MINISTÈRE DE L'ÉDUCATION NATIONALE, DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPÉRIEUR ET DE LA RECHERCHE

BULLETIN
DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS
D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE

en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne

BIFAO 111 (2011), p. 281-299

Stéphane Pasquali, Beatrix Gessler-Löhr

Un nouveau relief du grand intendant de Memphis, Ipy, et le temple de Ptah du terrain-bʿḥ.

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Un nouveau relief du grand intendant de Memphis, Ipy, et le temple de Ptah du terrain-*bʿḥ*

STÉPHANE PASQUALI, BEATRIX GESSLER-LÖHR

Un fragment de relief au nom du grand intendant de Memphis, Ipy (Amenhotep IV-Horemheb), est apparu sur le marché de l'art (fig. 1)[1]. Sa provenance et son contexte de découverte sont inconnus. La nature de l'objet fait toutefois supposer qu'il est issu de la tombe de ce personnage dont on connaît quelques vestiges, mais qui reste à redécouvrir à Saqqâra[2].

Description[3]

[St. Pasquali]

Calcaire.
H. 27 cm ; L. 50 cm.
Figures sculptées en relief levé.
Texte gravé.
Bon état de conservation.

Ce bloc conserve la partie supérieure d'une scène montrant Ipy face à un prêtre homonyme lui apportant un plateau garni de diverses offrandes alimentaires. Entre les deux hommes subsiste la représentation de bouquets de fleurs qui reposaient à l'origine sur un guéridon.

1 Concernant l'histoire moderne de ce bloc, la plus ancienne information connue est son appartenance à une collection privée en Suisse (après la seconde guerre mondiale). Nous remercions Salomon Aaron (David Aaron Ancient Arts) et Jerome M. Eisenberg (Royal-Athena Galleries) qui ont accepté que nous publiions cet objet. Nous sommes également très reconnaissants envers S. Aaron d'avoir mis gracieusement à notre disposition la photographie du bloc qui est reproduite dans cet article (fig. 1).

2 Voir B. Gessler-Löhr, *infra*.

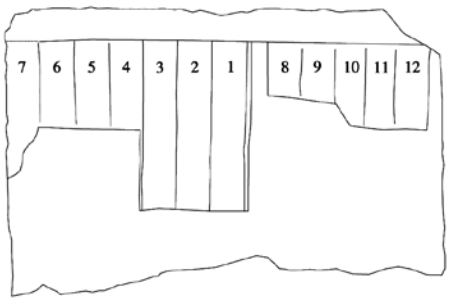
3 Je remercie vivement Beatrix Gessler-Löhr, co-auteur de cet article, pour les suggestions et les compléments bibliographiques dont elle m'a fait part et qui ont enrichi mes contributions.

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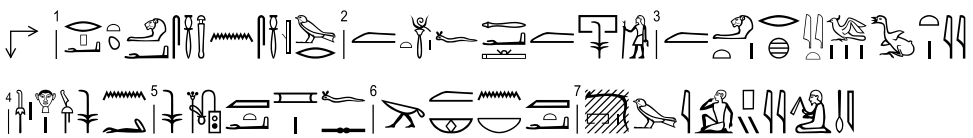
Ipy porte une chemise transparente à grandes manches plissées laissant apparaître une poitrine presque féminine, une perruque mi-longue et un collier-*ousekh* sans détail incisé. L'extrémité supérieure de son pagne est encore visible. Il s'agissait très probablement d'un pagne long ou court, à devanteau bouffant ou droit. Ipy tient un flabellum dans la main gauche et dans l'autre un mouchoir. Le prêtre Ipy, crâne rasé, est vêtu du même type de costume. Des plis de graisse sont marqués au niveau de son ventre[4].

Inscriptions

Le texte en hiéroglyphes qui accompagne les figures est incisé sur la surface originale du bloc, tandis que le champ du relief des figures a été rabattu. La légende d'Ipy comporte sept colonnes (texte 1) ; celle du prêtre officiant, cinq colonnes (texte 2).



Texte 1



[1] *(j)r(y)-pˁ.t ḥɜt(y)-ˁ smr-tp(y) n(y) smr.w (?) wr* [2] *m jɜ.t=f ˁɜ m pr-nsw.t wr* [3] *m-ḥɜ.t rḫy.t ṯɜy-*[4]*ḫw ḥr wnm(y) nsw.t* [5] *sš nsw.t mɜˁ{.t} mr(y)=f s*[6]*šm-ḥb n(y) nb mɜˁ.t* [7] *[(j)m(y)-r(ɜ) pr] wr Jpy mɜˁ-ḫrw /*

[1] *Le jry-pˁ.t ḥɜty-ˁ, premier ami des Amis (?)*[a], *important* [2] *par sa fonction, éminent dans le palais royal, notable* [3] *à la tête des gens du peuple,* [4] *flabellifère à la droite du roi*[b], [5] *scribe royal véritable qu'il (*i.e. *le roi) apprécie,* [6] *conducteur de la fête du Seigneur de la maât (*i.e. *Ptah)*[c], [7] *le grand intendant*[d], *Ipy juste de voix.*

4 Pour une description détaillée du relief, voir B. Gessler-Löhr, *infra*.

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Texte 2



[8] *šsp n*[9]*=k ꜥnḫ n fnḏ*[10]*=k jn Wsjr ḥm-nṯr tpy* [11] *ḥw.t Ptḥ m pꜣ bꜥḥ* [12] *Jpy mꜣꜥ-ḫrw /*

[8] *« Reçois donc* [9] *un bouquet pour ton nez* [10] *»*[e]*, de la part de l'Osiris, premier prophète*[f] [11] *du temple de Ptah dans le terrain-bꜥḥ*[g]*,* [12] *Ipy juste de voix*[h]*.*

a. Ce titre honorifique est rare : Abdul Rahman al-Ayedi, *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom*, Ismailia, 2006, p. 496-497. Ajouter M.J.E. Quibell, *Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu*, CGC n^{os} 51001-51191, 1908, p. 3 ; A. Gordon, « A Fragmentary Palette of the Chief Steward of the King, Huy », *GM* 42, 1981, p. 36, fig. 1 (cette référence concerne Amenhotep-Houy, le père d'Ipy) ; M.J. Raven, *The Tomb of Pay and Raie at Saqqara*, *ExcMem* 74, 2005, pl. 40-41 [35].
Le dernier signe de ce groupe soulève une difficulté. Alors que l'on attendrait les trois traits du pluriel, on a ici un long trait vertical doté d'une petite excroissance en son centre, orientée vers la droite, pour laquelle nous n'avons pas d'explication (peut-être le signe incomplet du rouleau de papyrus scellé). À noter également la graphie du signe *tp* qui ressemble énormément à un vase-*ḥs* .

b. Ce titre était déjà connu pour Ipy (*Urk.* IV, 1812, 14 = stèle Saint-Pétersbourg, musée de l'Ermitage inv. 1072 ; fig. 2) : I. Pomorska, *Les flabellifères à la droite du roi en Égypte ancienne*, Varsovie, 1987, p. 121-122, n° 30. Il faut noter la graphie fautive du terme *ṯꜣy*, qui ainsi écrit devrait se lire *ṯꜣty*, « le vizir ».

c. Le titre « conducteur de la fête de Ptah » est attesté pour d'autres intendants de Memphis du Nouvel Empire : le père d'Ipy, Amenhotep-Houy (*Urk*. IV, 1812, 1) ; Iniouia (fin XVIII^{e} - début XIX^{e} dynastie, couvercle de sarcophage Louvre D 2, *sšm-ḥb n(y) nb mꜣꜥ.t*, [inscription inédite]) ; Nétjerouymès qui exerça sa fonction sous le règne de Ramsès II (J. Leclant, G. Clerc, « Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1995-1996 », *Or* 66/3, 1997, pl. XX, fig. 12) ; et très probablement Héqanéhéh (L. Borchardt, *CGC Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo* IV, Berlin, 1934, p. 27 [CGC 1014], *sšm-ḥb n(y) [Ptḥ rsy jnb]=f* (?)).

d. Il s'agit de la version simplifiée du titre de « grand intendant de Memphis ». Ipy accéda à cette fonction en succédant à son père, Amenhotep-Houy. À propos de cette succession, voir W.J. Murnane, « The Organization of Government under Amenhotep III », dans D. O'Connor, E.H. Cline (éd.), *Amenhotep III. Perspectives on his Reign*, Ann Arbor, 1998, p. 214. Le plus ancien document mentionnant son titre d'« intendant de Memphis » est la lettre en deux exemplaires qu'il a lui-même rédigée à l'attention d'Amenhotep IV/Akhénaton en l'an 5 du règne (P.Gourob), voir E.F. Wente, « The Gurob Letter to Amenhotep IV », *Serapis* 6, 1980, p. 209-215.

