

THE JOURNAL OF
Egyptian
Archaeology

VOLUME 67

1981

PUBLISHED BY

THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

3 DOUGHTY MEWS, LONDON WC1N 2PG

Price to non-members £10.00

ISSN 0307-5133

THE JOURNAL OF
Egyptian Archaeology

VOLUME 67

PUBLISHED BY
THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY
3 DOUGHTY MEWS, LONDON WC1N 2PG
1981

CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDITORIAL FOREWORD	I
PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE EL-'AMARNA EXPEDITION, 1980	Barry J. Kemp 5
THE ANUBIEION, NORTH SAQQÂRA, PRELIMINARY REPORT, 1979-80	H. S. Smith and D. G. Jeffreys 21
TWO OLD KINGDOM TOMBS AT GÎZA	Y. M. Harpur 24
THE CONCLUSION TO THE TESTAMENT OF AMMENEMES, KING OF EGYPT	John L. Foster 36
A REAPPRAISAL OF TOMB 55 IN THE VALLEY OF THE KINGS AN EIGHTEENTH-DYNASTY LINEN IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON	C. N. Reeves 48
EGYPT, SAMOS, AND THE ARCHAIC STYLE IN GREEK SCULP- TURE	John McDonald 56
DJEDĤOR THE SAVIOUR, STATUE BASE OI 10589	Whitney M. Davis 61
ANCIENT EGYPTIAN SILVER	Elizabeth J. Sherman 82
	N. H. Gale and Z. A. Stos-Gale 103
QUELQUES ASPECTS DU MARIAGE DANS L'ÉGYPTE ANCIENNE	S. Allam 116
THE PYRAMIDS OF SNOFRU AT DAHSHÛR. THREE SEVEN- TEENTH-CENTURY TRAVELLERS	Kathleen M. Pickavance 136
THE REVEREND DR ANTHONY J. ARKELL	H. S. Smith 143
EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES ACQUIRED IN 1979 BY MUSEUMS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM	Janine Bourriau 149
TWO PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH NEW KINGDOM TOMBS IN THE MEMPHITE AREA	Jaromír Málek 156
BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS: Notes on two tomb chapels at Gîza, <i>by</i> Henry G. Fischer, p. 166; Two linen dresses from the Fifth Dynasty site of Deshasheh now in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London, <i>by</i> Rosalind M. Hall, p. 168; Middle Egyptian <i>smꜣyt</i> , 'archive', <i>by</i> W. A. Ward, p. 171; Abnormal or cryptic writings in the Coffin Texts, <i>by</i> R. O. Faulkner, p. 173; A note on <i>Shipwrecked Sailor</i> 147-8, <i>by</i> D. B. Redford, p. 174; Two inscribed objects from the Petrie Museum, <i>by</i> W. V. Davies, p. 175; A Bes amulet from the Royal Tomb of Akhenaten at El-'Amarna, <i>by</i> J. R. Ogdon, p. 178; Nefertiti's regality: a comment, <i>by</i> Aidan Dodson, p. 179; The Heb-sed robe and the 'ceremonial robe' of Tut'ankhamûn, <i>by</i> John Larson, p. 180; 'Love' in the love songs, <i>by</i> Michael V. Fox, p. 181; Generation-counting and late New Kingdom chronology, <i>by</i> David Henige, p. 182; A non-existent epithet of Memphite Ḥaṭhor, <i>by</i> J. Málek, p. 184; A statuette of the god Kek at University College London, <i>by</i> Robyn A. Gillam, p. 185.	
REVIEWS	PAGE
BEATE GEORGE, <i>Frühe Keramik aus Ägypten</i>	Reviewed by Janine Bourriau 188
DOWS DUNHAM and WILLIAM KELLY SIMPSON, <i>The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III, G7530-7540</i>	Geoffrey T. Martin 189
H. S. SMITH, <i>The Fortress of Buhen. The Inscriptions</i>	J. J. Clère 189
WOLFGANG HELCK, <i>Wirtschaftsgeschichte des alten Ägypten im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend vor Chr.</i>	Schafik Allam 192
K. A. KITCHEN, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical</i>	M. L. Bierbrier 195

CONTENTS

HERMAN DE MEULENAERE and PIERRE MACKAY, <i>Mendes II</i>	Helen Jacquet-Gordon	195
J. D. COONEY, <i>Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum, IV. Glass</i>	D. B. Harden	197
R. D. ANDERSON, <i>Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum, III. Musical Instruments</i>	W. J. Tait	201
OSCAR WHITE MUSCARELLA, Ed., <i>Ancient Art: The Nor- bert Schimmel Collection</i>	Geoffrey T. Martin	202
G. Clerc, V. Karageorghis, E. Lagarce, and J. Leclant, <i>Fouilles de Kition, II</i>	Geoffrey T. Martin	203
A. H. MOUSSA and L. T. DOLPHIN, <i>Applications of Modern Sensing Techniques to Egyptology</i>	A. J. Spencer	204
Other books received	205

LIST OF PLATES

PLATE I	Anthony J. Arkell	<i>facing p. 143</i>
	(<i>at end</i>)	
PLATES II-III	El-'Amarna Expedition, 1980	
PLATES IV-XI	The Conclusion of the <i>Testament of Ammenemes</i>	
PLATE XII	Chapters of the Book of the Dead	
PLATES XIII-XIV	Djedhor the Saviour	
PLATES XV-XVI	Museum Acquisitions, 1979	
PLATES XVII-XVIII	New Kingdom Tombs in the Memphite Area	
PLATES XIX-XX	Linen Dresses from the Fifth Dynasty Site of Deshasheh	
PLATE XXI	Two Inscribed Objects from the Petrie Museum	
PLATE XXII	A Bes Amulet from the Royal Tomb of Akhenaten	
	A Statuette of the God Kek	

REVIEW ARTICLE

Two problems connected with New Kingdom tombs in the Memphite area*

By JAROMÍR MÁLEK

1. Were there New Kingdom tombs at Gîza?

THE definition of the northern limit of the Memphite necropolis during the New Kingdom still remains something of a problem. In her fundamental study of the material from Gîza Christiane M. Zivie was of the opinion that New Kingdom tombs had once existed there, but was hard put to find a sufficient number of monuments to support this view. To make things worse, I believe that four of her six 'documents', purported to have come from New Kingdom tombs at Gîza, must be declared as 'non-admissible' evidence:

NE 52: a relief of *Hri*, HPM, dedicated by his 'son' (sc. descendant) *Pj-ḥm-ntr*, HPM, son of *Mh*.

