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

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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). What is important to consider is that the tomb owners were not just passive recipients of the cult, but themselves active agents, not least by means of representational enactment of certain ‘reminiscence clusters’, i.e. including or excluding certain affiliates in their tomb decoration.

2.1 Tomb commemoration theory

It is generally accepted that tomb decoration was not purely decorative, but that tomb representations had a ritual function important for the deceased. 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. 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.

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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.


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. For example, tomb owner Maya clearly expresses the wish that all his people will visit him in his tomb. His “access to and command of a disproportionate quantity of resources” identifies the tomb owner as a member of the elite and “helped [...] to establish or reinforce social and hierarchical differences”. 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”. 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 Frood, 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).


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


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 rdḥ with ‘endure’.

danger of forgetting his/her name in the hereafter, which was hoped to be pre-
vented 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. Another aspect
of the significance of names is of course the fact that theophoric elements some-
times changed: most famous is perhaps the change of king Tutankhamun to Tut-
ankhamun, during the so-called restoration phase after Amarna, and some Saq-
qara tomb owners are also renowned for having committed that practice in one
way or the other such as Meryneith/Meryre and Amenwia/Ptahemwia (i), who
changed their names in accordance with changes in the state religion.

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. As Leire Olabarria recently emphas-
ised, relief representations “are not representing reality, they are actively creating
a reality”. 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 vary-
ing degrees of understanding and potential appropriation by the observer of that
message. In this respect it is important to briefly consider the question of liter-
acy, or more generally the ability of potential visitors to the tomb to read and un-
derstand 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.
The matter has been debated since John Baines and Chris Eyre in their seminar


His italics: René van Walsem. ‘Ancient Egyptian art as a dynamic, multi-dimensional, inno-
vative information system: Egyptological facts and fallacies – pride and prejudice.’ Bibliotheca

article in 1983 argued that only 1% of the ancient Egyptian population was literate. 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. However, this argument does not consider the “collateral knowledge and the cognitive skills necessary to understand the depicted scene”. Tombs provided a “visual rhetoric” 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”, 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.


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”, which is not necessarily limited to literate beholders. They may have developed their own understanding and appropriation of the elite practices, and they may have listened to others reciting the texts aloud.

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

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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.
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.
39 Eyre, ‘Patronage’, 710.
worked for the tomb owner took part in his reward,\(^4\) but anybody who was recognisable as part of the tomb owners’ eternal memories-in-stone.\(^3\) 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,\(^4\) and while the role of ‘others’ in tomb representations has been noted,\(^5\) it is worthwhile to reconsider what we mean by the term ‘representation’, as literally it means ‘providing presence’.\(^6\) 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”,\(^7\) and it is “[u]ltimately […] the audiences of monumental

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\(^2\) Compare Vischak, *Community*, 221 in a different context.

\(^3\) Assmann, *Cultural Memory*, 46.


\(^5\) 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.

\(^6\) 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.

texts that give them enduring meaning\textsuperscript{48}. And very importantly, monuments serve as demonstration of favour in various directions: sometimes royal favour of the tomb owners,\textsuperscript{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 tombs\textsuperscript{50} but on how, vice versa, status gain could be achieved by what Fitzenreiter called the “dependants of the elite”,\textsuperscript{51} through access to intangible resources by means of representation. However, his focus on gaining access to resources and maintaining it\textsuperscript{52} 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.\textsuperscript{53} Spiritual capital is thus understood here as a sub-catego-


\textsuperscript{49} See e.g. Smoak and Mandell, ‘Texts in the City’, 319 – 320 and for Saqqara e.g. Raedler, ‘Prestige’, 149 – 150 for the importance of demonstrating royal favours.


\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{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.

of social capital, which defines a “possible attachment of economic or measurable value (as indicated by the word ‘capital’) to social relationships”. 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. 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] by participation in a particular religious tradition.”

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. 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. The anonymous grandson tied into his long family history by knitting it to the ‘great ḏḥ.QUOTE-w-ancestors of the West of Saqqara’, also frequently attested in graffiti. A connection is laid between past and presence by representing deceased kings and famous peo-

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57 My addition.

58 See Berger and Hefner, ‘Spiritual capital’.


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 Guermeur, 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 ḏḥy-hb m ḥw.t Bṣṭ.t), Say, himself son of said high priest of Ptah Ptahemhat-Ty.

ple who had died 1000 years earlier (like the viziers Imhotep and Ptahshepses\textsuperscript{62}), but also contemporaries of Ptahemhat-Ty, like the vizier Usermonthu.\textsuperscript{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),\textsuperscript{64} but also mentioned are Middle Kingdom characters like Sehetebreakkhnedjem (\textit{temp.} Sesostris III-Amenemhet III) and Nebipure (\textit{temp.} Amenemhet III), or early New Kingdom figures like Payred (= Paymykhered) (\textit{temp.} Amenhotep I).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{66} (Extended) family members, colleagues, house personnel

\textsuperscript{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 (\textit{mn\textsuperscript{y}}) of king Thutmose 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, \textit{Graffiti}, 57–63), I find the long time perspective and hence interpretation as Old Kingdom ancestors more plausible for both figures.


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

\textsuperscript{65} Matthieu, ‘Daressy’, 827–829. For a full study see his study.

\textsuperscript{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: \textit{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 Fitzenerreiter. ‘Überlegungen zum Kontext der “Familienstelen” und ähnlicher Objekte.’ In: \textit{Genaalogie: 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-ḥb 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-

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⁶⁹ Raven and Van Walsem, Meryneith, 106–107 [20a]: ššp.n=k mnḥ.t wp Hr rꜢ=k hr.

