The Theban Cult of Chonsu the Child in the Ptolemaic Period

David Klotz
Yale University

In the Graeco-Roman period, most Egyptian temples housed a local child god. 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. This sequence of events is summarized perfectly in the festival calendar from Esna:

30 Pharmouthi

\[ sh^\prime n Nb.t-ww m Jwny.t \]
\[ htp m pr-ms \]
\[ jr(t) jrw nb r hgd-t2 \]

Procession of Nebtu from Esna.
Stopping in the mammisi.
Conducting every rite until dawn.

1 Pachons

\[ ms.t ˘Sw Tfn.t Hkz-pz-hrd \]
\[ Gbb pw mr-sn \]

The birth of Shu, Tefnut, and Heka the child
(that means:) Geb, their beloved.

(...)

\[ dl(t) h^\prime Hkz-pz-hrd \]
\[ r-hr st n nbw \]
\[ n/m pzwf shw n ms \]

Procession of Heka the Child,
on top of his golden palanquin,
with his child’s side-lock.

(...)

\[ hb Rnnwt.t h(r).tw r=sf \]

This is called: “The Festival of Renenutet.”

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1 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.


4 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’p’ n st(w) mw.t-sf m-hnw Jwny.t m tpy :bd tpy n shw).”
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. 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.

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

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. After reviewing most of the relevant sources, Goyon concluded that Mut gave birth to her consort Amun on the first of Pachons, while Leitz

6 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 iḥt nb.t nfr.t n Rnnwt.t nb.t sww.t m 2bd i ṣmw sw 1, hrw pn ms.t Nprμ) (discussed by S. Schott, Ältestägyptische 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. Spaling, “A Religious Calendar Year in the Mut Temple at Karnak”, REd 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.

8 See the excellent summary by Budde, in Budde, Sandri, Verhoeven (ed.), Kindgötter, pp. 15-110.
9 Somtous was the child of Hathor within Thebes and Amun; see P. Du Bourguet, Le temple de Deir al-Médina, MIFAO 121, 2002, n° 172, 6; 182, 5; 183, 7; P. Clerc, La Porte de Évergète à Karnak, MIFAO 84, 1961, pl. 28; Urk. VIII, n° 195b and c; 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 Harsaisis 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.
10 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, StudHelv 31, 1993, pp. 146-150.
11 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 ṣmw-Jahreszeit ist nach ihm [Chonsu] Pachons bennant worden, weil sein Fest, von dem so gut wie nichts bekannt ist, in ihn fiel.”
13 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. 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, 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. While Chonsu in Thebes Neferhotep presided at the so-called “Chonsu Temple” in Karnak, other hypostases such as Chonsu-p₂-ir-shr.w and Chonsu-Shu had separate shrines. Likewise, Chonsu the Child belonged to the Mut Temple Precinct, as evidenced by the following excerpt from a festival calendar:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hn.tw [hm.t] n Mw.t lm=f hn' psd.t=s m tpy pr.t} \\
\text{htp Mw.t } \text{Ir.t-R' } \text{hr(t).t s.t wr.t m k₂r n '2-nrw} \\
\text{Hnsw-p₂-hrd hr wnmy=s B2st.t hr i₂by=s} \\
\end{align*}
\]

[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.

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14 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 70e 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 ñ-serpent from Nun. Without going into greater detail (cf. KLÖTZ, Kneph, pp. 165-169, 236-242), it is worth noting that the ñ-serpent is most likely Irita, not Kematef (as is clear from Esna II, n° 58, 1: 64, 1; III, n° 216, 3 [13]), and thus the emergence of the two serpents happens during the initial act of creation.

15 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.

16 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.


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):

sm²wi.n(≠μ) hw.t-nfr nt Mw.t wr.t nb(≠μ) ḫšrw
nfr=s r imi=s-h₂.t
smnh.n(≠μ) sšm=s m ḡ’m tīt.w=f nb m ᴬr m₂f
sm²wi.n(≠μ) sšm n ḫšrw-p²-hrd
sšm n B₂št.t hṛ(≠μ)-ib W₂št.t
štp(≠μ) hm=s m ht-ib=s

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,
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.

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 (*Ìw.t-nmμ.t*)”.

The most likely spot is the building known as “Temple A” north-west of the Mut Temple.

22 Chonsu the Child is “Lord of the birth-bed temple (nb hw.t-nmμ.t)” (*Urk*. VIII, n° 137c; *Esna* II, n° 25, 15); and “within the birth-bed temple (ḫšrt-ib hw.t-nmμ.t)” (Chonsu Temple, *PM II*, p. 239 [74f] II); p.Leiden T 32, III, 22-23,
Temple.\textsuperscript{23} In his survey of Egyptian mammisis, 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.\textsuperscript{24} However, the architectural layout of Temple A,\textsuperscript{25} the existence of a title “priest of Mut of the Mammisi,”\textsuperscript{26} and the scant surviving decoration of the sanctuary,\textsuperscript{27} all strongly suggest that the structure was a mammisi, at least by the Ptolemaic Period.\textsuperscript{28}

Chonsu the Child appears most frequently as an adolescent,\textsuperscript{29} wearing a lunar disk, uraeus, side-lock, kilt, collar and amulet,\textsuperscript{30} often carrying an \textit{ankh}-sign, \textit{was}- scepter, crook and flail.\textsuperscript{31} In
other reliefs he is a naked child, sometimes wearing a cape, side-lock, lunar disk, and heart-shaped amulet, displaying an exaggerated belly and holding a finger to his mouth. Not surprisingly, many epithets of Chonsu the Child emphasize his age, including “the good youth, sweet of love (ḥwnw nfr bnr mtrw.),” “august child (ṣfy ṣps.),” “iris of the wedjat-eye (ḥḥ n ṭ.),” “Horus as a young child (Ḥr m ḥwnw rnr.),” and “child, living of births (ḥy ṣḥ ms.wt.).”

As mentioned above, the Renenutet festival took place at the beginning of the harvest season, so the birth of the divine child ushers in the appearance of new crops. Accordingly, Chonsu the Child frequently receives food offerings (smḥḥ ’ḥt or ṣḥ ḫḥ.), and he bears epithets like “lord of food, plentiful of sustenance, great/lord of provisions, who gives to whoever he desires (ḥb ḳw, ṣḥ dh.w, wrḥn ḫḥ.w, ḥ ṣ n ṭsr.).”

