

# **THE NEW KINGDOM NECROPOLIS OF MEMPHIS**

## **Historical and Iconographical Studies**

*by*

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Chapter Two

### **The Overseer of the Treasury Maya: A Biographical Sketch**

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+ additions & corrections

## 2 | The Overseer of the Treasury Maya: A Biographical Sketch

IN recent years several scholars (notably Hornung,<sup>1</sup> Hari,<sup>2</sup> Schneider,<sup>3</sup> and Graefe<sup>4</sup>) have written articles about the monuments and the career of one of the highest officials of the end of the 18th Dynasty, the Overseer of the Treasury and Overseer of All Works of the King, Maya. The re-discovery and subsequent excavation of Maya's great tomb at Saqqâra by the EES-Leiden mission has produced important new evidence,<sup>5</sup> and although work on the tomb and its finds is still far from being finished, some problems regarding Maya's life and career can already be solved.

The first question that can now be answered with certainty is whether there were only one, or two different Mayas.<sup>6</sup> This problem has been discussed by Hari who concluded that one should make a careful distinction between a Theban Maya, who was Overseer of Works under Tut'ankhamun and Horemheb, and a Memphite Maya, the owner of the Saqqâra tomb, who, according to Hari, lived during and after the reign of Ramesses II.<sup>7</sup> For this theory he produced three arguments. In the first place the known titles of the Theban and Memphite Mayas did not seem to agree in every respect; secondly,

<sup>1</sup> E. Hornung, *Das Grab des Horemheb im Tal der Könige* (Bern, 1971), 21-23.

<sup>2</sup> R. Hari, "Maya, ou la persécution", *Orientalia* 43 (1974), 153-161.

<sup>3</sup> H. D. Schneider, "Maya l'amateur de statues. À propos de trois statues fameuses du Musée de Leyde et d'une sépulture oubliée à Saqqarah", *BSFE* 69 (1974), 20-48.

<sup>4</sup> E. Graefe, "Das Grab des Schatzhausvorstehers und Bauleiters Maya in Saqqara", *MDAIK* 31 (1975), 187-220; id., "Maya, Architekt des Horemheb", *GM* 16 (1975), 9-15; id., "Ein wiederaufgetauchtes Relieffragment aus dem Grabe des Maya in Saqqara", *MDAIK* 33 (1977), 31-34; id., "A Relief Fragment from an Egyptian Tomb of the Late Eighteenth Dynasty", *Porticus The Journal of the Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester* 4 (1981), 1-8.

<sup>5</sup> See the preliminary reports in *JEA* 73 (1987), 1-9; 74 (1988), 1-14; 77 (1991), 7-21. Cf. also J. Berlandini-Keller, "Découverte à Saqqara", *Connaissance des Arts* 413/414 (1986), 62-69; M. J. Raven, "De herontdekking van het graf van Maya", *Phoenix* 32 (1986), 47-54; G. T. Martin, "Mayas grav i Sakkara", *Papyrus* 9/3-4 (1989), 12-18; id., "Searching for the Tomb of Maya", *Minerva* 2: 3 (1991), 7-15; id., *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis* (London, 1991), 147-188.

<sup>6</sup> See now also A. A. M. A. Amer, "A Further Note on Maya", *Orientalia* 55 (1986), 171-173.

<sup>7</sup> Hari, *op. cit.*, 158-159.

Maya's mother is called Weret in a graffito left by him in the tomb of Tuthmosis IV,<sup>8</sup> whereas in the Memphite tomb of Maya his mother is called Henutiunu. The name of Maya's father, the *šb* luy, was known only from the Theban graffito. Finally, again according to Hari, several re-used blocks were found in Maya's tomb that were inscribed for a Horemheb, High Steward of the Ramesseum. To begin with the latter argument - this is based on a misunderstanding. Blocks from the tombs of both Maya and this Ramesside Horemheb were found re-used in the nearby Monastery of Apa Jeremias,<sup>9</sup> but these blocks have nothing in common except that both these officials had at various times a tomb in the Memphite necropolis. Quibell's own report was probably at the root of the problem, for he says that a square pillar (actually a pilaster) from the tomb of Maya "also bears an inscription of Horemheb, in whose tomb, probably, the stone was first used".<sup>10</sup> Amer has already pointed out, however, that the inscription in question does not mention a Horemheb, and that it is moreover contemporary with the tomb of Maya.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, the text can no longer be checked, but on the basis of Quibell's drawing I would suggest the reading *šdm-š' (n) Mry(t) m pš(y) s pr Pth-m-ḥb* "the servant of Meryt in/of her estate, Pthmḥeb".<sup>12</sup>

As regards the apparent differences between the titles of the "Theban" and "Memphite" Mayas, these have now vanished through the discovery of additional texts in the tomb. The title of "Leader of the Festival of Amun" in particular, which was absent from the Memphite monuments, has now been found there twice.<sup>13</sup> The most definitive proof of the identity of the two

<sup>8</sup> *Urk.* IV, 2170-2171.

<sup>9</sup> See PM III<sup>2</sup>/2, 667-668. Hari appears to have been under the mistaken impression that Quibell excavated the tomb of Maya (*op. cit.*, 153, 157); in actual fact, Quibell found the Maya blocks during his excavation of the Coptic monastery of Apa Jeremias.

<sup>10</sup> J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1908-9, 1909-10): The Monastery of Apa Jeremias* (Cairo, 1912), 144. Cf. Graefe, *MDAIK* 31, 188 n. 11, who confused the issue even further by stating that Quibell gives neither drawing nor photograph of the inscription; actually Quibell clearly refers to the drawing in his Pl. Ixx: 5.

<sup>11</sup> Amer, *op. cit.*, 171.

<sup>12</sup> Similar figures occur on the sides of the pilaster LD 242c. Two further servants (*šdm-š'*), one of Maya, the other of Meryt, are mentioned on two rock-stelae in the underground complex of the tomb. Amer connects the element *Pth* with "an obscure title (partly broken away) connected with the Estate of Pth", but the inscription, although inadequately rendered by Quibell, does seem to be complete.

