Chapter 4: The veneration of gods and ancestors at Saqqara and beyond

Rather than just focussing on the tombs, this chapter addresses religious activities in a broader area and aims to address the interaction of people between temples and tombs and vice versa, which together shaped what I coined as the cultural geography of Saqqara.

4.1 The cultural geography of Memphis

The necropolis served as extra-urban space of Memphis,¹ i.e. reproducing both the social and religious representations of the living community.² Hence vice versa it is worthwhile to look into religious practices at the city itself. Few traces of the city of Memphis have been preserved, but it is clear people had houses and offices as well as various temples, and a harbour.³ Texts like the Ramesside hymn to Memphis mention a whole range of gods (potentially each with their

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² Compare also Warner, The Living and the Dead, 287.

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own temple or chapel yet to be attested archeologically). The temple of Ptah in Memphis, of which traces remain at modern Mit Rahina, was among the most important and influential in the whole country of Egypt in the New Kingdom. For example, Papyrus Harris attests 3079 priests and other employees, 6919 acres of fields, and 10047 animals in the course of the 20th dynasty alone. As was common elsewhere in Egypt, the Ptah temple in Memphis was subject to renovations and clearing activities during its time of use. For example, excavator William Flinders Petrie mentioned 40 stelae and 150 fragments in a deposit in the west hall of the temple, dating to the reign of Ramesses II, which were cleared from an 18th-dynasty use. These stelae show people in adoration of Ptah, several ear stelae, and some associating the god Ptah with the king slaying his enemies, attesting a vivid votive practice. As mentioned above, the ears on the stelae emphasise that the god was actually meant to be listening, and indeed that temple had a soundscape to which all visitors listened voluntarily and involuntarily, providing yet again various responses. An example is a stela of a mistress of the house, Tanetjunu, who is shown kneeling in front of a representation of three offering tables underneath five listening ears and singing a hymn.

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9 Petrie, *Memphis* I, pls 9–13, compare also the ostracon mentioned above. More stelae from Memphis and indeed elsewhere were collected by Toye-Dubs, l’oreille, 9–13. As an aside we may note that the objects that were formerly in the Museum Scheurleer are no longer in the The Hague, but in Hanover. The museum existed between 1905 and 1935 and its archaeological collections were mainly sold to the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden and the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam. The S-numbers are Freiherr Wilhelm von Bissing numbers for ‘stone’. S 60 is a palette from Tarkhan that ended up in the RMO (F 1938/10.12); S 27 is in the Museum August Kestner in Hanover (inv. no. 1935.200.687) as is S 995 (inv. no. 1935.200.203) Object information with thanks to Ben van den Bercken and Christian Loeben.

10 Petrie, *Memphis* I, pls 7–8.c

to the gods Ptah and Sakhmet. This stela, whose location is no longer known, is also particularly interesting because above her a scribe of the treasury of the two lands, Ramose, is attested adoring the two gods, who could thus potentially have been a colleague of ‘our’ Maya (the overseer of that very treasury). Unfortunately the Ramose (ii) attested in Maya’s tomb, has no title, and the name of his wife is unknown to us, so any idea that the Ramose on the stela could be the same character must remain tentative. Unfortunately, no other names from those ear stelae can be linked to the Saqqara tombs. Yet since it is quite clear that many of the tomb owners lived and worked at Memphis, and some were born there, it would seem plausible that they contributed at least occasionally to the cult of Ptah and potentially other Memphite gods. To understand the broader picture it is therefore useful to conceptualise the area as a wider ‘cultural geography’, i.e. as the result of individuals and groups in dynamic mutual interaction with their human-made and natural surroundings, even though we can only seldomly grasp people’s activities in detail. We should still see the cultural geography of Memphis and Saqqara as the result of individuals and groups who continuously shaped a more or less distinct environment, and vice versa their agency was shaped by it, altogether generating meaning.

In other words, the

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12 Toye-Dubs, l’oreille, 152, 184, Fig. 41 with reference to Petrie, Memphis I, pl. 11, 20.
13 In fact, we do not even know if Tanetjunu was Ramose’s wife or what relationship joined them on the stela.
14 A candidate is an ear stela of Amenmose now in Manchester (inv. no. 4906), but the name is way too common as to link him to a specific individual. Design is an ambivalent criterion. ‘Our’ Leiden high priest of Ptah Meryptah, would probably have chosen a more elaborate design than a stela now in Cairo (JE 3517), see Toye-Dubs, l’oreille, 150 – 151, Figs. 35 and 41, for the former with reference to Petrie, Memphis I, pl. 10, 10, the later is otherwise unpublished. Some high-ranking figures are, however, known to have donated very simple stelae e.g. Louvre AF 2576 of the vizier Paser (ii), see Christine Raedler. ‘Die kosmische Dimension pharaonischer Gunst.’ In: Pharaos Staat: Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 75. Geburtstag edited by Dirk Bröckelmann and Andrea Klug, 145 – 158. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006, 148 and Figs 1 and 2.
15 History of the term with references see Staring, Twiston Davies, and Weiss, Perspectives, 8. “Culture consists of the derivatives of experience, more or less organised, learned or created by the individuals of a population, including those images or encodings and their interpretations (meanings) transmitted from past generations, from contemporaries, or formed by individuals themselves” as defined by Theodore Schwartz. ‘Anthropology and Psychology: An Unrequited Relationship.’ In: New Directions in Psychological Anthropology edited by Theodore Schwartz, Geoffrey M. White, and Catherine Lutz, 324. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. See also Amos Rapoport. ‘Systems of Activities and Systems of Settings.’ Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space. An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study edited by Susan Kent, 9. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
16 Anderson, Cultural Geography, 5.
conceptualisation of the area as cultural geography adds a spatial component to our question of religious practices in that area, thereby reminding us once again that not all traces of practices are necessarily always religiously motivated. The strategies of creating and maintaining reminiscence clusters always aimed at both religious and social coherence but, as shown below, these strategies were not confined to the tombs only.

4.2 Worshipping gods and divine ancestors at Saqqara

The evidence we have suggests that offering practices for the ancestors were linked not only to tombs in ancient Egypt, but also to chapels located elsewhere. This is the case, for example, for the smaller memorial monuments by Tia and Parahotep mentioned above, but also for chapels in Gebel el-Silsila, which belonged to people known to have had tombs at Thebes.¹ The monument of Parahotep at Saqqara explicitly addresses the female mourners of the living Apis (ṣ.wt n ḫn)¹⁸ and others to provide incense, libations, and a speech offering on their way to the Apis chapel, i.e. strongly suggesting that the monument lay on its procession route. But there are also monuments in temples that mention tomb offerings, raising the question of how practices at Memphis and Saqqara interacted.¹⁹ Tjuneroy, Amenemone (ii), and others tied themselves to the veneration of their (royal) ancestors by means of tomb representations, and many other individuals worshipped deified kings like Teti, Menkauhor, and Djoser by means of statues (e.g. Fig. 26),²⁰ votive stelae,²¹ and shabti,²² as well as ostra-

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¹⁸ Moursi, ‘Re-Hotep’, 322, Fig. 1 line 9 and 325 The title is also known from the Apis stelae at the Serapeum e.g. Louvre Apis stela no. 8, see TLA, DZA 31.307.720 and Wb V, 408.2–3.
¹⁹ See also Raedler, ‘Prestige’, 151. On his statue the Apis is not mentioned, but regular offering formulæ to Ptah and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, and Osiris-Wennefer on behalf of Parahotep, see Altenmüller and Moussa, ‘Rahotep’. Ohara, Memphis, 268, suggests the statue might have “acted as a mediator to the god Ptah of Memphis for people passing by.”
²⁰ A fantastic example is today in the Musée d’archéologie Mediterranéenne in Marseille (inv. no. 211). It shows the deceased couple kneeling in front of the god Osiris while on the two sides of his throne husband and wife respectively are shown adoring Teti standing in his pyramid, see Philippe Collombert. ‘Groupe statuaire de Amenouahsou et Henoutoudjebou devant Osiris.’ In: Khâemouaset, le prince archéologue: savoir et pouvoir à l’époque de Ramsès II edited by Alain Charron and Christophe Barbotin, 52–53. Arles; Gand: Musée départemental Arles antique; Snoeck 2016.
²¹ Malek, ‘Old and new’.
4.2 Worshipping gods and divine ancestors at Saqqara

Apart from the examples already mentioned we may note a shabti of Puyemre (temp. Thutmose III) that was found in a model coffin about 100 m east of the enclosure of Djoser. The man is known as the owner of TT 39, so a burial context is perhaps unlikely, see Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 278 with reference to De Garis Davies, *Puyemre*, and JE 50035, see Gunn, ‘Puyemre’, 157–159. Whether the area near Sekhemkhet’s enclosure was also an area of veneration is unclear: nine New Kingdom shabti were found there, but they may as well come from burial contexts, see Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 278 with reference only to the 25th dynasty shabti of the Theban governor Montuemhat found north of the mastaba of Ptahhotep, see Norman de Garis Davies. *The mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep at Saqqarah (2 vols).* Archaeological Survey of Egypt 8 – 9. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1900 – 1901, 6 – 7 and see Zakaria Goneim. ‘The discovery of a new step pyramid enclosure of the Third Dynasty at Saqqara.’ In: *Proceedings of the twenty-third International Congress of Orientalists, Cambridge 21st-28th August, 1954* edited by Denis Sinor, 57–58. London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1956 and Zakaria Goneim. ‘Discovery of a new Step Pyramid enclosure of the Third Dynasty at Saqqara.’ *Bulletin de l’Institut d’Égypte* 36 (2) (1953 – 1954): 559 – 581.
ca and graffiti,²³ and surely once again by a wide range of perishable practices that we can no longer grasp.²⁴

The evidence discussed above is not repeated here. Instead the following two sub-sections address some practices that were performed for the gods ((Ptah-)Sokar(-Osiris) and Apis, where possible with reference to acting individuals and groups.

