

THE PERSONNEL OF THE THEBAN RAMESSEUM IN THE MEMPHITE NECROPOLIS¹

NICO STARING

Abstract

The structure of the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara and the distribution of individual tombs therein have been the subject of a number of studies. It has been suggested that the location of some tombs depended on family relations and professional association. In the area south of the Unas causeway, a notable clustering of tombs constructed for the higher administrative personnel of the Theban Ramesseum can be observed. The title holders include the (Great) Overseers of Cattle, Overseers of the Treasury, and (Chief) Stewards. This paper presents an overview of the archaeological and textual sources from Saqqara pertaining to these officials; it aims to present a prosopography of the Memphite officials who held office at the Ramesseum, and to address the question why these officials were buried not in the Theban necropolis, but at Memphis.

I. Introduction

In March 1859, Théodule Devéria, who worked as an assistant to Auguste Mariette, the newly appointed director of Egypt's antiquities service, took a photograph of a doorway in the superstructure of the now-lost tomb of Ptahemwia at Saqqara.² The tomb is probably located in the New Kingdom necropolis due south of the Unas causeway, in the area between the tombs of Ptahmose and Maya (see fig. 1). The inscriptions visible on the door jambs enable one to identify Ptahemwia as the early Nineteenth Dynasty 'Great Overseer of Cattle' and 'Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum'. Interestingly, he was not the only high-ranking official of the Ramesseum who built his tomb in this part of the necropolis. The presence of the officials' tombs at Saqqara has been previously noted,³ but their distribution and the rationale behind their presence has not been hitherto addressed. This article aims to present a prosopography of the Memphite officials who held office at the Ramesseum, and address the question why these officials were buried not in the Theban necropolis, but at Memphis.

The study necessarily touches on issues related to the administration of Ramesses II's Theban memorial temple. The primary data, however, are not administrative documents, but the officials' titles recorded on the tomb walls and additional funerary objects. By their very nature, these data provide us with limited information about what exactly the officials did or what their positions in the hierarchy were.⁴ The main aim of this paper is not to study the administration of the temple per se, but to understand why its administrators were buried at

¹ PhD candidate, Macquarie University (Sydney, Australia). I would like to thank A/Prof. Boyo Ockinga and Dr Robert Demarée for valuable feedback on an earlier draft of this article.

² Staring, forthcoming.

³ Myśliwiec 1978, 145; Berlandini 1979, 260–2; Van Dijk 1988, 39; Nelson 1999, 59.

⁴ For the problem, see e.g. Gnirs 1996, 5; Murnane 1997, 251; Raedler 2004, 279–81; Haring 2013, 610.

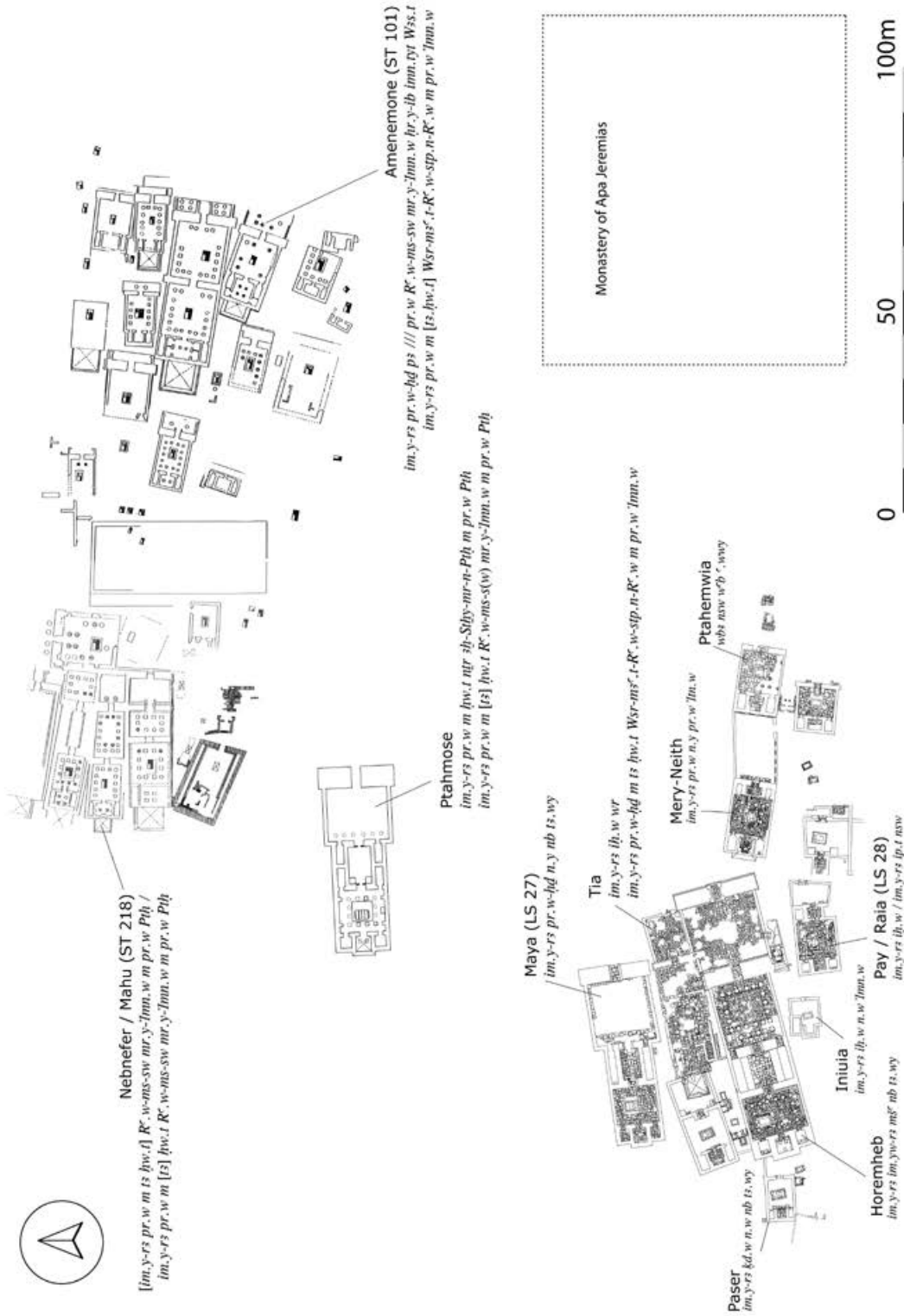


Fig. 1: The New Kingdom necropolis south of the Unas causeway, Saqqara: tombs mentioned in the text.

Saqqara. The officials' full titulary reveals their professional background, and a study of the prosopographical data with a comparison to other title-holders at Saqqara and elsewhere (mainly at Thebes) provide us with information about the composition and status of the Memphite necropolis.

This study starts with an overview of the data pertaining to Ptahemwia, and an account of the titles he held in the course of his career. This is followed by paragraphs on the holders of the other high offices in the Ramesseum who were buried at Saqqara. These offices are: the (Great) Overseer of Cattle, the Overseer of the Treasury, and the (Chief) Steward of the Ramesseum.

An overview of the officials' titulary is provided in tables 2–5. The titles are divided into six groups: [A] Related to the king, royal court, and government (incl. honorific); [B] General administration; [C] Scribal; [D] Public works, crafts; [E] Sacerdotal; [F] Military.⁵

II. Ptahemwia: Great Overseer of Cattle and Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum

A number of objects and architectural elements pertaining to Ptahemwia provide us with information about his career. These are the stone elements in the doorway of his lost tomb photographed by Devéria in 1859, an “unidentified object” copied by Mariette at Saqqara in 1859, the pyramidion found at Saqqara in March 1860 (Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 17109), and a statue excavated by Flinders Petrie in the temple of Osiris at Abydos in 1902 (Edinburgh, National Museums Scotland A.1902.306.10). The titles recorded on these objects are listed in table 1.⁶

TABLE 1. – Overview of the titles held by Ptahemwia

A. Related to the king, royal court, and government (incl. honorific)

ir.y-p^c.t

smr w^c.ty

sd3w.ty-bi.ty

B. General administration

Cattle

im.y-r3 ih.w

im.y-r3 ih.w wr

im.y-r3 ih.w wr m t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w

im.y-r3 ih.w m t[3] hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w

im.y-r3 ih.w n.w nb t3.wy

Treasury

im.y-r3 pr.w-hd nbw n.y t3 hw.t n.yt hh.w rnp.wt n.y nsw.t bi.ty Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w m Inb-hd

⁵ The subdivision used in relation to this study follows that of Martin 2012, 60–2.

⁶ The objects are presented and discussed in: Staring, forthcoming. I thank Dr. Stéphane Pasquali for the correct find date of the pyramidion.

C. Scribal

sš nsw

sš nsw ḥtp.w-ntr n.y ntr.w nb.w

sš nsw ḥtp.w-ntr n.y ntr.w nb.w Šm^c.w T3-mḥ.w

None of the objects pertaining to Ptahemwia provide us with a year-date. Therefore, it is not clear in what order the titles were held, what the length of his career might have been, and exactly how he fits in the succession of officials bearing the same titles. Nevertheless, the official's career can be at least broadly reconstructed from the titles he has held.

Ptahemwia's administrative positions are particularly high-ranking, and therefore, his scribal titles mark his early career. Ptahemwia was educated as a Royal Scribe and this eventually provided him access to the (higher echelons of the) state administration.⁷ The title ‘Royal Scribe of the God's Offerings of all gods (of Upper and Lower Egypt)’ indicates he was employed in the Treasury. The element *sš nsw* marks an ‘honorific rank’ among holders of the same title of office, which suggests that Ptahemwia held the highest position among an unspecified number of “common” scribes of the God's Offerings.⁸ In the temple administration, the term *ḥtp(.w)-ntr*, ‘god's offering(s)’, refer(s) to a temple's estate and resources, such as fields, gardens, cattle, personnel, granaries, and workshops.⁹ The scribes of the god's offerings administered the items brought into the temple.¹⁰ They are found in every Egyptian temple and each individual scribe was normally appointed at one institution. In a more advanced stage of their careers, the title-holders are known to have held high positions in various divisions of the state administration.¹¹ Menkheperre-seneb (TT 79), for example, held office as Overseer of the Double Granary of Upper and Lower Egypt,¹² and Rekhmira (TT 100) became Vizier.¹³ The indirect genitive construction in the two scribal titles held by Ptahemwia indicates that his responsibilities were not limited to one specific temple. Instead, he administered the god's offerings of all gods of Upper and Lower Egypt. This suggests an appointment in the state administration, and more specifically the State Treasury.

The next step in his career is marked by the title Overseer of Cattle. The cattle were included in the God's Offerings, and thus Ptahemwia's early career path logically explains his appointment in this office with administrative responsibilities. In a few instances, the title Overseer of Cattle is expanded with the adjective *wr*, “Great/Chief”. It is doubtful whether the addition signifies an elevated rank;¹⁴ its introduction might be related to his appointment as Overseer of Cattle in the Ramesseum.

⁷ Van Dijk 1997, 54.

⁸ Cf. Onasch 1998, 331–43; Binder 2010, 2.

⁹ Haring 2013, 616. Haring 2007, 165.

¹⁰ Haring 1997, 230–1; Id. 2013, 616.

¹¹ Eichler 2000, 165–7.

¹² Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Thutmose III–Amenhotep II: PM I.1/2, 156–7; *Urk.* IV, 1178.11, 1205.10; Bohleke 1991, 154–64; Eichler 2000, 166, Cat. 264.

¹³ For example Rekhmira (TT 100, Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Thutmose III–Amenhotep II): PM I.1/2, 206–14; Eichler 2000, 166, Cat. 409. Rekhmira was *inter alia* Overseer of the Treasury of Silver and Gold. His son, Menkheperre-seneb, was *sš ḥtp(.w)-ntr tp.y n.y Imn.w*, First Scribe of the God's Offerings of Amun. In the tomb of his father, he is depicted while performing his duties as *sš ḥtp(.w)-ntr*: administering the produce from bakeries and breweries (Davies 1943, 39, pl. 38; Eichler 2000, Cat. 262).

¹⁴ The form was introduced early in the Nineteenth Dynasty (see below), and it can also be observed in the titulary of other officials, such as the Mayors of Memphis: *ḥ3.ty^c.w wr m Mn-nfr* (Staring 2015).

Finally, and possibly for a short period of time, Ptahemwia held the office of Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum.

Ptahemwia's appointment in the Ramesseum should probably be dated early in the reign of Ramesses II. Tomb architecture and iconography support a date within the first two decades of Ramesses II (*c.* 1279–1213 BC).¹⁵ As a result, his early career will have started during the reign of Seti I (*c.* 1288–1279 BC). The course of his career is intimately linked to the careers of other officials. As will be outlined below, the data available for these officials is often fragmentary as well. However, the drawing together of these fragmentary data may prove to fill some of the gaps, which eventually results in a secure succession of officials within the various departments. It may also reveal possible changes and developments within the administration.

III. Overseers of Cattle (of Amun)

In Egypt, livestock and cattle represented an important part of the (temple) economy.¹⁶ Temple herds met the high demands of meat required for festivals and the daily offering-cults. The *im.y-r3 ih.w*, Overseer of Cattle, was the highest ranking official in the cattle administration.¹⁷ He was also responsible for the domains producing fodder for the animals.¹⁸

In the temple of Amun at Karnak, the title *im.y-r3 ih.w n.w Imn.w* identified the highest ranking official within the cattle administration.¹⁹ No less than 27 such officials dateable to the Eighteenth Dynasty are identified by Eichler.²⁰

In relation to the Theban royal memorial temples, Haring (1997, 229) observes that the Overseer of Cattle, unlike his deputies and attendants, is not attested in the administrative papyri and ostraca from western Thebes. This indicates that the overseers were active on a higher level.

III.1 Prosopography: Overseers of Cattle (of Amun) (table 2)

This paragraph provides a chronological overview of the officials who held office as Overseer of Cattle (of Amun), and who constructed their tombs at Saqqara.²¹

1. Hatiay

The round-topped stela of Hatiay (Florence, Museo Archeologico 2593) was excavated at Saqqara by G. Di Nizzoli.²² The tomb's location was not recorded. In the lower register of the

¹⁵ For the chronology of the New Kingdom, and the absolute dates used in relation to this study, see: Gautschy 2014, table 8 (P1).

¹⁶ Ghoneim 1977, 242.

¹⁷ See Helck 1958, 171–9.

¹⁸ Wilbour Papyrus, Texts A and B, see Haring 1997, 377.

¹⁹ Eichler 2000, 78.

²⁰ Eichler 2000, 83–4, table 3.

²¹ A block inscribed with the title *im.y-r3 ih.w*, without the name of the title holder, was found by Quibell (1912, 26, No. [1895]) in the ruins of the Monastery of Apa Jeremias. The block may have belonged to the tomb of one of the officials listed in this section.

²² Limestone, 81 × 47 cm (ex-coll. Di Nizzoli, 1824): PM VIII/4, 84–5 (803–048–959); Di Nizzoli 1880, 371; Bosticco 1965, 43–4, fig. 36; Eichler 2000, 303, Cat. 413; Étienne 2009, 187, Cat. 168. Hatiay is not accompanied by his wife, who thus remains anonymous.

stela, the tomb owner is represented kneeling before a tree goddess. His *ba* is depicted as a human-headed bird standing atop (the façade of) his tomb chapel. A secure pre-Amarna date is provided by the consistent erasure of the Amun-element in the owner’s titles.²³

2. Iniuia

Iniuia’s tomb was excavated by the EES/Leiden archaeological mission in 1993. It is located immediately due south of the second courtyard of General Horemheb’s tomb.²⁴ Iniuia probably started his career during the early reign of Tutankhamun or the later years of Akhenaten.²⁵ As a Scribe of the Treasury of Silver and Gold of the Lord of the Two Lands (LTL), he may have been a member of staff in the Treasury led by Maya, who was buried nearby.²⁶ At a later stage of his career, Iniuia was promoted to become the Overseer of Cattle of Amun.²⁷ During the reign of Tutankhamun or Ay/Horemheb, he held office as Chief Steward of/in Memphis. In that office, he succeeded Ipy, the son of Amenhotep Huy.²⁸

3. Pay

Pay succeeded Iniuia when the latter became the Chief Steward in Memphis.²⁹ Pay’s tomb was rediscovered in 1975 by the EES/Leiden archaeological mission, and it was excavated in 1993–4.³⁰ Pay spent much of his career in the Royal Harim. He was Overseer of the Royal Apartments and Overseer of the Royal Harim in Memphis. His title *im.y-r3 ip.t nsw m grg-W3s.t*, Overseer of the King’s Private Apartments in “Restorer of Thebes”, an epithet of Tutankhamun, serves as a *terminus a quo*.³¹ The title Overseer of Cattle of Amun occurs twice in his tomb, where it concludes the sequence of Harim-related titles.³² Pay died possibly towards the end of the reign of Tutankhamun, or early in the reign of Horemheb.³³

4. Djehuty

Stela Leiden AP 56 depicts Djehuty with his wife Tuy, the Songstress of Amun.³⁴ In the lower register, Djehuty and his wife are represented seated while the ‘Lector Priest

²³ It also indicates that the stela was visible and accessible when the erasures were made.

²⁴ Schneider 2012.

²⁵ Schneider 2012, 119–22.

²⁶ His sons Ramose and Penanhoru also worked as Scribes of the Treasury: in the temple of the Aten in Memphis. At the time, Mery-Neith, whose tomb is located in close proximity to that of Iniuia, served as the temple’s Steward and Greatest of Seers (High Priest).

²⁷ One tomb-scene depicts Iniuia in the capacity of Overseer of Cattle. He supervises the cattle being herded by several attendants (Schneider 2012, 88–90, scene 21a–d, figs III.36a–d, pls X–XI).

²⁸ PM III/2, 704. For Ipy, see most recently: Pasquali and Gessler-Löhr 2011. According to Gessler-Löhr, Ipy died during the reign of Horemheb (Pasquali and Gessler-Löhr 2011, 288 with n. 35).

²⁹ Raven 2005, 5; Van Dijk 1995, 19.

³⁰ The tomb may have been visited first by the agents of G. d’Anastasi. A stela from his collection (gathered in the 1820s) was acquired by the British Museum in 1845 (Inv. No. EA 156: Raven 2005, 1).

³¹ Cf. also the *hw.t Nb-hpr.w-R’.w mr.y Imn.w grg W3s.t*, constructed within the Karnak temple enclosure.

³² Raven 2005, scene [26] and stela [70].

³³ Raven 2005, 4. Pay’s four sons are: Nebra/Neb-imentet, *sš pr.w-hd n.y nb t3.wy*; Meh, *sš pr.w-hd n.y pr.w-Pth*; Hatiay, *hr.y-ih.w*; and Raia/Ramses, *im.y-r3 ip.t-nsw n.y Mn-nfr, ir.y-pd.t n.y nb t3.wy, t3y-hw hr wnm.y (n.y) nsw*, etc.

³⁴ Ex-coll. d’Anastasi, 1828: Boeser 1913, 11, No. 40, pl. 22; Affara 2010, 147–57.

Ptahab³⁵ of his lord Djehuty' presents them with a libation and incense, possibly in the absence of a male heir. A group of children who are designated as *n3 ms.w n.y pr=s*, 'the children of her (i.e. Tuy's) house', are positioned standing behind Ptahab. Their designation implies that they are not the couple's biological children, but that they were adopted.³⁶ The girls Maiamen (*M3-mn*, 'Maya remains')³⁷ and Tjauenmaia (*T3w-n-m3*, 'Breath of Maya') have been identified as the children of Maya and Meryt. The girls were depicted at least once in their parents' tomb.³⁸ The date of Maya's funeral, Year 9 of Pharaoh Horemheb,³⁹ serves as a *terminus post quem* for the stela of Djehuty, who may have held office into the reign of Seti I.⁴⁰

5. Minmose

The wooden stela of Minmose (Berlin, ÄM 822) was excavated by G. Passalacqua 'at Memphis'.⁴¹ The stela identifies him only as Overseer of Cattle of Amun. His wife, the Lady of the House, Mia, his daughter, and other relatives (no son) are also represented. The inscriptions are coloured yellow and parallels for this use at Saqqara date to the early Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Seti I.⁴²

6. Pyiay

Two adjoining limestone blocks with decoration executed in raised relief, inscribed for a man named Pyiay, were found by the EES/Leiden expedition in shaft F outside the north-west corner of the tomb of Paser, the Overseer of Builders of the LTL.⁴³ Pyiay is depicted with his hands raised in a gesture of adoration, standing (?) before two seated deities (including the goddess Maat). The incised inscription mentions his titles: Overseer of Cattle and Royal Scribe of the Treasury of the LTL.⁴⁴ Martin dates the block to the late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasty.⁴⁵

³⁵ PN I, 138.10: *Pth-3b* or *3b-Pth*. Note that in the transcription, Affara mistakes Gardiner Sign-list R15, $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$, for A28, $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$.

