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THE TOMB OF PTAHEMWIA, 'GREAT OVERSEER OF CATTLE' AND 'OVERSEER OF THE TREASURY OF THE RAMESSEUM', AT SAQQARA*

By NICO STARING

In early 1859, the French Egyptologist Théodule Devéria was in Egypt to assist Auguste Mariette—who had just been appointed as Director of Antiquities—with copying texts at a number of sites in Egypt. At Saqqara, Devéria photographed a doorway of the now-lost tomb of Ptahemwia, the early Nineteenth Dynasty Great Overseer of Cattle and Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum. This article starts with a note on Mariette's work at Saqqara and early photography in Egypt. Then, the architecture, iconography, and texts of the tomb's doorway are analysed, followed by an updated list of objects pertaining to Ptahemwia. It concludes with a discussion of the titles and epithets held by this official.

نيكو ستيرنج
مقبرة بتاح أم ويا، "كبير المشرفين على المواشى" و" كبير المشرفين على خزانة الرامسيوم"،
بسقارة

في أوائل عام 1859 حضر عالم المصريات الفرنسي تيودول ديفيريا إلى مصر ليعاون أوجست مارييت - الذي كان قد عين لتوه مديراً للأثار - في نسخ نصوص بعدة مواقع بمصر. في سقارة قام ديفيريا بتصوير مدخل مقبرة بتاح أم ويا؛ غير معروف مكانها حالياً؛ تعود المقبرة لأوائل الأسرة التاسعة عشرة، كان بتاح أم ويا يشغل منصب كبير المشرفين على المواشى، ومنصب كبير المشرفين على خزينة الرامسيوم. تبدء هذه المقالة بنبذة عن أعمال مارييت في سقارة، والتصوير في وقت مبكر في مصر. يليها تحليل لعمارة ومناظر ونصوص مدخل المقبرة، ثم قائمة معدلة لقطع تتعلق ببتاح أم ويا. تُختم المقالة بمناقشة عن الألقاب، والصفات التي حملها هذا الموظف.

Introduction

FROM December 1858 to April 1859, the French Egyptologist Charles Théodule Devéria (1831–71), then curator at the Musée du Louvre in Paris, assisted Auguste Mariette (1821–81) in copying texts on archaeological fieldwork campaigns throughout Egypt.¹ These excavations were initiated upon Mariette's appointment as Directeur des travaux

* Macquarie University (Sydney, Australia). I should like to thank Boyo Ockinga, Elisa deCourcy, Daniela Picchi, Maarten Raven, René van Walsem, and the two anonymous peer reviewers of the *JEA* for valuable feedback on earlier drafts of this paper; and Kelly Hamilton for polishing my English. I owe a great debt of gratitude to Stéphane Pasquali for bringing to my attention Devéria's photographic collection at the Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

¹ G. Devéria, 'Théodule Devéria (1831-1871): Notice biographique', in G. Maspero (ed.), *Bibliothèque Égyptologique 4: Théodule Devéria mémoires et fragments I* (Paris, 1896), x–xv; N. Staring, 'The Tomb of Ptahmose,

d'antiquités en Égypte in June 1858.² Mariette had a number of assistants to supervise these projects in his absence.³ At Saqqara, 330 local workers (corvée labourers) were hired to work on the excavation.⁴ When Mariette and Devéria returned in March 1859 from an inspection tour of sites in Upper Egypt, they concentrated part of their work at Saqqara in the area south of the Step Pyramid. That area had previously been the subject of uncontrolled and largely undocumented excavations. Both men visited the accessible remains of the tombs in the area, copied texts, and removed elements to be taken to the soon-to-be-opened Bulaq Museum. In order to copy texts, Devéria not only produced the customary squeezes,⁵ but he also took photographs, which at the time was a novel technique.⁶

After Devéria's untimely death at the age of 40, his photographs were consigned to the Musées nationaux (France), later to be transferred to the Department of Egyptian Antiquities at the Louvre. In 1986, the collection of photographs was allocated to the Musée d'Orsay in Paris, where Devéria's photographic collection remained largely unnoticed.⁷ The great value of the few photographs capturing New Kingdom tombs lies in the fact that these tombs have not been seen (or at least not recorded) since Mariette and Devéria worked in the area.⁸ The tombs' locations are now lost and only select decorated stone elements were taken to the Bulaq Museum.

Mayor of Memphis: Analysis of an Early 19th Dynasty Funerary Monument at Saqqara', *BIFAO* 114/2 (2014), 455–518; N. Staring, 'Mariette, Devéria, and Vassalli at Saqqara, 1858–62', forthcoming. For Devéria at Saqqara, see also D. Durand, 'Les photographies des sculptures grecques du Sérapéum de Memphis par Théodule Devéria', in R. Bertho, J.-P. Garric, and F. Queyrel (eds), *Patrimoine photographié, patrimoine photographique: Actes de colloques* (2013) <<http://inha.revues.org/3982>> accessed 31.03.2013; and for Mariette at Saqqara, see also: J.-P. Lauer, 'Mariette à Saqqarah: Du Sérapéum à la direction des antiquités', in J. Sainte Fare Garnot (ed.), *Mélanges Mariette* (BdE 32; Cairo, 1961), 5–55; C. Ziegler, 'Recherches sur Saqqâra au musée du Louvre: Étude des collections et mission archéologique', in Z. Hawass and L. Pinch Brock (eds), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000*, III (Cairo, 2003), 442–3.

² Appointed by Viceroy Said Pasha on 1 June 1858: E. de Rougé, 'Une lettre écrite d'Égypte par M. Mariette', *CRAIBL* 2 (1858), 115–21. Mariette started excavating simultaneously in Gizeh, Saqqara, Abydos, Thebes, and Elephantine.

³ At that time, his assistants also included the Frenchmen Marius François Joseph Bonnefoy (d. 1859) and Charles Edmond Gabet (1818–69); and the Italian Luigi Vassalli (1812–87) (W. R. Dawson, E. P. Uphill, and M. L. Bierbrier (eds), *Who Was Who in Egyptology* [4th rev. edn; London, 2012], 67, 203, 553–4).

⁴ E. David, *Mariette Pacha 1821–1881* (Paris, 1994), 109; D. M. Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Los Angeles, 2002), 100.

⁵ See e.g. F. von Kaenel, 'Les mésaventures du conjurateur de Serket Onnophris et de son tombeau', *BSFE* 87–8 (1980), 31–45.

⁶ For notes on early photography in Egyptology, see also: J. Malek and E. Miles, 'Nineteenth-century "Studio Photographs" of Egypt in the Collection of the Griffith Institute, Oxford', *VA* 2 (1986), 121–6; M. J. Raven, 'Insinger and Early Photography in Egypt', *OMRO* (1991), 13–27; A. Rammant-Peeters, *Palmen en Tempels: La Photographie en Égypte au XIXe Siècle/19th-Century Photography in Egypt* (Leuven, 1994), 6–32, 166–78; P. T. Nicholson, 'Egyptology for the Masses: James Henry Breasted and the Underwood Brothers', in D. Magee, J. Bourriau, and S. Quirke (eds), *Sitting Beside Lepsius: Studies in Honour of Jaromir Malek at the Griffith Institute* (OLA 185; Leuven, 2009), 381–5; É. David, 'Théodule Devéria (1er Juillet 1831 – 25 Janvier 1871), l'Égyptologue faiseur d'images', in F. Morfoisse and G. Andreu-Lanoë (eds), *Sésostri III: Pharaon de légende* (Gand, 2014), 246–51; N. le Guerin, 'D'une vision esthétique à la précision documentaire: Quand la photographie s'alliait à l'égyptologie', in Morfoisse and Andreu-Lanoë (eds), *Sésostri III*, 252–7.

⁷ Rammant-Peeters, *Palmen en Tempels*, 172. Note that multiple prints of a single photograph can be in circulation. However, to my knowledge there is no second print available of the photograph published below.

⁸ Two other examples are the tombs of Ptahmose, the early Nineteenth Dynasty Mayor of Memphis and Great Steward of the Temple of Ptah (Staring, *BIFAO* 114/2, fig. 1), and Khay, the Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum (S. Pasquali, 'La tombe perdue de Bouri, employé du domaine d'Aton à Memphis', *BIFAO* 113 (2013), figs 10–11).

The tomb of Ptahemwia at Saqqara: the Devéria photograph 1859 (fig. 1)⁹

Paris, Musée d'Orsay PHO 1986 144 64, MS 178 129

Théodule Devéria, 1859, *Saqqarah—tombeau*

Albumen paper from a salted paper negative

H. 21.5 cm, W. 27.5 cm (print); H. 26.5 cm, W. 34.5 cm (montage)

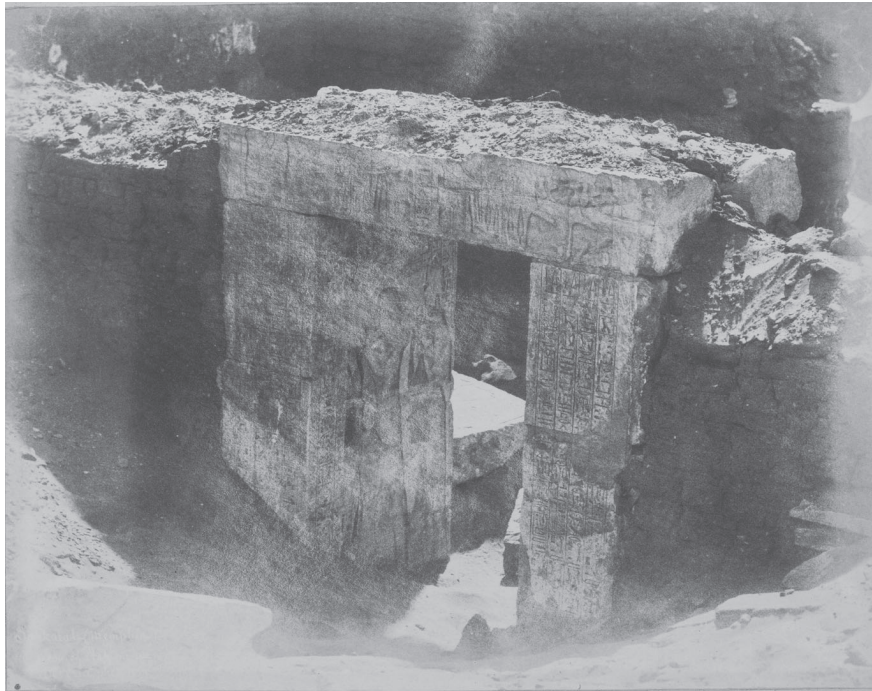


FIG. 1. A doorway in the tomb of Ptahemwia at Saqqara, Théodule Devéria, 1859. Albumen silver print from a paper negative, 21.5 x 27.5 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris, PHO 1986 144 64, MS 178 129 ('Saqqarah – tombeau'). Courtesy of the Musée d'Orsay, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Patrice Schmidt.

Inscriptions: on the print, bottom left: *Saqqarah (Memphis)*;¹⁰ on the montage, right side: *Memphis. Tombeau de Ptah-em-ua (règne de Ramsès II) Saqqarah*

Technical details of the photographic print

Paper prints were introduced in 1835 by William Henry Fox Talbot (1800–77) and the albumen process followed in 1850 by Louis Désiré Blanquart Evrard (1802–72), although the main period of use was between 1855 and 1890.¹¹ In 1854 commercially produced albumen photographic paper became available: the photographer needed

⁹ The photograph published in this contribution was mentioned in: Pasquali, *BIFAO* 113, 315 n. 19. Staff at the Musée d'Orsay have been very helpful in providing additional information and digitising the photographic print. In particular, I should like to thank Denise Faïfe (Musée d'Orsay, Paris) and Gaëlle le Page (Agence Photographique, Réunion des musées nationaux-Grand Palais, Paris).

¹⁰ More text appears to be preserved in the lower left corner, perhaps reading: *Tombeau de Ptah-em-ua / T. Devéria phot. 1859.*

¹¹ D. C. Stulik and A. Kaplan, *The Atlas of Analytical Signatures of Photographic Processes, The Getty Conservation Institute: Albumen* (Los Angeles, 2013), 5, fig. 2.

only to sensitise the paper substrate (coated with salted albumen) with a silver nitrate solution. Pre-sensitised paper negatives became available for commercial use by 1872. This implies that the prints produced by Devéria had to be chemically prepared before use on-site. The development in the 1860s of the dry collodion process would make photography easier to use and made it readily available to a wider (amateur) audience.

The adhesive used for fixation of the paper print on the montage may have led to some discolouration; note the lighter areas.¹² The fact that the photo was taken in the direction of the sun may have also contributed to the print's mediocre quality.