4.2.1 The Sokar festival

The Sokar festival is relatively well-studied²⁵ and attested through almost the whole history of ancient Egypt from at least²⁶ the Pyramid texts to the Late Period, in Saqqara but also in Abydos²⁷ and Thebes. Nevertheless, a comprehensive understanding is difficult. The sources are far apart chronologically and not necessary meant to be accurate accounts²⁸. We do know that it was a barque proces-
sion of the god Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, leading from Memphis to Saqqara, in which different types of barques (mostly so-called Henu – but also Maati and Jab-netjeru – barques) were used in different periods to transport cult objects and staff\(^{29}\)). The festival lasted several days and some practices are relatively clear, such as that the Henu-barque was put on a sledge, that it moved around Memphis\(^{31}\) on the 26\(^{th}\) day of the fourth month of the flood season (Choiak), and that (Ptah-)Sokar-Osiris’ epitheta were read out aloud.\(^{32}\) Other sources mention individuals wearing (spring) onions around their neck to celebrate (šms-k Skr ḥḏ.w r ḥḥ=ḵ). The onions may seem odd to the modern reader but they symbolised the renewal or rejuvenation of the god as well as the deceased ancestors at the necropolis, just as the festival as a whole does. Associations with other gods such as Hathor and Nefertem indicate a solar aspect as well\(^{34}\) – indeed certainly in the New Kingdom closely intertwined as Solar-Osirian union. Unfortunately, only relative vague references are made to the festival in the Saqqara sources. For example, Ptahmose (v) mentions on one of his Djed-pillars that he came before Sokar-Osiris,\(^{35}\) possibly hinting at a procession, but it is quite unclear who participated in these festivals and in what way. What we do know is that just like the Apis procession, people wished to attend it, and expressed

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30 See also Edwards, ‘Shetayet’, 33.


32 After the calendar of Ramesses III in the temple of Medinet Habu, see Siegfried Schott. Alltägyptische Festdaten, Abhandlungen der Mainzer Akademie der Wissenschaften, Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse, Wiesbaden, 1950, 971, see Backes, ‘Sokar’. Wolfgang Helck constructs an association with metal working that seems questionable, see Helck, ‘Sokar’.


that wish in writing.\textsuperscript{36} For example, a fragmentary statue of a royal scribe and overseer of the two granaries (\textit{sš nsw jmy-r ť śnwty}) Ry (iii), found in the Memphite temple of Ptah mentioned above, hopes that the reader of his offering formula may “follow [the god] Sokar, unite with the Lord of the Henu-bark (...) and lay your hands upon the draw ropes” (\textit{\'wšr.w.t}\textsuperscript{37} (i.e. possibly actually pulling the barque)),\textsuperscript{38} although its not so clear whether this ‘following’ here is meant in this world or the next, or (most probably) both.

### 4.2.2 Religious activity at the Serapeum

The Serapeum was the burial place for the bull god Apis, used from the reign of king Amenhotep III until the 2\textsuperscript{nd} century CE.\textsuperscript{39} We have seen above that the 19\textsuperscript{th} dynasty vizier Parahotep (\textit{temp. Ramesses II}) requested incense and libation in his favour every time somebody visited the tomb of Apis.\textsuperscript{40} More specifically prince Khaemwaset adds to that the “presenting one’s two arms” (i.e. in adoration) and remembering his name by means of an offering formula (to be recited) on the altar of the temple (\textit{[jmm] n=j qbh snt\={r} ĥnk n=j ‘wy-tn šh\={r} \(=\)j m ĥt-p-dj-nsw \(=\)hr t\(=\) h\(=\)sw.t hw.t-\textsuperscript{ntjr}).\textsuperscript{41}

Excavating the Serapeum from 1852, Mariette coined the following terminology: “caveau isolés” for the eight subterranean burial chambers of Apis bulls that died between Amenhotep III and year 30 of Ramesses II, “petits souterrains” for those that were used after that year until year 21 of Psamtik I, and “grand sou-

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{36} For a brief diachronical overview including various religious ceremonies except for the Sokar festival see see Klotz, ‘Participation’, 323–335.
\item \textsuperscript{37} Wb I, 252.3–8.
\item \textsuperscript{38} Gaballa and Kitchen, ‘Sokar’, 26, with reference to the text on the back of a statue apparently now in Dublin, see Petrie, \textit{Memphis} I, 8 and pl. 19.
\item \textsuperscript{39} Schneider, \textit{Shabtis} I, 278, with reference to Mariette, \textit{Sérapeum}. A recent summary is found in Nenad Marković. ‘Changes in urban and sacred landscapes of Memphis in the third to the fourth centuries AD and the eclipse of the divine Apis bulls.’ \textit{Journal of Egyptian Archaeology} 104 (2) (2018): 195.
\item \textsuperscript{40} Stela JE 48845, see Shubert, \textit{Appeal}, 262–263 and KRI III, 55.
\item \textsuperscript{41} Statue base at the Serapeum see Gomaa`, \textit{Chaenwese}, 81, no. 37, see Shubert, \textit{Appeal}, 273 and KRI II, 879.15–16. Note that because of the literal translation of \textit{ḥt-p-dj-nsw} as an offering that the king gives, some authors have suggested that it indicates the royal permission to get a tomb in the necropolis, see Nigel C. Strudwick. \textit{Texts from the Pyramid Age}, Leiden: Brill, 2005, 31. The idea that providing private offerings was a royal monopoly is to be rejected (see also Shubert, \textit{Appeal}, 380 for a brief discussion of the matter).
\end{itemize}
terrain” for the area used in Saitic and Ptolemaic times.\(^4\) The “petits souterrains” were used for votive shabtis in the shape of Apis bulls\(^3\), for mummified anthropo-

oid-shapes, and for votive stelae. For Mariette, “these Ramesside stelae represented the transition” from above-ground votive stelae to votive stelae in niches, “rais[ing] questions of access and audience”.\(^4\) In absence of any traces of above-

ground structures, it is difficult to tell whether that practice was new, in the sense of a transition, yet it is clear that the high officials demonstrated their at-
tachment to the god Apis (as well as Ptah) by means of votive gifts.\(^4\) Interestingly,

also a mummy was found in the Serapeum that has been attributed to the high priest of Ptah, Khaemwaset son of Ramesses II, who died in his 55\(^{th}\) year. He was believed to be buried elsewhere at Saqqara, and then moved to the Ser-

apeum in the 26\(^{th}\) dynasty,\(^4\) i.e. a few centuries after his death. It has been pro-

posed that this was done because it was then still known how involved Khaem-

waset was with the Serapeum (witnessing two Apis burials, the second of which\(^4\) as high priest of Ptah), and it therefore felt appropriate to those in the

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\(^4\) Gomaà, Chaemwese, 52 and see also Schneider, Shabtis I, 278 with reference to Mariette, Sér-

apeum I, 70 ff. and see e.g. Gomaà, Chaemwese, 39. For a recent summary of events see Élisabeth

David, ‘Mariette au Sérapéum, 1850 – 1854.’ In: Khâemouaset, le prince archéologue: savoir et pou-

voir à l’époque de Ramsès II. edited by Alain Charron and Christophe Barbotin, 76 – 79.

Gand: Musée départemental Arles antique; Snoeck, 2016 and see Florence Gombert-Meurice,

‘L’inventaire Mariette et les objets du Sérapéum.’ In: Khâemouaset, le prince archéologue: savoir et pou-

voir à l’époque de Ramsès II. edited by Alain Charron and Christophe Barbotin, 80 – 83.

Gand: Musée départemental Arles antique; Snoeck, 2016.

\(^4\) Schneider, Shabtis I, 288 – 289. He notes some curious figures with falcon and jackal heads

from Luxor described by Wiedemann which Schneider does not consider as shabti, see Alfred

Wiedemann. ‘Notes on some Egyptian Monuments.’ Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archae-

ology 33 (1911): 166 – 167, pl. 25, 4 and 6, see Schneider, Shabtis I, 314, note 121.