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33 For the cape worn by child gods in the Late Period, cf. S. Sandri, Har-pa-chered, pp. 101-102.

34 Ibid., pp. 97-101.


36 Porte d’Évergète, pl. 6; Propylône d’Amon-Rê-Montou, § 228; Urk. VIII, n° 183b and g; Opet I, 160; Philè II, 59, 14; Shanhûr I, n° 48; v. Porte d’Évergète, pl. 25; Ded.Man., 135, 16; Medinet Habu: PM II, p. 462 (10g) II.

37 Porte d’Évergète, pl. 6 and 25; Shanhûr I, n° 48; Chonsu Temple: PM II, 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, p. 462 (10g) II; v. “iris of the living-eye (ddf 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 similar epithets, cf. LGG 7, 624-625; Meeks, Mythes et légendes du Delta, p. 90, n. 237.

39 Urk. VIII, n° 137c; Chonsu Temple: PM II, p. 240 (78) II, 2; Esna II, n° 25, 15.

40 Porte d’Évergète, pl. 6; v. “child, living of births in the morning (’nh msḥ’h’w m ḫḥw)” (Ded.Man, 135, 16); for this epithet, cf. D. Klotz, Adoration of the Ram: five hymns to Amon-Re from Hibis Temple, YES 6, 2006, pp. 26-27, n. A.

41 Porte d’Évergète, pl. 6; Chonsu Temple: PM II, 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.  He is therefore “Re he after he repeated births (R' whm n sf ms wt/ mšš').”  He who repeats the rejuvenation of Re in Thebes (whm n rp n R' m Ws.t) (...) who repeats births like the sun-disk (whm ms wt m itn).” Chonsu the Child thus imitates the daily course of the sun, as “Atum in the evening within the entrance of Manu (ltm m mšr m-ḥnt r=.M₂nw),” “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 (ḥy m dww, nhḥ m mšr, ḫnw r rp tr w, lī m št m-ḥt ḫkt=f);” “who arrives as an infant after old age (lī m št m-ḥt snḥy) (...) whom she (sc. Mut) gave birth to in Thebes as the august child, the ‘nh-scarab’ in his manifestation of Khepri (hms n s sw m Ws.t m sfy śps, ‘nh m hprw sf n ḫpr).”

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 Ws.t),” “who traverses the two lands pregnant with the sundisk, so she might give birth to him in the Mut Temple (hns(.t) t. wy bk₂.tw m itn, di s r t ż imš m ḫw.t-Mw.t),” and “she who creates light (qm₂.t šww).” Mut,
often assimilated to Tefnut,\textsuperscript{54} was properly the daughter of Re-Atum.\textsuperscript{55} However, the solar nature of Chonsu the Child’s birth makes Mut “mother of Re (tm\textsuperscript{2} t nt R’),”\textsuperscript{56} so that she acts as both “daughter and mother, who makes her own creator (z\textsuperscript{2} t tm\textsuperscript{2} t, ir(t) qm\textsuperscript{2} sy).”\textsuperscript{57}

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.

\textbf{(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.\textsuperscript{58} The center of the text describes the birth of the solar Chonsu the Child.\textsuperscript{59} 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 $sw\textsuperscript{2}t-b$ (= Shu-Onuris) (col. 5).\textsuperscript{60} After a lacuna, the text continues (cols. 6-7):

\begin{verbatim}
di+s r t; hr-f pr Hpri imtw [ih.ty]-s(y) R’ pw imy mw.t-s
whm-rnp in R’ m W2s.t [nht].t hnw.t sp2.wt [...] ṣww im-s
m.t hns.n>t l2.wy [hr]-f hpr rm$f n Ḥns-wp2-hrd 'z wr tpy n ḫmn
\end{verbatim}

As soon as she (sc. Mut) gave birth,
Khepri emerged from between her thighs (𓊱𓊰𓊥),\(^{61}\) (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 (𓊩𓊥) the Two Lands [bearing] it/him.”

Thus came about his name of Chonsu (𓊩𓊥𓊩) 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 𓊩𓊥𓊩𓊩𓊥 nb t.w.y [𓊱𓊥𓊩]).”\(^{62}\) However, other texts from Karnak use the exact same words to refer to Mut (𓊩𓊥𓊩𓊩𓊩 nb nb t.w y hr t.m),\(^{63}\) so 𓊩𓊥𓊩nb t is more likely a simple 𓊱𓊥𓊩 nb 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:\(^{64}\)

\begin{verbatim}
  itn m-hnw·s
  r lw nw n dl r t:
  hpr sbl.w hr(w).n nln nwn·sn
  iw Ṛ whm nb f msh’w
  pb’n nb sww [hnt] lw.t-Mw.t
  wn(s) nsp m ndb
  qm.t nb m ws.w-nfr
  t r-dt’f m […] nk m sn.t
  ir.t nb f hb-rnt.t hnt pr-nsw
  t’ p’n r-dt’f mltt
  lht lm htp-f m hrw’rxy
  r-[bn] hrw tpy n [z]mw
  h’ hm.t=s m Rnn.t nb t.nfr.t
  hr wnn l’d n nsw.t-biti
  dw.t nb l’hr hw pn nfr
  imm.n nb [z2=s(?)] r nfr.w lm=f
\end{verbatim}

\(^{61}\) GOYON, *JARCE* 20, 1983, pp. 55-56 and 59, n. 58, restored: “et sort Khepri qui était placé entre ses cornes (*pr Hpr i mite* [wpt]-s).” 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, 56.

\(^{62}\) GOYON, op. cit., p. 56.

\(^{63}\) Propylône d’Amon-Rê-Montou, § 178; Urk. VIII, n° 182c.

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.65

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),
until the first day of Shomu (= 1 Pachons).

