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número 9
2018



CEAULL | Centro de Estudios Africanos
Universidad de La Laguna

ISSN 1695-4750



9 771695 475008

The High Priesthood of Memphis during the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period: An Updated Study and Prosopography

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The inscriptions recovered from the looted necropolis of Kom el-Khamaseen, located in southwest Saqqara and dated between the end of the Old Kingdom and the beginning of the First Intermediate Period, document a hitherto unknown high priest of Memphis: Imephor Impy Nikauptah. This character must be incorporated into our prosopographical repertoires and placed in his historical and cultural context. This provides a good opportunity to return to the issue of the Memphite pontificate during the third millennium B.C. as a whole. The aim of this article is therefore to offer, on the one hand, a systematic and updated overview of the subject by integrating the new data from Kom el-Khamaseen, drawing upon the complete sources, and critically reviewing the literature on the matter. On the other hand, it is also about providing a new reasoned chronological list and a prosopography of the Memphite high priests of the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period.

Los sumos sacerdotes de Menfis durante el Reino Antiguo y el Primer Período Intermedio. Un estudio de actualización y una prosopografía

Las inscripciones recuperadas de la necrópolis saqueada de Kom el-Khamasin, situada en Saqqara suroeste y fechada entre finales del Reino Antiguo y comienzos del Primer Período Intermedio, documentan un sumo sacerdote de Menfis hasta ahora desconocido: Imephor Impy Nikauptah. Este personaje debe ser incorporado a nuestros repertorios prosopográficos y colocado en su contexto histórico y cultural. Esto constituye una buena ocasión para retomar la problemática del pontificado menfita durante el III milenio a.C. en su conjunto. El objetivo de este artículo es, pues, ofrecer, por un lado, un estado de la cuestión sistemático y actualizado, integrando los nuevos datos de Kom el-Khamasin, referenciando todas las fuentes y revisando críticamente la literatura sobre el tema. Por otro lado, se trata también de ofrecer una nueva lista cronológica razonada y una prosopografía de los sumos sacerdotes menfitas del Reino Antiguo y el Primer Período Intermedio.

Keywords: Greatest of the directors of craftsmen, Memphite cults, Ptah, Saqqara, Sokar.

Palabras clave: Jefe de los directores de los artesanos, cultos menfitas, Ptah, Saqqara, Sokar.

1 | A new Memphite high priest from Kom el-Khamaseen (South-West Saqqara)

Kom el-Khamaseen is a small and isolated necropolis located in the southwestern area of the Saqqara desert, 3 km to the west of the pyramid of Djedkare Isesi, and dated to the end of the Old Kingdom and the beginning of the

First Intermediate Period.¹ Due to its isolation, it has long been subject to robbery and looting. Following the latest and most comprehensive plunder, which took place in 1999, the Saqqara Inspectorate recovered a set of fifty-seven limestone blocks or block fragments and five little granite fragments from the site, all of them with inscriptions or reliefs.

¹ Cervelló Autuori 2007; 2016; Cervelló Autuori and Díaz de Cerio 2009.

Two years before, in 1997, a team from the *Institut d'Estudis del Pròxim Orient Antic* of the *Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona*, led by the author, had conducted a survey on this hitherto unknown site² and had documented *in situ* four limestone fragments also with inscriptions and reliefs. No architectural structures or shafts were visible or detectable at that time, but only loose architectural materials scattered on the surface of the hill upon which the site lies, especially white limestone blocks of great dimensions (wall covering or angle blocks, lintels, and jambs) and many pink granite fragments. Neither white limestone nor pink granite are materials existing naturally in the area of Saqqara, so they were obviously brought from outside (probably from Tura and certainly from Aswan, respectively). Despite the remoteness of the site, the communication with the valley is assured by the Wadi Tafla, which divides Saqqara into North and South, and by one of its tributaries.

In 2005–2006, the author carried out a study of the materials recovered after the looting of 1999, stored in the El-Mohemat magazine in Saqqara.³ Since 2009, several limestone blocks and block fragments and statuettes, all of them with inscriptions, have begun to appear on the antiquities market around the world.⁴ All the items for sale in the art galleries that we have been able to track have also been registered and examined by us, in some cases directly and in others through the information provided by the sellers on their web pages.⁵

The study of all this material has allowed us to know six of the characters buried in

Kom el-Khamaseen. However, while five of them are recorded on only one document, the sixth character is recorded on twenty-five of the limestone blocks or block fragments and on the five granite block fragments stored at El-Mohemat, as well as on all the limestone blocks or block fragments (twelve until now) and statuettes (ten until now) tracked in the antiquities market. To this list, a weight with the names of the character must be added, which was purchased by H. Brugsch in 1881 from a merchant of antiquities in Saqqara and is now kept in the Ägyptisches Museum Berlin.⁶ This proves that his tomb and, by extension, the necropolis have been the focus of robberies from long ago.

Although we do not know the structure of the necropolis of Kom el-Khamaseen and the number, type, and size of its tombs, it is clear that the tomb of this character must have been one of the most remarkable in the site. A set of elongated and trapezoidal limestone blocks stored in the El-Mohemat magazine are inscribed with his names and titles on their polished, “interior”, face, arranged in two parallel lines that cross all of them in their width. These blocks formed the gable roof of an underground chapel the walls of which were most likely lined with part of the limestone covering blocks also stored in the Saqqara magazine or tracked in the art galleries, which are inscribed with his names and titles as well. A close parallel in space and dating of this type of chapel can perhaps be found in the two priests’ tombs of the late Sixth Dynasty which were recently discovered in the necropolis of

Tabbet el-Gesh, south Saqqara, although with them the roof is flat and not gabled.⁷ Moreover, the aforementioned granite fragments also belonged to the tomb of this character, as their inscriptions clearly attest. As is well known, granite is a material reserved for specific uses in the royal funerary complexes and the wealthy tombs of the Memphite elite. Indeed, the difficulty of quarrying, transporting, and working granite made it impossible to use it on a large scale in building construction.

This remarkable tomb belongs to an enigmatic character called Imephor Impy Nikauptah, who was a *wr hrp(w) hmwt*, “greatest of the directors of craftsmen”, that is to say, a high priest of the temple of Ptah at Memphis. His tripartite name⁸ and different epigraphical, palaeographical, and archaeological data allow us to date him very late in the Old Kingdom and/or early in the First Intermediate Period (see Prosopography, [14]). Although he was already known by the aforementioned Berlin weight, the fact that the only title recorded there is that of *sm*, “*sem*-priest”, prevented his identification as a greatest of the directors of craftsmen and his inclusion in the lists of the Memphite high priests. He partially fills the documentary gap between the end of the Old Kingdom and the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.⁹

It seemed pertinent to me, therefore, to incorporate the new character in our prosopographical repertoires and place him in his historical and cultural context. This led me to again examine the issue of the Memphite pon-

tificate during the third millennium B.C. as a whole. So far, the Memphite high priests of the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period have been the subject of two comprehensive studies and three lists, two of them in the form of synthetic prosopographies. The studies, now old, are due to Ch. Maystre and E. Freier. Maystre’s study is included in a general prosopographical work about the Memphite high priests throughout the history of Egypt, which remains the seminal work on this matter; it is actually his PhD thesis, defended in 1948 but only published in 1992, “*sans modifier l’ouvrage*”. Freier’s article, on the other hand, is monographically devoted to the high priests of the Old Kingdom and was published in 1976. The lists, more recent, are due to D. Wildung (1977), B. Porter and R.L.B. Moss (1981), and B.S. El-Sharkawy (2008).¹⁰

The aim of the present article is therefore to offer, on the one hand, a systematic and updated overview by integrating the new data from Kom el-Khamaseen, quoting the complete sources, and critically reviewing the literature on the matter. On the other hand, it is also about providing a new reasoned chronological list and a prosopography of the Memphite high priests of the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period. The article is therefore divided into two distinct parts: the study and the prosopography.

In the references within the main text and in the notes, the words “above” and “below” followed by a number refer to a section of the article (which is divided into seven sections

² Not mentioned in PM III².

³ Cervelló Autuori 2007.

⁴ On Egyptian antiquities on the market, see Alegre García 2012 (2020); Gill 2015 (in particular for Kom el-Khamaseen, see p. 71).

⁵ Cervelló Autuori 2016.

⁶ Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung-Berlin 8032. Brugsch 1891: 1451–1452 # 82; Ägyptisches Museum Berlin 1967: 28 # 244; Cervelló Autuori 2016: 18, 26–27, fig. 1.

⁷ Dobrev, Laville and Onézime 2015: 115–116, 118–119, figs. 11–14, 19–23.

⁸ Vernus 1982: 322–323; Vittmann 2013: 3; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 20.

⁹ Maystre 1992 [1948]: 71; Cervelló Autuori 2007: 81–82.




¹⁰ Maystre 1992 [1948] (quotation p. xi); Freier 1976; Wildung 1977; PM III²: 916–917; El-Sharkawy 2008. B.S. El-Sharkawy has devoted to the history of the Memphite priesthood his unpublished M.A. dissertation: *The Memphite Priesthood till the Beginning of the Ptolemaic Period* [in Arabic] (Faculty of Arts, Ain-Shams University, 2003) (see El-Sharkawy 2008: 39 n. 13). He has synthesized the results of his research into two broad articles in English, one of which is quoted above.

followed by a section of conclusions); the numbers in brackets indicate the entries of the prosopography, and, when they are accompanied by one lowercase letter or more, the letters refer to the title sequences in the section “Titles” of those entries.



2 | The title : reading and significance





As is well known, the title that identifies and defines the high priesthood of Memphis is *wr hrp(w) hmwt*, “greatest of the directors of craftsmen”. We should start by putting it in the context of the full titulary of its holders.



The titles of the high priests of Memphis of the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period can be classified into five categories, according to the fields of activity to which they refer:

- 1) titles relating to the cult of the Memphite gods, mainly  *hm-ntr Pth*,  *hm-ntr Zkr*, or the administration of their sacred and profane places (temples, sanctuaries, offices, estates...);
- 2) titles relating to the cult of Re, associated with the solar temples of the Fifth Dynasty;
- 3) titles relating to the funerary cult of the king, specifically associated with the pyramids of Unis and Teti;
- 4) titles relating to the management of the craftsmen work, the category to which the defining title of the Memphite high priesthood belongs:  *wr hrp(w) hmwt (m prwy)*.

Since the mid-Sixth Dynasty and the pontificate of Sabu IV Tjety ([12]), titles of another category were progressively added to the Memphite high priests titularies:

- 5) general cult titles, such as  *sm* and  *hry-hbt (hry-tp)*, the first of which will eventually become distinctive of the office.


Besides all these functional titles, the Memphite high priests held some status or membership titles (the so-called honorific or ranking titles). The sole title of this kind they had until the mid-Sixth Dynasty was  *mhnk nswt*; after this date, the more general titles  *h3ty-ꜣ*,  *smr wꜣty*, and  *iry-pꜣt* were significantly incorporated to their titularies. Let us look at all this in some detail.

As already noted, the most important of all these titles is  *wr hrp(w) hmwt*, “greatest of the directors of craftsmen”¹¹ (hereafter abbreviated GDC), since it is the one that distinguishes the Memphite high priest par excellence (our prosopography is based on it). It very often appears under the variant  *wr hrp(w) hmwt m prwy*, “GDC in the Two Houses”,¹² which connects the office to the central administration of the State, most likely due to the movement of twofold division of the State institutions that took place at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty and mainly affected the offices related to the craftsmanship and the care of the king.¹³

The GDC title raises three main issues: its graphic-linguistic significance, the number of

people in office, and its origins and the field of activity of its holders at first (civil or religious).

As for the first issue, three basic patterns of interpretation of this opaque title have been proposed.

- a)  *wr* is to be identified with the title holder. The interpretations according to this pattern can be divided into two categories. To the first category belong the translations according to which the phrase refers to two ranks of people: the title holder and his subordinates, or to a person and a field of activity: the title holder and the craftsmanship. In the first case, some authors prefer to link the second sign/term of the title spelling/phrase to the first and some others to the third. This has led to translations such as: “Oberster der Werkmeister” (*wr hrp(w) hmwt*), “grand maître/chef de l’oeuvre” (*our kherp ouba*), “great leader of the artisans”, “supreme leader of handicraft” (*wr hrp hmwt*), “greatest of artificers” (*wr hrp(w) hmt*), “Grosser und Leitender des Handwerks” (*wr hrp hmwt*), “great inspector of the craftsmen” (*wr hrp hmwt*), “great controller of craftsmen” (*wr*

hrp hmwt), and “great director of craftsmen” (*wr hrp hmww*).¹⁴ To the second category of this pattern belongs the translation that has finally prevailed and we have adopted here: “greatest of the directors of craftsmen” (*wr hrp(w) hmwt*), with possible slight variations according to the different authors. This particular English translation is due to H.G. Fischer.¹⁵ According to him, each sign/term in the title refers to one of the three ranks of people related to crafts: the greatest, the leader, who holds the title; the directors, who are his immediate subordinates or assistants;¹⁶ and the craftsmen, the common workers, as the specific indication of the field of activity concerned.¹⁷ Ch. Maystre, W. Helck, and D. Wildung translate the title in the same way: respectively, “grand des chefs des artisans”, “Grössten der Leiter der Handwerker”, and “Obersten der Leiter der Handwerkerschaft”.¹⁸

The most important objection made to this reading is that, while in the Old and Middle Kingdom the GDC title always shows its rigid three-sign spelling,¹⁹ from the New

¹¹ Jones 2000: 391–395 # 1450–1453, 1457–1458; HL4: 359–360. Maystre 1992 [1948]: 4–13; 1949: 84; Freier 1976: 5–8. All the interpretations and translations of the title up to 2008 in El-Sharkawy 2008: 36–38 n. 4.

¹² Jones 2000: 393–394 # 1452–1453; HL4: 360. Gardiner 1947, I: 39*; Freier 1976: 11–12; Pfrisch 1994: 295–296.

¹³ Baud 1999: 325. The phrase has sometimes been interpreted as a separate title (Sethe in Murray 1937: 12, “he who is in the two Houses”; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 35, “celui qui est dans la double maison”; Helck 1954: 105, without translation). However, even in cases where it might appear to be isolated ([6.b], [7.a]; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 231–232 # 6, 234 # 12; Cervelló Autuori 2016: 29–30), this is due only to the fact that the combination with the preceding title is exceptional: Jones 2000: 50–51 # 253, 450 # 1684, 572 # 2108.

¹⁴ Respectively: *Wb* I: 329.12; III: 86.1; Pirenne 1932–1935, I: 74, 218 n. 1; II: 552; Sethe in Murray 1937: 12; Sandman Holmberg 1946: 25, 50–51; Gardiner 1947: 38*; Freier 1976: 7–8; Eyre 1987: 26; Krejčí 2000: 71; Strudwick 2005: 304, 306–309; and Raedler 2011: 135. As Maystre (1992 [1948]: 8) correctly points out, some of these translations are incorrect if we take them literally and not as free interpretations, since they seem to consider the adjective *wr* as the complement of the noun *hrp*, which is not possible because of the syntactic position of these words.

¹⁵ Fischer 1966: 64 n. 27; 1976: 66–67.

¹⁶ Fischer (1966: 64 n. 27) considers that *hrp(w)* is to be understood as a participle (“those who direct”) rather than a title in itself, since there is no single title **hrp hmwt* held by mid-ranking officials, as the authors who support the other interpretations of the GDC title had objected. There is a title *hrp hmwt (nbt)*, “director of (all) craftsmen” (see below, 5), but it is not held by mid-ranking officials, but by the GDC title holders themselves. Then, Fischer concludes, the participle *hrp(w)* should refer to officials who held titles such as *imy-ht hmwt*, “under-supervisor of craftsmen” (see below, 6, and [9], Kinship; [11], Kinship), *imy-r3 hmwt*, “overseer of craftsmen” (Jones 2000: 179–181 # 680–685), *wr hmwt*, “greatest of craftsmen” (Jones 2000: 391 # 1446–1447), and *shd hmwt*, “inspector of craftsmen” (Jones 2000: 945–946 # 3484–3487).