Observations on the architecture

The photograph captures one doorway in the tomb's accessible superstructure. Given the position of the sun, and assuming the usual east-west orientation of New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara, the doorway was probably photographed from the north-east.¹³

This part of the structure is remarkably well preserved. The east wall is constructed of mud bricks, while the doorway is made of limestone elements.¹⁴ The two lintels can be observed in their original position.

At Saqqara, mud-brick walls with an interior limestone revetment are usually indicative of a late Eighteenth Dynasty date. Tombs of the Ramesside period, on the other hand, are constructed of hollow skin walls of limestone with stone rubble fill.¹⁵ These observations suggest an early date for Ptahemwia, which does not accord with the official being firmly established in the reign of Ramesses II (see below). Similar observations were made for the tombs of Ptahmose and Khay referred to above (n. 8). These appear as 'hybrid' structures containing both late Eighteenth Dynasty and (early) Ramesside architectural characteristics. Thus, with an increasing number of 'exceptions',¹⁶ the strict dynastic division based on these architectural features proposed by previous scholars can no longer be maintained. Instead, it should be recognised that tomb architecture at Saqqara changed gradually during the early reign of Ramesses II.¹⁷

Whether the photograph captures the tomb's entrance doorway or any other doorway within the accessible superstructure is difficult to assess. The iconography and texts on the lintel, doorjambs and reveal can be instructive (see below).

The access to this part of the tomb has been partly excavated. From every direction, sand slopes mixed with rubble and occasional limestone blocks can be observed. One limestone block, possibly with decoration in sunk relief, is situated inside the doorway

¹² Stulik and Kaplan, *Atlas of Analytical Signatures*, 9.

¹³ Compare with Devéria's photograph of the tomb of Ptahmose: Staring, *BIFAO* 114/2, fig. 1.

¹⁴ Tomb reliefs of New Kingdom date at Saqqara are without exception made of high-quality limestone from Turah. Statues, stelae, and other portable elements could be produced from different, harder stones.

¹⁵ J. van Dijk, 'The Development of the Memphite Necropolis in the Post-Amarna Period', in A.-P. Zivie (ed.), *Memphis et ses nécropoles au Nouvel Empire: Nouvelles données, nouvelles questions* (Paris, 1988), 42-4; M. J. Raven, 'Twenty-five Years of Work in the New Kingdom Necropolis of Saqqara: Looking for Structure', in M. Bárta and J. Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000* (ArOr Supp 9; Prague, 2000), 143; H. M. Hays, 'On the Architectural Development of Monumental Tombs South of the Unas Causeway at Saqqara from the Reigns of Akhenaten to Ramses II', in M. Bárta, F. Coppens, and J. Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010*, I (Prague, 2011), 99.

¹⁶ During the early Nineteenth Dynasty, Raia, the Overseer of the Royal Apartments of the Harim at Memphis, added to the tomb of his father, Pay, a courtyard made of mud-brick walls: M. J. Raven, *The Tomb of Pay and Raia at Saqqara* (EES EM 74; Leiden, 2005). The limestone-revetted mud-brick tomb of Paser, the Overseer of Builders of the Lord of the Two Lands (the brother of Tjuneroy), dates to the reign of Ramesses II: G. T. Martin, *The Tomb-Chapels of Paser and Ra'ia at Saqqâra* (EES EM 52; London, 1985).

¹⁷ Discussion in: Staring, *BIFAO* 114/2.

and another block with smooth upper surface is positioned against the west side of the south-east doorjamb.

At least two architectural spaces are visible beyond the doorway. The first appears to be rectangular: possibly a vestibule,¹⁸ statue room, or oddly shaped courtyard.

The lintel over the doorway is composed of two separate stone blocks. These are positioned over the limestone-revetted mud-brick walls. The constructional details can be compared to the tomb of Maya, the late Eighteenth Dynasty Overseer of the Treasury. The massive lintel rests predominantly on the doorjambs and the additional ceiling blocks rest on the vestibule's limestone revetment blocks.¹⁹

The photograph does not contain a scale and therefore the doorway's dimensions are not easily gauged (fig. 2). By means of comparison, one may refer to the original entrance to the tomb of Pay, the late Eighteenth Dynasty Director of the Harim at Memphis. The walls in the entrance doorway are approximately 70 cm wide.²⁰ Pay is depicted alone, seated on a chair behind an offering stand. That same wall surface would allow for two standing figures. This accords well with the measurements of a comparable scene showing a standing, anonymous couple in the Museum August Kestner (Inv. No. 1935.200.182; see below). The area below the main scene in the entrance doorway usually contains a register depicting offering bearers 'entering' the tomb.²¹ Note, however, that Ramesside tombs usually have an undecorated dado.²² The width of entrance doorways at Saqqara varies between 140 cm²³ and 174 cm.²⁴ The doorjambs protrude inwards, usually around 15 cm.²⁵ Without exception, this protrusion is present at the eastern end or outside of doorways—a fact further emphasizing the suggested orientation of this doorway.

The dimensions of the exterior can be compared to doorways in the tombs of the Mayor Ptahmose and the Commander-in-Chief Horemheb. A doorway in the tomb of Ptahmose photographed by Devéria contains a doorjamb with offering formulae inscribed over four text columns. This jamb (Cairo JE 4874) measures 47 cm in width. The individual text columns are on average 9 cm wide. In the tomb of Horemheb, the jambs of the doorway leading from the second courtyard into the statue room likewise contain four text columns inscribed with offering formulae.²⁶ The nearly intact

¹⁸ See e.g. the tomb of Mery-Neith, Steward of the Temple of the Aten (temp. Akhenaten). The 3 m wide rectangular vestibule gives access to the (inner) courtyard: M. J. Raven and R. van Walsem, *The Tomb of Meryneith at Saqqara* (PALMA 10; Turnhout, 2014), fig. III.4 (building phase 3).

¹⁹ K. J. Frazer, 'Architecture', in G. T. Martin, *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt, I: The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary* (EES EM 99; London, 2012), 6. The lintel measures 208.8 (originally 238.4) x 47.5 cm; the ceiling blocks measure c. 170 x 20 cm.

²⁰ Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 25, scene 9, fig. 6, pls 20–1. The same dimensions were observed in the tomb of Mery-Neith: see n. 25, above. The tombs of Tia (170 cm; G. T. Martin, *The Tomb of Tia and Tia, a Royal Monument of the Ramesside Period in the Memphite Necropolis* [EES EM 58; London, 1997], pl. 1) and Maya (330 cm; Frazer, in Martin, *Maya and Meryt, I*, 6) have entrance pylons of more monumental dimensions.

²¹ For example Pay (Raven, *Pay and Raia*, scene 9, pl. 21); Mery-Neith (Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 82–7, scenes 7 and 8); and Maya (Martin, *Maya and Meryt, I*, pls 9, 13).

²² Martin, *Tia and Tia*, pls 130–1; S. Gohary, *The Twin Tomb Chapel of Nebnefer and His Son Mahu at Sakkara* (Cairo, 2009), pl. 9a–b.

²³ Pay and Raia (Raven, *Pay and Raia*, pl. 1); Nebnefer and Mahu (Gohary, *Nebnefer and Mahu*, pl. 3); compare Tia: 155 cm (Martin, *Tia and Tia*, pl. 1).

²⁴ Maya (Frazer, in Martin, *Maya and Meryt, I*, 6, pl. 1B).

²⁵ Measurements from the tombs of Maya, Pay, and Tia.

²⁶ G. T. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut'ankhamūn, I: The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary* (EES EM 55; London, 1989), 32, scenes 9 and 10, pl. 23.

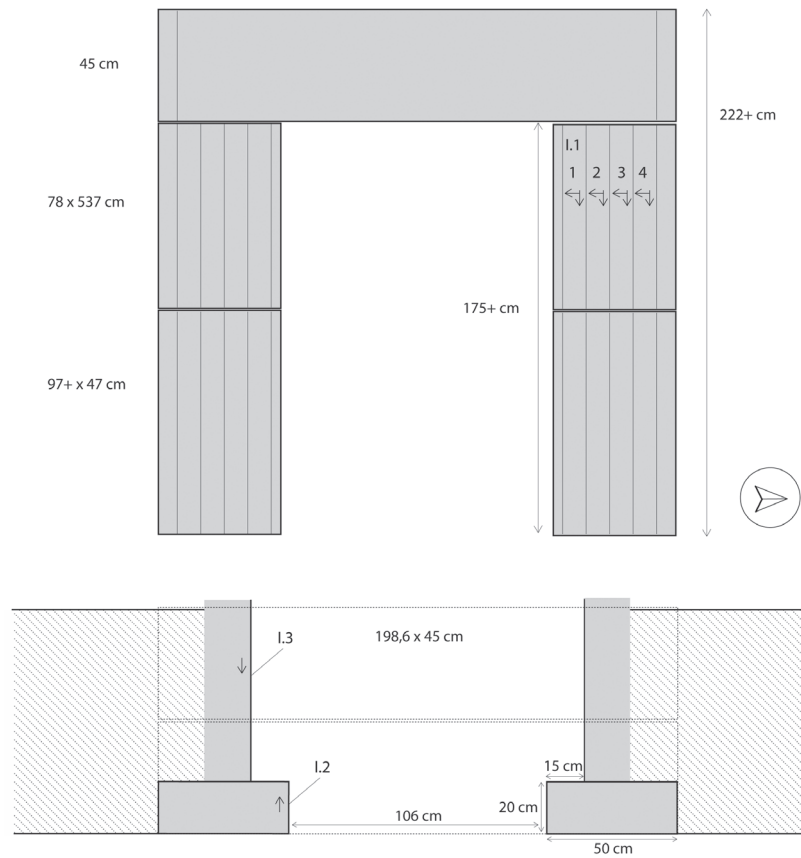



FIG. 2. Plan and section of the doorway in the tomb of Ptahemwia, after the photograph of T. Devéria.
Drawing: Nico Staring.

south jamb measures 243 x 56 cm, and the text columns are on average 9 cm wide. Assuming a width of 9 cm for the text columns, the doorjamb of Ptahemwia can be calculated to measure approximately 50 cm in width (note: 1 cubit = 52.5 cm). Due to the photograph's oblique view, no exact measurements can be given.

Exterior decoration: lintel

The decoration on the lintel contains two mirror scenes. These depict the tomb owner and, presumably, his wife. The image on the right-hand side, however, shows both kneeling figures at the same size, which is not normally the case when the male tomb owner and his wife are depicted: the latter is always slightly smaller. Both wear long garments, are kneeling (in the left-hand image a foot is recognizable underneath the buttocks of the figure on the left), and have their hands raised in adoration. Each representation is directed towards an enthroned deity holding a sceptre (probably the *w3s*). The two deities are separated by a single, framed column of text in the centre. The text is largely illegible, although halfway the column the sign-group , *Wsir*, appears to be discernible. An offering table is positioned between the deities and the deceased couple. The scenes on the lintel are perfectly aligned with the outer framed text columns on the appertaining doorjamb. The lintel's upper area is damaged on most of the southern half, obliterating the heads of both deities and of the deceased couple on the left.

Saqqara offers a few parallels for the iconography on lintels: the lintel of Maya already mentioned,²⁷ a lintel of Iniuia, Chief Steward of Memphis,²⁸ and one from the lost tomb of Khaemneter, Royal Scribe and Inspector (*rwd*).²⁹ All depict two mirror scenes with the deceased couple in a position of adoration. The lintel of Khaemneter provides the closest parallel.³⁰ The two mirror representations in sunk relief depict Ra-Horakhty seated in the centre. An offering table is set up in front of his throne, and Khaemneter and his wife Sati kneel in front of it, their hands raised in adoration. The accompanying text starts *rdi.t i3w*, ‘giving adoration’.

Since the heads of the two seated deities on Ptahemwia’s lintel are missing and the text column is illegible, one should be cautious to identify both. If one were to argue in favour of Ra-Horakhty, Ptahemwia and his wife would be depicted while adoring Ra-Horakhty (in the east), and the same theme is represented on the doorway’s south reveal (see below). The presence of Ra-Horakhty would strengthen the hypothesis that this is the entrance to the tomb. His association with the rising sun connects him to the east. Osiris, on the other hand, would be typically represented at the western end of the tomb.³¹ If the signs for *Wsir* are correctly identified, this could be an indication of that deity’s name.

In tomb decoration the north is usually associated with the netherworld and deities such as Osiris and Atum, while the south is associated with regeneration, the sunrise, and deities such as Ra(-Horakhty). The lintel’s east face—visible when entering the tomb—was usually decorated with scenes, whereas the west face—visible when

²⁷ Martin et al., ‘The Tomb of Maya and Meryt: Preliminary Report on the Saqqâra Excavations, 1987–8’, *JEA* 74 (1988), 13, pl. II.2; Martin, *Maya and Meryt* I, 22, scene 12, pls 18, 71.2. Maya and Meryt adore Anubis recumbent atop a shrine with *wedjat* eye above its back. The central column of text identifies the deity.

