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Revisiting Three Objects in Berlin Pertaining to the Mayor of Memphis, Ptahmose: The “Lost” Faience Stela ÄM 19718 and the Limestone Pyramid Panels ÄM 1631–1632¹

Nico Staring

(Taf. 65–69)

Abstract

This article presents three hitherto unpublished objects in the collection of the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung in Berlin. The faience stela ÄM 19718 and the pyramid panels ÄM 1631–1632 derive from the Saqqara tomb of the early Nineteenth Dynasty Mayor of Memphis, Ptahmose. This paper also explores the way in which the objects came to Berlin and how the stela was subsequently lost – and found. A careful study of the objects provides new insights into the architectural development of monumental tombs at Saqqara, and reveals something about the identity of the craftsman who was responsible for the tombs’ decoration.

The aim of this article is to present three hitherto unpublished objects in the collection of the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung in Berlin. The faience stela ÄM 19718 and the pyramid panels ÄM 1631–1632 pertain to the early Nineteenth Dynasty Mayor of Memphis, Ptahmose. This paper explores the way in which the objects came to Berlin, thereby highlighting various stages in the dismantling of the Saqqara tomb (Fig. 1).² The intricate early modern history of the pyramid panels introduces some of the Nineteenth Century’s notorious art dealers and collectors who were active in the Memphite necropolis. The blocks’ reinterpretation as pyramid panels sheds new light on the architectural development of private tombs at Saqqara from the late Eighteenth to the early Nineteenth Dynasty. The faience stela was lost during the Second World War, and it has now been identified in a museum collection in the United States. This paper examines the circumstances under which the stela was lost, and how it eventually entered the collection of another museum. Furthermore, the object may provide a clue regarding the master craftsman who was responsible for the tomb’s decoration.

¹ PhD candidate, Macquarie University (Sydney, Australia). I owe a great debt of gratitude to Dr Jacobus van Dijk, who drew my attention to the stela held in the Kelsey Museum reserves. I should also like to thank Dr Caris-Beatrice Arnst, Prof. Friederike Seyfried, and Anke Weber (Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz); Prof. Terry Wilfong and Prof. Janet Richards (Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor); and Prof. Maarten Raven and Peter Jan Bomhof (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden) for advice regarding objects in their museum collections. Additionally, Dr Beatrice-Caris Arnst, Prof. Dimitri Laboury, Prof. Janet Richards, Prof. Maarten Raven, my thesis supervisor A/Prof. Boyo Ockinga, and the anonymous peer reviewer of *SAK* are kindly acknowledged for their valuable feedback on earlier drafts of this article. Various aspects of this paper were presented at the Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015 conference (Prague, 26.6.2015) and at the Macquarie Ancient History Research Seminar (Sydney, 15.5.2015).

² For Ptahmose, see most recently: N. Staring, The tomb of Ptahmose, Mayor of Memphis: Analysis of an Early 19th Dynasty Funerary Monument at Saqqara, in: BIFAO 114/2, 2014, 455–518 (with references to previous studies). In 2010, the tomb was rediscovered by an archaeological mission of Cairo University led by Prof. Ola el-Aguizy.

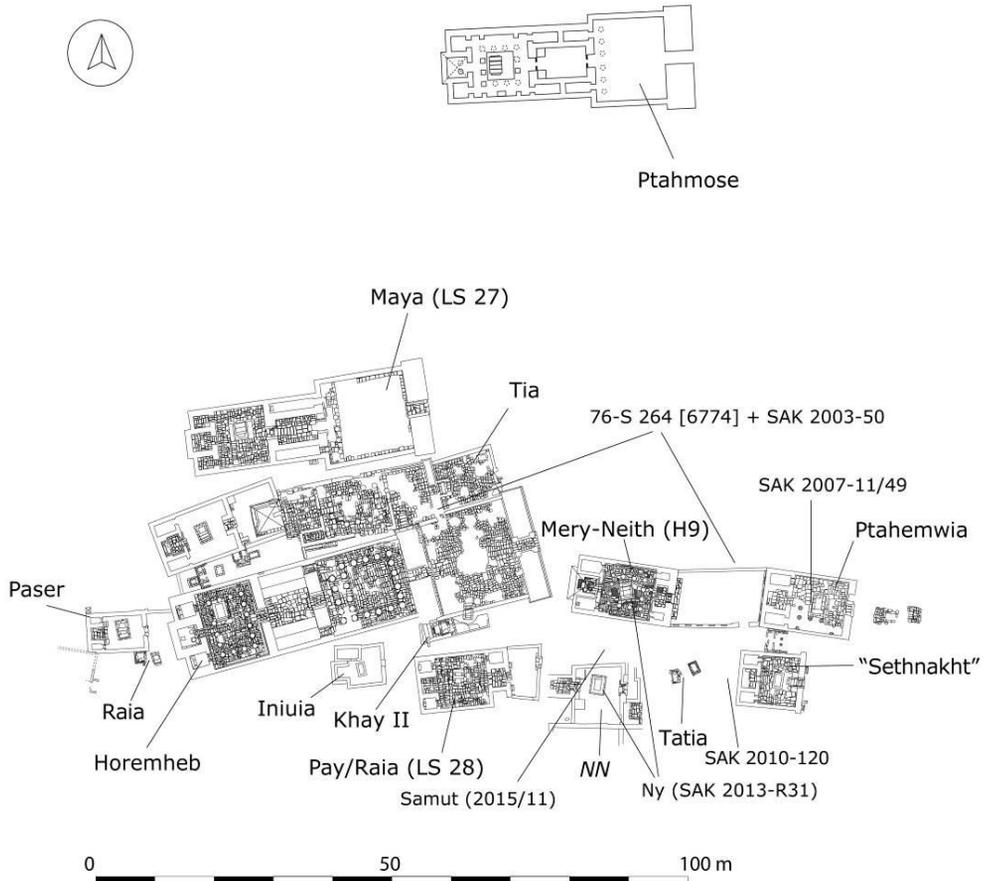


Fig. 1: General map of the New Kingdom necropolis south of the Unas Causeway (south section) at Saqqara, indicating the location of tombs and finds discussed in this article

1 Stela Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 19718 (Taf. 65a)

Material: Faience

Dimensions: H. 14.0 cm; W. 22.4 cm (fragment of upper part)

Provenance: Mrs. L. Leitner, Woking (UK), 1910; Abteilung der Aegyptischen Alterthümer, Koenigliche Museen zu Berlin, 1910; Private owner, Berlin, 1945; S.A. Goudsmit, 1945; Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, by bequest 1981 (Inv. No. 1981.4.4); Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin, returned 2016.

Bibliography: G. Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Band 2: *Inschriften des Neuen Reichs*, Leipzig 1924, 308; M.C. Root, *The Samuel A. Goudsmit Collection of Egyptian Antiquities: A Scientist Views the Past*, Ann Arbor 1982, 15; M.L. Allen/T.K. Dix, *The Beginning of Understanding: Writing in the Ancient World*, Ann Arbor 1991, 71, No. 59; J.E. Richards/T.G. Wilfong, *Preserving Eternity: Modern Goals, Ancient Intentions. Egyptian Funerary Artifacts in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology*, Ann Arbor 1995, 23, No. III.10.

1.1 How the stela came to Berlin and how it was lost

The Abteilung der Aegyptischen Alterthümer, Koenigliche Museen zu Berlin, acquired the faience stela in 1910 from Mrs. L. Leitner. It was sold as part of a collection of 65 objects, mostly scarabs and small bronze figures. Mrs. Lina Olympia Leitner (1848–1912) was the widow of the British orientalist, linguist and explorer Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner (1840–1899). In 1883 he founded the Oriental Institute in Woking, which also included a museum. The Museum Leitner contained a remarkable collection of ancient Indian sculptures, Central Asian ethnographica, manuscripts, coins and about 1400 ancient Egyptian objects. The 1901 collection catalogue mentions the Egyptian objects only summarily. Since Lina Leitner sold the Gandharan sculptures, also listed in the catalogue, to the Berlin Museum (today housed in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst) in 1911, one may assume that the Aegyptiaca, acquired in 1910, similarly derive from the Leitner Museum.³ There is no further information about the vendor, nor is there any record of how the object reached the UK.⁴ The stela was published by Günther Roeder (1881–1966) in volume 2 of his *Ägyptische Inschriften*, 1924 (Fig. 2). It included the inscriptions and a basic layout of the iconography. The publication does not provide information on the object’s provenance, which explains why it has neither been included in the Topographical Bibliography of Porter and Moss,⁵ nor discussed in previous studies on Ptahmose.

As part of Berlin’s Egyptian collection, the stela was housed in the building of the Neues Museum, which since 1850 is located on Berlin’s Museumsinsel. In 1939, at the outset of World War II, the museum closed its doors and it would suffer severe damage in the ensuing years.⁶ A large part of the collection was subsequently transferred to different locations for safe-keeping. This measure could not prevent the loss of an unspecified number of objects during transportation and storage. An additional number of objects that were left in the museum were damaged or destroyed during the bombings.⁷ Although in the first post-

³ I owe this information to Dr Caris-Beatrice Arnst. For the Leitner Museum catalogue, see: Oriental Institute Woking, *A Short Catalogue of the Contents of The Leitner Museum at Woking*, Woking 1901.

⁴ A naophorous statue of Ptahmose, found by W.M. Flinders Petrie at Saqqara in 1881–1882, was also taken to the UK (London, *British Museum EA 1119*: E.A. Wallis Budge, *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)* [of the] British Museum, London 1909, 127, No. 450; J. Málek, *The Saqqara Statue of Ptahmose, Mayor of the Memphite Suburbs*, in: *RdE* 38, 1987, 117–137). There is no indication that Petrie was also involved in the excavation and/or transportation of the faience stela.

⁵ *PM III*², 713–715.

⁶ Especially on 22/23 November 1943 and on 3 February 1945: E. Hühns, *Dokumentation zum Wiederaufbau der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin nach der Befreiung vom Faschismus*, in: *FuB* 20: *150 Jahre Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*, 1980, 27.

⁷ See most recently: M. Römer, *Drei verlorene Schenkungsstelen in der ägyptischen Sammlung Berlin*, in: *JEA* 100, 2014, 357–380. Objects from Saqqara lost during the Second World War include: pyramidion fragment ÄM 7781 of Sipair, Overseer of the Treasury (early Eighteenth Dynasty: *Ausführliches Verzeichnis der Ägyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse der königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, 2nd rev. edn, Berlin 1899, 157; *PM III*², 732; J. Málek, *An Early Eighteenth Dynasty Monument of Sipair from Saqqara*, in: *JEA* 75, 1989, 62); stela ÄM 12748 of Emnefer, title(s) unknown (“New Kingdom”: Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften*, 214–215; *PM III*², 734, as “unidentified in Berlin or lost”); and wooden stela ÄM 822 of Minmose, Overseer of Cattle of Amun (late Eighteenth Dynasty: J. Passalacqua, *Catalogue raisonné et historique des antiquités découvertes en Égypte*, Paris 1826, 70–71, No. 1401; *Ausführliches Verzeichnis*, 159; Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften*, 99; *PM III*², 734). Additionally, several relief blocks were much damaged: ÄM 2088–2089 of Maya, Overseer of the Treasury (late Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Tutankhamun – Horemheb: *PM III*², 662; E. Graefe, *Das Grab des Schatzhausvorstehers und Bauleiters Maya in Saqqara*, in: *MDAIK* 31/2, 1975, 187 n. 1; 200, fig 6a, pl. 58; G.T. Martin, *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt, I: The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary*, EES EM 99, London

war years efforts were made to retrieve objects from the ruins,⁸ the heavily damaged building of the Neues Museum was left as an abandoned bombsite.⁹ The ruinous state of the museum building probably facilitated easy access to objects which may have led to their subsequent disappearance. Exactly how or when the stela of Ptahmose disappeared is not known, but this probably happened soon after the war; since it was one of the small objects in the collection, it may have been amongst those evacuated from the museum for safekeeping and subsequently removed not from the museum but from the location in which it was stored. In 1945, the object was acquired for the private collection of Samuel Goudsmit who, according to his records, bought the object from a private owner in Germany.

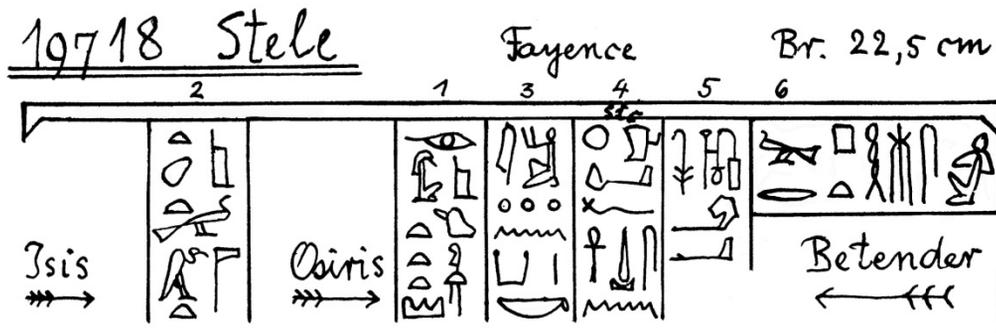


Fig. 2: Stela ÄM 19718 as published by Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften*, 1924, 308

1.2 From Berlin to Ann Arbor: The Goudsmit Collection

Samuel Abraham Goudsmit (1902–1978) was a Dutch-American physicist and art collector.¹⁰ Born in The Hague, The Netherlands, he studied theoretical physics at Leiden University under Paul Ehrenfest (1880–1933). In 1925, together with his fellow student George Uhlenbeck (1900–1988), he discovered the electron spin which was a major discovery in physics. During his student years, Goudsmit also developed a profound interest in Egyptology. For two years he attended courses on Egyptian language given by Pieter Aadriaan Aart Boeser (1858–1935), the first lecturer of Egyptology at a Dutch university (from 1910–1928), and keeper of the Egyptian collection at the National Museum of Antiquities in Lei-

2012, 36 [41–43], pls 32–33); and ÄM 2070 of Mery-Neith, Steward of the Temple of the Aten (late Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Akhenaten – Tutankhamun: PM III², 666; M.J. Raven/R. van Walsem, *The Tomb of Meryneith at Saqqara*, PALMA 10, Turnhout 2014, 106–107, scene [20a].

⁸ S. Morenz, *Ägyptisches Museum*, in: *FuB* 2, 1958, 128–129. For the accommodation of Egyptian objects in Sophienhof (in 1943) and the first post-war years, see also: K. Finneiser, *Auslagerungen des Ägyptischen Museums in Sophienhof. Der Zweite Weltkrieg und die Folgen*, in: J. Grabowski/P. Winter (eds), *Zwischen Politik und Kunst. Die Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus. Schriften zur Geschichte der Berliner Museen* vol. 2, Cologne 2013, 303–316.

⁹ For a brief history of the Neues Museum, see the new guide to the museum: *Neues Museum Berlin. Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collection. Museum of Prehistory and Early History*, Munich 2009, 14–28; and the museum website: <<http://www.smb.museum/en/museums-and-institutions/neues-museum/home.html>> accessed 24.02.2015. Photos of the “excavations” in the ruins of the museum building are now being exhibited in the Neues Museum. The first measures to consolidate the building were taken in the 1980s. A more thorough restoration project started in 2003, which resulted in the museum reopening to the public in 2009.

¹⁰ Root, *The Samuel A. Goudsmit Collection*, 1–4; B. Bederson, *Samuel Abraham Goudsmit 1902–1978: A Biographical Memoir*, Washington 2008; W.R. Dawson/E.P. Uphill/M.L. Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 4th rev. edn, London 2012, 218–219.

den (1892–1925).¹¹ In the early 1920s Goudsmit acquired his first Egyptian objects (a number of scarabs)¹² and he continued to expand his collection over the years to follow. After his retirement, he would even publish three scientific articles on objects contained in his collection.¹³

After Goudsmit received his PhD,¹⁴ he moved to the United States to work at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor (1927–1975). His knowledge of nuclear physics proved to be valuable during the Second World War, when Goudsmit was appointed as the scientific head of Operation Alsos to monitor the progress of Nazi Germany’s atomic bomb project. To that end, his team was sent via France to Germany in early 1945.¹⁵ There, they arrested some of Nazi Germany’s key nuclear physicists including, on 3 May 1945, Werner Heisenberg (1901–1976), the 1932 Nobel laureate in physics whom Goudsmit had met for the first time in the Netherlands in 1925, and a few years later again during a visit to Ann Arbor.¹⁶ Heisenberg had been working (unsuccessfully) on the development of the atomic bomb for Nazi Germany.

