The Title $h\dot{s}.ty-\text{c}.w\ h\dot{s} \text{ inb}.w\ n.w\ P\text{th}$, “Mayor of Beyond the Walls of Ptah”, and Early 19th Dynasty Temple Building at Memphis

Nico Staring

Summary: The Mayor of Memphis was a key player in the administration of Egypt’s capital. Despite that prominent position, we do not know much about the official’s duties. The recent identification of a photograph taken by Egyptologist Théodule Devéria in 1859, which features a doorway in the long-lost superstructure of the tomb of the Mayor Ptahmose, has added valuable new data to the subject. Texts on the structure’s two door jambs record a selection of his titles. One of these, $h\dot{s}.ty-\text{c}.w\ h\dot{s} \text{ inb}.w\ n.w\ P\text{th}$, “Mayor of beyond2 the walls of Ptah”, is not known from any other sources. This paper proposes an interpretation of this title, which also requires a re-evaluation of the office of Mayor of Memphis at the very beginning of the 19th Dynasty.

Keywords: Ptahmose, mayor of Memphis, Ptah temple, Ramesses I, Ramesses II

Introduction

The Mayor of Memphis was a key player in the administration of Egypt’s capital. Despite that prominent position, we do not know much about the official’s duties. The recent identification of a photograph taken by Egyptologist Théodule Devéria in 1859, which features a doorway in the long-lost superstructure of the tomb of the Mayor Ptahmose, has added valuable new data to the subject. Texts on the structure’s two door jambs record a selection of his titles. One of these, $h\dot{s}.ty-\text{c}.w\ h\dot{s} \text{ inb}.w\ n.w\ P\text{th}$, “Mayor of beyond2 the walls of Ptah”, is not known from any other sources. This paper proposes an interpretation of this title, which also requires a re-evaluation of the office of Mayor of Memphis at the very beginning of the 19th Dynasty.

The administration of town and temple are studied using prosopographical data as a primary source, with special emphasis on the construction works in and around inb.w, “Walls”.

1 Staring 2014. For earlier studies on Ptahmose, see: PM IIIF, 713–715; Berlandini 1982; Mâlek 1987; Van Dijk 1989b; Franke 1993; Greco 2011. The tomb was rediscovered in 2010 by an archaeological mission of Cairo University directed by Dr Ola el-Aguizy. The reliefs photographed by Devéria have not been seen since 1859.


3 Seal of Amenemhat-seneb: G.T. Martin 1971, 20, No. 182; Mâlek 1997, 95. Note that Amenemhat-seneb also acted as |m.y-r# Hw.t-nTr, Steward of the temple. For the co-occurrence of both titles, compare e.g. G.T. Martin 1971, 81 (index), and Middle Kingdom stamp sealings from Abydos: Wegner 1998, fig. 16,2 (NN), 18,2 (Nakht), 18,5 (Amenem-Seneb).

4 Helck 1975, col. 878.

5 Amenemhat was $h\dot{s}.ty-\text{c}.w\ n.y\ pr.w\ \text{lGER-k}r-k\text{-R}c.w$ (Thutmosis I) at Memphis, temp. Thutmosis III (stela Berlin 1638: Roeder 1924, 105; Gessler-Löhr 1997, 31 n. 4).

6 Wb. III, 25: “der Erste an Platz”. Cf. Helck 1958, 220; Van Den Boorn 1988, 44. The office is referred to as “gouverneur” in French literature, and “Bürgermeister” in German. In the present context, the title of office $h\dot{s}.ty-\text{c}.w$ should not be confused with the identical title of rank, often used in combination with inr.y-po.t (Gessler-Löhr 1997, 31 n. 2) and commonly translated as “Count”.

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The New Kingdom mayors of Memphis have previously been addressed by Helck (1958, 194ff, esp. 224–225; Id. 1975), Málek (1987, 135–137) and Gessler-Löhr (1997). Until the late 18th Dynasty their office title was *hš.ty-矍.w n.y Mn-nfr*. It has previously been observed that their early 19th Dynasty colleagues Ptahmose, Amenhotep Huy, and Ramessesembekh used somewhat deviating forms. Both forms of the title were in use until after the Ramesside period. The variations observed in the early 19th Dynasty can be summarised as follows:

1. The use of *hš.ty-矍.w wr*, an “artificially inflated titulary” which can be used in parallel with *hš.ty-矍.w*;
2. The use of the preposition *m* instead of the indirect genitive adjective *n.y* with reference to Memphis;
3. A variety of toponyms to refer to Memphis.

### The title *hš.ty-矍.w hšš.İnb.w n.w Pth*

Only two close parallels are known for the title *hš.ty-矍.w hšš.İnb.w n.w Pth*. Both are attested on objects pertaining to Ptahmose:

**Devéria photograph:** (→)

1. Statuette BM 1119: (→)

2. “Block from Giza”: (→)

### 1:

Kneeling naophorous statue British Museum EA 1119. The inscription on the statue-base, right-hand side, includes: *hš.ty-矍.w n.y hšš.İnb.w*.[19] Málek translated the title as “Mayor of the Memphite suburbs”.[16]

### 2:

Block built into an “Arabic” tomb at Giza and recorded by Lepsius: *im.y-r*i pr.w n.y pr.w Pth hšš.İnb.w///Pth, “Steward of the house(s) […] Ptah”[18]. Málek reconstructed the lacuna with "( ), which results in: *im.y-r*i pr.w n.y pr.w Pth hšš.İnb.w m pr.w Pth, “Steward of the house of Ptah beyond “The Walls” in the house of Ptah”[19].

The title preserved on statue BM 1119 should be understood as an abbreviated form of the “new” title *hš.ty-矍.w hšš.İnb.w n.w Pth*. The latter title, in turn, prompts a reconsideration of the title preserved on the block from Giza. The lacuna indicated by Lepsius is precisely the space required for the group *İHHİHH., “Steward of the house of Ptah beyond the walls (of) Ptah”. What

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7 Helck 1958, 220f (esp. 223–224); biographies of the “governors of Thebes” on p. 418–432, with a list of their titles and monuments on p. 422–433. The office of Mayor of Memphis is not discussed in detail. For the mayors of Thebes, see also: Leblanc 2005; Id. 2012, 87 n. 15 (temp. Ramesses II).

8 For nearby Heliopolis, only three New Kingdom mayors have been identified: Raue 1999, 177; Ockinga 2005, 93.

9 For an overview of their titles, see Gessler-Löhr 1997.

10 PM III2, 770, 847.

11 Devauchelle 1992, 203–204: a relief fragment seen on the art market; now probably held in a private collection.


13 Shedu-neferterem, reign of Siamun (Petrie 1909, 14, pl. 23 [right]); and the Vizier, Great Mayor of Memphis (*hš.ty-矍.w wr n.y Mn-nfr*), Prophet of Osiris-Hemag, etc. *Hrw-m(n)-ḥḥ-bḥḥ*, 25th Dynasty, on his reinscribed 18th Dynasty basalt statuette (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 237: PM VIII(2), 801–626–475; Lillés 1987, 230–234, pl. XVIII).

14 Málek 1987, 136. The element *wr* is considered as an adjective and not as an independent title *wr m/n.y Mn-nfr*. Note that the Overseer of the Double Granary of the Lord of the Two Lands, Mery-Sekhmet (Bub. I.5, late 18th–early 19th Dynasty), was titled *inter alia* as *hš.ty-矍.w wr n.y ns.wt*, which is translated by the excavator as “Great Nobleman of the King”: A. Zivie 2000, fig. 5. See also Graefe 1978, 41: tomb of Ankhhor (Asasif tomb 414, Late Period): who was both *hš.ty-矍.w* and *hš.ty-矍.w wr Pmdt, “Governor of Oxyrhynchos”; *hš.ty-矍.w n(y) ḫḏgs*, “Governor of the Bahariya Oasis”; and *hš.ty-矍.w wr n.y Mn-nfr*; and Naville 1870, 107–112, pl. 1: statue of the *hš.ty-矍.w wr T3-š*, “Great Mayor of the Fayyum”, Sobekhotep.

15 Fragment, lower part, limestone, 35.5 x 34.5 x 21 cm: Wallis Budge 1909, 127 [460]; Helck 1958, 225, n.14; Málek 1981, 157; Id. 1987, 117–137.

16 Málek 1987, 131. The term *pr.w* is often translated as “domain” or “estate”. Traditionally, the phrase “in the house of god X” (e.g. *m pr.w Pth*) has been interpreted as a temple’s administrative incorporation into or economic dependency upon a chief temple. However, recent research has shown that economic dependence is expressed differently: the word *sḏfḫ*, “provision” is used. The estate of an individual temple is indicated with the term *ḥḏnt-nfr*, “god’s offering”, which can refer to all resources that make up the temple estate. Therefore, the literal, though neutral translation “house” is preferred here. For a summary discussion of the terms, and references to earlier literature on the subject, see: Haring 2013, 613–617.

17 Id Text, I, 126 [8]. No further information provided. PM III2, 310, has: “probably Saite”, later correctly attributed to Ptahmose: Málek 1987, 133.

18 LD Text, I, 126 [8].

19 Málek 1987, 133. This reconstruction is followed by Pasquali, in: Pasquali, Gessler-Löhr 2011, 286.

20 The indirect genitive adjective *n.y* is also absent in the title recorded on statue BM 1119. It is only present in the “Devéria-title”. 

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exactly do “the walls of Ptah” refer to, and what can be located “outside” them?

Memphis, its sub-divisions and its walls

Before addressing the question of what exactly “beyond the walls of Ptah” designates, it is useful to first consider all additional designations used to refer to Memphis. The following toponyms are present in the titles of Amenhotep Huy and Ptahmose (table 1). A complete inventory of the (tomb)objects and titles pertaining to the mayors Ptahmose and Amenhotep Huy is provided in tables 3–5.

Mn-nfr, ḫnwb-hḏ and the location(s) of Memphis

During the New Kingdom, Mn-nfr was the name most commonly used for the “city” of Memphis21. ḫnwb-w-hḏ, “White Wall(s)22, was in use already since Egypt’s formative periods23. Its plural form is attested as early as King Khasekhemwy, and the earliest reference to singular ḫnwb-hḏ dates to the reign of Djoser24. White Wall(s) may have been the name of a white-plastered mudbrick “fortification”, presumably situated a little south of modern-day Abusir village25. The name of the royal residence also referred to a quarter of that town26, and it was used as the name of the first Lower Egyptian nome27. The names Mennefer and Ineb-hedj were interchangeably used both as designations of the greater administrative area, as well as for the later New Kingdom town28. During the Ramesside period, Mn-nfr began to be used as the name for the Memphite nome29.