²⁸ (1) Iniuia and Iuy adoring Anubis recumbent: H. D. Schneider, *The Tomb of Iniuia in the New Kingdom Necropolis at Saqqara* (PALMA 8; Turnhout, 2012), 76–7, scene 11, fig. III.26. Excavation Nos R 93-53 A, B; R 93-56; 30 x 194 x 25 cm; (2) Iniuia and Iuy adoring Osiris and Isis (left) and Osiris and Nephthys (right) squatting: Schneider, *Iniuia*, 79, scene 14, fig. III.29, Art Institute of Chicago Inv. 1894.246; max. dimensions of fragment: 24.5 x 71 x 5.5 cm (original width calculated at 110 cm).

²⁹ Schneider, *Iniuia*, 101, Cat. 28, fig. III.59, Excav. Nos R 93-2 (max. 59 x 85 x 13 cm) and R 93-19 (26 x 36 x 13 cm). The scene has a height of 30 cm. The location of Khaemneter’s tomb is not known, although the lintel’s find-spot indicates that it must be situated in close proximity to Iniuia, immediately due south of Horemheb’s first court.

³⁰ For more lintels from New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara, but with different iconography, see: Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief, late Eighteenth Dynasty (Martin, *Horemheb*, I, 112–13, scene 102, pl. 98); Amenemope, Nineteenth Dynasty? (Saqqara No. 16697; A. Moussa, ‘A Limestone Lintel of *Imn-m-ipt* from Saqqara’, *ASAE* 70 (1984–5), 35, pl. I); Ramessesesemperre, Royal Butler, Nineteenth Dynasty, Ramesses II–Merenptah (Brooklyn Museum NI 35.1315; J. Berlandini-Grenier, ‘Le dignitaire Ramsès-em-per-Rê’, *BIFAO* 74 (1974), 5–6, Doc. III, pl. III); Nebmose, Overseer of the Treasury, Nineteenth Dynasty (London, British Museum E1465; HTBM 10, 40, pl. 93); Amenemone, General of the Lord of the Two Lands, Eighteenth Dynasty, temp. Horemheb (Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 27.6.24.10; O. Djuževa, ‘Das Grab des Generals Ameneminet in Saqqara’, in Bartá and Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000*, 95, Dok. 3, pl. 1); Iy-iry, High Priest of Ptah, Nineteenth Dynasty, temp. Seti II (present location unknown; found at Mit Rahineh; R. Anthes, *Mit Rahineh 1956* (Philadelphia, 1965), 80, Cat. 9, fig. 7, pls 27a, 28a); Hatiay, God’s Father, late Eighteenth Dynasty (Paris, Musée du Louvre AF 9923; B. Gessler-Löhr, ‘Pre-Amarna or Post-Amarna? The Tomb of the God’s Father Hatiay at Saqqara’, in L. Evans (ed.), *Ancient Memphis ‘Enduring is the Perfection’: Proceedings of the International Conference held at Macquarie University, Sydney on August 14–15, 2008* (OLA 214; Leuven, 2012), 151–3, figs 1a–b, 10).

³¹ An exception should be noted in the tomb of Maya, where the enthroned Osiris is being adored by Maya. The scene is depicted in the entrance vestibule, north wall. However, Osiris is situated at the western end of the wall and Maya stands on the east, facing west: G. T. Martin, *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis: New Discoveries from the Time of Tutankhamun and Ramesses the Great* (London, 1991), 171–2, fig. 109; Martin, *Maya and Meryt*, I, 18–19, scene 3, pls 9–10, 79–80.


leaving the tomb—was inscribed with texts.³² This is another indication to support the hypothesis that the photograph of Devéria is taken from the north-east.

Texts on the exterior doorjambs


Each doorjamb is composed of two superimposed limestone revetment blocks, inscribed with four framed columns of hieroglyphic texts. Each column contains a *hṭp di nsw* offering formula, concluding with Ptahemwia's varying title sequences and his name. The text columns appear to terminate at a slightly higher level than does the scene on the doorway, which might indicate that the doorjambs continue underneath the sand, perhaps containing a panel showing the tomb owner seated behind an offering table. Such panels are commonly attested on the lower parts of doorjambs in the New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara.³³

The texts on the right-hand side doorjamb (north) are clearly legible when magnifying the digital image. Due to the less advantageous lighting conditions, no transcription of the texts on the left (south) side can be presented.


I.1 Doorway, north jamb, east face:

(←↓) [1] 
*hṭp di nsw Pth rsy inb=f nb ʿnh-t3.wy^a di=k Bw ndm n.y mh.tyt n Wsir sš nsw im.y-r [ih.w wr]
 m t[3] h.w.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c-stp.n-R^c m pr ʿImn Pth-m-wi3 m3^c-hrw.*

An offering which the king gives to Ptah Who-is-South-of-His-Wall, Lord of Ankhtawy, may you grant the sweet breeze of the north wind for the Osiris, Royal Scribe, Great Overseer [of Cattle] in the Temple of Usermaatse-Setepenre in the House of Amun (i.e. Ramesseum), Ptahemwia, true of voice.

(←↓) [2] 
*hṭp di nsw R^c-Hr-3h.ty ntr ʿ3 nb p.t^b di=k t mw pr(i) [hr wdhw?]^c n Wsir sš nsw hṭp.w-ntr n(y)
 ntr.w nb.w T3-mh.w Šm^c.w^d Pth-m-wi3 m3^c-hrw.*


An offering which the king gives to Ra-Horakhty, Great God, Lord of Heaven, may you grant bread and water that comes forth [upon the/your offering table?] for the Osiris, Royal Scribe of Divine Offerings of all Gods of Lower and Upper Egypt, Ptahemwia, true of voice.

(←↓) [3] 
*hṭp di nsw (T)tm.w nb t3.wy ʿwn.w di=k pri(.t)-hrw t hnk.t k3.w 3pd.w [h.t nb.t nfr.t w^cb.t?] n
 Wsir sš nsw imy-r ih.w wr Pth-m-wi3 m3^c-hrw.*

An offering which the king gives to Atum, Lord of the Two Lands and of Heliopolis / the Heliopolite, may you grant an offering of bread, beer, oxen, fowl [and all good and pure things?] to the Osiris, Royal Scribe, Great Overseer of Cattle, Ptahemwia, true of voice.



³² See the lintel of Iniuia, Excav. Nos R 93-53 A, B, and R 93-56: Schneider, *Iniuia*, 76-7, scene 11, fig. III.26.

³³ See e.g. the exterior doorjambs on the entrance pylon of the tomb of father and son Nebnefer and Mahu, both Chief Steward of Ptah, Nineteenth Dynasty, temp. Ramesses II (Gohary, *Nebnefer and Mahu*, pls 4b, 7b, 8a-b); and Maya (Martin, *Maya and Meryt*, I, scenes 1-2, pl 8, 78).

(←↓) [4] 
htp di nsw Hw.t-Hr hnw.t imn.tyt nfr.t di=s htp [/// n Wsir] sš nsw htp.w-ntr n(y) ntr.w nb.w
Šm^c.w T3-mḥ.w Pth-m-wi3 m3^c-hrw.

An offering which the king gives to Hathor, Mistress of the Beautiful West, may she grant an offering [/// to the Osiris], Royal Scribe of Divine Offerings of all the Gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ptahemwia, true of voice.

Notes on Text and Translation

a) For this writing of *ḥt3-wy*, see e.g. *Wb.* I, 203: stela of Urhiya and Yupa, Louvre E 3143 (ex-coll. d'Anastasi 1857; J. Ruffle and K. A. Kitchen, 'The Family of Urhiya and Yupa, High Stewards of the Ramesseum', in J. Ruffle, K. A. Kitchen, and G. A. Gaballa (eds), *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of H. W. Fairman* (Warminster, 1979), 55–74, pl. IVa–b; for sign-order , see H. Altenmüller and A. M. Moussa, 'Eine wiederentdeckte Statue des Vezirs Rahotep', *MDAIK* 30 (1974), 3; *KRI* III, 56.2: naophorous statue, found by Zakaria Goneim in 1955 near the Jeremias Monastery at Saqqara. For the epithet, see: C. Leitz, *LGG* 3 (OLA 112; Leuven, 2002), 601–2; M. Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah* (Lund, 1946), pl. 63, no. 316, and pl. 64, no. 330:  (as an epithet for Ptah).

b) For a parallel of these epithets at Saqqara, see e.g. the tomb of Horemheb: Martin, *Horemheb*, I, 128, scene 124, pl. 139 (Horemheb adoring Ra-Horakhty); stela Avignon, Musée Calvet A4 of General Iurokhy (Saqqara, tomb LS 25): Ruffle and Kitchen, in Ruffle, Kitchen, and Gaballa (eds), *Studies Fairman*, pl. Va–b.


c) Compare e.g. Martin, *Horemheb*, I, 35, scene 11, pls 24–5; Schneider, *Iniuia*, 83–4, scene 17, fig. III.32, pl. VII.

d) The usual word sequence is: *Šm^c.w T3-mḥ.w* (see text I.1,4). Here it appears to be reversed, although this is difficult to ascertain.

Doorway: text on doorjamb reveal

The protruding doorjamb reveal contains one framed column of incised hieroglyphs, oriented right to left. The upper and lower sections are illegible. The text probably starts with an offering formula (as indicated by the element *n Wsir*, '... to the Osiris ...'), and concludes with a title sequence and the tomb owner's name. Only the beginning of the title sequence can be read.

I.2 Doorway, South Jamb, North Face:

(↓→) 
 /// *n Wsir sš nsw im.y-r ih.w wr^a m [t3 hw.t?]^b ///*
 /// to the Osiris, Royal Scribe, [Great] Overseer of Cattle in [the Temple?] ///

Notes on text and translation

a) Gardiner Sign-List F20 for *im.y-r* is clearly present. Whatever it encloses is less evident. Since Ptahemwia is identified primarily as the (Great) Overseer of Cattle, one may reconstruct this title with some confidence.

b) Reading uncertain. The preposition *m* indicates that the two following, tall and narrow signs are connected to the preceding title, Overseer of Cattle, to designate the institution the cattle belongs to. In view of Ptahemwia's titles related to the Ramesseum, it is possible that this temple (*t3 hw.t*) was mentioned here as well.

Doorway: decoration on the south reveal

The southern doorway reveal contains relief decoration and texts in sunken relief. The single scene presents the standing tomb owner and his wife, facing left (east). Both raise their hands in adoration. The figure of Ptahemwia is slightly taller than that of his wife. The details of their wigs and clothing cannot be easily distinguished. Ptahemwia wears a long garment, which is probably a bag tunic with pleated sleeves and kilt reaching to the ankles, in combination with a sash kilt tied in front. His wife wears an ankle-length pleated robe. She holds a Hathor sistrum in her left hand.³⁴ An unguent cone is situated atop her striated wig, possibly in combination with a lotus flower.

A close, possibly Memphite parallel for this scene is relief block Hannover, Museum August Kestner 1935.200.182.³⁵ It is a limestone block with the much-weathered raised relief representation of an anonymous tomb owner³⁶ and his wife, both facing left. This fragment was part of a larger scene, which now only preserves their torsos and part of their heads. The man raises both hands in adoration, the woman her right hand while holding a menat and sistrum with her left hand. The block measures 47 x 71 x 3.5 cm.³⁷ These dimensions are comparable to those calculated for the scene in Ptahemwia's doorway (see above).

The lighting conditions inside the doorway are less advantageous than on the exterior, leaving many of the inscriptions illegible. Approximately ten short columns of text are inscribed above the couple's heads, and an unscribed section (perhaps a frieze) separates it from the ceiling. In view of the scene's subject, one may suggest that the text starts with 'giving adoration', followed by the name of the deity and its corresponding epithets. The couple is shown moving in an eastward direction, as if leaving their tomb, in order to give praise and adore Ra-Horakhty, who is likely shown on the lintel above. Memphite parallels for this scene can be found in the Amarna Period tomb of Mery-Neith, who on the north reveal of the entrance doorway is depicted entering his tomb, and on the south reveal leaving it to adore Ra-Horakhty.³⁸ Iniua 'leaves' his tomb chapel (alone) with his hands raised in adoration.³⁹ On that chapel's north and south walls, Iniua, his wife Iuy and their daughter Meryt-Ra are depicted standing with hands raised in adoration; the accompanying texts contain hymns and an offering prayer.⁴⁰ Scenes of entering and leaving (*ḥꜣ prt*) are also

³⁴ Compare to Iset-Nofret, Lady of the House and Songstress of the Lady of the Southern Sycamore, on the stela of her husband, the Charioteer of His Majesty, Nemtymose (Cairo TN 22.1.21.1: A. Mariette, *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie* [Paris, 1872], pl. 105); and Ty, Lady of the House, on a block (or lintel) together with her husband, the Steward Maya (Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet NME 23: J. Lieblein, *Katalog öfver egyptiska fornlemningar i National-Museum* (Stockholm, 1868), 22, no. 23; G. T. Martin, *Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite Necropolis and Lower Egypt* (London, 1987), 40-1, no. 105, pl. 38).

