CULTS OF THE GOD AMUN AT MEMPHIS:
IDENTIFICATION, PROSOPOGRAPHY AND TOPONYMY

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CULTS OF AMUN AT MEMPHIS

*in alphabetical order

for Fessar and Zena*
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Abstract

Some fifteen cults of Amûn/Amon-Rê are attested for Memphis, from the first attestations in the reign of Amenhotep II. They are Amûn/Amon-Rê of Prw-nfît/e; nb nswt lnw; of 'Inbw-nq; Aûnt "wnt ntrw; of tnt-nfr/e; of tgdntt; of Nf; of tpt; tpt at rmpw t hmr n Wsr-mt-Rê-stp-n-Rê m pr lm; of gsd; of Dw; of Pr-nw; of Pr-hnw; of Tkh; of Dlt; and at Modö, as this place may have been in the memphite region. Most of these cults appear to have been founded during the reign of Ramesses II, in line with a policy of making manifest the principal deities in all their aspects and therefore in each of the major cities. Most of the temple foundations examined here were of middling size and were located in the area of central Memphis. Amûn/Amon-Rê of Prw-nfît/e, however, was the chief deity at Prw-nfît/e, some distance from the central city, and several others of the cults were also sited elsewhere in the memphite region. The iconography and epithets associated with Amûn/Amon-Rê of Memphis are standard, with no local peculiarities. Amûn/Amon-Rê is notably well-attested at Memphis. The period examined terminates with the conquest of Alexander. A few Ptolemaic attestations, however, are included. The material surveyed includes private monuments and votive material, royal monuments, temple inscriptions, administrative papyri, scarabs and amulets. The principal aim of the study has been to make a contribution to knowledge of Memphis in the context of rescue archaeology at the site.
During work on the thesis in Egypt in 1983 and in the course of an A.R.C.E. fellowship in 1986-87, a great many people were very kind to me in my work. I should like to thank Dr. Mohammed Saleh, director of the Cairo Museum, Dr. Ali al-Khouli, Mr. Nassif Hassan, Mr. Fouad Yacoub and Madame Fauzia Bishara of the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation administration. Professor Hassanin Rahtri of the University of Cairo, Dr. Holeil Ghaly of the Saqqarah and Mit Rahinah inspectorates, Dr. Abdel Fatah Sobahy of the Giza inspectorate, Mr. Nadir Ramadan, Mr. Ferghali Qandil and Mr. Mohammed Rashid of the Mit Rahinah inspectorate and Madame Amira Khattab of the American Research Center in Egypt and her staff. Dr. Lanny Bell, former director of Chicago House, Luxor, gave me access to the Chicago House Library and to archive material. Many staff and former staff of the Cairo Museum, in particular Mr. Mohammed Hagros; staff of the Cairo Museum Library; and the French Institute Library gave me their assistance. I am grateful to Mr. Okasha Edaly and his family, to Rais Hilmi Mohammed Yusuf and his family, to Mr Salah al-Din Mohammed Hasiballa and his family, to Rais Said Safim, and to Mr Michael Jones for their kindness and their discussions on the historical topography of the Memphis region. I should also like to mention the countless people, whom I met only in passing in the course of the toponym survey, who gave of their time and hospitality, as the survey group passed through their area. I must particularly thank Madame Mai Trad of the Cairo Museum, my partner and teacher in the toponym survey, who gave so generously of her time, her deep knowledge and expertise, and her skill in solving administrative difficulties. My thanks also go to Rais Qatb Mohammed Mohammed Sallf whose vast knowledge and resource were responsible for so much of our results. I am grateful to the American Research Center in Egypt for sponsoring the fellowship, to the Egyptian Ministry of Education for providing the opportunity for me to study in Egypt and to the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation for making the work possible.

Dr. David O'Connor of the Department of Egyptology, the University of Pennsylvania, at the request of Professor H.S. Smith, made it possible for me to work on unpublished material from Memphis in the storerooms and archives of the University of Pennsylvania Museum. It is by his permission that the Philadelphia material is quoted here. Ms. Mary Elizabeth Ruwell of the University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives made the archive material available and the late Mr. Charles Detwiler of the antiquities stores of the museum gave me a great deal of his help. Professor Edward Wente and the late Dr. Klaus Baer of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago discussed ancient Egyptian religion with me and with Professor George Hughes encouraged me as an undergraduate. Staff of the Oriental Institute Museum Archives and the antiquities stores also gave me their help.

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1 made possible with a grant from the U.S.I.A.
teach me a great deal during the field work in 1983, and who has often given me advice and encouragement in the memphite work.

I am very grateful to my colleagues at University College London: to Mr. Salf al-Islam Mohammed Assim abd al-Kader who spent enormous amounts of time teaching colloquial Arabic to a most unpromising student and who arranged accommodation for me through his family for the fellowship year in Egypt; to Mr. Robert Morkot who has always kept a weather eye for any references which might be of use, particularly in nubian and nubian related material, a kindness which has brought me several invaluable finds which would entirely have escaped my notice and whose thoughts on the evolution of conceptions of kingship have been very illuminating; to Dr. Mark Collier, as he is now, whose devotion to intellectual rigour has been an inspiration and a challenge and who has always been willing to give his time to other people's work, most recently in chasing up references when I was unable to get to a library. To all my colleagues at University College London, I give my thanks: in Wepwawet and in the UCL egyptology seminars we did work which brought all of us forward and perhaps laid the basis, as we hoped, of future contributions by those of us who remain in the field towards coherency of thought in the discipline.

None of that would ever have been begun if it had not been for the influence of Professor Harry Smith of the Department of Egyptology, University College London, who has a great gift as a gardiner of human beings. He has always given, in the kindest possible way, his thoughtful attention and the fruits of his observation and experience to every individual with whom he has come into contact. Many of the group of students whom I knew have gone on to various other work, but they each bear the mark of Professor Smith's encouragement in iconoclasm, so that it is those who have grown to disagree with him in various matters who most particularly owe him a tremendous debt for his nourishing of their minds and characters. I certainly owe him a great deal.
preface

There is today in Egyptology some contention between proponents of the model-forming and the descriptive approaches. Perhaps it is not the case that every one of us takes part in the debate, but it is fair to say that its reverberations are felt everywhere in the field. Each of the methods is claimed for science and rigour. The model-maker finds the descriptive Egyptologist a curator of data rather than an original thinker (and derides this), while the descriptive Egyptologist finds the model maker too hotly imaginative, a dilettante in other fields and insufficiently versed in the technical details of his or her own. The model maker replies that 'Egyptology' is a field of enquiry, rather than a discipline and that anyone who attempts to approach it in the traditional manner as a science in its own right is bound to be handling data in an unrigorous fashion. All this is founded not only in temperament but more in misunderstanding than in disagreement.

A model in technical usage is a generalisation or group of generalisations derived from description(s) (accurate or otherwise) of objects, processes, behaviour, etc. A model is used for one or both of two (properly consecutive) purposes, as an aid in imposing order upon supposedly related data and as the material of a hypothesis concerned with the system or unit in activity, i.e., how the system or unit 'works' or 'worked'. The model is the basis for a theory or for theories of what the physical or social relationships postulated in the model must lead to or have led to in practice.

The model maker works in extrapolative description, rather than analysis of a more fundamental kind. The model is created in part in order to fill the gaps in incomplete knowledge. If the data were complete, the model would be its schema. In producing the model, the so-called analysis of the material undertaken is largely classification. We should clearly understand that model-making gone wrong, or merely superceded, is the cause of our wrong results, our views of history cast in our own image, and even given a very clinical approach, the results will be a function of the system under which the enquiry has been undertaken. But this ordering work is what makes the data comprehensible, and it is therefore the process through which it becomes possible to ask rationally what the causes of phenomena are.

What is important is that as serious attention is given to the choice of approach, i.e., the tools of enquiry, for the subject in hand, as is given to the gathering of data. This requires serious and even passionate - rather than *ad hoc* - study of a system of knowledge which one will be using. We sometimes see this today in Egyptologists concerned with the life sciences or with art, but much less commonly in other features of Egyptology. Lucas showed what it could do for our
understanding of Egyptian materials. Most pressing is such study of social development and
language, both fields which have often been dominated by description rife with errors for lack of
typeory.

In dealing with the body of social data presented here, the limits of the enquiry have been
defined in terms of the record. It seemed appropriate to document the cults in their varied aspects,
that is, to take an 'Egyptological approach' because of the current importance of work at Memphis.
Practical research into a feature of the city's organisation, complete and undifferentiated, may be
useful in the hurried work of rescue archaeology, in a way that more theoretical work at this stage
cannot be. But I should like to emphasise that 'cults of Amun at Memphis' is not a subject as such.
It might be if by the name was meant a study of the religious practice of the cults. As an all-
inclusive title it is a jumble, a compendium. This is not because the subject is too broad, the claim
usually made in such cases. It is because it is unfocused. Within the text, it has been possible to
make a very brief survey, within the context of the data, of focused subjects of research: epithet
usage, divine and personal; the context and significance of cult names; the status of priestesses;
etc. Each of these subjects might have been very 'broad' if it had been possible to broaden the
scope of the enquiry for each as appropriate. Most important to the distinction between a rigor-rous
and an unrigorous approach is the framing of the subject rather than its choice.

ii. Orthography.
In this paper, as in Wepwawet research papers in Egyptology, lower case initial letters are used for
adjectives formed from proper nouns. By this convention a great deal of unsystematic and
subjective practice is rationalised. Staff at the British Library have approved the usage.

iii. The Amun/Amon-Re' distinction.
The name Amun has been used indiscriminately (e.g., cults of Amun, Amun cults, etc.) to refer to
cults, popular worship, etc., dedicated to Amun or Amon-Re'. This is justified by the fact that it is
through lack of evidence that the material for Amun/Amon-Re' at Memphis cannot be exhaustively
evaluated for religious practice, significance, etc. To make artificial distinctions in general
discussion of the cults would be to impose an order upon the material for which there is no
evidence.

iv. Dating of evidence.
Documents have been dated by any direct method possible (although not by chemical/physical
techniques). All relevant information on documents used may examined in the appendices, and
dating methods are noted, e.g., 'by text', 'by style', 'by archaeological context'. Most dates are
given by dynasty and where evidence is available, by reign. Only occasionally are more general
terms used, e.g., 'late period'.

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v. period considered.
The cults have been examined for the period beginning with the new kingdom, (more particularly, with the reign of Amenhotep II) and ending with the conquest of Alexander. The starting point simply has been chosen for the first appearance of cultic evidence for Amun at Memphis. The end point has been selected arbitrarily as the date from which the state monumental evidence may be considered to be less simply part of the egyptian religious continuum. In fact, this has merely been a convenient halting place, and a few ptolemaic attestations, particularly but not exclusively of cults known from earlier periods, have been included.

vi. the range of documents examined.
Chiefly hieroglyphic texts, some hieratic and demotic sources and little ptolemaic temple material have been used, as this has been most appropriate to the subject and the evidence.

vii. approach to the site.
My direct knowledge of Memphis is as follows. In the autumn of 1983, I was given the opportunity to join the EES campaign at Memphis under the direction of Professor H. S. Smith. I was very lucky in the year, as this was a survey season. Small excavations were conducted on Kôm Khanzir in the middle birka, in a field in the middle birka to the north east of Khanzir, at the 'nilometer' site on the edge of Kôm Arba'in.

The intention was to locate the sites of as many past excavations as possible, as part of the task of assessing and consolidating knowledge of the memphite ruin field. There were recovered at the surface or only partially submerged beneath it, a red granite block with a ramesside head and crown in the middle birka to the southwest of Khanzir (BAP); various mostly limestone architectural members in a field at the southern edge of the middle birka; red granite block fragments with a ramesside cartouche at the edge of Kôm Fakhry along the road, just west of the parallel of the small Ptah temple; red granite colossal fragments near the southern edge of Kôm Arba'in (AAB); a limestone block with the bottom of a booth of Ptah and a few hieroglyphs on Kôm Dalbāby; inscribed blocks on high ground just above the south east corner of the north birka; inscribed ramesside columns and blocks at two sites north of the well on Kôm Nawah [fig. 55], as well as a limestone block inscribed for Amenhotep III; a fine large basalt block with a figure of a Horus falcon inscribed for Horus of Bêdē at the northwest edge of Kôm Nawah; a block inscribed for Amenemhat II on Kôm Nawah (NAD) along the parallel of the eastern arm of the Mit Rahneh mound; We also investigated sites in the south and the northeast of Kôm Tūmān, in addition to examining the Apries area and identifying and studying Petrie's old trenches on Kôm Tūmān and elsewhere, and the middle kingdom cemetery and first intermediate period settlement sites on Kôm Fakhry. I was given the chance to visit the bath house, Petrie's kiln site and other sites on Kôm
Sobakhah and Kom Helol which had been surveyed the year before. I also often visited the small Hathor temple. On a number of occasions we visited the work at Mohammed Rashid's new kingdom settlement site at Esbet el-Khatib and his recently excavated new kingdom cemetery site nearby.

As we were such a small group, I was given responsibility, despite my relative inexperience, for making facsimile copies of all relief work and inscriptions. Dr. Malek who was compiling the Selected Corpus of Hieroglyphic and Inscribed Material (SCHISM) was not able to accompany the expedition that year, and it was understood that he would be able at a later date to check my work.

In addition to our own work I was also given the chance to copy the inscriptions on the the backs of the statues of Mn-afre and 'Labw-ide in the little Seti chapel for Labib Habachi and Jocelyn Berlandini-Grenier's survey and for our own records. I was allowed to help with level taking on Kom Qala'ah behind the Ramesses Museum, on Kom Fakhry where soundings were also taken that year, on Kom Daqbaby, and in the Middle Birka. Mapping was also done at the Christian site in the north of Kom Qala'ah. We made investigations in the wet west hall of the Ptah temple and a special visit to Esbet al-Ma'mal to investigate masonry which resembled our opus lusitatum at the nilometer site.

When I returned to Memphis in 1986 with an ARCE fellowship to conduct a toponym survey for the memphite area, it had become possible to visit sites on Kom Qala'ah. Here there were the vast areas of the Merneptah temple and palace excavations, and a number of small excavation sites. The work, however, was chiefly in the area of greater Memphis to the south of the ruin field. Unfortunately, the requirements of the data assembled here have been such as to make only limited direct use of the topographical material gained from the survey. That will be work for the future.

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Errata

page 30, line 19, 25, 27, for 'snjr', read 'snjr

page 58, line 21, for 'sfwr', read 'sfwr

page 68, line 3, for 'Prw-nfr', read 'Prw-nfr

page 88, line 22, for 'Mut', read 'Mut

page 90, line 7, for 'intnd', read 'intended'

page 91, line 15, for 'm', read 'm

addenda

page 32, line 14, add 'of' after sarcophagus.

page 44, footnote 3, add 'Haeny,G.,1982,' after 'See'.

page 67, line 7 add 'pr' after 'lmj-r

page 75, footnotes 2 and 3, add '(1)', after '1909'.

page 80, footnote 4, add '(1)', after '1909'.

page 101, footnote 4, add 'our' before 'party'.

page 107, line 17, after 'work'. 'The most important toponymic work on the memphite area has been done by Yoyotte1 and Gardiner2. There is also the very important general toponymic work, including work on memphite names, of Leclant3, Montet4, Gardiner5, Gauthier6, Brugsch7, Tousson5, Casanova9 and others'.

page 149, bottom of text, add 'from Saqqara:

JE 91994, 'lmn-R’ nb(J), (abwritten as a lion), scarab, late period, light green, glazed steatite, the base inscribed, from the sacred animal necropolis, sector 7, block 2, excavation no.: 71/2-10 (5278). Martin,1979, 6327, pl.63.'

2 in Gardiner,A.H.,1948.
3 Leclant,J.,1959.
4 Montet,P.,1957.
7 Brugsch,H.,1879.
8 Tousson,J.,1928.
9 Casanova,P.,1901.
Introduction

A study of the cults of the god Amun at Memphis cannot be an inquiry into religious practice. For that we should need either the remains of the temples which have not yet been located or detailed religious texts. What we do have, from the middle of the eighteenth dynasty onwards are titles, cult names, the names of estates, the names of officials, scarabs and other amulets, and votive offerings from Memphis and Saqqara. From these it has proved possible to establish the presence at Memphis of a number of cults of Amun, some of which were already known, some misattributed for Heliopolis or elsewhere in the north, and others of which had been overlooked. None had been systematically examined and proved to be memphite.

From the prosopographical material it has been possible to learn something of the size and importance of the cults and their relation to other memphite cults and to cults of Amun elsewhere. From administrative texts have come details of the property of a few of the foundations. The iconography of votive stelae, passing mention in the litanies of Luxor, Karnak, Medinet Habu, etc., and the texts of amulets and scarabs have been a resource for theoretical understanding of the cults. The accumulated material and a more general toponymic study have been the basis for speculation on the location of the temple foundations, which it is hoped may be of practical application in current archaeological work.

In the past the presence of a title of service to Amun in an official titulary has been regarded as strong evidence that the official held his or her position or positions at Thebes. An inscribed invocation to Amun has been admitted as sufficient evidence for ascribing theban provenance to an object. One reads, for instance, that 'Nebmarenakht e was 'chief overseer of cattle of Amen-rê' whence there can be no doubt that the provenance of the papyrus is Thebes or that the memphite vizier Hrj's title $s \textw b n \ i m n$, leader of the festivals of Amun, 'refers back to the commissions which he had carried out at Thebes. Such assumptions have remained current despite recognition of the memphite Amun cults, perhaps because it is only in recent years that the importance of Memphis itself and the size and influence of its institutions during the new kingdom and the late period have come to be adequately appreciated.

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1 See appendices.
2 Gardiner, 1937, xviii.
3 Helck, 1958, p. 328.
4 Despite Badawi, 1948 and a relatively great number of excavations in this century. (See Jeffreys, 1985, p. 17-47, etc.) The habit of associating references to Amun with Thebes is due less to entrenched preconceptions than to the convenience of such an indicator. In many cases it is difficult
Archaeological work at Memphis today is rescue archaeology. The associated cult names, titles, etc. of the cults of Amun at Memphis are interesting as a collection of documents and objects from a common historical context. Their importance however is as a feature of what it is to be hoped may eventually be a coherent schema from which can be sought an understanding of ancient Memphis.¹

¹ For a summary of current and planned work at the site, see Smith, 1988.
Chapter 1
identification of the cults

1.1. the Amûn foundations at Memphis.

In discussing memphite cults of Amûn, a first consideration is the relation of the northern
cults to the principal cults of Amûn/Amon-Rê at Thebes. An apparent parallel are the theban
cults of Ptah of Memphis. None of the known memphite cults of Amûn appears to have been sited in
temples within the great Ptah temple enclosure itself. Several belonged to the area which is
referred to as m hw trw, which was the vicinity of the Ptah temple, but the only memphite Amûn
foundation attested from the eighteenth dynasty was not in the area of central Memphis. During the
ey early nineteenth dynasty, however, when it is believed that land east of the west hall of the Ptah
temple was claimed from wetlands for the first time and when a great many temples were built
here, Ramesses II’s policy, in line with his policy elsewhere, seems to have been that Amûn and
perhaps all gods who were not in character exclusively local, ought to appear at Memphis.

The 19th dynasty Amûn cults did not in religious terms represent Amûn of Thebes at the
house of Ptah, nor did they represent a generalised Amûn at the house of Ptah. They were an
expression of the policy that Amûn – and again, perhaps all gods – should be made manifest
everywhere. Ramesses II’s Amûn litany from the temple of Luxor\textsuperscript{1} states his intention in the title,

\textit{Ir$.n 'Imn-Rr nsw n irw m m w .f abw...Jn sîl mrj.f nh twhj Wsr-mfrt-R-stp-n-R' sî R' R'-msw-mrj-
'Imn m hw trw f nhw pwbh\textsuperscript{2}, hwt aqtw-R'-msw-mrj-'Imn hnm h n pr 'Imn.}

The first seventeen offerings of the litany take in a tour of Egypt from Thebes, Amon-Rê
\textit{hrj-lb Wst}
to the Fustat area, Amon-Rê \textit{m Pr-3Fr/Pr-3P}, etc. The text continues with offerings
to Amon-Rê

\textit{m pt m tj, m rsj, m mût, m htr, m hsw, m kdw.f nbw, m skmw.f nbw, m hwrn.f nbw, m hprw.f nbw, m msr.f nbw, m wrw.f nbw mrr.f wn Im, m abh.f nbw, m hrw.f nbw, m grw.f nbw, m smn.w.f nbw, m raw.f nbw,}

and then the list of place names resumes. When the authors of the Luxor Litany describe Amûn
generally, as quoted above, they are being cursory although poetic. It is necessary to give material
and particular expression to this intention to bring the god into contact with all places. Bringing
the god into contact with Egypt is the principal work of the king\textsuperscript{2}. In the Amûn litany the scope of
this work is expressed.

\textsuperscript{1} Kitchen,\textit{AFS}, II, 622-27.

\textsuperscript{2} See 4.1.
Ramesses II's policy of widespread cult institution broadened definitions of divine reference and gave a stronger local significance or connection to cults at secondary cult centres. It may be said that, in historical times, before Ramesses II, a deity belonged in the first instance to his or her major cult centre or centres. From this date, new and smaller cult foundations take on a more local character. Ramesses II's policy was based in established religious understanding of the nature of cults. The innovation was in the overview and purpose, which had their theoretical grounding in the later 18th dynasty development of the concept of kingship and its unitary assimilation to divinity. Although the theoretical basis of this innovation was in the concept of the ubiquity of individual gods, its practice was to be a factor in the eventual fragmentation and excessive particularism of later cult practice.

A deity was brought to a new site, so that his or her power made manifest there and served by a cult could protect it, as its master or mistress. The theoretical completeness, however, of these deities in their new local forms made cults in an importantly new sense religiously or conceptually self-sufficient. It is a feature of the concomitant syncretism or unification of divinity in Ramesses II's programme that the individual cult deity partakes of all divinity. This will have featured significantly in the growth of introversion in cult practice and in the growth of intense particularism, notably, but not exclusively, in the case of sacred animal cults.

It might be supposed that, theological considerations aside, temples of Amûn at Memphis may nevertheless have served as financial executors for the theban cults, i.e., to administer northern property of Amûn. There does not, however, seem to be evidence here or elsewhere of cults founded as, or acting as, subsidiary administrative centres for other religious institutions. The memphite institutions discussed here are not estates of Amûn, but, like the smaller institutions of Papyrus Wilbour, independent cults.

The officials, both priestly and administrative, who are associated with the memphite cults, appear generally to have been of memphite family. An estate of Amûn in the memphite region presumably could have been administered by officials responsible to Thebes. It is perhaps likely that some of the memphite holdings of Amûn were indeed the property of theban cults. We do however know some particulars of the endowments of a few of the memphite cults, and of course each of the cults would have been endowed in accordance with its stature. In a number of cases

1 Robert Morkot of University College London in a number of seminars has produced a significant theory of this development.
2 Except, of course, within their own domains, as in the case of a temple of a god in which a cult had residence.
where an estate or a herd is listed as belonging to Amûn, but with no cult or temple name appended, the only and indirect evidence for the recipient of its revenue is in the career of the official in whose text it is mentioned.

1.2. the identification of the cults.

The first task of this research has been to establish whether temples of Amûn known from a memphite context actually were situated in the memphite region. This has proved possible in the cases discussed here, in a few instances through direct textual evidence, in others through the internal context of a text in which the toponym is attested, through comparison of related texts, or as nearly as possible through an uncontested burden of likelihood.

There will be some question whether certain of the analyses presented here ought not to be conflated. It is reasonable to ask whether apparently unrelated names among those listed may not have been applied to one and the same cult, cults which had more than one name or might have acquired new names over a period of years. This is perhaps a simpler problem than might at first appear. There are in the memphite record of the Amûn cults groups of variant cult names which, it would appear, served to express differences of aspect in the god and differences of perspective upon the cult. One would not, however, expect to find wholly different names for the same cult, unless these names could be considered elements in a complete name, i.e., names which might appear together in monumental contexts, or they were names which appeared singly in consistently different appropriate contexts.

If two names consistently appeared in different contexts, e.g., one only in titularies and the other in votive offerings, it would be conceivable that the two names identified one and the same cult. Conversely, if two names appeared jointly, i.e., as a string, in the way that for instance throne names do, the two names might appear, epithet fashion, for one cult. One would not however expect to find different names for one and the same cult appearing singly from one priestly titulary to another. The fact that each of the Amûn cult names in the record appears in titularies seems to preclude the possibility that any of them are of overlapping reference. Nor would considerable change in a cult name be expected over time unless there had been a significant change in the character of the cult, such that in essence a new cult had come into being. Names in the Egyptian context are changed with differences of use or with the inauguration of a new

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1 See 4.3.1. The various cults are distinguished by names rather than epithets and it is names that are under discussion here. For a discussion of the distinction, see 3.3.1.

2 See 4.1. on the significance of names in the nature of the god's manifestation.
dispensation, but not, where the institution is retained in use, randomly, merely to mark the passage of time.

In the following discussion, positive identification of the cults is the sole interest, and therefore although the cults are grouped by the date of their earliest attestation, the attestations noted are not the earliest but the most pertinent. The history of the cults is discussed in chapter 4.

1.2.1. Prw-nfr/e.

Prw-nfr/e is not primarily the name of a cult. It is the name of a place in the north of Egypt. The greater number of the monuments on which it is attested come from the memphite area. This alone need not constitute conclusive evidence that Prw-nfr was at Memphis, as Memphis was a great centre in the north and therefore has a great aggregation of monumental remains. In order to judge the importance of memphite provenances for attestations for Prw-nfr, we must first understand what purposes Prw-nfr served as a foundation. It may then be possible to trace where and what it must have been.

The name is not known before the reign of Amenhotep II from which the majority of the attestations come. Memphis was at this date the capital of the north and the standard site of the northern residence; Amenhotep II was himself born at Memphis, as is known from a scarab inscription [Urk. IV, 1336A]. The northern residence of Amenhotep II was at Prw-nfr. We know that this was the northern residence rather than another residence because Prw-nfr was the

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1 See Kamish, 1987, p.23.
2 Zayed (1988) has a list of attestations which is very useful. However, it should be noted in reading the paper that Redford (1965, p.107) has shown that P.BM 10056 and P.Leningrad 1116A should be dated to the reign of Amenhotep II and not Thutmose III, as was originally thought.

The incidence of memphite names compounded with nfr is notable: Ma-nfr, Gnt-nfr, Prw-nfr, Brj-nfr. Presumably this marked the reputation of the city. (P.Sallier IV, vs. 1.2.3-4.7, etc.). The aptness of Ma-nfr as an epithet for a great city may have provided the inspiration for a spate of nfr names. Nfr as a descriptive, associated as it was with royalty and divinity, may have been particularly appropriate to the city which was so grand and yet was no longer the political capital. Perhaps, this aggregation of nfr names was analogous to calling the city 'royal' 'labw-ad.

5 See appendix (a).
6 Cn-'Imn was steward there. See 2.4.2. and the prosopographical appendix.
egyptic base and port for Amenhotep II's campaigns to Asia. The attestation for shipyards at Prw-nfr from the well-known British Museum papyrus 10056 is complemented by the narrative of the Karnak text of Amenhotep II's account of his asiatic campaign of year 71. prḥm.f w Prw-nfr hbr wfd m htp r Ma-nfr hbr ḫḥṣk in n.f bḥṣt ḫnv.[Urk.1315,11]

It is the fact that Amenhotep II is said to have gone forth from Prw-nfr to Memphis that is the proof that Prw-nfr was in the immediate vicinity of Memphis. Prw-nfr is exceptionally well-attested and the cult of Amun of Prw-nfr, a royal Amun, is itself well-attested. With fourteen attestations in all (counting Kh-ḥn's large number of relevant documents as one only, coming as they do from a common source), it is likely that Prw-nfr was either a large or an important place with a suitably large or important cult of Amun. Had Prw-nfr been a city suitable for the site of the northern residence of Amenhotep II, his military port, his shipbuilding and several important cults, it is very unlikely that it could have disappeared so entirely from the record soon after the end of the 18th dynasty. Prw-nfr clearly was very important, yet there is no evidence that it was independently grand. Its lifespan was short, yet distinguished, and its resources so great that it must be concluded that Prw-nfr was connected with and not far distant from a large city. It is in view of this that it can only be concluded that Prw-nfr was a satellite of Memphis, and that its name may have been the name of the royal residence itself.

Amon-Rē' nb nswt ḫḥṣk is a Prw-nfr appears in the catalogue of temples of ramesside Memphis from the model letter of papyrus Sallier IV verso. If it were possible to be certain

1 Legrain,1903,p.126-32.
3 See 3.3.
4 Given the chances of survival for any particular document, the survival of a large number of attestations from various sources for Prw-nfr may be taken as evidence that there originally were many more, as only a small number from any given group of widely dispersed documents, (however constituted or defined) is likely to have survived.
5 A cult of Ba'al a Prw-nfr [P.Leningrad 1116A, 1.42], (Golénischeff,1913,p.l.16), and a cult of Astarte hmt Prw-nfr; (Daressy,1911,p.57), are also attested.
6 P.Sallier IV verso (Gardiner,1937,89,1.16.). The temples are said to belong to the list of all the temples at Memphis, a ntrw abw/āntrt nbt (t) atj m w a Ma-nfr. This clause concludes the list.
beyond a doubt that Prj-nfr and Prw-nfro were one and the same, then no more proof would be needed for the memphite position of Prw-nfro. As Prj-nfr is quoted in the context of an Amûn cult, the identification may certainly be accepted. In conjunction with the other evidence, the coincidence of name and context is overwhelming enough to secure the identification, although there is no other attestation for this date.

1.2.2. nb aswt lwj.

There appear to have been at least two memphite cults called 'Imn-R nb aswt lwj, one in the centre of Memphis and the other at what had previously been Prw-nfro. These aswt lwj are memphite ones, in contradistinction to those of Thebes. What is usually taken to be a theban cult name had been given symbolic and therefore general significance. The name will have fitted well at Memphis where there was an aggregation of lwj names as the region claimed a long history as the conjunction and binding point of the two lands, mpt lwj.

From a room along the first hypostyle at Medinet Habu (Daressy’s room 18) there is:

Ptâh horj Tt-tn
Bstbt abt 'nb-tnj-brj-lb hwt /// hmt bb
Ptâh brj b.k.t
Bwt-lk brj abt bstj
'Imn-R nb aswt lwj m Bwt-kj-Ptâh.

At first sight it might be supposed that Amûn as named here had been given a cult name with connections to Ptah for the sake of balance or for syncretistic purposes. As discussed above, 'theoretical' cults are not quoted in such contexts. The name appears here in a register of attested memphite cults and it cannot therefore be understood to represent a generality. The cult name is 'Imn-R nb aswt lwj and is described as m Bwt-kj-Ptâh.

Mut nb aswt lwj is mentioned in the Litany of Waset at Karnak (at 10A and B). The pr determinative must be understood to refer to a temple establishment. From study of this text it is clear that the names listed belong to actual cults and that the Mut cult must belong to the city of

egyptian usage this signifies 'and so forth within this group'. Therefore the temples named must be understood to have been in Memphis or in this context, in the memphite region.

1 Caminos, 1954, p.337 says he knows Prj-nfr is Prw-nfro from Grdseloff’s documentation which also has it that the population was mostly Phoenician’. He noted that the evidence was at that time chiefly in Černy’s possession.


3 This presumably is the name of a ḫtemple. The writing inside the ḫ-square is abraded.
Memphis. Mut and Amón may be understood to have been associated here. There thus can be no doubt that the Medinet Habu reference is to an actual cult at Memphis.

Further evidence that this is a cult name comes from the titularies of Tj and Bnwtx-Wzbr, both of the 19th dynasty, who bear the title smt n 7mn nb nswt Lwjt and of Bk-n-Rtrf, 7mn nfr 7mn-R n ab aswt Lwjt, etc., etc. As discussed in 3.3.1., epithets do not as a rule appear in priestly or other titles, although a person's own epithets are often appended to his/her titulary. Thus, we can safely assume that '7mn-R' or '7mn nb nswt Lwjt' is itself the cult name.

From a wall stela from a gallery in the Tura hills, there is a ptolemaic attestation:

Bdtxt ntr '7mn nb nswt Lwjt n fr n gr

2br mdw '7mn-R n ab aswt Lwjt n fr n gr

2br mdw n Hwtx nfr n fr n gr '7mn nb nswt Lwjt n fr

These temple granaries, apparently of considerable importance, must have been central at Memphis in order to be described as 'in 'lab-bd' or elsewhere 'in Bw-tj-Ph'. They may be those mentioned in the Pi-stela: "P.n ssp prw-bd Lb sswt Mn-nfr r-bn b-nfr ntr '7mn, a Ph, a sswtx ntrw mnw frw Bw-tj-Ph[1.100]3 and sswt 'lab-bd'[1.115].

"7mn-R n ab aswt Lwjt n fr n gr, ntr '7mn nb nswt Lwjt, as the ptolemaic attestation has it, is '7mn-R n ab aswt Lwjt n fr n gr, the city one, '7mn-R n ab aswt Lwjt as worshipped at the city of Memphis, here listed among other local deities, i.e. deities in their local forms. This is the same cult as the one described as 'in Bw-tj-Ph' in the Medinet Habu list, in contradistinction to '7mn-R n ab aswt Lwjt... a Pri-nfr'at what had formerly been Prw-nfr.

The passage in P.Sallier IV verso names '7mn-R n ab aswt Lwjt pr sfr n fr a Pri-nfr. It may be that pr sfr n fr is 'the great ram', but there is no determinative to support the reading, and the ram is not

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1 Horus of Behdet was worshipped in this area. See Gardiner, 1947, vol.2, p.144 et.

2 Spiegelberg (ASAE 6, 219-33) and others, disregarding the apparent meaning of the words, took sswt 'lab-bdte to have been a town in its own right. In the absence of a fuller record, the use of the city-sign, here cannot be considered convincing for Spiegelberg's reading. In the first place, determinatives, including the city-sign, are used quite freely in such contexts. Furthermore, the likelihood is that the district around the granaries and the various temples was densely populated enough to have constituted a quarter in its own right or indeed the quarter in which it stood may have shrunk about it to the extent that it was now the dominant feature in the area.

3 Pi-stele, §18-1.100, Grimal, 1981, p.35 et., 1.7. Grimal however takes this passage differently.
elsewhere explicitly associated with Amun of Prw-nfr. Ptish (may be 'the great ford'), the remains of a course of the Nile. What had for a time been an island at this point - and here one recalls the 'storehouse in the lake' mentioned for Prw-nfr in the text of P.BM 10056 - providing shelter for the port, may have now been nearly joined to the bank as the course silted up, leaving the far bank of the island as the new bank river bank at this parallel, and leaving Prw-nfr landlocked, no longer a port.

The great Amun cult would seem not to have been lost with Prw-nfr. The cult lived on as the state cult as which it had been founded. Hence, the new name which, it appears, we see in its transitional stage in the P.Sallier IV verso passage. As might be predicted from theories on name use, the name was changed because of a change in the status of the town from which the cult took its name, and it was changed in accordance with the nature of the foundation itself.

1.2.3. m 'Inbw-bd. In the Amun litany of the 19th dynasty, reign of Ramesses II, at Luxor, front court, west wall, right side there is:

'Imn-Rr m Pr-Hpj, fr-qp3o,
'Imn-Rr m hw t 'Inbw,
'Imn-Rr m 'Inbw-bd,
'Imn-Rr m 'Inbw.

A generalised name is unlikely to appear in a list of names of actual cults. It is therefore likely that this is a cult name. However this cult name is possibly to be conflated with the previous entry. (See the quotations above.)

1.2.4. hntj hwt ntrw.

The Taharqa stela was acquired by purchase for the Cairo Museum in 1904. It was unprovenanced and broken into six abraded pieces. The text, however, is readable and it is provided with a geographical reference in its account of the renovation and endowment of a temple of Amun. Taharqa declares that he will levy for the temple of Amun hntj hwt ntrw silver from the fishermen of Memphis in the service of the gb Stof Memphis, dl.n.t pd dbn 30 /// ns wr(w) m Ma-

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1 My thanks to Professor H.S. Smith for this interesting reading.
2 On this, see Wall-Gordon, 1958, p.174.
3 This is at variance with Kemp and O'Connor's speculation on the possibility that the port at Prw-nfr may have been of a kind with the great basin at Birket Habu (Kemp, O'Connor, 1974, p.105, etc.). They were speculating in a general way: the more particular evidence supports a different interpretation.
5 It has been published with full commentary by Dmitri Meeks: Meeks, 1979.
The objects named in the text are of daily use and moderate quantity. They are levied not merely from specifically memphite institutions, but from institutions in the area of the great Ptah temple in the centre not only of the city of Memphis, but nearly in the centre of the memphite nome and hence a convenient source of supply only for the memphite area. There is every reason to suppose that such supply would have been made from the closest suitable institutions. That goods which might be had anywhere are brought from memphite institutions and from no other named places constitutes a context so overwhelmingly memphite that "pmnt$p w t airw" established as the name of a cult with a temple and lands at Memphis. The cult is, in addition, well-attested at Memphis and from memphite contexts.

1.2.5. $nt-af$.

Pr 'mnn $nt-af$ m Mn-af$, appears in papyrus Wilbour 3 of the reign of Ramesses V. The designation 'in Memphis' might be understood with reference to the 'pr' to refer to the location of an estate 4 in Memphis, property of an Amûn cult called $nt-af$ possibly located somewhere other than Memphis. The geographical reference, it may be argued, served to distinguish this from other estates of Amûn $nt-af$ not at Memphis. Pr, however, while it may bear the specific meaning 'domain' or 'estate' within which a $pt$ $nt$ 'temple', may or may not occur, may also have the general sense, 'property of the god', whether temple, administrative buildings, lands or an estate encompassing temple, lands, etc5. Within this broader meaning a temple is more likely to be designated. The context does not permit a discrimination among the possible meanings.

Evidence that $nt-af$ was the name of a place, rather than an epithet of Amûn and that it belonged to the memphite area, (so that we must take the previous reference to refer to a cult), comes from the Pi stela 6. Here an account is given of the northern princes who came to pledge fealty to Pi at K$\bar{f}$m (Greek, Athribis), after the fall of Memphis. $nt-af$ is placed after R$\bar{P}$sw

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1 See the text 1.10-15, Meeks,1979.
2 2.4.3. for a discussion.
3 Gardiner,1948,vol.1,A40.31;B17.33; see vol.2,p.47ff;p.140ff.
4 On the terminology, see Spencer,1984,p.14ff,p.27.
5 ibid.p.17-19.
6 For the text,etc., see Grimal,1981.
and before $\text{Gr-} \cdot \text{Pr}$ and $\text{Pr-} \cdot \text{Gr}$ belong together and are very securely attested for the area of Old Cairo$^2$. $\text{Rpsnwer}$ appears in the large Memphis/Heliopolis section of the geographical inscription from hall B at Dendera$^3$. If this were an ordered list of place names, the occurrence of $\text{dgt-} \cdot \text{nfr}$ among the names of places known to have been in the memphite area could be taken to be proof that $\text{dgt-} \cdot \text{nfr}$ was a memphite place. For a list of princes from these places, the principle of organisation might have been to include all of those who came to submit to Pi, rather than to account for the submission of places in a particular region$^4$.

The memphite reference of $\text{dgt-} \cdot \text{nfr}$ is in each of the documents to be considered ambiguous, but from the coincidence of the two contexts the identification with Memphis may be taken to be fairly secure. There is support for this conclusion in the strong memphite connections of officials attested for the cult.

1.2.5. £\text{wdntj}t.

$\text{Amn}/\text{Amon-REF} \ \text{ub t/} \text{wdntj}t$ appears to be an epithet meaning 'Amun lord of the offering table'. From a nineteenth dynasty inscription$^5$ which names a $\text{pm qfr tpy a ' lam a t/} \text{wdntj}t$, it is clear that this is a cult name$^6$.

The cult is plainly attested for Memphis. In a twentieth dynasty inscription$^7$ at Medinet Habu we have $\text{tam-REF} \ \text{ub t/} \text{wdntj}t \text{-brj-ib} \text{ Mbt-xt-Plbn}$. A twenty-second dynasty text$^8$ has $\text{smtj} \text{k nst}$

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1. *ibid.*, p.152*.*.3. Grimal, however, (n.475), following Gardiner, 1947, vol.2,p.120*-122*, et al., takes $\text{Hot-} \cdot \text{nfr}$ to be in the far south of Memphis. See 5.7.5.
2. See Gardiner, 1947, p.131*-144. For the sources, see Gauthier, 1925*4/203ff.,2/100 and 3/137.
3. Mariette, 1870-75, vol.1,p.26. The text groups the memphite and heliopolitan material together. As in so many of these geographical texts, place names are arranged by nome but not by position within a nome. This is interesting for the status of Heliopolis and the relation of Memphis to Heliopolis in the late period and afterwards. It is evidence of the northward expansion of Memphis. Although Heliopolis was on the opposite side of the river to Memphis proper, the eastern bank was appropriated for Memphis at the quarries of Tura, Massara, etc. As Memphis and Heliopolis came more and more to face one another across the river, a certain intermingling of reference may have occurred.
4. As Professor H.S. Smith has urged here, the order does seem to be consistent with a regional ordering of the list.
6. Once again, on the epithet/name distinction, see 3.3.1.
Although the precise sectors designated by the terms ḫw-t-ś-ptw and ḫr-nhj at various periods are not yet known, the names are securely identified with Memphis.

1.2.7. Nfī.

‘lmn n Nfī is named in the tomb of MS at Saqqārah. Nfī is written with a city-sign. Evidence for the memphite location of Nfī from the tomb of MS is circumstantial. As the tomb is at Saqqārah, it is probable that the tomb owner lived at Memphis and that the family land at the village of Nfī which was disputed in the lawsuit recorded in the tomb lay in the memphite area.

The village of Nfī later appears in the B text of Papyrus Wilbour. At 9.22-4 there is:

\[\text{region south of the village of Nfī, fields of this house, arable land, arouras 10.}\]
\[\text{region east of Pn-ḥf-te, fields of this house, arable land, arouras 5.}\]
\[\text{region of the pond south of the village of Nfī and east of the house of Amūn /P-ḫw-ś, fields of this house, arable land, arouras 20.}\]

This by the heading at 66 was ḫLand of pharaoh on fields of the house of Rē’. Gardiner gives the restored first line as follows: ḫ-hs ḫr-ś st śt P.t-sj-r/lsrw/ Mnl-nfr, ḫLand of Pharaoh under his4 authority starting from P.t-sj-r/lsrw/ (in) Memphis?.....

The reading ‘in Memphis’ is uncertain if convincing. There is, however, supporting evidence for the memphite reference of the areas listed under this heading.