Mayas, however, has been the discovery of the name of Maya's father Iuy on a large falence djed-symbol (Fig. 9) in the underground chambers of the tomb.<sup>14</sup>

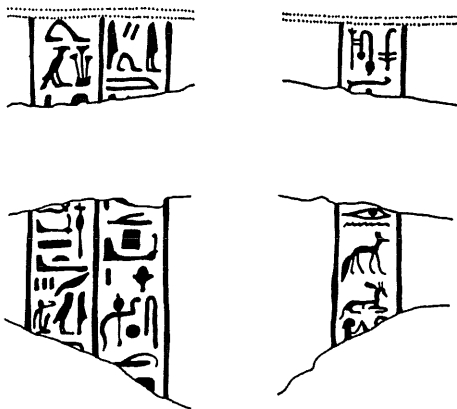


Fig. 9. Text on *djed*-symbol from the burial complex of Maya. Author's facsimile drawing.

Unfortunately, the problem of the different names of Maya's mother cannot be solved so easily. In Maya's tomb two women are shown receiving offerings from Maya's brothers Nahuher and Nakht:<sup>15</sup> a "songstress of Amun and musician of Hathor *nbt*[...].*f* *wrt*", without any indication of her relationship to Maya and, behind her, "his mother, the songstress of Amun, the lady (*nbt-pr*) Henutiunu". In Maya's graffito in the tomb of Tuthmosis IV the name of his mother is introduced by the phrase *msw n*, "born of", and there can therefore be no doubt that this Weret was Maya's natural mother. Graefe has tried to solve the problem by restoring the lacuna as *nbt*[*-pr nt st-ib*].*f*, implying that the Weret depicted in the tomb was a secondary wife or concubine of Maya, and a different person to Maya's mother Weret; according to Graefe, Henutiunu is just another name for Weret the mother of Maya.<sup>16</sup> In other words, there were two different Werets, one of whom was actually

<sup>13</sup> Texts on the inner doorjambs of the pylon gateway ( *ssm-hb n 'l'mn*, var. *ssm-hb n 'l'mn m 'l'pt-Swt* ); elsewhere in the tomb Maya is called *ssm-hb n p's nb n'trw*.

<sup>14</sup> The object is incomplete; the fragmentary text on one side reads: *ss-nsw lmy-r 'pr-hd'* [ *My* ] *lr:n s'ib 'w* [ *y*... ]. See *OMRO* 70, 28, Pl. 1: 1 and for the reverse *JEA* 74, Pl. iii: 2.

<sup>15</sup> *LD* III, 240d; cf. Graefe, *MDAIK* 31, Fig. 3b.

<sup>16</sup> *op. cit.*, 189; id., *GM* 16, 12-13.

called Henutiunu. This rather awkward solution lacks conviction, the more so since a qualification like *nbt-pr nt st-lb.f*, "his favourite wife", would almost certainly have been applied to a chief wife (i.e. Meryt) rather than to a secondary wife. Moreover, the surviving traces on the wall do not support Graefe's restoration; in fact they would seem to support the reading *nbt-[pr, mwt.]f Wrt*, despite the fact that the phrase "his mother" normally precedes the title, as Graefe has correctly noted. Unless some further evidence comes forth in the future, e.g. through possible relief finds in the area surrounding the tomb, it seems safest to assume, with Helck and Schneider, that Weret was Maya's natural mother and that Henutiunu was his father's second wife (hence her second place in the relief) and Maya's stepmother.<sup>17</sup> Henutiunu appears again in the great scene in the pylon gateway, where she and Meryt welcome Maya into the tomb, but her prominence there becomes less surprising if we assume that Weret died early in Maya's childhood and that it was Henutiunu who actually brought him up.

Apart from his parents, three brothers of Maya are depicted in the tomb, viz. Nahuher, Nakht and Parennefer. Of these, Nakht was attached to the same institution as his brother Maya, being Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands. Parennefer was Overseer of Bowmen and Overseer of Horses. Both Nakht and Parennefer are shown offering to Maya, but in this they are by far overshadowed by their brother Nahuher who clearly assumes the role of chief officiant – the task usually fulfilled by the deceased's son. From this and from the fact that no sons of Maya are attested in the tomb or on any other monuments we may safely conclude that Maya and Meryt did not have any male children. Whenever a group of people is shown offering to the deceased couple, Nahuher is always shown first, and in some important scenes he is shown alone. In the latter cases he is invariably depicted on a very much smaller scale than Maya and Meryt, sometimes to such an extent that it becomes almost ridiculous.<sup>18</sup> This fact, together with the relatively low and rather unspecific titles of Nahuher (royal scribe and steward [*imy-r pr*]), suggests that Nahuher was still a young man who stood at the beginning of his career when the tomb of his older and much more important brother

<sup>17</sup> W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*, PrAeg 3 (Leiden, 1958), 406; Schneider, *op. cit.*, 39.

<sup>18</sup> This applies in particular to the scene on the south reveal of the great pylon gateway. The three main figures on the relief are Maya, Meryt and Henutiunu, who are all depicted life-size; behind Maya stands his brother Nahuher, the top of his head barely reaching halfway up Maya's shin.

Maya was decorated. In fact he may well have been a half-brother rather than a full brother, a son of Henutiunu rather than of Weret. It has been suggested that Maya's brother Nahuher is to be identified with the later High Steward of the Theban Ramesseum of the same name.<sup>19</sup> If we are correct in assuming that Nahuher was much younger than Maya this becomes a distinct possibility. Only two monuments of this Nahuher are known so far, a stela of unknown (but probably Theban) provenance in a private collection - formerly in the Michaelides collection - which also mentions his son Neferrenpet,<sup>20</sup> and a shabti from Saqqâra in Leiden.<sup>21</sup> That this Nahuher was buried in the Memphite necropolis need not necessarily follow from this single shabti, but we know that several high officials attached to the Ramesseum were buried in the area west of the Monastery of Apa Jeremias,<sup>22</sup> in the immediate vicinity of Maya's tomb, and it seems likely that this applied also to Nahuher. At present it is impossible to prove the identity of the two Nahuheres, but the possibility can certainly not be ruled out.

We have already seen that Maya and Meryt did not have any male children. One scene in the tomb, however, suggests that they did in fact have two daughters. Unfortunately this scene is incomplete.<sup>23</sup> Behind the seated couple, Maya and Meryt, stand two girls; of the labels identifying them only one has survived, giving the name of the first girl as Maya-menti ("Maya remains"). No further reference to these young females is made in the tomb, but a stela in the Museum in Leiden<sup>24</sup> may give another precious piece of information about them. The stela dates from the end of Dynasty XVIII and comes from the Memphite necropolis, presumably from the tomb of its owners, the Overseer of Cattle of Amun, Djehuty and his wife Tuy, who are shown adoring Osiris in the top register. In the lower register Djehuty and

<sup>19</sup> Helck, *op. cit.*, 375; Schneider, *op. cit.*, 41; id., *Shabtis II* (Leiden, 1977), 63.

