

## CHAPTER 1

## The Second City

FOR MUCH OF ITS HISTORY Memphis was the first city of Egypt. Founded shortly before 3000 B.C., it was the Old Kingdom capital of the country from the time of the union of the two lands, serving as royal residence from the early second dynasty (from c. 2890 to 2173 B.C.). In a nodal position some 40 kilometers south of the Delta apex, Memphis lay at a key point on the Nile, the main artery of the country (see fig. 1). It also lay on the direct route into Egypt from the northeast, down along the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, and at the eastern end of caravan routes both from the Fayum basin to the southwest and, less importantly, from Siwah and the other oases of the western desert. A fresh water supply combined with its geographical position to make Memphis an obvious capital.<sup>1</sup> Alternating with Thebes (home of the god Amon) and occasionally with northern cities in the Delta, Memphis (home of Ptah, the creator god) served regularly as the military, administrative, sacral, and economic center to the country.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the Greek name for the country as a whole, *Aigyptos*, derives from one of the Egyptian names for the city, *Hekaptah* “the palace of the spirit (*ka*) of Ptah.” For outside observers Memphis might be synonymous with Egypt.<sup>3</sup>

Differing at various periods of its history, the names of Memphis—“the Balance of the Two Lands,” “the Life of the Two Lands (*Anchtawy*),” “the White Wall (*Leukon Teichos*)”—reflect different aspects of the city, its geographic centrality, and its physical features. The name *Mmnfr*, the Greek *Memphis*, is in origin “the pyramid city of Pepi I,”<sup>4</sup> and the identity of the city as a necropolis settlement, a pyramid center, is one of its more important aspects. Memphis was a city of the dead as much as of the living. “The most favored of Egyptian cities in its position,” “the oldest and the most royal of cities,” it had been “the royal citadel” for much of its past.<sup>5</sup> And, as the residence of Pharaoh, Memphis served as a regular army base. Above

<sup>1</sup>Hamdan (1961), 124.

<sup>2</sup>For the pre-Ptolemaic history of the city, see Diod. Sic. 1.50–51 with Kees (1931), 660–64; Badawi (1948); Smith (1974), 3–5.

<sup>3</sup>Kees (1961), 157, for the name. Plutarch, *DIO 66 (Mor. 377c)*, with the Nile and Buto; Lucan 3.222; Froidefond (1971), 232; Smelik and Hemelrijk (1984), 1928–29.

<sup>4</sup>See Smith (1974), 7–8. The etymology of Plutarch, *DIO 20 (359b)*, is muddled; see Griffiths (1970), 364–65.

<sup>5</sup>Diod. Sic. 15.43; Pliny, *HN 5.9.50, quondam arx Aegypti regum*; cf. Ath. 1.20c, for a dancer named after the city.

all, however, this city “which gave birth to god(s)”<sup>6</sup> was a sacred city, the home of Ptah and of his emanation Apis, where cult encouraged culture and the *Theology of Ptah* was developed in the same environment as a flourishing native literature.<sup>7</sup> The treasury of Ptah served as the central treasury of the kingdom,<sup>8</sup> the garrison in the city as the royal bodyguard, and the dockyards as the home of the royal navy. And even when Thebes was the royal residence, Memphis remained an important administrative center for the north of Egypt. When invaders challenged the country, it was for Memphis that they aimed (Alexander, Perdiccas, or Antiochus IV), and when tourists visited Egypt, the sights of Memphis were of high priority. The city was known outside Egypt, more widely in the Mediterranean. Visiting scholars were traditionally attracted to the city—Eudoxos, for instance, was instructed by the Memphite Chonouphis, as, indirectly, was Agesilaos<sup>9</sup>—and, when late in its history the Greeks were keen to stress its Hellenic connections, they made it the home of the mythological figures Epaphos and Danaos.<sup>10</sup> Memphis as a place of learning and inspiration is a recurrent theme of classical writers.<sup>11</sup>

The city therefore may be viewed in many ways, as a center of administration, a royal residence, or a garrison city; as a burial center or as a city of temples; or as a port serving both as a market and as a center of production. Importantly too, it was the home of a diverse and mixed population. And when Alexander the Great conquered Egypt in 332 B.C. it was from Memphis that the city was governed. It was to this city that his general Ptolemy, son of Lagos, brought the conqueror’s corpse following Alexander’s death in 323 B.C. From here, too, Ptolemy ruled in his early years as satrap. The later removal of Alexander’s remains to Alexandria symbolized a change of capital for the new regime, and it was from Alexandria that Ptolemy later ruled as king. Now, under these new Macedonian pharaohs, Memphis was once again the second city.<sup>12</sup>

It is not possible to write a proper history of Memphis under the Ptolemies. Given the fragmentary and chance nature of surviving evidence, a coherent narrative of the city’s role in the military or political events of the Ptolemaic kingdom cannot be reconstructed, nor can one provide as comprehensive an account of its social and economic life as one would wish. What is attempted here is rather a historical study of those particular aspects of the city and its population that may be illuminated from what

<sup>6</sup> *P. Oxy* 2332.531, *theotokos Memphis*; the otherwise Christian imagery is striking.

<sup>7</sup> Lichtheim (1973), 51–57.

<sup>8</sup> Manning (2010), 79 n. 17.

<sup>9</sup> Plut. *DIO* 10 (*Mor.* 354e); *Mor.* 578f.

<sup>10</sup> Aesch. *Supp.* 311; Fraser and Maas (1955), 115.

<sup>11</sup> E.g., Lucan 1.639; 6.449; 8.475–79, Acoreus.

<sup>12</sup> On the date of this move, c. 320 or 312 B.C., see Fraser (1972), 2.31–32; Strabo 17.1.32, *polis . . . deuteria*.

survives. The city provides a framework for the understanding of what might otherwise seem disparate and unconnected fragments of information. Bound by the limits not only of what has survived but more particularly by the general lack of an intelligible context for much of it, the study of Ptolemaic Egypt is often reduced to mere description of what there is.<sup>13</sup> And without a context such description often stands alone, devoid of significance. In this study, the role of the city is to provide a unifying context for material relating to various aspects of life in Egypt under the Ptolemies. Throughout, my concerns are with the effects on the country and its population of the conquest of Alexander and of the imposition of Greco-Macedonian rule; with the effects more particularly on the city of Memphis of the foundation of a new Greek capital on the coast and its consequences in terms of the balance of population within Egypt; and, finally, with the effects of the introduction of new, immigrant outlooks and of the changed economic focus within the country. The context of the city for understanding these developments is important, and cities in Egypt were very different from those familiar to Mediterranean immigrants from the north.

The city itself is the backdrop. Both the physical makeup of the city and the economic activities of Memphis and the surrounding Memphite nome form preliminary subjects for discussion. In considering the various elements that made up the city's population—the different ethnic communities as well as the native Egyptians, and the Greeks and Macedonians who now formed the ruling class—I hope to convey some of the realities of life in the mixed community of the city and the problems that arose from the change in the country's rule. Some adaptations were quickly made while others took a longer time. Within the different groups in the city we may chart some of these, as well as the different areas of life in which they took place.

In its long history Memphis had at times served as both secular and spiritual capital of the country. The power of the temples was strong, and religion played a central role in the life of the Egyptians. Whether or not this centrality was greater in extent or intensity than in other societies, religion and cult in Egypt were certainly different in the forms they took. In charting the changing relations of the temples of Memphis to the new Ptolemaic rulers of the land, I hope to show how religion worked on the ground in one small, though important, part of the whole.

The following study of one connected group—those involved primarily in human mummification, in the transformation of man into god as the human corpse became Osiris—is possible here only because of the survival of a family archive. Through such a detailed Memphite study I hope to show not only the economic basis of this particular group within society but also the sort of changes over time that must have occurred elsewhere

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Finley (1985), 61–66, for an extreme expression.

during the three centuries of Ptolemaic rule. Besides the mummification of men, that of animals played an important part in both the religious and economic life of the city. The organization of some of the Memphite cults is examined in an attempt to retrieve the part they played in the lives not only of the city's inhabitants but also of tourists and pilgrims. Being central in both the city and necropolis, the cult of the Apis bull may be used as a standard for other cults. Finally comes an analysis, again made possible by the survival of a papyrological archive, of life within the "House of the deified Apis," Apis-Osiris, that temple area known to the Greeks as the Sarpieion, which was the major cult center of the necropolis for the city. This is a peculiarly Memphite study. It may, however, serve to illustrate some of the social and economic problems that arose from political weakness during the reigns (both joint and separate) of the two sons of Ptolemy V Epiphanes, together with some aspects of the Greco-Egyptian mix in society, which at certain levels and in various contexts was developing at this time. The changing relations between Hellenism and the traditions of Egypt provide a constant fascination. Yet further change, combined with some continuity, is the theme of the final epilogue, a brief overview of the fate of the city once the Romans had taken over.

#### EGYPTIAN CITIES

Throughout history, Egyptian cities have depended on the Nile and on its annual flood both for communications and for their economic base. It was along the Nile that the cities, which were generally situated on its banks, enjoyed contact with other areas within Egypt, with Nubia to the south, and downstream with Syria to the northeast and northward to the Aegean. Of more immediate importance was the city's agricultural base, the crops that served to feed it and which in turn depended on the flood of the Nile, that annual inundation which made Egypt by far the richest of those lands that border the Mediterranean. Given this close dependence on the river, both port facilities and irrigation works were regular features of Egyptian cities.

The annual flood, in Egyptian eyes, depended on divine approval of the state of the land and its rule. The importance of the role of the pharaoh in securing this approval was matched by his dominant position within the administration of the country. The country was governed centrally, and cities had no independent rule of their own—basic facts that were reflected in their physical layout. As in Greek cities, temples were a regular feature, but Egyptian city centers had no assembly points for citizens to meet on public business. Instead, in the capital and other important centers like Memphis, Thebes, or Sais, besides the offices of the central administration a palace might be found, a place where the king could stay in comfort when

visiting his subjects. For the living quarters of Egyptian cities, crowded together on land not reached by the flood, were generally cramped and full of people, so that agricultural land would not be wasted.

Like oriental cities, those in Egypt were divided into quarters, physically separated and carefully protected within the overall conglomeration they formed. These quarters might be of various types, based on the ethnicity of those who lived there or on their trades, and, in Memphis at least, such quarters were frequently surrounded by great walls, which provided protection from both natural hazards and human assault. It was thus individual quarters that might be walled and not, as was Greek practice, the city as a whole.

The protection of cities was the responsibility of garrison troops stationed there. In Memphis, as we shall see, the garrison point was centrally located. The troops were paid by the crown and, in the Late Period, were regularly of foreign origin, for in Egypt the phenomenon of a citizen soldiery was unknown. Not only were law and order to be enforced in the city, but protection of the fields in the countryside was also a constant concern, and everywhere in Egypt the system of dykes and ditches, used to control the flood, was organized and watched over by the central government and those in its employ. The flood was also measured, and Nilometers are found in most major centers. The provision of a water supply for agriculture and drinking is a regular concern of government; in Egypt water for both these ends would often come from the Nile. And as so often in Eastern cities, private water sellers, providing fresh water to those who would pay, served to supply people's needs for this basic commodity. Wells and artesian springs were used, but the elaborate wellheads and fountain houses of the civic centers of mainland Greece are not found here.