The Alsos mission also took Goudsmit to Berlin. In his book *Alsos* he describes how he passed by the Egyptian Museum which he had visited many years before:

The place was an utter ruin. About the only thing left in it was a bomb-damaged, sadly dilapidated looking mummy of the Ptolemaic era. The poor old watchman who had been with the museum in its better days was so impressed that anyone remembered the place, he insisted that I take the mummy with his compliments. For a moment I was tempted to do so and send it back to Washington with instructions to “test for radioactivity.” But it was too big for our jeep and I had to be content with a few fragments of painted mummy wrapping.¹⁷

¹¹ Dawson/Uphill/Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 65; O.E. Kaper, *De geschiedenis van de egyptologie aan Nederlandse universiteiten*, in: O.E. Kaper/J.G. Dercksen (eds), *Waar de geschiedenis begon: Nederlandse onderzoekers in de ban van spijkerschrift, hiërogliefen en aardewerk. Uitgave naar aanleiding van het 75-jarig bestaan van het Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1939–2014*, Leuven 2014, 40–41.

¹² From Galerie D. Komter in Amsterdam: S.A. Goudsmit, *Not for the Art Trade*, in: *Expedition 14/4*, 1972, 13.

¹³ Goudsmit, in: *Expedition 14/4*, 13–16; Id., *An Illiterate Scribe*, in: *AJA* 78, 1974, 7–8; Id., *The Back View of Human Figures in Ancient Egyptian Art*, in: *JNES* 40/1, 1981, 43–46.

¹⁴ S.A. Goudsmit, *Atoommodel en structuur der spectra*, PhD thesis, Leiden University, Amsterdam 1927.

¹⁵ Goudsmit narrates about the mission in: S.A. Goudsmit, *Alsos: The Failure of German Science*, New York 1947.

¹⁶ Goudsmit, *Alsos*, 101–127. During the war, Goudsmit used his scientific contacts in the Netherlands to try and help his parents escape the deportation of Jews. He had a letter sent to Heisenberg, but his help was to no avail. His parents (who received their American visas and final papers for travel four days before the German invasion of the Netherlands) had already been transported to the Auschwitz concentration camp, where they would die on 11 February 1943 (M. Cattaneo, *Heisenberg: Van kwantumrevolutie tot wereldformule*, transl. R. van der Veen, Amsterdam 2005, 126). Shortly after the war, the mission briefly took him to the Netherlands, where Goudsmit visited the war-damaged and ransacked house of his parents in The Hague (Goudsmit, *Alsos*, 46–49).

¹⁷ Goudsmit, *Alsos*, 124–125. The “fragments of painted mummy wrapping” can probably be identified with objects KM 1981.4.31a-b and KM 1981.4.32 in the Kelsey Museum collection, being cartonnage fragments cut from the chest of a mummy casing (525–30 BC). L.E. Talalay/M.C. Cool Root, *Passionate Curiosities: Tales of Collectors & Collections from the Kelsey Museum*, Kelsey Museum Publication 13, Ann Arbor 2015, 93–94, figs. 6.32–33. I thank Prof. Janet Richards for pointing this out to me and for sending me scans of the latter publication.

According to the acquisition details provided in his own papers, Goudsmit bought the stela in 1945 from a German private owner. Details about where, from whom and under which circumstances this happened are not recorded. It is possible, however, that he acquired the stela at around the same time in Berlin.

Back in the United States, Goudsmit became a regular visitor to the University of Michigan's Kelsey Museum of Archaeology – in 1953 named after the founder of the university's archaeological collections, Francis W. Kelsey (1858–1927).¹⁸ Goudsmit bequeathed the bulk of his collection of Egyptian antiquities to the museum, which was formally handed over by his widow, Mrs. Irene B. Goudsmit, in 1981.¹⁹ The stela of Ptahmose received the inventory number 1981.4.4.

The following year, 1982, an exhibition was held to showcase the newly acquired collection, titled: “The Samuel A. Goudsmit collection: A Scientist Views the Past”.²⁰ The exhibition catalogue included a short description of Ptahmose's stela based on the preliminary documentation prepared by Goudsmit.²¹

Fragment of a Funerary Stela of a Royal Scribe

Glazed limestone

Dynasty XIX–XX (c. 1300–1100 BC)

Kelsey Museum 81.4.4

Source: Private owner, Germany, 1945

A deceased royal scribe prays with upraised hands to Osiris and Isis. The stiff sleeve of linen garment is characteristic of Ramesside art. A standard inscription gives the offering formula in addition to the name and titles of the scribe.

The stela would be showcased in another two exhibitions before it permanently entered the museum's reserves.²²

1.3 From Ann Arbor back to Berlin

At the moment of writing this article, the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology is working toward the return of the stela to Berlin.²³ Together with the three fragments of Ptolemaic Period mummy cartonnage acquired by Goudsmit in Berlin, the stela will be formally returned to the Berlin Museum in late 2016.

¹⁸ For a concise history of the museum and its collections, see:

<<https://www.lsa.umich.edu/kelsey/collections/collectionshistory>> accessed 17.5.2015.

¹⁹ For an account of the Goudsmit collection, see most recently: Talalay/Cool Root, *Passionate Curiosities*, 93–97. The Kelsey Museum received additional objects from Goudsmit in 1935, 1974, and from his daughter Esther M. Goudsmit in 2001.

²⁰ From 30 January to 9 May 1982: Root, *The Samuel A. Goudsmit Collection*.

²¹ Root, *The Samuel A. Goudsmit Collection*, 15.

²² Allen/Dix, *The Beginning of Understanding*, 71, No. 59; Richards/Wilfong, *Preserving Eternity*, 23, No. III.10.

²³ Upon realising that the faience stelae of Ptahmose held in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology and the Egyptian Museum in Berlin are in fact one and the same object, I contacted curators of both museums in late November 2014. The Kelsey Museum immediately took action to return the stela which, despite bureaucratic processes involved, could be finalised a little more than a year later.

1.4 Object description: technical observations

Faience was used to produce a wide range of ancient Egyptian objects, but it rarely included stelae. Recent archaeological research at the mining site of Gebel el-Zeit has revealed that faience stelae were introduced during the late Middle Kingdom (Thirteenth Dynasty).²⁴ A preliminary corpus of objects dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty contains fourteen examples depicting private individuals (Table 1).²⁵ At least half of the objects derive from the Memphite region (Saqqara and Mit Rahineh). Forty years of excavations by the (EES/)Leiden mission at Saqqara yielded only five fragments belonging to three stelae (see Annex).

Object ÄM 19718 represents the upper half of a stela made of faience.²⁶ Part of the upper right corner is broken off and it is chipped on the right hand side. The blue glazed surface is worn and it is covered with minor abrasions, indentations, a few little cracks, and spots of white discoloration. Despite all the damage, the main scene in the centre is well preserved.

It is impossible to determine what the object’s original shape might have been. The few parallels display a variety of shapes (Table 1). If the central panel contained only the scene currently visible, then the object would have been square. However, one cannot exclude the possibility that one or more lines of text were present underneath the scene.

The fragment comprises a niche framed by a raised border and surmounted by a torus moulding and (slightly curved) cavetto cornice. The central plane is recessed and preserves the upper half of an adoration scene. There are two parallels for faience stelae with a recessed plane: Louvre C 91 and UPenn E 13578.

²⁴ Interpreted as votive stelae; average dimensions *c.* 10 x 5 cm. The decoration and texts were painted in black. I. Régen/G. Soukiasian, *Gebel el-Zeit, II: Le matériel inscrit*, FIFAO 57, Cairo 2008, 9–65 (Nos 2–3, 6–12); D. Lorand, *Deux « nouvelles » stèles du Gebel el-Zeit attribuées aux pharaons Nebnénou Sémenkarê (13^e dynastie) et Nebmaâtrê (16^e dynastie)*, in: *CdE* 85/169–170, 2010, 92–107. The earliest dated specimen is Cairo JE 98137 depicting King Nebnenu Semenkare. The finds indicate that the stelae were not an innovation of the Nineteenth Dynasty, as has previously been suggested by F.D. Friedman, *Gifts of the Nile: Ancient Egyptian Faience*, London 1998, 250, Cat. 167.

²⁵ The following objects could possibly be added as well: (1) stela London, British Museum EA 6133 of Amenemope, Royal Scribe and Overseer of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands, is dated to the “New Kingdom to Early Third Intermediate Period” (16.5 x 12.3 x 1.4 cm; rectangular stela; provenance Thebes?). It was described by Friedman, *Gifts of the Nile*, 156, 248, No. 162, as a “plaque placed on the chest of a mummy”. This interpretation has been contested (e.g. J. Van Dijk, *An 18th Dynasty Pottery Stela with a Hymn to Re*, in: K.N. Sowada/B.G. Ockinga (eds), *Egyptian Art in the Nicholson Museum*, Sydney, Sydney 2006, 298 [suggesting a Nineteenth Dynasty date, although erroneously referring to BM EA 24705]); (2) stela fragments London, Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology UC 45213 and 45220 (unpublished; see the online catalogue <<http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk>> accessed 18.02.2015; Nineteenth Dynasty; 5.61 x 6.3 cm and 7.3 x 6.8 cm), from the temple of Seth of Nubet at Naqada (Ombos); the representation of a private individual is missing; (3) Antwerp, Museum Vleeshuis AV 79.1.440 of the Vizier Paser (early Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Seti I – Ramesses II; provenance Tanis (probably from Qantir/Piramesse); round-topped, 9.5 x 6 cm; decoration on two sides; E. Warmenbol/L. Delvaux, *Stèle van Paser*, in: E. Gubel (ed.), *Egypte onomwonden: Egyptische oudheden van het museum Vleeshuis*, Antwerp 1995, 80–81, No. 19); (4) Cairo, Egyptian Museum S. 7161, a faience votive stela of Paahaty represented before Seth (h: 16.7 cm; Ramesside, “possibly Twentieth Dynasty”: PM III², 828; H.S.K. Bakry, *The Stela of P₃-ḥ₃ty, the Follower of Seth*, *ASAE* 57, 1962, 7–8).

²⁶ Green glazed limestone according to Richards/Wilfong, *Preserving Eternity*, 23. For faience terminology, see: P.T. Nicholson/E. Peltenburg, *Egyptian Faience*, in: P.T. Nicholson/I. Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, Cambridge 2000, 177–194.

A shallow mould might have been used to render the general design, whereas the deco-decoration in raised relief was extensively hand-worked.²⁷ There are two parallels for faience stelae with decoration executed in raised relief: Leiden AD 37²⁸ and UPenn E 13578.²⁹ No parallel is available for the hieroglyphs executed in raised relief. It is also remarkable that the scene's details have not been accentuated in black; a feature observed on all other faience stelae.

The small corpus of stelae indicates that two decoration techniques were in use.³⁰ One group of stelae has decoration in black pigment added on the blue glaze before firing. The second group has figures and texts filled by a faience paste of a colour different from that of the background (Berlin ÄM 17276, ÄM 10284, Leiden AD 37, and UPenn E 13578).³¹ Most stelae were small, which is not surprising given the fragile nature of the material. One exceptionally large specimen measures 50 cm high (Louvre C 91).³²

1.5 Description: iconography and style

The scene on the recessed plane is framed by thin lines in raised relief. The line along the upper edge takes the shape of the *p.t*-sign symbolising the sky.³³ The resulting framework sets the stage for the scene centred on the adoration of Osiris. Ptahmose stands with both hands raised in adoration before the deity, and a low offering stand separates the two. A *nemset* jar flanked by two circular loaves is positioned atop the stand,³⁴ and a papyrus umbel is positioned over the table, directed towards Osiris. Taking into account the wide gap between the offering stand and Osiris, it is likely that the latter was depicted seated on a throne. Isis is positioned standing behind him.

Ptahmose wears a shoulder-length, elaborately-plaited, pointed wig that ends in a row of short curls.³⁵ The wig's upper area is plain, which appears to indicate the presence of a

²⁷ For the technique, see: Friedman, *Gifts of the Nile*, 250, Cat. No. 168 (Leiden AD 37).

²⁸ Ex-coll. d'Anastasi, 1828 (probably from Saqqara): C. Leemans, *Description raisonnée des monuments égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide*, Leiden 1840, 277; P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden: De monumenten van het Nieuwe Rijk*. Derde afdeeling: Stèles, The Hague 1913, 11, No. 38, pl. XXIII; Friedman, *Gifts of the Nile*, 250, Cat. No. 168.

²⁹ PM III², 859 (as *temp.* Ramesses II); A.R. Schulman, *A Faience Stela from the New Kingdom*, Expedition 2/4, July 1960, 32–33 (as *temp.* Ramesses IX, Nineteenth Dynasty [*sic*]); D. Lorand, *Une stèle en « faïence » de la fin de la 17^{ème} ou du début de la 18^{ème} dynastie aux Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, in: *CdE* 88/176, 2013, 238. The stela was found during the excavations led by Clarence S. Fisher at Memphis, 1915–1923.

³⁰ Lorand, in: *CdE* 88/176, 237–238.

³¹ The earliest example is from the reign of Amenhotep III: stela Athens, National Archaeological Museum ANE 1798: A.P. Kozloff, *The Malqata/El-Amarna Blues: Favourite Colours of Kings and Gods*, in: E. Goring/N. Reeves/J. Ruffle (eds), *Chief of Seers: Egyptian Studies in Memory of Cyril Aldred*, London 1997, 178–192, fig. 2; Lorand, in: *CdE* 88/176, 237–238.

³² A. Caubet/G. Pierrat Bonnefois, *Faïences de l'Antiquité. De l'Égypte à l'Iran*, Paris 2005, 88, Cat. No. 246. Other large (moulded) objects made of faience include the statue of a lion biting an Asiatic captive, found at Qantir, *temp.* Ramesses II (h: c. 75 cm): M. Hamza, *Excavation of the Department of Antiquities at Qantir (Faqûs District) (Season, May 21st-July 7th, 1928)*, in: *ASAE* 30, 1930, 46–47, fig. 5.

³³ Compare the stela depicting Thutmose IV smiting an enemy before Ptah under a canopy, found at Memphis: W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Memphis VI*, in: R. Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis VI*, *BSAE/ERA* 25, London 1915, 33, No. 12, pl. LV.12.

³⁴ Compare: M.J. Raven, *The Tomb of Pay and Raia at Saqqara*, *EES EM* 74, Leiden 2005, 50–51 [87], pls 80–81 (block from an unknown tomb).

³⁵ Compare e.g. Tia, *Overseer of the Treasury (Nineteenth Dynasty, temp. Ramesses II)*: G.T. Martin, *The Tomb of Tia and Tia: A Royal Monument of the Ramesside Period in the Memphite Necropolis*, *EES EM* 58,

fillet (compare to Taf. 65b).³⁶ His garment is that typical for high officials of the early Nineteenth Dynasty: a full-length bag tunic in combination with an ample pleated sash kilt provided with a wide triangular pleated “apron” with undulating hem tied in front.³⁷ The ample pleated “sleeves” reach to the elbows. The pleating of the right sleeve is indicated with v-shaped, wavy lines, and it ends in a sharp, forward-pointed “triangle”, as if heavily stiffened. This pointed sleeve occurs on a number of representations of tomb owners at Saqqara during the early Nineteenth Dynasty,³⁸ both in stone (Taf. 65b) and in faience (Taf. 66). Ptahmose might be wearing either a broad *wesekh* collar or a two-row *shebyu* (Gold of Honour).

Osiris wears the *atef* crown and sports a divine beard. A broad collar marks the beginning of his close-fitting long garment. The arms are bent, as he holds the customary regalia: the flail in the left hand and the crook in the right.

London 1997, blocks 206–207, pl. 166, blocks seen on the art market in Paris, present location unknown; provenance Mit Rahineh); Amenemheb, Scribe of the Altar of the Lord of the Two Lands, on the stela fragment of Ptahhotep, Chief Goldsmith of the Mansion of Gold (Bologna, Museo Civico KS 1945, Saqqara, Nineteenth Dynasty: S. Pernigotti, Il rilievo Bologna KS 1945, in: SEAP 7, 1990, 1–7); Hormin, Overseer of the Royal Apartments of the Harim at Memphis (Bologna, Museo Civico KS 1944, early Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Seti I – Ramesses II: G.A. Gaballa, The Memphite Tomb-chapel of Mose, Warminster 1977, pl. XL); Stela fragment R95–7 of Raia, Overseer of the Royal Apartments of the Harim at Memphis (stela fragment; Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Seti I: Raven, Pay and Raia, 45–46 [71], pls 76–77).

³⁶ Akhpet, Chief Lector Priest in the Two Houses of Mummification (relief fragment; early Nineteenth Dynasty: J. Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, in: Or. 36, 1967, pl. XXVIII.11); Amenemone, Overseer of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands (tomb ST 101; Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II: S. Gohary, The Tomb-Chapel of the Royal Scribe Amenemone at Saqqara, in: BIFAO 91, 1991, panel No. 3, pl. 57).

³⁷ G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing, Leiden 1993, 64–69, 130–150; Raven/Van Walsem, Meryneith, 55–56, 186.

