

# The Theban Cult of Chonsu the Child in the Ptolemaic Period<sup>1</sup>

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**I**N THE GRAECO-ROMAN PERIOD, most Egyptian temples housed a local child god.<sup>2</sup> Each year, a festival celebrated the cyclical rebirth of the infant deity: the local goddess would enter the mammisi at the end of the month Pharmouthi in order to give birth to the new child god the next morning, the first of Pachons.<sup>3</sup> This sequence of events is summarized perfectly in the festival calendar from Esna:<sup>4</sup>

## 30 Pharmouthi

<i>sh<sup>c</sup> n Nb.t-ww m Jwny.t</i>	Procession of Nebtu from Esna.
<i>h<sup>t</sup>p m pr-ms</i>	Stopping in the mammisi.
<i>jr(.t) jr<sup>w</sup> nb r h<sup>d</sup>-t3</i>	Conducting every rite until dawn.

## 1 Pachons

<i>ms.t Šw Tfn.t Hk3-p3-hrd</i>	The birth of Shu, Tefnut, and Heka the child
<i>Gbb pw mr=sn</i>	(that means:) Geb, their beloved.
(...)	
<i>dī(.t) h<sup>c</sup> Hk3-p3-hrd</i>	Procession of Heka the Child,
<i>r-hr s.t n nbw</i>	on top of his golden palanquin,
<i>n/m p3y=f šnw n ms</i>	with his child's side-lock.
(...)	
<i>hb Rnnwt.t h(r).tw r=f</i>	This is called: "The Festival of Renenutet."

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<sup>1</sup> The first section of this article expands upon material discussed in the author's PhD thesis: D. KLOTZ, *Kneph: the Religion of Roman Thebes* (Yale University, 2008), advised by John C. Darnell. The author would like to heartily thank Neal Spencer, Assistant Keeper of the British Museum, for permission to publish the statuettes BM EA 92 and 55254, and for providing further information, as well as to Koen van den Bussche for permission to publish statue JE 39782 and for providing photographs. In studying the statuettes, the author greatly benefited from consulting the archives of the late Bernard V. Bothmer in the Brooklyn Museum of Art (*Corpus of Late Egyptian Statuary*), and he would like to thank Edna Russmann and Yekaterina Barbash for their assistance. Finally, the author is grateful to Hermann De Meulenaere and Laurent Coulon for providing references and comments concerning the statuettes and related objects.

<sup>2</sup> See most recently D. BUDDÉ, S. SANDRI, U. VERHOEVEN (ed.), *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit. Zeugnisse aus Stadt und Tempel als Spiegel des interkulturellen Kontext*, OLA 128, 2003; S. SANDRI, *Har-pa-chered (Harpokrates). Die Genese eines ägyptischen Götterkindes*, OLA 151, 2006.

<sup>3</sup> Fr. DAUMAS, *Les mammisis des temples égyptiens*, AUL 22, 1958; A. GUTBUB, *Textes fondamentaux de la théologie de Kom Ombo I*, BdE 47, 1973, pp. 321-374.

<sup>4</sup> Esna II, n° 77, 11-12; cf. S. SAUNERON, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna aux derniers siècles du paganisme*, Esna V, p. 21-2; for the date, cf. also Esna III, n° 371, 17-18 (epithets of Heka): "His mother gives birth to him within Esna on I Shomu 1 (*p<sup>c</sup>p<sup>c</sup>.n s(w) mw.t=f m-hnw Īwny.t m tpy 3bd tpy n šmw*)."

The Renenutet Festival coincided with the first day of Shomu, the harvest season, and thus the birth of the local child god accompanied the arrival of new crops.<sup>5</sup> The name of the festival goes back at least to the New Kingdom, when the first of Pachons was the day on which Renenutet, the goddess of agricultural abundance, gave birth to her son Nepri, the god of grain.<sup>6</sup>

Thebes, with its complex network of temples, worshipped a number of child deities: Chonsu the Child, Harsiese (Opet Temple),<sup>7</sup> Harpre the Child (North Karnak and Armant),<sup>8</sup> and Somtous (Ptah Temple and Deir el-Medineh).<sup>9</sup> Given the importance of the Renenutet Festival throughout Egypt,<sup>10</sup> one would expect to find evidence for similar mammisi celebrations in Thebes, especially for Chonsu, since the month in question, Pachons (lit. “the (month) of Chonsu”) was named in his honor.<sup>11</sup>

In fact, a number of inscriptions from the Graeco-Roman Period narrate the birth of Chonsu the Child within the Mut Temple Precinct. However, the fragmentary preservation of the texts and the scant archaeological remains of the actual mammisi have prevented scholars from recognizing the proper festival context.<sup>12</sup> After reviewing most of the relevant sources, Goyon concluded that Mut gave birth to her consort Amun on the first of Pachons,<sup>13</sup> while Leitz

<sup>5</sup> Cf. D. BUDDE, “Harpare-pa-chered. Ein ägyptisches Götterkind im Theben der Spätzeit und griechisch-römischen Epoche”, in Budde, Sandri, Verhoeven (ed.), *Kindgötter*, pp. 56-61.

<sup>6</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1844, 11-12: “Consecrating all good and pure things for Renenutet, Lady of the Granary on I Shomu 1 (= 1 Pachons), on this birthday of Nepri (*wdn iht nb.t nfr.t n Rnwt.t nb.t šnw.t m ʒbd I šmw sw I, hrw pn ms.t Npri*)” (discussed by S. SCHOTT, *Altägyptische Festdaten*, AAWMainz Jahrgang 1950, n° 10, Wiesbaden, 1950, p. 983, n° 182; A. GRIMM, *Die altägyptischen Festkalender in den Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche*, ÄAT 15, 1994, p. 433, n. 151). A. SPALINGER, “A Religious Calendar Year in the Mut Temple at Karnak”, *RdE* 44, 1993, p. 174, thought the festival celebrated Renenutet, not Nepri: “the third season has now been reached and the overt symbol of completed vegetative grown (harvest of grain) is personified in Renenutet herself”. For J.-Cl. Goyon (“Notes d’épigraphie et de théologie thébaine”, *CdE* 78, 2003, pp. 63 and 65), the primary significance of the Renenutet festival was not agricultural, but the seasonal renewal of the sun.

<sup>7</sup> C. DE WIT, *Le temple d’Opet* III, pp. 167-169; KLOTZ, *Kneph*, pp. 151-153 (4.20).

<sup>8</sup> See the excellent summary by BUDDE, in Budde, Sandri, Verhoeven (ed.), *Kindgötter*, pp. 15-110.

<sup>9</sup> Somtous was the child of Hathor within Thebes and Amun; see P. DU BOURGUET, *Le temple de Deir al-Médîna*, *MIFAO* 121, 2002, n° 172, 6; 182, 5; 183, 7; P. CLERE, *La Porte d’Évergète à Karnak*, *MIFAO* 84, 1961, pl. 28; *Urk.* VIII, n° 195b and e; 197 (8); 212 (2); D. WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, *MÄS* 36, 1973, p. 201-206, pl. 50, doc. 142 (Rear Wall of Ptah Temple); and cf. the discussion in KLOTZ, *Kneph*, pp. 302-304 (4.49). For a priest of Somtous, cf. Cl. TRAUNECKER, “Les graffiti des frères Harsais et Haremheb. Une famille de prêtres sous les derniers Ptolémées”, in W. Clarysse et al. (ed.), *Egyptian religion: the last thousand years. Studies dedicated to the memory of Jan Quaegebeur* II, *OLA* 84, 1998, p. 1192, fig. 1.2, col. 5, p. 1196, col. 17, and p. 1202, n. 58.

<sup>10</sup> In addition to the information from temples, compare the documentary evidence for a major festival in Pachons collected by F. PERPILLOU-THOMAS, *Fêtes d’Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine d’après la documentation papyrologique grecque*, *StudHell* 31, 1993, pp. 146-150.

<sup>11</sup> Gutbub (*Textes fondamentaux*, p. 337, n. m) already suggested that the month Pachons was named in honor of Chonsu’s birth festival; cf. also H. Brunner (*LÄ* I, col. 962, s.v. Chons) who noted: “Der I. Monat der *šmw*-Jahreszeit ist nach ihm [Chonsu] Pachons benannt worden, weil sein Fest, von dem so gut wie nichts bekannt ist, in ihn fiel.”

<sup>12</sup> One notable exception is Fr.-R. HERBIN, *Le Livre de parcourir l’éternité*, *OLA* 58, 1994, pp. 164-166, who correctly interpreted the passage in p.Leiden T 32 III, 22-25 (cf. *infra*) in the context of Mut and Chonsu the Child.

<sup>13</sup> GOYON, *op. cit.*, p. 65; all of the passages Goyon cited to support this conclusion (*ibid.*, nn. 108-110) actually refer to Osiris in the Opet Temple and say nothing about Mut or Amun.

recently argued that it was Mut herself who was born during the Renenutet festival.<sup>14</sup> Both interpretations contradict the evidence about similar divine birth celebrations at other mammisis, and somewhat ironically imply that Chonsu was the one member of the Theban triad who did not have a birthday during the eponymous month of Pachons.

A closer examination of the available textual sources, some of them unpublished,<sup>15</sup> can better define the character of Chonsu the Child and his place within the complex theological system and festival calendar of Graeco-Roman Thebes. The first section of this essay collects his epithets and reexamines the texts relating to the Renenutet festival in Thebes; the second section surveys statuettes and other records of Ptolemaic priests in his service.

### Part I: The God

Chonsu the Child was one of several Theban manifestations of Chonsu.<sup>16</sup> While Chonsu in Thebes Neferhotep presided at the so-called “Chonsu Temple” in Karnak, other hypostases such as Chonsu-*p3-ir-shr.w* and Chonsu-Shu had separate shrines.<sup>17</sup> Likewise, Chonsu the Child belonged to the Mut Temple Precinct, as evidenced by the following excerpt from a festival calendar:<sup>18</sup>

*hn.tw [hm.t] n Mw.t im=f hn' psd.tz s m tpy pr.t*  
*htp Mw.t Ir.t-R' hr(.t) s.t wr.t m k3r n '3-nrw*  
*Hnsw-p3-hrd hr wnmyz s B3st.t hr izbyz s*

[The majesty] of Mut is rowed within (the Isheru) with her Ennead on 1 Tybi,  
 Mut the Eye of Re, rests upon the Great Throne within the shrine of the “Great of Fear” bark,  
 Chonsu the Child on her right, Bastet on her left.

<sup>14</sup> Chr. LEITZ, “Die zwei Kobras im Urwasser. Rekonstruktionsversuch eines trümmerhaft erhaltenen Mythos aus Theben und seine jahreszeitliche Einordnung”, in L. Gabolde (ed.), *Hommages à Jean-Claude Goyon offerts pour son 70<sup>e</sup> anniversaire*, *BdE* 143, 2008, pp. 271-273. Leitz’s argument rests on his interpretation of a group of texts describing the emergence of Mut and the mysterious *d*-serpent from Nun. Without going into greater detail (cf. KLOTZ, *Kneph*, pp. 165-169, 236-242), it is worth noting that the *d*-serpent is most likely Irita, not Kematef (as is clear from *Esna* II, n<sup>os</sup> 58, 1; 64, 1; III, n<sup>o</sup> 216, 3 [13]), and thus the emergence of the two serpents happens during the initial act of creation.

<sup>15</sup> References to unpublished inscriptions are based whenever possible on photographs and handcopies made *in visu* by the author, as well as photographs available through the SERaT database of the University of Würzburg (<http://www.serat.aegyptologie.uni-wuerzburg.de/cgi-bin/serat/>). In addition, translations of some inscriptions from the Mut Temple are based on the handcopies of K. SETHE, *Notizbuch* 6, scans of which were kindly provided by Stephan Seidelmayer and Angela Böhme of the Berlin-Brandenburger Akademie der Wissenschaft.

<sup>16</sup> The following discussion will only consider documents concerning Chonsu the Child in Thebes; for examples of Chonsu the Child outside of Thebes (e.g. Diospolis Inferior and Tanis), cf. I. GUERMEUR, *Les cultes d’Amon hors de Thèbes. Recherches de géographie religieuse*, *BEHE* 123, 2005, p. 605.

<sup>17</sup> Chr. THIERS, “Une porte de Ptolémée Évergète II consacrée à Khonsou-qui-fixe-le-sort”, *Karnak* 11, 2003, pp. 587-602; Cl. TRAUNECKER, “La chapelle de Khonsou du mur d’enceinte et les travaux d’Alexandre”, *Karnak* 8, 1987, pp. 347-354.

<sup>18</sup> S. SAUNERON, *La porte ptolémaïque de l’enceinte de Mout à Karnak*, *MIFAO* 107, 1983, pl. XI, n<sup>o</sup> 11, 31-32.

The same group of divinities appears already on a statue of Montuemhat (Berlin 17271), in a list of benefactions to the Mut Temple (lines 5-8):<sup>19</sup>

*smꜣwi.n(=i) ḥw.t-nṯr nt Mw.t wr.t nb(.t) Īšrw*  
*nfrꜣs r imiꜣs-ḥꜣ.t*  
*smnh.n(=i) sšmꜣs m ḏꜣm tīt.wꜣf nb m inr mꜣꜥ*  
*smꜣwi.n(=i) sšm n Ḥnsw-pꜣ-ḥrd*  
*sšm n Bꜣst.t ḥr(.t)-ib Wꜣs.t*  
*šḥtp(=i) ḥmꜣs m ḥt-ibꜣs*

I renewed the Temple of Great Mut, Lady of the Isheru,  
 so that it became better than it was previously,  
 I improved her bark-statue with electrum, all of its images made of real stones,  
 I renewed the bark-statue of Chonsu the Child,  
 and the bark-statue of Bastet within Thebes,<sup>20</sup>  
 thus did I satisfy her majesty with the object of her desire.

These texts reveal that the divine barks of Chonsu the Child and Bastet accompanied Mut during festivals within her temple precinct. Moreover, several priests of Chonsu the Child dedicated statues in the Mut Temple (*infra*, **Part II**), and a scribe and pastophor named Padichonspakhered (lit. “He whom Chonsu the Child gave”) left behind a sizeable archive of demotic ostraca in the same precinct.<sup>21</sup>

Although Chonsu the Child was clearly at home in the Mut Temple precinct, scholars have debated his precise cult center, occasionally referred to as “the temple of the birth-bed (*ḥw.t-nmi.t*).”<sup>22</sup> The most likely spot is the building known as “Temple A” north-west of the Mut

<sup>19</sup> J. LECLANT, *Montouemhat: quatrième prophète d’Amon, prince de la ville*, *BdE* 35, 1961, pp. 60-61; M. LICHTHEIM, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* 3, 1980, p. 32.

<sup>20</sup> For the cult of Bastet within Thebes, see G. VITTMANN, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit: genealogische und prosopographische Untersuchungen zum thebanischen Priester- und Beamtentum des 25. und 26. Dynastie*, *BeitrÄg*, 1978, p. 58, n. 6; F. VON KÄNEL, *Les prêtres-ouâb de Sekhmet et les conjurateurs de Serket*, *BEHE* 87, 1984, p. 147, n. a; HERBIN, *Le Livre de parcourir l’éternité*, pp. 6, 9; KLOTZ, *Kneph*, pp. 102-104 (4.10). The present examples suggest that the cult of Bastet within Thebes was centered in the Mut Temple Precinct, and not in the Ptah Temple of Karnak as Leclant suggested (*Montouemhat*, p. 62, n. p. and p. 225, n. aw; *id.*, *Recherches sur les monuments thébaines de la XXV<sup>e</sup> dynastie dite éthiopienne*, *BdE* 36, 1965, pp. 301-302, n. 4); the goddess Mut-Bastet is well-attested at Thebes already in the Nineteenth Dynasty, cf. L.-A. CHRISTOPHE, *Les divinités des colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle et leurs épithètes*, *BdE* 21, 1955, pp. 35, 42, 53; THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *Medinet Habu VII: The Temple Proper, part 3*, *OIP* 93, 1964, pl. 558; *id.*, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple II: The Facade, Portals, Upper Register Scenes, Columns, Marginalia, and Statuary in the Colonnade Hall*, *OIP* 116, 1998, pls. 144 and 149, pp. 8-11 (cf. the remarks of J.C. DARNELL, “The Apotropaic Goddess in the Eye”, *SAK* 24, 1997, p. 45, n. 67-68); F.W. VON BISSING, “Über die Kapelle im Hof Ramesses II im Tempel von Luxor”, *AcOr* 8, 1930, pp. 144 and 154; *KRI* II, 616, 1; cf. also the frequent image of a lion-headed goddess standing behind Mut at the Mut Temple (*Porte de Mout*, pl. VII; Chapel D, coronation scene [unpublished]). For the combination of Bastet and Chonsu the Child, see also BM 55254 (*infra*, **Doc. 2**).

<sup>21</sup> R.A. FAZZINI, R. JASNOW, “Demotic Ostraca from the Mut Precinct in Karnak”, *Enchoria* 16, 1988, pp. 26-27.

<sup>22</sup> Chonsu the Child is “Lord of the birth-bed temple (*nb ḥw.t-nmi.t*)” (*Urk.* VIII, n° 137c; *Esna* II, n° 25, 15); and “within the birth-bed temple (*ḥry-ib ḥw.t-nmi.t*)” (Chonsu Temple, PM II<sup>2</sup>, p. 239 [74f] II); p.Leiden T 32, III, 22-23,

Temple.<sup>23</sup> In his survey of Egyptian mammisi, Daumas hesitated to identify this structure as a birth-chapel for Chonsu the Child, mainly because the preserved reliefs are too fragmentary for any conclusions.<sup>24</sup> However, the architectural layout of Temple A,<sup>25</sup> the existence of a title “priest of Mut of the Mammisi,”<sup>26</sup> and the scant surviving decoration of the sanctuary,<sup>27</sup> all strongly suggest that the structure was a mammisi, at least by the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>28</sup>

Chonsu the Child appears most frequently as an adolescent,<sup>29</sup> wearing a lunar disk, uraeus, side-lock, kilt, collar and amulet,<sup>30</sup> often carrying an *ankh*-sign, *was*-scepter, crook and flail.<sup>31</sup> In

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locates the *hw.t-nmi.t* within the Mut Temple Precinct (*hw.t-Mw.t*); another mention of the *hw.t-nmi.t* in connection with Chonsu the Child, the Renenutet Festival, and a Mammisi (*pr-ms*) occurs on a block currently in the Luxor block yard but probably originally from the Mut Temple: H. KARIYA, W.R. JOHNSON, “The Luxor Temple Wall Fragment Project”, *EgArch* 22, 2003, p. 22; for the term *hw.t-nmi.t*, cf. DAUMAS, *Les mammisi des temples égyptiens*, pp. 516-517; HERBIN, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, p. 164.