Under 620 which is headed ḫ-hs st Nfr n Mnl-nfr, ḫLand of pharaoh under the authority of Rē-nfr sw-w nb of Memphis (sacks, ---) there is at 18,30:

\[\text{its fields: region north-east of [the] village of M'hw, fields of the house of Rē', arable land, arouras 20.}\]

at 19,2:

\[\text{USH ḫr-ś st 'lmn P.h-ś st w pr pn, kṣṭ, stā 20.}\]

1 Both names at a late date were, it would seem, general terms for the city of Memphis. From the usage it is possible to gather that ḫw-t-ś-ptw referred, when used in contradistinction to other terms, to the central area, ḫw pt-nfr around the Ptah temple. ḫr-nhj may have been of more general reference, or it may have referred to western Memphis, including the gebel area.

2 The following quotations follow the text and hieroglyphic transcription of Gardiner, 1948.

3 restored by Gardiner from 9.27.

4 i.e., Gardiner notes, the steward Wsr-nḥt-Rē-nḥj’s.
region south-east of the house of Amûn $P^\cdot w^-\cdot a$, fields of this house, arable land, 
arouras 20.

at 19,5:
\[ t\bar{s} \, r\bar{s} \, j \, l\bar{b} \, j \, t\bar{i} \, w\bar{t} \, i\, t\bar{i} \, w\bar{t} \, M^\cdot w\bar{w} \, s\bar{w} \bar{t} \, p\, R^\cdot , \, k\bar{s} \, j, \, s\bar{t} \, \delta 15. \]
region south-east of the village of $M^\cdot w\bar{w}$, fields of the House of Re', arable land, 
arouras 15.

These toponyms again are linked with Memphis under §24 which is headed $P^\cdot w^-\cdot a$land of pharaoh 
under the authority of $R^\cdot w^-\cdot w$, the steward of the house of Ptah (sacks, 700).

at 20,9 there is:
\[ t\bar{s} \, l\bar{m} \, n\bar{t} \, j \, p\, R^\cdot w^-\cdot a \, s\bar{w}\bar{t} \, p\, p\, n, \, k\bar{s} \, j, \, s\bar{t} \, \delta 10. \]
region west of the house of Amûn $P^\cdot w^-\cdot a$, fields of this house \(^1\), arable land, arouras 
10.

at 20,21:
\[ t\bar{s} \, a \, p\, l\bar{h}\, b \, l\bar{m}\bar{n} \, t\, R^\cdot w^-\cdot a \, s\bar{w} \bar{t} \, p\, p\, n, \, \delta \, k\bar{s} \, j, \, s\bar{t} \, 2. \]
region of fresh land west of the house of Amûn $P^\cdot w^-\cdot a$, fresh land, 10, balance, 
arable land, arouras 2.

There is every reason to suppose that in each case, the estates on which pharaoh's $P^\cdot w^-\cdot a$land was 
situated were the same rather than merely land belonging to the same institutions, as in each 
instance the estate in question is further qualified as being fields of the house of Re'.

Returning to §6 in which $N\bar{s}i$ is named we find the same places mentioned.

At 9,12:
\[ s\bar{w}\bar{t} \, l\bar{i} \, t\bar{r} \, s\bar{s} \, j \, l\bar{b} \, j \, t\bar{i} \, w\bar{t} \, i\, t\bar{i} \, w\bar{t} \, M^\cdot w\bar{w} \, s\bar{w} \bar{t} \, p\, R^\cdot , \, k\bar{s} \, j, \, s\bar{t} \, \delta 50. \]
its fields: region south-east of the village of $M^\cdot w\bar{w}$, fields of the house of Re' arable 
[land, arouras] 50.

At 9,16:
\[ t\bar{s} \, m\bar{b} \, t\bar{j} \, l\bar{b} \, j \, t\bar{i} \, w\bar{t} \, i\, t\bar{i} \, w\bar{t} \, M^\cdot w\bar{w} \, s\bar{w} \bar{t} \, p\, p\, n, \, k\bar{s} \, j, \, s\bar{t} \, \delta 20. \]
region north-east of the house of Amûn of $P^\cdot w^-\cdot a$, fields of [this] house, arable land, 
arouras 20.

At 9,19-20:
\[ t\bar{s} \, n \, p\, l\bar{b} \, w \, a \, p\, l\bar{w} \, m\bar{b} \, t\bar{j} \, l\bar{m} \bar{n} \, t\, R^\cdot w^-\cdot a \, s\bar{w} \bar{t} \, p\, p\, n, \, k\bar{s} \, j, \, s\bar{t} \, \delta 4, \, \delta \, \delta 1, \, \delta \, \delta 10. \]
\[ t\bar{s} \, m\bar{b} \, t\bar{j} \, l\bar{b} \, j \, t\bar{i} \, w\bar{t} \, i\, t\bar{i} \, w\bar{t} \, M^\cdot w\bar{w} \, s\bar{w} \bar{t} \, p\, p\, n, \, k\bar{s} \, j, \, s\bar{t} \, \delta 20, \, \delta \, \delta 9, \, \delta \, \delta \,... \]
region of the backland of the island northwest of the village of $M^\cdot w\bar{w}$, fields of this 
house, arable land, arouras' 4 arouras, balance 1 arouras, balance 10 
region north of the house of Amûn of $P^\cdot w^-\cdot a$, fields of this house, arable land, 
arouras 20, balance 9, in....

At 9,26-29:
\[ t\bar{s} \, m\bar{b} \, t\bar{j} \, l\bar{b} \, j \, t\bar{i} \, w\bar{t} \, i\, t\bar{i} \, w\bar{t} \, P\bar{t} \, b, \, k\bar{s} \, j, \, s\bar{t} \, \delta 15. \]
\[ t\bar{s} \, t\bar{r} \, j \, P\bar{t} \, j\bar{s} \bar{e} \, -\, b\bar{w} \bar{r} \, s\bar{w} \bar{t} \, p\, R^\cdot , \, k\bar{s} \, j, \, s\bar{t} \, \delta 80. \]
\[ t\bar{s} \, n \, p\, l\bar{b} \, b \, r\bar{s} \, j \, t\bar{i} \, w\bar{t} \, i\, t\bar{i} \, w\bar{t} \, M^\cdot w\bar{w} \, s\bar{w} \bar{t} \, p\, R^\cdot , \, k\bar{s} \, j, \, s\bar{t} \, \delta \, \delta \, \delta \,... \]
\[ t\bar{s} \, r\bar{s} \, j \, l\bar{b} \, j \, t\bar{i} \, w\bar{t} \, i\, t\bar{i} \, w\bar{t} \, M^\cdot w\bar{w} \, s\bar{w} \bar{t} \, p\, p\, n, \, k\bar{s} \, j, \, s\bar{t} \, \delta \, \delta \, \delta \,... \, \delta \, \delta 2. \]
region north-east of the house of Ptah, lord of the lake, and south-west of the 
fortress, fields of the house of Ptah, arable land, arouras 15. 
region south of $P\bar{t} \, j\bar{s} \bar{e} \, -\, b\bar{w} \bar{r}$, fields of the house of Re' arable [land], arouras 80.

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\(^1\) Re' s
1.2.8. 'Ipt. The cult of Amon-Rē' a 'Ipt a Mn-afr is attested from the 19th dynasty in the text of a scarab found at Aniba.

1.2.9. tšwb at r npwt bn w sr-m R-R'-stp-a-R' a pr 'Imn. A number of officials are known from monuments of memphite provenance with titles in tšwb at r npwt bn w sr-m R-R'-stp-a-R' a pr 'Imn. The occurrence of this name in a memphite context regularly is understood to be a reference to the Ramesseum at Thebes. A second Š temple of the name is known for Memphis from the titles of the courtier Pth-M-wI in texts from his tomb at Saqqarah. He is ḫj prince, smr w'tj, /, /, /, ḫj prince a tšwb at bn w sr-m R-R'-stp-a-R' a pr 'Imn m 'labw-bd' 

1.2.10. Ḡsbd.

Amon-Rē' ab Ḡsbd, along with Mut hbt pr Pth, abt pt, hwt Ḡsbd, is attested at a building of the reign of Siamun on Kom Rabī, built by ḥn-h-š-m-wr, who is named as ḥm ntr 'Imn-R' a Ḡsbd among a number of titles of service to Ptah. The memphite context of the cult is secure.

1.2.11. Incidentally attested cults. A number of memphite cult names are known from a single and minor attestation or are only attested at a late date. These are quoted here for the sake of completeness and because the names in themselves add to the context of available evidence.

1.2.11.1. <Ābw. Amūn of <Ābw is attested in an entirely memphite context in the model letter of P.Sallier IV verso 3 [1,9].

1.2.11.2. pr 'Imn R-w-e. This cult is attested in a eight instances in P.Wilbour 4, in a number of contexts where the memphite reference is indisputable.

1.2.11.3. Pr-hnw. 'Imn-R' ab Pr-hnw appears in the 22nd dynasty titulary of 'lw-R-Hn, on a stela from Kom Qalârah dated to year 6 of Pedibast I: /w r 'n Pr- / / /  hmr-R', ḥm ntr a 'Imn-R' ab


2. The same text names Pth-ms, s × asw m R', mjr, ḫj prince a tšwb R-R'-stp-a-R' a pr Pth, evidence of a third š temple, this with a royal palace within its domain.


This *Pr-hnw* is the house of the *how-bark*, exclusively the property of Sokar and from a very early date so closely associated with him that it could serve as an ideogram of his name. Sokar himself belongs from the earliest date to the city of Memphis, although there were later shrines to Sokar in his connection with Osiris throughout Egypt. *Pr-hnw* may have been an estate and temple of the *how-bark* as a manifestation of Sokar. *td mw ntr Pr-hnw* appears in the list of memphite gods from the Sokar chapel at Abydos. *Jmn-R* *ab Pr-hnw* presumably refers to a chapel or shrine at *Pr-hnw* in Memphis.

1.2.11.4. *Ti-kft*. The name appears in the ptolemaic titulary of *Nh-Ḥpj*, *Irj-p* † *ḥpj* ‐, *sḏwjt hltj*, *smr ṃtj*, *ḥm ntr n ṣt ḫsb ṭp. ḫm ntr *Jmn n Ti-kft*. This is Amūn of the high ground or arable land rather than Amūn of the high throne, as there is a land ‐ sign determinative. *Ṣt ḫsb ṭp* constitutes a definite memphite connection.

1.2.11.5. *Dnlk*. From the ptolemaic sarcophagus *Nh-ms. [Berlin 38]* there is: *ḥm ntr n *Jmn n *Dnlk*; *ḥm ntr n ṣtr w n Dnlk*; *ḥm ntr n *ṣm n ṣtr* . *Dnlk* may be a memphite place associated with Hathor *ḥnt pr ḫnr n *Nh-Ḥpj*.

1.2.11.6. *Msd*. From a ptolemaic sarcophagus [Louvre D11] we have: *ḥm ntr *Jmn n *daḥ n Pḥh n pḥ ḫn Msd* *m r ṣw ḫmr Mṣr.t*. This place is mentioned in the Pi ‐ stela [.1.22]*. It is possible that it was in the memphite region.

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1 See Schulman, 1964, p. 21-4, 133 (refs. 308-9).
2 There are many Pyramid text references. See Yoyotte, 1961, p. 92-4; 1963, p. 90ff.
3 Kees, 1915, p. 68-9, col. 33 of text.
5 Also see Brugsch, 1879, 1135.
6 Montet, (1957, p. 100) places it at Tell Um el ‐ Harb near the village Mustai, north of Benha.
chapter 2

the official status of the cults

2.1. the types of evidence.

Any attestation of the memphite Amûn cults is relevant in a judgement of their status. A common amulet bearing the name of Amûn is, as another in the register of those found in the area, of use in making more complete our conception of the complexion, the influence, and the standing of the cults. Our primary sources of evidence are prosopographical material from the memphite area drawn from the inscriptions of tomb walls and monuments, offering stelae, canopic jars and miscellaneous objects; the names of temples, estates and other properties of the Amûn cults from lists of titles in the contexts mentioned above, as well as from administrative papyri and the odd wine jar docket or gaming board, geographical lists of various kinds and mentions in hymns; statuettes of Amûn and associated deities; the name and epithets of the god inscribed on scarabs and amulets, and the manner in which they are written.

2.2. the significance of the prosopographical material.

Given sufficient information about the priestly and administrative staff of a cult and its property at a particular epoch of its history, it would be possible to gauge its size from their numbers, its influence from their rank, its purposes from their employment and something of its character from their histories. This sort of completeness, of course, is very rarely to be had for an egyptian context, despite the mass of available information. It is therefore necessary at every stage of an investigation to be clear about the ways in which our analysis of the available information is limited by lack of vital data.

The first general question one asks about the cults of Amûn at Memphis is how 'important' they were both as a group and individually. From the assembled prosopographical record we find that many of the names and titles attested for officials in the service of Amûn at Memphis are not linked with the name of a particular cult. Attestation for the ranks is not equal. Titularies of high and middle ranking officials are often attested in the texts of monuments from tombs. Low ranking officials who appear in the record are generally known only from votive offerings bearing their names. A priestly title of low rank or a low ranking administrative title is likely not to include the name of the relevant cult. This is presumably because an official of low rank is not so much identified with the cult. Cult names are therefore more likely to appear in administrative documents, in cult lists and in other contexts in which the identity of the god or his property rather than the individual's place in the hierarchy is of concern. So there are problems in building a picture of the property and scope of a particular cult.
Cult references are given for the higher ranks of priest. Of four ḥām ntr špī attested, we have a cult reference for three; of seventeen ḥām ntr, there is a cult reference for thirteen and an uncertain reference for one of the four remaining. These are the ranks for which there was a statutory staff complement. That is why in these cases the cult in which the title was held is named. There are many fairly lavish votives of lower ranking officials who had scope to name the cult in which they served, but did not do so. The status of a title was in part taken from its rarity. It was rarity that made a cult reference important in naming the title.

Of the five ḥāw ntr in the available record, three had gone on to become ḥām ntr in their Amûn cults. As we might expect, the name of the cult in question is listed in these titularies: ḥām ntr, ḥāt ntr 'cult x'. One of the remaining two is of ḥām ntr rank as ḥām ntr of another named cult. The last, ḫmn-w'[h-way] is ḥprj ta bs as well as ḫtr. He is attested from a fine wooden palette, rather than from a stone monument. Although there must have been a number of ḥāw ntr serving in the cults, in this collection of data there are no monuments for them in the record, except where they were of ḥām ntr rank.

There are thirty-one ḥar/jw̱ attested. Whereas ḫw ntr do not appear in the record, ḥar/jw̱ do. A number of these are attested in connection with their husbands or other male family members who bore titles of some rank and therefore might be expected to have left monuments. Five are attested independently of any family members, three from votive stelae and two from monuments. Two is wrt hnr n rQwt, as well as ḫtr n lmn. The husband of ḫnw-m-ws[H] bears only the title ḫṟ and therefore was of a rank unlikely to be attested on a monument. From this evidence it is not possible to say whether the ḫar/jw̱ as a group were of such rank as to fall into the group with ḫāw ntr and ḫāw ntr špī who are attested in numbers on monuments or rather they belonged to the lower-ranked group who were not. Almost certainly there was a hierarchy of ḫar/jw̱ and therefore they should be understood to belong to various ranks.

For the thirty-one ḫar/jw̱ attested, only three of the titularies have a cult reference. It may be that this is a mark of the higher rank of these three, as the relative ranks among the ḫar/jw̱ are not known. There is also a staff of ḫsw attested for a named memphite cult of Amûn. No evidence is available for the hierarchy of ḫar/jw̱, nor are there other titles in the available record designating the ranks of chief priestess and deities which no doubt there were for the cults of Amûn.

Although their sacerdotal rank remains for the present obscure, one would expect in view of the large number of ḫar/jw̱ attested, to find that they were of middle to high social rank. Indeed,

1 See ḫnw-'ipt-M-Ht.
2 See excursus.
twenty-four are known from monuments and only seven from common votive offerings. The quality of the monuments on which they are attested and an examination of the titles of family members make it possible to say that only three of the Amnḫ/ḫr attestations were of low social rank. Twenty were of middle and upper middle class family and eight of courtier families. For twenty-five there is no other attested Amnḫ connection in the family, other than in a few cases, a mother or sister of the same title, whose title therefore also features in this enquiry. Six of the thirty-one have a husband in the service of Amnḫ, but none of these men belong to the priesthood. This needs to be noted in refutation of the common assertion that a Amnḫ/ḫr had her office through a husband in the priesthood 1.

Although the prosopographical material is not so rich a resource for an analysis of the importance of the individual cults as might be wished, there are more than enough attestations for the staff of named cults of proven memphite location to establish that these were temples rather than mere shrines. As temples they must have had property. Therefore a number of the other priestly ranks and of the administrative staff attested from Memphis without a cult reference must have belonged to the cults for which priestly staff are known. This is a useful point from which to reckon in an appraisal of the status of the Amnḫ cults as a group. From the disparate rank, however, and the random assortment of posts represented by these officials of unspecified rank, it is clear that there is available to us only a tiny percentage of the complete register of names and titles of officials of the cults of Amnḫ at Memphis over the period of the new kingdom and late period. One would not therefore judge the status of the cults by the numbers of known officials or by their responsibilities.

2.2.1. the rank of their high officials as a measure of the status of the cults.

One measure of the importance of a cult is the rank of attested officials who held titles of service to it, as that rank may be judged by other titles which they bore. The servant of a small rural cult may be of quite humble rank. The presence of a person high in the official hierarchy, a mayor of Memphis or a vezir, in the service of a cult of Amnḫ at Memphis, may lead us to suppose that the cult was very important. This assumption however must be applied with care, in terms of the support for it in the evidence available.

In practice, the priests attested for the cults bear mostly priestly titles. For important priestly posts, there seems to have been little question of a particular individual being the proper deputy as priest in the king's place. In the absence of the king, the proper deputy was simply a priest, a priest whose rank as a priest among other priests may on occasion be difficult to ascertain. Attestations for an established priesthood with its own integral hierarchy are more

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1 On the role of women in the priesthood with special reference to the Amnḫ/ḫr, see the Excursus. The musician-priestesses.
certain evidence of status for a cult than is the presence of a title of *pm ntr* of the cult in the titulary of a vezir or other notable. The choice of a festival leader might be the person of the highest available rank, but the post of *pm ntr* was in most cases a post of regular attendance.  

Of the *pm ntr* three out of four bear exclusively priestly titles. The fourth *Sn-Nfr*, is royal steward, along with his Amun titles, titles of *imut-en pm ntr* in two cults and the title *shaw ab* of Ptah.  

Of the seventeen *pm ntr*, only four are attested as bearing courtly titles, and scribal titles are attested for three, one of these with courtly titles. Two others bear other non-priestly titles. Among those *pm ntr* bearing non-priestly titles:  

*Bk-*-*Nrh.f* is vezir, *Ib* and *Ib nht* which perhaps should be understood to account for his very large number of priestly titles. It may be that he was co-opted for these for his rank (as councillors and other notables today often are co-opted into local associations). He is also *sw* and *wr pt hww.w*, which may mean that he rose to eminence through the hierarchy of the Ptah temple rather than, as Heck has it, that high secular rank brought him the honour of these titles.  

*Sn-f-N-Mwt* has high priestly titles mainly in the service of Ptah and Sokar, with the exception of the titles *sl hwi ntr pr Pth* and *sl lw pr Pth* from which we may perhaps gather that he rose through the scribal hierarchy in the Ptah establishment, although not necessarily within the temple. *Sn-f-N-Mwt*’s titles *prr sb ntr pt, ti dwt, m Uhbwt; nb hwi m Udrw* will have been marks of royal favour, as were perhaps his other courtly titles.  

*D-kr* is *prr hww.w m hwi Pth*. He bears a number of other priestly titles, mostly of the service of Ptah and is as well *w b p hti drw lmbw-khe*. In addition, he was *sl pbw m pr-hd n hwi Pth*.  

Again, it is perhaps likely that he began his career as a scribe in the service of Ptah.  

*Brj-f-NHr* is *sfl n pr Pth*.  

*Bk-*-*Nhnw* is *sm*. He bears the standard courtly titles, and it is perhaps to be conjectured that he was from a family of some rank. His only active titles however are priestly.  

The same may be said of the titles of *Sn-*-*Hjr*.  

*Iw-r-Hn* was *stj-b-r hwt*, leader of foreign troops.  

1 Of course, any particular titulary must be examined for evidence that titles were held consecutively.
Ptah was ḫnwn of Ptah, probably an administrative title.¹

Of the ḫnwt and ḫnwr tfj, half of the numbers were exclusively career priests and most of the remainder were mainly so. High ranking priests often bore titles in a number of cults. Three, however, of the four ḫnwt tfj bear three or fewer titles. One bears one only. Eleven of the seventeen ḫnwt bear more than three titles, although a number of these will have been borne consecutively: ḫnwt, ḫnwr tfj. Three of the ḫnwt bear one title only. It should be noted that all of the attested ḫnwt are of later date than the attested ḫnwr tfj.

The majority of the ḫnwt of Amun thus had influence in temples beyond the cult of Amun. Bk-n-Rn.f, Pth-nb, Bk-n-Bsw were sm; Bk-n-Rn.f was also wr ḫbw ḫnww.w. Pt-ḏỉ-ỉỉ was ḫm-priest of three of the memphite Amun cults and was also ḫm-priest of a memphite cult of Mut.

2.2.2. evidence for the memphite reference of the titles.

Prosopographical material included here falls into two groups, names and titles attested at Memphis and names and titles attested from elsewhere or from objects or monuments of unknown provenance which bear relevant titles or other Amun attestations of proven memphite reference. The second group is smaller, but consists entirely of material of proven relevance. The data in the first group are more varied. They share a memphite provenance and some uncontestably belong to the memphite cults of Amun. Others, not precisely referenced within a text can only be judged from circumstantial evidence of greater or lesser weight.

In the following discussion the titulary available for each official is ranked on a ten-point scale by likelihood that the relevant titles were held at Memphis. This procedure has been adopted so that the reader may assess the relevance of the data quoted and may assess the critical basis of the theoretical approach used in the research. No great degree of precision can be alleged for this rating system. The 'points' however have been consistently applied, and therefore they constitute a convenient apparatus for comparison and survey. The system is nowhere used to extend the argument, but only to abstract results and it must not be seen as scientific reckoning. Nor must it be construed in such a way as to harden a collection of superficial or incidental features into presumed proofs.

Individual points have not been awarded for data of unequal weight. The system is roughly as follows: '10 points' has been awarded where a titulary includes a title of service in a definitely memphite Amun cult. '5 points' marks a case attested from a memphite context for which there is no evidence for or against a memphite tenure of the post in the service of Amun. There is '9 points' for the case of an official in the service of an unnamed cult of Amun who has family members in

¹ See Mn-nn.
named memphite Amīn ūr cults; '8 points' for a very strong memphite context or where an official with only one or two titles who is buried at Saqqārah is very likely to have held his or her Amīn ūr title at Memphis. There is in general '7 points' for an official buried at Memphis with monuments of strong memphite reference and '6 points' for an official buried at Memphis with less evidence attested. Point numbers below '5' have been used in cases where the evidence is uncertain, but is nevertheless weighted against a memphite reference for the Amīn ūr title. Obviously non-memphite Amīn ūr titles attested at Memphis have not been included. This summary is given as a rough guide, although the few cases of more complexity may have been dealt with slightly differently.

The relative scarcity of precise references for titles, to an estate or district for instance in the case of a stewardship, is felt not only in consideration of the individual cults in relation to one another, but in attempting to determine in which city or region the stewardship was held. A memphite provenance for a monument of memphite workmanship is not conclusive for the memphite reference of a title named in its text. Well-to-do people made journeys to visit Abydos, Memphis, Thebes and other districts, and they dedicated statues and stelae at the temples and shrines which they visited.

Neither can a certainly memphite title be taken as conclusive evidence that another title of the same official was held at Memphis. An official may have served for a few years at Memphis among many others spent at Thebes or elsewhere.1 The theban or other titles may be listed in the texts of his or her monuments at Memphis without the descriptions that would betray a geographical reference.

As, however, Memphis was a large and important city with a vast number of officials of all ranks, it must be recognised that a great number of the unreferenced titles of service to Amīn ūr on monuments found at Memphis are likely to have been held there. Above all, it should be noted that the intentions of the cataloguer of titles and the accidents of space by which were chosen those titles or parts of titles that were to appear in a particular text must in many instances be opaque to the present day reader. It is only where a number of monuments survive for an official that it can be hoped that a full register of titles has been assembled.

A single title on a ushabti or amulet may be taken to be in some - possibly unrecoverable - sense representative of the individual’s titulary, a favourite title, perhaps, or one peculiarly appropriate to this use; or, in the case of a modest title, a choice which marked the height of the individual’s worldly success. For a high official, a complete titulary is not to be expected where

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1 There are a great many such cases known, e.g., Helck, 1958, p.328-9.
there is so little space\(^1\). A fuller title list, however, on a votive statue or stela also may prove to be incomplete.

The case of \(\text{H}\) of the 19th dynasty is instructive\(^2\). There are a pair of statues of \(\text{H}\) in the Cairo Museum. The figure of CG 604 kneels with a shrine of Re\(^{r}\). CG 606 has a shrine of Osiris. One might expect from the very similar and complementary appearance of the statues that the two inscriptions should be similar. In the inscription of CG 604 \(\text{H}\) is

\[\text{ss ns}\text{w mfr, mrj-f, hpsj 'ct a ntr afr, imj-r pr-hd a tthwt a rnpwt hh a nsb blj} \]

\[\text{Wsr-m't-Rc-step-a-Rm pr 'lmn}.\]

Here the treasury of a particular temple is mentioned and a relatively precise identification is given for it. This information, potentially very useful for its toponymic reference as well as for referencing \(\text{H}\) himself, is to be obtained from a single title as given in the text of CG 604. In the longer and more detailed offering text of CG 606 \(\text{H}\) is

\[\text{ss ns}\text{w mfr, mrj-f, imj-r pr-hd}.\]

This is much less telling. \(\text{H}\)'s titles appear to have been neglected in order to accommodate more gods' names in the offering formulae. If only CG 606 were known, \(\text{H}\) would not figure here.

The \(\text{H}\) statues appear to come from a tomb. They are from Saqq\(\text{m}\)rah and they are dedicated for the 'Osiris' \(\text{H}\). The texts themselves represent an entirely northern view. The dedications include

\[\text{Ptth rsl lb n4b 'Nfr-lwi, Sdrj trj-Lb sjfj, Mr-Wr, Nfr-tm, ab kaw, Nj wr, abt} \]

\'[\text{l}]\text{waw, 'ht ms Rc}.\]

It may be objected that a visitor to Memphis might have had an appropriately memphite text inscribed on a statue or stela which he or she was to dedicate or have dedicated at Memphis. There is, however, no reason to suppose that this is such an instance, as there are votive texts from Memphis which were offered for non-memphite gods and for memphite and non-memphite gods together. As the likelihood is that \(\text{H}\)'s monuments are from his tomb, there is in the memphite complexion of his inscriptions good reason to suppose that he was himself of memphite family.

A person of memphite origin and family need not have held office at Memphis. As \(\text{H}\) appears to have been buried at Saqq\(\text{m}\)rah there is reason to assume that he did indeed serve at Memphis. Officials at this date (i.e., those serving in Egypt) seem to have had reason to arrange to be buried in the region in which they undertook their responsibilities\(^3\), as there they had best access to materials and prospective sites. The two posts which \(\text{H}\) is known to have held were important ones, and he quite likely served as \(\text{ss ns}\text{w mfr} \) and \(\text{imj-r pr-hd}\) together at the \(\text{L}\) temple of Ramesses II.

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\(^1\) See for instance, Kn-'\text{l}\text{man}'s ushabti s: Wild, 1957, p.224-5.

\(^2\) See prosopographical appendix here and in the following cases.

\(^3\) For the regions, more particularly after the rameside period. See Smith, 1984, p.44-6 on grand memphite tombs.
It thus is most likely that \( \text{grj} \) served in the domain of the memphite temple rather than the theban one\(^1\). Here, therefore, [8 points] are awarded.

Another category of difficulty may be illustrated by the wife and husband \( \text{Nhjt} \) and \( \text{Pr-R-HR-WNM.F} \) of the 20th dynasty. \( \text{Nhjt} \) and \( \text{Pr-R-HR-WNM.F} \) respectively are

\[
\text{abt pr}, \text{smjt n 'Imn};
\text{swr n prjw n 'Imn}.
\]

We do not know at what temple \( \text{Nhjt} \) served as songstress of Am\(\text{On}\) nor in which estate, temple administration, or perhaps land survey, \( \text{Pr-R-HR-WNM.F} \) was great scribe of the accounting of Am\(\text{On}\).

\( \text{Pr-R-HR-WNM.F} \), however, is called

\[
\text{hst n abw 'Imw(-bd)d and mj' Bwt-kt-Ptb}, 
\text{mrij abw Bwt-kt-Ptb}.
\]

\( \text{Bwt-kt-Ptb} \) is mentioned several times elsewhere in the text. There are also the names \( \text{Pt'h hrj-lb stjt} \), certainly the well-known \( \text{stjt} \) of Memphis, and \( \text{'Imn mrij Ptb} \).

There can be little doubt that the text marks \( \text{Nhjt} \) and \( \text{Pr-R-HR-WNM.F} \) as memphite. The stela we have for them from Saqq\(\text{arah} \) is sufficient evidence that they had a tomb at Saqq\(\text{arah} \). As they had only one title each, it may be assumed that they held these in the memphite area. The pair would appear at [9 points] in the scale.

For a third type of instance we may consider the 18th dynasty \( \text{Mq} \) of the time of Akhenaten. His apis stela from the serapeum gives his titles as

\[
\text{bkt n 'Imn, bkt Hr ngr 'C}.
\]

The Apis post was held at Memphis\(^3\). \( \text{Mq} \) was not of high rank. Therefore, we may assume that the two offices were held in the same area. The likelihood that \( \text{Mq} \)'s title of service to Am\(\text{On} \) was held at Memphis has been set at [7 points].

Among those officials in this collection who bear a number of titles, a person of some importance may have held office chiefly at Memphis, but occasionally at Thebes or elsewhere. Therefore proof of a memphite family or residence is not sufficient to demonstrate that the Am\(\text{On} \) title was held at Memphis. As, however, it has been proved beyond doubt that there were Am\(\text{On} \) cults at Memphis and, as will be seen, that very important officials served in them, an entirely memphite or local titular list, in the absence of other non-memphite evidence, will be taken to

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1 We may assume that he served during the king's lifetime as he was trusty king's scribe, which is interesting for the character of the \( \text{L'temple} \).

2 For useful comments, Montet, 1957, 1/32.

constitute the burden of proof for a memphite or local reference of an Amûn title. A less consistent titular list will be rated as less relevant for the purpose.

'îmî-‘îp‘-m-nbt of the saite period is

ṣǎw ntr ḫmj n ntr mḥtw n ‘lmn ‘jp‘,

'chief of northern singers of the local god, Amûn of ‘jp‘. As has been seen above, in another instance this title might have appeared as ṣǎw ḫmj ‘lmn ‘jp‘, 'chief of singers of Amûn of ‘jp‘; in which case it would in the absence of other information have been classified as probably theban. Slightly ambiguous as this attestation is, as a cult with the name ‘lmn ‘jp‘ is known for Memphis, the likelihood is that, as this attestation is from a statue found at Kôm Fakhry, a 'cult of the city' (mḥtw) in the text refers to Memphis. 'îmî-‘îp‘-m-nbt would be awarded [9 points].

2.3. the staff in the service of the temples.

It is notably difficult to build up a schema of the staff organisation of an egyptian temple. The corpus of biographical and monumental texts is predominantly evidence for high officials, as these were the people most likely to leave permanent records. In addition, the higher the rank of an official the more monuments he or she is likely to have had made and it is correspondingly more likely that one or more of these will have been recovered. In the case of the memphite temples, the record to date is particularly incomplete. The new kingdom and late period necropoli on the gebel have not been excavated as extensively as the theban necropolis has been, and vast regions of the valley site of Memphis remain to be explored.

2.3.1. the priesthood: the hierarchy at Memphis.

In the following register officials are grouped in chronological order by relevant titles of service in the cults of Amûn at Memphis. For the sake of clarity, officials bearing more than one Amûn title appear in each of the relevant categories. Bibliography and other details may be checked by name of official in the prosopographical appendix. Attestations of the individual cults, prosopographical and non-prosopographical, are grouped together in chronological order in the cult appendices. Some biographical and contextual discussion is included in this register where it has been considered relevant to an examination of the status of the cults.

2.3.1.1. ḫmj n ntr ‘jp‘.

Šn-jn [‘tb] of the 18th dynasty, reign of Akhenaten,

ḥmj n ntr ‘jp‘ n ‘lmn n ḫmj n Str ‘jp‘ n Prw–nfr, ḫmj n Str ‘jp‘.

The quality of the chance survivals among Šn-jn’s belongings is very high as befits his rank. By his foreign name he is to be identified as either foreign-born or of foreign forebears. We must

1 For the desert sites, see Málek,1984,p.410 and Smith,1984, p.413. For the valley site, see Smith, in Jeffreys,1985, p.ix-xi and at length, Jeffreys,1985.

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assume however, from the Egyptian surname\(^1\), that he was either wholly or in part Egyptian or Egyptianised in culture. One wonders what significance such a social position might have had in his rise within the hierarchy of an Egyptian priesthood. Whether the cults of Astarte and Ba'al were Egyptian cults of what were originally foreign gods or cults established and administered by foreigners living in Egypt has not been established\(^2\). The titles of Srb-jhn ['Ibj] are evidence that the cults were conducted on an Egyptian basis\(^3\). The likelihood is that as Srb-jhn ['Ibj] was ham nfr tj of an Egyptian cult, any other cults in which he served were also Egyptian. Srb-jhn ['Ibj]'s place as ham nfr tj adds to the evidence for the importance of the Prw-nfr cult, but also to its close association with this period of foreign campaigns. [10 points]

'Ib-M-'lm't of the 18th-19th dynasty.

**ham nfr tj 'lmn.**

The block which bears the text in which 'Ib-M- 'lm't is attested comes from the Merneptah palace complex on Kom Qal'ah. The likelihood is that 'Ib-M- 'lm't was ham nfr tj 'lmn of one of the memphite cults of Amun. [7 points]

///, of the 19th dynasty.

**ham nfr tj njw n tfw n (fr?), ham nfr n Shmt.**

Although ///'s name is missing and the provenance and location of the block on which the titles are attested are unknown, the memphite reference of the Amun title is secure\(^4\). [10 points]

Sw-nfr of the 19th-20th dynasty.

**hw'wsw nsw, imi-r wr n nsw, imi-r hm nfr n Min nb 'lpw\(^5\), ham nfr tj njw n hnt-nfr, imi-r hm nfr n Pth hnt Inat\(^6\), sswy b n Pth.**

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1 For other comments, see Glanville, 1931, p.10.

2 It is possible that these cults were originally founded by foreigners and were eventually Egyptianised. But it is perhaps more likely that they were Egyptian royal foundations established during the period of Asian campaigns with the aim of securing the support of the deities of the foreign lands in which the Egyptian army travelled.

3 It is possible that _ham-nfr_ is an Egyptian explanation or translation of an Asian priestly rank, but as Srb-jhn's foreign name is given and the deities are given their foreign names, this would appear improbable.

4 The block was seen for sale in Cairo in 1895. See Spiegelberg, 1906, p.180.

5 'lpw is the Greek Akhmim, the capital of Min's nome, the nome north of the Thinite nome.

6 Kees, 1915, p.58 notes that this was a quarter of Memphis associated with Sokar, Neith (_Mt nb Inat_), and perhaps Ptah-Tatenen. See Lacau, _RT26_, p.65.
The titles are from a statue of unknown provenance, although the Amûn title is of memphite reference. It is possible that nb hbr should be seen as strictly an epithet of Min, rather than as a geographical reference for the title. There may have been a Min cult at Memphis. [10 points]

2.3.1.2. hâmw ntr.

All of the hâmw ntr tp/attested for the cults of Amûn at Memphis pre-date all of the known hâmw ntr: This is notable, although it is very probably due to an accident of survival.

‘Nh-h-n-N-Mwît of the 21st dynasty, reign of Siâmûn,
kh-nî-p‘, hîr-i, it ntr mtr hâr-sî/t♠ pr Pth, sâm m nht Str, ab lwî m st dgr, hâm hr n lsn, nb aw in ntr r slb–f, it ntr mtr hâr-sî/t♠ m hwr–t/k pr Pth, hâr-sî/t♠ pr, tr dtt, m t/l hswî; ab lwî m tr dgr, hâr-wr(t) m tt Str,i, it ntr mtr hâr-sî/t♠ tr lw b b tr lwî m pr Pth, hsb lwî m pr Pth, hâr-sî/t♠ tr lw hî pw lwî m lwî ‘h, sî lwî m pr Pth, hâm mtr n ‘lmn–R’ hsbî.

‘Nh-h-n-N-Mwît’s titles mark him as a courtier and secretary in many spheres. He took a large part in what was probably an elaborate festival of Sokar at Memphis², and he held during his career, various scribal posts in the service of Ptah, undoubtedly at Memphis, as they are attested at length in a memphite context without additional reference. ‘Nh-h-n-N-Mwît is attested on lintels, doorposts, etc. found on Kôm Tûmân and Kôm Râbî from a temple of uncertain dedication which he built for Siâmûn³. In a lintel scene⁴ the king is followed at right by ‘Nh-h-n-N-Mwît and at left by Nh-r-n-Mwît, pr gb hâm lwî, etc. ‘Nh-h-n-N-Mwît’s appearance in parallel with the high priest of Ptah marks his considerable rank despite his secondary importance in the Ptah hierarchy. This is evidence of the importance of the cult ‘lmn–R’ hsbî. [10 points]

Pr-Di–Stt of the 21st-22nd dynasty, (See his father /// and his mother ///)

It ntr, hâm ntr, hîr-sî/t♠ pr Pth, hâm ntr ‘lmn hswî–nfr, hâm ntr Pth, /// hâm ntr Siâm hût, hâm ntr Mwît hût ‘dw ntr, hâm ntr ‘lmn Prwî–nfr(?), hâm ntr lwî, lâm st ///, hâm ntr ‘lmn–R’ nb aswî hâr-wr(t) m tt Str, joining the measuring cord in the festival of Sokar.

The titulary is interesting in that Pr-Di–Stt bears high office in three different memphite cults of Amûn and, in addition, in the cult of Mut at Memphis. It is a specialisation in local Amûn cults

1. The preceding titles from the Sokar cult are conventionally translated as follows, sâm m nht Str, keeper of the magic books of Sokar; ab lwî m st dgr, lord of the order of procession; hâm hr n lsn, presenter in the recitation of praises; nb aw in ntr r slb–f, he who conducts the god to his shrine; hîr-wr(t) m tt Str, joining the measuring cord in the festival of Sokar.
2. See Mikhail, 1984(1) and (2) and for a discussion of the theban festival which presumably was modelled upon the memphite one, Gaballa, Kitchen, 1969.
3. Petrie 1909(1), p.12 says that he located the building at the south west corner of Kôm Râbî. It was built in mud brick with stone lintels, jambm and stone columns.
5. A temple.
of the same kind as is often seen with titles of service to Ptah and to Sokar at Memphis. The reading Prwi-nfr is uncertain. If correct, this would be the latest attestation for Prwi-nfr. The why title is certainly memphite. Mdw btt 'bw nfr is well attested for the north memphite area. It m nfr should be a title of service in a temple. With the titles from the Ptah priesthood and a broken title of service to Sakhmet, this is an entirely memphite context. Ptah is referred to as Ptb nb m/t, nsw ntrw, an interesting conjunction of titles. 'lmn-R' ab aswt lwj gym b't swt is noteworthy for the resemblance to, but distinction from, the theban Why. From the importance of Pr-di-stt's titles and their number, 'lmn nb Why should be rated fairly highly. [10 points]

/// 21st-22nd dynasty (See his son Pr-di-stt and his wife, ///)

It atr hm atr a 'lmn-R' ab aswt lwj, gym b't swt. It atr hm atr bhj stk/sp Ptb bhj bkt-f. ///. From his offices in the Ptah priesthood and from his son's certainly memphite titles, can be judged probably to have held his offices at Memphis. Pr-di-stt's mother ///, was swjt lo 'lmn. [9 points]

'ljw-R-HN of the 23rd dynasty, known from a text of the reign of Pedibast, year 6,

[wfr c'n Pr/-Shm-hpr-R'> hm atr a 'lmn-R' ab Pr-hw, 'stj-h-b bwtj.

'Ljw-R-HN is attested from a donation stela. He is unusual among the attested bhm-priests for bearing a military title, commander of foreign troops. Schulman notes that in the libyan period, military rank and title is rarely attested. He therefore surmises that 'stj-h-b bwtj here must have been a high rank. [10 points]

Bk-N-RN-F of the 26th dynasty, reign of Psammetichus I,

brj-p't, brj-c, brj hwwt at at-hwt. 'd mr Dp, it atr, warw btt Sksw, hm atr st n st wrt, hm atr 'lmn-R' ab aswt lwj a hwt bttj, hm atr Wp-wwt m hwt Nlt, hm atr fr Ntsw, hm atr Ham-bt-R' atr

1 See for instance the preceding titulary of rNb-F-N-MwT.
2 For this cult, see 3.2.
3 Robert Morkot has a soon to be published article on these 'united with' titles. See Nelson, 1942.
4 Ptah is often called by an epithet only, but brj-bkt can be used of other gods or independently (Sandman-Holmberg, 1946, p.147-50). Brj-bkt was in fact an old kingdom god, the god of a local cult who had his own priests, etc. He may have been a tree god. His original nature is not known. Brj-bkt was a protector of Osiris in the Osiris-mysteries, identified with Thoth and Horus.
5 see 2.3.2.
6 Schulman notes that such donation stelae recording the gift of a small tract of land, usually from a private individual, but sometimes from the king, and to a specific god are quite rare before the libyan period. The libyans seem to have adopted a minor institution and made it peculiarly their own. Schulman, 1966, p.38-9.
7 ibid,p.38-9.
It may have been as northern vezir and mayor of Memphis that BK-N-RN.R took on so many priestly posts and affiliations in Memphis and beyond at Heliopolis, in the Delta and in the Fayyum area. In particular, his 'specialisation' in northern Amun cult places should be noted. The title 'lnm-mb' is difficult. 'lnm-R' or lnsw njw is attested as the name of two memphite cults and is also attested in middle Egypt, but not elsewhere in the context of a temple. The hwt bhrj is undoubtedly a temple after the death of the sovereign in question. It is necessary to read in reverse order, the hwt bhrj of 'lnm-R', rather than 'lnm-R' of the hwt bhrj. This is a temple within a precinct of Amun-Rê for a combined temple and Amun temple foundation.

\[ Wp-wJt m bhrj Nbi, \]

is memphite and at st wrt may be memphite. The titles of service to Ptah, Sokar and Bastet are also from the memphite context. In view of the fact that these texts come from BK-N-RN.R's grand burial at Memphis, it is likely that a cult for which no geographical reference is given belonged to a temple at Memphis. [7 points]

\[ PTh-ktp of the 26th dynasty. \]

1 This is a cult place of Horus at the present Tell Abu Séfah. See Gardiner, 1947, vol 2, p.203*.
2 This refers to Pt-hr-n Jtnno, Tell el Balamun, the greek Diospolis Parva, the Wst, or Amôn cult place, of lower Egypt.
3 This is 'Wnâwê itself, despite the adjective.
4 See 1.2.2.
5 Neith is characterised as wpkJ wJw, opener of the ways, in what is the essential type of ancient egyptian syncretism. In war, Neith opened the way for the king. The cult of Neith as opener of the ways is known at Memphis from the old kingdom in very close relationship to Wepwawet. (See Altenmüller, B., 1975, p.83.) She is described as mptj-lb-s in contradistinction to Ptah who is rsJ-lb.l. She is also nbt tsn. Wepwawet is also interesting as standard bearer at the front of processions, including the bth-std.
6 Isis at Memphis: Bergman, 1968, p.244-47.
7 Comments in Montet, 1957, 1/32.
9 See Mn-RN in section 2.3.2 for a discussion of this title.
10 This is Ptah. See WB 2/379. Amon-Rê, however, is ntm stJ in the Seti chapel at Abydos. Mariette, 1869, p.26.
In the context of five titles of service to Ptah, among them very high ones, attested on a monument of memphite provenance PtNh-HTP's title of "hm ntr 'Imn" may be considered likely to have been held at Memphis. PtNh-HTP's tenure of the office may be considered to signify high importance for the unidentified cult of AmOn. [7 points]

D-HR of the 26th dynasty, reign of Psammetichus,

"hm ntr 'Imn."