¹⁷ The word *hmwt* should be understood as a collective name: *Wb* III: 85; *AL* 1977: 245 # 2694; HL4: 832.



¹⁸ Maystre 1992 [1948]: 4–13; Helck 1954: 102; Wildung 1977: 1256.

¹⁹ P. Kaplony (1981: 250–251, pl. 73.14) proposes to identify an alternative (and unique) spelling of the title on a seal impression from Giza with the Horus name of Niuserre (*St-ib-t3wy*); the sequence, badly preserved especially in its

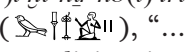
Re, who seems to be assuming the prerogatives of his partner as the Old Kingdom goes on.³⁴ This is perhaps the reason why the titles do not refer to any particular god. The most likely linguistic-graphic structure of the two titles is therefore: ‘*wr* – the holder as the leader + *hrp(w)/m3(w)* – his *pares* or assistants (officials and officiants) + *hmwt/(Iwnw)* – the field/place of activity’.

3 | The title : nature and origin of the institution concerned

Let us now turn to the second of the issues raised by the GDC title, which concerns the number of people simultaneously holding the office. It refers to whether the office of GDC was performed by a college of two or by a single person. The oldest literary attestations of the GDC title are to be found in the inscriptions of the tomb that king Menkaure offered to the nobleman Debehen in Giza³⁵ and the false door stela of king Sahure’s physician Niankhsekhmet from Saqqara.³⁶ In these inscriptions, which concern the transport and carving of the Tura limestone and the manufacture of statues for the construction and decoration of the tombs of these individuals, the spelling of the GDC title is, in all cases, dual: unlike its spelling in non-literary contexts (titularies), here the determinative of [MAN] (A1) is added, repeated twice:

 *wrwy hrp(w) hmwt*, “the two greatest of the directors of craftsmen”. This probably means that, in origin, the supreme direction of craftsmen was collegial and was in the hands of two persons who exercised it simultaneously. If that was the case, perhaps the two-headed nature of the office corresponded to the dualization of the State institutions discussed above.³⁷ It is important to note, however, that no allusion at all is made to this possible collegiality of the office in the titularies of the GDC title holders of the period concerned (where the GDC title is always written in singular, by definition); indeed, the phrase  *m prwy* refers to the eventual division of the institutions, not necessarily to the collegiality of the offices, as the variants of some certainly non-collegial titles which include it, such as *hry-tp nswt m prwy*, “king’s liegeman in the Two Houses”, and *smsw iz(t) m prwy*, “elder of the *is(et)*-chamber in the Two Houses”, clearly indicate.³⁸

Be that as it may, sometime in the mid or late Sixth Dynasty the charge of GDC was exercised by a singular character called Sabu Tjety ([12]). Unfortunately, his false door stela, coming from his tomb at Saqqara, is very fragmentary and the text of his “biography” is only very partially preserved.³⁹ From it, however, important changes regarding the office of GDC can be deduced,⁴⁰ which will be discussed here and recurrently in the next few pages. Here too, however, we must be cautious. In his edi-

tion of the inscriptions on the stela, for example, K. Sethe suggests some text restorations that are entirely hypothetical but mean that a certain preconception existed from the beginning in relation to the historical interpretation of this monument.⁴¹ In this biography, we have a third and last attestation of the GDC title written in the dual. A preserved fragmentary passage, in fact, reads: ...*Zkr m Št(y)t ht-ntr nb(t) irt nb(t) irrt wrwy hrp(w) hmwt...* () , “... Sokar in the Shetjit-sanctuary, every divine ritual and every duty regularly performed by the two greatest of the directors of craftsmen...”. Now, in two occasions the text reads: *Wd w(i) hm=f...*, “His majesty appointed me...”, with the words that followed being lost. Sethe reconstructs the continuation of the first of these two passages as: ...*m wr hrp(w) hmwt w^c.k(w)*, “...as a greatest of the directors of craftsmen, I alone”, a sequence that does not appear in any of the other old editions of the text. Sethe does the same with another passage that begins: ...*sk nfr-n wnn...*, “while there has never been...”, and he completes: ...*wr hrp(w) hmwt w^c.(w) dr b3h*, “...a greatest of the directors of craftsmen, he alone, from the beginning”. No reference to the uniqueness of the office is made in the preserved part of the inscription, and Sethe’s reconstructions clearly make the text say more than it actually does. On the other hand, in two other preserved passages one can read: ...*sk nfr-n ir:t(w) mitt n wr hrp(w) hmwt nb hr h3ww...*, “...whereas never was the like done for

any greatest of the directors of craftsmen in the time...”; and: ...*sk nht ib n hm=f r ht nb(t) irrt im*, “...while the heart of his majesty is stronger than anything usually done there”. This leads Ch. Maystre to conclude that the reform of the Memphite pontificate was the personal work of the king, probably Pepy I.⁴² However, although it is true that the text constantly refers to the acts and wishes of the king, it is very difficult to know to what extent the phraseology is historical or archetypal, how far the royal intervention went, and what the transformation of the office consisted of. There is no doubt, in any case, that there was a transformation, because from Sabu Tjety onwards any allusion to a duality of the office disappears forever and the titularly of the GDC title holders undergoes important changes, as we shall see.

Regarding the origin of the GDC title, it has been claimed that, until Sabu Tjety, it was not a priestly title but the designation of a civil function related to craft work in funerary monuments.⁴³ Its holders led the craftsmen who worked the valuable white limestone coming from Tura and produced the reliefs, stelae, and statues of the royal and private tombs of the Old Kingdom Memphite necropolises, mainly Saqqara and Giza.⁴⁴ The earliest attested *wr hrp(w) hmwt* is Neferdjedptah ([1]), who lived at the end of the Second Dynasty (reign of Khasekhemuy) and perhaps the beginning of the Third. Thus, the emergence of the office seems to be related to the funerary build-

³⁴ For Heliopolis, see Nuzzolo and Krejčí 2017: 375–376.

³⁵ *Urk.* I: 18–21; PM III²: 235–236. Sandman Holmberg 1946: 52–53; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 4–5, 51–53, 223–225 # 1; Freier 1976: 9; Roccati 1982: 91–93 # 15; Kloth 2002: 38–39 # 84; Strudwick 2005: 271–272 # 200; Stauder-Porchet 2017: 76–85.

³⁶ *Urk.* I: 38; PM III²: 482–483. Sandman Holmberg 1946: 52–53; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 4–5, 51–53, 225–226 # 2; Freier 1976: 9; Roccati 1982: 96–98 # 17; Kloth 2002: 21 # 40; Strudwick 2005: 302–303 # 225; Stauder-Porchet 2017: 58–62.

³⁷ Maystre 1992 [1948]: 55–56.

³⁸ Jones 2000: 789–790 # 2879; 899 # 3298; HL4: 1145.

³⁹ For editions and translations of this text, see [12], Inscriptions.

⁴⁰ Maystre 1992 [1948]: 61–69; 1949: 87–88; Freier 1976: 23–24; El-Khadragy 2005: 192–193.

⁴¹ *Urk.* I: 84–85 # 6. See also, for example, Sandman Holmberg 1946: 52–54; Maystre 1949: 87–88. Even Strudwick (albeit cautiously: 2005: 309, 324 n. 35) and El-Khadragy (2005: 192), in their recent translations, follow Sethe’s edition and accept his text restorations.

⁴² Maystre 1992 [1948]: 65–66; 1949: 87–88. Freier (1976: 22–26), in turn, sees the transformation of the office as a result of the close relationship between the GDC title holders and the king: the former were dedicated to their lord and the latter corresponded with special honors (see below and note 53).

⁴³ Sandman Holmberg 1946: 50–56; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 35–37, 55–56; 1949: 86–87; Freier 1976: 6–7, 32–33; Wildung 1977: 1256–1257; Eyre 1987: 26; Quirke 2001: 106.

⁴⁴ Sandman Holmberg 1946: 52–55; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 51, 114 (were they responsible for the carving of the pyramid texts?), 223–226; Freier 1976: 9.

tions the GDC title holders lose the craft sphere of activity. Again, there is no evidence that supports this claim, at least for the times we are dealing with.⁵⁴ On the contrary, as we have seen, the title we just referred to is held by Ptahshepses Impy ([13.b]), who is a high priest of Wildung's second group, and clearly links its holder to building and craftsmanship; and another of the last high priests in our prosopography, Imephor Impy Nikauptah ([14]), already at the beginning of the First Intermediate Period, was still able to manage the construction and decoration of a remarkable tomb at Kom el-Khama-seen, in the south-western area of Saqqara, using precious and external materials such as white limestone, probably from Tura, and pink granite from Aswan (see above, 1). According to Ch. Raedler, the "traditional role" of the Memphite high priests as responsible for the production of statues of the king and the gods still existed in the New Kingdom.⁵⁵

4 | The titles and titularies of the Memphite high priests: titles most closely linked to the GDC title

There are different reasons to suggest that the GDC title was related to priestly functions from the very beginning. First of all, this is the title that identifies the high priests of Memphis par excellence and is systemati-

cally present in all their titularies: otherwise, it should be admitted that this high priesthood was not designated by any specific title at the beginning of its history, or even that it did not exist at all, which seems unlikely, especially in comparison with other contemporary high priesthoods, such as that of Heliopolis. A quick glance at our prosopography clearly shows that, in the titularies of the Memphite high priests of the Fifth and the first half of the Sixth Dynasties, the GDC title is inextricably accompanied by the titles $\overline{\text{hm-ntr Ptah}}$, "priest of Ptah", and $\overline{\text{hm-ntr Sokar}}$, "priest of Sokar".⁵⁶ In the monuments or sections of monuments belonging to the GDC title holders of this period where only a few defining titles are listed, these three titles are systematically present, always in the same order, as representing two complementary aspects of a single reality. However, the titles "priest of Ptah" and "priest of Sokar" were not exclusive to the GDC title holders, but were held by all the high-ranking priests attached to the service of these gods. We can agree with Ch. Maystre that, in the period concerned, "il est vraisemblable que le grand des chefs des artisans partage alors avec ces autres prophètes de Ptah au moins le service régulier du dieu";⁵⁷ we can even take into consideration his suggestion that these priests should be organized into *phyles* that would alternate in worship, as documented for the Ptolemaic period. But

the biographies of Ptahshepses I, Sabu Ibebi, and Sabu Tjeti that the GDC title holders were specially honored by the king and had a close relationship with him. The title *hry-sšt3 n ntr=f*, "privy to the secrets of his god" (i.e. the king), which many of them hold, could be further evidence of this (Jones 2000: 632–633 # 2316; HL4: 872; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 44, n. 1; Helck 1954: 43; Freier 1976: 16), provided that *ntr=f* here actually refers to the king and not a god (in this case, Ptah or Sokar) (on this ambiguity, see Rydström 1994: 74; Windus-Staginsky 2006: 100). High rank, prestigious position, proximity to the king, and royal favor characterized the Memphite high priesthood also during the New Kingdom: Raedler 2011: 135–136, 152–153.

⁵⁴ See in this respect Maystre 1992 [1948]: 35–36.

⁵⁵ Raedler 2011: 143.

⁵⁶ Jones 2000: 515–516 # 1928, 572–573 # 2107–2109; HL4: 804, 812. Maystre 1992 [1948]: 36–42; Freier 1976: 16–17.

⁵⁷ Maystre 1992 [1948]: 36–37, 40–41; 1949: 87. See also Freier 1976: 17.

it seems unlikely that the cults of Ptah and Sokar lacked a principal officiant, or that this responsibility would be shared alternately by different people: as there was a high priest of the sun god from the beginning of Egyptian history,⁵⁸ it is highly probable that there was a high priest of the Memphite cults. In this sense, very significantly, one of the GDC title holders of the Fifth Dynasty ([6.c]) bore the title $\overline{\text{w}^c m zh-ntr}$, "unique one of the sanctuary", which is exclusive to him and is only attested once:⁵⁹ it obviously alludes to the uniqueness of the principal officiant of the cult in the sanctuary of the temple.

On the other hand, as can also be seen from our prosopography, the GDC title is almost always followed by the epithet $\overline{\text{w}^c}$ (varr. $\overline{\text{w}^c}$, $\overline{\text{w}^c}$), which is exclusive to the GDC title holders.⁶⁰ This epithet has been read and interpreted both, as *n(y) hrw hb*, "belonging to the day of festival"⁶¹ and *n(y) hb R^c*, "belonging to the festival of Re/the sun".⁶² In both cases, the ritual meaning of the epithet is evident, and its close relationship to the GDC title speaks about the priestly dimension of the latter. Indeed, it would not make sense for an exclusively civil title to have a cul-

tual epithet. This close relationship is also the reason why we have retained here the first of the two interpretations proposed for the epithet: it seems hard, indeed, that the defining epithet of the main title of the Memphite high priest refers to the cult of Re. Furthermore, Ch. Maystre, E. Freier, and M. El-Khadragy link this "festival of Re" to the titles related to the cult of Re and associated with the worship in the solar temples of the Fifth Dynasty held by Ptahshepses I and Sabu Ibebi (see below, 5 and [2.c/d], [9.g]);⁶³ however, the relationship between the epithet and these titles is indirect (the former is never listed along with the latter) and the titles in question occur only in the titularies of these two GDC title holders, while the sequence *wr hrp(w) hmwt (m prwy) + n(y) hrw hb* is present in the titularies of almost all the GDC title holders and forms a defining unit.⁶⁴

On the other hand, the GDC title holders bear a prominent ritual title that is exclusive to them: that of $\overline{\text{db}^3ty}$, "robing-priest", which alludes to the ornament of the statue of the god during the daily service.⁶⁵ According to E. Brovarski, this function is a prerogative of the high priests of Memphis. The ti-

⁵⁸ Kahl 2007: 49–51; Cervelló Autuori 2011: 1128–1129, 1132–1133, fig. 1. On the doubts that have also been raised about the existence of a high priest of Heliopolis since the first dynasties and their refutation, see ultimately Nuzzolo and Krejčí 2017: 366–369 (see above, 2).

⁵⁹ *Wb* III: 465.13; Jones 2000: 368 # 1359. See also Brovarski 1986: 390. According to Spencer (1984: 119), in the Old Kingdom the term *zh-ntr* "could always be used to describe the shrine of a god, the sanctuary of the temple in which the cult-image of the deity was kept".

⁶⁰ *Wb* III: 58.4; Jones 2000: 472–473 # 1758; HL4: 360.

⁶¹ Gardiner 1947, I: 39*; Roccati 1982: 174–175 ("attaché au jour de fête"); Strudwick 2005: 306–308 # 228 ("on the day of the festival").

⁶² Sandman Holmberg 1946: 125; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 45; Freier 1976: 11–12; 44–46; El-Khadragy 2005: 190–191.

⁶³ Maystre 1992 [1948]: 45; Freier 1976: 12–13; El-Khadragy 2005: 190–191.

⁶⁴ A. Diego Espinel (personal communication) believes that the possibility that the epithet alludes to a festival of Re cannot be excluded. It could have derived, for example, from the commitment by the temple of Ptah to supply some festivals of Re, an activity which is documented in the Abusir papyri (Papazian 2010: 144–151).

⁶⁵ *Wb* V: 562.6; Jones 2000: 1010–1011 # 3745; HL4: 1501. Helck 1954: 104; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 234–235, 237; Brovarski 1986: 390; Fischer 1997: 29 # 1609a, 1609b.