In the 6th Dynasty Mn-nfr was used to refer in an abbreviated form to the pyramid town of Pepi I: ḫnw.t Mn-nfr ṭôn/ṛw-Rḥ-ḏ-w. It must have been located due east of that pyramid at South Saqqara, which implies a location at a considerable distance south of White Walls. Later in the Old Kingdom Mennefer became the royal residence30. During that period, Memphis may have had the character of a dispersed urban conglomerate extending along the Memphite necropolis between the Nile in the east and the desert ridge in the west31.

It has been proposed that the location of the early temple of Ptah – as a local sanctuary probably predating the Early Dynastic foundation of White Walls – was at present-day Kom el-Fakhry, which was the site of the New Kingdom Ptah temple. According to Málek, at some point in history this site joined with Mennefer32. Due to a progressive shifting of the Nile to the east, in the Ramesside Period the Ptah temple could expand to the east of the old town (see below)33. ḫnw.t-kš-Ptḥ was the name of the main cult centre at Memphis, but from the New Kingdom onwards it was also used to refer to the city itself34. This is reflected in a title of Mayor Amenhotep Huy: ḫṛ.ty-ḥ.w wr n ḫnw.t Ptḥ, Great Mayor in the “town of Ptah”. The great age of Memphis was already acknowledged by the

21 Note that our terms for “city”, “town” etc. have no direct Egyptian equivalents (Bietak 1979, 98–100). The same is true for ambivalent terms such as “royal residence” and “capital”, all charged with modern-day connotations (G.T. Martin 2000, 101; Raven 2009, 153–155). For a survey of terminology for “town” and “village”, see Shehab el-Din 2000–1, 173–178.

22 Alternatively spelled as: ḫnw.t ḫnwb-w (P. Harris I, 58,16); ḫnw.t ḫnwb-w (stela MMA 673, line 2; the Overseer of the Royal Apartments, Ptahmose, late 18th Dynasty).


25 See: Giddy 1994a, 193–195; Love 2003, 71, 80; Jeffreys 2012, 226–229. Mālek op. cit., 92, suggests the valley to the east or south-east of the Wadi of Abusir, below the escarpment lined with early dynastic elite tombs, as the location of early dynastic White Walls. Both the tombs’ orientation and the vertical stratigraphy support the view that the escarpment at North Saqqara was a highly favoured location for early Dynastic elite tombs – in full view from the city. During Dynasties 1–3, the settlement was located nearby, on the west bank of the Nile. Smaller tombs were built in the north Abusir Wadi, which indicates that the necropolis was accessed from the north (Jeffreys, Tavares 1994, 147–151). Recent archaeological fieldwork revealed that 2nd Dynasty elite tombs were also located south of the Unas causeway, “below” the New Kingdom necropolis (Regulski, Lacher, Hood 2010).

26 Gardiner 1947, II, 123.
28 Mālek 1997, 93 and fig. 1.
30 According to C.M. Zivie, this name of the city is first documented at the beginning of the New Kingdom (tomb of Ahmose, son of Ibana at El-Kab): C.M. Zivie 1982, col. 25; Urk. IV, 3,9. However, see n. 3, supra.
31 Love 2003, 76–79 (with additional references).
32 Mālek 1997, 95, Jeffreys (2012, 228) points out that this may have happened after the Old Kingdom, when a turtleback was formed by sand spread from the Wadi Tafla, situated in the area in between the 6th Dynasty pyramids.
33 Giddy 1994a, 191–192; Love 2003, 77–78. This shift eastwards of the Nile appears to have started already during the Early Dynastic period (Giddy 1994), and may explain the decline of the town near the end of the Old Kingdom. This decline was successfully reversed with land reclamation projects during the Ramesside period, thus reuniting the town and the river.
34 Sandman Holmberg 1946, 214–215; Badawi 1948, 6–7.
Egyptians of the New Kingdom, when it was used in the comparison: “... its duration is like Hut-ka-Ptah”  35. It has been suggested that the geographic situation of the city is reflected in the toponyms mḥ.t-t.i.š ḫw.t-n.F, “Balance of the Two Lands”, and .Serializable

\[ \text{nh-t.i.š \, w } r{s-gfjw} \]

Badawi (1944, 201–202) argued that Ankh-tawy designated an area to the west of Memphis, i.e. the necropolis located in the desert, which is substantiated by the determinative \( \text{nh-t.i.š } \) (Gardiner Sign-List N25). According to Kitchen (1991, 93, with fig. 1), this toponym refers to the inundation area west of Hutkaptah (Memphis), and it includes the edge of the desert plateau, once perhaps the location of the royal memorial temples37. Some Demotic papyri from the Memphite necropolis mention the hw.t-np ḫw.t-n.Y  “Temple of the Peak of Ankh-tawy”38. The Peak’s precise location is not established with certainty39. A. Zivie (2012, 427) suggests that the Bubastieion area, with its plateau dominating the surrounding landscape, may have been the central part of the “dehenet40 of Ankh-tawy”. Earlier, A. Zivie (1984, 203) argued that the “cliff (“falaise”) of Ankh-tawy” is also the place where the (lost) tomb of the late 18th Dynasty High Priest of Ptah, Ptahemhat-Ty, may be located, i.e. at North Saqqara41.

A fair number of inscriptions on the walls of New Kingdom elite tombs at Saqqara express the tomb owner’s wish to “rest in Ankh-tawy”. This is also true for the tomb of the Mayor Ptahmose. An inscription in his tomb reads: “… Welcome to the West (i.e. necropolis), may you unite with your place/house of eternity, your tomb of everlastingness, may you be buried in it after an old age, you being in the royal favour to rest in Ankh-tawy”.42 In the nearby tomb of Mahu (ST 218), a group of musicians sing the words: “... Be happy, Steward. (How) pleasing for you is the West as you rest in the tomb which you built in Ankh-tawy. You join (with) your father and your mother. All your brothers are (there) before you. The proper place/judgment hall of your (fore)fathers [...] you being right and true, May you reach the West free of all evil [...]”43. These phrases make it unequivocally clear that Ankh-tawy is the area where the tombs were situated, i.e. near the edge of the desert plateau44. In the same tomb of Mahu, the location of the official’s funerary monument is described as: // ḫr imn.t.yt wr.t n.Y  “at the great west of “Walls”45. On stela MMA 67.3 of the Overseer of the Royal Apartments, Ptahmose, the location of his tomb (s.t n.Y ṇh) is described in a similar wording: ḫr imn.t.yt n.Y niw.t ḫw.t.ki-PtH, “at the west of the “town” of Hutkaptah”46. The designation “at the west of Memphis” occurs more often, for example on a stela of May, Scribe of the Treasury of the house of Tutankhamun, found in the temple of “Sehmet of Sahure” at Abusir: “… s.mi tš ḫr imn.t.yt Mn-nfr”, “... be buried at the West of Memphis”47. The only document actually relating to the construction of tombs at Saqqara, P. Cairo 5202, describes the location as: “at the West of Memphis”48. The Lector Priest Pamay, who is depicted on the stela of the 19th Dynasty Charioteer of his Majesty, Nemtymose, officiated in the West of Memphis as: ḫr.y-hb n.Y tš imn.t.yt m Mn-nfr49. A common epithet of both Ptah and Anubis (at Memphis) is: nb “nh-t.i.š , “Lord of Ankh-tawy”.

Hathor was associated with the West as well. One epithet of hers at Memphis was: nb.t nb.t hnw.t s.mi.t imn.t.yt, “Lady of the Sycamore, Mistress of the Western necropolis”50, and she was also known as: nb.t in.t ḫr.yt-ib

35 P. Anastasi II, 1,2–3: Caminos 1954, 37.
36 C.M. Zivie 1982, col. 26; Jeffreys 2012, 222–223. The epithet ḫw.t m mḥ.t-t.i.š ḫw.t occurs on a relief inside the small Ptah chapel to the south-west of the Ptah precinct South Gate (Jeffreys, Malek, Smith 1984, fig. 3).
37 As described in the autobiography of Amenhotep Huy, Great Steward in Memphis. See infra.
38 C.J. Martin 2009, 49–50; Text 5a, line 11: P. Malcolm = P. BM EA 10384 (Ptolomaic period).
39 In later times, it was surrounded by a wall and the dromos of Imhotep-son-of-Ptah may have led on to it (C.J. Martin, loc. cit.).
42 Staring 2014 (text I.13).
43 Gohary 2009, 28–29 [30], pl. 40a.
44 A. Zivie 2012, 426 n. 6.
45 Gohary 2009, pl. 6 [3], south column of portico.
47 Borchardt 1910, 121–122, fig. 165. For s.mi tš translated as “landing”, being the first funerary ritual (i.e. procession to the necropolis), see: Hays 2010, 2–5.
48 Posener-Kriéger 1981, 48, line 6. The tomb is said to be constructed for the Royal Scribe and General May (temp. Ramesses III), who is not known from any other sources.
49 Stela Cairo TN 221.21.1: Mariette 1872, pl. 105. This stela was excavated by Mariette probably in near vicinity to the tomb of the Mayor Ptahmose.
50 A. Zivie 2000, fig. 5; Pasquali 2011, 83 [B.31].
The temple’s foundations (containing monuments dedicated by bearing the epithet Lord of Rosetau, see: Welvaert 2008, 165–182. C.M. Zivie 1976, 128. For faience miniature vases from Giza (temple deposits) inscribed for Sokar, Osiris, Sokar-Osiris, and Ptah-Sokar bearing the epithet Lord of Rosetau, see: Welvaert 2008, 165–182. The temple’s foundations (containing monuments dedicated by private individuals) are all that remained. These were excavated in 1985–1987 (cf. Hawass 2006, 121–122).