The supposed provenance of the piece¹ ('trouvé dans un champ près des Pyramides') is based only on a statement of the dealer Tano in whose possession it was when J. Yoyotte copied its text in 1953. However, the same monument was seen with Tano and was recorded already in 1944 by B. Grdseloff (MSS 3.22.3, at the Griffith Institute) who, apparently, was not told of the circumstances of the discovery. In the absence of any other evidence the proposed provenance must be regarded as very unreliable.

NE 62: relief-fragments of *Ti*.

It seems that the tomb of this man has been discovered north of the mastaba of Ḥaremḥab at Saqqâra,² despite C. M. Zivie's more recent reiteration of her view.³ I cannot, unfortunately, claim to have accurately anticipated this development a couple of years before the actual discovery;⁴ when I proposed Saqqâra as the location of *Tia*'s tomb I thought of the Memphite New Kingdom necropolis *par excellence*.

NE 67: a relief of the Overseer of the Royal Harim⁵ *Pth-ms(w)*, Brit. Mus. 160.

The unpublished relief originally formed part of the collection of Henry Salt, and was sold at Sotheby's in 1835.⁶ Significantly, the sale catalogue does not mention Gîza at all, but includes the object under the heading 'Ornamental tables taken from the pyramids'. It was only in 1909⁷ that

* A review article discussing questions raised by two recent publications: Christiane M. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire I* (Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Bibliothèque d'Étude, 70, 1976); G. A. Gaballa, *The Memphite Tomb-Chapel of Mose* (Warminster, 1977). The line-drawings in this article are by Mrs M. E. Cox. I am grateful to Miss K. M. Lorimer for additional help.

¹ Repeated in *CdÉ* 53 (1978), 72.

² G. T. Martin, *JEA* 62 (1976), 13 n. 13. Now included in *PM* III², 654-5, cf. plan LXII.

³ *CdÉ* 53 (1978), 72, 73, but compare now J. Berlandini, *BIFAO* 79 (1979), 262 n. 1.

⁴ *JEA* 60 (1974), 164 n. 20, 167.

⁵ The second title given in *PM* III², 308 ('stela'), following *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)* (1909), 178 (642), is doubtful. I am beholden to M. L. Bierbrier for showing me his copy of the texts of the relief and his commentary to appear in *Hieroglyphic Texts*, 10, and for allowing me to examine the monument.

⁶ *Sotheby Sale Catalogue* (Salt), June 29-July 8, 1835, no. 1265.

⁷ See n. 5 above.

E. A. Wallis Budge stated that the piece was 'found near the pyramids of Gîzah.' This misleading statement was, somewhat uncritically, accepted by the *Topographical Bibliography*.⁸

NE 68: a relief of *Pth-ms(w)*, Boston 34.50.

A photograph of the monument and its description are among the notes made by Battiscombe Gunn at Saqqâra in the early twenties (MSS xix.2[1] and Notebook 7, no. 43, at the Griffith Institute). The piece was almost certainly found by C. M. Firth at North Saqqâra and subsequently acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts (probably together with several other pieces, including, for example, the stela of *Pth-Sty*, Boston 25.635,⁹ also recorded in Gunn's papers). The confusion apparently arose because the relief was brought from Egypt together with finds of the Harvard-Boston Gîza expedition.¹⁰

This leaves us *only* with the two groups of reliefs of Ptaḥmay and Kha'emwese (NE 43 and 49)¹¹ in the Cairo Museum; shabtis (NE 99) which were not found in controlled excavations can hardly be used as reliable indicators in this case. According to G. Maspero,¹² the tombs were destroyed by inhabitants of the village of Kafr el-Batrân in 1883; unfortunately, their precise location is anything but certain.

On the credit side one must mention the block of a certain *Pth-ms(w)*, who was 'Overseer of works on all monuments of the King', reported as reused in a Moslem tomb at Gîza by C. R. Lepsius.¹³ The unpublished lower part of a naophorous statue¹⁴ of the same man in the British Museum (no. 1119) shows that Ptaḥmose must be dated to the Ramesside Period (probably Dynasty XIX), but the provenance of the statue is Saqqâra (from Petrie photos. 531-2, at the Griffith Institute), and so the block was probably taken to Gîza to be reused. No other New Kingdom monuments found at Gîza seem to have come from tombs.

When all the facts are taken into account, the verdict on the existence of New Kingdom tombs at Gîza must be, at least for the time being, 'unproven'. There is no compelling reason why large decorated tombs (as opposed to simple graves) could not have been built in this general area, but no clear evidence has yet come forth. If a suggestion concerning the location of the tombs of Ptaḥmay and Kha'emwese is to be made without trying to cast doubts on the accuracy of Maspero's statement, it is that they were situated *outside* the area generally understood by the term 'Gîza Necropolis', perhaps closer to the modern village. This is also the solution preferred by C. M. Zivie, but unless at least some unambiguous evidence to this effect is produced, it cannot be fully accepted. A comparable lack of evidence for large New Kingdom tombs is apparent at Abû Rawâsh further north, and at the other traditional sites south of Gîza, Zâwiyet el-'Aryân,¹⁵ and Abûsîr, and also at Mît Rahîna. This leaves only Saqqâra as a New Kingdom necropolis of importance in the Memphite area.

2. A Saqqâra New Kingdom chapel of unusual interest.

The still very incomplete picture of the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqâra shows concentrations of mastaba-chapels in two areas: near the pyramid of Teti, and south of the causeway of Unis,

⁸ See n. 5 above.