Gardens, however, were a standard feature of the Egyptian city; generally serving as orchards for dates, olives, vines, and other fruit trees, verdant areas might also be planted with garden plants or experimental crops. In Memphis such an orchard belonged to the crown and was attached to the palace; elsewhere others owned the land. The Egyptian temples, with their large enclosures, might also include green areas. In Memphis, for instance, within the twenty hectares of the temple of Ptah, Thoth's baboon lived under his own moringa tree; other trees were connected with other Egyptian deities. Amid the dust and heat there were pleasant corners of shade, as plots of public and private land lay next to one another.

There were also smells. Spice markets would scent the air, as would the purveyors of cooked food on the street corners. Different markets for different products were found in various parts of the city. Not all smells were pleasant ones. In ancient Egyptian cities levels of sanitation were not high. In the temple enclosures, temple cleaners were employed—a lower grade of priest—to keep the area clean. Generally, however, the roads and alleyways

were used to throw out all manner of excrement and waste. The scattered survival of discarded *ostraka* and papyri serves to remind us how minimal waste disposal was in these ancient cities.

With the Greeks came further public constructions to join the older temples—new buildings on a grander scale than that of the mud-brick homes in which the people dwelled. For following their conquest of the country the Greeks, like the Romans later, erected theaters and other sites of popular recreation. We may assume that once introduced, performances at the theater or the hippodrome were attended by mixed audiences. The gymnasium, however, throughout Egypt as elsewhere in the Hellenistic East, remained a primarily Greek institution, with its membership closely controlled.

Such are the regular features of the traditional cities of Egypt. In seeing how Memphis fits the pattern, we start with a detailed topographical study of the city. It is only once the physical appearance of the city and its constituent parts have been established that we can begin to see the interrelation of these parts within the whole, in both economic and social spheres. Memphis, therefore, may first be viewed through the eyes of those who visited it. Described by ancient travelers, its changing appearance, and both its natural features and man-made monuments, may be mapped and reconstructed. Through survey and excavation, archaeologists fill out the picture, and even the documents yield topographical information. Let us attempt a physical reconstruction.

#### PTOLEMAIC MEMPHIS

When late in the first century B.C. the geographer Strabo visited Memphis, he was following the route of many previous Greek and Roman travelers. In the fifth century B.C. the Greek historian Herodotus, interested in the past as much as in the present, had spent some time in the city. The priests of Ptah (Hephaistos to the Greeks) were the source of much of his information, and Ptah's temple, the "large and most remarkable" temple of Hephaistos, was prominent in his account.<sup>14</sup> Strabo is more systematic in his description of the city, and although his picture selects only a few of the more noteworthy features and sights of the area, he may serve as our preliminary guide.<sup>15</sup>

Memphis, records Strabo, is the royal residence of the Egyptians, near to Babylon and the Delta apex. It is a city of temples. There is that of Apis, who is kept in a stall. (He then describes the special markings of the Apis

<sup>14</sup> 2.99.4. For Ptolemaic Memphis more generally, see now Leclère (2008), 1.80–86.

<sup>15</sup> 17.1.31–32.

bull, all black with white on his forehead and in patches on the flanks.) In front of this enclosure, he continues, is a courtyard that contains the stall of the mother of Apis. At a fixed hour, Apis is let loose in this courtyard; this show is especially for the tourists, since, although visitors may view Apis in his stall through a window, they also want to set eyes on him outside. After a short bout of exercise in the court, Apis is returned to his own stall. Next to this sanctuary and adjacent to it is the Hephaistieion. This is an extravagant structure both in the size of the central shrine (*naos*) and in other respects. In front of it, in the avenue (*dromos*), is a monolithic colossus. It is in this avenue that bull contests are staged, with bulls especially bred for the purpose. The bulls are let free and join in struggle together; the one judged the stronger wins the prize. Also in Memphis lies the temple of Aphrodite, considered to be a Greek goddess; but some say this is the temple of Selene, the Greek moon goddess.

Further, there is a Sarapion<sup>16</sup> in a location so sandy that dunes are piled up there by the winds. As a result of these winds some of the sphinxes appear buried up to their necks, while some of them are only half visible. It is not difficult to imagine the danger if a sandstorm blows up when one is walking over to the sanctuary.

The city is a large one, with a sizeable population. After Alexandria it is the second city, and its population, like that of Alexandria, is multiracial. In front of the city and the palaces lie lakes. The palaces, now in ruins and deserted, are built on an eminence and run down to the level of the plain below the city; adjoining are a grove and a lake.

So Strabo describes the city. For him Memphis is above all a sacred city, a city of temples—those of Ptah/Hephaistos with the stalls of the Apis bull and the mother of Apis cow nearby, and of Aphrodite (whom Herodotus called “the foreign Aphrodite”) in the valley, and, on the desert edge of Saqqara, the great Sarapieion approached by a long sphinx-lined avenue, which was cleared of sand by the French archaeologist Auguste Mariette in the mid-nineteenth century. He comments too on the population, and on the abandonment of the palaces by the early Roman period when he visited the city.

## THE VALLEY CITY

Strabo’s outline may be expanded, and the combination of the evidence found in other classical writers and in the hieroglyphic, demotic, and Greek inscriptions and documents with that from archaeology begins to make

<sup>16</sup>So Strabo. In documents the usual form is Sarapieion, which I adopt elsewhere in preference to the Latin Serapeum.

possible a topographical survey of the city. This city consisted of two separate yet interrelated parts, the valley city of Memphis and the temple enclosures and necropolis of the desert edge to the west (see fig. 2). Physically distinct, the valley settlement, with its dykes, temples, and different ethnic quarters, was separated by a stream, the Phchêt canal, from the sharply rising, sand-covered escarpment, which, with the *wady* running south from Abousir on its far (western) side, forms the bluff of North Saqqara, the city of the dead or necropolis. The Phchêt canal, known when flooded as a lake, probably followed close to the line of the present waterway, the Bahr Li-beini, serving both parts of the city alike.<sup>17</sup> Access to the necropolis from the valley city was by boat across this canal, and on the eastern bank a special quay, connected to the Ptah temple,<sup>18</sup> was used for ceremonial (and probably also for secular) purposes. From here Ptah would have journeyed south to visit Hathor of the Southern Sycamore, and at times the Apis bull departed on ceremonial visits;<sup>19</sup> from here after death the mummified Apis was transported across the Lake of Pharaoh on the first stage of its final journey up along the sphinx-lined avenue to the vaults of the Sarapieion.

To the east of the city lay the Nile with its islands. Now flowing more than three kilometers east of the city ruins, in the Ptolemaic period the river appears, both from a recent resistivity survey and from the written record, to have flowed close up to the city along the edge of the series of *koms* or hillocks marked on the plan (see fig. 3).<sup>20</sup> The tentative identification in the nineteenth century by Joseph Hekekyan of the Nilometer on this stretch of the riverbank might confirm this shift, while the north-south wall of the building that he recorded certainly belonged to the (Roman) waterfront. The Memphite Nilometer was of national importance, and even after the foundation of Alexandria it remained the official measuring point for the country.<sup>21</sup>

The position of the main Memphite island is possibly now marked by Ezbet Ma‘mal. Dividing the stream, this island was large enough to serve in 321 B.C. as an army camp for Perdicas and his great invading force. Striking

<sup>17</sup> *UPZ* 114.12; 117.9. *PP* 5352, priest of Ptah, lord of the southern lake and of the gods of the domain of Ptah, lord of the northern lake; Lichtheim (1980), 134, Setne crosses by boat; Yoyotte (1961), 95–96; Goyon (1971), 146, still in the tenth century A.D.

<sup>18</sup> *PSI* 5.488.11 (257 B.C.).

<sup>19</sup> Harris papyrus = Breasted (1906), 4.169; Crawford (1980), 5 n. 4.

<sup>20</sup> In a resistivity survey a current that is passed between copper rods inserted at intervals deep into the ground makes possible the plotting of any structures or abnormalities buried beneath the surface. On Nile movement, see Lutley and Bunbury (2008); Jeffreys (2008); (2010), 193–95; Jeffreys and Giddy (1989), 8, for waterfront.

<sup>21</sup> Smith, Jeffreys, and Málek (1983), 40–41, confirming Butzer (1976), 35; Jeffreys (1985), 48–51, with plan 2. For the Nilometer, see Hdt. 2.13.1; Diod. Sic. 1.36.11; Strabo 17.1.48; Luc. 8.477–78; Plut. *DIO* 43 (*Mor.* 368b); Jeffreys (2010), 164–65; for a Nile festival, see *P. Oxy.* 3148 (A.D. 424), with Bonneau (1971), 38, 50.

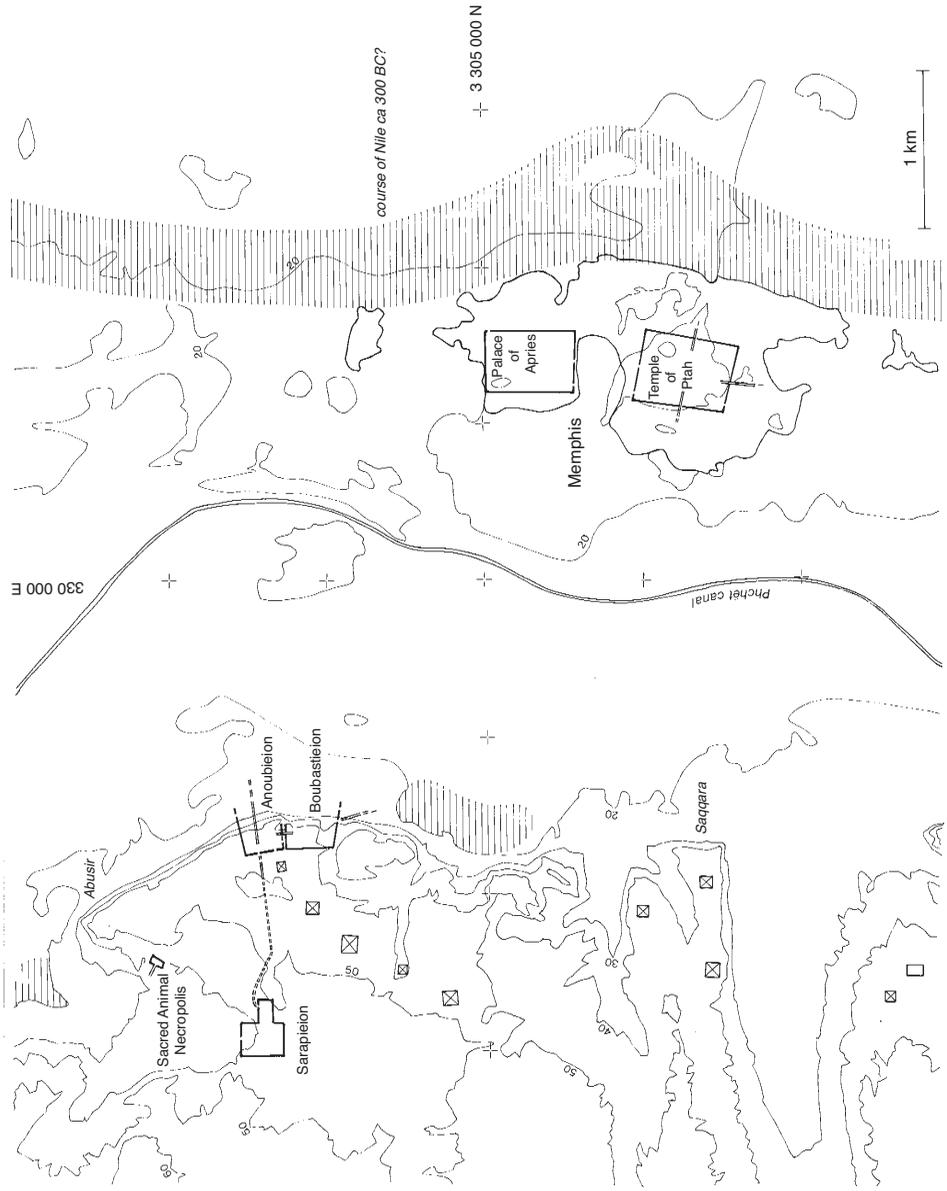


Figure 2. Memphis: Valley city and necropolis.