- 23** PM II<sup>2</sup>, pp. 270-272, cf. also DAUMAS, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-54; R.A. FAZZINI, W. PECK, “The Precinct of Mut during Dynasty XXV and early Dynasty XXVI. A Growing Picture”, *JSSEA* 11, 1981, pp. 120-126; R.A. FAZZINI, in *LÄ* IV, col. 250, s.v. Mut-Tempel, Karnak; *id.*, “A Monument in the Precinct of Mut with the Name of the God’s Wife Nitocris I”, in H. De Meulenaere, L. Limme (ed.), *Artibus Aegyptia. Studia in honorem Bernardi V. Bothmer a collegis amicis discipulis conscripta*, 1983, pp. 51-62; *id.*, “Report on the 1983 Season of Excavation at the Precinct of the Goddess Mut”, *ASAE* 70, 1984-85, p. 306; *id.*, “Two Semi-Erased Kushite Cartouches in the Precinct of Mut at South Karnak”, in *Causing his Name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane* (preprint available at <http://history.memphis.edu/murnane/>), pp. 5-6; H. DE MEULENAERE, “Isis et Mout du Mammisi” in J. Quaegebeur (ed.), *Studia Paulo Naster oblata II: Orienta Antiqua*, *OLA* 13, 1982, pp. 27-29.
- 24** DAUMAS, *op. cit.*, p. 53; A. Cabrol (*Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*, *OLA* 97, 2001, p. 30, n. 59) was equally skeptical of the identification of the structure as a mammisi, at least for the pre-Ptolemaic Period; D.B. Redford, (“Three Seasons in Egypt: I. The Excavation of Temple C, First Preliminary Report”, *JSSEA* 18, 1988, p. 11) suggested that a building south-east of Karnak was a temple of Chonsu the Child, but that structure is more likely the temple of Chonsu-*p3-ir-shr.w* (cf. THIERS, *Karnak* 11, 2003, pp. 594-596).
- 25** DE MEULENAERE, in Quaegebeur (ed.), *Studia Paulo Naster oblata* II, p. 29; FAZZINI, PECK, *JSSEA* 11, 198, pp. 120-126; another example of a possible mammisi in front and to the left of the main temple can be found at Ghueita Temple in Kharga Oasis.
- 26** DE MEULENAERE, *op. cit.*, p. 28, n. 21, citing JE 38020; note, however, that the so-called “Isis Casati” cited as another possible example actually comes from Xoïs; cf. GUERMEUR, *Les cultes d’Amon hors de Thèbes*, pp. 162-165.
- 27** A relief on the rear wall of the sanctuary depicts Mut holding a child god on her lap (FAZZINI, PECK, *op. cit.*, p. 124), while inscriptions on the doorjambs mention Chonsu the Child and the arrival of Amun during the Renenutet festival (DAUMAS, *op. cit.*, p. 51 [b]; HERBIN, *op. cit.*, p. 164).
- 28** Stelae from the Mut Temple dating to the reign of Tiberius and scattered blocks currently at Luxor Temple, but apparently from the Mut Temple, suggest that Augustus and Tiberius rebuilt or renovated the temple of Chonsu the Child; cf. KLOTZ, *Kneph*, pp. 345-347, 406-407.
- 29** *Porte d’Évergète*, pls. 6 and 25; S.H. AUFRÈRE, *Le propylône d’Amon-Rê-Montou à Karnak-Nord*, *MIFAO* 117, 2002, § 228; *Esna* II, n° 25; *Opet* II, pl. 7, bottom; Medinet Habu, First Pylon: PM II<sup>2</sup>, p. 462 (10g) II (visible in G. JÉQUIER, *L’architecture et la décoration dans l’ancienne Égypte* III: *Les temples ptolémaïques et romains*, 1924, pl. 11; *Urk.* VIII, n° 137c, 183b; Chonsu Temple: PM II<sup>2</sup>, p. 239 (74f) II; 240 (78) II, 2 (photographs of the latter scenes are available on SERaT).
- 30** For similar amulets on other child gods, cf. SANDRI, *Har-pa-chered*, pp. 102-103.
- 31** Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 118-119; O. PERDU, “Un dieu venu de la campagne”, *RdE* 56, 2005, pp. 146-157, recently demonstrated that the crook and flail were originally carried by shepherds and farmers, and thus these objects may allude to Chonsu the Child’s connection to food and the harvest (cf. *infra*).

other reliefs he is a naked child,<sup>32</sup> sometimes wearing a cape,<sup>33</sup> side-lock, lunar disk, and heart-shaped amulet, displaying an exaggerated belly and holding a finger to his mouth.<sup>34</sup> Not surprisingly, many epithets of Chonsu the Child emphasize his age,<sup>35</sup> including “the good youth, sweet of love (*ḥwnw nfr bnr mrw.t*),”<sup>36</sup> “august child (*sfy šps*),”<sup>37</sup> “iris of the wedjat-eye (*dfḏ n wdḏ.t*),”<sup>38</sup> “Horus as a young child (*Hr m ḥwnw rnp*),”<sup>39</sup> and “child, living of births (*hy ‘nh ms.wt*).”<sup>40</sup>

As mentioned above, the Renenutet festival took place at the beginning of the harvest season, so the birth of the divine child ushered in the appearance of new crops. Accordingly, Chonsu the Child frequently receives food offerings (*smꜣꜥ ꜥb.t* or *fꜥi iht*),<sup>41</sup> and he bears epithets like “lord of food, plentiful of sustenance, great/lord of provisions, who gives to whoever he desires (*nb kꜣw, ‘šꜣ dfꜣ.w, wr/nb ḥr.w, di n mrꜣf*).”<sup>42</sup>

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- 32** W.F. EDGERTON, *Medinet Habu Graffiti Fascimiles*, OIP 36, 1937, pl. 1; THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *The Temple of Khonsu II*, pl. 114A; *id.*, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple II*, pls. 201-202, pp. 54-55; GOYON, *JARCE* 20, 1983, pl. XVII; A. VARILLE, “Description sommaire du sanctuaire oriental d’Amon-Rê à Karnak”, *ASAE* 50, 1950, p. 163, pl. XXXI (partially damaged); JE 65903 and 65904 (= A. FAKHRY, “Miscellanea I. Two New Stelae of Tiberius from Luxor Temple”, *ASAE* 37, 1937, pl. I; O.E. KAPER, *The Egyptian God Tutu: a study of the sphinx-god and master of demons with a corpus of monuments*, OLA 119, 2003, pp. 360-361); BM EA 617 and 1432 (= E.A.W. BUDGE, *Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum*, 1909, pl. 51; *id.*, *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries [Sculpture]*, 1909, pl. 39); Stela Dem. IFAO 3 (= D. DEVAUCHELLE, “Trois stèles démotiques”, *BIFAO* 82, 1982, pl. XXI = VLEEMING, *Short Demotic Texts*, n° 160); note that all Theban stelae from the reign of Tiberius (including BM EA 617 and 1432) are being published by Ph. Collombert, who kindly provided the author with additional photos and notes.
- 33** For the cape worn by child gods in the Late Period, cf. SANDRI, *Har-pa-chered*, pp. 101-102.
- 34** *Ibid.*, pp. 97-101.
- 35** For these common epithets for child gods, cf. GUTBUB, *Textes fondamentaux*, pp. 332-323, n. 1; I. GUERMEUR, Chr. THIERS, “Un éloge xoïte de Ptolémée Philadelphie. La stèle BM EA 616”, *BIFAO* 101, 2001, pp. 206-207; SANDRI, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-136.
- 36** *Porte d’Évergète*, pl. 6; *Propylône d’Amon-Rê-Montou*, § 228; *Urk.* VIII, n° 183b and g; *Opet I*, 160; *Philä II*, 59, 14; *Shanhûr I*, n° 48; vars. *Porte d’Évergète*, pl. 25; *Dend.Mam.*, 135, 16; Medinet Habu: PM II<sup>2</sup>, p. 462 (10g) II.
- 37** *Porte d’Évergète*, pl. 6 and 25; *Shanhûr I*, n° 48; Chonsu Temple: PM II<sup>2</sup>, p. 240 (78) II, 2; for this epithet, cf. MEEKS, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, p. 137, n. 464.
- 38** *Opet I*, 160; Medinet Habu: PM II<sup>2</sup>, p. 462 (10g) II; var. “iris of the living-eye (*dfḏ n ‘nh.t*)” (Mut Temple: SETHE, *Notizbuch* 6, 71, cols. 3 and 5; BM EA 1432, line 6 = BUDGE, *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*, pl. 39 = KLOTZ, *Kneph*, p. 402 and pl. 12a); for this epithet, cf. LGG 7, 624-625; MEEKS, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, p. 90, n. 237.
- 39** *Urk.* VIII, n° 137c; Chonsu Temple: PM II<sup>2</sup>, p. 240 (78) II,2; *Esna II*, n° 25, 15.
- 40** *Porte d’Évergète*, pl. 6; var. “child, living of births in the morning (‘*nh mshꜣ.w m dwꜣw*)” (*Dend.Mam.*, 135, 16); for this epithet, cf. D. KLOTZ, *Adoration of the Ram: five hymns to Amun-Re from Hibis Temple*, *YES* 6, 2006, pp. 26-27, n. A.
- 41** *Porte d’Évergète*, pl. 6; Chonsu Temple: PM II<sup>2</sup>, p. 240 (78) II, 2; *Shanhûr I*, n° 16 and 48; *Propylône d’Amon-Rê-Montou*, § 228; *Urk.* VIII, n° 183; *Tôd II*, n° 311.
- 42** GOYON, *JARCE* 20, 1983, p. 53F; *Urk.* VIII, n° 183g; *Shanhûr I*, n° 16; *Porte d’Évergète*, pl. 6 (Kgl. Rz.); for similar epithets, cf. BUDDE, in Budde, Sandri, Verhoeven (ed.), *Kindgötter*, p. 56-61; SANDRI, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-178; note also that on the propylon of Chonsu Temple, the king bears epithets related to food production when he is “beloved of Chonsu the Child” (*Urk.* VIII, n° 117 [7] and 118 [7]).

Although Chonsu the Child almost always appears with a lunar disk, most texts describe his rebirth in purely solar terms.<sup>43</sup> He is therefore “Re after he repeated births (*R' wḥm.n=f ms.wt/ msh'w*),”<sup>44</sup> “he who repeats the rejuvenation of Re in Thebes (*wḥm rnp n R' m Wꜣs.t*) (...) who repeats births like the sun-disk (*wḥm ms.wt mi itn*).”<sup>45</sup> Chonsu the Child thus imitates the daily course of the sun, as “Atum in the evening within the entrance of Manu (*Itm m mšr m-ḥnt rꜣ-Mꜣnw*),”<sup>46</sup> “child in the morning, old man in the evening, youth who rejuvenates at the proper times, who arrives as an infant after his old age (*hy m dwꜣw, nhḥ m mšr, ḥwnw rnp r tp-tr.w, iḥ m št m-ḥt kkt=f*),”<sup>47</sup> “who arrives as an infant after old age (*iḥ m št m-ḥt snhy*) (...) whom she (sc. Mut) gave birth to<sup>48</sup> in Thebes as the august child, the ‘nh-scarab<sup>49</sup> in his manifestation of Khepri (*ḥms.n=s sw m Wꜣs.t m sfy šps, 'nh m ḥprw=f n Ḥpri*).”<sup>50</sup>

Since Chonsu the Child merely repeats the birth of Re, his mother Mut is “she who gives birth to light again in Thebes (*ms(.t) šww m-wḥm m Wꜣs.t*),”<sup>51</sup> “who traverses the two lands pregnant with the sundisk, so she might give birth to him in the Mut Temple (*ḥns(.t) tꜣ.wy bkꜣ.tw m itn, di=s r tꜣ im=f m ḥw.t-Mw.t*),”<sup>52</sup> and “she who creates light (*qmꜣ.t šww*).”<sup>53</sup> Mut,

- <sup>43</sup> GOYON, *JARCE* 20, 1983, p. 60, n. 62, already stressed the solar nature of Chonsu the Child; cf. also Fr. LABRIQUE, “Khonsou et la néoménie, à Karnak”, in Budde, Sandri, Verhoeven (ed.), *Kindgötter*, pp. 204-206. Similar solar epithets apply to most child gods (GUTBUB, *Textes fondamentaux*, p. 338, n. m; SANDRI, *Har-pa-chered*, pp. 182-185), and thus there is no reason to assume a local borrowing from the theology of Osiris-wyn in the Opet Temple, as suggested by HERBIN, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, p. 166.
- <sup>44</sup> *Esna* II, n° 25, 14-15; *Urk.* VIII, n° 137c; *Opet* I, 160; Chonsu Temple, PM II<sup>2</sup>, p. 239 (74f) II; Medinet Habu: PM II<sup>2</sup>, p. 239 (74a) III; Mut Temple: SETHE, *Notizbuch* 6, 83 as these and other examples demonstrate, the word *msh'* appears to be a variant of *msw.t*, “birth” (cf. KLOTZ, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 26-27, nn. 104 and 106).
- <sup>45</sup> *Propylône d'Amon-Rê-Montou*, § 228; cf. also *Porte de Mout*, n° 10, 1, where the Mut Temple is called: “the temple of [the birth-bed?] of Re when he repeats his manifestation[s] (*ḥw.t[nmi].t n R' m-wḥm ḥpr[.w]=f*).”
- <sup>46</sup> Chonsu Temple: PM II<sup>2</sup>, p. 240 (78) II, 1.
- <sup>47</sup> *Propylône d'Amon-Rê-Montou*, § 228; var. “child in the morning, who renews himself every day (*hy m tp-dwꜣw, mꜣwy r'-nb*)” (*Urk.* VIII, n° 183b).
- <sup>48</sup> For the verb *ḥmsi*, “to give birth” (not in the *Wörterbuch*), cf. *Porte d'Évergète*, pls. 6, 36, 37, 48, 55, 58; *Urk.* VIII, n° 182f; *Opet* I, 145, 183; partially discussed already by COLLOMBERT, *RdE* 46, 1995, p. 106, n. 16.
- <sup>49</sup> For the ‘nh-scarab, cf. M. MINAS-NERPEL, *Der Gott Chepri. Untersuchungen zu Schriftzeugnissen und ikonographischen Quellen vom Alten Reich bis in griechisch-römische Zeit*, *OLA* 154, 2006, p. 50 (citing this passage).
- <sup>50</sup> *Porte d'Évergète*, pl. 6.
- <sup>51</sup> *Propylône d'Amon-Rê-Montou*, § 152; *Urk.* VIII, n° 183c; var. “she gave birth to light in Thebes (*p'p'.n=s šsr m Wꜣs.t*)” (Mut Temple: SETHE, *Notizbuch* 6, 74).
- <sup>52</sup> *Propylône d'Amon-Rê-Montou*, § 178; *Urk.* VIII, n° 182c; vars. “who was pregnant with the sundisk, who gave birth in the world as a child (*bḥ.n=s itn, p'p' tp-tꜣ m wdḥ*)” (*Urk.* VIII, n° 135c); “great uraeus who encircles her father Re, who gives birth to him as Chonsu (*mḥn.t wr.t dbn(.t) it=s R', di s(w) r tꜣ m Ḥnsw*)”; “who gave birth [as] the child of Khepri (*di=s [r] tꜣ [m] Ḥpri*)” (Mut Temple: SETHE, *Notizbuch* 6, 71); “everybody unites with the sundisk after she gave birth to the iris of the *wedjat*-eye, Chonsu the Child, the very great, first-born of Amun (*ḥnm ḥr nb m itn ḏr p'p'.n=s ḏfd n wdꜣ.t, Ḥnsw-pꜣ-ḥrd 'ꜣ wr tpy n Ḥmn*)” (BM EA 1432, lines 5-6; cf. KLOTZ, *Kneph*, pp. 402-403, pl. 12a); another stela of Tiberius (JE 65903) commemorates restoration of a temple where “Mut comes to give birth to the gods within it (*iḥ Mw.t (r) ms(.t) nṯr.w im=f*),” suggesting that Tiberius restored the Mammisi of Chonsu the Child (FAKHRY, *ASAE* 37, 1937, p. 27 and pl. 1B; KLOTZ, *Kneph*, pp. 398-399, 406-407, pl. 11).
- <sup>53</sup> *Porte d'Évergète*, pl. 25; *Porte de Mout*, n° 10, 1; GOYON, *op. cit.*, p. 55, col. 7.

often assimilated to Tefnut,<sup>54</sup> was properly the daughter of Re-Atum.<sup>55</sup> However, the solar nature of Chonsu the Child's birth makes Mut "mother of Re (*tmꜣ.t nt Rꜥ*),"<sup>56</sup> so that she acts as both "daughter and mother, who makes her own creator (*zꜣ.t tmꜣ.t, ir(.t) qmꜣ sy*)."<sup>57</sup>

This brief survey of epithets from temple inscriptions demonstrates that Mut would arrive at her temple in Thebes in order to give birth to Chonsu the Child, considered a reborn manifestation of the sun god. From this perspective, the following texts concerning the Renenutet festival on 1 Pachons are quite clear.

