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CONTENTS

FOREWORD	VII
ABSTRACTS	
Non-contributing speakers	1
Rehab ASSEM	
<i>Hathor's cult in Memphis</i>	9
Miroslav BÁRTA	
<i>Equal in rank, different in the afterlife: Late Fifth and late Sixth Dynasty burial chambers at Abusir South</i>	27
Susanne BINDER	
<i>"Let me tell you what happened to me..." : Memphite officials and the Gold of Honour</i>	45
V.G. CALLENDER	
<i>Some notes concerning Reisner's royal family history of the Fourth Dynasty</i>	63
Christopher J. DAVEY	
<i>Old Kingdom metallurgy in Memphite tomb images.</i>	85
Katherine EATON	
<i>Memphite, Theban, and Heliopolitan gods of rule in the New Kingdom: Memphite perspectives on their relationships</i> . . .	109
Abeer EL SHAHAWY	
<i>Thebes-Memphis: An interaction of iconographic ideas</i> . . .	133
Beatrix GESSLER-LÖHR	
<i>Pre-Amarna or post-Amarna? The tomb of the God's Father Hatiay at Saqqara</i>	147
Michelle HAMPSON	
<i>'A princely find': The lost scenes of craftsmen in the tomb of Khuenre at Giza</i>	193
Yvonne M. HARPUR	
<i>The Scene-Details Database and the 'Egypt in Miniature' series of the Oxford Expedition to Egypt (OEE)</i>	205

David JEFFREYS

- Climbing the White Walls: Recent experiences of the Memphis Survey* 221

Naguib KANAWATI

- The Memphite control of Upper Egypt during the Old Kingdom: The cases of Edfu, Abydos, and Akhmim* 237

Lesley J. KINNEY

- Butcher queens of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties: Their association with the Acacia House and the role of butchers as ritual performers* 253

Christian KNOBLAUCH

- The Memphite area in the late First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom* 267

E. Christiana KÖHLER

- The orientation of cult niches and burial chambers in Early Dynastic tombs at Helwan* 279

Audran LABROUSSE

- Recent discoveries at the necropolis of King Pepy I.* 299

Angela Sophia LA LOGGIA

- Architects, engineers, and builders in Early Dynastic Memphis* 309

Lisa MAWDSLEY

- The foundation and development of Tarkhan during the Naqada IIIA2 Period* 331

Ann MCFARLANE

- Occupied carrying chairs at Memphis in the Old Kingdom* . 349

Boyo G. OCKINGA

- Evidence for New Kingdom tomb structures in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery North: Insights from the Macquarie excavations* . 371

Adela OPPENHEIM

- The north and south walls of Senwosret III's North Chapel at Dahshur* 397

Alain ZIVIE

- Amenhotep III et l'Ouest de Memphis* 425

PRE-AMARNA OR POST-AMARNA?
THE TOMB OF THE GOD'S FATHER HATIAY AT SAQQARA*

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The Memphite necropolis had a very special history in regard to its funerary monuments, in particular those dating to the New Kingdom. Originally placed in various areas of the western desert plateau around Saqqara, extending from Giza in the north, southwards to Dahshur, most of these tombs were destroyed during the past millennia. From the Byzantine period on, the necropolis was used extensively as an enormous quarry. The substantial exploitation of the tombs, however, started in the early 19th century and was mainly organised by European diplomats resident in Cairo, such as Giuseppe NIZZOLI, Giovanni D'ANASTASI, Bernardino DROVETTI, and Henry SALT.¹ From the 1820s onwards, these diplomats working also as explorers and antiquities dealers, aided and abetted by tomb robbers, removed a huge quantity of architectural elements and grave goods from the New Kingdom tombs.² Giuseppe PASSALACQUA, an

* This article is dedicated to Jan ASSMANN in gratitude, as announced at a symposium on the occasion of his 70th birthday on July 7, 2008. I would also like to express my gratitude to the members of the Australian Centre for Egyptology for their generous invitation to speak at the conference *Memphis in the First Two Millennia*, held at Macquarie University in August 2008, in particular Naguib KANAWATI, Christiana KÖHLER, and Boyo OCKINGA. In addition, I am very much indebted to Susanne BINDER and Linda EVANS for assistance with English and the preparation of the article for the present volume and to Leonie Donovan for drawing fig. 10. Furthermore, I wish to thank Dina FALTINGS for the drawing of fig. 9, and to some members of the Egyptological Institute of the Heidelberg University for assistance with scanning.

¹ W.R. DAWSON, E.P. UPHILL & M.L. BIERBRIER, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 3rd rev. edn (London, 1995), 312 (Nizzoli), 15 (Anastasi), 129-130 (Drovetti), 370-371 (Salt). See also D. MANLEY & P. RÉE, *Henry Salt* (London, 2001).

² C. LILYQUIST, 'The gold bowl naming General Djehuty: A study of objects and early Egyptology', *MMJ* 23 (1988), 63-66. NIZZOLI sold much of his material to the Grand Duke of Tuscany (1400 objects went to Florence, between 885 and 3000 to Bologna); another contingent sold on the art market in Alexandria ended up in Vienna. Other items, collected by DROVETTI, went to Turin and to the Louvre. The immense number of 5600 objects from D'ANASTASI's collection was purchased by the Leiden Museum in 1829. See further H.D. SCHNEIDER, *De laudibus aegyptologiae, C.J.C. Reuvens als verzamelaar van Aegyptiaca* (Leiden, 1985) 4-26; S. PERNIGOTTI, *Aegyptiaca Bononiensia I* (MSEAP SMi 2; Pisa, 1991), 1-84.

Italian businessman who took to excavating in Egypt, sold his important collection to the Prussian King FREDERICK WILLIAM III and was in 1828 appointed the first director of the Berlin Egyptian Museum. Through his collection, many stelae and relief-decorated blocks from Saqqara made their way to Berlin.³

As a result of this extensive dealing in antiquities, certain museums, mainly those in Florence, Bologna, Berlin, Leiden, Paris, and Vienna, became remarkable outposts of the New Kingdom cemetery at Saqqara from as early as the middle of the 19th century onwards. In addition, early excavators, such as R. LEPSIUS⁴ and V. LORET⁵ in the middle and towards the end of the 19th century, followed by C.M. FIRTH, J.E. QUIBELL, and B.G. GUNN during the first decades of the 20th century,⁶ brought much New Kingdom material from different parts of the necropolis to the collections in Berlin, Cairo, New York, and to other places. Nowadays, the *nécropole imaginaire* has attained a remarkable, even global expanse: besides Cairo and Europe, numerous objects are in North and South America, as well as in museums in Australia.⁷

Meanwhile in Saqqara, the scattered sites and even the large, temple-like tomb structures with their massive walls, courtyards, and chapels sanded up after having been abandoned, and the tombs blended into the surrounding desert and disappeared from sight. Once more, the exact location of the hitherto found and partly dismantled tombs fell into oblivion. A view across the area today with its innumerable honeycomb-like depressions in the sand, indicating the existence of structures below the surface, makes one realise that looking for a specific tomb in Saqqara is like looking for a needle in a haystack, even with a map of one of the former excavators at hand. This was the situation until the 1970s. Since then, Egyptian and foreign archaeological missions have conducted excavations in the three most important sectors of the Memphite necropolis

³ DAWSON et al., *Who Was Who*, 321; see also D. WILDUNG, 'Auf Berliner Weise', in H. BARI & D. WILDUNG (eds), *Pharaonen-Dämmerung* (Strassburg, 1990), 199-206.

⁴ DAWSON et al., *Who Was Who*, 249-250; see also E. FREIER, S. GRUNERT & M. FREITAG, *Eine Reise durch Ägypten* (Berlin, 1984).

⁵ DAWSON et al., *Who Was Who*, 260-261. For LORET's excavations at Saqqara, see B. GESSLER-LÖHR, 'Pre-Amarna tomb chapels in the Teti Cemetery North at Saqqara', *BACE* 18 (2007), 72-81.

⁶ DAWSON et al., *Who Was Who*, 151 (Firth), 345-346 (Quibell), and 183-184 (Gunn).

⁷ K.N. SOWADA, 'Sir Charles Nicholson: An early scholar-traveller in Egypt', in K.N. SOWADA & B.G. OCKINGA (eds), *Egyptian Art in the Nicholson Museum, Sydney* (Sydney, 2006), 4-8 and 11 n. 40.

dating to the New Kingdom, with overwhelming results.⁸ More than 50 of the so-called hidden tombs have been found to date, the majority built as free-standing chapels in the area south of the Unas causeway, some with elaborate architecture and beautifully decorated walls.⁹ Less frequent, but equally extraordinary in size and decoration, some also in terms of the grave goods, are the rock tombs excavated in the area of the former Bubasteion.¹⁰

Nevertheless, these incredibly rich excavations obscure the fact that the majority of the tombs of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties still await discovery under the desert sands, or have been completely destroyed and are lost forever. The only remaining evidence for the great number of still missing New Kingdom tombs that once belonged to Memphite priests and officials of different professions and of varying social status, comes from another kind of 'excavation', namely the galleries and storerooms of museums and collections all over the world, housing material from Memphis, Giza, and Saqqara.¹¹ Collecting and studying the stelae, reliefs, and burial equipment now found there is, in the best case, crowned by the rediscovery of a tomb's original location.¹² Just as fieldwork at Saqqara is making progress every season, research on the objects in museums from still unlocated tombs also

⁸ From north to south: the area north and east of the Teti pyramid, the southern cliff of the Bubasteion, the extensive area south of the Unas causeway, and the Monastery of Apa Jeremias. For a bibliography, see GESSLER-LÖHR, *BACE* 18, 65-69 and 81-85 n. 1-26.

⁹ G.T. MARTIN, *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis* (London, 1991); M.J. RAVEN, 'Twenty-five years of work in the New Kingdom necropolis of Saqqara: Looking for structure', in M. BÁRTA & J. KREJČÍ (eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000* (Prague, 2000), 133-144. For the current excavations, see N. GRIMAL, E. ADLY & A. ARNAUDIES, 'Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 2005-2007', *Orientalia* 76 (2007), 202, 206-207, 211-213; also eid., 'Fouilles et travaux..., 2006-2008', *Orientalia* 77 (2008), 206-207. In addition, see M.J. RAVEN, H. HAYS, C. LACHER, K. DUISTERMAAT, I. REGULSKI, B.G. ASTON, L. HORÁCKOVÁ & N. WARNER, 'Preliminary report on the Leiden excavations at Saqqara, Season 2008: The tomb of Ptahemwia', *JEOL* 41 (2008-2009), 5-30.

¹⁰ A. ZIVIE, 'La résurrection des hypogées du Nouvel Empire à Saqqara', in BÁRTA & KREJČÍ, *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, 173-192 (bibliography: 180-183); A. ZIVIE & P. CHAPUIS, *Les tombeaux retrouvés de Saqqara* (Monaco, 2003).

¹¹ PM III²/I-II. For a preliminary list of tomb owners, see G.T. MARTIN, 'Memphis: The status of a residence city in the Eighteenth Dynasty', in BÁRTA & KREJČÍ, *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, 115-119.

¹² Such as, for example, those of the General and later King Horemhab, the Treasurer Maya, the Goldsmith Amenemone, the Royal Butler Ptahemwia, and many others. See MARTIN, *Hidden Tombs*, *passim* and 199-205 with a (meanwhile reduced) list of missing tombs. B.G. OCKINGA, *Amenemone the Chief Goldsmith. A New Kingdom Tomb in the Teti Cemetery at Saqqara* (ACE Reports 22; Oxford, 2004), 15-17 and below.

provides us with results, and fills in some gaps in the enormous puzzle of the Memphite cemetery of the New Kingdom.

One of the objects in dispute concerning Amarna theology is the lintel from the tomb of a priest named Hatiay (Block I), which is now in Paris and was first published by E. DRIOTON in 1943.¹³ While its Memphite origin has been generally accepted, its date based on epigraphical and textual evidence is still controversial. For different reasons, E. DRIOTON and E. HORNUNG both came to the conclusion that Hatiay lived during the early years of Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten.¹⁴ Only recently, A. GRIMM and H.A. SCHLÖGL dated this lintel to the transition period from Amenhotep III to IV.¹⁵ J. ASSMANN, however, suggested a slightly later date after the Amarna period,¹⁶ and E. HORNUNG, in response, has drawn the post-Amarna period into consideration as well.¹⁷ Similarly, J. BERLANDINI has proposed the reign of Tutankhamun without detailed argumentation.¹⁸

¹³ '... vieux fonds du Musée du Louvre...', E. DRIOTON, 'Trois documents d'époque amarnienne', *ASAE* 43 (1943), III: 35-43, figs 2-3 (to be republished by E. DELANGE). I am most thankful to Elisabeth DELANGE for her permission to study and discuss the lintel for the conference in Sydney, and also to Guillemette ANDREU-LANOË for the kind permission to publish it (e-mail May 27, 2009).

¹⁴ *ibid.*, III: 35-43; followed by M. DEBOT, 'Syncretisme solaire et invocations à Aton au début de la 18e dynastie', *AIPHOS* 20 (1973), 184 n. 1; E. HORNUNG, *Das Amduat. Die Schrift des Verborgenen Raumes* 2 (Wiesbaden, 1963), 123-124; E. HORNUNG, *Echnaton. Die Religion des Lichtes* (Zürich, 1995), 108; E. HORNUNG, *Der Eine und die Vielen* (6th edn; Darmstadt, 2005), 261-262 and n. 73.

¹⁵ A. GRIMM & H.A. SCHLÖGL, *Das thebanische Grab Nr. 136 und der Beginn der Amarnazeit* (Wiesbaden, 2005), 25-27 (hereafter GRIMM & SCHLÖGL, *TT 136*). Their dating (25-26 and n. 200-201) is erroneously based on the identification with two other officials named Hatiay ('Scribe and Overseer of the granaries', time of Amenhotep III) and Hatiay and Raiay ('Scribe of the Treasury' and owner of the tomb Bubasteion I.27, time of Akhenaten and immediate successors); see A. ZIVIE, 'Hatiay, Scribe du Temple d'Aton à Memphis', in G.N. KNOPPERS & A. HIRSCH (eds), *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World, Studies in Honor of D.B. Redford* (Leiden, 2004), 223-231; A. ZIVIE, 'Le point sur les travaux de la Mission archéologique française du Bubasteion à Saqqara', *BSFE* 162 (2005), 38-43. Beyond doubt, neither of the namesakes (regardless of there being one or, more probably, two different persons) can be identified with the God's Father Hatiay under discussion here. The name Hatiay and its variants were very common during the New Kingdom, especially around the Amarna age. For a useful list of namesakes mainly from the Memphite region, see B.S. EL-SHARKAWY, '[Hatiay], A new "Greatest of the Directors of Craftsmen" (i.e., High Priest of Ptah at Memphis) from Mit-Rahinah', *Abgadiyat. Scientific Refereed Journal by The Bibliotheca Alexandrina Calligraphy Center* 2 (2007), 22-29 (<http://www.Abgadiyat>). I wish to thank Stéphane PASQUALI for this reference.

¹⁶ J. ASSMANN, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott* 1 (MÄS 19; München, 1969), 102-103 n. 69 (hereafter ASSMANN, *LL*).

¹⁷ E. HORNUNG, 'Echnaton und die Sonnenlitanei', *BSEG* 13 (1989), 66.

¹⁸ J. BERLANDINI, 'Contribution à l'étude du pilier-djed memphite', in A.-P. ZIVIE (ed.), *Memphis et ses nécropoles au Nouvel Empire* (Paris, 1988), 27 (hereafter ZIVIE, *Memphis...*). See below, n. 91 and n. 145.

Meanwhile, recent excavations at Saqqara providing new textual sources, and the attribution of another relief-decorated block in New York to the tomb of Hatiay (Block II), shed new light on the problem.¹⁹ The following epigraphical, prosopographical, and art historical considerations are thus offered with the hope that they might help to solve the conundrum.

1. BLOCKS FROM THE TOMB OF HATIAI

(a) Block I (lintel Louvre AF 9923)²⁰ — figs 1a and 1b

Limestone: W c. 100 cm (+ c. 16-20 cm, now lost), H c. 35 cm

Decoration: On the front, two antithetical scenes in sunk relief and incised inscriptions, separated by a column of text with an offering formula addressed to Sokar-Osiris (oriented right → Text 1a); on the underside of the block, i.e., overhead in the original doorway, one line of inscription with two offering formulae, one to 'Osiris, the foremost of the west, Lord of Abydos' (←), the other to 'Sokar, residing in the Shetyt, great god, Lord of Rosetau' (→).

Block I, front, left side:

Osiris, 'Foremost of the west, Lord of Everlastingness' (Text 1b, lines 1-2 ← in front of him) is enthroned facing left with the *atef*-crown and insignia, and Isis 'the Great, mother of the god' (line 3 ← above the goddess) is standing behind him with an *ankh*-sign in a posture of protection. In front of the god is a table with different offerings on top and below, presented by three priests in long pleated kilts and sandals, facing right: the first one with hands raised in adoration, the following two depicted as offering-bearers. Above the scene is a hymn to the god Osiris (Text 1c, lines 1-8 →), for the 'Ka of the God's Father Hatiay, justified in peace' (lines 9-10 →); 'his son, the God's Father Ty, justified' (line 11 →); 'his son, the *wab*-Priest Mose, justified' (line 12 →). Hatiay and Ty have shaven heads and wear the priestly sash across their chests, in accordance with their higher position in the clergy,²¹ but neither the

¹⁹ Metropolitan Museum of Art, see below. The join became obvious to me after the publication of G.T. MARTIN's *Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite Necropolis and Lower Egypt I* (London, 1987), no. 11 and pl. 4 (11).

