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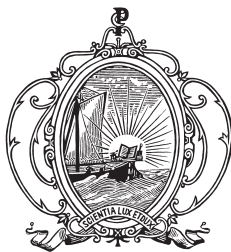
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ANOTHER MOUTHFUL OF DUST

Egyptological Studies
in Honour of
Geoffrey Thorndike Martin

edited by

JACOBUS VAN DIJK



PEETERS

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A STATUE OF YUPA AND HIS WIFE NASHAIA
IN THE NEW KINGDOM NECROPOLIS AT SAQQARA

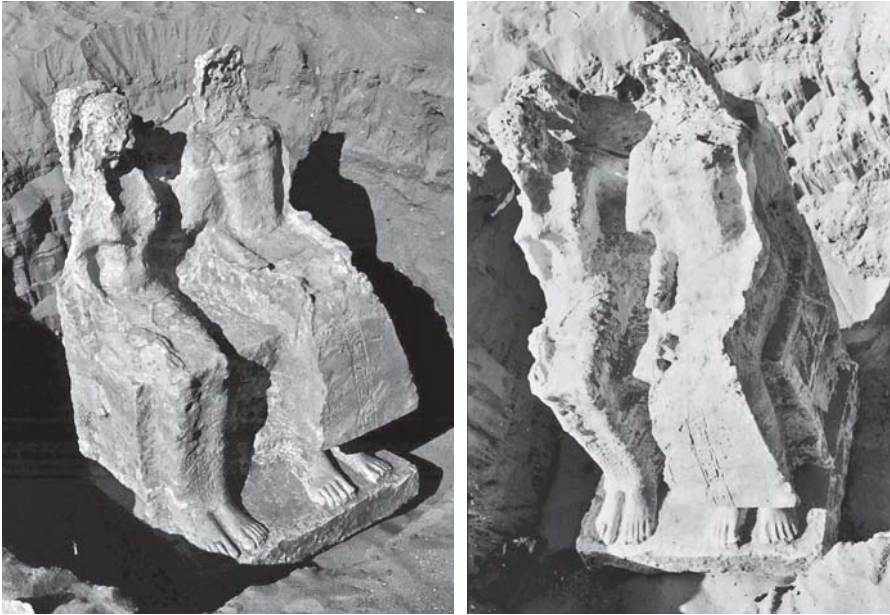
Jacobus VAN DIJK

In late February 1983, while working in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara as a member of the EES-Leiden mission directed by Geoffrey Martin, I was able to examine the inscriptions on a badly damaged statue group situated roughly halfway between the tomb of Tia and the boat pits alongside the Unas Causeway. The presence of the statue had been known to us for some years: two extremely weathered limestone stumps were sticking out of the desert sand in one of those shallow depressions which mark the open courtyards of the New Kingdom tombs in this area (Fig. 1). In the winter of 1983 a sandstorm had exposed it further than before, and thus the occasion presented itself to have a closer look at it. I would like to emphasize, however, that the sole purpose of the investigation was to establish, if possible, the identity of the owner of the statue; after the texts had been copied and a few snapshots (Figs 2–4 and 7) been taken, the statue was reburied to protect it from the elements until we could return to it at a more suitable time.¹



Fig. 1. The statue in situ in a shallow depression to the north of the EES-Leiden excavations (1982).

¹ I gratefully acknowledge the cooperation of our colleagues of what was then called the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, Dr Sayed Amer el-Fikey, then Director of Saqqara, and Mr Mohammed Assem Abd el-Sabour, our inspector.



Figs 2 and 3. Two views of the dyad of Yupa and Nashaia.



Fig. 4. Inscription on front of Yupa's dress.

No accurate measurements were taken at the time, nor was it possible to make a facsimile copy of the inscriptions or a detailed physical description of the statue itself. This is regrettable, for shortly afterwards local circumstances changed and it has so far been impossible to examine it again. The inscriptions on the statue, though badly damaged, are not without interest, however, and it seems best not to delay their publication any further, especially since the weather continues to take its toll and the few remains of text which I was able to see all those years ago may no longer be there when it will finally be possible to properly excavate it. I dedicate these remarks to Geoffrey Martin, with whom I have had the great privilege of working for two decades at Saqqara and then again for several seasons in the Valley of the Kings, as a small token of gratitude for his friendship and generosity over so many years.

The statue group in question is a limestone dyad mounted on a shallow base. Its height is about 1.20 m, i.e. slightly under life-size. From the point of view of the persons represented, the man is seated on the left and the woman beside him on the right. The whole of the statue is extremely weatherworn, and the heads of both figures are almost completely missing. The man's left shoulder and arm, both his hands, and the woman's right shoulder are broken away. The right arms of both man and woman are also damaged. The couple is shown seated on chairs of which only the sides (including the exterior front legs) have been sculptured in relief; despite this feature, it is likely that two separate chairs, rather than a small bench, are meant. The man's forearms are extended flat on his thighs. The woman's right arm is also laid flat on her thigh, with the palm of the hand downwards. Her left arm disappears behind the back of the man; judging by the angle of her elbow, she probably grasped his left shoulder or upper arm, now missing. Both man and woman are dressed in costumes typical of the late Eighteenth and Ramesside dynasties, but the usual pleating of the garments is absent. Neither of them wears sandals. Vertical inscriptions between borders are incised on the triangular front part of the man's costume (A; Fig. 4) as well as on the front of the woman's ankle-length dress (B). The back of the dyad, which is carved as a single rectangular slab, is flat and contains eight vertical columns of text in incised hieroglyphs (C; Fig. 7). Only the lower part of each column, i.e. about one third of the total height, survives.

