

Abstract

Kneph: The Religion of Roman Thebes

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Thebes (modern Luxor), was famous in the Roman world primarily because of the vocal Colossus of Memnon and the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings. However, this does not mean that Thebes, the political and spiritual center of Egypt during the New Kingdom, had devolved into a mere tourist destination of ruined temples, as some have claimed. Thebes was also a vibrant religious center, with a vast local pantheon and over a dozen active temples in the Roman Period. The present study collects all architectural and epigraphical evidence for Roman Period temple activity in Thebes, demonstrating that temples continued to expand into the late second century CE, and that the Roman Period priests reinterpreted and engaged with the surviving monuments and hieroglyphic inscriptions of their Pharaonic predecessors. In addition, this work contains translations and commentary to the sizeable corpus of Roman Period hieroglyphic texts from Thebes, most of them completely unpublished. This new material is used to create the first comprehensive analysis of all Theban divinities in the Graeco-Roman Period, as well as to reconstruct the religious festival processions as they existed in the final years of Egyptian paganism.

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by

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For Elnaz

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Table of Contents

Dedication	iii
Acknowledgments	iv
Table of Contents	vi
List of Plates	xiii
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Priests and Temples in the Roman Period	1
1.2 Roman Thebes	8
1.3 Sources: Theban Temple Texts.....	12
1.4 Outline	17
Chapter 2: Roman Visitors to Thebes	20
2.0 Introduction.....	20
2.1 Strabo	21
2.2 Tacitus.....	29
2.3 Thessalos (of Tralles).....	33
2.4 Pausanias.....	38
2.5 Ammianus Marcellinus.....	39
2.6 Conclusions.....	40
Chapter 3: The Reputation of Thebes	41
3.1 Thebes in the Geographic Inscriptions	41
3.1.1 The Cults of Thebes.....	42
3.1.2 The Geography of Thebes.....	52
3.2 Thebes: Heaven on Earth.....	57
3.3 Conclusion	63
Chapter 4: The Theban Pantheon	64
4.0 Introduction.....	64
4.1 Amenhotep son of Hapu (Amenothes)	67
4.2 Amenope (Amun of Luxor): Introduction	69

4.3 Amenope I.....	73
4.4 Amenope II.....	75
4.5 Amun: Introduction.....	81
4.6 Amun-Re in the Benben Temple/ Amun who Hears Prayers.....	82
4.7 Amun-Re- <i>p3-mry-nfr</i>	86
4.8 Amunet.....	87
4.9 The August Bull of Medamud.....	97
4.10 Bastet in Thebes.....	102
4.11 Buchis.....	104
4.12 Chonsu: Introduction.....	105
4.13 Chonsu in Thebes Neferhotep.....	106
4.14 Chonsu the Child.....	120
4.15 Chonsu- <i>p3-ir-shr.w</i> and Chonsu- <i>wnn-nhw</i>	130
4.16 Chonsu- <i>p3-dr</i>	135
4.17 Chonsu- <i>p3-shn</i>	136
4.18 Chonsu-Re Lord of Thebes.....	138
4.19 Chonsu-Shu.....	140
4.20 Harsiese.....	151
4.21 Hathor Chief of Thebes (Ptah Temple).....	155
4.22 Hathor Mistress of the West (Deir el-Medineh).....	158
4.23 Hathor within the Benenet.....	158
4.24 Imhotep.....	161
4.25 Irita.....	164
4.26 Isis of Deir Shelwit.....	172
4.27 Iunyt.....	175
4.28 Kematef (Kneph).....	177
4.29 Maat in Karnak.....	189
4.30 Maat in Deir el-Medineh.....	190
4.31 Min-Amun-Re-Kamutef.....	191

4.32 Min-Reshef who Massacres his Enemies	195
4.33 Montu: Introduction	197
4.34 Montu of Armant	201
4.35 Montu of Medamud	209
4.36 Montu of Thebes	212
4.37 Montu of Tod	218
4.38 Mut	231
4.39 The Ogdoad	242
4.40 Opet	259
4.41 Osiris: Introduction	266
4.42 Osiris within Thebes	267
4.43 Osiris of Djeme	278
4.44 Osiris- <i>Mryty</i>	281
4.45 Osiris the Coptite	283
4.46 Ptah Lord of Thebes	284
4.47 Rattawy	288
4.48 Sokar(-Osiris)	298
4.49 Somtous	302
4.50 Thoth- <i>stm</i> and Thoth- <i>dd-hr-p3-hb</i> in Djeme	304
4.51 Thoth within Thebes	306
4.52 Thoth within Armant	307
4.53 Tjenedet	307
4.54 Summary	311
Chapter 5: Temple Activity in the Roman Period	315
5.0 Introduction	315
5.1 Augustus	317
5.1.0 Introduction	317
5.1.1 Karnak	325
5.1.1.1 Dromos and First Pylon	325
5.1.1.2 Opet Temple	338
5.1.1.3 Chonsu Temple	341

5.1.1.4 East Karnak	342
5.1.2 Medamud	344
5.1.3 Mut Temple.....	345
5.1.4 Luxor Temple	347
5.1.5 Deir el-Medineh.....	347
5.1.6 Deir Shelwit.....	349
5.1.7 Tod.....	350
5.2 Tiberius	350
5.2.0 Introduction.....	350
5.2.1 Karnak.....	355
5.2.1.1 Dromos	355
5.2.1.2 “Cour de la Moyen Empire”.....	355
5.2.1.3 Chonsu Temple and the Opet Temple.....	357
5.2.1.4 Chapel of Osiris the Coptite	359
5.2.1.5 Ptah Temple.....	361
5.2.1.5.1 Hymn on the South Pillar	363
5.2.1.5.2 Hymn on the North Pillar	367
5.2.2 Medamud	372
5.2.3 Luxor Temple	372
5.2.3.0 Introduction	372
5.2.3.1 Luxor Museum 228	374
5.2.3.2 Luxor Museum 229	375
5.2.3.3 Egyptian Museum w/o #.....	377
5.2.3.4 Luxor Museum w/o #	378
5.2.3.5 CG 22198	380
5.2.3.6 CG 22193	382
5.2.3.7 Summary	384
5.2.4 Mut Temple.....	386
5.2.4.0 Introduction	386
5.2.4.1 Allard Pierson Museum 7763.....	387
5.2.4.2 BM EA 617 (1052).....	390
5.2.4.3 BM EA 398 (1053).....	393
5.2.4.4 Berlin 14401	396
5.2.4.5 JdE 65903	398
5.2.4.6 JdE 65904.....	399
5.2.4.7 BM EA 1432 (1055).....	401
5.2.4.8 Stela Caracol 241.....	404
5.2.4.9 Summary	405
5.2.5 *Armant	407
5.3 Claudius	408
5.3.0 Introduction.....	408
5.3.1 Karnak.....	411
5.3.1.1 First Pylon	411
5.3.1.1 Ninth Pylon.....	411
5.3.2 Medinet Habu	412

5.3.2.0 Introduction	412
5.3.2.1 South face = PM II ² , p. 482, (2a)	415
5.3.2.2 West interior, north jamb = PM II ² , p. 482 (2b)	415
5.3.2.3 West interior, north thickness = PM II ² , p. 482 (2c)	417
5.3.2.4 West interior, north thickness = PM II ² , p. 482 (2c)	418
5.3.2.5 Summary	420
5.3.3 Deir Shelwit	421
5.4 Nero	424
5.4.1 Karnak – Ninth Pylon	426
5.4.2 Deir Shelwit	433
5.5 Year of the Four Emperors	433
5.5.0 Introduction	433
5.5.1 Galba	434
5.5.2 Otho	435
5.5.3 Vitellius	436
5.6 Vespasian	436
5.6.0 Introduction	436
5.6.1 Medamud	438
5.6.2 Deir Shelwit	438
5.7 Titus	439
5.7.0 Introduction	439
5.7.1 Karnak	439
5.8 Domitian	440
5.8.0 Introduction	440
5.8.1 Karnak	442
5.8.1.1 Dromos	442
5.8.1.2 Contra-Temple	443
5.8.1.2.1 Hymn to Amun	446
5.8.1.2.2 Left Door Post	451
5.8.1.2.3 Right Door Post	452
5.8.1.2.4 Summary	454
5.8.2 Medamud	459
5.8.3 Medinet Habu	459
5.8.4 Deir Shelwit	461
5.9 Trajan	462
5.9.0 Introduction	462
5.9.1 Medamud	463
5.10 Hadrian	463
5.10.0 Introduction	463
5.10.1 Luxor Temple	468
5.10.2 Deir Shelwit	473
5.10.2.1 Hymn to Isis = <i>Deir Chelouit III</i> , 154	473

5.10.2.2 North Bandeau = <i>Deir Chelouit</i> III, 157	483
5.10.3 Armant	487
5.11 Antoninus Pius	488
5.11.0 Introduction	488
5.11.1 Medinet Habu	490
5.11.1.0 Introduction	490
5.11.1.1 South screen (left) = PM II ² , p. 461 (1a)	492
5.11.1.2	493
5.11.1.3 North screen (right) = PM II ² , p. 461 (1b)	494
5.11.1.4	494
5.11.1.5 East entrance, south face = PM II ² , p. 461 (4a)	495
5.11.1.6 East entrance, north face = PM II ² , p. 461 (4b)	500
5.11.1.7 South interior = PM II ² , p. 461 (4c)	501
5.11.1.8 North interior = PM II ² , p. 461 (4d)	507
5.11.1.9 South Gate, north face, east = PM II ² , p. 461 (2g)	510
5.11.1.10 South Gate, north face, west = PM II ² , p. 461 (2h)	513
5.11.1.11 Left side = PM II ² , p. 461 (2a)	515
5.11.1.12 Right side = PM II ² , p. 461 (2b)	518
5.11.1.13 Left side, bottom = PM II ² , p. 461 (2a)	519
5.11.1.14 Right side, bottom = PM II ² , p. 461 (2b)	520
5.11.1.15 Summary	520
5.11.2 Deir el-Rumi	521
5.11.3 Deir Shelwit	522
5.11.4 Medamud	524
5.11.5 Armant	525
5.11.6 Tod	525
5.12 Marcus Aurelius	526
5.12.0 Introduction	526
5.12.1 Opet Temple	529
5.13 Commodus	530
5.13.0 Introduction	530
5.13.1 Karnak	531
5.14 Septimius Severus and Caracalla	534
5.14.0 Introduction	534
5.14.1 Deir Shelwit	537
5.15 Severus Alexander	537
5.15.0 Introduction	537
5.15.1 Deir el-Rumi	537
5.16 Valerian(?)	538
5.16.1 Medinet Habu	538
5.17 Diocletian	540
5.17.0 Introduction	541

5.17.1 Luxor Temple	543
5.17.1.1 Roman Fortress	543
5.17.1.2 The Imperial Chapel	544
5.17.1.3 Summary	546
5.18 Constantine	551
5.18.0 Introduction	551
5.18.1 Karnak	551
5.19 Summary	554
Chapter 6: Grammar of the Roman Period Texts	559
6.1 Introduction	559
6.2 Verbal Forms	562
6.3 Conclusion	566
Chapter 7: Theban Festivals	568
7.1 Introduction	568
7.2 Daily and Decade Festivals	572
7.3 Opet Festival	574
7.4 Beautiful Festival of the Valley	578
7.5 Chonsu Festival	582
7.6 Sokar Festival	583
7.7 Conclusions	593
Chapter 8: Epilogue	594
Bibliography	598

List of Plates

Plate 1	Temple activity under Augustus
Plate 2	Temple activity at Karnak under Augustus
Plate 3	Karnak, Position of the Imperial Chapel
Plate 4	Temple activity under Tiberius
Plate 5	Temple activity at Karnak under Tiberius
Plate 6a	Luxor Museum 228
b	Luxor Museum 229
Plate 7a	Egyptian Museum w/o #
b	Luxor Museum w/o #
Plate 8a	CG 22198
b	CG 22193
Plate 9a	Allard Pierson Museum 7763
b	BM EA 617 (1052)
Plate 10a	BM EA 398 (1053)
b	Berlin 14401
Plate 11a	JdE 65903
b	JdE 65904
Plate 12a	BM EA 1432
b	Caracol 241
Plate 13	Temple activity under Claudius
Plate 14	Medinet Habu, Roman Constructions
Plate 15	Medinet Habu, 5.3.2.2
Plate 16	Medinet Habu, 5.3.2.3
Plate 17	Medinet Habu, 5.3.2.4
Plate 18	Temple activity under Domitian
Plate 19	Karnak, Position of the Contra-Temple
Plate 20	Domitian, Contra-Temple (5.8.1.2.1)
Plate 21a	Domitian, 5.8.1.2.2
b	Domitian, 5.8.1.2.3
Plate 22	Karnak, Contra-Temple and associated structures

Plate 23	Temple activity under Hadrian
Plate 24	Temple activity under Antoninus Pius
Plate 25	Activity at Medinet Habu under Antoninus Pius
Plate 26a	Medinet Habu, Antoninus Pius (5.11.1.1)
b	Medinet Habu, Antoninus Pius (5.11.1.3)
Plate 27	Medinet Habu, Antoninus Pius (5.11.1.5)
Plate 28	Medinet Habu, Antoninus Pius (5.11.1.6)
Plate 29	Medinet Habu, Antoninus Pius (5.11.1.7)
Plate 30	Medinet Habu, Antoninus Pius (5.11.1.8)
Plate 31	Medinet Habu, Antoninus Pius (5.11.1.9)
Plate 32	Medinet Habu, Antoninus Pius (5.11.1.10)
Plate 33	Medinet Habu, Antoninus Pius (5.11.1.11)
Plate 34	Medinet Habu, Antoninus Pius (5.11.1.12)
Plate 35a	Medinet Habu, Antoninus Pius (5.11.1.13)
b	Medinet Habu, Antoninus Pius (5.11.1.14)

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Priests and Temples in the Roman Period

“Thus was Egypt enslaved. All the inhabitants who resisted for a time were finally subdued, as, indeed, the *daimones* very clearly indicated to them beforehand. For it rained not only water where no drop had ever fallen previously, but also blood; and there were flashes of armour from the clouds as this bloody rain fell from them. Elsewhere there was the clashing of drums and cymbals and the notes of flutes and trumpets, and a serpent of huge size suddenly appeared to them and uttered an incredibly loud hiss. Meanwhile comets were seen and dead men’s ghosts appeared, the statues frowned, and Apis bellowed a note of lamentation and burst into tears.”

- Cassius Dio, LI, 17.4-5*

Cassius Dio concluded his account of Octavian’s capture of Alexandria with this vivid montage of apocalyptic imagery. After the death of Cleopatra, the once glorious Ptolemaic Egypt had been reduced to one of many Roman provinces. The new Roman administrators enacted drastic political, economic, and social reforms, interested above all in ensuring the steady and efficient of supply of grain and other natural resources to Rome.¹

Traditional studies of Roman Egypt have portrayed the invasion of Octavian as the beginning of the end for native Egyptian priests and temples. Unlike their Ptolemaic predecessors, the Roman Emperors were supposedly uninterested in, or even violently

* Slightly modified translation of Cary, *Dio’s Roman History*, VI, pp. 46-9.

¹ For the important changes that distinguished Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, see Lewis, in Samuel, ed., *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology*, pp. 3-14 (= Lewis, *On Government and Law in Roman Egypt*, pp. 138-49); idem, in *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, III, pp. 1077-1084 (= Lewis, *On Government and Law in Roman Egypt*, pp. 298-305); Geraci, *Genesi della provincia romana d’Egitto*; Capponi, *Augustan Egypt*.

opposed to, supporting traditional Egyptian cults.² Economically, there was no motivation for Rome to sponsor Egyptian animal cults which most Romans mocked or detested.³ Politically speaking, Rome needed to suppress local priests, as Egyptian temples were notorious hotbeds of political rebellion.⁴ To this effect, Augustus confiscated the vast quantities of temple land,⁵ and subjugated the priests to a stifling and humiliating bureaucracy headed by the dreaded Idios Logos and the High Priest of Alexandria and All Egypt.⁶ The results of the harsh anti-clerical policies of Augustus and his successors were evident most clearly by the third century, when Egyptian temples were finally “abandoned and decaying,” after suffering “a slow starving to death.”⁷

This standard narrative of the fall of Egyptian temples in the Roman Period finds little support in archaeological or textual evidence. Such explanations are guided instead by the need to explain how traditional Egyptian religion, which had thrived for over three millennia, could have been completely subsumed by Christianity in the fourth and fifth centuries. The idea of Roman Egypt as an intermediate period, a brief episode between paganism and

² Cf. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, p. 267: “it is an obvious guess that the imperial government simply did not give any more financial support to the capital needs or wants of the temples.”

³ For a nuanced study of the Greek and Roman attitudes towards Egyptian animal worship, see Smelik and Hemelrijk, in *ANRW II.17.4*, pp. 1852-2000.

⁴ Bell, *Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, p. 54; Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule*, p. 91.

⁵ The temple land was a very important source of income for Egyptian priests, but not the only one; cf. Quaegebeur, in Lipiński, ed., *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East*, II, pp. 707-729; Johnson, in Lesko, ed., *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker*, pp. 70-84.

⁶ Bell, *Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, pp. 54-5; Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule*, pp. 91-2; Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, pp. 267-8; Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*, pp. 27-8, 198-9; for the High Priest of Alexandria and All Egypt, cf. Stead, in Bagnall et al., eds, *Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Papyrology*, pp. 411-418.

⁷ Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, pp. 315, 268.

Christianity, is clearest with scholars like H.I. Bell, who titled his short discussion of Roman Period religion “The Preparation for Christianity,”⁸ noting:

“As we advance into the Roman period we get the impression that even the traditional temple worship of Egypt was losing some of its vitality. Outwardly all was the same; the sacrifices were offered with the prescribed formalities, the daily ritual of the temples and the periodic festivals continued as of old (...) but the evidence suggests that all this was becoming more and more formal and lifeless.”⁹

This deterministic view of history assumes that Egyptian religion must have decayed in the centuries preceding the process of Christianization, and that the Roman administrators and spiritual malaise were largely to blame. However, the “triumph of Christianity” was a complicated and gradual process,¹⁰ and it took place across the entire Roman Empire, in both prosperous and declining regions alike.¹¹ If one were to apply the traditional model of the decline of Egyptian paganism to the rest of the Empire, it would imply that emperors antagonized all provincial temples and priests, and that pagan religion collectively began its descent into oblivion immediately after the Battle of Actium.

Recent studies have questioned the traditional theory that Roman emperors specifically targeted Egyptian temples with malicious economic and administrative reforms. In a recent dissertation, Penelope Glare made the important point that since temples had

⁸ Bell, *Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, pp. 50-77.

⁹ Bell, *Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, p. 64; Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, for critiques of these types of arguments, see Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*, pp. 5-7, 11-5, 202-3, *et passim*.

¹⁰ For this transition, see primarily Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*; with the critiques of Smith, in Egberts, et al., eds., *Perspectives on Panopolis*, pp. 245-7, and Vandijk, *Religious Encounters on the Southern Egyptian Frontier in Late Antiquity*, pp. 18-25.

¹¹ MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire*; Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization, c. 370-529*, I-II.

historically formed an integral part of the Egyptian economy and administration, the clerical reforms of Augustus parallel his other changes in government.¹²

The most often cited example of anti-clerical oppression, the confiscation of temple lands by Augustus,¹³ is supported by a small amount of evidence from the Fayyum;¹⁴ there is certainly no indication that similar policies affected the larger temples of Upper Egypt. Scholars have also assumed that the Roman Emperors attempted to smother the priesthood with impossible bureaucratic regulations supervised by the *Idios Logos* and the High Priest of Alexandria:

“The most drastic change, however, was the subjection of the whole Egyptian “Church” to the so-called “High Priest of Alexandria and all Egypt,” who, despite his title, was a Roman civil official. His authority was extensive and his control strict. The temples were required to make an annual return of their property, of the temple inventory, and of all priests, of whatever grade.”¹⁵

In reality, the few regulations concerning priests in the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* (§§71-98) deal with preserving priestly hierarchies and ensuring the proper maintenance of temples.¹⁶

¹² Glare, *The Temples of Egypt*; for the reforms of Augustus in general, see Capponi, *Augustan Egypt*; Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharaos*, pp. 108-16.

¹³ E.g. Bell, *Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, p. 54; Geraci, *Genesi della provincia romana d’Egitto*, p. 187; Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, p. 267.

¹⁴ Noted already by Rathbone, *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 4 (1993): 83; Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharaos*, pp. 114-5, who recognized that earlier interpretations have been “zu einseitig.” The evidence amounts to two papyri, the most explicit of which is P. Tebtunis II, 302, dated to the reign of Vespasian, in which priests from Tebtunis claim that an earlier Prefect had changed *some* of the temple land to public land; cf. also Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharaos*, p. 114, n. 58; Monson, in Lippert and Schentuleit, eds., *Tebtunis und Soknopaiou Nesos*, pp. 79-91, showed that contemporaneous demotic documents from Tebtunis reveal that sacred land remained attached to the temples into the Roman Period; note also that at the same time, Augustus sponsored considerable improvements to the dromos of the Sobek temple at Tebtunis; cf. Rondot, *Le temple de Soknebtynis et son dromos*, §§144-166.

¹⁵ Bell, *Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, p. 54; similarly Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule*, pp. 91-2; Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, pp. 267-8; Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*, pp. 27-8.

¹⁶ Schubart, *Der Gnomon des Idios Logos*, I, pp. 29-35.

Other papyri demonstrate that the Idios Logos had limited responsibilities in religious matters:¹⁷

“In sum, the role of the idios logos in temple affairs was threefold. It was: (1) sales agent for salable temple offices; (2) investigator and judge for irregularities in the occupation of these same offices; (3) investigator and judge for all cases of ecclesiastical impropriety liable to a fine.”

As Glare has demonstrated, the Roman regulations in the sphere of religion seem to indicate a desire of the administration to protect the temples and the priests.¹⁸ Moreover, the involvement of bureaucrats in the affairs of temples was nothing new, as Egyptians had created the office of “inspector of priests (*shd hm.w-ntr*)” already in the Old Kingdom,¹⁹ and multiple papyri record actual inspections of tomb and temple property throughout the New Kingdom.²⁰ Temple inventories were also not new, as copies of such documents date as early as the First Intermediate Period.²¹

The often repeated assumption that Augustus and his successors needed to curb the powers of the powerful and potentially rebellious Egyptian priesthood also deserves reevaluation. Just because Theban priests dated documents to the brief reigns of rebelling kings like Haronnophris and Chaonnophris in the Ptolemaic Period, no evidence demonstrates that they personally incited the rebellions, or that they provided economic,

¹⁷ Swarney, *The Ptolemaic and Roman Idios Logos*, pp. 93-4; see in general *ibid*, pp. 57-9, 83-96.

¹⁸ Glare, *The Temples of Egypt*.

¹⁹ Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, II, pp. 932-43.

²⁰ Goelet, *JEA* 82 (1996): 107-27; Vernus, *Affairs and Scandals in Ancient Egypt*.

²¹ Goedicke, *RdE* 46 (1995): 210-12; for other temple inventories, cf. Jasnow, in Silverman, ed., *For His Ka*, pp. 99-112; Cauville, *ZÄS* 122 (1995): 38-61.

logistical, or even moral support for the *Gegenkönige*.²² On the contrary, priests and temple usually received benefits from the Ptolemies after the rebellions were quelled, perhaps because of their assistance in restoring order.²³ Even after the campaign of Ptolemy IX against the Upper Egyptian rebels in 88 BCE that reportedly devastated the city of Thebes,²⁴ temple decoration resumed immediately at Medinet Habu.²⁵

The most visible evidence of Roman support for Egyptian priests is the vast amount of temple construction and decoration that continued well into the third century CE. This fact is perhaps not as widely known to many scholars, because publications of most Roman temple inscriptions have only begun to appear in the last two decades,²⁶ while many more remain unpublished.²⁷ Nonetheless, the sheer quantity and overall high quality of Roman Period texts and reliefs, which feature prominently at almost every temple in Egypt, is now strikingly apparent in the three-volume survey of Roman Period temples by Hölbl.²⁸

²² The role of Theban priests in the Ptolemaic rebellions has been reevaluated extensively by Veïsse, *Les « révoltes égyptiennes »*, pp. 228-44.

²³ Veïsse, *Les « révoltes égyptiennes »*, pp. 213-20.

²⁴ According to Pausanias, I, 9, 3; cf. in detail Veïsse, *Les « révoltes égyptiennes »*, pp. 64-74, and cf. **2.4**.

²⁵ Ritner, "Ptolemy IX (Soter II) at Thebes."

²⁶ Cauville, *La Porte d'Isis* (1999); *Dendara XII* (2007); Willems, et al., *The Temple of Shanhûr*, I (2003); Pantalacci and Traunecker, *Le Temple d'el-Qal'a*, I-II (1990 and 1998); Traunecker, *Coptos* (1992); Laskowska-Kusztal, *Die Dekorfragmente der ptolemaïsch-römischen Tempel von Elephantine* (1996); Rondot, *Le temple de Soknebtynis et son dromos* (2004).

²⁷ Cauville, *Dendara XIII-XV*, and *Le temple d'Isis* (all Roman Period) are still in press; Sauneron – Halloff, *Esna VII*, is also in press; only a fraction of Roman inscriptions from Philae are published; in Thebes, the Roman inscriptions from Luxor Temple, Medinet Habu, Chonsu Temple, and Deir el-Rumi are unpublished; only fragments are published from Roman temples in the Oases, including Qasr el-Zayyan, Nadura, 'Ain el-Birbiyeh, Deir el-Hagar, Ismant el-Kharab.

²⁸ Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich. Der Römische Pharao und seine Tempel*, I-III (2000-2005).

Roman Period inscriptions in general are the most verbose and explicit temple texts in Egyptian history.²⁹ As such, they represent an incredible source of information for many aspects of Egyptian religion, grammar, and lexicography.³⁰ At the same time, inscriptions of the Roman Period are notoriously difficult to read, primarily because of the ever increasing number of new hieroglyphs and variations on traditional signs.³¹ While some scholars have claimed that the priests were trying to distinguish themselves as a hyper-educated elite,³² the complexity of the late script was just the final stage of development for a writing system with a very long history. Just as Hellenistic poetry became increasingly refined, virtuosic and prolix in Late Antiquity (e.g. Nonnus of Panopolis), so too did Egyptian hieroglyphs reach their pinnacle in the first and second century CE. Unfortunately, the difficulty of the Roman Period script means that the huge number of available inscriptions are largely ignored by Egyptologists and remain almost completely inaccessible to Classicists. Perhaps more than any other factor, this general lack of awareness of Roman Period temple construction and the

²⁹ For the variety of reasons suggested for this phenomenon, cf. Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative à Esna*, pp. 48-53; Assmann, in Osing, ed., *The Heritage of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 9-25 ("Angst der Vergessenheit"); Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, pp. 1-2 (intellectual interaction and discussions with Greeks and Romans; similarly Merkelbach, *Isis regina – Zeus Sarapis*, §436).

³⁰ Orthographies and new words from Roman texts are almost completely absent from the fundamental *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*.

³¹ Vittmann, in Lembke, et al., *Ägyptens späte Blüte*, pp. 85-6; for the difference between Ptolemaic and Roman hieroglyphs, cf. Cauville, *Dendara. Le fonds hiéroglyphique*, p. 4; Derchain-Urtel, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen*; Leitz, *Quellentexte zur ägyptischen Religion*, I, pp. 10-12, pleads against the reputation of difficulty surrounding the later inscriptions.

³² E.g. Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt*, pp. 419-20; Sternberg-el Hotabi, *CdE* 69 (1994): 218-48, attempted to demonstrate a decline in hieroglyphic literacy outside of the temples already in the Ptolemaic Period by analyzing copies of Horus *cippi* with illegible texts and pseudo-hieroglyphs; however, the vague dating criteria for the stelae (p. 222, n. 23), and the lack of secure provenances for most of the objects, render any historical or sociological conclusions tenuous at best.

contents of their inscriptions has propagated the general impression of the Egyptian temple in decline.³³

1.2 Roman Thebes

The same historical biases have influenced past evaluations of the city of Thebes, the traditional political and spiritual capital of New Kingdom Egypt. While scholars have increasingly come to realize the continued vitality and theological importance of this city in the Ptolemaic Period,³⁴ most accounts claim that the city suddenly dropped into relative obscurity after the rebellions of 88 and 29 BCE.³⁵ Even Herbin, an Egyptologist who has published many excellent papyri from Roman Thebes,³⁶ recently claimed:

“Malgré quelques contributions dans la construction ou la décoration de monuments, les temples de Thèbes connaissent une perte d’influence et un indiscutable déclin, dues entre autres raison à la nouvelle politique de Rome qui a supprimé, dès Auguste (27-14 avant J.-C.), l’autonomie des clergés, soumis dès lors à l’autorité de hauts fonctionnaires alexandrins.”³⁷

³³ The vivid descriptions of festivals, the lengthy and very literate hymns, and the astronomical texts from Esna temple alone (translated by Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d’Esna* and von Lieven, *Der Himmel über Esna*) make it difficult to believe that Egyptian temples were slowly declining in the Roman Period.

³⁴ Bataille, *Les Memnonia*; idem, *CdE* 26 (1951): 325-53; Vleeming, ed., *Hundred-Gated Thebes: acts of a colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period* (despite the title, most of the articles deal with Ptolemaic Thebes).

³⁵ E.g. Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, pp. 295-6; idem, *CdE* 26 (1951): 345-53; Festguière, *Hermétisme et mystique païenne*, p. 160, n. 73; Z. Smith, *Map is not Territory*, p. 178, n. 29; Yoyotte and Charvet, *Strabon, le voyage en Égypte*, p. 174, n. 437; Vandorpe, in Vleeming, ed., *Hundred-Gates Thebes*, p. 237; Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, p. 292; Stickler, „*Gallus amore peribat*“?, pp. 77-8; most recently Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, p. 272, claimed “Theben hatte in der ptolemäischen und römischen Zeit viel von seinem einstmaligen Glanz eingebüßt,” even though she elsewhere catalogued the large amount of Augustan temple activity (*ibid*, pp. 176-82).

³⁶ E.g. Herbin, *RdE* 35 (1984): 105-26; idem, *RdE* 54 (2003): 67-127; idem, *Le Livre de parcourir l’éternité*.

³⁷ Herbin, *Padiimenipet fils de Sôter*, p. 22.

These negative evaluations of Roman Period Thebes are largely the result of the remarks of Pausanias (I, 9,3 and VIII, 23,2), and the supposed destruction inflicted by Ptolemy IX and Cornelius Gallus, in addition to the usual understanding of Egyptian temples outlined above.

The traditional view that Thebes experienced an especially drastic decline is undermined on the one hand by documentary evidence. Of all Upper Egyptian cities, the vast majority of known administrative and financial ostraca, in both Greek and Demotic, derive from Thebes and Armant. In a recent summary of banks in Roman Period Egypt, Bogaert noted the following:³⁸

“Au Ier siècle, le nombre des trapésites publics pouvait varier en rapport avec la masse des opérations. Ainsi, il y en avait 1 ou 2 à Koptos, au moins 3 à Oxyrhynchos et jusqu’à 8 à Diospolis Magna vers 75.”

In terms of financial institutions, the East Bank of Thebes (Diospolis Magna) alone was over twice as large as other cities. Even if Thebes had diminished in size, it was still not a minor city by any means.

Regarding non-documentary texts, Thebes is incontestably the most important Upper Egyptian site for Roman Period hieratic and demotic mortuary papyri,³⁹ festival texts,⁴⁰ demotic and Greek magical papyri,⁴¹ demotic literary papyri,⁴² and elaborately decorated

³⁸ Bogaert, *ZPE* 109 (1995): 134; for more information on the Theban banks, cf. Bogaert, *ZPE* 57 (1984): 241-96; idem, *ZPE* 109 (1995): 162-8.

³⁹ E.g. Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind*; Sauneron, *Rituel de l'embaumement*; Stadler, *Der Totenpapyrus des Pa-Month*; idem, *Enchoria* 25 (1999): 76-110; *Enchoria* 26 (2000): 110-24; Herbin, *RdE* 35 (1984): 105-26; idem, *BIFAO* 84 (1984): 249-302; idem, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*; idem, *RdE* 54 (2003): 67-127.

⁴⁰ Barguet, *Le Papyrus N. 3176 (S) du Musée du Louvre*.

⁴¹ Tait, in Vleeming, ed., *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, pp. 169-82; Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*; Ritner, in *ANRW* II.18.5, pp. 3333-79.

⁴² Cf. Zauzich, in *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten*, pp. 77-80.

coffins and funerary equipment.⁴³ Furthermore, Thebes was an important base for the Roman army,⁴⁴ something that one would not expect for a crumbling assemblage of villages.⁴⁵

Furthermore Thebes continued to attract numerous visitors from around the Roman Empire. Every emperor and notable person who toured Upper Egypt (e.g. Strabo, Germanicus, Hadrian, Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Diocletian, Ammianus Marcellinus) made sure to stop at Thebes. The main “tourist attractions,” the Colossus of Memnon and the Valley of the Kings, were frequented by droves of international travelers,⁴⁶ devout pagans left votive inscriptions at Karnak and Luxor,⁴⁷ others came to the sanctuary of Imhotep and Amenhotep son of Hapu at Deir el-Bahari to receive medical cures,⁴⁸ while even braver adventurers left graffiti in the gebels of the Theban Western desert.⁴⁹ Thessalos, a Greek medical student from the early first century CE, claimed to have left the Hellenized schools of Alexandria to find real sacred knowledge specifically in Thebes (cf. **2.3**). Whether or not

⁴³ Van Landuyt, in Vleeming, ed., *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, pp. 69-82; Herbin, *Padiimenipet fils de Sôter*; Riggs and Depauw, *RdE* 53 (2002): 75-102; Riggs, in Strudwick and Taylor, eds., *The Theban Necropolis*, pp. 189-201; idem, *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt*, pp. 175-244.

⁴⁴ Lesquier, *L'armée romaine en Égypte*, pp. 409-10; el-Saghir, et al., *Le camp romain de Louqsor*; Clarysse and Sijpesteijn, *Ancient Society* 19 (1988): 71-96.

⁴⁵ Lesquier, *L'armée romaine en Égypte*, p. 409, explained that while Thebes was “bien déchue de son antique splendeur à l'époque romaine (...) la célébrité de ses cultes, l'influence de ses sacerdoces, l'esprit de sa population, exigeaient encore cependant une assez forte garnison.”

⁴⁶ See especially Foertmeyer, *Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt*.

⁴⁷ For the Greek *proskynemoi* at Luxor Temple, cf. el-Saghir, et al., *Le camp romain de Louqsor*, pp. 101-18; The Epigraphic Survey, *RILT* II, pp. 52-65; the majority of graffiti from Karnak remain unpublished, but cf. Lefebvre, *ASAE* 13 (1913): 103-5 (= *SB* 5803), for a greek graffito from the Hypostyle Hall dedicated to Augustus and “all the gods of Diospolis.”

⁴⁸ See most recently Łajtar, *Deir el-Bahari in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*.

⁴⁹ Bataille, *BIFAO* 38 (1939): 129-79.

his account was fictional, his story further attests Thebes' reputation as the true spiritual capitol of Egypt, a place where people could see ancient monuments and interact with traditional pagan priests.⁵⁰

Faced with the apparently contradictory evidence of Pausanias and Cornelius Gallus on the one hand, and the wealth of archaeological and epigraphic evidence actually found at Thebes, Bataille came up with an unusual summary of Roman Period Thebes:⁵¹

“Thèbes, en tant que grande cité vivante, où soufflait encore l'esprit qui avait suscité une civilisation millénaire, Thèbes n'était plus. En effet qu'en reste-t-il sous l'Empire? Un centre économique et une ville-musée. Les grands sanctuaires ont-ils survécu? C'est probable, mais leur activité est bien ralentie. On constate ça et là quelques constructions d'Auguste, de Tibère, des Flaviens et des Antonins: peu de chose en définitive auprès de ce qu'avaient fait les Ptolémées, même après les graves révoltes du 2^e siècle.”

The term “ville-musée” has remained attached to Roman Thebes ever since, and Vanderpe even elaborated that “it was not even an important religious centre any more. The activity of the great temples had almost ceased.”⁵² However, Bataille's remark that temple constructions can only be found “ça et là,” was based on a general lack of understanding of Egyptian temple history, which was admittedly not Bataille's main interest. This was not entirely his fault, as a large number of Roman contributions were only discovered or published later. In total, Roman Emperors made architectural and epigraphic contributions to at least fourteen different temples in greater Thebes, almost continuously from the reign of Augustus to Antoninus Pius. In comparison, Roman decoration centered around eight small temples at Philae, four temples at Dendera, three at Kom Ombo and two at Esna.

⁵⁰ For Thebes reputation in Late Antique philosophical and magical texts, see already Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, pp. 162-8.

⁵¹ Bataille, *CdE* 26 (1951): 345.

⁵² Vanderpe, in Vleeming, ed., *Hundred-Gates Thebes*, p. 237, citing only Bataille.

1.3 Sources: Theban Temple Texts

Eight separate temples were active in the Roman Period at Karnak alone, in addition to the Mut Temple precinct, Luxor Temple, the temples of the West Bank (Medinet Habu, Deir el-Medineh, Deir el-Bahari, Deir Shelwit, Deir el-Rumi), and the surrounding temples of Armant, Tod, and Medamud. In inscriptions from all around Egypt, Thebes was “the Mistress of Nomes (*hnw.t-sp3.wt*),” and the “mother of all cities (*mw.t niw.wt nb*).” The city was so full of temples and vibrant religious festivals that it was frequently called “heaven upon earth (*p.t hr-s3 t3*),” and “the heaven of Egypt (*p.t nt Km.t*).” (cf. **3.2**).

While other Graeco-Roman temples like Edfu,⁵³ Dendera,⁵⁴ Esna,⁵⁵ Kom Ombo,⁵⁶ and Philae⁵⁷ have been the subjects of numerous comprehensive studies, there are no comparable works on the Theban Pantheon.⁵⁸ This is due in part to the fragmentary nature of

⁵³ E.g. Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou*; Ibrahim, *The Chapel of the Throne of Re of Edfu*; Cauville, *Essai sur la théologie du temple d'Horus à Edfou*; Goyon, *Les dieux gardiens*; Finnestad, *Image of the World and Symbol of the Creator*; Kurth, *Die Dekoration des Säulen im Pronaos des Tempels von Edfu*; idem, *Treffpunkt der Götter*; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*.