Rosetau (r\-sti\-w) is another common geographical reference included in offering formulae on tomb walls, as in “q pr.t m r\-sti\-w, “to enter and leave in Rosetau”55. Rosetau refers to the vast desert stretching between Saqqara and Giza54, and has been proposed as the location of the Shetayet shrine of Sokar55. Both localities are mentioned on e.g. the block statue of the Stonomason of the Palace, Amenhotep Huy: Pth-Skr-Wsir ntr sy l. C.M. Zivie 1976, 128. For faience miniature vases from Giza (temple deposits) inscribed for Sokar, Osiris, Sokar-Osiris, and Ptah-Sokar bearing the epithet Lord of Rosetau, see: Welvaert 2008, 165–182. The temple’s foundations (containing monuments dedicated by private individuals) are all that remained. These were excavated in 1985–1987 (cf. Hawass 2006, 121–122).

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Day 26 marked the highlight of the public celebrations. The last four days (27 to 30) were restricted to the temple ritual, which included the erection of the *djed* pillar on day 30. The festival had a funerary role, had agricultural significance and had connections with kingship. From early times onwards, the festival on day 26 included the “circuit/circumambulation of the walls” in the Henu-bark (ḥnw spsy), dragged (sfr) on a mfn sledge or shouldered by priests. Those buried at Saqqara wished to be present at the celebrations, which is expressed in offering formulae in their tombs. High officials had the honour of “following Sokar”, and even expressed the wish to bear the mfn sledge along with the “Perfect God” (i.e. the King) to the necropolis on the desert plateau. They expressed the wish that the gods would grant their *bas* and/or statues to continue following Sokar after burial.

Tatenen’s connection with Memphis appears to have started in parallel with the god’s syncretic connection with Ptah, which took shape during the reign of Ramesses II. At the beginning of the 19th Dynasty, Tatenen could also be added to form Ptah-Sokar-Osiris-Tatenen. It is from that moment onwards that Memphis is referred to as *niw.t Tꜥ-tmin*, “Town of Tatenen”, again observed in one of the titles of the Mayor Amenhotep Huy.

### Ptah-who-is-south-of-his-wall

Ptah-who-is-south-of-his-wall became the most common epithet of Ptah during the New Kingdom. By the Ramesside period, the temple (“house”) of the chief deity of Memphis, the *pr.w PtH*, was known as |ḥnw=f |nb.w n.w PtH|nb.w n.w PtH. The statue of Ptah-who-is-south-of-his-wall, Lord of Ankhawy. From the writing of Harim Tjayiry: Boeser 1912, 6–7, pl. VII. The desire that the gods would grant their statues to continue following Sokar after burial. From the writing of Harim Tjayiry: Boeser 1912, 6–7, pl. VII. The desire that the gods would grant their statues to continue following Sokar after burial.

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walls might be meant in a title of Amenhotep Huy, who was ḫ.ty-š.w wr n.y ḫt.n.w-Pth, Great Mayor of “Walls of Ptah”99. Huy was also ḫ.ty-š.w wr m ntwt Pth, Great Mayor in the “town of Ptah”, underlining the close connection between temple and town.

The title on the Giza block of Ptahmose, however, implies a domain of (the temple of) Ptah located outside the “Walls of Ptah”, which is likely to be a reference to the temple walls.

According to Gaballa and Kitchen (1969, 5), the route of the “Circuit of the walls” performed at the Sokar-festival took the Henu-barque on a trip around ancient White Walls, north of the precinct of Ptah94, within Hukaptah. Stela MMA 67.3 of Ptahmose has: ḫ.ty-sım-k内涵 m hw.t-kì-Pth ḫt.n.w-ḫy, “Your festival in Hukaptah (and) White Walls”. This phrase opts for a circumambulation of both temple and city walls. The celebration of the same festival in the royal memorial temples of both Ramesses II and III at Thebes points to a circuit of the temple walls. Since this Theban festival had a Memphite origin, it is likely that in its original form the temple walls were circumambulated as well. Indeed, on the statue of the Overseer of the double granary and Chief Steward of the King, Ray, one reads: ṣhr ḫt.n.w n.w Pth, “... circumambulating the walls of Ptah”99. The significance of the temple walls at Memphis is emphasized in the “oratory” of Seti I. This small chapel was located off the Ptah-temple’s South Gate and contained not only statues of Ptah and Mennefer, but also of Tesmet (see below), who was the personification of the temple-wall at Memphis95.

Pasqualli argues that ḫt.n.w was the area where the royal memorial temples were located99. He suggests that ḫ.ty-š.w was situated in the bꜣ-nf-terrain97, or culti-
vated land to the west of Memphis, upon ʿnh-tš.wy. This is where, according to the inscription on the statue of the late 18th Dynasty Chief Steward of Memphis, Amenhotep Huy, the memorial temple of Amenhotep III was located: m bš/w n.y imm.tHy Hz.št-kš-Ptḥ ḫn |db n(y) ʿnh-tš.wy. The memorial temple of Horemheb was probably located in the vicinity. Furthermore, there would have been a temple of Ptah, mentioned in the title of the Chief Steward in Memphis Ipy, son of Chief Steward Amenhotep Huy (late 18th Dynasty, temp. Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten–Horemheb). On a recently published block seen on the art market, Ipy is titled as ḫḥnt-pr.t yw Hz.št-Ptḥ m pš ʿnhš, “First prophet of the temple of Ptah in the house of Ptah beyond the Walls of Ptah” in the title of Ptahmose on the Giza block. In his capacity as ḫḥnt-pr.t (i.e. the king’s) great properties (i.e. memorial temples) in the South and the North (are) under the care of his stewards. This does not explain why this area is referred to as “beyond the walls of Ptah” only in titles held by Ptahmose. The explanation might be found in the construction works in the temple of Ptah during the early Ramesside period, construction works for which Ptahmose, according to his titles, had been responsible. Jeffreys and Smith (1988, 58–59, 62–63) and Giddy (1994a, 191–192, with references) observe that as a result of the eastward shift of the Nile, the New Kingdom town was able to develop beyond (i.e. to the east) of the settlement’s earlier eastern boundary. Below the Ptah temple complex constructed by Ramesses II, no undisturbed earlier remains were found, indicating the temple was built on virgin ground. Further, a ramp down from the earlier settlement led to the new West Gate of Ramesses’ Ptah temple, and the east and west enclosure walls of that complex were not correctly aligned. It has been suggested that while the east wall was aligned with the Nile’s contemporary course, the west wall was aligned with a more westerly, earlier boundary wall. Ptahmose was appointed as Overseer of Works for the new temple complex constructed beyond the original east boundary wall. As the settlement also developed in an eastward direction, the new title Mayor beyond the Walls of Ptah was added to the title. Years later, when the boundaries of the town and temple had shifted, and the area “beyond the walls” had become an integral part of both town and temple, the designation would no longer apply. This should explain why this area is referred to as “beyond the walls of Ptah” only in titles held by Ptahmose.

2262 (Ramesses II, Year 42): “… bš/w n.y pr.w Wsr-mš.št-Rš.w-stp.n-Rš.w ḫš.w n.w m Mn-nfr” (Spiegelberg 1894, 66).

98 Autobiographical inscription on scribe’s statue Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1913.163, found by Petrie within the temenos of the Great Ptah Temple at Memphis: PM III, 836; Petrie 1913, 33–36, pls. LXVIII [bottom right], LXIX, LXX, Utq, IV, 1783–1801; Kozloff, Bryan, Berman 1992, 237, fig. VIII.1. Compare also P. Sallier IV, verso 2.1 (BM 10184), temp. mid-Ramesses II: “to the Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt who are in the West (of Thebes) and who are in the West of Hut-ka-Ptah” (Caminito 1954, 334).

99 Relief Cairo TN 31.5.25.11, early 19th Dynasty: Legrain 1894, 196 [333]; Schneider 2012, 121–122, fig. V.2. The “son of his son” Iniua, was First Prophet (hm-nfr tp.y) in Hz.št-Dsc-ypr.w-Rš.w-stp.n-Rš.w sš Pḥṣ mrš-bš/w, “the Temple of Djeserkheperu Setepenra (Horemheb) Son of Ptah who loves the inundated land”. This reading has been confirmed by Jacobus van Dijk (personal communication), who made a hand-copy of this block. Schneider (without discussion) translates: Island of “Ptah who loves the inundation”, reading hwv instead of sš. Pasquali 2011, 64 [A.127], and Pasquali, in Pasquali, Gessler-Löhr 2011, 285–286, has: sš Pḥṣ mrš(y) Pḥṣ bš/w, “filts de Ptah aimé de Ptah du bš/w”.

100 PM III, 704.


102 Compare the construction m pr.w Pṯḥ, “in the house of Ptah”.

103 Gauthier 1912; Spalinger 2009, 56–57 (col. 78).
why Ptahmose’s successors as Mayor and Steward in the temple of Ptah do not hold a title with that reference.

The Mayors Ptahmose and Amenhotep Huy held some of the highest ranking administrative positions within temple hierarchy; the institution’s sacerdotal affairs were managed by the High Priest. As Chief Stewards, the Mayors were involved in construction works at Memphis. These grand works at the beginning of the 19th Dynasty reshaped the local “ritual landscape”. Let us now focus, therefore, on these construction works at Memphis as can be deduced from the Mayors’ titles.

### Early 19th Dynasty temple building at Memphis

#### The temple of Ptah

Both Amenhotep Huy and Ptahmose held the title Overseer of works in Hutkaptah (tables 4–5). The Chief Steward in Memphis, Netjerwyem, the Royal Envoy/Messenger to Khatti in Year 21 of Ramesses II, also acted as Overseer of works in the temple of Ptah104. A related title was held by May at the end of Ramesses II’s reign105. Such a specific reference to building activities at Memphis had not been included in the titulary of any 18th Dynasty Mayor.

In the “Blessing of Ptah” text, Ramesses II mentions that he enlarged the temple of Ptah at Memphis: “... I enlarged your temple (ḥwt.t) in Hutkaptah ([...]) I made for you a noble temple (ḥwt.t-[ thwart] špps) within (m-hnw) “Walls” ([...]) According to Kitchen (1991, 90), the temple in Hutkaptah is more specifically a reference to the colonnade “Glorious is Ramesses II in the temple of Ptah” (see also below). “Walls” in this text designates a building (», an enclosure, or more generally all which is included in a “household” of a stately institution107. Kitchen argues that this building is unlikely to be the newly built West Hall108 – located within the Ptah temple precinct – but rather the king’s memorial temple, the ti-ḥwt.t R’.w-ms-s(w)-mr(y)-Tmn.w m pr.w Ptḥ, in Western Memphis (see below)109.

