

A DELTA-MAN IN YEBU

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Edited by
A. K. Eyma and C. J. Bennett

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The First Prophet of Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten

Federico Rocchi

Introduction

This paper discusses the deification of Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten by focussing attention on a set of documents that demonstrates the existence of a cult for that king while he was still alive. Evidence for a priest of the god Amenhotep IV is collected from the Karnak talatats and similar documents from Amarna. Further analyses draw a diachronic picture of the situation in the 18th dynasty, with particular attention to the reign of Tutankhamun. Summary and conclusions are preceded by a section that deals with the available textual evidence relating to the possible existence of a temple dedicated to Akhenaten at Amarna, and by a section with suggestions concerning the historical and religious developments of the cult of the living Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten, as well as comments on the previous underestimation of the role of the king's priest described here. An appendix deals with some related prosopographical material from the 18th dynasty.

The First Prophet of the King: evidence from the Karnak talatats

Among the inscribed talatats found reused in Karnak and dating back to the earliest years of Amenhotep IV's reign, there are many attestations of the existence of a "First Prophet of Neferkheperura Waenra", *ḥm-ntr tpy n nfr-ḥprw-rꜥ wꜥ-n-rꜥ*. The man holding this title is always shown in jubilee scenes¹, in particular in a series of kiosk-offering scenes which depict rituals introduced in the *ḥb-sd* festival by Amenhotep IV. Essentially these scenes show the king, in typical jubilee garments, making offerings to the Aten, inside a roofless open-sky structure delimited by walls with portals and doorways which has been termed a *kiosk* (hence the name of the scenes). In these offerings, the standing king is always accompanied by three officiants who are invariably depicted on the talatats in the same place, attitude, attire and position². The two men in front of the king are described by the accompanying inscriptions as the "Greatest of Seers of Ra-Harakhte in the temple of Aten in Southern Heliopolis", *wr m3w n rꜥ-ḥr-3ḥty m pr itn m iwnw šmꜥw*, and as the "Chief Lector Priest", *ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp*, respectively. In the offering scenes under examination, the Greatest of Seers carries in his hands a small spouted vessel and a *ḥrp*-scepter. The lector priest carries a papyrus roll, probably containing the ritual formula he was asked to read. The third officiant depicted in these scenes is always behind the king, who is almost always barefoot. This person invariably carries his majesty's sandals, a staff, and a small box³. He is titled the "First Prophet of Neferkheperura Waenra", *ḥm-ntr tpy n nfr-ḥprw-rꜥ wꜥ-n-rꜥ*⁴. In many instances he also has the title of "Chamberlain", *imy-ḥnt*.

This First Prophet was identified about 14 times among the reliefs discovered at Karnak by the Akhenaten Temple Project (ATP)⁵. Two more instances found at Medamud were described by

¹ J. Gohary, *Akhenaten's Sed Festival at Karnak*, London 1992.

² Gohary, op. cit., 68-86.

³ The theme of the sandal bearer is reminiscent of the similar one on the Narmer Palette.

⁴ For a description of the images and various inscriptional writing variants of this title, see S. Tawfik, "Religious Titles on Blocks from the Aten Temple(s) at Thebes", in R. W. Smith and D. B. Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project* (hereafter: ATP), I, Warminster 1976, 95-101. The title *ḥm-ntr tpy n nfr-ḥprw-rꜥ* should not be confused with the simple and more general term *ḥm-ntr* mentioned in the Karnak talatats, which probably refers to a priest of a god and not of the king; Tawfik, op. cit., 99.

⁵ Gohary, op. cit., 68-86, 117, 132.

Cotteville-Giraudet⁶. Two additional blocks with this scene, published by Clère, were acquired around 1968 by the Louvre⁷. Two other jubilee reliefs showing the First Prophet known to the present author, but not included in the catalogue compiled by Gohary, are the Gayer-Anderson Jubilee Relief in the Fitzwilliam Museum (EGA 2300.1943) in Cambridge⁸ and a relief found at Karnak and, at least up to 1975, stored in the storerooms of the Centre Franco-Égyptien des Temples de Karnak under number 3588. As of 1975, relief 3588 was still unpublished and, to the best of the present author's knowledge, it still is, apart from a black-and-white photo and a general description by Claude Traunecker for the catalogue of the Brussels exhibition of 1975⁹. On this relief only the title, not the figure, of the First Prophet, here bearing also the epithet of Chamberlain, is left. Comparison of n° 3588 with the Gayer-Anderson relief shows striking similarities of composition.

Two important facts must be stressed about this First Prophet: (1) he is never given a personal name in the inscriptions; (2) he is never found or attested in Akhetaten. The first point also applies to the Greatest of Seers and the Lector Priest on the Karnak talatats. As to the second point, the Lector Priest title also seems to disappear in Amarna¹⁰, with a couple of possible exceptions that may date back to the early years of the reign: Meryneith, whose tomb was recently rediscovered at Saqqara¹¹, and Patwa, whose stela is kept in Berlin¹².

The title "Greatest of Seers" was held by the High Priests of Ra at Heliopolis and was subsequently adopted by the High Priests of Aten in the fashion described by the inscriptions on the talatats. After the move to Amarna, the title continued to be used by the High Priests of Aten but in the shorter form of "Greatest of Seers of the Aten", *wr m3w n p3 itn*¹³. These changes may reflect a change parallel to the theological evolution of the concept of the god Aten from Ra-Harakhte to later forms. By analogy a similar evolution could perhaps be envisioned for the title of First Prophet, as will be shown in the next section.

The First Servant of the King: evidence from the private tombs at Amarna

From the corpus of inscriptions on the walls of the rock-cut private tombs at Amarna, at least six instances attest the existence of a Servant of the living king. They are:

⁶ Medamud 5427 and 5434 – see R. Cotteville-Giraudet, *Les reliefs d'Amenophis IV Akhenaton (Medamoud 1932)*, Cairo 1936 = FIFAO 13; non vidi.

⁷ Louvre 26013 and 26014 – see J. J. Clère, "Nouveaux Fragments de Scènes du Jubilé d'Amenophis IV", *RdÉ* 20 (1968), 51-54.

⁸ F. Ll. Griffith, "The Jubilee of Akhenaton", *JEA* 5 (1918), 61-63; id., "The Gayer-Anderson Jubilee Relief", *JEA* 8 (1922), 199-200; C. Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, New York 1973, #11; E. Vassilika, *Egyptian Art*, Cambridge 1995, 60-61. Whether the Cambridge relief comes from Memphis or from the Theban region is basically of no relevance to the present discussion.

⁹ *Le Règne du Soleil, Akhenaton et Nefertiti. Exposition organisée par les Ministères de la Culture aux Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, Bruxelles, 1975. See number 42 of the catalogue, 108-109.

¹⁰ R. Hari, *Répertoire onomastique amarnien*, Geneva 1976; J. A. Taylor, *An Index of Male Non-royal Egyptian Titles, Epithets & Phrases of the 18th Dynasty*, London 2001.

¹¹ Meryneith changed his name into Meryra or Meryaten during the reign of Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten, but nothing is known about the fate of his titles after the change of the name. The rediscovery of his tomb at Saqqara may cast more light on his life. See M. Raven, "The tomb of Meryneith at Saqqara", *EA* 20 (2002), 26-28. Cf. URL:

<http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/saqqara/homepage.htm>

¹² Stela Berlin 9610; B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* (hereafter: PM) I, Oxford 1964, 797. This stela is usually dated to the beginning of the reign of Amenhotep IV. However, in the present writer's opinion the stela is, for many reasons, to be dated to the first half of the 18th dynasty.