⁹ D. Dunham, *JEA* 21 (1935), 148-9 pl. 17[2].

¹⁰ Accepting this reasoning: W. K. Simpson, *Boston Mus. Bull.* 70 (1972), numbered 71 (1973) in error, 79, 82 n. 31. Now included in *PM* III², 572-3.

¹¹ Both now published by C. M. Zivie, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 285-310 with pls. 51-6, and 76 (1976), 17-36 with pls. 7-13, adding further reliefs to those listed in *PM* III², 303-4.

¹² *Guide du visiteur au Musée de Boulaq* (1883), 304, 427-9.

¹³ C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler, Text*, I, 126(8). In *PM* III², 310 still as 'probably Saite'.

¹⁴ Cf. *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)* (1909), 127 (450). I am grateful to W. V. Davies for information.

¹⁵ The fragment of a statue-base of *Pj-hm-ntr*, HPM, Boston 11.2428 (D. Dunham, *Zawiyet el-Aryan. The Cemeteries Adjacent to The Layer Pyramid*, 41 (x3) with fig. and pls. 29(c), cf. 29(b)), must be intrusive.

with isolated rock-cut tombs in between, e.g. those of the Amarna Vizier 'Aperia¹⁶ and of Ra'mose.¹⁷ It is, in fact, likely that a large conglomeration of New Kingdom tombs originally extended along most of the eastern edge of the North Saqqâra plateau.

The number of Memphite chapels where the plan can be established with reasonable certainty, and where also a fair portion of the original relief-decoration is still extant, can even now be counted on the fingers of one hand: Amenemone,¹⁸ Ipuia,¹⁹ Maya,²⁰ Patenemḥab,²¹ and the most recent addition, Ḥaremḥab.²² Isolated reliefs, often in considerable numbers, are attested from other tombs, but a reconstruction of their chapels is not yet possible. The plans of several other tomb-chapels are known,²³ but their decoration is almost completely lost, or extant reliefs cannot be assigned to them with certainty.

In the recent publication G. A. Gaballa concentrated his attention on unpublished figurative reliefs, since the beginning of this century in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, and the reconstruction of the plan of the chapel of *Ms*, a 'Scribe of the Treasury of the Temple of Ptah' (at Mît Rahîna), who lived in the reign of Ramesses II and had his tomb built north-east of the pyramid of Teti at Saqqâra.

The plan of Mose's tomb-chapel is of particular interest since, with the exception of the tomb of Ḥaremḥab, it is the most original known from Saqqâra at this period. In Gaballa's reconstruction all elements of the chapel are situated on the perimeter of a large open court. The main Cult-Chapel (I) is, quite contrary to expectation, situated asymmetrically in the north-west corner of the mastaba. A large room (II) containing a seated Osiris-statue flanked by reliefs showing Mose and wife Mutnofret in scenes illustrating texts from the Book of the Dead forms the centre of the west wall of the mastaba, while another two rooms (III and IV) occupy the south-west corner.

The main entrance was from the south. The lower part of a 'doorpost' with scenes 27-9 (Gaballa's pls. 36-7) assigned by Gaballa to this doorway, now in Cairo, can be completed (see fig. 1). Its upper part is recorded in B. Gunn's Notebook 6, no. 28 (at the Griffith Institute). It is of 'limestone', measures '48 by 36 by 22 cm', and its texts are 'incised on coat of pink plaster, most of which has now gone, leaving rough-dressed surface of stone'. Parts of the 'surface . . . scaled in some places' (all citations from Gunn's Notebook). The texts are reproduced here as found in Gunn's hand-copy, and fitted above the lower part of the 'doorpost' published by Gaballa. No attempt has been made to smooth over a slight misalignment of the two copies.

¹⁶ *PM* III², 562; now A.- P. Zivie, *BSFE* 84 (March 1979), 21-32.

¹⁷ *PM* III², 592, 'Tomb with Cow', probably Ramesside rather than of the Late Period as indicated in *PM*. W. M. F. Petrie (in Sayce MSS 22a, at the Griffith Institute) described it as follows: 'It has been all plastered over with mud, and it is only where this coat has fallen off that the inscriptions are visible: if properly cleaned a large amount might be copied. Its name is owing to a forepart of a huge Apis being sculptured standing out from the wall at right angles, beside the tomb well. The whole has been painted, mainly in blue and green, and is very exquisitely cut, though apparently very late.' According to Petrie, the hieroglyphs of the owner's titles translated in *PM* were: (1) , (2) , and (3) . A representation of the 'Western Goddess', comparable with that on block Gunn 30 in the chapel of Mose (pl. 48), is accompanied by a text which mentions  *dhnt* *nh-twy*, 'The Hill-Top of 'Ankh-tawy', the name of this area of the Saqqâra necropolis (H. De Meulenaere, *CdÉ* 35 (1960), 104-6; J. D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor*, 150-1). The toponym could have been used as an alternative name of the goddess(es) of the necropolis, as at Thebes (B. Bruyère, *Mert Seger à Deir el Médîneh*, 202-9; cf. also N. de Garis Davies, *A High Place at Thebes*, in *Mélanges Maspero*, 1, 246), or the goddess could have been regarded as its personification.

¹⁸ *PM* III², 552-3.

¹⁹ *PM* III², 555-6, with the plan modified according to K. A. Kitchen in *Festschrift Elmar Edel* (ed. M. Görg and E. Pusch) (1979), 283, fig. 1.

²⁰ *PM* III², 661-3.

²¹ *PM* III², 709-11.

²² *PM* III², 655-61; G. T. Martin, *JEA* 65 (1979), 13-16.

²³ For a general discussion see K. A. Kitchen, op. cit. 272-84. Another tomb, not mentioned by Kitchen, but fitting well into his scheme is that of Nekhtamûn (*PM* III², 571), but he would have had some problems with the plan of the later tomb of Ḥekma'etrê'neḥēḥ (*PM* III², 558).