⁷⁰ Raven and Van Walsem, Meryneith, 120–122 [28].
round himself with specific individuals (family members, servants or colleagues). 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. 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 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 n=m m-mnt m sh3 nfr).

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. I argue in this

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71 The Old Kingdom practice to depict ‘friends’ (hnm×, 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 ÄMP 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 Wsfr nsw)”, see Alan R. Schulman. ‘The Berlin “Trauerrelief” (No. 12411) and some officials of Tut’ankhamun 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”, 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.\(^\text{76}\)

### 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.\(^\text{77}\) The importance of ancestor cults was realised early in Egyptology\(^\text{78}\) and society is often described as having “the fam-

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\(^\text{75}\) 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).

\(^\text{76}\) 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.

\(^\text{77}\) Compare, for example, Dorman, 'Family burial’, 30 – 41, or in general e.g. Warner, *The Living and the Dead*, 287.

ily or household [...] as the core of any given social structure.” Beside the main (usually male) 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. 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”. 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.w3h mw <n> jt=k mw.t=k nty htp m t3 jn(t).) 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’ (3b.t) referred to the legal household rather than the nuclear family. The 3b.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=3b.wt=3 n.t

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.
82 Term is h3w, ‘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.
jt-j m.w.t=j (= The family of my father and of my mother were given to me\(^85\)), 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 3b.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 3b.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 3b.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 why.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 3b.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

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\(^85\) Compare also Lapp, *Papyrus of Nu*, pl. 32, see Belegstellen in TLA 3b.t ‘Familie’ (Wb I, 7.8) (Lemma-no. 67).

\(^86\) Willems remarks that the distinction of different 3b.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 Egi- zio 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.

the larger household community, 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”, is thus not only highly relevant for the provincial Middle Kingdom nomarchs, but for Egyptian ancestors cults on the whole. As expected, at Saqqara we usually see the eldest son acting in his role of providing the cult for his deceased parents. 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. 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. Some Ramesside texts mention that it is an ideal behaviour to provide a burial “for the one lacking an heir”. 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. 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.
100 E.g. Ptahmose (iii) in the tomb of his father Amenemone (ii) (see Ockinga, Amenemone).
104 Martin, Maya, 19 and pls 13–14, and 16. I consider Nahunefer 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].
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 Iniuia and south-east of Horemheb. Like Iniuia, and supporting the idea of professional clusters mentioned above, Pay (i) was overseer of the cattle of the god Amun \((jmy\text{-}r\text{3} \ jh.w \ n \ jmn)\)\(^{110}\) and more importantly overseer of the royal apartments in Memphis \((jmy\text{-}r\text{3} \ jpt \ nsw)\)\(^{111}\) 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-

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105 Martin, *Maya*, 18 and pls 8 and 70 nos 1 and 2.
107 Conveniently, stela Leiden inv. no. AP 56 shows the “overseer of the cattle of Amun” Dje-huty (successor of Pay, who was himself the successor of Iniuia) in charge of taking care of Maya and Merits two daughters after their parents’ death, see Schneider, *Iniuia*, 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.
111 Taylor, *Titles*, no. 95.
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 sanctuary 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.

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.
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-r₃ ssm.t)125 and also appears elsewhere in this military outfit.126 Irrespective

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.
124 Raven, Pay and Raia, 30.
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 kꜣ n sš nsw, jmy-rꜣ jpt PꜢy). 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 (sḏm ʿṣ) [...]-maat, who presents two strips of linen (mnḥ.t, ‘garment’) to his master on

126 E.g. named as ḥrj jḥ.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.
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. The man wears a knee-length kilt and has a shaven head and is shown on a much smaller scale than the tomb owner. 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. 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. 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 (jꜣ-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. Unfortunately none of these workers is named, although one stands out as chief craftsman (ḥry ḫmw.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). 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.
135 Raven, Pay and Raia, 38–39 [57] and pls 53–54.
137 Piay 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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”.\textsuperscript{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 sꜢ( 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.\textsuperscript{141} To sum up, while Khay (i) tomb serves as an example of family commemoration, here again

\textsuperscript{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.\textit{ 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.’\textit{ 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: \textit{The tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen, Volume 3} edited by Howard Carter, 167–169. London: Gerald Duckworth, and see F. Filce Leek. \textit{The human remains from the tomb of Tut’ankhamün. Tut’ankhamün’s Tomb Series} 5. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1972.

\textsuperscript{139} Martin et al., \textit{Memphite Officials}, 16 [11], pl. 14.

\textsuperscript{140} Martin et al., \textit{Memphite Officials}, 16.

\textsuperscript{141} Martin et al., \textit{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.

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-

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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 (Fig. 11).¹⁴⁶

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 Ptahrehk is apparently guiding the cows.¹⁴⁷ Behind the booth five mourners have been preserved, the first of which is female.

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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.
¹⁴⁷ The excavators called them oxen, but at least one shows and 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 wꜣb 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 (ḥm.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 (?!) 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

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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.
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.
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 Iuya 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 Bártá 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. ÅEin 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. ÅEin 714, side b, Djuževa, ‘Ameneminet’, pl. 2.

anonymous. The same applies to the boat journey depicted in his tomb.\textsuperscript{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 (\textit{temp. Ramesses II}).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{165} Unfortunately the ground plan of the tomb is still far from clear: several reconstructions have been present-

\textsuperscript{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 (\textit{sšš wḏq}), 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 \textit{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 Rhonê, see Jocelyne Berlandini. ‘Varia memphitica V: monuments de la chapelle funéraire du gouverneur Ptahmês.’ \textit{Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale} 82 (1982): 86 – 92, Fig. 1 and pl. VII). Eva Hofmann. \textit{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).