D-HR is known from his sarcophagus found at Saqqarah. D-HR's titles include some of the highest priestly dignities of Memphis. D-HR's tenure of the position of "hm ntr n st hsbdt tp" should be taken as evidence of the high status of the cult. It is possible that there was a connection between the foundations of "st hsbdt tp" and 'Imn ab hsbdt. The cult of 'Imn-R' hntj hwt ntr w may be seen from its context here to have been of high status. [10 points]

HmN-NHT of the Saite period,

"hm ntr 'Imn."

HmN-NHT is known from canopic jars of his daughter Sbt-NHT. As these are from Saqqarah, the burden of likelihood is slightly in favour of a memphite reference for the AmOn title. [6 points]

Nh-PF-HRJ of the 26th-27th dynasty,

"hm ntr 'Imn."

Nh-PF-HRJ is known from an inscription of his son PN-TJ-NSW. lri-p't bktj bj, ssw b tj, rt nsw nr, wr bswt, a courtier, on a schist statuette from a cache found at Saqqarah. The pieces in the

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1 "wbd n hwt ntrw 'labw-bd" may have been a high dignity, the 'key of the city', a formal right of access to every temple in Memphis.

2 This title would ordinarily be presumed to be latopolite. Its setting however is curious. "hm ntr Nbt, st tw wt n nsw b tj Ps-m-t-k hwt ntr Mn-nfr" apparently reads 'hm-priest of Nbt and of the images of the king Psammetichus in the temple(s) of Memphis. One wonders whether this particular syntactic convenience would have been adopted had not the Nbt temple also been at Memphis.

3 The name Amon-R' is written with an obelisk followed by a seated god with sun-disk and uraeus and alternatively, an obelisk followed by a sun disk and uraeus. This may be intended as hidden writing of the name, in such a context, a case perhaps of 26th dynasty theoretical archaising.

4 "st hsb" appears to refer to the cult at Edfu itself. The connection may however be through D-HR's memphite title. "hm ntr n st hsbdt tp."
each presumably were buried as outdated temple furniture, but the temple of origin at Memphis or Saqqarah is not known. The title wR pswj, perhaps tomb inspector, may refer to a post held at Saqqarah. Nh-PF-HRj may have held courtly titles. In such a context, for reasons of space, it was not unusual to give the names of one's father and mother only. Nh-PF-HRj's title, may be judged slightly more likely than not to have been held in the memphite area. [5 points]

**Pf-TW-rh-Hnsw** of the 27th dynasty,

`it ntr ntr ntr bjtj, hm ntr st, hm ntr 'ima-R nj r-nfwr, lmy is Pth, hm ntr n t/wt n(t) nsw bjtj /Wsr-nnt-R-nst-n-R', sJR, Rr-anss mB-Btw, sjm hm ntr Nb-gwnt-R, mB-Btw Psmk ntr Pth. Pf-TW-rh-Hnsw is known from an apis stela of the reign of Darius, year 34, dedicated after his death by his mother Tr-Ksw. Note the title hm ntr 'ima-R nj r-nfwr. [10 points]

**Dp-Pth-lw-nh** of the 27th dynasty,

`it ntr, hm ntr Pth nj r-st, drj-sktj wtj, hm ntr 'ima-R bjtj bwt ntrw. Dp-Pth-lw-nh is known from an apis stela of the reign of Darius, year 34. His position in the Ptah hierarchy is evidence for the high status of the cult of 'ima-R bjtj bwt ntrw. [10 points]

**Bk-n-Hnsw**, dated to the late period,

`tjr-p't, bjtj, sahmigt bjtj, smr wtj, lmy-r bmm ntr 'ima, smr' Bk-n-Hnsw, a courtier, is known from a small schist statue found at Saqqarah. The front of the base of the statue bears a broken line of titulary in which is legible the name 'ima-R, nj Tr-nfwr, Tell el-Muqdam at Athribis. The cult name cannot definitely be assigned to Bk-n-Hnsw's titulary, as it might be part of the invocation. This, however, is somewhat unlikely in view of its provenance, unless there was a cult for Amon-Rê lord of Tr-nfwr in the Saqqarah area. The reference of the Amôn title must be considered unclear. [3 points]

**Hnh-nht** of the late period,

`hm ntr 'ima-R bjtj bwt ntrw. Hnh-nht is known from a wooden statuette of his daughter Trj-lsw-Hnt. The context is not particularly distinguished, but the statuette may have come from a large burial equipment now lost. It cannot be considered to be evidence for the status of the cult of 'ima-R bjtj bwt ntrw. [10 points]

'Ij-nht of the ptolemaic period, circa the 2nd century B.C.,

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1 For discussion, see Gardiner, 1947, vol. I, p. 41. The title is firmly associated with the high priesthood of Ptah from the 12th dynasty.
2 Yoyotte, 1953, p. 179–92.
I t ntr, mtr atr, hm ntr Pth, warw m Smpw¹, elh nsw, hpr shtn st wrt, hpr-shtn r-shtn, e³ shtm ³j-im n hw shtw ³lmw-hdw², hm ntr n ³lm-n-R² bwt hwt ntrw, w³b n hwt ntrw ³lmb-hdw, warw m hmp, hm ntr nsw bjt.

³l³³-m-HTP strictly speaking falls by his date beyond the limits of this inquiry. He is included here because he belongs to the register of priests of a cult which dates back to the early 19th dynasty. His other titles too are mostly memphite. hm ntr nsw bjt presumably is a title of service in the k l temple of the reigning king. ³l³³-m-HTP like D-HR was 'free of all the temples of Memphis'.

10 points

²Nh-Exp of the ptolemaic period,

hpr-shtn, hpr-shtn, shtm sht Helvetica

²Nh-Exp is attested in a text on the sarcophagus of his mother Tj-imn, abt pr frm a mass burial at Sqqwrh. Like ³l³³-m-HTP, he is too late properly to be listed here. However, like D-HR, he is a priest of the cult of S³l³³-hsbd to, relevant here for the possible connection with Amon-Re of hsbd, and his titulary gives us the name of another cult of Am³³³-n. ³lm n T³³-ktft. It should be noted that his name is compounded of the name of Apis and that he also bears a title from Ninsu³. [7 points]

2.3.1.3. It ntr.

³l³³-n-WM-swis of the 19th dynasty, reign of Ramesses II.

hpr-shtn, hpr-shtn, it ntr m hwt m hmp m rnpw t Wsr-m³³³-m³³³-s³³³-m³³³-K². Badawi takes this to refer to the Li-cult of Ramesses II in

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¹ Smpw for Smpw, Greek Letopolis, is seen from the 19th dynasty onward, (Erman, Grapow,1926, vol.3,p.280).
² This may refer to the S³³³-n.
³ Ninsu is modern Ihnasyah el Medinah, greek Heracleopolis just west of Beni Suef, near the Bahr Yúsif and only thirty miles south of the southern extremity of the memphite nome.
⁴ Li-temples received their status from their character as part temple of a great god, part Li-temple of the king. The king was thus united with the god. The same intention governed the placement of statues in great temples. In a titulary or in an account of land ownership the relationship is expressed in terms of the domain, e.g. as later in this inscription, It ntr m hwt m hmp m rnpw t Wsr-m³³³-m³³³-s³³³-m³³³-K². In the invocation the theoretical or religious relationship is expressed by which the king was housed in or with the god. Ptah will have been named first by rank: the reading should be not Ptah of Ramessesmeriamun, but Ramessesmeriamun of Ptah.
the Ptah domain at Memphis despite the provenance, and he assumes that the cult of the invocation was associated with the cult of ‘Imn-wjhw-sw’s titles. A E-cult of Ramesses II in the house of Ptah at Memphis is attested. No E-cult of Ramesses II under the aegis of Ptah at Thebes is as yet known. The inscription’s second invocation for Ptah of Menes is evidence in support of Badawi’s interpretation. As the name of Menes is written without a cartouche, it is perhaps likely that this was not a standard E-cult of the time, but a cult dedicated to the worship of Menes as a god, apparently in association with Ptah, rather than as a divine king. Whether this was a cult of Menes the god or an intended revival of a postulated E-cult of Menes the king, a celebration of the historical preeminence of Memphis, such as this must have been, is more likely for Memphis than for Thebes.

In the light of this and as there is certain attestation for such a temple, it is possible that the E-temple/Amun temple at which ‘Imn-wjhw-sw bore office was the E-temple of Ramesses II in the house of Amun at Memphis. The fact that this is a palette, rather than a votive stela which one might leave as an offering at a temple, is evidence of a habitual rather than an ‘occasional’ devotion, and therefore may be cited in favour of a memphite connection for ‘Imn-wjhw-sw. ‘Imn-wjhw-sw may nevertheless have been of memphite family and yet have served at Thebes and have been buried there.

Overseer of stonecutters and E-priest of the E-temple of Ramesses II in the house of Amun as a combination of offices should probably be understood in the context of temple building. There is little to be learned from ‘Imn-wjhw-sw’s apparent rank about the memphite cult of Ramesses II, if indeed ‘Imn-wjhw-sw served in it, but we may assume that such cults were, wherever they were instituted, of impressive dignity. [4 points]

1 Badawi, Ah., 1948, p.13.
2 See the titles of Pth-as in section 1.2.7.
3 Two cults of Ptah are likely here as Badawi says. It is also possible that Menes’s cult was within the Ramesses II E-temple / Ptah temple. Badawi cites Erman, Z4530,p.44ff. Badawi says that Sethe in Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte (Untersuchungen III), p.130 points to Ptah’s epithet nsw ēwjas as evidence of Ptah’s longstanding patronship of the unified Egypt, thus the Menes connection.
4 It is noteworthy that in the Turin Royal Papyrus list, Menes’ name alone has a human determinative. (Elsewhere, it has not.)
5 See 1.2.7.
6 Professor J. Janssen has suggested [UCL student egyptology seminars, 1986] that architects or overseers of temple building may have needed to be purified in order to be able to superintend work in areas of a temple inaccessible to the unconsecrated non-priestly classes. By this process they would have acquired the right to priestly titles - these, presumably graded according to the official’s own rank.
///, of the 21st-22nd dynasty, (See his son is Pr-dj-stt above)

///'s son Pr-dj-stt is ha-priest of Amun of Prw-nfr and of Jtt-nfr, certainly memphite posts, in addition to holding office in the Ptah priesthood, the Sakhmet priesthood, etc. ///'s Amun title is of uncertain reference, but there was a cult of Imn-Rc nb aswt Lwr at Memphis¹, although attestations may be difficult to distinguish from references to Amun of Thebes. The epithet Jntj b-c swte stands in contradistinction to the theban Jpt swt and may well have been of purely memphite reference. [8 points]

Wh-lb-Rc-Mrj-Pth of the 27th dynasty,

It ntr 'Imn-Rc Jntj b-wt ntrw, hm ntr Ppl.

Wh-lb-Rc-Mrj-Pth is known from an apis stela of the reign of Darius, year 4. [10 points]

Hr-SF-Nft of the 27th dynasty,

hm ntr lj ntr 'Imn-Rc Jntj b-wt ntrw, hm ntr Ppl, sš /// n pr Pth landw n(h) Hpr.

Hr-SF-Nft is known from an apis stela of the reign of Darius, year 4. [10 points]

2.3.1.4. šmrjt (and ḫsw).

There is attested in the memphite record a comparatively large number of šmrjt n 'iman, who it should be noted are almost exclusively described as n 'iman, in the service of Amun rather than Amon-Rê. It may with some confidence be inferred that there were many people who bore the title, as the presence in a random sample of a large number of officials of a particular category is, by statistical reckoning, evidence that the category probably made up a large proportion of the complete set. As the šmrjt are not differentiated by rank within the hierarchy, the titles of husbands and other family are in some cases noted where this data is of use in an assessment of the rank of the title holder or the reference of her titles. Curiously, of the known memphite šmrjt n 'iman, a few are married to overseers of property of Amun or scribes in Amun’s service, but a greater number to other memphite officials and none to a priest of a memphite Amun cult.

'lwj of the 18th dynasty, reign of Amenhotep III,

nb pr, šmrjt n 'iman.

'lwj is known from a votive stela from Saqqara with an invocation to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris ntr ʿṣ, nb ḫsdw and 'lwj Jntj imtt. 'lwj is shown with her sistrum and thus in her priestly role. Her

¹ See section 1.2.9.2.
husband is Wei, as  $\textit{\textbf{mrj p' $\textit{\textbf{tj}}$ ml wtr ahw 'ram, mrt-pr nb twr}$, was of solid middling rank. The invocation and the provenance are memphite, but there is no evidence available for the reference of the titles. [6 points]

Wrt of the late 18th dynasty, reign of Tutankhamen to Horemheb (see her husband’s mother $\textit{\textbf{hnt-$\textit{\textbf{lwsw}}$}}$ below),

\[\textit{\textbf{mrj n 'lam, hsj at hwt-br}}.\]

Wrt is attested in texts from the tomb at Saqqarah known by the name of her husband Mq. $\textit{\textbf{smw mt mrj.f, $\textit{\textbf{hsj pr h}w br wnmj nsrw, lmr-pr pr h}}} n \textit{\textbf{nb twr}}$. As fan-bearer on the right hand of the king, he was very highly placed at court. From the burial at Memphis, it would appear that Wrt or Mq or both were of memphite family. The epithet $\textit{\textbf{hsj at hwt-br}}$ should probably be taken in this context as a memphite affiliation. It should be noted that Wrt’s husband’s mother’s name is compounded of the name of Heliopolis. The deceased is said to be $\textit{\textbf{sp 'ap prw m-bx'i'mn-R}}$. [7 points]

Mq of the 18th dynasty, reign of Amenhotep III,

\[\textit{\textbf{mrj n 'lam, abt pr}}.\]

Mq is known from monuments from the tomb at Saqqarah. Her husband is ‘$\textit{\textbf{hw}-hnt}}$’. $\textit{\textbf{lrsj, hsj-r}}, \textit{\textbf{sawj-bht, smr-wrtj, smr 's n mrw, smr 's n nb lwj, hsj djl nsrw}}, \textit{\textbf{sb}}. \textit{\textbf{hm ntr Wrt-hkw}}, \textit{\textbf{lmr-paw ntr m hwt Sgmt; lmj-wrt, sswj hbw(n) n Pth rsj lnbf.j, n ntr abw 'lnbw-hd'}, \textit{\textbf{lmj-r kwt m Hmmt-Pth, hpr kwt}}, \textit{\textbf{lmj-r sawj m tir-dr, lmr-pr prw n h}} \textit{\textbf{abw}}, \textit{\textbf{sb}}, \textit{\textbf{sb}}, \textit{\textbf{smw mt mrj.f, sb ntr afw, lmr-r pr n M-afr, lmr-r pr wr, lmr-r pr wr (n) abw}}, \textit{\textbf{lmj-r pr wtr}}, \textit{\textbf{wtr wtr n M-afr, lmr-r pr wtr (n) abw}}, \textit{\textbf{lmj-r pr wtr}}, \textit{\textbf{wtr wtr (n) abw}}, \textit{\textbf{lmj-r pr wtr}}, \textit{\textbf{wtr wtr (n) abw}}. ‘$\textit{\textbf{hwt}}$’ clearly had his career at Memphis, and from their burial at Saqqarah, one or both probably were of memphite family. Mq thus is likely to have held her title at Memphis. [9 points]

Mrj-smnt of the late 18th dynasty,

\[\textit{\textbf{mrj n 'lam n Prw-nfr}}, \textit{\textbf{abt pr}}, \textit{\textbf{lmxmr br hmtt}}.\]


1 Wsl’s title $\textit{\textbf{mrj p' $\textit{\textbf{tj}}$ ml wtr ahw 'ram, mrt-pr nb twr}$ is military rather than sacerdotal. A $\textit{\textbf{mrj}}$ was commander of a company and in charge of conscription, etc. He might also ‘impress troops from one assigned task to perform his own commissions’. Clearly he was, in our terms, a commissioned officer. (See Schulman,1964 (1), p.69-71.) Schulman notes that a $\textit{\textbf{mrj}}$ regularly might serve on a ‘court of hearers’ and might also hold the post of army quartermaster. The title belonged to the hierarchy of the garrison troops and chariots besides the ships’ contingents. For indices of nautical titles, see Jones,D.,1988.

2 From the title $\textit{\textbf{sswj hbw(n) n Pth rsj lnbf.j, n ntr abw 'lnbw-hd}},$ it is possible that ‘$\textit{\textbf{hwt}}$’ claimed the right to lead the Amun festival of ‘$\textit{\textbf{Prw-nfr}}$’, although had he actually carried out these additional offices, he presumably would have listed them in his tomb texts.
MRJ-SHMT is known from blocks, a jamb fragment, and fragments of a statue group from a tomb at Saqqarah near the Teti pyramid. Her husband is Hwj, sẖ nsw, sẖ mš n nb lwj. The titles are of middling rank. [10 points]

Nhj of the 18th dynasty

$sMrj n 'lmn$.

Nhj is known from a small votive stela from Kom Fakhry, found beneath the west hall of the Ptah temple among a large number of similar stelae, including that of another $sMrj n 'lmn$, Kj. The dedication is for $Ptḥ nb mrt$. [6 points]

HNWT-'ĪWNW, of the late 18th dynasty (see her son's wife Wrt above).

$sMrj n 'lmn$. [7 points]

Kj of the 18th dynasty.

$sMrj n 'lmn$.

Kj is known from a small votive stela, probably dedicated for Ptah, from Kom Fakhry, found beneath the West hall of the Ptah temple among a large number of similar stelae, ear stelae and bits of reused relief. Among them was the votive stela of another $sMrj n 'lmn$, Nhj. Many of these were quite simple offerings. The cache must have come from an eighteenth dynasty temple on the site or nearby. [6 points]

TIPWJ of the late 18th dynasty.

$sMrj n 'lmn$.

TIPWJ is known from the tomb chapel at Saqqarah and other objects. Her husband is 'lm-n-ḥb, king's butler, wbs nsw. The stela has an invocation for Ptah-Sokar-Nefertum, another for Nephthys, a

1 Hwj's title $sẖ mš n nb lwj$ appears to have signified a scribe attached to the army, rather than a scribe with military rank. (See Schulman, 1964(1), p.62-5.) Schulman argues for this on the basis that a large number of people are referred to as scribes for the army, rather than as 'army scribes'. That is not to say that scribes did not serve in an official capacity with the army: they did so at all levels. Schulman concludes from comparison of numbers of scribes to units in the lists that the $sẖ mš$ was in effect 'scribe of the company', and from lists of officials, that he was directly subordinate in rank to the $sẖ srtj$. The $sẖ mš$ acted as the company's administrative officer.

Schulman notes that accounts indicate that the $sẖ mš$ probably recorded events in the field, compiling a unit diary.

The title often appears, as here, with the qualification $n nb lwj n msw$. These honorifics most likely reflect no direct contact with the king. They may have come to be attached to the title in consequence of the importance of keeping a record of the state of the army and the details of its active service.

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third for Osiris, and a last for Isis. Imhotep is mentioned in a scene in the chapel. The context is thoroughly memphite. [7 points]

/// of the 18th dynasty.

šmrjt n ‘Imn.

/// is known from a votive stela fragment found with many others in the sand bed foundation beneath the west hall of the great Ptah temple. Presumably the stelae and stela fragments came from an eighteenth dynasty temple. [7 points]

'lwj of the 18th-19th dynasty (see her husband Nb, overseer, below),

šmrjt n ‘Imn.

'Iwj is known from a number of pieces of funerary equipment from Saqqârah. Her husband is Nb or 'Imn-wsr, nfr-nfr. Hw is known from a votive stela fragment found with many others in the sand bed foundation beneath the west hall of the great Ptah temple. Presumably the stelae and stela fragments came from an eighteenth dynasty temple. [7 points]

Mrt of the 18th-19th dynasty.

ḥṣṯ sḏb (lwj), šmrjt n ‘Imn.

Mrt is known from a stela from Saqqârah. From her epithet ḥṣṯ sḏb (lwj) one would suspect a court connection, but the inscription has been so badly weathered that it has not been possible to learn more of her position or husband 'Imn-wsr’s. The only connection with Memphis is the provenance and the likelihood that the stela came from a tomb. [6 points]

Sr/// of the 18th-19th dynasties,

nhḥ pr, šmrjt n ‘Imn-Rc.

Sr/// is known from block fragments from fill beneath the Nectanebo II temple terrace at Saqqârah. Her husband is P-R-M-Mb, ḫm-nfr (hwj), brother of the man from whose tomb the blocks come. This is not a definite memphite context for Sr///'s title. It may however be said to be more likely than not that the family was memphite. [6 points]

TNr (T) of the 18th-19th dynasties.

šmrjt n ‘Imn, nhḥ pr.

TNr is known from a double statue of Tj and Nb who are of unknown connection to her. There is an invocation for Re-Harakhty and another for Ptah-Sokar-Isiris. [6 points]

št of the 19th dynasty, reign of Merneptah.

1 This is a title common in the middle kingdom, less so in the new kingdom. (Martin, 1979, 6131.)
Šmrjt n 'īmn.

Šmrjt is known from monuments from Saqqārah. Her husband is R-MESS-M-PR-R. Merneptah had a significant presence at Memphis and his palace is known\(^1\). The connections are generally memphite. A fragment from the same monument mentions Ṣmrjt n ḫntr [7 points]

Wrt-Ḥnrti of the 19th dynasty,

ššjit n 'īmn-R.

Wrt-Ḥnrti is known from a double statue from Saqqārah and a stela from Mlt Rahinah. Her husband is Sbj, šmb sšw šmrjt ab ḫntr ḫw rapi a Pth //št pt ḫntr. ḫmrw n 'lābwn-ḥd/j, ḫmr n ḫmr nfr ab šrt w ḫj-Lwj. The statue is presumably from a tomb at Saqqārah, and in the stela text quoted above, Sbj is 'praised of the good god lord of burial in ḫj-Lwj: Sbj's titles are memphite and the references of the stela text to Hathor ḫw nfr ḫntr and to Apis ḫmr n Pth constitute a strong memphite context. The connection of the cattle of Ptah ḫmr property of Mut is interesting here. Wrt-Ḥnrti is likely to have held her office at Memphis. [6 points]

Bkrt of the 19th dynasty (see her daughters Ḥmrw-nfrj and Ḥmrw-mrj below),

šmrjt n 'īmn.

Bkrt is known from a double statue from Saqqārah with offering texts to Osiris. Her daughters Ḥmrw-nfrj and Ḥmrw-mrj, both bear the title Ṣmrjt n 'īmn. Her husband is ḫmr n ḫmr šmrjt n 'īmn. The statue presumably is from a tomb. Bkrt and her daughters therefore are more likely than not to have held their offices at Memphis. [6 points]

Ḥmrw-mrj of the 19th dynasty, reign of Merneptah,

šmrjt n 'īmn, nbt pr.

Ḥmrw-mrj is known from a votive stela dedicated to Osiris from Kôm Qal'ah at the Merneptah palace, south portal where it was found with other votive steiae, statue parts, etc. Presumably these came from a memphite temple. Her husband is Pth-nj, ḫmr n ḫmr. Except for the theophorous name, (in addition, the son is R-nfrj) there is neither evidence for nor against a memphite reference for the titles. [5 points]

Nfrjt of the 19th dynasty,

nbt pr, šmrjt n 'īmn.

Nfrjt is known from a stela from Saqqārah. Her husband is Wr-Ḥntr, šf 'mdw n ḫmr tšw]. The stela is dedicated by their son P-Ḥmrj-fjr. It may be from a tomb. [6 points]

Ḥmrw-žwjt of the 19th dynasty,

nbt pr, šmrjt n 'īmn ḫmr tšw].

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\(^1\) This site was excavated by Clarence Fisher, 1914-21. See Jeffreys, 1985, p. 15.
Hnwt-wzbw is known from a broken statue with a naos-pedestal of the deified Teti-Merenptah, Teti of the 6th dynasty. In scenes on the statue Hnwt-wzbw and her husband, 'Imn-wnrh-sw, sš wdhw n nb lswjre shown adoring Teti in his pyramid. The text includes details of offerings to be made pr Pth, m 'Iwnw and Imntt Mn-nf, which last is a recognisable reference to the location of the Teti cult at Saqqarah. The devotion to the Teti cult is evidence that Hnwt-wzbw and 'Imn-wnrh-sw lived at Memphis and that their titles are memphite. [6 points]

Hnwt-rfj of the 19th dynasty (see her mother Bkrt above).
{{-- Smjt n 'Imn. [6 points] --}}

Hnwt-mrj of the 19th dynasty (see her mother Bkrt above).
{{-- Smjt n 'Imn. [6 points] --}}

Hrij of the 19th dynasty (see her husband Nfr-Hb, overseer; her sons, Mn-ms overseer and Twj)
{{-- Smjt n 'Imn. [6 points] --}}

Hrij of the 19th dynasty (see her husband Nfr-Hb, royal steward; her sons, Mn-ns royal steward and Twj).
{{-- Smjt n 'Imn. [6 points] --}}

Impressionistically, it might be suggested that the Amûn connections are almost too many to be likely for a memphite family. This however would be to prejudge the data, particularly for the period of the height of activity for the memphite Amûn cults. From the fact that two monuments from Saqqarah are known, it must be judged likely that the objects are from a local tomb. The Hathor epithet should perhaps be seen as a connection with Memphis in a text of memphite provenance. [6 points]

Tjl of the 19th dynasty,
{{-- Smjt n 'Imn. --}}

Tjl is known from a block from a pavement at the monastery of Apa Jeremias, Saqqarah. Her husband is Nfr-Hb, lmj-r pr n nb ltwj. The block presumably is from their tomb. [6 points]

Tb of the 19th dynasty, reign of Ramesses II.
{{-- Nbt pr, Smjt n 'Imn. --}}

Tb is known from blocks from the tomb at Saqqarah. Her husband is Tb, sš nsw lmj-r pr-ht n nb ltwj. [6 points]

Tj of the 19th dynasty, reign of Ramesses II.
{{-- Smjt n 'Imn nb nswt ltwj, Nbt pr, mš Hrw m wšqt mštjw. --}}

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Tj known from the tomb at Saqqarah. As there were at least two cults called "nswt nb tJW" at Memphis, Tj is likely to have served in one of the memphite cults. Her husband is HR-M-HE, sš asw, jmr pr tjw twt Wsr-mrt-Rw pr Jštw nsw. [7 points]

Tj of the 19th dynasty.

šmrjt n ‘Imn-Rš.
Tj is known from the tomb of her father Mš, šš pr-hd n Pth, šš htpw n ntw ntw nhr-nf, šš htpw n psdt ntw Hwt-kJ-Pth of the well-known legal dispute, the text of which was inscribed in his tomb. Her sister MWT-ÌR is šmrjt n Bšt nbt ‘Nš‘-twtoHaveBeenCalled. As Tj’s family had been at Memphis for generations¹ and as there was a cult of Amón-Rš in her own memphite village of Nšl, we may assume that her title of service to Amón-Rš was held at Memphis. She may well have served in the Nšlcult. [9 points]

MWT-Ìšš of the 19th-20th dynasty.

šmrjt n ‘Imn, nbt pr, jmr htpw n Hwt-kJ-Pth.
MWT-Ìšš is known from a small statue from Mit Rahinah. There is an offering text for Ptah and for nbt nbt. The likelihood is that MWT-Ìšš held her title at Memphis. [7 points]

Txš-Ìšš of the 19th-20th dynasties.

šmrjt n ‘Imn.
Txš-Ìšš is known from a stela from Saqqarah. Her husband is Pš-Ìšš, hšt šštw, šš n tJ Jšt. There are invocations for Ptah-Sokar-Osiris and Osiris. This constitutes a memphite context, although there is no evidence for the reference of the titles. Nevertheless, as it may be assumed that Txš-Ìšš was buried at Saqqarah, it is likely that she held her office at Memphis. [7 points]

Nhšš of the 20th dynasty.

nbt pr, šmrjt n ‘Imn.
Nhšš is known from a stela from Saqqarah, almost certainly from a tomb. Her husband is Pš-Rš-Wmr.f, sš w r nhwm.n ‘Imn, hšf sšf ntw ‘Inbw (-hd), nšš Hwt-kJ-Pth, mšj ntw Hwt-kJ-Pth. Pš-Rš-Wmr.f’s father’s name is Mr-n-Pth. [8 points]

/// of the 21st dynasty (see her husband, /// and her son Pš-n-ššh, hšm-priest).

šmrjt n ‘Imn(?)
/// is known from a stela from the Saqqarah serapeum. The memphite context is strong and as ///’s husband and son have titles in memphite Amón cults, her own title may be considered very likely to have been held at Memphis. [9 points]

¹ See Gaballa, 1977, p.26-7, etc.
'Imn-ipt-M-nht of the 26th dynasty.

'swm hsw mht n n tr nlw tj, im j-r hsw 7am a ipt. jpt-m-pm hsw mht n n tr nlw tj, im j-r hsw 7am a ipt. Thus we gather that these are the singers of Amun of 'ipt, but they are northern singers in contradistinction to theban singers attested at Memphis; furthermore, they are not singers of the theban Amun at Memphis, but rather singers of the local (nhwt) memphite Amun at Memphis (ntr nhwt/as opposed to ntr nhwt, the god of the city, Ptah). It is a curious formula, but the meaning is clear. Other connections with Memphis for the statue inscription are a mention of Sakhmet and the name of 'IMN-IPT-M-ipt's mother, 'Ih-stj-Pp, more specifically local than an ordinary theophorus name. [10 points]

7j of the Saite period.

'swm hsw mht n n tr nlw tj 3mr jt n 'Imn.

7j is known from a statuette from Saqqarah. [6 points]

2.3.1.5. wtb.

Nfr of the 19th dynasty, reign of Seti I.

wtb 'Imn-Rf.

Nfr is mentioned in Pap.Bibl.Nat. 211 recto from Memphis in conjunction with ps haw 'Imn-Rf. From the context a memphite reference is certain. The identity, however, of the cult in question cannot be ascertained. [10 points]

NhT of the 19th dynasty.

'saw tpj a 'Imn, wtb a hft 'Imn, wjs a wdpw.

NhT is known from a stela from the great sphinx area at Gizah. The text is in praise of Re'. The title of NhT's father, Hr, wtb a Hasw hri st-law, wtb-priest of Khonsu in the second phyle is another connection with Amun. 'saw tpj a 'Imnis a modest title3. He is responsible for some part of the ritual concerned with the figurehead of the Amun bark or may perhaps have served in the more arcane rituals of tending the statue of Amun. such that he was wtb 'm.t, 'pure of (or for) the front' of the god. The only definite connection with the north is the offering to Re'. People travelled to Gizah from Memphis, but they came from Heliopolis, which also

1 see 1.2.8.
2 De Meulenaere, presumably unaware of the Aniba scarab, takes 'Imn-ipt-M-nht to be an official of an hypothetical heliopolitan cult of 'Imn ipt on the grounds that there was a sanctuary of Osiris called 'iptat Heliopolis: de Meulenaere, 1973, p.28.
had Amûn cults and elsewhere, as well. From the proximity of Memphis and the number of memphite Amûn cults, there is some likelihood that the title was held at Memphis. [5 points]

Twr\(j\) of the 19th dynasty (see his mother, Hi\(j\), his father, Nfr\(-\)hb and brother, Mn\(-\)ms),

\[t\bar{w}r\tilde{a} 'l\tilde{a}n.\]

Twr\(j\) is known from a stela found at Saqqârah. His parents are Nfr\(-\)hb, Im\(j\)-fr \(n\tilde{a}n\) and Hi\(j\),

\[sw'j\tilde{a} 'l\tilde{a}n.\] [5 points]

2.3.1.6. \(s\tilde{a}w\tilde{b}\).

Nfr\(-\)rnpt of the 19th dynasty, reign of Ramesses II.

\[ir\(j\)-\(p\)\(r\), \(h\tilde{a}j\)\(-\)\(r\), \(h\tilde{a}j\)-\(fr\) \(lwj\), \(h\tilde{a}j\)-\(fr\) \(n\tilde{a}w\), \(l\tilde{a}j\), \(l\tilde{a}j\)-\(fr\) \(n\tilde{a}r\), \(w\) \(r\) \(b\tilde{s}w\), \(sm\), \(s\tilde{a}w\) \(hb\) \(n\) 'l\(a)n.\]

Nfr\(-\)rnpt was buried at Saqqârah south of the Unas causeway. Helck found it ‘striking’ that Nfr\(-\)rnpt was so narrowly associated with Memphis’. ‘I would be inclined however’, he says after much argument, ‘to see him as vezir at Thebes on account of his titles of “leader of festivals of Amûn”, his commission to announce the \(sd\)-festival and his appearance on the door of Nfr\(-\)rnpt\(\tilde{a}\). These objections clearly can no longer be considered well-founded. Hence we may number Nfr\(-\)rnpt among the vezirs of Memphis and assume that his title of service to Amûn was held at Memphis, along with his titles of service to Ptah. [9 points]

Hi\(j\) of the 19th-20th dynasty, reigns of Siptah – Ramesses III.

\[ir\(j\)-\(p\)\(r\), \(h\tilde{a}j\)\(-\)\(r\), \(l\tilde{a}j\)-\(fr\) \(s\tilde{a}w\) \(hb\) \(n\) 'l\(a)n, \(l\tilde{a}j\), \(l\tilde{a}j\)-\(fr\) \(n\tilde{a}w\), \(l\tilde{a}j\).\]

Hi\(j\) is very well-attested in the texts of a number of ostraca, etc. Helck acknowledges that he was memphite vezir, as in the text of a stela fragment from Deir el Medina he is named as such. Helck points out that from the provenance of this piece we may assume that Hi\(j\) held memphite and theban posts at the same time. Certainly Hi\(j\) became vezir at Thebes under Siptah. However, and particularly as Hi\(j\) seems to have been of memphite family, there is no evidence to show that the titles attested from his memphite period were not held at Memphis. [6 points]

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1 See the Amûn litany, 1.64 (text in \(K\(y\)chek\(\tilde{e}\), 25\(v\)2, 2\(T\)1), the titles of Bk\(-\)rnpt in the prosopographical appendix, etc.
4 Ptah and Amûn appear together here prompting Helck to conclude ‘that it can only refer to the theban Ptah’.
5 See prosopographical appendix.
2.3.1.7. s/n sw tpj.

Nṯr of the 19th dynasty (see under the ḫbd-priest category above).

\[ s/n \text{ sw tpj n 'lmn, w'jb n pr 'lmn, wjs n wdpw.} \]

[5 points]

Ḥr-Ḥp-'lst of the 26th-27th dynasty.

\[ s/n \text{ sw tpj n 'lmn.} \]

Ḥr-Ḥp-'lst is known from a statue from Saqqârah. The statue has a shrine for Ptah. It has been rededicated. [6 points]

/// of the late period.

\[ s/n \text{ sw tpj n 'lmn nw /// /// /// /// /// pr...} \]

/// is attested from cup fragments from Abusir on which Amûn is shown as a ram. The restoration is uncertain. It is possible that the title is ḫm ntr tpj.

2.3.2. scribes.

A rough division has been made among the scribes and overseers among those whose Amûn title has reference to cattle or to land and those whose title has reference to the temple and its treasury. Thus, scribes and overseers who probably served in the temple complex itself are listed here and those whose responsibility was for the estate have been listed below. This division has been for ease of survey.

‘lwj of the 18th-19th dynasty,

wâb- fluffy, s/n pr 'lmn.

‘lwj is known from a double statue from Saqqârah. Given the form of the title and the presumed rank of an official whose burial equipment included a double statue, the restoration is quite probably correct. [7 points]

‘lmn- ms, a.k.a. ḫr- ms, of the 19th dynasty, reign of Seti I,

\[ s/f = n mw hwt Ma- mût-R’ m pr 'lmn, mif hrw hr ntrw ntw Wât; s/f = n mw hwt Ma-mût-R’ m pr 'lmn-R’ ntw ntrw, mif hrw hr Wsr ntw h.t. \]

‘lmn- ms is known from a model schist scribe’s palette from Saqqârah, certainly from a tomb. ‘lmn-ms’ epithet mif hrw hr ntrw ntw Wât might seem a certain connection with Thebes for the Amûn title and for ‘lmn- ms himself. As, however, only the Prw-ntr-cult is definitely attested before the

1 On this title, see Schmitz, 1976: for the Amûn priesthood, p. 278-81. Schmitz dates all the officials of this title known to her to the first half of the 18th dynasty. She knows of Nṯr, but does not credit the dating to the 19th dynasty. This would seem to me to be mistaken. ḫr-Ḥp-'lst’s very probable tenure of the title, however, is interesting in light of this assessment. The third attestation of the title quoted here is entirely uncertain.
of Ramesses II and as it was only under Ramesses II's policy of widespread cult institution\(^1\) that small cults at secondary cult sites became more closely tied to their local areas, it is conceivable that Amon-Rê could be associated with his epithets with Thebes at this date in the context of a minor memphite cult. However, no known cult would suit the case. It is possible, although not likely, that two offices rather than variant forms of the title are referred to here, with separate epithets for 'IMN-MS. As 'IMN-MS was buried at Saqqârah, there is reason to think that his title of service in a temple of Seti I may have been held at Memphis. As record-keeper of the water, he would have been responsible for the temple pool.\(^4\) (4 points)

Inj of the 19th dynasty,

\[
\text{sfr m hwt Wsr-m/Ht-Rc-stp-n-Rc m pr} '\text{lmn.}
\]

Inj is known from the text of a stela found between the monastery of Aps Jeremias and the pyramid complex of Sekhemkhut at Saqqârah. As this stela will have been offered at a tomb, the likelihood is that Inj held his title of service at Memphis. The likelihood is the greater as a hwt Wsr-m/Ht-Rc-stp-n-Rc m pr 'lmn m 'lnbw-hd is attested\(^2\).\(^7\) (7 points)

Nwb of the 19th dynasty,

\[
\text{sfr pr} '\text{lmn n Wst-rsj.}
\]

Nwb is known from a stela from Mit Rahina. The form of the name Wst-rsj is interesting for the apparent view from Memphis.\(^2\) (2 points)

Duwtj-\(\text{hr-\(\text{msf}\)}\) of the 19th dynasty, reign of Ramesses II or later,

\[
\text{sfr n asw m hwt Wsr-m/Ht-Rc-stp-n-Rc m pr} '\text{lmn.}
\]

Duwtj-\(\text{hr-\(\text{msf}\)}\) is known from a reused tomb block found at the Sahure complex at Abûfr. The block has a text dedicated to Thoth.\(^7\) (7 points)

Pr-Rc-\(\text{hr-\(\text{wmf}\)}\), of the 20th dynasty, (see his wife Nhtj)

\[
\text{sfr n p} \text{spw n 'lmn. \(\text{hsj} '\text{n asw} '\text{lnbw-hd}\)} \text{m, m fr hwt-kj-Pth, smr asw hwt-kj-Pth.}
\]

Pr-Rc-\(\text{hr-\(\text{wmf}\)}\) is known from a stela from Saqqârah. His wife is Nhtj, snt.f, nbt pr, smrt a 'lmn. The memphite context of the epithets is strong, and Pr-Rc-\(\text{hr-\(\text{wmf}\)}\)’s father’s name is Mr-\(\text{n-Pth. Pr-Rc-}\(\text{hr-\(\text{wmf}\)}\) may have been involved in land survey.\(^8\) (8 points)

2.3.3. overseers.

Pth-\(\text{m-wb}\) of the 19th dynasty,

\[
\text{Inj-p't, sfrtj bhtj, smr wr'tjh, \(\text{lmj-r pr} \text{bd n} \text{hwt at} \text{hr nprwt asw bhtj Wsr-m/Ht-Rc-stp-n-Rc m pr} '\text{lmn m} '\text{lnbw-hd.}
\]

\(^1\) For relevant argument, see 1.1.

\(^2\) See 1.2.3.
PiH-M-wb is known from a block from his tomb at Saqqārah. [10 points]

$\text{As}$ of the 19th dynasty,

$s\text{nsw m} /\text{r a rj-f, As/ rJ n } n \text{ ir n fr}, J m j-rp r-A d n L /\text{jwt tn ro p w t AA n } n\text{sw bJtJ W s r-a /l-R r-}

$s tp -n - Rr m p r 'Imn.

2.3.4. artisans, workers and other non-priestly ranks.

M$\text{jet}$ of the 18th dynasty, reign of Akhenaten,

$h k n 'lan, b k h p a r t 'J$.

M$\text{jet}$ is known from an apis stela. He is likely to have held his title of service to Apis at Memphis and as this was a humble title, he is likely to have held any other title in the same place. The linking, however, of the Apis title with Memphis is not definitive. [7 points]

Pr-Nb-Pt-Hw of the 18th-19th dynasty,

$\text{ntw n p J w J j(n ) 'Ian. w it. ntw nnbU W j, w rw J J a b tp j}$.