\(^4\) Frood, ‘Role-play’, 73 with reference to Auguste Mariette. Le Sérapeum de Memphis (2 vols)


\(^4\) See also Alain Charron. ‘Le taureau Apis, vie et mort d’un animal sacré.’ In: Khâemouaset, le

prince archéologue: savoir et pouvoir à l’époque de Ramsès II edited by Alain Charron and Chris-

tophe Barbotin, 97. Arles; Gand: Musée départemental Arles antique; Snoeck, 2016, with refer-

cence to the stela of Piya (Louvre IM 59361 and see below.

\(^4\) Schneider, Shabtis I, 283 with reference to Jean Yoyotte. ‘Trois généraux de la XIXe dynastie

(à propos de l’Egyptien Suta, KUB III, 57).’ Orientalia 23 (3) (1954): 227. For a summary of his life

see Fisher, Ramesses II, vol I, 103 – 105.

\(^4\) Khaemwaset did not become high priest of Ptah before year 16 of Ramesses II, which sug-

gests his predecessor Huy (vi) and the vizier Paser (ii) buried the Apis in that year. Schneider

(Shabtis I, 313 – 314, note 118) suggested that Khaemwaset put their shabti to the Apis burial

on their behalf in year 30, during the next burial that he orchestrated. This is possible, but

only fully convincing if we follow Schneider’s idea that Khaemwaset established this practice
26th dynasty to include him in the cult there. However, there have been some doubts recently, noting that the associated amulets mentioned the living Khäemwaset and not the ‘Osiris’. Therefore, perhaps, some sort of enigmatic ritual function of the ensemble is perhaps more plausible, like Florence Gombert-Meaurice had recently suggested. Unfortunately the mummy is lost, and its dating cannot be confirmed.

No superstructure was recorded by Mariette, although some elements are known that could have been part of it or the Serapeum proper. Of the “caveau isolé”, especially no. 8 is interesting. It contained the burial of the Apis bulls that died in the years 16 and 30 of Ramesses II, but also various shabtis among which are those of Khäemwaset and Paser (ii). The two shabtis of Khaemwaset stood in a niche next to the entrance at the eastern wall; two niches contained Paser (ii)’s shabti boxes.

Both men also donated jewelry, amulets, and shabtis to the Apis, as did Khaemwaset’s elder brother the prince Ramesses, his predecessors in the office

(Schneider, Shabtis I, 287), which seems doubtful in view of the votive practice as described in chapter 3.


51 From the tombe isolée C8: Louvre IM 2973 and IM 3703, see Bovot, ‘Serviteurs’, 124.

52 Louvre AF 6794–5, see Gomaa, Chaemwese, 78, cat. 15 and see Schneider, Shabtis I, 279 who corrected the wall Gomaa took over wrongly from as south from Mariette, Sérapeum, pl. 10.

53 Schneider, Shabtis I, 265 with reference to Mariette, Sérapeum and see Gombert-Meaurice, ‘L’inventaire’. The vizier Paser (ii) donated to the so-called ‘caveau 8’ pottery boxes with a reclining Anubis on top which were placed in two niches in the southern wall of the chamber.

54 Paser (ii) donated two pectorals (Louvre IM 2893; IM 2894; see Gombert-Meaurice. In: Charron and Barbotin (eds), Khämouaset, 116–117), Khaemwaset donated a diadem (IM 5377), a pectoral in the shape of a falcon (IM 5389), a heart amulet (IM 5373), a papyrus column amulet (N 759/IM 5391 indeed registered under the same number as the tit-amulet below), a tit amulet (N 759/IM 5391), a necklace (IM 5390, actually without a name but associated with the others and the mummy, like two uninscribed amulets one of Thoth and one of Horus, IM 5800 and IM 5799), see Gombert-Meaurice. In: Charron and Barbotin (eds), Khämouaset, 278–282.
of high priest of Ptah, Huy (vi),\(^5\) and Hori,\(^6\) the steward of Memphis Ptahmose (v),\(^7\) the great governor of Memphis, Huy (vii),\(^8\) Userhat,\(^9\) the royal scribe and overseer of the treasury Suty,\(^10\) the overseer of the sculptors Hatay,\(^11\) the temple scribe of Ptah Pahery,\(^12\) the offering scribe of Ptah Khay (v),\(^13\) the scribe Piay,\(^14\) the lady Isisnofret,\(^15\) the mourner of Apis Takharu,\(^16\) the wab-priest and

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55 By both Khaemwaset and Paser (ii): Louvre IM 2889 or IM 2884, IM 2880, IM 3445 (?), IM 2888, IM 2896, see Florence Gombert-Meurice. In: Charron and Barbotin (eds), *Khâemouaset*, 112–115.

56 For a description including those potentially removed prior to Mariette’s excavations see e.g. Schneider, *Shabtis*, I, 280–282.

57 Louvre IM 2871 and IM 2943, see Bovot, ‘Serviteurs’, 134 and see Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 282 with reference to Louvre SH 82, see Mariette, *Sérapeum*, pl. 13.

58 Louvre IM 3263, see Bovot, ‘Serviteurs’, 128 and see Mariette, *Sérapeum*, pl. 10, Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 282 and see Louvre SH 115 and CG 47161.

59 From the *tome isolée* C8, Louvre S 1738, see Bovot, ‘Serviteurs’, 125 and see Mariette, *Sérapeum*, pl. 10 and Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 282.

60 Louvre IM 2870, see Bovot, ‘Serviteurs’, 135 and Desti, ‘Sérapéum’, 88–89.


62 KRI II, p. 369. “To be associated with the Apis burial of either year 16 or 30 of Ramesses II (Caveau 8; Mariette room G). Frood (‘Role Play’, 117) agrees with Van Dijk (Jacobus van Dijk. ‘Maya’s chief sculptor Userhat-Hatiay: with an oath on the length of the reign of Horemheb.’ *Göttinger Miszellen* 148 (1995): 33–34) that the Giza stela and Serapeum shabti might belong to another Userhat. A positive identification would imply that Userhat was in his 70s to 80s when he dedicated the shabti. Willems (1998, p. 232 with n. 5) rejects the identification of both stela and shabti, drawing on the problems caused by the “long” reign of Horemheb as discussed by Jürgen von Beckerath. ‘Das Problem der Regierungsdauer Haremhabs.’ *Studien zur Altagyptischen Kultur* 22 (1995): 38–39: “at least 26 years”). However, new evidence on the reign of Horemheb (on wine jar labels from KV 57), points at year 14 being his highest recorded regnal year (see Jacobus van Dijk. ‘New evidence on the length of the reign of Horemheb.’ *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 44 (2008): 193–200). The burial of Horemheb then would have taken place at the latest at the beginning of year 15. Thus, the supposed age of Userhat need not be a problem for attributing these monuments to the same man” discussion according to Nico Staring. ‘The Tomb of Ptahmose, Mayor of Memphis: Analysis of an Early 19th Dynasty Funerary Monument at Saqqara.’ *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 114/2 (2014): 493.

63 Written Suy here, see Louvre IM 2990, see Bovot, ‘Serviteurs’, 123 and see Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 283 with reference to Mariette, *Sérapeum*, pl. 14.


65 Louvre IM 3002, see Bovot, ‘Serviteurs’, 123.

66 Louvre IM 2973, see Bovot, ‘Serviteurs’, 124

67 Louvre S 1441, see Bovot, ‘Serviteurs’, 127.

68 Khaemwaset’s mother, Louvre IM 2975 and 2977, see Bovot, ‘Serviteurs’, 128.

goldsmith of Ptah Neferhor,⁷⁰ the foreman Akhpet (iii),⁷¹ the painter Khaemwase,⁷² the mistresses of the house Sahqedet,⁷³ Huy, a Tyreneheheh,⁷⁶ a Nainna,⁷⁵ and also some unnamed Apis shabti⁷⁶ were found. In total, Mariette recorded 247 stone and faience shabti belonging to 80 men and women in “holes cut in the floor” of the room.⁷⁷ These shabtis were probably donated here not only to be present near the Apis, but also more generally in the sphere of Rosetau, the entrance to the netherworld.⁷⁸ Raedler suggests another nuance, that the Apis bull “was seen as an earthly manifestation of Ptah”, and had a special task in “mediating between god and man”, and therefore an apt addressee of extra-sepulchral shabtis.⁷⁹

Strictly speaking an Apis burial is not extra-sepulchral, yet these finds have a slightly different association than grave gifts, by attaching the individual to the cult of the Apis as tomb owner.⁸⁰ As to the social background of the shabti donors, it is interesting that although many high officials are among this group, several lower ranking people were attested as well, which seems to suggest a

