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SUMMARIUM

Commentationes

- F. CONTARDI, The stela of Seshen-Nefertem from the tomb of Shehsonq
(TT 27) (Tab. XI) 141-155

Recensiones

- M. SMITH, Papyrus Harkness (J. F. QUACK) 156-160
J. D. RAY, Demotic Papyri and Ostraca from Qasr Ibrim (J. F. QUACK) 160-161
H. KEEL-LEU - B. TEISSIER, Die vorderasiatischen Rollsiegel der
Sammlungen "Bibel+Orient" (C. FELLI) 162-165
La civiltà dei Hurriti (C. MORA) 165-169
M. MALAISE, Pour une terminologie et une analyse des cultes isiaques
(F. E. BRENK) 169-171

- Libri ad Directionem missi 172-176

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früheren Jahren) 1*-100*

COMMENTATIONES

The stela of Seshen-Nefertem from the tomb of Sheshonq (TT 27)

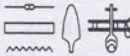
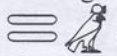
(TAB. XI)

Federico CONTARDI

The excavations carried out by the Egyptological Institute of the University of Rome "La Sapienza" at the funerary complex of Sheshonq (TT 27), Western Thebes, brought to light a stela (Pl. XI), which does not belong to the owner of the tomb, but to a man named Seshen-Nefertem. The name, "Lotus-of-Nefertem", is not previously attested, either in Ranke, *Personennamen*, or in the addenda compiled by M. Thirion¹, or in *Demotisches Namenbuch*.

The four fragments which, when put together, almost completely make up the stela (only a small triangular fragment is missing) were found during three campaigns of clearance in the large subterranean hypostyle-hall (fig. 1). According to the excavation diary, the first fragment (A) was discovered in October 1976; the second and the third (B, C), in October 1977. Finally, in June 1988, the missing fragment (D) was located among the debris in the fill near the top of the shaft leading to the burial chamber in the southwest corner of the hall².

The limestone stela measures 49 cm in height and is 35.5 cm wide. The upper half is divided into two zones of representations; below there are seven lines of text giving the titles of Seshen-Nefertem and concluding with the names of his father and mother.

In the lunette, the deceased, labelled simply  Sšn-Nfr-tm, is shown kneeling at the right in the solar bark, worshipping the sun-god shown as a ram with the solar disc on his head. He is called , Re-Horakhty. Under the tips of the wings, the west-standard is shown on

¹ "Notes d'onomastique. Contribution à une révision du Ranke *PN*", *RdE* 31 (1979) 81-96; 33 (1981) 79-87; 34 (1982/83) 101-114; 36 (1985) 125-143; 37 (1986) 131-137; 39 (1988) 131-146; 42 (1991) 223-240; 43 (1992) 163-186; 45 (1994) 175-188; 46 (1995) 171-180; 52 (2001) 265-276; 54 (2003) 177-190.

² Diverging dates, cited in some earlier references to the fragments, are to be corrected.

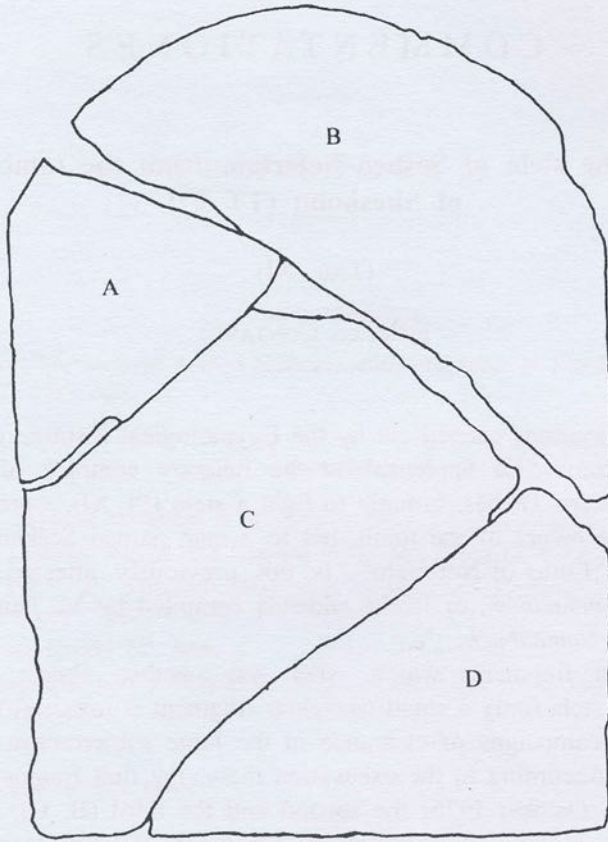


Fig. 1

the right and the east-standard on the left. The base line for the scene is provided by a *pt*-sign that stretches across the width of the symmetrical tableaux below which appears the deceased, again kneeling, and labelled "the Osiris Seshen-Nefertem". He worships the standing figure of Re-Horakhty on the right and of Atum on the left. Seshen-Nefertem wears the leopard-skin, indicative of his priestly offices. Between the two tableaux there is a vertical column of text reading *dd mdw ïn Wsir ït-ntr Sšn-Nfr-tm* "Words spoken by the Osiris, god's father Seshen-Nefertem". The texts are well preserved, unlike the figures in the solar bark and the depictions of Seshen-Nefertem below, all of which are abraded.