In the opinion of Gomaà, Khaemwaset was responsible for the 19th Dynasty enlargement of the temple of Ptah at Memphis110. According to him, construction work would not have started immediately upon Ramesses’ accession to the throne; he argues that the king’s involvement in conflicts in Syro-Palestine, and the grand construction works on his new Delta residence111, would have made the Ptah-temple at Memphis less of a priority. Instead, Gomaà proposes that work did not start until Khaemwaset was installed as High Priest112. In that capacity, the King’s Son would have had the overall supervision of all construction works in the temple. Work must have been at an advanced stage when Ramesses celebrated his first Sed-festival at Memphis, which probably took place in the newly built West Hall113.

From the dedicatory inscription at Abydos we know that Ramesses installed statues in the temple of Ptah from the inception of his reign, and the same is recorded in the Year 8/9 Manshiyet es-Sadr stela. What is more, his father Seti I had already started grand construction works at Memphis and it is not likely that Ramesses suspended those works. As High Priest, Khaemwaset had undoubtedly played a prominent part in the development of the Ptah temple at Memphis. By appointing his son as High Priest, Ramesses exercised direct influence in this major institution. However, Khaemwaset’s titles suggest a strictly priestly appointment; none of his titles refer to building projects114. That he was involved in such activities can be deduced from (a) foundation deposit(s) noted not far from the temple’s West Hall, containing objects inscribed with his and his father’s names115.

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104 Canopic jar, Musée de St. Omer, Inv. No. unknown: Seillier, Yoyotte 1981, 28, Cat. 123. For Netjerwyem, see e.g. Zivie 2000, 179–180; Id. 2007, 110–129. This official also bore the honorific title irty n.y nswt m pr.w Ptḥ, “Eyes of the King in the house of Ptah”, an epithet also held by the Mayor Ptahmose (see table 3).

105 See n. 119, infra.

106 KRI II 278,6, 279,6; Schmidt 1996, 295–296.


108 According to Kitchen (1991, 90), in analogy with that in Pi-Ramesse, a jubilee-hall.

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110 PM VII, 106; KRI II, 258f; LD III, pl. 194, l. 31–35; Breasted 1906, 175–182; Gomaà 1973, 34; Goelet 1991 (stela Abu Simbel). The stela (speech of Ptah) also records the building of the Delta residence of Ramesses II, and (speech of Ramesses) the Memphite temple endowment.

111 However, recent archaeological work at Khata’in-Qantir has established that Seti I already started the construction of an industrial, military site and a palace (Brand 2000, 129f).

112 His predecessor as High Priest of Ptah at Memphis was (another) Huy. His name is present on several objects found in conjunction with the burial of the Apis Bull that died in Year 16 of Ramesses II (Apis VII). For the chronology of New Kingdom High Priests of Ptah at Memphis, see Maystre 1992, 127–161; Raedler 2011, 136–142, with table 1.

113 Snape 2011, 466 with n. 13.


115 Petrie 1909, 8, pl. XIX; PM II, 832, Gomaà 1973, 83. Three brick-shaped plaques (made of basalt, calcite, faience: Manchester Muse-
Pthahmose’s involvement with the Ptolemaic temple is reflected in the following titles listed in table 2\textsuperscript{116}.

This official held key positions in the temple’s administration. He was the Chief Steward of the temple of Pthah, which included the “domain” beyond the temple precinct. He controlled the temple’s treasury (\textit{pr.w-hdq}) and agricultural income as Overseer of the Double Granary (\textit{smw.ty}). And Pthahmose was appointed as Overseer of works (\textit{im.y-r\' k.i.t})\textsuperscript{117} on (all) monuments of His Majesty in Hutkaptah and in the temple of Pthah. In that context, the title \textit{im.y-r\' m\'s\' (wr)} should be read not as Overseer of the Army (i.e. General), but as Overseer of the Troops\textsuperscript{118}, i.e. the workforce engaged in grand construction works\textsuperscript{119}.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Title} & \textbf{Description} \\
\hline
\textit{im.y-r\' m\'s\' (wr)} & Overseer of Troops \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

116 Only those explicitly relating to the temple of Pthah are listed; cf. table 3.

117 The \textit{im.y-r\' k.i.t} supervised the \textit{kw.ty}, who are attributed as builders of temples (Haring 1997, 239–238).

118 Also compare with stela Cairo TN 14.10.69:1: \textit{im.y-r\' k.i.t hr\' pt\' m.nw nb (y) hwsf m prw R.t}, “Overseer of works and Troop-commander in all monuments of His Majesty in the temple of Ra", and \textit{im.y-r\' k.i.t m nw nb (y) nsw m prw PtH}, “Overseer of works on all monuments of the King in the house of Ptah”, May (Gaballa 1972, 129–133, pls. 23–25; C.M. Zivie 1976, 216–216; NE 66; KRI III, 280). May was the son of another Overseer of works, named Bakenamun.

119 See also: Spalinger 2009, 55, n. 255, who notes that quarry expeditions, as well as work projects, were often led by “army commanders”, under the control of whom army troops were enlisted. He concludes that in the context of building activities “the professional designation “army” is inappropriate”. Gnirs (1996, 160—1) argues the same in relation to the career of May (see previous note). Compare also Schulman 1964, 41–44 (esp. 43) and 79, who proposes to translate the \textit{im.y-r\' m\'s\'} not as General, but as “military officer” (the General being the \textit{im.y-r\' m\'s\'} \textit{wr}). In the present context, the \textit{m\'s\'} thus refers to the workforce employed at grand construction projects, who indeed may have been extracted from the military. See also P. Genf D 191, verso 16–17, in which an \textit{im.y-r\' m\'s\'} is in charge of collecting people for unspecified transport related to construction work in Medinet Habu, late 20th Dynasty (Ullmann 2002, 510–511). Hunefer, as Mayor of Thebes, was responsible for stone transport to construct the temple \textit{hw\'nt-nrp R.t-w-ms-sw-mr\'y-lmn.w-mr\'y-mi-PtH} (Helck 1961, 56–57). According to Helck, this may be the same temple as the \textit{hw\'nt-nrp R.t-w-ms-sw-mr\'y-lmn.w-n-hb-md-smr\'y-mi-lmn.w} in which Amenemone served as Steward (BM EA 142: HTBM 12, 10, pls. 22–23; owner of TT 149; temple not known from any other sources). See also the discussion of the title “Troop-commander (hr\'y-pd.t) of Traders of Pharaoh” held by Khay (Van Dijk 2001, 27–28). The title refers to the armed escort that saw to the safe transport of gold and silver used by the traders for buying and selling goods. Troop-commanders also headed (or rather: guarded) the workforce (mostly convicts and prisoners of war) involved in gold-mining expeditions and large construction works.

120 CG 35404 (JE 39503); PM IV, 62; Hamada 1938, 217–230, pl. 30; KRI II, 360–362; KRITA II, 193–195; Gnirs 1996, 162–164; Raue 1999, 406–408 (E.5.); Binder 2008, 176–177 [237]. Discovered in 1907 south of Heliopolis, it describes quarrying activities at Gebel Ahmar for the \textit{twt(t),} \textit{R.t-w-ms-sw-mr\'y-lmn.w-pi ngr}, “The Great Statue, Ramesses-Meryamun, the God”. Year 8, 3rd month of Shemu, day 21, to Year 9, 3rd month of Shemu, day 18, destined for the great temple of Piramares, as well as the discovery (made by Ramesses himself) of more cores to quarry stone for statues destined for the temple of Ptah at Memphis, the temple of Amun-of-Ramesses at Piramares, and for Heliopolis.

121 According to Gnirs (1996, 164), “... fällt es schwer, in dem Bauleiter von Gebel el-Ahmar nicht Mai (see n. 119, supra) zu sehen.”

122 Ullmann 2002, 379. His titles included: \textit{im.y-r\' k.i.wt m (f) hw\'nt Wsr-mr\'y-t.R.t-w-stp-n.R.t-w m prw lmn.ww} and \textit{im.y-r\' k.i.t m hw\'nt Wsr-mr\'y-t.R.w-w.R.t-w-n.R.t-w}.\textsuperscript{123}

123 Ullmann 2002, 379: Penra, later succeeded by the Overseer of works Amenemone (cf. Gnirs 1996, 148f; Amenemone II). Gohary (1987, 99–100) suggests that Bunakhuf (identified by him as Penra’s father) started construction, that Penra took over in Year 16, and that Amenemone succeeded Penra in Year 21. However, neither affiliation nor titles are mentioned in the text. Another man, Bakenhons (TT 35), was Overseer of works on all monuments of His Lord, Chief Steward in the house of Amun, and High Priest of Amun in Karnak, and he claims to have made the temple \textit{hw\'nt-ngr R.t-w-ms-sw-mr\'y-lmn.w-sdm-nht}, “the temple of Ramesses II-who-hears-prayers” at Karnak for Ramesses II (block statue Munich GL. WAF 38 from Karnak: Schulz 1992, I, 428–429, II, pl. 112; PM II, 215; KRI III, 297–299). His statue contains an Appeal to the Living, an overview of his career and autobiographical information regarding his building activities at Thebes (“Principal Chief of works in Thebes for Ramesses II”). Statue Cairo CG 42155 from the Karnak cachette probably paired with the Munich statue (see: Schulz 1992, 255–256 [140], pl. 58b–c). Baken-
A temple (ḥw.t-nṯry) “Beneficial is Seti-Merenptah” in the house of Ptah is known from a limited number of sources. The foundation deposits – a scarab, glazed faience plaques, and a small inscribed block – are its only material testimony. Additionally, just one official is known to have been affiliated with this foundation: the Mayor Ptahmose, who served as its Steward (im.n.r-pr.w)\(^{127}\).