<sup>20</sup> E. F. Wente, "Two Ramesside Stelas Pertaining to the Cult of Amenophis I", *JNES* 22 (1963), 30-36.

<sup>21</sup> Leiden 3.2.1.24; see Schneider, *Shabtis II*, 63; III, Pl. 21.

<sup>22</sup> J. van Dijk, "The Development of the Memphite Necropolis in the Post-Amarna Period", in: A.-P. Zivie (ed.), *Memphis et ses nécropoles au Nouvel Empire*. (Paris, 1988), 39 (= below, Chapter 8, p. 192).

<sup>23</sup> For reasons which escape us Lepsius left this wall partially unrecorded; the scene in question is a direct continuation of the depiction of the seated couple in LD III, 241b.

<sup>24</sup> Leiden V 51 (Inv. AP 56); P. A. A. Boeser, *Beschr.* VI (Den Haag, 1913), Pl. xxii, No. 40, *OMRO* 70, 28, Pl. 2: 2.

Tuy receive offerings from their funerary priest who is followed by a group of four women and a small child. The women are identified as *nj msw n pr.s* "the children of her (i.e. Tuy's) house", a phrase denoting not somebody's natural children, but members of the household who have to all intents and purposes become adopted children.<sup>25</sup> Of the women belonging to Tuy's household, one is called Maya-menti and another Tjau-en-Maya ("Breath-of-Maya"). In view of the date and provenance of the stela and of the apparent uniqueness of these names – composed with the name of Maya – there can be little doubt that the Maya-menti depicted in Maya's tomb is identical with the Maya-menti shown on the stela; if so, the other girl in Maya's tomb might be identified as Tjau-en-Maya. This could possibly mean that Maya and Meryt's daughters were quite young when their parents died and that they were subsequently adopted by Tuy and her husband Djehuty.

Another interesting problem is the length of Maya's career. It is well known that he held his chief high ranking titles of Overseer of the Treasury and Overseer of all Works of His Majesty in Karnak and in the Valley of the Kings under Tut'ankhamun and Horemheb. Various scholars have called him a "protégé" or "favourite" of Horemheb and have implied that he owed his career to Horemheb, but there seems to be little ground for this, for Maya already held the same offices under Tut'ankhamun and Ay, and a stela fragment in the Liverpool University collection<sup>26</sup> shows him on a royal mission levying taxes and restoring the cults in the temples from Elephantine to the Delta in Year 8 of Tut'ankhamun. Although Horemheb was acting as regent under Tut'ankhamun and Maya could hardly have carried out his duties without Horemheb's approval, there is no evidence to suggest that he was actually appointed by Horemheb. It is not necessary to go into detail here as regards Maya's functions; several others have already outlined his duties: he was responsible for the burial of Tut'ankhamun and Ay, and doubtless for the beginning of the work on Horemheb's royal tomb. Presumably it was also Maya who arranged the reburial of Akhenaten (?) and his mother Queen Tiy in Tomb No. 55 in the Valley of the Kings during the reign of Tut'ankhamun.<sup>27</sup> He also

<sup>25</sup> D. Franke, *Ägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich*, HÄS 3 (Hamburg, 1983), 265 with n. 2.

<sup>26</sup> A.A.M.A. Amer, "Tutankhamun's Decree for the Chief Treasurer Maya", *RdE* 36 (1985), 17-20.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. C. N. Reeves, "A Reappraisal of Tomb 55 in the Valley of the Kings", *JEA* 67 (1981), 48-

supervised the building activities of his King in Karnak, work on the central colonnade in the great Hypostyle Hall, on the 2nd, 9th and 10th pylons and on the avenue of sphinxes connecting the temples of Amun and Mut. However, we know very little about the beginning and the end of his career. It has been suggested by Hari and Schneider that Maya is to be identified with one of Akhenaten's courtiers, May, the owner of the unfinished tomb No.14 at Amarna,<sup>28</sup> whose name is spelled without the final *ʿ* which is usually found in writings of Maya's name. Most of May's titles agree with those of Maya, although Maya's principal title of "Overseer of the Treasury" is absent in the Amarna tomb. On the other hand, as Schneider has pointed out, a statue base in Copenhagen appears to confirm the identification of May with Maya. Here the name is written as May without the final *ʿ*, and the title "Overseer of the Treasury" is added.<sup>29</sup>

During the summer of 1990 I was able to examine this statue base in person, and both the importance of this little monument and the inadequate treatment it has received in the past would seem to justify its publication.<sup>30</sup> The object in question bears the Inventory No. ÆIN 102 (Cat. 1908 No. E 88). It was purchased in Cairo in 1892, but no further details about its provenance are known. It is of black granite and its shape is roughly rectangular with a square back and a curved front (Fig.10). Dimensions: height 14.5 cm,<sup>31</sup> width 38.5 cm, depth 52.0 cm; height of the inscription 5.5 - 6.0 cm. The statue base has not been published in any detail before, although a

55; id., *Valley of the Kings. The decline of a royal necropolis* (London/New York, 1990), 42-49, 55-60; M. R. Bell, "An Armchair Excavation of KV 55", *JARCE* 27 (1990), 97-137. Queen Tiy, who died at Amarna not long after Akhenaten's Year 8, appears to have been buried originally in her son's tomb at Amarna, see Martin, *The Royal Tomb at El-Amarna II* (London, 1989), 24.

<sup>28</sup> N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna V* (London, 1908), 1-5; 16-18; Pl. i-v; xix. Cf. R. Hari, *Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet ou la fin d'une dynastie* (Genève, 1965), 370, where it is surmised that May and Maya were identified or at least confused under the Ramessides; cf. id., *Orientalia* 43, 161; Schneider, *BSFE* 69, 43-45.

<sup>29</sup> Schneider has also connected the inscription on the statue base, which according to him mentions "les constructions effectuées par May pour Atoum et le taureau Mnévis", with May's titles of Steward and Overseer of Cattle of Rē' in Heliopolis and with Akhenaten's wish to have the Mnevis bull interred at Amarna. It should be pointed out, however, that the inscription on the statue base mentions neither Atum nor the Mnevis bull; see textual note (d) below.

<sup>30</sup> I am most grateful to the Ny Carlsbergfondet for the great hospitality shown to me while in Copenhagen, and in particular to Mr. Mogens Jørgensen of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek for his invaluable help, for the excellent photographs, and for permission to publish the statue base.