right at the heart of Ptolemy's new kingdom, this invasion came to grief when the disturbance in the riverbed caused by the wading troops and elephants shifted the sand and foothold of the stream; over two thousand men were consumed by the "beasts" in the river.<sup>22</sup> Here on the island was a temple, described by Diodorus as that of Daedalus, who fashioned one of the monumental gateways to the temple of Ptah, and a wooden statue within.<sup>23</sup> Later in its history a Christian community was situated on the island, as so often close to an earlier pagan site.<sup>24</sup>

A Nile flood of 16 cubits was optimum, 14–16 good, and 12–14 the regular height reached by the Nile as measured at Memphis.<sup>25</sup> As the waters came over, filling the ditches and covering the fields, the city built on higher ground was protected by its dykes. For around the valley city lay 5 kilometers of dykes, and in March 257 B.C., following recent floods that reached over 10 cubits in the surrounding ditches, these dykes were raised to 12 cubits, approximately 6 meters, by the new Greek administration. The record of these dykes, sketched in with their length on the plan (fig. 3), is crucial to many Memphite identifications.<sup>26</sup>

Assuming the dykes are listed from the south running northward, they start with 600 meters of the Syro-Persikon, which must have bounded the area settled by immigrants from the Levant, those who in the third century B.C. were known as Phoenico-Egyptians.<sup>27</sup> For as we shall see, the foreign communities that settled here in separate quarters retained their identification even within the Hellenistic city. The names of stretches of the dyke reflect these quarters and perhaps facilitate their recognition on the ground. In the fifth century B.C. Herodotus recorded the Tyrian Camp in Memphis as the location of the temple of the foreign Aphrodite, whom he identified as Helen, daughter of Tyndareus (and wife of Menelaos).<sup>28</sup> This temple was within the fine *temenos* of the Memphite king Proteus, which lay south of the Ptah temple.<sup>29</sup> The whole area formed a Phoenician quarter. In spite

<sup>22</sup>Diod. Sic. 18.34.6–35; Jeffreys (1985), 47, 51–53.

<sup>23</sup>Diod. Sic. 1.97.6.

<sup>24</sup>*P. Lond.* 6.1917.9 (A.D. 330–40).

<sup>25</sup>Bonneau (1971), 219.

<sup>26</sup>*PSI* 5.488; the provision of gravel recorded in *P. Lond.* 7.2054.4–11 may be for this same project. Following discussion with the Memphis survey team, my reconstruction in fig. 3 (where lengths are given in meters, with 1 *schoinion* to 50m.) differs from my earlier attempt, Crawford (1983), 18–19; cf. Orrieux (1983), 99. For the results of recent survey work, see Smith, Jeffreys, and Málek (1983); Jeffreys, Málek, and Smith (1984); Jeffreys (1985).

<sup>27</sup>*PSI* 5.531.1. A Syrian quarter may be recorded on Louvre stele C119 (Spiegelberg 1929a, 107–12; Munro 1973, 341), but Yoyotte (1962), 86 n. 2, doubts a Memphite location, and in any case Spiegelberg's reading is uncertain; the demotic version records rather "gods of the cool lake" (so J. D. Ray: pers. comm.).

<sup>28</sup>Hdt. 2.112.

<sup>29</sup>This has been identified with the palace of Merenptah (Petrie 1909a: 3–4), which, however, lies to the east of the Ptah temple; see Dimick's map with Anthes (1959), 82.

of the strong Levantine connection with ships and shipping (to be discussed in chapter 3), the name Tyrian Camp suggests a military purpose for this settlement, at least when Herodotus visited under the Persians. Later, however, under the Ptolemies, this was a residential quarter; and if the Astarte temple is that known in the Greek papyri as the Aphrodision in Memphis, then private housing, workshops, and local hotels were built up against the temple. It was here one day in the second century B.C. that a luckless *kiki* worker fell to his death in a vat of castor oil.<sup>30</sup> Shrines and secular buildings lay close together in these city suburbs.

The next dyke of 350 meters was named Paasu. The name is obscure, but the dyke must have bordered a distinct area southwest of the Ptah temple. Two hundred meters of dyke described as “above and below the quay of Hephaistos” probably bounded a more solid, stone embankment close to the temple. The largest stretch of dyke, 23 schoinia or 1,150 meters, lay alongside the city and the palace area. Here, centered on the kom of Mīt Rahīna, lay the city, the *polis*,<sup>31</sup> with the royal palace and the acropolis<sup>32</sup> or citadel area. Strabo described the palaces, deserted when he wrote, as built on an eminence and stretching down to the flat land of the city below, with a grove and a lake nearby. Whereas this forms a fair description of the mass of mud-brick on its towering platform, which, still dominating the site to the north, was excavated early in the twentieth century and identified by British Egyptologist William Flinders Petrie as the sixth-century B.C. palace of Apries, his excavations yielded only a few Ptolemaic remains.<sup>33</sup> The Ptolemaic palace must have lain close by in the same area, perhaps on Kom Tūmān to the west, where traces were found of Ptolemaic building. It is here that the Ptolemies would stay on their visits to Memphis, northwest of the Ptah temple, where, at least from the reign of Epiphanes in 197 B.C., the new Macedonian kings were crowned according to ancient Egyptian rites. With troops on guard nearby, whether the Idumaeen saber bearers or other bodyguards,<sup>34</sup> the palace quarter also had its shrines. Here Arsinoe, queen of Ptolemy II, was worshipped as a goddess.<sup>35</sup> Besides a citadel, the presence of administrative headquarters at least during the Persian period is suggested by the discovery of Aramaic dockets and seals.<sup>36</sup> If, as suggested both by Strabo and by the survey of the dykes, this was also the administrative

<sup>30</sup>UPZ 120.5–8. For housing, see Petrie, Mackay, and Wainwright (1910), 44–46.

<sup>31</sup>PSI 5.488.11; Strabo 17.1.32.

<sup>32</sup>P. Cair. Zen. 59156.3 (256 B.C.), *akra*.

<sup>33</sup>Petrie (1909b), 11; Petrie, Mackay, and Wainwright (1910), 41; Kemp (1977); (1978).

<sup>34</sup>Thompson-Crawford (1984), and chapter 3 nn. 94–110 below. For other troops in Memphis, see P. Mich. Zen. 32 (255 B.C.), *sitarchia* for troops; P. Petrie 2.20.iv.8 = 3.36.b.iv (218 B.C.), a detachment of elephants (for the Syrian war?); UPZ 14.23–24 (158 B.C.).

<sup>35</sup>Vienna stele 153.4–5; Leiden sarcophagus AMT 3.2, cf. Reymond (1981), 76, 102; Quaegebeur (1971b), 249–50.

<sup>36</sup>Petrie, Mackay, and Wainwright (1910), 41.