All this does not mean, however, that two main periods cannot be distinguished in the history of the Memphite high priests of the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period. Indeed, since the pontificate of Sabu Tjety, in the second half of the Sixth Dynasty ([12]), the titles “priest of Ptah”, “priest of Sokar”, and “priest of Ptah and Sokar” disappear from their titularies.⁷⁶ At the very end of the Old Kingdom or the beginning of the First Intermediate Period, the epithet “belonging to the day of festival” also disappears ([14], [15]). This means that from now on the GDC title alone will represent both the craft and the ritual aspects of the charge. On the other hand, with Sabu Tjety the titles $\text{𓅓} sm$, “*sem*-priest”,⁷⁷ and $\text{𓅓}(\text{𓅓}) hry-hbt$ (*hry-tp*), “lector priest (in charge)”,⁷⁸ are incorporated into the titularies of the Memphite high priests ([12] to [15]).⁷⁹ From the Middle Kingdom onwards, the former will become one of their two distinctive titles, forming a doublet with the GDC title.⁸⁰ This *sem*-priest must not be confused with the *sem*-attendants of the title $\text{𓅓}(\text{𓅓})$ (var. $\text{𓅓}(\text{𓅓})$) *hrp sm(w)*, “director of *sem*-attendants”, where the word *sm(w)* is always written with the sign $\text{𓅓} M21$ (sometimes

var. $\text{𓅓} M20$); while the former is a high-ranking priest related to the daily divine service and funerary ritual, the latter are low-ranking auxiliary priests, as the etymology of the word *sm(w)*, from the verb *sm*, “help”, “succour”, seems to indicate; the title’s variant $\text{𓅓}(\text{𓅓})$ *hrp sm(w) Zkr*, “director of the *sem*-attendants of Sokar” ([6.b]), shows that they were attached to the service of Sokar.⁸¹ This title also disappears from the titularies of the Memphite high priests from Sabu Tjety onwards. Other titles that are also incorporated at this very moment are the status titles $\text{𓅓} h3ty-^c$, “foremost”, $\text{𓅓} smr w^cty$, “sole friend”, and, shortly after, $\text{𓅓} iry-p^ct$, “member of the *pat*” (see below, 7c/d, and [12] to [15]).⁸² These titles, especially the first and the last, are placed at the beginning of the title sequences. As Ch. Maystre notes, the titulary tends to be inverted and, whether up to Sabu Tjety the titles seem to be presented in order of greatest to least importance or, perhaps, in reverse order of acquisition, with the GDC title systematically at the start ([2] to [11]), from his pontificate, as far as the brief or fragmentary inscriptions allow us to appreciate, the arrangement of the titulary seems to be the opposite.⁸³ Indeed, the three preserved

76 They will reappear sporadically in the Middle Kingdom and then disappear for good: Lansing and Hayes 1933: 11, 15, fig. 15; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 37, 41, 254 # 35.

77 *Wb* IV: 119.9; Jones 2000: 885 # 3241; *HL4*: 1119–1120. Gardiner 1947, I: 39*–41*; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 64–66, 118; 1949: 84–86; Raedler 2011: 143–147.

78 *Wb* III: 395.4 9; Jones 2000: 781 # 2848, 784 # 2860; *HL4*: 1006–1014. Maystre 1992 [1948]: 64–66, 118; Brovarski 1986: 389.

79 It is noteworthy, however, that the title *hry-hbt* can be held by a son of the GDC title holder, who is in charge of his father’s funerary service; see below, 6b, and [9], Kinship.

80 Maystre 1992 [1948]: 14–15.

81 *Wb* IV: 121.4/6; Jones 2000: 744–745 # 2712–2716 (but 2715 is a misreading), 885 # 3241; *HL4*: 1120. Maystre 1992 [1948]: 14; 1949: 84–86; Fischer 1964: 28; Freier 1976: 18–19.

82 *Wb* II: 415.18/20, III: 25.10/12, IV: 138.11; Jones 2000: 315 # 1157, 496–497 # 1858, 892 # 3268; *HL4*: 174–177, 761–765, 1131–1141. Maystre 1992 [1948]: 64–66, 71–73, 118; Bárta 2013a: 156–157.

83 Maystre 1992 [1948]: 17–20, 61–64. Against Maystre, Freier (1976: 9–10) considers that the order of titles in the titularies is rarely constant and that important titles are often repeated and appear immediately before the name; however, this may be true if we take the title lists as a whole, but if we consider the different independent sequences in which the titles are grouped in the monuments (so we have presented them in our prosopography), the trend towards similar arrangements becomes more evident and Maystre’s observation appears to be generally valid.

columns of his stela where his titles are listed, which should be understood as separate sequences because the title *smr w^cty* is repeated in all three, start significantly with the titles *h3ty-^c*, *hry-hbt hry-tp*, and *sm*, while the GDC title is the last in one column and the second to last in other column (only followed by its epithet *n(y) hrw hb*) ([12.a/b/c]). As far as can be seen in the short or fragmentary inscriptions of his probable second successor Imephor Impy Nikauptah, the layout is the same ([14.a/d/e]); and the last character of our prosopography, Impy son of Ankhu, introduces the title *iry-p^ct* and gives his titulary the meaningful order: *iry-p^ct*, *h3ty-^c*, *sm*, *wr hrp(w) hmwt* ([15.a]).

Another title closely linked from the beginning to the GDC is $\text{𓅓}(\text{𓅓})$ (var. $\text{𓅓}(\text{𓅓})$) *mhnk nswt*, “intimate of the king”,⁸⁴ which is to be considered a status title. Linguistically, it consists of a “bivalent” passive participle with direct genitive agent: “the given of the king”, that is to say, “the given (to him) by the king”, “he (to whom) the king gives (something)”. According to Ch. Eyre,⁸⁵ this could mean that the person holding it was a sort of pensioner of the king. This applied to both, craftsmen and king’s body-attendants (hairdressers and manicurists). This again stresses the close relationship of the GDC title holder with the king and the central administration, as the exceptional variant of the title $\text{𓅓}(\text{𓅓})$ *mhnk nswt m prwy*, “intimate of the king in the Two

Houses”, also indicates (see above, 2, and [6.b]).⁸⁶ It is undoubtedly this close relationship that leads a high priest to proclaim himself ($\text{𓅓}(\text{𓅓})$) *wr hrp(w) hmwt n Wnis*, GDC of Unis” ([9.b]).⁸⁷

5 | The titles and titularies of the Memphite high priests: other outstanding titles

Let us discuss now some other titles of the titularies of the Memphite high priests following the categories set out above (see above, 2).

Among the titles related to the cult of the Memphite gods and the administration of their places are those of $\text{𓅓}(\text{𓅓})$ *w^cb Pth*, “*wab*-priest of Ptah”,⁸⁸ always at the end of the titularies and therefore probably received at the beginning of the career; and $\text{𓅓}(\text{𓅓})$ *imy-r3 pr Zkr*, “overseer of the temple of Sokar”,⁸⁹ a title of administrative nature closely related to that of GDC and therefore received with it. Other six meaningful titles almost⁹⁰ exclusive to the Memphite high priests are those related to the worship of certain entities that appear to be ancient independent deities of Memphis that eventually became manifestations or hypostases of Ptah: $\text{𓅓}(\text{𓅓})$ *hm-ntr Hnty-izwt=f*, “priest of Khentiautef”; $\text{𓅓}(\text{𓅓})$ *hm-ntr Imy-hnt-wr*, “priest of Imikhentur”; $\text{𓅓}(\text{𓅓})$ *hm-ntr Hnty-tnnt*, “priest of Khentitjenenet”; $\text{𓅓}(\text{𓅓})$ *hm-ntr Dd-šps*, “priest of Djedshepes”; $\text{𓅓}(\text{𓅓})$

84 *Wb* II: 129.8; Jones 2000: 449 # 1681; *HL4*: 554–555. Maystre 1992 [1948]: 19, 66; Helck 1954: 104; Freier 1976: 12, 15.

85 Eyre 1987: 30–31. See also Freier 1976: 25; Gnirs 2000: 137–138.


86 Jones 2000: 450 # 1684; *HL4*: 555. Freier 1976: 12.

87 Jones 2000: 392–393 # 1451. Freier 1976: 23.

88 Jones 2000: 371 # 1374; *HL4*: 324. Maystre 1992 [1948]: 18–19; Freier 1976: 19.

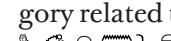
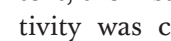
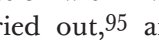
89 Jones 2000: 124–125 # 496; *HL4*: 96. Maystre 1992 [1948]: 19, 37 n. 1, 40–41, 62, 66; Freier 1976: 18.

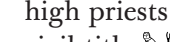
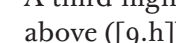
90 Only one of these titles, that of *hm-ntr Hnty-tnnt*, “priest of Khentitjenenet”, is also documented for two individuals who were not Memphite high priests: Hetepuni and Sefekhu, who date from the Sixth Dynasty and built their tombs at Abusir South: Dulíková 2016: 37–39, figs. 1–2.

hm-ntr Hry-b3q=f, “priest of Kheribaqef”; and  *hm-ntr Hnty-mdft*, “priest of Khen-timedefet”.⁹¹ These titles appear only in the two most complete titularies we have, those of Ptahshepses I and Sabu Ibebi ([2.b/c/d], [9.f/g]); they precede Sabu Tjety, which again emphasizes the status as supreme officiant of the Memphite cults of the GDC title holders of the Fifth and early Sixth Dynasties.⁹²


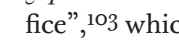
As for the category of the titles related to the cult of Re, they are present only in the titularies of two high priests of the first period ([2.c/d], [9.g]), always in relation to the solar temples of the kings of the Fifth Dynasty.⁹³ Regarding the titles related to the funerary cult of the king, they also appear only in the titularies of two high priests of the first period and

the pyramids involved are only those of Unis and Teti ([9.c/d], [11.c/g]).⁹⁴ It is noteworthy that these two couples of high priests are most likely linked by close family ties (Ptahshepses I and Sabu Ibebi; Sabu Ibebi and Ptahshepses IV; see below, 6), and that all these titles disappear with the deep transformation of the Memphite pontificate that took place in the time of Sabu Tjety, in the second half of the Sixth Dynasty.

Finally, two other common titles of the category related to craftsmanship are:  *imy-r3 w'bt (nt nswt) / w'bt(y)*, “overseer of the *wabet* (of the king) / of the two *wabets*”, the *wabet* being, in this context, the institution within which the craft activity was carried out,⁹⁵ and  or 

hrp hmwt (nbt), “director of (all) craftsmen”, which probably alludes to the expert direction of the work of craftsmen;⁹⁶ the former is usually recorded in the titularies immediately after the title *imy-r3 pr Zkr*, “overseer of the temple of Sokar”, and, like this, is probably of an administrative nature; the latter denotes a function probably acquired shortly before or at the same time as the GDC title.⁹⁷ The close link between these two titles and the GDC title is illustrated by the fact that, in the Niankhsekhmet stela (see above, 3), the greatest directors of the craftsmen are called *wrwy hrp(w) hmwt w'bt hmwt*, “the two GDC of the *wabet* and the craftsmen”. Exceptionally, two high priests ([9.d], [13.b]) held the important civil title  *imy-r3 k3t nb(t) nt nswt*, “overseer of all works of the king”, which is, as is well known, a prerogative mainly of viziers and very high officials of the central administration.⁹⁸ As N. Strudwick states: “whether they gained this title by virtue of the traditional relationship of the *wr hrp hmwt* with craftsmen or by some other means is unknown”.⁹⁹ A third high priest ([2.e]) and one of the two above ([9.h]) held the title,  *hrp i3wt nbwt ntrwt*, “director of every divine office”,¹⁰⁰ which they never held and would never hold later. It seems as if Imephor, exception-

the king’s architectural works, although from a somewhat lower rank.¹⁰⁰

From this discussion about the titles of the Memphite high priests an important conclusion can be drawn: the career of the Memphite priests, in both the ritual and craft spheres, is highly specialized and “idiosyncratic”: they do not hold civil titles or participate in the administration of the State and, with rare exceptions, they do not hold titles outside their specific *cursus honorum*. Conversely, many of their titles are unique to their status as (high) priests attached to the cults of Ptah and Sokar and are not held by officials of the State administration or priests of other cults. There is only one exception to this rule: the enigmatic Imephor Impy Nikaupthah from Kom el-Khama-seen (south-west Saqqara) (see above, 1, and [14]). As we have had occasion to point out elsewhere,¹⁰¹ Imephor’s documentation, although fragmentary, indicates that he possessed some of the characteristic titles of the Memphite high priests of his time, but he also possessed other courtly or priestly titles, such as  *im3-c*, “gracious of arm”,¹⁰² and  *hrp i3wt nbwt ntrwt*, “director of every divine office”,¹⁰³ which they never held and would never hold later. It seems as if Imephor, exception-

91 *Wb* I: 29.6, II: 182.7, III: 389.7, IV: 446.7, V: 627.6/7; Jones 2000: 504–505 # 1890, 567 # 2091, 568 # 2093, 569 # 2095, 571 # 2103, 587 # 2148; Leitz 2002, I: 248; V: 778, 819, 876; VI: 37; VII: 678–680; HL4 1584, 1603, 1606, 1614. Kees 1915; Sandman Holmberg 1946: 147–150, 154–166 # 6, 173–176 # 8–10, 217–218; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 48–49; Helck 1954: 121; Freier 1976: 20–21; Baines 1988; Wilkinson 2000: 160–161, 163–164, fig. 3; Dorman 2002: 106; El-Khadragy 2005: 189; Dulíková 2016. Several Old Kingdom proper names are theophoric with the name of Khentitjenenet, who stands out above the other entities perhaps due to the fact that he was associated with a sanctuary (see notes 67, 71): *W3š-k3-Hnty-tnnt*, “powerful is the *ka* of Khentitjenenet” (*PN* I: 417 # 17; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 317 # 819; *N(y)-Hnty-tnnt*, “the one belonging to Khentitjenenet” (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 434 # 1643); *Hm-Hnty-tnnt*, “servant of Khentitjenenet” (*PN* II: 305 # 17; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 540 # 2410) (Dulíková 2016: 40–43). The name of Khentitjenenet also occurs within the names of funerary domains or estates dated to the end of the Fifth Dynasty and the beginning of the Sixth (Dulíková 2016: 41). The name of Khentiautef appears in a case of the Palermo Stone corresponding to the reign of Sahure (v.III.1) determined with the image of Ptah in his shrine, which clearly implies that at this time he was considered a manifestation of the latter; according to Wilkinson (2000: 163–164), quoting the *Wb* (I: 29.5/6), the name *Hnty-i3wt=f* means “foremost of his *i3wt*”, with the *i3wt* probably being cultic objects, which again implies the existence of places of worship (see note 71).

92 According to Baines (1988: 127–129), the distribution of the names of these divinities by pairs in the inscriptions of these two mastabas is almost the same than in a list of deities carved by Sety I in his temple at Abydos over a millennium later (Kees 1915) and this could mean that in all cases the same more or less fixed onomastic tradition was resorted to; whether or not Ptahshepses and Sabu actually exercise these ritual offices, it is clear that they claim them in their capacity as high priests of Ptah (see also Kloth 2002: 258–259). Let us add, if anything, that the possibility that the onomastic tradition attested at Abydos was established precisely by the Memphite high priests of the Old Kingdom cannot be ruled out. In any case, the existence of *wab*-priests of Khentitjenenet and Djedshepes (HL4: 325) indicates that, regardless of the role of the high priests, these gods were actually worshipped.