³⁸ For example: Tjay/Tjuroy called Ramessesnakht, Overseer of the Royal Apartments in the Harim at Memphis (Tomb ST 211; early Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Seti I – Ramesses II: S. Gohary, A Monument of the Royal Scribe Tjuroy, in: BIFAO 91, 1991, fig. on p. 193); Djehuty, Overseer of Cattle of Amun (stela Leiden AP 56; late Eighteenth/early Nineteenth Dynasty: Boeser, Beschrijving: Stèles, pl. 22 [40]); Hori, *Wab* Priest and Lector Priest in the Temple of Ptah (stela Leiden AP 50; early Nineteenth Dynasty: Boeser, Beschrijving: Stèles, pl. 20 [30]); Raia, Overseer of the Royal Apartments of the Harim at Memphis (early Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Seti I: Raven, Pay and Raia, scene [65], pl. 71); Penrennut, Chief of *Medjay* (“Ramesside”: PM III², 669; Quibell, Excavations at Saqqara (1908–9, 1909–10), pl. 81.2); Wenefdjesen, Royal Butler (relief blocks Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 24.981; Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II: PM III², 572; D. Dunham, Four New Kingdom Monuments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in: JEA 21, 1935, pl. 18); Paraemheb, Chamberlain and Royal Butler (*djed* pillar Bologna, Museo Civico No. 1892; late Eighteenth/early Nineteenth Dynasty: S. Curto, L’Egitto antico nelle collezioni dell’Italia settentrionale, Bologna 1961, pl. 33.56); Paatenemheb, Royal Butler (stela Leiden AP 52; late Eighteenth/early Nineteenth Dynasty: PM III², 709–711; P.A.A. Boeser, Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden: De monumenten van het Nieuwe Rijk. Eerste afdeling: Graven, The Hague 1911, pl. IX); Nebnefer, Chief Steward of the Temple of Ptah (tomb ST 218, central chapel; Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II: S. Gohary, The Twin Tomb Chapel of Nebnefer & His Son Mahu at Sakkara, Cairo 2009, pl. 30c; relief block SAK 2007–99, which probably derives from Saqqara Chapel 2007/6 of an anonymous owner, located to the east of the tomb of the Royal Butler, Ptahemwia (M.J. Raven, et al., The Tombs of Ptahemwia and Sethnakht at Saqqara, Turnhout forthcoming, scene [63–65], figs. I.5, III.29). Note, however, that this feature alone cannot serve as a stylistic dating criterion, as it can be observed also on tomb-elements of Ramesses-emperre, the Chief Royal Butler who served under Ramesses II – Merenptah (stela fragment Vienne (Isère), Musée des Beaux Arts et d’Archéologie NE 1555 and lintel fragment Brooklyn Museum 35.1315: J. Berlandini-Grenier, Le dignitaire Ramsès-em-per-Rê, in: BIFAO 74, 1974, pls II-III).

Isis wears a sheath dress with broad collar and the sign of her name is positioned atop the tripartite wig. Her hands are lowered as she holds a long *wadj* sceptre,³⁹ the top of which is visible directly behind Osiris' back.

1.6 Texts

The texts are divided over five columns separated by column dividers and one line of hieroglyphs executed in raised relief.

(↓→) [1] 

Wsir hn.t(y) imm.tyt

Osiris, Foremost of the West.

(↓→) [2] 

3s.t wr.t mw.t ntr^(a)

Isis the Great, Mother of the God.

(←↓) [3]  [4]  (←)[6] 

(rdi.t) izw n k3=k^(b) Wsir^(c) di=f nh.w wd3.w snb.w n sš nsw h3.ty-^c.w wr^(d) Pth-ms(.w)

(Making) adoration to your *ka*, Osiris, that he may give life, prosperity, and health to the Royal Scribe and Great Mayor, Ptahmose.

^(a) For this epithet, see also: stela Berlin ÄM 7271 of Raia, Overseer of the Apartments of the Harim at Memphis (early Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Seti I; LD III, pl. 242d; Raven, Pay and Raia, 23–24 [5], pls 17–18).⁴⁰

^(b) Compare: stela London, British Museum EA 211 of Thuthu (ex-coll. Salt, 1821; late Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ay: H.R. Hall, HTBM 7, London 1925, 12, pl. 35, where one also has the change from second to third person pronoun (*k3=k* / *di=f*); 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, 176, No. 10, fig. 5).

^(c) The signs are not clear. One would expect to find here the name of Osiris written with the eye (D4) and the carrying chair (Q2). The eye, however, appears to take the form of the sun-disk (N5), resulting in the writing: . For a parallel, see the stela of Tatia (SAK 2009-R8; *temp.* Ramesses II), excavated by the Leiden archaeological mission at Saqqara in 2009: M.J. Raven, et al., Preliminary Report on the Leiden Excavations at Saqqara, Season 2009: The Tombs of Khay II and Tatia, in: JEOL 42, 2010, 12, fig. 9.

^(d) The title *h3.ty-c.w wr*, Great Mayor, is an abbreviated form of the title Great Mayor in/of Memphis. The corpus of monuments pertaining to Ptahmose includes two variations: *h3.ty-c.w wr m inb(.w)-hd*, "Great Mayor in White Wall(s)"; and *h3.ty-c.w wr m hw.t-k3-*

³⁹ Compare e.g. Martin, Maya I, 42–43, scene 3, pl. 40; 47, scene 6, pl. 49. See also A. Hassan, Stöcke und Stäbe im Pharaonischen Ägypten bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches, MÄS 33, Munich 1976, 196–200.

⁴⁰ An unframed text-column continues the epithet: *hnw.t imm.tyt nb.t p.t tz.wy*, Mistress of the West, Lady of Heaven and of the Two Lands.

Pth, “Great Mayor in Hutkaptah”.⁴¹ “White Wall(s)” and “Hutkaptah” are toponyms of Memphis.

2 The pyramid panels Berlin ÄM 1631–1632 (Taf. 67)

Material: Limestone

Dimensions: ÄM 1631: H. 140 cm; W. 53.4 cm

ÄM 1632: H. 202.9 cm; W. 52.5 cm

Provenance: Bought by Lepsius from Solomon Fernandez in Cairo, probably 1842

Bibliography: LD Text, I, 16; Ausführliches Verzeichnis der aegyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse [der] Königl. Museen zu Berlin, 2nd edn, Berlin 1899, 147; Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften, Leipzig 1924, 217 (ÄM 1631); Gudar och människor vid Nilen, Göteborg, 18 mars–20 maj 1973, No. 337 with pl. 28; Kunstmuseet i Ateneum Helsingfors, Det eviga Egypten. Aegyptus aeterna, 1973, No. 308 with fig. 31; Sofia, Izlozhba Vechniyat Egipet, 1975, Vitr. 8 [94] with fig (ÄM 1632); PM III², 714; KRI III, 180; RITA III, 125.

2.1 Provenance and how the blocks reached Berlin

During the Prussian expedition to Egypt and Nubia (1842–1845), Carl Richard Lepsius acquired for the Berlin Museum two blocks that originally formed part of the Memphite tomb of Ptahmose. The blocks were purchased from Solomon Fernandez, probably in 1842.⁴² A brief inventory, along with a description of some of the objects seen at the latter’s antiquities dealership in Cairo, were included in the text volume of the *Denkmaeler* edited by Kurt Sethe.⁴³ The object mentioned on page 15 is a pyramidion, and the two “door jambs”, or “Steinpfosten”, are included on page 16. Only the objects noted on the latter page (with additional objects listed on page 222) were bought by Lepsius. No such information is added to the description of the pyramidion. Although some publications suggest that the object is held in the collection of the Egyptian Museum in Berlin,⁴⁴ there is no documentation to confirm this assertion.⁴⁵ Therefore, the present location of the pyramidion remains unknown.

⁴¹ For a discussion of the titles, see: N. Staring, The Title *ḥꜣ.ty-ꜥ.w ḥꜣ.inb.w n.w Pth*, “Mayor of Beyond the Walls of Ptah”, and Early 19th Dynasty Temple Building at Memphis, in: *ZÄS* 142/2, 2015, 167–190.

⁴² Lepsius was in Cairo between 5 October and 9 November 1842; 4–10 April and 21 July to 16 August 1843; and 27 June to 29 August and 21–25 September 1845 (LD Text, I, 6). On 7 November 1842, Lepsius bought objects from the antiquities dealer Massara, who was also based in Cairo (LD Text, I, 16–17). In his letters, Lepsius makes no mention of visiting Fernandez (see: K.R. Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Peninsula of Sinai*, ed. L. Horner and J.B. Horner, London 1853). The unpublished diary of the expedition’s draughtsman Maximilian Weidenbach also makes no mention of Fernandez (the diary is in the collection of the South Australian Museum; I owe this information to Dr Susanne Binder (Macquarie University) who currently prepares the diary for publication).

⁴³ LD Text, I, 15–16, 222.

⁴⁴ Most recently: O. El-Aguizy, Une stèle de famille à Saqqara. Reconsidération, in: N. Castellano/M. Mascort/C. Piedrafita/J. Vivó (eds), *Ex Aegypto lux et sapientia. Homenatge al professor Josep Padró Parcerisa*, *Nova Studia Aegyptiaca* IX, Barcelona 2015, 204 n. 3.

⁴⁵ According to Dr Caris-Beatrice Arnst (personal communication) the pyramidion has never been part of Berlin’s Egyptian collection.

2.2 *The antiquities dealer Solomon Fernandez*

Solomon Fernandez (*fl.* 1830–1860)⁴⁶ was an antiquities dealer in Cairo who traded mostly in objects he excavated at Saqqara. The earliest reference to his business is by John Gardner Wilkinson (1797–1875), who examined the collection in 1830.⁴⁷ This date provides a *terminus a quo* for the activities of Fernandez in the Memphite necropolis.⁴⁸ At Saqqara, he obtained a prominent position among the agents working for diplomats and museum representatives seeking to build their collections of Egyptian art.⁴⁹ One of the private collectors he worked for was the Greek merchant and consul-general in Egypt for Norway and Sweden (*fl.* 1820–1827), Giovanni d’Anastasi (1780–1860), an ardent collector of Egyptian antiquities.⁵⁰ In 1838, he had his second large collection shipped from Alexandria to the seaport of Livorno (Leghorn) on Italy’s west coast. In the first half of the Nineteenth Century the city was an important distribution centre for (Egyptian) antiquities.⁵¹ Lepsius, who was on his way from Rome to Paris, went to Livorno to see d’Anastasi’s collection.⁵² Baron Prudhoe (Lord Algernon Percy, 1792–1865) was also interested in the collection and he agreed with Lepsius that if one of them decided to buy, they would divide the collection between the two of them.⁵³ After Prudhoe had left, Lepsius approached d’Anastasi’s repre-

⁴⁶ Dawson/Uphill/Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 190.

⁴⁷ Dawson/Uphill/Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 190. In preparation of his expedition to Egypt, Lepsius went to London (where he arrived on 16 July 1842) and met, among others, with Wilkinson (H. Mehlitz, *Richard Lepsius: Ägypten und die Ordnung der Wissenschaft*, Berlin 2011, 90–91).

⁴⁸ A man named Fernandez is also mentioned in letters addressed to Bernardino Drovetti (1776–1852), dated 1812 (two letters), 1821, and 1823: S. Curto/L. Donatelli, *Bernardino Drovetti Epistolario (1800–1951)*, Milan 1985, Nos. 23, 25, 139, 206. In the first three letters, neither his first name, nor the characterization “(Spanish) Jew” (see below), are added. Letter No. 26 names him as D. Fernandez. Therefore, the letters do not appear to refer to Solomon Fernandez. Note that in letter No. 26, D. Fernandez is said to have a house at Livorno, which could indicate that he is somehow related to Solomon. The Fernandez family were prominent members of Livorno’s Jewish community (descendants of the late 15th-century expulsions from Spain and Portugal), and included merchants and bank owners. I owe the latter information to Dr Rita Di Maria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.

⁴⁹ E. David, *Mariette Pacha 1821–1881*, Paris 1994, 58, 69.

⁵⁰ Dawson/Uphill/Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 19. D’Anastasi was a merchant who used Italian trade companies to trade Egyptian grain for Swedish iron (H.D. Schneider, *De Laudibus Aegyptologiae: C.J.C. Reuvens als verzamelaar van Aegyptiaca*, The Hague 1985, 17–19). From 1828 to 1857, he acted as the consul-general for Norway and Sweden in Alexandria. During those years, he gathered three huge collections of Egyptian antiquities. Unlike Henry Salt and Bernardino Drovetti, whom Mohammed Ali granted exclusive rights to excavate, d’Anastasi acquired his large collections of Egyptian antiquities by buying from and trading with others. He had to work in the areas Salt and Drovetti considered to be less interesting (such as the Memphite necropolises), and had to buy mainly from local “Arabs” (Schneider, *De Laudibus Aegyptologiae*, 17–20; M. Hoijtink, *Exhibiting the Past*. Caspar J.C. Reuvens and the Museums of Antiquities in Europe, 1800 – 1840, *PALMA History and Heritage* 7, Turnhout 2012, 124–125). This explains why a substantial part of the antiquities sold by d’Anastasi derived from Saqqara.

⁵¹ See e.g. Hoijtink, *Exhibiting the Past*, 125.

⁵² When in 1827–1828 Jean-Émile Humbert (1771–1839) on behalf of the Dutch government negotiated (over the course of one year) the acquisition of the first collection of d’Anastasi from the brothers Tossizza in Livorno, François Barthow (*fl.* 1805–1832) and Francesco Castiglione (*fl.* 1811–1830) acted as *agents directeur* for d’Anastasi (Schneider, *De Laudibus Aegyptologiae*, 19; R.B. Halbertsma, *Scholars, Travellers and Trade: The Pioneer Years of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, 1818–40*, London 2003, 98–111). For Barthow and Castiglione, see also Dawson/Uphill/Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 44–45 and 107, respectively.

⁵³ Mehlitz, *Richard Lepsius*, 58. He was a trustee of the British Museum, but it is not clear whether he acted in Livorno on behalf of the museum, or whether he tried to purchase the collection for himself. For Algernon Percy, see: Dawson/Uphill/Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 423.

representative Fernandez to negotiate a sale to the Berlin Museum, even though Lepsius was not authorised to do so.⁵⁴ The collection was subsequently forwarded to London, where it was again offered for sale in 1839 and bought by the British Museum.⁵⁵

When Auguste Mariette (1831–1881) first arrived at Saqqara (in 1850), he clashed with Fernandez. The latter obviously considered the Frenchman as a rival party.⁵⁶ In his Notice Biographique of Mariette, Maspero sketches the situation at Saqqara at the time of Mariette’s arrival as follows:

A dire le vrai, les indigènes et les Levantins ou les Européens établis en Égypte ne s’en souciaient guère: à Saqqarah même, le consul général d’Autriche, M. de Huber, le marchand Fernandez, le révérend Lieders^[sic],⁵⁷ Jannovitch, Lanzone, Massara et vingt autres soudoyaient des bandes d’indigènes qui ravageaient les nécropoles sans se cacher. Ces rivaux, établis sur les lieux de longtemps, ne verraient certes pas de bon œil l’intrus qui venait leur disputer une part de leur butin; ils le toléreraient peut-être tant qu’il n’aurait pas une fortune trop insolente, mais si la chance se déclarait en sa faveur, ils n’hésiteraient pas à lui jouer tous les tours imaginables, et leur premier soin serait d’attirer l’attention du Pacha sur l’illégalité de ces recherches. Il ne tarda pas à en faire l’expérience.⁵⁸

In the early 1850s, Fernandez worked *inter alia* as an agent for Christian Wilhelm von Huber (1804–1871), the Austrian Consul-General in Egypt (1850–1858).⁵⁹ Mariette and Huber were not quite on good terms. Huber is quoted by Heinrich Brugsch (1827–1894), saying: “Der Franzose in Sakkarah ist ein Dieb. Mein Agent, der spanische Jude Fernandez ist der eigentliche Entdecker des Serapeums”.⁶⁰ In describing Mariette’s friends and foes

⁵⁴ Mehlitz, Richard Lepsius, 58 with n. 3. The first collection of d’Anastasi was sold in Livorno (Leghorn) in 1828 (bought by the Dutch government for the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden).

⁵⁵ D’Anastasi’s third collection was auctioned in Paris, 1857: F. Lenormant, Catalogue d’une collection d’antiquités égyptiennes: Cette collection, rassemblée par M. d’Anastasi, consul général de Suède à Alexandrie, Paris 1857.