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 ḏḥy=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 (ḥṛy-ḥḥ) 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 (sš sš.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.

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. Helpfully, Vincent Oeters has recently identified the couple as being identical to the tomb owner in the Leiden-Turin concession area. Raven concludes from Tatia’s occurrence that Mose and Tatia were brothers, which is possible but not necessary.

The (according to Gaballa) opposite wall shows again a row of here eight offering bearers. 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. 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 Osiris 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. In the bandeau between the registers Mose appears with his title and a filiation to both his parents. The right-hand side is highly damaged like the upper register of the interior wall that shows traces of the goddess Seshat. 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. In Gaballa’s room III further only

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175 Gaballa, Mose, 9 and pl. XI.
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. The offering of an oryx in front of the barque of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris is particularly interesting. Gaballa’s room IV shows Mose and Mutnofret in the divine judgment of the god Osiris (BD 125). 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. More space for other relatives is again made in the open court. The southern wall of the western side shows the funerary procession. 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, 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. 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 Hun-pet-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 Urneno, possibly the eldest, was appointed ‘trustee’ or administrator (rwḏw) 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 Urneno, 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.¹

Allam rightly mentioned that the fact that Mose depicted the lawsuit in his tomb does not necessarily imply that Mose won.¹ I believe that at least one of the reasons for its representation in Mose’s tomb is the commemoration of his long family tree.¹ 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.¹ It is the Amun of Neshi, i.e. the local personification of Amun from exactly that place where his ancestor Neshi came from.¹ Neither Gardiner¹ nor Allam¹ noticed that, because they focussed on the legal text

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 Ukkhhotep (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-hotep (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.
198 Allam, ‘Mose’.
not on the tomb as a whole. Loret and Anthes did, but they did not further comment on the connection. 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. 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 Hatay. 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. Other tombs in the area are also still only rather briefly studied.

2.2.6 The tomb of Tatia

Tatia lived in the 19th dynasty and was wab-priest of the front of Ptah (\(w\text{'b n h\text{\textperiodcentered} t n Pth} \)), like Khay (ii), and chief of goldsmiths (\(h\text{\textperiodcentered} r \text{\textperiodcentered} nbw \)) Khay (i). The fact that he also appears in the tomb of Mose, suggests once again that the commemoration of social relations extended beyond the limits of single tombs, and should

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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.\textsuperscript{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 18\textsuperscript{th}-
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.\textsuperscript{207} Underneath he sits behind an offering table with his wife Weryt. Facing
them are three sons: the \textit{wab}-priest of the front of Ptah; the goldsmith (\textit{nbwy})
Huy (iii);\textsuperscript{208} the stable master (\textit{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.\textsuperscript{209} The relief is thus unfinished. The son and two
daughters in the row underneath bear neither names nor titles, but column di-
viders suggest once again that a text was intended here. The relief from the
tomb of Mose reveals their names as offering table scribe (\textit{sš \textit{wdḥw}}) Khaemwas-
set, depicted performing the offering to Tatia and Weret, and their daughter
the chantresses of Amun (\textit{šm’yt n Jmn-R}) Tiyt, standing behind them.\textsuperscript{210} Un-
fortunately, 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{212} Oeters’

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{207} Oeters, ‘Tatia’, 62–63.
\item \textsuperscript{208} Inheritance of office and titles was common in ancient Egypt, see also Oeters, ‘Tatia’, 69 with reference to Amenemone.
\item \textsuperscript{209} See also Oeters, ‘Tatia’, 73.
\item \textsuperscript{210} Oeters, ‘Tatia’, 74.
\item \textsuperscript{211} Oeters, ‘Tatia’, 74.
\item \textsuperscript{212} Oeters, ‘Tatia’, 75.
\end{itemize}
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 represented\footnote{Oeters, ‘Tatia’, 75–78.} 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.\footnote{Oeters, ‘Tatia’, 77.} 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,\footnote{Oeters, ‘Tatia’, 75.} 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.\footnote{Farouk Gomaa. \textit{Chaemwese, Sohn Ramses’ II. und Hoherpriester von Memphis}. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1973, 2.} 
2. That Tatia’s daughter is a chantress of the god Amun does not prove her Theban origin.\footnote{Contra Oeters, ‘Tatia’, 75.} Several other chantresses of Amun are known from Memphis.\footnote{Compare Kamish, \textit{Amun}, 50–57. For the current lady, see p. 56.} 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.\footnote{Nico Staring. ‘The personnel of the Theban Ramesseum in the Memphite necropolis.’ \textit{Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux} 45 (2014–2015): 51–92.} 
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.\footnote{Contra Oeters, ‘Tatia’, 78.} 
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).\footnote{Contra Oeters, ‘Tatia’, 77.} 
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.\footnote{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-

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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.
seer of the builders of the Lord of the Two Lands (jmy-rꜢ qaꜢ.w n nb tꜢ.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 formula 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 ‘nh) 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 wdnt) of Ptah Tjelperrep 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.
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’ is broken in three fragments and incomplete. It shows Isis and Osiris and the remains of an offering formula dedicated to the god Ptah. Whether – and how – the lady Wiay, her (?) daughter, and Tjelperre were related to Paser (i) remains unclear. The main cult stela shows the adoration of Isis and Osiris by Paser (i) and his wife Pypuy. 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.