93 Jones 2000: 534–535 # 1997, 537 # 2003, 538 # 2006; HL4: 807–808. Maystre 1992 [1948]: 44–45; Freier 1967: 21; El-Khadragy 2005: 190–191; Nuzzolo and Krejčí 2017: 368–369. According to Papazian (2010: 144–151), the connection between the temple of Ptah and the funerary and solar temples of the kings during the Fifth Dynasty is well attested, both in economic and religious terms.

94 Jones 2000: 289–290 # 1054, 292 # 1066. It has been suggested that the role of the GDC title holders in the royal funerary services could be related to the adornment of cult statues of kings: Helck 1957: 97–98; Freier 1976: 22.

95 Jones 2000: 87–88 # 370, 372, 374; HL4: 89–90. Maystre 1992 [1948]: 11, 18–19, 35, 56; Helck 1954: 103; Freier 1976: 14–15.

96 *Wb* III: 85.9–10; Jones 2000: 730 # 2655, 2656; HL4: 973. Maystre 1992 [1948]: 19; Freier 1976: 14. See note 16.

97 A junior position, that of *imy-ht hmwt (pr-c3)*, can be held by the sons and grandsons of the GDC title holder; see below, 6b, and [9], Kinship; [11], Kinship. This means that the male descendants of the GDC title holders were systematically incorporated into their fathers’ sphere of activity.

98 Jones 2000: 262–263 # 950; HL4: 125–126. Maystre 1992 [1948]: 113–114, 118; Freier 1976: 15; Strudwick 1985: 217–250; Krejčí 2000; El-Khadragy 2005: 189; Bárta 2013a: 164–169.

99 Strudwick 1985: 224 (quotation), 226. See also Maystre 1992 [1948]: 35.

100 Jones 2000: 644–645 # 2360; HL4: 874. Maystre 1992 [1948]: 113.

101 Cervelló Autuori 2016: 29–32.

102 *Wb* I: 81.9; Jones 2000: 10 # 39; HL4 135–136. Helck 1954: 37, 118, n. 46; Strudwick 1985: 310–312; Baud 1999: 239, 265, 329; Cervelló Autuori 2016: 30–31, with further references. A comprehensive study of this title is being carried out by Daniel González León in the context of his PhD research (Departament de Ciències de l’Antiguitat i de l’Edat Mitjana, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona).

103 *Wb* III: 328.15; Jones 2000: 695 # 2541; HL4 968–969. Helck 1954: 52; Strudwick 1985: 315; Baud 1999: 295–296; Cervelló Autuori 2016: 31, with further references.

would mean that none of the family members holding the mid-ranking craftsmanship title had acceded to the pontificate, which does not seem likely either: as we have seen, the names of the high priests and their offspring are always the same, and the offices, without being identical, belong to the same field (crafts and cult). This does not mean, however, that the position was automatically inherited: it follows from the texts that the election was a king's prerogative, but it took place, for customary reasons, within the same lineage, undoubtedly an influential lineage of the Memphite area, which we have seen be closely linked to kingship. As E. Brovarski writes: "In all periods priestly offices tended to become hereditary and seem frequently to have been vested in one family for several generations, although the power of appointment seems to have rested with the sovereign".¹¹⁰

c) Let us get back to proper names. As stated, nine of the fifteen Memphite high priests are called Ptahshepses (five) or Sabu (four), and the last Ptahshepses (V) is also called Impy ([13]), as well as his two successors, the last characters of our prosopography ([14], [15]). *Pth-špss*, Ptahshepses, "Ptah is a noble", is a theophoric name embedding the name of Ptah.¹¹¹ *S3bw*, Sabu, with the root *s3b* which means [COLORFUL], is, according to K. Scheele-Schweitzer, a nickname from name formations with *s3b-*; the sole name formation with *s3b-* embedding a theonym is the

private name Sabuipthah (*S3bwy-Pth*), "how colorful is Ptah!",¹¹² which could be significant. Finally, *Impy*, Impy, is a fairly widespread nickname in the second half of the Old Kingdom, still used during the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom ([15], Date); according to H. Ranke, it is related, as a nickname or a "beautiful name", to theophoric names with the theonym Ptah, such as Ptahshepses or Nikauptah.¹¹³ In fact, the latter is the "great name" of the high priest Imephor Impy Nikauptah from Kom el-Khamaseen ([14]). As can be seen, most of the names of the Memphite high priests and their offspring are related to Ptah; this shows a privileged relationship with this specific god (see above, 4) and strengthens the perception of a lineage entirely dedicated to his service. For the last three individuals of our prosopography, those named Impy, it is completely impossible to suggest any kind of kinship (as, however, has been done¹¹⁴). As a mere hypothesis, it could be suggested that, at the end of the Old Kingdom and in the First Intermediate Period, the hypocoristic Impy was adopted by the members of the Ptahshepses-Sabu lineage. The four remaining names of the high priests are: *Nfr-dd-Pth*, Neferdjedptah (another theophoric with the name of Ptah; see above, 3, below, 7, and [1]); *R^c-nfr*, Ranefer (theophoric with the name of Re) ([4]); *Nfr=f-R^c-nh(.w)*, Neferefreankh (theophoric with the name of king Neferefre) ([5]); and *Z3tw*, Satju (which

means "the water dispenser", "he who makes a libation with water", "he who purifies with water", clearly a name with a ritual meaning¹¹⁵) ([10]). We have no information on the kinship of these characters, except for Ranefer's wife, Khenut. Regarding the same Ranefer, however, his tomb is located among the tombs of most of the Old Kingdom GDC title holders, which could be an indication of family ties, as we are going to see.

d) An important archaeological and sociological fact, which in our opinion has not been given enough attention, is that eight (or nine) of the thirteen Memphite high priests of the Old Kingdom are buried in large mastabas a few meters away from each other located in the same cemetery northwest of the Step Pyramid complex in Saqqara (fig. 1). This sector of the Saqqara necropolis, well defined in topographical terms, mainly comprises tombs of GDC title holders, to which the tombs of some other individuals related to them must be added. The first of these individuals is Sabu, contemporary and probable relative of Ptahshepses I ([3], Monuments and documents, Kinship); if he is to be identified with Sabu I ([3]), as is likely, then he is also a GDC title holder and the total number of high priests buried here is nine. The other three

are the official Ptahshepses, contemporary and probable relative of Ptahshepses I and/or II ([6], Kinship); the lady Inti, most likely to be identified with the wife of Ptahshepses IV, of the same name ([11], Kinship); and the official Neferseshemtah (again a name embedding the name of Ptah), who bears the title *imy-r3 hmwt w'bt*, "overseer of craftsmen of the *wabet*", and is generically dated to the Sixth Dynasty.¹¹⁶ All these individuals occupy twelve of the twenty-two tombs of the cemetery. These twelve tombs form the core of the cemetery, while the tombs of the rest of the individuals buried here (among them Kaaper, the *Sheikh el-Beled*, contemporary of Ptahshepses I¹¹⁷) are located mostly on the east and west ends (table 1, see fig. 1). Thus, everything seems to indicate that this is largely a family cemetery, a cluster of mastabas of members of the same lineage and linked to the same sphere of activity.¹¹⁸ The only character in our prosopography who is not buried here and whose tomb is known is Imephor Impy Nikauptah from Kom el-Khamaseen ([14]); for unknown reasons, perhaps related to the times of political and institutional crisis he lived through, at the very end of the Old Kingdom and the beginning of the First Intermediate Period,¹¹⁹ he chose this secluded

110 Brovarski 1986: 387.

111 As a sentence of nominal predicate, this name can be read both as *Pth-špss* or *špss-Pth* (Allen 2013: 79). Read as *špss-Pth*, it can also be interpreted as a sentence of adjectival predicate: "Ptah is noble" (*PN* I: 326 # 19; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 676–678 # 3309). We have retained the first reading because it is the most accepted and most widely used in the literature.

112 Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 635 # 3016, and pp. 633–636.

113 *PN* I: 26 # 13; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 237 # 295.

114 Wildung 1977: 1259; El-Sharkawy 2008: 24.

115 *PN* I: 298 # 17; *PN* II: 385; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 623 # 2929.

116 Mariette 1889: 391–392 (E4); *PM* III²: 453 # 16, map XLVI D2, 16 (fig. 1, 16).

117 Mariette 1889: 127–129 (C8); *PM* III²: 459–460 # 36, map XLVI D2, 36 (fig. 1, 36).

118 On Old Kingdom clusters of family tombs of high officials or family cemeteries, see Verner 1980: 164–168 (Abusir, south-east sector); Brovarski 1982 (Giza Western Cemetery, north-east sector, north-western corner of the great pyramid); Weeks 1994: 4–7 (Giza Western Cemetery, south-central sector, cemetery G 6000); Roth 1995: 43–45 (Giza Western Cemetery, north-central sector); Bárta 2005: 116–117; 2013a: 168–169 (general); 2013b (South Abusir); Nuzzolo 2017: 288 (general). The practice was not new in the Old Kingdom; for family tomb clusters in predynastic times, see Campagno 2003: 16–18, with further references.

119 The contemporary tombs of the priests Sabi and Ankhti, in the cemetery of Tabbet el-Gesh, south Saqqara, not far from Kom el-Khamaseen, were violated since antiquity, probably at the end of the Old Kingdom or during the First Intermediate Period: Dobrev, Laville and Onézime 2015: 116, 120. On the crisis of the Memphite State at the end of the Old Kingdom and the beginning of the First Intermediate Period, see ultimately (with sometimes divergent views) Müller-Wollermann 2014; Moreno García 2015; Schneider 2017; Kanawati and Swinton 2018: chaps. 6, 7; Bárta 2013a: 174–175; 2019: 179–196.

ed cemetery to build his tomb (see above, 1, 5). Another character, Neferefrenkh, known from a false door of another individual, could be the Neferefrenkh buried in a tomb located east of the Step Pyramid complex, but the identification is problematic ([5], Monuments and documents). Of the four GDC title holders not mentioned here or in table 1, we do not know the tombs ([1], [10], [13], [15]).

e) In later periods of the history of Egypt, from the Middle Kingdom to Ptolemaic times, it was often the case, and even the rule, for the office of high priest of Ptah to be hereditary and passed down within the same family.¹²⁰

7 | Chronology and succession of the Memphite high priests of the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period

On the basis of everything we have exposed so far and the data set out in the sections “Kinship” and “Date” of the entries of our prosopography, let us present our proposal about the succession, relationship, and chronology of the high priests of Memphis in the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period.¹²¹

Of the fifteen characters in our prosopography, five are relatively well known to us due to the greater extent of the texts and reliefs recorded or recovered from their tombs (door lintels and jambs, false door stelae,

Character	Mariette 1889 (MM)	PM MAP N°
[2] Ptahshepses I	C1	48
[4] Ranefer	C5	40
[6] Ptahshepses II	C9	50
[7] Sabu II Kem	C23	44
[8] Ptahshepses III	---	Ptahshepses
[9] Sabu III Ibebi	E1/2	37-38
[11] Ptahshepses IV	E1/2	37-38
[12] Sabu IV Tjety	E3	47
<i>Sabu (= [3] Sabu I?)</i>	C16	39
<i>Ptahshepses</i>	C10	49
<i>Inty</i>	C17	43
<i>Neferseshemptah</i>	E4	16

Table 1. The Memphite high priests of the Old Kingdom (roman type) and their probable and possible relatives (*italics*) buried in the cemetery northwest of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara. The numbers in the third column are those on fig. 1.

¹²⁰ See, for example: Maystre 1992 [1948]: 16–17, 20, 33, 103, 173–174, 181 ff., 205; Otto 1956; Fischer 1976: 63–66; Quaegebeur 1980; Raedler 2011: 148–149, 152–153; Broekman 2017.

¹²¹ The references for this section are mainly in the Prosopography.



Figure 1. Location of the tombs of most of the Memphite high priests of the Old Kingdom and some of their probable relatives, in the cemetery northwest of the Step Pyramid complex in Saqqara (source: PM III²: maps XLV and XLVI).

In red (printed version: dark grey): tombs of the GDC title holders: 48 – Ptahshepses I [2]; 40 – Ranefer [4]; 50 – Ptahshepses II [6]; 44 – Sabu Kem [7]; Ptahshepses – Ptahshepses III [8]; 37/38 – Sabu Ibebi [9] and Ptahshepses IV [11]; 47 – Sabu Tjety [12].

In pink (printed version: light grey): tombs of some probable relatives of the GDC title holders: 39 – Sabu (to be identified with the GDC title holder Sabu I?); 49 – Ptahshepses; 43 – Inty; 16 – Neferseshemptah.

In white: 36 – Kaaper.

and wall reliefs and inscriptions). They are: Ptahshepses I ([2]), Ptahshepses II [6], Sabu III Ibebi ([9]), Ptahshepses IV ([11]), and Sabu IV Tjety ([12]). The inscriptions of Ptahshepses I, Sabu Ibebi, and Sabu Tjety include biographies, well preserved in the case of the first two and unfortunately very fragmentary in the case of the latter, but all of them precious sources of information. As can be seen from table 2, in three cases texts allow us to date the characters with relative accuracy. Other characters who can be well dated are Neferdjedptah (see above, 3, and [1]) and Sabu I ([3]), thanks to the archaeological context of the inscriptions that mention them, as well as Neferefreankh (see above, 6c, and [5]), since his name embeds the name of king Neferefre.

As we have seen, nothing absolutely certain can be said about the family relationships between the different GDC title holders. However, the shape of the chapels and the lists of titles of Ptahshepses I and II suggest close proximity between them, and the same can be said for the lists of titles of Ptahshepses II and Sabu Ibebi. D. Wildung has suggested that Sabu Ibebi could be Ptahshepses I's son, but this seems unlikely for chronological reasons. Indeed, Ptahshepses I died during Niuserre's reign and Sabu Ibebi held the office in the reigns of Unis and Teti. A gap of about 50 years separates one moment from the other,¹²² in which Ptahshepses II, Sabu Kem, and Ptahshepses III (and Neferefreankh as well) could well have exercised their pontificates, probably in pairs. These three charac-

ters are generically dated to the second half of the Fifth Dynasty, without being able to be more precise (as for the order we have assigned them, see below, a). Sabu Ibebi must then be seen not as a son, but as a grandson or, generically, a second-generation offspring of Ptahshepses I. On the other hand, Wildung assumes that Ptahshepses IV is the son of Sabu Ibebi, and indeed all archaeological and epigraphic data seem to indicate it. The same goes for Ptahshepses IV and Sabu Tjety. Therefore, a relative succession Ptahshepses I – Ptahshepses II – Sabu Ibebi – Ptahshepses IV – Sabu Tjety can be reasonably proposed. With respect to the relationship between these characters and the sons and grandsons depicted and named in the tombs of Ptahshepses III, Sabu Ibebi and Ptahshepses IV (see above, 6a), the available information is not clear enough to make sure identifications, except for the *z3=f mry=f imy-ht hmwt S3bw* depicted in the chapel of Ptahshepses IV, who can be safely identified with Sabu Tjety. According to N. Kanawati and M. El-Khadragy, the eldest son and heir of Sabu Ibebi (*z3=f smsw*), who had been depicted fivefold in the reliefs of his father's tomb but whose figures and labels were then systematically chiseled out ([9], Kinship), could have succeeded his father and become involved in a conspiracy against Pepy I that would have led to his expulsion from office.¹²³

If we now consider the titles of the GDC title holders (table 3), the following can be noted:

a) As we have just seen, three high priests are generically dated to the second half of the

GDC title holder	Date	Family relationship
[1] Neferdjedptah	<i>Reigns of Khasekhemuy and Netjerkhet</i>	
[2] Ptahshepses I	<i>First half of the Fifth Dynasty, until Niuserre</i>	Ptahshepses II, Sabu Ibebi
[3] Sabu I	<i>Reign of Sahure</i>	(if Sabu I and Sabu, the owner of tomb MM C16 at Saqqara, are the same individual:) Ptahshepses I
[4] Ranefer	First half of the Fifth Dynasty	
[5] Neferefreankh	<i>Mid-Fifth Dynasty (from the reign of Neferefre on)</i>	
[6] Ptahshepses II	Second half of the Fifth Dynasty	Ptahshepses I (father), Sabu Ibebi (son)
[7] Sabu II Kem	Second half of the Fifth Dynasty	
[8] Ptahshepses III	Second half of the Fifth Dynasty	
[9] Sabu III Ibebi	<i>Reigns of Unis and Teti</i>	Ptahshepses I (forefather), Ptahshepses II (father), Ptahshepses IV (son)
[10] Satju	Plausibly end of the Fifth Dynasty and/or beginning of the Sixth	
[11] Ptahshepses IV	<i>Reigns of Teti and Pepy I</i>	Sabu Ibebi (father), Sabu Tjety (son)
[12] Sabu IV Tjety	Mid- and late-Sixth Dynasty	<i>Ptahshepses IV</i> (father)
[13] Ptahshepses V Impy I	Second half of the Sixth Dynasty or beginning of the First Intermediate Period	
[14] Imephor Impy II Nikauptah	End of the Sixth Dynasty and/or beginning of the First Intermediate Period	
[15] Impy III	Late First Intermediate Period or early Middle Kingdom	

Table 2. The list of the Memphite high priests of the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period, their sure (*italics*) or suggested (roman type) dates, and their almost certain (*italics*) or possible (roman type) family relationships.

