

A New List of the High-Priests of Ptah at Memphis till the End of the Ancient Egyptian History (332 BCE) (Part 1: Till the End of the New Kingdom)

قائمة جديدة بكبار كهنة پتاح منف حتى نهاية التاريخ المصري القديم (٣٣٢ ق.م)
الجزء الأول: حتى نهاية عصر الدولة الحديثة

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ملخص

حَمَلَ كبار كهنة پتاح بمدينة منف العظيمة لقبًا مهنيًا (حرفيًا)، يُقرأ حاليًا "ور خرب حموت" *wr hrp hmw*. *wt* أو: "ور خريو حموت" *wr hrp.w hmw.wt* ويُترجم: 'عظيم/ كبير رؤساء الحرفيين'. ومن الملفت للنظر أن المصادر الأثرية قد سجّلت استخدام المصريين للقب كاسم لبعض الذكور إبان الأسرتين الثامنة عشرة والتاسعة عشرة.

تميز كبار كهنة پتاح منذ الأسرة الثالثة بقلادتهم الخاصة 'سحح'، وكذلك بارتدائهم لجلد 'الفهد شيتا الصياد' (Gepard). وقد لعبوا، سواء في مدينتهم أو في كل ربوع مصر، العديد من الأدوار الهامة في شتى الأنشطة والمجالات: الدينية، السياسية، الحضارية والثقافية، الاجتماعية، بل والاقتصادية أيضًا.

إن هذه المقالة تعرض لأحدث قائمة لكبار كهنة پتاح منف قد توصل إليها الباحث، لكن هذه الدراسة قاصرة على الفترة الممتدة منذ أول ظهور للقب الدال على ذلك المنصب مع نهاية الأسرة الثانية وحتى آخر كبير كهنة في الأسرة الثلاثين. تمدنا به المصادر قبل غزو الإسكندر الأكبر لمصر عام ٣٣٢ ق.م. والجزء الأول من هذه المقالة يُغطي حتى نهاية عصر الدولة الحديثة وسوف تُكمل في العدد القادم من الدورية.

وتُعد الدراسة الحالية تحديثًا شاملاً لدراسات كل من:

١- ديتير فيلدونج Dieter Wildung (عام ١٩٧٧ م) في مقالته بالجزء الثاني من موسوعة علم المصريات (LÄ II)، والتي أورد فيها (٨٣) ثلاثة وثمانين كبير كهنة في الفترة الممتدة من الأسرة الثانية/ الثالثة وحتى الأسرة السابعة والعشرين، هذا بالإضافة إلى (١٣) ثلاثة عشر كبير كهنة في العصر اليوناني-الروماني.

٢- تشارلز مايستر Charles Maystre برسالته للدكتوراه المعنونة 'كبار كهنة پتاح منف' (عام ١٩٤٨ م) ونُشرت في العدد ١١٣ من سلسلة OBO (عام ١٩٩٢ م). وقد تضمنت فقط (٥٢) اثنين وخمسين كبير كهنة حتى الأسرة السابعة والعشرين، بالإضافة إلى (١٠) عشرة كبار كهنة في العصر البطلمي وكبير كهنة واحد في العصر الروماني.

٣- قائمة پورتر-موس Porter-Moss (عام ١٩٨١ م) في (PM III، ط٢، ٩١٦-٩١٨)، والتي أشارت إلى (٤٦) ستة وأربعين كبير كهنة فقط حتى الأسرة السابعة والعشرين كان من بينهم (٣) ثلاثة كبار كهنة مجهولين، هذا بالإضافة إلى (٧) سبعة كبار كهنة فقط في العصر البطلمي.

تأتي أهمية الدراسة الحالية من كونها، اعتماداً على كل من الآثار المعاصرة وقوائم الأنساب، قد حصرت (١٠٤) مائة وأربعة كبار كهنة لمنف من عصر الأسرة الثانية وحتى عصر الأسرة الثلاثين بنهاية التاريخ المصري القديم (٣٣٢ ق.م)؛ حيث وضعهم الباحث في ترتيب زمني جديد أكثر منطقية وملاءمة -مما سبق- لواقع الحفائر والدراسات الحديثة، خاصة

أن هناك العديد من كبار الكهنة يحملون نفس الاسم في ذات العهد أو العصر (أمثال: پتاح-شپسس، سابو، پتاح-مس، سن-نفر، حري، خعي-م-واست)، ممن وجب دمج بعضهم أو تفريق (فصل وتعدد) البعض الآخر، وكذلك إعادة تأريخ عهدهم وترتيبهم من جديد، وذلك اعتماداً على طريقة كتابة اللقب وترتيبه بين الألقاب الأخرى في السير الذاتية. كما أضاف الباحث، في هذه القائمة الجديدة، أسماء كبار كهنة جدد لم يرد ذكرهم سابقاً (مثل: حاتباي)، بعضهم يمد معارفنا عن كبار كهنة منف من عصر الأسرة السابعة والعشرين - التي توقفت عندها جميع قوائم الكهنة الذين سبق ذكرهم أعلاه - إلى عصر الأسرة الثلاثين.

Memphis¹ was one of the greatest capitals of Ancient Egypt, if it was not the greatest one, and in the Greco-Roman Egypt² as a national capital against the foreign one, *i.e.* Alexandria (Αλεξάνδρεια ἡ πόλις τῆ Αἴγυπτου = 'Alexandria, the capital which is outside/near to Egypt'; or as the Latin called it 'Alexandread ad Aegyptum' = 'Alexandria beside Egypt'³).

In this ancient city, the High Priests of Ptah at Memphis (HPPM) held a professional title that is recently⁴ read *wr hrp.w hmw.wt* and translated as 'Greatest of the Directors of craftsmen' or *wr hrp hmw.wt* as 'great director of craftsmen'.⁵ They played a very important role in both their city and all Ancient Egypt in religious, political, cultural, social, and economical activities.⁶ They were recognized by their necklace  called  or  *s'h* (Fig. A 1-2)⁷ and by wearing 'Gepard'-skin (Latin: *Acinonux Jubatus*).⁸ The title of the High priest of Memphis had been re-used by the ancient Egyptians, as a name (, Uer-kherpu-ḥemut, or Wer-kherpu-ḥemut) for the males during the New Kingdom (1549-1069 BCE), exclusively during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties.⁹

This article is updating the list of High Priests of Ptah at Memphis, which was made by Dieter Wildung in 1977¹⁰ (who mentioned 83 HPPM from the Second/Third Dynasties till the Twenty-seventh Dynasty, plus 13 HPPM in Greco-Roman Egypt). It also updates other lists published by Charles Maystre¹¹ (PhD 1948, published in OBO 113) in 1992 (who mentioned 52) HPPM till the Twenty-seventh Dynasty, and 10

HPPM in the Ptolemaic Period, plus 1 HPPM in the Roman Empire Period), and Porter-Moss in 1981¹² (mentioned 46 HPPM including 3 unknown, and only 7 HPPM who carried the title in the Ptolemaic Period).

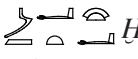
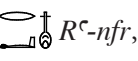
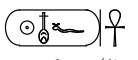
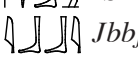
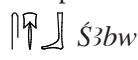
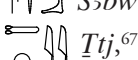
In this article, the researcher has collected, from both the contemporary resources¹³ and the genealogy lists (Figs. B, C, and D)¹⁴ of the HPPM, around 104 Memphite High-Priests until the end of ancient Egyptian history (332 BCE), ordering and putting them in a new sequence dating list¹⁵ which is more reasonable than the old lists, especially that many persons carry the same name¹⁶ in the same reign or period. The present part of article stops at the End of the New Kingdom and it will be continued in the next issue (no. 4).

The HPPM names and their ordering are as follows

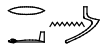
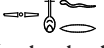
N.B. (*) in text below indicates the photo/figure with its caption related to HPPM number.

I. Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period

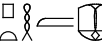
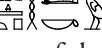
- 1-  *Nfr-dd-Pth*,¹⁷ Temp. Nineter (Second Dynasty) to Third Dynasty, fragment* from Djoser Complex carrying the title *wr hrp.w hmw.wt*.¹⁸
- 2-  *Ij-m-htp*, (?) He was not mentioned by any list of HPPM, but the ancient Egyptian tradition considered him as HPPM (mythological) in the Late Greco-Roman Periods. Temp. *Ntr-irj-ht* 'Djoser' (Third Dynasty).¹⁹

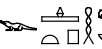
- 3-  *H^c-b3.w-Skr*,²⁰ (?), Temp. Third Dynasty,²¹ was not mentioned by D. Wildung, possible by Ch. Maystre,²² definitely by Elizabeth Staehelin* and Michael Rice.²³
- 4-  *Nb.w*,²⁴ LG 72*,²⁵ Temp. Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, sure by Wildung,²⁶ doubt by Maystre²⁷ who considered that Nb.w carried the title as a professional-office not as a priestly-office.²⁸
- 5-  *Pth-shps I*,²⁹ MM C1 (Saqqara)³⁰: statue CG. 93*; statue CG. 368; BM. Stele 682; Urk. I, 51-53.³¹ His Wife: princess  *H^j-M3^c.t*, Temp. from *Mn-k3.w-R^c* (4th Dynasty) till the reign of *Nj-Wsr-R^c* (5th Dynasty).³²
- 6-  *S3bw I,33* MM C16 (Saqqara),³⁴ mentioned on the monuments of Sahurac Funeral Complex,³⁵ Temp. of *S3hw-R^c* (5th Dynasty).³⁶
- 7-  *R^c-nfr*,³⁷ MM C5 (Saqqara)³⁸: statue CG. 18*1 (JE. 10064, SR. 10064), statue CG. 19*2 (JE. 10063, SR. 10063); Temp. early 5th Dynasty.³⁹ Wife: 'she who is known by the king' *Hknw* (statue CG. 53).⁴⁰
- 8-  *Nfr.f-R^c-nh(w)* (Ch. Maystre's Reading⁴¹), *nh-Nfr.f-R^c* (H. Ranke's and D. Wildung's Reading⁴²), or *R^c-nfr.f-nh* (PM III2's Reading⁴³); MM D58 (?);⁴⁴ mentioned only, till now, on the false door which was a gift from the HPPM to the inspector of the *hmw-k3* priests  (CG. 1410*, SR. 1/5318, 73 x 34 cm) from MM G0 (Saqqara) and maybe also on the statue CG. 87 (?) (SR. 1/5210) from MM D58.⁴⁵ Temp. middle of 5th Dynasty according to Wildung and the reign of the King *R^c-nfr.f* or his successors on 5th Dynasty according to PM III2.⁴⁶
- 9-  *S3bw II*, he whose beautiful name is  *Jbbj*, MM E1 (Saqqara),⁴⁷ false door CG. 1565*1, SR. 1/4686 a,⁴⁸ two walls of the tomb CG. 1418, SR. 1/4686 b. and CG. 1419, SR. 1/4686 c.; was born after the middle of *Nj-Wsr-R^c* reign and D. Wildung supposed that he maybe a son of *Pth-shps I*. (?), became a priest in the reign of *Mn-k3.w-Hr* (5th Dynasty) and HPPM in both reign of *Wnj* (late 5th Dynasty) and *Ttj* (early 6th Dynasty) and possibly lived even later than that (?) He had a lot of children; one of them was his successor *Pth-shps II*. He would like to be combined with his private monkey (2nd lower register of CG. 1419*2).⁴⁹ In his tomb at Saqqara and in another at Giza one of his officers carried the title *ss md3.t st3(.t) n wd(.t)-mdw n(.t) wr-hrp(w)-hm.t*.⁵⁰
- 10-  *Pth-shps II*,⁵¹ MM E2 (Saqqara) connected to his father's tomb MM E1 (*S3bw II*. - *Jbbj*).⁵² Temp. *Ttj* to *Ppj I*. (6th Dynasty),⁵³ maybe he was born at the end of 5th Dynasty under the reign of *Dd-k3-R^c* - *Jssj*.⁵⁴
- 11-  *Pth-shps III,55* MM C9 (Saqqara).⁵⁶ Temp. 6th Dynasty.⁵⁷
- 12-  *Pth-shps IV*,⁵⁸ a small unnumbered tomb that was not noticed by Mariette located south of MM E1-2 and MM H3 and to the north of Djoser Complex at Saqqara. Temp. 6th Dynasty.⁵⁹
- 13-  *S3bw III km*; he was described as km 'the black one',⁶⁰ MM C23 (Saqqara),⁶¹ statue CG. 143* (SR. 15706), Temp. 6th Dynasty.⁶²
- 14-  *S3bw,63* MM B6 ? (Saqqara)⁶⁴: statue CG. 190*1⁶⁵ (SR. 15178, now in Kom-Ushim 'Karanis' Museum, Al-Fayyum), stand CG. 1300*2 (SR. 15619), Naples Museum 1017. Temp. 6th Dynasty.⁶⁶
- 15-  *S3bw IV*, he whose beautiful name is  *Ttj*,⁶⁷ MM E3 (Saqqara)⁶⁸: false door (?) CG. 1756* (SR. 14943) and CG. 1709. Temp.