2.2.8 Iniy’s family tomb

Iniy’s family tomb (more commonly known as the tomb of Thutmosis) 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. 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 (ḥry ss-qd m st M3.t), Thutmosis, which is of course the reason why Zivie decided to publish the tomb as the tomb of Thutmosis. Zivie argued that the Bubasteion Thutmosis 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. However, as Friederike Seyfried has argued, the evidence for Thutmose in house P 47.2 stands on rather shaky grounds, and like his neighbour Ma’ia’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.
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 MꜤt) 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 position 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. Interestingly, the key figure knitting the family ties together was not a man, but a woman, namely Thutmosis’ wife, Ini(y) (Fig. 12), who was Kenna’s sister, i.e. making Kenna the brother-in-law of Thutmosis.

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. But there is little evidence the Egyptians thought like that. On the contrary, here it is clear that...
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

²⁴⁹ Zivie, Thoutmes, 97: “qu’il fut familial ou purement professionnel”.
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. 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. On wall D, Thutmosis appears with his wife Iniy, their seven children, and an anonymous sem-priest. 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.

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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 Thutmose’s (eldest?) son Itju, called Rara, who appears dressed as a sem-priest next to his sister, Thutmose’ 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 Thutmose’s brother Kenamun/aton, the jmy-r pr n nb twy Mn-nfr Baki born by Aairetes, and yet again ‘his sister’ Iniwy²⁵⁵ Thutmose’s wife Iniwy 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 Thutmose’s brother,²⁵⁶ i.e. stressing the brother-in-law relationship. As Egyptian couples were usually exclusive, Iniwy was most probably not also married to Baki, hence we should also take the sn.t=ḫ here literally as ‘his sister’ and not his spouse, i.e. the =f here referring to Baki not to Thutmose – identifying Baki, like Kenna, as Thutmose’s brother-in-law.²⁵⁷ The lady Aairetes, who appears as Baki’s mother (or step mother), would then be Thutmose’s mother-in-law.²⁵⁸ So again, the lady Iniwy 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 Thutmose could still be considered as main sponsor of the family and hence the tomb, yet his wife Iniwy 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 an 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.
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: [...], mš urw mš.(n) nb (.l) pr Jwnw jr.t R²(j[t,?) nb.t pr 3ª-jr.t=s 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 Thutmosis and Iniy mentioning Itju called Rara is convincing. Apparently, three generations were represented in the decoration of the tomb, manifesting the artist tradition of the family.

The allegedly second family that appears in the tomb on the walls B, G, and most prominently J is that of Kenna, whom we already related to Thutmosis 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. 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) followed by seven men: his son (name lost), his son the army scribe Panehesy, [his son?] painter at the Place of the Truth Pay (ii), a lost fourth figure holding a scribal palette, his son the draftsman (?) in the gold house (sš-[qd?] m ḫw.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 (jsš-[qd] Ptahemwia (iii). 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. The foremost five are Kenna’s daughters, the last three are his sisters, but these terms have wider relational implications. Their names are: his beloved daughter of his flesh, the chantress (šm‘yt?) Amenawy, justified, his [beloved] daughter (title lost) Nefertari, his daughter with both her name

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260 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 57–58, text 22
262 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 68–80, pl. 29.
263 Zivie, *Thoutmes*, 71 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 [sš] has not been preserved, but it is followed here by ḫ.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.
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 Khâ[yt?],²⁷⁵ his beloved sister, chantress of Amun, Huynefer,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 Luna “made by the official (sḫb) Raja [or Raaton] [and?] the lady of the house Aairetes”.²⁸³ The latter appeared as mother of the jmy-rꜣ pr n nb tꜣwy 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 Amunwia 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

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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). 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. On the east side another standing male is represented which could be Kenna, but no text has been preserved. Finally, on the northern side a kneeling male is visible, again with no inscription, but it could again be a son in adoration.

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. Like Khay (i), Pabes was also troop commander (ḥry-pd.t) and apparently trained by him. 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

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) hry-ꜣ n ḫr-j, ‘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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{297} This interpretation could also explain why “Pabes’ chapel [...] almost create[s] the impression of a memorial chapel for his relatives”.\textsuperscript{298} For example, on the southern doorjamb a text seems to say that [his? i.e. Pabes’] family make their names live (\textit{\(\text{n\rnsf}\)} snw s\textsuperscript{\(\text{nh}\)} rn\textsuperscript{\(\text{w}\)}), which would indeed be highly unusual,\textsuperscript{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 Khaly]” (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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{301} This statue also mentions Pabes’ own children, and hence includes them into the cult: his sons the \textit{wab}-priest Ptahemwia (iv), the temple scribe Semennaatnakht, and the \textit{wab}-priest Amenhotep, and Pabes’ daughters, both chantresses of Ptah, Isis and Nebetakhbit.\textsuperscript{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-

\textsuperscript{296} Martin et al., \textit{Memphite Officials}, 24.
\textsuperscript{297} That this was common practice is also known from Deir el-Medina: Morris L. Bierbrier. ‘Terms of relationship at Deir el-Medina.’ \textit{Journal of Egyptian Archaeology} 66 (1980): 101–102.
\textsuperscript{298} Martin et al., \textit{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., \textit{Memphite Officials}, 28.
\textsuperscript{299} Martin et al., \textit{Memphite Officials}, 21, note 6–7, [7] and pl. 16.
\textsuperscript{300} Martin et al., \textit{Memphite Officials}, 21 [6] and pl. 19.
\textsuperscript{301} Martin et al., \textit{Memphite Officials}, 24 and see Leiden inv. no. AM 108 see Martin et al., \textit{Memphite Officials}, 22 [13] and pl. 24 and 70–71.
\textsuperscript{302} Martin et al., \textit{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. The small figure checking the weighing procedure is identified as deputy commander of traders (jdnw (?) pd.t šwy.ty) Neferher, i.e. working for his superior Pabes. Underneath the name of the chief artisan (hry ḫmw.tjw) Penanuket is written, 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. 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 (jmry-r3 ḫmw.tl) and chief of the goldsmiths (jmry-r3 nbyw) Amenemone (ii) is situated in the northern part of the Teti Pyramid cemetery. Amenemone (ii) is probably the same person that appears as offering bearer in the tomb of Maya. Perhaps his son Ptahmose (iii) was Maya’s personal secretary and is also depicted here. 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” (w’b.w hry.w-ḥb).