⁵⁴ E.g. Cauville, *Les fêtes d'Hathor*; idem, *Les chapelles osiriennes*; idem, *BIFAO* 90 (1990): 83-114; Cauville, *BIFAO* 92 (1992): 67-99; idem, *BIFAO* 93 (1993): 79-172; Leitz, *Die Außenwand des Sanktuars in Dendara*; Waitkus, *Die Texte in den unteren Krypten des Hathortempels von Dendara*; Preys, *Les complexes de la demeure du sistré et du trône de Rê*; idem, *RdE* 50 (1999): 259-68; 51 (2000): 195-221; 57 (2006): 199-215. idem, *ZÄS* 128 (2001): 146-66; idem, *SAK* 30 (2002): 285-98.

⁵⁵ Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna*; idem, *L'écriture figurative à Esna*; von Lieven, *Der Himmel über Esna*; Meeks, *Les architraves du temple d'Esna*.

⁵⁶ Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*; Sternberg-el Hotabi, *Mythische Motive und Mythenbildung in den ägyptischen Tempeln und Papyri der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, also summarizes the local theologies of Edfu, Esna and Kom Ombo.

⁵⁷ Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton*; Inconnu-Bocquillon, *Le mythe de la Déesse Lointaine à Philae*; Vassilika, *Ptolemaic Philae*.

⁵⁸ Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter*, focused only on Amun and the Ogdoad; the recent book by Aufrère, *Le propylône d'Amon-Rê-Montou à Karnak-Nord*, attempted to synthesize much about Graeco-Roman divinities at Thebes by way of textual commentary, but the numerous mistranslations, idiosyncratic interpretations, and general avoidance of secondary literature or even relevant inscriptions from Theban temples seriously limit its usefulness and conclusions.

Theban inscriptions, and also because any summary of Theban theology must take into account texts from a large number of temples. Zivie-Coche recently explained that unlike at Edfu, Dendera, Esna or Kom Ombo:⁵⁹

“Sous les Lagides, Karnak n’a pas été rasé pour être rebâti d’une seule traite selon un programme préalablement défini et dont il est *a posteriori*, sinon aisé, du moins possible de discerner le dessein. Comme cela s’est pratiqué depuis les origines de ce temple, ou plutôt de ce complexe des temples, on a continué à construire, à décorer sur les espaces encore laissés vierges, créant ainsi un déroutant mélange des époques, qui ne gênait en rien les Égyptiens. D’où, peut-être, le sentiment premier d’inconsistance, accru par le fait que les inscriptions ptolémaïques de Karnak ont longtemps été négligées, même si, aujourd’hui, bon nombre d’entre elles sont publiées (...) si l’on veut comprendre les ramifications complexes de la pensée de cette époque, on ne peut se contenter des seuls textes de Karnak.”

The Ptolemaic and Roman Period builders at Thebes were unique in preserving and restoring the earlier Pharaonic temples, incorporating the older decoration into the new architectural modifications. As a result of this conservative building policy, the reliefs and inscriptions are scattered throughout the Theban temples, and thus they have never received a comprehensive publication.

Although various scenes and excerpts of inscriptions from most Theban temples appear in the publications of Champollion, Lepsius, Brugsch, and Dümichen,⁶⁰ Kurt Sethe was the first Egyptologist to make systematic copies of the inscriptions when he spent several months recording texts of all time periods from many Theban temples and tombs. These hand copies were the primary source for his famous work *Amun und die acht Urgötter* and Otto’s *Topographie des thebanischen Gaues*, and the lexicographical information was incorporated into the seven-volume *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. After Sethe’s

⁵⁹ Zivie-Coche, in Vandersleyen and Berger, eds., *Hommages à Jean Leclant IV*, p. 417.

⁶⁰ References to these early excerpts can be found in PM II².

decease, Firchow published most of the inscriptions from Karnak, excluding all material from Chonsu Temple or the Opet Temple, based on the hand copies of Sethe.⁶¹ Unfortunately, this edition was neither complete nor entirely reliable, as Firchow did not collate or supplement Sethe's original copies.

Since the work of Sethe, editions of a number of Graeco-Roman monuments from Thebes have appeared, but a number of important inscriptions remain unpublished. Below is a summary of the major Theban temples of the Graeco-Roman Period used in this study, and the status of publication for each monument.

1. Karnak: Amun Temple

First Pylon,⁶² Second Pylon,⁶³ Bark-Shrine,⁶⁴ Sanctuary in Akh-Menu,⁶⁵ various renewal inscriptions⁶⁶

2. Karnak: East Solar Temple

Contra-Temple,⁶⁷ Ptolemaic gate⁶⁸

3. Chonsu Temple

Propylon,⁶⁹ offering scenes,⁷⁰ cosmogonic texts⁷¹

⁶¹ Sethe, (ed. Firchow), *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus Griechisch-Römischer Zeit* = *Urk.* VIII.

⁶² Lauffray, *Kêmi* 20 (1970): 103, Fig. 3; larger photographs were kindly provided by Luc Gabolde.

⁶³ *Urk.* VIII; Claude Traunecker is preparing a new edition (cf. Derchain, *CdE* 81 [2006]: 72).

⁶⁴ Unpublished.

⁶⁵ Unpublished.

⁶⁶ *Urk.* VIII; Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*.

⁶⁷ Varille, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 137-247.

⁶⁸ Fragmentary and inaccurate copies in *Urk.* VIII; additional texts in Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 233-40; Gallet, *BIFAO* 101 (2001): 196, Fig. 4; Lactitia Gallet is preparing a new edition of the the East Temple incorporating additional fragments (cf. Gallet, *BIFAO* 101 [2001]: 183).

4. Opet Temple

Nearly complete Graeco-Roman temple.⁷²

5. Montu Temple, North Karnak

Ptolemaic Propylon⁷³

6. Ptah Temple, Karnak

Ptolemaic and Roman reliefs and texts⁷⁴

7. Temple of Osiris the Coptite

Ptolemaic and Roman reliefs and texts⁷⁵

8. Mut Temple Precinct

Ptolemaic Propylon,⁷⁶ numerous Ptolemaic offering scenes and texts⁷⁷

⁶⁹ Complete epigraphic copy in Clère, *La porte d'Évergète à Karnak*; Françoise Labrie is preparing a volume of translation and commentary (personal communication).

⁷⁰ Only a small number of Ptolemaic offering scenes are published in The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*; an additional Ptolemaic scene from the exterior wall appears in Degardin, *JNES* 44 (1985): 130, Fig. 12; for the additional Ptolemaic and Roman Period reliefs, the present study uses photographs and hand copies by the author.

⁷¹ Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*.

⁷² Completely published, with extensive translation volume by De Wit, *Opet*, I-III; for the additional crypt, cf. Traunecker, *Ktoma* 29 (2004): 51-65.

⁷³ Complete epigraphic copy with idiosyncratic translation by Aufrère, *Montou*.

⁷⁴ *Urk.* VIII; new copies and photographs of certain texts in Sauneron, *BIFAO* 63 (1965): 73-87; Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, Pls. 45, 46, 49-53.

⁷⁵ *Urk.* VIII; Laurent Coulon is currently publishing the newly discovered Osirian chapel nearby (cf. Coulon, et al., *Karnak* 10 [1995]: 205-37).

⁷⁶ A semi-epigraphic copy appears in Sauneron, *Mout*; this edition has numerous mistakes (cf. Darnell, *SAK* 22 [1995]: 69, n. 118), and a new edition is in preparation by the Brooklyn Museum-Johns Hopkins University expedition (personal communication of Richard Fazzini).

⁷⁷ Only one scene and accompanying inscription has been published; Goyon, *JARCE* 20 (1983): 47-64; according to Goyon, *CdE* 78 (2003): 43, the new edition of the Ptolemaic texts has been in press since 1995; for

9. Medamud

Graeco-Roman temple, very fragmentary⁷⁸

10. Luxor Temple

Bark Shrine of Alexander,⁷⁹ Many Ptolemaic and Roman blocks⁸⁰

11. Deir el-Bahari

Small Ptolemaic chapel⁸¹

12. Deir el-Medineh

Large Graeco-Roman temple⁸²

13. Medinet Habu: Small Temple

Ptolemaic Pylon,⁸³ Ptolemaic decoration in the Bark Shrine,⁸⁴ Gate of Claudius,⁸⁵
Gate of Domitian,⁸⁶ Portico and Forecourt of Antoninus Pius⁸⁷

the unpublished scenes, the present study uses the hand copies of Sethe, *Notizbuch*, 6, 70-95, kindly provided by Stephan Seidlmayer.

⁷⁸ Completely published by Drioton, *Médamoud*, I-II, however with an inaccurate typeset copy.

⁷⁹ Completely published: abd el-Raziq, *Die Darstellungen und Texte des Sanktuars Alexanders des Großen im Tempel von Luxor*.

⁸⁰ Most blocks remain unpublished; cf. Johnson and McClain, in D’Auria, ed., *Servant of Mut*, pp. 134-40, for the recent reconstruction of one late Ptolemaic relief from Luxor blocks.

⁸¹ Completely published: Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*.

⁸² Completely published: Du Bourguet, *Deir al-Médina*.

⁸³ Unpublished; excerpts from texts quoted in Sethe, *Amun*; several scenes appear in Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, II, Pl. 151; Kaplony-Heckel, in Eyre, ed., *The Unbroken Reed*, p. 148; many of the inscriptions are legible in Jéquier, *L’architecture et la décoration dans l’ancienne Égypte*, III, Pl. 11; the present study uses photographs by the author as well as the hand copies in Sethe, *Notizbuch*, 16, 105 – 17, 6 and 11-14, kindly provided by Stephan Seidlmayer.

⁸⁴ Mostly unpublished; The Epigraphic Survey is preparing the publication of the bark shrine; some texts already appear in Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, Pls. XXXVIa-b; the present study uses photographs by the author, as well as the hand copies of Sethe, *Notizbuch*, 16, 82-101, kindly provided by Stephan Seidlmayer, in addition to personal copies of Prof. John C. Darnell.

⁸⁵ Unpublished; cf. **5.3.2**; the present study uses hand copies and photographs by the author.

⁸⁶ Unpublished, cf. **5.8.3**; the present study uses hand copies and photographs by the author.

14. Qasr el-Agouz

Small Ptolemaic temple⁸⁸

15. Deir Shelwit

Roman temple⁸⁹

16. Armant

Graeco-Roman temples, almost entirely destroyed,⁹⁰ Ptolemaic crypts⁹¹

17. Tod

Large Graeco-Roman temple⁹²

1.4 Outline

This dissertation will attempt to modify traditional perceptions of Roman Thebes in a number of ways. A detailed examination of the Roman Period constructions and inscriptions in the temples leads to a dramatic reassessment and appreciation of the scope and theological importance of official works at Thebes in the Roman Period. The analysis of the heretofore largely unpublished or untranslated religious texts, meanwhile, will show that Thebes

⁸⁷ Unpublished, cf. **5.11.1**; the present study uses hand copies and photographs of the author.

⁸⁸ Inaccurate publication by Mallet, *Le Kasr el-Agoûz*; Claude Traunecker is preparing a new edition (cf. Volokhine, *BIFAO* 102 [2002]: 405); the present study uses the hand copies in Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 17-39, kindly provided by Stephan Seidlmayer.

⁸⁹ Hand copy published by Zivie, *Le temple de Deir Chelouit*, I-III; the present study uses personal photographs of the author for collation.

⁹⁰ Early copies of scenes appear in *LD* IV, 59-65; some scattered blocks remain, cf. Farid, *MDAIK* 35 (1979): 59-74; Thiers, in Goyon and Cardin, eds., *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, II, pp. 1812-16.

⁹¹ Thiers and Volokhine, *Ermant* I.

⁹² *Tôd*, I-III; many more scenes and texts appear on scattered blocks which Christophe Thiers is currently preparing for publication (cf. Thiers, in Goyon and Cardin, eds., *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, II, pp. 1807-12).

continued to be a locus for complex, native Egyptian theological speculation and public festivals. The epigraphic and architectural evidence will demonstrate that references to Thebes in Roman literary, philosophical, and magical texts were not anachronistic, but rather quite accurately describes the city as a thriving religious center.

Chapter 2 looks at eyewitness accounts of Thebes in the Roman Period by Strabo, Tacitus, Thessalos, Pausanias, and Ammianus Marcellinus, to reevaluate what exactly they say or do not say about the condition of Theban temples. Chapter 3 surveys inscriptions related to Thebes from other Egyptian temples, to determine the reputation of Thebes and its theological importance within Egypt in the Roman Era.

Chapter 4 catalogues and analyzes all the major local divinities of the Theban Pantheon in the Graeco-Roman Period, incorporating both published and unpublished temple texts as well as relevant Demotic and Greek sources. This overview reconstructs and clarifies the complex and often misunderstood relationships between the multitude of Theban divinities, and summarizes the important attributes and functions of each god and goddess.

Chapter 5 chronologically examines the evidence for Roman Period temple construction and deconstruction in Thebes from the reign of Augustus to Constantine. This study will pay particularly close attention to the architectural context of the Roman Period modifications to see how Theban priests and builders continued to interact with the surrounding Pharaonic monuments, and to determine what the precise locations of Roman buildings indicate about the temple activity. The accompanying translation of the Roman Period inscriptions from Thebes, most of which are unpublished, complements the architectural history with additional information about temple construction, and allows for a deeper understanding of the local theology.

Chapter 6 briefly studies the grammar of the Roman Period inscriptions, showing that the Theban theologians and scribes were still capable of composing sophisticated, original hymns in classical Middle Egyptian through the reign of Antoninus Pius. Finally, Chapter 7 collects the epigraphic and architectural evidence for major Theban festivals in the Roman Period, highlighting the important connections between various temples and demonstrating the continued vibrancy of traditional religious practices into the third and fourth centuries.

Chapter 2

Roman Visitors to Thebes

2.0 Introduction

Diodorus Siculus claimed that he got his information about Thebes not only from Egyptian priests but also from “many of the Greeks who visited Thebes in the time of Ptolemy son of Lagus and composed histories of Egypt.”¹ In the Roman Period, the Thebes became popular destination for tourists, including soldiers, scholars, high officials, and even several Emperors.² In addition to a large number of votive graffiti on Theban monuments and tombs, the popularity of the city also inspired several detailed descriptions of the city in literary sources. While the authenticity of certain accounts are problematic,³ Strabo and Ammianus Marcellinus actually visited Thebes during the Roman Period. As eye-witness accounts, these descriptions provide valuable perspectives on the condition of the Theban temples, and more importantly they reveal to some extent what literate Romans would have known about Thebes.

¹ Diodorus Siculus, I, 46.8; trans. Oldfather, *Diodorus Siculus*, I, pp. 164-7; for the various sources of Diodorus Siculus, cf. Burton, *Diodorus Siculus, Book I*, pp. 1-34.

² Foertmeyer, *Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, pp. 22-31, et passim.

³ Even though Juvenal may have been to Egypt, his brief mention of Thebes in ruins in *Satire XV*, 5 (*atque uetus Thebe centum iacet obruta portis*), must be understood in the general context of the satire, where the author wished to demonstrate display the ridiculous nature of Egyptian religion.

2.1 Strabo

The most detailed account of Thebes in the early Roman Period comes from Strabo, who visited the city in the winter of 27-26 BCE in the company of the Prefect Aelius Gallus,⁴ about two years after Cornelius Gallus laid siege to Thebes and Medamud (cf. **5.1.0**). Strabo began this particular section by quoting the famous remarks of Homer about the treasures of “hundred-gated Thebes,” continuing:⁵

καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τοιαῦτα λέγουσι, μητρόπολιν τιθέντες τῆς Αἰγύπτου ταυτήν. καὶ νῦν δ’ ἴχνη δείκνυται τοῦ μεγέθους αὐτῆς ἐπὶ ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους τὸ μήκος. ἔστι δ’ ἱερὰ πλείω, καὶ τούτων δὲ τὰ πολλὰ ἠκρωθρίασε Καμβύσης. νυνὶ δὲ κωμηδὸν συνοικεῖται, μέρος δέ τι καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ, ἐν ἧπερ ἡ πόλις, μέρος δέ τι καὶ ἐν τῇ περαίᾳ, ὅπου τὸ Μεμνόνιον.

Others say similar things (as Homer), making it the metropolis of Egypt. Its large size is still notable, being eighty stadia in length. There are a great number of temples, although many of them were mutilated by Cambyses.^(a) It is at present composed of smaller communities:^(b) one part on the East bank, where the city is, and one part on the West bank, where the Memnonion is.

^(a) Most later observers attributed any damage on Egyptian monuments to Cambyses.⁶ As Bataille noted,⁷ the specific verb Strabo uses (ἀκροθριάζω, “to mutilate; amputate”) would be inappropriate to explain serious structural damage,⁸ but rather would refer to the removal of inlaid precious stones and metals from the reliefs.⁹ This is in fact exactly what Diodorus Siculus said of Cambyses’ actions in Thebes (I, 46.4):

⁴ Strabo mentions touring Thebes as follows (17, 1.46): “And I was present at the sites along with Aelius Gallus and his crowd of companions, both friends and soldiers (κάγω δὲ παρῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων μετὰ Γάλλου Αἰλίου καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ φίλων τε καὶ στρατιωτῶν).” For the date of Strabo and Aelius Gallus’ visit to Upper Egypt, cf. Locher, *Ancient Society* 32 (2003): 78, n. 16.

⁵ Strabo 17, 1.46; text after Jones, *The Geography of Strabo*, VIII, pp. 120-123; see also Charvin and Yoyotte, *Strabon, le voyage en Égypte*, pp. 172-5; Radt, *Strabons Geographika*, IV, pp. 484-7.

⁶ See most recently Cruz-Uribe, *Transeuphratène* 25 (2003): 9-60.

⁷ Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, p. 11.

⁸ Strabo described Heliopolis, on the other hand, as “completely deserted (πανέρημος)” (Strabo, 17, 1.27); see the remarks of Yoyotte and Charvet, *Strabon: Le Voyage en Égypte. Un regard romain*, p. 124, n. 280.

⁹ For these inlaid objects (*hpy.w*), see most recently Thiers, *RdE* 49 (1998): 257-8.

τὰς μὲν οὖν οἰκοδομὰς διαμεμενηκέναι μέχρι τῶν νεωτέρων χρόνων, τὸν δ' ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ τὴν δι' ἐλέφαντος καὶ λιθείας πολυτέλειαν ὑπὸ Περσῶν σεσυλῆσθαι.

While the actual buildings (of the temples) have survived until recent times, the silver, gold, and objects of ivory and precious stones were taken away by the Persians.

Although this type of destruction most likely did take place in the Persian Period,¹⁰ Cambyses obviously cannot take the blame for the desecration of Theban monuments built in the Ptolemaic Period.¹¹ Some of the precious stones to which Strabo apparently refers were perhaps removed by Cornelius Gallus.¹²

(c) These two words (κωμηδὸν συνοικεῖται) have provided the basis for most interpretations of Roman Thebes:

Festugière: “L’antique Diospolis (...) n’était plus habitée, à l’époque romaine, que κωμηδὸν, c’est-à-dire en quelques quartiers qui formaient comme autant de bourgades. Le reste était désert, couvert de bois.”¹³

J.Z. Smith: “(Thebes was) possessing only “traces” of her former glory, being now only a “collection of villages” with a few ruined temples.”¹⁴

Vandorpe: “Economic activities in Thebes continued, but were limited to the small group of hamlets scattered among the ruins of its former magnificence.”¹⁵

Stickler: “Daß Gallus an Stelle dieser Ortsteile nicht gleich Theben nennt, ist nicht verwunderlich. Die alte “hunderttorige” Stadt war zu jener Zeit nach Strabons Zeugnis nicht mehr als ein Haufen nebeneinanderliegender Dörfer.”¹⁶

¹⁰ For Persians taking precious goods from Egyptian temples, cf. Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 6-7.

¹¹ These monuments would have included: the Opet Temple, the Hathor Temple of Deir el-Medineh, the First Pylon at Medinet Habu, the Second Pylon of Karnak, the propylons of Chonsu Temple and North Karnak.

¹² Ammelianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae* XVII, 4.3-5, claimed that Cambyses took precious objects from Thebes, and that Cornelius Gallus later “drained the city by extensive embellishments (*exhausit civitatem plurimis interceptis*),” which may only refer to his excessive taxation (cf. **5.1.0**).

¹³ Festugière, *Hermétisme et mystique païenne*, p. 160, n. 73.

¹⁴ Z. Smith, *Map is not Territory*, p. 178, n. 29.

¹⁵ Vandorpe, in Vleeming, ed., *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, p. 237.

Most of these scholars contrasted the account of Strabo with that of Diodorus Siculus (I, 45.4-46.3), who described the enormous size of the city in the Ptolemaic Period. However, as Yoyotte has already noted,¹⁷ archaeological evidence shows that Thebes was always organized in this fashion, even in its glory days of the New Kingdom.¹⁸ In fact, most Egyptian cities consisted of compact residential areas clustered around temples or palaces.¹⁹ There archaeological records are further supported by Greek and Demotic contracts, which outline in great detail the inhabited centers of Ptolemaic Thebes.²⁰ These documents show that the main Theban neighborhoods were focused around Karnak, Luxor, and Medamud on the East bank, and around Djeme (Medinet Habu) on the West bank. Strabo thus was not describing a once great city disintegrated into a handful of shanty towns, but rather the particular composition of Thebes, which would have been notable different from Hellenistic cities like Alexandria. It is also possible that the word κομηδὸν in this case refers to the division of Thebes into the inhabited *polis* on the East bank, and the primarily mortuary *Memnonion* on the West bank.

Strabo continues with a description the world-famous Colossus of Memnon, noting that the upper part fell off “when an earthquake happened, as they say (σεισμοῦ γενηθέντος, ὡς φασι).”²¹ Strabo does not say when the earthquake occurred,²² and his qualification of

¹⁶ Stickler, „*Gallus amore peribat*“?, pp. 77-8, discussing the mention of “Diospolis Megale” in the Cornelius Gallus Stela, cf. **1.0**.

¹⁷ Yoyotte and Charvet, *Strabon: Le Voyage en Egypte. Un regard romain*, p. 174, n. 439.

¹⁸ For the urban structure of Pharaonic Thebes, cf. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 160-3; Bietak, in Weeks, ed., *Egyptology and the Social Sciences*, p. 125 (noting, however, the general lack of archaeological evidence outside of the Theban temples); Lacovara, *New Kingdom Royal City*, p. 61.

¹⁹ For the characteristics of Egyptian “temple towns,” see Bietak, in Weeks, ed., *Egyptology and the Social Sciences*, p. 131; for the general problem of Egyptian urbanism (or lack thereof), cf. Lacovara, *New Kingdom Royal City*, pp. 1-3, 17. The older remarks of J.A. Wilson illustrate how a Westerner like Strabo might have viewed traditional Egyptian cities like Thebes: “It is legitimate to say that for three thousand years, until the founding of Alexandria, ancient Egypt was a major civilization without a single major city” (Wilson, in Kraeling and Adams, eds., *City Invincible*, p. 135).

²⁰ See the reconstructions in Pestman, *Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, pp. 385-90; Depauw, *The Archive of Teos and Thabis from Early Ptolemaic Thebes*, pp. 22-3; for the priests houses surrounding Karnak Temple, cf. Anus and Sa’ad, *Kêmi* 21 (1971): 217-238; Lauffray, *Karnak* 10 (1995): 301-41.

²¹ Yoyotte and Charvet, *Strabon: Le Voyage en Egypte. Un regard romain*, p. 174, n. 442, considered this explanation to be “fort probable.”

²² Bowersock attempted to connect this with a large earthquake, known from a number of sources, which struck in 26 BCE (Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p. 157; idem, *BASP* 21 [1984]: 25, n. 15); however, this

this detail by ὡς φασι “so they say” suggests that he was even slightly skeptical.²³ If an earthquake was really responsible for breaking the Colossus, it did not necessarily occur at the beginning of the Roman Period.²⁴ Rather, the hypothetical earthquake responsible for the damage was most likely the same one that knocked down the associated mortuary temple of Amenhotep III sometime between the Nineteenth and Twenty-First Dynasties.²⁵ In any event, Strabo did not claim that this earthquake caused any other noticeable damage to the Theban monuments.

After the description of the Colossus of Memnon, Strabo mentions the Valley of the Kings, noting that the tombs (syringes) were “marvelously constructed and worthy of beholding (θαυμαστῶς κατασκευασμένοι καὶ θεᾶς ἄξιοι).” Later visitors to the royal tombs agreed with Strabo’s assessment, often expressing their amazement (ἐθαύμασα, ὑπερέθαύμασα) in their graffiti.²⁶

Returning to the East bank, Strabo then describes one of the temples, either Karnak or Luxor.²⁷

earthquake is only attested in Asia Minor and the north-east Aegean, and more importantly, Strabo visited Thebes in late 27 – early 26 BCE, not in 24 BCE as Bowersock maintained (Bowersock, *BASP* 21 [1984]: 25).

²³ Already noted by Bowersock, *BASP* 21 (1984): 25; Théodoridès, *CdE* 64 (1989): 269.

²⁴ The fact that dated graffiti first appear in the reign of Augustus (Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 82 [1990]: 154) may have more to do with the change in regime, rather than dating the time of the damage to the Colossus.

²⁵ Haeny, ed., *Untersuchungen im Totentempel Amenophis’ III*, pp. 18. 105-6; Bickel, *Untersuchungen im Totentempel des Merenptah in Theben*, III, p. 98.

²⁶ Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, p. 173; Foertmeyer, *Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, pp. 28-9, 81-2; cf. also Diodorus, I, 26.7: “There are also in this city, they say, remarkable tombs of the early kings and of their successors, which leave to those who aspire to similar magnificence no opportunity to outdo them.”

²⁷ Following the translation of Jones, *Strabo*, VIII, pp. 123-5.

ἐν δὲ ταῖς Θήβαις ἐπὶ τινῶν ὀβελίσκων ἀναγραφαιδηλοῦσαι τὸν πλοῦτον τῶν τότε βασιλέων καὶ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν, ὡς μέχρι Σκυθῶν καὶ Βακτριῶν καὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ τῆς νῦν Ἰωνίας διατείνασαν, καὶ φόρων πλῆθος καὶ στρατιᾶς περὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδας.

In Thebes, ^(a) on some obelisks, are inscriptions which depict the wealthier of the kings at that time, as well as their dominion and how it once extended as far as the Scythians and the Bactrians and the Indians and the present Ionia, the amount of tributes they received, and the size of the army they had, about one million men.

(a) Emending θεκαῖς, “tombs” to Θήβαις, “Thebes.”²⁸

Strabo’s description of the obelisks suggests that at least some of the Theban obelisks were still standing,²⁹ and that Egyptian guides were able to explain the reliefs and contents of the inscriptions.³⁰

Strabo concludes his account of Thebes with a remarkable statement:

λέγονται δὲ καὶ ἀστρονόμοι καὶ φιλόσοφοι μάλιστα οἱ ἐνταῦθα ἱερεῖς.
They say that the priests there are mostly astronomers and philosophers.³¹

Strabo may have relied here to some extent on Diodorus Siculus, who previously stated (I, 50.1) “the Thebans claim to be the most ancient of all people, and that it was with them first that philosophy and precise astrology were discovered.” Nonetheless, the most

²⁸ Suggested by Jones, *Strabo*, VIII, p. 122, n. 5; followed by Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, p. 170; Charvin and Yoyotte, *Strabon, le voyage en Égypte*, p. 174, n. 446; Radt, *Strabons Geographika*, IV, p. 486.

²⁹ Elsewhere (17, 1.27), Strabo describes the destroyed and stolen obelisks of Heliopolis and notes: “but other (obelisks) are either still there or at Thebes, the present Diospolis.”

³⁰ See the discussion of Tacitus, *infra*; although note that battle reliefs and lists of prisoners usually appear on pylons, not obelisks, and Strabo may have described the Battle of Kadesh reliefs on the Pylon of Luxor Temple which were right beside the obelisks.

³¹ An earlier editor translated this sentence as if it were in the past tense: “The priests there are said *to have been*, for the most part, astronomers and philosophers.” (Jones, *Strabo*, VIII, p. 125; italics mine); this passage was correctly translated in the present tense by Yoyotte and Charvet, *Strabon, le voyage en Égypte*, p. 177; Radt, *Strabons Geographika*, IV, p. 487. Nonetheless, Jones’ English translation influenced subsequent interpretations; e.g. Smith, *Map is not Territory*, p. 178, n. 29, who stated that Thebes was ruined in the Roman Period, “although once famed for its wealth and for the wisdom of its priests who were “philosophers and astronomers.””

famous reference to philosophizing priests in Egypt comes from Porphyry, *De Abstinencia* IV, 6-8, citing the Alexandrian scholar Chaeremon. Porphyry actually describes the work of the priests in great detail, but the following quotes briefly summarize his views.³²

“Chaeremon the Stoic tells in his exposé about the Egyptian priests, who, he says, were considered also as philosophers among the Egyptians, that they chose the temples as the place to philosophize.”

“The true philosophizing was found among the prophets, the priests who had charge of the sacred vestments, the sacred scribes, and also the astrologers (ἰερολόγοι). But the rest – the crowd of priests, pastophores, neokoroi, and assistants – practice the same rites of purification for the gods, yet not with such great accuracy and self-control. Such are the things testified about the Egyptians by a man who was a lover of truth and an accurate writer, and who was among the Stoics a very clever philosopher.”

Jerome, also quoting Chaeremon, claimed that Egyptian priests “were always in the temple, laying aside all worldly affairs and concerns, and that they contemplated the nature and causes of all things and the order of the stars.”³³

Although Van den Hoorst demonstrated in his commentary that Chaeremon’s descriptions of priestly life corresponded quite well with documentary sources,³⁴ he nonetheless concluded that these accounts “present a rather romantic and idealized picture of the daily life of the Egyptian priests (...) although partially based on actual data, it is one more example of a well-known literary genre in late antiquity, the idealized barbarian (= non-Greek) peoples.”³⁵ While this may be the case for genuine literary texts, it is unclear why

³² Slightly modified translation of Van der Hoorst, *Chaeremon, Egyptian Priest and Stoic Philosopher*, pp. 17 and 23.

³³ Jerome, *Adversus Iovinianum*, II, 13; translation of Van den Hoorst, *Chaeremon, Egyptian Priest and Stoic Philosopher*, p. 23.

³⁴ Van den Hoorst, *Chaeremon*, pp. 57-61.

³⁵ Van den Hoorst, *Chaeremon*, p. x, similar comments on p. 56, n. 1, to Fragm. 10; this conclusion is based primarily on earlier remarks of Festugière, *Revelation d’Hermès*, I, pp. 19-44, whose low regard for non-Greek philosophy is well recognized, cf. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, pp. xxii-xxiii; for the positive and negative

Strabo would interrupt his rather sober eye-witness account of Thebes to mention a clichéd literary topos.

Egyptian texts from all periods make it abundantly clear that Egyptian priests were also astronomers. Celestial and solar observations were used to align the temple foundations,³⁶ to determine the proper time for religious rites,³⁷ as well as to coordinate the religious and civil calendars. The scientific sophistication underlying these observations is suggested, among many places, in the descriptions of the lunar phases of Chonsu (cf. **4.13**), and in a famous passage of the priestly Canopus Decree explaining the problems arising from not observing leap-years.³⁸

*hpr=f rh.n bw nb r-nty nht wšr imiwt smn n tr.w hn^c rnp.wt hn^c md.w nty n
hp.w n rh.w n(3) mtn.w p.t*

It so happens that everybody knows there is a small error in fixing the seasons with the years and with *the laws of those who know the celestial orbits* (lit. “paths of heaven”).

The astronomical/zodiacal coffin lids of the Soter family (second century CE), together with the later Greek and Demotic magical papyri, beautifully demonstrate the vogue for elite Theban interest in syncretistic religion and astronomy,³⁹ and out of this same milieu

stereotypes about Egyptian priests in the Graeco-Roman Period, cf. Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, pp. 221-54.

³⁶ See most recently Gabolde, *RdE* 50 (1999): 278-81.

³⁷ Sauneron, *Kêmi* 15 (1959): 36-41.

³⁸ Canopus Decree, ll. 22-23 = *Urk.* II, 141, 9 – 142, 2.

³⁹ Herbin, *Padiimenipet fils de Sôter*; Riggs, *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt*, pp. 175-244.

Hephaestion of Thebes wrote an extensive, three volume astrological treatise (*Apotelesmaticorum*) in the fourth century CE.⁴⁰

The interpretation of Egyptian priests as contemplative “philosophers” is more complicated, as it deals with the problem of “pre-Greek philosophy.”⁴¹ Numerous Greek philosophers, including Plato, Pythagoras, and Thales, supposedly visited Egypt to study with the priests.⁴² Furthermore, the recently published “Book of Thoth,” dating to the Roman Period, records eschatological and cosmological discussions held in the “House of Life,” the educational establishment located within Egyptian temples.⁴³ The protagonists in these dialogues include the god Thoth and the remarkably named *mr-rh*, “lover of knowledge,” quite literally a philosopher.⁴⁴

The topos of philosophizing Egyptian priests is perhaps particularly true of the Roman Period, and the works of Chaeremon, Plutarch, Iamblichus, Horapallo, among others, demonstrate that Romans often conversed with Egyptian priests to obtain explanations and interpretations of their religious beliefs and the system of hieroglyphs.⁴⁵ As Merkelbach noted, the contact with Greek and Roman philosophers meant that “es wuchs ein neuer Typ

⁴⁰ Pingree, ed., *Hephaestionis Thebani Apotelesmaticorum libri tres*; Schwartz, in *Livre du Centenaire*, pp. 311-21.

⁴¹ For philosophical interpretations of Egyptian theology, see, *inter alia*, Iversen, *Egyptian and Hermetic Doctrine*.

⁴² For the tradition of Plato’s studies in Egypt, see Mathieu, *ASAE* 71 (1987): 153-67.

⁴³ For the references to the House of Life in the “Book of Thoth,” see Jasnow and Zauzich, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth*, pp. 33-6.

⁴⁴ For references to the “lover of knowledge,” see Jasnow and Zauzich, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth*, pp. 13-5; on p. 13, n. 36, they already noted the significance of this term for reevaluating the testimony of Chaeremon; note also that *rhw*, “knowledge” of the solar cycle and general natural philosophy was considered extremely important in Pharaonic religion; cf. Assmann, *Die König als Sonnenpriester*, pp. 56-7.

⁴⁵ E.g. Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt*, pp. 418-9.

ägyptischer Priest heran, Männer, die sich mit der griechischen Philosophie beschäftigen.”⁴⁶

The different type of interactions with priests range from the philosophical discussions of Thessalos (cf. *infra*, 1.3), and the remarkable Theban statue of a Ptolemaic strategos named Plato, who claims to have “interpreted the oracles (*whꜥ shr.w*)” of Amenope during festival processions.⁴⁷

2.2 Tacitus

Chronologically, the next description of Theban monuments comes from Tacitus in his relation of Germanicus’ poorly conceived visit to Egypt in 19 CE.⁴⁸ Unlike Strabo, there is no indication that Tacitus drew upon eye-witness accounts as he wrote of this particular visit. Rather, a number of similarities, particularly regarding the list of subjugated territories, suggest that Tacitus drew heavily on Strabo for his description of a tour through Thebes. Furthermore, it must be remembered that Tacitus was writing almost a century later in the reign of Trajan (116-117 CE), and his account may have been somewhat influenced by the current geopolitical situation and the numerous military campaigns of the Emperor.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Merkelbach, *Isis regina – Zeus Sarapis*, §436; for similar opinions, see Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, I, pp. 1-2; Jasnow and Zauzich, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth*, I, p. 71, n. 249.

⁴⁷ Coulon, *RdE* 52 (2001): 85-112; note that the Egyptian interaction with Greek and Roman philosophers could be a two-way dialogue; cf. Derchain, *BSEG* 22 (1998): 17-30, for the possible influence of Stoic philosophy in Roman Period temple inscriptions.

⁴⁸ For Germanicus in Egypt, see primarily Weingärtner, *Die Ägyptenreise des Germanicus*; with critical remarks of Hennig, *Chiron* 2 (1972): 349-365; Goodyear, *The Annals of Tacitus*, pp. 372-6; Geraci, *Genesi della provincia romana d’Egitto*, p. 132; Halfmann, *Itinera principum*, pp. 30, 168-170; Kákósy, *Acta Antiqua Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32 (1989): 129-36.

⁴⁹ The specific date was suggested by Syme, *Tacitus*, II, p. 470, by comparing the description of the Pharaonic subjects and the conquests of Trajan.

Nonetheless, this description is valuable at the very least for illustrating Roman conceptions of Thebes:⁵⁰

Mox visit veterum Thebarum magna vestigia. Et manebant structis molibus litterae Aegyptiae, priorem opulentiam complexae; iussusque e senioribus sacerdotum patrium sermonem interpretari, referebat habitasse quondam septingenta milia aetate militari, atque eo cum exercitu regem Rhamsen Libya Aethiopa Medisque et Persis et Bactriano ac Scythia potitum quasque terras Suri Armeniique et contigui Cappadoce colunt, inde Bithynum, hinc Lycium ad mare imperio tenuisse. Legebantur et indicta gentibus tributa, pondus argenti et auri, numerus armorum equorumque et dona templis, ebur atque odores, quasque natio penderet, haud minus magnifica quam nunc ui Parthorum aut potentia Romana iubentur.

“Next (Germanicus) saw the great vestiges of ancient Thebes. On its massive masonry, in Egyptian script, remained testimonies of its prior opulence. One of the senior priests,^(a) requested to interpret the native tongue, told how the country had once possessed 700,000 men of military age, with whom King Ramesses had made his conquests. The tribute-list of the subject lands (they were Libya, Ethiopia, Media, Persia, Bactria, and Scythia; his empire also had included Syria, Armenia, and neighboring Cappadocia, and had extended to the Bithynian and Lycian coasts) could be read^(b) – the weight of gold and silver was recorded, and the numbers of weapons and horses, the temple-offerings of ivory and spices, the quantities of grain and other materials contributed by every country: revenues as impressive as those exacted by Parthian compulsion or Roman imperial organization.”

(a) The Latin phrase *e senioribus sacerdotum* is frequently translated as “one of the old priests,”⁵¹ relegating this text to the popular topos of crumbling, holy sites in the Orient populated solely by handfuls of ageing priests. In reality, this seems to be a designation for “senior priest.”

(b) While Ramesses II did indeed have control over Libya, Ethiopia, Syria, and Asia Minor, none of his monuments record him actually campaigning as far East as Scythia and Bactria. This fact has led commentators to accuse the priest in question of stretching the truth, or even being unable to read the inscriptions themselves. Goodyear, for example, explained the exaggerated claims as follows:⁵²

⁵⁰ Tacitus, *Annals* II, 60; Latin text after Goodyear, *The Annals of Tacitus*, II, pp. 47-8, with commentary, pp. 382-4; the translation is slightly modified from Grant, *Tacitus: The Annals of Imperial Rome*, pp. 110-1.