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⁷⁰ Louvre SH 101, Mariette, Sérapeum, pl. 14 and Schneider, Shabtis I, 283.
⁷¹ Louvre IM 2989, see Bovot, ‘Serviteurs’, 129.
⁷² Louvre SH 108, Mariette, Sérapeum, pl. 14 and Schneider, Shabtis I, 283.
⁷³ Louvre SH 105, Mariette, Sérapeum, pl. 14 and Schneider, Shabtis I, 283.
⁷⁴ Or Hekayrneheh Louvre IM 3299, see Bovot, ‘Serviteurs’, 126.
⁷⁵ Louvre IM 2974, see Bovot, ‘Serviteurs’, 126.
⁷⁶ E.g. Apis shabti Louvre IM 3284, see Bovot, ‘Serviteurs’, 125; Louvre AF 6832, AF 6963, S 1369, S 1380, N 5234, see Bovot, ‘Serviteurs’, 135–137; IM 6036; IM 6042, IM 6052, see Jean-Luc Bovot, In: Charron and Barbotin (eds), Khâemouaset, 282–284, and IM 3213 and IM 3153, see Jean Luc Bovot, In: Charron and Barbotin (eds), Khâemouaset, 286.
⁷⁸ The Serapeum (Km) was called r-ĝs RꜢ-stꜢw (i.e. near Rosetau) on the stela of Nectanebos, see Quibell 1907/1908, 84ff, reference taken from TLA; DZA 30.596.590). See also Schneider, Shabtis I, 277 without references, and that the area between Giza and Saqqara is believed to have been considered as Rosetau by the ancient Egyptians: Edwards, ‘Shetayet’, 28. For associations with Giza and Busiris see p. 35. Note that a group from Gurob has been associated to the veneration of the also there popular Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, see Whelan, Stick shabtis, 23. There are some indications that votive shabti may have been presented to the god Ptah-Sokar-Osiris as well, but known examples have no provenance unfortunately. E.g. shabti Leiden inv. no. AF 23 bears an offering formula dedicated to Sokar-Osiris in favour of the Osiris Any, whereas the shabti represents a lady Muttuy, perhaps his wife or mother, see also Schneider, Shabtis I, 296–298.
⁷⁹ Raedler, ‘Prestige’, 150.
⁸⁰ Perhaps even as a tomb of Osiris, see also e.g. Edwards, ‘Shetayet’, 31–32.
wider accessibility of this votive practice, or perhaps that the lower ranking people were part of reminiscence clusters with the higher-ranking individuals that we’re no longer aware of.

Similar observations apply to the stelae, among which are very high officials and people clearly related to the cult of Apis, but also others. These stelae, a total of 13, come from an unclear find context, but at least 10 seem to have been found embedded into the wall between two rooms of the ‘petits souterrains’ (called G and H by Mariette). Why Khaemwaset’s brother and successor in charge of the Serapeum, Merenptah, could leave his stela there is easily explained. He is shown in adoration of the Apis bull, protected by a winged Wedjat-eye. Underneath are the scribe Tjay and the hereditary prince Sementawy (not a son of Ramesses II). Other stelae provide even more detailed information about the mummification of the Apis, such as the two stelae of Pyiay: These are particularly interesting because they are dated and mention the years 16 and 30 of Ramesses II (Fig. 27).

The lunette of the stela shows the Apis bull and another bull, the Mnevis of Heliopolis, and underneath the king Ramesses II standing in front of an Apis bull in a shrine and being adored by Pyiay, who holds a string of titles relating him to the Apis cult: royal scribe (sš nsw), chief lector priest (ḥry-ḥb ḥrjt-tp), overseer of the purification and lector priests, (jmy-ḥ3 wẖ ḥry-ḥb), overseer of god’s sealers (jmy-ḥ3 ḫtm.w nṯr), and overseer of the embalmers (jmy-ḥ3 wt.w). Pyiay recites a text while his colleague the ‘chief lector priest in the funerary workshop’ (ḥry-ḥb ḥrjt-tp m pr nfr) Djehutymes, known as Ramose (vi), provides offerings. Underneath two men are depicted and three mentioned in the text: Djehutymes/Ra-

81 Frood, ‘Role-play’, 71–73.
82 Christophe Barbotin. ‘Stèle du prince héritier Merenptah, successeur de Khâemouaset.’ In: Khâemouaset, le prince archéologue: savoir et pouvoir à l’époque de Ramsès II. edited by Alain Charron and Christophe Barbotin, 146–147. Gand: Musée départemental Arles antique; Snoeck, 2016. Merenptah was the thirteenth son of Ramesses II, and would become king Merenptah later.
84 IM 4963, IM 5936 and IM 6154 (?), see Frood, ‘Role-play’, 73 with reference to Malinine, Posener, and Vercoutter, Catalogue I, 3–7; II, pls 1–2, cat. 4–6 and see Frood’s Fig. 6 for stela IM 4963 not published by Malinine, Posener, and Vercoutter, Catalogue. And see recently Stéphanie Porcier. ‘Stèle déposée en l’honneur d’un tareau Apis et du prêtre Pyiay.’ In: Khâemouaset, le prince archéologue: savoir et pouvoir à l’époque de Ramsès II. edited by Alain Charron and Christophe Barbotin, 150–151. Gand: Musée départemental Arles antique; Snoeck, 2016.
86 Wb I, 517.11.
mosé (vi)’s son Ptahy – who was purification and lector priest of the funerary workshop (\(w^\text{6}b \ h\text{r}-\text{h}b\ m\ pr\ nfr\)), chamberlain at the place of Apis (\(j\text{m}-\text{\h}nt\ m\ s.t\ \text{hp}\)), and councilor at the place of Mnevis (\(j\text{m.j}\ js\ m\ s.t\ Mr-\text{wr}\)) – then probably again his father (?) (\(h\text{r}-\text{tp\ m\ pr\ nfr}\)) Ramose (vi) or (vii), and a man called Ipu (who was purification and lector priest in the ‘harem’ of the royal palace (\(w^\text{6}b \ h\text{r}-\text{h}b.t\ m\ pr-\hnr\ n\ pr\ nsw\)). The two men are shown holding ritual implements.

Fig. 27: Stela of Pyiay. © Musée du Louvre with kind permission by Vincent Rondot.

Although it would seem somewhat odd that Ramose would then be shown and named in the second place, perhaps it is rather a namesake, who was just lector priest.
for the mummification of the Apis, while the text left beside them provides details of the mummification of the Apis and again a date:

Year 30, 3rd month of the summer-season, day 20 under the lord of the two lands Ramesses II [etc.\(^{88}\)] may he be given life daily for eternity. On this day the majesty of the Apis was brought in procession (\(w\d\approx\)) to the watery region (\(Qb.w\approx\)) in order to rest [in] the pure place under Anubis [where] his body was embalmed (\(swd\approx\)), his efflux (\(rdw\approx\)) was removed (\(dr\approx\)), his decomposition (\(jwtjw\approx\)) was dismembered (\(b\h\approx\)) in order to wrap him (\(wt\approx\)) in the pure place of the gold house, and have his mouth opened with incense, so he may be made divine with the Wedjat-eye, on the day of the Opening of the Mouth, so he may set (\(rdj\approx\)) in the body of Nut, like the Ba of the lord of the red land in the arms of his mother, shine (\(w\w\approx\)) [...] his secret image (\(s\s\approx\)) with clothes and adornments (\(db\w\)) of “the ones belonging to the chapel of Osiris in the temple of Neith in Sais” (\(jmy\ s\w\ rs-n.t\))\(^{102}\), the northerners (\(m\h.Jtw\))\(^{102}\) of the offering field (\(sh.t-htp.t\)), and the cool ones in the big water for your \(Ka\) in peace under your sky, for your eternity for your head, Osiris Apis, may you give bread and beer, water, a fresh breeze, and all the good things.

So clearly here we see colleagues of Pyiay at work for the Apis, apparently using their skills and knowledge also for the Mnevis-bull, shown in the lunette. Since two dates are mentioned, it would seem plausible that they also attended the earlier burial and commemorated their work and social ties for eternity by donating the stela to the funeral in year 30 of king Ramesses II.

Similarly, the stela of the ‘mourner of Apis’ (\(ts.t\ n\ h/p\)) Sakhmetnofret\(^{103}\) is clearly related to the cult and funeral of the Apis. Sakhmetnofret is shown in

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\(^{88}\) Note that the cartouche is reversed to look in the same direction as the king standing in front of the Apis bull, i.e. to the right, whereas the rest of the text reads from left to right.

\(^{89}\) Wb I, 403.2–1.

\(^{90}\) Wb V, 29.5–13.

\(^{91}\) Wb IV, 368.6–8.

\(^{92}\) Wb II, 469.5–19.

\(^{93}\) Wb V, 473.1–474.12.

\(^{94}\) Wb I, 48.15.

\(^{95}\) Wb I, 468.18.

\(^{96}\) Wb I, 379.4–6.

\(^{97}\) Wb II, 464.1–468.15.

\(^{98}\) Wb I, 250.3.

\(^{99}\) Wb IV, 299.14–16.

\(^{100}\) Wb V, 556.11–558.8.

\(^{101}\) Wb II, 453.14.

\(^{102}\) Wb II, 126.4–5.