Pr-Nb-Pt-Hw is known from a block from a tomb at Abusir. wr $\text{wlt m } \text{pp tpj}$, must have represented an important role, and therefore this is probably not a priestly rank, as Pr-Nb-Pt-Hw's only certainly priestly title is $\text{w7}$. Pr-Nb-Pt-Hw presumably was a ship's captain who needed to be $\text{w7}$ in order to serve as captain of sacred barques in festivals. It cannot be said whether one, two or three captaincies are referred to here. The $\text{wlt m } \text{pp tpj}$ may have been the barque for which Pr-Nb-Pt-Hw was $\text{ntw n ab tpj}$. It is less likely that this was the same as $\text{ntw n p J w J j(n ) 'Ian}$, so it would appear that Pr-Nb-Pt-Hw was also captain of the barque in the Amûn festival. The Amûn-barque is shown on the block. Two $\text{shw p bare}$ attested for Amûn at Memphis in the available record, one of them for this date$^1$. [7 points]

M$\text{n-Hn}$ of the 19th dynasty,

$\text{idaw}^2 a \text{ pr 'lan}$.

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1 See 2.3.1.6. For nautical titles, see Jones,D., 1988.

2 An $\text{idaw}$ is normally to be understood to be an adjutant or deputy, someone who may when necessary take the place of or act for someone in authority. In the military context the duties of the $\text{idaw}$ were mainly administrative$^2$. Schulman (1964 (1),p.34) notes that the military $\text{idaw}$ deputised for the $\text{fr srj}$, and that he might be a scribe, although he was typically a soldier. He also had responsibility for securing supplies from the $\text{fr-sr}$.

The $\text{idaw}$ of a temple estate may well have had a similar position. He cannot have been the deputy of a priest, as such a deputy would have had to keep a priestly purity himself, and would have borne titles which signified his status. Similarly, the deputy of a scribe would hold scribal rank. The $\text{idaw}$ of a temple estate may well have been an administrative officer in charge of
Mm-nn is known from a small stela found at the temple of Sahure at Abusir. There is no reason to suppose that Mm-nn did not hold his title at Memphis. However, the evidence is slight. [6 points]

[Nfr]-Htp of the 19th dynasty (?),

\(s\hat{s}-k\hat{d}w t n \ 'l\hat{m}n.\)

[Nfr]-Htp is known from a stela of which he was the dedicator from a tomb at Memphis. [6 points]

'Ifr of the 19th-20th dynasty,

\(s\hat{b}w (?) n \ stp \ 'l\hat{m}n.\)

'Ifr is known from a votive ear stela of humble quality found in a cache beneath the west hall of the great Ptah temple. It is perhaps likely from the available evidence that Ptah remained for the ordinary people of Memphis the god to whom one turned in need, whatever one's formal affiliations. 'Ifr was of modest status, most likely praying to the god of his native place. [7 points]

2.4. the estates of Amûn at Memphis.

Attestations for property of Amûn fall into two groups of unequal number. Most of the attestations are from titularies, and therefore are limited to mentions of the property. A few are from other sources. Among the attestations from titularies, those connected with the temple of Amûn temple of Ramses II form a group:

'Ifr and Pth-M-wb bear the title \(i\hat{m}j-r \ pr \ bg\).\)

'Ifr-M-wb's function is uncertain.

'Ifr is scribe in the temple.\)

'Ifr and Pth-M-wb may have served consecutively. The five officials, however, appear to have been contemporaries, or rather, they appear all to have served under Ramses II. There is also 'Imn-ns, record scribe of the water in the temple of Seti I which is doubtfully attested for Memphis.

Among overseers of cattle, the distinction between local and non-local officials ought in theory to be easier to determine, as courtiers might be assumed to have held titles of broader scope, while humbler officials were attached to local temples. 'Km-'Imn of the reign of Amenhotep II would appear to have had general responsibility for cattle throughout Egypt, if possibly specifically including memphite Amûn herds. Nî, however, of the reign of Horemheb although a movement of goods. It is possible that an official described as \(jdnw\) of a god was an administrative officer in the priestly hierarchy, responsible perhaps for cult equipment.

1 See Gardiner, 1947, vol. 1, no. 90; vol. 2, no. 454-55.
2 See above under 2.3.2.
courtier and royal scribe, as well as royal steward at Memphis must be supposed to have been overseer of cattle of Amûn at Memphis. The memphite context of the title of PtMs of the 19th dynasty is also strong, although he is also royal scribe, etc. The other three overseers of cattle bear one title only. Of the total of twelve overseers five bear a scribeal title. Kh-’hot’s title J qfr is probably not a priestly title but a title of association with the king.

Of the titles of the two subies of cattle of Amûn, that of Stj of the 19th dynasty, tS pšb lPw n ‘lmn is interesting, as it may be evidence of large herds.

There is no additional information to be drawn from the titularies of the two overseers of fields of Amûn, both of 19th dynasty date and both bearing one title only.

For Pw-R’-Hr-Wm-P on pšwr n pšb lPw n ‘lmn pšj šs nMbw ’mtj(-q)k, ml’ Hw-tk-Pth, sUr nMbw Hw-tk-Pth, of the 20th dynasty, there is no evidence for the identity of the Amûn foundation in question. The title, however, is evidence of considerable property for the temple, and it is particularly interesting as it is so securely linked to a memphite context.

The title, kdw n pr ‘lmn for Mw-kN of the 19th dynasty has been discussed above. It constitutes no further evidence here.

The šnw n Pw-nfr r atestated in the titulary of Mj of the 18th dynasty may have belonged to the domain of Amûn if the business of Pw-nfr was administered by the staff of the foundation of Amûn of Pw-nfr, as may well have been the case.

In attestations from sources other than titularies, there is a 19th dynasty wine jar docket from the tomb of Horemheb at Saqqarah which is marked 'very good quality wine from the vineyard of the estate of Horemheb, beloved of Amûn, l.p.h., in the house of Amûn'. If this refers to memphite vineyards, the memphite estate of Amûn in question was of considerable extent.

Old wood requisitioned from pšhw n ‘lmn-R‘ is mentioned in a certainly memphite context in a text from the reign of Seti I [R³211 recto] along with pšwb n ‘lmn and thus in the context of a temple as well as lands.

The Taharqa stela text is a source for information on the possessions of a particular Amûn temple. The size of this temple can be judged by the extent of its endowment and its food levy.

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1 See Gardiner, 1947, vol. 1, no. 127.
2 See under 2.3.2.
3 See miscellany appendix.
Apart from 'innumerable' (as shown) silver and copper vessels and from the filling of the storehouses\(^1\), the temple was to have 30 *abn* of silver each year from the 'fishers of Memphis'\(^2\) in the *psl* of Memphis. It was also to have "the canal of the troop" which is in front of it and an income of various perishable goods, including a deben's worth of cooked food for the royal statues. Various furniture was levied on the Ptah temple. In addition, there was an oil grant: 44 *'vin* of Egypt and 23 *'hml* monthly from the 'landing place of Memphis' levied on 'the chief merchants', as well as 2 *'hin* of incense.

The land grant was 467.5 arouras, itemised as 120 arouras in the neighborhood of the temple itself, with 'the canal of the trees; what is in the neighborhood of .... 66.5 arouras; what is in the neighborhood of the strong fortress, 50 arouras; what is in the neighborhood of ... 89 arouras; what is in the neighborhood of the temple of the lion, 110 arouras; what is in the neighborhood of \^1\pt\^rw, 32 arouras.

This itemisation is interesting if somewhat inscrutable at present. It is not possible to say whether apart from the land outside the temple itself, the land lay close by. On the example of this land, however, it may have done. In that case, the strong fortress might be the Apries complex. Fortifications may have existed in this area from quite an early date, as the temple of Neith, probably to be sought in the Kôm el-Aziz area, is referred as being to the north of the fortress.

This is in any case a modest endowment, despite the importance of the two canals, as may be seen from the cattle and fowl endowment which follows. The gift of a herd and a poultry yard is itemised as twenty cows and a bull 'whose pasture is', interestingly, 'in the canal of the troop', so that we know that at least in this case, the gift of a canal came with at least some of the land through which it flowed. This seems to be land adjoining the temple. The geese of the poultry yard number just thirty.

Administration of the temple is left in the hands of a priest seemingly co-opted from the Ptah service, from which we may gather both that the cult had not been functioning at all before Taharqa gave it his attention and that the resultant cult was not a big enough prize to be bestowed upon a high ranking priest with a complement of underlings. In another sign of the cult's small strength, Taharqa puts the decree stela under the protection of Ptah-Sokar as well as of Amôn \^ht\ ^hw\ ^ntr\ ^nw.

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\(^1\) Meeks points out that all these gifts may have been listed individually in the original decree.

\(^2\) Apparently these fishers were in direct crown employ, and this therefore was not a tax or liturgy, but a disposition of state goods. See Meeks, 1979, note 29.
Chapter II

Attestations of great granaries attached to a temple or temples of Amun at Memphis in the late period have been cited above. In Pap. Wilbour, land belonging to memphite cults of Amun is named, but only small amounts of land are involved. In summary, there are a number of attestations for property of Amun at Memphis. The majority of these are of new kingdom date.

2.4.1. the scribes.

Nfr-Enpt of the 18th-19th dynasty.

Nfr-Enpt is known from a small statue of a squatting figure from Kom Qai rah at Mit Rahlnah. There is an offering text to Ptah-Sokar, nb sft, lord of a number of good things m Hw-Lf-Ptpe. [6 points]

Sjt of the 19th dynasty.

Sjt is known from a funerary stela from the Aba pyramid area at Saqqarah. His father is armour bearer and his brother a soldier, from which data it is not possible to extract evidence on the geographical reference of Sjt's title. [6 points]

2.4.2. the overseers.

Mr of the 18th dynasty

Mr is attested on a stela from Saqqarah. He is included here, although his overseer's title is not one of service to Amun, because his titles along with his epithet bsj n 'Imn-R are relevant to an assessment of the status of the Amun cults. [10 points]

Hr-Fl of the 18th dynasty

Hr-Fl is known from a stela from Saqqarah, dated to before the reign of Akhenaten, as the name of Amun has been defaced. As there was a cult of Amun at Memphis from the reign of Amenhotep II or before, Hr-Fl may have held his title in the memphite area. In the scene a tree with arms pours out water. This iconography may belong to the cult of the memphite Hathor. [6 points]

Nf (or 'lnw) 'a Ma-nfr of the 18th-19th dynasty, (see his wife 'lwj above)

Nf is attested on a stele from Saqqarah, dated to before the reign of Akhenaten, as the name of Amun has been defaced. As there was a cult of Amun at Memphis from the reign of Amenhotep II or before, Hr-Fl may have held his title in the memphite area. In the scene a tree with arms pours out water. This iconography may belong to the cult of the memphite Hathor. [6 points]

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1 See above p.25 and Grimal,1981,p.35*,i.7.
2 See under 1.2.5. Bn-nfr; 1.2.7. Nf; and 1.2.11.2. Pr-w-rw.
Helck accepts Nb as the overseer of the memphite residence, but not precisely dated. His wife 'Iw is *smjt n jmn. A number of fragments are known from the grave at Saqqârah, and Nb is described as Nb 'n Mm-nfr. This is not direct evidence for the reference of his Amûn title, as a high official may have served at various sites. Nb, however, although he was a courtier, did not hold titles which would necessarily require wide-ranging tours of inspection, etc. The posts of royal steward of Memphis, overseer of cattle of Amûn and royal scribe are his only active titles. In view of this and of their burial at Saqqârah, the likelihood is that Nb's career and his wife's were at Memphis. [8 points]

Pt-R-MHb, probably of the 19th dynasty,  

*lmj-r *whwr *jmn.

Pt-R-MHb is known from three canopic jars from Saqqârah. As he presumably was buried at Saqqârah, it is likely that he held his position at Memphis. [7 points]

PtM-MS of the 19th dynasty,  

*lmj-r *wh *n *jmn, sš nsw pr-Êd, sš nsw /// Š b *lwji, mi* *hywr pr atr nfr.

PtM-MS is known from a statue, blocks, etc. from his tomb at Saqqârah. Ptah and Sakhmet figure in the tomb scenes. PtM-MS's other offices may have been held in an Amûn temple, perhaps the Ramesses II temple / Amûn temple. The text, however gives no evidence of this. The memphite context is strong. [7 points]

Mr or Mrj of the 19th dynasty,  

*lmj-r *lxt a *jmn.

He is known from a broken double statue from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at Saqqârah. As Mrj was of modest though respectable rank it is likely that he held his post in the district in which he was buried. [7 points]

Mn-MS of the 19th dynasty(?), (See his mother Hlqj, his father Nfr-HB and his brother TWrj),  

*lmj-r *wh *n *jmn.

As Mn-MS was not of high rank, the likelihood is that he held his post in the district in which he was buried. This sort of rank in general is local. [6 points]

Nfr-HB of the 19th dynasty, (See his wife Hlqj and his sons Mn-MS and TWrj)  

*lmj-r *lxt a *jmn. [6 points]

Er-M-HB of the 19th dynasty, reign of Ramesses II.

1. There is the grand *lmj-r pr *wh *n *jmn and the ordinary one, the types easily distinguishable by quality of monument and number of titles.
His wife is Ti,

His wife is Ti,

Knsn of the 18th dynasty, reign of Amenhotep II.

Knsn's attested titles number 151, not separately numbering many of the variants. In many instances only two are quoted. Imi-r wsr nsw Prw-nfr and Imi-r 'lan. A great number of the titles are evidence of a very close connection with the king which appears to have gone beyond courtiership to duties of the highest trust. He is 'king's eyes and ears outside the palace, on water, land, and everywhere abroad, chief of the fortresses of the north', etc., etc.

As Amenhotep II lived at Memphis a great deal of the time, it is not surprising that the memphite district of his own residence, Prw-nfr, was in the stewardship of an official so trusted and honoured as was Knsn. It is not possible to judge whether any one of Knsn's stewardships

1 See prosopographical appendix.
3 Knsn presumably as a childhood companion of the king, was favoured for high honours, although he was not given the weightiest home appointments, a vezirship, the post of mayor of Memphis, etc. Davies' interpretations of Knsn's titles were influenced by the assumption that Memphis was much less important in administrative affairs than was Thebes. Davies presented the theory that Knsn, who was the 'suckling (or 'foster') brother' of Amenhotep II by his mother the royal wet-nurse, had fallen out of earlier high favour among the courtiers at Thebes, although not with the king, and had as a consolation prize been given the stewardship of Prw-nfr away up north.

These twists and turns of postulation to account for the conjunction of Knsn's high offices and his residence at Memphis are insupportable and are superfluous to an analysis of the facts. Helck begins with the evidence that Amenhotep II was born at Memphis, lived there as a child (See Sphinx stele Urk.Iv. 127ff.) and as crown prince (see P.BM 10056), and later made Prw-nfr his residence as king. He takes Knsn's stewardship at Prw-nfr to have been a very favoured position and concludes that it is reasonable that Amenhotep II should have honoured a childhood associate and his nurse's son, particularly if he was of memphite family, with high office at Prw-nfr. In this analysis I would concur.

Knsn's father's name is not known, but from an inscription in Knsn's tomb it appears that he was Imi-r pr. Helck suggests that he was probably steward of Prw-nfr as well and that Knsn therefore was his successor. This is probably wrong, as Prw-nfr is not attested before the reign of Amenhotep II. The foundation may well have been established by Amenhotep II as a district for his northern residence, as well as his port for Asia. Helck's supposition arises from Glanville's
of cattle was held at Memphis and at this early stage of the Amun cults at Memphis, it is the more likely that flocks may have been sited in the memphite region and yet have been property of a southern Amun establishment. The cult of Amun at Prw-nfr is however named so often and so prominently in the royal texts of Amenhotep II, under whom Kn-'Imn served, that it must have been generously endowed. At the same time, in light of Kn-'Imn’s burial at Thebes and of the scope of his competence, it must be supposed that some of his responsibilities were at Thebes, so that he had access to materials there.

Kn-'Imn is hrj rdwj s m st nb, and thus as a courtier accompanied the king beyond Memphis. There is a statue of Kn-'Imn from the temple of Mut at Karnak, another from Shutb near original dating of P.BM 10056 to the reign of Thutmose III. Glanville took the crown prince Amenhotep mentioned in connection with the shipyards to be the later Amenhotep II. Redford (1965, p. 107), however, on the basis of material which has become available since Glanville’s examination, has shown that the papyrus belongs to the reign of Amenhotep II. Nevertheless, Kn-'Imn’s father may well have been steward of the northern residence.

Helck points out that the mother of the Imj-r pr wr, ‘bnn-m-lt, was the royal nurse which is evocative, but would be more so for vezirs. Helck thinks he was chiefly an officer, as he was prj-pdt. Apparently there was another Imj-r pr wr who had the whole royal property to superintend. Helck takes this to mean that Prw-nfr stood outside the ordinary sphere of royal property, but it is more likely that just as Kn-'Imn might be Imj-r nfrt n aqwr nbw, while other overseers actually superintended particular herds, so someone else might be royal steward generally, while Kn-'Imn was royal steward at Prw-nfr.

Something is known from his tomb of Kn-'Imn’s brothers. Kū-m-hrj-ldsn, 3rd prophet of Amun (TT98, AAE, 34, p. 83); II/, ḫṣj- ḫḏw. (Urk. lv. 976) These are of course southern titles. Speculation on this point is not strictly relevant. However, it might be supposed that Kn-'Imn’s brothers, through their connection to the king, were able to acquire positions elsewhere. It is possible that their connection with the king was markedly less than Kn-'Imn’s, because they were not of an age with him. The family is likely to have been memphite, as Kn-'Imn’s mother nursed Amenhotep II who was born at Memphis. However, this cannot be considered certain, and it therefore is not secure evidence for the reference of Kn-'Imn’s father’s title.

Helck returns to a ‘fallen out of favour’ argument to explain the destruction in Kn-'Imn’s theban grave. This seems superfluous, as the original theory was based upon Kn-'Imn’s tenure of a memphite post and as any sort of vendetta might have accounted for the destruction. The evidence of the defacing alone is too slight.
Asyut and a stela from Abydos. Nevertheless, while im r kJW $ n r Mhw, Kn-imn was also overseer of specific herds and lands presumably at various centres and thus at Memphis.

The specifically Amun titles are as follows:
im r Jrjw $ n snw n 'lan, im r nfrw (n) 'lan, im r $ n 'lan, im r kJW (n) 'lan, im r \(1/1/1/1\)
n 'lan, rwd n 's/nwt'n 'lan.

Other overseerships of livestock are: im r rb, im r whmt, im r nfrw, im r nfrw n nfrw ntw, im r kJW, im r kJW Jrj w-md sn, im r kJW Snw Mhw, wr lw ntw, nb wtbn, nfr wmd lw brj lw.

No place names or numbers are included: these are not administrative documents. [6 points]
Chapter 3

the character of the cults

3.1. the origins of Amûn at Memphis.

The suggestion that Amûn had his origin in the heliopolitan theology and thus belonged in the first instance to the greater memphite region is founded upon pyramid texts §1540\(^1\) in which the king is described as the son of Geb who is upon the throne of Amûn. There is also, however, §446\(^2\) in which Amûn is associated with Amûnet and other members of the hermopolitan ogdoad. As the pyramid texts in the form in which we have them are undoubtedly the product of a sophisticated 5th dynasty reworking, it is accepted that their material cannot in such instances be taken as direct evidence for origins and early beliefs.

Amûn clearly was a god of several discretely acquired aspects. While he appears to have belonged at an early date to one or more of the groups of deities enshrined in local cosmologies rather than to a cult in which he was the main agent of power, there is little evidence for the early history of the cosmologies, and so it is not possible to investigate fully the origins of the gods who play a part in them. Amûn's name, 'the hidden', was to continue to be significant in both the official and the popular cult\(^3\), but its origins are obscure. Amûn's later importance appears to come from the fact that in Pyr. §1540 he is named as a god connected to the kingship, a god who could confer royalty. At Thebes, having taken Amûn as their patron, the 12th dynasty rulers assimilated the local powers to their god to increase his greatness and to consolidate his dominion. A number of gods were described as aspects of Amûn. In this way Amûn took on the qualities of Min, of the ram, of the bull and the goose, and later of Rê, and so Amûn as he was to be known in the new kingdom and later was brought into being.

Amûn is first attested at Memphis in the middle of the 18th dynasty. The first datable memphite reference is to the Prw-nfr cult from the Amenhotep II stele from Kôm Rabîr which has an account of his Asiatic campaigns of years 7–9. In the top registers, the king offers to Amûn at left, wearing the blue crown; he greets Ptah at right. Amûn is described as 'Im-n-R İpr-Ib Prw-nfr. At left the king is described as wnn sn/R 'Imn-hîp nfr ëgt h7 Δ/hw ëbt nl br astw 'Imn-Rn, and is thus also associated with Heliopolis. The other cults date from the 19th dynasty and later.

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1 Faulkner, 1969, p.234.
2 Faulkner, 1969, p.90.
3 See 4.3.4. The names of things are very important in agricultural societies, as they are seen as constituting in themselves explanations of various phenomena. See Kamish, 1987, p.24.
3.2. Mut at Memphis. It would not be practical to attempt a thorough survey of memphite Mut material here, despite its relevance in some of its aspects for a study of the Amûn cults. A few brief notes will suffice to give a context to the discussion. The origins of Mut at Memphis are as unclear as are Amûn's, but the obscurity is in similar ways irrelevant to the present inquiry. Yoyotte has suggested that the origins of Mut of Thebes may be connected with Sakhmet and Bastet at Memphis, etc., and he notes occurrences of the name Mut in the memphite area for the first intermediate period. Te Velde has objected that these attestations are unclear, that the name may mean 'mother' and that the figures may represent Nekhbet. Neither objection would appear to be appropriate to the context, but the material is slight. A colossal vulture figure known from Coptos, dedicated by Amenemhet III for Sakhmet, presumably is evidence for Yoyotte's theory.

In the new kingdom and later, Mut is known in her cult of Mut 'bw ntr which is very well attested from the time of Thutmose IV onwards at Memphis and Giza, in religious texts elsewhere, etc. She is also known in the cult of Mut pr Pth [text 10A Litany of Waset and the titular of 'nhf-n-mwt] in the 'nhf-n-mwt text, in connection with the cult of Mut hwt gsbd, also at Memphis; as Mut m hwt ntrw [text 10A Litany of Waset]; as Mut abt nswt lnw [text 10A and B Litany of Waset] in the B text with a pr sign which refers to a temple and lands; and as Mut m hwt -sd-lb [text 10B Litany of Waset].

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1 My thanks to Alison Roberts for her suggestions and discussions on Mut, Hathor, the psychology of religion, etc.
2 Yoyotte, 1962, p. 103-110.
3 Te Velde, 1979-80, p. 5.
4 Petrie, Koptos, p. 11-12, pl. 11(1).
5 Zivie, 1976, p. 299-300 gives ten instances, two from the reign of Thutmose IV and others from as late as the ptolemaic period. 1. sphinx stela, reign of Thutmose IV; 2. votive stela for Mut, reign of Thutmose IV; 3. Pth-dj-w of the 26th dynasty, (Rouge, 1877, p. 62); 4. Mariette, 1869, pl. 45; 5. Pap. Harris, I, 61b, 22 (Erichsen, 1933, p. 73); 6. Nst-Pth, sfr-sw-nfr-tm, (Vandier, 1949, p. 135-8); 7. serapeum stela, Psammetichus, (Chassinat, 1899, p. 64-5, xx); 8. 'dh-ns, hwt nfr Mut hwt 'bwj, etc., ptolemaic period, (Brugsch, 1883, p. 945); 9. Yoyotte, 1954, p. 96; 10. ptolemaic temple, Derchain. La Lune, Mythes et rites, p. 49.
7 See 3.2.4 and 'nhf-n-mwt in the prosopographical appendix.
8 Gardiner notes several references to this place (Gardiner, 1947, vol. 2, p. 130-31), apparently a town in the northern part of the memphite nome.
3.3. the state god. Iconographically and in the epithets applied to him, Amón of Memphis is a generalised form of the Amón of the various theban cults. There are no local or regional peculiarities known either for the popular or the official cult. no complex or syncretistic connections to earlier memphite cults are attested.

The Amón of the recorded memphite cults was brought to a great, ancient and apparently intensively organised city, although the early 19th dynasty, when most of the Amón cults were founded, was also a period of reorganisation at Memphis. Amón/Amon-Rê, furthermore, was closely associated with the kingship. His cult was established as a power unencumbered by accessory myth and emotional associations, a state cult, imposed rather than organic.

The cult of Amón/Amon-Rê of Pww-nfr, the first of the memphite Amón cults, appears to have been founded by Amenhotep II. Amon-Rê of Pww-nfr may have been as necessary to the king in his establishment at Pww-nfr as was a good shipyard for his campaigns. The cult will have added to the royal identity of the residence.

As the temple foundation was not less an economic centre than a political and religious foundation, the administrators of the cult of Amón of Pww-nfr will have been entrusted with the agricultural economic base of the district. As a royal residence Pww-nfr needed to be great and it was agricultural wealth and fine buildings, particularly temples\(^1\) as symbols of the healthy status of Egypt under the protection of the great gods, which made a district great. The district of the royal residence had to be worthy of royalty.

From the evidence of later scarabs it is apparent that by the 19th dynasty Amón had acquired a popular following at Memphis. Once established at a site, a deity had a good chance of acquiring a following: there are votives for the foreign gods Ba'al and Astarte in their cults at Pww-nfr and at Memphis\(^2\), despite the Egyptians' apparent prejudice in favour of things Egyptian. When one prayed to a god, one did not out of love or exclusive affinity as many believers would explain their devotions in our own day, but in hopes of securing help, favour or protection. The royal Amón who had been established at Memphis was obviously very powerful, particularly as a royal cult. It is this identification of Amón with the kingship which makes Drioton's view of the scarabs which bear royal names so compelling.

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1 The view is notably expressed in the text of the model letter of P.Sallier IV vs. Petrie, 1909, pl.15, no.37; Roeder, 1924, p.233.
As might be expected from what has been said above, the triad of Amûn, Mut and Khonsu appears at Memphis in a generalised form, and indeed representations in the record are very little varied: the iconography is not complex. Mut is given prominence, perhaps particularly because she had her own cults in the memphite area or perhaps in order to cement a connection for the Amûn cults with the cults of the powerful goddesses of the memphite area, Hathor, Bastet and Sakhmet, and thus to establish the cults within the memphite context. Khonsu appears with a subtext of connection with Ptah-Tatenen.

In the representations of a large number of new kingdom votive stelae, Ptah and Amûn are shown facing each other in the upper register while a man and a woman below kneel praying or stand presenting offerings. Ptah in mumiform generally appears in the righthand register, in his booth or on a plinth, with the inscription $\text{Pth nb m.}$ Amûn stands in a scene in the lefthand register in a short kilt and strapped shift wearing a double-plumed crown. He is often named as $\text{Imn-Rr nb nswt t/r.}$ Votive offerings are an appropriate context for epithets: Amûn may be described as $\text{nb p t, nsw ntrw, n tr \%}$ etc., as may Ptah.

It has generally been assumed that in such instances Amûn of Thebes and Ptah of Memphis are paired. The theory is that in the context of a memphite votive offering the powers invoked are those of the local god and those of the 'greater' theban god. This is a mistaken view. Ptah's power was not challenged by the Amûn cults, as the evidence of the record makes clear. Amon-Rê appears here as the god of a memphite cult, the cult of Amûn taking his seat at Memphis\(^2\). It is in the nature of votive offerings that they are offered to a local god of specific powers at the place where his/her power is manifest, i.e., at or near the appropriate cult place.

In the light of popular votive material, the royal material too needs reinterpretation. Again, it must be concluded from the evidence that one was likely to invoke the gods who were present, unless one formally set out to produce a catalogue of the gods forms. What divine protection an enterprise recorded in a text, or a statue or other monument was commended to, in great part was a factor of what deities were considered to be manifest at the place at which the monument was dedicated. Deities invoked were likely to be local, because their power was exercised in the relevant area. This feature of Egyptian thinking is at the heart of the proliferation of Egyptian cults\(^3\), as against a phenomenon of 'branch' cults which we might expect, but which are not in fact found.

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1 An art historical approach will not be attempted here.
2 See 1.1 and 4.1.
3 See 4.1.
This is not to say that Amón/Amon-Rê of Thebes never appears at Memphis. In a 19th dynasty votive stela from Mit Rahina\footnote{Phil. Photo 372/2; Schulman, 1964, p.278-9, pl.3, upper.}, two identical figures of Amón stand hand in hand, followed by Hathor. A man called Bȝw stands facing them at left with a lotus flower. The two Amón's are listed as 'lwn-Rû b t f  Wȝw, and 'lwn-Rû nb pl respectively. It is possible that this curious scene shows Amon-Rê of Thebes and Amon-Rê of Memphis.

Where more complex scenes appear in the votive material, Sakhmet and Mut may be shown ranked after Ptah and Amon-Rê nb nsît לָו respectively, as in a 19th dynasty votive stela from Kôm Fakhry\footnote{Petrie, 1909, p.l.17.} [Edinburgh 1908.360]. Sometimes Hathor appears instead of Mut. In one case, Astarte nb pt, hawt ntrw nbw appears instead of Sakhmet\footnote{Petrie, 1909, p.l.15, no.37.} Khonsu may also be shown. An 18th dynasty votive stela [UC 14397] from Kôm Fakhry has the standard arrangement\footnote{ibid, p.8, pl.15, no.38.}.

There are also votive stelae known for others of the Amón cults, e.g., a small ramesside stela in the Cairo Museum\footnote{It is visible in Hall P19, vitrine B, N8. See Meeks, 1979, p.230.}, on which Mut and Taweret stand facing a standing Amon-Rê nb nsw n trw. nb p t, 7an-Rû nb Pȝ-Rû. A further variant appears in the text: the woman in the couple shown making offerings is 5a rt a 'lwa nb n trw. Note that the name is given as 'lwr rather than 'lwn-Rû. In the scene of a 19th dynasty votive stela from Kôm Qala'ah [CG 2091] a woman and a bowing boy are shown before Amón, Mut and Khonsu. Much simpler scenes appear, e.g. that on an 18th dynasty votive stela from Kôm Qala'ah [E 13595] on which a man is shown before a standing Amón who carries nb and wȝw. The stela was offered by n-Bȝw, sȝw ntrw.

Seated Amón figures are also common. In a ramesside votive stela of a typical type from Kôm Qala'ah [E 13609], Amon-Rê is shown seated at left with the inscription 'lwn-Rû nb nsît לָו. nb pt, 7an-Rû nb Pȝ-Rû. A man with lotus flowers in his hand, a woman holding a mnh and their son stand before him. Below are four kneeling women. In another instance [CG 3634], a man is shown before Amon-Rê nb nsît לָו, seated with double-plumed crown. 'lwn nb pt is named separately. Ptah, Sakhmet and Min also appear.

The Amón barque appears on an 18th-19th dynasty block fragment from a tomb at Abusir\footnote{See Pȝ-Rû-nb-Pȝ-Rûw.} [Fl 2588]. Amón appears with Apis, as on the 21st-22nd dynasty apis stela of Pȝ-dš-stt on which Ptah and Sokar-Osiris are shown in another scene. Pȝ-dš-stt was Am-priest of Amón of JNT-
nfr, hmr-priest of Mut, hwt 'bw, and less certainly hmr-priest of Amn of Prw-nfrw, among other titles including titles of service to Ptah.

Amn/Amon-Rê may be shown as a ram. In a scene from a lintel from Kom Qala'ah [E 13572], Ramesses II kneels before a ram-shaped Amon-Rê who is shown on a low shrine with an elaborate crown and necklace. On an 18th dynasty votive stela [Manchester], Amn is shown as a striding ram wearing the double-plumed crown with a sun disk. Behind him is a fan, and before him an offering table. He is described as 'Iam-Rê ab pt. The dedicatrix, nbt pr, Nî, kneels praying below.

In the bronze statuettes and plaques and the faience and other statuettes and amulets, the representations of Amn are again standard. Typically, the figure is of Amn striding in a short kilt, often in a shift or armour with shoulder straps, and wearing the double-plumed crown. Where the plumes are missing, a slot for them is generally to be found. There is often a wš held in the forward thrust left hand and an 'nb in the right hand at the side or their traces where these have been lost. Some bronzes show traces of gilding and had inlaid eyes, etc. There are also figures in the same dress shown seated and there are figures of a Min-like ithyphallic Amn. A gold statuette of Amn was found by the Anthes expedition on Kom Qala'ah. This is a standing figure with a short kilt and no shift or armour. There is a faience statuette of Amn as a ram [UCL Reg. H5-62:714]. Amn as a ram also appears on fragments of a late period ceramic cup from Abusir on which a /s/nsw tpj a 'Iam is attested. There is an amulet of a ram couchant from Mit Rahinah [Phil. 4909], the underside of which is inscribed 'Iam ab lwj.

3.5. epithets.

A number of names and descriptions associated with Amn appear in connection with memphite Amn cults, but cannot be understood to identify exclusively individual Amn cults, that is, to serve as descriptions of particular cults. Such names are generally termed epithets. Their character as a group may usefully be examined.

Two or more cults may have epithets or names in common. The epithets are nevertheless understood to refer to separate cults. The first distinction to be made is in the usage commonly adopted for the terms name and epithet. The two terms by a rigorous standard may be regarded as

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1 See prosopographical appendix.
2 Phil Photo 34011; Ranke, 1950, p. 100.
3 The sun disk is unusual in these representations.
4 For descriptions, see appendices.
5 Borchardt, 1910, p. 132, pl. 181.
co-terminous, but it is useful to accord them different scope in order most simply to delineate a
difference in egyptian naming practice. A name for the purposes of this context designates a
particular entity or category of entity, place, institution, concept or other designated feature only,
even where other such entities or groups, etc. receive the same name, accidentally or by design. An
epithet applied to any nameable object will always be seen as applicable to any other object of any
category. 'Imn-htp by this standard is classified as a name because it may be considered to define
the named person only, despite the fact that other people also are called 'Imn-htp. Rsj lab-f, however, while firmly associated with Ptah, is an epithet rather than the name of the memphite
cult and so it is easily applied as an epithet to the name of the cult at Thebes. It is recognised,
even as it is used of Ptah, to be lexically neutral. Rsj lab-f, in other words, may describe where the
donkey is tethered or where 'Imn-htp has built a new bench at the side of his house, as well as
signifying where Ptah is. As additional terms of reference, epithets may be transferred from god to
god and from cult to cult.

In looking at the epithets individually the foremost problem is in interpreting their usage. A
number of epithets of Amûn were in common usage in the new kingdom and late period wherever
Amûn was worshipped or mentioned. A smaller number may have been used in connection with
particular cults only. Due however to the context of the attestations, the memphite Amûn cult
names are not often found in association with epithets. The epithets in the available record are too
few, and with a few exceptions too common, for data on the character of the individual cults to be
sought in the epithet material. More fruitful may be consideration of whether the use of particular
epithets in a votive context should be taken as evidence of the character of the invocation and
therefore as a resource for an inquiry into popular cult practice.

It is clear from the large number of easily distinguished cult names and epithets that epithets
of deities do not as a rule appear in titularies. An official generally has a priestly title which
includes a god's name and sometimes a description of the god which can be recognised by its
irreducible features to be a cult name rather than an epithet. This makes easier the practical work
of distinguishing problematic names from epithets. Epithets occur, often compounded one with
another, in monumental contexts, invocations, hymns, and lists of deities. The difference in usage
is evidence that divine epithets were deployed deliberately to designate spheres of reference
rather than lavishly in order to demonstrate accumulated grandeur. This procedure is readily
understandable as the multifarious nature of the gods made it necessary to be clear which aspect
or manifestation of a god was to be invoked as patron or protector. Some hope for an

1 It is in this context that an epithet or the name of another god may become part of a name -
e.g., Wsr hptj lntjw, Pth bɑf bæl. etc. Again, this is one of the bases of syncretism.
understanding of the theological grounding of the cults may be founded upon this precision of
usage.

The following epithets occur in the catalogue of texts compiled here. Among these epithets, some
are epithets of the character of the god. Others are epithets which simply define cults, serving to
identify more clearly the cult referred to. There are relatively few occurrences of epithets in this
group because the hymn material has only incidentally been considered here and because while
epithets often occur in a votive context, among a very large number of votive stelae known from
Memphis, there are comparatively few invocations for Amûn. This is not surprising, as none of the
Amûn temple sites have yet been examined, although the near vicinity of one of the temples may
perhaps have been explored. Other gods, particularly Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, are invoked in known
offering texts of people with memphite Amûn titles. There are a number of scarabs and amulets
dedicated to Amûn known from Memphis, but few epithets are used in these texts. Where names are
starred below, their bearer held titles of service to Amûn and may be referred to in the
prosopographical appendix.

1. 'Iam-R' asw ntr w, 18th dynasty, reign of Thutmose IV, Memphis, Kôm Fakhry, from the Ptah
temple west hall. The names 'Iam and Pt h nb m 't asw t wj appear in parallel titularies of
Thutmose III while the scene shows Thutmose III with captives before Ptah and Sakhmet only and at
bottom the dedicator appears before Ptah.

18th dynasty, Saqqârah, tomb of Mrû-Mrû, This is from an invocation which follows another much
longer invocation for Pt h-Skr- Wûb âr t prj-lb gjt. [Leiden INV. A.P.6]

19th dynasty, Saqqârah, in conjunction with ntr w nb w Wût.

19th dynasty, Kôm Fakhry, Ptah temple west hall, Ramesses II foundation. This is from a votive
offering in which Amon-Rê and Mut are shown before Ptah nb m' t and Sakhmet. The epithet
appears in conjunction with nb pt. Mut is wr t nb pt. [Edin.1908.360]

19th-20th dynasty, Saqqârah in conjunction with âr t 't, nb wât ntr w:

2. 'Iam-R' nb pt, 19th dynasty, Kôm Fakhry, Ptah temple west hall. Ramesses II foundation.
[Edin.1908.360] See above.

late period, Abusir, temple of Sahurê, cup fragments.

1 See 5.7.4.

4. At least two cults at Memphis were called Amon-Rê ab nswtwt nfrj. The epithets associated with the name must describe or distinguish the one from the other.
   a. p t 5 rhn 7 nfr nfr, 19th dynasty, reign of Ramesses II, P. Sallier IV vs. [BM 10184].
   b. m hw t k-f t, 20th dynasty, Medinet Habu.
   c. ḫntj ērsrtw, 21st–22nd dynasty, stela of P-ḏi-Srt, Saqqârah, serapeum [JE 47398].
   d. n hw bhtj, an epithet which must refer to a k temple, 26th dynasty, reign of Psammetichus I, Saqqârah, tomb of Bk-n-Rm nh, tomb 24.
   e. n hw t, nfr 3 nfr nfr nfr, ptolmaic period, wall stela, Ḥura.
   f. nfr 3 nfr pt, ptolmaic period, reign of Ptolemy IV, stela, Kôm Qala‘ah [CG 22189].

5. in association with ‘Imn n hw nfrw: n psdq nfrw lmjt pr Ptb. 19th dynasty, reign of Ramesses II, P. Sallier IV vs. [BM 10184].

6. in association with
   a. ‘Imn-R’ ḫntj Ptw-nfr, nfr 3 nfr pr and with ḫntj Ptw-nfr nfrw ab pt, 18th dynasty, reign of Amenhotep II, block, reused at Bubastis.
   b. ‘Imn m Ptw-nfrw, n psdq nfrw, 18th dynasty, reign of Akhenaten, Saqqârah, from the tomb of Sb-pn-šn (*Ib) [Bertin 1284].

7. ‘Imn shm nfrw, 19th dynasty, niche stela of Nh†, Gizah, great sphinx area.

8. ‘Imn ptpt///, 19th dynasty, statue fragment, Mit Rahina [E 13653].

3.6. evidence for the popular cult.

   The material, mostly of new kingdom date is interesting in that it comes from several sites at central Memphis and one at Saqqara which have in common that, unlike most of the rest of the ruin field, they have been intensively examined. These are the west hall of the Ptah temple, the Merneptah complex on Kôm Qala‘ah, the site on Kôm Rabî‘ excavated by Anthes and the Teti Pyramid area. It may be that these sites happen to have been centres of the popular Amûn cult. Most, however, of the Amûn temple sites are as yet unknown. There may be a great deal of material still to be revealed. Much of the material of this category is difficult to provenance once removed from its context. Memphite scarabs in collections in most cases cannot be identified.
Several objects from tombs are evidence of the popular cult. Also to be mentioned here is the hymn of twenty-seven lines in ink with a red border found on the western wall of cave no. 2 at Turain the late 18th or early 19th dynasty.

3.6.1. votive offerings.

Votive stelae, etc. have been discussed above in the section dealing with iconography (3.4.). Details of individual pieces appear in appendix (c). By the middle of the new kingdom, a number of artisans at these sites most likely subsisted upon the preparation of the various grades of visitors' offerings2.

3.6.2. amulets and scarabs3. The scarabs examined in this study are from Petrie’s work at Memphis and particularly on Kom Qal’ah in 19084; from Firth and Gunn’s work at Saqqarah; from Clarence Fisher’s excavations, the Coxe expeditions at Kom Qal’ah, 1915-23; and from Anthes’ work on Kom Rabah, 1955-565.

The scarabs, amulets and rings with attestations of Amun from a memphite context are interesting first for their numbers and second, by their precise provenance, as a key to where Amun foundations may have lain at Memphis. The inscriptions, however, extend our knowledge of the cults, their status and their role at Memphis. On one of the group, a title appears, ‘maj-r ḫpw ‘Imn[Phil. E 13977]. The cult name ‘Imn-R en aswt ḫwy is attested on another [Phil. 29-84-214]. Some, such as two pieces from Saqqarah, JE 22049 which reads ‘Imn nb n trw, ‘Amun, lord of the gods’ and the small plaque JE 39242 which reads ‘Imn-R on one side and ‘Imn btp are interesting here merely for their provenance. Very common are texts for Amun in varying degrees of cryptography.

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1 See Bakir, 1943.
2 For evidence of private artisans workshops and factories, see Kemp, 1972, p.672ff and more generally, Brunner, 1986, p.1077-81.
3 For all items quoted in the following discussion, see plates in appendix.
4 Petrie, 1909, pl.34.
5 For Fisher’s and Anthes’ expeditions there is extensive archival material in the Pennsylvania Museum, in addition to a number of objects, Clarence Fisher’s Daybook from Memphis and his Field Register from Memphis, both in the Pennsylvania Museum Archives. There is in addition the Philadelphia Photograph collection. A number of the objects are in the Cairo Museum.
3.6.2.1 cryptography. Drioton's discoveries in Egyptian cryptography must be considered beyond dispute. His readings provide a consistent structure within which otherwise unintelligible sets of figures on scarabs and in other contexts are resolved into meaningful readings. More significantly, however, his system fits perfectly with the Egyptian evidence, both cryptographic and non-cryptographic, and through it our understanding of Egyptian thought is extended.

