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The Title *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w ḥ3 inb.w n.w Pth*, “Mayor of Beyond the Walls of Ptah”, and Early 19th Dynasty Temple Building at Memphis

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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, *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w ḥ3 inb.w n.w Pth*, “Mayor of beyond 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”.

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 subject¹. Texts on the structure’s two door jambs record a selection of his

¹ Staring 2014. For earlier studies on Ptahmose, see: PM III^f, 713–715; Berlandini 1982; Málek 1987; Van Dijk 1989b; Franke 1993; Greco 2011. The tomb was rediscovered in 2010 by an archaeological mis-

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titles. One of these, *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w ḥ3 inb.w n.w Pth*, “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”.

The title *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w n.y Mn-nfr* and variations

The earliest recorded attestation for the title *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w (n.y) Mn-nfr* is on a late Middle Kingdom private-name seal³. At that time, pyramid-towns were also led by their designated mayors⁴. The practice continued into the New Kingdom administration of royal memorial temples⁵. The title *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w* is commonly translated as “Mayor”, to designate the chief official of a town⁶. The eighteen Egyptian

sion of Cairo University directed by Dr Ola el-Aguizy. The reliefs photographed by Devéria have not been seen since 1859.

² *Wb.* III, 8: preposition, “behind”, “around”. Cf. *prⁱ r ḥ3* ‘going out’ (*Wb.* III, 10, 4–7).

³ Seal of Amenemhat-seneb: G.T. Martin 1971, 20, No.182; Málek 1997, 95. Note that Amenemhat-seneb also acted as *im.y-r3 ḥw.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 (Ameni-Seneb).

⁴ Helck 1975, col. 878.

⁵ Amenemhat was *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w n.y pr.w 3-ḥpr-k3-Rḥ.w* (Thutmose I) at Memphis, temp. Thutmose III (stela Berlin 1638: Roeder 1924, 105; Gessler-Löhr 1997, 31 n. 4).

⁶ *Wb.* III, 25: “der Erste an Platz”. Cf. Helck 1958, 220f; 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 *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w* should not be confused with the identical title of rank, often used in combination with *ir.y-pḥ.t* (Gessler-Löhr 1997, 31 n. 2) and commonly translated as “Count”.

administrative centres distinguished by Helck were identified based on their corresponding mayors⁷.

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)⁸. Until the late 18th Dynasty their office title was *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w n.y Mn-nfr*⁹. It has previously been observed that their early 19th Dynasty colleagues Ptahmose, Amenhotep Huy¹⁰, and Ramessesemheb¹¹ used somewhat deviating forms¹². Both forms of the title were in use until after the Ramesside period¹³. The variations observed in the early 19th Dynasty can be summarised as follows:

1. The use of *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr*, an “artificially inflated titular¹⁴” which can be used in parallel with *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.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.

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.


12 The first 19th Dynasty Mayor, Neferhotep, still employs the early form of the title: *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w n.y Mn-nfr*. See: relief fragment Geneva, Fondation Gandur pour l’art Inv. No. EG-271; Bianchi 2011, 66–67 [9].



13 Shedufefertem, reign of Siamun (Petrie 1909, 14, pl. 23 [right]); and the Vizier, Great Mayor of Memphis (*ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr n.y Mn-nfr*), Prophet of Osiris-Hemag, etc. *Hrw-(m-)ḥ-bt*, 25th Dynasty, on his reinscribed 18th Dynasty basalt statuette (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 237: PM VIII(2), 801–626–475; Lillesø 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 *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr n.y nsw:t*, 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 *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w* and *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr Pmḏt*, “Governor of Oxyrynchus”; *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w n(y) Dsḏs*, “Governor of the Bahariya Oasis”; and *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr n.y Mn-nfr*; and Naville 1870, 107–112, pl. 1: statue of the *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr T3-š*, “Great Mayor of the Fayum”, Sobekhotep.


The title *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w ḥ3 ḥnb.w n.w Pth*

Only two close parallels are known for the title *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w ḥ3 ḥnb.w n.w Pth*. Both are attested on objects pertaining to Ptahmose:

Devéria photograph: (↓→) 

1. Statue BM 1119: (→) 
2. “Block from Giza”: (→) 

- 1: Kneeling naophorous statue British Museum EA 1119. The inscription on the statue-base, right-hand side, includes: *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w n.y ḥ3 ḥnb.w*¹⁵. Málek translated the title as “Mayor of the Memphite suburbs”.¹⁶
- 2: Block built into an “Arabic” tomb at Giza and recorded by Lepsius: *ḥm.y-r3 pr.w n.y pr.w Pth ḥ3 ḥnb.w///Pth*, “Steward of the house¹⁷ of Ptah beyond the wall(s) [...] Ptah”¹⁸. Málek reconstructed the lacuna with , which results in: *ḥm.y-r3 pr.w n.y pr.w Pth ḥ3 ḥnb.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 *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w ḥ3 ḥnb.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  *ḥnb.w*, which results in the reading *ḥm.y-r3 pr.w Pth [n.w] ḥ3 ḥnb.w Pth*, “Steward of the house of Ptah beyond the walls (of)²⁰ Ptah”. What

15 Fragment, lower part, limestone, 35.5 x 34.5 x 21 cm: Wallis Budge 1909, 127 [450]; Helck 1958, 225, n.14; Málek 1981, 157; *Id.* 1987, 117–137.

16 Málek 1987, 131.

17 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 *sdḥ*, “provision” is used. The estate of an individual temple is indicated with the term *ḥtp-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.

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

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”.

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, *inb.w-ḥd* and the location(s) of Memphis



During the New Kingdom, *Mn-nfr* was the name most commonly used for the “city” of Memphis²¹. *Inb(.w)-ḥd*, “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 *inb-ḥd* 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 Rameside 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: *niw.t Mn-nfr Ppy/Mr.y-Rḥ.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 Rameside Period the Ptah temple could expand to the east of the old town (see below)³³. *Hwt-k3-Pth* 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: *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr m niw.t Pth*, 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:  *inb.w* (P. Harris I, 58,16);  *inb-ḥd* (stela MMA 673, line 2; the Overseer of the Royal Apartments, Ptahmose, late 18th Dynasty).

²³ Kees 1961, 148; Jeffreys 2012, 222–223.

²⁴ Málek 1997, 91; Love 2003, 71.

²⁵ See: Giddy 1994a, 193–195; Love 2003, 71, 80; Jeffreys 2012, 226–229. Málek 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 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.

²⁷ Montet 1957, 27–48.

²⁸ Málek 1997, 93 and fig. 1.

²⁹ Gardiner 1948, II, 175; C.M. Zivie 1982, col. 25.

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 Málek 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 Rameside 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 *mḥ3.t-t3.wy*, “Balance of the Two Lands”, and *ḥnh-t3.wy*, “Life of the Two Lands”³⁶. The latter is also known as a very common term for the Memphite necropolis located in the desert to the West of the city.

ḥnh-t3.wy and *r3-sṯ3w*

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  (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 *ḥwt-ntr Thny n.y ḥnh-t3.wy*, “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 “*dehenet*”⁴⁰ 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: *ḥr imn.tyt wr.t n.yt inb.w*, “at the great west of “Walls”⁴⁵. On stela MMA 673 of the Overseer of the Royal Apartments, Ptahmose, the location of his tomb (*s.t n.yt nḥḥ*) is described in a similar wording: *ḥr imn.tyt n.yt nḥw.t ḥwt-k3-Ptḥ*, “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 “Sekhmet of Sahure” at Abusir: “... *sm3 t3 ḥr imn.tyt Mn-nfi*”, “... be buried at the West of Memphis”⁴⁷. The only document actually relating to the construction of tombs at Saqqara, P. Cairo 52002, 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, Nemytymose, officiated in the West of Memphis as: *ḥr.y-ḥb n.y t3 imn.tyt m Mn-nfi*⁴⁹. A common epithet of both Ptah and Anubis (at Memphis) is: *nb ḥnh-t3.wy*, “Lord of Ankh-tawy”.

Hathor was associated with the West as well. One epithet of hers at Memphis was: *nb.t nh.t ḥnw.t sm3.t imn.tyt*, “Lady of the Sycamore, Mistress of the Western necropolis”⁵⁰, and she was also known as: *nb.t in.t ḥr.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 *Ptḥ m mḥ3.t t3.wy* 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 (Ptolemaic 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.).

40 *Wb.* V, 478: “Felswand, Bergvorsprung, Bergspitze”; “Bez. von einem Teil der Bergwand auf dem Westufer von Theben”.

41 See also: Gessler-Löhr 2012 187–191: the rock-cut tombs “above Abusir village”. Cf. Gunn, Notebook 7, no. 42[i]; PM III², 571–572.