¹²² Hornung, Krauss and Warburton 2006: 491.

¹²³ Kanawati 2003: 135–137, 168, 178, 181–182; El-Khadragy 2005: 192–193. El-Khadragy suggests that the plotter and Sabu Tjety may have been colleagues in the pontificate; when the former lost the king's favor and was expelled from his office, the latter assumed his responsibilities and acted henceforth as a single high priest. The facts cannot be excluded, but to consider them the cause of the office ceasing to be collegial seems excessive.

Fifth Dynasty: Ptahshepses II ([6]), Sabu Kem ([7]), and Ptahshepses III ([8]). The first, however, does not yet hold the title *db3ty*, “robing-priest”, which appears for the first time in the titularies of the other two (see above, 4, and [7], Date). According to this, Ptahshepses II must have been the first of the three to hold the office, while the actual order of succession of Sabu Kem and Ptahshepses III remains unknown, being the one we have adopted here, therefore, totally conventional.

b) The only two high priests to hold the double title *hm-ntr Pth Zkr*, “priest of Ptah and Sokar”, are Satju ([10.b]) and Ptahshepses IV ([11.f]); although Satju’s date is very uncertain,¹²⁴ this most likely indicates proximity between the two, and this is the reason for the position we have assigned him.

c) As we have seen, with Sabu Tjety some important titles disappear from the titularies of the Memphite high priests and some others are incorporated. The former are: *hm-ntr Pth*, “priest of Ptah”, *hm-ntr Zkr*, “priest of Sokar”, *hm-ntr Pth Zkr*, “priest of Ptah and Sokar” (which Ptahshepses IV uses for the last time¹²⁵), and *hrp sm(w)*, “director of *sem*-attendants”, titles that, in fact, no longer appear in the titularies of the last four characters of our prosopography, the first three undoubtedly because the functions they were related to were definitively linked to the GDC title. On the other hand, the new titles are the priestly titles *sm*, “sem-priest”, and *hry-hbt* (*hry-tp*), “lector priest (in charge)”, and the status titles *h3ty-c*, “foremost”, and *smr wcty*, “sole friend”. All this allows us to place

Ptahshepses V ([13]: *smr wcty* and *hry-hbt*) and Imephor Impy Nikauptah ([14]: *h3ty-c*, *sm*, and *hry-hbt hry-tp*) after Sabu Tjety. Indeed, if Sabu Tjety is to be dated in the second half of the Sixth Dynasty and the Memphite pontificate was held by only one person since the reform of the office that took place in his time, then these characters must be dated at the end of the Sixth Dynasty and/or the beginning of the First Intermediate Period. The fact that Ptahshepses V still holds the title *n(y) hrw hb*, “belonging to the day of festival”, which disappears after him, and bears the title *imy-r3 k3t nbt nt nswt*, “overseer of all works of the king”, suggests an earlier date for him than Imephor Impy Nikauptah. In turn, different archaeological and epigraphic evidence suggests for the latter a somewhat later chronology, already at the very end of the Old Kingdom or, better, the beginning of the First Intermediate Period (see above, 1, and [14], Date).¹²⁶

d) The last character in the list, Impy III son of Ankhu ([15]), introduces another new status title: *iry-pct*, “member of the *pat*”, and the doublet *iry-pct h3ty-c*, which places us already at the end of the First Intermediate Period or even at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. He is therefore the last character in our list and cannot be the son of Ptahshepses V, as D. Wildung and B.S. El-Sharkawy claim ([13], Kinship and Date, and [15], Kinship and Date).

Let us make some final remarks. Firstly, nothing can be said about the earliest attested GDC title holder, Neferdjedptah ([1]), except that he has a theophoric name embedding the name of

¹²⁴ Maystre 1992 [1948]: 107–108.

¹²⁵ However, see note 76.

¹²⁶ Cervelló Autuori 2007: 81–83.

	[1] Neferdjedptah	[2] Ptahshepses I	[3] Sabu I	[4] Ranefer	[5] Neferreankh	[6] Ptahshepses II	[7] Sabu II Kem	[8] Ptahshepses III	[9] Sabu III Ibebi	[10] Satju	[11] Ptahshepses IV	[12] Sabu IV Tjety	[13] Ptahshepses V Impy I	[14] Imephor Impy II Nikauptah	[15] Impy III
<i>ibw n hwt Pth</i>		•													
<i>im3-c</i>														•	
<i>imy-r3 wcty</i>		•				•			•		•				
<i>imy-r3 wcty</i>												•			
<i>imy-r3 wcty nt nswt</i>						•									
<i>imy-r3 pr Zkr</i>		•		•	•	•			•						
<i>imy-r3 pr Zkr m swt nb(wt)</i>											•				
<i>imy-r3 hwwt Zkr m swt nb(wt)</i>									•						
<i>imy-r3 st df3w</i>		•													
<i>imr-r3 k3t nb(t) nt nswt</i>									•				•		
<i>imy-ht hm(w)-ntr Nfr-swt-Wnis</i>									•						
<i>imy-ht hm(w)-ntr Dd-swt-Tti</i>									•		•				
<i>iry-pct</i>															•
<i>iry nfr-h3t m hkr Pth</i>												•			
<i>wct m zh-ntr</i>						•									
<i>wct Pth</i>		•				•			•		•				
<i>wr hrp(w) hmwt</i>	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
<i>wr hrp(w) hmwt m prwy</i>		•				•			•		•	•		•	
<i>wr hrp(w) hmwt n Wnis</i>									•						
<i>mhnk nswt</i>		•	○	•		•	•		•		•				
<i>mhnk nswt m prwy</i>						•									
<i>md3ty (?)</i>						•									
<i>n(y) hrw hb</i>		•	○	•		•	•	•	•		•	•	•		
<i>h3ty-c</i>												•		•	•
<i>hm-ntr Tmy-hnt-wr</i>		•							•						
<i>hm-ntr Pth</i>		•		•		•	•	•	•	•	•				
<i>hm-ntr Pth Zkr</i>										•	•				
<i>hm-ntr M3ct m swt (i)ptn</i>		•							•						
<i>hm-ntr Nfr-swt-Wnis</i>											•				
<i>hm-ntr Rct m Nhn-Rct</i>		•							•						
<i>hm-ntr Rct m Šzpw-ib-Rct</i>		•							•						
<i>hm-ntr Rct-Hr-3ht(y) m St-ib-Rct</i>		•							•						

<i>hm-ntr Hwt-Hr m swt (i)ptn</i>		•																
<i>hm-ntr Hwt-Hr m swt nb(wt)</i>									•									
<i>hm-ntr Hnty-i3wt=f</i>		•								•								
<i>hm-ntr Hnty-mdft</i>		•								•								
<i>hm-ntr Hnty-tnnt</i>		•								•								
<i>hm-ntr Hry-b3q=f</i>		•								•								
<i>hm-ntr Zkr</i>		•		•		•	•	•	•	•	•	•						
<i>hm-ntr Zkr m prwy</i>							•											
<i>hm-ntr Zkr m swt=f nb(wt)</i>		•								•								
<i>hm-ntr Dd-šps</i>		•								•								
<i>hry-sšt3</i>		•																
<i>hry-sšt3 n pr ntr=f</i>					•													
<i>hry-sšt3 n nswt m s(w)t=f nb(wt)</i>										•								
<i>hry-sšt3 n ntr=f</i>		•			•					•		•						
<i>hry-sšt3 n htmt-ntr</i>																		
<i>hry-sšt3 n k3t nbt</i>		•								•		•						
<i>hry-tp Nhb</i>															•			
<i>hrp i3wt nbwt ntrwt</i>																		•
<i>hrp mhnkw nswt</i>											•							
<i>hrp hwt thnt</i>		•																
<i>hrp hmwt</i>		•																
<i>hrp hmwt nb(t)</i>		•			•					•		•						
<i>hrp sm(w)</i>		•		•		•	•			•		•						
<i>hrp sm(w) nb(w)</i>			◦	•														
<i>hrp sm(w) Zkr</i>						•												
<i>hrp šndwt nbt</i>															•			
<i>hry-hbt</i>															•			
<i>hry-hbt hry-tp</i>													•				•	
<i>sm</i>														•			•	•
<i>smr w^cty</i>													•		•			
<i>tpy-rdwy sm(w) Zkr</i>						•												
<i>db3ty</i>							•	•	•		•							
<i>...wsh^t (?)</i>																		•
	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]	[11]	[12]	[13]	[14]	[15]			

Table 3. The titles held by the Memphite high priests of the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period (arranged in alphabetical order).

◦ = other titles held by Sabu I if this high priest and Sabu, the owner of tomb MM C16 at Saqqara, are the same individual.

Ptah, which is not without significance concerning the early connection of the holders of the title with this god. He lived at the time when large-scale stone building activity began in the Memphite necropolis (reign of Khasekhemuy), which is probably the historical context in which the GDC office and title appeared (see above, 3, 6c). Secondly, the only three known high priests who can be dated to the first half of the Fifth Dynasty are Ptahshepses I ([2]), Sabu I ([3]), and Ranefer ([4]). If Sabu I is to be identified with the owner of tomb MM C16 in the cemetery northwest of the Step Pyramid (see above, 6d), then the three high priests were buried a few meters away from each other, and Ptahshepses I and Sabu I were very probably close relatives ([3], Monuments and documents, Kinship). The three characters may well have been colleagues by pairs: given the long life and career of Ptahshepses I, he could share the office with Sabu I and Ranefer successively (without being able to specify the order): could the “two greatest of the directors of craftsmen” mentioned in the tomb of Sahure’s physician Niankhsekhmet (see above, 3) have been one of these pairs? Finally, two other GDC title holders before Sabu Tjety are neither called Ptahshepses nor Sabu and are not buried in the cemetery northwest of the Step Pyramid: Neferefrenkh ([5], perhaps buried in a tomb located east of the Step Pyramid) and Satju ([10], whose tomb is unknown); maybe they were not members of the Ptahshepses/Sabu lineage and shared the collegiate office with a member of it. Another high priest whose tomb is known but not located in the cemetery northwest of the Step Pyramid is Imephor Impy Nikauptah ([14]), buried at Kom el-Khamaseen, deep in the south Saqqara desert. Further investigation at the site will perhaps allow a better understanding of the character and the reason for his choice of this burial place.

Conclusions

The office of GDC is first attested at the end of the Second Dynasty ([1]). Its emergence seems to be related to the funerary building activity of the kings of that dynasty in Saqqara, then the only necropolis of Memphis. From the first moment (Ptahshepses I, [2]), the GDC title appears indissolubly linked to other titles in the titularies of the GDC title holders, some of which clearly indicate that these dignitaries always combined the tasks of directing craftsmanship and leading the worship of the Memphite gods Ptah and Sokar, which was due to the very cosmogonic and artisan nature of these gods. On the one hand, until the mid-Sixth Dynasty, the GDC title is systematically accompanied by the titles *hm-ntr Pth*, “priest of Ptah”, and *hm-ntr Zkr*, “priest of Sokar” (or *hm-ntr Pth Zkr*, “priest of Ptah and Sokar”); on the other hand, this triplet of titles is usually accompanied by other titles and epithets that are exclusive to the high priests of Memphis of the Old Kingdom until the end of the Sixth Dynasty, such as *n(y) hrw hb*, “belonging to the day of festival”, *db3ty*, “robing-priest”, *hrp sm(w) (nb(w))*, “director of (all) *sem*-attendants”, and *imy-r3 pr Zkr*, “overseer of the temple of Sokar”. The exclusive allusion to the artisan aspects of the GDC in some early documents, such as the tomb of Debehen, the false door of Niankhsekhmet, and the relief depicting Sabu I ([3]) in a block from the causeway of Sahure’s pyramid complex at Abusir, is conjunctural, since it is in their role as leaders of craftwork that these characters are mentioned or represented in these precise monuments; in other words, it is the very nature of this particular documentation that produces the impression of a position with exclusively civil (technological) functions. In parallel, as stated, the full titularies of the

GDC title holders indicate the actual dual nature of the office. There is no opposition between civil and cultic functions, but between priestly-craft and priestly-ritual functions: they are two sides of the same coin, because of the cosmogonic dimension of the artisan work according to the Egyptian mind.

A different thing is what the precise extent of the meaning of the GDC title is in the earliest times. The triplet ‘GDC + priest of Ptah + priest of Sokar’ (eventually accompanied by the other titles exclusive to the GDC title holders) indicates that the office of the Memphite high priest is not initially defined by a single title, but by at least three combined titles referring, the first one, to the artisan activity, and the other two, to the ritual activity. This means that, in these earliest times, the GDC title alludes mainly to the craft functions. Since Ptahshepses IV and Sabu Tjety (mit- and late-Sixth Dynasty), however, all the abovementioned exclusive ritual titles of the Memphite high priests of the Old Kingdom have disappeared from their titularies and the functions they were related to have definitively been linked to the GDC title. It is from this moment on that the GDC title alone will designate the Memphite high priest in all his attributions, religious and civil.

The dual spelling of the GDC title in the abovementioned inscriptions of Debehen and Niankhsekhmet, as well as in the biography of Sabu Tjety where it last occurs, shows that in origin the office was probably exercised by two people simultaneously. In any case, since the reform of the office that took place during the pontificate of the latter, this collegiate character ceased and the office was exercised by a single person.

The fact that the names Ptahshepses and Sabu (and to a lesser extent, Impy) are repeated from generation to generation among the

Memphite high priests of the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period and also among their sons and grandsons; the meaning of these names and other names borne by the high priests and their relatives, which are almost always related in one way or another with the god Ptah; the titles held by the sons and grandsons of the high priests, most often associated with craftsmanship; and the fact that eight (or nine) of the thirteen Memphite high priests of the Old Kingdom and some of their relatives are buried in the same cemetery northwest of the Step Pyramid complex; all suggests that, during the time period considered in this study, the pontifical office was a prerogative of a single lineage and was inherited within it.

The critical review of the available documentation has allowed us to draw up an updated list, a prosopography, and the chronology (absolute or relative) of the known Memphite high priests of the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period: fifteen characters—certainly not all those who held the office in those periods—are included in this prosopography, which is presented in the second part of this article.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere thanks to my colleague and friend Andrés Diego Espinel (Instituto de Lenguas y Culturas del Mediterráneo y Oriente Próximo, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid), who kindly agreed to read and discuss this article before being submitted for publication. It has benefited greatly from his learned and generous feedback and suggestions. Of course, the approaches advocated, the conclusions reached, and any possible omissions or failures remain my sole responsibility.