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e. Pour une expression similaire inscrite sur un bloc originaire de Saqqâra datant de la fin de la XVIII[e] dynastie ou du tout début de la XIX[e] (tombe de *Pȝ-Rʿ-m-ḥb*), voir G.T. Martin, *The Tomb of Hetepka and Other Reliefs and Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis North Saqqâra. 1964-1973*, Londres, 1979, p. 43 (n° 132), pl. 38 (= *id.*, *Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite Necropolis and Lower Egypt* I, *StudAeg*, 1987, pl. 16, n° 47). Voir aussi M.J. Raven, *The Tomb of Pay and Raia*, p. 38 et n. 46, pl. 58-59 [54] : « Reçois donc le bouquet d'Ounennéfer ! » (*šsp n=k ʿnḫ n(y) Wnn-nfr*).

f. Une première analyse de cette inscription sur photographie avait conduit à lire ce titre « prophète-*wḥm* » (*ḥm-nṯr wḥm*) et non « premier prophète »[5]. Le signe 𓌙 *wḥm* nous paraissait bien formé, d'autant que sa morphologie le différenciait de manière significative du signe 𓏏 *tp* gravé dans la première colonne du texte 1. Bien sûr, une telle hypothèse était problématique, dans la mesure où toutes les mentions de prophètes-*wḥm* recensées à ce jour sont postérieures au Nouvel Empire. Sur ce titre qui désigne un héraut sacerdotal – autrement dit celui qui transmettait les prières aux dieux –, voir H. Kees, « Der berichtende Gottesdiener », *ZÄS* 85, 1960, p. 138-143 ; R.A. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum (Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.3)*, *BESTud* 4, 1962, p. 32. C'est un nouvel examen du bloc qui a prouvé que la petite excroissance que nous avions prise à l'origine pour le sabot de la patte antérieure de bovin était en réalité une simple cassure de la pierre. Ceci mis en évidence, une lecture du titre « premier prophète » (*ḥm-nṯr tpy*) s'impose donc.

g. Sur ce temple de Ptah à différencier du sanctuaire principal de Memphis, voir le commentaire *infra*. Les *bʿḥ* étaient des terrains situés probablement en zone inondable (P. Grandet, *Le papyrus Harris I (BM 9999)*, II, *BdE* 109, 1994, p. 41-42, n. 164), aménagés de manière à recevoir une irrigation contrôlée, comme le prouve la culture d'arbres fruitiers à l'intérieur (Chr. Eyre, « The Water Regime for Orchards and Plantations in Pharaonic Egypt », *JEA* 80, 1994, p. 71).

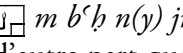
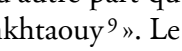
h. Ce personnage est probablement le même que celui mentionné en tant que « premier prophète de Ptah » (*ḥm-nṯr tpy n(y) Ptḥ*) sur un fragment de relief inédit. La publication de cet objet est actuellement en préparation.

Le fait qu'un prêtre apparemment sans lien de parenté avec l'intendant Ipy (si l'on se fie au texte) effectue l'offrande des bouquets, acte généralement dévolu au fils ou à la fille, laisse supposer que ce dernier n'avait pas d'enfant et n'était sans doute pas marié. Cela se trouve très probablement confirmé par la stèle Ermitage inv. 1072 où Ipy est seul cité. Un cas comparable est celui de la nourrice de Toutânkhamon, Maïa, dans l'hypogée de laquelle aucun membre de sa famille n'est représenté et ce, même dans les scènes montrant des rites funéraires, voir A. Zivie, *La tombe de Maïa, mère nourricière du roi Toutânkhamon et grande du harem (Bub. I.20)*, *Les tombes du Bubasteion à Saqqara* 1, Toulouse, 2009, p. 47-49 et 95, pl. 28, 68, 70.

5 St. Pasquali, *Topographie cultuelle de Memphis* 1a : *Corpus. Temples et principaux quartiers de la XVIII[e] dynastie*, *CENiM* 4, 2011, p. 93 (doc. B.67).

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Le temple de Ptah dans le terrain-*bʿḥ*

L'intérêt principal de ce bloc réside dans la mention du , « le temple de Ptah dans le terrain-*bʿḥ*[6] ». Un *bʿḥ* de Memphis est attesté au Nouvel Empire et à la Troisième Période intermédiaire[7]. On sait notamment, grâce au texte de la statue Oxford, Ashmolean Museum inv. 1913.163 appartenant au père d'Ipy, Amenhotep-Houy, que le temple memphite de millions d'années d'Amenhotep III se trouvait  *m bʿḥ n(y) jmnt.t Ḥw.t-kɜ-Ptḥ* « dans le *bʿḥ* à l'ouest de Hout-ka-Ptah[8] ». Le texte précise d'autre part que le monument se situe  *ḥr jdb n(y) ʿnḫ-tɜ.wy* « sur la frange d'Ânkhtaouy[9] ». Le terme *jdb* désigne un type de terrain faisant la transition entre les hautes terres et la zone inondable[10]. Quant au toponyme Ânkhtaouy, il ne fait aucun doute qu'il nomme ici le plateau désertique de la nécropole de Saqqâra[11]. D'après ces informations, on peut donc situer le temple d'Amenhotep III à l'ouest de la ville (qui correspond à l'actuelle Mît Rahîna), sur les contreforts du désert en bordure de la zone inondable (qui correspond en partie au *bʿḥ*)[12]. Le temple de Ptah du *bʿḥ* se trouvait vraisemblablement dans les environs plus ou moins proches.

L'existence de ce lieu de culte voué au dieu Ptah nous conduit à évoquer un temple memphite du roi Horemheb dont la lecture du nom est particulièrement délicate. Cette fondation est connue par un relief du musée du Caire provenant très certainement de Saqqâra (date : Horemheb-début XIX[e] dynastie)[13]. Parmi les personnages représentés figure un certain Iniouia, premier prophète (*ḥm-nṯr tpy*) du temple nommé . La difficulté réside dans la traduction de la fin de l'inscription, juste après le cartouche. W. Helck suppose une

6 Sur le terme *bʿḥ*, voir *supra,* g.

7 H. Wild, « Une stèle memphite du règne d'Amenophis III à Lausanne », dans *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron 1927-1976*, I, *Égypte pharaonique*, *BdE* 81, 1979, p. 314 ; R.G. Morkot, « *Nb-Mɜʿ.t-Rʿ* – United-With-Ptah », *JNES* 49, 1990, p. 325, n. 19. Voir aussi A.-P. Zivie, « La tombe d'un officier de la XVIII[e] dynastie à Saqqara », *RdE* 31, 1979, p. 140 (c), 149 ; Th.G. Allen, *Egyptian Stelae in Field Museum of Natural History*, Chicago, 1936, p. 29-30, pl. XI (*ɔwty n(y) pɜ bʿḥ,* provenance memphite probable = PM VIII/4, nº 803-048-352) ; *infra,* n. 12.

8 *Urk*. IV, 1793, 18 ; 1795, 6 ; 1797, 11. Pour la traduction de l'ensemble du texte de cette statue, voir St. Pasquali, *op. cit.*, p. 111-115.

9 *Urk*. IV, 1795, 6.

10 Pour la traduction du terme *jdb* par « frange », voir D. Meeks, *Le grand texte des donations au temple d'Edfou*, *BdE* 59, 1972, p. 149, § 22. Les autres traducteurs de ce texte ont tous proposé le terme *w* « territoire, quartier » (*Wb* I, 243), ainsi : « in the district of *ʿnḫ-tɜ.wy* » dans R.G. Morkot, *JNES* 49, 1990, p. 326 ; « auf dem Gebiet von Anchtaui » dans S. Grallert, *Bauen – Stiften – Weihen. Ägyptische Bau- und Restaurierungsinschriften von den Anfängen bis zur 30. Dynastie*, I, *ADAIK* 18/1, 2001, p. 529 ; « im Bezirk von *ʿnḫ-tɜ.wy* » dans M. Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit – Die Häuser der Millionen von Jahren. Eine Untersuchung zu Königskult und Tempeltypologie in Ägypten*, *ÄAT* 51, 2002, p. 126, 130.

11 J.J. Clère, « Deux statues «gardiennes de porte» d'époque ramesside », *JEA* 54, 1968, p. 146-147 ; K.A. Kitchen, « Towards a Reconstruction of Ramesside Memphis », dans E.L. Bleiberg, R.E. Freed (éd.), *Fragments of a Shattered Visage. The Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ramesses the Great*, *MIEAA* 1, 1991, p. 93.

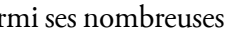
12 Une discussion détaillée de cette localisation sera proposée dans St. Pasquali, *Topographie cultuelle de Memphis* 1b, *CENiM*, à paraître. Voir aussi le plan dressé par K.A. Kitchen, *op. cit.*, p. 100, fig. 2 et le commentaire p. 93 ; les mêmes hypothèses sont reprises par A. Garnett, « *'The Like of Which Never Existed'*: The Memphite Building Programme of Amenhotep III », dans J. Corbelli, D. Boatright, Cl. Malleson (éd.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2009*, Oxford-Oakville, 2010, p. 55-57. Il est remarquable à ce propos que le « *bʿḥ* de Memphis » est présenté dans un texte de la tombe du trésorier Maya à Saqqâra (L*D* III, 240c) comme un lieu que les défunts souhaitent gagner : « qu'il (*i.e.* le dieu) accorde que vive mon *ba*, que soit divin mon *akh*, et que je suive mon cœur dans le *bʿḥ* de Memphis » (*dɜ.f ʿnḫ bɜ=j nṯr ɔḫ=j šms jb=j m bʿḥ n(y) Mn-nfr*).