The texts on the statue read as follows (Figs 5–6):

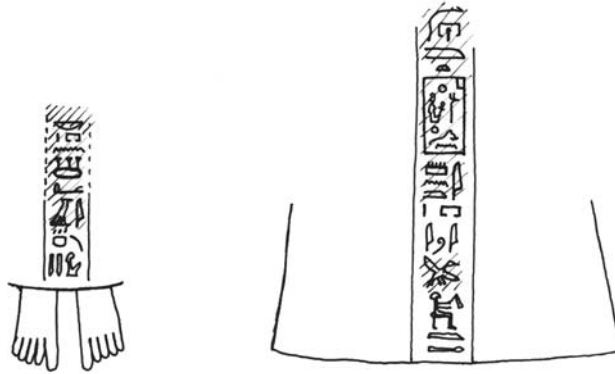


Fig. 5. Handcopy of inscriptions on front of dress of man (right) and woman (left).

A. Text on man's costume:

... *imy-r pr-ḥd m t3 ḥwt Wsr-m3't-r'-stp.n-r' m pr Imn, Ywp3, m3'-ḥrw*

'... the Overseer of the Treasury² in the Temple of Usermaatse-Setepenre in the Domain of Amun, Yupa, justified'

B. Text on woman's dress:

... *nbt-pr N33'iz, m3'(t)-ḥrw*

'... the Lady of the House Nashaia, justified'

C. Text on back of statue:

(1) ... , *Mwt nbt pt* (2) ... *Pth-Skr nb R3-st3w* (3) ... *di=f iry.tw n=i ḥtp-di-nsw*
 (4) ... *di=f iry.tw n=i w3t m ḥnw* (5) ... [*nb*]w *nḥḥ, nis.tw* (6) [*rn=i* ... , ...] *wr n*
nb-t3wy, wpwty-nsw r (7) [*ḥ3st nbt*, ...] *n Šm'w T3-mḥw, sšm-ḥb n nbw W3st* (8)
 [... ...] *nbt-pr N3-š'iz*

(1) [An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Amun ...], Mut, mistress of heaven, (2) ... Ptah-Sokar, Lord of Ro-setau, (3) ... that he³ may grant that the 'offering-which-the-king-gives' will be performed for me,⁴ (4) ... that he may grant that a

² Although the inscription is damaged, the reading is clearly not *imy-r pr*, which in connection with the Ramessum usually (though not always) takes the full form *imy-r pr wr*. For Yupa as Treasurer of the Ramessum see below.

³ Not *di=sn* 'that they may grant' as one would expect in view of the fact that more than one deity is invoked. This anomaly would be explained if gods and goddesses were mentioned individually, each followed by a funerary wish introduced by *di=f / di=s*, for which there would be plenty of space in the missing parts of the inscription. Such a solution is suggested by the occurrence of *di=f* in both col. 3 and col. 4.

⁴ A fairly common formula in the New Kingdom and later, with nominalized *ḥtp-di-nsw* ('substantivierte Opferformel'), see W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel* (ÄF 24; Glückstadt, 1968), 105, 137, 160, 171, 202. The earliest example cited by Barta dates from Dyn. 17, op. cit., 84.

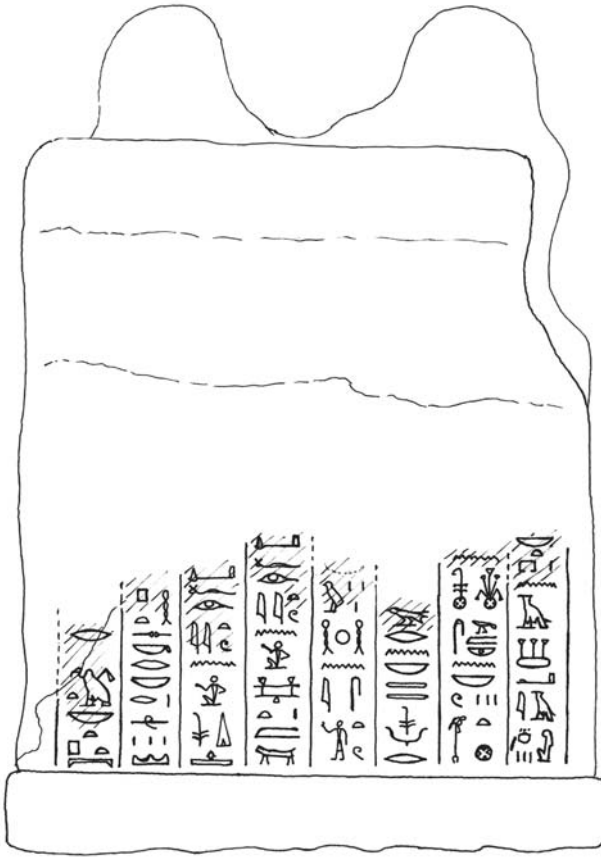


Fig. 6. Handcopy of inscriptions on the back of the statue group.

way will be prepared for me in (5) ... the [Lord]s of Eternity, and that [my name?⁵] may be called out ... (6) ... the High [Steward]⁶ of the Lord of the Two Lands, the King's Envoy to (7) [all (foreign) lands⁷ ...], the Overseer of the Granaries (?)⁸ of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Leader of the Festival of the Lords of Thebes, (8) ... [Yupa. His wife (?)], the Lady of the House, Nashaia.

