

# A New List of the High-Priests of Ptah at Memphis till the End of the Ancient Egyptian History (332 BCE) (Part 2: From the Twenty-First Dynasty to the Thirtieth Dynasty)

قائمة جديدة بكبار كهنة پتاح منف حتى نهاية التاريخ المصري القديم (عام ٣٣٢ ق.م)  
الجزء الثاني: من عصر الأسرة الحادية والعشرين وحتى عصر الأسرة الثلاثين




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## ملخص

تناول الباحث بالجزء الأول من هذه الدراسة – المنشور بالعدد السابق – اللقب *wr xrp(.w) Hmw(.wt)* الدال على منصب كبير كهنة المعبود پتاح في العاصمة منف، وكل من قراءته وترجمته الحديثين، مع عرض لجميع القراءات والترجمات السابقة، وكذلك ذكر ملابسه وشارات الميزة التي يأتي على رأسها: جلد الفهد 'شيتا الصياد' (Gepard)، وقلاوته الفريدة ('سبح')، بالإضافة إلى خصلة الشعر الجانبية. كما عرض بالجزء السابق دراسة نقدية لما اعترى الدراسات السابقة من لبس وإشكاليات تاريخية، بل وتضارب في الأعداد التي بلغت في حصر كبار الكهنة الذين بلغوا بها حسب توالي صدورها: 52 (تشارلز مايستري: [1948] published in *OBO* 113 (Göttingen, 1992)) و 83 (ديتر فيلدونج: 1256-1265, *LÄ* II (Wiesbaden, 1977)) و 46 (يورتر – موس: PM III2, part 2, fascicle 3, (Oxford, 1981), 916-918)، في حين توصل الباحث إلى حصر عدد 104 كبير كهنة للمعبود پتاح بمنف اعتماداً على المصادر الرئيسية الأولية المعاصرة واللاحقة، فعرض قائمة حديثة بترتيبهم، بدءاً من أقدمهم إبان نهاية عصر الأسرة الثانية بالدولة القديمة وبلوغاً حتى نهاية عصر الدولة الحديثة، بما يصل بعددهم إلى (75) كبير كهنة.

أما الجزء الحالي (الثاني) من الدراسة، فيتناول كبار الكهنة من (رقم 76) وحتى كبير الكهنة (رقم 104)، الذين عاشوا إبان عصور الأسرات من الحادية والعشرين إلى الثلاثين (وبعضهم لم يسلف ذكره سابقاً، مثل: حاتياي)، مع جهل تام بكبار الكهنة الذين عاصروا الأسرتين الثامنة والعشرين والتاسعة والعشرين، وكذلك الكثير ممن عاصر الأسرة الثلاثين خلا كبير كهنة واحد فقط معروف من تلك الأسرة. ويتميز هذا الجزء من القائمة بأنه يمدّ معارفنا عن كبار كهنة منف من عصر الأسرة السابعة والعشرين – التي توقفت عندها القوائم السابق ذكرها أعلاه – إلى عصر الأسرة الثلاثين. في حين أن الجزء الثالث والأخير من هذه الدراسة سيتناول بالدراسة كبار كهنة منف إبان العصر البطلمي وحتى آخر كبير كهنة (عاصر العقد الأول من حكم الإمبراطور الروماني 'أوكتافيوس أوغسطس')، وعرض قائمة حديثة تتماشى مع ما تم التوصل إليه من نتائج خلال الدراسة.

The previous part of article (issue no. 3, 21-47)\* dealt with the High-priests of Memphis (HPPM): their professional title (*wr xrp.w Hmw.wt*) and its translations, as well as their costume ('Gepard'-skin), symbols (such as *saH*-necklace), and the side lock. The first part of the new sequence dating list started with the first one in the Second Dynasty and stopped at the

End of the New Kingdom; while the present part of article continuing this aim, begins from the Twenty-First Dynasty till the End of the Ancient Egyptian History (Thirtieth Dynasty), with new HPPM such as no. 78:  @A.t.IAj who was also called  #a(j)-m-WAc.(t) (Twenty-First Dynasty), and no. 104:  +d-Hr (?) (Thirtieth Dynasty).


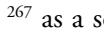

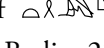
**The HPPM names and their ordering are as follows:**

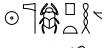

N.B. (\*) in text below indicates the photos/figure with its caption related to HPPM number.


**IV. Third Intermediate Period**



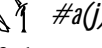

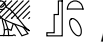
Two major genealogical documents from the core of our knowledge of Memphite pontiffs for this period, and (combined with contemporary data) have an important and direct bearing on the Twenty-first Dynasty chronology. These are the remarkable genealogies of Memphite priests, one of which is in Berlin (23673: Fig. C in issue no. 3, 32) and the other is a parallel from the Serapeum of Saqqara, which is now in the Louvre ('96; Cat. 52: Fig. D in issue no. 3, 32).<sup>264</sup>

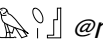
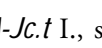
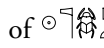
Dynasty of *aSA-jxt* I. [N<sub>o</sub> 76] contains, *Pwpw* I. [N<sub>o</sub> 77], [maybe *@A.t.iAj/ @A.t.wy*, N<sub>o</sub> 78?], *@r-sA-Jc.t* I. [N<sub>o</sub> 79], *Pwpw* II. [N<sub>o</sub> 80], *aSA-jxt* II. [N<sub>o</sub> 81], *anx.f-nj-Cxmt* I. [N<sub>o</sub> 82], *^d-sw-Nfr-tm* [N<sub>o</sub> 83], *^Snq* I. [N<sub>o</sub> 84], and *Wsrkn* [N<sub>o</sub> 85]. While the Dynasty of *^Snq* II. [N<sub>o</sub> 87] contains, *Mr-n-PtH* [N<sub>o</sub> 86], *\*krT* [N<sub>o</sub> 88], *PA-dj-Js.t* [N<sub>o</sub> 89], *PAj.f-TAw-WbAstt* [N<sub>o</sub> 90], *@r-sA-Jc.t* II. [N<sub>o</sub> 91], and *anx.f-nj-Cxmt* II. [N<sub>o</sub> 92].<sup>265</sup> Most of those HPPM were not buried in tombs at Saqqara, but in cenotaphs (burial chambers) in Memphis itself beside the enclosure of the great temple of Ptah.<sup>266</sup>

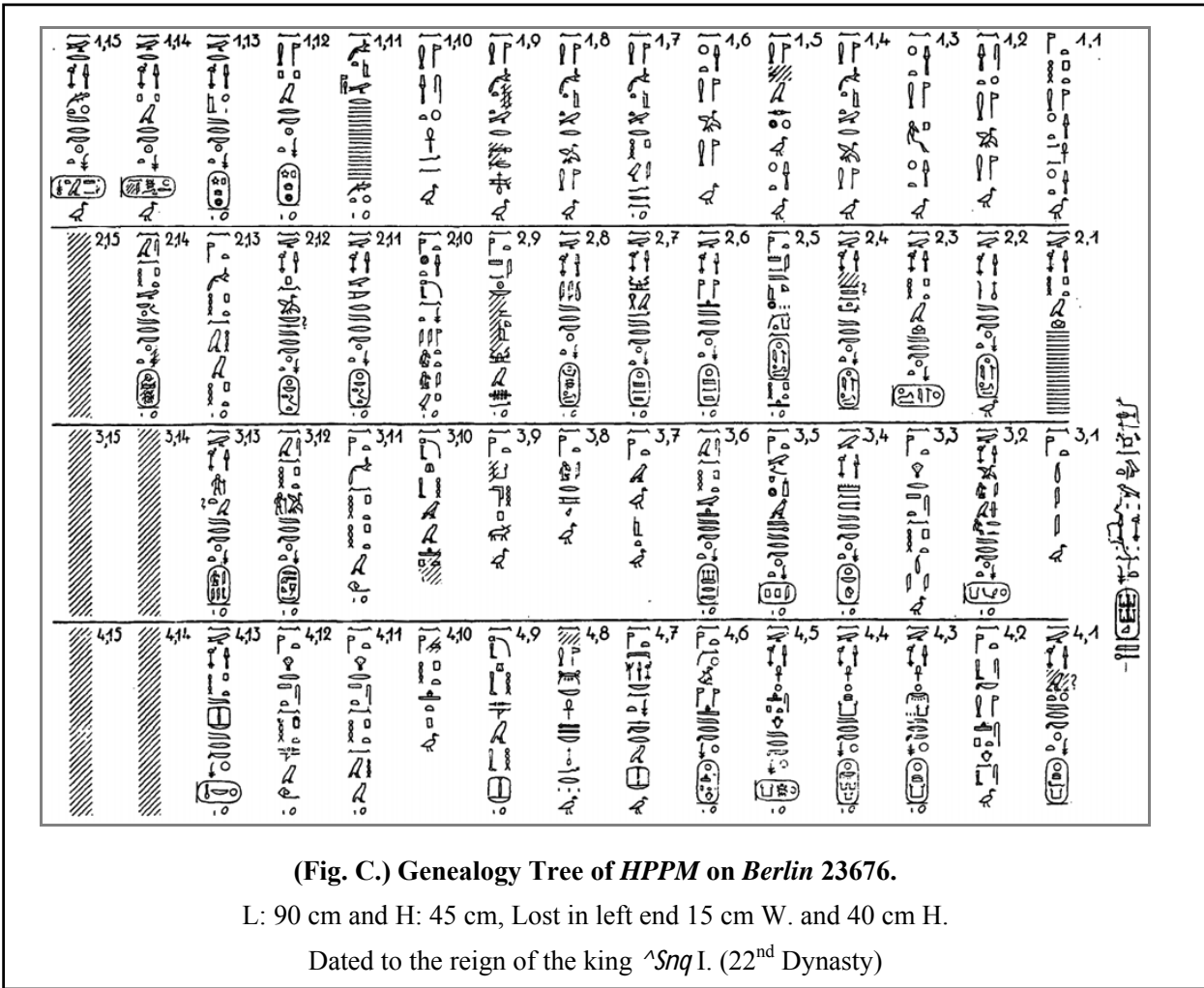
76-  *aSA-jxt* I., He was mentioned on Berlin 23673: 1/15\*<sup>267</sup> as a son of  *PtH-m-Ax.t* II. [HPPM N<sub>o</sub> 64] son of  *Nfr-rnp.t* [N<sub>o</sub> 63] son of  *PtH-m-Ax.t* I [N<sub>o</sub> 61] according to Berlin 23673: 2/1-3.<sup>268</sup> Temp. Twenty-First Dynasty: Amenophis (according to Wildung),<sup>269</sup> or Amen-em-<ipet?>-nisu (*Nfr-kA-Ra - @qA-WAst*) (according to Berlin 23673: 1/15, and to K.A. Kitchen).<sup>270</sup>

