

# NEWS FROM PARAHOTEP: THE SMALL FINDS FROM HIS TOMB AT SEDMENT REDISCOVERED\*

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In 1920/21, a team led by W. M. F. Petrie worked in the vast cemeteries of Sedment in Middle Egypt. Among the tombs discovered, tomb 201 is outstanding in size and can be compared to contemporary elite tombs at Saqqara. The complex contained the burial of the Ramesside vizier (Pa-)Rahotep. Although the vizier and his family relations have been the subject of various discussions, the small finds from his tomb, today kept at Chicago's Oriental Institute Museum, were never taken into account. This article presents the results of a re-examination of all known finds from the tomb, including the architectural elements. It focuses, however, on evidence of the people presumably buried in the tomb, as derived from the small finds. Of particular significance are two shabtis of a high priest of Osiris named Tjay. As Tjay was most probably not buried in tomb 201, the presence of these two figures points to new interpretations of the meaning of shabtis and the use of shabtis by a group of high-ranking officials in Ramesside Egypt.

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## مكتشفات حديثة معاد استكشافها من مقبرة با رع حوتب بسدمنت

قاد فلنדרز بترى فريقا للعمل في الجبانات الشاسعة بمنطقة سدمنت بمصر الوسطى خلال عام 1920 و1921. وكشف عن مقابر منها المقبرة رقم 201 و التي تتميز بكبر حجمها و يمكن مقارنتها بمقابر النخبة بسقارة. تتضمن المجموعة مكان دفن وزير الرعامسة با رع حوتب. رغم أن الوزير وعلاقته العائلته كانت مثار مناقشات عديدة، فإن المكتشفات الصغيرة من مقبرته والمحفوظة بمتحف المعهد الشرقي لجامعة شيكاغو لم تنل الاهتمام الكافي. تعرض هذه المقالة نتائج إعادة دراسة كل المكتشفات المعروفة إضافة إلى عناصر معمارية من المقبرة. وتركز على أدلة مستقاة من مكتشفات صغيرة لأناس ربما دفنوا في المقبرة. فقد عثر على تماثيلين أوشابتي لهما أهمية خاصة، للكاهن الأكبر لأوزير المدعو ثاي. و كما يرجح لم يدفن ثاي في المقبرة رقم 201، لذا فإن وجود هذين التماثيلين يشيران إلى تفسيرات جديدة لمغزى تماثيل الأوشابتي واستخدامهم بواسطة مجموعة من كبار الموظفين أثناء فترة الرعامسة بمصر

## Sedment: The site and the history of exploration

THE site of Sedment is located south of the entrance to the Fayum on a narrow ridge that separates the Nile Valley from the Fayum. It has attracted attention since 1890 when Edouard Naville undertook the first exploration of the vast areas over which its cemeteries are spread.<sup>1</sup> After an interlude in 1904, when C. T. Currelly performed a survey during W. M. F. Petrie's excavations at Ehnasya,<sup>2</sup> Petrie and G. Brunton returned

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<sup>1</sup> E. Naville, *Ahnas el Medineh (Heracléopolis Magna)* (EEF Memoir 11, London, 1894), 11–14. For a comprehensive overview of the history of research of Sedment, see W. Grajetzki, *Sedment: Burials of Farmers and Noblemen Over the Centuries* (London, 2005) and M. Serpico, 'Sedment', in J. Picton and I. Pridden (eds), *Unseen Images: Archive Photographs in the Petrie Museum. Volume 1: Gurob, Sedment and Tarkhan* (London, 2008), 100–3.

<sup>2</sup> C. T. Currelly, *The Cemeteries of Sedment and Gurob*, in W. M. F. Petrie, Ehnasya (EEF Memoir 26;

to the site in the winter of 1920/21 to undertake extensive exploration.<sup>3</sup> Within about four months more than 2000 tombs were cleared, spread across 17 cemeteries. Among these, about 250 dated to the New Kingdom,<sup>4</sup> including the tomb of the Ramesside vizier (Pa-)Rahotep. During the 1980s and 1990s further excavations were carried out by Egypt's Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) under A. Galal Abd el-Fattah. This work included a re-examination of Parahotep's tomb. Four shabtis and a fragment of a wooden coffin, all overlooked by Petrie, were found during this work and subsequently published by A. Galal Abd el-Fattah.<sup>5</sup>

The tomb of Parahotep is located in cemetery B, which is at the north of the site, on one of the highest elevations of the whole necropolis, overlooking both the Nile and the Fayum.<sup>6</sup> The surrounding larger tombs predominantly date to the Ramesside Period. Several smaller tombs, mostly simple burials lacking many grave goods, indicate a later use of the area.<sup>7</sup> Post-New Kingdom activity at the site was not confined solely to the requirements of the human dead, as a burial of a number of crocodiles, one 14 ft long, is mentioned on the tomb-card for tomb 231.<sup>8</sup>

### Tomb 201: The architecture

#### *The superstructure*

Although there are no recorded *in situ* features of a superstructure, evidence shows that tomb 201 once possessed a temple-like structure, similar to those at Saqqara. The size and type of several column fragments published by Petrie, with a diameter of up to 57 cm (22.5"),<sup>9</sup> are of a comparable size to the columns of the inner courtyard of the tomb of Tia and Tia at Saqqara, which are of a similar type and show a diameter of 52–54 cm.<sup>10</sup> Even the presence of a small pyramid is not unlikely, as an undecorated pyramidion was found in a dislocated position in a subterranean chamber of tomb 216, about 50 m away.<sup>11</sup>

London, 1905), 32–5.

<sup>3</sup> W. M. F. Petrie and G. Brunton, *Sedment*, I & II (BSAE Research Account 34 & 35; London 1924).

<sup>4</sup> A reassessment of these New Kingdom tombs is the subject of the author's PhD dissertation at the Freie Universität Berlin.

<sup>5</sup> A. Galal Abd el-Fattah, '[Pa]-Rahotep's Ushabtis at Sedment: Excavations of the Supreme Council of Antiquities. Season 1992', *Memnonia X* (1999), 115–23.

<sup>6</sup> Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment II*, 28.

<sup>7</sup> No exact numbers can be given as 43 of the 89 rectangular structures on the plan lack a number. Furthermore, a tomb-card does not survive for every tomb number. As no finds are known to survive from several tombs, a reliable dating is almost impossible. This coincides with the fact that Petrie did not treat post-New Kingdom remains with the same care as earlier material. This is well illustrated by the fact that no burials of the Late Period or later are mentioned in the publication, although they were present. This is evident from the tomb-cards and also objects that I have come across in various museums during the course of my research. As evidence, I might mention a Ptolemaic stela, probably connected to a burial, which was found in the shaft of tomb 335 (today in the Manchester Museum, no. 6950).

<sup>8</sup> The tomb-cards are held in the archive of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology in London. Tomb 231 is shown on the plan in the south-east of the cemetery. However, as the rectangle for tomb 231 is not long enough for a 14-ft-long crocodile, the recorded data here is perhaps incorrect. The precise dating of the crocodile burial is also an issue, as the tomb-card assigns it to the Nineteenth Dynasty without any supporting evidence.

<sup>9</sup> Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment I*, pl. XXII, 16–24. The whereabouts of the column fragments today are not known to the author. Most probably they were left on site.

<sup>10</sup> K. J. Frazer, The Architecture, in G. T. Martin, *The Tomb of Tia and Tia: A Royal Monument of the Ramesside Period in the Memphite Necropolis* (EES Excavation Memoir 58; London, 1997), 3–15, 8.

<sup>11</sup> Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment II*, pl. LXXXIII, 216. The pyramidion was obviously not kept as it is not

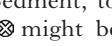
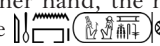
The walls of this presumed limestone construction were adorned with reliefs, most fragments of which were published by Petrie and Brunton.<sup>12</sup> During the course of my research I rediscovered one fragment previously only known from an excavation photograph (fig. 1A, B).<sup>13</sup> Although the layout of tomb 201's superstructure is unclear, its location might be reflected in the empty space immediately to the south-east of its shafts (fig. 2), which is free of any further shaft except for tomb 212 (this tomb has a differing orientation and can be dated to the Twenty-Second Dynasty according to the unpublished tomb-card in the archive of the Petrie Museum<sup>14</sup>), thus providing an adequate space where it might once have stood.



FIG. 1A and B. The relief fragment Rochdale Arts and Heritage Service T:17291, previously only known from the Petrie Museum Archive, photograph 3521, shown left (after Serpico, in Picton and Pridden (eds), *Unseen Images*, 154); H: 45 cm, W: 27 cm, D: 13 cm (© Courtesy of the Petrie Museum, London; author's photograph).

mentioned on any distribution list.

<sup>12</sup> Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment* II, pls LVI, 1, 2 (Chicago OIM 11737); LXXII, 1, 2 (Chicago OIM 11733), 3 (Chicago OIM 11732), 5, 6, 7; LXXVI, 3 (Chicago OIM 11735).

<sup>13</sup> For the excavation photograph, see Serpico, *Sedment*, 154. I am grateful to the Rochdale Arts and Heritage Service for the permission to publish this object. As Serpico is a little uncertain as to whether the fragment really derives from tomb 201, and because the distribution list for Rochdale says that the fragment comes from '21/nn', my attribution can be ascertained for two reasons: on the one hand, the old museum records give the provenance as 'Sedment, tomb of Parahotep'. On the other hand, the hieroglyphs to be seen on the back of the head  might be reconstructed as the phrase  which is known from other monuments of Parahotep; see *KRI* III, 63, 7–8. That it indeed shows a vizier is verified by the characteristic dress. For the dress, see C. Raedler, 'Die Wesire Ramses' II. – Netzwerke der Macht', in R. Gundlach and A. Klug (eds), *Das ägyptische Königtum im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen- und Außenpolitik im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 1; Wiesbaden, 2004), 299–303.

<sup>14</sup> The actual date of the tomb must remain unclear as only an amulet and a piece of wood, interpreted as a headrest, were found with the undisturbed burial of a child of about four years of age.

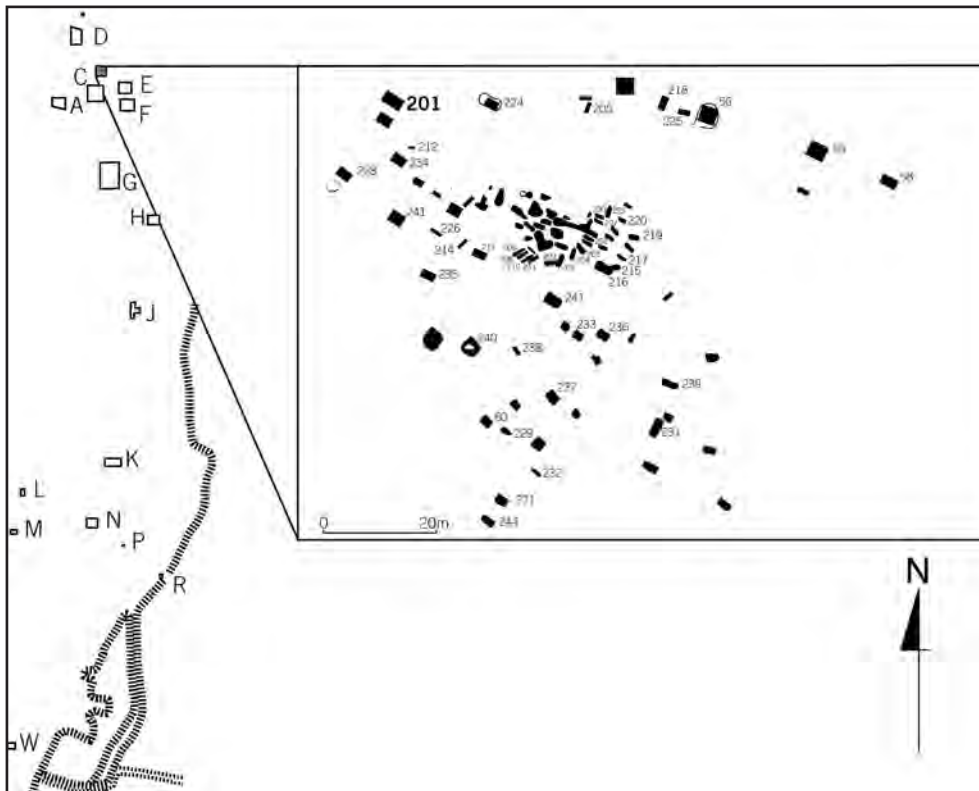


FIG. 2. Plan of the necropolis of Sedment and cemetery B;  
after W. M. F. Petrie and G. Brunton, *Sedment II*  
(BSAE Research Account 35; London, 1924), pls LXXXV and LXXXVII.