FIG. 1. 'Doorpost' (pilaster) with scenes and texts 27 (= right), 28 (= middle), and 29 (= left). Lower part re-drawn from G. A. Gaballa, *The Memphite Tomb-Chapel of Mose*, pls. 36-7; upper part from Gunn Notebook 6, No. 28, courtesy Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

- (29) ¹Words spoken by Osiris, the Scribe of the Treasury of Ptaḥ, Mose, j. He says: ²'Greetings to you, Foremost of the Westerners. I have given you adoration so that you hear out (my) declaration: ³I am one truly correct. I have done what is^a right (in)^b Egypt'.
- (28) Your *ba* will live, your corpse will endure, you will behold Ḥarakhti, you will taste^c the breezes, you will breathe the north wind, you will live, you will not die, (o) Osiris^d, Scribe of the Treasury of Ptaḥ, Mose, j.
- (27) ¹Osiris, the Scribe of^e the Treasury of Ptaḥ, Mose, j. He says: 'You rise [every] day ²[from] your horizon, (your) rays truly shining. May you give a [long] lifetime ³[. . .] every day to Osiris, the Scribe of the God's offerings of the lords of Memphis, the Scribe of the Treasury of Ptaḥ, ⁴Mose, j. in peace.'

Notes:

^aUsually *m*.

^b(*m*) ^cOnly as a noun ('tongue') in *Wb* II, 320, however.

and ^e Ramesside writings; for the latter (*n*) see R. Anthes, *ZAS* 74 (1938), 109–13, and 77 (1941), 55–6.

Gaballa's reconstruction of the plan of Mose's tomb-chapel is ingenious but, in my opinion, does not take into account the following points:

1. The decoration of 'doorpost' (better: pilaster) 27–9 is a logical counterpart of scenes 23–5 (pls. 32–3) on another pilaster which in Gaballa's reconstruction adjoins large funeral-scene 26 and separates it from the remains of scene 22. It seems, therefore, likely that the two pilasters are companion-pieces. A comparison of their widths and thicknesses supports this view: 32 by 18 cm, and 36 by 22 cm (Gunn) or 19 cm (Gaballa) respectively. This, however, seriously affects Gaballa's reconstruction because pilaster 27–9 cannot be found a place in Room IV (the outer southern wall of Room III, i.e. the inner northern wall of Room IV, is complete and fully decorated). If the present position of pilaster 23–5 is retained, the only suitable location for its counterpart 27–9 is in Room II, but this in Gaballa's reconstruction again will not do because its interior northern wall (scene 8) is fully decorated. Pilaster 27–9, however, does not seem happily placed as a doorpost of the main entrance doorway at any rate: the adoration-of-the-rising-sun scene would, surely, be unusual for an outer jamb of the main doorway, and one wonders whether the Egyptians would not have found the deceased facing *west* (or south at best) in this scene somewhat improper.

2. Despite the fact that, with the notable exception of stelae, all main elements are present, the plan of Mose's chapel as reconstructed by Gaballa is very unusual in its internal arrangement. It is very difficult to see a reason for this unorthodoxy if all the space allowed for the chapel by Gaballa was available. The reason, in my opinion, must have been the exact opposite: a restricted space which forced the architect to adopt a less usual solution. This is not surprising since Mose must have been a relative newcomer to an already heavily built-over area: as far as one can judge, the majority of neighbouring mastabas are somewhat earlier.

3. It is not easy to see where some of the relief-fragments would fit into Gaballa's reconstructed plan, e.g. Gunn 30–2 (pl. 48).

4. On Loret's plan a wall runs westward in an apparent continuation of the southern wall of the Cult-Chapel (I), and shows two 'buttresses'. The distance between these corresponds to the depth of Rooms II–IV (though, admittedly, according to Loret's small-scale plan, the wall itself projects some 50 cm further west).

5. Finally, the proposed reconstruction of the large open court surrounded by unprotected reliefs is not entirely satisfactory. One of the reasons, and probably the main one, for the existence of pillars or columns in courts of New Kingdom mastabas was to afford protection to their decorated walls by creating roofed-over ambulatories. In Gaballa's reconstruction this does not happen.

My reconstruction, therefore, introduces the following emendations to Gaballa's plan (see fig. 2):

