Book of the Dead documents from the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara

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Egyptological research on the text and vignettes of the Book of the Dead has always given pride of place to the extant manuscripts on papyrus belonging to this important corpus of funerary literature. On the other hand, a systematic study of temple and tomb reliefs and paintings, stelae or other funerary objects inscribed with copies of these texts and illustrations has never been undertaken. For the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings we at least have a rough index of the spells occurring on their walls in the website of the Theban Mapping Project.¹ For the more than 400 private Theban tombs, M. Abdul-Qader Muhammed published a cursory list of Book of the Dead spells occurring on their walls, but it is not exhaustive and only includes material dating to the New Kingdom (1966, 251–59).² Nothing similar has ever been done for source material from other provenances, although of course the pages of the Topographical Bibliography can serve as a starting-point for such an enterprise (Porter and Moss 1960). As a result of this situation, studies on specific spells from the Book of the Dead are often unduly dominated by Theban examples. Since most funerary papyri also stem from Thebes, we should realise that our understanding of the Book of the Dead is largely based on the traditions of a single Egyptian city.

The contemporary Memphite material is largely unknown. The vast New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara was plundered at the beginning of the nineteenth century with the result that numerous decorated blocks, papyri and other funerary articles can now be found in museums all over the world. A study of this material is hampered because the exact provenance is unknown in most cases. Nevertheless, since 1975, several expeditions have been involved in the archaeological exploration of the New Kingdom cemeteries at Saqqara.³ Over the years, a considerable corpus of new texts and vignettes has come up from the desert sand. This material is found on the tomb-walls and stelae of the monuments belonging to the highest officials of Dynasties 18 and 19, and on various items of their burial equipment such as sarcophagi, shabtis, and other objects. Together with the objects in museums, these new finds constitute a substantial corpus, which provides an opportunity to study the Book of the Dead in its Memphite context. In the following, I would like to give a glimpse of this rich material. This will include some recent (and partly still unpublished) data from the work

² Porter and Moss give an even briefer list (1960, 472–73). A comparison between the two lists immediately shows that there are some contradictory references.
³ Apart from the EES/Leiden Expedition (since 1999 the Expedition of Leiden University and the Leiden Museum), missions working at Saqqara include the Mission Archéologique Française du Bubasteion (directed by A. P. Zivie), the Waseda University excavations (dir. S. Yoshimura and N. Kawai), the mission of Cairo University (dir. O. el-Aguizy), the Australian Centre for Egyptology Expedition (dir. N. Kanawati and B. Ockinga), and the Supreme Council for Antiquities research (dir. Z. Hawass) carried out in the Teti Pyramid area. In view of the fact that there are no more than preliminary publications of most of this research, the following study will rely mainly on the work of the (EES/)Leiden Expedition.
carried out to the south of the Unas causeway by the Leiden expedition.

The Fields of Iaru (BD 110)

Abdul-Qader Muhammed already drew attention to the fact that illustrations of Book of the Dead spell 110 belong to the most popular vignettes found on Theban private tomb walls (1966, 253 sub III, erroneously identified as BD 15). All ten copies he identified derive from Dynasties 19 and 20 and, accordingly, he concluded that this vignette is to be found only in Ramesside tombs. This proves to be incorrect when one compares his list of scenes of the Fields of Iaru with the one published by Porter and Moss (1960, 473 sub d) six years before Muhammed’s book came out. The latter contains eighteen New Kingdom specimens, plus one dating to the Late Period. No less than five of these BD 110 vignettes derive from Dynasty 18 tombs, which vary in date between the reigns of Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III. In J. S. Gesellensetter’s dissertation, twenty examples from Theban tombs are listed, six of which date to Dynasty 18 (1997, 230–40). In the Valley of the Kings, this spell only occurs in the tombs of Ramesses II (KV 7) and Ramesses III (KV 11).