### (1) Mut Temple, Second Pylon

This badly damaged inscription describes different aspects of Mut, beginning with the primeval *qrh.t*-serpent, and ending with references to Nut, Tefnut and Isis.<sup>58</sup> The center of the text describes the birth of the solar Chonsu the Child.<sup>59</sup> After a long discussion of primordial events (cols. 1-4), the narrative picks up when Isden (= Thoth) brings the distant goddess to the Mut Temple in his form of *swꜣd-bꜣ* (= Shu-Onuris) (col. 5).<sup>60</sup> After a lacuna, the text continues (cols. 6-7):

*dīꜣs r tꜣ hr-ꜥ*  
*pr Ḥpri imītw [ih.ty]ꜣs(y)*  
*Rꜥ pw imy mw.tꜣf*  
*wḥm-rnp in Rꜥ m Wꜣs.t [nḥt].t ḥnw.t spꜣ.wt*  
 [...] šww imꜣs  
*m.t ḥns.nꜣt tꜣ.wy [hr]ꜣf*  
*ḥpr rnꜣf n Ḥnsw-pꜣ-ḥrd ꜣ wr tpy n Ḥmn*

As soon as she (sc. Mut) gave birth,

<sup>54</sup> *Porte d'Évergète*, pl. 6 ("Tefnut, the uraeus of Re, the great young cat [*ḥwn.t-wr.t*]"); cf. LABRIQUE, in Budde, Sandri, Verhoeven [ed.], *Kindgötter*, p. 206, n. 47; LEITZ, *Quellentexte zur ägyptischen Religion* I, p. 120); *Porte de Mout*, n° 5, 2; GOYON, *JARCE* 20, 1983, pp. 55-56, col. 10.

<sup>55</sup> *Porte de Mout*, n° 1, 6 ("daughter of Re"); n° 11, 38 ("daughter of Atum"); note also the references to Mut and "her father Re" (*Propylône d'Amon-Rê-Montou*, §§152 and 178; *Urk.* VIII, n° 210; *Porte de Mout*, n° 25, 1); given the close associations between Atum and Kematef (cf. KLOTZ, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 49, 137-138; *id.*, *Kneph*, pp. 178-81), Mut could also be "daughter of Kematef" (Berlin 14401, lines 2-3 = A. ERMAN, "Geschichtliche Inschriften aus dem Berliner Museum", *ZÄS* 38, 1900, p. 124-5; cf. KLOTZ, *Kneph*, p. 397, n. b).

<sup>56</sup> *Porte d'Évergète*, pl. 25 (appearing next to Chonsu the Child); *Opet* I, 160; Mut Temple: SETHE, *Notizbuch* 6, 71 (*tmꜣ.t ꜣ.t nt itn*).

<sup>57</sup> *Propylône d'Amon-Rê-Montou*, §152; vars. "mother and daughter who makes Akhty (*tmꜣ.t zꜣ.t ir(.t) ꜣḥty*)" (*ibid.*, §178); "mother who acts as daughter (*mw.t ir(.t) zꜣ.t*)" (*Porte de Mout*, n° 5, 2); "mother of her maker, the daughter who acts as mother (*tmꜣ.t n ir s(y), zꜣ.t ir(.t) mw.t*)" (*Urk.* VIII, n° 183c); for these types of epithets, cf. also A. EGBERTS, *In Quest of Meaning*, p. 108, n. 16.

<sup>58</sup> GOYON, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-61; similar inscriptions listing different names and roles of Mut appear on the first pylon (PM II<sup>2</sup>, p. 256 [4]; cf. SETHE, *Notizbuch* 6, 80-83).

<sup>59</sup> Noted already by AUFRÈRE, *Propylône d'Amon-Rê-Montou*, p. 142, n. j.

<sup>60</sup> GOYON, *op. cit.*, p. 59, nn. 54-56; the presence of Shu in the mammisi simultaneously alludes to the myth of the Wandering Goddess of the Eye of the Sun, and to the *hieros gamos* (Shu and Tefnut = Amun and Mut) which creates the new child god; cf. GUTBUB, *Textes fondamentaux*, pp. 341-349, n. r.



Khepri emerged from between her th[ighs] (𓂏𓂏),<sup>61</sup>

(that means: Re who is within his mother).

Re repeated rejuvenation in [Victorious] Thebes, the Mistress of nomes,  
[...] light (from) within her.

“Behold, you have traversed (*hns*) the Two Lands [bearing] it/him.”

Thus came about his name of Chonsu (*Hnsw*) the Child, the very great, first-born of Amun.

The key to understanding this damaged passage is the implied quotation. Goyon assumed that Chonsu spoke to Mut and translated: “‘Vois, le Double Pays est parcouru pour toi,’ dit-il (*m.t hns(.w) nt t3.wy [dd]z̄f*).”<sup>62</sup> However, other texts from Karnak use the exact same words to refer to Mut (*hns(.t) t3.wy bh.tw hr itn*),<sup>63</sup> so *hns.nz̄t* is more likely a simple *sḏm.nz̄f* perfective in the second person feminine. The text provides an etymology for the name Chonsu, and identifies the newborn solar disk directly with Chonsu the Child.

## (2) Mut Temple, Propylon

The lengthy festival calendar from the Mut Temple contains a short description of the Renenutet Festival:<sup>64</sup>

*itn m-hnwz̄s*  
*r iw nw n di r t3*  
*hpr sbi.w hr(.w) ni wnnz̄sn*  
*iw R' whm.nz̄f msh'c.w*  
*p'p'.nz̄s šww [hn]t hw.t-Mw.t*  
*wn(s) šsp m ndb*  
*qm3.tw nz̄s ms.w-ntr*  
*t3 r-drz̄f m [...] mk m sin.t*  
*ir.tw nz̄f hb-rnn.t hnt pr-nsw*  
*t3 pn r-drz̄f mtt*  
*hft itn htpz̄f m hrw 'rqy*  
*r-[mn] hrw tpy n [š]mw*  
*h' hm.t=s m Rnn.t nfr.t*  
*hr wnm i' b n nsw.t-biti*  
*dw3.tw itn i'h hrw pn nfr*  
*imn.nz̄s [z3z̄s(?)] r ntr.w imz̄f*

<sup>61</sup> GOYON, *JARCE* 20, 1983, pp. 55-56 and 59, n. 58, restored: “et sort Khepri qui était placé entre ses cornes (*pr Hpri imitw [wp.t]z̄s*).” However, the context is actually that of solar birth, where Re emerges from “between the thighs” of Nut; cf. J. ASSMANN, *Der König als Sonnenpriester. Eine kosmographischer Begleittext zur kultischen Sonnenhymnik in thebanischen Tempeln und Gräbern*, *ADAIK* 7, 1980, p. 26, n. 4; *WPL*, 105. The restoration of the traces is based on the hand copy of SETHE, *Notizbuch* 6, 87.

<sup>62</sup> GOYON, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

<sup>63</sup> *Propylône d'Amon-Rê-Montou*, § 178; *Urk.* VIII, n° 182c.

<sup>64</sup> *Porte de Mout*, n° 6, cols. 29-32; cf. SPALINGER, *RdE* 44, 1993, pp. 173-175; GOYON, *CdE* 78, 2003, pp. 62-63; LEITZ, in L. Gabolde (ed.), *Hommages à Jean-Claude Goyon*, p. 272.

The sundisk is within her (Mut or the Mut Temple),  
 until the time of giving birth arrives,  
 (after) the enemies have fallen and have become nonexistent.<sup>65</sup>  
 When Re has repeated his births,  
 she (Mut) gave birth to light [with]in the Mut Temple,  
 (thus) beginning illumination upon earth.  
 The “divine birth” ritual is performed for her,  
 and the entire land is [...], festival is throughout Egypt.  
 The Renenutet Festival is celebrated for her within the Palace,  
 and in the entire land likewise,  
 from when the sundisk sets on the last day (of Pharmouthi),  
 un[til] the first day of Shomu (= 1 Pachons).  
 Her Majesty (then) appears in procession as the Good Renenutet,<sup>66</sup>  
 to the left and right of the King,  
 one worships the sun and the moon,  
 on this day on which she hid [her son(?)] from the gods.

Although the calendar inscription does not directly name the child god, the mention of Re repeating births is a specific allusion to the frequent epithets of Chonsu the Child (*supra*), not to an otherwise unattested “Amon-lumière” (Goyon) or to the light produced by Mut as the uraeus atop the primeval *q*-serpent (Leitz).<sup>67</sup>

### (3) P.Leiden T 32, III, 22-25

This Theban redaction of the Book of Traversing Eternity includes an account of the Renenutet festival within the Mut Temple:<sup>68</sup>

*sdr=k m swḥ m-ḥnw ḥw.t-Mw.t*  
*hrw ḥb Rnnwt.t*  
*rs=k m grḥ m ḥw.t-nm̄.t*  
*hrw ms-Mw.t*  
*sdm=k ʿyʿy in ntr.w t3 Ms.t*  
*ḥft wbn šww m wḥm m W3s.t*

<sup>65</sup> Apparently a reference to apotropaic measures taken at the mammisi to protect the vulnerable infant; cf. H.-W. FISCHER-ELFERT, “Papyrus demot. Rylands no. 50. Ein in den Edfu- und Dendera-Mammisi wieder-verwendeter hieratischer Zaubertext”, *Enchoria* 22, 1995, pp. 1-15; A. VON LIEVEN, “Eine punktierte Osirisliturgie: (p.Carlsberg 589 + PSI Inv. I 104 + p.Berlin 29022)”, in K. Ryholt (ed.), *The Carlsberg Papyri 7: Hieratic Texts from the Collection, CNIP 30*, 2006, pp. 30-35.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. also SETHE, *Notizbuch* 6, 80, where Mut is called “Renenutet in her true name (*Rnnwt.t m rn=s m3ʿ*).”

<sup>67</sup> When Mut accompanies the primeval *q*-serpent (= Irita), she produces “fire (*nbi.t*)” and not “light (*šww*)” or Re; cf. *Porte d’Évergète*, pl. 21; and note similar inscriptions related to the same cosmic event: *Urk.* VIII, n° 142 (1-2); *Ombos* I, n° 59, 1-2; *Ombos* II, n° 958; cf. also KLOTZ, *Kneph*, pp. 165-169.

<sup>68</sup> HERBIN, *Le livre de parcourir l’éternité*, pp. 55, 163-166, 441; GOYON, *CdE* 78, 2003, p. 64; LEITZ, in L. Gabolde (ed.), *Hommages à Jean-Claude Goyon*, p. 272, n. 23; only Herbin (*op. cit.*, pp. 163-166) recognized that the divine child was Chonsu the Child.


*hns=k m hp.t hr-h3.t hwnw rnp*  
*hft šm hm=f r m33 sfy=f*

Just as you lie down at evening within the Mut Temple,  
 on the day of the Renenutet Festival,  
 so do you awake in the evening in the Temple of the Birth-Bed,  
 the day when Mut gives birth.  
 You shall hear the ululation of the gods of birth,  
 when light rises again in Thebes,  
 You shall traverse (*hns*) in haste before the rejuvenated youth,  
 when his majesty proceeds to see his child

Just like the festival calendar from the Mut Temple, this account mentions entering the *mammisi* (“temple of the birth-bed [*hw.t-nmi.t*]”) on the eve of the divine birth ceremony. The description of the ceremony uses a specific epithet of Chonsu the Child (*hwnw rnp*), alludes to the rebirth of Re in Thebes, and makes another pun on the name of Chonsu.

### Summary

The texts discussed above all indicate that the Renenutet festival in Thebes primarily celebrated the rebirth of Chonsu the Child, the son of Mut and Amun. Far from an obscure event, the *mammisi* celebration was one of the most important festivals of the Theban nome.<sup>69</sup>

One text from the Mut Temple says of Chonsu the Child (spelled: ) that: “his birth-brick is tied together throughout the country, while his divine birth ritual is in the Mut Temple (*šsr(.w) mshn.t=f m t3 r-3w=f, msw-ntr=f m hw.t-Mw.t*).”<sup>70</sup> Indeed, the Theban festival was renowned throughout Egypt; a papyrus from distant Tebtunis lists “the day when Mut gives birth (*hrw ms Mw.t*)” as the most important festival of the month Pharmouthi,<sup>71</sup> and the month of the celebration, Pachons, was probably named after Chonsu the Child. His importance throughout

<sup>69</sup> The major festivals of Thebes according to the Edfu Geographical text were: “the Opet Festival, the Khoiak (Festival), (the festivals of) Pachons [Renenutet Festival] and Payni [Beautiful Festival of the Valley] (*hb-ip.t k3-hr-k3 3bd 1 šmw 3bd 2 šmw*)” (Edfou I, 338, 8; cf. KLOTZ, *Kneph*, p. 49, n. k, pp. 568-593).

<sup>70</sup> BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus*, p. 758, n° 22b = p. 1308a, n° 2 (the moon sign above the child’s head was copied by SETHE, *Notizbuch* 6, 76); GOYON, *CdE* 78, 2003, p. 61, discussed this example, claiming it referred to Amun; however, the latter name only occurs in the epithet of Chonsu: “the beloved child of Amun (*p3 hrd mry 3mn*).” A partial parallel occurs in *Urk.* VIII, n° 135c, where Mut “binds together (Chonsu’s) birth-brick in the entire land (*šsr(.t) mshn.t=f m t3 r-3w=f*).” A slight variant calls Chonsu the Child: “he who binds together the birth-brick, for whose majesty/Ka the divine birth is celebrated (*t3 mshn.t, ir.tw msw-ntr n hm/k3=f*)” (*Urk.* VIII, n° 137c [corrected after the photo on SERaT]; *Esna* II, n° 25, 16); for the meaning of “binding together the birth-brick,” cf. I. GUERMEUR, “Le groupe familial de Pachéryentaisouy. Caire JE 36576”, *BIFAO* 104, 2004, p. 261, n. r

<sup>71</sup> J. OSING, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis* I, *CNIP* 17, 1998, p. 263; different interpretation by LEITZ, in L. Gabolde (ed.), *Hommages à Jean-Claude Goyon*, p. 272.

Egypt as the prototypical, Theban divine infant may explain his rare epithet “king of all children (*nsw hrd.w nb*).”<sup>72</sup>

## Part II: The Clergy

### Doc. 1 British Museum, EA 92 (Pl. 1)

Besides a slightly inaccurate copy of the inscriptions of the back pillar,<sup>73</sup> this statuette has never been published.<sup>74</sup> Nonetheless, it has received a small degree of scholarly attention for its inscriptions<sup>75</sup> and art historical features.<sup>76</sup> The object is a standing naophorous statuette of roughly cylindrical shape.<sup>77</sup> The priest wears a wrap-around garment with a large knot over an undergarment tied around the left shoulder.<sup>78</sup> He holds a naos containing a standing naked figure of Chonsu the Child, who wears the traditional side-lock, moon and uraeus on his head, while both hands are at his side,<sup>79</sup> the right holding an *ankh*-sign. Although the priest appears to hold the naos with hands on either side, the shrine actually rests on a small base that merges into the wrap-around garment. This method of support for the naos led Rössler-Köhler to date the statue

<sup>72</sup> LD Text IV, pp. 2 and 5 (Mammisi of Armant); EDGERTON, *Medinet Habu Graffiti Fascimiles*, pl. 1; note that the Apis bull bore a similar epithet “King of all divine animals” (*nsw w.t nb ntry*) (e.g. G.T. MARTIN, *The Tomb of Hetepka*, 1979, p. 92 and pl. 69).

<sup>73</sup> S. SHARPE, *Egyptian Inscriptions from the British Museum and other sources* I, 1837, pl. 24B.

<sup>74</sup> PM VIII, p. 968 (801-793-080); E.A.W. BUDGE, *A Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum*, 1909, p. 227, n° 820.

<sup>75</sup> H. WILD, “Statue de Hor-Néfer au Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lausanne”, *BIFAO* 54, 1954, pp. 200-202, nn. 38 and 42a; E. OTTO, *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit: ihre geistgeschichtliche und literarische Bedeutung*, *PdÄ* 2, 1954, pp. 7, 17, 80, 122 (Doc. 35); D. WILDUNG, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewußtsein ihrer Nachwelt*, *MÄS* 17, 1969, p. 31, n. 2; PERDU, *RdE* 37, 1986, p. 101, n. b; U. RÖSSLER-KÖHLER, *Individuelle Haltungen zum ägyptischen Königtum*, *GOF* IV.21, 1991, pp. 255-256, n° 73; Ph. COLLOMBERT, “La succession éternelle des générations. À propos d’une formule des autobiographies tardives”, *RdE* 49, 1998, p. 53; G. VITTMANN, *Altägyptische Wegmetaphorik*, *BeitrÄg* 15, 1999, p. 78 (5.71); K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Biographische und religiöse Inschriften aus dem Ägyptischen Museum Kairo* I, *ÄAT* 45, 2001, p. 107, nn. 16 and 18.

<sup>76</sup> K. BOSSE, *Die menschliche Figur in der Rundplastik der ägyptischen Spätzeit von der XXII. bis zur XXX. Dynastie*, *ÄgForsch* 1, 1936, p. 42, n° 101; H. DE MEULENAERE, review of E. OTTO, *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit*, in: *OLZ* 51, 1956, 33; *id.*, “Une statue de prêtre héliopolitain”, *BIFAO* 61, 1962, p. 40, n. 2.

<sup>77</sup> Similar cylindrical naophoroi include Yale Peabody Museum 264191 (formerly 6277) (PM VIII, p. 747, 801-793-110); G.D. SCOTT, *Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale*, 1986, p. 193, n° 135; D. KLOTZ, M.J. LEBLANC, “An Egyptian Priest in the Court of Ptolemy V Epiphanes” [in préparation]; Hermitage 5629 (K. JANSEN-WINKELN, “Die Biographie eines Priesters aus Heliopolis”, *SAK* 29, 2001, pp. 97-110); Vatican Museo Gregoriano 97 (B. TURAJEFF, “Die naophore Statue Nr. 97 im Vatikan”, *ZÄS* 46, 1909, pp. 74-77); British Museum EA 1229 (H.R. HALL, “Two Middle Kingdom Statues in the British Museum”, *JEA* 16, 1930, pl. xxvii; BOSSE, *Die menschliche Figur*, p. 42, n° 100).

<sup>78</sup> For similar garments, see V. LAURENT, “Une statue provenant de Tell el-Maskoutah”, *RdE* 35, 1984, pp. 143-145; H. DE MEULENAERE, in W. Clarysse et al. (ed.), *Egyptian religion: the last thousand years. Studies dedicated to the memory of Jan Quaegebeur* II, *OLA* 84, 1998, p. 1127; *id.*, *CdE* 72, 1997, p. 18, fig. 1; C. COZZOLINO, “Recent Discoveries in Campania”, in R. PIRELLI (ed.), *Egyptological Studies for Claudio Barocas*, Napoli, 1999, p. 22, fig. 1; cf. also BM EA 55254 (*infra*, Doc. 2). Note that the artist of the present statue does not appear to have finished carving the shoulder strap.