77-  *NTr(j)-xpr-Ra-mrj-PtH* also known as  *Pwpw* I,<sup>271</sup> Louvre 96: 11 (Fig. D, line 3, 33);<sup>272</sup> lintel of Cairo Museum CG. 40033\*1,<sup>273</sup> lintel of Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg, Glyptothèque A 746\*2;<sup>274</sup>

and was also mentioned as  *Pp* on Berlin 23673: 1/14\*3.<sup>275</sup> Temp. Pasebkhanut (*PA-sbA-xa-niwt*: Psusennes) I (*aA-xpr-Ra stp-n-Imn*) according to Berlin 23673 and to K.A. Kitchen,<sup>276</sup> while Hermann Kees stated that *Pwpw* (I) practiced his duties since the final years of Pasebkhanut I reign and during his successors: *Imn-m-ipt* (*Wsr-mAat-Ra stp-n-Imn*), Oserkon the Elder (*aA-xpr-Ra stp-n-Ra*), and the first years of the reign of Siamun (*NTr-xpr-Ra mry-Imn*),<sup>277</sup> but according to Dieter Wildung he practiced his duties only during the reign of Siamun.<sup>278</sup>

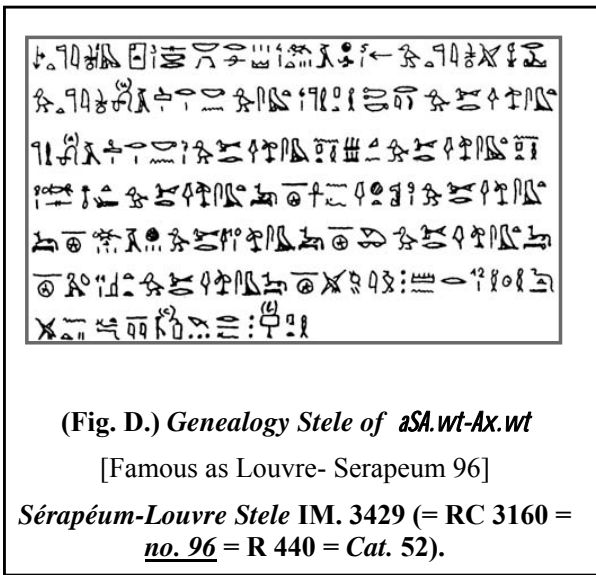
78-  *@A.t.iAj* or  *@A.t.wy(?)*, the High-priest of Ptah at Memphis (*wr xrp.w Hmw.wt*) and the *cm*-priest, who was also called  *#a(j)-m-WAc.(t)*, the father of 'God's father, Secretary of Ptah', etc.  *anx.f-n(j)-mw.t*, on a lintel dating to the reign of Siamun (21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty) found in 'Kom Rabia'a' ربيعة كوم or 'Kom Rabi' كوم ربيع around Hathor Chapel at Mit-Rahinah: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glypt. Æ.I.N. 1012, Bristol, City Museum H 3568-3569,<sup>279</sup> and was also the father of a man who had a common name during this period which is  *[@]r-(sA)-Jc.t*,<sup>280</sup> who served under 'the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands (Siamun)' whose name was lost among the remaining inscriptions on an inscribed small limestone object. This last object was discovered in 1987 by SCA in 'Kom el-Fakhry' كوم الفخري, in the area of 'Saqiet el-Khateeb' ساقية الخطيب and 'Muslims cemetery' جبانة المسلمين (Register Book of the Antiquities Inspectorate at Mit-Rahinah, No. 3982\*).<sup>281</sup>



79-  *@r-sA-Jc.t* I., son of  *NTr(j)-xpr-Ra-mrj-PtH* also called  *Pwpw* I





[No 77]. He was mentioned on Louvre Stele 96: 10-11 (Fig. D);<sup>282</sup> may be he who was mentioned as *%A-Jc.t* son of *□□ Pp* I. on Berlin 23673: 1/13-14\*1;<sup>283</sup> and there is doubt that he is the owner of statue-naos in the Cairo Museum CG. 1212<sup>284</sup> (JE. 27847, SR. 9333)\*2 (?). Temp. Pasebkhanut (Psusennes) II.<sup>285</sup>

80- *Pwpw* II<sup>286</sup> or *\_m-pDt* (?), son of *@r-sA-Jc.t* I [No 79], as it had been written and mentioned as HPPM on Louvre Stele 96: 9-10 and 11 (?) (Fig. D);<sup>287</sup> while considered only as a 'prophet' (*Hm-nTr*) on Berlin 23673: 1/12\*. Temp. Pasebkhanut (Psusennes) II.<sup>288</sup>