⁵ Or simply *nīs.tw n=i* 'that I may be summoned'. For *nīs.tw rn=i* cf. Barta, *Opferformel*, 126, 152, 152 and BD Any, Introductory hymn to Re, col. 20.

⁶ Reading [*imy-r pr*] *wr n nb t3wy*, cf. KRI III, 198: 3. In the case of Yupa's successor Nodjem, the title *wpwty-nsw r h3st nbt* is also preceded by that of *imy-r pr wr*, see KRI III, 200: 13; 201: 1. But reading [*imy-r mš*] *wr n nb t3wy* is another possibility.

⁷ Probably *wpwty-nsw r h3st nbt*, the most common form of the title in the New Kingdom, or the slightly less usual *r t3 nb*. Cf. M. Valloggia, *Recherche sur les 'messagers' (wpwtyw) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes* (Genève/Paris, 1976), 210–11.

⁸ For Yupa as Overseer of the Granaries, see KRI III, 196: 1. This title is often followed by *n* (or *m*) *šm'w T3-mhw*, see B. Bohleke, 'Amenemopet Panehsi, Direct Successor of the Chief Treasurer Maya', *JARCE* 39 (2002), 157–72, at 160 (d) and id., *The Overseer of the Double*

Yupa, the owner of this statue, is a well-known official of the reign of Ramesses II whose main civil title was High Steward of the Ramesseum. Yupa and his father Urkhiya, who held the same title for a number of years, are among the many officials from the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the Ramesside period known to have been buried in the Memphite necropolis whose tombs have yet to be discovered. The ‘dossier’ of this important family was published more than thirty years ago by John Ruffle and Kenneth Kitchen, who provided a survey of the careers of the two men and a family tree.⁹ The inscriptions were also gathered in Kitchen’s *Ramesside Inscriptions*.¹⁰ To the sixteen documents presented there, two items can be added, both of Yupa, viz. the lower half of a scribe statue from el-Ashmunein,¹¹ where it undoubtedly once stood in Ramesses II’s temple of Thoth, and a human-headed heart amulet in a private collection.¹²

Kitchen’s account of the careers of father and son may be summarized as follows. Urkhiya, who, judging by his name, was of Western-Asian descent,¹³ started off in the army, first as Troop-Commander (*hry-pdt n nb-t3wy*), then as General (*imy-r mš' wr*), probably during the early years of the Nineteenth Dynasty, although there is no compelling reason why he could not have begun his military career under Horemheb. He subsequently became High Steward of the Ramesseum; Kitchen estimates that he held that office ‘in roughly the period Years 10–20 of Ramesses II’, but it may equally well have been earlier or later. His son Yupa, whose name is probably Semitic as well,¹⁴ is first attested in Year 5 of Ramesses II as one of forty members of the Great Stable of Ramessu-Meryamun.¹⁵ He, too, rose through the ranks of the army, being Overseer of Horse (*imy-r ssmt*) and General (*imy-r mš'*), before embarking on an equally impressive career in the civil administration, culminating in the

Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt in the Egyptian New Kingdom, 1570–1085 B.C. (PhD diss., Yale University, 1991).

⁹ J. Ruffle and K.A. Kitchen, ‘The Family of Urhiya and Yupa, High Stewards of the Ramesseum’, in J. Ruffle, G.A. Gaballa and K.A. Kitchen (ed.), *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt. Studies in Honour of H.W. Fairman* (Warminster, 1979), 55–74; Part I: The Monuments (by Ruffle), pp. 55–70, Part II: The Family History (by Kitchen), pp. 71–4.

¹⁰ *KRI* II, 191–8; Kitchen, *RITA* III, Translations, 133–8. Not mentioned there is a column of Urkhiya, one of at least five which originally stood in his Saqqara tomb chapel, see *LD Text* I, 182.

¹¹ Essam M. el-Said, ‘La statue du grand intendant du Ramesseum, Youpa, conservée au musée de la Faculté des Lettres à Alexandrie’, *RdE* 60 (2009), 205–8.

¹² J. van Dijk, in C.A.R. Andrews and J. van Dijk (eds), *Objects for Eternity. Egyptian Antiquities from the W. Arnold Meijer Collection* (Mainz am Rhein, 2006), 130–1.

¹³ W.F. Albright, *The Vocalization of the Semitic Syllabic Orthography* (New Haven, 1934), 35 (D3); Kitchen, *Fs Fairman*, 74; T. Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches* (OBO 114; Freiburg/Göttingen, 1992), 37 (N 57).

