

EGYPTIAN DELTA ARCHAEOLOGY

*Short studies in honour
of Willem van Haarlem*

*edited by
Ben van den Bercken*

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Four notes on Tia and Iurudef

Jacobus van Dijk

Introduction

By some strange coincidence the year 1982 saw not only the excavation of the tombs of Tia and Tia and their devoted assistant Iurudef by the EES-Leiden expedition to the New Kingdom Necropolis at Saqqara,¹ but also the chance discovery of a complex of chapels at Kafr el-Gebel, just south of Giza, in which the Tias and Iurudef figure prominently.² And as it happens 1982 was also the year in which Willem van Haarlem began to participate in fieldwork at Qantir,³ and the Egyptian Delta has remained his archaeological stamping ground ever since. Since Tia and his family lived in Pi-Ramesse (Qantir) it may be fitting to dedicate the following brief remarks on this *idly* to the ‘Delta man’ Willem.

In 1993 I wrote a chapter on the life and career of the ‘overseer of the treasury of the Ramesseum and great overseer of the cattle of Amun-Re king of the gods’, Tia, his wife, who was also called Tia and who was a sister of Ramesses II, and his right-hand man Iurudef.⁴ The present notes are intended as an update and partial correction of this publication.

Tia in Thebes

The official Tia was probably appointed by Seti I and was most likely married to Seti’s daughter before that king’s accession. We know very little about his background and his parents are unknown to us, but like virtually every other official he appears to have begun his working life as a ‘royal scribe’. This is the sole title he bears on a stela fragment now in the Oriental Museum of the University of Chicago, where he is shown in the company of a ‘scribe of the offering table of the Lord of the Two Lands’ called Amenwahsu, paying homage to ‘the Osiris king’ Seti I and his crown prince Ramessu, soon to become Ramesses II. The provenance of this stela is unknown and in 1993 I suggested it may have

1 Martin 1997.

2 By the late Ahmed M. Moussa, see Martin 1997, 1; *DAIK Rundbrief* June 1983, 25; to be published by Bács/ Abd el-Aal, forthcoming.

3 Leclant 1983, 469 n. 42.

4 Van Dijk 1993; reprinted with minor alterations in Van Dijk 1997a.



Fig. 1 Tia with Ramesses II on a block from Deir el-Bahari. Image Jadwiga Iwaszczuk, courtesy Mirosław Barwik, Polish-Egyptian Mission in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari.

come from Abydos,⁵ like the stela of May in Brussels which also shows Seti I and Ramessu and refers explicitly to Seti's Abydos temple.⁶ As an alternative one might consider the possibility that it comes from Seti's mortuary temple in Gurnah on the Theban west bank.

Be that as it may, an early Theban relief block depicting Tia has recently come to light on the upper terrace of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (fig. 1),⁷ where it had been thrown down a Third Intermediate Period tomb shaft. Judging by the chisel marks on its surface the slab, which is 1.30 m wide, had been reused at some stage, perhaps more than once,⁸ and it was found shattered into as many as 28 fragments. The relief shows a king in the act of burning incense followed by a fan bearer. The names of both are badly damaged, but enough survives to show that the fan bearer was called Tia; of his titles traces of [*ḥy ḥw*] *ḥr* [*wnmy*] *n* [*nsw*] 'fan bearer on the right of the king'⁹ are unmistakable and a single *i* just before his name has been plausibly interpreted as being part of the name of Amun in the title 'overseer of the treasury of the temple of Usermaatre-setepenre in the domain of Amun'. The king must surely be Ramesses II, although his cartouches have disappeared almost completely, except clear traces of two *s* signs (O 34) at the end of the nomen. These are enough to show that the King's name was written in its early form *R^c-ms-s(w)*¹⁰ rather than the form *R^c-ms-sw* (with M 23) found exclusively in Tia's Saqqara tomb and at Kafr el-Gebel. This in turn agrees well with the suggestion that Tia was involved with the Ramesseum quite early on; in fact he was probably its first

5 It was purchased from Maurice Nahman in Cairo in 1919, cf. Teeter 2003a, 56–7 and 128, where 'Abydos (?)' is suggested. At any rate it does not come from Saqqara, as stated by Brand 2000, 151 (3.39) and 317, who was probably led astray by the inclusion of the fragment in the publication of the Saqqara tomb (Martin 1997, 47–8 [333], Pl. 98).