This architectural framework was furnished with a variety of stelae, statues and other features made from various materials. Amongst the known objects, there are at least three statues (fig. 3)<sup>15</sup> and a naos made of red granite.<sup>16</sup> Two rectangular offering tables of calcite-alabaster featuring relief decoration of animal legs were also discovered,<sup>17</sup> as well as a large offering table of red granite,<sup>18</sup> and a stela of black basalt, which shows Parahotep in adoration of various gods.<sup>19</sup>

#### *The subterranean chambers (fig. 4)*

From the surface, two vertical shafts lead to a group of nine chambers on two different levels. The upper level is reached at a depth of about 5.70 m. From this level, another vertical shaft leads to a single chamber, the bottom of which reaches a depth of about 13.70 m (including the sarcophagus trenches).

<sup>15</sup> For at least two other statues see Naville, *Ahnas el Medineh*, pls. I, F and XII, B (this is Cairo CG 605, see also L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo. Teil 2* [Catalogue général des antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Berlin, 1925], 155 and Pl. 109. Note that here the provenance is given wrongly as 'Tell Moqdam') and Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment II*, pl. LVI, 3 (unknown whereabouts); for further statue fragments see Petrie and Brunton 1924, pls LVI, 4, 5; LXXVI, 1; LXXXV. Another small fragment that might be part of a statue but was never published is Chicago OIM 11821.

<sup>16</sup> Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment II*, pl. LXXIV. Several fragments are now in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève (no. 25642b) and were republished by J.-L. Chappaz, 'Quelques "fragments" provenant de la tombe du vizir Râ-Hotep à Sedment (Héracléopolis Magna)', *GENAVA XXXIII* (1985), 5–22.

<sup>17</sup> Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment II*, 29, Pl. LXXI, 1. The better preserved one is now in the Cairo Museum (JE 47002), the other one was left on site according to Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment II*, 29.

<sup>18</sup> Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment II*, pls LXXI, 6; LXXII, 4 (Philadelphia E.15413).

<sup>19</sup> Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment II*, 30, pls LXXI, 4; LXXIII (Cairo JE 47001).



FIG. 3. Statue fragment of crystalline limestone, most probably the top of the standard of a standard bearer<sup>20</sup> in the shape of a cow's head, Chicago OIM 11745; H: 16.7 cm (author's photograph).

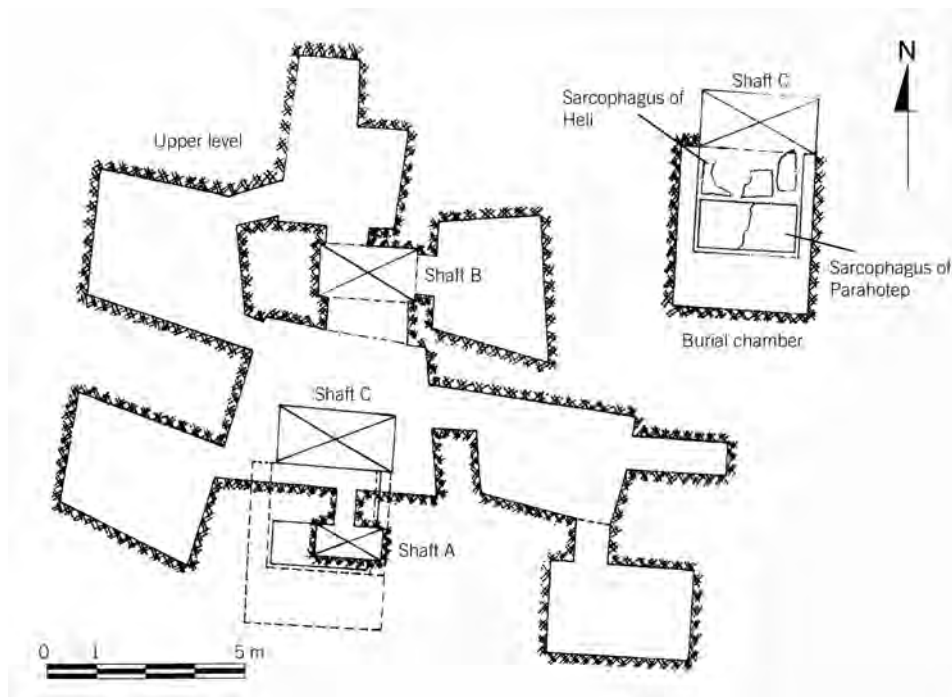


FIG. 4. Plan of the subterranean chamber system of tomb 201 (after Galal Abd el-Fattah 1999, fig. 2).

The general layout of the tomb is clear from the published plans, though the plans made by Petrie and Brunton, and the one by Galal Abd el-Fattah differ greatly in one respect: the shaft marked as 'Shaft B' in fig. 4 does not exist in the plan published by Petrie and Brunton.<sup>21</sup> Their plan only shows shaft A, leading from the surface down to the upper level, and shaft C leading from the surface directly down to the burial chamber of Parahotep and Heli. Galal Abd el-Fattah's plan shows three shafts. It cannot be ascertained, either from the text or from the plan, whether all three shafts

<sup>20</sup> Another option is a pseudo-block statue with a standard in front as is known from Parahotep's 'sn'-brother Minmose, high priest of Onuris. See B. Bryan, 'The Career and Family of Minmose, high priest of Onuris', *CdE* 61 (1986), 6.

<sup>21</sup> Petrie and Brunton, *Sediment* II, pl. LXXXIV.

reach the surface or whether shaft C might only connect the upper level with the burial chamber. In this case, the plan by Petrie and Brunton would be inaccurate. Another option is that shaft B is a later addition, probably made by modern tomb robbers.

The layout of the tomb is somewhat irregular, especially in comparison with several other, larger tombs of the Ramesside Period at Sedment, such as tombs 2010 or 2019.<sup>22</sup> The rooms are also quite large when compared with other tombs at Sedment, with the larger ones covering about 20–25 m<sup>2</sup>, while their height varies between about 1.40 m and 2 m, the average being about 1.65 m. This is in the upper range of similar tombs in Sedment, where the height of the rooms varies in general between 1 and 2 m.<sup>23</sup> The chamber for the sarcophagi is one the highest subterranean rooms in the whole necropolis, at almost 2.30 m high plus another 1 m from the bottom of the sarcophagus trench, thus reaching almost 3.30 m overall. Nothing is known concerning the decoration of the chambers. It cannot be ruled out that some of the architectural fragments discovered in the substructure might, in fact, have decorated these walls, rather than the superstructure, especially as similar temple-tombs at Saqqara do feature decoration below ground.<sup>24</sup> The evidence at hand provides no indications to distinguish different construction phases.

#### The state of preservation as found by the excavators

No element of the superstructure was found in situ by Petrie and Brunton. Petrie describes the situation as follows: ‘The wide scattering of pieces of the tomb chapel and statues, makes it impossible to identify the source of all the loose blocks.’<sup>25</sup> The state of disturbance is illustrated by the fact that a massive limestone lintel, originally part of the superstructure, was found about 50 m away, thrown into the shaft of tomb 216.<sup>26</sup> Further architectural elements, such as the huge granite offering table Philadelphia E. 15413 and the basalt stela Cairo JE 47001 were found in the burial chamber. As the offering table weighs about 400 kg<sup>27</sup> a considerable effort would have been necessary to throw it down the shafts.

A similar degree of disarray can be assumed for the subterranean chambers. Except for the sarcophagi, no object might have been in its original place, as Petrie states: ‘It is evident that the whole place had been so ravaged that none of the moveable objects are in their original positions.’<sup>28</sup> Therefore, almost no information can be gained on the

<sup>22</sup> Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment* II, pl. LXXXIII.

<sup>23</sup> The measurements were not published by Petrie and Brunton, but can be found on the tomb-cards in the archive of the Petrie Museum. They will be included in the final publication of the author’s PhD thesis.

<sup>24</sup> See for instance the palace-façade decoration hewn into the local rock in the Memphite tomb of Horemheb: G. T. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tutankhamûn I: The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary* (EES Excavation Memoir 55; London, 1989), pls 159–68. For a more elaborate decoration on limestone slabs see the tomb of Maja; G. T. Martin, *Auf der Suche nach dem verlorenen Grab* (Mainz, 1994), Taf. 15–16.

<sup>25</sup> Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment* II, 29.

<sup>26</sup> Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment* II, 29. The exact position of the lintel is marked on the sketch of tomb 216 in the unpublished notebook 34a in the archive of the Petrie Museum, London. The lintel is published in Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment* II, pl. LXXI, 2 (Chicago OIM 11731).

<sup>27</sup> Based on the measurements of approx. 63 by 43 (without the spout) by 57 cm and a specific weight for granite of about 2.8g/cm<sup>3</sup>. See homepage of the Berufsgenossenschaft der Bauwirtschaft <http://www.bgbau-medien.de/bau/bau507/1.htm>, last accessed 28.08.2012.

<sup>28</sup> Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment* II, 29.

tomb's original appearance, even in cases when the find spot of an object within the tomb is known.

Moreover, some of the shabtis, as well as some of the inlay fragments, show signs of burning. This coincides with the observation that no organic remains are known from the tomb except for a fragment of a wooden coffin mask, found during the SCA's re-excavation of the site in the 1990s.<sup>29</sup> As other objects do not show traces of burning, the fire might not have engulfed the whole tomb, and any missing wooden objects might have been removed during excavation. Nevertheless, all clearly datable objects are of Ramesside date; only a few small objects, such as some amulets, might point to reuse in the Late Period.<sup>30</sup> These small objects might simply be intrusive, unconnected to burials in the tomb, especially given the proximity of later burials in the vicinity. But it is not possible to rule out a later reuse with absolute certainty.

### The finds from the chambers

Ninety-seven objects or object groups<sup>31</sup> are known to me from the subterranean chambers. The largest objects are the sarcophagi of the vizier and his wife Heli. As Petrie was unable to move the largely complete sarcophagi, he only published drawings of (Pa-)Rahotep's sarcophagus, mistakenly assuming that the other sarcophagus belonged to a second vizier Parahotep.<sup>32</sup> Only the texts of two canopic jars and a *nms.t* libation jar were published by Petrie, without drawings of the actual objects (fig. 5).<sup>33</sup> The following section describes the most important finds from the tomb, laying stress on objects that were left unpublished by Petrie and Brunton or mentioned only briefly by them.

