and textual approaches. Oriental Institute Seminars 10*. Chicago: Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, 2015, xv–xxi with references, but see also Robin A. Beck (ed.). *The Durable House: House Society Models in Archaeology*. Carbondale, Ill.: Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, 2007, 6–10.

²⁶ Gillespie, ‘Beyond Kinship’, 3.

²⁷ Gillespie, ‘Beyond Kinship’, 8.

strongly connected to “descent, property, and residence”,²⁸ scholars sought to move to a full acknowledgement of the unstable character of those alliances.²⁹ This is relevant certainly for ancient Egypt, where extended families included also various servants, colleagues, and friends. The importance of extended family, kin groups as well as patron–client relationships as a basis for the Egyptian society have also been stressed by Egyptologists like Mark Lehner,³⁰ Christopher Eyre,³¹ Moreno García,³² and most recently by Leire Olabarria.³³ In fact two perhaps less well-known studies had a few decades earlier already emphasised the importance of extended families and kin groups as motors of “agency of procreation and socialisation”³⁴ as well as the importance of gift exchange to maintain these ties.³⁵ We shall see in the following that these findings are crucial for the current study, but only when widening the scope to the local level.³⁶ What is im-

28 Susan D. Gillespie. ‘Lévi-Strauss Maison and Société à Maisons.’ In: *Beyond Kinship: Social and Material Reproduction in House Societies* edited by Rosemary A. Joyce and Susan D. Gillespie, 30. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000. Definition by Lévi-Strauss: “*La maison est 1) une personne morale, 2) détentrice d’un domaine 3) composé à la fois de biens matériels et immatériels, et qui 4) se perpétue par la transmission de son nom, de sa fortune et de ses titres en ligne réelle ou fictive, 5) tenue pour légitime à la condition que cette continuité puisse se traduire dans le langage de la parenté ou de l’alliance, ou 6) le plus souvent les deux ensemble.*” see Gillespie, ‘Lévi-Strauss’, 27.

29 Gillespie, ‘Lévi-Strauss’, 30.

30 Mark Lehner. ‘Fractal house of Pharaoh: ancient Egypt as a complex adaptive system.’ In: *Dynamics in human and primate societies: agent-based modeling of social and spatial processes* edited by Timothy A. Kohler and George J. Gumerman, 275–353. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

31 Christopher Eyre. ‘Patronage, power, and corruption in pharaonic Egypt.’ *International Journal of Public Administration* 34 (2011): 701–711.

32 Juan Carlos Moreno García. ‘The “other” administration: patronage, factions, and informal networks of power in ancient Egypt.’ In: *Ancient Egyptian administration* edited by Juan Carlos Moreno García, 1029–1065. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

33 Leire Olabarria. *Kinship and family in ancient Egypt: archaeology and anthropology in dialogue*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

34 Eric Carlton. *Ideology and social order*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1977, 83.

35 Hartmut Apel. *Verwandtschaft, Gott und Geld: zur Organisation archaischer, ägyptischer und antiker Gesellschaft*. Frankfurt am Main; New York: Campus, 1982, esp. 25–28.

36 Olabarria does indeed emphasise that, from a sociological point of view, kin groups do not only describe blood relatives, yet the strong terminological association of ‘the clan’ or ‘the kin’ with a family relationships should be avoided, see Olabarria, *Kinship*, 29, 69 and 93 and see also Fredrik Hagen. ‘Local identities.’ In: *The Egyptian world* edited by Toby Wilkinson, 243. London; New York: Routledge, 2007 stressing that every individual is simultaneously a member of different sort of groups on ‘national’, local, ethnic, regional and/or professional levels which together shape his or her social identity. Note that the social construction of these ties has also been emphasised as a critic against too easy acceptance of the results of DNA studies: Joanna Brück. ‘An-

portant to realise is that, in reality, social networks function on various temporal and spatial levels,³⁷ and the Egyptian evidence can only provide us a snapshot of those interrelationships.

1.2 Hypothesis: Strategies of creating and maintaining ‘reminiscence clusters’

Matters of cultural memory and the wish of the Egyptians to remain have been studied in detail.³⁸ A fan of bipolar models, Jan Assmann distinguishes between two types of memory: a communicative one, in terms of everyday life memories that are transmitted through orality, and cultural memory, in terms of an objectified and institutionalised memory that is stored, transmitted, and reinvented throughout generations and is basically a collective memory that allows people to understand their cultural practices. While cultural memory is the long-term collective memory of a culture, communicative memory is confined to the recent past of three to four generations. The latter is what I am interested in for this study, namely an in-depth study of the cultural practices people performed at a daily life level to keep the communicative memory alive.

A significant problem with Assmann’s concept of memory is that it is a normative category, presuming a given understanding of that very memory, whereas an analytic category should ask which memories are reproduced by whom, and in what situation.³⁹ For a sharper conceptualisation I therefore loosely borrow

cient DNA, kinship and relational identities in Bronze Age Britain.’ *Antiquity* (2021): 1–10. Earlier I used ‘clan’ with a case study of the Leiden stela of Huy (viii) Leiden inv. no. AP 8, see Lara Weiss. ‘Modelling strategies of commemoration: the case of Huy.’ In: *Clashing Religions: the different layers of religious beliefs inside ancient Egypt. Ægyptologica Pisana: Distinguished Studies in Egyptology* edited by Marilina Betrò and Gianluca Miniaci, Pisa: Brepols, forthcoming.

37 Compare e.g. the seminal work by Tobias L. Kienlin. ‘Beyond Elites: An Introduction.’ In: *Beyond Elites. Alternatives to Hierarchical Systems in Modelling Social Formations* edited by Tobias L. Kienlin and Andreas Zimmermann, 18. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt GmbH, 2012.

38 E.g. Jan Assmann. *Religion und kulturelles Gedächtnis: Zehn Studien*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2000.

39 Compare criticisms by Cornelia Siebeck. “‘In ihrer kulturellen Überlieferung wird eine Gesellschaft sichtbar?’ Eine kritische Auseinandersetzung mit dem Assmannschen Gedächtnisparadigma’. In: *Formen und Funktionen sozialen Erinnerns. Sozial- und kulturwissenschaftliche Analysen* edited by René Lehmann, Florian Öchsner and Gerd Sebald, 75–77. Berlin; Heidelberg: Springer, 2013; and Felix Denschlag and Jan Ferdinand. ‘Vordenker kollektiver identitätsbildender Gedächtniskonstruktionen? Eine kritische Sichtung der Nietzsche-Rezeption Aleida und Jan Assmanns.’ In: *Nietzsche on Memory and History* edited by Anthony K. Jensen and Carlotta San-

the term “(informative) reminiscence” from psychological studies, where it is defined as a “recollection for the pleasure of reliving and retelling [...] to revive interest, self-esteem, and personal relationships”.⁴⁰ This is interesting because we know that it was the Egyptian ideal to be being embedded into a group,⁴¹ but we need a clearer understanding of both 1) which relationships were evoked, where and for what reason (the aim), and 2) which strategies, in terms of long-term practices, we used to achieve that aim. For example, at Abydos it is argued that clusters of memorial chapels discovered along processional routes represented the social units of a head of a household and his relatives, dependents, and colleagues – as represented on the famous Abydos stelae.⁴² At Saqqara, we shall see a more diverse picture of very specific choices to commemorate a belonging to certain groups, sometimes emphasising blood relationships, but also other affiliations, with an overall high degree of flexibility.⁴³ The conceptualisation of the evidence from Saqqara as reflecting ‘reminiscence clusters’ thus sharpens the lens of research and conceptualises choices and strategies that people made. Thereby a distinction between communicative and collective memories becomes obsolete: small scale strategies and interaction constantly constitute, but also negotiate, amend, and even invent, the bigger picture.

tini, 303. Berlin; Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2020. I would like to thank Prof. Oliver Dimbath for sharing the latter reference with me.

40 Marianne L. Gerfo, ‘Three ways of reminiscence in theory and practice.’ *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development* 12 (1) (1980–1981): 39–42.

41 Jan Assmann. *Ägypten: eine Sinngeschichte*. Munich: Hanser, 1996, 94 and Jan Assmann. *Tod und Jenseits im alten Ägypten*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2001, 73–78 and compare also for Saqqara the vital work by Christine Raedler. ‘Prestige, role, and performance: Ramesside high priests of Memphis.’ In: *Palace and temple: architecture – decoration – ritual. 5. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie / 5th symposium on Egyptian royal ideology. Cambridge, July, 16th-17th, 2007* edited by Rolf Gundlach and Kate Spence, 135–154. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011; Christine Raedler. ‘Zur Struktur der Hofgesellschaft Ramses‘ II.’ In: *Der ägyptische Hof des Neuen Reiches: seine Gesellschaft und Kultur im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen- und Außenpolitik. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums vom 27.–29. Mai 2002 an der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz* edited by Rolf Gundlach and Andrea Klug, 39–87. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006.

42 Many of which have no archaeological context, see Olabarria, *Kinship*, 41. On votive stelae as evidence for social practices see e.g. Karen Exell. *Soldiers, sailors and sandalmakers: a social reading of Ramesside period votive stelae*. *GHP Egyptology* 10. London: Golden House, 2009, 131.

43 Similarly argued for ‘household belonging’ by Claude Levi-Strauss. ‘Nobles sauvages.’ In: *Culture, science and development: contribution à une histoire de l’homme. Mélanges en l’honneur de Charles Morazé* edited by Charles Morazé and Raymond Aron, Toulouse: Privat, 1979, 47.

1.3 Introducing the praxeological approach

In spite of the seminal work on the research history of the individual interaction with the divine by Michela Luiselli,⁴⁴ a good handbook of ancient Egyptian religious practices is still a desideratum. Not only in Egyptology but in any study of individuals and society, one encounters an abyss of theories of the question of how freely the individual can act with the constraints of what is expected behaviour in a given group, a discussion as old as the discipline of sociology itself.⁴⁵ It therefore seems useful to briefly define the concepts used in this study before diving further into the material analysis.

1.3.1 What is agency?

Following a seminal article by Mustafa Emirbayer and Ann Mische, agency is conceptualised here as:⁴⁶

a temporally embedded process of social engagement, informed by the past (in its ‘iterational’ or habitual aspect) but also oriented toward the future (as a ‘projective’ capacity to imagine alternative possibilities) and toward the present (as a ‘practical-evaluative’ capacity to contextualise past habits and future projects within the contingencies of the moment).⁴⁷

44 Maria M. Luiselli. *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe: Untersuchungen zur persönlichen Frömmigkeit in Ägypten von der 1. Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches. Ägypten und Altes Testament* 73. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011.

45 An excellent summary has recently been provided by Marian Füssel. ‘Die Rückkehr des “Subjekts” in der Kulturgeschichte. Beobachtungen aus praxeologischer Perspektive.’ In: *Historisierte Subjekte – Subjektivierte Historie. Zur Verfügbarkeit und Unverfügbarkeit von Geschichte* edited by Stefan Deines, Stephan Jaeger and Ansgar Nünning, 143–151. Berlin: DeGruyter, 2013. For an Egyptological perspective see the important thoughts by Martin Fitzenreiter. ‘Bemerkungen zur Beschreibung altägyptischer Religion: mit einer Definition und dem Versuch ihrer Anwendung.’ *Göttinger Miscellen* 202 (2004): 19–53. Esp. 22–34.

46 The following paragraph further develops earlier considerations of Lara Weiss. ‘Individuum und Gemeinschaft: methodologische Überlegungen zur Persönlichen Frömmigkeit.’ In: *Sozialisationen: Individuum – Gruppe – Gesellschaft: Beiträge des ersten Münchner Arbeitskreises Junge Aegyptologie (MAJA 1), 3. bis 5.12.2010* edited by Gregor Neunert, Kathrin Gabler and Alexandra Verbovsek, 187–205. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012; and Lara Weiss. *Religious practice at Deir el-Medina. Ägyptologische Uitgaven* 29. Leuven: Peeters, 2015.

47 Mustafa Emirbayer and Ann Mische. ‘What is Agency?’ *American Journal of Sociology* 103 (4) (January 1998): 962.

What is important here is the fact that they view “structural contexts of action” as “temporal”, i. e. allowing for individual and group appropriation of action depending on context and situation. For the ancient Egyptian context, for example, we know of many cases in which the archaeological record we have differs from instructions known from Egyptian texts.⁴⁸ Instead of assuming error it is fruitful to think about these amendments in terms of innovation, which may at times even have improved the ‘original’ ritual.⁴⁹ How such appropriations influence individual and group practices on a larger scale is perhaps best understood in terms of the ‘role identity theory’.⁵⁰ This theory conceptualises society as “positions within the social structure” and identity as “internalized meanings and expectations associated with a role”.⁵¹ Each individual role is embedded into one or more groups providing the meanings and expectations associated with the role in question, but also with the potential possibility to modify these meanings and expectations. These ‘lived’ identities could evolve from group participation (‘social identity’), social roles (‘role identity’), or biological components (‘personal identity’),⁵² which can be activated and changed depending on context and situation (‘salience of an identity’). It is therefore important not to equate titles with roles as Martin Fitzenreiter did in his article about social practices of tomb building.⁵³ In his otherwise illuminating article Fitzenreiter discussed access to resources and increasing social stratification by means of growing access to resources by different groups and the development of what Fitzenreiter called “intermediary groups” between the elite and their dependents for residential areas (Memphis) in the Old Kingdom. His analysis of access to resources is relevant also for the New Kingdom and this study shows how different strategies of cre-

48 A very good example are magical bricks mentioned in the Egyptian mortuary literature, whose appearance and location in the tomb can differ considerably from the textual instruction: Isabelle Régen. ‘When the Book of the Dead does not match archaeology: the case of the protective magical bricks (BD 151).’ *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 15 (2010): 267–278.

49 See Régen, ‘Magical bricks’, 273

50 See e.g. Sheldon Stryker. *Symbolic Interactionism: A Social Structural Version*. Menlo Park: Benjamin/Cummings Pub. Co, 1980; Sheldon Stryker and Peter J. Burke. ‘The Past, Present and Future of Identity Theory’, *Social Psychology Quarterly* 63 (2000): 284–297; and Peter J. Burke and Jan E. Stets. *Identity Theory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009; with thanks also to the thoughts by Eric Rebillard.

51 Stryker and Burke, ‘Identity Theory’, 289.

52 The remaining question is of course whether ostensibly biological characteristics are not culturally constructed, too.

53 Martin Fitzenreiter. ‘Grabmonument und Gesellschaft: funeräre Kultur und soziale Dynamik im Alten Reich.’ *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 40 (2011): 79.

ating and maintaining what I prefer to coin as ‘reminiscence clusters’ demonstrate how individuals and groups accumulated multiple roles, different elements of which may dominate in different situations.⁵⁴ Role identity theory and the added element of potential temporality thus help to understand individual and group agency within a constantly renegotiated social structure, not ignoring any “internalized meanings and expectations associated with a role”,⁵⁵ but allowing them to be variable. Where possible, object agency is considered as well in terms of the agency humans ascribed to statues or other objects.⁵⁶

1.3.2 What are practices?

The current praxeological perspective seeks to overcome traditional oppositions between ‘structure’ (the habitual aspect or negotiated common sense) and ‘agency’ (individual and group action), which is one of the key issues of any understanding of social interaction.⁵⁷ To be precise, the debate centres around the question of how ‘free’ individuals and groups are to act and interact. Rather than with Bourdieu’s habitus, i.e. a “set of dispositions, created and reformulated through conjuncture of objective structure and personal history”,⁵⁸ it is helpful to look at structure in terms of Anthony Giddens’ structuration, i.e. as a dual structure of a social consensus and the common acceptance of conventions con-

54 Stryker and Burke, ‘Identity Theory’, 286.

55 Stryker and Burke, ‘Identity Theory’, 289.

56 The essay by Irene Winter is illuminating: see Irene J. Winter. ‘Agency marked, Agency ascribed: the Affective Object in ancient Mesopotamia.’ In: *Art’s Agency and Art History* edited by Robin Osborne and Jeremy Tanner, 42–69. Malden: Blackwells, 2007; cf. Elizabeth Froid. ‘When Statues speak about themselves.’ In: *Statues in Context. Production, meaning and (re) use*, *British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan* 10 edited by Aurélia Masson-Berghoff, 4. Leuven: Peeters, 2019.

57 Compare, for example, Richard Harker and Cheleen Mahar. *An Introduction to the Work of Bourdieu. The Practice of Theory*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990, 22–23 (footnote 1); and on praxeology as a way out, e.g. Füssel, ‘Beobachtungen’, 151–152. Earlier thoughts on the matter with a case study about the chapel of Paatenemheb in Leiden (inv. nos. AMT 1 and AP 52) were published in Lara Weiss. ‘Ägyptische Religion in der Alltagswelt: Ein praxistheoretischer Zugang.’ In: *Sociality – Materiality – Practice. Cologne Contributions to Archaeology and Cultural Studies / Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie* edited by Tobias L. Kienlin and Richard Bußmann. Bonn: Habelt, in print. A good summary of the state of the art is also provided by Alexander Veling, ‘Archäologie der Praktiken.’ *Germania* 97 (2019): 131–148, although I disagree with his model (p. 149) in which he mixes analytical levels in both conception and terminology.

58 Harker and Mahar, *Introduction*, 10.

stantly being reaffirmed in the process of structuration.⁵⁹ Structuration thus allows us to view structure and agency as two sides of the same coin,⁶⁰ and overcomes the problem that Bourdieu's habitus is always created and reproduced unconsciously "without any deliberate pursuit of coherence [and] without any conscious concentration".⁶¹ A "practice is a routinised type of behavior which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge."⁶² In view of several praxeological approaches, it should be noted that it is useful in the current study to start with practices and study them beyond the traditional binary patterns of structure and agency, or individual and society, and to view them in relation to the field in which they are embedded.⁶³ While individuals cannot randomly change practices, at least not when they should be accepted by others, practices can change over time. Hilmar Schäfer⁶⁴ mentions the very fitting example of the marriage: nobody can hope to get married if the practice does not exist, and if he or she gets married it is legally effective only if the preceding ceremony follows a fixed set of rules. On the other hand, the practice changes over time (e.g. allowing same sex marriage, etc). It is therefore important to consider practices over a wider time period as a process.⁶⁵ The focus of the present book is on everyday individual and group practices and their respective appropriations, a term borrowed from Michel de Certeau. De Certeau is important as being among the first to acknowledge that the way people do things is not just *given* in terms of a fixed structure, but that there exist a range of possibilities of how the individual can operate in ac-

59 Hans Joas. 'Giddens' Theorie der Strukturbildung. Einführende Bemerkungen zu einer soziologischen Transformation der Praxisphilosophie.' *Theorie. Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 15/4 (1986): 239.

60 Anthony Giddens. *The Constitution of Society. Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1984, XX–I.

61 Pierre Bourdieu. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984, 170.

62 Andreas Reckwitz. 'Toward a Theory of Social Practices. A Development in Culturalist Theorizing.' *European Journal of Social Theory* 5 (2) (2002): 249.

63 Hilmar Schäfer. *Die Instabilität der Praxis*. Weilerswist: Nomos, 2013 provides a good summary of approaches and their differences.

64 Hilmar Schäfer. 'Einleitung: Grundlagen, Rezeption und Forschungsperspektiven der Praxistheorie.' In: *Praxistheorie. Ein soziologisches Forschungsprogramm* edited by Hilmar Schäfer, 12. Bielefeld: Transcript-Verlag, 2016.

65 Schäfer, *Praxistheorie*, 13.

cordance with the respective situation and space.⁶⁶ However, following the current praxeological approach, Foucault's "culturalist textualism" is being challenged, i. e. his idea that structure can be found "in chains of signs, in symbols, discourse, communication (in a specific sense) or 'texts'" only.⁶⁷ On the contrary, individuals and groups are understood here as "carrier[s] of patterns of bodily behaviour, but also of certain routinised ways of understanding, knowing how and desiring."⁶⁸ These conventionalised "activities of understanding, knowing how and desiring" are "necessary elements and qualities of a practice in which the single individual *participates*" and indeed, "not qualities of the individual."⁶⁹ This explains why this participation in practices can be temporary depending on context and situation or indeed depending on changing roles that are in themselves potentially fluid. The concept of appropriation as it is used here hence allows the grasping of the experiences and expressions of various individuals and groups, and their potential modification and challenge of practices, which bring us back to the agents.⁷⁰ These agents, however, are no longer viewed as being confined by a structure, but rather as constantly constituting it.⁷¹ As Theodore Schatzki convincingly argued, structure is constituted by practices, and micro and macro level are in fact not sharply distinguishable levels.⁷²

66 In Certeau's terms, the so-called "ways of operating" constitute the innumerable practices by means of which users *reappropriate* [emphasis mine] the space organised by techniques of sociocultural production"; see Michel de Certeau. *The Practice of Everyday Life* transl. by Steven F. Rendall. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984, xiv and see also the discussion of Certeau's approach by Michael E. Gardiner. *Critiques of Everyday Life*. London: Routledge, 2000, 167–168 and 177.

67 Reckwitz, 'Social Practices', 248.

68 Reckwitz, 'Social Practices', 250.

69 Reckwitz, 'Social Practices', 250.

70 An illustrative definition has been proposed by Edward W. Soja, who describes "*lived space* [as a] simultaneously real-and-imagined, actual-and-virtual, locus of structured individual and collective experience and agency" (emphasis in the original); see Edward Soja. *Postmetropolis. Critical Studies on Cities and Regions*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000, 11. Soja's definition concerns the urban space, but it is applicable also to a broader perspective of any space employed by individuals and groups. See also Lynn Meskell. 'Back to the Future. From the Past to the Present to the Past in the Past.' In: *Negotiating the Past in the Past. Identity, Memory and Landscape in Archaeological Research* edited by Norman Yoffee, 219–220. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007.

71 Compare Theodore R. Schatzki. 'Praxistheorie als flache Ontologie.' *Praxistheorie. Ein soziologisches Forschungsprogramm* edited by Hilma Schäfer, 32–34. Bielefeld: Transcript-Verlag, 2016.

72 Compare Schatzki, 'Praxistheorie', 35.

1.3.3 What is religion?

In most simple terms religion can be described as a “set of knowledge produced in response to specific questions within the dialectical dynamics of the social construction of reality” of a given group.⁷³ As an analytical category ‘religion’ can thus also exist in absence of an emic (i.e. based on ancient Egyptian sources) description. After all one should not limit research questions “within a linguistic ontology – ‘religion’”.⁷⁴ That ancient Egyptian language had no word for religion is thus irrelevant for the study of the notion as both social reality and analytical category.⁷⁵ Other scholars have argued that when “‘religion’ permeates the whole life [...] the concept has no distinct meaning, because nothing is picked out by it”.⁷⁶ Since Egyptian religion “did not serve as a guide to living” and was “removed from the emotional and practical life of most Egyptians”⁷⁷ the ancient Egyptian society could be considered as “largely secular”.⁷⁸ The issue of the apparent ‘lack of religion’ is shared by other bygone cultures and has more or less recently triggered again the debate of whether religion should be an analytical category.⁷⁹ At the same time, the terminology involves preconceptions of what we think religion is, i.e. pushing towards “Judeo-Christian monotheistic categories such as worship, God monasticism, salvation, and the meaning of history and tries to make the material fit these categories”.⁸⁰ While caution is indeed required – as implicit protestant ideas of what religion ought to be (namely pure piety) have obscured an understanding of Egyptian religion – that the ancients did not conceptualise their practices as ‘religion’ does not mean that “religion cannot reasonably be taken to be a valid analytical cat-

73 Marcus Dressler. ‘The Social Construction of Reality (1966) Revisited: Epistemology and Theorizing in the Study of Religion.’ *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 31 (2019): 129.

74 Dressler, ‘Construction’, 129.

75 Compare also Thomas Meier and Petra Tillessen. ‘Archaeological imaginations of religion: an introduction from an Anglo-German perspective.’ In: *Archaeological Imaginations of Religion* edited by Thomas Meier and Petra Tillessen, 18–20. Budapest: Archaeolingua Foundation, 2014.

76 Timothy Fitzgerald. *The Ideology of Religious Studies*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, 82; see Carlin A. Barton. *Imagine no religion. How modern abstractions hide ancient realities*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2016, 4.

77 Barry J. Kemp. ‘How religious were the ancient Egyptians?’ *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 5 (1) (1995): 50.

78 Kemp, ‘How religious’, 50.

79 E.g. Brent Nongbri. *Before religion: A history of a modern concept*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2013 and Barton, *Imagine*.

80 Fitzgerald, *Ideology*, 9, see Barton, *Imagine*, 6.

egory”.⁸¹ This is illustrated well by recent studies in contemporary China facing comparable challenges of deeply rooted protestant views of religion which obscure a comprehensive understanding of daily-life religion.⁸² To be precise, Anna Sun has shown that while people do not feel committed to a religious denomination and say they would never to attend religious services, that study found many had still performed “ancestral rites to the gravesite of a deceased family member in the past year”.⁸³ This shows very clearly in modern China that group membership to an institutionalised religion is not relevant in daily life practice, yet this does not mean that Chinese people do not perform what *others* consider religious practices. They perform a series of practices in which categories set by different religious traditions are highly fluid and overlap.⁸⁴ It is thus important to consider not only religion as an analytical category, but also to study it in its material embodiment. As Manule Vasques pointed out: “[R]eality is always mediated by our practices and cognitive categories, but it is not totally reducible to them. There is a recalcitrant *material* (i.e. bodily and environmental) surplus that makes possible the emergence of the practices and cognitions with which we engage in the world.”⁸⁵

This situation is paralleled, for example, in ancient Egypt where various gods and ancestors were adored depending on context and situation.⁸⁶ Much more interesting than speculations on ancient beliefs is the analysis of actual practices, i.e. not to define religion but to find it.⁸⁷ A loose understanding of religion as being found in all material and textual evidence that relate to any practices and beliefs dealing with gods, deified individuals, spirits, demons, and ancestors is not self-contradictory but reflects our analytical tool-kit.⁸⁸ If the in-

81 Barton, *Imagine*, 9, quoting Fitzgerald without reference.

82 Anna Sun. ‘The Study of Chinese Religions in the Social Sciences: Beyond the Monotheistic Assumption,’ In: *Religion and Orientalism in Asian Studies* edited by Kiri Paramore, 51. Leiden: Bloomsbury, 2016.

83 Sun, ‘Monotheistic’, 51.

84 Sun, ‘Monotheistic’, 66.

85 Cf. Manuel Vasquez. *More than Belief. A Materialist Theory of Religion*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, 129, emphasis mine.

86 E.g. Luiselli, *Gottesnähe* and Anna Stevens. *Private religion at Amarna: The material evidence*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006.

87 Compare e.g. Clifford Geertz. *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968, 1.

88 Contra Barton, *Imagine*, 9. For a comparable definition see Emiliano R. Urciuoli and Jörg Rüpke. ‘Urban Religion in Mediterranean Antiquity: Relocating Religious Change.’ *Mythos* 12 (2018): 125–126.

clusion of intercultural conceptualisation of abstract terminology in the culture under study was a criterion, we could also not think about ancient Egyptian economy or art without confining it to exchange of goods or craftsmanship respectively. The discussion in favour of or against using ‘religion’ as a category has in fact another dimension that is usually not addressed by the critics of using the term religion: even the modern category of what religion is, is far more permeable than is often assumed. Recent research has shown that people do not simply follow a normative set of religious practices and beliefs configured by an institutionalised religion; rather, there exists a range of individual and group appropriations of practices.⁸⁹ For example, although the Protestant Church “privilege[s] belief over practice”, many Protestants employ a variety of religious practices in their daily lives.⁹⁰ If this applies to lived contemporary Christianity, i.e. to adherents of a highly institutionalised religion with a centuries-old tradition of dogmatic thought, an interesting question is how people dealt with religion in ancient Egypt where – as far as we know – no written set of normative rules even existed. To consider religion in terms of practices is also helpful to overcome another problem provided by our modern heritage of Western Enlightenment and Protestantism, and that is the idea that the individual needs to be freed from its constraints (such as church, family, etc.).⁹¹ Instead we should affirm “the idea of a relational self”.⁹² “Relational self” of course refers to ‘culture in interaction’, i.e. the understanding how important collective representations are for the understanding of how people make meaning.⁹³ Religious practices are therefore understood here as a strategy of cultural communication creating meaning and community.⁹⁴

1.4 Finding religious practices at Saqqara

The monumental tombs of New Kingdom Saqqara all consist of two parts (Figs. 3 and 4).

⁸⁹ Meredith B. McGuire. *Lived Religion. Faith and Practice in Everyday Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, 11–12.

⁹⁰ McGuire, *Lived Religion*, 20.

⁹¹ Mary Jo Neitz. ‘Gender and Culture: Challenges to the Sociology of Religion.’ *Sociology of Religion* 65 (4, Winter) (2004): 391–402.

⁹² Neitz, ‘Gender’, 400.

⁹³ Compare also Nina Eliasoph and Paul Lichterman. ‘Culture in Interaction,’ *American Journal of Sociology* 108 (4) (January 2003): 735–794.

⁹⁴ Compare also the seminal article by Fitzenreiter, ‘Beschreibung’, esp. chapter 3: “Aim”.

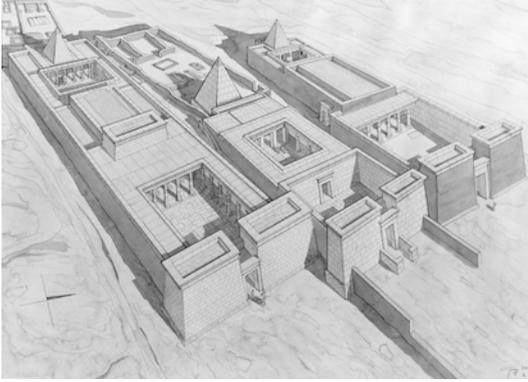


Fig. 3: Reconstruction of the tombs of Horemheb, Tia, and Maya, and their respective wives (from left to right). © *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*.

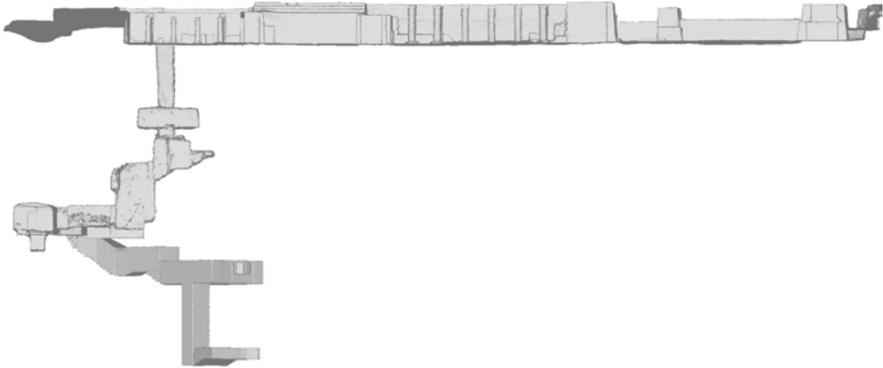


Fig. 4: Section of the tomb of Horemheb looking north and side view of the shaft and underground funerary apartments. Elaboration by Alessandro Mandelli. © Leiden-Turin Expedition to Saqqara / Politecnico di Milano.

A tomb shaft leads to one or several subterranean burial chambers that contained the actual burial and its burial assemblage (i.e. grave gifts) and was generally left undecorated.⁹⁵ This inaccessible part of the tomb was usually⁹⁶ sealed

⁹⁵ An exception are the eye-catching yellow wall paintings in the tomb of Maya, see Geoffrey T. Martin. *The tomb of Maya and Meryt I: the reliefs, inscriptions, and commentary*. *Egypt Exploration Society, Excavation Memoir* 99. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2012, 17. On yellow as symbolising solar religion albeit on the Ramesside Thebes and hence not with reference to Maya see Eva Hofmann. “Viel Licht im Dunkel. Die Farbe gelb in der ramessidischen Grabdeko-

after the burial. A superstructure above ground or in the shape of a rock-cut chapel remained accessible to the living after the tomb owners' deaths. This accessible part of the tombs could consist of a single tomb chapel or a more complex monument including also one or more forecourts and side chambers, and was usually decorated with images and texts.⁹⁷ This has led some scholars to argue for the social and mortuary as separate areas of a life,⁹⁸ an idea contested in this study. It is important to reconsider the consequences of the fact that the deceased remained part of the world of the living as is made explicit, for example, in an offering spell (*r3 n w3h jh.t*) asking for the deceased to gain freedom to move, i. e. to open for him heaven earth and the paths of the necropolis, and to go in and out with the sun god Re.⁹⁹ Nicely, there is some archaeological evidence for this spell on an offering receptacle from the 17th dynasty,¹⁰⁰ which one could perhaps understand as fixing a spell in writing, and hence one of the few attestations we have of what might have usually been recited. That the tomb owners at Saqqara also remained part of the spectrum of the living is clear, for example, from the tomb of Paser (i) in Saqqara:

ration.' In: *Grab und Totenkult im alten Ägypten* edited by Heike Guksch, Eva Hofmann, and Martin Bommas, 147–162. Munich: Beck.

96 An exception are the underground chambers of the tomb of Maya and Merit, see Martin, *Maya*.

97 E. g. Jan Assmann. 'Textkomposition und Bildkomposition in der ägyptischen Kunst und Literatur.' In: *Form und Mass: Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des alten Ägypten. Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht zum 65. Geburtstag am 6. Februar 1987* edited by Jan Osing and Günter Dreyer, 18–42. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987; Jan Assmann. 'Flachbildkunst des Neuen Reiches.' In: *Das Alte Ägypten* edited by Claude Vandersleyen, 304–317. Oldenburg: Propyläen 1975. In the Walking Dead project, a comprehensive analysis of the tomb decoration and its transmission is the main focus of Huw Twiston Davies' work.

98 This is also implied by Harco Willems in his discussion of banquet scenes and harpers songs, although admitting there is no real contradiction: Harco Willems. 'Carpe diem: remarks on the cultural background of Herodotus II.78.' In: *Elkab and beyond: studies in honour of Luc Limme* edited by Wouter Claes, Herman De Meulenaere, and Stan Hendrickx, 516–517. Leuven: Peeters, 2009.

99 Jan Assmann. *Altägyptische Totenliturgien. Band 2: Totenliturgien und Totensprüche in Grabinschriften des Neuen Reiches. Supplemente zu den Schriften der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 17*. Heidelberg: Winter, 2005, 147.

100 From tomb 290 in el-Harageh near El-Lahun, see Reginald Engelbach and Battiscombe Gunn. *Harageh*. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1923, 30 and pl. LXXIX, see Jan Assmann. *Altägyptische Totenliturgien. Band 1: Totenliturgien in den Sargtexten des Mittleren Reiches. Supplemente zu den Schriften der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 14*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2002, 16 and Assmann, *Totenliturgien II*, 149–150. Assmann mentions two receptacles, but in fact the one called A by the excavators has a different spell.

jry=k sdb.w sdm=k spr.wt n hrd.w hm.w n pr=k (may you make *sdb.w* and may you hear the wishes of the children and servants of your house).¹⁰¹

The appearance of *sdb.w* is somewhat off as it means ‘obstacle’, ‘evil’, or ‘impediment’,¹⁰² therefore Martin had suggested to read “(protective) obstacles” in the sense of “apotropaic gestures”,¹⁰³ which seems convincing. Alternatively, Assmann suggested reading “burden (enemies)”,¹⁰⁴ but that would require assuming a mistake on the part of the Egyptians which is less desirable. The text continues with *‘q=k pr=k r bw mr.n=k n hnr.tw b3=k njs.tw=k jw=k hr-‘c phr=k pr=k tp t3* (may you leave and enter where you want, not shall your *Ba* be restrained, whenever you are called, you may come straightaway and you may run (to) your house on earth). Here, I would understand ‘house’ (*pr*) rather as a metaphor for the tomb of the deceased rather than his house, where he lived.¹⁰⁵ Interestingly, a typical motif from Theban tombs seems to be virtually absent from the Saqqara sources, namely the visit to the town house. For example, in the tomb of Tjanuni (TT 74) a text says:

coming forth as living *Ba*, he will not be turned away by any gate of the underworld and will inspect his home of the living.¹⁰⁶

101 Geoffrey T. Martin. *The tomb-chapels of Paser and Ra’ia at Saqqâra*. *Egypt Exploration Society, Excavation Memoir* 52. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1985, pl. 10 and Assmann, *Totenliturgien* II, 267 and 549.

102 TLA, lemma-no. 150450 *sdb* ‘Schaden; Unheil; Böses’, see Wb IV, 381.7–382.15.

103 Martin, *Paser and Ra’ia*, 5 with note 9 and reference to Battiscombe Gunn. ‘The stela of Apries at Mītrahīna.’ *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte* 27 (1927): 227; Hermann Kees. ‘Textkritische Kleinigkeiten.’ *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 63 (1928): 75–76, Hans 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, 3 vols. Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* 2. Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 1977, vol. I, 55 and 143f.

104 Assmann, *Totenliturgien* II, 267 and 549.

105 Another example of *pr* for tomb is, for example, the text translated by Assmann as NR 8.1.7, which seems to appear in different states of preservation in TT 106, TT 23, and TT 222, see Assmann, *Totenliturgien* II, 515. It is unfortunate that this *traduction* makes it virtually impossible to easily trace the original text. On *pr* as main temple building see also Patricia Spencer. *The Egyptian Temple. A lexicographical study*. London: Kegan Paul International, 1984, 20. In that way it could refer to the monumental part of the temple. On wider implications of ‘house’, see also Hubert Roeder. *Mit dem Auge sehen: Studien zur Semantik der Herrschaft in den Toten- und Kulttexten. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens* 16, Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1996, 174 with references.

106 *prt m b3 ‘nh.y nm šn=f hr sb3 n d3.t sjp.t=f pr=f n ‘nh.w*, see Norman de Garis Davies. ‘The Town House in Ancient Egypt.’ *Metropolitan Museum Studies* 1 (2) (May, 1929): 233–255 and

Similarly another very interesting text attested in TT 82 says:¹⁰⁷

May you open the hills of the necropolis so that you may see your house of the living, May you hear the sound of singing and music in your *rwyt* in this land. May you be a protection of your children forever and ever.¹⁰⁸

The term ‘*rwyt*’ is not very clear, one may simply translate ‘outside’.¹⁰⁹ Assmann translates the word as “(private) house”¹¹⁰ apparently understanding the phrase as continuing logically with the previous one, i.e. that the deceased hears the songs and music in his house. However, consulting the *Belegstellen*, this translation is not very convincing. It could make good sense for PT 235 in which it says: *jw nk.n=k jry.t r(wy).t ʕ n.t jt=j jʕ* (=You have slept with the two who belong to the lintel (?) / door leaf (?) of my adored (?) ruler (?)).¹¹¹ The best translation here might in fact be ‘door leaves of the palace’.¹¹² Returning to the phrase in TT 82, ‘palace’ makes no sense for a non-royal individual. The phrase might as well refer to the necropolis mentioned earlier in the text in TT 82 and then the common translation of *rwyt* as a part of the tomb such as suggested in the digital *Zettelarchiv* would be far more convincing. For example, in the biography of Weni the term appears in a list of tomb equipment to be brought after a false door.¹¹³ In the New Kingdom the dualis *rwty* seems to refer mostly to the double doors of temples or tombs.¹¹⁴ Patricia Spencer has suggested “false door” for

see Assmann, *Totenliturgien* II, 265. Assmann translates *sjp* neutrally as ‘visit’, but the *Belegstellen* seem to clearly indicate a control function of this visit: Wb IV, 35.2–16.

107 See Assmann, *Totenliturgien* II, 266 and 351 and see Nina de Garis Davies and Alan H. Gardiner. *The Tomb of Amenemhēt* (no. 82). London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1915, 102, pl. XXVII.

108 *Wb*^c=k *dw.w n hr.t-nṯr mʕn=k pr=k n ʕnh.w sdm(=k) hrw ḥs{s}<.t> šm^c m rwyt=k jmy tʕ pn jr=k sʕ n ms.w=k r nhḥ ḥn^c d.t*

109 Compare Wb II, 404, 11 or even “office” (see Wb I, 407, 13 ‘*Amtsgebäude*’) which makes even less sense than “private house” here. Although to be fair “entrance to a building or an estate” is among the early meanings of the word: Spencer, *Temple*, 202. We shall see below, however, that in the New Kingdom *rwty* in terms of ‘outside’ means outside the temple or at its entrance (in front of the doors) Spencer, *Temple*, 199–201.

110 Assmann, *Totenliturgien* II, 266.

111 See TLA, lemma no. 93590: *rwyt* ‘Bauteil einer Scheintür (Architrav)’ (Wb II, 407.9–10; Spencer, *Temple*, 197.

112 Compare references in Spencer, *Temple*, 199 reflecting a Middle Kingdom use of the word for palace doors. The pyramid text quoted above would then even be an earlier reference for this use of the term.

113 TLA, DZA 25.861.260 and see Urk I, 107.

114 See *Belegstellen* of Wb II, 404,7–8.

rwyt,¹¹⁵ in which case the text would be a good description of false door representations. The entrance to the tomb as place where the deceased dwells, appears also in the tomb of Horemheb (here *rʿ js=j*).¹¹⁶ These texts very explicitly demonstrate that the deceased indeed remained part of the world of the living.¹¹⁷

1.4.1 Funerary, post-funerary, mortuary, and other practices

Like Egyptian gods,¹¹⁸ ancestors depended on offerings left by humans for sustenance, the most basic benefactions being incense, libations, and other goods. As for approaching ancestors and deities, written speech acts, speech acts, and pictorial acts all enabled human contact with them.¹¹⁹ For example Meryneith is quite explicit in the description of the expected offering practice: beside a general request for an offering of bread and water, he requests offerings consisting of water and incense at the entrance of his tomb (*[wdn=tw n=k] (...) sntr r rʿ n js=k*).¹²⁰ The practice of providing libations at the entrance of a tomb is known from some Amarna tombs,¹²¹ and so perhaps Meryneith continued this tradition.

115 Spencer, *Temple*, 197.

116 Assmann, *Totenliturgien* II, 436 and Geoffrey T. Martin. *Tutankhamun's regent: scenes and texts from the Memphite tomb of Horemheb for students of Egyptian art, iconography, architecture, and history. With contributions by Jacobus van Dijk, Christopher J. Eyre, and Kenneth J. Frazer †. Egypt Exploration Society, Excavation Memoir* 111. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2016, 33–35 and pls 24–25.

117 Contra Harold M. Hays. *The Organization of the Pyramid Texts: Typology and Disposition*, vol. 1. Leiden: Peeters, 2012, 35 who demanded the beneficiary must be mentioned in the first person to demonstrate that texts clearly “involve public awareness and extended participation”.

118 E.g. Edmund Hermsen. ‘Opfer und Gebet in der altägyptischen Religion.’ In: *Opfer und Gebet in den Religionen* edited by Ulrich Berner, Christoph Bochinger, and Rainer Flasche, 168. *Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie* 26, 11–19. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2005.

119 E.g. Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss. *Sacrifice: its nature and function*. London: Cohen and West, 1964, 100 and others.

120 Maarten J. Raven and René van Walsem. *The tomb of Meryneith at Saqqara. Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities* 10. Turnhout: Brepols, 14, Fig. 2, Assmann, *Totenliturgien* II, 129. I take as a metaphor of a libation offering the reference to Hapi (i.e. the Nile flood) that quenches the deceased’s thirst (See also Assmann, *Totenliturgien* II, 195). *ḥw ḥʿpj [m]-ḥnw ḥ.t=k kʿ ḥm jb[=k]* (May Hapy flow in your body then your heart will be refreshed). Since *ḥm* means quench or extinguish (see Wb I, 224.15–19) Assmann rightly takes the heart as a symbol of thirst in his translation. See also the “house of thirst” as a metaphor for tomb in Assmann, *Totenliturgien* II, 193.

121 E.g. Assmann, *Totenliturgien* II, 506 with reference to the Ramesside Statue BM EA 460, i.e. statue of Mehu and his wife published by Morris L. Bierbrier. *Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian*

Like most ancient Egyptian monuments, the tombs at Saqqara were decorated with a complex program of images and texts.¹²² These monuments had three main aims, from which the practices follow that we can expect in the material, iconographical, and textual evidence: Firstly, the tombs already commemorated the tomb owners in their role as members of the elite during their lifetime when the tomb was built.¹²³ Little is known about how exactly the spot was chosen, but it is clear that the tombs reflect, at least to some degree, the choices of the tomb owner(s) in terms of location and architectural layout,¹²⁴ as well as decoration of his (seldomly her) tomb.¹²⁵ For example, some tombs seem to show a

stelae, etc., part 12. London: British Museum, 1993, pl. 96 G, H and Amarna tombs of Ay see Assmann, Totenliturgien II, 403) and Merire (De Garis Davies, N., Amarna I, 53, pl. XXXIX and Sandman Texts from Amarna 20, see Assmann, Totenliturgien II, 404). Assmann therefore considers this “typical” but perhaps the relatively low numbers do not allow such quantification statements.

122 E.g. Assmann, ‘Textkomposition’, 18–42; Assmann, ‘Flachbildkunst’, 304–317.

123 E.g. Peter Dorman. ‘Family burial and commemoration in the Theban Necropolis.’ In: *The Theban Necropolis. Past, Present and Future* edited by Nigel Strudwick and John H. Taylor, London: British Museum Press, 2003, 30 and Jan Assmann. ‘The Rameside tomb and the construction of sacred space.’ In: *The Theban Necropolis. Past, Present and Future* edited by Nigel Strudwick and John H. Taylor, 46. London: British Museum Press, 2003.

124 This is the aim of the work of Nico Staring in the Walking Dead project. Note that Raven has checked the stellar constellations and found no pattern for the groups as a hole, and also his idea of the “orientation to sunrise at the day when construction started” is hard to prove: Maarten Raven. *The Tombs of Ptahemwia and Sethnakht at Saqqara*, Leiden: Sidestone, 2020, 30 and note 4. Practical concerns such as proximity to other tomb owners and a general Western orientation, where possible, seem to be more in line with the fluctuating evidence at Saqqara and elsewhere. For the interpretation stressing the given practicalities, see also Maarten Raven. ‘Egyptian concepts on the orientation of the human body.’ In: *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists: Grenoble, 6–12 septembre 2004* edited by Jean-Claude Goyon and Christine Cardin, 2, 1567–1573. Leuven: Peeters, 2007; and see for the tomb of Tia and Tia: Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 31. For recent considerations for Thebes, see Bács, Tamás A. ‘A Theban tomb-temple: the mortuary chapel of the high priest Hapuseneb (TT 67).’ In: *11. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: the discourse between tomb and temple. Prague, May 24–27, 2017* edited by Filip Coppens and Hana Vymazalová, 16–17. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2020.

125 For examples of remains of tools left by masons and painters see e.g. Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 156 and 180–181, cat. 81–84 and Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 221 cat. 34–38 and cat. 95. A wooden model hoe from Horemheb’s inner columned courtyard could be the remains of a foundation deposit, but that is highly tentative, see Maarten Raven. ‘Objects.’ In: *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* edited by Maarten Raven, Vincent Verschoor, Marije Vuğts, and René van Walsem, 88–89, cat. 48. Turnhout: Brepols, 2011. The find of a wooden whip handle in shape of a standing monkey is dubious, see Raven, ‘Objects’ (*Horemheb*), 90–91, cat. 53, with parallels. On the matters of artistic choice see also recently Rune Nyord. See-

certain affinity to gods related to the place of origin of the tomb owner.¹²⁶ In addition, perhaps apart from the hottest summer months, the desert area to the west of the city of Memphis has to be imagined as a noisy construction site that was inhabited by architects, engineers, all sorts of artists and workmen who spoke to each other, shouted, and maybe sung.¹²⁷ One would have heard their work: hacking out the shafts, removing the rubble, delivering the raw material for mudbricks formed at the site as well as the lime stones to cover the mudbrick walls, and then the chiselling when decorating them, perhaps even brush strokes of painting.¹²⁸ In the tomb of Tia and Tia, for example, remains of unfinished statues (a dyad and a triad) were found that suggest that the

ing Perfection: Ancient Egyptian Images beyond Representation Elements in Ancient Egypt in Context. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020, 34–47.

126 Such is the case for gods from Atrihis in the tomb of Ptahemwia (i), see Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 23 and 69–70 [7] and see e.g. the discussion about the family of Mose below chapter 2.2.5. On the local dimension of religion and town gods see Jan Assmann. *Ägypten: Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur. Urban-Taschenbücher* 366. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1984, 25–35. For a lively account on the three main Egyptian necropoleis Memphis, Heliopolis and Thebes, see Detlef Franke. ‘Theben und Memphis – Metropolen im alten Ägypten.’ In: *Entstehung und Entwicklung von Metropolen: 4. Symposium 20.–23.06.1996 Bonn* edited by Michael Jansen and Bernd Roeck, 7–20. Aachen: IAS, 2002.

127 The clearest evidence for these soundscapes comes from Old Kingdom mastaba tombs and their representation of what Egyptologists know as *Reden und Rufe* since Adolf Erman’s seminal study: Adolf Erman. *Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf Gräberbildern des Alten Reiches. Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1918* (15). Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Kommission bei Georg Reimer, 1919, see Erika Meyer-Dietrich. *Auditive Räume des alten Ägypten: die Umgestaltung einer Hörkultur in der Amarnazeit. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East* 92. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2018, 208 with references. Meyer-Dietrich herself notes early 18th dynasty El Kab as richest evidence. Interestingly these earlier representations suggest that field work was often supported by music (Meyer-Dietrich, *Hörkultur*, 214). The Late Period tomb of Ibi (TT 36) suggests that the observer could still imagine these sounds when seeing the representations, see Klaus P. Kuhlmann and Wolfgang Schenkel. *Das Grab des Ibi, Obergutsverwalters der Gottesgemahlin des Amun. Thebanisches Grab Nr. 36. Band 1: Beschreibung der unterirdischen Kult- und Bestattungsanlage. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo* 15. Mainz: Zabern, 1983, pl. 23, 10–12, see Meyer-Dietrich, *Hörkultur*, 233.

128 The detailed study of these practices is part of Nico Staring’s work in the Walking Dead project. For an early yet still important summary see Georg Erbkam. *Über den Graeber- und Tempelbau der alten Ägypter ein Vortrag, bearbeitet für die Versammlung deutscher Architekten in Braunschweig in Mai 1852.* Berlin: Ernst & Korn, 1852. For remains of paint pots used by the artists decorating the tombs see e.g. Barbara G. Aston. ‘The Pottery.’ In: *The Tombs of Ptahemwia and Sethnakht at Saqqara* edited by Maarten Raven, 253, cat. 24. Leiden: Sidestone, 2020.

raw stone material was chiselled *in situ*,¹²⁹ perhaps to avoid damage during transportation. The same tomb is also built higher up than the neighbouring tombs by Horemheb and Maya, suggesting that the rubble in the latter shafts was piled up there and then flattened as fundament for the construction of the two Tias' tomb.¹³⁰ Whereas the common workmen surely came by foot like modern Egyptian excavation assistants do, equipment and slightly higher-ranking staff would have arrived by donkeys or bullock carts, and the highest-ranking staff and the tomb owner at his inspections by palanquins or chariots.¹³¹

When the tomb owner died, the funeral was prepared. The second use of the tomb was to serve as a space the activities performed at the funeral and indeed to serve as protective shell for the deceased body. Representations in the 18th-dynasty Theban tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100) provide a relatively clear idea of the events, divided into seven phases by Hays:¹³²

129 Geoffrey T. Martin. 'The tomb of Tia and Tia: preliminary report on the Saqqâra excavations.' *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 69 (1983): 27–28. In the later publication Frazer noted that he assumes that normally statues were carved in ateliers "though no evidence has come to light to prove this", see Kenneth J. Frazer. 'The architecture.' In: *The tomb of Tia and Tia: a royal monument of the Ramesside period in the Memphite necropolis* edited by Geoffrey T. Martin, 15 and pls 134–135. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1997. Famously workshops in town areas are known from Amarna, e.g. Dorothea Arnold. 'The workshop of the sculptor Thutmose.' In: *The royal women of Amarna: images of beauty from ancient Egypt* edited by Dorothea Arnold, 41–84. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996 and see more recently Friederike Seyfried. 'The Workshop Complex of Thutmosis.' In: *In the Light of Amarna: 100 years of the Nefertiti Discovery* edited by Friederike Seyfried, 170–186. Berlin: Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2012. Yet clearly larger statues were made on the spot.

130 In 2019, the volume of the rubble extracted from the two major 18th-dynasty tombs was kindly calculated by Prof. Corinna Rossi's team of *Politecnico di Milano* who support the Leiden-Turin Expedition to Saqqara as surveyors. Horemheb's subterranean structures measure about 400 cubic metres (c. 800 cubic cubits) and Maya's c. 325 cubic metres (c. 650 cubic cubits) totalling at c. 725 cubic metres. The difference in height of the floor level between Tia and the two other adjacent tombs is 1.5 m: it is possible that the filling was the result of the digging operations carried out for Maya and Horemheb – with an average thickness of 1.5 m, that might have covered an area up to 22x22 square metres. For the levels of the tombs excavated by the then Anglo-Leiden, later Leiden-only expedition see Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 31.

131 For comprehensive study see Heidi Köpp-Junk. *Reisen im Alten Ägypten. Reisekultur, Fortbewegungs- und Transportmittel in pharaonischer Zeit*. Göttinger Orientforschungen (GOF) IV. Reihe: Ägypten 55, Verlag Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015. Some construction managers are known to travel quite far for royal construction sites, compare e.g. Dietrich Raue. *Heliopolis und das Haus des Re: Eine Prosopographie und ein Toponym im Neuen Reich. Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe* 16. Berlin: Achet, 1999, 157.

132 To which Maria Cannata added potential rituals immediately after death and mourning see Maria Cannata. *Three hundred Years of Death. The Egyptian Funerary Industry in the Ptolemaic*

1. Journey and arrival at the necropolis
2. Procession to the embalming place somewhere on the west bank
3. Embalming and mummification
4. Post-embalming rituals
5. Procession to the tomb
6. Opening of the Mouth ritual in the tomb
7. Mortuary service

Some texts from Saqqara also provide information about the practices performed. For example an inscription in Maya's tomb mentions a torch (*tk3*) that should be lit during the night until the sun comes up,¹³³ which is paralleled in the tomb of Hayptah.¹³⁴ Assmann suggested that this is a ritual of the hourly night watch before the burial, but it might have been repeated as a ritual for the deceased (several references for *tk3* to ward off Seth). He seems also to hint at the fact that the change between torch- and sunlight represents the daily cycle of life of the deceased in his tomb and outside.¹³⁵ Illustrative for the practices that can be expected in this respect are the tomb reliefs by Merymery (i) (*temp.* Amenhotep III) now in the *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* in Leiden (Figs. 5 and 6).¹³⁶

Although the original location of the tomb has not yet been rediscovered, the style suggests Saqqara, and parallel decorations indicate that the two reliefs were placed on the southern and northern walls of the court leading to the main chapels.¹³⁷ Although these representations cannot be viewed as exact sequence

Period, Leiden: Brill, 2020, 191–192 with reference to Harold M. Hays. 'Funerary rituals (Pharaonic period).' In: *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* edited by Jacco Dieleman and Willeke Wendrich. Online publication 2010 and Christoffer Theis. *Deine Seele zum Himmel, dein Leichnam zur Erde: zur idealtypischen Rekonstruktion eines altägyptischen Bestattungsrituals. Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur, Beihefte* 12. Hamburg: Buske, 2011, 40.

133 See Assmann, *Totenliturgien* II, 263.

134 Geoffrey T. Martin. *Corpus of reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite necropolis and Lower Egypt*. London: KPI, 1987, I, 24, no. 53, pl. 19, see Assmann, *Totenliturgien* II, 264.

135 Assmann, *Totenliturgien* II, 264.

136 Leiden inv. nos AP 6-a and AP 6-b.

137 The funerary procession would be expected on the south wall (see Karl-J. Seyfried. 'Bestattungsdarstellung und Begräbnisort in thebanischen Privat-Gräbern der Ramessidenzeit.' *Biblische Notizen* 71 (1994): 13–14); the Opening of the Mouth in the north as known also from other parallels at Saqqara (e.g. Meryneith). A nice aside is that the relief blocks provided the topic of the master's theses of Saqqara veterans Maarten Raven and René van Walsem, but their early work was never published: René Van Walsem. *Een wandfragment afkomstig uit het graf van 'de bewaker van het schathuis van Memphis, Mery-Mery'* (Leiden K 15). Leiden: Unpublished thesis, 1976; and Maarten Raven. *Het Leidse Relief nummer K 14 van Schathuisbewaker*



Figs. 5 and 6: Relief walls from the tomb of Merymery (i). © *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*.

of action, they allow us an idea of which scenes were important to the ancient Egyptians.¹³⁸ Important here is also the Opening of the Mouth ritual for Merymery (i)¹³⁹ and the funerary procession, in the latter of which his wife Meritptah

Merymery. Leiden: Unpublished thesis, 1976. The two former field directors had studied together in Leiden and are bound by a long friendly mutual competition. Their theses can be accessed in the archive of the *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* (RMO archive 14/3.2).

138 Jürgen Settgast. *Untersuchungen zu altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen. Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe* 3. Glückstadt: Augustin, 1963 and see also e.g. Meyer-Dietrich, *Hörkultur*, 250.

139 See e.g. Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 130–131, Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, scene 30; and on Leiden inv. nos AP 6-a and AP 6-b see recently Nigel Strudwick. ‘The payment list for the lector priest on the relief of Merymery in Leiden.’ In: *Akhet Neheh. Studies in Honour of Willem Hovstreydt on Occasion of His 75th Birthday* edited by Anke Weber et al., 27–36. London: Goldenhouse Publications, 2020.

appears three times.¹⁴⁰ What we do not see on the reliefs of Merymery (i) is the ritual of the Breaking of the Red Pots, frequently seen in the tomb reliefs at Saqqara,¹⁴¹ and occasionally in the archaeological evidence.¹⁴² Perhaps these were represented on other reliefs in his tombs not yet rediscovered. A good detail that does show on one of Merymery (i)'s Leiden reliefs is the song that the mourning ladies sing:¹⁴³

May your night be beautiful. The gods walk in front of you. Wennefer has received (*šsp*) you. Ennead of the Lords of Kheryaha (*hry-ḥ³*¹⁴⁴), may you [i.e. the divine Ennead] place him [i.e. the deceased Merymery (i)] besides [the god] Re. I have wept (*rmj*¹⁴⁵)! I have lamented (*nḥ*¹⁴⁶)! All of you may you remember (*sh³*¹⁴⁷) and become drunk (*th*¹⁴⁸) with sweet Shedeh-

140 On Leiden inv. no. AP 6-b Meritptah is shown seated next to her husband receiving offerings in the central register, while in most other scenes Merymery (i) appears alone. The fact that Meritptah shows prominently among the mourning ladies and attending the funerary booth on Leiden inv. no. AP 6-a, suggests that her husband predeceased her. Erich Lüddeckens. 'Untersuchungen über religiösen Gehalt, Sprache und Form der ägyptischen Totenklagen, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 11 (1943): 151, Fig. 52 missed one representation and wrongly dated the relief into the 19th dynasty (pp. 147–153), and see Van Walsem, *Wandfragment*, 132–134 (RMO archive 14/3.2).

141 A comprehensive summary has recently been provided by Rehab Elsharnouby. 'An Analytical Study of Breaking Red Pots Scenes in Private Tombs.' *Journal of Association of Arab Universities for Tourism and Hospitality* 15 (1): 41–58 who did not know the references in the tombs of Ptahemwia (i) and Meryneith (Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 129 and Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 181 with note 227 and 185 with note 266), but lists Horemheb, Ptahemhat-Ty, Maya, Ipwia (S.2739), Hormin, Kairi, Pay (i), Ptahnefer, Neferrenpet, and Mose, as well as reliefs from unknown tomb owners (p. 42, Table 1); and see also Jacobus van Dijk. 'Zerbrechen der roten Töpfe.' *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VI (1986): 1389–1396.

142 E.g. around the rim of the tomb shaft of Ptahemwia (i) (see Aston, B., 'Pottery' (*Ptahemwia*), 231 and 259).

143 See also Marcelle Werbrouck. *Les pleureuses dans l'Égypte ancienne. Dessins de Marcelle Baud. Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth*, 1938, 89 and Lüddeckens, 'Totenklaugen', 147–150.

144 Wb II, 394.7; *LÄ* I, 592, see *TLA*, lemma no. 124280. The Book of P. Nu in the British Museum knows this place in relation to offerings to the deceased and a place where the sun people are: Günther Lapp. *The Papyrus of Nu* (BM EA 10477). *Catalogue of Books of the Dead in the British Museum* I. London: The British Museum Press, 1997, pl. 81–86 and 104–105. It is sometimes translated as Old-Babylon, but since it is rather a mythical place, it has been left untranslated here.

145 Wb II, 416–417.10.

146 Wb II, 305.11–14.

147 Wb IV, 232.12–233.26.

148 Wb V, 323.13–324.17.

wine (*šdḥ*¹⁴⁹), while garlands (*mḥy* for *mšḥ*¹⁵⁰) and sweet oil (*sgn*¹⁵¹) is on the top of your heads (*wp.t*¹⁵²).

Clearly, beside the mourning the song also reflects a festive sentiment with drinking good wine and being adorned with flowers and oils, as is visible in numerous tomb representations that usually show unguent cones and lotus flowers on people's heads. The weeping, mourning, and lamentations of the deceased also relate the female actors to the goddesses Isis and Nephthys and their mourning of the god in the myth of Osiris.¹⁵³ Interestingly in this respect, Kheryaha (*ḥry-ḥ3*) literally means place of the fight and was in the Pyramid Texts associated to the battlefield of Horus and Seth.¹⁵⁴ Hermann Kees suggested that the mourning ladies made rather jarring sounds, which was rejected by Meyer-Dietrich, who is in favour of a continuous rhythmical chanting.¹⁵⁵ Another New Kingdom funerary procession, albeit unfortunately unprovenanced, the 19th-dynasty papyrus of Pakerer shows not only the mourners, but also the arrival at the tomb and some tomb gifts such as amulets and potentially two shabti or *sḥ*-figurines.¹⁵⁶ Interestingly, there is a graffito in the tomb of Meryneith showing a mourning woman (perhaps the widow?) in front of a mummified figure,¹⁵⁷ perhaps suggesting that the mourning – as today – would continue during post-funeral visits, when potentially votives or other offerings were performed.

149 Wb IV, 568.12–17.

150 Wb II, 31.1–5.

151 Wb IV, 322.17–323.3.

152 Wb I, 297.10–298.5.

153 Meyer-Dietrich, *Hörkultur*, 257.

154 PT 550 from the Pyramid of Pepi I has *sbm m ḥr(y)-ḥ3 m bw pw sbn.n=sn jm* = Stumble in the “battleground”, in the place where they (i. e. Horus and Seth) stumbled. However note that this is some 1000 years earlier and the New Kingdom references rather show an association to the sun people and Heliopolis.

155 Herrmann Kees. *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter: Grundlagen und Entwicklung bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches*, 2nd, revised ed. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1956, 177, see Meyer-Dietrich, *Hörkultur*, 257–261. Note how indeed such idea's like Kees's have influenced the translations of words related to mourning such as *sbḥ* as “screeching” proposed in the Berlin *Wörterbuch* (Wb IV, 91.1–7, see Meyer-Dietrich, *Hörkultur*, 257, n. 206), which then creates a circular argument.

156 Leiden inv. no. AMS 14 vel 3, see Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 263 and more recently e. g. Petra Barthelmess. *Der Übergang ins Jenseits in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern der Ramessidenzeit. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens* 2. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1992, 162, Fig. 39 and 166.

157 Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 80–81 [4].

These practices relate to the funeral of the deceased and are not considered in detail in the present study, but it is perhaps appropriate to mention in passing that the tomb assemblage of Maya shows physical evidence for gifts to Maya by named individuals (discussed in chapter 3) such as a (now broken) jar containing “water of the flood brought by Patiu(ef)”,¹⁵⁸ and another one “water of the ḥꜣs.t-nome,¹⁵⁹ brought from the ḥꜣs.t-nome, from the western river”.¹⁶⁰ The ‘ḥꜣs.t-nome’ was the sixth Lower Egyptian nome, and the western river a waterway north-west of Memphis near Leontopolis.¹⁶¹ Its water has been connected to the body of the god Osiris and may have played a role in the regeneration of the deceased, even though we do not know if donation sufficed, or whether it was used for purification or consumed.¹⁶² Indeed the importance of water for regen-

158 Maarten Raven. ‘The objects.’ In: *The tomb of Tia and Tia: a royal monument of the Rameside period in the Memphite necropolis* edited by Geoffrey T. Martin, 72, cat. 51, pl. 106. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1997.

159 For the somewhat archaic term see e.g. Georg Steindorff. *Die ägyptischen Gaue und ihre politische Entwicklung. Abhandlungen der Königlich-Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 27 (25). Leipzig: Teubner, 1909.

160 Raven, ‘Objects’ (*Tia*), 72, cat. 52, pl. 106.

161 Maarten J. Raven. ‘New evidence on the Xoite nome.’ *Göttinger Miszellen* 75 (1984): 27–30; Wolfgang Helck. *Die altägyptischen Gaue. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B (Geisteswissenschaften)* 5. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1974, 163–167. For the spelling see Pascal Vernus. ‘Le nom de Xoïs.’ *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 73 (1973): 32–33. A good parallel spelling is for example the Ostrakon Michaelides no. 15 with a list of fugitive boatmen one of which from ḥꜣs.w, see Hans Goedicke and Edward F. Wente. *Ostraka Michaelides*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962, pl. XLV. *jtr.w jmn.t* as is known from TT 109 (Urk IV, 981)) and the temple of Seti I in Abydos (Johannes Dümichen. *Geographische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler* I. Leipzig 1865, pl. XCII (see <https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/duemichen1865ga>. Accessed on 29 March 2022.) and see Helck, *Gaue*, 134) and the Onomasticon of Amenemope (see Alan H. Gardiner. *Ancient Egyptian onomastica* II. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947, 153–170) is perhaps possible. See also the discussion of Manred Bietak. *Tell el-Dab’a II: der Fundort im Rahmen einer archäologisch-geographischen Untersuchung über das ägyptische Ostdelta. mit einem geodätischen Beitrag von Josef Dorner und Heinz König. Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes 1; Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie* 4. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975, 118–119. Note that there is also a Water of Ptah, that could refer to two arms of the same main split (compare Bietak, *Tell el-Dab’a* II, 119). He solved the problem that the onomasticon mentions both the western and the Ptah waterways together with the hypothesis that both arms may have split at a later stage, see Bietak, *Tell el-Dab’a* II, 120 and Fig. 22 and 121, namely south of Kom Abu Billu (Egyptian market, Bietak, *Tell el-Dab’a* II, 124).

162 Jacobus van Dijk. ‘Hieratic inscriptions from the tomb of Maya at Saqqāra: a preliminary survey.’ *Göttinger Miszellen* 127 (1992): 30. Van Dijk points at a pleasing possible connection to

eration is clear from various Egyptian texts,¹⁶³ perhaps as a vehicle to reach the deceased,¹⁶⁴ and by providing named gifts the donors wrote themselves into the memory of the tomb. Frequent tomb robberies have distorted a clear view, yet the remains of grave equipment, grave gifts,¹⁶⁵ and offering assemblages still hint at choices of the tomb owners, but also the donation practices of the people attending the funeral. Along these lines of thought, the tombs served the honour and physical needs of the tomb owners, including not only their own prestige but also that of their community. After the burial, then, the subterranean part of the tomb served as a protective shell for the mummy, which needed to stay intact in its coffin for the afterlife.¹⁶⁶

Thirdly, the tombs provided the more or less delineated physical space for post-mortem and post-funeral commemoration and offering practices. Offerings were performed after the funeral – the question is how often and by whom. Some texts suggest that ideally libations and offerings should be performed for the deceased daily,¹⁶⁷ which explains why hired staff were needed beside occasional visits by others. The best evidence for priests in charge of the cult of the deceased comes from the three large tombs clustered together: the tombs of Maya and Merit, Tia and Horemheb. Against the exterior south wall of the outer courtyard of Maya and Merit, the mudbrick chapel of a man called

the Book of the Dead spells 58-63 concerned with drinking water in the necropolis, coming forth from the flood, getting overflow and having access to the inundation.

163 Martin Bommas. 'Schrein unter. Gebel es-Silsilah im Neuen Reich.' In: *Grab und Totenkult im alten Ägypten* edited by Heike Guksch, Eva Hofmann, and Martin Bommas, 96–97. Munich: Beck, 2003 with references.

164 Bommas, 'Schrein', 92–94.

165 For example, in the tomb of Maya Hieratic docket mentions honey, fresh sesame oil and sweet moringa oil, three types of *mrh.t*-oil, wine, water, and fat that was donated to the tomb owner, see Van Dijk, 'Hieratic inscriptions', 25–26, 29 and 31. Van Dijk reads *wḏ* as funerary procession apparently derived from the verb *wḏ* 'go in procession' (Wb I, 403.2–19, see Van Dijk, 'Hieratic inscriptions', 25 and Figs. 1 and 2), but given the 'house' determinative 'storehouse' (Wb I, 402.10–15) as in of the tomb (i.e. tomb chamber) is more plausible. One of these labels is the famous one giving the date of Maya in year 9 of Horemheb (Van Dijk, 'Hieratic inscriptions', 31). The tomb of Ptahemwia (i) has a docket with good natron (Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 190–191, cat. 128) and incense was found in the tomb of Meryneith (Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 101–102 and pl. 13, reading corrected by Rob Demarée, see Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 190)

166 For example, Tia had a fancy granodiorite coffin of which only a few fragments remain, see Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 66–67, cat. 7 and ÆIN 48 currently in the Glyptotek in Copenhagen, 96.

167 E.g. Jürgen von Beckerath. 'Zur Geschichte von Chonsemḥab und dem Geist.' *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 119 (1992): 90–107, column II–II (p. 98–99) suggests a sack of emmer and unspecified libations. Although this is an early Rameside (Von Beckerath, 'Chonsemḥab', 107) literary texts, it may indicate what was considered an ideal situation.

Yamen has been preserved that shows him in function as lector priest of Maya and Merit.¹⁶⁸ Interestingly, Martin also mentioned another stela that could perhaps suggest that Maya's employing institution – the treasury house – had their own staff in charge of the cult of deceased members, which somehow seems to be a very modern idea. A stela now in the National Museum of Warsaw shows the lector priest of the overseer of the treasury Mayiay, Paperaa(r)neheh, in front of the god Osiris.¹⁶⁹ Behind him on the stela stands the priest of Amun, Pyanefer. In the register underneath, the servant Medjaria presents offerings to a lady of the house Tyia. Behind the servant the lady of the house Tamit (?) and her son (?) Ankh are depicted. It is of course difficult to tell whether Mayiay is a variant spelling for Maya, but clearly the lady Tia should be Maya's tomb neighbour. It seems at least a possibility that Paperaa(r)neheh was in charge of both tombs, and perhaps paid via funds from the treasury. What is even more interesting, perhaps in terms of accessibility of the tombs substructure, is the fact that five rock stelae were carved in shaft i.¹⁷⁰ Two rock stelae (3 and 4) show only a lady, with rock stela 4 probably to be identified as Merit, without her husband.¹⁷¹ On rock stela 5, the name of the servant offering to both Maya and Merit has not been preserved unfortunately.¹⁷² This seems to indicate that Merit predeceased her husband. Perhaps she was buried in the innermost chamber O, whereas it is possible the other subterranean chambers stayed open to be finalised.¹⁷³ Evidence for religious activities is, for example, also found in the tomb of Horemheb, the general who should become king. He used his tomb for the burial of his wife Mutnodjmet, but it is clear that Horemheb himself was also venerated in this monument.¹⁷⁴

Generally the practice of tomb services by (families of) priests is much better attested from later periods in which papyri show how revenues for the respective

168 Martin, *Maya*, 51 and pl. 57 and see Maarten J. Raven. *The tomb of Maya and Meryt II: objects and skeletal remains*. *Egypt Exploration Society, Excavation Memoir* 65. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2001, 9 and 28.

169 Stela Warsaw National Museum 142294, see Martin, *Maya*, 51 and pl. 57.

170 Martin, *Maya*, 51 and pl. 38.

171 The text says 'One greatly praised by Hathor, [the lady (of the house) Mer]yt. An offering that the king gives to Osiris, that he may live, prosperity and health to Osiris, the lady of the house Meryt. The servant Irneferu', see Martin, *Maya*, 51 and pl. 38. Rock stela 3 preserved no text.

172 Martin, *Maya*, 51 and pl. 38 and see 97, no. 2, 98, no. 2.

173 Note two graffiti of female ancestors on the east and south walls of that room, perhaps left in her adoration: Martin, *Maya*, 48–49 and pl. 60 14 and 15.

174 Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 55.

services were shared and even inherited.¹⁷⁵ That also in the New Kingdom offering pottery piled up and was from time to time cleared is suggested by offering deposits such as in the tomb of Tia and Tia.¹⁷⁶ In other cases, such as the tomb of Ptahemwia (i), the remains of offering pottery may still have covered the floors of the chapels when later burial activities took place. It was dug up and removed and subsequently “thrown back into the chapels”¹⁷⁷ to end up on top of later materials. For the tomb of Meryneith, it has been suggested that funerary banquets like those better attested from Theban tomb representations may have been performed.¹⁷⁸ From Thebes several tomb owners are known to have reported earlier visits for both commemoration and educational or artistic journeys,¹⁷⁹ and for

175 A well-known reference is papyrus Leiden inv. no. AMS 22, see e.g. Cannata, *Funerary Industry*, 167. The profession of choachytes (*w3ḥ-mw*) became popular mainly in the Late and Graeco-Roman period but there are a few attestations also in the New Kingdom such as the water-sprinkler of the chapel of Thutmosis I in p. Abbot, 8 (London, BM EA 10221,1), see *TLA DZA* 22.081.660. The other title ‘god’s seal bearer’ (*ḥtm.w-ntr*) is chronologically more widespread. See also Marina Escolano-Poveda. *The Egyptian priests of the Graeco-Roman period: an analysis on the basis of the Egyptian and Graeco-Roman literary and paraliterary sources. Studien zur spät-ägyptischen Religion* 29. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2020.

176 David A. Aston. ‘The pottery.’ In: *The tomb of Tia and Tia: a royal monument of the Rameside period in the Memphite necropolis* edited by Geoffrey T. Martin, 96. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1997 (interpreted as from the phase of secondary use by the excavators without explaining why). In fact not every pottery deposit has a religious function. Others were remains of ongoing building activities, e.g. Aston, *Tia*, 94.

177 Aston, B., ‘Pottery’ (*Ptahemwia*), 262.

178 Based on a representation on the south wall of the north-west chapel, see Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 139–142 [43]. An intriguing case is a divine offering that a tomb owner made in favour of his workmen (*dw3 ntr n ḥmmw*) and that has been interpreted as a banquet by Strudwick, ‘Merymer’, 33 note 52 with reference to TT 82, De Garis Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhēt*, 36–37, pl. VIII. See also E.g. recently John Baines. ‘Not only with the dead: banqueting in ancient Egypt.’ *Studia Universitatis “Babeş-Bolyai”*, *Historia* 59 (1) (2014): 1–35.

179 E.g. Meyer-Dietrich, *Hörkultur*, with reference to Fredrik Hagen. *An ancient Egyptian literary text in context: the instruction of Ptahhotep. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 218. Leuven: Peeters; Department of Oriental Studies, 2012, 208 and see also e.g. the analysis of graffiti in Asyut by Ursula Verhoeven. ‘The New Kingdom graffiti in tomb N13.1: an overview.’ In: *Seven seasons at Asyut: First results of the Egyptian-German cooperation in archaeological fieldwork. Proceedings of an international conference at the University of Sohag, 10th–11th of October* edited by Jochem Kahl, Mahmoud El-Khadragy, Ursula Verhoeven and Andrea Kilian, 47–58. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009 and Ursula Verhoeven. ‘Literatur im Grab – der Sonderfall Assiut.’ In: *Dating Egyptian Literary Texts* edited by Gerald Moers et. al, 139–158. Hamburg: Widmaier, 2013. The accumulation of texts in her Asyut tomb is, however, probably different than in cases like the tomb of Ptahemwia (i) in Saqqara where only the first phrase of the Kemyt is quoted that has a clear association to devotional act when it says “It is a servant who addresses his lord, whom he wishes to be prosperous and healthy”, see Paul W. van Pelt and Nico Staring. ‘The graffiti.’ In: *The tombs*

official tomb inspection.¹⁸⁰ When speaking of ‘the living’ performing these tasks, what’s meant is usually the deceased’s family or hired personnel, who are also represented on the tomb walls. Foremost among the religious practices expected to have happened in and around the Saqqara tombs are offering practices such as those visible in wall decorations: for example, presentation of incense and libation offerings in front of the deceased who are usually seated behind an offering table full of food. Beside flowers, living animals such as geese and cattle as well as goods were transported into the tomb by long queues of offering bearers. Returning to the offering practices, apart from the items mentioned in the standard offering formulae such as mentioned above, “drinking water from the flood”¹⁸¹ or “breathing the sweet air of the north wind”¹⁸² were common desires for the time after the funeral. Some tombs attest donations of offers such as wine¹⁸³ by specific individuals (see also chapter 3). In addition, the tomb decoration with hieroglyphic texts and images was not merely decorative. Chiselled in stone for eternity, they were perceived as actively perpetuating human and divine action by means of written speech acts and pictorial acts.¹⁸⁴ The tomb decoration

of *Ptahemwia and Sethnakht at Saqqara* edited by Maarten J. Raven, 146. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2020. The authors note uncorrected spelling mistakes as evidence of the absence of a teacher, but seem indecisive of the interpretation as devotional act. Another example is a dated graffito in the tomb of Horemheb mentioning the scribe Amenemheb and the scribe Payemsaamun walking about (swtw) the West of Memphis”, see Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 137 with references.