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.

46 Stela MMA 673, line 13. See: Kamal 1905 (“trouvée à Thèbes”); Mercer 1914 (with pl. IX). For Ptahmose, see: PM III², 308; Wallis Budge 1909, 178 [642] (for BM EA 160 erroneously as provenance Giza, see: Málek 1981, 156–157).

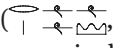
47 Borchardt 1910, 121–122, fig. 165. For *sm3 t3* translated as “landing”, being the first funerary ritual (i.e. procession to the necropolis), see: Hays 2010, 2–5.

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 22.1.21.1: 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].

imn.tyt nb.t t3.wy m t3 dsr, “Lady of the Valley, She who resides in the West, Lady of the Two Lands in the Sacred Land (i.e. necropolis)”⁵¹. The same valley is mentioned in connection with the Sokar-festival at Memphis: *phr m in.t wr.t n(.yt) hwt-k3-Pth*, “... the circuit of the Great Valley of Hut-ka-Ptah”⁵².

Rosetau (, *r3-st3w*) is another common geographical reference included in offering formulae on tomb walls, as in *cq pri.t m r3-st3w*, “to enter and leave in Rosetau”⁵³. 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 Stonemason of the Palace, Amenhotep Huy: *Pth-Skr-Wsr ntr c3 hr(.y)-ib st3y.t Inpw nb r3-st3w*, “... Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, the great god who is in the Shetayet shrine (and) Anubis Lord of Rosetau”⁵⁶. During the New Kingdom, Giza was known as *pr:w Wsr nb r3-st3w*, “the place (house) of Osiris, Lord of Rosetau”⁵⁷. Abd el-Aal (2009, 3–4) suggests that Rosetau is the place where some private chapels were dedicated during the New Kingdom, and where a temple of Osiris, Lord of Rosetau, was constructed by Ramesses II⁵⁸. Indeed, only

51 Berlandini 1981, 10 [1], pl. V: limestone socle Cairo JE 14126 of Amenemone/Iny dedicated to Hathor (late 18th–early 19th Dynasty, probably Saqqara). Compare: *Hwt-Hr hr.yt-ib Mn[-nfr//]*, “Hathor who resides in Memphis”: Stela Berlin ÄMP 345/67, anonymous owner, provenance unknown (probably Memphite), temp. Tutankhamun, Year 4 (PM VIII(4), 803–057–610; Raue 1999, 441 [E.2.6.]; Pasquali 2011, 52–53 [A.105], 86 [B.46]).

52 Stela MMA 67.3 (lines 8–9).

53 *Wb* II, 398: I. “Kultstätte des „Soker“ bei Giseh”, II. “Allgemeine Bez. des Totenreiches oder eines Teils desselben”. Rosetau was also used as the name of the Theban necropolis; a use adapted from Memphis (Gaballa, Kitchen 1969, 68–69). In his Theban tomb, the vizier Paser (TT 106, temp. Seti I to early Ramesses II) is seen entering Rosetau: Brovarski 1984, col. 1065; PM I², 224 H (c).

54 Petrie 1907, 1, 9, 24; Zivie-Coche 1984, col. 304–305: limestone foundation blocks and granite fragments found up to “more than one mile” south of the pyramid of Khufu. More granite fragments were reported 7 km south-east of the pyramid of Menkaura: Edwards 1986, 35 n. 50.

55 Edwards 1986, 28–29. The possibility that the shrine was situated within the precinct, or even in the Ptah temple, is less likely according to Gaballa, Kitchen (1969, 46). His shrine may, however, have been located within the house of Ptah: cf. *hwt Skr m pr:w Pth* (P. Cairo JE 86637, Verso IX, l. 9; Bakir 1966, pl. 39.9).

56 Statue Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 13: Boeser 1912, 9 [20], pl. X.

57 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.

58 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).

on the Kafr el-Gebel monument of his superior Tia is Iurudef attested with his title *im.y-r3 k3.t n.t nb=fn r3-st3w*, “Overseer of works of his Lord at Rosetau”⁵⁹. The village of Busiris, which used to be at approximately the site of modern-day Nazlet el-Batran, was called *why.t r3-st3w*⁶⁰. Similarly, the Serapeum at Saqqara was called *km r-gs r3-st3w*⁶¹, which literally translates as “mouth of subterranean passages”; it was considered to be the entrance to the netherworld. According to Schneider (1977, I, 277), “every tomb-shaft or cavern in the desert plateau” could be designated as Rosetau. The Apis bull played an important part in the theology of Sokar, as the latter could reveal himself in the bull, as did Ptah. Khaemwaset, the High Priest of Ptah at Memphis and fourth son of Ramesses II, held the titles *(i)r(.y)-p.c.t hn.ty r3-st3w*, “Hereditary Prince, foremost of Rosetau”,⁶² and *hr.y-sst3 m r3-st3w*, “Guardian of secrets in Rosetau”⁶³. Furthermore, he was *h3.ty-c.w m b3.t-t3mwl/tmt*, “Mayor of the place Temet” – another designation for the Memphite necropolis⁶⁴.

Since the Old Kingdom, Ptah at Memphis was connected with Sokar⁶⁵, the god of the Memphite necropolis, and the syncretic connection Ptah-Sokar-Osiris is well attested from the Middle Kingdom onwards⁶⁶. The god’s festival must have been one of the highlights of the Memphite calendar, although no actual temple calendar has survived from that city. Elsewhere, e.g. at Thebes, the festival took place between days 21 and 30 of the fourth month of Akhet, which corresponds to the Khoiak festival (*k3 hr k3*; inundation season) of Osiris that started on day 18⁶⁷.

59 Abd el-Aal 2009, Block No. 96, pl. 3b. Compare this with the titles attested in his funerary chapel, located in the outer courtyard of the tomb of Tia at Saqqara: Raven 1991, 2. The title *im.y-r3 k3.t n.y nb=fn r3-st3w* also occurs on a block formerly held in the Eid-collection (no. 4216; present location unknown), which has been assigned to Tia. The titles identify the beneficiary as Iurudef (PM III², 654; Van Dijk 1993, 99–100; Martin 1997, 46, scene [328a], pl. 94). Van Dijk notes that one cannot be absolutely sure whether the block derives from the Kafr el-Gebel chapel, and he sees the tombs of Tia or Iurudef as the more likely candidates. However, the find of the same titles by Abd el-Aal may favour the chapel at Kafr el-Gebel.

60 Edwards 1986, 35, n. 46 (on a stela of Ramesses III).

61 Schneider 1977, I, 277.

62 Gomaà 1973, Cat. 108 (shabti Louvre E. 917).

63 Gomaà op cit., Cat. 94 (stela fragment, private collection).

64 Gomaà op cit., 25; Cat. 94; C.M. Zivie 1976, 295–297.

65 A *hwt Pth-Skr*, “temple of Ptah-Sokar” is mentioned on statue Florence 1790 of the High Priest of Ptah, Ptahmose, 18th Dynasty, temp. Amenhotep III (Schiaparelli 1887, 197, No. 1505; Maystre 1992, 275). Ptahmose addresses “... all future High Priests in the temple of Ptah-Sokar”.

66 Te Velde 1982, col. 1179.

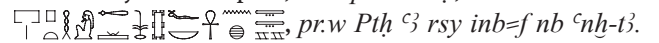
67 Gaballa, Kitchen 1969, 34 ff. For the Sokar festival at Thebes, see Graindorge-Hérel 1994, 55–77; for the Khoiak festival, see e.g. Dau-

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 kingship⁶⁸. From early times onwards, the festival on day 26 included the “circuit/circumambulation of the walls” in the Henu-bark (*ḥnw špsy*), dragged (*stj*) on a *mḥ* sledge or shouldered by priests⁶⁹. Those buried at Saqqara wished to be present at the celebrations, which is expressed in offering formulae in their tombs⁷⁰. High officials had the honour of “following Sokar”, and even expressed the wish to bear the *mḥ* sledge along with the “Perfect God” (i.e. the King) to the necropolis on the desert plateau⁷¹. They expressed the wish that the gods would grant their *bas* and/or statues to continue following Sokar after burial⁷². From Theban sources we know that the 26th day of the festival was a “public holiday”⁷³, and the procession with the barque visiting the necropolis may have had the character of a public event. On that occasion, *ka*-priests made offerings at the tombs en route⁷⁴.