¹³ E.g. N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* (hereafter: RTA), I, London 1903-8, pl. VI (tomb of Meryra).

- *b3k n nb t3wy nfr-hprw-r^c w^c-n-r^c*

“Servant of the Lord of the Two Lands Neferkheperura Waenra”
(tomb of Panehesy (n° 6))¹⁴

- *b3k n nb t3wy nfr-hprw-r^c w^c-n-r^c m pr itn*

“Servant of the Lord of the Two Lands Neferkheperura Waenra in the temple of Aten”
(tomb of Panehesy (n° 6))¹⁵

- *b3k tpy n nfr-hprw-r^c w^c-n-r^c*

“First Servant of Neferkheperura Waenra”
(tomb of Tutu (n° 8))¹⁶

- *b3k tpy n nfr-hprw-r^c w^c-n-r^c m pr itn m 3ht-itn*

“First Servant of Neferkheperura Waenra in the temple of Aten in Akhetaten”
(tomb of Tutu (n° 8))¹⁷

- *b3k tpy n nfr-hprw-r^c w^c-n-r^c m wi3*

“First Servant of Neferkheperura Waenra in the Barque”
(tomb of Tutu (n° 8))¹⁸

Whether “Neferkheperura Waenra in the Barque” is the private name of a person who had his own cult or a peculiar name of Akhenaten is difficult to say; however the second alternative seems more likely in the eyes of the present author.

- *b3k tpy n [nb t3wy] nfr-hprw-r^c w^c-n-r^c*

“First Servant of the [Lord of the Two Lands] Neferkheperura Waenra”
(tomb of Tutu (n° 8))¹⁹

At Amarna, Tutu is not only named as First Servant of Neferkheperura Waenra, but he also held the title of Chamberlain (*imy-hnt*)²⁰. This combination of titles could imply that Tutu was also the Chamberlain and First Prophet of Neferkheperura Waenra on the Karnak talatats in the early phase of the reign. If so, then this would be a further indication that after the move from Thebes to Akhetaten a few persons very near to the king continued to serve his majesty in the new capital, even if with slightly altered titles. The similarity of the titles, and the combination with the Chamberlain title, warrants the hypothesis that the First Prophet title of the Karnak talatats became the First Servant title in Amarna.

A possible objection to this hypothesis is the fact that Tutu was appointed First Servant directly by the king at Amarna, as can be deduced from the king’s speech in Tutu’s tomb²¹:

“Behold, I appoint him for me, to be the First Servant of Neferkheperura Waenra in the temple of the Aten in Akhetaten.”

¹⁴ Davies, RTA II, pl. IV; cf. Taylor, op. cit., #991.

¹⁵ Davies, RTA II, pl. XXI; M. Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*, Brussels 1938, 18, [12, 16]; 20, [10]. Cf. Taylor, op. cit., #992.

¹⁶ Davies, RTA VI, pl. XXIV; cf. Taylor, op. cit., #1001.

¹⁷ Davies, RTA VI, pl. XIX-XX; Sandman, op. cit., 80, [16]; 82, [17-18].

¹⁸ Davies, RTA VI, pl. XIV; Sandman, op. cit., 72, [11-12].

¹⁹ Davies, RTA VI, pl. XVII-XVIII; Sandman, op. cit., 79, [8].

²⁰ Hari, op. cit., #312.

²¹ B. G. Davies, *Historical Records of the Late Eighteenth Dynasty* (hereafter: HRLED), VI, Warminster 1995, 23, partly reconstructed.

He was also appointed Chamberlain by the king at the same time²². This may be a sign that the two titles had to belong to the same man. However, the fact that these titles were given to Tutu at Amarna does not in itself speak against the idea that he was the man depicted on the Karnak talatats. Not enough is known about the ways in which titles were given or taken away in the transition period around the move of the capital to allow definite conclusions to be drawn.

A second possible objection to the hypothesis is that a Second Prophet existed at Amarna, in the person of Panehesy:

- *ḥm-ntr snw n nb t3wy nfr-ḥprw-rꜥ wꜥ-n-rꜥ*
 “Second Prophet of the Lord of the Two Lands Neferkheperura”
 (tomb of Panehesy (n° 6))²³

He, however, did not hold the title of Chamberlain, but the title of Seal-bearer of Lower Egypt²⁴. The existence of a Second Prophet of the King at Amarna would normally imply the existence of a First Prophet, but no evidence for that office exists at all. It seems unlikely that the First Prophet position was just abolished, or the Second Prophet would logically have been renamed. The problem disappears with the hypothesis that the place of the First Prophet of the King was filled by the First Servant of the King.

No reason for the proposed change of the title from First Prophet to First Servant is at hand at the moment, but the reasons may be similar to those which led to the change in the Greatest of Seers title mentioned previously.

When did the First Prophet of the King operate? Comparisons

It is interesting to compare the usage of this title under Akhenaten with that of similar titles relating to kings from other periods of the 18th dynasty. *Table I*, largely based on the Index compiled by Taylor, reports some other occurrences of the title of First Prophet of kings or queens²⁵.

Firstly, the cases involving kings before the Amarna era must be analyzed. The datable instances clearly show that the title was held by a person who lived after the death of the king of whom he was First Prophet²⁶. The case of Piay is less clear and needs a closer look. In this case, the title is found in the left part of the rear wall of the hall of the now lost Theban tomb C6 of Ipy, Piay's father, a tomb which PM dates to the reign of Tuthmosis IV. However, there are indications that the tomb might be later: inside the tomb, three cartouches of Amenhotep III were found²⁷. This suggests that Ipy might

²² B. G. Davies, *ibid.*, 23.

²³ Davies, *RTA II*, pl. IX; Sandman, *op. cit.*, 26, [16]. Cf. Taylor, *op. cit.*, #1466.

²⁴ See Hari, *op. cit.*, #96, who adds that Panehesy also was First Servant of the Aten in the Temple of Aten at Akhetaten, Overseer of the double granary of Aten at Akhetaten, and Overseer of the cattle of the Aten. Unfortunately, it is not clear from the relief of tomb n° 6 who is the “Servant of the Lord of the Two Lands Neferkheperura Waenra” (cf. main text and n. 16). It seems unlikely that it was Panehesy, because in all other instances (in the Amarna tombs and elsewhere) he is never called thus. In view of the attestations of the First Servant of the King title for Tutu, it seems to be the general opinion that Panehesy did not hold that title (e.g., Hari, *op. cit.*, #96). If further research would prove that he was both First Servant of the King and Second Prophet of the King, then that would pose a possible objection to the present hypothesis that these titles were part of the same hierarchy.

²⁵ J. A. Taylor, *An Index of Male Non-royal Egyptian Titles, Epithets & Phrases of the 18th Dynasty*, London 2001. *Table I* does not pretend to be exhaustive.

²⁶ Another example relating to an 18th dynasty king, but from the 19th dynasty TT31, is the *ḥm-ntr tpy n mn-ḥpr-rꜥ*, Khons called To, First Prophet of Menkheperu, in the reign of Ramses II (PM I, 47).

²⁷ B. M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, London 1991, 302.