<sup>79</sup> Similar figures of naked child gods on statues usually hold one finger to their mouth, e.g. JE 67093 (Chr. ZIVIE-COCHE, *Tanis. Statues et autobiographies de dignitaires. Tanis à l’époque ptolémaïque*, *TTR* 3, Paris, 2004, p. 250); Mendes, Private Collection (J.-Cl. GRENIER, “Le prophète et l’Autokratôr”, *RdE* 37, 1986, pl. 14).

in the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty,<sup>80</sup> but similar statues are attested well into the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>81</sup> Moreover, the biographical inscription on the back pillar bears close comparisons to the statues of Ahmose (JE 37075)<sup>82</sup> and Hornefer (*infra*, **Doc. 8**), further suggesting that the present statue also belongs to the late Thirtieth Dynasty or early Ptolemaic Period.<sup>83</sup>

Material: Indurated Limestone.

Dimensions: Height (above the modern base) – 67 cm; Width – 16.3 cm; Depth – 21.3 cm.

Provenance: Unknown, but most likely the Mut Temple (cf. *infra*, **1b**, note [j]).

## Inscriptions

### 1a. Front of naos

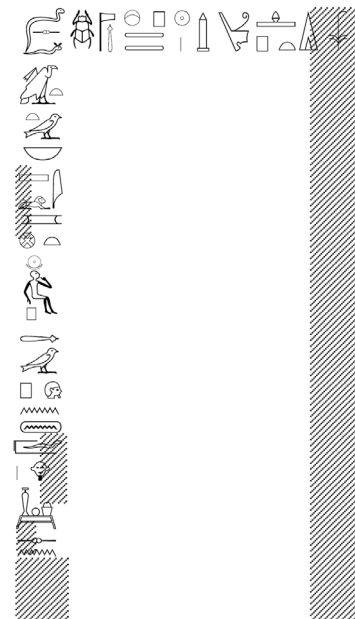
The front of the naos contains a short offering formula that is completely destroyed on the right side (**Pl. 2**):<sup>84</sup>

*hṭp-dī-nsw n Ḳmn-Rꜥ pꜣwty-tꜣ.wy ntr-ꜣ hpr dsꜣf*  
*Mw.t-wr.t nb(.t)-Ḳsrw*  
*Ḳnsw-pꜣ-hrd (a) ꜣ wr tpy n Ḳmn*  
*pr [nb] hr wdḥ.tꜣsn [...]*

A royal offering of Amun-Re Primeval of the Two Lands,  
 Great God, Self-originate,  
 Mut the Great, Lady of the Isheru,  
 Chonsu the Child, the very great, first-born of Amun,  
 (namely) [all] that comes forth upon their altar [...].

#### NOTE

(a) A similar abridged spelling of Chonsu the Child appears on the statue of Hornefer.<sup>85</sup>



<sup>80</sup> RÖSSLER-KÖHLER, *Individuelle Haltungen zum ägyptischen Königtum*, p. 256, n. 195.

<sup>81</sup> DE MEULENAERE, *BIFAO* 61, 1962, p. 40; H. SELIM, “A Naophorous Statue in the British Museum (EA 41517)”, *JEA* 76, 1990, p. 202; a clear later example is British Museum EA 65443 (E.R. RUSSMANN [ed.], *Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum*, 2001, pp. 253-255, n° 141).

<sup>82</sup> H.W. FAIRMAN, “A Statue from the Karnak Cache”, *JEA* 20, 1934, pp. 1-4; this statue may date to the reign of Nectanebo II; cf. L. COULON, “Les sièges de prêtre d’époque tardive: à propos de trois documents thébains”, *RdE* 57, 2006, p. 16, n. 40.

<sup>83</sup> For the early Ptolemaic date of the Hornefer statue, cf. J. QUAEGBEUR, “À la recherche du haut clergé thébain à l’époque ptolémaïque”, in S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes, P.L.Bat. 27*, 1995, pp. 152-155; BOSSE, *Die menschliche Figur*, p. 42; DE MEULENAERE, *OLZ* 51, 1956, p. 33; B.V. Bothmer (file in the *Corpus of Late Egyptian Statuary*); VITTMANN, *Altägyptische Wegmetaphorik*, p. 78, n. 312, and the editors of *PP III*, 5867, all argued for an early Ptolemaic date for British Museum EA 92.

<sup>84</sup> Inscriptions on the front of the naos are somewhat rare in the Ptolemaic Period, cf. Å. ENGSHEDEN, “Philologische Bemerkungen zu spätzeitlichen Texten”, *LingÆg* 13, 2005, pp. 46-47; to which one should add I. GUERMEUR, “Glanures (§3-4)”, *BIFAO* 106, 2006, pp. 106-107.

<sup>85</sup> WILD, *BIFAO* 54, 1954, p. 213, n. 73; cf. also *Porte de Mout*, n° 11, 32.

**1b. Back pillar (Pl. 2)**

The back pillar contains three columns of well-preserved text.<sup>86</sup> The inscription is broken at the base of the wrap-around robe, so there are only a few signs at the bottom of each column missing in the damage.

1. *it-ntr hm(-ntr) Imn-m-İp.t-s.wt*  
*w' b n Mn-İmn* (a)

*imy-šh.t* (b) *hry wnmy n Hnsw-p3-hrd* '3 *wr tpy n İmn*  
*hm-ntr İmn nsw-t3.wy nty Drw.t* (c)

*hm-ntr n ntr.w nty Drw.t*

*hm-ntr İmn* '3-šfy.t (d)

'nh-p3-hrd (e) *m3'-hrw*

*z3 it-ntr hm-ntr Imn-m-İp.t-s.wt*

*hm-ntr İmn m pr-hyn* (f)

[*hm*]-*ntr n* [...]

2. *sš-n-tm3* (?) *hry sš-n-tm3* (?) (g)

*dd-Hnsw-ıw=f-'nh m3'-hrw*

*ır{t}.n nb(.t)-pr ıhy.t İmn-R'*

*t3-šry.t-Mnw*

*dd=f*

*nw=i šms=t Mw.t hnw.t=i*

*hm=k hy n R'* (h)

*ink hm nfr n pr=tn hry-tp t3*

*r im3h=i* (i)

*skm.n=i rnp.wt 80 m pr=k* (j)

*hr šm hr m[tn...]* (k)

3. *it.w-mw.wt=i m šms n k3=k*

*dr h3w ntr.w r-mn min*

*rdi.n=i iht n hm.w nw pr=k*

*šms.w wn(.w) m-ht=k* (l)

*sdd=k pr=i m t3 n 'nh.w*

*z3 n z3 m dr.w ntr.w*

*fd.w k3.w rdi(.w).n=k n=i* (m)

*sdd=k st* [...]

1. The god's father, prophet of Amun in Karnak,  
 priest of Min-Amun,  
*imy-šh.t* on the right side of Chonsu the Child, the very great,  
 first-born of Amun,  
 prophet of Amun King of the Two Lands of Tod,



<sup>86</sup> A handcopy with several errors was previously published by SHARPE, *Egyptian Inscriptions I*, pl. 24B.

prophet of the gods of Tod,  
 prophet of Amun “Great of Prestige,”  
     Chapokrates, justified,  
 son of the god’s father, prophet of Amun in Karnak,  
 prophet of Amun in the *pr-hyn*,  
 [pro]phet of [...]  
 2. scribe of the mat (?), chief scribe of the mat (?),  
     Djedchonsefankh, justified,  
 made by the lady of the house, singer of Amun-Re,  
     Senminis.


He says:

I was your follower, o Mut, my mistress,  
 and your servant, o child of Re (Chonsu the Child),  
 I was a good servant in your temple while on earth,  
     until I became an *imꜣhw*,  
 I completed 80 years in your temple,  
     while walking on [your?] pa[th...],  
 3. My ancestors have been in the service of your Ka,  
     from the time of the gods until today.  
 I gave provisions to the priests of your temple,  
     and the servants in your following.  
 May you allow my house to endure in the land of the living,  
     (being passed from) son to son, as long as the gods exist.  
 As for the Four Kas which you granted me,  
 may you allow them to endure [...]

NOTES

(a) Priests of “Min-Amun” are fairly common in the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>87</sup> The divinity might be an abbreviation of Min-Amun-Re-Kamutef who appears frequently in temple inscriptions (cf. *infra*, n. [f]).

(b) The title *imy-ꜣh.t* is closely associated with child gods, and it was held by two other priests of Chonsu the Child (**Docs. 4 and 7**).<sup>88</sup>

(c) Tentatively understanding  as a slightly unusual orthography of the indirect genitive *nty* (NṚE).<sup>89</sup> Theban priests rarely carry titles associated with the temple of Tod,<sup>90</sup> despite

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<sup>87</sup> L. COULON, “Quand Amon parle à Platon (La statue Caire JE 38033)”, *RdE* 52, 2001, p. 93, n. n; K. JANSEN-WINKELN, “Zwei Statuen der Spätzeit aus der Cachette von Karnak”, *MDAIK* 60, 2004, p. 100, Abb. 4, line 7; THISSEN, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*, p. 57.

<sup>88</sup> See primarily LAURENT, *RdE* 35, 1984, p. 150-152; Ph. COLLOMBERT, “Hout-sekhem et le septième nome de Haute Égypte II: Les stèles tardives”, *RdE* 48, 1997, p. 30, n. f; JANSEN-WINKELN, *BRIS* I, p. 107, n. 16.

<sup>89</sup> Following *PP* III, 58607 (which incorrectly read “Medamoud” instead of “Tod”); for the use of *nty* in Ptolemaic texts, D. KURTH, *Die Dekoration des Säulen im Pronaos des Tempels von Edfu*, *GOF* IV.11, 1983, pp. 45-46, n. 31.

festival connections between the two cities.<sup>91</sup> This local form of Amun bears comparison with: “Amun [...] the great, Lord of the Two Lands within Tod (*Īmn [...] wr, nb tꜣ.wy ḥry-ib Drw.t*)” mentioned once at *Tôd* II, n° 228, n. e-e.

(d) The epithet “great of prestige (*ʿꜣ-šfy.t*)” appears to designate Amun within the main sanctuaries of Karnak Temple.<sup>92</sup>

(e) The name Anchkpakered (Gr. Chapokrates) was extremely common among Theban priests in the Late Period,<sup>93</sup> and it most likely alludes to Chonsu the Child.<sup>94</sup>

(f) Although this title appears to be unique among Theban priests of the Graeco-Roman Period, inscriptions from the New Kingdom refer to a bark shrine south of Karnak as *pr-hn*, a location Ricke identified with the Kamutef temple adjacent to the Mut Temple Precinct.<sup>95</sup> A Ramesside inscription, meanwhile, mentions “Amun in the *pr-hyn*” in a list of Theban forms of Amun.<sup>96</sup> Min-Amun-Re-Kamutef appears frequently in Theban temple reliefs from the Graeco-Roman Period,<sup>97</sup> and many priests were in the service of Kamutef.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>90</sup> See primarily Louvre N 2699 (A. ZAYED, “Stèle inédite, en bois peint, d’une musicienne d’Amon à la Basse Époque”, *ASAE* 56, 1959, p. 89; G. VITTMANN, “Zwei Spätzeittitel: 1. *zš jrtj; zš jrtw*; (demot.) *šš ir.tꜣw*”, *SAK* 21, 1994, p. 326); L. COULON, *RdE* 57, 2006, p. 9, n. Q; the supposed example on CG 680 discussed by R. EL-SAYED (“Au sujet de la statue CG. 680 du Musée du Caire de l’époque ptolémaïque et provenant de Thèbes ouest”, *BIFAO* 80, 1980, p. 241, B) was actually a priest of Montu of Medamud (*Mꜣd.t*), as already recognized by G. LEGRAIN, “Notes sur le dieu Montou”, *BIFAO* 12, 1916, p. 90.

<sup>91</sup> Chr. THIERS, “Fragments de théologies thébaines: la bibliothèque du temple de Tôd”, *BIFAO* 104, 2004, pp. 553-572.

<sup>92</sup> Note that the Sixth Pylon, the innermost gate, was named “Menkheperre, Beloved of Amun Great of Prestige (*Mn-ḥpr-rꜣ mry Īmn ʿꜣ-šfy.t*)” (T. GROTHOFF, *Die Tornamen der ägyptischen Tempel*, *ÆgMonast* 1, 1996, p. 87-8, 92-3, 246, 272-3); for a distinct “temple of Amun-*ʿꜣ-šfy.t*” within Karnak Temple, cf. L. MANNICHE, “Amun *ʿꜣ-šfy.t* in a Ramessid Tomb at Thebes”, *GM* 29, 1978, p. 80; THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *The Temple of Khonsu* I, pl. 56B.

<sup>93</sup> RANKE, *PN* I, p. 63, 17; LÜDDECKENS, *Dem. NB*, p. 99; for Theban examples, cf. R. EL-SAYED, “Deux statues inédites du Musée du Caire I. Une famille de prêtres de Montou d’après la statue Caire JE. 36957. II. Trois prophètes d’Amon à Karnak d’après la statue Caire JE 37011”, *BIFAO* 83, 1983, p. 145, n. f; JANSEN-WINKELN, *BRIS* I, p. 275; for the vocalization in Greek (Chapokrates), see the interpretation of J.Fr. QUACK, “Über die mit ‘*nḥ*’ gebildeten Namens-typen und die Vokalisation einiger Verbalformen”, *GM* 123, 1991, p. 91 and pp. 93-94.

<sup>94</sup> Suggested by J. LECLANT, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXVe dynastie dite éthiopienne*, *BdE* 36, 1965, p. 253; a large number of priests of Chonsu the Child were named Chapokrates; cf. BOTHMER, *ESLP*, n° 18; VITTMANN, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit*, p. 122-124; Fr. PAYRAUDEAU, “La statue Caire CG 717 et la famille de Anchkpakered fils de Pashedmout”, *RdE* 56, 2005, pp. 203-207; cf. also *infra*, **Docs. 4** and **7**.

<sup>95</sup> H. RICKE, *Das Kamutef-Heiligtum Hatschepsuts und Thutmoses’ III. in Karnak: Bericht eine Ausgrabung vor dem Mutempelbezirk*, *BÄBA* 3/2, 1954, pp. 42-43; *PM* II<sup>2</sup>, p. 275-279; CABROL, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*, p. 533-6, questioned Ricke’s identification, but the present religious title argues against her alternative suggestion that the *pr-hn* was an administrative building.

<sup>96</sup> *KRI* VI, 550, 1 (cited by *LGG* 1, 325).

<sup>97</sup> *Propylône d’Amon-Rê-Montou*, §§ 233-235; *Porte d’Évergète*, pl. 44; *Urk.* VIII, n°s 134; 164; *Opet* I, 258; Medinet Habu, First Pylon (*PM* II<sup>2</sup>, p. 462 [10g]), and Gate of Domitian (*PM* II<sup>2</sup>, p. 475, D); *Deir al-Médina*, n° 30, 7; ABD EL-RAZIQ, *Die Darstellungen und Texte des Sanktuars Alexanders des Großen im Tempel von Luxor*, p. 47 and pl. 15a; *Deir Chelouit* III, n° 148; A. VARILLE, “Description sommaire du sanctuaire oriental d’Amon-Rê à Karnak”, *ASAE* 50, 1950, p. 161; J. LAUFFRAY, “Note sur les portes du 1<sup>er</sup> pylône de Karnak”, *Kémi* 20, 1970, 103, Fig. 3, Left (Lintel of Augustus from the First Pylon of Karnak; collated *in visu* with the assistance of Christophe Thiers); for a discussion of the temple texts, cf. KLOTZ, *Kneph*, pp. 191-195.





(g) Jansen-Winkeln compared the present title to similar examples from other priests of Chonsu the Child:<sup>99</sup>

 BM EA 92

 JE 37993<sup>100</sup>

 CG 22071<sup>101</sup>

Although Jansen-Winkeln tentatively read *sš nd.w/nwd.w* “scribe of the (sacred) oils,” (*loc cit.*), the orthographies and the prefix *hry*, “chief,” suggest that all three examples represent “unetymological” orthographies of title “scribe of the mat (*sš n tm*),”<sup>102</sup> especially since this word frequently appears in abbreviated fashion in the Late Period as  and .<sup>103</sup> Alternatively, the second word might represent the title *nt3(t)*, “judge,” which frequently applies to Chonsu-Thoth as divine administrator.<sup>104</sup>

(h) The pronoun *nw=i*, “I,” is fairly common in the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>105</sup> The pronouns of the deities in this section have previously caused a small degree of confusion.<sup>106</sup> However, the entire passage makes perfect sense if one keeps in mind that the temple of Chonsu the Child was

**98** R. EL-SAYED, “Deux statues inédites du Musée du Caire I. L’idéal de vie d’un prêtre de Karnak à l’époque ptolémaïque d’après la statue Caire JE 36918. II. Un père divin et prophète d’Amon à Karnak d’après la statue Caire N° temporaire 18/6/24/1”, *BIFAO* 84, 1984, p. 142, n. a; H. DE MEULENAERE, “Notes de prosopographie thébaine. Quatrième série”, *CdE* 64, 1989, pp. 70-72; M. COENEN, “Owners of Documents of Breathing made by Isis”, *CdE* 79, 2004, p. 64, n° 19; JANSEN-WINKELN, *BRIS* I, p. 192, n. 1.

**99** *Id.*, *BRIS* I, pp. 102 and 107, n. 18.

**100** *Id.*, *BRIS* II, p. 377, e3.

**101** A. KAMAL, *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines*, 1904, p. 66.

**102** B. HARING, “The Scribe of the Mat from Agrarian Administration to Local Justice”, in R.J. Demarée, A. Egberts (ed.), *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD. A tribute to Jac. J. Janssen*, *EgUit* 14, 2000, pp. 129-158.

**103** *Ibid.*, pp. 156-158; note that Haring’s attempt (*op. cit.*, p. 158, n. 178) to date the examples from statues JE 37853 and 37866 to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty is unconvincing, and thus there is no reason to assume the title disappeared before the Ptolemaic Period, especially since inscriptions from the reign of Ptolemy III refer to Chonsu as “scribe of the mat (*sš tm*)” (*Porte d’Évergète*, pls. 2B, col. x+5 and 41); cf. also the references to officials “who are upon the mat (*hry.w tm*)” in texts from Edfu (*WPL*, 1144).