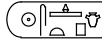
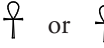
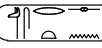
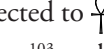
Ppj II and his successors (end of 6th Dynasty),⁶⁹ rather than Pepy I, since the name appears in the Mortuary Temple of Pepy II.⁷⁰

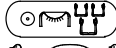
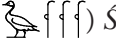
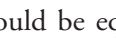
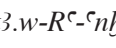
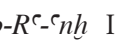
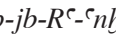
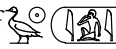
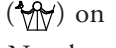
- 16-  *Ny-m3t-Rc*, (?), MM D17 (Saqqara),⁷¹ Cairo Museum Statue CG. 51, Middle of 5th or later [PM],⁷² 6th Dynasty [Maystre], had been considered before as HPPM by E. Schiaparelli,⁷³ and doubted by Ch. Maystre⁷⁴ who mentioned him although he did not carry the title of HPPM but other titles such as cm-priest and Director of the kilt, etc.⁷⁵
- 17-  *Iny-nc*, (?), son of the 'Overseer of the House of Weaving Women of the Residence'  *Mjnw-nfr*. Mastaba D26 (Saqqara),⁷⁶ who had carried the titles: *hry-3*, *wr pr-3*, *imy-r hmw.t nb.t* on the right column, and the title *wr hrp hmw.t nb.t* 'Overseer of all craftsmen', etc. [PM] in the left column as M. Murray guessed,⁷⁷ and Ch. Maystre⁷⁸ had doubted that he was one of the HPPM.⁷⁹
- 18-  *nc(w)*,⁸⁰ the owner of the Louvre limestone Statue E. 17365* (7 cm.),⁸¹ Temp. First Intermediate Period.⁸²
- 19-  *Pth-sps* V, he whose beautiful name is  *Impy*,⁸³ son of HPPM *nc(w)* (?), Louvre seated Statue A 108 [N.113], Temp. First Intermediate Period,⁸⁴ although PM III2 sited that he lived in early Fifth Dynasty.⁸⁵

II. Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period

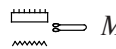
- 20-  *Pth-m-hb*,⁸⁶ mentioned only until now on the genealogical tree of HPPM on Berlin 23673: 4/13. Reign of *Mntw-htp* II. *Nb-hrw-Rc* (11th Dynasty).⁸⁷
- 21-  *Sbk-htp-hkw* (*wr hrp hmw.t*), on two of the 12th Dynasty statues (M-1749* and M-2788), found in Memphis' excavations (1915-1923) by the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia,

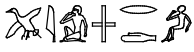
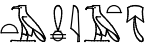
U.S.A.).⁸⁸ We could identify him with the HPPM  *Sbk-htp-hnk*, son of the wab-priest of the goddess Neith  *Rs-snb* and of the lady  *N.t-nwb*, from the same period, who had a seated headless granite statue (Philadelphia, University Museum, E. 13647*) mentioned by Porter and Moss.⁸⁹ End of 11th/beginning of 12th Dynasties.⁹⁰

- 22-  *Df3-j-hcj* I,⁹¹ (?), son of *Jd-3t* and his wife called *Sn.wj*. He was the ruler of Assiut (Rock Tomb no. 1 in the western mountain which is called 'Istabl 'Antar'),⁹² buried in Kerma (Sudan). He carried titles: *mdw-Hp* 'the responsible/guardian of Apis' and *wr hrp hmw.t m (nb.wj) pr.wj* 'the great chief of craftsmen in (both) houses' in inscriptions nos. 332-333, on the south side of the eastern door in his Tomb (no. 1) at Assiut.⁹³ Reign of *Sn-wsr I*. *Hpr-k3-Rc* (12th Dynasty).⁹⁴
- 23-  or  *Shtp-jb-Rc-nc* I,⁹⁵ son of Vizier *Mntw-htp* (who was called in Berlin 23673: 4/5 Vizier *Ntr.wj-htp*) and lady *Htjj* (Saqqara Stele*1 discovered on 6 January 1924, in Saqqara magazine⁹⁶). Reign of *Sn-wsr I*. (12th Dynasty). He was mentioned on several monuments such as: [1] The Base of the black granite statue purchased from Saqqara in 1890 by Wilbour, now in Brooklyn Museum 16.580.87*2;⁹⁷ [2] A limestone Offering table from Maasara quarries, now in Brooklyn Museum 37.1498 E*3;⁹⁸ [3] An offering table [from Tod], now in Berlin Museum 1189*4.⁹⁹
- 24-  *S-n-wsr-t-nc*,¹⁰⁰ son of *Shtp-jb-Rc-nc* I. [no. 22], large mastaba at el-Lisht, Reign of *Sn-wsr I* (12th Dynasty).¹⁰¹
- 24.a-  *Hcj-k3-w-Rc-nc* (Berlin 23673: 4/4)¹⁰² corrected to  *Hpr-k3-Rc-nc* by H.G. Fischer,¹⁰³ and he may also be according

- to him the same HPPM called *S-n-wsr.t-ḥnh*.
w [no. 23] son of *Šhtp-jb-R^c-ḥnh* I. [no. 22].
 Reigns of *Sn-wsr.t* I. *Hpr-k3-R^c* to *Imn-m-ḥ3.t*
 II. *Nbw-k3.w-R^c* (12th Dynasty).
- 25-  *Nbw-k3.w-R^c-ḥnh* called also
 () or  *Š3-rnp.wt* II. 'the
 overseer of Khnum priests at Elephantine'
 (his tomb no. 31 in Qubbet el-Hawwa, west
 Aswan¹⁰⁴), nephew of *Š3-rnp.wt* I. son *Š3.t-
 tnj* (Qubbet el-Hawwa, Tomb no. 36). In
 my opinion, he could be equal to  *Nbw-k3.w-R^c-ḥnh* [no. 24.a]. Reign of *Sn-
 wsr.t* II. *H^cj-ḥpr-R^c* and his successors (12th
 Dynasty).
- 25.a-  *Nbw-k3.w-R^c-ḥnh*, mentioned on
 Berlin 23673: 4/3, son of [HPPM no. 23.a]
H^cj/Hpr-k3.w-R^c-ḥnh. Reign of *Sn-wsr.t* II.
H^cj-ḥpr-R^c to *Sn-wsr.t* III. *H^cj-k3-R^c* (12th
 Dynasty).
- 26-  [...? *w?*]*ḥ.t*, mentioned on Berlin
 23673: 4/1, son of 'god father, priest of Sobek
Šhtp-jb-šnb' (Berlin 23673: 4/2) and grandson
 of [HPPM no. 24.a]  *Nbw-k3.w-R^c-
 ḥnh* (Berlin 23673: 4/3). Reign of *Sn-wsr.t* III.
H^cj-k3-R^c (12th Dynasty).
- 27-  *Šhtp-jb-R^c-ḥnh* II., who he was
 described as *ndm* on Group-statue Louvre A.
 47. Reign of *Imn-m-ḥ3.t* III. *Nj-m3^c.t-R^c* (12th
 Dynasty).
- 28-  *Nb(.j)-pw* (Group-statue Louvre
 A. 47)¹⁰⁵ or  *Nb(.j)-pw-n(j)-R^c*
 (Saqqara List CG. 34516 A*, JE. 11335, SR.
 11967), son of [HPPM no. 26] *Šhtp-jb-R^c-ḥnh*
 II.-*ndm*. Reign of *Imn-m-ḥ3.t* III. *Nj-m3^c.t-R^c*
 (12th Dynasty).
- 29-  *Šhtp-jb-R^c-ḥnh* III., who was
 described as *ndm-šrj* / *ḥrd* on Group-statue
 Louvre A. 47¹⁰⁶ and maybe mentioned also
- on Berlin 1189 (?). Reign of *Imn-m-ḥ3.t* III.
Nj-m3^c.t-R^c (12th Dynasty) and his successors
 until the beginning of 13th Dynasty (2nd
 Intermediate Period).
- 30-  *Šnb.wj*, his wife called 
Nbw-m-ḥb and their son  *R^c-Stš*,
 who are mentioned on the Stele of Fitzwilliam
 Museum E. SS. 37*.¹⁰⁷ Temp. End of the
 Middle Kingdom or the beginning of 13th
 Dynasty (2nd Intermediate Period).
- 31-  *Šr-gm* (?), mentioned on Berlin 23673:
 3/13, Temp. of  *Jbj*- *Mr-nfr-R^c* (Pap. Turin Cat. 1874 vs.) = *Šnfr-k3-
 R^c* who ruled Memphis and the king of Lower
 Egypt (c. 1700 BCE, No. 27 of 13th Dynasty),
 at the same time of the king of Upper Egypt
 *Šnfr-ib-R^c* -  *S-
 n-wsr.t* IV. (in the first half of 13th Dynasty,
 2nd Intermediate Period).
- 32- Unknown (... *n(j) mr(w)t* ?), he was considered
 as HPPM according to the necklace () on
 his Cairo Museum Statue, Temporary Number
 14/6/24/12*,¹⁰⁸ and carried many titles (such
 as: 'Hereditary Nobleman,...', etc.) on its kilt
 and base. Temp. of *Nbw-R^c* (2nd Intermediate
 Period).

III. New Kingdom

- 33-  *Mntw*, son of god's father, the high
 priest of Heliopolis, called *Hr-m3^c-ḥrw* (reign
 of *Ipp* 'Apophis', Hyksos), son of cm-priest
 of Ptah called *Wr-ḥtp* (reign of *Šrk* 'Salitis'(?),
 Hyksos), son of god's father called *Hr-s3-Ḥst*,
 son of god's father called *Ir-mr*, son of god's
 father called *K3-ḥp*, son of the priest, the lector-
 priest called *Hr-m-ḥtp*, son of god's father, *ḥrj-
 sst3 n Pth* called *Pth-m-ḥ3(t)*, son of cm-priest
 of Ptah called *P3-šr* (reign of *3-kn*, Hyksos),
 son of the HPPM called *Šr-gm* (reign of *Jbj*,

- 13th Dynasty). *Mntw* was mentioned on Berlin 23673: 3/4, Temp. of *Nb-ph.tj-R^c* (Ahmos I).
- 34-  or  *P3-jrd* (H. Ranke's¹⁰⁹ and G. Daressy's reading),  or  *P3-jmrd* (D.H. Ranke's and Wildung's reading),¹¹⁰ *P3-jm-rd* (L. Borchardt's reading),¹¹¹ or *P3j-imj-(h)rd* (Ch. Maystre's reading),¹¹² son of *hrj-sšt3 n Pth* called *Tj* and the grandson of the HPPM called *Mntw*. He was mentioned on Berlin 23673: 3/2, Temp. of *Dsr-k3-R^c* (Amenophis I).
- 35-  *Sn-nfr* I,¹¹³ His daughter called *Šrj.t-R^c* was a wife of the purifying-priest of the goddess Sekhmet, the royal scribe, the overseer of the cattle, *Nb-nhtw*, son of the priest of *Hrj-sšf* called *Imn-mš*. *Sn-nfr* was mentioned and illustrated on the left-hand of the upper register of Cairo Museum rounded-top Stele JE. 46993* (=SR. 11688), and held the title of High priest of Heliopolis (i.e. *wr m3ww m Twnw*) besides many other titles such as *šm*-priest, that was under the reigns of Thutmose III / Amenophis III. He would like also to be combined with his private monkey (stand beside his seat). Leiden Museum R 53 (?) Temp. Thutmose III.
- 36-  *Pth-mš* I,¹¹⁴ Cairo Museum Naos CG. 70038* from Abydos (SR. 11593), Temp. *Mn-hpr-R^c* (Thutmose III.) *Nfr (.w)-hpr*.¹¹⁵
- 37-  *Pth-mš* II, son of the vizier *Dhw.tj-mš*. He would also like to be combined with his private monkey, such as *Š3bw* II called *Jbbj*, as it appeared on his Cairo Museum Kneeling headless Statue CG. 584*1 from Memphite Necropolis (SR. 139333) beside his right leg, Leiden Museum Stele V 14 = Leiden Museum Stele 27 with lower part in University College Museum in London*2. He had also many monuments from his tomb: Florence false door 2565*3, Berlin Pyramidion 2276*4, Berlin Stele 3427*5, Berlin Scarab 20661(?)*6, (BM 56863, BM 4640, BM 54989, BM 5472, BM Golden Ring 2939)*7, and others such as Leiden Museum 635. Temp. Thutmose IV.¹¹⁶
- 38-  *Pth-mš* III, son of the priest *Mn-hpr*, Florence Museum Pyramidion 2537*1 and Florence Museum Squatting-Statue 1505 = 1790*2. Temp. Amenophis III.¹¹⁷
- 39-  *Dhw.tj-mš*, son of King Amenophis III. He would like to be combined with his private cat  *T3-mj3.t* (Cairo Museum Cat-Coffin CG. 5003, JE. 30172, SR. 11711)*. Temp. Amenophis III.¹¹⁸
- 40-  *Pth-mš* IV, son of the HPPM *Dhw.tj-mš* and grandson of King Amenophis III, only Louvre 3026¹¹⁹, although D. Wildung¹²⁰ referred to both Florence false door 2565* (Fig. 37.3) and Florence Museum Pyramidion 2537* (Fig. 38.1). Temp. Amenophis III.
- I must here refer to that D. Wildung mentioned *Pth-mš* V, son of the vizier *Dhw.tj* and that he practiced his duties under the reign of Amenophis III,¹²¹ but I did not agree with him because he is the same HPPM of no 37 (*Pth-mš* II.).¹²²
- 41-  *P3-hm-ntr* I, son of *Pth-mš* III, son of the priest *Mn-hpr*. About him, D. Wildung¹²³ referred to both Stockholm Museum 54 and Florence Museum Squatting-Statue 1505 = 1790* (Fig. 38.2). Temp. Amenophis III.¹²⁴
- 42-  *P-n-p3-nb.s* (?) (according to L. Borchardt's reading¹²⁵) or *Pn-p3-nbs* (?) (according to D. Wildung's reading¹²⁶). He was mentioned in Berlin 23673: 2/12, and according to it he was the son of the god's father and the keeper of Ptah's secrets, *Nhm-n-Pth*, son of the cm-priest of Ptah and the

high priest of Heliopolis *Nb-R^c* (who was contemporary to King Thutmose III). Temp. Amenophis III.¹²⁷

- 43-  *Wr-mr* (according to D. Wildung's reading¹²⁸) or *Mr(j)-wr* (according to Ch. Maystre's reading¹²⁹), son of the HPPM *P-n-p3-nb.s*. He was mentioned in Berlin 23673: 2/11. Temp. Amenophis III.¹³⁰

- 44-  *Pth-mrj* (according to D. Wildung's reading¹³¹) or *Mr(j)-Pth* (according to Ch. Maystre's reading¹³²), Louvre Statue A 60, Berlin Offering-table 2273* (from Saqqara), and Karlsruhe H 1046 (Inscriptions from his tomb at Saqqara). Temp. End of 18th Dynasty.¹³³

- 45-  *Pth-m-h3.t*¹³⁴ called  *Tj*; ¹³⁵ cf. (no. 45.a). BM Stele 972*1 (+ John Gardner Wilkinson MSS xviii 72; ix 140),¹³⁶ Louvre E 8420,¹³⁷ Amherst 213,¹³⁸ Berlin 13297, Berlin 12410-12412*2-3,¹³⁹ and Copenhagen-Ny Carlsberg E 92¹⁴⁰. His name was only mentioned *Tj* in Berlin 23673: 2/8.

He is the son of the god's father of Ptah *Hr(j)* (according to BM 972 + Wilkinson MSS xviii 72), or the son of the god's father of Amun-Re the lord of Karnak *Skr-m-s3.f*, the son of the god's father of Sekhmet and the priest of the king *It-ntr.j* (3y) called *Ipw*, the son of the HPPM no. 43 *Wr-mr*, the son of the HPPM no. 42 *P-n-p3-nb.s* (according to Berlin 23673).

From the above-mentioned monuments, we know, at least three of his sons: [1] 'The lector-priest and the god's father' in the temple of goddess Bastet *S3jj*, [2] the purifying-priest of Ptah *P3-hm-ntr*, and [3] the purifying-priest of Ptah *Pth-m-wj3*.¹⁴¹

Temp. Tut-ankh-amun (according to Ch. Maystre,¹⁴² A.R. Schulman,¹⁴³ and M. Rice¹⁴⁴), Ay (according to PM III2), or *Dsr-hpr-*

R^c stp-n-R^c hqr-em-heb (according to D. Wildung¹⁴⁵).

- 45.a-  *nh.tj*,¹⁴⁶ ???, according to E. Schiaparelli.¹⁴⁷ I think it is an incorrect reading of the name inscribed on BM Stele 972 (see above no. 45).