⁵¹ E.g. Montet, in *Mélanges 1945*, III: *études historiques*, pp. 47-79: “le veillard.”

⁵² Goodyear, *The Annals of Tacitus*, II, p. 382-3.

“Perhaps patriotism carried the old priest away. More probably he did not understand the hieroglyphics or understood them only in part, but was skilled in purveying, instead of translation, a stirring account of the wealth and prowess of the great Egyptian kings, in particular the figure called Sesostris (...) Strabo *l.c.* draws on the same tradition, the stock-in-trade of priestly cicerones.”

In a long discussion of this episode, Montet already warned against such an interpretation:⁵³

“On aurait tort cependant d’accuser le vieux prêtre de mauvaise foi ou d’ignorance ou d’avoir cédé au désir d’éblouir son visiteur étranger. S’il outrepassa la vérité, d’autres en avaient fait avant, car d’autres voyageurs antiques ont recueilli à Thèbes, à Memphis et ailleurs, des renseignements qui s’accordent singulièrement avec le passage des Annales.”

Since scribes in Karnak were composing lengthy, stylistically complex, and beautifully carved hymns in good Middle Egyptian during the reign of Tiberius (cf. **5.2.1.5.1-2**), and continued to do so at long after Tacitus wrote the Annals (cf. **5.11.1, Chapter 6**), it is ridiculous to suppose that priests could not actually read the inscriptions for Germanicus. In one of her many poems carved on the Colossus of Memnon, Julia Balbilla addressed the other statue as “Ἀμενωθ, King of Egypt, according to what the priests learned in ancient myths relate,”⁵⁴ implying that Egyptian priests were still capable and willing to translate the New Kingdom monuments for the Hadrianic visitors (130 CE). In a similar vein, a newly discovered bilingual Greek-Demotic ostrakon records the beginning of a conversation between Hadrian and priests from the Fayyum regarding “the skill of writing (*rh n sh*).”⁵⁵

The discrepancy between the actual monuments and the list in the Annals may be due to the sources which Tacitus used to write this particular section. Although Tacitus cites many books, letters and archives, it remains unclear how he would have known of the precise claims made by the Egyptian tour guide.⁵⁶ Instead, Tacitus probably compiled the list from other historians and travelers and, for any number of reasons (cf. *infra*), added it to the history of Germanicus. Indeed, the mention of Bactria finds an earlier parallel in Diodorus Siculus (I, 47.6), who claimed that the Tomb of Ozymandas (Ramesses) contains depictions

⁵³ Montet, in *Mélanges 1945*, III, p. 48.

⁵⁴ Bernand and Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon*, p. 87; Quaegebeur, *RdE* 37 (1986): 100.

⁵⁵ Menchetti, *EVO* 27 (2004): 27-31; cf. **5.10.0**.

⁵⁶ Devillers, *Tacite et les sources des Annales*, does not suggest any sources for the details of Germanicus’ trip to Egypt; Montet, in *Mélanges 1945*, III, p. 79, claimed that “Germanicus était certainement accompagné d’un écrivain de profession qui rédigea et publica un journal de voyage. Il n’est pas certain que Tacite ait eu ce document sous les yeux, mais l’historien qu’il a utilisé a dû en avoir connaissance,” but the only reference he gave was a personal communication from M. Piganiol.

of Pharaoh and his army fighting against the Bactrians.⁵⁷ As many have recognized, Tacitus was likely also influenced by the partly legendary campaigns of Sesostris recorded by multiple classical historians (including Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus),⁵⁸ with further developments in both Demotic and Greek literature.⁵⁹ Further legends of earlier historical or pseudo-historical figures are preserved in near contemporary Demotic papyri, including Djoser invading Nineveh, Inaros traveling to Persia, and his son, Pami, fighting in the Land of the Amazons.⁶⁰

Even assuming Tacitus actually had an accurate transcript of the priest's translations, there are plenty of post-Ramesside hieroglyphic texts mentioning distant lands similar to those listed in Tacitus. Posener already compared the lists in Strabo and Tacitus to similar inscriptions from hieroglyphic lists from the Persian Period (27th Dynasty).⁶¹ These lists derive from three enormous Red Sea canal stele of Darius I,⁶² as well as the statue of Darius I found in Susa,⁶³ and feature well-known depictions of subject peoples surmounting the name of their respective countries.⁶⁴ These hieroglyphic texts do in fact record every country mentioned by Tacitus: Libya (*t3-tmḥw*), Nubia (*t3-nḥsi*), Media (*mdy*), Persia (*prs*), Bactria (*bḥtr*), Scythia (*sk*), Syria (*3šwr*), Armenia (*3rmyḥ3*), and Cappadocia (*gdḥdky*); the same texts also preserve the extra toponyms which Strabo recorded: India (*hndw*)⁶⁵ and Ionia.⁶⁶ In

⁵⁷ The similarity to Tacitus has been noted often; e.g. Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, p. 130; Posener, *BIFAO* 34 (1934): 77, noting in the same connection that the hieroglyphic Bentresh Stela associates Ramesses with a country whose name is spelled *Bḥtm*, which could easily be a miswriting (phonetically or graphically inspired) for *Bḥtr*, "Bactria" (similarly Montet, in *Mélanges 1945*, III, p. 72-3; for the well-attested interchange of *n/r*, cf. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 9, n. 39)..

⁵⁸ For the classical accounts of Sesostris, see primarily Obsomer, *Les campagnes de Sésostris dans Hérodote*; Ivantchik, *Historia* 48 (1999): 395-441 (both with copious references to earlier literature); for a comparison between the accounts of Sesostris (Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus) and the supposed inscriptions in Thebes (Strabo and Tacitus), see the chart of Montet, in *Mélanges 1945*, III, p. 53; note also that Tacitus shows at least some knowledge of Sesostris, as he briefly mentions him as "Sesosis" (*Annals* VI, 28).

⁵⁹ Quack, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte* III, pp. 28-9.

⁶⁰ Quack, *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte* III, pp. 27, 44-6.

⁶¹ Posener, *BIFAO* 34 (1934): 77-8.

⁶² Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte*, pp. 48-87.

⁶³ *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 4 (1974).

⁶⁴ For these hieroglyphic lists, see Obsomer, *Les campagnes de Sésostris dans Hérodote*, pp. 152-4; Myśliwiec, *The Twilight of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 150-1; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, pp. 174 and 216.

⁶⁵ Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte*, pp. 185-7; Roaf, *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 4 (1974): 94-141, 145.

⁶⁶ Ionia is not specifically mentioned in the Canal stele, but since several toponyms are damaged, Posener restored it based on the Old Persian lists (Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte*, p. 188); the intact Susa statue, meanwhile, preserves Thrace (*sktr3*; lit. "Skudra"; Roaf, *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 4 [1974]: 130), comprising at least part of Ionia.

a recent study of these lists, Klinkott has demonstrated the close parallels between the Persian inscriptions and the division of Alexander's empire into Macedonian satrapies reproduced by Diodorus Siculus (XVIII 3, 1-3 and 39, 5-3).⁶⁷ These later lists were quite popular in antiquity,⁶⁸ and thus they would have been another source of inspiration available for Tacitus.

In the Graeco-Roman Period, similar lists of distant subjugated countries multiply, even if their geographical span was somewhat anachronistic.⁶⁹ A geographical procession from Edfu depicts the traditional enemies of Egypt, the Nine Bows, updated to include Nubia, Libya, Syria, Media, Arabia, and Ionia.⁷⁰ A famous Graeco-Roman scene of bound prisoners from Kom Ombo mixes defunct former enemies of the New Kingdom (including Canaan, Djahi, Kadesh, and the Hittites) alongside contemporary countries such as Persia (*prš*), Germany (*grmnꜣ*),⁷¹ and India (*hntw*).⁷² Similar Roman period lists from Esna and Komir add Macedonia (*mgdn.t*), Persia (*prš*), Thrace (*dryks*), and several other unidentified locales to older countries like Elam and Djahi.⁷³

2.3 Thessalos (of Tralles)

Another description of Thebes in the Roman Period appears in the letter of Thessalos, an alchemical-botanical treatise quite popular in Late Antiquity.⁷⁴ The account of Thebes

⁶⁷ Klinkott, *Der Satrap*, pp. 75-7.

⁶⁸ Klinkott, *Der Satrap*, p. 75, n. 26, lists copies in thirteen separate sources.

⁶⁹ Lists of tribute nations can be notoriously anachronistic already in the New Kingdom; cf. Vernus, *Essai sur la conscience de l'Histoire dans l'Égypte pharaonique*, pp. 156-8.

⁷⁰ *Edfou VI*, 196-199; see most recently Colin, in Schneider, ed., *Das Ägyptische und die Sprachen Vorderasiens, Nordafrikas und der Ägäis*, pp. 219-55 (note however that his proposal to read *Išrw* as "Israel" is neither historically nor philologically supportable; cf. Klotz, *BiOr* 64 [2007]: 103).

⁷¹ Spelled *grmnfy*, but compare the similar ending in the name Arsinoe (*ʒrsynfy(ʒ)*) in *Urk. II*, 57, 10 and 108, 17; cf. also Fairman, *JEA* 35 (1950): 111.

⁷² De Morgan, *KO I*, Nos. 168-170, 174-176.

⁷³ *Urk. II*, 158; Sauneron, *ASAE* 52 (1954): 33-4; Es-Saghir and Valbelle, *BIFAO* 83 (1983): 155. It should be further noted that India might also appear as one of the conquered lands in the hieroglyphic portion of the Cornelius Gallus stela (Lyons and Borchardt, *SBAW* 20 [1896]: 473, line 4; read thus by Grenier, in *ANRW II.18.5*, p. 3185), although the reading is not entirely certain.

⁷⁴ For this text, see primarily: Festguière, *Hermétisme et mystique païenne*, pp. 141-67; Friedrich, *Thessalos von Tralles*; Smith, *Map is not Territory*, pp. 172-89; Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, pp. 162-5, 168; Ritner, in *ANRW II.18.5*, pp. 3356-8; Kákosy, in Grimal, et al., eds., *Hommages à Faiza Haikal*, pp. 161-4; Moyer, in Noegel, et al., eds., *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World*, pp. 39-56; Ogden, in Szpakowska, ed., *Through a Glass Darkly*, pp. 123-7.

occurs in the frame story, set during the reign of Claudius or Nero,⁷⁵ although many believe this to be fictional and pseudo-epigraphical, written much later.⁷⁶ Whether fictional or not, the story of a Roman scholar attempting to rediscover ancient magical secrets in Egypt resounds perfectly with the late Julio-Claudian setting (cf. **3.0**). A comparable historical example is the meeting of Nero with the Armenian king and authentic *magus* Tiridates in Rome, where Nero was inducted into Zoroastrianism and disappointed by the limitations of the power of the *magi*.⁷⁷ Thessalos' description of Thebes, whether based on personal observation or simply borrowed from literary tropes, is valuable for presenting a popular view of the city in the Roman Period.⁷⁸

Thessalos begins his story as a promising student in Alexandria, where he tries to become famous by using mystical knowledge discovered in the forgotten writings of the Pharaoh Necho. He fails miserably in this attempt, and he flees the city in utter humiliation. Desperate and with no plans for his future, he arrives at Thebes, where he is able to discover the true teachings of the ancients by speaking directly with the god Asclepius. For the present purposes, his description of Thebes is particularly illuminating:⁷⁹

⁷⁵ For attempts at dating the text, cf. Ogden, in Szpakowska, ed., *Through a Glass Darkly*, p. 123; Smith, *Map is not Territory*, pp. 174-5, n. 14, notes that the precise date is not important.

⁷⁶ For the literary setting of Thessalos, see most recently Ogden, in Szpakowska, ed., *Through a Glass Darkly*, pp. 123-7;

⁷⁷ For this event, cf. Griffin, *Nero*, pp. 216-7; Champlin, *Nero*, pp. 224-7.

⁷⁸ As Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, p. 165, recognized: "In fact, to assume that the letter [of Thessalos] is a fabrication may be the best way to ensure it a measure of historical respectability, since even the forger – especially the forger – has to be plausible."

⁷⁹ Greek and Latin text after Friedrich, *Thessalos von Tralles*, pp. 49-52; the present translation, based on the Greek redaction, is that of Moyer, in Noegel, et al., eds., *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World*, pp. 42-3.

Γενόμενος οὖν ἐν Διὸς πόλει – ἀρχαιοτάτην τῆς Αἰγύπτου πόλιν καὶ πολλὰ ἱερὰ ἔχουσαν – διέτριβον αὐτόθι. ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ ἀρχιερεῖς φιλόλογοι καὶ <γέροντες> ποικίλοις κεκοσμημένοι μαθήμασιν. προβαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτούς μοι φιλίας μᾶλλον αὐξανομένης, ἐπυνθανόμην, εἴ τι τῆς μαγικῆς ἐνεργείας σώζεται. καὶ τῶν μὲν πλειόνων ἐπαγγελίας ὁμοίας τῇ προπετεία μου <ἐπι>φερόντων κατέγνων. ἐνὸς δὲ τινος διὰ τὸ <οὐ> σοβαρὸν τῶν ἡθῶν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας μέτρον πιστευθῆναι δυναμένου οὐκ ἀνεχαιτίστην τῆς φιλίας.

Veniens ergo ad civitatem Iouis, antiqui Aegypti civitates et multa alia loca sacra perquisivi. erant enim illic multi sacerdotes ornati disciplinis et senes quam plures et sic habendo eorum notitiam et amicitiam querebam ab eis, si aliquod opus divinandi erat in civitate eorum et quidam eorum faciebant ridiculum de me. et uidens unum ex illis, uirum uenerabilem, cui ratione merito et digne credendum erat.

“And so I came to Diospolis – the oldest city of Egypt, containing many temples – and spent some time there. For there were many learned high priests <there> and <elders> adorned with subtle learning. As time passed and my friendship with them grew, I inquired if some sort of magical operation was still preserved.^(a) Though the majority of them, I observed, were indignant at my rashness in such undertakings,^(b) I was not shaken from friendship with one of them, who could be trusted because of the impressiveness of his character and the extent of his age.”

(a) In the Latin version, Thessalos more explicitly asks about “works of divination.”⁸⁰

(a) The difficult Greek in this passage has given rise to a number of translations.⁸¹ It literally seems to say “I noticed that most of them were condemning my enthusiasm for such an arrangement,” presumably referring to his desire to enter Egyptian temples. The Latin version simply claims “some of them found me ridiculous.”

As Ritner has noted, traditional Egyptian priests would not have been shocked about a question concerning “magical energy,” as such a concept (*hk3*) was quite fundamental in

⁸⁰ Ritner, in *ANRW* II.18.5, p. 3357, suggested Thessalos was interested in the traditional Egyptian practice of *ph-ntr*, “arrival of god” (followed by Kákosy, in Grimal, et al., eds., *Hommages Fayza Haikal*, p. 163).

⁸¹ Festugière, *Hermétisme et mystique païenne*, p. 159: “Je vis bien alors que la plupart s’indignaient de ma témérité à concevoir de telles espérances”; Ogden, in Szpakowska, ed., *Through a Glass Darkly*, p. 136: “I observed that most of them made claims reminiscent of my own premature enthusiasm.” For the difficulties of the Greek, cf. Festugière, *Hermétisme et mystique païenne*, p. 159, n. 71; Smith, *Map is not Territory*, p. 179, n. 33; Moyer, in Noegel, et al., eds., *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World*, pp. 42-3, n. 12; Ogden, in Szpakowska, ed., *Through a Glass Darkly*, pp. 136-7, n. 13.

Egyptian theology.⁸² Festugière explained that the priests reacted in this manner because they knew magic was illegal in the Roman Empire, and that they were suspicious of demonstrating this to a foreigner.⁸³ However, it is more likely that the priests were shocked by the ambition of the Greek scholar to behold a god within the inner sanctuaries, as this was a privilege reserved for initiated high priests.⁸⁴

Kákosy recently suggested that the ensuing divination took place in the Ptah Temple of Karnak, since the cult of Imhotep-Asclepius was popular there in the Roman Period.⁸⁵ Nonetheless, popular cult images on the rear exterior wall of the Ptah Temple indicate that access to the interior of the temple was restricted to certain priests,⁸⁶ and thus the sanctuary would have been off-limits for Thessalos. A much more likely candidate is the sanatorium at Deir el-Bahari, associated with both Imhotep and Amenhotep son of Hapu.⁸⁷ This shrine featured dark chambers for incubation rites,⁸⁸ and the many Greek graffiti testify that it was quite accessible to non-Egyptians.⁸⁹

⁸² Ritner, in *ANRW* II.18.5, pp. 3357-8; for the official use of magic in Egyptian temples, see the recent summary by Quack, in Koenig, ed., *La magie en Égypte*, pp. 43-68.

⁸³ Festugière; followed by Ritner.

⁸⁴ For access to the Akh-Menu of Karnak temple, cf. **5.4.1**.

⁸⁵ Kákosy, in Grimal, et al., eds., *Hommages Fayza Haikal*, pp. 162-4; for Imhotep at the Ptah Temple, cf. also **4.24, 5.2.1.5**.

⁸⁶ Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 201-6, Pl. 50 = Doc. 142; for access to temples and the importance of contra-temples for popular cults, cf. **5.8.1.2**.

⁸⁷ For the similar functions of the Deir el-Bahari temple, cf. Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 106-27.

⁸⁸ The location of Thessalos' throne vision is simply denoted as a "room (*oikia*)," a vague term often connected with such rites, denoting "a chapel, a tomb, sacred chamber, or also a temporary structure built for divination practices" (cf. Smith, *Map is Not Territory*, pp. 181-2, n. 43), something that passes well for the architecture of the Sanatorium at Deir el-Bahari, basically a small, dark shrine cut deep into the mountain behind the main Hatshepsut temple (Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 20-3, 123-4;

Thessalos' account of Roman Thebes is quite positive. He describes it as the oldest city, filled with active temples staffed by philosophizing priests who are quick to befriend the narrator, a visiting scholar. The priests will not, however, give Thessalos access to "see god" within the sanctuary, most likely the Akh-Menu, and his only option is to visit the tourist-friendly sanatorium at Deir el-Bahari.

The completely different interpretation of this episode by Z. Smith is impossible to reconcile with the actual text:⁹⁰

"The Thebes described by Thessalos is not the 'golden city', the center of wealth and wisdom imagined by most writers of this genre. It is rather a realistic portrait of the city in Late Antiquity, such as we find in Strabo, a shadow of its former glory, with a handful of religious specialists inhabiting a few ruined temples. It is a *necropolis* rather than a *diospolis*, and the priests that Thessalos encounters are described as a group of timid old men."

Thessalos did not actually say there were only "a few ruined temples," but on the contrary he specified that there were "many temples" in Thebes. Similarly, Thessalos claimed there were "many learned high priests," not "a handful of religious specialists." In no way does Thessalos describe Thebes as a "*necropolis*"; if anything, he portrays it as an idyllic retreat, an ancient center of learning where one could still meet and interview the gods of Egypt. Fowden already recognized the significance of Thebes in the story of Thessalos:⁹¹

"It was not, though, to just any priests, but to priests of Thebes, that Thessalus turned in his search for enlightenment; for if Alexandria was in but not really of Egypt, Thebes distilled the country's very essence and focused the religious traditions for which the whole of Upper Egypt was renowned."

Sauneron, *BIFAO* 63 [1965]: 73-4, n. 7, also considered Deir el-Bahari the most likely place for the vision of Thessalos).

⁸⁹ See most recently Łajtar, *Deir el-Bahari in the Hellenistic and Roman World*.

⁹⁰ Smith, *Map is Not Territory*, pp. 178-9.

⁹¹ Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, p. 168.

2.4 Pausanias

In the middle of a summary of Ptolemaic history, Pausanias refers to the destruction Ptolemy IX wrought against the rebelling Upper Egyptians (c. 88-85 BCE):⁹²

“He made war against the Thebans, who had revolted, reduced them three years after the revolt, and treated them so cruelly that they were left not even a memorial of their former prosperity, which had so grown that they surpassed in wealth the richest of the Greeks, the sanctuary of Delphi and the Orchomenians.”

The testimony of Pausanias seems to coordinate well with Theban administrative texts, as the steady stream of tax receipts end abruptly in 84 BCE, and all documentation ceases from this point in Pathyris and Edfu.⁹³ However, the second reign of Ptolemy IX also saw numerous administrative reforms in Upper Egypt, the most drastic being the shift of administration from rebellious Pathyris to Armant,⁹⁴ and these changes may have been at least partly responsible for the almost complete lack of Theban tax receipts for the remaining Ptolemaic Period.⁹⁵ Furthermore, documentary evidence suggests that for once Thebes did not take part in the rebellion, but that instead most trouble seemed to have centered on Pathyris.⁹⁶

More importantly, however, Pausanias says nothing about damage to Theban temples; he discusses only the economic prosperity of the city. In fact, building activity continued as normal in Thebes, and the remaining few years of Ptolemy IX saw more decoration in the

⁹² Pausanias, *Periegesis*, IX, 1-4; trans. Jones, *Pausanias: Description of Greece*, I, p. 43.

⁹³ Clarysse, in Thissen and Zauzich, eds., *Grammata Demotika*, p. 25; Veisse, *Les « révoltes égyptiennes »*, pp. 71-2.

⁹⁴ Devauchelle and Grenier, *BIFAO* 82 (1982): 157-69.

⁹⁵ Muhs, in Lippert and Schentuleit, eds., *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos*, pp. 93-104, demonstrated that later Roman administrative changes were largely responsible for the similar disappearance of demotic documentary papyri in the Julio-Claudian Period.

⁹⁶ Veisse, *Les « révoltes égyptiennes »*, pp. 64-73, especially pp. 69 and 71.

Bark Chapel and the erection of the Ptolemaic Pylon of Medinet Habu.⁹⁷ The following reign of Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos, meanwhile, saw even more extensive building projects throughout Thebes.⁹⁸ If the citizens of Thebes were no longer wealthy, they nonetheless could not complain about the state of their temples.

2.5 Ammianus Marcellinus

The early Byzantine historian Ammianus Marcellinus also visited Thebes some time after 360 CE,⁹⁹ and he gave a brief eye-witness account of the city in a longer excursus about obelisks (*Res Gestae* 17, 6):¹⁰⁰

In hac urbe inter delubra ingentia, diversasque moles, figmenta Aegyptiorum numinum exprimentes, obeliscos vidimus plures, aliosque iacentes et conminutos, quos antiqui reges bello domitis gentibus, aut prosperitatibus summarum rerum elati, montium venis vel apud extremos orbis incolas perscrutatis excisos, erectosque dis superis in religione dicarunt.

“In this city (Thebes) among the huge monuments and colossal statues in the likeness of the gods of Egypt we saw many obelisks, some of them lying in fragments on the ground. They were hewn by early kings out of veins of stone for which they ransacked mountains at the ends of the earth, and dedicated by them to the gods of Heaven to commemorate the defeat of a foreign race or some other successful achievement of their reign.”

⁹⁷ Ritner, “Ptolemy IX (Soter II) at Thebes” (unpublished lecture), recently demonstrated that decoration in the Bark Chapel dates to the second reign of Ptolemy IX; the pylon was completed under Ptolemy XII in 77 BCE, cf. Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*, pp. 19-20, 22, n. 2 (Graffito No. 44, 2).

⁹⁸ Ptolemy XII temple projects in Thebes include the Opet Temple (De Wit, *Opet I*, p. vi); Chonsu Temple (Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, p. 9, n. 14); Medamud (Sambin, *BIFAO* 99 [1999]: 397-409).

⁹⁹ Cf. de Jonge, *Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus XVII*, p. 79.

¹⁰⁰ Slightly modified translation of Hamilton (trans.), Ammianus Marcellinus, *The Later Roman Empire*, p. 122; for this passage, cf. also de Jonge, *Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus XVII*, pp. 78-81.

2.6 Conclusions

In general, the Roman Period accounts of Thebes are either quite positive or simply neutral. Strabo described the city as the “metropolis of Egypt,” with “a great number of temples” filled with priests who were “astronomers and philosophers.” Tacitus had little to say about the condition of Thebes, but noted that a senior priest gave Germanicus a tour of the temples. Thessalos called Thebes “the oldest city of Egypt,” mentioned the presence of many temples, and narrates his friendly and intellectual interaction with the local priesthood. Ammianus gave a rather neutral account of Thebes in the fourth century, noting only that he saw numerous obelisks, some of which were still standing while others had fallen, while visiting “different structures recording the tales relating to the Egyptian deities.” Only Pausanias, an author who might not have even visited Egypt, noted that Thebes was no longer as wealthy as before; nonetheless, he did not describe destruction or abandonment of religious structures.

Besides Ammianus Marcellinus’ mention of “broken obelisks lying on the ground” in the late fourth century CE, namely after the removal of the obelisks from the Seventh Pylon and East Karnak (cf. **5.18.1**), there is not a single mention of crumbling temples, disillusioned priests, or any other signs of decadent religious institutions. On the contrary, the positive evaluations of Strabo and Thessalos indicate that the temples of Roman Egypt were still functioning, and that they were still centers of theological speculation and intellectual discourse.

Chapter 3

The Reputation of Thebes

3.1 Thebes in the Geographic Inscriptions

The Egyptian temple was far more than a place to conduct sacred rites. Through its library, archives, and inscriptions, it served as a vast repository of sacred and scientific knowledge.¹ Among the information thus preserved, the Graeco-Roman temples meticulously catalogued descriptions of all nomes in Egypt.² These geographical texts are presented in the form of processions of fecundity figures, bearing offerings from all corners of Egypt for the chief god of the local temple. Although somewhat formulaic in style, these unassuming and monotonous inscriptions actually provide a wealth of information about the geography and local cults and mythology of each nome. As a result, the nome texts have proved especially useful for studying nomes which have preserved only scanty documents and inscriptions *in situ*,³ as well as for better understanding well-documented sites.⁴

At first glance, the notion of studying the geographical texts for a nome as well-documented as Thebes may seem rather superfluous. Such inscriptions are not very detailed, and they usually say more about the local divinities (e.g. Hathor of Dendera, Horus of Edfu)

¹ Cf. Assmann, in: Osing, ed., *The Heritage of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 9–25; for the types of records kept in temple archives, cf. Schott, *Bücher und Bibliotheken*.

² These sources were conveniently catalogued by Beinlich, *GM* 107 (1989): 7-41; *GM* 117/18 (1990): 59-88; they served as the basis for Montet, *Géographie*, I-II; for a good introduction, cf. Leitz, *Quellentexte zur ägyptischen Religion*, I, pp. 50-3.

³ For example: Vernus, *Athribis*; Vandier, in: Bernhard, ed., *Mélanges offerts à Kazimierz Michałowski*, pp. 197-201; Zivie, *Hermopolis et le nome de l'ibis*, I, pp. 174-236; Guerneur, *Les cultes d'Amon à Thèbes*, passim.

⁴ Cauville, *BIFAO* 92 (1992): 67-99; Locher, *Topographie und Geschichte der Religion am ersten Nilkatarakt in griechisch-römischer Zeit*.

than the individual nomes. Nonetheless these geographical lists are preserved in temples as far north as Dendera and as far south as Philae. As such, the information gleaned from the nome texts represents the absolute minimum that the average Upper Egyptian priest would have known about the local theology and rites of Thebes in the Graeco-Roman period. In addition, these geographical inscriptions are paralleled in papyri from Tebtunis and Tanis, so-called “religious manuals,” which catalogued detailed information on religion, geography, and even lexicography, for priests in the Roman Period. Many of these papyri contain explanatory glosses in demotic and greek, demonstrating that the geographical and cult-topographical information about Thebes preserved in the nome lists were accessible to priests, even those not entirely comfortable with the hieratic script, throughout all of Egypt.

The nome lists divide into two primary categories. The first, known primarily from Edfu Temple and later papyri, presents a broad survey of the specific deities, temples, priests, and other information for each nome. The other series, preserved in a variety of temples, focuses on the chief geographic features of each nome, but is not devoid of religious information. In addition, other miscellaneous texts from non-Theban temples add further information on Thebes, such as festival calendars and the procession of the Osiris relics from Dendera.

3.1.1 The Cults of Thebes

The following text is preserved in the “Couloir Mystérieux” of Edfu Temple, and dates to the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor.⁵ Two hieratic parallels exist, with significant variants, in later papyri from Tebtunis and Tanis.⁶

⁵ *Edfou* I, 338, 5-9 = *Edfou* XV, Pl. 9b.

⁶ Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis*, I, p. 268; Osing and Rosati, *Papiri geroglifici e ieratici da Tebtunis*, p. 33.

ii.n nsw.t-biti () | z3-R^c nb h^c.w (Pt) | hr=k Hr-Bhd.t ntr-^c3 nb p.t
in=f n=k W3s.t-niw.t hr imi.t^(a) s3wy is sbq(.t) n sr^(b)
hpr ds=f m nsw.t-ntr.w im=f^(c)
dsr m 1p.t-s.wt^(d)
wn-^c3.wy-nw-p.t ir h.t n k3=f^(e)
dw3(.yt) sšš m hr=f^(f)
h3wty wsh-nmt.wt r dmi.wt=sn^(g) m itrw ^c3^(h)
išd m i3.t-^t3-mw.t⁽ⁱ⁾ šnd.t m hw.t-[Mw.t]^(j)
swr=f hb.w=f m hb-ip.t k3-hr-k3 3bd 1 šmw 3bd 2 šmw^(k)
bwt=f d3d3 (hr) m3s.t^(l) bwt=f hmw.t-z3^(m)
shb=f h3.w n imy-nwy⁽ⁿ⁾
b^ch.n=f hpr^(o) r tr=s n rnp.t
hrp=f qbh.w=s r phw km-wr^(p)

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (), Son of Re, Lord of Appearances (Ptolemy VI), has come before you, Horus Behdeti, great god, lord of heaven, as he brings to you Thebes, the City, bearing the skin and the leg of the prince. He who came into existence by himself is King of the Gods therein. The sanctuary is Karnak. The Opener of the Doors of Heaven is he who conducts rites for his Ka, the Divine Adoratrice is she who shakes the sistrum in his face. “The Two Faces” and “Wide of Steps” are at their docks in the Nile. The ished is in Djeme, the acacia in the [Mut]-Temple.

He makes great his festivals, consisting of the Opet Festival, the Khoiak (festival), I Shomu and II Shomu. His taboos are “head (upon) knee” and *hmw.t-z3*, He bedecks the offering table for Imeni, having inundated the land at its time of the year. He directs its cool waters to the Pehu: Kem-Wer.

(a) The word *im.t* occurs in several other places,⁷ and thus there is no need to emend this to *inm* “skin” as Beinlich suggested.⁸ In fact, the word *im.t* occurs in parallel with the word *hn.t* “hide (of an animal),”⁹ and while Pantalacci suggested a type of pun on the similar *imy-w.t* fetish,¹⁰ the word might be simply a reverse nisbe *im.t* “that in which is (the body).”

⁷ Pantalacci, *GM* 58 (1982): 65-67; Meeks, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, p. 158, n. 572.

⁸ Beinlich, *Die »Osirisreliquien«*, pp. 104-5, 216-17; this is further confirmed by the spelling of *im.t* not reproduced in Beinlich’s copy, but corrected by Pantalacci, *CdE* 62 (1987): 113, and Cauville *Dendara* X, 74, 8.

⁹ Pantalacci, *GM* 58 (1982): 71, n. 13, compares the writing of *imy* with the *hn*-sign (F26) from the New Kingdom onwards; note, however, that this sign-value is attested already in the Coffin Texts, and may have a different origin; cf. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 64.

¹⁰ Pantalacci, *GM* 58 (1982): 67; followed by Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 66.

The only explanation Beinlich offered for the connection of the “hide” of Osiris with Thebes was a pun on *Imn* “Amun” and *inm* “skin.”¹¹ Interesting in this regard is the following account given by Herodotus (II, 42):

“The Thebans, and those who by the Theban example will not touch sheep, give the following reason for their ordinance: they say that Heracles wanted very much to see Zeus and that Zeus did not want to be seen by him, but that finally, when Heracles prayed, Zeus contrived to show himself displaying the head and wearing the fleece of a ram which he had flayed and beheaded.

(...)

“The Thebans, then, consider rams sacred for this reason, and do not sacrifice them. But one day a year, at the festival of Zeus, they cut in pieces and flay a single ram and *put the fleece on the image of Zeus*, as in the story; then they bring an image of Heracles near it. Having done this, all that are at the temple mourn for the ram, and then bury it in a sacred coffin.”

While various explanations have been advanced for this passage,¹² Herodotus was probably describing something similar to the Osirian rites detailed in Papyrus Salt 825.¹³ There, the carefully produced grain-Osiris is said to be placed in a mummiform coffin “outside of which, furthermore, is the hide (*hn.t*) of a ram (*nty p3y=f bl ʿn hn.t nt sry*).”¹⁴ The papyrus contains an illustration of this product, an image of Osiris in a mummiform coffin within a ram skin.¹⁵ The ram skin covering Osiris corresponds perfectly to the skin/hide relic of the Theban nome, and is very similar to the Theban tradition described by Herodotus. While the rites of Papyrus Salt 825 are distinctly Thinite,¹⁶ it is interesting to note that the ram-skin covered Osiris figure is labeled as “Amun-Re-Ptah.”¹⁷ The importance of the skin of Osiris is more thoroughly described in the Theban section of the procession of relics from Dendera temple (cf. *infra*, **3.1.2**).

¹¹ Beinlich, *Die »Osirisreliquien«*, pp. 216-17; followed in part by Coulon, in Borgeaud and Volokhine, eds., *Les objets de la mémoire*, p. 36.

¹² Lloyd, *Herodotus, Book II, II: Commentary*, pp. 192-95, discusses a range of traditional interpretations.

¹³ Noted already made by Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825*, I, p. 156, n. 33; Kessler, *Die heiligen Tiere und der König*, I, pp. 182-83.

¹⁴ P. Salt 825, XVIII, 4; cf. Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825*, I, p. 144; II, p. 19*; note the similarly worded proscription from Esna: “Nobody wearing the skin of a ram shall enter therein (*ni ʿq nb im hn.t n sr hr=f*)” (*Esna III*, 197, 17 = Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d’Esna*, p. 342, n. [f]).

¹⁵ Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825*, II, p. 25*; for other examples of Osiris wrapped in animal skins, cf. Meeks, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, pp. 179-82, §5d-f; Spieser, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 63 (2006): 220-33.

¹⁶ Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825*, I, pp. 41-46.

¹⁷ Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825*, II, p. 25*; for Amun-Re-Ptah, cf. Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 123-4, n. D.

(b) Cauville translated this passage slightly differently: “l’enveloppe de cuir qui appartient à la jambe du Prince.”¹⁸ However the phrase *s3wy is* (from Late Egyptian *swt is*) actually works the other way around,¹⁹ as in the following example: *Mnt-R^c nb W3s.t (...)* *s3wy is sp3.wt nb* “Montu-Re, Lord of Thebes (...) to whom belongs all nomes.”²⁰ Thus the “leg of the prince” must belong to something else, most likely Thebes itself.²¹

Leg relics of Osiris are quite common throughout the Upper Egyptian nomes.²² Since this text is preserved at Edfu, the specific relic may be tied somehow to the “Chapel of the Leg (*hw.t-sbq.t*),” the lunar chambers specifically dedicated to Chonsu and Osiris in Edfu Temple.²³ Nonetheless, there is also evidence for a similar Osirian leg-cult at Karnak. Coulon has recently compared this particular relic to the title of a Theban priest preserved on an unpublished statue (JE 36975), namely “serviteur du dieu Osiris dans le Château de la jambe.”²⁴ Although such a temple is unattested in other Theban sources, Coulon suggested placing it within Chonsu Temple.²⁵ This suggestion is further supported by a recently published graffito from the roof of Chonsu Temple made by the *w^cb*-priest of Chonsu Temple, Padiese:²⁶

¹⁸ Cauville, *Essai sur la théologie du temple d’Horus à Edfou*, I, p. 61.

¹⁹ Thus interpreted by Vernus, *Athribis*, p. 262, n. (a); Beinlich, *Osirisreliquien*, p. 217; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 788; Coulon, in Borgeaud and Volokhine, eds., *Les objets de la mémoire*, p. 35: “portant la peau, ainsi que la jambe du *Ser* (= Osiris).” Aufrère claimed on one page that the pronoun *s3wy* < *swt* was not used in Ptolemaic inscriptions (Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 84, n. [e]), ignoring all attestations and discussions noted above, and then later contradicted himself on pp. 176 and 179, n. (l).

²⁰ *Urk.* VIII, 34b; thus translated by everyone else (Vernus, Sternberg el-Hotabi, Beinlich, Wilson), but Aufrère, *Montou*, §188: “qui protège, à savoir, tous les nomes (*s3w js sp3wt nb(w)*).”

²¹ A comparable example with two relics occurs in the text describing the Athribite nome, *Edfou* I, 332, 18: *in=f n=k km-wr Hw.t-hry-ib hr ib s3wy is ms.w h.t-ntr* “Il t’apporte la région d’Athribis: *Hwt-hry-ib* avec le cœur; à celle appartiennent aussi les enfants du ventre divin” (trans. Vernus, *Athribis*, p. 262); according to Vernus, *s3wy is* there introduces “une autre tradition relative à la relique” (Vernus, *Athribis*, p. 263, n. [b]); in that example, the pronoun *s3wy* refers back to the Athribite nome, and not to the divine relic, even though the latter would be the expected nominal referent; cf. similar examples in Gutbub, *Kôm Ombo* I, No. 283, 3; Drioton, *Médamoud* I, No. 105.

²² Cauville, *BIFAO* 92 (1992): 91; cf. further Waitkus, *Die Texten in den unteren Krypten des Hathortempels von Dendera*, pp. 248-9; Coulon, in Borgeaud and Volokhine, eds., *Les objets de la mémoire*, pp. 37-8.

²³ *Edfou* I, 258-280; for the mythology of these chapels, cf. Cauville, *Essai sur la théologie*, pp. 52-69; further Favard-Meeks, *Le temple de Behbeit el-Hagara*, p. 343.

²⁴ Coulon, in Borgeaud and Volokhine, eds., *Les objets de la mémoire*, p. 37.

²⁵ Coulon, in Borgeaud and Volokhine, eds., *Les objets de la mémoire*, p. 38.

²⁶ Jacquet-Gordon, *The Temple of Khonsu*, III, p. 62, No. 168, ll. 2-3 (suggested by J.C. Darnell).

mn sbq(.t) n sr hr hnd

May the Leg of the Prince²⁷ endure upon the staircase!

The two relics of Thebes are therefore the skin and the leg of Osiris, allusions to the two primary gods, Amun and Chonsu.