Title	Translation	Primary Instance & Title Owner ²⁸	Number in Taylor's Index	Date according to PM
<i>ḥm-ntr tpy n imn n mn-ḥpr-r^c m hnkt-^cnh</i>	First Prophet of Amun and of Menkheperria in Henket-ankh ²⁹	TT72, Ra ³⁰	1483	reign of Amenhotep II
<i>ḥm-ntr tpy n ʿ3-ḥpr-k3-r^c</i>	First Prophet of Aakheperkara	Shrine 15, Aakheperkaraseneb(?)	1494	? ³¹
<i>ḥm-ntr tpy n ʿ3-ḥpr-k3-r^c m hnmt-^cnh</i>	First Prophet of Aakheperkara in Khnemet-ankh ³²	FC/DM 605, Enta (<i>nt3</i>)	1495	?
<i>ḥm-ntr tpy n mn-ḥpr-r^c m3^c hrw</i>	First Prophet of Menkheperria true of voice	TT72, Ra	1503a	reign of Amenhotep II
<i>ḥm-ntr tpy n mn-ḥprw-r^c</i>	First Prophet of Menkheperura	TT C6, Piay	1504	reign of Tuthmosis IV ?
<i>ḥm-ntr tpy n mryt-imn m3^ct hrw</i>	First Prophet of Merytamun true of voice	FC/DM 226, Meh(y)	1507	?
<i>ḥm-ntr tpy n nbt t3wy i^cḥ-ms nfrt-iry</i>	First Prophet of the mistress of the Two Lands Ahmose-Nefertari	TT255, Djehuty	1508	reign of Horemheb
<i>ḥm-ntr tpy n nfrt-iry</i>	First Prophet of Nefertari	FC/DM 210, Amenhotep	1509	?
<i>ḥm-ntr tpy n nb-ḥprw-r^c</i>	First Prophet of Nebkheperura ³³	TT40, Khay	not included	reign of Tutankhamun

Table I: First Prophets of the King in the 18th Dynasty

have outlived Tuthmosis IV who did not have a long reign³⁴. Lise Manniche suggested that the tomb was decorated after the reign of Tuthmosis IV³⁵. In her book on the private Theban tombs, Friederike Kampp writes “Datierung: T.IV./A.III.”³⁶. Therefore, it is very likely that Piay, Ipy’s son, held the title mentioned in *Table I* after the death of Tuthmosis IV. Everything thus points towards a preliminary

²⁸ “TT” means Theban Tomb; “Shrine” means shrines at Gebel-Silsilah, as recorded by Caminos & James; “FC/DM” means a funerary cone in the Davies & Macadam corpus.

²⁹ Henkhet-ankh is part of the name of the funerary temple of Tuthmosis III at Thebes West.

³⁰ See recently P. A. Piccione, “Theban Tombs Publication Project: Tombs no. 72 (Rây) and 121 (Ahmose), Season Winter 1990”, at URL: <http://www.cofc.edu/~piccione/t2p2/1990report.html>

³¹ Reign of Tuthmosis III (?), according to W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches*, Leiden-Köln 1958, 435.

³² Khnemet-ankh is part of the name of the funerary temple of Tuthmosis I at Thebes West.

³³ As reconstructed by Helck, *Urk.* IV, 2068, 14.

³⁴ The most recent assessment by Bryan (cf. note 27) indicates about 10-12 years.

³⁵ L. Manniche, *Lost Tombs. A Study of Certain Eighteenth Dynasty Monuments in the Theban Necropolis*, London 1988, 54.

³⁶ F. Kampp, *Die Thebanische Nekropole, Theben XIII*, Mainz 1996, Teil 2, 620.

conclusion that, before the Amarna period, the title of First Prophet of a king referred to the posthumous cult of a deified dead pharaoh³⁷.

The post-Amarna case of Tutankhamun also needs a careful analysis. It is certainly true that Khay (see *Table I*) lived during Tutankhamun's reign³⁸, as did Merymes, who was probably Second Prophet of Nebkheperura and a *wab*-priest of this king³⁹. However, one should be certain about the exact time in the lives of these men at which they were appointed First Prophet before drawing precise chronological conclusions from these facts. Another case that needs to be looked at is Userhat's stela in the Metropolitan Museum of New York⁴⁰. Userhat is described not as a First Prophet of a king but as a First Prophet of Amun. However he served in a temple of Tutankhamun that is described as *hwt nb-hprw-r*⁴¹ – a formula used in the same stela for a temple of Amenhotep III, *hwt nb-m³t-r*⁴². If one supposes that this is a funerary temple, and if, with Hayes, one dates the stela to the reign of Tutankhamun⁴¹, then one could have a possible indication of a funerary cult for him during his lifetime. But such a conclusion is very speculative. Firstly, it is impossible to date the stela with any certainty by relying only on stylistic grounds as was done by Hayes. Secondly, an identification of the *hwt nb-hprw-r* with Tutankhamun's funerary temple remains uncertain. The history of the funerary temple of pharaoh Tutankhamun, its name, fate and whereabouts are unknown⁴². And thirdly, even if the *hwt nb-hprw-r* was a funerary temple of the king, and even if Userhat lived during his reign, then strictly speaking that would only indicate that the funerary temple was completed during the life of the king, something which will have happened regularly⁴³. But that does not in itself imply a cult being in effect, as Userhat was not a First Prophet of the King. It may perhaps be hypothesized that, until the king died, a First Prophet of Amun oversaw the operation of the completed royal funerary temple.

In contrast to the above examples, the case of Amenhotep IV analyzed in the previous paragraphs shows that Akhenaten certainly overcame the praxis of a posthumous cult, since the First Prophet of the Karnak talatats undoubtedly served while the king was still alive. The same obviously applies for the First Servant found in the private tombs at Amarna.

Did a temple dedicated to Akhenaten exist at Amarna?

It is noteworthy that in several instances (cf. tombs of Tutu and Panehesy), the phrase “in the House of Aten” is added to the First Servant of Akhenaten title. It is not fully clear what this indicates. Did the king not have a funerary temple of his own, but a chapel or cult-statue in the Aten temple, to stress the link between god and king?⁴⁴ Or does the *m pr itn* phrase tie in with a common element in the

³⁷ The First Prophet in this case should have had different roles and tasks from the *Ka* Servant.

³⁸ B. G. Davies, HRLED VI, 49, partly reconstructed.

³⁹ Cf. note 38. A certain Païry, *wab*-priest of Tutankhamun, is known from an ushabti of his, now in the British Museum. See R. H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt*, London 2000, 192.

⁴⁰ N. 05.4.2, gift of the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1905; W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, New York 1959, vol. II, 306.

⁴¹ Cf. note 40.

⁴² For the *hwt nb-hprw-r* temples in Thebes, see M. Eaton-Krauss, “Tutankhamun at Karnak”, *MDAIK* 44 (1988), 1-11, and the references cited there. The opinion of Haring (B. J. J. Haring, *Divine Households*, Leiden 1997, 20-30), that a *hwt* temple of a king was always a royal memorial temple, is debatable. If his opinion is accurate then how do we explain that Tutankhamun had two different *hwt* temples in Thebes? Strangely, Haring (op. cit., 421) does not even mention the existence of the two *hwt* temples, the *hwt nb-hprw-r mrj imn grg w3st* and the *hwt nb-hprw-r m w3st*. According to Eaton-Krauss (op. cit., 11), whose paper is not quoted by Haring, both were autonomous structures of respectable proportions, unequivocally associated with Tutankhamun.

⁴³ For examples, see Haring, op. cit., 24, 26-29.