Abbreviations

- AL 1977 *Année Lexicographique* 1977: Meeks 1980.
 CGC Catalogue Général du Caire.
 HL4 Hannig *Lexica* 4: Hannig 2003.
 HL5 Hannig *Lexica* 5: Hannig 2006.
 KRI II Kitchen *Rameside Inscriptions* II: Kitchen 1979.
 MM Mariette *Mastabas*: Mariette 1889.
 PM III¹ Porter and Moss III, Part 1: Porter and Moss 1974.
 PM III² Porter and Moss III, Part 2: Porter and Moss 1981.
 PM VIII¹ Porter and Moss VIII, Part 1: Malek 1999.
 PN *Personennamen*: Ranke 1935–1952.
 Urk. I *Urkunden* I: Sethe 1932–1933.
 Urk. VII *Urkunden* VII: Sethe 1935.
 Wb *Wörterbuch*: Erman and Grapow 1926–1931.

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Prosopography


Four lists of the high priests of Memphis during the Old Kingdom have been compiled so far, which do not always coincide with each other: Maystre 1992 [1948], Wildung 1977, Porter and Moss 1981 (PM III²), and El-Sharkawy 2008. In the section “Other lists” of the entries of this prosopography, they are referred to by superscript letters: ^M = Maystre, ^W = Wildung, ^{PM} = Porter and Moss, and ^S = El-Sharkawy.

When compiling this prosopography, we decided to follow a restrictive criterion and we included only those individuals for whom the title of GDC is clearly attested. This is what led us to leave off the list some characters included in the lists compiled by Wildung (Nebu) and El-Sharkawy (Imhotep, Khabausokar, Nebu, Nimaatre, and Iniankh) (see, for reasons, above, 3; and Maystre 1992 [1948]: 9–10, 14–15, 119; 1949: 84–85), and to keep in it some characters not considered by Porter and Moss (Neferdjedptah, Ptahshepses V and Impy III). Regarding Sabu, contemporary of Ptahshepses I, included in the lists of Wildung and El-Sharkawy, see below, [2], Kinship; [3]).

For each character, all the titles are listed in their precise order of appearance, since this order proves to be meaningful (see above, 4). When for a single character we have several documents, one or more inscriptions (or parts of them), which, together, contain all his titles, have been chosen. General epithets or phrases, such as  *im3hw (hr)*, “revered (with)”,  *imy-ib n nb=f*, “favourite of his lord”, or  *mrr(w) nb=f*, “beloved of his lord”, are not recorded. On the contrary, the exclusive epithet of the Memphite high priests  (varr. , ) *n(y) hrw hb*, “belonging to the day of festival”, which almost always follows the title  *wr hrp(w) hmwt (m prwy)*, is recorded. Although, for clarity and unless otherwise indicated, we offer the titles separated by commas, they form continuous text sequences, from which only general epithets and proper names have been omitted. For transliteration and translation of titles, we essentially follow Jones 2000. For the abbreviations used, see the Bibliography; as in the rest of the article, the abbreviation GDC corresponds to “Greatest of the Directors of Craftsmen” (title).

In relation to the sections “Monuments and documents”, “Kinship”, “Date”, and “Titles” of the different entries, see also tables 1, 2, and 3, and fig. 1 in the main text of the article.

[1] Neferdjedptah

 (sic) *Nfr-dd-Pth* (one single attestation)


Other lists: ^Mabsent; ^W*Nfr-dd-Pth*; ^{PM}absent; ^S*Nfr-dd-Pth*.

Monuments and documents: ink inscription on a stone vase from the Step Pyramid, Lacau and Lauer 1965: 65 # 157, fig. 108; Kaplony 1963, I: 550; Kahl 2003: 234; 2004: 308. The name of Ptah embedded in the name of the character is written backwards, as in other attestations on vessels from the Step Pyramid (Lacau and Lauer 1965: 65, n. 2).

Inscriptions (editions and/or translations): Lacau and Lauer 1965: 65 # 157, fig. 108.

Kinship: no data.

Date: Khasekhemuy–Netjerkhet (end of the Second – beginning of the Third Dynasty). Wildung 1977: 1258, “2./3. Dyn.”; El-Sharkawy 2008: 22, “Nineter (Second Dynasty) to Third Dynasty”. According to I. Regulski (2004; 2009: 227–228; 2011: 706–707), the ink inscriptions coming from the subterranean galleries of the Step Pyramid are to be dated to the end of the Second Dynasty and linked to the *Sed* festival of king Khasekhemuy; probably due to the death of the king, this festival would never have taken place and the vessels provided with the ink inscriptions would have been left in the royal stores until they were finally buried under the Step Pyramid.

Titles:  *wr hrp(w) hmwt*, GDC [+ name].

[2] Ptahshepses I

 *Pth-špss*

Other lists: ^MPtahshepses I; ^W*Pth-špss* (I.); ^{PM}Ptahshepses; ^S*Pth-špss* I.

Other prosopographies: Baer 1960: 75–76 # 164; Baud 1999: 452–454 # 68, 532 # 170; Kloth 2002: 15–16 # 29.

Monuments and documents: great mastaba located in the cemetery northwest of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, MM C1, H14; doorway lintel and inscribed stone niched wall including a false door (top missing) from the chapel of this mastaba (rear wall, to the west), now in the British Museum, BM 682; small fragment of the same wall, in the Oriental Institute Museum of Chicago, OIM 11048. Mariette 1889: 110–114, C1; 451–454, H14; PM III²: 464 # 48, 916 [Ptahshepses], map XLVI D2, 48; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 105–106; Dorman 2002. Probable representation of the character in the funerary temple of Sahure, Borchardt 1913: 122 # 4, pl. 54; PM III¹: 327.


Inscriptions (editions and/or translations): Doorway lintel, wall, and false door: De Rougé 1867: 66–73; 1877: pls. 79–80; Mariette 1889: 112–113, 451–454; Breasted 1906: 117–118 § 255–262; *Urk.* I: 51–53 # 32; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 226–231 # 3–4; James 1961: 17, pl. 17; Roccati 1982: 105–107 # 21; Dorman 2002: 100–102, fig. 3; Strudwick 2005: 303–305 # 226; Stauder-Porchet 2017: 85–98. Temple of Sahure: Borchardt 1913: pl. 54 (only the name).


Kinship: related to the royal family by his marriage with Khamaat, “eldest daughter of the king” (*s3t-nswt smswt H^c-M3^t*; niched wall, right side, third column), this king being Shepseskaf or Userkaf. A Ptahshepses is represented next to a certain Sabu in a relief from the funerary temple of Sahure (Borchardt 1913: pl. 54). According to Borchardt (1913: 122), these two characters could have had family ties and could have shared the office of GDC, since most of the GDC title holders of the Old Kingdom have these two names and seem to belong to the same family. However, the


GDC title is not recorded in the inscriptions labelling these characters in the temple. Even so, the character labelled as Ptahshepses could be Ptahshepses I and the one labelled as Sabu could be Sabu I ([3]).


Date: first half of the Fifth Dynasty, until Niuserre. Maystre 1992 [1948]: 105–106, “élevé parmi les enfants royaux (...) à la fin de la IVème dynastie (...) a été en fonction jusque sous Nyuserre”; Freier 1976: 10, “an der Wende von der 4. zur 5. Dynastie”; Wildung 1977: 1258, “Mykerinos–Niuserre”; PM III²: 916, “Neuserre”; Baer 1960: 76, “Neuserre”; Kloth 2002: 15, “5. Dyn.: Niuserre”; Strudwick 2005: 304, “early to middle fifth dynasty”; El-Sharkawy 2008: 23, “5th Dynasty”; Roeten 2016: 118 (quantitative measure-based method for dating tombs), “Middle 5th Dynasty”. He was probably born under Menkaure, but he began his administrative career and he became a GDC at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty. He died probably under Niuserre.

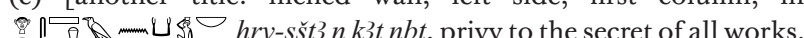
Titles:

(a) [tomb doorway lintel, fourth line] ; *wr hrp(w) hmwt m prwy, n(y) hrw hb, hm-ntr Pth, hm-ntr Zkr, hrp sm(w), mhnk nswt, imy-r3 pr Zkr, imy-r3 w^cbt, hrp hmwt, hry-sšt3 n ntr=f, w^cb Pth*; GDC in the Two Houses, belonging to the day of festival, priest of Ptah, priest of Sokar, director of *sem*-attendants, intimate of the king, overseer of the temple of Sokar, overseer of the *wabet*, director of craftsmen, privy to the secrets of his god, *wab*-priest of Ptah.

(b) [false door stela, central niche] ; *wr hrp(w) hmwt m prwy, mhnk nswt, n(y) hrw hb, hm-ntr Hnty-i3wt=f, hm-ntr Imy-hnt-wr*; GDC in the Two Houses, intimate of the king, belonging to the day of festival, priest of Khentiautef, priest of Imikhentur.

(c) [false door stela, two-column right jamb] ; *hm-ntr Pth, hm-ntr Zkr m swt=f nb(wt), hm-ntr Hnty-tnnt, hm-ntr Dd-šps, wr hrp(w) hmwt m prwy, i3w n hwt Pth / hm-ntr R^c m Nhn-R^c, hm-ntr R^c m Šzpw-ib-R^c, wr hrp(w) hmwt, imy-r3 w^cbt, imy-r3 st d3w*; priest of Ptah, priest of Sokar in all his places, priest of Khentitjenenet, priest of Djedshepes, GDC in the Two Houses, elder one of the mansion of Ptah / priest of Re in Nekhenre (sun-temple of Userkaf), priest of Re in Shezepuibre (sun-temple of Niuserre), GDC, overseer of the *wabet*, overseer of the place of provisions.

(d) [false door stela, two-column left jamb] ; *hm-ntr R^c-Hr-3ht(y) m St-ib-R^c, hm-ntr Hwt-Hr m swt (i)ptn, wr hrp(w) hmwt, n(y) hrw hb, hry-sšt3, hrp hwt thnt / hm-ntr M3^ct m swt (i)ptn, hm-ntr Hry-b3q=f; hm-ntr Hnty-mdft, wr hrp(w) hmwt, imy-r3 pr Zkr, hrp sm(w), hrp hmwt nb(t)*; priest of Re-Horakhty in Setibre (sun-temple of Neferirkare); priest of Hathor in these places, GDC, belonging to the day of festival, one who is privy to the secret, director of the mansion of faience / priest of Maat in these places, priest of Kheribaqef, priest of Khentimedefet, GDC, overseer of the temple of Sokar, director of *sem*-attendants, director of all craftsmen.

(e) [another title: niched wall, left side, first column, inside the biographical text]  *hry-sšt3 n k3t nbt*, privy to the secret of all works.

[3] Sabu I

 *S3bw* (one single attestation; however, see below)


Other lists: unknown to the compilers of the other lists; however, see below.

Monuments and documents: Inscribed relief on a limestone block (SC/South/2003/06) that was originally part of the lower course (above the dado) of the south wall of the causeway of Sahure’s pyramid complex at Abusir, El Awady 2009: 166–184, figs. 82–87, pl. 6. The main scene represents king Sahure celebrating the bringing of *aned*-trees from Punt. Sabu is depicted in a banquet scene, in a subsidiary register along with another character named Ptahwer (a theophoric name with the name of Ptah: *PNI*: 139 # 6; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 327 # 908), who holds the difficult to interpret title *mdh gnwtyw/ostyw... (?)*, “overseer of sculptors/makers of stone vessels (?)”, in any case clearly associated with craftsmanship (Jones 2000: 469 # 1744; *HL4*: 1342; related to the title *md3ty (?)*, see [6.b]). The subsidiary register immediately above is also reserved for craftsmen leaders: the *mdh gnwtyw/qstyw m prwy Nb[-m-k3?]*, “overseer of sculptors in the Two Houses Neb[emka?]”, and the *mdh gnwtyw/qstyw Nfir-htp-Pth*, “overseer of sculptors Neferhetepptah”, the two proper names not being recorded in Ranke’s *PN* or in Scheele-Schweitzer 2014. Sabu could be identified with the owner of another great mastaba located in the cemetery northwest of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara (*MM* C16, Mariette 1889: 142–147; PM III²: 461, map XLVI # 39; see fig. 1); in the few remaining inscriptions of this tomb the title GDC is not recorded, but other titles characteristic of Memphite high priests are, such as *hrp sm(w) nb(w)*, “director of all *sem*-attendants”, *mhnk nswt*, “intimate of the king”, and probably [*n(y) hrw*] *hb*, “belonging to the day of festival” (Mariette 1889: 144; see above, 4). This led Wildung (1977: 1258) and El-Sharkawy (2008: 23) to include the owner of the tomb C16 in their lists, albeit somewhat improperly in view of the absence of any attestation of the CDG title in the remaining inscriptions of this monument. If, as is likely, the Sabu from the Sahure causeway and the Sabu from tomb C16 are the same individual, then the matter is settled. He could be also the Sabu depicted in the funerary temple of Sahure (see [2], Kinship).

Inscriptions (editions and/or translations): El Awady 2009: 177, pl. 6.

Kinship: very probably, a close relative of Ptahshepses I. The close relationship of the Sabu who owns tomb C16 with Ptahshepses I is clear from several pieces of evidence: the location of the tomb, just north of the latter’s (see above, 6d); the almost identical plan of these great mastabas and their chapels; and the fact that the fragmentary inscriptions of the tomb record a son of Sabu called Ptahshepses, as well as the names of Ptah and Sokar and the private name Nefertumy, “he who belongs to Nefertum” (*PNI*: 200 # 24; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 487 # 2021), which clearly links the tomb’s owner to the Memphite gods. As we have seen, on the other hand, a Ptahshepses and a Sabu, who could be Ptahshepses I and Sabu I, are depicted together in the funerary temple of Sahure (see [2], Kinship).

Date: reign of Sahure.

Titles:  *wr hrp(w) hmwt*, GDC [+ name].

[4] Ranefer

𓂏𓂏 R^c-nfr

Other lists: ^MRênefer; ^WR^c-nfr; ^{PM}Ra^cnūfer; ^SR^c-nfr.

Other prosopographies: Baer 1960: 99 # 304.

Monuments and documents: great mastaba located in the cemetery northwest of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, MM C5; two inscribed statues from this tomb kept in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, CGC 18 and 19. Mariette 1889: 121–123, C5; Borchardt 1911: 19–20 # 18–19, pl. 5.18/19; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 109–111; PM III²: 461–462 # 40, 916, map XLVI D2, 40.

Inscriptions (editions and/or translations): Borchardt 1911: 19–20 # 18–19; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 233 # 9–10.

Kinship: married to the *iry* ht nswt Hnwt, “king’s acquaintance Khenut”, known by a statue coming from his tomb and kept in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (Borchardt 1911: 46–47 # 53, pl. 14.53).

Date: first half of the Fifth Dynasty. Borchardt 1911: 19–20, “Dyn. 5”; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 109, mid-Fifth Dynasty; Freier 1976: 10, “an der Wende von der 4. zur 5. Dynastie”; Wildung 1977: 1258, “frühe 5. Dyn.”; PM III²: 917, “early Dyn. V”; Baer 1960: 99, “early V”; El-Sharkawy 2008: 23, “early 5th Dynasty”.

Titles:

(a) [statue CGC 18, horizontal inscription] 𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏; *wr hrp(w) hmwt, n(y) hrw hb, mhnk nswt*; GDC, belonging to the day of festival, intimate of the king [+ name].