It must be accepted that in their complex decorative arrangements, whether within larger scenes, in the structure of an object such as a mirror or a wand, or on the base of a scarab, the Egyptians employed meaningful symbols. This is integral to Egyptian writing and its place in pictured scenes from writing's beginning as a means of clarifying the meaning to be conveyed by a picture. The use of cryptography or so-called 'playful writing' in New Kingdom scenes is often quite beyond doubt, as with king's names, where, for instance, the $Wsr-m\text{ntr-R}^2$ is conveyed by a large-scale figure of the goddess Ma'at carrying the $wsr$-staff and wearing the $R\text{6r}$ disk. It must be granted that this type of cryptography is very different from the 2nd Intermediate Period and early 18th dynasty sort, but as will be shown below the New Kingdom had its own characteristic concealments.

The type of cryptography of all dates used in the scarab texts and elsewhere involves changed values for signs, but the ordinary method of achieving the values is preserved. It is simply that other sound associations are exploited. In Drioton's words,

'L'Egypte a possédé, dès le Moyen Empire, parallèlement à une écriture officielle et normale, une tradition d'écriture cryptographique, dont on trouve les plus anciennes manifestations connues dans les tombeaux de Béni Hassan et les plus récentes dans les inscriptions des temples de l'époque gréco-romaine. Indeed, he later found examples from as early as the 6th dynasty from Matmar. Silverman notes,

Cryptographic writing was commonly used from the New Kingdom on, although earlier examples have been found. Sometimes written for aesthetic or religious reasons, these novel spellings could also be created simply as puzzles for the reader. Drioton studied the different kinds of cryptography in ancient Egypt, and frequently hieroglyphic signs were assigned new values, either alphabetic or syllabic, through a rebus. This type appears to have been used frequently in Tutankhamon's tomb, and Drioton pointed out its use in the inscriptions on the gilt shrines in the burial chamber.

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1 Drioton, 1955: $A\text{KM}/1957; W\text{RM}/1957$.
2 Abu Simbel, Thoth chapel: verbal communication from Robert Morkot.
3 Drioton, 1933, p.1.
In the context of gods' names, cryptography is particularly associated with Amun. Hornung founds the cryptographic writings upon Amun's worship as 'the hidden one' which seems plausible, particularly, as he says, in view of their exclusive connection to Amun. One would expect in the context of scarabs and other amulets at least partly intended for protective magic, that cryptographic writings of formulae and gods' names in general might be common. In fact, cryptographic writings of the names of other gods are seldom found while cryptographic writings for Amun and formulae of Amun worship are very common.

Excellent examples of an indisputable and quite simple cryptographic writing of Amun are Petrie's no.'s 74 and 102 (appendix plate for this and all other such listings). Here there are three elements: the am/7-feather, the gaming board and the scarab beetle. This is clearly not a decorative arrangement. There is an overwhelming impression of the reading 'Imn and yet the name is not spelt out property, although the figures are aligned as in a normal spelling. One cannot avoid taking the am/7-feather for the 'reedleaf' in a simple association by shape, the gaming-board as aor amn and the scarab beetle as afrom atri.

In the text of no.63, the figures are rearranged and the am/7-feather is replaced by the group writing for a-afrt- /I. In the text of no. 76, a cow or bull's head replaces the reedleaf, lw / and the a is given standard writing. More typically, the choice is from a set group of elements that are used with a variety of values for the sacred significance of the signs themselves, a solution in keeping with the integral character of this cryptography.

In the text of no. 46, the sundisk is in fact the pupil of the eye lw - /or it may stand for brilliance, lam. The reedleaf appears for the am/7-feather - m (a reversal from the more typical no.'s 74 and 102, quoted above), the scarab beetle - a from atri. The second reedleaf is included for symmetry. Such arrangements are very common, and Drioton's principle of the trigrammes of Amun undeniably is solidly founded.

By far the most common trigramme on scarabs (from long after his own reign) is that of the name of Thutmose III, Mn-gpr-R/. Like the trigrammes of Nb-am/7-R, and Mn-am/7-R (E 13785), the group can be read as a trigramme of Amun. This was the source of the potency of the name for the king. Mn-gpr-R til 'Imn is the text of a great number of scarabs. Nb-am/7-R til 'Imn also occurs. If the name, as well as the person, of Mn-gpr-R is the 'image' of Amun, i.e., the name is a

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1 Hornung, 1976, p.178.
2 See Petrie's no. 41 and JE 50851, JE 50924, JE 50925, JE 50926, JE 51025, JE 5190, JE 55549, JE 55557, etc.
3 See Petrie's no. 16 and JE 36219.
cryptographic rendering of the name of the god, a characteristically egyptian conceit, it is easily conceivable that the name *Mn-gpr-Rr* should appear alone as a cryptographic trigramme of Amûn. That is what it has been taken to be in the assessment of collected texts here. Petrie's no. 17 is an excellent example. *Mn-gpr-Rr* appears at centre with a reedleaf at each side. The reedleaves cannot be reconciled with the reading *Mn-gpr-Rr*: reedleaf -l, gamingboard -m, from *mn*, scarab beetle -n, from *ntrj*, sundisk -Rr*. With the nb at bottom we read 'Imn-Rr nb(J), 'Amon-Rr' is my lord.'

3.6.2.2 formulae.

1. The most common formula in the scarab texts assembled is 'Imn/Imn-Rr nb,J. Others are as follows:

2. *tt lmn*. [Petrie's no. 41]

3. *tt lmn-Rr*. [Phil. E 13820]

4. *tt lmn-Rr nb,l*. [Phil E 13715].

5. *tt lmn-Rr nhw J*. [Petrie's no. 23]

6. 'Imn-Rr nb l b J. [JE 21873, Phil. E 13785].

7. 'Imn-Rr nb,J nhw J*. [Petrie's no.'s 11, 14; JE 55577]

*nb* in these texts may be written with a basket or with a lion. *nhw* is written as the flying hawk with outstretched wings.

A very interesting formula is *n sm pht t lb wpw-br Imn* found in the texts of several scarabs in this group [JE 55536, JE 55541, Phil. E 14097] and roughly to be translated as, 'No refuge for the heart is found except in Amûn'. This formula appears in a number of variants, but the examples found here are roughly similar in text one to another. The alignment of signs is different in each, but the signs in the texts are equally jumbled, although the formula is easily

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1 Drioton points out that not infrequently the text of such scarabs has two Rr sundisks. Here 'Imn-Rr' is written: sundisk -l, playing board -m, scarab beetle -n for *ntrj*, and the second sundisk -Rr*.

2 See appendix (e).


4 On Amûn's association with the lion, de Wit. 1951, p. 216-19.

5 Drioton, 1954, p. 3-11.
recognisable. In the text of JE 55536, the writing is abbreviated rather than cryptographic. As the formula was standard, the text could be given in very brief form.

3.7. summary.

It is clear that by the ramesside period Amûn was accepted at Memphis as a state god rather than a theban one and therefore was likely to be invoked as patron protector of city quarters and rural districts.
Chapter 4

the individual nature of the foundations

4.1. interpretation of the phenomenon of multiple cults.

We know little more of the character of the Amûn cults at Memphis than their names. The names themselves, however, are at the centre of one of the most obvious problems for our understanding of the cults. Lists of the names of the various cults of a god in Egyptian texts appear to bear reference to individual divine entities, of perhaps collective force. Popular worship is known to have favoured one temple of a god over another in the same district. Temples of a god in his or her various cults clearly were not merely separate foundations, administrative or tutelary, indistinguishable in character one from another, but places which took part in the divinity of the god in a significantly individual fashion. What one would like to know is in what respects the various foundations were considered to be distinct, one from another: in essence, why any god had more than one cult, rather than separate temple foundations not so distinguished.

It was at the cult place, the place at which the god descended into a material form, that the god might be known or might be known to be. The cult place made the god accessible and clearly the god’s presence there was a guarantee of security. The purpose of the cult place was to lure the god with its service. Just as the king’s mode of life was controlled for the sake of his purity which was of great importance to Egypt in its connection with the gods, so the purpose of the cult was to catch and hold the god, to control the god for the sake of his or her power.

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1 See for instance the discussion in Anthes, 1956, p.8, although in the case of the west hall of the Ptah temple, it is probable that the stelae and tablets found under the foundation sand bed were used as filler by 19th dynasty builders, rather than left as they were found.

2 The awarding of individual names to cults reflects the theological basis postulated here. This is not syncretism. Syncretism is a system of rationalisation whereby cults are redefined so as to bring them into a single cult group, as honouring aspects or interpretations of a single god (e.g., Horus), a composite god (e.g., Ptah-Sokar-Osiris or in a more intellectual form, Ptah who is the tongue of Amûn, etc.), or into an association of deities (e.g., the ennead of Ptah-Nefertum). This grouping is syncretistic in the way that it alters the relationship of deity to deity in the interest of rationalising conceptions of cosmogony. The phenomenon described here is very nearly the reverse process: cult practice at various cult centres becomes differentiated. The former, in addition, constitutes a progression from the informal or unsystematised to the formal; the latter – curiously – and accidentally – a progression from the formal to the unsystematised.
One knew the god, because one could see the image or because he or she had an image which might be seen. This gave him or her particularity. The particularity of the god, though it was not the god nor was it the essence of the god, became the god’s identity in that place. It was in a sense similar to a name; it was that by which the god might be known.

A temple was built, the cult statue produced and installed, and the god came to invest the new cult, drawn by appropriate rites and invocations. He or she had a name, a name peculiar to this cult, and through the particularity of the place and the material (however similar to other places and materials), he or she had a character specific to this cult only. The conjunction of god and place—where the god had before had no material form and the place had been unhallowed or had been unhallowed for this god—created a new source or locus of divine power which would have qualities of its own contingent upon its place and its material character and to be identified by its name. It was important that the god should be in that place.

The establishment of a cult however, could not entirely determine its character. The cult was established for a particular and contingent manifestation of Amûn, but his popular character as he might reveal himself remained to be discovered and it could affect the nature of the official cult. If the god appeared to have granted a particular petition, he might at a particular cult site acquire a reputation for listening to this type of petition. If in the successful case a particular prayer had been used or a special offering had been made, it might be assumed that Amûn of this cult was partial to the particular rite or offering.

Similar considerations might have affected the practice of the official cult. The god might be found to have delivered a favourable oracle after his statue had been dressed in a particular way or some variation might be detected in the oils with which he had been anointed on the occasion in question. As a living and potentially material entity, the god was expected to be moved by anger and satisfaction.

Detail of this sort cannot be gained from the cult names. A name was given upon the establishment or reestablishment of a cult; it was not acquired as a description on the basis of the perceived character of the deity at that place. Some cult names do however contain theological data on the relation of cults to one another. The litanies or lists of cults of a god are to be understood

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1 Hornung’s arguments (1982,p24ff) against attempts to explain a god’s origin and character by place clearly do not have a bearing upon the approach taken here. His assertion, however, that the local connections of cults became stronger over time is very interesting for this issue.

2 Names may have separate and additional power.
to enumerate not separate gods or aspects of a god, but rather the manifestations of a god, any new instance of which might be induced by the proper decree and ritual for the foundation of a cult.

4.2. The cults. The discussions below vary in type according to the evidence available.

4.2.1. Prw-nfr.

Of fourteen attestations of Amûn/Amon-Rê of Prw-nfr (including as single attestations two groups of attestations from the property of individuals), eight are from the reign of Amenhotep II and three of those remaining are from later in the 18th dynasty. Most of the attestations are from royal monuments. This is the only Amûn cult known from the 18th dynasty at Memphis, and it appears to be significantly different in kind from the later cults. Amûn of Prw-nfr had a large and administratively important establishment and in addition its site at Prw-nfr was out to the north, away from the city itself.

A red granite block found at Bubastis reused by Seti I very probably is from the original Prw-nfr temple. Amûn is shown seated, with Amenhotep II before him offering small vessels. The inscription names Amon-Rê "n jr r/n b tp n tj Prw-nfr; Amon-Rê asw nfrw nb pt bj-lb Prw-nfr. This is Amûn the state god with full honours.

Presumably from the same building is a block reused as a stela in the tombs of the high priests of the 22nd dynasty on Kom Rabîl. Here the text has,

\[ \text{wn n-sf} \text{I'm-n-btp nfr (nfr) h'ti waw g't br aswt t-lm-n-r} \]

\[ \text{'lm-n-r bj-lb Pw-nfr}. \]

There is an account of Amenhotep II's asiatic campaigns of years 7-9. It accords well with Amenhotep II's use of Prw-nfr as base for his campaigns to Asia and for his residence, as well as with his evident pride in the cult of Amûn of Prw-nfr that he should have had an account of his campaigns set up in this temple.

The phrase aswt t-lm-n-r is particularly interesting as the first mention of the aswt of Amon-Rê in the context of Prw-nfr. Amon-Rê nb aswt t-lw ji pt rha 't a Prw-nfr appears in

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1 Because manifestations of the god might be induced, lapsed cults were not irrevocably lost. If a temple could be rebuilt and reendowed and the god would reinvest it - if it could be made, as the Egyptians said, 'like its original'.

2 With the main centre of gravity in the region to the north at Cairo in our day, there seems to be a feeling that a place for which we have no site, belongs in the less frequented region to the south of Mit Rahinah. It is well to remember that the north was the hinterland in the 18th dynasty with Heliopolis a good way off and on the opposite side of the Nile.
P. Sallier IV vs. 1.5. It seems clear that Pw-nftr lost its identity as a port sometime in the late 18th or early 19th dynasty. However, the cult may have fallen out of service during the purge of the Amun foundations in the reign of Akhenaten. This would no doubt have affected the economic life of the district in which the Amun foundation played such a large part and it may have hastened the decline of Pw-nftr. The new name which appears in the text of the model letter and which seems to have taken over from the earlier name with the loss of the relevance of the place name, may mark a reconstitution of the cult in the early 19th dynasty.

Amun of Pw-nftr, as chief god of the district of the memphite royal residence in the reign of Amenhotep II, was very prominent. As a cult with which the king associated himself very closely, this will have been a very royal foundation with a fine temple. From the apparent status of Sãs-nfr [‘Is], Am nfs tp n ‘lm n pgt nfr w m Pw-nftr, we may conclude that the cult and Pw-nftr itself at the beginning of the reign of Akhenaten were still of high importance.

4.2.2. nb aswt nwj.

Although as demonstrated in chapter 1, there were two cults at Memphis called Amon-Rêr nb aswt nwj, the cult name is so common as the name of cults in middle Egypt and elsewhere, as well as at Karnak, that the attestations from Memphis are not easily assessed. One of the two cults appears to be the Pw-nftr cult after the disappearance of Pw-nfr as an independent district.

The other cult of this name is described as Amon-Rêr nb aswt nwj n wotive, ntr ‘/ nb snwte nb shots. Attested with it in the text of a ptolemalic wall stela from Tura1 are Mut wrt nb ëfrw nb snwte n ‘tnsn-bd, Khonsu and Rêr-Harakhtj ntr ‘/ nb snwte. This may refer to a temple of the triad of Amun, Mut and Khonsu with a chapel for Rêr-Harakhtj. This would have been a temple of some significance.

4.2.3. ‘tns-bd.

As mentioned in 1.2.3. this name is possibly to be conflated with the name of the cult of Amon-Rêr nb aswt nwj nb snwte nb shots.

4.2.4. bntj bwt nfrw.

As a name bntj bwt nfrw is subject to more than one possible interpretation. It might be a geographical reference which in light of the evidence seems unlikely. It might mean 'foremost of the temples of the gods' which would not refer to its actual size relative to the temples of other cults or to its preeminence among memphite cults and their establishments. The name would merely express the might of Amun.

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1 Daressy, 1911, p. 266ff. See also Spiegelberg, 1905, p. 219-33.
Here we must recognise the duality inherent in the Egyptian conception of cult and divinity. A god was the god as he appeared in the local cult, i.e., the god was as he was where he was made manifest, in all his local attributes, both those acquired and those ascribed to him. He was also, however, of the nature of the generalised god, i.e., Amun as everyone knew him, Amun with his characteristics described by the standard epithets, the Amun who was wanted when he was evoked for - or called down into - a local cult. This duality of the great might of the ubiquitous god and his particularity as manifested in the local cult is seen in the formulation of the name ḥn ṭḥ w t n irw for the cult of what was clearly a relatively small temple, very probably on the scale of two temples which have been excavated in the ruin field, the Ptah temple at the northern end of Kom Rabi and the Hathor temple a little way to the south east. Amon-Re ḫn ṭḥ w t n irw and these temples are probably much of a type as the first certainly dated attestations for the cult are from the reign of Ramesses II. The three temples would have belonged to a much larger group as part of a massive building programme which included the present great Ptah temple enclosure.

The name ḫn ṭḥ w t n irw was not however the original name of the temple, and it would perhaps have been a strange choice if it had been. If this was one of a number of small temples built at this date by Ramesses II, a less distinguishing name would presumably have been appropriate. Attestations of the name before the reorganisation of the cult by Taharqa are as follows: two instances of ḫn ṭḥ w t n lnirw, one of ḫn-Rē ṭḥ w t n irw, and a related attestation of ṭḥ w t n irw. Each of these is of 19th dynasty date and of indisputable memphite reference. The text of a further new kingdom attestation of the cult is unavailable. These attestations describing the cult as no more than 'of' or 'in' the temples of the gods accord well with a theory of the cult as similar in physical character to the small Ptah temple and the small Hathor temple, which must have been dwarfed by the great Ptah temple enclosure, and all four of which will have been built and therefore named at about the same time.

The details of the Taharqa decree provide proof that the temple and its establishment were of this general size, at least as they were reestablished, small but not tiny on the scale of the Seti I chapel for Memphis personified on Kom Rabi. For the earlier establishment we know only that it

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2 P. Salier IV vs., I and JE 10172.
3 Litany of Amun, Luxor, line 14 of the list, taken by Daressy to refer to Heliopolis.
4 Litany of Mut, Karnak, 10A and B.
5 See appendix (a).
6 See Jeffreys, 1985, p.22.
cannot have been absolutely negligible as there were male and female priestly staff. The cult was noteworthy enough to appear in the Amûn litany at Luxor and the Mut litany at Karnak. The temple figures among the sights of the 'new' Memphis of P.Sallier IV verso. As none of these lists are exhaustive, the inclusion of the *patj hwj njtrw* cult and temple is evidence of its status.

From its foundation, the cult appears to have been a representative cult for Amûn in central Memphis, a cult, that is, intended to provide Amûn with a cult site in the centre of Memphis and intended to serve as a focus of popular attention to Amûn. This accords well with Ramesses II's scheme of a large number of fairly small temples in the area of the great Ptah temple.

If the site identification made in chapter 5 is correct, a large number of scarabs, amulets and votive stelae dedicated to Amûn are to be associated with the cult for the 19th dynasty. Artefacts of this type are not known for the period after Taharqa's restoration of the cult. In the 19th dynasty, however, the cult can be seen to have received a good deal of popular attention. There will have been a great number of people passing the site in the daily business of the city, as well as on visits to Memphis and on festival days.

Interestingly for what appears to have been a 'representative' cult of this kind, a variety of cult names appear on the votive stelae from this area. The stelae have not come from a cache disposed of on the site; the great probability is that they were dedicated there. From this variety of name we must conclude that the cult was indeed seen as 'all purpose' or representative. The scarab inscriptions are in the vast number of cases inscribed *Im n / Imn-R / nb / Mn-Rpr-R / tlt Imn / Imn-R /*. There are also instances of the formula *n gm pbr.t lb wow-br Imn: Imn-R / ahw.ltc.* Here again a very generalised Amûn is invoked, an Amûn typical of the memphite cults as a group, but perhaps of *patj hwj njtrw* in particular.

4.2.5. *Btn-oit/e.*

There are six attestations for Amûn/Amon-Re *nb/hrj-lb/m(n) Btn-oitr.* Two are of 19th dynasty date, one of the 19th-20th dynasty, one of the 20th dynasty, one of the 21st-22nd dynasty, and one of the 27th dynasty. *Btn-oitr* is also mentioned in the Pi-stela of the 25th

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1 See appendix (a).
2 It is not known whether the Ptah temple and the Hathor temple with which the temple is compared here are mentioned in the P.Sallier IV vs. letter, as there is uncertainty about their names.
3 Section 5.7.4.
4 See 3.6.2.1.
dynasty. The variety of the dates of the attestations is evidence that the cult received continuous service throughout the period.

A jamb of the reign of Ramesses II found reused at Qantir shows the king offering to Amon-Re nfr nb Hat-nfr; Amon-Re brj-lb Hat-nfr and Hathor nfr nb n nb lwj. This probably comes from the Hat-nfr temple. It could have been produced in extension or rebuilding work carried out by Ramesses II, but as the cult is not attested before this date, the likelihood is that this is another Ramesses II foundation.

In the P. Wilbour text, pr 'Imn fp it- n fr m Mn-nfr is named. The city sign apparently replaces the nome sign in hieratic ramesside administrative texts. Here the greater memphite area rather than the city of Memphis must be meant. Despite the close associations with cults of central Memphis in the titles of Pt-Dj-Itt and Sh-nfr and in the apis stelae of Pt-Dj-Itt and Pt-Twy-r-Itsw, Hat-nfr must have lain outside the city, as Hat-nfr in the Pi-stela has its own 4j-f-7, Do-hwIm m Hat-nfr who comes among the princes from north of Memphis to Pi at K3-Km, Athribis.

4.2.6. t/w dnt/t

Amon-Re nfr nb t/w dnt/t is first attested for the 19th dynasty and most lately from the Ptolemaic period. This would appear to be the name of a small cult. It is not possible to say so with certainty, but this would be a logical assumption based upon knowledge of other cults, etc. The name further constitutes a basis for supposing that the cult was either attached to a shrine or offering table within another larger temple or that it was housed in a chapel along one of the ceremonial ways.

That it was housed within a larger temple is unlikely as the cult is described in the 22nd dynasty as m Nj-lwj [Berlin Hieratic P. 3056]2, brj-lb Ftw-kt-Pth at Medinet Habu in dynasty 203; in the clause smntj.k ntest.k m Nj-lwj m/ 'Imn-R' nb t/w dnt/t at Kharga4. The description is of a temple or chapel within the city confines of Memphis, but given the detail provided, had the chapel been within a larger temple complex, one would expect it to be named. m Ftw-kt-Pth should be understood to mean within the centre of Memphis dominated by the Ptah temple. The likelihood is that this was a wayside chapel.

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3 Chicago, 1970, vol. 7, pl. 582.
4 Brugsch, Thesaurus, p. 635.
The Kharga Oasis text has a picture of what is presumably the Amun-Rê' itself and the name of Amon-Rê' has a ram determinative. The ram connections which appear also in the Ramesses II lintel from Kom Qala'ah, tentatively associated with the cult of Amûn/Amon-Rê' m/n/hntj bwt nfrw, may have been used to associate Amûn at Memphis with Ptah through the ram associations of Khnum, the potter.

The Berlin text seems to accord the cult some status, but more particularly to affirm this cult too in a 'representative' role. The meaning of the clause seems to be that the god is urged to take his seat in "Nh-t withdraws Amon-Rê' nb lwntj-ew has done. The presumption is that all gods should take their places at Memphis. It must have been as a representative cult too that the cult was named in the list at Medinet Habu.

The likelihood is that this is another early 19th dynasty foundation. Judging by its probable size, it may be associated with the Seti chapel of Memphis personified, and indeed Seti I may have built it, as it would appear that Ramesses II was building to a larger scale.

Against this analysis of the evidence, it must be noted that a ham sm ntr a Spnt is attested for the 19th dynasty. No doubt the organisation of priestly and other temple staff varied from temple to temple at different periods. Nevertheless, it may be relevant that Tahaqra provided the reconstituted Amon-Rê' bntj bwt nfrw cult with only a ham sm. It must be considered possible that Amûn/Amon-Rê' m/n b wntj-ew had a rather larger establishment than has been suggested above.

4.2.7. NSI

The evidence for this cult is fairly clear. As is known from texts in the tomb of Msi at Saqqarah¹, the village of NSI was founded in the time of Kamose, by the courtier NSI who had been given the land by the king. The land became a subject of a dispute among NSI's family, and details of the five court cases which ensued are recorded in the tomb. Msi was the great grandson of NSI. He lived in the time of Ramesses II. Msi terms NsI a w/dj, village. Amûn is described as 'lwntj-ew, a NsI and is shown as a ram. Mut is described as nbt pt.

A place such as this will have been a district like a quarter of Memphis, but self-contained, probably not unlike, for instance, modern day Marazig, with several groups of houses within enclosure walls on high ground, and fields set in between. NSI probably had one temple only, a modest brick building with a stone threshold.

¹ Gaballa, 1977.
4.2.8. 'Ip t.

'Imn-ml-Ipt-m-Rt's titles, sdm bsw mt n ntr nhw, lmr-r bsw 'Imn n 'Ip t, can most likely be assumed to be memphite, given the strong memphite context and the attestation of a cult of this name for Memphis. As argued above in chapter 2, the specification of northern for the bsw and nhw for ntr are strong evidence for a memphite reference and de Meulenaere's ascription of the cult to Heliopolis\(^1\) was based, as he says, upon the fact that he did not know of a memphite attestation for the cult\(^2\). He assumed that 'Imn lpt must be Amûn of Luxor. Nevertheless, the insistence on the northern reference would seem to require explanation. It is possible that the relevance is in the organisation of the bsw.

What is certain is that the temple of Amûn of lpt, apparently the temple of the memphite cult of that name, had a staff of bsw. This is an indication that the temple establishment was of some size.

4.2.9. t/lhw t rnpw bsw n wsr-mR-stp-nR pr 'Imn.

This will have been an Amûn temple and royal ktemple, as for instance was Luxor temple. The connection between god and king in the context of the ktemple seems to have been of the first importance, with the king gaining his power from being of and united with the god in question. Hence, the 'united with' names popular for ktemples.

4.2.10. bsdh\(^3\).

Amûn often is shown as blue\(^4\). His association with the colour and with the blue stone, lapis lazuli, bsdh, which in its best or 'true' form was precious to the ancient Egyptians\(^5\) has been the subject of a good deal of speculation. Malachite was used for sacred purposes at a very early date\(^6\) because it was green, the colour of vegetation, with clear associations of life and rebirth. When ceramic firing came into use, the 'essence' of the precious green colour was discovered\(^7\), as the

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1 de Meulenaere, 1973, p.28.
2 de Meulenaere apparently did not recognise that 'Imn lpt was a common cult name, although he did know of a cult of Osiris at of 'Ip t Heliopolis (ibid).
3 The word was originally bsdh, but became bsdh and bsdh. See Erman, Grapow, 1926, vol.3, p.334.
4 For a discussion of where Amûn and others are shown as blue, see Reutersward, 1958, p.24ff.
5 Lapis from Afghanistan came to be associated at Babylon and in Egypt with things divine, particularly the hair and bones of the gods.
6 But malachite, unlike lapis which was worked, was used by the Egyptians almost exclusively in powder form. See Lucas, 1948, p.436-7
7 Hornblower (1932, p.50) notes the analogous case of incense which has in many places been seen as the divine essence of the substance burnt.
copper carbonate of malachite paste when fired at high temperatures yielded a bright blue glaze. Blue in this way came to be seen as even more precious than green, a step perhaps logical in view of the apparent blue of the sky and of water which may be seen as the two engenderers of green growth. Consequently turquoise and lapis lazuli were respected for their colour, lapis lazuli in particular for its rarity.

It has been suggested that Amûn's connection with lapis lazuli stemmed from his connection with Min who in his ithyphallic guise was particularly to be associated with fertility. This must be noted as an auxiliary consideration, and indeed Min, too, is associated with lapis lazuli, probably because of his connection with Amûn. Where however fertility is primarily concerned, green itself is the colour used, as for Osiris. Blue is not interchangeable with green in Egyptian usage, not is it a more powerful green; it is the essence of green.

Amûn's connection with the colour blue and incidentally with lapis lazuli, for its colour, lay in his nature as the hidden one, hidden as the true blue colour is hidden in malachite. The often quoted theory that Amûn, the hidden one, naturally was sought in the blue sky presupposes that the Egyptians recognised that the air was material although invisible. The origins of Amûn's character as 'hidden' are unknown, but it is likely that it was explained that he was hidden because his power was great beyond perception. Certainly, his hidden nature was considered important to the character of his power. The preferred use for amulets of blue, the hidden colour, at a date when other colours were available is evidence in support of this understanding.

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1 See Lucas, 1948, p.194-201, in particular p.197-8.
2 Turquoise comes from Sinai. The route of lapis lazuli coming to Egypt appears to have been through Babylon from Afghanistan. For a discussion, see Lucas, 1962, p.455. Because of the rarity of lapis lazuli, imitation lapis was often used, even for royal jewellery. Hence, the term qsbdt md.t.
3 The hair of Min is associated with the qsbdt colour or stone or quality. See Erman-Grapow, 1926, vol3, p.334. This is Hornblower's understanding of Amûn's connection with the colour blue.
4 The problem with Hornblower's conflation of the conceptions of blue and green is the subtlety of the Egyptian distinction as manifest in numberless reliefs, etc. The distinction is obvious in the iconography of the green Osiris and the blue Amûn.
5 This is typical of Egyptian 'play' with symbolism. The cryptography of the scarabs is based on Amûn's nature as 'hidden'. Amûn is hidden in their writings.
6 Osiris for instance is hidden in the water and in the earth.
7 For a varied view of the role of lapis lazuli and turquoise as divine minerals and in addition for faience, Aufrère (1982-83, p.8-18). Raven (1988, p.328) takes faience to have a solar significance. On the significance of the colour green in relation to the sun, see Brunner, E, 1979.
Amûn's association with the colour blue does not constitute an association with lapis lazuli in particular. Amon-Rê nb gsbd and Mut hwt gsbd are attested from a single 21st dynasty context, although Amûn is also associated with gsbd and mKkt in line 95 of the Amûn Litany at Luxor. A number of other gods are associated with gsbd. Isis's memphite epithet gsbd tp is well attested. It may be that Mut's connection with lapis lazuli is through her association with Isis, and that Amûn's is through Mut. This would not affect the interpretation given above. An epithet needed to be in some important manner appropriate in order to be adopted.

Amon-Rê nb gsbd is shown on the blocks from the Siamun temple in standard form with ws.t-staff and nb, wearing the double-plumed crown. Mut hwt gsbd wears the vulture-headress and uraeus with the red and white crowns. If this was the locus of the cult, the character of the building must be of interest here. The stone work from the Siamun temple is very fine and extensive. That the temple was mostly brick built is not evidence that the cult was negligible. A good deal of temple building was done in this fashion and this was quite a fine temple.

4.3. the incidentally attested cults.

For the sake of consistency, the following cults are grouped separately, as in chapter 1.

1 Daressy, 1910, p.66.
2 See Bergman, 1968, p.244-47 and Nb-Hp in the prosopographical appendix. In addition, Hathor who is closely associated at Memphis with Isis, as well as with Ptah and who at Thebes is linked with Amûn is nbt mKkt, mistress of turquoise (not malachite) in Sinai. See Sandman-Holmberg, 1946, p.188. The tree of the goddesses with whom Hathor is closely linked is sometimes described as of mKkt, turquoise. Hathor is also lapis lazuli blue. See Breasted, Anc. Rec., vol.4, p.784. Wsr gsbd, blue Osiris, also is attested at Memphis (Bergman, 1968, p.245,n.4 and Martin, 1979, pl.60). Atum at Heliopolis is gsbd. See Altenmuller, B., 1975, p.285.
3 It is not possible from the available evidence to draw conclusions about additional qualities and affiliations of Amûn in this cult. However, it should be noted that in certain of his aspects Amûn is associated with Isis, mw.t nfr in his role of kâ-mw.t.f. They are also connected through their association with Rê and Isis sometimes appears as the wife of Amûn. (See Münster, 1968, p.134-36.) Isis had her own cult at Memphis from the new kingdom (ibid, p.181). A temple of Isis northwest of the temple of Osiris and adjacent to the temple of Harwa is attested for Giza from the text of a late period stela. A smj ât nfr and a 21st dynasty it nfr atât at Memphis are also attested, etc. (ibid, p.181).
4 further description in 5.
5 See Petrie, 1909(1), pl.31 and 1909(2), pl.23-4; Anthes, 1956, pl.32[bl][33[a];fig.11[24-5].
6 On nubian examples, which are useful for comparison as their stone was not likely to be claimed for reuse, Dewachter, 1985, p.23-37, especially, p.37.
4.3.1. \textit{Imn}\textit{ (n) rbw.} 

This cult must be taken with Am\textit{m n} \textit{ls k\textit{ji}}. Germer has shown that the well-known connection of lettuce with Min is through the milky sap of the plant\textsuperscript{1}, rather than through any supposed effect upon a person eating lettuce. This is a very satisfactory explanation as a typically egyptian association of qualities is revealed. Min is associated with the lettuce because of its character, just as Sakhmet is associated with the lioness\textsuperscript{2}.

Am\textit{m n}, particularly through his connection with Min but also in his other aspects as a god associated with fecundity, as \textit{Kt-mw\textit{t}}/ and in his ram aspect, will have been well-fitted for the name \textit{Imn} (n) \textit{rbw}.

This is unlikely to have been a cult at central Memphis. Nor does the name seem likely for a wayside shrine, although this is more probable. Am\textit{m n} (n) \textit{rbw} may have been the local cult of an outlying district. He may even have belonged to an older cult whose god had been assimilated to Am\textit{m n}.

4.3.2. \textit{PJ-w-r\textit{w}.} 

The domain of Amun of \textit{PJ-w-r\textit{w}} is mentioned a number of times in Pap. Wilbour\textsuperscript{3}, particularly as a marker for places described in relation to it. It appears in association with \textit{Ns\textit{t}} which is described as a village. The presumption would be that \textit{PJ-w-r\textit{w}} was a bigger place than \textit{Ns\textit{t}}, but this was not necessarily the case, as \textit{PJ-w-r\textit{w}} may have been sited more conveniently for reference, or it may have been the centre of the local survey. It is probable that Amun of \textit{PJ-w-r\textit{w}} was the administrative centre of an agricultural district.

4.3.3. \textit{Pr-hnw\textit{t}.} 

Amon-R\textit{\textit{r}}\textit{\textit{f n}r pr-hnw\textit{t}} is attested in the titulary of \textit{Iw-R-NN} \textit{5} and in the text of the scarab JE 51985\textsuperscript{6}. This may have been a cult of Amun in association with Sokar. Altenmüller speculates

\begin{itemize}
  \item[\textsuperscript{1}] Germer, 1980, p.87. See to Defossez, 1985.
  \item[\textsuperscript{2}] Despite the fact that in most cases an older origin of such associations with animals, etc. is doubtless to be supposed, we must recognise that the Egyptians analogized from such associations.
  \item[\textsuperscript{3}] See text references in 1.2.11.2.
  \item[\textsuperscript{4}] This place is discussed by Yoyotte (1961, p.92-4) who takes it to be in the 21st nome of upper Egypt based upon a mention of the Henu-barque in the 21st nome portion of the geographical list at Dendara.
  \item[\textsuperscript{5}] See appendix (b).
  \item[\textsuperscript{6}] See appendix (e).
\end{itemize}
that the connection of Sokar with Ptah was through Sokar's aspect as ḫrw, god of the storm wind and thus with the wind or blowing used in metal working and smelting. It is possible that Amôn was associated with Sokar in this aspect.

4.3.4. 𓊹𓊦𓊢𓊫.

The term 'high ground', 𓊦𓊢𓊫, refers to cultivable ground, the land through which lower irrigation channels run, rather than the high ground of the desert. It is probable that as an element in the cult name 𓊦𓊫𓊦𓊳𓊵𓊦, Amôn of the high ground, the reference is general rather than particular. It is conceivable that Amôn of the high ground might have been a small local cult with an image set up in the fields, of the type which Gardiner postulated in his analysis of middle egyptian cults mentioned in Papyrus Wilbour. The name, however, does not appear to be of like kind with the Wilbour cults. It is not to be expected that a cult set up in the fields would be called by a general name for the fields themselves. More typically, such cults were called after some power or aspect of the god.

Cult names may be said to describe the god in respect of place or aspect, but in general it may be said that names in which place is mentioned usually bear reference to large or important places, while cults associated with small places more usually have names in which an aspect of the god is defined. This distribution may be taken to be reasonable if a god is to be identified with might only. The god is not characterised by the weak or small.

It is likely that the name Amôn 𓊦𓊢𓊫 is descriptive of an aspect of the god, Amôn in his connection with fecundity, presumably by association with Min and other deities of the theban region. The high ground is taken as symbol of the god as it produces the fruits for which the god's fecundity is responsible. Moens discusses Min's connection with high ground, the ḫrw, which she demonstrates should be understood to refer to cultivable ground. As 𓊦𓊢𓊫 certainly should be

1 Altenmuller, H., 1984, p. 8ff.
2 See Wainwright, 1934.
3 In a name such as Amôn of the back land or Amôn of the island a whole region is referred to as under the protection or authority of the god.
4 Defossez, 1985. See below under ḫrw.
5 Moens, 1985, p. 61-73.
6 She concludes that while ḫrw which is written with a stairway determinative indicating a terrace with stairway has been taken to refer to the gebel heights, as Min is originally a nomad and thus a desert god; to the threshing floor; to the 'primeval hill', etc., it should be understood to be the high cultivable ground.
so understood, the cult name may be taken to have context. The cult is known from a single
attestation of the Ptolemaic period from the titulary of *Nh-HP.

4.3.5. Dalte.

If Dalte is to be associated with Pr-Dnw, the cult place of Hathor described as of *Nh-Lnw, Amun may have been paired with Hathor here.

4.3.6. Msdo. As mentioned above in 1.2.11.6., a Memphite site for Msdo is quite uncertain. Amun n dalo n Pth n p'tš n Msdo m wr dl Ms.t will have been secondary to Ptah at his cult site, but in view of the character of the district, nevertheless of some local significance.
chapter 5

location of the temples

5.1. the extent of the city and district of Memphis in the new kingdom and late periods.

It is not possible at present to judge with any accuracy the extent of the city of Memphis at any particular date in antiquity. Fundamental for this is an estimation of floor levels in various sectors for a range of dates. The Egypt Exploration Society in cooperation with the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation is carrying out a carefully planned programme of testing for levels in coordination with work to determine the course of the Nile at this latitude at various dates in pharaonic times. Knowledge of the overall plan by which memphite districts were protected from flooding during the new kingdom and late period is as yet incomplete. A number of measures may have been in use. The well-known city dykes or retaining walls appear to have been paired with walls entirely enclosing individual districts and some settled land in the valley at older and at raised sites will have stood high enough to need no additional protection. The enclosure system will have allowed for easier extensions to the city area based around temple foundations or palaces, as needed. The city will have been loosely structured around temples and other important institutions which were supplied with properties in their immediate environs. It will have included basin fields subject to limited flooding from canals.

The question of the extent of the city is very important in attempts to locate temple and other sites from the evidence of texts. A large number of institutions known from textual material have not yet been located on the ground, and where their stone was reused in antiquity, the sites are unlikely to be decisively located through excavation work alone. Where, however, it is possible to say from circumstantial textual or other indirect evidence that a site must have lain to the south or to the north of the Ptah temple area, either within or outside the central area, within or outside the city area itself, the extent of the city is clearly very important in the calculation. Here, archaeological work and topographic observations in the area of the existing ruin field must be combined with topographic observations in the rest of the region. The present author's preliminary toponym survey with Mai Trad of the Cairo Museum in 1986-87 was meant to begin to add to this data a resource of field names and other names in popular use which might prove to be fossils of ancient place names, or records of the existence of particular ancient sites, as we have in the field names Hod al-Miqyās al-Baharf and al-Qiblī, on Kôm Arba‘īn and Kôm Qal‘ah in the probable region of the last of the memphite nilometers. This approach has so far been most obviously successful in the case of the name Shinbāb. A great deal of the material remains to be analysed.

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1 Jeffreys, Smith, 1988, p.61.
No large objects of pre-ramesside date have been found certainly in situ within the existing ruin field to the east of the west hall of the Ptah temple. As the river bed is known to have moved eastwards at this latitude by stages since Roman times\(^1\) when it ran along the present edge of the ruin field, it is believed that the river bed probably began its progress eastwards at a much earlier date\(^2\). During the earlier New Kingdom, wet riverine land or the Nile bed itself may have covered the area of the great Ptah temple enclosure land to the north and south. Long islands form easily here through continual siltation in the river. In time the channel which separates an island from the river bank is clogged with silt and the island joins the river bank. This process has been observable at any time in our own day, although the high dam now blocks the greater part of the annual silt flow. The island’s breadth added to the river bank alters the river’s course. As Jeffreys explains.

"The excavations of Rashid in the SW of Rabl" (RAL), and by ourselves further to the north (RAT), have shown that early Ramesside levels in the west of the mound lie 3m or more higher than those of the contemporary temple and palace complexes to the east. Those complexes, however, have remarkably consistent floor levels: there is no more than a 50 cm difference in the levels of the floors at BAA, across to RAH and RQA and even to QAB and QAM in the east of Qala’a."

In the text of the model letter of P. Saltier IV vs., the thesis is that Memphis is in renaissance. The city has been rebuilt and renewed and its inhabitants of every kind are flourishing. In its most succinct formulation,

\[
... \text{gm a Mn-\textit{afr} m sirk wr lr sp sn... ls tw \textit{tibt a Mn-afr}...}
\]

\[
\text{sw hprw tlm hwt T/Mywte, lw krt st kj hprw...}
\]

The city has not been made 'like its original' in the common Egyptian phrase; it has been given another form, which indeed it must have been in the building programme of Ramesses II which took huge new tracts of land towards the river and which included the foundation of the present great Ptah temple enclosure.

Relative levels, however, are not an absolute indicator of ancient habitation. At Shinbāb, as at the village of Mit Rahinah, there has been continuous habitation\(^3\). Where sites inhabited in antiquity were later deserted, as over most of the existing ruin field, whether because these areas

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1 See Jeffreys, 1985, fig.2.

2 Herodotus’ story (Bk 2,99) appears to be a tradition about this movement, as he says that the Nile originally ran along the western cliffs before Menes undertook work to alter its course.

3 Rather evidence of habitation includes both ancient levels and successive levels of the last millenium, and therefore the likelihood is that habitation has been continuous. At Shinbāb there are houses some three hundred years old at the very highest point of the mound which is built of gradual accretions. Here as often elsewhere it is the geographic centre point of the mound which has the oldest buildings still in use.
were no longer defended from the flood waters by well-maintained urban water walls or for other reasons, quite low levels may conceal very ancient remains. Settlement areas were deserted in antiquity, as well. Building at Memphis was moved eastwards to follow the river. Old kingdom sites probably lie beneath the fields which separate the present ruin field from the ascent to the gebel.