- 46-  *Hrj* I, Temp. End of 18th Dynasty,¹⁴⁸ grandfather or one of ancestors of the HPPM *P3-hm-ntr* II, who was the son of  *Mh*.¹⁴⁹

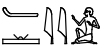
- 47-  *Skr-m-s3.f*.¹⁵⁰ He was mentioned on Berlin 23673: 2/7, and according to it he was the son of the HPPM *Pth-m-h3.t* called *Tj*, the son of the god's father of Amun-Re the lord of Karnak *Skr-m-s3.f*, who was called *Hr(j)* on BM 972 + Wilkinson MSS xviii 72). Temp. *Mn-m3^c.t-R^c* (Seti I.).¹⁵¹

- 48-  *Ntr.wj-htp*.¹⁵² He was mentioned on Berlin 23673: 2/6, and according to it he was the son of the HPPM *Skr-m-s3.f*, the son of the HPPM *Pth-m-h3.t* called *Tj*. Temp. Seti I.¹⁵³

- 49-  *P3-hm-ntr* II,¹⁵⁴ son of  *Mh* and  *Nn3*: Florence Pillar 2607*,¹⁵⁵ BM Stele 183¹⁵⁶ (= London Tablet 796¹⁵⁷). He was the father of 'the overseer of the city and the vizier' (of Lower Egypt in Memphis) *R^c-htp* (BM lower part of seated Statue 712¹⁵⁸) or sometimes as *P3-R^c-htp*, and his grandson *Mrj.tj* was 'the chief overseer of cattle of Amun' (on BM Stele 183) or called *Mrj* and carried the title *idnw n pr-^cnh* 'the deputy of the house of life' (on BM Statue 712). Temp. Seti I/ Ramesses II.¹⁵⁹

- 50-  *Sn-nfr* II,¹⁶⁰ Leiden Canopic-jar R 53,¹⁶¹ and Bruxelles Museum Canopic-jar E. 5895,¹⁶² and mentioned also on *P3-hm-ntr* III's Cairo Museum Temp. Nr. 17/3/25/5*.¹⁶³ Temp. Seti I (?).

- 51-  *P3-hm-ntr* III, son of *Sn-nfr* II (?),¹⁶⁴ Cairo Museum Temp. Nr. 17/3/25/5* (Fig. 50) (JE. 27322, SR. 14267).¹⁶⁵ Temp. 19th Dynasty.¹⁶⁶

52-  *Hwj*,¹⁶⁷ Louvre Ushabti S 1207 dated Year 26 (?) (1254/1253 BCE) found in Serapeum among the burial Apis, died in Year 16 (1264/1263 BCE) under the reign of Ramesses II, the date D. Wildung referred to, but he became HPPM in Year 2 (1278/1277 BCE) under the reign of Ramesses II according to K.A. Kitchen.¹⁶⁸

53-  *P3-hm-ntr* IV,¹⁶⁹ Florence 1679 (column from his tomb),¹⁷⁰ Cairo Museum CG. 1087,¹⁷¹ Berlin 33,¹⁷² and BM Stele 18.¹⁷³ Temp. 19th Dynasty (according to D. Wildung)¹⁷⁴ or Ramesses II (?) (according to Ch. Maystre),¹⁷⁵ and confirmed by K. Kitchen in Years 19/20 (1261/1260 – 1260/1259 BCE) under the reign of Ramesses II.¹⁷⁶

54-  *Pth-ms* VI.,¹⁷⁷ Louvre Stele 3062.¹⁷⁸ He held several administrative, military (wall from his tomb in Leiden Museum*), religious and priestly titles. His father was a god's father, his mother named *Mwt-nfr.t*, his wife named *T3-mj.t*; he had eleven children (six sons: four of them were priests, and five daughters).¹⁷⁹ Temp. Ramesses II.

55-  *Dj3* (Dedia),¹⁸⁰ from Asiatic origin, back to the head of the family 'the judge, the overseer of the scribes of the buildings of Amun'  *P3-dj-Bc*,¹⁸¹ 'Pethw-Baal' (Louvre Stele C 50),¹⁸² BM Stela 183 <796>,¹⁸³ BM Stela 738,¹⁸⁴ Cairo Statue CG. 42122,¹⁸⁵ Turin Ushabti 2666 (Fig. 66).¹⁸⁶ His priesthood might have been during the same time of his ancestor *P3-hm-ntr* II.

From Louvre Stele C 50 and other resources, we know that *Dj3* was born to 'the overseer of the scribes of the buildings of Amun'  *H3.t.i3j* (not *P3-hm-ntr* as Kitchen said)¹⁸⁷ from his wife , and had three brothers

 *S3-Mwt* twice, and  *Hnsw* who held the title 'the scribe of buildings'.

Dj3, who married¹⁸⁸  and was the grandfather of the HPPM *Nb-mh.jt*,* held the same title of his father in addition to the title 'Chief of Draughtsman-Painters in Karnak', served the Vizier Paser, who was in charge of directing the construction and decoration of buildings commissioned by King Seti I.¹⁸⁹

He became HPPM under the reign of King Seti I (according to D. Wildung¹⁹⁰), or starting from Year 35 (1245/1244 BCE) under the reign of Ramesses II (according to K.A. Kitchen).¹⁹¹ H. Kees suggested that *Dj3* might have been the father-in-law(?) of the vizier and the HPPM *Rc-htp*,¹⁹² whose father(?) was the HPPM *P3-hm-ntr* (II) of BM Stela 183. Although Kitchen stated that *Dj3* was the father of <*P3*>-*Rc-htp*.¹⁹³

56-  *Hc(j)-m-W3s.t* I,¹⁹⁴ BM Statue 947, Wien Statue 21 (No 5768), Block in Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum, Cairo Museum Column JE. 41525 (Temp. Nr. 17/11/24/4), BM Deposits 49235 & 48664*. He was the Royal Prince (Year 50), the fourth son of King Ramesses II, and the second of the queen *Is.t-nfr.t*. He was only a cm-priest, and did not hold the title of HPPM, i.e. 'the Greatest director of craftsmen', since Year 16 (1264/1263 BCE) – 52 (c. 1228 BCE) under the reign of Ramesses II, but in K.A. Kitchen's opinion he became an HPPM in Years 45/46 (1235/1234 BCE) till Year 52 (c. 1228 BCE) during his father's reign.¹⁹⁵

57- *B3k-n-Hwnsw*. He held his post since the Year 46 (1234/1233 BCE) under the reign of Ramesses II (according to K.A. Kitchen).¹⁹⁶

58-  *Rc-htp*,¹⁹⁷ BM lower part of seated Statue 712,¹⁹⁸ BM Stele 183,¹⁹⁹ (= London

Tablet 796), Cairo Museum Stele JE. 48845* (Temp. Nr. 14/4/24/4, SR. 13494),²⁰⁰ Cairo Museum Stele (no Nr.).²⁰¹

R^c-h_{tp}'s father-in-law was 'the first priest of *In-hr* (Onuris)' *Mjnw-mš* and his mother-in-law, 'the chief of the harem of Onuris', *Bwj*, named *H^ct-njswt* was sister of the Upper Egyptian vizier, also named *R^c-h_{tp}*. His wife, *Hnrj* was 'the chief of the harem of *Hrj-š3.f* (Arsaphes)', and his son *Mrj.tj* was 'the chief overseer of cattle of Amun' (BM Stele 183) or named *Mrj* and held the title 'the deputy of the house of life' (BM Statue 712). He became the Lower Egyptian vizier since Year 50 (1230/1229 BCE) under the reign of Ramesses II (according to K.A. Kitchen).²⁰²

Temp. He became an HPPM since Year 52 (c. 1228 BCE) under the reign of Ramesses II (according to D. Wildung); while since Year 55 (1225/1224 BCE) under the same reign (according to K.A. Kitchen).²⁰³

- 59-  *Mrj-n-Pth*,²⁰⁴ the thirteenth son of King Ramesses II, from queen *Is.t-nfr.t*. Temp. Ramesses II, Year 55 (1225/1224 BCE) according to W.M. Fl. Petrie²⁰⁵ who stated that *Mrj-n-Pth* carried in this year the titles 'the High Priest of Ptah, the Head of the Two Lands, the royal scribe, the chief overseer of the army', beside the titles 'son of the king, cm-priest, from his body, his beloved' mentioned by Lepsius.²⁰⁶

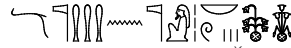
- 60-  [...] *nš-nh.t* (?)²⁰⁷ (according to D. Wildung) or [...] *nšn.t* (?) (according to L. Borchardt), He was mentioned also on Berlin 23673: 2/4, and was a son of the god's father of Amun of Karnak, the engineer of the buildings of Ramesses II, *Pth-h_{tp}*, son of HPPM *Ntr.wj-h_{tp}*, son of HPPM *Skr-m-s3.f*. Temp. Ramesses II.

- 61-  *Pth-m-3h.t* I,²⁰⁸ Borchardt read his name *Pth-m-i_hw.t* I. He was also mentioned on Berlin 23673: 2/3. Temp. Ramesses II.

- 62- *H3j*, who was former vizier of Upper Egypt in Thebes. Ramesses II honored him with the Memphite priestly office till his death (*H3j*'s death).²⁰⁹

- 63-  *Nfr-rnp.t*,²¹⁰ son of HPPM *Pth-m-3h.t* I, son of [...] *nš-nh.t* (?). Leiden Statue with naos D 44, BM Libation Tank (offering table?) 108*, Berlin 2290, Cairo Museum Block-Statue CG. 713 and Statue-naos CG. 1034, Liverpool Pyramidion M 11015, Amherst Collection Stele, BM Stele 4104. He was also mentioned on Berlin 23673: 2/2.

He was a vizier and held his priestly office since the Years 60/61 (1220/1219 – 1219/1218 BCE) under the reign of Ramesses II (according to K.A. Kitchen),²¹¹ Ramesses II / Merenptah (according to D. Wildung).

He held the title  (*i*)*m(j)-r(3) hmw-ntr n ntrw nbw (nw) šm^cw Mhw* 'the overseer of the priests of all deities of Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt', which was carried by his successor *šd-šw-Nfrtm* (under the reign of *šsnk* I, 22nd Dynasty), and was similar to the title  (*i*) *m(j)-r(3) hmw-ntr n/m šm^cw Mhw* 'the overseer of the priests of Upper and Lower Egypt', held before by both successors *Pth-mš* II and *Dhw.tj-mš*.²¹²

- 64-  *Pth-m-3h.t* II,²¹³ son of *Nfr-rnp.t*, son of *Pth-m-3h.t* I.. He was also mentioned on Berlin 23673: 2/1. Temp. 19th Dynasty (according to D. Wildung), unfortunately the king's name is destroyed.

- 65-  *Hrj* II, son of the royal prince and the cm-priest *H^c(j)-m-W3š.t*, and the grandson of King Ramesses II. He held his office since

Years 65/66 (1215/1214 – 1214/1213 BCE) under the reign of Ramesses II (according to K.A. Kitchen).²¹⁴

He also had a son named *Hrj* carried titles: ‘Prince and Mayor, God’s father, Beloved of the God, Master of Secrets of Ptah’s Temple, Mayor of the City (Memphis),’ and was a ‘vizier’ of Seti II.²¹⁵ (Fragments of the base of sandstone Statue found in Kom El-Arbaeen كوم الأربعين at Memphis:²¹⁶ Cairo Museum CG. 1174²¹⁷ and Brooklyn Museum 37.1920 E*a-b ²¹⁸). Temp. 19th Dynasty, late Ramesses II/ Merenptah.

66-  *Nb-mhj.t*,²¹⁹ the grandson of HPPM *Ddj*,²²⁰ Turin (R. Museo di Antichita te Turijn) Funeral Statue 2666*,²²¹ Temp. 19th Dynasty (according to H. Kees²²²).

67-  or  *H^c(j)-m-W3s.t* II., Temp. 19th Dynasty,²²³ the vizier and the HPPM (Aix-en-Provence 15²²⁴), son of the mayor of the city and the vizier *Hrj*,²²⁵ and the grandfather of ‘w^cb-priest and lector-priest of Ptah’ *Wr-hrp-hmw(.wt)* (BM kneeling Statue holding naos with statue of Ptah 845²²⁶), Cairo Stele-Collection of Michaelidès,²²⁷ Cairo Column JE. 43271,²²⁸ and an inscription in Wien Museum.²²⁹

68-  *Hrj* III,²³⁰ son of the vizier and the HPPM *H^c(j)-m-W3s.t* (Aix-en-Provence 15²³¹), son of the mayor of the city and the vizier *Hrj*.²³² BM Statue 845,²³³ Cairo Stele-Collection of Michaelidès,²³⁴ Berlin Sarcophagus 57,²³⁵ BM Stele 167,²³⁶ Cairo Column JE. 43271.²³⁷

He carried on BM 845 the titles: ‘Hereditary nobleman, Count, God’s father, beloved from the god, cm-priest, the Greatest of the directors of craftsmen’, and was the ‘son of the Greatest

of the directors of craftsmen, *H^c(j)-m-W3s.t*; while his son, *Wr-hrp(.w)-hmw(.wt)*, was only ‘w^cb-priest and lector-priest of Ptah’.

From Cairo Stele-Collection of Michaelidès, we know that he married a ‘singer of Hathor lady of the southern sycamore’, named *St-k3*, and have three daughters (*T3-imt*, *Mr.jt-Pth*, *T3-bs*), and a son called *Km* was a ‘priest of Baal’. That was without any mention to the son *Wr-hrp-hmw(.wt)* of BM 845.

Temp. end of 19th and 20th Dynasties (according to Wildung),²³⁸ or from Year 24 (1161 BCE) of the reign of Ramesses III. (according to Pierre Grandet).²³⁹

69-  *Jjrj*,²⁴⁰ Louvre Statue A 71.²⁴¹ Temp. Seti II in the 19th Dynasty (according to D. Wildung). He had a son carried the titles ‘the god’s father of Ptah, the *sm*-priest’. Some elements* of his tomb (at Saqqara) reused again to cover the ceiling of tomb (W) in Kom el-Fakhry (Mit-Rahina).