(c) Tebtunis I: “Amun [...] Amunet.”²⁸

(d) Tebtunis I: “Opet; also Karnak (*Ip3.t; ky dd Ip.t-s.wt*).”²⁹

(e) The “Opener of the Gates of Heaven” is a common title for high-ranking Theban priests,³⁰ and here might designate the High Priest of Amun.³¹ A list of priests from Dendera mentions several other Theban titles associated with Osirian rites:³² “Son (*z3*),” “Priest of the Great Foundation (*hm-ntr n snf wr*),”³³ “Opener of the Underworld Entrance (*wn r3-imh.t*),”³⁴ and “Foremost of the Officials (*hnty sr*).” Similarly, one of the Tebtunis Papyri adds two

²⁷ The translation of Jacquet-Gordon is rather problematic: “May the leg endure [in] the Insu (the reliquary of Osiris)(?) upon the sacred stairway” (Jacquet-Gordon, *The Temple of Khonsu*, III, p. 62). The sign that Jacquet-Gordon claimed “seems certainly to be read *in*” (*ibid*, n. c) is most likely a *nw*-pot over a diacritic stroke writing the indirect genitive; the standing official does not write *nsw* “king” as she suggests, but *sr* “prince” (as a reference to Osiris); therefore the sportive reading of *insw* “the Abydene reliquary of Osiris” is unlikely and unnecessary.

²⁸ Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis*, I, p. 268.

²⁹ Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis*, I, p. 268.

³⁰ See Guerneur, *Les cultes d’Amon hors de Thèbes*, p. 28, n. (e), with references to earlier discussions; for examples, cf. the indices (s.v.) in *ibid*, p. 618; Clarysse, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica IX*, p. xiii; Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Biographien*, II, p. 580; Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak*, p. 121; Jansen-Winkel, *Biographische und religiöse Inschriften der Spätzeit*, p. 221; cf. the similar phraseology in a text from the East temple at Karnak: “the ‘Opener of the Doors of Heaven’ worships before him (sc. Amun) (*wn-3.wy p.t m sns n hr=f*)” (Barguet, *Le temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 234-5, col. 4); also *Esna II*, 25, 11: “the ‘Opener of the Doors of Heaven’ praises him (sc. Amun) (*hf3 sw wn-3.wy p.t*).”

³¹ For this title referring specifically to the High Priest, cf. Vittmann, *LÄ VI* (1985), cols. 795-6, with n. 6; note that in the same Geographic procession, the priests of the Heliopolitan and Memphite nomes bear the traditional titles for the regional High priests, namely “the Greatest of Seers, Chief of mysteries (*wr-m33.w hry-sstf.w*),” (*Edfou I*², 333, 11-12), and “Great Director of Artisans, Sem-priest (*wr-hrp-hmw.w stm*)” (*Edfou I*², 329, 13).

³² *Dendara X*, 10, 13 – 11, 2; Cauville, *Les chapelles osiriennes*, I: *Traduction*, pp. 5-6; II, *Commentaire*, pp. 12-3; cf. also Montet, *Géographie*, II, p. 62.

³³ This title is well-attested in Thebes, cf. Goyon, in Parker, et al., *The Edifice of Taharqa*, p. 68, n. 39; Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Biographien*, I, pp. 39, n. 5; 70, n. 9.

³⁴ This title is paralleled on Cairo RT 2/2/21/5, col. 3, cf. Coulon, *RdE 57* (2006): 6-7, n. (I), 13-14.

more priestly titles: “He who travels [in his potter’s wheel] (*hns [m nhp=f]*),”³⁵ and “[Embracer] of the Wedjat-eye (*[sh]n wd3.t*).”³⁶

(f) It is perhaps surprising to encounter the title Divine Adoratrice here, as the office of God’s Wife of Amun seems to have ended by the first Persian invasion.³⁷ Nonetheless this title is attested elsewhere in the Graeco-Roman Period,³⁸ and a Ptolemaic contract mentions a certain “Harem of the <Divine> Adoratrice (*pr rhn dw3.t <ntr>*)” to the west of the Montu temple of North Karnak.³⁹ Another mention of this office may be found in a list of regional priests in a Tebtunis papyrus.⁴⁰

Strabo, visiting Egypt during the reign of Tiberius, noted that the Thebans “honor Zeus the most, and dedicate to him a virgin of great beauty and illustrious family (the Greeks call them *pallades*).”⁴¹ Diodorus Siculus, meanwhile, mentioned “the tomb of the *pallakides* of Zeus” on the West Bank of Thebes.⁴² These *pallakides* or *pallades* (“virgins”) are most likely to be identified with the the God’s Wife of Amun,⁴³ suggesting that this sacerdotal institution lasted in some form into the Roman Period.

(g) Montet translated this section as if there were just one bark, named “le premier au grand pas.”⁴⁴ However, the 3rd plural suffix-pronoun shows that two barks are being listed, even though there is only one boat determinative.⁴⁵

³⁵ For the restoration and an interpretation of this title, cf. Coulon, *RdE* 57 (2006): 7, n. (J).

³⁶ Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis*, I, pp. 250, 251, nn. g-h.

³⁷ Ayad, *JSSEA* 28 (2001): 1-14.

³⁸ Graefe, *SAK* 3 (1975): 81; idem, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun*, II, p. 50, n. 135; Ryhiner, *La procession des étoffes*, p. 39.

³⁹ Andrews, *Ptolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area*, p. 67, n. 10; reading confirmed by Depauw, *The Archive of Teos and Thabis from Early Ptolemaic Thebes*, p. 21, n. 78; for the title of Divine Adoratrice written without *ntr*, cf. Graefe, *SAK* 3 (1976): 76.

⁴⁰ Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis*, I, p. 159, n. (a); the passage is quite damaged, and far from certain.

⁴¹ Strabo, XVII, 1.46; cf. Yoyotte and Charvet, *Strabon: Le voyage en Egypte, un regard romain*, p. 176, n. 449.

⁴² Diodorus Siculus, I, 47.1; cf. Burton, *Diodorus Siculus, I: a commentary*, p. 147, n. 5; this tomb was identified with the chapels of the Divine Adoratrices at Medinet Habu by Haeny, *BIFAO* 64 (1966): 206 with n. 7; confirmed, with further discussion, by Leblanc, *Ta set neferou*, I, pp. 20-2.

⁴³ Yoyotte, *CRAIBL* 1961 (1962): 43-52; Ritner, *GM* 164 (1998): 85-90; Teeter, in Teeter and Larson, eds., *Gold of Praise*, pp. 405-414.

⁴⁴ Montet, *Géographie*, II, p. 62.

⁴⁵ Although only one bark is mentioned in most of the Edfu nome texts, two are listed for the larger nomes of Edfu (*Edfou* I, 337, 12; cf. the translation in Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, p. 98), Coptos (*Edfou* I, 338, 13-14; also incorrectly understood by Montet, *Géographie*, II, p. 79), and Dendera (*Edfou* I, 339, 2-3).

The first bark appears to be called *ḥ3w.ty* “the two faces,” a name commonly given to the portable bark of Amun in the New Kingdom, possibly referring to the twin ram-headed aegises of the bark.⁴⁶ However, the name of the riverine bark Userhat was so celebrated in the Pharaonic period that it is tempting to also read the first *ḥ3.t*-sign as *wsr* and still obtain a sportive writing of Userhat,⁴⁷ referring to the ram-headed aegises mentioned above.

The second bark is called *wsh-nmt.wt* “wide of steps,” an otherwise attested name for the bark of Chonsu.⁴⁸

(h) The *itrw-ꜥ3* clearly refers to the Nile itself,⁴⁹ not to any sacred lake of Thebes.⁵⁰

(i) In a study on the sacred trees of Egypt, Aufrère compared this tree with scenes of Thoth and the *išd*-tree from Karnak,⁵¹ and with the famous depictions of a *šnd.t*-tree emerging from the Mound of Djeme known from the Edifice of Taharqa and the Chapel of Osiris-Heqa-Djet.⁵² However, although the *išd*-tree was rather common throughout Egypt, it still had primarily Heliopolitan associations. In particular, the connection of the *išd*-tree with the Mound of Djeme recalls the famous *išd*-tree atop the ancestral burial mound in Heliopolis (the so-called *št3-s.t*), imitated at temples throughout Egypt.⁵³

A section on sacred trees from a Tebtunis papyrus notes that the *ksb.t*-tree is specifically in Luxor (*wnn=s m Ip.t*), noting that it “stands for Opet (*ꜥhꜥ=s n Ip.t*).”⁵⁴ This fits with a number of texts from the Opet Temple, which describe the goddess Opet traveling

⁴⁶ For the *ḥ3w.ty* and the bark of Amun in the New Kingdom, see the many examples collected and discussed by Volokhine, *BIFAO* 101 (2001): 369-91; although Volokhine understands the term generally as the “divine face” that appears during bark processions, he still mentions the possible allusion to the twin ram-headed aegises on the Userhat bark in certain texts (*ibid*, p. 381); cf. further Coulon, *RdE* 57 (2006): 19-20, n. (c).

⁴⁷ The *wsr*-sign is commonly used to write *ḥ3.t*; cf. Fairman, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): 65 and 114.

⁴⁸ The Epigraphic Survey, *RILT* I, p. 33, n. (c); Fischer-Elfert, *Abseits von Ma'at*, p. 97, n. (5).

⁴⁹ Meeks, *Le grand texte des donations au temple d'Edfou*, p. 76, n. (74); Manning, *The Hauswaldt Papyri*, p. 26, n. 15; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris*, II, p. 53, n. 212; Grieshaber, *Lexikographie einer Landschaft*, pp. 69-70.

⁵⁰ The “Great River” is mentioned only once elsewhere in connection with Thebes: Dümichen, *Geographische Inschriften*, III, Pl. 45 Right.

⁵¹ Aufrère, in Aufrère, ed., *Encyclopédie religieuse de l'univers végétal*, I, p. 135, n. (b).

⁵² Aufrère, in Aufrère, ed., *Encyclopédie religieuse de l'univers végétal*, I, p. 135, n. (d).

⁵³ See primarily: Koemoth, *DE* 25 (1993): 33; idem, *Osiris et les arbres*, pp. 97-122; for the divine mounds of different temples, cf. Chassinat, *Le Mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak*, I, pp. 277-97; Waitkus, in Gundlach and Rochholz, eds., *4. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung. Feste im Tempel*, pp. 155-74; Lecuyot and Gabolde, in Eyre, ed., *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, pp. 661-7; Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 118-9, n. D.

⁵⁴ Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis*, I, pp. p. 151, 153-4, n. u; Baum, *Arbes et arbustes de l'Égypte ancienne*, pp. 154-62, suggests this may be a type of acacia; cf. also Koemoth, *Osiris et les arbres*, pp. 258-60.

to Luxor to beseech Amun for help her give birth to Osiris (cf. **4.40**). The association of the *ksb.t*-tree with Luxor goes back at least to the New Kingdom,⁵⁵ and may be due to the *ksb.t*-tree's connection to Min.⁵⁶

(j) The precise name of the location for the second tree is damaged in the Edfu text, and the restoration “[Mut] Temple” is based on a passage from the Tebtunis Papyri, which mentions the Mut Temple as one of the divine mounds of Thebes.⁵⁷ While there does seem to have been a significant cult of Osiris in the Mut Precinct,⁵⁸ the inscriptions from the Mut Temple, frequently mention a sacred willow tree (*tr.t*), not an acacia, somehow connected to the Isheru.⁵⁹

(k) Montet attempted to correlate the names of the first two festivals with the two dates given. However, since the Opet festival did not traditionally take place in I Shomu, he suggested that this might be an otherwise unknown festival of the goddess Opet, while he had no explanation for why the Khoiak festival would be held in II Shomu.⁶⁰ A far simpler explanation is to read this as a list of four festivals; the first two called by their popular names, the latter two listed by date.⁶¹ Thus in addition to the well-known Opet and Khoiak festivals, the Edfu text also lists the divine birth festival of Pachons (= I Shomu) and the Beautiful Festival of the Valley (= II Shomu) (cf. **Chapter 7**).

(l) Since a number of other nomes have body parts for their abominations, Montet read the present example as “head and knee,” with no further explanation.⁶² This appears instead to be the rather common phrase “head (upon) knee,” a common gesture of mourning, and by

⁵⁵ P. Turin 1886, v° 8 (= *KRI* VI, 334, 6-7), connects land near Luxor Temple to the *ksb.t* of Opet (cited by Baum, *Arbres et arbustes de l'Égypte ancienne*, p. 156), while P. Turin 54031 I, 8-9 (= Fischer-Elfert, *SAK* 27 [1999]: 66-7), describes the wonders of Thebes from the northern “islands of Herheramun, to the *ksb.t* [of] Luxor (*n3 iw.w n hr(=i)-hr-Imn, r t3 ksb[.t nt] Ip.t*)” (also discussed by Koemoeth, *Osiris et les arbres*, pp. 259-60).

⁵⁶ Baum, *Arbres et arbustes de l'Égypte ancienne*, p. 157.

⁵⁷ Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis*, I, pp. 251, n. 1197, 271, n. (y); Coulon, *RdE* 57 (2006): 7, n. (J).

⁵⁸ Coulon, *RdE* 57 (2006): 14-5; the relevant hymns to Osiris-*p3-wyn-h3t=f* from the Mut Temple mentioned by Coulon (*ibid.*, p. 14, n. 24), can be found in Sethe, *Notizbuch* 6, 84-85.

⁵⁹ Sauneron, *Mout*, pp. 22-3.

⁶⁰ Montet, *Géographie* II, p. 62.

⁶¹ For a similar arrangement of months and festival names, cf. de Morgan, *KO* I, No. 424; Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, p. 36.

⁶² Montet, *Kêmi* 11 (1950): 85-116; followed by Aufrère, in Marconot and Aufrère, eds., *L'interdit et le sacré*, pp. 77-8; for the concept of “abomination (*bwt*),” see most recently Fischer-Elfert, *Abseits von Ma'at*, pp. 121-9.

extension, “sadness.”⁶³ The ban on sadness in Thebes may relate to a passage from Diodorus Siculus in which he discusses certain Egyptian practices apparent in Homer:⁶⁴

“It is manifest that the poet had acquired exact knowledge of the “nepenthic” drug which he says Helen brought from Egyptian Thebes, given her by Polydamna the wife of Thon; for, they allege, even to this day the women of this city use this powerful remedy, and in ancient times, they say, a drug to cure anger and sorrow was discovered exclusively among the women of Diospolis.”⁶⁵

Sadness (*snm*) was also a specific abomination of Hathor, precisely because it denoted “the wretchedness, misery, pollution, and squalor that is connected with behavior to bereavement and death.”⁶⁶ Derchain-Urtel has noted that mourners are also banned from entering Esna Temple, probably because the Egyptian grieving process, which involved not shaving facial hair,⁶⁷ would have contradicted regulations of ritual purity requiring shaved heads and clipped fingernails.⁶⁸ Since the sacred relic of Thebes was the skin of Osiris, the presence of scraggly mourners would have been particularly abominable.

^(m) Literally *ḥmw.t-z3w*, “handicraft of a sorcerer,” this particular abomination was once considered to refer to the effects of black magic.⁶⁹ The precise symptoms or characteristics of *ḥmw.t-z3w* were unknown until several recently published documents connected it with skin diseases.⁷⁰ In particular, a demotic gloss to a late papyrus explained *ḥmw.t-z3w* as *sh̄t* > *ϣϣ* “leprosy,”⁷¹ whereas the Book of the Temple claims that the duties of the Serqet priest was to treat skin diseases and inspect people to make sure *ḥmw.t-z3w* stayed out of the city

⁶³ Sauneron, *Kēmi* 10 (1949): 75-80, Feucht, in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, II, pp. 1103-8; Dominicus, *Geste und Gebärden*, pp. 71-2; note that the preposition *hr* is frequently omitted.

⁶⁴ Diodorus Siculus, I, 97.7 (trans. Oldfather, *Diodorus Siculus*, I, pp. 332-5);

⁶⁵ Burton, *Diodorus Siculus, Book I*, p. 281, suggested this remedy might be the so-called *opium thebaicum*.

⁶⁶ Frandsen, in Teeter and Larson, eds., *Gold of Praise*, pp. 131-3 (quote on p. 133).

⁶⁷ Cf. Desroches-Noblecourt, *BIFAO* 45 (1947): 185-232.

⁶⁸ Derchain-Urtel, in Gundlach and Rochholz, eds., *4. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, pp. 11-2.

⁶⁹ Sauneron, *BIFAO* 60 (1960): 112-14; Westendorf, *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*, I, p. 375, II, pp. 670-71; Koenig was more cautious discussing *ḥmw.t-z3w*, noting that “les Égyptiens mettaient à peu près tous les maux sur le compte d’entités néfastes. Mais, comment ces personnes se distinguaient-elles?” (Koenig, *Magie et magiciens dans l’Égypte ancienne*, p. 202).

⁷⁰ Quack, in Fischer-Elfert, ed., *Papyrus Ebers und die antike Heilkunde*, pp. 63-80; Fischer-Elfert, *Abseits von Ma’at*, pp. 59, 62, 84, 88-9, 125; Meeks, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, p. 81, n. 188.

⁷¹ Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis*, I, pp. 115, n. e, 271, n. aa; Fischer-Elfert, *Abseits von Ma’at*, pp. 43, 83-4.

and temple.⁷² Finally, a Late Period papyrus describes how a š3y-pig eats efflux of the Eye of Re, and when he tries to deny having swallowed it: “it came forth from his skin as *ḥmw.t-z3w*.”⁷³ Since the sacred relic of Thebes is “the skin,” skin disease is quite appropriate for the local abomination.

(n) Montet seems to have misread the *wḏh*-sign as *ṯhn*, and furthermore suggested emending the *mi*-sign to the *ti*-sign for an unusual orthography of *ṯhn-itn*, a variant of the epithet of Amenhotep III *itn ṯhn*, “dazzling sundisk.”⁷⁴ The name of the Theban agathos daimon would thus refer either to Amenhotep III, or even to his at this point totally dismantled palace of Malqata, sometimes abbreviated as *pr itn ṯhn*.⁷⁵

However, the reading of *wḏh*, “libation table,” is certain,⁷⁶ and thus this should read “the libation table of *iminy*.” The name of the agathos-daimon most closely resembles that of a serpent-headed deity called *imy-nwy* “he who is within the flood waters.”⁷⁷ *Imy-nwy* was a member of the “Council over the Flood Waters (*d3d3.t tp.t nwy*),”⁷⁸ a group of gods who controlled the inundation. In this particular context, however, the designation *Imy-nwy* seems to refer to Kematef, the agathos daimon residing in Djeme who also had control over the Inundation (cf. **4.28**). This association also explains the play on words between *imy-nwy* and Amun (*Imn*).

(o) The name of the cultivated region is *p3 ḥpr* “that which came about.”⁷⁹ This specific area does not appear in any administrative documents, and its name may derive from the mythological role of Karnak as the initial land (cf. **3.2**).⁸⁰ Similar toponyms are known from Philae (*ḥpr.t / šp.t*)⁸¹ and Dendera (*ḥpr.t*).⁸²

⁷² Quack, in Fischer-Elfert, ed., *Papyrus Ebers und die antike Heilkunde*, pp. 63-80; Fischer-Elfert, *Abseits von Ma'at*, p. 62.

⁷³ Meeks, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, pp. 14-5, 218-9; for the pig who eats the divine eye, see further Manassa, *RdE* 57 (2006): 122-6.

⁷⁴ Montet, *Géographie* II, p. 62; for the epithet of Amenhotep III, cf. Johnson, in O'Connor and Cline, eds., *Amenhotep III: perspectives on his reign*, pp. 88-89, nn. 145 and 146.

⁷⁵ Montet, *Géographie* II, p. 66.

⁷⁶ *Edfou* XV, Pl. 9b.

⁷⁷ *LGG* I, 238.

⁷⁸ *Edfou* II, 260, 8; *Philä* I, 69, 11 and 70, 15.

⁷⁹ Wb. III, 267, 13; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 722; Aufrère, in: *La campagne antique: espace sauvage, terre domestiquée*, pp. 15 and 37 (translating this as “l'Existant”); cf. also the geographical texts discussed *infra*, **3.1.2**.

⁸⁰ Aufrère, in: *La campagne antique: espace sauvage, terre domestiquée*, p. 15.

⁸¹ Locher, *Topographie und Geschichte der Region am ersten Nilkatarakt*, p. 112.

(p) For the *pehu* of Thebes, cf. *infra*, **3.1.2**

3.1.2 The Geography of Thebes

The second type of nome text consists of the ubiquitous series of geographical inscriptions. Unlike the description of local cults given in the Edfu text translated above, these inscriptions enumerate the geographical features linked economically to the temples of each nome. In a study of the geographical texts concerning Dendera, Cauville divided these types of texts into several groups. She divided the inscriptions into several groups: (A) those describing the nome in general, (B) the regional canal, (C) the regional agricultural territory (*ww*), (D) the regional riverine territory (*pḥw*),⁸³ and (E) those grouping (B)-(D) into one text.⁸⁴

The canonical texts describing the Theban nome in general are not incredibly informative, and they primarily extol the large number of granaries.⁸⁵ Nonetheless, a Roman Period version from Elephantine calls Thebes “the city of Irita (*niw.t Iri-t3*),”⁸⁶ the Coptite list calls the local god “Osiris-Kematef,”⁸⁷ and the Theban section from Tod, a temple with a strong military focus (cf. **4.37**), alludes to the nome as follows:⁸⁸

⁸² Waitkus, *Die Texte in den unteren Krypten des Hathortempels von Dendera*, p. 68, n. 46; Kockelmann, *Die Toponymen- und Kulnamenlisten zur Tempelanlage von Dendera*, p. 196 (as a name of the temple).

⁸³ For the differences between the *ww* and *pḥw*, cf. Aufrère, in *La campagne antique: espace sauvage, terre domestiquée*, pp. 9-13, 35.

⁸⁴ Cauville, *BIFAO* 92 (1992): 67-99; further discussions in Traunecker, *Coptos*, §§59-61, 379-390.

⁸⁵ *Edfou* IV, 175, 4; *Edfou* V, 109, 5; Chassinat, *Le mammisis d'Edfou*, 59, 15; *Dendara* I, 92, 7-8; Dümichen, *Geographische Inschriften* III, Pl. 65; Cauville, *La Porte d'Isis*, 20, 1-2; Traunecker, *Coptos*, No. 4, 5.

⁸⁶ Laskowska-Kusztal, *Die Dekorfragmente der ptolemäisch-römischen Tempel von Elephantine*, Pl. 101g.

⁸⁷ Traunecker, *Coptos*, No. 4, 6.

⁸⁸ *Tôd* I, No. 81, 5-6; Devauchelle and Grenier, *BIFAO* 82 (1982): 163-4.

W3s.t nht.t nb(.t) hps hnw.t t3.wy h3s.wt dw.w p.t
h^cy.w m^{-c}=s n r3^{-c}-ht
hr sm3 m-ht=k r mr-ib(=s)

Victorious Thebes, Lady of the Scimitar,
 Mistress of the flat lands, hill countries, mountains and the sky,
 weapons of combat are in her hand,
 slaying behind you at (her) desire.

The other scenes list the major geographical features of Thebes. The sacred canal was called *m3^c*,⁸⁹ associated with Maat and the double-plumes.⁹⁰ The cultivated region was named (*p3*) *hprw*,⁹¹ evoking Amun-Re as “mysterious of names, sacred of manifestations (*št3 rn.w dsr hprw*).”⁹² The inundated land (*phw*) was the “Great Black (*km-wr*),”⁹³ which traditionally referred to the Bitter Lakes near the Suez Gulf, but in the Ptolemaic Period extended to designate the entire Red Sea because of the canal connecting the two bodies of

⁸⁹ *Edfou* II, 174, 8; *Edfou* IV, 175, 7; *Edfou* V, 109, 6; the *m3^c*-canal also appears in a number of Theban texts: *Urk.* VIII, 119, 6 (= Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 56), *Opet* I, 262; texts from Dendera alternatively label the canal as “great river (*itrw 3*)” (Dümichen, *Geographische Inschriften* III, Pl. 66) and “the ‘*d*-canal” (*Dendara* IX, 225, 3); Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 399, compared this toponym to a certain “canal of Djeme (*m3 n dm3*)” mentioned in a number of Demotic contracts (cf. further Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, pp. 30-2; Pestman, *L’archivio di Amenotes Figlio di Horos (P. Tor. Amenotes)*, p. 110, n. e); however, the latter toponym is on the West Bank, and seems unrelated to the sacred canal of Karnak.

⁹⁰ *Edfou* IV, 175, 8: “You are the falcon who rests upon Maat (*ntk šnbty htp hr m3^c.t*)”; *Edfou* V, 109, 7: “You are Shu who lives from Maat (*ntk Šw n^h=f m m3^c.t*)”; *Opet* I, 211, “[You are the Lord of] double-plumes, who lives from Maat (*[ntk nb] šw.ty n^h=f m m3^c.t*).”

⁹¹ *Edfou* II, 174, 7; *Edfou* IV, 175, 10; *Edfou* V, 109, 8; Dümichen, *Geographische Inschriften* III, Pl. 66; the same name also occurs in the Priestly manuals (cf. 3.1.1, text note. (o)), as well as in another Theban text (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 56 = *Urk.* VIII, 119, 7); cf. also *Wb.* III, 267, 13; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 722; Aufrère, in: *La campagne antique: espace sauvage, terre domestiquée*, pp. 15 and 37.

⁹² *Edfou* IV, 175, 11; var. “Lord of manifestations, concealed of images, whose name is hidden (*nb hpr.w thn šsp.w imn rn=f*)” (*Edfou* V, 109, 9)

⁹³ *Edfou* II, 174, 6-8; *Edfou* IV, 175, 13; *Edfou* V, 109, 12; *Dendara* IX, 225, 2; Dümichen, *Geographische Inschriften* III, Pl. 66; cf. also *supra*, **3.1.1**; Aufrère, in: *La campagne antique: espace sauvage, terre domestiquée*, pp. 15 and 37.

water.⁹⁴ The “Great Black” was also the *phw* of the neighboring Coptite nome, thus reflecting the importance of Red Sea trade for both Coptos and Thebes.⁹⁵

The most interesting geographic texts are those from Osirian chapels. One text from Philae, with a partial parallel in the roof chapels of Dendera, gives several accurate details about Theban Osiris cults:⁹⁶

W3s.t h̄w.t-msh̄n.t=k m hy
[Iṛ.t]-R^c ms.tw=k m-h̄nw=s
z3=k m h̄ry-ntr.w ntr^c3 m W3s.t
psḏ n=f itn m h̄r.t

wnn=f m Mnt
zm3=f t3.wy m zp
shr.n=f sbi.w m ḏ^cm=f

Ip.t-wr.t h̄^c.tw n m33=k
h̄nm.tw m^cnh̄ h̄r msh̄n(.t)=k

Thebes, the temple of your birth-brick in jubilation,⁹⁷
 The [Eye] of Re in which you were born.

You son is Chief of the Gods, great god in Thebes,
 for whom the sundisk shines in heaven.

As long as he is as Montu,
 he unites the two lands together,
 having felled the rebels with his ḏ^cm-scepter.

Great Opet rejoices to see you,
 and you are provided with life upon your birth-brick.

⁹⁴ Thiers, *Ptolémée Philadelphie et les prêtres d’Atoum de Tjékou*, p. 112 (although he does not identify the “Great Black” with the Red Sea in the Pithom stela).

⁹⁵ Note also the mention of Pithom (*Tkw*) in an inscription from El-Qal’a, which Pantalacci and Traunecker, *Le Temple d’el-Qal’a*, II, p. 4, n. 15, suggested could be “encore un indice de rapports privilégiés de Coptos avec une autre région frontalière, le Ouadi Toumilat.”

⁹⁶ Bénédite, *Philae*, 89, 14-7; *Dendara X*, 324, 4-7.

⁹⁷ For the Opet Temple called “the temple of the birth-brick (*h̄w.t-msh̄n.t*),” see Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 84.


The geographic text demonstrates that priests at Dendera and Philae were perfectly aware of the theology of North Karnak, where Montu Lord of Thebes served as the successor to Osiris (cf. **4.36**), and the Opet Temple where Osiris was born (cf. **4.42**). In other geographically themed inscriptions, the connection of Osiris to Thebes usually concerns his birthplace,⁹⁸ as in the following hymns from Dendera:⁹⁹

- (1) *in iw=k m W3s.t hnw.t sp3.wt ntr.w Km.t*
š3^c hpr=k im=s

Are you in Thebes, the Mistress of Nomes of the gods of Egypt,
in which your existence began?

- (2) *in iw=k m W3s.t hnw.t-sp3.wt ntr.w*
s.t-ib=k ms.tw m-hnt=s

Are you in Thebes, Mistres of Nomes of gods,
your favorite place in which you were born?

Another specifically Theban aspect of Osiris, the reconstitution (*i^cb*) of his body within the Opet Temple,¹⁰⁰ is evident in the geographical procession of the divine relics, where Amun of Karnak is “he who protects the skin in Thebes, who protects the head within the animal hide ()¹⁰¹ (*ir nh(.t) n inm m W3s.t, swd3 tp m-hnw sk*).”¹⁰² He tells Osiris the following:¹⁰³

⁹⁸ In *Dendara X*, 154, 15- 155, 1, Amun-Re of Karnak tells Osiris: “your mother gave birth to you in Thebes (*p^cp^c.tw=k mw.t=k m W3s.t*)”; in *Dendara X*, 273, 4-5, Amun of Thebes calls Osiris “Iuny in the Temple of Nut, whom his mother nurtured to be Lord (*Twny m hwt-Nwt, rr.n mw.t=f r nb*),” and gives him “the Eye of Re (=Thebes), the place where you were born (*Ir.t-R^c, p^cp^c.tw=k im*).” For more examples, see Cauville, *Les chapelles osiriennes: commentaire*, pp. 236-8.

⁹⁹ (1) *Dendara II*, 133, 1-2; (2) *Dendara X*, 282, 8-10; discussed by Eldamaty, *Sokar-Osiris-Kapelle im Tempel von Dendera*, p. 146.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 91-2, and **4.42**.

¹⁰¹ Beinlich, *Die »Osirisreliquien«*, p. 105, n. [4], tentatively suggested reading *sgr*, “schweigen”; Cauville, *Les chapelles osiriennes, commentaire*, p. 39, noted that the reading *skr*, “peau” was only hypothetical; however, this seems to simply be a writing of *sk/sk3* (Coptic: **CH6**), “baby donkey; foal” (*Wb*. IV, 315, 12 and 316, 15; Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 207).

mn n=k inm=k
mk=f h^cw=k
s^cnh=f 3h3h.w=k
swd3=f wdr.w=k
rnp=f mtw.t=k
mi ir.tw=k m W3s.t

in.n=i n=k tm(3w).t twt(.tw)
msq.t 3h.t
ntt m irw=f nb

šsp n=k sw r^c.wt=k
hntš hm=k
im.t=k pw n.t swr šfy.t=k

Please take your skin,
 so it might protect your body,
 so it might revive your bones,
 so it might heal your blood-vessels,
 so it might rejuvenate your organs,
 just like you were made in Thebes.

I hereby bring you the skin-sack¹⁰⁴ being complete,
 the excellent animal hide,
 the sack of skin in all of its forms.

Please receive it over your limbs,
 so that your majesty might rejoice,
 (for) it is your hide for increasing your prestige.

As discussed above (cf. **3.1.1**, text note (a)), the Theban relic of the skin is not based solely on a pun between “skin (*inm*),” and Amun (*Imn*).¹⁰⁵ The skin was the final body part needed to reassemble Osiris’s body, because it enclosed all other limbs and organs, and thus this process took place in the Opet Temple where Osiris was ultimately reborn (cf. **4.42**).

¹⁰² *Dendara X*, 74, 6; cf. Cauville, *Les chapelles osiriennes: traduction*, p. 41; Beinlich, *Die »Osirisreliquien«*, pp. 104-5.

¹⁰³ *Dendara X*, 74, 6-9; cf. Cauville, *Les chapelles osiriennes: traduction*, p. 41; Beinlich, *Die »Osirisreliquien«*, pp. 104-5.

¹⁰⁴ For this word, cf. Beinlich, *Die »Osirisreliquien«*, p. 105, n. [5].

¹⁰⁵ So Beinlich, *Die »Osirisreliquien«*, p. 217.

The fact that a number of the synonyms for skin in the present text usually denote actual sacks or animal skin¹⁰⁶ alludes to the Theban tradition of wrapping Osiris within a very Amunian ram hide, hence the mention of “increasing prestige (*swr šfy.t*).”

3.2 Thebes: Heaven on Earth

Thebes, personified as the goddess “Victorious Thebes,” frequently received epithets such as “mistress of cities (*hnw.t niw.wt*),”¹⁰⁷ “nurse of the nomes (*ʒt.t spʒ.wt*),”¹⁰⁸ and “mistress of all the nomes.”¹⁰⁹ As Vernus noted, this reflects a tradition going back to the New Kingdom Litany of Victorious Thebes, which lists all major goddesses of Egypt as subject to Thebes.¹¹⁰ A developed version of this theme appears in a number of Ptolemaic inscriptions from Karnak.

(1) *Urk.* VIII, 143 (3) = Drioton, *ASAE* 44 (1944): 135-7:¹¹¹

dmi.tw zʒt=s r niw.t nb
hpr niw.t r=sn
ir.tw šd.wt m rn=sn
hr niw.t=sn pw qmʒ=sn

Her land was attached to every city,
and thus cities came into existence,
plots were established in their names,
for she is their mother-city who created them.

(2) Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 38-39 = *Urk.* VIII, 113 (2):

¹⁰⁶ Noted by Beinlich, *Die »Osirisreliquien«*, p. 217.

¹⁰⁷ *LGG* V, 185.

¹⁰⁸ E.g. *Urk.* VIII, 142 (11); Karnak Contra-Temple, cf. **5.8.1.2.3**, col. 2.

¹⁰⁹ *LGG* V, 202-3; for this tradition, see recently Thiers, *Kyphi* 4 (2005): 61-2; Derchain, *CdE* 81 (2006): 74.

¹¹⁰ Vernus, *LÄ* V, cols. 937-8; for the Litany of Victorious Thebes, attested in numerous Theban temples, see *KRI* II, 592-6.

¹¹¹ For this text, cf. also Derchain, *CdE* 81 (2006): 73-4.

tm3.t wtt(.t) sp3.wt
[...ms.t] hms.wt
niw.t ir niw.wt r-3w=sn
h^c.t m Nwn
hpr(.t) hnty
 iw bw nb m zm3wy
qm3(.t) ni qm3.(tw)=s
ms(.t) ni ms.tw=s
hpr(.t) ds=s
ir hpr(.t) irw=s [...]

[ir].tw niw.t n sp3.t nb hr W3s.t
 hpr(.t) m h3.t iry
dmy.tw z3t=s r grg t3.wy
 dd.tw niw.t r=sn hr=s

Mother who begat the nomes,
 [...who birthed] the *hms.wt*-lands,¹¹²
 The City who made all the cities,
 mound which arose from Nun,
 who came about before,
 while all places were in darkness,
 who created without being created,
 who gave birth without being born,
 who came about by herself,
 who made her form come into existence [...]
 One [makes] the city of every nome by means of Thebes,
 which had come about before them all,
 one attaches her earth in order to found the two lands,
 thus they are called cities because of her.

- (3) *Opet* I, 183-4, Right, col. 3, describing Osiris:

ir.tw niw.wt sp3.wt r rn=f
nhb.tw n=f hw.wt-ntr.w
 dr ms.tw=f m Niw.t hnw.t niw.wt
 hpr niw.t nb hr rn=s

Cities and nomes are made for his name,
 temples are allotted for him,
 since he was born in the City, Mistress of Cities,
 and thus all cities came about in her name.

- (4) Sauneron, *Mout*, No. 5, 1:

¹¹² Restored from *Urk.* VIII, 143 (3).

wr ḥnb=s r niw.wt dmd(.w)
nts rdi.t n sp3.wt qm3.n=s
ḥnw.t-niw.wt pw
ni wn mitt=s
p.t-ḥr-s3-t3 n nb-ntr.w
ʕ3 s(y) r niw.wt
wr sy r sp3.wt
tṛi ntr=s r ntr.w ntr.wt

Her (Thebes) measure land is greater than (other) cities combined,
 It is she who gives to the nomes which she created,
 She is the Mistress of cities,
 without her peer,
 Heaven-upon-Earth for the Lord of Gods,
 she is greatest of cities,
 she is largest of nomes,
 her god is most distinguished of gods and goddesses!

These texts claim that the very word *niw.t*, “city,” derives from the name of Thebes, which was commonly called “the City (of Amun)” or “the southern City.”¹¹³ In the Osirian examples, there is an extra pun on “the City (*niw.t*)” as a local manifestation of Nut, the mother of Osiris.¹¹⁴ This idea was so widespread that Diodorus Siculus mentioned it (I, 15.1):¹¹⁵

“Osiris, they say, founded in the Egyptian Thebaid a city with a hundred gates, which the men of his day named after his mother, though later generations called it Diospolis.”


The religious texts go even further by claiming Thebes herself created the other cities, by attaching her land (*dmi z3t*) to their domains.¹¹⁶ This makes Thebes the “mother of all

¹¹³ Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaues*, pp. 9-10

¹¹⁴ The concept of Nut as a city goes back already to the Pyramid Texts, cf. Billing, *Nut*, pp. 165-71.

¹¹⁵ See Burton, *Diodorus Siculus, Book I*, pp. 75-6; although note that hieroglyphic examples discussed above (not mentioned by Burton), show that this statement was not the result of “confusion.”

¹¹⁶ In documentary texts, the phrase *dmi r* (> Coptic $\tau\omega\omega\mu\epsilon \epsilon-$), can have the technical meaning “to abut,” when referring to different properties; cf. Manning, *The Hauswaldt Papyri*, p. 95, n. 4.

cities,” although such a concept only finds expression in a complicated set of visual and phonetic puns. In a number of these texts, the word city appears as ,¹¹⁷ which could write both “mother” and “city” (*niw.t* < *nr.t*).¹¹⁸ The same play on words underlies a fascinating section in the so-called “Book of Thoth” in which the character “he who loves knowledge (*mr-rh*)” lists all 42 nomes of Egypt, describing each district in terms of vultures.¹¹⁹

The clearest assimilation of the “City” and Nut occurs in the Ptolemaic temple at Deir el-Bahari, where a large city-sign (O49) filled with thirty-six decan stars bears the label: “the citizens of the City, the Mother of Cities, Nut the Great, Mistress of the decans (*niwty.w niw.t, mw.t-niw.wt, Nw.t wr.t, hnw.t-h3bs.w*).”¹²⁰ Other inscriptions call Thebes “the sky glittering with stars (*s(n)b.t b3q.t(w) hr k3.w*),”¹²¹ “the firmament of the sun, the sky of the moon, the Nut of rising for the stars (*hy.t n šww, hr.t n i^ch, nw.t n wbn n gn^h.w*),”¹²² since “her sundisk is Amun-wer, her moon is Foremost of the Benenet (= Chonsu), and her residents are the stars of the pure-sky (*itn=s m Imn-wr, i^ch=s m hnty-Bnn.t, wny.w=s sb3.w*).