The phrase can be understood as ‘your name will be invoked continuously by

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304 The excavators identified as such the first of the men carrying goods, which seems less plausible.
306 See e.g. Hartwig, Tomb painting, 50.
307 Ockinga, Amenemone, 15.
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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textbf{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{314} The south-eastern stela contains a hymn to the sun god, and mentions Ry (i) with his titles \textit{jry-p'ʃ.t h'ty-ʃ htj.w-bj.tj smr w'ty s'b n mnf.t ḫry 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.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{316} but there are a few exceptions. For

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{311} Compare also a similar interpretation of graffiti by individuals with name and title by Staring, ‘Tomb-graffiti’, 90.
\item \textsuperscript{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.’ \textit{Rivista del Museo Egizio} 4 (2020).
\item \textsuperscript{314} Staring, ‘Ry’, Fig. 8.
\item \textsuperscript{315} Berlin, ÅMP inv. no. 7280, see Staring, ‘Ry’, Fig. 14a.
\item \textsuperscript{316} E.g. on a block now in Berlin (ÅMP, inv. no. 7277) that shows two officials with wigs and five bald ones, see Staring, ‘Ry’, Fig. 13.
\end{itemize}
example, on the north wall of the inner sanctuary Ry (i) appears in adoration of Re-Horakhty. 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. The ḥr-jḥ.w Maya (ii) and sdm ʿs Ahanefer present an incense and libation offering in front of Ry (i) and his wife. Finally, a wall on the entrance doorway shows five offering bearers (two of which are female) with traces of a title (ḥr-ḥb). 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 Irwkhhy 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. A lector priest is named in the second court, and perhaps called Nakhthor. Directly adjacent to the south is the tomb of Huynefer (Saqqara tomb S.217), brother of Mahu. 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 Renenh, as well as his brother Mahu. Amenemone (iii)’s wife is called Baketpipu. Unrelated to that family is the tomb of Amenemone (iv), 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).
served unfortunately. From what remains, Amenemone (iv) just mentions his wife Meritptah, but no other family members.  

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 Old and Middle Kingdoms. 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; others see commemoration of historical events underlining the tomb owners’ actual daily activities, i.e. viewing them as autobiographical, or more plausibly both.

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.


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: Propyläen, 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 Walsum, ‘Bioconographies’; and see also Van Walsum, ‘Fallacies’, 240–242 and 267–268 with references and René van Walsum. ‘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. Several other figures remain anonymous, because the upper part of the relief where their names and titles were probably represented has been lost. 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. Raven suggests that this is an indication of him being “one of the *hominens novi*” who rose in status during the reign of Akhenaten, which is possible. In his tomb, Ptahemwia (i) shows himself as a successful official having received the gold of honour. A very illustrative scene showing lots of people is Ptahemwia (i)’s arrival in a harbour scene with three boats and his wife Mia sitting in a nearby tent. 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. Although the hieroglyphs are small and quickly

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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.


338 Note that Raven translates “commander of the escort”, see Raven, *Ptahemwia*, 24 and hints that ḫršms.wf could be an abbreviation of ḫršms.w n nb tš.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 ḫršms.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), and another foreign-looking man in Mia’s tent, yet all are unfortunately unnamed. They could be from Mitanni, like parallels from Horemheb and Huya in Amarna suggest, 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”, 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.
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.\textsuperscript{343} As Drenkhahn notes, the production of weapons in the New Kingdom was usually related to either the palace or temples.\textsuperscript{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 (ḫpš) in Memphis in the Ramesside period.\textsuperscript{345}

Relief parallels mentioned by Raven\textsuperscript{346} are Ipuya’s tomb at the Teti cemetery,\textsuperscript{347} and four loose blocks found by Quibell, one of which mentions a Ky-jry,\textsuperscript{348} a loose block in the SCA storage,\textsuperscript{349} and a detail on the stela of Hor,\textsuperscript{350} and a block now in Florence (inv. no. 2606).\textsuperscript{351}

Yet, Ptahemwia (i) was surely also interested in representing his nuclear family: his wife Mia, their two sons, and another lady called Ipay.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{343} Raven, \textit{Ptahemwia}, 97 [23].
\textsuperscript{346} Raven, \textit{Ptahemwia}, 98.
\textsuperscript{347} See also Sauneron, ‘D’armes de Memphis’, 10, Fig. 1.
\textsuperscript{348} Sauneron, ‘D’armes de Memphis’, 10–11, Fig. 2.
\textsuperscript{349} Martin, \textit{Corpus}, no. 32.
\textsuperscript{351} See also Sauneron, ‘D’armes de Memphis’, 1, Fig. 3. Interestingly the Florence block identifies titles: two sandal makers (bw, a craftsman (and?) a sculptor (ḥmwtj / qdw), but no names.
\textsuperscript{352} Raven, \textit{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-(?)pashemset.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 (jmry-rꜣ 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 sḫb Khaut is known,³⁶¹ and his wife, Anuy.³⁶² Possibly Meryneith also commemo-

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.\(^\text{363}\) 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.\(^\text{364}\) Unfortunately no names were added. The central wall shows an offering scene of Meryneith and Anuy.\(^\text{365}\) The pottery found in the north-west chapel dates to the 19\(^{th}\) dynasty and seems to belong to later burials in that area.\(^\text{366}\) It is thus unclear whether funerary or post-funeral banquets were held here or not.\(^\text{367}\) 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,\(^\text{368}\) various groups arriving by chariot,\(^\text{369}\) and a maximum abundance of supplies.\(^\text{370}\) 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 Hatia, in Amarna Meryre came after Hatia, 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, Hatia is a very common name, and the titles were different, see Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 53.