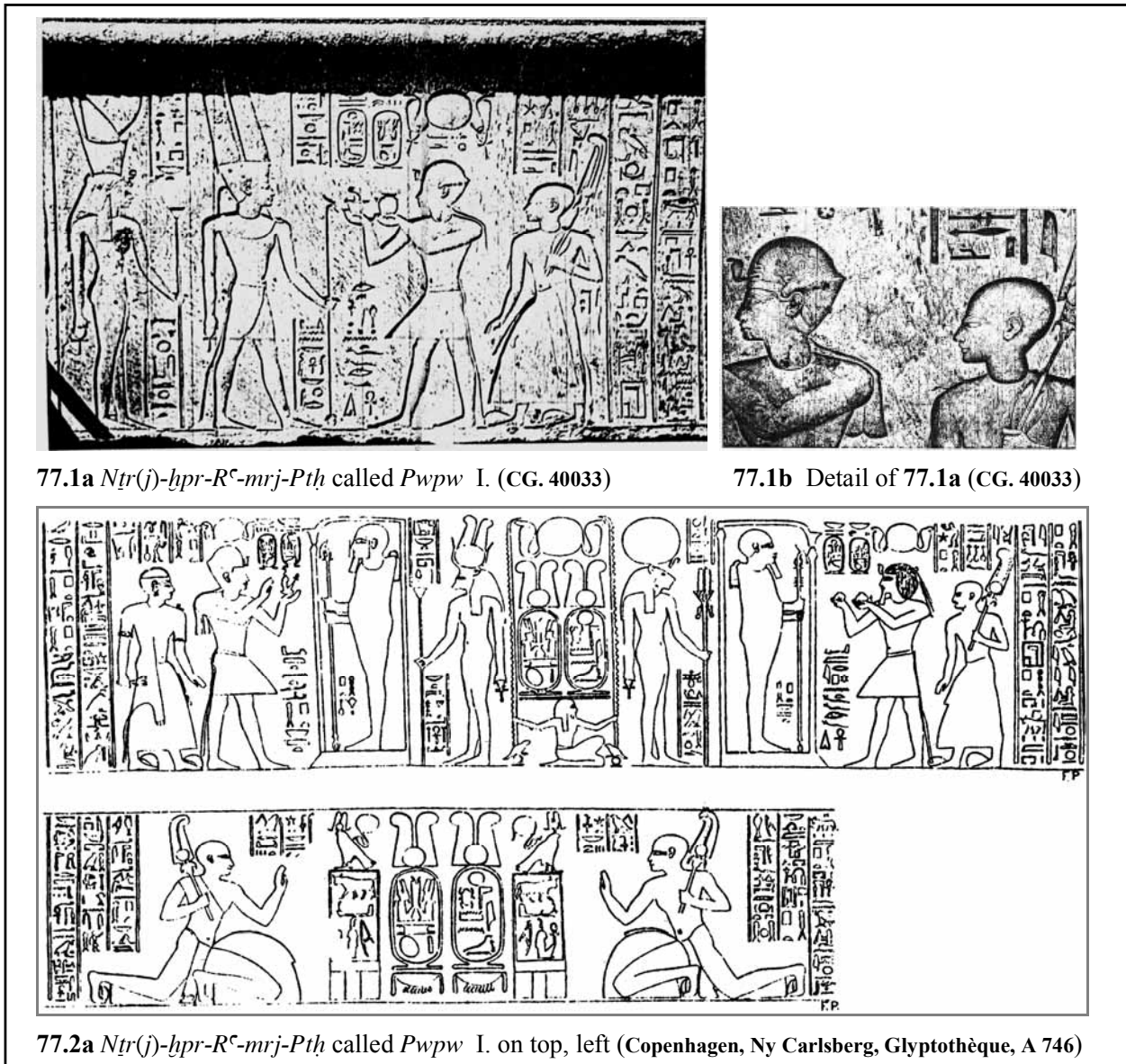


81-  *aSA-jxt* II,<sup>289</sup> son of  *Pwpr* II. [N<sup>o</sup> 80], he was mentioned as HPPM on BM Statue 904 (25); and Louvre Stele 96: 9-10 (Fig. D); while as *Hry-sStA (n) st-wrt, Hm-nTr*, 'Chief of Secrets of the Great Seat and Prophet' on Berlin 23673: 1/11\*.<sup>290</sup> Temp. Twenty-First Dynasty (king's name is destroyed).<sup>291</sup>

82-  *anx.f-nj-Cxmt* I., son of  *aSA-jxt* II. [N<sup>o</sup> 81] as a HPPM according to Louvre Stele 96: 8-9 (Fig. D), but as a 'prophet' (*Hm-nTr*) on Berlin 23673: 1/10\*; he was also



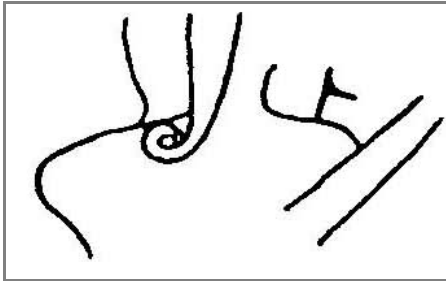
76. *S3-jht* I.



77.1a *Ntr(j)-hpr-R<sup>c</sup>-mrj-Pth* called *Pwpr* I. (CG. 40033)

77.1b Detail of 77.1a (CG. 40033)

77.2a *Ntr(j)-hpr-R<sup>c</sup>-mrj-Pth* called *Pwpr* I. on top, left (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg, Glyptothèque, A 746)



77.2b The necklace and the side-lock of *Pwpu* I.  
(part of Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg, Glyptothèque, A 746)



77.3 *Ntr(j)-hpr-Rc-mrj-Pth*,  
called *Pwpu* I.



78. *H3.t.3j* or *H3.t.wy* (?) (*Register Book of the Antiquities Inspectorate at Mit-Rahinah*, No. 3982)



79.1 (*Hr-s3-Js.t* I.



79.2a and 91. *Hr-s3-Js.t* I. or II. (CG. 1212 = JE. 27847 = SR. 9333)



79.2b and 91.1 *Hr-s3-Jst* I. or II. (CG. 1212)

80. *Pwpr* II. (?)

81. *ʕs3-jht* II. (?)

83.1 Double-statue of *Šd-sw-Nfr-tm* with his wife *T3-špn-Jst* (CG. 741, 43 cm); also 82. *ʕnh.f-nj-Šhmt* I.

83.2a *Šd-sw-Nfr-tm* (statue from Mit-Rahina, JE. 86758)

83.2b Right side inscription

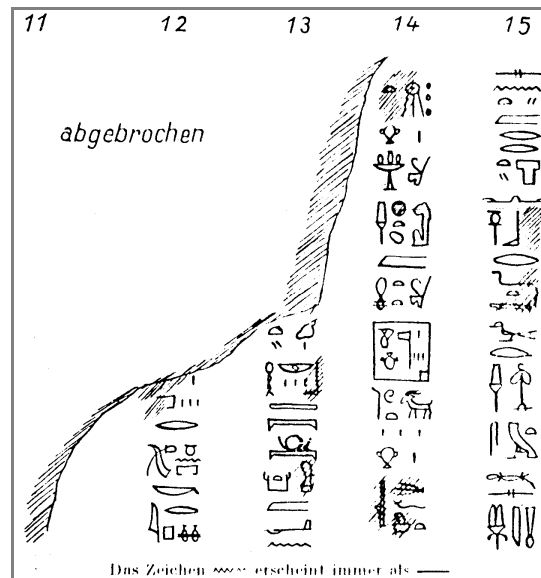
mentioned on both Cairo Museum JE. 86789 and CG. 741 (JE. 29858, SR. 9319)\*[83]. Temp. Twenty-first Dynasty (according to Wildung) or specific Pasebkhanut (Psusennes) II and may be till the first years of the reign of *^Snq* I (Twenty-Second Dynasty) (according to both Heba Mahran and Basem El-Sharkawy).<sup>292</sup>

83- *^d-sw-Nfr-tm*, a son of *anx.f-nj-Cxmt* I. [N<sup>o</sup> 82] and a HPPM according to

Louvre Stele 96: 7-8 (Fig. D); while only as *Hry-sStA (n) st-wrt, Hm-nTr*, 'Chief of Secrets of the Great Seat and Prophet' on Berlin 23673: 1/9 (fig. C). He was married to a 'priestess of goddess Mut' named *&A-Spn-Jc.t* and had five sons with priestly titles: *%Snq* (I.) [N<sup>o</sup> 84], *aSA-jxt*, *anx.f-nj-Cxmt*, *@r-sA-Jc.t*, and *PA-Hm-nTr*; and two daughters were 'chanteuse in the choir of the beloved Ptah': *&A-dnjt-n-BASTt* and *&A-Srj-n-Mwt*.<sup>293</sup> His major monuments are: gray granite Double sitting statue, Cairo Museum CG. 741



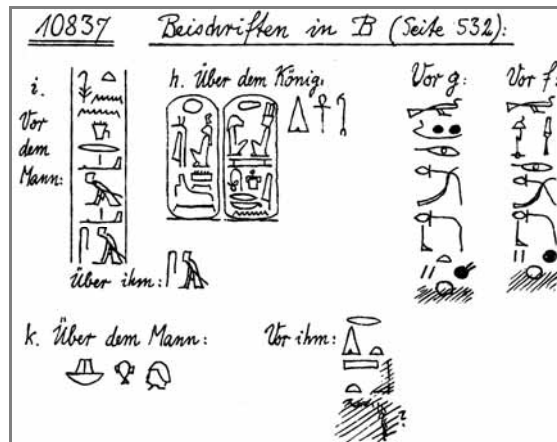
83.2c Back side inscription



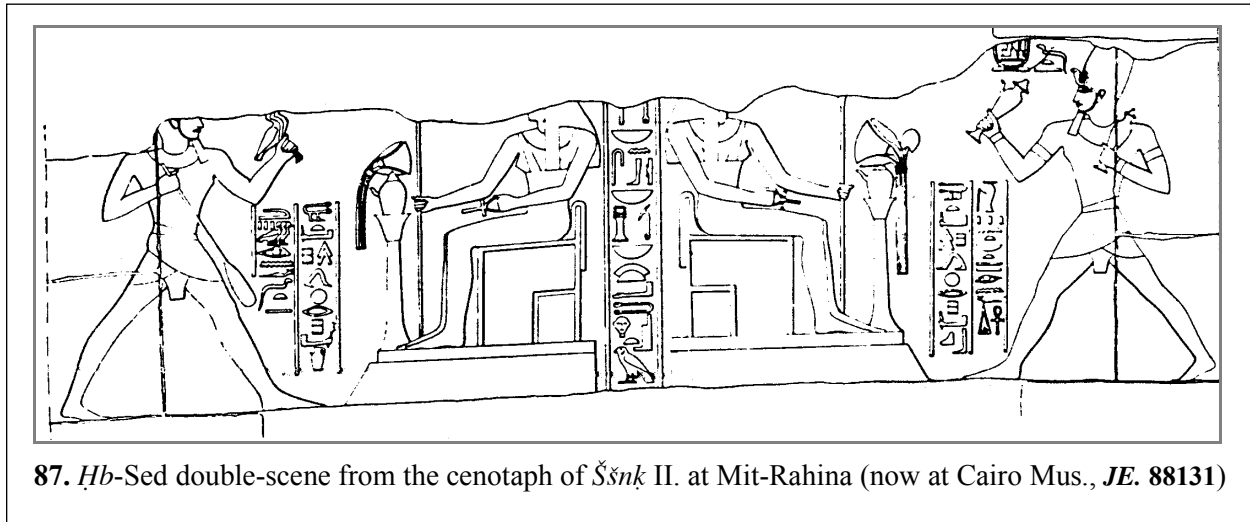
83.2d Left side inscription



83.3 *^d-sw-Nfr-tm* (Serapeum-Louvre Kneeling Group-Statue holding Stela E. 25680)