³⁵ Ex-coll. von Bissing (Inv. No. S' 562): Martin, *Corpus*, 36, no. 88, pls 34, 53 (as Nineteenth Dynasty; provenance unknown, but probably Saqqara); R. Drenkhahn, *Ägyptische Reliefs im Kestner Museum Hannover* (Hannover, 1989), 104-5, Cat. 34. I wish to thank Christian Loeben for sending me scans of the museum inventory card.

³⁶ Drenkhahn (*Ägyptische Reliefs*, 104-5), on stylistic grounds, attributed the block to the tomb of Maya, the late Eighteenth Dynasty Overseer of the Treasury. However, compare the weathering on this block to that on block Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Æ.I.N. 715 of the General Amenemone, also from the late Eighteenth Dynasty, temp. Horemheb (PM III/2, 701; M. Mogensen, *La collection Égyptienne: La Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg* [Copenhagen, 1930], 97, pl. 108).

³⁷ The slight thickness of this block should indicate that it was sawn from a larger block.

³⁸ Raven and van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 82-87, scenes 8 and 7, respectively.





³⁹ Schneider, *Iniua*, 59, scene 1, fig. III.1 (h: 90 cm).

⁴⁰ Schneider, *Iniua*, 81-4, scenes 16-17, figs III.31-2, pls VI-VII (h: 87.5 and 84 cm).

depicted in the entrance doorway of the tombs of Raia⁴¹ and Tia.⁴² The pylon entrance doorway of the tomb of Tia is decorated with scenes of the tomb owner adoring before the king (south reveal) and the king facing a female figure, perhaps Queen Tuya, Ramesses II's mother (north reveal).⁴³ The tomb of Mahu and Nebnefer depicts a male figure (probably Mahu) facing west before a striding deity on the north reveal, and facing east before a deity on the south reveal.⁴⁴ According to Gohary, the latter deity should represent Ra at dawn. If these few preserved and published Ramesside examples can be considered representative, there appears to be a development from representing the tomb owner implicitly adoring a deity during the late Eighteenth Dynasty (the deity being mentioned in the text), towards explicitly adoring the god (depicted) during the Ramesside period. The tomb of Ptahemwia contains the 'traditional', earlier scene, which indicates that this presumed change took place in the course of Ramesses II's reign.

Close parallels for Ptahemwia's scene can also be found in Theban tombs. Good examples are the tomb of Nefersekeru, the Deputy of the Treasury and Royal Scribe of the Divine Offerings of all Gods (TT 296),⁴⁵ and the tomb of Neferhotep, Overseer of Cattle of Amun (TT 49).⁴⁶ Both officials were (near) contemporaries to Ptahemwia and they held similar titles. On the south reveal of the entrance doorway, the deceased couple Neferhotep and Meryt-Ra leave their tomb and on the north reveal they are depicted entering it. The south reveal shows them standing (Meryt-Ra holding a sistrum), hands raised in adoration and leaving their tomb, with the text *dw3 R^c hft wbn=f m 3h.t i3b.tyt n.(y)t p.t*, 'Adoring Ra when he rises in the eastern horizon of the sky'. On the north reveal, the couple assume the same pose oriented towards the west, entering their tomb, and the corresponding text starts with: *dw3 R^c-Hr-3h.ty hft htp=f m 3h.t imn.tyt (n.yt) p.t*, 'Adoring Ra-Horakhty when he sets in the western horizon of the sky'. In the tomb of Neferrenpet-Kenro (TT 178), a doorway inside the tomb (south wall) contains a lintel with the representation of Osiris on the east side and Ra-Horakhty on the west side.⁴⁷ These examples indicate that one needs to be cautious when ascribing an orientation based on the deity represented.

I.3 Doorway, south reveal:

(←↓) [x+1]  [x+2]  [x+3]  [x+4] 
 [x+1] /// [Pth]-m-wi3 [x+2] [m3^c-hrw m] htp /// [x+3] /// [sn.t=f mr.t=f] šm^c.y.t n.(yt) Hw.t-Hr [x+4]
 [nb.t nh.t rsy.t] Shm.t^a m3^c(.t)-hrw m htp.

[x+1] /// Ptahemwia [x+2] [true of voice in] peace /// [x+3] /// [and his sister (i.e. wife) whom he loves], the Songstress of Hathor [x+4] [Lady of the Southern Sycamore], Sekhmet, true of voice in peace.

Notes on text and translation

a) PN I, 319.21. See also: relief Cairo TN 31.5.25.11, depicting the squatting

⁴¹ Raven, *Pay and Raia*, 23, scenes 3 and 4, pl. 16. Raia is depicted alone.

⁴² Martin, *Tia and Tia*, scenes 88 and 90, pls 49–50.

⁴³ Martin, *Tia and Tia*, 18–19, scenes 14 and 18, pls 11, 14.

⁴⁴ Gohary, *Nebnefer and Mahu*, 14, scenes 3 and 4, pl. 9a–b.

⁴⁵ E. Feucht, *Das Grab des Nefersekeru (TT 296)* (Theben 2; Mainz am Rhein, 1985), scene 1, pl. VI. The tomb is dated to the reign of Ramesses II, mid to second half.

⁴⁶ N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-Hotep at Thebes* (New York, 1933), pls XXXVI–XXXVII.

⁴⁷ E. Hofmann, *Das Grab des Neferrenpet gen. Kenro (TT 178)* (Theben 9; Mainz, 1995), pls IIa, XXX.

grandchildren presumably of Iniuia, Chief Steward of Memphis: *s3.t n(.yt) s3=f Shm.t m3^c.t-hrw* (Schneider, *Iniuia*, 121, fig. V.2); relief Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico KS 1945 (ex-coll. Palagi; Di Nizzoli) of Ptahhotep: *s3.t=fšm^c.yt n(.yt) nb.t nh.t Shm.t-m-hb* (S. Pernigotti, 'Il rilievo Bologna KS 1945', *SEAP* 7 (1990), 1–7, pl. I); column Cairo TN 26.11.124.4, the wife of Wepwawetmose, Royal Scribe of the Offering Table (J. Berlandini, 'Varia Memphitica V: Monuments de la chapelle funéraire du gouverneur Ptahmès', *BIFAO* 82 (1982), 99 n. 3, pl. XIVA); on a stela found in Saqqara north-west of the pyramid of Ibi (present location unknown), the wife of Khonsu, Head of Servants: *nb.t pr Shm.t* (Ramesside: PM III/2, 675; G. Jéquier, *La pyramide d'Aba* (Fouilles à Saqqarah; Cairo, 1935), 30–1, no. 13, pl. XX; and named in a hieroglyphic graffito in the north chapel of Djoser's pyramid complex: 'Songstress of Amu[n], Sekhmet' (H. Navrátilová, *The Visitors' Graffiti of Dynasties XVIII and XIX in Abusir and Saqqara* (Prague, 2007), 126, pl. 35a–b (M.2.3.P.19_20.2). A Memphite temple of Sekhmet is attested in the title of Niay, who was *hm-ntr n(.y) Shm.t* and *hm-ntr Shm.t m hwt Shm.t* (on relief Leipzig Inv. No. 2885; E. Blumenthal, 'Grabrelief des Niai', in R. Krauspe (ed.), *Das Ägyptische Museum der Universität Leipzig* (Mainz am Rhein, 1997), 96, no. 78; relief Berlin 7322: LD., Text I, 138, 'Einzelne Steine im Dorfe Abusir verbaut'; and relief Hannover, Museum August Kestner 2933: PM III/2, 707–8; C. E. Loeben, *Die Ägypten-Sammlung des Museum August Kestner und ihre (Kriegs-)Verluste* (Rahden, 2011), fig. 5). A cult for 'Sekhmet of Sahure' was located in part of the pyramid temple of Sahure at Abusir.⁴⁸

Identifying the tomb owner

Ptahemwia—'Ptah is in the barque'⁴⁹—is not an uncommon name amongst officials of the New Kingdom at Memphis. At least five officials with the same name constructed their tombs at Saqqara,⁵⁰ and a scribe named Ptahemwia left a graffito in the Old Kingdom mastaba of the vizier Ptahshepses at Abusir, dated year 50 (of Ramesses II).⁵¹

⁴⁸ L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sâahu-rea. Band 1: Der Bau* (Leipzig, 1910), 120–35.

⁴⁹ Ranke, *PN I*, 139.

⁵⁰ (1) Royal Butler, late Eighteenth Dynasty, temp. Akhenaten–Tutankhamun (PM III/2, 751; tomb rediscovered in 2007 by the Leiden-expedition: M.J. Raven et al., 'Preliminary Report on the Leiden Excavations at Saqqara, Season 2007: The Tomb of Ptahemwia', *JÉOL* 40 (2006–7), 19–39; M.J. Raven et al., *The Tombs of Ptahemwia and Sethnakht at Saqqara* (Turnhout, forthcoming)); (2) Royal Butler, father of the Royal Butler Hori, Twentieth Dynasty, temp. Ramesses III/IV, or later (PM III/2, 751; J. Málek, 'The Royal Butler Hori at Northern Saqqara', *JEA* 74 (1988), 125–36); (3) Chief of Retainers of Ptah, late Eighteenth Dynasty (pyramidion Leiden AM 7bis; P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden: De monumenten van het Nieuwe Rijk. Tweede afdeling: Pyramiden, Lijkenvazenkast, Offertafels, Beelden* (The Hague, 1912), 1–2, pls I, XV; A. Rammant-Peeters, *Les pyramidions égyptiennes du Nouvel Empire* (OLA 11; Leuven, 1983), 38–9, Doc. 35; M.J. Raven and N. Staring, 'Pyramidion von Ptahemwia', in D. von Recklinghausen (ed.), *Ägyptische Mumien: Unsterblichkeit im Land der Pharaonen* (Stuttgart, 2007), 136–7); (4) Stable-master of the Residence (Stela BM EA 167; may have derived from Saqqara: *HTBM* 9, 29–30, pl. 25); (5) Overseer of All Priests of the Two Lands, late Eighteenth Dynasty, temp. Amenhotep III? (a limestone stela excavated by the Waseda University archaeological mission 2 km north of Snofru's Red Pyramid at Dahshur: S. Yoshimura and S. Hasegawa, 'New Kingdom Necropolis at Dahshur – The Tomb of Ipay and Its Vicinity', in M. Bárta and J. Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000* (Prague, 2000), 149; (6) Overseer of the Fillet(?) of the Lord of the Two Lands, Nineteenth Dynasty, temp. Ramesses II (PM III/2, 770); (7) Overseer of the Treasury of the Temple of a Million Years of Ramesses II in the Domain of Amun in Memphis, Nineteenth Dynasty, temp. Ramesses II (PM III/2, 775). The last two officials are in fact the same man, as argued in the present article.

⁵¹ Together with his father, the Scribe Yupa: PM III/2, 342; G. Daressy, 'Inscription hiératique d'un Mastaba d'Abousir', *BIE* 5 (1894), 107–13; *KRI* III, 43; A.J. Peden, *Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt: The Scope and Roles of Informal Writing* (PdÄ 17; Leiden, 2001), 95–6; Navrátilová, *Visitors' Graffiti*, 58–61 (M.1.5.M.19.1.1).

The inscriptions visible on the right-hand side doorjamb of the photographed tomb further identify the owner *inter alia* as the (Great) Overseer of Cattle (see below). One Overseer of Cattle named Ptahemwia is known from a limestone pyramidion found at Saqqara, and there can be little doubt that this is indeed the same man. According to the *Journal d'Entrée* of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, it was found at 'Memphis (Saqqara)' in March 1861.⁵² In his publication of Ptahemwia's pyramidion, Myśliwiec already identified this official with the man named Ptahemwia who left a statue at the temple of Osiris in Abydos.⁵³ With the identification of the tomb photographed by Devéria, Myśliwiec's suggestion that Ptahemwia was buried not in Thebes but in Saqqara can now be confirmed.