⁴⁴ Could “First Servant of the King in the House of Aten” be the mirror image of the non-Amarna cases in which we find a “First Prophet of Amun in the funerary temple of the king” (see, e.g., the case of Ra in *Table I*)? In other words, the national god would no longer have a cult in the memorial temple of the king, but the king would have a memorial cult in the temple of the national god. The strong identification of Akhenaten with the living Aten could perhaps have done away with the need to have two separate temples, at least at Amarna.

names of funerary temples? For Theban funerary temples were often named *hwt* + king's name + *m pr* + god's name, and it is usually presumed that the *m pr* phrase in these cases is meant to express the administrative inclusion of the royal temple in the estate of the main local temple of a god, although an economic dependence or a religious implication cannot be ruled out⁴⁵.

As no certain answer to the question of whether Akhenaten had his own temple at Amarna or not is currently available, a discussion about the nature (funerary, cultic, or both) of this temple would be premature. However, for completeness' sake, it is at least necessary to analyze the archaeological and textual evidence suggesting the presence of a temple of the king at Amarna. From the many scattered, recorded inscriptions, four expressions may have been used to designate a temple dedicated to Akhenaten⁴⁶:

- *pr imn-htp ntr hk3 w3st* which reports the early name of Akhenaten; this has been found on two hieratic dockets⁴⁷ and on a jar sealing⁴⁸. The dockets probably referred to the place of origin of wines. But not all the wines available at court were from the Delta region, as is often found, and it is possible that wine was imported and later labelled as "belonging to", rather than "originating from" an estate.
- *pr 3h-n-itn* found at Amarna⁴⁹, on hieratic dockets⁵⁰ and on jar sealings⁵¹. Another highly noteworthy example, from Lower Egypt, is the inscription on the famous block published by Nicholson and found near Mit-Rainah⁵².
- *pr nfr-hprw-r* found only once⁵³.
- *hwt nfr-hprw-r* found on a hieratic docket⁵⁴ and on a jar sealing⁵⁵.

As Fairman noted⁵⁶, it is highly difficult to pinpoint the exact meaning of the various *pr* and *hwt* terms appearing in the inscriptions. For the first word the meaning can range from "house" to "residence", from "estate" to "storehouse" or to "temple"; or the meaning could even be a combination of all these. Haring argues that we should consider the principal meaning of *hwt* to be "funerary temple"⁵⁷, which would confirm the existence of a temple of Akhenaten. However, if Haring's statement is incorrect, we are left with the vague choice between the meanings of "temple", "mansion", "estate" and "administrative district". Be that as it may, the idea of Akhenaten having at least a funerary temple is not unlikely, since at Amarna we have his tomb but not the structures for his cult (and perhaps these are not to be found at Thebes West near the other funerary temples of the 18th dynasty). Additionally, we don't know which features of the funerary cult of the old religion were kept

⁴⁵ For the different opinions about this unsettled matter, cf. Haring, op. cit., 30-34.

⁴⁶ The documents that mention the *pr shtp itn* are intentionally excluded here, since many doubts still exist about the identity of this *shtp itn*. The present writer nonetheless believes this was Akhenaten; cf. *The City of Akhenaten* (hereafter: COA), III, London 1923-1951, 198-199.

⁴⁷ W. M. F. Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, London 1894, pl. XXII.12; COA I, pl. LXIV.22.

⁴⁸ Petrie, op. cit. pl. XXI.2.

⁴⁹ Davies, III, pl. XXVII.

⁵⁰ COA III, dockets 22-27; Petrie, op. cit., pl. XXII.8, pl. XXIV.88; COA I, pl. LXIV.66-69.

⁵¹ COA III, pl. LXXXI.23; Petrie, op. cit., pl. XXI.3-5; COA I, pl. LV.I.

⁵² C. Nicholson, "On Some Remains of the Disk Worshippers Discovered at Memphis", pl. II, in *Aegyptiaca*, London 1891. Now the block is in the Museum of Antiquities of the University of Sydney (Nicholson Museum 1143). For the enormously long bibliography on this item, see also B. Löhr, "Ahanjati in Memphis", *SAK* 2 (1975), 139-187 (1975) and W. J. Murnane, *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt*, Atlanta 1995, 97, n. 50.

⁵³ Petrie, pl. XXII.10.

⁵⁴ COA II, pl. LVIII.24.

⁵⁵ COA III, pl. LXXXI.20.

⁵⁶ COA III, 197-198.

⁵⁷ Cf. note 42.

and maintained into the monotheistic one. It must also be added that many other *pr* and *hwt* have been attested by documents found at Amarna, not belonging to Akhenaten but to Amenhotep III, Nefertiti, Meritaten, Maketaten, Ankhesenpaaten, Smenkhkara, Tiye, Baketaten, Tuthmosis I, Amenhotep II and Tuthmosis IV. So the situation is far from being clear and definite. Further extension of the excavations at Amarna could help in clarifying the state of affairs about these structures. It is beyond doubt that many areas at Amarna, both north and south of the presently known sites, still need extensive excavation⁵⁸.

Further thoughts on the cult of the deified king

The preceding analysis of the jubilee scenes in the Karnak talatats suggests that the rites introduced by Amenhotep IV in the jubilee ceremonies required at least the presence of the High Priest of the solar deity and of his own priest. It is possible that, after the change of the capital, the requirement to have these two men present in the later jubilees imposed the creation of two newer priestly titles, the Greatest of Seers of the Aten and the First Servant. Why the First Prophet/Servant also had to be Chamberlain is presently not known. However, given the nature of the Heb Sed rituals, it seems reasonable to suggest that the presence of a priest of Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten was felt necessary when the king, once dead and thus having become a venerable god, underwent rebirth. Consequently, a parallel can be established between the sun-god and his High Priest on one side, and the reborn king and his own priest on the other. This notion may also suggest why the priest of the king was also his chamberlain: he simultaneously served a man (the living king) as chamberlain, and a god (the dead and resurrected king) as priest. In ancient Egyptian thought, parallels derived from religion always lead to identifications. This particular parallel may well be a statement of strong kinship between Amenhotep IV and the sun-god. How closely this idea is linked to the deification program of Amenhotep III proposed recently by Johnson⁵⁹ is presently a matter of speculation which will not be further pursued here. What is certain is that the association of the titles of Chamberlain and First Prophet/Servant in the same person in jubilees was first introduced by Amenhotep IV. While a Chamberlain is present in jubilee scenes even from the Old Kingdom⁶⁰, the participation of a Prophet of the King seems to be peculiar to the ceremonies invented by Amenhotep IV⁶¹. Another possible cause for the introduction of a non-posthumous cult by Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten, apart from the desire to establishing a strong kinship with the sun-god, could be his policy of going against the ancient religious conceptions and beliefs of the Osirian tradition and myths in which only the dead king was identified with the supreme deity.

Finally, the opinion of Gohary should be noted, who suggests that the First Prophet on the Karnak talatats was not really a funerary priest⁶²:

“It is possible however, that, in spite of his title, this man was simply an acolyte who carried the king’s equipment, a theory strengthened by the fact that he is never shown on the Karnak talatats

⁵⁸ For the recently investigated limestone quarries to the North of El Till, see J. Harrell, “Ancient Quarries near Amarna”, *EA* 19, 2001, 36-38. For the recently discovered areas with two Amarnian cemeteries for common people, see B. Kemp, “Resuming the Amarna Survey”, *EA* 20, 2002, 10-12.

⁵⁹ E.g. R. W. Johnson, “Amenhotep III and Amarna: Some New Considerations”, *JEA* 82 (1996), 65-82.

⁶⁰ See, e.g., L. Borchardt and H. Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re III*, Berlin-Leipzig 1905-28, 23-24; W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen alten Reiches*, Glückstadt 1954, 29; A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* I, Oxford 1947, 23* (83).

⁶¹ Clère, *op. cit.*, 54.