180 A possible example is the note by the ‘scribe of the treasury’ Kanakht who visited the tomb of Meryneith, see Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 130 with reference to Alexander J. Peden, *The graffiti of pharaonic Egypt: scope and roles of informal writings (c. 3100 – 332 B.C.)*. *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 17. Leiden: Brill, 2001, 61–63 and 96–101.

181 Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 70–71 [8].

182 Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 70–71 [9].

183 An amphora found in the north chapel under the floor level and partly on the pavement of the northeast quarter of the courtyard of the tomb of Ptahemwia (i) attests sweet wine donated by a chief vintner (*ḥry k3n.w*) Pa(...), who has tentatively been identified as Panehsy or Pay (iii) by Raven based on the mention of a year 7 probably of Tutankhamun: Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 190–191, cat. 129 and see Jaroslav Černý. *Hieratic inscriptions from the tomb of Tut’ankhamūn. Tut’ankhamūn’s Tomb Series 2*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965, nos 7 and 18. Possibly this offering was donated for the funerary assemblage of Ptahemwia (i) and dislocated through tomb offerings, although the idea that it was a later post-funerary offering cannot be excluded either. In fact as the excavator aptly notes it might even have come from another tomb. Note that jar shape is not necessarily always indicative of content. In Ptahemwia (i)’s tomb a typical wine amphora is said to have contained natron in a Hieratic inscription c.f. Aston, B., ‘Pottery’ (*Ptahemwia*), 252, cat. 19.

184 See, for example, Lara Weiss. ‘The Power of the Voice.’ In: *Studies in Hieratic and the Documents of Deir el-Medina* edited by Ben Haring, Olaf Kaper and René van Walsem, 291–303. *Egyptologische Uitgaven* 28. Leiden: Peeters, 2014 and Lara Weiss. ‘Perpetuated Action.’ In: *A Compan-*

can thus be understood as a kind of additional ‘backup’ for human offering practices in which the naming of individuals is highly relevant (see chapter 2). The tomb owners and others represented in their tombs formed reminiscence clusters, which remained part of the sphere of the living and frequently expressed the wish of participation in rituals before, but also after, death.¹⁸⁵

1.4.2 The problem of preservation of mortuary practices

Actually tracing physical remains of religious practices at Saqqara after the funeral is difficult for many reasons. One problem is the disturbed state of the area by subsequent human action such as tomb robberies, secondary burials and related activities, domestic use of the site during the Late Antique period, and the early treasure hunters of the 19th century.¹⁸⁶ Another problem is that previous excavators were not always interested in meticulously documenting or publishing the material culture. The few existing publications of the Bubasteion and Teti cemetery tombs, for example, discuss the relief decoration only, but also the early Leiden publications often lack information.¹⁸⁷ A further problem is that

ion to the Archaeology of Religion in the Ancient World edited by Rubina Raja and Jörg Rüpke, 60–70. Malden: Wiley, 2015, vs. ideas that the tomb decoration shows the tomb owner in “a fossilized form”, see e. g. Rune Nyord. ‘Memory and succession in the City of the Dead: Temporality in the Ancient Egyptian Mortuary Cult.’ In: *Taming Time, Timing Death: Social Technologies and Ritual* edited by Rane Willerslev and Dorthe R. Christensen, 203. Ashgate: Routledge, 2003.

185 A diachronic summary has been provided by David Klotz. ‘Participation in Religious Ceremonies, as Related in Egyptian Biographies.’ In: *Ancient Egyptian Biographies Contexts, Forms, Functions* edited by Julie Stauder-Porchet, Elizabeth Froom, and Andréas Stauder, 232–235. Providence: Lockwoods, 2020. Note that Nyord also noted the importance of a wider understanding of this ‘back-up’, noting that these representations “were meant to establish and render permanent the connection between the owner of the tomb, the production of the mortuary estates, and the people performing the necessary labor (...), that this relationship was reciprocal, and the estates and trustees also benefited from the benevolent gaze and blessing (not to mention the initial funding) of the ancestor whose cult they maintained”, see Nyord, Rune. ‘Servant figurines from Egyptian tombs: whom did they depict, and how did they work?’ *The Ancient Near East Today* 8 (2) (2020).

186 Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 180 and 325 and see Aston, B., ‘Pottery’ (*Ptahemwia*), 296, leading to (perhaps understandable) sampled publication only.

187 Although later field directors at ‘our’ Saqqara area seem to have had a stronger interest in small finds than their predecessors in the field it appears that “only those objects will be published (...) which distinguish themselves by their peculiar typology, epigraphy, relative completeness, or rarity in accordance with standards established in the field during previous field seasons”: see Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 155.

other than funerary deposits, many of the religious performances to be expected from what we know from relief decorations and texts leave little trace in the archaeological record.¹⁸⁸ This may be illustrated by the Instruction of Ani as found in the tomb of Horemheb (but dating to the Third Intermediate or Late Period),¹⁸⁹ where people are instructed to “offer (*wdn*¹⁹⁰) to your god”,¹⁹¹ “kiss the earth (*sn̄ t̄*¹⁹²)”, provide incense [in other sources more concrete “as their daily food”¹⁹³]. Another attestation of the Instruction of Ani from Deir el-Medina has the phrase “offer water [to] your father and mother, who rest in the valley”,¹⁹⁴ i.e. who are deceased and rest in their tombs in the necropolis on the west bank of the Nile. Offerings of incense, libations, ‘kissing the earth’, and also any sounds such as prayers, songs, or hymns do not leave any trace in the archaeological record. Finding religious practices is also difficult because tangible offerings such as those known from the offering formulae, i.e. foods, flowers, or jarred beer and wine, were probably immediately taken away after the initial performance,¹⁹⁵

188 See also Janine Bourriau. ‘Patterns of change in burial customs during the Middle Kingdom.’ In: *Middle Kingdom studies* edited by Stephen Quirke, 4. New Malden: SIA, 1991. Compare also Malek, ‘Old and new’, 71 for the idea that only official religious practices would require “special cult arrangements” which should, however, be abandoned. Those practices are often as dubious as the so-called popular piety. For an example of traces of funerary ritual see, for example, the “resinous” remains in burial chamber F of the tomb of Horemheb, see Martin et. al, *Horemheb I*, 128.

189 Found in the rubble of the statue room, apparently in the pavement of the northern statue see Christopher Eyre. ‘A page from the Maxims of Ani.’ In: *The Memphite tomb of Horemheb, commander-in-chief of Tut’ankhamūn II: A catalogue of the finds* edited by Hans D. Schneider, 9, 67–73 and pls 45–46. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1996; and Joachim Quack. *Die Lehren des Ani. Ein neuägyptischer Weisheitstext in seinem kulturellen Umfeld*, OBO 141, Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1994, 11, 106–109 and 308–315. Eyre assumed a Post-Ramesside date (Eyre, ‘Ani’, 67) and Quack (*Ani*, 11) 22.–26. Dynasty. The problem of using another papyrus (EES 75-S 85) as a parallel for a 26th dynasty dating like Quack suggested is and that the context is disturbed. A recent study is Huw P.R. Twiston Davies. “*It is filled with an assortment*”: *The transmission of the Instruction of Ani and the Instruction of Amenemope*. Liverpool: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2018. I would like to thank the author for sharing his work with me.

190 Wb I, 391.1–16, *TLA* lemma-no. 51690.

191 See also George Posener. ‘Aménémopé 21, 13 et *bj̄j.t* au sens d’“oracle.”’ *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 90 (1963): 99–100 and an unlikely one in Hans Gedicke. ‘Wisdom of Any VII, 12–7.’ *Revue d’Égyptologie* 43 (1992): 75–85.

192 Wb IV, 154.8–24, *TLA* lemma-no. 136560.

193 After pBoulaq IV (= Cairo, CG 58042), 20, 17: *dd.tj sn̄tr m k̄y=s m-mnt*, see Twiston Davies, *Ani*, 95.

194 *j.w̄ḥ̄ jt=k mw.t=k nty ḥtp m t̄ jn.(t)*, see Twiston Davies, *Ani*, 360.

195 This practice is well-attested in the Demotic texts of the later periods in which ‘offerings’ (*j̄hy*) gained the very literal meaning of ‘revenues’ for the respective priests in service: Cary J.

and even if they were not, they were highly perishable and would not have survived the centuries.¹⁹⁶ It is therefore the textual and pictorial evidence that provides the most reliable information of which religious practices can be expected to have taken place. An inscription of a man called Roma which is attested on the eighth pylon of the temple of Karnak provides a quite explicit description of what he expected visitors to do with his temple statue,¹⁹⁷ a practice that may well have been paralleled for tomb statues.

Roma says:

Place offerings before my statue, overflowing onto the ground in my name, place bouquets before me when you enter. Say for me: 'May he favour you' with a loving heart for my god Amun, lord of the gods, so that others will [come (?)] (and) will offer to you (?). Cause the inscription to be read out [...] to act according to my speech which is before you. Place my good name in the mouths of [future] generations.¹⁹⁸

It is thus very clear that Roma wishes for a recitation or speech offering and for flower bouquets. Others, like the block statue of Didia also from Karnak temple, ask for a libation offering ("pour water for me, and give me offerings before me (this statue) when offerings are made").¹⁹⁹

A naophorous statue of Hormin (*temp.* Ramesses II) exemplifies the wish of the deceased to receive offerings in their tombs.²⁰⁰ Hormin (Figs. 7 and 8) is shown kneeling in front of a small naos featuring the god Osiris. On the back of the statue an appeal to the living is written:

Martin. *Demotic Papyri from the Memphite Necropolis (p. dem. Memphis) in the collections of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, the British Museum and the Hermitage Museum (2 vols). Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities 5.* Turnhout: Brepols, 2009, 64–65. An aspect beyond the current discussion is how strict priestly action followed a set ritual. A flexible understanding of such action is perhaps most plausible: Christopher Theis. 'Material Aspects of Rituals Beyond Their Instructions.' In: *Material Aspects of Reading in Ancient and Medieval Cultures* edited by Anna Krauß, Jonas Leipziger, and Friederike Schücking-Jungblut, 9–22. *Materiality, Presence and Performance Series: Materiale Textkulturen*, 26. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2020 (albeit stressing the argument with somewhat outdated references only).

196 Compare also e.g. Theis, 'Rituals', 18. Ptolemaic texts suggests that libations were often provided with water, see Cannata, *Funerary Industry*, 274–275.

197 For the statues see e.g. Boyo G. Ockinga. *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit im Alten Ägypten und im Alten Testament. Ägypten und Altes Testament 7.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984, 13–14.

198 Elizabeth Frood. *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt.* Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007, 58, with reference to PM II 2, 177 (527b-d) and see KRI IV 210,1–16; 287,10–289,11.

199 Frood, *Biographical Texts*, 134 with reference to Cairo, CG 42122 and KRI VII, 24,7–26,3.

200 Leiden inv. no. AST 5.

Oh all people, all subjects of the king²⁰¹ and every scribe, who shall see this statue! May they say 1000 of bread and beer for the lord of this resting place, for the *Ka* of the royal scribe, the overseer of the royal apartments Hormin.²⁰²



Figs. 7 and 8: Statue of Hormin. (c) *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*.

The request to say “1000 of bread and beer” is of course a very abbreviated request to recite the *ḥtp-dj-nsw*, which is usually followed by 1000 of bread, beer, fowl, etc. – interestingly here without mentioning either the king or a god.²⁰³ The traditional *ḥtp-dj-nsw* in favour of the gods Osiris and Re-Horakhty is written on the frame of the naos and on both sides. As I have argued elsewhere, I believe

²⁰¹ For *rḥ.yt*, see Wb II, 447.9 – 448.2.

²⁰² *j.rmt nb rḥ.yt nb.w.t sš nb nty jw=sn r mš n ḥn.t pn jḥ ḏd=sn ḥš m t ḥnk.t n nb js pn n kš sš-nsw jmy-rš jp.t-nsw Ḥr-Mn.*

²⁰³ Parallels listed by Steven Blake Shubert. *Those who (still) live on earth: a study of the ancient Egyptian Appeal to the Living texts*. Toronto; Ottawa: University of Toronto; Library and Archives Canada, 2007 382 are Statue of lunny from Deir Durunka (MMA 33.2.1), statue of Paser (ii) from Deir el-Bahri (CG 561), statue of Pahemnetjer from Saqqara (Cairo JE 89046), two Theban statues of Didia (Louvre C50 and CG 42122), and a Karnak statue of Roma-Roy (CG 42186).

that this suggests a dual meaning of the *ḥtp-dj-nsw* as on the one hand marking the royal privilege on the tomb equipment (i. e. the naos, or in other cases the staff or the statue), and on the other hand symbolising an actual performance of the *ḥtp-dj-nsw*-offerings, which is done by reciting (*ḏd*) and/or physical placement of offerings (*jr*) to the statue.²⁰⁴ Other statues, such as the famous tomb statues of Maya and Merit, have a *pr.t* formula anticipating the *ḥtp-dj-nsw*'s eternal immanence in the sense of performance of privilege and action, but yet accomplished in perpetuation for eternity. The statues gained life and the ability to act by means of the same Opening of the Mouth ritual as the mummy of Merymery (i) above.²⁰⁵ When exactly this reviving happened is subject to debate: It could have been performed during the funeral, or perhaps earlier, when the statue was installed in the tomb, probably already during the lifetime of the tomb owner. The latter has been suggested for the Old Kingdom by Andrey Bolshakov,²⁰⁶ and would support once again the idea that by tomb-building owners always marked both privilege in this life and the eternal perpetuation of that in both this life and the next.²⁰⁷ That the audience is addressed at the back of the statue raises the question of where in the tomb the statue was placed. Usually the assumption would be that statues were set against walls,²⁰⁸ an idea also

204 Compare Lara Weiss. 'Preliminary Thoughts on the Role of the Royal Administration in the New Kingdom.' In: *Offerings to Maat: Essays in Honour of Emily Teeter (CIPEG Journal 5)* edited by Caroline M. Rocheleau and Tom Hardwick, 219–235. Heidelberg: Propylaeum, 2021.

205 Here is not the place to engage into the discussion of 'object agency', for a brief state of the art, see e. g. David Lorton. 'The theology of cult statues in ancient Egypt.' In: *Born in heaven, made on earth: the making of the cult image in the ancient Near East* edited by Michael B. Dick, 123–210. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1999, with references.

206 Andrey O. Bolshakov. 'The moment of the establishment of the tomb-cult in ancient Egypt.' *Altorientalische Forschungen* 18 (2) (1991): 208. Compare recent criticism by Yayoi Shirai. 'Ideal and reality in Old Kingdom private funerary cults.' In: *The Old Kingdom art and archaeology: proceedings of the conference held in Prague, May 31–June 4, 2004* edited by Miroslav Bárta, 325–326. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, 2006, yet Bolshakov's arguments still hold true.

207 Curiously, on the back of the statue of Meryneith and Anuy, the standard offering formula appears in favour of Meryneith, whereas Anuy, receives a thousand of various offerings, without a preceding *ḥtp-dj-nsw*. Here the statue of Meryneith has his name and title written over his short, see Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 188–193 Figs. V.1 and V.6–7.

208 Frood, *Biographical Texts*, 8 and see also Karl Jansen-Winkel. 'Bild und Charakter der ägyptischen 26. Dynastie.' *Altorientalische Forschungen* 28 (1) (2001): 169–171, see Sabine Kubisch. 'Visualisierte Verdienste: zum Anbringungsort biographischer Inschriften der Ramessidenzeit.' In: *En détail – Philologie und Archäologie im Diskurs: Festschrift für Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert 1* edited by Marc Brose, Peter Dils, Franziska Naether, Lutz Popko, and Dietrich Raue, 520. Berlin; Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2019 on the matter of statue placement and texts.

supported by the find spots of other Saqqara tomb statues (e.g. Maya and Merit), where parts of the statues – especially the back – would be invisible. In that case, the offering request could be interpreted as religious perpetuation of a desired action in the sense of a ‘backup’, rather than that it was meant to be actually read and performed.²⁰⁹ Also performing offerings in front of statues in commemoration of the represented individual(s) was ‘what people did’ also without an explicit request written in hieroglyphs. Unfortunately, whereas representations of statues (e.g. in the tomb of Maya) show statues bearing flower garlands, no traces of such perishable offerings remain in the archaeological record. The same applies to offering tables from the Saqqara tombs, none of which show traces of fat or the like.²¹⁰ Flowers, libations, and incense are standard wishes,²¹¹ but highly elusive in the material evidence. The same applies to the beer, sweet ointment, and fresh garlands that Amenemone (i) requests on a statue at Thebes.²¹² If there is no beer, he says, give me water. So there is a backup plan as well.

1.4.3 Eloquent buildings

The relative scarcity of evidence makes it all the more relevant to look for wider material basis to study religious practices and indeed include the agency of Egyptian art representations (chapter 2). The visual representations, i.e. the texts and representations in the monumental decorated tombs, are most relevant here as they form “part of an interlocking set of practices and discourses”.²¹³ It is

209 Yet, as Frood noted recently, the fact that many of comparable requests were written in places where they could only be read when wandering around a statue could also suggest a more accessible original placement of these statues after all, see Frood, ‘Statues’, 17 with reference to Jean M. Evans. *The lives of Sumerian Sculpture: An archaeology of the early dynastic temple*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 77–88.

210 Note, however, that texts also frequently suggest that water instead of a greasy substance was being expected, e.g. mentioned on the stela lunette from the tomb of Horemheb, see Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 34.

211 Frood, *Biographical Texts*, 169 with reference to the naophorous statue of Penehsy now in the British Museum (BM EA 1377) and see KRI III, 136,1–137,13.

212 Frood, *Biographical Texts*, 191 with reference to a sistrophorous statue of Army commander Amenemone, (Luxor Museum J 141), KRI VII, 128,2–1.

213 Cf. Margaret Dikovitskaya. *Visual Culture: The Study of the Visual After the Cultural Turn*. London: Mit Press, 2005, 17.

therefore important to consider the viewer and the social embedding of images²¹⁴ (and texts). We learn about prayers by means of Egyptian body language,²¹⁵ and should consider the possibility of images as focuses of veneration.²¹⁶ The wall decorations of Egyptian tombs monumentalise the status of the deceased, in terms of first of all being able to afford a monumental tomb, but also demonstrating their knowledge of the right style as well as choice of texts and decoration.²¹⁷ For the current project the religious practices that can be derived from the decoration programs are relevant, touching only in passing on practical issues of the actual process of decorating the tombs. Literature on the question of the artist–patron relationship is extensive,²¹⁸ and Egyptology has hotly debated the question of whether the highly idealised tomb representations can deliver this information.²¹⁹ In the following, two aspects are addressed, namely the issues of the use of texts and images, and its performers, beneficiaries, and recipients.

214 E.g. Petra H. Rösch. ‘Einleitung: “Bild und Ritual”’: Bildlichkeit und visuelle Kultur in Ritualen.’ In: *Bild und Ritual. Visuelle Kulturen in Historischer Perspektive* edited by Claus Ambos, Petra Rösch, Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter, 1. Darmstadt: Karlsruher virtueller Verlag, 2010 and see William J.T. Mitchell. *Picture Theory – Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994, 91.

215 Maria M. Luiselli. ‘Das Bild des Betens: Versuch einer bildtheoretischen Analyse der altägyptischen Anbetungsgestik.’ *Imago Aegypti* 2 (2008) 87–96; Maria M. Luiselli. ‘Gestualità rituale e spontanea in Egitto: un contributo allo studio dei gesti nell’arte egiziana.’ In: *Sacerdozio e società civile nell’Egitto antico: atti del terzo Colloquio, Bologna – 30/31 maggio 2007* edited by Sergio Pernigotti and Marco Zecchi, 135–147. Imola (Bologna): La Mandragora, 2008.

216 Such practices are of course better known for Christian icons, see e.g. Thomas Lentz. ‘Andacht und Gebärde.’ In: *Kulturelle Reformation. Sinnformationen im Umbruch, 1400–1600* edited by Bernhard Jussen, Craig Koslofsky, 29–67, esp. 45–54. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999. In Christianity such use of images only slowly develops into more text-based practices.

217 In the Walking Dead project, a comprehensive analysis of the tomb decoration and its transmission is the main focus of Huw Twiston Davies’ work.

218 Recently e.g. Ludwig D. Morenz. *Vom Kennen und Können: zur Mentalitäts- und Mediengeschichte des Mittleren Reiches im Horizont von Abydos. Thot. Beiträge zur historischen Epistemologie und Medienarchäologie* 5. Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2020, 1–29 and see also Alexandra Verbovsek. ‘Pygmalion in Ägypten? Oder “Einer, der sein Handwerk versteht”’: diskursive Überlegungen zum Berufsstand des “Künstlers”.’ In: *jn.t Dr.w: Festschrift für Friedrich Junge* 2 edited by Gerald Moers, Heike Behlmer, Katja Demuß and Kai Widmaier, 659–692. Göttingen: Lingua Aegyptia, Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie, 2006 and Melinda K. Hartwig, *Tomb painting and identity in ancient Thebes, 1419–1372 BCE*. Série IMAGO 2; Monumenta Aegyptiaca 10. Brussels; Turnhout: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth; Brepols, 2004, 28.

219 Alexandra Woods. ‘Relief.’ In: *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art* edited by Melinda K. Hartwig, 235. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015 with references.

1.4.3.1 The use of texts and images

Even though transmission of texts and images is not our concern here, some background information of how we should understand the tomb representations (i.e. both texts and images) has to be addressed because the question of how these should be termed and categorised has been the subject of hot debate, and we need to exemplify how we understand the meaning of texts (and images) in practice (namely as supporting actual performance, not as ‘library-in-stone’, but I get ahead of myself here). In order to understand the function of texts and images we need to address the matter of genre, i.e. the type of text typically defined by content, style, and form. When acknowledging the fluidity of ancient Egyptian genres, such a typology can be helpful when analysing certain patterns or developments in the ancient Egyptian literary discourse,²²⁰ but as we shall see, it is perhaps less useful for the contextualisation of texts in their everyday use (*‘Sitz im Leben’*).²²¹ Therefore Jan Assmann argued that intended purpose (*“Verwendungssituation”*), not necessarily form, but would be the best indicator for genre determination,²²² i.e. whether a text was meant to be used only during the funeral, or also before or after. Assmann’s view is shared by Harold Hays, who divided mortuary texts into ‘personal’ (beneficial to the speaker) and ‘sacerdotal’ (beneficial to the ritual/the deceased) texts, depending on who benefited most from the reciting of a given text.²²³ While Hays applied formal criteria such as first voice vs. collective voice (see also below), Jan Assmann pointed at text-inherent, mainly content-based criteria: In his seminal anthology of hymns and prayers’, for example, Assmann discussed only the orations (Egyptian: *rdj.t j3w*) and adorations (*dw3.w*) confined to the ones directed to the creator god, sun hymns, and so-called prayers of personal piety, and argued that this selection would be a reflection of the unique hymnal record of the New Kingdom.²²⁴ In his later *Totenliturgien* this conceptional starting point was reinforced, although

220 Antonio Loprieno (ed.). *Ancient Egyptian literature: history and forms. Probleme der Ägyptologie* 10. Leiden: Brill, 1996 xii; Richard B. Parkinson. ‘Types of Literature in the Middle Kingdom.’ In: *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History & Forms* edited by Antonio Loprieno, 299–301. Leiden: Brill, 1996, and see e.g. the Merriam-Webster dictionary: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/genre>. Accessed on 2 November 2021. A brief historical overview of Egyptological discussion is also provided by Roland Enmarch. ‘Mortuary and Literary laments: A comparison.’ In: *Ancient Egyptian Literature. Theory and Practice* edited by Roland Enmarch and Verena M. Lepper, 83–84. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

221 See also Parkinson, ‘Literature’, 300.

222 Jan Assmann. *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete: übersetzt, kommentiert und eingeleitet, 2nd rev. and extended ed. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis*. Freiburg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999, 57.

223 Hays, *Pyramid Texts*, 11.

224 Assmann, *Hymnen und Gebete*, XIII.

with acknowledgement of the difficulties of pinning certain texts to certain genres.²²⁵ Yet Assmann sub-divides tomb texts that are not hymnal texts into ‘liturgical texts’ (“*Totenliturgien*”) and ‘literary texts’ (“*Totensliteratur*”).²²⁶ For Assmann, liturgical texts belong to the sphere of cultic recitation and thus the world of the living (i.e. to the outside sphere). Literary texts, on the other hand, are the texts *in* the tomb, which he thought equip the deceased in their tombs through performative perpetuation of religious action. According to this categorisation, liturgical texts present in the burial chamber such as the Book of the Dead are understood as ‘literature’ rather than ‘liturgy’ since they were no longer accessible to the living and hence not part of their cultic activities.²²⁷ He considers them refunctionalised (“*umfunktioniert*”).²²⁸ Assmann thus confines “*Totensliteratur*” to “*einen Wissensvorrat [...], der den Verstorbenen ins Grab mitgegeben wurde, um ihnen im Jenseits zur Verfügung zu stehen*”.²²⁹ I have argued elsewhere, that texts for the deceased in tombs can often be interpreted as written speech act, in the sense that the content of a text as such can be considered as being performatively re-enacted.²³⁰ For example, an offering formula provide that offering for eternity even in absence of humans performing that very task of

225 Assmann, *Totenliturgien* I, 9 and see also 18 on considering Wittgenstein’s family resemblance, as criterion for the genre definition. This means that all texts have a given number of elements of similarity between them but not all these similarities are shared by all texts.

226 Assmann, *Totenliturgien* I, 13.

227 Assmann, *Totenliturgien* I, 13, but see e.g. Yekatarina Barbash. ‘The ritual context of the Book of the Dead.’ In: *Book of the Dead: becoming god in ancient Egypt* edited by Foy Scalf, 75–84. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2017 for a more apt description of the ritual context of these texts on various levels before, during and after the funeral and see Lieven, Alexandra von. ‘Book of the Dead, book of the living: BD spells as temple texts.’ *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 98 (2012): 249–267.

228 Assmann, *Totenliturgien* I, 13.

229 Assmann, *Tod und Jenseits*, 504. While storage of knowledge was one function of the texts in tombs, it was not the only one. For a criticism see also Martin A. Stadler. *Weiser und Wesir: Studien zu Vorkommen, Rolle und Wesen des Gottes Thot im ägyptischen Totenbuch. Orientalische Religionen in der Antike / Oriental religions in Antiquity* 1. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009. 42.

230 Jan Assmann. *Stein und Zeit: Mensch und Gesellschaft im Alten Ägypten*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1991, 26 and see Assmann, *Tod und Jenseits*, 322. On the speech act as “giv[ing] rise to the actual existence” of situation described by the spoken word, see e.g. Erika Meyer-Dietrich. ‘Recitation, Speech Acts, and Declamation.’ In: *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* edited by Willeke Wendrich, Los Angeles 2010, see <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/1gh1q0md>. Accessed on 2 November 2021. See also, for example, John Baines. *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, 151; and Christopher Eyre. *The Cannibal Hymn. A Cultural and Literary Study*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002, 26–29.

offering. Yet also beyond the acknowledgement of performative aspects,²³¹ Assmann's idea of the refuncting of texts depending on text location in a tomb makes little sense if we consider that at the Saqqara tombs (and in fact also in Thebes, Assmann's main source of information) so-called liturgies and literatures are mixed depending on the tomb under study, making any division into liturgy and literature based on location highly arbitrary. Martin Stadler has suggested that as the prefix *Toten-* is quite vague in German, Assmann sought to differentiate between what English distinguishes as 'mortuary' texts (Assmann's *Totenliteratur*) and 'funerary' texts (Assmann's *Totenliturgien*).²³² Yet, since both alleged categories of texts appear in both alleged 'areas' of the tombs,²³³ text location cannot serve as functional criterion. For the same reason, the idea of 'purpose of use' as criterion for genre is highly questionable.²³⁴ Putting together similar themes is surely interesting, yet the fact that genre categories are frequently challenged in the Egyptian texts means such categorisations are easily defied.²³⁵

231 See e.g. Christopher J. Eyre and John Baines. 'Interactions between orality and literacy in Ancient Egypt.' In: *Literacy and Society* edited by Karen Schousboe and Mogens Trolle Larsen, 113. Copenhagen, Akademisk Forlag, 1989.

232 Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 42 although I would then make the distinction opposite of what Stadler did, namely to see liturgies as related to funerary activities and literature as mortuary texts, i.e. following the actual practices whereas Stadler suggests liturgies are mortuary texts and literature are funerary texts. In fact, as Baines already noted a clear distinction between mortuary and funerary is difficult (John Baines. 'Modelling sources, processes and locations of early mortuary texts.' In: *D'un monde à l'autre: Textes des Pyramides & Textes des Sarcophages. Actes de la table ronde internationale, "Textes des Pyramides versus Textes des Sarcophages", IFAO – 24 – 26 septembre 2001* edited by Susanne Bickel and Bernard Mathieu, 15, note 2. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2004 and see Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 42). Stadler quotes Assmann stating that what remains is to make the distinction as an acknowledgement that *Totenliteratur* is difficult to understand entirely see Assmann, *Tot und Jenseits*, 322, and Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 42. I did, however, not find the quote Stadler mentions in the edition by C.H. Beck available to me.

233 Assmann, *Totenliturgien* I, 18–19.

234 Also contra Hays, *Pyramid Texts*, 11 division of personal and sacerdotal texts and see criticism by Daniela C. Luft. *Osiris-Hymnen: wechselnde Materialisierungen und Kontexte. Untersuchungen anhand der Texte "C30" / Tb 181, Tb 183, "BM 447" / Tb 128 und der "Athrabis"-Hymne. Orientalische Religionen in der Antike / Oriental religions in Antiquity* 30. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018, 383 and 386.

235 Assmann's idea to collect literary genres that mix styles, content, and form as 'functional literature' ("*Gebrauchsliteratur*") and folklore beside a high literary culture of texts that are situationally abstract ("*situationsabstrakt*") is particularly unhelpful for the current questions of living textual traditions, a matter discussed in greater detail by Huw Twiston Davies in his project. For the theory see Jan Assmann. 'Der Literarische Text im Alten Ägypten.' *Orientalische Li-*

In the words of Hans Ulbrich Gumbrecht: the isolation of certain literary texts from others texts “may run the risk of producing effects of homogenisation and impressions of homogeneity that are as problematic as the effects of isolating literature from its discursive environment”.²³⁶ Reconsidering that the different texts discussed above all came from the same carrier medium, namely the tomb, makes the thematic overlap perhaps less surprising.²³⁷ A comprehensive understanding of the religious practices as detectable from tomb decoration hence requires discussing the whole tomb decoration in context,²³⁸ irrespective of how a text may be known to have been used elsewhere. That Assmann and Hays view the “movement of a text” from one “setting” to the other as “recontextualization”²³⁹ is therefore unhelpful for the understanding of potential daily life practice. Indeed, as Hays admits, individual and group religious practices in tombs and temples as well as the royal cults were in fact closely linked.²⁴⁰ In the current study we shall see what the texts (and images) in the Saqqara tombs as well as the archaeological evidence can tell us about post-funerary, i. e. mortuary, tomb practices.²⁴¹

teraturzeitung 69 (1974): 123–124 and also Luft, *Osiris-Hymnen*, 321–336 on the definition on Book of the Dead spells and 362–386 on hymnal texts.

236 Hans U. Gumbrecht. ‘Does Egyptology need a “Theory of Literature”?’ In: *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History & Forms* edited by Antonio Loprieno, 15. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

237 Surprise about the thematic overlap between sun hymns and the so-called liturgies for the deceased is for example noted e. g. in Assmann, *Totenliturgien* II, 187. Assmann’s acknowledgement of the meaning of the texts both in the in principle sealed tomb chambers and in the accessible parts of the tombs as having an important part in the deceased who entered the circle of life with the sun god make his artificial categorisation completely incomprehensible.

238 See e. g. John Baines. ‘Classicism and modernism in the New Kingdom.’ In: *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History & Forms* edited by Antonio Loprieno, 164. Leiden: Brill, 1996 on the tombs as displays of religious commitment (pp. 157–174). The idea to study everything together is perhaps also implicit in Assmann’s monumental discourse: Jan Assmann. ‘Der Literarische Aspekt des ägyptischen Grabes und seine Funktion im Rahmen des “monumentalen Diskurses”.’ In: *Ancient Egyptian Literature. History & Forms* edited by Antonio Loprieno, 97–104. Leiden: Brill 1996.

239 Hays, *Pyramid Texts*, 67.

240 Hays, *Pyramid Texts*, 64.

241 In this respect it is worth noting that Barbara Aston noted in the so-called “tomb of Sethnakht” a striking difference in the type of offering used for either the funeral or later offering practices: pottery for storing commodities for eternity in the tomb showed a ratio of 80% marls to 20% Nile clay fabrics versus the pottery from the superstructure which showed a ratio 3% marls to 97% Nile clays. Aston left this finding uncommented in her publication, but in personal communication she kindly elaborated as follows: “The pottery in the Sethnakht substructure was from secondary Ramesside burials and there’s no guarantee that it is connected with the offering pottery found in the courtyard and chapels, though the superstructure pot-

1.4.3.2 Literacy and the tomb as auditive space

The discussion of the *Sitz im Leben* of the texts preserved to us in mortuary contexts and their interpretation in the daily life practices for the living²⁴² must consider who the recipients of the tomb texts and tomb representations were, which must touch upon the question of literacy. Returning to Hays' categorisation in personal and sacerdotal texts, his main criterion was whether a text should be considered to be performed individually in private ("personal") or by more than one person in public ("sacerdotal").²⁴³ Discussing papyri only, Hays argued that while rituals performed at the funeral by priests (such as the Opening of the Mouth ritual) "were collectively performed by the living community for the dead", the Book of the Dead should be considered a "guidebook [...] of service to the individual in his particular afterworld existence".²⁴⁴ For example, the Book of the Dead spell 144 (BD 144) instructs the reader to "do this book without letting anyone see" (*jr=k md3.t tn nn rdj.t m33 jr.t nb.t*), which Hays takes literally as an example for private or even secret recitation on behalf of the officiant, which is the papyrus owner.²⁴⁵ Interestingly Hays assumes that these performing practices were situated in the domestic context.²⁴⁶ This hypothesis pushes further the idea, for example by John Gee, to understand literally the use of the Book of the Dead on earth (*tp t3*).²⁴⁷ However, while the use of the Book of the Dead (BD) in temple contexts is well attested, Gee's reasoning is unconvinc-

tery also dates to the Ramesside Period. Nile clay deposits were common in the Nile valley, whereas marl clay deposits were from the periphery of the valley or in the desert and were thus less readily available. Marl clay would therefore have been more expensive. Marl clay pottery is less porous than Nile clay pottery and is therefore better suited to long-term storage of food, particularly liquids. Nile clay would have been sufficient for offering pottery used to present food and drink in the tomb chapels, as the food and drink would have been consumed soon afterward."

242 Hays, *Pyramid Texts*, 12.

243 Hays, *Pyramid Texts*, 24–35. Note that the term 'private' is problematic in Antiquity in general and should be used with caution only; compare e.g. Joseph Rykwert. 'Privacy in Antiquity.' *Social Research*, vol. 68, no. 1 (2001): 29–40 not mentioning Egypt, but sketching a vivid image that would be applicable to the Egyptian context as well.

244 Hays, *Pyramid Texts*, 36. This idea is in fact rooted in Egyptology since Carl Richard Lepsius published the first "*Todtenbuch*": see Von Lieven, 'Book of the Dead', 265, with references and a critical discussion.

245 Hays, *Pyramid Texts*, 41.

246 Hays, *Pyramid Texts*, 45.

247 John Gee. 'The use of the daily temple liturgy in the Book of the Dead.' In: *Todtenbuch-Forschungen: gesammelte Beiträge des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums, Bonn, 25. bis 29. September 2005* edited by Burkhard Backes, Irmtraut Munro and Simone Stöhr, 75. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006.

ing. He translates a phrase from BD 1 that runs *jr rḥ md̄3.t tn tp t̄3 m sš ḥr qrs.t* with “one who knows this book *on earth* **or** [emphasis mine] in writing on the coffin” whereas “as in writing on the coffin” is more plausible for *m*.²⁴⁸ That the deceased “prosper[s] on earth” (*wd̄3 pw tp t̄3*, BD 18)²⁴⁹ is unsurprising since the deceased wants to come forth by day as a living *Ba* before he returns into his tomb again by night. The Book of the Dead does not only appear on papyri that were stored in burial chambers, but also on the monumental tombs’ walls²⁵⁰ at Saqqara, which were open to the public and hence could be read by the literate visitors. Whoever read those texts on the monumental tomb walls probably uttered them aloud, thus enabling potential illiterate visitors to hear the content of the texts as well. The practice of reciting texts in tombs is also suggested by the appeals of the living which mention the scribes visiting a tomb of temple and reciting the words (*sdd m(w)dw=tn*²⁵¹), although one may of course again also argue for an interpretation of those texts as written speech act, i. e. fossilising (eternalising in stone) the desired eternal performance of such visits. Hays’ grammatical approach takes too literal the question of in which person (first, second, third, or not mentioning the beneficiary).²⁵² As he states himself, the exchange of texts between tombs and temples and “[t]heir monumentalization transformed them and opened up possibilities not available to papyrus and leather scroll” and demonstrate that “there was a permeable boundary between different domains of practice.”²⁵³ Considering the limited access of the ancient Egyptians to literacy, and the location of some of the texts, caused Christopher Eyre to recently stress once again the very limited group that actually read the inscriptions.²⁵⁴ However, what Eyre overlooks is the auditive coulisse of a tomb (see also chapter 2).²⁵⁵ Relief representations tell us about musicians, dancers, and mourners,²⁵⁶ and we may imagine also the sound of the ancients’ feelings

248 See *TLA*, lemma no. 500292 “like; as; as (predication)”, see *Wb* II, 1.27–29.

249 Gee, ‘Book of the Dead’, 75.

250 Indeed also admitted by Hays, *Pyramid Texts*, 44 after a long discussion of Papyrus Nu.

251 E. g. Stela BM EA 156 from Abydos, see Shubert, *Appeal*, 242 and KRI III, 210.10–11. *sdj* see *Wb* IV, 563–564.16.

252 Hays, *Pyramid Texts*, 62.

253 Hays, *Pyramid Texts*, 62.

254 Christopher Eyre. ‘The material authority of written text in Pharaonic Egypt.’ In: *The materiality of texts from ancient Egypt: new approaches to the study of textual material from the early Pharaonic to the Late Antique period*, edited by Francisca A.J. Hoogendijk and Steffie van Gompel, 10. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2018.

255 Meyer-Dietrich, *Hörkultur*.

256 Among many others Jörg Rüpke. ‘Gifts, Votives, and Sacred Things. Strategies, Not Entities.’ *Religion in the Roman Empire* 4/2 (2018): 210.

of pain and loss.²⁵⁷ The Egyptians themselves were very well aware of the audience of their tombs as is clear from the so-called appeals to the living that address visitors directly.²⁵⁸ Whereas usually these texts appear on statues of stelae, very interestingly also an ostrakon is known (now in the Royal Museum of Scotland²⁵⁹), which makes the concept of addressing visitors portable in a way. The idea that people come, “divert themselves (*ḥbb*) in the west and walk about the tomb (*ḏ.t*)”²⁶⁰ is expressed, for example, by Maya on the south wall of the gateway of his pylon.²⁶¹ Clearly, Maya speaks here to elite visitors to the tomb who could read and understand the texts and representations.²⁶² While he deliberately excludes illiterate members of the community from his exquisite circle,²⁶³ that does not mean that illiterate visitors did not also enter the tomb and potentially developed their own understanding and appropriation of the elite literate practices. It is therefore vital for a comprehensive understanding of the tombs to consider the wide range of “participants, audience, but also absent people”.²⁶⁴ Richard Chalfen aptly noted that “[d]esign and decoration of physical space in general [are] constructed appearances [...] meant to be looked at and appreciated in culturally specific terms”.²⁶⁵ This applies also to ancient Egyptian monumental tombs and so did the comprehension of the representational content. What is important is the “collateral knowledge and the cognitive skills necessary to understand the depicted scene”.²⁶⁶ For ancient Egypt, this is

257 See also Tibor-Tamás Daróczy. ‘Death, Disposal and Social Memory – Towards a Definition of Funerary Landscapes.’ *Topoi. Journal for Ancient Studies* 3 (2012): 200.

258 Studied in detail by Shubert, *Appeal*.

259 This text does not ask for offerings but warns from using the tomb as a quarry by removing stones. Inv. no. 1956–316, see Shubert, *Appeal*, 203–204.

260 Martin, *Maya*, 20.

261 In fact also quoted by Eyre, ‘Material authority’, 10.

262 For a recent summary of previous definitions of the potential visitors, see Ursula Verhoeven (ed.). *Dipinti von Besuchern des Grabes N13.1 in Assjut*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2020, 19.

263 Compare Deborah Vischak. *Community and identity in ancient Egypt: the Old Kingdom cemetery at Qubbet el-Hawa*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015, 221 in a different context.

264 Joannis Mylonopoulos and Hubert Roeder. ‘Archäologische Wissenschaften und Ritualforschung. Einführende Überlegungen zu einem ambivalenten Verhältnis.’ In: *Archäologie und Ritual. Auf der Suche nach den rituellen Handlungen in den antiken Kulturen Ägyptens und Griechenlands* edited by Joannis Mylonopoulos and Hubert Roeder, 14. Vienna: Phoibos, 2006.

265 Richard Chalfen. ‘Looking Two Ways: Mapping the Social Scientific Study of Visual Culture.’ In: *The SAGE Handbook of Visual Research Methods* edited by Eric Margolis and Luc Pauwels, 24–48. London: Sage publications, 2012.

266 Frederik Stjernfelt. ‘How do pictures act. Two semiotic aspects of picture activity.’ In: *Et in imagine ego. Facetten von Bildakt und Verkörperung* edited by Ulrike Feist and Markus Rath, 23. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2012.

all the more true as a probably relatively low rate of literacy did not allow all tomb visitors to actually read the texts surrounding the representations.²⁶⁷ Yet they could potentially listen to others reading aloud,²⁶⁸ or have varying degrees of understanding of the respective texts and representations in the way they were meant to be read. Building and beholder interacted in dynamic relationship.²⁶⁹

1.5 Prospect

Returning to our hypothesis above (section 1.2.) that the evidence from Saqqara reflects ‘reminiscence clusters’, the following demonstrates that this desire for belonging was practiced by means of the strategies of representation (chapter 2)²⁷⁰ as well as gift-giving (chapter 3) in the Saqqara tombs, but also on a wider level in the cultural geography of Saqqara (chapter 4).

267 See also Antony Eastmond. ‘Re-Viewing Inscriptions.’ In: *Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval World* edited by Antony Eastmond, 253–254. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

268 Surely silent reading was in theory possible, yet tomb inscriptions were rather meant to be recited, compare the discussion of the research history on the matter by William A. Johnson. *Readers and Reading Culture in the High Roman Empire: A Study of Elite Communities* Johnson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, 4–15 and see Hartwig, *Tomb painting*, 9.

269 Compare Amy Papalexandrou. ‘Text in context: eloquent monuments and the Byzantine beholder.’ *Word & Image* 17.3 (2001): 260 and for the Egyptian context e.g. René van Walsem. ‘Sense and sensibility: on the analysis and interpretation of the iconography programmes in four Old Kingdom elite tombs.’ In: *Dekorierete Grabanlagen im Alten Reich: Methodik und Interpretation* edited by Martin Fitzenreiter and Michael Herb, 277–332. London: Golden House Publications, 2006.

270 Note that this study largely excludes graffiti. Although they provide another important technique of individuals and groups to write themselves into a certain space and indeed group, these matters have extensively been studied by Nico Staring and there is no need for repetition here, see e.g. Paul W. Van Pelt and Nico Staring. ‘Interpreting graffiti in the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis as expressions of popular customs and beliefs.’ *Rivista del Museo Egizio* 3 (2019); Nico Staring. ‘Products of the physical engagement with sacred space: the New Kingdom non-textual tomb-graffiti at Saqqara.’ In: *Decoding signs of identity: Egyptian workmen’s marks in archaeological, historical, comparative and theoretical perspective. Proceedings of a conference in Leiden, 13–15 December 2013* edited by Ben J.J. Haring, Kyra V.J. van der Moezel, and Daniel M. Soliman, 79–112. Leiden: Peeters, 2018.

Chapter 2: Representation

Archaeology traditionally sought to dig down to the original use of monuments, often disregarding later uses.¹ This is usually the case when Egyptologists study ancient Egyptian tombs, taking what we may call a tomb-owner-centred approach. Most publications are called ‘the tomb of so-and-so’, implicitly monumentalising once again the status of the main tomb owner.² Having defined their main interest in the title of their book, scholars then study the architectural, material, and textual evidence in terms of the tomb owner’s (and occasionally his family’s³) status, memory, and biographical representation.⁴ While these are important and legitimate fields of research, it is also worthwhile to open our minds to recent debates in archaeology that seek to understand the larger biography of Saqqara in context. Applied to Egyptian tombs, this means tracing and analysing human activity from the moment of planning of the tomb, to the building and potential decorating activities, and of course the funeral of the deceased as a meaning-constituting event, but also studying the monument’s use-life afterwards, i.e. how it was used and reused, and then at some point forgotten and rediscovered. Human activity changed and impacted on the physical environment and contemporary society, and each contemporary society and the restrictions and possibilities offered by the environment shaped the site.⁵ Although we do not know exactly how building sites of tombs were chosen, there are

1 Cornelius Holtorf. ‘What future for the Life-History approach to prehistoric monuments in the landscape.’ In: *Landscape Biographies: Geographical, Historical and Archaeological Perspectives on the Production and Transmission of Landscapes* edited by Jan Kolen, Rita Hermans, and Hans Renes, 167–180. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015.

2 Lara Weiss. ‘Immortality as the response of others.’ In: *Perspectives on Lived Religion: Practices – Transmission – Landscape* edited by Nico Staring, Huw Twiston Davies, and Lara Weiss, 59–71. Leiden: Sidestone, 2019 with references.

3 E.g. Dorman, ‘Family burial’, 30–41.

4 The literature is extensive, see e.g. Assmann, ‘Ramesside tomb’, 46. A comprehensive summary of the study of funerary traditions in sociological terms has been presented by Nicola Laneri. ‘An Archaeology of Funerary Rituals.’ In: *Performing Death. Social Analyses in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*, edited by Nicola Laneri, 1–13. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2007; and see also Janet Richards. *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt. Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 54–59. For a critical note on an overly direct correlation between tomb size and status, see Nicole Alexanian. ‘Tomb and social status: the textual evidence.’ In: *The Old Kingdom art and archaeology: proceedings of the conference held in Prague, May 31–June 4, 2004* edited by Miroslav Bárta, 1–8. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, 2006, with references.

5 Stammers, *Memphis*, 12–25, and see e.g. Gestermann, ‘Schachtgrab’, 195–206.

strong indications that owners chose to group their tombs according to profession, as well as near family, or important tomb owners, or simply in places they deemed prestigiously accessible and likely to attract attention and visitors (e.g. near processional ways).⁶ What is important to consider is that the tomb owners were not just passive recipients of the cult, but themselves active agents,⁷ not least by means of representational enactment of certain ‘reminiscence clusters’, i.e. including or excluding certain affiliates in their tomb decoration.⁸

2.1 Tomb commemoration theory

It is generally accepted that tomb decoration was not purely decorative,⁹ but that tomb representations had a ritual function important for the deceased.¹⁰ Most scholars also accept the idea that many tomb scenes could be considered as performative, i.e. enacting represented individuals and their activities for eternity as pictorial acts.¹¹ At the same time, tombs were status objects of the living built during their lifetime and monumentalising their high status, i.e. fossilising access to resources as well as individual and family status in stone for eternity.¹²

6 Compare Nico Staring. ‘The Necropolis as a Lived Space and a Work in Continuous Progress’, *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2020* edited by Miroslav Bárta, Filip Coppens, and Jaromir Krejčí, 273–284. Prague: Faculty of Arts, Charles University, 2021, with references.

7 Contra Friederike Kampp. *Die thebanische Nekropole: zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der 18. bis zur 20. Dynastie. Theben 13*. Mainz: Zabern, 1996, 119, who views the Ramesside tomb owners as passive participants of the cult of the divine see also Meyer-Dietrich, *Hörkultur*, 271. On social interaction by means of representation, see also e.g. Anne Herzberg. ‘Felsinschriften und -bilder als Medium der Selbstrepräsentation lokaler Amtsträger des Neuen Reiches: ein Befund aus der Aswāner Region.’ In: *Bild: Ästhetik – Medium – Kommunikation. Beiträge des dritten Münchner Arbeitskreises Junge Ägyptologie (MAJA 3)*, 7. bis 9.12.2012 edited by Gregor Neunert, Alexandra Verbovsek and Kathrin Gabler, 139–141. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014.

8 Compare also the discussion of Nyord, *Perfection*, 58.

9 Some elements of this chapter were also published in Weiss, ‘Immortality’, 59–71, but have been reconsidered and updated for the sake of comprehensiveness here. Please note that the choice of tombs discussed here relies on accessibility of data, and hence the previous publication for analysis.

10 Contra Dieter Kessler. ‘Szenen des täglichen Lebens.’ *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 114 (1987): 88, who believed the scenes had no function for future representation.

11 See, for example, Jan Assmann. ‘Die Macht der Bilder. Rahmenbedingungen ikonischen Handelns im Alten Ägypten.’ *Visible Religion VII: Genres in Visual Representations* edited by Hans Kippenberg, 1–20, esp. 9–10. Leiden: Brill 1990.

12 A concise summary of tomb functions is found in René van Walsem. ‘(Auto-)“bioconographies” versus (auto-)biographies in Old Kingdom elite tombs: complexity expansion of

The fact that tomb owners were usually represented with their name and most important titles right at the entrance suggests that recognising ownership when entering the tomb was important.¹³ For example, tomb owner Maya clearly expresses the wish that all his people will visit him in his tomb.¹⁴ His “[a]ccess to and command of a disproportionate quantity of resources” identifies the tomb owner as a member of the elite¹⁵ and “helped [...] to establish or reinforce social and hierarchical differences”.¹⁶ Maya makes very clear that he wants to be remembered for what he achieved (and others could potentially not). For example, he expresses the wish that the gods will “cause my name to prosper because of what I have done in my tomb”.¹⁷ Interestingly, in the opposite case, if the name is to be removed prosecution involved clan liability, i. e. not only the respective person is to be punished, but also “his wife, and his children, in order to obliterate his name, in order to utterly destroy his *b3*, so as to prevent his corpse from resting in the necropolis.”¹⁸ Interestingly, also the deceased him- or herself was in

image and word reflecting personality traits by competitive individuality.’ In: *Ancient Egyptian biographies: contexts, forms, functions* edited by Julie Stauder-Porchet, Elizabeth Froid, and Andréas Stauder, 117–159. Atlanta: Lockwood, 2020 and see also Alexanian, ‘Social status’, 1–8 mainly for the Old Kingdom. She also briefly discusses the matter of what type of tomb was appropriate for members of which social rank (Alexanian, ‘Social status’, 7–8), taking maybe too literal the Old Kingdom phrase that “never before someone like him was buried like this” (Urk I, 139, 2).

13 Compare e.g. Henning Franzmeier. ‘Ein Weg zur Unsterblichkeit? Zur Anwesenheit der Namen der Verstorbenen in nicht-elitären Grabausstattungen des Neuen Reiches.’ In: *(Un)Sterblichkeit: Schrift – Körper – Kult. Beiträge des neunten Berliner Arbeitskreises Junge Aegyptologie (BAJA 9), 30.11.–2.12.2018* edited by Dina Serova, Burkhard Backes, and Matthieu W. Götz, 36. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2020.

14 Pilaster recorded by Lepsius, now lost, see LD III, 242b/c, see Martin, *Maya*, 37 and pl. 32 [45] translating *rmꜥ* with relatives.

15 Definition by Wolfgang Grajetzki. ‘Class and Society.’ In: *Egyptian Archaeology* edited by Willeke Wendrich, 181. Chichester: Wiley, 2010. Grajetzki decides not to use the term elite, but his reasoning that some Egyptologists might misunderstand the term remains questionable, see also Katalin A. Kóthay. ‘Categorization, Classification, and Social Reality. Administrative Control and Interaction with the population.’ In: *Ancient Egyptian Administration* edited by Juan C. Moreno García, 482. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

16 Eastmond, ‘Inscriptions’, 253–254, and see e.g. Fitzenreiter, ‘Grabmonument’, 86.

17 Offering formula to Hathor (?) and Isis on the doorway to the inner courtyard, north doorway, see Martin, *Maya*, pl. 23 [24.4] translating *rwꜥ* with ‘endure’.

18 Scott Morschauser. *Threat-formulae in ancient Egypt: a study of the history, structure and use of threats and curses in ancient Egypt*. Baltimore: Halgo, 1991, 186 and KRI I 58,1–7. This text stems from the Nauri Decree of Seti I, see e.g. Francis L. Griffith. ‘The Abydos Decree of Seti I at Nauri.’ *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 13 (1927): 205. Interestingly also the prosecuting

danger of forgetting his/her name in the hereafter, which was hoped to be prevented by BD 25, and gave rise to the idea that some tomb figurines (i. e. shabti, see also chapter 3) may have served as an additional reminder.¹⁹ Another aspect of the significance of names is of course the fact that theophoric elements sometimes changed: most famous is perhaps the change of king Tutankhaten to Tutankhamun, during the so-called restoration phase after Amarna, and some Saqqara tomb owners are also renowned for having committed that practice in one way or the other such as Meryneith/Meryre²⁰ and Amenwia/Ptahemwia (i),²¹ who changed their names in accordance with changes in the state religion.²²

Returning to commemoration by means of representation, it is important to begin “at the *literal* level”, albeit without denying any potential symbolic layers of meaning any meaningful interpretation.²³ As Leire Olabarria recently emphasised, relief representations “are not *representing reality*, they are actively *creating a reality*”.²⁴ Tomb decoration and stelae (and in fact Egyptian art in general) bear an outgoing message intended by the tomb owner and on the receiving end varying degrees of understanding and potential appropriation by the observer of that message.²⁵ In this respect it is important to briefly consider the question of literacy, or more generally the ability of potential visitors to the tomb to read and understand the texts and representations. This is important since the relatively low rate of literacy in ancient Egypt, and indeed Saqqara, probably did not allow all tomb visitors to read the texts surrounding the representations themselves.²⁶ The matter has been debated since John Baines and Chris Eyre in their seminar

gods Osiris with his wife Isis and their child Horus are arranged in corresponding family ranks see also Morschauser, *Threat-formulae*, 188.

19 Schneider, *Shabti* I, 302–303.

20 Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 130.

21 Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 20–21 and 23.

22 See discussion in Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 48. In this respect it is interesting that Paatenemheb, who also lived well into the late-18th dynasty did not bother to remove the ‘Aten’ part of his name, see Weiss, ‘Alltagwelt’, and see Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 50–51.

23 His italics: René van Walsem. ‘Ancient Egyptian art as a dynamic, multi-dimensional, innovative information system: Egyptological facts and fallacies – pride and prejudice.’ *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 74 (3–4) (2017): 241.

24 Her emphasis: Olabarria, *Kinship*, 22. See also somewhat hidden Martin Fitzenreiter. ‘Ahnen an der Ostwand: Notizen zum Grab des Pennut (Teil III).’ In: *Umwege und Weggefährten: Festschrift für Heinrich Balz zum 65. Geburtstag* edited by Jürgen Thiesbonenkamp and Helgard Cochois, 299–300. Neuendettelsau: Erlanger Verlag für Mission und Ökumene, 2003 and Martin Fitzenreiter. ‘Totenverehrung und soziale Repräsentation im thebanischen Beamtengrab der 18. Dynastie.’ *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 22 (1995): 95–130.

25 Van Walsem, ‘Facts and fallacies’, 249.

26 See also Eastmond, ‘Inscriptions’, 253–254.

article in 1983 argued that only 1% of the ancient Egyptian population was literate.²⁷ In that respect hieroglyphic decorations of tomb walls are often understood as elite circle of the tomb owners concealing details from the illiterate members of the community.²⁸ However, this argument does not consider the “collateral knowledge and the cognitive skills necessary to understand the depicted scene”.²⁹ Tombs provided a “visual rhetoric”³⁰ in which the role of the viewer has to be considered. Already Friedrich Schlegel realised that a true painting must be both “hieroglyph and prayer”,³¹ meaning that any painting must be interpreted by its viewer and that this viewing involves a tension between unquestioning participation and reflected distance (“*distanzlose Teilhabe und reflektiert*”

27 John Baines and Christopher J. Eyre. ‘Four notes on literacy.’ *Göttinger Miszellen* 61 (1983): 65–96 updated in John Baines and Christopher J. Eyre. ‘Four notes on literacy.’ In: *Visual and written culture in ancient Egypt* edited by John Baines, 63–94. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. Quoting Baines interpretation that “literacy is (...) necessary for high status, but those who achieve that status delegate writing” (see Baines, *Written culture*, 44) Niv Allon has recently analysed elite tomb self-representation and argued in absence of large numbers of tomb owners that represent themselves as writing or reading that there was a “certain disdain among the highest elite towards literacy”, see Niv Allon. *Writing, Violence and the Military, Images of Literacy in the Eighteenth dynasty Egypt (1550–1295 BCE)*. Oxford: Oxford University, 2019, 77). However, the practice that scribes read aloud letters to their superiors does not mean the latter were not literate. Their literacy might have been self-evident and so their stressed other aspects of their identity in their tombs. In fact, Allon mentions a few examples of tomb owners with scribal equipment elsewhere (see Allon, *Literacy*, 86–96. Allon’s association of literacy representation and the military is inconclusive.

28 Compare Vischak, *Community*, 221, in a different context.

29 Stjernfelt, ‘Picture activity’, 23.

30 For the New Kingdom mainly studied for Thebes, e.g. Melinda K. Hartwig. ‘Style and visual rhetoric in Theban tomb painting.’ In: *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first century: proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000 2* edited by Zahi Hawass and Lyla Pinch Brock, 298–307. Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2003; and Alexis Den Doncker. ‘Theban tomb graffiti during the New Kingdom: research on the reception of ancient Egyptian images by ancient Egyptians.’ In: *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* edited by Katalin A. Kóthay, 23. Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 2012.

31 Walter Haug. ‘Gebet und Hieroglyphe. Zur Bild- und Architekturbeschreibung in der mittelalterlichen Dichtung.’ In: *Wort und Bild. Symposion des Fachbereichs Altertums- und Kulturwissenschaften zum 500-jährigen Jubiläum der Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen 1977* edited by Hellmut Brunner, Richard Kannicht and Klaus Schwager, 251. Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1979, with reference to Karl K. Polheim. *Die Arabeske. Ansichten und Ideen aus Friedrich Schlegles Poetik*. Munich: Schöningh, 1966, 32–35.

er Distanz”).³² Similarly, ancient Egyptian “monuments do not speak directly to a visitor or a reader, but require contextual analysis within the language – material, visual, or written – in which the society communicates”,³³ which is not necessarily limited to literate beholders. They may have developed their own understanding and appropriation of the elite practices,³⁴ and they may have listened to others reciting the texts aloud.³⁵

The dynamic relationship between message and receivers is mirrored in the ancient Egyptian social system. Reciprocity was fundamental for the performance of offerings³⁶ and an important pillar of patronage,³⁷ i.e. the Egyptian household economy in which various networks overlapped.³⁸ Hierarchies confined the individual agency, but they also provided a social system to turn to in need.³⁹ In a wider understanding of Assmann’s important statement that in tomb decoration “the social network of interdependence takes on an eternalized form”,⁴⁰ the representation of named individuals in the Saqqara tombs provided ‘the patronised’ with spiritual capital.⁴¹ In other words, not only those who

32 Christian Kiening. ‘Zeitenraum und mise en abyme: Zum ‘Kern’ der Melusinegeschichte.’ *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 79 (2005): 7–8.

33 Richard Bussmann. ‘Monumentality in context – a reply from Egyptology.’ In: *Size matters. Understanding Monumentality Across Ancient Civilizations* edited by Federico Buccellati, Sebastian Hageneuer, Sylva van der Heyden and Felix Levenson, 101. Bielefeld: Transcript-Verlag.

34 Papalexandrou, ‘Text in context’, 260.

35 I thus argue for a wider community of actors not restricted to the funerary cult of the deceased, contra Nyord, *Perfection*, 47, who views the “group of participants in rituals in an elite private tomb” as “probably always restricted” yet including illiterate family members.

36 Emily Teeter. *The Presentation of Maat: Ritual and Legitimacy in ancient Egypt. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 57. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1997, 77.

37 E. g. Eyre, ‘Patronage’, 705. As an aside note that Eyre identifies corruption as a sign of failure of government (see Eyre, ‘Patronage’, 702: “To support members of the social or kinship group in a feud is not corrupt, but a necessity, a sign of failure of government”) as if the “Weberian idealization of bureaucracy as well-structured, systematic, effective, impersonal, and equitable” (Eyre, ‘Patronage’, 701) was found in any societies.

38 Lehner, ‘Fractal house’, 279–286 and see Christopher Eyre. ‘Feudal Tenure and Absentee Landlords.’ In: *Grund und Boden in Altägypten: rechtliche und sozio-ökonomische Verhältnisse. Akten des internationalen Symposions, Tübingen, 18.–20. Juni 1990* edited by Shafik Allam, 112–114. Tübingen: Böhlau Verlag GmbH & Co.KG, 1994 and see more recently Moreno García, ‘The “other” administration’, 1029–1065.

39 Eyre, ‘Patronage’, 710.

40 Jan Assmann. *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization. Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, 46.

41 A similar view has in fact been expressed by Janne Arp. *Die Nekropole als Figuration: zur Methodik der sozialen Interpretation der Felsfassadengräber von Amarna. Göttinger Orientforschungen, 4. Reihe: Ägypten* 50. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012, 170 who reflected on Norbert

worked for the tomb owner took part in his reward,⁴² but anybody who was recognisable as part of the tomb owners' eternal memories-in-stone.⁴³ As we shall see in the following, tomb representations show certain aspects of existing interrelations and interdependencies, re-enact them, and hide others depending on strategic choices on part of the tomb owners. At the same time, the representation of the respective individuals in a tomb provided them with agency. Although the existing Egyptological literature on the commemoration of tomb owners and their extended families in tombs is extensive,⁴⁴ and while the role of 'others' in tomb representations has been noted,⁴⁵ it is worthwhile to reconsider what we mean by the term 'representation', as literally it means 'providing presence'.⁴⁶ As is well known in architecture studies, "ever-present architecture is one of the most impressive and most effective means [...] to classify, assign, and subordinate individuals",⁴⁷ and it is "[u]ltimately [...] the audiences of monumental

Elias' theory of figuration and Egon Flaig's concept of "conspicuous loyalty" and showed that in fact the demonstration of loyalty can strengthen the status of individuals in social networks. See also Norbert Elias. *Die höfische Gesellschaft. Untersuchungen zur Soziologie des Königtums und der höfischen Aristokratie* (2nd ed.). Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2002, 339–340; and Egon Flaig. 'Is loyalty a favour? Or: Why gifts cannot oblige an emperor.' In: *Negotiating the Gift. Pre-modern figurations of Exchange* edited by Gadi Iqazi, Valentin Groebner, and Bernhard Jussen, 33–34. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003; and see also Arp, *Figuration*, 129 with reference to George Andrew Reisner. *A history of the Giza necropolis I*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942, 27 on the idea that communities that existed in life were continued in the afterlife and see e. g. Christine Raedler. 'Die Wesire Ramses' II.: Netzwerke der Macht.' In: *Das ägyptische Königtum im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen- und Aussenpolitik im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* edited by Rolf Gundlach and Andrea Klug, 281–283. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004.

⁴² Compare Vischak, *Community*, 221 in a different context.

⁴³ Assmann, *Cultural Memory*, 46.

⁴⁴ Sheila Whale. *The family in the eighteenth dynasty of Egypt: a study of the representation of the family in private tombs*, Sydney: The Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1989.

⁴⁵ E. g. Rosanna Pirelli. 'The monument of Imeneminet (Naples inv. no. 1069) as a document of social changes in the Egyptian New Kingdom.' In: *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995* edited by Christopher Eyre, 882. Leuven: Peeters, 1998; and see also below, Fig. 30.

⁴⁶ See e. g. Tonio Hölscher. *Figürlicher Schmuck in der griechischen Architektur zwischen Dekor und Repräsentation. Ornament and Figure in Graeco-Roman Art*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2018, 37.

⁴⁷ Heike Delitz and Felix Levenson. 'The social meaning of Big Architecture or the Sociology of the Monumental.' In: *Size matters. Understanding Monumentality Across Ancient Civilizations* edited by Federico Buccellati, Sebastian Hageneuer, Sylva van der Heyden and Felix Levenson, 109. Bielefeld: Transcript-Verlag, 2019.

texts that give them enduring meaning”.⁴⁸ And very importantly, monuments serve as demonstration of favour in various directions: sometimes royal favour of the tomb owners,⁴⁹ but also favoured people represented in their tombs. The tomb owners are always represented in their social networks, which opens a relatively new perspective not only on how top down power relations are fossilised in the tombs⁵⁰ but on how, vice versa, status gain could be achieved by what Fitzenreiter called the “*dependants* of the elite”,⁵¹ through access to intangible resources by means of representation. However, his focus on gaining access to resources and maintaining it⁵² overlooks the spiritual gain of tomb representation by the respective depicted individuals. It is therefore interesting to look into the Memphite tombs and see who is present and how this presence is articulated. This study shows that presence equates to potential gains of both social and spiritual capital on part of the tomb owner, but also for all other named individuals in a tomb.⁵³ Spiritual capital is thus understood here as a sub-catego-

48 Jeremy Smoak and Alice Mandell. ‘Texts in the City: Monumental Inscriptions in Jerusalem’s Urban Landscape.’ In: *Size matters. Understanding Monumentality Across Ancient Civilizations* edited by Federico Buccellati, Sebastian Hageneuer, Sylva van der Heyden and Felix Levenson, 317. Bielefeld: Transcript-Verlag, 2019 indeed, “with change in a generation, monuments can derive new and sometimes unintended meanings”.

49 See e.g. Smoak and Mandell, ‘Texts in the City’, 319–320 and for Saqqara e.g. Raedler, ‘Pres-tige’, 149–150 for the importance of demonstrating royal favours.

50 E.g. Tycho Mrsich. *Untersuchungen zur Hausurkunde des Alten Reiches: ein Beitrag zum alt-ägyptischen Stiftungsrecht. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien* 13. Berlin: Hessling, 1968, 169–170.

51 Fitzenreiter, ‘Grabmonument’, 73. Fitzenreiter discusses access to resources and increasing social stratification by means of growing access by different groups and the development of “intermediary groups” between the elite and their dependents for residential areas (Memphis) in the Old Kingdom but his analysis is valid also for other periods. It is in fact these intermediary groups that gain most status-wise by means of representation as discussed here. This study goes on to show that these representations show how different roles can be irrespective of title (contra Fitzenreiter, ‘Grabmonument’, 79 who equals role and title).

52 Fitzenreiter, ‘Grabmonument’, 86. Fitzenreiter’s brief discussion of “funerary religion” (Fitzenreiter, ‘Grabmonument’, 91–98) is again mainly informed by his interest in social processes and focusses on the benefits of the deceased not the living.

53 Similar already Herrmann Junker. *Die gesellschaftliche Stellung der ägyptischen Künstler im Alten Reich. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse: Sitzungsberichte* 233 (1). Vienna: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1959, 37–50 on named artists in Old Kingdom tomb representations and indeed with reference to the Theban Tomb of Amenemhet (TT 82): De Garis Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, pl. VII–VIII. For a critical view on Junker’s idea of a special relationship between artists and their patrons see Rosemarie Drenkhahn. *Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeiten im alten Ägypten. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 31. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1976, 160–161. I would see the special position for the named individuals irrespective

ry⁵⁴ of social capital, which defines a “possible attachment of economic or measurable value (as indicated by the word ‘capital’) to social relationships”.⁵⁵ This social capital is measurable at the Saqqara tombs by the tomb owners’ means to build a monumental tomb, i.e. in terms of both the knowledge and financial means to add the expected or even a little eccentric decoration.⁵⁶ Spiritual capital adds an additional layer to social capital following the hypothesis that the tomb owner participated eternally in the ongoing cult. Spiritual capital is thus defined here as “referring to the power, influence, knowledge, and dispositions created [and indeed used]⁵⁷ by participation in a particular religious tradition.”⁵⁸ A famous example of the historical awareness of at least some ancient Egyptian elite families is the so-called fragment Daressy, named after a drawing the French archaeologist made of a very interesting relief representation, which is now lost.⁵⁹ Originally, the fragment was part of a Ramesside tomb of one of the grandsons of the famous high priest of Ptah, Ptahemhat-Ty, and situated somewhere between the Teti and Bubasteion cemeteries.⁶⁰ The anonymous grandson tied into his long family history by knitting it to the ‘great *ꜥḥ.w*-ancestors of the West of Saqqara’, also frequently attested in graffiti.⁶¹ A connection is laid between past and presence by representing deceased kings and famous peo-

of their title, since as we shall see also servants could achieve such special positions in the tombs.

54 Definition by Peter L. Berger and Robert W. Hefner. ‘Spiritual capital in comparative perspective’, paper prepared for the Spiritual Capital meeting. <https://metanexus.net/archive/spiritualcapitalresearchprogram/pdf/Berger.pdf>. Accessed on 15 October 2021.

55 Chris Baker and Jonathan Miles-Watson. ‘Faith and Traditional Capitals: Defining the public scope of spiritual and religious capital – a literature review.’ *Implicit Religion* 13 (2010): 20.

56 For the construction of monuments as manifestation of power see also Elaine Sullivan. ‘Potential Pasts: Taking a Humanistic Approach to Computer Visualization of Ancient Landscapes.’ *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 59/2 (2016): 86 with reference to Elisabeth DeMarras, Luis J. Castillo, and Timothy Earle. ‘Ideology, materialization, and power strategies.’ *Current Anthropology* 37 (1996): 16.

57 My addition.

58 See Berger and Hefner, ‘Spiritual capital’.

59 First published by Jean Yoyotte. ‘A propos d’un monument copié par G. Daressy: contribution à l’histoire littéraire.’ *Bulletin de la Société Française d’Égyptologie* 11 (1952): 67–72.

60 Bernard Mathieu. ‘Réflexions sur le “Fragment Daressy” et ses hommes illustres.’ In: *Parcourir l’éternité: hommages à Jean Yoyotte* 2 edited by Christiane Zivie-Coche and Ivan Guerneur, 821. Turnhout: Brepols, 2012. The tomb owners’ name has not been preserved, but that of his father ‘the divine father and lector priest at the temple of Bastet’ (*jt nṯr ḥry-ḥb m ḥw.t Bꜥst.t*), Say, himself son of said high priest of Ptah Ptahemhat-Ty.

61 Mathieu, ‘Daressy’, 821 with reference to Hana Navrátilová. *The visitors’ graffiti of Dynasties XVIII and XIX in Abusir and Saqqara. The Visitors’ Graffiti* 1. Prague: Set out, 2007, 109–110 and 112–114.

ple who had died 1000 years earlier (like the viziers Imhotep and Ptahshepses⁶²), but also contemporaries of Ptahemhat-Ty, like the vizier Usermonthu.⁶³ This chronological depth is also followed in the list of eight high priests of Ptah, among which are more close contemporaries like his grandfather (Ptahemhat-) Ty and Ptahmose (i),⁶⁴ but also mentioned are Middle Kingdom characters like Sehetebreankhnedjem (*temp.* Sesostris III-Amenemhet III) and Nebipure (*temp.* Amenemhet III), or early New Kingdom figures like Payred (= Paymykhered) (*temp.* Amenhotep I).⁶⁵ In this example, affiliations reach far into the past, but also on a more contemporary level the main occupants of a tomb, with the decisions they made while living, tied themselves and ‘others’ into an eternal stream of ancestors.⁶⁶ (Extended) family members, colleagues, house personnel

62 As Mathieu notes the famous architect of Djoser was never vizier, but that was a title attributed to him later. He is in favour of an interpretation of the figure as another known Imhotep, who was the male nurse (*mn*ꜥ) of king Thutmosis I, which is also possible, see Mathieu, ‘Daressy’, 823. However, since Ptahshepses is plausibly the Old Kingdom character (that he was still known is clear from a graffiti in Abusir, Mathieu, ‘Daressy’, 825, with reference to Navrátilová, *Graffiti*, 57–63), I find the long time perspective and hence interpretation as Old Kingdom ancestors more plausible for both figures.

63 A Theban notable under Tutankhamun and Ay, son of Nebmehyt (ii) and Maia (ii), and brother of Huy (ix), see Mathieu, ‘Daressy’, 826 with reference to Labib Habachi. ‘Unknown or little-known monuments of Tutankhamun and of his viziers.’ In: *Glimpses of ancient Egypt / Orbis Aegyptiorum speculum: studies in honour of H. W. Fairman* edited by John G.A. Ruffle and Kenneth A. Kitchen, 32–41. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1979. Famous is of course also the king-list of Tjuneroy from Saqqara now in the Cairo Museum, see Steven Snape. ‘Some Ramesside appropriations of ancient Memphis.’ In: *Egypt 2015: perspectives of research: proceedings of the Seventh European Conference of Egyptologists, 2nd-7th June 2015, Zagreb, Croatia* edited by Mladen Tomorad and Joanna Popielska-Grzybowska, 190. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2017 with reference to Donald B. Redford. *Pharaonic king-lists, annals and day-books: a contribution to the study of the Egyptian sense of history. SSEA Publications 4*. Mississauga: Benben, 1986, 21–24. For the Egyptian understanding of ancestry a representation of an individual in front of royal statues in the tomb of Khabekhnet (TT 2) at Thebes is also notable: Roberto A. Díaz Hernández. ‘The Egyptian temple as a place to house collections (from the Old Kingdom to the Late Period).’ *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 103 (1) (2017): 6 and see Malek, ‘Old and new’, 67.

64 Probably the same as on Leiden inv. no. AP 11, i.e. Ptahmose (i) son of Menkheper, see Mathieu, ‘Daressy’, 829–30.

65 Mathieu, ‘Daressy’, 827–829. For a full study see his study.

66 A comprehensive summary is e.g. Juan Carlos Moreno García. ‘Oracles, ancestor cults and letters to the dead: the involvement of the dead in the public and private family affairs in pharaonic Egypt.’ In: *Perception of the invisible: religion, historical semantics and the role of perceptive verbs* edited by Anne Storch, 133–153. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 2010. and see e.g. Martin Fitzenreiter. ‘Überlegungen zum Kontext der “Familienstelen” und ähnlicher Objekte.’ In: *Genealogie: Realität und Fiktion von Identität. Workshop am 04. und 05. Juni 2004* edited by Martin Fit-

and other staff became “part of the tomb owner’s community”⁶⁷ and benefitted from the commemorative practices.

2.1.1 Generic figures

Some authors claim that the representation of non-elite figures in tombs shape the decorum of an idealised view of elite people on the non-elite.⁶⁸ Indeed a large number of the supporting staff in tomb representation remain anonymous. For example, in the tomb of Meryneith ritual texts like the Opening of the Mouth scenes are labelled with captions (e.g. now Berlin ÄMP 2070, “Receive linen so that Horus may open the mouth of your face”⁶⁹), with the agents not named. Occasionally priestly titles like *sm*, *jmy-js* or *hry-hb* appear in these scenes,⁷⁰ but no names. I understand such anonymous individuals as generic, meaning as figures transporting the core message of a (certain type of) ‘priest’ required to perform the ritual, but not necessarily as identifiable people that existed as living persons and were recognisable to their peers as such (i.e. being a specific priest in charge of the cult rather than an anonymous figure performing the required task). The same applies to rows of anonymous offering bearers entering a tomb and providing the tomb owners with a never-ending stream of supply for eternity.

2.1.2 Non-generic individuals

More interesting, however, is to consider those cases in which individuals were named, suggesting that it was considered important for the tomb owner to sur-

zenreiter, 69–96. London: Golden House, 2005. The community of living and deceased is even more explicit in Demotic sources see Cannata, *Funerary Industry*, 312–315.

67 Vischak, *Community*, 213. Note however, that Peter Dorman considered the tomb as family monument already in 1993: Dorman, ‘Family burial’, 41, see Hana Navrátilová. ‘Self-presentation in the eighteenth dynasty.’ In: *Living forever: self-presentation in ancient Egypt* edited by Hussein Bassir, 141. Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2019. and see also e.g. Martin Fitzenreiter. ‘Grabdekoration und die Interpretation funerärer Rituale im Alten Reich.’ In: *Social aspects of funerary culture in the Egyptian Old and Middle Kingdoms: proceedings of the international symposium held at Leiden University 6–7 June, 1996* edited by Harco Willems, 67–140. Leuven: Peeters, 2001; and Fitzenreiter, ‘Totenverehrung’, 95–130.

68 E.g. Gay Robins. ‘Gender and Sexuality.’ In: *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art* edited by Melinda K. Hartwig 125. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015.

69 Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 106–107 [20a]: *šsp.n=k mnḥ.t wp Ḥr rꜥ=k ḥr*.