In view of this confusing and contradictory evidence, it is useful to compare it to the picture presented by finds from the Memphite necropolis, where BD 110 was likewise popular for the decoration of New Kingdom tombs. A well-known copy occurred in the tomb of the general Horemheb. One block depicting this scene has been in the Bologna Museum since 1860 (inv. KS 1885), and in 1976 the Anglo-Dutch expedition found an adjacent block and some fragments (Martin 1989, 123–24 and pls. 136–37, scene 117; here Fig. 1). They show the Fields of Iaru in six registers separated by canals. The topmost register depicts the tomb-owner facing two attendants, one censing and the other presenting two staves. In the second register, Horemheb salutes a mumiform genius, with three oval lakes or ponds represented behind the latter. Register three shows Horemheb offering to three mumiform deities with ponds behind, whereas the harvest of cereal is represented to the right. In the fourth register, Horemheb is represented four times: seated behind an offering table on the left, worshipping the phoenix, standing grasping his sceptres, and, on the far right, encouraging oxen on the threshing-floor. Register number five contains two virtually identical scenes of the deceased ploughing the fields, whereas the lower register shows more lakes and a serpent-headed bark, together with a scene of the flax harvest and another figure of the deceased behind an offering table. Both the order of the agricultural duties and a comparison with the text of this spell strongly suggest that the vignette has to be read from bottom to top, as was recently suggested (Heerma van Voss 2006).

J. Capart was the first person to stress how unusual the layout of Horemheb’s vignette is in comparison with other contemporary depictions of this spell (1921, 34 and pl. 5). So far, six other Memphite tombs of the period were known to have possessed a copy of this vignette as part of their wall decoration. The vignette is found among the reliefs from the monuments of

See Porter and Moss 1960 entries for the following Theban Tombs and the relevant walls numbers, TT 57 (21)–(22), TT 120 (5), TT 353 (4), TT B.2, TT C.4.
Paatenemheb,6 Amenemone,7 Iuty,8 Mose,8 and Kyiry,9 on a puzzling Frankfurt fragment which is generally no longer regarded as part of Horemheb’s composition.10 The copies belonging to Amenemone and Kyiry and the Frankfurt fragment are incomplete, but, on the other three monuments, the vignette is laid out in no more than three registers, a feature also typical in Thebes. Thus Horemheb’s vignette with its six registers is a marked exception and so far unique.

Fortunately we can now add a new example from the royal butler Ptahemwia’s tomb, which was found by the Leiden expedition in 2007 (Fig. 2).11 Ptahemwia’s copy is clearly unfinished and part of the decoration has only been applied in red ink or in lightly scratched outlines. Nevertheless, it is immediately recognizable as a close copy of Horemheb’s composition of the scene. The remaining lower half of the wall still has three registers that show the same scenes as those of Horemheb’s copy, suggesting that the lost top of the wall would have presented three more registers with a number of essential scenes now clearly missing. Moreover, the two vignettes share unusual scenes, such as the depictions of threshing (which is not part of the normal repertoire) and the flax harvest. The latter does not occur on other Dynasty 18 vignettes, although it became more usual in the Ramesside Period (Gesellensetter 1997, 201–202). The presence of auxiliary workers in Horemheb’s and Ptahemwia’s harvest scenes is remarkable because they are not appropriate in the context of the Fields of Iaru where the deceased had to perform the agricultural work himself. Their inclusion—and the presence of the flax scene itself, which is not mentioned in the text of spell 110—probably betrays the influence of agricultural scenes from Old Kingdom mastabas and can be regarded as a typical Memphite characteristic,12 which was later adopted in Third Intermediate Period vignettes from Thebes.13 Another rare scene in Ptahemwia’s vignette depicts a person with a hoe, probably the tomb-owner himself rather than his wife; only a single parallel exists from the papyrus of Anhai (Gesellensetter 1997, 205).

For the sake of completeness, I include yet another fragmentary version of the BD 110 vignette, which was found in 2002 on a loose block near the tomb of Meryneith (Raven, Van Walsem, et al. 2010, scene 137; here Fig. 3). The relief merely shows part of the bark and the squatting gods from the bottom register of the vignette. The raised relief technique seems to date this fragment to Dynasty 18.