70-  *P3-hm-ntr* V,²⁴² Louvre Double-Statue A 72*, he appeared on it with the vizier *Hrj*.²⁴³ Temp. 19th and 20th Dynasties (according to D. Wildung).²⁴⁴

71-  or  *H^c(j)-m-W3s.t* III, (QV 44), son of Ramesses III. He was only a cm-priest of Ptah at Memphis (= deputy to the High Priest), but had never carried the title HPPM. His priesthood took time in both²⁴⁵ the reigns of his father (Ramesses III, 1185-1153 BCE)²⁴⁶ and his brother (Ramesses IV, 1153-1146 BCE).²⁴⁷

72-  *Hrj* IV,²⁴⁸ son of the ‘Mayor (of Memphis)’ *Pth-m3*, Cairo Museum Column Temp. Nr. 20/1/25/4 (SR. 14125)*1,²⁴⁹ and wall painting in Serapeum of Saqqara are published by Mohamed Ibrahim Aly in his

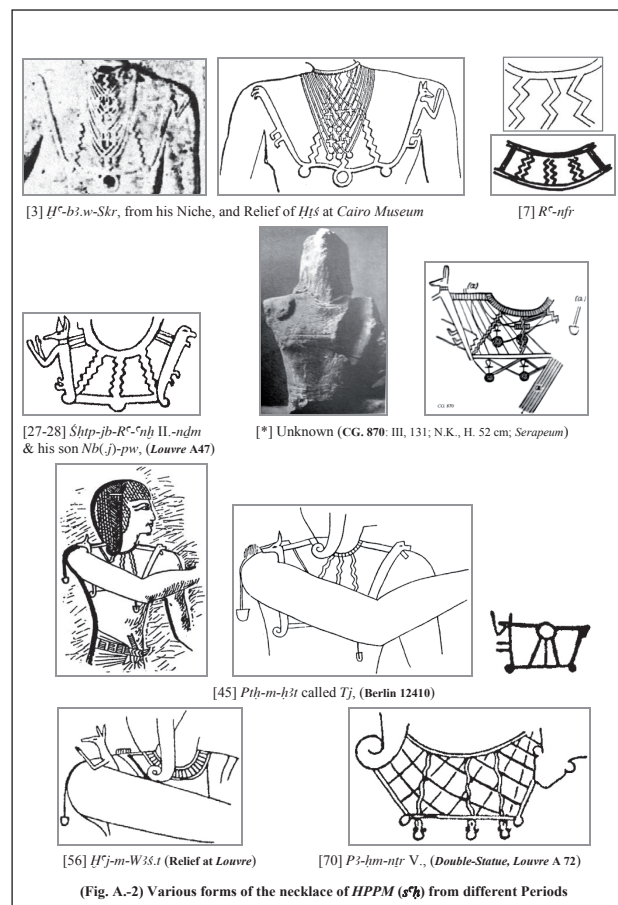
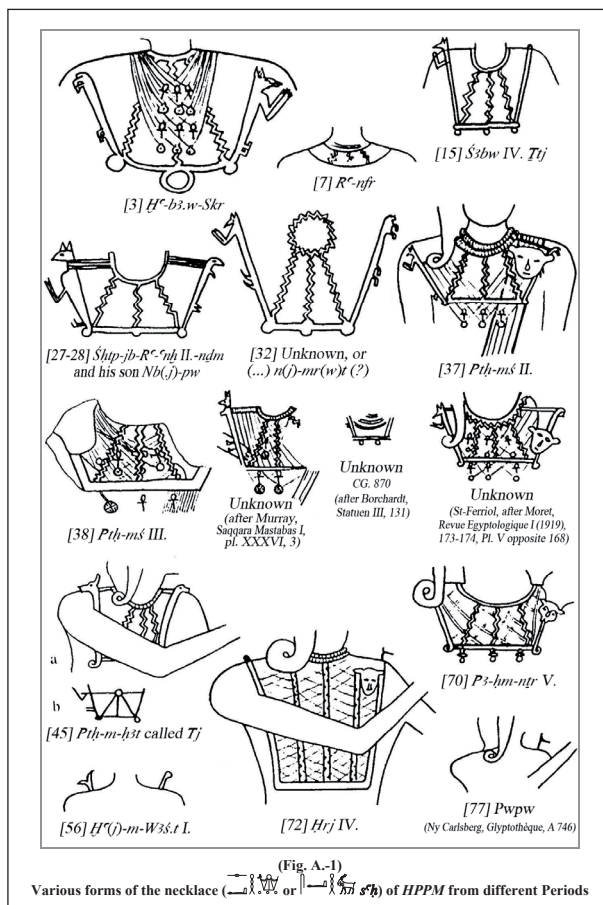
PhD thesis*2-3.²⁵⁰ He carried, as his father, the title ‘Mayor (of Memphis)’ beside his other titles *irj-p^c.t*, *it-ntr mrj ntr*, *w^cb^c.wj*, *šm*, etc. Temp. End of 18th Dynasty (according to Wildung²⁵¹) or end of 19th Dynasty and early 20th Dynasty (according to M.I. Aly and PM III who connected him probably with the Ramesside period), and I agree with the last opinion for several reasons.²⁵²

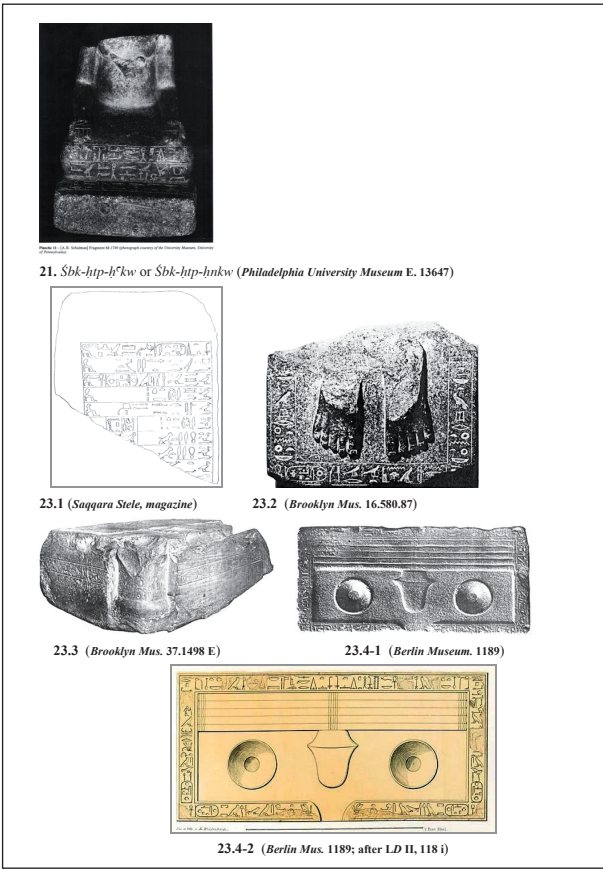
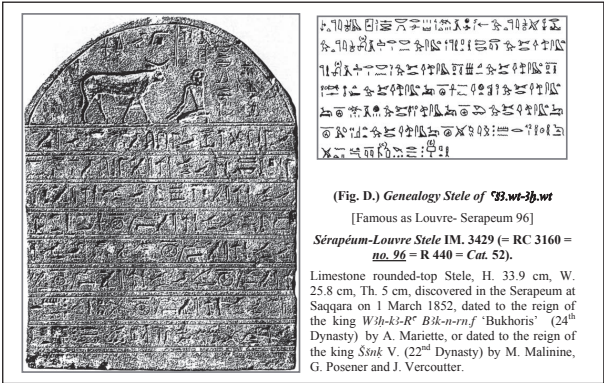
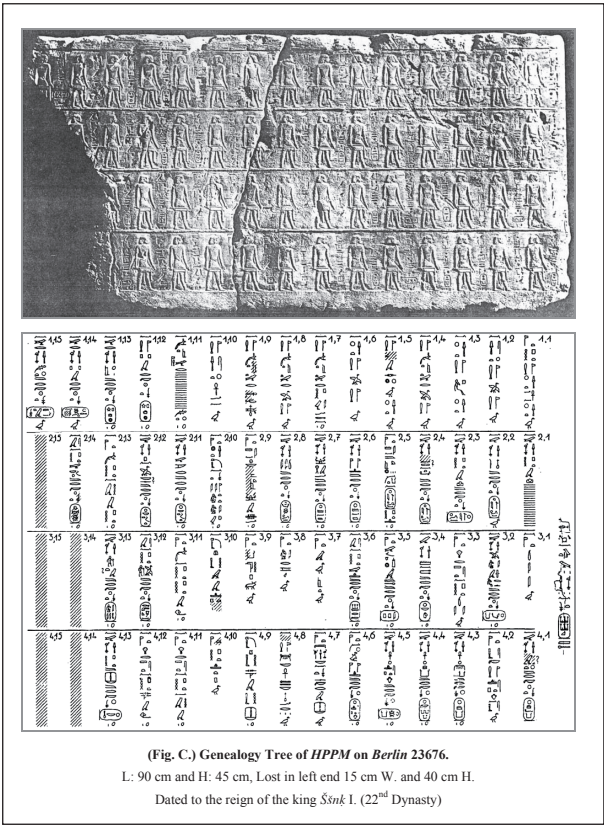
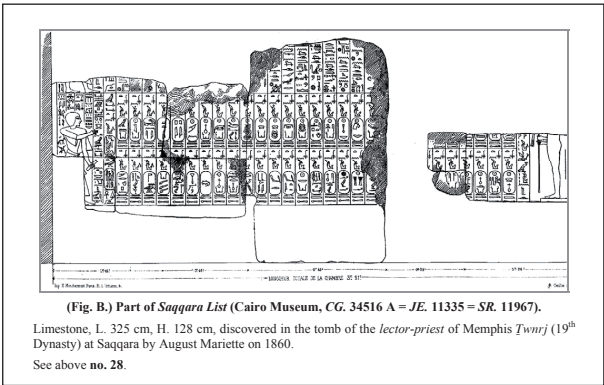
- 73-  *H^c(j)-m-W3š.t* IV, Temp. 20th Dynasty,²⁵³ Philadelphia-University Museum Faience Stele E. 13578: held on it the titles ‘Governer of the Town and Vizier, Greatest of the Directors of craftsmen’, etc.²⁵⁴

He was an HPPM under the reign of Ramesses IX²⁵⁵ *H^c(j)-m-W3š.t* (1123-1104),²⁵⁶ and according to two papyri dating to Years 16 and 17 of the reign of Ramesses IX, he was a vizier of Upper Egypt.²⁵⁷

- 74-  *N3n3*,²⁵⁸ who was also known as *Pth-mš(jw)* VII,²⁵⁹ Berlin Scarab 20661*.²⁶⁰ He also carried the titles  *s3.f mr.f hrd n k3p Pth-mš dd n.f N3n3* ‘his son, his beloved, the child of the *K3p*,²⁶¹ *Pth-mš*, who called *N3n3*’ in TT. 193 (Sheikh Abdel Qurnah) of *P3-irj*.²⁶² Temp. Late of New Kingdom (according to D. Wildung).

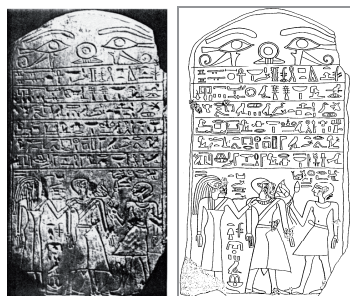
- 75-  *B3k-n-Jmn*, Temp. New Kingdom.²⁶³



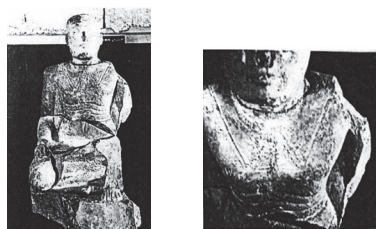




28. *Nh(j)-pw* or *Nh(j)-pw-n(j)-R^c*
(Part of CG. 34516 A)



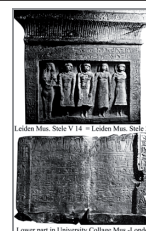
30. *Šnb.wj* (Fitzwilliam Museum E. SS. 37)



32. Unknown (... *n(j) mr(w)t*?) and Detail of the HPPM's necklace
(Cairo Museum Statue, Temporary Number 14/6/24/12)



37.1 *Pth-ms* II. (CG. 584)



37.2 *Pth-ms* II.



37.3 and 40. *Pth-ms* IV.
(false door, Florence 2565)



37.4 *Pth-ms* II. (Berlin 2276)



37.5 *Pth-ms* II. (Berlin 3427)



37.6 *Pth-ms* II. (Berlin 20661)



37.7 *Pth-ms* II.



38.1 *Pth-ms* III. and 40. *Pth-ms* IV.
(Pyramidion, Florence Mus. 2537)



38.2 *Pth-ms* III. & 41. *Pj-hm-nfr* I.
(Squatting-Statue, Florence 1505 = 1790)



35. *Šn-nfr* I. (sitting on the left of the upper register of Cairo Mus. rounded-top Stela JE. 46993)



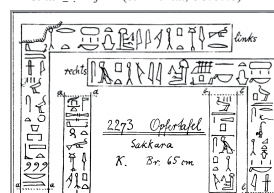
36. *Pth-ms* I. (CG. 70038)



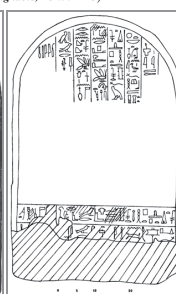
39.a *Dhw.tj-ms* (coffin of cat, CG. 5003)



39.b (coffin of cat, CG. 5003)



44. *Pth-mrj* or *Mr(j)-Pth* (Offering table, Berlin 2273)



45.1 *Pth-m-h3.1* (Rounded-top Stela, BM 972 with sketch of the lower part inscriptions)



45.2 *Pth-m-h3.t* (Berlin 12412)



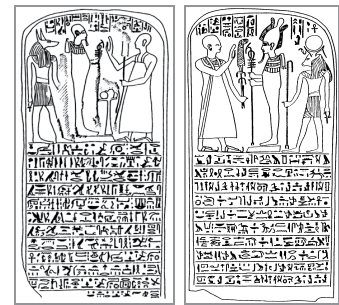
45.3 *Pth-m-h3.t* (Berlin 12410)



49. *P3-hm-ntr* II.



56. *H'j)-m-W33.t* I. (son of Ramesses II.)
(Deposits of *Pth* temple, BM 49235 & 48664)



58. *R'-h3p* (JE. 48845, Temp. Nr. 14/4/24/4, SR. 13494)



63. *Nfr-nrp.t*
(Libation Tank or offering table?, BM 108)



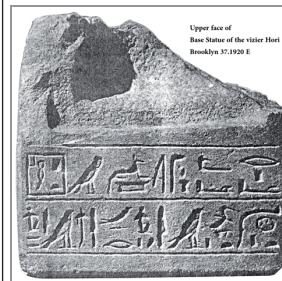
66. *Nb-mh3.t*, the grandson of *HPPM* Ddj
(Funeral Statue, Turin 2666)



50. *Su-nfr* II. & 51. *P3-hm-ntr* III.
(Cairo Mus. JE. 27322, Tem. Nr. 17/3/25/5)



54. *Pth-m3* VI. (Leiden Mus.)