70 Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 120–122 [28].

round himself with specific individuals (family members, servants or colleagues).⁷¹ All individuals and groups depicted in tombs must be understood as potential carriers of varying degrees of social and spiritual capital, knitting them into the memory of the tomb by means of representation. Knowing somebody's name also had a religious significance as can be demonstrated most prominently by a spell against scorpion bites which is today in the Museo Egizio in Turin. It is about the secret name of the god Re and the power the goddess Isis gained over the god Re by knowing this secret name.⁷² Apart from the power gained over gods and individuals in general, obviously the name was important for recognizing, as well as remembering an individual. A good example is the already mentioned large commemorative inscription of the high priest of Amun Roma-Roy on the east end of the eighth pylon of the temple of Karnak, in which he says “pronounce my name daily as a perfect memorial” (*dm rn-j m-mnt m sh3 nfr*).⁷³ Putting too strong a focus on the texts and representations as aiming at future generations to come, the immediate effect such representation had on living individuals is sometimes overlooked.⁷⁴ I argue in this

71 The Old Kingdom practice to depict ‘friends’ (*hnms*, see *Belegstellen*, TLA, Lemma no. 118260, Wb III, 294.17–295.7) both related or unrelated to the beneficiary) in tombs and as dedicators of stelae, continues to the beginning of the New Kingdom. That the term is hitherto not attested at New Kingdom Saqqara, does of course not exclude that some people depicted in tombs may also have been friends with the owners. Detlef Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich*. Hamburg: Borg, 1983, 356–359 and Olabarria, *Kinship*, 63. Ogdon mentions three *smr.w* in the sense of friends or companions on the Berlin *Trauerrelief* (Berlin AMP 12411), see Jorge R. Ogdon, ‘A propos of certain gestures in funeral scenes from the New Kingdom.’ *Cahiers caribéens d’Égyptologie* 5 (2003): 148. Compare also the burial scene of Tutankhamun in his tomb where the entire group of officials is called “the companions and officials of the house of the king who are dragging (the funerary sledge) of the deified king (...) (*smr.w sr.w n.w pr nsw nty(w) hr st3 Wsjr nsw*)”, see Alan R. Schulman, ‘The Berlin “Trauerrelief” (No. 12411) and some officials of Tut’ankhamūn and Ay.’ *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 4 (1965): 57 and see also Weiss, ‘Immortality’, 66–68. The term seems to be more common at Thebes see Ogdon, ‘Gestures’, cf. *Belegstellen*, TLA, lemma no. 118260, Wb III, 294.17–295.7.

72 This has been discussed numerous times, see most recently Wolfgang Kosack, *Die altägyptischen Personennamen: ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens*. Berlin: Brunner, 2013, 18–19. Religious connotations of names shall not be discussed here unless directly relevant to the sources see for a few examples e. g. Kosack, *Personennamen*, 42–46 and 51–56.

73 Reconstruction by Shubert, *Appeal*, 265–266 and see KRI IV, 288.10–13.

74 Compare, for example, Renata Landgráfová and Hana Navrátilová. “So that my name would be good, ... so that the Memory of me would last until today” Biographies – a Continuity of Individual and Social Memory.’ In: *It is my good name that you should remember, Egyptian Biographical texts on Middle Kingdom Stelae* edited by Renata Landgráfová, XII–XXIII. Prague: Charles Univ. in Prague, Czech Inst. of Egyptology, 2011.

study that although indeed hieroglyphic inscriptions are “context-bound, functional... and oriented to maintaining self and memory after death through mortuary cult in tomb and temple”,⁷⁵ they do have a wider dissemination for the living, albeit indeed not by means of text circulation. As we see in the following, very specific strategies of commemoration of clearly delineated ‘reminiscence clusters’ can be detected in a selection of more or less complete, published tombs in a good enough state of preservation that show sufficient evidence to say something meaningful about the choices made by the tomb owners.⁷⁶

2.2 Family commemoration in tombs

In many tombs, most named figures other than the tomb owner are family members, which is neither new nor surprising.⁷⁷ The importance of ancestor cults was realised early in Egyptology⁷⁸ and society is often described as having “the fam-

75 Frood, *Biographical texts*, 2, speaks about biographical texts only, but I believe her interpretation is valid also for tomb inscriptions representing personal identity and group relations in general. In fact, these representations make up at least partly for the lack of information we have otherwise from aspects of household settings (compare Frood, *Biographical texts*, 3, on this aspect and the absence of women biographies; page 4 on the articulation of personal relationships in biographies; and page 28 on the representation of collegial relationships in tomb representations).

76 Tombs excavated or today preserved in museum collections by only very few reliefs have therefore not been considered, nor tombs in too fragmentary state such as the tomb of Merymaat (Raven’s feature 2010/26), see in which shows several figures, but the not enough names were preserved to detect their identity: Maarten Raven. *The Tombs of Ptahemwia and Sethnakht at Saqqara*, Leiden: Sidestone, 2020, 56–59, and obviously the tombs that have no relief decoration left in the South of Unas cemetery as well as all tombs in the Teti and Bubasteion, Cairo University concession cemeteries that are yet unpublished, or only appear in publications aimed at the wider public such as the tomb of Aper-El: see Alain Zivie. ‘Pharaoh’s Man, ‘Abdiel: The Vizier with a Semitic Name.’ *Biblical Archaeology Review* 44/4 (2018): 22–31 and 64–65. A similar approach has been taken by, Kenneth A. Kitchen. ‘Memphite tomb-chapels in the New Kingdom and later.’ In: *Festschrift Elmar Edel: 12. März 1979* edited by Manfred Görg and Edgar Pusch, 280. Bamberg: M. Görg, 1979.

77 Compare, for example, Dorman, ‘Family burial’, 30–41, or in general e.g. Warner, *The Living and the Dead*, 287.

78 George D. Hornblower. ‘Funerary designs on predynastic jars.’ *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 16 (1/2) (1930): 12–13 and see Michael Atzler. *Untersuchungen zur Herausbildung von Herrschaftsformen in Ägypten*. *Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge* 16. Hildesheim, Gerstenberg, 1981, 98–106.

ily or household [...] as the core of any given social structure.”⁷⁹ Beside the main (usually male)⁸⁰ tomb owner, his wife and other blood relatives such as parents, siblings, and children appear in the tomb reliefs and shared the veneration of the tomb owner.⁸¹ A very good, explicit example is an as yet unprovenanced relief block from the tomb of the troop commander of the two lands Suty, found reused in the tomb of Pay (i) and Raia (i), which shows the tree goddess next to the text: “Receiving offerings and cool water. Give [it] to all relatives”.⁸² This practice also finds some evidence in papyri – for example, papyrus Ani explicitly states that one should perform an offering for one’s parents (*j.wʒh mw <n> jt=k mw.t=k nty htp m tʒ jn(.t)*)⁸³). That the tomb owners wanted to be united with their families in the afterlife is perhaps not surprising, and some Coffin Texts seem to support the idea that ‘family’ (*ʒb.t*) referred to the legal household rather than the nuclear family.⁸⁴ The *ʒb.t* appears also in the Book of the Dead, for example, in spell BD 52 as preserved in Papyrus Ani in the British Museum. It states: *rdj n=j ʒb.wt=j n.t*

79 Gregor Neunert. ‘Re-/Constructing Ramesside society? Arguing in favour of a network of micro-worlds.’ In: *The Ramesside period in Egypt: studies into cultural and historical processes of the 19th and 20th dynasties* edited by Sabine Kubisch and Ute Rummel, 227. Berlin; Boston: Walter de Gruyter with references.

80 An exception at Saqqara is of course Tutankhamun’s wet nurse, see Alain Zivie. *La tombe de Maïa, mère nourricière du roi Toutânkhamon et grande du harem*, Toulouse 2009; see also below.

81 Compare Lara Weiss. ‘I am Re and Osiris.’ In: *Imaging and imagining the Memphite necropolis: Liber Amicorum René van Walsem* edited by Vincent Verschoor, Arnold Jan Stuart, and Cornelia Demarée, 215–229. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2017 and see e.g. Andrea Kucharek. ‘Die Prozession des Osiris in Abydos. Zur Signifikanz archäologischer Quellen für die Rekonstruktion eines zentralen *Festrituals*.’ In: *Archäologie und Ritual. Auf der Suche nach den rituellen Handlungen in den antiken Kulturen Ägyptens und Griechenlands* edited by Joannis Mylonopoulos and Hubert Roeder, 21–38. Vienna: Phoibos, 2006; Erika Feucht. *Das Kind im Alten Ägypten*. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 1995, 388–399.

82 Term is *hʒw*, ‘kindred’ Wb II, 479.1–3, see Maarten J. Raven and Jacobus van Dijk. ‘The reliefs, paintings, and inscriptions.’ In: *The tomb of Pay and Raia at Saqqara* edited by Maarten Raven, 47 [75] and pl. 79. Leiden; London: National Museum of Antiquities Leiden; Egypt Exploration Society, 2005.

83 See TLA, pBoulaq 4, Recto: *Die Lehre des Ani (Version B)*, 174 and see Feucht, *Kind*, 92.

84 Feucht, *Kind*, 136 and see Harco Willems. ‘Family Life in the Hereafter According of Coffin Text Spells 131–146.’ In: *Lotus and Laurel. Studies in Egyptian Language and Religion in Honour of Paul John Frandsen, Copenhagen* edited by Rune Nyord and Kim Ryholt, 447–472. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2015, and compare also the *Grossfamilienhausverband* (meaning extended family plus household mentioned by Franke, *Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 277–288 (p. 283 is particularly important here). See also Harco Willems. *Les Textes des Sarcophages et la Démocratie: Historical and Archaeological Aspects of Egyptian Funerary Culture: Religious Ideas and Ritual Practice in Middle Kingdom Elite Cemeteries*. Paris: Cybele, 2014, 185.

jt=j mw.t=j (= The family of my father and of my mother were given to me⁸⁵), which I understand as the tomb owner inheriting the offspring on both father's and mother's sides, possibly not least for the execution of the offering cult in the tomb.⁸⁶ That *ʒb.t*-groups were in charge of cult services is suggested by some Old Kingdom texts from Saqqara discussed by Harco Willems.⁸⁷ Willems asserted that by the New Kingdom, the *ʒb.t* was no longer a "living reality".⁸⁸ Yet given the references surviving in the Book of the Dead, it was apparently still an imagined entity the deceased wished to receive. That the BD 52 explicitly refers to mother's and father's family lines is important, since most tomb owners would have been buried with their wives. For the cult practices expected in the tomb it is hence irrelevant that the wife may not belong to the same *ʒb.t*-group as her husband.⁸⁹ She would also be united with her family line that would then hopefully also practice offerings in the joined tomb.⁹⁰ The fact that other Egyptian words like *wʒy.t* (tribe, kin)⁹¹ or *mhw.t* (clan, kin)⁹² do not appear in mortuary texts has been understood as suggesting that the cult of the deceased was considered mainly the task of the closer family.⁹³ In this respect Willem's observation that except for the *ʒb.t*-texts, the Coffin Texts "primarily address [...] the connection between a dead father and his living son"⁹⁴ is vital. Willems rightly stressed that this was a "conceptual choice" rather than reflecting the "realities of everyday life".⁹⁵ The eldest son "continues his father's household".⁹⁶ While indeed this means that the Coffin Texts are elite texts written for the members of

85 Compare also Lapp, *Papyrus of Nu*, pl. 32, see *Belegstellen in TLA ʒb.t* 'Familie' (Wb I, 78) (Lemma-no. 67).

86 Willems remarks that the distinction of different *ʒb.t*-groups suggest that new ones "were formed from generation to generation", Willems, 'Family Life', 464. This is perhaps a too limited understanding of groups that organically changed their compositions depending to death and (re)birth, see also Willems, 'Family Life', 466.

87 Willems, 'Family Life', 454–455.

88 Willems, 'Family Life', 458.

89 Willems, 'Family Life', 466.

90 Compare also the discussion by Schivavo, 'Ghosts and Ancestors', 202–203.

91 Cf. *Belegstellen in TLA*, Lemma no. 48730, Wb I, 346.9–11.

92 Cf. *Belegstellen in TLA*, Lemma no. 73130, Wb II, 114.7–12, but see papyrus Turin Museo Egizio 1791, spell BD 15e (line [19]) with reference to an primordial god, perhaps Re-Atum.

93 See also Franke, *Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 344–345 and 351.

94 Willems, *Démocratie*, 202.

95 Willems, *Démocratie*, 202.

96 Roeder, *Auge*, 176 and see Willems, *Démocratie*, 203. For the legal issues traditionally involved in this arrangement see Martin Fitzenreiter. *Zum Toteneigentum im Alten Reich*. Achet 4. Berlin: Achet, 2004, 58–60.

the larger household community,⁹⁷ what is important here is that the eldest son symbolised these households, i.e. the social community around him. Willem's idea of a "cult of a patron",⁹⁸ is thus not only highly relevant for the provincial Middle Kingdom nomarchs, but for Egyptian ancestors cults on the whole.⁹⁹ As expected, at Saqqara we usually see the eldest son acting in his role of providing the cult for his deceased parents.¹⁰⁰ As for actual religious practices, it is clear that the eldest son performed the required offerings and was in charge of the burial of his father.¹⁰¹ Usually 'eldest son' designated an actual family relative, but some Late Period Demotic texts suggest a broader use as a legal term, in the sense of heir.¹⁰² Some Ramesside texts mention that it is an ideal behaviour to provide a burial "for the one lacking an heir".¹⁰³ Usually, somebody acting as heir could be found, even if it was not actually the eldest son. In the tomb of the overseer of the royal treasury of Maya, for example, his half-brother Nahuher is viewed as fulfilling these duties:¹⁰⁴ On the doorway leading to Maya's inner courtyard, Nahuher is represented presenting an incense burner to Maya.

The accompanying text clarifies that he is performing the ritual of the morning house (*jr=tw n=k pr-dw3.t*), in which the purity of Horus is gained by the deceased by taking the eye of Horus via the scent (*ts n=k jr.t Hr jy sty=s r=k*). An in-

97 Hinted at in Willems, *Démocratie*, 206.

98 Willems, *Démocratie*, 208.

99 See also Martin Fitzenreiter. 'Zum Ahnenkult in Ägypten.' *Göttinger Miscellen* 143 (1994): 51–72.

100 E.g. Ptahmose (iii) in the tomb of his father Amenemone (ii) (see Ockinga, *Amenemone*).

101 Cf. e.g. Kim McCorquodale. 'Reconsidering the term 'eldest son/eldest daughter' and inheritance in the New Kingdom.' *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 23 (2012): 71–88 with references; and see also Feucht, *Kind*, 86–92; and Leire Olabarria. 'A Question of Substance: Interpreting Kinship and Relatedness in Ancient Egypt.' *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 17 (2018): 99.

102 Shafik Allam. 'Notes on the designation 'eldest son/daughter (s3/ s3.t: šri ʔ / šri.t ʔ.t).' In: *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt Studies in Honour of Edward Brovarski* edited by Zahi A. Hawass, Peter Der Manuelian, Ramadan B. Hussein, 29–33. Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 2010.

103 E.g. a statue of Bakenkhons now in Cairo, CG 42155, see Frood, *Biographical Texts*, 45 reference to Regine Schulz. *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus: eine Untersuchung zu den sogenannten 'Würfelhockern.'* *Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge* 33–34. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1992, I, 255–256 cat. 140 and II. pl. 58b–c and George Legrain. *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers de rois et de particuliers. II. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* 49. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale. At head of title: *Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, 1909, 21–23, pl. 18.

104 Martin, *Maya*, 19 and pls 13–14, and 16. I consider Nahuher a variant of Nahuher in the central chapel Martin, *Maya*, 39 [60] and pl. 35. See also Hatiay's brother Huy (i) performing this duty on a stela from his tomb, see Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 54 and 127–129 [32].

teresting detail in that respect is that the incense burner is indeed adorned with the head of the god Horus. The largest tombs at Saqqara have pylon gateways, on the doorways of which the tomb owner is usually represented with his name and most important titles. In the tomb of Maya, he is depicted there, but not his wife Meryt.¹⁰⁵ She and her mother Henutiunu may have predeceased Maya as they are represented greeting Maya from the inside on the south wall of the pylon gateway.¹⁰⁶ Maya's tomb is not exceptional in this regard: when the deceased had only daughters,¹⁰⁷ a brother (like Huy (i) in the case of Hatiay)¹⁰⁸ could step in, or a priest if the deceased had no children at all (like in the case of Ry (i)).

The following sections discuss details of the various tombs in the current excavation area of the Leiden-Turin Expedition to Saqqara. The accompanying map (Fig. 9) gives their relative positions.

2.2.1 The tomb of Pay (i) and Raia (i)

The tomb of Pay (i) and Raia (i) lies east of the tomb of Iniua and south-east of Horemheb. Like Iniua, and supporting the idea of professional clusters mentioned above,¹⁰⁹ Pay (i) was overseer of the cattle of the god Amun (*jmy-r3 jh.w n Jmn*)¹¹⁰ and more importantly overseer of the royal apartments in Memphis (*jmy-r3 jp.t nsw*)¹¹¹ during the reign of Tutankhamun. One of his sons, Raia (i), succeeded him and also appropriated this father's tomb for his own burial, in-

105 Martin, *Maya*, 18 and pls 8 and 70 nos 1 and 2.

106 Martin, *Maya*, 19 and pls 13–14, and 16, and see Nico Staring. 'The adaptation of earlier tombs.' In: *Tomb Construction in the New Kingdom* edited by Fredrik Hagen, Daniel Soliman, and Rune Olson. Copenhagen forthcoming.

107 Conveniently, stela Leiden inv. no. AP 56 shows the "overseer of the cattle of Amun" Djehuty (successor of Pay, who was himself the successor of Iniua) in charge of taking care of Maya and Merits two daughters after their parents' death, see Schneider, *Iniua*, 121 with reference to Jacobus van Dijk. 'The Overseer of the Treasury Maya: a biographical sketch.' *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* 70 (1990): 24. This detail may serve as yet another indication of how close the ties were between at least some of the high officials at Saqqara.

108 Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 127–128 [32].

109 And see also Maarten J. Raven. 'Twenty-five years of work in the New Kingdom necropolis of Saqqara: Looking for structure.' In: *Abusir and Saqqara in the year 2000* edited by Miroslav Bárta and Jaromír Krejčí, 133–144. Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Oriental Institute, 2000.

110 Jeanette A. Taylor. *An index of male non-royal Egyptian titles, epithets & phrases of the 18th Dynasty*. London: Museum Bookshop Publications, 2001, no. 106.

111 Taylor, *Titles*, no. 95.

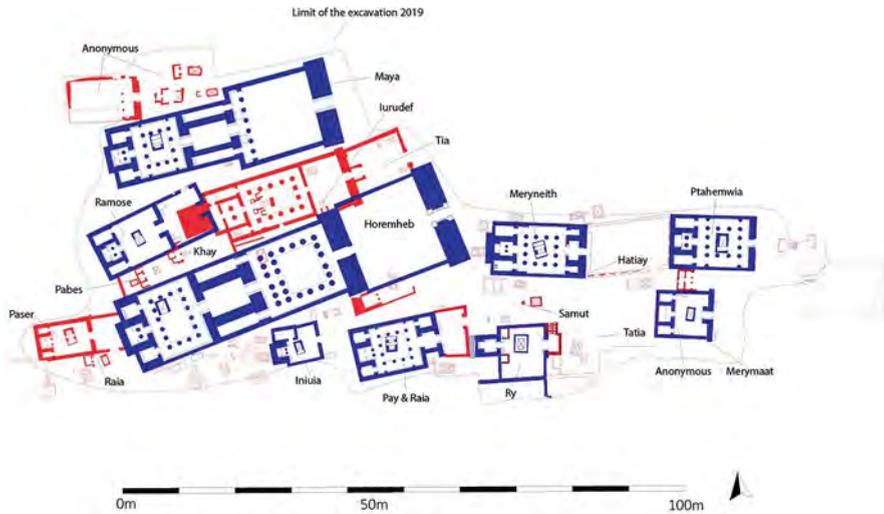


Fig. 9: Map of the excavation area of the Leiden-Turin Expedition to Saqqara with thanks to Nico Staring. 18th-dynasty tombs are drawn in blue, Ramesside tombs are drawn in red. © Leiden-Turin Expedition to Saqqara.

cluding some changes of the decoration and architectural layout, and perhaps by adding a second pyramidion. Raia (i) let himself be buried in a stone sarcophagus, respecting his father's memory.¹¹² Their tomb thus provides a good example of both family commemoration and shared tomb use. In fact, beside Raia (i), his brother Nebre also appears in the tomb as priest for their father Pay (i),¹¹³ and is shown on the central stela in the sanctuary¹¹⁴ together with other family members. In the east doorway on the north reveal of the tomb, south face, a queue of four offering bearers move into the vestibule underneath a representation of Pay (i), sitting on a chair and receiving them.¹¹⁵ Above the third register runs “an unframed line of hieroglyphs”,¹¹⁶ which appears to be a later addition: “the Osiris, the *wab*-priest Mose”. Perhaps the offering bearers were planned to be generic but somebody (perhaps Mose himself?) identified himself with the representation at the spot closest and hence most important to Pay (i), i. e.

¹¹² Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 9–12 and see 24–25 [7–10], 42, [65–69], 39–40 [58–59], and 57–66.

¹¹³ For example, on the west end of the southern wall of the inner courtyard (scene 22), see Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 29–30 and pls 34–35.

¹¹⁴ Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 38 [54], pls 58–59.

¹¹⁵ Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 25 [9] and pl. 20–21.

¹¹⁶ Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 25.

immediately underneath his feet. This location could perhaps also explain why Mose or whoever made the identification did not choose to mark the foremost, more prominent offering bearer. Next to this scene, on the south face of the northern doorjamb, chief sculptor Nebiwau left a graffito,¹¹⁷ thereby also embedding himself into the memory of the tomb. The offering bearers on the southern, northern, and eastern walls of vestibule E are colourfully painted, and not very well preserved.¹¹⁸ From what remains it seems that the offering bearers are anonymous and meant to be so. However, further in the tomb on the east wall of the north-east chapel (D) not only the two priests are represented without accompanying texts, but also the seated couple facing them,¹¹⁹ clearly indicating the painting is unfinished, as indeed the tomb owners would probably not wish to remain anonymous.¹²⁰ In fact, in another scene, on the north wall of chapel D, where two men and a woman are adoring the god Osiris, the remains of a text now lost are visible,¹²¹ confirming once again that the tomb owners and potentially their family members wished to be identified. No traces of planned texts appear accompanying the two registers of offering bearers represented behind them. Family members are usually identified in Pay (i)'s tomb if the scene is complete. For example, on the west end of the southern wall of the inner courtyard tomb owners, Pay (i) and his wife Repit receive an offering from their sons, the scribe of the treasury Nebre, and probably his younger brother the scribe Meh.¹²² The accompanying text clarifies the recitation is to be made four times (*sp-4*). On the west wall between chapels C and B an anonymous man wearing a military kilt is supervising a procession of nine offering bearers.¹²³ The excavators suggested that could be Raia (i),¹²⁴ who was then still overseer of the horses (*jmy-rʒ ssm.t*)¹²⁵ and also appears elsewhere in this military outfit.¹²⁶ Irrespective

117 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 25 [8] and pls 20–21.

118 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 25–6 [11–14] and pls 22–25.

119 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 27 [17] and pls 29–30.

120 The same applies e. g. to the standing man on the southern part of the western wall: Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 27 [19] and pl. 27.

121 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 27 [16] and pls 26, 28–29.

122 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 29 [22] and pls 34–35.

123 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 30 [25] and pls 36–37.

124 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 30.

125 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 7 and see Alan R. Schulman. *Military rank, title, and organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*. Berlin: Hessling, 1964, 46–47 and 145–146; Andrea Gnirs M. *Militär und Gesellschaft: ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte des Neuen Reiches. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens* 17. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1996, 20–24 and 66–79 and Hans-Wolfgang Helck. *Der Einfluss der Militärführer in der 18. ägyptischen Dynastie. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens* 14. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1939, 59–62.

of the question of what status the title actually had in the ancient Egyptian military (i.e. designating actual commanding power or rather having been a honorific title), the general layout of the tomb with its clear decisions of whom to name and whom not to name, however, does not seem to make it very plausible that an important character such as Raia (i), who even became official ‘shared’ tomb owner, would have left himself generic in the relief. For example, he seems to have replaced the original pyramidion of the tomb and added one showing himself and his father Pay (i).¹²⁷ Nothing suggests that the scene on the west wall of the inner courtyard is unfinished. Most offering bearers appearing in Pay (i)’s tomb are generic. For example, on a slab that belonged to the south wall of the inner courtyard (but now in Paris), three men are represented in low relief. They stand in front of separate kiosks filled with offerings and perform libation offerings in favour of tomb owner Pay (i) by pouring a liquid from longish vessels.¹²⁸ This is clearly indicated in the relief above them (*n k3 n sš nsw, jmy-r3 jp.t P3y*). Jaap van Dijk has suggested that the scene shows a preparation of the Breaking of the Red Pots offering.¹²⁹ Since the men are shown in different gestures, holding the vessel up or down, it is also plausible that instead of showing three individuals, the scene is meant as a representation of the sequence of the ritual, which would also explain why the priests are generic, i.e. to mark them as a perpetuating symbol rather than as an individual character in motion. Similarly on the east wall of the inner courtyard, between chapel D and vestibule E, a procession of eight male offering bearers move north into the chapel.¹³⁰ All of them are meant to be generic. Two registers of male (on top) and female (underneath) offering bearers on the south wall of south-west chapel C are highly damaged.¹³¹ It is therefore difficult to tell whether they were named, but in line with the overall tomb decoration in Pay (i)’s tomb I expect that they were not.

An important exception, unfortunately damaged, is the servant (*sdm* 𓆎) [...]maat, who presents two strips of linen (*mnḥ.t*, ‘garment’) to his master on

126 E.g. named as *hry jh.w* (overseer of the cattle) Raya on the family stela in the central chapel of the tomb, see Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 38 [54], pls 58–59.

127 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 35 [59] unless this pyramidion is actually from a cenotaph in Abydos.

128 Musée Rodin, inv. no. CO. 1302, see Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 28 [21] and pls 32–22.

129 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 28 and see Jacobus van Dijk. *New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis: Historical and Iconographical Studies*. Unpublished Diss. Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 1993, 173–188, see https://www.jacobusvandijk.nl/docs/Red_Pots.pdf. Accessed on 29 March 2022.

130 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 32–33 [37] and pls 42–43.

131 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 34 [44] and pls 46, 48, 159.

the west face of the central screen wall of the sanctuary.¹³² The man wears a knee-length kilt and has a shaven head and is shown on a much smaller scale than the tomb owner.¹³³ Yet it is a prominent spot in the tomb and a responsible task, so it is unfortunate that we do not know the servant's identity.¹³⁴ How important the spot is can be underlined by the mirroring relief, again in the sanctuary but on the other side – on the west face of the northern screen wall where 'his beloved son, scribe of the treasury Nebre' appears.¹³⁵ The tomb of Pay (i) and Raia (i) is thus an example of family commemoration, with the addition of a few others that feature in their tomb, perhaps important servants that were quasi family and important to the tomb owners.

2.2.2 The tomb of Khay (i)

Gold washer (*j^c-nbw*) Khay's tomb dates to the later 19th or early 20th dynasty and is hence one of the smaller Ramesside chapels that were built between the larger 18th-dynasty tombs, in this case north of Iniuia and adjacent to the southern wall of the outer courtyard of Horemheb's courtyard. Khay (i) is surrounded by family members in his tomb reliefs. Very interesting is a relief on the north wall of the south chapel that shows the actual workmen and works he supervised.¹³⁶ Unfortunately none of these workers is named, although one stands out as chief craftsman (*hry ḥmw.tjw*), which may suggest contemporaries knew who was meant. On the south wall of the south chapel Khay and his wife Tawethetepeti receive incense from their son Piay (i).¹³⁷ Next to the deceased couple, a smaller male individual is represented, also raising his hands in adoration and facing in the direction of Piay (i). Unfortunately, no name has been preserved, or maybe the fact that the character is anonymous is intentional. It could be a deceased child, or perhaps even a generic symbol of multiple deceased children

132 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 36 [51] and pls 52–53.

133 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 36.

134 [...]maat opens too many options: Merymaat, Nebenmaat, Nefermaat, etc. see Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 36, note 41 with reference to Hermann Ranke. *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* (3 vols.). Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1935–1977.

135 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 38–39 [57] and pls 53–54.

136 Geoffrey T. Martin, et al. *The tombs of three Memphite officials: Ramose, Khay and Pabes*. *Egypt Exploration Society, Excavation Memoir* 66. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2001, 15 [7], pl. 11.

137 Pyiay is possibly also attested on a stela now in the Cairo Museum (JE 38539), see Martin et al., *Memphite Officials*, 17 [13], pl. 59.

that died during or before birth.¹³⁸ Two other sons, Neferabu and the merchant (šwy.ty) Amenkhay(w?), appear on the south wall of the antechapel presenting incense and libation to Khay (i) and Tawethetepeti.¹³⁹ Underneath, in two registers, a queue of individuals is represented, which the excavators identified as potential relatives “although their relationship to them is not specified”.¹⁴⁰ In the upper register: The Osiris (...)y(...), the Osiris, Nebawy (i) the elder, her (?) son Seba-Mennefer, her [Nebawy the elder’s] daughter Nebawy (ii), an anonymous girl, her [Nebawy’s (ii?)] daughter Bakenmut, [her?] son Amenemope (i) and between the latter two a girl called Mennefer. Who is related to whom is not entirely clear here since the Egyptian text not only gives the affiliation only as s3(.t) (son/daughter) – furthermore, the suffix possessive pronoun is omitted or no affiliation given of the children. The adults identified by a line of text above them may as well all be children of Nebawy (i). These people seem all somehow related to each other which makes plausible the idea that were also Khay (i) relatives. For the individuals represented in the lower register (Fig. 10) this is not necessarily the case, because these people are identified by titles rather than family relations, which might point to the interpretation that they are Khay (i) colleagues or friends with their children: the Osiris, the scribe Pamershe, the lady Iuay, the chantress of Hathor-Nebhetepet Huy, the builder of the temple of Ptah Sura, two unnamed ladies (the first of which Osiris (...)) and two unnamed children, a little boy standing between Iuay and Huy, and a little girl behind Huy.¹⁴¹ To sum up, while Khay (i) tomb serves as an example of family commemoration, here again

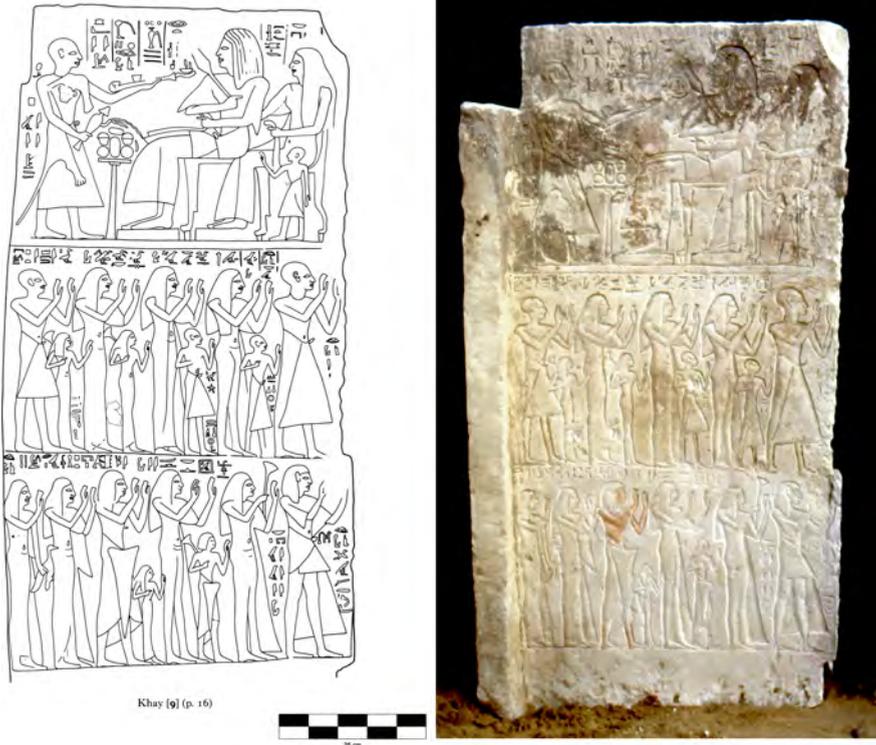
138 There is of course the risk to take the reliefs too literally especially considering the fact of how little is known of when children were named and what happened to the physical remains of miscarriages. We do know from texts that – of course – the Egyptians were well-aware of potential problems of premature birth or deformations (see e.g. most recently Susanne Töpfer. ‘The physical activity of parturition in ancient Egypt: textual and epigraphical sources. *Dynamis* 34 (2) (2014): 326–327). Fetuses were usually buried, but perhaps not named. A few examples of young children’s burials were found in Saqqara recently, these are of Late Antique date: see Paolo Del Vesco, Christian Greco, Miriam Müller, Nico Staring, and Lara Weiss. ‘Current Research of the Leiden-Turin Archaeological Mission in Saqqara. A Preliminary Report on the 2018 Season.’ *Rivista del Museo Egizio* 3 (2019): Figs. 6 and 7. There are New Kingdom examples as well, famously the fetuses in the tomb of Tutankhamun: Douglas E. Derry. ‘Report upon the two human fetuses discovered in the tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen.’ In: *The tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen, Volume 3* edited by Howard Carter, 167–169. London: Gerald Duckworth, and see F. Filce Leek. *The human remains from the tomb of Tut’anckhamūn. Tut’anckhamūn’s Tomb Series* 5. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1972.

139 Martin et al., *Memphite Officials*, 16 [11], pl. 14.

140 Martin et al., *Memphite Officials*, 16.

141 Martin et al., *Memphite Officials*, 16 [9], pl. 13.

is clear that people from a wider local range were represented, fossilising Khay's network of family and professional and other affiliations for eternity.



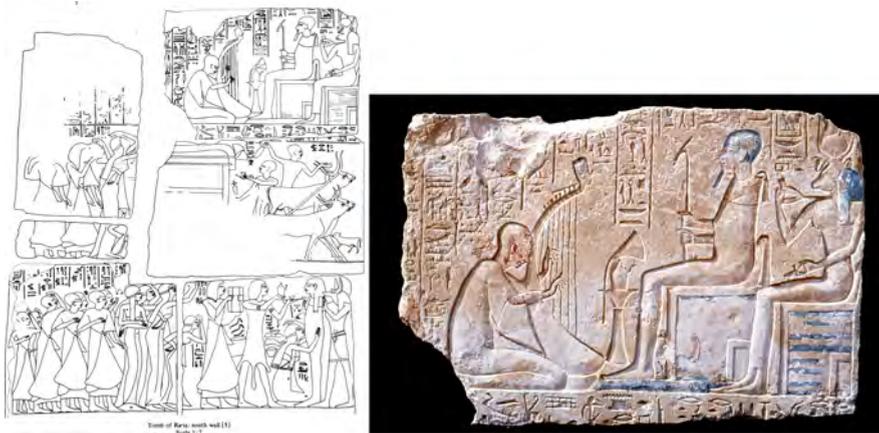
Figs. 10 a and b: South wall of the tomb of Khay (i). Drawing (a) (cf. Martin et al., *Memphite Officials*, pl. 13) and photo (b). © Egypt Exploration Society and Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.

2.2.3 The tomb of Raia (ii)

Against Paser (i)'s southern wall, the small chapel of the 'chief singer of Ptah-Lord of the truth' Raia (ii) is situated.¹⁴² His cult chapel was built entirely of lime-

¹⁴² Geoffrey T. Martin. *The tomb-chapels of Paser and Ra'ia at Saqqâra*. Egypt Exploration Society, *Excavation Memoir* 52. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1985, 10 and pl. 1. The forecourt mentioned by the excavators is not visible on the map. Some traces of a possible mudbrick (?) and stone enclosure wall are visible on a photograph (pl. 15). Elsewhere the suggestion is that a potential forecourt plan remained unfinished, see Martin, *Paser and Ra'ia*, 21.

stone,¹⁴³ like the small Ramesside chapels built to the north of Maya. Raia (ii)'s chapel was a little bigger (1.50 m x 1.80 m) and the roof borne by two yellow-painted columns of which only the bases and lower parts survived. The columns were only 33 cm apart from the main cult stela.¹⁴⁴ This stela shows Raia (ii) and his wife the singer of Amon Mutemwia receiving a libation offering by the lector priest Shedamun.¹⁴⁵ The south wall shows some unusual scenes. In the top register Raia (ii) plays the harp in front of Ptah and Hathor.¹⁴⁶ The south wall shows some unusual scenes. In the top register Raia (ii) plays the harp in front of Ptah and Hathor (Fig. 11).¹⁴⁶



Figs. 11 a and b: South wall of the tomb of Raia (ii), Drawing (a) (cf. Martin, *Paser and Ra'ia*, pl. 22) and photo (b). On the top right Raia (ii) is depicted playing the harp for the gods Ptah and Hathor. Underneath are two registers showing his funeral procession. © Egypt Exploration Society and *Rijkmuseum van Oudheden*.

Raia (ii)'s harp is adorned with a royal head. The register underneath shows the remains of a funerary procession. The same Shedamun is presenting libation and incense to the coffin, whereas a Ptahrekh is apparently guiding the cows.¹⁴⁷ Behind the booth five mourners have been preserved, the first of which is female.

¹⁴³ Martin, *Paser and Ra'ia*, 10.

¹⁴⁴ Martin, *Paser and Ra'ia*, 10 and pl. 15.

¹⁴⁵ Martin, *Paser and Ra'ia*, 10–11 and pl. 17.

¹⁴⁶ Martin, *Paser and Ra'ia*, 12–13 and pl. 22 and see Huw Twiston Davies. 'The harpists' songs at Saqqara: transmission, performance, and contexts.' In: *Perspectives on lived religion: practices – transmission – landscape* edited by Nico Staring, Huw Twiston Davies, and Lara Weiss, 100. Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2019.

¹⁴⁷ The excavators called them oxen, but at least one shows an udder and is hence clearly female, see Martin, *Paser and Ra'ia*, 13 and pl. 22.

The excavators found traces of the epitheton ‘true of voice’ that would have followed her name, which is unfortunately lost.¹⁴⁸ The first male is identified as the singer Akhpet (i).¹⁴⁹ Unfortunately the names of the others are also lost. Like offering bearers, mourners are not usually named. There are a few cases in which mourning children of the deceased are named, mostly from Thebes¹⁵⁰ – for example, in the tomb of Nebenmaat (TT 219)¹⁵¹ and the tomb of Nakhtamun (TT 341).¹⁵² In TT 219 we see also two naked sisters of the deceased mourning directly in front of the two mummies.¹⁵³ In TT 250 two small but dressed boys mourn in front of the mummy of their mother.¹⁵⁴ One loose block from Memphis shows *w^cb Jmn* Hori mourning, but we do not know for whom.¹⁵⁵

Returning to Raia (ii), on the lowest register the mummy of the deceased is supported by Anubis. Raia (ii)’s wife Mutemwia kneels in front of him mourning. Directly behind her follows again Shedamun presenting libation and incense to the deceased, and acting as *sem*-priest. Behind him an anonymous priest reads from a scroll. A servant (*hm.t*) called Shanefer is weeping, behind her Pypwy and two other ladies whose names are lost are mourning as well. A group of five male singers close the procession: the singers (...)ty, Akhpet (i?) and Ptahhotep, without title Panefer, and the singers Neferptah and Ry (ii). Pypwy is not a very common name, so perhaps the connection between Paser (i)’s wife mourning for Raia (ii) explains the location of Raia (ii)’s tomb close to Paser (i)’s. The excavators seem not to have noticed this possible connection.

On the northern wall of the chapel, the seated couple Raia (ii) and Mutemwia yet again receive offerings from the lector priest Shedamun.¹⁵⁶ Behind him the figure of a lady, perhaps his wife, is broken. Underneath the chairs of Mutemwia and Raia (ii) sits an anonymous girl who plays with a duck, perhaps their daughter.¹⁵⁷ In the lower register Mutemwia and Raia (ii) stand in adoration of

148 Martin, *Paser and Ra'ia*, 13 and pl. 22.

149 Martin, *Paser and Ra'ia*, 13 and pl. 22.

150 Compare e.g. Feucht, *Kind*, 344–352 with references.

151 Charles Maystre. *Tombe de Deir el-Médineh: la tombe de Nebenmât (no. 219)*. Cairo: Impr. de l’IFAO, 1936, pl. VII, see Feucht, *Kind*, 350.

152 Norman de Garis Davies. *Seven private tombs at Qurnah* ed. by Alan H. Gardiner. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1948, pl. XXV, see Feucht, *Kind*, 350.

153 Maystre, *Nebenmât*, scene 51, see Feucht, *Kind*, 351.

154 Bernard Bruyère. *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1926)*. *Fouilles de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 4 (3). Cairo: L’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1927, 3, pl. V, see Feucht, *Kind*, 351.

155 Heidelberg 211 see Martin, *Corpus*, 13 (2) and pl. 6.

156 Martin, *Paser and Ra'ia*, 14 and pl. 24.

157 Martin, *Paser and Ra'ia*, 14 and pl. 24.

Anubis in his shrine followed by Mutemwia's sisters Iuy and Kaia, and again the female servant Shanefer with a calf.

So Raia (ii)'s tomb, although small in scale, shows a variety of both family members and colleagues and even a female servant. The relationship between Shedamun and the deceased couple is unclear. He could be a close friend of the family. Apparently Raia (ii) and Mutemwia had a daughter, who may have died young, and no other children.

2.2.4 The tomb of Amenemone (i)

The tomb of the 18th-dynasty general Amenemone (i) (*temp.* Horemheb) has not yet been rediscovered, but its reliefs are fairly well known so it is possible to at least partly reconstruct his tomb, which was probably situated near the tomb of Ry (i).¹⁵⁸ Several reliefs are known that show Amenemone (i) himself, his father with the same name but without title,¹⁵⁹ his mother Depet,¹⁶⁰ his wife Takhat,¹⁶¹ and his daughter Saytj. Obviously to be able to identify a relief as definitely having belonged to his tomb, Amenemone (i) has to be mentioned on that fragment, or at least on a fragment joining another identified one, to be sure of that identification. For example, in the case of a queue of offering bearers the identification is subject to debate.¹⁶² If the blocks belong to Amenemone (i), it is interesting that, like in the case of Horemheb below, the offering bearers all remain

158 Olga Djuževa. 'Das Grab des Generals Ameneminet in Saqqara.' In: *Abusir and Saqqara in the year 2000* edited by Miroslav Bárta and Jaromír Krejčí, 79. Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Oriental Institute, 2000, 79 (who couldn't have known the location of the tomb of Ry (i), but thought it could be near his tomb, or as she thought was more plausible at the Teti cemetery. However, with military official Ry (i) in the South of Unas area, Amenemone (i) might have had his tomb there as well). For the reliefs see Djuževa, 'Ameneminet', 80–81.

159 Musée Rodin inv. no. 237 (on long-term loan in the Louvre), See Djuževa, 'Ameneminet', 82 and 98 and pl. 4.

160 Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek inv. no. ÆIN 715, Paris Louvre inv. no. B 6 and Musée Rodin inv. no. 237 (on long-term loan in the Louvre), see Djuževa, 'Ameneminet', 80, 82 and 98 and pl. 4.

161 E.g. Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek inv. no. ÆIN 714, side b, Djuževa, 'Ameneminet', pl. 2.

162 See Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek inv. no. ÆIN 716 and MFA 1974.468, see Djuževa, 'Ameneminet', 83 and 97. Identification first suggested by William K. Simpson, see Martin, *Corpus*, 8–9 and cat. 5 and 6 see Djuževa, 'Ameneminet', 83.

anonymous. The same applies to the boat journey depicted in his tomb.¹⁶³ However, different to Horemheb, general Amenemone (i) represented his family in his tomb. High status was thus not necessarily related to a lack of family representation (see also Maya below).

2.2.5 The tomb of Mose

Another tomb dedicated to the commemoration of the family is the tomb of the scribe of the treasury of Ptah, Mose (*temp.* Ramesses II).¹⁶⁴ The tomb was excavated by Victor Loret and was rediscovered in the 1990s by the mission of Zahi Hawass in the cemetery north of the Teti pyramid.¹⁶⁵ Unfortunately the ground plan of the tomb is still far from clear: several reconstructions have been present-

163 Straßburg, Collection of the Egyptological Institute, 2439 A, see Djuževa, ‘Ameneminet’, 85. Note that Djuževa views the scene as a representation of an Old Kingdom ritual (*sšš w3d*), for which the presentation of the papyrus is crucial (see Djuževa, ‘Ameneminet’, 86). However, since all references for this ritual indeed date to the Old Kingdom (compare *Belegstellen* of Wb III, 486.18) and the present relief does not have an explicit reference to the tearing out of papyrus, I would find a general regenerative motive perhaps inspired by the surrounding Old Kingdom mastabas – as in the case of the tomb of Tia and Tia – more plausible. A very interesting other parallel also mentioned by Djuževa, ‘Ameneminet’, 86, was part of the Ramesside mayor Ptahmose (v) (the now lost so-called Mur Rhoné, see Jocelyne Berlandini. ‘Varia memphitica V: monuments de la chapelle funéraire du gouverneur Ptahmès.’ *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 82 (1982): 86–92, Fig. 1 and pl. VII). Eva Hofmann. *Bilder im Wandel: die Kunst der ramessidischen Privatgräber. Theben* 17. Mainz: Zabern, 2004, 144–145 also viewed inspiration from the past, but thought of the scene as a Hathoric motif (p. 145, see Berlandini, ‘Memphitica V’, 88).

164 Gaballa A. Gaballa. *The Memphite Tomb-Chapel of Mose*. Warminster: Aries & Phillips, 1977.

165 Christian Orsenigo. ‘A newly identified relief from the tomb-chapel of Mose at Saqqara.’ *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 140 (2013): 168. And see Zahi Hawass. ‘Excavating the Old Kingdom: “The Egyptian Archaeologists.”’ In: *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* edited by Dorothea Arnold et al., 165, no. 21. New York: The Metropolitan Museum, 1999, and Zahi Hawass. *Secrets from the Sands: My Search for Egypt’s Past*. New York: Abrams, 2003, 140; 154–155. Orsenigo was able to relocate another relief showing the adoration of the god Apis in the Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum of San José, see Orsenigo, ‘Mose’, 170. Unfortunately the names of the figures represented on another half of the block that is not yet relocated cannot be read (see Orsenigo, ‘Mose’, pl. XXV) and the scene is not relevant here. Compare also Jaromír Malek. ‘Two problems connected with New Kingdom tombs in the Memphite area.’ *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 67 (1981): 157–165. For a recent attempt of reconstruction see Gabriële Pieke. ‘“Der Blick zurück nach vorn”: Anmerkungen zur Grabdekoration des Mes in Saqqara.’ In: *Mit archäologischen Schichten Geschichte schreiben: Festschrift für Edgar B. Pusch zum 70. Geburtstag* edited by Henning Franzmeier, Thilo Rehren, and Regine Schulz, 219–243. Hildesheim: Gebrüder Gerstenberg, 2016, but perhaps Loret’s reconstruction is still the safest option.

ed, none of which is fully conclusive.¹⁶⁶ For reasons of convenience, I follow here mainly the order of Gaballa's publication.

On the relief that Gaballa placed on the left side of the facade of the tomb, Mose appears in adoration of various gods such as Hathor (the lady of the south sycamore) and probably Re-Horakhty (*sqdd=k m pt d3y=k* (...) when you sail in heaven and cross (the sky)).¹⁶⁷ His father Huy (ii), also scribe of the treasury, is mentioned in the affiliation of Mose's name. For example, all five *djed*-pillars, four of which are now in Sydney, the other in Cairo, show Mose son of Huy (ii).¹⁶⁸ On some blocks with doubtful provenance Mose appears with his wife Mutnofret.¹⁶⁹ On the right side of the facade of the tomb, Mose appears without affiliation in front of the gods Hathor and Sokar.¹⁷⁰ The three offering bearers remain anonymous, as in a parallel scene on the left side of the inside.¹⁷¹ On the right long wall of room I, which is now in the Cairo Museum, an anonymous lector priest (*hry-hb*) is indicated by his title in front of a long row of twelve generic offering bearers.¹⁷² Unfortunately, the scene above has only been preserved on an old photograph by Rudolf Anthes,¹⁷³ whereas the middle part survived in the Museum August Kestner, Hannover.¹⁷⁴ This relief is very interesting in terms of family relations worshipping in the tomb: on the left their grandson (*s3 s3.t=f*) presents an offering to the deceased couple Mose and his wife Mutnof-

166 Recently Pieke, 'Mes', 219–243, before her Malek, 'Two problems', 156–165, after Gaballa, *Mose*. Pieke, 'Mes', 224 comments on the fact that it seems quite impossible to move beyond Loret's first rather vague reconstruction. Loret just mentions that the judgement text appears on the longest wall, see Victor Loret. *Fouilles dans la nécropole memphite: (1897–1899)*. Cairo: Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien, 1899, 12 and drew a map. While indeed Gaballa's and Malek's reconstructions seem oddly unsymmetrical, Pieke's idea that some smaller chapels sat at the back of the tomb is also highly unusual. I would therefore prefer to stick with Loret's plan for now.

167 Gaballa, *Mose*, 7 and pls V–VI.

168 Gaballa, *Mose*, 18–20 and pls XLI–XLVII.

169 Gaballa, *Mose*, 20–21 and pls XLVIII–XLIX.

170 Gaballa, *Mose*, 8 and pls VII–VIII.

171 Gaballa, *Mose*, 8 and pls IX and X. Gaballa suggests Ptah (or Sokar?) and Sakhmet, but the iconography of the scene is so evidently the same as in the previous scene that Sokar and Hathor are most plausible.

172 Although the top part is damaged it seems they were all not named, Gaballa, *Mose*, 8 and pl. XIII.

173 Gaballa, *Mose*, 8 and pl. XII.

174 Egyptian Museum Cairo TR 22.5.25.1 and Hannover, Museum August Kestner inv. no. 1935.200.190–191, see Gaballa, *Mose*, 8 and pls XI–XII; Orsenigo, 'Mose', 170 with reference to Rosemarie Drenkhahn. *Ägyptische Reliefs im Kestner-Museum Hannover: 100 Jahre, Kestner-Museum Hannover, 1889–1989. Sammlungskataloge des Kestner-Museums Hannover* 5. Hannover: Kestner-Museum, 1989. 120–124, cat. 40–41 and Martin, *Corpus*, 32, no. 79.

ret. In the middle Mose's parents Huy (ii) and Nubnofret are seated in front of an anonymous officiant. On the right the chief goldsmith of Ptah, Tatia, his wife Weryt and their daughter Tiyt receive an offering from their son, the scribe of the offering table, Khamewase.¹⁷⁵ Helpfully, Vincent Oeters has recently identified the couple as being identical to the tomb owner in the Leiden-Turin concession area.¹⁷⁶ Raven concludes from Tatia's occurrence that Mose and Tatia were brothers,¹⁷⁷ which is possible but not necessary.

The (according to Gaballa) opposite wall shows again a row of here eight offering bearers.¹⁷⁸ Possibly in Gaballa's room 2 is the scene where the tomb of Mose is most famous for, namely the court of law in which Mose seems to have succeeded.¹⁷⁹ It is sad that the scene is so highly damaged. The names of the judges have not been preserved. The others, Amenemwia (i) and Nebneheh, could be Mose's witnesses. The rear wall showed a statue of Osiris¹⁸⁰ in the centre of the wall as divider of two scenes, the right of which has not been preserved while the left half again shows Mose and his wife Mutnofret in front of two deity (male and female, perhaps again Sokar and Hathor?). Underneath Mose stands in adoration of the vignette of BD 148 showing the seven cows and the bull.¹⁸¹ In the bandeau between the registers Mose appears with his title and a filiation to both his parents.¹⁸² The right-hand side is highly damaged like the upper register of the left-hand side of the interior wall that shows traces of the goddess Seshat.¹⁸³ Underneath, Mose is shown three times in adoration of three mummified deities above the vignette of the BD 110 (i.e. the fields of the rushes), where he also appears with name and title in the middle. On the entrance to room III, Mose appears again on both sides as usual.¹⁸⁴ In Gaballa's room III further only

175 Gaballa, *Mose*, 9 and pl. XI.

176 Vincent Oeters. 'The tomb of Tatia, Wab-priest of the front of Ptah and Chief of the Goldsmiths.' In: *Imaging and imagining the Memphite necropolis: Liber Amicorum René van Walsem* edited by Vincent Verschoor, Arnold Jan Stuart, and Cornelia Demarée, 73. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten 2017; and see Vincent Oeters. 'Tatia and the tomb of Mose.' *Saq-qara Newsletter* 10 (2012): 52–57.

177 Maarten Raven. 'A group of minor priests of Ptah from the New Kingdom Necropolis at Saqqara.' In: *Guardian of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Zahi Hawass III* edited by Janice Kamrin, Miroslav Bárta, Salima Ikram, Mark Lehner and Mohamed Megahed, 1309, Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, 2021.

178 Gaballa, *Mose*, 9 and pl. XIV.

179 Gaballa, *Mose*, 10 and pl. XV.

180 Gaballa, *Mose*, 10–11 and pl. XVIIIa.

181 Gaballa, *Mose*, 10–11 and pl. XIX.

182 Gaballa, *Mose*, 11 and pl. XIX.

183 Gaballa, *Mose*, 11 and pl. XXI–XXII.

184 Gaballa, *Mose*, 12 and pl. XXIII.

Mose and his wife Mutnofret appear in front of various gods.¹⁸⁵ The offering of an oryx in front of the barque of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris is particularly interesting.¹⁸⁶ Gaballa's room IV shows Mose and Mutnofret in the divine judgment of the god Osiris (BD 125).¹⁸⁷ The text beside them is a common offering formula, no Book of the Dead spell. Also in the remainder of that room, only Mose and Mutnofret appear.¹⁸⁸ More space for other relatives is again made in the open court. The southern wall of the western side shows the funerary procession.¹⁸⁹ In the upper register we see the funerary procession: a sledge pulled by four oxen towards 14 mourning ladies, one of which is indicated to be Mose's daughter Tjenroy. A good detail is an anonymous servant who pours water (or milk) under the sledge and a priest burning incense,¹⁹⁰ probably both for purposes of purification of the path. Behind the mourners the leg of a calf is cut above two funerary pavilions. Underneath travel two boats, one is partly broken and shows the remains of a priest and a kiosk, to the right of it is a boat rowed by several men and full of mourners. A group of female mourners faces the boat, a group of male mourners moves to the right, preceded by two officials. To their right approximately four male mourners walk behind two of the sons of Mose, called Merymaat and Amenemheb. Mose and another son of his called Hatiay stand in a shrine facing them. Kneeling before Mose is another female mourner, his daughter (name lost). According to Gaballa, on the other (east) side of the wall is the great legal text for which Mose's text is most famous.¹⁹¹ Allam provides a helpful summary of events:

Mose, a contemporary of Ramesses II, had a distant forefather, an 'overseer of ships' called Neshi, who lived at the time of Ahmose. Probably because of his distinguished services Neshi was rewarded by King Ahmose with a tract of land subsequently known as Hunpet-of-Neshi. Upon Neshi's death the estate passed evidently undivided, to his heirs; and in the time of King Horemheb the privileged descendants seem to have numbered six, of whom the lady Urmeno, possibly the eldest, was appointed 'trustee' or administrator (*rwꜥw*) for her brothers and sisters in the management estate. But soon persistent quarrels arose, and, in order to settle them, successive appeals to the court had to be launched, litigation dragging on for generations. After the death of Urmeno, her son, the scribe Huy (ii),

185 Gaballa, *Mose*, 12–14 and pls XXV–XXVIII.

186 Gaballa, *Mose*, 14 and pl. XXVIII.

187 Gaballa, *Mose*, 14 and pl. XXIX. The transmission of Book of the Dead 125 at Saqqara is under study by Huw Twiston Davies; see also Weiss, Twiston Davies, Staring, *City of the Dead*.

188 Gaballa, *Mose*, 15–16 and pls XXXI and XXXIII.

189 Gaballa, *Mose*, 16–17 and pls XXXIV–XXXV.

190 Gaballa, *Mose*, 16 and pls XXXIV–XXXV.

191 See e. g. Shafik Allam. 'Some remarks on the trial of Mose.' *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 75 (1989): 103–112 with references.

continued alone the struggle with his aunt Takharu and with her son, the officer Smentawi; on the other hand, he had to face the [...] administrator Khay (ii) who, though apparently in no way connected to the family of Huy (ii), pretended to some rights in the estate. On the death of Huy (ii), his widow Nubnofret was prevented from cultivating the land. Thereupon the litigation was conducted before the Vizier as the presiding member of the highest law-court, and Khay (ii) won the case. It is possible that some years elapsed before Mose, the son of Huy (ii) and Nubnofret, was of an age to reclaim the estate. In his deposition Mose gave a survey of past events and finally made a petition, that he together with his coheirs, be examined before the notables of the locality so that his descent from Neshi might be proved; indeed pleaded Mose his ancestors had been examined before and their names were found enrolled.¹⁹²

Allam rightly mentioned that the fact that Mose depicted the lawsuit in his tomb does not necessarily imply that Mose won.¹⁹³ I believe that at least one of the reasons for its representation in Mose's tomb is the commemoration of his long family tree.¹⁹⁴ Irrespective of the question of whether he won, there is a detail in the decoration of the that was previously overlooked: On the north half of the interior east wall Mose is offering to a ram-shaped Amun and Mut in the form of a winged *Wedjat*-eye.¹⁹⁵ It is the Amun of Neshi, i.e. the local personification of Amun from exactly that place where his ancestor Neshi came from.¹⁹⁶ Neither Gardiner¹⁹⁷ nor Allam¹⁹⁸ noticed that, because they focussed on the legal text

192 Allam, 'Mose', 104–105.

193 Allam, 'Mose', 105. Allam suggests that perhaps the real speaker of the text is a still living relative and that Mose hopes to solve the lawsuit in a "world to come" and that an "obscure" figure with titles different from Mose's who appears in his tomb may be "the real author of our inscription", see Allam, 'Mose', with reference to Gaballa, *Mose*, 25, n. 2.

194 An interesting parallel of legitimation by means of genealogy is the fictitious list of ancestors in the tomb of Ukhhotep (B4) in Meir in Middle Egypt (see Aylward M. Blackman. *The rock tombs of Meir. Part II: the tomb-chapel of Senbi's son Ukh-hotp (B, No. 2). Archaeological survey of Egypt* 23. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1915, 16–21, pls x–xi; and Olabarria, *Kinship*, 105) that lists 59 nomarchs of the previous more than 800 years. It has been noted that "the purpose of this list is not affected by the truthfulness of its contents" see Olabarria, *Kinship*, 105 with reference to Melinda G. Nelson-Hurst. 'The (social) house of Khnumhotep.' In: *The world of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1550 BC): contributions on archaeology, art, religion, and written sources* edited by Gianluca Miniaci and Wolfram Grajetzki, I 1, 265, footnote 67. London: Golden House, 2015.

195 Gaballa, *Mose*, 17 and pl. XXXIX.

196 Gaballa, *Mose*, 22 and see Pieke, 'Mes', 227 and Jaromir Malek. 'An early Eighteenth Dynasty monument of Sipair from Saqqâra.' *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 75 (1989): 75 on the historical implication that Memphis raised to prominence again early in the 18th dynasty.

197 Alan H. Gardiner. *The inscription of Mes: A contribution to the study of Egyptian judicial procedure*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905.

198 Allam, 'Mose'.

not on the tomb as a whole. Loret and Anthes did, but they did not further comment on the connection.¹⁹⁹ Mariam Victoria Kamish, however, briefly describes the scene in her study on the cult of the god Amun in Memphis, and suggests that Mose's daughter Tiya was involved in the cult of this god in their hometown.²⁰⁰ We shall see below that she was Tatia's daughter rather than Mose's, whose relationship is subject to debate. The fact that Mose's ancestor was also called Neshi, however, is curious and may point again towards a symbolic rather than solely literal interpretation of the scene. It seems that his ancestry and family relations to Neshi as indicated by the lawsuit was what Mose wished to stress in his tomb. There are in fact also other tombs that knit together three or more generations, such as the tomb of Irwkhy (or Urkhya), general under king Ramesses II, who appears in his tomb together with his son Yupa and his grandson Hatiaiy.²⁰¹ The tomb has recently been found in the Cairo concession area, but has not yet been fully excavated or published. Mission director Ola el-Aguizy recently presented a first summary of her thoughts, demonstrating a strong emphasis of (three generations of) family ties in the tomb.²⁰² Other tombs in the area are also still only rather briefly studied.²⁰³

2.2.6 The tomb of Tatia

Tatia lived in the 19th dynasty and was *wab*-priest of the front of Ptah (*w^cb n h³.t n Pth*), like Khay (ii), and chief of goldsmiths (*hry nbw*) Khay (i).²⁰⁴ The fact that he also appears in the tomb of Mose,²⁰⁵ suggests once again that the commemoration of social relations extended beyond the limits of single tombs, and should

199 Rudolf Anthes. 'Das Bild einer Gerichtsverhandlung und das Grab des Mes aus Sakkara.' *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo* 9 (1940): 113 quoting Loret, *Fouilles*, 95ff.

200 Mariam V. Kamish. *Cults of the god Amun at Memphis: Identification, Prosopography and Toponymy*, London: Unpublished PhD thesis, University College, 1990, 56 on Neshi see 29–31. See <https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.822566>. Accessed on 29 March 2022.

201 Ola el-Aguizy. 'The khetem of Tjaru: New Evidence.' *Nehet* 6 (2018): 1–7.

202 Ola el-Aguizy. 'The tomb of the Army General 'Iwrkhy. Genealogy problems.' *Saqqara Newsletter* 18 (2020): 42–51.

203 See e.g. recently Ola el-Aguizy. 'The Discovery of the Tomb of the "Head of the Army Archives", Paser at Saqqara. A preliminary report.' In: *Guardian of Ancient Egypt. Studies in Honor of Zahi Hawass I* edited by Janice Kamrin, Miroslav Barta, Salima Ikram, Mark Lehner, and Mohammed Megahead, 125–131. Prague: Charles University of Arts, 2020.

204 On Tatia see also recently Raven, 'Ptah', 1308–1309.

205 Oeters, 'Tatia', 73 and see Oeters, 'Mose', 52–57

be viewed in the wider cultural geography at Saqqara (see also chapter 4). His tomb is situated between Ry (i) and a tomb later reused by a Sethnakht south of Meryneith's courtyard.²⁰⁶ Measuring 2.4 m x 1.6 m a typical example of the smaller Ramesside tomb chapels that filled the space between the larger 18th-dynasty tombs. In his own tomb, the only named people Tatia represented were family (as far as the reliefs are preserved) – in contrast to Mose's tomb where a wider network of people such as judges and witnesses appear, and indeed Tatia and his family. The central chapel shows Tatia in adoration of Re and Osiris.²⁰⁷ Underneath he sits behind an offering table with his wife Weryt. Facing them are three sons: the *wab*-priest of the front of Ptah; the goldsmith (*nbwy*) Huy (iii);²⁰⁸ the stable master (*hry jhw*) Nebiqer; and another son and stable master who remains anonymous, although the column dividers suggest that the relief was meant to be inscribed.²⁰⁹ The relief is thus unfinished. The son and two daughters in the row underneath bear neither names nor titles, but column dividers suggest once again that a text was intended here. The relief from the tomb of Mose reveals their names as offering table scribe (*sš wdhw*) Khaemwaset, depicted performing the offering to Tatia and Weret, and their daughter the chantresses of Amun (*šm'yt n Jmn-R'*) Tiyt, standing behind them.²¹⁰ Unfortunately, the names and titles of one daughter and one son, as well as the name of the stable master from Tatia's chapel remain yet unknown. In a recent study, Vincent Oeters explained the difference in representation with an earlier death by Huy (iii), Nebiqer, and potentially the stable master, requiring that Khaemwaset then had to perform the task of eldest son in the tomb of Mose.²¹¹ This is possible, but it might as well be the other way round, namely that Tatia, Weret, and Tiye were honoured in Mose's tomb when still alive, and then died later and represented the current living family in their tomb. Khaemwaset might have fallen into disgrace; we do not know that. Both Mose and Tatia probably died in the second half of the reign of Ramesses II.²¹² Oeters'

206 Maarten J. Raven, Harold M. Hays, Barbara G. Aston, Ladislava Horáčková, Nicholas Warner and Michael Neilson. 'Preliminary report on the Leiden excavations at Saqqara, season 2009: the tombs of Khay II and Tatia.' *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* 42 (2010): 9–13. At that time, in 2009, the excavations were a cooperation between the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden together with Leiden University.

207 Oeters, 'Tatia', 62–63.

208 Inheritance of office and titles was common in ancient Egypt, see also Oeters, 'Tatia', 69 with reference to Amenemone.

209 See also Oeters, 'Tatia', 73.

210 Oeters, 'Tatia', 74.

211 Oeters, 'Tatia', 74.

212 Oeters, 'Tatia', 75.

idea that Tatia was the brother of the vizier Paser (ii), and tomb owner of TT 106 in Thebes, in which two men called Tatia are represented²¹³ is inconclusive. While Tatia is a rare name indeed, the difference in titles (the Theban Tatia is a stable master) does not allow a final proof that the two are identical and that Tatia was stable master in Thebes before he became priest in Memphis.²¹⁴ Although the theory is perhaps not widely accepted in Egyptology, it may be worthwhile to put forth the counterarguments:

1. The name of Tatia's son Khaemwaset (meaning 'who appears in Thebes') is not indicative of Theban family origin,²¹⁵ since he may have been called after the famous Khaemwaset high priest of Ptah in Memphis, who was born in the early reign of his father king Ramesses II.²¹⁶
2. That Tatia's daughter is a chantress of the god Amun does not prove her Theban origin.²¹⁷ Several other chantresses of Amun are known from Memphis.²¹⁸ These ladies, including Tiy, might have worked for the Memphite cults of Amun. On the other hand, there were also numerous 'overseers of the cattle of Amun in Thebes' in Memphis: both cities were closely connected.²¹⁹
3. The Tatia in Paser (ii)'s tomb is stable master as is the Saqqara Tatia's anonymous son. However, 'stable master' is also a common title in Memphis so the fact that Tatia's anonymous son was also stable master is no indication that they inherited this as an early career job from their father Tatia.²²⁰
4. The fact that Tatia's father works in the temple of Ptah is indicative of Memphis rather than Thebes (that they moved at some point is speculation).²²¹
5. Teje is also a very common name, the fact that Paser (ii)'s sister has the same name does not say much about Tatia's daughter.²²²

213 Oeters, 'Tatia', 75–78.

214 Oeters, 'Tatia', 77.

215 Oeters, 'Tatia', 75.

216 Farouk Gomaà. *Chaemwese, Sohn Ramses' II. und Hoherpriester von Memphis*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1973, 2.

217 Contra Oeters, 'Tatia', 75.

218 Compare Kamish, *Amun*, 50–57. For the current lady, see p. 56.

219 Nico Staring. 'The personnel of the Theban Ramesseum in the Memphite necropolis.' *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* 45 (2014–2015): 51–92.

220 Contra Oeters, 'Tatia', 78.

221 Contra Oeters, 'Tatia', 77.

222 Contra Oeters, 'Tatia', 78.

6. That Paser (ii) has other ‘chantresses of Amun’ in his family does not connect him to Tatia,²²³ as chantress of a god was one of the most common professions of elite women in ancient Egypt generally.²²⁴
7. Lastly, I wonder whether Tatia would not have depicted his famous brother in his tomb? But that is of course speculation, too.

There is little evidence that Paser (ii)’s brother is identical with our Memphite Tatia, even though they may have been contemporaries in the early reign of Ramesses II.²²⁵ More plausible is Oeters’ notable finding that the Memphite Tatia may have been somehow related to Mose. He suggests he could have been married to Mose’s sister, which would explain the couple’s prominent place in Mose’s tomb.²²⁶ The fact that he does not appear in the lawsuit and that no family relation is given, however, may rather indicate that he was a close friend.²²⁷ In summary, Tatia’s tomb provides yet another example of a relatively small tomb in which family commemoration is key.

2.2.7 The tomb of Paser (i)

The 19th-dynasty tomb of Paser (i), different to the (Theban) tomb of Paser (ii) mentioned above, is situated at Saqqara, west of the tomb of Horemheb and, at about 10 m x 6 m, is one of the medium-sized tomb chapels of the Leiden-Turin concession area. Two stelae with bases for offering tables in front of them were situated in the forecourt of the tomb on either side of the entrance to the antechapel.²²⁸ Whereas the fate of the southern stelae is unknown, the northern stelae entered the British Museum in 1835.²²⁹ It shows Paser (i) the over-

223 Contra Oeters, ‘Tatia’, 78.

224 E.g. Serge Sauneron. *Les prêtres de l’ancienne Égypte: édition revue et complétée*. Paris: Périséa, 1988, 72.

225 Compare Oeters, ‘Tatia’, 78.

226 Oeters, ‘Tatia’, 79. Oeters argues that being the brother-in-law of Mose would explain why Tatia did not have “a more prominent role” in Mose’s tomb, after just having argued it is indeed a “very prominent place within the tomb”.

227 Contra Oeters, ‘Tatia’, 79 and following Gaballa, *Mose*, 29 (who left also the brother option open). Indeed, as Anthes has already stressed Tatia and Weryt could not have been the parents of Mose’s father Huy (ii), as his mother was called Wernero, see Anthes, ‘Mes’, 108 and not his brother as Raven believes: Raven, ‘Ptah’, 1309.

228 Martin, *Paser and Ra’ia*, 4.

229 Thomas G.H. James. *Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae, etc., in the British Museum, Part 9*, London: The British Museum, 1970, pl. 24.

seer of the builders of the Lord of the Two Lands (*jmy-r3 qd.w n nb t3.wy*), and his brother Tjenry the royal scribe and chief lector priest in adoration of the gods Osiris, Isis, and Hathor. Underneath follows an offering formulae dedicated to Osiris, Onophris, Ptah-Sokar, Anubis, Re, and Geb. In a lower register, Paser (i) and his wife Pepy seem to share offerings with their ancestors:²³⁰ Paser (i)'s father-in-law Bay (i), his mother-in-law Ry, and his grand-mother-in-law Nashayt. Apparently Paser (i) and Tjenry were married to two sisters, as Tjenry's wife, Nashayt, appears as Paser (i)'s sister(-in-law). Apparently she was named after her grandmother. Iitnefertis was apparently Paser (i)'s and Tjenry's sister. Further mentioned are Paser (i)'s son Amenwahsu, his son the royal scribe of the house of life (*sš nsw pr ʿnh*) Ptahemwia (ii), and his daughter Nehyt. What is particularly interesting here is that, like in the case of Iniy's family tomb below, the female line was especially emphasised on this stela. Where I translated "Paser (i)'s father-in-law Bay (i), his mother-in-law Ry, and his grand-mother-in-law Nashayt", it actually means "Bay (i) the father of Pypwy, *her* mother Ry and *their* mother Nashayt". It is not clear whether Nashayt represents the father's or mother's line. About the woman Pypwy, we know very little. A small vessel that could be her's is in now in the Cairo Museum (CG 18451).²³¹

Apart from the family, several people of unclear relationship to the deceased appear in the tomb of Paser (i) and Pypwy, as we should call it more correctly. On a second stela two ladies, Wiay and [her (?)] daughter Shedsutaweret, stand in adoration of Osiris seated on a throne.²³² The excavators noted that the shape "suggests that it might have been inserted into one of the faces of a brick pyramid surmounting a tomb chapel, but there is no evidence to prove it" and that the ladies might have "belonged to Paser's family" and hoped to benefit from the offerings, but that is hard to prove.²³³ On the third stela, tomb owner Paser (i) makes an adoration in front of the four sons of Horus, and Isis and Osiris. Underneath the offering bearer (*β wdn.t*) of Ptah Tjelperre presents incense and a libation to a large offering table.²³⁴ The third stela was found "in the surface debris

230 Martin, *Paser and Ra'ia*, 5.

231 I am very grateful for Anne Herzberg-Beiersdorf's kind willingness to share with me information from her forthcoming PhD thesis: *Prosopographia Memphitica Individuelle Identitäten und kollektive Biographien einer königlichen Residenzstadt des Neuen Reiches Prosopographia Memphitica. Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde – Beiheft*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, forthcoming. This will hopefully be published around the same time as the current volume. Anne Herzberg-Beiersdorf, *Prosopographia Memphitica*, https://anneherz.github.io/ProM/detail/singleview_objects.html?ids=1765&type=small%20finds Access Date: 28.02.2020.

232 Martin, *Paser and Ra'ia*, 6 and pl. 12 (7).

233 Martin, *Paser and Ra'ia*, 6.

234 Martin, *Paser and Ra'ia*, 6–7 and pl. 12 (8).

south of the tomb of Raia”²³⁵ is broken in three fragments and incomplete. It shows Isis and Osiris and the remains of an offering formula dedicated to the god Ptah.²³⁶ Whether – and how – the lady Wiay, her (?) daughter, and Tjelperre were related to Paser (i) remains unclear.²³⁷ The main cult stela shows the adoration of Isis and Osiris by Paser (i) and his wife Pypuy.²³⁸ Underneath the tomb owner couple faces relatives, of which only one is preserved which may or may not be the famous Tjuneroy of the British Museum stela.²³⁹

2.2.8 Iniy’s family tomb

Iniy’s family tomb (more commonly known as the tomb of Thutmose) is a very interesting example of how complex family relations can be, and at the same time it gives an insight into who it was important to represent. The tomb was excavated and published by the French archaeologist Alain Zivie (Bubasteion I.19). It is thus a rock-cut tomb and is situated on the eastern cliff of the Saqqara plateau near the Bubasteion.²⁴⁰ The accessible rock-cut tomb chapel is relatively small and consists of one decorated room. In the representations many people are depicted whose relationship is subject to debate. The most prominent character in numbers and representation is the director of the painters (*hry sš-*qd m s.t M3^c.t**), Thutmose, which is of course the reason why Zivie decided to publish the tomb as the tomb of Thutmose. Zivie argued that the Bubasteion Thutmose is the same person as his namesake, who is assumed to have had a workshop in house P 47.2 at Amarna, and could have been the creator of the famous bust of king Akhenaten’s wife, queen Nefertiti.²⁴¹ However, as Friederike Seyfried has argued, the evidence for Thutmose in house P 47.2 stands on rather shaky grounds,²⁴² and like his neighbour²⁴³ Maïa’s name (see section 2.3.4), the name

235 Martin, *Paser and Ra’ia*, 7.

236 Martin, *Paser and Ra’ia*, 7 and pl. 12 (9).

237 See also Martin, *Paser and Ra’ia*, 9.

238 Martin, *Paser and Ra’ia*, 7 and pl. 13 suggests that it should be Hathor, because of traces of a modius and a sun disk. A representation of Isis, however, would be far more plausible here. However, the presence of a Hathor sistrum in the hands of Pypuy might suggest the goddess is Hathor after all.

239 Only traces of the figure and the name are preserved.

240 Zivie, *Thoutmes*.

241 Most explicit in Alain Zivie. ‘Thutmose. The creator of the polychrome bust of Nefertiti.’ *Arts and Cultures* 2004: 64–65.

242 This was an idea based on a single inscription on a fragment of a chariot proposed by Rolf Krauss, which in fact might have moved to the household assemblage from elsewhere. In ab-

Thutmose is rather common, and identification is therefore difficult. The second most prominent figure is a man with the same title (*ḥry sš-qd m s.t M3^c.t*) called Kenna. Zivie argued that in spite of the fact that the two men were clearly colleagues one should not speak of the tomb of the “two painters”, because he is not convinced that Kenna was actually buried there. However, the fact that Kenna appears in a less prominent position²⁴⁴ is no proof that Kenna was not buried in the tomb. Commemoration in a tomb generally does not necessarily always require burial. At any rate the most straightforward explanation is to accept that the tomb testifies a case of tomb sharing.²⁴⁵ Interestingly, the key figure knitting the family ties together was not a man, but a woman, namely Thutmosis’ wife, Iniy (Fig. 12), who was Kenna’s sister, i.e. making Kenna the brother-in-law of Thutmosis’.²⁴⁶

Interestingly, in Dutch, the in-laws are sometimes called ‘*familie van de koude kant*’, meaning the ‘cold side’ of the family in the sense of being more distant to the heart and not part the ‘warm’ blood-related family.²⁴⁷ But there is little evidence the Egyptians thought like that.²⁴⁸ On the contrary, here it is clear that

sence of any other inscriptional evidence from the house P. 47.3, its identification as being owned (or even just used) by the overseer of the works, the sculptor Thutmose, remains tentative. See Seyfried, ‘Workshop’, 176, acknowledged by Zivie, ‘Nefertiti’, 65, footnote 11. For the initial idea see Rolf Krauss. ‘Der Bildhauer Thutmose in Amarna.’ *Jahrbuch Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 20 (1983): 119–132; and see Berlin, ÄMP inv. no. 21193.

243 Note that Alain Zivie assumes a shared history at Amarna by both characters and that the burial place next to Maïa was therefore deliberately chosen by Thutmosis, see Alain Zivie. ‘From Maïa to Meritaten.’ *Saqqara Newsletter* 17 (2019): 47, footnote 4.

244 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 98.

245 For Thebes see e.g. Daniel Polz. ‘Bemerkungen zur Grabbenutzung in der thebanischen Nekropole.’ *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 46 (1990): 301–336 and JJ Shirley. ‘One tomb, two owners: Theban tomb 122 – re-use or planned family tomb?’ In: *Millions of jubilees: studies in honor of David P. Silverman* edited by Zahi Hawass and Jennifer Houser Wegner 2, 271–301. Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités, 2010 For a recent summary see Staring, ‘Adaptation of earlier tombs’.