³⁶ Franke 1983, 265 n. 2; Van Dijk 2012, 64–5.

³⁷ The name is written as *M3-mn.ti*, with the sign $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$, (U 32) misinterpreted as $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$, *t* (U 33) and expanded with $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$, *i* (M 17): Van Dijk 1993, "additions and corrections", <http://www.jacobusvandijk.nl/docs/Maya_chapter.pdf> accessed 20.10.2014.

³⁸ See Martin 2012, scene 36, pl. 31: inner court, south end of east wall, upper register: only the 'label' bearing Maya-menti is preserved.

³⁹ Van Dijk 1990, 26.

⁴⁰ Year 14 is the highest recorded regnal year of Horemheb (on wine jar labels from KV 57: Van Dijk 2008, 193–200); Year 2 is the highest recorded regnal year of Ramesses I (stela Louvre C 57: PM VII, 130; *KRI* I, 2.9; Zivie 1984, col. 104). See also Gautschy 2014, 147, table 5.

⁴¹ Ex-coll. Passalacqua: Passalacqua 1826, 70–1, No. 1401 (from Memphis); Erman 1899, 159 ("Grabtafel"); Roeder 1924, 99; PM III/2, 734 (as Eighteenth Dynasty, "Unidentified in East Berlin or lost").

⁴² For example stela Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum AES 178 of Amenhotep Huy, Scribe of the Offering Table of the LTL, early Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Seti I: Hölzl 2007, 106–7.

⁴³ EES/Leiden excavation: Martin 1985, 16–17 [iv; v], pl. 26; limestone, 18 × 80 × 9/13 cm. Martin (1985, 16 n. 6) adds that a shabti of a scribe named Pyiay was found in shaft B of the tomb complex of Tia in 1983.

⁴⁴ Martin 1985, 16 [iv], reads: 'the royal scribe, [overseer] of the treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands'. Note, however, that the *pr*-sign nearly touches the column divider, which means there is no place for the *im.y-r3*-sign (Gardiner Sign-List F20) to reconstruct *im.y-r3 pr.w*, 'Steward'.

⁴⁵ Compare to a jamb fragment (Berlin ÄM 2087) from the tomb of Huy, Army Scribe of the LTL (Lepsius tomb LS 12 = Quibell S 2735; Teti Pyramid North): *LD*, Text I, 161; Wenig 1974, 239–40, Doc. 1, pl. 32a; Martin

7. Iuy

A fragment of a limestone block with decoration in sunk relief held in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (Inv. No. I.1.a.5637 [4124]) is inscribed for the Overseer of Cattle of Amun, named Iuy.⁴⁶ The block depicts a funerary scene and is doubtlessly of Memphite origin. On stylistic grounds, the block has been dated to the early Nineteenth Dynasty.⁴⁷

8. Ptahmose

A fragment of a block statue (Cairo CG 642) inscribed for Ptahmose, the Overseer of Cattle of Amun, was found "south of the pyramid of Unas".⁴⁸ Other titles inscribed on this statue include: Royal Scribe [of] the LTL and Royal Scribe of the Treasury. Kitchen tentatively attributes this statue to the homonymous Mayor of Memphis,⁴⁹ an identification that has been convincingly rejected by Bohleke.⁵⁰ According to Borchardt (1925, 188) and Málek (1987, 122), the statue was originally positioned in the owner's tomb. Schulz (1992, I, 199 n. 2), on the other hand, suggests that this statue had originally been set up in the Serapeum.⁵¹ On stylistic grounds, she dates the statue to the early Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ramesses II,⁵² and follows Helck in considering the possibility that Ptahmose was the father of his namesake, the Overseer of the Double Granary of the LTL.⁵³ This view was rejected by Bohleke, who points to the fact that the texts copied by Borchardt do not mention the granary at all.⁵⁴ Instead, all titles should be considered as those of the statue's owner, the Overseer of Cattle, Ptahmose.

Three more objects can be added to the corpus of objects pertaining to Ptahmose:

1987, 10, No. 10, pl. 4. Huy has been dated to the late Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Ay–Horemheb. For the location of his tomb and additional tomb-elements found recently during excavation, see Ockinga 2012, 374–7, fig. 1.

⁴⁶ 75.5 × 69 cm; ex-coll. Vladimir Golenishev; Hodjash and Berlev 1982, 122–3, No. 70, fig. 70. Golenishev started collecting Egyptian antiquities in the early 1870s, and sold them in 1908. Little information was recorded on the objects' provenance, or the circumstances under which they were acquired.

⁴⁷ Gessler-Löhr (quoted as *personal communication* in Eichler 2000, 86 n. 390) also opts for the possibility that the relief dates to the late Eighteenth Dynasty.

⁴⁸ Statue Cairo CG 642 (= JE 27961), limestone, h: 45 cm; acquisition details unknown: Borchardt 1925, 188; PM III/2, 667; *KRI* 172–3.

⁴⁹ *KRI* III, 172–3 (as "not certain").


⁵⁰ Bohleke 1991, 313–16.

⁵¹ She mistakes the find-spot of this statue with that of JE 41532, which is a dyad representing the Mayor of Memphis, Ptahmose, and his wife Inehyt. The dyad was found in the ruins of the Jeremias Monastery: Quibell 1912, 146, pl. 86.1–2; Staring 2014, II.5.

⁵² Schulz 1992, I, 199 n. 1.

⁵³ Helck 1958, 504, No. 19: attested by a shabti (CG 46546 = JE 1251: Newberry 1937–57, 20–1: Overseer of the Double Granary) found at Mit Rahina, 1858, and a stela (London, British Museum EA 642: Budge 1909, 178, No. 642: "found near the pyramids of Giza"). According to Bohleke (1991, 314), the shabti was found by Maspero. However, Maspero, who was born in 1846, visited Egypt for the first time in 1880 (Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier 2012, 359–61). Instead, the shabti was probably found by Mariette, who worked at Mit Rahineh during the years 1858–63 (Jeffreys 2010, 184–5). BM "stela" No. 642 actually has Inv. No. EA 160 (ex-coll. Salt, 1835: *HTMB* 10, 9–10, pls 4–5; Málek 1981, 156–7), and it is not a stela, but a relief block. The provenance "Giza" is an error (see Málek 1981, 156–7). The block is of late Eighteenth Dynasty date and is inscribed for Ptahmose, the Overseer of the Royal Harim. Tomb-elements pertaining to this man are: a relief block held in a private collection in Australia (on display in the Ancient Times House, Melbourne); relief block Cairo JE 90221; stela New York, MMA 67.3; and stela Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Egizio 251.

⁵⁴ Bohleke 1991, 313–16.

1. When John Gardner Wilkinson (1797–1875) visited Saqqara in 1856,⁵⁵ he noted ‘... blocks, including Opening-of-the-mouth-ceremony for Ptaḥmosi , Overseer of the cattle of Amūn, one with Ptaḥ and Sekhmet, and another with priests dragging sledge with chest with four sons of Horus’, of Ramesside date.⁵⁶ It is not clear exactly where at Saqqara he recorded the blocks, nor do we know their present location.
2. A block depicting a *djed* pillar surmounted by two *ba* birds. The remains of a representation of Osiris are visible to the right, and on the left-hand side, the tomb owner is depicted standing with his hands raised in a gesture of adoration, facing left.⁵⁷ A text column of incised hieroglyphs identifies him as the *ḥs.y ʿ3 n.y nṯr nfr mrr.ty n.y nb t3.wy im.y-r3 iḥ.w Pth-ms m3-ḥrw m ḥtp*, ‘One greatly praised by the Perfect God (i.e. the King), beloved of the LTL, Overseer of Cattle, Ptaḥmose, true of voice in peace’. The block’s present location is unknown.
3. Three fragments of a block inscribed for Ptaḥmose were found near the tomb of Generalissimo Horemheb in 1981 by the EES/Leiden expedition.⁵⁸ Part of a column of text mentions the *im.y-r3 iḥ.w Pth-ms*, ‘Overseer of Cattle Ptaḥmose’.

9. Meryty

The Great Overseer of Cattle, Meryty, is depicted on the stela (London, BM EA 183) dedicated by the wife of the Vizier of the North, (Pa-)Rahotep, named Heli, Songstress of Hathor the Lady of the Southern Sycamore.⁵⁹ In the upper register, four men are represented standing with their hands raised in adoration before Osiris and Hathor, ‘Lady of the Southern Sycamore, Mistress of the West’. They are from left to right: the High Priest of Ptah, Pahemnetter (the father of Vizier (Pa-)Rahotep), the High Priest of Ptah, Dedia, the Vizier of the North (Pa-)Rahotep, and Meryty. Pahemnetter and Dedia both held office during the reign of Seti I⁶⁰ and (Pa-)Rahotep was Vizier from the second to the sixth decade of Ramesses II.

Although the provenance and acquisition details of this stela are unknown, a Memphite origin is quite likely. The men depicted in the upper register all held office at Memphis and the epithet of Hathor refers to her typical Memphite form. Meryty’s relationship to (Pa-)Rahotep is not made explicit. In light of the other individuals represented on the stela, one may assume that they were family. The question is whether Meryty was of the same

⁵⁵ On the occasion of his last visit to Egypt in 1855–6: Dawson, Uphill, and Bierbrier 2012, 579–80.

⁵⁶ PM III/2, 763: Wilkinson MSS. xiii. 25–6. The description of priests dragging a sledge with a canopic chest containing the four sons of Horus is reminiscent of the representations on two other relief-decorated blocks from Saqqara. The blocks of late Eighteenth Dynasty date in the Museum August-Kestner, Hannover (Inv. No. 1935.200.192), and the Pushkin-Museum, Moscow (Inv. No. I.1.a.5638 [4117]), depict the funeral procession (in two registers) of an anonymous official. The block in Hannover depicts the anthropoid coffin being dragged on a sledge, and the Moscow block represents the transportation of the sarcophagus. The two blocks do not join directly. As Loeben points out, the block depicting the transport of the canopic chest is missing. For the two blocks, see: Loeben 2007, 88–9, Cat. 82.

⁵⁷ Berlandini 1988, pl. 2A (her source: Archives photographiques du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte); Van Dijk 1993, 161, with fig. 27. For the *ba* birds positioned atop a *djed* pillar, see also the naophorous statue of Raia, Head of the Bakery of Ptah (Leiden AST 11, Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Seti I to Ramesses II: Boeser 1912, 11–12, No. 26, pl. 12; Van Dijk 1993, fig. 20; Martin 2009, 145–9, pl. 17).

⁵⁸ Van Dijk 1993, 161 n 24; Martin 1985, 17 [ix], pl. 26: “uncontexted surface find”, 19 × 42.5 × 14 cm.

⁵⁹ Helck 1958, 176 n. 1; *HTBM* 9, 19–20, pl. 15; *KRI* III, 56–7 (as: “Memphis ??”); Raue 1998, No. 9; Raedler 2004, 358, Q_5.9 (with further bibliographic references); *Id.* 2011, 137 n. 14.

⁶⁰ Raedler 2011, 137–9, table 1.

generation as either Pahemneter (*temp.* Seti I) or (Pa-)Rahotep (second to sixth decade Ramesses II). The epithet *m3'ḥrw m ḥtp*, which was added to the names of all individuals, except for (Pa-)Rahotep and Heli (who were only *m3'(t)-ḥrw*), possibly indicates that Heli dedicated the stela to her husband's deceased family members. The title held by Meryty also suggests a date early in the Nineteenth Dynasty. As will be indicated below, the Overseers of Cattle at Memphis who held office during the reign of Ramesses II all held the additional title Overseer of Cattle in the Ramesseum. Meryty only bears the title *im.y-r3 ḥ.w wr n.w Ḥmn.w*. While the *wr*-element points to a Ramesside date,⁶¹ the absence of a reference to the Ramesseum may indicate he held office before Ramesses II ascended the throne.⁶²

10. Tia

Tia was the brother-in-law of Ramesses II and his tomb constructed of limestone blocks is located at Saqqara, wedged between the funerary monuments of Maya and Horemheb. Little is known of Tia's early career. He married the daughter of Pharaoh Seti I which, as Van Dijk (1993, 91) points out, was a non-royal marriage at the time. A stela fragment of unknown provenance (Chicago OIM 10507), but probably dedicated at the temple of Seti I at Abydos, may hold the earliest reference to this official.⁶³ It depicts Tia, bearing the title of Royal Scribe, standing behind Amunwahsu, who held office as Scribe of the Offering Table of the LTL. Amunwahsu might have been Tia's colleague or superior in rank.⁶⁴ Both men are standing before Seti I and his son, crown prince Ramesses (II). Holders of the title *sš nsw wdh.w* later in their careers made it to the upper echelons of state administration, including the cattle administration and the treasury.⁶⁵ The Scribe of the Offering Table and the Scribe of the God's Offerings were professionally closely associated.⁶⁶ If indeed Tia was a colleague of Amunwahsu, one may postulate that Tia pursued a career path similar to that of Ptahemwia. The first significant office Tia held may have been that of Overseer of Cattle during the reign of Seti I.

11. Ptahemwia

Ptahemwia probably succeeded Tia in this office. As indicated above and further outlined below, the careers of both men were synchronous. Tia usually acted as Ptahemwia's superior in rank and predecessor in office. The office of Overseer of Cattle became vacant when Tia was promoted. There are two options for the occasion: (1) when Tia became the Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum at the very beginning of Ramesses II's reign; and (2) when Tia became the Overseer of the Treasury of the LTL after Year 16 of Ramesses II. The available data point to the latter option as the most likely occasion. Tia's shabtis are inscribed with

⁶¹ The same can be observed in the title (Great) Mayor of Memphis: Staring 2015.

⁶² If Meryty had held the title Overseer of Cattle in the Ramesseum, it would have certainly been recorded. Compare to the stela of Pahemneter from Sedment, depicting Yupa in his capacity of Steward of the Ramesseum (Petrie and Brunton 1924, pl. 68).

⁶³ Martin 1987, 30–1, No. 74, pl. 27 (as “possibly Saqqara”); Van Dijk 1993, 85–8 (as “Abydos”); Martin 1997, 47–8; Teeter 2003, 56–7, No. 25. Teeter rejects Van Dijk's suggestion that this is the same Tia as the Saqqara tomb owner: Teeter 2003b, 152.

⁶⁴ Van Dijk 1997, 86. According to Dodson and Hilton (2004, 170), Amenwahsu was Tia's father.

⁶⁵ Binder 2010, 1–13.

⁶⁶ Binder 2010, 6.

the titles *im.y-r3 ih.w*⁶⁷ and *im.y-r3 pr.w-hd*.⁶⁸ This may suggest that he was succeeded as Overseer of Cattle when the preparations for his funerary monument were already at an advanced stage.

12. Paraemheb

See below, IV.2.4.

III.2 Discussion

The earliest Overseer of Cattle of Amun who constructed a tomb at Saqqara dates to the late Eighteenth Dynasty. This need not necessarily indicate that no such official was active at Memphis before that date, as comparatively few data are available for Saqqara during the pre-Amarna period. The titles held by the Overseers of Cattle up to the reign of Ramesses II (table 2, Nos 1–9) highlight two points of interest:

1. The titles related to the officials' early careers (if indeed recorded) indicate that they started as treasury scribes;
2. For most officials, the title Overseer of Cattle marked the pinnacle of their careers. Only Iniuia attained a more elevated position as Chief Steward of Memphis.

The indirect genitive construction associates the title-holders with the god Amun.⁶⁹ This raises the question why the overseers of cattle of this Theban deity resided at Memphis. And what (if any) was their connection with the temple of Amun at Karnak?

The relation between Amun and his cattle in the north of the country has been touched upon by various scholars. Eichler (2000, 85) notes that the father of the Vizier Ramose (TT 55), Heby (*temp.* Amenhotep III), held office as *im.y-r3 ih.w n.w Imn.w im.yw sp3.wt T3-Mh.w*.⁷⁰ While she concludes that at least from the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards the cattle of Amun were held in the north, she also notes that it is uncertain why it is the only attestation of the title. She also argues that Iniuia administered the herds of the temple of Amun in the north of the country because he held office as Chief Steward of Memphis,⁷¹ even though these offices represent different stages of his career. She leaves it undecided whether the herds belonged to the temple of Amun at Karnak, or to a local temple of Amun in Memphis. Schneider similarly suggests that this official was responsible for the herds that belonged to (all) the temples of Amun, and notes that in view of Iniuia's post at Memphis, the herds must have been grazing in the Delta.⁷² According to Affara (2010, 147), '... *The existence of the title "overseer of the cattle of Amun" in Saqqara nobles' tombs*

⁶⁷ Raven et al. 2011, 184–5, Cat. 317a, c.

⁶⁸ Raven et al. 2011, Cat. 316a–b.

⁶⁹ Note that the element "of Amun" is not recorded for all officials listed. Tia (No. 10) and Paraemheb (No. 12) held the title Overseer of Cattle both with and without the element "of Amun", which indicates that both could be variously used.

⁷⁰ Compare the title *im.y-r3 ih.w n.w Imn.w m t3 pn n.y Kš* held by Amenhotep Huy (TT 40, *temp.* Amenhotep III–Tutankhamun; *Urk.* IV, 2074.12). According to Eichler 2000, 84–5, the title reveals that there were herds of the temple of Amun in Nubia.

⁷¹ Eichler 2000, 79–80 with n. 355.

⁷² Schneider 2012, 120 n. 98. He further states that the title Great Overseer of Cattle of Amun-Re King-of-the-Gods, held by Tia, implies the supervision of all the herds of Amun throughout the country.

alludes to the cult of Amun in the Heliopolitan Nome [...] Also the title of his (i.e. Djehuty's) wife Twj “the chantress of Amun, beloved one of Mut” shows that there was a cult of Amun in the Heliopolitan Nome’.

The presence of a Memphite temple of Amun is not supported by archaeological evidence. Additional textual sources alluding to a temple of Amun at Memphis are extremely scarce and ambiguous.⁷³ It is therefore not very likely that the overseers were affiliated to a Memphite temple of Amun.

What about the possibility that these officials were affiliated to the Theban temple of Amun? If we turn our attention to the additional titles held by the Overseers of Cattle of Amun at Memphis (see Table 2), there is nothing to suggest that the officials were otherwise affiliated with a (Theban) temple of Amun. Instead, they were all drawn from the ranks of the treasury. Tia, who made the most impressive career (undoubtedly with the help of his [royal] family connections) even held office as Overseer of the Treasury⁷⁴ and as Overseer of the Treasury of the LTL, i.e. the chief treasurer of the state administration.⁷⁵

How do the Memphite careers compare to the Theban Overseers of Cattle of Amun? In the temple of Amun at Karnak, the cattle administration was placed under the direction of the Chief Steward of Amun.⁷⁶ Eichler (2000, 83–4, table 3) composed a list of 27 officials who bore the title Overseer of Cattle of Amun during the Eighteenth Dynasty. They all officiated at Thebes⁷⁷ and they usually constructed their tombs locally in the western mountains. With some exceptions, they also held additional positions in the temple of Amun, but unlike their colleagues at Memphis, they were seldom attached to the treasury.⁷⁸

In contrast to the overseers of cattle of Amun, the Memphite necropolis presents only few sources for the officials connected with the administration of the cattle of Ptah. The following list of Overseers of Cattle of (the temple of) Ptah is given by Helck (1961, 916 [134]):

1. *im.y-r3 ih.w n.w Pth N3y3*;⁷⁹
2. *im.y-r3 ih.w n.w Pth Pth-m-hb*;⁸⁰
3. *Nby*;⁸¹

⁷³ See Helck 1961, 921 (139). For a detailed study of references to Amun in Memphis during the New Kingdom, see: Pasquali 2009. Office titles with the element “Amun” include: ‘Sculptor of Amun’, and ‘Wab Priest of Amun’ (Pasquali 2011, 71–4). The abacus of a column fragment found in the debris over the first courtyard of the tomb of Horemheb was inscribed with the title *im.y-r3 pr.w Imn.w*, Steward of the temple of Amun (Schneider 1996, 94, NK 16; published without photograph or linedrawing). Note that the father of Paser, Overseer of Builders of the LTL, and Tjuneroy, Overseer of Works on All Monuments of the King, held this title (Martin 1985, 9). The tomb of Paser is located directly west of Horemheb, and that of his brother Tjuneroy should be located nearby.