Her Majesty (then) appears in procession as the Good Renenutet,66
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 $\theta$-serpent (Leitz).67

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

This Theban redaction of the Book of Travelling Eternity includes an account of the Renenutet festival within the Mut Temple:68

$sdr\ k\ m\ swh\ ñ\ m\ hnw\ hw.t-Mw.t$
$hrw\ hb\ Rnnwt.t$
$rs\ k\ m\ grh\ m\ hw.t-nmi.t$
$hrw\ ms-Mw.t$
$sdm\ k\ 'y'y\ in\ ntr.w\ t2\ Ms.t$
$hft\ wbn\ \sww\ m\ whm\ m\ W3s.t$


66 Cf. also SETHE, Notizbuch 6, 80, where Mut is called “Renenutet in her true name (Rnnwt.t m rn's m')”.

67 When Mut accompanies the primeval $\theta$-serpent (= Irita), she produces “fire ($\sww$)” and not “light ($\sww$)” 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.

68 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.
As you lie down at evening within the Mut Temple, just as you lie down at evening within the Mut Temple, 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.

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.69

One text from the Mut Temple says of Chonsu the Child (spelled: 𓊣𓊊) that: “his birth-brick is tied together throughout the country, while his divine birth ritual is in the Mut Temple (ssrtt wt m2 rjwsw f mswntr sf m hw.t-Mw.t).”70 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,71 and the month of the celebration, Pachons, was probably named after Chonsu the Child. His importance throughout

69 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] (hbt-ip.t k2-hr-k2 jbd 1 shw jbd 2 shw)” (Edfou I, 338, 8; cf. KLOTZ, Kneph, p. 49, n. k, pp. 568-593).

70 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 (p ꜖ hr.t mrw hm).” A partial parallel occurs in Urk. VIII, n° 135c, where Mut “binds together (Chonsu’s) birth-brick in the entire land (ssrtt sf m2 jbd 2 shw).” A slight variant calls Chonsu the Child: “he who binds together the birth-brick, for whose majesty/Ka the divine birth is celebrated (tb mswntr, ir.t w mw-snt mr n hm/ktwsw)” (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 Pachérentaisouy. Caire JE 36576”, BIFAO 104, 2004, p. 261, n. r.

Egypt as the prototypical, Theban divine infant may explain his rare epithet “king of all children (nsw ḫrd.w nb).”

Part II: The Clergy

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

Besides a slightly inaccurate copy of the inscriptions of the back pillar, this statuette has never been published. Nonetheless, it has received a small degree of scholarly attention for its inscriptions and art historical features. The object is a standing naophorous statuette of roughly cylindrical shape. The priest wears a wrap-around garment with a large knot over an undergarment tied around the left shoulder. 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, 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.

72 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 nūry) (e.g. G.T. Martin, The Tomb of Hetepka, 1979, p. 92 and pl. 69).

73 S. Sharpe, Egyptian Inscriptions from the British Museum and other sources I, 1837, pl. 24B.


78 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., CIÉ 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.

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

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. \textit{infra, 1b}, note [j]).

**Inscriptions**

\textbf{1a. Front of naos}

The front of the naos contains a short offering formula that is completely destroyed on the right side (\textit{Pl. 2}).\textsuperscript{84}

\begin{align*}
\text{htp-di-nsw n Êmn-R' p\textperiodcentered\textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered \textperiodcentered

\begin{align*}
\text{Mw.t-wr.t nb.(t)-Îšrw} \\
\text{Hînsw-p=hrd (a) r wr tpy n Êmn} \\
\text{pr [nb] hr wdh.t-sn [\ldots]} \\
\end{align*}

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.\textsuperscript{85}

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\textsuperscript{80} RÖSSLER-KÖHLER, \textit{Individuelle Haltungen zum ägyptischen Königtum}, p. 256, n. 195.
\textsuperscript{82} H.W. FAIRMAN, “A Statue from the Karnak Cache”, \textit{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”, \textit{RdE} 57, 2006, p. 16, n. 40.
\textsuperscript{84} Inscriptions on the front of the naos are somewhat rare in the Ptolemaic Period, cf. Å. ENGSHEDEN, “Philologische Bemerkungen zu spätzeitlichen Texten”, \textit{LingÆg} 13, 2005, pp. 46-47; to which one should add I. GUERMEUR, “Glanures (§3-4)”, \textit{BIFAO} 106, 2006, pp. 106-107.
\textsuperscript{85} WILD, \textit{BIFAO} 54, 1954, p. 213, n. 73; cf. also \textit{Porte de Mout}, n° 11, 32.
1b. Back pillar (Pl. 2)

The back pillar contains three columns of well-preserved text.\textsuperscript{86} 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. \textit{it-nfr lmn-m-\textit{lp.t}-s.wt}
   \textit{w`b n Mn-lmn} (a)
   \textit{imy-\textit{h.t} (b) hry wnmy n Hnsw-pz-\textit{hrd} `z wr tpy n \textit{lmn}}
   \textit{hm-nfr lmn nsw-t.w} (c)
   \textit{hm-nfr n ntr.w} (d)
   \textit{`nh-pz-\textit{hrd} (e) mz'-hrw}
   \textit{mmy-`\textit{t} (f) (g) (h) (i) (j) (k)}

2. \textit{s\textup{-}n-tmz} (\textup{?}) \textit{hry s\textup{-}n-tmz} (\textup{?})
   \textit{dd-Hnsw-iw=f` `nh mz'-hrw}
   \textit{tr(t).n nb(t)-pr lhy.t lmn-R'}
   \textit{t\textup{2}-sr.y.t-MnW}

3. \textit{mnt-w-mw.wt` m dz}s n k`k
   \textit{hr h\textit{w ntr.w r-mm mn}}
   \textit{rd\textit{i}.n-i lht n lmn.w nwr pr=k}
   \textit{szms.w wn(w) m-\textit{ht}=k}\ (l)
   \textit{sdd=k pr=i m t\textup{2} n `nh.w}

1. The god’s father, prophet of Amun in Karnak,
   priest of Min-Amun,
   \textit{imy-\textit{h.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,

\textsuperscript{86} A handcopy with several errors was previously published by SHARPE, \textit{Egyptian Inscriptions} 1, pl. 24B.
The Theban Cult of Chonsu the Child in the Ptolemaic Period

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 im:\hw,
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. 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-\t is closely associated with child gods, and it was held by two other priests of Chonsu the Child (Docs. 4 and 7).