As I have discussed elsewhere¹, the universal assumption in the area is that the name Shinbâb is properly Wish-shinbâb, the sense of which is given as Wish al-bâb al-medînâh al-qadîma, 'the face of the gate of the ancient city'. Jeffreys, identifying Shinbâb with Khempabi², notes that by the 7th century when the monastery of Apâ Jeremias on the South Saqqârah gebel was more populous than the declining city of Memphis, Khempabi was considered to be outside Memphis. The tradition thus would seem to be a record of the latest phase of the city. The 'face of the gate' of Memphis would be the first considerable place one reached before reaching the city itself or after leaving it.

Local people mention that until about 1970, there were inscribed blocks visible at the surface to the south of Shinbâb near the canal path. These may originally have been revealed when this branch of the Saqqâriya was excavated³.

During the toponym survey, a railway guard who had worked just south of Shinbâb on the digging of the railway cutting for the line to the Bahariya oases twenty-five years ago, said that a great deal of statuary as well as inscriptive material and small objects had been recovered during the work. He said that to the east of the canal the finds were ptolemaic and roman, but to the west of the canal they were pharaonic⁴. If correct, this information is valuable as evidence for an unsurveyed area for present assumptions about shifts in the river bed in antiquity.

At present it is customary to assume that while it is well known from the reports of travellers of the past two centuries that the ruin field has been constantly eroded, nevertheless the centre of ancient Memphis at all periods must have been the Ptah temple and therefore all major temples, as the prime administrative centres should be sought in the near vicinity, i.e.,

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² Jeffreys, 1985, p.9.
³ Okasha Edaly was brought up in and still lives in Badrashâ. He remembers taking a great interest in these monuments as a child and thus can vouch as an egyptologist for these reports.
⁴ One of party knew the man well, and the two of them talked on several occasions about the finds. The man took a serious interest in archaeology and described a number of the finds and their contexts in such a way that his judgement of the find spreads should be taken as probably reliable.
within the confines of the present ruin field. This view is predicated upon the requirements of western European and related urban financial systems. Here, the exchange of goods and services is of secondary interest to financiers who deal in them. What is important is the exchange of capital only nominally connected to various enterprises involving goods and services. Thus, in the recent past financiers have had reason to choose places of work near to each other, rather than near to the centres of production for which they had made themselves responsible.

The area of the Ptah temple at Memphis, at least from the early 19th dynasty onwards, had a high concentration of temples and in this sense was the centre of Memphis. But Memphis had a federative structure of other centres based around other temples, the palace of the day and perhaps the great granaries and other institutions, surrounded by their own lands and requiring their own labour force. Memphis, from the time of the pyramid cities, had been structured along these lines. As the economy grew the complexity of the city with its multiple centres increased.

In the large conurbation strewn through the memphite nome, the densest areas of building will have been around the great and lesser temples, the docks, the royal residence, and great storehouses of various kinds. Artisans' workshops and their living quarters, cookhouses, markets (partly fed from the open countryside) and so forth all will have been gathered at these sub-centres. In among them will have been groves of trees and tilled fields. Contrasted with the densely built streets of shops and houses, areas of cultivated land, in addition to canals, will have been sufficient to break the city up into distinct quarters, called by the name of their largest institutions or by other appropriate epithets. Their names will have been determined by a city sign as a matter of course if the foundation or its surrounding district was of great enough size or distinction.

5.2. the present character of the area.

The ruinfield at Memphis today is an irregularly shaped area of high ground 3.5km in length and 1.5km from east to west, including Akhetaten in the north and Kom Sabakhah in the south, only separated from the rest of the ruin field relatively recently. The actual area of "Kom

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1 In this connection, see Kemp's (1972,p.675) discussion of his findings at Amarna.
2 See Kemp's discussion (1972,p.668) of the contrast between the arrangement of about 150 back-to-back houses in the central village at Amarna and other clusters around other temples and private estates.
land at the north and the south has been eroded in recent times, and today, as the area is no longer subject to flooding, house building is encroaching on formerly open areas of the ruin field.

The great Ptah temple enclosure, probably of Ptolemaic date on Ramesside foundations, lies in a depression roughly at the centre of the ruin field, the Middle Birka. A large portion of its extent is covered in palm groves. For the casual observer it is marked only by the remains of its enclosure wall and the ruined columns and other architectural members in the west hall, much of which stands in a pool of brackish water for a good part of the year (BAA). To the south, embalming tables of the Apis complex (FAG) can be seen. Kom Khanzir, a small hill within the birka with late remains near the surface is interesting for its survival, but an uncomfortable place to work as its name would suggest.

South of the Badrashin-Saqqarah road on Kom Rabit, are massive standing ruins (RAA) of late period date. There are also the small Ptah temple built by Ramesses II (RAB), the Seti chapel for Memphis personified (RAD) and the small Hathor temple with its very beautiful Hathor-headed columns, built by Ramesses II (RAG). Further south are the small villages of Ezbet el-Qatib and Ezbet el-Arany and a cemetery. On the northern part of Kom Qalaijah to the west are the tremendous and very extensive ruins of the Merneptah palace and temple (QAA, QAB and QAC). The remains are much better preserved than those of the Apries palace on Kom Tuman. They are very impressive and the site is now once again open for examination. Around the mound, the fields are planted in palm trees. Beyond the road and the Saqqary canal, at the south of the main part of the ruin field, is a raised path among the palm basins to what are now the two mounds of Kom Sabakha, separated from each other by a sharp dip. Here eroded excavation trenches, and not much else, are easily visible.

In the northern part of the ruin field, the dominant features are the village of Mit Rahinah standing on a great height, a stone gateway on Kom Nawah, the palace of Apries on Kom Tuman

1 However, as long ago as 1909 Petrie (1909(1),p.5) wrote of the memphite ruin field, "We see how great an amount there is to be done, even without displacing any of the cultivation....Probably little of the ground will be unoccupied in future, and we only regret that so much of it has been appropriated in the last few generations. To recover what we yet can trace is the first duty of archaeology in Egypt." In fact, due to a combination of government planning and accident, the site has been quite well preserved.


3 However, the excavation photographs in the University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives are invaluable to an understanding of the site.

4 See plate 1.
which even now is pilfered for earth and brick (TAA) and the associated walls and ramp (TAC),
and the great height of the southern edge of Kôm el-Azîz. The palace of Apries is a quintessential
but entirely individual ruin. Its exceptional quality lies as much in a strangeness which makes
the destroyed brick and rubble seem a natural site rather than a manufactured one, as in its
character as a wonderfully although most unfortunately ravaged building. The summit of the ruins
is the highest point in the valley for miles and commands a fine view of Saqqârah as well as of the
valley. From the high stand of trees at the Kôm Daîbâîbî, the ruins have the aspect of a great
palace, although one is in fact only looking at a portion of the massive foundations of the structure
which, greatly reduced, are all that remain standing. In its day this must have been a mighty
citadel. Kôm Daîbâîbî is today not very well defined, except as high ground distinct from Kôm
Tûmân and its other surroundings. Very little of Kôm Arba'în and Kôm Nawâh, are at present
accessible, but as there are no permanent modern buildings, one day it should be possible to work
there.

5.3. review of past archaeological work.

As David Jeffreys has recently published a detailed survey of past archaeological work in
the memphite ruin field¹, it will be possible to confine the discussion here to a brief
consideration of the area covered by Jeffreys, with a few additional comments on archaeological
work since 1985 and observations from the present author's toponymic field survey of 1986-87².

Beginning with the ruin field to the north of the Badrashîn-Saqqârah road which runs very
roughly along the southern wall of the Ptah temple enclosure and then across its south east
corner³, the Middle Birkah is roughly identical with the area of the great Ptah temple enclosure.
In the west hall of the Ptah temple there has been a good deal of excavation and survey⁴, although
problems still remain. Foundation deposits of Thutmose IV have been found in the west hall, so
this area at least appears to have been occupied earlier in the new kingdom. There is some
evidence that the foundation of the new Ptah temple may have been begun by Amenhotep III, rather
than Ramesses II. However the earliest cartouches on in-situ features are those of Ramesses II⁵.
Also interesting, as very little as yet is known of middle kingdom Memphis, is evidence that some
of the colossi erected in and around the Ptah temple by Ramesses II were recut statues of middle
kingdom date⁶. These, however, would certainly have come from sites west of the present Ptah

¹ Jeffreys, 1985.
³ See Jeffreys, op.cit., pl.3 for recent land use, pl.'s 8 and 10 for locations of excavated sites,
pl.57-62 for distribution of large scale find locations by date.
⁴ Jeffreys, 1985p.34-35.
⁵ ibid.p.36.
temple enclosure. Hekekyon, and Petrie after him, undertook large scale excavations in the Middle Birka. Mariette, Lepsius, Daressy, and others also worked here. A number of small excavation have been undertaken since then. Some work has been done on Kom Khanzir.

Kom Fakhry, to the west of the Middle Birka, has a complex stratigraphy. Just south of the middle kingdom cemetery (FAC), late period walls have been excavated at only 5m above the middle kingdom vaulting. Old kingdom sherds have been found to the north of FAC at the base of the Mit Rahinah mound. There is also the Apis complex excavated by Ahmad Badawi and Mustapha el-Amlr. Professor Gaballa’s excavations in two 50m squares along an East to West axis just east of FAC have revealed near the reduced surface fine brick new kingdom structures. As this work has been done since 1985 and therefore is not discussed in Jeffrey’s survey, I shall give a few details here.

There are two main areas separated by a strong wall. In the western half are large rooms and nine ovens, the walls beautiful and well-defined. A great deal of painted 18th dynasty ware has been found on the site and also a great deal of foreign ware. Large painted pots were found in situ, as well as storage jars in rooms throughout the site. A good many stone thresholds were used on the eastern side of the site. Post hole depressions from doors were visible in places. One room at the south east corner had suffered a fire. There were several apsidal features. A young woman aged 19-25 years had been buried midway along the excavation site at the northern side beneath a floor. She had received a crushing head blow before death. Two jar handles with cartouche stamps gave the names of Thutmose I and Horemheb. The site thus can probably be assumed to have been in use throughout most of the 18th dynasty and up to the early ramesside period.

There is scope for a great deal more work on Kom Fakhry. The complex stratigraphy and the fruitfulness of Professor Gaballa’s recent work make the area very interesting, and there is still plenty of open land.

To the north of Kom Fakhry, the village of Mit Rahinah stands on a height gained through continual occupation of the site. In consequence, no archaeological work can be done here, although

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1 Petrie (1909(1),p.5-10) describes the work.
3 ibid.p.38.
4 ibid.p.29.
5 The area has been lowered by saltpeter mining in the last century, by sabakhin, etc.
Hekekyon made a boring in the centre of the village in the 1850's. Ancient blocks have been reused in some of the older houses and reputedly in the mosque.

On Kôm Daftàby there are roman remains revealed by non-archaeological trenches.

The so-called 'nilometer' site (AAD), on Kôm Arba’in to the west of the middle birka, first excavated by Hekekyan, is roman. There should be a processional way leading to the east gate of the Ptah temple and probably another large temple enclosure to the north of the processional way opposite the Merneptah complex. From other work there are only fragments, mostly ramesside and a few reused pieces of earlier date.

On Kôm Nawah to the north of Kôm Arba’in a standing gateway is visible. Petrie found a limestone temple here and an avenue of granite blocks leading to it from the east. There have been several small excavations more recently.

Petrie did a great deal of work on Kôm Thumân, excavating at the palace of Apries and its ramp and to the east and north. There has also been other work. In the context of this study the name Kôm Thumân is interesting for apparently containing a fossil of the phrase ‘I.a n. As has become apparent from the toponym survey, such names may be a record of traditions and yet not have any direct bearing on the remains at the place with which they are connected. At present the association can only be noted.

Organised excavation has not been done on Kôm al-Asîz.

In the southern part of the ruin field, beginning with Kôm Râbir the first known find is that of the limestone colossus of Ramesses II now in the Ramesses Museum. The massive remains at RAA were excavated by Lepsius. Ahmad Badawi excavated the small Ptah temple (RAB). Labib Habachi excavated the Seti chapel (RAD). Petrie excavated the Siamun temple (RAK). The Hathor

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1 Jeffreys, 1985, p.31.
2 Ibid, p.32.
3 Ibid, fig. 62 reproduced at the end of this volume.
4 Ibid, p.31-33 and accompanying references.
5 Petrie, 1909(1), p.4, pl.27. Petrie's suggestion that this might have been a temple of Anubis does not appear to have been based on data from the site.
7 Petrie, 1909(2).
8 See Jeffreys, 1985, p.40-3.

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temple, part of which was later reused for kiln work was excavated by Abdulla Sayed Mahmoud, with later work by Huleil Ghaly and Abd al-Karim Abu Shanab. There are two new kingdom sites (RAL and RAJ) excavated by Mohammed Rashid in the southwest of Kom Rabir.

On Kom Qala’ah, Petrie and Clarence Fisher excavated at the Merneptah complex. Fisher’s work continued over for a number of years, but unfortunately went unpublished. There is a small temple built by Ramesses II at what must have been the southern approach to the great Ptah temple enclosure (RQA). A new kingdom site, at about the parallel of Mohammed Rashid’s sites on Kom Rabir, was excavated by Abd al-Karim Abu Shanab. A small excavation in the north of Kom Qala’ah revealed gold objects, since when this area has popularly been known as Kom el-Dahab.

On Kom Helol there are glazing ovens and a ptolemaic temple found by Petrie.

On Kom Sabakhab there have been excavations of roman buildings by Ahmad Tahir, Abd al-Fattah Sobaby and Huleil Ghaly.

5.4. review of past toponymic work.

5.5. the sites of the temples.

5.5.1. Prw-nfr.

In Pap. BM 10056 Prw-nfr appears in the context of large scale ship-building for the asianic campaigns of Amenhotep II. We know from the Karnak text [Urk.1315,11] that Prw-nfr also served as the home port for these campaigns. One may wonder why Memphis, a riverine city, did not itself have a port suitable for these operations or whether Prw-nfr was not in fact at this date the name of the port of Memphis. The relevant point would seem to be that where a harbour was not to be specially constructed as at the Birket Habu, it was worthwhile taking advantage of favourable conditions. Prw-nfr with an offshore island for some years in the middle to late 18th dynasty may

1 Mahmoud,1978.
4 For these sites see Jeffreys,1985,p.19-21.
7 Glanville,1931,1932(1).
8 See page 23, above and Sive-Soderbergh,1946,p.38
9 See Kemp,O’Connor,1974.
have provided a good port site. The supposition that *Prw-afr was in the vicinity of an island is not in itself helpful in locating the site of the district. Although the end of *Prw-afr seems to coincide with the reclaiming of land at the beginning of the 19th or the end of the 18th dynasty at central Memphis, this is not evidence that *Prw-afr was itself at central Memphis, as Amenhotep II had to proceed from *Prw-afr to Memphis after returning from Retenu: *prt hmt m *Prw-afr *fr wtj m *tp r *Mn-afr *fr pshkr *ln. *fr *ht *Rw [Urk. 1315.11].

The residence of Amenhotep II at *Prw-afr; as described in the tomb of Kn-'Imn, seems to have been a green country place: *smp lw mj *nfr hsj hsd hbt *smw g'r rsj m lw mj hmr f m hstj s *Prw-afr........... rj hmt mr s *t m *ttk, *smp r sft k, *lmh-hpj, but there is no evidence in the attestations for a location north or south of central Memphis. I have argued elsewhere that a port site and shipyard would have best been placed downstream of the city as it would foul the water, and a royal residence upwind of the city, so as to evade its smells and noise, as in fact royal residences have historically been placed at Cairo. These considerations favoured a site north of Memphis. The site’s suitability as a port site will have superceded any other conditions in the siting of the port itself, but presumably there was no need to site the royal residence in the same district, and neither was it probably necessary to site the shipyards there. As all three were at *Prw-afr; the argument still stands. The wording of Amenhotep II’s statement about proceeding from *Prw-afr to Memphis with his booty suggests that he had not already sailed past Memphis with it. It is also possible that *Prw-afr should be contrasted with *Nfr *Nfr in the south of Memphis, *Prw-afr being a ‘good going forth from’ and *Nfr *Nfr being a ‘good coming upon’.

It is the reference in Pap. Leningrad 1116A verso [line 42] which has been taken as proof that *Prw-afr was in the south of Memphis. Here *khw *nfr m *Nfr *Prw-afr are to be received as *smt rsjt. Unfortunately, no useful geographical marker is given here except for the name *Prw-afr: we do not know with respect to what the granaries were southern. It is known that there were large granaries at central Memphis. It is possible that the southernmost of these is referred to. It is possible that a granary at *Prw-afr itself is referred to, perhaps one of the granaries of the temple of Amôn, the chief administrative centre of the district. The envoys listed in lines 68–77 may have been housed at *Prw-afr; which as a port site will have seen a good deal of foreign traffic. It would

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1 See page 26 above.
2 Theban tomb no. 93, Davies, 1930.
3 Kamish, 1986.
4 Spiegelberg, 1896,24.8.
5 My thanks to Professor H.S. Smith for this suggestion.
6 Golénischeff, 1913.
7 See above p.25.
seem more likely that a busy district in the new kingdom was at the northern side rather than
the southern side of the city, as from levels at this side of the ruinfield and from the overall
downward gradient from north to south, it would appear that the south of Memphis was less heavily
populated at this period than was the north.

It must, however, be admitted that the manipulation of the evidence for the site of Prw-ñfr
remains speculative.

5.5.2. nb aswt īwř.
Amon-Rēb nb aswt īwř/a āhtw, aqr 't ab šawtē lab-hašte clearly had a temple at central
Memphis. The other cult of Amon-Rēb nb aswt īwř was at the old Prw-ñfr site.

5.5.3. īabw-hd. This name is probably to be identified with Amon-Rēb nb aswt īwř/a āhtw, aqr 't
ab šawtē lab-hašte.

5.5.4. gàtj bht aqrw.
At least in its second incarnation, 'īma-Rēb gàtj bht aqrw is known to have had
a small but not inconsiderable temple on the 'canal of the troop' near the 'canal of the trees' which
was endowed with the land around it, a herd of cattle in an adjacent pasture and a reasonable outfit
of equipment and revenue. This was an establishment of some size which may have been not
far from the juncture of the main east-west Nile to Saqqârah processional way to the north and to
the west the processional way leading south past the little Ramesses II Hathor temple to the
probable vicinity of Hathor abt aht rṣjt. The temple probably lay in the area of the Merneptah
temple.

The twelve attestations for 'īma-Rēb gàtj bht aqrw fall into two chronological groups. The
first five belong to the 19th dynasty. The second group appears to date from the reestablishment of
the cult by Taharqa. There is no evidence of how long the cult had been in abeyance by Taharqa's
date, but after the reestablishment, the attestations are of varied date into the 2nd century B.C.,
and the likelihood is that the cult received continuous service.

In favour of the theory that the cult was in the area of the great Ptah temple may be cited
the fact that the temple appears from the details of the Taharqa decree to have been at central
Memphis. The temple was put under the protection of and provided for by the Ptah temple under
the terms of the Taharqa decree. Furthermore, there are a large number of attestations.

1 See p.64 above.
2 See p.64 above.
surprising number for a small temple, from which a prominence or significance greater than one might expect from its size must be understood and on this account a central site is likely.

The temple clearly was not within the Ptah temple precinct itself, as Taharqa granted it the canal upon which it stood and the grounds around it. As the foundation was not called ꜩꜣꜣꜣꜣꜣꜣ ꜣꜣꜣꜣ ḫꜥwꜣꜣ until its reestablishment, but earlier was ḫ and ḫꜣꜣꜣꜣ ḫꜥwꜣꜣ, we should not look for an explanation of the term ḫꜣꜣ based upon geographical considerations. It would appear from the date and context of the first attestations that the temple was a foundation of Ramesses II and we would expect to find such a temple on the new land apparently reclaimed by Ramesses II east of the parallel of the west hall of the Ptah temple. From a large number of scarabs and a considerable number of votive stelae and other material dedicated to Amun found in carefully controlled excavations on Kom Qala'a in the vicinity of the Merneptah temple, it appears that there was an Amun temple here. This may have been the ꜩꜣꜣꜣꜣꜣꜣ ḫꜣꜣꜣꜣ ḫꜥw temple. What is particularly persuasive for the identification is the coincidence in date of the fire which destroyed the Merneptah palace\(^1\) and the lapse of attestations for the cult. When Taharqa came to rebuild the cult, he recorded that he found it ruined\(^2\). Taharqa is known to have done building work in the area. He extended the little Seti I chapel for Memphis personified\(^3\). Taharqa may well have been tidying up this sector of Memphis, giving particular attention to the small and easily renovated temples along the processional way.

From the Fisher excavations at the Merneptah palace site, comes a lintel [El 13572] showing Ramesses II kneeling before Amon-Re in the form of a ram. This would appear to come from a small temple. A second lintel from the same spot from the reign of Ramesses II shows Seti I and names Amun and Mut [E 13573].

A votive stela of 19th dynasty date [El 13580] has Amun with ḫꜣꜣ-staff and ḫꜣꜣ before a pedestal with offerings and papyrus blossom.

A late new kingdom votive stela in Cairo [Phil Photo 34029] has a man before Amon-Re, Ptah, Sakhmet and Amun ḫꜣꜣt.

A fragment of a late new kingdom stela [El 13631], apparently reused as a votive offering, names Amon-Re ḫꜣꜣ ḫꜣꜣt-air.

\(^1\) See Jeffreys, p.15.

\(^2\) Meeks. 1979, lines 2-3 of the text.

\(^3\) Jeffreys. 1985, p.22.
A votive stela of 19th dynasty date [CG 2091] shows a woman and a bowing boy before Amûn, Mut and Khonsu.

A stela of 18th–19th dynasty date [E13595] has a man standing before Amûn who carries 'nfr and wsr.

A votive stela of 19th dynasty date [CG 3634] has a man before a seated Amon-Rê' ab asw vj. Ptah, Sakhmet and Min are also shown.

A votive stela of 19th dynasty date [E13609] has Amûn seated with wsr-staff and a man offering a lotus flower, a woman with anz and a boy. The inscription names Amon-Rê' ab asw vj ab pt; Amon-Rê' ab Pt-tpw.

A ptolemaic stela found much earlier names Amon-Rê' ab asw vj nfr 't ab pt; Mut wrt abt 'hrw hwt ab nfrw, hrk bt ab pt; and Khonsu m Wbt.

A fragment of a 19th dynasty statue of Amûn with wsr-staff [E13653] names Amûn ptp.

A large number of scarabs dedicated to Amûn have been found in the area of the Merneptah temple and palace.

5.5.5. Gat-nfr/et.

Gardiner rendered Gat-nfr as 'the beautiful foreland' which he took to refer to the south or forepart of the memphite nome. It seems, however, from the appearance of the prince of Gat-nfr with delta dignitaries in the text of the Pi stela, that Gat-nfr [ed 17] was at the northern end of the memphite nome. The list, however, might take its order from the sequence in which the princes arrived to present themselves to Pi or from their importance relative to one another. This is not a geographical inscription; the order might be random. As, in addition, it is well known that the writers of the geographical lists had difficulty in arranging an order for the districts of the broader lands of the delta north of Memphis, the Pi stela sequence must be taken to give no more than the general area of the places named.

5.5.6. Uwdjat.

1 See appendix (e) and p.80 above.
The cult of 'Iam n twdtjt appears to have been sited at central Memphis, probably in a wayside chapel, perhaps along the southern approach to the Ptah temple where there seem to have been a large number of such foundations.

5.5.7. Nil.

The temple of Amûn of Nil in the village of Nil would appear to have been sited in an agricultural district not far south of the city of Memphis.

5.5.8. Ipr n Ma-afr.

The text of 19th dynasty scarab from Aniba in which the cult is attested is as follows: 'Iam-R nccalpt n M n-nfr. The hill-sign should be taken as a determinative transposed forward. It is possible that the break contained not a 'I', but a second hill-sign. An unnecessary multiplication of a topographical determinative is quite common. From the writing with the hill-sign, it is possible that a site on the gebel is referred to.

5.5.9. t/ptw at rnpwt nbw n Wsr-mtr-R-R-stp-n-R n pr 'Iam.

The likelihood is that such a temple was sited along the western edge of the cultivation. It would be likely to be at the latitude of central Memphis. No direct evidence, however, for the site is available apart from the fact that it is described as m 'Iab-bt.t in the titles of Prs-wl-wb.

5.5.10. gsbd.

The cult is attested on a beautiful 21st dynasty lintel from a building in brick with stone lintels, columns and jambs on what is now the southern spur of Kom Rabî'in. This was a temple, but it is not certain to which deity it was chiefly dedicated. The building was plundered for stone in the ptolemaic period. The architectural members are of some size. This lintel measures 1.48 x 0.45m. In the scene, Amûn is shown striding in a short kilt and collar carrying the rj-staff and wearing the double-plumed crown. The inscription reads 'Iam-R nb gsbd, dJ.nn.k nb rj-stp nb Jtnfi. Behind him stands Mut with a papyrus-headed staff and rj, wearing the vulture headress with uraeus and the red and white crowns. The inscription reads M w tR nt p r Ptb. n b t p t, bntQ sbd. 4

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1 There is a small break here which would normally have contained a 'I'.
2 See for instance Badawi, 1948, p.16.
3 Petrie, 1909(1), pl.31.
Before Amun and Mut are Siamun in a short kilt and the blue crown with offerings and the official 'Nhñ-F-N-MwT with shaved head, in a long skirt and carrying a fan. 'Nhñ-F-N-MwT bears a number of titles, including $w$m n t/M a 'Imn-R$^r$a $psb$t and titles of service to Ptah.

The site of the building is known (RAK) and it is quite possible that it was here that the cults of Amon-Re $a$ $psb$t and Mut $hwn$n $psb$t had their locus.

5.6. the incidentally attested cults.

5.6.1. c$m$. It is possible that at the time of the P.Sallier verso attestation, Amun $n$ $dw$ had a small temple, in keeping with its unassuming name, which later became more prominent and acquired the more prepossessing name, 'Imn $n$ $T$-$kJ$t. It is also possible that the name as it appears in the model letter was a popular name for 'Imn $n$ $T$-$kJ$t. The temples of the P.Sallier IV verso list are not strictly ordered by area or type. Nevertheless, there is in reading the list an impressionistic sense of variously defined groupings. On the basis of such reckoning, it is possible that Amun $n$ $dw$ belongs in the southern sector of Memphis with Hathor $abt$n $rsj$t. The temple would thus have been in a sector relatively little exploited for building until a late date. This would fit with a connection with Amun $n$ $T$-$kJ$t and its ptolemaic attestation. It would also fit with the unadulterated agricultural nature of the area, as Amun $n$ $dw$ will have been a cult of fecundity. It is curious that a cult noteworthy enough to be mentioned among the noteworthy temples of the model letter list should not be elsewhere attested. If the temple was in the relatively little built-up south of Memphis, there will not have been many foundations to be mentioned, and this would account for the inclusion of Amun $n$ $dw$ in a list in which the intention was to describe the appearance and character of contemporary Memphis. The southern part of the ruin field has only been excavated at a few points. Further work may identify the site of the temple of Hathor $abt$n $rsj$t and votive material and other attestations for cults such as Amun $n$ $dw$.

5.6.2. P$-$w$-$w$. Amun of P$-$w$-$w is geographically associated with $Nh$t.

5.6.3. Pr$-$haw. Amon-Re $a$ $pr$-$haw$ appears to be firmly identified with the south of the memphite nome.

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1 See prosopographical appendix.

2 His name is interesting in the context. A serious study of such contexts, however, will have to be made before cases of this kind can be declared relevant or irrelevant.

3 See Jeffreys, 1985, p. 18.
5.6.4. *Tj-fsr*. As discussed in chapter 4\(^1\), this cult may be to be identified with *'amn n ḫrw* (see above).

5.6.5. *Dnts*. Amūn of *Dnts* appears to have been in western Memphis.

5.6.6. *Msde*. The site of Amūn of *Msde* is uncertain.

\(^1\) p.97.
EXCURSUS: The musician-priestesses

For most of the other priestly ranks, a title conveys to readers a general conception which, while incomplete, corresponds if only roughly, to a consensual view based upon available evidence. This is not the case for the musician-priestess. Merely to posit as a description the term musician-priestess is to expose the controversy. The body of evidence needs to be taken up afresh. That work is outside the scope of the present research. Nevertheless, a survey of the issues is appropriate here. In its absence, the data for the ṣmrt of Amun at Memphis cannot be set in context.

The difficulty is ostensibly with the conception that temple staff responsible for music may have had priestly status. Indeed, it should not be assumed that the sistrum and the song were the sum of the duties of a ṣmrj. Many priestly titles may be considered symbols of the significance of the office rather than comprehensive descriptions. Blackman makes a very convincing argument for the identification of musician-priestesses of all cults with the iconography, etc. of Hathor, which would explain the symbolism while at the same time defining the religious significance of the priestess, as well as the priest, deputy of the king (as Horus, and so forth) in cults of all gods and goddesses. Assuming, however, that song and music were characteristic work of the ṣmrj, the ḫmjt, etc., it is proper to ask how that work might have been different in kind from other priestly work.

If one were to erect a psycho-sexual framework for distinguishing gender spheres in the religious service, one would need to conclude that the two spheres represented what were perceived to be complementary regions of divine power, and that as divine power of both sexes, as distinct from the social rank of human beings, is by definition great and awful, its service by both representative sexes must be priestly. In fact, however, as discussed below, it would appear that priestly service was not definitively divided along gender lines.

Some would be willing to concede 'a certain sacerdotal quality' to the ṣmrjt, ḫmjt, etc., while nevertheless defining their role in contradistinction to the rest of the priestly hierarchy. This does not meet the evidence or the problems of interpretation impartially. Evidence (even evidence of phenomena of our own time) is always incomplete, if only in the sense that we must bring our own experience of similar forms - whether physical, social or linguistic - to bear in interpreting it. As with so many other subjects of social and linguistic enquiry, the analysis of the relationship between women and men in the Egyptian priesthood has very often been a reflection of the prejudices of and the perceived necessities in the scholar's own culture.

In sociological terms the question being set is whether the work women did was seen as of like kind to the work men did. Whether this question arises out of the Egyptian material is beside the point, as this has been the most important question for modern Egyptologists examining attestations of women in positions of responsibility of any kind in the Egyptian record. It is a question which cannot be answered in a way that takes full account of traditional and contemporary social and economic influences upon the Egyptian psychological consensus at any general or particular date. Our difficulty in comprehending our own conceptions, for which there is not a problem of evidence, should be sufficient proof of that. Yet the question is a legitimate one, as the division between the sexes historically has been sharply defined, if most variously so. What we can do is to test whether our assumptions about the terms of the definition in this context correspond to the trends observable in the evidence.

The first point of examination is the evidence for the priestly status of the ṣmrjt, ḫmjt, etc. The standard Egyptological statement is that in the old kingdom and middle kingdom there were ḫmjt-priestesses and ṣmrj-priestesses of goddesses and occasionally of gods. There were also ḫmjt-priestesses at various periods, although this is often taken to be a different and private matter, as not taking place in the sanctuaries of temples. In the new kingdom and later, it is generally

1 See Blackman, 1921, p. 24-5.
2 ibid., p. 26-7.
said, women had lost their place within cult practice to be reduced to the peripheral role of sistrum shakers and singers.

The evidence in contradiction to this analysis is clear. Women serving in the temple purified themselves in the same way as did men\(^\text{1}\). One should not expect to find otherwise: those who served in the temple clearly needed to be in a purified state, the definitive quality of the priest. Therefore these women serving in the temple, being purified, were of priestly quality. One can only judge otherwise if one insists upon equating the priestly quality of the purified with maleness. The Egyptian record does not support this equation. As discussed below, there are instances in the record, which are denied by no one, of women taking every part of the priestly service. These are quoted as anomalies, but anomalies in the religious context would, it must be recognised, be abhorrent to the god: the Egyptian record can leave us in no doubt on that point. Had women not been able to serve in every aspect of the cult, they could never in such a society have done so. Thus, we must differentiate between the socially atypical in the religious context and the question of priestly quality. Preliminary to a consideration of the rank and responsibility of women in the service of a cult, this point must be conceded. Men serving in the cult, however humble their status, however prosaic their duties, were priests because they were purified. The same was true of women.

The point is important for our understanding of Egyptian social structure and it is necessary that we recognise why it is so difficult for us to comprehend it. It is clear from a glance at Egyptian reliefs that women played a much more prominent and visible public role in Egypt than they have played, or have been seen to play, in many of the cultures closer to us. It is often mentioned, as a counterbalance to this, that women are often shown as tiny figures within a scene in which a man is shown at large size. This needs to be seen within the context of relative social rank in a complex class society and within the context of the aims and conventions of Egyptian artistic description.

Workers or any people inferior in status to the subjects of a scene, often nobility, are regularly shown as very small within the scale of the scene. In a typical scene, a nobleman and a noblewoman stand or sit together presenting offerings. The woman and the man are shown as of equal relative size. However, in a hunt scene, the same woman may be shown as very small. This is an analogue of the scenes of pharaoh as warrior, with all the other combatants tiny and anonymous. There are also leisurely hunt scenes where combat is not the foremost consideration. Here the woman appears at the same scale as the man. A few scenes of women hunting are now known, as well.

It is in fact important for us to realise why it is difficult for us to understand these aspects of the Egyptian record in terms which do not conflict with the evidence. The answer is to be found in our own socialisation. In eighteenth century France, for instance, the role of women workers in the revolution is obscured by images of 'woman' as a goddess of liberty, an image by which the historical record is distorted, as real women are abstracted from the real fight\(^\text{2}\). Public images of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in which women are shown as symbols of state ideals, while at the same time they were denied state office belong to the same tradition. Our view of the Egyptian record is distorted by our experience of these symbolic images.

The Egyptian record preserves images of women of all ranks at work, and an important aspect of daily life and work for all classes was work in and connected with the temple cults. These figures of women are not symbols of anything other than ordinary women. This is at once recognised and not recognised in Egyptological analyses.

Another difficulty is our experience of religion in particular. Among Muslims in modern Egypt, the focus of Egyptologists' comparative studies, women's worship takes place outside the public

\(^{1}\text{ibid,p.27.}\)

\(^{2}\text{The effect is very different from that of the figures of young soldiers on war memorials. The soldier represents all soldiers. We are meant to take the figure of the woman as the personification of an abstract concept.}\)
arena\(^1\); in the Catholic Church and other orthodox churches the hierarchy of the church is by canon law exclusively male\(^2\). Some of the Protestant churches and some of the denominations of the Jewish faith now accept women to lead services or to lead congregations. Among most of these groups this is still a controversial innovation, and it is interesting that these are groups in which church or group decisions are made on a local level rather than through the agency of an established hierarchy or bureaucracy. Thus, they are less influenced by tradition or by general social norms.

In the societies from which our own culture has taken its chief influences, including our own in its earlier incarnations, women regularly have been debarred from certain religious offices on the basis of a claim of biological superiority for men. Ruling groups have taught first that women were unclean, then weak-fleshed (as opposed to weak-sinewed), and finally weak-minded. To us this seems as base an attempt by one social group to retain power and position at the expense of another as do claims for a colour bar. But where the argument from biology has been discredited, the weight of tradition or precedent has been called upon in its place.

It is in consequence of such overwhelming acculturisation that modern scholars discount the picture of women afforded to us in the Egyptian reliefs, etc. For the Egyptians, everyone needed the same measure of purification to come before the gods. The Egyptian woman of any class clearly was at a disadvantage in many respects as compared to an Egyptian man, in consequence, as elsewhere, of the accidents of biology by which men were able to gain a group advantage: her smaller size and her periods of physical incapacity during childbirth, a liability which passes, which is why older women have had a better chance of rising to power. If she had not been, we should find roughly equal numbers of women and men attested for high state office, as there are roughly equal numbers of male and female babies born. The Egyptian woman, however, laboured under fewer inequalities at every social rank than have women in many other societies. These inequalities need to be seen in the economic context. In the labour intensive society of Egypt there was little need to drive women out of the public context. This is a subject which needs study.

Huge numbers of women served as \(\text{swr}w\) of Amon-Re at Thebes during the New Kingdom. They served in turn\(^3\), as did male population. Not every woman, however, served in this 'common' status, nor were the titles the same in every cult. Blackman notes that five titles are recorded for musician-priestesses at Denderah, although this is the hierarchy as it was specifically at a Ptolemaic date.

Blackman notes that the two great cult site lists at Edfu give the title of the leading priest of the leading cult of each nome, along with the title of the leading priestess\(^4\). It will be argued by some that this is parallelism and balance. Indeed it may be that some cults had either no male or no female officiants and therefore did not conform to the standard cosmology or to its reflection in the staff of the cult. In these cases, a priestly pair will have been quoted for the sake of symmetry. The norm, however, to which these cults were made for the sake of symmetry to conform must have been that of high priest and his inferiors, high priestess and her inferiors. That is the logical conclusion to be drawn from the evidence of such texts and the numberless attestations of musician priestesses.

\(^{1}\) i.e. it is withdrawn from public spaces visible both to women and to men at prayer or not at prayer. There is good reason for this, within the social context, in protecting the privacy of women in postures of submission to god and in protecting men from the distraction of this sight. The result however is that men have religious, and therefore social, jurisdiction over men and all women, while women have jurisdiction, secondary to the overriding jurisdiction of men, over women only.

\(^{2}\) Within orders of nuns, women are subject to women's authority, but at the head of each order is a woman subject to the authority of the men of the public hierarchy and with no jurisdiction in the world outside the order.

\(^{3}\) see Blackman, 1921, p. 29.

\(^{4}\) For proof that this was the leading place in the musician-priestess hierarchy: ibid, p. 10.
The main work of the priests was to 'adore' the god and this is what a musician priestess does. Adorer of the god is a title of the high priestess of a number of cults. Religious hymns are texts of adoration. As Blackman notes, when the priest had opened the doors of the shrine, preliminary to performing the god's toilet, he was directed by the temple service-book to make a four-fold "adoration of the god".

In the new kingdom reliefs, the queen shakes the sistrum and sings the hymn while the king (not necessarily at the same time) burns incense or pours a libation. The king and queen appear in these roles in temples everywhere. A priest and priestess would normally have taken their place in the daily ritual. Each would have been necessary in fulfilling the prescribed terms of the offering/service which were based upon cosmological formulae. To see the king's role alone as instrumental is to ignore the primary importance of the words spoken or sung.

There was, however, more than this to temple service, and Blackman details other less commonly shown portions of the daily service as known from reliefs. In each the queen-priestess plays her role along with the king-priest. Blackman points out that when we see the king and queen/priest and priestess standing together, their hands gesturing alongside the text of an offering formula, we can only conclude that the two, and perhaps all of those assembled as well, chanted or sung the words together.

Nor are the parts of the service normally conducted by women exclusive by gender. Blackman quotes a relief in a tomb chapel at Meir in which musician priests are shown following musician priestesses. In each the queen-priestess plays her role along with the king-priest. Blackman points out that when we see the king and queen/priest and priestess standing together, their hands gesturing alongside the text of an offering formula, we can only conclude that the two, and perhaps all of those assembled as well, chanted or sung the words together.

Before we can judge the precise status of the sajaw we need to know whether priestly duties were strictly divided by sex. We have seen that there were men who were sajaw, etc. and that there are attestations of women pouring libations, burning incense and raising and lowering the baton. It is clear that the gods were not seen to demand a division of priestly duties by sex.

The evidence of the record must lead us to conclude that women and men served, typically in separate but equally priestly roles, in every aspect of temple service. In addition, various cases do not conform to the statistically normal gender roles. There may be theoretical/cosmological reasons for these statistical exceptions or, again, the reasons may social ones as neither practice nor theory precluded them.

1 ibid. p. 10, 13, etc.
3 ibid. p. 20.
4 ibid. p. 20-1.
5 Only the king and queen/priest and priestess are shown, but this may be honorific, as in battle scenes in which the king, and in a few cases the queen, is shown as representing the whole Egyptian host.
6 Blackman, 1921, p. 21.
7 ibid. p. 21.
8 ibid. p. 21.
appendix (a): attestations of cults.
listings in chronological order within each cult group

\textit{Ptw-nfr}


\textbf{gods named}: 'Imn-Râ. 'Imn-Râ \textit{hrj-ib Ptw-nfr}.

\textbf{the scene}: crownless king before Amun, blue-crowned king before Horus.

\textbf{from the text}: \textit{wnn s'R' 'Imn-htp nfr (nfr) hkt \textit{'lwnw b3 hr nswt 'Imn-Râ}. 'Imn-Râ \textit{hrj-ib Ptw-nfr (Ptw-nfr)}.}

\textbf{statistics}: block, red granite, 18th dynasty, reign of Amenhotep II, Bubastis, the temple, west side, entrance. Naville, 1891, p1.35d.

\textbf{gods named}: 'Imn-Râ \textit{ghtj Ptw-nfr} nfr 'h, \textit{nb pt. 'Imn-Râ nsw ntw nb pt hrj-ib Ptw-nfr}.

\textbf{the scene}: Amenhotep II standing with small vessels before Amon-Rê seated, with \textit{wsw}. reused by Seti I.

\textbf{from the text}: \textit{'s-fprw-R' 'Imn-htp-hkt 'lwnw. Mn-mr-Râ Sr-mr-n-Ptb.}

\textbf{statistics}: statue, 18th dynasty, reign of Amenhotep II, text. Urk. 1365.

\textbf{gods named}: 'Imn \textit{a Ptw-nfr}.

\textbf{the scene}: the king is shown seated.

\textbf{from the text}: \textit{nfr 'h, nb \textit{twj 's-fprw-R' mrj 'Imn-Râ \textit{m Ptw-nfr dl 'nh. s'R' mrj 'Imn-htp-hkt Wjst mrj 'Imn-Râ nsw ntw dl 'nh.}

\textbf{statistics}: Turâh, a noble's tomb (Daressy's no. 2). Daressy, 1911, 258.


\textbf{from the scene}: cartouches of Amenhotep II, table of deities.


\textbf{from the text}: \textit{prt hm.f \textit{m Ptw-nfr hr wsd \textit{m hmr s Mn-nfr hr pt htk la.n.f hr hst Rnw} [Urk.1315.11]}

\textbf{Titulary of \textit{Srs-Ptn[131]}}
Titulary of P-D-SIT.

Titulary of P-D-SIT's father.

"'Imn-Rr nb aswty Lwy"
titulary of Tj.

titulary of Ḫnwtp-wstw.

Statistics: Wall, Medinet Habu, a room along the first hypostyle, (Daressy’s room 18).


Titularies of Pd-stt and his father, ///.

Titulary of Bk-n-rn.f

Statistics: Wall stele, Ptolemaic period, Turah, from a gallery in the hills, 1.73m. Daressy, 1911, p.266.


Statistics: stele, Ptolemaic period, reign of Ptolemy IV Philometor, Memphis, Kôm Qala’ah, 0.82 x 0.52m, limestone, CG 22189, Kamal, 1905, p.164.