⁷⁴ Martin 1997, 106–8; Van Dijk 1993, 95–6; *Id.* 1997, 54.

⁷⁵ Van Dijk 1993, 96. Tia may have succeeded Suty (*temp.* Ramesses II, early) in that office (Ibid, 96 n. 33; KRI III, 140–7).

⁷⁶ Seyfried 1991, table on p. 206, 207–9.

⁷⁷ The Office of the Overseer of Cattle, *hnw n.y im.y-r3 ih.w*, is mentioned on the stelophorous statue of Neferperet (Cairo CG 42121; Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Thutmose III–Amenhotep II; provenance: Karnak cachette), see: *Urk.* IV, 1021.7; Eichler 2000, 87 with n. 399, Cat. 502.

⁷⁸ They include only Senenmut (TT 71/353), Djehuty (TT 11), and Ken-Amun (TT 93), all dated to the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

⁷⁹ Leiden AST 40b (D 71): serpentine shabti, h: 11.2 cm, early Nineteenth Dynasty, Saqqara (ex-coll. d’Anastasi; Boeser 1925, 14, No. 85; Schneider 1977, II, 82–3, pl. 105; III, pl. 31).

⁸⁰ Leiden CI 9: alabaster shabti, h: 15.5 cm, early Nineteenth Dynasty, Saqqara (ex-coll. Maria Cimba, 1826; Boeser 1925, 13, No. 72; Schneider 1977, II, 82, pl. 105; III, pl. 30).

⁸¹ According to Helck: attested by a canopic jar in the Louvre. Neby was also Overseer of Cattle of Sokar.

4. *P3-k3t3*;⁸²
5. Anonymous;⁸³
6. *im.y-r3 ih.w n.w pr.w Pth Hw*.⁸⁴

All overseers are dated to the Ramesside Period. Four officials are attested by elements that were presumably taken from their tombs (i.e. shabtis and a canopic jar).⁸⁵ More substantial tomb elements, such as stelae, statues or relief-decorated blocks, are unattested.

Why is it that the Overseers of Cattle of Amun are so prominently represented at Memphis, when prosopographical data on the Overseers of Cattle of Ptah are so scarce? And why, judging from the objects pertaining to these officials, were the overseers of cattle of Ptah unable to construct tombs of comparably monumental dimensions?⁸⁶ As indicated by the additional titles held by the overseers of cattle of Amun, they were not attached to a/the temple of Amun, but rather to the state treasury. This also explains why they held office at Memphis: it was Egypt's administrative capital.

Other offices related to the cattle administration include the *sš hsb ih.w n.w pr.w im.y-r3 htm*, 'Scribe and Reckoner of Cattle of the Office of the Overseer of the Seal'. The title was held by a man named Ahmose, who is attested by a stela (Cairo JE 18181 = CG 34049) of Eighteenth Dynasty date found by Vassalli at Saqqara in 1862.⁸⁷ A similar title, *sš hsb ih.w n.w Imn.w*, is inscribed on a statue fragment of Ramesside date found at Memphis.⁸⁸

III.3 Overseers of cattle of Amun: the reign of Ramesses II

Three Overseers of Cattle who held office during the reign of Ramesses II are identified at Memphis (Table 2, Nos 10–12). Two elements of their titulary set them apart from their predecessors:

1. The addition of the adjective *wr*, which results in the title *im.y-r3 ih.w wr*, Great Overseer of Cattle;
2. All Overseers of Cattle held additional offices in the Ramesseum.⁸⁹

⁸² P. Wilbour A §§ 112, 149, 203: *temp.* Ramesses V.

⁸³ Hieratic letter, written by the Scribe Heriheb to the Overseer of Cattle and associated to the temple of Ptah (name not preserved), *temp.* Ramesses II: Lieblein 1873, 31–4, pl. VI.20.

⁸⁴ New York, MMA Inv. No. unknown: alabaster canopic jar (h: 34 cm) and human-headed stopper, probably Memphite area (ex-coll. Murch: Hayes 1959, 424).

⁸⁵ Note, however, that a shabti alone cannot serve as evidence for the supposed presence or localisation of a tomb. The statuettes were also found in extra-sepulchral contexts. At Saqqara, they could be dedicated in the Serapeum, or elsewhere in the Memphite necropolis (Rosetau) (see: Schneider 1977, I, 268–89; Pasquali 2009).

⁸⁶ The title *šm'.yt n.yt nb.t n.yt nh.t rsy.t*, Songstress of the Lady of the Southern Sycamore, refers to the specific Memphite form of the goddess Hathor, and it abounds in the prosopographical data from Saqqara. Note that there were no women bearing the title *šm'.yt n.yt Pth*, Songstress of Ptah.

⁸⁷ PM III/2, 736; Mariette 1872, 18, pl. 56a; Lacau 1909–16, 84–6, pl. 29. His son is the *sš hsb ih.w sš mš' M'-hw*.

⁸⁸ Excav. No. M-2793: Schulman 1988, 86 n. 50 (as: “*sš hsb k3.w n Imn*”).

⁸⁹ The connection of the cattle administration of Amun to a specific memorial temple was attested earlier at Thebes: Khaemwaset (Eighteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Amenhotep III) was *im.y-r3 ih.w n.w Imn.w n.y Tḥn-Ṛtn.w*, Overseer of Cattle of Amun of *Tḥn-Ṛtn* (inscribed on a stela seen on the art market: *Minerva July-August 1992* (1992), opposite p. 48; Eichler 2000, 84, 309, Cat. 453). Neferssekheru (TT 107; *temp.* Amenhotep III, late), the Overseer of Cattle of Amun at Thebes, was also Steward in the temple of *Tḥn-Ṛtn*: *im.y-r3 pr.w n.y pr.w Nb-m3'.t-R'.w Tḥn-Ṛtn.w* (PM I.1/2, 224–5; Helck 1956, 11–26; Kampp 1996, I, 386–7; Eichler 2000, 84, 297–8, Cat. 378).

According to Helck (1958, 176 n.1) and Van Dijk (1997, 54), the officials who held the title *im.y-r3 ih.w wr* belonged to the central administration overseeing the different local overseers of cattle. There are two arguments against this view. First, both titles, *im.y-r3 ih.w* and *im.y-r3 ih.w wr*, are recorded on one stela inscribed for Tia.⁹⁰ It implies that the titles could be variably used. Second, from the reign of Amenhotep III onwards, more than one Overseer of Cattle was active at any given time: one at Thebes and one at Memphis.⁹¹ During the Eighteenth Dynasty, however, an official bearing the title *im.y-r3 ih.w wr* is conspicuously absent. This implies that the title *im.y-r3 ih.w n.w Imn.w* was a general title for officials who supervised temple herds of any size and in any area, as has been suggested by Bryan (1991, 271). The various overseers of cattle operated under the supervision of the temple's Steward, a situation observed in the temple of Amun at Karnak,⁹² or under supervision of the Overseer of the Treasury, as was the case for the Memphite Overseers of Cattle of Amun. The responsibilities of the officials working in the temple and state administration might have been quite different, but this is not reflected in their title of office.⁹³

IV. The administration of the Ramesseum

IV.1 General

The New Kingdom royal memorial temples were primarily built for the royal cult.⁹⁴ The temples were also largely self-sufficient institutions of great economic significance.⁹⁵ They were not just built at Thebes; multiple memorial temples of one king could be constructed throughout the country, including Nubia.⁹⁶ A royal memorial temple, or temple of Millions of Years (*hw.t n.yt hh.w m rnp.wt*), was founded by the ruling king. The temple's estates were usually gradually reduced following the death of the king, when the resources were re-allocated.⁹⁷

The Theban memorial temple of Ramesses II is known by the name *t3 hw.t Wsr-m3'.t-R'.w-stp.n-R'.w hnm.t-W3s.t m pr.w Imn.w*, 'the temple of Usermaatre Setepenre United with Thebes in the house of Amun'.⁹⁸ Construction work on the Ramesseum started with the inception of Ramesses II's reign (c. 1279 BC). Penra was the Overseer of Works,⁹⁹ and he was succeeded by Amenemone.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁰ See Tia, four-sided stela Cairo JE 89624: *KRI* III, 366–7; Martin 1997, 46–7, No. 331, pls 95–7.

⁹¹ Eichler 2000, 83–4 table 3.

⁹² The same will have probably been the case in the temple of Ptah at Memphis.

⁹³ The difference might instead be reflected in the financial resources the officials had to their disposal to construct their tombs.

⁹⁴ Leblanc 1997, 49; *Id.* 1999, 73–4; Ullmann 2002, 661–70. The central sanctuary of the royal memorial temples at Thebes was dedicated to Amun-Re (Stadelmann 1979, 303–21). In the Ramesside temples, Amun was worshipped in a specific form identifying him with the king (Haring 1993, 40).

⁹⁵ Haring 1997, 389; *Id.* 2007; Ullmann 2002, 652; Leblanc 2012, 81, 96.

⁹⁶ See Ullmann 2002. For the temples of Ramesses II, see *op cit.*, 289–393.

⁹⁷ Haring 1997, 392–3.

⁹⁸ PM II, 431–43; Helck 1961, 885–9 (103–7); Stadelmann 1984, 91–8; Ullmann 2002, 339–81.

⁹⁹ *KRI* III, 268–71; Goyon 1990–1, 53–65; Ullmann 2002, 379; Leblanc 2012, 83 n. 5. The titles held by Penra include: *im.y-r3 k3.t m t(3) hw.t Wsr-m3'.t-R'.w-stp.n-R'.w m pr.w Imn.w*; *im.y-r3 k3.t m hw.t Wsr-m3'.t-R'.w-stp.n-R'.w*; *wr n.y md3.yw*.

¹⁰⁰ Gnirs 1996, 148–52 (Amenemone II). Gohary (1987, 99–100) suggests that Bunakhtef (identified by him as Penra's father) started construction, that Penra took over in Year 16, and that Amenemone succeeded Penra in Year

With regards to the administration of the Ramesseum, Leblanc (2012, 81–98) argues that it was in permanent contact with officials of the central government, such as the Vizier of the South¹⁰¹ and his delegates, or with the Theban authorities, such as the Mayor or governor of Western Thebes. The holders of the highest administrative positions, the Overseers of Cattle, Overseers of the Treasury, and the Stewards, are conspicuously absent from the administrative documents (papyri and ostraca) found at Thebes. The tombs of these officials were not constructed locally at Thebes, but at Saqqara south of the Unas causeway. Only after the reign of Ramesses II were their tombs also built at Thebes.

IV.2 *The Overseers of Cattle in the Ramesseum (table 3)*

The title Overseer of Cattle in the Ramesseum was held by four officials.¹⁰² Ptahemwia was the first official in charge of the Ramesseum's cattle administration, and only his (now lost) tomb has so far been attested archaeologically. Few titles are recorded for Mery-Ptah and Bakenamun. It is not certain whether they also held office as Overseer of Cattle (of Amun) outside the Ramesseum, as did Ptahemwia and Paraemheb. The objects pertaining to Mery-Ptah and Bakenamun were found outside Saqqara.

1. Ptahemwia

When Ramesses II started planning the construction of the Ramesseum, Tia became the first overseer of the temple's treasury (see IV.3, below). Although he previously held (and probably continued to hold) office as Overseer of Cattle of Amun, he did not bear the title Overseer of Cattle in the Ramesseum: that title was first held by Ptahemwia. The cattle were administered as part of the temple's treasury. Ptahemwia succeeded Tia as Overseer of Cattle of Amun, which, as suggested above, presumably happened around Year 16 of Ramesses II.

2. Mery-Ptah

On a relief-decorated block found at Abydos,¹⁰³ Mery-Ptah is identified as the *im.y-r3 ih.w n.w t3 hw.t Wsr-m3'.t-R'.w-stp.n-R'.w*, Overseer of Cattle of the Ramesseum, and as *s3 nsw t3 s'.t.n.y pr.w-3 'nh.w wd3.w snb.w*, Royal Scribe of the Letters of Pharaoh, may he live, prosper, and be healthy (l.p.h.). According to Helck (1958, 277–8), the title holder was the king's

21. For the father-son relation of Penra and Bunakhtef, Gohary points to the stela Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1894.106, although neither affiliation nor titles are mentioned in the text (see also: Petrie 1896, 15–16, pl. 19; *KRI* III, 270–1).

¹⁰¹ For a chronology of the Viziers of Ramesses II, see: Raedler 2004, 292–9. The Viziers of the South were: Paser (TT 106), Khay (Thebes), and Neferrenpet (Saqqara ST 0). In the Great Harris Papyrus the cattle of one of the Theban memorial temples were under the authority of the Vizier of the South (Haring 1997, 201, 377).

¹⁰² See also: Leblanc 2012, 92 n. 29 (with some errors in titles and references). A closely related office is that of *im.y-r3 'b.w n.w t3 hw.t Wsr-m3'.t-R'.w-stp.n-R'.w m pr.w Imn.w*, Overseer of the Horned Cattle of the Ramesseum (abbreviated as: *im.y-r3 'b.w n.w t3 hw.t*). The title was borne by Panefer, who is attested by an inscribed statuette of the god Sobek (Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet MME 1977:1; ex-coll. Folkwang-Museum Essen, 1966; Peterson 1979, 3–8; provenance unknown, probably Theban region; *temp.* Ramesses II or later).

¹⁰³ Purchased at Akhmin, March 1886, present location unknown: Bouriant 1887, 90, No. 65; *KRI* III, 211, 377; Haring 1997, 445.

private secretary, and at any given time there would have been only one such official.¹⁰⁴ The secretary supervised the Scribes of the Place of Letters (*sš n.y t3 s.t š'c.t*). His office building at Piramesse, *t3 s.t n3 š'.wt pr.w-3 'nh.w wd3.w snb.w m pr.w R'.w-ms-s(w)-mr.y-Imn.w p3 k3 3 n.y p3 R'.w*, is depicted in the tomb of Tjay (TT 23, *temp.* Merenptah).¹⁰⁵ The fact that the title was held by one official at any one given time makes it a useful tool to date Mery-Ptah. Amenemone, the owner of tomb ST 101 at Saqqara, held office as *sš nsw š'c.t* and *sš nsw š'c.t n.y nb t3.wy*.¹⁰⁶ If we follow Helck, Amenemone and Mery-Ptah cannot have been the king's secretary concurrently. Amenemone also held office as Chief Steward of the Ramesseum no earlier than the second half of Ramesses II's reign (see IV.4.6, below). The Royal Secretary at the time of Seti I was a man named Iuny from Asyut,¹⁰⁷ and the title *sš š'c.t n.y ntr nfr* concludes an impressive list of (predominantly) honorific and priestly titles inscribed on his dyad (New York, MMA 15.2.1). Mery-Ptah held the position of Royal Secretary after Iuny and before Amenemone, in the first half of the reign of Ramesses II. As Ptahemwia was the Ramesseum's first Overseer of Cattle, Mery-Ptah can have only succeeded him.

3. Bakenamun

Bakenamun is depicted on the stela (British Museum EA 132) of his brother, the *im.y-r3 3h.wt n.wt nb t3.wy*, Overseer of Arable Lands of the LTL, named Hori.¹⁰⁸ Details on the provenance and acquisition of the stela are not available. According to James, a Theban provenance is likely in view of Bakenamun's association with the Ramesseum.¹⁰⁹ However, considering the fact that many of the Ramesseum's high officials were buried at Saqqara, a Memphite provenance of this stela cannot be excluded either.¹¹⁰ The round-topped stela is carved in sunk relief and divided into three registers. Bakenamun is depicted in the middle register. He is clad in the priestly leopard-skin as he presents a libation and incense to his brother Hori and his wife *T(3)-n.t-p3-t3*. On the left-hand side, Hori (now identified as *s3=f s'nh rn=f*) presents an offering to his deceased parents Mery-Re and Iny, both without titles. The bottom register contains seven figures, all standing in an adoring pose.¹¹¹ Iconography and style point to a date late in the reign of Ramesses II.

¹⁰⁴ Raue (1999, 198 n. 7, with a list of title holders) indicates that a secure succession of the holders has yet to be established.

¹⁰⁵ Borchardt 1907–8, 59–61, fig. 1.

¹⁰⁶ On statue St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum 738: *KRI* III, 211.2–3; Gohary 1991, 204–5, pls 51–4, 56–60.

¹⁰⁷ New York, MMA 15.2.1, dyad of the Chief Scribe Iuny with his wife Renenutet: PM IV, 269; *KRI* I, 352–3; Berman 1999, 250–2. Found in or near the tomb-chapel of Iuny's father, the Chief Physician Amenhotep, at Khashaba, Asyut: Kamal Bey 1916, 86–9, No. 74.

¹⁰⁸ Limestone, 90 × 55 cm: Budge 1909, 188. No. 675; PM I/2, II, 808; *HTBM* 9, 58, pl. 45.1; *KRI* III, 375.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. also Peterson 1979, 6.

¹¹⁰ A man named Mahu, the owner of a small dyad (Cairo JE 91915) of Nineteenth Dynasty date found at the temple terrace near the animal galleries at Saqqara, holds the similar title [*im.y-r3*] *3h.wt n.wt Imn.w*. PM III/1, 821; Martin 1979, 46, No. 144, pl. 41.


¹¹¹ These are, from left to right: the *idnw n.y t3 šnw.t pr.w-3 'nh.w wd3.w snb.w*, Deputy of the Granary of Pharaoh, l.p.h., Hori (probably the same man as the dedicator of the stela); his brothers, the *hr.y ihw n.y hnw*, Stable Master, Hor; the *t3y-md3.t*, Sculptor, Mery-Maat; and the *sš n.y t3 šnw.t*, Scribe of the Granary, Neferrenpet; his sisters, *šm'.yt n.yt 3s.t*, Songstress of Isis, Aset; and Mut-Aset; and another brother, the *hm-ntr*, Prophet, Hornakht.

4. Paraemheb

The tomb of Paraemheb is lost, but there are indications to suggest that it was located at Saqqara. The corpus of objects pertaining to this official includes four canopic jars and two shabtis.

The shabti is in the collection of the Musée départemental des antiquités in Rouen.¹¹² It is inscribed with the title *im.y-r3 ih.w n.w t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w*. There are no details about the object's provenance or acquisition.

The canopic jar is in the Cairo Museum (CG 4322). Paraemheb bears the title *im.y-r3 ih.w wr n.w Imn.w*.¹¹³ The jar was found at Saqqara in March 1862, and another jar, Cairo CG 4323, possibly belongs to the same set of four jars that were initially registered as JE 19172–5.¹¹⁴ One of these jars is now in the collection of the Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History, No. 6263.¹¹⁵ It identifies Paraemheb as the Chief Overseer of Cattle of Amun.

During the 1987 season of the EES/Leiden excavations at Saqqara, a faience shabti inscribed for the *im.y-r3 /// P3-R^c.w-m-hb* was found in the fill over chapel B of the tomb of Maya.¹¹⁶ Part of the title is preserved as , which allows the reconstruction *im.y-r3 ih.w*. A second shabti, of an anonymous Overseer of Cattle, was found on the surface over Maya's forecourt.¹¹⁷

IV.3 Overseers of the Treasury of the Ramesseum (table 4)

The Overseers of the Treasury are not attested in the papyri and ostraca related to the administration of the memorial temples at Western Thebes.¹¹⁸ Their local representatives were the treasury scribes.¹¹⁹ Haring (1997, 230) observes that the overseers are known from inscriptions at Gebel el-Silsila, which indicates that they were involved in the building of the temples. This observation corresponds with the view that Tia was probably the first treasurer of the Ramesseum.¹²⁰ Five holders of the title are listed below.¹²¹

¹¹² Loret 1880, 151, I.1 (h: 24 cm); *KRI* III, 376.8.

¹¹³ Reisner 1967, 218, pl. 54 (without a lid); “XX Dynasty (?)”, calcite.

¹¹⁴ Reisner 1967, 219–20, pl. 57 (without a lid).

¹¹⁵ Previously Yale University Art Gallery; ex-coll. Barringer: Scott III 1986, 116, Cat. 65. The lid is in the form of a baboon head (Hapy), whereas the inscription mentions Duamutef (jackal). Canopic jar Cairo CG 4322 mentions Hapy.

¹¹⁶ Raven 2001, 44, Cat. 196, pl. 37 (Excav. No. 87–153; h: 4.4 cm); late Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasty. Chapel B is located north of the statue room.

¹¹⁷ Raven 2001, 42, Cat. 181, pls 19, 37 (Excav. No. 88-70); faience, late Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasty. Raven tentatively attributes the shabti to Iniua.

¹¹⁸ Haring 1997, 230.