\(^{103}\) IM 6153 (not 6163!), see Frood, ‘Role-play’, 73–74 and see Didier Devauchelle. ‘Les stèles du Nouvel Empire au Sérapéum de Memphis.’ In: Khâemouaset, le prince archéologue: savoir et pouvoir à l’époque de Ramsès II. edited by Alain Charron and Christophe Barbotin, 144–145. Gand:
adoration and presenting flowers to the Apis bull standing on a throne while a *Wedjat*-eye flies above him spreading its sun-wing in protection. Underneath the lector priest of Ptah Ptahhotep, and the ladies Inhetemwia and Hely,¹⁰⁴ stand in front of the seated god Osiris. The relationship between these people is unknown, but the titles suggest once again that the stela owner Sakhmetnofret shared her social and spiritual capital with a colleague (the priest) and two women, who might also have been mourners, although that is uncertain in absence of any titles.

Other stela donors have a less clear association to the god Apis, such as the *ḥr št*y Khonsu,¹⁰⁵ who is shown in adoration of the Apis bull standing in a shrine together with his wife Nedjet and their daughter Ria.¹⁰⁶ The title *št*y may tentatively be translated as ‘tax officer’,¹⁰⁷ but given another stela attesting some individuals entitled ‘*šbw*’ (i.e. skippers), perhaps the *št*y here could be shortened spelling? In the second register, Khonsu’s son, the lector priest Amenemope (vii), Khonsu’s wife,¹⁰⁸ the mistress of the house Nedjet, and her daughters Sakhmet, Wernury, and Pet, and her sons Pamershenouty and Huynefer worship the god Osiris.¹⁰⁹ None of these bear any titles related to the Apis cult. The stela seems to be unfinished as the third figure has no head and beside it there are just some scratches of a figure and possibly a tree. The offering formula in the lunette is dedicated to Apis-Atum, “whose horns are on his head” and seems to provide an example of family commemoration. It would be interesting to know, if this Pамershenouty is the same individual who potentially donated a vase of shabti to Tia (see above, Figs. 20a–c). Unfortunately, the shabtis bear no title other than ‘Osiris’, and there is no known relation between Tia and Pamer-
shenouty, so the idea that this very same Pamershenouty from the Louvre stela also engaged in shabti donation remains speculative.

The stela showing the š3bw\textsuperscript{110} is that of the skipper Kamose, the skipper Patemahet,\textsuperscript{111} and the singer of Amun Ja (?) in adoration of the seated god Osiris and the four sons of Horus emerging from a lotus (Fig. 28).\textsuperscript{112} Underneath stands the chief skipper (ḥry nfw\textsuperscript{113}) Mainehes (?) of the troop of pharaoh l.p.h. (ḥry nfw pꜢ sꜢ n pr ṣꜢ ṣ.w.s)\textsuperscript{114}, and then to the right the chief of the singers (ḥry šmꜤ.ṣ.w\textsuperscript{115}). Panehsy again is followed by the title “overseer of the crew of pharaoh l.p.h.” Both men were clearly colleagues in the military and sail together on a barque that carries a shrine and a sphinx wearing the double crown. Panehsy holds an oar, adorned with a head of a king wearing the divine beard and the double crown. The barque is thus that of the king as also indicated in the title just mentioned. Given that the stela was found in the Serapeum, I wonder if there could be a connection between the sailing of pharaoh’s barque and the reference in Pjia’s stela above mentioning that the “majesty of the Apis went in procession (wḏ3) to the watery region (Qbḥ.w)”. Although this aspect of the Apis funeral is otherwise unknown, it could indicate some element of the ritual that involved the royal barque joining the trip to the watery region, which could refer to the marshlands on the way from or to Memphis. At any rate, the three people shared and commemorated their profession here, in adoration of the king, and perhaps also the Apis.\textsuperscript{116} While ‘skipper’ may not have an association of high rank in English, the fact that the two men are shown alone on the barque with the king along with their titles of overseers of the royal crew suggest they were quite high-ranking officials and very close to the Egyptian king.

Interestingly in this respect, there was also a connection between the Apis bull and the veneration of the earlier kings, as the stela of My shows the Old

\textsuperscript{110} Here the sail determinative suggests a reading as ‘skipper’ see Wb IV, 410.10.
\textsuperscript{111} The inventory of Louvre IM 3750 calls him “Pasedjemnehet”. See also TLA, DZA 29.948.370.
\textsuperscript{112} See also Baudouin van de Walle and Herman De Meulenaere. ‘Compléments à la prosopographie médicale.’ Revue d’Égyptologie 25 (1973): 67.
\textsuperscript{113} Wb II, 251.1–7.
\textsuperscript{114} The abbreviations “l.p.h.” and “ṣ.w.s” mean “life, prosperity, and health”.
\textsuperscript{115} Wb IV, 478.12–479.6.
\textsuperscript{116} Although the Apis’ connection to the king is perhaps best known for the Late and Graeco-Roman periods, the bull had a royal association in very early Egyptian history already, see e.g. Stan Hendrickx, Frank Förster, and Merel Eyckerman. ‘Le taureau à l’époque pré dynastique et son importance pour le développement de l’iconographie royale – avec un excursus sur l’origine du sceptre héqa.’ In: Les taureaux de l’Égypte ancienne: publication éditée à l’occasion de la 14e rencontre d’Égyptologie de Nîmes edited by Sydney H. Aufrère, 33–73. Nîmes: Association égyptologique du Gard, 2020.
Kingdom king Teti – accompanied by the god Horus – offering a flower bouquet to Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys, while the donor stands in adoration of the Apis bull in the lower register (Fig. 29).¹¹ As Malek already noted, the deified king Teti bore the epithet Mr-n-Pṭḥ (“attached to Ptah”), which may refer to his pyramid being on the processional route to the Serapeum.¹¹⁸ From the title in the offering formula in the shrine on which the Apis stands, it is clear that My was also a priest of the Apis.

It seems that most stelae owners that were allowed to weave themselves into the cult of the Apis by means of stela donation had some sort of attachment to

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¹¹ Louvre IM 5305, see Malinine, Posener, and Vercoutter, Catalogue, no. 11 and see Malek, ‘Old and new’, 68.
¹¹⁸ Louvre IM 5305, and see Malek, ‘Old and new’, 71.
his cult, although that cannot be proven for all individuals and, again, that privilege could subsequently be shared with colleagues or family members. A professional involvement with the Apis, and perhaps the relatively late dating of the characters we recognise, may explain why the mayor Ptahmose (v) is the only known Saqqara tomb owner to have dedicated a stela “in the passage outside the tomb”.¹¹ This stela can also be dated to year 30 of Ramesses II¹² (which is mentioned on Pyia’s stelae), and of course most of the Saqqara tombs we discussed are of an earlier date. As Elizabeth Frood notes, Ptahmose (v) is the highest-ranking official person of the stelae group and the only one who also has a votive shabti,¹²¹ yet in view of the findings above, perhaps it was not the shabti

Fig. 29: Stela of My. © Musée du Louvre inv. IM 5305 with kind permission by Vincent Rondot.

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¹¹ Berlandini, ‘Memphitica V’, 102, see Frood, ‘Role-play’, 70–71 and Fig. 2.
¹² Louvre IM 5268–69, see Devauchelle, ‘Stèles’, 142–143 and Malinine, Posener, and Vercouter, Catalogue I, 9–11, pl. III–IV.
¹²¹ Frood, ‘Role-play’, 71.
that was the privilege but the stela – although people like Merenptah above were even higher ranking, being a prince and son of the king. The stela decoration is divided into three registers. Above Ptahmose (v) and his wife Iuhebet stand in adoration before the seated god Ptah. Underneath, in the middle register a man called Hetas (?) offers incense to an Apis bull standing in a shrine followed by his wife, Tadmessu.¹²² Underneath a man called Sekery provides incense followed by three adoring and mourning women called Tadmessu (?), Hely (?), and Jara. Their relationship to Ptahmose (v) is unclear. One may wonder if indeed, the lady Hely might be the same character as mentioned on the stela of Sakhmetnofret mentioned above.

In summary, the Serapeum stelae and shabtis again provide only a minor snapshot of what might have been a wider votive practice with the aim of veneration of the deified bull, as well as once again writing a very specific commemoration history. Hopefully future excavations of the Louvre Museum will shed more light on the matter, but for the moment it is clear that representation and gift-giving were not random, but followed very explicit strategies by which ‘reminiscence clusters’ were commemorated in the tombs, as well as in the temples.