⁶² Gohary, *op. cit.*, 224-225, note 23.

carrying anything of a religious nature like the Greatest of Seers, but only the king's sandals and a small chest."⁶³

In the opinion of the present author, the existence of a cult of the deified living Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten is attested in so many documents that it seems more realistic to take the evidence of the title at face value.

Summary and conclusions

In this paper attention is drawn to various talatats from Karnak that testify to the existence of an always unnamed First Prophet of Amenhotep IV. This prophet operated exclusively, as far as we can tell from what has been so far discovered, in certain ceremonies performed during the first jubilee of Amenhotep IV. In these ceremonies the king is always accompanied by two other, likewise unnamed, men: the "Greatest of Seers of Ra-Harakhte in the temple of Aten in Southern Heliopolis" and the "Chief Lector Priest". After the move to Amarna these three men disappear from the scene. While the Lector Priest is apparently absent from texts from Amarna, the Greatest of Seers of Ra-Harakhte is replaced by the Greatest of Seers of the Aten. In the light of this substitution, due to theological reasons, the idea is advanced that the First Prophet appearing in the Karnak talatats has also been replaced at Amarna, by the First Servant of the King. This idea is strengthened by the fact that the First Prophet also held the title of Chamberlain; in fact at Amarna this title is held by the person who also had the role of First Servant of Akhenaten: Tutu. It cannot be excluded that Tutu was the man represented on the Karnak talatats, even if we are told from the biography in his tomb at Akhetaten that he was appointed First Servant and Chamberlain by the king in the new capital city. Finally, from a preliminary analysis, it seems that Akhenaten was the first pharaoh to introduce his own funerary and/or divine cult while still living. It is unclear whether this innovation was continued by his immediate successors, but it seems unlikely.

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Appendix: Other Prophets of the King from the 18th Dynasty

In this appendix, attention is paid to Second Prophets of the King who lived before the Amarna Period⁶⁴, to see if their data confirms the conclusion of the main text, namely that prophets of a king before the Amarna period only served after the death of this king. The instances identified during the research for this paper are listed in *Table II*. The following remarks survey the prosopographical evidence related to most of these men.

⁶³ Gohary, op. cit., 225, end of note 23. Note that, for some reason, Gohary overlooks the staff.

⁶⁴ Note that in the main text two Second Prophets were mentioned who lived during and after the Amarna Period, namely Panehesy and Merymes. As there is no evidence for other titles it seems likely that the "Prophet of Aakheperura" title of the first entry of *Table II* refers to Neferhebef being Second Prophet of Amenhotep II (cf. second entry in *Table II*), rather than to, e.g., First Prophet of the King later in his life.

Title	Translation	Primary Instance & Title Owner	Number in Taylor's Index	Date
<i>ḥm-ntr n ʕ3-ḥprw-rʕ</i>	Prophet of Aakheperura	FC/DM 54 ⁶⁵ , Neferhebef	1454	reign of Amenhotep II or later
<i>ḥm-ntr snnw n ʕ3-ḥprw-rʕ</i>	Second Prophet of Aakheperura	Statue BM 31, Neferhebef ⁶⁶	1455	reign of Amenhotep II or later
<i>ḥm-ntr snnw n mn-ḥpr-rʕ</i>	Second Prophet of Menkheperura	FC/DM 228, Kaemamen ⁶⁷ , father of Seqed	not included	reign of Amenhotep II
<i>ḥm-ntr snnw n mn-ḥpr-rʕ</i>	Second Prophet of Menkheperura	FC/DM 590, Seqed, son of Kaemamen ⁶⁸	1464	reign of Amenhotep II / Tuthmosis IV
<i>ḥm-ntr snnw n mn-ḥpr-rʕ</i>	Second Prophet of Menkheperura	Huy ⁶⁹	not included	reigns of Tuthmosis III – Amenhotep III ?
<i>ḥm-ntr snnw n mn-ḥpr-rʕ</i>	Second Prophet of Menkheperura	Aakheperaseneb, son of Kaemamen ⁷⁰	not included	reign of Amenhotep II

Table II

⁶⁵ FC/DM refers to entries in N. de Garis Davies & M. F. L. Macadam, *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones by the late N. de Garis Davies*, Part I (Oxford, 1957). Funerary cones of type DM 54 in the British Museum are, for instance, cones BM EA 9671-9691, 13863-13866, 13879, 13886-13887, 62692 and 65203. Cf. C. N. Reeves, D. P. Ryan, "Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones in Situ: An Early Observation by Henry Salt", *VA* 3 (1987), 47-49. Another cone of this type may be found in Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Museum as AOS 1710, see D. van der Plas (ed.), *Egyptian Treasures in Europe*, vol. 5, CD-ROM by CCER. The only title given on the cones is Prophet of Aakheperura.

⁶⁶ The only title listed is Second Prophet of Aakheperura. There is unanimity among Egyptologists in equating this Neferhebef with the Neferhebef of the previous entry, based on name, title, and time period; cf. P. der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, HÄB 26, Hildesheim 1987, 143.

⁶⁷ Funerary cones of Kaemamen (Amenemka) can be found in many museums and private collections around the world. Cf. M. Werbrück, "Cônes funéraires de Kaemimen", *CdÉ* 33, n. 66 (1958), 223-226, and H. M. Stewart, *Mummy Cases & Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones in the Petrie Collection*, Warminster 1986, 45-46. Cones of type DM 228 are, for instance, Louvre CF 37 and Petrie Museum UC 37659. The main study on Kaemamen is A. de Buck, "Een zwerver thuisgebracht", *JEOL* no. 15, Leiden, 1957-1958, 5-11 (I warmly thank Carolien van Zoest, Jacobus van Dijk, and Michael Tilgner for having provided me with copies of the *JEOL* paper). In this work de Buck, basing himself on the inscriptions on the statues he published, reached the conclusion that Kaemamen lived under Amenhotep II; this proposed date was accepted by Peter der Manuelian (op. cit., 145-146).

⁶⁸ See previous note. Cones of type DM 590 are, for instance, Louvre CF 83 and Petrie Museum UC 37975. Cones of type DM 246 (like, for instance, Louvre CF 183, Petrie Museum UC 37671, and Bruxelles 152 = E 3989) list the same titles for Kaemamen as DM 590, but do not mention the son. For Bruxelles E 3989, see D. van der Plas (ed.), *Egyptian Treasures in Europe*, vol. 2, CD-ROM by CCER. Photographs of the cones in the Petrie Museum can be seen at the Museum's website, URL: <http://www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk/search/index.html>

⁶⁹ P. der Manuelian, op. cit., 141-147. It is not possible to comment upon this Huy in more detail, as the present writer was not able to consult the Russian source for the one monument on which he is mentioned. Der Manuelian refers to an article by Bogoslawski, and provides no dating criteria, only giving these wide margins ("Tuthmosis III – Amenhotep III?"); even the title "Second Prophet of Tuthmosis III" seems not beyond doubt.

⁷⁰ For this person, see the discussion below on the monuments of Kaemamen.

Neferhebef, son of Ithu⁷¹ and Henutweret, is known only through the texts⁷² on his parents' statue BM EA 31⁷³ and from the funerary cones of the type listed as number 54 of the Davies&Macadam corpus. On the cones the name of Neferhebef's wife can be read as Taway or Tataway. The reasons for which BM EA 31 has tentatively been dated to the reign of Amenhotep II are unknown to the present writer. An inquiry directed to the staff of the British Museum⁷⁴ revealed that a later dating is much more likely: although Edwards⁷⁵ favoured an older dating, recently Wiese⁷⁶ preferred to place BM EA 31 in the reign of Tuthmosis IV, and stylistic reasons and the palaeography of the inscriptions on the statue are arguments that urge M. Marée⁷⁷ also to choose the reign of Tuthmosis IV. The most recent information would therefore imply that it is highly likely that Neferhebef held his priestly titles after the death of Amenhotep II.