65.(a) *Hrj* II. (Brooklyn 37.1920 E)



65.(b) *Hrj* II. (Brooklyn 37.1920 E)



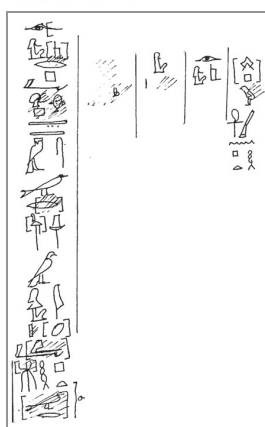
69. *Jrj* (offering a bouquet to his wife)



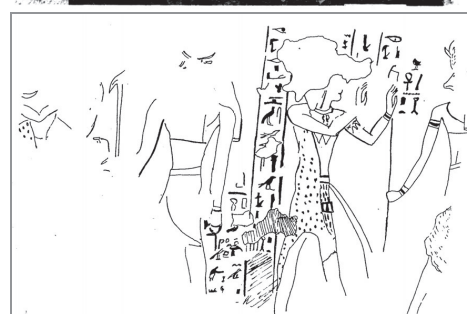
70. *P3-hm-ntr* V. (Double-Statue, Louvre A 72)



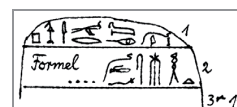
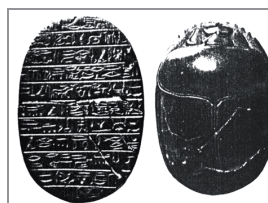
72.1 Hry IV. (son of Pth-ms, the Mayor of Memphis)
(Column, Cairo Museum Temp. Nr. 20/1/25/4, SR. 14125)



72.3 Hry IV. (Serapeum Saqqara)



72.2 Hry IV. (Serapeum Saqqara)



74. Pth-ms(jw) VII., called (also) Ntrj (Scarab, Berlin 20661)

Notes

- 1 See Ahmed M. Badawi, *Memphis – als Zweite Landeshauptstadt im Neuen Reich*, Imprimerie de l'IFAO (La Caire, 1948); Charles Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis* [PhD, 1948], published in OBO 113 (Göttingen-Schweiz, 1992); Marion Teena-Dimick, *Memphis: The City of White Wall*, The University Museum of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1956); Pierre Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte Ancienne*, Imprimerie Nationale (Paris, 1957), I: 27-48; Dorothy J. Crawford, Jan Quaegebeur, and Willy Clarysse, *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis*, Studia Hellenistica 24 (Lovanii, 1980); E. A. E. Reymond, *Records of Priestly Family from Memphis I*, AA 38 (Wiesbaden, 1981); Christiane M. Cache-Zivie, 'Memphis', *LÄ IV* (Wiesbaden, 1982), 24-41; Farouk Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des*

Mittleren Reiches, 2 vols., Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, Geisteswissenschaften, Nr. 66/2 (Wiesbaden, 1987), Band II: 5-66; Dorothy J. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (Princeton, 1988); Kenneth A. Kitchen, 'Towards a Reconstruction of Ramesside Memphis', in Bleiberg and Freed (eds.), *Fragments of Shattered Visage: The Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ramesses the Great*. Monographs of the Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology 1; Memphis State University (Memphis-Tennessee, 1991), 87-104 (with plans and maps); Ian Shaw and Paul Nicholson, *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1995; Cairo, 2002), Memphis: 180-181; David G. Jeffreys, Memphis, in Kathryn A. Bard, *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, with the editing assistance of Steven Blake Shubert, 1st published (London and New York, 1999), 488-490 (see also 491-493); Heba I. M. Mahran, *Memphis in the First Millennium BCE to 332 BCE, An Archaeological and Historical Study*, 2 vols. (M.A. diss., Minia University: Faculty of Tourism and Hotels, 2000); D.G. Jeffreys, 'Memphis', in Donald B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, the American University of Cairo Press (Cairo, 2001), vol. II, 373-376a; Basem Samir El-Sharkawy, 'Sobek's Cult and Temple at Memphis, pBM 10184 verso and pBM 9999 [and others sources]', in Mamdouh Eldamaty and Mai Trad (editors), *Egyptian Museum Collections around the World, Studies for the Centennial of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo* (Cairo-Egypt, 2002), vol. 2: 1079-1089; Basem Samir El-Sharkawy, 'الملك', A New 'Greatest of the Directors of craftsmen' (i.e. High-Priest of Ptah at Memphis) from Mit-Rahinah [Excavation Season, 1987], *Abgadiyat* 2 (Bibliotheca Alexandrina: Calligraphy Center, 2007), 22-29; see also:

أحمد بك كمال، 'تاريخ مدينة منف'، المقتطف، عدد 22، لسنة 1898، 830 و905؛ أحمد كمال، (في) المقتطف، عدد 23 (سنة 1899)، 41؛ وكذلك: أحمد باشا كمال، الدر النفيس في مدينة ممفيس [القاهرة]، طبعة 1910؛ فادية محمد أبو بكر، منف في العصر البطلمي، ماجستير غير منشورة، كلية الآداب (جامعة الإسكندرية، 1977)؛ باسم سمير الشرقاوي، كهنوت منف حتى بدايات العصر البطلمي، ماجستير غير منشورة في الآداب (جامعة عين شمس، 2003)؛ باسم سمير الشرقاوي، 'منف والإسكندرية، تبادل وتداخل الأدوار والمسميات'، في: مؤتمر الإسكندرية الحضارات (سبتمبر 2003)، ج1، 45-23؛ باسم سمير الشرقاوي، 'قاموس جغرافي-عمراني لإقليم إنب-حجج (منف)'، مؤتمر القيوم الرابع (2004)، مجلد1، 156-101؛ باسم سمير الشرقاوي، 'النيل والمستطحات المائية في منف'، في: أعمال مؤتمر القيوم الخامس: النيل ومصادر المياه في مصر عبر العصور (جامعة القيوم، كلية الآثار، 2005)، ج1: 105-89؛ باسم سمير الشرقاوي، 'أتون في منف: كهنته ومعبدته'، دراسات في الحضارة المصرية القديمة، عدد تكريمي لأستاذ الدكتور/علي رضوان، CASAE 34/III المجلس الأعلى

للآثار (القاهرة، 2005)، 57-41؛ باسم سمير الشرقاوي، مدينة منف بين الازدهار والافول (3100 ق.م - 640 م)، ج1: منف مدينة الأرباب في مصر القديمة، الطبعة الأولى (القاهرة، 2007).

2 About the recent used chronology see: Aidan Dodson and Dyan Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt* (London, 2004; Cairo, 2005), 287-294.

3 Pap. Oxyrinchus 894, 2nd Century AD; also: D.G. Jeffreys, 'Memphis', in K. A. Bard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, 488b.

فاروق حافظ القاضي، محاضرات في تاريخ مصر في عصر الرومان، كلية الآداب (القاهرة: جامعة عين شمس، 1994؛ 1997)، 81؛ جونيفيف هوسون، 'مصر البطلمية-الرومانية'، (في)، دومينيك فالبييل وجونيفيف هوسون، الدولة والمؤسسات في مصر، منذ الفراعنة الأوائل إلى الأباطرة الرومان، مترجم، ط1 (القاهرة، 1995)، 223؛ فوزي الفخراني، 'الإسكندرية في العصرين اليوناني والروماني'، في تاريخ الإسكندرية عبر العصور: تاريخ الإسكندرية: نشأتها وحضارتها منذ أقدم العصور، الهيئة الإقليمية لتنشيط السياحة (الإسكندرية، [1999])، 49؛ خالد غريب، 'الإسكندرية: مدينة يحتفي بها التاريخ'، في: مؤتمر الإسكندرية مدينة الحضارات، 2003، ج1، 50.

4 It had been read and translated before as follows:

- [de Rougé: 1866 and 1891] uer kherp uba (*wr hrp wb3*) 'Grand chef de l'oeuvre', [Brugsch: 1880] 'der General Director der schönen Künste', [Maspero: 1888] 'chef de l'oeuvre', [Brugsch: 1891] 'der Oberkunstmeister', [Sethe: 1905] 'the great leader of the artisans' = [Maystre: 1948 published in 1992] 'le grand chef des artisans', [Stolk: 1911] 'oberster Leiter der Kunstwerke' = [Sandman-Holmberg: 1946] 'supreme leader of handicraft' = [Maystre: 1948/1992] 'chef suprême des métiers', [Borchardt: 1913] 'Großen, die Künstler leiten', [Blackman: 1918] 'he who is great at directing the craftsmen' = [Maystre: 1948/1992] 'celui qui est grand à la direction des artisans', [Blackman: 1921] 'chief of the master-artificers' = [Gauthier: 1931] *wr hrp.w hmw.t ?* 'le grand des maîtres-artisans' = [Maystre: 1948/1992] 'chef des maîtres-artisans', [Moret: 1926] 'le grand chef de l'OEuvre', [Erman-Gradow, Wb.: 1926 and 1929] *wr hrp.w hmw.t* 'Oberster der Werkmeister' = [Ranke: 1935; *PN* I, 81: 18] 'der Oberster der Werkmeister' = [Maystre: 1948/1992] 'chef des maîtres-ouvriers', [Lefebvre: 1929] 'grand des chefs d'atelier' = [Maystre: 1948/1992] 'ouvriers travaillant sous un maître', [Kees: 1931 and 1962, cf. Sethe: 1918] 'der grösste Leiter der Künste' = [Maystre: 1948/1992] 'le plus grand chef des arts', [Erman: 1934, 1937 trans. by Wild] 'directeur en chef des artistes' and 'le grand pour diriger les artistes', [Junker: 1934 ff and 1939-1940] 'der Leiter der Handwerker des Grossen' = [Maystre: 1948/1992] 'le chef des artisans du Grand', [Rusch: 1941] 'Grosser Vorsteher der Künstler' = [Maystre: 1948/1992] 'grand directeur des artistes', [Gardiner:

Seitenzahl, *ÄA* 8, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1963), vol. I: 368, 405, 522 ff, 663; cf. 550; Henry George Fischer, 'An Old Kingdom Monogram: '𓆎', *ZÄS* 93 (1966), 64, n. 27; Herman de Meulenaere, 'Le Grand-Prêtre Memphite Séhétepihrê-Ankh', in *Fs 150jährigen Berl. Äg. Museum* (Berlin, 1974), 183-184; H. G. Fischer, '9 Administration Titles of Women in the Old and Middle Kingdom', in *Egyptian Studies, I: Varia*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum, 1976), 61, 63-67, n. 37; R. Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeiten im alten Aegypten*, *ÄA* 31 (Wiesbaden, 1976), 78; Dieter Wildung, 'Hoherpriester von Memphis', *LÄ* II (Wiesbaden, 1977), 1256; Herman te Velde, 'Ptah', *LÄ* IV (Wiesbaden, 1982), 1178 and n. 10; William A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, American University of Beirut, First published (Beirut-Lebanon, 1982), 88, nos. 729-730; Nigel Srtudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, The Highest Titles and their Holders* (London, 1985), 224, 226; H. de Meulenaere, in: *Mélanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter réunis par Frances Gues et Florence Thill.*, Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations (Paris, 1985), 263, n. 1; W. A. Ward, *Essays on Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and related subjects*, First published (Beirut-Lebanon, 1986), 116; Edward Brovanski, 'Tempelpersonal I', *LÄ* VI (Wiesbaden, 1986), 387 and n. 6; E. Doret, *The Narrative verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian* (Genève, 1986), 33, n. 245; Chr. J. Eyre, 'Work and Organisation of Work in the Old Kingdom', in M. A. Powell (ed.), *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, Amer. Or. Series vol. 86 (New Haven, 1987), 26; Didier Devauchelle, 'Le titre du grand prêtre memphite', *RdE* 43 (1992), 205-207; Jean Vercoutter, 'Le rôle des artisans dans la naissance de la civilisation égyptienne', *CdE* 68 (1993), 70-83 and n. 4 ff; Jochem Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglypheninschrift in der 0-3. Dynastie*, *GOF* 29 (1994), 752, n. 2428; Reiner Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen, Großes Handwörterbuch, Ägyptisch-deutsch, (2800-950 v. Chr.)*, *Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt*, Band 64 (1. Auflage, 1995) 3. Unveränderte Auflage (Mainz, 2001), 203; Luc Pfrisch, in *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, vol. I: *Études pharaoniques*, *BdE* 106/1, IFAO (Le Caire, 1997), 293 and n. 4, 298 and n. 41; P. Piacentini, *Enquête sur les scribes dans la société égyptienne de l'Ancien Empire (les necropolis Memphite)*, Thèse de doctorat, EPHE IVe Sect., Paris, Octobre 1997, 4 vols. (Paris, 1997), III: 1368; J. Osing, *The Carlsberg Papyri 2, Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I: Text*, CNI Publications 17 (University of Copenhagen, 1998), 239(b) and nos. 1153-1154; see also: Dilwyn Jones, An

Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom, 2 vols., BAR International Series 866 (I and II) (Oxford-England, 2000), vol. 1, 391-392 (no. 1450), cf. 392-395 (nos. 1451-1458); and also: Basem Samir Louis Yacoub El-Sharkawy, *The Memphite Priesthood till the Beginning of the Ptolemaic Period*, (M.A. diss., Ain-Shams University: Faculty of Arts, August 2003), Part I: Text, 199-200, footnote no 111, and passim.

- 5 This title is not equal with the title *imj-r Hmw.w wr* 'the great overseer of craftsmen' carried for example by 𓆎 Penamun in 18th Dynasty, on his stele from Saqqara (Brooklyn Museum 37.1486E); T. G. H. James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum, I: From Dynasty I to the End of Dynasty XVIII* (New York, 1974), 177, pls. XIII and LXXXVI (D).
- 6 See: Basem El-Sharkawy, *The Memphite Priesthood till the Beginning of the Ptolemaic Period*, 2 parts (M.A. diss. Ain-Shams University, [August] 2003), Part I: Text, 230-235, 318-483, 488-492, 498-502; Part II: Inscriptions and Appendixes, 1009-1062 (figs. 232-269).
- 7 Basem Samir El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood* (M.A. diss. Ain-Shams University, 2003), Part I: 215-222; Part II: 872-880, figs. 134 and 136-146; see: Adolf Erman, 'Aus dem Grabe eines Hohenpriesters von Memphis', *ZÄS* 33 (1895), 22-23, figs. a-g; idem, *Die ägyptische Religion*, *Handbücher der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* [9], Reimer (Berlin, 1905), fig. 80; Ch. Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis* (PhD Thesis, 1948), OBO 113 (Göttingen, 1992), pls. I (figs. 1-15) and II (figs. 5, 6, 16); Elizabeth Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich*, *MÄS* 8 (Berlin, 1966), 135-139, pls. IX (fig. 14) and XXXIX (fig. 61).
- 8 إبراهيم يوسف شتلة، تفسير بيولوجي لبعض الكائنات بالرسومات والنقوش الجدارية في مصر الفرعونية، الطبعة الأولى: دار الكتب والوثائق المصرية (القاهرة، 2008 م)، 23، 21، 19، 17، 15، 11-13.