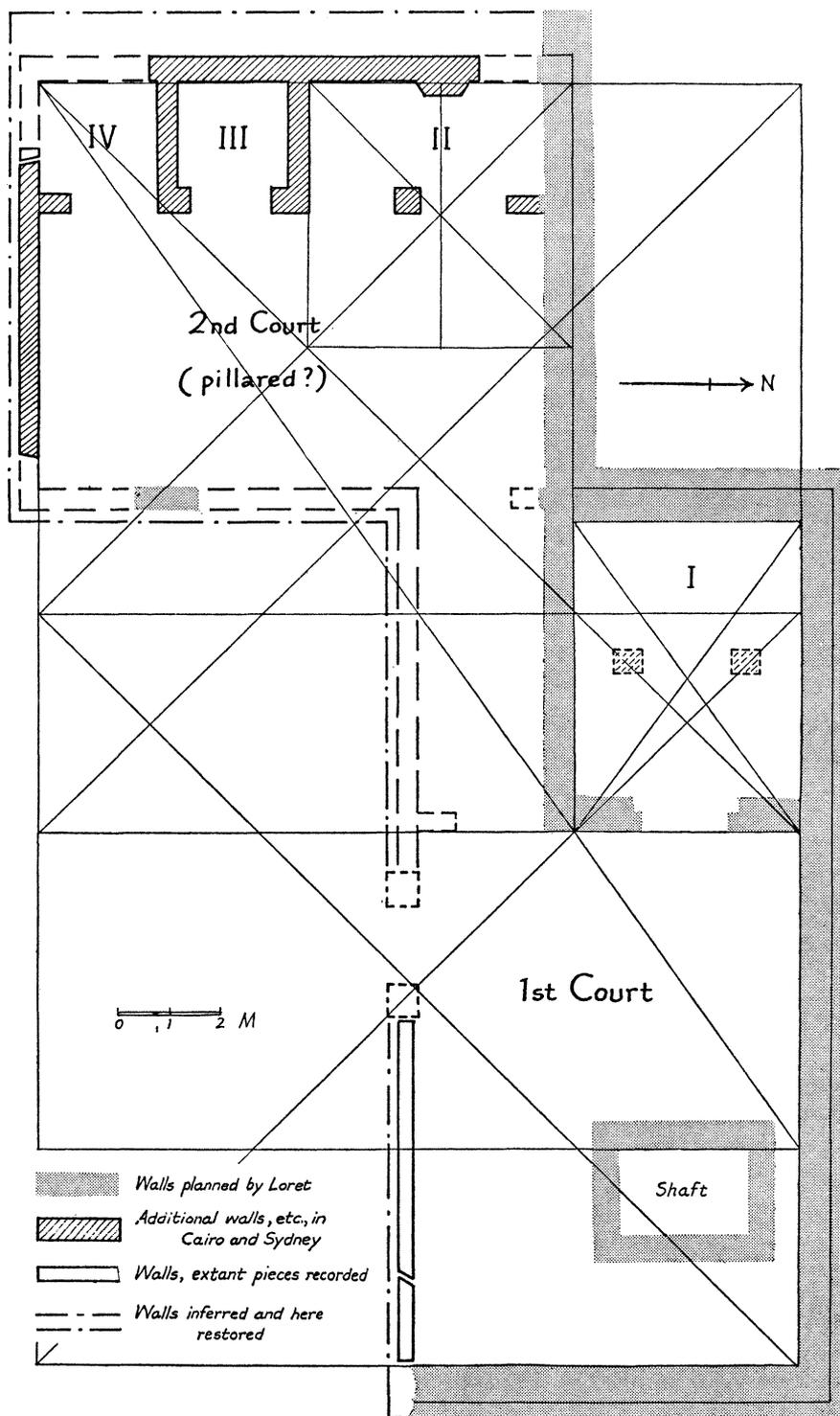


FIG. 2. Reconstruction of the plan of the tomb-chapel of Mose, using in parts the plan of G. A. Gaballa, *op. cit.* pl. 1

1. The 'Osiris-wall' complex (Rooms II–IV) has been moved further west and placed as indicated by the 'buttresses' on Loret's plan. The east–west length of the chapel has thus been considerably extended.

2. Pilaster 27–9 has been moved to the spot indicated by the second 'buttress' against the northern wall of the chapel on Loret's plan.

3. The northern interior wall of the room with the Osiris statue (II) provides an emplacement for Gunn's blocks 30–2 (pl. 48), which otherwise cause considerable embarrassment (p. 6). Pilaster 27–9 abutts against Gunn's block 32 where the latter shows a blank area.

4. The continuation of the southern interior wall with funeral-scene 26 is not certain. The remains of a wall south of Cult-Chapel I on Loret's plan, however, seem to indicate the position of the eastern wall of the Second Court which precedes chapels II–IV. This would almost certainly reduce the eastern interior wall of the First Court to about the length shown on Loret's plan.

It is apparent that in the plan corrected as proposed above the Cult-Chapel (I), the 'Osiris-complex' (II–IV), and the whole chapel of Mose are geometrically related. The basic principle of the design is one which was well known to ancient Egyptian architects:²⁴ the relationship of the side of a square to the hypotenuse ($a/a\sqrt{2}$). Since the Osiris statue was probably, according to the original plan, to be situated in the centre of the western wall of Room II, the outside width of Rooms III+IV would be identical with that of Room II if it were not for the fact that the northern wall of the latter was built *within* the square which underlies the plan of the west wing. This reduced the internal length of the western wall of Room II by some 30–40 cm, though apparently it did not affect the position of the statue,²⁵ and thus only *one* pillar (probably that in Cairo) was required to produce a uniform appearance of the façade of Rooms II–IV. The exact position of the eastern part of the southern wall of Mose's chapel, in which the main doorway was situated, is not certain. There was no reason for Room IV to contain a pillar; this, together with one from Gaballa's Room II (plus probably others, now lost), must be assigned to one of the courts, but their exact positioning does not seem possible.

The relationship of the measurements of various parts of the chapel can be expressed in mathematical terms. Thus, if module a = the length of the 'Osiris-complex' plus the thickness of the northern wall of Room II, the measurements of the Cult-Chapel are:

(A) the internal length+the thickness of the façade wall = $a(2 - \sqrt{2})$

(B) the internal width = $a(\sqrt{2} - 1)$,

and the over-all measurements of Mose's tomb-chapel are:

(C) the internal east–west dimension = $a(\sqrt{2} + 1)$,

(D) the maximum internal north–south dimension = $a\sqrt{2}$.

The only reasonably well-preserved measurement which can be ascertained from the remains of the chapel is (A): 2.85 m rounded up to 2.90 m plus 0.30 m for the thickness of the façade. The basic module a , calculated from the equation $A = a(2 - \sqrt{2})$, is then 5.46 m. The measurement intended was, no doubt, 10 Egyptian cubits (should be 5.23 m, the difference being due to ancient or modern measuring errors). On the assumption that $a = 10$ cubits = 5.23 m, the other dimensions are approximately as follows: (A) 3.06 m; (B) 2.17 m; (C) 12.62 m; (D) 7.40 m.

The visitor, therefore, entered from the south through a now-lost doorway. On his right, walls of the 1st Court carried reliefs and the all-important legal text. Turning left, the visitor faced the

²⁴ Implied, though not discussed: A. Badawy, *Ancient Egyptian Architectural Design*, 21–3, 29.