<sup>31</sup> The height of 0,08 [m] given by Koefoed-Petersen is wrong.



Fig. 10. Diagram showing position of text on statue base Copenhagen ÆIN 102.

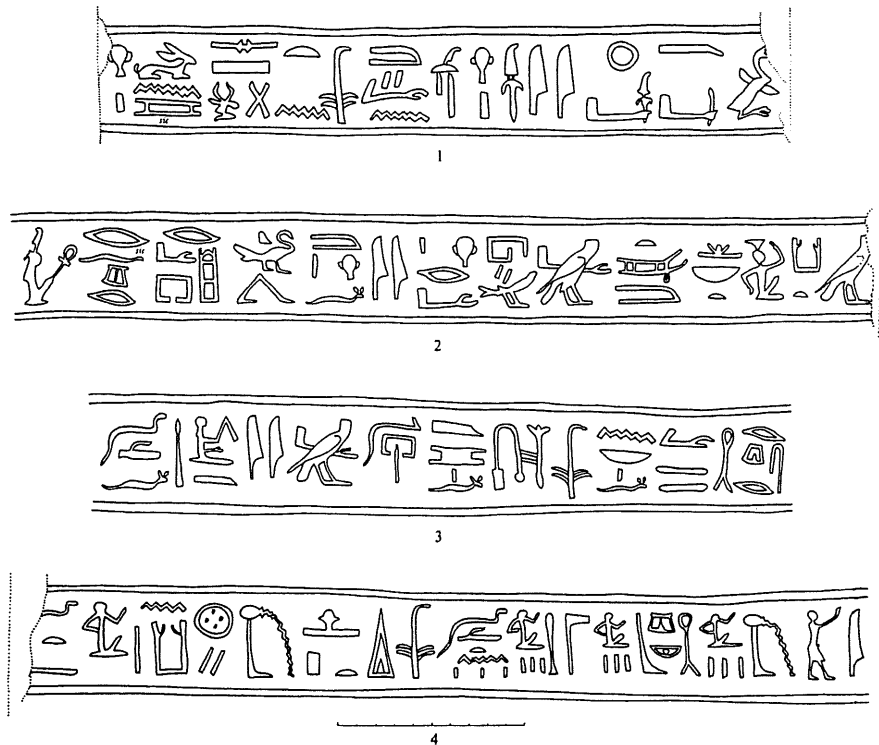
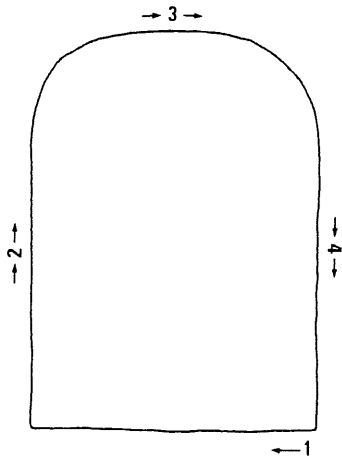
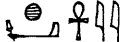



Fig. 11. Facsimile of inscription around base of Copenhagen ÆIN 102.

brief description and an incomplete and inaccurate rendering of its text has been given by Koefoed-Petersen.<sup>32</sup> The latter's statement that a large hole in the middle of the base was made in modern times to turn it into a stand for a vase is not based on any known fact; it is equally possible and perhaps more likely that the heavy granite block was at some stage used as a millstone. A single horizontal line of text consisting of incised hieroglyphs runs around the base, starting at the left hand corner of the back; the distribution of the text has obviously been calculated in such a way that the owner's name and chief titles are at the front of the piece. As can be seen on the photographs,<sup>33</sup> the horizontal framing lines above and below the inscription are far from being straight in some places, and the distance between these framing lines and the top and bottom of the statue base varies rather dramatically, especially on the left hand side and on the front. The text (Fig. 11) may be translated as follows:

"The fan-bearer<sup>a</sup> on the right of the King,  
 one knowledgeable<sup>b</sup> and competent<sup>c</sup> at every task,  
 who does not neglect what has been assigned to him,<sup>d</sup>  
 who enters the palace in person bearing ma'at<sup>e</sup>  
 in order to appease the Two Lands for his Lord,<sup>f</sup>  
 the true scribe of the King, whom he loves,  
 the overseer of the Treasury,<sup>g</sup> May, justified.  
 He says: O *wh*-priests, lector priests, and god's servants,  
 may you recite a doubly pure offering-which-the-King-gives  
 for my Ka for ever".

Textual notes:

(a) The word *hw(y)* "fan" is misinterpreted by Koefoed-Petersen, who writes ; see for the title *ty hw(y) hr wnmw n nsw* I. Pomorska, *Les flabellifères à la droite du roi en Egypte ancienne* (Warszawa, 1987).

(b) This and the following word partly omitted by K.-P.;  is a writing of *ssj* "be skilled" (at a task, *Wb.* IV, 543, 12); for contemporary examples of







<sup>32</sup> O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des statues et statuettes égyptiennes*. Publications de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg No. 3 (Copenhagen, 1950), 52, No. 85.





<sup>33</sup> *OMAO* 71, 11-12, Pl. 1-2.





this writing, see *Urk.* IV 2105, 2; Horemheb Osiris Hymn col. 26 (below p. 00).

(c) For  read .








(d) *tm mhy(w) hr rdy(t) m hr.f*. There is no reference to either Atum (*Itm*) or the Mnevis bull (*mr-wr*) here (Schneider, *op. cit.*, 43-44).

(e) The sculptor has omitted the horns of the  in *r.f.* K.-P.:     . Cf. N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* II (London, 1905), Pl. ix = M. Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten* (Bruxelles, 1938), 26, 1-2: '*q hr nw't n nb tswy*' "(may he grant) access to the Lord of the Two Lands, bearing ma'at", as part of an offering-formula, the only example of this particular wish quoted in W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, (Glückstadt, 1968), 118 [96, d].

(f) *r sgrh tswy n nb.f* (K.-P. has    ). See comments below.