6 Brussels E. 5300, from Garstang's excavations at Abydos (1906–1909); Brand 2000, 187, 317, figs. 138 and 143.

7 Barwik 2007. I am very grateful to Mirosław Barwik for sending me some excellent colour photographs and allowing me to reproduce one of them here.

8 Barwik 2007, 67 n. 3 suggests it was reused in the kitchen of the Coptic monastery at Deir el-Bahari.

9 See for this title Van Dijk 1993, 95; Van Dijk 1997a, 54.

10 See also Staring 2014–2015, 68.

‘overseer of the treasury’.¹¹ A stamped brick with Tia’s name and title of ‘chief treasurer’ found (reused?) in the area of the mortuary temple of Ramesses IV must originally have come from the Ramesseum.¹² The block from Deir el-Bahari is only 9.3 cm thick, suggesting that it was part of a stone revetment mounted against a brick wall rather than part of a solid stone temple wall. It, too, most likely originated from the Ramesseum, especially since column fragments from that temple have been found reused in the Coptic monastery at Deir el-Bahari as well.¹³ One wonders whether Tia may not have had a mortuary chapel within the precinct of the Ramesseum, comparable to that of the Theban mayor Paser at Medinet Habu.¹⁴

Tia in Pi-Ramesse

That Tia had a house in the great Delta residence of Pi-Ramesse has long been suspected on account of some of his and his wife’s titles. The princess Tia in particular is frequently called ‘songstress of Amun of Great-of-Victories’, a common designation of Pi-Ramesse, both in the Saqqara tomb and in the Kafr el-Gebel chapel.¹⁵ Her husband was steward (*imy-r pr*) as well as high priest (*hm-ntr tpy*) of Amun-of-Ramesses and was also attached to the cult of ‘Ramesses-in-the-Sacred-Bark’ (*R^c-ms-sw m wi3*), both of which are probably to be linked with Pi-Ramesse.¹⁶ Proof of the Tias’ presence at Pi-Ramesse came with the discovery of a column fragment found during the survey of Tell el-Dab’a carried out by Josef Dorner in the early 1980s. It was found near Tell Abu el-Shaf’ei ‘lying in an irrigation canal near the bridge over the Bahr Faqous’.¹⁷ The fragment (fig. 2) is inscribed with a single vertical line reading ‘[...] may he/she¹⁸ give m]e joyfulness while being favoured in the King’s house, for the Ka of the hereditary prince and count, the royal scribe and great overseer of the cattle of Amun-Re king of the gods, Tia, justified’. Being favoured (or praised) by the king is of course commonplace among high officials,¹⁹ but Tia’s reference to the King’s house (*pr nsw*) is interesting in the light of two other inscriptions. On a fragment of the wooden outer coffin of Tia from his Saqqara tomb he is called ‘one favoured by his god (i.e. the king) when he was (still) a child (*hsy n ntr=f iw=f m nhnw*)’.²⁰ A miniature stela of Tia in the Louvre²¹ calls him ‘the royal scribe, educated by His Majesty (*sb3.n hm=f*), raised by the Lord of the Two Lands while (still) in the egg (*shpr.n nb t3wy m swht*), the overseer of the treasury of the temple of Usermaatre-setepenre in the domain of Amun, the

11 For the successive stages of Tia’s career see now also Staring 2014–2015, 60–62, 64, 68–69.

12 Van Dijk 1993, 98; Van Dijk 1997a, 55; Martin 1997, 48 [334].

13 Barwik 1990–1991.

14 Schott 1959. For this and other private mortuary chapels at Medinet Habu see Hölscher 1951, 22–5. Note that on the block from Deir el-Bahari Tia’s name is followed by *m³-hrw hr imntt*.