In view of the lacunary state and loss of archaeological context of most scenes, it is difficult to identify a pattern according to which the Iaru scenes would have been placed in

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5 Now Leiden inv. AMT 1-35. See Boeser 1911, 4 and pl. 12.
6 Cairo T 17/6/25/1 f. See Ockinga 2004, 58–59 and pls. 15b and 62b, scene 7B.
7 Florence 2605. See Berendse 1882, 98–99; Schiaparelli 1887, 333–37 with fig. on p. 334. This block is not mentioned in Porter and Moss; the owner is identical to that of the seated statue Leiden AST 10.
8 Cairo T 17.6.25.5. See Gaballa 1977, 11–12 and pls. 21–22.
9 Cairo T 17.6.24.8. See Quibell 1912, 145 and pl. 76.9; Grajetzki 2003, 121 sub b.
10 Frankfurt, Liebieghaus Inv. 270. See Martin 1989, 125–26 and pl. 135, scene 120; Gessler-Löhr 1993.
11 See Raven, Van Walsem, et al. 2007, 23. An initial analysis of this vignette was made by Mila Álvarez Sosa (University of La Laguna), whom I wish to thank for her help.
12 Cf. the tomb of Mose; Gaballa 1977, pl. 21.
13 Cf. the papyrus of Táiuheryt (Leiden AMS 40); Heerma van Voss 1971, pl. 11.
the original tombs. Nothing can be said of the specimens belonging to Kyiry and Iuty. The vignette of Horemheb has been attributed to the west wall of the central chapel (Martin 1989, 123; Van Siclen 1990, 199–203, figs. 1 and 5, scene G), but a more probable place would be the north wall of the antechapel. Paatenemheb’s scene occurs on the south half of the east wall of his central chapel, while Amenemone had his scene on the exterior (east) face of the northern screen-wall separating the inner sanctuary and antechapel. Mose’s scene probably comes from the south wall of the central chapel, and Ptahemwia’s version graced the east end of the north wall of the peristyle courtyard. One thing is certain: representations of BD 110 were a regular motif of Dynasty 18 and 19 tomb decoration also at Memphis. Further, the Horemheb/Ptahemwia variant introduced new iconographical elements into the repertoire.

The judgement scene (BD 125)

Spell 125 of the Book of the Dead, the famous judgement scene involving the weighing of the heart of the deceased, was another favourite theme in the decoration of New Kingdom tombs. Abdul-Qader Muhammed identified thirty Theban private tombs depicting this scene (1966, 251). C. Seeber, in her study devoted to the concomitant vignette, lists no less than 48 New Kingdom Theban tombs, as well as seven others from Saqqara, Asyut, Abydos, Aswan, Aniba, and Dehmit (Seeber 1976, 202–203, 205–209). Her single example from Saqqara belongs to the tomb of the Ramesside steward Horemheb (to be distinguished from his namesake, the Dynasty 18 general and later pharaoh; Quibell 1912, 144 and pl. 72.2). It shows a squatting god (either Horus or Anubis) performing the act of weighing with Thoth supervising on the left and the Heart-Eater squatting below. Five additional Memphite texts and representations of Book of the Dead spell 125 can be found on blocks in various museum collections. The first is a relief, possibly from the tomb of Pahemnetjer and now in Stockholm, bearing parts of the text of this spell. Another partial text copy occurs on a block from the tomb of the goldsmith Amenemone. The other three concern characteristic representations of the vignette of spell 125. A scene from the tomb of Mose adheres to the Dynasty 18 type depicting the weighing without separate introduction or ushering scenes. Another fragment, from an unknown tomb and now in Boston, depicts