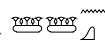





85./87. Inscription, Tel-Basta Temple (Berlin 10837)

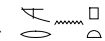
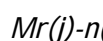


87. *Hb-Sed* double-scene from the cenotaph of *Šsnk* II. at Mit-Rahina (now at Cairo Mus., JE. 88131)

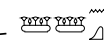

(JE. 29858, SR. 9319)\*<sup>1,294</sup> Quartzite sitting statue, JE. 86758\*2 discovered by Ahmed M. Badawi during his excavation at Mit-Rahina at 1942,<sup>295</sup> and Cleveland Museum Stele.<sup>296</sup> He had been mentioned also on: Louvre Stele 96: 7-8 (Fig. D);<sup>297</sup> Serapeum-Louvre Kneeling Group-Statue holding Stela E. 25680\*3;<sup>298</sup> and Berlin Museum 8169 (Memphis)<sup>299</sup>. Temp. Twenty-second Dynasty: *^Snq* (Shoshenq) I.<sup>300</sup>

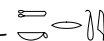

84-  *^Snq* I, son of  *^d-sw-Nfr-tm* [N<sup>o</sup> 83], and the father of *Wsrkn* [N<sup>o</sup> 85]. He was also related to King Shoshenq I,<sup>301</sup> and was mentioned on Louvre Stele 96: 7 (fig. D).<sup>302</sup> Temp. Twenty-second Dynasty: *^Snq* I.<sup>303</sup>

85-  *Wsrkn*, son of  *^Snq* I. [N<sup>o</sup> 84], and the father of a 'priest and *cm*-priest of Ptah' named *\*krI*.<sup>304</sup> *Wsrkn* was mentioned on Louvre Stele 96: 6 (Fig. D).<sup>305</sup> Probably he was mentioned on Berlin Museum 10837\* (Inscription from the Temple of Tel-Basta) (?).<sup>306</sup> Temp. Twenty-second Dynasty: *Wsrkn* (Osorkon) II.<sup>307</sup>

86-  *Mr(j)-n(j)-Pth*, according to Ch. Maystre he maybe a son of  *^Snq* II [N<sup>o</sup> 87] and a brother of the HPPM *\*krI* [N<sup>o</sup> 88]

(?)<sup>308</sup> He was mentioned on Serapeum-Louvre Stela 119 (S.N. 82).<sup>309</sup> Temp. Twenty-second Dynasty: *\*krI* (Tekeloth) II<sup>310</sup> during the last years of the reign of *Wsrkn* (Osorkon) II.

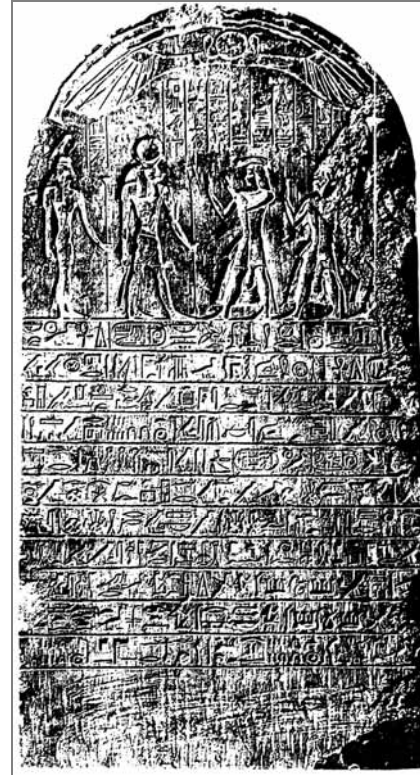
87-  *^Snq* II., the crown prince, son of the king *Wsrkn* (Osorkon) II from the queen  Karomama.<sup>311</sup> His cenotaph was inside the Temenos of Ptah Temple at Mit-Rahina, and moved to Cairo Egyptian Museum (JE. 88131)\* with its monuments (JE. 86763-86793 and Temp. Nr. 4/1/44/1-11, 9/1/44/1-4).<sup>312</sup> I agree with Charles Maystre's opinion<sup>313</sup> which regarded that the HPPM who was mentioned on Berlin Museum 10837\* (Inscription from Tel-Basta Temple) (?)<sup>314</sup> is *^Snq* II. Temp. Twenty-Second Dynasty: *Wsrkn* (Osorkon) II, died after(?) Year 23 but before his father.<sup>315</sup>

88-  *\*krI*, (younger?) son of *^Snq* II. [N<sup>o</sup> 87], and married from his father's (Osorkon II) half-sister  *\*sw-Bastt-prt* (her mother: *Js.t-m-hb*) (Louvre Stele IM. 3749: 17), and maybe he married also from the priestess *+d-Bastt-*iw.s-anx**.<sup>316</sup> His burial chamber was located beside the






88./89./90. *Tkr̄t*, *P3-dj-Js.t*, and *P3j.f-t3w-Wb3stt*  
(Sérapéum-Louvre Stele IM. 3749)

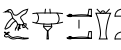


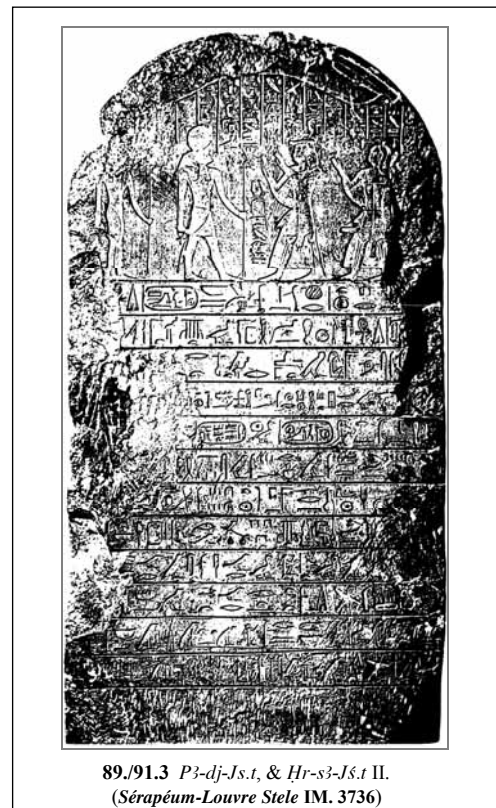
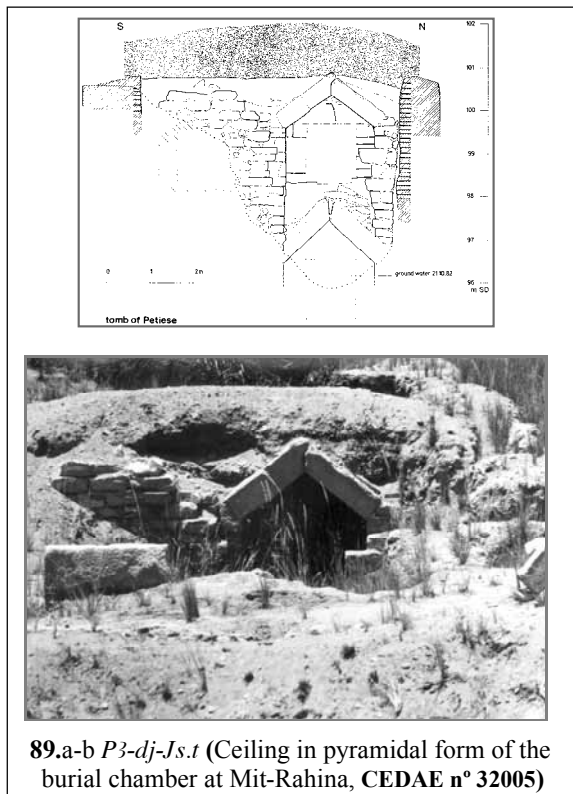
88./89./91.2 *Tkr̄t*, *P3-dj-Js.t*, & *Hr-s3-Js.t* II.  
(Sérapéum-Louvre Stele IM. 3697)

cenotaph of his father, and moved with its monuments also into Cairo Egyptian Museum (JE. 86815-86823).<sup>317</sup> He was mentioned on Louvre 38/39:<sup>318</sup> (1) On Sérapéum-Louvre Stele IM. 3697 (RC 2792; S 1904; no. 34; R 410; no. 6344) as a HPPM;<sup>319</sup> and (2) on Sérapéum-Louvre Stele IM. 3749 (RC 2998; N. 413; S 1898 ?; no. 18; R 401) but not as a HPPM.<sup>320</sup> Temp. Twenty-second Dynasty: <sup>^</sup>*Sng* (Shoshenq) III.