#### *Shabtis (figs 6–11)*

Forty shabtis of six or seven different individuals are known from the tomb. They comprise the largest group of finds that can be classified as funeralia and are a prime prosopographical source, of crucial importance for the question of who was buried in the tomb.<sup>34</sup> Five of these shabtis derive from the excavations of A. Galal Abd el-Fattah and are today stored in Beni Suef.<sup>35</sup> All the remaining shabtis were found during the 1920/21 excavation of Petrie and Brunton and are today among the objects in Chicago's Oriental Institute Museum. They are of a variety of materials: faience of different colours, including polychromous examples; limestone; and calcite-alabaster. Their size and quality also vary considerably.

<sup>29</sup> Galal Abd el-Fattah, *Memnonia* X, 118–19 (pl. XXXI B).

<sup>30</sup> See the section on jewellery, etc. below for details.

<sup>31</sup> Some inventory numbers in Chicago's Oriental Institute Museum comprise more than one object, such as beads or inlay fragments. This article will not present every single object, but will provide an overview of the material and describe the most important items. A full account including descriptions, drawings and/or photographs will be found in the author's PhD thesis, which will be published in the future.

<sup>32</sup> Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment* II, 28. He was obviously unable to access the sarcophagus, as he would have immediately discovered that the second bears an inscription for Heli.

<sup>33</sup> The inscriptions are to be found in Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment* II, pl. LXXXIV, bottom left. The inventory numbers are (left to right): Chicago OIM 11743, 11744 and 11782.

<sup>34</sup> This term refers to objects specifically made for the tomb. See S. T. Smith, 'Intact Tombs of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasties from Thebes and the New Kingdom Burial System', *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 193–231.

<sup>35</sup> Galal Abd el-Fattah, *Memnonia* X, 118–19 (Beni Suef nos 1717–1721).

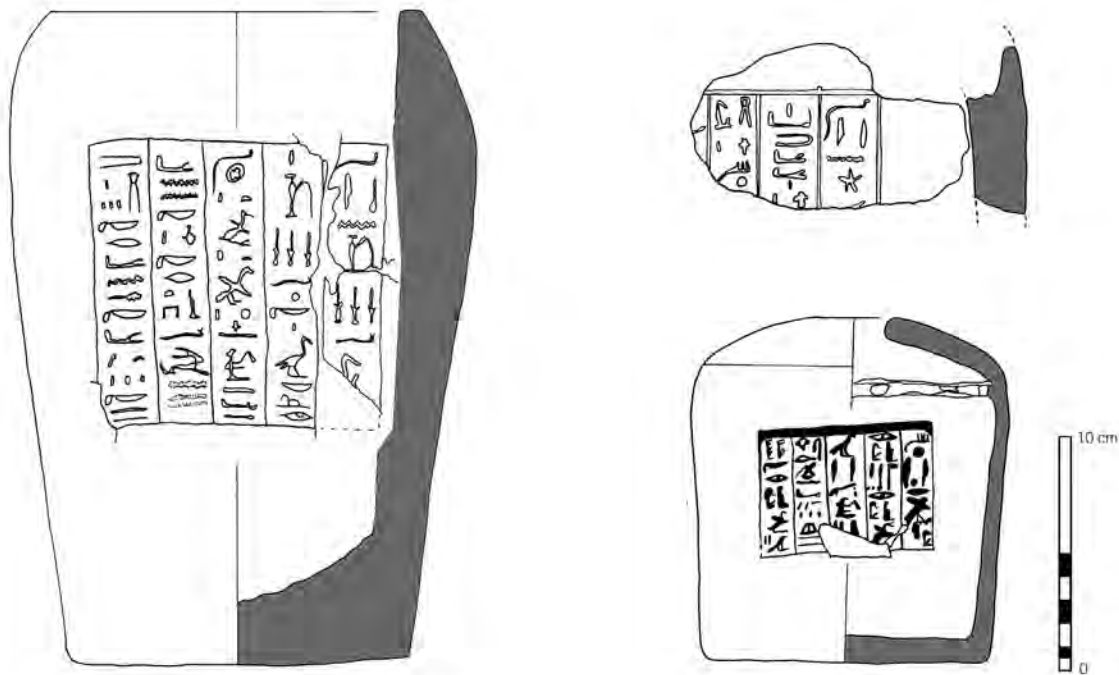


FIG. 5. The canopic jars Chicago OIM 11743, 11744 (calcite–alabaster) and the *nms.t* jar OIM 11782 (blue–green faience) (author’s drawings).

The largest number of shabtis bear inscriptions for Parahotep himself. Sixteen shabtis can be safely assigned to him and others undoubtedly originally belonged to him, too, each today missing a legible name. These shabtis are of at least nine different types, varying in shape, size and material. Four shabtis of a single type are known for Parahotep’s wife. The same holds true for all the other individuals mentioned: an individual named Mery-su-Maat has two shabtis; one shabti is inscribed for a Ty; and another one for a woman called Baja. Finally, one shabti is inscribed for a high priest of Herishef (Chicago OIM 11773), the local deity of Heracleopolis, a title not held by any other individual in the tomb<sup>36</sup> (see table 1<sup>37</sup>).

Parahotep’s shabtis can be divided into mummiform ones and overseer shabtis in everyday dress. The latter can be subdivided into three types, one being a classic VIB<sub>4</sub> with an amulet made of greenish faience.<sup>38</sup> The inscription providing the name and title of Parahotep begins in a column on the pleated garment on the front and ends running down a central column on the back (Chicago OIM 11755,<sup>39</sup> 11756). The second type is even more conventional, VIB<sub>3</sub>, and only 14 cm in size. This much-weathered example

<sup>36</sup> Parahotep seems not to have held that position, see Raedler, in Gundlach and Klug (eds), *Das ägyptische Königtum*, 373.

<sup>37</sup> NB: Not all of the shabtis in the table are mentioned in the text.

<sup>38</sup> The terminology follows H. D. Schneider, *Shabtis: An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with a Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* (Leiden, 1977).

<sup>39</sup> This shabti belongs to one of the four seen on the photo PMAN 3511 in the archives of the Petrie Museum. See Serpico, in Picton and Pridden (eds), *Unseen Images*, 149.



TABLE 1 *Overview over the shabtis from the tomb and their owners*

Owner	Title (as mentioned on the shabtis)	Inventory number(s)	Schneider type(s)	Remarks
<i>B3j3</i>	<i>nb.t pr</i>	OIM 11751	V	
<i>(P3)-R<sup>c</sup>-htp</i>	<i>jmj-r3 njw.t; B.tj</i>	Beni Suef 1717-1719; OIM 11753-58, 11760, 11763-66, 11770, 11772, 11775-76, 11778	VB3, VB4, VC5, VIB3, VIB4,	shabti in vizier's dress.
<i>Hl</i>	–	OIM 11768, 11777, 11780-81	VB4	ϵnh sign under feet of OIM 11777.
<i>Mrj-sw-(M3<sup>c</sup>.t)?</i>	–	Beni Suef 1721; OIM 11769	VB4	Second part of name not certain.
<i>Tj3y</i>	<i>hm-ntr tpj n Wsjr</i>	OIM 11749, 11750	VB3/4	
<i>Ty</i>	–	OIM 11779	V	
Name not preserved	<i>hm-ntr tpj n Hry-š=f</i>	OIM 11773	V	Only individual known to have held the title.
Name not preserved	Not preserved	Beni Suef 1720, OIM 11746, 11748, 11752, 11759, 11761-62, 11767, 11771, 11774	V, VA1, VIB1, VIB3	OIM 11752 is very similar to a shabti from tomb 33 at Sedment.

bears traces of an inscription in a central column down the garment containing the *shd-Wsjr* formula and the name.

The third type differs from Schneider's classifications. It is a light-coloured faience shabti wearing a long dress that almost reaches the feet (Beni Suef 1717,<sup>40</sup> Chicago OIM 11757, fig. 6). It bears a central column of inscriptions, giving the name of the deceased as a simple *shd Wsjr* formula plus title. The hands, holding hoes, are crossed over the chest, and, like the feet and face (now missing), are made from a darker type of faience that might originally have been of red colour. The very specific dress resembles, in my opinion, the official clothing of a vizier, as shown in two- and three-dimensional representations of Parahotep.

The largest and most spectacular shabtis for Parahotep are two mummiform examples of green faience and, at 26.5 cm, of extraordinary size (Chicago OIM 11753, 11754, the latter being only a fragment, fig. 7).<sup>41</sup> They are of type VC5 with hoes held in both hands and a bag in the centre on the back. They wear a very elaborate necklace. In a central column, the inscription is the simple *shd-Wsjr* formula followed by the titles *jmj-r3 nj.wt* and *B.tj*, and the name. A distinct feature is the short chin beard. Although the shabti had been exposed to fire, its high quality is still noticeable from its well-modelled features, especially the face.

<sup>40</sup> Galal Abd el-Fattah, *Memnonia* X, 118-19.

<sup>41</sup> This shabti belongs to one of the four seen in the photograph PMAN 3511 in the archives of the Petrie Museum. See Serpico, in Picton and Pridden (eds), *Unseen Images*, 149.



FIG. 6. Shabti Chicago OIM 11757 (author's photograph).



FIG. 7. Shabti Chicago OIM 11753 (author's photograph).

Remarkable for their quality are some groups of mummiform shabtis displaying a multi-coloured glaze. Mostly whitish overall, the feet, hands and faces were coloured red (now discoloured to almost black)—the result of a separate type of glaze—sometimes resulting in the flaking of these parts, exposing the core of the shabti. They are all of types VB3 and VB4, although in some instances the state of preservation does not allow identification. Three complete examples of this type bear a simple *shd-Wsjr* formula in one column on the front. The fourth bears a longer inscription with the spell BD 6 in horizontal lines, ending in a vertical column in the back (Chicago OIM 11770, fig. 8).



FIG. 8. Shabti Chicago, OIM 11770 (author's photograph).

Closely related to each other are two groups of white faience shabtis of Schneider's type VB4. One (Chicago OIM 11763) is inscribed with a *shd-Wsjr* formula beginning in a column on the front and ending in the back, also in a column. The other, of which only fragments are known, is very similar, but inscribed with the BD spell in horizontal lines, which ends in a central column on the back, similar to the multi-coloured example mentioned above (Chicago OIM 11775, 11776, 11778). This variety of shabti types for a single individual is very remarkable, as is the quality of some pieces. It can again be taken as a sign of Parahotep's high status.

For Heli no complete shabti is preserved, but four fragments can be assigned to her; they are all of whitish faience and of type VB4, as far as this can be ascertained. The inscription seems in all the cases to have been the simple *shd-Wsjr* formula followed by her name. In one case, however, a peculiarity can be observed, as an *nh* sign is found under the feet, painted pre-firing in black, probably by the same hand that made the inscription. This is quite rare, but known from the Serapeum.<sup>42</sup> The two shabtis of

<sup>42</sup> Personal communication with F. Pumpenmeier, July 2011.

Meri-su-Maat and the one inscribed for an individual called Tjy are similar to those of Heli, and all of these, too, have survived only in fragments.

Two anonymous shabtis are striking for their quality (Chicago OIM 11746, 11748, fig. 9). Manufactured from calcite-alabaster, only the upper part of one is preserved, while of the other there is only the face, modelled in superior quality; their overall height must have reached about 25–30 cm, depending on the proportions of the missing legs. They belong to Schneider's type VA1 (although it should be borne in mind that they were probably painted). The somewhat faded contours of the face and the body might make this shabti an early predecessor of the later shabti 'à contour perdu', which is typical of the Twentieth Dynasty.<sup>43</sup>



FIG. 9. Shabti fragments Chicago OIM 11746 and 11748 (author's photograph).



