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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 $Sin-Nfr-im$, 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 $\text{Re-Horakhty}$. Under the tips of the wings, the west-standard is shown on


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

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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 in Wsir it-nfr Sbn-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 *hw'-nr* 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) 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.

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3 E. Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet, Obervermögensverwalter der Gottesgemahlin des Amun (Thebäisches Grab Nr. 196)* (Monumenta Aegytiaca 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 $\text{tm}$ even when the text reads from left to right.
- The $\text{tm}$-sign (in line 7) is always reversed.
- In the left scene, Atum's name is written $\text{Atum}$ with the determinative before the phonetic complement.
- In the name of the goddess Wst (line 1), $\text{Wst}$ follows the determinative.
- In the mother's name, Ns-nb-hip (line 7), the sequence of the signs $t$ and $p$ is reversed.
- The head of $\text{Atum}$ is consistently very rounded.
- The scribe's palette $\text{Atum}$ always shows four recesses for ink, instead of the usual two.

Text

'td mdw in Wsir it-nfr hm-nfr n 'Imn m 'lp-t-swì hm-nfr n Wst nht nb(t) hps nht 'hps

Words spoken by the Osiris, god's father$^{(a)}$, prophet of Amun in 'lp-t-swì, prophet of Waset the victorious$^{(b)}$, possessor of power$^{(c)}$, strong of arm$^{(d)}$.

$sì hwt-nfr imy ibd.f n pr 'Imn hr sì tpy 4-nw sì tpy n pr 'Imn n si 4-nw hr sì 3-nw$

scribe of the temple in-his-month$^{(e)}$ of the temple of Amun from the first and fourth phyle, scribe of tpy of the temple of Amun from the fourth phyle as well as the third phyle$^{(f)}$.

hm-nfr n Wsir m hwt bnbn n pr 'Imn n si 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-nfr n 'nprw pr šn' n pr 'Imn p(t) 4 sì tpyty (?) p(t) mdw n pr 'Imn n si tpy

prophet of the gods of the pr-šn$^{(h)}$ of the temple of Amun from the four phylai$^{(i)}$, dignitary (?) of the staffl$^{(j)}$ of the temple of Amun from the first phyle.

hm-nfr n Wsir-Pth nb 'nḫ ḫdnh pr Mwt wrt nb(t) 'Iršw sì tpy 2-nw msd

n p(t) sì pr Mwt wrt nb(t) 'Iršw

prophet of Osiris-Pthah, lord of life$^{(k)}$, ḫdnh$^{(l)}$ 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$^{(q)}$,
The stela of Seshen-Nefertem from the tomb of Sheshonq (TT 27) 145

w'b ībd n pr 'īmm 'ipt w'b {n} n nsw pr ḫnw ṣn n pr 'īmm sī 4-nw monthly priest(10) of the temple of Amun of Luxor, priest of the gods of the temple of Khons, ḫnw ṣn(11) of the temple of Amun from the fourth phyle,

Seshen-Nefertem, justified, son of the god's father, prophet of Amun in 'ipt-swī Psammetik, justified, born of Ns-nb-htp(10).

(a) The title li-ntr, "god's father", is attested since the Old Kingdom. 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 princesses. Beginning in the reign of Ay, it is used as a priestly title with particular reference to the gods Amun, Min, and Ptah. The holder ranked higher than a w'b-priest, but lower than a hm-ntr(6).

The writing [ ] 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 Period(7).

(b) Wāst, 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 male. Subsequently, for example in the reliefs of the solar temple of Neuserre, Waset is shown as a woman, 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 Wāst nḥt, "Waset (Thebes) the victorious" derives. One of the oldest examples of this new creation is found


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


(4) Parker, A Suite Oracle 30; G. Lefebvre, Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amun de Karnak jusqu'à la XXIe dynastie (Paris 1929) 19.

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

(6) PM III, 28.

on the stela Cairo JE 59635 of Neferhotep III (Dyn. XIII)\(^{12}\) where \textit{Wist nht} 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 times\(^{13}\).