(b) [statue CGC 18, three-column inscription] 𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏 / 𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏 / 𓂏𓂏; *wr hrp(w) hmwt, n(y) hrw hb, mhnk nswt / hm-ntr Pth, hm-ntr Zkr, hrp sm(w) / imy-r3 pr Zkr*; GDC, belonging to the day of festival, intimate of the king / priest of Ptah, priest of Sokar, director of *sem*-attendants / overseer of the temple of Sokar [+ name].

(c) [statue CGC 19, three-column inscription] 𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏 / 𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏 / 𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏; *wr hrp(w) hmwt, n(y) hrw hb / hm-ntr Pth, hm-ntr Zkr / hrp sm(w) nb(w), mhnk nswt*; GDC, belonging to the day of festival [+ name] / priest of Ptah, priest of Sokar / director of all *sem*-attendants, intimate of the king [+ name].

[5] Neferefreankh

𓂏𓂏 Nfr=f-R^c-nh(.w) (one single attestation)

Other lists: ^MNeferef-rê-ankh; ^Wnh-Nfr:f-R^c; ^{PM}Ra^cneferf^cankh; ^SNfr:f-R^c-nh(w).

Other prosopographies: Baer 1960: 91 # 259.

Monuments and documents: false door stela belonging to the “director of the dining-hall, inspector of funerary-priests Senimen” (*hrp zh, shd hm(w)-k3 Sn=i-mn(.w)*), a gift from the GDC Neferefreankh, mentioned in it, CGC 1410. Borchardt 1937: 74–75 # 1410; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 111; PM III²: 698 (Senimen). Baer (1960: 91) and El-Sharkawy (2005: 23) respectively claim and suggest that the GDC Neferefreankh is the same character as the namesake owner of the tomb MM D58 at Saqqara, east of the Step Pyramid (Mariette 1889: 335, D58), and the statue CGC 87, probably coming from it (Borchardt 1911: 69 # 87, pl. 19.87) (PM III²: 585, D58). However, the documented titles of both, although scarce, are very different and do not seem to support this identification or, in any case, do not allow for a conclusion.

Inscriptions (editions and/or translations): Borchardt 1937: 74–75 # 1410; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 232–233 # 8.

Kinship: no data.

Date: mid-Fifth Dynasty. Borchardt 1937: 74, “Dyn. 5”; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 109, mid-Fifth Dynasty; Baer 1960, “Neferefre or later”; Freier 1976: 10, “wahrscheinlich (...) 5. Dynastie”; Wildung 1977: 1258, “Mitte 5. Dyn.”; PM III²: 917, “Ra^cneferf or later”; El-Sharkawy 2008: 23 (quotes the dates given by Wildung and PM). Neferefreankh is a basilophoric name embedding the name of king Neferefre, which is an accurate time indicator.

Titles: [Senimen’s stela] 𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏; *wr hrp(w) hmwt, imy-r3 pr Zkr*; GDC, overseer of the temple of Sokar [+ name].

[6] Ptahshepses II

𓂏𓂏 Ptḥ-šps

Other lists: ^MPtahshepses II; ^WPtḥ-šps (III.); ^{PM}Ptahshepses; ^SPtḥ-šps III.

Other prosopographies: Baer 1960: 75–76 # 164 (surprisingly, within the entry for Ptahshepses I).


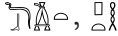
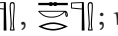

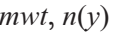
Monuments and documents: great mastaba located in the cemetery northwest of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, MM C9, with a chapel very similar in shape and dimensions to that of Ptahshepses I; doorway lintel from this mastaba, now in the University of Aberdeen Museums (former University of Aberdeen Anthropological Museum), 1556, with a list of titles almost identical to that on the doorway lintel of the latter. Mariette 1889: 129–130, C9; Reid 1912: 194–195; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 109; Baer 1960: 75; PM III²: 464–465 # 50, 916 [Ptahshepses], map XLVI CD2, 50. Two seated and headless statues of a Ptahshepses kept in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, CGC 93 and 368, most likely come from this tomb, although it has also been suggested that they might come from the tomb of Ptahshepses I: the titles inscribed on them match perfectly with the titularies of both. Borchardt 1911: 73 # 93, pl. 21.93; 193–194 # 368 (undecided about

by Mariette); false door stela in the tomb. Murray 1905: 24–26, pls. 26–27, 34 [Ptahshepses I]; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 111–112; PM III²: 499, 917 [Ptahshepses I], map XLVI D2, Ptahshepses.

Inscriptions (editions and/or translations): Murray 1905: pls. 26–27; Sethe in Murray 1937: 21 # 23 (titles); Maystre 1992 [1948]: 234 # 11.

Kinship: two sons are represented as offering bearers in a register of the fragmentary decoration of the chapel of his tomb (east wall): $z3=f$ *S3bw*, “his son, Sabu”, and $z3=f$ *Pth-šps*, “his son, Ptahshepses” (Murray 1905: pl. 27) (see above, 6a). However, the register is incomplete; in front of the first of these figures is another identical fragmentary figure whose label is lost; and, unlike what happens with Sabu Ibebi and Ptahshepses IV, a $z3=f$ *mr(y)=f* or his label does not appear in the preserved reliefs ([9], Kinship; [11], Kinship).

Date: second half of the Fifth Dynasty. Maystre 1992 [1948]: 111–112, second half of the Fifth Dynasty; Freier 1976: 10–11, “an die Wende von der 5. zur 6. Dynastie”; PM III²: 917, “Dyn. VI”; El-Sharkawy 2008: 23, “6th Dynasty”.

Titles: [false door stela] , , , , ; *wr hrp(w) hmwt, n(y) [hrw] hb, db3ty, hm-ntr Pth, hm-ntr Zkr*; GDC, belonging to the day of festival, robing-priest, priest of Ptah, priest of Sokar.

[9] Sabu III Ibebi

 *S3bw rn=f nfr Ibbi*

Other lists: ^MSabou-Ibebi; ^W*S3bw-Jbbj*; ^{PM}Sabu (Ibebi); ^S*S3bw* II, he whose beautiful name is *Jbbj*.

Other prosopographies: Baer 1960: 121 # 421; Strudwick 1985: 130 # 116; Kloth 2002: 30 # 64.

Monuments and documents: mastaba with two chapels (the one in the south belonging to Sabu Ibebi and the one in the north belonging to Ptahshepses IV) located in the cemetery northwest of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, MM E1/2; limestone coating of the western, southern, and northern walls of the southern chapel of this mastaba, decorated with inscriptions and reliefs, now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo: false door stela, CGC 1565 (western wall); wall monolithic slabs, CGC 1418, 1419 (southern, northern walls). Mariette 1889: 373–388, E1/2; 412–415 (labelled E12 instead of E1/2); Borchartd 1937: 91–101 # 1418, 1419, pl. 21.1418/1419; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 113–115; Borchartd 1964: 31–34 # 1565, pl. 65.1565; PM III²: 460–461 # 37–38, 916, map XLVI D2, 37–38; El-Khadragy 2005.





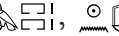


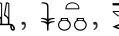

Inscriptions (editions and/or translations): Mariette 1889: 375, 380–384, 412–415; Breasted 1906: 131–133 § 282–288; *Urk.* I: 81–84 # 5; Borchartd 1937: 91–101 # 1418, 1419; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 236–244 # 16–20; Borchartd 1964: 31–34 # 1565; Roccati 1982: 173–175 # 37; Strudwick 2005:

306–308 # 228; El-Khadragy 2005: 170–189, figs. 1–6 (edition used here, which corrects important errors of previous editions regarding the layout of texts and reliefs); Stauder-Porchet 2017: 241–244.

Kinship: probably son (suggested by Wildung) or better second-generation offspring (see above, 7) of Ptahshepses I ([2]): the similar monuments and texts (niched wall/false door stelae with (auto-)biographies) and the same phraseology (Breasted 1906: 131; Dorman 2002: 102–106; Kloth 2002: 258–259; Strudwick 2005: 306; Dulíková 2016: 37; Stauder-Porchet 2017: 241–244), as well as the exclusive mention of priestly offices related to ancient Memphite divinities (see above, 5) in those texts suggest close relationship between them, both familiar and chronological. An almost identical list of titles also closely links these two characters to Ptahshepses II ([6]). Almost certainly (sure, according to Wildung and El-Sharkawy) father of Ptahshepses IV. Maybe married to a noblewoman called Meritites (Mariette 1889: 386). Five sons and two grandsons are represented in the reliefs of his chapel as offering bearers or statue pullers, and the only son labelled as “his beloved”, also as a ritualist: $z3=f$ *mr=f hry-hbt zh3 md3t ntr Pth-šps*, “his beloved son, lector priest, scribe of the god’s book, Ptahshepses” (depicted twice); $z3=f$ *imy-ht hmwt pr-3 S3bw*, “his son, under-supervisor of craftsmen of the Great House, Sabu”; *imy-ht pr-3 z3=f Hm-Twnw*, “under-supervisor of the Great House, his son, Hemiunu”; $z3=f$ *imy-ht hnty(w)-š pr-3 Šps-pw-Pth Km*, “his son, under-supervisor of the *khentiushe* of the Great House, Shepesuptah Kem” ([7], Kinship); and $z3=f$ *Šps-pw-Pth*, “his son, Shepesuptah”; $z3 z3=f$ *imy-ht hmwt pr-3 Pth-šps*, “the son of his son, under-supervisor of craftsmen of the Great House, Ptahshepses”; $z3 z3=f$ *Hnw*, “the son of his son Khenu”. According to Kanawati (2003: 135–137) and El-Khadragy (2014: 180, 182–183, 188, 191–192, figs. 3–6), Sabu had a sixth son depicted fivefold in the chapel but whose images and accompanying labels were systematically chiseled out; from the traces of these labels it can be deduced that he was Sabu’s eldest son ($z3=f$ *smsw [m]ry[=f]*), he was a priest (*hm-ntr*), and the name of Ptah was present in his titles (see above, 7, and note 123).

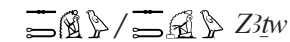
Date: reigns of Unis and Teti. Maystre 1992 [1948]: 113, end of the Fifth Dynasty–Teti; Freier 1976: 10–11, “an die Wende von der 5. zur 6. Dynastie”; Wildung 1977: 1258, “Teti”; Baer 1960: 121, “Teti (biography)”; PM III²: 916, “Teti”; Strudwick 1985: “Middle to late reign of Teti”; Kloth 2002: 30, “6. Dyn.: Teti, nach eigener (auto-) biographischer Angabe”; Kanawati 2003: 135, “late Teti”; Strudwick 2005: 306, “time of Unas and Teti/Early sixth dynasty”; El-Sharkawy 2008: 23, “reign of *Wnjs* (late 5th Dynasty) and *Ttj* (early Sixth Dynasty) and possibly lived even later than that”; Roeten 2016: 118 (quantitative measure-based method for dating tombs), “a dating to the 6th dynasty seems unlikely” (referring only to the tomb).

Titles:

(a) [tomb doorway lintel, fourth line] , , , , , , , , ; *wr hrp(w) hmwt m prwy, n(y) hrw hb, hm-ntr Pth, hm-ntr Zkr, hrp sm(w), mhnk nswt, imy-r3 pr Zkr, imy-r3 w^cbt, hrp hmwt nbt, hry-sš3 n ntr=f, w^cb Pth*; GDC in the Two Houses, belonging to the day of festival, priest of Ptah, priest of Sokar, director of *sem*-attendants, intimate of the king, overseer of the temple of Sokar, overseer of the *wabet*, director of all craftsmen, privy to the secrets of his god, *wab*-priest of Ptah.

- (b) [tomb doorway, right jamb, outer side]  *wr hrp(w) hmwt n Wnis*, GDC of Unis.
- (c) [tomb doorway, right jamb, inner side; three columns of four]  *imy-ht hm(w)-ntr Nfr-swt-Wnis*, *wr hrp(w) hmwt, db3ty / wr hrp(w) hmwt m prwy, n(y) hrw hb, imy-r3 pr Zkr / wr hrp(w) hmwt, imy-r3 hwwt Zkr m swt nb(w)t*; under-supervisor of priests of Nefer-sut-Unis (pyramid of Unis), GDC, robing-priest / GDC in the Two Houses, belonging to the day of festival, overseer of the temple of Sokar / GDC, overseer of the sanctuaries of Sokar in all places.
- (d) [tomb doorway, left jamb, inner side; three columns of four]  *imy-ht hm(w)-ntr Dd-swt-Tti*, *wr hrp(w) hmwt, n(y) hrw hb / wr hrp(w) hmwt <m> prwy, n(y) hrw hb, hm-ntr Pth, hm-ntr Zkr, hrp sm(w) / hrp mhknw nswt, imy-r3 w^cbt, hrp hmwt nbt, hry-sšt3*; under-supervisor of priests of Djed-sut-Teti (pyramid of Teti), GDC, belonging to the day of festival / GDC in the Two Houses, belonging to the day of festival, priest of Ptah, priest of Sokar, director of *sem*-attendants / director of the intimates of the king, overseer of the *wabet*, director of all craftsmen, one who is privy to the secret.
- (e) [false door stela, panel, left/right sides]  *wr hrp(w) hmwt, n(y) hrw hb, imr-r3 k3t nb(t) nt nswt / wr hrp(w) hmwt, n(y) hrw hb, hm-ntr Pth, hm-ntr Zkr*; GDC, belonging to the day of festival, overseer of all works of the king [+ epithet + name] / GDC, belonging to the day of festival, priest of Ptah, priest of Sokar [+ epithet + name].
- (f) [false door stela, three-column left inner jamb; two columns of three]  *wr hrp(w) hmwt, n(y) hrw hb, hm-ntr M3t m swt (i)ptn, hm-ntr Hry-b3q=f, hm-ntr Hnty-mdf(t) / wr hrp(w) hmwt m prwy, hm-ntr Hnty-izwt=f, hm-ntr Imy-ht-wr*; GDC, belonging to the day of festival, priest of Maat in these places, priest of Kheribaqef, priest of Khentimedefet / GDC in the Two Houses, priest of Khentiautef, priest of Imikhentur.
- (g) [false door stela, three-column right inner jamb]  *wr hrp(w) hmwt, hm-ntr Pth, hm-ntr Zkr m swt=f nb(w)t, hm-ntr Hnty-tnnt, hm-ntr Dd-šps, wr hrp(w) hmwt, n(y) hrw hb / wr hrp(w) hmwt, hm-ntr R^c m Nhn-R^c, hm-ntr R^c m Šzpw-ib-R^c / wr hrp(w) hmwt, hm-ntr R^c-Hr-3ht(y) m St-ib-R^c, hm-ntr Hwt-Hr m swt nb(w)t*; GDC, priest of Ptah, priest of Sokar in all his places, priest of Khentitjenenet, priest of Djedsheses, GDC, belonging to the day of festival / GDC, priest of Re in Nekhenre (sun-temple of Userkaf), priest of Re in Shezepuibre (sun-temple of Niuserre) / GDC, priest of Re-Horakhty in Setibre (sun-temple of Neferirkare); priest of Hathor in all places.
- [⁽¹⁾ In the original, the last round sign of this title and the first round sign of the next one, which follows immediately, are interchanged by scribal mistake; different interpretation: El-Khadragy 2005: 177 n. 58.]
- (h) [other titles: false door stela, left outer jamb, first and second column, inside the biographical text]  *hry-sšt3 n k3t nbt / hry-sšt3 n nswt m s(w)t=f nb(w)t*; privy to the secret of all works / privy to the secret of the king in all his cult-places.

[10] Satju

 *Z3tw*


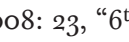
Other lists: ^MSetjou; ^WSt₃w; ^{PM}Sethu; ^SS₃w.

Other prosopographies: Baer 1960: 120 # 417A.