FIG. 10. Shabti Chicago, OIM 11752 (author's photograph).

<sup>43</sup> Schneider's type VG, see Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 185. Nevertheless, these shabtis can clearly be assigned to a pre-Twentieth Dynasty context.

A further shabti, of the type VIB<sub>1</sub> in the dress of the living, is of interest, although its ink inscription has almost completely vanished and not a single sign can be identified (Chicago OIM 11752, fig. 10). It is a limestone shabti of good quality and resembles a shabti from Sedment tomb 33 inscribed for Pa-Hery-Pedjet, except that the latter shabti's inscription was executed in relief.<sup>44</sup> They are extremely similar, both in style and size. The overall shape is especially close, as is the execution of the wig, which has not been structured in relief. Furthermore, the faces are very distinct in their lack of details, which is not due to their state of preservation but to original execution (except that colouring, once present, is now lacking). Therefore, a very similar date and place of production is likely. As with the two calcite-alabaster shabtis described above, the way the face is modelled might be taken as a precursor of the shabti 'à contour perdu'.

Of crucial importance for a more multi-faceted interpretation of the shabti custom are two large limestone shabtis that were inscribed for a high priest of Osiris named Tjay (Chicago OIM 11749-50, fig. 11). Both were published by T. G. Allen in 1960, but have never been cited in the literature relating to Parahotep and his family.<sup>45</sup> The better-preserved shabti, OIM 11749, is 27 cm tall and extremely well made. It is of the type VB<sub>4</sub>,<sup>46</sup> carrying hoes in both hands as well as bags, which hang down from the hands. Bags are also to be found on the back of both shoulders. Beneath the lower edge of the wig, some traces of red colour remain and show that the shabti had been painted polychromously. The text, version VB of Schneider, is organized in seven horizontal lines that leave the back blank.

The second shabti for Tjay is broken, and only the lower part is preserved below the hands. It was also originally quite large, the preserved fragment being 18.5 cm high, and of mummiform type VB; no closer classification can be assigned due to the state of preservation. The text is written in a central column in front, and as ten horizontal lines, which again leave the centre of the back blank. Most of the surface is worn and large parts of the text are illegible; nevertheless, some peculiarities can be noticed. The text in the column on the front is separate from the rest of the text, being a *hṭp-dj-nsw* formula. Unfortunately, most of the text is no longer legible, but the remaining signs read:

 [about five groups illegible] 

This type of spell is quite rare, but when it occurs is most frequently found on dedicated shabtis;<sup>47</sup> however, as the text in the middle is damaged, it cannot be ascertained whether this is indeed a dedicated shabti. Nevertheless, Tjay's name occurs at the end

<sup>44</sup> Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment* II, pl. LXXVIII, 30. This shabti is today in the collection of the Manchester Museum, no. 6864. It should be mentioned that the Pahemnetjer, who was apparently the owner of tomb 33, cannot be identified with Parahotep's like-named father. This conclusion rests upon an analysis of the titles. Parahotep's father was high priest of Ptah at Memphis while the Pahemnetjer buried in Sedment is known to have held the titles of a *hrj pd.t* and *ktn tpj n hm=f*.

<sup>45</sup> T. G. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead: Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago* (OIP 82, Chicago, 1960), 10–11, 64, 74, pls CXVIII–CXIX. H. D. Schneider mentions shabti Chicago OIM 11749 in his catalogue of shabtis of type VB<sub>3</sub>. See Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 191. It is also among the four seen in the photograph PMAN 3511 in the archives of the Petrie Museum. See Serpico, in Picton and Pridden (eds), *Unseen Images*, 149.

<sup>46</sup> Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 191, lists the shabti among those of group VB<sub>3</sub>, but as it shows bags on the back it belongs to type VB<sub>4</sub>.

<sup>47</sup> Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 298–9.



FIG. 11. The shabtis of Tjay, high priest of Osiris.  
Chicago, OIM 11749 and 11750 (author's photographs).

of the text in the column, just as in the horizontal text; this points to the fact that it is not a dedicated shabti, as the name of the dedicator might be expected at the end of the *hṭp-dj-nsw* formula. The text in the horizontal lines running around the lower part of the body and framing the *hṭp-dj-nsw* formula gives the spell BD 6. Here, the major title of Tjay is given after the introductory *shd-Wsjr*, making it clear that this shabti is again one of this particular Tjay. The date of both shabtis is somewhat uncertain. The type is known from the later Eighteenth Dynasty and throughout the Nineteenth Dynasty.<sup>48</sup>

*The pottery (fig. 12)*

The almost complete absence of ceramic vessels among the recorded finds is striking. As the recovered fragments are either decorated or belong to imported Mycenaean stirrup jars, it can be presumed that the remaining pottery was left unrecorded in the tomb or at the site in general, or sent out to museums without the provenance explicitly stated.<sup>49</sup>

Two vessels of Egyptian origin can be reconstructed from eight fragments; both represent small amphorae similar to D. Aston's type B5, although with two horizontal handles and a long neck.<sup>50</sup> They are made of fabric II.D.02<sup>51</sup> and are covered with a thick white shiny slip. Both were decorated post-firing with floral motifs, although the exact decoration on the body cannot be discerned any longer as it is too worn, something typical of post-firing painting. Nevertheless, the floral decoration on the body is only found on one side, making this the vessel's front. Two very close parallels were found in grave 605 in Gurob.<sup>52</sup> The dating fits the reign of Ramesses II.

Eight fragments belong to Mycenaean pottery. Although not all of them are safely attributable, they most probably belong to four separate stirrup jars. The largest fragments can be reconstructed into what is most probably a stirrup jar of type FS 173 or 180, dating to LH IIIB.<sup>53</sup> This also fits with a Nineteenth Dynasty date.<sup>54</sup>

*Glass vessels (fig. 13)*

Fragments of at least five glass vessels were recorded: four closed vessels and one small, oval bowl. The first fragment is the low foot of a vessel of blue, opaque glass with cloudy white decoration. A thick white stripe of white glass runs around the

<sup>48</sup> See below for the discussion of the importance of these shabtis.

<sup>49</sup> The unpublished distribution lists, stored in the archives of the Petrie Museum, in most cases provide the provenance of all small finds and the particular museum that received the artefact. However, undecorated, domestic pottery is often simply referred to as 'pottery' with no provenance given. Unless the object bears a mark in ink or pencil stating the tomb it came from, it is today impossible to provide a provenance.

<sup>50</sup> D. Aston, 'Amphorae in New Kingdom Egypt', *E&L* XIV (2004), 194.

<sup>51</sup> This terminology follows the Vienna system as adapted to the material of Qantir-Piramesse. For details see D. A. Aston, H. Mommsen, P. Mountjoy, E. B. Pusch, and T. Rehren, 'Die in- und ausländischen Werkstoffe der Grabung Qantir in Wort und Bild', in E. B. Pusch and M. Bietak (eds), *Die Keramik des Grabungsplatzes Q I, Teil 2: Schaber – Marken – Scherben* (FoRa 5; Hildesheim, 2007), 526.

<sup>52</sup> M. Serpico, 'Gurob', in J. Picton and I. Pridden (eds), *Unseen Images*, 81–2. For the dating of this type of decoration and comparisons from Gurob, as well as further examples from Deir el-Medina, see M. Bell, 'Regional Variation in Polychrome Pottery of the 19th Dynasty', *CCE* 1 (1987), 49–76.

<sup>53</sup> The shape is most probably FS 173, although a slight tendency towards a more squat shape can be observed. See P. Mountjoy, *Mycenaean Decorated Pottery: A Guide to Identification* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology LXXIII, Göteborg, 1986), 127. A very similar shape from Gurob, tomb 52 (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum E 2453) has been identified by A. Hassler as FS 180. See A. Hassler, 'Mykenische Keramik aus verlorenen Kontexten – Die Grabung L. Loats in Gurob', *E&L* XX (2010), 212–13. A probably very similar, complete vessel was found in Sedment tomb 2017 (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1921.1303).

<sup>54</sup> For the dating of LH IIIB see M. H. Wiener, 'The Absolute Chronology of Late Helladic III A2 Revisited', *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 98 (2003), 250.

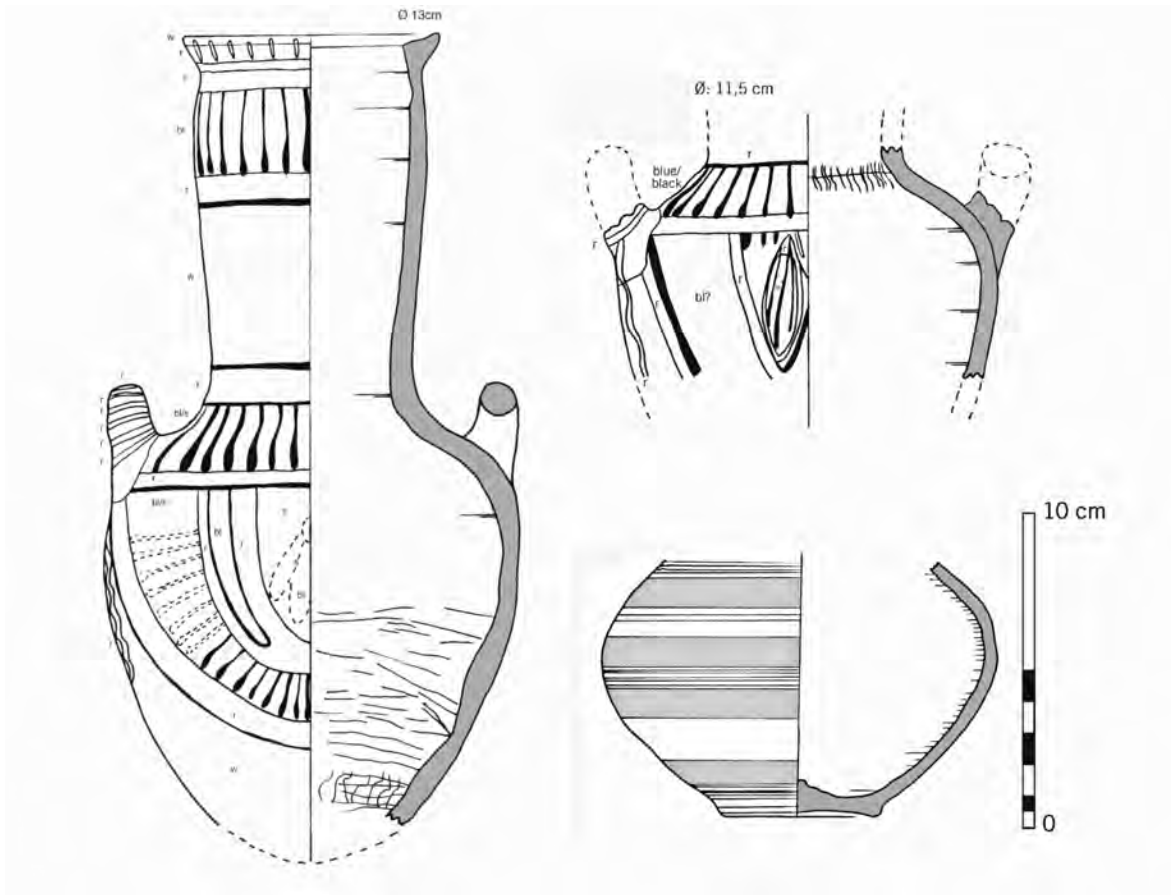


FIG. 12. Ceramic vessels (clockwise): Chicago OIM 11818, 11819 and 11817 (drawings by the author).