\(^\text{363}\) 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].

\(^\text{364}\) Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 142 with reference to Werbrouck, *Pleureuses*, 131, although they may appear in other occasions as well.

\(^\text{365}\) Or rather here named Meryre, see Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 143–145 [44].


\(^\text{367}\) See also Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 219 with reference to Hartwig, *Tomb painting*, § 3.2.7.

\(^\text{368}\) Since some reliefs are damaged an exact count is difficult see Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 92–99 [14–16].

\(^\text{369}\) Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 95–97 [15].

Mouth ritual, these are generic titles like lector priest or sem-priest, and no names. 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 Qebekhsenuef, 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. 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, 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-west and north-west chapels, although the higher sections

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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.\textsuperscript{375} Of the central chapel, only a section of the north wall and the lower sections of the screen walls have been preserved.\textsuperscript{376} The walls show some anonymous offering bearers\textsuperscript{377} in relief decoration and the remains of representations of the tomb owner Meryneith.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{380} Behind them two anonymous workmen are engaged in metal production. Besides the burin-bearer (\textit{ṯy-bsn.t}),\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{383} So instead of a commemoration of a single individual by Meryneith, we may speculate that it has 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 extend 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.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[375] Raven and Van Walsem, \textit{Meryneith}, 130–135 [33–36] and 139–149 and [43–46].
\item[376] Raven and Van Walsem, \textit{Meryneith}, 136.
\item[377] Raven and Van Walsem, \textit{Meryneith}, 136 [37].
\item[378] Raven and Van Walsem, \textit{Meryneith}, 137 [39–41], [40] of which in writing.
\item[379] Raven and Van Walsem, \textit{Meryneith}, 138–139 [42].
\item[381] Wb I, 477.6. The excavators translate ‘engraver’, which is commonly translated rather from \textit{ḏy-md3.t} (see Wb II, 188.10).
\item[382] Raven and Van Walsem, \textit{Meryneith}, 139 [42] right.
\item[383] Unfortunately the excavators did not share their thoughts on the matter, see Raven and Van Walsem, \textit{Meryneith}, 139 [42] right.
\end{footnotes}
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 after\(^{387}\) 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 painting 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,

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\(^{385}\) 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.


\(^{389}\) 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.


\(^{392}\) 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.\textsuperscript{393}

The main chapel (B) consists of an antechapel and a sanctuary separated by two screen walls almost entirely lost.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{395} Inside, the antechapel contained a family scene on its southern wall: Iniuia sits on a chair, with his wife standing behind him, and probably their daughter Meritre sitting on his footstool.\textsuperscript{396} The fact that the woman smells the lotus seems to indicate that she predeceased her two brothers,\textsuperscript{397} Penanhori 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 prrt.t formula, typical also for statues of the time, Iniuia here mentions his parents, not elsewhere attested as the sib Juny and the mistress of the house We[sl]y.\textsuperscript{398} The main offering stela in the sanctuary shows yet again the whole family. In the upper register Iniuia and Iuya 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 Penanhori, and their sisters/wives Meritre and Wiay.\textsuperscript{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 Iniuia is determined as justified, perhaps indicating that when the stela was erected his wife and daughter were still alive (as indeed the brothers).\textsuperscript{400} This idea is supported by a relief showing Iuya presenting a flower bouquet to the justified Iniuia (with the epitheton “justified” after his name)
on the west wall of the sanctuary, left of the main stela. On the southern wall, a very lively and unusual relief shows Iniuia turning towards his wife, clearly a remnant of the Amarna art. On the same wall, Iniuia also commemorates his profession as overseer of the cattle of the temple of Amun, showing three herds supervised by anonymous employees. Another of his tasks that he was proud to display was his involvement in international trade: on a block now in the Cairo Museum, Iniuia supervises the delivery of vessels from a boat that was already identified as Phoenician by George Daressy, long before his tomb was rediscovered. The scene shows Iniuia 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. Probably above this scene, in a middle register is another scene of Iniuia at work, here giving orders to two accountants, his servants, and employees. Also here the scribes turn their heads towards their master in aspiration, still writing, 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. This text thus suggests once again that Iniuia expects to reach the state of the justified in the afterlife as a reward for what he has done on earth.

401 Schneider, Iniuia, 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, Iniuia, 87). It is, however, unlikely that Iniuia 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, Iniuia, 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, Iniuia, 87–88 and Fig. III.35. On stylistic aspects see Schneider, Iniuia, 120.

403 Schneider, Iniuia, 88–90 and Fig. III.36b-d.

404 Cairo TN 25.6.24a.7 (SR 11935), see Schneider, Iniuia, 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, Iniuia, 92 and Fig. III.37.

406 Cairo TN 3.7.24.13, see Schneider, Iniuia, 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, Iniuia, 92–93 and Fig. III.38.
like was indicated by the epitheton above. 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.