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14 Grajetzki 2003, 121: position unknown.
15 In the first place, a representation of the Fields of Iaru would be very strange on a chapel’s west wall, where one would expect a stela with ordinary offering scenes. Second, the presence of an unworked strip along the lateral edges of the Iaru scene betrays the presence of cross-walls, which would not make sense on the west wall (since the width of the Iaru scene is less than that of Horemheb’s west wall); however, such walls could be identical to the northern screen-wall and the chapel’s entrance wall if the scene was placed on the north wall of the antechapel. Third, the east face of Horemheb’s north screen-wall (Martin’s blocks 121–122 and Van Siclen’s scenes D and K) shows part of three boats perhaps connected with the Iaru scenes; it is just possible that the Frankfurt block was part of this wall.
16 Types A 2 or B of Seeber 1976, 32–35.
17 Medelhavsmuseet NME 38, MM 32011. See Martin 1987, 25 and pl. 20 (no. 56).
19 Cairo T 17.6.25.5. See Gaballa 1977, 14–15 and pl. 29, scene 20.
the tomb-owner behind the scales and, after having passed the judgement, he is ushered in to Osiris by the god Thoth. This ushering scene clearly betrays a Ramesside date for this fragment (Seeber 1976, 35). The third judgment scene now in Bologna comes from the tomb of Hormin, director of the harim of Seti I. Its depiction of Anubis holding the scales is likewise typically Ramesside. Yet, the representation of the deceased with one hand raised and the other holding his heart is otherwise known only from Dynasty 21 onwards (Seeber 1976, 39–44).

To these six Memphite texts and representations can be added three more from our recent fieldwork in the necropolis of Saqqara. A Ramesside relief slab, found to the east of the tomb of Pay in 1994, shows Horus wielding the scales and Thoth reporting the result to the enthroned Osiris. Another Ramesside block found to the south of the tomb of Horemheb in 1999 depicts a row of squatting deities with feathers on their heads and knees, doubtless the tribunal of the judgement scene (Fig. 4). Finally, an inscribed block found to the south of the tomb of Meryneith in 2003 contains an invocation in three columns to the judges nos. 40–42, who are represented at the bottom of the columns, likewise with feathers on their heads (Fig. 5).

Clearly, representations of BD 125 were a lot more common in the Memphite necropolis than has been hitherto assumed. The specimen from the tomb of Hormin, with its early occurrence of the gesture of vindication and of the deceased holding his own heart, indicates how influential the iconographical innovations of the Memphite area may have been for the later development of the Book of the Dead.

Other spells and vignettes

This investigation of two of the most important spells from the Book of the Dead has already shown the usefulness of comparing the Memphite texts and representations with those stemming from the Theban tradition. I shall now briefly cite the occurrences of other spells in the material from Saqqara, listing them in the conventional order given to the spells since the time of Lepsius. Of course, this does not reflect the relative importance of the various texts and vignettes in the corpus as a whole.

Excerpts from BD 2 occur on a stela fragment of Tjuneroy (now Cairo JE 18924), the texts of which were published by K. Piehl (1886, pl. 78; 1888, 67).

I shall not mention here the numerous copies of BD 6 occurring on shabtis, which of course are regular finds in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara. One should realise that several of these objects date in fact to the Late Period, so we can illustrate quite a substantial part of the chronological development of the shabti text with our finds. There is even a copy of the rare Amenhotep III text on a shabti fragment inscribed for Pay.24

20 Boston Museum of Fine Arts 11.1532. See Martin 1987, 38 and pl. 35, no. 94; cf. also n. 68b on p. 47.
22 Raven et al. 2005, 49–50 and pls. 80–81, scene 86. For the type of representation, cf. Seeber 1976, 37 (B 5).
24 Raven et al. 2005, 85 and pls. 95 and 102, Cat. 141. For a joining fragment completing the text, which was found during the season 2009, see Raven, Hays, et al. 2010, 16–17, fig. 13.
Part of the text of BD 8 was also used on the above-mentioned stela fragment of Tjuneroy now in Cairo (Piehl 1886, pls. 77–78; Piehl 1888, 67).