(c) Tentatively understanding nty as a slightly unusual orthography of the indirect genitive nty (nt\r). Theban priests rarely carry titles associated with the temple of Tod, despite

festival connections between the two cities. This local form of Amun bears comparison with: “Amun [...] the great, Lord of the Two Lands within Tod (Imn [...] wr, nb t.; wy hry-ib Dw.t)” mentioned once at Tod II, n° 228, n. e-e.

(d) The epithet “great of prestige (‘-ṣfy.t)” appears to designate Amun within the main sanctuaries of Karnak Temple.

(e) The name Anchpakhered (Gr. Chapokrates) was extremely common among Theban priests in the Late Period, and it most likely alludes to Chonsu the Child.

(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. A Ramesside inscription, meanwhile, mentions “Amun in the pr-hyn” in a list of Theban forms of Amun. Min-Amun-Re-Kamutef appears frequently in Theban temple reliefs from the Graeco-Roman Period, and many priests were in the service of Kamutef.


92 Note that the Sixth Pylon, the innermost gate, was named “Menkheperre, Beloved of Amun Great of Prestige (Mn-hpr-r’t ‘nyr Imn ‘-ṣfy.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-‘ṣfy.t” within Karnak Temple, cf. L. MANNICHE, “Amun ‘ṣfy.t in a Ramessid Tomb at Thebes”, GM 29, 1978, p. 80; THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, The Temple of Khonsu I, pl. 56B.


94 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. BOTMEN, ESLP, n° 18; VITTMANN, Priester und Beamte im Thiben der Spätzeit, p. 122-124; Fr. PAYRADEAU, “La statue Caire CG 717 et la famille de Ânkhpakhéred fils de Pashedmout”, RdE 56, 2005, pp. 203-207; cf. also infra, Docs. 4 and 7.

95 H. RICKE, Das Kamutef-Heiligtum Hatschepsuts und Thutmoses’ III. in Karnak: Bericht einer Ausgrabung vor dem Muttempelbezirk, BABA 3/2, 1954, pp. 42-43; PM II, 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.

96 KR VI, 550, 1 (cited by LGG 1, 325).

97 Propylône d’Amon-Rê-Montou, §§ 233-235; Porte d’Évergète, pl. 44; Urk. VIII, n° 134; 164; Oper I, 258; Medinet Habu, First Pylon (PM II, p. 462 [10g]), and Gate of Dometian (PM II, p. 475, D); Deir el-Médîna, n° 30, 7; ABD EL-RAZIQ, Die Darstellungen und Texte des Sanctuars 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. LAUFRAY, “Note sur les portes du 1er pylône de Karnak”, Kêmi 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.\(^99\)

\[\text{BM EA 92} \quad \text{JE 37993}^{100} \quad \text{CG 22071}^{101}\]

Although Jansen-Winkeln tentatively read \(\text{sš} \ n\text{d.w}/\text{nwd.w}^{\text{102}} \) “scribe of the (sacred) oils,” (\textit{loc cit.}), the orthographies and the prefix \(\text{hry}^{\text{103}}\), “chief,” suggest that all three examples represent “unetymological” orthographies of title “scribe of the mat (\(\text{sš} \ n\text{tm}\)),” especially since this word frequently appears in abbreviated fashion in the Late Period as \(\text{rsnt}\) and \(\text{rsntw}\). Alternatively, the second word might represent the title \(\text{ntz(tz)}^{\text{104}}\), “judge,” which frequently applies to Chonsu-Thoth as divine administrator.\(^{104}\)

(h) The pronoun \(\text{nw≠μ}^{\text{105}}\), “I,” is fairly common in the Ptolemaic Period.\(^{105}\) The pronouns of the deities in this section have previously caused a small degree of confusion.\(^{106}\) However, the entire passage makes perfect sense if one keeps in mind that the temple of Chonsu the Child was

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\(^{100}\) \textit{Id.}, \textit{BRIS} I, pp. 102 and 107, n. 18.

\(^{101}\) \textit{Id.}, \textit{BRIS} II, p. 377, e3.

\(^{102}\) A. KAMAL, \textit{Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines}, 1904, p. 66.


\(^{104}\) For this title, see J. QUAGGEBEUR, “La justice à la porte des temples et le toponyme Premit”, in Chr. Cannuyer, J.-M. Kruchten (ed.), \textit{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), \textit{Ägyptologische Tempeldekoration. Systeme und Programme der ägyptischen Tempeldekoration, ÄAT 33}, 1, 1995, p. 5, suggested that this word, often spelled \(\text{ntz-tz}\), could be a reduplication of \(\text{ntz}\), “to wander”; however, the latter verb was pronounced as \(\text{nt}\) in the late period (OSING, \textit{Hieratische Papyri as Tebtunis I}, pp. 79 and 81, n. 1), and thus the second \(-t\) may simply write a final consonantal \(-t\); cf. J.C. DARNELL, “Hathor Returns to Medamûd”, SAK 22, 1995, p. 53, n. h.


\(^{106}\) WILD, \textit{BIFAO} 54, 1954, 200, n. 38, assumed that \(\text{pr=tu}\) was a mistake for \(\text{pr pn}\), “this house”; VITTMANN, \textit{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 (ḥy n Rê).”


(k) Restoring either “the pa[th of god] (m[tn ntr]),” or “[your] pa[th] (m[tn-k]).”

(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.

(m) The four Ka’s were the basic wishes expressed in many autobiographies: long life, abundance, descendants, and a good burial.

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.

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

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

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108 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.


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

Material: Dark Grey Schist.
Dimensions: Height - 53.5 cm; Width - 13.2 cm; Depth - 21.3 cm.
Provenance: Somewhere near Karnak, precise location unknown.

Inscriptions
2a. Arms

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

\[hm-nfr \; Hr-mn \; Isw.t\]
\[hm-nfr \; lv.t-nfr(t)\]
\[Wn-nfr \; mz\text{'}-hrw\]

Prophet of \(Hr-mn\) of \(Isw.t\),

Prophet of \(lv.t-nfr.t\),

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
p.BM 10026, r°1D

S. ALBERSMEIER, Untersuchungen zu den Frauenstatuen des ptolemäischen Ägypten, AegTrev 10, 2002, pp. 263-264, n. 446; D. MEEEKS, 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.