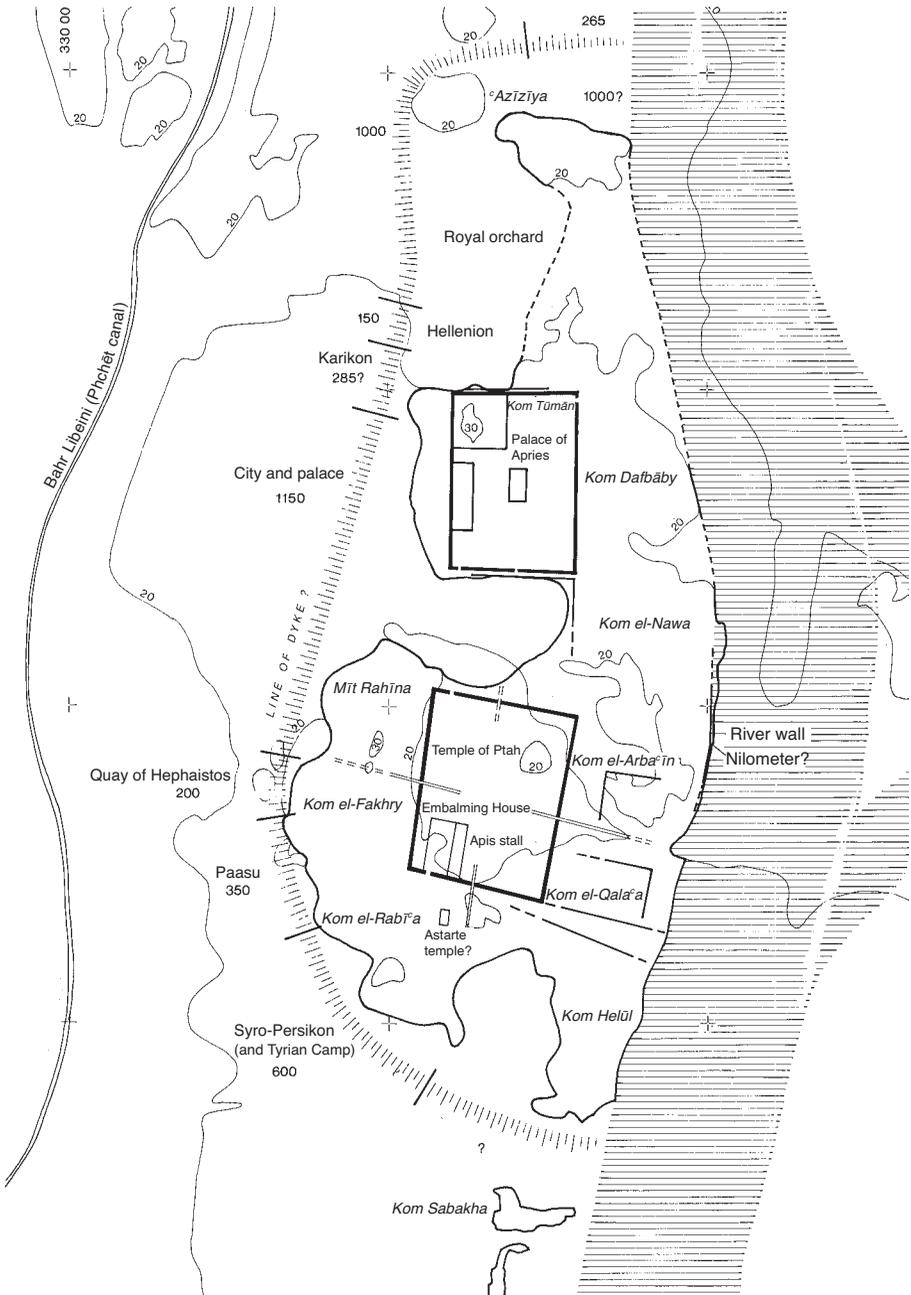
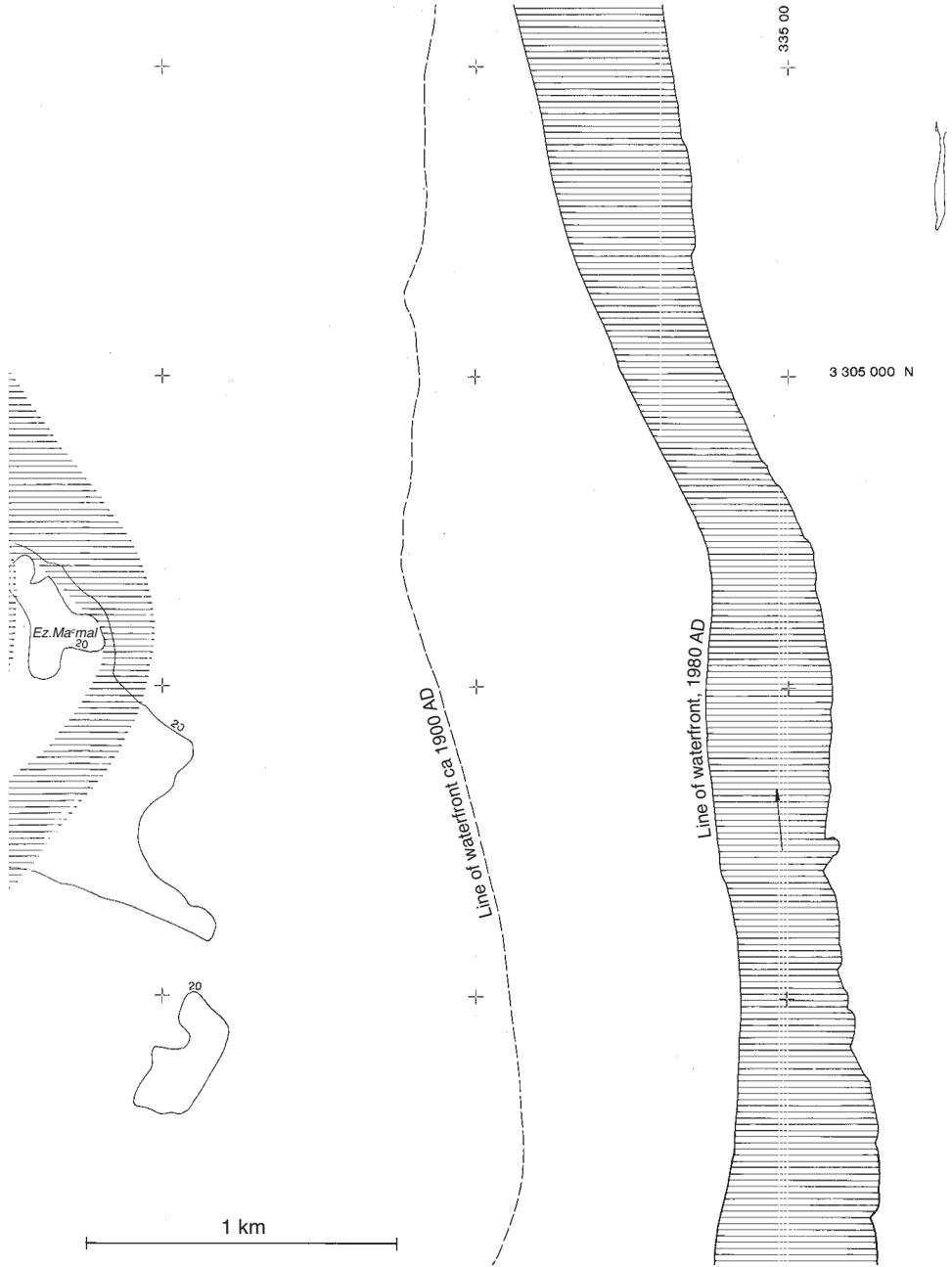


Figure 3. Memphis with its Ptolemaic dykes.



center of the Ptolemaic city, there can be no clearer sign of what a polis now signified in Egypt. It was offices of central government that characterized this Ptolemaic polis.

Beyond the palaces, tapering north for at least a kilometer toward the open and easily watered plains of Azīzīya, there stretched the palace gardens. A striking feature of the area, these gardens may be the same as Strabo's grove, though parks and gardens were probably a feature of Memphis, providing oases of well-watered greenery and shade amid the crowded, dusty streets and living quarters of the city.

Just north of the city proper, close to the fortress that they must have once occupied,<sup>37</sup> came the Carian and Greek quarters of the city. Brought from the Delta by Amasis in the sixth century b.c., the Carian and Ionian mercenaries stayed on in their new home and intermarried with the local inhabitants. And although the Caromemphites and Hellenomemphites were by now well integrated in the Ptolemaic city, they still preserved their separate quarters.<sup>38</sup> The location of other ethnic quarters, such as those of the Idumaeans or of the Jews,<sup>39</sup> is not known.

If the palaces dominated the north of the city, to the south it was the temple of Ptah with its various dependencies that stood out. The large *temenos* of the Ptah temple was probably surrounded by a wall,<sup>40</sup> broken on all four sides by the ceremonial gateways listed by Herodotus.<sup>41</sup> To these an eastern gateway was added by Ptolemy IV from which Petrie found the red granite architrave.<sup>42</sup> Besides the large ceremonial hall in which the coronation ceremonies took place, there were other shrines and enclosures belonging to dependent cults. The priesthood of Ptah had many responsibili-

<sup>37</sup>Large quantities of Persian scale armour found on Kom Tūmān may indicate a citadel, perhaps in the fourth century b.c., Petrie (1909b), 13; Jeffreys (1985), 41. If built of stone, this may have given the name of White Wall (*Leukon Teichos*, *inb bd*) to the city, Hdt. 3.14; Thuc. 1.104; Quaegebeur (1971b), 251; as the color of the south, however, "white" may rather have been used with reference to the origin of the city's founder Menes (so Clarysse: pers. comm.).

<sup>38</sup>Hellenion: see chapter 3 n. 8 below. If *P. Cair. Zen.* 59034 refers to Memphis (so Rigby 2001), then a Greek market (*agora*) or quarter may be mentioned in line 7. Karikon: chapter 3 n. 9 below.

<sup>39</sup>Berlin stele 2118 (Stern 1884; Schäfer 1902/3) mentions a Jewish quarter. I see no reason (with Yoyotte 1973, 34) to understand this as the Jewish Camp in the southern Delta (Joseph. *AJ* 14.133; *Bj* 1.191; *Not. Dign.* 28.42), since all of Chaiapius' other appointments are consistent with a Memphite career.

<sup>40</sup>Diod. Sic. 1.67.1, a seventh-century b.c. enclosure wall. The mud-brick wall excavated by the University of Pennsylvania dates from the first century b.c.; see Anthes (1965), 3, 8.

<sup>41</sup>North propylon of Moeris (Amenemhet III): see Hdt. 2.101.1, cf. Diod. Sic. 1.51.5; south propylon of Psammetichos: Hdt. 2.153, cf. Diod. Sic. 1.67.1, placing it to the east; west propylon of Rhampsinitos (Ramses II?): Hdt. 2.121.1; east propylon of Asychis (Shoshenk I?): Hdt. 2.136.1. Diod. Sic. 1.97.6 ascribes the finest of the gateways to Daedalus. See Goossens (1945) on the Ptah temple; Jeffreys (1985), 21–27, on the archaeology of this whole area.

<sup>42</sup>Petrie (1909a), 14 with plate XLV.

ties. It was priests of Ptah who served the Apis bull during its lifetime and its seventy-day period of mummification rites,<sup>43</sup> and it was elders of the Ptah priests who served as a governing body for other cults, like those of the Ibis or Hawk. While the ibises of Thoth were bred in the Lake of Pharaoh and along the city dyke,<sup>44</sup> other sacred animals were reared within the temple of Ptah itself. Here in his lifetime there dwelled the baboon of Thoth under his moringa tree,<sup>45</sup> in company with Apis and the mother of Apis, who upon death became the Isis cow.

The stalls of the Apis bull and the mother of Apis, together with their exercise court, lay opposite the southern gate of the temple, which, like the Apis court, was built by Psammetichos I in the seventh century B.C. From the fifth century B.C. Herodotus describes a court with a surrounding colonnade in which statues took the place of pillars.<sup>46</sup> The Apis bull enjoyed a private water supply and, like its mother, had a window for public appearances.<sup>47</sup> Closely connected with this cult were the bullfights in the dromos of the Ptah temple, which Strabo mentioned.<sup>48</sup> The topographical indications of classical writers are corroborated by those in the Ptolemaic *Instructions for Embalming the Apis Bull* to be discussed in chapter 6; they suggest that the Apis enclosure is to be found around the midpoint of the southern wall of the Ptah temple, where there must have been a gate close to the colossus of Ramses II. The Embalming House or *wabet*, originally excavated by the Egyptian Antiquities Service in 1941, lay near to the southwest corner of the temple.<sup>49</sup>

East of the Ptah temple and the palaces lay the Nile and the port, which played such an important role in the life of the city. Presumably warehouses and loading bays lay along the Nile bank, and a royal dock is mentioned in an early Ptolemaic papyrus.<sup>50</sup> As well as the dockyards, which perhaps lay to the south, and the Nilometer mentioned above, there was a tollhouse here and buildings, like the guard post, connected with the control of the port. Perhaps serving as the central administrative point for other tollhouses in the nome, the Memphite port control would have played an important part in the economic life of the city. The river front

<sup>43</sup>Vercoutter (1962), 127–28; B.M. stele 375.6–7 (cf. Reymond 1981, 82), priest with responsibility for food of the mother of Apis; see also chapter 6 n. 48, below.

<sup>44</sup>*Hör* 15 verso.4; 33.2 (157 B.C.); de Cenival (1972a), 39.

<sup>45</sup>Smith (1974), 41–43.

<sup>46</sup>Hdt. 2.153; Strabo 17.1.31.