(g) The *hḏ*-sign is not very clearly defined and at first sight resembles a simple vertical stroke. Nevertheless, the reading *imy-r pr-hḏ* is certain; compare similar writings on contemporary monuments like the relief from the tomb of Maya at Saqqâra, Berlin 2088/89 (G. Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin* II (Leipzig, 1914), 186, corrected from *LD* III, 242 b/c) and a stela in University College, London, UCL 14470 (H. M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection* I (Warminster, 1976), Pl. 41: 1, and for the reading R. A. Caminos, *JEA* 64 [1978], 156-157). The alternative reading *imy-r pr* "steward" would doubtless have been written as , as for example in the tomb of Tia, who was both *imy-r pr-hḏ* (spelled  or ) and *imy-r pr* (spelled ) throughout the tomb). See also the comments below.

In view of the inscription on the statue base there can be no reasonable doubt that it does indeed belong to the famous Maya who was overseer of the Treasury under Tut'ankhamun, Ay, and Horemheb, even though his name is here spelled May, without the final *j*. The reading of the title can hardly be questioned and no other Overseer of the Treasury called May is known.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Since the reading *imy-r pr* is ruled out he cannot be identified with the owner of a fine alabaster shabti in the Nationalmuseum in Copenhagen (A.A.a.16), the , var. ,    . Could this man be identical to the *imy-r pr*  of the lintel NME 23 of the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm (G. T. Martin, *Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite Necropolis and Lower Egypt* I [London 1987], No. 105)? If so, this would be another instance where the name forms May and Maya exist side by side while referring to one and the same person. Another clear example of this is the offering table BM 422 (Edwards, *HTEs* VIII, 55, Pl. 36), inscribed for a scribe whose name is written both as May and as Maya. The provenance of this monument is unknown, but, judging by its inscriptions, it probably comes from Thebes; it is ascribed to the

Further confirmation of the identity of the owner of the monument are his high-ranking title of Fan-bearer on the right of the King and his claim of having personal access to the palace. Most remarkable, however, is the additional phrase *r sgrh tjwy n nb.f* "in order to appease the Two Lands for his Lord". The *Belegstellen* quoted in the Berlin Dictionary for the phrase *sgrh tjwy*<sup>35</sup> all refer to kings and in one case to a queen, and I have not been able to find any other examples of this epithet being applied to a private individual. Even more remarkable is the fact that the epithet is part of the *Nepty* name of two New Kingdom pharaohs, viz. of the last king before, and the first king after, the Amarna period, Amenhotep III (*smn hpw, sgrh tjwy*) and Tut'ankhamun (*nfr hpw, sgrh tjwy*). The latter probably styled this part of his titulary deliberately after that of Amenhotep III, perhaps in order to emphasize his determination to return to the traditional religion abandoned by Akhenaten.<sup>36</sup> It is significant that May(a) is here said to be the one "who appeases the Two Lands *for his Lord*", i.e. Tut'ankhamun, and the reference to that monarch's titulary will hardly have been missed by the literate priests to whom the text on the statue base addresses itself. It is a further indication that Maya was one of the major powers behind the throne, a man who, although technically speaking a subordinate to the King's "deputy in the whole land" Horemheb,<sup>37</sup> shared with him the burden of ruling Egypt during the early years of the young Tut'ankhamun.

The implications of the Copenhagen statue base for the problem of the identity of Maya with the Amarna official May are clear. In the first place it confirms that Maya's name could occasionally be written without the final *ḏ*. The connection between the epithet *sgrh tjwy* and Tut'ankhamun's *Nepty* name makes it probable that the statue base dates from that King's reign rather than from the reign of Ay or Horemheb; indeed, since the inscriptions of Maya dated (or datable) to the end of the reign of Tut'ankhamun all write outline draughtsman May(a) in whose Deir el Medina tomb (TT 338) both forms of the name appear, cf. M. Tosi, *La Capella di Maia* (Turin, 1969, 1972<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>35</sup> *Wb.* IV, 324, 7.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. M. Eaton-Krauss, "The Titulary of Tutankhamun", in: *Form und Mass. Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des alten Ägypten. Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht*, ÄAT 12 (Wiesbaden 1987), 113-115.

<sup>37</sup> See G. T. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-chief of Tut'ankhamun I: The reliefs, inscriptions, and commentary* (London 1989), 162-165, for a survey of Horemheb's pre-royal titles in his Memphite tomb.

his name with the final *ʃ*, the monument may well date from the beginning of the reign. If so, the distance between the overseer of the Treasury May(a) and the "true scribe of the King, whom he loves, the fan-bearer on the right of the King and overseer of all works of the King" May who owned Tomb No. 14 at Amarna is almost negligible. That the latter's principal title was "overseer of the army of the Lord of the Two Lands", a title not attested for Maya, need not be a major obstacle. A change of career is not at all impossible, especially since Akhenaten's chief physician Pentu apparently became one of Tut'ankhamun's two viziers.<sup>38</sup> It may well have been a deliberate move on the part of May(a) himself in order to steer away from the ambitions of Horemheb, who was the King's commander-in-chief – a wise step, perhaps, considering the fate of the general Nakhtmin, who joined Maya in donating a shabti to Tut'ankhamun's funerary equipment, but whose memory was later persecuted by Horemheb.<sup>39</sup>

New evidence for an early start of Maya's career, under Akhenaten, may be seen in a passage from a long autobiographical text recently discovered in Maya's Memphite tomb. Unfortunately the text is far from complete, but one passage mentions "...the governance which came into being through me as something that was ordained for me by my God since my youth, the presence of the King having been granted to me since I was a child".<sup>40</sup> Maya's tomb at Saqqāra was probably built during the reign of Tut'ankhamun, as was the adjacent private tomb of Horemheb, and since Maya was already at the height of his career under the young Tut'ankhamun it is tempting to assume that by this reference to his presence at the court in his childhood the court of Akhenaten or perhaps even Amenhotep III<sup>41</sup> is meant. An additional argument

<sup>38</sup> J. Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamūn* (Oxford 1965), 4. If we assume that the other vizier of Tut'ankhamen, Usermontu, who came from Armant and was buried in the Theban necropolis (L. Habachi, "Unknown or Little-known Monuments of Tutankhamun and of his Viziers", in: *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt. Studies in Honour of H. W. Fairman* [Warminster 1979], 36–39), was vizier of Upper Egypt, Pentu may have been his Lower Egyptian colleague. Perhaps he had a tomb in the Memphite necropolis. The two viziers are depicted together on the so-called Berlin Trauerrelief (Berlin 12411), where they follow Horemheb in the funeral cortège.

<sup>39</sup> W. Helck, "Nachtmin", in: *LA* IV, 371. Cf. above, Chapter 1, n. 189.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *JEA* 74 (1988), 11–12 for some preliminary remarks on this inscription.