- 89-  *PA-dj-Js.t*, Great Chief of the Ma, son of *\*kr̄t* [N<sup>o</sup> 88], and grandson of Osorkon II from his mother's side (*\*sw-BAstt-prt*), but as a son of the grandson from his father's side (*\*kr̄t*).<sup>321</sup> During 1942-1944, Ahmed M. Badawi discovered his burial chamber at Mit-Rahina with the ceiling in pyramidal form (CEDAE n<sup>o</sup> 32005)\*, and

its monuments are now in Cairo Egyptian Museum (JE. 86109, 86754-86762, 86794-86800, 86946-86950).<sup>322</sup> He was mentioned as a 'Great Chief of the Ma' not as a HPPM on Louvre 38/39:<sup>323</sup> Sérapéum-Louvre Stele IM. 3697\*<sup>324</sup> and IM. 3749\*.<sup>325</sup> Temp. Twenty-second Dynasty: from Year 28 of <sup>^</sup>*Sng* (Shoshenq) III till Year 2 of *PA-mi* (Pimay).



- 90-  *PAj.f-tAw-WbAstt*, son of *PA-dj-Js.t* [N<sup>o</sup> 89], and a half-brother of *\*kr̄t* [N<sup>o</sup> 88]. Ushabti of Cairo and Berlin 11637,<sup>326</sup> and recorded on both above-mentioned Louvre 38/39:<sup>327</sup> Sérapéum-Louvre Stele IM. 3697\*<sup>328</sup> and IM. 3749\*.<sup>329</sup> Temp. Twenty-second Dynasty: Year 28 of <sup>^</sup>*Sng* (Shoshenq) III only (according to K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 487 (Table 18)), but the reign of *PA-mi* (Pimay) (according to Wildung, *LÄ* II, 1262: 76).



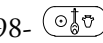


- 91- @*r-sA-Jc.t* II, son of *PA-dj-Js.t* [N° 89] according to Sérapéum-Louvre Stele IM. 3736: 4-9 and 17-20.<sup>330</sup> Also Ahmed M. Badawi discovered during 1942-1944 his burial chamber at Mit-Rahina, and its monuments are now in Cairo Egyptian Museum (JE. 86807-86814).<sup>331</sup> He is the owner of the statue-naos of Cairo Museum CG. 1212<sup>332</sup> (JE. 27847, SR. 9333)\* [79.2 & 91.1]. His name is recorded also on both the Sérapéum-Louvre Stele IM. 3697\*2 (RC 2792, S 1904, no. 34, R 410; no. 6344);<sup>333</sup> and Sérapéum-Louvre Stele IM. 3736\*3 (RC 2793, S 1905, no. 36, R 411)<sup>334</sup> Temp. Twenty-second Dynasty: *PA-mi* (Pimay) and *^Snq* (Shoshenq) V.<sup>335</sup>
- 92- *anx.f-nj-Cxmt* II, son of @*r-sA-Jc.t* II. [N° 91].<sup>336</sup> He was mentioned on the statue-naos of Cairo Museum CG. 1212<sup>337</sup> (JE. 27847, SR. 9333)\*[79.2 and 91.1].

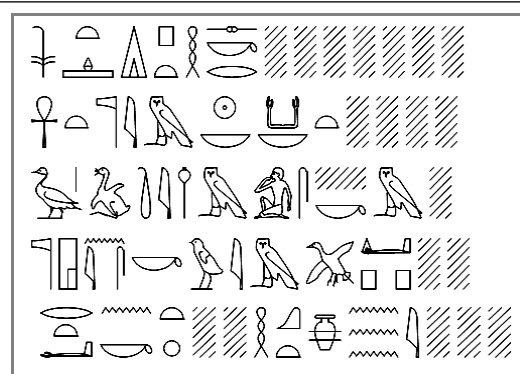
- Temp. Twenty-second Dynasty: *PA-mi* and *^Snq* V.<sup>338</sup>
- 93- &*f-nx.t* (?!); He did not hold the title *wr-xrp(.w)-Hmw(.wt)* (HPPM), but he held the title 'cm-priest of Ptah' as it was mentioned on Piankhi Stele (line 20).<sup>339</sup> Temp. Twenty-fourth Dynasty.
- 94- *BAK-n-rn.f*,<sup>340</sup> Two Ushabtis of Berlin Museum 5829 and 7997, the description on them mentioned him as 'Hoherpriester von Memphis' (HPPM).<sup>341</sup> Temp. Twenty-fifth Dynasty.
- 95- &*Ah(A)rq(A)* (?!), Francis L. Griffith presumed that he held the title of the High-priest of Ptah, before being the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, beside being the ruler of Lower Egypt at that time.<sup>342</sup> Temp. Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

**V. Late Period** <sup>343</sup>

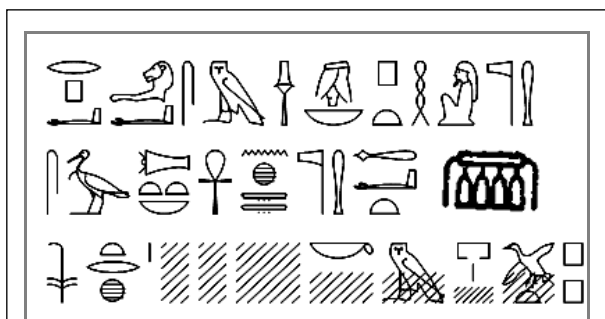
- 96-  *PA-dj-Pp*,<sup>344</sup> He had three statues:<sup>345</sup> Aberdeen, Anthropological Museum 1405; Cairo Egyptian Museum CG. 525\*1<sup>346</sup> (Leider Squeezes 16.11 A, B = SCHISM 1054) and CG. 595\*2.<sup>347</sup> Maybe he owned also:<sup>348</sup> Ushabti of Cairo Mus. CG. 47354,<sup>349</sup> four alabaster canopic jars CG. 4266-4269, and Sérapéum-Louvre Stele IM 3098. Then he will be, according to Hasan Nasr el-Din, the one who had the same name, buried in a tomb had seen on 1892 by De Morgan at Saqqara between pyramids of Teti and Userkaf,<sup>350</sup> held the titles: *it-nTr*, *mrj-nTr*, *wab aA* ('God's father, beloved from the god and the high purifier-priest'), and was born to *PA-dj-PtH*,<sup>351</sup> 'prophet of Ptah and prophet of Bastet mistress of Ankh-tauy' and the lady *Nfr-Hrj* (according to PM III<sup>2</sup>, 565, 811) or *WbAstt* (according to Aubert, 216-217 & Schneider, 227).<sup>352</sup> Wildung referred that he was mentioned in A. Erman's manuscript of Wb. who translated the name as: 'he who was given from the god (Pep)', this structure which appeared during the Twenty-second Dynasty.<sup>353</sup> Temp. Twenty-sixth Dynasty: during the reign of *PsmTk* I (before year 21, according to Hasan Nasr el-Din).<sup>354</sup>
- 97-  *@KA-ir(w)-aA*, he and his family successor [N<sup>o</sup> 98 and N<sup>o</sup> 101] held the two titles *wr xrp(w) Hmw(wt)*, *Hm-nTr PtH* 'Greatest of

the Directors of craftsmen and the priest of Ptah'.<sup>355</sup> Temp. Twenty-sixth Dynasty: (c. 589 BCE and after) during the reigns of both of *Nj-kAw* II and *PsmTk* II.<sup>356</sup>

- 98-  *Nfr-jb-Ra-mn(w)*, son of  *@KA-ir(w)-aA* [N<sup>o</sup> 97]<sup>357</sup> and father of *Nj-kAw-mrj-PtH*, 'god's father, *cm*-priest, Chief of the King's Secrets, and the overseer of the *imj-xnt*'<sup>358</sup> as mentioned on a stele (Sérapéum-Louvre Stele 4213) belonging to his grandson's son *Jah-mc-mn(w)* I. (N<sup>o</sup> 101). Temp. Twenty-sixth Dynasty: (c. 564 BCE and after) during the reign of *WAh-jb-Ra* (Apries).<sup>359</sup>
- 99-  *N(j)-kA-w(j)-mn(w)*, he was mentioned on Ushabti Berlin 11641<sup>360</sup> and it had been stated



**96.2a** *P3-dj-Pp* (kilt of *Cairo Mus. Limestone headless Statue*, CG. 595. H. 37 cm, from Mit-Rahina)



**96.1** *P3-dj-Pp* (*Cairo Mus. Statue*, CG. 525)



**96.2b** *PA-dj-Pp*  
(Between the legs of CG. 595)



**96.2c** *PA-dj-Pp*  
(On the back-pillar of CG. 595)

on its label<sup>361</sup> that the owner was ‘Hoherpriester von Memphis’ (HPPM). Temp. Twenty-sixth Dynasty: According to Ch. Maystre he held his office during the reign of *JaH-mc* II (Amasis).<sup>362</sup>

100- *WDA-Sw* (?),<sup>363</sup> we did not know his father’s nor mother’s names, but he had a son called *@r*. He did not hold the traditional Memphite high-priestly title, *i.e.* *wr-xrp(.w)-Hmw(.wt)*, but he held the title *Hm-nTr wr n PtH* ‘the great priest of Ptah’ (the High-priest of Ptah) which is mentioned on two Ushabti: München Museum ÄS 616 (belongs to him) and London, University College Museum 583 (belongs to his son *@r*). Temp. Twenty-sixth Dynasty and Twenty-seventh Dynasty.<sup>364</sup>