The definition of the sort with 'Gepard' is after Dr. 'Ibrahim Shattlah', my deepest thanks to him. See: Basem Samir L. Y. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood* (M.A. diss. Ain-Shams University, 2003), Part I: Text, 127, 132, 164, 165, 212 (footnote no. 191), 215-216, 218, 222, 265 (Brit. Museum 183 = 945-946, fig. 184), 282 (Doc. 109), 299 [No 5-64, lower]; Part II: Inscriptions and Appendixes, 557 (doc. 89, description of 2-5), 562 (doc. 98, description of no. I: Cairo Museum Temp. Nr. 17/2/25/5 = 948, fig. 186), 621 (doc. 170, description before no. I: Berlin Museum 8169, left figure = 861-864, fig. 126), 626 (doc. 177, description of no. II: Louvre-Sérapéum Stele IM. 3749, RC 2998, N. 413, S 1898

- (?), no. 18, R 401 = 1000, fig. 225), 629 (doc. 179, description of no. I: Louvre-Sérapéum Stele IM. 3736, RC 2793, S 1905, no. 36, R 411 = 1002, fig. 227), 872 (fig. 135), 876 (fig. 145: 6, 10, 13, and 14), 879 (fig. 146, 6, and 14), 903-904 (fig. 159), 914-916 (fig. 166), 917-920 (fig. 167), 923 (fig. 169) ?, 979 (fig. 204, right), 986 (fig. 211, top, left)
- 9 Hermann Ranke, *PN = Die Ägyptischen Personennamen* I-II (Glückstadt, 1935-1952), *PN* I, 81: 18 ('m. NR'). 18th Dynasty: München, Antiquarium 15 (Stela of *Nhr*); Mannheim, Schloß-museum Uschabti; Philadelphia, University Museum E. 12038 (kneeling headless Statue); 19 Dynasty: British Museum 845 (kneeling headless Statue); Leiden V 57 (Stela). For further reading see: Basem Samir El-Sharkawy, 'The Title *Wr-hrp(.w)-hmmw(.wt)* as a Proper Name in the New Kingdom', in: *Acts of The International Academic Ceremony to honour Professor of Egyptology M. Abd el-Halim Nur el-Din* (10-12 April 2007), Part Two, editing by Basem Samir El-Sharkawy, SCA Press (Cairo, 2009), 201-210.
 - 10 Dieter Wildung, 'Hoherpriester von Memphis', *LÄ* II (Wiesbaden, 1977), 1256-1263.
 - 11 Charles Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis* (PhD Thesis, 1948 published in:) OBO 113, Universitätsverlag Freiburg-Schweiz, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht (Göttingen, 1992).
 - 12 PM III2, Part 2, Fascicle 3 (Oxford, 1981), 916-918 and passim.
 - 13 Ch. Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 223-388. See also: Basem Samir L. Y. El-Sharkawy, *The Memphite Priesthood till the Beginning of the Ptolemaic Period* [in Arabic] (M.A. diss., Faculty of Arts, Ain-Shams University: Cairo-Egypt, 2003), part II: 504-642 (inscriptions nos. 1-189), 872-1008 (figs. 134-231); cf. Caroline Louise Ransom Williams, 'Stela of a high-priest of Memphis', *BCMA = The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 5 (Cleveland Museum-Ohio, 1918), 67-69, 1 pl.
 - 14 Such as: Saqqara List CG. 34516 A (= JE. 11335, SR. 11967) (fig. B): A. Mariette, *Monuments divers Recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie* (Paris, 1889), 19, Pl. 58; see also: Basem Samir L. Y. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 457; II: figs. 208 on 983 and 259 on 1051; Henry George Fischer, '8. A Memphite High Priest and His Sister', in: *Egyptian Studies* I: *Varia*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1976), 64, Fig. 4; Johannes Lieblein, *Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch, Genealogischen und Alpha-betisch Geordnet, Nach den Aegyptischen Denkmälern Herausgegeben*, J. C. Hinrichs. (Leipzig, 1871), I: 307 (no. 953); cf. T. G. H. James, *BM Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, part 9 (1970), 28-9 and Pls. XXIVA-XXIV; [1] Berlin 23673: Ludwig Borchardt, 'Ein Stammbaum memphitischer Priester', *SPAW*, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse (Berlin, 1932), 618-622; Ludwig Borchardt, 'Ahnenreihe von Priestern aus Memphis', in: *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung von Punkten der ägyptischen Geschichte und ihre Anwendung, Quellen und Forschungen zur Zeitbestimmung der ägyptischen Geschichte*, Band 2, Selbstverlag (Kairo, 1935), 96-112, Blatt 2a and Blatt 2; cf. Borchardt, *Sitzungsberichte Berlin Akademie der Wissenschaft* (Phil.-hist. Kl. Berlin, 1932), Heft XXIV; see: Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, part II, inscriptions no. 182 on 632-633, fig. 228 on 1003; cf. fig. 230 on 1005-1006; and [2] Sérapéum-Louvre Stele IM. 3429 (= RC 3160 = no. 96 = R 440 = Cat. 52) (fig. D): A. Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis* (1857), Pl.34 (photo); J. Lieblein, *Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1871), no. 1027; E. Chassinat, 'Textes provenant du Sérapéum de Memphis', *Rec. Trav.* 22 (1900), 16-17, no. 54 (text); PM III1 (1931), 210; now, M. Malinine, G. Posener and J. Vercoutter, *Catalogue des Stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis*, Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Louvre, Imprimerie Nationale, Editions des Musées Nationaux (Paris, 1968), Tome Premier: Texte, 48-49 (no. 52); Tome Premier: Planches, pl. XVI; PM III2/2 (1981), 805. Also there are: [3] Sérapéum-Louvre Stele: IM. 3749 (= RC 2998 = N. 413 = S 1898 (?) = no. 18 = R 401); [4] IM. 3697 (= RC 2792 = S 1904 = no. 34 = R 410 = no. 6344); [5] IM. 3736 (= RC 2793 = S 1905 = no. 36 = R 411); after M. Malinine, G. Posener and J. Vercoutter, *Catalogue des Stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis*, Tome Ier: Texte, Tome Ier: Planches (Paris, 1968), 19-23 (nos. 21-23), pls. VII-VIII.
 - 15 See: Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood* (M.A. diss. 2003), the new list of HPPM made by the researcher is on part II: I-XIX after page 880; cf. part I, 190-316. See also: Basem S. El-Sharkawy, '𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏. A New 'Greatest of the Directors of craftsmen' (i.e. High-Priest of Ptah at Memphis) from Mit-Rahinah [Excavation Season, 1987]', *Abgadiyat* 2 (Bibliotheca Alexandrina: Calligraphy Center, 2007), 22-29, from Unpublished report of Excavation during the season of 1987 kept in the archive of the Antiquity Inspectorate at Mit-Rahinah, no. 3982 in the Register Book which was signed by 'Mohamed Rashed Hammad' محمد راشد حماد who was the general of inspectors of the site at that time.
 - 16 Such as who carried the names: *Pth-špšš* I/ II/ III/ IV/ V/ VI; *Š3bw* I/ II/ III/ IV; *Šn-nfr* I/ II; *Pth-mš* I/ II/ III/ IV/ V/ VI/ VII; *P3-hm-ntr* I/ II/ III/ IV/ V; *Hrj* I./II./III./IV.; *Hʿj-m-W3š.t* I./II./III./IV.; *Pth-m-3h.t*

- I/II; *ṣ3-jh.t* I/ II ; *Pwpw* I/ II ; *Hr-s3-Js.t* I./II.; *ṣnh.f-nj-Šhmt* I/ II; *Ššnk* I/ II; and *Jḥ-mš-mn(w)* I/ II
- Numbering of those HPPM in the present article is according to the researcher's study not to the other studies and references. Cf. William J. Murnane, 'Chapter 13: Too Many High Priests? Once Again the Ptahmuses of Ancient Memphis', in David P. Silverman (ed.), *For His Ka: Essays Ofered in Memory of Klaus Baer* (The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1994), 187-196.
- 17 D. Wildung, 'Hoherpriester von Memphis', *LÄ II* (1977), 1258: 1; Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 236; II: 881 (fig.147); cf. Ranke, *PN I*, 201: 9 'schön ist die Dauer der Ptah'.
- 18 Jean-Philippe Lauer and Pierre Lacau, *Le pyramide à Degrès V* (Le Caire, 1965), 56 (Nr. 157), fig. 108; Peter Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit I* (Wiesbaden, 1963), 550; Jochem Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglypheninschrift in der 0-3. Dynastie*, GOF 29 (1994), 680, 1009, Q.69 (cf. 752, Q.695).
- 19 Basem S. L. Y. El-Sharkawy, *The Memphite Priesthood* (M.A, 2003), Part I: 68 ff.; Basem Samir El-Sharkawy, *The Ancient Capital Memphis Series from the Flourish to the Decline (3100 BCE to 640 AD): A Historical, Cultural, and Archaeological Study*, First Part: Memphis: *The City of Gods and Goddesses in Ancient Egypt* [In Arabic with English Contents and Abstract], supervised and presented by Prof. Dr. Abd El-Halim Nur El-Din, Archaeological Sites in Egypt [№ 1], first edition (Cairo-Egypt, February 2007), 187; see: 186-192, fig. 154 on 417; also: Henri Gauthier, 'Nouveau monument du dieu Imhotep', *BIFAO* 14 (1918), 33-49; Dietrich Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep – Gottwerdung im alten Ägypten*, MÄS 36 (München-Berlin, 1977), 47-87, 90f, 99, 106, 114, 126, 130, 136, 146, 156, 184, 188, 197; Dietrich Wildung, *Egyptian Saints: Deification in Pharaonic Egypt*, Hagop Kevorkian Series on Near Eastern Art and Civilization, New York University Press (New York, 1977), 31-81 and figs. 24-50; Dietrich Wildung, 'Imhotep', *LÄ III* (1980), 145-148.
- 20 H. Ranke, *PNI*, 263: 16 'es glänzen die *b3.w* des (Gottes) *Skr*'.
- 21 B. S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 218-221, 248-249; II: 872-3 (fig. 136), 876-7 (fig. 145, 1).
- 22 Ch. Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 27 (footnote n. 5), 119, pl. 1: fig. 1.
- 23 E. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich*, MÄS 8 (Berlin, 1966), 135-139, pl. IX (Abb. 14). See: M. A. Murray, *Sagqarah Mastabas* (London, 1904): I, 3, pls. 1-2; II, 1-12, pl. 1; Michael Rice, *Who's who in Ancient Egypt*, Routledge, First published in paperback (London and New York, 2002), Khabausoker: 92a-93a (c. 2630 BCE).
- 24 Cf. H. Ranke, *PNI*, 187: 6.
- 25 LD II, 93b.
- 26 Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1258: 2.
- 27 Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 119.
- 28 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 237.
- 29 Cf. H. Ranke, *PNI*, 326: 19 'Ptah ist herrlich'.
- 30 A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire, fragemnt du dernier ouvrage*, The work was edited by Maspero, F. Vieweg, Libraire-Éditeur (Paris, 1889), C1: 110-114 ; PM III2, 464 and 465 note (No. 48: Position on map or equation).
- 31 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1258: 3.
- 32 B. S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 237-238; II: 506-511 (Docs. 3-7) = 882-883 (figs. 148-149).
- 33 H. Ranke, *PNI*, 299: 17.
- 34 A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas*, C16: 60, 142, 147 ; PM III2, 461 (No. 39: Position on map or equation).
- 35 L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S3ḥu-rea*, II. (Leipzig, 1913), II: 122 and Blatt 49, (3.4).
- 36 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1258: 4. See: M. Rice, *Who's who in Ancient Egypt*, Sabu: 173 (c. 2375-2345 BCE); Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 238.
- 37 H. Ranke, *PNI*, 219: 10 'Re ist gut' or read *hrw-nfr* 'der Tag ist gut' ; also CG. 1566 and Leipzig 3140.
- 38 A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas*, C5: 59 ff; PM III2, 461 (No. 40: Position on map or equation).
- 39 Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1258: 5; cf. Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis* (Göttingen, 1992), 109-111. See: Rice, *Who's who in Ancient Egypt*, Ranefor: 170.
- 40 B. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 239; II: 511 (Docs. 9-10)= 876-877 (fig. 145,2), 884-886 (fig. 150).
- 41 Ch. Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis* (Göttingen, 1992), 111 and 458.
- 42 H. Ranke, *PN I*, 65: 4 'es lebt (König) *Nfr.f-R*'; D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1258: 6.
- 43 PM III2, Part 2, Fascicle 2 (Oxford, 1979), 698; Fascicle 3 (Oxford, 1981), 916.
- 44 A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas*, 335 (c); PM III2, 585 (Unknown Position on map or equation).
- 45 A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas*, D58: 335 and G0: 442; G. Maspero, Catalogue, no. 375; some names and titles: J. Lieblein, *Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1871), no. 1382.

- 46 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, Part I: 240; II: 511 (Doc. 8) = 886-889 (fig. 151).
- 47 Ranke, *PN* I, 299: 17 'S3b.w, schönem Namen *ibb.j*'; A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas*, E1-E2: 373-388, 412-415; *Urk.* I, 81-85; PM III², 460 (No. 37: Position on map or equation).
- 48 D. Wildung, *LÄ* II, 1258: 7.
- 49 Basem El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 240-242; II: 514-519 (Docs. 16-20) = 890-895 (fig. 152), 896-898 (figs. 153-154), 1009 (fig. 232).
- 50 It was read before as *sš kd št3 n wđ.t-mdw* and *sš sšt3 n mdw n wr hrp hmw.t*: M. A. Murray, *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom* (London, 1908), Pls. 38, 55; Dilwyn Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, 2 vols., BAR International Series 866 (I and II) (Oxford-England, 2000), vol. 2, no. 3140 on 859-60 'scribe of the secret documents of the decrees of the Greatest of the directors of craftsmen'; cf. no. 3211 on 877.
- 51 He was *Pth-špsš* IV. by Ch. Maystre (*Les grands prêtres de Ptah* de Memphis, 105 n. 2, 115-116, 244-247: Docs. nos. 21-25), *Pth-špsš* II. by M.A. Murray (*Saqqara Mastabas* I, 26-28, pls. 28-31; II, 21-23 by K. Sethe), and no. 8 in PM III²'s High Priests of Memphis list (PM III², 460, 917).
- 52 Cf. A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas*, E1-E2: 373-388; *Urk.* I, 81-85; PM III², 460 (No. 38: Position on map or equation).
- 53 D. Wildung, *LÄ* II, 1258: 8.
- 54 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, Part I: 242-243; II: 520-522 (Docs. 21-25).
- 55 He was *Pth-Spcc* II. by Maystre (*Les grands prêtres de Ptah* de Memphis, 105 n. 2, 109, 231-232: Docs. nos. 5-7), and no. 4 in PM III² (464-465 no. 50, 917).
- 56 A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas*, C9: 130; PM III², 464 (No. 50: Position on map or equation).
- 57 D. Wildung, *LÄ* II, 1258: 9; B. S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 243-4; II: 509-511 (Docs. 5, 7?).
- 58 He was *Pth-špsš* I. by M.A. Murray (*Saqqara Mastabas* I, 24-26, pls. 25-27 with map-plan, 34 bottoms; II, 21 no. 23 by K. Sethe), *Pth-špsš* III by Ch. Maystre (*Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 111-112, 234: Doc. no. 11), and no. 10 in PM III² (499, 917). He did not mentioned by D. Wildung.
- 59 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *The Memphite Priesthood*, Part I: 250-251.
- 60 H. Ranke, *PN* I, 299: 18 'S3b.w, der Schwarze'.
- 61 A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas*, C23: 60 ff, 156-157; PM III², 463 (No. 44: Position on map or equation).
- 62 D. Wildung, *LÄ* II, 1258: 10; Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 244; II: 512-513 (Docs. 12-13) = 899-900 (fig. 156).
- 63 D. Wildung, *LÄ* II, 1258: 11; cf. *St.w* by H. Ranke, *PN* I, 298: 17.
- 64 PM III², 449 (No. 3: Position on map or equation).
- 65 Jacques Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne*, Tome III: *Les grands Époques la statuaire*, album de 174 planches (Paris, 1958), 84, pl. XXXI (4).
- 66 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 245-246; Part II: 513-514 (Docs. 14-15) = 901-902 (figs. 157-158); cf. Berlin 1366; Brüssel Speleers 43; *ASAE* 13, 247.
- 67 Wildung, *LÄ* II, 1258: 12; cf. *St.jj*: Ranke, *PN* I, 298: 16.
- 68 A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas*, E3: 389-391; PM III², 463 and Addenda on 901 (No. 47: Position on map or equation).
- 69 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 246-247, 383-385; II: 522-524 (Docs. 26-28), 876-877 (fig. 145, 3), 903-905 (fig. 159).
- 70 Gustave Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, Tomes I-III (4^o), Fouilles à Saqqarah, Impr. de l'IFAO (Le Caire, 1936-1940), Tome II: le Temple (1938), 60, Pl. LXXIV.
- 71 See A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas*, 221-224 with plan on 222 (D 17); PM III¹ (1931), 123; PM III², 480 (No. 65: Position on map or equation).
- 72 PM III², 480 (No. 65).
- 73 E. Schiaparelli, Museo Archeologico di Firenze, Catalogo generale dei Musei di Antichità, VIe série, vol. I (1887), 201 f (1887), 201.
- 74 Ch. Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 119 and the end of § 5.
- 75 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 249.
- 76 A. Mariette, *Mastabas*, (D 26); PM III², 465 (No. 52: Position on map or equation).
- 77 Margaret A. Murray, *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom* (London, 1908), pl. XXII.
- 78 See: Ch. Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 9-10 and footnote 2.
- 79 B. S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 201-2, 249.
- 80 D. Wildung, *LÄ* II, 1259: 13; cf. Ranke, *PN* I, 68: 6.
- 81 J. Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne* III (Paris, 1958), 230, 249, 264, 604 (b), Pl. 78, no. (2) [Fotographie du Musée].