246 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 80. Although Zivie seems to acknowledge this family relation in the first place, he then doubts it elsewhere by arguing that the spot in which Iniy appears in Kenna’s walls is not very prominent as the last one in a register of women (Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 102). There he would rather expect one of Kenna’s daughters i.e. making Kenna Thutmosis’s father and not brother-in-law, which in the thoughts of Zivie would even be less plausible for Iniy’s modest position on wall J in comparison to the prominent one on walls D and E.

247 See Van Dale online woordenboeken, Utrecht/Antwerpen 2009, ‘kant’ (12).

248 Possibly the Heqanakht-papyri reflect on some negative aspirations against a mother-in-law: Ines Köhler. ‘Mr. & Mrs. Heqanachte und ein erfolgreiches Familienunternehmen. Zum Status der Beteiligten in einem familiären Netzwerk.’ In: *Pérégrinations avec Erhart Graefe. Fest-*



Fig. 12: Thutmosis and Iniy’s double coffin worshipped by their son Itju, called Rara as *sem*-priest, and a daughter whose name has not been preserved. © Hypogées (picture MAFB / P. Chapuis) with kind permission from Alain Zivie.

it was the connection to the ‘cold’ side that was emphasised. The identification of a family connection by intermarriage should end any further discussion of whether the relationship between Kenna and Thutmosis was “familiar or purely professional”.²⁴⁹ Accepting the idea of the tomb as a family chapel including the in-laws also solves Zivie’s purely Egyptological problem of why the wife of ‘tomb owner’ Thutmosis would also appear in less prominent places, namely in her role as Kenna’s sister. Given that Iniy had a prominent spot in various texts

schrift zu seinem 75. Geburtstag, edited by Anke I. Blöbaum, Marianne Eaton-Krauss, and Annik Wüthrich, 261. Ägypten und Altes Testament 87. Münster: Zaphon, 2018.

²⁴⁹ Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 97: “*qu’il fût familial ou purement professionnel*”.

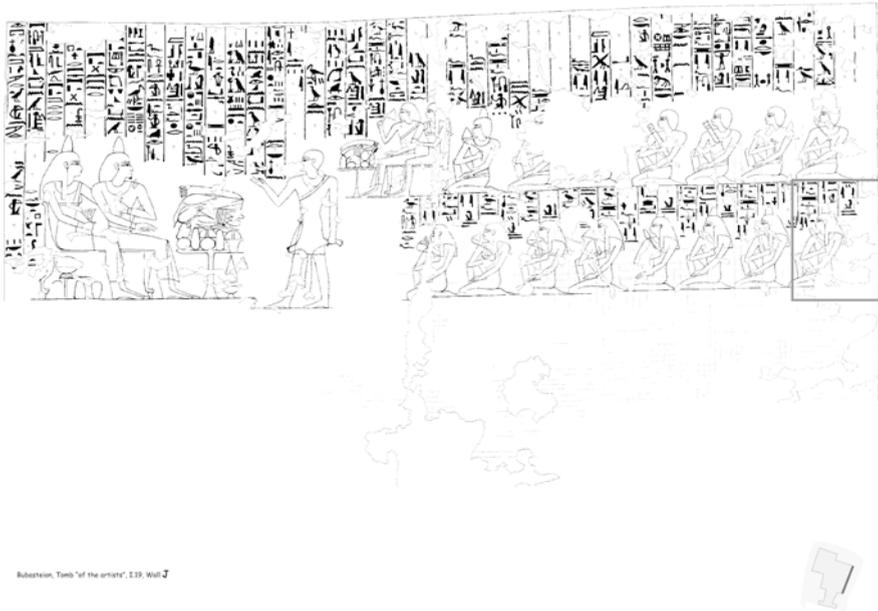


Fig. 13: Kenna and his wife, Hemetnetjer, seated in front of a priest and two rows of family members and perhaps colleagues. Iniy is indicated with the frame. © Hypogées (drawing MAFB / W. Schenck) with kind permission from to Alain Zivie.

and representations of the tomb, it is convincing to understand her role elsewhere as mainly stressing the important family ties (Fig. 13), rather than her own status which is sufficiently clear elsewhere.

The idea of a family chapel is further supported by the number of other family members: Thutmosis' parents Ra/Amenemwia (ii) and Mutemhenut (or -sekhut?) are mentioned in the text on wall C, but only his father is represented.²⁵⁰ Underneath traces of a text saying 'his son' (*s3=f*) have been preserved, possibly referring to Thutmosis, i.e. joining the two generations on this wall.²⁵¹ On wall D, Thutmosis appears with his wife Iniy, their seven children, and an anonymous *sem*-priest.²⁵² Most of the scene has been highly damaged and the names of the children are almost all gone, except for the names of two daughters, Djedet and Mutemsekhet, called Tuy.²⁵³

²⁵⁰ Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 30 and pl. 14.

²⁵¹ Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 32.

²⁵² Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 33–44 and pl. 15.

²⁵³ Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 44 and pl. 15

Wall E shows Thutmosis's (eldest?) son Itju, called Rara, who appears dressed as a *sem*-priest next to his sister, Thutmosis' daughter, whose name is lost and who is praying in front of the two coffins of their parents, with an offering table in between the coffin and the children.²⁵⁴ The scene of the coffins in frontal direction is quite unique. In the accompanying text beside the tomb owner and his wife and parents, appear Thutmosis' brother Kenamun/aton, the *jmy-r3 pr n nb t3wy Mn-nfr* Baki born by Aairetes, and yet again 'his sister' Iniy.²⁵⁵ Thutmosis' wife Iniy is thus present prominently in her coffin and is mentioned again here in the text in her role as Kenamun/Kenaton's sister. Kenamun/Kenaton is probably a long version of Kenna, for he is identified as Thutmosis' brother,²⁵⁶ i.e. stressing the brother-in-law relationship. As Egyptian couples were usually exclusive, Iniy was most probably not also married to Baki, hence we should also take the *sn.t3f* here literally as 'his sister' and not his spouse, i.e. the *3f* here referring to Baki not to Thutmosis – identifying Baki, like Kenna, as Thutmosis' brother-in-law.²⁵⁷ The lady Aairetes, who appears as Baki's mother (or step mother), would then be Thutmosis' mother-in-law.²⁵⁸ So again, the lady Iniy serves as key figure here explaining the family ties between the various members of (mainly her!) extended family that were represented in the tomb. This is interesting because it challenges the mainstream evidence from ancient Egypt that normally encourages a gender-bias in favour of men as tomb owners. Clearly here Thutmosis could still be considered as main sponsor of the family and hence the tomb, yet his wife Iniy served as an important link between the two families.

On wall F appear two grandsons, both draftsmen, Ptahmose (ii) and Ra, performing offerings in front of their seated grandparents.²⁵⁹ Ptahmose (ii) presents an incense arm and a libation on an offering table; Ra walks behind him and carries a smaller offering plate. Zivie's reasoning that these are the grandsons

254 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 46–47, Fig. 7 and pl. 19.

255 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 53–54 and text 20.

256 See also Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 54. See also Jean Revez. 'The metaphorical use of the kinship term *sn* 'brother'.' *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 40 (2003): 123–131.

257 Contra Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 103–107.

258 Zivie suggests that text 46 on the ceiling may suggest Aairetes may be the wife of Baki, but the reconstruction of Baki where a name is lost the inscription is tentative. If Zivie's reconstruction is right Baki's parents would be Ra(aton?) and Yuna, and perhaps mentioning Aairetes as a kind of second (step?) mother, but not necessarily as his wife, see charts by Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 105. The text runs as follows: [...] *m3c hrw ms(n) nb (.t) pr Jwnw jr.n R3(jtn?) nb.t pr 3c-jr.t3s* Texts 2 and 4 (Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 25–26) do not show any affiliation. Note that Kenna's mother is not attested, and even if she had another name it would not be odd to assume Kenna's father Kasa could have had sons from different wives.

259 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 58 and pl. 22.

based on the inscription above Thutmose and Iniy mentioning Itju called Rara is convincing.²⁶⁰ Apparently, three generations were represented in the decoration of the tomb, manifesting the artist tradition of the family.²⁶¹

The allegedly second family that appears in the tomb on the walls B, G, and most prominently J²⁶² is that of Kenna, whom we already related to Thutmose and Iniy. On wall J, i.e. on the right wall of the decorated room, the priest of Thoth and overseer of the painters, Kenna, is depicted with his wife, Hemetnetjer. The couple is seated on chairs in front of a large offering table. In front of them, their son Kasa acts as a *sem*-priest.²⁶³ Behind this larger figure of Kasa follow two registers of relatives. The top register contains a seated couple (his son the army scribe Sennefer (i) and his wife whose name has been lost)²⁶⁴ followed by seven men: his son (name lost),²⁶⁵ his son the army scribe Panehesy,²⁶⁶ [his son?] painter at the Place of the Truth Pay (ii),²⁶⁷ a lost fourth figure holding a scribal palette, his son²⁶⁸ the draftsman (?) in the gold house (*sš-[qd?] m ḥw.t nb.w*) Akhpet (ii), also holding scribal palette, another man whose name has not been preserved holding a piece of cloth, and then finally [his son?], his beloved the draftsman (*[sš]-qd*) Ptahemwia (iii).²⁶⁹ Underneath eight ladies sit in a register: the first four smelling an open lotus flower, the other four a flower with closed bouquet and wearing festive perfume cones on their heads, which the first four do not.²⁷⁰ The foremost five are Kenna's daughters, the last three are his sisters, but these terms have wider relational implications.²⁷¹ Their names are: his beloved daughter of his flesh, the chantress (*šm^cy.t?*) Amenawy, justified,²⁷² his [beloved] daughter (title lost) Nefertari,²⁷³ his daughter with both her name

260 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 57–58, text 22

261 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 59.

262 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 68–80, pl. 29.

263 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 71 and pl. 31.

264 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 72–73 and pl. 31.

265 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 73 and pl. 31.

266 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 74 and pl. 31.

267 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 75 and pl. 31.

268 As elsewhere the [s³] has not been preserved, but it is followed here by *n ḥ.t=f* of 'his flesh' perhaps stressing a biological filiation as opposed to mentorship, see also Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 76 and pl. 31. The reading 'gold house' is tentative. Yet, as Zivie notes, it is clear that this person is not, unlike the others, affiliated to the Place of the Truth, but to a temple.

269 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 77 and pl. 31.

270 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, pl. 31.

271 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 77.

272 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 78 and pl. 31.

273 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 78 and pl. 31.

and title lost, justified,²⁷⁴ his daughter, title lost, (...) -nenuy, his daughter the chantress of Amun Kha[yt?],²⁷⁵ his beloved sister, chantress of Amun, Huynef-fer,²⁷⁶ his beloved sister, the chantress of Amun (name lost),²⁷⁷ and finally his beloved sister, the singer of Amun Iniy.²⁷⁸ We have seen that Iniy was married to Thutmosis, making Kenna Thutmosis' brother-in-law.²⁷⁹

On wall K a man, probably Sennefer (i), the army scribe and son of Kasa, kneels in adoration;²⁸⁰ underneath a small standing figure is badly preserved with no inscription remaining.²⁸¹ An offering scene with a seated person on the lower part of the wall remained unfinished.²⁸²

A ceiling fragment of the tomb did not preserve the name of the son (?) of Iuna "made by the official (*s3b*) Raja [or Raaton] [and?] the lady of the house Aairetes".²⁸³ The latter appeared as mother of the *jmy-r3 pr n nb t3wy Mn-nfr* Baki on wall E,²⁸⁴ which via Baki's sister Iniy identifies her as Thutmosis' mother-in-law.

The larger part of the tomb chamber near walls I and J was supposed to be carried by a pillar, made of four stone blocks.²⁸⁵ It carries the name of Kenna, his wife, and their son Pay (ii).²⁸⁶ Zivie wondered if a crack in the ceiling above and the necessity to support the roof led Thutmosis to accept the blocking of his northern wall I, showing the adoration of Osiris by Amenwia and himself.²⁸⁷ The sketchy unfinished design of the pillar decoration could indeed suggest that it was applied later, but this does not necessarily mean that Kenna was imposing himself into Thutmosis' tomb. On the contrary, as argued above, the family ties between the tomb actors suggest tomb sharing rather than usurpation.²⁸⁸

274 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 78–79 and pl. 31.

275 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 79 and pl. 31.

276 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 79 and pl. 31.

277 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 80 and pl. 31.

278 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 80 and pl. 31.

279 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 80.

280 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 81–82 and pl. 32.

281 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 81 and pl. 32.

282 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 82 and pl. 32.

283 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 86 and pl. 33.

284 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 53–54 and text 20.

285 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 88, pls 3, 34 and 85.

286 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 88. Pay is not named son here, but this is clear from text 6 (Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 28), see Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 89, again not constructing an unnecessary amount of further unidentified namesakes.

287 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 88.

288 For friendly legitimate tomb re-use in Thebes, see for example, Andrea Kucharek. 'Restitutio Memoriae. Nacht-Amun schließt einen Vertrag mit dem Jenseits.' In: *Grab und Totenkult im*

The southern, most visible side of the pillar is decorated and inscribed with the supervisor of the draftsmen, Kenna, accompanied by one of his sons, who was also draftsman, called Pay (ii).²⁸⁹ The latter is depicted very small in scale between Kenna's legs. On the eastern side Kenna's wife, Hemetnetjer, appears, like on walls G and J, standing in adoration facing right, which is inwards, and holding a Hathor sistrum.²⁹⁰ On the east side another standing male is represented which could be Kenna, but no text has been preserved.²⁹¹ Finally, on the northern side a kneeling male is visible, again with no inscription, but it could again be a son in adoration.²⁹²

Iniy's family tomb is thus a good example of several generations of her (and indeed her husband's) extended family, and indeed of the importance of tomb representations to demonstrate and enhance the family ties in the commemoration of the family forever.

2.2.9 The tomb of Pabes

It seems emphasising one's relation to a family could be even more important when it was not blood ties that connected the group. This idea is supported by another Saqqara tomb in which potentially no family relation existed, but it was constructed in stone and thereby reconfirmed for eternity. This seems to apply to Pabes' tomb. Unlike Iniy's family tomb, it does not have a rock-cut chapel, but a monumental one, and is situated in the area of the Leiden-Turin concession south of the causeway of the Unas pyramid. To be precise Pabes' tomb lies "behind and to the west" of Khay (i)'s tomb, the latter who is usually considered Pabes' father in line with the tomb inscriptions.²⁹³ Like Khay (i), Pabes was also troop commander (*hry-pd.t*)²⁹⁴ and apparently trained by him.²⁹⁵ Interestingly Pabes is not attested in Khay (i)'s tomb, but built his own chapel in its very close vicinity. The excavators suggested that both tombs were built together

alten Ägypten edited by Heike Guksch, Eva Hofmann, and Martin Bommas, 163–174. Munich: Beck, 2003, with references.

289 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 88–89 and pl. 34.

290 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 89 and pl. 34.

291 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 90 and pl. 34.

292 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 90 and pl. 34.

293 Martin et al., *Memphite Officials*, 18 and pl. 1.

294 Martin et al., *Memphite Officials*, 19 [1] and pl. 15.

295 *Jr(w) hr-ꜥ n jt-ꜥj*, 'working under the supervision of (literally the arm) of my father', see Martin et al., *Memphite Officials*, 20, note 3 and [4], pl. 17.

and meant to be a “family burial complex”, and that this is the reason why Pabes is absent in the decoration of Khay (i)’s tomb.²⁹⁶ The similar style is apparent, but that would not exclude a representation in both tombs of Pabes, whose absence remains odd. Perhaps more convincingly Pabes was not in fact Khay (i)’s biological son, but rather taken under his wing and treated as a son.²⁹⁷ This interpretation could also explain why “Pabes’ chapel [...] almost create[s] the impression of a memorial chapel for his relatives”.²⁹⁸ For example, on the southern doorjamb a text seems to say that [his? i. e. Pabes’] family make their names live (*[n3y=f?] snw s'nh m=w*), which would indeed be highly unusual,²⁹⁹ as normally one lets his/her own name live through the reading of the name by others. Yet if indeed Pabes wanted to stress his relationship to Khay (i) family, he would have had a strong motivation of letting *their* names (and thereby his connection to them) live in his tomb. On the south wall the previous excavators have reconstructed a text “[The Osiris, the troop commander of the traders] of the lord of the two lands, [the gold washer Kha]y” (i) and tentatively identified the other figures as Pabes’ brothers, Amenkhau and Neferabu, and either Piay (ii) or Amenemope (ii), and perhaps two otherwise unknown sisters or wives of his brothers.³⁰⁰ What is odd is that a scene of Pabes and his wife Taweretemheb receiving funerary offerings is missing. They do appear on a statue now in Leiden which shows the couple in front of the goddess Hathor and which surely served as a main focus of worship in the central chapel.³⁰¹ This statue also mentions Pabes’ own children, and hence includes them into the cult: his sons the *wab*-priest Ptahemwia (iv) , the temple scribe Semenmaatnakht, and the *wab*-priest Amenhotep, and Pabes’ daughters, both chantresses of Ptah, Isis and Nebetakhbit.³⁰² The presence of his (adoptive?) father and potentially not blood-related ‘siblings-of-choice’ and the absence of Pabes’ own family might suggest that Pabes was an orphan or of lower descent and prospered through the mentorship of his supervisor Khay (i). Both Khay (i) and Pabes represented aspects of his work in their tomb, which is quite common. Yet in Pabes’ case these representa-

296 Martin et al., *Memphite Officials*, 24.

297 That this was common practice is also known from Deir el-Medina: Morris L. Bierbrier. ‘Terms of relationship at Deir el-Medīna.’ *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 66 (1980): 101–102.

298 Martin et al., *Memphite Officials*, 24, not considering the option that Pabes was not Khay (i)’s biological son, rather they view him as his eldest son and wonder if he predeceased his father see Martin et al., *Memphite Officials*, 28.

299 Martin et al., *Memphite Officials*, 21, note 6–7, [7] and pl. 16.

300 Martin et al., *Memphite Officials*, 21 [6] and pl. 19.

301 Martin et al., *Memphite Officials*, 24 and see Leiden inv. no. AM 108 see Martin et al., *Memphite Officials*, 22 [13] and pl. 24 and 70–71.

302 Martin et al., *Memphite Officials*, 22 [13] and pl. 18.

tions might be understood in terms of once again stressing the connection to his (adoptive?) father. Interestingly, on the northern wall of Pabes' central chapel "the unloading of ships and weighing of goods, presumably in Memphis" is depicted in the relief.³⁰³ The small figure checking the weighing procedure is identified as deputy commander of traders (*jdhw (?) pd.t šwy.ty*) Neferher,³⁰⁴ i. e. working for his superior Pabes. Underneath the name of the chief artisan (*hry hmw.tjw*) Penanuket is written,³⁰⁵ but if there was a related figure, it is now lost. So beside his (new?) family Pabes also depicted two of his employees in his tomb. Such daily life representations are nothing unusual, and are usually understood as underlining people's job and apt performance of duties.³⁰⁶ Yet it is interesting that Pabes considered naming his assistants, thereby handing over his own acquired status to them.

2.2.10 The tomb of Amenemone (ii)

The tomb of the 18th-dynasty overseer of the craftsmen (*jmy-rʿ hmw.t*) and chief of the goldsmiths (*jmy-rʿ nbyw*) Amenemone (ii) is situated in the northern part of the Teti Pyramid cemetery.³⁰⁷ Amenemone (ii) is probably the same person that appears as offering bearer in the tomb of Maya.³⁰⁸ Perhaps his son Ptahmose (iii) was Maya's personal secretary and is also depicted here.³⁰⁹ Their representation in Maya's tomb and the potential social and spiritual capital they gained from that is discussed below (see section 2.3.5.). Interestingly, Amenemone (ii) himself did not seem to feel the need to hand comparable favours down to his own employees. Except for his family members, all other offering bearers and priests are anonymous figures. For example, on the lower register of the west wall of the antechapel a very general offering formula wishes that "your name may be invoked daily by the *wab*-priests and the lector priests" (*wʿb.w hry.w-ḥb*).³¹⁰ The phrase can be understood as 'your name will be invoked continuously by

303 Martin et al., *Memphite Officials*, 20 [4] and pl. 17.

304 The excavators identified as such the first of the men carrying goods, which seems less plausible.

305 Martin et al., *Memphite Officials*, 20 [4] and pl. 17.

306 See e. g. Hartwig, *Tomb painting*, 50.

307 Ockinga, *Amenemone*, 15.

308 Ockinga, *Amenemone*, 19 and see also Jocelyne Berlandini-Grenier. 'Varia Memphitica I (I).' *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 76 (1976): 312.

309 Ockinga, *Amenemone*, 20–21. As Ockinga notes the specific reference to his superior "would not have been used outside the latter's tomb".

310 Ockinga, *Amenemone*, 62, pl. 61 column 4–5.

these types of priests forever'. Although one should not generally exclude the possibility that contemporaries of the deceased people knew who was meant in an the anonymous representation of, for example, the *wab*-priests typically in charge of these offerings in a specific tomb, individuals only become identifiable for eternity (including us today) when their name, title and/or affiliation is written.³¹¹ Representations of anonymous people hence did not enter the eternal commemoration of the deceased in the same way. Their names – if known – were forgotten after three or four generations at the most.³¹² Only by being personified as individuals by name, title and/or affiliation, people could be recognised in the tomb decoration and gain status from the fact that they were represented in a high official's tomb, fulfilling important duties, showing their loyalty and demonstrating that they are being favoured by the tomb owner.

2.2.11 The tomb of Ry (i)

The tomb of Ry (i) was recently identified as such in the Leiden-Turin concession area by Nico Staring.³¹³ It is an example of family commemoration with support of a priest, apparently in absence of children. The reliefs are discussed here where relevant in the order Staring has given to them in his reconstruction.³¹⁴ The south-eastern stela contains a hymn to the sun god, and mentions Ry (i) with his titles *jry-p^c.t h^cty-^c htm.w-bj.tj smr w^cty s3b n mnf3.t hry pd.tjw* (noble and count, seal bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, senior official of the infantry and overseer of bowmen), but no other family members. Unfortunately, the lunette has not yet been rediscovered but it seems plausible that only his wife Maia (i) was represented here, who also appears on the main stela in Ry (i)'s inner sanctuary.³¹⁵ No other family members appear on the stela, which suggests that the couple had no children and perhaps even no other close relatives. Many of the offering bearers remain anonymous,³¹⁶ but there are a few exceptions. For

311 Compare also a similar interpretation of graffiti by individuals with name and title by Staring, 'Tomb-graffiti', 90.

312 Duncan Sayer. 'Death and the family. Developing generational chronologies.' *Journal of Social Archaeology* 10 (1) (2010): 59–91.

313 Nico Staring. 'The Late Eighteenth Dynasty Tomb of Ry at Saqqara (Reign of Tutankhamun). Horemheb's Chief of Bowmen and Overseer of Horses Contextualised.' *Rivista del Museo Egizio* 4 (2020).

314 Staring, 'Ry', Fig. 8.

315 Berlin, ÄMP inv. no. 7280, see Staring, 'Ry', Fig. 14a.

316 E.g. on a block now in Berlin (ÄMP, inv. no. 7277) that shows two officials with wigs and five bald ones, see Staring, 'Ry', Fig. 13.

example, on the north wall of the inner sanctuary Ry (i) appears in adoration of Re-Horakhty.³¹⁷ Underneath is a register with seven offering bearers, which is in fact the one that provided Staring's the first join. Six of the men remain anonymous except the foremost one, who is accompanied by a column of text that identifies him as the servant Ka (i). Two other offering bearers appear prominently in an offering scene on the north wall of the antechapel.³¹⁸ The *hry-jh.w* Maya (ii) and *sdm* ʕ Ahanefer present an incense and libation offering in front of Ry (i) and his wife.³¹⁹ Finally, a wall on the entrance doorway shows five offering bearers (two of which are female) with traces of a title (*hry-ḥb*).³²⁰ The others are anonymous. So Ry (i) and his wife also chose certain people – perhaps particularly close servants and a colleague – to be presented as recognisable individuals in their tomb. In this case it seems that in absence of children or perhaps even other close relatives, colleague Maya (ii) took over the role of the eldest son.

2.2.12 Some notes on other family tombs in the Cairo concession area

The tomb of Irwkhy has been mentioned above. Other tombs in the area are less well preserved. In the tomb of Nebnefer and his son Mahu (S.218) we see a subordinate of Mahu (who was overseer of the treasury of Ptah), called Horemwia presenting offerings to the deceased.³²¹ A lector priest is named in the second court, and perhaps called Nakhthor.³²² Directly adjacent to the south is the tomb of Huynefer (Saqqara tomb S.217), brother of Mahu.³²³ The central stela of this Ramesside tomb attests Huynefer's parents Nebnefer and Tuyhemmaat, his two uncles on his father's side, Amenemope (iii) and Renenhor, as well as his brother Mahu.³²⁴ Amenemone (iii)'s wife is called Baketpipu.³²⁵ Unrelated to that family is the tomb of Amenemone (iv),³²⁶ whose tomb is also not well pre-

317 Relief Berlin, ÄMP inv. no. 7275, see Staring, 'Ry', Fig. 15.

318 Berlin, ÄMP inv. no. 7278, see Staring, 'Ry', Fig. 17.

319 Relief Berlin ÄMP inv. no. 7278, see Martin, *Corpus*, 20–21 (42) and pl. 15.

320 Relief Brooklyn 37.39E, see Martin, *Corpus*, 22 (44) and pl. 17.

321 Second court north wall, west end: see Gohary, *Nebnefer*, 21 and pl. 23b.

322 Invisible of the photo unfortunately, see Gohary, *Nebnefer*, 30 and pl. 43 (on column M).

323 Gohary, 'Huynefer', 159–163.

324 Gohary, 'Huynefer', 160–161.

325 Gohary, 'Huynefer', 161.

326 Said Gohary. 'The tomb-chapel of the royal scribe Amenemone at Saqqara.' *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 91 (1991): 195–205.

served unfortunately. From what remains, Amenemone (iv) just mentions his wife Meritptah, but no other family members.³²⁷

2.3 Commemoration of office

Apart from (extended) family groups in offering scenes, the 18th-dynasty tombs in particular frequently show representations that can be related to the profession of the main tomb owner. The inclusion of colleagues and employees into the tomb decoration is a development that started already in the Old³²⁸ and Middle Kingdoms.³²⁹ When they are named they are included in the memory of the tomb. For the more generic, sometimes so-called ‘daily life scenes’, scholars have been debating for some decades, polarised between ‘realists’ and ‘symbolists’ on the question of how these scenes should be interpreted: some scholars suggested that these scenes show an idealised afterlife, reflecting concepts of rejuvenation and eternal provision,³³⁰ others see commemoration of historical events underlining the tomb owners’ actual daily activities, i.e. viewing them as autobiographical, or more plausibly both.³³¹

327 Gohary, ‘Amenemone’, 201 pl. 57. It is somewhat unusual that Amenemone (ii) mirrored their representation on the central stela instead of for example adding his parents or other family members.

328 Johannes Auenmüller. ‘Society and Iconography. On the Sociological Analysis of Iconographic Programs of Old Kingdom Elite Tombs.’ In: *The Perfection endures...* *Studies on Old Kingdom Archaeology* edited by Kamil O. Kuraszkiewicz, Edyta Kopp, and Daniel Takács, 15–41. Warsaw: Department of Egyptology, Faculty of Oriental Studies University of Warsaw, 2018.

329 Compare Melinda G. Nelson-Hurst. ‘The increasing emphasis on collateral and female kin in the Late Middle Kingdom and Second intermediate period: the vivification formula as a case study.’ In: *Current Research in Egyptology. Proceedings of the eleventh annual symposium 2010* edited by Maarten Horn, Joost Kramer, Daniel Soliman, Nico Staring, Carina van den Hoven, and Lara Weiss, 116. Oxford: Oxbow, 2011, 116 and see McCorquodale, ‘Reconsidering’, 77 both on the formula of ‘reviving the name’.

330 Which is correct but not exclusive. Surely the deceased were involved in these activities by means of representation, yet I hope to have demonstrated that they should not be viewed as idealised realities *only*. Unfortunately even very recent studies continue rather traditional understandings of Egyptian tomb representation, e.g. Nadja S. Braun. *Bilder erzählen. Visuelle Narrativität im alten Ägypten*. Heidelberg: Propylaen, 2020, 106 stating that tomb representations are mainly meant as a guarantee for the tomb owner to reach the afterlife.

331 A recent very helpful summary is found in Van Walsem, ‘Bioconographies’; and see also Van Walsem, ‘Fallacies’, 240–242 and 267–268 with references and René van Walsem. ‘The caption to a cattle-fording scene in a tomb at Saqqara and its implications for the Seh/Sinnbild discussion on Egyptian iconography.’ In: *Egyptian religion: the last thousand years. Studies dedicat-*

2.3.1 The tomb of Ptahemwia (i)

The tomb of the royal butler Ptahemwia (i) (*temp.* Akhenaten and Tutankhamun) is situated east of the tomb of Meryneith. Unfortunately the main chapels have lost most of their reliefs. From what is left it seems that the decoration centred on Ptahemwia (i) and his family.³³² Several other figures remain anonymous, because the upper part of the relief where their names and titles were probably represented has been lost.³³³ Whereas the boundary between which reminiscence clusters were commemorated in tombs is fluid, and as we have seen frequently overlaps, what is left in the reliefs Ptahemwia (i) seems to fit better in the category of tomb owners putting a stronger emphasis on office than on (extended) family ties. One such tomb owner who does not seem to mention his parents is Ptahemwia (i), who was probably Paatenemheb's predecessor at the end of the 18th dynasty.³³⁴ Raven suggests that this is an indication of him being “one of the *homines novi*” who rose in status during the reign of Akhenaten,³³⁵ which is possible. In his tomb, Ptahemwia (i) shows himself as a successful official having received the gold of honour.³³⁶ A very illustrative scene showing lots of people is Ptahemwia (i)'s arrival in a harbour scene with three boats and his wife Mía sitting in a nearby tent.³³⁷ Among the various Egyptian and foreign officials and servants serving the couple and arranging their belongings – including a chariot, another clear status symbol – only the ‘supervisor of the entourage’ Huy (iv) is named.³³⁸ Although the hieroglyphs are small and quickly

ed to the memory of Jan Quaegebeur edited by Willy Clarysse, Antoon Schoors, and Harco Willem, II, 1469–1485, Leuven: Peeters, 1998.

332 Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 91 and see Maarten J. Raven. ‘What the butler saw: the life and times of Ptahemwia, royal butler at Memphis.’ In: *Abusir and Saqqara in the year 2015* edited by Miroslav Bárta, Filip Coppens, and Jaromír Krejčí, 583–591. Prague: Faculty of Arts, Charles University, 2017.

333 For example, six officials stand (in front of Ptahemwia (i) (?) on the south wall, see Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 66–67 [3].

334 Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 21. Note, however, that the tomb remained unfinished and is partly robbed. Important elements such as the central chapel are not preserved. See Weiss, ‘Alltagswelt’ for a detailed study of tomb chapel of Paatenemheb, which is now in Leiden.

335 Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 21.

336 Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 24.

337 Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 24.

338 Note that Raven translates “commander of the escort”, see Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 24 and hints that *ḥry šms.w=f* could be an abbreviation of *ḥry šms.w n nb tʔ.wy*, hence his escort is the king's escort. In the discussion of the relief the title is rendered as “chief of his following”, which indeed makes more sense relating to Ptahemwia (i)'s staff rather than the king's. For a non-royal *ḥry šms.w* see e.g. The papyrus with Leiden inv. no. AMS 54 (formerly known as P. Leiden I 350),

written, it seems that it was part of the original design elevating his ‘entourage manager’. Interesting is also a probably foreign couple of a man and a woman with ‘Asiatic’ hair dress composed of three hair locks, that appears in Mia’s tent (Fig. 14),³³⁹ and another foreign-looking man in Mia’s tent, yet all are unfortunately unnamed.³⁴⁰ They could be from Mitanni, like parallels from Horemheb and Huya in Amarna suggest,³⁴¹ and it may be a status symbol to show such generic Asian companions in one’s tomb. Raven suggests Ptahemwia (i) “had Asiatic blood” himself and that the “two mysterious attendants may be relatives of his”,³⁴² in which case, however, one would expect affiliations and names.

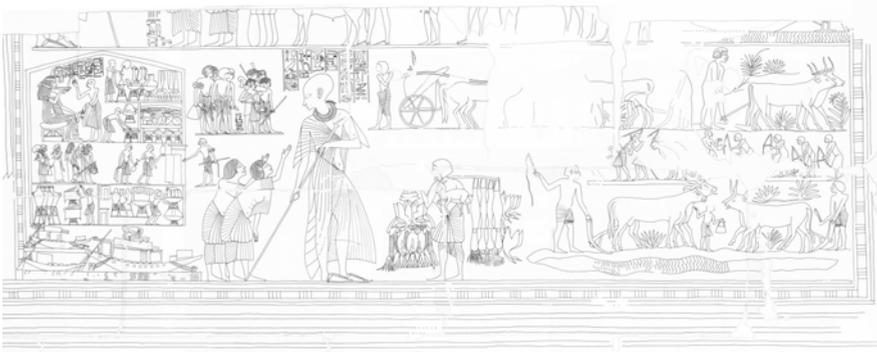


Fig. 14: Wall of the tomb of Ptahemwia (i). © Leiden-Turin Expedition to Saqqara. Drawing by Dorothea Schulz.

recto, col. III, 35, see *TLA*, Dokument DZA 30.138.470. Considering them as bodyguards seems to be a quite specific connotation for armed guards that were indicated as armed guards more generally. The same applies to the Nubian guarding the entrance to the tent of Mia. For possible royal bodyguards under Ramesses II see Mohamed Raafat Abbas. ‘A survey of the military role of the Sherden warriors in the Egyptian army during the Ramesside period.’ *Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne* 10 (2017): 7–23.

339 In the ‘Opening of the Mouth’ scene Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 72–75 [11B].

340 Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 25.

341 Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 25 with reference to Geoffrey T. Martin. *The Memphite tomb of Horemheb, commander-in-chief of Tut’ankhamūn, I: the reliefs, inscriptions, and commentary. Excavation Memoir* 55. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1989, [2] and [76], Norman de Garis Davies. *The rock tombs of el Amarna, 6 vols. Archaeological Survey of Egypt* 13–18. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1903–1908, III, pl. 14, see Wolfgang Helck. *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 5. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962, 345.

342 Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 25.

Certainly interesting with respect to his position as royal butler is the representation of an armoury workshop on the north wall of the antechapel.³⁴³ As Drenkhahn notes, the production of weapons in the New Kingdom was usually related to either the palace or temples.³⁴⁴ Certainly Ptahemwia (i) was proud to commemorate this important work in his tomb. In this respect its perhaps also worth mentioning a dossier of papyri now in Bologna that attests a royal armoury (*ḥpš*) in Memphis in the Ramesside period.³⁴⁵

Relief parallels mentioned by Raven³⁴⁶ are Ipuya's tomb at the Teti cemetery,³⁴⁷ and four loose blocks found by Quibell, one of which mentions a Kyjry,³⁴⁸ a loose block in the SCA storage,³⁴⁹ and a detail on the stela of Hor,³⁵⁰ and a block now in Florence (inv. no. 2606).³⁵¹

Yet, Ptahemwia (i) was surely also interested in representing his nuclear family: his wife Mia, their two sons, and another lady called Ipay.³⁵² The latter's status is again obscured by the Egyptian practice of using the term 'sn.t' for both wife and sister. Ipay is also *nb.t pr* ('mistress of the house'), but since she is depicted in smaller scale underneath the deceased couple in the Opening of the

343 Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 97 [23].

344 Drenkhahn, *Handwerker*, 132 with reference to Ahmad Badawi. *Memphis als zweite Landeshauptstadt im Neuen Reich*. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1948, 104 ff. and Serge Sauneron. 'La manufacture d'armes de Memphis.' *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 54 (1954): 7–12.

345 Probably dating to year 9 of Merenptah or later, see Alan H. Gardiner. *Late-Egyptian miscellanies. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca* 7. Bruxelles: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1937, xiii. pBologna 1094 (Miscellanies), recto 1.2–1.9 (today Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico EG 3162) is a letter in which weapons are requested for the king's *Sed*-festival. See Gardiner, *Miscellanies*, xiii and 1–12a; Ricardo A. Caminos. *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies. Brown Egyptological Studies* I. London: Oxford University Press, 1954, 1–34; Arthur Lincke. *Correspondenzen aus der Zeit der Ramessiden. Zwei hieratische Papyri des Museo Civico zu Bologna*. Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrien, 1878, pl. 1–13; Sergio Pernigotti. 'Documenti di cultura scolastica nell'Antico Egitto.' *Antiqua* 12 (1979): 7–18; and Sergio Pernigotti. *Scuola e cultura nell'Egitto del Nuovo Regno. Le "miscellanee neo-egiziane"*. Brescia: Peideia, 2005, 51–63 and see Sauneron, 'D'armes de Memphis', 8–9 and *TLA*, lemma no. 116480.

346 Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 98.

347 See also Sauneron, 'D'armes de Memphis', 10, Fig. 1.

348 Sauneron, 'D'armes de Memphis', 10–11, Fig. 2.

349 Martin, *Corpus*, no. 32.

350 Louvre stela C 259, see Guillemette Andreu, Marie-Hélène Rutschowskaya, and Christiane Ziegler. *L'Égypte ancienne au Louvre*. Paris: Hachette, 1997, 136–137.

351 See also Sauneron, 'D'armes de Memphis', 1, Fig. 3. Interestingly the Florence block identifies titles: two sandal makers (*tbw*), a craftsman (and?) a sculptor (*ḥmwjt / qdw*), but no names.

352 Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 21.

Mouth scene, here probably ‘sister’ is meant and not (second) wife.³⁵³ The woman next to her might be another relative but remains anonymous.³⁵⁴ In the same scene two naked boys appear, in front of which is written the curious name (?) -khemu-(?)pashemsef.³⁵⁵ Van Pelt has suggested to read two names, instead of one, but that’s also odd given only one determinative.³⁵⁶ The other figures in the tomb remain anonymous.³⁵⁷ In that respect Ptahemwia (i) is a good example of commemorating multiple layers of both his private and professional identity in his tomb.

2.3.2 The tomb of Meryneith

Meryneith’s (*temp.* Akhenaten) tomb was built in several phases on top of probably an Early Dynastic royal tomb,³⁵⁸ and to the west of the tomb of Ptahemwia (i). The superstructure consists of a central chapel with two flanking ones, a pillared courtyard, two more chapels left and right of the entrance and a forecourt. Meryneith was steward of the temple of Aten in Memphis (*jmy-rʿ r pr n pr Jtn m Mn-nfr*) and perhaps also in the city of Amarna,³⁵⁹ greatest of seers of Aten, and also high priest of Neith, among other things.³⁶⁰ Of his family, only his father the *sʿb* Khaut is known,³⁶¹ and his wife, Anuy.³⁶² Possibly Meryneith also commemo-

353 Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 22 and 75–76 [11].

354 Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 22 and 75–76 [11].

355 Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 22 and 75–76 [11].

356 Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 21, with reference to W. Paul van Pelt. ‘In his majesty’s service: the family and career of Ptahemwia, “royal butler, clean of hands”.’ *Saqqara Newsletter* 10 (2012): 83 and note 13; and see Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 368.4, and II, 327.13.

357 Perhaps the unfinished mourners, and the people offering and performing the ritual of the Breaking of the Red Pots were meant to be identified at a later stage of the yet unfinished carving, but in view of other parallels such as in the tomb of Horemheb that is rather unlikely: Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 89–90.

358 Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 61–75.

359 See Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 41–44 for a discussion of the matter. Being steward in two places alike is not necessarily a problem since we know officials travelled a lot also to Thebes, for instance, and besides, the positions might also have been taken subsequently instead of simultaneously. Compare also the discussion by Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 50–51.

360 Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 41–45.

361 In the Amarna Period it was common for high officials to present themselves as not having a high elite background, see also Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 46 and see 124–125 [30].

362 Note that there has been some discussion about the question of whether the Memphite Meryneith/re is identical to Meryre I at Amarna, and whether the latter’s wife Tener is identical

rated his extended family: on the southern and northern wall of the north-east chapel of his tomb a wall painting shows several men and women in front of the deceased Meryneith and Anuy (and in the case of the southern wall another woman), who receive offerings from a priest.³⁶³ The excavators suggested the “knotted straps worn around the wigs of the female guest may be an indication of mourning”; while this is possible, they are clearly being served and set into a festive, abundant atmosphere.³⁶⁴ Unfortunately no names were added. The central wall shows an offering scene of Meryneith and Anuy.³⁶⁵ The pottery found in the north-west chapel dates to the 19th dynasty and seems to belong to later burials in that area.³⁶⁶ It is thus unclear whether funerary or post-funeral banquets were held here or not.³⁶⁷ Clearly in one of their offering chapels, Meryneith and Anuy surrounded themselves by a – for New Kingdom Saqqara – unusually high number of people (named or generic is unclear), a feature more common for Thebes.

His tomb is then also mainly decorated with relief decorations commemorating Meryneith’s high status. As far as the reliefs and wall paintings have been preserved, with one exception all offering bearers and attendants of the funerary procession remained anonymous, as did the numerous other servants and officials in Meryneith’s service. Clearly Meryneith hinted at mass impact rather than distinguishing individuals. For example, his funerary procession was attended by several groups totalling more than hundred male and female mourners,³⁶⁸ various groups arriving by chariot,³⁶⁹ and a maximum abundance of supplies.³⁷⁰ If individuals have hieroglyphic captions, such as in the Opening of the

to Anuy, see Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 52–53 with footnote 169. This matter cannot be solved here. Curiously both tombs have a relation to a Hattiy, in Amarna Meryre came after Hattiy, and in Saqqara it was the other way round (he was buried in Meryneith’s forecourt and installed a stela there, see Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 78–81 [3]). However, Hattiy is a very common name, and the titles were different, see Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 53.

363 The men sit on chairs in the register above the women, who sit on cushions. The upper offering scene has not been preserved. see Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 139–142 [43].

364 Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 142 with reference to Werbrouck, *Pleureuses*, 131, although they may appear in other occasions as well.

365 Or rather here named Meryre, see Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 143–145 [44].

366 Amanda Dunsmore, ‘Pottery’, in Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 271.

367 See also Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 219 with reference to Hartwig, *Tomb painting*, § 3.2.7.

368 Since some reliefs are damaged an exact count is difficult see Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 92–99 [14–16].

369 Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 95–97 [15].

370 Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 94–100 [15–16b] and see also 109–111 [23] for the funerary offerings.



Fig. 15: Meryneith's harbour scene. © Leiden-Turin Expedition to Saqqara.

Mouth ritual, these are generic titles like lector priest or *sem*-priest, and no names.³⁷¹ The veneration of gods is virtually absent in his tomb. One scene shows Meryneith in adoration of the two (of four) so-called 'sons of Horus', namely here the two called Hapy and Qebekhsenuf, as well as the gods Maat, Anubis, Hathor, Neith, and Selket. It was part of a larger scene with a litany to the god Osiris.³⁷² Apart from his funeral and related scenes, Meryneith focussed on 'daily life' scenes celebrating his capacities and high status. The granary of (probably) the Memphite Aten-temple is shown, including activities of inspection and measuring, but also stables and the harbour,³⁷³ with again a large number of anonymous individuals in service of their master (Fig. 15).

This absence of naming also seems to apply to the wall paintings in the vaulted south-west³⁷⁴ and north-west chapels, although the higher sections

³⁷¹ Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 120–126 [28–30], although many individuals are generic as well Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 152–153 [67], unfortunately found loose in his tomb.

³⁷² Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 117–120 [27 and 27a-c].

³⁷³ Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 101–104 [17] and 113–117 [26]. Note that two representations of Akhenaten on kiosks standing on one of the royal barques were removed at some point (p. 113).

³⁷⁴ This is also the place where the double statue of Meryneith and his wife Anuy was found still *in situ*, see Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 187.

where inscriptions could be expected are not very well preserved.³⁷⁵ Of the central chapel, only a section of the north wall and the lower sections of the screen walls have been preserved.³⁷⁶ The walls show some anonymous offering bearers³⁷⁷ in relief decoration and the remains of representations of the tomb owner Meryneith.³⁷⁸ Interestingly, he used the eastern face of the northern screen wall yet again for a commemoration of his office: the relief shows the lower part of the standing figure of Meryneith inspecting several workshops, probably related to the temple of Aten.³⁷⁹ Four scribes report to him, and it is difficult to say whether they were originally named, as again the upper section is broken. Between them, two chests with goods from the workshop were placed and three tables with various items of jewellery.³⁸⁰ Behind them two anonymous workmen are engaged in metal production. Besides the burin-bearer (*tȝy-bsn.t*),³⁸¹ Khay (iii) is shown seated on a chair working with his chisel on a finished vase. Two other workmen and a child have been preserved on a smaller scale beside him.³⁸² It seems curious that Meryneith would have given the honours to just one workman – Khay (iii) – in his tomb while ‘generifying’ all other high officials. Indeed, the inscription is incised not very deeply and looks somewhat sketchy, while on the other hand it clearly respects the original design. I therefore wonder, if it may be secondary and as such not part of the decoration as planned by the tomb owner.³⁸³ So instead of a commemoration of a single individual by Meryneith, we may speculate that it have been Khay (iii)’s own initiative to carefully identify himself by a small line of text, thereby writing himself into the memory of the tomb. Yet we know very little about how exactly tomb decoration was organised, i. e. to what extent the tomb owners cared for every single detail, and what might have been artistic freedom within the frame of the general decorum. In summary, we may conclude that Meryneith chose a very wide range of topics, perhaps also due to the changing political circumstances at the time his tomb was built.

375 Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 130–135 [33–36] and 139–149 and [43–46].

376 Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 136.

377 Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 136 [37].

378 Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 137 [39–41], [40] of which in writing.

379 Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 138–139 [42].

380 Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 138 [42] left.

381 Wb I, 477.6. The excavators translate ‘engraver’, which is commonly translated rather from *tȝy-mḏȝ.t* (see Wb II, 188.10).

382 Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 139 [42] right.

383 Unfortunately the excavators did not share their thoughts on the matter, see Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 139 [42] right.

2.3.3 The tomb of Iniuia

Iniuia (*temp.* Tutankhamun) served as overseer of cattle of Amun and high steward of Memphis and built his tomb south of where the tomb of Horemheb would be built slightly later.³⁸⁴ It is interesting in design as it has a semi-free-standing mudbrick pyramid on the roof of the main chapel, whose sides reach the ground beside the chapel.³⁸⁵ The pyramidion made of red granite shows on its east and west sides Iniuia and his wife, Iuy, the singer of Amun, kneeling in a naos that is inscribed with offering formulae to Re-Horakhty and Atum,³⁸⁶ i.e. the manifestations of the raising and setting sun. As we shall see in the following, Iniuia – like Ptahemwia (i) and Meryneith would do after³⁸⁷ him – commemorated both his family and his profession in his tomb, but by highlighting his own achievement, rather than mentioning any of his employees by name.

The main offering scene on the west wall of chapel A shows a wall paintings in which Iniuia stands alone in adoration of two gods: Osiris in the north, standing back to back with Sokar in the south.³⁸⁸ On the southern wall Iniuia and his wife, Iuy, and four other figures, probably their two sons and two daughters, are seen in adoration of Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys.³⁸⁹ What is interesting is that the whole scene is painted above a Nilotic frieze with representations of fish and plants, rather atypical for such an adoration scene, and perhaps inspired by the surrounding mastaba tombs.³⁹⁰ The northern wall is highly damaged. It parallels the Nilotic frieze and shows two mirrored scenes of Iniuia and Iuy in adoration of Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys on the left, and probably other gods or the same on the right.³⁹¹ Very interestingly on the very right side of the northern wall a red sketch has been drawn over the frieze showing a priest and three offering bearers in front of a standing official facing them.³⁹² Schneider describes,

384 See Hans D. Schneider. *The tomb of Iniuia in the New Kingdom necropolis of Memphis at Saqqara. Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities* 8. Turnhout: Brepols, 2012, 120. For all titles see Schneider, *Iniuia*, 118. In his capacity of scribe of the treasury of silver and gold of the lord of the two lands, it seems likely that he worked under ‘our’ Maya, see Schneider, *Iniuia*, 120 with reference to Van Dijk, ‘Biographical sketch’, 25.

385 Schneider, *Iniuia*, 26, 32, Fig. II.2b and 35.

386 Schneider, *Iniuia*, 77–78, Fig. III.27.

387 For the dating, see Schneider, *Iniuia*, 120.

388 Schneider, *Iniuia*, 59–63 and Figs. III.2–7.

389 Schneider, *Iniuia*, 59; 63–67 and Figs. III.8–13. Only the lower halves of the figures were preserved, and only Iniuia’s name is preserved.

390 Schneider, *Iniuia*, 66–67 and Figs. III.8–12.

391 Schneider, *Iniuia*, 67–70 and Figs. III.2, 14–17.

392 Schneider, *Iniuia*, 67–70 and Fig. III.17.

but unfortunately does not discuss, the scene in any detail – and it does not seem to have been photographed – but given the colour and location it may have been a later addition by a visitor of the tomb? The eastern wall is too damaged to identify the individuals in what may have been another offering scene.³⁹³

The main chapel (B) consists of an antechapel and a sanctuary separated by two screen walls almost entirely lost.³⁹⁴ The antechamber was accessible through a passageway between two columns supported by a lintel showing the deceased couple kneeling in front of Isis and Osiris and (albeit there the couple is lost) in front of Osiris and Nephthys.³⁹⁵ Inside, the antechapel contained a family scene on its southern wall: Iniua sits on a chair, with his wife standing behind him, and probably their daughter Meritre sitting on his footstool.³⁹⁶ The fact that the woman smells the lotus seems to indicate that she predeceased her two brothers,³⁹⁷ Penanhuri and Ramose (i), both scribes of the treasury of the temple of Aten, who face them with offerings from the left. Interestingly in the accompanying *pr.t* formula, typical also for statues of the time, Iniua here mentions his parents, not elsewhere attested as the *s3b* Juny and the mistress of the house We[s]y.³⁹⁸ The main offering stela in the sanctuary shows yet again the whole family. In the upper register Iniua and Iuy are standing in adoration of the god Osiris. In the register underneath, the couple is seated on chairs receiving offerings provided by their sons Ramose (i) and Penanhuri, and their sisters/wives Meritre and Wiay.³⁹⁹ The stela is framed by offering formulae to the gods Hathor and Anubis (on the left) and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris (on the right). Schneider mentions that only Iniua is determined as justified, perhaps indicating that when the stela was erected his wife and daughter were still alive (as indeed the brothers).⁴⁰⁰ This idea is supported by a relief showing Iuy presenting a flower bouquet to the justified Iniua (with the epitheton “justified” after his name)

393 Schneider, *Iniua*, 70 and Fig. III.18 and 18a.

394 Schneider, *Iniua*, 71, except for one fragmentary block of the southern screen wall.

395 Schneider, *Iniua*, 71 and 79 and Fig. III.19 and III.29.

396 Schneider, *Iniua*, 80–81 and Fig. III.30. A pleasant detail is their pet monkey eating figs underneath Iniua's chair. For the daughter's name see the fragmentary relief scene above the present one in Schneider, *Iniua*, 81–82 and Fig. III.31 and .31a.

397 See also Schneider, *Iniua*, with reference to Jacobus van Dijk (Hans D. Schneider, Geoffrey T. Martin, Jacobus van Dijk, Barbara Greene Aston, Rutger Perizonius, and Eugen Strouhal. 'The tomb of Iniua: preliminary report on the Saqqara excavations, 1993.' *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 79 (1993): 7).

398 Schneider, *Iniua*, 80–81 Fig. III.30. See also Meryneith's background above, and see Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 46.

399 Schneider, *Iniua*, 50, pl. VIII and 84–86 and Fig. III.33.

400 Schneider, *Iniua*, 86.

on the west wall of the sanctuary, left of the main stela.⁴⁰¹ On the southern wall, a very lively and unusual relief shows Iniuiia turning towards his wife, clearly a remnant of the Amarna art.⁴⁰² On the same wall, Iniuiia also commemorates his profession as overseer of the cattle of the temple of Amun, showing three herds supervised by anonymous employees.⁴⁰³ Another of his tasks that he was proud to display was his involvement in international trade: on a block now in the Cairo Museum, Iniuiia supervises the delivery of vessels from a boat that was already identified as Phoenician by George Daressy,⁴⁰⁴ long before his tomb was rediscovered. The scene shows Iniuiia supervising a scribe accounting the delivery of amphorae by two Egyptian men, who are themselves supervised by a higher official. Three large amphorae are still in the boat. Above them a small scene shows another official sitting in a tent having a meal while a servant seems to prepare food, and another one is just leaving with a bottle and a bag. The text above is a praise to Osiris and perfect justification in the necropolis.⁴⁰⁵ Probably above this scene, in a middle register is another scene of Iniuiia at work, here giving orders to two accountants, his servants, and employees.⁴⁰⁶ Also here the scribes turn their heads towards their master in aspiration, still writing,⁴⁰⁷ while the servants are busy pouring from an amphora. The officials seem to report something. The text above them is fragmentary but mentions becoming an Akh-spirit.⁴⁰⁸ This text thus suggests once again that Iniuiia expects to reach the state of the justified in the afterlife as a reward for what he has done on earth,

401 Schneider, *Iniuiia*, 86–87 and Fig. III.34. Schneider suggested that the scene was inspired by a scene of Ankhsenamun presenting flowers to her husband on an ivory panel in the king's tomb (Schneider, *Iniuiia*, 87). It is, however, unlikely that Iniuiia would know such details and the royal tombs assemblage. Rather this was a motive common at the time, see also: Martin, *Maya*, pl. 23 (24, 26), although presenting lettuce.

402 Schneider, *Iniuiia*, 88–89 and Fig. III.36a and see also the common representation of the deceased couple praying to Ptah and Sokar on the same wall Schneider, *Iniuiia*, 87–88 and Fig. III.35. On stylistic aspects see Schneider, *Iniuiia*, 120.

403 Schneider, *Iniuiia*, 88–90 and Fig. III.36b-d.

404 Cairo TN 25.6.24.7 (SR 11935), see Schneider, *Iniuiia*, 90–92 and Fig. III.37, for the boat see Georges Daressy. 'Costumes phéniciens d'après des peintures égyptiennes.' *Revue de l'Égypte ancienne* 3 (1931): 33–34 and Fig. 6. More recently on the significance of navigation and ship representation Mireia López-Bertran, Agnès Garcia-Ventura, and Michał Krueger. 'Could you take a picture of my boat, please? The use and significance of Mediterranean ship representations.' *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 27 (4) (2008): 341–357.

405 Schneider, *Iniuiia*, 92 and Fig. III.37.

406 Cairo TN 3.7.24.13, see Schneider, *Iniuiia*, 92–93 and Fig. III.38.

407 A great detail is the little headrest on the table in front of the upper scribe.

408 Schneider, *Iniuiia*, 92–93 and Fig. III.38.

like was indicated by the epitheton above.⁴⁰⁹ On another level he fossilises in stone his status and capacities for eternity. Again, none of his employees are named, nor on a third block that shows an amphorae storage.⁴¹⁰

Outside the chapel entrance was flanked by two stelae, of which only the northern one has been fully preserved.⁴¹¹ It shows Iniuia in adoration of Re-Horakhty (left) and Atum (right) above the main text field that has a hymn to rising sun god Re.⁴¹² These are the same gods as on the pyramidion – they are the day and evening manifestations of the sun god. The southern one contained a similar layout. It is perhaps because it was smashed that Schneider reconstructed a hymn to the god Aten rather than to Re-Horakhty, although the name of Aten is nowhere attested.⁴¹³ The lintel and the column mention Iniuia only.⁴¹⁴

2.3.4 The rock-cut tomb of Maïa

Another more or less contemporary New Kingdom tomb is situated in the escarpment near the Bubasteion.⁴¹⁵ The rock-cut tomb of Maïa (Bubasteion I.20) belongs to the wet nurse of king Tutankhamun.⁴¹⁶ This was of course a very high-ranking position in the direct vicinity of the king, which features prominently in Maïa's tomb. Different from, for example nearby Iniy and Thutmosis, Maïa had no seemingly interest to commemorate her family,⁴¹⁷ but rather wished

409 See also Schneider, *Iniuia*, 93.

410 Schneider, *Iniuia*, 93–94 and Fig. III.39.

411 Since it was removed already in the 19th century and is now in the Cairo Museum (JE 10079), see Schneider, *Iniuia*, 71–75 and Figs. III.23–24a.

412 Schneider, *Iniuia*, 72–73 and Fig. III.23.

413 Schneider, *Iniuia*, 73–75 and Fig. III.24–.24a. Schneider mentions a parallel in Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 43–45.

414 Schneider, *Iniuia*, 75–77 and Fig. III.25–26.

415 A summary of the work of the French Archaeological Mission of the Bubasteion (*Mission Archéologique Française du Bubasteion* since 1986 is found on http://www.hypogees.org/pages/english/e_tombes.htm. Accessed on 27 September 2018.

416 Zivie, *Maïa*, 9–12. For a summary of representations of royal children in 18th-dynasty tombs of tutors and nurses apparently not knowing Maïa, whose tomb would be published in 2009, see Marjorie M. Fisher. *The sons of Ramesses II (2 vols)*. *Ägypten und Altes Testament* 53. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001, I, 3–5.

417 Compare also Reinert V. Skumsnes. *Patterns of change and disclosure of difference. Family and gender in New Kingdom Egypt: titles of non-royal women*. Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Oslo, 2018, 181–184. I would like to thank Skumsnes for sharing his work with me. See also <http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-72997>. Accessed on 29 March 2022. And see Zivie, 'Meritaten', 51 and 53 with reference to Marc Gabolde. *D'Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon. Collection de l'Institut*

to emphasise her close relationship to the king almost like she was royal family, too.⁴¹⁸ On the northern part of the eastern wall of the first burial chamber a large representation has been preserved that shows Maïa sitting on the throne (or a chair) of king Tutankhamun, the latter sitting on her lap (Figs. 16a – b).⁴¹⁹

Behind them, further to the left (north), six officials are represented in adoration of the scene. Above, two men are kneeling and, underneath, two pairs of men adore Maïa and the child king.⁴²⁰ The attributes they carry, like the *heqa*-scepter, identify them as also belonging to the royal sphere, i.e. as court officials,⁴²¹ but none of them are named. The south part of the eastern wall is highly damaged, but a parallel scene on the southern part of the west wall suggests that also here twelve anonymous officials are paying the homage to the king and his wet nurse.⁴²²

On the east wall of the second room appears an offering scene for the lady Maïa. She is sitting on a chair facing right towards two registers of offering bearers. In the top register eight ladies present offerings to her.⁴²³ Zivie notes that the foremost presenting offerings on a table must be most important as she is standing alone not in a pair, and in fact this applies also to the second lady bringing a calf.⁴²⁴ Behind them walk three pairs, of two women each. As earlier, the scene is

d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Antiquité 3. Lyon: Université Lumière-Lyon 2, Institut d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Antiquité, 1998, 124 and note 1012. Zivie suggested Maïa might have been the wife of the scribe of the treasury of the temple of Aten' Raiay/Hatiay in the neighbouring tomb Bub.I.27, who built her own tomb after her husband's death, see Zivie, *Maïa*, 134, 151; and Alain Zivie. 'Hatiay, scribe du temple d'Aton à Memphis.' In: *Egypt, Israel, and the ancient Mediterranean world: studies in honor of Donald B. Redford* edited by Gary N. Knoppers and Antoine Hirsch, 227 n. 14, Leiden; Boston: Brill, 227–228, n. 14; and see Skumsnes, *Gender*, 185 which seems hard to check as the latter tomb remains yet unpublished. Similarly, Zivie's idea that Maïa is the same person as the Amarna princess Meritaten is possible, but very hard to prove. Maïa was a very common name and no hard evidence for a name change exists, but see Zivie, *Maïa* 98–113 and Zivie, 'Meritaten', 54 and 59–60.

418 On the idea that Maïa did have such decent in fact see also Zivie, *Maïa*, 91–113. Note, however, that there are some chronologically slightly earlier examples from Thebes (TT 112 and TT 85) as well as Amarna (tomb 25), in which husbands enhance their status by their wife's function as royal nurse, see Catherine H. Roehrig. *The Eighteenth dynasty titles royal nurse (mn^c nswt) royal tutor (mn^c nswt), and foster brother/sister of the Lord of the Two Lands (sn/snt mn^c n nb t'wy)*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1990, 3 note 10 and 345–346. Roehrig could of course not know of Maïa yet, whose tomb was to be excavated.

419 Zivie, *Maïa*, 30–31 and pl. 21.

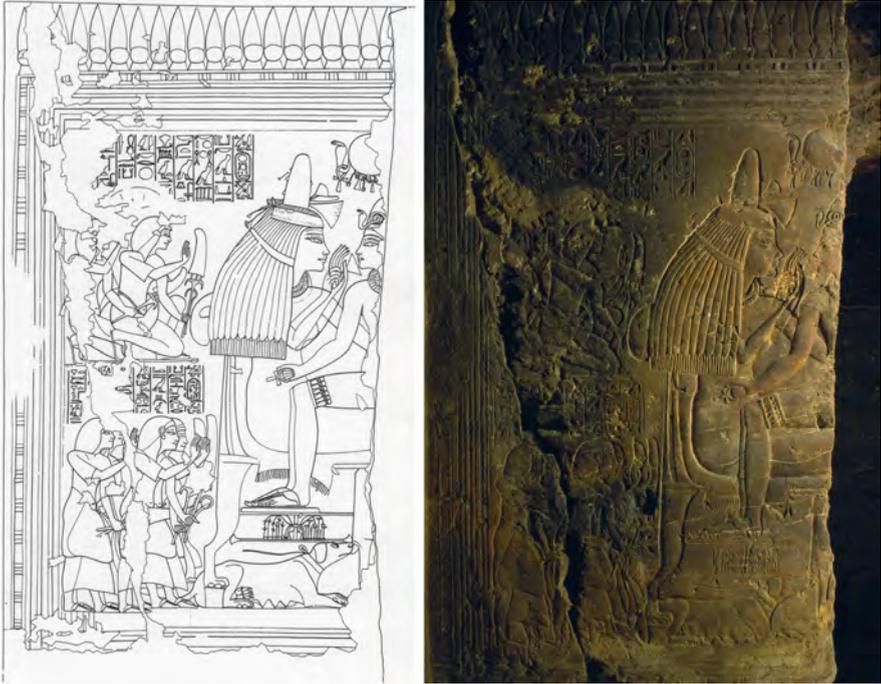
420 Zivie, *Maïa*, 31–32 and pl. 21.

421 Zivie, *Maïa*, 31 and pl. 21.

422 Zivie, *Maïa*, 33–35 and pl. 22.

423 Zivie, *Maïa*, 47 and pl. 28.

424 Zivie, *Maïa*, 47.



Figs. 16a–b: Maïa with king Thutankhumun beside two rows of anonymous officials. © Hypogées (picture MAFB / P. Chapuis) with thanks to Alain Zivie.

damaged but it seems clear that all figures remain intentionally anonymous.⁴²⁵ Underneath the offering ladies, the situation is different. Three men bring offerings in a queue, led by a fourth person greeting the lady Maïa. This foremost one is accompanied by a longish offering formula and identified as “high priest of Thoth alias Shepsy, who is in Hermopolis, (...)m-kauef”.⁴²⁶ The reading of the name is tentative, as Zivie notes that one can only see two signs and possibly a bird in front of (...)m-kauef,⁴²⁷ but it seems an odd name not fit for the 18th dynasty. Also the figure does not look like a high priest and the style of the writing does not tie in with the rest of the decoration. It seems quite doubtful that the text originally belonged to the figure below; rather it is likely a later graffito⁴²⁸ of a high priest writing himself into the memory of the tomb, possibly in

⁴²⁵ Zivie, *Maïa*, 47.

⁴²⁶ *ḥm-nṯr tpy Ḍḥwtj ḥsy ʕ n Špsy jmy Ḥmnw*, see Zivie, *Maïa*, 48, text 17 and pl. 28.

⁴²⁷ Zivie, *Maïa*, 48, note 1.

⁴²⁸ Personal communication Willem Hovestreydt.

the Late Period. Behind that originally anonymous figure, another anonymous priest presents an offering table and a flower bouquet. The final two men in the queue are two officials designated with their names and titles⁴²⁹ as “scribe [of the] overseer of the troop-house [of workers] (*sš jmy-rʒ gs-pr*) Tetinefer” and “scribe of the offering table (*sš wdhw*)” Ahmose. Zivie wondered if the latter could be identical to another Ahmose, scribe and director of the two granaries (*sš jmy-rʒ šnw.ty*), shown in adoration of the god Osiris underneath the lady Maïa on the doorway of the second room on the eastern panel,⁴³⁰ and would hence belong to her reminiscence cluster. Probably the parallel scene in adoration of the god Anubis on the west had a named individual too, but unfortunately none has been preserved so we do not know whether Ahmose was represented there as well or another official.⁴³¹

On the east wall of the second chamber the Opening of the Mouth ritual on the mummy of Maïa is depicted.⁴³² The mummy is held by the god Anubis, both facing right towards a *sem*-priest performing the ritual. Behind him in two registers a total of seven figures appear, most of which present offerings or other ritual equipment. Beside the *sem*-priest, identifiable by the leopard fur, five others are lector priests identifiable by the strap over their chest.⁴³³ One is dressed as an official, but it seems odd that the priests seem to wear wigs. The priests are represented in high relief, perhaps to give some extra importance to the scene also visually.⁴³⁴ Yet all actors except for Maïa and Anubis remain anonymous.

The doorway between the second and the third room is quite thick and leaves room for a representation on its eastern face.⁴³⁵ Nine columns of hieroglyphic texts are to be spoken by the “overseer of the granary of the wet nurse of the king, who feeds the god, Maïa, justified”, Rahotep.⁴³⁶ In front of the text a bald official with a thick necklace presents a large offering table. The text identifies him as *jmy-rʒ šn^c* Rahotep, surely the same person in spite of a possible variant in title.⁴³⁷ His title clarifies the close institutional relation between Rahotep and Maïa.⁴³⁸ Zivie suggests that the veneration of Rahotep was post-mortem, possibly because of

429 Zivie, *Maïa*, 46–49, pl. 28.

430 Zivie, *Maïa*, 49, note 3 with reference to text 33 (p. 60 and pl. 35).

431 Zivie, *Maïa*, 59–60,

432 Zivie, *Maïa*, 50 and pl. 29.

433 Zivie assumes that ‘text 16’ mentioning lector and *sem*-priests on the previous wall might in fact belong here as no priests are shown on the northern side, see Zivie, *Maïa*, 46 and 50.

434 Zivie, *Maïa*, 51.

435 The western side remained undecorated: Zivie, *Maïa*, 63 and note 3.

436 *hry šn^c n mn^c.t nsw šd.t ntr M^ctj*: Zivie, *Maïa*, 65 and pl. 37 and see Skumsnes, *Gender*, 184.

437 Zivie, *Maïa*, 64.

438 Zivie, *Maïa*, 63.

the addition *hr ntr* ☉ (under the great god) behind his name in the short inscription. As Zivie seems to acknowledge, the doorway was not a spot of relative discretion, as he assumed for the figures on the north wall in chamber 2,⁴³⁹ but on the contrary a prominent spot at the entrance to Maïa's main cult room, and an elaborated one with a large inscription and a large artfully cut figure.

The main cult place in Maïa's tomb was the false door in chamber 3.⁴⁴⁰ It is divided into three panels in between a text frame and underneath a small mirrored adoration scene of Maïa in front of the god Anubis sitting on his shrine.⁴⁴¹ The main scene shows the lady Maïa in adoration in front of Osiris sitting on a throne, with a large offering table in between them. Underneath the ritual instruction,⁴⁴² a false door is divided in two panels, one on each side. On the left (west) Maïa receives an offering table and a libation from a man standing in front of her while sitting on a chair and facing right. On the right (east) of the false door she is standing on the right facing left and receiving a libation.⁴⁴³ The text on the lower western panel identifies the priest as the lector priest (*hry-ḥb*) Thothmenekhu.⁴⁴⁴ The priest on the eastern panel was probably generic, but we cannot be sure as the whole false door suffered greatly from fire and smoke and the inscriptions are highly damaged.⁴⁴⁵ Yet it is in this very important spot that a specific individual is represented and not just any generic priest who performed the offering for the lady Maïa. This is the all more interesting when we remember that none of the high officials shown in the important nursing scene with the king were named.⁴⁴⁶ No family members are represented in the tomb – maybe that did not fit the decorum of Maïa's status.

2.3.5 The tomb of Maya

We have seen above, that the fact that personnel gained social and spiritual capital by means of representation in their patron's tomb is made explicit in Maya's tomb on a stone block recorded by Lepsius, which is now lost, with an inscrip-

⁴³⁹ Zivie, *Maïa*, 64.

⁴⁴⁰ Zivie, *Maïa*, 76.

⁴⁴¹ Zivie, *Maïa*, pl. 45.

⁴⁴² Zivie, *Maïa*, 78, text 62.

⁴⁴³ Zivie, *Maïa*, 76–80, pl. 44–45 and 89–90.

⁴⁴⁴ Or less plausible the lector priest of Thoth Menekhu, see Zivie, *Maïa*, 79 and note 2.

⁴⁴⁵ Zivie, *Maïa*, 76.

⁴⁴⁶ Zivie, *Maïa*, 32–33 and pl. 21.

tion that stated that the ones who worked in Maya's tomb should take part in his reward.⁴⁴⁷ Also visible in Maya's tomb are the different layers of representation, and the potentially post-funeral agency by tomb visitors. A queue of nine offering bearers moves westwards into the tomb on the sub-register of the northern wall of the pylon gateway.⁴⁴⁸ The representation is usually understood as the tomb owner's cult in terms of providing the offerings, and added to the owner's status (i. e. having a large household with staff), but by means of social and spiritual capital these men are actually the bearers of agency. The men stand in front of a large pile of offerings, including two gazelles, pomegranate, and beef, east of which a large offering table stacks various other vessels, flowers, and food. The suggestion could be that the offering table is presented by the foremost and, hence according to Egyptian style principles, most important figure. The man further holds two flower bouquets in his hands. Behind him a man presents two chairs and a flower bouquet, then follows a man holding two flower bouquets, a man with another offering table, a man holding a duck and lotus flowers, yet another man with similar gifts also accompanied by an oryx, and lastly a man carrying a richly filled offering table and again a flower bouquet (made of three stalks). These seven offering bearers are represented in the style of high officials wearing wigs and pleated dresses. The other two at the rear of the queue are bald and wear long shorts, an iconography probably identifying them as servants. The order of the persons thus again follows Egyptian style hierarchy principles. This is clear also from the much more elaborate and detailed shape of the first two figures (curly wigs) as compared to the less detailed five officials following them. Also not unimportant for the understanding of the whole wall scene is that the foremost figures stand underneath the throne of the god Osiris in the register above them, and the other five officials underneath the feet of Maya and Merit adoring the god. Interestingly, here it is very clear that at least some figures are not generic servants. Some are clearly identified as specific individuals by their name and titles: Geoffrey Martin described the inscriptions as follows (Fig. 17): "No. 1: Royal scribe overseer of (...). No. 2: (...). No. 3: (...). No. 4: Scribe of the treasury Ranefer. No. 5: Scribe of the treasury Sennefer (ii). No. 6: Secretary of the overseer of treasury Ptahmose (iii). No. 7: Two columns left blank apart from *n* (...). There are no texts adjacent to Nos. 8 and 9."⁴⁴⁹

447 Pilaster recorded by Lepsius, now lost, see LD III, 242b/c, see Martin, *Maya*, 37 and pl. 32 [45].

448 Martin, *Maya*, pl. 9.

449 Martin, *Maya*, 19. Numbering of individuals in brackets by the author.



Fig. 17: Queue of offering bearers in the tomb of Maya. © Leiden-Turin Expedition to Saqqara/ Nicola Dell’Aquila.

Maya was overseer of the treasury, so these officials most probably worked for him. Like in the style of representation, the order of professional status lowers from left to right. The scribe Ranefer appears also on other walls.⁴⁵⁰ Although Ranefer is always depicted on a very small scale in comparison to Maya and Merit, gaining several spots in their tomb, some others in close interaction to them, i.e. offering directly, may have added to Ranefer’s status. The same applies to Maya’s secretary Ptahmose (iii) who appears in a prominent position in the tomb’s reliefs, namely overseeing Maya’s inspection of arriving anonymous prisoners on the lower register of the north wall of the inner courtyard.⁴⁵¹ Ptahmose (iii) was most probably identical to his namesake, the son of the overseer of the craftsmen (*jmy-rʿ ḥmw.t*) Amenemone (ii) who was buried in the tomb in the Teti Pyramid cemetery discussed above.⁴⁵² His father also appeared as offering bearer in the tomb of Maya in another queue of employees.⁴⁵³ Returning to the queue of offering bearers on the northern wall of the pylon in the tomb of Maya, only Sennefer is not attested elsewhere. This may be a matter of relief preservation, i.e. that he was attested again, but that this block is now lost. What is particularly interesting is that not all figures are named, and that not all names were added at the same moment. Martin already noticed that “only the inscriptions belonging to Nos. 4 and 6 have been part of the original design [of the relief]. No. 7 being left unfinished, while No. 1 is a graffito. The others, including No. 5 are less well-carved, and were perhaps added later, some of them have

450 Offering fruit and incense to Maya and Merit on the doorway leading to the inner courtyard, north reveal, while standing underneath a large offering table, see Martin, *Maya*, 30 [28] and pl. 23, as the last person in a queue of offering bearers whose names have not been preserved on the east wall, north ‘wing’, lower register, see Martin, *Maya*, 32 [35] and pls 27–28 and 90.
451 Martin, *Maya*, 34 [38] and pl. 29. Below him Maya’s employee the scribe of the treasury Iny accounts for the cattle Maya had received.

452 Ockinga, *Amenemone*, 18.

453 Ockinga, *Amenemone*, 19 and Martin, *Maya*, 33 [36] and pl. 28.

been left unfinished.”⁴⁵⁴ In that respect, relevant is a note by Dieter Kessler who – looking at Old Kingdom boat scenes – argued that in principle representations with and without texts should be considered of equal meaning and value.⁴⁵⁵ The iconography of the offering bearers as well as their titles suggests that – in line with what we would expect – the more to the front a person is depicted, the more important the person is. But why are only Ranefer and Ptahmose (iii) shown in the original design, and why was Ptahmose (iii) left unfinished, and the foremost person identified by a graffito, i. e. a text that seems to be a later addition? This is not to dismiss a graffito as less important, on the contrary all texts together shape the materiality of a monument.⁴⁵⁶ Yet it seems clear that the graffito was added later, not in the flow of the original design. A possible explanation could be that in some cases the offering bearers were considered either generic or that their identity was so obvious that the audience needed no further explanation, although that would of course only apply to contemporaries.⁴⁵⁷ It is unfortunate that the foremost name has not been preserved, so now we cannot tell if indeed a contemporary of Maya clarified his position, or maybe a later candidate adjusted the image by writing himself into the memory of the tomb. Another example is the scribe of the treasury Any, again an employee of Maya, who is depicted opposite of the offering scene just mentioned. In the sub-register of the pylon gateway, but now on the south wall a row of ten bald servants move westwards into the tomb and carry tables with pottery, gold collars, and – extremely rare! – some gloves (Fig. 18).⁴⁵⁸

454 Martin, *Maya*, 19 and pl. 60, no. 7.

455 Kessler, ‘Szenen’, 65.

456 Compare, for example, Eastmond, ‘Inscriptions’, 2 and see e.g. Julia C.F. Hamilton. “‘That his perfect name may be remembered’”: added inscriptions in the tomb of vizier Kagemni at Saqqara.’ In: *Current Research in Egyptology* 16 edited by Alto Belekdanian, Christelle Alvarez, Solene Klein, and Ann-Katrin Gill, 50–61. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015, 50 and 52 (“graffiti as a medium to integrate themselves into the social world of the tomb-owner and memorialize their own name”).

457 See also Weiss, ‘Immortality’, 66–68.

458 Martin, *Maya*, 20 and pl. 13. Perhaps Maya got inspired by the nearby mastaba of Hesi in the Teti cemetery, see Naguib Kanawati and Mahmoud Abder-Raziq. *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara V: The tomb of Hesi*. Australian Centre for Egyptology: reports 13. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 26, pls 13, 19, 53–54 with reference to Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood. *Die Kleider des Pharaos: die Verwendung von Stoffen im Alten Ägypten*. Hannover; Amsterdam: Museum August Kestner; Batavian Lion, 1995, 101. Another parallel for gloves in tomb representations is Amarna South tomb no. 25 (Ay), see Norman de Garis Davies. *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna VI: Tombs of Parennefer, Tutu and Ay*. London: The Egypt Exploration Fund, 1908, 22–23, and pls XXX and XXXI. This reference was kindly provided to me by Rosi Lamprecht at the Hirschberg Forum 2021.

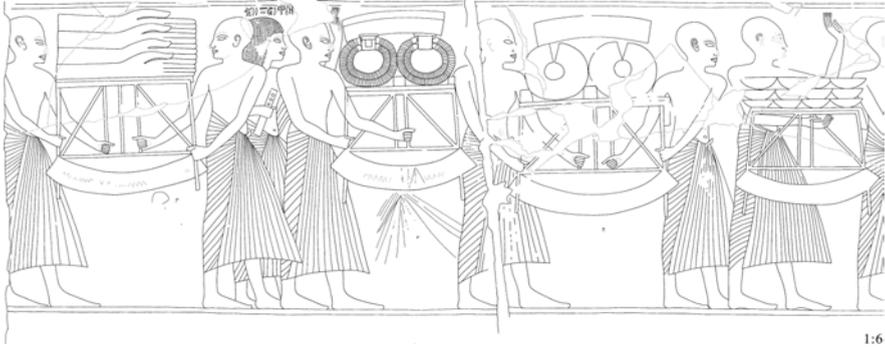


Fig. 18: South wall of pylon gateway in the tomb of *Maya*. Cf. Martin, *Maya*, pl. 16. © Egypt Exploration Society/Leiden-Turin Expedition to Saqqara.