Other monuments exist that bear the name of Neferhebef, but it is difficult to determine whether they all belong to the same person. It may be useful to look at them for prosopographical reasons:

- (a) Statue Louvre A57 [N.58]⁷⁸, of Neferhebef with wife Taiu and son Benermerut, dated in the range from the reign of Amenhotep II to that of Amenhotep III. Unfortunately, the text on this statue does not list any titles for Neferhebef.
- (b) The black granite Bologna statue KS 1825⁷⁹, from Memphis and from the reign of Amenhotep III, belonging to Amenhotep (also called Huy), the famous chief steward in Memphis, in which he is stated to be the son of the dignitary (*s3b*) Neferhebef and of [Tu]tuya⁸⁰. Strangely enough, Pernigotti⁸¹ gave the name of Amenhotep's father on the Bologna statue (not mentioned among the material published in the fundamental papers on the subject⁸²) without any reserve as Nefernebef (and not as Neferhebef), and he gave the name of the mother, unfortunately broken on the statue, as ending with *-tiya (and not as *-tuya), so there seems to be some uncertainty about these readings. The reasons why PM emended the names into Neferhebef and Tutuya are unknown to the present writer, but paleographically the difference between the *nb* and the *hb* signs is very small.
- (c) The red granite Leiden pyramidion A.M. 6 (K1)⁸³, of Amenhotep, chief steward in Memphis, which gives the dignitary (*s3b*) Heby as his father and the lady of the house Tutuya (slightly

⁷¹ Cf. P. der Manuelian, op. cit., 125-126 and 143.

⁷² *Urk.* IV, 1503-1504.

⁷³ Painted sandstone, 76 x 33.5 x 54.5 cm. In the British Museum, donated by Henry Salt. The statue is now on a long-term loan to the Antikenmuseum in Basel; a colour photograph can be seen at the following URL:

<http://www.antikenmuseumbasel.ch/aegypten/aegypten.html>

⁷⁴ Thanks are due to Marcel Marée, Curator of Ancient Egypt and Sudan in the British Museum; personal communications, August 2002.

⁷⁵ I. E. S. Edwards, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.*, VIII, London 1939, 6 and pl. 7.

⁷⁶ A. Wiese, *Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig. Die Aegyptische Abteilung*, Mainz am Rhein 2001, 96-97 [58] (non vidi).

⁷⁷ Cf. note 74.

⁷⁸ PM VIII.2, 488.

⁷⁹ The number 157 given in PM VIII.2, 555, as that of Kminek Szedlo's ancient catalogue, is incorrect.

⁸⁰ PM VIII.2, 555. The Bologna statue only lists the title "chief steward in Memphis" for Amenhotep. This Amenhotep (Huy) should of course not be confused with his two namesakes of the same period.

⁸¹ S. Pernigotti, *La Statuaria Egiziana nel Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna*, Bologna 1980, 55-56 and pl. XVI-XVII & LXXII-LXXIV.

⁸² G. Bagnani, "Il Primo Intendente del Palazzo, Imenhotpe, detto Huy", *Aegyptus* 14, 33-48; W. C. Hayes, "A Writing-palette of the Chief Steward Amenhotpe and some Notes on its Owner", *JEA* 24, 1938, 9-24.

⁸³ Bagnani, op. cit., 45, and Hayes, op. cit., 15. See also *Urk.* IV, 1811-1812. The text on the pyramidion gives Amenhotep the following titles: "the hereditary prince and noble, seal-bearer of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, sole friend, the mouth which makes things peaceful in the entire land, favourite of Horus in his house, the one who conducts the festival of Ptah, South of his Wall, for all the gods of the White Wall, the overseer of works in Khnumet-Ptah, prophet of Great of

different spelling from the ending of the name on the Bologna statue) as his mother. As it is extremely unlikely that there would exist two different Amenhoteps, both chief steward in Memphis during the reign of Amenhotep III, and with mothers with quite similar names, it is generally assumed that the Bologna statue and the Leiden pyramidion refer to one person. This would indicate that Heby was a nickname or shortened form of Neferhebef⁸⁴.

- (d) A graffito at Aswan⁸⁵, of a Heby, chief steward in Memphis. As it mentions the first Nubian campaign of Amenhotep III⁸⁶, Heby must have held this office at least into Amenhotep III's 5th year⁸⁷.
- (e) The depictions and texts in TT 55. Ramose, the famous owner of the tomb, and Amenhotep, in the tomb identified as the chief steward of Memphis, are thought to be close relatives, as Amenhotep is depicted among the family in TT55 and is given the epithet of "brother". In this tomb, the father of Ramose is called "Overseer of the bulls of Amun, overseer of the granary of Amun in the districts which are in Lower Egypt, the scribe Neby"⁸⁸. Under the presumption that Ramose and Amenhotep were real brothers and sons of the same father, born to different wives (of whom the names are not known), it is generally presumed that "Neby" in TT55 is a writing error for Heby, which would make him the same person as the Heby of the Leiden pyramidion A.M. 6 (K1).
- (f) A funerary cone of a certain Heby, Florence Museum 6690⁸⁹. It reports the "Revered one with Osiris, scribe and accountant of the bulls of Amun throughout Upper and Lower Egypt, Heby, justified. The son of the scribe and accountant of the bulls of Amun, Senimes, justified, born of the lady of the house Ruia"⁹⁰.

The question arises: how are the persons on the above monuments related to each other? As we have seen above, the Neferhebef of KS 1825 is certainly the Heby of A.M. 6, and the latter is with reasonable certainty the "Neby" of TT55. The Louvre statue A 57 and the Bologna statue KS 1825 could well mention the same Neferhebef, given the similarity in the wife's name (Benermerut would then become a brother of Amenhotep). Seeing the similarity in titles (referring to Amun and cattle), the Heby of the Florence cone FM 6690 might be the same person as the Heby of TT55⁹¹. The chief steward Heby of the Aswan graffito might be the Heby of the Leiden pyramidion, i.e. the father of Amenhotep Huy, if we assume that the son succeeded his father in the same social position⁹². The most intriguing question however is whether the Neferhebef, Second Prophet of Aakheperura (*Table II*), is the same person as any of these men. Obviously, the Neferhebef of BM EA31 cannot be the Heby of the Florence cone, seeing the difference in the name of the parents. If we equate the Heby of the

Magic, overseer of the prophets in the temple of Sakhmet, overseer of the two granaries in the entire land, the royal scribe of the recruits, high steward in Memphis".

⁸⁴ A shortened form Heby would support the reading Neferhebef on the Bologna statue, versus Pernigotti's Nefernebef. Perhaps this is what motivated the preferred reading of the name in PM.

⁸⁵ *Urk.* IV, 1793; cf. PM V, 245 and following; LD, Text IV, 119. The only non-generic title given in the graffito is "chief steward in Memphis"; the other titles are "hereditary prince and noble, the eyes of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, true royal scribe".

⁸⁶ Z. Topozada, "Les Deux Campagnes d'Amenhotep III en Nubie", *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 153-164.

⁸⁷ J. Malek, "The Saqqara Statue of Ptahmose, Mayor of the Memphite Suburbs", *RdÉ* 38 (1987), 117-137.