<sup>41</sup> It is tempting to identify him with the "royal scribe May" who appears in several hieratic dockets from the palace of Amenhotep III at Malqata, some of which are dated in that king's Year 34; cf. W. C. Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 101 n. 217; Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, 107.

may be derived from another recent find in the tomb. A fragmentary hieratic docket found in the underground chambers of the tomb mentions a "regnal year 9", presumably of Horemheb;<sup>42</sup> the highest date so far attested for Maya was a hieratic graffito recording the re-burial of Thutmose IV in his tomb in the Valley of the Kings, dated to Horemheb's year 8. The foodstuff in the tomb was probably assembled especially for the burial - most of the hieratic dockets found so far in the tomb specify this by means of the phrase "... for the funeral procession (*šmš-wd*)<sup>43</sup> of the Royal Scribe and Overseer of the Treasury Maya" - and the Year 9 docket in particular refers to "fresh fat", a commodity which, as Hayes remarked<sup>44</sup>, would go rancid in a very short space of time. It is therefore very likely that Maya died in or shortly after Horemheb's year 9. If we add to these 9 years the dates for the kings of the end of the 18th Dynasty<sup>45</sup>, i.e. 16 for Akhenaten, 1 for Smenkhkare', 9 for Tutankhamun and 3 for Ay, and if we assume that Maya grew up at the court of Amenhotep III and received his first major offices at Amarna, he would still be only in his late fifties when he died. This is not at all impossible, considering that a man of his means and social status might well have lived beyond the average life-expectancy of the ancient Egyptians of about 40. Osteological research carried out by Dr E. Strouhal on the various bone fragments which were found scattered among the debris in the underground chambers of the tomb has revealed that two male and two female individuals as well as a child were buried in the underground complex.<sup>46</sup> Of these, the oldest individual, who was probably buried in Room K, was a man of fairly advanced age (certainly older than 40 years; according to a histomorphometric analysis  $64.8 \pm 9.5$  years), and if this man is to be identified as Maya, as seems likely, such an age agrees well with the historical evidence.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Cf. J. van Dijk, "Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Maya at Saqqāra: A Preliminary Survey", *GM* 127 (1992), 23-32.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. A. H. Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe* (Paris, 1916), 69.

<sup>44</sup> Hayes, *op. cit.*, 87.

<sup>45</sup> Following the rule that a king's last regnal year coincides with the first year of his successor.

<sup>46</sup> E. Strouhal, "Historical Persons and Other Human Remains from the Tomb of Maya and Meryt at Saqqara", paper presented at the Sixth International Congress of Egyptology, Turin, 1-8 September 1991 (to be published in the Acts of the congress, forthcoming).

<sup>47</sup> The problem of the identification of the remaining persons buried in the tomb, among whom were almost certainly Maya's wife Meryt and his stepmother Henutiunu, cannot be discussed here.

The Amarna tomb of May was left unfinished, as were almost all of the private tombs at Amarna. In the case of May the only finished part is the entrance corridor; beyond that only one scene has been sketched in outline drawing on the walls inside the tomb. In the entrance corridor the figures of May and his names wherever they occur in the inscriptions have been erased; the same applies to the long autobiographical text in the south thickness of the entrance corridor. All of these have not only been erased but also thoroughly plastered over with a particularly tenacious layer of gypsum plaster which created a great problem for Davies when he recorded the inscriptions in the tomb.<sup>48</sup> Davies, followed by Hari and Schneider, concluded from this that at a certain moment in Akhenaten's reign May must have fallen into disgrace. There is, however, another possible explanation. After the return to Memphis and Thebes and to the traditional religion under Tut'ankhamun and his successors, Maya may no longer have wanted to be associated with his Amarna past. Although he was probably responsible for the transfer of Akhenaten's body from Amarna to the Valley of the Kings during the reign of Tut'ankhamun, he also supervised the work on the 2nd, 9th and 10th pylons at Karnak, all of which are filled with talatat from the dismantling of Akhenaten's Theban Aten-temple. Inscriptions in the Memphite tomb also indicate that Maya was directly involved in the restoration of the traditional cults, being "the king's mouthpiece in order to furnish the temples and to fashion the cult images of the gods".<sup>49</sup> He may well have ordered the erasure of his autobiography and figures in his erstwhile Amarna tomb himself. This would explain the unusual application of plaster over the erasures, and also why the tomb was not simply taken over by another of Akhenaten's officials.<sup>50</sup>

We have already suggested that Maya's Memphite tomb dates to the reign of Tut'ankhamun. Indeed, since he already held his influential position of Chief Treasurer under Tut'ankhamun, it would seem hard to believe from the start that he would have postponed the construction of his tomb until later, especially since he was already a man of advanced years at that time. At

<sup>48</sup> Davies, *op. cit.*, 1-3.

<sup>49</sup> LD III, 240a. Similar phrases occur in the autobiographical text in the pylon gateway, see JEA 74, 12.

<sup>50</sup> This would have been an obvious procedure for, as Davies (*op. cit.*, 13) observed, several officials "were deprived of more stately tombs by the deplorable quality of the rock" in the southern necropolis.

least two inscriptions in the tomb provide evidence to support an early date. A relief found by Quibell in the Monastery of Apa Jeremias and probably originally from the North wall<sup>51</sup> of the Inner Courtyard of the tomb, shows Maya inspecting a group of foreign slaves "given as favours from the king to the ... Overseer of the Treasury Maya, being captives brought back by His Majesty from Asia".<sup>52</sup> Although there appears to have been an unsuccessful attempt to recapture Qadesh during the reign of Horemheb, there is hardly any evidence for military confrontations between Egypt and Hatti during that reign,<sup>53</sup> and the booty from Asia depicted on the Maya relief is far more likely to have been the result of the military expeditions which Horemheb carried out early in the reign of Tut'ankhamun and which he commemorated in the Inner Courtyard of his own tomb. More conclusive evidence is provided by a block from Maya's tomb which has recently surfaced in Germany, and which is now in the Liebieghaus-Museum Alter Plastik in Frankfurt.<sup>54</sup> In its inscriptions Maya receives the epithet *ḥsw ḥm ḥrw* [*ḥ*], "who unites (i.e., governs) the Land with [his] plans", which is again a strictly royal epithet,<sup>55</sup> just like the phrase *ḥrw ḥm* on the Copenhagen statue base. This epithet can only refer to Maya's position under Tut'ankhamun, when he was effectively ruling Egypt in close collaboration with the king's deputy Horemheb. This block therefore dates the tomb to the reign of Tut'ankhamun.