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

II⁷⁵. At the beginning of the 19th Dynasty, Tatenen could also be added to form Ptah-Sokar-Osiris-Tatenen⁷⁶. It is from that moment onwards that Memphis is referred to as *niw.t T3-ḥnn*, “Town of Tatenen”⁷⁷, 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 Kingdom⁷⁸. By the Ramesside period, the temple (“house”) of the chief deity of Memphis, the *pr.w Pth*, was known as , *pr.w Pth ʿ3 rsy inb=f nb ʿnh-tj.wy*, “House of Ptah the great one, who-is-south-of-his-wall, Lord of Ankhtawy”⁷⁹. From the writing of [*Pth*] *rsy-inb-ḥd* on a clay sealing found in the 5th Dynasty pyramid complex of Raneferef at Abusir, Verner (2012, 103) concluded that *inb=f* (“his wall”) in the epithet of Ptah refers to *inb(.w)-ḥd*⁸⁰. Previously, Málek (1997, 91) arrived at the same conclusion, situating the temple of Ptah-who-is-south-of-his-wall due south of the early foundation “White Walls”. This localisation is in line with Herodotus, who describes how the temple was located south of the (old) town of Memphis⁸¹. On pyramidion Louvre D 20 of Taya/Ptahmose, Ptah has the epithet *Pth-rsy-inb=f m inb(.w)-ḥd*, “Ptah-who-is-south-of-his-wall in White Wall(s)”⁸². For a similar construction, compare *Pth rsy*

mas 1975; Eaton 2006.

68 Gaballa, Kitchen 1969, 45.

69 Sources point at more than one annual occasion of making the circuit of the walls. See e.g. the stela of Userhat Hatiay, Leiden AP 14a: *šms=k Skr phr=f inb.w m ḥb.w=f nb.w* (Boeser 1911, pl. XXXIII-IV [5]).

70 E.g. on stela Florence, Museo Archeologico 1605 (2600) (ex-coll. Rosellini), of the Overseer of the King’s private apartments, Pay: Raven 2005, 31 [27], pls. 36, 38. For *phr ḥ3 inb.w*, see: *Wb.* I, 546; “Umzug um die Mauern” als Ceremonie bei der Thronbesteigung”, and “als Ceremonie beim Fest des „Soker“. Seit D. 18”. As a component of the coronation ceremony, the circumambulation of the wall by king Djer (1st Dynasty) is recorded on the Palermo stone (r.II.3, *phr ḥ3 inb*: Bleeker 1967, 96; Wilkinson 2000, 92–95), and this probably took place at Memphis.

71 Gaballa, Kitchen 1969, 68 (cf. P. Skrine IV, 10; Blackman 1917, 128). See also TT 50 of the God’s Father of Amun, Neferhotep (temp. Horemheb): Hari 1985, 49–50, col. 142–145, pl. XXXV, “Registre median II”.

72 The desire that the *ba* to go out and join the followers of the gods is expressed on e.g. statue Leiden AST 6 of the Overseer of the Royal Harim Tjayiry: Boeser 1912, 6–7, pl. VII. For the wish that their statues might follow Sokar when making the circuit of the walls, see e.g. Leiden AH 211: wooden statuette of the Scribe of the Treasury of the temple of Thutmose IV, Ramose (Boeser 1925, 4, pl. VI [23]). Also: Kitchen, Gaballa 1969, 67.

73 On all other days, the temple rituals were attended only by high officials and by priests.

74 Gaballa, Kitchen 1969, 67.

75 Schlögl 1980, 54–55. The sources for Ptah-Tatenen date predominantly to the second half of the reign of Ramesses II. According to Schlögl, this may relate to the change of the monarch’s Horus-name in Year 34: “Lord of Sed-festivals like his father Ptah-Tatenen”. A statue of Ramesses II with Tatenen once stood at the North Gate of the Ptah temple at Memphis. Ramesses made it “... as a monument for his father Ptah”. The statue mentions Ramesses’ jubilees (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek ÆIN 1483; Manniche 2004, fig. 76).

76 Schlögl 1986, col. 238. At the end of the Dynasty, Tatenen started to be equated with Osiris. The earliest attestation of this chthonic deity is from Middle Kingdom Asyut.

77 Schlögl 1980, 79–82.


78 Sandman Holmberg 1946, 208.

79 For an Old Kingdom attestation of the *ḥw.t-ntr n.yt Pth rsy inb=f*, see the tomb of *Pr-sn* (5th Dynasty, temp. Sahure: Mariette 1889, 300; Selim 2002, 403).

80 This supposition was put forward earlier by Sethe (1905, 130).

81 Herodotus II, 99; Te Velde 1982, col. 1179. Málek (1997, 91), however, observes that Herodotus (II.99) situates the temple of Ptah *in* the city, not outside.

82 Rammant-Peters 1983, 58–59 (Doc. 54): 19th Dynasty, temp. Seti I, early (cf. Berlandini 1977, 32 n. 2). This epithet of Ptah is not included in LGG IV, 723–724, nor is it listed by Sandman Holmberg 1946, 1946, 204–220: “Ptah at and around Memphis”. Verner seems not to have been aware of this epithet either.

ḥnb=f m w3s.t for “Ptah-who-is-south-of-his-wall-in-Thebes”, and *Pth rsy ḥnb=f m pr.w šps.t* for “Ptah-who-is-south-of-his-wall-in-the-house-of-the-Magnificent-one”⁸³. Further, in P. Harris I, “Ptah-south-of-his-wall” is also referred to as “Lord-of-the-White-Wall”⁸⁴. Clearly, “his wall” is not the same as “White Wall(s)”. Rather, “Ptah-who-is-south-of-his-wall” is (with)in White Wall(s), or Memphis. The same can be observed in a hymn to Ptah-Tatenen and Sekhmet on the stela of the Overseer of the Double Granary of the Lord of the Two Lands, Mery-Sekhmet: *Pth ʿ3 rsy ḥnb=f T3-tnn ḥr(.y)-ib ḥnb.w* (𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒), “Ptah, the great one, who-is-south-of-his-wall (and) Tatenen who dwells within (the) Walls”⁸⁵. A “curious orthography” for the name of the city Memphis appears to combine “south of his wall” with Mennefer: , **Mn-ḥnb=f*⁸⁶.

The title of the Mayor Ptahmose on the Giza block is not the only reference to a temple of Ptah located beyond the temple walls. Another is the Late Period shrine of “Ptah of *ḥnt-nn*”, situated perhaps near the Sacred Animal Necropolis on the Saqqara plateau⁸⁷. A further source refers to the worship of Ptah in *ḥnb-ḥd ḥ3b.tyt*, East White Wall⁸⁸. Neith at Memphis had a sanctuary “North-of-the-wall”⁸⁹.

The “Walls of Ptah” at Memphis

There are two possible interpretations for “walls of Ptah” in the context of Memphis. They can refer to the precinct of the great Ptah temple⁹⁰, or to the city walls. Málek (1987, 133) argues that the “walls” in the title of statue BM 1119 refer to the walled enclosure of the city. The same city

walls might be meant in a title of Amenhotep Huy, who was *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr n.y ḥnb.w-Pth*, Great Mayor of “Walls of Ptah”⁹¹. Huy was also *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr m niw.t 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 Ptah⁹², within Hutkaptah. Stela MMA 67.3 of Ptahmose has: *ḥḥ sšm=k⁹³ m ḥw.t-k3-Pth ḥnb.w-ḥd*, “Your festival in Hutkaptah (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: *phr ḥnb.w n.w Pth*, “... circumambulating the walls of Ptah”⁹⁴. 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.

Pasquali argues that *ḥ3 ḥnb.w* was the area where the royal memorial temples were located⁹⁶. He suggests that *ḥ3 ḥnb.w* was situated in the *bḥ*-terrain⁹⁷, or culti-

⁸³ LGG IV, 723c–724a. “The house of the magnificent one” refers to a temple or space in Dendera in the Graeco-Roman period. Other deities could also be located south of their walls.

⁸⁴ P. Harris 50.4.

⁸⁵ Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek ÆIN 897 (fragment): Mogensen 1930, 98 (A 719), pl. CVI; Koefoed-Petersen 1948, no. 37; Schlögl 1980, 81. His rock-cut tomb is at Saqqara: Bub. I.5, late 18th–early 19th Dynasty (A. Zivie 2000, 178, 184, fig. 5).

⁸⁶ Montet 1957, 29. According to Gardiner 1947, II, 122, who transcribes it as *Mnf*, this is a perversion of the normal writing for *Mn-nfr*, combining a contemporary pronunciation and the “rarer alternative” *ḥnb.w*. As Van Dijk (personal communication) points out, Gardiner’s interpretation does not explain the sign for *ḥnb*, which might in fact be a writing error.

⁸⁷ Leahy 1998, 386–387.

⁸⁸ Gardiner 1947, II, 128: located at Tura.

⁸⁹ Helck 1961, 923.