²⁰ I wish to thank Elisabeth DELANGE and Catherine BRIDONNEAU for providing me with a good photograph after the restoration of the lintel (taken by Georges PONCET in 2003).

²¹ In the priestly hierarchy, the prophet (*hm ntr*) and the god's father (*it ntr*) belong to the high-ranking priesthood, while the titles of a purification priest (*w'b*) and of a



Fig. 1a. Louvre lintel of Hatiay.
After Drioton (1943), 36, fig. 2 and 40, fig. 3.



Fig. 1b. Lintel from the tomb of Hatiay (Musée du Louvre, AF 9923).
Photograph by G. Poncet (2003); courtesy of the Egyptian Department.

god they served nor a specific temple are mentioned. Mose is depicted with short, cap-like hair²² and wearing a *wesekh*-collar.

lector-priest (*hr.y-hb*) signify a minor position in the temple service; see S.S. EICHLER, *Die Verwaltung des 'Houses des Amun' in der 18. Dynastie* (SAK Beihefte 7; Hamburg, 2000), 194-196.

²² As indicated by the distinctive hairline, according to the photograph, fig. 1b, *pace* DRIOTON, *ASAE* 43, 36-37 and fig. 2 (here: fig. 1a, after DRIOTON). See B.G. OCKINGA, 'An Eighteenth Dynasty *h3t.y-ʿw* of Heliopolis in Adelaide, South Australia', *JEA* 91 (2005), 84, fig. 2; 88 and n. 22.

Block I, front, right side:

The right part of the lintel features a (much destroyed) corresponding scene with the (falcon-headed) god Sokar, 'the great god, Lord of Rose-tau, residing in the Shetyt' (lines 1-2 →, retrograde), enthroned, facing right with *atef*-crown and insignia (for parallels of the depiction of Sokar, see below and fig. 5). Behind him, the goddess Hathor-Nephthys (line 3 →) is standing with an *ankh*-sign. Above the offering-table in front of the god is a prayer by Hatiay (? name lost) who is standing in adoration facing the god (lines 1-3 ←): 'Praise to thee, Sokar, Lord of Rosetau, Lord of ///'. The following offering-bringers are not preserved; perhaps they represented Hatiay's sons, as in the corresponding scene on the other half of the block.

(b) Block II (MMA 55.144.5)²³ — figs 2a and 2b

Limestone: nearly square, H 25.2 cm, W 22.8 cm, Th 3.5 cm

Decoration in sunk relief of three males facing left, and an incised inscription (lines 1-10 ←). The owner, the 'God's Father Hatiay' (line 9) is shown kneeling with his right hand raised in adoration, and holding a censer and a spouted libation vase (*nemset*) in his left hand. Hatiay wears a long pleated kilt, the priestly sash and a *wesekh*-collar. His shaven head is elongated and slightly curved at the lower part of the back of his head, the contours of his chest are soft and rounded. Two men in much smaller scale than the tomb owner are standing in front and behind him. To the left (i.e., in front of Hatiay) is a nameless *sem*-priest wearing a leopard skin and a round wig with side-lock, his right hand raised as he recites a prayer for a thousand of each kind of offering to the god Sokar-Osiris (line 1), and to Sokar-in-the-Henu-barque (line 8). The beginning of the inscription with the invocation of the god is missing. Perhaps this priest can be identified as Hatiay's son, the God's Father Ty (see Block I above, line 11). To the right (i.e., behind Hatiay) stands 'his son, the *wab*-Priest Ptahmose' (line 10), also with his right hand raised in adoration, and dressed in a similar, but shorter kilt than those shown on the lintel (figs 1a and 1b, 2a and 2b). This Ptahmose is probably identical with the son of Hatiay depicted on the Louvre block, who is also a *wab*-Priest, but there he is named Mose for short

²³ Many thanks to Morena STEFANOVA for providing me with a photograph and to Dorothea ARNOLD for the kind permission to publish it. By a nice coincidence, the photograph was taken by my former teacher, the late Professor Hans Wolfgang MÜLLER, to whom I owe my first introduction to Saqqara's New Kingdom.



Fig. 2a. Block of Hatiay in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. After Martin, *Corpus of Reliefs* (1987), pl. 4 (no. 11). By kind permission of G.T. Martin (e-mail August 18, 2009).



Fig. 2b. Block from the tomb of Hatiay (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 55.144.5). Photograph by H.W. Müller (1972); courtesy of the Egyptian Department.

(see above, Block I line 12). Across his left shoulder, he carries a long-stalked papyrus arrangement, so tall that it extends beyond the double line that forms the border of the scene on the right. The god Sokar-Osiris was once depicted either to the left of this scene or above it.²⁴

The provenance of this block from the same tomb as the lintel of the God's Father Hatiai in the Louvre (Block I) seems to be beyond doubt, on account of the same names and titles. Nevertheless, this join does not necessarily imply exactly the same date for both blocks. As recent excavations have shown, the construction of some of the Memphite tombs built around the Amarna age, took place in different phases of the period ranging from Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten to Tutankhamun, Ay and Horemhab, and even later, with these phases documented by various stylistic, iconographic, and inscriptional features in different parts of one and the same structure.²⁵

2. INSCRIPTIONAL DATING CRITERION: THE OFFERING FORMULA ON BLOCK I (Text 1a: figs 1a and 1b)

The offering formula written vertically (→) at the centre of the lintel addresses the god of the Memphite necropolis, Sokar-Osiris, 'Lord of Rosetau', to the right. DRIOTON explained the prayer of the deceased,

²⁴ Perhaps even on the same object, if the panel-like block belonged to the lower part of a stela, as suggested by N. SCOTT, 'Recent additions to the Egyptian collection', *B MMA NS* 15 (1956), 81-82 with fig.7. The image of one or more gods in the upper part of a stela with persons praying below is well documented in the post-Amarna and Ramesside age, but the broad edge at the top, which continued along the right edge (obviously original), does not fit with the illustration scheme of this type of stelae. For other possible solutions, see below: fig. 10, n. 168-169 and n. 172.

²⁵ Some structures were used as family tombs and were thus under construction for more than one generation, like the rock tomb of Aperia/Aper-el (time of Amenhotep III to post-Amarna); A. ZIVIE, *Découverte à Saqqara. Le vézir oublié* (Paris, 1990); more recently A. ZIVIE, 'Le vizir Aper-El au Musée', in M. ELHAMATY & M. TRAD (eds), *Egyptian Museum Collections around the World. Studies for the Centennial of the Egyptian Museum Cairo* 2 (Cairo, 2002), 1261-1274; compare, M. GABOLDE, *D'Akhenaton à Toutankhamon* (CIAHA 3; Lyon, 1998), 77-79. See also the post-Amarna stela in the front part of the tomb of Raiay and Hatiai (Bubasteion I.27, time of Akhenaten and successors): ZIVIE, *BSFE* 162, 40-41, figs 8-10 and A. ZIVIE, 'Mystery of the sun god's servant', *National Geographic* 204/5 (Nov. 2003), 54-56. For the family tomb of Pay and Raia and other Memphite tombs spanning the reigns of more than one king, see M.J. RAVEN, *The Tomb of Pay and Raia at Saqqara* (EES EM 74; Leiden, 2005), 53-56 (hereafter RAVEN, *Pay and Raia*). See also Section 5 below.

‘that he (Sokar-Osiris) may grant to go forth as a living Ba to see the sun-disk (Aten) on earth’ (*dī.f prī.t m b3 ‘nh r m33 itn tp t3*) as being in accordance with the “*doctrine atonienne*”.²⁶ But, since his statement seems to be supported by funerary texts from Thebes²⁷ and Amarna,²⁸ the wish for ‘going forth from the earth’ (*prī.t m t3*) or ‘going forth from the necropolis’ (*prī.t m hrt-ntr*) to see the sun-disk²⁹ (and its numerous variants), is by no means confined to the Amarna age. It occurs in several variations in Theban tombs and elsewhere³⁰ from the early Eighteenth Dynasty onwards,³¹ and quite often from the time of Thutmosis III

²⁶ DRIOTON, *ASAE* 43, 36a, 38 with n. 1, and 21-22. The second part of the phrase seems to be a shortened version of the wish ... *r m33 itn [mī shr.w n wnn] tp t3* or the like; see below and n. 37. Obviously the artist did not have enough space for the complete text, since the last signs are incised at a much smaller scale. Even then, the words *itn tp t3* had to be depicted side-by-side instead of one below the other.

²⁷ Parennefer (TT 188): M. SANDMAN, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten* (BiAeg 8; Brussels, 1938), 141.1-2; see recently, D. SALVOLDI, ‘Le Tombe Tebane Private di Età Amarniana: Evoluzione Architettonica, Stilistica ed Iconografica’, *EVO* 30 (2007), 77-93.

²⁸ The words used besides *m33* (Wb II, 7) are *ptr* (Wb I, 564) and *gmh* (Wb V, 170-171). C. REICHE, ‘Überlegungen zum nichtköniglichen Totenglauben in der Amarnazeit’, in M. SCHADE-BUSCH (ed.), *Wege öffnen. Festschrift für R. Gundlach* (ÄAT 35; Wiesbaden, 1996), 211 and n. 73, 213 and n. 94 (SANDMAN, *Texts*, 72.11; 73.13-14); W. BARTA, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel* (Glückstadt, 1968), 117 (Bitte 89c = SANDMAN, *Texts*, 45.13-14), 118 (Bitte 92b = SANDMAN, *Texts*, 58.8-9); J. ASSMANN, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien 2: Totenliturgien und Totensprüche in Grabinschriften des Neuen Reiches* (Heidelberg, 2005), 403 (NR.6.1.6: Ay), 405 (NR.6.1.8: Tutu) (hereafter ASSMANN, *ATL* 2); DEBOT, *AIPHOS* 20 (n. 14), 182 and n. 5. See also n. 38 below.

²⁹ The question of when the sun-disk (*itn*) turned into the manifestation of the sun-god Aten (*Itn*) cannot be discussed here; see O. GOLDWASSER, *Prophets, Lovers and Giraffes: Wor(l)d Classification in Ancient Egypt* (GOF IV/38.3; Wiesbaden, 2002), ch. 6.

³⁰ Above all in hymns to the sun-god: ASSMANN, *LL*, *passim*; J. ASSMANN, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern* (Theben 1; Mainz, 1983), *passim*; J. ASSMANN, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zürich, 1975), *passim* (hereafter ASSMANN, *ÄHG*). The other documents are either part of an offering formula or belong to other funerary inscriptions, such as the *Book of the Dead*: E. HORNUNG, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter* (Zürich, 1979), 57:15 (BD Chapter 15B, also a sun-hymn) and 137:75 (BD Chapter 64).

³¹ For references of the early and mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, see DEBOT, *AIPHOS* 20, 180-181 with n. 1-8; 182 with n. 2-4, and here n. 32, 33, and 37 below. For a related formula in the most common mortuary spell of the New Kingdom already known from the Middle Kingdom and from the Second Intermediate Period, and in two versions from the Eighteenth Dynasty (spell NR.2), see ASSMANN, *ATL* 2, ch. 2, 147-177 (author M. BOMMAS), and 178-224, esp. 147-153 and 224 (texts 1-3, line 29). The offering formulae with the wish for seeing the sun-disk are generally inscribed on stelae, but also door jambs, in the main on the left jamb, which means the ideal east of the tomb as the cosmic region of the sunrise, and is thus oriented towards this world (see C. BEINLICH-SEEGER & A.G. SHEDID, *Das Grab des Userhat* (TT 56) (AV 50; Mainz, 1987), 35-38) (hereafter BEINLICH-SEEGER & SHEDID, *Userhat*). For some exceptions on post-Amarna stelae from Saqqara, see n. 35 below. If the wish is inscribed on a tomb wall or pillar, it is preferably

and after.³² The same wishes are expressed on some pre-Amarna stelae, blocks, and statues from the Memphite necropolis and from other

oriented towards the entrance, such as in Sennefer (TT 96: PM I²/I, 201 (32)) and in Tjanuni (TT 76: PM I²/I, 150 D (a)); see also n. 32 and n. 37.

³² More examples, mainly from Thebes / Time of Tuthmosis III: Amenemhat (TT 82), BARTA, *Opferformel*, 94 Bitte 92b; Amenemhat (TT 123), GOLDWASSER, *Prophets...*, 122 (6.6.1.2a); ASSMANN, *ATL* 2, 372 (NR.5.4.2). Time of Amenhotep II: Sennefer (TT 96, wall inscription), A. EGGBRECHT (ed.), *Sennefer* (Hildesheim, 1988), 61 and figs 40 and 48; ceiling inscription: ASSMANN, *ATL* 2, 298 and n. 127. Time of Amenhotep III: Huy (TT 54), D. POLZ, *Das Grab des Hui und des Kel Theben Nr. 54* (AV 74; Mainz, 1997), 39-40 (T 6). Short versions 'to see the sun-disk' or 'to see the sun-disk in the morning' etc. Time of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III: Senenmut (TT 71), P. DORMAN, *The Tombs of Senenmut* (PMMA 24; New York, 1991), 31 (text 1), pl. 21d (transverse hall); cf. ASSMANN, *ATL* 2, 198 §11 and n. 177; Djehouty (TT 110), id. *ibid.*, 274, line 31 (NR.4.1.1); Nebamun (TT 65, wall inscription), id. *ibid.*, 366 (NR.5.3.2), 369 (NR.5.3.5); Nakht (TT 397, wall inscription), id. *ibid.*, 374 (NR.5.4.5); for the dating, see EICHLER, *Verwaltung*, 298 (no. 382). Time of Tuthmosis III: Benja (TT 343), H. GUKSCH, *Das Grab des Benja, genannt Paheqamen, Theben Nr. 343* (AV 7; Mainz, 1978), 22, fig. 9a (col 6), 23-24, fig. 10a.1 (text a), pl. 15 (scene 10 = H. GUKSCH, 'Das Grab des Benja, gen. Paheqamen, Theben Nr. 343', *MDAIK* 38 (1982), pl. 45). Time of Tuthmosis III and Amenhotep II to Tuthmosis IV: Amenmes (Louvre C 286; for dating see below, n. 83), A. MORET, 'La légende d'Osiris à l'époque thébaine d'après l'hymne à Osiris du Louvre', *BIFAO* 30 (1930), 749 and pl. 2 (line 26 = BARTA, *Opferformel*, 117 Bitte 89a); Hormes (Geneva D.49, provenance unknown = BARTA, *Opferformel*, 93 Bitte 89); the dating by J.-L. CHAPPAZ, in J.-L. CHAPPAZ, M. VANDENBEUSCH & F. TIRADRITTI, *Akhénaton und Néfertiti: Soleil et ombres des pharaons* (Genève, 2008), 179 (cat. no. 18) is probably too late (Amenhotep III). Time of Amenhotep II and Tuthmosis IV: Userhat (TT 56), BEINLICH-SEEGER & SHEDID, *Userhat*, 40, fig. 5 (text 1b); 70-71, fig. 28 (text 16b), 80-81, fig. 37 (text 25c: left door-jamb); GOLDWASSER, *Prophets...*, 122-123 (6.6.1.2b: BD 15B, 1 Pc, time of Tuthmosis IV); Neferhab (Cairo CG 34099), P. LACAU, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire* (Cairo, 1909), 153-155, pl. 48 (line 5), cf. A. HERMANN, *Die Stelen der Thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie* (ÄF 11; Glückstadt, 1940), 45 "later than Tuthmosis III". Late Eighteenth Dynasty (pre-Amarna, probably time of Amenhotep III): Iny (four-sided shrine-stela British Museum, EA 467), H.R. HALL, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum VII* (London, 1925), pls 1-4 (hereafter *HTBM*); DEBOT, *AIPHOS* 20, 175-189; EICHLER, *Verwaltung*, 172 (g) and 260 (no. 143); R. PARKINSON, *Cracking Codes* (London, 1999), 126 (cat. no. 41). Time of Amenhotep III: Khaemhat (TT 57, frieze text and wall inscription), V. LORET, *La Tombe de Khâ-m-hâ, MMAF I* (Cairo, 1884), 127 (g) and 132 (y), line 15; Sobekmose (wall inscription), W. HAYES, *The Burial Chamber of the Treasurer Sobk-Mose from er Rizeikat* (PMMA 9; New York, 1939), pl. 6; photograph in A.P. KOZLOFF & B.M. BRYAN, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun* (Cleveland, 1992), 53, fig. 2.11; Huy (Heidelberg inv. no. 18; doorpost, unknown provenance), E. FEUCHT, *Vom Nil zum Neckar* (Heidelberg, 1986), 68 (cat. no. 183); statues of Amenhotep Son of Hapu, GABOLDE, *D'Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*, 75 and n. 664-665; for Cairo JE 44861, add L.M. BERMAN, in KOZLOFF & BRYAN, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 251-252 and 235, pl. 24; for Cairo CG 583, see ASSMANN, *ATL* 2, 332 (NR.4.2.2); stelophorous statues from Thebes: Menkheper (Chicago OIM 8634, time of Amenhotep III), B. GESSLER-LÖHR, 'Bemerkungen zur Nekropole des Neuen Reiches von Saqqara vor der Amarna-Zeit II: Gräber der Bürgermeister von Memphis', *OMRO* 77 (1997), 55-56 and pl. 9.1; Qenamun (time of Tuthmosis III), *ibid.*, 34-36 and fig. 1 (col. 5). Time of Amenhotep III and IV: Parennefer (TT 188; left side of lintel), SANDMAN, *Texts*, 141.1-2.

places.³³ During the post-Amarna period and in the early Nineteenth Dynasty, the prayer to see the sun-disk (*itn*) or to view its beauties every morning (and the like) is still frequent, and often documented in funerary inscriptions from Thebes,³⁴ and also from Saqqara.³⁵ All these texts

³³ Minhotep Hetutu (PM III²/II, 737; *Urk.* IV, 1512.19), left jamb, time of Amenhotep II to Tuthmosis IV; Si (Berlin 7272, PM III²/II, 734; *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* II (Berlin, 1901-1924), 109:10-11), time of Tuthmosis IV to Amenhotep III (many thanks to Caris-Beatrice ARNST and Karl-Heinz PRIESE for providing me with a photograph in the 1980s); Seth (A. ZIVIE, 'Seth, échanton royal, et sa tombe de Saqqara', in J. VAN DIJK (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde* (Egyptological Memoirs 1; Groningen, 1997), 378 and 381, fig. 2), left jamb, time of Amenhotep III; Meri-meri (Leiden K 15 and AP 6, PM III²/II, 705), time of Amenhotep III; BOESER, *Beschrijving* IV, pl. 15 (with divine and anthropomorphic classifier = BARTA, *Opferformel*, 153 Bitte 151). From Abydos: statue of Satepihu (ASSMANN, *ATL* 2, 283-290 (NR.4.1.3.2), esp. 285 (line 31 note 65). From Sedment: Amenemhat (Philadelphia, University Museum), time of Amenhotep III: H. RANKE, 'The Egyptian collections of the University Museum, Philadelphia', *Univ. Mus. Bull.* 15 (1950), 47 and 45, fig. 27; ASSMANN, *ATL* 2, 283-290 (NR.4.1.3.1), 285 (line 31), to correct to: *dg3-k itn m hr.t hrw.w* (with divine and anthropomorphic classifier); cf. *ibid.*, 268 §15 and n. 150. For the rare parallelism of the sun-god (Re / Re-Horakhty / Aten) and the god Amun 'parfaitement solarisé', see DEBOT, *AIPHOS* 20 (n. 14), 180-182 and pl. 3; PARKINSON, *Cracking Codes*, 126.