²⁵ Gaballa's text (p. 5), unfortunately, does not agree with his plan at this point: although he states that the total surviving length of the rear wall of Room II is 1.55 m, his plan suggests some 10–15 cm more.

façade of the Cult-Chapel (I) and the passage-shaped western extension of the First Court skirting it to the left through which one approached the Second Court, probably pillared, with a complex of small chapels against the western wall of the mastaba. Mose's tomb-chapel thus consisted of two parts: the east wing, with the First Court and Cult-Chapel, connected by a passage with the west wing containing the Second Court and rooms devoted to Mose's and Mutnofret's worship of gods. Despite the asymmetrically placed Cult-Chapel in the east wing, the statue of the enthroned Osiris (normally shown in the upper register of the centrally placed main stela) dominated the chapel. Although the lack of suitable space did not allow of constructing subsidiary chapels on either side of the 'Cult-Chapel', the mastaba meets all the requirements of the period. The nearly L-shaped rather than fully axial plan of Mose's chapel may seem surprising at first, but it is well known that Ramesside architects were prepared to be remarkably flexible when faced with problems of horizontal stratigraphy, e.g. in the case of the parallelogram-shaped plan of the Ramesseum or the L-shaped temple of Sethos I at Abydos.

The case of Mose's chapel demonstrates to what extent the extreme fragmentation and dispersal of Memphite New Kingdom reliefs hinders any prospective systematic study of the material. This unhappy state of affairs is the result of the long period during which the necropolis has been exploited (a Memphite New Kingdom relief,²⁶ brought from an as yet unidentified tomb at Saqqâra by the Revd. Robert Huntington, was already in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford some 300 years ago, in 1683, though it was catalogued only later as no. 1836.481). Sections of the decorated walls of Mose's chapel must have either been destroyed or, unrecognized, still await identification. The lower part of one of the blocks recorded by Gunn (no. 29, Gaballa's pl. 30a) was acquired by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1974 (no. 1974.315). I can quote one other important relief-fragment (present location unknown) from Mose's chapel which was not included in Gaballa's publication (see fig. 3):

Mose and wife Mutnofret, both with their arms raised (the wife holds an arched sistrum with serpent-shaped rods in her left hand), stand in adoration before a now lost deity. The text above the couple and before the wife, apart from giving their names and titles, asks the deity to grant 'coming forth from Ro-setau to behold Rĕ-Ḥarakhti', and the remains of a horizontal bandeau text above refer to 'august [gods?] of the necropolis'.

A left-hand side wall, i.e. probably southern, is required for this relief, and Room IV (scene 22, below the relief shown on pl. 34 right) seems the likeliest candidate.

It is to be regretted that Gaballa was not able to include photographs of the Sydney pillars. Admittedly, the pillars have seriously deteriorated²⁷ since their acquisition in 1862, and so it is improbable that a significantly better reading of some of the less-clear parts of their texts could now be obtained; nevertheless, the antiquated style of line-drawings used by Sir Charles Nicholson and



FIG. 3. Block from the tomb-chapel of Mose. Sunk relief, measurements and present location unknown. Drawn from a photograph.

²⁶ Shown on pl. 6 of the twenty-five plates without letterpress published by Alexander Gordon in 1737-9.

²⁷ The upper part of pillar II = Nicholson B, apparently, is not in the Nicholson Museum: see A. Nibbi, *GM* 27 (1978), 8.