- 82 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 247; II: 906 (fig. 160).
- 83 Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1259: 14; Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 118 footnote no. 4, 250; cf. PM III², 730, 916 footnote no. 2; see Ranke, *PNI*, 326: 19.
- 84 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 247-248; II: 525 (Doc. 29).
- 85 PM III², 730.
- 86 See: H. Ranke, *PNI*, 140: 2 'Ptah ist im Feste'.
- 87 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 251; II: 632-633 (Doc. 182/ 58) = 1003 (fig. 228); cf. Berlin 7287 B 17; Berlin 12411 B2 9; Turin 177; Louvre D 22; Pap. Anstasi VI, 1, 5 and 6, 3, 5; Pap. Bologna 1094, 1, 3, 9, 2.
- 88 Alan R. Schulman, 'Memphis 1915-1923: the Trivia of an Excavation', in Alain-Pierre Zivie (editor), *Memphis et ses nécropoles au Nouvel Empire: Nouvelles données, nouvelles questions*, Éditions du CNRS (Paris, 1988), 86, pl. 11.
- 89 PM III² (Oxford, 1981), 858, 917; cf. Schulman, in Zivie (ed.), *Memphis et ses nécropoles*, 83 (note 11).
- 90 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 256.
- 91 H. Ranke, *PN I*, 406: 16 'meine Nahrung ist der Nil'; Horst Beinlich, 'Djefaihapi', *LÄ I* (1975), 1105-1107; cf. Ranke, *PN I*, 406: 18, 15 (*Df3*), 21 (*Df3.t*); II (Glückstadt, 1952), 333b: 25-27: *Df3(j)-B3st.t* and *Df3(j)-nn.t*, 401a: 26, *Wb. V*, *df3*: 569 ff. See: Michael Rice, *Who's who in Ancient Egypt*, Hepzefa (alt. Hapidjefa): 65; also: جيمس بيكي، الآثار المصرية في وادي النيل، ج2، مترجم (القاهرة، 1990). 138-146.
- 92 *Urk. VII*, 53-66.
- 93 *Urk. VII*, 65: 3, 5.
- 94 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood* I: 255-6.
- 95 Ranke, *PN I*, 318: 7 'Amenemet I. lebt' (See Berlin 1189; Louvre A 47 ?; Leiden V 7); cf. I, 318: 6 and 8.
- 96 H. G. Fischer, '8. A Memphite High Priest and His Sister', in *Egyptian Studies I: Varia*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1976), 59-67, fig. 1 on 60.
- 97 Wilbour, Notebook 2-L, 18; T. G. H. James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum I: From Dynasty I to the End of Dynasty XVIII* (New York, 1974), 39, Pls. VI and XXXIV no. (90); Herman de Meulenaere, 'Le Grand-Prêtre Memphite Séhétepihr-Ankh', in: *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptisches Museum*, Mitteilungen aus der ägyptische Sammlung VIII, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Berlin, 1974), 182, footnotes 8-9, Pl. 25 [a.].
- 98 T. G. H. James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum I*, 40, Pl. XXXIV no. (91); H. de Meulenaere, in *Fs zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptisches Museum*, 182, Pl. 25 [b.]; Wilkinson, MSS. IX, fol. 128 (lower), XVII, F d 7, 8; Bonomi, MSS. II, fol. 18 (bottom left).
- 99 H. de Meulenaere, in *Fs*, 181-182, Pl. 26 [a.]; *LD II*, 118 (i); *ÄIB I* (1913), 208; PM V (1937), 169.
- 100 Cf. Ranke, *PNI*, 318: 7 'es lebt s-n-wsr.t' (Sesostris, der Mann der (Göttin) *wsr.t*; I, 279: 1). See: BM 220; IV, 43.
- 101 See: Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: in-scr. nos. 33-5 on 528-9; A. Lansing, BMMA, Section II (Nov. 1933), 11-23, Figs. 14-16.
- 102 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1259; Ludwig Borchardt, 'Ahnenreihe von Priestern aus Memphis', in: *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung von Punkten der ägyptischen Geschichte und ihre Anwendung*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Zeitbestimmung der ägyptischen Geschichte II (Kairo, 1935), 100 and Blatt 2a (4, 4).
- 103 H. G. Fischer, in *Egyptian Studies I: Varia* (New York, 1976), 59-67.
- 104 *Urk. VII*, 9.
- 105 See H. Ranke, *PN I*, 184: 14 'mein Herr ist es'; cf. Louvre C 13; CG. 20235(k). 20356(a) 20429(p); Pap. Kahun 24, 22; BM 101 (II, pls. 1 and 2).
- 106 Cf. H. Ranke, *PNI*, 318: 8 '*s.tp-ib-r'-nḥw*, der Tüngere'.
- 107 Janine Bourriau, 'Three Monuments from Memphis in the Fitzwilliam Museum', *JEA* 68 (1982), 51-55 and Pl. III (no. 1).
- 108 See: Ch. Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 123-124, footnote no. 2 on 124, and Pls. I-II, no. 5.
- 109 See H. Ranke, *PNI*, 101: 20, after Leiden V 49.
- 110 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1259; see H. Ranke, *PN I*, 101: 5 and 20; cf. Leiden V 49.
- 111 Ludwig Borchardt, 'Ahnenreihe von Priestern aus Memphis', in: *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung von Punkten der ägyptischen Geschichte und ihre Anwendung* (Kairo, 1935), 99 and Blatt 2a (3, 2).
- 112 Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 461.
- 113 See Ranke, *PN I*, 309: 5, *sn(j ?)-nfr*: 'der (mein ?) Bruder ist gut'; cf. *Urk. IV*, 528 ff.; Berlin 2292. 10756. 20122.
- 114 See Ranke, *PNI*, 140: 9, *Pth-mš(j.w)*: 'Ptah ist geboren'.

- 115 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 260-262; II: 530 (Doc. 36), 917-920 (fig. 167).
- 116 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 262-264; II: 531 (Doc. 37) = 921-922 (fig. 168), 531-533 (Doc. 38) = 923-924 (fig. 169), 533 (Doc. 39) = 925 (fig. 170), 534 (Doc. 41) = 926-927 (fig. 171), 534-535 (Docs. 42, 43) = 928 (figs. 172, 173), 929 (fig. 174) = (Docs. 46, 49, 56-58).
- 117 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 264-267; II: 531-533 (Doc. 38) = 923-924 (fig. 169), 540-541 (Doc. 61) = 930 (fig. 175), 544-546 (Doc. 69) = 931 (fig. 176).
- 118 B. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 267-8; II: 541 (Doc. 62) = 932-5 (fig. 177), 542-3 (Docs. 63-66).
- 119 Paul Pierret, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Inédites du Musée égyptien du Louvre*, Etudes égyptologiques I-II, 8ème livraison, vol. I (Paris, 1874), 93.
- 120 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1259: 32.
- 121 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1260: 33.
- 122 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 269; cf. Rudolf Anthes, 'Die hohen Beamten namens Ptahmose in der 18. Dynastie', *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 60-68, pl. 3; Kate Bosse-Griffiths, 'The Memphite Stela of Merptah and Ptahmosē', *JEA* 41 (1955) 56-63, Pls. XIV-XV; William J. Murnane, 'Chapter 13: Too Many High Priests? Once Again the Ptahmoses of Ancient Memphis', in David P. Silverman (ed.), *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (Chicago, Illinois, 1994), 187-196. Compare with the High priests of Ptah at Memphis whose carried the name *P3-hm-ntr*: Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 269-270 ff.
- 123 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1260: 34.
- 124 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 270; II: 561 (Doc. 96), 544-6 (Doc. 69) = 931 (fig. 176).
- 125 L. Borchardt, 'Ahnenreihe von Priestern aus Memphis', in: *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung*, 99, Blatt 2a (3, 2).
- 126 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1260: 35.
- 127 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *The Memphite Priesthood*, I: 270; II: 632-633 (Doc. 182/ 27) = 1003 (fig. 228).
- 128 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1260: 36.
- 129 Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 461.
- 130 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, Part I: 270; II: 632-633 (Doc. 182/ 26) = 1003 (fig. 228).
- 131 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1260: 37.
- 132 Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 138.
- 133 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 271; II: 551-552 (Docs. 79-81), 936 (fig. 178).
- 134 H. Ranke, *PNI*, 142: 1 'Ptah ist an der Spitze'.
- 135 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1260: 38.
- 136 M. L. Bierbrier, *British Museum: Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, part 10 (1982), 10-11, Pl. 8.
- 137 Ch. Maystre, 'Un objet grand-prêtre memphite Ty (Louvre E 8420)', *RdE* 27 (1975), 175-179, pl. 17.
- 138 J. Málek, 'The Second Stela of the High Priest of Memphis Ptahemhêr Ty (Amherst 213)', *GM* 22 (1976), 43-6.
- 139 Adolf Erman, 'Aus dem Grabe eines Hohenpriesters von Memphis', *ZÄS* 33 (1895), 18-24, pls. 1-2; Ahmed M. Badawi, *Memphis als Zweite Landeshauptstadt im Neuen Reich* (Le Caire, 1948), pl. VI; Alan R. Schulman, 'The Berlin "Trauerrelief" (No. 12411) and Some Officials of Tut'ankhamün and Ay', *JARCE* 4 (1965), 55-68, 1 pl; Ch. Maystre, 'Le grand prêtre de Ptah du bas-relief Berlin 12411', in E. Endesfelder et al. (ed.), *Ägypten und Kusch: Mélanges Hintze* (Berlin, 1977), 303-307; Alian-Pierre Zivie, 'La localisation de la tombe du grand-prêtre de Ptah Ptahemhat-Ty', *RdE* 35 (1984), 200-203.
- 140 Henry Madsen, 'Aus dem Hohenpriestergrabe zu Memphis', *ZÄS* 41, (1904), 110-113 and Pl. 1.
- 141 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 271-273; II: 546-549 (Docs. 70-75), 632-633 (Doc. 182/ 23) = 1003 (fig. 228), 865 (fig. 127), 872 (fig. 134), 937-939 (fig. 179), 980-982 (fig. 205), 982 (fig. 206); cf. H. Ranke, *PNI*, 139: 18, *Pth-m-wi3*: 'Ptah ist in der Barke'; cf. Berlin 12410 (*ÄIB II*, 178); Leiden K 3; BM 167; Pap. Anastasi III, 5 vs.
- 142 Ch. Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 80, 138-141; Ch. Maystre, *RdE* 27 (1975), 175-179, pl. 17; J. Málek, *GM* 22 (1976), 43-46.
- 143 Alan R. Schulman, *JARCE* 4 (1965), 55-68, 1 pl.
- 144 Rice, *Who's who in Ancient Egypt*, Ptahemhat-Ty: 158.
- 145 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1260: 38.
- 146 Cf. H. Ranke, *PNI*, 43: 20.
- 147 E. Schiaparelli, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze* (1887), 201f.
- 148 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1260: 39, but he gave another reference-monument.
- 149 Ch. Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 228: Doc. 89, note (a); Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 556-7 (Doc. 89), especially lines 4-5 and 6-8; cf. II: 557-9 (Docs. 90 and 92).
- 150 Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1260: 42; Ranke, *PN I*, 298: 11 'der (Gott) *Skr* ist sein Schutz'; after: Berlin 23673, II, 7. 9.