‘lnbw-hd


Hnti hwt ntrw

Statistics: Papyrus Sallier IV verso, 1.5-6.16. 7.6x0.195m 19th dynasty, Ramesses II, year 56. British Museum 10184. Gardiner, 1937, p.89.

Gods named: ‘Imn-n hrw ntrw.


Gods named: ‘Imn-R’ m hrt ntrw.
statue group, '18th-19th dynasty by style', seen by Wild for sale in Cairo. Mook, 1979, p.231.

gods named: "one of the priesthood of Amun-\textit{\textsuperscript{1}}\textit{bwt nfrw}'- Wild)

statistics: wall section, 19th dynasty, Ramesses II by text, Karnak, litany of Mwt. Legrain, 1916, p.277,10A.


titulary of \textit{Mn-nfr}.

titulary of \textit{Hm-nfr}.

gods named:

statistics: stele, limestone, 1.35x0.54m, 25th dynasty, Taharqa by text, provenance unknown. Cairo JE 36861. the Taharqa stele. Meeks,1979. p.221.

gods named: \textit{'lm-n-fr bati bwt nfrw}. \textit{Mwt bati bwt nfrw}. \textit{Pth}.


gods named: \textit{'lm-n-fr bati bwt nfrw}.


notes: the stele with the attestation of the cult was seen by Yoyotte for sale in Cairo, 1971-2. see Yoyotte,1972 (2), p.219, n.1[H]. The same man is attested in the text of the stele, Naples 1068.

titulary of \textit{D-fr}.

titulary of \textit{Dfr-fr-w-nfr}.

titulary of \textit{Brj-nfr-nfr}.

titulary of \textit{Jk-fr-nfr}.

titulary of \textit{Jk-fr-nfr}.

\textit{Hnt-nfr}.


gods named: \textit{'lm-n-fr} \textit{bht nfr}. \textit{'lm-n-fr} \textit{brij-lb} \textit{Hnt-nfr}. \textit{Hwt-fr nbt htp bnt n ab libr}.

scene: Ramesses II makes offering to \textit{Hwt-fr}, \textit{\textit{Jm-n-fr}}.
statistics: block, limestone, 0.171x0.146m, 19th dynasty, soon after Merneptah by archaeological context. Memphis, Kôm Qala'ah, floor Merneptah palace or Ptah temple. Pennsylvania E 13631. fragment of a relief. PMii2 860. Schulman, 1967, p. 155.
gods named: 'Imn-R' nb flnt-nfr.
the scene: god's figure reused as votive. ramheaded Amon-Re, uraeus, sundisk.
titulary of Sn-nfr

from the text: pr 'Imn flnt-nfr m Mn-nfr.
The titulary of Pr-dl-stt and his father, ///
titulary of Pr-dl--Hnw.

Tjnwtjt

gods named: 'Imn a tj-wdntjt c. Synt.

gods named: 'Imn-R' ab (t)j-wdntjt. brj-lb Hwt-kf-Pth. 'Imn-R' ab (t)j-wdntjt. brj-lb Hwt-kf-Pth

from the text: smntj.k ast-c.k m 'Nh-twnjw w 'Imn-R' ab tj-wdntjt.

statistics: wall, the temple, Kharga oasis, ptolmaic. Brugsch, 1883, no.635,35.
from the text: smntj-a.k ast-c.k m 'Nh-twnjw w 'Imn-R' ab tj-wdntjt.

*ram determinative.**What is apparently a picture of the wdnjt/appears here. The text is the same as that of papyrus Berlin 3056.

Nfr

titulary of Tj

123
from the text: 'Imn-R n lp.t lko/n Ma-nfr.

gods named in the text: 'Imn. 'Imn n lpt. Ptah. Hwt-fR.

statistics: statue, grey schist, 0,64m, 26th dynasty by style, Memphis, Kôm Fakhry, Psammeticus I
temple. New York, Met 24.2.2., figure of man holding head of Hwt-fR: statue damaged: head missing.
gods named: 'Imn. 'Imn n lpt. Ptah. Hwt-fR.

statistics: stele, 19th–20th dynasty, Memphis, Kôm Qala'â, palace of Merneptah, ?Cairo, man before
Amôn, Ptah, Sakhmet, PMIII 2 860. Philadelphia Photo 34029.
gods named in the text: 'Imn-R'. Ptah. Sgm. 'Imn lpt.

statistics: stele, limestone, 0,25x0,21m, Memphis, Kôm Qala'âh, CG 3634, man before Amôn seated,
Ptah, Sakhmet Min. sun disk. barque. 'nh. wâ: oval top. sloping sides. straight base. Philadelphia
Photo C344.

titulary of 'Imn-m-lpt-m-hjt.

\textit{\textit{Hwt cnwtn lho Wsr-m-lpt-R'-stw-n-R' m pr 'Imn}}

titulary of 'Imn-\textit{wnsw}.


titulary of 'Isj.


titulary of P\textit{m-wlt}.


titulary of \textit{Fr-m-\textit{hr}}.


titulary of \textit{Frj}.


titulary of D\textit{hwtji-fr-\textit{frf}}.
titulary of *Nh-R-Mwt.

*Bhw

statistics: P. Sallier IV verso, 1.9. 7,6x0,195m, 19th dynasty, reign of Ramesses II, year 56. British Museum 10184. Gardiner, 1937, p. 89.
from the text: 'Imn n *Bhw.

Pt-w-Ge

from the text: pr 'Imn Pt-w-Ge

Pr-haw

titulary of *Jw-R-HN.

*Imn a tj-kdt

titulary of *Nh-HP.

Daik

titulary of *LH-MS.

Msde

statistics: sarcophagus, ptolemaic, Louvre D11, Brugsch, 1879, 1135.
from the text: 'Imn a daik a Ptj a p'ltj a Msde m*rw daik Mr.t.
appendix (b): prosopography

In the following list, descriptions are generally for the first item listed, which is generally of the most relevance to the inquiry.

'Ijw-R-HN 23rd dynasty, reign of Pedibast I. (attested year 6) by text  
monuments: stela, 0.305m, limestone  
provenance: Memphis, Kôm Qala'ah.  

 gods mentioned in the text: 'Imn-R' n bl Pr-hnw.  
description: man faces king with sceptre.  
notes: This is a donation stele of land granted by 'Ijw-R-HN to a god whose name is missing. Three fragments (Phil. no.'s: Memphis 1611, 2083, 2352) of the lower portion remain. The restoration is Yoyotte's, as quoted by Schulman.  

'Ij-M-htp ptolemaic period, 2nd century B.C. by style  
monuments: sarcophagus, 1.91x0.63m. limestone  
provenance: presumably Saqqârah (by internal evidence of the text)  
museum no.: Louvre D12.  

 gods mentioned in the text: 'Imn-R' n fr tbr nbl 'Imn - Am n fr Pr tr w. Pnh w Sghm.tn, r st h jtn tr, Am n st wr, h jtn tr, r st h jtn tr.  
description: oval face with beard. sundisk. bottom broken into two pieces.  
notes: Sghm.tn is fr tbr, Greek Letopolis.  
bibliography: Maspero. 1908-39, 1/89.

'Ij-M-A, ptolemaic period, 2nd century B.C.  
monuments: sarcophagus.  
provenance: Saqqârah.  
museum no.: Berlin 38.  
bibliography: Brugsch, 1879, p.1305.

'Iwj (see her husband Nj 'a Ma-nfr') 18th-19th dynasty by style,etc.  

Sdm J'Imn
husband: Niti, 'Iri p't, b. 'Ji, sâ tr bkt, sâ r el bi, sâ asw. 'Iri p pr wr n Ma-atr, 'Iri pr n Ma-atr, 'Iri pr n 'Iam
monuments: stela, sarcophagus, pyramidion fragments
provenance: Saqqarah
Louvre D2, D14.
gods mentioned in the text: 'Iam.
notes: The pr wr n Ma-atr is presumably Horemheb's.

'Ipi 18-19th dynasty by style and context
sâm (?)
wife: Ws, abt pr.
monuments: stela
provenance: Memphis, Kôm Fakhry, temple of Ptah, west hall, from cache found beneath Ramesses II sand foundation.
museum no.: N.Y.? formerly M.M.A. 08.205.2E
gods mentioned in the text: 'Iam.
description: man stands before a statue of Ptah. five ears. broken.
notes: This is a votive stela of the ear stela type. The asr-feather is used cryptically for the reed leaf in the writing of the name 'Ipi. The stela was found with a large number of tablets and fragments, including a number of other ear stelae.

'Ipw 18th dynasty, reign of Amenhotep III by style and erasure.
sât, sâ pr, abt pr, sâm l 'lam
husband: Ws, sâ sâpr p wjsrk. a sr w 'Iam, bâj-up nbi unb.
monuments: stela, two canopic jars, 0,92x0,64m
provenance: Saqqarah
museum no.: Munich AS 11, formerly in the Nugent collection.
gods mentioned in the text: 'Iam. Niti, Sâkt, Ptah-Skr-Wsir a pr 'Iam. 'Iam p pr.' 'Iam p pr.
description: 'Ipw and Ws stand before Osiris. 'Ipw holds a sistrum and Ws, flowers.
notes: This is a votive stela. There is an invocation to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris and Anubis. 'Iam is erased.
bibliography: PM iii2 718. Müller, 1972, p64, pl.34 (no.498).

'Ih-wSm-sw 19th dynasty, reign of Ramesses II by text
monuments: palette, wood.

provenance: Thebes, from a mass burial.
museum no: Berlin 6764.
description: This is a fine palette with a small scene of Ptah in his booth with ms'-staff, with Thoth with a ms'-staff behind and an offering table before him, receiving the worship of 'lmn-wmsw.

There are seven cartouche shaped depressions for ink and an inset cavity for brushes.

notes: There is an invocation for Rr-msw-mri-'lmn a Ptb, a second for 'mn a Ptb, (Ptna written without cartouche), and a third for Ptah. For the memphite connection, see under 'lmn-wmsw in 2.3.1.3.

bibliography: PMii² 612. Erman, 1892, p.44-5.

'lmn-'ipt-M-hyt 26th dynasty by style

mother: 'lh-ST-PP.

monuments: statue, 0.64m, green schist

provenance: Memphis, Kôm Fakhry, Psammeticus I temple

museum no's: New York, Met 24.2.2.
description: figure of man kneeling and holding head of Hathor as a capital, a cult symbol of Hathor. The man's head is missing.


'lmn-M-hyt 18th-19th dynasty

monuments: block

provenance: Memphis, Kôm Qala'ah, Merneptah palace

museum collection: Cairo?
gods named in the text: 'lmn.

bibliography: PMii² 861 Philadelphia Photo 38723 quoted by permission of the University of Pennsylvania Museum.

'lmn-m-s. a.k.a. R-m-ws 19th dynasty, reign of Seti I or later by text

monuments: palette, 0.408x0.64m, grey schist
provenance: Saqqārah
museum no: British Museum 12778.
notes: This is a model palette from a tomb. The first offering text is for Osiris. Here the first form of the title appears. The second offering text is for Thoth and has the second form of the title.
bibliography: PMii2 675, 773. Glanville,1932, p58, pl.8 [1].

'lbr 19th dynasty, reign of Ramesses II or later by text

wife: -///, snt.f.
monuments: stela

provenance: Saqqārah, between the monastery of Apa Jeremias and the Sekhemkhet complex, north of grave 27.
gods named in the text: 'Imn
description: reused at the monastery of Apa Jeremias.
notes: This stela will have been offered at a tomb. prw 'Imn is written with the city-sign.

'Nh-FF-HRj 26th-27th dynasty

hm ntr 'Imn
wife: Ts-NSW-PRT.
son: P'-N-T-NSW, 'sîh-p's, h.sij-", sÃwet bihj, rj nsw msr, mrj.f, wr DJswr.
monuments: statuette, 0.21x0.14m, schist

provenance: Saqqārah, Hetepka, sector I, south west corner from a cache.
museum no.: Cairo JE 91113.
gods mentioned: 'Imn.
description: figure of P'-N-T-NSW kneeling with image of Osiris. back pillar, sides of base inscribed.
notes: DJswr there is the necropolis area.
bibliography: PMii2 822 Martin, 1979, §202, pl.51.

'Nh-F-N-MWT 21st dynasty, reign of Siamun by text

lyr-p's, h.sij-", ltr mrj ntr hrj-sís/n Ptb, ssm nb hbt Str. nb lw t m st dsr, bbn hr n lsn, nb aw lw m ngr r DJswr, ltr mrj ntr hrj-sís/n fwt-kPtb; hrj-sís/n p.t, tJ, dWA. m DJswrJ; nb lw t m st dsr, hrj wírt$m nb hbt Str. ltr mrj ntr hrj-sís/n nb hbt nb t m ntrt Ptb, bsh lw t mp Ptb. bshlw t mp Ptb. bsh lw t mp Ptb. bbn mrj f 'Imn-R' bshd, dwa nsw, nb tÎgsr f'j

130
father: ḫy-m-Wṣrt.

monuments: lintels, e.g., 1.48x0.45m, limestone; doorpost, etc.

provenance: Memphis, Kôm Tûmân, Apries' palace; Kôm Rabî'ah: buildings of Siamun.


gods mentioned in the text: 'Imn-R' ab ḫṣbd. 'Imn-R' a ḫṣbd. Ṣmtp fr ḫt dmpr ḫtp, ḫb ḫt, ḫmwt ḫṣbd. Ṣmtp fr 'rsj ḫb. 'Nh-f-N-MwT ḫb nfr. ḫt ḫt Wr(s). ḫb ḫt wr(). 'Nh-f-N-MwT. Ṣmtp. ḫt.

description: king, followed by 'Nh-f-N-MwT with fan, before Ptah, Hathor and Sakhmet; below: at right: king, followed by 'Nh-f-N-MwT with fan, presents offerings to Amon-Rê and Mut; at left: king followed by 'Nh-p-R-pR-p-Rj-PTh, ḫw ṣjp ḫmwr, etc. Very fine sunk relief in memphite style.

notes: 'Nh-f-N-MwT was responsible for erecting the Kôm Rabî'ah buildings

bibliography: PMiii² 853 Petrie 1909, pl.31 [top and middle right]; Petrie, 1909(2), p.23 [middle and right of mid lower], pl.24 [upper middle, lower left middle, right lower middle, middle bottom, left bottom], Anthes, 1965, p.92, pl.32 [b], 33[a]; fig. 11 [24-5].

'Nh-f-N-ptoletmaic period by style

father: ///, ḫmj-r ḫsw.

mother: Tj-Imn, ḫb ḫt, ṣj ḫsw. ḫsw ḫt, ḫm ḫt ḫb n ḫṣbd ṣjp, ḫm ḫt ḫb ḫt ḫb ḫt (ạ) ḫw-yanw, ḫb ḫt ḫsw 'Imn n ḫj-kfšt.

husband: ḫmj-t nsw.
The deceased is said to be a "l-n-R".


Wrt-nrîl 19th dynasty by style

abt pr, m.1, sššjit n "l-n-R"

husband: Sb, qn nb & wb ab(ww), šm-im-r Šbr (n) Ptb /// t pr Mwt, šm-imš n "lnw/št-šk", bšj n atf atf ab šrst m "Ngb-škj".

husband's mother: [Hnb-tw], abt pr, sššjit.

Monuments: double statue, 1.08m limestone; stela

Provenance: Mit Rahina, Saqqârah


Gods mentioned in the text: "l-n-R": Ptb. Hnwt-fšr abt abt rsjt, Hnwt-fšr ab[t] /// br[t]-ats, ššn when "šbr n Ptb. šlnw fp/šk".

Description: stela: register 1: the deceased before Osiris and the sons of Horus; register 2: before Apis; register 3: before Hathor as a cow. Statue: panel of inscription on front of skirt of each figure, relief scene on back panel. Another man and woman are shown and named as co-dedicators.


Wh-ib-R-nr-Ptn 27th dynasty Darius, (attested year 4) by text (see his son Hr-š-F-nr)

It atf "l-n-R" hptj hwt atšw, hnn atf Ppl

Son: Hr-š-F-nr, It atf "l-n-R" hptj hwt atšw, hnn atf Ppl, ss /// a pr Ptb, šmrw (n) Hn.

Monuments: stela, 0.165m, limestone

Provenance: Saqqârah, serapeum

Museum nos.: Louvre IM 4040.

Notes: an apis stela


Bibliography: PMii² 798 Chassinat, 1903, p.51, clx.

Bk-n-rn-f 26th dynasty, reign of Psammetichus I by text

Irj-p-m, b-api, šbr šnw wq at-tḥḥl, qw mr ḫw, šmr at ḫt a sḫ wq, šmr ar "l-n-R" nb aswt šnle n hwt šbšt, šmr šmr ḫp-wqšt w ḫt Nlḥ, šmr at ḫt Nḥwš, šmr ar ḫm-ib-R-nr mr šnw; šmr atf, hri-ḥḥl hri-w, šmbs hšš, šmr ḫtb, šmr atf, šmr ḫw Nšš: irj-nwšt, štš, šm, šbr šnwšt nb Ptb, šmr atf, šmr hri-ššš R-ššš, irj-r ḫwš atf, Irj-nwšt, b-api "l-n-R" Wššt-mštšt, šm, mrj atf šb Stt, wr šbr ḫmrw w ḫw šš, šmr ar "l-n-R" šnwšš-mštšt, šmr atf Bššt nbt Bššt b-api śmr śšš-ěb-ššt-šk Ptb; wšš/ššr Nḥwšš.
father: P-di-Nt, hrj-rr, lmr-r hmr ntr.
mother: T-Ge.

monuments: tomb walls, sarcophagus, etc.

provenance: Saqqârah, grave 24, room A, B, eastern cliff of the plateau behind the valley, from the series of the time.

gods named in the text: 'Imn n 'lnw-mbti. 'Imn Wst-mbti. 'Imn-R' ab nsw lmr n hwt bllj. Ptb. StrJ

notes: almost the only tomb of the series to survive.
bibliography: PMiii2 588 Lepsius,1897, Text I, pl.260ff, pl.3.

Bk-n-Hnsw late period by style

hrj-p't, hrj-rr, smw mbtj, smw mbtj, lmr-r hmr ntr 'Imn, sm

father: ///, hmr ntr 'Imn.

monuments: statue, 0.155x0.13m, schist

provenance: Saqqârah, S.A.N. south west corner of sector I, from a cache.
museum no: British Museum 67155.
gods named in the text: 'Imn. 'Imn-R' ab Tj-raw.

description: small figure of a man kneeling with a figure of Osiris. upper part of torso and head missing.
bibliography: PMiii2 822 Martin,1979, 8205, pl.52.

BkRt (see her daughters, Hnwt-RfJ, Hnwt-rrJ) 19th dynasty

SmJt a 'Imn

husband: Nb-nhk, bjt pgt.

daughters: Hnwt-RfJ, SmJt a 'Imn. Hnwt-rrJ, SmJt a 'Imn.

son: Pth-m-Hb.

monuments: double statue, 0.54m, limestone

museum no.: CG 597.
gods named in the text: 'Imn. Wslr, Wan-nfrw. Wslr ab gdw, ntr nfrw, ab pt tt
description: woman at left with arm around man's shoulders. man at right with hand on knee. name of BkRt written cursively.

notes: Nb-nhk's invocation is for Osiris Wan-nfrw, BkRt and the children's for Osiris ab gdw, etc.

P-nb-p-Hhw late 18th-early 19th dynasty by style

nlwn p(sw$l)'Imn, w'h. nlwn ab tJw, wr wJml m b llp
wife: Ti-nfr-t, sat.f. abt pr.
monuments: stela, 0.63x0.40m, limestone
provenance: Abûsir, from a tomb.
museum no.: Florence 2588.
gods named in the text: 'Imn. Wsr nfr Dwj, nfr 4's. bkt/stj. st ntw nfr.
description: Amun - barque shown, fragment.
bibliography: PMii1 349 Bosticco, 1965, p.51-2, pl.43.

Pt-R'-N-PR 19th dynasty
imj-f nfr wr 'Imn
monuments: canopic jars, 0.34x0.132m, alabaster
provenance: Saqqârah
gods named in the text: 'Imn. frp.
description: back: figure of Osiris standing, feathered crown, whip and staff.

Pt-R'-HR-WNM.F (see his wife, Nhût) 20th dynasty
sk wr n prj-wr 'Imn. hsj 'a nfr 'Imn, ntw (bdj), hnt nfr 'Imn, trj nfr 'Imn, hnt nfr 'Imn
wife: Nhût. sat.f. abt pr, 'smjt a 'Imn.
father: Mr-n-Prh.
monuments: stela
provenance: Saqqârah
museum no:s: Cairo JE 3299.
gods named in the text: 'Imn. Pth hpt-hf hstj, 'Imn hpt Pth.
bibliography: PMii2 737. Mariette,1889, pl.61; Piehl,1886, vol.1, pl.42-4.

Pt-DR-STT (see father ///, mother ///) 21st-22nd dynasty by style
it ntr. hmr ntr. hpr-sfr pr Pth. hmr ntr 'Imn fnt-nfr. hmr ntr Pth. /// hmr ntr Smt wkt.fjt. hmr ntr Mtj
bn t 'am ntrj, hmr ntr 'Imn Prwj-nfr(?). hmr ntr fr.t, imj st/// hmr ntrj 'Imn-R' nb nswt twj hntj d' swt, nt smj 'sfr'.
father: ///, hmr hmr ntr a 'Imn-R' nb nswt twj. hntj h' swte, it ntr hmr ntr hpr sfr/pr Pth hpr b.s.f.
mother: ///, 'smjt hn 'Imn?/monuments: stela, 0.355x0.275m., limestone.
provenance: Saqqârah, serapeum.
museum no.: JE 47398.

description: man before Amon-Rê and Apis who is shown with a human body and bull's head; man before Ptah and Sokar-Osiris who is shown with falcon head.

bibliography: PMii2 806 Malinine. 1968, vol. 1, p.50-1, pl.17 [54].

Pt-Tw-m-nsw 27th dynasty, reign of Darius, (attested year 34) by text?

Pt-Tw-m-nsw 27th dynasty, reign of Darius, (attested year 34) by text?

father: Smw-Tw-Tf-Nht.
mother: Tr-kfw, nbt pr.

monuments: stela

provenance: Memphis serapeum, probably Darius temple

museum nos.: Louvre IM 4107.
gods named in the text: 'I'ma R'- nb Hot-nfr. Hpw.
description: Apis stela. epithets of a temple of Ramesses II.

notes: stela dedicated by Tr-kfw and others.


Pt-m-wb 19th dynasty by text

Pt-m-wb 19th dynasty by text

also named: Pt-m-wb:

also named: Pt-m-wb:

monuments: block

provenance: Saqqârah

temple establishments named: pr 'I'ma m 'Inbw-bdt. pr Ptb.


Pt-m-s 19th dynasty by style

Pt-m-s 19th dynasty by style

monuments: statue, 0,45m, limestone; blocks, jamb

provenance: Saqqârah, south of the Wenis pyramid, between the monastery of Apa Jeremias and the pyramid of Sekhemkhet

museum nos.: CG 642.
gods named in the text: 'I'ma Ptb. Shmt.
description: the figure is seated with hand on knee. Scene of opening of the mouth ceremony for Pt-h-ms; scene with Ptah and Sakhmet; scene with priests dragging sledge with chest with images of the four sons of Horus; offering text of Pr-sr, s-d-nsw, la-mjt-hnr, etc.

notes: fragment reused. blocks and jamb seen 1856.

bibliography: PMii² 667, 763. Borchardt, 1925, vol.2, p.188.

Pt-h-tp 26th dynasty by context

father: P-t-d-stt.
mother: S-st-hp, n-b tp r.
monuments: stela, 0,20m
provenance: Sâqqarah, serapeum
museum no.'s: Louvre IM 4062, no. 344.
gods named in the text: !imn.-frb sq-nb hntj Jnt. WsIr-nBw hntj Imn.t.
description: Apis is shown as a bull-headed human figure with ws-sceptre and two human figures in attendance.

notes: This is an unassigned Apis stela dedicated by S-st-hp.

bibliography: PMii² 811. Chassinat, 1900, p.178-9, cxxiv.

Mj 18th dynasty by style and by names

wife: Rwlt, sn.l, nrt.l, nbt pr.
sons: Wq-ms, bRp sq'n; Mj: s-a Ma-arfr; Mx-n-Pth; B-n-Wst; Dwtj-nb-
sp: 'lnt-Mwt; Mrj-Pth; Nxt-nb; Nfrw-Pth; Hnlt.; Hnwt, nbt pr; B-n-Nsw; Tj at Ma-arfr
monuments: stela, 1,06x0,70m, limestone
provenance: Sâqqarah
museum no.: CG 34050.
description: door stela with lintel top, paint. at top: ws-t eyes either side of Anubis on his platform.

bibliography: PMii² 737 Lacau, 1909-26, p.86-90, pl.30.

Mj 18th dynasty, reign of Akhenaten by context

monuments: stela, 0,43x0,29m, limestone
provenance: Sâqqarah, serapeum, Amenhotep IV chamber, isolated tomb.
museum no.'s: Louvre IM 5305-7.
description: register 1: Osiris seated, with Horus before, Isis and Nephthys behind. King behind Horus with flowers. register 2: man before Apis, figures in sunk relief, hieroglyphs inscribed, red and black ink partly effaced.

notes: The invocation is for Osiris.

monuments: statue
provenance: Mtt Rahlnah
gods named: 'Imn. Ptah. abt abt.
description: seated figure of Mwt-M-wj. The inscription is badly cut.
notes: The invocation is for Ptah.
bibliography: PMiii2 844. Anthes, 1965, p.98, pl.35; fig.14, n.37, a,b.

MN-MS (see his mother Hdl, his father Nfr-bd, his brother TWj) 19th dynasty

imj-r Imn a 'Imn

mother: Hdl, sat.f. mrt.f. Jpsj Hwt-Br. Snj It a 'Imn
father: Nfr-bd: imj-r Itx a 'Imn

wife: Mm, abt pr.
brother: TWj, wrb a 'Imn
daughter: Srti, abt pr.
monuments: panel, wood
provenance: Saqqarah

museum no's, etc.: unidentified or lost in E.Berlin. CG 34099, CG 34101.
notes: the invocation is for Osiris.

MN-NN 19th dynasty

Imn a pr 'Imn

monuments: stela. 0,235x0,175m, limestone
provenance: Saqqarah, Abbsir, Sahure, funerary temple
gods named in the text: 'Imn. Ptbs. Syn.'
description: at left, Ptah in his booth; at right Sakhmet.
notes: This is a small votive stela dedicated by MN-NN.
bibliography: (not in PM) Borchardt, 1910, p.126.

Mwt 18th-19th dynasty by style

psj 'Imn (MWj). Snj It a 'Imn

husband: 'Imn-Wsr.
monuments: statue. 0,95x0,73m, limestone
provenance: Saqqarah, north of Teti pyramid, west of the mastaba of Ndj-Msw-Br.
location: on the gebel.
gods named in the text: 'Imn.
description: weathered, top broken, eight vertical columns on back nearly effaced.
Ms - Dynasty late 18th dynasty by associated texts

sn.t.f, ms.t, swfit n ‘lma n Pw-nfr, nbt pr, lnfrwt pr lnmt
husband: Hwj, ss asw, ss nfr n ab twj, ss, bjs n nfr nfr.

monuments: block, 0.9x0.47m, limestone

provenance: Saqqarah, near Teti, northwest of the Apuia chapel court, grave S2735.

notes: Pw-nfr written Pr(+legs)-nfr.


Nb (or ‘lwyb) ‘n Ma-nfr’ (see his wife ‘lwj above) 18th-19th dynasty, reign of Horemheb

ir-p’t, šitw, štir n twj, ss asw, lmr pr, lmr pr wr n Ma-nfr, lmr pr n Ma-nfr, lmr n lwj n lmr
wife: ‘lwj, swfit n ‘lma

monuments: stela, sarcophagus, pyramidion fragments

provenance: Saqqarah

gods named in the text: ‘lma.

bibliography: PM iii2 707. Mariette, 1889, pl.57.

Nsw 19th dynasty by style

ss n pr ‘lma n Wšt-rj

monuments: stela, 0.097m., limestone

provenance: Memphis

museum no.’s: Pennsylvania E 13600.
gods named in the text: ‘lma n Wšt-rj.

description: woman extending sistrum to man. upper half of stela only.

bibliography: PM iii2 860 Philadelphia Photo 358.4 quoted by permission of University of Philadelphia Museum.

Nsw-Wšt 19th dynasty, reign of Merneptah by archaeological context

swfit n ‘lma, nbt pr
husband: Pn-Wšt, wr db.
son: R-ws.

monuments: stela, 0.364x0.242m, limestone

provenance: Memphis, Kom Qala’ah, Merneptah palace, near the south gate

139
museum no.'s: Pennsylvania E 13610.
gods named: 'Im. WsIr, 3nJ nmtt. ngr 'st. nb Ddw.
description: man before Osiris with fruit. below: woman, children kneeling. The back is roughly finished.
notes: The stela was found with other votive stelae, statue parts, etc. The cache cannot have been long buried before the fire which destroyed the palace complex shortly after the reign of Merneptah.

Nfr-Snwj
llmJ-fJ pr or Prw-nfr
wife: Nbr-nft. sat.f, snt pr.
monuments: statuette, 0.25m (its little stela: 0.09m), limestone.
provenance: Thebes, Drah abu Neggah, from a tomb south of the wadi.
gods named in the text: R*-fr-prf.
notes: the figure holds the little stela which carries the inscription. badly damaged.

Nfrjt 19th dynasty, Set I by style of hand and associated texts
pswr.b n 'Imn
attested from: a papyrus text
museum no.s: Brussels PBN 211 recto.
temple establishments named: psjpw n 'Imn-R.


Nfrnt 19th dynasty
snt pr, smjt 'Imn
husband: Wr-3-r, sümwh n nb ljw.
Wr-3-r’s father: 'Imn-Nft, ss
Wr-3-r’s mother: Wb.
sons: Pt-nfr-nfrt, s3 nfr (sfr), ss n nb ljw.
monuments: stela
provenance: Saqqarah
museum no.: Cairo.
gods named in the text: 'Im. WsIr (ab) bb. b3f n 'nhw.
bibliography: (not in PM) Rouge, 1877, p.134.

Nfr-Rnpt 18-19th dynasty by style
monuments: statue, 0.35x0.18m, red sandstone
provenance: Memphis, Kom Qala'ah
museum no.'s: Pennsylvania E 13645.
description: figure of squatting man. inscription front and back, head, shoulders and feet missing.
notes: offering text for Ptah-Sokar in 'Hwt-k3-P'th.
bibliography: PMii2 858. quoted by permission of the University of Pennsylvania Museum.

NFR-RNPT 19th dynasty, reign of Ramesses II
irj-p't, b3j-k, b3j-t jrwi, ḫmr j-nr bmr j-nr, wt ḫswt, sm, šmrw lhp n 'lmn
wife: Mwt-pjpw.
father: NFR-RNPT.
mother: K3-fr-īnī.
monuments: block statue, 0.11m, greenish diorite; pyramidion; block statue, granite with naos of Ptah; kneeling statue with naos of Osiris. ostraca, (including Černý, 1935-36, nos. 45, recto 15); papyri, graffito, Spiegelberg. Graffiti, p.64, no.790. Pap. Turin. PBN 237.
provenance: Saqqārah
gods named in the text: 'Imn.
description: seated figure wearing amulet. There is a scene of Ptah in his booth before an offering table and a votary, NFR-Htp.

NFR-HD (see his wife Hrij, his sons, Mn-m's and Twrj?) 19th dynasty
imjr šr n 'lmn
wife: Hrij, sn rt, pr ḫsw Hwt-Hrp, šmr j n 'lmn
daughters: Mwt-nfr, Sjt-'Imn.
sons: Twrj, w'bh n 'lmn. Mn-m's, mfr.
monuments: stela
provenance: Saqqārah
museum no.'s: CG 34099, JE 18511, JE 18502.
gods named in the text: 'Imn.
bibliography: PMii2 734 de Rouge, 1877, pl.34.

[Nfr]-Htp 19th dynasty?
sf-lk/fit n 'lmn
monuments: stela, 0.50m
provenance: Memphis
museum no.: Berlin 12748.
gods mentioned in the text: 'Inn. R' 'Inn.'
notes: stela of M-NFR, nb pr AND 'IPt with a hymn for R, dedicated by [N][F][R]-HTP.

NhT 19th dynasty
s/tj nsw n 'Ian, w' b n bt 'Ian, ws a wdbw
father: [Ny], w'd n [nasw-]fr sj-law.
monuments: stela
provenance: Giza, great sphinx area
museum no.'s: CG 2021.
gods named in the text: 'Ian spm atrw. R'.
notes: This is a stela from a niche with a hymn to R.
bibliography: PMiii¹ 46. Lepsius, 1897, text to pl.65-6 |r|.

NhT (see her husband, P-R-HR-WNB.F) probably 20th dynasty
smtI. nb pr, smjt n 'Ian
husband: P-R-HR-WNB.F, ssw n pr sw n 'Ian, bsj 'f a abw 'lnbw(-bd)e, at' Hwt-k1-Pth, mrj abw
Hwt-k1-Pth
husband's father: Mr-N-PTh.
monuments: stela
provenance: Saqqarah
museum notes: JE 3299.
gods named in the text: 'Ian. PtP brj-lb Sjt. 'Ian mrj PtP.
bibliography: PMiii² 737. Mariette, 1889, pl.61; Piehl, 1886, vol.1, pl.42-4.

Nhj 18th dynasty by style and context
smjt n 'Ian, nb [pr]
monuments: stela
provenance: Memphis, Kôm Fakhry, Ptah temple, under the West hall
gods named in the text: 'Ian. PtP nb mr'T
notes: This is a damaged votive stela dedicated to PtP nb mr'T. It comes from a cache of votive stelae. Among the dedicators of these stelae are another smjt n 'Ian, Kj and several soldiers who give the names of their regiments.
bibliography: Petrie, 1909, p.8, (fifth paragraph, beneath discussion of pl.17); pl.15.
Hnwt-Imn 18th dynasty by text: Imn erased

monuments: stela, 0,81x0,47m

provenance: Saqqârah

museum no.: Florence 2593.


description: man before Ré-Harakhtj; tree with human arms pours out water to kneeling man.

notes: invocation for Ré-Harakhtj.

bibliography: (not in PM) Bosticco, 1965, p.43, pl.36.

HNWT-'IWNW (see her son's wife, Wrt) 18th dynasty, reigns of Tutankhamen to Horemheb

smjtn a lmn

sons: Mr, s$k nsw nsw, mrj.l, s$l hw bd wpmj nsw. lmn-r pr-hd a nb lwj. Nw-Hw-Hr, s$k nsw, lmn-r pr-hd.

son's wife: Wrt, smjtn a lmn. bsjt n Hwjt-Hr. nb pr.

monuments: tomb walls

provenance: Saqqârah, south of the Wenis causeway, grave of Mr, entry room.

gods mentioned in the text: Imn. 'Imn-Rcr. Hwjt-ftr.

description: in the scene quoted, a man, Rcr-Nfr before HNWT-'IWNW's son, Mrjt. below, two women; HNWT-'IWNW's son, Nw-Hw-Hr.


HNWT-WZBW 19th dynasty by style

smj.t, mrj.t, nb pr, smjtn a lmn nb nsw lwj

husband: 'Inn-whsw, s$k wdpw nb lwj.

monuments: statue

provenance: Saqqârah

museum no.: Marseilles, no. 211.


description: figures of HNWT-WZBW and 'Inn-whsw kneeling, with naos pedestal with seated image of Teti-merenptah of the 6th dynasty. relief scenes of the two before Teti in his pyramid. upper part of naos, image of Teti and heads of figures missing.

notes: invocation for Osiris. offerings to be made en pr Pth. en 'Iwnw and Imn nb lwj, which last is a recognisable reference to the location of the Teti cult at Saqqârah.


HNWT-MRj (See her mother, Bkrt and her sister, HNWT-RFj) 19th dynasty
Šmrjt n 'īmn
mother: BKRT, Šmrjt n 'īmn
father: Nb-NF>H, brj pg>T.
sister: HNWT-MRJ, Šmrjt n 'īmn.
brother: PTH-M-HB.
monuments: double statue, 0.54m, limestone
museum no.: CG 597.
gods named in the text: 'īmn. Wsir, Wnn-nfrw. Wsir nb gdw, atf afr, nb pt tx
notes: Nb-NF>H’s invocation is for Osiris Wnn-nfrw; BKRT and the children’s is for Osiris nb gdw, etc.
description: woman at left with arm around man’s shoulders, man at right with hand on knee.

HNWT-MRJ (See her mother, BKRT and her sister, HNWT-MRJ) 19th dynasty
Šmrjt n 'īmn
mother: BKRT, Šmrjt n 'īmn
father: Nb-NF>H, brj pg>T.
sister: HNWT-MRJ, Šmrjt n 'īmn.
brother: PTH-M-HB.
monuments: double statue, 0.54m, limestone
museum no.: CG 597.
gods named in the text: 'īmn. Wsir, Wnn-nfrw. Wsir nb gdw, atf afr, nb pt tx
description: woman at left with arm around man’s shoulders, man at right with hand on knee
notes: Nb-NF>H’s invocation is for Osiris Wnn-nfrw; BKRT and the children's is for Osiris nb gdw, etc.

HbJj (see her husband, NR-HB and sons Mn-WS above and TWRJ) 19th dynasty
sr>n.f, nbt pr. ḫst HWT-.hr, Šmrjt n 'īmn
husband: NR-HB, hiJ-r ḫst n 'īmn
daughters: MVTr-NFR, SW-'īmn.
sons: TWRJ, wtb n 'īmn. Mn-WS, mr>n.f.
monuments: panel, wood
description: Saqqarah
museum no.s, etc.: CG 34099, CG 34101. unidentified or lost in E.Berlin.
notes: invocation for Osiris.
Hrj 19th-20th dynasty, Siptah-Ramesses III

Irj-p' r. btrj-r. It ntr mj pr, smw hb n 'Imn, tj. Imj-r nhw, tj.

Pr-NTr-HM: Irj-p'r, btrj-r. It ntr mj pr, nb lwt m st wtr, sm wr, bpr hmwm n Pth

father: Hrj, Imj-r nhw, tj.

dead: of unkn.rel: Sr'-k. xwrj't a nb abt rsj.

er son: Ksw, btm ntr a B't.

monuments: double statue, 0,95x0,64m, limestone, statue fragment, statue base, statue, stele, ostraca, inscription at Gebel Ahmar; graffiti at Thebes, Aswan.

provenance: Kom Arba'in, Kom Qafa'ah. A72: perhaps Memphis, tombs of the high priests of Ptah, temple of Hathor at Deir el-Medineh.


description: traces of colour and rendering in various places. The high priest of Ptah carries a series of small chains with amulets. For this emblem: Erman, 1895, p.22-3.

notes: dyad of Hrj and Pr-NTr-HM.


Hrj-t-lst. 26th-27th dynasty

sjs'lnsw tpi/t 'Imn

father: Hrj-W-HD.

monuments: statue, 0,59x0,12m, schist

provenance: Saqqara, sector I, NW corner, debris

provenance: Toronto ROM 969.137.1.


description: figure with shrine of Ptah. inscription on back pillar and sides of base.

notes: rededicated for Osiris and Apis with demotic inscription. Statue originally of Br-N-W-FW, a.k.a. Mnb-tb-PSMTK


Hrj-W-HD (see his wife Tj below) 19th dynasty, Ramesses II by text

sjs'lnsw, Imj-r pr lbwt Wsr-mf't-R'stja-R'm pr 'Imn, tf-hw br wnmj nsjw

wife: Tj, xwrj't n 'Imn nb nsjw tijw. nbpr. mfr bwr m wbt mfr jb

museum no.'s: JE 43276-7.
gods mentioned in the text: 'I'm, 'I'm ab nswt 'Imj.
bibliography: PMiii² 667-8. Martin, 1977; 1979(1). Quibell, 1912, p.143, pl.67[2], 68[1], 72[1], 73[2,7], 74[9], 80[1].

Hr-If- nb (see his father Wh-lb-Re-MRj-Pth) 27th dynasty, Darius, (attested year 4) by text
BM ntr it ntr 'I'm-R' hntj hntj ntrw, BM ntr Pth, ss /// a pr Pth
father Wh-lb-Re-MRj-Pth, it ntr 'I'm-R' hntj hntj ntrw, BM ntr Pth.
monuments: stele, 0.165m, limestone
provenance: Saqqarah, serapeum
museum no.s: Louvre IM 4040.
notes: an apis stela

gods mentioned in the text: 'I'm-R' hntj hntj ntrw. Pth. Apw.
bibliography: PMiii² 798. Chassinat, 1903, p.51, clx.

Ib 19th dynasty, after Ramesses II by text
ss nsw mr Mrj-f, hsj 'n ntr nfr, lamj-r pr bp n tshwt at (nswwr/ hpr a nsw hlj Wsr-mr't-R'r-stp-a-R'm pr 'Imn
monuments: statue, 1.10m, limestone
provenance: Saqqarah
museum no.s: CG 604, 606.
gods named in the text: 'I'm, Ptj roj ln.f, nb 'Ngt-lnj. Sjrsj hprj-lb sjrsj. Mr-wr. Nr-t.n ab km. st wrt, mrt ntr, ngt pt, wrt hmrw. Nt wrt nfr 'lamn. Ih pr Mr. Wsr hntj lmnwj. 'lnwr hprj dw.f nb u/ gsrj, hntj hntj ntr. Bk 'lt-smj.
notes: The invocations are for Osiris, Sokar and Anubis.

Hmn-nb late period by style
BM ntr 'I'm-R' hntj hntj ntrw
wife: Sr-Hej.
daughter: Tjy-'ImnW-nb.
monuments: statuette, 0.275m, wood
provenance: Saqqarah.
museum no.'s: JE 39158.
gods mentioned in the text: 'I'm-R' hntj hntj ntrw.
notes: statuette of Tjy-'ImnW-nb. The work is rough. An older text is illegible. The statuette was found carefully wrapped in loose sand.
bibliography: PMiii² 562 Quibell, 1908, p.78, pl.32, [4,5].
ShMT-NFRT saite period

wife: Bkt-N-ST
daughter: ShMT-NFRT.
monuments: canopic jars, 0.285x0.093m, alabaster
provenance: Saqqârah, serapeum
museum no.'s: CG 4173-4.
gods named in the text: 'Imn.
description: there are hawk's head lids.
notes: These are canopic jars of ShMT-NFRT.

Sh-NFR 18th-19th dynasty

husband: Pt-R-M-HB, Imj-r 3bwyj.
monuments: block, 0.405x0.295m, limestone
provenance: Saqqârah, sector 3, foundation fill beneath Nectanebo II temple terrace.
museum no.'s: Bologna 1892.
gods mentioned in the text: 'Imn-R'.
notes: fragment, names not those of tomb owners.
bibliography: PMii2 824 Martin, 1979, §131, pl.30.