³⁴ For example, in the tomb of Amenemope (TT 41), time of Horemhab to Seti I: J. ASSMANN, *Das Grab des Amenemope (TT 41)*: Theben 3 (Text) (Mainz, 1991), 27 (text 7), 82 (text 98.8), 83 and n. 101 (TT 192); ASSMANN, *ATL* 2, 501-502 (NR.8.1.1). For dating, see also E. HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel* (Theben 17; Mainz, 2004), 14-18. Statue of Mahu (British Museum, EA 460), M. BIERBRIER, *HTBM* XII (London, 1993), pl. 95G; ASSMANN, *ATL* 2, 505 (NR.8.1.3).

³⁵ For example, in the tomb of the lady Maïa, wet nurse of Tutankhamun: A. ZIVIE, *La tombe de Maïa. Les tombes du Bubasteion à Saqqara I* (Toulouse, 2009), 42, pls 27 and 66 (east jamb, text 11.1); 63, pls 36 and 78 (east jamb, text 39.1); 77, pls 45 and 90 (false door: left jamb, text 58). Often on stelae, such as the stela of Iniuiia: H. SCHNEIDER, 'The rediscovery of Iniuiia', *EA* 3 (1993), 3 (right jamb); Amenemone: OCKINGA, *Amenemone*, 42 (text 8; add BARTA, *Opferformel*, 120 Bitte 115) and pl. 5 (right jamb, col. 2); Ptahmose (New York MMA 67.3): H.G. FISHER, 'Egyptian art', *BMMA NS* 26 (1967), 62-63; A. KAMAL, 'Sur une stèle aujourd'hui perdue', *RecTrav* 27 (1905), 29-31; S.A.B. MERCER, 'The Gorrington collection of Egyptian antiquities', *RecTrav* 36 (1914), 177-178, pl. 9 (lintel and right jamb), see also below and n. 60 and 90; Hatiay (Tomb Bubasteion I.27): ZIVIE, *BSFE* 162, 40, fig. 8 (cols. 4-6); Paitenemhab (Leiden K 7; PM III²/II, 711): BOESER, *Beschrijving* IV, pl. 9 (left jamb, col. 1); Pay (block Florence 2601): RAVEN, *Pay and Raia*, 28 (scene 20, line 4); add ASSMANN, *ATL* 2, 518 (NR.8.1.8, II Var. NR.3, line 12); Raia (Berlin 7271, *ÄIB* II, 195:4): RAVEN, *Pay and Raia*, 23 (scene [5], line 12), pls 17-18; Hormin (Berlin 7274; PM III²/II, 664; *ÄIB* II, 154 B = BARTA, *Opferformel*, 150 Bitte 124), left jamb; Akhpert (Hannover 2935): M. CRAMER, 'Ägyptische Denkmäler im Kestner-Museum zu Hannover', *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 91, pl. 5.4 (= BARTA, *Opferformel*, 166 Bitte 89); Huya (Cairo JE 27958; PM III²/II, 667): G.A. GABALLA, 'Monuments of prominent men of Memphis, Abydos and Thebes', in J. RUFFLE, G.A. GABALLA & K. KITCHEN (eds), *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of H.W. Fairman* (Warminster, 1979), 42 (5) and pl. 1 a-b (left jamb [5]). For the wish '... may you see the sun-disk (*itn*)...' in the so-called Khaemwas-formula, well-known from some Ramesseid shabti figures, see H.D. SCHNEIDER, *Shabtis* 1 (Leiden,

refer to the daily return of the deceased to this world after his transformation into a 'living Ba', and thus '[be] on earth' (*tp t3*) again.³⁶ Some more detailed and comprehensive inscriptions emphasise this basic concept,³⁷ which at the time was perfectly compatible both with the Amarna theology³⁸ and the subsequent return to the traditional religion. As a result, this offering formula attested over a very long period from the early Eighteenth and throughout the Nineteenth Dynasty cannot be used as a criterion for a more precise dating of the lintel of Hatiai.

3. EPIGRAPHICAL DATING CRITERION: THE RADIANT SUN-DISK ON BLOCK I (Text 1b: figs 1a, 1b, and 3)

In Text 1b, the god Osiris has the epithets 'Foremost of the west' (line 1) and 'Lord of Everlastingness' (line 2). DRIOTON observed that the sun-disk in the writing for eternity (*nḥḥ*) is replaced here by a sun-disk with five arms ending in hands (figs 1 and 3),³⁹ which narrows the time range

1977), 283-288; J.-L. BOVOT, *Les serviteurs funéraires royaux et princiers de l'Ancienne Égypte* (Paris, 2003), 237-239 (cat. no. 94); S. PASQUALI, 'Le dépôt extra-sépulcral trouvé par Fl. Petrie à Giza-Sud', *RdE* 59 (2008), 360 and n. 14.

³⁶ ASSMANN, *ATL* 2, 28-36, 198 §11, 250-252, 255, 263 §12, 268 §15, 275 (line 36 and n. 7), 276-277 and 281. See also the spell for being transformed into a living *Ba*-soul in the *Book of the Dead*, Chapter 85 (HORNUNG, *Totenbuch*, 172-174). In the so-called *jr-wnn*-spells (ASSMANN, *ATL* 2, 377-387, NR.5.5), the deceased demands his transformation into a living *Ba*-soul in order to see the sun-disk in his morning (... *r m33 ḥn tp dw3.t.f*) only once (Grapow spell 2), namely on the stela of Neferhotep (Cairo CG 34057: LACAU, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, 102, line 13 and pl. 34), time of Tuthmosis IV to Amenhotep III (pace ASSMANN, *ATL* 2, 377-378; here erroneously labelled as Re, such as in Grapow spell 1, line 11 of the same stela).

³⁷ Compare Nakht (TT 52), PM I²/I, 100 (2), time of Amenhotep II to Tuthmosis IV/ Amenhotep III: A.G. SHEDID & M. SEIDEL, *Das Grab des Nacht* (Hildesheim, 1991), 42 (left jamb, col. 2) — 'Hervortreten aus der Erde, um die Sonne zu schauen in der Art des Erdendaseins' (*pr.t m t3 r m33 ḥn mī shr.w n wnn tp t3*); Tjanuni (TT 76), time of Tuthmosis IV: ASSMANN, *ATL* 2, 266 and 354 — 'Hervortreten aus der Erde, um die Sonne zu schauen alltäglich und Tag für Tag. Auf der Erde wandeln wie im Diesseits in der Art des Erdendaseins'; Kheruef (TT 192), time of Amenhotep III and IV: ASSMANN, *ATL* 2, 376-377, NR.5.4.7(4). For the corresponding emendation of Text 1a, see n. 26 above.

³⁸ DRIOTON, *ASAE* 43, 36a, 38 and n. 1. See E. HORNUNG, *Echnaton. Die Religion des Lichtes* (Zürich, 1995), 106-108; DEBOT, *AIPHOS* 20 (n. 14), 182 and n. 5: "le 'leitmotiv' des fidèles d'Aton, dans la nécropole d'Amarna". For a concise abstract of the funerary belief of this period, see ASSMANN, *ATL* 2, 407-408.

³⁹ DRIOTON, *ASAE* 43, 36 (fig. 2) and 37, note a. The photograph taken after a recent restoration confirms DRIOTON's reading: the radiant arms are almost completely destroyed, but marked by the slightly lower surface of the stone (here: fig. 1b).



Fig. 3. Radiating sun-disk from the Louvre lintel. After Drioton, 36 fig. 2.

for the carving of the inscription to either the early Amarna age, or to the post-Amarna period until the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁴⁰ The presence of the gods of the netherworld precludes the later years in the reign of Akhenaten for sure. For an early dating, it would be important to know if and when the modification happened that transformed the ordinary sun-disk (Gardiner sign list N5) and the sunshine hieroglyph (N8)⁴¹ into the radiant sun-disk “*en miniature*” (not included in Gardiner’s sign list),⁴² as suggested by DRIOTON for the spelling of *neheh* (*nḥḥ*) on the lintel.⁴³ There is no precise answer to this question, because both signs were used alternatively as determinatives throughout the Amarna period. It has to be emphasised that the sunshine hieroglyph with three rays (N8) was intentionally eliminated from the words for ‘Aten’ and ‘Shu’, and

⁴⁰ See ASSMANN, *LL*, 102-103 n. 69: “Die Zuweisung an Amarna beruht auf der Schreibung der Sonnenscheibe in dem Wort *nḥḥ* (Ewigkeit)”; commented on by HORNING, *BSEG* 13, 66 n. 9: “Der Strahlenaten in der Schreibung von *nḥḥ* verbietet allerdings eine Datierung nach den frühen Jahren Tutanchamuns”! See also below.

⁴¹ The sunshine hieroglyph, already attested in the Old Kingdom, determines all the words for light and could be used as an ideogram for *ḥḥw* (*Wb* I, 33.3-4); Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Sign-list N8; cf. J. ASSMANN, ‘Die Häresie des Echnaton’, *Saeculum* 23 (1972), 118. Mainly used as a determinative in words like *wbn* (*Wb* I, 292-93), *psd* (*Wb* I, 556-58), *ḥd* / *ḥdd* / *ḥddw.t* (*Wb* III, 206-208, 214-215), *shd* (*Wb* IV, 224-227), *sšp* (*Wb* IV, 282-283), *stl* / *stw.t* (*Wb* IV, 330-331), *šw* (*Wb* IV, 430-432). See also A. SUGI, ‘*nḥ*: An archetype model for the semantics of iconography in New Kingdom Egypt’, in A. McDONALD & C. RIGGS (eds), *Current Research in Egyptology 2000* (BAR 909; Oxford, 2000), 103-109, esp. 104-106 and bibliography. The sign was also used as a classifier in the word for sun-disk (*itn*): GOLDWASSER, *Prophets*, 112 (ch. 6.2 A.b and c); 115-16 (ch. 6.4.2.1).

⁴² The *Berliner Wörterbuch* lists the radiant sun-disk as a determinative during the Amarna age (*Wb* IV, 331 in the word *stw.t* for sun-rays); F. BEHNK, *Grammatik der Texte aus El Amarna* (Berlin, 1924), 4-5. See also O. GOLDWASSER, *From Icon to Metaphor* (OBO 142; Fribourg, 1995), 57 as “a captivating example” for the Iconic Reading.

⁴³ Traditional writings of the word *nḥḥ* always have the sun-disk N5 and never the sunshine hieroglyph N8: *Wb* II, 299-302 and *Belegstellen* II, 435-442 (pace DRIOTON, *ASAE* 43, 37a). For the specific writing of *neheh* during the Amarna period with the solar orb (sun-disk with cobra and *ankh*-sign in frontal view), see SUGI, in McDONALD & RIGGS, *Current Research* (n. 41), 106 and n. 65-66.

replaced here either by the sun-disk (N5) or by the solar orb (not included in Gardiner's sign list either). This Amarna-specific sign depicting the sun-disk with cobra and ankh in frontal view has to be understood as an abbreviated version of the Aten's icon, and therefore certainly emerged in special contexts to indicate the theological changes of the respective words.⁴⁴

The sun-disk with numerous rays ending in hands appeared as a determinative from the end of Year 4 of Akhenaten's reign at the latest, i.e., more or less contemporaneous with the pictorial introduction of the icon.⁴⁵ It was used in the main in private inscriptions,⁴⁶ but never — as one would expect — as a determinative in the word 'Aten' designating the Amarna sun-god. Obviously here, as well as in the words 'Re', 'Shu', 'everlastingness' (*nḥh*), and 'horizon' (N27), the solar orb was the preferred alternative besides the ordinary sun-disk (N5). Sometimes, the sun-disk or the sunshine hieroglyph in the word for 'rise' (*wbn*) were also replaced by the solar orb (fig. 4: cols. 2 and 4) or by the radiant sun-disk (fig. 4: col. 2). Since, as a sign, the radiant sun-disk with numerous rays is rather bulky, it was occasionally somewhat difficult to insert it into the hieroglyphic text without breaking the overall well-balanced proportions.

⁴⁴ ead. *ibid.*, 104-106 and n. 65. During the Amarna period, depictions of the sun in sunk relief are sometimes incised very deeply with a striking convex surface curvature, such as on the balustrade in Cairo, RT 30/10/26/12 (A. BRODBECK & A. WIESE (eds), *Tutankhamun. The Golden Beyond* (Basel, 2004), fig. on p. 227, cat. no. 43). ASSMANN considers it to represent and emphasise its character as a three-dimensional 'ball', rather than a disk. See *LÄ* I (1975), 528 and 536 n. 34 with reference to N. DE G. DAVIES, 'Akhenaten at Thebes', *JEA* 9 (1923), 139 and H.M. STEWART, 'A monument with Amarna traits', *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology (BIA)* 7 (London, 1968), 85-86. M. EATON-KRAUSS prefers the idea of a lenticular shape (pers. comm.), whereas W.R. JOHNSON favours the conception of a sun-'ball' (pers. comm.). For the various hieroglyphic signs for 'sun', see B. GESSLER-LÖHR, 'The sun-disk around the Amarna age. Reconsidering some transformations of an icon' (forthcoming).

⁴⁵ I. MUNRO, 'Zusammenstellung von Datierungskriterien für Inschriften der Amarna-Zeit nach J.J. PEREPELKIN "Die Revolution Amenophis' IV.", Teil 1 (russ.), 1967', *GM* 94 (1986), 85-86. For the rise of this new iconography, see D.B. REDFORD, 'The sun-disk in Akhenaten's program: Its worship and antecedents I', *JARCE* 13 (1976), 47-61; J.-L. CHAPPAZ, 'Amenhotep IV à Thèbes', in T.-L. BERGEROT (ed.), *Akhénaton et l'époque amarnienne* (Paris, 2005), 54-55, 81 n. 8-9.

⁴⁶ The lack of evidence in the material from Karnak and Hermopolis is quite noteworthy; for some exceptions see below and n. 49 and 52. For references, see n. 48, 54-55 and fig. 4, cols. 2 and 3. The stela of Panehsi from Heliopolis (Louvre C 321) depicts the radiant sun-disk as the determinative in the word for sun-rays (*stw.t*), as well as the sun-disks N5, N6, and also the solar orb; see DRIOTON, *ASAE* 43, II: 25-35 and fig. 1. See now E. RICKAL, in CHAPPAZ et al., *Akhénaton et Néfertiti*, cat. no. 37; Y. VOLOKHINE, 'Atonisme et monothéisme: quelques étapes d'un débat moderne', *ibid.*, 138-139 and fig. 7.



Fig. 4. Sun-hymn from the tomb of Ay at Amarna (detail, col. 2-5).
After Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* VI, pl. 25.