¹⁴ Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen*, 52–4 (N 91–94).

¹⁵ Louvre Leather Roll, col. II, 6; *KRI* II, 790: 12.



Fig. 7. Back of the statue group with weather-worn inscription in eight columns.

position of High Steward of the Ramesseum. Other titles attested for him are Overseer of the Treasury (*imy-r pr-ḥd*), Overseer of the Granaries (*imy-r šnwt*) and Overseer of All Building Projects of His Majesty (*imy-r k3t m mnw nbw n ḥm=f*). These titles are mentioned on the same monuments which call him High Steward of the Ramesseum and it remains unclear to which stage of his civil career they belong. Kitchen has suggested that, ‘unless the titles of Treasury- and Granary-chief are to be understood as applying to the Ramesseum, these may hint at Yupa’s civil employments between leaving the army and taking over the running of the Ramesseum’s endowments’.¹⁶ The title of Overseer of the Treasury of the Ramesseum found on the statue at Saqqara, if indeed read correctly, clinches the matter.

As head of one of the major religious and economic institutions of the country it is only natural that Yupa should have become Leader of the Festival of Amun,¹⁷ a title confirmed by the Saqqara statue, where it appears in the form Leader of the Festival of the Lords of Thebes. In Year 54 of Ramesses II the

¹⁶ Kitchen, *Fs Fairman*, 73. The title *imy-r pr-ḥd* is also found three times on Yupa’s now destroyed sarcophagus, once in Brussels (E 5189), see L. Speleers, *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles* (Brussels, 1923), 66–8 (No. 278), ll. 5, 14 and 48. The example at the foot end of the sarcophagus lid (Ruffle, *Fs Fairman*, 69, Pl. VII, left) is particularly clear and there seems to be no reason to doubt Speleers’s reading here (Kitchen, 72).

¹⁷ KRI III, 196: 3, 14–15 (*sšm ḥb n Ḥmn*); 197: 8 (*sšm ḥb n Ḥmn-R*’).

king gave him the highly prestigious task of proclaiming his Ninth Sed Festival in the entire land.¹⁸ This is the last dated document we have of Yupa and it is likely that he died not long thereafter. On the human-headed heart amulet already mentioned, a man called Yupa is given the single title of *ḥm-ntr tpy*. If this is indeed the same Yupa, as seems likely in view of the rarity of the name, he may have been given this title towards the end of his life as a kind of state pension, as was often the case with higher civil and military officials.¹⁹

The Saqqara dyad adds one further element to Yupa's curriculum vitae, that of *wpwty-nsw*, Royal Envoy. Unfortunately we do not know if this assignment was a general one (*r ḥ3st nbt*) or specifically aimed at a certain foreign country, as was the case with his contemporary, the vizier Prahotept, who was *wpwty-nsw r t3 n Ḥt3*, 'King's Envoy to the land of Hatti'.²⁰ Such a commission would not be surprising, given the Near-Eastern origins of Yupa's family. Like most royal envoys,²¹ Yupa, as stated above, started his career in the army, more specifically in the cavalry, having been trained in the royal stables (at Pi-Ramesse?) and become Overseer of Horse. Whether being the King's Envoy had anything to do with Yupa's assignment to announce Ramesses' Ninth Sed Festival we do not know, but is it a coincidence that in the inscription of the vizier Prahotept just mentioned the latter is also called 'Leader of the Sed Festivals of his Lord'?²²

Having thus surveyed Yupa's titles and career, we may now turn our attention to his wife and family. The name of the woman depicted on his right in the Saqqara dyad, Nashaia, comes as a surprise, for on the only monument known so far which shows Yupa with his wife²³ she is called Nehyt.²⁴ The relationship between Nashaia and Yupa is not specified on the statue (or at least this part

¹⁸ KRI II, 396: 10–11 (Temple of Armant, Pylon).

¹⁹ W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* (Leiden, 1958), 222–3; J. van Dijk, *The New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis: Historical and Iconographical Studies* (Groningen, 1993), 62. A similar case at Saqqara is that of the troop-commander Ramose, who was Horemheb's adjutant during his years as Tutankhamun's commander-in-chief. On the shabti from the burial chamber of his tomb this Ramose is called *ḥm-ntr*, a title which is not mentioned on the surviving fragments of his tomb chapel or in the tomb of Horemheb, see Martin et al., *The Tombs of Three Memphite Officials: Ramose, Khay and Pabes* (London, 2001), 9; 43 (Cat. 68a–i), Pl. 34.

²⁰ Valloggia, *Messagers*, 131, no. 78. Cf. also the unknown official who was *wpwty-nsw r Ḥ3rw Kš*, 'King's Envoy to Syria and Nubia', *ibid.*, 154, no. 107; KRI III, 65: 9 (BM 712). Such specifications of the title were introduced in the Ramesside period, *ibid.*, 252.

²¹ Valloggia, *Messagers*, 252–3.

²² KRI III, 65: 8; T.G.H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. [in] the British Museum*, Part 9 (London, 1970), Pl. XIV (top left).