Pyramidion Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 17109 (JE 8371; TN 7.11.24.3)

Limestone

H. 38.5 cm; L. of base: 53 (east), 38 (south), 31.5 (west), and 41 cm (north)

Found at Saqqara in March 1860⁵⁴

Bibliography: PM III/2, 770 (as: 'Overseer of the Fillet(?) of the Lord of the Two Lands'); K. Myśliwiec, 'Zwei Pyramidia der XIX. Dynastie aus Memphis', *SAK* 6 (1978), 139–55 (esp. 139–45), figs 1–4, pls 36–7; J. Berlandini, 'Varia Memphitica II', *BIFAO* 77 (1977), 32 n. 2; A. Rammant-Peeters, *Les pyramidions égyptiennes du Nouvel Empire* (OLA 11; Leuven, 1983), 18–19, Doc. 15.

Texts

Side A (West): Deceased kneeling in adoration before Atum seated

(↓→)

(*I*)*tm nb t3.wy Iwn.w*

Atum, Lord of the Two Lands and Heliopolis / the Heliopolite.

(←↓)

dw3 (I)tm m ḥtp=f n k3 n(.y) Wsir im.y-r iḥ.w Pth-m-wi3.

Adoring Atum when he sets, for the *ka* of the Overseer of Cattle, Ptahemwia.

Side B (East): Deceased kneeling in adoration before Ra-Horakhty seated

(↓→)

Wsir im.y-r [iḥ.w] Pth-m-wi3.

The Osiris, Overseer of Cattle, Ptahemwia.

⁵² See: Myśliwiec, *SAK* 6, 139 (Journal d'Entrée: Memphis, March 1861). According to the JE numbering system, JE 8371 would have been assigned in 1860 (see: B.V. Bothmer, 'Numbering Systems of the Cairo Museum', in *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique: Cent cinquante années de recherche 1822–1972, Hommage à Jean-François Champollion* (BdE 64/3; Cairo, 1972–74), 114). The Temporary Register No. 7.11.24.3 indicates that it was registered as the third object entered on 7 November 1924 (Ibid., 117–18).

⁵³ Myśliwiec, *SAK* 6, 144–5, with nn. 6–7.

⁵⁴ See the remarks in n. 52, above. The unpublished 'Inventaire Mariette' in the Bibliothèque nationale de France indicates the correct find date of 1860 (Stéphane Pasquali, personal communication).

(←↓) 

R^c-Hr-3h.ty ntr-^c3.

Ra-Horakhty, the Great God.

Side C (South): Deceased kneeling in adoration before an offering table

(←↓) 

n k3 n(.y) Wsir sš nsw m3^c mr:y=f im.y-r 'ih.w' n(.w) nb t3.wy Pth-m-wi3.

To the ka of the Osiris, the True Royal Scribe whom he (i.e. the King) loves, Overseer of Cattle of the Lord of the Two Lands, Ptahemwia.



Side D (North): Deceased kneeling in adoration before an offering table

(↓→) 

dw3 R^c m wbn=f m 3h.t i3b.tyt n(.y)t p.t n Wsir im.y-r ih.w Pth-m-wi3 m3^c-hrw.

Adoring Ra when he rises on the eastern horizon of the sky by the Osiris, Overseer of Cattle, Ptahemwia, true of voice.

Notes on Text and Translation

Rammant-Peeters (*Les Pyramidions*, 18 and n. 1) reconsidered Myśliwiec's reading of the title *im.y-r ih.w*, reading *im.y-r mdhw* [*n(.y) nb t3.wy*], 'Le prepose à la coiffure [du seigneur du Double Pays]': Overseer of the Coiffure. She argued that: '... le signe inférieur du quadrat ait l'apparence d'une tête d'animal, il semble qu'il s'agisse de bandeau  (Gardiner S10) et qu'on doive lire le titre *imj-r mdhw*', thus following the reading tentatively indicated in Porter and Moss (III/2, 770: Overseer of the Fillet (?)). The photographs published by Myśliwiec (especially on Side D) leave little doubt that this title should be read as , *im.y-r ih.w*.⁵⁵ The abbreviated writing with bovid head is not attested elsewhere in Ptahemwia's titulary. The title suggested by Rammant-Peeters is, as far as I am aware, unattested at Saqqara during the New Kingdom.⁵⁶

'An unidentified object'

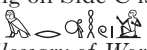
The titles inscribed on the statue (see below) and the newly discovered entrance doorway indicate that a short text copied by Mariette⁵⁷ from 'an unidentified object'⁵⁸ should derive from Ptahemwia's tomb as well. The hieroglyphic text reads as follows:

(→) 

(i)r(.y)-p^c(.t) htm.ty-bi.ty smr w^c.[ty]/// im.y-r pr-ḥd nbw n(.y) t3 ḥw.t n(.y)t ḥh.w rnp.wt n(.y) nsw.t-bi.ty Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c-stp.n-R^c m pr 'Imn m 'Inb-ḥd Pth-m-wi3 m3^c-hrw.

Hereditary Prince, Seal Bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, Sole Companion, Overseer of the Treasury of the Temple of Millions of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermaatse-Setepenre in the House of Amun (and?) in⁵⁹ White Wall (i.e. Memphis), Ptahemwia, true of voice.

⁵⁵ The reading on Side C is problematic due to the damaged surface of the stone.

⁵⁶ Compare: , W.A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom: With a Glossary of Words and Phrases Used* (Beirut, 1982), 31.218.

⁵⁷ Mariette, *Mon. div.*, 20, pl. 62c; KRI III, 417.10-11.

⁵⁸ PM III/2, 775.

⁵⁹ The preposition *m* seems to refer to a memorial temple of Ramesses II in a 'domain of Amun' in Memphis: cf. W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, I: *Die Eigentümer* (Mainz,

This is the only document to record the title that associates Ptahemwia with the treasury of Ramesses II's Theban memorial temple. His association with the god's offerings and the cattle administration, as recorded on various tomb elements, also situate him within the treasury (see below). Since no other high official named Ptahemwia held either of these titles, and since the homonymous officials buried at Saqqara held rather different titles (see n. 50, above), there should be little doubt that this unidentified object derives from the tomb photographed by Devéria.

Mariette probably copied the text on the same occasion that Devéria took his photograph. Whether or not Mariette sent this 'unidentified object' to the Bulaq Museum, as he did with a great number of other monuments recorded in the same publication, is uncertain. He may just as easily have left it *in situ* after copying.⁶⁰ The tomb's state of preservation in 1859 shows that at least this part of it had not been disturbed much by previous visitors. In fact, no tomb in this area of the necropolis has been (re)discovered in such a good state of preservation.

Osiriphorous statue Edinburgh, National Museums Scotland A.1902.306.10⁶¹ (fig. 3)

Limestone

H. 128 cm; W. 37 cm

Gift from the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902⁶²

Bibliography: PM V, 47; W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Abydos*, I (London, 1902), 29, 31, 45, pls 65.2–4, 67 [top]. Texts: *KRI* III, 376–7, § XVII.18, No. 174; *KRITA* III, 273–4, § XVII.18, No. 174.

When Petrie excavated the Osiris temple at Abydos in 1902, he found a fair number of royal and private monuments dating to the New Kingdom. At the back of the inner enclosure wall of the temple he found the statue of Ptahemwia, which he considered as the 'principal piece' of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Petrie misread the official's name as Amun-em-per-Ptah-em-ua, taking part of the title as part of the name. Other officials who left their statues at Abydos, but officiated at Memphis, were the Northern Vizier (Pa-)Rahotep⁶³ and Nedjem, the Chief Steward of the Ramesseum.⁶⁴

1961), 921 (139). M. Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit: Die Häuser der Millionen von Jahren. Eine Untersuchung zu Königskult und Tempeltypologie in Ägypten* (ÄAT 61; Wiesbaden, 2002), 372–3 (as: *Inb-ḥd.t*), however, argues that the title indicates Ptahemwia officiated in Memphis. See also: N. Staring, 'The Personnel of the Theban Ramesseum in the Memphite Ramesseum', *JÉOL* 45 (2014–15), 69–70, 80–83. Compare this construction to one title held by Mery-Neith, Steward in the Temple of the Aten: *sš n(.y) pr Itn m 3ḫ.t-itn m Mn-nfr*, Scribe of the Temple of Aten in Akhetaten (and?) in Memphis (R. van Walsem, 'The Family and Career of Meryneith and Hatiay', in Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 42–4).

⁶⁰ Compare the doorjambs copied by Mariette and published in *Mon. div.*, 25–6, pl. 74. Because Mariette copied the doorjambs, scholars long assumed that he had sent them to the Bulaq Museum. However, they were rediscovered *in situ* by the EES/Leiden mission in 1975: Martin, *Horemheb*, I, 57–8, scenes 57 and 58, pls 50, 56–7).

⁶¹ Previously: Royal Scottish Museums. I wish to thank Margaret Maitland, curator of the Ancient Mediterranean, Department of World Cultures, National Museums Scotland, for providing me with measurements and study photographs of the statue, and Margaret Wilson for arranging for the final photographs published here.

⁶² It was given to the museum in return for subscription to the excavation.

⁶³ W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Abydos*, II (London, 1903), 45, pls 35.2, 37. The cubic statue is now in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 03.1891 (EEF, 1903); R. Schulz, *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus: Eine Untersuchung zu den sogenannten „Würfelhockern“* (HÄB 33; Hildesheim, 1992), 90–1, No. 026, pl. 10. Previously, it was thought that there were two Viziers of the North with the same name (cf. H. de Meulenaere, 'Deux vizirs de Ramsès II', *CdE* 41/82 (1966), 223–32), but there is now scholarly consensus to identify them



FIG. 3. Osiriphorous statue of Ptahemwia. Excavated by W. M. Flinders Petrie at Abydos, 1902. Edinburgh, National Museums Scotland A.1902.306.10 (courtesy of NMS).

The standing statue measures 128 by 37 cm in its present state of preservation. The torso from the elbows upwards has been heavily damaged. The right flap of his striated wig is partly visible folded back over the shoulder. The lower end of the wig is visible on the back.

Ptahemwia assumes a striding pose and is positioned on a base. He holds a smaller-scale mummiform statue of Osiris in front of him. He does not carry the deity, but rather touches Osiris at his shoulders, thus ‘embracing’ him. Osiris stands on a separate base that rests on the base supporting Ptahemwia. Osiris holds his characteristic attributes—flail and *heka* sceptre or crook—across his chest. Note that the flagellum is held in the left hand and the crook in the right, which is contrary to their canonical position.⁶⁵ His head is missing and the lower tip of his beard and the support between his head and Ptahemwia’s torso remains. A circular hole is drilled into the top of the short neck. This might indicate that the head was made separately, perhaps even from different material. Each side of the support between the Osiris figure and Ptahemwia bears one unframed column of incised hieroglyphs.

Ptahemwia wears a composite garment consisting of a long bag tunic (reaching to the ankles) with pleated ‘sleeves’, in combination with a pleated wrap-around sash kilt tied in front. The pleating is indicated only on the back. The long kilt has a smooth and stiffened, trapezoid front panel and the back is covered below the waist with ten framed lines of incised hieroglyphs. Each line starts on the statue’s right-hand side. The garment is reminiscent of shabtis wearing the so-called dress of the living.⁶⁶ Note,

both as the same official named (Pa-)Rahotep, who served as Northern Vizier from the second to sixth decade of the reign of Ramesses II: D. Raue, ‘Ein Wesir Ramses’ II.’, in H. Guksch and D. Polz (eds), *Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens. Rainer Stadelmann gewidmet* (Mainz, 1998), 340–51; C. Raedler, ‘Die Wesire Ramses’ II. – Netzwerke der Macht’, in R. Gundlach and A. Klug (eds), *Das ägyptische Königtum im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen- und Außenpolitik im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr., Königtum* (KSG 1; Wiesbaden, 2004), 354–75. The recently excavated limestone column fragment with the name and titles of this Vizier can be added to the corpus published by Raedler. It was found in shaft 99/I located south of the south exterior wall of the inner courtyard of the tomb of Horemheb at Saqqara: Raven et al., *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander in Chief of Tutankhamun, V: The Forecourt and the Area South of the Tomb with Some Notes on the Tomb of Tia* (PALMA 6; Turnhout, 2011), 58, No. 28, fig. on p. 59 (Sak. 2003-R 092). For (Pa-)Rahotep’s tomb at Sedment, see: W. M. Flinders Petrie and G. Brunton, *Sedment*, II (BSAE 35; London, 1924), 28–31, pls LXXI–LXXXVI; H. Franzmeier, ‘Neues von (Pa-)Rahotep: Die Funde aus dem Grab des Wesirs im Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago’, in G. Neunert, K. Gabler, and A. Verbovsek (eds), *Nekropolen: Grab – Bild – Ritual. Beiträge des zweiten Münchner Arbeitskreises Junge Ägyptologie (MAJA 2) 2. bis 4.12.2011* (GOF IV/54; Wiesbaden, 2013), 63–4; H. Franzmeier, ‘News from Parahotep: The Small Finds from His Tomb at Sedment Rediscovered’, *JEA* 100 (2014), 151–79.