\textbf{(c)} The epithet \textit{nb\(i\) hps} “possessor of strength” is associated with great frequency with the goddess “Thebes the victorious”. The two references given by P. Vernus\(^{14}\) in support of the reading of the epithet as “m\(i\)stress of the sickle sword” do not bear scrutiny, since they are based on J. Leclant’s incorrect reading\(^{15}\) of an inscription in the hypostyle hall, Karnak, after Lepsius \textit{Denkmäler III}, 221 g (where \textit{nb\(i\) hps} is not written \(\sim\) [so Leclant], but \(\sim\)). Moreover, the second reference cited by Vernus (\textit{The Bubastite Portal}, pl. 3) does not support such an interpretation either, because there, too, the writing is \(\sim\). Nevertheless, the epithet “m\(i\)stress of the sickle sword” does exist: an inscription in the small temple of Ramesses III at Karnak preserves the writing \(\sim\)\(^{16}\).

\textbf{(d)} The epithet \textit{nht hps} applied to \textit{Wist} here seems unique\(^{17}\). For epithets of the goddess \textit{Wist nht}, see the compilation of L. A. Christophe, \textit{Les divinités des colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle et leurs épithètes} (\textit{BdE} 21; Le Caire 1955) p. 52.

\textbf{(e)} The title “scribe of the temple” is very common, beginning in the Old Kingdom; it indicates an officer responsible for accounts\(^{18}\). The expression \textit{imy \(\text{idb}\(f\)} (“who-is-in-his-month”) informs us that Seshen-Nefertem worked as a scribe of the temple one month in each season. One of the oldest documents which post the scribe of the temple with monthly service is \textit{pCairo} JE 71.580 (ex. pb\(\text{r}\)Berlin 10.005) from Ilahun\(^{19}\).

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\(^{14}\) Vernus, \textit{ASAE} 68, 130 note 2.

\(^{15}\) J. Leclant, Montouemhat, quatrième prophète d’Amon, prince de la ville (\textit{BdE} 35; Le Caire 1961) 225 note (av).

\(^{16}\) M. G. Lebrun, “La liturgie de Ouasit”, \textit{ASAE} 15 (1915) 276; J. Dämmichen, \textit{Geographische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler}, 1 (Leipzig 1865) pl. 93 and \textit{Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak}, 1 (Oriental Institute Publications 25 [1936]) pl. 59B.

\(^{17}\) Note that the compilation by Ch. Leitz (\textit{Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen}, IV [Leuven/Paris/Dudley] 314) lists no reference to the goddess \textit{Wist} under the entry \textit{nht hps}.

\(^{18}\) A. H. Gardiner, \textit{Ancient Egyptian Onomastica}, I (Oxford 1947) 58\(^{\text{a}}\); Jones, \textit{Index II} 862.

\(^{19}\) L. Borchardt, “Besoldungsverhältnisse von Priestern im mittleren Reich”, \textit{ZAŠ} 40 (1902/3) 114.
(f) The scribe’s title associated with ° (py)29 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 (ss t n pr ‘Imn)22.

The more common writings are " at (on the stelae CGC 2214123, Philadelphia UME 1599423, and BM EA 845523) and " (on the stelae 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 Padhorresnet (TT 196)29, but there is a variant adding the determinative " on the statue Cairo JE 3719630. The concluding " renders the simple vowel ending; cf. " > Coptic ".

The title seems to be “scribe of the container”, as suggested by the citations listed in the Wörterbuch 32 for the word ° "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 priests14. Thus this scribe was responsible for recording and accounting, to guarantee the correct distribution of the offerings.

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

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

21 For other temples mentioned, see S. Aufrère, “La stèle de Harsiési, prêtre d’Amon”, ASAE 68 (1982) 32.

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


25 Kamal, Stèles pl. 5.


29 Graefe, Padhorresnet I 141-142, II pl. 65; CdE 50 (1975) 64 fig. 20.


31 Wh V 342; Wh V 349, 5-8.


The title of scribe of the 𓊿 is very often confused with the title of “scribe of the temple 𓊿”, especially when the latter is abbreviated 𓊿 𓊿. Sf 𓊿 is, however, never written with the indirect genitive, characteristic of the title 𓊿 n 𓊿; moreover, writings of the latter never use the sign 𓊿 𓊿 𓊿 𓊿 𓊿 𓊿.