¹¹⁷ *Urk.* VIII, 143 (3); *Tôd* II, 296, 14.

¹¹⁸ Drioton, *ASAE* 44 (1944): 137, n. (f) (followed by Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 490), claimed that all examples with the vulture merely write *Mw.t*, “mother-city.” However, the reading *niw.t* < *nr.t*, (originally suggested by Fairman, *ASAE* 43 [1943]: 302-4), is confirmed by examples where the vulture appears parallel to the word “city,” (e.g. Traunecker, *Coptos*, Nos. 11, 3 and 37; *Deir Chelouit* II, 73, 14), as well as Demotic orthographies of “city” (Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, p. 66, n. 6 (c); idem, *Papyrus Harkness*, p. 320).

¹¹⁹ Jasnow and Zauzich, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth*, pp. 334-52.

¹²⁰ Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 36, No. 31, 82-8, Pl. VI; cf. the discussion of Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaues*, pp. 10-1.

¹²¹ *Urk.* VIII, 142 (9); collation shows that Sethe’s copy is preferable to Drioton, *ASAE* 44 (1944): 126 and 129, nn. (j)-(l); for the word *s(n)b.t*, “sky,” cf. *Wb.* IV, 161, 8-9; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 860 (also recognizing the present example); add also *Tôd* II, 285, 1.

¹²² *Urk.* VIII, 50n.

nw w^cb.t.”¹²³ While all temples could be replicas of the sky,¹²⁴ Thebes was often “the sky of Egypt (*nt Km.t*),”¹²⁵ or “heaven upon earth (*p.t hr-s3 t3*).”¹²⁶

Egyptian temple inscriptions were not alone in viewing Thebes as the traditional political and spiritual capital of Egypt. In Greek and Latin sources ancient Thebes is “the oldest city of Egypt,”¹²⁷ “the metropolis of Egypt,”¹²⁸ and “the capital of the ancient empire.”¹²⁹ Diodorus Siculus wrote extensively about Thebes (I, 45.4-50.2), and noted it had the reputation of once being “the most prosperous city, not only of Egypt, but of the whole world. And since, by reason of the city’s pre-eminent wealth and power, its fame has been spread abroad to every region.”¹³⁰ Ammianus Marcellinus, meanwhile, listed the major cities of the Thebaid in the late fourth century CE as Hermopolis, Coptos, and Antinoopolis, adding “everybody (already) knows about Hundred-Gated Thebes (*hecatompylos enim Thebas nemo ignorat*).”¹³¹

¹²³ *Urk.* VIII, 143 (5).

¹²⁴ See in general Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, pp. 402-5, n. (k); Kurth, *Den Himmel stützen*; von Lieven, *Der Himmel über Esna*; Finnestad, *Image of the World and Symbol of the Creator*, pp. 12-3.

¹²⁵ De Morgan, *K.O.* II, No. 886; *Opet* I, 139, 3; Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, No. 17, 1.

¹²⁶ *Wb.* I, 491, 13; Aufrère, *Montou*, §§264-266 (= *Urk.* VIII, 15b); Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 2B (= *Urk.* VIII, 107, 2); Sauneron, *Mout*, 5, 1; 10, 1; Fairman, *JEA* 20 (2934): 4; Kruchten, *Les Annales des prêtres de Karnak*, pp. 76, n. (Hh), 81, 250; cf. also the variant “heaven upon earth (*p.t tp t3*)” (De Meulenaere, *CdE* 68 [1993]: 47, n. c); for similar terminology use for other temples, cf. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, I, p. 92, n. (h).

¹²⁷ Friedrich, *Thessalos von Tralles*, pp. 49-50; cf. *infra*, **2.3**.

¹²⁸ Strabo, XVII, 1.46; cf. *infra*, **2.1**.

¹²⁹ *Vita Pachom.* 7; cf. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia* I, pp. 27 and 267.

¹³⁰ Diodorus Siculus, I, 45.5-6; trans. Oldfather, *Diodorus Siculus*, I, pp. 160-3.

¹³¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXII, 16.2.

Strabo and Thessalos described Theban priests as philosophers protecting the ancient wisdom of Pharaonic Egypt,¹³² and Diodorus even reported that “the Thebans say that they are the earliest of all men and the first people among whom philosophy and the exact science of the stars were discovered.”¹³³ In the “Phoenician History” of Philo of Byblos, the protagonist Sanchuniathon is able to understand the true meaning of Egyptian religion because he had “access to the hidden texts found in the *adyta* of the temples of Ammon, [texts] composed in letters which, indeed, were not known to everyone.”¹³⁴ Similarly, in the treatise *The Ogdoad Reveals the Ennead*, Hermes-Trismegistus requests his disciple to inscribe his ancient wisdom on a stela within the temple of Diospolis.¹³⁵ The city’s reputation for ancient learning is also apparent in the tradition that Homer was born in Thebes,¹³⁶ and perhaps explains why numerous self-described philosophers came to the Valley of the Kings in honor of Plato.¹³⁷ Fowden has already noted the importance of Thebes as a center of traditional Egyptian religious life:¹³⁸

“If Alexandria was in but not really of Egypt, Thebes distilled the country’s very essence and focused the religious traditions for which the whole of Upper Egypt was renowned.”

¹³² Cf. *infra*, **2.1** and **2.3**.

¹³³ Diodorus Siculus, I, 50.1; trans. Oldfather, *Diodorus Siculus*, I, pp. 174-7.

¹³⁴ Philo of Byblos, *apud* Eusebius, *Prep. Evang.* I, 9.26; trans. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos*, pp. 11, 64.

¹³⁵ Parrott, ed., *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5, and VI*, pp. 368-9; Mahé, *Hermès en Haute-Égypte*, I, pp. 35-7, 84-5; Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, pp. 35 and 70; the description of the Ogdoad in this temple make it clear that Diospolis refers to Thebes, not Diospolis Parva, cf. **4.39**.

¹³⁶ Diodorus Siculus, I, 97.7-9; Heliodorus, *Aethiopica*, III, 14.

¹³⁷ Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, pp. 172-3; Foertmeyer, *Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, p. 29.

¹³⁸ Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, p. 168.

Thebes was thus an ideal pilgrimage spot for Romans embarking upon an “Egyptomanic spiritual quest,” inspired by “that exoticist lure toward a late antique “heart of darkness” – the distant, alien, and therefore “most” thoroughly indigenous cultic wisdom – as the locus of revelation and *gnōsis*.”¹³⁹

3.3 Conclusion

Graeco-Roman temple inscriptions throughout Egypt regarded Thebes as the “mother of all cities,” the archetypical Egyptian district upon which all other cities and temples were modeled. Thebes was the home of Amun, the primeval creator deity god and “King of the Gods.” At the same time, all Graeco-Roman temples in Egypt recognized Thebes as the birthplace of Osiris, further emphasizing its association with traditional Pharaonic kingship. Graeco-Roman authors were well aware of all these traditions, even the specifically Theban nativity of Osiris.¹⁴⁰ In the Roman Period, Thebes had the reputation of being the oldest city of Egypt, home to a millennial religious history, and the image of “ancient Thebes” fascinated and attracted numerous scholars and distinguished visitors.

¹³⁹ Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*, p. 166.

¹⁴⁰ See in general Bergman, *Isis-Seele und Osiris-Ei*, pp. 73-98.

Chapter 4

The Theban Pantheon

4.0 Introduction

In the classic study of religious life in Graeco-Roman Thebes, Bataille surveyed the important divinities of Djeme based primarily on Demotic and Greek sources and compiled the following list: Amun, Montu, Hathor, Djeme, Amenhotep son of Hapu, Imhotep, Min, Anubis, Osiris, Isis, Ramesnouthis, Teephibis, the Agathos-Daimon of the Mountain, Ptolemies and Emperors, and Sarapis.¹⁴¹ Bataille omitted information from temple inscriptions “parce que le syncrétisme de basse époque et le parédrie des divinités sont des facteurs de confusion.”¹⁴² The divine world of the Theban temples is indeed confusing, as each temple contains a multitude of local deities. Besides the more traditional Theban gods (e.g. Amun, Mut, Chonsu, Montu), there were also special local versions of universal deities (e.g. Ptah, Hathor, Isis, Osiris, Sokar), with cults in many temples in Thebes, Medamud, Armant, and Tod (cf. **1.3**). The divinities would visit the neighboring temples during festivals, traveling along the along the network of processional roads, and thus each Theban temple features offering scenes to an almost overwhelming array of deities. This feature contrasts with other Graeco-Roman temples like Edfu, where despite its complicated and highly developed local theology,¹⁴³ the majority of of its hieroglyphic inscriptions focus on

¹⁴¹ Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, pp. 86-113.

¹⁴² Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, p. 85.

¹⁴³ Outlined by Cauville, *Essai sur la théologie du temple d’Horus à Edfou*; most large temples hosted equally complicated theological systems, such as Kom Ombo (Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*), Esna (Sauneron, *Les*

the chief god Horus of Edfu, his consort Hathor of Dendera, and the ancestor cult at Behedet.¹⁴⁴ Similarly the theology and cultic life of Dendera revolved primarily around Hathor, Ihy, Isis of Iatdi, and Harsomtous of Chadi.¹⁴⁵

This chapter catalogues the local divinities of the Theban Pantheon, outlines each deity's specific characteristics and functions, analyzes their relationships to other Theban divinities, and attempts to reconstruct the different cosmogonic traditions. The interpretations primarily focus on the multitude of epithets contained in the temple reliefs of the Graeco-Roman Period, in addition to material from papyri, graffiti, ostraca, and other contemporaneous sources.¹⁴⁶ While a diachronic survey of each divinity, analyzing the development of epithets from the Old Kingdom through the Roman Period, would be extremely useful, such an approach would go beyond the scope of the present study which only aims to reconstruct the Theban pantheon as it existed in the Graeco-Roman Era. Furthermore, this chapter will not attempt to document all divine epithets as they occur in temples throughout Egypt,¹⁴⁷ as it focuses only on the specific characteristics of Theban

fêtes religieuses d'Esna), and Philae (Junker, *Das Gotterdekret über das Abaton*; Inconnu-Bocquillon, *Le mythe de la Déesse Lointaine à Philae*).

¹⁴⁴ For the ancestor cult at Behedet, see most recently Waitkus, in Gundlach and Rochholz, eds., 4. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung. Feste im Tempel*, pp. 155-74.

¹⁴⁵ See most recently Cauville, *Les fêtes de Dendara*.

¹⁴⁶ For similar diachronic studies of divinities based on epithets, cf. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten*; Köthen-Welpot, *Theogonie und Genealogie im Pantheon der Pyramidentexte*; Cauville, *La théologie d'Osiris à Edfou*.

¹⁴⁷ Parallels for all epithets can be found in the multi-volume *LGG*.

divinities. Although certain studies devoted to individual Theban gods have appeared,¹⁴⁸ there is no systematic survey of the entire Theban pantheon.

In terms of methodology, the following chapter distinguishes between different local divinities as far as possible, in order to avoid creating nonexistent syncretisms. Previous studies have often assimilated certain divinities just because they share similar epithets or functions (e.g. Kematef and Osiris of Djeme, Irita and Amenope). This tendency is perhaps most egregious in Aufrère's recent publication of the propylon of Montu at North Karnak, where all translations and interpretations assume that the main god was a composite deity "Amon-Rê-Montou."¹⁴⁹ In reality, no inscriptions from the temple mention such a god,¹⁵⁰ and the texts clearly designate Montu as the royal successor of Amun (**4.37**). Although there is no explicit evidence for a syncretized Amun-Montu at Karnak, Aufrère claimed that.¹⁵¹

"Le concepteur emploie un système de « convergences parallèles » préparant le terrain, mettant en avant toutes les correspondances possibles sans pour cela exprimer de façon univoque ces syncrétismes."

¹⁴⁸ E.g. Amun and the Ogdoad (Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter*), Amenope (Doresse, *RdE* 23 [1971]: 113-36; 25 [1973]: 92-135; 31 [1979]: 36-65); Buchis (Goldbrunner, *Buchis*), and Harpre the Child (Budde, in Budde, et al., eds., *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, pp. 15-110).

¹⁴⁹ Aufrère, *Montou*, especially §309: "Il est clair que l'entité divine adorée jadis, du temps des Ptolémées et des Césars à Karnak-Nord résultait de la complète, fusion d'Amon, de Montou et d'Harakhtès – épicièse de Montou-Rê – sous la forme de Rê que n'est autre qu'Amon-l'Ancien, autre forme du Noun primordial."

¹⁵⁰ Because Montu and Amun were both important at North Karnak, early studies referred to the area as "le temple d'Amon-Rê Montou" (e.g. Varille, *Karnak I*); Leclant, in *Mélanges Maspero*, I/4, pp. 73-98, accurately outlined the relationship between the different gods Amun and Montu, but suggested that in some cases the two gods might be assimilated, primarily in an offering formula on the statue CG 565, which mentions both Amun-Re and Montu but continues: "may *he* give a voice offering (*di=f pr.t-hrw*)" (Leclant, in *Mélanges Maspero*, I/4, pp. 92-3; in the most recent publication of this statue, Perdu, *RdE* 47 [1996]: 44, reasonably assumed this was merely a common scribal error).

¹⁵¹ Aufrère, *Montou*, §310; in the same section, Aufrère tried to establish a similar connection between Mut and Rattawy: "Il suffit, pour cela, de comparer leurs épithètes qui présentent, à défaut d'identité, de nombreuses convergences suffisantes pour que se dégage une vue syncrétique" (*italics mine*).

Assimilating deities who have identical, or merely similar epithets, has led to much unnecessary confusion, evident notably in the bizarre notion that Montu-Re was a lunar god.¹⁵² Theban inscriptions are quite explicit in describing Chonsu, Osiris within Thebes, and Thoth as the moon, but there are absolutely no texts giving Montu lunar attributes. In order to avoid such confusion, the following survey will only discuss syncretizations and special functions explicitly labelled in texts.

4.1 Amenhotep Son of Hapu (Amenothos)

Amenhotep son of Hapu was a high-ranking official in the Eighteenth Dynasty who was responsible for many of the new buildings of Amenhotep III in Thebes.¹⁵³ Already in the New Kingdom, Amenhotep was the object of a popular cult at his own mortuary temple beside Medinet Habu, where he was venerated as an intermediary between men and Amun. The cult of Amenhotep lasted into the Graeco-Roman period, although his main shrine moved to the upper terrace of Deir el-Bahari, where as Amenhotep-Amenothos he shared the temple with Imhotep-Asklepios.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² See primarily Graindorge, *GM* 191 (2002): 53-8, who did not cite a single hieroglyphic inscription supporting the existence of a lunar Montu; Thiers, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 563, noted: "Montou semble avoir entretenu des liens privilégiés avec le disque nocturne." Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 162, n. (r), meanwhile, gave the following interpretation of an epithet designating Montu as the Buchis bull ("dark of face"), without any textual support: "En définitive, je croirais, pour ma part, que l'expression doit se comprendre "dont la face est invisible", car cette partie du taureau, dont les cornes forment le croissant lunaire, voyage dans la nuit comme une barque qui, en raison de sa couleur, est imperceptible au regard des humains."

¹⁵³ For the historical Amenhotep son of Hapu, see primarily Varille, *Inscriptions concernant l'architecte Amenhotep, fils de Hapou*.

¹⁵⁴ For the posthumous cult of Amenhotep son of Hapu in the Graeco-Roman Period, cf. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 201-85; for his temple at Deir el-Bahari, see Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*; Łajtar, *Deir el-Bahari in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*; cf. also cf. also Teeter, *JEA* 81 (1995): 232-6; Jasnow, in Thissen and Zauzich, eds., *Grammata Demotika*, p. 88; Ray, in Leahy, ed., *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H.S. Smith*, pp. 241-7.

Amenhotep was above all “a beloved servant of Amun (*ḥm Imn mr=f*),”¹⁵⁵ but he also retained his archaic titles, most commonly “royal scribe and chief scribe of recruits (*sš-nsw sš-nfr.w ḥry-tp*),”¹⁵⁶ as well as “chief lector priest, who directs the temples of all Egypt (*ḥry-ḥb ḥry-tp, ḥrp gs.w-pr.w nw qbḥ.wy*),”¹⁵⁷ and the extended “judge, scribe, *r3-Nḥn*, mayor, sharp of laws, effective wall of iron around Egypt, vizier, overseer of the army (*t3ity-z3b, sš, r3-Nḥn, imy-r3-niw.t, spd-ḥp.w, inb mnḥ ḥ3 B3q.t, t3ty, imy-r3 mšc*).”¹⁵⁸ Like Imhotep, Amenhotep could be “the good doctor (*swnw nfr*),”¹⁵⁹ but he heals primarily through his great knowledge and effective utterances. His intelligence makes him “learned of utterance, complete of speech in what his lips say like the son of Ptah (= Imhotep) (*rḥ-r3, km-mdw m ḏd sp.ty=f(y) mi z3 Pth*),”¹⁶⁰ or further:¹⁶¹

ipy-ib nfr ḏ3is.w
ḥz m3c.t dm dsr.w
iqr šhr.w mnḥ 3.wt
wḥ ḥ3.wt ḥt n=f šm3y.w
wḏ md.w m ḥk3w

¹⁵⁵ Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 203, 252-3; Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, Nos. 15, 3; 33, 2-3; possibly also *Deir al-Médina*, 166, 3-4 (partially restored); note the variant “beloved son of Amun (*z3 Imn mr=f*),” in Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, No. 13.

¹⁵⁶ Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 203, 252-3; *Deir al-Médina*, 166, 9; *Tôd II*, 236, 21; Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, Nos. 15, 1; 17, 3; 33, 1; 47; Sauneron, *Rituel de l'embaumement*, p. 10, 5; Jasnow, in Thissen and Zauzich, eds., *Grammata Demotika*, p. 92.

¹⁵⁷ Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, No. 14, 2; cf. also No. 46, 1: “Chief Lector Priest, top of his hour (*tpy wnw.t=f*).”

¹⁵⁸ Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, No. 14, 1.

¹⁵⁹ Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, No. 33, 5; *Tôd II*, 236, 23; Teeter, *JEA* 81 (1995): 223-4 (incorrectly claiming that the epithet never applies to Amenhotep); for his healing properties in Greek graffiti, see in general Łajtar, *Deir el-Bahari in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*.

¹⁶⁰ Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, No. 14, 2.

¹⁶¹ Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, No. 46.

Accountable, good of utterances,
 who praises Maat, who utters pronouncements,
 excellent of plans, effective of moments,
 who removes disease, from whom wandering demons turn back,
 who makes commandments by means of magic.

Amenhotep also “travels in the deep night, protecting those who exist (*šm m grḥ md hr nḥy wnni.w*).”¹⁶² A similar function appears in the following text:¹⁶³

wnn ntr is 3ḥ n p.t-n-Km.t (hr) sh^{cc} imy=s m iḥḥ
shḏ.n=f 3ḥ.t=s n ḥbs
šsp n=f sb3.w=s

The luminous god of “Heaven of Egypt” (Thebes) makes those within rejoice at dusk, having illumined its Akhet from any cover,¹⁶⁴ so that its stars shine for him.

These texts may evoke Amenhotep’s control over the decan stars and other astronomical phenomena,¹⁶⁵ or perhaps refer to his well-known appearances during nocturnal incubation sessions.

4.2 Amenope (Amun of Luxor Temple): Introduction

Amenope of Djeme and his role in the Decade Festival have already been the subject of a number of studies, particularly the series of articles by Marianne Doresse assembling a variety of textual and iconographic sources of this god from the Eighteenth Dynasty to the

¹⁶² Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, No. 33, 6.

¹⁶³ Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, No. 17, 1-3.

¹⁶⁴ For *ḥbs*, “cover” referring to clouds, cf. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 136-7, n. 446 (discussing this example).

¹⁶⁵ Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 82-8.

Roman Period.¹⁶⁶ The presentation that follows, therefore, will be rather summary and based primarily on the Graeco-Roman temple texts.¹⁶⁷

Amenope literally means “Amun of Luxor Temple (*Imn (m/n) Ip.t*),” corresponding to Greek Ἀμενώφης.¹⁶⁸ Quaegebeur questioned the traditional understanding of *Ip.t* = Luxor Temple primarily because Amenope appears in temples besides Luxor, but also because he believed *Ip.t* “ne peut être considéré comme un toponyme désignant seul le temple de Louxor.”¹⁶⁹ The first reason is unconvincing, as Amenope was a processional god who traveled to different temples within Thebes.¹⁷⁰ Furthermore, the presence of Amenope in other cities such as Tanis is not surprising,¹⁷¹ as there are numerous examples of geographically specific deities transplanted throughout Egypt.¹⁷² The second theoretical

¹⁶⁶ Doresse, *RdE* 23 (1971): 113-36; *RdE* 25 (1973): 92-135; *RdE* 31 (1979): 36-65; on Amenope and the decade festival, see also further Sethe, *Amun*, §§111-5; Yoyotte, *Cahiers de Tanis* 1 (1987): 61-9; Derchain-Urtel, *Priester im Tempel*, pp. 144-51; Traunecker, et al., *La chapelle d'Achoris à Karnak I*, pp. 130-4; Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, pp. 140-5; Aufrère, *Montou*, pp. 361-2; Coulon, *RdE* 52 (2001): 104-8; Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, pp. 222-6; Graindorge, in Metzner-Nebelsick, ed., *Rituale in der Vorgeschichte, Antike und Gegenwart*, pp. 41-2, unconvincingly tried to interpret Amenope of Djeme as a late manifestation of the White Bull from the Min Festival, not least of all because Amenope traveled to Medinet Habu every week, while the White Bull only appeared annually.

¹⁶⁷ To the dossier of temple texts gathered by Doresse, one can add *Urk.* VIII, 160b; 187e; *Opet* I, 154A; *Deir al-Médîna*, Nos. 23, 5-7; 178, 4-5; a scene from Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 466 (38a); and the damaged label to a processional bark of “Amenope of [Djeme]” from the contra-temple at Karnak, dating to Domitian; cf. Varille, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 162 and Pl. 29.

¹⁶⁸ For examples of *Imn-ip.t* = Amenophis in Greek and Latin, cf. Quaegebeur, *RdE* 37 (1986): 104.

¹⁶⁹ Quaegebeur, *RdE* 37 (1986): 104-5; this interpretation has been generally accepted; cf. Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*, p. 29, n. 10; Pestman, *Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, p. 430; Sambin, *BIFAO* 92 (1992): 179, n. 80, even claimed that “*Jpt* a été abusivement traduit par « Louqsor ».”

¹⁷⁰ Noted already by Quaegebeur, *RdE* 37 (1986): 105; Stadler, *Enchoria* 26 (2000): 112-3, questioned this particular argument of Quaegebeur.

¹⁷¹ Guermeur, *Les cultes d'Amon à Thèbes*, pp. 265-301; cf. also Amenope in Hibis: Davies, *Hibis* III, Pl. 45.

¹⁷² Cf. the Ptah Temple in Karnak, which was originally constructed for “Ptah *rsy-inb=f*” (*Urk.* IV, 765, 5 and 7; 769, 4 and 8; 770, 2); note also the presence of “Ptah who is beneath his moringa tree (*hry b3q=f*)” at Karnak (*Urk.* VIII, 180b; P. Louvre N. 3176 (S), III, 29 = Barguet, *Le Papyrus N. 3176 (S) du Musée du Louvre*, p. 10; for this form of Ptah, see Berlandini, *RdE* 46 [1995]: 17, n. 64).

issue raised by Quaegebeur is more complex, as it involves the subtle relationship between Amun of Karnak and Amun of Luxor.¹⁷³ Nonetheless, a close look at the texts describing Amenope makes it quite clear the Opet in question must be Luxor Temple.

Quaegebeur believed that while Luxor Temple was “the Southern Opet,” the general designation “Opet” could include all of Eastern Thebes.¹⁷⁴ However, the term “Opet” alternates with “Southern Opet” in texts describing the creation of the Ogdoad (see *infra*),¹⁷⁵ and more importantly as a designation of the renovated Luxor Temple in dedicatory stele of Tiberius found at the site.¹⁷⁶ All texts concerning Amenope I locate him exclusively within “the (Southern) Opet,” and similarly other inscriptions specify that Amenope II departs from “the Opet” to reach Medinet Habu.¹⁷⁷ Moreover, the term “Opet” in Theban temple texts

¹⁷³ Quaegebeur, *RdE* 37 (1986): 104-5; note, however, that although the new bark shrine of Alexander at Luxor was dedicated both to Amun of Karnak and Amun “foremost of his Opet,” (Abd el-Raziq, *Die Darstellungen und Texte des Sanktuars Alexanders des Großen im Tempel von Luxor*, p. 60), the latter form of Amun is by far the more common in the decoration of that edifice (see the index in *ibid*, p. 61); for the relation between Amun of Karnak and Amun of Luxor, see Pamminger, *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* 5 (1992): 93-140, but note that the conclusion that Amun of Luxor imitated Amun of Napata, and not the other way around (p. 110) is far from convincing.

¹⁷⁴ Quaegebeur, *RdE* 37 (1986): 104; for Opet (*Ip.t*) as a designation of the main sanctuary of Luxor Temple already under Amenhotep III, cf. Grallert, in Dorman and Bryan, eds., *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, pp. 40-3.

¹⁷⁵ **Southern Opet:** *Urk.* VIII, 139b; Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10g), I (= Doresse, *RdE* 25 [1973]: 132, Doc. IV); PM II², p. 462 (10f) (= Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 14; quoted in Sethe, *Amun*, §113, n. 4); **Opet:** Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 64 (= *Urk.* VIII, 87b); *Urk.* VIII, 160b; *Opet* I, 154A; Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10g), I (= Doresse, *RdE* 25 (1973): 132, Doc. IV).

¹⁷⁶ **Southern Opet:** Luxor Museum w/o number (cf. **5.2.3.4**); **Opet:** Luxor Museum 228 (cf. **5.2.3.1**); CG 22198 (cf. **5.2.3.5**); CG 22193 (cf. **5.2.3.6**); Quaegebeur did not incorporate the evidence from any of these stelae in his discussion.

¹⁷⁷ Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 47 (= *Urk.* VIII, 96 g); 64 (= *Urk.* VIII, 87b); this must refer to Amun leaving Luxor, not Karnak, as the Decade festival is attached with Luxor Temple already in the reign of Ramesses II (Doresse, *RdE* 31 [1979]: 37-8); earlier evidence for the connection between Luxor Temple and Medinet Habu may be found in the construction activity at both sites under Amenhotep III; cf. Darnell and Manassa, *Tutankhamun's Armies*, p. 226, n. 138.

only appears in inscriptions related to Amenope,¹⁷⁸ and there are no examples when it might refer to a location outside of Luxor.

Based on the occurrence of “Amenope in the West of Thebes (*Imn-ʿIp.t n t3 ʿImnt.t Nw.t*)” and “Amenope in the region of Djeme (*Imn-ʿIp.t n t3 ḥ3s.t Dm3*)” in Demotic and Greek documents,¹⁷⁹ some have posited the existence of another toponym *ʿIp.t* located on the West Bank.¹⁸⁰ However, the choachytes were naturally also priests of Amenope on account of his voyage to their domain of Djeme from Luxor each decade. Furthermore, the special designations like “in the West of Thebes,” clearly correspond to the hieroglyphic “Amenope of Djeme” attested in all documents referring to Amenope II who resided in Luxor.¹⁸¹

Sethe distinguished Amenope into two deities, called Amenope I and II, while Doresse preferred the terminology “Aménapet générateur” and “Aménapet de Djêmé” respectively. The former was the father of the Ogdoad, the latter the son and heir of the Ogdoad. The denominations used by Doresse are reasonable, as the two forms of Amenope are almost always distinguished by their particular epithets and functions. Nonetheless, there does seem to be a certain amount of overlap between the two Amenopes, and this will be discussed at the end of the section.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁸ The goddess Opet also travels to “the southern Opet” before returning to Karnak to give birth to Osiris, but this is to invoke Amun of Luxor, the god traditionally associated with royal/divine births, cf. **4.40**.

¹⁷⁹ Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, pp. 88, 147-8; Pestman, *Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, pp. 429-31; Andrews, *Ptolemaic Legal Texts*, p. 40, n. 9.

¹⁸⁰ E.g. Pestman, *Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, p. 430.

¹⁸¹ Pestman, *Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, pp. 429-31, does not appear to have recognized this fact, even though a connection between the hieroglyphic and Demotic epithets was already made by Doresse, *RdE* 31 (1979): 47-8.

¹⁸² This phenomenon was recognized already by Doresse, *RdE* 31 (1979): 57, who noted “dans certains textes, on continue à attribuer le voyage décadaire au dieu Amon-Rê générateur.”

4.3 Amenope I = Amenope the Creator

The first Amenope bears the specific epithet “Bull, upraised of arm (*k3 f3i-ʿ*).”¹⁸³ He is the deity who “begat the gods inside his Opet (*wtt ntr.w m Ip.t=f*),”¹⁸⁴ “who bore the primeval ones (*ms p3wty.w*) (...) having created the eight gods, (being) the father of fathers of the Ogdoad (*shpr.n=f Hmni.w (m) it-it.w n Hmni.w*),”¹⁸⁵ “Great Nun, who begat the Ogdoad, Great Ejaculator in his Southern Opet (*Nwn-wr msi Hmni.w, nhp wr m Ip.t=f rsy.t*),”¹⁸⁶ “who bore the Ogdoad in the Southern Opet (*msi Hmni.w m Ip.t-rsy.t*),”¹⁸⁷ and most specifically, “who begat the Ogdoad in his workshop (*wtt Hmni.w m iz.t=f n k3.t*) within his Opet.”¹⁸⁸ Tatenen is the traditional creator of the Ogdoad,¹⁸⁹ and thus Amenope receives the specific qualification “Tatenen within the Southern District (*t3-tnn hnt ʿ-rsy*).”¹⁹⁰ Not surprisingly, Amenope shares two important epithets with Ptah in Thebes, “beautiful of face (*nfr hr*),”¹⁹¹

¹⁸³ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 64 (= *Urk.* VIII, 87b); *Opet* I, 154A; *Deir al-Médîna*, No. 23, 5-6; Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10g) (= Doresse, *RdE* 25 [1973]: 132, Document IV); the only exception is *Urk.* VIII, 139b: “Amun-Re foremost of his Opet (...) Horus, upraised of arm.” For the significance of the raised arm, cf. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 401-12.

¹⁸⁴ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 64 (= *Urk.* VIII, 87b); *Urk.* VIII, 160b; *Opet* I, 154A; Medinet Habu = Doresse, *RdE* 25 (1973): 132, Doc. IV.

¹⁸⁵ *Urk.* VIII, 139k; following the translation of Doresse, *RdE* 25 (1973): 131.

¹⁸⁶ *Urk.* VIII, 139b.

¹⁸⁷ Medinet Habu = Doresse, *RdE* 25 (1973): 132, Doc. IV.

¹⁸⁸ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 64 (= *Urk.* VIII, 87b).

¹⁸⁹ Cf. **4.39**, **4.46**.

¹⁹⁰ *Urk.* VIII, 139b; *Opet* I, 154A; Medinet Habu = Doresse, *RdE* 25 (1973): 132, Doc. IV = Sethe, *Amun*, §114; cf. Doresse, *RdE* 25 (1973): 98, n. 7; for ʿ-rsy in administrative texts, cf. *Wb.* I, 157, 19; the sanctuary of Hibis Temple depicts a statue of “Amenope-Ptah” in the group of Theban deities (Davies, *Hibis* III, Pl. II, Reg. V, left; Cruz-Urube, *Hibis Temple Project* I, p. 4, No. 10, read “Amun-Ipet-Ptah”).

¹⁹¹ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 64 (= *Urk.* VIII, 87b); *Urk.* VIII, 139b (cf. also **4.46**).

and “lord of the Double Plumes (*nb šw.ty*),”¹⁹² both references to his role of cosmic creator deity.¹⁹³ Amenope’s assimilation to Tatenen in Thebes is complete at Medinet Habu, where Amenope, not Ptah, receives offerings alongside Sekhmet.¹⁹⁴ The ancient Memphite concept of chthonic Ptah-Tatenen fashioning gods from within his *tp̄h.t-d̄ḫ.t* appears to have been Thebanized to a certain degree,¹⁹⁵ with Amenope-Tatenen fashioning the Ogdoad in his “workshop” within Luxor Temple. Nonetheless, Luxor Temple had always been conceived as the center of primordial generation and regeneration,¹⁹⁶ and thus the Graeco-Roman developments are more the result of clever, syncretistic interpretations of the Theban cosmogony. Amenope is also compared to Khnum, when he is called “the father who acted as mother, the potter who created light with his hands (*it ir mw.t, šd n̄hp, ir šww m ʿ.wy=f(y)*).”¹⁹⁷

Amenope’s taurian epithets extend beyond his primary signifier, “bull, raised of arm.” He is also “the male, sweet of love (...) bull of bulls, who copulates with the beautiful-cows, who impregnates the cows by means of his life-force (*t̄ḫy bnr mrw.t (...) k̄ḫ-k̄ḫ.w k̄ḫk̄ḫ n̄fr.wt*,

¹⁹² Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 64 = *Urk.* VIII, 87b.

¹⁹³ For this understanding of *n̄fr-h̄r*, cf. Berlandini, *RdE* 46 (1995): 31-7; for the significance of the double plumes, see Budde, *SAK* 30 (2002): 57-102.

¹⁹⁴ Medinet Habu = Doresse, *RdE* 25 (1973): 132, Doc. IV.

¹⁹⁵ For Ptah and the *tp̄h.t-d̄ḫ.t*, cf. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I* 348, pp. 194-8; Smith, *Papyrus Harkness*, p. 126, n. 30 (e); note also the importance of the *tp̄h.t-d̄ḫ.t* at Armant, cf. Thiers and Volokhine, *Ermant I*, p. 76, n. 256.

¹⁹⁶ For the theological significance of Luxor Temple, see primarily Bell, *JNES* 44 (1985): 251-94.

¹⁹⁷ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 64 (= *Urk.* VIII, 87b); for these epithets, cf. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, pp. 108-9, nn. (17)-(18); note, however, that the term for potter (*šd n̄hp*), which Egberts noted was a *hapax*, may be related to the technical term *šdi*, “to draw (a kiln),” used in a scene of making pottery (see Holthoer, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: The Pottery*, pp. 15, Fig. 18, 39); for Amun as Khnum: Davies, *Hibis III*, Pl. 32, cols. 6-7 (Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 142-3); *Urk.* VIII, 134d.

stj hmw.t m ʿnh=f),”¹⁹⁸ as well as “bull of his mother, begetter of his father (*k3 mw.t=f, wtj it=f*).”¹⁹⁹ While Amun, particularly in his ithyphallic manifestation, was often a bull already in the Pharaonic era, the taurian epithets of the Graeco-Roman texts should be considered in terms of the Ogdoad cosmogony, in which Amun the bull and his consort Amunet the cow are anterior to the four bulls of Montu and four cows of Rattawy who make up the Ogdoad.²⁰⁰ Amun and Amunet are therefore the creators of the Ogdoad, but they were also composite deities made from the four Montus and four Rattawys. The union of the Ogdoad was thus the union of Amun with Amunet, resulting in the creation of the sun. This cosmogonic event is alluded to via Amenope’s epithet “eldest of the primeval ones,”²⁰¹ and the fact that he is depicted alongside Amunet in offering scenes,²⁰² who in this context is even designated as “the (Great) Cow that gave birth to Re, the mother together with the father in the beginning.”²⁰³

4.4 Amenope II = Amenope of Djeme

The second Amenope is always qualified as “Amenope of Djeme,” usually with the additional epithets “Great living god, Chief of the Gods (*ntr ʿ3 ʿnh, hry ntr.w*)”²⁰⁴ or “King of

¹⁹⁸ *Urk.* VIII, 139b; for *k3k3* “to copulate,” cf. Ryhiner, *L’offrande du lotus*, p. 40, n. 26.

¹⁹⁹ *Urk.* VIII, 139k; identical epithet of Amun in Davies, *Hibis* III, Pl. 32, col. 7.

²⁰⁰ Erichsen and Schott, *Fragmente memphitischer Theologie*, pp. 312, 322-3; cf. **4.39**; for the taurian aspect of Amenope I, cf. also Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, pp. 224-6.

²⁰¹ *Urk.* VIII, 139b; Medinet Habu = Doresse, *RdE* 25 (1973): 132, Doc. IV.

²⁰² *Urk.* VIII, 139c; 160c (text collated from photos of author); *Deir al-Médina*, No. 23, 9-10.

²⁰³ *Urk.* VIII, 139c; cf. further **4.8**.

²⁰⁴ *Urk.* VIII, 139k; *Opet* I, 25; 262; Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10f) II (= Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, II, Pl. 115); PM II², p. 462 (10b) (= Doresse, *RdE* 25 [1973]: 126, Doc. H); *Deir Chelouit* III, 126, 7-8; *Tôd* I, 161, 4; Cairo JE 38033, col. 3 (= Coulon, *RdE* 52 [2001]: 88, 90, 95, n. (bb)); vars. “chief of the gods” (Aufrère,

the Gods (*nsw.t-ntr.w*).²⁰⁵ This Amenope was “the living image of Re in Karnak (*snn ṛnh n Rṛ m Ip.t-s.wt*),”²⁰⁶ a reference to the cult statue of Amenope of Djeme which priests often carried in a processional bark.²⁰⁷ As such, Amenope was a physical manifestation of Re on earth, an interface between the divine and mundane. One text alludes to this solar aspect of Amenope’s cult statue as follows:²⁰⁸

shṛ.tw=f m db3 n itn
hft hpr igp.w m p.t

He is carried in procession as a replacement for the sundisk,
whenever clouds come about in the sky.

Other inscriptions shed further light on his East bank cult. A remarkable statue of a late Ptolemaic *syngenes* and priest named Plato describes a procession of Amenope in which the god delivered oracles that the priest “interpreted (*whṛ*).”²⁰⁹ The second Bucheum stela from the reign of Ptolemy VI, meanwhile, describes Amenope’s role in selecting the new Buchis bull. The text narrates that the bull was born near Asfun, inspected by priests in

Montou, §§236-8 = *Urk.* VIII 36b); partially restored: *Urk.* VIII, 156b; Chonsu Temple, PM II, pp. 236-7 (43) (= *LD* IV, 28b; Doresse, *RdE* 25 [1973]: 125, Doc. G).

²⁰⁵ *Opet* I, 87; Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 47 (= *Urk.* VIII, 96b and g).