The various solar hymns, commonly known as BD 15, were a very popular genre often copied on funerary stelae, pyramidia, and tomb walls. Assmann has argued persuasively against referring to the New Kingdom hymns occurring on tomb walls or in the papyri of the period as copies of BD 15 because they are all variations on a theme that only received codification with the Saitic recension of the Book of the Dead (1983, xxxv sub 2). Good examples are presented by stelae from the tombs of Horemheb,25 Iniui,26 and Pay,27 by a pyramidion from the tomb of Amenemone,28 and by reliefs from the tombs of Pay (Raven et al. 2005, 35 and pls. 50–51, scene 48) and Meritpah (Assmann 1975, 212, no. 90; Raven 1996, 55, no. 20). On the other hand, the concomitant vignette, usually referred to as BD 16, is only found on a single lintel from Saqqara.29 J. Van Dijk has proposed that the typical Memphite djed pillars be understood as three-dimensional versions of this vignette, and indeed clauses from the hymns occasionally appear on their shafts (Van Dijk 1993, 167).

Over the years, the EES/Leiden excavations at Saqqara have produced several minute scraps of papyri attesting to the presence of funerary manuscripts in the necropolis. G. Lapp identified one fragment giving the text of BD 17 (Lapp 2006, xxiv (pSq1); cf. ibid. 238–43 with Raven 2001, 56 and pl. 39, Cat. 315).

A loose block found in 2002 in the forecourt of the tomb of Meryneith has been inscribed with the text of BD 21 (Raven, Van Walsem, et al. forthcoming, scene 150; here Fig. 6).

Several copies of spell BD 30B have been found on heart scarabs from the site. One of these scarabs was retrieved from a subsidiary shaft in the tomb of Horemheb (Schneider 1996, 36 and pls. 21 and 68, Cat. 196), another was found in a pit burial against Horemheb’s south wall (Raven, Van Walsem, et al. 2010, Cat. 73b), and a third was found in the tomb of Maya (Raven 2001, 29 and pls. 15 and 33, Cat. 71).

Some vignettes of the spells for repelling evil animals (BD 31–32, 39–40) occur on a relief from the tomb of Hormin (Cairo JE 8374).30 The tomb of the army scribe Huy, found near the Teti pyramid, likewise contained a scene with the text and vignette of BD 32 (Wenig 1974, 241–42 and pl. 32c). A fragment of the text of spell BD 38B was found on a fragment of papyrus discovered in the tomb of Horemheb (Schneider 1996, 9 and pls. 1 and 47, Cat. 2).

Several vignettes on New Kingdom tomb-walls from Saqqara have been connected with BD 58–59. They depict the deceased receiving sustenance from the tree-goddess, as mentioned in the latter spell. A relief from the tomb of Amenemone, however, shows a mixture of palm and sycamore trees and thereby seems to include the former spell, often illustrated by a vignette showing the deceased drinking from a pool under a date palm.31

26 Cairo JE 10079. See Schneider forthcoming, scene 7.
27 One of his stelae is now in Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 7270. See Raven et al. 2005, 24, 42–46, and pls. 18–19, 72–77, stela 6, 70 and 71. A new fragment of stela 70 was found during the season 2009; see Raven, Hays, et al. 2010, 14–16, fig. 12.
29 Martin 1987, 20 and pl. 12, no. 40 (found near the Unas valley temple, now in a SCA magazine at Saqqara).
30 Werbrouck 1938, pl. 35. For the captions, see Kitchen 1975, 316.
31 Munich GI 98. See Ockinga 2004, 63–65 and pls. 13, 14b and 61, scene 6B.
Similar scenes occur on blocks from the tombs of Kyiry, Hormin, Saiempetref, Sakah, Ptahemheb and Amenemheb, and Nyiay.

Part of the text of BD 74 occurs on the above-mentioned stela fragment of Tjuneroy again (Piehl 1886, pl. 77; Piehl 1888, 67).