Some traces of the original polychromy remain: gilt on the rudder of the bark, the leopard skin, and the collar worn by the owner of the stela;

blue pigment on the *pt*-sign, the *ibt* standard, and the wing of the solar disc; red pigment on the bark, the leg of the *w'b* sign, the *hwt-ntr* sign, and the block border which runs across the top and down both sides of the decorated and inscribed field. A block border is unusual in the decoration of a stone stela. Examples on plastered and painted wooded stelae do not include the circle in the pattern as it occurs here.

Exactly the same block-border pattern, consisting of four dashes alternating with a circle, is found on a fragmentary limestone stela (P 72700+72747)³ from the tomb of Padihorresnet (TT 196). The cutting of the hieroglyphs is also very similar. This second stela, like the stela from Sheshonq's tomb, does not belong to the tomb owner; it would seem that it too dates to the same period.

𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃𐀄𐀅𐀆𐀇𐀈𐀉𐀊𐀋𐀌𐀍𐀎𐀏𐀐 1

𐀑𐀒𐀓𐀔𐀕𐀖𐀗𐀘𐀙𐀚𐀛𐀜𐀝𐀞𐀟𐀠𐀡𐀢 2

𐀣𐀤𐀥𐀦𐀧𐀨𐀩𐀪𐀫𐀬𐀭𐀮𐀯𐀰𐀱𐀲𐀳 3

𐀴𐀵𐀶𐀷𐀸𐀹𐁀𐁁𐁂𐁃𐁄𐁅𐁆𐁇𐁈𐁉𐁊𐁋 4





𐁌𐁍𐁎𐁏𐁐𐁑𐁒𐁓𐁔𐁕𐁖𐁗𐁘𐁙𐁚𐁛𐁜 5

𐁝𐁞𐁟𐁠𐁡𐁢𐁣𐁤𐁥𐁦𐁧𐁨𐁩𐁪𐁫𐁬𐁭 6

𐁮𐁯𐁰𐁱𐁲𐁳𐁴𐁵𐁶𐁷𐁸𐁹𐁺𐁻𐁼𐁽 7

³ E. Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet, Obervermögensverwalter der Gottesgemahlin des Amun (Thebanisches Grab Nr. 196)* (Monumenta Aegyptiaca IX; Turnhout 2003) I 141-142, II pl. 65.

The following paleographical and orthographic features are noteworthy:

- The *tm*-sign, whether alone or in the composite hieroglyph reading *nfr-tm*, is always written  even when the text reads from left to right.
- The \int -sign (in line 7) is always reversed.
- In the left scene, Atum's name is written  with the determinative before the phonetic complement.
- In the name of the goddess *W3st* (line 1), Δ follows the determinative.
- In the mother's name, *Ns-nb-htp* (line 7), the sequence of the signs *t* and *p* is reversed.
- The head of  is consistently very rounded.
- The scribe's palette  always shows four recesses for ink, instead of the usual two.

Text

¹*dd mdw in W3sr it-ntr hm-ntr n 'Imn m 'Ipt-swt hm-ntr n W3st nht nb(t)*
hps nht ²hps

Words spoken by the Osiris, god's father^(a), prophet of Amun in *'Ipt-swt*, prophet of Waset the victorious^(b), possessor of power^(c), strong of arm^(d),

sš hwt-ntr imy 3bd.f n pr 'Imn hr s3 tpy 4-nw sš t3y n pr 'Imn ³n s3 4-nw
hr s3 3-nw

scribe of the temple in-his-month^(e) of the temple of Amun from the first and fourth *phyle*, scribe of *t3y* of the temple of Amun from the fourth *phyle* as well as the third *phyle*^(f),

hm-ntr n W3sr m hwt bnb n pr 'Imn n s3 3-nw 4-nw

prophet of Osiris in the *benben* temple^(g) of the temple of Amun from the third and the fourth *phyle*,

hm-ntr n ⁴ntrw pr šn' n pr 'Imn p(3) 4 s3 i3wty (?) p(3) mdw n pr 'Imn n s3 tpy
prophet of the gods of the *pr-šn'*^(h) of the temple of Amun from the four *phylai*⁽ⁱ⁾, dignitary (?) of the staff^(j) of the temple of Amun from the first *phyle*,

hm-ntr n W3sr-Pth nb 'nh ⁵idnw pr Mwt wrt nb(t) 'Išrw s3 tpy 2-nw msd'
n p(3) s3 pr Mwt wrt nb(t) 'Išrw

prophet of Osiris-Ptah, lord of life^(k), *idnw*^(l) of the temple of Mut, the great, mistress of Isheru^(m) from the first and the second *phyle*, *imy-st-*⁽ⁿ⁾ from the *phyle*^(o) of the temple^(p) of Mut, the great, mistress of Isheru^(q),

⁶*w'b ;bd n pr 'Imn 'Ipt w'b {n} n ntrw pr Hnsw ỉry šn n pr 'Imn s3 4-nw*
 monthly priest⁽⁶⁾ of the temple of Amun of Luxor, priest of the gods
 of the temple of Khons, *ỉry šn⁽⁶⁾* of the temple of Amun from the
 fourth *phyle*,

⁷*Sšn-Nfr-tm m3'-hrrw s3 ỉt-ntr hm-ntr n 'Imn m 'Ipt-swt Psmṯk m3'-hrrw*
ms Ns-nb-ḥtp

Seshen-Nefertem, justified, son of the god's father, prophet of Amun
 in *'Ipt-swt* Psammetik, justified, born of *Ns-nb-ḥtp⁽⁶⁾*.