²⁰⁶ Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10b and g) (=Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, II, Pl. 115); *Opet* I, 87; vars. “living image of Re” (Aufrère, *Montou*, §§236-8 = *Urk.* VIII, 36b); “living image of Re in Southern Heliopolis” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 47 = *Urk.* VIII, 96b; Cairo JE 37075, Back, col. 6 = Fairman, *JEA* 20 [1934]: Pl. I); “image of Re” (*Opet* I, 25; Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 47 = *Urk.* VIII, 96g; *Urk.* VIII, 187e); “living image in Karnak” (*Tôd* I, 161, 5); “living image of Harsiese” (Chonsu Temple: PM II², pp. 236-7 (43) = *LD* IV, 28b = Doresse, *RdE* 25 [1973]: 125, Doc. G); “image <of Re> (*snn <Rṛ>*)” (*Edfou* I, 289, 8; the restoration is clear from the context, and thus the suggestion of Ryhiner, *L’offrande du lotus*, p. 143, n. 16, to read *snn* as an otherwise unattested adverb (“de même”) is unnecessary).

²⁰⁷ For the appearance of the bark, cf. Yoyotte, *Cahiers de Tanis* 1 (1987): 61-9; Traunecker, *Coptos*, §§175-7; Coulon, *RdE* 52 (2001): 95, n. (dd).

²⁰⁸ *Urk.* VIII, 187e; *Opet* I, 25 (de Wit was apparently not aware of the parallel text from Karnak, and thus restored: *shṛṛ=f m [w]b[n] n itn h[t]h[t] igp m [p.t]*, “son apparition est celle du lever du Disque solaire qui repousse les tempêtes dans le ciel” [de Wit, *Opet* III, p. 11]).

²⁰⁹ Coulon, *RdE* 52 (2001): 85-112.

Esna,²¹⁰ and then sailed north to Luxor Temple, called “his place of enthronement since the beginning (*s.t-shn=f dr-b3h*).”²¹¹ When Ptolemy himself arrived in Thebes to install the new bull, the following events took place:²¹²

h^c Imn-Ip.t ntr n dmi.t
in hm=f šm h3.t=f
in Imn-Ip.t h^c m q^c ntr pn
nsw mit.t hn^c šnyw.t=f hm.w-ntr w^cb.w t.t-pr-^cnh mš^c nb.w nw (t3) dr=f ii(.w)
m-ht=f r W3s.t
shn.tw ntr pn

Amenope, the god of the town, appeared in procession, his majesty traveled in front of him, Amenope stopped in front of this god (= Buchis),²¹³ the king likewise, together with his entourage, priests, *w^cb*-priests of the assembly of the *pr-^cnh*, and armies of the entire (land) who had come to Thebes, and this god was enthroned.

Although this account is quite summary, it is possible to reconstruct the events by comparing a more extensive text from Edfu.²¹⁴ Because of special markings on the bull’s hide, the visiting priests concluded it might be the new Buchis bull and brought it to Luxor. On the day of the procession, priests lined up a number of similar candidates, and carried the processional image of Amenope before them. When Amenope “stopped in front of” a

²¹⁰ The toponym is clearly *t3-sn.t*, “Esna,” and certainly not an otherwise unattested toponym *t3-nn* (*contra* Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, pp. 59, 237; already recognized by Sauneron, *Quatres campagnes à Esna*, p. 21, n. 2).

²¹¹ Note the coronation ritual of Horemhab took place within Luxor Temple, not in Karnak (Gardiner, *JEA* 39 (1953): 14-5); for the rituals of royal legitimacy in Luxor, see in general Bell, *JNES* (1985): 251-94.

²¹² Bucheum Stela No. 9, ll. 10-11; cf. Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, pp. 59-60, 222-3, 236-8, Pl. 5.

²¹³ This remarkable narrative use of two participial statements (not discussed by Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, or Engsheden, *La reconstitution du verbe*), may be an indication that the stela was based on a type of “daybook.”

²¹⁴ For the ritual of selecting the sacred falcon at Edfu, see most recently Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, pp. 229-33; Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, remarkably did not discuss the details of the inthronisation rite at Karnak as described in the Bucheum stela.

particular bull, this oracular gesture signified that Amenope recognized it as the new Buchis.²¹⁵

Amenope's primary function was providing offerings for the ancestor gods of Djeme every ten days. Many texts state that he "shows his head from Luxor every ten days (*di tp=f m Ip.t tp hrw 10*),"²¹⁶ "he appears every ten days (*h^c=f tp hrw 10*),"²¹⁷ and "turns his face towards the Mound of Djeme (*sti=f hr=f r i3.t-t3m.t*)." ²¹⁸ More precisely, he "sails to Western Thebes every ten days (*d3i=f r imnt.t W3s.t tp hrw 10*)." ²¹⁹ At Medinet Habu, Amenope of Djeme would perform the traditional mortuary rites "depositing offerings (*w3h iht*)"²²⁰ and "purifying food (*sfsf 3w*),"²²¹ as well as "pouring water (*sti mw*)"²²² and "libating

²¹⁵ In the more extended text from Edfu, the priests call out the names of the various falcons "until his majesty (sc. Horus) nods towards one among them (*r hn hm=f r w^c im=sn*)" (*Edfou* VI, 102, 6), thus using the traditional terminology (*hn*) for oracular decisions (*Wb.* II, 495, 7).


²¹⁶ Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 47 (= *Urk.* VIII, 96 g); 64 (= *Urk.* VIII, 87b); for the ritual and oracular connotations of the phrase *rdi-hr*, see most recently Coulon, *RdE* 52 (2001): 106; as von Lieven, *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne*, p. 168, has noted, the use of the phrase *di tp=f*, "who shows his head," perfectly describes the cult-stature of Amenope of Djeme of which only the head was visible, while at the same alluding to astrooomical concepts, particularly given the importance of the same phrase in the Nut Book (e.g. P. Carlsberg I, 6, 1, 3, 8, 27, 32, 33, 35), where it refers to the heads of the decan stars; for similar imagery involving stars and heads, cf. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 430-2.

²¹⁷ *Opet* I, 87.

²¹⁸ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 64 (= *Urk.* VIII, 87b); Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10b) (= Doresse, *RdE* 25 [1973]: Doc. H); *contra* Traunecker, *Karnak* 7 (1982): 352, there is no indication that the phrase "he turns his face" indicates a hypothetical "rite de substitution" (followed by Traunecker, et al., *La chapelle d'Achôris* I, p. 133; Traunecker, *Coptos*, p. 358, n. 1851; Sambin, *BIFAO* 92 [1992]: 179, who explained: "le dieu-fils se contente de diriger son regard vers la sépulture des ancêtres, sans faire le voyage"). Rather, this phrase is merely a variant of the other verbs (*h^c=f*, *di tp=f*), and thus the various accounts of the decade rituals are not "contradictoires (...) le reflet des complications d'un culte ayant ébloui avec le temps" (Traunecker, et al., *La chapelle d'Achôris* I, p. 133).

²¹⁹ *Opet* I, 25; vars. "who sails to the Mound of Djeme every ten days (*d3i r i3.t-t3m.t tp hrw 10*)" (*Opet* I, 262); "who sails in peace to Western Thebes (*d3i m htp r imnt.t W3s.t*)" (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 47 = *Urk.* VIII, 96g); "he sailed (to) the Mound of Dj[e]m[e] every ten days (*d3i.n=f i3.t-t3[m].t tp hrw 10 nb*)" (*Deir Chelouit* III, 126, 10-11).

²²⁰ *Opet* I, 25; 87; 262; Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10f) II (= Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, II, Pl. 115); p. 462 (10b and g) (= Doresse, *RdE* 25 [1973]: 126, Docs. H and I); Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 47 (= *Urk.* VIII, 96b); *Urk.* VIII, 156b; for the long history of the rite of "placing offerings," cf. Favard-Meeks, *Le temple de Behbeit el-Hagara*, pp. 401-33.

(*qbh*),”²²³ in his role of “Ka priest ( = *hm-k3*),”²²⁴ The beneficiaries are always Kematef²²⁵ and the Ogdoad.²²⁶

Amenope’s mortuary offerings effectually revived the ancestors at Djeme, as vividly depicted in the following text:²²⁷

ḥḥ n=f sdr.w
sdr n=f ḥḥ.w

Just as those lying down stand up for him,
 so do those standing up lie down for him.

²²¹ *Opet I*, 262 bis; Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10b) (= Doresse, *RdE* 25 [1973]: 126, Doc. H); p. 466, (38a); Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 47 (= *Urk.* VIII, 96b); for the ritual of “purifying offerings (*sfsf 3w*),” cf. Derchain-Urtel, *Priester im Tempel*, pp. 143-51; Perdu, *SAK* 27 (1999): 292, n. (g); the phrase may allude to the so-called “double libation,” where the officiant poured water over the food offerings (cf. Traunecker, *Coptos*, pp. 356-7).

²²² Aufrère, *Montou*, §§236-8 (= *Urk.* VIII, 36b); Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 47 (= *Urk.* VIII, 96g); Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 466, (38a); for these abbreviated spellings of *stī mw*, cf. Volokhine, *BIFAO* 102 (2002): 422.

²²³ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 47 (= *Urk.* VIII, 96g); Amenope thus receives the title “libationer (*qbh*)”: *Opet I*, 25; 262; Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10f) II (= Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, II, Pl. 115).

²²⁴ Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 466 (38a); Aufrère, *Montou*, §§236-8 (= *Urk.* VIII, 36b); Labrique, *RdE* 53 (2002): 244, rightly criticized Aufrère’s reading of *ḥḥw*, an otherwise unattested word for “heir” (Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 349, n. h), and read *hm-k3 > ḥnk*, “pourvoyeur d’offrandes.” However, other orthographies demonstrate that the correct reading is *hm-k3* (Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 644; already recognized by Doresse, *RdE* 25 [1973]: 126, n. 2), and in this particular scene, the king asks Amenope to give the decade offerings “to the Ka of Irita” (*Urk.* VIII, 36c).

²²⁵ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 47 (= *Urk.* VIII, 96b and g); *Urk.* VIII, 156b; Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10b) (= Doresse, *RdE* 25 [1973]: 126, Doc. H); vars. “father of fathers” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 64 = *Urk.* VIII, 87b); “Nun” (Aufrère, *Montou*, §§236-8 = *Urk.* VIII, 36b); “Great Nun (...) Great Ba of Kematef” (Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 466 [38a]); “his father, Amun, Great Nun [who created every]thing (...) Great Ba of Egypt (...) creator of his body (*qm3 d.t=f*)” (*Opet I*, 262).

²²⁶ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 47 (= *Urk.* VIII, 96b); Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10b) (= Doresse, *RdE* 25 [1973]: 126, Doc. H); vars. “the inert ones (*nny.w*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 64 = *Urk.* VIII, 87b); “the fathers and mothers who created light (*it.w mw.wt ir(.w) šww*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 47 = *Urk.* VIII, 96g); “his fathers and mothers (*it.w mw.wt=f*)” (*Opet I*, 25); “his predecessors (*it.w=f*)” (*Opet I*, 87).

²²⁷ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§236-8 (= *Urk.* VIII, 36b).

In return, the “western gods rejoice for him ($h^c n=f ntr.w imnty.w$),”²²⁸ Kematef “rejoices to see him as his heir and the inert ones come alive from seeing their father ($h^c it-it.w hr m33=f m iw^c=f^c nh nny.w hr ptr it=sn$).”²²⁹

The latter text describes Amenope as both father and libationer of the Ogdoad, two actions usually performed by Amenope I and Amenope II respectively.²³⁰ As Sethe already noted, a number of inscriptions call Amenope II “heir (iw^c)” or “successor ($hry-ns.t$)” of the Ogdoad,²³¹ while the latter group are also his parents or predecessors,²³² and so this example of Amenope I, maker of the Ogdoad, traveling to Djeme seems to contradict the neat distinction between the two Amenopes.²³³ This tension suggests that both Amenope I and Amenope II were fundamentally the same deity, but the former was usually a creator while the latter was generally the active, physically present successor deity.²³⁴ The same tension is evident with a number of gods in Thebes, including Chonsu-Shu who was both creator ancestor and beneficent heir, as well as Amun of Karnak and Medinet Habu, both of whom received the epithets Kematef and Irita, sometimes in the same inscription (cf. **4.28**).

²²⁸ *Deir Chelouit III*, 126, 9-10.

²²⁹ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 64 (= *Urk. VIII*, 87b).

²³⁰ Note also that a Ptolemaic graffito from Luxor Temple invokes the local god as both “Amenope, the Bull upraised of arm ($Imn-Ip.t k3 \beta i^c$)” (= Amenope I) and “this image of Re ($snw pw n R^c$)” (= Amenope II); Jansen-Winkel, *ZÄS* 132 (2005): 35-6, Pl. XVI.

²³¹ Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 466 (38a); Chonsu Temple, *LD IV*, 28b = Doresse, *RdE* 25 (1973): 125; Aufrère, *Montou*, §§236-8 (= *Urk. VIII*, 36b).

²³² For this paradoxical relationship, cf. Sethe, *Amun*, §§114-5, Pl. V; Doresse, *RdE* 31 (1979): 57.

²³³ Zivie, *L'Égyptologie en 1979*, II, p. 108, already noted: “l’analyse de Sethe est précieuse mais doit être nuancée dans ce qu’elle peut avoir d’incomplet et surtout de trop rigide; spécialement à propos des différentes générations d’Amon classées par l’auteur d’une manière très stricte.”

²³⁴ For this concept, cf. Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, pp. 27-8, 146-7.

4.5 Amun: Introduction

Amun was unquestionably the chief god of the entire Theban pantheon.²³⁵ Although his origins remain mysterious,²³⁶ Amun-Re arose to prominence at Karnak already in the Eleventh Dynasty under Antef II,²³⁷ and retained his title “King of the Gods” through the Roman Period. The royal nature of Amun made him crucial in Pharaonic conceptions of divine kingship,²³⁸ and the Ptolemaic and Roman rulers continued to sponsor Theban temples to establish their royal legitimacy.²³⁹ In the Graeco-Roman Period, Amun also appeared at the births of all child gods to transmit the office of divine ruler on earth.²⁴⁰

In the Graeco-Roman Period, Amun had a number of specific local manifestations. He was Kematef at Medinet Habu (**4.28**), Amenope at Luxor Temple (**4.3-4**), and apparently Irita at Karnak (**4.25**).²⁴¹ In addition, Amun had a particularly solar

²³⁵ For the god Amun, see primarily Sethe, *Amun*; Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom*; and the translations and commentary to the extensive Amun hymns in Zandee, *De Hymnen aan Amon*; idem, *Der Amunhymnus*; Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*; Luiselli, *Der Amun-Re Hymnus des P. Boulaq 17*; Gülden, *Die hieratischen Texte des P. Berlin 3049*.

²³⁶ For the debate over the origins of Amun, see primarily Daumas, *BIFAO* 65 (1967): 201-14; Gabolde, *Égypte Afrique et l’Orient* 16 (2000): 3-12.

²³⁷ For the earliest stages of the Amun Temple at Karnak, see most recently Ullmann, in Dorman and Bryan, eds., *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, pp. 3-26; the recent attempt of Morenz, *ZÄS* 130 (2003): 110-19, to interpret the Antef Pillar at Karnak as a monument for “(Montu)-Re the Hidden One” instead of Amun-Re is entirely unconvincing, and was rightfully dismissed by Ullmann, *ZÄS* 132 (2005): 166-172.

²³⁸ E.g. Bell, *JNES* (1985): 251-94.

²³⁹ For Alexander, cf. Martinez, *BSEG* 13 (1989): 107-16; for Augustus, cf. **5.1.1**.

²⁴⁰ Daumas, *Les mammisis des temples égyptiens*, pp. 449-57; Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 87-90; cf. also **4.20**, **4.39**, **4.42**, **4.49**.

²⁴¹ For the distinction between different Amuns within Thebes already in the New Kingdom, cf. Pamminger, *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* 5 (1992): 93-140.

manifestation in East Karnak (4.6), a special ithyphallic form (4.31), a mysterious local hypostasis at Deir el-Medineh (4.7), and he could even be a member of the Ogdoad (4.39).

4.6 Amun-Re in the Benben Temple / Amun who hears prayers

The complex at East Karnak, begun by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, contains later additions dating to the reigns of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II and Domitian (cf. 5.8.1.2).²⁴² This area contained a solar temple called “the Temple of the *bnbn*-Obelisk (*ḥw.t-bnbn*),”²⁴³ referring both to its large “sole obelisk (*bnbn*),”²⁴⁴ as well as to the prototypical *ḥw.t-bnbn* in Heliopolis.²⁴⁵ The main god of this temple was “Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, within (*ḥry-ib*) the Temple of the *bnbn*-Obelisk”.²⁴⁶ Due to the Heliopolitan nature of the obelisk, this local form of Amun became “Atum the Heliopolitan, who came about in

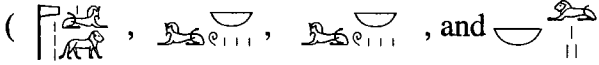

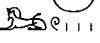

²⁴² PM II², pp. 215-8; Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 220-3; Nims, in *Fs Ricke*, pp. 107-11; Gallet, *BIFA O* 101 (2001): 183-96; Carlotti and Gallet, Goyon and Cardin, eds., *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, I, pp. 271-82.

²⁴³ This was probably already the case under Amenhotep IV, who also built a *ḥw.t-bnbn* in East Karnak; cf. Vergnieux, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains d'Amenhotep IV*, I, pp. 154-67; the Theban *ḥw.t-bnbn* should not be confused with the *Bnn.t*, the site of Chonsu temple; *contra* McClain, who recently suggested that the *ḥw.t-bnbn* “may also indicate an actual structure within Thebes, a shrine with a *benben*-stone, provisionally located on the roof of the temple of Khonsu, where a graffito refers to the *ḥw.t-ntr nt bn[b]n.t*” (McClain, in Dorman and Bryan, eds., *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, p. 88; similarly; Jacquet-Gordon, *The Temple of Khonsu*, III, pp. 55, 71); Medinet Habu is also referred to as the *ḥw.t-bnbn* in an inscription from the Courtyard of Antoninus Pius (cf. 5.11.1.15), probably a reference to Kematef as Atum.

²⁴⁴ Barguet, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 269-80; Desroches-Noblecourt, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 257-67; Martin, *Ein Garantsymbol des Lebens*, pp. 159-71; Fowden, *JHS* 107 (1987): 51-7; Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, pp. 176-9; Bell, in Beinlich, et al., *5. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, pp. 23-6.

²⁴⁵ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 311, n. 47; Yoyotte, *Annaure de l'ÉPHE. Sciences Religieuses* 89 (1980-1981): 100-1; Raue, *Heliopolis und das Haus des Re*, p. 15, notes that the *bnbn*-temple does not appear in any administrative texts or titles, and thus appears to be primarily a mythical toponym even in Heliopolis.

²⁴⁶ *Urk.* VIII, 137b and k; 158b; Amun of Karnak had close associations with the *ḥw.t-Bnbn* of Heliopolis already in the New Kingdom, cf. Zandee, *Der Amunhymnus*, II, pp. 440-1.

the initial moment (*lṭm ṭwny, ḥpr m zp ṭpy*),²⁴⁷ and “he who shines in heaven and rises from the Akhet (*psd m ḥr.t wbn m ʒḥ.t*).”²⁴⁸ This form of Amun always receives the sphinx incense-burner, and his epithet “Lord of Lords (*nb-nb.w*)” is written with the sphinx (, , , and ),²⁴⁹ all allusions to the leonine form of Atum at Heliopolis.²⁵⁰ A solar hymn in the associated contra-temple and the nearby horned altar further underscore the solar aspect of Amun in East Karnak (cf. **5.8.1.2.4**).

Other inscriptions from the solar chapels invoke “Amun who hears prayers (*Imn sḏm-nḥ.wt*).”²⁵¹ This local form of Amun goes back to the New Kingdom when Thutmose III called the contra-temple “the proper place of the ear (*s.t mt.t nt msdr*).”²⁵² Two lengthy but fragmentary inscriptions from the Ptolemaic portal further claim that Amun is “mighty of

²⁴⁷ *Urk.* VIII, 137b; 158b; in *Urk.* VIII, 142 (8), Thebes is called “the *bnbn*-obelisk of the Lord of Lords, Atum the Heliopolitan in the initial moment.” Note that Drioton’s attempt to read the words “Atum the Heliopolitan” as an elaborate, acrophonic cryptogram (*i(tm) + w(h) + d(.t) = i(ʒ.t)-wdʒ.t* “Mound of the wedjat-eye”; Drioton, *ASAE* 44 [1944]: 127-8, n. [g]) is belied by the clear parallels for this epithet.

²⁴⁸ *Urk.* VIII, 137b.

²⁴⁹ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§135-7 (= *Urk.* VIII, 45); 142 (8), 137b, and Barguet, *Le Temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 238, respectively; the epithet is also interpreted as “fashioner of fashioners (*nbi nbi.w*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 137k; Marseille 5194, a block from the East Karnak temple = Gallet, *BIFAO* 101 [2001]: 196); the palindromic relation between the epithets: *bnbn – nb-nb(.w)* employs a type of paranomasia attested since the Pyramid Texts (cf. Roquet, *BIFAO* 78 [1978]: 480); note that the various orthographies conclusively show that Aufrère’s alternative reading “possesseur de sphinx (*nb šsp.w*)” (Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 110, n. [e]) is incorrect.

²⁵⁰ Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, I, pp. 12-6; for Amun-Atum as a lion, cf. Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 36-7.

²⁵¹ *Urk.* VIII, 161b, 165b; Barguet, *Le temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 233, line 1; East Karnak is also called “this good place of hearing prayers (*s.t tn nfr.t nt sḏm nḥ.wt*)” (Barguet, *Le temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 234-5, col. 5).


²⁵² Nims, in *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, pp. 70, cols. X + 13, 73; for related cults of “Amun who hears,” cf. East Karnak, see Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom*, p. 46; Murnane, in *Mélanges Mokhtar*, II, p. 148, n. 40; for other listening gods, cf. Wagner and Quaegebeur, *BIFAO* 73 (1973): 54-8; Guglielmi, *ZÄS* 118 (1991): 116-27; The Epigraphic Survey, *RILT* 2, p. 55; Traunecker, *Coptos*, pp. 164-5, n. (f).

hearing (*qn m sdm*)²⁵³ and “open of ears (*wb3 ʿnh.wy*)²⁵⁴ “who listens to supplications (*ndb spr.w*).²⁵⁵ Amun “who hears prayers” is the object of both official and popular cults.²⁵⁶

nis n=f ntr.w mry.w
wn-ʿ3.wy p.t m sns n hr=f

Gods and commoners call unto him,
the “Opener of the Doors of Heaven” worships before him.

In return for offerings, Amun heals and protects those who are loyal to him, being “mighty in sustaining life (*qn m sʿnh*)²⁵⁷ “tireless in healing (*tm wrd n snb*) (...) who lets breathe the throats of gods, men, birds, snakes, and fish (*srq hty.t ntr.w rmt 3pd.w hf3.w rm.w*)²⁵⁸ “a nest of air for all noses, numerous of wonders for rescuing the afflicted (*iwn r fnd nb, ʿš3*

bi3.wt n šd i3dty.w)²⁵⁹ “giving breath () to everybody there (*hr rdi.t hnm.t n bw nb im*).²⁶⁰ His healing properties are summarized as follows:²⁶¹

²⁵³ Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 236, col. 4; for this epithet, see Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1061.

²⁵⁴ Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 235, col. 8; cf. also Traunecker, *Coptos*, p. 223, n. b; Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 169-70, n. c.

²⁵⁵ Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 236, col. 2.

²⁵⁶ For this title of the High Priest of Amun, cf. **3.1.1**, text note (e); a nearby votive relief depicts two high-ranking priests beseeching Amun, cf. Traunecker, in Clarysse, et al., eds., *Egyptian religion: the last thousand years*, II, pp. 1191-1229; esp. p. 1200.

²⁵⁷ *Urk.* VIII, 161b.

²⁵⁸ Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 236-7, cols. 5-6.

²⁵⁹ Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 234-5, col. 7; Barguet read the latter epithet as “riche en miracles (ʿš3 bi3),” but note the common spelling of *dmi.t*, “harbor, town” with the lizard (Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1196), and note the figurative use of *dmi.t*, “refuge” in autobiographies (e.g. Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, p. 394).

²⁶⁰ Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 233-4, l. 2; for this spelling of *hnm.t* “breath,” see Sauneron, *Mout*, p. 32.

²⁶¹ Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 233-4, cols. 5-6.

$\epsilon nh y$
 $\epsilon nh . w \epsilon nh = sn n m33 = f$
 $w ny . w snb = sn n p[tr] pr pn nfr n nb-nhh$

The Living One (Amun),
 the living remain alive through seeing him,
 the existing become healed from see[ing] this good temple of the Lord of Eternity.

As with other healing gods, this popular form of Amun is a deity who “gives a reward to the just, and gives chaos to whomever opposes him (*di izw n mdw-mtr, di izf.t n hsf s(w)*).”²⁶²

Amun “who hears prayers” should logically have been at home in the contra-temple of Karnak, since contra-temples in general were designated for popular cults (cf. **5.8.1.1**). Nonetheless, the majority of texts mentioning him come from the solar chapel attached to the sole obelisk. In fact, Amun “who hears prayers” seems to have been identical to Amun within the Obelisk-Temple, as indicated by an inscription from East Karnak facing the “sole obelisk” and the contra-temple.²⁶³

$imy dw3 = n n nb-nb . w Imn-R^c [\dots] sdm nh . wt$
 $s^c nh = f n mi ir = f [n]$

Let us worship the Lord of Lords, Amun-Re [...] who hears prayers!
 May he keep us alive like he created [us]!

The statue of Amun in the contra-temple thus represented an approachable deity “who hears prayers,” emerging from his sanctuary to face the population of Thebes. The eastern location of this cult, however, allowed the obelisk to simultaneously represent a particularly Heliopolitan Amun-Re emerging from the Duat.

²⁶² Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 234-5, col. 6.

²⁶³ Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 238; above the text are two reliefs of baboons and Ba-birds praising in the direction of the obelisk, labelled as the Bas of the West and the Bas of Hermopolis (*Urk.* VIII, 166-7), clearly a reference to Amun-Re as the rising sun.

4.7 Amun-Re-*p3-mry-nfr* / Amun-*mry-p3-nbi-nfr.w*

This form of Amun is only attested a few times in the Temple of Deir el-Medina, where he is the presiding deity in the northern chapel of this temple.²⁶⁴ The only clue to the function of this local Amun is the following text from the same chapel:²⁶⁵

wr ntr.w Imn-R^c-p3-mry-nfr
ntr ʕ3 nb-t3-dsr
 [...] *wr n Imn-rn=f*

s^cr=f t3w ndm n fnd n Wsir m tr=f n hb-in.t
nh[....] r d.t

The Chief of the Gods, Amun-Re-*p3-mry-nfr*,
 Great God, Lord of the Sacred Land,
 great [...] of “Hidden-of-his-Name.”

He elevates sweet air to the nose of Osiris at his time of the Valley Festival,
 [so he might] live eternally.

Amun-Re-*p3-mry-nfr* thus took part in the Beautiful Festival of the Valley as “Lord of the Sacred Land,”²⁶⁶ the Theban necropolis. Presumably he was a local form of Amun of Karnak, who continued to travel to the West Bank into the Roman Period (cf. **7.3**).

The exact meaning of this epithet is unfortunately somewhat of a mystery, as is the precise theological function of his chapel. In all the occurrences, the word *mry* is determined with a phallus,²⁶⁷ which suggests the translation of “bull.”²⁶⁸ Given the prominence of the

²⁶⁴ He dominates the lintel of the door to this chapel (*Deir al-Médîna*, Nos. 71, 6-7, and 72, 6-7), and the building inscription in the chapel specifies that Ptolemy built this monument “for his father, Amun-Re-*p3-mry-nfr*.” (*Deir al-Médîna*, No. 85).

²⁶⁵ *Deir al-Médîna*, No. 81, 1-2.

²⁶⁶ Same epithet in *Deir al-Médîna*, No. 88, 16.

²⁶⁷ *Deir al-Médîna*, Nos. 81, 1; 88, 15.

²⁶⁸ *Wb.* II, 106, 8; *LGG* III, 239-30; compare the special form of Amun “the bull of cows (*p3 k3 n id.wt*)” (Bakr, *ZÄS* 98 [1970]: 1-4).

goddess Maat at Deir el-Medineh (4.30), and her common designation “semen of the bull (*mtw.t-k3*),”²⁶⁹ one could posit a local connection between Maat and Amun “the good/young bull.”²⁷⁰ The same form of Amun also receives a slightly different epithet, Amun-*mry*—“the fashioner of recruits (*p3 nbi nfr.w*),”²⁷¹ the significance of which also remains obscure. It is possible that the epithet *p3-mry* might lie behind the mysterious ithyphallic “Pamyles” mentioned by Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, secs. 12 and 35), who was involved with raising Osiris in Thebes.²⁷²

4.8 Amunet

Amunet was one of the primary consorts of Amun.²⁷³ She appears less frequently than the goddess Mut, and her position and function in Thebes have heretofore not been properly explained. In contrast to Mut, Amunet has been described as a “rein gedenkliche Schöpfung,”²⁷⁴ or a “divinité en quelque sorte «grammaticale»,”²⁷⁵ merely a feminine abstraction of Amun, parallel to the other male-female pairs of the Ogdoad to which she originally belonged. Nonetheless, Hornung already noted that Amunet should not be understood merely as “a play of language,” because unlike the other women of the Ogdoad,

²⁶⁹ Kurth, in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, I, pp. 273-81; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 475.

²⁷⁰ For Maat of Deir el-Medineh with Amun-*p3-mry-nfr*, cf. *Deir al-Médîna*, Nos. 33; 72; 88; 113.

²⁷¹ *Deir al-Médîna*, Nos. 33, 12-13; 71, 6-7; 72, 6-7; 165.

²⁷² Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, pp. 297-8; idem, *LÄ IV*, cols. 659-60.

²⁷³ For Amunet, see primarily Sethe, *Amun*, §§54-62; Otto, *LÄ I*, col. 183.

²⁷⁴ Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten*, p. 352.

²⁷⁵ Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains*, p. 253.

“she was made the object of a cult at a relatively early period.”²⁷⁶ The cult of Amunet was in fact quite considerable, especially in the Late Period: a number of priests of Amunet are known from hieroglyphic and demotic sources,²⁷⁷ and at least one depiction of her own divine bark survives.²⁷⁸ A Roman Period Papyrus even mentions an edifice within Karnak called “the open court of Amunet (*wsh.t Imn.t*)” as an important stop in the Khoiak festival.²⁷⁹

This connection to Karnak is perhaps the most essential characteristic of Amunet, distinguishing her from Mut who is only associated with the Isheru of the Mut Temple complex.²⁸⁰ She is most commonly designated as “Amunet the very great, Lady of the Two Lands within Karnak (*Imn.t ʿ3.t wr.t Nb.t-t3.wy hr.t-ib Ip.t-s.wt*),”²⁸¹ as well as “ruler in

²⁷⁶ Hornung, trans. Baines, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt*, p. 84; similarly Otto, in *LÄ I*, col. 183.

²⁷⁷ Otto, in: *LÄ I*, col. 183, n. 4; cf. also el-Sayed, *BIFAO* 78 (1978): 467, n. (c); idem, *BIFAO* 83 (1983): 137, 144, n. (d); idem, *BIFAO* 84 (1984): 142; Anus and Sa’ad, *Kêmi* 21 (1971): 223, Fig. 8; Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Biographien*, II, pp. 531, 4; 543 (e); idem, *Biographische und religiöse Inschriften*, II, pp. 370, a2; 402, a1; 405, d2; Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*, p. 55, n. 29.

²⁷⁸ Ramesseum: PM II², p. (22) I,1, incorrectly identified this as a bark of Amun; the label to the bark clearly writes “Amunet within Thebes (*Imn.t hr.t-ib W3s.t*),” as correctly recorded by Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 1302.

²⁷⁹ Barguet, *Le papyrus N. 3176 (S)*, pp. 17, 19, 39; Barguet’s proposal to identify this location with the Hypostyle Hall (p. 39) is not entirely convincing, as the *wsh.t-Imn.t* could easily apply to the Middle Kingdom courtyard, for example.

²⁸⁰ Noted already by Sethe, *Amun*, §55; the same distinction exists in general throughout the Pharaonic Period as well, cf. Christophe, *Les divinités*, pp. 34, 41, 51; Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébaines*, p. 253; of course Mut does appear in Karnak, as “Mut within Karnak (*hr.t-ib Ip.t-s.wt*),” (*LGG V*, 414-5), and occasionally as “Lady of Karnak (*nb.t-IP.t-s.wt*)” (Christophe, *Les divinités*, pp. 53, 77; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une Chapelle d’Hathshepsout à Karnak*, I, p. 361; cf. also Sethe, *Amun*, §154), but the distinction between Amunet at Karnak and Mut by the Isheru became practically *de rigueur* by the Ptolemaic Period.

²⁸¹ *Urk.* VIII, 100b; 139c; *Opet* I, 135; 145; 164; 255; *Kasr el-Agôuz*, 97-8; Medinet Habu, First Pylon, PM II², p. 462 (10f) III; *Deir al-Médineh*, No. 23, 9-10; variants: “Amunet, Lady of the Two Lands within Karnak” (*Khonsu* II, Pl. 126); “Amunet, the very great within Karnak” (Medinet Habu, PM II², 38a; Gate of Domitian, South Face, IV = MH B 81); “Amunet the Great, Lady of the Two Lands, Chief (*hr.t-tp*) of Karnak” (*Deir al-Médineh*, No. 2, 14-15); “Amunet, the very great, Lady of the Two Lands, Mistress (*hnw.t*) of Karnak.” (Qasr Ghueita; Hypostyle Hall, West Wall, southside); “[Amunet...] within Karnak” (*Urk.* VIII 160c, collated *in situ*); “Amun[et ...] of the two lands within Karnak” (abd el-Raziq, *Die Darstellungen und Texte des Sanktuars Alexanders des Großen im Tempel von Luxor*, p. 47, Pl. 15A); “Amunet the great within Karnak” (*Dendara* III, 35, 10).

Thebes (*ḥqꜣ.t m Wꜣs.t*).²⁸² In the Ramesside “Litany of Victorious Thebes,” Amunet is the only goddess mentioned within Karnak Temple,²⁸³ and a Late Period priestly manual lists Amun and Amunet as the principal deities of the Theban nome.²⁸⁴ Unlike Mut, Amunet is quite prominent in the decoration of Karnak Temple proper (*Ip.t-s.wt*).²⁸⁵

Another difference between the two goddesses is that Amunet never appears in temple scenes together with Chonsu or any other child gods. Thus while Amun, Mut and Chonsu form the classic Theban triad, Amunet only accompanies Amun. More precisely, Amunet appears most frequently alongside ithyphallic forms of Amun (Amenope, Amun-Min-Kamutef; see *infra*),²⁸⁶ a feature that is once again in contrast to Mut.²⁸⁷

²⁸² Opet I, 135.

²⁸³ Khonsu II, p. 54 and Pl. 179, col. 22

²⁸⁴ Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis* I, p. 268.

²⁸⁵ Especially in the Akh-Menu (Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 159-60, 180, 197), where Mut appears only rarely; note also the statues of Amun and Amunet behind the Sixth Pylon (Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 133); for *Ip.t-swt* designating specifically the area west of the Fourth Pylon, cf. Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 3, 330-1; Rondot, *Les architraves*, p. 138.

²⁸⁶ This is already apparent in the New Kingdom: Nelson and Murnane, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*, Pls. 2; 47; 56; 159; Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébaines*, p. 136, §38, 1; The Epigraphic Survey, *RILT* II, Pls. 145, 183; Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor*, Pl. 145; Abd el-Raziq, *Die Darstellungen und Texte des Sanktuars Alexanders des Großen im Tempel von Luxor*, p. 47, Pl. 15A; The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* V, Pls. 284A, 324; *Medinet Habu* VI, Pls. 355, 435A; Helck, *MDAIK* 23 (1968): 131; this distinction carries on into the Graeco-Roman Period: *Edfou* II, 89, 1; *Urk.* VIII, 139c; 160c; *Deir al-Médineh* No. 23, 9-10; *Medinet Habu*, PM II², p. 466 (38a); Gate of Domitian (cf. **5.8.3**); Ghueita Temple, Hypostyle Hall.

²⁸⁷ Christophe, *Les divinités des colonnes*, p. 84, nn. 3-4, noted already that on the columns of the Hypostyle Hall of Karnak, Amun-Re is ithyphallic 25 out of 42 times while next to Amunet, but only 12 out of 101 times next to Mut; in addition Min-Amun appears in ritual scenes with Amunet but never with Mut (*ibid*, p. 85); note also the parallelism in the Luxor bark sanctuary, where Alexander is beloved of Amun-Re of Karnak and Mut on one side, and beloved of Amun-Re-Kamutef and Amunet on the other; Abd el-Raziq, *Die Darstellungen und Texte des Sanktuars Alexanders des Großen im Tempel von Luxor*, p. 56, Pl. 16.

Amunet always wears the red crown, the traditional headdress of Neith.²⁸⁸ Amunet can be qualified as “Great Neith,”²⁸⁹ and one even sees the composite “Neith-Amunet (within Thebes).”²⁹⁰ Just like Neith, Amunet is called the “great cow who birthed Re (*ih.t wr.t ms.t R*”).²⁹¹ In a similar vein, she is the “mother of Re (*tm3.t nt R*”),²⁹² “mother of light (*tm3.t nt šww*),”²⁹³ and “mother of god (*mw.t ntr*).”²⁹⁴ Further texts specify that Amunet was the primeval mother par excellence:²⁹⁵

mw.t mw.wt iwt.t snw=s
p3wt.t il(.t) hr p3wty
iwr(.t) m h3.t
qm3(.t) hmsi m š3^c
šd(.t) iwt.t

nḥb hnt=s
bḥ(.t) itn
hrs.n=f snk
šḏ.n=f t3.wy m 3ḥ.ty=fy

Mother of mothers, without her peer,

²⁸⁸ Noted by Sethe, *Amun*, §57; Kees thought this implied that Amunet was merely a Lower Egyptian “Gastgottheit” in Thebes (*Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten*, p. 352); Barguet shared this view, and claimed further that Amunet was merely “la forme, à Karnak, de la déesse Neit de Saïs” (*Le temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 21).

²⁸⁹ *LD IV*, 61c; *Urk. VIII*, 139c.

²⁹⁰ Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, No. 55; Mallet, *Le Kasr el-Agôuz*, 98 (correct reading in Sethe, *Notizbuch*, 17, 38); *Esna VI*, 492, 6.

²⁹¹ *Urk. VIII*, 139c; *Edfou II*, 87, 14; 89, 1; *Opet I*, 255; Mallet, *Kasr el-Agôuz*, 97-8; Buchis Stela 21, B (Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, Pl. 11); var. “great cow (*ih.t wr.t*)” (*LD IV*, 61c); this epithet is attested already in the 20-21st dynasties: The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, II, p. 76.