4.3 Statue cults at Memphis and beyond

In that respect, another group of objects are now discussed in more detail to better understand the underlying practices. In the Saqqara tombs, statues usually represent dyads of the tomb owner and his wife (e.g. Maya and Merit, Meryneith and Anuy)¹²³ or individuals (e.g. Horemheb, Maya, Merit, Ptahmose (v)), and they were usually inscribed with brief prr.t-offering formulae.¹²⁴ In the Rameside period, statues of the deceased couple with divine figures appear (e.g. Pabes, Tatia, Nemtymes) as well as naophorous statues (e.g. Tairy, Hormin), which have been linked to the idea of an increasing role of chapels for the combined cult of both the deceased and gods, i.e. simultaneously praying for and benefitting from the divine favour.¹²⁵ We have seen above that reality was more complex and, even in divine veneration, tomb owners made clear choices regarding whom to include in that cult (and sometimes whom to remove, as in the case of Tia, see above). Most prominently still, the Egyptian gods resided

¹²² Devauchelle reads Tadenitchou (?), see Devauchelle, ‘Stèles’, 142.
¹²³ Compare e.g. Martin, ‘Dyad’, 307–311.
¹²⁴ Compare e.g. Weiss, ‘Royal Administration’ with Leiden examples and references.
¹²⁵ E.g. Hofmann, Privatgräber, 128.
in temples where they received offerings from the king (who in daily life was represented by priests) in return for maintaining the well-being of the Egyptian state. An ongoing discussion concerns the question of how accessible those temples were to private individuals, and if so, how often, and when. What is clear is that in some areas votive practices were performed (see also above) and at least some elite members of society could set up statues in the valley temples. Like the tomb statues, these were highly idealised representations of individuals or (family) groups, which are usually understood as actual representatives of the depicted person and as a point of contact for human interaction, raising again the issue of the audience and whether all texts on a statue could actually always be read, and by whom. Frood recently suggested considering the agency of the statue as actor (“may it breathe incense etc.”). What is important in that respect is that not every statue (in the sense of ‘a technical object’ (i.e. ‘handwerkliches Objekt’)) is automatically an acting person, but that it was

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127 In a detailed study Griffin recently demonstrated once again that forecourts, doorways, contra-temples, and also some of the smaller shrines and chapels were accessible to the public, see Kenneth Griffin. All the rxyt-people adore: the role of the rekhyt-people in Egyptian religion. GHP Egyptology 29. London: Golden House Publications, 2018, 115–134. Ohara, Memphis, argues against accessibility.

128 The existing literature is extensive, see e.g. most recently Aurélia Masson-Berghoff (ed.). Statues in context: production, meaning and (re)uses. British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan 10. Leuven: Peeters, 2019.


131 Frood, ‘Statues’, 6. The common translation of the suffix ⫯ would be “he” referring to the statue owner (in this case Maanakhtef, see Louvre E 12926), but theoretically her translation is possible, especially because the previous phrase mentions that the statue (twt) shall be caused to rest firmly (rwḏ) in the festival court of the temple of Medamut.

132 Compare references from later wisdom texts as quoted by Joachim F. Quack. ‘Bilder vom Mundöffnungsrational – Mundöffnung an Bildern.’ In: Bild und Ritual. Visuelle Kulturen in Histor-
the ritual action that brought life to a statue,¹³³ just like in the case of the Apis above. Statues were thus an important vector for individual agency,¹³⁴ yet different from the reliefs discussed in chapter 2 and – at least to some extent – portable ones.¹³⁵ Interestingly, the matter of proximity that we discussed in terms of social and spiritual capital in relief representations is also attested for statue groups. For example, the vizier Paramessu (*temp. Ramesses II*) seems to have put his statues very close to those of the famous Amenhotep son of Hapu (*temp. Amenhotep III*) (see below).¹³⁶ The reason we have so few examples attesting such practices is probably the frequent cleaning activities at the time and the disturbing that came after.¹³⁷ As discussed in chapter 3 for the tomb statues, temple statues were meant also to receive offerings – serving as a commemoration vehicle so that the individual or group could be remembered by the living – and provided physical presence in a given spot (i.e. in both tombs and temple).¹³⁸ A good example is the family statue of the chief of the Medjay Amenemone (vi) (*temp. Ramesses II*) now in Naples (Fig. 30),¹³⁹ which explains in detail which religious actions were expected – namely libations with water and oil and the recitation of the name of the statue owner – and his extended reminiscence cluster also appear on the statue in both sculpture and inscriptions (with names and titles):

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¹³⁴ Ockinga offered a very interesting lexical study of ancient Egyptian terminology suggesting that the Egyptians distinguished between statues that were carried around in processions and those that were in principle hidden: Ockinga, *Gottebenbildlichkeit*, 125–127. This chapter only discusses accessible tomb and temple statues.
¹³⁷ Compare e.g. the attempts of recontextualisation by Laurent Coulon, Yves Egels, Emmanuel Jambon, and Emmanuel Laroze. ‘Looking for contexts: recent work on the Karnak Cachette Project.’ In: *Statues in context: production, meaning and (re)uses* edited by Aurélia Masson-Berghoff, 209–228. Leuven: Peeters, 2019.
¹³⁹ Group statue, Naples inv. no. 1069, see Museo archaeologico Nazionale di Napoli 1989, 35–37 (Fig. 3.1) KRI III, 272.4–10 and Shubert, *Appeal*, 211–212.
He says: O god’s servants and pure ones of this temple! Give me water and anoint for me with best oil, for I did benefactions for the gods, when I was upon earth. My father conferred benefits on all his family, when he was a chief in southern Heliopolis [i.e. Thebes]; and you [shall be] likewise before my lord. He says to the deputies, great ones, and Medjay chiefs, and to every Medjay of this area: “Give me water, pronounce my name, for I did benefactions when I was on earth. For the Ka of Amenemone (vi).”

The main beneficiary is Amenemone (vi)’s Ka, thus serving as an intermediary. A statue now in the British Museum (BM EA 1377) makes even clearer that a statue can act on behalf of its owner:

Fig. 30: Group statue of Amenemone (vi). © courtesy of the Ministero della Cultura – Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli – foto di Giorgio Albano.

\[\text{dd-f} \ j,\hbox{hmw-nt} \ w^b.w \ n \ r(i)-pr \ pn \ jmm \ n=\ j \ mw \ wrh.w \ n=\ j \ tpyw \ jryw \ j=\ j \ jh.w \ n \ h=\ f \ nbw \ dr \ wn=\ f \ m \ r=\ hry \ m \ \text{lmw} \ rsy \ ntn \ m=\ j(y) \ t \ m-b\ h \ nb=\ j \ dd-f \ n \ jdnw \ wrw \ hryw \ md\ w n \ md\ w nb n \ dmj \ pn \ jmm-\ j \ n=\ j \ mw \ dmw \ n=\ j \ jry=\ j \ jh.w \ dr \ wn=\ f \ tp \ t \ n \ k^3 \ n \ jmn-\ jn.t\]

\[\text{140} \ dd-f \ j,\hbox{hmw-nt} \ w^b.w \ n \ r(i)-pr \ pn \ jmm \ n=\ j \ mw \ wrh.w \ n=\ j \ tpyw \ jryw \ j=\ j \ jh.w \ n \ h=\ f \ nbw \ dr \ wn=\ f \ m \ r=\ hry \ m \ \text{lmw} \ rsy \ ntn \ m=\ j(y) \ t \ m-b\ h \ nb=\ j \ dd-f \ n \ jdnw \ wrw \ hryw \ md\ w n \ md\ w nb n \ dmj \ pn \ jmm-\ j \ n=\ j \ mw \ dmw \ n=\ j \ jry=\ j \ jh.w \ dr \ wn=\ f \ tp \ t \ n \ k^3 \ n \ jmn-\ jn.t\]

\[\text{141} \ Compare \ also \ Pirelli, \ ‘Imeneminet’.\]
O statue (ḥntj) you are before the lords of the scared land. Place yourself as the memory of my name in the domain of the lords of Thinis. You are here for me as “chapal wall” (?). You are my true body.¹⁴²

The representation by means of being a “chapal wall” (?) (jnh.t)¹⁴³ is not very clear, and not even a certain translation as the term is otherwise unknown. Yet it is clear that what is meant is that the statue embodies the owner. Possibly rituals were already performed during the creation and placement of the statue.¹⁴⁴ What is interesting is that Kubisch recently argued that by putting biographical inscriptions on temple statues, they were disconnected from the tomb context, while the main aim of these texts was “to trigger offerings in the context of the cult for the deceased”.¹⁴⁵ That biographical texts appear also in the domestic context in the Amarna period¹⁴⁶ is interpreted as a shift towards an audience of the living for those texts by Kubisch,¹⁴⁷ which is odd if we consider that the audience were always the living if only beside any spiritual beings. More importantly, her wording as “leaving the after-life-related world”¹⁴⁸ advocates once again two separate worlds, which should actually be one. This is clear from several temple statues explicitly mentioning the necropolis, a great indication for the concept of a shared cultural geography in which people moved around flexibly. Some references are quite vague, such as the statue of the 18th-dynasty vizier Amenuser (temp. Thutmosis III), who wishes that his name (of a noble blessed one) is established in the necropolis (ssḥ šps smn(w) m=j m ḫr-t-ntr).¹⁴⁹ His wish seems to reflect a general