(a) The title *ỉt-ntr*, "god's father", is attested since the Old Kingdom⁴. Its reference changed with time. From the Old Kingdom until the beginning of the New Kingdom it was held by men of royal rank or relatives of the king. The same title could designate the tutor of princes and princesses⁵. Beginning in the reign of Ay, it is used as a priestly title with particular reference to the gods Amun, Min, and Ptah⁶. The holder ranked higher than a *w'b*-priest⁷, but lower than a *hm-ntr*⁸.

The writing $\overline{\text{P}}$ here and in line 7 is comparatively unusual. It is otherwise attested, for example, in the inscriptions of the block-statue Cairo JE 37864 of the Late Period⁹.

(b) *W3st*, as a personification of the Theban nome, is documented first in Dynasty IV in the composition of one of the triads (Cairo JE 40678) from the pyramid complex of Menkaure; the figure is male¹⁰. Subsequently, for example in the reliefs of the solar temple of Neuserre, Waset is shown as a woman¹¹, in conformity with the feminine gender of the word. By the late Middle Kingdom, it came to refer specifically to the city of Thebes, from which the figure of *W3st nḥtt*, "Waset (Thebes) the victorious" derives. One of the oldest examples of this new creation is found

⁴ D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, I (BAR S866; Oxford 2000) 345.

⁵ For this assumption, see the discussion by B. Bryan, in: E. Dziobek - M. Abdel Raziq, *Das Grab des Sobekhotep: Theben Nr. 63* (AV 71; Mainz 1990) 85-86.

⁶ L. Habachi, *LÄ* II, 825-826; L. Habachi, "God's Fathers and the Role they played in the History of the First Intermediate Period", *ASAE* 55 (1958) 167-190; H. Brunner, "Der 'Gottesvater' als Erzieher des Kronprinzen", *ZÄS* 86 (1961) 90-100; H. Kees, "Gottesväter als Priesterklasse", *ZÄS* 86 (1961) 115-125.

⁷ R. A. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum [Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.3]* (Providence 1962) 30.





⁸ Parker, *A Saite Oracle* 30; G. Lefebvre, *Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amon de Karnak jusqu'à la XXI^e dynastie* (Paris 1929) 19.

⁹ K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Biographische und religiöse Inschriften der Spätzeit aus dem Ägyptischen Museum Kairo*, II (ÄAT 45; Wiesbaden 2001) 422 (text a, line 4).

¹⁰ *PM* III, 28.

¹¹ E. Edel - S. Wenig, *Die Jahreszeitenreliefs aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Neuser-re* (Berlin 1974) pl. 5.

on the stela Cairo JE 59635 of Neferhotep III (Dyn. XIII)¹² where *W3st nh3tt* is a woman, standing and holding a bow and arrows in one hand and a mace with curved blade in the other. This warlike aspect of the goddess, which evolved in the troubled times of the Second Intermediate Period, persisted down into Ptolemaic times¹³.

(c) The epithet *nb(t) hpsš* “possessor of strength” is associated with great frequency with the goddess “Thebes the victorious”. The two references given by P. Vernus¹⁴ in support of the reading of the epithet as “mistress of the sickle sword” do not bear scrutiny, since they are based on J. Leclant’s incorrect reading¹⁵ of an inscription in the hypostyle hall, Karnak, after Lepsius *Denkmaeler* III, 221 g (where *nb(t) hpsš* is not written  [so Leclant], but ). Moreover, the second reference cited by Vernus (*The Bubastite Portal*, pl. 3) does not support such an interpretation either, because there, too, the writing is . Nevertheless, the epithet “mistress of the sickle sword” does exist: an inscription in the small temple of Ramesses III at Karnak preserves the writing ¹⁶.

(d) The epithet *nh3t hpsš* applied to *W3st* here seems unique¹⁷. For epithets of the goddess *W3st nh3tt*, see the compilation of L. A. Christophe, *Les divinités des colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle et leurs épithètes* (BdE 21; Le Caire 1955) p. 52.

(e) The title “scribe of the temple” is very common, beginning in the Old Kingdom; it indicates an officer responsible for accounts¹⁸. The expression *imy 3bd.f* (“who-is-in-his-month”) informs us that Seshen-Nefer-tem worked as a scribe of the temple one month in each season. One of the oldest documents which combines the post of scribe of the temple with monthly service is pCairo JE 71.580 (ex pBerlin 10.005) from Illahun¹⁹.

¹² P. Vernus, “La stèle du roi Sekhemsankhtaouyrê Neferhotep Iykhernofert et la domination Hyksôs (Stèle Caire JE 59635)”, *ASAE* 68 (1982) 129-135.

¹³ Vernus, *ASAE* 68, 135. Further literature about *W3st nh3tt*: W. Helck, “Ritualszenen in Karnak”, *MDAIK* 23 (1968) 119-120; H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, I (Le Caire 1925) 179; E. Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaus* (UGAÄ 16; Berlin/Leipzig 1952) 7-8.

¹⁴ Vernus, *ASAE* 68, 130 note 2.

¹⁵ J. Leclant, *Montouemhat, quatrième prophète d'Amon, prince de la ville* (BdE 35; Le Caire 1961) 225 note (av).




¹⁶ M. G. Legrain, “La litanie de Ouasit”, *ASAE* 15 (1915) 276; J. Dümichen, *Geographische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler*, I (Leipzig 1865) pl. 93 and *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, I (Oriental Institute Publications 25 [1936]) pl. 59B.