Sh-NF 19th-20th dynasty

monuments: statue, black granite, 0.46m
museum no.'s: Berlin 21595.
notes: a Hathor-headed aas-sistrum is held in the figure's hands.

Sh-NN 18th dynasty, Akhenaten

monuments: staff, 0.77m, wood; amulets and lengths of inscribed cornelian stick; box lid, wood; ring, gold.
provenance: Saqqârah, a tomb.
museum no.'s: Berlin 1284,1785,1882. Louvre.
notes: the tomb was opened by the dealer Massara


St 19th dynasty by name and style

father: Tsww, ʿImn w nb Ṭdwj.

mother: T-ḥḥj.

brothers: Mrw. Ḥwj, Ṭlm.

monuments: stela, 1.57x0.34m

provenance: Saqqārah, ʿAba pyramid

museum no.s: JE 54155.

notes: the tomb was opened by the dealer Massara

bibliography: PMii² 675 Jéquier, 1933, p.29, pl.17 [10].

Kj 18th dynasty by style and by names

father: ʿImn

monuments: stela

provenance: Memphis, Kôm Fakhry, Ptah temple, under West hall

notes:

bibliography: PMii² 833. Petrie, 1909, p.8, (fifth paragraph, beneath discussion of pl.17); pl.15.

Kn-ʾḥnn 18th dynasty, reign of Amenhotep II by text, etc.

notes: the tomb was opened by the dealer Massara

mother: 'Imr-em-št, royal nurse.
wife: T-š-nty.

monuments: 1. Theban tomb, no. 93 with scenes from Prw-nfr.
2. CG 935, statue, kneeling figure holding a naos with figure of Renenutet, black granite, temple of Mut Karnak.
3. Cairo, block statue, 0.42x0.65x0.305x0.21m, black granite, Shutb, 5.5km from Asyut, old capital of the 11th nome of upper Egypt.
4. ushabtis, (in Wild's order, grouped by type; for details, Wild, 1957): a) Thebes, Copenhagen, Musée National, no. 3553, black granite. b) CG 46530 Thebes, quartzite. c) CG 46531, Thebes, faience. d) Cairo 17/12/19/1, bituminated sycamore. e) M.M.A.30.5.1., painted sycamore. e) M.M.A.30.5.2., painted sycamore. f) O.I. 10515, painted sycamore. g) Mexico, Ungar colln., painted sycamore. h) BM 56929, painted sycamore. i) BM 56930, painted sycamore. j) Cairo 17/12/19/13, painted cedar k) Tano colln., Cairo, painted cedar. l) Khawam colln., Cairo, cedar. m) Baltimore, Walters Gallery, no. 22.194. n) O.I., 18210. o) Cairo, Tano colln. (2). p) Cairo 17/12/19/8. q) Cairo 22/11/24/1. r) Cairo 17/12/19/3. s) Cairo 21/11/24/2. t) Cairo 21/11/24/3. u) Cairo 17/12/19/10. v) O.I. 10479 (2).

provenance: Thebes, tomb 93; Zawieyet Abu Mosallam, north of Abūsir, near a shaft; Abydos; Karnak, temple of Mut; Asyut (see details above).

establishment named: ḫptj-š-a Prw-nfr


Txš-tj 19th-20th dynasty

ḫṣšt n ḫmn dl.f ḫtw m Nḫ-tš-Tj
husband: Ps-šmn-Tj, bšf tšw šš a lṯwt.

monuments: stela

provenance: Saqqarah

museum no.'s: E Berlin 7307.


notes: invocations for Ptah-Sokar-Osiris and Osiris.


Tx-mtr 19th dynasty by style

ḫṣšt n ḫmn
husband: Br-šn, ḫmj-p ṣr nb ḫmrj.
monuments: block, about 0.45m
provenance: Saqqaráh, the monastery of Apa Jeremias, pavement near oil press.
gods named in the text: 'Iam.
bibliography: PMIII 669 Quibell, 1912, pl.145, pl.82, no 7.

Ti > 19th dynasty, Ramesses II by text

husband: Ti, st aw, imr pr-bd n nb twj.
monuments: block, 0.28x0.86m, limestone, tomb at Saqqaráh
provenance: Saqqaráh
museum no.: Toronto, ROM 955-79-2.
gods named in the text: 'Iam.
description: Ti, amt aw, mother of Ramesses II, followed by Ti and Tb.

Tpwj late 18th dynasty by names and style.

husband: 'Imn-aw, wh/aw.
monuments: stela, chapel, staff
museum no.: Leiden AP 52.
provenance: Saqqaráh.
notes: invocations for Ptah-Sokar-Nefertum; Nephthys; Osiris; Isis. 'Imhotep mentioned.
bibliography: PMIII 709-11. Boeser, 1911, pl.9. (photograph)

Ti (See her husband Br-aw) 19th dynasty, Ramesses II by text

husband: Br-aw

museum no.'s: JE 43276-7.
gods named in the text: 'Iam. 'Iam nb aw tswj.
bibliography: PMIII 667 Quibell, 1912, p.144, pl.71-3.

Tj saite period

husband: br pr mr-f, wr bhr a Dhwj, smrj n 'Iam
monuments: statuette
provenance: Saqqaráh
Tj 19th dynasty

father: Ms, sfr-wsR a Ptb, sfr b 3tpw n trw nbw Ms-ofer, sfr b 3tpw s pt 3tpw ntrw bwt-kf-Ptje.
sisters: Mfrt-Nfrt, sfr b Bstt abt 'Nf-Lwji, Msfr. //?.
brother: Ep-wsr, sf wdbw.
monuments: wall, limestone
provenance: Saqqârah, tomb of Ms

notes: Msfr with city sign. 'luj as ram-headed sphinx.

Twp (see his father Nfr-Hb, his mother Hrlj and his brother Mn-Hs above) 19th dynasty?

monuments: panel, wood
provenance: Saqqârah
museum no.: unidentified or lost in E.Berlin. CG 34099, CG 34101.
gods named in the text: 'luj FwI-Hr. Wsr. 'luj nfr u srj. Wp-wrI.

Twp (Tj) 18th-19th dynasty by style

monuments: double statue, 0,90m, limestone
provenance: Saqqârah
museum no.: CG 628.
description: seat carved with offering scenes, good work.
bibliography: PMiii2 726 Borchardt, 1925, p.175.

Djwpr-Ht-Hps 19th dynasty?, Ramesses II or later by text

monuments: block, 0,26x0,20m, limestone
provenance: Abûsir, Sahure complex, sanctuary of Ptjt
location: Saqqârah magazine.
gods named in the text: 'luj. Djwpr.
bibliography: PMiii 334  Borchardt, 1910, p. 124, pl. 170.

D-26  26th dynasty, Psammeticus by text

I a t r a n r a n. h n a t r Ptb. w a r w. w/d a b r w n w r ' l a b w- d t . i a n-r h n a t r. h n a t r a st h s b d t o. b r j h a w w e m h w t Ptb. s s h s b w m p r - h d a b w t Ptb. h n a t r Nbt. n t w w t a a w b h J P s-m-t k h w t a t r M n-a t r. h n a t r ' l a m - R' h a t j b w t n r w. b r j s s s n s w r t d s r w n Ptb. b r j s h t m b w t Ptb. h n a t r s t m Dbt. s t o b m p r - h d a b w t Ptb. b r j s s s n n R-s a w

father: P-d-n-ht. w a r w.
mother: T-s-Snt-ht.
monuments: sarcophagus, 2.82x1.67m, black granite
provenance: Saqqarah
Louvre D8.
gods named in the text: ' l a m - R' h a t j b w t n r w. Ptb. s t a s h s b d. a t r w ' l a b w- d t . Nbt.
notes: ' l a m - R' w r t t n  h e b e l i s k  a n d  a g o d ' s  f i g u r e  w i t h  w k .
museum no.'s: PMiii 765  Brugsch, 1879, p. 1232. Schmidt, 1919, fig. 1208-9, 1218.

D-Pht- 27th dynasty, Darius, year 34 by text

I a t r. h a t r Ptb  w d  a t r, b r j - s s s t w r t . h n a t r ' l a m - R' h a t j b w t n r w

father: ' l a m - M-s F .
son: S-m-n-nht
monuments: stela, 0.155m, limestone
provenance: Saqqarah, serapeum, chamber A of Mariette
museum no.'s: Louvre IM 4125, IM 4190.
gods named in the text: ' l a m - R' h a t j b w t n r w. Ptb. Ptb  w d  a t r. n b .
notes: written in ink
bibliography: PMiii 801  Chassinat, 1903, p. 59, clxxviii.

/// 18th-19th dynasty by style

"one of the priesthood of Amôn" ënt ëw t n t r w
monuments: statue group.
gods named in the text: ' l a m h a t j b w t n t r w .
notes: seen by Wild (?) for sale in Cairo.
bibliography: Meeks, 1979, p. 231.

/// 19-20th dynasty, ramesseide by text
daughter: Bw-N-Mwt.

sister's husband: 'Imn-ns, a.k.a. R-ns, sf pr asw, sf pr nd nb twj.

his wife: Bw and or Wgjt.

monuments: pyramidion, 0,80 x 0,50 m, granite

provenance: Saqqara, reused northwest of 'Ibi pyramid for modern road


description: pyramid top. rough.

notes: invocations for Ptah-Sokar, Isis, Osiris. dedicatricia: from elsewhere: Sm, Sj or Kd-tr-//.

bibliography: PMii1 2 675 Jégou, 1935, p.27, pl.18, no.3.

/// 19th-20th dynasty? ramesside by style

šmr't a 'Imn a hwt a trw

monuments: stela, 0,31 x 0,23 m, limestone

provenance: Saqqara

museum no.: JE 10172.

gods named in the text: 'Imn a hwt a trw. 'Imn-e asw hwt a trw. 'Imn-R asw hwt a trw. Mwt. Ti-wrt.

description: kneeling woman, standing man. Mwt, Ti-wrt before 'Imn-R.


/// 18th dynasty by the language of the text

w'tw a pr 'Imn, srw a pr asw

monuments: stela

provenance: Saqqara

museum no.: Cairo.

gods named in the text: pr 'Imn, Strt.

bibliography: de Rougé, 1877, pl.40.

///

/// -/// 'Imn aht

monuments: stela

provenance: Gizah, great sphinx, set up in brick wall

museum no.: Cairo.

gods named in the text: 'Imn aht.

notes: sphinx stela.

bibliography: PMii1 43.

/// late period
Monuments: block, 0.205x0.22m, limestone
Provenance: Memphis, Kom Qala'ah
Museum no.: Philadelphia.
Gods named in the text: 'Ima-R'ab hot a h///
Description: fragment, relief.
Bibliography: Philadelphia Photo C1611 quoted by permission of the University of Pennsylvania Museum.

Monuments: statue, 0.15x0.35m, basalt
Provenance: Memphis, Kom Qala'ah
Museum no.: Philadelphia E11821.
Gods named in the text: 'Ima.
Description: base and foot only, striding male figure with inscription at feet.

16th dynasty by style
Monuments: cup, ceramic
Gods named in the text: 'Ima.
Description: fragments. 'Like Deir el Bahari ware'. 'Ima as a ram.
Bibliography: Borchardt, 1910, p132, fig 181.

(see his son Pt-di-str above and his wife /// below)
Monuments: stela, 0.355x0.275m., limestone.
Provenance: Saqqara, serapeum.
Museum no.: JE 47398.
Gods named in the text: 'Ima Prw-nfr. 'Ima hot-afr. 'Ima-R'ab hot a h///
Bibliography: Borchardt, 1910, p132, fig 181.
description: man before ʿImn-R and ʿHw who is shown with a human body and bull's head. man
before Ptḥ and ʿSt-Wṣw-l who is shown with falcon head.

bibliography: PMiii 2 806 Malinine, 1968, i, p50-1, pl.17 [54].

/// (see her son Ptḥ-Sr-STT and her husband /// above) 21st-22nd dynasty by style

husband: ///, it ʿnṯr ḫm ʿnṯr a 'lmn-R nb nsw ṭwḥj ṭḥḥj bʿ swtd, it ḫm ḫm ḫrj ṭḥḥj ṭḥḥj pr Ptḥ ṭḥḥj
bk.f.f.

son: it ʿnṯr, ḫm ʿnṯr, ṭḥḥj-ṣṣṯ pr Ptḥ, ḫm ʿnṯr 'lmn ṭḥḥj-nfr, ḫm ʿnṯr Ptḥ, /// ḫm ʿnṯr ʿṢmḥ ṭḥḥjt, ḫm ḫtr
Mwt ṭḥḥj 'bw ṭḥḥj, ḫm ʿnṯr 'lmn Prwj-nfr(?), ḫm ḫrj ʿhr, ṭḥḥj st/// [ḥm ʿnṯr 'lmn-R nb nsw ṭwḥj ṭḥḥj
bʿ swtd, it ḫm ṭḥḥj].

monuments: stela, 0.355x0.275m., limestone,

provenance: Saqqārah, serapeum,

museum no.: JE 47398.

gods named in the text: 'lmn Prw-nfr, 'lmn ṭḥḥj-nfr, 'lmn-R nb nsw ṭwḥj ṭḥḥj bʿ swtd, Mwt ṭḥḥj

Wṣw-Ḥw ṭḥḥj ʿImn ṭḥḥjt, nr'l: 'St-Wṣw-

description: man before ʿImn-R and ʿHw who is shown with a human body and bull's head. man
before Ptḥ and ʿSt-Wṣw-l who is shown with falcon head.

bibliography: PMiii 2 806 Malinine, 1968, vol. 1, p50-1, pl.17 [54].

/// 19th dynasty

ḥm ʿnṯr ṭḥḥj a 'lmn-a Tḫ-wḏtnjt. ḫm ʿnṯr a ʿṢmḥ

monuments: block, limestone

gods named in the text: 'lmn a Tḫ-wḏtnjt. ʿṢmḥ.

notes: seen for sale in Cairo, 1895. see WBvol.1, p.392.

appendix (c) votive stelae

statistics: offering table, Saqqara, north of Teti pyramid, 18th dynasty by style, 0,33x0,43m, sandstone, CG 23079, PMii2 557, Kamal,1909,p.66,p.l.17.
gods named: 'Imn-R' ab aswtr wtr, Nfr-Rr brj tp sm/wt. 'Ita, Wsir hrj st, 'Imn wj aww f.

god named: *Ia a -R r  ab nswt UWj. H w t-H rp rj-tp  sm/t. 7tn. W sfrpjU gt. lapw  tp jg w .f.

gods named: 'Imn nsw atrw. Pth ab mrt.

official named: N-Bz-Ms1, st dww

statistics: stele, limestone, 0,15x0,10m, 18th dynasty by style. man before 'Imn standing; rhp. wkt.

invocation for: Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, nfr ('frj-ib šjt. and (a short one) for Amon-Rēc, nsw atrw.

statistics: stele, 18th dynasty, Memphis, Kōm Fakhry, Ptah temple, west hall, 0,15x0,21m, limestone, UC 14397. Amon-Re wearing the double plumed royal crown with Mut and Khonsu before Ptah and Sakhmet. Petrie, 1909(1),p.8,p.1.15.38.

statistics: stele, alabaster, 0,10x0,04m, 19th dynasty, Amūn with wēl-staff, rhp before pedestal with offerings, papyrus blossom; round top stele, fragment, smooth back. Pennsylvania E 13580. Memphis, Kom Qaš'ah. PMii2 860. Philadelphia Photo A22.

statistics: stele, limestone, 0,32x0,62m, 19th dynasty by style. woman, bowing boy before Amūn, Mut, Khonsu. sun disk with wings above; round top stele broken, worn, cartouches erased. Memphis, Kom Qaš'ah. Philadelphia Photo 368, Cairo CG 2091.
gods named: 'Imn. Mwt. Ḥsww.
statistics: stele, 19th-20th dynasty, Memphis, Kôm Qala'ah, palace of Merneptah, ?Cairo, man before Amûn, Ptah, Sakhmet, PMil2 860, Philadelphia Photo 34029.
gods named in the text: 'Imn-Râ', Ptû, Smt. 'Imn ijp.
person named: Hr-nfr.

statistics: stele, limestone, captives; back: small seated figure of Amûn with plumed crown, Ma'ât; flat top stele, unfinished, coarse work, two sided. 19th dynasty, Memphis, Kom Qala'ah. Philadelphia Photo 335/2, Pennsylvania E 1998.
gods named in the text: 'Imn. Mr't. Fr.

statistics: stele, Memphis, Kôm Qala'ah, 0.255x0.21m, limestone, CG 3634, Phil. Photo C344. Man before Amûn seated. Ptah, Sakhmet, Min, sun disk, barque, 'nb nb m /'t; shown. oval top, sloping sides, straight base. 'Imn ijp named.
gods named: 'Imn-Râ ab asw lrw. 'Imn-ipt. Ptû ab mr't. Smt. Min.


statistics: stele, limestone, 0.32x0.62m, 19th dynasty by style, woman, bowing boy before Amûn, Mut, Khonsu, sun disk with wings, above; round top stele, broken, cartouches erased, elongated figures. Memphis, Kom Qala'ah. Philadelphia Photo 368. Cairo.
gods named in text: 'Imn. Mwt. Hrs;.

block, 0.16x0.06m, late period - ptolemaic period by style. the name 'Imn-Râ' surrounded by cartouche with Smt-feathers: fragment. Saqqara, sector 7, surface debris. Martin, 1979, §334, pl. 64.
god named in the text: 'Imn-Râ'.

158
Scarabs and other amulets

from the Philadelphia collection; quoted by permission of the University of Pennsylvania Museum:

E 13715. scarab, [text]
Memphis, Mitrahineh.

E 13720. scarab, [text]
Memphis, Mitrahineh.

E 13723. seal, [text]
Memphis, Mitrahineh.

E 13785. scarab, [text]
Memphis, Mitrahineh.

E 13795. scarab, [text]
Memphis, Mitrahineh.

E 13797. bead, [text]
Memphis, Coxe expedition, 1919.

E 13820. amulet, [text]

E 13821. bead, [text]

E 13832. amulet, [text]
Memphis. Mitrahineh.

1 ab-sign doubled for symmetry. In the following notes, the derivation of each cryptographic value (e.g., sundisk- by similarity to the city-sign in writings of ) is given at its first occurrence. Thereafter, explanation of an cryptographic text is given in short form (e.g., sundisk-). The reader is asked to refer back to the earlier occurrence as necessary.

2 reed leaf- gaming board- , sundisk-

3 -feather for reed leaf- gaming board- , sundisk-

4 pillar- from, basket- from, god figure- from

5 reed leaf- gaming board- , land-sign- from likeness to simplified writings of , as a horizontal line.

6 reading Professor H.S.Smith.

7 concealed in an apparent writing: the sign stands for , in its figure of heart and lungs- , gaming board- , small ab-sign- , the lion stands for , lord.

8 -feather for reed leaf-, vertical line for horizontal line- for ab.


E 14070. scarab, 'Imn-R asw bttj, the royal Amon-Re' or asw bttj (n) 'Imn-R', the king in his relation to Amon-Re'. glazed pottery, pale blue, nearly round. 29x23mm. Memphis, Mitrahineh.

E 14085. scarab, 'Imn-R or btr 'Imn-R', glazed steatite, green to brown, oval. 16x11mm. Memphis, Kom Qala'a. Coxe expedition, 1919 (lower mid 558).

E 14097. scarab, /Im jg m (.tw) phr.t nb(.t) lb wpw(-br) 'Imn, no refuge of the heart is found except in Amun. steatite, buff, rounded rectangular. 15x1mm. Memphis, Kom Qala'a. Coxe expedition, 1920 (upper mid 583).

E 15875. scarab, 'Imn abbreviated Mn near head of Amun. Thoth presents king with blue crown and uraeus to Amun and Mut. sundisk with uraeus, a palm branch either side. glazed steatite, grey and white, top elaborately decorated; type D6-7. 24mm. Memphis, Mitrahineh.

29-70-708. amulet, Amun standing, bronze. 59mm. Memphis.

29-75-1617. amulet, Mut standing, double crown, frit, blue. 40mm. Memphis, Kom Qala'a. Coxe expedition, 1915 (room 160, top).

29-81-76. amulet, Amun. faience, light green, crude. Memphis, Kom Qala'a, rooms south of great wall.


29-81-571. amulet, Amun. faience, white. Memphis, Kom Qala'a, Coxe expedition (room 150).

29-82-44. from a ring. 'Imn-R nb(j). The ambiguous writing nb mi obscures the reading to cryptographic effect. bronze, oval. 10.5x8mm. Memphis, Mitrahineh. Coxe expedition, 1916.

29-83-18 amulet, Khonsu standing, lunar disk. faience, faded white. Memphis, Kom Qala'a, Merneptah palace, high debris to the south east of south portal.

29-84-190. from a ring. 'Imn-R///. faience, cartouche shaped, half remains. 32mm. Memphis, Mitrahineh.


1 lion stands for nb, lord.
2 scarab beetle=atr from attj.
3 This belongs to a common type, some examples of which are very plainly read. See Drioton, 1954, p.3-11.

29-84-233. From a ring, 'I'mn-R' ab pt.... 2. cartouche shaped. 55 x 16mm. Memphis, Mitrahineh.

29-84-235. from a ring, 'I'mn-R' ab pt.... or pr 'I'mn-R' ab.... blue, cartouche shaped, half remains. 30+mm. Memphis, Mitrahineh.

29-84-265. from a ring, 'I'mn-R' ab (I)/... faience, cartouche shaped, lower third missing. 33mm+. Memphis, Mitrahineh. Coxe expedition, 1918.


quoted in the Pennsylvania Museum archives; presumably in the Cairo Museum:

Memphis 547. statuette, Amun standing. solid gold. Memphis, Kom Qala'a, sequence 22. Anthes.

Memphis 549. amulet, 'I'mn, ab(J)/. The apparent ab ler/serves to obscure the text: reverse: a^/feather, man with staff. glazed steatite, white, rectangular. 19x16x7mm. Memphis, Mitrahineh. Coxe expedition, 1919 (lower mid.).

Memphis 3154. scarab, 'I'mn ab as'. The apparent writing ab as/obscures a writing of Amun^ faience, pale greenish blue, oval. 19x14mm. Memphis, Kom Qala'a, near north gate. Coxe expedition, 1922.

Memphis 4909. seal amulet, 'I'mn ab(J). glazed faience, faded white; top in form of Amun as a stylised seated ram, the base a half oval. 12mm. Memphis, Mitrahineh.


--- scarab, 'I'mn-R'. faience, traces of light blue glaze, cartouche shaped. 14.5x24mm. Memphis, Kom Qala'a, 200.20m, lowest stratum above Merneptah palace. Coxe expedition, 1916.
---'scaraboid', w'th. 'Imn-R' ab(,) the apparent writing ab t3wJobscures the reading.

mentioned in Anthes' publication:

no. 344. scarab, 'Imn-R'2 glazed faience, originally green, oval. 137mm. 21st-22nd
dynasty stratum. Kom Qala'a, Memphis. location A, trial pit off southeast corner of sanctuary,
level 96.20.

no. 354. scarab, 'Imn-R'3 reverse: 'Imn-R'4 serpentine, rectangular. 16mm. 22nd dynasty
stratum. Kom Qala'a, Memphis. location D, inside over at 34.30/236.80, level 27.82.

Cairo Museum:

JE 21873. scarab, 'Imn-R' ab(,)

JE 22049. scarab, 'Imn ab nintw'. faience, blue, nearly round. Saqqara.

JE 22051. scarab, 'Imn or hpr 'Imn ab'. green, elongated circle in shape. Saqqara.

JE 36219. scarab, 'Asw blj Nb-mR'. The blj obscures another cryptographic
writing with the 'Asw ble'. faience, yellow and orange, flattened circle in shape. 20mm. 18th
dynasty. Saqqara. 1858.

JE 39242. amulet blj 'Imn. reverse: 'Imn-R', glazed clay, rectangular; one of five diverse.

Saqqara.

JE 41619. scarab, 'Ma-hpr-k-R' wrh(, or psj) 'Imn, oval. 25mm. Saqqara, tomb 910.

JE 43724. scarab, 'Imn-R' ab (,). silver, cartouche shaped. 12.2mm. Memphis.

Mitrahineh.

JE 45752. scarab, 'Imn-R', ab (,). cartouche shaped. Memphis, Mitrahineh, from a
mummy. Fischer.


---land-sign for n.
2 uraei-from Fr.t,mR'-feathers- m, scarab beetle- n.
3 sundisk-from Im, gaming board- m, scarab beetle- n.
4 mR'-feathers for reed leaves- l, gaming board- m, sundisk- n.
5 Aswbl sign for ab
6 bee- from Fr.k', fly, cartouche- mfrom mb, swt-plant- n from likeness to rush plant-sign.
7 Aswbl sign for ab.
8 cryptographic alignment, but full writing.
JE 50294. scarab, 'ðm-R' nb(J), steatite, fairly fine blue green glaze, oval. 12mm.
Saqqara, south of Unas causeway, Pepi II complex, storehouse, from a group of early 18th dynasty mummies. 1922.

JE 50295. scarab, 'ðm-R' nb(J). steatite, fairly fine blue green glaze, oval. 9mm. Saqqara, south of Unas causeway, Pepi II complex, storehouse, from a group of early 18th dynasty mummies. 1922.

JE 50846. scarab, 'ðm-R' nb(J), oval. Saqqara. Firth and Gunn.
JE 50847. scarab, 'ðm-R' nb(J), green going brown, oval. Saqqara. Firth and Gunn.
JE 50851. scarab, Mn-hpr-R tkh 'ðm ², thick green, flattened circle in shape. Saqqara. Firth and Gunn.

JE 50860. scarab, mtr 'ðm-R' flattened circle in shape. Saqqara. Firth and Gunn.
JE 50861. scarab, 'ðm-R' nb(J), blue, oval. Saqqara. Firth and Gunn.
JE 50881. scarab, 'ðm-R' nb(J), nearly brown, oval. Saqqara. Firth and Gunn.

JE 50894. scarab, sA 'l'mn, carnelian, opaque, flattened circle in shape; modelling good. Saqqara. Firth and Gunn.

JE 50897. scarab, 'ðm-R' nb(J), oval. Saqqara. Firth and Gunn.
JE 50899. scarab, 'ðm-R' nb(J), ng rd aflr, faience, green, flattened circle in shape. Saqqara. Firth and Gunn.

JE 50906. scarab, 'ðm-R' three papyrus flowers in upper register, faience, light blue irregular flattened circle in shape. Saqqara. Firth and Gunn.
JE 50922. amulet, Sml nfr, reverse: jdw 'ap, image of mumiform Ptah with staff, rounded rectangular. Saqqara. Firth and Gunn.


JE 50924. amulet, Mn-hpr-R tkh 'ðm, reverse: hsf nfr 'ðm-R'. faience, blue, rectangular with rounded corners. Saqqara. Firth and Gunn.

JE 50925. scarab, Mn-hpr-R tkh 'ðm, reverse: 'ðm-R' nbw(i), faience, blue; flattened circle in shape. Saqqara. Firth and Gunn.

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1 ab-sign repeated for symmetry.
2 sundisk- L mtr-slab-m, scarab beetle- n.
3 red crown- from ins.
4 ab-sign repeated for symmetry.
5 ab-sign repeated for symmetry.
6 mtr-leather for reed leaf- L.
7 hawk's wings at bottom to be read thus.
JE 50926. amulet, *Mn-hpr-R r tJ 'Imn* or second writing of Amun obscured by apparent writing *Mn-hpr-R*, reverse: 'Imn², faience, blue, flattened circle in shape. Saqqara. Firth and Gunn.

JE 50936. amulet, 'Imn-R r ab(J), glazed steatite, blue; back in form of a duck; base, rounded triangle in shape. Saqqara. Firth and Gunn.

JE 50938. amulet, *'Imn-R r ab(J)*, glazed steatite, dark green; reverse in form of Bes; base, tapered half cartouche in shape. Saqqara. Firth and Gunn.

JE 51022. scarab, *Wsr-ar-R r m rj 'Imn ab(J)*, (no cartouche) glazed steatite, blue green, nearly round. Saqqara. Firth and Gunn.

JE 51025. scarab, *Mn-hpr-R r tJ 'Imn* (no cartouche). King shown striding, with double crown and **kh**-staff. glazed steatite, blue green, flattened circle in shape. Saqqara. Firth and Gunn.

JE 51031. scarab, *'Imn, 'Imn-R*; back: small scarab in centre bound by carved bands reaching to the perimeter. glazed steatite, blue green, nearly round. Saqqara. Firth and Gunn.


JE 51260. scarab, *w'rb. 'Imn-R r ab(J)*, leaf on stem along perimeter. faience, green, cartouche shaped. 10mm. Saqqara, south of Unas causeway, Pepi II complex, from 18th dynasty mummy. Jequier, 1927.

JE 51982. scarab, *'Imn abw(J)*, glazed steatite, blue green, curved rectangle in shape. Saqqara, south of Unas causeway, Pepi II complex, from an 18th dynasty mummy. Jequier, 1928.

JE 51984. scarab, *'m rj ntr ab 'Imn*, king enthroned in papyrus-bowed boat. glazed steatite, blue green, oval. 16mm. Saqqara, south of Unas causeway, Pepi II complex. Jequier, 1928.

JE 51985. scarab, *'Imn (a) pr haw (?)*, carnelian mounted in gold, flattened circle in shape. 13mm. Saqqara, south of Unas causeway, Pepi II complex. Jequier, 1928.


JE 51995. amulet, *'Imn-R r ab(J)*, glazed faience, decayed to black, back in form of a mouse(?)⁶, base oval. 11mm. Saqqara, south of Unas causeway, Pepi II complex.

JE 51996. plaque, *ntr abl wJi, Mn-hpr-R r m rj 'Imn*, reverse: *dtn t'mr lb n imj-r (?) 'Imn-m-wsr-ts(?)*, faience, bright blue, flattened circle in shape. 16mm. Saqqara, south of Unas causeway, Pepi II complex. Jequier.

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1. sundisk- 0/ gaming board- n. scarab beetle- n.
2. mr7-feather for reed leaf- l. cartouche- mfr from mns. nfr-sign- n.
4. reed leaf repeated for symmetry.
5. silhouetted hawk spreading protecting wings- abw.
6. One recalls here that Apollo was associated syncretistically with the mouse god Sminth.
JE 53703. scarab. 'lmn-nb.(.)'. glazed faience, decayed green, oval. 14mm. Saqqara, south of Unas causeway, near pyramid of Userkaf, from robbed burials. Jequier.

JE 55536. scarab, a gm pfr.t lb wpw(-pr) 'lmn. glazed steatite, decayed blue, flattened circle in shape. Saqqara, south of Unas causeway, from 18th dynasty tombs in the precinct of the pyramid of Khenzir. Jequier. 1930-31.

JE 55541. plaque, a gm pfr.t lb wpw(-pr) 'lmn. reverse: symbol of Hathor. glazed steatite, green blue, flattened circle in shape. Saqqara, south of Unas causeway, from 18th dynasty tombs in the precinct of the pyramid of Khenzir. Jequier 1930-31.


JE 55565. scarab. 'nb.s a 'lmn glazed steatite, decayed green blue. flattened circle in shape. Saqqara, south of Unas causeway, from 18th dynasty tombs in the precinct of the pyramid of Khenzir. Jequier, 1930-31.


JE 64925. scarab, 'lmn-R pt.lrj.p.t.s... faience, blue green, irregular oval. 20th-22nd dynasty 17mm. Saqqara.

JE 92596. scarab, nsw blij Mn-hpr-R (?) mrij 'lmn-R'. steatite, flattened circle in shape. one of nineteen. 18x7mm. Saqqara.

CG 9505. scarab, 'lmn. faience. 10mm. Saqqara. 1860.

CG 2702. scarab, nsw blij mrij 'lmn. faience, flattened circle in shape. 10mm. Saqqara. 1858.

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1 nb-sign repeated for symmetry.
2 nb-sign and scarab beetle may each stand for a.
3 nb-sign- from jm, sphinx- aiform mr, wing- afrom nbw.
4 the flying hawk holding protecting wings above Amun's name- nbw.
CG 5044. scarab, nsw bjt Nb-mrť-R nb ljmn. faience, green, cartouche shaped. formerly in the Collection Huber. 15mm. Saqqara.

From Petrie's excavations 1908\(^1\) (?):

Kom Oala'ah, Merneptah complex:

no.8. 'Imn\(^2\).

no.16. Nb-mrť-R nb ljmn. 'Imn-R\(^3\).

no.17. 'Imn-R nb (J)\(^4\).

no.18. 'Imn\(^5\).

no.19. htp 'Imn. 'May Amun be satisfied'\(^6\).

no.20. 'Imn-R nb cpb.

no.21. 'Imn nb J. Royal figure offers to name of Thutmose III, a cryptographic writing of 'Imn.

no.35. 'Imn\(^7\).

no.38. wdb 'Imn-R nb (J).

no.46. 'Imn-R\(^8\).

no.47. /// 'Imn\(^9\).

no.57. 'Imn nb (J)\(^10\).

no.62. 'Imn-R nb nswt ljmn....

no.63. 'Imn\(^11\).

no.64. 'Imn-R nb nfr\(^12\).

---

\(^1\) Petrie, 1909, pl.34.

\(^2\) sundisk-/ breadleaf is an inverted basket-\(m\), nfr \(a\).

\(^3\) However, the apparent writing nb ljmn may also be a writing of Amun\(^3\). The upright elements at top may be taken to be hieratic writings of the reedleaf, as it is often written in scarab texts, here standing for the mrť-feather. The land-signs would-\(J\) mrť-feather-\(m\), the nb-basket-\(m\).

\(^4\) reedleaf-/ gamingboard-\(m\), scarab beetle-\(m\). The second reedleaf is included for symmetry.

\(^5\) sundisk-/ gamingboard-\(m\), scarab beetle-\(m\).

\(^6\) ox tongue-\(m\), encircled water-\(m\).

\(^7\) the sundisk-/ the cartouche-\(m\), the scarab beetle-\(m\).

\(^8\) reedleaf-/ second reedleaf-\(m\), scarab beetle-\(m\), sundisk-\(R\). The reading may be 'Imn simply, with the second reedleaf for symmetry.

\(^9\) sundisk-/ cartouche-\(m\), scarab beetle-\(m\).

\(^10\) reedleaf-/ the breadloaf stands for the basket-\(m\), the sundisk stands for the city-sign-\(m\).

\(^11\) sundisk-/ gamingboard-\(m\), scarab beetle-\(m\). The standard is a determinative.

\(^12\) A conventional if ill-arranged writing appears at top.
The group may also be read as Amn ab (. ) .

From various sites at Memphis:

no. 11. "Imn-R' (ab. ) ahw (. ) .

no. 12. "Imn9 (ab. ).

no. 13. "Imn10. Mn-hpr-R' within the cartouche may be taken as another reading of Amun.


no. 15. hsj "Imn12.

no. 22. obverse: "Imn-R' (ab. ). reverse: "Imn ab (. ) .

no. 23. obverse: "Imn ab (. ) .

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1 the mRy-feather stands for the reedleaf- . The second reedleaf- m. ojr-sign- a.

2 The second reedleaf appears for symmetry, as do the second ab. and the sundisk for .

3 The second reedleaf is in imperfect symmetry with the ab.

4 The two short lines at top stand for upright diagonal lines indicating /from lwrand thence by reverse derivation R'.

5 The mRy-feather stands for the reedleaf- . The second reedleaf appears for a horizontal line- a. The determinative is the figure of a striding Amun with staff.

6 is written with the hieratic figure, mRy-feather- m. upright line stands for the horizontal line- a. The winged sundisk- R':

7 The element at centre is a hieratic l. mRy-feather- m. scarab beetle- n. sundisk at top- R'; ab-sign appears just under the sundisk.

8 winged uraeus- l. mRy-feathers- m. sphinx- a. sundisk- R'.

9 uraei- l. mRy-feathers- m. cartouche- a. from abh. t. titulary. The figures within the cartouche stand for no name at all or are a rough writing of Mn-hpr-R'; also to be read as a trigramme of /Imn:

sundisk- l. gamingboard- m. scarab beetle- n.

uraeus- l. cartouche- m. uraeus- a. from ntr.t.

the land-sign group- l. the basket- m. the winged uraeus- a.

nh-sign stands for the sundisk- l. cartouche- m. sphinx- a.

land-sign stands for upright diagonal lines- l. ojr-sign- m. from mt. artery. ntr-sign- a. nh-sign stands for sundisk- R'.

the eye- l. from lrt. eye. breadloaf stands for the mtrh. t-basket- m. sundisk- a.

is written with the hieratic figure, gj-pillar- m. from mn. the scarab beetle- n.
no.31. w'd 'Imn-R' nb(j).1
no.32. obverse: 'Imn2; reverse: 'Imn-R' nb(j).2
no.41. th 'Imn4.
no.42. ntr nfr 'Imn-R' nb(j).
no.43. 'Imn5.
no.44. 'Imn-R'.6
no.49. dlt 'Imn-R'.
no.50. 'Imn-R' nb(j).7
no.55. 'Imn-R' nb(j)
no.68. 'Imn-R' nb(j)
no.70. 'Imn8.
no.73. 'Imn9.
no.74. obverse: 'Imn10; reverse: 'Imn11.
no.83. 'Imn12.
no.90. 'Imn-R' nb(j).
no.102. 'Imn13.

From Aniba:

E 11033. 'Imn-R' nb 'Jpte / n Mn-nfr14 glazed steatite, 19th dynasty, length: 0.016m.

1 This is written conventionally except for the substitution of the m/s-feather for the reedleaf.
2 /is written with the hieratic figure, the gamingboard- m, the two horizontal lines stand for the
nb-basket- n.
3 the uraeus- / cartouche- m, uraeus- n.
4 This is written conventionally except for the substitution of the m/s-feather for the reedleaf.
5 the bee- / the cartouche- m, swt-plant - n.
6 jar - /from /b, gaming board - m, nfr-sign - n.
7 The second nb is included for symmetry.
8 The m/s-feather stands for the reedleaf- /, the second reedleaf- m, the cartouche- n. The figures
within the cartouche do not stand for a name.
9 the m/s-feather stands for the reedleaf- /, the second m/s-feather- m, the gd-pillar- n from
nqdd.
10 reedleaf- /, gamingboard- m, scarab beetle- n.
11 uraeus- /, cartouche- m, uraeus- n.
12 the falcon- / from 'Jmr 'Jmr, falcon, the fan stands for the m/s-feather- m, the sphinx- n.
13 the m/s-feather- /, the gamingboard- m, the scarab beetle- n.
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<td>Scarab Mit Rahineh, Silver, 1.0122, P3-18</td>
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<td>Scarab Saqqara, Nov. 1858, yellow and orange, DYN. XVIII, 1.092, P6 Sc S9, S.H. Bois B.R.</td>
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</table>

**Plaques: Symbol of Hathor on Flat South Saqqara**
- XIII dynasty, tombs in encrusted pyramids of Khentmir, greenish blue glass, 1930-31
  - P6 Sc N10, JEQUIER, op. cit., p. 44

**Plaques: Symbol of Hathor on Flat South Saqqara**
- XIII dynasty, tombs in encrusted pyramids of Khentmir, greenish blue glass, 1930-31
  - P6 W bas, JEQUIER, op. cit., p. 44

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**Note:** The table and diagrams provide a detailed overview of the scarabs and plaques from the Egyptian Museum Cairo, detailing their descriptions, origins, and dates. Each entry includes relevant information such as the number, description, and context of the artifacts.
statuette, bronze, 0.137m— Amûn standing, right arm and plume missing— Saqqara, sacred animal necropolis, in situ on temple terrace, just north of central chapel(3), cache no. 1.— Saqqara H5-915, 1968-9: 2667.

statuette, bronze.— Amûn, plumes missing— Saqqara, sector 4, courtyard, clear sand, cache, hoard no. 2.— Saqqara H6-221, 1968: 2028. Cairo JE 91335.

statuette, bronze.— Amûn, traces of gilding; legs, half left arm missing— Saqqara.— Saqqara H5-564, 1966-7: 1257. British Museum.

situla, bronze, 0.235m— ithyphallic Amûn, engrossed; inscribed under rim, on panels— Saqqara.— Saqqara H5-465, 1966-7: 1154. photo.

statuette, bronze, 0.233m— Amûn standing, right foot extended, left hand raised, objects held in hands, plumes missing— Saqqara, sector 3, falcon catacomb gallery.— Saqqara H5-2434, 1969-70: 4639, 4639. photo, Cairo JE 91460.

statuette, bronze.— Amûn standing, eyes hollowed for inlay, slot for plumes, hole in hands for objects; crown damaged— Saqqara, falcon catacomb gallery.— Saqqara H5-2383, 1969-70: 4588.

statuette, bronze— figure of Amûn, sceptre, plumes, wooden base missing (frangible rock at gate D may have sent mother of Apis shrine north of the central shrine) — Saqqara, sector 3, west of steps of shrine D, clear sand and level.— Saqqara H5-1476, 1968-9: 3274. photo Durham.

statuette, bronze, 0.138m— figure of Amûn standing, wearing flat crown; corroded, cracked, feet missing— Saqqara, sector 7, house 4, p 17.— Saqqara H6-646, 1969-70: 4543.


statuette, bronze, 0.70m, 22nd dynasty or later— originally of Set: Amûn striding, ram-headed, hunting pose, short kilt, double crown— Memphis, Mitrahineh.— PMii12 870. Mogensen, 1918, p26-7, pl.24[A99]. Copenhagen AE.I.N. 614.
Statuette, bronze, 0.159 m, 19th dynasty— Amun striding; double kilt, scale armor with shoulder straps, cap with beaded streamers, collar, armlets. Wood; leg missing— "from Mitrahineh."— Steindorff, 1946, pl. 78, no 472. Walters Art Gallery 54.396.

Statuette, bronze, 0.242 m— Khonsu striding, gold and glass inlaid eyes, prongs under feet; pleated kilt, long wig, falcon's head, crescent, moon disc, uraeus; wood; leg missing— "from Mitrahineh."— Steindorff, 1946, pl. 79, no 492. Walters Art Gallery 54.395.

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MEMPHIS
Recent land use

building in 1855
building in 1865
building since 1865

cultivation
military camp
edge of ruin field
modern cutting

as published in Jeffreys, *Survey of Memphis.*
sketch map
compiled from maps of the Egyptian Topographical Survey, maps of the Ministry of Housing and Reconstruction of the Arab Republic of Egypt, field notes and other sources and showing only features relevant in the research to date
Memphis South

Principal excavations, 1800 AD to present

- site confirmed/unconfirmed
- limit of cultivated land
- 25-m ASL contour
- find of colossal statue left at site
- find of colossal statue removed from site
- EES local grid

as published in Jeffrey's, Survey of Memphis.
Memphis South

SITE CODES

Key
F Area code
AC Site code

0 300m