¹¹⁹ Iry, who held office as *sš m t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp[.n]-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w*, is the only Scribe of the Ramesseum who is attested at Saqqara. His round-topped stela (present location unknown) was found by Lepsius (*LD Text*, I, 182) and the tomb was numbered LS 26, located north of LS 27, the tomb of Maya. See also: PM III/2, 667.

¹²⁰ Van Dijk 1993, 98; *Id.* 1997, 55; Leblanc 2012, 84–5.

¹²¹ Leblanc (2012, 84–5 n. 7) also lists Piay (see *KRI* II, 923.7: O. Louvre 666), who held the titles *sš nsw im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd*. However, his titulary does not support his association with the Ramesseum.

1. Tia

A mud brick stamped with Tia's name was found not far from the Ramesseum,¹²² and a relief-decorated block depicting him has recently been excavated in the chapel of the memorial temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri, where it had been reused during the Coptic period.¹²³ On the relief-block, Tia bears the titles Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum and Fan Bearer on the Right of the King. He is positioned standing behind the larger-scale representation of Ramesses II. The king's *nomen* is written as $[R^c.w-m]s-s(w)$, which points to a date early in the reign of that king.

Tia also held office as $im.y-r3 pr.w-hd n.y nb t3.wy$, Overseer of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands: the chief treasurer of the country's central administration.¹²⁴ In that office, he probably succeeded Suty who had made a career in the army.¹²⁵ There are three indications to position Suty at the start of the Nineteenth Dynasty:

1. He served as Overseer of the Treasury of the Theban memorial temple of Seti I;¹²⁶
2. His statue found in the Karnak Cachette (Cairo CG 42172) bears the early *nomen* of Ramesses II;¹²⁷
3. A shabti (Paris, Louvre SH 198) inscribed for Suty was found in the Serapeum, in Room G (Rhoné C8), the burial place for the Apis bulls that died in Years 16 and 30 of Ramesses II.¹²⁸

Tia thus succeeded Suty somewhere after Year 16, and he himself was succeeded by Panehsy, who was in office in Year 24,¹²⁹ a date that serves as a *terminus a quo* for Tia's death. Panehsy did not hold office as Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum. Tia's successor in that office, according to Van Dijk, may have been Khnumemheb, the owner of TT 26 in the Asasif.¹³⁰ Recent research has shown that tomb TT 26 should be dated to the late Nineteenth Dynasty, *temp.* Sety II/Tausret.¹³¹ Thus, Tia must have been succeeded by someone else. In view of his close association with Tia, and given the course of his earlier career, this can have only been Ptahemwia.

¹²² Compton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, 40, fig. 34; Martin 1997, No. 334; PM II/2, 424; KRI III, 371, No. 8. His titles were: $ir.y-p^t h3.ty-^c.w s3 nsw im.y-r3 pr.w-hd$.

¹²³ Barwik 2007, 67–70, pls 7–8: probably part of a stela.

¹²⁴ Van Dijk 1997, 54.

¹²⁵ Yoyotte 1954, 224–8; KRI III, 140–7; Gnirs 1996, 181–5; Van Dijk 1997, 54 n. 7. His titles were: $t3.y-hw hr wnm.y n.y nsw, s3 nsw, im.y-r3 m3^c wr n.y hm=f, im.y-r3 pr.w n.y nb t3.wy, im.y-r3 pr.w-hd hw.t-ntr 3h Sthymr(i).n-Pth m [pr.w] Imn.w$. His tomb is located at El-Khawaled, Asyut: Châban 1901, 137–40; Brunton 1937, 135–6. See also KRI III, 140–7; Kamal El-Din 2010, 131–42. Bohleke places Suty after Tia and succeeding Panehsy (Bohleke 1991, 321; *Id.* 2002, 158 n. 10).

¹²⁶ For this temple, see: Brand 2000, 228–49; Awad 2002, 192–3; Ullmann 2002, 258–88.

¹²⁷ Legrain 1909, 38–9, pl. 36.36; PM II, 145; KRI III, 141.7–11.

¹²⁸ Mariette 1857, pl. 14; Helck 1958, 409; Awad 2002, 192–3. Schneider (1977, I, 283) mentions three shabtis of Suty, found near the head-end of the right-hand sarcophagus in room G.

¹²⁹ Van Dijk 1993, 106; O. Gardiner, 86; Černý and Gardiner 1957, I, 22, pls 81–2; KRI III, 138–40. A flask with docket in two lines of hieratic (wine jar label) found in the tomb of Tia mentions Year 31, which might indicate the date of a burial: Raven et al. 2011, 188, Cat. 329.

¹³⁰ Van Dijk (1993, 106 n. 76) argues that the carefully carved stelae flanking the entrance suggest a date in the first half of the reign. The same suggestion is made in PM I/2, 43. The inscription giving the date Sety II, Year 5, is considered as a later addition mainly on account of the tomb owner's title mentioning the Ramesseum. See also: KRI III, 373 [171].

¹³¹ Kampp 1996, 212–13.

Awad (2002, 193), who studied the Treasury in the New Kingdom, indicates that it is debatable whether Tia's position in the Ramesseum represented a stage in the development of his career to becoming the state Overseer of the Treasury, or whether he administered the temple treasuries by virtue of his position as the state treasurer. Without further discussion, Awad suggests the latter is the more plausible scenario. The available data, however, suggest otherwise: Tia became the Ramesseum's treasurer at the start of Ramesses II's reign, while he succeeded Suty only after Year 16. The overview of titles listed in table 4 further indicates that it was not at all a matter of course that the state treasurer also held office as the Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum.

2. Ptahemwia

The pinnacle of Ptahemwia's career was his appointment as Overseer of the Treasury in the Ramesseum.¹³² The title was recorded by Mariette at Saqqara in 1859 on "an unidentified object", undoubtedly in the tomb of Ptahemwia.¹³³ The full title reads as follows:

im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd nbw n.y t3 ḥw.t n.yt ḥḥ.w rnp.wt n.y nsw.t-bi.ty Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w m Inb-ḥd,

Overseer of the Treasury of the temple of millions of years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermaatse Setepenre in the house of Amun in White Wall.

The addition *m Inb-ḥd*, "in Memphis", has led to discussions on the nature and location of the temple. The preposition *m*¹³⁴ appears to refer to a memorial temple of Ramesses II in a 'domain of Amun' in Memphis. According to Helck (1961, 921 [139]), this was the memorial temple of Ramesses II in the temple of Amun at Memphis. Berlandini (1979, 260 n 2) similarly suggests that the temple was located in (the nome) White Walls, and that it should not be confused with the Ramesseum mentioned in the titles of some of the officials listed in the present paper. Ullmann (2002, 372–3), followed by Leblanc (2012, 84 n. 7), convincingly rejects this view. She argues that no royal temple designated as *m pr.w Imn.w* was ever attested at Memphis, and that no Memphite temple of Ramesses II was written with his *pre-nomen*.¹³⁵ Instead, she argues that the title indicates that Ptahemwia held office at Memphis in order to administer the estate of the memorial temple in Lower Egypt.¹³⁶ Another reference to an estate of the Ramesseum at Memphis can be found on O. Louvre 2262, dated to Year 42 of Ramesses II: '... *b^cḥ n.y pr.w Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w^c.w.s. m Mn-nfr*', '... the vineyard of the house of Usermaatse Setepenre l.p.h. in Memphis'. Ullmann's suggestion that Ptahemwia administered the Lower Egyptian estate of the Ramesseum from his office at Memphis can be expanded to include the overall administration of the temple, as has also been proposed by Nelson (1999, 60). The high officials resided at Memphis and limited themselves to

¹³² Haring 1997, 445, lists Ptahemwia only as Overseer of Cattle. Ptahemwia is also not listed by Awad 2002, 189 table IV, 193–94 (*Das Schatzhaus des Ramesseums*).

¹³³ Mariette 1872, 20, pl. 62c; KRI III, 417.10–11.

¹³⁴ Compare to the title *sš n.y pr.w Im.w m šht-itn m Mn-nfr*, Scribe of the Temple of Aten in Akhetaten (and?) in Memphis, held by Mery-Neith (late Eighteenth Dynasty: Van Walsem 2014, 42–4).

¹³⁵ See also Helck 1961, 862 (80), No. 13; Haring 1997, 22. These are written with the king's *nomen*: *t3 ḥw.t R^c.w-ms-s(w) mr.y-Imn.w m pr.w Pth*, and the *ḥw.t R^c.w-ms-sw mr.y-Imn.w ḥnm.t-m3^c.t-n(.yt)-Pth m [pr.w] Ḥw.t-Ḥr.w nb.t nh.t (rsy.t)*. The temples were situated in the "houses" of the Memphite deities Ptah and Hathor, respectively. For further discussion, see Staring 2015.

¹³⁶ Spiegelberg 1894, 64–5.

inspection visits to Thebes. The day-to-day administration was in the hands of the locally resident lower clergy and priesthood, who constructed their (rock-cut) tombs at Thebes.¹³⁷

3. Khay

In March 1859, Devéria photographed not only the tomb of Ptahemwia, but also the now-lost tomb of Khay, the *im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd, im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd m ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w*, and *im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd n.y t3 ḥw.t n.yt ḥḥ.w n rnp.wt n.y nsw.t bi.ty Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w*.¹³⁸ The walls of the tomb’s courtyard were constructed of mud bricks and the western cult chapel was constructed of limestone. The remains of eight *djed* pillars were found standing upright in the courtyard and two naophorous statues (Cairo CG 604 and 606) were positioned on either side of the doorway to the chapel. As indicated by Mariette, at least four of the pillars and the two statues were taken to the Bulaq Museum in March 1859:¹³⁹

‘... Quatre piliers extraits de l’une des chambres du tombeau d’un nommé Schai qui exerçait à Thèbes les fonctions de gardien du trésor du temple des milliers d’années du roi Ramsès II. [...] Le défunt est représenté sur chacun des monuments, debout et dans l’une des postures de l’adoration. [...] Le nom et la fonction du personnage thèbain qui, par des raisons inconnues, eut son tombeau à Memphis, nous sont donnés par deux statues trouvées avec les quatre piliers et conservées au Magasin n° 5 (nos 900 et 901).’

A shabti held in the Cairo Museum (CG 46563) inscribed for the *im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd* named Khay possibly belongs to the same man.¹⁴⁰

A relief-decorated block inscribed for Khay, excavated by Garstang at Abydos, is held in the collection of the Musées royaux d’Art et d’Histoire in Brussels (E. 5184).¹⁴¹ The fragment contains scenes divided over two registers. In the lower register, Khay and his wife Heretib-Mennefer¹⁴² are depicted seated at an offering table. An anonymous male figure presents a libation.

4. Amenemone

Amenemone and his wife Meryt-Ptah, Songstress of Bastet, constructed their monumental tomb at Saqqara (ST 101). It was excavated by the archaeological mission of Cairo University directed by Sayed Tawfik in 1984–8, located approximately 65 m south of the Unas

¹³⁷ See e.g. Nelson 1999, 58–62; Leblanc 2012, 86 n. 10.

¹³⁸ PM III/2, 726; Helck 1958, 522; Pasquali 2013, figs 10–11. The photographs are in the Musée d’Orsay, Paris: PHO 1986 144 60, MS 178 130 and PHO 1986 144 63, MS 178 133. The material from the archives of Mariette and Devéria pertaining to the tomb of Khay are currently being studied by J. Berlandini-Keller and S. Pasquali. Preliminary results will be presented on 26.06.2015 during the conference *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015*, held at Charles University, Prague, entitled: ‘Auguste Mariette’s Excavations at Saqqara in 1859–1860’.

¹³⁹ Mariette 1864, 63 [18–21]; Mariette 1868, 99–100. See also: PM III/2 775A and Addenda; Berlandini 1988, 25. For the statues, see: Mariette 1872, 21, pl. 63f (Bulaq Nos 285–6); Borchardt 1925, 154–5, 155–6, pls 109–10 (mentioning the date March 1859); KRI III, 373; Málek 1987, 123; Schulz 1992, I, 189–92, Nos 093–94; II, pls 45–6. Schulz’ suggestion (op cit. I, 189 n. 2) that the statues were set up in a temple or in the Serapeum can now be rejected.

¹⁴⁰ Newberry 1937, 20 (JE 4647); Schulz 1992, 189 n. 1.

¹⁴¹ Limestone, 65 × 48 cm: Speleers 1923, 64, No. 267; KRI III, 373, 10; Leblanc 2012, pl. 16A.

¹⁴² PN I, 252.29: *hr(i).t-ib-Mn-nfr*, ‘Bewohnerin von Memphis’.

causeway.¹⁴³ The monument is built of limestone and consists of a forecourt, pylon gate, courtyard, three chapels in the west, and a pyramid that partly covered the central cult chapel.

The unprovenanced statue of Amenemone held in the State Hermitage Museum (St. Petersburg 738) has been attributed to this official.¹⁴⁴ Its Memphite origin is suggested by the deities mentioned in the text: ‘Ptah-who-is-south-of-his-wall, Lord of Ankhtawy’, and ‘all gods of Memphis’.

Amenemone held a number of titles associated with the state treasury, including those of Overseer of the Treasury of the LTL and Overseer of the Treasury of Upper and Lower Egypt. In that office, he probably succeeded Panehsy, who was attested in Year 24 of Ramesses II. Paytenheb is attested as the treasury overseer in Year 53, and he may have been Amenemone’s successor.¹⁴⁵ Since no inscription pertaining to Amenemone contains a date, those of Panehsy and Paytenheb provide the earliest and latest possible limits for Amenemone, who probably served during Ramesses II’s fourth and fifth decades on the throne.

“Panel 2” in the tomb of Amenemone contains an inscription with the title *im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd p3 /// pr.w R'.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w hr.y-ib w3.t imn.tyt W3s.t*.¹⁴⁶ The wall is a little damaged and the published photographs are not very clear. Nevertheless, the title undoubtedly refers to the Ramesseum, the institution where Amenemone also held office as Chief Steward. It is not at all common for one individual to hold both these high-ranking titles in the administration of a Theban royal memorial temple.

5. Khnumemheb

The Overseer of the Treasury Khnumemheb constructed his tomb in the Asasif, near Sheikh Abd el-Gurna at Thebes (TT 26).¹⁴⁷ Lepsius copied four columns of text containing his titles: *sš nsw m3' mr.y=f im.y-r3 mš' n.y nb t3.wy m 'h.t=f im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd [m/n.y] t3 ḥw.t Wsr-m3 't-R'.w-stp.n-R'.w m pr.w Imn.w*, True Royal Scribe whom he loves, General of the LTL in His Palace, Overseer of the Treasury (in/of) the Ramesseum.¹⁴⁸ The titles *im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd m ḥw.t-nsw* and *im.y-r3 pr.w-ḥd n.y nb t3.wy (m ḥw.t=f)* can be understood as abbreviated forms of the title referring to the Ramesseum.¹⁴⁹ The addition *n.y nb t3.wy* confirms that Khnumemheb lived during the reign of Ramesses II. When it is mentioned in the titulary of officials, the phrase normally refers only to the living king. The forecourt of the tomb of Khnumemheb cuts that of TT 194 of Djehutyemheb, which dates to mid-Ramesses II.¹⁵⁰ Therefore, TT 29 dates from the second half of Ramesses II, or later.

¹⁴³ Tawfik 1991, 405, fig. 1, pls 57b, 58a; Gohary 1991, 195–205, pls 49–60.

¹⁴⁴ Van Dijk 1993, 156–7. See also: Lieblein 1873, 4–5, pl. I [1–3]; *KRI* III, 210–11; Gohary 1991, 204–5, pl. 60.

¹⁴⁵ *KRI* III, 147; O. Louvre 2261.

¹⁴⁶ Gohary 1991, pl. 56.

¹⁴⁷ PM I:1, 43 [26], 44 (plan) and map IV (context plan of the necropolis); Griffith Institute Archives photos 1209 and 1227; Kampp 1996, 212–13. His wife is called Mery-Aset.

¹⁴⁸ *LD Text*, III, 249, No. 291; *KRI* III, 373.15–16: transverse hall, left end, upper register. The tomb has remained unpublished. See also Gnirs 1996, 8–9, 185.

¹⁴⁹ Gnirs 1996, 185 nn 1240–1.

¹⁵⁰ Gnirs 1996, 185 n 1238.

IV.4 Chief Stewards of the Ramesseum (table 5)

The royal memorial temples were supervised by the Steward (*im.y-r3 pr.w*). The officials are not mentioned in the administrative papyri and ostraca from Western Thebes, which led Haring (1997, 225) to conclude that these men were court officials who resided at the residence or elsewhere.¹⁵¹ There, they were responsible for the temple fields, herds, and personnel throughout the country. Each temple had only one *im.y-r3 pr.w* at any one time.

During the reign of Ramesses II, at least nine officials held the office of Steward of the Ramesseum. Their tombs were located at Saqqara (7) and Thebes (1). The location of the tomb of one official is unknown (No. 7, Neferrenpet).

1. Ramessesnakht

Ramessesnakht held the office of Steward in the Ramesseum after a career in the military. He held the additional titles *tsw-pd.t* and *im.y-r3 mš' wr*, Commander of the Troops and General.¹⁵² A relief-decorated limestone block in the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels (E 5183) contains part of a scene depicting Ramessesnakht seated along with his wife Tuy.¹⁵³ A Memphite provenance of this block is likely on account of Tuy's title: *šm'.yt n.y(t) Hw.t-Hr.w nb.t nh.t rsy(.t)*, Songstress of Hathor, Lady of the Southern Sycamore. On stylistic grounds, the block has been dated to the early Nineteenth Dynasty.¹⁵⁴ Ramessesnakht thus held office at the beginning of Ramesses II's reign.

Two more objects pertaining to Ramessesnakht are known. A statue of his mother Nasha, dedicated by Ramessesnakht, is now in the Musée du Louvre (E. 11523),¹⁵⁵ and a libation base dedicated to the goddess Isis is in the Museo Egizio in Turin (N. 22052).¹⁵⁶ The provenances of both objects are unknown.

2. Nahuher

Nahuher bears the title of Chief Steward of the Ramesseum on a stela dedicated by his son, the Scribe Neferrenpet.¹⁵⁷ Although the stela is of unknown provenance, a Theban origin has been proposed on account of the representation of the deified King Amenhotep I, the patron deity of the Theban necropolis.

¹⁵¹ Haring 1997, 225. Two Nineteenth Dynasty Stewards of the Ramesseum are mentioned in the *miscellanies*: Yupa and Nedjem: P. Anastasi VI, 6, 2–12, and P. Sallier I 9, 1–9, respectively.

¹⁵² For this official, see: Helck 1961, 105; Berlandini 1979, 249–65; *KRI* III, 198–9; VII, 115; Schulman 1964, 141, No. 348d; Binder 2008, Cat. [155].

¹⁵³ Speleers 1923, 65, No. 270 (ex-coll. King Leopold II). Note that a block excavated by Quibell (1912, 20 [1736]) at the Monastery of Apa Jeremias mentions a lady with the same name: *sn.t=f nb.t pr.w Twy*. The name is frequently attested during the New Kingdom at Memphis.

¹⁵⁴ Berlandini 1979, 250 n. 1, 259 (relief style Ay/Horemheb to Seti I/Ramesses II); Leblanc 2012, 83. The very fine facial features may even suggest a date in the late Eighteenth Dynasty.

¹⁵⁵ Barbotin 1999, 36–7, Cat. 10a, pl. 4 (ex-coll. Nahman, Cairo 1915). Compare with statue Brussels E.2459 of Queen Nefertari dedicated by her son, Prince Mery-Atum (limestone; provenance unknown).

¹⁵⁶ Habachi 1977, 60–2, 150–1 (ex-coll. Drovetti).

¹⁵⁷ Stela fragment, lower part, ex-coll. Michaelides, Cairo; later coll. Samedá (*KRI* III, 187 [1]); present location unknown: Wente 1963, 30–6; *KRI* III, 187.5–6.

Helck identifies the owner of shabti Leiden AF 24e, Nahuher, who bears the titles Royal Scribe and Chief Steward, as the brother of Maya, the Overseer of the Treasury.¹⁵⁸ In the tomb of his (half)brother, Nahuher bears the titles Royal Scribe and Steward.¹⁵⁹ The Ramesseum was built fifteen years after Maya's funeral had taken place.¹⁶⁰ If the Chief Steward of the Ramesseum, Nahuher, is to be identified as the (half-)brother of Maya, a considerable age difference between the two has to be reckoned with.¹⁶¹ This difference might explain why Maya's children were included in the household of his subordinate, Djehuty (see above, III.1.4) and his wife Tuy, and not in that of his brother.