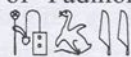


¹⁷ Note that the compilation by Ch. Leitz (*Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, IV [Leuven/Paris/Dudley] 314) lists no reference to the goddess *W3st* under the entry *nh3t hpsš*.

¹⁸ A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, I (Oxford 1947) 58*; Jones, *Index* II 862.

¹⁹ L. Borchardt, “Besoldungsverhältnisse von Priestern im mittleren Reich”, *ZÄS* 40 (1902/3) 114.

(f) The scribe's title associated with *tj* (*tjy*)²⁰ is documented from the Third Intermediate Period through the Ptolemaic Period; it is usually made more specific by the addition of the name of a temple²¹, very frequently the temple of Amun (*sš tj n pr 'Imn*)²².

The more common writings are  (on the stela CGC 22141²³, Philadelphia UME 15994²⁴, and BM EA 8455²⁵) and  (on the stela CGC 22010²⁶ and the statues Cairo JE 37987²⁷, Baltimore WAG 173 and WAG 174²⁸), but the writing  is found only on the stela Brooklyn 16.211²⁹.

The orthography  used here is otherwise known only on the stela fragments P 72747 + P 72700 from the tomb of Padihorresnet (TT 196)³⁰, but there is a variant adding the determinative  on the statue Cairo JE 37196³¹. The concluding  renders the simple vowel ending; cf.  > Coptic *xt*.

The title seems to be "scribe of the container", as suggested by the citations listed in the *Wörterbuch*³² for the word *tjy* "wooden container for foodstuffs"³³. Use of the term in the Abusir Papyri led Helck to believe that this container held the offerings which reverted to the priests³⁴. Thus this scribe was responsible for recording and accounting, to guarantee the correct distribution of the offerings.

²⁰ For bibliographical references to this title: Jansen-Winkeln, *Biographische und religiöse Inschriften* I 17 note 2.

²¹ The mention of the temple is seldom omitted; one example is found on a stela in Turin (A. Fabretti - F. Rossi - R. V. Lanzone, *Regio museo di Torino: Antichità egizie* [Torino 1882] 152-153, n. 1557).

²² For other temples mentioned, see S. Aufrère, "La stèle de Harsiési, prêtre d'Amon", *ASAE* 68 (1982) 32.

²³ A. Kamal, *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines: CGC 22001-22208* (Le Caire 1904) pl. 41.

²⁴ A. Leahy, "An Unusual Spelling of *krst*", *GM* 31 (1979) 73.

²⁵ M. L. Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, II (London 1987) pl. 62-63.

²⁶ Kamal, *Stèles* pl. 5.

²⁷ B. V. Bothmer, "The Block Statue of Ankh-Khonsu in Boston and Cairo", *MDAIK* 37 (1981) 75-83.

²⁸ G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore 1946) 59-61.

²⁹ P. Collombert, "Hout-Sekhem et le septième nome de Haute-Égypte II: les stèles tardives", *RdE* 48 (1997) 19. For other writings of this title, cf. Collombert, *RdE* 48, 21.

³⁰ Graefe, *Padihorresnet* I 141-142, II pl. 65; *CdE* 50 (1975) 64 fig. 20.

³¹ E. Bresciani, "La statua di Gedkhonsefankh, profeta di Osiri-Heqa-Get «della divina adoratrice Scепенupet» nel museo del Cairo", *SCO* 25 (1976) 13-21.

³² *Wb* V 342; *Wb* V 349, 5-8.

³³ See P. Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris* I (BM 9999), II (BdE 109; Le Caire 1994) 92 and 139; H. W. Helck, "Die Inschrift über die Belohnung des Hohenpriesters 'Imn-ḥtp", *MIO* 4 (1956) 174.

³⁴ B. Schlick-Nolte, in: V. von Droste et al., *Liebighaus Museum Alter Plastik. Ägyptische Bildwerke II. Statuetten, Gefässe und Geräte* (Melsungen 1991) 187.

The title of scribe of the *tj* is very often confused with the title of “scribe of the *tm*”, especially when the latter is abbreviated . *Sš tj* is, however, never written with the indirect genitive, characteristic of the title *sš n tm*; moreover, writings of the latter never use the sign ³⁵.

(g) The title *hm-ntr n Ws'ir m hwt bnb n* also occurs in the texts of the statues Cairo JE 38016 (which dates to Dyn. XXVI)³⁶ and JE 37847 (IVth century B.C.)³⁷ as well as in the inscriptions on a bronze vessel in the Louvre³⁸. *Bbn(t)* or *bnnt* is the name of the temple of Khons at Karnak³⁹, which, according to tradition, emerged from Nun⁴⁰. The writings, documented in this temple are: during Dyn. XX, and from the end of Dyn. XX, and from Dyn. XXV⁴¹.

The mention of the cult of Osiris in connection with the temple of Khons suggests that Osiris possessed a chapel consecrated in this temple⁴².

(h) The terms *pr-šn'* and *šn'* are variants of a single word. From the Old Kingdom till the Middle Kingdom both forms are attested (O.K.: and ; M.K.: and), while from the New Kingdom, only the writing *šn'* occurs. The writing *pr-šn'*, which fell into disuse after the Middle Kingdom, ought to be considered an archaism here.

Since the Old Kingdom, *pr-šn'* designated a place of production and processing in both state and temple institutions⁴³. In the temple it was the place where the offerings intended for the god's altars were prepared.