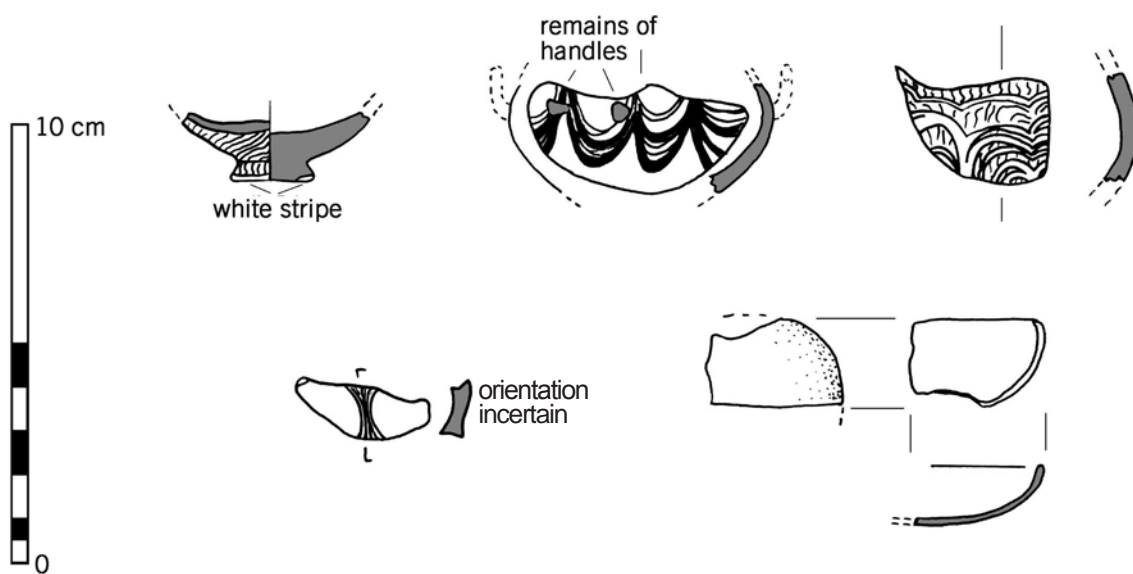


FIG. 13. Fragments of glass vessels from tomb 201. Inventory numbers from upper left clockwise: Chicago OIM 11792, 11793, 11794, 11796, 11795 (drawings by the author).



base ring. Its exact shape can no longer be discerned, but it was undoubtedly some form of closed globular vessel.<sup>55</sup> As this type is typical of Nolte's 'Werkkreis 4', which she dates to the period between Tutankhamun and Ramesses II, this interpretation seems very probable.<sup>56</sup> The horizontal handles of vessel Chicago OIM 11793 were common mainly during the periods of 'Werkkreis 3' and 'Werkkreis 4',<sup>57</sup> while the type of decoration evident, with a decorated zone within an undecorated part of the vessel, is present in both periods, too, so a date between the later Eighteenth Dynasty and the time of Ramesses II is possible; the colours in this case are white and yellow on a blue background. Fragment Chicago OIM 11794 might belong to a similar type, although no exact shape can be reconstructed; however, the large feather decoration with a white-on-blue background again points to 'Werkkreis 4'.<sup>58</sup> Fragment Chicago OIM 11795 is of uncertain orientation and no shape can be reconstructed. It is bright blue in colour and its translucency is striking, while its decoration is white and yellow. The oval bowl Chicago OIM 11796 might have taken the form of a shell. It is made of slightly yellowish glass, which distinguishes it from the two blue vessels shown by B. Nolte.<sup>59</sup> The date of this shape remains somewhat uncertain.<sup>60</sup>

*Bes vessel (fig. 14)*

A fragment of one further stone vessel was found and sent to Chicago. The fragment, made of calcite-alabaster, is about 19 cm tall, and represents a slightly bent, somewhat awkward left leg ending in a voluminous buttock. The torso is broken, as is the right leg. Its body has been hollowed out. At the centre of the buttock, a hole of about 1 cm in diameter is visible; within, there are traces of a dark substance, most probably the remains of glue to hold an inserted object. Beneath the damaged foot, the bulky remains of what might have been a base can be seen.

In places where the original surface remains, it is well smoothed and shows some traces of black colouring. On the front part of the foot, there are suggestions of claws. Above the knee there is a zone of vertical lines between two horizontal ones, which may represent trousers. The backside shows a number of circles with a black dot at the centre. Next to the hole there is a mark resembling a *nb* sign, although the colour is very much gone. The inside surface of the vessel remained unsmoothed and it can therefore be assumed that the fragment was part of a closed vessel.

The features point to a depiction of Bes with his short legs, feet in the shape of animal paws, and distinct dress. Although Bes vases are known in pottery or in stone, the size of this particular vessel is striking,<sup>61</sup> as it must have stood approximately 40–50 cm tall, depending on the type of headdress. One slightly similar object known to me, although more slender and in a walking position, was found in the tomb of Tutankhamun.<sup>62</sup> An attached tail is a shared feature of these two vessels. The closest parallel, however,

<sup>55</sup> Nolte, *Die Glasgefäße im Alten Ägypten* (MÄS 14; Berlin, 1968), 170.

<sup>56</sup> Nolte, *Die Glasgefäße*, 112.

<sup>57</sup> Nolte, *Die Glasgefäße*, Taf. XVII, 17.

<sup>58</sup> Nolte, *Die Glasgefäße*, 111.

<sup>59</sup> Nolte, *Die Glasgefäße*, 138 and Taf. XIV, XV, XXIX.

<sup>60</sup> Nolte, *Die Glasgefäße*, 136.

<sup>61</sup> One pottery vessel in the shape of a Bes head, dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty, in the tradition of the very elaborate Eighteenth Dynasty figure vases, was found in Sedment tomb 406, Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment I*, pl. XL, 41 (Cairo JE 46996). Further pottery Bes vases of varying quality are known from various other contexts.

<sup>62</sup> Cairo JE 62124. See J. Settgast (ed.), *Tutanchamun* (Mainz, 1980), 66–7.

comes from the temple at Serabit el-Khadim. In the course of his excavations there in 1906, Petrie discovered fragments of a beaker in the shape of a standing Bes.<sup>63</sup> From the cartouches on the front of the vessel it can be dated to the reign of Ramesses II, and, although this is an open vessel, the shape of the legs is very similar to the fragment from Sedment.

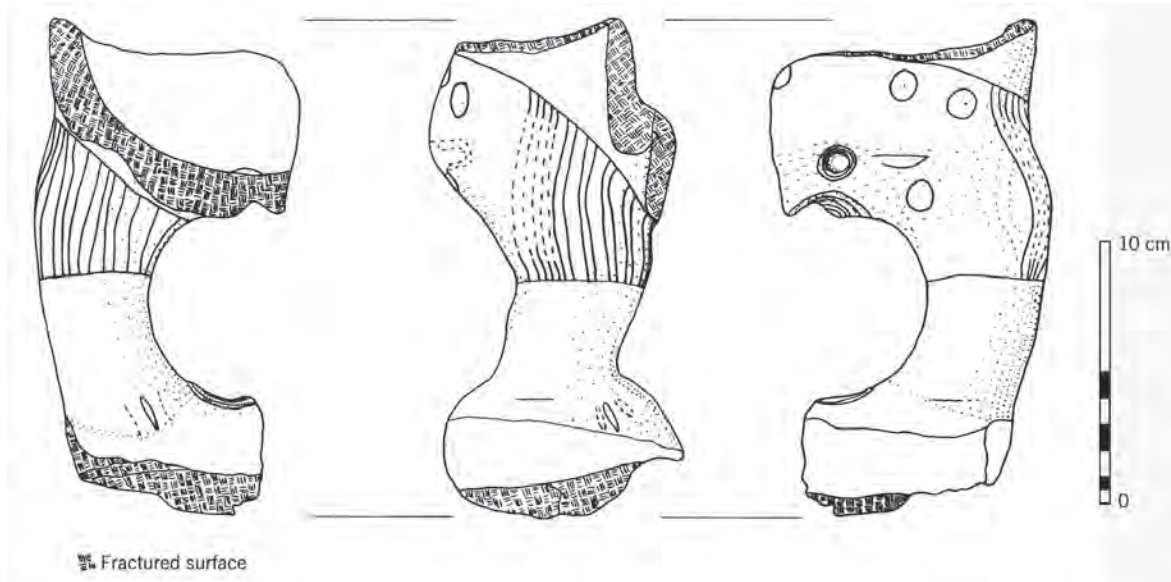


FIG. 14. The Bes vessel (Chicago OIM 11742): front (left), side view (centre), back (right) (drawing by the author).

*Pieces of jewellery, beads, amulets, and inlays (fig. 15)*

Twenty-three items are subsumed under this heading; many of these encompass dozens of single objects, such as beads or inlay fragments, and several of the fragments are, furthermore, hard to ascribe to a specific object or purpose. Small pieces of glass or faience in particular may be the remains of furniture inlays, coffin inlays, or pieces of jewellery, such as pectorals.

The materials used are diverse, with faience, glass, glazed steatite and types of semiprecious stone all found. An interesting detail is the occurrence of red glass, which had been produced at Qantir-Piramesse during the same period.<sup>64</sup> Metal is once more completely absent.

Most impressive is the fragment of a pectoral of glazed steatite of outstanding quality (Chicago OIM 11797). Its front shows a barque into which three scarabs had once been inserted; several of the details are inlaid. The back does not display any inlays, but rather another barque, at the centre of which is an inscribed oval. Only a few signs are legible, but it can be assumed that a version of the heart scarab spell BD

<sup>63</sup> E. T. Leeds, 'Alabaster Vases from the New Kingdom from Sinai', *JEA* VIII (1922), 2, pl. II. The height of the beaker is about 22.2 cm.

<sup>64</sup> E. B. Pusch and T. Rehren, *Hochtemperatur-Technologie in der Ramses-Stadt: Rubinglas für den Pharao* (FoRa 6; Hildesheim, 2007). The object is a small piece of inlay, OIM 11788. A future analysis of the object might show if the object was really made in the workshops of Piramesse.

30B was inscribed here.<sup>65</sup> Although one scarab is quite commonly found on pectorals, this is the only example known to me to hold three.<sup>66</sup>

Figural amulets show a Horus falcon (Chicago OIM 11798), a pataikos (Chicago OIM 11799), a cobra (Chicago OIM 11800), a lion goddess (OIM 11801), and Thoth (OIM 11808). The quality of these objects is quite high and although they are difficult to date I would place most of them in the Ramesside Period.<sup>67</sup> Several objects might nevertheless be later, such as the cobra amulet, probably a uraeus; this type of amulet might not have been used prior to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty.<sup>68</sup> The wedjat eye (Chicago OIM 11804) might also belong to these later objects. Openwork faience wedjat eyes are typical of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.<sup>69</sup> In addition to these amulets, two fragments of faience rings and various kinds of beads were found. The inlays consist mainly of plain fragments or slightly ribbed ones; as these fragments are quite small, an attribution to any specific object is not possible.



FIG. 15. Examples of jewellery from tomb 201: left Chicago OIM 11797; right (upper row): Chicago OIM 11799, 11800, 11801, 11798; right (lower row): Chicago OIM 11808, 11804, 11814 (author's photograph).

<sup>65</sup> See E. Feucht, *Pektorale nichtköniglicher Personen* (ÄA 22; Wiesbaden, 1971), 7–13 for options concerning the inscription.

<sup>66</sup> Feucht, *Pektorale* provides no example.

<sup>67</sup> This is based firstly on the fact that no artefact of unquestionable post-New Kingdom provenance can be identified among the objects, and furthermore on comparable examples from New Kingdom contexts.