(g) The title 𓊿 n 𓊿 n 𓊿 𓊿 𓊿 𓊿 also occurs in the texts of the statues Cairo JE 38016 (which dates to Dyn. XXVI) and JE 37847 (IVth century B.C.) as well as in the inscriptions on a bronze vessel in the Louvre. Bnbn(t) or bnnt is the name of the temple of Khons at Karnak, which, according to tradition, emerged from Nun. The writings, documented in this temple are: 𓊿 𓊿 𓊿 𓊿 𓊿 𓊿 during Dyn. XX, 𓊿 𓊿 𓊿 𓊿 and 𓊿 𓊿 𓊿 from the end of Dyn. XX, and 𓊿 𓊿 𓊿 𓊿 from Dyn. XXV.

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

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

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


36 P. Pierret, Recueil d’inscriptions inédites du Musée égyptien du Louvre II (Paris 1878) 121.


45 Otto, Topographie 32-33 and 33 note 1.

46 K. Sethe, Amon 31.

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


49 Traun 238 B.C.

50 Traun 17; Qm 30 (1971) 25 greccs, BSF 1422.

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

Traunecker has located four śn' 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 enclosure.

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

Seshen-Nefertem's rank "priest of the gods of the ṣn'" 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 śn' have a sacral value (śn' w'b), confirmed archaeologically by the presence of chapels inside.

(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. Therefore the stela must date from before 238 B.C.

(ii) This title with such an obscure writing is composed of two words. The second ṣe ṣn' p(t) mdw (staff/standard), mistakenly substituting the graphically similar ṣe for ṣn. 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 (ḥm-ngr n p(t) mdw) served its cult.


44 Traunecker, RÉE 38, 147-162.


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 *lwty* (dignitary), related to *lwty*.

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 *lwty* instead of *lwty*.

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

The alternative reading is *wfl* “to transfer, to hand over” 51, its writing updated to reflect the contemporaneous pronunciation of the word (Coptic *owyt), perhaps with a transposition resulting from a misinterpretation of a hieratic model. The correct hieroglyphic writing is *wfl*, from which it differs in that *w* and *t* are written before the biconsonantal sign. The combination of the *wfl* sign with the horns (*wp*) probably resulted from the interpretation of the hieratic sign from which this writing derives. In fact, the top of the hieratic sign *wfl* in the Late and Greco-Roman Periods 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 *wfl* instead of *wfl* — 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 *wfl* *p3* *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-

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54 *Wb* I 395 B.


56 Möller, *Paläographie*, III sign 474 (Ritual).
The stela of Seshen-Nefertem from the tomb of Sheshonq (TT 27) 151

sure. 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.

(i) ḫdnw means literally "substitute", and it is used both in the civil and the military sphere. Here, as in many other cases, the office for which it substituted is not named.

The writing 𓎆𓎁 seems to be otherwise unattested. Possibly it is a phonetic writing reflecting the actual pronunciation of the word ḫdnw, with the shift from the d sound to the t sound (cf. mdw > Coptic 𓎆𓎁). The following writings of the word may be added to those cited by the Wörterbuch: 𓎆 (stela Bologna KS 1910, Dyn. XII-XIII), 𓎆 (stela EA 1965) from the ḫdnw (statue Leipzig 6019, Dyn. XVIII); 𓎆 (stela BM EA 549, Dyn. XIX-XX); 𓎆 (stela BM EA 1726, Dyn. XIX-XX); 𓎆 (stela BM EA 161, Dyn. XIX); 𓎆 (stela Cairo CG 22050, Ptolemaic Period).

(m) Isheru refers to the horseshoe-shaped lakes within temple enclosures of leonine goddesses and subsequently to the temples themselves. 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 Nekhbet.

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

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44 For a description of the monument with a plan and photos, see: J. Leclant, Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXIVe dynastie (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 Egypte et en Nubie (Paris 1889) pl. 79-87, p. 27.
45 Gardiner, AEO I 254; A. R. Schulman, Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom (MÄS 6; Berlin 1964) 34.
47 WB I 50, 9-4.
48 E. Bresciani, Le stele egiziane del museo civico archeologico di Bologna (Bologna 1985)
35.
51 Bierbrier, Egyptian Stelae 12, pl. 26.
52 M. L. Bierbrier, Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, 10 (London 1982) pl. 52.
53 Kamal, Stèles pl. 15.
55 Geßler-Löhr, Die heiligen Seen 401.
shows the goddess beside one of the kings named Sobekemsaf. At her enclosure south of Karnak, Mut, "mistress of Isheru", was worshipped as a lioness, as is confirmed by the syncretic links with other lionine goddesses, such as Sekhmet, Bastet, and Wadjet.