Monuments and documents: group-statue of the character (seating) and his wife (kneeling on his right, in smaller proportions), once in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, CGC 190, and now in the Karanis Museum (Kom Aushim, El-Fayoum; El-Sharkawy 2008: 23 # 14); offering-stand, now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, CGC 1300. Borchardt 1911: 130 # 190, pl. 40.190; Borchardt 1937: 3 # 1300, pl. 1.1300; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 107–108; PM III²: 698, 916. Borchardt (1911: 130) and Maystre (1992 [1948]: 107 n. 1) suggest, respectively, that the tombs MM B6 and MM B7, located in the cemetery north of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara (Mariette 1889: 97–98, B6, B7), may have belonged to this Satju. However, this seems unlikely for two reasons: 1) the completely different titles recorded in the inscriptions on the statue and the offering-stand, on the one hand, and in the tombs, on the other; and 2) the discrepancy between the objects belonging to the GDC Satju and those found in the tombs (no objects come from tomb B6; from tomb B7 come two offering-stands, two little false door stelae, and a slab with reliefs, now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, but they belonged to a Satju with completely different titles from those of the GDC Satju: Borchardt 1937: 2 # 1298, 4 # 1301, 35–36 # 1377/1378, 199–200 # 1494; pls. 1.1298, 8.1377/1378, 43.1494; Baer 1960: 120 # 417). A stela now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (MANN 1017) that represents a *iry ht nswt Z3tw, hm-ntr Pth, hm-ntr Zkr*, “king’s acquaintance Satju, priest of Ptah, priest of Sokar”, and his wife, the *iry ht nswt Hntytk(3)*, “king’s acquaintance Khentitka”, could have belonged to this character, but the absence of the title of GDC in this document prevents confirmation (Hölbl 1985, 3–5 # 1; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 108).


Inscriptions (editions and/or translations): Borchardt 1911: 130 # 190; Borchardt 1937: 3 # 1300; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 235–236 # 14–15.

Kinship: no data.

Date: plausibly end of the Fifth Dynasty and/or beginning of the Sixth. Borchardt 1911: 130, “Dyn. 5”; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 108, “il aurait vécu au début de la Vème dynastie, soit antérieurement à Ptahchepses I soit en même temps, comme son collègue plus âgé”; Freier 1976: 10, “wahrscheinlich (...) 5. Dynastie”; Wildung 1977: 1258, “6. Dyn.”; PM III²: 916, “probably Dyn. V”; El-Sharkawy 2008: 23, “6th Dynasty”. The unitary title  *hm-ntr Pth Zkr*; “priest of Ptah and Sokar”, appears and alternates with the doublet  *hm-ntr Pth hm-ntr Zkr*, “priest of Ptah, priest of Sokar”. The same will happen with Ptahshepses IV and this suggests chronological proximity between the two (see above, 4, 7b).

Titles:

(a) [statue, two-column inscription]  / ; *wr hrp(w) hmwt, hm-ntr Pth / wr hrp(w) hmwt, hm-ntr Zkr*; GDC, priest of Ptah [+ name] / GDC, priest of Sokar [+ name].

(b) [offering-stand, one column inscription] ; *wr hrp(w) hmwt, hm-ntr Pth Zkr*; GDC, priest of Ptah and Sokar [+ name].

[11] Ptahshepses IV

 *Pth-špss*

Other lists: ^MPtahshepses IV; ^W*Pth-špss* (II.); ^{PM}Ptahshepses [II]; ^S*Pth-špss* II.

Other prosopographies: Baer 1960: 76–77 # 168.



Monuments and documents: mastaba with two chapels (the one in the north belonging to Ptahshepses and the one in the south belonging to Sabu III Ibebi) located in the cemetery northwest of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, MM E1/2; doorway lintel, drum, and jamb from the southern chapel of this mastaba, now in the National Museums Liverpool–World Museum, 55.67a/b. Mariette 1889: 373–388, E1/2; Murray 1905: 26–28, pls. 28–31, 35 [Ptahshepses II]; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 115–116; PM III²: 460–461 # 37–38, 917 [Ptahshepses II], map XLVI D2, 37–38. A character labelled as GDC is depicted in a limestone block from the funerary temple of Pepy I; the name has not been preserved, but given the chronology he could have been Ptahshepses IV or Sabu Tjety: Labrousse 2019: 135–136, fig. 89.


Inscriptions (editions and/or translations): Mariette 1889: 377; Murray 1905: pls. 28–31; Sethe in Murray 1937: 21–23 # 24; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 244–247 # 21–25. Temple of Pepy I: Labrousse 2019: 135 (only the title).

Kinship: almost certainly (sure, according to Wildung and El-Sharkawy) the son of Sabu III Ibebi. Married to the *iry* *ht nswt hm(t)-ntr Hwt-Hr hm(t)-ntr Nt Inti*, “king’s acquaintance, priestess of Neit, priestess of Hathor, Inti” (Murray 1905, pl. 31.1/2), in all probability the same Inti who owns a tomb located in the cemetery northwest of the Step Pyramid (MM C17, Mariette 1889: 148; Maystre 1992 [1948]: 64–65, 116–118; PM III²: 463 # 43, map XLVI D2, 43). Four sons are represented in the reliefs of his chapel as offering bearers, and the only one labelled as “his beloved”, also as a young official standing next to his father and touching his staff: *z3=f mry=f imy-ht hmwt S3bw*, “his beloved son, under-supervisor of craftsmen, Sabu”; *z3=f imy-ht hmwt Pth-špss*, “his son, under-supervisor of craftsmen, Ptahshepses”; *z3=f hnty-š pr-3 Pth-špss*, “his son, *khentishe* of the Great House, Ptahshepses”; and *z3=f šps-pw-Pth* “his son, Shepespuptah” (Murray 1905, pls. 29, 30, 31.3). The first is in all likelihood Sabu Tjety, who would begin his career in the priesthood of Ptah under his father’s pontificate and then succeed him in the office of GDC (see above, 6a).

Date: reigns of Teti and Pepy I. Maystre 1992 [1948]: 115–116, Unis–Teti; Freier 1976: 11, “6. Dynastie”; Wildung 1977: 1258, “Teti–Pepi I.”; Baer 1960: 77, “Teti–Pepi I”; PM III²: 917, “Teti or later”; El-Sharkawy 2008: 23, “*Tij* to *Ppj* I. (6th Dynasty)”. He was probably born under Djedkare-Isesi, but he made his priestly career and held the charge of GDC during the reigns of Teti and Pepy I.



Titles:



(a) [chapel, north and south walls] ; among epithets: ; *m-ht hm(w)-ntr Dd-swt-Tti, hm-ntr Nfr-swt-Wnis, hry-sšt3 n htmt-ntr, wr hrp(w) hmwt, n(y) hrw hb*; under-supervisor of the priests of (the pyramid) Djed-sut-Teti, priest of (the pyramid) Nefer-sut-Unis, privy to the secret of the god’s treasure, GDC, belonging to the day of festival.



(b) [false door stela, right outer jamb] ; *mhnk nswt, w^cb Pth; imy-r3 pr Zkr m swt=f nb(wt)*; GDC, intimate of the king, *wab*-priest of Ptah, overseer of the temple of Sokar in all his places.

(c) [false door stela, left outer jamb] ; *wr hrp(w) hmwt, imy-r3 w^cbt, hrp hmwt nbt, hry-sšt3 n ntr=f*; GDC, overseer of the *wabet*, director of all craftsmen, privy to the secrets of his god.


(d) [false door stela, lower lintel]  *m-ht hm(w)-ntr Dd-swt-Tti*, under-supervisor of the priests of (the pyramid) Djed-sut-Teti.

(e) [false door stela, two-column right inner jamb]  / ; *wr hrp(w) hmwt + db3ty / hrp sm(w)*; GDC + robing-priest / director of *sem*-attendants.

(f) [false door stela, two-column left inner jamb]  / ; *wr hrp(w) hmwt m prwy, hm-ntr Pth Zkr / wr hrp(w) hmwt, n(y) hrw hb*; GDC in the Two Houses, priest of Ptah and Sokar / GDC, belonging to the day of festival.

(g) [other title: tomb doorway, lintel] Most of the titles on the stela, in an equivalent order, but  *hm-ntr Pth Zkr*, priest of Ptah and Sokar, is replaced by  *hm-ntr Pth, hm-ntr Zkr*; priest of Ptah, priest of Sokar.

[12] Sabu IV Tjety

 *S3bw, Tty*

Other lists: ^MSabou-Tjety; ^W*S3bw-Tty*; ^{PM}Sabu (Thety); ^S*S3bw* IV (incorrectly added: “he whose beautiful name is *Tty*”, since the name Tjety is not recorded as a *rn=f nfr*).

Other prosopographies: Baer 1960: 121 # 422; Kloth 2002: 30–31 # 65.

Monuments and documents: great mastaba located in the cemetery northwest of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara, MM E3; lower-right quarter of a false door stela from this mastaba, now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, CGC 1709, 1756. Mariette 1889: 389–391, E3; Maystre 1992

granite fragments, at present stored in El-Mohemat magazine in Saqqara, twelve blocks or block fragments and ten statuettes tracked in the antiquities market since 2009 (some of these pieces have been returned to Egypt and are today kept in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo), and one weight purchased by Brugsch in Saqqara in 1881 and today in the Ägyptisches Museum Berlin (ÄM 8032). Brugsch 1891: 1451–1452 # 82; *PN* I: 26 # 13 (name Impy on the aforementioned weight); Ägyptisches Museum Berlin 1967: 28 # 244; Cervelló Autuori 2007, 2016; Cervelló Autuori and Díaz de Cerio Juan 2009.

Inscriptions (editions and/or translations): [partially published] Cervelló Autuori 2007; 2016. All the blocks quoted below (Titles) are published in these articles. The blocks KKh01/1&3&9, KKh–Bcn–A/1 and KKh–Bcn–B/1 formed an incomplete wall with a long inscription of at least six lines more than 2 m long recording the names and titles of the character (see above, 1). The text is oriented left to right. The beginning of the lines is preserved, but not the end. The first line preserved was not the first of the original inscription, while the sixth line preserved was the last, because underneath it there is a wide uncarved space. In the preserved text, the names of the character are repeated several times (thirteen at least, always all three together judging by the preserved text); some titles are repeated three (𓂏, 𓂏𓂏) or two (𓂏𓂏) times, while some others appear only once (𓂏, 𓂏𓂏𓂏, 𓂏, 𓂏𓂏𓂏, ...𓂏𓂏(?)).

Kinship: no data; his beautiful name Impy could relate him to Ptahshepses V Impy I and Impy III.

Date: end of the Sixth Dynasty and/or beginning of the First Intermediate Period. Cervelló Autuori 2007: 81–83. The title *im3-ꜥ* is followed (or accompanied) by the epithet 𓂏𓂏 *ir m ꜥwy=f*, “(he) who acts with his two arms”, which is not documented for the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period (absent from Jones 2000; only one reference in HL4: 184, but corresponding to a royal epithet in an inscription from the funerary temple of king Sahure at Abusir: Borchardt 1913, pl. 8). We are therefore facing one of the first attestations of this epithet, or rather, idiom, which in the Middle Kingdom would become more common (HL5: 358–359).

Titles:

(a) [wall text, at the start of a line, introducing the main name *Imp-Hr*] 𓂏, 𓂏; *h3ty-ꜥ*, *sm*; foremost, *sem*-priest (one/three occurrences).

(b) [wall text, at the start of a line, followed by a gap in the text] 𓂏𓂏 *wr hrp(w) hmwt*, GDC (two occurrences).

(c) [wall text, within the text] [𓂏𓂏]𓂏, 𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏, 𓂏, 𓂏𓂏𓂏, ...𓂏𓂏(?); [*wr hrp(w) hmwt*] *m prwy*, *hry-hbt hry-tp*, *wr hrp(w) hmwt*, *im3-ꜥ*, *hrp i3wt nbwt ntrwt*, ...*wsht* (?); [GDC] in the Two Houses, lector priest in charge, GDC, gracious of arm, director of every divine office, ...of the *usekhet* (?) (all single occurrences, except for 𓂏𓂏 two occurrences).

(d) [block KKh01/4, in absolute initial position of titulary, as a dative in the context of the offering formula] 𓂏 *h3ty-ꜥ*, foremost [+ name] (one occurrence).

(e) [weight] 𓂏 *sm*, *sem*-priest [+ names].

[15] Impy III son of Ankhu

𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏 (sic) *Impy, s3-n-ꜥnhw* (one single attestation)

Other lists: ^Mabsent; ^W*ꜥnhw*; ^{PM}absent; ^S*ꜥnh(w)*.

Monuments and documents: Inscribed standing statuette with missing legs and feet of unknown origin (probably Saqqara), kept in the Musée du Louvre, E 17365. Vandier 1958: 230, 249, 264, pl. 78.2; Delange 1987: 180–181; Bochi 1996: 229, 230 fig. 6 (caption exchanged with fig. 7); PM VIII¹: 314 # 801-309-600.

Inscriptions (editions and/or translations): Delange 1987: 181.

Kinship: no data. Wildung and El-Sharkawy suggest that he could be the father of Ptahshepses V Impy I, but this seems unlikely for chronological reasons (see [13] and below).

Date: late First Intermediate Period or early Middle Kingdom. Wildung 1977: 1259, “1. ZwZt” [*ꜥnhw*]; Delange 1987: 181, “Sans pouvoir trancher, nous laissons donc l’alternative de la datation: début du Moyen Empire ou Deuxième Période Intermédiaire”; Bochi 1996: 229, “based on the particular style (...) an Eleventh Dynasty date might seem more possible than a Thirteenth Dynasty date”; PM VIII¹: 314, “First Intermediate Period”; El-Sharkawy 2008: 24, “First Intermediate Period” [*ꜥnh(w)*]. Despite Delange’s hesitation, one factor seems to be decisive for a dating in the first of the two periods between which she doubts: according to Ranke (*PN* I: 26 # 13; see also Scheele-Schweitzer 2014: 237 # 295), the name Impy is mainly used in the Old Kingdom and residually in the Middle Kingdom, while there is no attestation dated after the Middle Kingdom. On the other hand, in Impy’s statue, the spelling of the name is identical to the short variant of the same name in Imephor Impy Nikaupth’s documents (𓂏𓂏, for example, in Berlin’s weight: [14]). As for a post-Imephor dating, the titulary of Impy III starts with the couple of titles *iry-pꜥt h3ty-ꜥ* (see above, 7d), which is a feature of the titularies of the GDC title holders in the Middle Kingdom (Maystre 1992 [1948]: 72, 251–253); since the titulary of Imephor can begin with the title *h3ty-ꜥ* but not with the couple *iry-pꜥt h3ty-ꜥ*, he must have preceded Impy III in the charge. Impy III is, in any case, absent from Fischer’s list of the Memphite high priests of the Twelfth Dynasty (Fischer 1976: 63–66).

Titles:

(a) [statuette back pillar] 𓂏, 𓂏, 𓂏, 𓂏𓂏; *iry-pꜥt*, *h3ty-ꜥ*, *sm*, *wr hrp(w) hmwt*; member of the *pat*, foremost, *sem*-priest, GDC [+ affiliation].

(b) [statuette left breast] 𓂏 *sm*, *sem*-priest [+ name].

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Trabajos de Egiptología

Papers on Ancient Egypt

Número 9
2018

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Trabajos de Egiptología está producida por
Isfet. Egiptología e Historia
con la colaboración del Centro de Estudios Africanos
de la Universidad de La Laguna

C/ Blanco 1, 2º
38400 Puerto de la Cruz
Tenerife-Islas Canarias
España

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Imprime: Gráfica Los Majuelos

Depósito Legal: TF 935-2015
ISSN: 1695-4750