116 For the garment, cf. the discussion of BM EA 92 (supra, Doc. 1).

117 Cf. BOTHMER, ESLP, p. 100.


119 Cf. PM II, 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.

120 JANSEN-WINKELN, MDAIK 60, 2004, p. 100, Abb. 4, line 6 (alternatively reading “Horus von Mn-jst”; cf. infra).

One Theban priest served $Hr$-$mn$ in an obscure location named $p$-$mr$-$n$-$zd$, while another was prophet of $Hr$-$mn$ in Armant ($Iwny$). A further example may occur in a broken context in the inscription of Montuemhat from the Mut Temple. In each case, the component $mn$ is spelled phonetically, and thus the name probably does not represent a syncretistic Horus-Min.

The name of the goddess $Iw.t$-$nfr.t$, meanwhile, appears as follows:

BM 55254, back pillar
BM 55254, left arm
p.BM 10026, r° 1D

The name $Iw.t$-$nfr.t$ (possibly: “the beautiful one has arrived”), naturally calls to mind Nefertiti and similar names ($\mu w$-$nfr$, $\mu \mu$-$nfr$, $\mu \mu$-$nfr.t$).

The toponym $Isw(.t)$ 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
JE 37847, front

The closest parallel to this toponym is $Iw$-$sw.t$ which the nomarch Ankhtifi mentions in connection with Armant. A location near Armant or Rizeiqat would also be reasonable for the Late Period examples.

122 BM 8461, line 2 = M.L. Bierbrier, HTBM 111, 1987, pls. 74-77 (cited by Andrews, Ptolemaic Legal Texts, p. 20, n. 11); if the component $zd$ in this toponym derives from $zd$, “crocodile” (Wb. I, 24, 11), then one might compare the name of a canal near Armant called “the water of the crocodile’s tail ($p$-$mw$-$n$-$zd$-$n$-$ms$)”: D. Meeks, Le grand texte des donations au temple d’Edfou, BdE 59, 1972, p. 62, n. 44.

123 WAG 22.215; G. Steindorf, 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).


125 One might compare names such as $Hr$-$mnf(w)$, “Horus has moored” (Ranke, PN I, 248, pp. 19-22).

126 LGG 1, 153, interpreted this name as masculine: $iw$-$ty$-$nfr$, “Der gänzlich Willkomene,” 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.

127 Cf. De Meulenaere, op. cit., p. 89.

128 Ranke, PN I, p. 10, 5-8; II, p. 370.

129 P.BM 10026, r° 1D = Andrews, op. cit., p. 18; De Meulenaere, op. cit., p. 89, already recognized the similarity of these toponyms.

130 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-Winkeln 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).

Alternatively, the name *Hr-mn* could also be a sportive writing of the god Hemen (*Hmn*), or Menchwy (*Mnhwy*), both hieracophelic gods from nearby Asfou and Mo’alla. The primary goddess of Asfou was *Isis-tr-t-nfr-t*, an epithet that is at least phonetically similar to *lw-t-nfr-t*. Although Asfou was slightly distant from Thebes, Wennefer was also a priest of Horus of Hierakonpolis, roughly twice the distance to Asfou. Furthermore, another priest of Chonsu the Child and Mut, Homefer, was also a priest of Hemen and Menchwy (infra Doc. 8).

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, 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:

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

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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.


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

135 Compare *hr.t*, “eye,” (< *g3t/g3nt*) and *lw.t*, “without,” (< *nt*).


1. \(d\neq f\)

(i) \(\textit{hm}.\textit{w-ntr}.\textit{w} \textit{it}.\textit{w-ntr}.\textit{w} \textit{nw} \textit{lmn-R}^\prime\) (a)

(ii) \(\textit{w}^\prime\textit{b}.\textit{w} \textit{\'w}.\textit{w} \textit{nw} \textit{Nwn}\) (b)

2. \(\textit{\'q}.\textit{w} \textit{(c)} \textit{\'q}.\textit{ib}.\textit{w} \textit{\'q}.\textit{w} \textit{hr} \textit{b}.\textit{w-wr}

\(\textit{hry}.\textit{w-sst}:\textit{d} \textit{(d)} \textit{smr} \textit{3}. \textit{w} \textit{\'h} \textit{(e)} \textit{n} \textit{(f)} \textit{p\textit{wtry}-\textit{t}.\textit{wy}}\) (g)

\(\textit{shtp}.\textit{w} \textit{wr}-\textit{\''f}.\textit{t} \textit{m/n}\textit{m} \textit{w}.\textit{t-nbw=}\textit{f}\) (h)

\(\textit{wr}.\textit{w} \textit{W}_{2}\textit{st} \textit{4}. \textit{rh}.\textit{w} \textit{m} \textit{j}.\textit{h}.\textit{t}\) (i)

\(\textit{bw}.\textit{w} \textit{nw} \textit{b}.\textit{k}.\textit{t-ntr}.\textit{w}\) (j)

\(\textit{\'q}.\textit{w-pr}.\textit{w} \textit{hr} \textit{ir}.\textit{(t)} \textit{qblw} \textit{hz}=\textit{f} \textit{tw}\) (k)

\(\textit{sh}.\textit{2}. \textit{k}.\textit{\textit{i}} \textit{r-nfr}\) (l)

\(\textit{wdb}.\textit{w} \textit{(t)} \textit{r=tn} \textit{m-h} \textit{t}\) (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: \(\text{\textit{\'\text{m}n-R}' = \text{Amun-Re.}}\)^{139}

(b) \(\text{\textit{\'\text{m}n-R}}\) is a variant of the more common spelling of Nun \(\text{\textit{\'\text{n}n}}\)^{140} The “great \(w^\prime b\)-priests” often occur in similar texts, sometimes bringing sacred water into the sanctuary; see H. DE MUELENAERE, “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 (\textit{ir} \textit{rm} \textit{nty} \textit{[m mn]} \textit{nty} \textit{tw} \textit{tw} \textit{(hr) ir}.\textit{(t)}\textit{f r} \textit{rn n} \textit{Hr}.\textit{h} \textit{z}. \textit{R}’ <\textit{pw}> \textit{dg}.\textit{z}=\textit{f} \textit{[m]} \textit{nt}" (MEEEKS, 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. DARNEILL, 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. Wh. II, 214; WPnP, 497; Urk. VIII, n° 18b; 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 (\textit{mp} \textit{r nw}=\textit{f} \textit{m} \textit{Nwn} \textit{wr}).”