A vignette of BD 100 (or BD 129) is located on the south wall of the gold-washer Khay’s chapel, found in 1986 (Martin, 2001, 14 and pls. 5 and 54, scene 5). The two barks of the vignette were depicted side by side unlike another Memphite copy occurring in the tomb of Hormin and where they occupy two different registers. A minute fragment bearing text from this spell was found to the west of Horemheb’s tomb in 1981 (Martin 2001, 14 n. 7, reg. no. 81:159). The first clause of the text is quoted on the sarcophagus of Iniuia and on a stela from the tomb of Pay.

Part of the text of BD 137A/151A occurs on a djed amulet found in the tomb-chambers of Maya, one of the four protective images set up on the magic bricks (Raven 2001, 48 and pls. 21, 38 and A, Cat. 240). Other portions of this spell were inscribed on the sarcophagi of Tia and Raia (Raven et al. 2005, 63–64 and pls. 83–91), and on a coffin found in a pit burial south of the tomb of Horemheb (Raven, Van Walsem, et al. 2010, Cat. 14).

Lists of the divine names derived from BD 141–142 were found by J. E. Quibell on a number of blocks from the chapel of a Late Period official Nesthoth (Quibell 1912, 143 and pl. 63). An additional block from this chapel came up in the area of the Leiden concession in 2005 (Raven, Van Walsem, et al. 2010, scene 62).

According to Abdul-Qader Muhammed (1966, 252–53), representations of the gatekeepers of the hereafter are another favourite of Theban tombs. He mentions no less than 34 instances of this motif, which is derived from BD 146–147 (cf. also Barthelmeß 1992, 175–81). A vignette of two gate-keepers and part of the concomitant text is represented on a block from the tomb of a treasurer Ypu. More gate-keepers occur on three blocks from the tomb of an unknown steward found by Quibell in the Monastery of Apa Jeremias (Quibell 1912, pl. 77.1–2).

Abdul-Qader Muhammed (1966, 254–55) identifies four instances of the occurrence of BD 148 in Theban tombs. At Saqqara this spell was also a favourite. Copies have been

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32 Cairo T.1.7.24.10. See Quibell 1912, 144–45 and pls. 69.3 and 76.7; Grajetzki 2003, 121 sub c.
33 Cairo 1.7.24.6. See Kitchen 1975, 319 sub J.
34 Cairo JE 52542. See Wallert 1962, 136 and pl. 12.
37 Hannover 2933 and Berlin 7322. For convenient references, see Ockinga 2004, 63–64 with nn. 124 and 128–30.
38 Cairo JE 8374. See Werbrouck 1938, pl. 35.
39 Louvre D 2. See Schneider forthcoming, Chapter IV.1, Text 12.
40 Berlin 7271. See Raven et al. 2005, 23 with n. 4 and pls. 17–18 (scene 5, line 13).
41 Martin 1997, 66–67 and pls. 103 and 170–71, Cat. 6; more fragments found in 2004, see Raven, Van Walsem, et al. 2010, Cat. 290.
42 Brooklyn 37.1478E. See Martin 1987, 20 and pls. 14 and 45, no. 41.
recorded from the tomb-walls of Tia (Martin 1997, 31 and pl. 47, scene 83), Kyiry, and Mose, and on a loose block found by the Leiden expedition in 2002 (Fig. 7). Excerpts from the text of this spell have also been found on the edge-band of a rectangular wooden sarcophagus or shrine belonging to Tia (Raven, Van Walsem, et al. 2010, Cat. 291).

The same enigmatic object also bore several texts and representations from BD 161, as did the accompanying stone sarcophagus of Tia (Raven, Van Walsem, et al. 2010, Cat. 290–91; cf. Martin 1997, 66–67 and pls. 103 and 170–71, Cat. 6). In fact, these representations of the god Thoth opening the four corners of the sky became a favourite vignette often applied on the four corners of New Kingdom coffins and sarcophagi. At Saqqara it occurs on several similar items found by the EES/Leiden Expedition (Martin 2001, 40 and pls. 30 and 77, Cat. 24; Raven et al. 2005, 64 and pls. 87 and 89; Raven, Van Walsem, et al. 2010, Cat. 14; Schneider forthcoming, Chapter IV.1).