<sup>47</sup>Smith (1974), 10; Plut. *DIO* 5 (*Mor.* 353a), a well; Ael. *NA* 11.10.

<sup>48</sup>Lloyd (1978b), 609–26.

<sup>49</sup>El-Amir (1948), 51–56, wrongly identified this as the *sêkos*; cf. Dimick in Anthes (1959), 75–79, and Vercoutter (1962), 55–58. For later exploration, see Jones and Milward Jones (1982); (1983); (1984).

<sup>50</sup>See chapter 2 on “The Port” with n. 168. For shipbuilding material in the southern quarter at an earlier date, see Spiegelberg (1896a), 20; for docks and harbors, Diod. Sic. 1.50.7.

was known to Herodotus as the area in front of the city, the *proasteion*. Here the Persian king Cambyses humiliated the pharaoh Psammenitos, showing him his daughter coming down to collect water from the river.<sup>51</sup> In places, housing came down close to the water's edge, and in one spot an Egyptian market is recorded in what was presumably a native quarter of the city. It was here the Egyptian father of the Sarapieion twins (to be discussed in chapter 7) jumped into the river to escape the knife of his wife's Greek soldier-lover. (He swam to an island and from there took a boat to the Herakleopolite nome, to return home only for burial.)<sup>52</sup> By the first century B.C., a hippodrome in the area gave its name to a group of Memphite ship contractors;<sup>53</sup> elsewhere, perhaps to the north, vineyards lay close to the river edge where they could be watered throughout the year.<sup>54</sup>

The exact location of the city's theater is not yet known,<sup>55</sup> nor indeed of the temple of Herakles perhaps associated with the gymnasium,<sup>56</sup> nor of many other shrines that are recorded in the titles of priests. The discovery of several important inscriptions on Kom el Qal'a suggests an important public square or building in this part of the city;<sup>57</sup> statues too could have been erected here. Faience and terracotta workshops lay here and to the south on Kom Helül.<sup>58</sup> Indeed, the workshop area of the city would seem to have lain on this southeastern side of the city, stretching along the river bank from Kom el Nawa in the north. (The varied production of the area will be discussed in the next chapter.)

Situated for the most part on the natural hillocks of the plain, the different quarters of the valley city of Memphis were both separate and inter-related. The actual extent to which these various areas in the valley were enclosed with walls, like those of the necropolis, remains to be established. Eight walled enclosures have so far been identified on the ground,<sup>59</sup> and it seems likely that similar quarters existed throughout the city. Despite such thick mud-brick walls, these separate quarters all came under the central royal administration of the city<sup>60</sup> and, if it existed at all (see chapter 3), their

<sup>51</sup>Hdt. 3.14.1–3.

<sup>52</sup>UPZ 18.8–11 (163 B.C.); 19.9–15.

<sup>53</sup>BGU 8.1741–43; 14.2368 (63 B.C.). For Memphite charioteers, see *P. Cair. Zen.* 4.59700.10–11 + *BL* 5; *SB* 8.9930 verso (third century A.D.).

<sup>54</sup>*P. Hib.* 2.205.23–26 (mid-third century B.C.).

<sup>55</sup>*P. Fuad Univ.* 14.4, 9 (third century A.D.). The location of the city's bathhouse(s) is also unknown; see Ray, *DT* 10.

<sup>56</sup>*P. Corn.* 1.84–85 (256 B.C.); cf. *P. Oxy. Hels.* 23.4–5 (A.D. 212). For later gymnasiarchs, see *SB* 6.9022 inv.13 (second to third centuries A.D.).

<sup>57</sup>Málek in Porter and Moss (1981), 862; Jeffreys (1985), 19–21.

<sup>58</sup>Petrie (1909a), 14–15; Jeffreys (1985), 19.

<sup>59</sup>*EES Report* 1983/84, 4.

<sup>60</sup>On *shn.w*, see Reymond (1974), 192, noting a change from earlier practice (*P. Fitzburgh* D 4.8 [third century B.C.]); cf. *P. Recueil* 4 recto.14 (108 B.C.) with note i (p. 46), for a different interpretation.

autonomy was minimal. Within, to judge from demotic contracts and evidence elsewhere, the streets ran at right angles to each other, dividing the area up in crisscross fashion.<sup>61</sup> In Memphis, however, the natural contours of the hillocks on which the city was built may have caused some modifications to this pattern. As often was the case in ancient eastern cities, the gates of these enclosures were important meeting places; so when the priest Ḥor met with the Alexandrian minister in charge of religious affairs to inform him of the bad fortunes of the Ibis and the Hawk, the interview was up on the necropolis at the gate of the tower of Hepnēbes.<sup>62</sup> Within the separate quarters were local markets; different trades were practiced here, though the topographical evidence is not sufficiently precise to allow the investigation of any correlation that might have existed between ethnic quarters and economic activities. In Oxyrhynchos, for instance, where a number of different quarters are also recorded, besides those known by the origin of the inhabitants (the Jewish or the Cretan Quarters), there were others known by the trade of those who lived there (the Shepherds', the Gooseherds', or the Shoemakers' Quarters).<sup>63</sup> Such quarters formed a regular feature of Egyptian cities; they are known also from Krokodilopolis and Hermoupolis. For Memphis only the ethnic quarters are known by name, but the overall picture is of a diverse and crowded city of enclosures where temples, housing, and workshops were interspersed with groves and gardens.

The houses in which the people lived were presumably for the most part built of mud-brick,<sup>64</sup> but of very differing standards. The Ptolemaic bronze gate found by Petrie in the southern quarter of the city, south of the pottery kilns, suggests a high degree of opulence for some.<sup>65</sup> As today, the flat roofs will have served as summer living quarters for men and animals alike, and the walls of the house with courtyards within will have enclosed the household unit of owners, family, servants, and livestock. Outside, the bustling streets were full of life and squalor.<sup>66</sup>

## THE NECROPOLIS

When, soon after the appointment in 76 B.C. of the fourteen-year-old Psenptais as high priest of Ptah, Ptolemy XII Auletes visited the high priest in his home city of Memphis, he is recorded as having "passed up and down

<sup>61</sup>Appendix B for contracts from the necropolis; for comparative material, see Orrioux (1985), 131.

<sup>62</sup>*Hor* 22 recto.3–4; 30.3–4, corner gate; Ray (1976), 148.

<sup>63</sup>Rink (1924), 25–44; for the possibilities of this approach, see Geertz (1979), 158–59.

<sup>64</sup>See Smith (1974), 11, with Petrie (1910), plate xxxviii 6, a house rather than a fortress.

<sup>65</sup>Petrie, Mackay, and Wainwright (1910), 44 with plate xxxiii 15.

<sup>66</sup>Reflected in Ptolemaios' dreams about the twins; see chapter 7 below. See *UPZ* 77.4–11, 21–25; 78.8–21, for the school of Tothes and insanitary uses of the streets.

in his ship that he might behold both sides of the place.”<sup>67</sup> For to the west of the valley city, separated by the Phchêt canal, there lay the other half of Memphis, the temple suburbs of the necropolis with their native Egyptian population (see fig. 4).

As today, a number of paths led up the sandy escarpment, where the temples each had their sacred avenues, or dromoi. When Setne, hero of the demotic romance of *Setne Khamwas*, crossed the Phchêt canal to visit the priestess of Bastet, he probably followed a route from the valley to Saqqara close to that of the modern motor road.<sup>68</sup> However, the main avenue leading west to the Sarapieion was the stone-paved, sphinx-lined Sarapieion way (the *hft-br*) that Strabo took.<sup>69</sup> Climbing up over the escarpment from a limestone quay, the avenue passes through the more northern of the two great brick enclosures, each of which surrounds a series of temples. To the south was the Boubastieion, 350 meters by 250 meters, with walls 7–10 meters thick, and to the north an enclosure 250 meters square, the site of two or three limestone temples built on terraces up the hillside, which is almost certainly to be identified as the Anoubieion, or House of Anubis, the god who presided over mummification.<sup>70</sup> In life, as in ceremony, the dancers of Bastet were closely connected with the “men of Anubis”.<sup>71</sup> Close by, on the desert edge, were the catacombs where the mummified animals of the cult lay buried;<sup>72</sup> live cats and dogs perhaps were also reared within the enclosures. When Setne met with Tabubu in the Boubastieion and, overcome with passion, murdered his children and flung them through the window, in his fantasy he heard the dogs and cats below tearing their flesh apart as he drank with the highborn priestess of Bastet. The thick mud-brick walls of these enclosures, as well as providing some protection against the notorious sandstorms of the desert edge, served to divide off the different districts of the necropolis.

<sup>67</sup>B.M. stele 886 translated by Glanville in Bevan (1927), 347–48; cf. Reymond (1981), 148–49. Gorre (2009), 332–33, translates somewhat differently.

<sup>68</sup>Lichtheim (1980), 134–35.

<sup>69</sup>Ray (1976), 147; *Hor* 8 recto.14; *UPZ* 119.10. Smith (1981), for the route; Lembke (1998), for early Ptolemaic sphinxes.

<sup>70</sup>Kessler (1989), 106–7; Davies and Smith (1997), 112–14, with earlier bibliography; Jeffreys and Smith (1988), excavation report; Martin (2009), 47–48. Cannata (2007) studies the textual within the archaeological material. The Saqqara Geophysical Survey Project is now providing an improved map for this whole area: Mathieson and Tavares (1992); Mathieson and Dittmer (2007); Price (2009).

<sup>71</sup>Quaegebeur and Rammant-Peeters (1982), 200; Quaegebeur (1984), 159–60, together with the servants of the Ibis and the Hawk. For the “men of Anubis” as morticians, see chapter 5 below.

<sup>72</sup>See map 10 of de Morgan (1897). For mummified cats, see Maspero (1882), 75, with Wilcken (1927), 10; Zivie (1984), 202. Remains were still visible below the house of the Antiquities Service in 1978.

The enclosure of the Boubastieion, *Pr-Bstt*, to the south was more than simply a temple of Bastet.<sup>73</sup> At least two, and probably three, stone temples, now pillaged for lime, were located here, and there were subsidiary shrines, priestly dwellings, and other buildings.<sup>74</sup> The entry was along a brick-paved road and through a huge brick gateway from the south. And down by the Phchêt canal lay houses and courtyards with gardens and orchards interspersed among them.<sup>75</sup>

Either in or close to this southern enclosure lay the temple of the Peak, *Tbn(yt)*, known chiefly from the record of its priests.<sup>76</sup> This temple had a double-roomed treasury and windows of appearances and, like other temples here, its own enclosure wall and dromos.<sup>77</sup> It differed from other temples in being the center of worship for several gods, for the Falcon Nekthorheb (Nectanebo II),<sup>78</sup> Horos the Hawk, and Thoth the Ibis. There were scribes of the treasury of the Peak, *pastophoroi* (*wnw*), and men in charge of the windows of the forecourt of the temple, with responsibilities in the cult of the Hawk and the Ibis.<sup>79</sup>

Close to the temple of the Peak lay the great Asklepieion, *Pr-Iy-m-htp*, the temple of Imhotep, son of Ptah, whom the Greeks saw as Asklepios.<sup>80</sup> Imhotep was “lord of Anchtawy in Memphis,”<sup>81</sup> and his temple bordered the temple of the Peak to the north.<sup>82</sup> The Asklepios temple had its own dromos rising up from the edge of cultivation, and a cavern in the temple<sup>83</sup>

<sup>73</sup>UPZ 79.4 (159 B.C.), the location of Nektambes’ dreams. Priests of Bastet: Amasis, Berlin 14765 = De Meulenaere (1960), 104; Psenptais, *PP* 5376. Jeffreys and Smith (1988), 78–79; Jeffreys and Giddy (1989), 12 n. 7, with gate through east wall; Kessler (1989), 105–06.