**104** For this title, see J. QUAEGBEUR, “La justice à la porte des temples et le toponyme Premit”, in Chr. Cannuyer, J.-M. Kruchten (ed.), *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l’Égypte pharaonique et copte. Mélanges égyptologiques offerts au professeur A. Théodoridès*, Ath, Bruxelles, Mons, 1993, p. 219; Ph. DERCHAIN, “La justice à la porte d’Évergète”, in D. Kurth (ed.), *3. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung. Systeme und Programme der ägyptischen Tempeldekoration*, *ÄAT* 33, 1, 1995, p. 5, suggested that this word, often spelled *nt3-t3*, could be a reduplication of *nt3*, “to wander”; however, the latter verb was pronounced as *ntt* in the late period (OSING, *Hieratische Papyri as Tebtunis* I, pp. 79 and 81, n. t), and thus the second *-t3* may simply write a final consonantal *-t*; cf. J.C. DARNELL, “Hathor Returns to Medamûd”, *SAK* 22, 1995, p. 53, n. h.

**105** *WPL*, 495-496; EL-SAYED, *BIFAO* 80, 1980, p. 243.

**106** WILD, *BIFAO* 54, 1954, 200, n. 38, assumed that *pr=tn* was a mistake for *pr pn*, “this house”; VITTMANN, *Alt-ägyptische Wegmetaphorik*, p. 78, claimed that the god in question “kann im Zusammenhang nur Amun sein (...) Da Mut die Gemahlin des Amun ist, wiegt die Diskrepanz jedoch nicht schwer.”

located within the greater Mut Temple precinct (cf. *supra*, **Part I**). Thus Chapokrates first addresses Mut and then Chonsu the Child as “the child of Re (*hy n R*).”<sup>107</sup>

(i) For similar phrases, cf. WILD, *BIFAO* 54, 1954, p. 199; EL-SAYED, *BIFAO* 80, 1980, p. 243.

(j) For similar phrases, cf. WILD, *BIFAO* 54, 1954, p. 206; JANSEN-WINKELN, *BRIS* II, p. 430, 38a; COULON, *RdE* 57, 2006, pp. 12-13, n. FF. Eighty years appears to have been an ideal length of service for a priest.<sup>108</sup>

(k) Restoring either “the pa[th of god] (*m[tn ntr]*),” or “[your] pa[th] (*m[tn=k]*).”<sup>109</sup>

(l) While Egyptian priests and administrators frequently mention their role in renovating a divinity’s temple or cult images, examples of priests paying other priests are less common.<sup>110</sup>

(m) The four Ka’s were the basic wishes expressed in many autobiographies: long life, abundance, descendants, and a good burial.<sup>111</sup> A similar wish occurs on the statue of another priest of Chonsu the Child, Hornefer (*infra* **Doc. 8**), and a stela from the reign of Tiberius attributes the four Ka’s to Mut.<sup>112</sup>

## Doc. 2. British Museum, EA 55254, formerly 712 (Pl. 3)

Although this statuette has appeared in several exhibitions,<sup>113</sup> and several titles have received brief comments,<sup>114</sup> the inscriptions have remained unpublished. The object is a beautiful

<sup>107</sup> For the solar nature of Chonsu the Child, cf. *supra*, **Part I**; note in particular the following epithets: “august child of Horakhty (*sfy šps n Hr-ḥty*)” (Chonsu Temple: PM<sup>2</sup> II, p. 240 [78] II, 2), and “(august) child of Khepri (*sfy (šps) n Ḥpri*)” (*Shanhûr* I, n° 48; Mut Temple: Sethe, *Notizbuch* 6, 71).

<sup>108</sup> The same number of years appears on JE 37442 (BOTHMER, *ESLP*, pl. 36, fig. 86); cf. also EL-SAYED, *ASAE* 75, 2000, p. 204, n. u.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. VITTMANN, *Altägyptische Wegmetaphorik*, p. 78 (discussing this passage).

<sup>110</sup> A close parallel is J.J. CLERE, “Autobiographie d’un général gouverneur de la Haute-Égypte à l’époque saïte”, *BIFAO* 83, 1983, p. 89, col. 3: “Just as I dignified his priests, so did I reward his prophets” (*s’h.n-i w’b.wzf, fq2.n-i hm.w-ntr.wzf*) (for the date of the latter inscription, see H. DE MEULENAERE, “Un général du Delta, gouverneur de la Haute Égypte”, *CdE* 61, 1986, pp. 203-210).

<sup>111</sup> See primarily WILD, *BIFAO* 54, 1954, p. 6, n. 42 (noting this example); D. MEEKS, “Les ‘quatre ka’ du démiurge memphite”, *RdE* 15, 1963, pp. 35-47; O. PERDU, “Le monument de Samtoutefnakht à Naples”, *RdE* 36, 1985, p. 111, n. d.

<sup>112</sup> British Museum EA 617 (1052), line 7; BUDGE, *A Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum*, 1909, p. 277 and pl. 51; cf. KLOTZ, *Kneph*, pp. 390-393, pl. 9b.

<sup>113</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, p. 279; BUDGE, *Guide to the 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Rooms*, 1922, p. 135 (listed as n° 712); T.G.H. JAMES, “Le prétendu ‘sanctuaire de Karnak’ selon Budge”, *BSFE* 75, 1976, p. 24; W. SEIPEL, *Gott, Mensch, Pharao: viertausend Jahre Menschenbild in der Skulptur des Alten Ägypten*, 1992, pp. 444-445, n° 182; A. WIESE, *Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig. Die ägyptische Abteilung*, 2001, p. 165, n° 115.

<sup>114</sup> H. DE MEULENAERE, review of J. LECLANT, *Montouemhat*, in *Orientalia* 31, 1962, p. 470; *id.*, review of C.A.R. ANDREWS, *Ptolemaic Legal Texts*, in *CdE* 68, 1993, p. 95; *id.*, “La prosopographie thébaine de l’époque ptolémaïque à la lumière des sources hiéroglyphiques”, in S.P. Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, p. 89; this statuette has also been noted for art historical comparisons by I.E.S. EDWARDS, “Two Egyptian Statuettes”, *BMQ* 17, 1952, p. 72; B.V. BOTHMER, H. DE MEULENAERE, “The Brooklyn Statue of Hor, Son of Pawen (with an Excursus on Eggheads)”, in L.H. Lesko (ed.), *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker*, 1986, p. 3, n. 7; and

example of a theophorous statuette, as the priest carries a small figure of Chonsu on a socle in his hands.<sup>115</sup> The owner wears an undershirt tied around his left shoulder, a wrap-around robe tied with a knot falling to the right side,<sup>116</sup> and a wide wig with a thick edge on the forehead.<sup>117</sup> The artistic features of the statuette would suggest a date in the early Ptolemaic Period.<sup>118</sup>

Material: Dark Grey Schist.

Dimensions: Height - 53.5 cm; Width - 13.2 cm; Depth - 21.3 cm.

Provenance: Somewhere near Karnak, precise location unknown.<sup>119</sup>

## Inscriptions

### 2a. Arms

The priest displays his name and certain titles on his upper arms, beginning with the right.

*hm-ntr Hr-mn İsw.t*

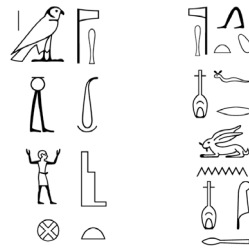
*hm-ntr İw.t-nfr(.t) (a)*

*Wn-nfr mꜣ'-hrw*

Prophet of *Hr-mn* of *İsw.t*,


Prophet of *İw.t-nfr.t*,


Wennefer, justified.




### NOTE

(a) These two divinities are incredibly obscure and they are restricted to a handful of documents. The first god, *Hr-mn* appears with the following orthographies:

 BM 55254, right shoulder

 BM 55254, back pillar, col. 2

 JE 37847, front<sup>120</sup>

 p.BM 10026, r<sup>o</sup>1D<sup>121</sup>

S. ALBERSMEIER, *Untersuchungen zu den Frauenstatuen des ptolemäischen Ägypten*, *AegTrev* 10, 2002, pp. 263-264, n. 446; D. MEEKS, *Mythes et légendes du Delta d'après le papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.84*, *MIFAO* 125, 2006, p. 85, n. 205, already noted one of the remarkable orthographies from the inscription on the front.

<sup>115</sup> For details about theophorous statuettes, see recently H. DE MEULENAERE, "La statuette du scribe du roi Pakhnoun (Le Caire JE 37456)", *CdE* 72, 1997, pp. 17-18; GUERMEUR, *BIFAO* 106, 2006, pp. 105-158, n. 3.

<sup>116</sup> For the garment, cf. the discussion of BM EA 92 (*supra*, **Doc. 1**).



<sup>117</sup> Cf. BOTHMER, *ESLP*, p. 100.

<sup>118</sup> So BOTHMER, DE MEULENAERE, in Lesko (ed.), *Studies Parker*, p. 3, n. 7; WIESE, *Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig*. *Die ägyptische Abteilung*, p. 165; ALBERSMEIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 263-264, n. 446.


<sup>119</sup> Cf. PM II<sup>2</sup>, pp. 278-279, and the discussion by JAMES, *BSFE* 75, 1976, pp. 7-30; the texts on the front of the robe (*infra*, **2b**) appears to address priests entering the Akh-Menu, and thus the statue could come from Karnak.


<sup>120</sup> JANSEN-WINKELN, *MDAIK* 60, 2004, p. 100, Abb. 4, line 6 (alternatively reading "Horus von *Mn-jst*"; cf. *infra*).

<sup>121</sup> For the proper reading, cf. DE MEULENAERE, in Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, p. 89; C.A.R. ANDREWS, *Ptolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area*, *DPBM* 4, 1990, p. 20, n. 11, cited several parallels for *ḏr-mn* in Demotic, but all of those examples actually write "Horakhty"; cf. P.W. PESTMAN, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.): a Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri contained in the Archive*, *StudDem* 2, 1993, pp. 316-317.

One Theban priest served *Hr-mn* () in an obscure location named *pꜣ-mr-n-ꜣd*,<sup>122</sup> while another was prophet of *Hr-mn* () in Armant (*ꜥwny*).<sup>123</sup> A further example may occur in a broken context in the inscription of Montuemhat from the Mut Temple.<sup>124</sup> In each case, the component *-mn* is spelled phonetically, and thus the name probably does not represent a syncretistic Horus-Min.<sup>125</sup>

The name of the goddess *ꜥw.t-nfr.t*, meanwhile, appears as follows:<sup>126</sup>


 BM 55254, back pillar


 BM 55254, left arm

 p.BM 10026, r° 1D<sup>127</sup>


The name *ꜥw.t-nfr.t* (possibly: “the beautiful one has arrived”), naturally calls to mind Nefertiti and similar names (*ꜥw-nfr*, *ꜥw-nfr.t*).<sup>128</sup>


The toponym *ꜥsw(.t)* occurs in a number of spellings, always in connection with *Hr-mn*:

 BM 55254, back pillar

 BM 55254, right arm

 p.BM 10026, r° 1D<sup>129</sup>

 JE 37847, front<sup>130</sup>

The closest parallel to this toponym is *ꜥsw.t* () which the nomarch Ankhtifi mentions in connection with Armant.<sup>131</sup> A location near Armant or Rizeiqat would also be reasonable for the Late Period examples.

<sup>122</sup> BM 8461, line 2 = M.L. BIERBRIER, *HTBM* 11, 1987, pls. 74-77 (cited by ANDREWS, *Ptolemaic Legal Texts*, p. 20, n. 11); if the component *ꜣd* in this toponym derives from *ꜣd*, “crocodile” (*Wb.* I, 24, 11), then one might compare the name of a canal near Armant called “the water of the crocodile’s tail (*pꜣ-mw-n-sd-n-msh*)”: D. MEEKS, *Le grand texte des donations au temple d’Edfou*, *BdE* 59, 1972, p. 62, n. 44.

<sup>123</sup> WAG 22.215; G. STEINDORFF, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, 1947, p. 61 (reading “Hor, Mont”) and pl. CXVII, 174C (collated with a detailed photograph kindly provided by Dr. Regine Shulz and Chris Henry of the Walters Art Gallery).

<sup>124</sup> LECLANT, *Montuemhat*, p. 215, A. 28, 230, n. cb (cited by *LGG* 5, 259).

<sup>125</sup> One might compare names such as *Hr-mni(.w)*, “Horus has moored” (RANKE, *PN I*, 248, pp. 19-22).

<sup>126</sup> *LGG* 1, 153, interpreted this name as masculine: *ꜥw.ty-nfr*, “Der gänzlich Willkommenen,” based on the copy of DE MEULENAERE, in Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, p. 89; however, the determinative is actually a seated woman, not a bearded man.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. DE MEULENAERE, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>128</sup> RANKE, *PN I*, p. 10, 5-8; II, p. 370.

<sup>129</sup> P.BM 10026, r° 1D = ANDREWS, *op. cit.*, p. 18; DE MEULENAERE, *op. cit.*, p. 89, already recognized the similarity of these toponyms.

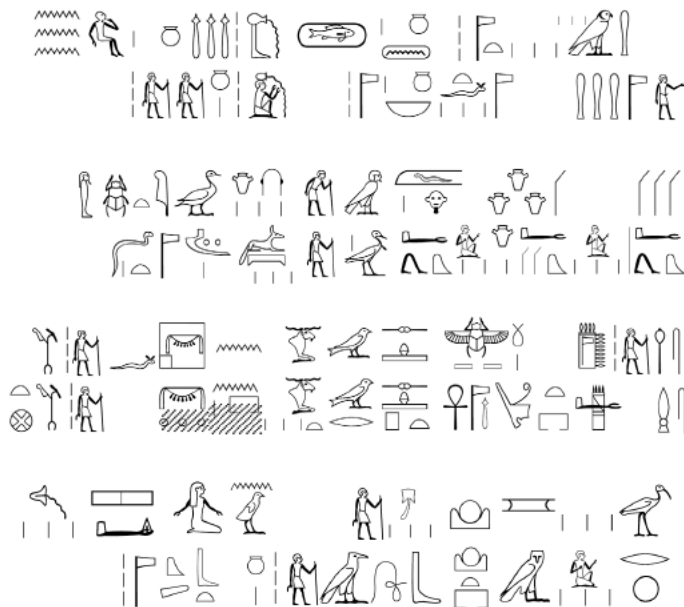
<sup>130</sup> JANSEN-WINKELN, *MDAIK* 60, 2004, p. 100, Abb. 4, line 6; although De Meulenaere (*op. cit.*), had already compared this orthography to the other examples, Jansen-Winkel instead read: “Horus von *Mn-jst* und der Götter von *<Mn-(?)>Jst*,” identifying this toponym as *Mn-s.t*, the temple of Ahmose Nefertari in Western Thebes (*MDAIK* 60, 2004, p. 100 and p. 103, n. 26).

<sup>131</sup> J. VANDIER, *Mo’alla: La tombe d’Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sébekhotep*, *BdE* 18, 1950, pp. 26-27 and 242; P. MONTET, *Géographie de l’Égypte ancienne*, II, 1957, p. 73; F. GOMAA, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren Reiches I*, *TAVO* 66, 1986, pp. 126-127; J.C. DARNELL, “The Rock Inscriptions of Tjehemau at Abisko”, *ZÄS* 130,

Alternatively, the name *Hr-mn* could also be a sportive writing of the god Hemen (*Hmn*), or Menehwy (*Mnhwy*),<sup>132</sup> both hieracophelic gods from nearby Asfun and Mo'alla.<sup>133</sup> The primary goddess of Asfun was Isis-*ir.t-nfr.t*,<sup>134</sup> an epithet that is at least phonetically similar to *iw.t-nfr.t*.<sup>135</sup> Although Asfun was slightly distant from Thebes, Wennefer was also a priest of Horus of Hierakonpolis, roughly twice the distance to Asfun. Furthermore, another priest of Chonsu the Child and Mut, Hornefer, was also a priest of Hemen and Menehwy (*infra* **Doc. 8**).<sup>136</sup>

## 2b. Front robe (Pl. 4)

The front of the robe features three columns of an inscription that continues on the pedestal in two columns on either side of Wennefer's feet. Although the text is a fairly formulaic appeal to priests,<sup>137</sup> the enigmatic orthographies would pose numerous problems of interpretation if there did not exist a very close parallel on the Ptolemaic statue JE 47277 from the Karnak Cachette.<sup>138</sup>



BM EA 55254 (upper lines) and JE 47277 (lower lines).

2003, 41, n. e; J.P. ALLEN, *The Heqanakht Papyri*, *PMMA* 27, 2002, p. 123, n. 16; for the interchange between *i3.t* and *iw* in Egyptian toponyms, cf. MEEKS, *Le grand texte des donations*, p. 74, n. 70 and p. 102, n. 164.

132 The only examples of the falcon writing *h* (< *Hr*) occur in the cryptographic inscriptions from Esna; S. SAUNERON, *L'écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna*, 1982, p. 140.

133 For these gods, see primarily WILD, *BIFAO* 54, 1954, pp. 191-194, nn. 21-22; A. FARID, "New Roman Blocks from a Hypostyle-Hall found at Asfun el Mata'na", *SAK* 13, 1986, pp. 50-53; H. WILLEMS, "Crime, Cult and Capital Punishment (Mo'alla Inscription 8)", *JEA* 76, 1990, pp. 43-46; COULON, *RdE* 52, 2001, p. 93, n. k.

134 *Esna* III, n° 266, 10; *Esna* VI, n° 523, 6 and 12; FARID, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42 and 47.

135 Compare *ir.t*, "eye," (>  $\epsilon\iota\alpha/\epsilon\iota\alpha\tau$ ) and *iwty*, "without," (>  $\lambda\tau$ ).

136 For further connections between the clergy of Thebes and Asfun, cf. COULON, *RdE* 52, 2001, 88, col. 1; Bucheum Stela 9 (see in this volume, J.-Cl. GRENIER, "Les pérégrinations d'un Boukhis en Haute Thébaïde", pp. 39-48).

137 Cf. PERDU, *RdE* 36, 1985, p. 112, n. a.

138 Republished by K. JANSEN-WINKELN, "Drei Statueninschriften einer Familie aus frühptolemäischer Zeit", *SAK* 36, 2007, pp. 51-52, without noting the parallel with BM 55254.