²³ Stela Louvre E 3134; Ruffle, *Fs Fairman*, 57 (Document No. 4), Pl. IV; KRI III, 194–5.

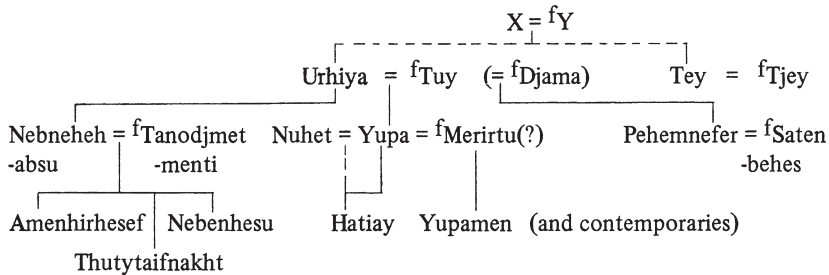
²⁴ The name is spelled *Nywhety* and *Nyhwti*, two of the many variant writings of this name, see Ranke, *PN I*, 206: 22, 25–6; 207: 1–6; C.A.R. Andrews, 'A Family for Anhai?', *JEA* 64 (1978), 88–97 (p. 89).



Fig. 8. Stela Lyon 84, after Devéria,
Notice sur les antiquités égyptiennes du Musée de Lyon, 12.

of the inscription has not survived), and an alternative explanation might therefore be that the woman of the statue is not Yupa's wife, but his mother. This is not very likely, however, as his father Urkhiya is known to have had two wives, Tuy and Djama. On the Louvre stela both father and son are depicted. In the upper register Urkhiya and Tuy are immediately followed by Yupa and his wife Nehyt; in the middle register the two couples are shown seated opposite each other. It would seem likely, therefore, that this Tuy was Yupa's mother. This means that Yupa, like his father, married twice, and that the Nashaia shown with him in the statue was his second wife. The occurrence of the name Nashaia appears to have been limited to the Nineteenth Dynasty;²⁵ it has been suggested that it, too, was of Semitic origin.²⁶

Based on the documents assembled in Ruffle's part of their joint article, Kitchen reconstructed the family's full genealogy as follows:



In this reconstruction of the family, Yupa had two brothers, Nebnehehabsu and Peh(ef)emnefer, and two sons, Hatiay and Yupamen. Of these, only Hatiay followed in the footsteps of his father and grandfather by pursuing a career in the civil administration as well as being Chief of Medjayu. The other three men are all, in Kitchen's words, 'in holy orders', lector-priests, 'although we never learn of which deities'.²⁷ Because these men appear 'in the role normally fulfilled by a son', Kitchen assumes that they were indeed sons of Urkhiya and Yupa, but this seems very unlikely to me. They occur on four stelae (Documents 1, 2, 4 and 5), but on none of these are any of these men called son of either Urkhiya or Yupa. Peh(ef)emnefer (var. Pehemnefer) appears on two stelae, both dedicated to Urkhiya. On Lyon 84 (Doc. 2; Pl. II) Urkhiya and his (first?) wife Djama are shown worshipping Re-Horakhty; the lower register shows Peh(ef)emnefer carrying a censor and being accompanied by a woman (his

²⁵ Ranke, *PN* I, xxv; 213: 7, 9–10; II 293: 28; 372; J. Berlandini, 'Varia memphitica III: Le général Ramsès-nakht', *BIFAO* 79 (1979), 249–65 (p. 258); M. Thirion, 'Notes d'onomastique. Contribution à une révision de Ranke *PN*' [Quatrième série], *RdE* 36 (1985), 125–43 (p. 136).

²⁶ Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen*, 144–6 (N 309–310).

²⁷ Kitchen, *Fs Fairman*, 73.

wife?) who holds a libation vessel and whose name is read Sa[t]enbehes(?) by Ruffle and Kitchen. In front of them an offering formula is introduced with the words: ‘Dedicated by (*ir.n*) the servant who is beneficial to his lord (*hm 3h n nb=f*), the scribe and lector-priest Pehefemnefer’. On stela Avignon A4 (Doc. 5; Pl. V) Urkhiya, this time with his wife Tuy, worships Osiris and Isis; in the register below, Peh(ef)emnefer is shown censuring, libating and presenting funerary offerings to the deceased couple; again this is ‘performed by (*ir.n*) the wab-priest and lector-priest of his lord, Pehemnefer’. Below these two registers is a dedication line reading ‘Dedicated by the wab-priest and lector-priest, the servant who is beneficial to his lord, the scribe Pehefemnefer’. Surely, if Pehefemnefer had been a son of Urkhiya, he would have called himself so and used the phrase *s3=f s'nh rm=f*, ‘his son who makes his name live’, as was *de rigueur* in dedication lines. Nor is it customary for a son to refer to his father as *nb=f* ‘his lord’.