3. Horemheb

A number of limestone blocks taken from the tomb of Horemheb were found reused in the Monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara.¹⁶² This indicates that his tomb was constructed somewhere in the vicinity.

Throughout his career, Horemheb held positions in the civil administration. His honorific titles include one of great distinction: *t3y-hw hr wnm.y n.y nsw*, Fan Bearer on the Right of the King.¹⁶³ On most blocks, Horemheb holds the title of Chief Steward. His wife Ty held the titles *nb.t pr.w*, Lady of the House, and *šm'.yt n.yt Imm.w nb ns.wt t3.wy*, Songstress of Amun Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands.

The relief-decorated blocks from his tomb display a style comparable to those of the Mayor of Memphis, Ptahmose, and the Overseer of the Treasury, Maya. Blocks Cairo TN 19.6.24.15–17 and TN 19.6.24.18 bear texts inscribed on so-called “raised labels”: a feature observed on the blocks of a select number of Memphite tombs dating to the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasty.¹⁶⁴ The decoration of some blocks is executed in raised relief, which points to a date early in the Nineteenth Dynasty. The blocks' thickness suggests that they were part of the limestone revetment of walls constructed of mud bricks. From about the second to third decade of Ramesses II, tombs started to be constructed exclusively of limestone blocks.

¹⁵⁸ Helck 1958, 375, 488 (as *temp.* Horemheb). For the shabti, see: Schneider 1977, Cat. 3.2.1.24: ex-coll. d'Anastasi, Eighteenth/Nineteenth Dynasty; h: 12.9 cm. Also: Van Dijk 2012, 64.

¹⁵⁹ Martin 2012, scenes 5, 29, 30, 35a, 36, 37. Two more brothers are depicted: Nakht, Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands, and Parennefer, Overseer of Bowmen and Overseer of Horses. The titles held by Nahuher need not necessarily be “relatively low and unspecific” (cf. Van Dijk 2012, 64): Ptahmose, the Mayor of Memphis and Chief Steward in the Memphite memorial temple of Ramesses II, bears the same two titles on the life-sized statues Leiden AST 7–8 (Staring 2014, 265, Nos II. 3–4).

¹⁶⁰ Maya's funeral probably took place in Year 9 of Horemheb; Horemheb reigned fourteen years; Ramesses I reigned two years (see n. 40); and Seti I eight years (Van Dijk 2011, 330–1).

¹⁶¹ If the remains of Maya are correctly identified, he died at the age of 64.8 ± 9.5 years (Van Dijk 1993, 77). Wente (1963, 36 n. 21) rejects the view that Nahuher, the brother of Maya, is the same man as Nahuher mentioned on the stela and shabti, pointing to their “different” titulary: Steward versus Chief Steward.

¹⁶² PM III, 196 (attributed to the General Horemheb); PM III/2, 667–8; *KRI* III, 187–91; Quibell 1912, 143–5, pls 67.2, 72.1, 73.7 (Cairo JE 43276 and TN 17.6.24.5); 145, pl. 80.1 (Cairo TN 14.6.24.25), 143–4, pls 68.1, 73.2, 74.9 (Cairo TN 19.6.24.15–17); 144, pl. 74.10 (Cairo TN 19.6.24.18); 143–4, pls 67.3, 73.1 (Cairo JE 43277); 144–5, pls 73.6, 81.7 (Cairo TN 19.6.24.4–5); 144, pl. 73.3–4 (Cairo TN 19.6.24.11; TN 19.6.24.13); 144, pls 71.4, 72.2, 73.5, 8 (Cairo JE 43276). See also Berlandini 1979, 261, with n. 5; Raedler 2012, 129, with n. 28. I have not been able to identify the JE or TN numbers of all blocks recorded by Quibell.

¹⁶³ See: Pomorska 1987.

¹⁶⁴ Staring 2014.

4–5. Iurokhy/Urhiya and Yupa

Iurokhy/Urhiya and his son Yupa both held office as Steward of the Ramesseum.¹⁶⁵ They are attested on a fair number of objects,¹⁶⁶ and their titles suggest that they both made a career in the military. Iurokhy was *im.y-r3 mšc* and *hr.y-pd.t n.y nb t3.wy*, General and Troop Commander (*lit.* Head of Bowmen) of the LTL.¹⁶⁷ Yupa was also a General and he held the military title *im.y-r3 ssm.wt n.w nb t3.wy*, Overseer of Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands.¹⁶⁸ Yupa additionally held a range of high administrative titles, including that of Chief Steward of the LTL and Overseer of works in all monuments of His Lord (i.e. the King).

The tomb of Iurokhy, located at Saqqara, was visited by the Prussian expedition led by Lepsius (numbered: LS 25) in early 1843.¹⁶⁹ A brief description is provided in the text volume of the *Denkmaeler*:

'... Es waren hier 5 Säulen, sie sind bis auf eine weggeschleppt worden, eine ist in Sakkara, 3 sind in Tura. Die zurückgebliebene ist zerbrochen.'¹⁷⁰

The present location of these papyriform columns is unknown. One *djed* pillar from the same tomb entered the collection of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo in 1935 (JE 65061). Before it arrived at the museum, the pillar had been standing in front of the house of the mayor of Saqqara village.¹⁷¹ The village is located near the area referred to as the *Ras el-Gisr*, which is the location of the monastery of Apa Jeremias where Quibell found many reused blocks taken from nearby New Kingdom tombs. The texts inscribed on the pillar identify Iurokhy as a Royal Scribe and General (*im.y-r3 mšc wr*). The decoration and texts on "side A" are executed in raised relief. It depicts Iurokhy standing with his hands raised in a gesture of adoration. The same motif can also be observed on the *djed* pillars of the

¹⁶⁵ Gnirs 1996, 179–81. Urhiya might be a name of foreign origin: Kitchen 1979, 74 ("pure Hurrian"). For genealogical clues, see statues Berlin 24022 and Krannert Art Museum 67-3-3 (ex-coll. Lady Meux) of Yupa, stela Louvre E.3143 (ex-coll. d'Anastasi), and Louvre Leather Roll col. 2 line 6. Ruffle (1979, 57–8) and Kitchen (1979, 71–2) consider Pahemnefer, the Lector Priest of His Lord (i.e. of Iurokhy) on stela Avignon, Musée Calvet A4 (see: Étienne 2009, 278–9, Cat. 247), as his son, but no such affiliation is indicated. Pahemnefer is the dedicator of stela Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts H 1380 (ex-coll. Drovetti). The inscription states that he made the stela for his lord Iurokhy (*iri.n hm 3h n.y nb=f*). The same is true for stela Birmingham, City Museum and Art Gallery 134'72, where Nebnehebsu officiates as Lector Priest (Ruffle 1979, 55–6; Kitchen 1979, 72). The stela depicts the family members of the Priest, not of Iurokhy. Yupa features on the stela (Turin, Museo Egizio 1465) of Mahu, Scribe of the Treasury of the Ramesseum (Ruffle 1979, 56–7, No. 3, pl. III). These stelae were undoubtedly introduced into the tomb of Iurokhy/Yupa, so that it eventually served their own cult by means of magically taking part in the diversion of offerings. Compare with the stela of Yamen, the Lector Priest for Maya and Meryt (Raven 1997, 146; Raven 2001, 21–2, Cat. 18, frontispiece, pls 8–9b, 28); and the stela in the Muzeum Narodwe (National Museum), Warsaw, 142294 (ex-coll. Hoffman) of Peraan-erneheh, another Lector Priest for Maya (Legrain 1894, pl. facing p. 24; Van Dijk 1993, 79–80, fig. 12; Raven 1997; Ramesside, also depicting Tyia, the daughter of Seti I).

¹⁶⁶ See: Helck 1958, 376–7; 490–2; Ruffle and Kitchen 1979, 55–74. Stela of Iurokhy, Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts H 1380 (was: Inv. No. 84; ex-coll. Drovetti, 1824): Kitchen 1979, 71; Étienne 2009, 281, Cat. 248; stela Turin 1465 of the Scribe of the treasury in the temple of Ramesses-Meryamun in the domain of Re, Mahu: Kitchen 1979, 72; Étienne 2009, 281, Cat. 250.

¹⁶⁷ Statue Berlin 24022 of Yupa: Wenig 1967, 95–8, pls 33–6; Ruffle 1979, 59, No. 9; Kitchen 1979, 71; Schulz 1992, I, 82; II, pl. 6d; Étienne 2009, 278, Cat. 246. Both titles are seldom held by one official (Gnirs 1996, 54).

¹⁶⁸ Statue Berlin 24022: see previous note.

¹⁶⁹ *LD Text*, I, 182 (erroneously mistakes the *w* for the *m*). Not included in the list of Ruffle and Kitchen.

¹⁷⁰ *LD Text*, I, 182.

¹⁷¹ Gauthier 1935, 81; Ruffle 1979, 59, No. 12.

early Nineteenth Dynasty officials Ptahmose,¹⁷² Khay (see above), Iry-iry,¹⁷³ and Netjerwymes.¹⁷⁴

Iurokhy's career probably started in the reign of Seti I or Ramesses I.¹⁷⁵ He served as a Troop Commander and, in the early years of Ramesses II, he became General. His appointment in the Ramesseum – in the words of Kitchen a “Theban appointment” – has been tentatively dated to Years 10–20.¹⁷⁶

The career of Yupa spans most of the reign of Ramesses II. In the so-called Louvre Leather Roll, dated to the king's fifth year in office, Yupa is mentioned as one of forty members of the Great Stable of Ramesses-Mery-Amun (*ihw ʿ3 n.y R ʿ.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w*).¹⁷⁷ Towards the end of his life, Yupa is attested by an inscription at Armant as he proclaims the ninth Sed-festival of Ramesses II (in Year 54).¹⁷⁸

Yupa, bearing the title Steward of the Ramesseum, is also depicted on the stela of the Troop Commander (*hr.y-pd.t*), Pahemeter from Sedment.¹⁷⁹

According to Gnirs, Yupa, in addition to being the Ramesseum's Steward, may have also exercised the offices of Overseer of the Treasury and Overseer of the Granary in the Theban memorial temple.¹⁸⁰ The fact that a single official held these three positions in the most important economic institution of the living king is unusual and it would underline his high position at the royal court. While the two positions have indeed been held by Amenemone (ST 101), it is questionable whether the same has been the case for Yupa. He has neither been explicitly named as the Ramesseum's treasurer, nor has the often used abbreviated form to refer to the king's memorial temple, *hw.t ity* or *hw.t nb=f*, been added to Yupa's treasury-related titles.

There are four statues known to represent Yupa. These are Krannert Art Museum 67-3-3,¹⁸¹ Berlin 24022,¹⁸² Cairo CG 567,¹⁸³ and Cairo JE 1062.¹⁸⁴ The latter represents the lower part of a kneeling statue of Yupa holding a naos containing a statuette of Ptah. A Memphite provenance can be suggested on account of the *hṯp-dī-nsu* formulae mentioning the Memphite deities Ptah and Sekhmet. The same provenance can be suggested for statue Cairo CG 567, which contains inscriptions mentioning Ptah, Sekhmet, Osiris Lord-of-Rosetau, Horus Lord-

¹⁷² Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 51: Mayor of Memphis and Chief Steward of the temple of Ramesses Meryamun in the House of Ptah: Staring 2014.

¹⁷³ Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 45; *im.y-hnt n.y nb tʿ.wy*, Head of Chamberlains of the Lord of the Two Lands: PM III/2, 756: Koefoed-Petersen 1956, 58–9, No. 77, pls 78–81; Martin 1987, 34, No. 84, pl. 31.

¹⁷⁴ Zivie 2007, fig. on p. 111 (sunk relief).

¹⁷⁵ Kitchen 1979, 72–3; Gnirs 1996, 56, 179.

¹⁷⁶ Kitchen 1979, 72–3.

¹⁷⁷ He is charged with the production of mud bricks. Virey 1887, 494; Kitchen, 1979, 72–3; *KRI* II, 790.12–13 (= col. II.6), 791.1–2 (= col. II.9).

¹⁷⁸ Mond and Myers 1940, 163, pls 7.1, 87.1, 93.1, *KRI* II, 396.10–11.

¹⁷⁹ As [Chief Steward of the] temple of Usermaatre-Setepenre in the domain of Amun: Petrie and Brunton 1924, II, pl. 68; *KRI* III, 244.8.

¹⁸⁰ Gnirs 1996, 180.

¹⁸¹ Ex-coll. Lady Meux: Budge 1896, 105–8, No. 193.

¹⁸² Wenig 1967, 95–8, pls 33.1, 34–36; Ruffle 1979, 59, No. 9; Schulz 1992, I, 82, Cat. 021; II, pl. 6d. The statue was purchased by the director of the Berlin Museum, G. Roeder, on the art market in Paris, 1943.

¹⁸³ Borchardt 1925, 117–18, pl. 96 (provenance unknown); Wenig 1967, pl. 33.3; Ruffle 1979, 59, No. 10; Schulz 1992, I, 176–7, Cat. 086; II, pl. 41.

¹⁸⁴ Borchardt 1934, 43–4 (provenance unknown); Ruffle, 1979, 59, No. 11.

of-the-Necropolis, and Osiris-Sokar Who-is-in-the-Shetayet. A Theban provenance has been proposed for block statue Berlin 24022,¹⁸⁵ which represents Yupa holding a naos with a statuette of Osiris Lord-of-Abydos. Schulz already noted the remarkably comparable damage to Yupa’s face on statues Berlin 24022 (sandstone) and Cairo CG 567 (limestone).¹⁸⁶ This observation can be used to support the hypothesis that these statues were each other’s pendants in Yupa’s (lost) tomb at Saqqara.¹⁸⁷ The tomb of Iurokhy was also located at Saqqara, and the stela Louvre E 3143 (ex-coll. d’Anastasi) of Iurokhy and Yupa (also depicting their wives Iwy and Inehyt, respectively), was dedicated by the Lector Priest Yupamen, who was responsible for the mortuary cult of both father and son.¹⁸⁸ Furthermore, the fragment of a block found in or near the tomb of Tia can be assigned to Yupa, as it preserves the remains of four columns of text, including the titles *im.y-r3 s[sm.wt]*, Overseer of Horses, and *im.y-r3 mš’*, General.¹⁸⁹

One of Yupa’s sons, Hatiay, held office as Chief of Medjay and Overseer of works on all monuments of His Majesty, ‘erecting great pillars in the domain of Amun’.¹⁹⁰ According to Kitchen (1979, 73), the pillars refer to the Eastern Temple at Karnak, a sanctuary dedicated to Amun-Re-Horakhty and Ramesses II “Who Hears Prayers”. Construction work on that monument was supervised by Bakenkhons (TT 35), the Overseer of works on all monuments of His Lord, Chief Steward in the house of Amun, and High Priest of Amun in Karnak.¹⁹¹

Yupa probably succeeded his father as Steward in the Ramesseum.¹⁹² He held the title at least until Year 54, which is recorded in the inscription at Armant.

6. Amenemone (ST 101)

See above, IV.3.4. The Year 54 date of Yupa serves as a *terminus post quem* for the appointment of Amenemone in the office of Steward of the Ramesseum.

7. Neferrenpet

The fragment of a limestone block with decoration in sunk relief recently auctioned at Sotheby’s, New York, is inscribed for a Steward (*im.y-r3 pr.w*) named Neferrenpet.¹⁹³ The

¹⁸⁵ Schulz 1992, I, 82.

¹⁸⁶ Schulz 1992, I, 176 n. 2. The head of statue Cairo JE 1062 is missing.

¹⁸⁷ Compare the position of statues CG 604 and 606 in the tomb of Khay at Saqqara: Pasquali 2013, figs 10–11.

¹⁸⁸ Lenormant 1857, No. 57; Pierret 1874, 11; Ruffle 1979, 57, No. 4, pl. IV.

¹⁸⁹ Martin 1997, 49 [344], pl. 101. As far as I am aware of, no other official buried at Saqqara held these two titles.

¹⁹⁰ Inscription on statue Krannert Art Museum Inv. No. 67-3-3 (University of Illinois): Ruffle 1979, 58–9, No. 8. The statue was previously in the Lady Meux collection: Budge 1896, 140–3, pl. 16. The statue’s provenance is unknown, but on account of the shrine surmounted by a ram’s head, and the title Festival Conductor of Amun held by Yupa, Thebes is likely. For other Chiefs of Medjay involved in the construction works of monuments of Ramesses II, see: Staring 2015. On statue Berlin 24022 of Yupa (also mentioning Iurokhy), his son Hatiay bears the title Chief of Medjay.

¹⁹¹ Bakenkhons and Yupa are mentioned together in P. Anastasi VI, 80 (Helck 1958, 491, No. 29.3; Gardiner 1937, 78.6–7; Caminos 1954, 297). Another prominent official mentioned in the same line, is the Mayor of Thebes Haunefer (cf. Helck 1958, 528: second half Ramesses II to Merenptah, Year 2).

¹⁹² Cf. Helck 1958, 376; Gnirs 1996, 178 n. 1169.

¹⁹³ See: <<http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2014/antiquities-n09236/lot.3.html>> accessed 23.5.2015. The block measures 45 × 38 cm, and was auctioned on 12.12.2014. The relief-block derives from a private collection in Austria, and was acquired in Egypt between 1926 and 1936 with the assistance and advice of the collector’s friends, Ludwig Borchardt and Ernst Herzfeld. I owe this reference to Dr Robert Demarée.

fragment represents the lower left corner of what is presumably a stela. It depicts Neferrenpet kneeling in adoration. The style of the relief suggests an advanced date in the reign of Ramesses II. The remains of two incised columns of text are preserved in front of the kneeling figure. The second column ends with the owner's title and name. Due to a lack of space, the inscription was continued in front of and behind Neferrenpet's head: *ḥw.t Wsr-m3'.t-R'.w-stp.n-R'.w m pr.w Ḥmn.w*. This may be understood as a continuation of the title, which thus reads: Steward [in/of] the Ramesseum. Amun is written with the sign of a seated anthropomorphic deity.¹⁹⁴ The remains of two lines of text are preserved above the representation of Neferrenpet. The lower line gives the name of the king: *nsw.t-bi.ty nb t3.wy (R'///, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Ra-///, undoubtedly Ramesses II).*

Although the style (especially the voluminous sash kilt and the thin arms) point to a date late in the reign of Ramesses II, it is not clear whether Neferrenpet should be positioned before or after Amenemone.

One may note that the son of Nahuher was also named Neferrenpet, and it cannot be excluded that the latter followed in the footsteps of his father. If Nahuher is indeed to be identified as the half-brother of Maya, and if he officiated early during the reign of Ramesses II, Neferrenpet cannot have succeeded his father directly. Note that the identification of the two men based solely on their name is not without problems, as the name Neferrenpet occurs very often.

8. Nebsumenu (TT 183)

Leblanc includes Nebsumenu, the owner of TT 183 in Khokha, in his overview of Stewards of the Ramesseum even though the title has not been preserved entirely. The incomplete title reads: 'Steward in the House of Usermaatre-Setepenre ///'.¹⁹⁵ Nebsumenu held a number of elevated titles, including (Chief) Steward of the LTL in the Southern City (i.e. Thebes), Chief Overseer of the Treasury of the LTL in Thebes, and Overseer of the Treasury of Amun(-Re).

The wife of Nebsumenu was Baket-Mut, the Lady of the House and Songstress of Amun (in the Southern City). Nebsumenu was the son of Paser, Mayor of the Southern City.¹⁹⁶ His brother, Haunefer, who also features in his brother's tomb, succeeded Paser as Mayor of the Southern City, and he served as Steward in the Temple of King Djoserkare (Amenhotep I).¹⁹⁷ Another official mentioned in the tomb of Nebsumenu is Bakenkhons, the High Priest of Amun.¹⁹⁸ These networks and family connections firmly position this official late in the reign of Ramesses II.

¹⁹⁴ For a parallel writing, see the graffito of Djehuty-her-hesef, the *sš n.y nsw.t m t3 ḥw.t Wsr-m3'.t-R'.w-stp.n-R'.w m pr.w Ḥmn.w* (Scribe of the King in the Ramesseum), in the sanctuary of Sekhmet-of-Sahure at Abusir: Borchardt 1910, 124, fig. 170. In the writing of the name Amenemone (Saqqara ST 101, see above), the element for Amun is sometimes written with the seated deity. See: Gohary 1991, pls 51 (*djed* pillar, north, south and east sides), 52 (*djed* pillar, east side), 53 (*djed* pillar, north side), 54 (*djed* pillar, south side), 57 (panel 3), and 59 (panel 6).