13 PM VIII/5, nº 804-053-400 ; G. Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique et onomastique du Musée du Caire : monuments de la XVII[e] et de la XVIII[e] dynastie*, Genève, 1908, p. 196, nº 333 ; St. Pasquali, *Topographie cultuelle de Memphis* 1a, p. 64 (doc. A.127).

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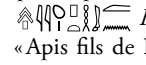
translittération « *m' pr' Ptḥ m' bʿḥ* » qui ne correspond évidemment pas au texte hiéroglyphique[14]. Il se justifie en invoquant la nécessité d'une amélioration du relevé original de G. Legrain, sous-entendant donc que celui-ci serait erroné. Or, un examen récent de cet objet au musée du Caire a permis de confirmer que la publication des inscriptions était parfaitement correcte. Restant fidèle au relevé de G. Legrain, W.K. Simpson propose la lecture *sꜣ Ptḥ mr(y) Ptḥ bʿḥw*, sans commentaire ni traduction[15]. Si l'on suit cette hypothèse, alors l'agencement particulier des signes pourrait s'expliquer par le fait que le rédacteur du texte hiéroglyphique a cherché à créer un jeu graphique en encadrant le nom du dieu Ptah par les deux épithètes qui l'associent au roi[16]. Le nom du monument serait alors à lire : « le temple de (*Ḏsr-ḫpr(.w)-Rʿ stp-n-Rʿ*) fils de Ptah aimé de Ptah du *bʿḥ* ». On pourrait douter de l'hypothèse de W.K. Simpson, mais l'existence sur le relief d'Ipy d'un « temple de Ptah dans le *bʿḥ* » prouve qu'il s'agit sans aucun doute de la bonne lecture.

La mise en relation d'Horemheb avec ce dieu incite à situer le temple royal dans la même zone que celui d'Amenhotep III, autrement dit dans le *bʿḥ* de Memphis[17]. Il s'agissait vraisemblablement aussi d'un temple de millions d'années où la forme divine « Ptah du *bʿḥ* » était sans doute vénérée conjointement au roi considéré comme son hypostase[18]. On peut en outre supputer que cette institution était non pas rattachée juridiquement au grand sanctuaire de la ville (à savoir celui de Ptah qui-est-au-sud-de-son-mur) à l'instar de la fondation d'Amenhotep III[19], mais au temple de Ptah du *bʿḥ*[20]. On verra cependant ci-dessous que ce dernier dépendait probablement lui-même du sanctuaire principal de Memphis.

Il existe peut-être une source supplémentaire relative au temple de Ptah du *bʿḥ* datant du règne de Ramsès II, qui l'évoque sous une autre appellation. Le gouverneur de Memphis, Ptahmès, avait en effet parmi ses nombreuses fonctions celle d'intendant d'un  *pr Ptḥ ḥꜣ Jnb.w [m pr] Ptḥ* « domaine de Ptah en dehors d'Inébou (*i.e.* Memphis) dans le domaine de Ptah[21] ». On déduit du nom de cette fondation qu'il y avait à cette époque un domaine divin situé « hors les murs » de la ville (ou plutôt hors des digues). La zone qu'il occupait était assez importante pour disposer de son propre gouverneur, en l'occurrence le même Ptahmès

14 W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches* I, Wiesbaden, 1961, p. 920 (138), C.3.

15 W.K. Simpson, « A Shawabti Box Lid of the Chief Steward Nia (Iniuya) Acquired by General Jean-Joseph Tarayre », *BIFAO* 81, 1981, p. 328, n. 3.

16 Un cas similaire de disposition des épithètes divines est par exemple attesté pour Apis sous le règne de Ramsès II :  *Ḥp sꜣ Ptḥ wḥm n(y) Ptḥ* « Apis fils de Ptah héraut/réplique de Ptah ». Voir S.S. Abd el-Aal, « Some Blocks belonging to the Tias from Kafr el-Gebel », dans U. Rössler-Köhler, T. Tawfik (éd.), *Die ihr vorbeigehen werdet… Wenn Gräber, Tempel und Statuen sprechen. Gedenkschrift für Prof. Dr. Sayed Tawfik Ahmed*, *SDAIK* 16, 2009, pl. 1a.

17 Même hypothèse chez K.A. Kitchen, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

18 Sur cette théologie particulière des temples de millions d'années, voir G. Haeny, « La fonction religieuse des 'Châteaux de millions d'années' », dans *L'égyptologie en 1979. Axes prioritaires de recherches*, I, Paris, 1982, p. 115-116 ; R.G. Morkot, *JNES* 49, 1990, p. 333-335.

19 R.G. Morkot, *op. cit.*, p. 328-330. Les temples de millions d'années entretenaient des liens de suzeraineté avec des institutions plus importantes (grand sanctuaire d'Amon, de Ptah, etc.), voir P. Grandet, « Aspects administratifs et économiques des temples funéraires royaux thébains au Nouvel Empire », *CdE* 87, 153-154, 2002, p. 117-119. Voir aussi *infra*.

20 Ce temple royal est considéré comme l'institution centrale du « domaine d'Horemheb » (*pr (Ḏsr-ḫpr.w-Rʿ stp-n-Rʿ)*), notamment dans P.Caire CG 58091 (Ramsès I^{er}-Sethy I^{er}), par M. Gabolde, « Des travailleurs en vadrouille », dans L. Gabolde (éd.), *Hommage à J.-Cl. Goyon à l'occasion de son soixante-dixième anniversaire*, *BdE* 143, 2008, p. 182 (b).

21 *LD Text* I, 126 [8] ; J. Malek, « The Saqqara Statue of Ptahmose, Mayor of the Memphite Suburbs », *RdE* 38, 1987, p. 133.

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(*ḥɜty-ʿ n(y) ḥɜ Jnb.w*) [22]. Par sa localisation, extérieure au centre urbain de Memphis, ce domaine de Ptah évoque directement le temple du *bʿḥ* et leur identification semble s'imposer [23]. Cette interprétation implique une correspondance – partielle ou totale – entre la zone dite « en dehors » de Memphis et le *bʿḥ* de la ville.

Il n'est sans doute pas anodin que Ptahmès était aussi l'intendant des temples memphites de Sethy Ier et Ramsès II [24]. Ces deux monuments étaient peut-être situés dans la zone dite « en dehors » de Memphis, donc plus précisément dans le *bʿḥ* à l'ouest de la ville, c'est-à-dire à proximité des temples d'Amenhotep III et d'Horemheb déjà évoqués. Un tel regroupement de temples royaux à l'ouest de la ville serait identique à la topographie cultuelle thébaine [25].

Le titre de Ptahmès précise en outre que le temple de Ptah en dehors d'Inébou – et donc celui de Ptah du *bʿḥ* si l'on accepte l'identification des deux monuments – était « dans le domaine de Ptah » (*m pr Ptḥ*), c'est-à-dire qu'il dépendait juridiquement du sanctuaire principal de Memphis, celui de Ptah qui-est-au-sud-de-son-mur, de même que le temple de millions d'années d'Amenhotep III et ceux de Sethy Ier et Ramsès II, par exemple, mentionnés précédemment [26].

The Provenance of the Block and Ipy's Tomb at Saqqara[27] [B. Gessler-Löhr]

With the appearance of this relief-decorated block (fig. 1), thanks to Stéphane Pasquali's checking the art market via the Internet, the discussion concerning the location of the tomb(s) belonging to the Memphite High Steward Ipy has arrived at an advanced stage. To provide

22 J. Málek, *ibid*. On notera l'existence d'un prêtre d'Osiris *ḥɜ Jnb-ḥḏ* (« en-dehors (?) d'Ineb-hedj ») sous la XXXe dynastie : *LGG* II, 538 ; É. Chassinat, « Textes provenant du Sérapéum de Memphis », *RT* 21, 1899, p. 70, no XXXII (l. 6). Pour une traduction « Osiris nördlich von Memphis », voir E. Otto, « Eine memphitische Priesterfamilie des 2. Jh. v. Chr. », *ZÄS* 81, 1956, p. 128.

23 Le seul autre temple de Ptah de la région situé en-dehors de la ville était celui de Ptah *ḫnty-ṯnn.t*. Celui-ci se trouvait très probablement à Saqqâra-Nord : A. Leahy, « Beer for the Gods of Memphis in the Reign of Amasis », dans W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, H. Willems (éd.), *Egyptian Religion. The Last Thousand Years. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, I, *OLA* 84, 1998, p. 386-387.

24 J. Málek, *op. cit.*, p. 134-135 ; J. Berlandini, « Varia Memphitica V », *BIFAO* 82, 1982, p. 102-103. Pour les références textuelles à ces titres, voir K*RI* III, 179, 14 (temple de Sethy Ier) ; 171, 16-172, 1 ; 179, 14 ; K*RI* VII, 112, 13 (temple de Ramsès II).

25 Une telle localisation des temples royaux de Memphis est adoptée dans la reconstitution de la région de Memphis sous le Nouvel Empire proposée par K.A. Kitchen (*op. cit.*, p. 99-100, fig. 1-2).