Any is shown facing west and raising his left hand and carrying a scribal palette. Surely he is acting here as a supervisor of the works,⁴⁵⁹ but at the same time the gesture of his hand implies adoration of the tomb owner. The scene is thus not only an illustration of the reality of the administrative system, but also a homage to *Maya* as a person. On a relief now in Cairo, Any is seen recording cattle *Maya* received as tribute, so he was a record keeper.⁴⁶⁰ However, indeed taking seriously the idea of reciprocity of carrying spiritual capital, Any is guaranteed eternal life and status, too, by means of serving one of the highest state officials at the time and showing his loyalty. Any wears the wig and clothing that identify him as member of the elite, whereas the shaved offering bearers are clearly servants. They may at the time have been known individuals, yet in the relief they represent a generic servant motif. Perhaps not coincidental, Any is represented directly underneath *Nahuher*, *Maya*'s half-brother, who in the main register above acts as *Maya*'s foremost offering-priest where *Maya* is entering his tomb.⁴⁶¹ Again none of the servants are identified by name. Notably though, underneath the first two servants, the ones carrying one of the tables with gloves, somebody has scratched a graffito of a man sitting on a chair smelling a lotus flower and another man in adoration of him.⁴⁶² Both face east so a direct relation to *Maya* in the west is not evident. Moreover, the iconography with the lotus is strongly of an ancestor, even though no accompanying texts support this idea or identify the individual. Another figure facing the queue in the west, is more

⁴⁵⁹ Martin, *Maya*, 20.

⁴⁶⁰ Cairo JE 43274d, see Martin, *Maya*, 34 [38] and pl. 29.

⁴⁶¹ Martin, *Maya*, 19 and pls 13–14, and 16.

⁴⁶² Martin, *Maya*, pl. 13.

difficult to understand. Calling him “turriccephalic”,⁴⁶³ i.e. referring to a congenital abnormality of the skull,⁴⁶⁴ is not helpful. On the doorway leading to the inner courtyard, north reveal, Maya and Merit receive fruit and incense from a not-further-specified ‘scribe Ranefer’.⁴⁶⁵ In this case the more prominent location on the main relief of that wall is probably tempered by his in comparison to Maya and Merit much smaller scale underneath the offering table. Yet surely it was an honour to feature here. Underneath him we see Maya’s half-brother Nahuher⁴⁶⁶ and – as is clear from his appearance elsewhere in the tomb – another brother, Nakht, the scribe of the treasury.⁴⁶⁷ The Ranefer is probably the same we saw in the row of offering bearers and again on a block recorded by Lepsius (now lost), which came from the east wall, north wing of the inner courtyard.⁴⁶⁸

On the east wall, south wing in the upper register, another block that Lepsius recorded is now lost, and so his drawing cannot be checked.⁴⁶⁹ It was situated underneath the block showing an offering by Maya’s brother Nahuher mentioned above and showed a queue of seven men presenting offerings to Maya and Merit and two girls, Maya-menti and [Tjau-en-Maya?], standing behind them: “[His brother, the overseer of] horses Parennefer, (...) his brother, scribe of the treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands Nakht (...) the deputy of the treasury User (...) the deputy of the treasury Meryre (...) The deputy of the craftsmen of the treasury of Pharaoh (...) Amenemonet {spelling according to quote, elsewhere in this study called Amenemone (ii)} (...) the deputy of the craftsmen of the treasury of Pharaoh (...) Ramose (ii) (...) [and] the scribe of the treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands Nebre”.⁴⁷⁰ These people are all high officials and close colleagues of Maya in the treasury, some related. Interestingly here, if we can trust Lepsius, the accompanying hieroglyphic text is ordered neatly in columns above the men. Not only the layout, but also the text is more formal. This is indicated by the offering formulae in between the names as well as honorary titles such as “justified” for some of the individuals and “life, prosperity and health” after the mention of the king, which I have omitted in the quote above.

463 Martin, *Maya*, 21 and pl. 61, 23.

464 Cf. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/medical/oxyccephaly>, accessed on 1 November 2021.

465 Martin, *Maya*, 30 [28] and pl. 23.

466 Martin, *Maya*, 30 [29].

467 Martin, *Maya*, 30 [29] and see 33 [26].

468 Martin, *Maya*, 32 [35] and pl. 27.

469 Martin, *Maya*, 33 [36] and pl. 28 and LD III, 241b.

470 Martin, *Maya*, 33. Note that Nebre also made a donation to Maya’s funerary assemblage: Van Dijk, ‘Hieratic inscriptions’, 31–32.

Employees(?) who work in Maya's tomb ([...]*y.w hr b3k m js pw*) have an explicit part in his reward.⁴⁷¹ They are also shown in preparing the funeral. For example, the overseer of the works in the Place of Eternity (i.e. the Valley of the Kings), chief recorder of the annals Userhat,⁴⁷² the artist Qebah, and the draftsman Huy (v) are shown preparing offerings.⁴⁷³ Interestingly Huy (v) has the epithet *wḥm ḥnh* "repeater of life" possibly a reflection to the Osirian-solar union.⁴⁷⁴ Underneath several people identified by name are bringing funeral equipment the scribe of the treasury Penneith, the overseer of builders in the treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands Kendua, the lector priest Irnefer(u), the chief outline draftsman Merymery (ii), justified, Ptahmay, and charioteer Ptahmose (iv), all preceded by the scribe Penneith⁴⁷⁵ and greeted by the scribe of the treasury, Khay (iv).⁴⁷⁶ Lastly, the southern entrance wall to the southern chapel shows the lector priest Herunefer and the scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands, Khaia, providing purification and attending the slaughtering of an ox respectively.⁴⁷⁷ Another scribe, called Djedptahiuiefankh, visited the tomb in the 26th dynasty as is proven by the graffito he left.⁴⁷⁸ To sum up, Maya again chose a hybrid way of commemorating his family and his important network of employees, dependants, and colleagues, all of them forming the highest state elite under king Tutankhamun and Horemheb. In one case, a servant of Merit is explicitly mentioned, perhaps because she predeceased her husband and was buried first. On a fragment seen by Quibell, but now inaccessible, the *sḏm* ḥš (*n*) *Mry.t m p3(y)=s pr* Ptahemheb appears, i.e. the servant of Merit in her estate.⁴⁷⁹

471 Relief recorded by Lepsius, now lost, see LD III, 242b/c Martin, *Maya*, 37 and pl. 32 [45].

472 On Userhat see also Jacobus van Dijk. 'Maya's chief sculptor Userhat-Hatiay: with a note on the length of the reign of Horemheb.' *Göttinger Miszellen* 148 (1995): 29–34.

473 Relief recorded by Lepsius, now lost, see LD III, 242b/c Martin, *Maya*, 36 and pl. 32 [42].

474 Denise M. Doxey. *Egyptian non-royal epithets in the Middle Kingdom: a social and historical analysis. Probleme der Ägyptologie* 12. Leiden: Brill, 1998, 107.

475 Relief recorded by Lepsius, now lost, see LD III, 242b/c Martin, *Maya*, 36–37 and pl. 32 [43].

476 Martin, *Maya*, 37 [44] and pl. 32.

477 Martin, *Maya*, 39 [60 and 62] and pl. 35. Another lector priest's name on the southern wall of the northern chapel has not been preserved, see Martin, *Maya*, 39 [64] and pl. 37.

478 Martin, *Maya*, 31 [30] and pls 14 and 60, 6.

479 Martin, *Maya*, 35 [39c] and pl. 30.

2.3.6 The tomb of Horemheb

The tomb of Horemheb was built when he was still a general. When he moved to the Valley of the Kings, he reused the tomb for his wife Mudnodjmet.⁴⁸⁰ The relief decoration in his tomb was reworked and ureai, i. e. the cobras signifying royalty in ancient Egypt, added to his figure's forehead, which is a unique adaptation in ancient Egyptian art (Fig. 19).



Fig. 19: Horemheb receiving the gold of honour. © Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.

Clearly people still knew who Horemheb was and venerated the king in his temple tomb, but also in its wider area.⁴⁸¹ Very few individuals are named. Like Meryneith, Horemheb presented himself as a successful state official surrounded by many anonymous employees.⁴⁸² As a general he is an important supporter of

⁴⁸⁰ Staring, *Biography*, forthcoming.

⁴⁸¹ See also Pelt and Staring, 'Interpreting graffiti', and Pelt and Staring, *Ptahemwia*, 139, who note that this practice is also known in lower numbers from Abydos, Asyut and the Karnak temple in Thebes.

⁴⁸² E.g. on the northern wall of his outer forecourt a noteworthy scene showing his military encampment appears that also shows people banquetting. Note the fine details, e.g. that one office carries a little headrest, see Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 36–39 [17–20], pls 17–8 and 98–99 and 41–42 [17–20] pls 20 and 104 and see Berlin, ÄMP inv. no. 20363 and Bologna inv. no. 1888. On the banquet element see also Lynn Green. 'Ritual banquets at the Court of

the king, in fact himself accomplishing Maat,⁴⁸³ as we shall see.⁴⁸⁴ Diagonally opposite of the current scene, on the southern wall of the outer courtyard, Tutankhamun is depicted twice smiting his enemies on either side of a ‘window of appearances’ (i.e. the part of the royal palace, where the king showed himself). The presentation of the enemies is similar in style to the Leiden reliefs that came from the south and west walls of the inner forecourt.⁴⁸⁵ In the centre of the palace scene, the unification of the Two Lands, Upper and Lower Egypt, under the rule of king Tutankhamun is represented on a shrine, with the southern (Nubian) and northern (‘Asiatic’) peoples underneath.⁴⁸⁶ All these elements together symbolise the good order of Egypt (= Maat) as guaranteed by the king.⁴⁸⁷ As to the scene on the west, there has been some discussion in Egyptology as to whether a badly preserved figure is wearing the clothes of a vizier, a title that Horemheb did not bear as far as we know, and whether therefore the figure is perhaps Ay, rather than Horemheb.⁴⁸⁸ A smaller figure in front of him remains anonymous, and would then be Horemheb. As Martin notes, this

Akhenaten.’ In: *Egypt, Israel, and the ancient Mediterranean World. Studies in Honor of Donald B. Redford* edited by Gary N. Knoppers and Antoine Hirsch, 211. Leiden: Brill, 2004. Somewhere beside this scene must have sat the scene that Martin found in two fragments and which Martin believes shows Horemheb handing out the gold of honour to an anonymous official, see Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 39–41 [21], pls 19 and 101, but which rather represents Ay rewarding Horemheb, fitting well with the famous other rewarding scene now in Leiden, where it is Tutankhamun slightly earlier; see most recently Geoffrey T. Martin. ‘The bestower and the recipient: on a controversial scene in the Memphite tomb of Horemheb.’ In: *Imaging and imagining the Memphite necropolis: Liber Amicorum René van Walsem* edited by Vincent Verschoor, Arnold Jan Stuart, and Cornelia Demarée, 47–55. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2017. Note that on the photograph, the official looks less drawn than in Martin’s drawing where his interpretation might have had influenced his pencil.

483 The concept of Maat symbolised the Egyptian ideal of a just life, see Teeter, *Maat*.

484 Note e.g. also the detailed epitheton ‘companion on his Lord upon the battlefield of this day of killing the Asiatics’ (*‘jry rdwy nb=f prjt hrw pn n sm3 stjw’*, on the south jamb of the statue room, see Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 56 [57] and pl. 25.

485 Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 23–24, [1–2] pls 9–11 and 94 and see Geoffrey T. Martin. ‘A block from the Memphite tomb of Horemheb in Chicago.’ *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 38 (1) (1979): 33–35 and see Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 71–86.

486 Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 24 and [2] pl. 11.

487 E.g. Rainer Stadelmann. ‘The mystery of the unification of king and Amun in the mortuary temple of Seti I at Qurna.’ In: *Les temples de millions d’années et le pouvoir royal à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire: sciences et nouvelles technologies appliquées à l’archéologie* edited by Christian Leblanc and Gihane Zaki, 99–103. Cairo: Dar el-Kutub, 2010 with references.

488 Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 23 with reference to Nozomu Kawai. ‘Ay versus Horemheb: the political situation in the late Eighteenth dynasty revisited.’ *Journal of Egyptian History* 3 (2) (2010): 261–292.

interpretation is highly tentative given the scanty outlines and absence of text.⁴⁸⁹ Both face an opened shrine with no traces of a figure inside. I would view both scenes within the context of the praise of Horemheb as a successful general, thereby helping the king to smash his enemies.⁴⁹⁰ Irrespective of who is depicted here, religiously speaking, by adding this scene in his forecourt, Horemheb hereby re-enacts himself as defeating and presenting the enemies to the court, thereby supporting the king in maintaining the world order (of Maat). The same idea is behind the presentation of the captives to the king Tutankhamun on the reliefs that are now in the Leiden Museum, where again all officials are anonymous.

Among the people appearing by name is the royal scribe of the army Ramose (iii), who appears beside Horemheb on the southern wall of the entrance to the statue room, where the Opening of the Mouth ritual is being performed,⁴⁹¹ i. e. “in a place where [...] a son or other relative of the deceased might be expected”.⁴⁹² Perhaps this is the same Ramose (iii), a troop commander and deputy of the army under Horemheb, whose unfinished tomb is situated north of Horemheb’s tomb. Ramose (iii)’s tomb has virtually no decoration except for three stelae once situated in the outer courtyard, which show mainly the tomb owner Ramose (iii), his wife Wina, and possibly three daughters. The cult is performed by Ramose (iii)’s brother Tjay, and no priests or servants appear,⁴⁹³ making Ramose (iii)’s tomb a typical case of family commemoration. Returning to the representation of (the same?) Ramose in the tomb of Horemheb, a parallel was found in 1981 and probably belongs to the easternmost part of the southern wall of the second courtyard.⁴⁹⁴ Interestingly, in both texts the name seems to have been amended by adding the new name and title over a previously mentioned private secretary (sš š^c.t) Sementawy.⁴⁹⁵ This change could have happened during when Horemheb decided to emphasise even more his military background and therefore replaced the civil servant Sementawy with the military scribe Ramose (iii). Here we see again very clearly that spiritual capital is gained by iconographic proximity to the tomb owner, but also that changing alliances might be reflected in changing the decoration where necessary during a tomb owner’s life. Niv Allon has suggested that, at the same time, Horemheb used Ramose (who carries a scribal palette in his hands) to highlight his own literacy

489 Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 23.

490 See also Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 24.

491 Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 54–55 [54] and pls 23.

492 Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 55.

493 Martin et al., *Memphite Officials*, 7–9.

494 Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 55 and 76–77 [70] and pls 37, 47 and 134.

495 Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 77.

without having to represent himself as a scribe.⁴⁹⁶ I am unable to follow Allon's idea of a close connection between the military and lack of literacy.⁴⁹⁷ Obviously the scribal equipment in Ramose (iii)'s hand underlines his position as a kind of secretary. Curiously Allon argues the scene had nothing to do with Ramose (iii)'s position, while in fact Ramose (iii) is shown in this offering scene in his position as loyal employee and Horemheb potentially delegating scribal activities.⁴⁹⁸

The register below shows a row of offering bearers moving westwards into the main cult chapel.⁴⁹⁹ In front of the foremost person, an inscription has been carved: "overseer of the doorkeepers Pehefnefer". This was probably the same individual that appears as lector priest of Horemheb on the south and north plinths situated "on either side of the doorway at the west end of the Statue Room, flanking the statue niches".⁵⁰⁰ As well as the title, the style of the decoration also indicates that the date is Ramesside, i.e. at a time when Horemheb was already venerated as a deified king in the tomb.⁵⁰¹ Apparently, Pehefnefer felt free to amend also the tomb decoration elsewhere and put himself in a prominent spot by naming and hence identifying himself as the foremost offering bearer. Pehefnefer's⁵⁰² sons Horemhebmetjer and Amenemope (iv), and the latter's wife, [...]mennefer, and her sister Bakenmut are also attested on the north plinth,⁵⁰³ but not elsewhere in the tomb, like Pehefnefer's wife Takhat is only on the south plinths.⁵⁰⁴

A third named figure is the standard bearer of the regiment 'beloved of the Aten' (*t3y sry.t n p3 s3 Mr.t p3 Itn*); Khaymin on a fragment now in Brooklyn.⁵⁰⁵ The location of the relief is "between the chapels D and E", which is a very prominent spot directly next to Horemheb's main chapel.⁵⁰⁶ Geoffrey Martin assumed that

496 Allon, *Literacy*, 95.

497 As shown by Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 145–146, Horemheb bore a great variety of military, but also administrative and indeed some explicit scribal titles, not just royal scribe but also e.g. *hry-tp m pr-md3.t*, i.e. overseer of the archive, see Wb I, 515.12.

498 Like Allon argued for other tomb scenes Allon, *Literacy*, 77.

499 Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 55 and pl. 24.

500 Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 66 and see 66–68 [65–66] and pls 30–31, for the individual.

501 Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 55.

502 Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 162, note 374.

503 Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 67 [66] and pls 30–31.

504 Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 66 [65] and pl 29.

505 Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 87 [79] and pls 49, 147–148. For the reading see Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 264.8. The excavators mention this reading in footnote 522 on p. 169, but seem to prefer Minkhay reading the divine part of the name first.

506 Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, pl. 3.

the text was not a later addition but part of the original design of the relief, and wondered whether Khaymin was a colleague of Horemheb.⁵⁰⁷ He suggested that Horemheb himself was the receiver of the honours,⁵⁰⁸ which is in line with the proposed building phases of the tomb according to which this part of the tomb should have been finished very early in Horemheb's career.⁵⁰⁹ In an interesting relief fragment from the tomb of Horemheb, possibly from the north side of the antechapel (D),⁵¹⁰ a lector priest Nehesis was depicted in front of the goddess Nephthys supporting the mummy (of Horemheb?). Later this text was replaced by "his lector priest (*hry-hb.t=f*) and sem-priest (*sm*), both cut over the original inscription [and] [o]ver the shaven head of the priest a short wig was later carved in plaster."⁵¹¹ So we see here the opposite case in which a previously named figure becomes generic, although the reasons for this choice are unclear.

In summary it seems that – considering again that the tomb is unfinished and incomplete – almost all represented individuals are anonymous and that, like with Maïa, no family members appear. Apparently also Horemheb had no interest in commemorating his family background and rather focussed on his career achievements, such as the presentation of the captured enemies to his king Tutankhamun after his successful campaign. Neither the enemies nor the scribes and other staff personnel counting and supervising them are named in the reliefs. Horemheb also gave almost no attention to the commemoration of his loyal servants. Perhaps he sought to present himself far beyond the crowds as having an – already as a general – almost royal status. On the other hand Maya was of similar high status and perhaps more considerate in this respect.

2.3.7 The tomb of Tia and Tia

Overseer of the treasury Tia was married to the sister of Ramesses II – also called Tia – and built their tomb in between the 18th-dynasty tombs of Horemheb and Maya.⁵¹² The tomb of Tia and Tia puts more emphasis on religious representa-

507 Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*.

508 Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 88.

509 See on the building phases Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 10–13 and also on another scene Martin, 'Bestower', 49.

510 Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 102 [112a] and pls 57 and 160.

511 Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 102.

512 Jacobus van Dijk recently suggested that Tia may have been raised at the royal court as well, see Jacobus van Dijk. 'Four notes on Tia and Iurufef.' In: *Egyptian Delta Archaeology*.

tions,⁵¹³ and commemoration of the royal family,⁵¹⁴ than on daily life scenes. Yet it is interesting to consider that in spite of his very high position as brother-in-law of the king, Tia commemorated some of his staff members. On the south wall of so-called Apis Chapel (i.e. the southern chapel), a painted relief shows the two tomb owners sitting in the naos of a barque.⁵¹⁵ In front of them an unidentified man presents a large pile of offerings to them. Further to the west, a large sailing boat is shown that is towing their barque. Ten rowers and five men climbing in the sail and mast take care of the right speed. This scene shows the sailing to (and perhaps also returning from⁵¹⁶) Abydos (Fig. 20).

On the sailing boat, the scribe Iurufef is “in the process of securing the rope to prow” the barque of Tia and Tia.⁵¹⁷ This very responsible task is thus performed by a named individual, and also one we know was in great favour of the two tomb owners, as he was not only allowed to be buried in their tomb, but also to erect a tomb chapel there.⁵¹⁸ Two other individuals are named here: the one overseeing the work, Minhotep, and one of the men helping with the sail, Amenemope (v).⁵¹⁹ The excavators suggested that Iurufef was perhaps not only Tia’s

Short Studies in Honour of Willem van Haarlem edited by Ben van den Bercken, 64. Leiden: Sidestone, 2021.

513 A very rare representation of the barque of Ptah was found in 2006 in their forecourt, but cannot be connected to a certain wall, Maarten J. Raven. ‘Architectural and relief fragments.’ In: *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* edited by Maarten J. Raven, Vincent Verschoor, Marije Vugts and René van Walsem, 48–69. Turnhout: Brepols, 66–67 [52].

514 In the antechapel (B) the king is shown in adoration of Hathor. On the southern wall we see the king and queen, Tia’s daughter called [Mut]metjennefer, another daughter, and the lady Tia, see Geoffrey T. Martin. *The tomb of Tia and Tia: a royal monument of the Ramesside period in the Memphite necropolis*. *Egypt Exploration Society, Excavation Memoir* 58. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1997, 26 [70–71] and pl. 41–42. Tia himself appears on the columns: see Martin, *Tia*, 26 [76–79] and pls 44–45 see also chapter 3.

515 Martin, *Tia*, 27 [81] and pls 47, 154.

516 Since one would expect a boat either to sail upstream (south) or rowing downstream (north) the excavators suggested a combination of both directions in this representation, see Martin, *Tia*, 28. However, it could also be a sign of power and status to do both, and travel faster. A parallel representation of a sail with rowers is, for example found in the tomb of Sennedjem (TT 96) in Deir el-Medina, see Wolfgang Decker and Michael Herb. *Bildatlas zum Sport im alten Ägypten: Corpus der bildlichen Quellen zu Leibesübungen, Spiel, Jagd, Tanz und verwandten Themen*. Leiden: Brill, 1994, 874 and pl. CDXLV. On travelling up- and downstream, see e.g. Eva Martin-Pardey. ‘Segeln.’ *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* V (1984): 824–825.

517 Martin, *Tia*, 28.

518 Martin, *Tia*, 35 and pls 3 and 56.

519 Perhaps the same character as on stela Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek inv. no. AA22, see Jacobus van Dijk. ‘The family and career of Tia.’ In: *The tomb of Tia and Tia: a*

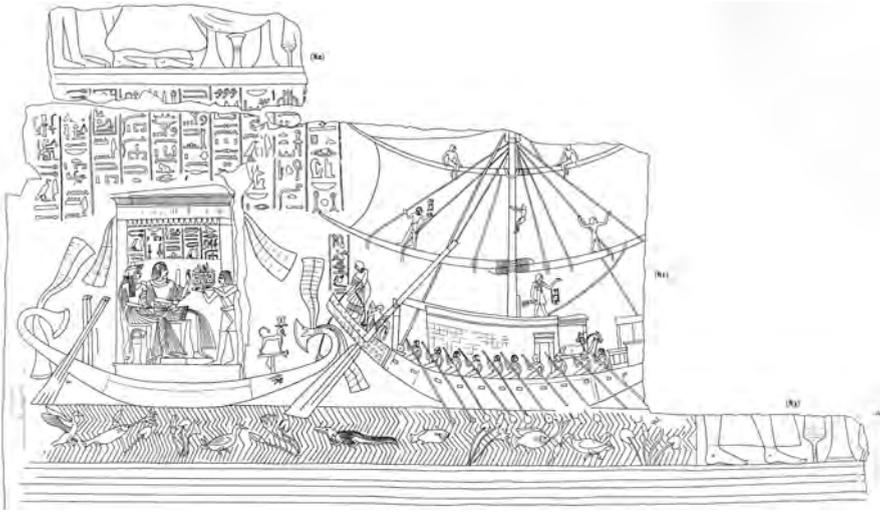


Fig. 20: Wall of the tomb of Tia and Tia. Drawing by Geoffrey Martin. © Egypt Exploration Society and Leiden-Turin Expedition to Saqqara.

employee, but also his relative.⁵²⁰ This idea is based on the find of a shabti of a scribe of the treasury Tia in Iurudef's burial chamber, which they assume was his son following the idea that like the 'overseer of the servants' Nakhtamun (on stela Neuchatel Eg. 428), he could have named his son after his master. While this is in principle possible, Raven does not explain why he thinks this naming suggests actual family ties rather than just "honorific considerations".⁵²¹ Van Dijk's idea that Iurudef was granted a position as eldest son is more plausible in view of Tia and Tia only having had two daughters.⁵²² In Iurudef's own tomb very few reliefs have been preserved, but the ones we have only show Iurudef himself and his wife.⁵²³ Another attestation of Iurudef is on a stela now in the Oriental Museum in Durham (inv. no. 1965),⁵²⁴ which was dedicated by

royal monument of the Ramesside period in the Memphite necropolis. *Egypt Exploration Society, Excavation Memoir 58* edited by Geoffrey T. Martin, 57. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1997.

520 Maarten Raven. *The Tomb of Iurudef. A Memphite Official under Ramesses II. Egypt Exploration Society, Excavation Memoir 57*. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1991, 2.

521 Raven, *Iurudef*, 2, note 6.

522 Van Dijk, 'Career of Tia', 56.

523 Raven, *Iurudef*, 4–5 and see another relief found in 1993 (Schneider, *Iniuia*, 104 and Fig. III.66) and that might have been from Tia's tomb or Iurudef's.

524 Martin, *Tia*, 36 and pls 58 and 164.

Amenemheb (and?) Pakhor. Raven assumed that it came from elsewhere since because of the other names “its presence in Iurudef’s chapel would be surprising”.⁵²⁵ We have seen, however, that being depicted in somebody else’s tomb was common and so was the installation of stelae (see also chapter 3). Hence, there thus also no need to speculate about a destroyed chapel as counterpart “on the north side of the first courtyard of the tomb of the Tias”, which did not leave any traces in the archaeological record.⁵²⁶ More recently, Abdel-Aal suggested Kafr el-Gebel as provenance of the Durham stela,⁵²⁷ which is in line with the find spot of two other stelae showing Iurudef’s relatives. Note, however, that Iurudef was probably buried in Tia’s forecourt, together with another individual “not certainly identified”.⁵²⁸ This could be Iurudef’s wife, Akhsu, or perhaps their son, also called Tia.⁵²⁹ Whether another stela showing the servant Panakhtenniut in adoration of Tia and Tia was originally placed as such a counterpart chapel of Iurudef is therefore questionable. It might as well have stood against the west wall of the inner courtyard north of the gateway or elsewhere.⁵³⁰

In general, it seems that the veneration of the gods by the deceased Tia and Tia was a more important topic than the veneration of the tomb owners by others. For example, on the south wing of the west wall of the main chapel in the second courtyard a damaged relief shows the male Tia in adoration of a mummified deity (probably the god Osiris, or otherwise Ptah).⁵³¹ In the smaller register underneath, five bald offering bearers are preserved moving north towards the entrance of the main chapel.⁵³² The men wear pleated dresses and present offering tables and flowers to the deceased. Like in the case of Maya’s relief, only some figures are identified by name and titles (*sdm* ‘š, here perhaps to

525 Raven, *Iurudef*, 4.

526 Raven, *Iurudef*, 4, note 4.

527 Soad Abdel-Aal. ‘A Memphite family from the Ramesside period.’ *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 56 (2000), 4.

528 Raven et al., *Horemheb*, 156; and see Martin, *Tia*, 5, and see also another fragment from either Tia’s or Iurudef’s tombs found in 1993, see Raven et al., *Horemheb*, 166, [82].

529 See e.g. Van Dijk, ‘Four Notes’, 66–67 on the family relations with reference to Raven, *Iurudef*, 2 and pls 38 and 44 [26a–d] for four shabti bearing Akhsu’s name.

530 Martin, *Tia*, 11 and see 36–37 [108] and pls 159–164. Note that in the 25th or 26th dynasty a scribe Pasherienjah and a man called Useramun left graffiti in the top of the cavetto cornice, but it is unclear if that happened contemporaneously, see Martin, *Tia*, 45 [326a] and pl. 93.

531 Martin, *Tia*, 25 [63] and pls 37 and 144–147. The excavators suggested that the fragments [204] (pl. 79) showing the head of the god Ptah or [257] (pl. 86) showing the head of Osiris could belong to this wall.

532 Martin, *Tia*, 25 [62] and pls 37 and 144–147.

be considered literally as “the one who hears the call”⁵³³ in the sense of generic obeying staff personnel⁵³⁴). The third man in the row, Djedamennakht, brings a calf, and behind him, a man called Tjellamun⁵³⁵ brings an oryx into the chapel, both meant to be offered there. The foremost individual remains generic. Next to the second servant the excavators noted “traces of an erased name”.⁵³⁶ Apparently, somebody at some point in time took the trouble to chisel away the name and title(s) of the second servant and afterwards carefully smoothed the surface of the relief. This is interesting, because this shows once again that individuals could not only gain social and spiritual capital by being depicted in their superior’s tomb, but this favour could also be taken away again (assuming the erasure was contemporary, which is not certain, but why would somebody do it later?). The threat of erasure is exemplified in an Old Kingdom threat formula that warns not only against more generally doing bad things or destruction of the tomb (*jr.t=š h.t nbḏ.t r nw*), but also explicitly against any rubbing out of writing (*sjn.t=sn šš jm*).⁵³⁷ References are also known from the end of the New Kingdom. For example, the high priest of Amun in Thebes during the reign of Ramesses IX warns people to replace his name with theirs: “as for anyone who shall remove my name in order to place his name [on it], Amun shall lessen his entire earthly lifetime”.⁵³⁸ The person at the rear of the queue is too damaged to tell

533 Compare discussion in Jaroslav Černý. *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period* (2nd ed.). Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 2001, 29.

534 See also Jaromir Malek. ‘The royal butler Hori at northern Saqqâra.’ *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74 (1988): 131 for *šdm.w* ‘š “lower-order managers and specialists” and see Evgeni S. Bogoslovski. ‘Die “Auf-den-Ruf-Hörenden” in der Privatwirtschaft unter der 18. Dynastie.’ In: *Ägypten und Kusch* edited by Erika Endesfelder, Karl-Heinz Priese, Walter-Friedrich Reineke, and Steffen Wenig, 81–94. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1977.

535 A man called Tjellamun also appears prominently on a stela now in Copenhagen, where he performs the Opening of the Mouth ritual with a Khnum-headed wand, see Martin, *Tia*, 37 [109] and pls 57 and 165. For the identification of the two Tjellamuns see Martin, *Tia*, 25, note 3. Unfortunately, the stela’s provenance is unclear.

536 Martin, *Tia*, 25 [62] and pls 37 and 146.

537 Urk I, 70.15–71.2, for *sjn* see Wb IV, 39 and see James P. Allen. ‘Some aspects of the non-royal afterlife in the Old Kingdom.’ In: *The Old Kingdom art and archaeology: proceedings of the conference held in Prague, May 31–June 4, 2004* edited Miroslav Bárta, 12. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, 2006. See also Elmar Edel. ‘Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie der ägyptischen Inschriften des alten Reichs.’ *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo* 13 (1944): 9–12 and see Morschauser, *Threat-formula*, 73–76.

538 KRI VI 533.12–13, see Morschauser, *Threat-formula*, 195. This is also a common warning in the ‘pious’ graffiti at Deir el-Bahari, see Morschauser, *Threat-formula*, 196, and see Ashraf I. Sadek. ‘An attempt to translate the corpus of the Deir El-Bahri hieratic inscriptions.’ *Göttinger*

whether there was an inscription. Tjelamun appears again with an oryx, in the corresponding queue on the north wing of the west wall.⁵³⁹

In the tomb of Tia and Tia we see thus not necessarily a reflection of their careers, but clear choices to embed certain professional affiliations into their reminiscence cluster.

2.4 Strengthening reminiscence clusters by means of representation

Eventually the tomb owners had the most prominent position in the tomb.⁵⁴⁰ By means of tomb representation the elite sought to be remembered as successful elements of society, and eternally re-enacted their status in their tombs.⁵⁴¹ This analysis has hopefully demonstrated that choices of representation in the Saqqara tombs were not a matter of chronology.⁵⁴² The idea advocated for Thebes, that communication with the divine was a main concern of later New Kingdom (i. e. Ramesside) tomb owners,⁵⁴³ could not be confirmed for Saqqara. Surely, the so-called ‘daily life scenes’ appear to have been more popular in the immediate aftermath of the Amarna period, yet I hope to have shown that choices for representation were far more complex. Overall 18th- and 19th-dynasty tomb owners made similar choices depending on their own background in terms of the (extended) family ties of their wider households and their professional affiliations. One may perhaps speculate that individuals that benefitted from the support of others were more ready to pass on these favours to others. Irrespective of this matter it appears that the vague use of kinship terminology in ancient Egypt language⁵⁴⁴ (e. g. the wide range of who was considered a ‘brother’ or ‘sister’) actually reflects the daily life reality of joining into a wide network of close blood- or non-blood relatives. While scholars have often emphasised the lesser

Miszellen 71 (1984): 67–91 and Ashraf I. Sadek. ‘An attempt to translate the corpus of the Deir el-Bahri hieratic inscriptions (part two).’ *Göttinger Miszellen* 72 (1984): 65–86.

539 Martin, *Tia*, 25 [66] and pls 39 and 149 (unfortunately not very visible in the photograph).

540 Gay Robins. *Proportion and style in ancient Egyptian art*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1994, 33; see Skumsnes, *Gender*, 116.

541 Skumsnes, *Gender*, 114.

542 In fact for Thebes Hofmann suggests a move of such topics into more visible areas of the tomb such as the forecourts, see Hofmann, ‘Vorhof’, 173.

543 E. g. Kubisch, ‘Verdienste’, 519.

544 Compare e. g. Skumsnes, *Gender*, 94, in fact this practice has parallels also in more modern societies e. g. Naomi Tadmor. *Family and Friends in Eighteenth-Century England, Household Kinship, and Patronage*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge 2001, 120.

importance of the career of the tomb owners in tomb representations with respect to funerary rituals,⁵⁴⁵ it seems in fact that it was these networks that were emphasised.⁵⁴⁶ As Fredrik Hagen aptly put it, ancient Egypt was “a society where individuals were keenly aware of both their own group membership and those of others, as well as the duties, privileges and responsibilities connected with them”.⁵⁴⁷ Hagen meant this in relation to titles people bore, and while this was most certainly the case, this tendency was yet again underlined by means of tomb representation. We saw no declining importance of family representation,⁵⁴⁸ but rather clear choices of when family ties were relevant or when other choices dominated. “Authority and political power are not a fact and they are not static. They are exercised on different levels and by different (groups of) people from the household to larger entities...Social systems and political hierarchies are not stable. Legitimacy may be questioned, and cultural norms such as achievement or descent may be manipulated according to context.”⁵⁴⁹

A few years ago Paul Lichterman argued that wondering whether human action is motivated by religion does not illuminate “how the same people relate to religion differently, or ambiguously, in different contexts”.⁵⁵⁰ Instead, he suggested to study “religious communication in group action” in order to “expand our empirical grasp of how religion becomes public in different ways”.⁵⁵¹ Egyptian tomb representation can of course not provide such nuance of varying responses. Except for the few cases in which inscriptions were changed or eliminated, they represent a snapshot of a specific choice made by the tomb owners. Yet I hope that my analysis also shows how the lens on reminiscence clusters (in a way following Lichterman’s “move from actor to setting”) allows us to study both “religious and nonreligious meaning without needing to imagine rigidly separate spheres for each”.⁵⁵² Looking at the reminiscence clusters at the Saqqara tombs shows two main strategies clearly: the wish for commemoration of

545 E.g. Skumsnes, *Gender*, 252.

546 John Baines and Elizabeth Froid (‘Piety, change and display in the New Kingdom.’ In: *Ramesseid studies in honour of K. A. Kitchen* edited by Mark Collier and Steven Snape, 8. Bolton: Rutherford, 2011) mention family representation as focus; see Skumsnes, *Gender*, 28, footnote 79, which I hope to have shown is too narrow a term.

547 Hagen, ‘Identities’, 251. London: Routledge, 2010, see Skumsnes, *Gender*, 251.

548 As suggested by John Baines. *High culture and experience in ancient Egypt. Studies in Egyptology and the Ancient Near East*. Sheffield: Equinox, 2013, 12, see Skumsnes, *Gender*, 116.

549 Kienlin, ‘Beyond Elites’, 18; see Skumsnes, *Gender*, 198.

550 Paul Lichterman. ‘Religion in public action: from actors to settings.’ *Sociological Theory* 30 (1) (2012): 16.

551 Lichterman, ‘Religion’, 16.

552 Lichterman, ‘Religion’, 16.

(extended) family ties and of professional affiliations – most frequently both. Either way, the re-enactment of reminiscence clusters was ego-centred, yet performed in reciprocity.⁵⁵³

553 See also Olabarria, *Kinship*, 55 with similar findings on the Abydos stelae.

Chapter 3: Offerings and other gifts at New Kingdom Saqqara

3.1 Studying gift-giving

In her important study on households, Susan Gillespie talks about the “cumulative outcome of strategic choices made by generations of individuals from the alternatives available to them, based on what they believed would improve or at least maintain their status and property rights”,¹ which is an apt description of what we see – albeit fragmentarily – in the archaeological record at Saqqara and, I would argue, also elsewhere. Tombs as well as the cults for the deceased guaranteed the physical and spiritual supply of goods as well as communication with descendants by means of offerings, prayers, and different ceremonies.² The previous chapter discussed individuals and their roles represented in the tomb decoration of Saqqara and offered a wider interpretation of the social and spiritual capital of all attested individuals. The current chapter scrutinises the archaeological finds and demonstrates how gift-giving is yet another strategy to reinforce the reminiscence clusters.

3.1.1 Gift-giving theory

Before diving into the material evidence for potential offering practices at Saqqara, it is worthwhile to reflect on some theoretic aspects of offering, or ‘gift-giving’ generally, first.³ More than 90 years ago, Marcel Mauss published his famous

1 Gillespie, ‘Beyond Kinship’, 11.

2 E.g. recently Konstantin C. Lakomy. *‘Der Löwe auf dem Schlachtfeld’. Das Grab KV 36 und die Bestattung des Maiherperi im Tal der Könige*. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2016, 89.

3 Note that while socio-economic aspects of gift-giving were addressed in Egyptology already more than 40 years ago (Jacques J. Janssen. ‘Gift-giving in ancient Egypt as an economic feature.’ *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 68 (1982): 253–258 with reference to Paul Frandsen. ‘Egyptian imperialism.’ In: *Power and propaganda: a symposium on ancient empires* edited by Mogens Trolle Larsen, 167–190. Copenhagen: Akademisk, 1979) the concept has not yet been fully explored for a wider understanding of Egyptian religion. For a valuable summary see Gertie Englund. ‘Gifts to the gods: a necessity for the preservation of cosmos and life. Theory and praxis.’ In: *Gifts to the gods: proceedings of the Uppsala symposium 1985* edited by Tullia Linders and Gullög Nordquist, 57–66. Uppsala: Academia Ubsaliensis, 1987.

article ‘*Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l’échange dans les sociétés archaïques*’ (‘An essay on the gift: the form and reason of exchange in archaic societies’) in *L’Année Sociologique, seconde série, 1923–1924*. It was a continuation of his previous work and drew also on the studies by scholars like Franz Boas and Bronisław Malinowski, who had like Mauss studied the peoples of the Trobriand Islands in the Pacific. By focussing on the so-called “archaic forms of contract”, i. e. the gift-in-exchange-for-gift interactions, Marcel Mauss now sought to extract what he thought of the essence of human interaction. What is important is the complexity of the underlying concept of ‘gift’, which not only encompasses a variety of things, “human beings, services, everyday and magic/religious rituals, or offerings”,⁴ but also a “‘mutual obligation’ shared by all actors”⁵ involved. The gift should hence be viewed as an exchange creating obligations on both sides, i. e. “put[ting] the actors in a cycle of obligations to return the gift in a certain manner and in a given time. [...] Thus, the gift is not a generous sacrifice only, or the expression of gratuity. It challenges the actors who should show that they can give, take, and return gifts in an appropriate way.”⁶ Recent research has therefore also focussed on the differences in individual drives for gift-giving and demonstrated that it is most often motivated by the gift giver’s own benefits.⁷ For example, modern couples exchange gifts to maintain the relationship, out of narcissism or as “impression management”, i. e. as a conformation of “what they are by what they give”.⁸ At the same time, however, gift-giving implies a rank, since it is often the weaker that gives to the strong one in expectation of receiving a favour in return.⁹ Therefore gift-giving serves as an important

4 Christian Papilloud. ‘Gift: History of the Concept.’ *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences (Second Edition)* 2015: 139.

5 Papilloud, ‘Gift’, 139.

6 Papilloud, ‘Gift’, 139.

7 See also e. g. Hays, *Pyramid Texts*, 25.

8 Na Kyong Hyun, Yoobin Park, and Sun W. Park. ‘Narcissism and gift giving: Not every gift is for others.’ *Personality and Individual Differences* 96 (2016): 48 and 51 and see also e. g. Russell W. Belk. *Gift-Giving Behaviour*. College of Commerce and Business Administration, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1977 and Russell W. Belk and Gregory S. Coon. ‘Gift Giving as Agapic Love: An Alternative to the Exchange Paradigm Based on Dating Experiences.’ *Journal of Consumer Research* 20/3 (1993): 393–417.

9 E. g. Walter Burkert. ‘Glaube und Verhalten: Zeichengehalt und Wirkungsmacht von Opferitualen.’ In: *Le sacrifice dans l’antiquité, Vandoevres-Genève, 25–30 août 1980 : huit exposés suivis de discussions* edited by Jean-Pierre Vernant, Jean Rudhardt, and Olivier Reverdin, 112. Genève: Fondation Hardt pour l’étude de l’antiquité classique, 1981 and see for the ancient Egyptian reciprocity of gift-giving and receiving e. g. Stephan J. Seidlmayer. ‘Gaben und Abgaben im Ägypten des Alten Reiches.’ In: *Geschenke und Steuern, Zölle und Tribute: antike Abgabeformen*

strategy of relationship-building, both in religious terms and socially.¹⁰ The gift-giving action itself, but also its memory continuously re-enacted these relationships.¹¹ For the ancient Egyptians at Saqqara, benefit in terms of religious rewards by the deceased of gods (*do ut des*¹²) might have been a drive as well. But it is important to consider one drive in particular, namely, similarly to the representations we saw in chapter 2, the benefit of becoming embedded in the tomb owner's community or reminiscence cluster is also achieved by means of gift-giving. For these activities we must consider a layer of action, one that leaves little trace in the archaeological record and hence can only be grasped hypothetically. The current chapter therefore focusses on physical traces of gifts such as votives and traces of offering practices.

3.1.2 Changing excavation methods

A main problem encountered when trying to detect religious practices based on small finds and pottery in the records from the (Anglo)-Leiden excavations at Saqqara (see Fig. 9, section 2.2) is the previous excavators' strong focus on monumental as opposed to material evidence in both recording and publication. The publication of pottery often runs late in comparison to other publications,¹³ small finds were not published for all tombs,¹⁴ and for both documentation and publication of small finds strict selection criteria were chosen. Only those objects were recorded that were considered "to present a minimum [*sic*, maximum?] amount of interest from the point of view of typology, epigraphy, relative com-

in *Anspruch und Wirklichkeit* edited by Hilmar Klinkott, Sabine Kubisch, and Renate Müller-Woltermann, 51 and 59. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

¹⁰ See also Rüpke, 'Socio-Religious Practices', 29–30 mainly focussing on the communication between humans and the divine.

¹¹ Rüpke, 'Socio-Religious Practices', 31.

¹² On the research history see Alexander Rost. 'Der heiße Draht ins Jenseits: Aspekte des ägyptologischen Opferwesens.' In: *(Un)Sterblichkeit: Schrift – Körper – Kult. Beiträge des neunten Berliner Arbeitskreises Junge Ägyptologie (BAJA 9), 30.11.–2.12.2018* edited by Dina Serova, Burkhard Backes, and Matthieu W. Götz. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2020, 175–187.

¹³ For example, the pottery from the tomb of Maya and Merit is still forthcoming more than 30 years after the discovery of the tomb, which may have had various reasons, but makes the study of the material difficult. It seems that *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt III: The New Kingdom Pottery* is currently in print at the Egypt Exploration Society, unfortunately slightly too late for the current study.

¹⁴ To be fair it should also be noted that it is thanks to the efforts of Maarten Raven that the more interesting (see above) small finds from the tomb of Maya appeared 11 years prior to the publication of the tomb as such, see Raven, *Maya* and Martin, *Maya*.

pleteness, or rarity”.¹⁵ Less “interesting” objects were either just counted or discarded without recording. Another problem is a demonstrated interest in the 18th dynasty as opposed to later periods,¹⁶ that tends to bias the interpretation of at least some of the earlier excavators. Lastly, the tombs were robbed in antiquity and then re-excavated in the 19th century.¹⁷ This account is not meant as bashing of my predecessors: methods change over time and future researchers may wish that the current Leiden-Turin Expedition to Saqqara would have done things differently. It is thus a combination of both earlier recording methods and also the disturbed assemblages¹⁸ that make it at times difficult to find evidence for religious practices at Saqqara.

3.2 Creating reminiscence clusters by means of gift-giving

Obvious focal points for offerings are the main offering chapels, stelae, and tomb statues, but as we shall see also the forecourts of at least some of the tombs.¹⁹ As demonstrated above many of these offerings have to be imagined based on representation, since they leave very little trace in the archaeological record, and also the inscribed artefacts cannot always be linked to the tomb owners or

15 Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 221.

16 Later burials were often considered as “intrusive”, see e.g. Raven, *Maya*, 35 and Post New Kingdom shafts (e.g. Raven, ‘Architectural’, 31–32; Schneider, *Iniuia*, 27 but see René Van Walsem et al. ‘Preliminary report on the Dutch excavations at Saqqara, season 2000.’ *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* 35–36 (2001): 6) and side chambers of the main subterranean structures (e.g. Schneider, *Iniuia*, 27) often not excavated; Later New Kingdom finds seem to take an intermediary position in this respect, as Raven considers that the “Ramesseid invaders **at least respected** the tomb’s perimeter walls, and **although** they belonged to people of **inferior rank**, they **still** shared the same culture as the previous inhabitants of the New Kingdom cemetery”, Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 328 (apparently unlike Post-New Kingdom actors), emphasis mine. For a criticism to this approach, see e.g. Polz, ‘Grabbenutzung’, 334. It is true though that later burials sometimes reused (parts of) earlier structures not only by using the space but also their building material, e.g. by reusing relief slabs to cover their bodies (see Schneider, *Iniuia*, 106, Figs. III.70a–b).

17 E.g. Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 222.

18 For example, the tomb of Iniuia shows very little evidence that could be interpreted as remains of contextualisable post-funerary offering practices, nor any sort of votive objects, see Schneider, *Iniuia*, 131–139 with the exception of pottery from the main tomb chapel (B) which seems to indicate an ongoing cult into the 19th dynasty, perhaps by those individuals identified as his ancestors.

19 See also e.g. Geoffrey T. Martin. ‘A New Kingdom dyad from the Memphite necropolis.’ *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 37 (1981): 310–311 with a list.

their extended social networks. The dating is usually vague, between the 18th and 19th dynasty, and names are often too common²⁰ to be linked to specific, known individuals. In the following, I discuss several artefact groups and potential clusters that have not been discussed before as evidence for potential gift-giving practices at Saqqara.

3.2.1 Votive shabtis

The most obvious type of gift that can be linked to the formation and indeed maintaining of the reminiscence clusters is inscribed gifts, such as shabtis, i.e. the small figurines the ancient Egyptians took into their tombs. These figurines were traditionally mummiform, but after the Amarna period examples wearing ‘the clothes of the living’ also appear, as well as some more playful forms such as mummies in biers, and figures involved in daily life activities such as milling.²¹ Shabtis were frequently inscribed with the so-called shabtis formula for causing them to “work for his master in the realm of the dead”,²² i.e. mainly fieldwork to provide food for eternal supply. Their interpretation as grave goods for the person these figurines depicted is the reason that in the past finds of shabtis of people *other* than the tomb owners has often caused confusion at Saqqara. For example, set against the south wall of the south chapel of the tomb of Ptahemwia (i), a shabti of the scribe of the royal granary (*sš n tš šnw.t n pr ʔ*)²³ Amenemone (v) appears, which was first considered as too high-ranking as to be buried together with Ptahemwia (i) and hence must have travelled from elsewhere.²⁴ Indeed, Amenemone (v) was probably not buried together with Ptahemwia (i), but as a colleague of Ptahemwia (i) he might have donated the shabti to

²⁰ E.g. a votive stela (fragment) of a lady Taweret from the tomb of Meryneith, see Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 224–225, cat. 2.

²¹ Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 162–164, excluding here ‘headless’ and ‘amulet shabtis’, which are both of a different, non-votive use, see Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 164–165. Famous milling shabtis are the ones of Merymery (i) in Leiden inv. nos AST 30a–b, see Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 217–18.

²² E.g. Henk Milde. ‘Shabtis.’ In: *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* edited by Willeke Wendrich. Los Angeles, 2012. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/6cx744kk>. Accessed on 29 March 2022. The interpretation probably stems from Sir Alan Gardiner’s interpretation of a shabti of Ptahmose (i): Alan H. Gardiner. ‘A statuette of the high priest of Memphis, Ptahmose.’ *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 43 (1906): 55–59; see Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 3.

²³ Abdul Rahman Al-Ayedi. *Index of Egyptian administrative, religious and military titles of the New Kingdom*. Ismailia, Egypt: Obelisk Publications, 2006, no. 1857.

²⁴ Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 174–175, cat. 59.

his tomb.²⁵ Such a wider interpretation of shabtis not confined to a use as tomb gifts for the person represented was in fact among the very first ideas of what those figurines were. As Hans Schneider noted in his seminal work on the Leiden collection of shabtis, already in 1908 Percy Newberry suggested that such “statuettes were dedicated to the owners by their family and former personnel”.²⁶ Later Erik Hornung also mentioned the dual function of representation and servant,²⁷ as was also archaeologically supported by the find of shabti depots such as excavated most prominently in Abydos,²⁸ but also in Giza²⁹ and Saqqara.³⁰ Scholars suggested that the deceased wished to be “present on those very locations where he might be able to influence any decisions to be taken by the Lords of the Hereafter regarding the necessities of the Life in the Beyond”.³¹ We shall

25 The same individual is attested in the Leiden collection (inv. no. AH 104h), see Schneider, *Shabtis* II, 3.1.1.7 and Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 174. Note, however, that the original floor of the south (and indeed the north chapel) was disturbed by at least 24 secondary burials and the find spot of the shabti was therefore most probably not its original place of deposition. B. Aston. ‘Pottery’ (*Ptahemwia*), 262 and see Ladislava Horáčková. ‘Human skeletal remains.’, *The Tombs of Ptahemwia and Sethnakht at Saqqara* edited by Maarten Raven, 317. Leiden: Sidestone, 2020.

26 Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 3 with reference to Northampton, William Compton, Marquis of. *Report on some excavations in the Theban necropolis during the winter of 1898–9 by the Marquis of Northampton, Wilhelm Spiegelberg and Percy E. Newberry*. London: Constable, 1908, 30–34.

27 Already Hornung, ‘Jenseitsglaubens’, 129.

28 Cf. Frauke Pumpenmeier. *Eine Gunstgabe von Seiten des Königs: ein extrasepulchrales Schabtidopot Qen-Amuns in Abydos. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Ägyptens* 19. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1998; Assmann, *Tod und Jenseits*, 154 and see Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 269–275 for the Amenhotep III formula for being present in Abydos by means of shabti deposition.

29 Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 277–278. Although Giza is of course part of the wider cultural geography surrounding Memphis it is beyond the scope of this book to address the findings from there, **30** Tewfik Boulos. ‘Digging at Zawiet Abu Mossallam.’ *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte* 19 (1920): 145–148. Mistakenly as Boulos 1919 mentioned in Paul Whelan. *Mere scraps of rough wood? 17th-18th Dynasty stick shabtis in the Petrie Museum and other collections*. London: Golden House Publications, 2007, 22 and see Battiscombe Gunn. ‘A shawabti-figure of Puyamrê’ from Saqqara.’ *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte* 26 (1926): 157–159, for the shabti donation of Puyemre (*temp.* Thutmose III) from the enclosure of Djoser’s step pyramid (Cairo JE 50035). Puyemre is known to have been buried in TT 39 in Thebes, so that is another very clear case of extrasepulchral shabti donation (see Gunn, ‘Puyamrê’, 159. For the tomb see Norman de Garis Davies. *The tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes (2 vols)*. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition; Robb de Peyster Tytus memorial series 2–3. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1922–1923.

31 Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 268 mentioning Abydos, Busiris, Heliopolis, Letopolis, and Rosetau, and see Iorwerth E.S. Edwards. ‘The Shetayet of Rosetau.’ In: *Egyptological studies in honor of Richard A. Parker: presented on the occasion of his 78th birthday December 10, 1983* edited by

see that this practice was not only directed towards gods or the afterlife, and it is therefore interesting to study more carefully the objects in the tomb gift assemblages donated by private officials and beyond,³² especially since deposits are not always found near tombs. For example, another group from Ramesside Deir el-Bahari is more generally associated with the veneration of the god Osiris.³³ Schneider suggested an interpretation of the shabtis in the clothes of the living as representing the shabti being “on earth”.³⁴ He argued that these figurines were similar to Akhenaten’s so-called Osiris pillars at the Karnak temple in Thebes, and suggested that they embodied the unification of Re and Osiris,³⁵ as is suggested by their appearance in the aftermath of the Amarna Age.³⁶ Interestingly though, both living and mummified shabtis appear as votives and no such distinction in use can be found. This idea is also supported by the fact that some sarcophagi show the deceased in the clothes of the living and not mummiform.³⁷

The idea that by the New Kingdom shabtis no longer represented the owner but were just servants is indeed challenged by the fact that royal shabtis wear ureai.³⁸ In his discussion of the Amarna shabtis of king Akhenaten, Kai Widmaier discussed the various meanings shabti figurines had and defines the primary meaning of ‘participation by means of representation’ and only secondary meaning as servant figurine.³⁹ He argues that with the absence of a netherworld in the

Leonard H. Lesko, 29. Hannover; London: University Press of New England for Brown University Press, 1986.

32 Although already remarked early on by Schulman, ‘Trauerrelief’, 61.

33 Whelan, *Stick shabtis*, 23.

34 Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 162.

35 Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 162 and see also Norman de Garis Davies. ‘Akhenaten at Thebes.’ *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 9 (nos 3/4) (1923): 132–152.

36 Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 162. His idea that their iconography is very different to contemporary tomb statues is less clear and not further elaborated. Instead I would see a similar use of both types of *representation* of the respective individual in the tomb see also Weiss, ‘Royal Administration’.

37 E.g. the sarcophagus of Iniuia, now in the Louvre Museum (inv. no. N 338), see Schneider, *Iniuia*, 51, pl. XII.

38 Federico Poole. ‘Slave or double? A reconsideration of the conception of the shabti in the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period.’ In: *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995* edited by Christopher J. Eyre, 896. Leuven: Peeters, 1998 with reference to Leiden inv. nos F 1953/1.2 and F 1962/12.4 and challenging Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 69–70 and Jaroslav Černý. ‘Le caractère des oushebti d’après les idées du Nouvel Empire.’ *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 41 (1942): 117.

39 See Kai Widmaier. ‘Totenfiguren ohne Totenreich: Überlegungen zu den königlichen Uschebti aus Amarna.’ In: *Miscellanea in Honorem Wolfhart Westendorf. Göttinger Miscellen Beihefte* 3 edited by Carsten Peust, 153–160. Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie der

Amarna Age, only the image of the deceased could guarantee his provision of the god by Aten.⁴⁰ However, the number of shabtis with other names and titles suggests that votive shabtis became increasingly common.⁴¹ In the meantime the practice of shabti donations has been discussed frequently, as a practice appearing from the Second Intermediate Period onwards.⁴² A comprehensive study by Paul Whelan showed that these shabtis were often not put into burial chambers but in the above-ground areas of a tomb.⁴³ A wider interpretation of shabtis is also suggested by the find of four shabtis inscribed with a formula that was mistakenly labelled as ‘Saitic formula’, although it later appeared that the formula is not confined to the 26th dynasty (i. e. the Saitic period).⁴⁴ This text that appears on statues and rarely on shabtis associates the back pillar with the city god.⁴⁵ The former is the place where the latter is seated to support the statue owner and his *Ka*.⁴⁶ Only four references are known, three from Abydos,⁴⁷ one from

Universität, 2008, 156–157. Compare also the interesting discussion by Federico Poole, about who was entitled to be exempted from afterlife *corvée*: Federico Poole. ‘Social implications of the shabti custom in the New Kingdom.’ In: *Egyptological Studies for Claudio Barocas* edited by Rosanna Pirelli, 95–113, Istituto Universitario Orientale: Napoli, 1999, 95–113.

40 Widmaier, ‘Totenfiguren’, 158.

41 In view of the still existing practice of ‘regular’ shabtis in the sense of burial equipment with the name and titles of the tomb owners does not support an increasing significance for this world as opposed to their function to the next. Contra Franzmeier, ‘Unsterblichkeit’, 35. On the contrary the connection between the two worlds by means of the votive is key here.

42 The practice of burying shabtis in forecourts may have become less popular in the early 18th dynasty (as suggested by Willems, ‘Carpe diem’, 518), yet the practice continued at least way into the Ramesside period. For example, two shabti fragments were found in Nefertiti’s tomb at Amarna, see Athena van der Perre. ‘The Year 16 graffito of Akhenaten in Dayr Abū Ḥinnis: A contribution to the study of the later years of Nefertiti.’ *Journal of Egyptian History* 7 (1) (2014): 81 with reference to Nicholas Reeves. *Akhenaten: Egypt’s false prophet*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2001, 170.

43 Whelan, *Stick shabtis*, 45 and see also Willems, ‘Carpe diem’, 514.

44 Karl Jansen-Winkeln. ‘Zum Verständnis der “Saitischen Formel”.’ *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 28 (2000): 83–124, criticised by David Klotz. ‘Get thee behind me, city god.’ *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 143 (2016): 204–213 and then reinforced by Karl Jansen-Winkeln. ‘Imperative or Passive: Nochmal zur “Saitischen Formel”.’ *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 49 (2019): 73–92; and see also Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 160 and 292–293.

45 Jansen-Winkeln, ‘Saitische Formel’, 89 and see Jacobus van Dijk. ‘A Ramesside naophorous statue from the Teti pyramid cemetery.’ *Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* 64 (1983): 56.

46 Jansen-Winkeln, ‘Saitische Formel’, 102–103.

47 Jansen-Winkeln, ‘Saitische Formel’, 85 and nos 28 (Bruxelles, E.4181), 86 (Cairo, CG 46549), no. 222 (Abydos storage (?); see KRI III, 475–476).

Thebes,⁴⁸ and none from Saqqara,⁴⁹ but they make clear that a shabti was generally more a religious figurine, and not limited to the role of a servant in the afterlife.⁵⁰

3.2.1.1 The shabtis of Maya

Particularly interesting for the practice of shabti donation at Saqqara is the fact that it is also attested for Maya, who donated two figurines to no one less than king Tutankhamun in his tomb.⁵¹ Interestingly, in the tomb of Tutankhamun there is a representation of twelve officials accompanying the royal funeral.⁵² They stride in five groups: five men, followed by three pairs, and one man closing the queue. The last pair is distinguished from the others by their dress and shaven heads and can hence be identified viziers, i.e. most probably as Pentu and Usermonthu, holding office at the time of Tutankhamun.⁵³ Usermonthu is known from a statue fragment⁵⁴ and a stone sarcophagus from the Theban area.⁵⁵ Pentu, possibly the owner of Amarna tomb no. 5, is attested on a wine-jar docket (no. 490) from Tutankhamun's tomb.⁵⁶ In his case a donation to the king is plausible, whereas the reference to various vineyard supervisors (*hry kmꜥ.w*) is probably rather an indication of wine quality.⁵⁷ As to Maya's donation, there has been some discussion of when the large shabtis entered Tutankhamun's tomb, since Maya was possibly in charge of tidying up the tomb after a

48 Jansen-Winkeln, 'Saitische Formel', 85, no. 194 (Louvre E 5212).

49 The only New Kingdom and potential Memphite reference of the formula is a cubic statue of Piay (iii) dating to the 19th dynasty, see KRI III, 495–496, see Jansen-Winkeln, 'Saitische Formel', 116, no. 164 (London, BM inv. no. 46).

50 See also Jansen-Winkeln, 'Saitische Formel', 104 with references.

51 Cairo Museum JE 60820 and JE 60826, recently published by Konstantin C. Lakomy. "[...] Can you see anything?" "Yes, it is wonderful": besondere Stiftungsvermerke der königlichen Beamten Maya und Nachtmin auf sieben Totenfiguren König Tutanchamuns.' *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 73 (2017): 147–150. Five more were donated by Nakhtmin (JE 60827, JE 60828, JE 60830, JE 60836, and JE 60837); see Lakomy, 'Totenfiguren', 150–156 and also Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 301–302.

52 Nicholas Reeves. *The complete Tutankhamun: The king, the tomb, the royal treasure*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1990, 72.

53 Reeves, *Tutankhamun*, 72.

54 Cairo TR 26/6/37/1.

55 Reeves, *Tutankhamun*, 31 and is depicted in Theban tombs (TT) 31 and TT 324.

56 Reeves, *Tutankhamun*, 31 and 203.

57 Černý, *Tut'ankhamün*.

robbery shortly after the king's burial.⁵⁸ However, the chaotic appearance of Tutankhamun's tomb was rather caused by a second (or even third robbery) after Maya had left office and the figures were probably part of the original assemblage of the tomb.⁵⁹ Otherwise Maya would likely have left both figures placed with equal care.⁶⁰ Interestingly, although Maya prominently handed down social and spiritual capital to his employees in his tomb decoration (see section 2.3.5.), he seems to have received few shabti donations himself.⁶¹ From his shattered tomb assemblage a few shabtis are known that may have been donated. Characters that appear are the son of the gold washer Khay (i), called Piay,⁶² the scribe Hayaa,⁶³ the priest of Ptah Khaemwaset,⁶⁴ an anonymous overseer of cattle,⁶⁵ a singer,⁶⁶ the scribe of the gold house Nebmehyt,⁶⁷ a chief...,⁶⁸ a Panub,⁶⁹ a lady Tawoseret,⁷⁰ and an overseer of... Paraemheb.⁷¹ Except for Khay (i)'s son Piay, none of these people can clearly be related to Maya, so we are left in uncertainty whether some of these shabtis might have been votives. Perhaps this Nebmehyt could be the same character as one of the sons of Amenemone (ii), who is attested on Maya's tomb walls. Although Nebmehyt (i) appears in his father's tomb as goldsmith (*nby*),⁷² he might have strengthened the existing family ties by a shabti donation to Maya in a later stage of his career. Also of potential interest – albeit not a shabti – is a fragment of a calcite writing palette of Pahem-

58 Reeves, *Tutankhamun*, 97 and see also a graffito of necropolis scribe Djehutymose in the tomb of Thutmose IV who is also attested as donor of a wine jar in the tomb of Tutankhamun. Howard Carter and Perry E. Newberry. *The tomb of Thoutmôsis IV*. London: Duckworth, 2002 (reprinted), 33–34 and Urk IV, 21700.15–2171.6 and recently Lakomy, 'Totenfiguren', 157 and 159.
59 Lakomy, 'Totenfiguren', 159–160.

60 Lakomy, 'Totenfiguren', 160 and see 158 for a description of the chaotic find situation.

61 Some ceramic examples found in the statue chamber, and the inner and outer forecourts remain anonymous, see Raven, *Maya*, 37, cat. 134–136, pl. 19.

62 Raven, *Maya*, 21, cat. 15, and pl. 37; for the tomb see Martin et al., *Memphite Officials*.

63 Raven, *Maya*, 42, cat. 179a, and pl. 19, from the fill of chapel A.

64 Raven, *Maya*, 42, cat. 180a, and pl. 19, from the surface of the statue room and the pylon area.

65 Raven, *Maya*, 42, cat. 181, and pl. 19, 37, whose name is lost from the forecourt.

66 Raven, *Maya*, 43, cat. 186, and pl. 20, 37, from tomb chamber E.

67 Raven, *Maya*, 43, cat. 187, and pl. 37, from the pylon.

68 Raven, *Maya*, 43, cat. 188, and pl. 20, 37, from the surface of the outer courtyard.

69 Raven, *Maya*, 43, cat. 191a-b, and pl. 20, 37, two fragments joined, from the surface north of the outer courtyard and the statue room.

70 Raven, *Maya*, 43, cat. 193a-b, and pl. 20, 37, two fragments chamber E and north of the inner courtyard.

71 Raven, *Maya*, 44, cat. 196, and pl. 37 from the surface of the outer courtyard.

72 Ockinga, *Amenemone*, 18.

netjer, probably the high priest of Ptah, who may have made a prestigious donation to the grave gift assemblage of Maya.⁷³ Lastly, it seems that a chamberlain (*jmy-ḥn.t*) Amun-(...) (rest of the name lost) donated a liquid gift to Maya.⁷⁴ Both these potential gifts were probably rather donations to Maya's funerary assemblage than votives of the post-funerary cult.

3.2.1.2 The shabtis of Meryneith and "Sethnakht"

As far as we know, Meryneith does not seem to have received shabti donations. The few shabtis preserved do not seem to have a known relationship to (either) Meryneith (or Hatiay) or any of the known surrounding tombs owners,⁷⁵ or they are too late,⁷⁶ and may therefore have travelled from other burials. Potentially interesting for religious activity, albeit not shabtis, are two fired ceramic discs that the excavators identified as possible symbols of female fertility, although parallels are usually made of unbaked clay.⁷⁷

Another potential votive shabti could be the one by the scribe of the estate (*sš ḏ3t.t*⁷⁸) Nakht, who may have set his shabti against the exterior face of the north wall of what Raven calls "the tomb of Sethnakht".⁷⁹ Since also this area

⁷³ Raven, *Maya*, 24, cat. 32, pl. 31.

⁷⁴ Only the seal was found Raven, *Maya*, 59, cat. 332, pl. 38. Another one with faint traces of a cartouche might suggest a royal gift: Raven, *Maya*, 59, cat. 333, see also the ivory inlay fragments from the tomb naming Maya and Merit and king Horemheb, Raven, *Maya*, 60, cat. 341, pls 25 and 40.

⁷⁵ Amenemone, Henutdemi, and the (chief) embalmer Nakhtamun, see Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 228–231, cat. 23, 27 and 29.

⁷⁶ Amenmose dates to the 19th dynasty, see Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 228–229, cat. 28a–b.

⁷⁷ Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 230–231, cat. 33a-b, with reference to Chappaz, Jean-Luc, Francesco Tiradritti, and Marie Vandenbeusch (eds). *Akhénaton et Néfertiti: soleil et ombres des pharaons*, 25. Genève: Silvana; Musée d'art et d'histoire, 2008, 166–167, cat. 157–160; and see Raven, *Pay and Raia*, cat. 129.

⁷⁸ William A. Ward. *Index of Egyptian administrative and religious titles of the Middle Kingdom: with a glossary of words and phrases used*. Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1982, no. 1452; see Wb IV, 98.21.

⁷⁹ Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 174, cat. 61. Indeed, admitting the problematic terminology given the fact that the Ramesside scribe of the temple of Ptah (*sš n pr Pth*) Sethnakht was possibly reusing this 18th-dynasty tomb that is yet anonymous (Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 156). Given the scattered provenance of the latter (see Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 174, cat. 58a-i) as well as the canopic jar fragments (Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 188–189, cat. 122 a–j), even that is far from sure and more a term chosen for convenience (see Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 45).

was disturbed and tomb assemblages moved around for other shabtis the deliberate deposition is perhaps less plausible.⁸⁰

3.2.1.3 The shabtis of Pay (i) and Raia (i)

Pay (i) and Raia (i) may have received a few shabti donations, but none of these individuals have any attested relationship with Pay (i) or Raia (i) and hence their potential reminiscence cluster(s). So although the shabtis may have travelled from elsewhere they shall be listed hoping for future clues. A shabti mentioning the (remembering or saying) of ‘my name’ and offerings at the *wag*-festival in favour of Pay (i) found at his chapel D (Fig. 21) is yet another candidate for a potential votive gift, although the so-called Amenhotep formula is also known from burial gifts.⁸¹

Two grey steatite shabti of the ladies of the house Tu and Tet, found together against to the exterior wall of Horemheb should perhaps rather be related to the latter’s tomb than to Pay (i) and Raia (i)’s.⁸² A shabti of a man called Ramsesnakt⁸³ and one of a lady (...)shedsu⁸⁴ were found in the burial chambers, and may or may not be gifts.⁸⁵ The latter may be the same character as

80 Perhaps more plausible for contemporaries like the shabti of a Ramose (iv) found east of the tomb of Ptahemwia (i), see Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 172, cat. 54 than for Ramesside people like the royal scribe and steward (sš *nsw jmyr? pr*) Nedjem from the fill of the courtyard of the tomb of Ptahemwia (i), see Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 175, cat. 67.

81 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 85, cat. 141 and pls 95 and 102 with reference to Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 270–276. Note also that offering pottery was found mainly in relation to chapel C, not D, see Aston, ‘Pottery’ (*Pay and Raia*), 94 (but also over the vestibule and the inner courtyard). The pottery as part of the funerary assemblages (Aston, ‘Pottery’ (*Pay and Raia*), 103–118) is not our concern here.

82 Found so near to a shaft it seems that that shaft could have been meant as focal point, but excavators doubt that the two shabti could have been related to the nearby shaft 96/1. Contrary to their opinion it seems that this idea is in fact another option since both the shabti and the shaft were dated late 19th or 20th dynasty, see Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 69 and 70 and see 72 cat. 6 and 7. A relation to Pay (i) and Raia (i) cannot be excluded, nor indicated. Note also the fragment of an offering table or stela with an offering formula to the god Ptah found in the fill between the tombs of Horemheb and Iniuiia that may attest some offering activity Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 73, cat. 15 and pl. 98, as does the fragment of a female figurine Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 77–78, cat. 63. The shabtis found in tomb 96/1 may indeed be funerary gifts for the deceased buried there: Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 76–77, cat. 53–57. On the pottery see Aston, ‘Pottery’ (*Pay and Raia*), 125–126.

83 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 72, cat. 10 and pl. 92 and 102, found in chamber C.

84 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 73, cat. 13 and pl. 92 and 102, found on the rim of shaft i (feet) and the entrance to chamber A (legs).

85 Like some anonymous ones Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 84, cat. 132, 134, from shaft i.



Fig. 21: Lower part of a shabti of Pay (i); Raven, *Pay and Raia*, cat. 141. © Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.

Ta(weret)shedu whose shabtis were found in the east end of the inner courtyard.⁸⁶ This was also the area where a shabti of a scribe Amenhatef⁸⁷ and one of a temple scribe Iry(...)⁸⁸ were found. From the outer courtyard come two joining fragments of a shabti of a lady of the house Nodjmet⁸⁹ and a (...)geru.⁹⁰ Others are anonymous,⁹¹ but may tentatively support an idea of the courtyards as – at least potentially – a votive zone,⁹² although for none of the shabtis can it be

86 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 72–73, cat. 12 and pl. 92 and 102.

87 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 85, cat. 138, pls 95 and 102.

88 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 85, cat. 139, pls 95 and 102.

89 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 84, cat. 131 and pl. 95 and 102.

90 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 85, cat. 142 and pl. 95 and 102, although the reading of a name in absence of a determinative is odd. However, what else would be expected prior to “justified”?

91 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 77, cat. 62a-b, two ceramic shabtis found in the *tafl* stratum between the outer courtyard and shaft 96/4, Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 84, cat. 135 (fill of the outer courtyard), Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 85, cat. 137 (outer courtyard surface).

92 Note that Hofmann sees an increasing importance of forecourts for self-representation and cult practice at Thebes: Eva Hofmann. ‘Der Vorhof der Privatgräber – nur ein sakraler Ort? Die Anlagen von TT 157 des Nebwenenef und TT 183 des Nebsumenu.’ In: *The Ramesside period*

proven. Two shabtis in particular challenge this idea, namely one found in the inner courtyard east of a shaft and interpreted as possibly Tia's,⁹³ in which case it is unlikely that it was a gift. Although Raia and Tia were contemporaries, Tia died earlier and it seems odd that the higher-ranking official would have made a posthumous shabti donation to Raia. North of the outer courtyard a shabti of the king's noble sister Tia was found,⁹⁴ possibly supporting the interpretation of the excavators that the former was actually indeed from the Tias' tomb. The question remains how they arrived in the courtyard – for example, were they thrown out when Tia and Tia's tomb was robbed. If so, they challenge the context of the other shabtis in that thus potentially rather shattered area.

3.2.1.4 The shabtis of Horemheb

Given the wider veneration of Horemheb as a deified king, one would expect a broad range of people visiting his tomb, which makes an identification of potential votive shabtis (and indeed the distinction from loose finds) all the more difficult. Potential gifts in Horemheb's tomb based on attested individuals are two shabtis of Ramesses II's daughter and later royal wife Bintanat, who – although buried in the Valley of the Queens (QV 71), left two shabtis in shaft i of the tomb of Horemheb.⁹⁵ Another shabti found in the north-west of mound 99/III of a chantress of Amun, called Bay (ii), could theoretically also be such a gift,⁹⁶ but its relative proximity to a burial makes this perhaps less plausible. Slightly more promising is the fragment of a shabti of a lady called Renpetnefer that was found at the entrance to the forecourt of Horemheb,⁹⁷ an anonymous shabti with an offering formula from the forecourt,⁹⁸ a fragmentary uninscribed wood-

in Egypt: studies into cultural and historical processes of the 19th and 20th dynasties edited by Sabine Kubisch and Ute Rummel, 149–174. Berlin; Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2018.

93 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 84, cat. 136, pls 95 and 102 with reference to Martin, *Tia*, cat. 104a.

94 Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 85, cat. 140, pls 95 and 102.

95 Geoffrey T. Martin. *The hidden tombs of Memphis: new discoveries from the time of Tutankhamun and Ramesses the Great. New aspects of antiquity*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1991, 89 and pl. III and see Konstantin C. Lakomy. 'Cairo Ostrakon J.72460: eine Untersuchung zur königlichen Bestattungstradition im Tal der Könige zu Beginn der Ramessidenzeit.' *Göttinger Miscellen, Beihefte 4*, Göttingen, Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie, 2008, 54–56.

96 Raven, 'Objects' (*Horemheb*), 84–85, cat. 32.

97 Raven et al., *Horemheb*, 34–35, cat. 34 She could be identical to her namesake depicted in a row of offering bearers now in the Museum August Kestner in Hannover, although that is registered as having been bought in Upper Egypt by Wilhelm von Bissing, see Martin, *Corpus*, no. 82 and Drenkhahn, *Kestner-Museum*, 130–131.

98 Raven, 'Objects' (*Horemheb*), cat. 41.

en shabti found south of the inner courtyard,⁹⁹ a weathered ceramic shabti also from the forecourt,¹⁰⁰ and three ceramic shabtis from the south-east of the south wing of the first pylon.¹⁰¹ The other shabtis seem to have been more or less associated with burials and even the ones listed above should perhaps rather be considered as a very soft indication for a possible votive practice.

3.2.1.5 The shabtis of Tia and Tia

Although Tia and Tia's tomb was robbed, like most of their neighbours' tombs, a robbers' dump found in the forecourt of Horemheb, seems to provide a relatively secure context for parts of their burial assemblages.¹⁰² Both, husband and wife, possessed two sets of faience shabtis, in addition to which the male Tia had added pieces of other materials, namely at least two made of wood, one made of steatite, and one made of serpentine.¹⁰³ Interestingly, the excavators noted that those of wood and stone (i.e. serpentine and steatite) "had been usurped and originally belonged to other persons".¹⁰⁴ On the two wooden shabtis, a name has been exchanged for the name of the male Tia, but the previous name is no longer readable.¹⁰⁵ It may perhaps appear surprising that a wealthy man like Tia would have improvised and reused somebody else's shabtis, but the black steatite shabti may provide a clue. Here the initial inscription is still recognisable as having been inscribed for the overseer of the treasury Suty.¹⁰⁶ This Suty was chief director of the treasury and as such higher ranking than Tia, and perhaps more or less contemporary.¹⁰⁷ Suty was buried in el-Khawaled near Asyut, and also provided a shabti to the Serapeum (see section 4.2.2.).¹⁰⁸ It seems that if Tia had wished, he would have been able to entirely remove

⁹⁹ Raven, 'Objects' (*Horemheb*), 86–87, cat. 37.

¹⁰⁰ Raven, 'Objects' (*Horemheb*), 88–89, cat. 43.

¹⁰¹ According to the excavators the *tafla* is apparently associated to the Late Period so perhaps not deliberately buried? See Raven, 'Objects' (*Horemheb*), 86–87, cat. 45–46a&b and see 153.

¹⁰² Raven et al., *Horemheb*, 176.

¹⁰³ Raven et al., *Horemheb*, 177 and see cat. 313–327.

¹⁰⁴ Raven et al., *Horemheb*, 177.