⁹⁰ Cf. PM III², 831ff: “Ptah enclosure with Dependencies”. Málek 1987, 133, notes the similar expressions *ḥ3 ḥnb rsy* and *ḥ3 ḥnb m mḥt*, used in the temple of Seti I at Abydos to indicate where, at Memphis, offerings to the various deities were made (*viz.* KRI I, 176.4; Kitchen 1991, fig. 1, below).

⁹¹ Grano-diorite pyramidion Cairo TN 7.11.24.1: Myśliwiec 1978, fig. 8 (as north side); Rammant-Peeters 1983, 28–30 (Doc. 27) (as “face ouest”); KRI III, 169–171; DuQuesne 2002 (with colour photographs).

⁹² Inferred from the epithet, Ptah “South of White Wall”. One may question, however, whether New Kingdom “White Walls” referred to and/or concurred with the location of Early Dynastic “White Walls”, as suggested by Gaballa and Kitchen.

⁹³ Referring to *Pth-Skr-Wsḥr ḥr(.y)-ib šty.t ḥnm ʿnh nb r3-stjw*.

⁹⁴ Petrie 1909, pl. XIX, now: Dublin, National Museum 1908.514 (standing statue, lower part). His sarcophagus, which he usurped from Senqed (temp. Ay), was found in the New Kingdom necropolis south of the Unas causeway: El-Ghandour 1997, 10–11; Id. in Ockinga 1997, 49–53.

⁹⁵ Berlandini-Keller 2009, 35, with figs. 10–11. The presence of the personifications of both the city and the temple walls in this chapel might be interpreted as a reference to the contemporaneous large-scale building programme at Memphis (see below).

⁹⁶ In: Pasquali, Gessler-Löhr 2011, 286–287.

⁹⁷ For the localisation of the *bḥ*-terrain, see Kitchen 1991, fig. 1. For another reference to this terrain in relation to temples, see O. Louvre

vated land to the west of Memphis, upon *ḥnh-t3.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 bḥ n.y imn.tyt Ḥw.t-k3-Pth ḥr idb n(y) ḥnh-t3.wy*⁹⁸. The memorial temple of Horemheb was probably located in the vicinity⁹⁹. 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)¹⁰⁰. On a recently published block seen on the art market, Ipy is titled as *ḥm-ntr tp.y ḥw.t Pth m p3 bḥ*, “First prophet of the temple of Ptah in the “*bḥ*-terrain”¹⁰¹. Indeed, the same location might be referred to by the qualification “house of Ptah beyond the Walls of Ptah” in the title of Ptahmose on the Giza block. In his capacity as *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w n.y ḥ3 inb.w*, Ptahmose would have been responsible for all temples that were located there. In his function as *im.y-r3 pr.w n.y pr.w Pth ḥ3 inb.w Pth*, Ptahmose could have been the steward in the same temple of Ptah in the *bḥ*-terrain mentioned earlier by Ipy.

“Beyond the walls of Ptah”

As indicated in the previous paragraph, Pasquali argues that the *bḥ*-terrain to the west of Hutkaptah was located “Beyond the Walls of Ptah”. While I agree that the *bḥ*-terrain is located beyond the walls of Ptah, the equation

2262 (Ramesses II, Year 42): “... *bḥ n.y pr.w Wsr-m3ḥ.t-Rḥ.w-stp.n-Rḥ.w ḥ.w.s. m Mn-nfr*” (Spiegelberg 1894, 64).

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 III², 836; Petrie 1913, 33–36, pls. LXXVIII [bottom right], LXXIX, LXXX; *Urk*, IV, 1793–1801; 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” (Caminos 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” Iniuia, was First Prophet (*ḥm-ntr tp.y*) in *t3 ḥw.t Dsr-ḥpr(w)-Rḥ.w stp.n-Rḥ.w s3 Pth mr.y-bḥ*, “the Temple of Djoserkheperura 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 *iw* instead of *s3*. Pasquali 2011, 64 [A.127], and Pasquali, in Pasquali, Gessler-Löhr 2011, 285–286, has: *s3 Pth mr(y) Pth bḥ.w*, “fils de Ptah aimé de Ptah du *bḥ*”.

100 PM III², 704.

101 Pasquali, Gessler-Löhr 2011, 281–299; Pasquali 2011, 93 [B.67] as *ḥm-ntr ḥm ḥw.t Pth m p3 bḥ*.

does not work the other way around. The term *ḥ3 inb.w n.w Pth* is otherwise not attested as a designation of this specific locality to the west of Memphis. The designations *bḥ*, *ḥnh-t3.wy*, and the more general reference *ḥr imn.tyt Mn-nfr* are frequently used for the area located on that side of the city. I would like to argue that the “house of Ptah beyond the walls of Ptah” should rather be seen as a collective denominator for all the temple’s assets located outside of its temple walls¹⁰², and, in that context, “beyond the walls of Ptah” is its abbreviated form. In the Inscription Dédicatoire inscribed by Ramesses II in the temple of Seti I at Abydos, one reads that: “... *ih.t=f wr.w m Smḥ.w Mh.w ḥr-st-ḥr n(y) im.y(w)-r3 pr.w=f*”, “his (i.e. the king’s) great properties (i.e. memorial temples) in the South and the North [are] under the care of his stewards”¹⁰³. Seyfried (1991, 205) noted “... daß der gesamte Landbesitz des Tempels, auch der ausserhalb des „eigentlichen Einzugsbereiches“ unter der Leitung seines (i.e. des Tempels) Domänenverwalters steht”, in other words: all assets of the temple outside the temple precinct proper are under the control of the designated 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 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 titulary. 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

102 Compare the construction *m pr.w Pth*, “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 Amenotep Huy and Ptahmose held the title Overseer of works in Hutkaptah (tables 4–5). The Chief Steward in Memphis, Netjerwymes, 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 (*ḥw.t*) in Hutkaptah (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) [...] I made for you a noble temple (*ḥw.t-[ntr]* *šps*) within (*m-ḥnw*) “Walls” (𓂏𓂏𓂏)”¹⁰⁶. According to Kitchen (1991, 90), the temple in Hutkaptah is more specifically a reference to the colonnade “Glorious is Ramesses II in the house of Ptah” (see also below). “Walls” in this text designates a building (𓂏𓂏), 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 *ḥ3 ḥw.t Rḥ.w-ms-s(w)-mr(y)-Imn.w m pr.w Pth*, 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.

¹⁰⁹ The expression *ḥ3 ḥw.t* refers to the (memorial) temple of the living king: Haring 1997, 28–29.

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’na-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.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Gomaà 1973, 26.

¹¹⁵ Petrie 1909, 8, pl. XIX; PM III², 832, Gomaà 1973, 83. Three brick-shaped plaques (made of basalt, calcite, faience: Manchester Muse-

¹⁰⁴ Canopic jar, Musée de St. Omer, Inv. No. unknown: Seillier, Yoyotte 1981, 28, Cat. 123. For Netjerwymes, see e.g. Zivie 2000, 179–180; Id. 2007, 110–129. This official also bore the honorific title *ir.ty n.y nsw.t m pr.w Pth*, “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.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Kessler 2008, 90.

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

Ptahmose’s involvement with the Ptah temple is reflected in the following titles listed in table 2¹¹⁶.

This official held key positions in the temple’s administration. He was the Chief Steward of the temple of Ptah, which included the “domain” beyond the temple precinct. He controlled the temple’s treasury (*pr.w-ḥd*) and agricultural income as Overseer of the Double Granary (*šnw.ty*). And Ptahmose was appointed as Overseer of works (*im.y-r3 k3.t*)¹¹⁷ on (all) monuments of His Majesty in Hutkaptah and in the temple of Ptah. In that context, the title *im.y-r3 mšc* (*wr*) should be read not as Overseer of the Army (i.e. General), but as Overseer of the Troops¹¹⁸, i.e. the workforce engaged in grand construction works¹¹⁹.

um Acc. Nos. 4947–51), and probably also BM EA 49235. The foundation deposit of the hill-top shrine of Khaemwaset, located between Abusir and Saqqara, contained comparable objects with his name: six faience scarabs, two faience plaques, and many pottery vessels: Yoshimura 2006, 81–85, 296, fig. IV-1,2, pl. 4.

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

117 The *im.y-r3 k3.t* supervised the *k3.w.ty*, who are attested as builders of temples (Haring 1997, 238–239).

118 Also compare with stela Cairo TN 14.10.69.1: *im.y-r3 k3.t ḥr.y pd.t m mnw nb n(y) ḥm=f m pr.w Rḥ.w*, “Overseer of works and Troop-commander in all monuments of His Majesty in the temple of Ra”, and *im.y-r3 k3.t m mnw nb n(y) nsw m pr.w 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, 214–216, 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 *im.y-r3 mšc* not as General, but as “military officer” (the General being the *im.y-r3 mšc wr*). In the present context, the *mšc* thus refer 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 *im.y-r3 mšc* 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 *ḥw.t-ntr-Rḥ.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w-mr.y-mi-Pth* (Helck 1961, 56–57). According to Helck, this may be the same temple as the *ḥw.t-ntr Rḥ.w-ms-sw-mr(y)-Imn.w-ḥr-ḥb-sd-mryt-mi-Imn.w* in which Amenmose 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 (*ḥr.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

Ptahmose was also Great Mayor in Hutkaptah. There, he served as the “Eyes of the King” and was considered a “Mouth that appeases”. These epithets emphasize his elevated position in the temple.