⁶⁴ Petrie, *Abydos*, II, 36, no. 4, pls 35, 38. Recently, an abacus inscribed for the same man was found reused near the tomb of Mery-Neith at Saqqara (Raven and Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 172, Cat. 163), and a shabti fragment was found during the excavation of the neighbouring tomb of Ptahemwia (Raven et al., *Ptahemwia and Sethnakht*, Cat. 67).

⁶⁵ Also observed for the Osiriphorous statuette Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1957.410 of Amun-Nakht (late New Kingdom; provenance unknown): L. Pantalacci, ‘Statuette of Amen-nakht Holding a Statue of Osiris’, in S. D’Auria, P. Lacovara, and C. H. Roehrig (eds), *Mummies & Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston, 1988), 241, cat. no. 203.

⁶⁶ Class VI in Schneider’s typology: H. D. Schneider, *Shabtis: An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with a Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden*, I (Leiden, 1977), 161–2. Compare e.g. Louvre N 2955: Ramessesmen, Director of the Royal Harim of the Lord of the Two Lands, Nineteenth Dynasty, temp. Ramesses II, probably Memphite (M. Dewachter, *La collection égyptienne du musée Champollion* (Figeac, 1986), 60–1, Cat. 62); various entries in P. E. Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi* (CGC Nos 46530–48575; Cairo, 1957), III, nos 47220 (Twentieth Dynasty, Abydos), 47656 (Nineteenth Dynasty), 47651 (Nineteenth/Twentieth Dynasty, Saqqara 1858), 47208 (Nineteenth Dynasty), 47207 (Nineteenth Dynasty), 47222 (Nineteenth/Twentieth Dynasty), 47225 (Nineteenth/Twentieth Dynasty).

however, that Ptahemwia does not wear sandals—an attribute otherwise attested for such shabtis.

Texts

Sash Kilt, Back Side

(→) [1] 

ḥtp di nsw R^c-Hr-3ḥ.ty (I)tm nb [t3.wy] Twm.w di=sn Bw mw n Wsir im.y-r ih.w Pth-m-wi3 m3^c-ḥrw.
An offering which the King gives to Ra-Horakhty and Atum, Lord [of the Two Lands] and Heliopolis / the Heliopolite, that they may grant breath and water for the Osiris, Overseer of Cattle, Ptahemwia, true of voice.

(→) [2] 

ḥtp di nsw Wsir ḥn.ty imn {r[sic]} .t di=f t ḥnk.t k3.w 3pd.w n k3 n(.y) Wsir im.y-r ih.w Pth-m-wi3 m3^c-ḥrw.

An offering which the King gives to Osiris, the Foremost of the West, that he may grant bread, beer, oxen and fowl for the *ka* of the Osiris, Overseer of Cattle, Ptahemwia, true of voice.

(→) [3] 

ḥtp di nsw Wsir Wn-nfr nb t3-dsr n k3 n(.y) Wsir im.y-r ih.w m t[3] ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c-stp.n-R^c m pr Imn Pth-m-wi3 m3^c-ḥrw.

An offering which the King gives to Osiris-Wennefer, Lord of the Necropolis, for the *ka* of the Osiris, Overseer of Cattle in the Temple of Usermaatre-Setepenre in the House of Amun, Ptahemwia, true of voice.

(→) [4] 

ḥtp di nsw Inpw ḥn.ty sh-ntr di=f hs.w m-b3ḥ nsw n k3 n(.y) Wsir im.y-r ih.w m t[3] ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c-stp.n-R^c m pr Imn Pth-m-wi3 m3^c-ḥrw.

An offering which the King gives to Anubis, Chief of the God's Booth, that he may grant favour before the king for the *ka* of the Osiris, Overseer of Cattle in the Temple of Usermaatre-Setepenre in the House of Amun, Ptahemwia, true of voice.

(→) [5]

ḥtp di nsw Inpw nb rh di=f ḥc.w nfr šms n k3=f n k3 n(.y) Wsir im.y-r ih.w m t[3] ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c-stp.n-R^c m pr Imn Pth-m-wi3 m3^c-ḥrw.

An offering which the King gives to Anubis, Lord of Knowledge, that he may grant a good lifetime, following his will, for the *ka* of the Osiris, Overseer of Cattle in the Temple of Usermaatre-Setepenre in the House of Amun, Ptahemwia, true of voice.

(→) [6]

ḥtp di nsw Wsir di=f 3ḥ m p.t wsr m t3 m3^c[-ḥrw] m s.t ir(.t) m3^c.t n k3 n(.y) Wsir im.y-r ih.w m t[3] ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c-stp.n-R^c m pr Imn Pth-m-wi3 m3^c[-ḥrw].

An offering which the King gives to Osiris, that he may grant a spirit-state in heaven, power on earth, justification in the place of doing justice, for the *ka* of the Osiris, Overseer of Cattle in the Temple of Usermaatre-Setepenre in the House of Amun, Ptahemwia, true [of voice].

(→) [7] 

hṭp di nsw Wsir nb t3-dsr Inpw im.y wt di=sn šms Skr n k3 n(.y) sš nsw hṭp(.w)-ntr n ntr:w nb.w Pth-m-wi3 [m3^c-hrw].

An offering which the King gives to Osiris, the Lord of the Necropolis, and to Anubis, who is in the Place of Embalming, that they may grant following Sokar, for the *ka* of the Royal Scribe of the Divine Offerings of all the Gods, Ptahemwia, [true of voice].

Support, Right Side, Above

(↓→) 

[wsr-m3^c.t-R^c]-stp.n-R^c [R^c]-ms-sw-mr(.y)-[Imn].

Usermaatre-Setepenre Ramesses-Meryamun.

Support, Right Side, Below

(↓→) 

Wsir im.y-r ih.w m t[3] hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c-stp.n-R^c m pr Imn Pth-m-wi3 m3^c-hrw.

The Osiris, Overseer of Cattle in the Temple of Usermaatre-Setepenre in the House of Amun, Ptahemwia, true of voice.

Support, Left Side, Above

(←↓) 

[wsr-m3^c.t-R^c]-stp.n-R^c [R^c]-ms-sw-mr(.y)-Imn.

Usermaatre-Setepenre Ramesses-Meryamun.

Support, Left Side, Below

(←↓) 

Wsir im.y-r ih.w m t[3] hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c-stp.n-R^c m pr Imn Pth-m-wi3 m3^c-hrw.

The Osiris, Overseer of Cattle in the Temple of Usermaatre-Setepenre in the House of Amun, Ptahemwia, true of voice.

Osiriphorous Statues

Theophorous statues of various forms appeared during the reign of Hatshepsut.⁶⁷ Until the Amarna Period, such statues show the god in animal form. The deity is always supported by an altar, offering stand or, as in this case, a pedestal. During the Ramesside Period, the god is usually represented in anthropomorph form.⁶⁸

Parallels for *Osiriphorous* statues are available for the New Kingdom,⁶⁹ but the type

⁶⁷ See E. Bernhauer, *Innovationen in der Privatplastik: Die 18. Dynastie und ihre Entwicklung* (Philippika 27; Wiesbaden, 2010), 58–63.

⁶⁸ H. Brandl, *Untersuchungen zur steinernen Privatplastik der Dritten Zwischenzeit: Typologie – Ikonographie – Stilistik*, I (Berlin, 2008), 295.

⁶⁹ See: British Museum EA 2292: statuette of the Draughtsman Nebre (Deir el-Medina, Nineteenth Dynasty, temp. Ramesses II: PM VIII, 536; G. Andreu-Lanoë, *L'art du contour: Le dessin dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 2013), 126, No. 6b); anonymous official holding a headless statue of Ptah (Memphis, New Kingdom to Twenty-second Dynasty: University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania excavation, Clarence Fisher 1915–23; R. Schulman, 'Memphis 1915-1923: The Trivia of an Excavation', in Zivie (ed.), *Memphis et ses nécropoles*, 86 with nn. 47–8, pl. 12A: statue M-2218); BM 67.138: wooden statue of a standing priest with a statuette of Ptah (Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqara, Late New Kingdom (Excav. No. H5-504 [1193]: H.S. Smith et al., *The Sacred Animal Necropolis at Saqqara, The Main Temple Complex: The Archaeological Report* (EES EM 75; London, 2006), 214, pl. LIVd; E. A. Hastings, *The Sculpture from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqāra 1964-76* (EES EM 61; London, 1997), 12, No. 24, pls XV and XVI); Cairo JE 42086: limestone

became particularly popular during the Late Period when they appear in large numbers in temple contexts.⁷⁰

Another type of statue akin to *theophorous* statues is the *naophorous* statue. Such statues of private individuals first appear during the reign of Hatshepsut in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty and were popular during the Ramesside Period.⁷¹ They were predominantly placed in temples but examples are also known from tombs, such as the so-called temple-tombs at Saqqara.⁷² The significance of this type of statuary has been widely debated, interpreting the private individual as protector of the deity and *vice versa*,⁷³ or as depicting the presentation of a votive offering to the respective god.⁷⁴ With regards to the wishes expressed in the *hꜥp di nsw* formulae inscribed in *naophorous* statues, Van Dijk argued that while they could have been placed in a temple during an individual's lifetime, they are specifically referring to eternity and life after death—and this observation should equally apply to all types of private statuary set up in temple contexts.⁷⁵ Its symbolism is rooted in temple ritual, showing all of its essential moments. It sees the individual embracing⁷⁶ the god 'in order to revivify him and he

statue of Amenhotep III with Amun (J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, III: *Les grandes époques: la statuaire* (Paris, 1958), pl. CVII.4); Cairo JE 42153: schist statue of Ramesses VI (Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, III, pl. CXXXI.6).

⁷⁰ Select examples: City Art Museum of St. Louis 222:24: Akh-pa-khered (Karnak cachette, Twenty-sixth Dynasty: B.V. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 BC to AD 100* (Brooklyn, 1960), 32–4, No. 28, pls 24–6, figs 56–9; M. Azim and G. Réveillac, *Karnak dans l'objectif de Georges Legrain: Catalogue raisonné des archives photographiques du premier directeur des travaux de Karnak de 1895 à 1917*, I (Paris, 2004), 334, No. X 12; II, 300); New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library Inv. 1: anonymous (provenance unknown, Twenty-sixth Dynasty: Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 46, No. 39, pl. 36, figs 84–5); New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 19.2.2: Hor-Bes (Karnak cachette, Twenty-sixth Dynasty: Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 55, No. 48, pls 44–5, figs. 106–9); Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 22.189: Djed-Khonséfankh (Karnak cachette: G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946), 59–60, No. 173, pl. 31); Walters Art Museum 22.215 (formerly Cairo JE 37890): Iret-Horru (Karnak cachette, Twenty-sixth Dynasty: Steindorff, *Catalogue*, 60–1, No. 174, pl. 31; Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 51–2, pls 40–1, figs 97–9; Azim and Réveillac, *Karnak*, I, 327, No. K 626; II, 282); Walters Art Museum 22.206: Psamtik-mery-Re (provenance unknown, Twenty-sixth Dynasty: Steindorff, *Catalogue*, 61, No. 175, pl. 31); Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 42242 = JE 36746: Nesiptah (Karnak cachette: Azim and Réveillac, *Karnak*, I, 301–2, No. K 46; II, 221); Cairo JE 38599: Horsiese (Karnak cachette: Azim and Réveillac, *Karnak*, I, 331, No. K 741; II, 293); Paris, Musée du Louvre E 4299: anonymous (Twenty-sixth Dynasty: M. Étienne, *Les portes du ciel: Visions du monde dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 2009), 314–15, Cat. 266); Louvre E 3187 (wood): anonymous (Twenty-sixth Dynasty: Étienne, *Portes du Ciel*, 314–15, Cat. 267); Vienna, Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien ÄS 66: anonymous, unfinished (Twenty-sixth Dynasty: W. Seipel, *Götter, Menschen, Pharaonen: 3500 Jahre ägyptische Kultur. Meisterwerke aus der Ägyptisch-Orientalischen Sammlung des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien* (Stuttgart, 1993), 236–7, Cat. 149).