⁵⁶ However, according to Prisse d’Avennes (E. Prisse d’Avennes, Petits mémoires secrets sur la cour d’Égypte, suivis d’une étude sur les Almées, etc., Paris 1930, 40–41; E. Hebre, « Je vous écris en toute hâte [...] en débarrassant ma table encombrée ». Lettres d’Émile Prisse d’Avennes à Charles Cournault (1847–1875), in: M. Volait (ed.), Émile Prisse d’Avennes. Un artiste-antiquaire en Égypte au XIX^e siècle, BdE 156, Cairo 2013, 219 [letter dated 29 October 1858]), Mariette meanwhile bought objects from Fernandez, including the famous *scribe accroupi* (Paris, Musée du Louvre E 3023) which he instead claimed to have found himself on 19 November 1850 (A. Mariette, Choix de monuments et de dessins découverts ou exécutés pendant le déblaiement du Sérapeum de Memphis, Paris 1856, 11–12, pl. X; G. Maspero, Mariette (1821–1881). Notice biographique, BE 18, Paris, 1904, xxxii).

⁵⁷ Reverend (Johann) Rudolph Theophilus Lieder (1798–1865) sold his collection of Egyptian antiquities in 1861 to Lord Amherst (1835–1909). See Dawson/Uphill/Bierbrier, Who Was Who in Egyptology, 332–333 and 18, respectively. For Lieder, see also: J. Málek, The Monuments Recorded by Alice Lieder in the ‘Temple of Vulcan’ at Memphis in May 1853, in: JEA 72, 1986, 101–112.

⁵⁸ Maspero, in: BE 18, xxx–xxxii.

⁵⁹ Huber built up a large private collection of Egyptian antiquities. One part of his collection was sent to Vienna in 1857. The main share, however, was acquired by Mariette for the Bulaq Museum in April 1859. The collection included elements taken from the tombs of Hormin, Overseer of the Royal Apartments of the Harim at Memphis (Cairo JE 8376), and Ptahemwia, Royal Butler (door jamb Cairo JE 8383). These tombs were located in close proximity to that of Ptahmose. See: N. Staring, Mariette, Devéria, and Vassalli at Saqqara, 1858–62, forthcoming.

⁶⁰ H. Brugsch, Mein Leben und mein Wandern, Berlin 1894, 156 (also: Maspero, in: BE 18, lii); J. Málek, Who was the first to identify the Saqqara Serapeum?, in: CdE 58, 1983, 65–72. Indeed, the “merchant from

amidst Cairo's European community, Maspero argues that the likes of Huber and Fernan-Fernandez could be considered as "les jaloux et les collectionneurs ou les marchands, à qui sa (i.e. Mariette's) présence interdisait les fouilles dans les nécropoles de Saqqarah". Notwithstanding the apparent rivalry, Mariette initially made use of Fernandez' pied-à-terre in the village of Saqqara to store the finds made during his excavations in the Serapeum.⁶¹ As the house was located at quite a distance from the Serapeum, and because he considered the place to be unsafe, Mariette soon decided to construct his own accommodation on the Saqqara plateau. One of the latest contemporary references to Fernandez also features his house at Saqqara: according to a late 1850s guidebook for people of weak health who spent the winter months in Egypt, one could stay overnight at Fernandez' after having spent the day visiting the ancient necropolis.⁶²

The prominent position of Fernandez was probably curtailed when, on 1 June 1858, Mariette became the director of the newly established Antiquities Service. The fact that Mariette started working in the area south of the Unas causeway previously exploited by Fernandez – which included the tomb of Ptahmose – may provide a case in point. During their work in the tomb of Ptahmose in early 1859, Mariette's assistant Théodule Devéria (1831–1871) produced several photographs. One photograph shows a well preserved relief-decorated doorway.⁶³ At least one relief-block was removed by Mariette and taken to the Bulaq Museum (Cairo JE 4874); the exquisite relief-decorated blocks visible in the doorway are now lost. The blocks were neither removed by Mariette, nor were they found during the recent excavation of the tomb. It is likely, therefore, that they were removed by someone else; or they were smashed to pieces, as had happened with the reliefs copied earlier by Lepsius in the tomb of Maya.⁶⁴ One may postulate the possibility that the animosity between Mariette and Fernandez led to the reliefs' destruction: if Fernandez was no longer able to stock his antiquities shop with objects from the tomb(s) he had been exploiting since a long time, he may just as well have the reliefs destroyed before his rival Mariette could remove them.

2.3 Lepsius at Saqqara and the tomb of Ptahmose

For a period of three months in early 1843, Lepsius set up camp at Saqqara.⁶⁵ His team surveyed the area and copied the decoration and texts of accessible (tomb) structures. Additionally, at least one small-scale excavation was recorded near the mastaba of

Cairo" Fernandez told Mariette that he had found in the sands of Saqqara the sphinxes held in the private collections of Zizinia in Alexandria, and Linant-Bey and Stéphan-Bey in Cairo. There, the statues had formed part of an avenue of sphinxes (Mariette, *Choix de monuments*, 6–7; Maspero, in: BE 18, xxvii). This clue led Mariette to work in the area and eventually find the Serapeum (Maspero, in: BE 18, xxxi).

⁶¹ Maspero, in: BE 18, xxxvi.

⁶² W. Reil, *Aegypten als Winteraufenthalt für Kranke: zugleich ein Führer für Cairo und Umgegend*, Braunschweig 1859, 197–198: "[...] der Besuch von Sakarah eine noch interessantere Unterhaltung gewährt als der von den Gizeh-Pyramiden. Man bedarf dazu mindestens eines vollen Tages [...] wohl besten, in Sakarah mindestens eine Nacht zuzubringen, wozu im Hause des Scheich oder eines Kaufmanns aus Cairo, Namens Ferrandez^[sic], Gelegenheit ist, wenn man nicht vorzieht, unter einem mitgebrachten Zelte zu übernachten".

⁶³ Staring, in: BIFAO 114/2, 2014, fig. 1.

⁶⁴ LD III, pl. 240a; Martin, *Maya I*, 30–31, scene [30], pls 24–25, 90 [1].

⁶⁵ 11 February to 19 May 1843: Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt*, 69–79: "Letter VIII, Saqâra, the 13th April, 1843"; LD Text, I, 138–202; Mehlitz, *Richard Lepsius*, 111–119, colour pl. 15.

^(a) Lord of Truth is a common epithet of the god Ptah at Saqqara: C. Leitz, LGG 3, OLA 112, Leuven 2002, 639–642. A man named Raia, who was buried at Saqqara, bore the title *hr.y ḥsw.w Pth nb mꜣꜥ.t*, “Chief Singer of Ptah-Lord-of-Truth”.⁷²

The title Steward of the Lord of Truth refers to the stewardship in the temple of Ptah at Memphis. The title is recorded on the following tomb-elements of Ptahmose: relief blocks Cairo JE 4873,⁷³ Cairo JE 4875 (possibly),⁷⁴ and Leiden AP 54.⁷⁵ Ptahmose also held the related titles *im.y-rꜣ pr.w n.y Pth*, “Steward of Ptah”; *im.y-rꜣ pr.w wr n.y Pth*, “Chief Steward of Ptah”; and *im.y-rꜣ pr.w n.y pr.w Pth ḥꜣ inb.w Pth*, “Steward of the House of Ptah Beyond the Walls of Ptah”.⁷⁶

^(b) On block ÄM 1632 only the top part of the seated man determinative and the signs of *mꜣꜥ-ḥrw* are preserved. Door jambs elsewhere in the tomb contain offering formulae concluding with the tomb owner’s name followed by “*mꜣꜥ-ḥrw nb imꜣh*”.⁷⁷ Note that the seated man determinatives Gardiner Sign-List A51 and A52 were variously used in the examples cited. Thus, either option can be reconstructed from what remains of the sign on ÄM 1632. Lepsius reconstructed the sign as A52.

^(c) There is one document referring to a temple of the Moon at Memphis: an official named *///-ta* served as *sꜣw.ty n.y pr.w iꜥḥ(-Dḥw.ty) m Mn-nfr*, “Custodian of the temple of the Moon in Memphis”.⁷⁸ A late Eighteenth/early Nineteenth Dynasty First Prophet of the Moon (*ḥm-ntr tp.y n.y iꜥḥ*) named Hatiaiy usurped the tomb of Mery-Neith, Steward in the Temple of the Aten (tomb Mariette H9; late Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Akhenaten – Tutankhamun).⁷⁹

^(d) WB. II, 29; D. Kurth, in: LÄ III, 1185–1186, s.v. Manu. Since the Eighteenth Dynasty, Manu commonly referred to the place where the sun sets. It is mentioned in Book of the Dead Chapter 15B (hymn to the sun-god), and in the liturgical sun hymn of the Twelfth hour of the day.⁸⁰ By extension, Manu can refer to the resting place of different deities or celestial bodies, including the moon (the nocturnal sun).⁸¹ As the Western Mountain, Manu is the counterpart of Bakhu, the Eastern Mountain.⁸²

⁷² G.T. Martin, *The Tomb-Chapels of Paser and Ra’ia at Saqqâra*, EES EM 52, London 1985, 10–15.

⁷³ J. Berlandini, *Varia Memphitica V: Monuments de la chapelle funéraire du gouverneur Ptahmès*, in: BIFAO 82, 1982, pl. IX.

⁷⁴ Berlandini, in: BIFAO 82, pl. XI: */// n.y nb mꜣꜥ.t*.

⁷⁵ Boeser, *Beschrijving: Graven*, pl. XXX.

⁷⁶ For a discussion of the titles, see: Staring, in: ZÄS 142/2, 2015.

⁷⁷ The so-called Mur Rhoné and Devéria-doorway: Staring, in: BIFAO 114/2, 2014, figs. 1, 4.

⁷⁸ Double shabti Museo Gregoriano Egizio Inv. 55025, late Eighteenth/early Nineteenth Dynasty; provenance Saqqara: J.-C. Grenier, *Les statuettes funéraires du Museo Gregoriano Egizio*, Rome 1996, 102–104, No. 143, pl. LXV.

⁷⁹ Raven/Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 53–56, 78–81, 127–130, stela [3] and wall-stela [32].

⁸⁰ É. Naville, *Das ägyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*, Berlin 1886, II, 25–26; J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott: Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I*, MÄS 19, Munich 1969, 139. Examples cited in Oekinga, *Amenemone*, 102 [c]. See also the recent study by G. Lapp, *Die Vignetten zu Spruch 15 auf Totenbuch-Papyri des Neuen Reiches*, *Beiträge zum Alten Ägypten* 6, Basel 2015, 2, 18–19.

⁸¹ WB. II, 29.12 refers to Berlin ÄM 1632.

⁸² H. Milde, *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Neferrenpet: A Comparative Iconographical Study*, PhD Thesis University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam 1988, 22.

On two pyramidia, the expression *m m3nw*, “in the Western Mountain” replaces the more common *3h.t imm.tyt [n.yt p.t]*, “the Western Horizon [of the sky]”.⁸³ On pyramidion Cairo JE 41665 of the Chief Goldsmith Amenemone (south face), *Manu* is the place where the sun sets: “O Re, you have arisen renewed, <until> you go to rest [in life] in your field, which is in *Manu* [...] Welcome, welcome!, you having gone forth that you may rest in *Manu*!”⁸⁴

Khaemwaset, the fourth son of Ramesses II and High Priest of Ptah at Memphis, bore the title *wn-mw.t=f n.y pr.w-M3nw*, “Innumtuf of Per-*Manu*”, inscribed on a block excavated at Saqqara.⁸⁵ Per-*Manu* was used as a reference to the Memphite necropolis.⁸⁶

On the stela of Ipyu from Deir el-Medina, *Manu* also occurs in an epithet of Ra-Horakhty: *Rc.w-Hr.w-3h.ty ntr 3 hr.y-ib M3nw*, “Ra-Horakhty, the Great God, Who resides in *Manu*”.⁸⁷ On relief block Leiden AP 54 from the tomb of Ptahmose (KRI III, 177, 11–12), Ra-Horakhty bears the epithet *nb p.t hr.y-ib sk.tt ntr 3*, ‘Lord of the sky, Who resides in the Night Barque (WB. II, 150: “Schiff der Sonne am Abend und in der Nacht”), the Great God’.⁸⁸ Ptahmose stands before the deity, his hands raised in adoration: *dw3 Rc.w nb imm.tyt ity hk3 hr.t-ntr*, “Adoring Re, Lord of the West, Sovereign, Ruler of the Necropolis”.

(e) The rather generic title Overseer of Works probably refers to construction works at Memphis. Other titles held by the official are more explicit: *im.y-r3 k3.t m mnw nb n.y nsw / hm=f*, “Overseer of Works on All Monuments of the King / His Lord”,⁸⁹ *im.y-r3 k3.t m mnw nb n.y hm=f m hw.t-k3-Pth*, “Overseer of Works on All Monuments of His Lord in Hutkaptah”,⁹⁰ and *im.y-r3 k3.t m mnw nb n.y hm=f m hw.t Pth*, “Overseer of Works on All Monuments of His Majesty in the temple of Ptah”.⁹¹

⁸³ These are: Nestaut, God’s Father of Osiris (Cairo TN 30.10.26.1; Abydos, Twenty-first Dynasty: Rammant-Peeters, Les pyramidions, 19–20, Doc. 16, pl. X.30); and Amenemone, Chief Goldsmith (Cairo JE 41665; Saqqara, *temp.* Tutankhamun: Rammant-Peeters, Les pyramidions, 23–24, Doc. 20, pl. XV.42; Ockinga, Amenemone, 101–102 [23C], South Face, pls 33a, 77). *Manu* is used exclusively in relation to the Sun God: Rammant-Peeters, Les pyramidions, 143–144.

⁸⁴ Ockinga, Amenemone, 101 (cols 4–6).

⁸⁵ Cairo JE 40016 (TN 17.11.24.2): J.E. Quibell, Excavations at Saqqara (1907–1908), Cairo 1909, 4–5 (excavated at the Monastery of Apa Jeremias); F. Gomaà, Chaemwese: Sohn Ramses’ II. und Hoherpriester von Memphis, ÄA 27, Wiesbaden 1973, 24–25, 81, Cat. 36; C. Maystre, Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis, OBO 113, Freiburg 1992, 315–316, No. 117.

⁸⁶ The Memphite necropolis is more commonly referred to as Ankh-tawy and (south of Giza) as Rosetau.

⁸⁷ Stela Turin, Museo Egizio N.50031 (= Suppl. 7397), Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II. See: PM I:2; M. Tosi/A. Roccati, Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina, Turin 1972, 63–64, 273; KRI III, 665.14. Ipyu held the title *sdm 3 m s.t m3c.t hr imm.tyt W3s.t*, Servant in the Necropolis (‘Place of Truth’) on the West of Thebes.

⁸⁸ In tomb decoration in the Memphite necropolis, the Night Barque of Re has so far been attested only in the tomb of Ta, the Twentieth (?) Dynasty *Wab* Priest and Lector Priest of Ptah, located at Dahshur-North (S. Yoshimura/M. Baba/J. Kondo/S. Hasegawa/T. Nakagawa, Preliminary Report of the Waseda University Excavations at Dahshur North: Tenth Season, 2004–2005, Waseda Global Forum 2, 2005, 90 with n. 5).

⁸⁹ On a “block from Giza” recorded by Lepsius; present location unknown: LD Text, I, 126, No. 8; and *djed* pillar Leiden AP 51a: Boeser, Beschrijving: Graven, 7–8, pls 26–29.

⁹⁰ Statue London, British Museum EA 1119: Málek, in: RdE 38, 1987, 117–137.

⁹¹ Relief Cairo JE 4875: Berlandini, in: BIFA 82, 1982, pl. XI.

With their reference to the rising and setting of the sun, it is clear, therefore, that the two texts are complementary. In their architectural setting, the eternal cycle of the rising and setting of the sun will have been graphically emphasized.

2.5 *The architectural context*

The stone blocks ÄM 1631–1632 have hitherto invariably been described as door jambs. In the Denkmäler, Lepsius initially refers to the blocks as “Steinpfosten”,⁹² and in his 1871 catalogue of the Berlin Museum as “zwei Thürpfosten eines , Ptahmes”.⁹³ In the 1899 catalogue of the Berlin Museum they are described as “Thürpfosten eines Grabes”.⁹⁴ While, judging from their shape and dimensions, this interpretation appears to be most obvious, their identification as door jambs becomes problematic when trying to determine what their original architectural context might have been. Door jambs of a similar width often contain two, three or four columns of hieroglyphic text, and each column has an average width of 9 cm.⁹⁵ Door jamb thicknesses were also frequently inscribed with a single column of text, but those blocks are never as wide as 50 cm. The orientation of the hieroglyphic signs poses another problem, as they are facing right on both blocks. This excludes the possibility that they were originally positioned opposite each other across a doorway.