¹⁹⁵ Leblanc 2012, 23, 84 n. 6. See: PM I:1, 289–90; KRI III, 182–5; Seyfried 1999, 9–12; Hofmann 2004, 41–4; Assmann 2003, 42–5. Nebsumenu is also mentioned in the tomb of the Prophet of Amenhotep I, Panehsy (TT 16): KRI III, 398.13: "Steward Nebsumenu of the City (i.e. Thebes)".

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Helck 1958, 425.

¹⁹⁷ Helck 1977, col. 1054; Helck 1958, 425–7 (with further references). Haunefer is mentioned in P. Anastasi VI 6,9, alongside the High Priest of Amun, Bakenkhons (TT 35), and the Chief Steward Yupa (Gardiner 1937, 78.7; Helck 1958, 425: dated around Year 45 of Ramesses II). His tomb is likewise located at Thebes (unnumbered): Fakhry 1936, 126–9.

¹⁹⁸ Hofmann 2004, 42. Bakenkhons is the owner of TT 35 and he is depicted in TT 183 of Nebsumenu. See also n. 191, supra. Bakenkhons was in office as High Priest of Amun prior to Year 46 (P. Berlin 3047: Helck 1963,


9. Nedjem

Nedjem was the last Steward of the Ramesseum to serve during that King's reign, and he served well into the reign of Merenptah.¹⁹⁹ Objects pertaining to Nedjem were found at Saqqara, Memphis, Heliopolis, and Abydos.

Saqqara

Four alabaster canopic jars bearing the name of Nedjem were found at Saqqara in December 1859 (Cairo CG 4161–64).²⁰⁰ Jars CG 4161 and 4164 are inscribed with the title *im.y-r3 pr.w*; CG 4162 with *sš nsw m3' mr.y=f im.y-r3 šnw.ty n.y šm'.w T3-mḥ.w*; and CG 4163 with *sš nsw m3' mr.y=f im.y-r3 šnw.ty n.y nb t3.wy*.²⁰¹

Four shabtis (Cairo CG 47188 and CG 47209–11) may have been found with the canopic jars.²⁰² On a shabti of unknown provenance (London, UCL), Nedjem bears the title of Chief Steward of the LTL.²⁰³ A sixth shabti was found during the recent excavations of the Leiden mission in the tomb of the Royal Butler Ptahemwia, and it identifies him as Royal Scribe and Steward.²⁰⁴

A limestone abacus inscribed for the Royal Scribe and Steward Nedjem was found by the Leiden mission at Saqqara in 2003.²⁰⁵ It was reused in a secondary drystone wall around shaft 2003/17, located north of the tomb of Mery-Neith.²⁰⁶ The peculiar orthography of the title , with the phonetic complement *r*, is similar to that observed on the objects from Abydos (see below).

A stela of unknown provenance inscribed for Nedjem (Cairo CG 34508) may derive from Saqqara.²⁰⁷ The stela is hitherto unpublished and only a transcription of the text is given by Kitchen.²⁰⁸ The scene in the upper register depicts Ramesses II offering to Amun-Re; the lower register depicts Nedjem (as *sš nsw im.y-r3 pr.w*) kneeling in an adoring pose. He is described as the son of the Royal Scribe Amenemope.²⁰⁹

65–73; Haring 2013, 634), and he may have served until Year 66 (Bierbrier 1972, 303). He was succeeded by his brother Romaroy.

¹⁹⁹ PM III/2, 771, 838, 861; Helck 1958, 378–80; *KRI* III, 199–202; Bohleke 1991, 374–85.

²⁰⁰ Reisner 1967, 116–20, pl. 24. Lids of a human head, baboon, jackal and hawk.

²⁰¹ Siese (III) was also Overseer of the Double Granary of Upper and Lower Egypt late in the reign of Ramesses II to Merenptah. His tomb is located at Asyut: Kahl 2007, 134–5, pl. 13; Bohleke 1991, 356–68; *KRI* III, 151–4; *KRI* IV, 100–1). Other objects pertaining to this man: statue MMA 17.2.5; naophorous statue Louvre A.73; wooden statue, Brooklyn Museum 47.120.2; standard-bearer statue Vienna ÄS 34; relief fragment (Kamal Bey 1916, 79); anthropoid sarcophagus, Berlin 1/72 (Settgast 1972, 245–8); and two shabtis (Kamal Bey 1916, 73, 79). On a wooden statue from Asyut he holds the title *sš nsw im.y-r3 šnw.ty m t[3] ḥw.t Wsr-m3'.t-R'.w-stp.n-R'.w m pr.w Ḥmn.w*, and on statue Vienna ÄS 34 he holds the same title in the temple of Merenptah in the house of Amun.

²⁰² Newberry 1937–57, 88–9, pl. 35; 97–8, pls 19–21. The JE numbers 5497 (CG 47209) and 6498 (CG 47210) indicate the shabtis entered the Bulaq Museum in 1859 and in 1860, respectively (see Bothmer 1972–4, 114).

²⁰³ Petrie 1935, 14, No. 232, pls 19, 35.

²⁰⁴ Raven et al., forthcoming, Cat. 67 (SAK 2007-016).

²⁰⁵ Raven and Van Walsem 2014, Cat. 163 (Sak. 2003-72).

²⁰⁶ See Raven et al. 2003–4, 7, fig. 1.

²⁰⁷ PM III/2, 861 (Excav. No. 3201); *KRI* III, 201 [5]. According to Raue (1999, 224), this is the same stela as the one listed in PM III/2, 861 ("location unknown, possibly in Cairo Museum"): the upper part of a stela found in the Palace Area at Memphis (Kom el-Qal'a), Excav. No. 3201 (the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania archaeological mission led by Clarence Fisher, 1958–62).

²⁰⁸ *KRI* III, 201 [5].

²⁰⁹ Note that a shabti (Cairo CG 47240) of a man named Amenemope (no titles) was found at Saqqara in 1858: Newberry 1937–57, 112.

Heliopolis

On the sandstone block statue of Nedjem (Cairo CG 1220), holding a naos with a statuette of Osiris, he bears the titles *sš nsw, im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y t3 hw.t Wsr-M3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w, im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nb t3.wy*, and the honorific epithet *hs.y 3 n.y ntr nfr*.²¹⁰ According to Raue, the statue belongs to a small group of ‘*auswärtigen Personen*’ who are otherwise unrelated to Heliopolis.²¹¹

Memphis

A block statue now in the Memphis State University Collection, Inv. No. 1981.1.20, represents Nedjem with a statuette of Ptah-Tatenen.²¹² According to Maspero, the statue was found by Mariette during excavations in the temple of Ptah at Memphis during the years 1871, 1872 and 1875.²¹³ Before it was taken to the Bulaq Museum, the statue was stored for some time in a cabin located in the garden at Memphis.²¹⁴ The inscription on the back pillar lists his titles as: *sš nsw, im.y-r3 pr.w wr, wpw.ty nsw.t r h3s[.wt] nb[.wt]*,²¹⁵ and *im.y-r3 šnw.ty n.y p3 rwd imn.ty*.²¹⁶

Abydos

A dyad fragment found by Petrie at Abydos (present location unknown)²¹⁷ bears the titles *sš nsw* and *im.y-r3 pr.w n.y t[3] hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w*. An extra-sapulchral shabti also derives from Abydos (Cairo CG 47162).²¹⁸

Unknown provenance

A small amulet in the shape of a rectangular plaque, now held in the Petrie Museum (UC 12803), bears an inscription on the obverse: ‘Royal Scribe, Chief Steward, Royal Envoy to every foreign land, Nedjem, true of voice’.²¹⁹ The reverse depicts Nedjem standing with his arms raised in adoration before the lion-headed goddess Sekhmet.

Three more Stewards of the Ramesseum served probably directly after the reign of Ramesses II.

1. The Steward Hori is attested by two hieratic jar dockets from Deir el-Medina. The documents record wine deliveries in “Year 6”: *r-ht im.y-r3 pr.w Hri n.y t3 hw.t n.yt hh.w m*

²¹⁰ Borchardt 1934, 114–15 (as “Matarije”); *KRI* III, 199–200 (as Memphis); Schulz 1992, I, 238–9; II, pl. 53a–b; See also Raue 1999, 223–4 (*Journal d’Entrée*: as “Matariya”, i.e. Heliopolis).

²¹¹ Indeed, the texts make no reference to Heliopolitan deities.

²¹² Memphis (Tennessee); formerly Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 29.730: Dunham 1935, 150–1, pl. 19.

²¹³ Mariette 1872, 7, pl. 27f; Jeffreys 2010, 184–5 (1858–63, and 1871–5); PM III/2, 838. Note, however, that Alice Lieder, the wife of the Reverend Johann Rudolph Theophilus Lieder (1798-1865), produced squeezes of a selection of the texts inscribed on this statue during a visit to Memphis in May 1853: Málek 1986, 108, No. 7 (Lieder squeezes 16. 6A, B).

²¹⁴ Dunham (1935, 150) reconstructs a different itinerary for the statue. He indicates the statue was bought from a private owner by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (1929), and that, according to the owner’s personal notes, the statue was acquired in Alexandria by an American ship’s captain at the time of the American Civil War, 1861–5.

²¹⁵ For this title, see: Valloggia 1976, 147.

²¹⁶ Mariette 1872, pl. 27f; Dunham 1935, pl. XIX.1; *KRI* III, 200–1; Bohleke 1991, 374–5.

²¹⁷ Petrie 1903, 36, pls 35.2, 38.

²¹⁸ Newberry 1937–57, 79, pl. 35.

²¹⁹ Petrie 1917, xlili, No. 154; *KRI* III, 200.13; Petrie Museum collection online: <<http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx?parentpreref=#>> accessed 6.2.2015.

*rnp.wt nsw.t-bi.ty Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w 'nh.w wd3.w snb.w m pr.w Imn.w.*²²⁰ Although the inscription contains a date (Year 6), the name of the king is not mentioned. Ullmann (2002, 249) notes that the Ramesseum is not mentioned as the owner of the vineyard, but rather as the institution the officer in charge of the delivery belongs to. The vineyard would have belonged to a cult statue of the king.²²¹

2. The Steward Khaemty is attested by a graffito left in the temple of Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahri. The text is fragmentarily preserved and reads: *sš nsw im.y-r3 pr.w /// h^c-m-ti[r] /// nsw-bi.ty Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w 'w.s ///.*²²² In the absence of any additional documentation, it is uncertain where this official should be positioned in the succession of stewards, if indeed the title refers to the Ramesseum.
3. The Steward Pashedu is represented by a fragmentarily preserved block statue found at Edfu.²²³ His titles include: *sš nsw; im.y-r3 pr.w n.y t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w; im.y-r3 'h^c.w m T3-Šm^c.w; im.y-r3 pr.w m T3-mh.w.* Curiously, the element "in the house of the God X" is not added to the title mentioning the king's memorial temple. The fact it is written with Ramesses II's *prenomen* could indicate that the Theban Ramesseum is meant. The statue has been roughly dated to the Ramesside Period.

V. Discussion and conclusion

Over the years, scholars have been uneasy with the presence of the Ramesseum's high officials in the Memphite necropolis. As he described the objects taken from the tomb of Khay, Mariette remarked that while the name and office of this man pointed to a Theban provenance, for 'reasons unknown' he had his tomb at Memphis.²²⁴ Myśliwiec, who published Ptahemwia's pyramidion (Cairo CG 17109), argued that the official, who 'held office at Thebes', must have originated from Memphis 'since he chose to be buried near his hometown'.²²⁵ He further noted that 'the custom of entrusting a native of Memphis with a high office in Thebes appears to be quite common during the Ramesside Period' (mentioning Tia as a further example). More recently, Van Dijk cited the presence of the high officials of the Ramesseum in the Memphite necropolis to argue against the supposed connection between the residence city and the prominence of its necropolis: '... Unless one wants to assume that these officials had their offices in Memphis where they spent their lives signing documents and cutting through "red tape" while leaving the actual administration to their Theban subordinates, the presence of their tombs at Saqqâra is difficult to explain if a connection between the residence²²⁶ and the burial-ground of the high officials working in that residence is retained'.²²⁷ These observations lead us back to the main aim of this paper: to present a prosopography of the Memphite officials who held office at the Ramesseum, and to address the question why these officials were buried not in the Theban necropolis, but at Memphis.

²²⁰ Koenig 1980, II, pl. 33 (Nos 6291, 6293); *KRI* VII, 53–4; Ullmann 2002, 349–50.

²²¹ Ullmann 2002, 349–50; Kitchen 1992, 116.

²²² Marciniak 1974, 140, No. 106, pl. 74.4; *KRI* III, 365.15.

²²³ Farout 2007, 71–6.

²²⁴ Note, however, that the name of his wife – 'Resident of Memphis' – could hardly have been more "Memphite".

²²⁵ Myśliwiec 1978, 145.

²²⁶ Which, as Van Dijk points out, would have been the Delta capital at Pi-Ramesse.

²²⁷ Van Dijk 1988, 39.

At first sight, one would indeed expect to find the tombs of the high officials of the Theban Ramesseum at Thebes. It was supposedly the place where they exercised their authority. Indeed, during the Eighteenth Dynasty, officials with similar responsibilities were buried at Thebes, while those associated with the Memphite memorial temples built their tombs at Saqqara. Van Dijk (1988) argued that the leading officials of the post-Amarna Period chose the Memphite necropolis as the location for their tombs because it was the sacred abode of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris (the Memphite deity who came to play a prominent role in the mortuary cult), and because Memphis was Egypt's administrative capital since the reign of Thutmose III. From a preliminary study of prosopographical data from the reigns of Ahmose I to Horemheb, Martin (2000, 119) concluded that the high administrators, at least from the reign of Thutmose III onwards (but possibly even earlier), appear to have held office at Memphis.²²⁸ The officials of the Ramesseum will have similarly held office at Memphis because it was the administrative capital of Egypt.

Van Dijk rightly questioned the direct connection between the residence city and the appropriation of its necropolis by the officials who were resident in that city. Unfortunately we lack the administrative documents to confirm the presence of the Ramesseum's officials at Memphis during their lifetimes. The available documents at Thebes, however, indicate that they did not hold office there. Almost without exception, the tombs of the Ramesseum's officials were constructed at Saqqara – more specifically in the area south of the Unas causeway. After the reign of Ramesses II, when resources of the memorial temple were reallocated, holders of the same titles started to construct their tombs at Thebes. This trend suggests that the chief officials of the living king's most important memorial temple, an institution of great economic significance, held office in Egypt's administrative centre.²²⁹ One of the titles held by Ptahemwia suggests that he held office 'at White Wall'.²³⁰

The high officials of the Ramesseum are the first and only administrators of a Theban royal memorial temple who held office at Memphis, and who constructed their tombs at Saqqara. How could this be explained? The prosopographical study indicated that the Overseers of Cattle of the Ramesseum were drawn from the ranks of the Memphite cattle administration that was part of the State Treasury. The Ramesseum's first Treasurer was the king's brother-in-law who would become the overseer of that institution. This organisation of the temple's management, as far as it can be inferred from the officials' titles, may suggest that those in charge were held close to the residence perhaps to secure the flow of financial resources towards the king's memorial temple. The endowment text regarding the construction of the Memphite memorial temple of Amenhotep III, inscribed on the statue of the Chief Steward of

²²⁸ Martin (2000, 101) defines the main Residence City or capital as 'the place where the king and his courtiers and chief officials made their more-or-less permanent headquarters, necessitating an extensive complex of palaces, administrative buildings, storehouses and the like'.

²²⁹ Evidence from the Ramesside Delta residence indicates that some other high-ranking individuals had at least a temporary residence at Pi-Ramesse. Ptahmay, who held office as Steward in the temple of millions of years of Ramesses II in the house of Re (in Heliopolis), is attested by a limestone doorjamb from Qantir/Pi-Ramesse (Cairo JE 64730: Hamza 1930, 37–8; *KRI* III, 443.4–7; Raue 1999, 193). The Vizier of the South, Paser, whose tomb was constructed at Thebes (TT 106), is also attested by a lintel fragment from Qantir (Raedler 2009, 138–9, fig. 5). Unfortunately, we have no comparable sources from the residential quarters of the city of Memphis.

²³⁰ The choice for *Inb-hd*, instead of *Mn-nfr* or *hw.t-k3-Pth*, will have been a deliberate one. All three toponyms refer to Memphis. White Walls, however, originally designated the fortified residence of Egypt's early kings, while Mennefer appears to be commonly used to refer to the residential quarters and Hutkaptah denotes the temple grounds.

Memphis, Amenhotep Huy,²³¹ indicates that the late Eighteenth Dynasty royal memorial temples at Memphis were administratively attached to the temple of Ptah.²³² The same situation existed at Thebes, where the memorial temples were administratively attached to the temple of Amun. From the Ramesside period onward, the memorial temples of Western Thebes were largely self-sufficient economic units, which had administrative and economic ties with other temples and with government departments.²³³ The fact that the Theban memorial temples were said to be *m pr.w Ḳmn.w*, 'in the house of Amun', points to a religious dependence rather than one of administrative nature.²³⁴ While the overseers of the resources of the Theban memorial temples exercised their authority from a distance (at Memphis), and limited themselves to inspection visits to Thebes, their local representatives, deputies, attendants, and scribes, saw to the institutions' day-to-day affairs. They were resident at Thebes and built their (rock cut) tombs there. The main authority on site would have been the *Sem* Priest, the memorial temple's High Priest.²³⁵

The rationale behind the presence of the officials' tombs at Saqqara during the early Rameside Period may be further explained by the notion of Memphis as the royal city *par excellence*. Redford (1986, 297) notes that in the period beginning with Ramesses II, 'the dominance of Memphis in the life and thinking of the Egyptian state can be amply demonstrated'. More than "just" being the administrative capital, Memphis was also the place where kingship resided. In the words of Snape (2011, 468; following Redford 1986, 297–8), it was 'the royal city in terms of establishing a king, through mechanisms such as the coronation, the importance of the Apis, and the increasingly important role of the priesthood of Ptah'. The area of the Memphite necropolis at Saqqara south of the Unas causeway contains not only tombs constructed for the high officials of Ramesses II's Theban memorial temple; the area also includes the tombs of Ptahmose, Nebnefer and Mahu (see fig. 1), the Chief Stewards of his Memphite memorial temple called *ḳ ḥw.t R'.w-ms-s(w) mr.y-Ḳmn.w m pr.w Pth*, 'the temple of Ramesses Meryamun in the House of Ptah'.²³⁶ The king's fourth son, Khaemwaset, the High Priest of Ptah, officiated as the temple's High Priest, and his tomb may have been located south of the Unas causeway as well. The tomb of the official responsible for the construction of the temple 'Ramesses II "United with Maat of Ptah"', Amenhotep Huy, the Mayor of Memphis, probably constructed his tomb in the same area.²³⁷ Thus, the necropolis south of the Unas causeway was clearly composed of a large number of tombs built for officials who were closely associated with the royal court and who held offices in the service of the living king's memorial temples. Their tombs were constructed in visual connection to the royal temples constructed at the foot of the escarpment.²³⁸ The area south of the Unas causeway further contained the private tomb of the Generalissimo Horemheb. During the early Ramesside Period, the tomb served *de facto* as the memorial temple of the founder of the

²³¹ Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1913.163: PM III/2, 836; *Urk.* IV, 1793–1801.

²³² This is indicated by the term *ḥr sḏf3*, 'on the provision of': Haring 1997, 169, 390.

²³³ Haring 1997, 389.

²³⁴ Ullmann 2002, 655–6; Haring 2013, 613–17 (with references to earlier discussion on the subject).

²³⁵ On the *Sem* Priest, see: Haring 1997, 214–20.

²³⁶ Staring 2015. Ptahmose was also responsible for the large-scale construction works at Memphis.

²³⁷ PM III/2, 770, 847.

²³⁸ The Chief Steward of Memphis, Amenhotep Huy, described the location of Amenhotep III's memorial temple: '... in the cultivated/inundated land west of Hutkaptah, upon the bank/foreshore of Ankh-tawy' (Statue Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1913.163: *Urk.* IV, 1793–1801).

Ramesseid Dynasty. Seti I and Ramesses II widely promoted the cults of their deceased fathers and the royal ancestors in order to reinforce their own legitimacy.²³⁹ At the same time, the temple of Ptah was largely expanded, and the Memphite necropolis witnessed major building activities as well, including the construction of the *petits souterrains* of the Serapeum. Snape (2011, 465) argued that the activities that reshaped the monumental landscape in the early Ramesseid period were motivated by contemporary views of the past, and especially those views stressing the projection of aspects of kingship.²⁴⁰ It were those views that also shaped the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara south of the Unas causeway during the early Nineteenth Dynasty.