(d) Tentatively reading  \[ \text{ḥr} = hry.w, \]  141 \[ \text{s} = s (< z), \]  142 \[ \text{ḥf} = ḫf.w, \]  and \[ \text{ḥh} = t₂. \]  Thus obtaining \( hry.w \ sšt \). However, the following standing mummy is difficult to explain. Perhaps it incorrectly determines the hpr-scabar,143 or perhaps it writes “Amun.”144

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

(f) Assuming confusion between \( \text{ḥh} \) and \( \text{ḥh} = n(w) \), based on the parallel in JE 47277; the same interchange occurs on the back pillar inscription, col. 2 (\( z₂\ 4-nw \)).

(g) One expects a designation of Amun here, and the most frequent epithets ending with \( t₂.wy \) are nb ns.wt t₂.wy, “Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands,” and p₂wty-t₂.wy, “Most Primeval of the Two Lands.” The latter interpolation may find support in MMA 07.228.28, where the priest Nesparumedu invokes \( \text{ḥh} \) perhaps to be read \( ḫm-wr \ p₂wty-t₂.wy \). The reading \( p₂wty \) could derive from a simple material variation on \( p₂wty \), combined with \( t₂ < t₂ \), simultaneously alluding to the primeval scarab-form of the solar god.146

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

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141 The hobble frequently writes \( h/hy < hry.t \), “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 \( hry.t-ḥb \), “terror” (A.H. GARDINER, The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage from a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden [Pap. Leiden 344 recto], 1909, p. 29).


143 The standing mummy frequently determines the word hprw, “manifestation” (Wb. III, 266).

144 KLOTZ, Adoration of a Ram, p. 21, n. A.

145 Cf. the title m₂₂-ds₂r-m₃-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 smw.w-ḥḥ, see Wb. IV, 138, 6; H. GUJKISCH, Königsdienst, SAGÄ, 11, 1994, pp. 243-244.

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


148 E.g. Urk. VIII, n° 52g, 102c and 140k; Opjet 1, 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 (\( t².s.wt \)), was also devoted to Amun wr-ṣfy.t; GROTHOFF, Die Tornamen, pp. 89-90, 100, 425, 487.

149 Compare the remarks of Diodorus Sicius 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).

150 The hwr.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;
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(i) Jansen-Winkeln (SAK 36, 2007, p. 51) translated \( r\dot{h}.w \ m \ z\dot{h}.t \) 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 \( r\dot{h} \), “to learn; gain knowledge,” aptly describes the priestly initiation within the Akh-Menu of Karnak, here called the Akhet.\[151\]

(j) Reading: \[\text{[Image]}\] = \( b\dot{w}z.w \), \[\text{[Image]}\] = \( b\dot{k}t \ < b\dot{k}t \), “pregnant woman,”\[153\] and \[\text{[Image]}\] = \( ntr.w \),\[154\] to read \( b\dot{k}(\dot{t})t-ntrw \), “the realm of the gods,”\[155\] all based on the parallel in JE 47277.

(k) The quotation is introduced by the previous preposition, \( hr \).\[156\] The phrase “may he (sc. the god) praise you (\( hzi-f tw \))!” is a standard funerary wish.

(l) The same abbreviated spelling of \( r-nf(r) \) appears in similar contexts on statues of the Thirtieth Dynasty and early Ptolemaic Period.\[158\]

(m) Although the reading of the first word is unclear,\[159\] similar appeals to rewards in the future (\( m-\dot{h}t \))\[160\] are frequent on Egyptian statues.\[161\]

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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 \( b\dot{z} \), “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 \( b\dot{z}.t-ntr.w \), “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.


160 For the two trees writing \( m-\dot{h}t \), cf. Jansen-Winkeln, BRIS I, p. 251, n. 21; II, p. 434, c4.

161 Cf. K. Jansen-Winkeln, Sentenzen und Maximen in den Privatinschriften der ägyptischen Spatzeit, Achet B1, 1999, pp. 67-68: “It will be useful for you in the future (\( \dot{h}.t \ m-\dot{h}t \))”, or ibid., pp. 62-64: “He who performs good, will find it in the future (\( lr \ h\dot{w} nfr gm-f \ m-\dot{h}t \))” (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 İmnn m ḫp.t-s.zwt
hm-ḥḏ(.t) ḫm-Hr (a)
w nb Hnsw-p₂-ḥrd ḫ wb tpy n İmnn z₂ 4-nw
hm-ntr s₂ḥ ḫw.t-ntr z₂ 3-nw n ḫr m Nḥn (b)
s₂ḥ t₂ (c) n pṛ ḫmnn-ḫp.t 2. z₂ 3-nw
s₂ḥ ḫw.t-ntr ḫmy-ḥbd-f n İmnn ḫ tpy
ḥry mnḥ.ḥ (d) ḫr ḫ 4-nw
hm-ntr Bṣ.ṣ.ḥ ḫr(.t)-ib W₂ṣ.t (e) z₂ tpy z₂ 2-nw
hm-ntr ḫr-mn ḫw.t-nfr.t n nfr.w ḫsw.t
Wn-nfr ḫm̱-ḥrw
z₂ Ns-p₂-mdw (f) ḫm̱-ḥrw
ir-n nb(.t)-pr t₂-ḥ(y)-b(leting) ḫm̱-ḥrw (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 ḫr-mn, ḫw.t-Nfr.t, and the gods of ḫsw.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. 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.
(b) Priests of Horus of Hierakonpolis are rather uncommon in Thebes.
(c) This rather common title most likely refers to wooden boxes used for storing papyri.

162 See primarily the discussions of Traunecker, Quaeghebeur, 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 *hry mnḥ.t* (*n pr ḫmn*).

(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.

(g) The mother’s name was also quite common in Graeco-Roman Thebes.

**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. This statue left the Egyptian Museum in the early twentieth century, probably through a legitimate purchase. 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. Given the circumstances, Bothmer identified the statue from the antiquities market

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163 Already noted by Traunecker, Quaeghebuer, 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 Hierakopolis, cf. also Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*, p. 20.