This might be the reason why instead, at Amarna, the compact solar orb or the abstract sunshine sign (N8 with three, four or five rays) with added plural strokes to designate the multitude of rays, were depicted more often.⁴⁷ The tomb inscriptions use one of the five possible notations: the traditional sunshine hieroglyph, the sun-disk or the sunshine hieroglyph with plural strokes, the solar orb or the radiant sun-disk with a minimum of three to a maximum of ten rays ending in hands (fig. 4: cols. 2, 3, 5).⁴⁸ Occasionally, when the radiant sun-disk is used as the determinative in the word 'rays' (*stw.t*), even this sign can be depicted with additional plural strokes (fig. 4: cols. 2 and 3). The texts of the boundary stelae use the radiant sun-disk only sporadically as an alternative writing for the sun-disk (N5), the sun-disk with added plural strokes or the sunshine hieroglyph (N8).⁴⁹

After the Amarna interlude, even as early as in the funerary equipment for Tutankhamun, the use of the radiant sun-disk was strictly avoided.⁵⁰ The latest pictorial evidence for the icon is the scene on the front of the backrest of Tutankhamun's gold throne, which M. EATON-KRAUSS argues was made for the king when he still bore the name Tutankhaten.⁵¹ The one attestation as a determinative in the word 'rise'

⁴⁷ Generally also as the determinative for sun-rays (*stw.t*): *Wb* IV, 331; *Belegstellen* IV, 53 and 75 (331, 3). SANDMAN, *Texts*, 4.4, 7.7-8, 13.9-11, 15.7-8, 53.15, 69.3, 69.10, 70.3, 71.7, 75.13, 76.2, 81.6, 81.15 and *passim*. In the Theban tomb of Parennefer (TT 188), the deceased is shown adoring the Aten-disk, and in the associated hymn to Re-Horakhty, the word for sun-rays (*stw.t*) is determined this way: PM I²/I, 294 (2); SANDMAN, *Texts*, 142.4; compare DAVIES, *JEA* 9, 138, pl. 27h (2). For earlier use of this writing, see for example, *Urk.* IV, 15.14 and 19.9 (time of Ahmose); 421.4 (time of Tuthmosis III); 173.11 (time of Tuthmosis IV); tomb of Khaemhat (TT 57): LORET, *La tombe de Khâ-m-hâ* (n. 32), 127 (*q*) and 132 (*y*), line 15 (time of Amenhotep III); for the sunshine hieroglyph with four and even five rays, see HAYES, *Sobk-Mose*, pl. 5, lines 2 and 3 (time of Amenhotep III).

⁴⁸ Mainly also in the word for rays (*stw.t*): *Wb* IV, 331 and in words describing different aspects of the sun, such as rising, illuminating, shining and the like (*wbn* / *shd* / *psd* / *h'j*); see N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* I-VI (EEF 13-18; London, 1903-1908), *passim*; for example, vol. I (Meryra), pl. 36 (1), pl. 41 left (3), right (1 and 6); vol. II (Panehsi), pl. 5 east architrave, pl. 7 (2) and (3), pl. 21 (2) left lintel; vol. III (Huya), pl. 19 (line 1 below the lunette); vol. III (Ahmes), pl. 29 (1); vol. V (May), pl. 2 (4 and 4), pl. 4 left jamb (2); vol. VI (Tutu), pl. 15 (4) south thickness, pl. 19 (2) Tutu's speech, pl. 34 *addenda* to pl. 13 (2) Tutu [from Mariette]; vol. VI (Ay), pl. 25 (2) and (3), pl. 27 (11), pl. 32 west architrave (a), pl. 33 col. E, pl. 38 (2 and 3).

⁴⁹ W.J. MURNANE & C.C. VAN SICLEN III, *The Boundary Stelae of Akhenaten* (London, 1993), 84 (stelae J / Q / S: I-II *shd*), 88 (A:5 *stw.t*), 98 (A:24 *stw.t*).

⁵⁰ H. BEINLICH & M. SALEH, *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun* (Oxford, 1989).

⁵¹ M. EATON-KRAUSS, 'Seats of power', *KMT* 19/2 (2008), 31; ead., *The Thrones, Chairs, Stools, and Footstools from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford, 2008), 42-45.

(*wbn*) in a text on his second golden shrine⁵² has to be excluded from consideration in this context, since shrines II and III belong (at least partially) to the equipment originally made for Akhenaten himself and for Tutankhamun's female predecessor.⁵³ This proves, however, that the hieroglyph could potentially also have been used in other royal funerary texts and in official inscriptions from the Amarna period and its immediate aftermath, now lost.

Quite astonishing is the survival of the radiant sun-disk in contemporary tomb inscriptions at Saqqara. As J. VAN DIJK observed, a stela in the tomb of Pay with a hymn to the sun-god depicts "*the traditional image of the Aten, with the individual rays terminating in hands*" as the determinative of the word 'rays' (*stwt*).⁵⁴ The same writing occurs in the scene at the window of appearances in the tomb of Horemhab⁵⁵ and, according to MARIETTE's drawing, also in the sun hymn on the stela of Iniua from Saqqara (time of Tutankhamun to Horemhab).⁵⁶ The latter is, however, definitely wrong, as J. VAN DIJK noted when collating the stela.⁵⁷ Another

⁵² Carter no. 237. For the disk with arms, see A. PIANKOFF, *Les Chapelles de Toutankh-Amon* (MIFAO 72; Cairo, 1951/52), 51 (col. 16) and A. PIANKOFF, *The Shrines of Toutankh-Amon* (New York, 1955), 16. For post-Amarna attestations of the solar orb, see GESSLER-LÖHR, forthcoming.

⁵³ J.R. HARRIS, 'Akhenaten and Nefernefruaten in the tomb of Tutankhamun', in N. REEVES (ed.), *After Tutankhamun* (1992), 61, 70 (n. 90-96); also GABOLDE, *D'Akhenaton à Toutankhamon*, 152; J.C. DARNELL, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity* (OBO 198; Fribourg, 2004), 161-162 and n. 553. For reworked pectorals of Queen Nefernefruaten, see A.M. GNIRS, in BRODBECK & WIESE, *Tutankhamun*, 306-307 (cat. no. 73). For the female ruler, see recently M. GABOLDE, 'De la fin du règne d'Akhénaton à l'avènement de Toutankhamon', in CHAPPAZ et al., *Akhénaton et Néfertiti*, 101-103. The problems are still in dispute.

⁵⁴ J. VAN DIJK & M. RAVEN, 'The reliefs, paintings, and inscriptions', in RAVEN, *Pay and Raia*, 44 and n. 68, pls 73-74 (lines 4 and 10); the radiant sun-disk is also shown with additional plural strokes: J. VAN DIJK, 'Hymnen aan Re en Osiris in Memphitische graven van het Nieuwe Rijk', *Phoenix* 42.1 (1996), 21-22 and fig. 5 (left); compare GOLDWASSER, *From Icon to Metaphor*, 128-129 n. 50. This underlines HORNING's argument for its occurrence only until the end of Tutankhamun's reign, see n. 40 above.

⁵⁵ G.T. MARTIN, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb* 1 (EEF EM 55; London, 1989), pl. 115 (Berlin 22663: four rays with hands); cf. J. VAN DIJK, in RAVEN, *Pay and Raia*, 44 n. 68. For the style of the scene, see HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 97 and 99, fig. 119.

⁵⁶ A. MARIETTE, *Monuments divers* II (Paris, 1899), pl. 57a (line 5: determinative for *stwt*); for the tomb, see H.D. SCHNEIDER, G.T. MARTIN, B. GREENE ASTON, R. PERIZONIUS & E. STROUHAL, 'The tomb of Iniua, preliminary report of the Saqqara excavations 1993', *JEA* 79 (1993), 1-9, pls 1-3; J. BERLANDINI, 'Les tombes amarniennes et d'époque Toutankhamon à Sakkara: critères stylistiques', in *L'Égyptologie en 1979: Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* 2 (Paris, 1982), 195-212.

⁵⁷ I am most grateful to Jacobus VAN DIJK for sending his hand-copy and useful comments (e-mail July 31, 2009): "*The sign in question is the ordinary N8 with 4 or 5 rays,*

post-Amarna sun hymn⁵⁸ and the stela of Huy in Bologna depict a reduced version with numerous rays, but without the hands.⁵⁹ The 'neutral' version of the sunshine sign with three or four 'rays' and added plural strokes is by far more frequently attested.⁶⁰ In Horemhab's great hymn to the sun, this sign is used, while the parallel text on a stela from the tomb of Ipuia depicts the sun with many short rays.⁶¹

As attestations of the radiant sun-disk in the post-Amarna period at Saqqara are very rare, it cannot be taken as an intentional legacy of the Atonists. Probably some of the artists had been trained in the reign of Akhenaten and still kept the sign of the radiant sun-disk in their hieroglyphic repertoire. Therefore, one may conclude that the epigraphic occurrence of the sign preserved on several private funerary monuments from Saqqara points to a post-Amarna date for the lintel of Hatiaiy as well. No parallels are known so far, either from Thebes or from Saqqara, that would allow a dating to the early years of Akhenaten.

not the 'Strahlenaton'. This detail shows that Mariette's copy is inaccurate: he gives 3 rays in ll. 2 and 5 (second example) and 7 in l. 5 (first example). These 7 rays create the impression of a 'Strahlenaton', but this is definitely wrong... On the fragments we found there is only one occurrence of N8 (probably in the word 'stw.t'), but here too it is written in the ordinary way, with 5 rather short rays, not with the 'Strahlenaton'. I have also checked all the other (as yet unpublished) inscriptions from Iniuiia,... and none of the texts ever show the 'Strahlenaton'".

⁵⁸ M.I. ALY, 'New Kingdom scattered blocks from Saqqara', *MDAIK* 56 (2000), 234 (no. 10 col. 2) and pl. 32b (5 and 6 rays in the words *wbn* and *psd*, no plural strokes).

⁵⁹ Stela KS 1922, time of Tutankhamun: 7 short rays in the word for sunrise (*wbn*); E. BRESCIANI, *Le Stele Egiziane del Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna* (Bologna, 1985), 66-67 (drawing col. 14), 158 and 160, pls 30 and 32 (cat. no. 23). On a lintel from Giza (time of Akhenaten or immediate successors), the same word is determined by a disk with four rays (hands?): C. ZIVIE, 'À propos de quelques reliefs du Nouvel Empire au musée du Caire: 1. La tombe de Ptahmay à Giza', *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 285-310, esp. 298 (1) and pl. 55.

⁶⁰ In the word for rays (*stw.t*): Tomb of Maia (time of Tutankhamun); E. GRAEFE, 'Das Grab des Schatzhausvorstehers und Bauleiters Maya in Saqqara', *MDAIK* 31/2 (1975), 196 and 211 (fig. 4, door-jamb, col. 2); 197 and 213 (fig. 5, col. 2), 202 and 212 (fig. 6a, col. 1). Tomb of Horemhab (stela with sun hymn, London BM 551); MARTIN, *Horemheb*, pls 21-22 (stela 7, line 11 *hddw.t* and line 17 *ibhw*). Stela of Ptahmose in Rome, post-Amarna (Vatican 251); G. BOTTI & P. ROMANELLI, *Le sculture del Museo Gregoriano Egizio* (Rome, 1951), 77 (cat. no. 124) and pl. 60 (line 8); for the tomb owner, see below and n. 90. Tomb of Amenemone (goldsmith): OCKINGA, *Amenemone*, 103 (text 65:4) and pl. 78.

⁶¹ See n. 60. Additionally in the word for light (*im3w.t*): *Wb* I, 80, 9); MARTIN, *Horemheb*, pls. 21-22 (stela 7, line 8). J.E. QUIBELL & A.J.K. HAYTER, *Teti Pyramid North Side* (Cairo, 1927), 32-33 and pl. 9 (line 7; no hands visible). For the texts, see ASSMANN, *ÄHG*, 536 (parallel text for Text 58 from Horemhab).

The problem with the writing of the epithet ‘Lord of Everlastingness’ on the lintel of Hatiay (Text 1b), certainly influenced by Amarna iconography, remains the following: although the radiant sun-disk has occasionally survived in some post-Amarna texts, especially from Saqqara, its depiction in the word *neheh* (*nḥḥ*) in place of the ordinary sun-disk (N5), or of the Amarna-specific spelling with the solar orb, seems without parallel to date. One could explain its use here simply as a mistake by the artist who still had some knowledge of Amarna epigraphy, but who did not understand the specific meaning of the signs, to combine them in the correct order. But, since accounting for it merely as a scribal error is not really satisfying, rather, one might suggest that as a literate priest, the tomb owner Hatiay wanted to create a new meaningful writing and depiction of the epithet ‘Lord of Everlastingness’, and thus emphasise the aspect of Osiris, by which he is understood as the illuminating sun of the night.⁶²

For the beginning of the Amarna age, such a step of taking the only recently introduced icon out of its specific Atonist context and applying it to Osiris seems rather unlikely, and would most probably have been regarded as an act of rebellion. During the early years, the opposite developed: epithets peculiar to Osiris were applied to the sungod Re / Re-Horakhty / Aten,⁶³ but almost certainly not *vice versa*. In the post-Amarna period, however, the hymns to Osiris take up the theme of the unification of Re and Osiris, and both gods are given “*a role of equal weight*” in private tomb inscriptions.⁶⁴ Therefore, our example depicting the radiant sun-disk in an Osirian context is a much better fit for this

⁶² As attested in some hymns after the Amarna period that express the unification of Re and Osiris; see ASSMANN, *Sonnenhymnen*, xv and xxxvii, n. 42 (from *pAni*; compare ASSMANN, *ÄHG*, Text 33:10-16 and 524) and in the following. See also ASSMANN, *LL*, *passim*.

⁶³ D.B. REDFORD, ‘The sun-disk in Akhenaten’s program: Its worship and antecedents II’, *JARCE* 17 (1980), 27-28, 32 n. 245. For Aten as the ‘Lord of Everlastingness’ (*nḥ nḥḥ*) during the Amarna age, see J. ASSMANN, ‘Zwei Sonnenhymnen der späten 18. Dynastie in thebanischen Gräbern der Saitenzeit’, *MDAIK* 27/1 (1971), 27 and n. 65; J. ASSMANN, *Zeit und Ewigkeit im alten Ägypten* (Heidelberg, 1975), 54-57. See further C. LEITZ et al., *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* 3 (OLA 112; Leuven, 2002), 667e-f. Recent discussion in GRIMM & SCHLÖGL, *TT* 136, 27-28 and n. 224-229.

⁶⁴ J. VAN DIJK, ‘Horemhab’s hymn to Osiris’, in MARTIN, *Horemheb*, 63 with reference to ASSMANN, *ÄHG*, 75.

period,⁶⁵ and might even be considered a unique and very witty idea after the Amarna debacle.

Only from the post-Amarna period onwards is the parallelism between Re and Osiris reflected also in the funeral architecture and pictorial programme at Thebes.⁶⁶ At Saqqara, the same concept is emphasised, for example, by images of Re and Osiris on two companion stelae⁶⁷ or, far more frequently, on one stela with both gods standing or enthroned back-to-back in the lunette.⁶⁸ The balanced combination of solar and Osirian themes is also observable on Ramesside pyramidia from Saqqara, with, for example, the rare depiction of solar gods on two sides, and gods of the Netherworld on the remaining two, which is unthinkable on a pre-Amarna monument.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ For this context and the reappearance of the *Litany of the Sun* only after Akhenaten, see the basic outline by HORNUNG, *BSEG* 13, 66-68 quoting Hatiai's lintel as a witness for the then reinstated belief (p. 66). See also Section 4 below.

⁶⁶ ASSMANN, *Sonnenhymnen*, xv. In detail id., in ASSMANN, *Amenemope* (TT 41), 191-196, esp. 194-195. For the situation at Saqqara, see VAN DIJK, in RAVEN, *Pay and Raia*, 51-52 and in the following.

⁶⁷ As attested for Raia, see RAVEN, *Pay and Raia*, pl. 18.

⁶⁸ Pay: *ibid.*, pls 58-59. Ipuia: QUIBELL & HAYTER, *Teti Pyramid NS*, pl. 9. Amenemone: OCKINGA, *Amenemone*, pls 5, 55. Wepwawetmose (Berlin 7316; PM III²/II, 734): GRIMM & SCHLÖGL, *TT 136*, 18-19 and n. 122, 124, pl. 16 (erroneously dated to Amenhotep III and IV; see M. EATON-KRAUSS in her book review, *BiOr* 63 (2006), 525). For dating the stela, see also J. VAN DIJK, *The New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis* (Groningen, 1993), 140 (c): "roughly contemporary with the tomb of Horemheb"; B. BRYAN, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore, 1991), 250, 309 n. 73-74 (Seti I). Khay: J. VAN DIJK, 'Description of scenes and translations of texts', in G.T. MARTIN, K.J. FRAZER & P.J. BOMHOF, *The Tombs of Three Memphite Officials* (EEF EM 66; London, 2001), 14 [4] and pls 9, 53. Huya: GABALLA, in RUFFLE et al., *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt*, 40-45 (pl. 1 a/b). Tjenro: M. EL-ALFI, 'La liste de rois de Saqqarah', *DE* 26 (1993), 12. Tjunuroy: A. MARIETTE, *Monuments divers* II, pl. 57 (b); PM III²/II, 666. Hori: M.J. RAVEN & N. STARING, in Exhibition catalogue Stuttgart, *Ägyptische Mumien. Unsterblichkeit im Land der Pharaonen* (Mainz, 2007), 10, 180 (cat. no. 158; Leiden RMO, AP 50); BOESER, *Beschrijving* VI, 9 (no. 30), pl. 20.

⁶⁹ Tia (Re-Horakhty and Atum-Re-Horakhty; Osiris and Osiris): A. RAMMANT-PEETERS, *Les pyramidions égyptiens du Nouvel Empire* (OLA 11; Leuven, 1983), 93-94 (Doc. 94); G.T. MARTIN, *The Tomb of Tia and Tia* (EEF EM 58; London, 1997), 34-35, pls 162-163. Amenhotep Huy (Re-Horakhty and Atum; Osiris and Sokar): K. MYŚLIWIEC, 'Zwei Pyramidia der XIX. Dynastie aus Memphis', *SAK* 6 (1978), 145-153 (compare also below, and n. 128); RAMMANT-PEETERS, *Les pyramidions égyptiens*, 28-30 (Doc. 27). For Pthahmwia in Leiden (RMO, AM 7bis; *ibid.*, 38-39 (Doc. 35) with a depiction of Re-Horakhty and Osiris standing back-to-back, see BOESER, *Beschrijving* V, pl. 15.2c; RAVEN & STARING, in *Ägyptische Mumien* 2007, 136-137 (cat. no. 133). Late Eighteenth Dynasty, probably from Saqqara. For the relatively rare occurrence of Osirian motifs on pyramidia, see RAMMANT-PEETERS, *Les pyramidions égyptiens*, 176-177, 180-181, 189-190.