This is illustrated by stela Birmingham 134'72 (Doc. 1; Pl. I), the owner of which is neither Urkhiya nor Yupa, but a man called Nebnehehabsu, who in the top register is shown censuring and libating to Osiris, Isis and Nephthys. In the middle register Nebnehehabsu, accompanied by his wife, is performing the same ritual before three seated persons, Urkhiya and the priest (*hm-ntr*) Tey and his wife Tjey (see below). Again, Nebnehehabsu only calls himself ‘the lector-priest of his lord’, i.e. Urkhiya. In the lower register Nebnehehabsu and his wife are themselves shown seated receiving censuring, libation and funerary offerings from three sons, who are all referred to as such. The first of them is ‘his son who makes his name live, the lector-priest Amenherhesef’. The fourth stela, Louvre E 3143,²⁸ belongs to ‘the Osiris, the lector-priest Yupamen, born of *Mr-ı.irt (?)*’, who appears censuring and libating to both Urkhiya and Tuy, and Yupa and Nehyt, and is also mentioned in the *htp-di-nsu* formulae on the frame of the stela. Again, there is no indication whatsoever that Yupamen (‘Yupa endures’) was a son of Yupa. In fact, there are several instances where funerary priests or other servants are named after their employers. Thus the *sdm-š* of Any, owner of Amarna tomb 23, was called Any-men;²⁹ the scribe of the divine offerings Wepwautmose had a priest (or servant, *hm*) called Mose-men;³⁰ Kenro, who usurped the tomb of Huy (TT 54) but incorporated

²⁸ The provenance of none of these four stelae is recorded, but Louvre E 3143 comes from the Anastasi Collection and in its funerary prayers mentions ‘a goodly burial after old age [in ...] Ankhtawy’, thus suggesting it originated from the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara. In fact, at least the Avignon stela, and possibly all four stelae, may derive from Saqqara as well.

²⁹ N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna V* (London, 1908), 10 (3), Pl. 22 (left).

³⁰ Stela Vienna ÄS 127; W. Wreszinski, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus dem K.K. Hofmuseum in Wien* (Leipzig, 1906), 61 (No. 102). For the Memphite tombs of Wepwautmose and his father Panehsy, see H.D. Schneider, *MTH II* (Leiden/London, 1996), 94, Pl. 102 [NK 19]; Berlandini, *BIFAO* 82, 99 n. 3, Pl. XIVA; Martin et al., *The Tomb of Tia and Tia* (London, 1997), 48, Pl. 100 [341]; PM III²/2, 733.

the cult of Huy into his own funerary cult, named one of his sons Huy-men.³¹ A block from Saqqara in Copenhagen³² shows a lector-priest called Ipy-men and may well have come from the Memphite tomb of the High Steward Ipy. Maya's lector-priest was called Ya-men,³³ and one is tempted to think that *Y3* is here a shortened form of *M(°)y3*.³⁴ It seems highly likely, therefore, that these three lector-priests were not related to either Urkhiya or Yupa, but were professional lector-priests employed by the family to maintain the daily funerary cult in the tombs of these men. Stelae belonging to or dedicated by funerary personnel have been found more than once in or around the tombs excavated by the EES-Leiden mission at Saqqara over the last decades, for instance embedded in the mud-brick walls or set up in the open courtyards or side chapels.³⁵

This considerably simplifies the genealogy of the Urkhiya-Yupa family and leaves us with only one son of Yupa, a man called Hatiay. He is known to us only from two statues of Yupa, one in the Krannert Art Museum of the University of Illinois (formerly in the collection of Lady Meux), the other in Berlin.³⁶ Unfortunately he does not mention the name of his mother on either of these statues. On the one in Berlin he is called 'the son who makes his (Yupa's) name live, the Chief of the Medjau, Hatiay'. The Illinois statue is more informative; here he is called 'his son, the King's scribe whom he loves, the Great Overseer of Works for all the monuments of His Majesty, who erected great columns in the Domain of Amun, the Chief of the Medjau, Hatiay'. In which particular temple the said columns stood is not clear, but

³¹ D. Polz, *Das Grab des Hui und des Kel, Theben Nr. 54* (Mainz am Rhein, 1997), 62 (B 40), Pl. 9; 130 (16).

³² Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 56; Martin, *A Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite Necropolis and Lower Egypt I* (London, 1987), 42, Pl. 40 (No. 110). For the tomb of Ipy, son of Amenhotep Huy, see PM III²/2, 704 and W.C. Hayes, 'A Writing-Palette of the Chief Steward Amenhotpe and Some Notes on its Owner', *JEA* 24 (1938), 9–24, esp. p. 24.

³³ M.J. Raven et al., *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt II* (Leiden/London, 2001), frontispiece and Pl. 9a–b; Martin, *Maya and Meryt I* (London, 2012), 51, Pl. 57 (A).

³⁴ See now also U. Rummel, "Ramsesnacht-dauert" — Die Beziehung zwischen Namenspatron und Namensträger am Beispiel einer Besucherinschrift aus Dra' Abu el-Naga', in N. Kloth, K. Martin, E. Pardey (eds), *Es werde niedergelegt als Schriftstück. Festschrift für Hartwig Altenmüller zum 65. Geburtstag* (Hamburg, 2003), 367–77.