Outside the chapel entrance was flanked by two stelae, of which only the northern one has been fully preserved. It shows Iniua in adoration of Re-Horakhty (left) and Atum (right) above the main text field that has a hymn to rising sun god Re. 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. The lintel and the column mention Iniua only.

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. The rock-cut tomb of Maïa (Bubasteion I.20) belongs to the wet nurse of king Tutankhamun. 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 Ini and Thutmosis, Maïa had no seemingly interest to commemorate her family, but rather wished

\[409\] See also Schneider, *Iniua*, 93.
\[410\] Schneider, *Iniua*, 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, *Iniua*, 71–75 and Figs. III.23–24a.
\[412\] Schneider, *Iniua*, 72–73 and Fig. III.23.
\[413\] Schneider, *Iniua*, 73–75 and Fig. III.24a. Schneider mentions a parallel in Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 43–45.
\[414\] Schneider, *Iniua*, 75–77 and Fig. III.25–26.
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. ‘Hatay, 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’t nswt) royal tutor (mn’t nswt), and foster brother/sister of the Lord of the Two Lands (sn/snt mn’t n nb tīwy). 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.
damaged but it seems clear that all figures remain intentionally anonymous.\textsuperscript{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”.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{427} but it seems an odd name not fit for the 18\textsuperscript{th} 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. In seems quite doubtful that the text originally belonged to the figure below; rather it is likely a later graffito\textsuperscript{428} of a high priest writing himself into the memory of the tomb, possibly in

\begin{footnotesize} 
\textsuperscript{425} Zivie, \textit{Maïa}, 47. 
\textsuperscript{426} ḫm-\textit{nfr tpy ḫbtwy ḫṣy ṯ n Ṣpsy jmy ḫmnhw, see Zivie, \textit{Maïa}, 48, text 17 and pl. 28. 
\textsuperscript{427} Zivie, \textit{Maïa}, 48, note 1. 
\textsuperscript{428} Personal communication Willem Hovestreydt. 
\end{footnotesize}
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 titles as “scribe of the overseer of the troop-house [of workers] (sš šjm-y-rꜢ gs-pr) Tetinefer” and “scribe of the offering table (sš wḏḥw)” Ahmose. Zivie wondered if the latter could be identical to another Ahmose, scribe and director of the two granaries (šš šjm-y-rꜢ šn.w.t), shown in adoration of the god Osiris underneath the lady Maïa on the doorway of the second room on the eastern panel, and would hence belong to her reminiscence cluster. Probably the parallel scene in adoration of the god Anubis on the west had an named individual too, but unfortunately none has been preserved so we do not know whether Ahmose was represented there as well or another official.

On the east wall of the second chamber the Opening of the Mouth ritual on the mummy of Maïa is depicted. 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. 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. 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. 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. In front of the text a bald official with a thick necklace presents a large offering table. The text identifies him as šjm-y-rꜢ šnt Rahotep, surely the same person in spite of a possible the variant in title. His title clarifies the close institutional relation between Rahotep and Maïa. 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 ḫr-nš n mnn.t nsw šd.t ntr MꜢṯjī: Zivie, Maïa, 65 and pl. 37 and see Skumsnes, Gender, 184.
437 Zivie, Maïa, 64.
438 Zivie, Maïa, 63.
the addition ḫr nṯr Ⲝ (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, 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. 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. 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, 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. The text on the lower western panel identifies the priest as the lector priest (ḥry-hb) Thothmenekhu. 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. 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. 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-

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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.
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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{451} Ptahmose (iii) was most probably identical to his namesake, the son of the overseer of the craftsmen (\textit{jm\textit{y-r3 hmw.t}) Amenemone (ii) who was buried in the tomb in the Teti Pyramid cemetery discussed above.\textsuperscript{452} His father also appeared as offering bearer in the tomb of Maya in another queue of employees.\textsuperscript{453} Returning to the queue of offering bearers on the northern wall of the pylön 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

\textsuperscript{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, \textit{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, \textit{Maya}, 32 [35] and pls 27–28 and 90.

\textsuperscript{451} Martin, \textit{Maya}, 34 [38] and pl. 29. Below him Maya’s employee the scribe of the treasury Iny accounts for the cattle Maya had received.

\textsuperscript{452} Ockinga, \textit{Amenemone}, 18.

\textsuperscript{453} Ockinga, \textit{Amenemone}, 19 and Martin, \textit{Maya}, 33 [36] and pl. 28.
been left unfinished.” 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. 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 Pthahmose (iii) shown in the original design, and why was Pthahmose (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. 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. 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).

454 Martin, Maya, 19 and pl. 60, no. 7.
456 Compare, for example, Eastmond, ‘Inscriptions’, 2 and see e.g. 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 Belekdani, 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.
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, 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. 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. 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. 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

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.

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 “turricephalic”,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 (...) Amenemone {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.
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 ḫr bīk 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 Qebeh, and the draftsman Huy (v) are shown preparing offerings.⁴⁷³ Interestingly Huy (v) has the epithet whm ‘nh “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 Djedptahiuefankh, 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 ḥs (n) Mṛt.t m pī(y)s pr Pтаhемhеб 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].
⁴⁷³ Relief recorded by Lepsius, now lost, see LD III, 242b/c Martin, Maya, 36 and pl. 32 [42].
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. 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).