26 Pour cette interprétation de l'expression *m pr Ptḥ,* voir P. Grandet, *CdE* 87, 153-154, 2002, p. 117-119. Voir aussi à ce sujet M. Ullmann, *op. cit.*, p. 645-648 ; D. Kessler, « *pr* + Göttername als Sakralbereich der staatlichen Administration im Neuen Reich », dans F. Adrom, K. et A. Schlüter (éd.), *Altägyptische Weltsichten. Akten des Symposiums zur historischen Topographie und Toponymie Altägyptens vom 12.-14. Mai 2006 in München*, *ÄAT* 68, 2008, p. 65-104.
Le texte de la statue Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. 1913.163, de l'intendant de Memphis Amenhotep-Houy indique à propos du temple memphite d'Amenhotep III : « Sa Majesté fit en sorte que ce temple soit rattaché administrativement au temple de Ptah pour tous ses écrits, de la même manière que les temples des rois de Haute et Basse Égypte qui sont à côté de son père Amon dans la Ville du sud (*i.e.* Thèbes) » (*rd-n ḥm=f wn ḥw.t tn ḥr sḏfɜ n(y) ḥw.t Ptḥ m drf=s nb mj nɜ n(y) ḥw.wt n(y.wt) nɜ n(y) nsw.wt-bjty(.w) nty(.w) ḥr-gs.wy jt=f Jmn m njw.t rsy* ; *Urk.* IV, 1796, 9-11). Voir à ce propos R.G. Morkot, *JNES* 49, 1990, p. 328-330.

27 I wish to thank Stéphane Pasquali very cordially for bringing this block to my attention and for the kind offer that I write two sections for his article here, as well as for ongoing discussions of Ipy's other documents, and for contributing to my article "The Memphite High Steward Ipy and his exceptional career from the reign of Amenhotep III up to King Horemheb" (forthcoming; quoted as B. Gessler-Löhr, "Ipy", in the following). In addition, I want to thank Dr Robert Avila for correcting my English.

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a quick insight into the topic, the present state of knowledge shall briefly be summarized in the following.[28]

Since publication of the basic article on one of Amenhotep III's leading Memphite officials named Amenhotep Huy,[29] holding office as Steward in Memphis during the second half of the king's reign, and appointed High Steward around regnal year 31,[30] it is well-known that he was succeeded by his son Ipy at some as yet indefinite date.[31] Shortly after Ipy's first appearance as a Memphite Steward in regnal year five of King Amenhotep IV,[32] he followed the king – now named Akhenaten – to the new capital at Amarna, where he is attested by a house[33] and, most probably, also by a tomb (EA 10).[34] While his fate over the course of the Amarna episode remains unknown, later on, Ipy's career continued at his home-town where he stayed until his death, almost certainly during the reign of King Horemheb.[35] This is attested by some of his documents designating him High Steward of/in Memphis (*jmj-rꜣ pr wr n/m Mn-nfr*), with a tomb at Saqqara as the most probable or attested provenance.[36] For a residence at Thebes, evidence is lacking, especially for the attribution of an anonymous tomb there (TT 136) to him, which was claimed several years ago.[37] This suggestion was soon rejected in a book review pointing above all to the fact that neither the name Ipy nor the title

28 For detailed argumentation see B. Gessler-Löhr, "Ipy".

29 W.C. Hayes, *op. cit., JEA* 24, 1938, p. 9-24. For the genealogy of this famous Memphite family and the relationship to Huy's younger (half-)brother, the Theban Vizir Ramose (TT 55), see W.J. Murnane, "The Organization of Government under Amenhotep III", in D.B. O'Connor, E.H. Cline (eds.), *Amenhotep III, Perspectives on his Reign*, Ann Arbor, 1998, p. 194-195, 203, 213-214, 324-325.

30 Amenhotep Huy was appointed High Steward only after regnal year 31 of the king, see R.G. Morkot, *op. cit., JNES* 49, 1990, p. 335 note 88; Z. Topozada, "Les deux campagnes d'Amenhotep III en Nubie", *BIFAO* 88, 1988, p. 156 (11), 157 and note 20.

31 Perhaps Ipy is already mentioned as a Royal Scribe along with his father on some hieratic jar labels from Malkata, see W.C. Hayes, "Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III", *JNES* 10, 1951, p. 100 and note 209.

32 See Ipy's two letters from Gurob (probably one original and a copy thereof) with his report on the good order of the Memphite temples and the king's properties, which were, however, almost certainly never dispatched, see E.F. Wente, "The Gurob Letter to Amenhotep IV", *Serapis* 6, 1980, p. 209-215; W.J. Murnane, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

33 House lintel in Berlin, ÄM 21597, see *ÄIB* II, 399; M. Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*, *BiAeg* 8, 1938, p. 158 (CLXXI); W.J. Murnane, *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt*, Atlanta, 1995, p. 126 (no. 61-A, erroneously described as a doorjamb). Published by J. Budka, *Der König an der Haustür*, *BeitrÄg* 19, 2001, p. 118-119 (cat. no. 22). Although the block is unprovenanced, none of the house lintels dating to the Amarna Period with such decoration has been found outside Amarna. Hence, the reservations of R. Morkot (*op. cit.*, p. 325) who suggests Saqqara as another possible provenance, are uncalled for, especially, since the lintel must derive from a domestic context. See further C. Kral, "Das Wohnhaus", in C. Tietze (ed.), *Amarna. Lebensräume – Lebensbilder – Weltbilder*, Potsdam, 2008, p. 118 and fig. 15 (only left part).

34 In the interim, the identification of the Memphite Steward named Ipy with the owner of a house and a tomb at Amarna (EA 10) is generally acccepted. For more detailed argumentation in favour of the suggested identification, see the preceding footnote and B. Gessler-Löhr, "Ipy", doc. 3-4.

35 A similar life span, beginning in the time of Amenhotep III and ending under the reign of Horemheb, when Maya, one of Tutankhamun's highest officials would have been only in his fifties, has been exemplified by J. van Dijk, "The Overseer of the Treasury Maya: A Biographical Sketch", *OMRO* 70, 1990, p. 25-26. Very probably Maya was also the owner of an unfinished tomb at Amarna (EA 14), before he started to build his tomb at Saqqara (*ibid.*, p. 25), which suggests that the careers of both Ipy and Maya ran a similar course around the time of the collapse of the Amarna interlude.

36 B. Gessler-Löhr, "Ipy", *passim*.

37 A. Grimm, H.A. Schlögl, *Das thebanische Grab Nr. 136 und der Beginn der Amarnazeit*, Wiesbaden, 2005, p. 2.

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'steward' is preserved in the tomb's inscriptions.[38] Meanwhile, the attribution of TT 136 to Ipy as its first owner has been disproved by other scholars as well.[39] With the reference to a clearly Memphite temple of Ptah in the relief-decorated block under discussion here, the location of a tomb for Ipy at Saqqara seems finally proven.[40] The suggestion that Ipy was buried at Saqqara was first mentioned by Bagnani in 1934 because the memorial stela depicting him *vis-à-vis* his father was found at Saqqara by G. Nizzoli who brought it to Florence in 1824 (fig. 3).[41] Consequently, Hayes admitted that Ipy perhaps never occupied his tomb at Amarna, and that he was in fact buried at Saqqara in a tomb not far from that of his father.[42] However, the well-established knowledge that the Memphite High Steward Amenhotep Huy held office during the later years of Amenhotep III has caused scholars to date this stela to his reign, or, on account of Ipy's presence, to the reign of Amenhotep IV at the latest.[43] Meanwhile, the excavation of many elaborately decorated New Kingdom tombs at Saqqara datable to the Amarna and post-Amarna period, has put art historical research on a much firmer foundation.[44] This new material, in comparison with the contemporary evidence mainly from Thebes, provides helpful criteria for dating objects more precisely.[45] In our particular case, it became possible even to distinguish between earlier and later depictions of one and the same person who lived during this, in almost all respects, eventful epoch. Hence, the stylistic comparison of Ipy's three well-known relief-decorated documents has revealed that each belongs to a different phase: one to the Amarna Period (house lintel from Akhet-Aton in Berlin),[46] one to the reign of Tutankhamun (stela in St. Petersburg, fig. 2),[47] and one to the time of Horemheb

38 M. Eaton-Krauss, (book review of A. Grimm, H.A. Schlögl, *Das thebanische Grab Nr. 136…, BiOr* 63, no 5/6, 2006, p. 524-528): "…The owner's name is not preserved in the tomb and his only legible title is incomplete: 'royal scribe… of the two lands'. For Grimm and Schlögl, however, the tomb can only have belonged originally to the 'high steward, royal scribe of the lord of the two lands, steward of Memphis and overseer of the great harem' Ipy, the owner of Tomb 10 at Amarna. The authors do not even mention, let alone discuss, that Egyptologists have generally presumed this Ipy, like his father, was eventually buried at Saqqara, as his association with Memphis would lead us to expect (see PM III² 704) …".

39 D. Salvoldi, "Some Remarks on TT 136 and its Interpretation", *EVO* 31, 2008, p. 39-48; F. Kampp-Seyfried in a lecture given on the occasion of Jan Assmann's 70th birthday on July 7, 2008 at Heidelberg (forthcoming).

40 Already assumed in PM III², 704.

41 Stela in Florence, Museo Egizio 2567, see G. Bagnani, "Il primo intendente del palazzo, Imenhotpe, detto Huy", *Aegyptus* 14, 1934, p. 33-38 and fig. 1; B. Gessler-Löhr, "Ipy", doc. 8. Many thanks to Dr Maria C. Guidotti, director of the Egyptian Museum in Florence, for providing us with a photograph.