⁸⁸ *Urk.* IV, 1784.

⁸⁹ Davies & Macadam n° 15.

⁹⁰ *Urk.* IV, 1792.

⁹¹ Helck (*Urk.* IV, 1792) states, without providing any motivation, that the Heby of this cone was the same person as Heby, father of Ramose.

⁹² Z. Topozada, op. cit., 156, uses the Bologna statue KS 1825 to state that Amenhotep was a son of Heby, the mayor of Memphis. It is not clear how Topozada reached this conclusion; the bibliography quoted is only the exhibition catalogue *L'Egitto Antico nelle Collezioni dell'Italia Settentrionale*, Bologna 1961, edited by S. Curto, pl. 22 (non vidi).

Florence cone with the Heby of TT55, then prophet Neferhebef would not be the father of Amenhotep (KS 1825, A.M. 6, TT55). If we do not make that equation, then it remains possible that the prophet could be the father of Amenhotep, seeing a certain similarity in the names of their wives (Tataway/Taway vs. Tutuya), although the titles would remain very different⁹³. Under either option, it remains possible that the Neferhebef of Louvre A57 is to be equated, not with the father of Amenhotep Huy, but with our prophet, again because of a certain similarity in the names of the wives (Taway/Tataway vs. Taiu). But it is difficult, if not impossible, to equate all men called Neferhebef/Heby⁹⁴.

A Second Prophet of Tuthmosis III, whose name occurs in two versions, differing in the order of the hieroglyphs, namely Kaemamen (which is similar in pattern to the more common name Kaemwaset) and Amenemka, is mentioned on the following monuments:

- (a) A fragmentary seated statue of Kaemamen in the private collection of G. S. Fernhout at Wolfheze, near Arnhem, identified by de Buck⁹⁵. The inscriptions on the statue say that Kaemamen was born of the king's wife (*hmt-nsw*) Henuttawy and was "child of the *kap*"⁹⁶. He is given the titles of "Second Prophet of Amun in Henket-ankh", "Second Prophet of Menkhepera in Henket-ankh", "Fourth Prophet of Amun", and "seal-bearer of the king". De Buck is surely correct that the text is meant to indicate that Kaemamen was Second Prophet of Amun in Henket-ankh, the funerary temple of Tuthmosis III in Western Thebes, and Fourth Prophet of Amun in the Amun temple of Karnak⁹⁷.
- (b) A statue of Kaemamen and his wife, Louvre 10443, published by de Buck in the same study. Kaemamen here only holds the title of "Fourth Prophet of Amun" (although his *ka* is said to

⁹³ W. J. Murnane, "The Organization of the Government under Amenhotep III", in D. O'Connor and E. Cline (eds.), *Amenhotep III, Perspectives on His Reign*, Ann Arbor 1998, 188ff, says that Ithu, the father of Heby, held the titles of *wab-priest*, overseer of the labor force of Amun, chamberlain and treasurer, and that Heby was allowed to succeed his father in his office of "scribe who counts the cattle of Amun", and later became overseer of the cattle of Amun, overseer of the double granary of Amun throughout the nomes that are in Lower Egypt, and mayor of Memphis; further he says Heby had at least two sons, Ramose and Amenhotep. Murnane gave no reasons or explanations, but it is clear from the listed titles that he equates the Heby, father of Amenhotep (Bologna statue KS 1825, Leiden pyramidion A.M. 6), not only with the Heby of TT55 (overseer titles) and with the Heby of the Aswan graffito (mayor title), but also with the Heby, son of Ithu, of Table II. The first four titles listed here for Ithu occur on BM EA 31, but it is completely unclear why Murnane attributed the title "scribe who counts the cattle of Amun" to him. Or to Heby for that matter, as it seems to be taken from FM 6690, which, however, mentions different parents.

⁹⁴ What becomes apparent from the material discussed here is that a careful study (a ponderous volume indeed!) of all the many monuments belonging to Ithu's large and important family would be very useful. It would need to include colour photographs, inscriptions, transliterations, translations, commentaries, genealogies, museological data, datings, prosopographical material, etc., ranging from Ithu to his possible great-grandson Ipy, son of Amenhotep Huy, who lived in the reign of Amenhotep IV. In the opinion of the present writer, such a long and difficult study would be very rewarding.

⁹⁵ Cf. note 67, A. de Buck, op. cit., 5-11.

⁹⁶ As Kaemamen lived during the reign of Amenhotep II, his mother would most likely have been a *hmt-nsw* of either Tuthmosis III or Amenhotep II, although it is impossible to say at present what her exact status was. The present writer knows of no other monuments that mention a woman with this name who held this title; she is not listed in L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History*, Uppsala, 1986, 161-169. That Kaemamen was a "child of the *kap*" would likely have been a consequence of his mother's status. It is important to note that the title of "king's son" is not attested for Kaemamen. He is also not listed among the Dynasty 18 king's sons in A. Dodson, "Crown prince Djhutnose and the royal sons of the Eighteenth Dynasty", *JEA* 76 (1990), 91-96. Whether this is significant, implying, for example, that he was a son of Henuttawy by a man other than the king, is difficult to say. From the reign of Amenhotep II, there is evidence of a woman called Henuttawy who is not called king's wife but held different titles, among them "royal favourite" (*Urk* IV, 1500). It is possible that the two ladies may be equated, under the presumption that the "royal favourite" was first given in marriage to a non-royal person (Kaemamen's father), and after the death of this man became king's wife.

⁹⁷ This is also reflected in the *htp-di-nsw* formula on the statue, which mentions "Amun-Re, the king of the gods, and Amun who is in Karnak". A. de Buck, op. cit., 9.

receive offerings from the table of “Amun-Re in Henket-ankh”). His wife Merytra, “the singer of Amun”, is mentioned, and their son Aakheperraseneb, who holds the title of “Second Prophet of Menkheperra”.

- (c) A number of funerary cones belonging to Kaemamen. Cones of the type listed as n° 228 of the Davies/Macadam corpus call Kaemamen (who on certain cones is referred to with the variant name form Amenemka⁹⁸) “Second Prophet of Menkheperra” and mention his wife, the singer Merytra. Cones of the DM 246 type call Kaemamen (Amenemka) “seal-bearer of the king and Fourth Prophet of Amun”, so the same titles as on the Wolfheze statue, while cones of the DM 590 type in addition mention his son Seqed who is “Second Prophet of Menkheperra”⁹⁹.

The question arises whether Kaemamen had two sons who sequentially held the Second Prophet of Menkheperra title after their father (de Buck opts for this scenario), or whether Seqed was a nickname for Aakheperraseneb. Whatever may be the case, there is little doubt that father and son(s) were Second Prophet of Menkheperra after the death of Tuthmosis III, during the reign of Amenhotep II whose name Aakheperura is written on the *menat* necklace of Merytra (Louvre 10443) and surely inspired the name of (one of) the son(s). The most interesting fact learned from Kaemamen’s monuments is that a Prophet of Amun served in the Theban funerary temple of a king (compare also *Table I*, the case of Ra, who may have been Kaemamen’s superior).