That construction work in the Ptah temple at Memphis had started already early in the reign of Ramesses can be deduced from his Manshiyet es-Sadr stela¹²⁰. The king recollects how he himself discovered stone quarries in the area of Gebel Ahmar. The stone was used to make statues for several temples, including the temple of Ptah at Memphis. The Chief of works – who is not mentioned by name – is bestowed with royal gifts¹²¹:

“... Then His Majesty rewarded this Chief of Works (*im.y-r3 k3.wt*) with silver and gold in great quantity; and the valiant workforce who had worked on it, with royal favours.” (lines 4–5).

Meanwhile at Thebes, Penra had started supervising construction work on the memorial temple of Ramesses II –the Ramesseum¹²². Work at Thebes had probably started with the inception of Ramesses’s reign¹²³. A foun-

and prisoners of war) involved in gold-mining expeditions and large construction works.

120 CG 34504 (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.1.5.); Binder 2008, 176–177 [237]. Discovered in 1907 south of Heliopolis, it describes quarrying activities at Gebel Ahmar for the *twt(w) 3 Rḥ.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w p3 ntr*, “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 Piramesse, 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 Piramesse, 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: *im.y-r3 k3.wt m t(3) ḥw.t Wsr-m3c.t-Rḥ.w-stp.n-Rḥ.w m pr.w Imn.w* and *im.y-r3 k3.t m ḥw.t Wsr-m3c.t-Rḥ.w-stp.n-Rḥ.w*.

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 Bunakhtef (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, Bakenkhons (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 (*ḥw.t-ntr*) *Rḥ.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.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 II², 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). Bakenk-

dation built by Seti I was later finished by Ramesses II and formed the temple’s core¹²⁴.

Some stewards of the Ramesseum (e.g. Iurokhy/Urhiya, Amenemone) had previously been army officials and were rewarded with this prestigious administrative position at the end of their active military careers¹²⁵. The Stewards of the Memphite temples – Ptahmose, Amenhotep Huy, but also Mahu (see below) – held exclusively administrative positions right from the start of their careers.

The temple “Beneficial is Seti-Merenptah” in the house of Ptah

A temple (*hw.t-ntr*) “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 testimony¹²⁶. Additionally, just one official is known to have been affiliated with this foundation: the Mayor Ptahmose, who served as its Steward (*im.y-r3 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 *hw.t-ntr 3h Sthy-mr.n-Imn.w m pr.w Imn.w*¹²⁸. Due to this parallelism it is assumed that Seti’s contribution to the temple of Ptah at Memphis had been

hons was in office as High Priest of Amun in Year 46 (P. Berlin 3047: Helck 1963), and he may have served until year 66 (Bierbrier 1972), to be succeeded by his brother Romaroy (Haring 2013, 634). Bakenkhons is also depicted in the tomb of the Chief Steward Nebsumenu (TT 183; cf. Hofmann 2004, 42).

124 Stadelmann 1984, col. 91–92.

125 Similarly, high officials often received the office of *im.y-r3 hm.w-ntr*, “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 (*Wab*-Priests, Lector Priests) *m stp n.y mnfy.t*, “from the pick of the army” (Gardiner 1953, 16, pl. II, l. 25; *Urk.* IV, 2120,9).

126 Said to derive from Mit Rahina. See: Brugsch 1879, 235; Helck 1961, 917 [B,1]; *KRI* I, 124 [63a,b]; Clère 1985; Brand 2000, 146–147, 352; Masquelier-Loorius 2013, 116–117. Brand does not mention the pyramidion of Ptahmose in reference to this temple.

127 Preserved 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 *sh ntr* instead of *hw.t ntr*. For a discussion of the term *sh*, see Friedman 1986; Brand 1999 (esp. 32–33).

128 Cf. earlier, Kitchen 1991, 89. More foundations of this king had the same name: the Theban memorial temple at Gurnah, *3h-Sty-mr.n-Imn.w m pr.w Imn.w hr inn.tyt W3s.t*, and the Osireion at Abydos, *3h Mn-m3c.t-Rc.w n Wsir*. According to Brand, it is possible that even more buildings had the same name, e.g. at Heliopolis, the cult centre

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 completed¹²⁹. 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 43rd regnal year¹³⁰. 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 (*hw.t-k3-Pth*), and that he repeated making statues for his (i.e. Seti I’s) *ka* at Thebes, Heliopolis and Memphis (*hw.t-k3-Pth*)¹³¹.

Another temple of Seti I, the *hw.t Mn-M3c.t-Rc.w* is mentioned in the title of Sayempetref, who served there as Head of Goldworkers¹³². 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 Sty-mr.n-Pth*, known exclusively from a textual source¹³³.

One small chapel built by Seti I is all that is left from his vast building programme at Memphis¹³⁴. 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 temple¹³⁵. The statues and reliefs are executed in a distinct

of Re. Construction work on the Karnak hypostyle hall started probably in Seti I’s Year 2 (Brand 2000, 385).

129 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.

130 See P. Bulaq 19 (Cairo CG 58096), which dates to his 43rd regnal year: Helck 1961, 917 (1); *KRI* VII, 102, 15; 103,9; Ullmann 2002, 299 [13]. 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).

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, 716–717.

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 III², 843[j]; Habachi, in Anthes 1959, 4–5, pl. I and large folding map; Berlandini 1984; Id. 1988; Jeffreys 1985, 73–74, fig. 15, 37 (“Oratory” of Sethos I); Masquelier-Loorius 2013, 114–116.

post-Amarna period style, which is indicative of an early date¹³⁶. 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 carouches¹³⁷.

At Memphis, Seti I also constructed a chapel dedicated to Amun-Re and to Mut of Thebes¹³⁸. Other temples at Memphis during the reign of Seti I included the Maat-temple (*ḥw.t-M3ḥ.t*)¹³⁹, a temple of Neith¹⁴⁰, and possibly a temple for the Aten (*ḥw.t p3 Tln.w*)¹⁴¹.

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 died¹⁴². Pasquali likewise considers this foundation to be the king’s memorial temple¹⁴³. Its alternative identification as the hypostyle hall in the

temple of Ptah at Memphis changes the perspective – and the arguments in favour of that identification are convincing. The hall changed name in the course of Ramesses II’s reign. Its early name is used on Ptahmose’s pyramidion, which indicates that Ptahmose had died before the name change had taken place. Thus, Year 43 of Ramesses II provides a *terminus ante quem* for this official’s death. His pyramidion is the only private document to attest to the existence of this temple, and indicates that he was involved with it already at an early (if not the earliest) stage of its construction.

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

The temple (*t3 ḥw.t*) *Rḥ.w-ms-s(w) mr.y-Tmn.w m pr.w Pth*, Ramesses-beloved-of-Amun in the house of Ptah, is attested on several monuments from the tomb of Ptahmose¹⁴⁴. The Mayor acted as the temple’s Steward and Chief Steward (table 3). The orthography of Ramesses’s *nomen* varies:

Pyramidion (III.6):

(←)

“Mur Rhoné” (I.11):

(←↓)

Cairo JE 4874 (I.2):

(↓→)

The *nomen* is written as *Rḥ.w-ms-s(w)* and *Rḥ.w-ms-sw*, which has chronological implications. As a rule, the spelling *-ss* is used until (at the latest) regnal year 21. From Year 21 onwards, *-sw* becomes the standard¹⁴⁵. Although

¹³⁶ Brand 2000, 147–149, 352. For good photographs of the statues, see: Sourouzian 1993, 247f, pls. 46b, 47–48.

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 Glyptotek ÆIN 42 (Manniche 2004, 174–175, fig. 77; compare Berlandini 1988, pl. 3, block “suspended” between the statues of Ptah and Tesmet).

¹³⁸ Brand 2000, 149 (3.26): attested only by a lintel, Pennsylvania E.13573; PM III², 860.