42 W.C. Hayes, *JEA* 24, p. 24. The designation of Ipy as High Steward on this stela misled Hayes to conclude that he took over his father's office before the latter's death.

43 Although estimated as a posthumous memorial made by Ipy for his father and himself by A. Badawi, *Memphis als zweite Landeshauptstadt im Neuen Reich*, Cairo, 1948, p. 72, the stela was more often attributed to the tomb of Amenhotep Huy, see PM III², 702-703; S. Bosticco, *Le stele egiziane del Nuovo Regno*, Roma, 1965, p. 38-39, no. 32 ("temp. Amenophis III/IV"); Cl. Traunecker, "Stèle de l'intendant Ipy", in *Mémoires d'Égypte. Notices descriptives des objets présentés*, Strasbourg, 1990, p. 26 (E3; reign of Amenhotep III). For the correct dating to the time of Horemheb see *infra*, and note 48.

44 See the path-breaking study of J. Berlandini, "Les tombes amarniennes et d'époque Toutânkhamon à Sakkara: critères stilistiques", in *L'Égyptologie en 1979. Axes prioritaires de recherches*, II, Colloques internationaux du CNRS, Paris, 1982, p. 195-212.

45 E. Hofmann, *Bilder im Wandel. Die Kunst der ramessidischen Privatgräber*, *Theben* 17, Mainz, 2004, especially p. 5-25; 93-105; 119-124. I want to thank Dr Eva Hofmann for the most helpful discussions over many years, which opened my eyes for the distinctive iconographical and stylistic features of and around the Amarna Period.

46 See *supra*, and note 33.

47 State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. 1072; rightly dated by N.B. Landa, in *VDI* No. 2 (128), 1974, fig. 1, p. 97-104, and PM III², 704 (with Ipy's Saqqara tomb as the presumed provenance). Many thanks to Dr Andrey O. Bolshakov, Curator Section of Ancient Orient, Hermitage Museum St. Petersburg, for providing us with a photograph.

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(stela in Florence, fig. 3).[48] This dating is – at least partially – supported by the inscriptional evidence, namely Ipy's titles, which reflect the various stages of his career and match perfectly with the art historical development proposed.[49] With this background knowledge in mind, it now seems possible to classify the block not only on account of its technical, iconographical and stylistic features in comparison with similar blocks from post-Amarna tombs at Saqqara, but also to link it with some of Ipy's other documents.

The Dating of the Block

Technical Observations

This rectangular block (fig. 1) once belonged to a tomb chapel built of mud-bricks with a revetment of relief-decorated limestone blocks, which depicted the tomb-owner in different scenes relevant to his welfare in the Afterlife. When the block was sawed out, nearly the lower half of the scene was cut away. Apart from some insignificant damage, the decoration of the slightly worn surface is well preserved, but without any remains of the original paint. The upper part of the scene is complete, and the horizontal margin strip points to a position in the uppermost register of the wall. The left-hand edge corresponds to the end of the scene, perhaps marking also the end of the wall, which would mean that Ipy was placed here at a corner or next to an entrance door. Almost certainly, Ipy was depicted sitting alone and, as on his other documents, unaccompanied by a wife. On the right, another relief-decorated block was attached, but with only some traces of the decoration still visible.

While the carving of reliefs in Ancient Egypt is generally described as either raised or sunk, a very special technique has been used here. The original surface of the stone was reduced around the images, and hence the figures, the tray with offerings and the bouquet below appear in raised relief. By contrast, the vertical lines of text (seven on the left, five on the right) were incised directly into the surface of the block and thus look like two irregularly shaped labels, set apart from the deeper background of the image area. This technique, which was occasionally in use from the Old Kingdom onwards, and in the Middle Kingdom mainly on stelae, has very probably economical reasons.[50] Incising the hieroglyphs is much easier and much less time-consuming than carving them in raised relief, when the surface has to be cut away completely around every single sign.[51] During the early and mid-18th Dynasty this

48 For this comparison and the convincing suggestion to date the stela in Florence, inv. no. 2567, not earlier than the reign of Horemheb, see E. Hofmann, *op. cit.*, p. 123-124, and fig. 148-150.

49 In his letter from Gurob and at Amarna Ipy bears only the title "steward" (*jmj-rꜣ pr*); see *supra*, note 32 and B. Gessler-Löhr, "Ipy", doc. 3-4. He was not appointed High Steward and Fan-bearer to the right of the King until the reign of Tutankhamun, see *ibid.*, doc. 6 (stela in St. Petersburg); see *supra*, text 1 and note (b).

50 E. Hofmann, *op. cit.*, p. 150. Cf., *e.g.*, the stelae and blocks in Paris, Louvre C 174; Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico KS 1911; Hannover, Museum August Kestner 2927-2929.

51 In some Saqqara tombs of the post-Amarna Period, both techniques are used, even on one and the same wall, *e.g.* in the tomb of Maya, see G.T. Martin, *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis*, London, 1991, fig. 104; E. Hofmann, *op. cit.*, p. 101, fig. 122. For some Ramesside examples see *ibid.*, fig. 32, 35-37, 46, 80, 123, 164.

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combined technique of carving the decoration is preserved only sparsely, and also mainly on stelae.[52] Hence, the block can be dated hypothetically to the post-Amarna Period on account of this special technical feature alone.[53]

Iconography and Style

The motif of the scene with the tomb-owner seated next to a heavily laden offering table and provided with different kinds of offerings which are presented by one or more persons approaching from the other side, was an icon in the decorative program of Egyptian tombs from time immemorial. While the offering table with its heaps of food and beverages was depicted as a guarantee that the deceased never suffer from hunger and thirst, the permanent gift of fresh offerings was meant to keep supplies coming throughout eternity. The (almost destroyed) offering table with a one-footed stand is attested here by a flower bouquet that was crowned, very probably, by a papyrus umbel (fig. 1).[54] It was once put across a composition of bread, meat, vegetables, fruit, etc., either piled up directly on the plate or on top of a row of stylized "*baguettes*."[55] Perhaps it is this bouquet that is announced as a 'bouquet of life' in the inscription above the priest who, however, holds a tray with food offerings only.[56] This tray, with several round loaves of bread, a duck and long pieces of beef (or cake?) is delivered to the deceased by an offering bearer in a posture known in many variations from innumerable processions of such figures.[57] Probably Ipy was the first in a row of male and female persons

52 Roughly similar: stela of Nebamun in Avignon, Musée Calvet A1; family stela of User in Bruxelles, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire E. 2162; stelae in Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 34008, CG 34029, CG 34030, see P. Lacau, *CGC Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, Cairo, 1909, 1926. In Theban tombs of the early and mid-18th Dynasty, this technique is also very unusual, see, for instance, in TT 123 (E. Hofmann, personal communication).

53 More examples, *e.g.*, in G.T. Martin, *Hidden Tombs*, fig. 43 (= G.T. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tutʿankhamūn* 1. *The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary*, *ExcMem* 55, 1989, pl. 96 [70]); stela in Leiden RMO, AP 56, J. van Dijk, *op. cit.*, p. 24-25 and 28, pl. 1.2; B. Gessler-Löhr, "Relief-block aus dem Grab des Hohenpriesters Meri-Ptah", in S. Albersmeier, *Ägyptische Kunst: Bestandskatalog Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe*, Karlsruhe, 2007, p. 32-36, cat. no. 1.7 (inv. no. H 1046; from the tomb of the High Priest Meri-Ptah).

54 Although both lotus blossoms and papyrus umbels can look very similar, the more arched upper contour points rather to papyrus, cf. J. Dittmar, *Blumen und Blumensträuße im alten Ägypten*, *MÄS* 43, 1986, fig. 76, 80, 89, 90, 95 and *passim*.

55 Cf. some of the offering tables in B. Ockinga, *Amenemone the Chief Goldsmith. A New Kingdom Tomb in the Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, *ACE Reports* 22, 2004, pl. 5,6,13; further G.T. Martin, *Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite Necropolis and Lower Egypt* I, *StudAeg*, 1987 (hereafter: *CMR* I), p. 21-22, pl. 7 and 43 (no. 18, tomb-owner unknown). More often, the plates show either heaps of mixed offerings or tall loaves of bread/tall reeds in stylized renderings such as on the stela in Florence (fig. 3). The reeds might be understood as a symbolic representation of the Field of Reeds (or: Field of Offerings) as the source of nourishment for the inhabitants of the netherworld, see H. Satzinger, "The Scarab on the Cat's Forehead", in *Essays in Honour of Prof. Dr. J.* Lipińska, *Warsaw Egyptological Studies* I, 1997, p. 405-406.

56 See *supra*, text 2, lines 8-10 and note (e). According to the text, one would rather expect that the priest Ipy holds some plants, for instance, papyrus stalks, cf. M.J. Raven, *The Tomb of Pay and Raia at Saqqara, ExcMem* 74, 2005, pl. 58-59, or a bunch of lettuce, cf. E. Graefe, "Das Grab des Schatzhausvorstehers und Bauleiters Maya in Saqqara", *MDAIK* 31/2, 1975, p. 192 (= *LD* III, 240 c), p. 209). However, a close parallel from the tomb of Maya (*ibid.*, p. 203 fig. 7 [Q. 66A], and p. 219) shows the text in front of offering bearers with bouquets along with food offerings.