<sup>68</sup> M. Hüttner, *Mumienamulette im Totenbrauchtum der Spätzeit: Eine Untersuchung an Objekten in der ägyptischen Sammlung des Kunsthistorischen Museums* (Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien 67, Wien, 1995), 36, based on W. M. F. Petrie, *Amulets* (London, 1914), 18–19.

<sup>69</sup> C. Müller-Winkler, *Die ägyptischen Objekt-Amulette* (OBO Series Archaeologica 5; Freiburg, 1987), 154–5 and Taf. VIII, 150–5. Nevertheless, an earlier date cannot be ruled out as there are also Eighteenth-Dynasty examples of openwork faience wedjat eyes. See Müller-Winkler, *Objekt-Amulette*, Taf. VI, 106–9.

### The vizier (Pa-)Rahotep



The owner of tomb 201 is without doubt the vizier (Pa-)Rahotep, who has been the subject of debate for at least a century.<sup>70</sup> Petrie proposed the idea that there was not one vizier, but indeed two viziers buried in the tomb, named Rahotep and Parahotep, mistaking the sarcophagus of Parahotep's wife, Heli, as belonging to the second vizier.<sup>71</sup> Although it was acknowledged that the names Parahotep and Rahotep could refer to one and the same individual, several subsequent authors similarly proposed the idea that two viziers with that name existed.<sup>72</sup> While it was easy to solve the problem of the two names once Chappaz published the sarcophagus fragments from tomb 201, proving that the second sarcophagus belonged to Heli,<sup>73</sup> another obstacle remained: in Brussels (E.5901) and London (BM 36531) two canopic jars of unknown provenance are held, both inscribed for Parahotep. As the jar in Brussels is inscribed for Kebehsenuf, just like a jar found in the tomb (Chicago OIM 11743 (fig.4)), they cannot be part of the same ensemble. D. Raue has put forward the idea that these canopic jars might belong to an extra-sepulchral context, based on 1) the known existence of extra-sepulchral shabti depots; 2) the fact that at least one individual is known to have had more than one set of canopic jars; and 3) the proven existence of a building of Parahotep at Saqqara.<sup>74</sup> Although evidence for such a practice is scarce, it is at least not inconceivable, especially given the fact that the family of Parahotep seems to have had a fondness for unusual ways to deal with the dead.<sup>75</sup>

Parahotep had a very long career and held several offices, the most important being vizier of the North; for a brief period he was even vizier of the whole country.<sup>76</sup> He is known to have served as vizier of the North from year 19 of Ramesses II at the latest, following his *sn*-brother Nebamun in office.<sup>77</sup> He also served as envoy to the Hittites,

<sup>70</sup> The two most recent works dealing with Parahotep are: D. Raue, 'Ein Wesir Ramses' II.', in H. Guksch and D. Polz (eds), *Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens* (Mainz, 1998), 341–9 and Raedler, in Gundlach and Klug (eds), *Das ägyptische Königtum*, 277–416. For a systematic overview of the wide range of older literature on Parahotep see there.

<sup>71</sup> Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment II*, 28–31.

<sup>72</sup> For example H. de Meulenaere, 'Deux vizirs de Ramsès II', *CdE XLI* (1966), 223–32.

<sup>73</sup> J.-L. Chappaz, 'Le sarcophage de Houner, épouse du vizir Râ-hotep, et deux fragments inédits du Musée d'Art et d'Histoire du Genève', *CdE LXI* (1986), 31–42.

<sup>74</sup> Raue, in Guksch and Polz (eds), *Stationen*, 349. New evidence for this building has turned up at the excavations south of the tomb of Horemheb in Saqqara, where a further block naming Parahotep was found. See M. J. Raven, V. Verschoor, M. M. Vugts and R. van Walsem, 'Architectural and Relief Fragments', in M. J. Raven, V. Verschoor, M. M. Vugts and R. van Walsem, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tutankhamun V: The Forecourt and the Area South of the Tomb with some Notes on the Tomb of Tia* (Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities 6; Turnhout, 2011), 59–60, no. 28.

<sup>75</sup> The peculiarities of the shabti custom as practised by Parahotep and his group will be subject to discussion at the end of this article. Examples for other double sets of canopics are difficult to ascertain. There is some evidence for Paser, the colleague of Parahotep as vizier of the South. Two canopics, clearly inscribed for him, were found in 1861 in Saqqara although he is known to have been buried in Thebes (TT 106). See Raedler, in Gundlach and Klug (eds), *Das ägyptische Königtum*, 309 and 337, no. Q\_4., 120–1. It should be mentioned that no canopics from Thebes inscribed for him are physically known. Therefore, this example has to remain somewhat dubious. I am indebted to B. Gessler for this suggestion.

<sup>76</sup> Raedler, in Gundlach and Klug (eds), *Das ägyptische Königtum*, 296. The sources for this are two inscriptions on votive vessels from Abydos (Cairo, JE 32054 and London, UC 39678) where he is called: *jmj-r3 njwt B.tj nj(.w) Šmꜥ Mḥw*. See Raedler, in Gundlach and Klug (eds), *Das ägyptische Königtum*, 360, no. Q\_5.17–18.


<sup>77</sup> Parahotep is known to have written the letter pBM 10568, which is dated to year 19 of Ramesses II. See Raedler, in Gundlach and Klug (eds), *Das ägyptische Königtum*, 361, no. Q\_5.19.

probably following the peace treaty of year 21 or the wedding of Ramesses II to a Hittite princess in year 35.<sup>78</sup> He held the office of vizier for at least 33 years before becoming high priest of Ptah in Memphis, following his father, Pahemnetjer, and high priest of Ra in Heliopolis. The date of his death is uncertain, though his promotion to these two offices provides a terminus post quem of year 52 of Ramesses II, when he was last mentioned as vizier.<sup>79</sup>

By marrying Heli he built a close relationship with the important family of the high priests of Onuris at Thinis and also became closer to the eminent high priest of Osiris at Abydos, Wenennefer, of whom Heli's father was a *sn*-brother, just as Parahotep was himself. By doing so he became part of an extensive network of high officials.

After his death, Parahotep did not fall into oblivion; some land near Heracleopolis was still connected to his name in the reign of Ramesses V,<sup>80</sup> and even in the Twenty-Seventh Dynasty he appears in an inscription from Wadi Hammamat as an ancestor of the master-builder Chnumibra, together with Imhotep.<sup>81</sup> Therefore, he can be considered one of the most important non-royal officials of the Ramesside Period.

#### Further individuals mentioned on objects from the tomb

Heli 

Heli is known to be the wife of the vizier Parahotep. After her husband's name, hers is the most frequently found in the tomb. As her sarcophagus was found in the burial chamber right beside Parahotep's sarcophagus, there is evidence that she was certainly buried in the tomb. Four shabtis can be assigned to her. She also appears on several other monuments from the tomb, such as the naos (Geneva, no. 25642b) and the double statue found by Naville.<sup>82</sup> She was the daughter of one of Parahotep's *sn*-brothers, the high priest of Onuris from Thinis called Minmose and his wife Buja/Chatnesut (table 1).<sup>83</sup>

Tjay or Tjy  var. 

The name Tjay or Tjy occurs on two objects in each variant, in addition to the two limestone shabtis discussed above. One of the objects is a very fragmented shabti of white faience on which no title is mentioned (Chicago OIM 11779). The other object is a *nms.t* vessel of green faience, on which Tjay bears the title of a *hm-ntr sn.nw n Wsjr* (fig. 5). The style of the simple shabti suggests a date not before the Nineteenth Dynasty; therefore it might be concluded that this shabti does not belong to the earlier high priest of Osiris, Tjay or To, mentioned on the limestone shabtis. The second object is somewhat more complicated. A high priest of Osiris might have held the title of *hm-ntr sn.nw n Wsjr* earlier in his career. Therefore, if the vessel does not belong to the earlier high priest Tjay, it could be taken as evidence for another high-ranking member of the priesthood of Osiris connected to tomb 201 in Sedment, and there is indeed one likely owner of the shabti and the vessel: Tjay, *hm-ntr n Wsjr*, who is shown on stela

<sup>78</sup> Raue, in Guksch and Polz (eds), *Stationen*, 350.

<sup>79</sup> Raedler, in Gundlach and Klug (eds), *Das ägyptische Königtum*, 297.

<sup>80</sup> Raue, in Guksch and Polz (eds), *Stationen*, 351.

<sup>81</sup> H. Altenmüller, 'Zur Frage der Vergöttlichung des Vezirs (Pa-)Rahotep', *JEA* 61 (1975), 158.

<sup>82</sup> Naville, *Ahmas el Medineh*, pl. XII, B.

<sup>83</sup> Raue, in Guksch and Polz (eds), *Stationen*, 350.

Cairo JE 47001 behind Parahotep adoring various gods. He is represented smaller, behind the vizier, but nothing else is known about this Tjay. In the other registers, two other men are shown behind Parahotep, the *wpw.tj nsw H3.tj-3y* and the *hrj pd.t n nb B.wj J.pwj3*. Although these men are also virtually unknown,<sup>84</sup> one can conclude from the stela, and from the way these individuals are depicted, that they belonged to a group around Parahotep, whether family or household. Raedler interprets the people depicted on the naos and stela Cairo JE 47001 as ‘Mittlernehmer’ for which Parahotep is a broker towards the gods.<sup>85</sup> Whatever interpretation is correct, one can conclude that they should be contemporaries of Parahotep, or probably a bit younger; it is possible that they are further sons of Parahotep, although this cannot be proven. There is no evidence that this younger Tjay ever became high priest of Osiris, making it unlikely that the large limestone shabtis relate to him. For this reason, I suggest that the small shabti fragment and the vessel belong to this younger Tjy/Tjay, who might have been buried in the tomb.

*Meri-su-(Maat?)* 

This name occurs on two shabtis; on both, the first part of the name is clearly legible, while the second part is damaged and the surface toward the lower fracture quite worn, so the hieroglyphs are not clearly legible. The relationship between Parahotep and Meri-su-Maat is unclear as he is not mentioned anywhere else, but it might be suggested that he is identical with a son of Parahotep named Meri. This man is known to have held the title Deputy of the House of Life<sup>86</sup> and might be identified with one of the *sn*-brothers of the high priest of Osiris, Wenennefer.<sup>87</sup> As both shabtis are of somewhat mediocre quality and on stylistic grounds might be dated to the later Nineteenth Dynasty, it seems plausible that he is at least not earlier than Parahotep, and most probably later.

*Baja* 

This individual is only known from a fragment of a large limestone shabti<sup>88</sup> and held the title of a *nb.t pr*. She is not known from any other source and her relationship with any other individual in the tomb is unknown.

### Tjay, high priest of Osiris



The name Tjay, connected with the title *hm-ntr tpj n Wsjr*, is mentioned on the two large limestone shabtis already discussed. Although the name Tjay is quite common, only one high priest of Osiris of that name is known from the New Kingdom, dating approximately to the transitional period between the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth Dynasties.<sup>89</sup> Therefore, the individual named on the shabtis from tomb 201 should

<sup>84</sup> According to Raedler, in Gundlach and Klug (eds), *Das ägyptische Königtum*, 374, this Hatiaiy might be the same as the boatman of the Menesh boat on the *naos* Geneva 25642b.

<sup>85</sup> Raedler, in Gundlach and Klug (eds), *Das ägyptische Königtum*, 373–5.

<sup>86</sup> Raue, in Guksch and Polz (eds), *Stationen*, Abb. 1.

<sup>87</sup> Raue, in Guksch and Polz (eds), *Stationen*, 347.