³⁵ B. Haring, “The Scribe of the Mat from Agrarian Administration to Local Justice”, in: R. J. Demarée – A. Egberts, *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium AD: A Tribute to Jac. J. Janssen* (Leiden 2000) 133-134. In n. 24, p. 133 Haring cites literature demonstrating this confusion.

³⁶ H. Selim, “The Naophorous Statue JE 38016 in the Cairo Museum”, *MDAIK* 56 (2000) 367-368 and pl. 40b.

³⁷ K. Jansen-Winkel, “Zwei Statuen der Spätzeit aus der Cachette von Karnak”, *MDAIK* 60 (2004) 100 and 103.

³⁸ P. Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée égyptien du Louvre* II (Paris 1878) 121.

³⁹ C. Nims, “Places about Thebes”, *JNES* 14 (1955) 117; K. Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* (Berlin 1929) 31 and 118; Otto, *Topographie* 32-33.

⁴⁰ Otto, *Topographie* 32-33 and 33 note 1.

⁴¹ K. Sethe, *Amun* 31.

⁴² The existence of an Osiris chapel is noted by P. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak* (Cairo 1962) 13; see also Selim, *MDAIK* 56, 368 with n. 70.





⁴³ D. Franke, “Ein bisher nicht gedeuteter Beititel der Sieglervorsteher in der 13. Dynastie: *sdmj šn'* ‘Richter der Arbeiter im Arbeitshaus’”, *GM* 53 (1982) 17; D. Polz, “Die *šn'*-Vorsteher des Neuen Reiches”, *ZÄS* 117 (1990) 47. For *šn'* in the Old Kingdom: J. J. Poppelkin, *Das ‘Schnau-Haus’ im Alten Reich* (Moscow 1960); P. Andrassy, “Das *pr-šn'* im Alten Reich”, *SAK* 20 (1993) 17-35; W. C. Hayes, “Royal Decrees from the Temple of Min at Coptus”, *JEA* 32 (1946) 9. For the Middle Kingdom: Franke, *GM* 53, 15-21; D. Franke, “Nachtrag zum ‘Richter der Arbeiter’ (*sdmj šn'w*)”, *GM* 54 (1982) 51-52. For the New Kingdom: S. S. Eichler, *Die Verwaltung des ‘Houses des Amun’ in der 18. Dynastie* (SAK Beihefte 7 [2000]) 97-113; Polz, *ZÄS*

Traunecker has located four *šn'* in Karnak temple. The first was the building south of the sacred lake restored by Psammuthis; the second stood west of the Montu temple; the third was at the northwest corner of the temple of Khons, virtually in front of the sacred lake; the fourth was in the Mut enclosure⁴⁴.

Because *pr šn'* on the stela is specified as *n pr 'Imn* it should be an institution located within the Amun enclosure. Thus the candidates are the Psammuthis building and the *šn'* of the temple of Khons. But since the text distinguishes between *pr 'Imn* and *pr Hnsw*, it appears very likely that the Psammuthis building is meant.

Seshen-Nefertem's rank "priest of the gods of the *pr šn'*" documents an otherwise poorly attested aspect of this institution, viz. that a cult was performed there. This aspect, which supplements the institution's economic function, was noted by Traunecker. Since Dyn. XXV, the *šn'* have a sacral value (*šn' w'b*), confirmed archaeologically by the presence of chapels inside⁴⁵.

(i) The mention of all four *phylai* provides a *terminus ante quem* for the inscription, because the Canopus decree added a fifth *phyle* in 238 B.C.⁴⁶. Therefore the stela must date from before 238 B.C.

(j) : This title with such an obscure writing is composed of two words. The second  is *p(?) mdw* (staff/standard), mistakenly substituting the graphically similar  for . The standard, topped by the head of the god to which it was consecrated (here the ram of Amun), was an object of worship. A special category of priests (*hm-ntr n p(?) mdw*) served its cult⁴⁷.


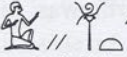
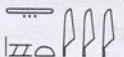

117, 43-60; W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* (Leiden/Cologne 1958) 268. For the Late Period: C. Traunecker, "Les «Temples Hauts» de Basse Époque: Un aspect du fonctionnement économique des temples", *RdE* 38 (1987) 147-162; D. Berg, "The 29th Dynasty Storehouse at Karnak", *JARCE* 24 (1987) 47-52; G. Vittmann, "Zwei Spätzeittitel", *SAK* 21 (1994) 338.

⁴⁴ Traunecker, *RdE* 38, 147-162.




⁴⁵ Traunecker, *RdE* 38, 158.

⁴⁶ J. Quaegebeur, "Documents concerning a cult of Arsinoe Philadelphos at Memphis", *JNES* 30 (1971) 250; J. Quaegebeur, "Prêtres et cultes thébains à la lumière de documents égyptiens et grecs", *BSFE* 70-71 (1974) 41.

⁴⁷ W. Spiegelberg, *Rec.Trav.* 25 (1903) 184-190; W. Spiegelberg, "Zum ägyptischen Stabkultus", *Rec.Trav.* 28 (1906) 163 note 5; B. van de Walle, "Le Pieu Sacré d'Amon", *Archiv Orientalni* 20 (1952) 111-135; H. De Meulenaere, "Une statuette égyptienne à Naples", *BIFAO* 60 (1960) 128; E. Drioton, "Les dédicaces de Ptolémée Evergète II sur le deuxième pylône de Karnak", *ASAE* 44 (1944) 111-162 (esp. 140); 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) 468 n. g; H. Satzinger, "Der heilige Stab als Kraftquelle des Königs. Versuch einer Funktionsbestimmung der ägyptischen Stabträger-Statuen", *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 77 (1981) 9-43.