The dimensions of the hieroglyphic signs provide an indication for the blocks’ use. The signs are very large, as if they had to be seen from a larger distance than the texts inscribed on the tomb walls. A parallel for the truly monumental hieroglyphs can be found in the tomb of Tia.⁹⁶ The pyramid’s casing stones were inscribed on all faces with median vertical bands of text. The beginnings of the texts are lost, but these probably started with the words “giving adoration to”.⁹⁷ The text columns presumably started immediately below the capstone (pyramidion), and they were interrupted by a rectangular relief panel depicting the tomb owner in adoration before a deity.⁹⁸ The pyramid, constructed of alternating strata of large limestone fragments, sand, limestone chippings, and levelling bands of laid mud bricks, stood behind the tomb’s central chapel.⁹⁹ The casing was formed by limestone blocks with a thickness of *c.* 25 cm.¹⁰⁰

⁹² LD Text, I, 16.

⁹³ R. Lepsius, *Koenigliche Museen. Abteilung der Aegyptischen Antenthümer. Verzeichniss der wichtigsten Originaldenkmäler und der Gypse*, Berlin 1871, 38, No. 150.

⁹⁴ *Ausführliches Verzeichnis*, 147.

⁹⁵ See N. Staring, *The Tomb of Ptahemwia, ‘Great Overseer of Cattle’, and ‘Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum’*, at Saqqara, forthcoming.

⁹⁶ Martin, 6–9, 34–35, pls 3, 54–55, 159–61. The extant sides of the pyramid have a slope of *c.* 67°. Comparably sized hieroglyphs also occur elsewhere in the tomb: on the exterior north and south wall of the entrance portico (horizontal text), and on the south and north door jamb thicknesses of the pylon entrance (Martin, Tia and Tia, 17–18, [1] and [5], pl. 8; [13] and [17], pls 9, 131). The subject matter of these texts differs from those inscribed on the Berlin blocks.

⁹⁷ The text on the west face reads: “[...] may you cause that (my) name be enduring in the favour of the Lord[s] of the Necropolis”; the text on the north reads: “[...] your [...] and to follow the Lord of Rosetau”. Martin, Tia and Tia, 34, [98] and [97], pl. 54.

⁹⁸ Martin, Tia and Tia, 34 [97] and [98], pls 54, 159–161.

⁹⁹ Tombs of the Ramesside Period were usually constructed of limestone and their freestanding pyramids were normally built immediately west of the central chapel. See e.g. H.M. Hays, *On the Architectural Development of Monumental Tombs South of the Unas Causeway at Saqqara from the Reigns of Akhenaten to Ramses II*, in: M. Bárta/F. Coppens/J. Krejčí (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010*, Vol. 1, Prague 2011, 91, 100. The pyramid pertaining to the tomb of Amenemone (ST 101) is constructed differently: it was positioned west

The oldest monumental tombs with remains of a pyramid excavated at Saqqara south of the Unas causeway date to the late Amarna and the immediate post-Amarna Period.¹⁰¹ Several tombs possess clear architectural remains of mud brick pyramids, including those of Mery-Neith, Steward of the Temple of the Aten,¹⁰² Iniuiia, Chief Steward in Memphis,¹⁰³ and the tomb structure of an anonymous official.¹⁰⁴ Step-laid courses of mud bricks were arranged slantwise against the west exterior wall (Mery-Neith), or enveloping the central cult chapel on three sides (Iniuiia). The remains of the pyramid of Iniuiia suggest an original height of six to seven metres. The heavy weight of the pyramid was supported by the chapel’s thick mud brick walls which were provided with a limestone revetment. The inner screen walls and two papyriform columns further supported the roofing slabs and a lintel. None of the other tombs constructed of mud bricks provide direct architectural evidence for the pyramid constructed atop the cult chapel. However, their thick outer walls and the presence of interior screen walls and columns meant to support a heavy weight provide indirect evidence for pyramids being positioned on top of the cult chapels. None of the examples cited provide evidence for the decoration these pyramids might have had.¹⁰⁵

The tomb of Maya, the late Eighteenth Dynasty Overseer of the Treasury, originally had a pyramid as well. It was also constructed of mud bricks and positioned atop the tomb’s central cult chapel, although remains of the actual pyramid have not survived.¹⁰⁶ It is the only tomb to offer evidence for the inscribed stone elements that were once embedded in the pyramid’s faces. Moreover, the elements provide the only parallel for the Berlin blocks of Ptahmose. During the excavation of Maya’s tomb, two fragments of one rectangular block were found in the inner courtyard.¹⁰⁷ A similar block in Leiden (AP 55), measuring

of the chapel, but its apex was situated above the chapel’s west wall (see: S. Tawfik, *Recently Excavated Ramesside Tombs at Saqqara*, 1: Architecture, in: MDAIK 47, 1991, fig. 1).

¹⁰⁰ K.J. Frazer, *The Architecture*, in: Martin, Tia and Tia, 6–7.

¹⁰¹ The earliest pyramids from Saqqara belong to Amenhotep Huy, the Chief Steward in Memphis who served during the reign of Amenhotep III. Two of his pyramids are known: Florence, Museo Egizio 2610 (E. Schiaparelli, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze: Antichità Egizie*, Rome 1887, 420) and Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AM 6-b (P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden: De monumenten van het Nieuwe Rijk. Tweede afdeling: Pyramiden, Lijkenvazenkist, Offertafels, Beelden*, The Hague 1912, 1). See also Rammant-Peeters, *Les pyramidions*, Docs 11 and 33; P. Giovetti/D. Picchi (eds), *Egitto: Splendore millenario. La collezione di Leiden a Bologna*, Milan 2015, Cat. V.13–14. The location of his tomb is lost, but there are indications that it was probably located in the cemetery south of the Unas causeway. For further references, see: PM III² 702–703, 835, 836. Representations of tomb-pyramids in the decoration programmes of Theban tombs are unattested during the pre-Amarna and Amarna Periods. They first appear during the reigns of Tutankhamun/Horemheb and gradually appear more frequently in the Ramesside Period (F. Kampp, *Die Thebanische Nekropole: Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*, Theben 13, Vol. 1, Mainz 1996, 99–100, table 67). Archaeologically, however, pyramidal superstructures are attested as early as the reign of Amenhotep III (*Ibid.*, 109).

¹⁰² Raven/Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 65, figs. III.3–4

¹⁰³ H.D. Schneider, *The Tomb of Iniuiia in the New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis at Saqqara*, PALMA 8, Turnhout 2012, 33, 35, figs. II.2a, II.4, II.6.

¹⁰⁴ Raven, et al., in: JEOL 44, 2013, 11, fig. 9.

¹⁰⁵ The representations of private tombs with a pyramid, such as block Cairo TN 19.6.24.3 (Berlandini, in: BIFAO 82, pl. XIVB), provide no indication for decoration or the placement of stelae or statues as observed in Theban tombs (e.g. Kampp, *Die Thebanische Nekropole*, fig. 80 [TT 277]).

¹⁰⁶ The pyramid’s presence is suggested by the heavy mud brick walls, revetted to a thickness of 1.2 to 1.3 m, the two columns, and internal cross-walls: K.J. Frazer, *Architecture*, in: Martin, Maya I, 10.

¹⁰⁷ Martin, *Maya I*, 40 [70], pls 37, 93.2.

160 x 55 x 20 cm, has also been attributed to Maya.¹⁰⁸ The blocks bear one (framed) column of text. The hieroglyphic signs are incised in very deep sunk relief, and they are equally detailed. The texts are comparable to those inscribed on the pyramid of Tia and read as follows: “[...] your [...] may my statue follow you at every festival of yours when you appear in glory”, and “[...] your [...], may my *ba* leave the Sacred Land in order to follow my lord at [his] festival [...]”.¹⁰⁹ Due to the panels’ similarities to the inscribed casing blocks of Tia’s pyramid, they probably served the same purpose: carrying texts embedded in the pyramid’s slopes. The texts’ contents do not give an indication for the side(s) of the pyramid where they were originally positioned. The panels of Ptahmose, on the other hand, do provide a clear indication.

2.6 Orientation

The text inscribed on panel ÄM 1631 makes reference to “Re in the Horizon”, and the text on panel ÄM 1632 mentions “the Moon when he sets in Manu”. The texts thus refer to the east and the west, respectively. Therefore, the east and west faces of the pyramid are the most likely candidates for the blocks’ positions (Fig. 3). The same disposition of texts and iconography can be observed on pyramidia bearing decoration on two opposite faces, representing the rising and the setting of the sun, or the eternal cycle of death and (re)birth.¹¹⁰ One cannot exclude the possibility that the north and south faces of Ptahmose’s pyramid were also inscribed.

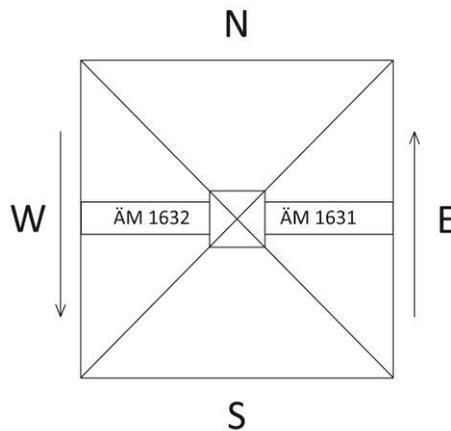


Fig. 3: Reconstructed position of blocks ÄM 6131 and 1632 on the mud brick pyramid of Ptahmose

In tomb decoration, the south is usually identified with the realm of Ra-Horakhty (sunrise), and the north can be identified with deities such as Atum and Osiris (the Netherworld).¹¹¹ Therefore, one could also argue for the alternative reconstruction where the pyramid’s

¹⁰⁸ Ex-coll. d’Anastasi, 1828: Leemans, *Description raisonnée*, 41 [C.7]; Boeser, *Beschrijving: Graven*, 10, No. 7, pl. 37.6; Martin, *Maya I*, 40 [70], pls 37 [left]. This block is ascribed to the tomb of Maya on account of its similarities with the blocks found in the courtyard. Note, however, that the name of Maya does not occur on both blocks.

¹⁰⁹ Martin, *Maya I*, 40 [70].

¹¹⁰ Rammant-Peeters, *Les pyramidions*, 197.

¹¹¹ Rammant-Peeters, *Les pyramidions*, 198–199.

south face is identified with Re and the rising sun (ÄM 1631), and the north face with the west (realm of Osiris) and the moon as the nocturnal sun (ÄM 1632).¹¹²

2.7 The pyramidion

The pyramid’s capstone was formed by the pyramidion seen with Fernandez (Fig. 4). There is no record of what material the pyramidion was made.¹¹³ According to the description, one face is dedicated to the adoration of the (rising) sun, one face to the adoration of Ra-Horakhty and Ra-Atum, and two faces depict the tomb owner before Osiris. The adoration of Ra-Horakhty and Ra-Atum probably faced east. This corresponds to the orientation of the individual signs in the writing of their names. Ra-Horakhty would be on the left (= south) and Ra-Atum on the right (= north). The north and south faces are dedicated to the adoration of Osiris. The west, then, depicts the tomb owner below a representation of the sun barque with the sun and two men in an adoring pose. Below the representation of Ptahmose, two framed lines of text identify him with a selection of his titles.

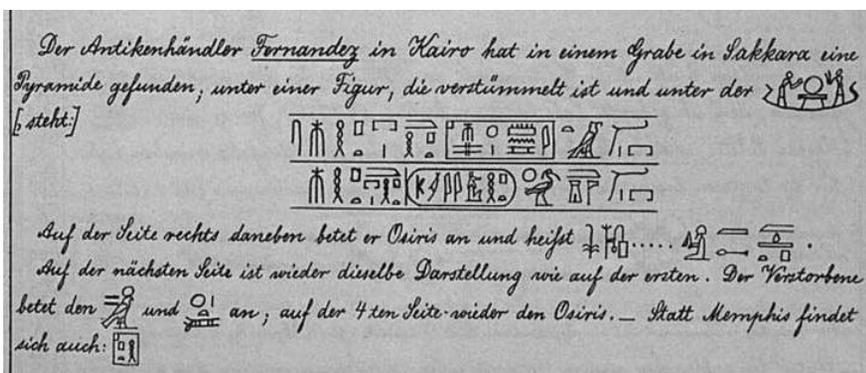


Fig. 4: Description of the pyramidion from the tomb of Ptahmose. After: LD Text, I, 15

The two lines of text read as follows:¹¹⁴

(→) [1] *im.y-r3 pr.w [m] t3 ḥw.t Rꜥ.w-ms-s(w) mr.y-ʿImn.w m pr.w Pth Pth-ms(.w)*.
Steward of the Temple of Ramesses Mery-Amun in the House of Ptah, Ptahmose.

(→) [2] *im.y-r3 pr.w m ḥw.t-ntr ʒḥ Sty-mr.y-Pth m pr.w Pth Pth-ms(.w)*.
Steward in the Temple “Glorious is Sety Mery-Ptah” in the House of Ptah, Ptahmose.

2.8 A faience stela embedded in the mud brick pyramid?

At present, we have no indication regarding the architectural setting of the faience stela. None of the stelae listed in Table 1 were found in situ. It has been suggested that the

¹¹² Compare the decoration of the lintel originally placed over the doorway to the cult chapel in the tomb of Iniua (Schneider, Iniua, 76–77 [11], fig. III.26). The lintel on the east side contains two mirrored adoration scenes. On the left (south), Iniua kneels opposite Ra-Horakhty, and on the right (north) opposite Osiris.

¹¹³ Examples are known of limestone, granite, sandstone, faience, basalt, and alabaster: Rammant-Peters, Les pyramidions, 105–106.

¹¹⁴ For a discussion of these titles, see Staring, in: ZÄS 142/2, 2015.

Eighteenth Dynasty pottery stela with a hymn to Re (Sydney, Nicholson Museum R8) was originally embedded in the side of a small mud brick pyramid of a tomb located in the Theban necropolis.¹¹⁵ Is it possible that the faience stela of Ptahmose was likewise embedded in the mud brick pyramid? As has been observed above, the scenes on the south and north sides of the pyramidion contained scenes of Ptahmose in adoration before Osiris. Perhaps the adoration scene was replicated by embedding a stela in the corresponding face of the pyramid. With Osiris represented on the left-hand side, the stela would ideally have been positioned on the pyramid's south face (Osiris being in the West). The stela (Leiden AP 9) of the late Eighteenth Dynasty Royal Butler, Ipu (*temp.* Tutankhamun) contains a representation of the tomb's façade.¹¹⁶ The naos-shaped entrance is topped by a lunette containing the emplacement of what appears to be a small stela. The ancient Egyptian words for faience, *thnt* and *hsbd*, were also used to refer to other materials, e.g. lapis lazuli and glass (all of blue colour), and the first was related to properties of "shining", "gleaming", and "dazzling".¹¹⁷ Thus, the material was well suited for pyramidia¹¹⁸ – or a stela embedded in a mud brick pyramid.

2.9 A lintel attributed to the tomb of Mahu (ST 218): another element of Ptahmose's pyramid?

In addition to the pyramid panels and pyramidion, it may be possible to identify a fourth architectural element of Ptahmose's pyramid. In 1988, a limestone lintel was found during the excavation of the tomb of Mahu (ST 218) located south of the Unas causeway, c. 50 m north of the tomb of Ptahmose.¹¹⁹ Mahu held high-ranking titles including that of Chief Steward in the Temple of Ptah. He shared the tomb with his father Nebnefer, who held the same position as Chief Steward of Ptah.

The lintel was published by Gohary as Loose Block (LB) 4.¹²⁰ It measures approximately 1 m in length and its exact find spot is not known.¹²¹ The length may indicate that it was placed over the doorway of one of the tomb's west-chapels.¹²² In that position, it could have formed part of the support of the pyramid constructed on the roof. The lintel is inscribed with two lines of incised hieroglyphs. Both lines conclude with the titles held by the tomb owner whose name is missing. Said Gohary suggests that the lintel belonged to

¹¹⁵ Van Dijk, An 18th Dynasty Pottery Stela, in: Sowada/Ockinga (eds), *Egyptian Art in the Nicholson Museum*, 298. Apart from stelae, the mud brick pyramids of private tombs at Thebes could also contain stelophorous statues. Such statues are unattested at Saqqara.

¹¹⁶ PM VIII/4, 15–16 (803–045–300); Boeser, *Beschrijving: Stèles*, 4–5, pl. 4.

¹¹⁷ Nicholson/Peltenburg, *Egyptian Faience*, in: Nicholson/Shaw (eds), *Materials and Technology*, 178.

¹¹⁸ For two pyramidia made of faience, see: Rammant-Peeters, *Les pyramidions*, Doc. 23 (Cairo JE 56354: anonymous, Nineteenth Dynasty, Qurna) and Doc. 31 (Cairo TN 20.2.24.1: Kenro, Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II; TT 253, Khokha (originally from TT 178 of Kenro; E. Hofmann, *Das Grab des Neferrenpet gen. Kenro* (TT 178), Theben 9, Mainz 1995, 84–85, Obj. No. 4, Farbetafel XIVb).