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.pba-auctions.com/html/fiche.jsp?id=422621&n=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.\(^1\)

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.”\(^2\) 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.\(^3\)

3a. Back pillar (Pl. 5)

The only inscriptions are two columns on the back pillar.

1. \(\mu\text{t-nÚr }\text{hm-nÚr }\text{Ìm-nÚr }\text{m }\text{lp.t-s.wt}\)
   \(\text{hm-nÚr }\text{hd(1.t) w'b }\text{Hr }\text{m }\text{Nh}n\)
   \(\text{n }\text{Hnsw-p2-hrd 'z wr tpy }\text{n }\text{Ìmnn}\)
   \(\text{hr}y\text{-mnh.t }\text{n }\text{Ìmnn}\)
   \((\text{imy)-r2 sn n }\text{Ìmn sš htm.t-nÚr (a)}\)
   \(\text{P2-di-Ìmm-nb-nsw.t-t2.wy m2'-'hrw}\)

2. \(\text{z2 n it-nÚr }\text{hm-nÚr }\text{Ìm-nÚr m }\text{lp.t-s.wt}\)
   \(\text{Wn-nfr m2'-'hrw}\)
   \(\text{z2 n it-nÚr }\text{hm-nÚr n Mw.t-wrt nb.t }\text{lśrw}\)
   \(\text{Ns-p2-mdw m2'-'hrw}\)
   \(\text{iri.n nb(t)-pr lhy.t }\text{Ìmn-R'}\)
   \(\text{Ns-Hr-p2-hrd m2'(1. t)-hrw}\)
   \(\text{mnt(1.w) d.t zp-snw}\)

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,

\(^1\) 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).
\(^2\) Bothmer, ESLP, p. 100, noting this feature is common in the fourth century BCE.
\(^3\) 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 Iserhu,
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 \((imy)r\)-\(\text{-s}\n\) or \((ir)\)-\(\text{-s}\n\), the former title occurs quite often in conjunction with \(s\h_{tm}.t-nfr\).\(^{177}\)

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).\(^{178}\)

- God’s father and prophet of Amun in Karnak \((it-nfr \ hm-ntr \ \text{Imn-m-Ip.t-s.wt})\) (A and B)
- Prophet of the White Crown and Horus \((hm-hd.t \ Hr)\) (A and B)
- Prophet of Bastet within Thebes \((hm-ntr \ Bst.t \ hr.t-tb \ W2s.t)\) (A)
- \(\text{R-}\)-scribe of the temple of Amun \((s\h \text{Rw.t-nfr \ Imn})\) (A)
- Prophet of \(Hr\)-\(mn\) of Isw, and the gods of Isw.t \((hm-ntr \ Hr-nn \ Isw.n2 \ nfr.w \ Isw.t)\) (A)
- Lesonis of Amun \((imy-r\)-\(\text{-s}\n \text{n \ Imn})\) (B)
- Scribe of the Divine Seal of Amun \((s\h \text{htm.t-nfr \ n \ Imn})\) (B)

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

\(175\) For similar spellings of \(imy-r\), see primarily Ch. KUENTZ, “Remarques sur les statues de Harwa”, *BIFAO* 34, 1934, pp. 154-157.
\(176\) For the title \(ir\)-\(\text{-s}\n\), see most recently CONTARDI, *Orientalia* 75, 2006, pp. 152-153.
\(178\) P.BM 10026, ro 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.\(^\text{179}\)

The priest is depicted carrying a seated child-god on a throne, possibly Chonsu the Child.\(^\text{180}\) Bothmer initially dated this statue to the Twenty Seventh Dynasty, but many features are more characteristic of the Thirty ninth Dynasty or early Ptolemaic Period.\(^\text{181}\)

4a. Back pillar\(^\text{182}\)

1. htp di nsw.t Ímn-$n$-nsw.t-t₂.wy
   
   Mov.t-wr.t $n_b(t)$ Ššrw
   
   Hnsw-p₂-$hrd$ [’$'$ wr tpy n] (a) Ímn
   
   Wsr.Skr hry-$lb$ ššy.t (b)
   
   di-$sn$ pr.r₁-$hrw$ k₂.w $zp.d.w$ m $ḥt$ nb $nfr$ w‘$b$ n k₂ n
   
   Wsr it-nfr hv-$nfr$ Ímn m ḥp.t-s.wt
   
   2. ’$nh-p₂-$hrd$ m₂‘-$hrw$
   
   z₂ it-nfr hv-$nfr$ Ímn m ḥp.t-s.wt
   
   hv-$nfr$ Wsr m hw.t-$bnbn$ (c)
   
   imy-$h.t$ n Hnsw-p₂-$hrd$ ’$'$ wr tpy n Ímn (d)
   
   Wn-$nfr$
   
   ir.n nb.t pr šm|$y.t$ Ímn-$R’$
   
   Ns-$Ḥr-p₂-$hrd$
   
   mn(w) w’h(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

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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-.ḥ.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.”

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

(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*), 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. 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. Osiris within the *hw.t-bnbn* could thus simply refer to Osiris at East Karnak.

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

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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.


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.


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 Nehmesseratawy, 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). 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-nfr n nb.t Ìšrw)” (ll. 6-8). 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.” Although the exact provenance of the object is unknown, the inscriptional evidence strongly suggests that the statue originally sat in the Mut Temple Precinct. A similar cuboid statue of Djedchonsefanch was found in the Karnak Cachette (JE 37104), 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):

- God’s father and prophet of Amun in Karnak (it-nfr hm-nfr n Ìmn m Ìp.t-s.wt) (A, B, C).
- Prophet of the Userhat-bark of Amun (hm-nfr wsr-h2.t (n) Ìmn) (A, B, C).
- Priest of Amunet within Karnak (w'b n Ìmn.t hr.t-ib Ìp.t-sw.t) (B).
- Attendant of the great and pure offering-table of Amun (îmy-s.t-îp htp 'z w'b (n) Ìmn) (A, C).
- Chief of the Side-Lock of Chonsu the Child, the very great, first-born of Amun (hnyw-p2-hrd ‘z wr tpy n Ìmn) (A, C).