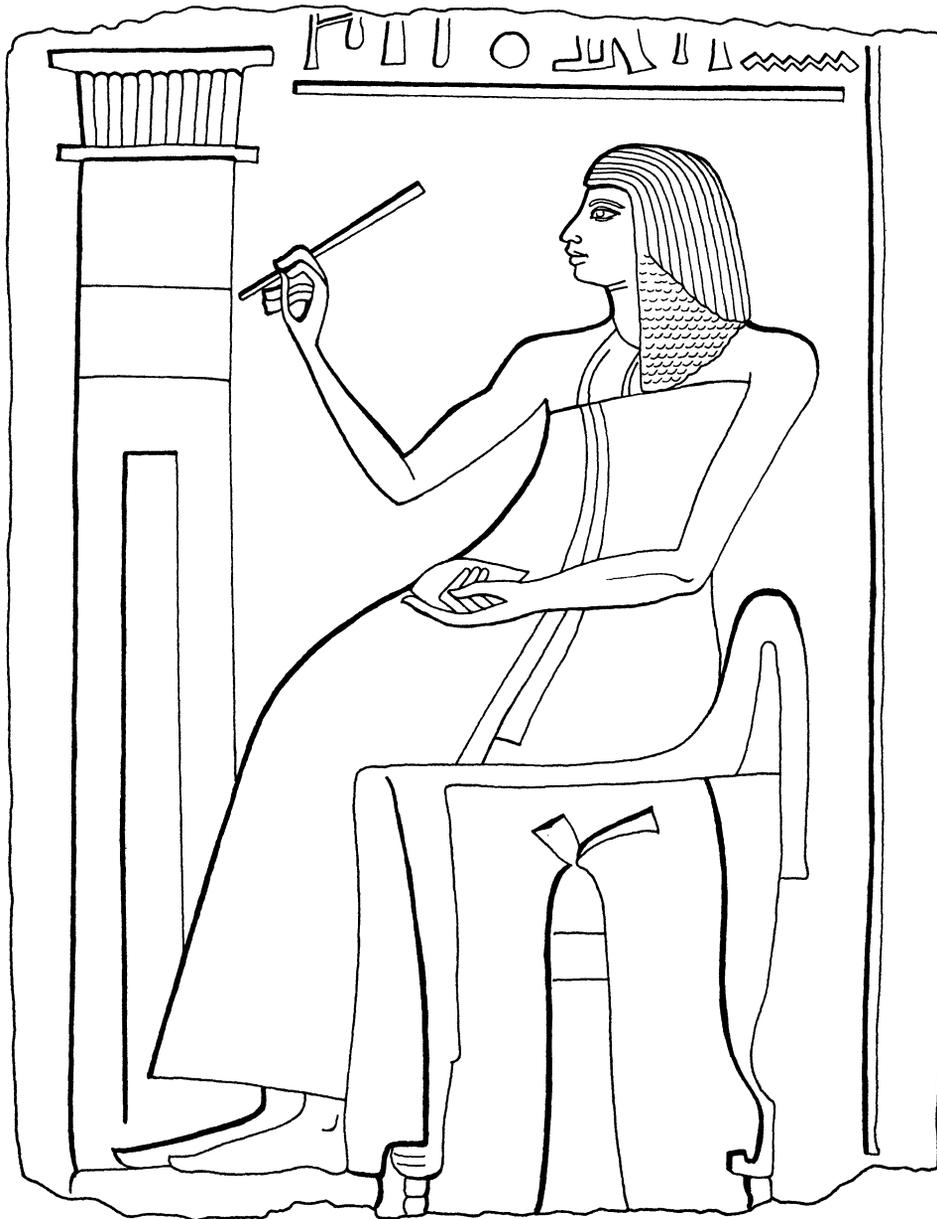


FIG. 4. Ramesside block, probably from a Memphite tomb, in the possession of Dr E. Rotellar, Barcelona. Sunk relief. Drawn from a photograph in an advertising leaflet (1978) of L'Ibis Gallery, New York

further adapted by the author is not satisfactory. Gaballa's pillar IV = Nicholson E/D illustrates the point well (see pl. XVII);²⁸ incidentally, the text behind the deceased on side 3 can now be read as [r]-gs tpy *dw*[.f], 'beside the One-upon-his-Mountain'.

²⁸ I want to thank Geoffrey T. Martin for allowing me to use his set of prints, and Professor Alexander Cambitoglou, Curator of the Nicholson Museum, Sydney, for permission to reproduce them here.

One other thing regarding the existing documentation of the tomb must be mentioned: four unpublished photographs, showing the legal text on the north wall, still *in situ*, and the north-east corner of the court, are among Gardiner's papers at the Griffith Institute (MSS 28.1084-7).

It ought perhaps to be pointed out that the controversial sketch-plan in Gunn MSS xx.11 (Gaballa's pl. 30b), certainly was not drawn by B. Gunn, as stated in Gaballa's notes 4 and 8 on p. 34, but, to judge from the handwriting of the accompanying notes, by C. M. Firth or J. E. Quibell. It is also interesting to note that parts of Mose's chapel already fell victim to that energetic 'explorer' of New Kingdom Saqqâra around the middle of the last century, Youssef Masarra.²⁹

The representation of Mose as a scribe on the northern part of the façade of the Cult-Chapel hardly reflects his status as employee of the Treasury of Ptah, as Gaballa suggests on p. 7, but more likely was a convention or fashion. An almost certainly Memphite relief of about the same date, recently with a dealer in New York³⁰ and now in the possession of Dr E. Rotellar in Barcelona,³¹ shows a seated man wearing the characteristic 'garment of vizier' engaged in the same activity (see pl. XVIII and fig. 4). The theme and location are curiously reminiscent of the depictions of the tomb-owner 'painting seasons' in two Saqqâra mastabas of the early Sixth Dynasty nearby, those of Mereruka³² and Khentika Ikhekhi.³³

²⁹ Sir Charles Nicholson, *Aegyptiaca*, etc. (1891), 95-6.

³⁰ Advertising leaflet (1978) of L'Ibis Gallery, in which the relief is said to measure 19 by 14½ in (48 by 37.5 cm). The relief does not seem to be earlier than the reign of Ramesses II. A colour slide which the present owner of the monument very kindly sent to me shows traces of red paint on the arms and the feet of the man, while remains of light brown persist on parts of the costume, the 'naos', the chair, and the papyrus-container(?) under the chair.

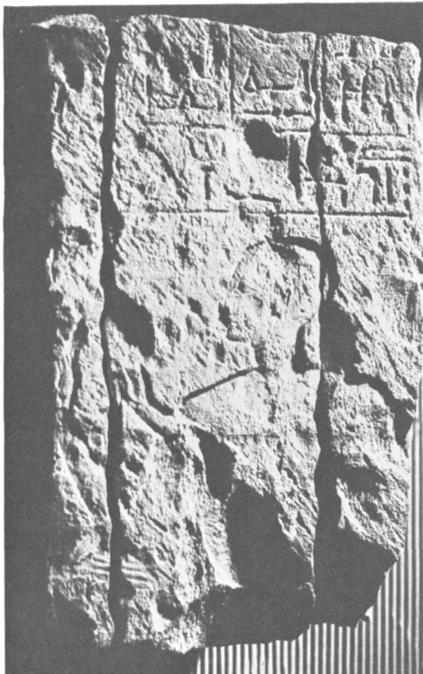
³¹ I am grateful to Dr E. Rotellar for information and a photograph of the relief, and for permission to use it here.

³² P. Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, 1, pls. 6, 7; cf. *PM* III², 526(10)(f).

³³ T. G. H. James and M. R. Apted, *The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi*, 20-1, 43 pl. 10; cf. *PM* III², 509(13).