³⁵ Horemheb: Martin, *MTH I*, 53–4, Pl. 58; Schneider, *MTH II*, 16, Pl. 55 [56]. — Maya: see n. 34; later Maya's funerary cult had a lector-priest called *Pr-3-r-nhh*, see Van Dijk, *The New Kingdom Necropolis of Memphis*, 79–80; Raven, 'A Stela Relocated', in *Essays in honour of Prof. Dr. Jadwiga Lipinska* (Warsaw, 1997), 139–48; Martin, *Maya and Meryt I*, 51, Pl. 57 (B). Other servants dedicated rock-carved stelae to Maya and Meryt in the underground complex of the tomb, see Martin, *Maya and Meryt I*, 41, Pl. 38; Tia: Martin et al., *Tia and Tia*, 36–9, Pls 57–9 [107–9].

³⁶ Listed by Rufflé, *Fs Fairman*, 58–9, as Documents 8 and 9; for the inscriptions see *KRI III*, 196–7.

Kitchen has suggested the text refers to the Eastern contra-temple at Karnak, dedicated to Amun-Re-Harakhty and Ramesses ‘who hears prayers’, which was built late in the reign of Ramesses II.³⁷ Perhaps it is possible to connect this Hatiay with two other men. The first of these is a man called Hatiay who was ‘High Steward in the Temple of Ramessu-Meryamun in the Domain of Osiris’, i.e. Ramesses II’s temple in Abydos, and ‘Overseer of Works in the Valley of the Kings (*st-mš’t*), troop marshaller (*ts-pdt*) of a mighty army and general (*imy-r mš’ wr*)’.³⁸ This Hatiay was married to a ‘songstress of Hathor, Lady of the Sycamore’ called Tuy. Some of these titles are also held by another High Steward, this time of the Theban Ramesseum, Ramessesnakht,³⁹ whose tomb is located in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara. Like Hatiay, this man was *ts-pdt* and *imy-r mš’*, and again like Hatiay, his wife was the ‘songstress of Hathor, Lady of the Southern Sycamore, Tuy’. Interestingly, Ramessesnakht and his sister Takhat dedicated a statue to their mother, who is called Nasha‘a. Could these three men possibly be identical? One might speculate that Hatiay, son of Yupa and his wife Nashaia, first became overseer of a relatively small building project in Karnak, at a time when his father was still alive. He was then promoted first to run Ramesses II’s Abydos temple (built much earlier in the reign) and then to direct the work in the Valley of the Kings (perhaps the gallery tomb of the sons of Ramesses II, KV 5?). At the death of his father Yupa he succeeded him as High Steward of the Ramesseum and on this occasion changed his name to Ramessesnakht. He was himself succeeded by Nudjem, who is known to have held the post of Ramesseum High Steward until at least the reign of Merenptah and perhaps for as long as the time of Siptah. All of this must remain highly speculative until perhaps one day the Saqqara tombs of Urkhiya, Yupa, and Ramessesnakht are excavated.⁴⁰

The site of the tomb of Urkhiya is indicated as No. 25 on the map of the New Kingdom necropolis south of the Unas Causeway at Saqqara published by Lepsius.⁴¹ This location, roughly halfway between the tomb of Maya (No. 27) and the outline of the boat pits of Unas, agrees more or less exactly with the

³⁷ Kitchen, *Fs Fairman*, 73.

³⁸ *KRI* III, 202.

³⁹ Berlandini, *BIFAO* 79, 249–65; *KRI* III, 198 and 848; *KRI* VII, 115.

⁴⁰ It may be mentioned here that parts of several inscribed blocks were visible underneath the Saqqara dyad when it was examined. On one of them the partially exposed inscription mentioned ‘his beloved son, the royal scribe and great overseer of the army ...’. Unfortunately the names of both father and son were hidden from view.

⁴¹ *LD* I, 33. It should be pointed out that the (tentative) location of Lepsius No. 25 on the map in *PM* III²/2, LXI–LXII would seem to be too close to the tomb of Horemheb. The accuracy of Lepsius’ map is questionable, however, cf. *LD Text* I, 184 n. 1.

place where the dyad of Yupa is situated. It is therefore possible that the tombs of Urkhiya and Yupa were very close to each other or that Yupa extended his father's tomb and turned it into a double tomb.⁴² The only architectural element in a museum collection known to have come from the tomb of Urkhiya is a square djed-pillar in Cairo decorated partly in raised relief.⁴³ No relief blocks with the names of either Urkhiya or Yupa have so far come to light, but two blocks in the first volume of Geoffrey Martin's *Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite Necropolis and Lower Egypt* may tentatively be assigned to them. The first block, or rather two joining fragments of one,⁴⁴ shows the mummy of the tomb owner receiving the last rites in front of his tomb; behind him he is supported by 'his son, the scribe of recruits, Tey (*Ty*), justified'. In front of the mummy are three female mourners, all nameless, and behind them a group of four priests performing the Opening of the Mouth ritual. The first of these, who is censuring and libating, is called 'the lector-priest Pehefemnefer'. As we have already seen, this man appears on two stelae of Urkhiya as 'the servant who is beneficial to his lord, the scribe and lector-priest Pehefemnefer', and it is therefore tempting to assume that the relief scene in question derives from Urkhiya's tomb. Like Urkhiya's djed-pillar the block is in raised relief, and the style of the figures depicted, particularly the long costume of the son Tey supporting the mummy, suggest an early Ramesside rather than a Late Eighteenth Dynasty date to me. If this block does indeed come from the tomb of Urkhiya, we have the name of another son, a brother of Yupa, the scribe of recruits Tey. On the stela of Nebnehehabsu, discussed above, Urkhiya is depicted seated together with an otherwise unknown couple, the priest (*hm-ntr*) Tey and the songstress Tjey, presumably Tey's wife. Their relationship with Urkhiya remains unclear; Kitchen suggests that because 'they receive service with him, and therefore probably belong to the same generation as Urkhiya', Tey may be Urkhiya's brother. This is certainly possible, but could this Tey actually be Urkhiya's son? Nebnehehabsu may have been Pehefemnefer's successor as the lector-priest employed by Urkhiya's family, and by then Urkhiya's son Tey may have been dead, which would explain why he is shown receiving a funerary cult with his father.