![Image of Horemheb receiving the gold of honour]

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. Very few individuals are named. Like Meryneith, Horemheb presented himself as a successful state official surrounded by many anonymous employees. 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 banqueting. 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, as we shall see. 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. 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. All these elements together symbolise the good order of Egypt (= Maat) as guaranteed by the king. 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. 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 epithet ‘companion on his Lord upon the battlefield of this day of killing the Asiatics’ (‘jry rdwy nb-f prjt hrw pn n sm’ sjt’), on the south jamb of the statue room, see Martin, Tutankhamun’s regent, 56 [57] and pl. 25.
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. 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, i.e. “in a place where [...] a son or other relative of the deceased might be expected”. 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, 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. Interestingly, in both texts the name seems to have been amended by adding the new name and title over a previously mentioned private secretary (ššꜤ.šš) Sementawy. 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.

490 See also Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 24.
492 Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 55.
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, Pehehnefer 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. Pehehnefer’s⁵⁰² sons Horemhebemnetjer 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 Pehehnefer’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’ (ḥry-tp m pr-mds.t, i.e. overseer of the archive, see Wb I, 515.12.

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-mds.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,
⁵⁰¹ Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 55.
⁵⁰⁵ Martin, *Tutankhamun’s regent*, 87 [79] and pls 49, 147–148. For the reading see Ranke, *Personenamen* I, 264.8. The excavators mention this reading in footnote 522 on p. 169, but seem to prefer Minkhayr 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. He suggested that Horemheb himself was the receiver of the honours, 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. In an interesting relief fragment from the tomb of Horemheb, possibly from the north side of the antechapel (D), 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 (ḥry-ḥb.t-f) and sem-priest (sm), both cut over the original inscription [and] over the shaven head of the priest a short wig was later carved in plaster.” 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. The tomb of Tia and Tia puts more emphasis on religious representa-
tions, and commemoration of the royal family, 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. 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 from) Abydos (Fig. 20).

On the sailing boat, the scribe Iurudef is “in the process of securing the rope to prow” the barque of Tia and Tia. 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. Two other individuals are named here: the one overseeing the work, Minhotep, and one of the men helping with the sail, Amenemope (v). The excavators suggested that Iurudef was perhaps not only Tia’s

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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 Vughts 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. AAd22, see Jacobus van Dijk. ‘The family and career of Tia.’ In: The tomb of Tia and Tia: a
employee, but also his relative.\textsuperscript{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”.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{522} In Iurudef’s own tomb very few reliefs have been preserved, but the ones we have only show Iurudef himself and his wife.\textsuperscript{523} Another attestation of Iurudef is on a stela now in the Oriental Museum in Durham (inv. no. 1965),\textsuperscript{524} which was dedicated by

\textsuperscript{521} Raven, \textit{Iurudef}, 2, note 6.
\textsuperscript{522} Van Dijk, ‘Career of Tia’, 56.
\textsuperscript{523} Raven, \textit{Iurudef}, 4–5 and see another relief found in 1993 (Schneider, \textit{Iniuia}, 104 and Fig. III.66) and that might have been from Tia’s tomb or Iurudef’s.
\textsuperscript{524} Martin, \textit{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 Panakhtennu 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 mum-mified 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 (sḏm ⲟ, here perhaps to

⁵²⁵ Raven, Iurudef, 4.
⁵²⁶ Raven, Iurudef, 4, note 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 [62] 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”\textsuperscript{533} in the sense of generic obeying staff personnel\textsuperscript{534}). The third man in the row, Djedamennakht, brings a calf, and behind him, a man called Tjelamun\textsuperscript{535} 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”.\textsuperscript{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 (\textit{jr.t=s h.t nb.t r nw}), but also explicitly against any rubbing out of writing (\textit{sjn.t=sn sš jm}).\textsuperscript{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”.\textsuperscript{538} The person at the rear of the queue is too damaged to tell

\textsuperscript{533} Compare discussion in Jaroslav Černý. \textit{A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period} (2\textsuperscript{nd} ed.). Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 2001, 29.


\textsuperscript{535} A man called Tjelamun 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, \textit{Tia}, 37 [109] and pls 57 and 165. For the identification of the two Tjelamuns see Martin, \textit{Tia}, 25, note 3. Unfortunately, the stela’s provenance is unclear.

\textsuperscript{536} Martin, \textit{Tia}, 25 [62] and pls 37 and 146.

\textsuperscript{537} Urk I, 70.15–71.2, for \textit{sjn} see Wb IV, 39 and see James P. Allen. ‘Some aspects of the non-royal afterlife in the Old Kingdom.’ In: \textit{The Old Kingdom art and archaeology: proceedings of the conference held in Prague, May 31–June 4, 2004} edited Miroslav Báta, 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.’ \textit{Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo} 13 (1944): 9–12 and see Morschauser, \textit{Threat-formula}, 73 – 76.

\textsuperscript{538} KRI VI 533.12–13, see Morschauser, \textit{Threat-formula}, 195. This is also a common warning in the ‘pious’ graffiti at Deir el-Bahari, see Morschauser, \textit{Threat-formula}, 196, and see Ashraf I. Sadek. ‘An attempt to translate the corpus of the Deir El-Bahri hieratic inscriptions.’ \textit{Göttinger
whether there was an inscription. Tjelamun appears again with an oryx, in the corresponding queue on the north wing of the west wall.³³⁹

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

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Martin, Tia, 25 [66] and pls 39 and 149 (unfortunately not very visible in the photograph).


Skumsnes, *Gender*, 114.

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.


importance of the career of the tomb owners in tomb representations with respect to funerary rituals, it seems in fact that it was these networks that were emphasised. 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”. 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, 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.”

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”. 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”. 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”. 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 Frood (‘Piety, change and display in the New Kingdom.’ In: *Ramesside 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.
(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.