Finally, a few words may be said about Maya's posthumous memory. A small mudbrick chapel for a lector priest of Maya was found by the EES-Leiden expedition, built against the south wall of the tomb.<sup>56</sup> This chapel is probably of late 18th Dynasty date, but a stela (Fig. 12) formerly in the Hoffmann Collection showing another "lector priest of the Overseer of the Treasury Maiay [sic]" called *Pr-(j)-(r)-nhh*<sup>57</sup> is certainly Ramesside and

<sup>51</sup> And not on the West wall, as surmised by Graefe, *MDAIK* 31, 204.

<sup>52</sup> Quibell, *op. cit.*, Pl. lxxv, lxxvi A.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. W. J. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh*, 39-41 (= second edition, 30-31).

<sup>54</sup> Inv. No. St. P 425. The block will be published by B. Schlick-Nolte, "Ein weiteres Relief des Schatzhausvorstehers Maya", *OMRO* 72 (1992), 55-60 (forthcoming).

<sup>55</sup> Cf. the Belegstellen quoted in *Wb.* V, 398: 16-17 and by D. Meeks, *Année Lexicographique* III (1979), No. 79.3504.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. *JEA* 74, 7-8; Martin, *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis*, 176, and Fig. 111 on p. 175.

<sup>57</sup> G. Legrain, *Collection Hoffmann. Catalogue des Antiquités Égyptiennes* (Paris, 1894), 24-26 (No. 65). The text has been interpreted in a slightly different way by Schneider, *op. cit.*, 47, and



proves that the funerary cult of Maya was maintained at least until Ramesside times.<sup>58</sup> This is also likely because the great tomb of Tia and Tia, brother-in-law and sister of Ramesses II, was wedged in between the tombs of Horemheb and Maya, and the plan of that tomb has been carefully adjusted to fit into this relatively confined space. Tia would certainly not have taken this trouble if the cult in Maya's tomb had already been abandoned: he certainly did not show the same respect to the unfinished late 18th Dynasty tomb of Ra'mose behind his own, which he partly dismantled to make room for his pyramid.<sup>59</sup>



Fig. 12. Stela formerly in the Hoffmann Collection; present whereabouts unknown. Reproduced from Legrain, *Collection Hoffmann*, Pl. facing p. 24.

by myself in *OMRO* 69, 26 n. 33 (corrected in *OMRO* 70, 10). The correct reading of the name of the lector priest is given by M. Thirion, *RdE* 34 (1982-1983), 107. Unfortunately, Legrain's publication does not give a photograph of the stela and the line drawing does not seem to be quite adequate.

<sup>58</sup> Apart from considerations of style, a Ramesside date is also likely because the lower register of the stela depicts a lady Tyia receiving offerings. Although her name is spelled in a slightly different way here, this must surely be the Tia buried in the adjacent tomb. See also below, p. 112.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Martin, *JEA* 73, 6, with Fig. 1 on p. 2.

Legrain<sup>60</sup> has suggested that Maya was also responsible for the building of the Great Speos of Horemheb at Gebel es-Silsilah. Since the name of the architect has been erased from the inscriptions in the Speos, Hari has concluded that Maya's memory was suppressed under the Ramessides because of his association with the Amarna pharaohs.<sup>61</sup> In the light of what we have just said about Maya's funerary cult under the Ramessides this does not seem to be very likely, however, especially since none of Maya's other monuments have suffered from such treatment. In fact the erasures are too short to accommodate both Maya's name and his principle title "Overseer of the Treasury" (which is lacking entirely from the surviving parts of the relevant inscriptions in the Speos), and one of them suggests that the name of the architect was actually composed with the name of Amun which was left intact.<sup>62</sup> Possibly this man was Maya's successor as the King's "Overseer of Works".

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<sup>60</sup> G. Legrain, "Notes d'inspection, V. Sur Maïa qui vécut sous la règne d'Harmhabî", *ASAE* 4 (1903), 213-218.

<sup>61</sup> Hari, *Horemheb*, 369-370; Id., *Orientalia* 43, 159-161.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Legrain, *op. cit.*, 217; *ḏd* - [ *mdw* ] *ln* [...] *ʾmn* [... , *mʿr*] - *ḥrw*, *ḏd.f*: *lnk ḥsy n nsw*, *imy-r kJwt m mnw.f*, etc.

APPENDIX. List of the monuments of Maya.

1. Tomb at Saqqâra, Lepsius No. 27.<sup>63</sup> From this monument derive the following relief blocks in various collections: Baltimore WAG 22.86; Berlin 2088/2089; Cairo JE 43272, 43273a-c, 43274a-e, TN 19.6.24.1, and 19.6.24.10;<sup>64</sup> Frankfurt, Liebieghaus Inv. Nr. St. P 425; Hamburg, Museum für Kunst u. Gewerbe 1924.123; Rochester (N.Y.) 42.55,<sup>65</sup> as well as three statues in Leiden, AST 1, AST 2, and AST 3. A further relief in Leiden, AP 55, probably comes from the tomb as well. Temp. Tut'ankhamun.
2. Cubit-measure, Louvre N.1538.<sup>66</sup> Listed in PM as a find from the Saqqâra tomb; this is not very likely, however, as it is a votive cubit inscribed with an "appel aux vivants" text which mentions "the god's servants, *w'b*-priests, and lector priests of this temple", i.e. the temple to which it was donated. Provenance unknown.
3. Fragment of a black granite statue, Louvre E.25984.<sup>67</sup> Provenance unknown, but possibly from Denderah, since Maya is holding an emblem of Hathor, Mistress of Denderah.
4. Statue base of black granite, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 102. Published above. Provenance unknown. Temp. Tut'ankhamun (early?).
5. Stela fragment of basalt, Liverpool E. 583.<sup>68</sup> Provenance unknown. Year 8 of Tut'ankhamun.
6. Shabti, Cairo JE 60826, and related miniature coffin containing a statuette of a mummy on a bier and a set of bronze model implements, Cairo JE 60720-21, dedicated to Tut'ankhamun.<sup>69</sup> From the latter's tomb (KV 62; from the

<sup>63</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>/2, 661-663.