¹³⁹ Spiegelberg 1896, pl. XIIIc,6: P. Bibl. Nat. 211, recto (*wḥb Mr.y-M3ḥ.t n.y pr.w m3ḥ.t*); also on pl. XVc, 3 (*pr.w m3ḥ.t*); Helck 1961, 921–922 (139–140). Cf. also the General (*im.y-r3 m3ḥ wr*) Amenemone (18th Dynasty, temp. Horemheb), who was titled *sšm.w-ḥb n.y M3ḥ.t*, Festival Conductor of Maat (relief Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 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 (*hm-ntr tp.y m ḥw.t N.t*) (Van Walsem, in Raven, Van Walsem 2014, 44–45[8]), and the Vizier Paser was Guardian of secrets (*hr.y sš3 m ḥw.t N.t*) (Helck 1958, 450). Furthermore, Piay was Scribe of the doors in the temple of Neith Lady of Sais (*sš sb3.w m ḥw.t-ntr N.t nb.t š3.t*) (“New Kingdom”: PM III², 775; Mariette 1872, 20, pl. 62e; unidentified object).

¹⁴¹ Constructed during the reign of Akhenaten (Years 5–9), this temple (*t3 ḥw.t p3 Tln.w*) is mentioned during the reign of Seti I (cf. Spiegelberg 1896, pl. XVIa, 4; P. Bibl. Nat. 213, recto; KRI I, 279,14; Löhr 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, 95–99; Van Walsem, in: Raven, Van Walsem 2014, 50–51).

¹⁴² Compare e.g. the late 18th Dynasty General Amenemone, who was *im.y-r3 pr.w m t3 ḥw.t Mn-ḥpr-Rḥ.w*, Steward in the temple of Thutmose III (reliefs Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek ÆIN 714, Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian 205 + Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Parma E. 108).

¹⁴³ Pasquali, in Pasquali, Gessler-Löhr 2011, 286–287.

¹⁴⁴ For *Pth n.y Rḥ.w-ms-sw mr.y-Tmn.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 1980, 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).

a rarity, the spelling with *-sw*, or both *-ss* and *-sw* on the same monument, prior to Year 21 does occur¹⁴⁶. This includes *R^c.w-ms-sw* on the Manshiyet es-Sadr stela from Heliopolis¹⁴⁷.

The attestation of both the early and later¹⁴⁸ 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 II¹⁴⁹.

Ptahmose was not the only official attached to this temple. Three others can be added: the Steward (*im.y-r3 pr.w*) Nebnefer, the Chief Steward (*im.y-r3 pr.w wr*) Mahu, and the Prophet (*hm-ntr*) Khaemwaset:

1. Nebnefer

(↓→)  150

2. Mahu

(↓→)  151

(→)  152

(←↓)  153

3. Khaemwaset

(↓→)  154

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^c.w* written with the sundisk, and *Imn.w* spelled phonetically (Ptahmose) vs. writing with theriomorphic and anthropomorphic deities (Nebnefer, Mahu, Khaemwaset).

The writing of Ramesses-Meryamun with the signs of theriomorphic and anthropomorphic deities matches that on both the statue and sarcophagus of Amenhotep Huy found by Badawi at Mit Rahina¹⁵⁵.

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.¹⁵⁶ Mahu succeeded his father as Steward in Ramesses II's Memphite memorial temple¹⁵⁷. 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.w*) 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 throne¹⁵⁸. His tomb still remains to be found, but there are indications that it was located at Saqqara¹⁵⁹. The Prince's building

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^c.w-ms-sw* (with the premen *Mn-ph.ti-R^c.w*).

¹⁴⁹ Berlandini 1982, 102–103; Málek 1987, 136; Van Dijk 1989b, 53; Greco 2011, 197; Pasquali 2012, 148.

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 pylon of the tomb 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 pylon, see: Raven 2001, pl. 3. The spelling of the name differs from the two other attestations: *M^c-hw-hy* as opposed to *M^c-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 *s3 nsw sm hm-ntr m t3 hw.t R^c.w-ms-sw-mr(y)-Imn.w m pr.w Pth*. Inscribed on the red-granite colossus of Ramesses II from the Ptah-precinct at Mit Rahina. Found by Hekkyan (Excav. No. 37452.256), formerly at Cairo's Midan Ramsis railway station, and now at the Grand Egyptian Museum, Giza (Jeffreys 1985, 36; Id. 2010, 177). Gomaà, (1973, 35) dates the statue to the 30s of Ramesses' reign (pace earlier scholarship: Year 44 on account of princess Bintanath being depicted).

¹⁵⁵ Badawi 1944, 199–200 (sarcophagus), 204 (statue).

¹⁵⁶ It should be noted that Nebnefer's title “Steward in the temple of Ramesses II in the house of Ptah” is attested only in tomb ST 217; not in ST 218. For the location of both tombs, see: Gohary 2009, pl. 1.

¹⁵⁷ Tomb architecture and style of tomb reliefs support his more advanced date. The title *im.y-r3 htm n.y p3 w3d-wr*, held by Nebnefer and subsequently also by his son Huynefer, should be understood not as Commander of the Fortress of the Great Green (suggested by Gohary 2009), but as Overseer of the (civil) administration of the Delta (suggested by Vandersleyen 2010), which indeed matches their additional administrative titles relating to the temple of Ptah.

¹⁵⁸ Gomaà 1975, col. 897–898.

¹⁵⁹ Stone fragments bearing his name were unearthed from the ruins of the monastery of Apa Jeremias, in the Serapeum, and near the pyramid of Teti: PM III², 572, 704, 819; Gomaà 1973, 48–54. His hilltop sanctuary located in the desert between Abusir and Saqqara has also been frequently mentioned as his possible place of burial:

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 inception¹⁶⁰ until he died. His titles “*Sem* Priest and Prophet” in the memorial temple of Ramesses II denote the office of High Priest¹⁶¹. The colossal statue of Ramesses II containing these titles of Khaemwaset had once been set up at the South Gate of the Ptah temple. Gomaà suggests that the inscription on the base that once supported yet another colossus of Ramesses II had been set up in the temple “Ramesses-beloved-of-Amun” in the house of Ptah¹⁶². That inscription refers to *p3 twt(.w) ḥ3 n.y inb-ḥd*: “the great statue of White Wall – a statue of the deified Ramesses II¹⁶³.”

The temple Ramesses II “United with Maat of Ptah”

Another temple of Ramesses II constructed at Memphis is the *ḥw.t Rḥ.w-ms-sw mr(.y)-Imn.w ḥnm.t-m3ḥ.t-n(.yt)-Pth*, 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 Memphis¹⁶⁴. On the dorsal pillar, left edge can be read:

‘... (the temple) “‘Ra`messes-Mery`Amun`-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 stupefied 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:

e.g. Yoshimura, Takamiya 2000; Takamiya, Kashiwagi, Yoshimura 2011, 401–421. For his building activities at Memphis (including the embellishment of Old Kingdom monuments), see: Gomaà 1973, 34–38, 61–66; Snape 2011.

160 This does not need to rule out a construction immediately upon Ramesses’ accession to the throne, as the first Prophet could only be installed once the temple had been finished.

161 Compare: Haring 1997, 214–215.

162 Gomaà 1973, 36–37, Cat. 49, fig. 18: two joining fragments, Vienna 3879 and 3880, in the collection since 1875. Their provenance is likely to be Memphis.

163 Gomaà 1973, 37.

164 Badawi 1944, 202–205, pl. XXII: standing statue, fragment of lower part (c. 70. cm). Also: Helck 1961, 920–921 [5]; KRI III, 169; KRITA III, 114; Pasquali 2012, 144–145.

‘... 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-ḥd*), 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 ...’¹⁶⁵

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-r3 pr.w m t[3] ḥw.t Rḥ.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w ḥnm.t-m3ḥ.t-n(.yt)-Pth*, “Steward in the temple Ramesses-Meryamun “United with Maat of Ptah”¹⁶⁶. 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)¹⁶⁷. 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 II¹⁶⁸. Blocks of 18th Dynasty date were reused in the Ramesside structure¹⁶⁹. 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 Morkot¹⁷⁰, but rejected by Ullmann¹⁷¹. Indeed, a temple of Amenhotep III, *Nb-M3ḥ.t-Rḥ.w ḥnm.t-Pth*, “Nebmaatre United-with-Ptah”, was built at Memphis. Its construction is recorded in the autobiographical text of the Chief Steward in Memphis, Amenhotep Huy¹⁷². He was also *im.y-r3 k3.wt*

165 Translations adapted from Froot 2007, 171.

166 Badawi 1944, 199–200.

167 Cf. e.g. Greco 2011, 197.

168 EES-mission: Jeffreys, Malek, Smith 1984, 23–32; Jeffreys 1985, 72–73, fig. 30–36.



169 Blocks with the name of Amenhotep III: Jeffreys, Malek, Smith, 1984, 31.

170 Morkot 1990, 336.

171 Ullmann 2002, 134–135.

172 Badawi 1944, 206. Statue Ashmolean Museum 1913.163: see n. 99, above. For more on Amenhotep Huy and his monuments, see

m hnm.t Pth, “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.yt h3.w m rnp.wt Nb-m3c.t-Rc.w-hnm.t-Pth m pr.w Pth*, “temple of millions of years of “Nebmaatre United-with-Ptah” in the house of Ptah”¹⁷³. According to the description provided by Amenhotep Huy, the temple was located “in the cultivated land west of Memphis (*m bch n.y imn.tyt Hw.t-k3-Pth*), upon the bank/foreshore of Ankh-tawy (*hr idb*¹⁷⁴ *n.y ch-t3.wy*)”. This temple continued to be in use at least until the reign of Ramesses II¹⁷⁵.