¹¹⁹ Tawfik, in: MDAIK 47, 1991, 407, fig. 1, pl. 60b; Gohary, *Nebnefer & His Son Mahu*.

¹²⁰ Gohary, *Nebnefer & His Son Mahu*, 33, pl. 46.

¹²¹ It was found probably not far from the tomb's outer courtyard where it currently rests on two pillar bases. I thank Prof. Said Gohary for providing me with this information.

¹²² The width of the doorway to the central chapel in Mahu's tomb cannot be precisely measured from the published tomb-plan (Gohary, *Nebnefer & His Son Mahu*, pls 2–3). Instead, compare the tomb of Ramose, Deputy of the Army, late Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Tutankhamun – Horemheb (Martin, *Three Memphite Officials*, 3), where the doorway to the central chapel has a width of 75 cm.

the tomb of Mahu. The titles indeed occur elsewhere in the official’s tomb. Another loose block (LB 16), perhaps part of another lintel, provides a close parallel for the text on LB 4.¹²³ However, the same titles were also held by Ptahmose, and there are more indications to suggest that the lintel may derive from his tomb.¹²⁴ The evidence will be presented below, after the translation of the texts.

The texts inscribed on the lintel read as follows:

(←) [1] 

dw3 R^c.w m^(a) wbn^(b)=f in Wsir sš nsw im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd im.y-r3 šnw.t im.y-r3 pr.w m (t3) ḥw.t R^c.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w m pr.w Pth /// [N]^(c)

Adoring the sun/Re when he rises by the Osiris, Royal Scribe, Overseer of the Treasury, Overseer of the Granary, Steward in the temple of Ramesses-beloved-of-Amun in the House of Ptah /// [N].

(←) [2] 

dw3 Wsir ḥn.t[y] imm.tyt in Wsir sš nsw im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd im.y-r3 šnw.t im.y-r3 pr.w m (t3) ḥw.t R^c.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w m pr.w Pth /// [N]

Adoring Osiris, Foremost of the West, by the Osiris, Royal Scribe, Overseer of the Treasury, Overseer of the Granary, Steward in the temple of Ramesses-beloved-of-Amun in the House of Ptah /// [N].

(a) Gohary translates: “Adoring Re Horus (?)”, misreading the -sign for the -sign. Compare with the text in line 2, where the *m* has been read correctly.

(b) Note the variant of Gardiner Sign-List N8 with five (instead of three) rays radiating from the sun-disk. The sun-disk with five rays is not commonly used on private monuments of the Nineteenth Dynasty.¹²⁵ Nearly all attestations dateable to the time of Seti I have three rays. During the time of Ramesses II, four rays are more commonly attested, while those dating to Seti II mostly have five.

¹²³ Gohary, *Nebnefer & His Son Mahu*, 36, pl. 49. It bears an inscription in five framed columns of hieroglyphic text: “[Praising the sun/Re] when he rises by the Osiris, the True Royal Scribe whom he loves, Steward in the temple of Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amun in the House of Ptah, Mahu, true of voice, he says: “[Praise] everyone, Re when he rises, his peace is completed in life ?? [...] you all peace [unclear]”. Mahu is represented on the right-hand side, kneeling, hands raised in adoration.

¹²⁴ Note that more elements from the tomb were found at a distance from where they would have originally been positioned. These include the dyad fragment Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 41532 (h: 40 cm) and the papyriform column Cairo “40.000” (h: 225 cm).

¹²⁵ J. Moje, *Untersuchungen zur Hieroglyphischen Paläographie und Klassifizierung der Privatstelen der 19. Dynastie*, ÄAT 67, Wiesbaden 2007, 338, mentions one example for private epigraphic material outside Upper Egypt: Stela Berlin ÄM 7270 of Raia, Overseer of the Royal Apartments of the Harim at Memphis (see Raven, Pay and Raia, scene 6, pls 18–19). One may also add stela Berlin ÄM 7271 from the same tomb (Ibid., scene 5, pls 17–18). For an example with four and five rays, see: stela Turin, Museo Egizio 50042 of Pay (Deir el-Medina, *temp.* Seti I). For an example from the Eighteenth Dynasty at Saqqara, see M. Ibrahim Aly, *New Kingdom Scattered Blocks from Saqqara*, in: MDAIK 56, 2000, 234, No. 10, pl. 32b: a block (door jamb) from the tomb of an anonymous official, found reused in the Serapeum; the text probably forms part of Book of the Dead Chapter 15. For a discussion of the sign used in the immediate post-Amarna period (with the rays ending in hands), see: Raven, Pay and Raia, 44 n. 68; Gessler-Löhr, *Pre-Amarna or Post-Amarna*, in: Evans (ed.), *Ancient Memphis*, 159–167.

(c) The stone surface on the right-hand side is damaged, thus obscuring in both lines the name of the tomb owner. The block is also damaged on the left-hand side. The texts start not at the edge of the block; they are indented. The same might have been the case on the right-hand side, which would imply that the name of the tomb owner was not present on the lintel. Instead, it may have been inscribed on the adjoining door jamb or tomb wall.

A parallel for the adoration of Re and Osiris, inscribed on a lintel at Saqqara, can be found in the tomb of Iniuiia.¹²⁶

An analysis of the orthography of some words supports the assignment of the lintel to the tomb of Ptahmose:

The orientation of sign Gardiner Q2 (𓆑) in the writing of the word 𓆑, Osiris, to indicate the tomb-owner's deceased status, is reversed. Elsewhere in the tomb of Mahu, the word is written either as 𓆑 (the name for the god Osiris is written similarly), or as 𓆑 correctly orientated.¹²⁷ The reversed orientation has been recorded multiple times in the tomb of Ptahmose. On the north door jamb of the doorway, east side, between the statue room and inner courtyard, photographed *in situ* by Devéria, *Wsir* is written as (→) 𓆑.¹²⁸ On the opposite, south doorjamb, the texts are read right to left, with the correct orientation of Gardiner Q2.

The writing of the name of Ramesses II's Memphite memorial temple would support an attribution to the tomb of Mahu:

The *nomen* of Ramesses II in the name of his Memphite memorial temple is written as 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏. Ptahmose, Mahu, and Nebnefer were (Chief) Steward in this temple:

Ptahmose:

𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 (pyramidion seen with Fernandez)
 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 (so-called Mur Rhoné)
 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 (panel Cairo JE 4874)

Mahu:

𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 (tomb ST 218: block LB 16)
 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 (loose block found by the EES/Leiden mission at Saqqara)

Nebnefer:

𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 (cult stela tomb ST 217)

¹²⁶ East face: Schneider, Iniuiia, 76–77 [11], fig. III.26: limestone, 30 x 194 x 25 cm. The deities and Iniuiia, kneeling in adoration, are depicted.

¹²⁷ See: Gohary, Nebnefer & His Son Mahu, pl. 49 (LB 13d-e).

¹²⁸ Staring, in: BIFAO 114/2, 2014, fig. 1.

On block LB 4, Re and Amun are written as therianthrope and anthropomorphic deities. This is identical with the writing observed on the documents of Mahu and Nebnefer; those of Ptahmose show the *nomen* spelled phonetically.

3 *The tomb of Ptahmose: architecture, builders and craftsmen*

The limestone pyramid panels ÄM 1631–1632 provide new information about early Nineteenth Dynasty tomb architecture at Saqqara. The Ramesside tomb of Ptahmose had a pyramid constructed not of limestone but of mud brick, and the only parallel for the panels embedded in the pyramid is provided by the tomb of Maya. The two tomb structures have the same general architectural layout, share several specific iconographic features, and the life-size statues of the tomb owners and their wives are nearly identical.¹²⁹ These observations raise questions about the builders and artists who were responsible for the construction of the tomb of Ptahmose and their possible relationship to the builders and artists who previously worked on the tomb of Maya. Were the same craftsmen involved in the construction and decoration of both tombs? Or was the patron, Ptahmose, inspired by the tomb of Maya?¹³⁰ Unlike the tomb of Maya (see below), the preserved iconographic programme in the tomb of Ptahmose does not contain a reference to the tomb’s master craftsman. However, the faience stela in Berlin may present a clue. In the following, it will be suggested that the owner of the faience stela Leiden AD 37, the Overseer of Craftsmen of the Temple of Ptah, Amenemheb, may have been in charge of (part of) the decoration in the tomb of Ptahmose.

3.1 *A cemetery of craftsmen: the area south of the Unas causeway (Fig. 1)*

A faience stela now held in the collection of the National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh (A.1956.153), is inscribed for a man named Rekh-Amun,¹³¹ the *ir.w hsbḏ n.y Ḳmn.w*, “Worker in (i.e. Maker of) faience (*lit.* lapis-lazuli/ blue glass)¹³² of Amun”. On account of his title, it has been suggested that Rekh-Amun probably produced his own stela.¹³³ We also know of two craftsmen buried at Saqqara who had a stela made of faience. On account of their titles, they too were probably responsible for the production of their stelae. The anonymous owner of a stela (fragment) held the title *hr.y bḥbꜥ*, “Chief Faience Maker” (Taf. 69 and Annex, No. 3, below), and Amenemheb (Leiden AD 37) was titled *im.y-rꜥ ḥmw.w n.w pr.w Pth*, “Overseer of Craftsmen of the Temple of Ptah”. Stela Louvre C 91

¹²⁹ For the observations, see Staring, in: BIFAO 114/2, 2014, 455–518.

¹³⁰ For an example in the Theban necropolis, where a subordinate imitated the tomb of his superior, see TT 85 (Amenemheb) and TT 88 (Pehsukher): S. Eiserman, *Die Gräber des Imenemheb und des Pehsucher – Vorbild und Kopie?*, in: J. Assmann, et al. (eds), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: Neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung Internationales Symposium Heidelberg 9.–13.6.1993*, SAGA 12, Heidelberg 1995, 65–80.

¹³¹ Ex-coll. Rhind: PM I/2, 803–804; M.A. Murray, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the National Museum of Antiquities Edinburgh*, Edinburgh 1900, 29, No. 449; 55, No. XI; Friedman, *Gifts of the Nile*, 250, Cat. No. 167. Another small stela (limestone) inscribed for the Sculptor Rekh-Amun might belong to the same man: Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts 11394: M.-C. Budischovsky/N. Genaille, *Les steles égyptiennes du Musée de Rennes (suite)*: 3. Imen-Rekh, in: ABPO 95/3, 1988, 225–246, pl. 1 (as: provenance Deir el-Medina; *temp.* Tutankhamun).

¹³² WB. III, 334. The more commonly used term for faience is *ḥn.t* (Nicholson/Peltenburg, *Egyptian Faience*, in: Nicholson/Shaw (eds), *Materials and Technology*, 178. See also n. 167, below.

¹³³ U. Luft, *Das Totenbuch des Ptahmose*. Papyrus Kraków MNK IX-752/1–4, in: ZÄS 104, 1977, 48–49.

of Khaempet probably also derives from Saqqara.¹³⁴ The man held the title *ḳ.w m ḥw.t-nbw m pr.w Pth*, “One with access in the Mansion of Gold in the Temple of Ptah”. Although of unknown provenance, his titles could be used to argue in favour of a Memphite provenance. Khaempet additionally held the title *wḳb n.y ḥz.t Pth*, “Wab Priest of the Front of Ptah”. Three more officials who constructed their tombs at Saqqara south of the Unas causeway held the same rare title.¹³⁵ Moreover, Tatia was also a Goldsmith¹³⁶ and Ny held a title related to the House of Gold. Other craftsmen buried in this area include Iny, the *im.y-rz ḥmw.t m Šmḳ.w Tz-mḥ.w*, “Overseer of the Workshops in Upper and Lower Egypt”. His stela (Cairo JE 15115) was found by Mariette on 8 February 1861 “south of the Step Pyramid”.¹³⁷ Thus, during the Nineteenth Dynasty the necropolis south of the Unas causeway appears to have been the preferred location for tombs of craftsmen attached to the temple of Ptah.¹³⁸ The observed clustering of tombs according to professional association can be very useful when trying to pinpoint the location of lost tombs known only through objects without a secure provenance. On account of his title *ḥr.y ir.w ḥsbd*, the original location of the pyramidal stela of a man named Hatiay (early Nineteenth Dynasty) should

¹³⁴ Caubet/Pierrat Bonnefois, *Faïences de l’Antiquité*, 88, Cat. No. 246.

¹³⁵ (1) Khay II, whose tomb is located south of Horemheb’s second pylon, was [*wḳb*] *n.y ḥz.t n.y Pth* and *ḳ n.y š n.y pḳ š n.y pr.w-ḳ nh.w wdḳ.w snb.w* (Chief Gardiner of the Garden of Pharaoh, l.p.h.: Schneider, *Iniuia*, 102, No. 31, fig. III.61; 125–126, fig. VI.1a-d; Raven, et al., in: *JEOL* 42, 2010, 6–9); (2) Tatia, whose chapel is located south of the tomb of Mery-Neith, held the titles *wḳb n.y ḥz.t n.y Pth*, *wḳb n.y Pth*, *ḳ.w m ḥw.t-nbw*, *ḥr.y nby.w*, *ḥr.y nby.w ḳ.w m ḥw.t-nbw n.(yt) Pth*, *ḥr.y nby.w m ḥw.t-nbw*, *ḥr.y nby.w n.w ḥw.t-nbw m pr.w Pth* (Excav. No. SAK 2009-R8: Raven, et al., in: *JEOL* 42, 2010, 9–13, fig. 9); and (3) Ny held the titles *wḳb n.y ḥz.t n.y Pth* and the epithet *ḳ.w ḥr dsr m ḥw.t-nbw* (two adjoining stela fragments, one found on the surface over the tomb of Mery-Neith, the other reused in a secondary dry-stone wall around the rim of the shaft of an anonymous tomb due east of Pay and Raia: Raven/Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 162 [116], fig. on p. 163; and SAK 2013-R31 (unpublished); another *Wab* Priest named Ny, of Eighteenth Dynasty date, is known by a stela in Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 10864: PM III², 741; B. Pörtner, *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus Athen und Konstantinopel*, Strasbourg 1908, 6, No. 19, pl. 6). The relation between the priests and the “Mansion of Gold” is explained by a text inscribed on a relief fragment found near the tomb of Mery-Neith: “Performing the Opening of the Mouth in the House of Gold the [first] occasion [for the statue] being placed on a hill of sand, [its face to the] south [...]” (Raven/Van Walsem, *Meryneith*, 162 [115]).

¹³⁶ As Vincent Oeters has pointed out, Tatia is also depicted in the tomb of Mose, Scribe of the Treasury of Ptah (Loret tomb No. 5; Teti Pyramid North Cemetery), bearing the titles *wḳb n.y ḥz.t n.y Pth* and *ḥr.y nby.w n.w Pth* (G.A. Gaballa, *The Memphite Tomb-chapel of Mose*, Warminster 1977, 9, pl. XI cols 32–36; V. Oeters, *The Tomb of Tatia at Saqqara: A Study of the Ramesside Tomb of a Memphite Priest of the Front of Ptah and Chief of the Goldsmiths*, MA thesis, Leiden University, Leiden 2012). It represents the only reference to the title “*Wab* Priest of the Front of Ptah” given by A.R. Al-Ayedi, *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom*, Ismailia 2006, 221, No. 763.

¹³⁷ PM III², 667; G.A. Gaballa, *Three Acephalous Stelae*, in: *JEA* 63, 1977, 125–126, pl. 23.2; *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie* (Texte par G. Maspero, 1889), Paris 1872, 20, pl. 62b; A. Mariette, *Les mastaba de l’Ancien Empire*, Paris 1889, fig. on p. 450 [H8].

¹³⁸ It would be interesting to know what the reason(s) behind this clustering of tombs would have been. One could think of a famous predecessor (Maya?) whose tomb acted as a “magnet” for later construction (suggestion Dimitri Laboury). The nearby (private) tomb of Horemheb certainly attracted visitors, as for example indicated by visitors’ graffiti and votive stelae, and the presence of his tomb could have similarly influenced the clustering of tombs in this area of the necropolis (see: N. Staring, *Products of the Physical Engagement with Sacred Space: The New Kingdom Non-textual Tomb-graffiti at Saqqara*, in: B.J.J. Haring, et al. (eds), *Decoding Signs of Identity: Egyptian Workmen’s Marks in Archaeological, Historical, Comparative and Theoretical Perspective*, in press).

probably be sought in the same area.¹³⁹ Not only craftsmen, but also builders constructed their tombs in this part of the cemetery. During the 2015 fieldwork season of the Leiden archaeological mission at Saqqara, the four-sided stela of a *hrty-ntr*, “Stone-mason”, named Samut was found *in situ* in the area located between the tombs of Mery-Neith (north) and an anonymous official (south).¹⁴⁰ Thus, the tomb of the *hr.y hrty-ntr*, “Chief Stone-mason (of the King/Palace)”, named Amenhotep Huy (early Nineteenth Dynasty) might be located in the vicinity.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, the tomb of the *im.y-r3 kd.w n.w nb t3.wy*, “Overseer of Builders of the Lord of the Two Lands”, Paser (*temp.* Ramesses II), is located immediately due west of the tomb of Horemheb,¹⁴² and the now-lost tomb of his brother Tjuneroy, who bore the title *im.y-r3 k3.t m mnw nb n.y nb t3.wy*, “Overseer of Works on All Monuments of the King”, must be located nearby.¹⁴³ The titles held by Maya include “Overseer of All Craftsmen of the King” and “Overseer of All Works of the King”.¹⁴⁴ The Mayor of Mem-Memphis, Ptahmose, was not only the Chief Steward in the temple of Ptah, he also held various titles related to overseeing building activities in the temple.¹⁴⁵ Amenemheb too worked in the temple of Ptah and, as a craftsman, he would have been a subordinate of Ptahmose.