4. THE HYMN TO OSIRIS ON BLOCK I (Text 1c: figs 1a and 1b)

The hymn to Osiris is an extract from Chapter 181 of the *Book of the Dead*.⁷⁰ Here, Hatiay greets the god '[...] in the Tribunal (*d3d3.t*), thou hast risen like Re from the double horizon. His disk (*itn*) is thy disk, his image (*tît*) is thy image,⁷¹ his dignity is thy dignity (*šfl.t*)'. Only three significant statements are chosen here from a usually much longer list of equations,⁷² in which the deceased identifies Osiris "... with the sun god after the pattern 'your this-and-that is his this-and-that' (...). The first section can be interpreted as a description of the nocturnal union between Re and Osiris".⁷³ E. DRIOTON understood this text that equates Osiris with the sun-god Re as a proof for the theological identification of both gods during the Amarna period.⁷⁴ His conclusion was convincingly declared impossible by E. HORNING after the early years of the king's reign, since Akhenaten had by then reduced the cosmological phenomena to the solar aspects.⁷⁵ On DRIOTON, J. ASSMANN wrote a critical comment, in which he identified the hymn as a parallel for Chapter 181 of the *Book of the Dead*.⁷⁶ This link, which has not yet found further discussion,⁷⁷ might help cut the Gordian knot of Hatiay's lintel. If the text is a much-shortened version of BD 181, which seems beyond doubt,⁷⁸

⁷⁰ Identification by ASSMANN, *LL*, 102-103, n. 69: "Übrigens steht Driotons Behauptung einer Gleichsetzung von Re und Osiris in der Amarnazeit auf sehr schwachen Füßen. Sie basiert auf einem Block aus dem Grabe des Gottesvaters Hatiay im Louvre mit einer Anrufung an Osiris, die, was Drioton nicht gesehen hat, einen Paralleltex zu Totb 181 gibt. Die Zuweisung an Amarna beruht auf der Schreibung der Sonnenscheibe in dem Wort *nhh* (Ewigkeit); aber selbst wenn sie zu Recht besteht (ich möchte eher an ein memphitisches Grab dieser oder etwas späterer Zeit denken), so wird man doch Totb 181 nicht für ein Stück Amarna-Theologie halten wollen".

⁷¹ To be translated in German as 'Wesen, Ebenbild', etc. See B. OCKINGA, *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit im Alten Ägypten und im Alten Testament* (ÄAT 7; Wiesbaden, 1984), 101-124 (ch. 7). The word *tît* is not used in the other known versions of BD 181.

⁷² See HORNING, *Totenbuch*, 385-386 (Chapter 181:6-24).

⁷³ N. BILLING, 'Re-assessing the past.* Context and tradition of the Book of the Dead, Chapter 181', in B. BACKES, I. MUNRO & S. STÖHR (eds), *Totenbuch-Forschungen* (SAT 11; Wiesbaden, 2006), 3-10; quote on pp. 5-6.

⁷⁴ DRIOTON, *ASAE* 43, 43.

⁷⁵ HORNING, *Echnaton*, 108; HORNING, *Amduat* II, 123-124; HORNING, *BSEG* 13, 66 (for quotes from the discussion, see GRIMM & SCHLÖGL, *TT* 136, 25-26 and n. 192-204). See also HORNING, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, 261-262 and n. 73.

⁷⁶ ASSMANN, *LL*, 102-103, n. 69 (see above, and n. 70); cf. HORNING, *BSEG* 13, 66 and n. 9.

⁷⁷ Recently mentioned in GRIMM & SCHLÖGL, *TT* 136, 25 and n. 193.

⁷⁸ Cf. HORNING, *Totenbuch*, 385 (Chapter 181:1-12), 520 and above.

then, at least theoretically, its origin might correlate with the first attestations of that chapter. Since it has been identified in the papyrus of Amenemipet, dating already to the time of Hatshepsut / Thutmose III to Amenhotep II,⁷⁹ the assumption of any influence by Akhenaten's solar theology becomes untenable. In consequence, DRIOTON's conclusion that the hymn bears witness to the theological identification of Re and Osiris within the Amarna period, is finally disproved.⁸⁰

Here is not the place to re-open the discussion on the existence of such religious ideas during the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁸¹ In addition to the well-established litany of the sun,⁸² however, at least some phrases related to the text on the Hatiaï lintel are also found on other pre-Amarna monuments. In the great hymn to Osiris on a stela in Paris,⁸³ the god is addressed as the son of the sky-goddess Nut, who 'has risen on the throne of his father [Geb] like Re, when he rises forth from the horizon', and who 'has overflowed the double lands like the sun-disk (*îtn*) in the morning'.⁸⁴ These phrases clearly document that the post-Amarna hymns connecting Re and Osiris, such as in the Memphite tomb of Horemhab, are foreshadowed by earlier, but certainly pre-Amarna inscriptions.⁸⁵

⁷⁹ pVatican 63; E. NAVILLE, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie* 1 (Berlin, 1886), Einleitung, 83-84 (I a); I. MUNRO, *Untersuchungen zu den Tottenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie* (SiE; London, 1987), 275 (6.); A. GASSE, *Les papyrus hiératiques et hiéroglyphiques du Museo Gregoriano Egizio* (Vatican City, 1993), 15-16, pls 1-3.

⁸⁰ DRIOTON, *ASAE* 43, 43; as expressed already by both HORNING and ASSMANN, see above. Again taken into consideration, however, by DARNELL, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, 161-162 and n. 554.

⁸¹ Most recently A. SPALINGER, *The Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II* (Leiden, 2009), 100-101, 117-118 and *passim*; DARNELL, *Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, 161-162, 468-471.

⁸² See above, n. 65.

⁸³ Most probably from Abydos (Louvre C 286); MORET, *BIFAO* 30/2, 725-750 and pls 1-3; ASSMANN, *ÄHG*, Text 213 and pp. 625-626. The pre-Amarna date indicated by the erasures of the name of Amun can be given more precisely as Tuthmosis III to Amenhotep II on stylistic grounds (E. HOFMANN, pers. comm.). The invocation of Osiris in combination with solar gods on the shrine-stela of Iny, topped by an uninscribed pyramidion (British Museum, EA 467), seems to be another forerunner at the dawn of the Amarna age; see DEBOT, *AIPHOS* 20 (n. 14), 183-84, 188 and above, n. 32; the suggested date of the time of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III has almost certainly to be corrected to the time of Tuthmosis IV to Amenhotep III.

⁸⁴ MORET, *BIFAO* 30/2, 737 (lines 12-13) and pl. 1; ASSMANN, *ÄHG*, Text 213:75-76 and 213:78. The unification of Re and Osiris is already mentioned in the sun hymn in the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192): id. *ibid.*, Text 56:33-40 and p. 534.

⁸⁵ Following VAN DIJK, *New Kingdom Necropolis*, 136 n. 7, 134-137 (for the unification of Re and Osiris); VAN DIJK, in MARTIN, *Horemheb*, 61-69. See also ASSMANN, *ÄHG*, Text 33 (pAni) and p. 524; Text 50 and p. 532; Text 53 and p. 533; Text 219:41.

From the post-Amarna age onwards, the unification of both gods becomes well-attested not only in hymns to Osiris, but also in hymns to the sungod incorporating allusions typical for Osiris.⁸⁶

So far, Hatiay's lintel seems the only attestation for BD 181 on a funerary monument from Saqqara.⁸⁷ ASSMANN pointed out:⁸⁸ "*Es handelt sich hier um eine der Osiris-Hymnen, die gleichzeitig mit dem Sonnenhymnus des Kap. 15 dem Spruchkanon des Totb angefügt werden. Sie behandeln das Thema von Osiris her: Osiris 'erscheint als Re'*". ASSMANN's statement is supported by several post-Amarna documents with different versions from BD 15,⁸⁹ such as the lower part of the stela of Ptahmose, a high official from the royal harîm at Memphis during the late Eighteenth Dynasty.⁹⁰

The theological concept of the solar-Osirian union found its convincing iconic realisation only a short time later in the invention of the so-called Memphite *djed*-pillar: the tomb owner is shown supporting the traditional symbol of Osiris and reciting hymns to both Re and Osiris. J. VAN DIJK explained these pillars as "*a special architectural variant of the vignette called Chapter 16 of the Book of the Dead which illustrates the hymns to Re of Chapter 15*".⁹¹ Another option was to depict the

⁸⁶ ASSMANN, *ÄHG*, Text 58:17, 58:51, 58:53, 58:56 and p. 537 (Horemhab). See also id. *ibid.*, Text 53 and the preceding footnote.

⁸⁷ For Chapter 181 BD as depicted in Ramesside tombs at Deir el-Medineh, see M. SALEH, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches* (AV 46; Mainz, 1984), 87-89. For some wall decorations from Saqqara tombs with the closely related Chapter 182 (all Nineteenth Dynasty or later), see PM III²/II, 709, 753 and 759 (Linköping; also MARTIN, *Corpus* I, no. 104); B.J. PETERSON, 'Some reliefs from the Memphite Necropolis', *MedMus Bull* 5 (1969), 3-15. For a re-used block with a text closely related to Chapter 180 BD, see MARTIN, *Tia and Tia*, 41 and pl. 73 [184]. For a text from Chapter 17 BD on a Ramesside stela from Saqqara in Brooklyn (37.35E.), see G.T. MARTIN, 'Three objects of New Kingdom date from the Memphite area and Sidmant', in J. BAINES, T.G.H. JAMES, A. LEAHY & A. F. SHORE (eds), *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays Presented to I.E.S. Edwards* (London, 1988), 115-118.

⁸⁸ ASSMANN, *LL*, 103 n. 69.

⁸⁹ See VAN DIJK, in RAVEN, *Pay and Raia*, 43.

⁹⁰ Vatican 251; BOTTI & ROMANELLI, *Museo Gregoriano Egizio*, 77-78 and pl. 60 (cat. no. 124); cf. VAN DIJK, in RAVEN, *Pay and Raia*, 43 n. 60, 44 n. 70. For the localisation of Ptahmose's tomb in the Memphite necropolis and for other stelae and reliefs from his tomb already robbed before 1832, see M. BIERBRIER, *HTBM* X, 9-10, pls 4-5 (British Museum, EA 160). Compare J. MALEK, 'Two problems connected with New Kingdom tombs in the Memphite area', *JEA* 67 (1981), 156-157 and above, n. 35 and 60.

⁹¹ VAN DIJK, *New Kingdom Necropolis*, 151-172 (ch. 6 'The symbolism of the Memphite *djed*-pillar'), esp. 167 (quote); J. VAN DIJK, 'The symbolism of the Memphite *djed*-pillar', *OMRO* 66 (1986), 7-20. See further BERLANDINI, in ZIVIE, *Memphis...*, 23-33 (reference to the lintel of Hatiay on p. 27: "*probablement d'époque toutânkhamonienne*").

vignette in a short version on a two-dimensional 'pyramidion' at the top of a stela⁹² or on a lintel, such as the one from the tomb of the General Amenemone in Cairo.⁹³ Another lintel from Saqqara features the vignette with the sunrise between the representations of Osiris (left) and Sokar (right), with two representations of the owner (in mirror image) kneeling in adoration (left part badly damaged).⁹⁴ As a result, the hymn to Osiris on the lintel of Hatiay, which describes the nocturnal union of Re and Osiris, best fits with documents in Memphite tombs from the time of Tutankhamun to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The spelling of the epithet of Osiris as 'Lord of Everlastingness' with the radiant sun-disk now turns out to be the pictorial equivalent of the expression 'His (= Re's) disk (*itn*) is thy disk' in the adjoining hymn to Osiris. The Aten has lost his status as a god and is again reduced to his former aspect as the so-called *disk* of the sun-god Re. In consequence, the sun-disk could also be associated with Osiris as the nocturnal manifestation of Re. In contrast to the pre-Amarna evidence, however, the image of the radiant sun-disk depicted here points to the theologically 'rectified' status of the Aten by using his specific icon in the context of traditional religious beliefs.

5. ART HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

With a photograph available in addition to DRIOTON's drawings (figs 1a and 1b),⁹⁵ an examination of the stylistic features of the Louvre lintel (Block I) now has a stronger basis. The much elongated and rounded shaven heads of Hatiay and Ty and their full bellies, slightly sagging

⁹² Hori (Leiden RMO, AP 50): BOESER, *Beschrijving* VI, 9 [no. 30] and pl. 20; RAVEN & STARING, in *Ägyptische Mumien* 2007, 10 and 180 (cat. no. 158); Meryptah (Berlin 7279: PM III²/II, 733); Penamun (Berlin 7307: PM III²/II, 733). Other stelae show just an enlarged image of the hieroglyph for horizon (*EG*, sign-list N27): Kama (Berlin 7289: PM III²/II, 733); Seba, with four baboons adoring (Berlin 7315: PM III²/II, 734); Neheheniotef with two baboons and four people adoring (Berlin 7273: PM III²/II, 733).

⁹³ Time of Horemhab (Cairo Museum 27/6/24/10: PM III²/II, 701); O. DJUŽEVA, 'Das Grab des Generals Ameneminet in Saqqara', in BARTA & KREJČÍ, *Abusir and Saqqara* 2000, 80, 95, pl. 1 (Doc. 3; dimensions to be corrected: H 32 cm; W 159 cm).

⁹⁴ MARTIN, *Corpus* I, no. 40. The epithet 'Lord of Rosetau' seems to exclude an interpretation of the god to the right as Re "but resembling Sokar". The owner can perhaps be identified with Pay 'the Younger' (see RAVEN, *Pay and Raia*, 8 and n. 48).

⁹⁵ Drioton, *ASAE* 43, 36 (fig. 2) and 40 (fig. 3). I want to thank Elisabeth DELANGE and Cathérine BRIDONNEAU for providing me with photographs made before and after conservation.

over the waist-band, still reflect the influence of Amarna art and are typical for the time of Tutankhamun and Ay.⁹⁶ Another important element pointing to the immediate post-Amarna period is the depiction of long sash-kilts with the relatively short and fringed triangular apron in front. Already known from Amarna tombs is the rounded contour of the folds, enveloping the hips and partly covering the triangular apron.⁹⁷ This type of garment, often also combined with a bag-tunic, occurs in many variations throughout Ramesside times.⁹⁸ A further hint towards a post-Amarna date is the difference in scale between the enthroned gods and the much smaller figures of Isis and Hathor-Nephthys standing behind them.⁹⁹

The block of the God's Father Hatiay in the Metropolitan Museum (Block II, figs 2a and 2b) has been dated to the late Amarna age or to the late Eighteenth Dynasty, on account of the elongated 'egg-shaped' heads of both Hatiay and Ptahmose, their costumes, and the body treatment.¹⁰⁰ Especially, Hatiay's softly rounded chest and the remarkable dolichocephaly of his skull, reminiscent of the skulls of the Amarna princesses, the elongated eye, the rounded, protruding chin, and the marked folds of the neck, as well as the prominent ear, reveal the hand of an artist familiar with depictions in Amarna style and iconography.¹⁰¹ Another detail is quite characteristic for a post-Amarna representation as well: the papy-

⁹⁶ BERLANDINI, *L'Égyptologie en 1979/2*, 195-212, esp. 207, fig. 44 (Say); J. BERLANDINI, 'Cortège funéraire de la fin XVIIIe dynastie. Staatliche Museen Munich ÄS 7127', *BSFE* 134 (1995), 30-49, esp. 41 n. 49 and fig. 14.

⁹⁷ This type dating from the reign of Horemhab onwards is explained by L. DONOVAN, 'Costume in offering scenes', *BACE* 14 (2003), 18, 26, fig. 13 (Type CS 1 from the tomb of Neferhotep TT 50) as "sash kilt, the long fringed end of which is folded inwards, and worn over a long gathered under-kilt". For a comparable priest in TT 54 (early Nineteenth Dynasty), see POLZ, *TT 54*, colour pl. 17a, in contrast to the image of a priest of the Eighteenth Dynasty, pre-Amarna, on pl. 16a. Stela of Hori, upper register (left), Nineteenth Dynasty, RAVEN & STARING, in *Ägyptische Mumien* 2007, 10 and 180 (cat. no. 158) and above, n. 92.

⁹⁸ See, for example, the stela of Huy (Bologna KS 1922); BRESCIANI, *Stele Egiziane*, 158-159, pls 30-31 (cat. no. 23); further RAVEN, *Pay and Raia*, 53-54; G.M. VOGELANG-EASTWOOD, *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing* (Leiden, 1993), 64-69, 130-154; HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 167-169: type 4 (TT 1), type 6 (TT 40), type 16 (Tia und Tia), type 18 (TT 138).

⁹⁹ Compare, for example, the stela of Roy (Berlin 7290: PM III²/II, 715); W. MÜLLER (ed.), *Ägyptisches Museum 1823-1973. Zum 150jährigen Bestehen der Sammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Bode-Museum* (Berlin, 1973) fig. 38. Stela of Panebpahau (Florence 2588: PM III²/II, 349); S. BOSTICCO, *Le Stele egiziane del Nuovo Regno* (Rome, 1965), cat. no. 43 (both from the late Eighteenth Dynasty).