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¹⁴² Ockinga, Gottebenbildlichkeit, 57.
¹⁴⁴ Frood, Biographical Texts, 8.
¹⁴⁹ CG 42118, see Shubert, Appeal, 210–211 and Urk IV, 1036.13 and see also of the same person stela Grenoble 1954, see Shubert, Appeal, 225–226 and Urk IV, 1032.5, although the latter is a tomb stela of TT 131 and hence not surprising to have a reference to the stela owner’s memory (šḥ, see Wb IV, 232.12–233.26) in the necropolis. Yet another statue of the same person with a similar wording was situated in the Akhmenu at Karnak and is now in the Louvre Museum.
desire to reach a blessed state and to be remembered. There is some evidence, however, that the temple statues did play a more concrete role in the memory in the necropolis, an idea in fact already offered by Hans Kayser,¹⁵⁰ which seems to have been forgotten by subsequent scholars over time. For example, the scribe Djehuty, also called Iuy (temp. Thutmose III/Amenhotep II), says on his statue, now in the Brooklyn Museum, to the lector priests, Ka-priests, and scribes:

who shall see this statue, my image and my heir on earth, my remembrance in the necropolis. May the king of your time favour you and may your nose be refreshed with life, when you say an offering formula to Amun [...], for the Ka of the scribe Djehuty.¹⁵¹

Clearly, the statue of Djehuty asks the visitors of the temple to make an offering to the god Amun for the benefit of Djehuty (or to be precise to his Ka)¹⁵² and in return get royal favour and a nose “refreshed with life”.¹⁵³ Interestingly, the statue is said to be not only the “image and heir” or the statue owner “on earth” (snn-ꜜ jw-w-ꜜ tꜜ tp tꜜ), i.e. in the temple, but also explicitly his “remembrance in the necropolis (shꜜ-ꜜ m ḫr-t-ntꜜr”), raising once again the question of how frequently the tombs in the necropolis were actually visited, and whether some people may have visited the necropolis only rarely, mostly stayed in Memphis, and venerated their ancestors at home or in the local temples and shrines.

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¹⁵¹ (mꜜꜢ.t(ꜜy)=s) twt pn ssn-ꜜ jw-ꜜ w-ꜜ tꜜ tp tꜜ shꜜ-ꜜꜜ j m ḫr.t-ntꜜr ḫꜜꜜꜜ tf ṭꜜ nsw n ṭꜜnk tf ṭꜜ ḫꜜꜜ tf ṭꜜ ḫꜜꜜ tf ṭꜜ ḫꜜꜜ tf ṭꜜ ḫꜜꜜ tf ṭꜜ ḫꜜꜜ tf ṭꜜ ḫꜜꜜ tf ṭꜜ ḫꜜꜜ tf ṭꜜ ḫꜜꜜ tf ṭꜜ ḫꜜꜜ tf ṭꜜ ḫꜜꜜ tf ṭꜜ ḫꜜꜜ tf ṭꜜ ḫꜜꜜ tf ṭꜜ ḫꜜจั


¹⁵³ Compare also references for fnḏ in TLA, lemma-no. 63920 and Wb I, 577.10 – 15. Breathing life through the nose was also associated with endurance. For example, a literary work that Egyptologists call “the Eloquent peasant” attests the proverb saying “Doing Maat is breath for the nose” (tꜜw pw n fnḏ jrt Mꜜ的样子), see TLA, DZA 23.573.940.
Quite similar is a text on Senenmut’s (temp. Hatshepsut) sistrphorous statue from the Mut temple in Karnak (now in the Cairo Museum)\textsuperscript{154} that addresses temple staff (\textit{\textit{wnw.t \textit{hw.t-ntr}}}\textsuperscript{155}), saying those

who shall see my statue, my likeness, [for the sake of] maintaining my memory in the necropolis\textsuperscript{156}

shall benefit from the goddess Mut’s favour when an offering formula is recited on her behalf. Again the statue serves as an intermediary between the offering person and the goddess Mut, which is ‘what statues do’, but it is interesting that again the idea is to help to maintain the statue owner’s memory not just in general and also not just in the temple of the goddess Mut, where the offering was being performed, but explicitly \textit{in the necropolis}. This is perhaps also the context in which the famous Theban tomb inscription of Samut-Kiki should be understood, namely as placing himself under the goddess Mut’s patronage in the sense of donation versus cult.\textsuperscript{157}

Other statues, like the chief steward Amenhotep (temp. Amenhotep III), refer to offerings \textit{in his tomb} (\textit{\textit{hr js-\textit{j}}}).\textsuperscript{158} On the left thigh of the statue, he addresses all priests and officials who shall be within the walls (\textit{\textit{hpr.t(y),f(y) m jnb.w}}) of the temple of Ptah in Memphis:

\begin{quote}
Do not obstruct my bread offering which my god, who is within me, has commanded to me in order to pour out water for me at my tomb.\textsuperscript{159}
\end{quote}

And on the base of the statue, he continues that

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{154} CG 579, see James H. Breasted. \textit{Ancient records of Egypt: historical documents from the earliest times to the Persian conquest} II. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906, sections 349–358.
\item \textsuperscript{155} The hour-priesthood of the temple, see Wb I, 3178.
\item \textsuperscript{156} \textit{\textit{m\textit{i\textit{j} (y)=sn twt-\textit{j snn=\textit{j} [n-mrt mn] shj=\textit{j} m hr.t-nfr}}, see Shubert, \textit{Appeal}, 281 and Urk IV, 412.11.
\item \textsuperscript{157} A more common previous interpretation is that Samut-Kiki does not trust the patron-client system and gives himself entirely in the hand of the goddess Mut, see e.g. Andrea M. Gnirs. ‘Der Tod des Selbst. Die Wandlungen der Jenseitsvorstellungen in der Ramessidenzeit.’ In: \textit{Grab und Totenkult im alten Ägypten} edited by Heike Guksch, Eva Hofmann, and Martin Bommas, 181–183. Munich: C.H. Beck, 2003. Instead of a particular “Gottesfürchtigkeit”, the absence of heirs is, however, perhaps more plausible.
\item \textsuperscript{158} Literally it is of course ‘my’ tomb from the perspective of the speaking statue: Ashmolean 1913.163, see Shubert, \textit{Appeal}, 212–213.
\item \textsuperscript{159} \textit{\textit{jmj tn hnty hr ps\textit{w.t-\textit{j wq(w) n=\textit{j ntr=\textit{j jmy=\textit{j r stt n=\textit{j mw hr js=j}}, see Shubert, \textit{Appeal}, 213 and Urk IV, 1798.18–19.}}}}
(anyone) who shall hold back my bread offering which Ptah-south-of-his-wall has commanded for me (...) being what Amenhotep III has given to me to offer for me at my tomb because my favour is with him

shall be punished by taking away his office and it given to his enemy, among other things. Apparently, the audience addressed here are not just regular visitors but professional priests with the theoretical ability to hold back offerings from his temple endowment, perhaps to consume them themselves or put them somewhere else. It is clear that this would be considered an abuse of office. Yet it is interesting that the priests of the Memphis temple could somehow be able to hold back tomb offerings in theory.

Even more explicit, on the base of the statue Amenhotep says:

anyone who shall give my offering loaf to the lector priest who is in my house every day

will be rewarded by a pleasant life and the possibility to pass his office on to his children. Shubert translates pr with ‘tomb/house’, which is possible, but far more ambiguous than the previously used js, meaning ‘tomb’ only. The translation ‘house’ could hint at a close acquaintance and frequent visitors of Amenhotep’s house(hold), who were also responsible for the offerings in the tomb. At any rate this priest was meant to get (additional?) offerings for Amenhotep’s tomb cult from whoever read the appeal and acted accordingly. So here, different from the examples above, a middleman (the priest) was deemed necessary to actually transfer the offerings to the tomb.