4.2 Amenemheb: the master craftsman in the tomb of Ptahmose?

The tomb of the Overseer of Craftsmen of the temple of Ptah, Amenemheb (stela Leiden AD 37) was probably located in the same cemetery south of the Unas causeway discussed above. Two door jambs (Cairo JE 46190–46191) found by Quibell in the ruins of the Mon-Monastery of Apa Jeremias are inscribed for the Chief Goldsmiths Amenemheb and

¹³⁹ Cairo JE 25641; limestone; provenance Saqqara: G.A. Gaballa, False Door Stelae of Some Memphite Personnel, in: SAK 7, 1979, 46, 51–52, fig. 2, pl. II. The representations in the upper register are executed in raised relief (with the text columns carved like “raised labels”), and those in the lower register in sunk relief. The same technique can be observed on the stela of the Overseer of Cattle of Amun, Djehuty (Leiden AP 56; late Eighteenth/early Nineteenth Dynasty: Boeser, Beschrijving: Stèles, 11, No. 40, pl. 22; Giovetti/Picchi (eds), Egitto: Splendore millenario, Cat. V.54), and the stela of the *hr.y n.y hmw.w n.w Pth*, Chief of Craftsmen of Ptah, named Hatiay (Cairo TN 2.11.24.1; late Eighteenth Dynasty). The latter is said to derive from Abydos (A. Mariette, Catalogue général des monuments d’Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville, Paris 1880, 379–380, No. 1054 [nécropole du nord]; Gaballa, in: SAK 7, 47–49, fig. 3, pl. III). However, the titles held by the owner point to a Memphite origin, and some of the monuments published by Mariette in the Catalogue général des monuments d’Abydos were actually found at Saqqara (Stéphane Pasquali, personal communication). Additionally, one may point to the reversed sign for the element *h3.t* in the owner’s name: a parallel can be found on the stela of the First Prophet of the Moon at Saqqara (Raven/Van Walsem, Meryneith, 53, 55, 78, 81 [3]; late Eighteenth/early Nineteenth Dynasty).

¹⁴⁰ Excavation feature No. 2015/11: M.J. Raven, et al., Preliminary Report on the Leiden/Turin Excavations at Saqqara, Season 2015: The Tomb of an Anonymous Official (Tomb X) and Its Surroundings, in: JEOL 45, 2014–2015, 13, figs. 2, 11.

¹⁴¹ Block statue Leiden AST 13; ex-coll. d’Anastasi, 1828: Boeser, Beschrijving: Pyramiden, Lijkenvazenkist, Offertafels, Beelden, 9, No. 20, pl. X; Giovetti/Picchi (eds), Egitto: Splendore millenario, Cat. V.58.

¹⁴² Martin, Paser and Ra’ia.

¹⁴³ PM III², 666–667.

¹⁴⁴ Full titulary related to works and crafts: *im.y-r3 hmw.w nb.w n.w nsu; im.y-r3 k3.t m S.t-nhh; im.y-r3 k3.t [m] mnw [nb n.y hm]-f; im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t [m] S.t-r-nhh; s3b cḏ-mr.*

¹⁴⁵ Full titulary related to works and crafts: *im.y-r3 mšc m pr.w Pth; im.y-r3 mšc wr m pr.w Pth; im.y-r3 k3.t; im.y-r3 k3.t m mnw nb n.y nb t3.wy (?); im.y-r3 k3.t m mnw nb n.y nsu; im.y-r3 k3.t m mnw nb n.y hm=f; im.y-r3 k3.t m mnw nb n.y hm=f m hw.t-k3-Pth.*

Ptahemheb.¹⁴⁶ Admittedly, the two names are not quite uncommon at Saqqara. However, the two names in combination with their associated titles reduce the number of possible candidates. An identification of the two men with the two sons of the Chief Goldsmith Amenemone cannot therefore be ruled out. Amenemone lived during the late Eighteenth Dynasty (*temp.* Tutankhamun) and constructed his tomb (Loret No. 2) in the cemetery at Saqqara north of the pyramid of Teti. In the tomb, his son Amenemheb bears the title *ḥr.y nb.yw*, “Chief of Goldsmiths”.¹⁴⁷ Boyo Ockinga argues that Amenemone’s career is reflect-reflected in the titles held by his sons:¹⁴⁸ from *nb.y*, “Goldsmith” (held by Nebmehyt) to *ḥr.y nb.yw*, “Overseer of Goldsmiths” (held by Amenemheb), and eventually to *im.y-r3 ḥmw.t n.yt nb t3.wy*, “Overseer of Craftsmen of the Lord of the Two Lands” (held by Amenemone himself). If the career of Amenemone is reflected in the titles held by his sons, then one may also postulate a similar career path for Amenemheb. In this scenario, stela Leiden AD 37 would represent Amenemone’s son Amenemheb at a later date and stage of his career. Two more tomb-elements support this identification. Stela Cairo JE 18925 from Saqqara depicts a man named Amenemheb (also named Paraemheb) who bears the title *ḥr.y nby.w n.w nb t3.wy*, “Chief of Goldsmiths of the Lord of the Two Lands”,¹⁴⁹ and the two door jambs Cairo JE 46190–46191 inscribed for the Chief Goldsmiths Amenemheb and Ptahemheb were already mentioned above. The style of the door jambs points to a later date than that observed in the tomb of Amenemone, which accords well with the later date the tomb of his sons would have had.¹⁵⁰

It has been suggested that Amenemone worked on the contemporary tomb of Maya, the Overseer of the Treasury (*temp.* Tutankhamun – Horemheb) who was presumably buried in Year 9 of Horemheb.¹⁵¹ Two individuals, named Amenemone and Ptahmose, are depicted in

¹⁴⁶ PM III² 669; M. Effendi Châban, *Le puits du Général Ankh-uah-ab-rê-si-nit à Saqqarah*, in: *ASAE* 17, 1917, 180–182, Nos. 14 and 15; G.T. Martin, *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis: New Discoveries from the Time of Tutankhamun and Ramesses the Great*, London 1991, 201 (as Nineteenth Dynasty); Ockinga, Amenemone, 21.

¹⁴⁷ Ockinga, Amenemone, 18–21, scenes 1–2, pls 55–56.

¹⁴⁸ Ockinga, Amenemone, 20. A third son who bears a title is Ptahmose, the Scribe of the Treasury.

¹⁴⁹ PM III², 736–737 (as: Nineteenth Dynasty); G.A. Gaballa, *Three Funerary Stelae from the New Kingdom*, in: *MDAIK* 35, 1979, 80–82, pl. 16b (as: late Eighteenth/early Nineteenth Dynasty (no acquisition details); S. Binder, *The Gold of Honour in New Kingdom Egypt*, *ACE Studies* 8; Oxford 2008, 293 [028] (as Eighteenth Dynasty, post-Amarna). The JE number suggests it entered the Bulaq Museum in 1862. The stela also depicts Amenemheb’s wife, the Lady of the House Aati. Gaballa tentatively identifies Amenemheb/Paraemhab with a man depicted on stela BM EA 141 (T.G.H. James, *HTBM* 9, London 1970, 23–24, pl. 19; no acquisition details). The stela is inscribed for the Chiefs of Goldsmiths Paraemheb and Panehsy alongside their family of Goldsmiths. The son of Paraemheb is also depicted on the stela. His name is Iny, the Goldsmith of the Mansion of Gold, “Who Fashions the Gods”. Gaballa tentatively identifies him as Iny, the Overseer of the Workshops in Upper and Lower Egypt, *Who Knows Secrets in the Mansions of Gold*, Overseer of Goldsmiths of the Lord of the Two Lands, whose stela (Cairo JE 15115) was found by Mariette (tomb H8; see above); Gaballa, in: *JEA* 63, 125–126. On stela BM EA 141, Tamit is identified as the mother of Paraemheb and/or Panehsy, whereas the wife of Amenemone, the Chief Goldsmith, is named Tahesy(t)/Nefertary. This renders Gaballa’s suggestion difficult to maintain.

¹⁵⁰ Ockinga, Amenemone, 21.

¹⁵¹ J. Van Dijk, *The New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis: Historical and Iconographical Studies*, PhD Thesis, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Groningen 1993, 76–79. Another sculptor who may have been responsible for the tomb and who was also depicted in the decoration, is a man named Userhat, the *im.y-r3 k3.t m s.t nḥḥ*, “Overseer of works in the Place of Eternity”. He has also been identified as the well known *ḥr.y t3.y-md3.t n.y*

the tomb’s decoration, and their titles are similar to those borne by father and son.¹⁵² An iconographic analysis of the scenes in the tomb of Ptahmose (the Mayor of Memphis) indicates that the tomb shares a number of features not only with Maya’s funerary monument, but also with Amenemone’s.¹⁵³ The tomb of Ptahmose additionally contains Ramesside novelties such as the *djed* pillar, which situates the construction of his tomb largely in the Ramesside Period. Unfortunately we have no fixed dates regarding Ptahmose’s career. The earliest possible date for his appointment as Mayor of Memphis is Year 2 of Seti I: it is the latest date recorded for Neferhotep, his predecessor in office. This is approximately nine years after Maya’s funeral had taken place.¹⁵⁴ Considering the limited time span, it is not at all unthinkable that some of the same people (e.g. the master builder and master craftsman) worked on the construction and decoration of the tombs of both Maya and Ptahmose, who belonged to the same socio-professional sphere.

I would like to suggest that Amenemheb qualifies for the position of Ptahmose’s master craftsman.¹⁵⁵ His faience stela (Taf. 66) presents a first clue. In the discussion above, it was noted that his stela provides good parallels for the technical and iconographical features observed in the faience stela of Ptahmose (Taf. 65a). Due to their rare occurrence, the two faience stelae could have been made by the same “Worker in Faience”. As an Overseer of Craftsmen, Amenemheb was certainly in the position to “order” a stela for his own funerary monument. In turn, Ptahmose, whose impressive list of titles points to his prominent role in the large-scale construction works in the temple of Ptah, was a superior in rank to Amenemheb.¹⁵⁶ It suggests that the master craftsman working in the tomb of Ptahmose in everyday life was a subordinate of his patron.¹⁵⁷ The same has been observed in the tomb of Maya, where Userhat and Amenemone, as his subordinates, were responsible for (part of) the tomb’s decoration.¹⁵⁸ The Theban necropolis also provides a good example for a craftsman

nb t3.wy, “Chief Sculptor of the Lord of the Two Lands”, Userhat Hatiaiy (J. van Dijk, Maya’s Chief Sculptor Userhat-Hatiaiy: With a Note on the Length of the Reign of Horemheb’, in: GM 148, 1995, 31).

¹⁵² Berlandini, in: BIFAO 76, 312; B.G. Ockinga, The Saqqara Tomb of the Overseer of Craftsmen and Chief Goldworker, Amenemone, in: M. Bartá/J. Krejčí (eds), Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000, ArOr Supp 9, Prague 2000, 123; Ockinga, Amenemone, 19–21. See: LD, pl. III.241b; Urk. IV, 2164.19; W. Helck, Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs, PdÄ 3, Leiden 1958, 188. Amenemone bears the title *idmw n3 (n.y) hmw.t pr.w hq n.w pr.w 3*, “Deputy of these Craftsmen of the Treasury of Pharaoh”. Ptahmose bears the title “Letter Writer of the Overseer of the Treasury”.

¹⁵³ Staring, in: BIFAO 114/2, 2014.

¹⁵⁴ Staring, in: BIFAO 114/2, 2014.

¹⁵⁵ For the range of words and expressions constructed with the radical *hmw*, see: WB. III, 82–87.

¹⁵⁶ Staring, in: ZÄS 142/2, 2015. In this article, it is argued that the various titles starting with “Overseer of Works” held by Ptahmose should be connected with the large-scale construction works at Memphis and the temple of Ptah during the early Nineteenth Dynasty.

¹⁵⁷ In a re-evaluation of Petrie’s work at Amarna, Bart Vanthuyne indicated that, like at Qantir, large state faience factories existed that were supplying both state and temple treasuries: B. Vanthuyne, Amarna Factories, Workshops, Faience Moulds and Their Produce, Ägypten und Levante 22/23, 2012–2013, 395–429. The titles of some of the men mentioned above suggest that similar factories were attached to the temple of Ptah at Memphis. For faience vessels found in the New Kingdom levels of Kom Rabi’a, see: L. Giddy, Kom Rabi’a: the New Kingdom and Post-New Kingdom Objects, The Survey of Memphis II, EES EM 64, London 1999, 265–275.

¹⁵⁸ Userhat as the Overseer of works in the Place of Eternity, and Amenemone as the Deputy of these Craftsmen of the Treasury of Pharaoh. See also D. Laboury, Tracking Ancient Egyptian Artists, a Problem of Methodology. The Case of the Painters of Private Tombs in the Theban Necropolis during the Eighteenth Dynasty, in: K.A. Köthay (ed.), Art and Society: Ancient and Modern Contexts of Egyptian Art. Proceedings of the

(*in casu* a painter) who, in everyday life and usual business, was a subordinate of his patron. Amenhotep Sise (TT 75; Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Thutmose IV), the Second High Priest of Amun, was *inter alia* responsible for the supervision of the workshops of the temple of Amun.¹⁵⁹ The objects and monuments produced in the workshops are depicted in his tomb, and include diverse matters ranging from jewellery to statues and a monumental golden porch. The master painter responsible for the decoration of his tomb is also depicted: he was the Painter of Amun named Userhat. A nearly identical scene of the display of gifts depicted in the tomb of Sise can also be found in the temple of Amun at Karnak.¹⁶⁰ There can be little doubt that the two scenes were made by the same painter, and that Sise commissioned his subordinate to include a copy of the Karnak scenes in his own tomb.¹⁶¹

Let us now return to Amenemheb. In light of the above discussion, it is quite possible that he assisted his father while working in the tomb of Maya. When construction on the next monumental tomb at Saqqara, that of Ptahmose, started, Amenemheb could have been commissioned to work on the decoration. He may have imitated at least one scene from the tomb of Maya.¹⁶² The pyramid panels present another direct link to the tomb of Maya. Much more than being simply a “copy” of Maya’s tomb, the funerary monument of Ptahmose is the product of its time. As a prominent citizen of Egypt’s capital, Memphis, Ptahmose made sure to prominently include the innovations of the Ramesside period. The *djed* pillars are a good example, as are the numerous scenes of the tomb owner venerating the gods. The architectural layout and some of the scenes make reference to the monumental tombs of famous men such as Horemheb and Maya, in the company of whom he is buried and wished to be remembered.

5 Conclusion

The aim of this article was to provide for the first time the full object history and description of the texts and iconography of three objects pertaining to the Mayor of Memphis, Ptahmose, in the Egyptian Museum in Berlin.

International Conference Held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 13–15 May 2010, Budapest 2012, 203, who remarks that textual sources suggest that the patron and tomb owner himself was responsible for the supply of human and material means needed for the creation of his own tomb.

¹⁵⁹ See: D. Laboury, On the Master Painter of the Tomb of Amenhotep Sise, Second High Priest of Amun under the Reign of Thutmose IV (TT 75), in: R. Jasnow/K.M. Cooney (eds), *Joyful in Thebes: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Bryan, Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt 1*, Atlanta 2015, 327–337. I am grateful to Prof. Laboury for sharing with me a draft version of his (at the time unpublished) article. For the publication of the tomb, see: N. de G. Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials of Thutmosis the Fourth* (Nos 75 and 90), TTS 3, London 1923.

¹⁶⁰ Laboury, Amenhotep Sise, 328–331 (with further references), figs. 4–5. The portico constructed by Thutmose IV was part of a vast architectural project to embellish the festival courtyard in the front of the Fourth Pylon of the temple of Amun at Karnak.

¹⁶¹ Cf. also: TT 65 of Imiseba (imitating scenes from the temple of Karnak, where the patron worked), T. Bács, *Art as Material for Later Art: The Case of Theban Tomb 65*, in: W.V. Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, London 2001, 94–100; TT 359 of Inherkhawy (professional association between patron and artists), N. Cherpion/J.-P. Corteggiani, *La tombe d’Inherkhâouy (TT 359) à Deir el-Medina*, MIFAO 128, Cairo 2010.