The identification of the first word of the title  is uncertain. I think that two readings are possible; both of them derive from a prototype in cursive writing. The first is *ḥwty* (dignitary), related to ⁴⁸. The most significant differences between the two writings are: 1) the position of the horns, which do not rest directly on top of the vertical sign, but rather intersect it below the umbel; 2) the separation of the coil of rope from the vertical sign, a phenomenon sometimes encountered with complex signs in hieratic. An example is  (pBoulaq 4, 22,2), written instead of ⁴⁹.

The title “dignitary of the standard”, not otherwise attested, could designate the priest who was responsible for the holy standard of the god⁵⁰.

The alternative reading is *wḏ* “to transfer, to hand over”⁵¹, its writing updated to reflect the contemporaneous pronunciation of the word (Coptic **ΟΥΩΤΕ*), perhaps with a transposition resulting from a misinterpretation of a hieratic model. The correct hieroglyphic writing is , from which it differs in that *w* and *t* are written before the biconsonantal sign. The combination of the *wḏ* sign with the horns (*wḏ*) probably resulted from the interpretation of the hieratic sign from which this writing derives. In fact, the top of the hieratic sign *wḏ* in the Late and Greco-Roman Periods ⁵² ⁵³ typically resembles a pair of horns. When the draftsman of the stela transposed this hieratic sign into a hieroglyph, he could have rendered the vertical sign as *wḏ* instead of *wḏ* — sometimes actually used in this word (*Wb* I 394) — and he added the appendix-like pair of horns.

If this alternative be accepted, then the meaning of the title *wḏ pḥ mdw* — otherwise unattested — would be “the one who hands over (as-signs) the staff”.

(k) At Karnak, the chapel of Osiris-Ptah-Nebankh lies southeast of Pylon X and east of the avenue of crio-sphinxes leading to the Mut enclo-

⁴⁸ *Wb* I 29, 14 (R. A. Parker – J. Leclant – J. C. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak* [Providence/London 1979] pl. 22, column 1).

⁴⁹ Further references: J. Quack, *Die Lehren des Ani: Ein neuägyptischer Weisheitstext in seinem kulturellen Umfeld* (OBO 141; Freiburg/Göttingen 1994) 59.

⁵⁰ In some inscriptions *ḥwty* has the meaning “priest”: C. Vandersleyen, “Une tempête sous le règne d’Amosis”, *RdE* 19 (1967) 145, pl. 10 line 21; Parker–Leclant–Goyon, *Edifice of Taharqa* 51 with n. 34, pl. 22, column 1; P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu* (Leuven 1997) 32.


⁵¹ *Wb* I 395 B.


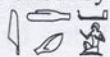
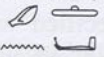
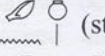
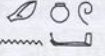

⁵² G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, III (Leipzig 1912) sign 474 (pBremner).

⁵³ Möller, *Paläographie* III sign 474 (Ritual).

sure⁵⁴. The chapel which dates to Dyn. XXV (the inner rooms are decorated with the representation of Taharqa and Tanutamun) comprises two rooms, preceded by four columns.

(l) *Idnw* means literally "substitute", and it is used both in the civil and the military sphere⁵⁵. Here, as in many other cases, the office for which it substituted is not named⁵⁶.

The writing  seems to be otherwise unattested. Possibly it is a phonetic writing reflecting the actual pronunciation of the word *idnw*, with the shift from the *d* sound to the *t* sound (cf. *mdw* > Coptic $\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon$).

The following writings of the word may be added to those cited by the *Wörterbuch*⁵⁷:  (stela Bologna KS 1910, Dyn. XII-XIII)⁵⁸,  (statue Leipzig 6019, Dyn. XVIII)⁵⁹,  (stela BM EA 549, Dyn. XIX-XX)⁶⁰,  (statue BM EA 1726, Dyn. XIX-XX)⁶¹,  (stela BM EA 161, Dyn. XIX)⁶²,  (stela Cairo CG 22050, Ptolemaic Period)⁶³.

(m) *Isheru* refers to the horseshoe-shaped lakes within temple enclosures of leonine goddesses and subsequently to the temples themselves⁶⁴. Although the only preserved example is Mut's *Isheru* immediately south of the Karnak temple enclosure, others existed, at Memphis for the goddess Sekhmet, at Buto for Wadjet, at Bubastis for Bastet, and at Elkab for Nekhbet⁶⁵.

The oldest mention of Mut in association with *Isheru* goes back to the Second Intermediate Period and occurs in the text on the base of a fragmentary black granite dyad in the British Museum (BM EA 69536) which

⁵⁴ For a description of the monument with a plan and photos, see: J. Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV^e dynastie dite éthiopienne* (BdE 36; Le Caire 1965) 110-113 and pl. 68-70. A handcopy of the reliefs is found in A. Mariette - G. Maspero, *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie* (Paris 1889) pl. 79-87, p. 27.

⁵⁵ Gardiner, *AEO* I 25*; A. R. Schulman, *Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom* (MÄS 6; Berlin 1964) 34.

⁵⁶ A. H. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II (Oxford 1948) 20.

⁵⁷ *Wb* I 154, 6-9.

⁵⁸ E. Bresciani, *Le stele egiziane del museo civico archeologico di Bologna* (Bologna 1985) 35.