1. *dd*ꜣf  
 (i) *hm.w-ntr.w it.w-ntr.w nw Ḳmn-R* (a)  
*w'b.w ʿz.w nw Nwn* (b)  
 2. ʿq.w (c) ʿqz-ib.w ʿq(.w) hr bꜣ-wr  
*hry.w-sštꜣ (d) smr 3. .w -ʿh (e) n (f) pꜣwty-tꜣ.wy (g)*  
*shtp(.w) wr-šfy.t n/m hw.t-nbwꜣf (h)*  
*wr.w Wꜣs.t 4. rh.w m ꜣh.t (i)*  
*bwꜣ.w nw bꜣkꜣ.t-ntr.w (j)*  
*ʿq.w-pr.w hr ir(.t) qbhꜣw hꜣꜣf tw (k)*  
*shꜣ 5. kꜣꜣi r-nf(r) (l)*  
*wdb(.w) (?) rꜣtn m-ht (m)*



1. He says:  
 O prophets and god’s fathers of Amun-Re,  
 great priests of Nun,  
 2. you who enter with straight hearts, who serve the Great  
 Ba,  
 chiefs of secrets, companions 3. of the palace of the  
 Primeval of the Two Lands,  
 who pacify the one Great of Prestige in his temple of gold,  
 chiefs of Thebes, 4. who have become knowledgeable in the Akhet, dignitaries of the  
 “Realm of the Gods,”  
 who enter and exit performing libations and (saying) “may he praise you!”  
 remember 5. my name in a good way,  
 and (the same) will be done in return (?) for you in the future.

NOTES

(a) Reading: = *Ḳmn-R*’, “Amun-Re.”<sup>139</sup>

(b) is a variant of the more common spelling of Nun .<sup>140</sup> The “great *w'b*-priests” often occur in similar texts, sometimes bringing sacred water into the sanctuary; see H. DE MEULENAERE, “Une formule des inscriptions autobiographiques de basse époque”, in O. Firchow (éd.), *Ägyptologische Studien*, 1955, pp. 223-225.

**139** For the fish within water as a spelling of Re, see Val. Phon. 3, p. 474 (711); Chr. LEITZ, *Quellentexte zur ägyptischen Religion I: Die Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, EQÄ 2, 2004, p. 166; p.Brooklyn 47.218.84, VII, 3, explains this orthography: “As for the fish which is [in the car]touche which one uses as a name for Kheraha, <it is> Re who hides himself in the waves (*ir rm nty [m mn]š nty twꜣtw (hr) ir(.t)ꜣf r rn n Hr-ʿhꜣ, R*’ <pw> *dgꜣꜣf [m] nt*)” (MEEKS, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, pp. 16, 84-85, n. 205, citing the present example); for Re swimming within the Nun waters, see further J.C. DARNELL, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity*, OBO 198, 2004, pp. 197 and 429; KLOTZ, *Adoration of the Ram*, p. 42, n. A, and p. 105, n. E.

**140** E.g. *Wb.* II, 214; *WPL*, 497; *Urk.* VIII, n° 18h; identical orthographies appear in DAVIES, *Hibis* III, Pls. 31, line 7; 33, cols. 31 and 40; and on a Ptolemaic statue from the Karnak Cachette (MMA 07.228.28; to be published by Laurent Coulon), where Amun is invoked as “he who rejuvenates at his moment as Great Nun (*rnꜣ r nwꜣf m Nwn wr*).”

(c) For similar graphic puns involving ‘*q3*, “straight, correct,” and ‘*q*, “to enter,” cf. J.J. CLÈRE, “‘*q3-ib* ‘honnête, loyal’”, *BIFAO* 89, 1989, p. 67-71.

(d) Tentatively reading  $\text{𓆎} = hry.w$ ,<sup>141</sup>  $\text{𓆏} = s (< z3)$ ,<sup>142</sup>  $\text{𓆐} = š(w).t$ , and  $\text{𓆑} = t3$ , thus obtaining *hry.w ššt3*. However, the following standing mummy is difficult to explain. Perhaps it incorrectly determines the *hpr*-scarab,<sup>143</sup> or perhaps it writes “Amun.”<sup>144</sup>

(e) The “palace (‘*h*)” elsewhere designates the sanctuary of Amun in the Akh-Menu.<sup>145</sup>

(f) Assuming confusion between  $\text{𓆒}$  and  $\text{𓆓} = n(w)$ , based on the parallel in JE 47277; the same interchange occurs on the back pillar inscription, col. 2 (*z3 4-nw*).

(g) One expects a designation of Amun here, and the most frequent epithets ending with *t3.wy* are *nb ns.wt t3.wy*, “Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands,” and *p3wty-t3.wy*, “Most Primeval of the Two Lands.” The latter interpretation may find support in MMA 07.228.28, where the priest Nespamedu invokes  $\text{𓆔} \text{𓆕} \text{𓆖} \text{𓆗} \text{𓆘} \text{𓆙} \text{𓆚}$  perhaps to be read *Imn-wr p3wty-t3.wy*. The reading  $\text{𓆛} = p3wty$  could derive from a simple material variation on  $\text{𓆜} = p3$ , combined with  $\text{𓆑} = t (< t3)$ , simultaneously alluding to the primeval scarab-form of the solar god.<sup>146</sup>

(h) The *hw.t-nbw* was usually associated with Osiris, and there was a specific chapel of Osiris the Coptite within the *hw.t-nbw* in the north-east section of Karnak.<sup>147</sup> However, *wr-šfy.t* is primarily an epithet of Amun of Karnak,<sup>148</sup> and thus the present reference to a *hw.t-nbw* (var. *pr nbw* on JE 47277) may just be another reference to the Akh-Menu,<sup>149</sup> or perhaps a chapel containing the statue of Amun.<sup>150</sup>

<sup>141</sup> The hobble frequently writes *hr/hry* < *hry.t*, “terror” (*Val. Phon.* 4, p. 750; S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara. Le fonds hiéroglyphique au temps de Cléopâtre*, 2001, p. 250), and the heart hieroglyph could simply be a determinative for the same word; cf. *Admonitions* 2, 13, for the compound *hry.t-ib*, “terror” (A.H. GARDINER, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage from a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden [Pap. Leiden 344 recto]*, 1909, p. 29).

<sup>142</sup> Extremely common value: cf. DARNELL, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 600; CAUVILLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-110.

<sup>143</sup> The standing mummy frequently determines the word *hprw*, “manifestation” (*Wb.* III, 266).

<sup>144</sup> KLOTZ, *Adoration of a Ram*, p. 21, n. A.

<sup>145</sup> Cf. the title *m33-dsr-m-‘h*, “he who sees the sacred (one) in the palace” (FAIRMAN, *JEA* 20, 1934, p. 4, n. b); cf. also A.H. ZAYED, “Reflexions sur deux statuettes inédites de l’époque ptolémaïque”, *ASAE* 57, 1962, p. 151; KRUCHTEN, *Les Annales des Prêtres de Karnak (XXI-XXIII Dynasties)*, *OLA* 32, 1989, p. 182. For the title *smr.w-‘h*, see *Wb.* IV, 138, 6; H. GUKSCH, *Königsdienst*, *SAGÄ*, 11, 1994, pp. 243-244.

<sup>146</sup> For the primeval winged-scarab form of Amun, cf. (*inter alia*) KLOTZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 47, 54, 101, 145.




<sup>147</sup> JANSEN-WINKELN, *BRIS* I, p. 236, n. 7; GUERMEUR, *BIFAO* 106, 2006, p. 109, n. d; COULON, *RdE* 57, 2006, p. 5, n. D.

<sup>148</sup> E.g. *Urk.* VIII, n<sup>os</sup> 52g, 102c and 140k; *Opet* I, 26; É. DRIOTON, “Les quatre Montou de Médamoud”, *CdE* 6, 1931, pp. 265-256; BARGUET, *Le temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 254; possibly also p.Leiden T 32, III, 29 (= HERBIN, *Le Livre de parcourir l’éternité*, p. 169; KLOTZ, *Kneph*, pp. 431-432); the Fifth Pylon, the entrance of Karnak proper (*Īp.t-s.wt*), was also devoted to Amun *wr-šfy.t*: GROTHOFF, *Die Tornamen*, pp. 89-90, 100, 425, 487.

<sup>149</sup> Compare the remarks of Diodorus Siculus concerning Karnak (I, 15.3): “Osiris, they add, also built a temple to his parents, Zeus and Hera, which was famous both for its size and its costliness in general, and two golden chapels to Zeus, the larger one to him as god of heaven, the smaller one to him as former king and father of the Egyptians, in which rôle he is called by some Ammon” (trans. C.H. OLDFATHER, *Diodorus Siculus* I, *LCL*, pp. 50-51).

<sup>150</sup> The *hw.t-nbw* was a general designation for workshops of temple or funerary statues; cf. Fr. DAUMAS, “Quelques textes de l’atelier des orfèvres dans le temple de Dendara”, in *Livre du Centenaire*, *MIFAO* 104, 1980, pp. 109-110;

(i) Jansen-Winkel (SAK 36, 2007, p. 51) translated *rh.w m 3h.t* as priests “die sich auskennen im ‘Horizont,’” alternatively suggesting the passive “die bekannt sind in” (*ibid.*, p. 54, n. [9]). However, the root meaning of *rh*, “to learn; gain knowledge,” aptly describes the priestly initiation within the Akh-Menu of Karnak, here called the Akhet.<sup>151</sup>

(j) Reading:  = *bw3.w*,<sup>152</sup>  = *b3k.t* < *bk3.t*, “pregnant woman,”<sup>153</sup> and  = *ntr.w*,<sup>154</sup> to read *b3k(3).t-ntrw*, “the realm of the gods,”<sup>155</sup> all based on the parallel in JE 47277.

(k) The quotation is introduced by the previous preposition, *hr*.<sup>156</sup> The phrase “may he (sc. the god) praise you (*hzi-f tw*)!” is a standard funerary wish.<sup>157</sup>

(l) The same abbreviated spelling of *r-nf(r)* appears in similar contexts on statues of the Thirtieth Dynasty and early Ptolemaic Period.<sup>158</sup>

(m) Although the reading of the first word is unclear,<sup>159</sup> similar appeals to rewards in the future (*m-ht*)<sup>160</sup> are frequent on Egyptian statues.<sup>161</sup>

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for another *hw.t-nbw* at Karnak, see Cl. TRAUNECKER, “Le ‘Château de l’Or’ de Thoutmosis III et les magasins nord du temple d’Amon”, *CRIPPEL* 11, 1989, pp. 89-111. See also in this volume, J.-Cl. GRENIER, “Les pérégrinations d’un Boukhis en Haute Thébaïde”, p. 42.

**151** For similar references to the Akh-Menu as “the Akhet”, and the priestly initiations that took place therein, cf. KRUCHTEN, *Les Annales des Prêtres de Karnak*, pp. 182-184 and 277 (s.v. “*3h.t*”); R. EL-SAYED, “À la recherche des statues inédites de la Cachette Karnak au Musée du Caire (II)”, *ASAE* 75, 2000, p. 186, n. e; COULON, *BIFAO* 101, 2001, p. 140, n. d.

**152** For the hide-sign (F27) writing *b/bwt*, cf. *Val. Phon.* 1, p. 271 (347); LEITZ, *Quellentexte*, p. 162; this value may derive from the word *b3*, “leopard; leopard skin” (*Wb.* I, 415, 7-11; FAIRMAN, *BIFAO* 43, 1945, p. 69, n. 2; DARNELL, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 30-31).

**153** *Val. Phon.* 1, pp. 80-81; *WPL*, 334-335.


**154** For similar spellings of *ntr*, see recently Chr. THIERS, Y. VOLOKHINE, *Ermant I: Les cryptes du temple ptolémaïque. Étude épigraphique*, *MIFAO* 124, 2005, p. 30, n. 61.

**155** For this designation of Thebes, cf. JANSEN-WINKELN, *SAK* 36, 2007, p. 54, n. 10, and compare the similar term *b3.t-ntr.w*, “bush of the gods,” known from other Theban inscriptions: Chr. THIERS, “Thèbes, le buisson des dieux”, *Kyphi* 4, 2005, pp. 61-66.

**156** The use of *hr* to introduce quotations (GARDINER, *EG*, § 321), is relatively common in Ptolemaic texts: *WPL*, 663; *Urk.* VIII, n° 2b and 4b.

**157** See the references in JANSEN-WINKELN, *BRIS* I, p. 86, n. 52.

**158** H. DE MEULENAERE, “*Nṯ(R)* et *NF(R)*”, in C. Berger, G. Clerc, N. Grimal (ed.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant, BdE* 106/4, p. 71; JANSEN-WINKELN, *BRIS* II, p. 407, n° 28, col. 3.

**159** For  = *wdb*, cf. *Urk.* II, 57, 3; O. PERDU, “Socle d’une statue de Neshor à Abydos”, *RdE* 43, 1992, p. 156, n. k.

**160** For the two trees writing *m-ht*, cf. JANSEN-WINKELN, *BRIS* I, p. 251, n. 21; II, p. 434, c4.

**161** Cf. K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Sentenzen und Maximen in den Privatschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit, Achet* B1, 1999, pp. 67-68: “It will be useful for you in the future (*3h n=tn m-ht*)”, or *ibid.*, pp. 62-64: “He who performs good, will find it in the future (*ir bw nfr gm-f m-ht*)” (and variants); cf. also O. PERDU, “Florilège d’incitations à agir”, *RdE* 51, 2000, pp. 186-189.



## 2c. Back pillar

1. *Wsir it-ntr hm-ntr n İmn m İp.t-s.wt*  
*hm-hd(.t) hm-Hr (a)*  
*w'b n Hnsw-p3-hrd 3 wr tpy n İmn z3 4-nw*  
*hm-ntr snw sš hw.t-ntr z3 3-nw n Hr m Nhn (b)*  
*sš-t3 (c) n pr İmn-İp.t 2. z3 3-nw*  
*sš hw.t-ntr imy-3bd=f n İmn z3 tpy*  
*hry mnh.t (d) hr z3 4-nw*  
*hm-ntr B3st.t hr(.t)-ib W3s.t (e) z3 tpy z3 2-nw*  
*hm-ntr Hr-mn İw.t-nfr.t n ntr.w İsw.t*  
*Wn-nfr m3'-hrw*  
*z3 Ns-p3-mdw (f) m3'-hrw*  
*ir.n nb(.t)-pr t3-h(y)-b(i3.t) m3'(.t)-hrw (g)*

1. The Osiris, god's father, prophet of Amun in Karnak,  
 servant of the White Crown, servant of Horus,  
 priest of Chonsu the Child, the very great, eldest of Amun, in the fourth  
 phyle,  
 Second priest and scribe of the temple, in the third phyle, of Horus in  
 Hierakonpolis,  
 scribe of the document-case of the temple of Amenope, 2. in the third  
 phyle,  
 scribe of the temple in his month of Amun, in the first phyle,  
 chief of clothing in the fourth phyle,  
 prophet of Bastet within Thebes, in the first and second phyles,  
 prophet of *Hr-mn, İw.t-Nfr.t*, and the gods of *İsw.t*,  
 Onnophris, justified,  
 son of Espemetis, justified,  
 born of the Lady of the House, Takhybiat, justified.

## NOTES

(a) This combination of titles appears frequently among Thebes priests in the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>162</sup> The fact that Onnophris and Petemestous (*infra*, **Doc. 3**) were also priests of Horus of Hierakonpolis further underscores the relationship between this office and traditional Upper Egyptian kingship based at Elkab.<sup>163</sup>

(b) Priests of Horus of Hierakonpolis are rather uncommon in Thebes.<sup>164</sup>

(c) This rather common title most likely refers to wooden boxes used for storing papyri.<sup>165</sup>



<sup>162</sup> See primarily the discussions of TRAUNECKER, QUAEGBEUR, in Clarysse *et al.* (ed.), *Egyptian religion: the last thousand years II*, pp. 1215-1229; as well as JANSEN-WINKELN, *BRIS I*, p. 81, n. 1; *id.*, *MDAIK* 60, 2004, p. 100, Abb.

(d) Perhaps an abbreviation of the more common *ḥry mnḥ.t (n pr Ḳmn)*.<sup>166</sup>

(e) Bastet in Thebes was most likely worshipped in the Mut Temple precinct (cf. *supra*, n. 20).

(f) Espemetis (Nespamedu) is common in Theban documents.<sup>167</sup>

(g) The mother's name was also quite common in Graeco-Roman Thebes.<sup>168</sup>

### Doc. 3. JE 37982 (Pl. 5)

Bothmer recognized that a statue of Petemstous, son of Onnophris, registered in the Journal d'Entrée as number 37982 could belong to the son of the same Onnophris depicted in BM 55254.<sup>169</sup> This statue left the Egyptian Museum in the early twentieth century, probably through a legitimate purchase.<sup>170</sup> A statue with similar dimensions and names subsequently appeared on the antiquities market in the early 1930's, and has gone for sale as recently as October 2008 in New York.<sup>171</sup> Given the circumstances, Bothmer identified the statue from the antiquities market

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4, line 2; H. SELIM, "Three Unpublished Late Period Statues", *SAK* 32, 2004, pp. 364, 366, n. g, p. 372; COULON, *RdE* 57, 2006, p. 4, n. A.

**163** Already noted by TRAUNECKER, QUAEGBEUR, in Clarysse *et al.* (ed.), *Egyptian religion: the last thousand years II* pp. 1218, 1224, 1227-1229; for the relationship between this title and the cult of Horus of Hierakonpolis, cf. also THISSEN, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*, p. 20.

**164** See primarily JE 37982 (**Doc. 3**) and *Graff. Med. Habu*, n° 44, 6 (= THISSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 20 and p. 26); another priest of Chonsu the Child, Chapokrates son of Userchons (JE 37168, cf. *infra*, **Doc. 10**) includes Nechet and Horus of Hierakonpolis in his primarily Theban offering formula (noted to the author by H. De Meulenaere). For religious connections between Thebes and Elkab, see J.C. DARNELL, *SAK* 22, 1995, p. 93-94, who notes the existence of a road in the Eastern Desert connecting the two cities.