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 proposes an alternative location for the latter¹⁷⁶. He argues that the title , also recorded on the outer sarcophagus of the Mayor Amenhotep Huy, is in fact an abbreviation of . The designations *hw.t ity* and *hw.t hm=f* refer to the same temple¹⁷⁷. On the recently identified relief-decorated block from the Memphite tomb of an anonymous official¹⁷⁸, the complete name of the temple “United with Maat of Ptah” is given as: *hw.t Rc.w-ms-sw-mr(.y)-Imn.w hnm.t-m3c.t-n(.yt)-Pth m [pr.w] Hw.t-Hr 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-r3 k3.wt m pr.w nb.t nh.t [rsy.t]*, “Overseer of works in the house of the Lady of the [Southern] Sycamore”, *s3m.w-h3b n(.y) nb.t nh.t rsy.t*, “Festival Conductor of the Lady of

the Southern Sycamore”; and *s3m.w-h3b n(.y) Mh.t-wr.t*, “Festival Conductor of Mehet-weret”¹⁸¹. The location of Ramesses’ temple in the house of Hathor automatically precludes its identification with the temple “Ramesses-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-r3 k3.wt m mnw nb n.y hm=f, wr n.y md3y.w, im.y-r3 pr.w n.y hw.t Rc.w-ms-sw-mr(.y)-Imn.w n.y pr.w nb.t nh.t, im.y-r3 pr.w n.y p3-Rc.w n.y Rc.w-ms-sw-mr(.y)-Imn.w rsy Mn-nfr*. Further, in P. Leiden I.349 from Memphis, a *ktn n.y ihw Rc.w-ms-sw-mr(.y)-Imn.w* named Huy records the hauling of sandstone (*ith b3.t*) for the *p3-Rc.w Rc.w-ms-sw-mr(.y)-Imn.w ch.w wd3.w snb.w rsy Mn-nfr*¹⁸³, 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-r3 h3s.wt mht(.wt), [wr n.y] md3y.w m-mit.t, kdn n.y hm=f, wpw.ty-nsw r b3 nb*, and *im.y-r3 [k3.wt m t3] hw.t Wsr-m3c.t-Rc.w-stp.n-Rc.w m pr.w Imn.w*¹⁸⁴. 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 Heliopolis¹⁸⁶. He was also actively involved in construction works at Pi-Ramesse and in the house of Amun at Thebes.

PM III², 702–703, 835, 836; Hayes 1938; Gessler-Löhr, in Pasquali, Gessler-Löhr 2011, 288–290. For more on the temple, see Morkot 1990; Ullmann 2002, 125–140. On the building programme of Amenhotep III at Memphis, see Garnett 2011, 55–59.

173 Morkot 1990. Compare e.g. the temple of Ramesses II in Luxor, *hnm.t-nhh*; and in West Thebes, *hnm.t-W3s.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.

174 Wb. I, 153: “Ufer, Uferland (neben: Sandbank, Insel, u.A.), Acker, Flur”.

175 As can be read in P. Sallier IV (verso 1,8), mentioning Ptah-who-is-under-his-moringa-tree-of-Nebmaatre-United-with-Ptah: Gardiner 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.

181 For Mehet-weret as a name for Hathor, see: P. Sallier IV, verso 1,9: “Hathor Lady of the Southern Sycamore in her name of Methwerer” (Caminos 1954, 333). The title “Festival Conductor” was usually unrelated to priestly offices: Kees 1953, 322–324; Seyfried 1991, 204.

182 PM V, 210 (20); KRI IV, 125; Helck 1961, 923; Gnirs 1996, 156 (Huy VI); Pasquali 2012, 142 with n. 26.

183 Gnirs 1996, 155–156 (Huy III); KRI III, 251,2–5; P. Leiden I 349, l. 14–16. This Huy is also mentioned on stela BM EA 166: KRI II, 388:10–13, 389:2,7,16–390:1. His father is Hanefer, Priest in the temple of Re (at Memphis?).

184 KRI III, 268–271; Gnirs 1996, 157. Also: Gohary 1987.

185 Stela Louvre C 94: Habachi 1954; Helck 1961, 920 (5). For a complete overview, see: Raue 1999, 196–198. This official is attested on several monuments and inscriptions (total: 7), including a statue from Memphis: Cairo JE 67878.

186 Gnirs 1996, 160–5; Ullmann 2002, 296–301 (esp. 297–298 [2]).

Conclusion

This paper proposed an interpretation for the title *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w ḥ3 ḥnb.w n.w Pth*, “Mayor of beyond the walls of Ptah”, 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): *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w n.y ḥ3 ḥnb.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: *ḥm.y-r3 pr.w Pth [n.y] ḥ3 ḥnb.w Pth*, “Steward of the house 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: *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr* starts to be used in parallel with *ḥ3.ty-ḥ.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*-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 temple “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 temple 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.

Writing	Transliteration	Amenhotep Huy	Ptahmose
	$h^3.ty-^c.w wr m/n.y inb.w$	✓	
	$h^3.ty-^c.w wr m/n.y inb.w-hd$	✓	✓
	$h^3.ty-^c.w wr m ^c.nh-t3.wy$	✓	
	$h^3.ty-^c.w wr m/n.y mn-nfr$	✓	
	$h^3.ty-^c.w wr m mh^3.t-t3.wy$	✓	
	$h^3.ty-^c.w wr m n1w.t Pth$	✓	
	$h^3.ty-^c.w wr m n1w.t nhh$	✓	
	$h^3.ty-^c.w wr m n1w.t T3-tnn$	✓	
	$h^3.ty-^c.w wr m hwt.k3-Pth$	✓	✓
	$h^3.ty-^c.w wr n.y inb.w-Pth$	✓	
	$h^3.ty-^c.w h^3.inb.w n.w Pth$		✓
	$h^3.ty-^c.w n.y h^3.inb.w$		✓

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

General administration	Treasury	Granary	Works	Honorific
$im.y-r^3 pr.w wr m pr.w Pth$	$im.y-r^3 pr.w-hd n.y nb m^3c.t$	$im.y-r^3 snw.ty n.y nb m^3c.t$	$im.y-r^3 m^sc m pr.w Pth$	$ir.ty n.y nsw.t m pr.w Pth$
$im.y-r^3 pr.w wr n.y Pth$		$im.y-r^3 snw.ty n.y nb-nhh$	$im.y-r^3 m^sc wr m pr.w Pth$	$ns/r^3 shrr m hwt.k3-Pth$
$im.y-r^3 pr.w n.y Pth$			$im.y-r^3 k3.wt m mnw nb n.y hm=f m hwt.k3-Pth$	
$im.y-r^3 pr.w n.y nb m^3c.t$			$im.y-r^3 k3.wt m mnw n.y hm=f m hwt Pth$	
$im.y-r^3 pr.w n.y pr.w Pth h3.inb.w Pth$				

Table 3: Mayor of Memphis Ptahmose: titles.