TABLE 2. – *Overseers of cattle of Amun: Memphis*

No.	Name	Title(s)	Date	Tomb
1	<i>H3.t-ib3y</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 ih.w n.w Imn.w</i>	Mid-D.18, A. III	Saqqara, lost
2	<i>Iniwib3</i>	[A] <i>ir.y-p.t h3.ty-^c.w ; mr.t n.y nb t3.wy ; sd3w.ty bi.ty</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w ; im.y-r3 pr.w wr ; im.y-r3 pr.w m/n.y Mn-nfr ; im.y-r3 ih.w n.w Imn.w</i> [C] <i>sš nsw ; sš nsw m3^c ; sš nsw m3^c mr.y=f ; sš pr.w-ḥd n ḥd-nbw n.y nb t3.wy</i>	Late A.IV/Akh–Tut.	Saqqara
3	<i>P3y</i>	[A] <i>ir.y-p.t h3.ty-^c.w ; smr w^c.ty ; sd3w.ty-bi.ty</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 ip.t-nsw (n.y nb t3.wy) ; im.y-r3 ip.t-nsw n.y Mn-nfr ; im.y-r3 ip.t-nsw n.y t3 ḥm.t-nsw (m k3.t nb.t n.y ḥm=f) ; im.y-r3 ip.t-nsw m grg-W3s.t ; im.y-r3 nfr.wt n.t nb t3.wy ; im.y-r3 ih.w (n.w Imn.w-R^c.w) ; im.y-r3 pr.w n.y nsw</i> [C] <i>sš nsw (m3^c mr.y=f)</i> [D] <i>im.y-r3 k3.t n mn.w nb n.y ḥm=f</i>	Tut.-early Hor.	Saqqara, LS 28
4	<i>Dḥw.ty</i>	[A] <i>ḥs.y n.y nb=f</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 ih.w n.w Imn.w</i> [C] <i>sš</i>	Early Hor. to late Hor./ Seti I	Saqqara, lost
5	<i>Mn.w-ms</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 ih.w n.w Imn.w</i>	Late D.18 to early D.19, temp. Seti I	Saqqara, lost
6	<i>Pyi3y</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 ih.w</i> [C] <i>sš nsw pr.w-ḥd n.y nb t3.wy</i>	Late D.18 to early D.19	Saqqara, lost
7	<i>Iwy</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 ih.w n.w Imn.w</i>	Early D.19	Saqqara, lost
8	<i>Pth-ms</i>	[A] <i>ḥs.y 3 n.y ntr nfr ; mrr.t(y) n.y nb t3.wy</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 ih.w ; im.y-r3 ih.w n.w Imn.w</i> [C] <i>sš nsw /// nb t3.wy ; sš nsw pr.wy-ḥd</i>	Early D.19	Saqqara, lost
9	<i>Mry.ty</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 ih.w wr n.w Imn.w</i>	Early D.19, Seti I	Probably Memphite

²³⁹ Ling 1992, 59–66.

²⁴⁰ By means of king-lists, the cult of the royal ancestors was incorporated into the private mortuary cult of the deceased (Van Dijk 1993, 202). The tomb of Tia also appears to have had a king-list. The fragment of a block with the representations and cartouches of Ahmose I and Amenhotep I was found in the courtyard of the neighbouring tomb of Maya (Martin 2012, 57 [37], pl. 67).

10	<i>Ti3</i>	[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t h3.ty-^c.w ; w^c ikr mty m3^c ; mrr.w n.y nb t3.wy (hr bit=f/hr shrw=f) ; hn.y tp.y n.y hm=f ; hs.y 3 n.y ntr nfr ; t3y-hw hr wnm.y n.y nsw [B] im.y-r3 ih.w ; im.y-r3 ih.w wr ; im.y-r3 ih.w wr n.y Imn.w-R^c.w nsw ntr.w ; im.y-r3 pr.wy n.y hq-nbw ; im.y-r3 pr.w ; im.y-r3 pr.w wr ; im.y-r3 pr.w n.y Imn.w n.y R^c.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w ; im.y-r3 pr.w n.y nb t3.wy ; im.y-r3 pr.w-hq ; im.y-r3 pr.w-hq m t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w ; im.y-r3 pr.w-hq n.y nb-t3.wy [C] sš nsw ; sš nsw m3^c nr.y=f [E] [hm-ntr tp.y] n.y Imn.w n.y R^c.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w ; /// [n.y R^c.w]-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w-m-wi3</i>	Seti I – second decade R. II	Saqqara, south of Unas causeway
11	<i>Pth-m-wi3</i>	[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t ; smr w^c.ty ; sd3w.ty-bi.ty [B] im.y-r3 ih.w ; im.y-r3 ih.w wr m t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w ; im.y-r3 ih.w m t[3] hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w ; im.y-r3 ih.w n.w nb t3.wy ; im.y-r3 pr.w-hq nbw n.y t3 hw.t n.yt hq.w rnp.wt n(y) nsw.t bi.ty Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w m inb-hq [C] sš nsw ; sš nsw htp.w-ntr n.y ntr.w nb.w Sm^c.w T3-mhw</i>	R.II, second to third decade	Saqqara, lost
12	<i>P3-R^c.w-m-hb</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 ih.w ; im.y-r3 ih.w wr n.w Imn.w ; im.y-r3 ih.w n.w Imn.w n.y t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w</i>	R.II, second half / D.19–20?	Saqqara, lost

Legend: [A] Related to the king, royal court, and government (incl. honorific); [B] General administration; [C] Scribal; [D] Public works, crafts; [E] Sacerdotal; [F] Military.

TABLE 3. – *Overseers of Cattle in/of the Ramesseum*

Name	Title(s)	Date	Tomb
<i>Pth-m-wi3</i>	[A] <i>ir.y-p^c.t ; smr w^c.ty ; sd3w.ty-bi.ty [B] im.y-r3 ih.w ; im.y-r3 ih.w wr ; im.y-r3 ih.w wr m t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w ; im.y-r3 ih.w m t[3] hw.t wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w ; im.y-r3 ih.w n.y nb t3.wy ; im.y-r3 pr.w-hq nbw n.y t3 hw.t n(y)t hq.w rnp.wt n(y) nsw.t bi.ty Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w m inb-hq [C] sš nsw ; sš nsw htp.w-ntr n.y ntr.w nb.w ; sš nsw htp.w-ntr n.y ntr.w nb.w Sm^c.w T3-mhw</i>	R.II, early – third decade	Saqqara, lost
<i>Mr.y-Pth</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 ih.w n.w t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w [C] sš nsw t3 s^c.t n pr.w-^c3^c.w.s</i>	R.II, early second half	Unknown (Abydos/Saqqara?)
<i>B3k-n-Imn</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 ih(.w) n(.w) t[3] hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w</i>	R. II, second half	Unknown (Thebes/Saqqara?)
<i>P3-R^c.w-m-hb</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 ih.w ; im.y-r3 ih.w wr n.w Imn.w ; im.y-r3 ih.w n.w Imn.w n.y t3 hw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Imn.w</i>	R.II, late	Saqqara, lost

TABLE 4. – *Overseers of the Treasury in/of the Ramesseum*

Name	Title(s)	Date	Tomb
<i>Ti3</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w-hd m t3 hw.t Wsr-m3-t-Rc.w-stp.n-Rc.w m pr.w Imn.w [nsw ntr.w]</i> (more titles: see Table 2)	R.II, early – third decade	Saqqara
<i>Pth-m-wi3</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w-hd nbw n.y t3 hw.t n.yt hh.w m rnp.wt n.y nsw.t bi.ty Wsr-m3-t-Rc.w-stp.n-Rc.w m pr.w Imn.w m inb-hd</i> (more titles: see Table 2)	R.II, third decade	Saqqara, lost
<i>H'y</i>	[A] <i>hsy 3 n.y ntr nfr</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w-hd ; im.y-r3 pr.w-hd m hw.t Wsr-m3-t-Rc.w-stp.n-Rc.w m pr.w Imn.w ; im.y-r3 pr.w-hd n.y t3 hw.t n.t hh.w m rnp.wt n.y nsw.t bi.ty Wsr-m3-t-Rc.w-stp.n-Rc.w m pr.w Imn.w</i> [C] <i>s3 nsw ; s3 nsw m3 mr.y=f</i>	R.II, second half	Saqqara, lost
<i>Imn-m-in.t</i>	[A] <i>3h n.y nb=f ; ir.y-p.t h3.ty-'.w ; ir.y rd.wy n.y nb t3.wy ; ir(i).w dd=f ; ir.ty n.y nsw ; w'.ty ; nn r=f ; rdi n hft hr wp(.wty)-nsw r t3 nb ; hsy 3 n.y nb t3-dsr ; sms.w hr w3.t=f ; t3y-hw hr wnm.y n.y nsw ; /// nsw m t3 r dr=f</i> [B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w ; im.y-r3 pr.w wr ; im.y-r3 pr.w (wr) [m] t3 hw.t Wsr-m3-t-Rc.w-stp.n-Rc.w m pr.w Imn.w ; im.y-r3 pr.w-hd ; im.y-r3 pr.w-hd n.y nb t3-wy ; im.y-r3 pr.w-hd n.y Sm'.w T3-mh.w ; im.y-r3 pr.w-hd p3 /// pr.w Rc.w-ms-sw Mry-Imn.w hr.y-ib w3.t imm.tyt W3s.t ; whm.w-nsw n.y nb=f ; sms.w n.y hm=f hr h3s.t nb.t</i> [C] <i>s3 nsw ; s3 nsw hsy n.y hm=f ; s3 nsw s'.t n(.yt) nb t3.wy ; s3 s'.t n(.yt) nb t3.wy ; Dhw.ty s'.t n(.yt) nb t3.wy</i> [D] <i>im.y-r3 k3.t m pr.w ///</i>	R.II, fourth – fifth decade	Saqqara, ST 101
<i>Hnm-m-hb</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w-hd [n.y] t3 hw.t Wsr-m3-t-Rc.w-stp.n-Rc.w m pr.w Imn.w ; im.y-r3 pr.w-hd m hw.t-nsw ; im.y-r3 pr.w-hd n.y nb t3.wy (m hw.t=f)</i> [C] <i>s3 nsw m3 mr.y=f</i> [F] <i>im.y-r3 m3 n.y nb t3.wy ; im.y-r3 m3 n.y nb t3.wy m 'h.t=f</i>	R.II, late	Thebes, TT 26

TABLE 5. – *(Chief) Stewards in/of the Ramesseum*

No.	Name	Title(s)	Date	Tomb
1	<i>Rc.ms-sw-nht</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w m t3 hw.t Wsr-m3-t-Rc.w-stp.n-Rc.w m pr.w Imn.w hr imnt.t W3s.t</i> [C] <i>s3 nsw</i> [F] <i>im.y-r3 m3 ; tsw pd.t</i>	R.II, early	Saqqara, lost
2	<i>N3-hw-hr</i>	[B] <i>im.y-r3 pr.w ; im.y-r3 pr.w wr ; im.y-r3 pr.w wr m [t3] hw.t Wsr-m3-t-Rc.w-stp.n-Rc.w m pr.w Imn.w</i> [C] <i>s3 nsw</i>	R.II, early	Saqqara(?)

3	<i>Hr-m-ḥb</i>	[A] (<i>i</i>)r(.y)-p'(t) ḥ3.ty- ^c .w ; wr m ḥ3.t rḥ.y[t] ; smr w ^c .ty ; sḏ3w.ty bī.ty ; t3y-ḥw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw ; [B] ḥm.y-r3 pr.w ; ḥm.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nb t3.wy ; ḥm.y-r3 pr.w n.y nb t3.wy ; ḥm.y-r3 pr.w n.y t3 ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Ḥmn.w [C] sš nsw ; sš nsw m3 ^c mr.y=f	R.II, first decade	Saqqara, lost
4	<i>Twrḥy</i>	[B] ḥm.y-r3 pr.w ; ḥm.y-r3 pr.w wr ; ḥm.y-r3 pr.w m ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w [m] pr.w Ḥmn.w ; ḥm.y-r3 pr.w n.y nb t3.wy ; ḥm.y-r3 pr.w n.y ḥw.t Ḥmn.w [C] sš nsw ; sš nsw m3 ^c mr.y=f [F] ḥm.y-r3 mš ^c wr ; ḥr.y-pḏ.t n.y nb t3.wy	R.II, first – second decade	Saqqara, LS 25 (lost)
5	<i>Ywp3</i>	[A] ḥs.y n.y ntr nfr [B] ḥm.y-r3 pr.w ; ḥm.y-r3 pr.wy-ḥḏ ; ḥm.y-r3 pr.w wr ; ḥm.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nb t3.wy ; ḥm.y-r3 pr.w wr m t3 ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Ḥmn.w ; ḥm.y-r3 šnw.ty [C] sš nsw ; sš nsw m3 ^c mr(.y)=f [D] ḥm.y-r3 k3.t ; ḥm.y-r3 k3.t m mnw nb n.y ḥm=f [E] sšm.w-ḥb n.y Ḥmn.w ; sšm.w-ḥb n.y Ḥmn.w-R ^c .w [F] ḥm.y-r3 mš ^c ; ḥm.y-r3 ssm.wt n(.yt) nb t3.wy	R.II, third – sixth decade (Year 54?)	Saqqara, lost
6	<i>Ḥmn-m-ḥn.t</i>	[B] ḥm.y-r3 pr.w ; ḥm.y-r3 pr.w wr ; ḥm.y-r3 pr.w (wr) [m] t3 ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Ḥmn.w (more titles: see Table 4)	R.II, sixth decade	Saqqara, ST 101
7	<i>Nfr-rnp.t</i>	[B] ḥm.y-r3 pr.w [m/n.y] ḥw.t Wsr-m3 ^c .t-R ^c .w-stp.n-R ^c .w m pr.w Ḥmn.w	R.II, late	Unknown
8	<i>Nb-sw-mnw</i>	[B] ḥm.y-r3 pr.wy-ḥḏ n.y Ḥmn.w ; ḥm.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y W3s.t ; ḥm.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nb t3.wy ; ḥm.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nb t3.wy m nīw.t rsy.t ; ḥm.y-r3 pr.w m [t3 ḥw.t] Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w III ; III pr.w R^c.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Ḥmn.w ḥr ḥr Ḥmn.w [C] sš nsw ; sš nsw m3 ^c mr.y=f ; sš nsw mḏ3.t-ntr m pr.w nḥ [E] sšm.w-ḥb n.y Ḥmn.w ; sšm.w-ḥb n.y nb.w W3s.t	R. II, late	Khokha, TT 183
9	<i>Nḏm</i>	[A] ḥs.y 3 n.y ntr nfr [B] ḥm.y-r3 pr.w ; ḥm.y-r3 pr.w wr ; ḥm.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y nb t3.wy ; ḥm.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y t3 ḥw.t Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c.w-stp.n-R^c.w m pr.w Ḥmn.w ; ḥm.y-r3 šnw.ty n p3 rwd ḥmn.ty ; ḥm.y-r3 šnw.ty n.y nb t3.wy ; ḥm.y-r3 šnw.ty n Šm ^c .w T3-mḥ.w ; wpw.ty nsw r ḥ3s[.wt] nb[.wt] [C] sš nsw ; sš nsw m3 ^c mr.y=f	R. II, late to Merenptah	Saqqara, lost

Bibliography

- Affara, M. 2010. A New Kingdom Stela in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden. *JARCE* 46: 147–57.
- Assmann, J. 2003. The Ramesside Tomb of Nebsumenu (TT 183) and the Ritual of Opening the Mouth. In *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, N. Strudwick and J.H. Taylor (eds), 42–5. London.
- Awad, K.A.H. 2002. *Untersuchungen zum Schatzhaus im Neuen Reich: Administrative und ökonomische Aspekte*. PhD thesis, Georg-August-Universität zu Göttingen. Göttingen.

- Barbotin, C. 1999. Catalogue des œuvres exposées. In *Les monuments d'éternité de Ramsès II: Nouvelles fouilles thébaines*, C. Barbotin and C. Leblanc (eds), 20–48. Paris.
- Barwik, M. 2007. Overseer of the Treasury Tia at Deir el-Bahari. *Memnonia* 18: 67–70.
- Berlandini, J. 1979. Varia Memphitica III: Le général Ramsès-nakht. *BIFAO* 79: 249–65.
- . 1988. Contribution à l'étude du pillier-djed memphite. In *Memphis et ses nécropoles au Nouvel Empire: Nouvelles données, nouvelles questions*, A.-P. Zivie (ed.), 23–33. Paris.
- Berman, L.M. 1999. *The Cleveland Museum of Art: Catalogue of Egyptian Art*. New York.
- Bierbrier, M.L. 1972. The Length of the Reign of Sethos I. *JEA* 58: 303.
- Binder, S. 2008. *The Gold of Honour in New Kingdom Egypt*. ACE Studies 8. Oxford.
- . 2010. The Title 'Scribe of the Offering Table': Some Observations. In *Egyptian Culture and Society: Studies in Honour of Naguib Kanawati*, Vol. 1, A. Woods, A. McFarlane and S. Binder (eds), 1–13. CASAE 38. Cairo.
- Boeser, P.A.A. 1912. *Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden: De monumenten van het Nieuwe Rijk. Tweede afdeeling: Pyramiden, Lijkenvazenkist, Offertafels, Beelden*. The Hague.
- . 1913. *Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden: De monumenten van het Nieuwe Rijk. Derde afdeeling: Stèles*. The Hague.
- . 1925. *Beschrijving van de Egyptische Verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden: Kleinere Beelden van het Nieuwe Rijk*. The Hague.
- Bohleke, B. 1991. *The Overseers of Double Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt in the Egyptian New Kingdom, 1570-1085 B.C.* PhD thesis, Yale University. Ann Arbor.
- . 2002. Amenemopet Panehsi, Direct Successor of the Chief Treasurer Maya. *JARCE* 39: 157–72.
- Borchardt, L. 1907–8. Das Dienstgebäude des Auswärtigen Amtes unter den Ramessiden. *ZÄS* 44: 59–61.
- . 1910. *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'ahū-Re, 1: Der Bau*. Leipzig.
- . 1925. *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo* 2. CGC Nos 381–653. Berlin.
- . 1934. *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten* 4. CGC Cairo Nos 951–1294. Berlin.
- Bosticco, S. 1965. *Museo Archeologico di Firenze: Le Stele Egiziane del Nuovo Regno*. Rome.
- Bothmer, B.V. 1972–4. Numbering Systems of the Cairo Museum, In *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique: Cent cinquante années de recherches 1822–1972: Hommage à Jean-François Champollion*, 111–22. BdE 64/3. Cairo.
- Bouriant, U. 1887. Petits monuments et petits textes recueillis en Égypte. *RT* 9: 81–100.
- Brand, P. 2000. *The Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical and Art Historical Analysis*. PdÄ 16. Leiden.
- Brunton, G. 1937. *Mostagedda and the Tasian Culture*. London.
- Bryan, B.M. 1991. *The Reign of Thutmose IV*. Baltimore.
- Budge, E.A. Wallis. 1896. *Some Account on the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities of Lady Meux*. London.
- . 1909. *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture) [of the] British Museum*. London.
- Caminos, R.A. 1954. *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*. London.
- Černý, J. and A.H. Gardiner. 1957. *Hieratic Ostraca* I. Oxford.
- Châban, M. Effendi. 1901. Un tombeau de la XIX^e dynastie à El-Khawaled. *ASAE* 2: 137–40.
- Compton, W., W. Spiegelberg and P.E. Newberry. 1908. *Report on some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis During the Winter of 1898-9*. London.
- Davies, N. de G. 1943. *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-re' at Thebes*. PMMA 11. New York.
- Dawson, W.R., E.P. Uphill and M.L. Bierbrier. 2012. *Who was Who in Egyptology*. 4th rev. edn. London.
- Di Nizzoli, G. 1880. *Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei Musei d'Italia, pubblicati per cura del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* IV. Florence.
- Dodson, A. and D. Hilton, 2004. *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt*. London.
- Dunham, D. 1935. Four New Kingdom Monuments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. *JEA* 21: 147–51.
- Eichler, S.S. 2000. *Die Verwaltung des „Houses des Amun“ in der 18. Dynastie*. BSAK 7. Hamburg.