101- *JaH-mc-mn(w)* I.<sup>365</sup> also called *\$nm-jb-Ra sa-PtH*,<sup>366</sup> son of ‘god’s father, *cm*-priest, Chief of the King’s Secrets, and the overseer of the *imj-xnt* called *Nj-kAw-mrj-PtH*, who was son of *Nfr-jb-Ra-mn(w)* [N<sub>o</sub> 98].<sup>367</sup> *JaH-mc-mn(w)* I was mentioned on two stelae: One belongs to him, Sérapéum-Louvre Stele 4213;<sup>368</sup> and the other to his son (*CmA-tA.wj-tf-nx.t*)’s Sérapéum-Louvre Stele 4044 (Louvre 324) dated to the Year 36 from the reign of Darius I<sup>369</sup> (489 BCE). He married three women: From *%xmt-nfr*, he had three sons (*CmA-tA.wj-tf-nx.t*;<sup>370</sup> *@rj*; and *JaH-mc-mn(w)* II, N<sub>o</sub> 102); from *%tA-irt-bnt*, he had two sons (*PA-dj-Hr-rsn*; and *PA-Sr-n-Mwt*);<sup>371</sup> and from *Js.t-rx.t*, he had their only son (*PsmIk*).<sup>372</sup> Temp. Twenty-sixth Dynasty: *JaH-mc* II or later and Twenty-seventh Dynasty: [Cambyses II]<sup>373</sup>-Darius I.

102- *JaH-mc-mn(w)* II, son of *JaH-mc-mn(w)* I. [N<sub>o</sub> 101].<sup>374</sup> He was mentioned on his brother’s (*CmA-tA.wj-tf-nx.t*) Sérapéum-Louvre Stele 4044 (Louvre 324).<sup>375</sup> Temp. Twenty-seventh Dynasty: Darius I.

103- *\$nm-jb-Ra sa-PtH* known also *NkAw*, was mentioned<sup>376</sup> on Louvre Apis Stele 141.<sup>377</sup> Temp. Twenty-seventh Dynasty: Darius I or later.




104- *+d-Hr* (?) (Thirtieth Dynasty), who had been sacred as Imhotep and Amonhotep son of Hapu; he also had the title *pa hb* (Ibis), the sacred bird of Thoth, the lord of wisdom. King Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (170-116 BCE) had built a sanctuary for him in Habu Temple.<sup>378</sup>

Unfortunately, nothing is known about the HPPM since mid Twenty-seventh Dynasty till the Thirtieth Dynasty.

We still have some undated fragments from Mit-Rahina belonging to unknown HPPM,<sup>379</sup> one of them is a fragment of the Stele M-20/1668/2488 (Philadelphia, University Museum, E. 13578) which was discovered during seasons 1915-1923 in the excavation of the University Museum of Pennsylvania.<sup>380</sup>

## Notes

- \* The endnotes continue from the previous article, that was published in *Abgadiyat* 3.
- 264 K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 BC)*, second edition (Warminster, 1986), 187. On both documents, see endnote no. 14 issue 3, and cf. H. Kees, ‘Der Hohepriester von Memphis Schedsunefertem’, *ZÄS* 87 (1962), 146-149.
- 265 Cf. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 487 (Table 18).
- 266 حسن نصر الدين، الآثار المصرية في العصر المتأخر: أولاً الآثار الجنائزية، الجزء الأول: في الجبانة المنفية [1] سقارة وأبو صير (المجلس الأعلى للثقافة، 7002)، 906، 387.
- 267 Ludwig Borchardt, ‘Ahnenreihe von Priestern aus Memphis’, in *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung von Punkten der ägyptischen Geschichte und ihre Anwendung* (Cairo, 1935), 99 and Blatt 2a (1, 15).
- 268 Borchardt, ‘Ahnenreihe von Priestern aus Memphis’, in *Die Mittel*, 99, Blatt 2a (2, 1-3).
- 269 Wildung, *LÄ* II, 1261: 63; cf. ‘Amenophthis’: El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 298 [N<sub>o</sub> 63].

- 270 El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 632-633 (Doc. 182, 15-18); Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 187, 487 (Table 18).
- 271 Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1261: 64; see: El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 299-300 [N<sup>o</sup> 64]; cf. H. Kees, *Priestertum*, 174f.
- 272 El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 633-634 (Doc. 183, 10-11), 1004 (Fig. 229).
- 273 W. M. F. Petrie, *Memphis I* (London, 1909), pl. XXXI (middle right); El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 612-613 (Doc. 163), 853 (fig. 112), 985 (fig. 210).
- 274 Maria Mogensen, *La collection égyptiennes de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg* (Kopenhagen 1930), Pl. 111 A; Otto Koefed-Petersen, *Recueil des inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*, BAe VI (Brussels, 1936), 85 (text); Petrie, *The Palace of Apries and Memphis II* (London, 1909), Pl. XXIV (a, top) (drawing); El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 614 (Doc. 164) and 986 (fig. 211) (drawing and traslation).
- 275 L. Borchardt, 'Ahnenreihe von Priestern aus Memphis', in *Die Mittel*, 99 and Blatt 2a (1, 14).
- 276 Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 BC)*, 187, 487 (Table 18).
- 277 Kees, 'Der Hohepriester von Memphis Schedsunefertem', *ZÄS* 87 (1962), 147; Heba I. M. Mahran, *Memphis in the First Millennium BC to 332 BC* (M.A. diss., Minia University, 2000), I: 290.
- 278 Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1261: 64.
- 279 PM III<sup>2</sup> (Oxford, 1981), 853-854.
- 280 Cf. Berlin 23673: 1/13; L. Borchardt, *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung von Punkten der ägyptischen Geschichte und ihre Anwendung*, 99 and Blatt 2a (1, 13). Probably if we accepted that  [@]r-(sA)-Ist is one of the two persons who carried the same name  and was the High-priest of Ptah at Memphis during the 21st Dynasty (Reign of Pseusennes II?), it will mean that  @A.t.iA*j* (or @A.t.iw*j* ?), was the High-priest of Ptah at Memphis, and was the father of one of two who carried the same title (!) See: El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I, 300, 307-308; II: inscriptions nos. 165, 178-179, 183, XIV (list of HPPM) after page 880, also fig. 212.
- 281 Basem Samir El-Sharkawy, 'A New 'Greatest of the Directors of craftsmen' (i.e. High-Priest of Ptah at Memphis) from Mit-Rahinah [Excavation Season, 1987]', *Abgadiyat 2* (Bibliotheca Alexandrina: Calligraphy Center, 2007), 22-29 (from Unpublished report of Excavation during the season of 1987 kept in the archive of the Antiquities Inspectorate at Mit-Rahinah, no. 3982 in the Register Book which was signed by 'Mohamed Rashed Hammad', who was the general of inspectors of the site at that time).
- 282 Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1261: 65; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 300 [N<sup>o</sup> 65]; II: 633-634 (Doc. 183, 10-11).
- 283 L. Borchardt, *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung*, 99 and Blatt 2a (1, 13-14); Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1261: 65a; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 300 [N<sup>o</sup> 65; cf. 65a].
- 284 A. Mariette, *Monuments divers recueillis en Egypte et en Nubie*, 7, Pl. 27 (g. 1-4); L. Borchardt, *Statuen IV*, (1934), 34, 48, 110-112 (text) and Pl. 170, Abb. 1212 (photo); El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 300; II: 615-616 (Doc. 165), 987-989 (fig. 212).
- 285 El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 300 [65a]. Although Kitchen (*The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 187, 487: Table 18) considered him (Harsiese J) contemporary of Psusennes I.
- 286 Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1261: 66; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 300-301 [N<sup>o</sup> 66].
- 287 El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 300 [N<sup>o</sup> 66]; II: 633-634 (Doc. 183, 9-10 ?), 1004 (Fig. 229).
- 288 Borchardt, in *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung*, 99, Blatt 2a (1, 12); El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 301 [66]; II: 632-633 (Doc. 182, 12). Although Kitchen (*The Third Intermediate Period*, 187, 487: Table 18), considered him (Pipi B, Neterkheperre-Meryptah) contemporary of Psusennes I to Siamun.
- 289 Cf. H. Ranke, *PN I*, 401: 15.
- 290 [Budge,] *A Guide to the Egyptian [Galleries] collections, Sculpture, [British Museum, London]* (1909), 245 (no. 904); Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1261: 67; Asha-khet B: Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 187, 487 (Table 18); El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 642 (Doc. 189a).
- 291 Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1261: 67; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 301 [N<sup>o</sup> 67]; cf. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 187, 487 (Table 18).
- 292 Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1261: 68; Ankhefensekhmet A: Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 188, 487 (Table 18); Heba I. M. Mahran, *Memphis in the First Millennium BC to 332 BC* (M.A. diss., Minia University, 2000), I: 290; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood* (M.A. diss., Ain-Shams University, 2003), I: 301 [N<sup>o</sup> 68]; II: 633-634 (Doc. 183, 8-9), 1004 (Fig. 229) and 990-991 (Fig. 213).