¹⁰⁵ Raven et al., *Horemheb*, 184–5, cat. 315.

¹⁰⁶ Raven et al., *Horemheb*, 177. A (still) forthcoming study by Abdel-Aal and Bács on the matter quoted by Raven was not available to me.

¹⁰⁷ Raven et al., *Horemheb*, 177 with reference to an earlier interpretation as predecessor by Van Dijk, in Martin, *Tia*, 54, n.7.

¹⁰⁸ Raven et al., *Horemheb*, 177 with reference to Guy Brunton. *Mostagedda and the Tasian culture: British Museum expedition to Middle Egypt, first and second years, 1928, 1929*. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1937, 135–136 and Louvre inv. no. S. 1127 for the Serapeum shabti.

Suty's name. If we look for interpretations other than carelessness, I wonder whether the palimpsest-like dual inscription was perhaps done on purpose. Recent research has suggested that the taking over of royal monuments in a 'friendly' way was common practice in Ramesside times.¹⁰⁹ Raven also wondered whether the shabti was a present, a memento, or a reused shabti.¹¹⁰ Considering the shabtis of Tia and Suty as deliberate 'shabti-sharing' – i.e. Tia writing himself into the historical genealogy of famous (more or less successive) overseers of the treasury – is perhaps the more convincing option. Especially in view of another overseer of the treasury called Panehsy who also had a reused and usurped shabti.¹¹¹

Some scattered shabtis were found in surface contexts and seem to clearly derive from the Tias' tomb.¹¹² Others may come from burials that cannot be connected to Tia and Tia.¹¹³ Another case is the set of four ceramic shabtis from the forecourt of Tia and Tia inscribed with the servant Heby son of H(ar?)mose¹¹⁴ and note also the odd headless shabti from the pavement near the south wall in Tia's chapel B, which Raven suggests may well have been Maya's.¹¹⁵ Another indication for the surroundings of Tia and Tia's pyramid as a possible area for votive activity is that a jar was found against the south face at base level that contained ten shabtis of Pamerhenouty, an 'overseer shabti' and nine regular ones,¹¹⁶ clearly a deliberate deposit, and not proof of other burials (Figs. 22a–c).¹¹⁷

Interestingly this shabti owner may be known from a Serapeum stela.¹¹⁸ It is therefore tempting to assume similar practices for two clay shabtis of a lady Ha-

109 Simon Connor. "'Ramessiser' des statues." *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 202 (2019): 83–102.

110 Raven et al., *Horemheb*, 177.

111 Also mentioned as "strange(...)" by Raven et al., *Horemheb*, 177 with reference to KRI III, 140, 11–12, but without considering the potential significance.

112 One shabti is now in Leiden (F 1997/3.10), Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 76, cat. 105a-i and pls 110, 173.

113 Such as one of the lady Meret in the main shaft: Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 76, cat. 106 and pl. 110. And indeed the Late Period shabti not considered here: Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 76–77, cat. 107–116 and pls 110 and 173.

114 Raven et al., *Horemheb*, 34–35, 88–89 cat. 44a–d.

115 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 66, cat. 5.

116 Geoffrey T. Martin. "The tomb of Tia and Tia: preliminary report on the Saqqâra excavations." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 69 (1983): 27 and Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 71, cat. 44, pls 110 and 174 and 88, cat. 105.

117 Contra Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 64.

118 A similar situation as in later periods when Serapeum-stela owners were also usually connected to the Memphite priesthood: Nicola J. Adderley. *Personal religion in the Libyan period in Egypt*. Saarbrücken: Scholars' Press, 2015, 51. On the stela and the latter statement see also Eliz-



Figs. 22a – c: Find of Pamershenouty's shabtis (SAK 82-578 – 87) in Saqqara in 1982 and an Egyptian workman holding the jar. © *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* & Egypt Exploration Society.

thor set “against the south face at base level”,¹¹⁹ the anonymous ones “west of Tia pyramid, at foot of a mud-brick wall south of doorway”,¹²⁰ and those in more loose contexts near the pyramid.¹²¹

3.2.1.6 A parallel from Sedment: The shabtis of Parahotep

Although not from Saqqara, it seems worthwhile to mention here also an interesting case study from the tomb of the vizier Parahotep at Sedment, where Henning Franzmeier has recently identified 40 shabtis of varying size and quality,¹²² and which is interesting as a parallel for the Saqqara finds. Parahotep is an interesting figure for Saqqara, because after having been vizier for at least 33 years, he followed his father Pahemnetjer (*temp.* Amenhotep III/IV) in his office of high priest of Ptah in Memphis and high priest of Re in Heliopolis,¹²³ and may in fact

abeth Frood. ‘Role-play and group biography in Ramesside stelae from the Serapeum.’ In: *Rich and great: studies in honour of Anthony J. Spalinger on the occasion of his 70th Feast of Thot* edited by Renata Landgráfová and Jana Mynářová, 74–76. Prague: Charles University in Prague, Faculty of Arts, 2016, 75–75 with reference to Michel Malinine, George Posener, and Jean Vercoutter. *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis: tome premier (2 vols)*. Paris: Musées Nationaux, 1968, II, pl. 3, no. 7.

119 Raven, ‘Objects’ (*Tia*), 71, pls 110, 173, cat. 45a-b.

120 Raven, ‘Objects’ (*Tia*), 71, cat. 48, pl. 173.

121 Raven, ‘Objects’ (*Tia*), 71, cat. 46 and 49 (both “debris around Tia pyramid”) 71, pls 110, 172.

122 Henning Franzmeier. ‘News from Parahotep: the Small Finds from his Tomb at Sedment Rediscovered.’ *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 100 (1) (2014): 157.

123 Franzmeier, ‘News’, 171 with reference to Raedler, ‘Wesire’, 297. This Pahemnetjer probably also appears on the earlier mentioned ‘fragment Daressy’, see Mathieu, ‘Fragment Daressy’, 834 and discussing also other options and see Dietrich Raue. ‘Ein Wesir Ramses’ II.’ In: *Stationen:*

also have had his monument at Saqqara.¹²⁴ Coming from an important family himself, he extended his network by marrying Heli, born of the family of the high priests of Onuris at Thinis,¹²⁵ which connected Parahotep to Wennefer, the high priest of Osiris at Abydos, “of whom Heli’s father was a *sn*-brother, just as Parahotep was himself”.¹²⁶ Half of the shabtis found in his tomb belong to the tomb owner Parahotep (16)¹²⁷ and his wife Heli (4),¹²⁸ one of whose shabtis has ankh-signs under her feet,¹²⁹ but other shabti owners are also attested:¹³⁰ a Mery-su-Maat (2),¹³¹ a lady Baja (1),¹³² an anonymous high priest of Herishef,¹³³ a Ty (1),¹³⁴ and a high priest of Osiris called Tjay (2).¹³⁵ Mery-su-Maat may be Parahotep’s son,¹³⁶ while the relationship to the otherwise unattested lady Baja is unclear.¹³⁷ The discussion of whether four or five additional shabti owners are attested comes down to the question of whether Ty and Tjay are the same person, since spelling variants for such names are quite common. Franzmeier’s reasoning that the Ty shabti cannot be the one of Tjay since it does not pre-date the 19th dynasty¹³⁸ is an odd argument since Franzmeier himself had noted the death of Parahotep after year 52 of Ramesses II, when he is last attested as vizier.¹³⁹ Tjay is said to have lived in the transitional period between the 18th and

Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens, Rainer Stadelmann gewidmet edited by Heike Guksch and Daniel Polz, 341–351. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1998 and in general Raedler, ‘Prestige’, 135–154.

124 Mohamed Moursi. ‘Die Stele des Vezirs Re-Hotep (Kairo JdE 48845).’ *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 37 (1981): 321–329; Raue, ‘Wesir’, 340–351.

125 Her parents were Minmose and his wife Buja/Khatnesut, see Franzmeier, ‘News’, 171.

126 Franzmeier, ‘News’, 171.

127 Beni Suef 1717–1719; OIM 11753–58, 11760, 11763–66, 11770, 11772, 11775–76, 11778, see Franzmeier, ‘News’, 158, Table 1.

128 OIM 11768, 11777, 11780–81, see Franzmeier, ‘News’, 158, Table 1.

129 OIM 11777, see Franzmeier, ‘News’, 158, Table 1 and 160 with reference to Pumpenmeier, *Gunstgabe*.

130 Franzmeier, ‘News’, 158.

131 Beni Suef 1721 and OIM 11769, see Franzmeier, ‘News’, 159, Table 1.

132 OIM 11751 and Beni Suef 1721, see Franzmeier, ‘News’, 159, Table 1.

133 With reference to Raedler, ‘Wesire’, 373, Franzmeier notes that there were four or five additional shabti owners given that Parahotep did not held the office of *ḥm-nṯr tpj n Ḥry-šꜣf* (OIM 11773) and see Franzmeier, ‘News’, 159, Table 1.

134 OIM 11779, see Franzmeier, ‘News’, 159, Table 1.

135 OIM 11749, OIM 11750, see Franzmeier, ‘News’, 159, Table 1.

136 Also known as Meri, see Franzmeier, ‘News’, 172 with reference to Raue, ‘Wesir’, Fig. 1.

137 Franzmeier, ‘News’, 172.

138 Franzmeier, ‘News’, 159, 171.

139 Franzmeier, ‘News’, 171 Raedler, ‘Wesire’, 297.

the 19th dynasty.¹⁴⁰ While it may seem implausible at first that Tjay would have not been alive to donate the shabti clearly assigned to him to Parahotep, Tjay and Parahotep were separated by two generations, so Parahotep would certainly have outlived Tjay.¹⁴¹ The lower quality of the Ty shabti without title, as opposed to the Tjay shabtis and the fact that a *ḥm-ntr n Wsjr* Ty appears on a tomb stela,¹⁴² are more convincing arguments that Ty should be distinguished from Tjay.¹⁴³ As there is no evidence that Ty became high priest of Osiris, he could have been a member of Parahotep's extended household.¹⁴⁴ In view of the other known shabti donations, however, this does not suggest that he was also buried in Parahotep's tomb.¹⁴⁵ Even more likely as votive shabti is the example of the already mentioned high priest of Osiris Tjay, which has a *ḥtp-dj-nsw* formula on a central horizontal text column, while the rest of the shabti is inscribed with the shabti spell (BD 6) in vertical lines.¹⁴⁶ Franzmeier doubted whether this shabti was a votive because the middle of the inscription is broken and the name appears at the end,¹⁴⁷ but the offering formula and the fact that the shabti was donated to Parahotep's tomb by another person prove the identification as votive in spite of the BD 6.¹⁴⁸ There remains a third object found in Parahotep's tomb related to the Tjay/Ty matter: a *nms.t*-vessel made of green faience attests a *ḥm-ntr sn.nw n Wsjr* Tjay, which is a title of a high priest of Osiris that he could have held earlier in his career.¹⁴⁹ Franzmeier has discussed these three objects at length and concluded that the small broken shabti and the vessel belong together, and to another person than the high priest of Osiris mentioned earlier.¹⁵⁰ Therefore, a decision of which man is attested here remains difficult.¹⁵¹ Return-

140 Franzmeier, 'News', 172.

141 Franzmeier, 'News', 173 and 178; the problem is that the exact dating of the shabti is difficult.

142 Now Cairo JE 47001, see Franzmeier, 'News', 172.

143 Franzmeier, 'News', 172.

144 Franzmeier, 'News', 172 and see Raedler, 'Wesire', 373–375.

145 As noted by Franzmeier, 'News', 172 as an option. For the more important high priest of Osiris Tjay, Franzmeier ('News', 176) does exclude a burial in Parahotep's tomb in absence of any other written attestation or funerary equipment, which I agree to. Both men were probably not buried there (see also below).

146 Franzmeier, 'News', 163–165 and Fig. 11.

147 Franzmeier, 'News', 165.

148 See also Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 298–299.

149 OIM 11782, see Franzmeier, 'News', 171 and 158, Fig. 5.

150 Franzmeier, 'News', 171–172.

151 Franzmeier, 'News', 172 assumes both the vessel and the shabti rather belong to Ty, which is plausible considering one would mention his highest title when possible. On the other hand also the mayor Ptahmose (v) does 'only' use his titles *sš nsw* and *jmy-r3 pr* on both his tomb statues

ing to Tjay, the high priest, a stela now in Athens is interesting regarding the relationship of the two men. Although we know that Parahotep was Pahemnetjer's son, Ta (probably another spelling of Tjay), is attested as his father,¹⁵² so it is very likely that the reference is an honorary one in the sense that he was a close mentor.¹⁵³ In addition, Parahotep's father-in-law, Minmose, may have been a son-in-law of Wennefer with whom he shared a chapel, if not a tomb, in Abydos, and who (Wennefer) was Tjay's grandson.¹⁵⁴ Interestingly Tjay, the high priest of Osiris, and Minmose both had votive shabtis at Abydos.¹⁵⁵ In view of the earlier discussions and again the close family ties within the group, the shabti should be understood in terms of reciprocity of interests: the two men stayed close to each other in eternity and mutually benefitted from each other's offerings.¹⁵⁶ For the living, and since "it can be assumed that the burial of an official as important as Parahotep would have attracted a large crowd of people involved in the ceremony, as well as bystanders, ... [such] a gift can be interpreted as a means of

and a votive shabti in the Serapeum, and not *h3tj-ꜥ*: Nico Staring. 'The tomb of Ptahmose, mayor of Memphis: analysis of an early 19th Dynasty funerary monument at Saqqara.' *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 114 (2) (2014): 468.

152 Franzmeier, 'News', 173: For Parahotep's father being Pahemnetjer see BM 712, KRI III, 65.6–14. 94.

153 See also Franzmeier, 'News', 173 with reference to Raue, 'Wesir', Fig. 1, and compare Fitzenreiter, 'Familienstelen', 86–87 with references.

154 Franzmeier, 'News', 173–174 and see also Kenneth Kitchen. 'A Brief Visit to Some Rameside Friends at Abydos.' In: *Beyond the Horizon: Studies in Egyptian art, archaeology and history in honour of Barry J. Kemp* edited by Salima Ikram and Aidan Dodson, 185–187. Cairo: Publications of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2009. Franzmeier notes: "On Minmose and objects from Abydos, see Ute Effland and Andreas Effland. 'Minmose in Abydos.' *Göttinger Miszellen* 198 (2004): 5–18. As for the relationship, they state: "Er war mit Wennefer, dem Hohenpriester des Osiris von Abydos, verwandt..." (Effland and Effland, 'Minmose', 216). In her reconstruction of the family, Betsy M. Bryan. 'The career and family of Minmose, High Priest of Onuris.' *Chronique d'Égypte* 61 (1986): 30, makes Minmose the son-in-law of Wennefer. This collides chronologically with Parahotep, who is known to have married a daughter of Minmose, unless Parahotep had married Heli at the end of his life. Otherwise Wennefer and Parahotep would be divided by two generations, which seems unlikely. Therefore, I follow Raue, 'Wesir', Fig. 1, who gives no father for Buja/Chanesut, the wife of Minmose."

155 Franzmeier, 'News', 177, and see Sue D'Auria, Peter Lacovara, and Catherine H. Roehrig. *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1988, 152, see Franzmeier, 'News', 173. For the shabtis of Minmose, see Frauke Pumpenmeier. 'Heqareshu-Hügel.' In: Günter Dreyer, Ulrich Hartung, Ulrich Hartung, Thomas Hikade, Eva Christiana Köhler, Vera Müller, and Frauke Pumpenmeier. 'Umm el-Qaab, Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königfriedhof: 9./10. Vorbericht.' *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 54 (1998): 126.

156 Franzmeier, 'News', 177–178.

strengthening the bonds within the group” and to showcase those bonds to others.¹⁵⁷ The idea that the shabti may have ended up in Parahotep’s tomb after the robbing of his original burial¹⁵⁸ is unconvincing. There are a few cases where such practices are attested, but they would most probably involve a complete re-burial, when possible, and not just two shabtis. Hidden in a footnote, Franzmeier suggests yet another interesting family connection, which unfortunately cannot be proven:

Although no find in tomb 201 at Sedment directly relates to Wennefer there is an object that might be related to him. During his work in 1904, C.T. Currelly found an extremely well-made shabti of Nineteenth-Dynasty date inscribed for a *sš mdw(?)-ntr n Wsjr Wnn-nfr* (see Currelly, in Petrie, Ehnasya (EES 26), pl. XLI, 3. The piece was sent to New York’s Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 05.4.124. [...] But as, on the one hand, the shabti is not mentioned in the text nor bears any other mark that might give it a context and, on the other hand, the title ‘*hm-ntr tpj*’ is missing, the identification with ‘our’ Wennefer must remain speculative, although very tempting.¹⁵⁹

The almost 16 cm high, fine slate shabti would fit ‘our’ Wennefer well.¹⁶⁰

3.2.1.7 Summary of shabti donation at Saqqara

It is not always possible to prove an actual relationship between the potential donor of a shabti and the extended social networks of the tomb owners, perhaps also because we still know very little about the various interconnections. Also we should not forget that shabtis may have travelled through the various tomb assemblages during the various excavating activities over the centuries (i. e. by secondary burials, tomb robberies, and treasure hunts). Yet some finds strongly suggest that shabti donations were among the possible strategies to inscribe yourself into a tomb and that this was a practice that seems to have continued into the mid-18th and early 19th dynasties.¹⁶¹ Such donations could be part of the funerary assemblage, as in the case of Tutankhamun and perhaps Horemheb, but they could also be buried in other more accessible areas of the tomb. It is impossible to determine how close in time such offerings were to the actual

¹⁵⁷ Franzmeier, ‘News’, 178.

¹⁵⁸ Franzmeier, ‘News’, 178.

¹⁵⁹ Franzmeier, ‘News’, 178, n. 123.

¹⁶⁰ Metropolitan Museum New York, accession no. 05.4.124, h. 15.9 cm; w. 6.2 cm, d. 2.5 cm. See <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/569779>, accessed on 21 October 2021.

¹⁶¹ Apparently different from Thebes, where Willems argued that the practice went out of fashion in the early 18th dynasty, see Willems, ‘Carpe diem’, 518. On matters of presence see also e. g. Belting and Jephcott, *Presence*.

funeral. It seems they could have been donated at any time when the cult of the tomb was still ongoing. In fact, the latter practice would potentially allow more freedom on the part of the acting individuals than getting yourself inscribed into the tomb decoration – which even though it was beneficial also to the represented individual, seems to have been mostly the decision of the tomb owner (unless of course the inscribing was a later addition by means of, for example, graffiti art). The practical implementation of such transactions is unfortunately as unclear as the decision-making. We know of only two contemporary transactions (from Deir el-Medina¹⁶²) and slightly more from later periods.¹⁶³ Examples from the Third Intermediate Period suggest that shabtis were ordered by certain specialists in temple workshops where the Opening of the Mouth ritual could have been performed to revive the figurines (e. g. by glazers (*bʿb*¹⁶⁴) or a *hry-ṯsw-wdʒw*, i.e. chief modeller of amulets such as in the famous oracular decree of Nesykhonsu).¹⁶⁵ Unfortunately no such temple workshop is yet known from Memphis, but it is represented in the tomb of chief goldsmith Apuia (*temp.* Amenhotep III).¹⁶⁶ Overall it seems that even though these shabtis come from tomb contexts, the standard idea that shabtis “only make sense in the funerary realms”¹⁶⁷ is thus too limited.

162 Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 241 with reference to Jacques J. Janssen. *Commodity prices from the Ramesside period: an economic study of the village of necropolis workmen at Thebes*. Leiden: Brill, 1975, 242–243, see ostracon IFAO 764,2.

163 On Ptolemaic funerary expenses in general see e.g. Cannata, *Funerary Industry*, 278–295.

164 Wb I, 447,5; William A. Ward. ‘Lexicographical miscellanies.’ *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 5 (1977): 276 and TLA, lemma no. 54910.

165 Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 241 and 223–30 with reference to Černý, ‘Ouchehtis’, 105–118 and see Iorwerth E.S. Edwards. *Oracular amuletic decrees of the late New Kingdom (2 vols)*. *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum* 4. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1960. On temple workshops see Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 242–245 with references.

166 Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 242 with reference to James E. Quibell and Angelo G.K. Hayter. *Excavations at Saqqara: Teti pyramid, north side. Excavations at Saqqara*. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1927, pl. 13 and Sauneron, ‘Manufacture’, 9, and see also Kenneth A. Kitchen. ‘Memphite tomb-chapels in the New Kingdom and later.’ In: *Festschrift Elmar Edel: 12. März 1979* edited by Manfred Görg and Edgar Pusch, 272–284. Bamberg: M. Görg, 1979.

167 E.g. Willems, *Démocratie*, 221.

3.2.2 Evidence for religious practices at the New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara

Different from Thebes, the pictorial evidence for banquets is scanty at Saqqara, yet tombs visits may have involved drinking as an important element of group bonding.¹⁶⁸

The pottery assemblage in the forecourt of Meryneith has been interpreted as a dump of offering pottery at the end of the 18th or early 19th dynasties when the cult still continued.¹⁶⁹ Barbara Aston suggested that the chapels were cleared and pottery was “dumped along the north wall of the forecourt”.¹⁷⁰ With reference to some coffin fragments, the previous excavators address some “elusive burials” which in absence of attested names could not be identified.¹⁷¹ The 19th-dynasty pottery in the north-eastern chapel of the forecourt and the north-eastern chapel, however, was related to those tombs.¹⁷² Other tombs have equally scattered remains of offering practices. For example, in the central chapel of tomb of Ptahemwia (i) an ostracon was found decorated with an *wḏꜣt*-eye, two figures and the text *Mr(y?) Jmn*, that had previously been interpreted as artist sketch.¹⁷³ While this interpretation is in principle possible given the rather messy way in which signs move around and are written and incised on both sides of the ostracon, I would not exclude a religious significance. Also, several ostraca and graffiti found in and near the tomb of Horemheb may be interpreted as remains of worshipping the deified king.¹⁷⁴ In the tomb of Paser (i) some of-

168 Compare also Green, ‘Ritual banquets’, 220 – 221 with reference to Michael Dietler. ‘Theorizing the Feast: Rituals of Consumption, Commensal Politics, and Power.’ In: *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power* edited by Michael Dietler and Brian Hayden, 83. Washington, DC: Smithsonianon. distribution of goods as a means of “institutionalizing power relationships”. Another very interesting study with ethnographic parallels is Caris B. Arnst. ‘Die Hauptsache ist der Effekt! Nochmals zum “syrischen” Trinkrohr und was die Ägypter damit tranken.’ In: *Zwischen Ausgrabung und Ausstellung. Beiträge zur Archäologie Vorderasiens. Festschrift für Lutz Martin* edited by Nadja Cholidis, Elisabeth Katzy, and Sabina Kulemann-Ossen, 29 – 49, esp. 38. Münster: Zaphon, 2020. Note that Willems mentions stick shabti in TT 15 at Thebes in relation to a banquet scene, which would also fit nicely my idea of creating reminiscence clusters by means of both physical gifts and representation: Willems, ‘Carpe diem’, 517 – 518.

169 Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 262.

170 Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 262 with reference to Raven et al., *Horemheb*, 217 – 223.

171 Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 22 and 271.

172 Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 271.

173 Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 190 – 191, cat. 127.

174 With drawings of the king but also other faces, an eye, a person standing in a boat (or barque?), and a lotus flower, Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 73, cat. 16 – 17 and 78 – 79, cat. 74 – 82, all interpreted as trial pieces by Raven. Another one was decorated with a jar (?), perhaps a symbol for a

fering pottery was cleared and heaped against the west wall of the tomb of Horemheb,¹⁷⁵ but it is unclear whether that cache came from Horemheb, Raia (i), or Paser (i).¹⁷⁶ The latter's tomb has once again some sketches of heads that may well prove to be votive offerings.¹⁷⁷ Three votive stelae come from Paser (i)'s antechapel near the southern wall, and seem to once again attest some votive activity.¹⁷⁸ One shows a lady Wiay and (her?) daughter Shedsutaweret in adoration of the god Osiris, whose relation to Paser (i) is unknown.¹⁷⁹ The other stela shows Paser (i) himself in adoration of the god Osiris, and underneath, the offering bearer of Re, Tjelpare, and another priest and a lady whose names were not filled in.¹⁸⁰ Although the relationship is not clear, the presence of Paser (i) on the stela proves the three figures were acting on his behalf. A third stela was broken and no names remain.¹⁸¹

3.2.2.1 The tomb of Samut

Still the clearest evidence for offering practise seems to come from the 19th-dynasty tomb of the stone-cutter Samut that was excavated in 2015, south of the tomb of Meryneith (Fig. 23a).¹⁸² It seems that the tomb had no superstructure apart from a free-standing, four-sided stela built on a low plinth. A full publica-

physical offering as I suggested for the drawing of a bull at Deir el-Medina? Cf. Weiss, *Religious practice*, 95 (ÄMP 21439). The rhombic pattern (cat. 19 on p. 73) is difficult to interpret. Obviously for all these objects the trial piece hypothesis is also possible, yet for a comprehensive understanding of the religious practices in ancient Egypt we should aim for a wider understanding of the kaleidoscope of possible interpretations.

175 Martin, *Paser and Ra'ia*, 20.

176 Aston and Bourriau in Martin, *Paser and Ra'ia*, 47.

177 Martin, *Paser and Ra'ia*, 20 and cat. 32.

178 Martin, *Paser and Ra'ia*, 20, 22–23 and pls 12 and 30.

179 Martin, *Paser and Ra'ia*, 6.

180 Martin, *Paser and Ra'ia*, 7 and pl. 30.

181 Other non-contextualised stelae, see Martin, *Paser and Ra'ia*, 23, cat. 10–13 (cat. 12 may have fallen into the tomb during robbers' activities, cat. 13 was identified as sculptors' study by the excavators). No votive shabti could be detected in the tomb of Raia; Paser might have received donations from a lady Meryt, a prophet called Nebmerut, and an Osiris Ipmer born of Tuiry (Martin, *Paser and Ra'ia*, 25, cat. 42–43), although both are surface finds, and therefore we cannot be sure.

182 Maarten J. Raven, Christian Greco, Paolo Del Vesco, Lara Weiss, Barbara G. Aston, Ali-Jelene Scheers, and Nicholas Warner. 'Preliminary report on the Leiden-Turin excavations at Saqqara, season 2017: the shaft of Samut and the new area to the north of the tomb of Maya.' *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* 47 (2018–2019): 129–150.

tion is planned by Maarten Raven,¹⁸³ so a brief description shall suffice here. The following decoration was identified:

- East face:
Upper register: standing couple in front of one (?) god.
Lower register: similar couple. The text identifies the couple in the lower register as his mother Mutemmeres and the stone-cutter Samut.

- North face (Figs. 23b – c):
Upper register: standing couple on the left in front of Osiris and Isis.
Lower register: a man and two women in front of the tree goddess. The text identifies the stone-cutter Samut and the mistress of the house [M]jaia (ii). The third figure could be their daughter.



Fig. 23a: Photograph of the tomb of Samut facing west by Maarten Raven. © Leiden-Turin Expedition to Saqqara.

Fig. 23b: Photograph of the north face of the stela of Samut by Paolo Del Vesco. © Leiden-Turin Expedition to Saqqara.

Fig. 23c: Drawing of the north face of the stela of Samut by Maarten Raven. © Leiden-Turin Expedition to Saqqara.

¹⁸³ Maarten Raven. *Five New Kingdom Tombs at Saqqara*. Leiden: Sidestone, forthcoming, I would like to thank Maarten Raven for kindly sharing his manuscript with me, and for allowing me to publish my thoughts about the tomb of Samut.

- South:
 - Upper register: standing couple in front of Osiris and Isis.
 - Lower register: almost completely lost, except for an offering stand on the left.

- West:
 - Upper register: standing man (presumably followed by wife, now lost) in front of Osiris.
 - Central register: standing couple in adoration of the goddess Hathor in a shrine.
 - Lower register: three women in adoration of the god Apis – one of which is his wife, the mistress of the house Ma[ia] (ii), while the others could be daughters or other female relatives or companions.

Four-sided stelae are quite rare, and the others that are known are curiously part of other commemorative monuments, not tombs. Two four-sided stelae were built by ‘our’ Tia (buried indeed north-west of Samut) at a small memorial chapel in honour of the Ramesside royal family at Kafr el-Gebel, near Giza.¹⁸⁴ Another one was built by Parahotep near the Unas causeway at Saqqara at another memorial monument, possibly quite near Samut’s tomb (his tomb, as we saw above, was at Sedment).¹⁸⁵ Most interesting with respect to offering practices

184 Raven, *Five New Kingdom Tombs*, quotes Tamas A. Bács. ‘Early Ramesside royalty at Rosetau.’ *Saqqara Newsletter* 17 (2019): 32–45; Tamas A. Bács. ‘Ahmose at Rosetau: a curious early Ramesside attestation.’ In: *Cultus deorum, studia religionum ad historiam, I: de Oriente antiqua et religione Danuvii praehistorica, in memoriam István Tóth* edited by Ádám Szabó and Peter Vargya, 115, Pécs, Szerzők, 2008 and Tamas A. Bács and Soad Abdel-Aal. *The Ramesside monuments of Kafr el-Gabal, a contribution to the history of the Giza area in the New Kingdom*, forthcoming (unfortunately unavailable to me) and see Zahi Hawass. ‘The excavation at Kafr el Gebel season 1987–1988.’ In: *The world of Ancient Egypt, essays in honor of Ahmed Abd el-Qader el-Sawi* edited by Aḥmad Šāwī, Khaled Abdalla Daoud, and Sawsan Abd el-Fatah, 121–145. Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2006.

185 See the issues presented by Moursi, ‘Re-hotep’, who published this stela. See also Raedler, ‘Wesire’, 363–364 (Q_5.24) with extensive bibliography; 371 and 373 (erroneously as Q_5.4) and see Raven, ‘Architectural’, 58–60, no. [28]; see Nico Staring. ‘The tomb of Ptahemwia, “great overseer of cattle” and “overseer of the treasury of the Ramesseum”, at Saqqara.’ *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 102 (2016): 161 n. 63 with references; and see Henning Franzmeier and Jan Moje. ‘The missing dead? On the question of the burial grounds of Pi-Ramesse.’ In: *The Ramesside period in Egypt: studies into cultural and historical processes of the 19th and 20th dynasties* edited by Sabine Kubisch and Ute Rummel, 113–126. Berlin; Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2018, with reference to Raue, ‘Wesir’, 349. That Parahotep’s monument was situated nearby is also sug-

is the northern face showing the tree goddess.¹⁸⁶ The tree goddess presents refreshments to Samut, his wife, and perhaps their daughter with the waterlines reaching their hands, and three plates set against the north face of the stela seem to mirror this event and the individuals involved. Some evidence from the tomb of Tia suggests that some forecourts might have had real trees.¹⁸⁷

3.2.2.2 Offering practices in the tomb of Maya

In Maya's tomb the find of three limestone offering stands at the northern end of the forecourt and near the pylon in the outer courtyard suggests religious activities in the open spaces.¹⁸⁸ Some ostraca previously described as "trial pieces" also found in the forecourt may support that idea. One shows a representation of the god Ptah,¹⁸⁹ two potentially hearing ears of a deity,¹⁹⁰ an unclear standing figure,¹⁹¹ and two heads.¹⁹² Of particular interest is a ceramic ostrakon that shows four columns of text in which Osiris Wennefer is praised, and which has been interpreted as "a preliminary sketch for (or possibly the copy after) the caption of the Osiris figure depicted on the north reveal of the doorway through the pylon".¹⁹³ It is obviously difficult to tell who made these sketches for what reason. It is certainly possible that these ostraca show sketches of relief

gested by the find of his statue now in the museum at Mit Rahina, see Altenmüller and Moussa, 'Rahotep', 1–14 and see Ohara, *Memphis* 268–271 (inv. no. MO2).

186 See also Beatrix Gessler-Löhr, Boyo Ockinga, and Susanne Binder. *The tree-goddess in the New Kingdom: a re-examination of the iconographic and textual evidence from tombs and papyri* (in preparation).

187 Raven et al., *Horemheb*, 156 notes "[t]wo irregular holes in the pavement in the west half (of the forecourt that) may have been tree pits or plant beds since they contained a thin layer of black soil. The southern one (2006/7) is 1.50 m from east to west and 1.45 m across. It has been lined with a single row of bricks." The northern one (2006/8) is much smaller and contained charcoal, so this was perhaps rather a pit in which something was ritually burnt?

188 Raven, *Maya*, 19, cat. 3a-c and pl. 14, with parallels and see also the fragment of a limestone votive tablet found in the forecourt on the pavement near shaft xv. Cf. Raven, *Maya*, 24, cat. 33 and pl. 31.

189 Raven, *Maya*, 24, cat. 34, pl. 31, recalling a small stela from Deir el-Medina, reference Weiss, *Religious practice*, cat. 11.13 (stela Berlin ÄMP 21568).

190 Raven, *Maya*, 24, cat. 35, pl. 31 see Nathalie Toye-Dubs. *De l'oreille à l'écoute. Etude des documents votifs de l'écoute: nouvel éclairage sur le développement de la piété personnelle en Égypte ancienne*. BAR International Series 2811. Oxford: BAR, 2016, 33–37 for Memphite ear stela, many of these related to the god Ptah, see also below.

191 Raven, *Maya*, 24, cat. 36, pl. 31.

192 Raven, *Maya*, 24, cat. 37, pl. 31 and Raven, *Maya*, 38, cat. 140, pl. 35.

193 Raven, *Maya*, 38, cat. 142, pl. 35.

representations for reasons of artistic interest. It is also possible, however, that specific relief representations might have become foci of veneration at some point in time or for some people, which could then have been the reason for a religiously motivated copying in which case we could interpret the ostraca as little votive objects. So while the sketch-hypothesis (i.e. the idea that the ostraca were just artist sketches) cannot be excluded, I feel that we could at least consider the possibility of a wider understanding of these finds. The ostrakon just mentioned, with the honorific titles of Osiris Wennefer, was found in a pottery deposit of broken sherds, which may serve as yet another hint towards a religious interpretation of the find. Another indication of offering practices in the courtyard could be an offering table of an Osiris Nakhhtuy.¹⁹⁴ It has been found on a stack of relief blocks in the centre,¹⁹⁵ and may as such represent a more stable (permanent even?) installation. The context of many of the other objects, however, is not secure; they may also have travelled from elsewhere. Nevertheless they seem to show that such activity took place even though we are not always sure where: a basin was found near the entrance of chapel A,¹⁹⁶ and two female figurines may attest a fertility cult.¹⁹⁷

Five stelae that were carved into the substructure of shaft i in the tomb of Maya suggest that the underground part of the tomb remained accessible, at least for a while, and that at that time people participated in the cult by means of stela placement. Stela 1 shows an offering formula to Osiris in favour of a man called Ashkhetresh, whose relationship to the deceased couple is unclear.¹⁹⁸ Stela 2 and 3 are closely associated but have no surviving texts.¹⁹⁹ The lady adored by two men on stela 3 could perhaps be Merit. Rock stela 4 shows Merit's servant Irneferu, whom we encountered before in her adoration.²⁰⁰ On rock stela 5, the name of the adorate of Maya and Merit is unfortunately damaged.²⁰¹ These people placed their stelae into the descending passage of the burial chambers in order to participate in the ritual and be close in worship to either Merit or, later, the deceased couple. This seems to suggest that the subterranean chambers probably remained accessible till some point, perhaps when Maya

194 Raven, *Maya*, 20, cat. 4, pl. 27.

195 Raven, *Maya*, 20.

196 Raven, *Maya*, 20, cat. 5, pl. 14.

197 Raven, *Maya*, 20, cat. 9 and 10, pl. 14, one was found in the fill of chapel D, a second one more loosely in the forecourt.

198 Martin, *Maya*, 41 and pl. 38.

199 Martin, *Maya*, 41 and pl. 38.

200 Martin, *Maya*, 41 and pl. 38 and 98, no. 1.

201 Martin, *Maya*, 41 and pl. 38 and 98, no. 2.

died, and that these were close servants or relatives that were allowed to use that space. Interestingly an unfinished limestone image has been found on the ledge around the staircase of chamber G, which the excavators tentatively identified as an ancestor bust.²⁰² This type of figure is better known from the domestic contexts at Deir el-Medina, but busts were found in tomb contexts as well.²⁰³ The people attested in the shaft are apparently another category of people – probably closer to the deceased couple – than the lector priest, who was represented on a stela found *in situ* set against the south wall of the outer courtyard (the lector priest, Yamen) (Fig. 24).

It seems that Yamen also had a small wooden statue of himself that was found in the chapel underneath the fallen stela.²⁰⁴ The possibility that small subsidiary cult emplacements may have been more common than we know is also suggested by a niche in the exterior wall of the outer courtyard of Ramose (iii)'s tomb. It contained a stela on which a man called Maatmenet, his wife Ryty, their two daughters Sel and Hept, and another small girl called Weber (perhaps yet another daughter or a servant) are represented underneath a scene in which a Suherawyamon and the lady of the house Tamut provide incense and adoration to the god Osiris.²⁰⁵ Unfortunately most tombs have been excavated on the inside only, but future excavations around the tombs may reveal more such installations.

Returning to Maya, an administrator of the army (*w^cr.tw n mš^c*) whose name is broken seems to have left a stela in chapel A,²⁰⁶ which may have been an area for wider votive activity. Yet it should be noted that some pieces are so shattered

202 Raven, *Maya*, 20, cat. 6, pl. 14.

203 Jean L. Keith, Sylvie Donnat, Anna K. Stevens, and Nicola Harrington. *Anthropoid busts of Deir el Medineh and other sites and collections: analyses, catalogue, appendices. with contributions by Sylvie Donnat, Anna K. Stevens, Nicola Harrington. Documents de fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 49. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 2011, 13 (associated to the tomb TT 250 of Ramose (v) 20th dynasty), at Abydos (p. 22), and Sedment (p. 24). The current bust is also mentioned (p. 23) and a wooden example (JE 20937 = CG 731) found in 1863 in the neighbourhood of the tombs of Ka (ii) and Amennakht at Saqqara (i.e. around Jacques de Morgan. *Carte de la nécropole memphite: Dahchour, Sakkarah, Abou-Sir*. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1897, nos 62, 21 and 84) see also pp. 292–295. Keith et. al, *Anthropoid busts*, suggest the example from the tomb of Maya might as well be an unfinished image of the god Ptah.

204 Raven, *Maya*, 35, cat. 121, pl. 18.

205 Raven, *Maya*, 22, cat. 20, pls 9c and 29.

206 Raven, *Maya*, 22, cat. 21, pl. 29. Translated as “quartermaster” in Schulman, *Military rank*, 37–38.



Fig. 24: Stela of Yamen placed into the niche. © Egypt Exploration Society and *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*.

that a contextualisation is impossible.²⁰⁷ For example, seven joining fragments of a stela were found spread over the statue chamber and south of chapel A, and only attest the family members of the statue owner as his son (Pa)efsebet, and his daughters Baketamun and Werel.²⁰⁸ Several other fragments were found in various open areas of the tomb that were possibly laid against the tomb walls and that have no text preserved.²⁰⁹ A stela clearly associated with the cult of both Maya and Tia also has no context as its original placement would be interesting.²¹⁰ The fact that Paperaa(r)neheh could serve both Tia

207 In the fill south of chapel A, some items were found that perhaps came from burials such as a wooden box fragment and the fragment of a headrest, the former of which inscribed for a Osiris Hely, see Raven, *Maya*, 36, cat. 125–126, pls 18 and 38. The idea that these finds came from elsewhere is also supported by two joining Late Antique spindle whorl fragments in the same find spot, Raven, *Maya*, 36, cat. 130, pl. 18. The original provenance of a wooden vessel fragment from the fill of chapel B (Raven, *Maya*, 36, cat. 127, pl. 38) and a spoon fragment from the statue room (Raven, *Maya*, 36, cat. 128, pl. 18) is also dubious.

208 Raven, *Maya*, 23, cat. 22, pl. 27.

209 Raven, *Maya*, 22, cat. 23–28, pl 31.

210 Warsaw, National Museum inv. no. 142294, see Martin, *Maya*, 51 and pl. 57.

and Maya, however, suggests a later date when the burial chamber was already sealed. Also the stela of the chief papyrus-maker Amen(en)niutnkaht and his wife Tabes made by their son Ptahkhau found in the inner courtyard is of a later date.²¹¹ The burial chambers of Maya and Merit were decorated with painted reliefs of Maya and Merit in adoration of various gods, as well as ritual texts of gods only. Since in principle the burial chamber is considered to be sealed after the burial, they will not be considered in the current study even though visits may perhaps have been possible by a few people in the brief (?) timespan between Merit's and Maya's burial.

3.2.2.3 Offering practices in the tomb of Tia and Tia

The monumental free-standing Saqqara tombs were called temple-tombs because of their temple-like architectural layout with pylons and chapels. In the Ramesside period, on top of that divine figures became more popular in not only the tomb decoration but also statues.²¹² In the tomb of Tia and Tia, probably an Apis bull was placed in the southern chapel and an unfinished triad statue showing three stranding gods in the second courtyard. Once finished they and another unfinished dyad would have made focal points for potential offering practices in the tomb.²¹³ In addition, the layout of the tomb shows a quite unusual detail, namely a small staircase leading up to the roof.²¹⁴ As Martin already noted, this architectural detail strengthens the resemblance of the monument to a temple.²¹⁵ Although cultic activity is mainly known from Graeco-Roman tem-

211 Rather the second half of the 19th or early 20th dynasty, and it was found reused by Late Antique people who added a cross to it so it may even have travelled from elsewhere, see Martin, *Maya*, 51–52 and pl. 58.

212 For example, the still unpublished tomb of Nemtymes at the Bubasteion has the statue of a Hathor cow, the 'Leiden' Tatia has a falcon statue (Raven, *Five New Kingdom Tombs*), Pabes is protected by the Hathor cow, and see also Jacobus van Dijk. 'The development of the Memphite necropolis in the post-Amarna period.' In: *Memphis et ses nécropoles au Nouvel Empire, nouvelles données, nouvelles questions: actes du colloque CNRS, Paris, 9 au 11 octobre 1986* edited by Alain Zivie, 43–44. Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1988 and Martin, 'Dyad', 307–311.

213 The identity of the three gods is unclear. Martin suggests Amun, Mut, and Khonsu, or indeed the more Saqqara-related Ptah, Sakhmet, and Nefertem – see Martin, *Tia*, 15 and pls 134–135.

214 Martin, *Tia*, 11 and pl. 1.

215 Martin, *Tia*, 11 and pl. 1.

ples in Egypt,²¹⁶ some evidence also suggests this as an earlier practice.²¹⁷ Martin notes that the roof access would also provide access to the east face of the pyramid, where possibly a statue and/or stela of the tomb owner was situated, that is now lost.²¹⁸ Unfortunately no further evidence hints at the exact nature of such potential ritual activity on the roofs of the chapels.

In his description of the small finds from the tomb of Tia and Tia, Raven noted that the tomb was finished after the tomb owners' deaths, and that:

all work-tools and implements had been taken away and the place tidied up. The artists did not bother however, to collect their trial-pieces and sketches on flakes of limestone or sherds of paint-pots. These were buried in two places: in a space under the staircase [...] and in the north-east corner of the second courtyard²¹⁹

A closer view at the two assemblages may suggest that they do not contain just rubbish, but could be interpreted as small votive deposits.²²⁰ I am uncertain whether all these objects were initially meant as an assemblage group. They may as well have been collected and buried at some point later as a cleaning measure when offerings piled up. But let us have a look at what kind of objects were found and which interpretations are possible: Interesting is, for example, a small fragment of a small carved stela showing a Nubian enemy found on

216 But see earlier parallels collected by Alexa Rickert. *Das Horn des Steinbocks: die Treppen und der Dachkiosk in Dendara als Quellen zum Neujahrsfest (2 vols). Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion* 23. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2019, 396–400 (stairs) and 432–440 (roof). In view of Tia being the sister of Ramesses II, and hence of royal decent, it is perhaps no coincidence that royal women and the solar god were somehow related in religious unification rituals and a building called “sun shade” (*šw.t-Rʿ*) known from Amarna period representations and texts, see Rainer Stadelmann. ‘*šwt-rʿw* als Kultstätte des Sonnengottes im Neuen Reich.’ *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 25 (1969): 165 see Rickert, *Dendara*, 434. On the role of the “sun shades” in relation to the intertwined royal and elite rejuvenation and mortuary cults at Amarna see recently Jacquelyn Williamson. ‘Death and the sun temple: new evidence for private mortuary cults at Amarna.’ *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 103 (1) (2017): 117–123. In view of the importance of the sun cult also in the Post-Amarna period a semi-royal sun cult accessible by stairs on the roof of the tomb of Tia and Tia seems at least a hypothetical possibility.

217 For example, in the tomb of Neferhotep at Thebes (TT 50), offerings on the roof of a temple: *w3h hr-tp hw.t n.t hw.t-k3 nty s.t jm*, see *TLA*, *DZA* 31.068.910.

218 Martin, *Tia*, 11.

219 Raven, ‘Objects’ (*Tia*), 68, pl. 104, cat. 16.

220 Raven does in fact acknowledge a potential post-funeral ritual use of Tia’s tomb, albeit only with tentative reference to the offering table (his cat. 13, see also below) and some offering pottery, see Raven, ‘Objects’ (*Tia*), 64. Noting how disturbed the context is, he views most of the other objects as coming from other burials.

the pavement of chapel D. Raven's identification of this piece as "limestone ostracon, corner fragment with head of Nubian" is somewhat odd²²¹ since the fragment shows a finely carved head of a Nubian in sunk relief who is lying on his belly, apparently with his hands bound behind his back. One suspects a standing divinity or king that is missing and was potentially adored on the small 'stela (ostracon)'.²²²

The first assemblage was found under the staircase and contained an ostracon with the drawing of the head of a cat,²²³ the beginning of the Teaching for Amenemhet on an ostracon,²²⁴ one with the text "third months of the *3h.t*-season, day 2",²²⁵ the remains of a *hṭp-dj-nsw* formula,²²⁶ a royal head,²²⁷ a bald male face (perhaps a priest?),²²⁸ three male heads facing right,²²⁹ some figures on standards,²³⁰ two human figures,²³¹ two (Horus ?) eyes,²³² and one clearer Horus eye, together with a flame-hieroglyph and perhaps *sntr* (?),²³³ the drawing of leg and an arm holding a spear tentatively identified as the god Reshef (?) by Raven,²³⁴ the head of a falcon with a sun disk (Re-Horakhty),²³⁵ a star that could be interpreted as the hieroglyph for worship (*dwꜣ*),²³⁶ and a few others with indistinct sketches.²³⁷

221 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 68, pls 111 and 171, cat. 15.

222 For the term "Stelenostraka" see Andreas Dorn. *Arbeiterhütten im Tal der Könige: ein Beitrag zur altägyptischen Sozialgeschichte aufgrund von neuem Quellenmaterial aus der Mitte der 20. Dynastie (ca. 1150 v. Chr.)*. Aegyptiaca Helvetica 23. Basel: Schwabe, 2011, 185 and Weiss, *Religious Practice*, 158.

223 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 68, pl. 104, cat. 18.

224 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), cat. 70, p. 73, pl. 107 and Wolfgang Helck. *Der Text der "Lehre Amenemhets I. für seinen Sohn"*. *Kleine ägyptische Texte* 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1969, 8–15.

225 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 73, cat. 71 and pl. 108. Two more faded texts are perhaps Demotic and hence not contemporary, which is problematic for the idea of a closed context: Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 73–74, cat. 72–73 and pl. 108.

226 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 74, cat. 75 and pl. 104.

227 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 74, cat. 76 and pl. 104.

228 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 74, cat. 78 and pl. 105.

229 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 74, cat. 80–81, 83 and pl. 105. Perhaps Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 75, cat. 92, pl. 105 shows part of a male head, too.

230 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 74, cat. 85 and pl. 105.

231 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 74, cat. 86 and pl. 105.

232 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 74–75, cat. 87 and pl. 105.

233 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 75, cat. 88 and pl. 105.

234 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 75, cat. 89 and pl. 105.

235 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 75, cat. 90 and pl. 105.

236 Wb V, 426.6–428.7 and see Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 75, cat. 91 and pl. 105 for the more neutral interpretation as a five-pointed star.

The second assemblage was found in the north-east corner of the second courtyard. Although the excavation report is not entirely clear, it seems that there is a distinction between the north-east corner, which seem to contain late 18th- to 19th-dynasty materials, and the higher levels, which contained more mixed materials of various dates²³⁸ including a limestone flake with the drawing of a small stela with two registers: a man in front of a seated deity, and underneath two figures with their arms raised in adoration,²³⁹ one with the face of Hathor in frontal view²⁴⁰ and one with the drawing of a mummiform deity,²⁴¹ as well as a multicoloured glass vessel fragment.²⁴²

A third so-called dump located south of the staircase contained a fragment of a female figurine,²⁴³ and two small votive stelae (one of a man in adoration of a female deity,²⁴⁴ and another one of a couple in adoration²⁴⁵), an ostrakon with a drawing of a (as yet?) empty stela,²⁴⁶ a frontal face,²⁴⁷ and a jar sealing with a seal impression mentioning the goddess *Rennenutet*, lady of food.²⁴⁸ In fact, two ostraca were identified by Raven as having ritual significance, so one wonders why the rest would not be part of the same assemblage.²⁴⁹ The water mentioned in those ostraca played a role in the regeneration of the deceased, even though we do not know whether donation sufficed or whether it was used for purifica-

237 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 75, cat. 93 and pl. 105, except b) which comes from the dump south of the pyramid of *Tia*.

238 For example, New Kingdom fragments of disturbed burials such as fragment of a New Kingdom alabaster vase was found "a meter above the pavement" (see Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 69, pl. 102, cat. 26), another one on the surface of the second courtyard (see Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 69, pls 102, 171, cat. 25), and the fragment of a wooden headrest ("near pavement" of the south-west corner) (see Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 70, pl. 172, cat. 40), but also a Late Antique perfume burner stopper "near the pavement" of the south-east corner (see Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 70, pl. 171 cat 32).

239 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 63.

240 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 68, pls 104 and 171, cat. 17.

241 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 68, pl. 104, cat. 19.

242 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 80, cat. 147, pl. 175.

243 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 66–67, cat. 6 and pl. 170.

244 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 68, cat. 11 and pl. 102.

245 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 68, cat. 12 and pl. 102.

246 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 68, cat. 20 and pl. 171.

247 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 74, cat. 84 and pl. 105. Very little is left of the drawing so it is impossible to make an identification. Note, however, that usually only the gods Hathor and Bes were represented frontally. An ostrakon could, however, provide an exception to that rule.

248 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 75, cat. 99 and pl. 110.

249 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 71–72, cat. 51, pl. 106.

tion or consumed.²⁵⁰ Also interesting is the find of a hippopotamus amulet.²⁵¹ Note that another curious object found is the unfortunately undated (and probably dumped) “decayed wooden box containing the crushed skeleton of a mummified cat”.²⁵² Raven assumed that this is a “robber’s dump containing materials from various tomb-shafts and chapels”.²⁵³ The pottery found here was initially presumed to come from the tomb of Horemheb,²⁵⁴ later to be corrected as funeral equipment of the two Tias.²⁵⁵ What also perhaps speak in favour of this argument are the two more sacred waters that were found in relation to the funeral equipment, namely *ḥw.t-jḥy.t* and *šn-qbh*, two other Delta locations. Yet another one mentions “[b]est quality moringa oil with gum and mandragora dedicated by Nebre, four hin”, again a commodity strongly associated with regeneration.²⁵⁶ This is probably the same Nebre that is represented in the inner courtyard (see chapter 2). As Van Dijk pointed out, “Nebre contributed in his own way to the rebirth of his master as Maya had himself contributed to that of his lord, Tutankhamun”.²⁵⁷ The cache was later disturbed by a cat burial, and I wonder if that was the moment when the non-New Kingdom sherds came into the otherwise relatively undisturbed context.²⁵⁸ Since some sherds bear signs of paint,²⁵⁹ and the

250 Van Dijk, ‘Hieratic inscriptions’, 30.

251 Raven, ‘Objects’ (*Tia*), 78, cat. 122, pl. 174.

252 Raven, ‘Objects’ (*Tia*), 64 and 81. In 2004 also a wooden coffin of a pet monkey was found (Raven et al., *Horemheb*, 179, cat. 299), so Tia did apparently bury at least some of his pets, which is quite exceptional in the Ramesside period, but see e.g. Wim Van Neer, Veerle Linseele, and Renée Friedman. ‘More animal burials from the predynastic elite cemetery of Hierakonpolis (Upper Egypt): the 2008 season.’ In: *Archaeozoology of the Near East 9: proceedings of the 9th Conference of the ASWA (AA) Working Group; archaeozoology of southwest Asia and adjacent areas 2* edited by Marjan Mashkour and Mark Beech, 388–402. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2017.

253 Raven, ‘Objects’ (*Tia*), 64 and see also Van Dijk, ‘Hieratic inscriptions’, 29, who also argued that the sherds were left there from the tomb robberies. Note that Vernus suggested smashing the pots as part of ritual activities at the funeral, which is denied by Van Dijk: Pascal Vernus. ‘L’eau sainte de Xoïs’ In: *Proceedings of colloquium “The archaeology, geography and history of the Egyptian Delta in pharaonic times”: Wadham College, 29–31 August, 1988, Oxford* edited by Alessandra Nibbi, 323–335. Oxford: DE Publications, 1989.

254 Martin, *Tia*: preliminary report, 8.

255 David Aston. ‘§6: Saqqara.’ *Bulletin de liaison du groupe internationale pour l’étude de la céramique égyptienne* 9 (1984): 14.

256 Van Dijk, ‘Hieratic inscriptions’, 32.

257 Van Dijk, ‘Hieratic inscriptions’, 32.

258 Compare description of the find in Martin, ‘*Tia: preliminary report*’, 8–9. The closeness of the context is also supported by the fact that excavators believed it came from either the tomb of Horemheb or the Tias.

259 Martin, ‘*Tia: preliminary report*’, 8 and also Maarten J. Raven. ‘New evidence on the Xoite nome.’ *Göttinger Miszellen* 75 (1984): 27 for the possibility of the cache as original location.

pots were probably broken prior to deposition,²⁶⁰ several finds attest religious activity, albeit perhaps not in context. Other pieces lay around or were dispersed later and may support the idea of a potential cultic activities clustering around the pyramid area: a female statue was set against the base of the west wall of Tia's pyramid,²⁶¹ a small offering table north of the pyramid,²⁶² a red jasper amulet in the shape of a serpent's head in the south-west of the pyramid at the foot of the mudbrick wall,²⁶³ and several shabtis that are discussed below. Interesting is also an ostrakon in a "dump south of Tia's pyramid" that had originally been translated as "he is beneficial" by the excavators (leaving open the option of a translation as personal name).²⁶⁴ Whereas "ꜥḥ sw" could indeed be translated as 'he is an Akh(-spirit)' and meant to be adoration of the deceased Tia, recent finds of a stela at Kafr el-Gebel, revealing Iurudef's family relations, have made more plausible an interpretation of the find as Iurudef's wife, Akhsu, donating an amphora to the benefit of her husband's master.²⁶⁵ Other finds of ostraca with the drawings were part of a blue crown²⁶⁶ and a male head facing right.²⁶⁷ Against an interpretation of the dump south of the pyramid as a selection of votive objects, the pottery fragments could not be reconstructed into complete ones, suggesting that they were broken prior to deposition.²⁶⁸

Other finds possibly related to religious activity and gift-giving were: A limestone stela dedicated to the god Wennefer in the debris over a plinth against the west wall south end of the outer courtyard (F).²⁶⁹ Unfortunately the name of the donor has not been preserved. A good find is also the tazza fragment dedicated to a queen.²⁷⁰ Unfortunately, the name written in the cartouche has broken off, but Raven suggests that the remains show the head of a bird which could suggest a reading as Mutnodjmet or Tuya.²⁷¹ It is attractive to interpret the object as royal gift, but as a surface find in chapel B, it may as well come from the neighbouring

260 Aston and Bourriau, in Martin, *Tia*, 94.

261 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 65, cat. 1.

262 This is the object mentioned above that Raven (*Tia*, 64) accepts as remains of offering activity in the pyramid area. See also Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 68, cat. 13 and pl. 170.

263 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 69, pl. 171, cat. 29.

264 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 72, cat. 53 and pl. 106.

265 Or Akhsy, see Van Dijk, 'Four Notes', 66–68.

266 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 74, cat. 77 and pl. 104.

267 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 74, cat. 82 and pl. 105.

268 Aston and Bourriau, in Martin, *Tia*, 94.

269 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 67 and pls 21 and 171, cat. 8.

270 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 69 and pls 102 and 171, cat. 24.

271 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 69.

tomb of Horemheb.²⁷² Lastly, set against the exterior south-west corner of chapel D, the excavators mention a statue of probably a seated divinity,²⁷³ and a baboon statue comes from shaft B in the west chamber.²⁷⁴ Noteworthy is also the miniature stela dedicated to the god Ptah.²⁷⁵

Then, a few years after the initial excavation the finds of yet another so-called dump at the forecourt of Tia's tomb were published.²⁷⁶ Also here the ostraca found were all considered artist sketches, which is possible, but they also may have been traces of votive activity: kneeling bowmen,²⁷⁷ eight traces of faces,²⁷⁸ the head of a falcon,²⁷⁹ a name tag,²⁸⁰ and the remains of an inscription mentioning *jbr-oil*.²⁸¹ The latter is known from offering lists, and, for example, the 'Shipwrecked sailor', a literary figure, promises this type of oil to the god, among other things.²⁸² Also interesting in this respect is a commemorative stela that was set against the north wall of the forecourt.²⁸³ Since the names cannot be related to the Tia family, the excavators suspected that it was set here by one of their servants or assistants.²⁸⁴ Only the lower half of the stela has been preserved. It shows two rows of people in adoration of a seated male god, above another row of people adoring the goddess Hathor. Above, no text has been preserved; the people underneath are named mistress of the house, Iuashat, the scribe of Amenemope (vi),²⁸⁵ Montunakht, his son Iuefseneb, her daughter Nodjmetpapeter, her daughter Tanetheret (or Kedetheret), her

272 Similar: Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 63.

273 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 65, cat. 2.

274 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 65, cat. 3.

275 Raven, 'Objects' (*Tia*), 67–68, cat. 10.

276 Raven, 'Objects' (*Horemheb*), 72–73. Raven also mentions a fragmentary bull's figure that was part of the sculptural decoration of the tomb and might have come from the Apis chapel. See also p. 160 [66].

277 Raven, 'Objects' (*Horemheb*), 104–105, cat. 107.

278 Raven, 'Objects' (*Horemheb*), 104–105, cat. 108–112, 114–116 (cat. 113 is unclear).

279 Raven, 'Objects' (*Horemheb*), 106–107, cat. 117 (cat. 118–119 are unclear).

280 ...-emwia: Raven, 'Objects' (*Horemheb*), 106–107, cat. 120.

281 Raven, 'Objects' (*Horemheb*), 106–107, cat. 121.

282 Reference from *TLA*, lemma-no. 23780 and see Wb I, 63.10–14.

283 Raven et al., *Horemheb*, 156 and 160–161 [67].

284 Raven et al., *Horemheb*, 156.

285 Apparently an institution as it is determined with a house signifier. This locality is not mentioned in Stéphane Pasquali. 'Données supplémentaires concernant les formes memphites d'Amon au Nouvel Empire.' *Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne* 2 (2009): 67–90, and may perhaps be situated in Thebes as *jp.t-sw.t* means Karnak temple (Wb I, 66, 4) and *jp.t-rsj.t* Luxor temple (Wb I, 68.3), and note of course the famous Theban Opet-festival (*jp.t*, see Wb I, 68.11).

daughter Nodjemsehetep, her daughter Hathor, her daughter Aqgu (?).²⁸⁶ So although the context of many of these objects is not entirely clear, the evidence seems to suggest religious activity including various types of gifts – perhaps mostly centred in open spaces such as the courtyards²⁸⁷ and the pyramid area.

3.2.2.4 The tomb of Horemheb

Apart from the famous addition of uraei in the relief decoration of the tomb, Horemheb's cult at his Saqqara tomb is perhaps best known from the two Ramesside plinths in his forecourt on which a lector priest of Horemheb Pehefnefer is attested, who called his son Horemhebemnetjer (i.e. 'Horemheb is a god') (Fig. 25),²⁸⁸ but evidence for religious practices at the tomb is actually slightly more widely spread.²⁸⁹



Fig. 25: Detail of left side of northern plinth at the tomb of Horemheb. © Egypt Exploration Society and Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.

²⁸⁶ Raven et al., *Horemheb*, 160.

²⁸⁷ Note also, for example, a pot stand in the inner courtyard of the tomb of Pay (i) and Raia (i), that may reflect some libation practices, Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 74, cat. 28.

²⁸⁸ Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 66–89 [65–66] and pls 29–30 and 115–116 and Raven et al., *Horemheb*, 27, and see e.g. Raven, 'Twenty-five years', 138–140.

²⁸⁹ Interestingly, a relief now in Cairo shows some individuals that have been tentatively identified as descendants of Iniuiia, on the basis of the homonymous name of Iniuiia, the high priest of the temple of Horemheb, called *Jw-Pth-mry-bḥ.w* (i.e. Island of Ptah, who likes the inundation'), i.e. not his tomb but another temple perhaps located on an island in the Nile at Memphis? Cf. Cairo TN 31.5.25.11, see Schneider, *Iniuiia*, 121–122 and Fig. V.2; another block that might have come from the same tomb was excavated near the tomb of Ptahemwia (i) in 2008, see Schneider, *Iniuiia*, 95 and Fig. III.42.

In the two columned forecourts of the tomb of Horemheb several shrines seem to have protected the tomb owner's statues. The excavators mention remains of a shrine on both the north and south walls of the outer forecourt and one or more in the second columned forecourt.²⁹⁰ The description is not very clear, but the quartzite statue base near the north wall of the outer columned forecourt seems to be additional to the shrine alleged there.²⁹¹ The statue that once stood on the base was tentatively identified as a scribal statue by the excavators,²⁹² which would recall Amenhotep son of Hapu's intermediary statues mentioned above. Based on the few fragments it is, however, hard to tell the shape. The remains of the inscription refer to Horemheb as general and fan-bearer to the right of the king.²⁹³ A female head and torso of a second dyad was found in the outer columned courtyard,²⁹⁴ which is also the place where an offering stand²⁹⁵ and at least one basin²⁹⁶ were found. A headless dyad was found used as building material in the Late Antique period when the northern chapel (B) was transformed into a dwelling unit. It may have come from one of the shrines in the outer columned forecourt.²⁹⁷ Another dyad was found in the central chapel (D).²⁹⁸ Unfortunately, very little material can be associated with potential religious activities in favour of the statues (and indeed the tomb owners). Raven mentions a votive stela²⁹⁹ in the outer columned forecourt. The outermost forecourt was the place where two pottery deposits were found: one in the south-

290 Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 22. The numbering of the forecourts is ambiguous since Martin did not yet know the third forecourt in his study, but see Raven et al, *Horemheb*, 32–34. Here the others are called outer and inner columned forecourt to mark the distinction.

291 Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 22 and see 152, footnote 74 with reference to potential statue candidates at the MMA 23.10.1 and Nicholson Museum inv. no. R1138.

292 See Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 22, 48 [52] and pls 66 and 91.

293 Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 22 and pl. 66.

294 See Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 97 [94] and pls 56 and 117.

295 Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 97–98 and pl. 80.

296 Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 98 and pl. 80 provides no dating and suggests Rameside use. Other basins are listed without provenance Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 98–99, pls 82–83.

297 Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 50 and 96–97, pls 174–176.

298 Martin seems to doubt this as provenance as it was overturned, but it does seem to be a plausible place for it, see Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 95–96 and pls 172–173.

299 Raven, 'Objects' (*Horemheb*), 71, 74 and cat. 8. Note that the excavators also found four more or less contemporary surface burials, two of which associated to anepigraphic stelae (cat. 9 and 10), but unfortunately no individuals can be linked to those by means of names or titles. Two other graves date earlier, around the time of Amenhotep III, one of which was called [Hesy]nebef, see Raven et. al, *Horemheb*, 39–47, 72, and 76–80.

east corner,³⁰⁰ and a second along the north wall.³⁰¹ The former was interpreted as pottery cleared out some time after the burial of queen Mutnodjmet in year 13 of Horemheb's reign,³⁰² the second is more generally described as having derived from another phase of chapel cleaning.³⁰³ Again, none of these deposits are indicated on a map, which makes it hard to tell where exactly they were found. Nevertheless they may serve as an indication that the cult for Mutnodjmet, and potentially also the deified Horemheb, continued for some time either in the chapel³⁰⁴ or perhaps also in the forecourt itself, as suggested for Tia's tomb above.

3.3 Oral performance

Saqqara tomb owner Hormin and others requested speech offerings in their tombs, a practice also illustrated by the ancient Egyptian term '*pr.t-ḥrw*', i.e. coming out of the voice or speech offering, that frequently appears in the standard offering formulae. It is thus clear that beside physical offerings, oral performances were also a way of practising *do ut des* in the Saqqara tombs (and indeed elsewhere). In order to answer the question of which words were potentially recited or sung, it is important to define first potential candidates by means of genre classification, look into distribution of texts in the Saqqara tombs, and then think about their purpose in the practice of everyday life.

3.3.1 Genre

How texts known from mortuary contexts should be termed and categorised has been the subject of hot debate. Genres are typically defined by style and form, which can be helpful when analysing certain patterns or developments in the ancient Egyptian literary discourse. It is important, however, to thereby acknowledge the fluidity of ancient Egyptian genres (see also above, section 1.4.3.1).³⁰⁵

300 B. Aston in Raven et al., *Horemheb*, 217–223 cat. 98–119.

301 B. Aston in Raven et al., *Horemheb*, 223–227 cat. 120–134.

302 B. Aston in Raven et al., *Horemheb*, 219.

303 B. Aston in Raven et al., *Horemheb*, 224.

304 B. Aston in Raven et al., *Horemheb*, 219.

305 Loprieno, *Literature*, xii; Parkinson, 'Literature', 299–301 and see e.g. the Merriam-Webster dictionary: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/genre>, accessed on 20 June 2019.

In previous studies, purpose is key for function (e.g. Assmann's categorisation, which argued that originally 'liturgical texts' such as the Book of the Dead would become 'literature' (rather than 'liturgy') when they appear in the burial chamber, where they were no longer accessible to the living and their cultic activities).³⁰⁶ A problem with this definition is that if we believe in the performative power of Egyptian hieroglyphs, any text retains its 'liturgical' function even in inaccessible places by means of written speech act.³⁰⁷ In addition, beyond any acknowledgement of religious performativity,³⁰⁸ that the idea of any refunctioning makes little sense at Saqqara where tombs' (except for Maya) underground chambers were left undecorated, keeping all texts 'accessible'. A good example of the fluidity of genre of Egyptian mortuary texts is the caption next to an offering scene on the north wall of the antechapel in the tomb of Ry (i).³⁰⁹ The scene discussed above shows Ry (i) and his wife Maia (i) seated and receiving offerings from the stable master, the servant Ahanefer, and an anonymous woman and man. The text above them is as follows:³¹⁰

Words spoken by the Osiris, the Embalmed One, Chief of Bowmen and Overseer of Horses, Ry: "O Morning Star, who emerges from the horizon, and Anubis who is on his mountain, may you grant that I walk, my legs being mine forever, while I rise and am powerful because of this Eye of Horus that raises my heart after it had weakened, being a spirit-state in heaven and powerful on earth. I fly up as a falcon and I cackle as a goose, to me has been given my place in the district of [my] lake. I stand on it and I sit on it, while appearing as a god. I eat of the food of the Field of Offerings."³¹¹

This text was already identified as "an excerpted version of BD spell 149 l" by Geoffrey Martin and will be discussed in detail by Huw Twiston Davies in his

A brief historical overview of Egyptological discussion is also provided by Enmarch, 'Laments', 83–84.

306 Assmann, *Totenliturgien* I, 13.

307 Assmann, *Stein und Zeit*, 26, and see Assmann, *Tod und Jenseits*, 322. On the speech act as "giv[ing] rise to the actual existence" of situation described by the spoken word, see e.g., Meyer-Dietrich, 'Speech Acts' and see also, for example, Baines, *Written Culture*, 151 and Eyre, *Cannibal Hymn*, 26–29.

308 See e.g. Eyre and Baines, 'Interactions', 113.

309 Berlin, ÄMP inv. no. 7278 joined with fragment SAK 2013-R35, and revetment block found *in situ* see Staring, 'Ry', 32–33 and Fig. 18.

310 See also Staring, 'Ry', 33 and Fig. 18.

311 Transcription: *ḏd mdw jn Wsjr wtw ḥry-pḏ.t jm.y-rʿ ss[m.wt] Ry nṯr-dwʿy pr.w m ʃḥ.t J<n>pw tpy ḏw=f ḏj=tn swʿ.n=ʃ rd.wy=ʃ <n=ʃ> ḏ.t ḥ<kw> wsr.kw m jr.t twy n.(y)t Ḥr ts sw jb=ʃ [m-]ḥ<t> [bʃ]g=f [ʃḥ] m p.t h ws- [-r m] ʃ pʿy=ʃ [m] ḥjk' gʃgʿ=ʃ [m] sm'n rd.w (?) n=ʃ m- -k(t)=ʃ ḥrj w<- [-r].t n.t ʃj=ʃ [ḥ<n=ʃ] ḥr=s ḥms [-.n=ʃ] ḥr=s <ḥ>k .kw m [nṯr] wnm=ʃ m ḏḃ.w n ʃḥ.t ḥtp.w*

forthcoming study.³¹² As Staring notes the combination of an offering scene with this spell (excerpt) is as yet unparalleled, and thus could thereby provide an example of what Assmann calls refunctioned text.³¹³ However, the idea that a text could be ‘refunctioned’ from one context to the other reveals a too narrow understanding of the Book of the Dead as a fixed collection of texts. This idea stems from the term ‘Book of the Dead’ and its numbering in chapters, while already Carl Richard Lepsius suggested a shared (ritual) context of various sorts of texts as source of the collection.³¹⁴ It is therefore highly doubtful how useful Assmann’s categorisation is. Staring viewed the text in the tomb of Ry (i) within the context of the transfiguration of the deceased, i.e. as part of the funerary ritual only.³¹⁵ While the perpetual transfiguration by means of tomb decoration is surely *one* aspect of the tomb decoration,³¹⁶ the vocative ‘words to be spoken’ suggests that people were meant to re-enact these texts also after the funeral by means of speech acts.³¹⁷ Or, potentially short citations like Ry (i)’s excerpt also served as *aide memoire* for the recitation of longer speeches that the visitors knew by heart. We should not forget that ancient Egypt, in spite of the over-

312 Staring, ‘Ry’, 52, footnote 50 refers to BD 149 I, lines 71–74 identified by Martin, *Corpus*, p. 46 n. 45c (although erroneously written as 14gl).

313 See also Staring, ‘Ry’, 39–40 with reference to four Theban parallels that have the spell without the offering scene: TT 11, Djehuty, Dra Abu el-Naga North (temp. Hatshepsut-Thutmosis III/Amenhotep II) (see Díaz-Iglesias Llanos, in Staring, Twiston Davies, Weiss, *Perspectives*, 152); TT 32, Thutmosis, Khokha (temp. Ramesses II) (see László Kákosy, Tamás A. Bács, Zoltán Bartos, Zoltán I. Fábrián, and Ernő Gaál. *The mortuary monument of Djehutymes (TT 32)*. Studia Aegyptiaca Series Maior 1. Budapest: Archaeolingua, 2004, 232–233, and Fig. on p. 53); TT 353, Senenmut, Deir el-Bahari (temp. Hatshepsut) (see Peter F. Dorman. *The tombs of Senenmut: the architecture and decoration of Tombs 71 and 353*. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 24. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991, 126–133. BD 149 I: p. 131, pl. 73); TT 359, Inherkhau, Deir el-Medina (temp. Ramesses III–IV) (see Mohamed Saleh. *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches: Texte und Vignetten*. *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo* 46. Mainz: Zabern, 1984, 83).

314 Note that already Carl Richard Lepsius acknowledged that these texts had multiple authors and were collected from various sources including temples: Carl R. Lepsius. ‘Bericht über den Fortgang der von E. Naville unternommenen Herausgabe des thebanischen Todtenbuches.’ *Monatsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1881 (1882): 936–939. Esp. 937.

315 Staring, ‘Ry’, 40.

316 Like indeed the Opening of the Mouth ritual scenes that Staring also mentions, see Staring, ‘Ry’, 40. See also below.

317 See also Weiss, ‘Power’, with references.

whelming written evidence, was mainly an oral society.³¹⁸ Available to the literary public, texts on the tomb walls were probably uttered aloud by whoever could read them (hence potentially including the illiterate community in this practice). This is also suggested by the appeals of the living which mention the scribes visiting a tomb or temple and reciting the words (*sdd m(w)dw=tn*³¹⁹). A text like Ry (i)'s is meant to be recited by the deceased himself, but this does not exclude others from re-enacting the ritual on his behalf. More precisely, re-enactment by others was exactly what was meant to happen. This was common practice in ancient Egypt, also for example in temples where the king speaks, but is in everyday life replaced by priests. In the past, scholars have criticised the term 'royal mortuary temples', because beside the deceased king many other gods were worshipped in these temples. Similarly the idea of 'funerary' texts is to be challenged:³²⁰ not only in royal temples but also in private elite tombs did various text 'genres' play together.³²¹

318 How orality and literacy worked together in the practice of everyday life has recently been nicely summarised by Katharina Zinn. 'Literacy in pharaonic Egypt: orality and literacy between agency and memory.' In: *Literacy in ancient everyday life* edited by Anne Kolb, 67–97. Berlin; Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2018 (although advocating for "collective literacy" instead).

319 E.g. Stela BM 156 from Abydos, see Shubert, *Appeal*, 242 and KRI III, 210.10–11. Cf. *sdj* see Wb IV, 563–564.16.

320 Von Lieven, 'Book of the Dead', 253–254 with reference to Gerhard Haeny. 'New Kingdom "mortuary temples" and "mansions of millions of years".' In: *Temples of ancient Egypt* edited by Byron E. Shafer, 86–126. Ithaca NY; London: Cornell University Press, 1997 and Martina Ullmann. *König für die Ewigkeit. Die Häuser der Millionen von Jahren. Eine Untersuchung zu Königskult und Tempeltypologie in Ägypten*, Ägypten und Altes Testament 51, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002, 668–670. Also there are *Ka*-chapels in Luxor and elsewhere, which Assmann believed were "cosmographic texts originating from the solar cult", see Von Lieven, 'Book of the Dead', 254 with reference to Jan Assmann. *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott: Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik*, I. *Münchener Ägyptologische Studien* 19. Berlin: Hessel, 1969; Jan Assmann. *Der König als Sonnenpriester: ein kosmographischer Begleittext zur kultischen Sonnenhymnik in thebanischen Tempeln und Gräbern. Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe* 7. Glückstadt: Augustin, 1970; and Jan Assmann. *Re und Amun: die Krise des polytheistischen Weltbilds im Ägypten der 18.–20. Dynastie. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 51. Freiburg (Schweiz); Göttingen: Universitätsverlag; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983.

321 Book of the Dead spells and hymns are often closely intertwined, or perhaps rather genres play together irrespective of Egyptological categories: compare e.g. Jose M. Serrano. 'Three solar hymns from Dra Abu el-Naga.' *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 45 (2016): 315–326. Note also the very interesting study of the papyrus of a man Iry-Iry with parallels on the 'Leiden' pillars of Ptahmose (v) and the Memphite stela of Preherwenemef also from Memphis (Cairo JE 3299); see Foy Scalf. 'The papyrus of the treasury scribe Iry-Iry: a new Ramesseid source for a Memphis hymn to Osiris and the Book of Caves (BD 168).' *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*

3.3.2 The spatial distribution of religious texts and images at Saqqara

Previous theories often did not consider the spatial dimension of any potential performances of the monumental texts.³²² Reconsidering that the different genres all came from the same carrier medium, namely the tombs, makes perhaps less surprising the genre overlap,³²³ or rather, opens the question of the practical implications of the texts in their everyday use. Any understanding of whether, and if so how, religious practices are detectable from tomb decoration therefore requires first discussing the spatial distribution of decoration in context.³²⁴ Only when considering how people might have moved around in the tombs, and to do what, can anything meaningful be said about potential purpose.³²⁵ Although every tomb is unique in its design, and not all tombs are equally well preserved, or finished, some general preferences can be detected. As expected, the main chapels are dedicated to the veneration of the tomb owners, and sometimes the gods. The larger tombs often show the funerary booth and Opening of the Mouth rituals on the southern walls of one of the forecourts,³²⁶ whereas ‘daily

104 (1) (2018): 16. Textual transmission, however, is not our current concern and will be studied in detail by Huw Twiston Davies.

322 Compare also the suggestion to further systematical research into the use of text and decoration in mortuary practice by Burkard Backes. ‘Der Text und seine Gegenwart. Zur Korrelation zwischen Anbringungsformen und Funktionen funerärer Texte.’ In: *Schrift und Material* edited by Joachim F. Quack and Daniela C. Luft, 185–194, esp. 187–188. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2021.

323 Surprise about the thematic overlap between sun hymns and the so-called liturgies for the deceased is for example noted e.g. in Assmann, *Totenliturgien* II, 187 with reference to Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, text III, 2, vers 15–19. Assmann’s acknowledgement of the meaning of the texts both in the in principle sealed tomb chambers and in the accessible parts of the tombs as having an important part in the deceased who entered the circle of life with the sun god make his artificial categorisation completely incomprehensible. Compare also Olabarria, *Kinship*, 47 on the fuzzy boundaries between funerary and mortuary stela.