⁵⁹ R. Krauspe, *Katalog ägyptischer Sammlung in Leipzig: Statuen und Statuetten*, I (Mainz 1997) pl. 58.

⁶⁰ M. L. Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, 12 (London 1993) pl. 62.

⁶¹ Bierbrier, *Egyptian Stelae* 12, pl. 26.

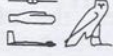
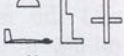
⁶² M. L. Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, 10 (London 1982) pl. 52.


⁶³ Kamal, *Stèles* pl. 15.



⁶⁴ B. Geßler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen ägyptischer Tempel* (HÄB 21; Hildesheim 1983); J. Yoyotte, "Études géographiques II", *RdE* 14 (1962) 75-111.

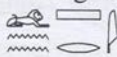

⁶⁵ Geßler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen* 401.

shows the goddess beside one of the kings named Sobekemsaef⁶⁶. At her enclosure south of Karnak, Mut, “mistress of Isheru”, was worshipped as a lioness, as is confirmed by the syncretic links with other leonine goddesses, such as Sekhmet, Bastet, and Wadjet⁶⁷.

(n)  is the unetymological writing of the title  *imy-st-'*, pronounced **msVt'V*. In this compound the feminine ending was pronounced, as shown by the Old-Coptic gloss **CEΤΑΙ** written above the word *st-'* in pCarlsberg 180⁶⁸. The title is commonly rendered “assistant”, “ritual assistant”⁶⁹ or “official” (“the one who is in charge”)⁷⁰.

(o) The group  seems to be understood as the article *p(?)* followed below by a vertical stroke with the function of a filling sign. In the expression *n p(?) s?* it is not specified which *phyle*, maybe because in this institution the duty was organized in only one turn.

(p) The sign  is an inept rendering of .

(q) Note that *isrw* is written  instead of .

(r) This is, of course, the title *w'b imy ibd.f*.

(s) The meaning of the title *iry sn* is not clear. More common and better attested is the title *mr sn*, rendered **λεσδωνις** in Greek texts and **Ⲛⲁϣⲁⲛⲉ** in Coptic. Known since Dyn. XXII, it denotes the person appointed to make the inventory and to inspect the properties of the temple. It is an administrative title, linked to the root *sn* “to inspect, to inquire into”⁷¹. De Meulenaere proposed another etymology⁷², identifying it with the word “Ring” (*Wb* IV, p. 488). Accordingly, *mr sn* and *iry sn* may indicate those who possessed the seal which was placed on the records.

⁶⁶ M. Eaton-Krauss, *OLZ* 96 (2001), col. 199 (review of M. Seidel, *Die königlichen Statuengruppen* [HÄB 42; Hildesheim 1996]).

⁶⁷ Gebler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen* 415.

⁶⁸ For details, see J. Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis*, I (Copenhagen 1998) 116 note x.


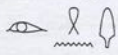
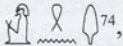


⁶⁹ Parker, *A Saite Oracle* 30; Bresciani, *SCO* 25, 15; R. K. Ritner, “Denderite Temple Hierarchy and the Family of Theban High Priest Nebwenenef: Block Statue OIM 10729”, in: D. P. Silverman, *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer* (SAOC 55; Chicago 1994) 217; H. Kees, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat von Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit* (PÄ 1; Leiden/Cologne 1953) 301.

⁷⁰ P. Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï (Les papyrus d'Abousir)*, I (BdE 65; Le Caire 1976) 5; J. Quaegebeur, “La table d’offrandes grande et pure d’Amon”, *RdE* 45 (1994) 163.

⁷¹ F. De Cenival, *Les associations religieuses en Égypte d’après les documents démotiques* (BdE 46; Le Caire 1972) 154-159; Quack, *Ani* 91 n. 17; H. De Meulenaere, “Une famille sacerdotale thébaine”, *BIFAO* 86 (1986), 136-137; M. Weber, “Eine Statuette des Month-Priesters Penmaa”, in: U. Verhoeven – E. Graefe, *Religion und Philosophie im Alten Ägypten: Festgabe für Philippe Derchain* (OLA 39; Leuven 1991) 344 n. c.

⁷² De Meulenaere, *BIFAO* 86, 136-137.

Thus *iry šn* should mean “one appointed to control” or “one appointed to [keep] the seal”.

Here the sign depicting locks of hair  is a phonetic determinative. Other writings attested include:  (statue Cairo RT 8/12/24/3)⁷³, ⁷⁴,  (statue Cairo JE 36984)⁷⁵,  (statue Cairo JE 37196)⁷⁶.

(t) The name of Seshen-Nefertem’s mother *Ns-nb-ḥtp* (“One who belongs to [the goddess] *Nbt-ḥtp*”⁷⁷) is listed by Ranke⁷⁸ and in the *Demotisches Namenbuch*⁷⁹, but in both as a man’s name. The use of *ns-* to express possession, pronounced εσ- or σ- as Greek texts show, is not gender specific, unlike *ny-sw/ny-sy* in earlier periods.

The stela can be dated on both textual and iconographic grounds. As already remarked above, note (i), the fact that Seshen-Nefertem was “prophet of the gods of the *pr-šn*’ of the temple of Amun from the four *phylai*” (*ḥm-ntr n ntrw pr šn’ n pr ’Imn p(š) 4 sš*) provides a *terminus ante quem* of 238 B.C. The solar bark appears as an iconographic motive in the Theban area especially in the 4th to the 3rd century B.C.⁸⁰ It therefore seems justifiable to date the stela to Dyn. XXX, or at the latest to the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period.