15 Van Dijk 1993, 92; Van Dijk 1997a, 52–53; Abd el-Aal 2009, Pl. 3b.

16 Van Dijk 1993, 96–97; Van Dijk 1997a, 55.

17 Information kindly supplied by Manfred Bietak. I am most grateful to both Prof. Bietak and Edgar Pusch for their efforts to locate the column in their files and for their generous permission to publish a line drawing of it here. The present circumstances unfortunately do not allow access to the documentation of the stone monuments from the site in the Austrian Institute in Cairo or the photographic archive of the expedition.

18 A god or goddess, or perhaps more likely the royal Ka, who is frequently invoked in formulae on domestic architecture.

19 Guksch 1994, 39–45.

20 Raven/Vugts 2011, 173–174 (291a).

21 Louvre E. 7717; Habachi 1969, 45 (7), Pl. 3a; Martin 1997, Pl. 165.

overseer of the cattle of Amun, Tia, justified'. Such phrases came in vogue as part of the ideology of the Amarna Period²² and are rarely found afterwards. 'Being in the egg' is almost exclusively used for the king himself, not for a private individual.²³ These epithets suggest that Tia was raised at the royal court from early childhood and that he was not of a humble background, as has sometimes been suggested – which would explain why he was able to marry a sister of Ramesses II, albeit long before the latter became king. It is even conceivable that Tia was a distant relative of the Ramesside royal family himself and that he, too, originated from the eastern Delta.

Tia was not the only official with a house in Pi-Ramesse who was buried in the Memphite necropolis. A systematic search for such cases cannot be undertaken here, and much of the Ramesside material excavated in the area of Tell el-Dab'a and Qantir is still unpublished, but among these state officials are the overseer of cattle of the Ramesseum Paraemheb²⁴ and the chief lector priest and royal envoy Tjuneroy, famous for the Saqqara king-list.²⁵ The vizier Parahotep is so far attested in Pi-Ramesse only with a stela, but it is likely that he had a house there since he originated from this city.²⁶

The King's sister Tia

That Tia's wife was a sister of Ramesses II has almost universally been accepted; after all she explicitly calls herself *snt nsw špst Tī* 'the King's noble sister Tia' (or perhaps 'the King's sister, the Lady Tia') everywhere in the Saqqara tomb and in the Kafr el-Gebel chapels. A different opinion was expressed by Eva Althoff,²⁷ who wrote that Tia was probably no more than a distant relative of the King: a cousin or a niece perhaps, or even just a lady from the harem²⁸ who had been given in marriage to a loyal official. Her main argument is that Tia nowhere calls herself a king's daughter, which she considers to be inconceivable if Tia had been a daughter of Seti I. Surely, however, the title 'King's noble sister' refers to the reigning



Fig. 2 Inscription on a column fragment from Tell el-Dab'a. Image J. Goischke, courtesy Manfred Bietak and Edgar Pusch.

22 Guksch 1994, 31–33, 108–114.

23 It is conspicuously absent from the corpus collected by Guksch 1994. The *Belegstellen* to *Wb.* IV 73, 10 only list a single non-royal example, *Urk.* II 65, 17, which dates from the early Ptolemaic period.

24 Saqqara: PM III²/2, 771; Staring 2014–2015, 67; Pi-Ramesse: Habachi 2001, 41, 54, 205 (Cat. 84), Pl. 31A.

25 Saqqara: PM III²/2, 666; Pi-Ramesse: Habachi 1954, 498–499, Pl. 27; Habachi 2001, 41, 54, 56, 193 (Cat. 61), Pl. 21B.

26 Saqqara: PM III²/2, 665–666; Pi-Ramesse: Habachi 2001, 56 with n. 132. The southern vizier Paser also had a house in Pi-Ramesse (Habachi 2001, 52, 56, 186 (Cat. 52), Pl. 18A); he is the owner of TT 106, but curiously two of his canopic jars appear to have been found at Saqqara, see PM III²/2, 771; Donahue 1988, 111.