324 See e.g. Baines, ‘Classicism’, 164 on the tombs as displays of religious commitment (Baines, ‘Classicism’, 157–174). The idea to study everything together is perhaps also implicit in Assmann’s monumental discourse: Assmann, ‘Literarische Aspekt’, 97–104.

325 For example, Melinda Hartwig understands tomb representation as not only self-presentation on part of the tomb owner, but also guiding the visitor into certain parts of the tomb: Hartwig, *Tomb painting*, 41.

326 E.g. Maya, Meryneith, Mose (if Gaballa’s reconstruction is correct), the chief singer Raia (ii), Pay (i). An exception in the small Ramesside ‘chapel 135’ which seems to show remains of a funerary booth not only on the southern, but also on the northern wall see Del Vesco et al., ‘2018 Season’. Mahu, Tatia and Raia (ii) have their harpist scenes on their southern walls; Tia’s boat scene is on the southern wall of the southern (so-called Apis) chapel (A). In Ramose (iii)’s tomb the Opening of the Mouth ritual is attested on a stela set against “the south wing of the exterior wall of the Inner Courtyard”, see Van Dijk in Martin et al., *Memphite Officials*, 7–8.

life' scenes usually appear on northern walls of forecourts.³²⁷ In the following, a few case studies attempt to illuminate how people may have moved around the larger tomb chapels.

3.3.2.1 South of Unas Causeway

Frequently, the entrance and doorway areas of the monumental New Kingdom tombs are inscribed with offering formulae and the name and titles of the owners.³²⁸ For example, on the southern inner wall of Maya's pylon his wife and mother are shown greeting him as he enters the tomb, whereas Maya himself voices an appeal to the living.³²⁹ The first hymnal text encountered when entering the tomb is opposite of the dual statue of Maya and Merit, now in Leiden, on the southern side of the entrance to the statue room. Here the fragments of a stela show the remains of a litany of Re that was later integrated in the BD 15 g.³³⁰ The god Ptah, then, is addressed in favour of the benefit of the deceased Merit in very brief speeches on the panels on each side of the doorways leading to the inner courtyard underneath the offering formulae.³³¹ On the northern panel a caption adds "receiving a bouquet of flowers which comes forth before Amun-Re" (*šps ḥḥ.w pr m-bʒḥ Jmn-R*). Accordingly Maya is shown presenting a bouquet to his wife (which looks like lettuce, a symbol of fertility). It seems well possible that such short or longer prayers were meant to be re-enacted by means of speech acts by those entering the tomb, as requested by Maya at the entrance. The north and south jambs of the eastern wall of the inner courtyard then, were inscribed in favour of the solar gods Re-Horakhty, Khepri, Atum, and

327 Ptahemwia (i), Meryneith, and Nebnefer. Horemheb, however, has some 'daily life scenes' on the southern wall of his outer forecourt, see Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 23–29, [1–3] pls 9–11 and 94.

328 E.g. in the tomb of Pay (i) and Raia (i), see Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 21–56 both southern and northern entrance jambs, east face, Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 21–22 [1–2] and pls 5, 14–15 and the eastern doorway, north jamb south face Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 25 [8] and pls 20–21.

329 Martin, *Maya*, 19–20 [5] and pl. 13 together with his half-brother Nahuher.

330 Martin, *Maya*, 23–24 [16] and pl. 21. That hymnal texts appear on stelae may not appear as a surprise, see also e.g. Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 23–24 [5–6] and pls 17–18 in the tomb of Pay and Raia. The original location of a hymnal stela currently in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (acc. no. 04.2.527) is unfortunately unclear: see Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 42–46 [70] and pls 72–75 with parallels. Although transmission is not our concern here its perhaps interesting to note that the latter text is again related to the corpus of Book of the Dead 15 and is combined with some self-laudatory phrases paralleled in the tomb of Amenemone at the Teti cemetery (Ockinga, *Amenemone*, 85 (text 41) and 91 (Text 43)).

331 Martin, *Maya*, 29–30 [25 and 27] and pl. 23.

Thoth on the northern, and Iah (the moon-god), Osiris, and Nut on the southern side.³³² On the northern wall Maya and Merit receive offerings from Maya's three (half-)brothers: Nahuher, Parennefer and Nakht.³³³ Further to the right Maya stands in adoration of the goddess Hathor-cow in a shrine speaking a hymn here first introduced by the *rdj.t-j3.w* formula. The pilasters show spoken hymns,³³⁴ so we may imagine that people were meant to circle around the forecourt. Lastly, the northern wall of the entrance to the northern chapel contains the remains of a hymn Maya voices to Re-Atum,³³⁵ and on the western side of the southern wall he addresses the god Ptah to provide him with a good burial.³³⁶ Further to the west (right) Maya addresses three seated gods to let him pass in peace to the beautiful west, i. e. the afterlife,³³⁷ next to possibly a yet unidentified fragmentary Book of the Dead spell.³³⁸ Like many others at Saqqara, Maya's tomb is fragmentarily preserved so there may have been more hymnal texts that are lost. Nevertheless it seems that we can detect patterns of hymnal texts, with them frequently appearing on passages and entrance walls, which may have served as ritual signifiers for entering more sacred parts of tomb. In addition the singing, reciting, or mumbling performance and religious perpetuation by living voices could have been accompanied by rhymical percussion at the funeral, as well as afterwards.³³⁹

It seems that as far as they are preserved,³⁴⁰ hymnal texts often appear in or near gateways of the tomb; there was perhaps not always much space for performances in gateways, but the meaning is symbolic in the way that hymns were meant to be sung when entering a tomb. For example, in the tomb of Meryneith a hymnal song dedicated to the gods Re-Horakhty and Aten is performed by

332 Martin, *Maya*, 31–32 [33–34] and pl. 26.

333 Martin, *Maya*, 33–34 [37–38] and pl. 29.

334 Both on the northern wall: Martin, *Maya*, 35 [39a-b] and pl. 30. The other two on the southern wall are and note preserved.

335 Martin, *Maya*, 38 [57] and pl. 31, the text on the corresponding jamb was reused in the monastery of Jeremia. Not enough text remains to be sure, but assuming a similar text is plausible. The praises to Maya as voiced on the reliefs showing his funeral are considered captions of that event, but that does of course not rule out that they might have been re-enacted as well during a tomb visit, see Martin, *Maya*, 36–37 [41, 42 and 45] and pls 32–33.

336 Martin, *Maya*, 37 [45] and pl. 32.

337 Martin, *Maya*, 37 [47] and pl. 36.

338 Martin, *Maya*, 37 [48] and pl. 31.

339 Whether a wooden clapper found in the forecourt of the tomb of Tia and Tia had such a use is of course hard to tell. It might as well have been a burial gift, see Raven, 'Objects' (*Horemheb*), 92–93, cat. 61.

340 Some tombs such as the one of chief-singer Raia do not contain any hymnal texts (as far as having been preserved) see Martin, *Paser and Ra'ia*.

Meryneith himself, who faces the sun (as well as whoever enters his tomb) in an adoration gesture on his southern entrance wall.³⁴¹ On the opposite northern wall Meryneith appears in his official role carrying a staff beside an offering formula in favour of the same solar gods.³⁴² While offering formulae also appear on doorposts, they seem to be more common in the main offering chapels than hymnal texts.³⁴³ In the smaller tombs, adorations appear on the main offering stela in the main chapel,³⁴⁴ in the forecourt,³⁴⁵ or on the doorposts of the chapels,³⁴⁶ suggesting these hymnal texts were meant to be sung upon entering those spaces. In some of the larger tombs possible routings of potential visitors can be detected, with an apparent preference for a placement of hymnal texts appearing in passageways, although again the state of preservation as well as the partly unfinished decoration can provide only a hypothetical snapshot.

In the tomb of Tia and Tia a *j*.w hymn appears on the outer doorposts of the pylon spoken by the kneeling male Tia to Osiris (south) and Wennefer (north) respectively,³⁴⁷ and also on the respective interior doorposts.³⁴⁸ Tia's southern

341 Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 82–84 [7] above a row of anonymous offering bearers entering the tomb.

342 Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 86–87 [8] again above a row of anonymous offering bearers.

343 I.e. an offering scene in the south-east chapel, with so-called funerary offerings, but as we have seen the meaning of those representations is broader extending into the post-funeral mortuary cult of the deceased Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 88–89 [11], different from scenes of the actual funerary ritual like the mourners and statue rituals represented in Meryneith's inner courtyard, see Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 91–100 [14–16]. Another example is the central stela tomb of Pay (i) and Raia (i), see Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 37–38 [54] and pls 58–59. An interesting aspect is the pyramidia that perhaps stood inaccessible on the top of the mudbrick pyramid and on which the adorations were then perhaps rather religious-perpetuative than meant to be recited by reading out loud, see e.g. Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 39–40 [58–59] and pls 60–63.

344 E.g. Tatia, see Raven, *Five New Kingdom Tombs*.

345 E.g. Ramose (iii), had a stela with an Osirian hymn set “against the north wing of the exterior wall of the Inner Courtyard”, see Van Dijk, in Martin et al., *Memphite Officials*, 7–8 [3] and pls 4 and 46.

346 In Khay (i)'s tomb a hymn is written on the northern and southern door-jamb of the southern chapel, see Van Dijk, in Martin et al., *Memphite Officials*, 12–15 and for the hymns see [6] and [10] and pl. 10; and Pabes's tomb shows a hymn on the northern and southern jambs of the central chapel, see Van Dijk, in Martin et al., *Memphite Officials*, 19 [1] and [2] and pls 15–16 and 63.

347 Martin, *Tia*, 18 [9–12] and pls 10 and 129–130, both giving incense in return of life, on the northern outer doorpost specified as hundreds of years.

348 Martin, *Tia*, 18–19 [15, 19–20] and pls 11, 14 and 134. The southern interior doorpost is too damaged to tell which god is addressed the northern addresses Osiris and requests the pleasant

doorpost when entering the second courtyard is again decorated with a hymn, this time to the lord of eternity.³⁴⁹ Moving inside the tomb along the walls on the southern side of the courtyard, the visitors would have seen more hymns on the eastern wall.³⁵⁰ The representation shows both Tias in front of Osiris, Horus, and Atum respectively and also the accompanying action is depicted. Tia offers the seven sacred oils to Osiris, censes and libates the god Horus, and his wife presents a flower bouquet to Atum. The northern side has not been preserved, but probably showed corresponding hymns and scenes. Based on text and representation we may imagine what type of offerings were expected and which hymns were sung, possibly at the funeral but also at later visits, and indeed how people may have moved in the tomb. The east end of the southern wall has not been well preserved and shows just the lower part of another adoration scene,³⁵¹ leading to the staircase to the roof already discussed above.³⁵² The southern wall then contains yet another adoration pronounced by Tia to the god Osiris on a stela.³⁵³ The opposite northern walls have not been preserved, but opposite the southern stela just mentioned is a northern niche stela, on which the kneeling Tia addresses his potential visitors:

Oh, all you scribes who are skilled in hieroglyphs, all you chief priests of the temple of Ptah who will visit this [tomb] of a righteous man: I was one who behaved truly correct for as long as I was [upon earth, who carried out] [daily] what satisfied the king. Therefore, pronounce my name [...] then your children will be enduring in their positions³⁵⁴

Different from Maya, who does that right at the entrance, this address happens quite 'late' on a potential journey through the tomb. The text is written on the lower register of a scene showing Tia in adoration of the god Osiris. Four Djed-pillars are situated in the last line facing the western wall of the second courtyard. They show representations of Tia with name and titles and indeed as beloved by different gods because of his virtues.³⁵⁵ His wife is mentioned in

breeze of the northern wind, drinking water and rejuvenation in the primeval waters of Nun for Tia.

349 Martin, *Tia*, 21 [29] and pl. 22.

350 Martin, *Tia*, 21 [32–34] and pls 23–25 and 136–138.

351 Martin, *Tia*, 21 [35] and pl. 26, just the feet of Tia and Tia in front of a deity on a throne.

352 Martin, *Tia*, 22 [36–37] and pl. 25.

353 Martin, *Tia*, 22 [38] and pls 26 and 139. Only faint traces remain of the scene on the southern wall.

354 Martin, *Tia*, 22 [40] and pls 27 and 139–140. The stela is now in Florence, Museo Archeologico, 2532.

355 Martin, *Tia*, 23 [41–55a] and pls 28–35.

texts, but not represented. On the middle axis of the tomb accessed from in between the space surrounded by columns a shallow ramp provides access to the central antechapel (B).³⁵⁶ On the southern entrance wall facing the visitor, i.e. in prominent position, Iurudef gives an adoration to Tia (whose name is lost).³⁵⁷ The entrance to the chapel then, is dedicated to the veneration of Tia and Tia, not gods: we see offering bearers³⁵⁸ and doorposts with standard offering formulae.³⁵⁹ As suggested elsewhere, I believe that offering formulae never entirely lost the idea of its original meaning as ‘royal offerings’ (i.e. *ḥtp-dj-nsw*, literally an offering that the king gives).³⁶⁰ Elements such as tomb architecture (stelae posts, naoi), but also attributes (staffs) show the formula for the perpetual offering to the tomb (or attribute) owners, but they also emphasise once again the royal administrative privilege involved in having access to a tomb or other physical attributes. For Tia, being married to a princess, royal privilege was something also to stress in his central antechapel B, where Tia once again writes himself into the royal family. The southern chapel (A) shows an offering formula to Osiris on the southern wall,³⁶¹ above the sailing scene discussed above (section 3.5.7). The western wall shows the king adoring a god in return of *Sed*-festivals (i.e. a long reign with many jubilees),³⁶² and the northern wall shows Tia and Tia in adoration of Osiris Anedjity, Isis, Horus, Osiris, Isis, Wepwawet, an unidentified god (Onuris-Shu?), Hapy, and Qebekhsenuf.³⁶³ As Martin notes, the deities are mostly related to Abydos, thus supporting his idea of a sailing tour from or to nearby Abydos.³⁶⁴ The fragments of the central cult stela in chapel D show offering formulae for Sokar and Osiris.³⁶⁵ Finally the pyramid shows praises to the Lord of Rosetau, and offering formulae to Re-Horakhty and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, and the pyramidion shows praises to Osiris and the various forms of the sun god.³⁶⁶

356 Martin, *Tia*, 24.

357 Martin, *Tia*, 24 [56] and pls 35–36. Unfortunately the northern corresponding text does not preserve any adorant.

358 E.g. on the southern and northern wings of the west wall, see Martin, *Tia*, 25 [62–63 and 66] and pls 37 and 39, 144–149, already discussed in chapter 2.

359 Martin, *Tia*, 25 [67–69] and pls 40 and 150.

360 Weiss, ‘Royal Administration’, and see also ideas proposed by Allen, ‘Non-royal afterlife’, and Shubert, *Appeal*, 382.

361 Martin, *Tia*, 27 [81] and pls 47 and 154.

362 Martin, *Tia*, 31–32 [84] and pls 46 and 155.

363 Martin, *Tia*, 32 [85–86] and pls 48 and 155–158.

364 Martin, *Tia*, 32.

365 Martin, *Tia*, 33 [96] and pls 52–53.

366 Martin, *Tia*, 34 [97–101] and pls 54–55 and 159–161.

For the tomb of Horemheb, similar movings into the tomb while potentially singing hymns can be reconstructed: a stela with a hymnal text is placed south of the entrance passage behind a column.³⁶⁷ Martin has given a full translation, so a summary may suffice: Horemheb speaks himself, praising the solar god Re in various manifestations, but also the gods Thoth and Maat that they might grant him access to the “field of the rushes”, so he can receive offerings there and join the procession of the god Sokar. Next to the stela to either side of the entrance are standard offering formulae, which also request a successful afterlife for Horemheb amid the praised ones (*hs.y.w*).³⁶⁸ On the opposite entrance wall another stela was mirrored with less detail about what Horemheb is to receive in return apart from a general welcoming in the netherworld by the other Westerners.³⁶⁹ Also several columns show panels with very short and unspecific hymnal texts.³⁷⁰ It seems that these could be short quotes of an imagined singing while passing from the forecourt through the passageway. When entering the statue room, the visitor would have seen an Opening of the Mouth scene on the left (see also above)³⁷¹ and faced two statues on either side of the end of the room, like in the tomb of Maya.³⁷² The doorways beside them bear standard offering formulae,³⁷³ leading to Horemheb’s famous and hitherto unique hymn, in which Osiris is worshipped as the nocturnal manifestation of Re, written on the southern wall of passageway into the inner forecourt.³⁷⁴ The hymn has been studied in detail by Jaap van Dijk, who already noted how the location of the hymn in the tomb fits with Osiris being seated on his throne in Naref, which is considered as the southern gate of Memphis.³⁷⁵ Van Dijk discussed the hymn within the context of the aftermath of the Amarna period,³⁷⁶ but he did not reveal how he thinks this hymn was used in the lived practice

367 Now in the British Museum (London, BM EA 551), see Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 30–32 [7] and pls 13 and 95.

368 Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 32–33 [9–10] and pls 14 and 96.

369 Cairo TR 8.6.24.20 and St Petersburg 1061, see Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 33–35 [11] and pls 15 and 96.

370 Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 44–46 [33–38] and pls 21 and 102.

371 Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 54–55 [56] and pls 23–24 and 107–109.

372 For the fragments found see Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 57–58 [61] and pls 24 and 113.

373 Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 58 [62–63] and pls 28 and 111.

374 Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 58–66 [64] and pls 26 and 114.

375 Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 59.

376 When indeed Osiris and Re were frequently worshipped together. His views on “Akhenaten’s monotheistic revolution” would need to be smoothened however in view of more recent studies, see Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 60. See also Weiss, ‘Re and Osiris’, but note that Mark Smith rejects the idea of a solar-osirian union.

in the tomb. It seems again a narrow space for singing, certainly by more than one person. Perhaps this is again a spot that serves as transitional zone, as well as an *aide memoire* of a longer song. In the inner forecourt the reliefs show Horemheb's career as a military official and the preparation of his funeral. In between, three out of four pillars show hymnal texts to Osiris and Re again,³⁷⁷ so also here we may again imagine the idea of people moving around and stopping for a hymn. In the main chapel (D) very few reliefs survived. From what is left, it seems that this was a place for reliefs attesting purification rituals.³⁷⁸

3.3.2.2 Bubasteion cemetery

At the rock-cut tombs of the Bubasteion cemetery, the outside areas were perhaps also meant for the performance of offerings, as is suggested by recent findings near rock-cut chapels at Thebes.³⁷⁹ Unfortunately, Alain Zivie has not yet published any small finds or archaeological materials from the Bubasteion cemetery, except for very general descriptions of the tombs probably more suited to non-academic readers (although transcriptions of texts were provided, unlike in the previous Leiden-EES publications), so it is very hard to tell whether the tombs were actually accessible and by whom. The difference in decoration between the Bubasteion rock-cut and the free-standing South of Unas and Teti cemeteries is evident: Whereas Maïa (or more specifically, according to the text, only Tutankhamun sitting on her lap) is greeted by six anonymous officials on the east wall of the entrance to her tomb,³⁸⁰ the tomb of Thutmose and Iniy has no greeting text preserved.³⁸¹ Generally the latter tomb shows offering formulae, and ritual instructions, but no representations of burial processions or hymnal texts, which of course does not exclude that it was actually accessible for the cult of the deceased. Maïa's tomb shows some hymnal texts, and again on familiar places of passing through the tomb: on the upper left corner of the doorway

³⁷⁷ Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 77–78, 82–83, 90–91 [71, 73 and 84], pls 39, 48, 142 and BM 550.

³⁷⁸ Martin, *Tutankhamun's regent*, 111 [116a], pls 54 and 161, but see a critical note by Raven, 'Architectural', 54, unfortunately without offering an alternative provenance.

³⁷⁹ E.g. José M. Galán and David García. 'Twelfth Dynasty funerary gardens in Thebes.' *Egyptian Archaeology* 54 (2019): 4–8 or the stick shabti we saw earlier.

³⁸⁰ Zivie, *Maïa*, 31–33 and pls 21 and 52. Text 1 and 2 both start with *jwtj* (welcome) addressed to king Tutankhamun, who becomes Re like his shape in favour of the *Ka* of Maïa (*iw=k r R^c mj- qd=f n k3...*).

³⁸¹ Zivie, 'Thutmose'.

between chamber 1 and 2,³⁸² on the western side of the doorway of room 2,³⁸³ on the lintel of the doorway leading into room 3,³⁸⁴ on most faces of the pillars in room 3,³⁸⁵ on the north-west and north-east pilasters set against the back wall of room 3,³⁸⁶ and on the false door.³⁸⁷ The other texts are either offering formulae, ritual instructions or too damaged to tell. As to the pillars, no pattern can be detected, except for that only the sides visible upon entering the room were decorated. The *ḥsy* formulae are not symmetrically arranged,³⁸⁸ and apparently here, different from Maya and Horemheb, the idea was to stick to the middle path (although perhaps additional decoration was planned and not executed).

3.3.2.3 Teti cemetery

Looking now at the Teti cemetery – as discussed above, concerning Mose's tomb little can be said about the distribution of texts, so hitherto only Amenemone (ii)'s tomb could be studied.³⁸⁹ The medium size tomb of Amenemone (ii) consists of a main chapel between two smaller ones and a pillared portico and a forecourt.³⁹⁰ Amenemone (ii) addresses his visitors indirectly before they

382 In adoration of Anubis and Wennefer and introduced by *rdj.t-j̄.w*; see Zivie, *Maia*, 40, text 7, pl. 27 mirroring an offering formula dedicated to Anubis (Zivie, *Maia*, 41, text 9).

383 In adoration of Re and introduced by *dw̄*; see Zivie, *Maia*, 58, text 30, pl. 35.

384 In adoration of Anubis and introduced by *rdj.t-j̄.w* on both sides; see Zivie, *Maia*, 60–61, texts 34 and 36, pl. 36.

385 All introduced by *rdj.t-j̄.w* in adoration of Wennefer (south face of south-eastern pillar), Hathor (east face of north-west pillar) and elsewhere Osiris, see Zivie, *Maia*, 69–61, texts 42, 44–47, and 49–51, pl. 38–42. Not on the western face of the south-eastern pillar and the south face of the north-western pillar where *ḥsy* formulae in favour of *Maia* appear.

386 Introduced by *rdj.t-j̄.w* and in adoration of Osiris, see Zivie, *Maia*, 73, texts 50–51.

387 Introduced by *rdj.t-j̄.w* and in adoration of Anubis (lintel) and Wennefer (panel), see Zivie, *Maia*, 77–78, texts 57 and 59. The western side shows an *ḥḥ* formulae to Re-Horakhty, Aten, and Osiris.

388 On the south faces *ḥsy* faces Osiris and Osiris Wennefer, and on the inner faces Hathor faces Osiris in the north and Osiris faces *ḥsy* in the south, see map by Zivie, *Maia*, pl. 3.

389 Ockinga, *Amenemone*.

390 The closest parallel being the tomb of Pay (i) and Raia (i), see Ockinga, *Amenemone*, 23 with reference to Jacobus van Dijk, Maarten J. Raven, Geoffrey T. Martin, Barbara G. Aston and Eugen Strouhal. 'Preliminary report on the Saqqara excavations, season 1996.' *Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* 77 (1997): 73–86, Fig. 1. Only about a meter of the east wall has remained so a full plan of the courtyard could not be determined Ockinga, *Amenemone*, 26.

enter the antechapel.³⁹¹ The text on the south face of the antechapel evokes incense offerings to Re-Horakhty and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, as is also seen in the anonymous representation of a priest. It is wished

that an invocation offering may be made for you, that the hand may be stretched out for you [in the sense of presenting/adoring], that your name may be invoked daily by *wꜥb*-priests and lector priests, that a *ḥtp-dj-nsw* may be made for you before the lord of offerings, that your *Ka* may be united before you, your offerings remaining at the time of doing what is praised, the god being satisfied with his things; that your name be remembered daily not becoming that which is forgotten, that you may be successful and enduring in the mouth of the living³⁹²

Indeed offering formulae are the most frequent texts appearing in the tomb.³⁹³ When entering the chapel, Amenemone (ii)'s son Ptahmose (iii) speaks to his father to take for himself offerings of provisions libations and incense, and expresses the wish that the gods may continue the flow of provision.³⁹⁴ On the main offering stela, Amenemone (ii) and his wife Tahesit are shown in adoration of Osiris and Re-Horakhty above a regular offering scene in which the deceased couple receives offerings from their sons Ptahmose (iii) and Amenemheb and various anonymous characters. Interestingly the lintel shows the kneeling couple, with in front of them brief hymns, in adoration of Anubis, who sits in a mirrored representation in the centre of the lintel.³⁹⁵ Here it seems it are the tomb owners themselves who sing the hymn, although of course later visitors might have perpetuated the ritual. Yet from the family representations as well as the frequent wishes of *ḥtp-dj-nsw* in the tomb representations it seems Amenemone (ii)'s tomb is rather a monument of family commemoration than of divine worship. The representation of the whole family in front of the goddess Sakhmet on a relief now in Cairo³⁹⁶ seems to show her as a family goddess. Otherwise tomb representations of the vignettes BD 110,³⁹⁷ BD 59,³⁹⁸ and BD 125³⁹⁹ evoke

391 The double faced relief fragment that is above the worshippers in the Sakhmetrelief (text 19) is currently in the *Staatliches Museum ägyptischer Kunst* in Munich inv. no. G1 298, see Ockinga, *Amenemone*, 60–62 [6B] and pls 13, 14b and 61.

392 Ockinga, *Amenemone*, 61–62.

393 Ockinga, *Amenemone*, texts 5–8 on the doorposts and in the lower register (text 13) of the central offering stela, on the east wall north of the central chapel (text 22), the pilasters (texts 35–36), the flat plate of his statue (text 43), and on a stela (text 77).

394 Ockinga, *Amenemone*, 54–55 [6 A] and pl. 12.

395 Ockinga, *Amenemone*, 40–41 texts 1 and 3.

396 Cairo JE 11975 (TN 5/7/24/15), see Ockinga, *Amenemone*, 44–47 [2] and pls 8 and 56. Except his parents and his two sons Nebmehyt (i) and Ptahemheb, who appear elsewhere.

397 Ockinga, *Amenemone*, [7B].

the transformation of the deceased (family), although the latter might have had some implications of purification rituals. Another interesting detail appears right at the entrance of Amenemone (ii)'s tomb: a portico shows the king Menkauhor (2373–2366 BCE),⁴⁰⁰ one of the last kings of the 5th dynasty in the Old Kingdom, and hence reigning about 1000 years prior to Amenemose (ii)'s lifetime.⁴⁰¹ Berlandini had already pointed at the veneration of both Teti and Menkauhor in the area, and suggested Amenemone (ii)'s tomb might have lain beside an access route as it would attract visitors and benefit the cult 'passing' his tomb.⁴⁰² Her idea that Amenemone (ii) was involved in the making of a new cult statue of the king is possible, but hard to prove. Jaromir Malek thought of a link between the deified kings and the Apis Cult,⁴⁰³ which is also possible. It does not have to be either/or, it could be all these associations combined, i.e. Amenemone (ii) linking his family to his royal deceased ancestors as well as to the god Apis. Several stelae dedicated to the deified king Teti probably came from that area,⁴⁰⁴ so Amenemone (ii)'s choice fitted his surroundings well and indeed continued a century-old tradition.⁴⁰⁵

3.3.2.4 Cairo concession area

At the Cairo concession, the tomb of Ptahmose (v) was recently rediscovered by Ola el-Aguizy's team of Cairo University. Like Amenemone (i)'s tomb, it contained a marsh scene, known from the photograph of Arthur Rhôn e, a French author and traveller, who published a so-called Album Photographique in

398 Ockinga, *Amenemone*, [6B].

399 Ockinga, *Amenemone*, [12].

400 Louvre B 48, and see Ockinga, *Amenemone*, 73–77 [13] and pls 21, 22a-b, and 68–69.

401 Indeed Tjuneroy also names him in his list Jocelyne Berlandini. 'La pyramide "ruin e" de Sakkara-Nord et Menkaouhor.' *Bulletin de la Soci t  Fran aise d' gyptologie* 83 (1978): 25 and see other references in her study Louvre B 50, Berlin NI 116, Cairo JE 33258. Her identification of the headless pyramid at Saqqara as Menkauhor's was confirmed by Zahi Hawass in 2008. This is not the place to study in detail the veneration of earlier kings at Saqqara, for an overview see also Malek, 'Old and new', 67–71.

402 Berlandini-Grenier, 'Memphitica I', 301–316, Ockinga, *Amenemone*, 75.

403 Malek, 'Old and new', 71, see Ockinga, *Amenemone*, 76.

404 A list can be found in Malek, 'Old and new', 67–71.

405 See e.g. Jaromir Malek. 'Old Kingdom rulers as "local saints" in the Memphite area during the Middle Kingdom.' In: *Abusir and Saqqara in the year 2000* edited by Miroslav B arta, and Jaromir Krej ci, 241–258. Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Oriental Institute, 2000.

1877.⁴⁰⁶ The relief scene was probably inspired by the surrounding mastabas. We see Ptahmose (v) (nicknamed Ipa) with his wife, Mutnofret, and two sons, both called Ptahmose (i.e. Ptahmose (vi) and Ptahmose (vii); one is *wab*-priest and the other *hry jhw n hn.w*).⁴⁰⁷ The former also appears on a relief now in Cairo, where he also bears the additional title scribe of the Ptah temple (*sš n hwt-ntr Pth*).⁴⁰⁸ The tombs from the Cairo concession remain largely unpublished but since the pillars of Ptahmose (v) are easily accessible in Leiden, they shall at least be mentioned briefly in this study. They contain a hymn to the god Osiris that finds parallels also on papyri and the stela of Preherwenemef, now in Cairo,⁴⁰⁹ hinting at the issue of transmission back and forth between papyri and monuments (which does not concern us here), but also at the suggested practice of reciting such texts in the tomb, preferably in open spaces: like in the tomb of Tia and Tia where the pillars came from the open courtyard in the front row facing the west side of the tomb.

3.4 Occasional visits?

In summary, offering practises seem to have been another strategy of showing commitment to a reminiscence cluster for individuals and for weaving themselves into the memory of a tomb, albeit in a more perishable way. Individual names were not always recorded on offerings, and even when that happened the preserved names cannot always be connected to their potential reminiscence clusters, because we know too little about the Memphite population at the New Kingdom. However, even though relatively few traces of offering practices have remained, the evidence we have provides a broad snapshot of the range of options for offering various goods, votives, or small objects. These practices were less enduring than tomb representations (discussed in chapter 2), yet they allowed greater freedom on the part of the acting individual, whose performance would have created a greater presence and visibility, but were less dependent on the agreement of the tomb owner (although probably also not against his/her

406 Berlandini, ‘Memphitica V’, 86–92 with reference to Morris L. Bierbrier. *Who is who in Egyptology*. London: The Egypt Exploration Society 2012, 463–464, and see Djuževa, ‘Amenemnet’, 97, Dok. 13 (= Straßburg, Collection of the Egyptological Institute, 2439 A).

407 Berlandini, ‘Memphitica V’, 91.

408 Berlandini, ‘Memphitica V’, 94.

409 Scalf, ‘Iry-Iry’, 9–27. Note that Ptahmose (v) also had at least one papyrus column showing the text: Berlandini, ‘Memphitica V’, 100–101. For the stela of Preherwenef see Berlandini, ‘Memphitica V’, 52–55, pls 10–11.

consent). Bodily performances⁴¹⁰ such as prayers being spoken, texts being recited, and individuals mourning or singing hymnal texts to the gods and the deceased ancestors created a sense of belonging for the acting individual, but also for the living community – others would have witnessed these activities, with the effect of conceptualising those acting individuals as being part of the reminiscence cluster of the respective tomb owner(s). In that sense it was a double effort: action by the actors, reconfirmed by the witnesses. On a metaphorical level, of course, such practices were also valid without a witness, and served as a continuous material presence in the tomb, alternative to or additional to tomb representation.

Future excavations with a greater interest in these matters may reveal clearer evidence, yet we must also consider that among the reasons for the scarce evidence is not only perishability of material and shattered assemblages, but also the possibility that actual physical tomb visits other than by hired staff were perhaps not as frequent in the practice of everyday life as the appeals to the living would want us (and their ancient peers) to believe.⁴¹¹ Indeed, these texts may yet again support the reality of a more frequently performative, symbolic – rather than physical – presence of visitors in the tombs. What we cannot confirm for Saqqara, is any “sacralisation of the tombs” as proposed for the Theban tombs.⁴¹² On the contrary, the worship of gods and ancestors was closely interwoven with living practices in both the 18th and the 19th dynasties.

410 See also Luiselli, ‘Bild des Betens’, 87–96.

411 For the idea of “regular visits to the necropolis” see e.g. Raven, ‘Minor priests’, 1314 with reference to the appeal of the living in the tomb of Tia; see Martin, *Tia*, 22 [40]. Spalinger suggested participation could also appear by means of donations to festivals, see Anthony Spalinger. ‘The limitations of ancient Egyptian religion.’ *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 57 (4) (1998): 256, although I do not agree to his idea that “public recognition” and “private religious attitude” were “separate” matters.

412 E.g. most recently Ute Rummel. ‘Redefining sacred space: the tomb-temples of the high priests Ramsesnakht and Amenhotep in Dra’ Abu el-Naga.’ In: *11. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: the discourse between tomb and temple. Prague, May 24–27, 2017* edited by Filip Coppens and Hana Vymazalová, 279–305. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2020.

Chapter 4: The veneration of gods and ancestors at Saqqara and beyond

Rather than just focussing on the tombs, this chapter addresses religious activities in a broader area and aims to address the interaction of people between temples and tombs and vice versa, which together shaped what I coined as the cultural geography of Saqqara.

4.1 The cultural geography of Memphis

The necropolis served as extra-urban space of Memphis,¹ i.e. reproducing both the social and religious representations of the living community.² Hence vice versa it is worthwhile to look into religious practices at the city itself. Few traces of the city of Memphis have been preserved, but it is clear people had houses and offices as well as various temples, and a harbour.³ Texts like the Ramesside hymn to Memphis mention a whole range of gods (potentially each with their

1 Lara Weiss. 'The city of the dead or: the making of a cultural geography.' In: *Urban religion in Late Antiquity* edited by Asuman Lätzer-Lasar and Emiliano Rubens Urciuoli, 125–126. Berlin; Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2021.

2 Compare also Warner, *The Living and the Dead*, 287.

3 David Jeffreys. 'The future of Egypt's urban past? Aspects of the 21st-century 'town problem' at Avaris, Piramesse and Memphis.' In: *Timelines: studies in honour of Manfred Bietak 1* edited by Ernst Czerny, Irmgard Hein, Hermann Hunger, Dagmar Melman, and Angela Schwab, 163–170. Leuven: Peeters; Departement Oosterse Studies, 2006 after Manfred Bietak. 'Urban archaeology and the "town problem" in ancient Egypt.' In: *Egyptology and the social sciences: five studies* edited by Kent R. Weeks, 97–144. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1979; and see Peter Lacovara. *The New Kingdom royal city. Studies in Egyptology*. London; New York: Kegan Paul International, 1997 for a hypothetical reconstruction of the city at Ramesside age based on a papyrus dossier see Kenneth A. Kitchen. 'Towards a reconstruction of Ramesside Memphis.' In: *Fragments of a shattered visage: the proceedings of the international symposium of Ramesses the Great* edited by Edward Bleiberg and Rita Freed, 87–104. Memphis, TN: Memphis State University, 1991. Note that Kitchen recognised once again the same clustering of reminiscence groups (which he called "possible evidence for nepotism", Kitchen, 'Reconstruction', 95), see Wilhelm Spiegelberg. *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I. (circa 1350 v. Chr.) mit anderen Rechnungen des Neuen Reiches*. Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1896. On the landscape processes of the Memphite "Capital Area" through time see Judith Bunbury, Ana Tavares, Benjamin Pennington, and Pedro Gonçalves. 'Development of the Memphite floodplain: landscape and settlement symbiosis in the Egyptian capital zone.' In: *The Nile: natural and cultural landscape in Egypt* edited by Harco Willems and Jan-Michael Dahms, 71–96. Bielefeld: Transcript-Verlag, 2017.

own temple or chapel yet to be attested archeologically).⁴ The temple of Ptah in Memphis, of which traces remain at modern Mit Rahina,⁵ was among the most important and influential in the whole country of Egypt in the New Kingdom.⁶ For example, Papyrus Harris attests 3079 priests and other employees, 6919 acres of fields, and 10047 animals in the course of the 20th dynasty alone.⁷ As was common elsewhere in Egypt, the Ptah temple in Memphis was subject to renovations and clearing activities during its time of use. For example, excavator William Flinders Petrie mentioned 40 stelae and 150 fragments in a deposit in the west hall of the temple, dating to the reign of Ramesses II, which were cleared from an 18th-dynasty use.⁸ These stelae show people in adoration of Ptah, several ear stelae,⁹ and some associating the god Ptah with the king smiting his enemies,¹⁰ attesting a vivid votive practice. As mentioned above, the ears on the stelae emphasise that the god was actually meant to be listening, and indeed that temple had a soundscape to which all visitors listened voluntarily and involuntarily, providing yet again various responses.¹¹ An example is a stela of a mistress of the house, Tanetjunu, who is shown kneeling in front of a representation of three offering tables underneath five listening ears and singing a hymn

4 As attested in Papyrus Sallier IV, see Samuel Birch, Edward Hawkins, and Joseph Netherclift. *Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character from the Collections of the British Museum with Prefatory Remarks*, London: sold at the British Museum, and by Longman and Co, 1844, fasc. III, 4–5 und pl. 144–168, see Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae, pSallier IV = pBM EA 10184 (Miscellanies), Vs. 1.1–2.2: Lobrede auf Memphis.

5 E.g. William M.F. Petrie. *Memphis I*. British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account [15] (15th year). London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1909, 2; Gomaà, *Chaemwese*.

6 E.g. recently Miroslav Verner. *Abusir: The necropolis of the sons of the sun*. Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2017, 3.

7 Verner, *Abusir*, 5.

8 Petrie, *Memphis I*, 7.

9 Petrie, *Memphis I*, pls 9–13, compare also the ostrakon mentioned above. More stelae from Memphis and indeed elsewhere were collected by Toye-Dubs, *l'oreille*, 9–13. As an aside we may note that the objects that were formerly in the Museum Scheurleer are no longer in the The Hague, but in Hanover. The museum existed between 1905 and 1935 and its archaeological collections were mainly sold to the *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* in Leiden and the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam. The S-numbers are Freiherr Wilhelm von Bissing numbers for 'stone'. S 60 is a palette from Tarkhan that ended up in the RMO (F 1938/10.12); S 27 is in the Museum August Kestner in Hanover (inv. no. 1935.200.687) as is S 995 (inv. no. 1935.200.203) Object information with thanks to Ben van den Bercken and Christian Loeben.

10 Petrie, *Memphis I*, pls 7–8.c

11 Compare also e.g. Abigail Wood. 'Soundscapes of Pilgrimage: European and American Christians in Jerusalem's Old City.' *Ethnomusicology Forum* 23:3 (2014): 285–305.

to the gods Ptah and Sakhmet.¹² This stela, whose location is no longer known, is also particularly interesting because above her a scribe of the treasury of the two lands, Ramose, is attested adoring the two gods, who could thus potentially have been a colleague of ‘our’ Maya (the overseer of that very treasury). Unfortunately the Ramose (ii) attested in Maya’s tomb, has no title, and the name of his wife is unknown to us,¹³ so any idea that the Ramose on the stela could be the same character must remain tentative. Unfortunately, no other names from those ear stelae can be linked to the Saqqara tombs.¹⁴ Yet since it is quite clear that many of the tomb owners lived and worked at Memphis, and some were born there, it would seem plausible that they contributed at least occasionally to the cult of Ptah and potentially other Memphite gods. To understand the broader picture it is therefore useful to conceptualise the area as a wider ‘cultural geography’, i.e. as the result of individuals and groups in dynamic mutual interaction with their human-made and natural surroundings,¹⁵ even though we can only seldomly grasp people’s activities in detail. We should still see the cultural geography of Memphis and Saqqara as the result of individuals and groups who continuously shaped a more or less distinct environment, and vice versa their agency was shaped by it, altogether generating meaning.¹⁶ In other words, the

12 Toye-Dubs, *l’oreille*, 152, 184, Fig. 41 with reference to Petrie, *Memphis* I, pl. 11, 20.

13 In fact, we do not even know if Tanetjunu was Ramose’s wife or what relationship joined them on the stela.

14 A candidate is an ear stela of Amenmose now in Manchester (inv. no. 4906), but the name is way too common as to link him to a specific individual. Design is an ambivalent criterion. ‘Our’ Leiden high priest of Ptah Meryptah, would probably have chosen a more elaborate design than a stela now in Cairo (JE 3517), see Toye-Dubs, *l’oreille*, 150–151, Figs. 35 and 41, for the former with reference to Petrie, *Memphis* I, pl. 10, 10, the later is otherwise unpublished. Some high-ranking figures are, however, known to have donated very simple stelae e.g. Louvre AF 2576 of the vizier Paser (ii), see Christine Raedler. ‘Die kosmische Dimension pharaonischer Kunst.’ In: *Pharaos Staat: Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 75. Geburtstag* edited by Dirk Bröckelmann and Andrea Klug, 145–158. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006, 148 and Figs 1 and 2.

15 History of the term with references see Staring, Twiston Davies, and Weiss, *Perspectives*, 8. “Culture consists of the derivatives of experience, more or less organised, learned or created by the individuals of a population, including those images or encodements and their interpretations (meanings) transmitted from past generations, from contemporaries, or formed by individuals themselves” as defined by Theodore Schwartz. ‘Anthropology and Psychology: An Unrequited Relationship.’ In: *New Directions in Psychological Anthropology* edited by Theodore Schwartz, Geoffrey M. White, and Catherine Lutz, 324. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. See also Amos Rapoport. ‘Systems of Activities and Systems of Settings.’ *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space. An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study* edited by Susan Kent, 9. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

16 Anderson, *Cultural Geography*, 5.

conceptualisation of the area as cultural geography adds a spatial component to our question of religious practices in that area, thereby reminding us once again that not all traces of practices are necessarily always religiously motivated. The strategies of creating and maintaining reminiscence clusters always aimed at both religious and social coherence but, as shown below, these strategies were not confined to the tombs only.

4.2 Worshipping gods and divine ancestors at Saqqara

The evidence we have suggests that offering practices for the ancestors were linked not only to tombs in ancient Egypt, but also to chapels located elsewhere. This is the case, for example, for the smaller memorial monuments by Tia and Parahotep mentioned above, but also for chapels in Gebel el-Silsila, which belonged to people known to have had tombs at Thebes.¹⁷ The monument of Parahotep at Saqqara explicitly addresses the female mourners of the living Apis (*ts.w.t n hp ḥḥ*)¹⁸ and others to provide incense, libations, and a speech offering on their way to the Apis chapel, i.e. strongly suggesting that the monument lay on its procession route. But there are also monuments in temples that mention tomb offerings, raising the question of how practices at Memphis and Saqqara interacted.¹⁹ Tjuneroy, Amenemone (ii), and others tied themselves to the veneration of their (royal) ancestors by means of tomb representations, and many other individuals worshipped deified kings like Teti, Menkauhor, and Djoser by means of statues (e.g. Fig. 26),²⁰ votive stelae,²¹ and shabti,²² as well as ostra-

17 Bommas, ‘Gebel es-Silsilah’, 98–100.

18 Moursi, ‘Re-Hotep’, 322, Fig. 1 line 9 and 325 The title is also known from the Apis stelae at the Serapeum e.g. Louvre Apis stela no. 8, see *TLA*, *DZA* 31.307720 and *Wb* V, 408.2–3.

19 See also Raedler, ‘Prestige’, 151. On his statue the Apis is not mentioned, but regular offering formulae to Ptah and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, and Osiris-Wennefer on behalf of Parahotep, see Altenmüller and Moussa, ‘Rahotep’. Ohara, *Memphis*, 268, suggests the statue might have “acted as a mediator to the god Ptah of Memphis for people passing by.”

20 A fantastic example is today in the Musée d’archéologie Méditerranéenne in Marseille (inv. no. 211). It shows the deceased couple kneeling in front of the god Osiris while on the two sides of his throne husband and wife respectively are shown adoring Teti standing in his pyramid, see Philippe Collombert. ‘Groupe statuaire de Amenouahsou et Henoutoudjebou devant Osiris.’ In: *Khâemouaset, le prince archéologue: savoir et pouvoir à l’époque de Ramsès II* edited by Alain Charron and Christophe Barbotin, 52–53. Arles; Gand: Musée départemental Arles antique; Snoeck 2016.

21 Malek, ‘Old and new’.



Fig. 26: Group statue of Amenwahsu and Henutwedjebu. © Musées de Marseille/photo Jean-Luc Maby with kind permission by Gilles Deckert.

22 Apart from the examples already mentioned we may note a shabti of Puyemre (*temp.* Thutmosis III) that was found in a model coffin about 100 m east of the enclosure of Djoser. The man is known as the owner of TT 39, so a burial context is perhaps unlikely, see Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 278 with reference to De Garis Davies, *Puyemrê*, and JE 50035, see Gunn, 'Puyemrê', 157–159. Whether the area near Sekhemkhet's enclosure was also an area of veneration is unclear: nine New Kingdom shabti were found there, but they may as well come from burial contexts, see Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 278 with reference only to the 25th dynasty shabti of the Theban governor Montuemhat found north of the mastaba of Ptahhotep, see Norman de Garis Davies. *The mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep at Saqqareh* (2 vols). *Archaeological Survey of Egypt* 8–9. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1900–1901, 6–7 and see Zakaria Goneim. 'The discovery of a new step pyramid enclosure of the Third Dynasty at Saqqara.' In: *Proceedings of the twenty-third International Congress of Orientalists, Cambridge 21st-28th August, 1954* edited by Denis Sinor, 57–58. London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1956 and Zakaria Goneim. 'Discovery of a new Step Pyramid enclosure of the Third Dynasty at Saqqara.' *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 36 (2) (1953–1954): 559–581.

ca and graffiti,²³ and surely once again by a wide range of perishable practices that we can no longer grasp.²⁴

The evidence discussed above is not repeated here. Instead the following two sub-sections address some practices that were performed for the gods ((Ptah-)Sokar(-Osiris) and Apis, where possible with reference to acting individuals and groups.

4.2.1 The Sokar festival

The Sokar festival is relatively well-studied²⁵ and attested through almost the whole history of ancient Egypt from at least²⁶ the Pyramid texts to the Late Period, in Saqqara but also in Abydos²⁷ and Thebes. Nevertheless, a comprehensive understanding is difficult. The sources are far apart chronologically and not necessarily meant to be accurate accounts.²⁸ We do know that it was a barque proces-

23 Van Pelt and Staring, 'Interpreting graffiti'.

24 Compare Malek, 'Old and new'; Malek, 'Local saints', 241–258 and Youri Volokhine. 'Les déplacements pieux en Égypte pharaonique: sites et pratiques culturelles.' In: *Pilgrimage and holy space in late antique Egypt* edited by David Frankfurter, 51–97. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

25 E. g. most recently Chloé Ragazzoli. 'La chapelle à trois loges (n° 1211) à Deir el-Médina: épigraphie secondaire et construction d'un espace rituel (avec un catalogue de 21 graffiti).' *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 120 (2020): 305–355 and see also e. g. Burkhard Backes. 'Sokar.' *Das wissenschaftliche Bibellexikon im Internet (WiBiLex)* 2008, <https://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/stichwort/29044/>, accessed on 21 October 2021; Gaballa A. Gaballa and Kenneth A. Kitchen. 'The festival of Sokar.' *Orientalia* 38 (1) (1969): 1–76, with references, remains a seminal study; and see Johnson, W. Raymond. 'A Ptah-Sokar barque procession from Memphis.' In: *Under the potter's tree: studies on ancient Egypt presented to Janine Bourriau on the occasion of her 70th birthday* edited by David Aston, Bettina Bader, Carla Gallorini, Paul Nicholson, and Sarah Buckingham, 531–540. Leuven: Peeters, 2011; and Edwards, 'Shetayet', 27–36.

26 Or perhaps even towards 2nd dynasty representations of a barque being pulled Gaballa and Kitchen, 'Sokar,' 13–19

27 E. g. Katherine J. Eaton. 'The festival of Osiris and Sokar in the month of Khoiak: the evidence from Nineteenth Dynasty royal monuments at Abydos.' *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 35 (2006): 75–101.

28 Backes, 'Sokar', notes that "A clarification of the exact course of the festivities as well as the role of the participating cult practitioners, acts and objects is made more difficult, on the one hand, by the fact that our main sources – the inscriptions of Ramesses III in the temple of Medinet Habu from the New Kingdom (Gaballa and Kitchen, 'Sokar') as well as that from the Ptolemaic period Papyri handed down the "ritual to get Sokar out of the Schetai sanctuary" (German translation and explanations in Burkard, *Spätzeitliche*, 228–249) – are far apart in time; and on the other hand, the function of these sources was not necessarily a faithful description of the processes in their order (Burkard, *Spätzeitliche*, 247–249)" referring to Günter Burkard.

sion of the god Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, leading from Memphis to Saqqara, in which different types of barques (mostly so-called Henu – but also Maati and Jab-netjeru – barques) were used in different periods to transport cult objects and staff²⁹).³⁰ The festival lasted several days and some practices are relatively clear, such as that the Henu-barque was put on a sledge, that it moved around Memphis³¹ on the 26th day of the fourth month of the flood season (Choiak), and that (Ptah-)Sokar(-Osiris)'s epitheta were read out aloud.³² Other sources mention individuals wearing (spring) onions around their neck to celebrate (*šms=k Skr ḥd.w r ḥh=k*).³³ The onions may seem odd to the modern reader but they symbolised the renewal or rejuvenation of the god as well as the deceased ancestors at the necropolis, just as the festival as a whole does. Associations with other gods such as Hathor and Nefertem indicate a solar aspect as well³⁴ – indeed certainly in the New Kingdom closely intertwined as Solar-Osirian union. Unfortunately, only relative vague references are made to the festival in the Saqqara sources. For example, Ptahmose (v) mentions on one of his Djed-pillars that he came before Sokar-Osiris,³⁵ possibly hinting at a procession, but it is quite unclear who participated in these festivals and in what way. What we do know is that just like the Apis procession, people wished to attend it, and expressed

Spätzeitliche Osiris-Liturgien im Corpus der Asasif-Papyri: Übersetzung, Kommentar, formale und inhaltliche Analyse. Ägypten und Altes Testament 31. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995.

29 Wolfgang Helck. 'Zu Ptah und Sokar.' In: *Religion und Philosophie im Alten Ägypten (FS P. Derchain; Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 39)* edited by Ursula Verhoeven and Erich Graefe, 160. Leuven: Peeters, 1991 on processions see also e.g. Martin A. Stadler, 'Tägliches Ritual und Feste Kultgeschehen in altägyptischen Tempeln.' In: *KultOrte. Mythen, Wissenschaft und Alltag in den Tempeln Ägyptens* edited by Martin Stadler and Daniel von Recklinghausen, 60–68. Berlin: Manetho Verlag, 2011.

30 See also Edwards, 'Shetayet', 33.

31 Literally "the walls", see William J. Murnane. *United with eternity: a concise guide to the monuments of Medinet Habu*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1980, 30.

32 After the calendar of Ramesses III in the temple of Medinet Habu, see Siegfried Schott. *Altägyptische Festdaten, Abhandlungen der Mainzer Akademie der Wissenschaften, Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse*, Wiesbaden, 1950, 971, see Backes, 'Sokar'. Wolfgang Helck constructs an association with metal working that seems questionable, see Helck, 'Sokar'.

33 E.g. Stela Leiden inv. no. H.III.T 1, see Ludwig Keimer. 'Materialien zum altägyptischen Zwiebelkult.' *Egyptian Religion* 1 (2) (1933): 58, and see Lara Weiss, Nico Staring, and Huw Twiston Davies. *Sakkara, leven in een dodenstad*. Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 2020, 28; and Assmann, *Totalliturgien* II, 293.

34 Gaballa and Kitchen, 'Sokar', 59–62 and see Backes, 'Sokar'.

35 Scalf, 'Iry-Iry', 18–19.

that wish in writing.³⁶ For example, a fragmentary statue of a royal scribe and overseer of the two granaries (sš nsw jmy-rʿ šnwty) Ry (iii), found in the Memphite temple of Ptah mentioned above, hopes that the reader of his offering formula may “follow [the god] Sokar, unite with the Lord of the Henu-bark (...) and lay your hands upon the draw ropes” (‘wʿr.w.t’³⁷ (i. e. possibly actually pulling the barque),³⁸ although its not so clear whether this ‘following’ here is meant in this world or the next, or (most probably) both.

4.2.2 Religious activity at the Serapeum

The Serapeum was the burial place for the bull god Apis, used from the reign of king Amenhotep III until the 2nd century CE.³⁹ We have seen above that the 19th-dynasty vizier Parahotep (*temp.* Ramesses II) requested incense and libation in his favour every time somebody visited the tomb of Apis.⁴⁰ More specifically prince Khaemwaset adds to that the “presenting one’s two arms” (i. e. in adoration) and remembering his name by means of an offering formula (to be recited) on the altar of the temple ([jmm] n-ʿj qbḥ snṯr ḥnk n-ʿj ‘wy-ʿtn šḥʿ m(ʿj) m ḥtp-dj-nsw ḥr tʿ ḥʿw.t ḥw.t-nṯr).⁴¹

Excavating the Serapeum from 1852, Mariette coined the following terminology: “*caveau isolés*” for the eight subterranean burial chambers of Apis bulls that died between Amenhotep III and year 30 of Ramesses II, “*petits souterrains*” for those that were used after that year until year 21 of Psamtik I, and “*grand sou-*

36 For a brief diachronical overview including various religious ceremonies except for the Sokar festival see see Klotz, ‘Participation’, 323–335.

37 Wb I, 252.3–8.

38 Gaballa and Kitchen, ‘Sokar’, 26, with reference to the text on the back of a statue apparently now in Dublin, see Petrie, *Memphis* I, 8 and pl. 19.

39 Schneider, *Shabti* I, 278, with reference to Mariette, *Sérapeum*. A recent summary is found in Nenad Marković. ‘Changes in urban and sacred landscapes of Memphis in the third to the fourth centuries AD and the eclipse of the divine Apis bulls.’ *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 104 (2) (2018): 195.

40 Stela JE 48845, see Shubert, *Appeal*, 262–263 and KRI III, 55.

41 Statue base at the Serapeum see Gomaà, *Chaemwese*, 81, no. 37, see Shubert, *Appeal*, 273 and KRI II, 879.15–16. Note that because of the literal translation of ḥtp-dj-nsw as an offering that the king gives, some authors have suggested that it indicates the royal permission to get a tomb in the necropolis, see Nigel C. Strudwick. *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, Leiden: Brill, 2005, 31. The idea that providing private offerings was a royal monopoly is to be rejected (see also Shubert, *Appeal*, 380 for a brief discussion of the matter).

terrain” for the area used in Saitic and Ptolemaic times.⁴² The “*petits souterrains*” were used for votive shabtis in the shape of Apis bulls⁴³, for mummified anthropoid-shapes, and for votive stelae. For Mariette, “these Ramesside stelae represented the transition” from above-ground votive stelae to votive stelae in niches, “rais[ing] questions of access and audience”.⁴⁴ In absence of any traces of above-ground structures, it is difficult to tell whether that practice was new, in the sense of a transition, yet it is clear that the high officials demonstrated their attachment to the god Apis (as well as Ptah) by means of votive gifts.⁴⁵ Interestingly, also a mummy was found in the Serapeum that has been attributed to the high priest of Ptah, Khaemwaset son of Ramesses II, who died in his 55th year. He was believed to be buried elsewhere at Saqqara, and then moved to the Serapeum in the 26th dynasty,⁴⁶ i. e. a few centuries after his death. It has been proposed that this was done because it was then still known how involved Khaemwaset was with the Serapeum (witnessing two Apis burials, the second of which⁴⁷ as high priest of Ptah), and it therefore felt appropriate to those in the

42 Gomaà, *Chaemwese*, 52 and see also Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 278 with reference to Mariette, *Sérapeum* I, 70 ff. and see e. g. Gomaà, *Chaemwese*, 39. For a recent summary of events see Élisabeth David, ‘Mariette au Sérapéum, 1850–1854.’ In: *Khâemouaset, le prince archéologue: savoir et pouvoir à l’époque de Ramsès II.* edited by Alain Charron and Christophe Barbotin, 76–79. Gand: Musée départemental Arles antique; Snoeck, 2016 and see Florence Gombert-Meurice, ‘L’inventaire Mariette et les objets du Sérapéum.’ In: *Khâemouaset, le prince archéologue: savoir et pouvoir à l’époque de Ramsès II.* edited by Alain Charron and Christophe Barbotin, 80–83. Gand: Musée départemental Arles antique; Snoeck, 2016.

43 Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 288–289. He notes some curious figures with falcon and jackal heads from Luxor described by Wiedemann which Schneider does not consider as shabti, see Alfred Wiedemann. ‘Notes on some Egyptian Monuments.’ *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 33 (1911): 166–167, pl. 25, 4 and 6, see Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 314, note 121.

44 Froot, ‘Role-play’, 73 with reference to Auguste Mariette. *Le Sérapeum de Memphis* (2 vols) edited by G. Maspero. Paris: Vieweg, 1882, 117.

45 See also Alain Charron. ‘Le taureau Apis, vie et mort d’un animal sacré.’ In: *Khâemouaset, le prince archéologue: savoir et pouvoir à l’époque de Ramsès II* edited by Alain Charron and Christophe Barbotin, 97. Arles; Gand: Musée départemental Arles antique; Snoeck, 2016, with reference to the stela of Pyiay (Louvre IM 59361 and see below.

46 Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 283 with reference to Jean Yoyotte. ‘Trois généraux de la XIXe dynastie (à propos de l’Égyptien Suta, KUB III, 57).’ *Orientalia* 23 (3) (1954): 227. For a summary of his life see Fisher, *Ramesses II*, vol I, 103–105.

47 Khaemwaset did not become high priest of Ptah before year 16 of Ramesses II, which suggests his predecessor Huy (vi) and the vizier Paser (ii) buried the Apis in that year. Schneider (*Shabtis* I, 313–314, note 118) suggested that Khaemwaset put their shabti to the Apis burial on their behalf in year 30, during the next burial that he orchestrated. This is possible, but only fully convincing if we follow Schneider’s idea that Khaemwaset established this practice

26th dynasty to include him in the cult there. However, there have been some doubts recently, noting that the associated amulets mentioned the living Khaemwaset and not the ‘Osiris’.⁴⁸ Therefore, perhaps, some sort of enigmatic ritual function of the ensemble is perhaps more plausible, like Florence Gombert-Meurice had recently suggested. Unfortunately the mummy is lost, and its dating cannot be confirmed.

No superstructure was recorded by Mariette, although some elements are known that could have been part of it or the Serapeum proper.⁴⁹ Of the “*caveau isolés*”, especially no. 8 is interesting. It contained the burial of the Apis bulls that died in the years 16 and 30 of Ramesses II, but also various shabtis among which are those of Khaemwaset⁵⁰ and Paser (ii).⁵¹ The two shabtis of Khaemwaset stood in a niche next to the entrance at the eastern wall;⁵² two niches contained Paser (ii)’s shabti boxes.⁵³

Both men also donated jewelry,⁵⁴ amulets,⁵⁵ and shabtis,⁵⁶ to the Apis, as did Khaemwaset’s elder brother the prince Ramesses,⁵⁷ his predecessors in the office

(Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 287), which seems doubtful in view of the votive practice as described in chapter 3.

48 Florence Gombert-Meurice. ‘Masque de Momie.’ In: *Khâemouaset, le prince archéologue: savoir et pouvoir à l’époque de Ramsès II.* edited by Alain Charron and Christophe Barbotin, 276–277. Gand: Musée départemental Arles antique; Snoeck, 2016.

49 Froot, ‘Role-play’, 69 with reference to Marc Desti. ‘Le Sérapéum au nouvel empire.’ In: *Des dieux, des tombeaux, un savant: en Égypte, sur les pas de Mariette pacha* edited by Marc Desti, 64 cat. 14. Paris: Somogy, 2004 (i.e. column fragment Louvre inv. no. N 431).

50 Louvre IM 2873, Louvre IM 2876, Louvre IM 3240, Louvre IM 3252–3, Louvre IM 3261, Louvre S 1202, Louvre S 1205, Louvre S 1450, see Jean-Luc Bovot. ‘Les Serviteurs funéraires du Sérapéum de Memphis.’ *Khâemouaset, le prince archéologue: savoir et pouvoir à l’époque de Ramsès II.* edited by Alain Charron and Christophe Barbotin, 129–133. Gand: Musée départemental Arles antique; Snoeck, 2016. 129–133 and see Louvre E 917, see Jean Luc Bovot, In: Charron and Barbotin (eds), *Khâemouaset*, 284–285.

51 From the *tombe isolée* C8: Louvre IM 2973 and IM 3703, see Bovot, ‘Serviteurs’, 124.

52 Louvre AF 6794–5, see Gomaà, *Chaemwese*, 78, cat. 15 and see Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 279 who corrected the wall Gomaà took over wrongly from as south from Mariette, *Sérapeum*, pl. 10.

53 Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 265 with reference to Mariette, *Sérapeum* and see Gombert-Meurice, ‘L’inventaire’. The vizier Paser (ii) donated to the so-called ‘*caveau 8*’ pottery boxes with a reclining Anubis on top which were placed in two niches in the southern wall of the chamber.

54 Paser (ii) donated two pectorals (Louvre IM 2893; IM 2894; see Gombert-Meurice. In: Charron and Barbotin (eds), *Khâemouaset*, 116–117), Khaemwaset donated a diadem (IM 5377), a pectoral in the shape of a falcon (IM 5389), a heart amulet (IM 5373), a papyrus column amulet (N 759/IM 5391 indeed registered under the same number as the tit-amulet below), a tit amulet (N 759/IM 5391), a necklace (IM 5390, actually without a name but associated with the others and the mummy, like two uninscribed amulets one of Thoth and one of Horus, IM 5800 and IM 5799), see Gombert-Meurice. In: Charron and Barbotin (eds), *Khâemouaset*, 278–282.

of high priest of Ptah, Huy (vi),⁵⁸ and Hori,⁵⁹ the steward of Memphis Ptahmose (v),⁶⁰ the great governor of Memphis, Huy (vii),⁶¹ Userhat,⁶² the royal scribe and overseer of the treasury Suty,⁶³ the overseer of the sculptors Hatiay,⁶⁴ the temple scribe of Ptah Pahery,⁶⁵ the offering scribe of Ptah Khay (v),⁶⁶ the scribe Pyyai,⁶⁷ the lady Isisnofret,⁶⁸ the mourner of Apis Takharu,⁶⁹ the *wab*-priest and

55 By both Khaemwaset and Paser (ii): Louvre IM 2889 or IM 2884, IM 2880, IM 3445 (?), IM 2888, IM 2896, see Florence Gombert-Meurice. In: Charron and Barbotin (eds), *Khâemouaset*, 112–115.

56 For a description including those potentially removed prior to Mariette's excavations see e.g. Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 280–282.

57 Louvre IM 2871 and IM 2943, see Bovot, 'Serviteurs', 134 and see Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 282 with reference to Louvre SH 82, see Mariette, *Sérapeum*, pl. 13.

58 Louvre IM 3263, see Bovot, 'Serviteurs', 128 and see Mariette, *Sérapeum*, pl. 10, Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 282 and see Louvre SH 115 and CG 47161.

59 From the *tombe isolée* C8, Louvre S 1738, see Bovot, 'Serviteurs', 125 and see Mariette, *Sérapeum*, pl. 10 and Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 282.

60 Louvre IM 2870, see Bovot, 'Serviteurs', 135 and Desti, 'Sérapéum', 88–89.

61 Not traced but depicted in Mariette, *Sérapeum*, pl. 14 and Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 282.

62 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 ('Role Play', 117) agrees with Van Dijk (Jacobus van Dijk. 'Maya's chief sculptor Userhat-Hatiay: with a note on the length of the reign of Horemheb.' *Göttinger Miscellen* 148 (1995): 33–34) that the Giza 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 Jürgen von Beckerath. 'Das Problem der Regierungsdauer Horemhabs.' *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 22 (1995): 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 (see Jacobus van Dijk. 'New evidence on the length of the reign of Horemheb.' *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 44 (2008): 193–200). 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" discussion according to Nico Starling. 'The Tomb of Ptahmose, Mayor of Memphis: Analysis of an Early 19th Dynasty Funerary Monument at Saqqara.' *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 114/2 (2014): 493.

63 Written Suy here, see Louvre IM 2990, see Bovot, 'Serviteurs', 123 and see Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 283 with reference to Mariette, *Sérapeum*, pl. 14.

64 Louvre SH 202–203, Mariette, *Sérapeum*, pl. 14 and Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 283 and owner of the stela Leiden inv. no. AP 12, potentially from Saqqara.

65 Louvre IM 3002, see Bovot, 'Serviteurs', 123.

66 Louvre IM 2973, see Bovot, 'Serviteurs', 124

67 Louvre S 1441, see Bovot, 'Serviteurs', 127.

68 Khaemwaset's mother, Louvre IM 2975 and 2977, see Bovot, 'Serviteurs', 128.

69 Louvre SH 195, Mariette, *Sérapeum*, pl. 14 and Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 283. Frood ('Role-play', 71) reads Horsiaru.

goldsmith of Ptah Neferhor,⁷⁰ the foreman Akhpet (iii),⁷¹ the painter Khaemwase,⁷² the mistresses of the house Sahqedet,⁷³ Huy, a Tyreneheh,⁷⁴ a Naina,⁷⁵ and also some unnamed Apis shabti⁷⁶ were found. In total, Mariette recorded 247 stone and faience shabti belonging to 80 men and women in “holes cut in the floor” of the room.⁷⁷ These shabtis were probably donated here not only to be present near the Apis, but also more generally in the sphere of Rosetau, the entrance to the netherworld.⁷⁸ Raedler suggests another nuance, that the Apis bull “was seen as an earthly manifestation of Ptah”, and had a special task in “mediating between god and man”, and therefore an apt addressee of extra-sepulchral shabtis.⁷⁹

Strictly speaking an Apis burial is not extra-sepulchral, yet these finds have a slightly different association than grave gifts, by attaching the individual to the cult of the Apis as tomb owner.⁸⁰ As to the social background of the shabti donors, it is interesting that although many high officials are among this group, several lower ranking people were attested as well, which seems to suggest a

70 Louvre SH 101, Mariette, *Sérapeum*, pl. 14 and Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 283.

71 Louvre IM 2989, see Bovot, ‘Serviteurs’, 129.

72 Louvre SH 108, Mariette, *Sérapeum*, pl. 14 and Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 283.

73 Louvre SH 105, Mariette, *Sérapeum*, pl. 14 and Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 283.

74 Or Hekaymeheh Louvre IM 3299, see Bovot, ‘Serviteurs’, 126.

75 Louvre IM 2974, see Bovot, ‘Serviteurs’, 126.

76 E.g. Apis shabti Louvre IM 3284, see Bovot, ‘Serviteurs’, 125; Louvre AF 6832, AF 6963, S 1369, S 1380, N 5234, see Bovot, ‘Serviteurs’, 135–137; IM 6036; IM 6042, IM 6052, see Jean-Luc Bovot, In: Charron and Barbotin (eds), *Khâemouaset*, 282–284, and IM 3213 and IM 3153, see Jean Luc Bovot, In: Charron and Barbotin (eds), *Khâemouaset*, 286.

77 Frod, ‘Role-play’, 71 with reference to Jacques-F. Aubert and Liliane Aubert. *Statuettes égyptiennes: chaouabtis, ouchebtis*. Paris: Librairie d’Amérique et d’Orient Adrien Maisonneuve, 1974, 85–86 and 90–92 and see Edwards, ‘Shetayet’, 31.

78 The Serapeum (*Km*) was called *r-gs R3-sbʿw* (i.e. near Rosetau) on the stela of Nectanebos, see Quibell 1907/1908, 84 ff, reference taken from *TLA*; *DZA* 30.596.590). See also Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 277 without references, and that the area between Giza and Saqqara is believed to have been considered as Rosetau by the ancient Egyptians: Edwards, ‘Shetayet’, 28. For associations with Giza and Busiris see p. 35. Note that a group from Gurob has been associated to the veneration of the also there popular Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, see Whelan, *Stick shabtis*, 23. There are some indications that votive shabti may have been presented to the god Ptah-Sokar-Osiris as well, but known examples have no provenance unfortunately. E.g. shabti Leiden inv. no. AF 23 bears an offering formula dedicated to Sokar-Osiris in favour of the Osiris Any, whereas the shabti represents a lady Muttuy, perhaps his wife or mother, see also Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 296–298.

79 Raedler, ‘Prestige’, 150.

80 Perhaps even as a tomb of Osiris, see also e.g. Edwards, ‘Shetayet’, 31–32.

wider accessibility of this votive practice, or perhaps that the lower ranking people were part of reminiscence clusters with the higher-ranking individuals that we're no longer aware of.

Similar observations apply to the stelae, among which are very high officials and people clearly related to the cult of Apis, but also others. These stelae, a total of 13, come from an unclear find context, but at least 10 seem to have been found embedded into the wall between two rooms of the '*petits souterrains*' (called G and H by Mariette).⁸¹ Why Khaemwaset's brother and successor in charge of the Serapeum, Merenptah, could leave his stela there is easily explained.⁸² He is shown in adoration of the Apis bull, protected by a winged *Wedjat*-eye. Underneath are the scribe Tjay and the hereditary prince Sementawy⁸³ (not a son of Ramesses II). Other stelae provide even more detailed information about the mummification of the Apis, such as the two stelae of Pyiay:⁸⁴ These are particularly interesting because they are dated and mention the years 16 and 30 of Ramesses II (Fig. 27).⁸⁵

The lunette of the stela shows the Apis bull and another bull, the Mnevis of Heliopolis, and underneath the king Ramesses II standing in front of an Apis bull in a shrine and being adored by Pyiay, who holds a string of titles relating him to the Apis cult: royal scribe (*sš nsw*), chief lector priest (*hry-ḥb ḥrj-tp*), overseer of the purification and lector priests, (*jmy-rʿ wꜥb hry-ḥb*), overseer of god's sealers (*jmy-rʿ ḥtm.w ntr*), and overseer of the embalmers (*jmy-rʿ wt.w*). Pyiay recites a text while his colleague the 'chief lector priest in the funerary workshop' (*hry-ḥb ḥrj-tp m pr nfr*)⁸⁶ Djehutymes, known as Ramose (vi), provides offerings. Underneath two men are depicted and three mentioned in the text: Djehutymes/Ra-

⁸¹ Frood, 'Role-play', 71–73.

⁸² Christophe Barbotin. 'Stèle du prince héritier Merenptah, successeur de Khâemouaset.' In: *Khâemouaset, le prince archéologue: savoir et pouvoir à l'époque de Ramsès II*. edited by Alain Charron and Christophe Barbotin, 146–147. Gand: Musée départemental Arles antique; Snoeck, 2016. Merenptah was the thirteenth son of Ramesses II, and would become king Merenptah later.

⁸³ As Barbotin notes, Tjay is the owner of TT 23 in Thebes, see also Sergej V. Ivanov. 'The tomb of Tjay (TT 23). Progress report January 2018.' *Egypt and Neighbouring Countries 2* (2018): 1–18 about the recent Russian Archaeological Mission to Luxor (TT 23).

⁸⁴ IM 4963, IM 5936 and IM 6154 (?), see Frood, 'Role-play', 73 with reference to Malinine, Posener, and Vercoutter, *Catalogue I*, 3–7; II, pls 1–2, cat. 4–6 and see Frood's Fig. 6 for stela IM 4963 not published by Malinine, Posener, and Vercoutter, *Catalogue*. And see recently Stéphanie Porcier. 'Stèle déposée en l'honneur d'un tureau Apis et du pretre Pyiay.' In: *Khâemouaset, le prince archéologue: savoir et pouvoir à l'époque de Ramsès II*. edited by Alain Charron and Christophe Barbotin, 150–151. Gand: Musée départemental Arles antique; Snoeck, 2016.

⁸⁵ Cf. Porcier, 'Pyiay', 150–151.

⁸⁶ Wb I, 517.11.



Fig. 27: Stela of Pyiai. © Musée du Louvre with kind permission by Vincent Rondot.

mose (vi)'s son Ptahy – who was purification and lector priest of the funerary workshop (*w^cb hry-ḥb m pr nfr*), chamberlain at the place of Apis (*jmy-ḥnt m s.t ḥp*), and councilor at the place of Mnevis (*jm.j js m s.t Mr-wr*) – then probably again his father (?) (*hry-tp m pr nfr*) Ramose (vi) or (vii),⁸⁷ and a man called Ipu (who was purification and lector priest in the ‘harem’ of the royal palace (*w^cb hry-ḥb.t m pr-ḥnr n pr nsw*)). The two men are shown holding ritual implements

⁸⁷ Although it would seem somewhat odd that Ramose would then be shown and named in the second place, perhaps it is rather a namesake, who was just lector priest.

for the mummification of the Apis, while the text left beside them provides details of the mummification of the Apis and again a date:

Year 30, 3rd month of the summer-season, day 20 under the lord of the two lands Ramesses II [etc.⁸⁸] may he be given life daily for eternity. On this day the majesty of the Apis was brought in procession (*wḏ*⁸⁹) to the watery region (*Qbḥ.w*⁹⁰) in order to rest [in] the pure place under Anubis [where] his body was embalmed (*swdḥ*⁹¹), his efflux (*rḏw*⁹²) was removed (*dr*⁹³), his decomposition (*jwtjw*⁹⁴) was dismembered (*bḥn*⁹⁵) in order to wrap him (*wt*⁹⁶) [in?] the pure place of the gold house, and have his mouth opened with incense, so he may be made divine with the *Wedjat*-eye, on the day of the Opening of the Mouth, so he may set (*rḏj*⁹⁷) in the body of Nut, like the *Ba* of the lord of the red land in the arms of his mother, shine (*wḥw*⁹⁸) [...] his secret image (*sšḥ*⁹⁹) with clothes and adornments (*db.w*¹⁰⁰) of “the ones belonging to the chapel of Osiris in the temple of Neith in Sais” (*jmy sḥw rs-n.t*¹⁰¹), the northerners (*mḥ.tjw*¹⁰²) of the offering field (*šḥ.t-ḥtp.t*), and the cool ones in the big water for your *Ka* in peace under your sky, for your eternity for your head, Osiris Apis, may you give bread and beer, water, a fresh breeze, and all the good things.

So clearly here we see colleagues of Piyai at work for the Apis, apparently using their skills and knowledge also for the Mnevis-bull, shown in the lunette. Since two dates are mentioned, it would seem plausible that they also attended the earlier burial and commemorated their work and social ties for eternity by donating the stela to the funeral in year 30 of king Ramesses II.

Similarly, the stela of the ‘mourner of Apis’ (*ts.t n ḥp*) Sakhmetnofret¹⁰³ is clearly related to the cult and funeral of the Apis. Sakhmetnofret is shown in

88 Note that the cartouche is reversed to look in the same direction as the king standing in front of the Apis bull, i. e. to the right, whereas the rest of the text reads from left to right.

89 Wb I, 403.2–1.

90 Wb V, 29.5–13.

91 Wb IV, 368.6–8.

92 Wb II, 469.5–19.

93 Wb V, 473.1–474.12.

94 Wb I, 48.15.

95 Wb I, 468.18.

96 Wb I, 379.4–6.

97 Wb II, 464.1–468.15.

98 Wb I, 250.3.

99 Wb IV, 299.14–16.

100 Wb V, 556.11–558.8.

101 Wb II, 453.14.

102 Wb II, 126.4–5.

103 IM 6153 (not 6163!), see Frood, ‘Role-play’, 73–74 and see Didier Devauchelle. ‘Les stèles du Nouvel Empire au Sérapéum de Memphis.’ In: *Khâemouaset, le prince archéologue: savoir et pouvoir à l’époque de Ramsès II*. edited by Alain Charron and Christophe Barbotin, 144–145. Gand:

adoration and presenting flowers to the Apis bull standing on a throne while a *Wedjat*-eye flies above him spreading its sun-wing in protection. Underneath the lector priest of Ptah Ptahhotep, and the ladies Inhetemwia and Hely,¹⁰⁴ stand in front of the seated god Osiris. The relationship between these people is unknown, but the titles suggest once again that the stela owner Sakhmetnofret shared her social and spiritual capital with a colleague (the priest) and two women, who might also have been mourners, although that is uncertain in absence of any titles.

Other stela donors have a less clear association to the god Apis, such as the *ḥry ṣṣty* Khonsu,¹⁰⁵ who is shown in adoration of the Apis bull standing in a shrine together with his wife Nedjet and their daughter Ria.¹⁰⁶ The title *ṣṣty* may tentatively be translated as ‘tax officer’,¹⁰⁷ but given another stela attesting some individuals entitled ‘*ṣṣbw*’ (i.e. skippers), perhaps the *ṣṣty* here could be shortened spelling? In the second register, Khonsu’s son, the lector priest Amenemope (vii), Khonsu’s wife,¹⁰⁸ the mistress of the house Nedjet, and her daughters Sakhmet, Wernury, and Pet, and her sons Pamershenouty and Huynefer worship the god Osiris.¹⁰⁹ None of these bear any titles related to the Apis cult. The stela seems to be unfinished as the third figure has no head and beside it there are just some scratches of a figure and possibly a tree. The offering formula in the lunette is dedicated to Apis-Atum, “whose horns are on his head” and seems to provide an example of family commemoration. It would be interesting to know, if this Pamershenouty is the same individual who potentially donated a vase of shabti to Tia (see above, Figs. 20a–c). Unfortunately, the shabtis bear no title other than ‘Osiris’, and there is no known relation between Tia and Pamer-

Musée départemental Arles antique; Snoeck, 2016. 137–147; and Malinine, Posener, and Vercouter, *Catalogue* I, 8–9 and II, pl. IV

104 IM 6153 (not 6163!), see Frood, ‘Role-play’, 73–74 and see Devauchelle, ‘Stèles’, 144–145. Devauchelle (‘Stèles’, 144) and Frood (‘Role-play’, 74) read Hotepptah, but this should clearly be an honorific transposition.