**165** COLLOMBERT, *RdE* 48, 1997, p. 20-21, n. d; H. SELIM, "Three Unpublished Naophorous Statues from Cairo Museum", *MDAIK* 60, 2004, p. 161, n. f; JANSEN-WINKELN, *MDAIK* 60, 2004, p. 100, Abb. 4, l. 7; F. CONTARDI, "The stela of Seshen-Nefertem from the tomb of Sheshonq (TT 27)", *Orientalia* 75, 2006, p. 147, n. f; COULON, *RdE* 57, 2006, p. 22, n. D.

**166** H. DE MEULENAERE, "Premiers et seconds prophètes d'Amon au début de l'époque ptolémaïque", in Clarysse *et al.* (ed.), *Egyptian religion: the last thousand years II*, p. 1130, n. d; JANSEN-WINKELN, *MDAIK* 60, 2004, p. 103, n. 30.

**167** RANKE, *PN I*, p. 175, 1; LÜDDECKENS, *Dem. NB*, pp. 664-666; for the reading of the name, cf. H. DE MEULENAERE, "Les valeurs du signe 𓆎 à la Basse Époque", *BIFAO* 54, 1954, p. 77, n. 9; K. LEMBKE, G. VITTMANN, "Die ptolemäische und römische Skulptur im Ägyptischen Museum Berlin. Teil I: Privatplastik", *JBM* 42, 2000, pp. 28-29, 30, n. e; JANSEN-WINKELN, *BRIS II*, p. 372, a2 and p. 373, c2; MMA 07.228.28, line 1 (unpublished).

**168** For the name *t-ḥy-bi.t*, see primarily H. DE MEULENAERE, "Quatre noms propres de basse époque", *BIFAO* 55, 1955, pp. 147-148; cf. also JANSEN-WINKELN, *BRIS I*, p. 183, n. 13; ALBERSMEIER, *Untersuchungen zu den Frauenstatuen*, pp. 150-151.

**169** B.V. Bothmer, notes in the *CLES* in the Brooklyn Museum of Art.

**170** Cf. the remarks of H. DE MEULENAERE, in Fr. Tiradritti (ed.), *Egyptian Treasures from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo*, 1999, p. 337.

**171** Axel Vervoordt (no catalogue); previously, the statue was sold through Dikran Kelekian (1933), and Hôtel Drouot (1975 and 2008); see most recently Pierre Bergé & Associés, *Paris: Arts d'Orient, Extrême-Orient, Archéologie, mercredi 28 et jeudi 29 mai 2008*, pp. 118-119, n° 442 (noted by Prof. De Meulenaere); cf. also <http://www.pbauctions.com/html/fiche.jsp?id=422621&np=1&lng=fr&npp=20&ordre=1&aff=1&r=>.

with JE 37982, but the scanty information in the Journal d'Entrée prevents any definite conclusions.<sup>172</sup>

The object is a well preserved cuboid statue made of fine limestone. The owner wears “a mixture of a wide wig and a bag wig.”<sup>173</sup> His garment covers his entire body so that only his hands are visible, each holding a plant. The statue could easily date to the Ptolemaic Period, particularly in view of the genealogical information (cf. *infra*).

Material: Limestone.

Dimensions: Height - 39.8 cm; Width - 19 cm (at base); Depth - 17 cm (at base).

Provenance: Unknown, most likely the Karnak Cachette.<sup>174</sup>

### 3a. Back pillar (Pl. 5)

The only inscriptions are two columns on the back pillar.

1. *it-nṯr ḥm-nṯr Ḳmn m Ḳp.t-s.wt*

*ḥm-nṯr ḥd(.t)*

*w<sup>c</sup>b Hr m Nḥn*

*n Ḥnsw-pꜣ-ḥrd ꜥ wr tpy n Ḳmn*

*ḥry-mnh.t n Ḳmn*

*(imy)-rꜣ šn n Ḳmn sš ḥtm.t-nṯr (a)*

*Pꜣ-di-Ḳmn-nb-nsw.t-tꜣ.wy mꜣ<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw*

2. *ꜣꜣ n it-nṯr ḥm-nṯr Ḳmn m Ḳp.t-s.wt*

*Wn-nfr mꜣ<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw*

*ꜣꜣ n it-nṯr ḥm-nṯr n Mw.t-wr.t nb.t Ḳšrw*

*Ns-pꜣ-mdw mꜣ<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw*

*iri.n nb(.t)-pr iḥy.t Ḳmn-R<sup>c</sup>*

*Ns-Hr-pꜣ-ḥrd mꜣ<sup>c</sup>(.t)-ḥrw*

*mn(.w) d.t zp-snw*

1. God's father and prophet of Amun in Karnak,

Prophet of the White Crown,

Priest of Horus in Hierakonpolis,

(and) of Chonsu the Child, the very great, first-born of Amun,

Chief of clothing of Amun,

Lesonis of Amun and scribe of the divine seal,

Petemestous, justified,



<sup>172</sup> Prof. De Meulenaere notes this identification is doubtful, especially since the orthography of the names Petemestous and Onnophris in the Journal d'Entrée differs slightly from that of the present statue (personal communication).

<sup>173</sup> BOTHMER, *ESLP*, p. 100, noting this feature is common in the fourth century BCE.

<sup>174</sup> Although the precise inventory number (K.) for this object is unknown, the statue was registered at the Egyptian Museum on June 21, 1905, as part of a lot entitled “Karnak (cachette).” (Laurent Coulon kindly provided all information on the present statue from the Karnak Cachette database).

2. son of the god's father and prophet of Amun in Karnak,  
 Onnophris, justified,  
 son of the god's father and prophet of Mut the Great, Lady of the Isheru,  
 Espemetis, justified,  
 made by the lady of the house, singer of Amun-Re,  
 Eshorpakrates, justified,  
 may they remain eternally!

## NOTE

(a) Although one could theoretically read the present title as *(imy)-rꜥ-šn*<sup>175</sup> or *(i)r(y)-šn*,<sup>176</sup> the former title occurs quite often in conjunction with *sš-htm.t-ntr*.<sup>177</sup>

As noted above, it is quite likely that this Petemestous was son of the same Onnophris, son of Espemetis who owned BM 55254, especially since both priests were in the service of Chonsu the Child and Horus of Hierakonpolis. This identification allows for the following genealogy:

Espemetis – Takhybiat  
 |  
 Onnophris – Eshorpakrates  
 |  
 Petemestous

Another Petemestous, son of Onnophris, signed a Demotic contract in Thebes in 265-4 BCE. This Petemestous bore a number of rare titles, a number of which also appear on BM EA 55254 (A) or JE 37982 (B):<sup>178</sup>

God's father and prophet of Amun in Karnak (*it-ntr hm-ntr Īmn-m-Īp.t-s.wt*) (A and B)  
 Prophet of the White Crown and Horus (*hm-hd.t Hr*) (A and B)  
 Prophet of Bastet within Thebes (*hm-ntr Bꜣst.t hr.t-ib Wꜣs.t*) (A)  
*tꜥ*-scribe of the temple of Amun (*sš tꜥ hw.t-ntr Īmn*) (A)  
 Prophet of *Hr-mn* of *Īsw*, and the gods of *Īsw.t* (*hm-ntr Hr-mn Īsw nꜥ ntr.w Īsw.t*) (A)  
 Lesonis of Amun (*imy-rꜥ-šn n Īmn*) (B)  
 Scribe of the Divine Seal of Amun (*sš htm.t-ntr n Īmn*) (B)

Despite the high number of shared titles, the two priests named Petemestous have different mothers: Eshorpakrates (JE 37982) and Neschons (p.BM 10026, r<sup>o</sup> 1D). However, Petemestous son of Eshorpakrates may be the brother of the following priest (*infra*, **Doc. 4**).

<sup>175</sup> For similar spellings of *imy-rꜥ*, see primarily Ch. KUENTZ, "Remarques sur les statues de Harwa", *BIFAO* 34, 1934, pp. 154-157.

<sup>176</sup> For the title *iry-šn*, see most recently CONTARDI, *Orientalia* 75, 2006, pp. 152-153.

<sup>177</sup> H. DE MEULENAERE, "Une famille sacerdotale thébaine", *BIFAO* 86, 1986, p. 137, n. a.

<sup>178</sup> P.BM 10026, r<sup>o</sup> 1D = ANDREWS, *Ptolemaic Legal Texts*, p. 18; the similarities between titles was already noted by DE MEULENAERE, in Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, p. 89.

**Doc. 4. MFA 35.1484 + Fragment from the Mut Temple**

The lower half of this statue was discovered in “Trench C” of the Mut Temple by Benson and Gourlay, while the upper half currently belongs to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.<sup>179</sup>

The priest is depicted carrying a seated child-god on a throne, possibly Chonsu the Child.<sup>180</sup> Bothmer initially dated this statue to the Twenty Seventh Dynasty, but many features are more characteristic of the Thirtieth Dynasty or early Ptolemaic Period.<sup>181</sup>

**4a. Back pillar<sup>182</sup>**

1. *ḥtp di nsw.t Ḳmn-R<sup>c</sup>-nb-nsw.t-t3.wy*  
*Mw.t-wr.t nb(.t) Ḳšrw*  
*Ḥnsw-p3-ḥrd [ʿ3 wr tpy n] (a) Ḳmn*  
*Wsir-Skr ḥry-ib šty.t (b)*  
*dī-sn pr.t-ḥrw k3.w 3pd.w m ḥt nb nfr wʿb n k3 n*  
*Wsir it-nṯr ḥm-nṯr Ḳmn m Ḳp.t-s.wt*  
 2. *ʿnh-p3-ḥrd m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw*  
*33 it-nṯr ḥm-nṯr Ḳmn m Ḳp.t-s.wt*  
*ḥm-nṯr Wsir m ḥw.t-bnbn (c)*  
*imy-3ḥ.t n Ḥnsw-p3-ḥrd ʿ3 wr tpy n Ḳmn (d)*  
*Wn-nfr*  
*ir.n nb.t pr šm<sup>c</sup>y.t Ḳmn-R<sup>c</sup>*  
*Ns-Hr-p3-ḥrd*  
*mn(w) w3ḥ(w) nn [sk d.t]*

A royal offering of Amun-Re Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands,  
 Mut the Great, Lady of the Isheru,  
 Chonsu the Child [the very great, first-born of] Amun,  
 Osiris-Sokar within the Shetayet,  
 that they might grant an invocation offering of bulls, birds,  
 consisting of all good pure things for the Ka  
 of the Osiris, god’s father and prophet of Amun in Karnak



**179** M. BENSON, K. GOURLAY, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, 1899, pp. 366-367, pl. 27, n° 5; WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 39-40, pl. IV.1-2; cf. also COLLOMBERT, *RdE* 48, 1997, p. 30; TRAUNECKER, in Clarysse *et al.* (ed.), *Egyptian religion: the last thousand years* II, p. 1221.

**180** BENSON, GOURLAY, *op. cit.*, p. 366, claimed the figure was Imhotep; WILDUNG, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 39, n. 1, followed this attribution and suggested emending the text in one section to read “Imhotep” instead of “Amun.” However, the small published photograph of the lower portion does not clearly show the presence of a scroll, and thus the figure more likely represents Chonsu the Child, as on BM 55254.

**181** BOTHMER, *ESLP*, p. 84 and p. 100, cites the statue as one of the only pre-Ptolemaic examples of the tight-sleeved tunic and sharp-edged wig. Several statues which Bothmer assigned to the Persian Period are simply post-Saite; cf. J.A. JOSEPHSON, “*Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period Revisited*”, *JARCE* 34, 1997, pp. 10-14.

Chapokrates, justified,  
 son of the god's father and prophet of Amun in Karnak,  
 prophet of Osiris in the Obelisk Chapel,  
*imy-ꜥh.t* of Chonsu the Child, the very great, first-born of Amun,  
 Onnophris,  
 made by the lady of the house, singer of Amun-Re,  
 Eshorpakrates,  
 may they remain and endure without [destruction, forever].

## NOTES

(a) The traces easily allow restoring the standard epithet of Chonsu the Child, and thus there is no reason to correct “Amun” to “Imhotep.”<sup>183</sup>

(b) An important cult of Sokar in Karnak is known from many sources,<sup>184</sup> and thus there is no reason to assume this statue has Memphite influences.<sup>185</sup>

(c) For other priests of “Osiris within the *hw.t-bnbn*,” see the references of CONTARDI, *Orientalia* 75, 2006, p. 148, n. g. While previous translators have assumed this title referred to a cult of Osiris in Chonsu Temple, the latter edifice was properly called *bnn.t* (occasionally *bnbn.t*),<sup>186</sup> and was never prefixed with the word *hw.t*. The only attested “obelisk chapel (*hw.t-bnbn*)” at Karnak was the eastern solar temple that featured a single Heliopolitan obelisk.<sup>187</sup> A substantial complex of Osirian structures lay immediately to the north of the solar chapels at East Karnak, including the Ptolemaic Period catacombs containing small Sokar-Osiris figures.<sup>188</sup> Osiris within the *hw.t-bnbn* could thus simply refer to Osiris at East Karnak.



(d) Reading 𓐡 𓐣 𓐡 instead of 𓐡 𓐣 𓐡 (Benson and Gourlay).

**182** This copy is based on BENSON, GOURLAY, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, p. 366 and WILDUNG *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pl. IV.2.

**183** *Contra* WILDUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 39, n. 1.

**184** BARGUET, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 182-190; R. EL-SAYED, “À la recherche des statues inédites de la Cachette de Karnak au Musée du Caire (I)”, *ASAE* 74, 1999, p. 146, n. 37; KLOTZ, *Kneph*, p. 298.

**185** *Contra* WILDUNG, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

**186** For clear examples of *Bnn.t* written *Bnbn.t* in the Late Period, cf. M. ABDELRAHEIM, “Ein Spatzeitwürfelhocker aus dem Ägyptischen Museum in Kairo (JE 38011)”, *GM* 192, 2003, p. 15 and 17; R. EL-SAYED, “À la recherche des statues inédites de la Cachette de Karnak (III)”, *ASAE* 80, 2006, p. 175, C.

**187** PM II<sup>2</sup>, p. 215-218; see most recently D. KLOTZ, “Domitian at the Contra-Temple of Karnak”, *ZÄS* 135, 2008, pp. 63-77, esp. pp. 64-65, 72-73.

**188** P. BARGUET, *Le Papyrus N. 3176 (S) du Musée du Louvre*, *BdE* 37, 1962, pp. 31-37; L. COULON, Fr. LECLERE, S. MARCHAND, “Les ‘Catacombes’ osiriennes de Ptolémée IV à Karnak. Rapport préliminaire de la campagne de fouilles 1993”, *Karnak* 10, 1995, pp. 205-237; L. COULON, “Un serviteur du sanctuaire de Chentayt à Karnak”, *BIFAO* 101, 2001, pp. 137-152; *id.*, “Le sanctuaire de Chentayt à Karnak”, in Z. Hawass (ed.) *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first Century: proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000 I*, Cairo, 2003, pp. 138-146; *id.*, *RdE* 57, 2006, pp. 13-17.

The parents of Chapokrates were named Onnophris and Eshorpakrates, perhaps the same couple from JE 37982 (*supra*, **Doc. 3**), in which case Chapokrates and Petemestous would be brothers:

Espemetis – Takhybiat  
|  
Onnophris – Eshorpakrates  
|  
Chapokrates    Petemestous

**Doc. 5. Turin 3070, JE 37104, coffin Fragments from TT 389**

The cuboid statue Turin 3070 belongs to a priest named Djedchonsefanch, son of Pakharchonsu and Nehmesrattawy,<sup>189</sup> members of a well-known family of Theban priests, many of whom were buried together in the tomb of Basa in the Assasif (TT 389).<sup>190</sup> The front of the statue contains a prayer to Mut (ll. 2-6) and the wish that Djedchonsefanch might partake in the festivals within the “temple of the Lady of the Isheru (*hw.t-ntr nt nb(.t) Íšrw*)” (ll. 6-8).<sup>191</sup> The back pillar contains an offering formula invoking, “Mut the Great Lady of the Isheru, Chonsu the Child, the very great, first-born of Amun, and the gods and goddesses who are within the Mut Temple.”<sup>192</sup> Although the exact provenance of the object is unknown, the inscriptional evidence strongly suggests that the statue originally sat in the Mut Temple Precinct.<sup>193</sup> A similar cuboid statue of Djedchonsefanch was found in the Karnak Cachette (JE 37104),<sup>194</sup> but his titles on that object only involve deities from Karnak Temple.

The following titles of Djedchonsefanch appear on his statue from the Mut Temple (Turin 3070 = A), his statue from the Karnak Cachette (JE 37104 = B), as well as coffin fragments and inscriptions from his family burial in TT 389 (C):<sup>195</sup>

God’s father and prophet of Amun in Karnak (*it-ntr hm-ntr n Ímn m Íp.t-s.wt*) (A, B, C).

Prophet of the Userhat-bark of Amun (*hm-ntr wsr-hꜣ.t (n) Ímn*) (A, B, C).

Priest of Amunet within Karnak (*wꜣb n Ímn.t hr.t-ib Íp.t-sw.t*)<sup>196</sup> (B).

Attendant of the great and pure offering-table of Amun (*imy-s.t-ꜣ n pꜣ htp ꜣ wꜣb (n) Ímn*)<sup>197</sup> (A, C).

Chief of the Side-Lock of Chonsu the Child, the very great, first-born of Amun (*hry-hꜣq n Hnsw-pꜣ-hrd ꜣ wr tpy n Ímn*)<sup>198</sup> (A, C).

<sup>189</sup> A.M. DONADONI ROVERI, “Una statua cuba del Museo Egizio di Torino”, *OrAnt* 6, 1967, pp. 111-121.

<sup>190</sup> J. ASSMANN, in D. Arnold, K. Settgast, “Vierter Vorbericht über die vom Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Kairo im Asasif unternommenen Arbeiten”, *MDAIK* 23, 1968, pp. 24-25; see most recently JANSEN-WINKELN, *BRIS* I, pp. 215-220; with the remarks of DE MEULENAERE, *BiOr* 60, 2003, cols. 325-326.

<sup>191</sup> DONADONI ROVERI, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-117.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 118-119.

<sup>193</sup> Already noted by DONADONI ROVERI, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

<sup>194</sup> JANSEN-WINKELN, *BRIS* I, p. 215-23; II, pp. 420-421, pls. 72-73 (n° 34).