(n) \( \text{îmy-st-'} \) is the unetymological writing of the title \( \text{îmy-st-'} \), pronounced "msVr V. In this compound the feminine ending was pronounced, as shown by the Old-Coptic gloss \( \text{cetax} \) written above the word \( \text{st-'} \) in pCarlsberg 180. The title is commonly rendered "assistant", "ritual assistant" or "official" ("the one who is in charge")

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

(p) The sign \( \text{i} \) is an inept rendering of \( \text{r} \).

(q) Note that \( \text{lsrw} \) is written \( \text{lsrw} \) instead of \( \text{lsrw} \).

(r) This is, of course, the title \( \text{w'b imy ibdf} \).

(s) The meaning of the title \( \text{iry sn} \) is not clear. More common and better attested is the title \( \text{mr sn} \), rendered \( \lambda\epsilon\sigma\tau\omega\varsigma \) in Greek texts and \( \Delta\alpha\gamma\gamma\alpha\epsilon\tau\epsilon \) 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 \( \text{sn} \) "to inspect, to inquire into". De Meulenaere proposed another etymology, identifying it with the word "Ring" (Wb IV, p. 488). Accordingly, \( \text{mr sn} \) and \( \text{iry sn} \) may indicate those who possessed the seal which was placed on the records.

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67 For details, see J. Obing, Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtinis, I (Copenhagen 1998) 116.
68 Note x.
69 Parker, A Suite Oracle 30; Bresciani, SICO 25, 15; R. K. Ritner, "Denderite Temple Hierarchy and the Family of the High Priest Nebwenenef: Block Statue CIM 10729", in: D. P. Silverman, For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baur (SAOC 55; Chicago 1994) 217; H. Kees, Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat von Neues Reich bis zur Spätzeit (PA 1; Leiden/Cologne 1953) 301.
72 De Meulenaere, BIFAO 86, 136-137.
Thus ibly sn 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)\(^2\), (statue Cairo JE 36984)\(^2\), (statue Cairo JE 37196)\(^6\).

(i) The name of Seshen-Nefertem's mother Ns-nb-htp ("One who belongs to [the goddess] Nbt-htp") is listed by Ranke\(^7\) and in the Demotisches Namenbuch\(^7\), but in both as a man's name. The use of ns- to express possession, pronounced σσ- 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" (hm-ntr n niwr pr šn' n pr lmn p(i) 4 s1) 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.\(^8\). 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 hwt-bhn (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

\(^{75}\) H. De Meulenaere, "Trois membres d'une famille sacerdotale thébaine", CdE 68 (1993) 57.

\(^{76}\) G. Darussy, "Notes et remarques", Rec.Trav. 23 (1901) 130 f.


\(^{78}\) Bresciani, SCO 25, 14 n. c reads šn' instead of šn, but the arm is a determinative, not a phoneme.

\(^{79}\) For this goddess, see W. Gutekunst, "Nebet-hetepet", in: LA IV, 362-363; J. Vandier, "Ioushas et (Hathor)-Nebet-Hetepet", RdE 16 (1964) 55-146; RdE 17 (1965) 89-176; RdE 18 (1966) 67-142.

\(^{80}\) Ranke, Personenübersichten 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.

\(^{81}\) F. Lüderschen, Demotisches Namenbuch, I. Lieferung 9 (Wiesbaden 1989) 683.

\(^{82}\) R. Munro, Die spätägyptischen Totentexte (Glückstadt 1973) 40 f., 47 f. and 176-177.
Finally, lin (fig. 2 E).

This allowed (cor central en offices in the moving group Amun con
The stela of Seshen-Nefertem from the tomb of Sheshonq (TT 27)

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titles (ídnw and ímy-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 responsibilites 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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