Brand (1999, 32ff; 2000, 146) indicates that the name of this temple parallels that of Seti’s Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, the ḥw.t-nṯry šḥ Sḥty-mr+n-Tmn.w m pr.w ḫmr.n.w\(^{128}\). Due to this parallelism it is assumed that Seti’s contribution to the temple of Ptah at Memphis had been to a hypostyle hall similar to those he had constructed at Abydos and at Karnak. Seti I probably did not live to see the hypostyle hall completed\(^{129}\). Ramesses II continued that work, which he also did at Abydos and at Karnak. The king renamed the Memphite hypostyle hall “the Temple Beneficial is Ramesses-Meryamun in the house of Ptah” at a moment prior to his 43\(^{rd}\) regnal year\(^{130}\). In the Inscription Dédicatoire at Abydos, Ramesses II states that, in addition to what he did in Abydos, he fashioned one image of Seti at Thebes and another at Memphis (ḥw.t-kī-Ptḥ), and that he repeated making statues for his (i.e. Seti I’s) ka at Thebes, Heliopeiros and Memphis (ḥw.t-kī-Ptḥ)\(^{131}\).

Another temple of Seti I, the ḫw.t Mn-Mš.t-Rꜣ.w is mentioned in the title of Sayempetref, who served there as Head of Goldworkers\(^{132}\). According to Brand (2000, 352), that name may have been an abbreviation of the temple “Beneficial is Seti I”, or it was the king’s memorial temple at Memphis. Another candidate for the monarch’s memorial temple is the pr.w Ṣṭy-mn-Ptḥ, known exclusively from a textual source\(^{133}\).

One small chapel built by Seti I is all that is left from his vast building programme at Memphis\(^{134}\). This Ptah-chapel was accidentally discovered by the Egyptian irrigation service in 1948 at Mit Rahina, situated within the south-west corner of the later enclosure wall of the Ptah temple\(^{135}\). The statuses and reliefs are executed in a distinct style of Re. Construction work on the Karnak hypostyle hall started probably in Seti I’s Year 2 (Brand 2000, 385). The length of Seti I’s reign has been widely debated. Most recently, Van Dijk (2011, 330–331) demonstrated that the king probably died during his 9th year in office. See P. Bulaq 19 (Cairo CG 58096), which dates to his 63rd regnal year: Helck 1961, 917 (1); KRI VII, 102, 15; 103,9; Ullmann 2002, 299 [1]; Helck identifies May (see n. 119, supra) as the Overseer of works of this temple. The Hypostyle Hall was accessed through the newly-built West Gate, connecting the old town to the new Ptah temple (Giddy 1994b).

124 Stadelmann 1984, col. 91–92.
125 Similarly, high officials often received the office of im.n.r-hm.w-nṯry, “Overseer of Prophets” of the deities of their birthplace (Helck 1958, 222–223, 371; Ockinga and Al-Masri 1988, 15–16; Van Dijk 1993, 62). In his Coronation Text, Horemheb indicates that he appointed new temple personnel (Waḥ-Priests, Lector Priests) m ṣḏp n.ḥy mnf.w.t, “from the pick of the army” (Gardiner 1953, 16, pl. II, l. 25; Urk. IV, 2120,9).
127 Reserved on his pyramidion, seen by Lepsius with the antiquities dealer Solomon Fernandez in Cairo: LD Text, I, 15; KRI III, 179,14; current location unknown. Al-Ayedi 2006, 44–45 [148], reads šḥ nṯr instead of ḫmr.t nṯr. For a discussion of the term šḥ, see Friedman 1986; Brand 1999 (esp. 32–33).
128 Cf. earlier, Kitchen 1989, 89. More foundations of this king had the same name: the Theban memorial temple at Gurnah, šḥ-Šṭy-mn+n-Tmn.w m pr.w ḫmr.n.w ḫmr.ty Ṣḥty-wšt.t, and the Osireion at Abydos, šḥ Mn-mš.t-Rꜣ.w n Ṣḥty. According to Brand, it is possible that even more buildings had the same name, e.g. at Heliopolis, the cult centre of Re. Construction work on the Karnak hypostyle hall started probably in Seti I’s Year 2 (Brand 2000, 385). The length of Seti I’s reign has been widely debated. Most recently, Van Dijk (2011, 330–331) demonstrated that the king probably died during his 9th year in office. See P. Bulaq 19 (Cairo CG 58096), which dates to his 63rd regnal year: Helck 1961, 917 (1); KRI VII, 102, 15; 103,9; Ullmann 2002, 299 [1]; Helck identifies May (see n. 119, supra) as the Overseer of works of this temple. The Hypostyle Hall was accessed through the newly-built West Gate, connecting the old town to the new Ptah temple (Giddy 1994b).
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131 Columns 26–27, and 79. See discussion in Spalinger 2009, 56 n. 261. According to the text, Ramesses began fashioning these images (at Abydos) in regnal year 1, which Spalinger (2009, 95) believes was not a retrospective date.
132 Relief block Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 8851 (ex-coll. W.A. Van Leer): Lunsingh Scheurleer 2009, 42–43 [Cat. 8] (as Abydos). For the other objects from his (Memphite) tomb, see: PM III2, 843[j]; Habachi, in Anthes 1959, 4–5, pl. 1 and large folding map; Berlandini 1984; Id. 1988; Jeffreys 1985, 73–74, fig. 15, 37 (“Ora-}
133 Badawi 1948, 108; Brand 2000, 353.
134 Just one statue with the name of Seti I has been found at Memphis (KRI II, 494). Brand (2000, 353) suggests that the statue, together with another of Ramesses II (early prenomen), was commissioned at the end of Seti’s reign.
135 The chapel was dismantled and rebuilt on-site at Mit Rahina. PM III, 843[j]; Habaichi, in Anthes 1959, 4–5, pl. 1 and large folding map; Berlandini 1984; Id. 1988; Jeffreys 1985, 73–74, fig. 15, 37 (“Ora-
post-Amarna period style, which is indicative of an early date\(^{136}\). In the debris near this chapel, two more blocks were found – one commemorating the celebration of a jubilee festival, the other being a cornice with Seti I’s cartouches\(^{137}\).

At Memphis, Seti I also constructed a chapel dedicated to Amun-Re and to Mut of Thebes\(^{138}\). Other temples at Memphis during the reign of Seti I included the Maat-temple (\(hw.t\)-M\(\text{	extdegree}\)t)\(^{139}\), a temple of Neith\(^{140}\), and possibly a temple for the Aten (\(hw.t\) p\(\text{	extdegree}\) Tm.w)\(^{41}\).

Van Dijk (1989b, 53 n. 16) correctly remarks that Ptahmose’s stewardship in the “chapel of Seti” does not necessarily make him a contemporary of that king. He argues that such an institution may well have continued to function after the king had died\(^{142}\). Pasquali likewise considers this foundation to be the king’s memorial temple\(^{143}\). Its alternative identification as the hypostyle hall in the


\(^{137}\) Moussa 1982. According to Brand (2000, 352), the lintel with the running king is stylistically unrelated to the Ptah temple, and it does not belong to the early years of Seti I’s reign. It possibly belonged to yet another, unidentified structure. Both fragments are now in the Mathaf Ramsis at Mit Rahina. A possible further attribution: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek ÆIN 42 (Manniche 2004, fig. 74; compare Berlandini 1988, pl. 3, block “suspended” between the statues of Ptah and Tsetsem).

\(^{138}\) Brand 2000, 149 (3.26): attested only by a lintel, Pennsylvania E.13573; PM III 2, 860.

\(^{139}\) Spiegelberg 1896, pl. XIIIc:6; P. Bibl. Nat. 211, recto (\(\text{Mry-M\(\text{	extdegree}\)t}\) n\(\text{\textdegree}\) y prw m\(\text{\textdegree}\)t\)); also on pl. XVC, 3 (prw m\(\text{\textdegree}\)t\)); Helck 1961, 921–922 (139–160). Cf. also the General (\(m.y.r\)\(\text{\textdegree}\) m\(\text{\textdegree}\)t\) wr Amenemone (18th Dynasty, temp. Horemheb), who was entitled s\(\text{\textdegree}\)m.w-hb n\(\text{\textdegree}\) y M\(\text{\textdegree}\)t, Festival Conductor of Maat (relief Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek A\(\text{EIN}\) 714, face b: Manniche 2004, fig. 74 [right]).

\(^{140}\) At least two officials are known to have been associated with the temple of Neith: Mery-Neith alias Mery-Re was High Priest (\(lm-ngp\) t\(\text{\textdegree}\) y m \(\text{hw.t}\) N\(\text{\textdegree}\)t) (Van Walsem, in Raven, Van Walsem 2014, 64–45[8]), and the Vizier Pasew was Guardian of secrets (\(hr\ y\ n\(\text{\textdegree}\)t\) m \(\text{hw.t}\) N\(\text{\textdegree}\)t) (Helck 1958, 450). Furthermore, Piay was Scribe of the doors in the temple of Neith Lady of Sais (\(n\(\text{\textdegree}\)t\) m \(\text{hw.t}\)-prw N\(\text{\textdegree}\)t nh \(\text{\textdegree}\) t\(\text{\textdegree}\)t) (“New Kingdom”; PM III, 775; Mariette 1872, 20, pl. 62e; unidentified object).

\(^{141}\) Constructed during the reign of Akhenaten (Years 5–9), this temple (\(ti\) \(\text{hw.t}\) p\(\text{\textdegree}\) Tm.w) is mentioned during the reign of Seti I (cf. Spiegelberg 1896, pl. XVla, 4; P. Bibl. Nat. 213, recto; KRI I, 279,14; Lühr 1975, 146–147, Doc. 14; Van Dijk 1993, 32–33, n. 76). The temple may have been closed down and demolished during the reign of Horemheb or Seti I (Málek 1997, 95ff; Rondot 1997, 119–122; Brand 2000, 35–36). These studies concentrate on the orthography of Ramesses II’s nomen in the South, the Theban region to Nubia. No comparably systematic study has been undertaken for Lower Egyptian or Memphite material (for a study to date the tomb of Tia at Saqqara, see: Van Dijk 1993, 102–106). Spalinger (2008, 88) indicates that the name-change would have been witnessed later in the peripheral areas outside of Egypt (Nubia) than in the homeland at Thebes and Memphis. Also, the Year 21-name-change refers to monumental inscriptions; it appears earlier (i.e. Year 5) in hieratic documents (Spalinger 2009, 93 and ff).