27 Althoff 2004, 37–40.

28 *špst* as a term designating (former or actual) harem ladies is chiefly known from the Old Kingdom, see *Wb.* IV 450, 1. A New Kingdom example cited in the *Wb.* (IV 450, 2) is termed 'ungewöhnlich' there. In Ramesside times the word *špst* is regularly used for queens and princesses, for instance for the royal ladies buried in the Valley of the Queens which is called *t3 st-nfrw (nt) špsw(t)*, where the kings' mothers and noble wives (*hmwt šps(wt)*) have their tombs, see *KRI* VI 579, 5–7. In Pap. Leiden I 350 vs 2 Isetnofret, a daughter of Merenptah (before he became king), is called *špst* (cf. Janssen 1961, 26). In the Tale of the Two

king, Ramesses II, who is omnipresent in the decoration and inscriptions of the Saqqara tomb. This is the reason why the tomb has been called a ‘royal monument’, not so much because of the presence of the princess Tia: the tomb is explicitly designated as a temple of Osiris built by Ramesses II²⁹ in which this king is the main officiant. Large-scale cartouches of Ramesses II are present in the pylon gateway of this ‘temple-tomb’ and elsewhere, and a frieze composed with the nomen and prenomen of the King runs along the top of the pylon and the forecourt, perhaps also that of the peristyle court and beyond. Such friezes are known from many temples of Ramesses II in Egypt and Nubia³⁰ but not from private tombs. That Tia’s wife plays a subordinate role in the tomb reliefs is not at all unusual, it is ‘a pattern of decoration typical of a man’s tomb in which his wife was also included’.³¹

The high stature of the lady Tia within the royal family is also confirmed by several monuments which show her in the company of Queen Tuia (or Tuy), the mother of Ramesses II and undoubtedly her own mother, particularly on reliefs from Kafr el-Gebel.³² That she and her husband thus participated in ‘the ancestor cult of the Ramesside clan’³³ (including Seti I, Queen Tuia, and Ramesses II as well as the founder of the 18th dynasty, Ahmose I³⁴) makes it very unlikely that she was merely a distant relative or even a harem lady married to a ‘commoner’. It is a telling fact that we know very little about the lives and marriages of all but the most prominent of the multitude of Ramesses II’s sons and daughters.³⁵ The lady Tia was clearly an exceptional figure within the early Ramesside family.

The early history of this family has been discussed many times, with the famous ‘Stela of Four Hundred Years’ as the central piece of evidence. In 1993 I did so as well,³⁶ and I have little to add to my analysis here, except that I now believe Manfred Bietak was right in suggesting that Tia, wife of Paramessu, changed her name to Satre once her husband had become Ramesses I,³⁷ or rather, that the name Tia represents a hypochoristic of the name Satre. In the list of princesses on Ostrakon Louvre 666 a daughter of Ramesses II is listed with the double name Satre Tia,³⁸ showing that the two names can refer to one and the same person. The name of Paramessu’s wife on the ‘Stela of Four Hundred Years’ is to

Brothers’ Bata’s treacherous wife is called *t3 špst* ‘the noble lady’ and on one occasion she is explicitly styled the king’s wife (*hmt-nsw t3 špst*, Pap. D’Orbiney 18, 4). One is also reminded of *t3 špst Nhrm*, ‘the noble lady of Mitanni’, the foreign princess who was given in marriage to the Egyptian pharaoh (probably Thutmose IV), see Van Dijk 1997b, 33–36. Thus in the New Kingdom the term *špst* clearly denotes a lady of elevated rank, not a mere inhabitant of the king’s harem.

29 Martin 1997, 39 [123], Pl. 66.

30 Van Dijk 1993, 102–106; Van Dijk 1997a, 57–58.

31 Teeter 2003b, 152–153.

32 Bács 2019, 43; Martin 1997, 46 [330], Pl. 95.

33 Bács 2019, 45.

34 Bács 2008.

35 From Ostrakon Louvre 2262 we learn that in Year 42 of Ramesses II Sa-montu, the King’s twenty-third son, married one Iryt, the daughter of a Syrian ship’s captain called Bin’anat – hardly a prestigious liaison, one would imagine; see Spiegelberg 1894, 64; *KRI* II, 907.

36 Van Dijk 1993, 107–111; Van Dijk 1997a, 60–61.

37 Bietak 1975, 185–186, n. 786. See also Polz 1986, 163.

38 Spiegelberg 1894, 67 (top right); *KRI* II, 922. Note that there are also two princesses called Tuia on this list, one of whom has the second name Nebettawy.