<sup>74</sup>Remains of buildings have been excavated and some are recorded in the papyri: *P. Louvre* E 3266.6.E = App. B:3; *UPZ* 62.34; 120.10–13 (hotels).

<sup>75</sup>Tabubu’s house in Lichtheim (1980), 134. Other details occur in documents of the Undertakers’ Archive (see chapter 5 below).

<sup>76</sup>Chonsiou, *PP* 5874; Petineftem, Brugsch (1891), 887–89; Amasis, Berlin 14765; *Hôr* 23 verso.22; *P. Louvre* E 3266.8.O = App. B:3; *P. Louvre* 2412.4 (316–304 B.C.) = App. B:30; *UPZ* 114 I.41 (150–148 B.C.). De Meulenaere (1960), 105–6 with 106 n. 1, identifies the temple with the Anoubieion. His reasons are not altogether compelling and this would separate the dog catacombs from the Anoubieion. Martin (2009), 49–50, tentatively accepts the identification. Davies and Smith (1997), 125 n. 16, make a further suggestion (west of the Boubastieion).

<sup>77</sup>Besides the description of priestly offices, see Ray (1976), 150–51.

<sup>78</sup>See De Meulenaere (1960), 94, for Chonsiou (*PP* 5874).

<sup>79</sup>*Hôr* 23 verso.21–23. For Horos and the window of appearances, see the priesthoods for Anemhor II, *PP* 5352, and Têôs, *PP* 5373.

<sup>80</sup>For the cult, see Wilcken (1927), 38–41; Kiessling (1953), 31–33; Wildung (1977a).

<sup>81</sup>*Hôr* 18 verso.2–3, cf. Ray (1976), 150.

<sup>82</sup>Asklepieion: *UPZ* 114.11–12, 41; *UPZ* 117. 4–9, the same land (for *topos* meaning “district” cf. *UPZ* 116.5); *P. Louvre* 2412 = App. B:30. For a discussion of the topography, see Wildung (1977a), 57.

<sup>83</sup>Ray (1976), 15 and 151; Gauthier (1918), 48. For similar crypts at Hawara and Edfu, see Reymond (1973), 21, 30.

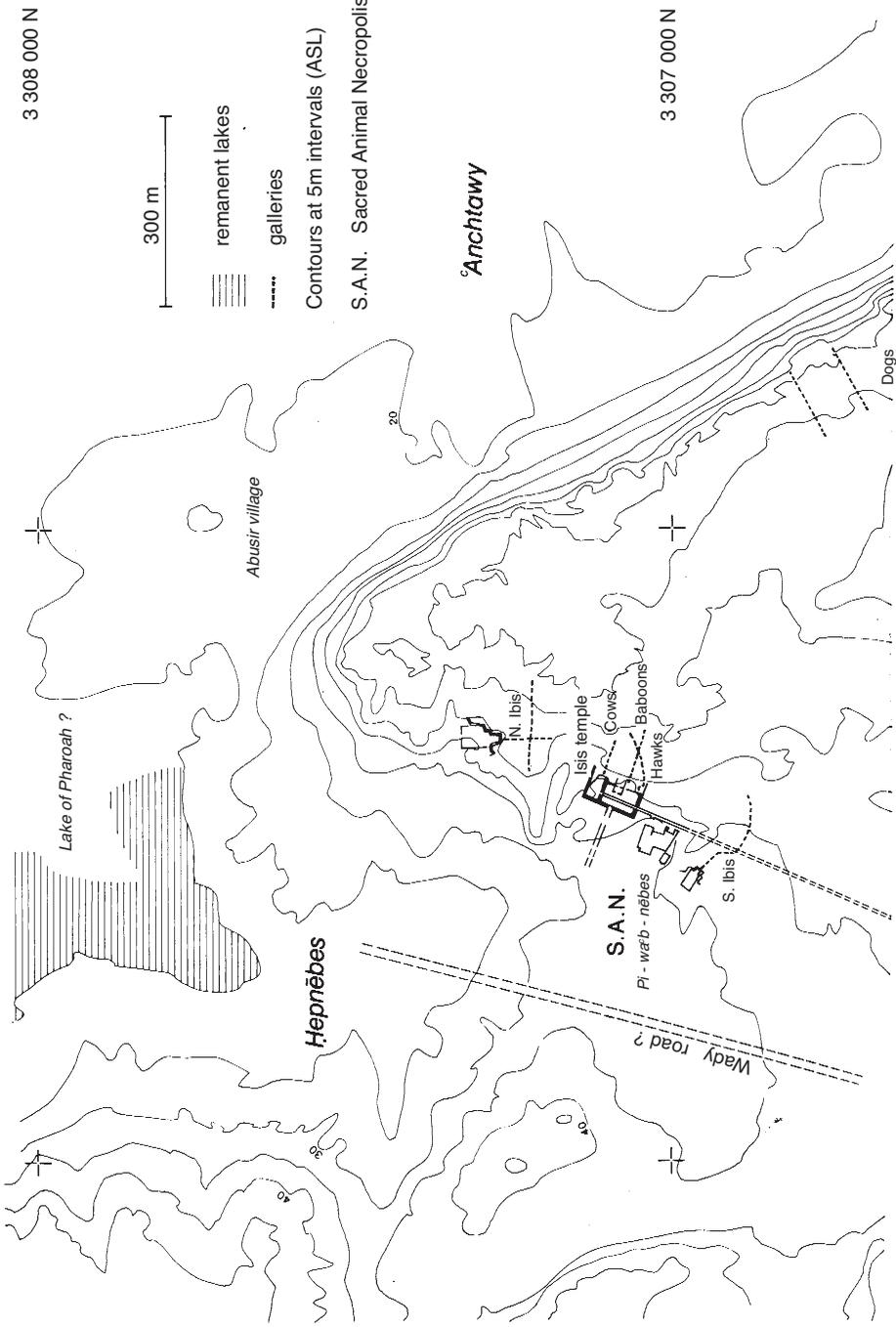
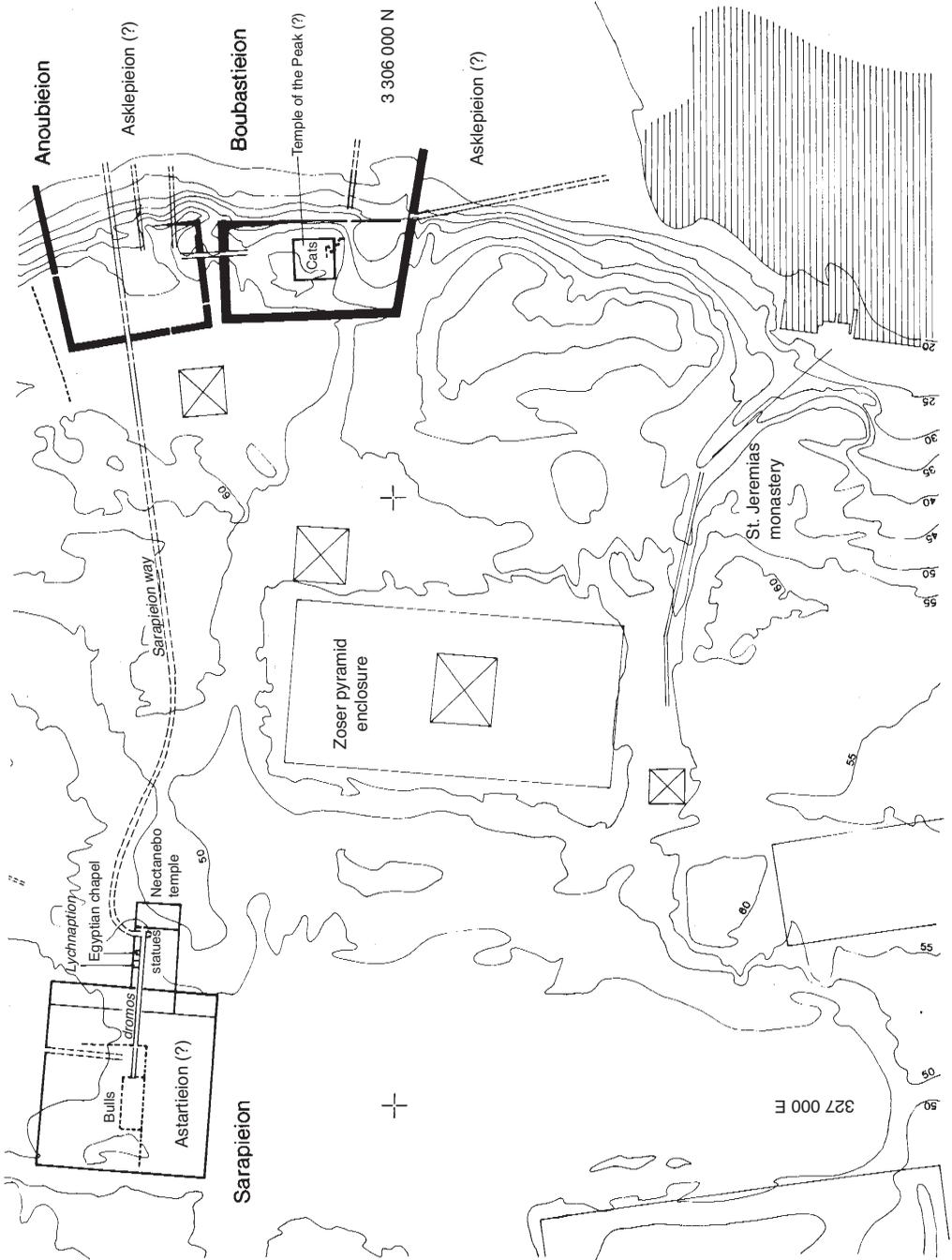


Figure 4. The necropolis of North Saqqara.



may have been considered the tomb of Imhotep, the architect of Djoser, who was heroized in the eighteenth dynasty and later deified. (The cult of this somewhat unusual god will be discussed in chapter 6.) The later legend of Joseph's Prison in the area<sup>84</sup> perhaps contains echoes of the earlier cult here of Imhotep/Imouthes. As elsewhere on this eastern edge of the necropolis, buildings bordered this temple both above to the west and below to the east,<sup>85</sup> and besides the temple personnel,<sup>86</sup> Egyptians of many professions lived in the enclosure.<sup>87</sup>

North of the Boubastieion, entry to the second enclosure was along a stone-paved causeway and through a great granite entrance gate. The first of the limestone temples in the enclosure was that of Anubis. Built on terraces, this temple, which gave its name to the whole complex (the Anoubieion),<sup>88</sup> was probably extended by Ptolemy V Epiphanes; a surviving relief from the area shows him adoring the recumbent god.<sup>89</sup> A dromos with buildings alongside came up to the temple from the valley below.<sup>90</sup> Within the large enclosure two further temples were probably sited; their identity is uncertain.<sup>91</sup> The main sphinx-lined causeway came up through this enclosure from the east,<sup>92</sup> and inside the southern wall down toward the valley were built the strange "Bes-chambers" that Quibell found—mud-brick rooms with colored *pisé* wall decorations of Bes (the dwarf-god who protected pregnant women) flanked by male and female figures.<sup>93</sup> The connection of these rooms with prostitution, sacred or otherwise, cannot be proved but is not impossible. Young girls might

<sup>84</sup>Stricker (1943), 101–37.