<sup>88</sup> Chicago OIM 11751.

<sup>89</sup> K. Kitchen, pers. comm., March 2011. For the later high priests of Osiris, see Kitchen, in S. Ikram and

be identified with this high priest of Osiris, who is also known from a shabti found by Petrie in Abydos on Heqareshu Hill.<sup>90</sup> He can most probably also be identified with an individual called To, who is mentioned on the statue Athens NM 106 where Parahotep is called:



*jmj-r3 njw.t B.tj R<sup>c</sup>-h<sup>t</sup>p m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw s3 s3b hm-ntr tpj n Wsjr T3 m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw.*<sup>91</sup>

That the names Tjay and To can refer to one and the same individual is shown by the inscriptions in TT 23 (temp. Merenptah) and by a shabti in Leiden where both variants are used.<sup>92</sup>

Nevertheless, this inscription is problematic in several respects. Firstly, the father of the vizier Parahotep is known to have been Pahemnetjer, high priest of Ptah in Memphis.<sup>93</sup> Secondly, Parahotep and To are unrelated by blood.<sup>94</sup> Thirdly, Parahotep and To are separated by two generations. Raue has proposed that the reference to To as father should not be taken as evidence for a blood relationship but as ‘eine ehrenhafte Einbeziehung der höherrangigen Persönlichkeit in die abydenische Priesterfamilie’.<sup>95</sup> This interpretation is very convincing, although it is unclear whether the Abydene descendants wanted to include the higher-ranking Parahotep in their family or whether it was an honourable reference to the founder of a dynasty of high priests of Osiris to whom Parahotep had a close relationship.<sup>96</sup> The suggestion that the emic Egyptian term *s3* exceeded the meaning of ‘biological son’, which M. Fitzenreiter has termed so strikingly ‘sanguine Obsession’,<sup>97</sup> has been put forward by several authors, and also applies to other terms such as *jt* (‘father’) and *sn* (‘brother’).

#### *The relationship between To/Tjay, his descendants and the family of Parahotep*

The second term—*sn*—brings us to the question of the nature of the relationship between Parahotep and Tjay. If we assume that the shabtis of Tjay did not end up in the tomb of Parahotep by chance, we have to ask first if there is any connection between Tjay and Parahotep. And there is indeed one.

As mentioned before, Tjay was the founder of a dynasty of high priests of Osiris that lasted at least into the late Nineteenth, if not into the Twentieth Dynasty. The grandson of Tjay was the well-known high priest of Osiris, Wenennefer, who left many

A. Dodson (eds), *Beyond the Horizon: Studies in Egyptian Art, Archaeology, and History in Honour of Barry J. Kemp* (Cairo, 2008), 185–7.

<sup>90</sup> S. D’Auria, P. Lacovara and C. H. Roehrig, *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston, 1988), 152.

<sup>91</sup> KRI III, 451.11–12.

<sup>92</sup> For TT 23 see F. Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole: Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie* (Theben 13; Mainz, 1996), 206–9. The texts from the tomb are to be found in KRI IV, 107–19. The shabti Leiden AST 65 is published in Schneider, *Shabtis* II, 71, pl. 99 and III, 25, no. 3.2.1.49. I am thankful to Professor Kitchen for these references.

<sup>93</sup> This relationship is mentioned on the statue fragment BM 712, KRI III, 65.6–14.

<sup>94</sup> Raue, in Guksch and Polz (eds), *Stationen*, Abb. 1.

<sup>95</sup> Raue, in Guksch and Polz (eds), *Stationen*, 350.

<sup>96</sup> For this ‘dynasty’ see K. Kitchen, ‘A Brief Visit to Some Ramesside Friends at Abydos’, in S. Ikram and A. Dodson (eds), *Beyond the Horizon*, 185–7.

<sup>97</sup> M. Fitzenreiter, ‘Überlegungen zum Kontext der “Familienstelen” und ähnlicher Objekte’, in M. Fitzenreiter (ed.), *Genealogie – Realität und Fiktion von Identität* (IBAES 5; London, 2005), 86–7.

monuments mentioning not only him, but also members of his large family,<sup>98</sup> and non blood-related kin. There is one group of three individuals referred to as ‘*sn*’.<sup>99</sup> This group includes Parahotep’s father-in-law, Minmose, who held the position of the high priest of Onuris in Thinis; he might have been the son-in-law of Wenennefer, as at Abydos Minmose and Wenennefer shared a kind of chapel, if not a tomb.<sup>100</sup> The next ‘*sn*’ is the vizier Nebamun, who lived earlier and held his office in the reigns from Horemheb to Ramesses II; he may have been the immediate predecessor of Parahotep in the office of the northern vizier.<sup>101</sup> This provides further proof that the term ‘*sn*’ in this case does not refer to a brother related by blood. Last but not least, the third ‘*sn*’ of Wenennefer is Parahotep himself.

Furthermore, there is a group of seven individuals called ‘*s3*’ of Wenennefer.<sup>102</sup> Although it is not known if all of them were sons of Wenennefer, it has been proposed that the Meri mentioned amongst that group might be identified with Parahotep’s son.<sup>103</sup> The importance of the family group is furthermore stressed by the fact that Hori and Yuyu, who followed their father Wenennefer in the office of the high priest of Osiris at Abydos, frequently mention their father’s name on their monuments.<sup>104</sup>

The creation of these groups, not known for other families to this extent, shows that some kind of close personal relationship existed, going beyond ideas of a communal spirit of other contemporaneous high-ranking officials in the Egyptian state of the Ramesside Period. Certain officials become nodal points within these networks, such as Wenennefer.<sup>105</sup> As can be shown by the grouped tombs of Wenennefer and Minmose at Abydos, this sense of togetherness seems to have lasted into death, and it is within this setting that the shabtis of Tjay must be interpreted (see table 2).

#### *Was Tjay buried in Sedment tomb 201?*

In order to reassess the importance and the meaning of the two shabtis of Tjay, the question of whether Tjay was buried in tomb 201 in Sedment or not must first be answered. To begin with, it must be noted that there is no absolute proof that Tjay was not buried at Sedment, especially considering that absence of evidence does not necessarily give evidence of absence.<sup>106</sup> As a part of my argumentation is based on the absence of evidence, this imperative has to be borne in mind.

<sup>98</sup> For an overview, see Kitchen, in Ikram and Dodson (eds), *Beyond the Horizon*, 185.

<sup>99</sup> Raue, in Guksch and Polz (eds), *Stationen*, 342–3, examples 20–3.

<sup>100</sup> On Minmose and objects from Abydos, see U. Efficand and A. Efficand, ‘Minmose in Abydos’, *GM* 198 (2004), 5–18. As for the relationship, they state: ‘Er war mit Wenennefer, dem Hohenpriester des Osiris von Abydos, verwandt...’ (Efficand and Efficand, *GM* 198, 216). In her reconstruction of the family, Bryan, *CdE* 61, 30, makes Minmose the son-in-law of Wenennefer. This collides chronologically with Parahotep, who is known to have married a daughter of Minmose, unless Parahotep had married Heli at the end of his life. Otherwise Wenennefer and Parahotep would be divided by two generations, which seems unlikely. Therefore I follow Raue, in Guksch and Polz (eds), *Stationen*, Abb. 1. who gives no father for Buja/Chanesut, the wife of Minmose.

<sup>101</sup> Raedler, in Gundlach and Klug (eds), *Das ägyptische Königtum*, 298, Tab. 2. For the person of Nebamun and his monuments, see *ibid.*, 303–9.

<sup>102</sup> Raue, in Guksch and Polz (eds), *Stationen*, Abb. 1. For these sons, see, for example, the inscription on the statue of Wenennefer and Mery, Cairo JE 32357; KRI III, 447–9.

<sup>103</sup> Raue, in Guksch and Polz (eds), *Stationen*, 347. See *ibid.* n.62 for further references.

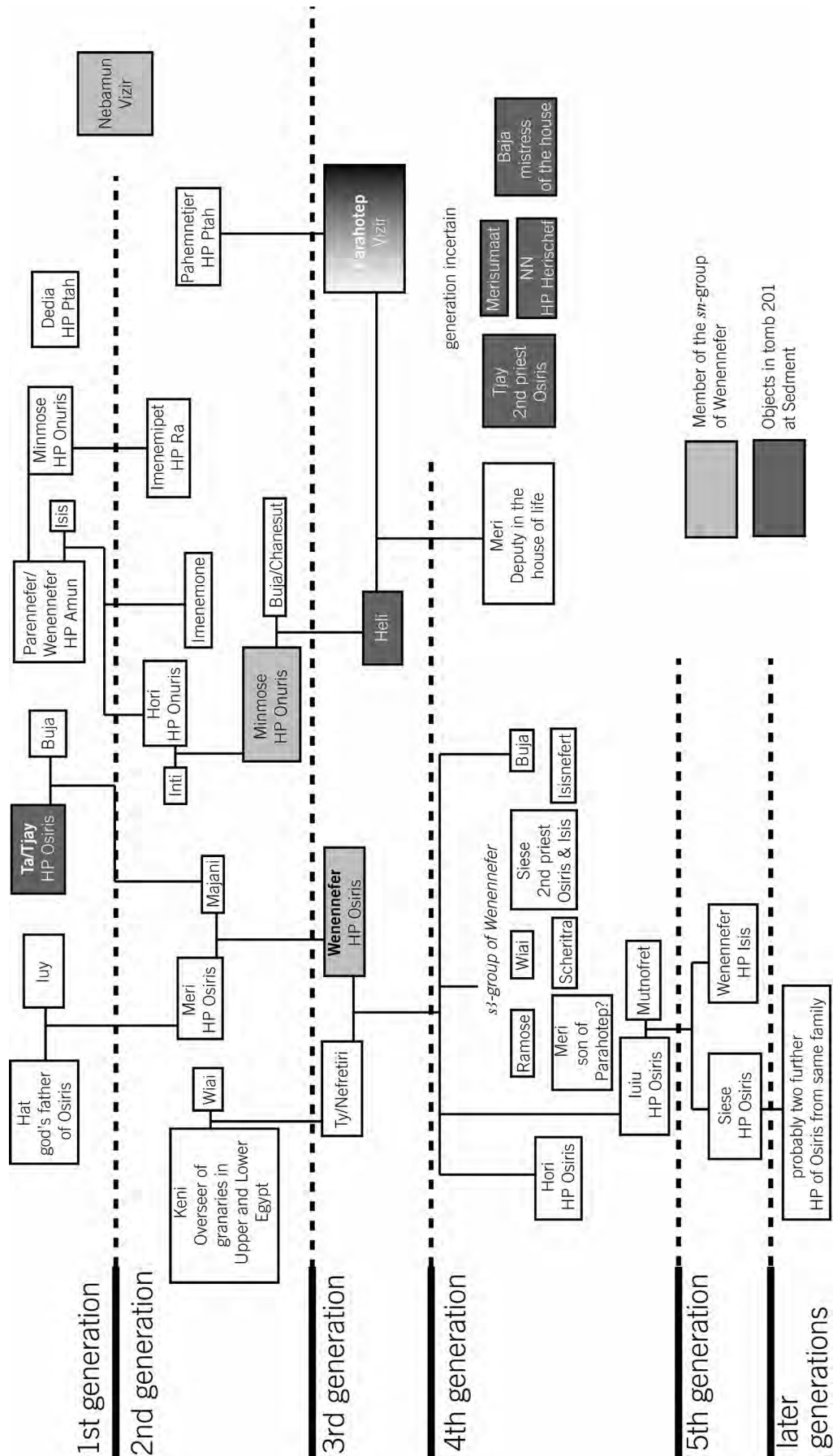
<sup>104</sup> For Hori, see the statues Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek ÆIN 1492 and Chicago OIM 7204, and a limestone stela from Abydos, KRI III, 461–2. For Yuyu, see the statue Louvre A. 67, KRI III, 462–3.