<sup>195</sup> After JANSEN-WINKELN, *BRIS* I, p. 219.

<sup>196</sup> Amunet was the primary goddess of Karnak Temple, while Mut presided over the Isheru in her separate temple precinct; cf. KLOTZ, *Knepf*, pp. 87-89.

<sup>197</sup> For this title, cf. J. QUAEGBEUR, “La table d’offrandes grande et pure d’Amon”, *RdE* 45, 1994, pp. 155-173 (discussing the present example on pp. 157-159); CONTARDI, *Orientalia* 75, 2006, p. 152, n. n.

Prophet of the swaddling-clothes of Chonsu the Child (*hm-ntr nwd.t n Hnsw-p3-hrd*) (A).

#### Doc. 6. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 22.165

This cuboid statue belongs to Smendes, the brother of Djedchonsefanch (*supra* Doc. 5).<sup>199</sup> Among his standard sacerdotal duties is the title , which Jansen-Winkeln tentatively read as “overseer of nurturers (*hnmtj.w*) of Chonsu the Child.”<sup>200</sup> Hieroglyphic copy should actually read: .

#### Doc. 7. Cairo, JE 37993

Chapokrates, son of Pakharchonsu, is known from a cuboid statue from the Karnak Cachette.<sup>201</sup> He shares a number of titles in common with other priests of Chonsu the Child:

God’s father and prophet of Amun in Karnak (*it-ntr hm(-ntr) n İmn m İp.t-swt*).

Prophet of Chonsu the Child, the very great, first-born of Amun (*hm-ntr Hnsw-p3-hrd 3 wr tpy n İmn*).

*t3*-scribe (*sš t3*) (cf. Doc. 2).

Chief nursing priest (*hry-hnmtj.w*) (cf. Docs. 6, 8, 9).<sup>202</sup>

*imy-3h.t* priest (*w3b imy 3h.t*) (cf. Docs. 1, 4).

#### Doc. 8. Lausanne, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Egyptian Art 7 + MMA 1980.422

This striding statue belonged to Hornefer, son of Kalibis, a member of an important Theban family in the early Ptolemaic Period.<sup>203</sup> Hornefer held a number of priestly titles spanning the

<sup>198</sup> Although the meanings of *h'q*, “to shave,” and *h'qw*, “barber,” are well-established (*Wb.* III, 365, 1-5; GARDINER, *AEO* I, pp. 69\*-70\*), it is difficult to imagine what the roles of a “chief barber of Chonsu the Child” could entail (*PP* IX, 5566a and Quaegebeur [*RdE* 45, 1994, p. 159] hesitated to translate the present example as “chef des barbiers (?) de Chonsou l’enfant”; H. Brunner [*LÄ* II, col. 651, s.v. Götter, Kinder] explained that this official “wird nicht den K(ind)g(ott), sondern dessen Priester rasiert haben”). As Donadoni Roveri (*OrAnt* 6, 1967, p. 119, n. d) already noted, the combination of this title with “prophet of the swaddling clothes,” suggests that the *hry-h'q* was in charge of the ceremonial side-lock worn by the cult statue of Chonsu the Child. Such a word *h'q*, “decorative side-lock,” occurs elsewhere in *Esna* VI, n° 542, 3 and P. Brooklyn 47.218.84, XII, 10 (MEEKS, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, pp. 27, 125, n. 411, pp. 271-272). For an earlier example of a chief of the side-lock (*hry-h'q*) of Chonsu the Child, cf. R. EL-SAYED, “À propos de l’activité d’un fonctionnaire du temps de Psammétique I à Karnak d’après la stèle du Caire 2747”, *BIFAO* 78, 1978, p. 471 and p. 473, n. e; for a similar title, see also SANDRI, *Har-pa-chered*, pp. 81-82.

<sup>199</sup> STEINDORFF, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, p. 55-6, pls. XXIX and CXV, n° 163; collated *in visu* with the assistance of Regine Schulz.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. CXV, n° 163B, col. 1; JANSEN-WINKELN, *BRIS* I, p. 218; this may be a variant of the title *imy-r3 rnp.33 Hnsw-p3-hrd 3 wr tpy n İmn* recorded on stela British Museum EA 22914, line 3 *bis*; cf. BIERBRIER, *HTBM*, pls. 34-35 (Twenty-Sixth Dynasty), or *imy-r3 mn3.w* (cf. DE MEULENAERE, in Quaegebeur [ed.], *Studia Pablo Naster oblata* II, p. 29, n. 29; COLLOMBERT, *RdE* 48, 1997, pp. 39-40).

<sup>201</sup> Fully published by JANSEN-WINKELN, *BRIS* I, pp. 101-109; II, pp. 374-377, pls. 40-42 (n° 19).

<sup>202</sup> For the title *hnmtj*, cf. primarily LAURENT, *RdE* 35, 1984, pp. 152-156; COLLOMBERT, *RdE* 48, 1997, pp. 38-39, n. b; SANDRI, *Har-pa-chered*, pp. 79-80.

<sup>203</sup> Thoroughly published by WILD, *BIFAO* 54, 1954, pp. 173-222; for the family of Hornefer, see primarily QUAE-GEBEUR, in Vleeming (ed.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, pp. 152-155; to the dossier assembled by Quaegebeur, see also H. KOCKELMANN, “Zur Lesung einiger Personennamen auf Totenbuch-Mumienbinden”, *GM* 198, 2004, p. 35, n° 33;





entire area of Diospolis Parva to Asfun. However, since his long resumé concludes with the title “Nursing Prophet of Chonsu the Child, the very great, first-born of Amun (*hm-ntr hmnty n Hnsw-p3-hrd* ʿ3 wr tpy n *Īmn*),” and elsewhere he is simply referred to as “prophet of Chonsu the Child (*hm-ntr Hnsw-p3-hrd*),” it is quite likely that this was his most important responsibility.<sup>204</sup> The statue of Hornefer also contains a prayer to a masculine divinity - perhaps Chonsu the Child - with several close parallels to the prayer on BM EA 92 (*supra* **Doc. 1**),<sup>205</sup> and an appeal to priests who enter “the temple of Mut in order to make proskynesis for the Mistress of gods and goddesses.”<sup>206</sup> The latter passage led Wild to speculate on the statue’s origin:<sup>207</sup>

“Le lieu de provenance de la statue de Hor-nefer ne peut être apparemment que Thèbes (...) mais le sanctuaire dans lequel elle fut érigée ne peut être précisé. La mention du temple de Mout donnerait à penser qu’elle fut destinée au temple de cette déesse, à Achérou; à vrai dire, elle semblerait mieux à sa place dans un sanctuaire consacré à Khonsou.”

Wild’s two hypotheses are actually not mutually exclusive, since if the statue of Hornefer stood in the temple of Chonsu the Child, it would have also been seen by all visitors to the greater Mut Temple Precinct (*hw.t-Mw.t*).

#### Doc. 9. JE 37452

This female statuette comes from the Karnak Cachette and probably dates to the mid to late Ptolemaic Period.<sup>208</sup> The owner was a certain Takhybiat, daughter of Chapokrates and Tanubet. In addition to the common “Singer of Amun-Re (*ihy.t n Īmn-Rʿ*),” Tachibiat bore another title which Albersmeier copied as ,<sup>209</sup> but which the photograph shows is actually ,<sup>210</sup> “nurse of Chonsu the Child (*hmnty n Hnsw-p3-hrd*).”<sup>211</sup>

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the head of the statue is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 1980.422), cf. QUAEGBEUR, in Vleeming (éd.), *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, p. 152, n. 71 (references courtesy Prof. H. De Meulenaere).

**204** Cf. WILD, *BIFAO* 54, 1954, pp. 182, 196, n. 27, and pp. 213-214.

**205** Already noted by WILD, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-202, n. 38 and 42a.

**206** WILD, *BIFAO* 54, 1954, pp. 206-207.

**207** *Ibid.*, p. 207.

**208** Published by ALBERSMEIER, *Untersuchungen zu den Frauenstatuen*, pp. 131-132, 323-324, pls. 9, 73-74 (n° 71); for the titles and family of Tachibiat, see further L. COULON, “La nécropole osirienne de Karnak sous les Ptolémées”, in A. Delattre, P. Heilporn (ed.), «*Et maintenant ce ne sont plus que des villages...*». *Thèbes et sa région aux époques hellénistique, romaine et byzantine*, *PapBrux* 34, 2008, p. 31.

**209** *Ibid.*, pl. 9a, col. 1.

**210** *Ibid.*, pl. 74a.

**211** Recognized already by PM II<sup>2</sup>, p. 159; Albersmeier (*op. cit.*, p. 131, n. 763) argued against reading *hmnty* because of the damage; however, the inscription is clear from the published photograph; for the title, cf. *supra*, n. 202; Coulon (in Delattre, Heilporn [ed.], «*Et maintenant ce ne sont plus que des villages...*», p. 31, n. 65) reached the same conclusion.

**Doc. 10. JE 37168**

This cuboid statue from the Karnak Cachette (K. 310 *bis*) belongs to a certain Chapokrates son of Userchons and Nehemesrattawy.<sup>212</sup> Among his many titles, Chapokrates was also “he who attaches the pectoral with precious stones for Chonsu the Child, the very great, first born of Amun (*tz wdꜣ hr tꜥnw n Hnsw-pꜣ-hrd ꜣ wr tpy n ꜥmn*)” (Front Side, lines 7-9).

**Doc. 11. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum E.55.1937**

This small cuboid statue features very large hieroglyphs on the front and back pillar.<sup>213</sup> The owner is a certain Padichons, son of Hor and Takhybiat, and he bears the title “chief dancer of Chonsu the Child (*hry-ꜥnf n Hnsw-pꜣ-hrd*).”<sup>214</sup> Although little is known about the provenance, the inscriptions suggest the statue also came from Thebes in the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>215</sup>

**CONCLUSION**

The documents discussed above represent an interesting subgroup of the Theban priesthood in the 30<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and Ptolemaic Period. Several of the priests bore the name Chapokrates (Anchpakhered; **Docs. 1, 4, 6, 10**), a name which possibly alludes to Chonsu the Child. Most statues originally stood in the Mut Temple Precinct (**Docs. 1, 2, 4, 5, 8**), while Djedchonsefanch (**Doc. 5**) dedicated two nearly identical statues of himself; one in Karnak commemorating his service of Amun and Amunet (JE 37104), and one in the Mut Temple recording his devotion to Chonsu the Child (Turin 3070). Several of the statues represent Chonsu the Child (**Docs. 1, 2, 3**), and inscriptions invoke both Chonsu the Child (**Docs. 1, 8**) and Mut (**Docs. 1, 5**).

Another statue from the Ptolemaic Period, Berlin 18562, is similar in many ways to the objects discussed above.<sup>216</sup> The priest Espemetis, son of Chapokrates, squats behind a socle out of which arises a ram head (Amun), on top of which sits a child god (probably Chonsu the

<sup>212</sup> Noted to the author by H. De Meulenaere; the statue is unpublished, but see already PM II<sup>2</sup>, p. 157; JANSEN-WINKELN, *BRIS* I, pp. 22, n. 3 and 31, n. 4; M. AZIM, G. REVEILLAC, *Karnak dans l'objectif de George Legrain: catalogue raisonné des archives photographiques du premier directeur des travaux de Karnak de 1895 à 1917*, 2004, I, pp. 296 and 321; II, p. 265 (references graciously provided by Laurent Coulon, who also provided photographs and copies of the Legrain squeezes of the statue).

<sup>213</sup> PM VIII, 801-798-070 (Hermann De Meulenaere kindly brought the author's attention to this important example).

<sup>214</sup> For this title, and its connection to Mut-Bastet and Chonsu, see J. QUAEGBEUR, A. RAMMANT-PEETERS, “Le pyramidion d'un ‘danseur en chef’ de Bastet,” in Quaegebeur (ed.), *Studia Paulo Naster oblata* II, p. 199 (discussing the present example).

<sup>215</sup> So PM VIII, 801-798-070 and QUAEGBEUR, *op. cit.*, p. 199. The name Takhybiat is quite common in Ptolemaic Thebes (cf. *supra*, n. 169), and the carving style is typically Ptolemaic. Furthermore, a private statue with a similar depiction of a lutist was recently discovered in the Mut Temple by the Johns Hopkins University mission, directed by Betsy Bryan (<http://jhu.edu/egypttoday>).

<sup>216</sup> K. LEMBKE, G. VITTMANN, “Die ptolemäische und römische Skulptur im Ägyptischen Museum Berlin. Teil I: Privatplastik”, *JBM* 42, 2000, pp. 26-34; the statue unfortunately disappeared during the Second World War; for the family of Nespamedu, see further JANSEN-WINKELN, *BRIS* I, pp. 246-247.

Child).<sup>217</sup> The inscriptions suggest that this object also comes from the Mut Temple,<sup>218</sup> just like the statues of Chapokrates (**Doc. 1**) and Hornefer (**Doc. 8**). Another theophorous statue (Louvre N. 872) represents a priestess carrying a statuette of the goddess Mut,<sup>219</sup> and contains an invocation offering for “Mut the Eye of Re [...and Chon]su the Child, the very great, first-born of Amun.”<sup>220</sup> A final testimony to the cult of Chonsu the Child comes from the famous statue of Ahmose (JE 37075), who tells the goddess Mut:<sup>221</sup>

*nī ir=i ʒ.t m ʒb r pr-Mw.t*  
*hr sdʒdʒ n Hnsw*  
*ʒb.wt wr.w m hb=f nfr*  
*id.tw m hʒw nw Pwn.t*

I never spent a moment away from the Mut Temple,<sup>222</sup>  
 trembling for Chonsu (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏)<sup>223</sup>  
 (during) the great food-offering in his beautiful festival,<sup>224</sup>  
 while scented with incense of Punt.

#### *Postscript*

Laurent Coulon brought the author’s attention to another statue from the Karnak Cachette (JE 37142; to be published by himself) mentioning the title “prophet and priest of *Hr-mn, İw.t-nfr.t* and the gods of *İsw.t*” (cf. *supra*, **Doc. 2**).

**217** LEMBKE, VITTMANN, *JBM* 42, 2000, p. 27, Abb. 25; Lembke and Vittmann (*op. cit.*, p. 27, n. 64) identified the child as Harpokrates, and discussed the rather obscure cult of Harpokrates in Thebes, including the triad Amun-Re, Isis and Horus. However, the figure could just as easily be Chonsu the Child, despite the lack of a lunar disk (cf. **Doc. 3**).

**218** Already noted by LEMBKE, VITTMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

**219** ALBERSMEIER, *Untersuchungen zu den Frauenstatuen*, pp. 135-137, 359, pls. 69c-d, 70a-b.

**220** *Ibid.*, p. 135 (incorrectly reading “Re-Amun” instead of “first-born of Amun [*tpy n İmn*]”), pl. 12A-B.

**221** FAIRMAN, *JEA* 20, 1934, pl. I.1, col. 3, pp. 2-3 (with a slightly different translation).

**222** Other examples of this phrase in reference to the Mut Temple occur in the biography of Hornefer (WILD, *BIFAO* 54, 1954, pp. 199-200, n. 34) and Djedchonsefanch (DONADONI ROVERI, *OrAnt* 6, 1967, p. 115, line 4), and a mythological text describing visits by Amun (*Porte de Mout*, n° 19, 1).

**223** The same sportive writing appears in *Porte d’Évergète*, pl. 6, to designate Chonsu the Child; cf. G. POSENER, “Une réinterprétation tardive du nom du dieu Khonsou”, *ZÄS* 93, 1966, p. 118.

**224** A text from North Karnak mentions “a great food-offering (*ʒb.t ʒ.t*)” presented during the festival of I Shomu, the birth festival in the Mut Temple (*Urk.* VIII, n° 18h; for the festival of I Shomu, see *supra*, **Part I**); for a relief depicting the “great food-offering” before Chonsu the Child in the Mut Temple, cf. GOYON, *JARCE* 20, 1983, pl. XVII; and see the connection of Chonsu the Child to food offerings in general (*supra*, **Part I**).



**Fig. 1.** BM EA 92 (Photo courtesy of *CLES*; reproduced with permission of the British Museum).

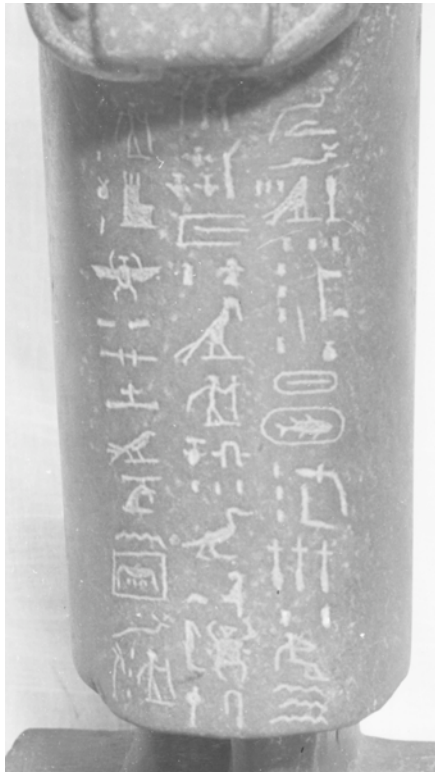


**Fig. 2.** BM EA 92 (Photo courtesy of *CLES*; reproduced with permission of the British Museum).



**Fig. 3.** BM EA 55254 (Photo courtesy of *CLES*; reproduced with permission of the British Museum).





**Fig. 4.** BM EA 55254, Details (First photo courtesy of *CLES*, reproduced with permission of the British Museum; other photos provided by Evan York).



**Fig. 5.** Statue Cairo JE 37982 (photos courtesy Koen Van den Buische, Axel Vervoordt).





CEN<sub>i</sub>M 3

*Cahiers «Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne»*

# Documents de Théologies Thébaines Tardives (D3T 1)



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**Cahiers de l'ENiM (CENiM) 3**

Documents  
de  
Théologies Thébaines Tardives  
(*D3T 1*)

Textes réunis et édités par  
Christophe Thiers

**Montpellier, 2009**

En couverture, Porte du 2<sup>e</sup> pylône de Karnak (tableau nord).  
Photographie © Cnrs-Cfeetk/J.-Fr. Gout.

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