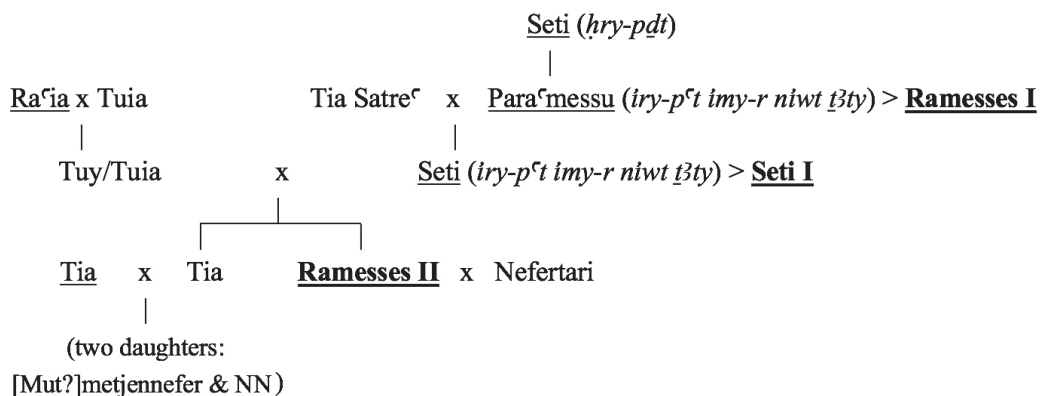


Fig. 3 Genealogy of the early Ramesside royal family.

be read Tia, not Tiu, as is still occasionally stated in error in the literature.³⁹ This Tia was therefore our Tia's grandmother (fig. 3).⁴⁰

Iurudef and his family

The 'scribe of the treasury' Iurudef obviously played a major role in the life of the Tias, perhaps because the couple do not seem to have had any male offspring. As treasury scribe he was Tia's assistant⁴¹ and as such he appears in several places in the tomb, notably on the ends of the balustrade flanking the shallow ramp leading up to the central offering chapels of the tomb and in the relief depicting the voyage to Abydos.⁴² He constructed his own little tomb chapel in the forecourt of Tia's tomb, where he is given the additional title of 'scribe of the divine offerings'. Iurudef also appears in the chapels of Kafr el-Gebel, often in the company of Tia and Tia; here he is not only called 'scribe of the treasury', but also 'overseer of works for his lord (i.e. Tia) in Ro-Setau'⁴³ and 'overseer of works of Ramessu-in-the-Sacred-Bark',⁴⁴ an institution also mentioned in connection with Tia himself.

Very little remains of the superstructure of Iurudef's tomb. His wife was clearly mentioned in it, but nothing beyond 'his "sister" (wife), the songstress [...]'⁴⁵ and possibly '[... of A]mun'⁴⁶ survives. Of the shabtis retrieved from the burial chambers those of Iurudef call him 'scribe (of the treasury)', but one of them has 'scribe of the divine offerings of all the gods'.⁴⁷ Among the other shabtis, four mention a woman (*nbt-pr*) called Akhes

39 Repeated collation under different light circumstances confirms that the bird sign in question is an 3, with tail and wings which nearly touch the ground and with a clear square head, and *not* the quail chick w; see already Van Dijk 1993, 109 n. 88; Van Dijk 1997a, 60 n. 5.

40 The first sign in the name of Queen Tuy's non-royal mother, tentatively read as the lion rw (E 23) before, almost certainly reads t (V 13). The rw sign is almost always followed by the ideographic stroke (Z 1), not by the phonetic complement w (Z 7) as is the case here. The name of Tuy's mother is therefore most probably to be read as Tuia.