¹⁰⁰ See SCOTT, *BMA NS* 15 (n. 24), 81-82 with fig. 7, and n. 19 and 25 above.

¹⁰¹ RAVEN, *Pay and Raia*, 53.

rus bouquet extending beyond the borderline of the scene on the right edge, as if the artist did not have enough space for the complete image.¹⁰² In conclusion, both blocks have to be considered as contemporary.

6. ARCHITECTURE AND PICTORIAL PROGRAMME: THE GOD SOKAR

The symmetrical relief decoration of the block in the Louvre (Block I, figs 1a and 1b) with two gods enthroned back-to-back, matches well with the usual pictorial programme of such lintels.¹⁰³ Originally placed on top of an entrance leading into a tomb chapel, the architrave often represents the deceased together with his wife and other family members, adoring and offering in front of various gods of the Netherworld. During the Eighteenth Dynasty, this position is restricted to Osiris and Anubis depicted together, or to one of them with a mirror image of himself,¹⁰⁴ and it is only after the Amarna period that other gods can be depicted there as well (for some exceptions, see the following).

Theoretically, it seems possible for Sokar as the main god of the Memphite necropolis to have already replaced Anubis in a pre-Amarna tomb. But, in fact, not a single lintel of that period with a comparable decoration scheme has been found there to date, in accordance with the very scarce remnants of relief decorated tomb chapels at Saqqara prior to the Amarna period. Though the god is quite often mentioned on stelae as Sokar or by his syncretistic names Ptah-Sokar or Ptah-Sokar-Osiris,

¹⁰² For example, the *atef*-crown of Osiris surpassing the roof of his kiosk on the stela of Paitenemhab: BOESER, *Beschrijving* IV, pl. 9. Double crown of Horus and perfume cones: Stela of Huy (Naples 1016): G. HÖLBL, *Le Stele funerarie della collezione Egizia* (Rome, 1985), pl. 8 (early Nineteenth Dynasty). Sleeves of deceased: pyramidion of the Goldsmith Amenemone (Cairo JE 41665, east and west face); OCKINGA, *Amenemone*, pl. 32 a/b. This feature can occasionally be observed also on pre-Amarna monuments (E. HOFMANN, pers. comm.).

¹⁰³ J. BUDKA, *Der König an der Haustür* (BzÄ 19; Wien, 2001), 6-10.

¹⁰⁴ J. ASSMANN, 'Geheimnis, Gedächtnis und Gottesnähe: Zum Strukturwandel der Grabsemantik und der Diesseits-Jenseitsbeziehungen im Neuen Reich', in J. ASSMANN, E. DZIOBEK, H. GUKSCH & F. KAMPP (eds), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen* (SAGA 12; Heidelberg, 1995), 283. See, for example, Tjanuni (TT 74, A. & A. BRACK, *Das Grab des Tjanuni Theben Nr. 74* (AV 19; Mainz, 1977), 27-28 (Szene 3), pl. 13a; 55 (Szene 19), pls 18c, 44a (Turin 1643); 91 (2.1). Userhat (TT 56, BEINLICH-SEEGER & SHEDID, *Userhat*, 80 fig. 37). Suemniut (TT 92, lintel Cairo JE 27840; PM II², 445; Fotothek Heidelberg 66 c 15). Senu (from Abydos, Louvre N 291; E. BRESCIANI, 'La stèle Cat. 1908 del Museo Civico di Bologna e gli altri monumenti del ... Senu', *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 91-92 (Doc. E), fig. 3, pl. 13b). For some depictions of the sun-god on lintels at the dawn of the Amarna age, see below and n. 106.

no private pre-Amarna representations of the god Sokar are preserved from Saqqara, at least to the best of my knowledge.¹⁰⁵ If the lintel had been carved during the transition period or the early Amarna age (time of Amenhotep III – IV), one might expect an image of the sun-god Re-Horakhty (and/or Atum), rather than an image of Sokar, as in some Theban tombs of the time (Kheruef: TT 192, Parennefer: TT 188, Nakhy: Deir el-Medineh no. 1138).¹⁰⁶

J. VAN DIJK, however, pointed out Sokar's importance for the Memphite necropolis from the immediate post-Amarna period onwards, and underlined that "*the new role of Osiris is linked up with ... the growing importance of the cult of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris*".¹⁰⁷ He suggested that after the abandonment of Amarna, the high courtiers following Tutankhamun to Memphis as the old and new residence city, chose the local necropolis to build their temple-like tomb structures, "*because this was the ancient sacred abode of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, who, in their day, was such a dominant figure in the mortuary cult*".¹⁰⁸ If this is correct, one might expect to find at Saqqara depictions of Sokar on funerary monuments of the late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. As a matter of fact, quite a number of tomb walls and stelae, a pyramidion and a column panel show the deceased (usually standing) adoring the (standing or enthroned) falcon-headed god Sokar with the *atef*-crown, sometimes in combination with Osiris or other gods and goddesses (Table 1):

¹⁰⁵ See, by contrast, the preliminary and almost certainly incomplete list of post-Amarna references in the following. For a royal votive stela from Giza dating to the pre-Amarna period, see A. KLUG, *Königliche Stelen in der Zeit von Ahmose bis Amenophis III* (MonAeg 8; Turnhout, 2002), 310 (Tuthmosis IV offering to Sokar, Lord of the *Shetyt*). For another votive stela with Tuthmosis IV offering to Sokar, Lord of the Sanctuary (*nb shmw*) from Abusir South, see S. YOSHIMURA (gen. supervisor), *Sakuji Yoshimura's Excavating in Egypt for 40 years. Waseda University Expedition 1966-2006* (Tokyo, 2006), 114-115 and 221 (no. 142).

¹⁰⁶ For Kheruef, see PM I²/I, 298 (2); for Parennefer, PM I²/I, 294 (2); for Nakhy, PM I²/II, 687 and 726. The so-called stela (a) of Nakhy (British Museum 281) is almost certainly a lintel. See BIERBRIER, *HTBM* X, 10, pl. 6 (British Museum, EA 281). See further GABOLDE, *D'Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*, 25 and n. 197 (erroneously as inv. no. 181), 28 and n. 218; D. SALVOLDI, 'Le Tombe Tebane Private di Età Amarniana...', *EVO* 30 (2007), 85-86. For the decoration of the lintels in the tomb of Kheruef, see most recently P.F. DORMAN, 'The long coregency revisited: Architectural and iconographic conundra in the tomb of Kheruef', in P. BRAND & L. COOPER (eds), *Causing His Name to Live. Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane* (CHANE 37; Leiden, 2009), 65-82.

¹⁰⁷ VAN DIJK, *New Kingdom Necropolis*, 189-204, esp. 196-198; J. VAN DIJK, 'The development of the Memphite necropolis in the post-Amarna period', in ZIVIE, *Memphis...*, 37-46.

¹⁰⁸ id. *ibid.*, 42 (see preceding note).

- 1 Tomb of the Merchant Merya (time: immediate post-Amarna period)
Relief-decorated block: deceased in front of [Sokar] or [Ptah-Sokar]
(standing)¹⁰⁹
- 2 Tomb of Maya, Overseer of the Treasury (time: Tutankhamun – Horemhab)¹¹⁰
 - 2.1 Substructure (Room H), first phase of decoration: Sokar enthroned in shrine¹¹¹
 - 2.2 Substructure (Room K), painted relief: Maya and Meryt adoring Sokar¹¹²
- 3 Tomb of Pay, Overseer of the King's private appartments etc.
(time: Tutankhamun)
North wall, north-east pilaster, south face [33]: standing god (most probably Ptah-Sokar-Wennefer on account of adjoining text [35]) with deceased kneeling below¹¹³
- 4 Tomb of Iniua, Overseer of the Cattle of Amun and High Steward
(time: Tutankhamun – Horemhab)
Wall painting in Chapel A, west wall: Iniua adoring (in mirror image) in front of Sokar (right) and Osiris (left), standing back-to-back¹¹⁴
- 5 Tomb of Tia, Overseer of the Treasury and his wife Tia, the King's sister (time: Ramesses II)¹¹⁵
 - 5.1 Block with depiction (mostly destroyed): Soka[r]-Osiris, Lord of the *Shetyt*, with *atef*-crown and goddess Hathor standing behind¹¹⁶
 - 5.2 Reused block with hymn to Sokar-Osiris (depiction to the left destroyed), probably from here¹¹⁷
- 6 Tomb of Wenef-djedsen, Royal Butler (time: Nineteenth Dynasty)
Wall decoration: deceased and wife standing and offering to Ptah-Sokar, Lord of the *Shetyt*¹¹⁸

¹⁰⁹ Teti Cemetery North (Cairo JE 44928: PM III²/II, 557 (b)); QUIBELL & HAYTER, *Teti Pyramid NS*, 37 (named Harendotes) and pl. 17 (1). For the dating, see BERLANDINI, *L'Égyptologie en 1979/2*, 197-201 and figs 34-37.

¹¹⁰ PM III²/II, 661-63 (LS 27); MARTIN, *Hidden Tombs*, 147-188.

¹¹¹ id. *ibid.*, 177 fig. 112 (plan) and 180; J. VAN DIJK, 'De grafkamers van Maya en Meryt', *Phoenix* 46/3 (2000), 114, fig. 1 and 119.

¹¹² MARTIN, *Hidden Tombs*, 177, fig. 112 and 184; VAN DIJK, *Phoenix* 46/3, 114, fig. 1, 116 and 118, fig. 2.

¹¹³ J. VAN DIJK, in RAVEN, *Pay and Raia*, 32 and pls 40-41; 22, fig. 6.

¹¹⁴ SCHNEIDER, *EA* 3, 4 (plan) and 5 (colour image); G.T. MARTIN, 'Wall paintings in Memphite tombs of the New Kingdom', in W.V. DAVIES (ed.), *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2001), 103, pl. 32.2 (in colour).

¹¹⁵ PM III²/II, 654-655 and MARTIN, *Tia and Tia*.

¹¹⁶ id. *ibid.*, 41-42 [197] and pl. 75.

¹¹⁷ id. *ibid.*, 41 [184] and pl. 73.

¹¹⁸ From cemetery around the Teti Pyramid (PM III²/II, 573), MARTIN, *Corpus* I, no. 86. For the localisation of the tomb, see J. MALEK, *JEA* 74, 136.

- 7 Tomb of Mose, Scribe of the Treasury of Ptah (time: late Ramesses II)
Relief-decorated block: deceased adoring Ptah-Sokar-Osiris in shrine and Hathor behind¹¹⁹
- 8 Stela from the tomb of General Horemhab (time: Tutankhamun)
Deceased adoring in front of standing gods Atum, Osiris, and Ptah-Sokar (without headdress)¹²⁰
- 9 Stela of Ptahmay, Policeman (time: Tutankhamun – Ay)
Deceased and wife offering flowers to the enthroned gods Osiris and Sokar, Lord of the *Shetyt* (without headdress)¹²¹
- 10 Stela of Thuthu, Steward in the domain of Ay (time: end of Eighteenth Dynasty)
Deceased adoring Sokar, Lord of the *Shetyt* (fig. 5)¹²²
- 11 Four-sided freestanding stela of Tia, Overseer of the Treasury (time: Ramesses II), almost certainly from funerary chapel (?) at Giza South (Kafr el-Gebel)¹²³
Deceased adoring Sokar, Lord of *Ro-setau* (standing)¹²⁴
- 12 Family stela from Giza (Kafr el-Gebel) (time: Ramesside)
Father of the deceased and wife adoring Sokar (enthroned, with uraeus on top of his head)¹²⁵
- 13 Stela of Kama, Sectional chief of the new poultry-yards of the Temple of Ptah (time: Ramesside)
Deceased and wife adoring Sokar in shrine (left) and Osiris in shrine (right)¹²⁶

¹¹⁹ Teti cemetery North (LORET no. 5); PM III²/II, 553-555 (17); for an additional bibliography, see GESSLER-LÖHR, *BACE* 18, 87 n. 45, 92 n. 86-87.

¹²⁰ Stela fragment in St. Petersburg, 1061 (PM III²/II, 660); MARTIN, *Horemheb*, 343-345 [11] and pls 24-25.

¹²¹ München SMÄK, ÄS 48 (PM III²/II, 745); S. SCHOSKE & D. WILDUNG, *Ägyptische Kunst München* (München, 1985), 69-70, 72 (48); GRIMM & SCHLÖGL, *TT 136*, 14 and n. 70 and 72 (pl. 36). The similarities with the stela from Horemhab in St. Petersburg are evident, such as the aged facial features and the deceased's posture slightly bent forward; further, the long and very slim mummiform body of Osiris with the unproportionally short torso (arms and shoulders) and the extremely long and thin beard (for references see the preceding footnote). A similar depiction of Osiris, also with such a long beard, is found on the stela of Ipu in Leiden (AP.9, time of Tutankhamun): BOESER, *Beschrijving VI*, pl. IV (no. 13); BERLANDINI, *L'Égyptologie en 1979/2*, 202; Exhibition catalogue Boston, *Pharaoh's of the Sun* (Boston, 1999), 280 (cat. no. 257).

¹²² British Museum, EA 211 (PM III²/II, 742); HALL, *HTBM VII*, pl. 35.

¹²³ For Kafr el-Gebel, see MARTIN, *Tia and Tia*, 1, 35 and n. 2, 36-37 and *passim*; more recently S. PASQUALI, 'Des fouilles "discrètes" à Ro-Sétaou en 1931?', *GM* 215 (2007), 8 n. 11.

¹²⁴ Cairo JE 89624; MARTIN, *Tia and Tia*, 46-47 [331] (side 4) and pl. 97 (4). See also MYŚLIWIEC, *SAK* 6, 145, 153-55 and pl. 40 (right); Exhibition catalogue Hildesheim, *Götter und Pharaonen* (Mainz, 1979), cat. no. 54.

¹²⁵ S. ABDEL-AAL, 'A family stela from Kafr el-Gabal', *GM* 171 (1999), 7-11 and fig. 1, pl. 1; cf. S. PASQUALI, *GM* 215, 8 n. 11.

¹²⁶ Berlin 7289 (PM III²/II, 733); many thanks to Caris-Beatrice ARNST and Karl-Heinz PRIESE for providing me with a photograph in the 1980s.

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|----|---|
| 14 | Fragmentary stela of Ramesses-emperre, Fan-bearer on the right of the King etc. (time: Ramesses II – Merneptah)
Deceased adoring Osiris in shrine (left) and Osiris, Lord of the West as Sokar in shrine (right) ¹²⁷ |
| 15 | Pyramidion of Amenhotep Huy, Mayor of Memphis (time: Ramesses II)
Deceased twice (in mirror image) kneeling in adoration with hymn to Sokar-Osiris (left) and Osiris-Sokar (right); in the upper part of the stela: the winged sun-disk with arms above Sokar-Osiris, Lord of <i>Ro-setau</i> in shrine ¹²⁸ |
| 16 | Column Panel of Amenemone, Overseer of Craftsmen and Chief of Goldsmiths (time: Tutankhamun)
Deceased kneeling in adoration of Sokar, the great God, Lord of the Sacred Land in the necropolis (enthroned, with <i>atef</i> -crown, goddesses Isis and Nephthys standing behind) ¹²⁹ |

Table 1: Depictions of Sokar at Memphite tombs in the late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties

This long enumeration of depictions of the god Sokar from various Memphite tombs points to a post-Amarna date for the lintel of Hatiai, also on the basis of its pictorial programme, whereas the search for a parallel for the complete scene on lintels has not been successful.¹³⁰ A Ramesside block in Stockholm with two symmetrical scenes of the deceased belonging to a steward named Maya and his wife adoring Osiris (left) and Anubis (right) standing back-to-back, and a column of text with the names and titles of the gods between them presents a similar scene, but features Anubis instead of Sokar. Its dimensions, especially its height, seem too large for an architrave, but the illustration scheme fits quite well to that of a lintel,¹³¹ and therefore it should not be completely dismissed as a possible parallel.¹³² Another large lintel topped by

¹²⁷ Vienna 1555 (PM III²/II, 715); J. BERLANDINI-GRENIER, 'Le dignitaire ramesside Ramsès-em-per-Rê', *BIFAO* 74 (1974), 5 and pl. 2 (Doc. 2).

¹²⁸ MYŚLIWIEC, *SAK* 6, 148, fig. 6, 150, 152-153 and pl. 38b. For the owner, see J. MALEK, 'The Saqqara statue of Ptahmose, mayor of the Memphite suburbs', *RdE* 38 (1987), 135-136 and n. 72 (no. 8e). See n. 69 above.

¹²⁹ Ockinga, *Amenemone*, 25-26, 95-96, pls 30b, 31b, and 74b ([20] TNE 94: F 120, texts 46-49).

¹³⁰ Documents listed in BUDKA, *Der König an der Haustür*, 10 n. 73. For the depiction of Sokar (?) on a lintel from Saqqara, see above and n. 94.

¹³¹ Medelhavsmuseet (NME 23); MARTIN, *Corpus* I, pl. 38 (no. 105: H 72.0 cm, W 1.66 m, Th. 12.5 cm). The upper edge of the block looks as if it once had a cavetto cornice, subsequently chiselled away. See PETERSON, *MedMus Bull* 5, 12, fig. 8.