A: Related to the king, royal court, and government (incl. honorific)	
<i>ḥ3 n.y nb=f</i>	III.1
<i>ir.y-rd.wy=f</i>	I.8
<i>ir.ty n.y nsw.t ḥnh.wy bi.ty</i>	I.5
<i>ir.ty n.y nsw.t m pr.w Pth</i>	III.5
<i>ir.y-p^c.t</i>	I.1-5, I.7, I.11, I.15A-D, I.17a-d; II.5; III.1-6
<i>ḥ3 ns mi.tyt mh.t</i>	I.8
<i>w^c mnḥ n.y ntr nfr</i>	I.14
<i>bi3.t=f iqr di mr.wt=f</i>	I.8
<i>mr(y) nb t3.wy</i>	I.5; III.4
<i>mrr.ty ḥ3 n.y ntr nfr</i>	I.2, I.5
<i>mh-ib ḥ3 n.y ntr nfr</i>	III.1
<i>[ns/r] shrr m Hwt-k3-Pth</i>	I.14
<i>ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w</i>	I.1-5, I.11, 15A-D, 17A-C; II.5; III.1-5
<i>ḥ^{cc}=tw [n sdm] ḥrw=f</i>	III.1
<i>hr.y tp wr.w m Inb(w)-ḥd</i>	I.1
<i>hr[y tp m] šny.t</i>	I.14
<i>hrp rs-tp n nb t3.wy</i>	III.2
<i>smr w^c.ty</i>	I.1, I.5
<i>sr</i>	I.14
<i>sd3w.ty bi.ty</i>	I.5, 9-10, 8; III.4
B: General administration	
Temple of Ptah	
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w</i>	I.5; II.6; III.3-4; VII.1-2
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr</i>	I.5; III.5
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr m pr.w Pth</i>	I.4-5, 11, 14; III.1-5
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w m [t3] ḥwt R^c.w-ms-s(w) mr.y-Imn.w m pr.w Pth</i>	III.6-7
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr m t3 ḥwt R^c.w-ms-s(w) mr.y-Imn.w m pr.w Pth</i>	I.2, 11
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w wr n.y Pth</i>	I.1; II.6; III.2; IV.1
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w m ḥwt ntr 3ḥ-Sthy-mr-n-Pth m pr.w Pth</i>	III.6
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w (n.y) Pth</i>	I.17A; II.3, 5; II.3-4
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y pr.w Pth ḥ3 inb.w Pth</i>	I.12
<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y nb m3^c.t</i>	I.1, 3, 5, 9
Treasury	
<i>im.y-r pr.w ḥd</i>	I.5, III.7
<i>im.y-r pr.w-ḥd n.y nb m3^c.t</i>	I.17C
Granary	
<i>im.y-r3 šnw.ty</i>	III.7
<i>im.y-r3 šnw.ty n.y nb m3^c.t</i>	I.15D
<i>im.y-r3 šnw.ty n.y nb-nḥḥ</i>	I.11
Mayorship	
<i>ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr</i>	I.11; II.6; IV.2-3
<i>ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr m inb(w) ḥd</i>	I.4-5, 11; III.1-2, 5
<i>ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr m Hwt-k3-Pth</i>	III.4
<i>ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w m inb.w-ḥd</i>	I.3, II.6
<i>ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w ḥ3 inb.w</i>	II.6
<i>ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w ḥ3 inb.w n.w Pth</i>	I.17D
C: Scribal	
<i>sš nsw.t</i>	I.4-5, 7, 11-12, 14, 15C-D, 17A; II.4-6; III.1-5, 7; IV.2-3; VII.1-2
<i>sš nsw.t m3^c mr(y)=f</i>	I.2

Table 3 (continued)

D: Public works, crafts	
$im.y-r3 mšḥ m pr.w Pth$	I.15C, 17B
$im.y-r3 mšḥ wr m pr.w Pth$	I.5, 11; III.5
$im.y-r3 k3.wt$	I.10
$im.y-r3 k3.wt m mnw nb n.y nb t3.wy(?)$	I.8
$im.y-r3 k3.wt m mnw nb n.y nsw$	I.12
$im.y-r3 k3.wt m mnw nb n.y ḥm=f$	III.1
$im.y-r3 k3.wt m mnw nb n.y ḥm=f m Ḥwt-k3-Pth$	II.6
E. Sacerdotal	
$mrr.ty ḥ3 n.y ntr.w nb.w Ḥnb(.w)-ḥd$	III.3
$hr.y-sšt3 n.y ḥw.t Pth$	I.5
Incomplete	
$///n nb m3ḥ.t$	I.3
$im.y-r3$	I.7
$///m pr.w [Pth]$	I.8, 15B

Table 4: Mayor of Memphis Amenhotep Huy: titles.

A: Related to the king, royal court, and government (incl. honorific)	
$ḥs.y ḥ3 n.y nb t3.wy$	V.2
$ḥs.y ḥ3 n.y ntr nfr$	V.2
$hr.y sšt3 n.y ḥw.t-k3-Pth$	V.2
$r3 n.y nsw ḥn.ty Ḥwt-k3-Pth$	III.1
$rḥ nsw m3ḥ mr(.y)=f$	V.2
B: General administration	
Stewardship	
$im.y-r3 pr.w$	III.1; V.2
$im.y-r3 pr.w wr$	III.1
$im.y-r3 pr.w m [t3] ḥw.t ity$	I.1; V.1-2
$im.y-r3 pr.w m [t3] ḥw.t ḥm=f$	V.2
$im.y-r3 pr.w m [t3] ḥw.t Ḥr=f (nb=f)$	III.1; V.1-2
$im.y-r3 pr.w m [t3] ḥw.t Rḥ.w-ms-sw-mr.y-Imn.w ḥnm.t-m3ḥ.t-n(.yt)-Pth$	V.2
$im.y-r3 pr.w m [t3] ḥw.t sr$	V.2
$im.y-r3 pr.w n.y inb.w$	III.1
$im.y-r3 pr.w n.y///[ḥw.t?] Ḥnm.t-m3ḥ.t-n(.yt)-Pth$	V.2
Mayorship	
$ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w$	II.2; V.1-2
$ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr$	V.2; V.4
$ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr m inb.w$	I.1; III.1; V.1-2
$ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr m inb(.w)-ḥd$	V.1
$ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr m ḥnḥ-t3.wy$	V.2
$ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr m mn-nfr$	V.2
$ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr m mḥ3.t-t3.wy$	I.1
$ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr m niw.t Pth$	V.2
$ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr m niw.t nḥḥ$	V.1-2
$ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr m niw.t T3-tnn$	V.2
$ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr m Ḥwt-k3-Pth$	V.1-2
$ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr n.y inb.w$	II.2; III.1
$ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr n.y inb.w-Pth$	
$ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr n.y inb(.w)-ḥd$	II.1; III.1
$ḥ3.ty-ḥ.w wr n.y mn-nfr$	VII.1

Table 4 (continued)

C: Scribal	
<i>sš nsw</i>	I.1; II.1; V.1
<i>sš nsw m3^c mr(y)≠f</i>	II.1; III.1; V.1-2
D: Public works, crafts	
<i>im.y-r k3.wt m pr.w Nb.t nh.t</i>	V.4
<i>im.y-r k3.wt m Hwt.t-k3-Pth</i>	I.1
E: Sacerdotal	
<i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Mh.t-wr.t</i>	V.2
<i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Nb.t wr</i>	V.2
<i>sšm.w-ḥb n.y Nb.t nh.t rsy.t</i>	V.2

Table 5: Corpus of objects pertaining to Mayors Ptahmose and Amenhotep Huy.

<i>Pth-ms(.w)</i>	<i>Imn-ḥtp Hwv</i>
I. Reliefs	I. Reliefs
1-3. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 4873–5	1. Saqqara Magazine (excavated near Step Pyramid)
4. Florence, Museo Egizio 2557	2. Private collection, Aphrodite Ancient Art, New York
5. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 54	
6. Frankfurt, Liebieghaus IN 1643	
7. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 25.6.24.6	
8. Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University 1984.2.3	
9-10. Berlin, Ägyptische Museum 1631–2	
11. “Mur Rhoné” (lost)	
12. “Block from Giza” (lost)	
13-17 “Devéria-doorway” (lost)	
18. Saqqara, <i>in situ</i>	
II. Statues	II. Statues
1. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 22.106	1. Present location unknown (excav. Badawi Mit Rahina)
2. Tokyo, Matsuoka Museum of Art 568	
3-4. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 7–8	
5. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 41532	
6. London, British Museum EA 1119	
III. Architectural elements	III. Architectural elements
1-4. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AP 51a-d (<i>Djed</i> -pillars)	1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum TN 7.11.24.1 (pyramidion)
5. Cairo, Egyptian Museum 40.000 (papyriform column)	
6. Pyramidion (lost)	
IV. Stelae	IV. Stelae
1. Lost (Notebook H.O. Lange)	–
2. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung 19718	
V. Burial equipment	V. Burial equipment
1. Musée Antoine Vivenel de Compiègne Inv. L. 496 (Sarcophagus fr.)	1. Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 59128 (sarcophagus)
	2. Mit Rahineh, Mathaf Ramsis (sarcophagus)
	3. Present location unknown (anthropoid coffin Memphis)
	4. Durham, Oriental Museum EG 518 (N 1859) (wooden shabti)
VI. Offering tables	VI. Offering tables
–	–
VII. Extra sepulchral objects	VII. Extra sepulchral objects
1. Paris, Musée du Louvre IM 5269 (stela from Serapeum)	1. Paris, Musée du Louvre (shabti from Serapeum)
2. Paris, Musée du Louvre SH 213 (shabti from Serapeum)	2-6. Saqqara, Magazine (5 shabtis from Serapeum, “lesser vaults”)
	7. Paris, Musée du Louvre N 519 = AF 450 (block-statue from Serapeum)