41 Van Dijk 1993, 98–101; Van Dijk 1997a, 56–57.

42 Martin 1997, 24 [56, 57], Pl. 36 and 28 [81–83], Pls 47, 154, resp.

43 Martin 1997, Pl. 94 [328a].

44 Martin 1997, Pl. 95 [329].

45 Raven 1991, Pl. 4d; Martin 1997, Pl. 56 [105].

46 Raven 1991, Pl. 4c; Martin 1997, Pl. 56 [104].

47 Raven 1991, Pls 38 and 44 [1].



Fig. 4 Hieratic docket on amphora fragment 83-S60 from the tomb of Tia at Saqqara. Image M. Vinkesteyn/Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

who Raven suspected might be Iurudef's wife, and a 'scribe of the treasury Tia', possibly their son.⁴⁸ These family connections have since been confirmed by the discovery of two rectangular framed stelae (Nos. 43 and 44) in the Kafr el-Gebel complex.⁴⁹ On stela No. 43 the Tias are shown worshipping Osiris in the upper register. The offering formulae on the frame are for the benefit of 'the scribe' Iurudef. In the lower register Iurudef, again simply called 'scribe', and his family are depicted. His wife is called the *nbt-pr* Akhes (spelled *3h-sw*); she is followed by two daughters, Henutmehyt and the songstress of Amun Bak(et)-mut, and two sons, Tia and Amenemopet, who are both shown on a smaller scale and do not bear any titles. Clearly these two boys were still young when the stela was erected. Stela No. 44 was dedicated by (*ir.n*) Iurudef, who is called 'scribe of the treasury of the domain of Amun(-Re) King of the Gods', 'overseer of works in Ro-Setau' and 'overseer of works of the temple of Ramessu-in-the-Sacred-Bark'. The upper register shows Osiris being worshipped by the 'overseer of the treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands' Amenemopet followed by Iurudef. The lower register is very similar to the one of No. 43, only the six persons are all shown on the same scale. They are Iurudef, his wife Akhes, their two daughters and their sons Tia and Amenemopet who are now both scribes of the treasury. These two sons obviously followed in their father's footsteps. The eldest is named after Iurudef's superior Tia, the second after the Amenemopet shown in the upper register, who

48 Raven 1991, 2. Shabtis of Akhes: Pls 38, 44 [26a-d]; of Tia: Pls 38, 45 [28].

49 Abdel-Aal 2000.

may have been Tia's successor as 'chief of the treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands'.⁵⁰ Judging by the presence of the shabti the son Tia was probably buried in the family tomb at Saqqara, while his brother Amenemopet may be tentatively identified with the scribe of the treasury of the Ramesseum Amenemopet who was the owner of TT 374.

The confirmation of the name of Iurudef's wife Akhes enables us to solve the 'mystery' of a hieratic docket on an amphora found in a pottery deposit immediately south of the staircase between the tombs of Horemheb and Tia. Since some of the sherds from this 'staircase cache' joined sherds found in the burial chambers of Tia and Tia, there can be little doubt that this amphora was cleared out of Tia's tomb at some stage.⁵¹ It is inscribed with the phrase $\text{3}h\text{ }sw$ followed by two dots (fig. 4). In the publication I suggested this was to be translated as 'He/it is beneficial (?)',⁵² mainly because two other amphorae from this deposit were inscribed with water dockets and served a cultic purpose. As an alternative I proposed to read it as a proper name, referring to the feminine name $\text{3}h.s(y)$ listed by Ranke.⁵³

This option is clearly to be preferred now, and the two dots are to be interpreted as the seated female determinative. This means that Iurudef's wife donated an amphora (containing water?) to the funeral goods of her husband's master, a modest but touching tribute to the man after whom she named her eldest son.

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50 The only 'overseer of the treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands' Amenemopet known to me is the man who was also 'overseer of the granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt' and who was nicknamed Panehsy (Louvre C 65, l. 5), but this man lived during the last decades of the 18th dynasty, see Bohleke 2002. Could the Amenemopet on Iurudef's stela likewise be an alter ego of the Panehsy who succeeded Tia as chief treasurer (cf. Van Dijk 1993, 106; 1997, 59; Staring 2014–2015, 68)? See also the case of the owner of the Late New Kingdom Book of the Dead Berlin No. 2 (Naville's manuscript *Be*) who is called both Panehsy and *Ipy*, a hypochoristicon of *Imn-m-ipt*, see Sethe 1907–1908, 92.

51 Aston 1984, 13–14; Aston, in Martin 1997, 96.

52 Van Dijk, in Martin 1997, 72 (Cat. 53), Pl. 106.

53 Ranke 1935, 3: 9.

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