Curiously, it seems that there is at least some evidence that the transfer of favours does not only work between temple and necropolis, but also from one temple to another. A stela found thrown into a shaft of an 11th-dynasty tomb within the precinct of the temple of Mentuhotep II in Deir el-Bahari is particularly interesting in this respect. Dating to the 19th dynasty, it was placed there

160 nty jw=f r jsq ptw.t=ṣj wḏ n(y=ṣj) Pṯḥ-rṣj-jnb=f (... m dd nṣj Nb-Mṣjt-Rṣ ṭw nṯḥ nṣj ḫr js=ṣj n-wr-n hswṣj ḫṣ=f, see Shubert, Appeal, 213 and Urk IV, 1799.19 – 1800.3.
161 See also Morschauser, Threat-formulae, 180 and Urk IV 1799.14 – 1800.7.
162 nty jw=f ptw.t=ṣj nbḥ-ḥḥ jmy pr=ṣj m ḥṛ.t rṣ nb see Shubert, Appeal, 215 and Urk IV, 1800.12.
163 Wb I, 511.7 – 516.1.
164 Wb I, 126.18 – 24.
165 See also Shubert, Appeal, 324.
166 See Édouard Naville. The XIth dynasty temple at Deir el-Bahari III. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1913, 4 and pl. 8 and see Henry R. Hall. Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae. London: British Museum, 1922, pls 48 – 49, see Shubert, Appeal, 290 – 291. The same Didia is also known from a statue found in the Karnak cachette (CG 42122 = JE 36951), which is inscribed
originally when the temple of Mentuhotep had become a votive space to the gods Amun and Hathor. The stela shows the triad of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu facing two rows of gods: on top the gods Min, Isis, Thoth, Shu, and Hathor; and underneath Osiris, Horus, Anubis, Hathor, a curious jackal-headed divine daughter of the Djed-pillar, and Nephthys (Fig. 31a). Édouard Naville already remarked the absence of the deceased who might have been depicted on the lower part which is lost. Underneath this scene, the name of the stela owner is identified as the chief draftsman of Amun, Didia son of Hatiay, who lived in the reign of king Seti I. Didia praises Amun, Re, Atum, Shu, Tefnut, and Geb before the stela is broken off. The thick sides of the granite stela contain an appeal to the living. It is the right-hand side (Figs 31b and c) that makes it interesting, where Didia says:

as for everyone who shall present a libation before this image of Amun-of-Karnak and his Ennead, may offerings be presented to you in the temple of Amun, and a bouquet in the temples of Mut and Khonsu. May your words be heared in Heliopolis, be repeated in Thebes (and may your name endure) (note: it is tempting to add ‘in the necropolis’).

Another very interesting text that mentions the combination of offering cult for the deceased and the gods is stela Cairo CG 34054 which was probably placed in a tomb. The text begins with the common instruction to offer cold water and incense and the wish to leave and enter the tomb daily. But then it continues

with a common appeal to the living. Interesting is also stela Louvre C 50 on which the same Didia commemorates seven generations of office and indeed his foreign descent: Donald A. Lowle. ‘A remarkable family of draughtsmen-painters from early Nineteenth-Dynasty Thebes.’ Oriens Antiquus 15 (1976): 91–106.


Naville, Deir el-Bahari III, 4.


Assmann, Totenliturgien II, 510.

Assmann, Totenliturgien II, 509.
with “may one offer to your statues in the offering hall of Ptah-south-of-his-wall, of Heker (?) and Nefertem, and all gods of the west”\textsuperscript{173} Such a statue could be Turin, Museo Egizio 769 with a $htp$-$dj$-$nsw$ formula to Ptah-south-of-his-wall which is even more interesting because its inscriptions combine elements usually considered temple vs. mortuary religion (Figs. 31a–b).

As part of the offering formula the text requests “may your mummy be raised in front of Re in the columned courtyard of your tomb”,\textsuperscript{175} which refers to the funerary ritual of the deceased.\textsuperscript{176} The text then continues with several wishes for the afterlife such as the ability to move in and out the tomb and be justified in the underworld.\textsuperscript{177} What makes the statue fragment so interesting is that later the text says “may your statue be fed [i.e. receive offerings] in the temple hall of Amun in Thebes by the $wab$-priest in [his] monthly duty (...) may he listen to your wishes. When one seeks your $Ba$, he may be found on the Day of the Open-

\textsuperscript{173} $drp$-$tw$ $w$=$k$ $m$ $wsh.t$ $n$ $Pth$-$rjs$-$jnb$=$f$ $Skr$ $Hkr$ (?) $Nfr$-$tm$ $nt$-$w$ $nb$-$w$ $jmnt$-$t$

\textsuperscript{174} Assmann, Totenliturgien II, 509.

\textsuperscript{175} $s'h$=$tw$ $s'h$=$k$ $n$ $R'$-$w$ $m$ $wsh.t$ $js$=$k$, see Assmann, Totenliturgien II, 510 – 512, unpublished except for a photo of the inscription in the H.W. Müller photo archive, Heidelberg no. 106/13.

\textsuperscript{176} See for example, also the description of the funerary rites in the harpist song in the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 50) in Thebes, see Miriam Lichtheim. ‘The Songs of the Harpers.’ Journal of Near Eastern Studies 4 (1945): 178 – 212, pl. 7.

\textsuperscript{177} Literally the hall of the underworld/necropolis, $wsh.t$ $hr$-$tnfr$ (for $wsh.t$ see Wb I, 366.5 – 367.2), but the reference to $mh3$-$t$ (the balance, Wb II, 130.8 – 13) refers to the weighing of the heart procedure and clarifies that the setting is in the underworld see also Assmann, Totenliturgien II, 512.
ing of the Cave in Rosetau”. Assmann notes correctly that this is the usual motif of summoning the *Ba* for offerings during the Sokar festival, mentioned above – i.e. yet another indication of people attending that festival in one way or another. What makes these references together also interesting is that they clear-

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178 *drp n twt=k m wš.t jmn n wš.t jn w‘b jmy 3bd[f] [...] sḏm=f spr.wt=k wḥ.t tw ḫš.k gm.tw=f ḫrw wn q.r.t m Ṣ-stš.w*

179 Assmann, *Totenliturgien* II, 511, n. 31. Interestingly in a Third Intermediate Period mortuary texts the divine troglodytes (*ntr.w q.r.t.yw*) act as protectors of the *Ba*-souls: see p.London BM 10478, BD 168 (line [12]), see references provided by TLA, lemma no. 161850 = *qfr.t*; Wb V, 62.1–3.
ly link once again mortuary cults and cults for gods. Ockinga suggested that placing statues into temples derives from the practice of carrying statues to the temples and back, and that the Egyptians eventually realised that it was easier to let the statues stay in the temples. The question is whether these texts reflect a temple practice of offering in honour of the deceased in the necropolis, or whether they refer to the temple processions, or most probably both. Meyer noted that the overlapping terminology makes it very difficult to distinguish between temple and tomb statues, and indeed the easiest explanation is simply a shared cultic context and function. Also interesting in this respect is a very rare, large ‘temple shabti’ made for the mayor of Thebes Qenamun at the temple of Amenhotep III in Luxor, which is clearly identified in the text as a shabti, and which seems to support once again the idea of a combined sphere of the dead ancestors and gods. Schlögl suggested that the shabti spell (BD 6) inscribed on the statue would be particularly powerful when placed into a sacred space such as a temple, and that Qenamun wanted to provide himself with presence there to participate in the offerings like a ‘normal’ statue.

4.3 Statue cults at Memphis and beyond


183 Meyer, Senenmut, 8 and compare also the Thomas Mann quote in the introduction.


185 Schlögl, ‘Schabti-Figur’, 93.

186 Schlögl, ‘Schabti-Figur’, 94.

187 Schlögl, ‘Schabti-Figur’, 94.

188 He also suggested that the shabti is a result of the monumentalising tendency in the course of the New Kingdom. At any rate the spell clearly identifies the statue as shabti and not just any kind of mummiiform representation. See in a different context Willems, ‘Carpe diem’, 515.
Towards a wider understanding of cultural geography at Saqqara

A Roman Egyptian wisdom text as attested on Papyrus Insinger mentions that gods are not heard well from a distance. Egyptian gods (or ancestors) were transcendent, they needed physical presence by means of representation. The same applies to spiritual beings like deceased ancestors. It was therefore perhaps for practical reasons that cult places for both gods and ancestors existed not only in the necropolis, but also closer to the living in the fertile lands. In all these practices, whether it was the attendance of festivals, votive or offering practices, or the representation by means of stelae, shabtis, or statues, the main aim was to create proximity and to reinforce very specific reminiscence clusters. Relatives and other people of such reminiscence clusters could probably not be expected to make the relatively onerous climb to the necropolis daily unless perhaps they were priests who were paid for that. The question of how often they came in the end is still hard to answer, but it is clear that we should consider a wider geographical range of both social and religious interaction and overcome the traditional distinction in tomb and temple contexts, and between the necropolis and the city. It seems that tomb offerings could be provided for temple statues and vice versa, and festival participation was possible by means of (written) speech acts as well as physically attending processions of (Ptah-)Sokar (Osiris), and probably usually witnessed at least one Apis burial in their lifetime. At these occasions, and maybe also at others, they visited the tombs and temples, and they reaffirmed their ties by means of material practices of gift-giving and the placement of stelae and statues. Creating reminiscence clusters can thus be confirmed as a fundamental practice of religious (and social) interaction for the wider cultural geography at Saqqara beyond the tombs. In the end, it is not so relevant how frequent these activities were, and how bodily, since in the mind of the ancient Egyptians physical and performative perpetuated practices would support each other for eternity while continuously re-enacting the respective reminiscence clusters.

189 Quack, ‘Mundöffnung’, 19; and see Papyrus Insinger 28, 15 (Leiden inv. no. F 95/5.1) and Friedhelm Hoffmann and Joachim F. Quack. Anthologie der Demotischen Literatur. Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2007, 266.
190 Quack, ‘Mundöffnung’, 18.
191 See for the statues Lorton, ‘Cult Statues’, but as we have seen also relief representation, physical offerings or oral practice.
192 Kayser, Tempelstatuen, 9.
193 Who probably lived about 20–30 years, although that depends on the species.