¹⁶² With regards to cross-referencing between two pictorial compositions, see Laboury, Amenhotep Sise, 332, who uses the term “intericonicity” to describe this phenomenon: “... a creation by imitation, emulation, and/or (re)interpretation of previous works”.

The faience stela ÄM 19718 was lost soon after the Second World War and has now been identified in the collection of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology in Ann Arbor (Inv. No. 1981.4.4). It was gifted to the museum by the collector Samuel Goudsmit, who acquired the stela in Germany in 1945. The focus of art looting during WWII has almost invariably focused on Nazi plunder. The art looted from Germany during and shortly after the war has received less attention¹⁶³ – despite the fact that numerous objects were lost from the Berlin Museum alone.¹⁶⁴ The case of the faience stela of Ptahmose illustrates that the “lost” objects may have entered private and public collections abroad. The findings stress the need for thorough provenance research of museum objects.

The case of the pyramid panels ÄM 1631–1632 aptly illustrates that the study of the object history may also reveal new insights into the early exploration of an archaeological site, *in casu* Saqqara. Solomon Fernandez, whom Lepsius bought the objects from, appears to have been one of the most prominent art dealers working at the site during the 1830s through to the 1850s. The study of the blocks’ provenance has led to a new interpretation of their architectural setting, which opened the discussion of the architectural development of monumental tombs at Saqqara. The faience stela even led us to tentatively identify the craftsman who may have been responsible for the tomb’s decoration, establishing the existence of a professional association between the patron and the craftsmen he employed.

Annex: faience stelae found at Saqqara south of the Unas Causeway

Since 1975, five fragments of faience stelae were found during the excavations conducted in the “Leiden concession area” of the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara. Two fragments that were previously published actually formed part of one stela. Three hitherto unpublished fragments formed part of another two stelae.

1 Faience stela fragment depicting four women: SAK 76-S 264 [6774] + 2003–50 (Taf. 68a)

Excav. No.: 76-S 264 [6774]: “fragment of a faience stela”

Dimensions: 15 x 6.5 x 3.4 cm

Provenance: Found in the surface debris above the second pylon of the tomb of Tia

Date: New Kingdom (Nineteenth Dynasty)

Bibliography: H.D. Schneider, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut’ankhamūn, II: A Catalogue of the Finds*, EES EM 61, Leiden 1996, 16, Cat. 55, pls 7, 54.

Excav. No.: SAK 2003–50: “faience stela fragment”

Dimensions: 9.5 x 10.5 x 3.2 cm

Provenance: Found in the fill of shaft 2003/17, located north of the north exterior wall of the forecourt to the tomb of Mery-Neith

Date: Late Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasty

¹⁶³ See e.g. <<http://www.monumentsmenfoundation.org/news/returning-the-spoils-of-world-war-ii-taken-by-our-side>> accessed 5.5.2015.

¹⁶⁴ As we do not know anything about the circumstances under which Goudsmit acquired the faience stela, we must assume that he had not knowingly bought an object that rightfully belonged to the Berlin Museum.

Bibliography: Raven/Van Walsem, Meryneith, 224, Cat. 2, fig. on p. 225 (2003–50).

The fragment of a faience stela found in 1976 above the second pylon of the tomb of Tia presents a direct join to a fragment found in 2003 north of the north exterior wall of the forecourt to the tomb of Mery-Neith. It is impossible to determine what shape the stela had. The lower fragment (No. 2003–50) belongs to the lower part of the object. The scene is framed in the upper edge of fragment 76-S 264, but this need not coincide with the upper edge of the stela itself. The decoration was painted in black on the blue-glazed surface before firing. The surface of fragment 2003–50 has faded to a bluish green.

The scene depicts four women facing left. They all wear ankle-length translucent dresses. The profile of one woman is nearly intact. She wears a long, heavy tripartite wig. A large earring is partly visible from underneath the wig, and a perfume cone and lotus flower are placed on top. Her left raised hand holds a sistrum; her right hand is raised in adoration. The woman in front of her also raises both hands, while the woman standing behind her holds a papyrus flower in her lowered right hand. The names of two women are preserved in two columns of hieroglyphs, without column dividers, painted in black. The name in the column before the second lady reads [Tɜ]-wr(.t) mɜʕ(.t)-hrw, “[Ta?]weret,¹⁶⁵ true of voice”. The name in the column before the third lady reads *Wbn-?-ʕn*.¹⁶⁶ Hans Schneider suggests that the text at the top of the fragment reads *nb.t pr.w sn.t=f*, “Lady of the House, His Sister (i.e. wife)”. However, it is clear that the text is separated by at least one column divider. The signs on the left probably contain the final element of a name; on the right, only the suffix pronoun =f, “his”, is visible. This can be reconstructed to read “his wife” or “his daughter”. The latter option is more likely as one would expect to see the wife (of the stela owner) at the front of this row.

2 Faience stela fragment depicting two men before Osiris: SAK 2007–11 + 2007–49 (Taf. 68b)

Excav. Nos: SAK 2007–11 and SAK 2007–49

Dimensions: 6 x 6.5 x 3.5 cm; 16 x 12 x 3.5 cm

Provenance: Tomb of Ptahemwia, fill of the courtyard; 1.7–2.0 m above floor level (2007–11); and east of tomb, 1.5–1.7 m above floor level.

Date: Late Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasty

Literature: Raven, et al., Ptahemwia and Sethnakht, Cat. 7a-b.

The two fragments of a round-topped faience stela were found in a disturbed context over the courtyard of the tomb of the Royal Butler, Ptahemwia (late Eighteenth Dynasty). The scene and texts of the stela are painted in black ink over a blue-glazed surface; the reverse is unglazed. The upper area depicts an adoration scene involving two male figures standing in adoration before Osiris. At least one line of text was indicated below.

Osiris is represented on the left. Considering the small distance between Osiris and the men standing opposite him, he was probably depicted standing. The *atef* crown and part of

¹⁶⁵ Ranke, PN III, 41–42.

¹⁶⁶ Ranke, PN I, 77.8–11; 77.13–14 (*wbn.../wbh...*); Ranke, PN III, 32 (...ʕn).

the epithet *nb p.t*, “Lord of Heaven”, are all that is left of Osiris. Note that the *atef* crown interrupts the line bordering the scene.¹⁶⁷

The two men on the right are depicted standing in adoration before Osiris. Their heads are shaven. They wear broad collars and pleated sash kilts tied in front. The first, taller man raises both hands in adoration; the second raises his right hand and holds a lotus bouquet in his lowered left hand. Several columns of text separated by dividers were positioned in the upper area, above their heads. The remains of three columns (two column dividers) are visible. The signs are faintly preserved and read *sꜥnh rn-f*, “who keeps his name alive”. The text continues without a column divider with the name *P3-t3w-niw.t*.¹⁶⁸ The fragment of one line of text is visible underneath the scene, reading *///-ndm[.t] m3ꜥ(.t)-hrw ? mr ///*, “///-nodjmet, true of voice”;¹⁶⁹ and *3(.t)-mrw.t*.¹⁷⁰

3 Faience stela fragment of a Chief Faience Maker: SAK 2010–120 (Taf. 69)

Excav. Nos: SAK 2010–120

Dimensions: 4.4 x 3.4 x 2 cm

Provenance: West of the tomb reused by Sethnakht, square L-100, c. 1.5–2 m above floor level.

Date: Late Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasty

Literature: Raven, et al., Ptahemwia and Sethnakht, Cat. No. 8.

This fragment of a faience stela was found during the 2010 season of excavations due west of the anonymous Eighteenth Dynasty tomb reused in the Ramesside period by Sethnakht, Scribe of the temple of Ptah. It represents part of the right-hand edge of the stela and depicts a large sun disk and part of a column of text. The decoration and text were added in black pigment on a blue-glazed background before firing. The text probably formed part of an offering formula: */// n hr.y bꜥbꜥ ///*, “/// to the Chief Faience Maker ///”. The reverse is unglazed. The term *bꜥbꜥ* was used to identify the makers of faience shabtis.¹⁷¹ The professional designation is known already during the Middle Kingdom.

¹⁶⁷ Compare to a stela from the antechapel of the tomb of Paser (Martin, Paser and Ra’ia, 7, 23, Cat. 9, pl. 12; fragments 22.3 x 18.5 x 3 cm; and 5.7 x 5.5 cm; Nineteenth Dynasty): the *3s.t*-sign atop Isis’ head interrupts the line bordering the scene. The same can be observed on a stela from the tomb of Ramose, outer courtyard (M.J. Raven, *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt II: Objects and Skeletal Remains*, EES EM 65, Leiden 2001, 22, Cat. 20, pls 9c, 29; stela of Suherawy-Amun, Nineteenth Dynasty; 55.5 x 35.5 x 4.9 cm): several figures and hieroglyphic signs overlap with the exterior border.

¹⁶⁸ Not in Ranke; however, compare Ranke, PN I, 127–128 for similar names.

¹⁶⁹ Ranke, PN III, 215.24.

¹⁷⁰ Ranke, PN III, 57.21, 58.15. Note that the *mr*-sign (Gardiner U7) is reversed.

¹⁷¹ H.D. Schneider, *Shabtis: An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with a catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, Vol. 1, Leiden 1977, 241 with n. 85; A.H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, Vol. 1, Oxford 1947, 68*, No. 161 (“maker of faience”, doubtless properly “fuser [of glaze]”); WB. I, 447.5 (“wohl der Glasirer (?) der Uschebtifiguren”).

Table 1: Corpus of faience stelae dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty.

* Indicates the stela is decorated on two sides

	Name	Title(s)	Provenance	Date	Dimensions	Shape	Literature
<i>Berlin ÄM 19718</i>	<i>Pth-ms(.w)</i>	<i>šš nsw ; ḥs.ty-ḥw wr</i>	Saqqara	Dyn. 19 (early)	14 x 22.4 cm (fr.)	Naos	Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften, 308.
<i>Berlin ÄM 10284</i>	<i>P3-Sr</i>	<i>im.y-r3 niw.t ḥs.ty</i>	Unknown	Dyn.19 (early)	Unknown	Unknown	Erman, Ausführliches Verzeichnis, 135.
<i>Berlin ÄM 17276</i>	<i>P3-Sr</i>	<i>im.y-r3 niw.t ḥs.ty</i>	Unknown	Dyn.19 (early)	H. 11 cm	Round-topped	Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften, 308; Budischovsky/Genaille, in: ABPO 95/3, 1988, 234, pl. 3.
<i>Edinburgh NMS A.1956.152</i>	<i>K3r</i>	<i>bsk n.y ḥmm.w</i>	Thebes (?)	Dyn. 19	28.6 x 14 x 1.3 cm	Pyramid topped	Friedman, Gifts of the Nile, 156, 250, Cat. 167.
<i>Edinburgh NMS A.1956.153</i>	<i>Rh-ḥmn</i>	<i>ir.w ḥsbd n.y ḥmm.w</i>	Thebes (?)	Dyn. 19 (Ramesses II)	28.5 x 20.8 x 0.9 cm	Round-topped	Friedman, Gifts of the Nile, 156, 250, Cat. 166.
<i>Leiden RMO AD 37</i>	<i>ḥmm-m-ḥtb</i>	<i>im.y-r3 ḥmm.w n.w pr.w Pth</i>	Saqqara (?)	Dyn. 19	25 x 26.5 x 4 cm (fr.)	Pyramid-topped	Boeser, Beschrijving: Stèles, 11, No. 38, pl. 23.
<i>London BM EA 35628*</i>	<i>P3-Sr</i>	<i>im.y-r3 niw.t ḥs.ty</i>	Unknown	Dyn. 19 (early)	9.3 x 15.5 cm (fr.)	Unknown	<i>HTBM</i> 10, 17–18, pl. 32.
<i>Paris Louvre C 91</i>	<i>ḥꜥ(1)-m-p.t</i>	<i>ḥk.w m ḥw.t-nbw m pr.w Pth ; wꜥb n.y ḥs.t Pth</i>	Saqqara (?)	Dyn. 19–20	H. 50 cm	Pyramid-topped	Caubet/Pierrat Bonnefois, Faïences de l'Antiquité, 88, Cat. 246.
<i>Paris Louvre I0819</i>	<i>Knr</i>	<i>im.y-r3 mšꜥ n.y pr.w ḥmm.w</i>	Unknown	Dyn. 19–20	H. 15.3 cm (fr.)	Round-topped	Caubet/Pierrat Bonnefois, Faïences de l'Antiquité, 87, Cat. 245.
<i>UPenn E 13578</i>	<i>ḥꜥ(1)-m-wss.t</i>	<i>ir.y-pꜥ.t ḥs.ty-ḥw ; ḥt-nṯ nr.y nṯr ; sm wr-ḥrp-ḥmm.w ; im.y-r3 niw.t ḥs.ty</i>	Mit Rahineh	Dyn. 20 (Ramesses IX)	22 x 25 cm	Round-topped	Schulman, in: Expedition 2/4, July 1960, 32–33.
<i>SAK 76-S 264 [6774] + 2003-50</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Saqqara	Dyn. 18 (late) / Dyn. 19 (early)	16.4 x 14.9 x 3.3 cm (fr.)	Unknown	Schneider, Horemheb II, 16, Cat. 55, pls 7, 54; Raven/Van Walsem, Meryneith, 224, Cat. 2, fig. on p. 225.
<i>SAK 2007-11 + 2007-49</i>	Unknown	Unknown	Saqqara	Dyn.18 (late)–Dyn. 19	17.5 x 16.3 x 3.5 cm (fr.)	Round-topped	Raven et al. Ptahemwia and Sethmakht, Cat. 7a–b.
<i>SAK 2010-120</i>	Unknown	<i>ḥr.y bꜥbꜥ</i>	Saqqara	Dyn.18 (late)–Dyn. 19	4.4 x 3.4 x 2 cm (fr.)	Unknown	Raven et al. Ptahemwia and Sethmakht, Cat. 8.
<i>Turin Museo Egizio I650</i>	<i>P3-Sr</i>	<i>im.y-r3 niw.t ḥs.ty</i>	Unknown	Dyn.19 (early)	Unknown	Unknown	Maspero, in: Rec.Trav. 4, 1883, 141, No. 6.



a) Faience stela Berlin ÄM 19718 of Ptahmose.
Scan from a glass negative taken in the 1920s

(© SMB Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Foto: unbekannt)



b) Relief decorated block from the tomb of Akhpet, Saqqara

After: Leclant, in: *Orientalia* 36, 1967, pl. XXVIII.11



Faience stela Leiden AD 37 of Amenemheb

(© Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden)

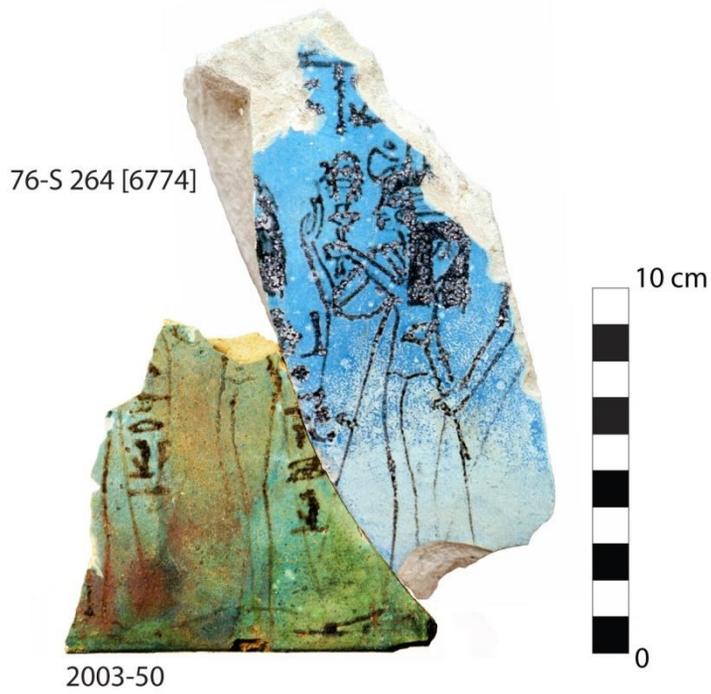


a-b)

Pyramid panels Berlin ÄM 1631 (left) and ÄM 1632 (right) of Ptahmose.

(© SMB Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, ÄM 1631, ÄM 1632.

Photo: Sandra Steiß)



a) Faience stela fragments 76-S 264, 6774 and 2003–50

(Photos: © Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden; Digital reconstruction: Nico Staring)



b) Faience stela fragments 2007–11 and 2007–49

(Photos: © Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden; Digital reconstruction: Nico Staring)



Faience stela fragment 2010-120
(© Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden)

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