⁷¹ J. van Dijk, 'A Ramesside Naophorous Statue from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery', *OMRO* 64 (1983), 51; J. van Dijk, 'Naophorous Statue of Amenemwia', in C.A.R. Andrews and J. van Dijk (eds), *Objects for Eternity: Egyptian Antiquities from the W. Arnold Meijer Collection* (Mainz, 2006), 146; Bernhauer, *Innovationen*, 64–7. The earliest known statue of this type is that of Senenmut (Cairo CG 42117), and such statues continue to appear into the Graeco-Roman Period.

⁷² Van Dijk, *OMRO* 64, 51–2 (listing 13 such statues); J. Málek, 'The Saqqara Statue of Ptahmose, Mayor of the Memphite Suburbs', *RdE* 38 (1987), 117–37.

⁷³ For the ideas of the individual protecting the god (*Schutzstatuen*), see H. Ranke, 'Eine Spätsaitische Statue in Philadelphia', *MDAIK* 12 (1943), 107–38; E. Otto, 'Zur Bedeutung der ägyptischen Tempelstatue seit dem Neuen Reich', *Orientalia* 17 (1948), 448–66. For the idea of the god protecting the individual holding the *naos*, see: H. Bonnet, 'Herkunft und Bedeutung der naophoren Statue', *MDAIK* 17 (1961), 91–8. See also the most recent study on the subject: D. Klotz, 'Replicas of Shu: On the Theological Significance of *Naophorous* and *Theophorous* Statues', *BIFAO* 114/2 (2014), 291–337.

⁷⁴ D. Wildung, 'Naophor', in W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 4 (Wiesbaden, 1982), col. 341; D. Wildung, 'Privatplastik', *LÄ* 4 (Wiesbaden, 1982), col. 1116 and 1119 n. 43.

⁷⁵ Van Dijk, *OMRO* 64, 53.

⁷⁶ For the implications of the embrace, interpreted as an expression of love (*mri*), see: W. K. Simpson, 'Amor Dei: *nꜥr mrr rmt m tꜥ wꜥ* (Sh.Sai. 147–148) and the Embrace', in J. Assmann, E. Feucht, and R. Grieshammer (eds), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur. Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 493–8.

“protects” him against the powers of chaos during his rebirth and resurrection’, and thus the private individual secures his participation in the eternal renewal of the god’s life.⁷⁷ The dedication of Ptahemwia’s statue in the temple of Osiris at Abydos was similarly motivated.

Titles and epithets of Ptahemwia⁷⁸

The identification of Ptahemwia’s tomb and of a selection of objects bearing his name enable us to present a brief outline of his career. His titles are presented in table 1.

TABLE 1 *Overview of titles held by Ptahemwia*

A. Related to the king, royal court, and government (incl. honorific)	
<i>ir.y-p^c.t</i>	IV.1
<i>smr w^c.ty</i>	IV.1
<i>htm.ty-bi.ty</i>	IV.1
B. General administration	
Cattle	
<i>im.y-r ih.w</i>	II.1; III.1
<i>im.y-r ih.w wr</i>	I.1
<i>im.y-r ih.w wr m t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c-stp.n-R^c m pr Imn</i>	I.1
<i>im.y-r ih.w m t[3] hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c-stp.n-R^c m pr Imn</i>	II.1
<i>im.y-r ih.w n nb t3.wy</i>	III.1
Treasury	
<i>im.y-r pr-hd nbw n(.y) t3 hw.t n(.y)t hh.w rnp.wt n(.y) nsw.t bi.ty Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c-stp.n-R^c m pr Imn m Inb-hd</i>	IV.1
C. Scribal	
<i>sš nsw</i>	I.1
<i>sš nsw htp.w-ntr n(.y) ntr:w nb.w</i>	II.1
<i>sš nsw htp.w-ntr n(.y) ntr:w nb.w Šm^c.w T3-mhw</i>	I.1

Legend: I.1–3: stone elements in tomb doorway; II.1: statue NMS A.1902.306.10; III.1: pyramidion Cairo CG 17109; IV.1: ‘unidentified object’.

⁷⁷ Van Dijk, *OMRO* 64, 58.

⁷⁸ This section is based on a more detailed study of the titles held by Ptahemwia within the context of the other holders of the same titles, buried at Saqqara, published as: Staring, *JEOl* 45 (2014–15), 51–92.

Honorific titles

The honorific titles (*Hofrangtitel*) establish the official's social position and in particular his relation to the king. Such titles are considered as the most important markers of rank at the Ramesside court.⁷⁹ Raedler indicates that during the reign of Ramesses II only the highest administrators displayed the complete sequence consisting of the epithets *ir.y-p^c.t h3.ty-^c htm.ty-bi.ty smr w^c.ty*, 'Noble and Count, Sealbearer of the King and Sole Companion'.⁸⁰ Mariette's copy of Ptahemwia's 'unidentified object' gives *ir.y-p^c.t* without the component *h3.ty-^c*. While this normally should indicate that a different rank title is meant, it is here part of the usual sequence, which might indicate that the combination 'Noble and Count' is implied as well.

Royal Scribe of Divine Offerings of all Gods in Upper and Lower Egypt

No other official buried at Saqqara is known to have held the title *sš nsw htp.w-ntr n(.y) ntr.w nb.w šm^c.w T3-mh.w*, Royal Scribe (of) Divine Offerings of all Gods in Upper and Lower Egypt. Three officials held titles related to the 'divine offerings':

- Mose, the scribe of the treasury of Ptah (tomb Loret no. 5), held the title *sš hsb htp.w-ntr n(.y) ntr.w nb.w Inb.w-hd*, Scribe of Accounting the Divine Offerings of all Gods (in) White Walls (Memphis);⁸¹
- Seba, the scribe of the treasury of Ptah, held the title *sš htp.w-ntr n(.y) pr Pth*, Scribe of Divine Offerings of the House of Ptah;⁸²
- Iurudef, the scribe of the treasury, held the title *sš htp(.w) n(.y) ntr.w nb.w*, Scribe of Offering(s) of all Gods;⁸³
- Neferhotep, the deputy in the temple of Ptah, held the title *sš htp(.w)-ntr n(.y) Pth*, Scribe of Divine Offerings of Ptah;⁸⁴
- Mery-Maat, held the title *[sš] hrp htp n ntr*, [Scribe and] Controller of the Divine Offerings.⁸⁵

The first two officials were employed at the temple of Ptah at Memphis, and Iurudef, a subordinate of Tia, was attached to the treasury of Amun(-Re). The office titles of these men are limited to scribal appointments.

⁷⁹ C. Raedler, "Kopf der Schenut"—politische Entscheidungsträger der Ära Ramses' II., in H. Beinlich (ed.), *6. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie / 6th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology "Die Männer hinter dem König"* (KSG 4,3; Wiesbaden, 2012), 129.

⁸⁰ Raedler, in Beinlich, *Die Männer hinter dem König*, 129–30.

⁸¹ Nineteenth Dynasty, temp. Ramesses II, late: PM III/2, 553–5; G. A. Gaballa, *The Memphite Tomb-chapel of Mose* (Warminster, 1977). Full titles: [A] *h3y ///*; [B] *rwđ mnti m pr Pth; sš [wr] m i3.t=f ip ib m mdw-ntr; sš pr-hd; sš pr-hd n(.y) Pth; sš n(.y) Pth; sš hsb htp.w-ntr n(.y) ntr.w nb.w Inb.w-hd; sš hsb hd nbw n(.y) psd.t 3.t; sš hsb ht nb.w n(.y) nb M3^c.t; sš hd nbw n(.y) nb M3^c.t*.

⁸² Stela Berlin 7315 (ex-coll. Passalacqua, 1828), early Nineteenth Dynasty: PM III/2, 734 (as Eighteenth Dynasty); G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, II: *Inschriften des Neuen Reiches* (Leipzig, 1924), 172–3. Full titles: [A] *w^c ikr [hr] bi3.t=f pw d3i.t; h3.y 3 n Pth nb M3^c.t*; [C] *sš pr-hd n(.y) nb M3^c.t; sš n(.y) pr.wy-hd n(.y) Pth; sš htp.w-ntr n(.y) pr Pth*.

⁸³ M. J. Raven, *The Tomb of Iurudef: A Memphite Official in the Reign of Ramesses II* (EES EM 57; Leiden, 1991), 5 and pl. 4b.

⁸⁴ Hathor *djed* pillar, Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 18928 (Nineteenth Dynasty, temp. Ramesses II): PM III/2, 755; J. Berlandini, 'Contribution à l'étude du pilier-*djed* memphite', in A.-P. Zivie (ed.), *Memphis et ses nécropoles au Nouvel Empire: Nouvelles données, nouvelles questions* (Paris, 1988), pl. 1B; S. Gohary, 'A Staff Member of the God Ptah in Memphis', *ASAE* 73 (1998), 70–2, pls 1–2.

⁸⁵ Stela fragment SAK 2013 R-26 (Ramesside) found *in situ* embedded in the remains of the limestone chapel built against the south-east façade of the tomb re-used by Sethnakht: M. J. Raven et al., 'Preliminary Report on the Leiden Excavations at Saqqara, Season 2010: An Anonymous Tomb', *JÉOL* 43 (2011), 8–9, figs 1, 6.

Two officials buried at Thebes held titles similar to Ptahemwia:

- Nefersekeru (TT 296) was *sš (nsw) ḥtp(.w)-ntr n(.y) ntr:w-nb.w*, (Royal) Scribe of Divine Offerings of all Gods;⁸⁶
- Neferrenpet Kenro (TT 178) was *sš ḥtp(.w)-ntr n(.y) (pr) 'Imn*, Scribe of Divine Offerings of (the House of) Amun.⁸⁷

Again, both of these officials held office titles limited to scribal appointments. As with the Memphite scribes, their office was related to the royal (Nefersekeru) and temple (Neferrenpet) treasury.

According to Feucht, Nefersekeru's title indicates that he was '... überwiegend verantwortlich für die zu religiösen Zwecken abgeführten Bestände des Schatzhauses'.⁸⁸ Without further discussion, the term *ḥtp.w-ntr* is understood in its literal meaning as 'divine offerings', i.e. offerings presented during the temple's religious rituals.

In connection to the captions at offering procession scenes in Medinet Habu and Abydos, Haring signals that one cannot not be certain whether the term refers to the offerings presented in the temple, or to an administrative word for the temple estate.⁸⁹ He argues that since temple departments such as the workshop and granary as well as personnel can be characterised as belonging to the 'divine offering', the term could be interpreted as a reference to all economic resources of a temple, i.e. the temple's economic estate.⁹⁰ This included not only the treasury and the granary, but also fields, gardens, herds, towns, ships, and mines. The founder of that estate was the king. Haring further indicates that in representations of daily and festival processions in the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos, the *sš ḥtp(.w)-ntr* records all items brought *into* the temple.⁹¹

Ptahemwia's title indicates that he was involved in the administration of temple resources 'of all gods in Upper and Lower Egypt'. Maya, the overseer of the treasury, was *ḥr.y-sšt3 pr nwb m r-pr:w ntr:w nb.w*, Guardian of the Secrets of the House of Gold in the Temples of all Gods. The two viziers and high priests of Ptah, (Pa-)Rahotep and Neferrenpet, were Overseers of the Priests of all Gods: *im.y-r ḥm.w-ntr n(.y) ntr:w nb.w Šm^c Mh.w*. Their titles indicate that the phrase 'all gods of Upper and Lower Egypt' is related to a central governing body. Maya, as overseer of the (state) treasury, had access to all temple treasuries in the country.⁹² With the close ties to the treasury that the Scribes of Divine Offerings are seen to have had, Ptahemwia probably served as a scribe in the state treasury. The state treasury was at that time led by the overseer of the treasury, Tia, the brother-in-law of Ramesses II who had his tomb constructed at Saqqara.

⁸⁶ Nineteenth Dynasty, temp. Ramesses II: Feucht, *Nefersecheru*, 97. Full titles: [A] *ḥsy 3 n.y [ntr-]nfr; im.y-r mrwt; idnw n(.y) pr ḥd (n.y nb t3.wy / niw.t / niw.t rs.yt) [C] sš pr-ḥd n(.y) nb t3.wy; sš nsw idnw n(.y) pr-ḥd n(.y) nb t3.wy; sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f; sš nsw n(.y) pr-ḥd n(.y) nb t3.wy; sš nsw m r-pr:w; sš nsw ḥtp-ntr n(.y) ntr:w-nb.w; sš ḥtp-ntr n(.y) ntr:w-nb.w.*

⁸⁷ Nineteenth Dynasty, temp. Ramesses II: Hofmann, *Neferrenpet gen. Kenro*. Full titles: [A] *ḥsy 3 n nb [t3.wy]; ḥsy n ntr=f; [C] sš pr-ḥd (n.y 'Imn/ pr 'Imn/ n.y pr 'Imn-R^c nsw ntr:w/ m pr 'Imn/ m pr 'Imn-R^c nsw ntr:w/ n.y nb t3.wy m pr 'Imn), sš nsw (m pr 'Imn), sš ḥtp-ntr (n.y 'Imn/ pr 'Imn/ n.y pr 'Imn); [F] w^cb.*

⁸⁸ Feucht, *Nefersecheru*, 97.