The presence of Seshen-Nefertem’s stela in Sheshonq’s tomb could be taken as evidence that the tomb was reused at that time.

The text is simply a list of the titles borne by Seshen-Nefertem which do not seem to be arranged in a hierarchical order. Instead, the series mentioned in lines 3-6 would seem to parallel the topography of the various institutions served by the owner (fig. 2), moving southwards from the *ḥwt-bnbn* (Temple of Khons, line 3; fig. 2 A) and the *pr-šn*’ (line 4; fig. 2 B), located to the south of the sacred lake in Karnak Temple (see note h), to the chapel of Osiris-Ptah *nb ’nh* (fig. 2 C), east of the crio-sphinx avenue linking the precinct of Amun with the Mut enclosure. There follow two

⁷³ H. De Meulenaere, “Trois membres d’une famille sacerdotale thébaine”, *CdE* 68 (1993) 57.

⁷⁴ G. Daressy, “Notes et remarques”, *Rec.Trav.* 23 (1901) 130 f.

⁷⁵ M. I. Bakr, “Amon, der Herdenstier”, *ZÄS* 98 (1972) 1-4.

⁷⁶ Bresciani, *SCO* 25, 14 n. c reads *šn*’ instead of *šn*, but the arm is a determinative, not a phoneme.

⁷⁷ For this goddess, see W. Gutekunst, “Nebet-hetepet”, in: *LÄ* IV, 362-363; J. Vandier, “Iousâas et (Hathor)-Nébet-Hétépet”, *RdE* 16 (1964) 55-146; *RdE* 17 (1965) 89-176; *RdE* 18 (1966) 67-142.

⁷⁸ Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 177, 17, 18, noting the emendation by M. Thirion, “Notes d’onomastique. Contribution à une révision du Ranke *PN*”, *RdE* 34 (1982-83) 104.

⁷⁹ E. Lüddeckens, *Demotisches Namenbuch*, I, Lieferung 9 (Wiesbaden 1989) 683.

⁸⁰ P. Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen* (Glückstadt 1973) 40 f., 47 f. and 176-177.

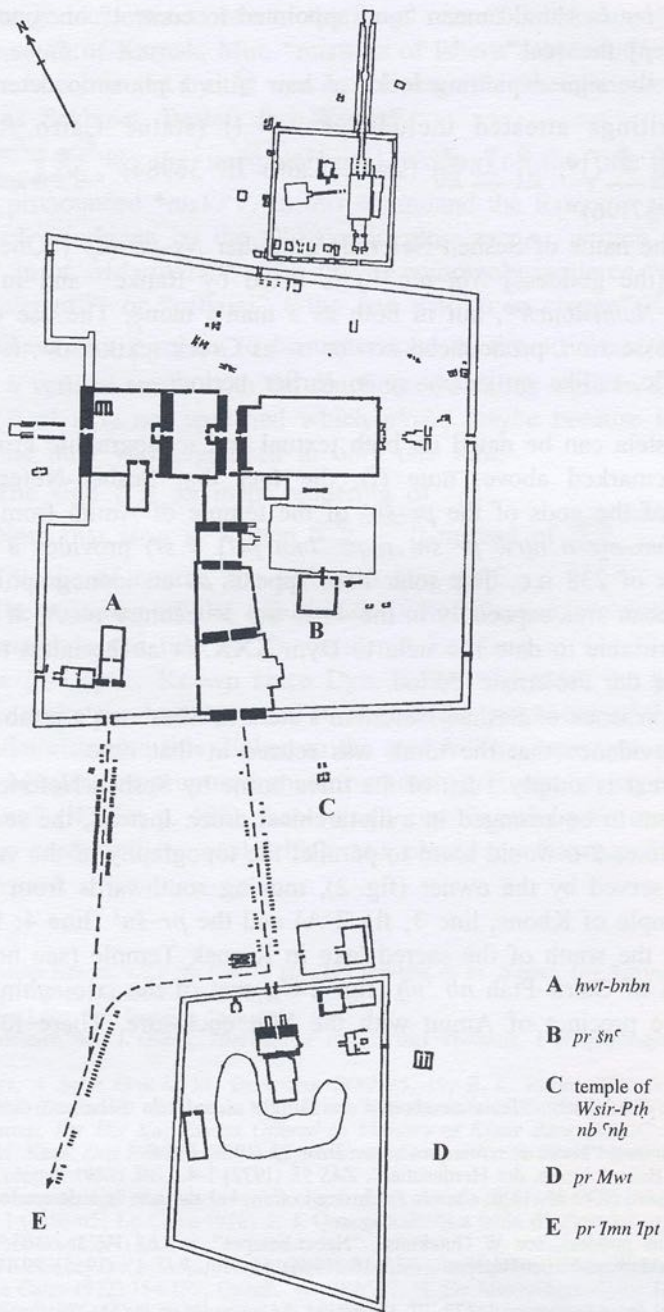


Fig. 2 - Karnak Temple

titles (*idnw* and *imy-st-'*) which refer to the Mut complex itself (fig. 2 D). Finally, line 6 mentions Seshen-Nefertem's function in Luxor Temple (fig. 2 E).

This coherently structured core is preceded (lines 1 and 2) and followed (conclusion of line 6) by Seshen-Nefertem's responsibilities in the central enclosure of Amun. The sequence of the titles begins with these offices in the temple of Amun, continues with duties in other institutions moving gradually southwards to Luxor Temple, and then returns to the Amun complex.

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