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191 DONADONI ROVERI, op. cit., pp. 115-117.
192 Ibid., pp. 118-119.
193 Already noted by DONADONI ROVERI, op. cit., p. 113.
195 After JANSEN-WINKELN, BRIS 1, p. 219.
196 Amunet was the primary goddess of Karnak Temple, while Mut presided over the Isheru in her separate temple precinct; cf. KLOTZ, Kneph, pp. 87-89.
Prophet of the swaddling-clothes of Chonsu the Child \((hm\text{-}ntr\ nwd.t\ n Hnsw-p:\text{-}hrd)\) (A).

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

This cuboid statue belongs to Smende s, the brother of Djedchonsefanch \((supra\ \text{Doc. 5})\). Among his standard sacerdotal duties is the title \(\text{mr}mty.w\), which Jansen-Winkeln tentatively read as “overseer of nurturers \((hnmyt.w)\) of Chonsu the Child.” Hieroglyphic copy should actually read: \(\text{mr}mty.w\).

**Doc. 7. Cairo, JE 37993**

Chapokrates, son of Pakharchonsu, is known from a cuboid statue from the Karnak Cachette. He shares a number of titles in common with other priests of Chonsu the Child: God’s father and prophet of Amun in Karnak \((it\text{-}ntr\ hm\text{-}ntr\ n Imn\ m Hpt\text{-}swt)\).

Prophet of Chonsu the Child, the very great, first-born of Amun \((hm\text{-}ntr\ Hnsw-p:\text{-}hrd\ \text{wr}\ \text{tpy} \ n Imn)\).

\(\text{t}r\)-scribe \((s\text{š} \text{t})\) (cf. **Doc. 2**).

Chief nursing priest \((hry\text{-}hnmyt.w)\) (cf. **Docs. 6, 8, 9**).

**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. Hornefer held a number of priestly titles spanning the

\[198\] Although the meanings of \(b\text{š}q\), “to shave,” and \(b\text{š}qw\), “barber,” are well-established (Wb. III, 365, 1-5; Gardner, *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 [LII, 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 \(hry\text{-}b\text{š}q\) was in charge of the ceremonial side-lock worn by the cult statue of Chonsu the Child. Such a word \(b\text{š}q\), “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 (\(hry\text{-}b\text{š}q\)) 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.

\[199\] Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, p. 55-6, pls. XXIX and CXV, n° 163; collated *in vissu* with the assistance of Regine Schulz.

\[200\] *Ibid.*., pl. CXV, n° 163B, col. 1; Jansen-Winkeln, *BRIS* I, p. 218; this may be a variant of the title \(imy\text{-}r:\z:\text{rpy}\ n Imn\) recorded on stela British Museum EA 22914, line 3 bis; cf. Bierbrier, *HTBM*, pl. 34-35 (Twenty-Sixth Dynasty), or \(imy\text{-}r:\ mm\text{š}w\) (cf. de Meulenaere, in Quaegebeur [ed.], *Studia Pablo Naster oblata* II, p. 29, n. 29; Collombert, *RdE* 48, 1997, pp. 39-40).


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 ḫmnty n ḫnsw-p₂-hrd ʼ: wr ṭpy n ḫmn),” and elsewhere he is simply referred to as “prophet of Chonsu the Child (hm-ntr ḫnsw-p₂-hrd),” it is quite likely that this was his most important responsibility. 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), and an appeal to priests who enter “the temple of Mut in order to make proskynesis for the Mistress of gods and goddessess.” The latter passage led Wild to speculate on the statue’s origin:

“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. The owner was a certain Takhybiat, daughter of Chapokrates and Tanubet. In addition to the common “Singer of Amun-Re (iḥy.t n ḫmn-R’),” Tachibiat bore another title which Albersmeier copied as , but which the photograph shows is actually , “nurse of Chonsu the Child (ḥmnty n ḫnsw-p₂-hrd).”

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

207 Ibid., p. 207.
208 Published by Albersmeier, Untersuchungen zu den Frauenstatuen, pp. 131-132, 323-324, pls. 9, 73-74 (no 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 (éd.), «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, p. 159; Albersmeier (op. cit., p. 131, n. 763) argued against reading ḫmnty because of the damage; however, the inscription is clear from the published photograph; for the title, cf. supra, n. 202; Coulon (in Delattre, Heilporn [éd.], «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. 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 (ḏw ḥr ṭḥnw n Ḥnsw-p₂-hrd “ersistent priest of Amun” (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. The owner is a certain Padichons, son of Hor and Takhybiat, and he bears the title “chief dancer of Chonsu the Child (ḥry-tnf n Ḥnsw-p₂-hrd).” Although little is known about the provenance, the inscriptions suggest the statue also came from Thebes in the Ptolemaic Period.

CONCLUSION

The documents discussed above represent an interesting subgroup of the Theban priesthood in the 30th 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. 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 Child).

212 Noted to the author by H. De Meulenaere; the statue is unpublished, but see already PM II, p. 157; Jansen-Winkel, BRIS 1, 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).

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


215 So PM VIII, 801-798-070 and Quaegebeur, 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).

Child). The inscriptions suggest that this object also comes from the Mut Temple, 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, and contains an invocation offering for “Mut the Eye of Re [...] and Chonsu the Child, the very great, first-born of Amun.” A final testimony to the cult of Chonsu the Child comes from the famous statue of Ahmose (JE 37075), who tells the goddess Mut:

\[
\text{ni } \text{iwr } \text{sr } \text{pr-Mw.t} \\
\text{hr } \text{sdr } \text{n } \text{Hnsw} \\
\text{bwt } \text{wr.w } \text{m } \text{hb-f nfr} \\
\text{id.t w } \text{hsw nsw Pwn.t}
\]

I never spent a moment away from the Mut Temple, trembling for Chonsu (during) the great food-offering in his beautiful festival, 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, Hw.t-nfr.t and the gods of Isw.t” (cf. supra, Doc. 2).

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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.


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


223 A text from North Karnak mentions “a great food-offering (ʼb.wt ʼz.t)” presented during the festival of I Shomu, the birth festival in the Mut Temple (*Urk*. VIII, no 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 Buusche, Axel Vervoordt).
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Documents de Théologies Thébaines Tardives

(D3T 1)

Textes réunis et édités par
Christophe Thiers

Montpellier, 2009
En couverture, Porte du 2ᵉ pylône de Karnak (tableau nord).
Photographie © Cnrs-Cfeteck/-Fr. Gout.
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