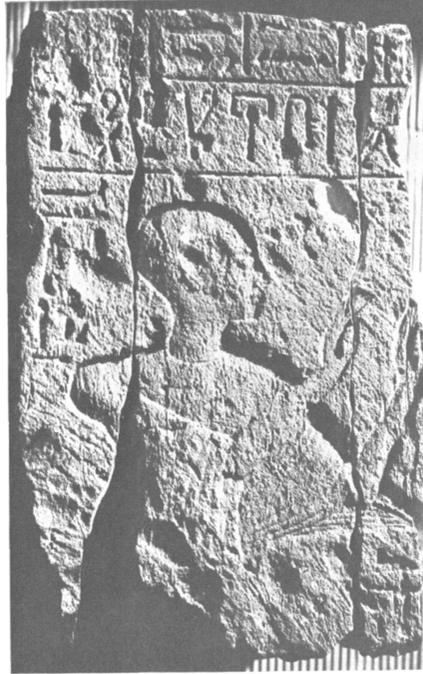
1



2



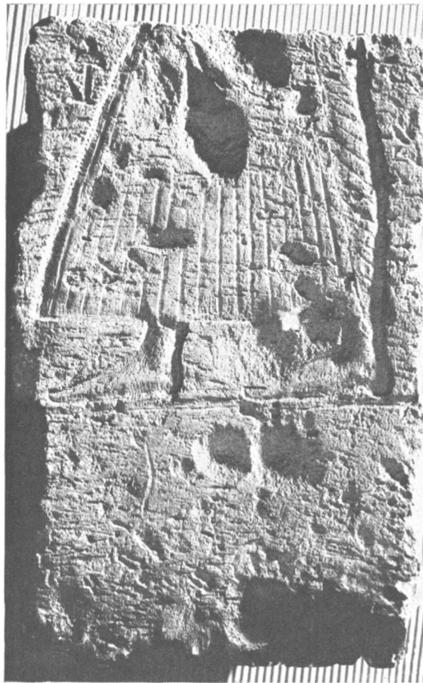
3



4



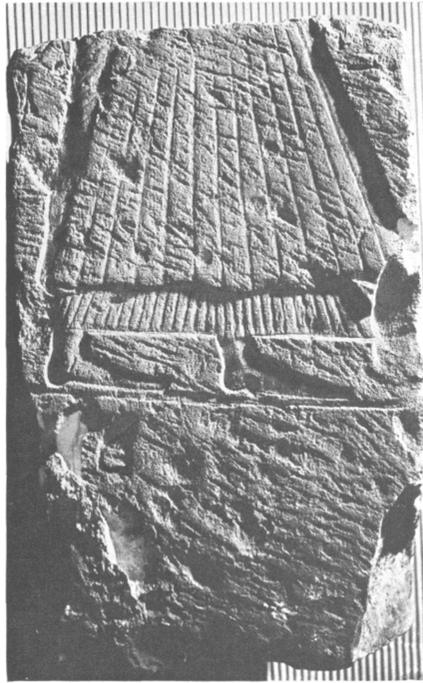
5



6

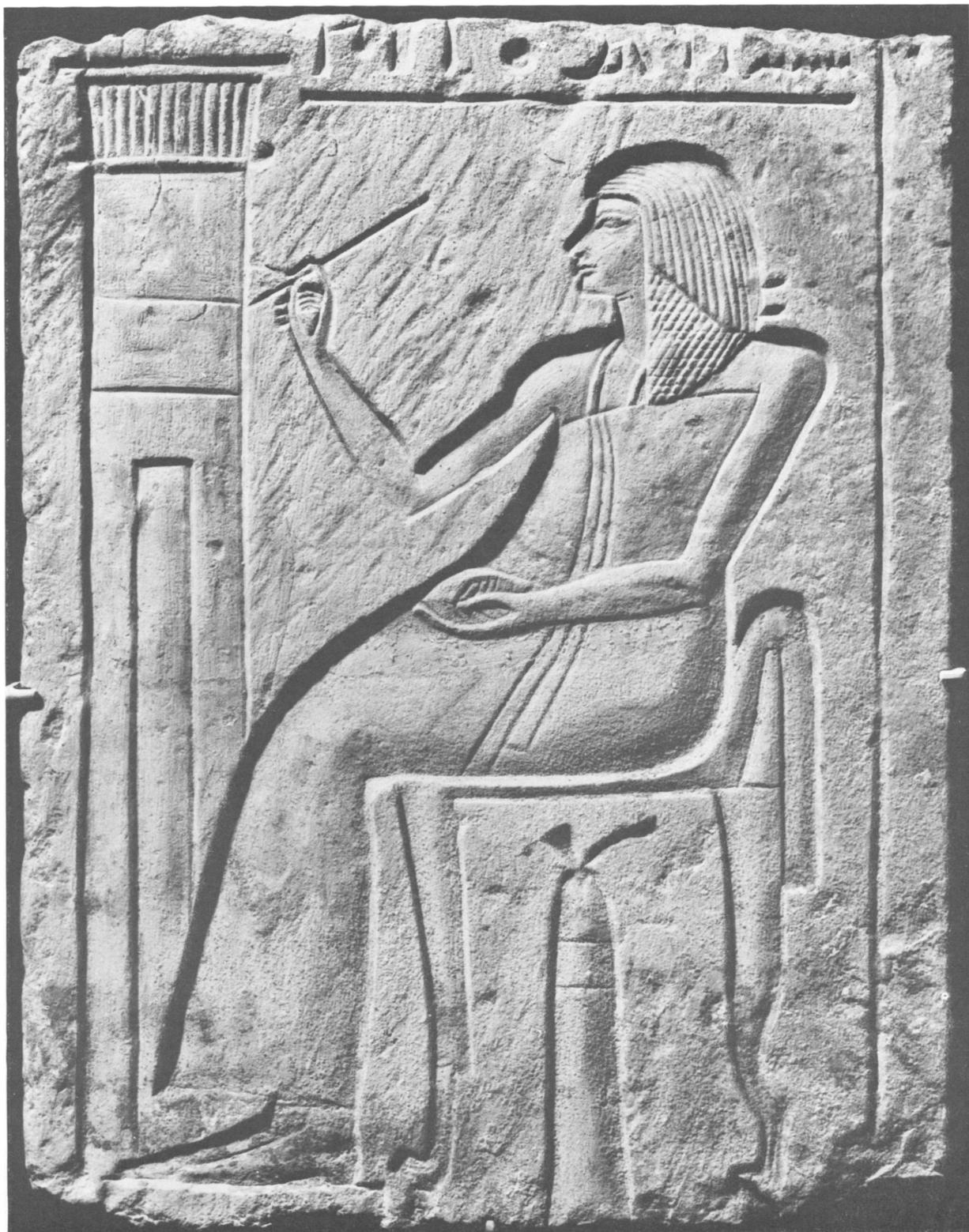


7



8

Courtesy Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney
Pillar (Gaballa IV = Nicholson E/D) from the tomb-chapel of Mose
NEW KINGDOM TOMBS IN THE MEMPHITE AREA



Courtesy Dr E. Rotellar

Ramesside relief, probably from a Memphite tomb, in the possession of Dr E. Rotellar, Barcelona

NEW KINGDOM TOMBS IN THE MEMPHITE AREA