- 293 Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1261: 69; Shedsunefertem A: Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 188, 487 (Table 18); H. Mahran, *Memphis in the First Millennium BC*, I: 293-295; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 301-303 [№ 69]; see: II: 616-622 (Docs. 166-171), 862-864 (fig. 126), 990-994 (figs. 213-215), and probably 623 (Doc. 172).
- 294 L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten III* (1930), 51, 67-69 (text) and Pl. 137 (Abb. CG. 741: photo); G. Daressy, 'Inscriptions inédites de la XXIIème dynastie', *Rec. Trav.* 18 (1896), 46-48; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 617-619 (Doc. 167) and 990-991 (Fig. 213).
- 295 Hermann Kees, 'Der Hohepriester von Memphis Schedsunefertem', *ZÄS* 87 (1962), 140-149; Ahmed M. Badawi, *Pages From Excavations at Saqqarah and Mit Rabinah, Vies et Travaux*, IV, Dar Al-Maaref (Le Caire, 1984), 12, 27 (Pl. 3); PM III2 (1981), 842; H. Mahran, *Memphis in the First Millennium BC*, I: 70-74 (Doc. 43); El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 619-621 (Doc. 169), 992-3 (Fig. 214).
- 296 C. Ransom-Williams, *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* (Oct.-Nov. 1918), 67-69; Ransom-Williams, 'The Egyptian Collection at Cleveland, Ohio', *JEA* 5 (1918), 279; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 619 (Doc. 168).
- 297 El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 300 [№ 66]; II: 633-4 (Doc. 183, 7-8), 1004 (Fig. 229).
- 298 J. Vandier, *Revue de Louvre* 6 (1967), 309, fig. 15; Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1261: 69; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 301 [№ 69]; cf. II: 622 (Doc. 171), 994 (Fig. 215); A. Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis* (1857), 18, Pl. 25, 2; J. Vandier, 'A propos d'un groupe du Sérapéum de Memphis cinservé au Musée du Louvre', *JEA* 35 (1949), 135-138 and Plate.
- 299 H. Brugsch, *Thesaurus IV* (1884), 811-813 (text and drawing); *ÄIB II* (1924), 232-234 (text); H. Mahran, *Memphis in the First Millennium BC*, I: 24-28 (Doc.17), 309; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 621-2 (Doc. 170, 2) and 862-4 (Fig. 126). Cf. A. M. Badawi, *Memphis als zweite Landshauptstadt im Neuen Reich*, 36.
- 300 Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1261: 69; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 487 (Table 18): 'Shedsunefertem A, contemporary of Osorkon I'; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 301-303 [№ 69].
- 301 Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1261: 70; Shoshenq C: Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 487 (Table 18): 'probably contemporary of Osorkon I'; H. Mahran, *Memphis in the First Millennium BC*, I: 295-296; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 303 [№ 70].
- 302 El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood II*, 633-4 (Doc. 183, 7).
- 303 Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1261: 70; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 303 [№ 70]. While Kitchen (*The Third Intermediate Period*, 487: Table 18): considered 'Shoshenq C, probably contemporary of Osorkon I'.
- 304 Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1262: 71; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 303-304 [№ 71].
- 305 El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood II*, 633-4 (Doc. 183, 6).
- 306 E. Naville, *The Festival Hall of Osorkon II* (London, 1892), Pls. 11 and 12, 7; *ÄIB II* (1924), 533; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 623 (Doc. 172A), 995 (Fig. 216).
- 307 Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1262: 71; B.S. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 303-4 [№ 71]. While Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 487 (Table 18): considered 'Osorkon A, probably maily contemporary of Takeloth I'.
- 308 Ch. Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 168, and its no. 6; Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1262: 72; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 304 [№ 72]; II: 624-615 (Doc. 175). Ch. Maystre put him after HPPM <sup>^</sup>*Snq II.*, while I agree with Wildung who put him before the last one (<sup>^</sup>*Snq II.*).
- 309 El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 624-5 (Doc. 175); cf. Gauthier, *LR III*, 353, note 2, or 354, no. XII.
- 310 Ch. Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah*, 168; Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1262: 72; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 304 [№ 72]. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 487 (Table 18).
- 311 Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1262: 73; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 304-305 [№ 73]; II: 624 (Docs. 173-174), 996-998 (figs. 217-223).
- 312 Ahmed M. Badawi, 'Das Grab des Kronprinzen Scheschonk, Sohnes Osorkon's II. und Hohenpriesters von Memphis', *ASAE* 54 (1956/7), 153-177, 2 fig., Pls. 1-16 (reprinted in *Pages From Excavations at Saqqarah and Mit Rabinah, Vies et Travaux IV* (Le Caire, 1984), 151-191; PM III<sup>2</sup>/2, fasc. 3 (Oxford, 1981), 846-847; cf. Mustafa El-Amir, in *The Egyptian Education Bureau London, The Bulletin no. 40* (Nov.-Dec. 1949), 19; PM III2/2, 847.
- 313 Ch. Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, *OBO* 113 (Göttingen, 1992), 168; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 304.
- 314 Naville, *The Festival Hall of Osorkon II*, Pls. 11 and 12, 7; *ÄIB II*, 533; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 623 (Doc. 172A), 995 (Fig. 216).
- 315 Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1262: 73; K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 487 (Table 18).

- 316 Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1262: 74; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 487 (Table 18): considered 'Takeloth B, (younger?), son of Shoshenq D' without giving him any dating; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 305-306 [№ 74]; II: 625 (Doc. 176), 625-627 (Doc. 177) = 1000 (Fig. 225), 627-629 (Doc. 178).
- 317 A. Badawi, *ASAE* 54, 157 [bottom]; PM III<sup>2</sup>/2, 847; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 306 [№ 74].
- 318 J. Yoyotte, in *Mélanges Maspero I/4, Orient Ancien* (Cairo, 1961), 124, Nr. 2. 130.
- 319 A. Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis* (1857), Pl. 26 (photo); E. Chassinat, 'Textes provenant du Sérapéum de Memphis', *Rec. Trav.* 22 (1900), 10-11, no. 39 (text); M. Malinine, G. Posener and J. Vercoutter, *Catalogue des Stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis* (Paris, 1968), Tome I<sup>er</sup>: Texte, 21-22 (no. 22); Tome Ier: Planches, pl. VIII (no. 22, bottom); see: B. El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood* II: 627-9 (Doc. 178), 1001 (Fig. 226).
- 320 Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, Pl. 24 (photo); Chassinat, *Rec. Trav.* 22, 9-10, no. 38 (text); Malinine-Posener-Vercoutter, *Catalogue des Stèles du Sérapéum I*, 19-20 (no. 21), pl. VII (no. 21); see: El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 625-627 (Doc. 177), 1000 (Fig. 225).
- 321 Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1262: 75; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 487 (Table 18): considered 'Pediese, son of Takeloth B; Yr. 28, Sh. III, Yr. 2, Pimay'; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 306-307 [75]; II: 625-631 (Docs. 177-180), 999-1002 (Figs. 224-227).
- 322 Ahmed Badawi, 'Zwei Denkmäler des Grossen Gaugrafen von Memphis – Amenophis @wjj', *ASAE* 44 (1944), 181-202, pls. 16-21; PM III<sup>2</sup> (1981), 847; D. G. Jeffreys, *The Survey of Memphis I* (London, 1985), Pl. 28 = CEDAE n° 32005 (Aug. 1994, Photographed by Abd Allah Nasr and Mohamed Mohamed Rizk); El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 999 (Fig. 224).
- 323 Yoyotte, in *Mélanges Maspero I/4*, 124, Nr. 2. 130.
- 324 A. Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis* (1857), Pl. 26 (photo); E. Chassinat, *Rec. Trav.* 22 (1900), 10-11, no. 39 (text); Malinine-Posener-Vercoutter, *Catalogue des Stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis I*, 21-22 (no. 22), pl. VIII (no. 22, bottom); see: Basem El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 627-629 (Doc. 178), 1001 (Fig. 226).
- 325 Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, Pl. 24 (photo); Chassinat, *Rec. Trav.* 22 (1900), 9-10, no. 38 (text); Malinine-Posener-Vercoutter, *Catalogue des Stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis I*, 19-20 (no. 21), pl. VII (no. 21); see: Basem El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 625-627 (Doc. 177), 1000 (Fig. 225).
- 326 Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1262: 76; Basem El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 307 [76]; II: 631 (Docs. 181-181A); also: Daressy, 'Notes et Remarques', *Rec. Trav.* 14 (1893), 181, no. 76; *Ausführliches Verzeichnis* (Berlin, 1894), 187.
- 327 Yoyotte, in *Mélanges Maspero I/4*, 124, Nr. 2. 130.
- 328 Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, Pl. 26 (photo); Chassinat, *Rec. Trav.* 22, 10-11, no. 39 (text); Malinine-Posener-Vercoutter, *Catalogue des Stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis I*, 21-22 (no. 22), pl. VIII (no. 22, bottom); see: El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 627-629 (Doc. 178), 1001 (Fig. 226).
- 329 Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, pl. 24 (photo); Chassinat, *Rec. Trav.* 22, 9-10, no. 38 (text); Malinine-Posener-Vercoutter, *Catalogue des Stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis I*, 19-20 (no. 21), pl. VII (no. 21); see: El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 625-627 (Doc. 177), 1000 (Fig. 225).
- 330 Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1262: 77; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 307-308 [77]; see II: 629-631 (Doc. 179: 4-9, 17-20).
- 331 Badawi, *ASAE* 44, 181 note no. 2; Badawi, 'Das Grab des Kronprinzen Scheschonk – Hohenpriesters von Memphis', *ASAE* 54 (1956/7), 157 [bottom]-158-[top]; PM III<sup>2</sup>/2, 847.
- 332 A. Mariette, *Monuments divers recueillis en Egypte et en Nubie*, 7, Pl. 27 (g. 1-4); L. Borchardt, *Statuen IV* (1934), 34, 48, 110-112 (text) and Pl. 170, Abb. 1212 (photo); El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 300; II: 615-616 (Doc. 165), 987-989 (fig. 212).
- 333 Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, Pl. 26 (photo); Chassinat, *Rec. Trav.* 22, 10-11, no. 39 (text); Malinine-Posener-Vercoutter, *Catalogue des Stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis I*, 21-22 (no. 22), pl. VIII (no. 22, bottom); see: El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 627-629 (Doc. 178: text and translation), 1001 (Fig. 226).
- 334 Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, Pl. 27 (photo); Malinine-Posener-Vercoutter, *Catalogue des Stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis I*, 23 (no. 23 f, 4-6), pl. VIII (no. 23); see: El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 629-31 (Doc. 179: text and translation), 1002 (Fig. 227).
- 335 Wildung, *LÄ II*, 1262: 77; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 307-308 [77]. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 487 (Table 18), considered him