- 151 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 277; II: 632-633 (Doc. 182/ 22) = 1003 (fig. 228).
- 152 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1260: 43.
- 153 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 277; II: 632-633 (Doc. 182/ 21) = 1003 (fig. 228).
- 154 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1260: 44.
- 155 E. Schiaparelli, *Museo archeologico di Firenze, Catalogo generale dei Musei di Antichità*, VIe série, vol. I (1887), 424-427: no. 1679; Alfred Hermann, 'Eine ungewöhnliche Gesichtsdarstellung des Neun Reiches', *ZÄS* 75 (1939), Pl. VIII, opp. 60; Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 559-560 (Doc. 94) = 947 (fig. 185).
- 156 T. G. H. James, *BM Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, part 9 (1970), 19-20, Pl. XVA-XV; see also: Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 564-565 (Doc. 102) = 945-946 (fig. 184).
- 157 J. Lieblein, *Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1871), 325 (no. 997).
- 158 T. G. H. James, *BM Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, part 9, 18-19, Pl. XIV_A-XIV; see also: Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 571-572 (Doc. 104) = 943-944 (fig. 183).
- 159 Ch. Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 143-141; Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 277-278; II: 557 (Doc. 89, 8).
- 160 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1260: 45; Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 278.
- 161 P. A. A. Boeser, in: *Ägyptische Sammlung* XIII, 2 and no. 7; see also Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 553 (Doc. 83).
- 162 Louis Speelers, *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes* (Brüssel, 1923), 80, no. 297; Herman de Meulenaere, in: *Bull. Des Musées Royaux*, 4e Série, 37 (1965), 4; also: B. S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 553 (Doc. 84).
- 163 See: Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 562 (Doc. 98, 6) = 948 (fig. 186).
- 164 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1260: 46.
- 165 G. Daressy, 'Remarques et notes', *Rec. Trav.* 10 (1888), 150.
- 166 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 279; II: 561-562 (Doc. 98) = 948 (fig. 186).
- 167 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1260: 49; B. S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 281; II: 574 (Doc. 106).
- 168 K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant, The Life of and Times of Ramesses II* (Egypt, 1990), Appendix (Table no. 2).
- 169 Michael Rice, *Who's who in Ancient Egypt*, Pahemnetjer: 145; see: Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 279-280; II: 560-561 and 563 (Docs. 95, 99-100), 949-954 (figs. 187-188).
- 170 Alfred Hermann, 'Eine ungewöhnliche Gesichtsdarstellung des Neun Reiches', *ZÄS* 75 (1939), 60-63, Pl. 8a.
- 171 L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* IV (Berlin, 1934), 50.
- 172 *ÄIB II*, 374-381.
- 173 T. G. H. James, *BM Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, part 9, 21-22, Pls. XVII_A-XVII.
- 174 D. Wildung, in: *LÄ II*, 1260: 47.
- 175 Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 144.
- 176 K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant, The Life of and Times of Ramesses II*, Appendix (Table no. 2).
- 177 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1261: 52; B. S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 288-9; II: 603-4 (Doc. 155).
- 178 Paul Pierret, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Inédites du Musée égyptien du Louvre*, Etudes égyptologiques, II (Paris, 1874), 93-94 (text); H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus* V, 963 (text); cf. G. Maspero, "Un manuel de hiérarchie égyptienne", in: *Etudes égyptiennes*, II, Ier fascicule (1888), 20 (some titles and its translation); Rudolf Anthes, 'Die hohen Beamten namens Ptahmose in der 18. Dynastie', *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 63 no IV, 8.
- 179 See: PM III¹ (1931), 192-193; W. M. Fl. Petrie, *A History of Egypt*, 3 vols. (London, 1927), III: 100; Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 289, 421.
- 180 Ranke, *PN I*, 402: 10; Hermann Kees, *Das Priestertum im Ägyptischen Staat, vom neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit* (Leiden-Köln, 1953), 103; Rice, *Who's who in Ancient Egypt*, Dedia: 43.
- 181 H. Ranke, *PN I*, 142 and 123: 8.
- 182 J. Lieblein, *Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1892), 183 (n° 553); Ranke, *PN I*, 123: 8.
- 183 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, 945-946 (fig. 184) = 564-565 (Doc. 102).
- 184 H. Kees, *Priestertum*, 64: footnote no. 3.
- 185 G. Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes des Rois et des Particuliers* I (Cairo, 1906); *ASAE* 7, 122.
- 186 Cf. C. Kern, 'Een Lijkbeeldje van een Memphitischen Hoogepriester in Turijn', *JEOL* 9 (1944), 60-1, Pl. 2 = B. S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood* II, 553: 82 = 942: fig. 182.
- 187 He is the son of  (from 'his wife'  ?), son of  (from 'his wife' ), son of  (from 'his wife' , 'his sister' , son of  (from 'his wife' , son of (from

- 'his wife' , 'the lady of the house' .
- 188 She had two sisters called  and .
- 189 M. Rice, *Who's who in Ancient Egypt*, Dedea: 43.
- 190 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1260: 40.
- 191 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 274-276 and 276-277; see: 945-946 (fig. 184) = 564-565 (Doc. 102); cf. II: 942 (fig. 182); K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, Appendix (Table no. 2).
- 192 H. Kees, *Das Priestertum*, 103.
- 193 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 286.
- 194 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1261: 50; Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 281-286; II: 574-597 (Docs. 107-146) = 843 (fig. 98) and 955-960 (figs. 189-195). See: Farouk Goma'a, 'Chaemwese - Sohn Ramses' II und Hoherpriester von Memphis, *ÄA 27* (1973); Ranke, *PN I*, 263: 19.
- 195 Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, passim, Appendix (Table 2).
- 196 Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, Appendix (Table no. 2).
- 197 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1260: 51; Kees, *Priestertum*, 102f, 104; Ch. Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 145-147. See also: Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 287-288; II: 565-570 (Doc. 103) = 961-962 (fig. 196), 571-572 (Doc. 104) = 943-944 (fig. 183), and 572-573 (Doc. 105); see H. Ranke, *PN I*, 219: 15, *R^c-hṭp(.w)*: 'Re ist gnädig'.
- 198 Johannes Lieblein, *Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1871), no. 2562 (text); Le Page Renouf, 'An ambassador royal of Rameses the great', *PSBA 14* (1892), 163-165 (description, text, and translation); Herman de Meulenaere, 'Deux vizirs de Ramsès', *CdÉ 41* (1966), 225-232; James, *BM Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, part 9, 18-19, Pl. XIVA-XIV; M. Valloggia, *Recherche sur les "messagers"*, 131, Doc. no 78. See also: B. S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 571-572 (Doc. 104) = 943-944 (fig. 183).
- 199 J. Lieblein, *Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch* (1871), 325 (no. 997); [Budge,] *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*, [British Museum], ([London], 1909), 203, no. 738; James, *BM Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae 9* (1970), 19-20, Pl. XVA-XV; KRI, III, 56-7; see also: Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 564-565 (Doc. 102) = 945-946 (fig. 184).
- 200 H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus V*, 950-951; K. Piehl, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, IIIème série, Planches (1895), Pls. LXXXI-LXXXII; Texte (1903), 52-53; Mohamed I. Moursi, 'Die Stele des Vizirs Re-hotep (Kairo JdE 48845)', *MDAIK 37* (1981), 321-329, Pls. 52-53; KRI, III (1980), 53-54. See also: Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 565-570 (Doc. 103) = 961-962 (fig. 196).
- 201 A. Mariette, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos* (1889), 424-425, no 1138. See also: Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 572-573 (Doc. 105).
- 202 Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, passim, Appendix (Table 2).
- 203 Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, passim, Appendix (Table 2).
- 204 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1260: 48; *LD Text IV*, 85; A. M. Badawi, *Memphis als zweite Landeshauptstadt im Neuen Reich*, 121; Wolfgang Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, 5 Bde, AMAW (1961-1970), I: 131; see also: Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 280-281.
- 205 W. M. Fl. Petrie, *A History of Egypt III* (1927), 36-7.
- 206 *LD Text IV*, 85.
- 207 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1261: 53; Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 289-290.
- 208 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1261: 54; Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 290; cf. Ranke, *PN I*, 139: 15 (m, Spät, Serapeum 60).
- 209 كنت أ. كشن، رمسيس الثاني فرعون المجد والانتصار (الهيئة المصرية العامة للكتاب، 1997)، 196.
- 210 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1261: 55; Kees, *Priestertum*, 105f; Ch. Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 156-158. See also: Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 290-291; II: 597-603 (Docs. 147-154) = 963-966 (fig. 197-198).
- 211 Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, passim, Appendix (Table 2).
- 212 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 234-5.
- 213 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1261: 56; Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 291-292.
- 214 KRI, III, 414-415; Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, passim, Appendix (Table 2); Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 293-294.
- 215 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 294; II: 555 footnote no. 54.
- 216 PM III², 851.
- 217 L. Borchardt, *Statuen IV*, 90.
- 218 Černý, MSS. Photos 2.186; PM III², 851; Herman de Meulenaere, 'Le Vizir Ramsside Hori', extract from *Annuaire de L'Institut de Philologie et d'histoire 20*, 1968-72 (Bruxelles, 1973), 191-6, pls. I-II.
- 219 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1260: 41.
- 220 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 276-277; II: 553 (Doc. 82) = 942 (fig. 182).

- 221 C. Kern, *JEOL* 9 (1944), 60-61, Pl. 2.
- 222 H. Kees, *Priestertum*, 64.
- 223 D. Wildung, *LÄ* II, 1261: 57; Kees, *Priestertum*, 113f; see also: Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 292. We could identify him with *H^cj-m-W3s.t* I. by Ch. Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 142.
- 224 Deveria, 'Catalogue des monuments égyptiens du Musée d'Aix', *Mémoires et Fragments* (1896), tome I, 237-238, no. 15; Arthur Weil, *Die Viziere des Pharaonenreiches* (Straßburg, 1908) [become obsolete], 117, f.
- 225 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 293; II: 554 (Doc. 85: Aix-en-Provence 15).
- 226 [Budge,] *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture), [British Museum]*, ([London], 1909), 240, no. 878 (was identified as a monument from XXVI Dyn.); KRI IV, 293; M. L. Bierbrier (ed.), *The British Museum. Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, part 10 (London, 1982), 18, pls. 36-9; see also: B. S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 558 (Doc. 91) = 974-5 (fig. 202).
- 227 Ch. Maystre, 'Stele d'un grands prêtres Memphite', *ASAE* 48 (1948), 449-455, Pl. I; KRI IV, 292-293 (48); also: Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 555 (Doc. 87) = 969-970 (fig. 200).
- 228 J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* IV (1912), 144 and Pl. LXX; see also: Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 554 (Doc. 86).
- 229 Walter Wreszinski, *Ägyptische Inschriften aus dem Kgl. Hofmuseum in Wien* (Leipzig, 1906), 132 ff.
- 230 D. Wildung, *LÄ* II, 1261: 58; Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 292-294. We could identify him with *Hrj* I. son of *H^cj-m-W3s.t* I. by Ch. Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah*, 142.
- 231 Deveria, in: *Mémoires et Fragments*, I: 237-8, no. 15; A. Weil, *Die Viziere des Pharaonenreiches*, 117, f.
- 232 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 293; II: 554 (Doc. 85: Aix-en-Provence 15).
- 233 [Budge,] *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture), [British Museum]*, ([London], 1909), 240, no. 878 (was identified as a monument from XXVI Dyn.); KRI IV (1982), 293; Bierbrier (ed.), *The British Museum. Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae* 10, 18, pls. 36-39; see also: Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 558 (Doc. 91) = 974-975 (fig. 202).
- 234 Ch. Maystre, *ASAE* 48, 449-455, Pl. I; KRI IV, 292-293 (48); also: Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 555 (Doc. 87) = 969-970 (fig. 200).
- 235 *ÄIB* II, 361-367; Basem El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 557-8 (Doc. 90) = 971-3 (fig. 201).
- 236 James, *BM Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae* 9 (1970), 29-30, Pl. XXV_A-XXV; see: B. S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 967-968 (fig. 199); I: 292-3.
- 237 Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara* IV, 144, Pl. LXX; B. S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 554 (Doc. 86).
- 238 D. Wildung, *LÄ* II, 1261: 58.
- 239 KRI V (1983), 249: 12, 269: 8-12; Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 678 ff.
- 240 Wildung, *LÄ* II, 1261: 59; Kees, *Priestertum*, 112; Rudolf Anthes, 'Memphis (Mit Rahineh) in 1956', *University (of Pennsylvania) Museum Bulletin*, Philadelphia 21, Nr. 2 (June 1957), 3, 27, 28-33, Figs. 3, 8-10; R. Anthes, *Mit Rahineh 1956* (Philadelphia: University Museum of Pennsylvania, 1965), 79-85, Figs. 7-8 and Pls. 27 (a.9), 28 (a.9, b.10, c.11), 29 (a.11). See also: Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 294; II: 604-606 (Doc. 156), 976-978 (fig. 203).
- 241 Paul Pierret, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Inédites du Musée Egyptien du Louvre* I (Paris, 1874), 10.
- 242 D. Wildung, *LÄ* II, 1260: 60; Kees, *Priestertum*, 113; Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 294-295; II: 563-564 (Doc. 101) = 979 (fig. 204).
- 243 Charles Boreux, *Guide-catalogue de Louvre* I (Paris, 1932), 55, Pl. IV opposite 53.
- 244 D. Wildung, *LÄ* II, 1260: 47.
- 245 KRI V, 368: 11-369: 3, 388: 10; cf. pBM 9999 = pHarris I, 52a, 9. See also: Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 680.
- 246 See: A. Dodson, and D. Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt* (Cairo, 2005), 291; cf. M. Rice, *Who's who in Ancient Egypt*, Ramesse III: 166.
- 247 See: Dodson and Hilton, *Complete Royal Families*, 291; cf. Rice, *Who's who*, Ramesse IV: 166-167.
- 248 D. Wildung, *LÄ* II, 1260: 39. He was *Hrj* II. by Ch. Maystre (*Les grands prêtres de Ptah*, 287).
- 249 George Daressy, 'Remarques et notes', *Rec. Trav.* 11 (1889), 81, No. XXIV (Text); J. Lieblein, *Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1871), no. 2042 (Names and Titles); PM III², 873; Mohamed Ibrahim Aly, *Les Petits Souterrains du Sérapéum de Memphis, Étude d'Archéologie, Religion, et Histoire—Texts Inédits—*, Thèse de Doctorat présentée à L'Université Lumière – Lyon 2, sous la direction de Monsieur le Professeur Jean-Claude Goyon (Septembre 1991), Planches, Pl. 24A-B (Photos); also: Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 274; II: 556 (Doc. 88) = 941 (fig. 181).

- 250 M. I. Aly, *Les Petits Souterrains du Sérapéum de Memphis*, Texte, 17-8; Planches, Pl. 23 A, B, C ; see also: Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 274; II: 940 (fig. 180).
- 251 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1260: 39.
- 252 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 273-274; see also: PM III², 873 and 917; cf. 851 and 871.
- 253 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1261: 61.
- 254 Alan R. Schulman, *Expedition*, vol. 2/4, *The Museum Journal (University of Pennsylvania)* (Philadelphia, Summer 1960), 32-33 (fig. on 32).
- 255 Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 295; PM III², 859 and 917.
- 256 See: A. Dodson, and D. Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt*, 291; cf. Michael Rice, *Who's who in Ancient Egypt*, Ramesse IX: 168.
- 257 A. Weil, *Die Viziere des Pharaonenreiches* (Straßburg, 1908), 117; Ch. Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 141: footnote no. 4.
- 258 D. Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1261: 62; Johannes Lieblein, *Die ägyptischen Denkmäler in St. Petersburg* (Helsingfors, 1873), 12. Also: Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 295; II: 535 (Doc. 43) = 928 (fig. 173) and 983 (fig. 207); cf. PM III², 917: no. 33; Ranke, *PNI*, 140: 9.
- 259 H. Ranke, *PNI*, 140: 9.
- 260 *ÄIB II*, 519.
- 261 *Wb.* V, 105: 7 and 11.
- 262 *MIFAO* 5 (1894), 587, 589.
- 263 PM III², 917: no. 32.