¹³² The lintel from the pylon gateway with his famous namesake Maya and his wife Meryt adoring two mirror images of the jackal-god Anubis must have reached a width of nearly 2 m when complete. See MARTIN, *Hidden Tombs*, 174, fig. 110; according to the



Fig. 5. Stela in The British Museum with Thuthu adoring Sokar.
After Hall, *HTBM* VII (1925), pl. 35.

a cavetto cornice was found (together with a doorpost) in the post-Amarna tomb of Ipy, the Mayor of Meidum, who was also steward of the fields belonging to a temple of the Aten in the late Eighteenth Dynasty.¹³³ Perhaps the fields mentioned on the doorpost¹³⁴ belonged to the domain of Aten in Memphis, which was still in use until the reign of Seti I,¹³⁵ or to another domain in the Fayum oasis,¹³⁶ if not to an

list on p. 212 (110), the height is 0.48 m. See J. VAN DIJK, 'The tomb of Maya and Merit: Inscriptions, 1987-8', *JEA* 74 (1988), 13 and pl. 2.2.

¹³³ Now in Munich (SMÄK, Gl. 299); GRIMM & SCHLÖGL, *TT* 136, 27 and n. 215-16 (but dated to the Amarna period). The adoration of Osiris, the offering formulae on the door-jamb addressed to Osiris, Atum, and Anubis, and the style clearly point to a post-Amarna date.

¹³⁴ PM IV, 89; GRIMM & SCHLÖGL, *TT* 136, 27 and n. 214.

¹³⁵ J. VAN DIJK, in SCHNEIDER et al., *JEA* 79 (see above, n. 56), 7-8 and note 7; M. RAVEN, R. VAN WALSEM, B.G. ASTON & E. STROUHAL, 'Preliminary report on the Leiden excavations at Saqqara, Season 2001: The tomb of Meryneith', *JEOL* 37 (2001-2002), 84-85 and n. 23.

¹³⁶ For the contemporary monuments from that region, see M. VANDENBEUSCH, in CHAPPAZ et al., *Akhénaton et Néfertiti*, 160-161 (Gourob (Kôm Médinet el-Gourob)).

otherwise unknown estate of the god at Meidum. Whatever the case, with an original width of more than one metre, Hatiay's lintel belonged to an entrance comparable to those from other tombs of middle or upper class people.¹³⁷

A royal monument found at Mit Rahineh, a lintel that was reused by a High Priest of Ptah for his own tomb during the Twenty-second Dynasty, provides the closest parallel.¹³⁸ Here, the kneeling king (Tutankhamun, but reworked by Horemhab)¹³⁹ is depicted presenting wine offerings to the enthroned gods Osiris (left, much damaged) with Isis and Nephthys standing behind, and to 'Sokar-Osiris, residing in¹⁴⁰ the Shetyt, great god' (right), followed by 'Hathor, superior of the west of Memphis' (fig. 6). In the column of inscription separating the two scenes in mirror image, Osiris is promising various benefits for the king. The original provenance of the lintel is unknown, but most probably it decorated either the entrance leading into a sanctuary in the Temple of Ptah, or a door of the memorial temple of Tutankhamun,¹⁴¹ thought to be situated in the area west of Memphis.¹⁴² A third possible location is the entrance to a cult chapel dedicated to Sokar-Osiris on the desert plateau in the necropolis of Saqqara or Giza.¹⁴³ The presence of Sokar and, especially, of Hathor with the epithet 'superior of the west of Memphis'

¹³⁷ Lintel of Khaemwaset from Giza in Cairo (1.37 m × 0.40 m): C. ZIVIE, 'À propos de quelques reliefs du Nouvel Empire au Musée du Caire II', *BIFAO* 76 (1976), 30-31, pl. 13. Lintel of Ptahmay from Giza in Cairo (1.12 m × 0.26 m): ead., *BIFAO* 75, 298-300, pl. 55.

¹³⁸ H 0.48 m, W 1.62 m (Cairo Museum JE 88131: PM III²/II, 846): A. BADAWI, 'Das Grab des Kronprinzen Scheschonk, Sohnes Osorkon's II. und Hohenpriesters von Memphis', *ASAE* 54 (1956), 159-160, pl. 4; S. PASQUALI, *Recherches sur Memphis au Nouvel Empire* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Université Paul Valéry — Montpellier 3; Montpellier, 2008), Doc. A.69; *Topographie culturelle de Memphis* 1 (CENIM 4; Montpellier, 2011), 50, Doc A. 101. See also A.-C. THIEM, *Speos von Gebel es-Silsileh* (ÄAT 47/1; Wiesbaden, 2000), 437 (no. 13).

¹³⁹ L. HABACHI, 'Unknown or little-known monuments of Tutankhamun and of his viziers', in RUFFLE et al., *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt*, 34-35 and fig. 2, pl. 2.

¹⁴⁰ HABACHI (ibid., 34 fig. 2) correctly reads *hry-ib pace* BADAWI, *ASAE* 54, 159 (*hry-tp*).

¹⁴¹ Several outer faces of lintels in the memorial temple of Seti I in Gurna show the kneeling king offering globular *nu*-vases with wine to Amun-Re (PM II², 411 (27)-(32); HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 138, fig. 162).

¹⁴² For the localisation of the royal memorial temples in the flood-plain west of Memphis, see PASQUALI, *Recherches...* (forthcoming); K.A. KITCHEN, in E. BLEIBERG & R. FREED (eds), *Fragments of a Shattered Visage* (MIEAA 1; Memphis, 1991), 93, figs 1-2; M. ULLMANN, *König für die Ewigkeit – Die Häuser der Millionen von Jahren* (ÄAT 51; Wiesbaden, 2002), 19-25, 128-134, 139, 567-570, 635-638.

¹⁴³ For the topography of the area and especially a temple and the tomb (*Shetyt*) of Sokar-Osiris at Giza South (*Rosetau*), see most recently PASQUALI, *RdE* 59, 361-363. A brick chapel with a stone door dedicated to Houroun-Harmachis was erected by Tutankhamun at Giza: S. PASQUALI, 'Les fouilles de S. Hassan à Giza en 1938 et le temple d'Osiris de Ro-Sétaou au Nouvel Empire', *GM* 216 (2008), 77 and n. 18.



Fig. 6. Lintel with Horemheb offering to Sokar from Mit Rahineh.
After Habachi (1979), 34 fig. 2.

points to a location further to the west and quite a distance away from the Ptah Temple precinct. Since the falcon-headed figure of Sokar-Osiris to the left of the entrance, worked for the tomb in the Twenty-second Dynasty, describes the god as residing in Memphis under its toponym *hry-ib inb(w) ḥd* ('the white walls'),¹⁴⁴ it becomes evident that the respective epithets of the gods reflect a topographical distinction between the town and the necropolis. Therefore, the original provenance of the lintel from a chapel in central Memphis appears rather unlikely. The possibility that Hatiay knew this royal building or that he held office there as a priest has to be taken into consideration, and might have inspired him for the pictorial programme of his own tomb.

¹⁴⁴ J. MALEK, 'The temples at Memphis', in S. QUIRKE (ed.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1997), 90-95.

7. THE TOMB OWNER HATIAI AND HIS FAMILY: NAMES – TITLES – GENEALOGY

Since the God's Father Hatiai is so far only attested on the Louvre lintel (Block I, figs 1a and 1b), and on the block in the Metropolitan Museum (Block II, figs 2a and 2b), we have to look for other criteria that might help link him and his sons with other Memphite persons and monuments. The name of Hatiai's son Ty reminds one of the second name of the first High Priest of Ptah after the Amarna hiatus, Ptahemhat-Ty, above all known from the famous so-called *Berlin Trauerrelief* featuring his funeral procession.¹⁴⁵ On a first account, Ty might have been appointed High Priest later in his career, but as the offering formulae on two stelae from the tomb of Ptahemhat-Ty mention his father as a God's Father of Ptah named Hori¹⁴⁶ and not Hatiai, the identity of these two officials with the name Ty appears impossible.

In the *Trauerrelief*, the main funeral procession behind Ptahemhat-Ty's catafalque is led by his two sons, whose prominence and position is emphasised by their pronounced gestures of mourning (fig. 7): a priest named Say and his brother (name and title destroyed). They are followed by the Generalissimus (and later King) Horemhab, the two Viziers and other high-ranking statesmen, the High Priests of Heliopolis¹⁴⁷ and Memphis,¹⁴⁸ and the Mayor of Memphis (for the three officials last

¹⁴⁵ Berlin, ÄMP 12411 (PM III²/II, 711-712). This suggestion in regard to the Louvre lintel was already made by J. BERLANDINI, 'Varia Memphitica VI', *BIFAO* 85 (1985), 62 (Addendum): "L'origine pourrait être memphite et la datation d'époque Toutânkhamon-Ay (par le it-ntr Ty mentionné là, rapprochement hypothétique avec la famille contemporaine de Ptahemhat-Ty [PM III²/II, 711-712])". My thanks are due to Elisabeth DELANGE for pointing out this reference to me. For Ptahemhat-Ty, see C. MAYSTRE, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis* (OBO 113; Fribourg, 1992), 138-141 §54, 277-280 (Doc. 70-75); D. RAUE, *Heliopolis und das Haus des Re* (ADAIK 16; Berlin, 1999), 120 and 442-443 (E.2.8).

¹⁴⁶ MAYSTRE, *Grands prêtres de Ptah*, 279 (Doc. 72): British Museum, EA 972, BIERBRIER, *HTBM* X, 10-11 and pl. 8, 280 (Doc. 73 = Amherst 213); see also J. MALEK, 'The second stela of the high priest of Memphis Ptahemhet Ty (Amherst 213)', *GM* 22 (1976), 43-46.

¹⁴⁷ Probably Za-Inheret; identification suggested by RAUE, *Heliopolis*, 246-247 and 443.

¹⁴⁸ Probably Meryptah as successor of the deceased, suggested by B. GESSLER-LÖHR, 'Reliefblock aus dem Grab des Hohenpriesters Meri-Ptah', in S. ALBERSMEIER, *Ägyptische Kunst. Bestandskatalog Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe* (München, 2007), 32-36 and 54-55, n. 50-88, esp. 36 (H 1046; cat. no. 1.7). For the chronology of these office-holders, see C. RAEDLER, 'Prestige, role, and performance: Ramesside high priests of Memphis', in R. GUNDLACH & K. SPENCE (eds), *Palace and Temple: Architecture -*



Fig. 7. Say and his brother Hatiay (?) on the *Berlin Trauerrelief*, detail (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin — Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, ÄMP 12411). Photograph by M. Büsing; courtesy of the Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collection.

mentioned, see fig. 8).¹⁴⁹ The following, almost isocephalic group of mourners, much smaller in scale and therefore persons of lower social rank, most probably features the clergy of the Temple of Ptah (fig. 8).¹⁵⁰ Long ago, the first son depicted on the *Trauerrelief*, the God's Father in the Temple of Bastet Say has been identified with the Say known from the stela for Ptahemhat-Ty in London.¹⁵¹ Among the unpublished blocks from the tomb of one of Say's sons (name unknown), a brother with the name Amenemhab, God's Father in the Temple of Ptah and Prophet in the Temple of Bastet, is shown performing funerary ceremonies for the

Decoration - Ritual, Acts of the Fifth Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology, Cambridge, 16-17th July 2007 (Wiesbaden, 2011), 135-154.

¹⁴⁹ Probably Sakeh, suggested by GESSLER-LÖHR, *OMRO* 77, 58 and pl. 9.3.

¹⁵⁰ For a colour plate, see C.-B. ARNST, in K.-H. PRIESE (ed.), *Ägyptisches Museum* (Mainz, 1991), 136-137 (cat. no. 82) and D. WILDUNG & S. SCHOSKE, *Last Exit Munich* (München, 2009), 39-41 (cat. no. 26). I would like to thank Christina HANUS for providing me with a photograph and Olivia ZORN for the kind permission to publish two sections of the relief (figs 7-8).

¹⁵¹ See note 146 (British Museum, EA 972, here labelled 'Lector-Priest in the temple of Bastet'). For stylistic criteria, see BERLANDINI, *BSFE* 134, 30-49 and BERLANDINI, *L'Égyptologie en 1979/2*, 205-207 and fig. 44.



Fig. 8. Group of priests on the *Berlin Trauerrelief*, detail (ÄMP 12411).

Photograph by M. Büsing; courtesy of the Egyptian Museum and Papyrus Collection.

deceased (name lost).¹⁵² Perhaps this Amenemhab can be recognised on the *Trauerrelief* amidst the nine members of the clergy, of whom only six are named.¹⁵³ Of these priests, the third in row is called Amenemhab (figs 8 and 9) and could be the second son of Say mentioned above; in that case, he would be a grandson of the deceased High Priest Ptahemhat-Ty.

¹⁵² PM III²/II, 571-572. A. ZIVIE has convincingly suggested that we have to think of a family tomb or of a group of adjacent tombs for Ptahemhat-Ty, his son Say, an anonymous grandson, and perhaps another grandson Amenemhab at North Saqqara “above Abusir village” (as written in GUNN’s *Notebook*): A. ZIVIE, ‘La localisation de la tombe du grand-prêtre de Ptah Ptahemhat-Ty’, *RdE* 35 (1984), 200-203. See also RAUE, *Heliopolis*, 156-157.

¹⁵³ At least some of them with shaven heads: *Ägyptisches Museum* (Mainz, 1991), 136 and fig. 8 here. For the names, see A. ERMAN, ‘Aus dem Grabe eines Hohenpriesters von Memphis’, *ÄZ* 33 (1895), 20-21 and n. 1; A. SCHULMAN, ‘The Berlin “Trauerrelief” (No. 12411) and some officials of Tut’ankhamūn and Ay’, *JARCE* 4 (1965), 56-57 and n. 16: Tey, Tutu, Amūnemhab, Merysakhmet, Ptahemhab and Rêrē.

Above the first man of the group following the elite, the name Ty can be read (figs 8 and 9); perhaps this priest can be identified with the God's Father Ty, the son of Hatiay. If this is correct, then Ty was another grandson of Ptahemhat-Ty and named after his grandfather. With this in mind, one might also expect his father to take part in the funeral cortège. The second mourner following Say was almost certainly another son of Ptahemhat and also a priest, on account of his shaven head. Once, his name and titles were inscribed above his head and thus visible, before this section of the block was cut out (fig. 7). If the God's Father Hatiay and his son Ty both belonged to the clergy of the Temple of Ptah, then Hatiay might be the best candidate for Ptahemhat's second son behind the God's Father of Bastet called Say, his (elder?) brother. In that case, the God's Father Amenemhab, son of Say, was Hatiay's nephew and also the (so far nameless) son of Say once buried "*above Abusir village*", whose tomb was decorated with the list of famous men of the past.¹⁵⁴ He might also be among the group of mourning priests on the *Trauerrelief*, as might well Hatiay's other son, the *wab*-Priest (Ptah)-Mose. It is rather tempting to suggest that only one of the two companion stelae depicting the deceased seated at an offering table, which once flanked the approach to the central stela-niche in Ptahemhat's tomb, was dedicated by Say,¹⁵⁵ and the companion piece (name destroyed!) by his brother Hatiay.¹⁵⁶

The suggested identification of the hitherto unknown second son of Ptahemhat-Ty with the God's Father Hatiay is supported by the fact that the priestly rank of a God's Father is only seldom attested for the clergy of the Temple of Ptah, and for the late Eighteenth Dynasty only by the documents already considered here.¹⁵⁷ The possibility that a High Priest of Ptah held the title of a God's Father (*it ntr*) earlier in his career or at the same time, cannot be established for Memphis due to the scarcity of

¹⁵⁴ The so-called *fragment Daressy* (PM III²/II, 571-572; RAUE, *Heliopolis*, 156-157). His grandfather Ty is the first of the mummified High Priests of Ptah depicted thereon, following the row of viziers with Usermonth, the vizier under Tutankhamun, as the last; see D. WILDUNG, *Sesostris and Amenemhet* (München, 1984), 14, fig. 4.

¹⁵⁵ British Museum, EA 972; MALEK, *GM* 22, 45; followed by ZIVIE, *RdE* 35, 201.

¹⁵⁶ Amherst 213; cf. MALEK, *GM* 22, 43-46.

¹⁵⁷ For Aper-el's priestly titles, see B. GESSLER-LÖHR, 'Bemerkungen zur Nekropole des Neuen Reiches von Saqqara vor der Amarna-Zeit I. Gräber der Wesire von Unter-ägypten', in D. KESSLER & R. SCHULZ (eds), *Gedenkschrift für Winfried Barta* (MÄU 4; Frankfurt, 1995), 151, 153 and below, n. 167.



Fig. 9. Inscription above the group of priests on the *Berlin Trauerrelief*.
Drawing by D. Faltings. After the photograph in: *Ägyptisches Museum*
(Mainz, 1991), 136 (no. 82).

textual evidence,¹⁵⁸ and is not documented for Ptahemhat-Ty himself.¹⁵⁹ The rank could well occur in concentration among several generations of one family, however.¹⁶⁰ A short time later, other Memphite priests holding office as God's Father come into view: Usi, a son of the Mayor of Memphis and High Steward, Ptahmose, was attached to the Temple of Ptah as a God's Father in the reign of Seti I (?) and Ramesses II.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ MAYSTRE, *Grands prêtres de Ptah*, 37 and n. 3, 435. For the problems connected with this title and the distinction from the ranking title 'Father of the god and beloved of the god' (*it ntr mry ntr*), see A.M. GNIRS, *Militär und Gesellschaft* (SAGA 17; Heidelberg, 1996), 91-99 (especially discussing the titles of Ay); B.G. OCKINGA, *A Tomb from the Reign of Tutankhamun at Akhmim* (ACE Reports 10; Warminster, 1997), 25, 26, 39, 54-58, and pl. 30.