57 Such a procession is almost certainly attested also for Ipy's tomb by a block with two offering bearers, see G.T. Martin, *CMR* I, p. 25 and pl. 18 (no. 54); B. Gessler-Löhr, "Ipy", doc. 5. For some other examples see G.T. Martin, *op. cit.*, nos. 26, 55, 59, 71, 111; B. Ockinga, *op. cit.*, pl. 5-6, 15, 18-19, 25-26.

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who were bringing more offerings, bouquets, papyrus stalks and even living fowl and calves on the hoof, once depicted on the adjacent blocks to the right on the wall (cf. the offering bearers in fig. 5).

The tomb-owner Ipy is seated on a classic chair with an inclined backrest, which seems to end behind his sagging right sleeve.[58] The deceased is shown quite a distance away from the offering table, but his lap and the lower part of his long skirt that was once depicted as a triangle in front of his shins, made this space necessary, in order to avoid any overlapping. In addition, his left arm is angled across the chest instead of being extended towards the offerings, which would have optically filled the empty area in between.[59] The fashion of the wigs and garments provides the most helpful iconographical criteria for dating the block. While the priest standing to the right is bare-headed according to the priestly regulations, the tomb-owner wears a half-length rounded wig with small rows of vertical, crimped strands which end in a row of short curls. At Saqqara, this type of wig is, for instance, worn by Huy, a Royal Scribe of the troops (time of Tutankhamun), and by many officials and offering bearers in the tomb of Tutankhamun's Treasurer Maya.[60] Especially one depiction of Maya's brother Nahuher shows the details very well preserved, probably also more clearly executed than on the block here (fig. 1 and 4).[61] Ipy holds a one-feathered fan (*flabellum*) appropriate to his high rank as a "Fan-bearer to the right of the King", which reveals a close connection to the respective ruler,[62] probably Tutankhamun.[63] In contrast to Ipy's appearance on the stela in Florence, where he is shown not only with the *flabellum*, but also with a four-strand *shebyu*-collar (fig. 3), he wears here only an ordinary *usekh*-collar. This feature might point to an earlier date for the carving of the block previous to the public event in the palace, when Ipy was rewarded by the then ruling King (Tutankhamun, Ay or Horemheb?) with the so-called Gold of Honour.[64]

The deceased is dressed in a garment typical of the post-Amarna period[65] consisting of a long shirt with ample, pleated sleeves, and an ankle-length pleated skirt (bag tunic), in combination with a sash kilt, wrapped around the buttocks and tied in front. Hence, the

58 This feature seems to be a bit unusual, but a cursory review revealed some parallels from Saqqara, *e.g.* the stela of Paitenemheb in Leiden, RMO K.7; see PM III², 711 (10); P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische Verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* IV, 's-Gravenhage, 1911, pl. IX; the stela of Paser in London, BM 165, see G.T. Martin, *The Tomb-Chapels of Paser and Raʿia at Saqqara, ExcMem* 52, 1985, pl. 8-9. See also a block in the tomb of Tutankhamun's Treasurer Maya with the tomb-owner sitting at an offering table (still unpublished; photo E. Hofmann). Cf. the publication on Maya by G.T. Martin (forthcoming).

59 Cf. the juxtaposition of Ipy and Huy on their stela in Florence (fig. 3).

60 Huy: PM III², 556 (S 2735) and G.T. Martin, *CMR* I, p. 10 and pl. 4 (no. 10); Maya: G.T. Martin, *Hidden Tombs*, fig. 104 and colour pl. IX.

61 Block in Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1924.123; G.T. Martin, *CMR* I, p. 9-10 and pl. 3 (no. 8); block in Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery 22.86. *ibid.*, p. 10 and pl. 3 (no. 9). See also E. Graefe, *op. cit.*, pl. 57 a-b. Many thanks to Dr Frank Hildebrandt, Curator Ancient Art and Antiquities Department of the MKG Hamburg, for providing us with a photograph.

62 B. Schmitz, *LÄ* VI, 1986, col. 1162-1163, *s.v.* Wedelträger.

63 This title is already mentioned on the stela in St. Petersburg, datable to the reign of Tutankhamun; see *supra*, text 1, and note (b), and note 47.

64 S. Binder, *The Gold of Honour in Ancient Egypt, ACE Studies* 8, 2008, p. 288-289 [014] on Ipy, and 294 [033] on Huy. For the topic in general see *ibid.*, *passim*.

65 Good examples can be found in the tombs of Horemheb, Maya, Iniuia, and others. See also *infra*.

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fringed end of the sash kilt looks like a short triangular apron.[66] Ipy is dressed similarly on the stela in St. Petersburg[67] (fig. 2) and also on the stela in Florence, as is his father (fig. 3). The loop in his right hand is the upper end of the "handkerchief" or "napkin" that appears from the Amarna period onwards as a long, folded cloth, often pleated and fringed at one end.[68] On the stela, it is clasped by both Ipy and his father, and partially visible in side view above the upper rim of their skirts, sagging from the lap down over the knees to the offering table (fig. 3).[69] Besides this rather unnatural and a bit stiff kind of depiction, another placement of the cloth seems equally possible: it sags down from the anterior thigh, often slightly swaying backwards beside the chair (fig. 5).[70] This feature is equivalent to the way the cloth is depicted on statues, where it appears as sagging down straight at right angles to either the right or the left thigh of the statue-owner.[71] Both kinds of depictions are used contemporaneously: the stela of Roy shows him and his wife as two pairs sitting *vis-à-vis* at an offering table, once with the cloth in side view (right), and once sagging down from Roy's right thigh in front view (left).[72]

66 E. Hofmann, *op. cit.*, p. 168-169, list of garments no. 18; description by R.E. Freed, in *Egypt's Golden Age*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1982, p. 171-172 and fig. 45. The significant difference between them and similar garments of the pre-Amarna period are the much longer and wider sleeves flaring outward with many more pleats in comparison to the much shorter and narrow sleeves, as, for instance, visible on the shirts of the male guests in Ramose's banquet scenes (TT 55). This observation was first mentioned by B. Fay, in *Egypt's Golden Age*, *op. cit.,* 173, no. 196; now also M. Eaton-Krauss, "The Original Owner of JE 46600", in *The Art and Culture of Ancient Egypt*, *BES* 19 (in press). See further L. Donovan, "Representations of Costumes in New Kingdom Offering Bearer Scenes", *BACE* 14, 2003, p. 7-37.

67 See *supra,* note 47. For the stylistic comparison of this stela with other Memphite documents from the time of Tutankhamun, see J. Berlandini, *op. cit.*, especially p. 205-211 and 208, note 75.

68 The traditional short version which looks more like a folded cord was occasionally replaced from the time of Amenhotep III onwards, by this type that is much longer, wider and slightly trapezoidal towards both ends. For a detailed three-dimensional depiction see the statue of a vizier Ptahmose from Saqqara in Brooklyn, 37512E (reign of Amenhotep III), B. Gessler-Löhr, "Bemerkungen zur Nekropole des Neuen Reiches von Saqqara vor der Amarna-Zeit I. Gräber der Wesire von Unterägypten", in D. Kessler, R. Schulz (eds.), *Gedenkschrift für Winfried Barta. ḥtp dj n ḥzj*, *MÄU* 4, 1995, p. 140-141 and pl. 4. The long type seems to be depicted only on men, at least in the post-Amarna period, cf. B. Ockinga, *op. cit.*, p. 89, note 165, and *infra*, note 71. In accordance with his observation, both types are depicted on the statue group of Meryneith and his wife, see M.J. Raven, "Les fouilles de Leyde dans la tombe de Méryneith à Saqqara. Campagne 2001-2002", *BSFE* 155, 2002, p. 19 fig. 5; *id.*, "The Tomb of Meryneith at Saqqara", *EgArch* 20, 2002, p. 27 (lower right).

69 Here the loop is rather depicted as a small oblique stick above the thumbs. For parallels, see G.T. Martin, *Horemheb*, scene [56]-[58], pl. 50, 52, 54, 56, 57 and pl. 58 (lower); stela of Pay, M.J. Raven, *The Tomb of Pay*, pl. 58 (lower) and 59; block from the tomb of Roy in Berlin, ÄM 7278, G.T. Martin, *CMR* I, 20-21 and pl. 15 (no. 42); C.-B. Arnst, in K.-H. Priese (ed.), *Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin*, Mainz, 1991, p. 138 no. 83; block from the tomb of General Amenemone in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, ÆIN 715, G.T. Martin, *Hidden Tombs*, fig. 121 = *id., CMR* I, p. 8 and pl. 2 (no. 2); stela of Ptahmay in Munich, ÄS 48, time of Ay), A. Grimm, H.A. Schlögl, *op. cit.*, pl. 36.

70 More examples in E. Graefe, *op. cit.*, fig. 7 [Q. 82,2] and pl. 40 (Maya); B. Ockinga, *op. cit.,* pl. 5, 6b, 13, 61 (Goldsmith Amenemone); stela of Penamun in Brooklyn, 37.1486E (T.G.H. James, *Corpus of Hieratic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum* I, Oxford, 1974, p. 177-178 no. 434 and pl. 13); P.A.A. Boeser, *op. cit.*, pl. VI and IX (Paitenemheb).