²⁹² *Opet I*, 108; *LD IV*, 61c; Bucheum Stela 21, B (Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, Pl. 11).

²⁹³ *Tôd II*, No. 249, 2.

²⁹⁴ *Urk. VIII*, 139c; note that Amunet is here parallel to Isis “mother of god” (*Urk. VIII*, 134c); for similarities between Amunet and Isis of Coptos, cf. Sethe, *Amun*, §58.

²⁹⁵ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 48 (= *Urk. VIII*, 100b; translated partially by Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, p. 174); paralleled up to “*m š3^c*” in *Opet I*, 145; for Amunet as the primeval mother, cf. also De Wit, *Opet III*, pp. 159-60.

The primeval female, who came to the primeval male,
 who became pregnant at the start,
 who created giving birth²⁹⁶ in the beginning,
 who rescues the poor,

She in whom is the primeval lotus,
 who bore the sundisk,
 with the result that he dispelled²⁹⁷ darkness,
 and illumined the two lands with his luminous eyes.

This union of the primeval female (Amunet) and the primeval male (Amun), is further reflected in other texts which refer to Amunet as “the mother together with the father in the beginning (*mw.t hn^c it m š3^c*).”²⁹⁸ Other inscriptions from Karnak describe the goddess Victorious Thebes in similar terms:²⁹⁹

(1) *wn=s hr h3.t hn^c it=s Imn*
m irw=s dsr n Imn.t
mw.t m-^c it [...]

She existed there since the beginning together with her father Amun,
 in her sacred form of Amunet,
 the mother with the father [...]

(2) *sw m df(n).t hn^c=f*
m tm3.t-hr.t-ib
irw=s dsr m Imn.t

²⁹⁶ De Wit read the word in the Opet version as *hmws.t*, the female counterparts of the Ka (for which see Meeks, *Annuaire de l'ÉPHÉ* 76 [1968-69]: 116-117), claiming that the determinative of a seated man was “erroneé” (*Opet* III, p. 136, n. [323]); however the Chonsu temple version has the determinative of a seated woman giving birth (identical orthography in Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 6, 36, 37, 55 = *Urk.* VIII, 64b, 122 [1], 122 [3], 112 [1]; Pl. 58 [not in *Urk.* VIII]; *Urk.* VIII, 182f); this seems to be a verb *hmsi* “to give birth,” (not in the *Wb.*, but cf. already Collombert, *RdE* 46 [1995]: 106, n. 16); an unambiguous example can be found in *Opet* I, 183, left, col. 3: “She (Opet) gave birth to Wennefer, justified, at the beginning of the morning (*hms=s Wn-nfr m3^c-hrw m tp n dw3w*)”; perhaps this is due to the *h*-prefix added to *msi* (for the *h*-prefix in Egyptian, cf. Manassa, *The Late Egyptian Underworld*, I, p. 83, n. 342, with further references).

²⁹⁷ For the *sdm.n=f* as future perfective, cf. Vernus, *RdE* 35 (1984): 160-1; idem, *Future at Issue*, p. 3.

²⁹⁸ *Urk.* VIII, 139c; var. “mother who acted as father (*mw.t ir(.t) it*)” (*Opet* I, 255); in some cases this epithet seems to refer to Mut as well: *Esna* II, 11; cf. also the similar “mother who acted as father (*mw.t ir it*)” Mut Temple = Sethe, *Notizbuch*, 82 (cited by Sethe, *Amun*, §58, n. 1); for this phrase, see the remarks of Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, pp. 108-9, n. 17.

²⁹⁹ (1) *Urk.* VIII, 143 (10) = Drioton, *ASAE* 43 (collated *in situ*); (2) *Urk.* VIII, 112 (2) = Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 55-6.

bk3.t ntr.w mw.t n ntr.wt

She is the ancestress together with him,
as the mother-uraeus,³⁰⁰
Her sacred form is as Amunet,
who conceived the gods, mother of goddesses.

This association of the primeval (*p3wty*) deities recalls other epithets of Amunet, elsewhere called “she who bore the primeval ones (*p^cp^c.t p3wty.w*)”³⁰¹ and “[...] of the Ogdoad ([...] *n Hmni.w*).”³⁰² Indeed Amunet’s role of cow who births Re in Thebes naturally evokes the mythology of the Ogdoad. This association is made explicit in a passage from the demotic P. Berlin 13603 (II, 4-6) describing the four bulls and four cows of the Ogdoad (**4.39**):³⁰³

š=f m-z3=w dd=f
my tmi [p3 4 k3.w] my tmi t3 4.t ih
my tmi[=w n] t3y hti

ir [n3] hw.t.w w^c k3 km
ir n3 s-hm.wt w^c.t ih.t km.t
dd[=w n=w n rn] Imn Imn.t

p3y p3 k3 r t3 ih.t rn=s
iw=f bš t3 m^twi r p3 mw hn p3 š-^c3 n Hmnw

He (sc. Ptah) called after them, saying:
“May [the four bulls] unite, may the four cows unite,
may [they] unite immediately!”

[The] males transformed (into) one black bull,
the females transformed (into) one black cow,
[who were] called Amun and Amunet.

³⁰⁰ For this epithet, cf. **4.38**.

³⁰¹ LD IV, 61c.

³⁰² LD IV, 62b.

³⁰³ Erichsen and Schott, *Fragmente memphitischer Theologie*, pp. 312, 322-3; Sethe, *Amun*, §174; Smith, *On the Primaeval Ocean*, pp. 39, 50.

The bull hurried to the above mentioned cow,
ejaculating semen into the water inside the Great Lake in Hermopolis.

According to this text, Amun and Amunet are the male and female amalgamations of the members of the Ogdoad, the primeval bull and cow who couple to engender the sun in Hermopolis. This concept, heretofore only known from this demotic text, is actually attested in temple decoration and hieroglyphic texts. Other sources describe how the four males of the Ogdoad (= the four Montus) unite to form The August Bull of Medamud (4.9), and thus Amunet appears in offering scenes partnered with the August Bull of Medamud,³⁰⁴ in addition to ithyphallic forms of Amun.³⁰⁵ Amunet can fill this role, precisely because she is considered the union of the four females of the Ogdoad (= the four Rattawys), as confirmed in the following text from Tod:³⁰⁶

mw.wt wbn m dr-^c
bh[.n=s]n R^c m-hnw hb
bs bs nb im=sn
nwi=sn m 3gb
qm3=sn hdd(.wt) (hr) wn-hnw m šsr m qy=sn

iw=sn sk m fd.t R^c.t-t3.wy
hr hbi inw m ifd n Nn.t
dmd=sn d.t=sn n/m Mh.t-wr.t
tnn=sn snn=sn m tnn.t
sw m Imn.t tm3.t n šww
wtt(.t) wyn m š3^c

The mothers who arose in the beginning,
giving birth to Re within the lotus from whom all forms emerged.

³⁰⁴ LD IV, 62b (Armant); Lintel of the “Façade” of the Gate of Tiberius at Medamud, Far Left (as described by Valbelle, in *Hommages Sauneron*, I, pp. 82-4); another example can be found on blocks from Tod dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius: Thiers, in Goyon and Cardin, eds., *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, II, p. 1809.

³⁰⁵ These forms of Amun are particularly taurian: namely Kamutef (“bull of his mother”; *Edfou* II, 89, 1), and Amenope, “the bull upraised of arm” (*Urk.* VIII, 139b; Medinet Habu = Doresse, *RdE* 25 [1973]: 132, Doc. IV).

³⁰⁶ *Tôd* II, No. 249, 1-2.

They appeared within the flood,
they created light beginning illumination in their forms.

They were, moreover, the four Rattawys,
collecting tribute from the four corners of heaven,
they united their bodies as Methyer,
they distinguished their images as Tjenenet,³⁰⁷
they are as Amunet, the mother of the sun,
who begat light in the beginning.

The four Rattawys, who combine to form the great cow Methyer (here also called Amunet),
are further described in a Roman text from Medamud concerning the four Montus:³⁰⁸

id.wt=sn r-hn^c=sn m fdw R^c.t-t3.wy
Mh.t-wr.t [...] hmw.t-ntr ih.t hr hnm k3=s

Their cows are together with them as the four Rattawys:
Methyer [...] the god's wife, the cow uniting with her bull.

The distinction between Mut and Amunet and their relationship to Amun is thus quite clear. Mut is a partner of Amun-Irita, who unites with him to give birth to Chonsu (cf. **4.14**). Amunet is the consort of Amun of the Ogdoad, and they copulate as a cow and bull to create the solar disk. This concept helps explain a passage in the Great Amun Hymn from Hibis (cols. 23-24) describing the initial creation at Hermopolis:³⁰⁹

h^ci=k m nt m swh.t imn.t
Imn.t m-h.t=k
hni.n=k hr 3h.t
hf^c=k 3b.wy=s
nbi.n=k hr Mht-wr.t

It is out of the water surface that you appeared from the hidden egg,
Amunet right behind you,

³⁰⁷ Another text from Tod makes Tjenenet of Armant the primeval cow: "The cow of the great ones of the First Primeval, who unites with her husband as a bull [...] (*id.t wr.w nw p3wty tpy, sns(.t) t3y=s m k3 [...]*)" (*Tôd I*, 1, 21-2); cf. further **4.53**.

³⁰⁸ Drioton, *CdE* 6 (1931): 266.

³⁰⁹ Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 102-5, Pls. 7 and 41.

Just as you alighted upon the great cow,
while grasping her horns,
so did you swim on top of Methyer.

This short passage describes Amun and Amunet emerging from an egg in the primeval waters, just like the Ogdoad (cf. **4.39**). Amunet then assumes the form of the composite cow, swimming through the flood waters carrying Amun.

The bovine manifestation of Amunet may also explain an interesting passage in the Greek Magical Papyri. An invocation to a pantheistic creator deity mentions the gods of the Ogdoad ending with “Amoun, Amauni.”³¹⁰ The same invocation is repeated word for word on another papyrus, but the last two members of the Ogdoad are referred to there as “Amoun, Io.”³¹¹ This might be evidence of a clever *interpretatio graecae*, comparing Amun and Amunet to Zeus and his bovine companion Io.

Goyon has recently postulated a Graeco-Roman “équation Mout = Neith = Amaunet,” implying an assimilation of Mut and Amunet in the minds of Late Period priests.³¹² This “équation,” however, rests solely³¹³ on his interpretation of a damaged, unpublished Ptolemaic text from Mut Temple:³¹⁴

³¹⁰ PGM XIII, 789 = Merkelbach and Totti, *Abrasax I*, pp. 184-5; Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, p. 190.

³¹¹ PGM XXI, 19 = Merkelbach and Totti, *Abrasax I*, pp. 138-139; Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, p. 259; Merkelbach and Totti’s attempt to emend the final name to “[Amoun,] Amounith” is unconvincing.


³¹² Goyon, *CdE* 78 (2003): 44, 46, 48; idem, *Le Rituel du shꜣtp Shꜣmt*, p. 29, n. 5; this “équation” was already explored by Sethe, *Amun*, §59, using the same unpublished text as Goyon.

³¹³ The other two examples Goyon cited to support this equation (Goyon, *CdE* 78 [2003]: 44, n. 7) are completely erroneous: (1) Goyon claimed that in *Esna* III, No. 241 (13) “Neith-Nebtou est « Amaunet la très ancienne » à Karnak,” but in reality, this text actually reads “Nebtou, Mut the Great, Lady of the Isheru (*Nb.t-ww, Mw.t wr.t, nb.t Išrw*)”; perhaps he intended *Esna* III, No. 216 (30), which reads “Neith, Amunet the very great within Karnak”; (2) Goyon claimed that in *Esna* VI/1, No. 523, 11, “étant l’Œil-de-Rê, la Lovée au front d’Amon, Mout-Neith est « Amaunet l’ancienne la mère divine »” but actually this text does not mention Amun, Mout, or Neith at all, but rather is a label to the goddess Isis of Asfun, and the name Goyon read as “Amaunet”

[...] *i[h].t[-wr.t] nw Hmni.w*
dr ms(.w) nb-dr im
Mw.t pw N.t is Imn.t pw (m)-mit[.t]
wn[n] sšm=s m tm3.t n(t) R^c
wr.tw im r ntr.w ntr.wt

[...] the [Great] C[o]w of the Ogdoad,³¹⁵
 since the All-Lord was born there,
 She is Mut, she is also, moreover, Neith-Amunet (or: Neith and Amunet),³¹⁶
 when her form is as the mother of Ra,
 being greatest of gods and goddesses therein.

The passage concerning Mut and Neith-Amunet makes perfect sense as a description of the Great Cow (*ih.t wr.t*) who gives birth to Re. The Great Cow typically refers to Neith, and in Thebes to (Neith)-Amunet, but Mut could also appear as the Great Cow to give birth to Chonsu the Child, described in solar terms (cf. **4.14**). The author of the Mut Temple text seems to have compared the similar manifestations of the goddesses, but it is not accurate to call this an “equation.”

() is actually “Isis” (for the elaborate cloth-sign writing *s* already in the New Kingdom, see Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. pp. 42, n. 24, 612; for Roman examples, cf. Derchain-Urtel, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen*, p. 109, with an unnecessary acrophonic derivation *s < sšd*); among all the texts from Karnak, Mut Temple, and Esna, Goyon could find no text that specifically equated Mut with Neith.

³¹⁴ PM II², p. 256, (4g), line 5 = Sethe, *Notizbuch* 6, 83; Goyon, *CdE* 78 (2003): 44, gives a translation with transliteration (*ibid*, p. 44, n. 5). The present translation, based on the hand copy of Sethe, differs slightly from that of Goyon, especially regarding his restorations. Of course a definitive answer must await the official publication of the Mut Temple inscriptions with photographs.

³¹⁵ Goyon translated: “la place de la réjouissance [du cœur] (*st 3ms [ib]*)” (*CdE* 78 [2003]: 44), but Sethe’s copy clearly shows traces of *Th.t-wr.t*:

³¹⁶ Goyon translated: “C’est Mout, c’est Neith aussi, c’est Amaunet de la même manière (*Mwt pw, Nt is, Imnt pw (m)-mitt*)” (*CdE* 78 [2003]: 44), but one can not translate *N.t is* as “it is also Neith.” In fact, there is only one *pw* after Neith and Amunet, which suggests that they are to be taken together as a unit, with the enclitic particle *is* attached to the first unit (Neith) as expected.

4.9 The August Bull of Medamud

The full title of this god was “The Very Great, August Bull within Medamud (*p3 k3 ʕ3 wr šps hry-ib M3d.t*).”³¹⁷ Despite his name, he always appears fully human, wearing the *hmhm*-crown or double-plumes. The Bull of Medamud was above all the composite of the four males of the Ogdoad, as clear from the following description of Montu Lord of Armant from Medinet Habu:³¹⁸

*fdw t3y nty p3wty.w dmd(.w) d.t=sn m k3 spd hn.ty
m rn=f n p3 k3 [ʕ3 wr] šps hry-ib M3d.t*

The four primeval males who unite their bodies as the bull, sharp of horntips,³¹⁹ in his name of The [Very Great], August Bull within Medamud.

The precise details of this union varies in each scene featuring the august bull:

- (1) *Médamoud* II, No. 410:

p3wty.(w) dmd(.w) hn^c it=s[n] t3-tnn

The primeval one(s) united with the[ir] father Tatenen.

- (2) *Tôd* II, 228, 7-8:

ntr.w nty dd(.w)-šps(.w) dmd(.w) m zp m Dr.t

The male gods of the august enduring ones,³²⁰ united as one in Tod.

³¹⁷ See primarily Valbelle, *RHR* 209 (1992): 18-9; Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, pp. 191-199; Aufrère, *Montou*, pp. 355-7, n. (f); Sambin, *BIFAO* 92 (1992): 175-8.

³¹⁸ Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10) Lintel, both sides (second figure of Montu); text partially reproduced in Sethe, *Amun*, p. 85, n. 1, and fully translated in §114 (cf. also Sambin, *BIFAO* 92 [1992]: 176); the reverse side of the lintel has simply: “the four primeval males in his name of [the] very great, august [bull] within Medamud” (Sethe, *Notizbuch*, 16, 117).

³¹⁹ Same phrase used in Aufrère, *Montou*, §§239-41 (= *Urk.* VIII, 27b); Aufrère translates vaguely, “en tant qu’animal aux cornes effilées” (Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 354), but the animal-hide sign most likely functions *pars pro toto* to write *k3* “bull,” cf. the use of this sign to write *k < k3* (Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 68-9).

³²⁰ Thiers, *Tôd* II, p. 94, n. d, alternatively suggests reading the first word, a seated god over plural strokes as *psd.t* or *p3wty.w*; for the Ogdoad as the *dd.w-šps.w*, cf. Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 49 (= *Urk.* VIII, 95k); *Opet* I, 26; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften* II, Pl. 36a, β, col. 6.

(3) LD IV, 62a (Armant):

hr.w(?) nw p3wty(.w) dmd(.w) m [...] ʿb smw=sn m [..]

The primeval males(?) united in/as [...] who unite their forms in [...].

(4) Deir Chelouit I, 13, 6:

p(3) k3 [ʿ3 wr] šps hry[-ib] M3d.t fdw t3y [...]

The [very great] august bull with[in] Medamud, the four males [...].

(5) P. Leiden T 32, III, 13-14 (= Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, pp. 54, 156, 439-441):³²¹

*dg3=k nny.w dmd(.w) m fdw
m irw=sn m k3 rnp*

You shall see the inert ones (= the Ogdoad) united from four,
in their form of the young bull.

Similar descriptions apply to other gods, including Montu-Re Lord of Thebes, meanwhile, can be “the four primeval males who unite their bodies as the young bull (*t3y fdw nt p3wty.w dmd d.t=sn m rnp*),”³²² an attribute that appears more explicitly in the following offering scene:³²³

*t3y.w nw p3wty.w dmd(.w) m Mnt
r wtṯ šww r hrs nn.w
im3h.w wr.w tni.w m i3w
3b(.w) Nn.t n wtṯ=sn
hṯp.w m dw3.t=sn r-gs it=sn m t3-dsr m i3t-d3m.t*

The primeval males are united as Montu,
in order to engender light and expel darkness,³²⁴

³²¹ This quote is part of a section devoted to cults from Medamud.

³²² Aufrère, *Montou*, §§221-3 (=Urk. VIII, 30b).

³²³ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§158-160 (=Urk. VIII, 6b); note that the

³²⁴ This is an allusion of the union of the Ogdoad to create Re, cf. **4.39**.

The great revered ones, distinguished in old age,
 who desire the undersky³²⁵ of their begetter,
 who dwell in their Duat beside their father in the Sacred Land of Djeme.

Further:³²⁶

wnn b3.w nt p3wty.w (hr) b sm=sn m Wrty
sw m k3 rnp hrs-mr.ty sh3-hr b3q-inm
mn.tw hr bh.d.t
sst3 m irw=sn m k3=sn n Mnt nb W3s.t

As long as the primeval Bas unite their forms as *Wrty*,
 he is the young bull, terrifying of eyes, with a black face and white skin,
 enduring upon his throne,
 mysterious of their forms in their name of Montu Lord of Thebes.

These text seems to designate Montu of Thebes as the union of the four bulls of the Ogdoad particularly in his form of “the young bull (*k3 rnp*).” Similarly, the living Buchis can also be “the four Montus united as one (*fdw Mnt dmd(.w) m w*)”,³²⁷ while at Medamud, the four Montus unite together in order to protect Thebes.³²⁸ While all Montus could thus unite together to form a bull for different reasons, the August Bull of Medamud appears to have been distinguished as a primeval creator. His only epithets are “Great Nun who came about in the beginning (*Nwn wr hpr hr-h3.t*),”³²⁹ “the divine god, who came about in the beginning,

³²⁵ Aufrère read this word as a hapax: *niw.t-hr.t* “city of the necropolis” (Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 161, n. [n]); however, contrary to his objections, similar spellings of *nn.t* “Gegenhimmel” are found in *Wb.* III, 213, 7-10; moreover, this specific use of *nn.t*, “undersky,” is paralleled in *Urk.* VIII, 95c (= Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 49), where the Ogdoad are said to “dwell in their undersky in the mound of Djeme (*htp(.w) m nn.t=sn m i3.t d3m.t*).” Cf. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, I, p. 293, n. (6).

³²⁶ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§158-160 (= *Urk.* VIII, 6g).

³²⁷ *LD* IV, 64a.

³²⁸ Drioton, *CdE* 6 (1931): 267; Thiers, *Kyphi* 4 (2005): 64; cf. **4.35**.

³²⁹ Small Temple of Medinet Habu, First Pylon: PM II², p. 462 (10d) I (= Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 108 = Kaplony-Heckel, in *The Unbroken Reed*, p. 148, Pl. XX); cf. also Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, p. 194, n. 2; Sambin, *BIFAO* 92 (1992): 176.

Great Nun together with his children (*ntr ntry, hpr hr h3.t, Nwn wr m-^cb ms.w=f*),³³⁰ and “Nun together with his male children (*Nwn hn^c t3y.w nw ms.w=f*).”³³¹ Furthermore, he often appears beside the primeval Amunet,³³² a goddess who could also embody the united females of the Ogdoad in the form of a cow (cf. **4.8**).

Among the large number of demotic temple oaths preserved on Graeco-Roman ostraca,³³³ by far the most popular god invoked as a witness was “the Bull of Medamud (*p3 k3 Mtn*).”³³⁴ The oaths taken before this god were usually located at “the gate of the temple of Djeme” or “the gate of the temple of Djeme, at the temple of Montu Lord of Medamud.” Nims identified this temple as the small chapel built into the south side of the High Gate of Medinet Habu.³³⁵ That niched chapel appears to be Graeco-Roman, but the precise date is impossible to determine.³³⁶ The fragmentary preserved decoration, painted on plaster,

³³⁰ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§239-41 (=Urk. VIII, 27b).

³³¹ Sambin, *BIFAO* 92 (1992): 169; for these epithets, cf. also Kurth, *Die Dekoration der Säulen*, p. 65, n. 17; note also that the August Bull of Medamud appears next to the Ogdoad in a list of Theban ancestor deities in Haikal, *Two Hieratic Funerary Papyri of Nesmin*, I, p. 41 (IV, 16-17); II, p. 21.

³³² *LD* IV, 62b; Valbelle, in *Hommages Sauneron*, I, pp. 82-4; Thiers, in Goyon and Cardin, eds., *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, II, p. 1809.

³³³ For the Demotic temple oaths in general, cf. Kaplony-Heckel, *Tempeleide*; with further bibliography in Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia*, pp. 129-135; el-Aguizy, *BIFAO* (1996): 1-11.

³³⁴ Kaplony-Heckel, in Eyre, ed., *The Unbroken Reed*, p. 150, counted 234 examples.

³³⁵ Nims, in *The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu VIII*, p. xii, Pl. 660; followed by Pestman, *Archive*, pp. 178-9, n. (a); Borghouts, *RdE* 33 (1981): 21; for this shrine, see in detail Hölscher, *Das höhe Tor von Medinet Habu*, pp. 31-2, 47, Pl. 10, who designated it as “eine Nische, die für ein kleines Kultbild bestimmt war” (*ibid*, p. 31); the gate is now obstructed by a modern mudbrick staircase.

³³⁶ Hölscher, *Das höhe Tor von Medinet Habu*, p. 31, described the painted decoration as “anscheinend aus später, vielleicht erst römischer Zeit.”

depicts two of the four Montus, and thus perfectly fits the theology of the August Bull of Medamud.³³⁷

At the same time, a Ptolemaic gate from Medamud was also dedicated to the August Bull of Medamud, and specifically called “the gate of Djeme (*p3 sb3 n i3.t-ḫ-mw.t*).”³³⁸ Based on these inscriptions, Devauchelle concluded that all oaths mentioning the Bull of Medamud must have occurred at Medamud itself.³³⁹ This conclusion is difficult to support, as many of the ostraca were actually found at Medinet Habu and the Montu temple of North Karnak.³⁴⁰ Instead, the depiction of a statue of the August Bull of Medamud in the crypt of Tod Temple suggests that each Montu temple of Thebes, including Medinet Habu, may have housed a cult image of the August Bull.³⁴¹ The shrine in the High Gate of Medinet Habu could have easily housed such a statue, and thus the residents of Djeme could take oaths before the August Bull in their own town.

³³⁷ The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu VIII*, Pl. 660.

³³⁸ Sambin, *BIFAO* 92 (1992): 166.

³³⁹ Devauchelle, *RdE* 48 (1997): 260-4; followed without question by Den Brinker, et al., *A Berichtigungsliste of Demotic Documents*, B, p. 822; note that Devauchelle, *RdE* 48 (1997): 261, n. 10, dismissed the importance of the shrine in the High Gate of Medinet Habu as “guère convaincante,” incorrectly thinking that this chapel was identical with the relief of the August Bull in the First Pylon of the Small Temple (following Kaplony-Heckel, in Eyre, ed., *The Unbroken Reed*, pp. 148 and 150).

³⁴⁰ Devauchelle, *RdE* 48 (1997): 260-1, explained that the residents of Djeme would have traveled all the way to Medamud to take oaths and then brought the ostraca back with them across the river; Devauchelle also did not explain why the Choachytes of Djeme would have gone all the way to Medamud to pay taxes and fines in “the chest (*i3 ḫ.t*) of the shrine of Montu of Medamud” mentioned in multiple demotic documents (cf. Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, pp. 178-9, 320, Table 9; Vleeming, *Enchoria* 15 [1987]: 147).

³⁴¹ *Tôd* II, 284 I, 53; the Bull of Medamud’s specific epithet *šps*, “August,” often denotes a cult statue (cf. Kruchten, *BSEG* 21 [1997]: 29, n. 25); note also that the August Bull of Medamud appears in offering scenes from Medinet Habu, North Karnak, Medamud, Armant and Tod.

4.10 Bastet in Thebes

Bastet never features in the Theban temple scenes, but there are enough references from other sources that precisely locate her Theban cult. Many priests of “Bastet within Thebes” are known from the Kushite period onwards,³⁴² and already in the Twelfth Dynasty, the Theban Montuhotep claimed to be a “w^cb-priest of Bastet.”³⁴³ In an extensive building inscription from the Mut temple, the priest Montuemhat boasted of renovating the processional bark (*sšm-hw*) of Bastet in Thebes.³⁴⁴ In his commentary on this text, Leclant assumed Bastet within Thebes was somehow connected with Ptah, and thus suggested a connection to Sakhmet/Hathor in the Ptah Temple.³⁴⁵ This assumption, however, is unsupportable as Bastet is never mentioned or depicted in the Ptah Temple. Another inscription of Montuemhat (Statue Berlin 17271) places “Bastet within Thebes” in her proper context (ll. 5-8):³⁴⁶

sm3wi.n=(i) hw.t-ntr nt Mw.t wr.t nb(.t) Išrw
nfr=s r imi=s h3.t
smnh.n=(i) sšm=s m d^cm tit.w=f nb m inr m3^c
sm3wi.n=(i) sšm n Hnsw-p-hrd
sšm n B3st.t hr(.t)-ib W3s.t
shtp(=i) hm=s m ht ib=s

I renewed the Temple of Great Mut, Lady of the Isheru,
 so that it is became better than it was previously.

³⁴² Vittmann, *Priester und Beamten*, p. 58, n. 6; von Känel, *Les prêtres-ouâb de Sekhmet*, p. 147, n. (a); Herbin, *Le Livre de parcourir l'éternité*, pp. 6, 9; Andrews, *Ptolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area*, pp. 18, 20, n. 5.

³⁴³ Vernus, *RdE* 38 (1987): 164, 167.

³⁴⁴ Leclant, *Montouemhat*, pp. 218-19.

³⁴⁵ Leclant, *Montouemhat*, pp. 62, n. p; 225, n. aw; idem, *Recherches sur les monuments thébaines*, pp. 301-2, n. 4.

³⁴⁶ Leclant, *Montouemhat*, pp. 60-61; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, III, p. 32.

I affixed her bark-image in electrum, all its parts in true stones.
 I renewed the bark-image of Chonsu-the-Child,
 (and) the bark-image of Bastet within Thebes,
 so I might pacify her majesty with the things she desires.

The close association of Mut of the Isheru, Chonsu-the-Child, and Bastet is confirmed by an excerpt from a festival calendar of the Mut Temple:³⁴⁷

*hn.tw [hm] n Mw.t im=f hn^c psd.t=s m tpy Pr.t
 htp Mw.t Ir.t-R^c hr(.t) s.t-wr.t m k3r/ḥ n ʿ3-nr.t
 Hnsw-p-hrd hr wnm=s B3st.t hr i3b=s*

The [Majesty] of Mut is rowed within it (sc. the Isheru) together with her Ennead on 1 Tybi.
 Mut, the Eye of Re, sits upon the Great Throne in the shrine “Great of Fear,”
 Chonsu-the-Child on her right, Bastet on her left.

Bastet is closely linked to Mut through their association with the Isheru, a special horseshoe-shaped lake sacred to lion-goddesses.³⁴⁸ The Isheru from Bubastis was renowned throughout antiquity, and this Delta lake was perhaps the inspiration for the more famous Theban Isheru of Mut. The syncretized goddess Mut-Bastet is well-represented in the New Kingdom decoration of Karnak and Luxor.³⁴⁹ In the Late Period, the popular title *hry-tnf.w* “chief of dancers,” most closely associated with the cat of the Western Desert (i.e. Bastet), is also attested among priests of Mut and Chonsu-the-Child.³⁵⁰ The connection between Bastet and Chonsu is known even from Bubastis, where “Chonsu, son of Bastet,” is the name of a

³⁴⁷ Sauneron, *Mout*, No. 11, cols. 31-32.

³⁴⁸ See the discussion of Gessler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen*, pp. 401-24.

³⁴⁹ Christophe, *Les divinités*, pp. 35, 42, 53; The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu VII*, Pl. 558; *RILT* 2, Pls. 144 and 149, pp. 8-11 (for Mut-Bastet and Mut-[Sakhmet]); Darnell, *SAK* 24 (1997): 45, n. 67.

³⁵⁰ Quaegebeur and Rammant-Peters, in Quaegebeur, ed., *Studa Paulo Naster oblata, II: Oriental Antiqua*, pp. 195-205; note also the numerous cat mummies buried in Dra' Abu el-Naga', some of which were called “Bastet” and dedicated by Tnf-dancers; Kessler, *Die heiligen Tiere und der König*, I, pp. 172-5.

popular apotropaic deity.³⁵¹ Finally, a damaged relief from the Mut Temple depicts a lion-headed goddess standing behind Mut, further suggesting a local cult of Bastet.³⁵²

In short, “Bastet within Thebes” had nothing to do with the Ptah Temple, but was rather quite logically located next to the Isheru. She appears to have been worshipped there as the feline/leonine aspect of Mut, and was also connected to the cult of Chonsu-the-Child who also resided in the Mut precinct (cf. **4.14**).

4.11 Buchis

The Buchis bull was the main animal god of the entire Theban nome in the Late Period.³⁵³ Although the original significance of his name is unknown, priests in the Graeco-Roman Period connected him to the verb *bḥ*, “to shine,” *bꜣ ꜣḥ*, “luminous Ba,” Bakhu, the Eastern horizon from which the sun rises, as well as *bꜣ ḥr ḥꜣ.t*, “the Ba upon the corpse,” a reference to the Solar-Osirian unity.³⁵⁴ In his living taurian form he represented “the herald of Re (*wḥm n Rꜥ*),”³⁵⁵ while the deceased and mummified Buchis bull was a manifestation of Osiris or Atum,³⁵⁶ and the Egyptian name for the Bucheum, the burial place for Buchis bulls, was “the Temple of Atum (*ḥw.t-Itm*).”³⁵⁷ As Goldbrunner has noted, this duality of Buchis

³⁵¹ Rondot, *BIFAO* 89 (1989): 266-69.

³⁵² Sauneron, *Mout*, No. 4; unfortunately the epithets are damaged.

³⁵³ For all aspects of the Buchis cult, see the recent and comprehensive monograph by Goldbrunner, *Buchis*.

³⁵⁴ For different interpretations of the name Buchis, cf. Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, pp. 124-37.

³⁵⁵ Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, pp. 82-6, for references.

³⁵⁶ See especially the offering scene with Osiris-Buchis in *Deir Chelouit III*, 138 (= Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, Pls. 24-26).

³⁵⁷ Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, pp. 252-6.

closely parallels, among other cults, the Hermonthite Montu theology which venerated the Osirian Montu Lord of Armant beside the solar Montu-Re-Harakhty of Amant.³⁵⁸

4.12 Chonsu: Introduction

Chonsu was the traditional child god of the Theban triad.³⁵⁹ Since he was the son of Amun, Greek texts refer to him almost exclusively as Herakles.³⁶⁰ As a lunar deity, he was closely associated with the god Thoth and had control over various inimical astronomical forces.³⁶¹ This role of Chonsu as savior and punisher, attested already in Pyramid texts,³⁶² developed into an almost Byzantine hierarchy of avatars of Chonsu with specialized functions in the Late Period.³⁶³ The plurality of Chonsus is well-known from an autobiographical inscription of Montuemhat, who claimed to have rebuilt the processional

³⁵⁸ Godbrunner, *Buchis*, pp. 144-6, 162; for the two Montus of Armant, cf. **4.34**.

³⁵⁹ Brunner, *LÄ* I, cols. 960-3; An in-depth study of the god Chonsu has yet to be written. Nonetheless, a good summary of many of the sources can be found in the series of articles by Posener, *Annuaire du Collège de France* 65 (1965): 342-3; 66 (1966): 339-342; 67 (1967): 345-349; 68 (1968): 401-407; 69 (1969): 375-379; 70 (1970): 391-396; idem, *RdE* 17 (1965): 193-5; idem, *ZÄS* 93 (1966): 115-9; more recently, Degardin has written a number of articles about certain aspects of Chonsu, without presenting a general synthesis: Degardin, *RdE* 35 (1984): 191-195; idem, *JNES* 44 (1985): 115-31; idem, in Luft, ed., *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt*, pp. 101-12; idem, in *VI Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia. Atti*, II, pp. 93-100; idem, in Menu, ed., *Les problèmes institutionnels de l'eau*, pp. 131-9; idem, in Eyre, ed., *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, pp. 309-16; idem, *CRIPEL* 21 (2000): 39-52. The most important information about Chonsu comes from the Propylon to Chonsu Temple, for which Prof. Labrique is preparing a volume of complete translations and commentary (personal communication), and has already published translations of several of these texts in Labrique, in Budde, et al., eds., *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, pp. 195-224; cf. also Derchain, in Kurth, ed., *3. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, pp. 1-12; idem, in Gundlach and Raedler, eds., *Selbstverständnis und Realität*, pp. 225-32. Except for the creation account in (Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*), the rear chapels and exterior walls of Chonsu Temple remain almost completely unpublished, and unfortunately no plans have been announced for the completion of The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, I-II.

³⁶⁰ Quaegebeur, *OLP* 6/7 (1975/76): 469-72; note also the Hellenizing relief of Herakles in the temple of Chonsu at Nadura: Willeitner, *Die ägyptischen Oasen*, p. 39, Abb. 52.

³⁶¹ Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom*; cf. also Fischer-Elfert, *Abseits von Maat*, pp. 140-4, for the connection of Chonsu and Thoth to the *šmw/šmm*-disease.

³⁶² E.g. *Pyr.* §402 (cf. Eyre, *The Cannibal Hymn*, p. 89, n. 69); *Lebenesmüde*, col. 24; for a similar role for Chonsu in the Coffin Texts, cf. Posener, *Annuaire du Collège de France* 65 (1965): 342-3; 66 (1966): 339-41.

³⁶³ For some of these forms of Chonsu, cf. Quaegebeur, *OLP* 6/7 (1975/76): 469-72.

bark (*sšm-ḥw*) of Chonsu the Child, the Three Chonsus (*p3 ḥmt Ḥnsw*), and Chonsu-who-reckons-lifetimes.³⁶⁴ Perhaps even more famous is the Bentresh Stela (Louvre C 284) which describes the interactions between Chonsu in Thebes Neferhotep and the lower-ranking Chonsu-*p3-ir-sḥr.w* (cf. Chonsu-*p3-ir-sḥr.w*). These different forms of Chonsu will be treated separately below, with the understanding that all epithets and functions could be ultimately attributed to the primary Chonsu, Chonsu in Thebes.

4.13 Chonsu in Thebes Neferhotep

The chief god of Chonsu Temple in Karnak was the aptly named “Chonsu in Thebes Neferhotep.” The exact meaning of this designation, attested since the New Kingdom, is somewhat uncertain. Most scholars have understood this to be a composite deity, an amalgamation of Chonsu and Neferhotep of Diospolis Parva.³⁶⁵ However, this specific combination of Chonsu-Neferhotep is widespread already in the New Kingdom, long before the first appearance of the distinct god Neferhotep, and it possible that was simply an epithet.³⁶⁶

Chonsu in Thebes Neferhotep also receives secondary epithets based on his position relative to the axis of Chonsu Temple; thus he is further qualified as “Horus Lord of Happiness in Karnak (*Hr nb 3w.t-ib m Ip.t-s.wt*)” in the west half,³⁶⁷ and “Lord of Maat upon

³⁶⁴ Berlin 17271, cols. 7-9; Leclant, *Montouemhat*, pp. 60-3; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature III*, p. 33, n. 4.

³⁶⁵ For Neferhotep, see most recently Collombert, *RdE* 48 (1997): 64-9.

³⁶⁶ Argued by Collombert, *RdE* 48 (1997): 68-9; for the meaning of *nfr-ḥtp*, see also Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 399, n. a.

³⁶⁷ Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 5, 13, 14, 32, 40, 41; The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, II, Pls. 115B; 191A; Chonsu Temple, PM II², p. 239, (74a) III.

the Great Throne (*nb m3^c.t hry s.t wr.t*)” in the east.³⁶⁸ Of the two epithets, “Horus Lord of Happiness” is by far the more common one, especially outside of Chonsu Temple.³⁶⁹ As expected, the designation “Lord of Happiness” originally applied to Horus, and the entire phrase “Horus Lord of Happiness” was appropriated by Chonsu already by the Second Intermediate Period.³⁷⁰ The phrase “Lord of Happiness” is commonly understood as a type of lunar reference.³⁷¹ However, it is unclear how this would apply to Horus, or why the Pharaoh would regularly be granted lunar qualities in the common divine gift of “all life, health, dominion, and happiness.”³⁷² Rondot has much more convincingly suggested that this “happiness” refers to Chonsu-Horus’ status after successfully obtaining the royal office of his father.³⁷³

³⁶⁸ Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 8, 15, 16, 31, 59, 60; The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu II*, Pls. 115A, 191B; Chonsu Temple, PM II², p. 239, (74a) III; there are only a handful of exceptions to this rule, e.g. the parallel scenes in Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 4 and 20, where the orientation is reversed; outside of Chonsu Temple, this parallelism is not maintained (cf. the Second Pylon of Karnak, where both appear on the south jamb; *Urk.* VIII, 140c and 141c); Labrique has noted a similar dichotomy of epithets describing Chonsu as new moon in the west and full moon in the east (Labrique, in Budde, et al., eds., *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, pp. 199-202).