The temple of “Ramesses-beloved-of-Amun” in the house of Ptah

The temple (\(ti\) \(\text{hw.t}\) R\(\text{c.}\) w-ms-s(w) m yr-Inm.w m prw P\(\text{\textdegree}\) m, Ramesses-beloved-of-Amun in the house of Ptah, is attested on several monuments from the tomb of Ptahmose\(^{144}\). The Mayor acted as the temple’s Steward and Chief Steward (table 3). The orthography of Ramesses’s nomen varies:

Pyramidion (III,6):

\(^{144}\) For \(\text{Pnh}\) n\(\text{\textdegree}\) yr : R\(\text{c.}\) w-ms-s(w) m yr-Inm.w – a statue of Ptah erected by Ramesses II – see e.g. the column fragment of the Royal Butler and Chief Steward of the Lord of the Two Lands Seth-her-wenemef, found in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery (Quibell 1908, 81, pl. XXXVII [5]; 19th Dynasty, temp. Ramesses II). For more references to (various forms of) “Ptah of Ramesses Meryamun”, see: Sandman Holmberg 1946, e.g. nos. 266 (on a palette from Thebes); 307–308 (at Pi-Ramesse).

\(^{145}\) See e.g. Kitchen 1977, 220–221; Id. 1979, 384f; Spalinger 2018, 95f; Rondot 1997, 119–122; Brand 2000, 35–36. These studies concentrate on the orthography of Ramesses II’s nomen in the South, the Theban region to Nubia. No comparably systematic study has been undertaken for Lower Egyptian or Memphite material (for a study to date the tomb of Tia at Saqqara, see: Van Dijk 1993, 102–106). Spalinger (2008, 88) indicates that the name-change would have been witnessed later in the peripheral areas outside of Egypt (Nubia) than in the homeland at Thebes and Memphis. Also, the Year 21-name-change refers to monumental inscriptions; it appears earlier (i.e. Year 5) in hieratic documents (Spalinger 2009, 93 and ff).
a rarity, the spelling with –sw, or both –ss and –sw on the same monument, prior to Year 21 does occur. This includes R:\w-ms-sw on the Manshiyyet es-Sadr stela from Heliopolis.

The attestation of both the early and later orthographies of Ramesses II’s nomen in Ptahmose’s titulary has led to the generally accepted proposition that his tomb was constructed (and decorated) around Year 21 of Ramesses II’s reign. Ptahmose was not the only official attached to this temple. Three others can be added: the Steward (im.y-r pr:w) Nebnefer, the Chief Steward (im.y-r pr:w wr) Mahu, and the Prophet (hm-ntr) Khaemwaset:

1. Nebnefer

2. Mahu

3. Khaemwaset

Their orthography of Ramesses II’s nomen differs when compared with its appearance in Ptahmose’s inscriptions:

1. Early (Ptahmose) vs. late spelling (Nebnefer, Mahu, Khaemwaset);

2. R:\w written with the sun-disk, and I\mn.w spelled phonetically (Ptahmose) vs. writing with theriomorphic and anthropomorphic deities (Nebnefer, Mahu, Khaemwaset).

The writing of Ramesses-Meryamun with the signs of the-riomorphic and anthropomorphic deities matches that on both the statue and sarcophagus of Amenhotep Huy found by Badawi at Mit Rahina. Nebnefer, Mahu and Ptahmose held the same position in the temple of Ramesses II. Ptahmose, with the early spelling, is likely to have held that position first. Mahu’s tomb (ST 218) is located at Saqqara immediately due south of the Unas causeway. Nebnefer is mentioned in the tomb of his son Huynefer (ST 217) and, according to Gohary (2009, 37), he may be the same man as Mahu’s father, who features prominently in that tomb. Mahu succeeded his father as Steward in Ramesses II’s Memphite memorial temple. Their titles indicate that they were both associated with the Ptah temple’s administration: careers resembling those of the Mayors Amenhotep Huy and Ptahmose.

The only (recorded) priestly position in this memorial temple was held by Khaemwaset. He was born as Ramesses II’s fourth son around the monarch’s first year in office. He acted as High Priest of Ptah at Memphis (sm wr-hrp-hmw:wr) during the Years 16–52. He was Crown Prince for a brief period during the early 50s and died shortly after his father’s 55th year on the throne. His tomb still remains to be found, but there are indications that it was located at Saqqara. The Prince’s building

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146 Kitchen 1979, 384, n. 10; Spalinger 1980, 96.
147 See n. 120, supra.
148 Note that the nomen of Ramesses I is also spelled R:\w-ms-sw (with the prenomen Mn-ph-\ti-r:\w).
150 On the stela of his son, Huynefer, tomb ST 217 at Saqqara: Gohary 2010, 161, fig. 1–2. An unpublished statue of Nebnefer was found by Habachi at Mit Rahina: Berlandini 1982, 103 n.
151 Block Saqqara LB 16: Gohary 2009, 36, pl. 49. The title covers two text columns. The damaged area at the start of column 2 would allow for the insertion of wr: Chief Steward.
152 Block Saqqara LB 4; Gohary 2009, 33, pl. 46a.
153 On a loose block found by the EES/Leiden expedition at Saqqara (07.02.1988). The block was found in shaft ‘K’ in front of the pylons of the temple of the Overseer of the Treasury, Maya, and has remained unpublished. See: Van Dijk 1989a, 11. For the positions of shafts in front of Maya’s pylons, see: Raven 2001, pl. 3. The spelling of the name differs from the two other attestations: M:\hw-\hy as opposed to M-\hw. Both are a variation of the same name: M-\hy: PN I, 163 [25]. I thank Dr Jacobus van Dijk for sending me a photograph of the block and an excerpt from his notebook.
154 Epithets and title sequence s i ns\w sm km-ntr m ti hw.t R:\w-ms-sw-ntr(y)-Imn.w m pr:w Ptb. Inscribed on the red-granite colossalus of Ramesses II from the Ptah-precinct at Mit Rahina. Found by Hek-ekyan (Excav. No. 37652.256), formerly at Cairo’s Midan Ramsis railway station, and now at the Grand Egyptian Museum, Giza (Jeffreys 1985, 36; Id. 2010, 177). Gomâa, (1973, 35) dates the statue to the 30s of Ramesses’ reign (pace earlier scholarship: Year 44 on account of princess Bintanath being depicted).
activities at the Serapeum and his interest in the old Memphite monuments are well-known, and his “restoration” endeavours in the Memphite necropolis are oft-quoted. It is likely that Khaemwaset was connected with the memorial temple of his father from its inception until he died. His titles “Sem Priest and Prophet” in the memorial temple of Ramesses II denote the office of High Priest.

The colossal statue of Ramesses II containing these titles of Khaemwaset had once been set up at the South Gate of the Ptah temple. Gomaa suggests that the inscription on the base that once supported yet another colossal of Ramesses II had been set up in the temple “Ramesses-beloved-of-Amon” in the house of Ptah. That inscription refers to pi twt(w) n y inb-hq: “the great statue of White Wall – a statue of the deified Ramesses II”.

The temple Ramesses II “United with Maat of Ptah”

Another temple of Ramesses II constructed at Memphis is the hwt Rʾw-ms-sw mrr(y)-lmn.w hnm.t-mš3.t-n(f)-Pṯḥ, the temple Ramesses II “United with Maat of Ptah”. This foundation is well documented and we even know who was responsible for its construction. Mayor Amenhotep Huy commemorated his involvement in the autobiographical text inscribed on his fragmentarily preserved statue, which was found by Badawi at Memphis.

On the dorsal pillar, left edge can be read:

‘… (the temple) “Raʾmesses-Meryʿ Amunʾ ‘United with Maat of Ptah”; its columns of granite, the bases in every kind of stone – a great open court before it – like the pillars of the sky. Its columns … [Northerners (?)] were stuperied by the monument (?); its door in real pine, the images thereof in gold and lapis lazuli; they are surrounded with copper …’

On the dorsal pillar, rear, the text continues:

… I made [this] ‘temple’ … … (with) great pylons of limestone, doorways of electrum, a monumental hall extending before it (with) gateways of granite stone, its […] … [I made this temple (?)] for Memphis (inb.w-hq), as a monument in the great name of His Majesty. I planted its (approach) way with trees, right up to this temple. I dragged statues of granite …”

On this statue, Amenhotep Huy bears the titles “True Royal Scribe whom he loves”, “Great Mayor of White Walls”, and “Chief Steward”. On his outer sarcophagus found reused in Memphis (table 4: V.2), his title is im.y-rj pr.w m tj hwt Rʾw-ms-sw-mrr y-lmn.w hnm.t-mš3.t-n(f)-Ptḥ, “Steward in the temple Ramesses-Meryamun “United with Maat of Ptah””. It has been suggested that this temple is in fact the same building as “the temple of Ramesses-Meryamun in the house of Ptah” (discussed above). As a result of that identification, Amenhotep Huy had long been considered as Ptahmose’s predecessor.

Badawi (1944, 205) initially identified this temple with the small structure he partially excavated at the south-west corner of the later enclosure wall of the Ptah temple. Amenhotep Huy’s statue was found in the debris inside the sanctuary. Anthes (1965, 7) dates the structure to around Year 34 of Ramesses II on account of the addition of the epithet “the god, ruler of Heliopolis” to the monarch’s throne name. However, the architecture of this structure appears not to match the description provided on Amenhotep Huy’s statue. Therefore, Anthes (1965, 9) rejected Badawi’s earlier claim. Archaeological and epigraphic work revealed that foundation to be a small temple built for Ptah. It underwent constructional changes during the reign of Ramesses III. Blocks of 18th Dynasty date were reused in the Ramesside structure. Earlier, Badawi considered the possibility that Huy constructed the temple upon the ruins of an 18th Dynasty royal memorial temple, a view later shared by Morkot, but rejected by Ullmann.

Indeed, a temple of Amenhotep III, Nb-Mš3t-Rʾw ḫnm-t-Pṯḥ, “Nebmaatre with-wtPtḥ”, was built at Memphis. Its construction is recorded in the autobiographical text of the Chief Steward in Memphis, Amenhotep Huy. He was also im.y-rj k.t wt
m ḥnm.t Pḥ, “Overseer of works in (the temple) “United with Ptah”. Morkot argues that the temple’s full name, in analogy with its Theban counterparts, may have been hw.t n.𝐲 hḥ.w m nḥp.wt Nb-mić.t-R洿.w-ḥm.m.t-Pḥ m pr.w Pḥ, “temple of millions of years of “Nebmaatre United-with-Ptah” in the house of Ptah”175. According to the description provided by Amenhotep Huy, the temple was located “in the cultivated land west of Memphis (m b’h n.y imm.ty ḥw.t-kꜣ-Pḥ), upon the bank/foreshore of Ankh-tawy (hr ḫḏ)b174 n.y ʿnh-tȝ.wy)”. This temple continued to be in use at least until the reign of Ramesses II176.