A possible case that is not included in *Table II* but deserves mention and analysis is that of Meryptah from the reign of Amenhotep III. The monuments of this man are of particular interest since they mention the *hwt-nb-m3^ct-r^c* which has been encountered above, in the main article, when dealing with the stela of Userhat. Important inscriptions mentioning him are the following:

- (a) A funerary cone (Davies & Macadam n° 412). The text on this cone has been translated by Helck¹⁰⁰ as “The honoured one with Osiris, the hereditary prince and noble, the *sem*-priest in the temple of Ptah, great one who controls the craftsmen in Thebes, the prophet in the temple of Nebmaatira, Meryptah, justified”. It is important to note that this text doesn’t say that Meryptah was Prophet of Nebmaatira, but that he was *hm-ntr m hwt*, the preposition *m* being completely certain. As to the owner of this *hwt* temple, it must be said that the hieroglyphic text given in Davies & Macadam points towards a variant of hieroglyph C6, which would suggest a temple of Anubis (*hwt inpw*), but it is rather certain (seeing the inscriptions below) that this must be a misreading of the famous rebus form of the name Nebmaatira, and that the text should read *hwt nb-m3^ct-r^c*.
- (b) A few lines from TT 55, the tomb of Meryptah’s relative Ramose. These lines are translated by Helck¹⁰¹ as “...*sem*-priest in the temple of [Nebmaatira]...”, the portion between square brackets being reconstructed by Helck. However, judging from the text on the funerary cone mentioned above, it is much more probable that the text is to be restored as “*sem*-priest in the temple of Ptah”.

⁹⁸ Cf. M. Werbrouck, “Cônes funéraires de Kaemimen”, *CdÉ* 33, n. 66 (1958), 223-226. See also notes 67 and 68 above.

⁹⁹ In TT192, the father of the tomb owner Kheruef is called Seqed. Although no titles for this man survive, it is probable that he was the same man as the Second Prophet of that name in *Table II*, seeing the match in time period and the rarity of the name. If Kaemamen was Kheruef’s grandfather, then it seems that the Second Prophet title was inherited from father to son, but not to grandson, as Kheruef does not seem to have held such a title.

¹⁰⁰ *Urk.* IV, 1954; HRLD, V, 77.

¹⁰¹ *Urk.* IV, 1787; HRLD, V, 5.

- (c) A few hieratic inscriptions from Malkata. Two hieratic inscriptions from Malkata were found on wine jar labels from the Middle Palace. Their texts read as follows¹⁰²: “Year 34: wine for the Repeating of the Sed Festival of His Majesty, l. p. h., made by the prophet and steward Meryptah of the temple of the pharaoh, l. p. h.” (three examples survive); “Year 37: wine for the third Sed Festival of His Majesty, l. p. h., made by the prophet and steward Meryptah, of the temple of the pharaoh, l. p. h.” (six or seven examples survive). In both cases the expression *n t3 hwt pr-ꜥ* has been used.
- (d) The Memphite Leiden stela V 14¹⁰³. In the inscriptions on this stela¹⁰⁴, Meryptah is called, in three different places: *hm-ntr imy-r pr n t3 hwt nb-mꜣt-rꜥ* “the prophet and steward of the House of Nebmaatra”.
- (e) A couple of lines from the famous lower portion of a seated limestone statue of Nebnefer found in the temple of prince Wadjimose, a son of Tutmosis I, now in Brussels¹⁰⁵. The text¹⁰⁶ from this statue is dated to year 20 of Nebmaatra and gives Meryptah only as the First Prophet of Amun.

The first four monuments clearly refer to the same person, Meryptah, *sem*-priest in the temple of Ptah and prophet in the temple of Nebmaatra, who lived during the reign of Amenhotep III. Whether the fifth monument mentions the same Meryptah is not fully certain, seeing the difference in titles, but it seems likely, and if it is so then the Prophet of Amun title could have a particular significance, as will be indicated below. The question arises in which temple Meryptah served as prophet, as there is evidence for at least two *hwt* temples of Amenhotep III: the Theban funerary temple in Kom el Hettan and a *hwt* in Memphis¹⁰⁷. As two other hieratic inscriptions from wine jar labels¹⁰⁸ mention a *t3 hwt* as being in Memphis, it seems likely that the Malkata labels listed above also refer to the Memphite temple. And according to Hayes¹⁰⁹, the temple mentioned on the Leiden stela V 14, is another name of the Memphite temple rather than of the Western Theban funerary temple, as the stela was probably found in Memphis. Whatever may be the case, in all these texts pertaining to Meryptah there is evidence of a *hwt* temple of Amenhotep III being active while the king was still alive, and of Meryptah acting as prophet in that temple. Haring’s thesis, that the phrases *hwt* + king’s name and *t3 hwt pr-ꜥ* always refers to a memorial temple of a king, has already been mentioned above¹¹⁰. Should his opinion be invalid, then Meryptah could just have been a prophet in a (Memphite) temple of whatever nature, and thus be irrelevant for the Prophet of the King issue. But even if Haring is correct, and Meryptah did serve in a memorial temple of the king in Memphis, then it is still important to note that not a single inscription testifies to Meryptah actually being Prophet of the King, i.e. a title of the pattern of

¹⁰² W. C. Hayes, “Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III”, *JNES* 10 (1951), fig. 5, #34 (year 34), fig. 7, #59 (year 37); *Urk.* IV, 1954; HRLED, V, 76-77. Circa 25 or 26 other inscriptions from Malkata mention Meryptah without reporting his full titles. See M. A. Leahy, *Excavations at Malkata and the Birket Habu 1971-74: The Inscriptions*, Warminster 1978, 7.

¹⁰³ The stela is actually divided in two parts, an upper one in Leiden, and a lower one in the Petrie Museum of London (UC 14463). For the latter fragment, see H. M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*, vol. I, Warminster 1976, 26-27 and pl. 16. It can be seen online at URL: <http://www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk/search/index.html>. The subject of the many monuments of Ptahmose will not be dealt with here; to these monuments, statue Florence 1791 (M. Saleh Ali, *Arte Sublime nell’Antico Egitto*, Milano 1999, pl. 62; the catalogue of the Florence Exhibition, March 6 - July 4, 1999), possibly overlooked by Bosse-Griffiths, could be added.

¹⁰⁴ *Urk.* IV, 1910-1911; HRLED, V, 56-57; K. Bosse-Griffiths, “The Memphite Stela of Merptah and Ptahmose”, *JEA* 41 (1955), 56-63; K. Bosse-Griffiths, *Amarna Studies*, Fribourg and Goettingen 2001 (OBO 182), 15-26.

¹⁰⁵ E 1103; see D. van der Plas (ed.), *Egyptian Treasures in Europe*, vol. 2, CD-ROM by CCER.

¹⁰⁶ *Urk.* IV, 1885; HRLED, V, 44-45.

¹⁰⁷ For the temple in Memphis, see *Urk.* IV, 1795.

¹⁰⁸ W. C. Hayes, op. cit., 98-101, fig. 4, #3 (year 26) and fig. 6, #58 (year 37).

¹⁰⁹ W. C. Hayes, op. cit., 99.

¹¹⁰ B. J. J. Haring, op. cit., 26-29. Cf. note 42 above.

those in *Table II*, *ḥm-ntr n* + king's name, is not found. It is therefore the opinion of the present writer that the case of Meryptah does not argue in favour of Amenhotep III having his own priests while still living. As in the case of Userhat (see main text), it could instead be evidence of a temple being built and administered by a First Prophet of Amun while the king, to whom it was intended to be a memorial, still lived. As we have seen above, from the case of Kaemamen, the Prophets of Amun continued to serve in the funerary temple after the death of the king, when a Prophet of the King also became active. In other words, it is the hypothesis of the present writer that while the king was still alive, Prophets of Amun already served in the royal memorial temple (cf. the cases of Userhat and Meryptah), but that Prophets of the King only started to operate after the death of the king – the case of Akhenaten being an exception.