<sup>64</sup> Graefe, *MDAIK* 31, 205 (followed by PM) tentatively assigns the block Cairo TN 29.6.24.13 (Quibell, *op. cit.*, Pl. lxxxi: 1) to Maya, but this is almost certainly incorrect. On the other hand, I am convinced that TN 17.6.24.10 (Quibell Pl. lxxix: 3 [+4?]; PM III<sup>2</sup>/2, 668 [jj]), a relief of rare beauty which is stylistically very similar to the reliefs in the tomb of Maya, does indeed belong to that monument. A fragment in Cairo (no. "597" [in Arabic]) which possibly joins it and which mentions Maya's name and title was recently brought to our attention by Mme J. Berlandini-Keller.

<sup>65</sup> A further block was recently spotted by Mrs. R. Walker in Galerie Khnoum, Geneva.

<sup>66</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>/2, 663; text: *Urk.* IV, 2169-2170.

<sup>67</sup> J. Vandier, *Revue du Louvre* 18 (1968), 98-99; id., *Ugaritica* VI (Paris, 1969), 483-499.

<sup>68</sup> Amer, *RdE* 36 (1985), 17-20.

<sup>69</sup> H. Carter and A. C. Mace, *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen* III (London/New York, 1933), 83-86,

so-called "Treasury") and therefore dated to Year 1 of Ay.

7. Anonymous representation on relief Berlin 12411 ("Trauerrelief"), from Saqqâra tomb of Ptaḥemḥat Ty, High Priest of Ptaḥ in Memphis.<sup>70</sup> Temp. Tut'ankhamun or Ay.

8. Anonymous representation on a block from the Saqqâra tomb of 'Aḥmose, scribe of the army of the Lord of the Two Lands, found in 1987 in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery; now in an EAO magazine at Saqqâra. This block is similar to the Berlin "Trauerrelief" in that a row of high officials is shown following the sarcophagus of the deceased; among them figures the *Imy-r pr-hg*, i.e. Maya. Unpublished. Temp. Tut'ankhamun-Horemḥeb.<sup>71</sup>

9. Headless scribe statue of black granite, Cairo JE 36329.<sup>72</sup> From Karnak Temple, court between 3rd and 4th Pylon, south of obelisk of Tuthmosis I. Temp. Horemḥeb.

10. Scene in the tomb of Neferḥotep (TT 50).<sup>73</sup> Maya is shown assisting the king (Horemḥeb) while rewarding Neferḥotep with the gold of honour. Year 3 of Horemḥeb.

11. Graffito in the tomb of Tuthmosis IV (KV 43),<sup>74</sup> recording a royal commission to restore the disturbed burial of Tuthmosis IV. Year 8 of Horemḥeb.

12. Stela of Tiya, formerly in Hoffmann collection; see Fig. 12 and n. 57 above. From Saqqâra. Posthumous, Ramesside.

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Pl. xxiv; H. Beinlich and M. Saleh, *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun* (Oxford, 1989), 141, 166-167. Cf. Schneider, *Shabtis* I, 301-302.

<sup>70</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>/2, 711-712.

<sup>71</sup> Maya is almost certainly depicted in the tomb of Horemḥeb as well (*MTH* I, Pl. 107, as one of the two "fanbearers on the right of the king", and perhaps also on Pl. 115 [upper left], among the bowing courtiers), but there are no inscriptions to identify him.

<sup>72</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 77; G. Legrain, *ASAE* 4 (1903), 213-218; *Urk.* IV, 2168-2169.





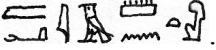
<sup>73</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>/1, 95 (2); R. Hari, *La tombe du père divin Neferhotep* (Genève, 1985), Pl. 6, 56; A. Radwan, *Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie*, (Berlin, 1969), Pl. 24; L. Manniche, *City of the Dead: Thebes in Egypt* (London, 1987), 62, Fig. 50.

<sup>74</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>/2, 560 (4).

## Chapter 2: The Overseer of the Treasury Maya: A Biographical Sketch

*Additions and corrections:*

p. 69

The name of Maya's daughter, although written  should undoubtedly be read Maya-men ("Maya remains") rather than Maya-menti; the origin of this error is confusion with , the determinative of *mn* "remain", "endure", which was first interpreted as , then expanded to . On the Leiden stela the name is written .

p. 81

On the architect of the Speos of Horemheb at Gebel es-Silsilah see now R.A. Caminos, "Phantom Architects at Gebel es-Silsilah", in A.B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (London 1992), 52–6 and E. Hofmann and K.-J. Seyfried, "Bemerkungen zum Grab des Bauleiters Ramose (TT 166) in Dra Abu el Naga Nord", *MDAIK* 51 (1995), 23–56, esp. p. 50.

p. 82

No. 1, n. 65: This block was subsequently acquired by the RMO, Leiden, F.1993/8.1; see G.T. Martin, *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt I* (London 2012), 26, Pls. 21 and 88 (No. [18a]).

No. 2: See also S.K. Doll, in *Egypt's Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom 1558–1085 B.C. - Catalogue of the Exhibition* (Boston 1982), 59 and 308 (No. 30); R.E. Freed, *idem - A Picture Book*, 17 (No. 27).

No. 6: Cf. C.E. Loeben, "Ein Rundbild als Textillustration. Turin 2805 und zur Gruppe der sogenannten 'Barenuschebtis'", in J. Osing and G. Dreyer, *Form und Mass. Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des alten Ägypten* [Fs Fecht] (Wiesbaden 1987), 302–4.

p. 83

No. 12: See now M.J. Raven, "A Stela Relocated", in *Essays in Honour of Prof. Dr. Jadwiga Lipińska* (Warsaw 1997), 139–48; Martin, *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt I*, 51, Pl. 57B.

A possible further addition is the statue Cairo JE 38988 (CG 42194), usurped by the High Priest of Amun Shoshenk; see J. van Dijk, "A Cat, a Nurse, and a Standard-Bearer: Notes on Three Late Eighteenth Dynasty Statues", in S.H. D'Auria (ed.), *Offerings to the Discerning Eye: An Egyptological Medley in Honor of Jack A. Josephson* (Leiden/Boston, 2010), 330–32 [= III. The Original Owner of the Earliest Nonroyal Standard-Bearing Statue (Cairo CG 42194)].

*Typing errors:*

p. 66 n. 12                      For LD 242c read LD III 242c

p. 74                                For p. 00 read p. 149

For  $\text{'}q \text{ } \underline{h}r \text{ } m^{\beta}t$  read  $\text{'}q \text{ } \underline{h}r \text{ } m^{\beta}t$

p. 79 n. 51                      For 'on the West wall' read 'from the West wall'