In a recent article, Pasquali convincingly rejects the identification of the temple “Ramesses-beloved-of-Amun” with the temple “United with Maat of Ptah”, and argues for an alternative location for the latter177. He argues that the title $Hw.t\ k#m$, also recorded on the outer sarcophagus of the Mayor Amenhotep Huy, is in fact an abbreviation of $\frac{\text{m.y}}{\text{ḥm}}\ \frac{\text{m}}{\text{f}}$. The designations hw.t ity and hw.t hm=f refer to the same temple178. On the recently identified relief-decorated block from the Memphite tomb of an anonymous179, the complete name of the temple “United with Maat of Ptah” is given as: hw.t R洿.w-ms-sw-mr(y)-Imn.w ḥm.m-t-mić.t-n(yt)-Pḥ m [prw] ḥw.t-Hṛ nb.t nh.t (rsy.t)179. The addition “in the house of Hathor, Lady of the (Southern) Sycamore”, has consequences for its location. The temple of Hathor at Memphis was located south of the temple of Ptah180. This situation explains some of Huy’s other titles. He was jm.y-rITY kḥ.wt m prw nb.t nh.t (rsy.t), “Overseer of works in the house of the Lady of the [Southern] Sycamore”, sǭm.w-hẖ nb(n(y) nb.t nh.t rṣy.t), “Festival Conductor of the Lady of the Southern Sycamore”; and sǭm.w-hẖ n(y) Mḥ.t-wrT, “Festival Conductor of Mehet-weret”181. The location of Ramesses’ temple in the house of Hathor automatically precludes its identification with the temple “Ramess-es-beloved-of-Amun” in the house of Ptah.

The temple “United with Maat of Ptah” is possibly mentioned on a stela of yet another man named Huy. In the Speos of Horemheb at Gebel Silsila, an inscription dated to Merenptah182 identifies him as im.y-rỈ kḥ.wt m nmm nb n.y Ḥm=f, wr n.y md$j.y.wm, im.y-rĮ prw n.y hw.t R洿.w-ms-sw-mr(y)-Imn.w n.y prw nb.t nh.t.im, im.y-rĮ prw n.y pi-R洿.w n.y R洿.w-ms-sw-mr(y)-Imn.w rsy Mn-nfr. Further, in P. Leiden 1.349 from Memphis, a $_km.n_y i hw R洿.w-ms-sw-mr(y)-Imn.w$ named Huy records the hauling of sandstone (iṭh bīi.t) for the pi-R洿.w R洿:w-ms-sw-mr(y)-Imn.w ʿnh.w wḏ.ji. snb.w rsy Mn.nfr183, which, according to Gnirs (1996, 155–156), was destined for the funerary temple of Ramesses II in the temple of Hathor at Memphis – the same temple where the Chief of the Medjay Huy later became Steward and who, according to Gnirs, left his inscriptions in Gebel Silsila when he was quarrying sandstone for a temple of Merenptah. Huy was not the only Chief of the Medjay who was put in charge of building projects. Penra, who has been mentioned earlier in connection with construction work in the Ramesseum (n. 123, supra), was im.y-rĮ h在过渡期.wt nḥt(wt), [wr n.y] md$j.y.w m-mi.ṭ.t, kḏn n.y Ḥm=f, wwpdb.y-nsw r tḥ nb, and im.y-rĮ [k획 w t ḫ] hw.t Wsr-mić.t-R洿.w-stp.n-R洿.w m pr.w Imn.w184. Helck also included the reference to the official May as a source for the temple Ramesses “United with Ptah”185. While some of his titles do indeed refer to building activities at Memphis (n. 119, supra), the main focus of his activities was in the temple of Re at Helioptopolis186. He was also actively involved in construction works at Pi-Ramesse and in the house of Amun at Thebes.


173 Morkot 1990. Compare e.g. the temple of Ramesses II in Luxor, ḥnm.t-ḥnḥh; and in West Thebes, ḥnm.t-Wṣȝ.t (Ullmann 2002, 328–381). For blocks belonging to a sanctuary of Amenhotep III at Memphis, see Petrie 1910, 39, pl. 29 [2–3]; references in Morkot 1990, 336 n. 93; Ullmann 2002, 125–140; Pasquali 2011, 34–37.


175 As can be read in P. Sallier IV (verso 1,8), mentioning Pharaoh-who-is-under-his-moringa-tree-of-Nebmaatre-Unified-with-Ptah: Gardner 1937, 88–92 (89,10); Caminos 1954, 333, 339–340; Morkot 1990, 335.

176 Pasquali 2012, 141–142.

177 Pasquali op cit., 141 with n. 18.

178 Pasquali op cit., 139–145, fig. 3: Aphrodite Ancient Art, New York; 19th Dynasty, temp. Ramesses II or later. The block possibly originates from the tomb of Amenhotep Huy.

179 Pasquali op cit., 142–144.

180 Erichsen 1933, 55 (P. Harris I, 49: 2–3); El-Sayed Mahmud 1978; Kitchen 1991, 92, fig. 2.
Conclusion

This paper proposed an interpretation for the title ḥi. ty-ś.w ḥi ḫ nb.w n.w Ptḥ, “Mayor of beyond the walls of Ptḥ”, identified on a lost door jamb from the tomb of the Mayor of Memphis Ptahmose. It appears to be the full form of another title held by Ptahmose (inscribed on statue BM 1119): ḥi. ty-ś.w n.y ḥi ḫ nb.w, “Mayor of beyond the walls”. It also allows for the alternative reconstruction of a title recorded on a block of Ptahmose seen by Lepsius: ḫ nb.w ḫ nb.w ḫ nb.w ḫ nb.w, “Mayor of Ptah beyond the walls of Ptah”.

In order to address the significance of this “new” title, the development of the title “Mayor of Memphis” during the New Kingdom has been analysed. During the early 19th Dynasty the title changes in three respects: ḥi. ty-ś.w wr starts to be used in parallel with ḥi. ty-ś.w, the preposition m is used instead of the indirect genitive adjective n.y to refer to Memphis, and a variety of toponyms of the city are attested.

An analysis of the “walls of Ptah” at Memphis reveals that Ptahmose, in his capacity of “Mayor of beyond the walls of Ptah”, was responsible for all temples located there. That area included the so-called  bḥ’-ḥ-terrain where a temple of Ptah and several royal memorial temples were located. The “house of Ptah beyond the walls of Ptah” should be considered as a collective denominator for all the temple’s assets located outside of the temple walls. Such assets are usually under the control of the designated steward. The title Mayor of beyond the walls of Ptah can be related to building activities at Memphis initiated during the early 19th Dynasty (reign of Seti I), construction works for which Ptahmose had been responsible. The shifting eastwards of the Nile accommodated the expansion of the city and temple to the east: beyond the old boundary walls.

Ptahmose was responsible for the Ramesside expansion of the Ptah temple. This included the title “Beneficial is Seti-Merenptah” in the house of Ptah – the great hypostyle hall in the Ptah temple, later renamed “Beneficial is Ramesses-Meryamun”. He was also responsible for the construction of the Memphite memorial temple of Ramesses II: the temple “Ramesses-beloved-of-Amun” in the house of Ptah. Another title of that monarch, the “temple of Ramesses-Meryamun United with Maat of Ptah” located south of the temple of Ptah in the domain of Hathor was constructed by Ptahmose’s successor, the Mayor of Memphis Amenhotep Huy.

This paper argues that the early 19th Dynasty Mayors were not just the chief officials of this city, but were also related to the Ptah temple as Chief Stewards, attesting to the intimate administrative link between town and temple.

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Table 1: Toponyms of Memphis used in the titles of the early 19th Dynasty Mayors of Memphis Amenhotep Huy and Ptahmose.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Writing</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Amenhotep Huy</th>
<th>Ptahmose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Writing" /></td>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ wr ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Writing" /></td>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ wr ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ</td>
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<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Writing" /></td>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ wr ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ</td>
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<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
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<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><img src="image5.png" alt="Writing" /></td>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ wr ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Ptahmose: titles pertaining to the Temple of Ptah at Memphis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General administration</th>
<th>Treasury</th>
<th>Granary</th>
<th>Works</th>
<th>Honorific</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ prw ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ</td>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ ṣnwty ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ</td>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ mḏḥ m prw ḫ ḫ</td>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ mḏḥ m ṣnwty ḫ ḫ</td>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ prw ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ prw ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ</td>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ ṣnwty ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ</td>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ mḏḥ m prw ḫ ḫ</td>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ mḏḥ m ṣnwty ḫ ḫ</td>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ prw ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ prw ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ</td>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ ṣnwty ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ</td>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ mḏḥ m prw ḫ ḫ</td>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ mḏḥ m ṣnwty ḫ ḫ</td>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ prw ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ</td>
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<tr>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ prw ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ</td>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ ṣnwty ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ</td>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ mḏḥ m prw ḫ ḫ</td>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ mḏḥ m ṣnwty ḫ ḫ</td>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ prw ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ</td>
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<tr>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ prw ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ</td>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ ṣnwty ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ</td>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ mḏḥ m prw ḫ ḫ</td>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ mḏḥ m ṣnwty ḫ ḫ</td>
<td>ḫḥ-tu-ḥ₃ prw ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ ḫ</td>
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</table>
Table 3: Mayor of Memphis Ptahmose: titles.