Since the name Pehefemnefer appears to be quite rare, one wonders whether Urkhiya's lector-priest could be the same man as the Pehefnefer who was lector-priest of Horemheb in the latter's Memphite tomb during the early

⁴² Cf. the tomb of Pay, expanded by his son Raia (M.J. Raven et al., *The Tomb of Pay and Ra'ia at Saqqara* (Leiden/London, 2005), and the very much smaller tombs of Khay and Pabes which form an architectural unity (Van Dijk in Martin et al., *The Tombs of Three Memphite Officials*, 24).

⁴³ JE 65061; H. Gauthier, 'Un pilier [*dd*] au Musée du Caire', *ASAE* 35 (1935), 81–96.

⁴⁴ *Corpus* I, 14, Nos. 21 (Havana de Cuba, Museo Nacional, 2) and 22 (Birmingham 688'66).

Ramesseid period;⁴⁵ after all, the distance between the tombs of Horemheb and Urkhiya is only about a hundred metres. At first sight this might seem impossible, for Horemheb's Pehefnefer was married to a wife called Takhat (*T3-h't*), whereas the woman shown together with Urkhiya's Pehefemnefer appears to be called Satenbehes. The reading of this name, which is unattested elsewhere, is rather dubious, however, and the inscription containing her name may well have continued behind the woman's head and shoulder. She is holding the libation vessel normally held by the lector-priest together with the censor, in other words, she is participating in the ritual act of censuring and libating. I would suggest, therefore, that the damaged inscription read as *sn[t=f] S3[t]-n-bhs* by Ruffle and Kitchen actually reads *hm[t] 3h[t] n nb=s*, 'the servant⁴⁶ who is beneficial to her lord', followed by her name, now missing in the area behind her head, which may well have been Takhat.⁴⁷

If the blocks in Havana and Birmingham can be assigned to the tomb of Urkhiya with a certain degree of plausibility, the attribution of the other Memphite block in the *Corpus* is far less certain. This block, Brooklyn Museum 37.1487E,⁴⁸ is also in raised relief and belongs to the same period as the first block. It is a fragment of a scene with the vignettes of BD 146 (4th and 6th portals). The name of the tomb owner appears twice; he is the Overseer of the Treasury Ypu (*Ypw*). This is one of the known variants of the writing of the name Yupa, attested three times on the naophorous statue in Berlin⁴⁹ dedicated by his son Hatiay and again three times on Yupa's magnificent sarcophagus once in Brussels.⁵⁰ The title Overseer of the Treasury is also attested for Yupa, as we have already seen. The name Ypu in this spelling⁵¹ is not as rare as that of the Ramesseid Yupa, however, and the attribution of the Brooklyn block to the tomb of Yupa must for the time being remain uncertain.

⁴⁵ Martin, *MTH* I, 70–2, Pls 68–71. A man with the same name is also depicted among the offering-bearers in the entrance to the so-called statue room of the tomb (*MTH* I, 57, Pls 52, 55), where he has the title *hry-iryw-3*, 'head of doorkeepers'. If this is the same man again, Pehefnefer was chief doorkeeper of the tomb during Horemheb's pre-royal career, and subsequently became responsible for the maintenance of the funerary cult of Horemheb after he had become king.

⁴⁶ The first sign, rather than being the *sn* of *snt* 'sister', looks very similar to the *hm* in the first column in front of Pehefemnefer (see Ruffle, *Fs Fairman*, 62, Pl. II).

⁴⁷ Probably not the same woman as the Takhat, sister of Ramessesnakht, who we have speculated above to be a daughter of Yupa; the name Takhat is not infrequent in the New Kingdom, see Ranke, *PN* I, 366: 23.

⁴⁸ *Corpus* I, 20, Pls 14 and 45 (No. 41).

⁴⁹ *KRI* III, 197: 8, 10, 11.

⁵⁰ *KRI* III, 198: 4; Speleers, *Recueil*, 66–68, Nos. 2, 44 and 66.

⁵¹ Ranke, *PN* I, 55: 25. Cf. in particular the Saqqara stela of the royal butler Ypu in Leiden (V 12, Boeser, *Beschr.*, Pl. IV No. 13), which clearly dates from the time of Tutankhamun.