71 See *supra*, note 68: Ptahmose (right hand) and Meryneith (left hand); single statue of Maya in Leiden, RMO AST.1 (left hand) and statue group AST.3 (left hand), PM III², 663; statue group of Horemheb and his wife (dyad 1, left hand); G.T. Martin, *Horemheb*, pl. 151 (left); *ibid.*, pl. 153 (dyad 2, right hand); B. Ockinga, *op. cit.*, p. 89 and note 165; pl. 28a (statue group of Amenemone and his wife, both left hand).

72 Berlin, ÄM 7290; see PM III², 715; H. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, Wiesbaden, 1963, pl. 27,1. In the tomb chapel of Paitenemheb in Leiden, both kinds of depiction are used alternately as well, see P.A.A. Boeser, *op. cit.,* pl. III, VI, IX, XI.

BIFAO 111 (2011), p. 281-299 Stéphane Pasquali, Beatrix Gessler-Löhr
Un nouveau relief du grand intendant de Memphis, Ipy, et le temple de Ptah du terrain-bʿḥ.
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The priest to the right (also named Ipy) is dressed in a similar bag tunic with long and ample pleated sleeves flaring outward. Since he does not wear a collar, the opening at the top of the shirt for the head is visible at his neck as an oval slit tied with a pair of cords. In addition to the calf or ankle length skirt, a sash kilt was wrapped around his body, marked by the converging lines from the waist at the back to a point just below the navel. The pleated ends of his sash kilt were shown tied either with the fringed end depicted as a small triangle in front, similar to the kilt worn by the High Steward Ipy on the stela in St. Petersburg (fig. 2), or with its end folded outward and tucked back into the waist so that it looks like a voluminous fan (cf. the offering bearers in fig. 5).[73]

As regards style, dating can be based primarily on the features of the heads and the upper part of the bodies which are, however, not very distinctive. While the contours as well as the details show very good workmanship, neither the delicacy and skilfulness of the stela in St. Petersburg with its high-raised relief, nor the cool elegance and the finesse of the incised stela in Florence are matched here (fig. 2 and 3). The proportions of the bodies are – as far as observable – neither similar to the child-like characteristics of the compact body on the stela in St. Petersburg, typical for the time of Tutankhamun (chunky legs, disproportionately large head without differentiation of the neck), nor to the distinguished dignity of the tall and slim figures on the stela in Florence. The figures seem well-proportioned and without any reminiscences of the exaggerations of the Amarna Period. The profile of the priest's shaven head is a straight line from the forehead down to the nose; the ala of the nose is marked by an incised line, the full lips, the slanted eye and the small ear with a pierced lobe are precisely cut.[74] The skull is round, and lacks at the lower rear part the typical indentation of the dolichocephalic heads so well-known in Amarna art. Obviously, the contour of the head is shown in a later kind of representation than the bare-headed skulls of some of the members of the elite on the so-called Berlin "Trauerrelief", where this feature is still visible, along with the two characteristic folds on the neck under the chin.[75] The distinctive details become obvious also by comparing the priest's head here with the depiction of the bare-headed God's Father Hatiay with his remarkable Amarna-like skull, datable also to the time of Tutankhamun to Horemheb.[76] Two softly curved and slightly convex rolls of fat on Ipy's chest reveal his prosperity, hence showing that

73 L. Donovan, *op. cit.*, p. 18 and 26, fig. 13 (type CS 2); E. Hofmann, *op. cit.*, p. 167-169, type 9 and 13; G.T. Martin, *Hidden Tombs*, fig. 104 and colour pl. IX; B. Ockinga, *op. cit.*, pl. 18-19. Both types of bag tunic are depicted on the stela of Pay in the upper and lower register; M.J. Raven, *op. cit.*, pl. 58-59; E. Graefe, *op. cit.*, p. 195, fig. 3b; 203, fig. 7 (here along with one of Maya's brothers in the military dress).

74 For parallels, see the tomb chapel of Paitenemheb, especially the head of the priest censing and libating, in P.A.A. Boeser, *op. cit.,* pl. VII, and the following footnote. This tomb is contemporaneous with the tomb of Maya (Treasurer): E. Hofmann, *op. cit.,* p. 100 and 112.

75 C.-B. Arnst, in K.-H. Priese (ed.), *Ägyptisches Museum*, p. 136-137 no. 82. See further J. Berlandini, "Cortège funéraire de la fin de la XVIII[e] dynastie Staatliche Museen Munich ÄS 7127", *BSFE* 134, 1995, p. 30-49, especially p. 39-42 and notes 40, 49 and 51.

76 See N. Scott, "Recent Additions to the Egyptian Collection", *BMMA N.S.* 15, 1956, p. 81-82 with a significant image on fig. 7; G.T. Martin, *CMR* I, p. 11 and pl. 4 (no. 11). See B. Gessler-Löhr, "Pre-Amarna or Post-Amarna? The Tomb of the God's Father Hatiay at Saqqara", in L. Evans (ed.), *Ancient Memphis: 'Enduring is the Perfection'. Proceedings of the International Conference held at Macquarie University of Sydney on August 14-15, 2008*, *OLA* 214, 2011 (in press).

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the priest had achieved a certain age and status.[77] The tomb-owner Ipy has a comparatively small face with full and sharply marked lips; the details are well-cut up. His face shows a mouth with a turned-down corner and a globular little chin; his oblong eye is horizontal and the lid fold is marked by an arched incised line below the (once painted) brow bone. One remarkable feature is the nearly feminine accentuation of the breast in profile with the nipple beyond the transparent shirt clearly visible, which is comparable to some depictions of nobles in the tomb of Horemheb.[78]

In sum, while the dating of the block to the post-Amarna period is beyond doubt, attempts for a more precise placement seem to match best with the time of Tutankhamun or Ay, but not later than with the first regnal years of Horemheb. Especially in comparison to the two stelae from Ipy's tomb at Saqqara, one datable to the reign of Tutankhamun, the other one to the reign of Horemheb,[79] the suggestion appears plausible to date the block sometime between them. However, such a comparison can be made only with reservations, since the quality of the block is not equivalent to the artists' hands that are documented on the stelae, as the most important parts of the decorative program of the tomb, and therefore obviously executed by the most skilful artists available. If details are compared with other tombs of the post-Amarna period at Saqqara, some look similar to depictions in the tomb of Horemheb, such as the accentuated breast (Ipy) and the softly rounded rolls of fat (priest). Other features, especially Ipy's half-length rounded wig ("pageboy style"), the very wide and flaring sleeves of the bag tunics, and the backrest that is concealed by the sagging sleeve, remind one of illustrations in the tombs of Maya and Paitenemheb. In addition, the contours and details of the priest's head find close parallels in the skulls of priests depicted in the tomb chapel of Paitenemheb, which is roughly contemporaneous to the tomb of Maya.

The private tomb of the *Generalissimo* and later king Horemheb at Saqqara with its manifold reminiscences of Amarna art in both style and iconography, is definitely datable to the reign of Tutankhamun. Although the tomb of Maya was also very probably begun during the same reign, and was finished when Maya died at the latest in regnal year 9 of Horemheb,[80] its style and the pictorial program of its decoration are clearly distinctive and much more traditional than the features which are observable in Horemheb's tomb.[81] Obviously, Maya wanted to demonstrate that he had made the break with the preceding Amarna period in every respect, and he emphasized this by creating an innovative artistic style, building upon the style of the time of Amenhotep III. As Overseer of Works, Maya was of course in a position to recruit

77 For rolls of fat comparably depicted, see G.T. Martin, *Horemheb*, pilaster 71: London, BM 550 (pl. 109, left); scene 56, detail (pl. 53); scene 69, detail (pl. 85, upper).

78 G.T. Martin, *Horemheb*, scene 69, detail (pl. 85, upper); column panel 36 (pl. 37, upper); scene 113 (pl. 131, detail: block in Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery 22.128).

79 For the attribution of the stela in Florence to the tomb of Ipy rather than to that of his father, see B. Gessler-Löhr, "Ipy".

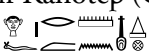
80 J. van Dijk, *op. cit.,* p. 25-26.

81 E. Hofmann, *op. cit.*, p. 97-101 compares explicit features and designates the style of Maya's tomb "Restaurationsstil". See also J. Berlandini, "Les tombes amarniennes et d'époque Toutânkhamon à Sakkara: critères stylistiques", in *L'Égyptologie en 1979*, 1982, p. 208-212.

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the best artists, and thus the majority of the decoration preserved in his tomb seems to have been made in this 'restoration style' with its well-proportioned figures in static sequences and *en echelon* wearing standardized fashionable wigs and garments.[82] Some faces already evoke "…la perfection un peu froide des visages appartenant aux contemporains d'Horemheb."[83] Besides the differences in quality which are due to various artists' hands, we can now add the tomb of Ipy to the increasing number of post-Amarna tombs at Saqqara, where different stylistic, iconographical and textual features attest construction during several phases of the tomb-owner's career.[84] With this substantial material and its respective dating once available, for which research is still in progress, and with more relief-decorated blocks from Ipy's tomb hopefully turning up in the future,[85] or, at the best, the tomb's re-localization, we might come to better and more reliable results.