A: Related to the king, royal court, and government (incl. honorific)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḫn.y nb=f</td>
<td>III.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>icy-rd.wy=f</td>
<td>I.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>icy.r.t</td>
<td>I.1-5, I.7, I.11, I.15A-D, I.17A-D; II.5; III.1-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>icy.r.w</td>
<td>I.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>'s mi.ty mh.t</td>
<td>I.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w' mh.n y nr nfr</td>
<td>I.14</td>
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<tr>
<td>bi.t=s nq.t mtw=f</td>
<td>I.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mrt(y) nb ti.wy</td>
<td>I.5; III.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mrt.ty n.y nfr nfr</td>
<td>I.2, I.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbrlh f n.y nfr</td>
<td>III.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ns/r] shr m Hw.c=Hw-Hw</td>
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<tr>
<td>H#=tw [n sDm] Hr.w=f</td>
<td>III.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hr.y tp wr.m Hn.b(w)-Hd</td>
<td>I.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ht[y tp m] Hn.t</td>
<td>I.14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hr=M-tp n nb.t.wy</td>
<td>III.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>smr w' ty</td>
<td>I.1, I.5</td>
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<td>sr</td>
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<tr>
<td>sqw.ty bi.ty</td>
<td>I.5, 9-10, 8; III.4</td>
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B: General administration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temple of Ptah</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>im.y-r₃ pr.w</td>
<td>I.5; II.6; III.3-4; VII.1-2</td>
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<tr>
<td>im.y-r₃ pr.w wr</td>
<td>I.5; III.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>im.y-r₃ pr.w m pr.w PtH</td>
<td>I.4-5, 11, 14; III.1-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>im.y-r₃ pr.w m [t] Hw.c=Hw-R₃.w=-ms-s(w) mry-Inn.w pr.w PtH</td>
<td>III.6-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>im.y-r₃ pr.w wr m tḤ Hw.c=Hw-R₃.w=-ms-s(w) mry-Inn.w pr.w PtH</td>
<td>I.2, 11</td>
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<tr>
<td>im.y-r₃ pr.w wr n.y PtH</td>
<td>I.1; II.6; III.2; IV.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>im.y-r₃ pr.w m Hw.c=nfr ḫn-Skyy=mr-n-PtH m pr.w PtH</td>
<td>III.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>im.y-r₃ pr.w (n.y) PtH</td>
<td>I.17A; II.3, 5; II.3-4</td>
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<tr>
<td>im.y-r₃ pr.w n.y pr.w PtH</td>
<td>I.12</td>
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<td>im.y-r₃ pr.w n.y nb m₇.t</td>
<td>I.1, 3, 5, 9</td>
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<td>I.5, III.7</td>
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<td>im.y-r pr.w-Hd n.y nb m₇.t</td>
<td>I.17C</td>
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<tr>
<td>im.y-r Skcy.t n.y nb m₇.t</td>
<td>I.15D</td>
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<tr>
<td>im.y-r Skcy.t n.y nb-nHn</td>
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<tr>
<th>Mayorship</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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<td>ḫt.₄=Hw wr</td>
<td>I.11; II.6; IV.2-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫt.₄=Hw wr m inb(w) Hw</td>
<td>I.4-5, 11; III.1-2, 5</td>
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<tr>
<td>ḫt.₄=Hw wr Hw.c=Hw-Hw</td>
<td>III.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>ḫt.₄=Hw m inb.w Hw</td>
<td>I.3, II.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫt.₄=Hw ḫn inb.w</td>
<td>II.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>ḫt.₄=Hw ḫn inb.w n.w PtH</td>
<td>I.17D</td>
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C: Scribal

<table>
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<td>sš Skcy.t</td>
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<tr>
<td>sš Skcy.t m₇ mrt(y)-f</td>
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Table 3 (continued)

D: Public works, crafts

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<td>\textit{im}.\textit{y-r} \textit{mš} \textit{wr m prw Pth}</td>
<td>I.5, 11; III.5</td>
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<td>\textit{im}.\textit{y-r} \textit{k₁} \textit{wr}</td>
<td>I.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{im}.\textit{y-r} \textit{k₁} \textit{wr m mww nb n.y nb t₁w-y(?)}</td>
<td>I.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{im}.\textit{y-r} \textit{k₁} \textit{wr m mww nb n.y nsw}</td>
<td>I.12</td>
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<tr>
<td>\textit{im}.\textit{y-r} \textit{k₁} \textit{wr m mww nb n.y hm-f}</td>
<td>III.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>\textit{im}.\textit{y-r} \textit{k₁} \textit{wr m mww nb n.y hm-f m Hwt-k₁-Pth}</td>
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E. Sacerdotal

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<td>\textit{mr}.\textit{ty} \textit{G/n y np:w nb:w Inb(w)-hd}</td>
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<td>\textit{hr}.\textit{ss} \textit{t} \textit{n y hwt Pth}</td>
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Incomplete

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<td>///m prw [Pth]</td>
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Table 4: Mayor of Memphis Amenhotep Huy: titles.

A: Related to the king, royal court, and government (incl. honorific)

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<td>\textit{hs}.\textit{y} \textit{G/n y nb t₁w-y}</td>
<td>V.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{hs}.\textit{y} \textit{G/n y nfr}</td>
<td>V.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{hr}.\textit{ss} \textit{t} \textit{n y hwt-k₁-Pth}</td>
<td>V.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{r₁} \textit{n y nsw hnt y Hwt-k₁-Pth}</td>
<td>III.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{rḥ} \textit{nsw mš m(r).y}=f</td>
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B: General administration

Stewardship

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<td>\textit{im}.\textit{y-r} \textit{prw}</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{im}.\textit{y-r} \textit{prw wr}</td>
<td>III.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{im}.\textit{y-r} \textit{prw m [t₁] hwt ity}</td>
<td>I.1; V.1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{im}.\textit{y-r} \textit{prw m [t₁] hwt hm-f}</td>
<td>V.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{im}.\textit{y-r} \textit{prw m [t₁] hwt Hr-f (nb-f)}</td>
<td>III.1; V.1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{im}.\textit{y-r} \textit{prw m [t₁] hwt R₁-c-w-m-s-w-mr y-Imn.w hnm. t-mš-t-n(yt)-Pth}</td>
<td>V.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{im}.\textit{y-r} \textit{prw m [t₁] hwt sr}</td>
<td>V.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>\textit{im}.\textit{y-r} \textit{prw n y inh.w}</td>
<td>III.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{im}.\textit{y-r} \textit{prw n y///(hwt?)} \textit{Hnm. t-mš-t-n(yt)-Pth}</td>
<td>V.2</td>
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Mayorship

<table>
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<td>\textit{h₁}.\textit{ty}-c-w \textit{wr}</td>
<td>V.2; V.4</td>
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<tr>
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<td>I.1; III.1; V.1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{h₁}.\textit{ty}-c-w \textit{wr m inh(w)-hd}</td>
<td>V.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{h₁}.\textit{ty}-c-w \textit{wr m nḥt t₁w-y}</td>
<td>V.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{h₁}.\textit{ty}-c-w \textit{wr m nḥt nḥḥ}</td>
<td>V.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>\textit{h₁}.\textit{ty}-c-w \textit{wr m niwt Pth}</td>
<td>V.2-1</td>
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<td>\textit{h₁}.\textit{ty}-c-w \textit{wr m niwt nḥḥ}</td>
<td>V.2-1</td>
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<td>\textit{h₁}.\textit{ty}-c-w \textit{wr m niwt Ti-i-pn}</td>
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<tr>
<td>\textit{h₁}.\textit{ty}-c-w \textit{wr m Hwt-k₁-Pth}</td>
<td>V.1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{h₁}.\textit{ty}-c-w \textit{wr n y inh.w}</td>
<td>II.2; III.1</td>
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<td>\textit{h₁}.\textit{ty}-c-w \textit{wr n y inh.w-Pth}</td>
<td>II.1; III.1</td>
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<td>\textit{h₁}.\textit{ty}-c-w \textit{wr n y inh(w)-hd}</td>
<td>II.1; III.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{h₁}.\textit{ty}-c-w \textit{wr n y mn-nfr}</td>
<td>VII.1</td>
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Table 4 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C: Scribal</th>
<th>D: Public works, crafts</th>
<th>E: Sacerdotal</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sš nsw</td>
<td>im.y-r kš.w m prw Nb.t nh.t</td>
<td>sšm.w-hb n.y Nb.t wr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sš nsw mš mar(y)=f</td>
<td>im.y-r kš.w m Hw-t-kš-PtH</td>
<td>sšm.w-hb n.y Nb.t nh.t rsy.t</td>
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Table 5: Corpus of objects pertaining to Mayors Ptahmose and Amenhotep Huy.

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<th>Pth-ms(.w)</th>
<th>Imn-htp HwY</th>
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<tr>
<td>I. Reliefs</td>
<td>I. Reliefs</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-3. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 4873–5</td>
<td>1. Saqqara Magazine (excavated near Step Pyramid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Frankfurt, Liebieghaus IN 1643</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 25.6.24.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University 1984.2.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-10. Berlin, Ägyptische Museum 1631–2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. “Mur Rhoné” (lost)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. “Block from Giza” (lost)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-17 “Devéria-doorway” (lost)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Saqqara, in situ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Statues</td>
<td>II. Statues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tokyo, Matsuoka Museum of Art 568</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-4. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 7–8</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 41532</td>
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<td>III. Architectural elements</td>
<td>III. Architectural elements</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-4. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 51a-d (Djed-pillars)</td>
<td>1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 7.11.24.1 (pyramidion)</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Cairo, Egyptian Museum 40.000 (papyriformcolumn)</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Pyramidion (lost)</td>
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<td>IV. Stelae</td>
<td>IV. Stelae</td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Lost (Notebook H.O. Lange)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung 19718</td>
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<td>V. Burial equipment</td>
<td>V. Burial equipment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Musée Antoine Vivenel de Compiègne Inv. L. 496 (Sarcophagus fr.)</td>
<td>1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 59128 (sarcophagus)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Mit Rahineh, Mathaf Ramsis (sarcophagus)</td>
<td>2. Mit Rahineh, Mathaf Ramsis (sarcophagus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Present location unknown (anthropoid coffin Memphis)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Durham, Oriental Museum EG 518 (N 1859) (wooden shabti)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Offering tables</td>
<td>VI. Offering tables</td>
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<tr>
<td>VII. Extra sepulchral objects</td>
<td>VII. Extra sepulchral objects</td>
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<td>1. Paris, Musée du Louvre IM 5269 (stela from Serapeum)</td>
<td>1. Paris, Musée du Louvre (shabti from Serapeum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Paris, Musée du Louvre SH 213 (shabti from Serapeum)</td>
<td>2-6. Saqqara, Magazine (5 shabtis from Serapeum, “lesser vaults”)</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Paris, Musée du Louvre N 519 = AF 450 (block-statue from Serapeum)</td>
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