- (Harsiese H) son of Pediese, contemporary to the second year of Pimay (and later ?)'.  
 336 Wildung, *LÄ* II, 1262: 78; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 308 [78].  
 337 A. Mariette, *Monuments divers recueillis en Egypte et en Nubie*, 7, Pl. 27 (g. 1-4); L. Borchardt, *Statuen IV* (1934), 34, 48, 110-112 (text) and Pl. 170, Abb. 1212 (photo); El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 308; II: 615-616 (Doc. 165), 987-989 (fig. 212).  
 338 Wildung, *LÄ* II, 1262: 78; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 308 [78]. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 487 (Table 18), considered him '(Ankhefensakhmet B) son of Harsiese H, (so, contemporary of 'Snq V.)'.  
 339 Francis Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priest of Memphis*, 2 vols.: (I. Kh.) *The Khamuas Stories*, (II. Kh.) *Khamuas in History* (Oxford 1900-1), 10; Basem El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 309, 310; see: كبير لالويت، نصوص مقدسة ونصوص دينية من مصر القديمة، (مترجم القاهرة، 1996)، مج 1: 166 (السطرين 21-20).  
 340 Ch. Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 172 and its footnotes nos. 1-2; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 172 f; H. Mahran, *Memphis in the First Millennium BC*, I: 297; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 309; II: 635 (Doc. 183A); cf. Arthur Weil, *Die Viziere des Pharaonenreiches* (Straßburg, 1908), 145.  
 341 *Ausführliches Verzeichnis* (Berlin, 1894), 228 (description).  
 342 Griffith, *Stories of the High Priest*, 10; see: El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 310  
 343 See: Herman de Meulenaere, 'Les grands prêtres de Ptah à l'époque saïto-persé', *Mélanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter* (Paris, 1985), 263-266.  
 344 H. Ranke, *PNI*, 123 : 2.  
 345 Wildung, *LÄ* II, 1262: 79; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 312 [79]; II: 1006-1008 (Fig. 231: text and translation).  
 346 L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten II* (Berlin, 1925), 81 (CG. 525); Jacques Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Egyptienne III* (Paris, 1958), 232; J. Malek, 'The Monuments Recorded by Alice Lieder in the "Temple of Vulcan" at Memphis in May 1853', *JEA* 72 (1986), 107-108, footnote no. 56.  
 347 Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten II*, 149 (CG. 595); PM IIII (1931), 227; PM III<sup>2</sup> (1981), 868; Heba I. M. Mahran, *Memphis in the First Millennium BC*, I: 113 (Doc. 73), and 326.  
 348 حسن نصر الدين، الآثار المصرية في العصر المتأخر: أولاً الآثار الجنائزية، الجزء الأول: 553-653 [6411].  
 349 J.-F. Aubert & L. Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes, chaouabtis, ouchebtis* (Paris, 1974), 217; cf. 216-7; H.D. Schneider, *Shabtis*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1977), I: 227, pl. 42.  
 350 PM III<sup>2</sup>/2, 565, Map 51 (E-4), 811.  
 351 Ranke, *PNI*, 123: 12.  
 352 حسن نصر الدين، الآثار المصرية في العصر المتأخر: أولاً الآثار الجنائزية، ج 1: 553-753 [7-6411]، 226-326، 497؛ see: endnote 349  
 353 *Wb.* I, 492: 6, and *Die Belegstellen I* (492, 6); cf. H. Ranke, *PNI*, 121 ff.  
 354 حسن نصر الدين، الآثار المصرية في العصر المتأخر: أولاً الآثار الجنائزية، ج 1: 553 [6411].  
 355 El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 311-312; II: 636-637 (Doc. 186: 1, 7-8).  
 356 J.-F. Aubert & L. Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes, chaouabtis, ouchebtis*, 217; cf. 216-7; Schneider, *Shabtis*, I: 227, pl. 42; Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 173-174 (cf. 457-459); H. Mahran, *Memphis in the First Millennium B.C.*, I: 297.  
 357 El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 311-312; II: 636-637 (Doc. 186: 7).  
 358 El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 636 (Doc. 186: 6).  
 359 Ch. Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah*, 173-174 (cf. 457-459); Heba Mahran, *Memphis in the First Millennium B.C.*, I: 297.  
 360 El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 311-312; II: 640 (Doc. 188A).  
 361 *Ausführliches Verzeichnis* (Berlin, 1894), 181 (description).  
 362 Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah*, 173-174; H. Mahran, *Memphis in the First Millennium BC*, I: 297.  
 363 Wildung, *LÄ* II, 1262: 83; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 313 [83].  
 364 حسن نصر الدين، الآثار المصرية في العصر المتأخر: أولاً الآثار الجنائزية، ج 1: 324-325، 783؛ see also: J.-F. et L. Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes, chouabtis, ouchebtis*, 270; Schneider, *Shabtis*, I: 231; H. de Meulenaere, 'Les grands prêtres de Ptah à l'époque saïto-persé', *Mélanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter* (Paris, 1985), 265.  
 365 Wildung, *LÄ* II, 1262: 80; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 312-3 [80]; II: 636-9 (Docs. 186-7); cf. PM III<sup>2</sup>/2, fasc. 3 (1981), 801, 801, 803.  
 366 El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 637-639 (Docs. 187: 7, 16-17).  
 367 El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 636 (Doc. 186: 5-6).



- 368 Brugsch, *Thesaurus* V, 947 (it was mentioned as Stete 485, text from the end of line 4 to the major part of line 8); PM III<sup>2</sup>/2, 801-802; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 636-637 (Doc. 186).
- 369 E. Chassinat, *Rec. Trav.* 21 (1899), 66, no. 24; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 637-639 (Doc. 187).
- 370 El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 637-639 (Doc. 187: 2-3).
- 371 El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 637-639 (Doc. 187).
- 372 El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 639-640 (Doc. 189).
- 373 Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 174-5, mentioned that his office and service as a HPPM perhaps continued to the beginning of the Cambyses' reign; compare: Wildung, *LÄ* II, 1262: 80, who gave only the Twenty-Seventh Dynasty as a dating.
- 374 Wildung, *LÄ* II, 1262: 81; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 313 [81]; II: 637-639 (Doc. 187).
- 375 Chassinat, *Rec. Trav.* 21 (1899), 66, no. 24; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, II: 637-9 (Doc. 187).
- 376 Wildung, *LÄ* II, 1262: 82; El-Sharkawy, *Memphite Priesthood*, I: 313 [82]; cf. PM III<sup>2</sup>/2 (1981), 803.
- 377 E. Chassinat, *Rec. Trav.* 23 (1901), 88.
- 378 Rowe, *ASAE* 40 (1940), 34; also:  
عائشة عبد العال، 'البشر المؤلهين من العامة (الأولياء)'، في: المؤتمر السادس للإتحاد العام للآثارين العرب، 2003 (جامعة القاهرة، 2003)، 513.
- 379 See: PM III<sup>2</sup>/2, fasc. 2 (1979), 592.
- 380 Alan R. Schulman, 'Memphis 1915-1923: the Trivia of an Excavation', in Alain-Pierre Zivie (ed.), *Memphis et ses Nécropoles au Nouvel Empire* (Paris, 1988), 84 (and its footnote no. 14); see: A.R. Schulman, 'A Faience Stela from Memphis', *Expedition* 4, nr. 2 (1960), 32-3.