A rare text is that of BD 180. Only one instance has been recorded from Saqqara, on a reused block found in the tomb of Tia (Martin 1997, 41 and pl. 73, scene 184).

Equally unusual is the text of BD 182. We know of two copies: one on a block now in the library at Linköping (Martin 1987, 40 and pl. 39, no. 104), and the other by sheer coincidence likewise in Sweden. The latter is from the tomb of the Memphite high-priest Pahemnetjer and its text copy continues with part of BD 183.

The title of BD 187 occurs on a block from the tomb of the army scribe Huy, now in Berlin. The text following the title, however, does not conform to the expected spell.

Conclusions

This overview may serve to prove my point that a proper study of all Book of the Dead documents from a Memphite context would be very useful. Of course, there are Memphite papyri among the manuscripts used as source material for a study of the Book of the Dead, but compared with the Theban documents they represent a distinct minority, probably because their chances of preservation in the shallow sands of the Saqqara desert were not as good. An alternative corpus of material preserved on stone—consisting of tomb reliefs, stelae and other funerary objects—has suffered from the action of tomb-robbers and art dealers and is now distributed all over the world. As a result, modern research has concentrated on the more easily accessible evidence from the Theban tombs.

Thus, in Book of the Dead studies there is an undue emphasis on Theban material. I hope to have demonstrated that the Memphite texts and representations deserve our attention because some of the innovations hitherto attributed to the Ramesside dynasties or the

43 Cairo JE 43275. See Quibell 1912, 77.4–6; Grajetzki 2003, 116–18, scene 3.
44 Cairo T 17.6.25.5. See Gaballa 1977, 10–11 and pls. 19–20, scene 9.
45 Excavation number 2002-R77; the block was found reused in a Late Period tomb-chamber to the south of the tomb of Meryneith.
46 Stockholm MM 32013. See Peterson 1969, 6–8 with fig. 3.
47 Berlin 2087. See Martin 1987, 10 and pl. 4, no. 10.
48 An example is the papyrus of the scribe of the offering table of the Lord of the Two Lands, Ra (Leiden cat. T 5), which is said to be from Memphis in the Anastasi Sales List. Cf. Raven 1996, 48–50, no. 17.
Third Intermediate Period were in fact already present in Dynasty 18 tombs such as that of Horemheb at Saqqara. Likewise, the occurrence of unusual spells or variations in the Memphite tombs should be studied in the context of contemporary society in the Egyptian capital, where the presence of the high-priests of Ptah and the proximity of the sun-temple at Heliopolis may have resulted in a shift of focus when compared with the Theban milieu dominated by the priests of Amun. It can only be hoped that the ongoing excavations at Saqqara, as well as speedy publication of the recently excavated material, will provide more documents of this kind.

Bibliography


http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/online_journals/bmsaes/issue_15/raven.aspx
NEW KINGDOM SAQQARA

Fig. 1: BD 110 as represented in the tomb of Horemheb at Saqqara (from Martin 1989, pl. 137, scene 117).
Fig. 2: BD 110 as represented in the tomb of Ptahemwia at Saqqara (drawing: D. Schulz).
Fig. 3: BD 110 on a loose block from Saqqara (Raven, Van Walsem, et al. forthcoming, scene 137).
Fig. 4: Judges from BD 125 on a loose block from Saqqara (Raven, Van Walsem, et al. 2010, scene 59).

Fig. 5: Names of judges from BD 125 on a loose block from Saqqara (Raven, Van Walsem, et al. forthcoming, scene 157).
Fig. 6: BD 21 on a loose block from Saqqara (Raven, Van Walsem, et al. forthcoming, scene 150).

Fig. 7: BD 148 on a loose block from Saqqara (excavation number 2002-R77).