- Erman, A. 1899. *Ausführliches Verzeichnis der Ägyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse der königlichen Museen zu Berlin 2*. Berlin.
- Étienne, M. 2009. *Les Portes du Ciel: Visions du monde dans l'Égypte ancienne*. Paris.
- Fakhry, A. 1936. Three Unnumbered Tombs at Thebes. *ASAE* 36: 124–30.
- Farout, D. 2007. A Steward of the Ramesseum in Edfou? The Block Statue of Pashedu Son of Djeserka. *Memnonia* 18: 71–6.
- Franke, D. 1983. *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich*. HÄS 3. Hamburg.
- Gardiner, A.H. 1937. *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*. Brussels.
- Gauthier, H. 1935. Un pilier Π au Musée du Caire. *ASAE* 35: 81–96.
- Gautschy, R. 2014. A Reassessment of the Absolute Chronology of the Egyptian New Kingdom and Its 'Brotherly' Countries. *Ägypten und Levante* 24: 141–58.
- Ghoneim, W. 1977. *Die ökonomische Bedeutung des Rindes im Alten Ägypten*. Habelts Dissertationsdrucke. Reihe Ägyptologie 3. Bonn.
- Gnirs, A.M. 1996. *Militär und Gesellschaft: Ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*. SAGA 17. Heidelberg.
- Gohary, S. 1987. The Remarkable Career of a Police Officer. *ASAE* 71: 99–100.
- . 1991. A Monument of the Royal Scribe Tjuroy. *BIFAO* 91: 191–4.
- Goyon, J.-C. 1990–1. Penrê, conducteur des travaux au Ramesseum, et son étrange histoire. *Memnonia* 1: 53–65.
- Habachi, L. 1977. *Tavole d'offerta, are e bacili da libagione, n. 22001-22067*. Turin.
- Hamza, M. 1930. Excavations of the Department of Antiquities at Qantîr (Faqus District) (Season May 21st – July 7th, 1928). *ASAE* 30: 31–68.
- Haring, B.J.J. 1993. The Economic Aspects of Royal "Funerary" Temples: A Preliminary Survey. *GM* 132: 39–48.
- . 1997. *Divine Households: Administrative and Economic Aspects of the New Kingdom Royal Memorial Temples in Western Thebes*. EU 12. Leiden.
- . 2013. The Rising Power of the House of Amun in the New Kingdom. In *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, J.C. Moreno Garcíá (ed.), 607–37. HdO 104. Leiden.
- Hayes, W.C. 1959. *The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, II: The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom (1675-1080 B.C.)*. New York.
- Helck, W. 1956. Inhaber und Bauleiter des Thebanischen Grabes 107. *MIO* 4: 11–26.
- . 1958. *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*. PdÄ 3. Leiden.
- . 1961. *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches, I: Die Eigentümer*. Mainz.
- . 1963. Der Papyrus Berlin P 3047. *JARCE* 2: 65–73.
- . 1977. Haunefer. In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 2, W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds), col. 1054. Wiesbaden.
- Hodjash S. and O. Berlev. 1982. *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow*. Leningrad.
- Hofmann, E. 2004. *Bilder im Wandel: Die Kunst der Ramessidischen Privatgräber*. Theben 17. Mainz am Rhein.
- Hözl, R. 2007. *Meisterwerke der Ägyptisch-Orientalischen Sammlung*. Vienna.
- HTBM 9 = James, T.G.H. 1970. *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae Etc., Part 9*. London.
- HTBM 10 = Bierbrier, M.L. 1982. *Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae, etc., in the British Museum, Part 10*. London.
- Jeffreys, D. 2010. *The Survey of Memphis VII: The Hekekyan Papers and other sources for the Survey of Memphis*. EES EM 95. London.
- Kahl, J. 2007. *Ancient Asyut: The First Synthesis after 300 Years of Research*. The Asyut Project 1. Wiesbaden.
- Kamal, A. Bey. 1916. Fouilles à Deir Dronka et à Assiout (1913-1914). *ASAE* 16: 86–9.
- Kamal El-Din, N. 2010. Ein Sarg des Schatzhausmeisters Suti. *MDAIK* 66: 131–42.
- Kampp, F. 1996. *Die Thebanische Nekropole: Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*. Theben 13. Mainz.

- Kitchen, K.A. 1992. The Vintages of the Ramesseum. In *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, A.B. Lloyd (ed.), 115–23. EES OP 8. London.
- Koefoed-Petersen, O. 1956. *Catalogue des bas-reliefs et peintures égyptiens*. Copenhagen.
- Koenig, Y. 1980. *Catalogue des étiquettes de jarres hiératiques de Deir el-Medineh*. DFIFAO 21/1–2. Cairo.
- KRI = Kitchen, K.A. 1975–89. *Ramesseum Inscriptions*, Vols 1–8. Oxford.
- Lacau, P. 1906–16. *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*. CGC Nos 34001–34064, 34065–34189. Cairo.
- LD = Lepsius, C.R. 1897–1913. *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*. Leipzig.
- Leblanc, C. 1997. Quelques réflexions sur le programme iconographique et la fonction des temples de “millions d’années”. In *The Temple in Ancient Egypt: New Discoveries and Recent Research*, S. Quirke (ed.), 49–56. London.
- . 1999. La fonction du Ramesseum. In *Les monuments d’éternité de Ramsès II: Nouvelles fouilles thébaines*, C. Barbotin and C. Leblanc (eds), 73–4. Paris.
- . 2012. L’Administration du Ramesseum: De la gloire à la décadence d’un Temple de Millions d’Années des fonctionnaires au service de l’institution royale. *Memnonia* 23: 81–98.
- Legrain, G. 1894. *Collection Hoffmann: Catalogue des Antiquités Égyptiennes*. Paris.
- . 1909. *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers du musée du Caire II*. CGC Nos 42139–91. Cairo.
- Lenormant, F. 1857. *Catalogue d’une collection d’antiquités égyptiennes: Cette collection, rassemblée par M. d’Anastasi, consul général de Suède à Alexandrie*. Paris.
- Lieblein, J. 1873. *Die Aegyptische Denkmäler in St. Petersburg, Helsingfors, Upsala, und Copenhagen*. Christiania.
- Ling, T. 1992. Ramesseum Filial Piety. *BACE* 3: 59–66.
- Loeben, C.E. 2007. Fragment einer Grabwand mit Begräbniszug. In *Ägyptische Mumien: Unsterblichkeit im Land der Pharaonen*, C. Ewigleben (ed.), 88–9. Stuttgart.
- Loret, V. 1880. Monuments Égyptiens du Musée d’Antiquités de Rouen. *RT* 2: 151–8.
- Málek, J. 1981. Review Article: Two Problems Connected with New Kingdom Tombs in the Memphite Area. *JEA* 67: 156–65.
- . 1986. The Monuments Recorded by Alice Lieder in the ‘Temple of Vulcan’ at Memphis in May 1853. *JEA* 72: 101–12.
- . 1987. The Saqqara Statue of Ptahmose, Mayor of the Memphite Suburbs. *RdE* 38: 117–37.
- Marciniak, M. 1974. *Deir el-Bahari I: Les inscriptions hiératiques du Temple de Thoutmosis III*. Varsovie.
- Mariette, A. 1857. *Le Sérapeum de Memphis*. Paris.
- . 1868 [1864]. *Notice des exposés dans les galeries provisoires du musée d’antiquités égyptiennes de S.A. le Vice-Roi à Boulaq*. 3rd edn. Alexandria.
- . 1872. *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie (Texte par G. Maspero, 1889)*. Paris.
- Martin, G.T. 1979. *The Tomb of Hetepka and Other Reliefs and Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis in North Saqqâra*. Excavations at North Saqqâra 4. London.
- . 1985. *The Tomb-chapels of Paser and Ra’ia at Saqqâra*. EES EM 52. London.
- . 1987. *Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite Necropolis and Lower Egypt*. Studies in Egyptology. London.
- . 1997. *The Tomb of Tia and Tia, a Royal Monument of the Ramesside Period in the Memphite Necropolis*. EES EM 58. London.
- . 2000. Memphis: The Status of a Residence City in the Eighteenth Dynasty. In *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000*, M. Bárta and J. Krejčí (eds), 99–120. ArOr Supp 9. Prague.
- . 2009. Ra’y, Head of the Bakery of the Lord of Truth. In *Die ihr vorbeigehen werdet... Wenn Gräber, Tempel und Statuen sprechen. Gedenkschrift für Prof. Dr. Sayed Tawfik Ahmed*, U. Rößler-Köhler and T. Tawfik (eds), 145–9. SDAIK 16. Berlin.
- . 2012. *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt, I: The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary*. EES EM 99. London.
- Mond, R. and O.H. Myers. 1940. *Temples of Armant I*. MEEF 43. London.

- Murnane, W.J. 1997. Overseer of the Northern Foreign Countries: Reflection on the Upper Administration of Egypt's Empire in Western Asia. In *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman Te Velde*, J. Van Dijk (ed.), 251–8. Egyptological Memoirs 1. Groningen.
- Myśliwiec, K. 1978. Zwei Pyramiden der XIX. Dynastie aus Memphis. *SAK* 6: 139–55.
- Nelson, M. 1999. Les fonctionnaires du Ramesseum. In *Les monuments d'éternité de Ramsès II: Nouvelles fouilles thébaines*, C. Barbotin and C. Leblanc (eds), 58–62. Paris.
- Newberry, P.E. 1937–57. *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi*. 3 vols. CGC Nos 46530–48575. Cairo.
- Ockinga, B.G. 2012. Evidence for New Kingdom Tomb Structures in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery North: Insights from the Macquarie Excavations. In *Ancient Memphis 'Enduring is the Perfection': Proceedings of the International Conference held at Macquarie University, Sydney on August 14-15, 2008*, L. Evans (ed.), 371–95. OLA 214. Leuven.
- Onasch, A. 1998. Der Titel "Schreiber des Königs" – Ursprung und Funktion. In *Jerusalem Studies in Egyptology*, I. Shirun-Grumach (ed.), 331–43. ÄAT 40. Wiesbaden.
- Pasquali, S. 2008. Le dépôt extra-sépulchral trouvé par Fl. Petrie à Giza-Sud. *RdE* 59: 357–68.
- . 2009. Données supplémentaires concernant les formes memphites d'Amon au Nouvel Empire. *ENiM* 2: 67–90.
- . 2011. *Topographie culturelle de Memphis I, a- Corpus: Temples et principaux quartiers de la XVIII^e dynastie*. CENiM 4. Montpellier.
- . 2013. La tombe perdue de Bouri, employé du domaine d'Aton à Memphis. *BIFAO* 113: 305–23.
- Pasquali, S. and B. Gessler-Löhr. 2011. Un nouveau relief du grand intendant de Memphis, Ipy, et le temple de Ptah du terrain-b'h. *BIFAO* 111: 281–99.
- Passalacqua, J. 1826. *Catalogue raisonné et historique des antiquités découvertes en Égypte*. Paris.
- Peterson, B. 1979. Sobek – der Krokodilgott: Eine Skulptur in Stockholm. *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 14: 3–8.
- Petrie, W.M.F. 1896. *Koptos*. London.
- . 1903. *Abydos Part II*. MEEF 24. London.
- . 1917. *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names, Illustrated by the Egyptian Collection in University College, London*. BSAE/ERA 29. London.
- . 1935. *Shabtis, Illustrated by the Egyptian Collection in University College, London, with Catalogue of Figures from many other sources*. BSAE/ERA 57. London.
- Petrie, W.M.F. and G. Brunton. 1924. *Sedment*. BSAE/ERA 34–5. London.
- Pierret, P. 1874. *Études Égyptologiques II*. Paris.
- PM = Porter, B. and R.L.B. Moss 1931–2012. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, 8 Vols. Oxford.
- PN = Ranke, H. 1935. *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*. Glückstadt.
- Pomorska, I. 1987. *Les flabellifères à la droite du roi en Égypte ancienne*. *Prace orientalistyczne* 34. Warsaw.
- Quibell, J.E. 1912. *Excavations at Saqqara (1908-9, 1909-10): The Monastery of Apa Jeremias*. Cairo
- Raedler, C. 2004. Die Wesire Ramses' II. – Netzwerke der Macht. In *Das ägyptische Königtum im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen- und Außenpolitik im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, R. Gundlach and A. Klug (eds), 277–417. KSG 1. Wiesbaden.
- . 2009. Rank and Favour at the Early Ramesside Court. In *4. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie / 4th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology: Egyptian Royal Residences, London, June 1st-5th 2004*, R. Gundlach and J.H. Taylor (eds), 131–51. KSG 4/1. Wiesbaden.
- . 2011. Prestige, Role and Performance: Ramesside High Priests of Memphis. In *5. Symposium zur altägyptischen Königsideologie / 5th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology: Palace and Temple. Architecture – Decoration – Ritual. Cambridge, July 16th-17th, 2007*, R. Gundlach and K. Spence (eds), 135–54. KSG 4/2. Wiesbaden.
- . 2012. „Kopf der Schenut“ – politische Entscheidungsträger der Ära Ramses' II. In *6. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie / 6th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology „Die Männer hinter dem König“*, H. Beinlich (ed.), 123–50. KSG 4/3. Wiesbaden.

- Raue, D. 1998. Ein Wesir Ramses' II. In *Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens. Rainer Stadelmann gewidmet*, H. Guksch and D. Polz (eds), 340–51. Mainz am Rhein.
- . 1999. *Heliopolis und das Haus des Re: Eine Prosopographie und ein Toponym im Neuen Reich*. ADAIK 16. Berlin.
- Raven, M.J. 1997. A Stela Relocated. In *Essays in Honour of Prof. Dr. Jadwiga Lipińska*, A. Niwiński et al. (ed.), 139–48. Warsaw Egyptological Studies 1. Warsaw.
- . 2001. *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt II: Objects and Skeletal Remains*. EES EM 65. Leiden.
- . 2005. *The Tomb of Pay and Raia at Saqqara*. EES EM 74. Leiden.
- Raven, M.J. and R. Van Walsem. 2014. *The Tomb of Meryneith at Saqqara*. PALMA 10. Turnhout.
- Raven, M.J. et al. 2003–4. Preliminary Report on the Leiden Excavations at Saqqara, Season 2003: The Tomb of Meryneith. *JEOL* 38: 5–23.
- . et al. 2011. *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb Commander in Chief of Tutankhamun, V: The Forecourt and the Area South of the Tomb With Some Notes on the Tomb of Tia*. PALMA 6. Turnhout.
- . forthcoming. *The Tombs of Ptahemwia and Sethnakht at Saqqara*. Turnhout.
- Redford, D.B. 1986. *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*. SSEA Publication 4. Mississauga.
- Reisner, G.A. 1967. *Canopics*. CGC Nos 4001–4740 and 4977–5033. Cairo.
- Roeder, G. 1924. *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin II*. Leipzig.
- Ruffle, J. and K. Kitchen. 1979. The Family of Urhiya and Yupa, High Stewards of the Ramesseum. In *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt. Studies in Honour of H.W. Fairman*, J. Ruffle, G.A. Gaballa and K.A. Kitchen (eds), 55–74. *Orbis Aegyptiorum speculum*. Warminster.
- Schneider, H.D. 1977. *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*. CNMAL 2. Leiden.
- . 1996. *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut'ankhamūn, II: A Catalogue of the Finds*. EES EM 61. Leiden.
- . 2012. *The Tomb of Iniuia in the New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis at Saqqara*. PALMA 8. Turnhout.
- Schulman, A.R. 1964. *Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*. MÄS 6. Berlin.
- . 1988. Memphis 1915-1923: The Trivia of an Excavation. In *Memphis et ses nécropoles au Nouvel Empire: Nouvelles données, nouvelles questions*, A.-P. Zivie (ed.), 81–91. Paris.
- Schulz, R. 1992. *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des kuboiden Statuentypus: Eine Untersuchung zu den sogenannten „Würfelhockern“*. HÄB 33. Hildesheim.
- Scott III, G.D. 1986. *Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale*. New Haven.
- Settgast, J. 1972. Ein anthropoider Sarkophagedeckel der 19. Dynastie. *Jahrbuch Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 10: 245–8.
- Seyfried, K.-J. 1991. Soziale Stellung des Grabinhabers und Datierungsversuch, In *Das Grab des Amenemope TT 41*, J. Assmann et al., 201–16. Theben 3. Mainz am Rhein.
- . 1999. Report on the Luxor (Khokha) Theban Tomb n^o. 183 (NB-SWMNW). *ASAE* 74: 9–12.
- Snape, S. 2011. Khaemwese and the Present Past: History and the Individual in Ramesside Egypt. In *Ramesside Studies in Honour of K.A. Kitchen*, M. Collier and S. Snape (eds), 465–73. Bolton.
- Speleers, L. 1923. *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles*. Brussels.
- Spiegelberg, W. 1894. Ostraca hiératiques du Louvre. *RT* 16: 64–7.
- Stadelmann, R. 1979. Totentempel und Millionenjahrhaus in Theben. *MDAIK* 35: 303–21.
- . 1984. Ramesseum, In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 5, W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds), 91–8. Wiesbaden.
- Staring, N. 2014. The Tomb of Ptahmose, Mayor of Memphis: Analysis of an Early 19th Dynasty Funerary Monument at Saqqara. *BIFAO* 114/2: 455-518.
- . 2015. The Title *ḥ3.ty-‘w ḥ3 inb.w n.w Pth*, “Mayor of Beyond the Walls of Ptah”, and Early 19th Dynasty Temple Building at Memphis. *ZÄS* 142/2: 167-90.

- . Forthcoming. The Tomb of Ptahemwia, 'Great Overseer of Cattle' and 'Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum', at Saqqara.
- Tawfik, S. 1991. Recently Excavated Ramesside Tombs at Saqqara 1. Architecture. *MDAIK* 47: 403–9.
- Teeter, E. 2003a. *Ancient Egypt: Treasures from the Collection of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago*. Oxford.
- . 2003b. review of: G.T. Martin, *The Tomb of Tia and Tia: A Royal Monument of the Ramesside Period in the Memphite Necropolis* (London, 1997). *JNES* 62/2: 150–3.
- Ullmann, M. 2002. *König für die Ewigkeit: Die Häuser der Millionen von Jahren. Eine Untersuchung zu Königskult und Tempeltypologie in Ägypten*. ÄAT 61. Wiesbaden.
- Urk. IV = Helck, W. 1955–8. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Berlin.
- Valloggia, M. 1976. *Recherches sur les "messagers" (wpwtyw) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes*. HES 6. Geneva.
- Van Dijk, J. 1988. The Development of the Memphite Necropolis in the Post-Amarna Period. In *Memphis et ses nécropoles au Nouvel Empire: Nouvelles données, nouvelles questions*, A.-P. Zivie (ed.), 37–46. Paris.
- . 1990. The Overseer of the Treasury Maya: A Biographical Sketch. *OMRO* 70: 23–8.
- . 1993. *The New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis: Historical and Iconographical Studies*. PhD thesis, University of Groningen. Groningen.
- . 1995. Inscriptions. In: H.D. Schneider et al., *The Tomb Complex of Pay and Ra'ia: A Preliminary Report on the Saqqara Excavations, 1994 Season*. *OMRO* 75: 19–21.
- . 1997. The Family and Career of Tia. In *The Tomb of Tia and Tia, a Royal Monument of the Ramesside Period in the Memphite Necropolis*, G.T. Martin, 49–62. EES EM 58. London.
- . 2008. New Evidence on the Length of the Reign of Horemheb. *JARCE* 44: 193–200.
- . 2011. The Date of the Gebel Barkal Stela of Seti I. In *Under the Potter's Tree: Studies on Ancient Egypt Presented to Janine Bourriau on the Occasion of her 70th Birthday*, D. Aston et al. (eds), 325–32. OLA 204. Leuven.
- . 2012. Overseer of the Treasury Maya: A Biographical Sketch. In *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt, I: The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary*, G.T. Martin, 63–9. EES EM 99. London.
- Van Walsem, R. 2014. The Family and Career of Meryneith and Hatiay. In *The Tomb of Meryneith at Saqqara*, M.J. Raven and R. van Walsem et al., 39–56. PALMA 10. Turnhout.
- Virey, P. 1887. *Memoires de la mission archéologique française au Caire*. Paris.
- Wenig, S. 1967. Eine neue Statue des Oberdomänenverwalters Jupa aus der 19. Dynastie. *FuB* 8: 95–8.
- . 1974. Das Grab des Soldatenschreibers Hwj. In *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums*, U. Luft (ed), 239–45. MÄSB 8. Berlin.
- Wente, E.F. 1963. Two Ramesside Stelas Pertaining to the Cult of Amenophis I. *JNES* 22: 30–6.
- Yoyotte, J. 1954. Trois généraux de la XIX^e dynastie (A propos de l'Égyptien Suta, KUB III, 57). *Orientalia* 23: 223–31.
- Zivie, A.-P. 1984. Ramses I. In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 5, W. Helck and W. Westendorf (eds), col. 100–8. Wiesbaden.
- . 2007. *The Lost Tombs of Saqqara*. Ankhtawy.