105 Louvre IM 4964, see Devauchelle, ‘Stèles’, 140–141 and see Malinine, Posener, and Vercouter, *Catalogue* I, 7–8 and pl. III.

106 Louvre IM 4964, see Devauchelle, ‘Stèles’, 140–141 and see Frood, ‘Role-play’, 75. Names read also thanks to the help of *TLA*, *DZA* 29.939.750.

107 A tentative translation as ‘*Steuerbeamter*’ for *ḥry-ṣṣty.t* is found in the *TLA*, lemma no. and left untranslated in *Wb* IV, 406.2. The term seems to be a hapax legomenon, see *TLA*, *DZA* 29.939.750, which makes the ranking of the office in the hierarchy of the Egyptian administration difficult, yet it seems at any rate lower than that of a prince or mayor.

108 Although it is also possible that Amenemone (vii)’s wife was also called Nedjet, it seems that the fact that the text refers to her children clarifies that the lady represented was not his wife, but perhaps rather his mother.

109 Devauchelle, ‘Stèles’, 140–141.

shenouty, so the idea that this very same Pamershenouty from the Louvre stela also engaged in shabti donation remains speculative.

The stela showing the ššbw¹¹⁰ is that of the skipper Kamose, the skipper Patemahet,¹¹¹ and the singer of Amun Ja (?) in adoration of the seated god Osiris and the four sons of Horus emerging from a lotus (Fig. 28).¹¹² Underneath stands the chief skipper (*hry nfw.w*¹¹³) Mainehes (?) of the troop of pharaoh l.p.h. (*hry nfw p3 s3 n pr 3 ˆ.w.s*)¹¹⁴, and then to the right the chief of the singers (*hry šm ˆ.w*¹¹⁵). Panehsy again is followed by the title “overseer of the crew of pharaoh l.p.h.” Both men were clearly colleagues in the military and sail together on a barque that carries a shrine and a sphinx wearing the double crown. Panehsy holds an oar, adorned with a head of a king wearing the divine beard and the double crown. The barque is thus that of the king as also indicated in the title just mentioned. Given that the stela was found in the Serapeum, I wonder if there could be a connection between the sailing of pharaoh’s barque and the reference in Piyai’s stela above mentioning that the “majesty of the Apis went in procession (*wḏ3*) to the watery region (*Qbh.w*)”. Although this aspect of the Apis funeral is otherwise unknown, it could indicate some element of the ritual that involved the royal barque joining the trip to the watery region, which could refer to the marshlands on the way from or to Memphis. At any rate, the three people shared and commemorated their profession here, in adoration of the king, and perhaps also the Apis.¹¹⁶ While ‘skipper’ may not have an association of high rank in English, the fact that the two men are shown alone on the barque with the king along with their titles of overseers of the royal crew suggest they were quite high-ranking officials and very close to the Egyptian king.

Interestingly in this respect, there was also a connection between the Apis bull and the veneration of the earlier kings, as the stela of My shows the Old

110 Here the sail determinative suggests a reading as ‘skipper’ see Wb IV, 410.10.

111 The inventory of Louvre IM 3750 calls him “Pasedjemnehet”. See also *TLA*, *DZA* 29.948.370.

112 See also Baudouin van de Walle and Herman De Meulenaere. ‘Compléments à la prosopographie médicale.’ *Revue d’Égyptologie* 25 (1973): 67.

113 Wb II, 251.1–7.

114 The abbreviations “l.p.h.” and “ˆ.w.s” mean “life, prosperity, and health”.

115 Wb IV, 478.12–479.6.

116 Although the Apis’ connection to the king is perhaps best known for the Late and Graeco-Roman periods, the bull had a royal association in very early Egyptian history already, see e.g. Stan Hendrickx, Frank Förster, and Merel Eyckerman. ‘Le taureau à l’époque prédynastique et son importance pour le développement de l’iconographie royale – avec un excursus sur l’origine du sceptre héqa.’ In: *Les taureaux de l’Égypte ancienne: publication éditée à l’occasion de la 14e rencontre d’Égyptologie de Nîmes* edited by Sydney H. Aufrère, 33–73. Nîmes: Association égyptologique du Gard, 2020.



Fig. 28: Stela showing the royal barque. © Musée du Louvre with kind permission by Vincent Rondot.

Kingdom king Teti – accompanied by the god Horus – offering a flower bouquet to Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys, while the donor stands in adoration of the Apis bull in the lower register (Fig. 29).¹¹⁷ As Malek already noted, the deified king Teti bore the epithet *Mr-n-Pth* (“attached to Ptah”), which may refer to his pyramid being on the processional route to the Serapeum.¹¹⁸ From the title in the offering formula in the shrine on which the Apis stands, it is clear that My was also a priest of the Apis.

It seems that most stela owners that were allowed to weave themselves into the cult of the Apis by means of stela donation had some sort of attachment to

¹¹⁷ Louvre IM 5305, see Malinine, Posener, and Vercoutter, *Catalogue*, no. 11 and see Malek, ‘Old and new’, 68.

¹¹⁸ Louvre IM 5305, and see Malek, ‘Old and new’, 71.

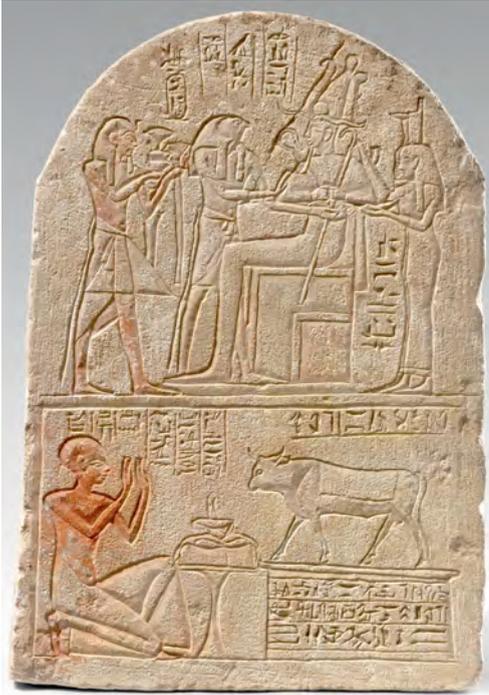


Fig. 29: Stela of My. © Musée du Louvre inv. IM 5305 with kind permission by Vincent Rondot.

his cult, although that cannot be proven for all individuals and, again, that privilege could subsequently be shared with colleagues or family members. A professional involvement with the Apis, and perhaps the relatively late dating of the characters we recognise, may explain why the mayor Ptahmose (v) is the only known Saqqara tomb owner to have dedicated a stela “in the passage outside the tomb”.¹¹⁹ This stela can also be dated to year 30 of Ramesses II¹²⁰ (which is mentioned on Pyiai’s stelae), and of course most of the Saqqara tombs we discussed are of an earlier date. As Elizabeth Frood notes, Ptahmose (v) is the highest-ranking official person of the stelae group and the only one who also has a votive shabti,¹²¹ yet in view of the findings above, perhaps it was not the shabti

¹¹⁹ Berlandini, ‘Memphitica V’, 102, see Frood, ‘Role-play’, 70–71 and Fig. 2.

¹²⁰ Louvre IM 5268–69, see Devauchelle, ‘Stèles’, 142–143 and Malinine, Posener, and Vercouter, *Catalogue I*, 9–11, pl. III–IV.

¹²¹ Frood, ‘Role-play’, 71.

that was the privilege but the stela – although people like Merenptah above were even higher ranking, being a prince and son of the king. The stela decoration is divided into three registers. Above Ptahmose (v) and his wife Iuhebet stand in adoration before the seated god Ptah. Underneath, in the middle register a man called Hetas (?) offers incense to an Apis bull standing in a shrine followed by his wife, Tadmessu.¹²² Underneath a man called Sekery provides incense followed by three adoring and mourning women called Tadmessu (?), Hely (?), and Jara. Their relationship to Ptahmose (v) is unclear. One may wonder if indeed, the lady Hely might be the same character as mentioned on the stela of Sakhmetnofret mentioned above.

In summary, the Serapeum stelae and shabtis again provide only a minor snapshot of what might have been a wider votive practice with the aim of veneration of the deified bull, as well as once again writing a very specific commemoration history. Hopefully future excavations of the Louvre Museum will shed more light on the matter, but for the moment it is clear that representation and gift-giving were not random, but followed very explicit strategies by which ‘remembrance clusters’ were commemorated in the tombs, as well as in the temples.

4.3 Statue cults at Memphis and beyond

In that respect, another group of objects are now discussed in more detail to better understand the underlying practices. In the Saqqara tombs, statues usually represent dyads of the tomb owner and his wife (e.g. Maya and Merit, Meryneith and Anuy)¹²³ or individuals (e.g. Horemheb, Maya, Merit, Ptahmose (v)), and they were usually inscribed with brief *pr.t*-offering formulae.¹²⁴ In the Rameside period, statues of the deceased couple with divine figures appear (e.g. Pabes, Tatia, Nemtyemes) as well as naophorous statues (e.g. Tjairy, Hormin), which have been linked to the idea of an increasing role of chapels for the combined cult of both the deceased and gods, i.e. simultaneously praying for and benefitting from the divine favour.¹²⁵ We have seen above that reality was more complex and, even in divine veneration, tomb owners made clear choices regarding whom to include in that cult (and sometimes whom to remove, as in the case of Tia, see above). Most prominently still, the Egyptian gods resided

¹²² Devauchelle reads Tadenitchou (?), see Devauchelle, ‘Stèles’, 142.

¹²³ Compare e.g. Martin, ‘Dyad’, 307–311.

¹²⁴ Compare e.g. Weiss, ‘Royal Administration’ with Leiden examples and references.

¹²⁵ E.g. Hofmann, *Privatgräber*, 128.

in temples where they received offerings from the king (who in daily life was represented by priests) in return for maintaining the well-being of the Egyptian state.¹²⁶ An ongoing discussion concerns the question of how accessible those temples were to private individuals, and if so, how often, and when.¹²⁷ What is clear is that in some areas votive practices were performed (see also above) and at least some elite members of society could set up statues in the valley temples.¹²⁸ Like the tomb statues, these were highly idealised representations of individuals or (family) groups, which are usually understood as actual representatives of the depicted person¹²⁹ and as a point of contact for human interaction, raising again the issue of the audience and whether all texts on a statue could actually always be read,¹³⁰ and by whom. Frood recently suggested considering the agency of the statue as actor (“may it breathe incense etc.”).¹³¹ What is important in that respect is that not every statue (in the sense of ‘a technical object’ (i. e. *‘handwerkliches Objekt’*)) is automatically an acting person,¹³² but that it was

126 See e.g. Katherine Eaton. *Ancient Egyptian temple ritual: performance, pattern, and practice*. *Routledge Studies in Egyptology* 1. New York; Abingdon: Routledge, 2013; and Stadler, ‘Kultgeschehen’, 47–71 On temples as economic centers see e.g. Ben Haring. ‘Rameside temples and the economic interests of the state: crossroads of the sacred and the profane.’ In: *Das Heilige und die Ware: Eigentum, Austausch und Kapitalisierung im Spannungsfeld von Ökonomie und Religion* edited by Martin Fitzenreiter, 165–170. London: Golden House, 2007.

127 In a detailed study Griffin recently demonstrated once again that forecourts, doorways, contra-temples, and also some of the smaller shrines and chapels were accessible to the public, see Kenneth Griffin. *All the rxyt-people adore: the role of the rekhyt-people in Egyptian religion*. GHP Egyptology 29. London: Golden House Publications, 2018, 115–134. Ohara, *Memphis*, 85 argues against accessibility.

128 The existing literature is extensive, see e.g. most recently Aurélia Masson-Berghoff (ed.). *Statues in context: production, meaning and (re)uses*. *British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan* 10. Leuven: Peeters, 2019.

129 E.g. Annette Kjølbj. ‘Material Agency, Attribution and Experience of Agency in Ancient Egypt’ In: *‘Being in Ancient Egypt’: Thoughts on Agency, Materiality and Cognition*. *Proceedings of the seminar held in Copenhagen, September 29–30, 2006* edited by Rune Nyord and Annette Kjølbj, 36. Oxford: Archeopress, 2009. Sabine Kubisch has recently provided a very good summary of these texts that appear on tomb walls and statues, and thereby noted the close connection between biographical text and offering cults, see Kubisch, ‘Verdienste’, 516.

130 E.g. Frood, ‘Statues’, 16. Note that Kubisch considers a wider audience in temples than in tombs, see Kubisch, ‘Verdienste’, 517.

131 Frood, ‘Statues’, 6. The common translation of the suffix *ꜥ* would be “he” referring to the statue owner (in this case Maanakhtef, see Louvre E 12926), but theoretically her translation is possible, especially because the previous phrase mentions that the statue (*tw*) shall be caused to rest firmly (*rwꜥ*) in the festival court of the temple of Medamut.

132 Compare references from later wisdom texts as quoted by Joachim F. Quack. ‘Bilder vom Mundöffnungsritual – Mundöffnung an Bildern.’ In: *Bild und Ritual. Visuelle Kulturen in Histor-*

the ritual action that brought life to a statue,¹³³ just like in the case of the Apis above. Statues were thus an important vector for individual agency,¹³⁴ yet different from the reliefs discussed in chapter 2 and – at least to some extent – portable ones.¹³⁵ Interestingly, the matter of proximity that we discussed in terms of social and spiritual capital in relief representations is also attested for statue groups. For example, the vizier Paramessu (*temp.* Ramesses II) seems to have put his statues very close to those of the famous Amenhotep son of Hapu (*temp.* Amenhotep III) (see below).¹³⁶ The reason we have so few examples attesting such practices is probably the frequent cleaning activities at the time and the disturbing that came after.¹³⁷ As discussed in chapter 3 for the tomb statues, temple statues were meant also to receive offerings – serving as a commemoration vehicle so that the individual or group could be remembered by the living – and provided physical presence in a given spot (i.e. in both tombs and temple).¹³⁸ A good example is the family statue of the chief of the Medjay Amenemone (vi) (*temp.* Ramesses II) now in Naples (Fig. 30),¹³⁹ which explains in detail which religious actions were expected – namely libations with water and oil and the recitation of the name of the statue owner – and his extended reminiscence cluster also appear on the statue in both sculpture and inscriptions (with names and titles):

ischer Perspektive edited by Claus Ambos, Petra Rösch, Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter, 19. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2010; and see Winter, ‘Agency’.

133 Quack, ‘Mundöffnung’, 19.

134 Ockinga offered a very interesting lexical study of ancient Egyptian terminology suggesting that the Egyptians distinguished between statues that were carried around in processions and those that were in principle hidden: Ockinga, *Gottebenbildlichkeit*, 125–127. This chapter only discusses accessible tomb and temple statues.

135 Froot, *Biographical Texts*, 10.

136 Mathieu, ‘Daressy’, 850–851, with reference to Christiane Desroches Noblecourt. *Ramsès II: la véritable histoire*. Paris: Pygmalion, 1996, 63.

137 Compare e.g. the attempts of recontextualisation by Laurent Coulon, Yves Egels, Emmanuel Jambon, and Emmanuel Laroze. ‘Looking for contexts: recent work on the Karnak Cachette Project.’ In: *Statues in context: production, meaning and (re)uses* edited by Aurélia Masson-Berghoff, 209–228. Leuven: Peeters, 2019.

138 Kjølbj, ‘Agency’, 35 and see also e.g. Froot, *Biographical Texts*, 7 and Colleen Manassa Darnell. ‘Self-presentation in the Ramesside period.’ In: *Living forever: self-presentation in ancient Egypt* edited by Hussein Bassir, 163. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2019, 163 with reference to Geraldine Pinch. *Votive offerings to Hathor*. Oxford: Griffith Institute; Ashmolean Museum, 1993, 242–243.

139 Group statue, Naples inv. no. 1069, see Museo archeologico Nazionale di Napoli 1989, 35–37 (Fig. 3.1) KRI III, 272.4–10 and Shubert, *Appeal*, 211–212.

He says: O god's servants and pure ones of this temple! Give me water and anoint for me with best oil, for I did benefactions for the gods, when I was upon earth. My father conferred benefits on all his family, when he was a chief in southern Heliopolis [i.e. Thebes]; and you [shall be] likewise before my lord. He says to the deputies, great ones, and Medjay chiefs, and to every Medjay of this area: "Give me water, pronounce my name, for I did benefactions when I was on earth. For the *Ka* of Amenemone (vi).¹⁴⁰



Fig. 30: Group statue of Amenemone (vi). © courtesy of the Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli – foto di Giorgio Albano.

The main beneficiary is Amenemone (vi)'s *Ka*, thus serving as an intermediary.¹⁴¹ A statue now in the British Museum (BM EA 1377) makes even clearer that a statue can act on behalf of its owner:

¹⁴⁰ *ḏd=f j.ḥmw-nṯr w^c.b.w n r(3)-pr pn jmm n=j mw wrḥ.w n=j tpyw jryw jt=j 3ḥ.w n ḥ3w=f nbw ḏr wn=f m r3-ḥry m Iwnw rsy ntn mjt(y)t m-b3ḥ nb=j ḏd=f n jdnw wrw ḥryw mḏ3w n mḏ3w nb n dmj pn jmn=j n=j mw dmw rn=j jryw 3ḥ.w ḏr wn=j tp t3 n k3 n Jmn-m-jn.t*

¹⁴¹ Compare also Pirelli, 'Imeneminet'.

O statue (*hntj*) you are before the lords of the scared land. Place yourself as the memory of my name in the domain of the lords of Thinis. You are here for me as “chapel wall” (?). You are my true body.¹⁴²

The representation by means of being a “chapel wall” (?) (*jnh.t*)¹⁴³ is not very clear, and not even a certain translation as the term is otherwise unknown. Yet it is clear that what is meant is that the statue embodies the owner. Possibly rituals were already performed during the creation and placement of the statue.¹⁴⁴ What is interesting is that Kubisch recently argued that by putting biographical inscriptions on temple statues, they were disconnected from the tomb context, while the main aim of these texts was “to trigger offerings in the context of the cult for the deceased”.¹⁴⁵ That biographical texts appear also in the domestic context in the Amarna period¹⁴⁶ is interpreted as a shift towards an audience of the living for those texts by Kubisch,¹⁴⁷ which is odd if we consider that the audience were always the living if only *beside* any spiritual beings. More importantly, her wording as “leaving the after-life-related world”¹⁴⁸ advocates once again two separate worlds, which should actually be one. This is clear from several temple statues explicitly mentioning the necropolis, a great indication for the concept of a shared cultural geography in which people moved around flexibly. Some references are quite vague, such as the statue of the 18th-dynasty vizier Amenuser (*temp.* Thutmosis III), who wishes that his name (of a noble blessed one) is established in the necropolis (*ssh šps smn(w) m-ḥ m hr.t-ntr*).¹⁴⁹ His wish seems to reflect a general

142 Ockinga, *Gottebenbildlichkeit*, 57.

143 *Jnh.t* is not attested in the Berlin *Wörterbuch* (Wb). Ockinga, *Gottebenbildlichkeit*, 57 translates “tomb enclosure”. Guillemette Andreu and Sylvie Cauville suggest “*mur de chapelle*”, which I follow here, see Guillemette Andreu and Sylvie Cauville. ‘Vocabulaire absent du Wörterbuch (I).’ *Revue d’Égyptologie* 29 (1977): 5–13 and *TLA*, lemma no. 27680.

144 Frood, *Biographical Texts*, 8.

145 Kubisch, ‘Verdienste’, 518–519.

146 Unfortunately no reference is added by Kubisch, but possibly she refers to the biographical inscriptions on Amarna house doors, see Julia Budka. *Der König an der Haustür: die Rolle des ägyptischen Herrschers an dekorierten Türgewänden von Beamten im Neuen Reich. Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien 94; Beiträge zur Ägyptologie* (19). Vienna: Afro-Pub, 2001, 39–41.

147 Kubisch, ‘Verdienste’, 519.

148 Kubisch, ‘Verdienste’, 518–519.

149 CG 42118, see Shubert, *Appeal*, 210–211 and Urk IV, 1036.13 and see also of the same person stela Grenoble 1954, see Shubert, *Appeal*, 225–226 and Urk IV, 1032.5, although the latter is a tomb stela of TT 131 and hence not surprising to have a reference to the stela owner’s memory (*shš*, see Wb IV, 232.12–233.26) in the necropolis. Yet another statue of the same person with a similar wording was situated in the Akhmenu at Karnak and is now in the Louvre Museum

desire to reach a blessed state and to be remembered. There is some evidence, however, that the temple statues did play a more concrete role in the memory in the necropolis, an idea in fact already offered by Hans Kayser,¹⁵⁰ which seems to have been forgotten by subsequent scholars over time. For example, the scribe Djehuty, also called Iuy (*temp.* Thutmosis III/Amenhotep II), says on his statue, now in the Brooklyn Museum, to the lector priests, *Ka*-priests, and scribes:

who shall see this statue, my image and my heir on earth, my remembrance in the necropolis. May the king of your time favour you and may your nose be refreshed with life, when you say an offering formula to Amun [...], for the *Ka* of the scribe Djehuty.¹⁵¹

Clearly, the statue of Djehuty asks the visitors of the temple to make an offering to the god Amun for the benefit of Djehuty (or to be precise to his *Ka*¹⁵²) and in return get royal favour and a nose “refreshed with life”.¹⁵³ Interestingly, the statue is said to be not only the “image and heir” or the statue owner “on earth” (*snn=j jwʿw=j tp tʃ*), i.e. in the temple, but also explicitly his “remembrance in the necropolis (*shʃ=j m hr.t-ntr*)”, raising once again the question of how frequently the tombs in the necropolis were actually visited, and whether some people may have visited the necropolis only rarely, mostly stayed in Memphis, and venerated their ancestors at home or in the local temples and shrines.

(block statue Louvre A. 127 (E 6248), see Shubert, *Appeal*, 224–225 and see Schulz, *Statuentypus*, 481–482).

150 Hans Kayser. *Die Tempelstatuen ägyptischer Privatleute im mittleren und neuen Reich*. Heidelberg: Hörning, 1936, 3–4 with reference to a statue of Idj. Noel Weeks. “‘Care’ of officials in the Egyptian Old Kingdom.” *Chronique d’Égypte* 58 (115–116) (1983): 5–22. I would like to thank Joachim F. Quack for kindly sending me a scan of Kayser’s publication.

151 (*mʃʃ.t(y)=sn twt pn snn=j jwʿw=j tp tʃ shʃ=j m hr.t-ntr hs=tn nsw n rk=tn hwn fnd=tn m ʿnh dd=tn htp-dj-nsw Jmn* [etc.] *n kʃ n sš Dḥwtj* [etc.]), Brooklyn Museum inv. no. 37.30, see Shubert, *Appeal*, 296–297. Shubert reads *twt(=j)* a reconstruction which is supported by parallels such as the next example, but which in view of the demonstrative *pn* doesn’t seem strictly necessary.

152 On the concept e.g. recently Rune Nyord. ‘The concept of ka between Egyptian and Egyptological frameworks.’ *Concepts in Middle Kingdom funerary culture: proceedings of the Lady Wallis Budge anniversary symposium held at Christ’s College, Cambridge, 22 January 2016* edited by Rune Nyord, 150–203. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019; and see Eberhard Kusber. *Der altägyptische Ka – “Seele” oder “Persönlichkeit”?*. Tübingen: Unpublished PhD dissertation, 2005, see <http://hdl.handle.net/10900/46252>. Accessed on 29 March 2022.

153 Compare also references for *fnd* in *TLA*, lemma-no. 63920 and *Wb* I, 577.10–15. Breathing life through the nose was also associated with endurance. For example, a literary work that Egyptologists call “the Eloquent peasant” attests the proverb saying “Doing Maat is breath for the nose” (*tʃw pw n fnd jr.t Mʃʃ.t*), see *TLA*, *DZA* 23.573.940.

Quite similar is a text on Senenmut's (*temp.* Hatshepsut) sistrophorous statue from the Mut temple in Karnak (now in the Cairo Museum)¹⁵⁴ that addresses temple staff (*wnw.t ḥw.t-ntr*¹⁵⁵), saying those

who shall see my statue, my likeness, [for the sake of] maintaining my memory in the necropolis¹⁵⁶

shall benefit from the goddess Mut's favour when an offering formula is recited on her behalf. Again the statue serves as an intermediary between the offering person and the goddess Mut, which is 'what statues do', but it is interesting that again the idea is to help to maintain the statue owner's memory not just in general and also not just in the temple of the goddess Mut, where the offering was being performed, but explicitly *in the necropolis*. This is perhaps also the context in which the famous Theban tomb inscription of Samut-Kiki should be understood, namely as placing himself under the goddess Mut's patronage in the sense of donation versus cult.¹⁵⁷

Other statues, like the chief steward Amenhotep (*temp.* Amenhotep III), refer to offerings *in his tomb* (*ḥr js-ḥ*).¹⁵⁸ On the left thigh of the statue, he addresses all priests and officials who shall be within the walls (*ḥprt(y).f(y) m jnb.w*) of the temple of Ptah in Memphis:

Do not obstruct my bread offering which my god, who is within me, has commanded to me in order to pour out water for me at my tomb.¹⁵⁹

And on the base of the statue, he continues that

154 CG 579, see James H. Breasted. *Ancient records of Egypt: historical documents from the earliest times to the Persian conquest* II. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906, sections 349–358.

155 The hour-priesthood of the temple, see Wb I, 317.8.

156 *m33.t(y)=sn twt-ḥ snn-ḥ [n-mr.t mn] sh3-ḥ m ḥr.t-ntr*, see Shubert, *Appeal*, 281 and Urk IV, 412.11.

157 A more common previous interpretation is that Samut-Kiki does not trust the patron-client system and gives himself entirely in the hand of the goddess Mut, see e. g. Andrea M. Gnirs. 'Der Tod des Selbst. Die Wandlungen der Jenseitsvorstellungen in der Ramessidenzeit.' In: *Grab und Totenkult im alten Ägypten* edited by Heike Guksch, Eva Hofmann, and Martin Bommas, 181–183. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2003. Instead of a particular "Gottesfürchtigkeit", the absence of heirs is, however, perhaps more plausible.

158 Literally it is of course 'my' tomb from the perspective of the speaking statue: Ashmolean 1913.163, see Shubert, *Appeal*, 212–213.

159 *jmj tn ḥnty ḥr p3w.t-ḥ wd(w) n-ḥ ntr-ḥ jmy-ḥ r stt n-ḥ mw ḥr js-ḥ*, see Shubert, *Appeal*, 213 and Urk IV, 1798.18–19.

(anyone) who shall hold back my bread offering which Ptah-south-of-his-wall has commanded for me (...) being what Amenhotep III has given to me to offer for me at my tomb because my favour is with him¹⁶⁰

shall be punished by taking away his office and it given to his enemy, among other things. Apparently, the audience addressed here are not just regular visitors but professional priests with the theoretical ability to hold back offerings from his temple endowment,¹⁶¹ perhaps to consume them themselves or put them somewhere else. It is clear that this would be considered an abuse of office. Yet it is interesting that the priests of the Memphis temple could somehow be able to hold back *tomb* offerings in theory.

Even more explicit, on the base of the statue Amenhotep says:

anyone who shall give my offering loaf to the lector priest who is in my house every day¹⁶²

will be rewarded by a pleasant life and the possibility to pass his office on to his children. Shubert translates *pr* with ‘tomb/house’, which is possible,¹⁶³ but far more ambiguous than the previously used *js*, meaning ‘tomb’ only.¹⁶⁴ The translation ‘house’ could hint at a close acquaintance and frequent visitors of Amenhotep’s house(hold), who were also responsible for the offerings in the tomb. At any rate this priest was meant to get (additional?) offerings for Amenhotep’s tomb cult from whoever read the appeal and acted accordingly.¹⁶⁵ So here, different from the examples above, a middleman (the priest) was deemed necessary to actually transfer the offerings to the tomb.

Curiously, it seems that there is at least some evidence that the transfer of favours does not only work between temple and necropolis, but also from one temple to another. A stela found thrown into a shaft of an 11th-dynasty tomb within the precinct of the temple of Mentuhotep II in Deir el-Bahari is particularly interesting in this respect.¹⁶⁶ Dating to the 19th dynasty, it was placed there

160 *nty jw=f r jsq p3w.t=j wd n(y=j) Pth-rsj-jnb=f (...)* *m dd n=j Nb-M3c.t-Rc r w3h n=j hr js=j n-wr-n hsw=j hr=f*, see Shubert, *Appeal*, 213 and Urk IV, 1799.19–1800.3.

161 See also Morschauser, *Threat-formulae*, 180 and Urk IV 1799.14–1800.7.

162 *nty jw=f p3w.t=j nhry-hb jmy pr=j m hr.t r^c nb* see Shubert, *Appeal*, 215 and Urk IV, 1800.12.

163 Wb I, 511.7–516.1.

164 Wb I, 126.18–24.

165 See also Shubert, *Appeal*, 324.

166 See Édouard Naville. *The XIth dynasty temple at Deir el-Bahari* III. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1913, 4 and pl. 8 and see Henry R. Hall. *Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae*. London: British Museum, 1922, pls 48–49, see Shubert, *Appeal*, 290–291. The same *Didia* is also known from a statue found in the Karnak cachette (CG 42122 = JE 36951), which is inscribed

originally when the temple of Mentuhotep had become a votive space to the gods Amun and Hathor.¹⁶⁷ The stela shows the triad of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu facing two rows of gods: on top the gods Min, Isis, Thoth, Shu, and Hathor; and underneath Osiris, Horus, Anubis, Hathor, a curious jackal-headed divine daughter of the Djed-pillar, and Nephthys (Fig. 31a). Édouard Naville already remarked the absence of the deceased who might have been depicted on the lower part which is lost.¹⁶⁸ Underneath this scene, the name of the stela owner is identified as the chief draftsman of Amun, Didia son of Hatiay, who lived in the reign of king Seti I. Didia praises Amun, Re, Atum, Shu, Tefnut, and Geb before the stela is broken off. The thick sides of the granite stela contain an appeal to the living. It is the right-hand side (Figs 31b and c) that makes it interesting, where Didia says:

as for everyone who shall present a libation before this image of Amun-of-Karnak and his Ennead, may offerings be presented to you in the temple of Amun, and a bouquet in the temples of Mut and Khonsu. May your words be heard in Heliopolis, be repeated in Thebes (and may your name endure) {note: it is tempting to add 'in the necropolis'}.¹⁶⁹

Another very interesting text that mentions the combination of offering cult for the deceased and the gods is stela Cairo CG 34054¹⁷⁰ which was probably placed in a tomb.¹⁷¹ The text begins with the common instruction to offer cold water and incense and the wish to leave and enter the tomb daily.¹⁷² But then it continues

with a common appeal to the living. Interesting is also stela Louvre C 50 on which the same Didia commemorates seven generations of office and indeed his foreign descent: Donald A. Lowle. 'A remarkable family of draughtsmen-painters from early Nineteenth-Dynasty Thebes.' *Oriens Antiquus* 15 (1976): 91–106.

167 Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* III, 1. It has been suggested, however, that Mentuhotep II in the first place chose the valley for his temple because of an existing cult for the goddess Hathor, see Elke Blumenthal. *Kuhgöttin und Gottkönig. Frömmigkeit und Staatstreue auf der Stele ägyptisches Museum 5141*. Leipzig: Ägyptisches Museum der Universität Leipzig, 2000, 35–49 and see Yasser Sabek. *Die hieratischen Besucher-Graffiti dsr-3ḥ.t in Deir el-Bahari. Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie* 18. London: Golden House Publications, 2016, 4.

168 Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* III, 4.

169 jr p3 nty nb jw=f r dj.t qbḥ m-b3ḥ twt pn n(y) Jmn-n-ip.t n psd=f ḥnk=tw n=tn ḥtpt m pr Jmn ḥḥ m pr Mw.t ḥnsw sḏm=tw m(w)dw.t=tn m Iwnw wḥm=tw=w m W3s.t mn m[=tn {m ḥr.t-ntr?}] Stela BM 706, see Shubert, *Appeal*, 290–291 and KRI I, 331.3–4.

170 Pierre Lacau. *Stèles du Nouvel Empire: 34001–34189. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* 50, 81. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1909–1957, 97.

171 Assmann, *Totenliturgien* II, 510.

172 Assmann, *Totenliturgien* II, 509.



Figs. 31a–c: Stela BM 706. Front view and right-hand side. © Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

with “may one offer to your statues in the offering hall of Ptah-south-of-his-wall, of Heker (?) and Nefertem, and all gods of the west”.¹⁷³ Such a statue could be Turin, Museo Egizio 769 with a *ḥtp-dj-nsw* formula to Ptah-south-of-his-wall which is even more interesting because its inscriptions combine elements usually considered temple vs. mortuary religion (Figs. 32a–b).¹⁷⁴

As part of the offering formula the text requests “may your mummy be raised in front of Re in the columned courtyard of your tomb”,¹⁷⁵ which refers to the funerary ritual of the deceased.¹⁷⁶ The text then continues with several wishes for the afterlife such as the ability to move in and out the tomb and be justified in the underworld.¹⁷⁷ What makes the statue fragment so interesting is that later the text says “may your statue be fed [i.e. receive offerings] in the temple hall of Amun in Thebes by the *wab*-priest in [his] monthly duty (...) may he listen to your wishes. When one seeks your *Ba*, he may be found on the Day of the Open-

¹⁷³ *drp=tw twt.w=k m wsh.t n Pth-rsj-jnb=f Skr Ḥkr (?) Nfr-tm ntr.w nb.w jmnt.t*

¹⁷⁴ Assmann, *Totenliturgien* II, 509.

¹⁷⁵ *sḥ=tw sḥ=k n Rḥ.w m wsh.t js=k*, see Assmann, *Totenliturgien* II, 510–512, unpublished except for a photo of the inscription in the H.W. Müller photo archive, Heidelberg no. 106/13.

¹⁷⁶ See for example, also the description of the funerary rites in the harpist song in the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 50) in Thebes, see Miriam Lichtheim. ‘The Songs of the Harpers.’ *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 4 (1945): 178–212, pl. 7.

¹⁷⁷ Literally the hall of the underworld/necropolis, *wsh.t ḥr.t-ntr* (for *wsh.t* see Wb I, 366.5–367.2), but the reference to *mḥ3.t* (the balance, Wb II, 130.8–13) refers to the weighing of the heart procedure and clarifies that the setting is in the underworld see also Assmann, *Totenliturgien* II, 512.



Figs. 32a–b: Statue of the goddess Mut, front and reverse. Turin inv. no. 769; photos by Nicola Dell’Aquila and Federico Taverni/Museo Egizio, with kind permission by Christian Greco and Federico Poole.

ing of the Cave in Rosetau”.¹⁷⁸ Assmann notes correctly that this is the usual motif of summoning the *Ba* for offerings during the Sokar festival,¹⁷⁹ mentioned above – i. e. yet another indication of people attending that festival in one way or another. What makes these references together also interesting is that they clear-

178 *drp n twt=k m wsh.t Jmn n ws.t jn w^cb jmy 3bd{=f} [...] sdm=f spr.wt=k wh3.tw b3=k gm.tw=f hrw wn qrt m R3-s3.w*

179 Assmann, *Totenliturgien* II, 511, n. 31. Interestingly in a Third Intermediate Period mortuary texts the divine troglodytes (*ntr.w qrt.yw*) act as protectors of the *Ba*-souls: see pLondon BM 10478, BD 168 (line [12]), see references provided by *TLA*, lemma no. 161850 = *qrr.t*; Wb V, 62.1–3.

ly link once again mortuary cults and cults for gods.¹⁸⁰ Ockinga suggested that placing statues into temples derives from the practice of carrying statues to the temples and back, and that the Egyptians eventually realised that it was easier to let the statues stay in the temples.¹⁸¹ The question is whether these texts reflect a temple practice of offering in honour of the deceased in the necropolis, or whether they refer to the temple processions,¹⁸² or most probably both. Meyer noted that the overlapping terminology makes it very difficult to distinguish between temple and tomb statues, and indeed the easiest explanation is simply a shared cultic context and function.¹⁸³ Also interesting in this respect is a very rare, large ‘temple shabti’¹⁸⁴ made for the mayor of Thebes Qenamun at the temple of Amenhotep III in Luxor, which is clearly identified in the text as a shabti,¹⁸⁵ and which seems to support once again the idea of a combined sphere of the dead ancestors and gods.¹⁸⁶ Schlögl suggested that the shabti spell (BD 6) inscribed on the statue would be particularly powerful when placed into a sacred space such as a temple, and that Qenamun wanted to provide himself with presence there to participate in the offerings¹⁸⁷ like a ‘normal’ statue.¹⁸⁸

180 In fact, connections between royal temple and mortuary cult have been proposed for more than a century see e.g. Hays, *Pyramid Texts*, 22 with reference to Alexandre Moret. *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte: d’après les papyrus de Berlin et les textes du temple de Sêti Ier, à Abydos. Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d’études* 14. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1902, 227 and see further references in Harold M. Hays. ‘The ritual scenes in the chapels of Amun.’ In: *Medinet Habu IX: The Eighteenth Dynasty Temple Part I: The Sanctuary. Oriental Institute Publications* 136 edited by The Epigraphic Survey, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 6–7, n. 51 and see N.S. Braun, *Pharao und Priester – sakrale Affirmation von Herrschaft durch Kultvollzug: das tägliche Kultbildritual im Neuen Reich und der Dritten Zwischenzeit*, Wiesbaden 2013.

181 On the example of Djefaihapy, see Ockinga, *Gottebenbildlichkeit*, 15 and see also Richards, *Society and death*, 65 with reference to Anthony J. Spalinger. ‘A redistributive pattern at Assiut.’ *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105 (1) (1985): 7–20.

182 Christine Meyer. *Senenmut eine Prosopographische Untersuchung*. Hamburg: Borg, 1982, 56, also mentioned by Ockinga, *Gottebenbildlichkeit*, 9.

183 Meyer, *Senenmut*, 8 and compare also the Thomas Mann quote in the introduction.

184 Which have kindly brought to my attention by Elizabeth Frood, see Hermann A. Schlögl. ‘Eine kolossale Schabti-Figur des Bürgermeisters Kenamun.’ *Bulletin de la Société d’Égyptologie de Genève* 8 (1983): 91–96.

185 Schlögl, ‘Schabti-Figur’, 93.

186 Schlögl, ‘Schabti-Figur’, 94.

187 Schlögl, ‘Schabti-Figur’, 94.

188 He also suggested that the shabti is a result of the monumentalising tendency in the course of the New Kingdom. At any rate the spell clearly identifies the statue as shabti and not just any kind of mummiform representation. See in a different context Willems, ‘Carpe diem’, 515.

4.4 Towards a wider understanding of cultural geography at Saqqara

A Roman Egyptian wisdom text as attested on Papyrus Insinger mentions that gods are not heard well from a distance.¹⁸⁹ Egyptian gods (nor ancestors) were transcendent, they needed physical presence¹⁹⁰ by means of representation.¹⁹¹ The same applies to spiritual beings like deceased ancestors. It was therefore perhaps for practical reasons that cult places for both gods and ancestors existed not only in the necropolis, but also closer to the living in the fertile lands. In all these practices, whether it was the attendance of festivals, votive or offering practices, or the representation by means of stelae, shabtis, or statues, the main aim was to create proximity and to reinforce very specific reminiscence clusters. Relatives and other people of such reminiscence clusters could probably not be expected to make the relatively onerous climb to the necropolis daily unless perhaps they were priests who were paid for that. The question of how often they came in the end is still hard to answer, but it is clear that we should consider a wider geographical range of both social and religious interaction and overcome the traditional distinction in tomb and temple contexts, and between the necropolis and the city. It seems that tomb offerings could be provided for temple statues¹⁹² and vice versa, and festival participation was possible by means of (written) speech acts as well as physically attending processions of (Ptah-)Sokar (Osiris), and probably usually witnessed at least one Apis burial in their lifetime.¹⁹³ At these occasions, and maybe also at others, they visited the tombs and temples, and they reaffirmed their ties by means of material practices of gift-giving and the placement of stelae and statues. Creating reminiscence clusters can thus be confirmed as a fundamental practice of religious (and social) interaction for the wider cultural geography at Saqqara beyond the tombs. In the end, it is not so relevant how frequent these activities were, and how bodily, since in the mind of the ancient Egyptians physical and performative perpetuated practices would support each other for eternity while continuously re-enacting the respective reminiscence clusters.

189 Quack, 'Mundöffnung', 19; and see Papyrus Insinger 28, 15 (Leiden inv. no. F 95/5.1) and Friedhelm Hoffmann and Joachim F. Quack. *Anthologie der Demotischen Literatur*. Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2007, 266.

190 Quack, 'Mundöffnung', 18.

191 See for the statues Lorton, 'Cult Statues', but as we have seen also relief representation, physical offerings or oral practice.

192 Kayser, *Tempelstatuen*, 9.

193 Who probably lived about 20–30 years, although that depends on the species.

Chapter 5: Conclusions

At New Kingdom Saqqara religious and social practices were closely intertwined as one would expect in a society legitimated by the divine order of Maat.¹ The highest elite fossilised their knowledge and status in large monumental and rock-cut tombs, accompanied by their peers. Since the practicalities of slot distribution for tomb building is far from clear, we should perhaps not say that they chose their slots carefully, but when we know the identity of the tomb owners, the social ties based on family or profession between neighbours is often obvious. This “sepulchral self-representation” has long been viewed from the perspective of the tomb owners only, i. e. as the deceased seeking to maintain status and eventually entering the community of worshippers surrounding the gods in the afterlife,² being supported in this endeavour by the funerary practices and the post-funerary mortuary cult. The current study has added an important nuance to this idea and demonstrated that while certain details in the decoration may have been the artist’s choice, the distribution of representations of individuals in tombs was by no means coincidental, and indeed not motivated by fashions in certain time periods. Against ideas of an increasing emphasis on the nuclear family in the 18th dynasty³ vs. the extended family in the later New Kingdom,⁴ it appeared that relationships were represented according to clear commemorative strategies, which functioned both retrospectively, but also prospective in the sense of creating realities for the future.⁵ Egyptian commemorative strategies in practice were highly flexible as to the tomb owners’ choices of which socio-religious relationships were selected to be emphasised, again in both directions, past and future: In the 18th as well as the 19th dynasties, blood relations were omitted (e. g. Maïa, Horemheb), emphasised (e. g. Amenemone (ii), Iyni, Nebnefer, and Mahu), or even created (e. g. Pabes) irrespective of chronological matters, and so were professional affiliations and dependencies of offering bearers (e. g. Maya, Tia) and generic ‘mass’ representation (e. g. Horemheb, Meryneith) vs. incidental individual representations (e. g. Ptahemwia (i)) of various other groups of people. So instead of ego-centred representations we saw the fos-

1 Jan Assmann. *Ma’at: Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im alten Ägypten* (2nd ed.). Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006 and see Raedler, ‘Gunst’.

2 Assmann, *Hymnen und Gebete*, 165 and see Assmann, *Totentialiturgien* II, 263.

3 E. g. Whale, *Family*, 272.

4 E. g. Pirelli, ‘Imeneminet’, 878.

5 Compare Belting and Jephcott, *Presence*, 10, concerning Medieval art and what also applies to the sources from New Kingdom Saqqara: “Memory had a retrospective and (...) a prospective character. Its object was not only what had happened but what was promised”.

silisation of the respective desired reminiscence clusters, i.e. the groups of people with whom the tomb owners sought to be remembered.⁶ The respective non-generic individuals benefitted from their representation by gaining social and religious capital, but others could also actively interfere in this process through practices such as graffiti-writing and gift-giving that were alternative practices to participate in the reminiscence cluster of a tomb owner. The highest elite could do that by donations to the king (e.g. shabti of Maya in the tomb of Tutankhamun), or by placing statues in the Memphite and other temples. Some directly shared that privilege with their peers by means of representation, and others could attach themselves by means of offerings. The physical presentation of inscribed goods to the tomb owners by means of offering sometimes enabled us to identify the respective donor, and sometimes his or her ties to the tomb owner, although we have only begun to understand the prosopography of Memphis,⁷ and many potential reminiscence clusters remain yet unclear. The same applies to the temple cults in which actors can only be grasped with difficulties. On top of that, indeed many practices were of a perishable nature, such as libations and/or speech acts, and have left no traces in the archaeological record. So while it seems as if the temples and tombs were perhaps not visited very frequently, we must also consider that the number of visits we can see may only be the tip of the iceberg. What is important is that temple and tomb must not be conceptualised as separate entities. In his work on hymns and prayers, for example, Jan Assmann distinguished between temples and tombs as follows:

A fundamental difference between a tomb and a temple is that in a temple a priest does not perform the cult in his own interest, but that he acts on behalf of the community, whereas in the tomb an individual communicates with the gods, which although it is admittedly engaged in a time-delayed, permanent form, owes its individuality to its historical existence in this world and does not want to abandon it in the tomb, but on the contrary it wants to perpetuate its status with all its titles and dignities. The hymns recorded in the tomb perpetuate eternalise the tomb owner in his dealings with the gods.⁸

⁶ See Olabarria, *Kinship*, 106.

⁷ But see now Herzberg, *Prosopographia*.

⁸ Assmann, *Hymnen und Gebete*, 9–10: “Ein grundlegender Unterschied des Grabes gegenüber dem Tempel liegt darin, dass im Tempel ein Priester nicht in eigener Sache, sondern stellvertretend für die Gemeinschaft den Kult verrichtet, während im Grab ein Individuum mit den Göttern kommuniziert, das zwar in eine zeitenthobene, dauernde Form eingegangen ist, seine Individualität jedoch seiner geschichtlichen Existenz im Diesseits verdankt und diese auch im Grab nicht ablegen, sondern im Gegenteil mit allen Titeln und Würden verewigen möchte. Die im Grab aufgezeichneten Hymnen verewigen den Grabherrn im Umgang mit den Göttern.”

While tombs may have become increasingly important places for people to also interact with gods,⁹ their role seems to be mostly confined to supporting the transfiguration of the deceased who sought to join the gods in the afterlife, and indeed to provide a platform for the creation of reminiscence clusters, just like the temples. Statues of deities started to appear in the Ramesseid period (e.g. Tatia, Tia, Nemtymes).¹⁰ I would rather see them mainly as yet another way for the tomb owner to demonstrate his status, access to the gods, and knowledgeability than trying to construct a divine cult separate from the cult for the tomb owner and his or her reminiscence cluster rather, than as evidence for a tendency of a “sacralization of the tomb”.¹¹ Elsewhere Assmann must admit that “the transition is fluid, and the wishes of the litanies for the deceased (‘may you’) draw on the same motifs as the requests of the offering formulae (*ḥtp-dj-nsw.t*-prayers”.¹² So why separate them in the first place? On the contrary, we saw that tombs and temples both served for commemoration of individuals and their reminiscence clusters (the latter who could continue to ‘subscribe’ by means of ongoing offering practices). Therefore, Assmann’s vision of a “man in the collective” developing into “man in front of god”¹³ is highly questionable. The contrary is true: where domestic religious evidence at Deir el-Medina had reflected strong family traditions and emphasis on family continuity,¹⁴ on the local level of the cultural geography of Saqqara we see once again the reproduction of the extended family and indeed wider network of social ties. Conceptualising these ties as flexible reminiscence clusters also solves the problem of any decision of whether the desire was to be embedded more into “professional social groups” or into “local-family groups”.¹⁵ The answer is both, emphasising whatever the tomb owner deemed strategically beneficial, irrespective of chronological matters. The mortuary culture did not “operate [...] independently

⁹ See also Assmann, *Totenliturgien II*, 36.

¹⁰ The famous Hathor-cow in the tomb of Nemtymes is not addressed here because the tomb is unfortunately still unpublished.

¹¹ Like assumed for Thebes e.g. recently Rummel, ‘Sacred space’.

¹² “*Der Übergang ist fließend, und die Wünsche der Totensprüche (‘mögest du’) schöpfen ebenso wie die Bitten der Opferformeln (ḥtp-dj-nswt-Gebete) und Götterhymnen aus dem gleichen Motivvorrat*”, see Assmann, *Totenliturgien II*, 516.

¹³ Jan Assmann. *Ma’at: Gerechtigkeit und Unsterblichkeit im alten Ägypten*. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006, 280–281.

¹⁴ Weiss 2014; Van der Toorn, *Family Religion*, 11, and see also e.g. Lynn Meskell and Rosemary A. Joyce. *Embodied Lives. Figuring Ancient Maya and Egyptian Experience*, London: Routledge, 2013, 136.

¹⁵ Compare for Thebes e.g. Fitzenreiter, ‘Totenverehrung’, 116 with reference to Polz, ‘Grabbenutzung’.

of theological discourse”,¹⁶ but parallel to it by following the divine order of Maat. In this, hierarchies and other selected social and religious ties were reproduced for eternity in both directions, sharing into and constantly re-enacting the “cult of the patron”¹⁷ and his or her chosen reminiscence cluster – a practice starting during the patron’s lifetime¹⁸ and ideally continuing forever and ever. There are some still questions regarding a cult without a corpse (i.e. prior to the funeral and the use of the tomb as tomb);¹⁹ however, statues, tomb representations, and gifts (incl. perishable ones) in fact provided that ‘corpse’ in both directions: as body of the donor and of the patron, i.e. as beneficiary as well as focal point for religious activity that could be performed to create reminiscence clusters even prior to the burial. I have previously called this procedure “immortality as the response of others”²⁰ in order to emphasise the mutual interaction of social and religious practices beyond simply transferring the social order of this life to the next. This idea still holds, and we may follow Franzmeier’s idea to conceptualise the result of these practices in terms of creation of “permanence”.²¹ What is important to acknowledge, however, is that creating this permanence meant choosing from a range of different strategies accumulating in a kaleidoscope of options, each of which form (sometimes overlapping) reminiscence clusters.

16 Willems, *Démocratie*, 224.

17 Willems, *Démocratie*, 224.

18 Shirai, ‘Ideal’, 325 and Bolshakov, ‘Tomb-cult’.

19 Shirai, ‘Ideal’, 326.

20 Lara Weiss. ‘Immortality as the response of others.’ In: *Perspectives on Lived Religion: Practices – Transmission – Landscape* edited by Nico Staring, Huw Twiston Davies, and Lara Weiss, 59–71. Leiden: Sidestone, 2019.

21 Franzmeier, ‘Unsterblichkeit’, 36.

Abbreviations and symbols

ÄMP = Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung

BD = Book of the Dead

BM = British Museum

CG = Catalogue Général (Egyptian Museum Cairo)

CT = Coffin Texts

DZA = Digitales Zettelarchiv, see TLA

JE = Journal d'Entrée (Egyptian Museum Cairo)

KRI = Kitchen Ramesside Inscriptions (<http://ancientworldonline.blogspot.com/2016/02/kitchens-ramesside-inscriptions-and.html>). Accessed on 29 March 2022.

LD = Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, see Lepsius, Sethe, and Wreszinski, *Denkmäler*

OIM = Oriental Institute Museum

PT = Pyramid Texts

RMO = *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*

TLA = Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae (<https://aaww.bbaw.de>). Accessed on 29 March 2022.

TT = Theban Tomb

Urk = *Urkunden*, see Helck, *Urkunden*

Wb = *Wörterbuch*, see TLA

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Index

- Aaireses 91, 93
Abydos 10, 31, 48, 70, 121, 126, 132, 138,
140, 150, 152, 161, 175, 181, 194, 219
Ahanefer 98, 173
Ahmose 80, 113
Akhenaten 87, 100, 103, 105, 139, 182
Akhpet (i) 75
Akhpet (ii) 92
Akhpet (iii) 200
Amarna 23f., 54, 101, 103f., 109, 111, 117,
130, 137, 139–141, 163f., 182, 212
Amarna tomb 5 141
Amarna tomb 25 111
Amen(en)niutnkaht 163
Amenawy 92
Amenemheb 35, 80, 128
Amenemhet III 60, 165
Amenemone (i) 41, 76f., 186
Amenemone (ii) 96, 99, 116, 119, 142,
184–186, 192, 221
Amenemone (iii) 98
Amenemone (iv) 98f.
Amenemone (v) 137
Amenemone (vi) 210f.
Amenemone (vii) 204
Amenemope (i) 72
Amenemope (ii) 95
Amenemope (iii) 98
Amenemope (iv) 124
Amenemope (v) 126
Amenemope (vi) 169
Amenemope (vii) 204
Amenemwia (i) 79
Amenhatef 145
Amenhotep I 60
Amenhotep II 174, 213
Amenhotep III 2, 27, 138, 149, 154, 171,
196, 210, 214f., 219
Amenhotep son of Hapu 171, 210
Amenkhau 95
Amenkhay(w?) 72
Amenmose 143, 191
Amenwahu 86, 193
Amun 33, 38, 62, 67, 81–85, 93, 107, 109,
122, 129, 143, 146, 163, 177, 205, 213,
216f., 219
Anedjity 181
Ani 37, 64
Anubis 75f., 86, 105, 108, 113f., 173,
184f., 198, 203, 216
Anuy 40, 103–105, 208
Any 117f., 200
Apis 77, 126, 158, 163, 169, 176, 186, 192,
194–208, 210, 220
Aqgu 170
Asyut 34, 121, 147
Aten 54, 103, 105f., 108, 110f., 124, 140,
178, 184
Athribis 25
Atum 107, 110, 177, 180, 204, 216
Ay 60, 117, 122

Ba 21, 48, 203, 217f.
Baja 150
Baketamun 162
Baketsipu 98
Baki 91, 93
banquet 20, 34, 155
Bay (i) 86
Bay (ii) 146
BD 1 48
BD 6 151, 219
BD 15 45, 50, 55, 65, 177
BD 18 48
BD 25 54
BD 52 64f.
BD 58 32
BD 59 32, 185

Note: The numbering of individuals follows their appearance in this study and has no necessary chronological implication.

- BD 60 32
 BD 61 32
 BD 62 32
 BD 63 32
 BD 110 79, 185
 BD 125 80, 185
 BD 144 47
 BD 148 79
 BD 149 173
 BD 149 l 174
 BD 151 12
 BD 168 175, 218
 Beni Suef, 1717–1719 150
 Beni Suef, 1721 150
 Berlin, ÄMP 2070 61
 Berlin, ÄMP 7275 98
 Berlin, ÄMP 7277 97
 Berlin, ÄMP 7278 98, 173
 Berlin, ÄMP 7280 97
 Berlin, ÄMP 12411 62
 Berlin, ÄMP 20363 121
 Berlin, ÄMP 21193 88
 Berlin, ÄMP 21439 156
 Berlin, ÄMP 21568 159
 Berlin, ÄMP NI 116 186
 Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 1888
 121
 Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 3162
 102
 Boston, MFA 1974.468 76
 Bruxelles, E.4181 140
 Bubasteion 4, 36, 59, 63, 87, 110, 163,
 183
 Buja 150, 152
 Busiris 138, 200

 Cairo, CG 579 214
 Cairo, CG 731 161
 Cairo, CG 18451 86
 Cairo, CG 34054 216
 Cairo, CG 42118 212
 Cairo, CG 42122 38 f., 215
 Cairo, CG 42155 66
 Cairo, CG 42186 39
 Cairo, CG 46549 140
 Cairo, CG 47161 199
 Cairo, CG 58042 37

 Cairo, JE 3299 175
 Cairo, JE 3517 191
 Cairo, JE 10079 110
 Cairo, JE 11975 185
 Cairo, JE 20937 161
 Cairo, JE 33258 186
 Cairo, JE 38539 71
 Cairo, JE 43274d 118
 Cairo, JE 47001 151
 Cairo, JE 48845 150
 Cairo, JE 50035 193
 Cairo, JE 60820 141
 Cairo, JE 60826 141
 Cairo, JE 60827 141
 Cairo, JE 60828 141
 Cairo, JE 60830 141
 Cairo, JE 60836 141
 Cairo, JE 60837 141
 Cairo, JE 89046 39
 Cairo, TN 3.7.24.13 109
 Cairo, TN 31.5.25.11 170
 Cairo, TR 8.6.24.20 182
 Cairo, TR 22.5.25.1 78
 Cairo, TR 26/6/37/1 141
 Chicago, OIM 11749 150
 Chicago, OIM 11750 150
 Chicago, OIM 11751 150
 Chicago, OIM 11753–58 150
 Chicago, OIM 11760 150
 Chicago, OIM 11763–66 150
 Chicago, OIM 11768 150
 Chicago, OIM 11769 150
 Chicago, OIM 11770 150
 Chicago, OIM 11772 150
 Chicago, OIM 11773 150
 Chicago, OIM 11775–76 150
 Chicago, OIM 11777 150
 Chicago, OIM 11778 150
 Chicago, OIM 11779 150
 Chicago, OIM 11780–81 150
 Chicago, OIM 11782 151
 Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek AAd22
 126
 Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek ÆIN
 715 76
 Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek ÆIN
 716 76

- Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek ÆIN
48 32
- Deir el-Bahari 129, 139, 174, 215
Deir el-Medina 6, 37, 95, 126, 154, 156,
159, 161, 174, 223
- Depet 76
Didia 38 f., 215 f.
Djedamennakht 129
Djedet 90
Djedptahiuefankh 120
Djefaihapy 219
Djehutymose 142
Durham, 1965 127
- El Kab 25
- Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
2532 180
Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
2606 102
fragment Daressy 59–60, 149, 210
funeral 26, 30–32, 35 f., 40, 43 f., 46 f., 51,
62, 104 f., 115, 120, 141, 154, 167, 174,
178–180, 183, 203, 205
funerary banquet 34
funerary deposit 37
- Geb 86, 216
Giza 138, 158, 200
Gurob 200
- Hannover, Kestner Museum 1935.200.190–
191 78
Hannover, Kestner Museum 1935.200.203
190
Hannover, Kestner Museum 1935–200.687
190
Hapi 23
Hapy 23, 105, 181
Hathor 33, 53, 72, 74, 78 f., 86 f., 94 f.,
105, 108, 126, 149, 158, 163, 166, 169 f.,
178, 184, 195, 216
Hatshepsut 174, 214
Hayptah 27
Heli 150, 152
Heliopolis 25, 30, 138, 149, 201, 211, 216
- Hely 162, 204, 208
Hemetnetjer 92, 94
Hept 161
Herishef 150
Hesynebef 171
Hetas 208
Horemheb 23 f., 26, 29, 32 f., 35, 37, 41,
67, 71, 76 f., 80, 85, 101, 103, 107, 120–
125, 143 f., 146 f., 153, 155 f., 167, 169–
172, 177, 182–184, 199, 208, 221
Horemhebemnetjer 124, 170
Hormin 29, 38 f., 172, 208
Horus 30, 54, 61, 66 f., 86, 105, 165, 173,
180 f., 198, 205 f., 216
ḥtp-dj-nsw 39 f., 151, 165, 181, 185, 196,
213, 217
Huy (i) 66–67
Huy (ii) 78–81, 85
Huy (iii) 83
Huy (iv) 100
Huy (v) 120
Huy (vi) 197, 199
Huy (vii) 199
Huy (viii) 9
Huy (ix) 60
Huynefer 93, 98, 204
- Ibi 25
Imhotep 60
incense 23, 32, 35, 37, 41, 66 f., 71 f., 74 f.,
80, 86, 91, 98, 116, 119, 161, 179, 185,
192, 196, 203, 208 f., 216
Inhetemwia 204
Iniua 67, 71, 107–110, 136, 144, 170
Iniy 86–94, 110, 183
Iny 116
Ipay 102
Ipuya 102
Ipwia 29
Irneferu 33, 160
Irwkhy 82, 98
Iry-Iry 175
Isis 30, 53 f., 62, 86 f., 95, 107 f., 157 f.,
181, 206, 216
Itju 91 f.
luashat 169
luay 72

- luefseneb 169
 lurufef 126–128, 168, 181
 luy 76, 107f.
- Jara 208
- Ka (i) 98
 Ka (ii) 161
 Ka 140, 183, 185, 203, 211, 213
 Kaia 76
 Kairi 29
 Kamose 205
 Kanakht 35
 Karnak 38, 62, 121, 139, 169, 210, 212,
 214–216
 Kasa 91–93
 Kedetheret 169
 Kenamun 91
 Kenna 88f., 91–94
 Khaemwaset 83f., 142, 196–199, 201
 Khaut 103
 Khay (i) 71–73, 81, 94f., 142
 Khay (ii) 81
 Khay (iii) 106,
 Khay (iv) 120
 Khay (v) 199
 Khaymin 124f.
 Khonsu 163, 204, 216
 Kom Abu Billu 31
 KV 57 199
 Ky-jry 102
- Leiden, RMO AF 23 200
 Leiden, RMO AH 104h 138
 Leiden, RMO AH 114 6
 Leiden, RMO AM 108 95
 Leiden, RMO AMS 14 vel 3 30
 Leiden, RMO AMS 22 34
 Leiden, RMO AMS 54 100
 Leiden, RMO AMS 64 6
 Leiden, RMO AMT 1 13
 Leiden, RMO AP 6-a 27–29
 Leiden, RMO AP 6-b 27–29
 Leiden, RMO AP 8 9
 Leiden, RMO AP 11 60
 Leiden, RMO AP 12 199
 Leiden, RMO AP 52 13
- Leiden, RMO AP 56 67
 Leiden, RMO AST 5 38
 Leiden, RMO F 95/5.1 220
 Leiden, RMO F 1938/10.12 190
 Leiden, RMO F 1953/1.2 139
 Leiden, RMO F 1962/12.4 139
 Leiden, RMO F 1997/3.10 148
 Leiden, RMO H.III.T 1 195
 Letopolis 138
 libation 23, 35, 38, 70, 72, 74f., 86, 91,
 98, 114, 170, 196, 216
 literacy 47f., 50, 54f., 123f., 175
 London, BM 46 141
 London, BM 156 175
 London, BM 550 183
 London, BM 706 216f.
 London, BM 712 152
 London, BM 10478 218
 London, BM EA 156 48
 London, BM EA 460 23
 London, BM EA 551 182
 London, BM EA 1377 41, 211
 London, BM EA 10184 190
 London, BM EA 10221,1 34
 London, BM EA 10477 29
- Maanakhtef 209
 Maat 105, 122f., 182, 213, 221, 224
 Maatmenet 161
 Mahu 98, 176, 221
 Maïa 64, 110–114, 125, 183f., 221
 Maia (i) 97, 173
 Maia (ii) 60
 Mainehes 205
 Manchester, 4906 191
 Marseille, Musée d'archéologie Méditerrané-
 enne 211 192
 Maya 19f., 26f., 29, 31–33, 40f., 49, 53,
 66f., 74, 77, 96, 107, 114–120, 125,
 128, 135, 141–143, 148, 159–163, 167,
 173, 176–178, 180, 182, 184, 191, 199,
 208, 221–223
 Mayiay 33
 Medinet Habu 194f., 219
 Medjaria 33
 Mehu 23

- Memphis 12, 25, 31, 35, 58, 60, 67, 75,
 81f., 84, 96, 102f., 107, 138, 149, 154,
 170, 175, 182, 189–192, 195, 197–199,
 203, 205, 208f., 213–215, 222
 Memphis, MO2 159
 Menkauhor 186, 192
 Mennefer 72
 Mentuhotep II 215f.
 Meret 148
 Merit 20, 32f., 40f., 115f., 119f., 135, 143,
 160, 163, 177f., 208
 Meritaten 111
 Meritptah 28f., 99
 Meritre 108
 Mery-su-Maat 150
 Merymaat 63, 71, 80
 Merymery (i) 27–29, 40, 137
 Merymery (ii) 120
 Meryneith 23, 27, 29f., 32, 34f., 40, 54,
 61, 83, 100, 103–108, 121, 143, 155f.,
 176–179, 208, 221
 Meryptah 191
 Meryre 119
 Meryt 33, 67, 156
 Mia 100–102
 Minhotep 126
 Minmose 150, 152
 Mnevis 201–203
 Montuemhat 193
 Montunakht 169
 Mose 25, 29, 68f., 77–83, 85, 176, 184
 mourning 26, 29f., 75, 80, 104, 188, 208
 Munich, G1 298 185
 Mut 81, 214, 216, 218
 Mutemmertes 157
 Mutemsekhet 90
 Mutemwia 74–76
 Mutmetjennefer 126
 Mutnodjmet 33, 168, 172
 Mutnofret 78–80, 187
 Muttuy 200
 My 205–207

 Nahuher 66, 118f., 177f.
 Nakht 119, 143, 178
 Nakhtamun 75, 127
 Nakhttuy 160

 naos 38–40, 107, 126
 Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale
 1069 57, 210
 Nashayt 86
 Nebawy (i) 72
 Nebawy (ii) 72
 Nebipure 60
 Nebiwau 69
 Nebmehyt (i) 142, 185
 Nebmehyt (ii) 60
 Nebmerut 156
 Nebnefer 98, 177, 221
 Nebre 68, 119, 167
 Nedjem 144
 Nedjet 204
 Neferabu 72, 95
 Neferptah 75
 Neferrenpet 29
 Nefertari 92
 Nefertem 163, 195, 217
 Nehyt 86
 Neith 103, 105, 203
 Nemtyes 163, 208, 223
 Nephthys 30, 107f., 125, 206, 216
 Neshi 80–82
 Nesykhonsu 154
 Neuchatel, Eg. 428 127
 New York, Brooklyn Museum, 37.30 213
 New York, Brooklyn Museum, 37.39E 98
 New York, MMA 04.2.527 177
 New York, MMA 05.4.124 153
 New York, MMA 23.10.1 171
 New York, MMA 33.2.1 39
 Nodjmet 145
 Nodjmetpapeter 169
 Nubnofret 79, 81
 Nut 178, 203

 offering 2, 4–6, 8, 11–13, 15f., 18,
 20–38, 40f., 44–47, 49, 56, 61,
 64–66, 68–70, 74–76, 78–81, 83,
 85–87, 91–93, 95–99, 103f., 106–
 108, 111–120, 124, 126, 128, 201, 203,
 221–223
 Opening of the Mouth 27f., 40, 47, 61,
 101, 103, 105, 113, 123, 129, 154, 174,
 176, 182, 203

- Osiris 5, 30 f., 33, 38 f., 54, 68 f., 72, 79 f.,
83, 86 f., 93, 95, 105, 107–109, 113–
115, 128, 139, 150–152, 156–162, 173,
178–185, 187, 192, 194 f., 198, 200,
203–206, 216, 220
- Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1913.163 214
- Paatenemheb 13, 54, 100
- Pabes 94–96, 163, 179, 208, 221
- Paefsebet 162
- Pahemnetjer 39, 143, 149
- Pakerer 30
- Pamershe 72
- Pamershenouty 148 f., 204
- Panefer 75
- Panehesy 92
- Panehsy 35, 148, 205
- Parahotep 149–153, 158, 192, 196
- Parennefer 119, 178
- Paris, Louvre AF 2576 191
- Paris, Louvre AF 6794–5 198
- Paris, Louvre AF 6832 200
- Paris, Louvre AF 6963 200
- Paris, Louvre B 48 186
- Paris, Louvre B 50 186
- Paris, Louvre B 6 76
- Paris, Louvre C 50 39, 216
- Paris, Louvre C 259 102
- Paris, Louvre E 917 198
- Paris, Louvre E 5212 141
- Paris, Louvre E 6248 213
- Paris, Louvre E 12926 209
- Paris, Louvre IM 2870 199
- Paris, Louvre IM 2871 199
- Paris, Louvre IM 2873 198
- Paris, Louvre IM 2876 198
- Paris, Louvre IM 2880 199
- Paris, Louvre IM 2884 199
- Paris, Louvre IM 2888 199
- Paris, Louvre IM 2889 199
- Paris, Louvre IM 2893 198
- Paris, Louvre IM 2894 198
- Paris, Louvre IM 2896 199
- Paris, Louvre IM 2943 199
- Paris, Louvre IM 2973 198 f.
- Paris, Louvre IM 2974 200
- Paris, Louvre IM 2989 200
- Paris, Louvre IM 2990 199
- Paris, Louvre IM 3153 200
- Paris, Louvre IM 3213 200
- Paris, Louvre IM 3240 198
- Paris, Louvre IM 3252–3 198
- Paris, Louvre IM 3261 198
- Paris, Louvre IM 3263 199
- Paris, Louvre IM 3284 200
- Paris, Louvre IM 3299 200
- Paris, Louvre IM 3445 (?) 199
- Paris, Louvre IM 3703 198
- Paris, Louvre IM 3750 205
- Paris, Louvre IM 4963 201
- Paris, Louvre IM 4964 204
- Paris, Louvre IM 5268–69 207
- Paris, Louvre IM 5305 206
- Paris, Louvre IM 5373 198
- Paris, Louvre IM 5377 198
- Paris, Louvre IM 5389 198
- Paris, Louvre IM 5390 198
- Paris, Louvre IM 5391 198
- Paris, Louvre IM 5799 198
- Paris, Louvre IM 5800 198
- Paris, Louvre IM 5936 201
- Paris, Louvre IM 6036 200
- Paris, Louvre IM 6042 200
- Paris, Louvre IM 6052 200
- Paris, Louvre IM 6154 201
- Paris, Louvre IM 59361 197
- Paris, Louvre N 338 139
- Paris, Louvre N 431 198
- Paris, Louvre N 5234 200
- Paris, Louvre S 1127 147
- Paris, Louvre S 1202 198
- Paris, Louvre S 1205 198
- Paris, Louvre S 1369 200
- Paris, Louvre S 1380 200
- Paris, Louvre S 1441 199
- Paris, Louvre S 1450 198
- Paris, Louvre S 1738 199
- Paris, Louvre SH 82 199
- Paris, Louvre SH 105 200
- Paris, Louvre SH 108 200
- Paris, Louvre SH 115 199
- Paris, Louvre SH 195 200
- Paris, Louvre SH 202–203 199
- Paris, Musée Rodin 237 76

- Paris, Musée Rodin 1302 70
 Paser (i) 20, 73, 75, 85–87, 155 f.
 Paser (ii) 39, 84 f., 191, 197–199
 Pasherienjah 128
 Patemahet 205
 Pay (i) 29, 64, 67–71, 144 f., 170, 176 f.
 Pay (ii) 92–94
 Pay (iii) 35
 Payemsaamun 35
 Payred 60
 Pehefnefer 124, 170
 Pehehnefer 124
 Penanhuri 108
 Penanuket 96
 Penneith 120
 Pentu 141
 performance 37, 40, 43, 48, 56, 96, 172,
 178, 183, 187, 209
 Pet 204
 Piay (i) 71
 Piay (ii) 95
 Piay (iii) 141
 Preherwenemef 175, 187
 procession 27 f., 30, 32, 69 f., 74 f., 80,
 104, 182, 192, 194 f., 203, 205
 Psamtik I 196
 PT 235 22
 PT 550 30
 Ptah 31, 59 f., 72–74, 77–80, 82–84,
 86 f., 95, 98, 108 f., 126, 128, 142–144,
 149, 159, 161, 169 f., 177 f., 180 f., 185,
 187, 190–192, 194–200, 204, 206,
 208, 214 f., 217, 220
 Ptahemhat-Ty 29, 59 f.
 Ptahemheb 120, 185
 Ptahemwia 25, 29, 32, 34 f., 54, 86, 92,
 95, 100, 103, 137, 143 f., 177, 221
 Ptahhotep 75, 193, 204
 Ptahkhau 163
 Ptahmay 120
 Ptahmose (i) 60, 137
 Ptahmose (ii) 91
 Ptahmose (iii) 96, 115
 Ptahmose (iv) 120
 Ptahmose (v) 77, 151, 186 f., 195, 199,
 207 f.
 Ptahmose (vi) 187
 Ptahmose (vii) 187
 Ptahnefer 29
 Ptahrekh 74
 Ptahshepses 60
 Ptahy 202
 Puyemre 138, 193
 Pyanefere 33
 Pyiay 71, 142, 197, 199, 201–203, 205,
 207
 Pypwy 75, 86
 Qebeh 120
 Qebekhsenuf 105, 181
 Raaton 93
 Raia (i) 64, 67–71, 144, 156, 170
 Raia (ii) 73–76, 176
 Ramesses II 77, 80, 82–85, 101, 127, 150,
 164, 174, 190, 196–199, 201, 203, 210
 Ramesses III 174, 194 f.
 Ramose (i) 108
 Ramose (ii) 119, 191
 Ramose (iii) 123 f., 161, 179
 Ramose (iv) 144
 Ramose (v) 161
 Ramose (vi) 201 f.
 Ramose (vii) 202
 Ramsesnakht 144
 Ranefer 115–117, 119
 Re 20, 29, 39, 62, 78, 83, 86, 98, 107,
 110, 139, 149, 156, 165, 177 f., 181–185,
 216 f.
 Re-Atum 65, 178
 Re-Horakhty 39, 78, 98, 107, 110, 165,
 177 f., 181, 184 f.
 Rekhmire 26
 Renenhor 98
 Rennnutet 166
 Renpetnefer 146
 Reshef 165
 Ria 204
 Roma 38, 62
 Roma-Roy 39, 62
 Rosetau 138, 181, 200, 218
 Ry (i) 67, 76, 83, 97 f., 173–175
 Ry (ii) 75

- Ry (iii) 86, 196
 Ryty 161
- Sahqedet 200
 Sais 203
 Sakhmet 78, 185, 191, 204
 Sakhmetnofret 203f., 208
 Samut 156–159
 Samut-Kiki 214
 Saqqara tomb S.217 98
 Saqqara tomb S.218 98
 Saytj 76
 Sedment 149, 153, 158, 161
 Sehetebreankhnedjem 60
 Sekhemkhet 193
 Sel 161
 Selket 105
 Semenmaatnakht 95
 Sementawy 123, 201
 Senenmut 174, 214, 219
 Sennefer (i) 92f.
 Sennefer (ii) 115
 Serapeum 147f., 152, 192, 196–201, 205f., 208
 Sesostris III 60
 Seth 27, 30
 Sethnakht 46, 83, 143
 Seti I 31, 53, 122, 216
 Shenefer 75f.
 Shedamun 74–76
 Shu 181, 216
 Sokar 78–80, 86, 107–109, 181f., 185, 192, 194–196, 200, 218, 220
 St Petersburg, 1061 182
 statue 23, 37–41, 66, 79, 95, 105, 122–124, 140–142, 159, 161–164, 168f., 171, 177, 179, 182, 185f., 192f., 196, 209–215, 217, 219
 Straßburg, Collection of the Egyptological Institute, 2439 A 77, 187
 Suherawyamon 161
 Suty 64, 147f., 199
 Sydney, Nicholson Museum R1138 171
- Ta(weret)shedu 145
 Tabes 163
 Tadmessu 208
- Takhat 76, 124
 Tamit 33
 Tamut 161
 Tanetheret 169
 Tanetjunu 190f.
 Tatia 79, 82–85, 163, 176, 179, 208, 223
 Taweretemheb 95
 Tawethetepeti 71f.
 Tefnut 216
 Tell el-Dab'a 31
 Teti 2, 36, 59, 63, 76f., 96, 102, 116f., 177, 183f., 186, 192, 206
 Thebes 6, 19, 24f., 34, 41, 45, 55, 60, 62, 75, 84, 88, 93, 103f., 111, 121, 129f., 138f., 141, 145, 153, 155, 164, 169, 183, 192, 194, 201, 211, 216f., 219, 223
 Thoth 92, 112, 114, 178, 182, 198, 216
 Thothmenekhu 114
 Thutmosis 87–93, 110, 174, 193
 Thutmosis I 34, 60
 Thutmosis III 138, 174, 193, 212f.
 Thutmosis IV 142
 Tia 25f., 32–34, 77, 125–128, 130, 146–149, 158f., 162–169, 172, 176, 178–181, 187f., 192, 208, 221, 223
 Tjairy 208
 Tjanuni 21
 Tjay 123, 150–152, 201
 Tjelamun 129f.
 Tjenroy 80
 Tjuneroy 60, 87, 186, 192
- TT 2 60
 TT 11 174
 TT 15 155
 TT 23 21, 201
 TT 31 141
 TT 32 174
 TT 36 25
 TT 39 138, 193
 TT 50 164, 217
 TT 67 24
 TT 74 21
 TT 82 22, 34, 58
 TT 85 111
 TT 96 126
 TT 100 26
 TT 106 21, 84

- TT 109 31
 TT 112 111
 TT 219 75
 TT 222 21
 TT 250 75, 161
 TT 324 141
 TT 341 75
 TT 353 174
 TT 359 174
 Turin, Museo Egizio 769 217
 Turin, Museo Egizio 1791 65
 Tutankhamun 35, 54, 60, 62, 67, 72, 100,
 107, 110f., 120, 122f., 125, 141f., 153,
 167, 183, 222
 Tuy 90
 Tuya 168
 Tuyhemmaat 98
 Ty 150f.
 Tyia 33
 Tyreneheheh 200
 Urkhya 82
 Urmeno 80
 Useramun 128
 Userhat 120, 199
 Usermonthu 60, 141
 Warsaw, National Museum 142294 33, 162
 Weber 28, 161
 Weni 22
 Wennefer (god) 29, 159f., 168, 179, 184,
 192
 Wennefer (individual) 150, 152f.
 Werel 162
 Wiay 86f., 108, 156
 Yamen 33, 161f.