¹⁵⁹ For the Theban clergy the situation is much better attested; here the High Priest of Amun often holds the title of a First God's Father (*it ntr tpy*) as well; EICHLER, *Verwaltung*, 194-197 and n. 844, 363.

¹⁶⁰ W. HELCK, 'Priester', *LÄ IV* (Wiesbaden, 1982), 1089-1090, 1095 n. 67-68; H. KEES, 'Gottesväter als Priesterklasse', *ZÄS* 86 (1961), 115-125. See also A.H. GARDINER, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I* (London, 1947), 47*-53* (A 127); H. GAUTHIER, *Personnel du dieu Min* (Cairo, 1931), 26-27; R. CAMINOS, 'Gebel es-Silsilah No. 100', *JEA* 38 (1952), 55 (41); R. ANTHES, *Mit Rahineh 1956* (Philadelphia, 1965), 92-95, figs 12, 26-28. For the special implication of the God's Father in the cult for Osiris in later periods, see J.F. QUACK, 'Les normes pour le culte d'Osiris. Les indications du Manuel du Temple sur les lieux et les prêtres osiriens', in L. COULON (ed.), *Les cultes d'Osiris au Ier millénaire av. J.-C.* (BdE 153; Cairo, 2010), esp. 6-7. I want to thank Joachim Friedrich QUACK for this reference and for a copy of his manuscript.

¹⁶¹ P. VERNUS, 'Un fragment de bas-relief trouvé à Tanis', *Kêmi* 19 (1969), 96 E) and n. 4 (to be corrected, since Ptahmose was not a High Priest, but Mayor of Memphis and High Steward). For Ptahmose, see D. FRANKE, in Liebieghaus – Museum Alter Plastik, *Ägyptische Bildwerke III* (Frankfurt am Main, 1993), 159-172 (cat. no. 37); for his son Usi, see *ibid.*, p. 163 fig. 37, 2: block in Leiden AP 54; BOESER, *Beschrijving IV*, pl. 30. See also *KRI III*, 178:2.

Another God's Father named Yuyu is attested on a statue in Leiden together with his son, the God's Father of Ptah in the Temple of Ptah, Ptahmose, and with his grandson, the Superior Priest of Ptah, also named Yuyu after his grandfather (time of Ramesses II).¹⁶² In sum, that the office of a God's Father formed a tradition in priestly families¹⁶³ is well documented, and attested in the same way up to the Ptolemaic period.¹⁶⁴

Perhaps the name Hatiay was a short version for Ptahemhat,¹⁶⁵ and the priest would thus have been named after his father, Ptahemhat-Ty. The reason remains unclear why no mention is made either of the temple or of the name of the god, in whose service Hatiay and his sons were employed. In the context of a Memphite priestly family it was most probably Ptah as the main deity of the town, starting with the grandfather Hori as God's Father of Ptah, and therefore with his descendants 'automatically' also employed in the service of this god. Hatiay's brother Say, however, and his nephew Amenemhab had to explain their situation in more detail, being in the service of the goddess Bastet, with Amenemhab also holding the office of a God's Father in the Temple of Ptah.¹⁶⁶ In any case, Hori, Ptahemhat-Ty, his two sons Say and Hatiay, and, at least three of his grandsons, Ty, (Ptah-)Mose and Amenemhab, seem to have belonged to one dynasty of Memphite priests. The genealogy of Hatiay can now be established as follows (Table 2):

¹⁶² PM III²/II, 728; VERNUS, *Kêmi* 19, 96 F) and n. 5; also W. HELCK, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches* II (Mainz, 1961), 915 (133), Leiden D 45; MAYSTRE, *Grands prêtres de Ptah*, 345-346 (no. 157); KRI III, 416-17 (no. 190. XIX.1: Ptahmose, God's Father of Ptah).

¹⁶³ A similar situation is attested for a Theban family with three priests entitled God's Father of Amun (many thanks to Susanne BINDER for pointing out this link to me): Amenemone [024] and two sons Neferhotep [136] and Parennefer [066] depicted in the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 50); S. BINDER, *The Gold of Honour in New Kingdom Egypt* (ACE Studies 8; Oxford, 2008), 245, 292, 303, 321-322. For dating the tomb into the early Nineteenth Dynasty or later, see HOFMANN, *Bilder im Wandel*, 22-25.

¹⁶⁴ R. EL SAYED, 'À la recherche des statues inédites de la Cachette de Karnak au Musée du Caire (IV)', *ASAE* 81 (2007), 53-58 (Doc. 11), 60-62 (Docs. 13-15).

¹⁶⁵ H. GUKSCH, 'Wsr-ḥꜣt und Ḥꜣtjꜣꜣ zur Zeit Sethos I', *GM* 64 (1983), 23-24 and n. 16 has shown that Hatiay could be a short form for XY-(m)-ḥꜣt and was not necessarily confined to Amen-em-hat.

¹⁶⁶ For the tomb's position and the connection of its owners with the temple of Bastet, see ZIVIE, *RdE* 35, 202-203; further A. ZIVIE, 'Aper-el et ses voisins', in ZIVIE, *Memphis...*, 106-107 and 112; PASQUALI, *Recherches...* (forthcoming).

Grandfather	Hori God's Father of Ptah time: Amenhotep III – IV (?) ¹⁶⁷
Father	Ptahemhat-Ty High Priest of Ptah (<i>sm wr hrp hmww</i>) time: Akhenaten (?) – Tutankhamun / Ay
Hatiay	God's Father (of Ptah?) time: Tutankhamun – Horemhab
Son (1)	Ty God's Father (of Ptah?) time: Tutankhamun – Seti I (?)
Son (2)	(Ptah-)Mose <i>wab</i> -Priest (of Ptah?) time: Tutankhamun – Seti I (?)
Brother	Say God's Father and Lector-Priest of Bastet time: Tutankhamun – Horemhab
Brother's son (1)	Amenemhab God's Father of Bastet and God's Father in the Temple of Ptah time: Tutankhamun – Seti I (?)
Brother's son (2)	Name unknown buried in a tomb "above Abusir village" time: Tutankhamun – Seti I (?)

Table 2: The genealogy of Hatiay

8. THE TOMB AND ITS LOCATION

The lintel in Paris (Block I) originates from an entrance leading into a chamber in the tomb of Hatiay at Saqqara. Since the left part was assigned to the god Osiris, the right part was dedicated to Sokar, the ancient god of the Memphite necropolis. The block in New York

¹⁶⁷ For Aper-el, the northern vizier of Amenhotep III and IV, who held the title of a God's Father besides his priestly title of a First Servant (*b3k tpy*) of the Aten, see A. ZIVIE, in ZIVIE, *Memphis...*, 109; A.-P. ZIVIE, *Le vizier oublié* (Paris, 1990), 152, 156-157, 159; GABOLDE, *D'Akhenaton à Toutankhamon*, 77-79; GRIMM & SCHLÖGL, *TT 136*, 26 n. 201. During the early Amarna age, several priestly titles are mentioned fairly frequently in the *talatat* reliefs, see REDFORD, *JARCE* 17, 28 and n. 257. S. TAWFIK, 'Ch. 7. Religious titles on blocks from the Aten Temple(s) at Thebes', in R.W. SMITH & D.B. REDFORD (eds), *The Akhenaten Temple Project I* (Warminster, 1976), 96 fig. 18 (7-8), 100-101 (for the title God's Father, var. First God's-Father, God's-Fathers).

(Block II) with the kneeling owner offering to Sokar was, with its small dimensions, likely part of an entrance decoration; therefore, it might have belonged to the same doorway as the Louvre lintel (fig. 10).¹⁶⁸ If this is correct, one could expect a block in mirror image with an offering formula addressed to Osiris on the left side of the entrance (fig. 10).¹⁶⁹ The door jambs of post-Amarna tomb chapels are usually inscribed on their front face with several columns of text in conjunction with an image of the tomb owner, seated at an offering table below.¹⁷⁰ The inner face of the entrance jambs from the tomb of Userhat / Hatiay features a sun-hymn with the tomb owner kneeling and adoring below.¹⁷¹ In analogy, the block depicting the tomb owner Hatiay kneeling in adoration of Sokar might also have belonged to the decoration of the entrance doorway of the tomb. It could have had its original position on the front face of the right door jamb below several columns of inscriptions, or as part of the right door thickness. Alternatively, another arrangement, whereby the tomb owner was depicted kneeling in adoration above the right door jamb and to the right of the lintel of another doorway of the tomb, should not be dismissed.¹⁷²

If the hypothesis put forward here is correct, that Hatiay was a member of a priestly family with the famous Memphite High Priest Ptahemhat-Ty as his father, the area of the rock tombs next to Abusir village should be considered as the presumptive location of his tomb, perhaps adjacent to those of other members of the family. In that case, his tomb would have to be reconstructed as a rock-cut tomb with a decorated forecourt (*hemispeos*),¹⁷³ or simply with an entrance doorway revetted with

¹⁶⁸ Similar tomb decoration is well-known from Thebes: for example, BRACK, *Tjanuni*, pls 44-45a-b (TT 74, pre-Amarna), lintel and doorjambs in Turin (Museo egizio, 1643 and 1645). ASSMANN, *Amenemope* (TT 41), 130-134 (Text) and pls XVII and 59 (Tafeln). I want to thank Eva HOFMANN and Tom HARDWICK for useful comments.

¹⁶⁹ A former use of the block as part of another architrave, of which three quarters would be missing, is less plausible.

¹⁷⁰ For Saqqara see, for example, the tombs of Horemhab: G.T. MARTIN, *Auf der Suche nach dem verlorenen Grab* (Mainz, 1994), pl. 4 (in colour, not included in the English edition); Paitenemhab: BOESER, *Beschrijving* IV, 2 (c-d) and pl. 2 (1c-1d); Userhat and Hatiay: id. *ibid.*, 9, pls 33, 35.

¹⁷¹ id. *ibid.*, 9, pl. 36.

¹⁷² For such a reconstruction, cf. the decoration of the lintels of two doors in the tomb of Maia at the Bubasteion (I.20); Zivie, *La tombe de Maia* (n. 35), 39-42, pls 26-27 and 63-65; pp. 60-63, pls 36 and 77-79. See further the door (or false door) decoration of the tomb of the High Priest of Ptah and God's Father clean-of-hands in the domain of Ptah Iyry (time of Seti II) in Memphis: ANTHES, *Mit Rahineh* 1956, 79-85 and figs 7-8 (11); pls 28c.11 and 29a.11.

¹⁷³ For this type of tomb architecture, see A. ZIVIE, 'La résurrection des hypogées du Nouvel Empire à Saqqara', in BARTA & KREJČÍ, *Abusir and Saqqara 2000*, 179-180.

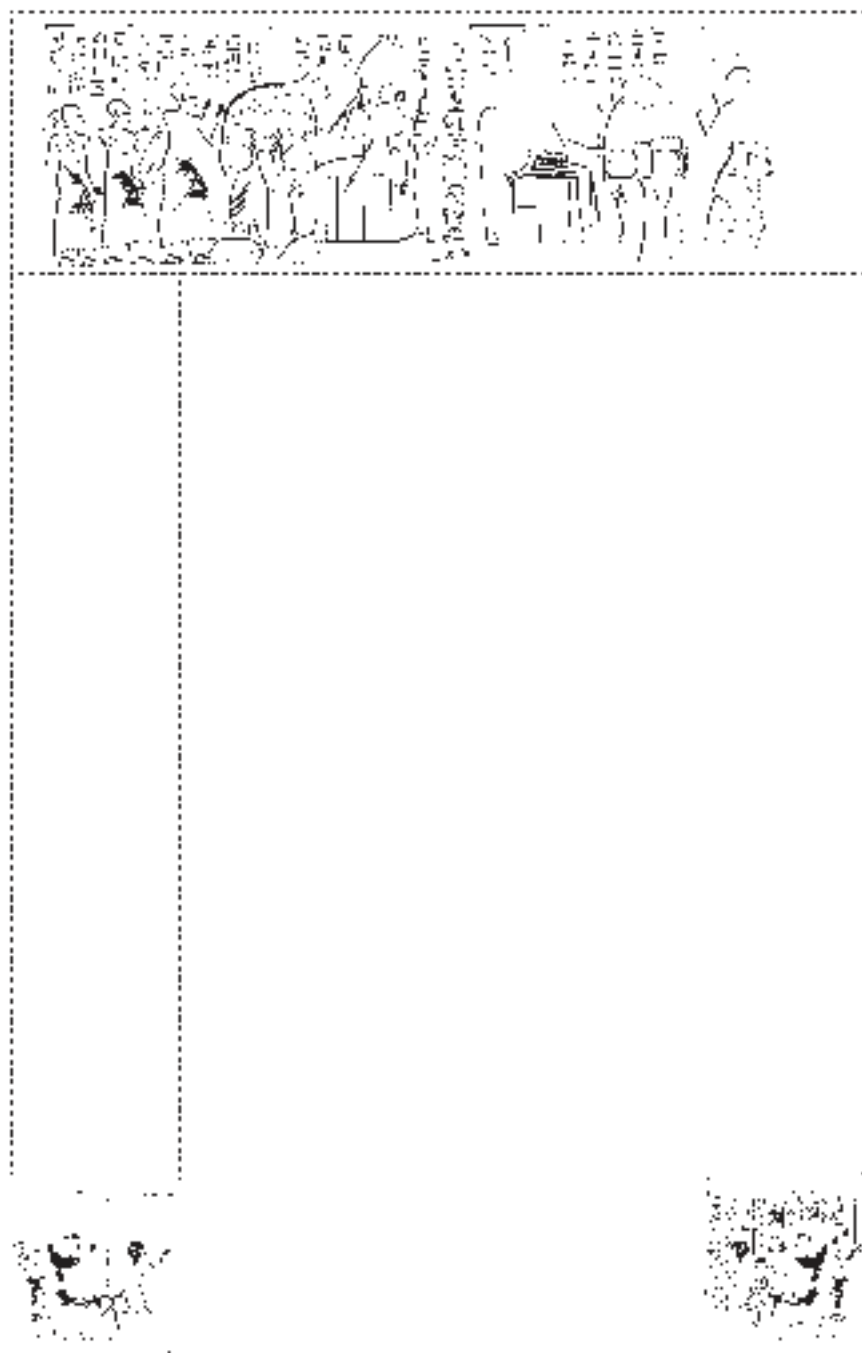


Fig. 10. Reconstruction of the entrance door to the tomb of Hatiaiy
(author's graphic using figs 1a and 2a).

decorated limestone blocks, rather than as a freestanding tomb chapel. After an earthquake in 1993, an Egyptian mission discovered, west of Abusir village, the rock-cut tomb of Nakht-Min, which was further investigated in 1999.¹⁷⁴ The tomb owner was First Charioteer of His Majesty and Royal Messenger to all Foreign Lands during the early Nineteenth Dynasty.¹⁷⁵ This discovery, as well as that of another adjacent tomb, also Ramesside, gives proof that quite a number of rock-cut tombs in the escarpment of that area marked by Jacques DE MORGAN on his map of 1897 as dating to the New Kingdom, really belong to that period (fig. 11).¹⁷⁶ Hopefully the tombs of the priestly family around Ptahemhat-Ty, Say, Hatiay, and their sons are not completely destroyed yet and might be discovered in the very near future.

Whatever the case may be, the main question of dating the lintel of Hatiay in the Louvre as either pre-Amarna or post-Amarna can in sum be answered now once and for all, as a monument not sculpted before the reign of King Tutankhamun and completed at the latest during the reign of King Horemhab.*

¹⁷⁴ J. LECLANT & G. CLERC, 'Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1992-93', *Orientalia* 63 (1994), 377 (41.c); J. WILLEITNER, 'Ein neu entdecktes Grab bei Abusir in Ägypten', *AW* 24/3 (Mainz, 1993), 258 with figs 1-2; L. GIDDY, 'Digging Diary 1999', *EA* 16 (2000), 32; also, preceding footnote. For the position, see T.S. TAWFIK, 'The extent of the New Kingdom cemetery in the Memphite necropolis', in Z. HAWASS (ed.), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century* 1 (Cairo, 2003), 508-509 and fig. 1 (1).

¹⁷⁵ Dietrich RAUE kindly informs me (pers. comm.) that C. EYRE is currently working on that material.

¹⁷⁶ J. DE MORGAN, *Carte de la Nécropole Memphite* (Cairo, 1897), pl. 10. For this still useful map, but which is too schematic to be reliable in detail, see A. ZIVIE, in ZIVIE, *Memphis...*, 105 and n. 9, pp. 106-112.

* ADDENDUM: Several months after the submission of this contribution I came across various articles that could no longer be taken into consideration, but which are listed here for further reading: O. GOLDWASSER, 'The Aten is the "Energy of Light": New evidence from the script', *JARCE* 46 (2010), 159-165 (Marianne EATON-KRAUSS, pers. comm.); R. VENTURA, 'Sun rays in ancient Egyptian art', in A. OVADIAH (ed.), *Milestones in the Art and Culture of Egypt* (Tel Aviv University, 2000), 15-38 (Holger KOCKELMANN, pers. comm.); H. KOCKELMANN, 'Sunshine for the dead', in J.H. TAYLOR (ed.), *The Book of the Dead – Recent Research and New Perspectives*. Acts of the Symposium held at The British Museum on 21-22 July 2009 (OLA; Leuven, in press). I thank Holger KOCKELMANN for kindly sending me a pdf-copy of his forthcoming contribution.



Fig. 11. Section of de Morgan's *Carte de la Nécropole Memphite* (1897), showing tombs west and south-west of Abusir village.