Note additionnelle

Une stèle du vizir Râhotep (Caire, JE 48845 ; règne de Ramsès II) provenant de Saqqâra montre Ptah qualifié de  « (celui) dont le visage est à côté de Memphis » (*ḥr=f r-gs Mn-nfr*) dans le registre supérieur de l'une de ses deux faces : *LGG* V, 305 ; K*RI* III, 54, 9 ; M. Moursi, « Die Stele des Vezirs Re-hotep (Kairo JdE 48845) », *MDAIK* 37, 1981, p. 323-324, fig. 2, pl. 52. Cette épithète, qui localise le dieu en marge de la ville, n'est pas sans rappeler la situation du domaine de Ptah « en-dehors d'Inébou » évoqué précédemment dans notre article ; un domaine qui, rappelons-le, correspond sans aucun doute au temple de Ptah du *bʿḥ*. Il est donc vraisemblable la stèle de Râhotep constitue une nouvelle attestation de cette forme divine spécifique du *bʿḥ* de Memphis. Une telle hypothèse est étayée par le fait que Ptah est accompagné sur cet objet de trois des principaux dieux de la nécropole memphite : Anubis *tpy ḏw=f*, Osiris et Apis.

82 For one artist who still worked in the expressive Amarna style cf., however, the block from Maya's tomb in Toronto, 955.79.1; E. Graefe, *op. cit.*, pl. 59; G.T. Martin, *CMR* I, p. 9 and pl. 3, no. 7.

83 J. Berlandini, *op. cit.*, p. 211 and note 92.

84 Such as the tombs of Iniuia, Meryneith/Meryre and Ptahemwia which have been relocated in the interim in the cemetery south of the Unas causeway.

85 If the block in Jerusalem mentioning a Steward named Ipy (G.T. Martin, *CMR* I, p. 25 and pl. 18, no. 54) also belongs to this tomb (as convincingly suggested by R.G. Morkot, *op. cit.* p. 325, note 18), its decoration was at least partially carved by some artist who had been trained in Amarna art. The extremely pronounced dolichocephaly of the two offering bearers is visible on the photograph in M. Piccirillo, *The Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Jerusalem Museum*, Jerusalem, 1983, p. 78 (also available on the Internet). See further B. Gessler-Löhr, "Ipy", doc. 5.

BIFAO 111 (2011), p. 281-299 Stéphane Pasquali, Beatrix Gessler-Löhr
Un nouveau relief du grand intendant de Memphis, Ipy, et le temple de Ptah du terrain-bʿḥ.
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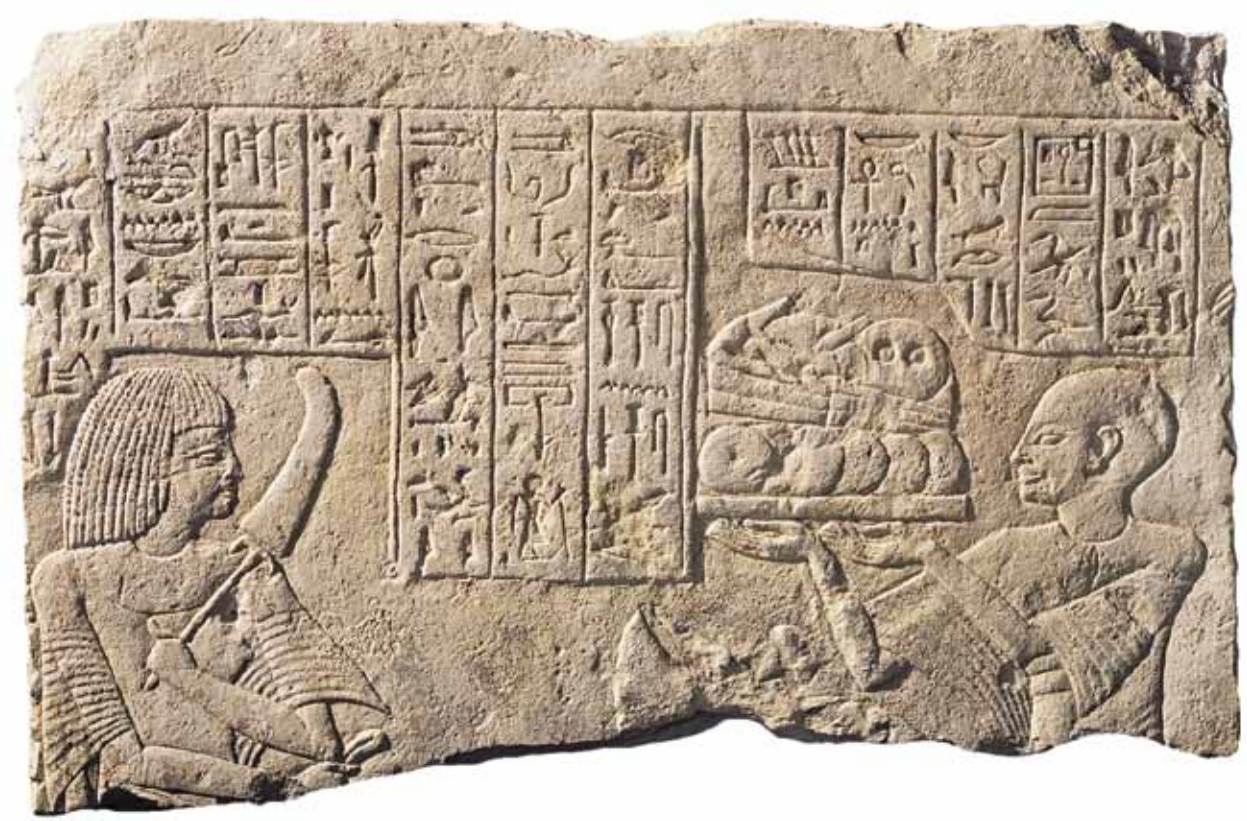


FIG. 1. Relief-decorated block of Ipy. Courtesy of Salomon Aaron (David Aaron Ancient Arts, London).



FIG. 2. Stela of Ipy adoring Anubis. St. Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. 1072. Courtesy of Andrey O. Bolshakov.

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FIG. 3. Stela of Ipy and his father Amenhotep Huy. Florence, National Archaeological Museum - Egyptian Museum, inv. no. 2567. Courtesy of Maria C. Guidotti.

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FIG. 4. Limestone fragment of Nahuher from the tomb of Maya. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, inv. no. 1924.123. Courtesy of Frank Hildebrandt.

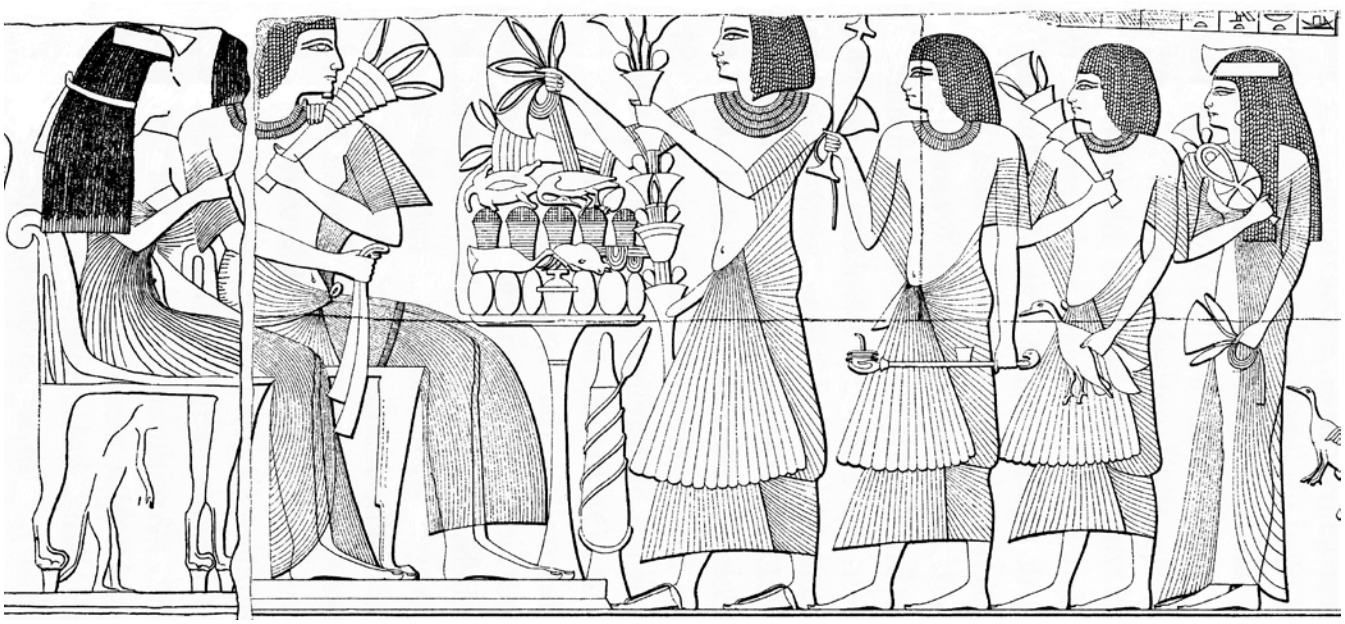


FIG. 5. Offering scene from the tomb of Maya (detail). After E. Graefe, *MDAIK* 31/2, 1975, p. 197, fig. 5.

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