⁸⁹ B. J. J. Haring, *Divine Households: Administrative and Economic Aspects of the New Kingdom Memorial Temples in Western Thebes* (EU 12; Leiden, 1997), 200.

⁹⁰ Haring, *Divine Households*, 200 and discussion on 192–210.

⁹¹ Haring, *Divine Households*, 230–1.

⁹² Cf. also W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* (PdÄ 3; Leiden, 1958), 186; B. Schmitz, 'Schatzhaus(vorsteher)', *LÄ* 5 (Wiesbaden, 1983), 538.

Overseer of Cattle

Ptahemwia held a number of variations to the title Overseer of Cattle: (Great) Overseer of Cattle / of the Lord of the Two Lands / of the Ramesseum. In Egypt, livestock and cattle represented an important part of the economy.⁹³ A number of officials of New Kingdom date buried at Saqqara held the title *im.y-r ih.w*.⁹⁴ Only three officials are attested with the title Great Overseer of Cattle: Ptahemwia, Tia and Paraemheb.⁹⁵ These officials all date to the reign of Ramesses II. They additionally held high positions in the Ramesseum. Both Paraemheb and Ptahemwia served there as Overseer of Cattle, and Tia and Ptahemwia were Overseer of the Treasury. None of their Memphite predecessors in the office of Overseer of Cattle served in a king's memorial temple.

Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum

On the 'unidentified object' copied by Mariette, Ptahemwia is identified as the Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum. Others who held that position and who were buried at Saqqara were Khay (see n. 8, above) and Tia.⁹⁶ According to Van Dijk⁹⁷ and Leblanc,⁹⁸ Tia was most probably the Ramesseum's first treasurer, which suggests that Ptahemwia succeeded him in that office.

Social position and date

The brief survey of titles presented above provides some clues about the course of Ptahemwia's career. Although there are no fixed dates and no texts to further illustrate his rise, an analysis of the titles and a comparison of Ptahemwia to the various title holders may provide support to sketch his career in broad lines. Ptahemwia, who was educated as a Royal Scribe, started his career as a Royal Scribe of Divine Offerings. This position would mark the starting point of his career within the state treasury. Cattle constituted one aspect of the resources that constitute the divine offerings. Ptahemwia served as the (Great) Overseer of Cattle at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Being in this high-ranking position at the start of Ramesses II's reign, he could have become the Ramesseum's first Overseer of Cattle at around the same time when Tia became the institution's first Overseer of the Treasury. Ptahemwia will have concluded his career as Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum as the successor of Tia. It has been suggested that Tia died around year 24 of Ramesses II,⁹⁹ and this suggests that Ptahemwia lived well into the third decade of that king's reign.

⁹³ W. Ghoneim, *Die ökonomische Bedeutung des Rindes im Alten Ägypten* (Bonn, 1977), 242.

⁹⁴ See: Staring, *JÉOL* 45 (2014-15), 55-67, table 2-3.

⁹⁵ This official is only attested by a shabti (Rouen, Musée départemental des antiquités, No. unknown: V. Loret, 'Monuments Égyptiennes de Musée d'Antiquités de Rouen', *RT* 2 (1880), 151, I.1; *KRI* III, 376.8) and four canopic jars (CG 4322-3 = JE 19172-5; G.A. Reisner, *Canopics* (CGC Nos 4001-4740 and 4977-5033; Cairo, 1967), 218, pl. LIV; 219-20, pl. LVII. One jar is now in Yale University Art Gallery, YMP 6263; G. D. Scott III, *Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale* (New Haven, 1986), 116, Cat. 65.

⁹⁶ One treasurer was buried at Thebes: Khnumemheb (TT 26): PM I/1, 43, No. 26; Griffith Institute Archives photos 1209 and 1227; LD Text, III, 249, No. 291; *KRI* III, 373.15-16.

⁹⁷ J. Van Dijk, 'The Family and Career of Tia', in Martin, *Tia and Tia*, 55; J. Van Dijk, *The New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis: Historical and Iconographical Studies* (PhD thesis, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen; Groningen, 1993), 98.

⁹⁸ C. Leblanc, 'L'administration du Ramesseum: De la gloire à la décadence d'un temple de millions d'années. Des fonctionnaires au service de l'institution royale', *Memnonia* 23 (2012), 84-5.

⁹⁹ A Year 24 date is recorded for Panehsy, who succeeded Tia as Overseer of the Treasury. Van Dijk, *New Kingdom Necropolis*, 106; O. Gardiner 86; J. Černý and A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, I (Oxford, 1957), 22, pls 81-2; *KRI* III, 138-40. An additional document perhaps pertaining to a date for Tia's death is a flask with docket

The exact position occupied by Ptahemwia within the succession of Memphite Overseers of Cattle and high officials of the Ramesseum is difficult to ascertain. A few officials holding the same offices can be dated at around the same time. That they switched positions complicates matters further. Ptahemwia served at least part of his career alongside Tia, first as a subordinate and later succeeding him as the Ramesseum's treasurer.

The study of titles raises another interesting matter. Myśliwiec, in his article on Ptahemwia's pyramidion, briefly touches upon the official's social background. He argues that Ptahemwia, who held office at Thebes, must have originated from Memphis since he chose to be buried near his home-town. He further notes that: '... [d]as Verfahren, einem aus Memphis gebürtigen Mann ein hohes Amt in Theben anzuvertrauen, scheint in der Ramessidenzeit durchaus gebräuchlich zu sein'.¹⁰⁰ That the Memphite necropolis was the choice place of burial for other Ramesside officials attached to the Theban Ramesseum has been observed earlier by Berlandini¹⁰¹ and Van Dijk.¹⁰² The rationale behind this pattern has not been previously addressed, yet as this subject is beyond the scope of this paper it is analysed in another contribution.¹⁰³

Conclusion

This article has analysed the doorway in the superstructure of a private tomb at Saqqara. It was photographed by Théodule Devéria in March 1859 when he assisted Auguste Mariette in copying texts at different sites throughout Egypt. The texts inscribed on the doorway include the name and titles of the tomb owner: Ptahemwia, the Royal Scribe, Great Overseer of Cattle, and Royal Scribe of Divine Offerings of all Gods of Upper and Lower Egypt. The tomb's location is now lost and the stone elements visible in the photograph are not known from any public or private collection.

This study identified another three objects pertaining to this man: pyramidion Cairo CG 17109 (JE 8371; PM III/2, 770), found at Saqqara in March 1860; an 'unidentified object' (PM III/2, 770) recorded at Saqqara and published by Mariette in *Monuments divers* (1889 [1872]), and an Osiriphorous statue (PM V, 47) excavated by Petrie (1902) in the temple of Osiris at Abydos. Mariette copied the 'unidentified object' probably on the same occasion when Devéria took his photograph, and afterwards took the pyramidion with him to the Bulaq Museum.

The architecture and iconography of the tomb as photographed by Devéria yield new information regarding the development of monumental tombs at Saqqara. The method of construction (mud-brick walls with a revetment of relief-decorated limestone blocks) had previously been used as a dating criterion for tombs of the late Eighteenth Dynasty. New data provided by the tombs of Ptahemwia, Ptahmose, and Khay indicate that tombs were continued to be constructed in this manner into the reign of Ramesses II. As such,

in two lines of hieratic (wine jar label) found in his tomb at Saqqara. It mentions Year 31, which might indicate the date of a (not necessarily his) burial: Raven et al., *Horemheb*, V, 188, cat. 329.

¹⁰⁰ Here Myśliwiec points also at Tia (four-sided stela Cairo JE 89624). He correctly positioned that tomb in Saqqara. The four-sided stela, however, derives presumably from the official's monument at Kafr el-Gebel (Martin, *Tia and Tia*, 1).

¹⁰¹ J. Berlandini, 'Varia Memphitica, III: Le général Ramsès-nakht', *BIFAO* 79 (1979), 260–2.

¹⁰² Van Dijk, in Zivie (ed.), *Memphis et ses nécropoles*, 39. Other officials listed by Van Dijk are: Tia, Horemheb, Iurokhy, Yupa, Ramessesnakht, Amenemone, and Nedjem.

¹⁰³ Staring, *JEO* 45 (2014–15).

these tombs appear as 'hybrid' structures with characteristics of both the late Eighteenth Dynasty and early Ramesside Period. The decoration in the doorway suggests that the adoration scene of a tomb owner before a deity (*in casu* Ra-Horakhty) developed from the tomb owner implicitly adoring the deity during the late Eighteenth Dynasty (the deity is mentioned in the text), towards explicitly adoring the god (fully depicted) during the Ramesside period.

The complete list of titles borne by this official now includes two offices related to the Ramesseum, Ramesses II's Theban memorial temple: Overseer of Cattle and Overseer of the Treasury. Initially, Ptahemwia made a career in the state treasury and he was subsequently employed at the Ramesseum. In both cases, Tia, the king's brother-in-law, would have been his superior. It is to be expected that Ptahemwia constructed his tomb in close proximity to that of Tia (fig. 4), and that in due course it will be (re-)discovered in the necropolis south of the Unas causeway at Saqqara.

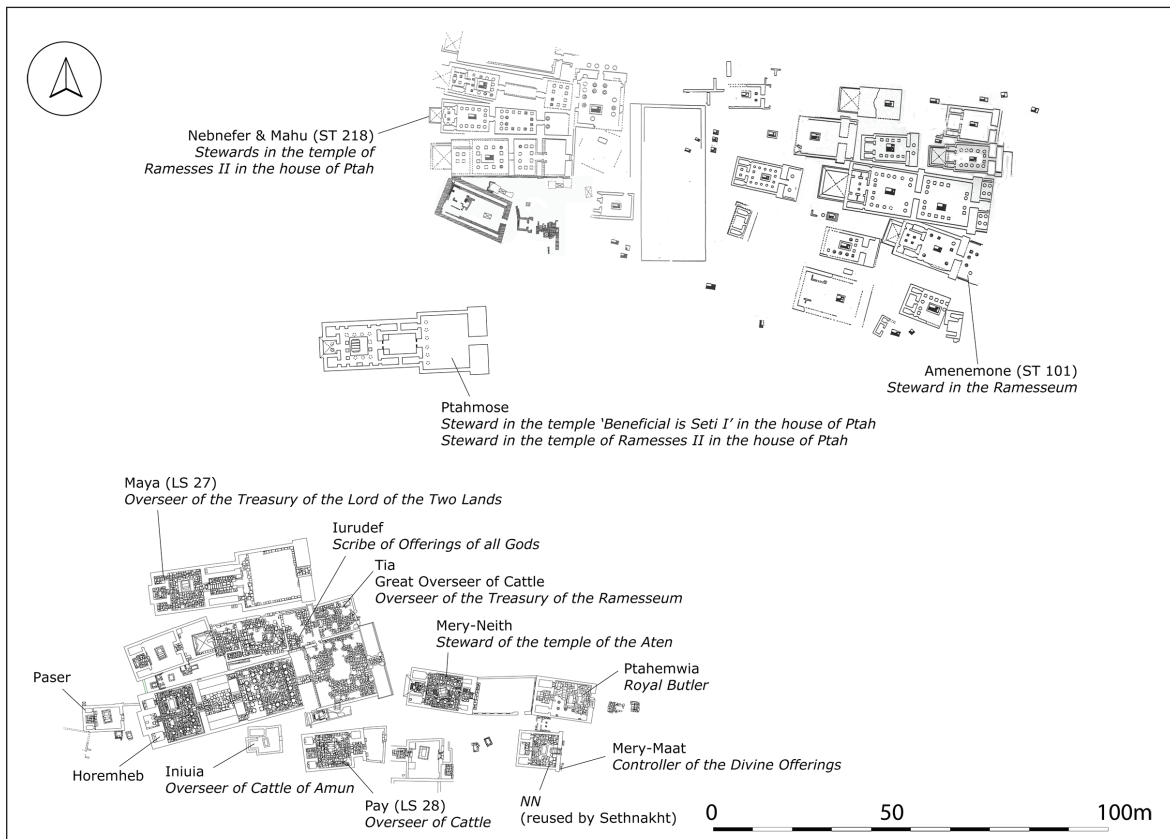


FIG. 4. The New Kingdom necropolis south of the Unas causeway at Saqqara, indicating the location of tombs mentioned in the text.