<sup>85</sup>*P. Louvre* E 3266.1.O–P (App. B:3), with shops, outhouses, and funerary buildings; the distinction made by de Cenival (1972a, 14) between the temple of Asklepios and the districts of the Anoubieion, Sarapieion, and Boubastieion is not supported in Greek usage, cf. *UPZ* 125.8–9.

<sup>86</sup>Often shared with the temple of the Peak: Amasis, Petineftem, Chonsiou (n. 76 above), Psenptais, *PP* 5376; *UPZ* 57.21, *grammateis*.

<sup>87</sup>E.g., *P. Louvre* E 3266.9.C (App. B:3), a barber; *UPZ* 125.8–9, *taricheutai*.

<sup>88</sup>Wilcken (1927), 14–15; Kessler (1989), 106–7; Davies and Smith (1997), 112–14, with plan.

<sup>89</sup>Smith (1979), 164; Jeffreys and Smith (1988), 3, 61 (76/26).

<sup>90</sup>Jeffreys and Smith (1988), 47. *P. Louvre* 3264 ter.3–4 (73 B.C.) = App. B:24; *P. Innsbruck* (75 B.C.) = App. B:22; *P. Louvre* 3268.4 (73 B.C.) = App. B:23; *P. B.M.* 10075 (64 B.C.) = Cannata (2006), with Bodleian MS. Egypt, a. 41(P). In *P. Memphis dem.* 2a.7 and b.3 (203 B.C.) = App. B:2 a north–south direction is implied.

<sup>91</sup>A likely candidate is Osiris at Rout Isout: see De Meulenaere (1960), 103–5; Martin (2009), 48–49. For Rout Isout near Abousir, Yoyotte (1959a), 59; (1959b), 71 n. 2.

<sup>92</sup>*P. Memphis dem.* 3 (160 B.C.) = App. B:7; Jeffreys and Smith (1988), 47; Davies and Smith (1997), 114.

<sup>93</sup>Quibell (1907), 12–14; Davies and Smith (1997), 114 with n. 11; cf. Derchain in Martin (1981), 166–70, on erotica. Similar Bes figures were found in the Sacred Animal Necropolis, Davies and Smith (1997), 124.

collect for their dowry in this way.<sup>94</sup> Anoubis, it seems, was served in various ways. A group of demotic self-dedications of both men and women made to Anoubis through which, in return for a monthly payment, they sought his protection, suggests that there is much still to be learned of those from different backgrounds who might frequent an Egyptian temple complex. As elsewhere, Greeks most probably joined with Egyptians in seeking protection.<sup>95</sup> Above all, however, Anoubis was the god of mummification.<sup>96</sup>

The evidence of the papyri shows the Anoubieion also to have been an important administrative center. Documents were registered in a *grapheion* here,<sup>97</sup> and the *stratêgos*, the area governor, had a representative based in this complex.<sup>98</sup> A detachment of police was stationed in the area, and a prison located here, presumably for the troublesome elements of the necropolis community.<sup>99</sup> A secular *epistatês* had general responsibility for the whole quarter,<sup>100</sup> which was made up of houses, mills, and storehouses besides the temples. The dromos of the main temple of Anoubis was, as so often in Egypt, the scene of a wide range of activities—a grain measure described as a “dromos measure” was, for instance, used in demotic corn loans.<sup>101</sup> Here, on the eastern edge of the desert bluff, there lived and worked a sizeable population, for the most part native Egyptians involved in the cults of the necropolis and the business of embalming both man and animal. But besides the priests and the “men of Anoubis,” others lived crowded within the enclosure walls: potters, shepherds, barbers, grain merchants, water carriers, cloth merchants, doctors, and dream interpreters.<sup>102</sup> It was by no means an area exclusively devoted to the dead, and the combination of the evidence of Greek and demotic papyri, the epigraphic record

<sup>94</sup> *UPZ* 2.5–23 (163 B.C.). (Hdt. 2.64, on sexual intercourse prohibited within the temples may apply only to the *adyton*). Quack (2009), 78, argues against the existence of temple prostitution. Kees (1961), 161, connects the Bes-rooms with the Astarte cult and a joint oil account for the lamps of Astarte and Imhotep, *P. Louvre dem.* 2423 verso = Revillout (1882b), 78–83 + *UPZ* 143, might just possibly be evidence for an Astarte shrine in this eastern complex. See Delekat (1964), 156–76, for other possible Canaanite institutions on the necropolis.

<sup>95</sup> *P. Freib.* 4.72–73; add. 1 (210 B.C.); add. 2. In *P. Freib.* 4.72 a monthly payment of 2½ kite is recorded for a *bk.t.* Clarysse (1992), 52–3, has now identified Onnophris alias Neoptolemos, son of Stratippos, as the author of add. 1, assigning these texts dated 210 B.C. to Philadelphia rather than Memphis.

<sup>96</sup> See chapter 5 below.

<sup>97</sup> *UPZ* 128–42.

<sup>98</sup> *UPZ* 7.18.

<sup>99</sup> *UPZ* 5.6; 64.4, probably in the necropolis.

<sup>100</sup> *UPZ* 69 verso; 108.1, 28–29; Ray (1976), 141, reading Achomarres for Petimonth(?).

<sup>101</sup> *P. Vat.* 22 = Revillout (1885), 25–26 + *UPZ* 133; *P. Recueil* 4 + *UPZ* 134; 5 + *UPZ* 132; 6 (108 B.C.).

<sup>102</sup> For the evidence of the Sarapieion papyri, see Guilmoit (1962), 373; *P. Louvre* E 3266 = App. B:3; *P. B.M.* 10075 (64 B.C.) = Jelínková (1957) and (1959). For the Cretan dream interpreter (plate vii in this book), see Wilcken (1927), 13; cf. *UPZ* 84.79.

of local priests with their cult offices listed, and the careful excavation of the area is necessary in the attempt to understand the many facets of life in the “temple towns”<sup>103</sup> of the Memphite necropolis.

Recent excavation in these large temple enclosures to the east has finally disposed of Mariette’s suggestion of a separate “Greek Serapeum,” for the immigrant settlers, located in this eastern complex.<sup>104</sup> Of the Greek god Sarapis in this area there is no evidence,<sup>105</sup> and the divisive cultural tendencies implied by Mariette’s designation are at odds both with the Greek statues and buildings in the western complex (Mariette’s “Egyptian Serapeum”) and with what is known of the Memphite cult of Osiris-Apis.<sup>106</sup>

To follow Strabo’s route along the brick-paved, sphinx-lined avenue up and over the sand to the Sarapieion enclosure, is to move from the unknown to the known. The western side of the Saqqara bluff, as indeed the whole of this necropolis, was dominated by the great enclosure of the Sarapieion, *Pr-Wsir.Hp*, within which lay the underground burial chambers of the Apis bulls and temple buildings connected with this and related cults. Here, to the west, in two main galleries tunneled deep into the rock below, were stored the huge wood and granite sarcophagi that held the mummified bulls of Apis dating from the reign of Ramses II.<sup>107</sup> The excavation of these chambers and of the dromos leading up to them by Mariette in the mid-nineteenth century was one of the most spectacular of all Egyptian excavations. The official hieroglyphic inscriptions recording the lives of the various bulls, the many demotic records put up by masons working in the chambers, and the votive stelae of pilgrims serve to enliven the cult of Osiris-Apis, the embalmed bull.<sup>108</sup> The Greek graffiti along the dromos

<sup>103</sup>The term is that of Smith, cf. Jeffreys and Smith (1988), 3. On life in the area, see Ray (1976); (1978b); and chapters 5–7 below.

<sup>104</sup>Maspero (1882), 123; the view is already rejected by Wilcken (1927), 16, though his location of the Asklepieion near the Step Pyramid is not supported by the evidence of the demotic documents.

<sup>105</sup>Unless the “nut garden of Sarapis” in *P. Brux. dem.* 3.4 = App. B.33 is on this side of the necropolis. De Meulenaere (1960), 105, relying on philological arguments, still places a sanctuary of Osiris-Apis in connection with the eastern complex.

<sup>106</sup>See chapter 6 below. Mariette was constrained to suggest that the statues had been moved (Wilcken 1927, 14).

<sup>107</sup>Strabo 17.1.31. For the excavations, see Maspero (1882); Lauer and Picard (1955); Lauer (1976), 22–28; cf. Wilcken (1927), 9–18. Priests of the House of Osorapis: Louvre stele 328, De Meulenaere (1960), 94, with Osiris of Rout Isout and the Anoubieion; Louvre N 2556; Paris B.N. 126; Vienna 157; v.m. stele 886; cf. De Meulenaere (1960), 103, all with the same three priesthoods. The Greek Osiris-Apis is normally Sarapis, but Osorapis also occurs, *UPZ* II p. 130 index; cf. Poserapis for *Pr-Wsir.Hp*. Earlier bulls of the eighteenth and early-nineteenth dynasties were buried in separate graves nearby. The granite sarcophagi start with Psammetichos I in the twenty-sixth dynasty (seventh century B.C.).

<sup>108</sup>See chapter 6 below.

outside the chambers were not recorded in detail and have now disappeared beneath the sand.<sup>109</sup>

A great pylon erected by Nectanebo I (Nekhtnebef) in the early fourth century B.C. and guarded by two limestone lions stood at the eastern entrance to the enclosure; only the lions survive. Through it ran a stone-paved dromos as far as the end of the sphinx-lined avenue. Outside the enclosure on the south side lay a temple to Osorapis dedicated by Nectanebo II, with two larger sphinxes at the entrance to the courtyard and a hideous statue of Bes within.<sup>110</sup> Close to this temple at the end of the dromos on the south side, Mariette cleared an extraordinary semicircle of eleven seated Greek statues—Homer, perhaps, with other poets and philosophers. Presenting a stark contrast to the earlier Egyptian temple and the whole desert landscape, these statues are not alone in marking the adherence to the Osiris-Apis cult of the Greek immigrants of Memphis.<sup>111</sup> For along the dromos low walls were built, which formed the base for a remarkable collection of sculpture, much of it Dionysiac—the statues in Tura limestone of a panther, two strutting peacocks each ridden by a young Dionysos, a falcon with the head of a bearded man, a sphinx, a long-haired mermaid, and the simple head of a bearded man. Down on the pavement was a fine lion astride a fountain ridden by a young Dionysos with Thracian sandals. Along the northern wall stood a Kerberos statue, again ridden by Dionysos, and toward the west two chapels—one Greek (Corinthian style) in form, which an inscription may show to have been the *lychnaption*, the working headquarters of those responsible for the lamps of the god,<sup>112</sup> and the other an Egyptian chapel, which contained the painted limestone statue of the Apis bull now in the Louvre (plate i). Beneath the stone paving of the dromos lay thousands of bronze dedicatory figures, the religious souvenirs of generations of pilgrims.