<sup>105</sup> Raedler, in Gundlach and Klug (eds), *Das ägyptische Königtum*, 398.

<sup>106</sup> On this problem, see J. Gee, ‘Egyptologists’ Fallacies: Fallacies Arising from Limited Evidence’, *Journal of Egyptian History* 3 (2010), 137–58.



TABLE 2 *The families of Parahotep and Tjay; after Raue, in Guksch and Polz (eds), Stationen, Abb. 1. (HP = high priest)*



Firstly, as I have tried to show before, no other object from the tomb can be assigned to Tjay, high priest of Osiris, and the other objects mentioning an individual of that name actually refer to another individual. In comparison to Parahotep, to whom at least sixteen shabtis can be assigned, only two can be assigned to Tjay. There are also no remaining fragments of any other object, such as a sarcophagus, which would be expected for such a high-ranking figure. Moreover, Tjay is also absent from all of the relief fragments from the superstructure. If the tomb had originally been built for Tjay, one would expect at least some fragment remaining. In addition, the burial chamber of Parahotep and Heli being at the tomb's second level is an argument in favour of Parahotep being the builder of the tomb. It is conceivable, given the amorphous plan of the subterranean chamber-system, that the tomb was subject to some kind of later reworking, but in my opinion it can hardly be supposed that either the burial of Tjay was removed from the lower chamber in order to lay Parahotep to rest there or that Parahotep should have built an additional burial chamber on the lower level after the interment of Tjay, who would have been buried on the upper level in this case. For these reasons, I believe that Tjay was not buried in tomb 201 at Sedment.

#### Implications of the occurrence of the shabtis

Tjay, high priest of Osiris, was then, according to the evidence, not buried in tomb 201 at Sedment, although there was a close relationship between the families of Tjay and Parahotep.

The fact of the bodily absence of the dead Tjay, if not proven incorrect by future research, confronts one with the conundrum of the two shabtis' significance. It is apparent that any explanation has to move beyond one-dimensional ideas of the functionality of shabtis in the New Kingdom as the servant of the dead.

Their multi-functionality has been put forward by several authors in the last years, based on H. D. Schneider's work.<sup>107</sup> Resting on evidence from her research into extra-sepulchral shabti deposits, F. Pumpenmeier described a shabti as 'eine multifunktionale Ritualstatuette, die den Dargestellten in verschiedenen Rollen jeweils punktuell vertreten kann. So konnten Schabtis auch außerhalb des Grabes an (heiligen) Plätzen deponiert werden, an denen der Verstorbene körperlich anwesend zu sein wünschte'.<sup>108</sup> They are meant to simply encode the individual depicted as a 'Mitglied der jenseitig-sinnweltlichen Sphäre'.<sup>109</sup> Referring to the problem of the occurrence of shabtis during the Amarna Period, K. Widmeier points to the aspect of permanence that is, according to him, a safeguard for a permanent participation in the provisions of the Aten.<sup>110</sup> F. Poole furthermore rejects the idea that in the later New Kingdom the shabti became a mere slave for the dead.<sup>111</sup> He stresses the idea that the concept of a shabti is still to be

<sup>107</sup> Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 260f.

<sup>108</sup> F. Pumpenmeier, *Eine Gunstgabe von Seiten des Königs: Ein extrasepulchrals Schabtidapot Qen-Amuns in Abydos* (SAGA 19, Heidelberg, 1998), 77.

<sup>109</sup> Pumpenmeier, *Eine Gunstgabe*, 77.

<sup>110</sup> K. Widmeier, 'Totenfiguren ohne Totenreich: Überlegungen zu den königlichen Uschebti aus Amarna', in K. Peust (ed.), *Miscellanea in honorem Wolfhart Westendorf* (GM Beihefte 3, Göttingen, 2008), 158.

<sup>111</sup> F. Poole, 'Slave or Double? A Reconsideration of the Conception of the Shabti in the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period', in C. J. Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists* (OLA 82, Leuven, 1998), 897–8.

an ‘image of the owner’ and that they are not depersonalised.<sup>112</sup> Last but not least, one must not forget the particular use of the so-called ‘stick shabtis’ of the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties. According to P. Whelan, they might have served as images of the deceased in festivals of the dead, being the focus of offerings.<sup>113</sup>

With this multi-functionality in mind, what is the physical evidence for such a manifold meaning? First, there are extra-sepulchral shabti depositions, especially attested at Abydos.<sup>114</sup> Notably, this is attested for Tjay, of whom a shabti was found at the so-called Heqareshu Hill at Abydos, as well as for another family member, Minmose.<sup>115</sup> In this case, the participation in the rituals and festivities connected to Osiris, and the proximity to the god, may have played a key role; the bodily presence of the deceased might be considered as the function of the shabti itself. Secondly, in the late Second Intermediate Period (but also after), relatives and other individuals close to the deceased dedicated (“stick”) shabtis, which are found in the deceased’s tomb and the superstructures.<sup>116</sup> On the early examples, a spell is explicitly mentioned that makes it clear that the shabti of the was meant to carry out manual labour in place of the deceased.<sup>117</sup> Shabtis were donated until the Nineteenth Dynasty.<sup>118</sup> As five such shabtis are even known from the tomb of Tutankhamun,<sup>119</sup> the purpose of these figures might be two- or even threefold: on the one hand, they might have been meant to work for the deceased, while on the other hand, the deceased was close to the dead king, participating in his provisions. Thirdly, the donation of a shabti might have been a public act<sup>120</sup> that served to show the high status of the donor to the living.

These ideas bring us to the function of the two shabtis of Tjay at Sedment, which is at least threefold and related to the sphere of the dead as well as the sphere of the living. The first aspect might be connected to the idea of presence and provision in the netherworld; the honoured ancestor is present in the tomb of Parahotep and they are in this way close for eternity. Thus, the dead Parahotep might benefit from the provisions that are made for Tjay. Similarly, the already deceased Tjay might take part in the provisions provided for Parahotep; the placement of the shabtis could therefore be an act of piety. Nevertheless, it is still a possibility that the shabtis found their way into Parahotep’s tomb after Tjay’s tomb had been robbed, or that they were brought to Parahotep’s tomb by family members.<sup>121</sup> To reach a firm conclusion as to whether

<sup>112</sup> Poole, in Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings*, 897.

<sup>113</sup> P. Whelan, *Mere Scraps of Rough Wood? 17th–18th Dynasty Stick Shabtis in the Petrie Museum and other Collections* (GHP Egyptology 6, London, 2007), 45–7.

<sup>114</sup> For the best-documented example of this custom, see Pumpenmeier, *Eine Gunstgabe*. For an overview, also with respect to other sites such as the Serapeum, see Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 268–83.

<sup>115</sup> D’Auria, Lacovara and Roehrig, *Mummies and Magic*, 152. For the shabtis of Minmose, see F. Pumpenmeier, ‘Heqareshu-Hügel’, in G. Dreyer, U. Hartung, T. Hikade, E. C. Köhler, V. Müller, and F. Pumpenmeier, ‘Umm el-Qaab, Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof: 9./10. Vorbericht’, *MDAIK* 54 (1998), 126.

<sup>116</sup> For the find-spots of the ‘stick shabtis’, see Whelan, *Mere Scraps*, 1–24.

<sup>117</sup> Poole, in Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings*, 898.

<sup>118</sup> Poole, in Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings*, 898. For an overview of donated shabtis, see Schneider, *Shabtis I*, 295–302.

<sup>119</sup> Poole, in Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings*, 898.

<sup>120</sup> Probably this act was not public in the sense of Egyptian society as a whole, but public as far as the court and the people connected to it were concerned.

<sup>121</sup> A case where parts of the tomb equipment of the parents were brought to the tomb of the son and his wife is known from Twentieth-Dynasty Thebes. The tomb of Amenemope (TT 148) contained the remains of the burials of his father Tjanefer from TT 158 where his sarcophagus remained. The robbery of the parents’

these are indeed possibilities, it would be necessary to know when the shabtis were made. If indeed dating to the late Eighteenth Dynasty, they might derive from Tjay's own burial. If made in the Nineteenth Dynasty they might have been made specifically for Parahotep's burial. But, as said before, the type of shabti cannot be dated with certainty to either of the periods and this question must remain unanswered for now.<sup>122</sup>

The second aspect might be an attempt to preserve the idea of the group and its specific identity in the netherworld; maintaining a sense of togetherness even though the group members are not buried close to one another.

The third aspect relates to the world of the living. As it can be assumed that the burial of an official as important as Parahotep would have attracted a large crowd of people involved in the ceremony, as well as bystanders, the presence of other members of the family as well as the group of 'sn.w' and 's3.w' can be postulated. Within this setting, the giving of two shabtis as a gift can be interpreted as a means of strengthening the bonds within the group. It might also display the connections of the group to people involved in the burial who were not members of the group.

The three aspects are not mutually exclusive and can easily be integrated into an overall picture. This concerns, on the one hand, new ideas about the wide range of functions of shabtis in New Kingdom Egypt. On the other hand, the presence of the two shabtis allows an insight into the means by which group identity was constructed within a group of highly successful families of high-ranking officials of the Ramesside Period.<sup>123</sup>

### Conclusion

The new evidence from the tomb of Parahotep at Sedment provides several insights into the burial customs of a group of high-ranking people of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The variety of objects buried with the dead and the presumably monumental size of the tomb, with its exclusive choice of materials, bears witness to the extraordinary status of this group.

The presence of a couple of names on shabtis and other objects suggests that the tomb was meant to be the resting place not only of the tomb owner and his wife, but also of further members of his family or household, although the precise nature of the relationship between the additional individuals buried with Parahotep cannot be established.

tomb is known from pBM 10054. See B. G. Ockinga, 'Use, Reuse and Abuse of "Sacred Space": Observations from Dra Abu al-Naga', in P. F. Dorman and B. B. Bryan (eds), *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes* (SAOC 61, Chicago, 2007), 144–5.

<sup>122</sup> Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 191 dates the shabti to the reign of Seti I; equally, the shabti of Tjay from Abydos (Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 189). But it might well be that he dated the shabti by the known biographical dates of the individual.

<sup>123</sup> One might pose the question why a shabti of Tjay and not of Wenennefer, who was of the same generation, was found in tomb 201? Although no find in tomb 201 at Sedment directly relates to Wenennefer there is an object that might be related to him. During his work in 1904, C. T. Currelly found an extremely well-made shabti of Nineteenth-Dynasty date inscribed for a *sš mdw(?)-ntr n Wsjr Wnn-nfr* (see Currelly, in Petrie, Ehnasya (EES 26), pl. XLI, 3. The piece was sent to New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 05.4.124. A good picture is available online at <<http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100028352>> accessed 19.12.2011.). But as, on the one hand, the shabti is not mentioned in the text nor bears any other mark that might give it a context and, on the other hand, the title '*hm-ntr tpj*' is missing, the identification with 'our' Wenennefer must remain speculative, although very tempting.

The presence of two shabtis of the high priest of Osiris, Tjay, who was, according to all available evidence, not buried in the tomb, adds a new facet to the already well-known common identity shared by a group of high-ranking Egyptian officials in the Early Ramesside Period. This expression of group identity through the use of shabtis also adds new evidence towards the understanding of a multi-faceted shabti custom, which goes much beyond the idea of a worker in the netherworld and which might have included the living as well as the dead.