Here along the dromos of the Sarapieion this amalgam of statues and buildings stands as a symbol for different aspects of the cult. The wisdom of Greece (in that semicircle of statues) has met with that of Egypt. The chthonic aspects of the god are stressed in the statuary along the dromos, and the identification of the Egyptian Osiris with the Greek Dionysos so

<sup>109</sup>Wilcken (1927), 8.

<sup>110</sup>Lauer (1976), 23.

<sup>111</sup>Wilcken (1917), 149–206, and, following their reexcavation, Lauer and Picard (1955); Ashton (2003), 15–24, 89–95; Bergmann (2007), questioning identifications. On their date, see chapter 4 n. 60.

<sup>112</sup>Bernard (1992), 38–41, no. 11; Wilcken (1927), 34–35, 643; Lauer and Picard (1955), 177–80; Bergmann (2007), 247–51; Otto and Bengtson (1938), 155, on lamps; cf. *P. Louvre* 2423 verso + *UPZ* 143, on lamps in other cults.

avored by the Ptolemies is clear. Portrayed, for instance, in the iconography of the Hermopolite tomb of Petosiris, this identification, endorsed in these Memphite statues, gave importance to the Sarapieion for Egyptian and Greek alike. The use of lamps in cult, an innovation of the Greeks, perhaps predates the Ptolemies, while the contiguity of Greek and native chapels for the god reflects the double appeal of the cult of Osiris-Apis known as Sarapis to the Greeks.

Within the enclosure wall<sup>113</sup> of the Sarapieion were other shrines. There was the temple of Astarte, where, within a small shrine or *pastophorion*, Ptolemaios, son of Glaukias, lived as *enkatochos* in the troubled reign of Philometor.<sup>114</sup> (His status and his life will be further discussed in chapter 7.) Here too was the hill sanctuary of the lioness Sachmet, whose priest is recorded in the late third century B.C.<sup>115</sup> Isis-in-*Hnꜥ* had a hill shrine here,<sup>116</sup> and north of the dromos lay the sanctuary of the Apis calves.<sup>117</sup> This last was a reasonably important sanctuary with buildings attached and a revenue for several priests. The claim of the Roman writer Pliny<sup>118</sup> that cows which mated with the Apis bull were straightway put to death is shown by this cult to be false. To the north the sanctuary wall was broken by a pylon, marking the entrance to the great street that ran northward along the spine of the necropolis to the Isis temple, bounding the galleries and shrines of the Sacred Animal Necropolis.<sup>119</sup>

When, under Ptolemy Philometor, the Delta-born priest of Thoth named Ḥor (and later Ḥarthoth) took up residence in Memphis, he described himself as “serving his days in Hepnēbes in the desert of the House of Osiris which is upon the mountain of the necropolis of Anchtawy.”<sup>120</sup> Hepnēbes, it seems, was the area between the Sarapieion and the street leading up from the north side of the Sarapieion enclosure, bounded by the

<sup>113</sup>*Peribolion*: UPZ 119.15 (156 B.C.). It is unclear whether the wall that Mariette describes as “une muraille à claire-voie” ran on three or four sides of the complex; see Wilcken (1927), 11.

<sup>114</sup>UPZ 5.4, 8; 6.3–4; 7.16 (p. 648); 8.16; 12.28; 13.11, 18; 15.5; 16.4–5; 118.18, 36; 19.18–19, 36.

<sup>115</sup>*P. Recueil* 3.3 (201 B.C.) + PP 6423. Sachmet is elsewhere described as “at the head of the valley.” For her cult, see further Reich (1933a), 65, 72; E. Otto (1956), 118, connected with Sahure (Abousir); *BGU* 6.1216.129; *P. Bologna* 3173 verso.21–25, recto.1–8 = Botti (1941), no. 1; Cairo stelae 31099; 31103 = PP 5368; Quaegebeur, Clarysse, and Van Maele (1985), 32–34; chapter 5 n. 81 below. For the Memphite form Shesmet, see Vercoutter (1962), 5.

<sup>116</sup>*P. Recueil* 2.2; 3.2 (201 B.C.); 1.2 (181 B.C.); for problems with the reading, see Davies and Smith (1997), 126 n. 23. “Isis upon the necropolis,” recorded in *P. Memphis dem.* 9.3 (256 B.C.) = App. B:31, may well be the same.

<sup>117</sup>Ray (1972), 308–10; *P. Recueil* 1–3 (201–181 B.C.); Davies (1998), 55–56, for burial vaults. For the whole area, see now Davies and Smith (1997), with plans.

<sup>118</sup>*HN* 8.186. See appendix D, no. 9, for an Apis, born of an Apis.

<sup>119</sup>Maspero (1882), 36, pylon; Ray (1976), 147; *P. Recueil* 3.4 (201 B.C.).

<sup>120</sup>*Ḥor* 23 recto.2–6. On Hepnēbes, see *Ḥor* 13.4–8; Ray (1976), 147–49; Martin (1979), pl. 2. Psenptais (PP 5376) is “overseer of the mysteries of Kemit and Hepnēbes.”

wady with the Lake of Pharaoh to the west. Somewhere near this lake, the Ram, the lord of Mendes, probably also had his cult center.<sup>121</sup>

West of the great street was the Sacred Animal Necropolis with embalming houses, cult buildings, and catacombs dug deep into the rock.<sup>122</sup> From south to north the burial galleries cleared in excavation are those of Thoth the Ibis, Horos the Hawk or Falcon (here as Harendotes), Thoth the Baboon, and Isis the mother of Apis. Further ibis galleries lay to the north, in the area known as Pi-wa<sup>c</sup>b-nēbes within the larger area of Hepnēbes.<sup>123</sup> The demotic ostraka of the Ḥor/Ḥarthoth archive preserve numerous details of the complex including courts and a tower. Recording trouble in the ibis cult, Ḥor mentions courts sanded over and chapels that stank.<sup>124</sup> The problem of sand blowing in has not changed, and the feeding and cleaning up for the live birds must have involved as many as those involved in the mass production for pilgrims of the potted ibis and hawk mummies. Baboons, rams, lions, and cows would have demanded even greater specialist care and attention; their mummification took place below in the valley city of Memphis or along the desert edge.

It was the Isis cows, the mothers of Apis, with whose catacombs the main structures of the Sacred Animal Necropolis were connected. A great temple terrace ran along the edge of the bluff overlooking the wady. The main catacomb with its fine limestone-covered vaults was entered from this terrace and was in use from 393 to 41 B.C.<sup>125</sup> At the south end of the terrace lay the entrance to the baboon and hawk galleries and at the northern end a large temple to Isis, mother of Apis. There was already a shrine to Isis, which may (or, more likely, not) have been the same, described as five stades (or one kilometer) beyond the palace area of Memphis, when in 664 B.C. Psammetichos I with his Carian mercenaries fought the crucial battle in his bid for the throne.<sup>126</sup> Herodotus later described a temple to Isis at Memphis erected in the sixth century B.C. by the Saite king Amasis, and the earliest of the cow stelae, found outside the cow catacombs, also dates from this reign (533 B.C.).<sup>127</sup> In its present form, however, the central temple to Isis, the mother of Apis, in the Sacred Animal Necropolis was set up in the fourth

<sup>121</sup>Psenptais (cf. n. 120) was also “prophet of the god of Mendes in the Lake of Pharaoh.” For ram horns found in the area south west of the southern ibis galleries, see Davies and Smith (1997), 118; ram skulls and bones were spotted nearby in 1978.

<sup>122</sup>Excavation reports: Smith, Andrews, and Davies (2011); Smith, Davies, and Frazer (2006); Davies (2006); Davies and Smith (2005), with p. 61 on Harendotes; Martin (1981). For an overview, see Davies and Smith (1997).

<sup>123</sup>Ray (1976), 148–49. For the connotations of Hawk, Ibis, etc., cf. chapter 6 n. 2 below.

<sup>124</sup>For a full and lively discussion, see Ray (1976), 136–54; see also chapter 6 below.

<sup>125</sup>Smith, Davies, and Frazer (2006), 19, Phase III; Davies (2006), 15–17, 20–24; cf. Mariette (1856a).

<sup>126</sup>Polyaenus, *Strat.* 7.3.

<sup>127</sup>Hdt. 2.176.2. Smith, Davies, and Frazer (2006), 15, with *MoA* cat. no. 1.3–4.

century B.C. under Nectanebo II, who built widely on the necropolis in what was a period of growing importance for the Memphite animal cults.<sup>128</sup>

However, the necropolis of North Saqqara was not only a necropolis for animals and birds. Originally, and throughout its history, it served as a necropolis also for the human population of the city of Memphis and the surrounding area. In a world where villages might be described by the number of prospective corpses they contained, human embalming and mummification was big business, as we shall see in chapter 5. A man's deepest desire might be to be buried as close as possible to the Apis bulls (a desire in fact achieved by Kha-em-wase, son of Ramses II, who was buried in the vaults),<sup>129</sup> but as yet no regular human burials from the Ptolemaic period have been recorded within either the Sarapieion or any other of the temple enclosures of the necropolis. Mariette recorded priestly burials north of the Sarapieion, and other priestly tombstones come from that general area.<sup>130</sup> Indeed, the headland of North Saqqara must have been honeycombed with Ptolemaic graves, penetrating no doubt the chambers and vaults of earlier periods. Within the walled enclosures, Egyptians lived and worked; for the most part their burials lay without.

. . .

The necropolis, domain of Apis, and the valley city, domain of Ptah, consisted therefore of many separate and distinct districts, which were often centered on a temple or shrine. This was the home of those to be presented in the following pages, and the scene of a variety of economic activities, some confined to the city and others dependent on the surrounding countryside. Before we can understand the dynamics of the city, and the way that different groups within it functioned, we need to investigate its economic base.

<sup>128</sup>Davies and Smith (1997), 116. The Isieion of the Memphite nome with the right of asylum, *P. Cair: Zen* 59245.2 (252 B.C.), is probably different, cf. Yoyotte (1963), 115–16.

<sup>129</sup>Spiegelberg (1901a), 341–42; *Hor* 8 recto.23–24; verso.6; Ray (1976), 147. For Kha-em-wase, governor of Memphis and high priest of Ptah, see Lauer (1976), 26–27.

<sup>130</sup>Mariette (1856a), 14; Spiegelberg (1904), 2.