³⁶⁹ *Edfou II*, 77, 3-4; 99, 6; Chonsu Temple, PM II², p. 240, (78) II,1; *Opet I*, 31; 60; 123; 157; *Tôd II*, 230, 12-13; *Urk.* VIII, 3c (= Aufrère, *Montou*, §§180-2); 10b (=Aufrère, *Montou*, §§152-4); 51c; 218a; 227c; *Kasr el-Agoûz*, 53; 82; the dedication of the propylon to Chonsu Temple is inscribed for “Chonsu in Thebes Neferhotep, Horus Lord of Happiness in Karnak” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 19A = *Urk.* VIII, 110).

³⁷⁰ For the history of this epithet, cf. Rondot, *BIFAO* 89 (1989): 267-8.

³⁷¹ E.g. Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 215, n. (j).

³⁷² The quality of “happiness” is frequently associated with solar kingship; cf. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 184-5; Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne*, pp. 578-9.

³⁷³ Rondot, *BIFAO* 89 (1989): 267-8, n. 31; cf. also Traunecker, *Coptos*, p. 182, n. (c); Labrique, in Budde, et al., eds., *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, pp. 215-6.

Chonsu in Thebes can appear as both a mummified child,³⁷⁴ or as a falcon-headed adult.³⁷⁵ The mummified Chonsu appears primarily behind Amun as part of a canonical image dating back to the New Kingdom; the hieracocephalic Chonsu, on the other hand, only appears in Theban temple scenes where Amun is not present. This iconographic convention may distinguish between the youthful Chonsu, son of Amun, and the mature, independent Chonsu.

Chonsu in Thebes was the “eldest son of He-whose-name-is-hidden (= Amun) (*z3 smsw n 'Imn-rn=f*).”³⁷⁶ As such, Chonsu “has the inheritance of his father in heaven, earth, and the Netherworld (*wn n=f imy.t-pr n it=f m p.t t3 dw3.t*).”³⁷⁷ In particular, this makes Chonsu in Thebes the active creator god of the second generation, akin to Ptah, Irita or Amenope I (cf. **4.3**). This relationship is most explicit in the “Chonsu Cosmogony,” where the two serpents Amun-Kematef and Ptah-Irita coil together:³⁷⁸

snsn.n=f hr h.t n it=f
ir=f t3 m-hnw mw
wn ib n it=f^cq(.w) r h.t=f
r sšm=f

hpr dd[=f...] t3 [...]
hr=f r ib mitt pn

³⁷⁴ Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 4, 14, 15, 20, 23; this more traditional form of Chonsu is actually described in one offering scene: “His form is a child, his body is mummified, the august *im3hy*, lord of the sidelock (*qy=f m hy, h^cw=f m s^ch, im3hy šps, nb wprd*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 23 = *Urk.* VIII, 78b).

³⁷⁵ Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 5, 13, 16, 31, 32, 40, 41, 43, 59, 60.

³⁷⁶ *Urk.* VIII, 116 (= Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 53); 140c; 184c; *Opet* I, 60; 123; vars. “eldest son of Re, child/image of He-whose-name-is-hidden (*z3 smsw R^c, mswt 'Imn-rn=f*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 23 = *Urk.* VIII, 78b; Aufrère, *Montou*, §§154-6 = *Urk.* VIII, 11b); “sacred image of He-whose-name-is-hidden (*bsi dsr n 'Imn-rn=f*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 116 = Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 53); “throat of He-whose-name-is-hidden (*hty.t n 'Imn-rn=f*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 58b = Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 16).

³⁷⁷ *Urk.* VIII, 116 (= Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 53); *Opet* I, 160.

³⁷⁸ West wall, cols. 18-19 (= Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, Pl. 4, pp. 58-9).

dd.tw r Hnsw m W3s.t
h3ty pw n Imn-Rc

He united with the body of his father,
 so he might make the earth within the water,
 the heart of his father had entered into his body,
 in order to guide him.

That which [he] said came about [...] the earth [...],
 so did he say something similar concerning the heart,
 one thus says about Chonsu in Thebes:
 “He is the heart of Amun-Re.”

Chonsu in Thebes is therefore “the heart of Re³⁷⁹ who knows all that is (*ib n Rc rh nty nb*),
 the tongue of Tatenen who uttered what exists (*ns n t3-tnn šsr wnn.t*) (...) who created this
 whole world, and whose heart conceived all things (*ir t3 pn hr ndb=f, m3t.n ib=f iht nb*),”³⁸⁰
 and “all existence sprang forth through his actions (*bs hpr nb m r3-ƒ.wy=f*).”³⁸¹ These
 creative actions are most thoroughly described in the following passage:³⁸²

qm3 m ib=f išš m r3=f
ir dd=f shpr wd=f
š3c d3is.w p3y si3
wn inh
nhb nh.t
hi p.t smn z3t w3h idb.w
grg iw.w ms hms.wt
tz t3 m pr.t 3h.t

³⁷⁹ Chonsu is also: “he who came forth from Re, his tongue and his heart which created what exists (*pr m Rc, whm=f ntry=f qm3 wnn.t*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 59 = *Urk.* VIII, 94b; partially preserved in Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 2 = *Urk.* VIII, 106 [4]; for the word *whm*, “tongue,” cf. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 253-4.

³⁸⁰ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 16 (= *Urk.* VIII, 58b); the same series of epithets is abbreviated elsewhere: “he who created this earth, who uttered what exists, whose heart conceived all things (*ir t3 pn, šs wnn.t, m3t.n ib=f iht nb*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 59 = *Urk.* VIII, 94b); for the connection between the heart and the tongue of a god, cf. Jasnow and Zauzich, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth*, I, p. 175.

³⁸¹ *Opet* I, 60; 123; vars. “all existence came into being [through] his decree (*hpr hpr nb [m] wd=f*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 140c); “all things and all existence came forth through what he decreed (*pr iht nb hpr nb m wd.n=f*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 116 = Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 53).

³⁸² Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 40 = *Urk.* VIII, 104b; this text was discussed in detail by Prof. Labriqué at the 2nd Ptolemaische Sommerschule in September, 2007, to whom the author owes a number of suggestions on readings.

qm3 wnn.t m hsb
ni wn hm try rsy

He who creates with his heart, who spits with his mouth,
who makes his pronouncement, who creates his decree,
who began the Djaisu,³⁸³ who started Sia,
who opened what was bound,
who inscribed the book of protection,
who lifted the sky, established the ground, and laid down the shores,
who founded the islands, who birthed the *hms.t*-lands,³⁸⁴
and bound the land with sparkling seed,
who created all that exists correctly,
there is nothing at all of which (he) is ignorant.

As successor of Amun-Re, Chonsu in Thebes is also “the great moon,³⁸⁵ the second of the sundisk,³⁸⁶ without any god who might be a third to him (*i’h wr, snw n itn, n ntr ir n=f hmt.nw*).”³⁸⁷ As “second of the sun,” Chonsu “replaces Re when he descends (*shd*)³⁸⁸ into

³⁸³ Chonsu is also “he who created the Djaisu (*qm3 d3is.w*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 106 [5] = Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 2); for Chonsu and the Djaisu, the primeval “Creative Utterances,” see further Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, pp. 116-33; note that this text specifies that the Djaisu come forth “beside the Lord of Maat (*r-gs Nb-m3.t*)” (East Wall, col. 21), which Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, p. 130, explained “Der Herr der Maat muß Re, der Sohn der *Mht-wrt* sein.” However, since the epithet “Lord of Maat” frequently applies to Chonsu in Thebes (cf. *supra*), this passage more likely refers to Chonsu’s control of the Djaisu.

³⁸⁴ For the *hms.t*-lands, see Meeks, *Annuaire de l’ÉPHE* 76 (1968-69): 116-117.

³⁸⁵ Cf. also Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 20 (= *Urk.* VIII, 84c): “great moon”; vars. “moon at night (*i’h m grh*)” (*Tôd* II, 295, 10); “moon who shines in heaven (*i’h psd m hr.t*)” (*Kasr el-Agoûz*, 82); “light in heaven (*Swm m Hr.t*)” (The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, II, Pl. 115A); cf. also the phrase “moon in the sky (*iwn m p.t*)” (*Opet* I, 60; The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, II, Pl. 115B; Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 13 = *Urk.* VIII, 60h); one tableau from the Gate of Euergetes features a god labelled as “Chonsu-Moon,” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 12), but his lunar epithets are so similar to those of Chonsu in Thebes, that they will be included in the following discussion.

³⁸⁶ Cf. also Aufrère, *Montou*, §§154-6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 11b): “great moon, second of the sundisk.”

³⁸⁷ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 13 (= *Urk.* VIII, 60b); vars. “you are the second of *nhh*-who-makes-the-day, without his second among the gods (*snw im=k n nhh-ir-hrw, iwty snw=f m(m) ntr.w*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 17A = *Urk.* VIII, 54f; cf. Labrique, in Budde, et al., eds., *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, p. 204); “second of his father, *nhh*-who-makes-the-day, without his second among the gods (*snw n it=f, nhh-ir-hrw, iwty snw=f m(m) ntr.w*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 20 = *Urk.* VIII, 84c).

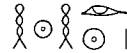
³⁸⁸ The determinative of *shd*, “to descend,” is a person falling head first, an allusion to the inversion of Re upon entering the Netherworld; cf. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 425-48 (discussing this text on pp. 428-9).

the Netherworld (*šn*)³⁸⁹ (*idn R^c šhd=f r šn*).³⁹⁰ This common epithet involves a pun on the words “sundisk (*itn*)” and “replacement (*idn*)”,³⁹¹ while referring to the moon’s role as “light during the night (*šww m grh/wḥ3*).”³⁹² One particular text explains this phenomenon with allusions to New Kingdom solar theology:³⁹³

wḏi sšp iw r3-nb hr nḥm=f
r wb3 itn nḥp

He who emits light continuously,
until the sundisk “opens the potter’s wheel.”³⁹⁴

In traditional Egyptian religion, the sun and moon were also conceived as the right and left eyes of a giant cosmic deity,³⁹⁵ and thus Chonsu is “the moon who shines in the left-eye, just like Re who appears in the right-eye (*i^ch psd m i3b.t mi R^c ḥ^c m wnm.t*).”³⁹⁶ This idea also underlies a number of passages where Chonsu in Thebes is called *d.t grh*,



³⁸⁹ For this designation of the netherworld (lit. “storehouse”), cf. Ruffle, *JEA* 50 (1964): 177-8.

³⁹⁰ Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 13 (= *Urk.* VIII, 60b); 18 (= *Urk.* VIII, 53f); vars. “who replaces Re when he sets into the West (*idn R^c ḥtp=f m nḥ.t*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 13 = *Urk.* VIII, 60h); “who replaces the great sundisk (*idn itn wr*)” (The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, II, Pl. 115A).

³⁹¹ For this pun, cf. Sethe, *Amun*, §242; Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, pp. 396-7, n. (d); Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 165-7, n. A; Jasnow and Zauzich, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth*, I, p. 253; note that *itn*, “sundisk,” is frequently spelled as *idn* in the Late Period (*Wb.* I, 145, 1).

³⁹² Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 14 and 12 (= *Urk.* VIII, 59d and 61h); vars. “great light in Thebes (*šww wr m W3s.t*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 16 = *Urk.* VIII, 58h); “who lights up the night (*bḥ grh*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 20 = *Urk.* VIII, 84c); “who lights up the night like the day (*bḥ grh mi hrw*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 13 = *Urk.* VIII, 60b; Aufrère, *Montou*, §§180-2 = *Urk.* VIII, 3c); “May you illumine the land for us after darkness (*šhd=k (n)=n t3 m-ḥt snk*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 18 = *Urk.* VIII, 53f); “who illumines the two lands at dusk (*šhd t3.wy m iḥh*)” (The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, II, Pl. 115B).

³⁹³ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 12 (= *Urk.* VIII, 61h).

³⁹⁴ For this expression referring to the rebirth of the sun, see most recently Manassa, *The Late Egyptian Underworld*, I, pp. 177-80.

³⁹⁵ See most recently the discussion in Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 159-60, n. C.

³⁹⁶ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 23 (= *Urk.* VIII, 78b).

“the eternal-eye during the night,”³⁹⁷ “the second of
during the day.”³⁹⁸

nḥḥ hrw, the eternal-eye

The following text from the Gate of Euergetes provides the most thorough set of lunar observations:³⁹⁹

iḥ m grḥ snw n šww
mḥ wd3.t iḥ i3b.t
nḥḥ r^c-nb r tr n mr=f
rnp r nw šsp-ib=f

bk3.tw=f m psdntyw
bḥ.tw=f m tpy-3bd

tnw.n=f m-ḥt smd.t
idn.n=f R^c šhd=f r šn^c

bd=f t3 r^c-nb ḥr nḥm=f
nwd=f hn^c-it=f m-ḥt Itm
ḏd.tw ms.w ḥr t3-wr
snsn=sn is m snsn-k3.wy
ḥ3y.ty k3.tw r k3=sn

iw=f m nḥn tp-w3ḥ-št3
ḥr.tw m whm-qy=f

iḥ m irw=f dr shrd=f

k3-psi m khkh=f
s^cb pw ḥr ir.n=f snk
w3ḥ-qy=f ḥr in(.t) ḥnd

Moon in the night, the second of the sun,

³⁹⁷ Chonsu Temple, PM II², p. 240, (78) II,1.

³⁹⁸ Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 17 (= *Urk.* VIII, 54f); 20 (= *Urk.* VIII, 84c); *Edfou I*, 255, 14 (Chonsu of Edfu); the reading of these epithets is confirmed by Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 2B (= *Urk.* VIII, 107 [1]), where Thebes is called: “the temple of *nḥḥ*-during-the-day and *d.t*-during-the-night for his eyes (*ḥw.t nḥḥ-hrw d.t-grḥ n mr.ty=fy*)” (for this designation, cf. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, p. 90, n. [f]); for the sun and moon as *nḥḥ* and *d.t*, cf. Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, p. 97.

³⁹⁹ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 60 (= *Urk.* VIII, 89b); see in detail Derchain, *La lune*, p. 43; Labrique, in Budde, et al., eds., *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, p. 198; numerous parallels can be found in the lunar hymns at Edfu, translated by Barguet, *RdE* 29 (1977): 14-20; for a clear Egyptological description of the phases of the moon, see Depuydt, in Lesko, ed., *Ancient Egypt and Mediterranean Studies*, pp. 71-89.

who fills the wedjat-eye, who fishes the left-eye,⁴⁰⁰
who becomes old, each day, at the time he desires,
who rejuvenates at the moment of his choosing.

He is conceived on the day of the New Moon,⁴⁰¹
and he is born the day of the First Moon,⁴⁰²
having grown old after the 15th day,⁴⁰³

That he replaced Re, is while he descended into the Netherworld,⁴⁰⁴
Just as he illumines the earth night and day,
so does he move with his father after Atum.⁴⁰⁵

They are called “the children upon the East,”
as they unite, moreover, during the “Union of the Bulls,”
and they are called “the two luminaries” by name.

He returns as a child on the day of “Leaving Behind the Mystery,”⁴⁰⁶
he is called “he who reassumes his form,” the moon in his true form,
after he rejuvenated himself.⁴⁰⁷

He is the blazing-bull when he grows older,

⁴⁰⁰ For this lunar epithet, cf. Derchain, *RdE* 15 (1963): 11-25.

⁴⁰¹ The *psdntyw* is the day on which the moon is not visible, and thus here it is said to be in gestation; cf. Depuydt, in Lesko, ed., *Ancient Egypt and Mediterranean Studies*, p. 72; also Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 17B (= *Urk.* VIII, 54c): “the Bas of the New Moon who pacify the moon and worship his Ka, when his mother gives birth to him (*b3.w psdntyw shtp i’h shtp k3=f, ms sw mw.t=f*).”

⁴⁰² This is the day of the first observable crescent, cf. Depuydt, in Lesko, ed., *Ancient Egypt and Mediterranean Studies*, p. 71-2, 83; Chonsu in Thebes is also “child on the day of the First Moon (*nhh tp-3bd*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 13 = *Urk.* VIII, 60h; The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, II, Pl. 115B), and “Lord of the (First) Moon (*nb 3bd*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 13 = *Urk.* VIII, 60b).

⁴⁰³ The full moon occurs on the 15th day of the lunar month, and thus he begins to diminish, or grow old, in the days that follow; cf. the similar epithets: “the *im3h* during the 15th day, who illumines the earth during ‘the night of his lord’ (*im3h m 15, shd t3 m grh-nb=f*).”

⁴⁰⁴ The moon actually appears to rise from the eastern horizon in the second half of the lunar month, thus replacing the actual solar disk; cf. Depuydt, in Lesko, ed., *Ancient Egypt and Mediterranean Studies*, p. 77.

⁴⁰⁵ In the beginning of the lunar month, the moon trails closely behind the setting sun; cf. Labrique, *RdE* 54 (2003): 275-8.

⁴⁰⁶ This is another reference to the newly reborn moon, after he leaves behind his corpse (*st3*); there is also a word *sst3* designating “l’aspect matériel et visible de l’astre,” (Herbin, *BIFAO* 82 [1982]: 261, n. [3]).

⁴⁰⁷ Chonsu in Thebes is elsewhere specifically said to “rejuvenate his body on the New Moon (*shrd d.t=f m psdntyw*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 13 = *Urk.* VIII, 60b).

and the s^cb-bull when he has created darkness,⁴⁰⁸
 “he who abandons his form” while becoming smaller.⁴⁰⁹

A number of other texts emphasize the “meeting of the two bulls (*snsn k3.wy*),” the time of the month when the sun and moon are visible at the same time.⁴¹⁰ The most explicit example describes Chonsu in Thebes as:⁴¹¹

im.t m i3b.t snsn wnm.t m 3h.t
di tp=f m B3hw m snsn-k3.wy
iw nb-nhh m r3-m3nw
idn s.t=f
q=f m mw.t=f

The pupil in the left-eye, who unites with the right-eye in the Akhet,
 who puts his head from Bakhu during the “meeting of the two bulls,”
 while the Lord of Eternity is at the entrance of Manu,
 who takes his place,
 while he (= the sun) enters his mother.

Chonsu thus appears in the eastern sky (Bakhu)⁴¹² while Re (Lord of Eternity) sets into the western horizon (Manu),⁴¹³ thus filling in for Re when he enters the night sky (Nut). This concept is further elaborated in a label to “Chonsu-Moon”:⁴¹⁴

⁴⁰⁸ For these taurian epithets for the waxing and waning moon, cf. Labrique, in Budde, et al., eds., *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, p. 198, n. 15.

⁴⁰⁹ For this lunar epithet, cf. Dechain, *RdE* 48 (1997): 74-5.

⁴¹⁰ Cf. The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, II, Pl. 115A: “he who radiates light, who unites with his father during the ‘meeting of the two bulls’ (*bd m3wi, snsn it=f m m snsn-k3.wy*).” For the “meeting of the two bulls,” see the most recent survey of von Lieven, *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne*, I, pp. 187-9.

⁴¹¹ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 5 (= *Urk.* VIII, 69h).

⁴¹² Cf. also passages from two hymns to Chonsu: “your mother births you in the mountain of Bakhu (*ms tw mw.t=f m dw B3hw*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 17A = *Urk.* VIII, 54f); “arise for us as the light in Bakhu (*wbn (n)=n m šww m B3hw*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 18A = *Urk.* VIII, 53f).

⁴¹³ Note that the bark of Chonsu itself is carried across the night sky to “the entrance of Manu,” cf. Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 17 (= *Urk.* VIII, 54f): “we carry your processional bark to the entrance of Manu (*wtz=n nfrw=k n r3-m3nw*)”; “whose processional bark is carried in the entrance of Manu (*wtz(.w) nfrw=f n r3-m3nw*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 13 = *Urk.* VIII, 60h).

⁴¹⁴ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 12 (= *Urk.* VIII, 61b).

wbn m B3ḥw
iw itn m ʿnh.t
W3s.t w3rḥ m m3wi=sn
i3b.t m sty n wnm.t
ḥnm.tw m sns-k3.wy

He who rises from Bakhu,
 while the sundisk is in the West,
 Thebes flourishes through their combined light,
 when the left-eye is in view of the right-eye,
 being united during the “meeting of the two bulls.”

This phenomenon receives a more poetic description in another scene, where Chonsu in Thebes is:⁴¹⁵

ity m ḥb-15
ʿb3 m3wi mi 3ḥty
di tp=f m ḥ.t=f m hn Nw.t
iw sr m shd m ʿnh.t
bd=f snk r psd m nbw

Sovereign on the 15th Day (Full Moon),
 brilliant of light like Akhty,
 who appears in the evening out of the “chest of Nut,”
 while the ram⁴¹⁶ descends into the West,
 illumining darkness even more than “he who rises in gold” (= Re).

The lunar form of Chonsu is particular popular,⁴¹⁷ as he could be “he at whose sight the gods become happy (3w ib n ntr.w ḥr m33=f),”⁴¹⁸ “whom the gods worship when he appears at the moment of [...] (dw3 sw ntr.w ḥ^c=f r nw n [...]).”⁴¹⁹ This is perhaps related to

⁴¹⁵ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 16 (= *Urk.* VIII, 58b).

⁴¹⁶ For the nocturnal ram-form of the sun god, see Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, I, pp. 39-68; Wiebach-Koepke, *GM* 177 (2000): 71-82.

⁴¹⁷ Cf. the hymn to Amun-Moon from Hibis Temple: “he who pleases their hearts, for whom they rejoice more than (for) the sun, each time he comes to them (sndm ib=sm, ḥ^c=sn n=f r šww, tnw it=f n=sn)” (Davies, *Hibis* III, Pl. 30, col. 21; Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 57 and 59, n. D, Pl. 16).

⁴¹⁸ *Urk.* VIII, 140c.

⁴¹⁹ The Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, II, Pl. 115B.

his purported effect on virility, particularly during his crescent phase when Chonsu is “he who rouses bulls and impregnates cows (*stz k3.w sbk3 id.wt*).”⁴²⁰

Chonsu in Thebes as Moon also fills the role of “lord of stars, powerful of might, power who has power over the Two Lands, under whose majesty is the entire circuit of heaven (*nb sb3.w, shm phty, shm shm m t3.wy, šn n p.t hr hm=f*).”⁴²¹ As chief celestial body, Chonsu presides over the other deities in heaven. This power manifests itself in part as control over the groups of astronomical messenger deities (cf. **4.15, 4.16, 4.17**). In the majority of scenes, however, Chonsu in Thebes acts as the ultimate Egyptian official, with supreme authority over the divine councils.⁴²²

Chonsu in Thebes assumes a number of titles related to his function as supreme judge and vizier, a role he fulfills quite often as Chonsu-Thoth.⁴²³ Among these is the Old Kingdom *t3ity-z3b*,⁴²⁴ “itinerant judge (*nt3*),”⁴²⁵ “lord of the Thirty (*nb m^cb3y.t*),”⁴²⁶ “scribe of

⁴²⁰ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 60 (= *Urk.* VIII, 89b; note that this passage occurs in the context of a description of the phases of the moon); var. “who renews births, the blazing bull, who makes women pregnant (*m3wi ms.w k3-psi sbk3 id.wt*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 14 = *Urk.* VIII, 59d); cf. also Clère, Pl. 56 (= *Urk.* VIII, 119 [3]; paralleled in *Edfou* VIII, 59, 10-11), where Chonsu is “the blazing bull who impregnates women, and lets the pregnant birth their children (*k3-psi siwr hm.wt, smsi bk3.tyw ms.w=s*).” For these epithets, cf. also Smith, *On the Primateval Ocean*, pp. 125-6.

⁴²¹ *Urk.* VIII, 141c.

⁴²² For these aspects of Chonsu, see primarily Derchain, in Kurth, ed., 3. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, pp. 1-12; idem, in Gundlach and Raedler, eds., *Selbstverständnis und Realität*, pp. 225-232.

⁴²³ Cf. Labrique, in Budde, et al., eds., *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit* pp. 209-18.

⁴²⁴ Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 4 (= *Urk.* VIII, 65d); 23 (= *Urk.* VIII, 78i); 32 (= *Urk.* VIII, 71h); 41 (= *Urk.* VIII, 99b); 59 (= *Urk.* VIII, 94f); Aufrère, *Montou*, §§154-6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 11f).

⁴²⁵ Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 2A (= *Urk.* VIII, 106 [3]); 41 (= *Urk.* VIII, 99k); for this epithet, cf. Quaegebeur, in Cannuyer and Kruchten, eds., *Individu, société et spiritualité*, p. 219; Derchain, in Kurth, ed., 3. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, p. 5, suggested that this word, spelled *nt3-t3*, could be a reduplication of *nt3*, “to wander”; however, note that this *nt3* was pronounced as *ntt* in the late period: Osing, *Hieratische Papyri as Tebtunis* I, pp. 79 and 81, n. (t); for *t3* writing a consontal final *-t*, cf. Darnell, *SAK* 22 (1995): 53, n. h.

⁴²⁶ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 41 (= *Urk.* VIII, 99b).

the mat (*sš tm3*),⁴²⁷ “lord of whips (*nb šsm.w*),”⁴²⁸ “reckoner of tribute (*hsb inw*),”⁴²⁹ “protector of affairs (*nd iht*),”⁴³⁰ and “chief of the banks (*hry-idb*),”⁴³¹ His duties involve “deciding justice (*wpi m3^c.t*),”⁴³² “judges at the gate (*wd^c ry.t*),”⁴³³ “making decisions (*wd^c md.wt*),”⁴³⁴ “doing good (*iri tp-nfr*),”⁴³⁵ and “avenging all people (*wšb n hr nb*).”⁴³⁶ He is excellently qualified for these tasks, as he is “Chief of Maat (*sr n m3^c.t*),”⁴³⁷ “lover of Maat (*mri m3^c.t*),”⁴³⁸ “true of heart (*m3^c ib*),”⁴³⁹ “innocent of bribes (*iwty bhⁿ šn.w*),”⁴⁴⁰ “free from

⁴²⁷ Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 2B (= *Urk.* VIII, 108 [x+1]); 41 (= *Urk.* VIII, 99k); for this title, cf. van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, pp. 158-61, n. 7.

⁴²⁸ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 32 (= *Urk.* VIII, 71b); cf. Derchain, in Kurth, ed., *3. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, p. 8, n. 35; Derchain noted (*ibid.*, p. 9), that these whips are actually depicted before Chonsu-Thoth in Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 22; for the precise meaning of the *šsm.w*, “whips” or “leather rods,” cf. van den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier*, pp. 29-32, n. 18, who concluded that they represent “symbolic, coercive instruments of the overall power of the vizier over the local bureaucracy” (pp. 31-2).

⁴²⁹ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§154-6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 11f); Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 23 (= *Urk.* VIII, 78i).

⁴³⁰ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 32 (= *Urk.* VIII, 71b); Derchain noted that this epithet corresponded to the Greek *epistates* (Derchain, in Kurth, ed., *3. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, pp. 10-11; idem, in Gundlach and Raedler, eds., *Selbstverständnis und Realität*, p. 229).

⁴³¹ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 4 (= *Urk.* VIII, 65d); for this epithet, quite frequent in the Graeco-Roman period, cf. Inconnu-Bocquillon, *RdE* 40 (1989): 65-89; Quaegebeur, *Ancient Society* 20 (1989): 159-168.

⁴³² Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 23 (= *Urk.* VIII, 78i); Aufrère, *Montou*, §§154-6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 11f).

⁴³³ Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 23 (= *Urk.* VIII, 78i); 41 (= *Urk.* VIII, 99k); Aufrère, *Montou*, §§154-6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 11f); cf. van den Boorn, *JNES* 44 (1985): 1-25.

⁴³⁴ Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 23 (= *Urk.* VIII, 78i); Aufrère, *Montou*, §§154-6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 11f); var. “who makes decisions in the Council (*wd^c md.wt m d3d3.t*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 41 = *Urk.* VIII, 99k).

⁴³⁵ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 41 (= *Urk.* VIII, 99k).

⁴³⁶ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 23 (= *Urk.* VIII, 78i).

⁴³⁶ Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 23 (= *Urk.* VIII, 78i); Aufrère, *Montou*, §§154-6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 11f).

⁴³⁷ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§154-6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 11b); Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 32 (= *Urk.* VIII, 71b).

⁴³⁸ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 2B (= *Urk.* VIII, 108 [x+2]).

⁴³⁹ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 2A (= *Urk.* VIII, 106 [3]).

prejudice (*šw m gs3*),⁴⁴¹ “opposing of character (*hsf-*qy**),”⁴⁴² and furthermore “the sustenance of his majesty is goodness (*hrw hm=f tp-nfr*).”⁴⁴³ At the same time, “his abomination is chaos (*bw.t=f izf.t*),”⁴⁴⁴ “his abomination is partiality (...) he hates chaos (*bw.t=f nm^c (...) msd=f izf.t*).”⁴⁴⁵

The ethical qualities of Chonsu the judge are quite fitting, as the forecourt of Chonsu Temple was a place for administering justice and for taking oaths.⁴⁴⁶ To this effect, Chonsu is said to be “great of majesty, Lord of fear, whose *b3w*-manifestation overpowers whomever tells lies in front of the Benenet (*wr šfy.t nb snḏ, šhm b3w=f m ḏd-grg m hft-*hr* n bnn.t*),”⁴⁴⁷ and “great of terror, giant of flame, who overpowers the evil and liars at the portal of giving judgement of the Benenet (*ḥ3 nrw wr nsr.t, šhm m qn m grg m rw.t-di-m3^c.t n Bnn.t*).”⁴⁴⁸ Already in the New Kingdom, numerous texts describe how the *b3w*-manifestation of a god could possess a criminal or somebody who had testified falsely, tormenting them until they

⁴⁴⁰ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 23 (= *Urk.* VIII, 78i); Aufrère, *Montou*, §§154-6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 11f); for this epithet, cf. Wild, *BIFAO* 54 (1954): 179-80; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 329 and 1020.

⁴⁴¹ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 41 (= *Urk.* VIII, 99k).

⁴⁴² Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 23 (= *Urk.* VIII, 78i); Aufrère, *Montou*, §§154-6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 11f); for this epithet, see the discussion of Borghouts, *JEA* 59 (1973): 129, n. 7 (after Derchain, in Kurth, ed., *3. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, p. 8, n. 33).

⁴⁴³ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 23 (= *Urk.* VIII, 78i); Aufrère, *Montou*, §§154-6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 11f).

⁴⁴⁴ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 41 (= *Urk.* VIII, 99b).

⁴⁴⁵ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 41 (= *Urk.* VIII, 99k); var. “he who hates partiality (*msd nm^c*) (...) whose abomination is bias (*bw.t=f gs3*)” (Aufrère, *Montou*, §§154-6 = *Urk.* VIII, 11b).

⁴⁴⁶ Quaegebeur, in Cannuyer and Kruchten, eds., *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'Égypte pharaonique et copte*, I, pp. 201-20; idem, in Heintz, ed., *Oracles et prophéties dans l'antiquité*, pp. 15-34; for the temple oaths at Chonsu Temple, cf. Kaplony-Heckel, in Eyre, ed., *The Unbroken Reed*, p. 150; and add Fazzini and Jasnow, *Enchoria* 16 (1988): 45; el-Aguizy, *BIFAO* 96 (1996): 6-7.

⁴⁴⁷ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 19B (= *Urk.* VIII, 109 [2]).

⁴⁴⁸ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 19A (= *Urk.* VIII, 110 [2]); similarly Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 41 (= *Urk.* VIII, 99b); cf. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, I, pp. 160-1, n. v.

confessed the truth.⁴⁴⁹ This frightening aspect of Chonsu explains why his authority is supreme.⁴⁵⁰

nfr=f wp r3.w m sgr
n wr n šfy.t=f hr ntr.w
wd^c sdm.w m pr m r3=f
ni ii.n=tw h3 wd=f
ni hsf.tw=f m mr=f m p.t m t3 m dw3.t

It is his throat that decides affairs in silence,
because of the greatness of his majesty before the gods,
judges make decisions based on what comes from his mouth,
it is not possible to go bypass his decree,
and he cannot be blocked from what he desires,
in heaven, on earth, or in the netherworld.

wd-mdw m d3d3.t
gr psd.t hr sdm hrw=f
wr snd mm ntr.w sr.w
sd3d3=f phr(.w) m ib.w=sn

He who makes proclamations in the Council,
the Ennead is silent while hearing his voice,
great of fear among gods and officials,
as trembling of him circulates in their hearts.

In this particular context of supreme judge, Chonsu is once again the “tongue of Re,”⁴⁵¹ and he has control over the entire cosmos as “scribe in heaven, who makes pronouncements in the Akhet, guide of the earth, who protects its affairs (*sš m p.t, wd-md.w m 3h.t, sšm n t3, nd shr.w=f*).”⁴⁵²

⁴⁴⁹ Borghouts, in Demarée and Janssen, eds., *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina*, pp. 1-70; Fischer-Elfert, *Abseits von Ma'at*, pp. 123-9.

⁴⁵⁰ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 41 (= *Urk.* VIII, 99b and k).

⁴⁵¹ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 41 (= *Urk.* VIII, 99k).

⁴⁵² Aufrère, *Montou*, §§154-6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 11b); Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 59 (= *Urk.* VIII, 94b).

4.14 Chonsu the Child

This child god's full title was "Chonsu the very great child, first(-born) of Amun (*Hnsw p3 hrd ʿ3 wr tpy n Imn*).” He appears most often with his mother Mut, but also with Amun of Karnak, and in scenes parallel to Harpre the Child, the son of Montu and Rattawy.⁴⁵³

The cult of Chonsu the Child seems to have been based in the small temple in the north of the Mut Temple Precinct (Temple A).⁴⁵⁴ Since so little of the decoration remains today, Daumas concluded that “nous ne saurions donc conclure que nous sommes en présence d’un mammisi.”⁴⁵⁵ More recently, De Meulenaere has convincingly shown that this building could be a mammisi because of its position perpendicular to the Mut Temple, the wealth of Third Intermediate Period references to a mammisi in Thebes, the title *hnmt.t*, “nurse,”⁴⁵⁶ carried by many Late Period priestesses of Chonsu the Child.⁴⁵⁷ Information from other sources, especially Graeco-Roman temples and papyri, further support De Meulenaere’s interpretation.

The most direct source related to “Temple A” is the Roman Period Papyrus Leiden T 32 (III, 22-25).⁴⁵⁸

sdr=k m swh3 m-hnw hw.t-Mw.t

⁴⁵³ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 25; Aufrère, *Montou*, §228 (= *Urk.* VIII, 29).

⁴⁵⁴ PM II², pp. 270-72; see primarily Barguet, *Le temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 9-10, n. 6.

⁴⁵⁵ Daumas, *Les mammisis des temple égyptiens*, pp. 44-54

⁴⁵⁶ For this title, cf. Laurent, *RdE* 35 (1984): 152-56; Guermeur, *RdE* 51 (2000): 75, n. (f).

⁴⁵⁷ De Meulenaere, in Quaegebeur, ed., *Studa Paulo Naster oblata*, II: *Oriental Antiqua*, pp. 27-29; followed by Fazzini and Peck, *JSSEA* 11 (1981): 122-26; Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l’éternité*, p. 164; Goyon, *CdE* 78 (2003): 64.

⁴⁵⁸ Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l’éternité*, pp. 55, 163-66, 441.

hrw ḥb rnnwt.t
rs=k m grḥ m ḥw.t-nmi.t
hrw ms Mw.t

sdm=k ḥyḥy in ntr.w t3 Ms.t
ḥft wbn šww m whm m W3s.t
hns=k m ḥp.t ḥr-ḥ3.t ḥwnw rnp
ḥft šm ḥm=f r m33 syf=f

Just as you lie down at evening within the Mut Temple,
on the day of the Renenutet Festival,^(a)
so do you awake in the evening in the temple of the bed,^(b)
the day when Mut gives birth.

You shall hear the ululation of the gods of birth,
when light rises again in Thebes.^(c)
You shall traverse in haste before the rejuvenated youth,
when his majesty proceeds to see his child.

(a) There were a number of festivals of Renenutet, but the most likely candidate was the one that extended from 28 Pharmouthi to 1 Pachons.⁴⁵⁹ This festival marked the end of the growing season (*pr.t*) and the beginning of the harvest season (*šmw*), symbolized by the birth of Nepri, the grain-child of Renenutet.⁴⁶⁰ For this reason, each temple in Egypt celebrated the birth of the local child god during the same festival,⁴⁶¹ as the following texts attest:⁴⁶²

Philae:⁴⁶³ “Her majesty (Isis) sat down in it (the Mammisi) in the Festival of Renenutet, giving birth to her son within it.”

Opet Temple:⁴⁶⁴

“Isis gives birth to her son Horus in Chemmis; she enters bearing him before Amun, the day of the Festival of Renenutet.”

⁴⁵⁹ Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten*, pp. 982-3; Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, pp. 163-64; note that a late sacerdotal manual lists “the day of giving birth by Mut (*hrw ms n Mw.t*),” as the primary festival of the month Pharmouthi (Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I*, p. 263, n. [a]).

⁴⁶⁰ Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten*, p. 983, No. 132; Grimm, *Die altägyptischen Festkalender*, p. 433, n. 151.

⁴⁶¹ Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, pp. 337-38, n. (m).

⁴⁶² The following examples are cited by Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, p. 338, n. (m).

⁴⁶³ *Philä II*, 305, 15-16; Daumas, *Les mammisis des temples égyptiennes*, p. 332.

⁴⁶⁴ *Opet I*, 134 ; for the birth of Harsiese in the Opet Temple, cf. **4.20**.

Armant:⁴⁶⁵

[...] *n R^c.t-t3.wy^c q=s r=f m htp tp-rnp.t m tr n hb-Rnn.t*
iqh hr=s in Imn-wr m t3w ndm n mhy.t
hnm.t=f sh3.n=s hm=f
spr=f r=s m tp-h3h dm3-pd.t m ht=f

[The place(?)] of Rattawy, she enters it in peace annually in the Festival of Renenutet, Amun-wer comes before her as the sweet north-wind, his scent recalling his majesty to her (Rattawy), he arrives before her quickly with Nechbet (*dm3-pd.t*) behind him [...]

Esna:⁴⁶⁶

30 Pharmouthi

sh^c.n Nb.t-ww m Twny.t htp m pr-ms
ir ir.w nb r hd-t3

Procession of Nebtu from Esna, stopping in the Mammisi.
Conducting every rite until dawn.

1 Pakhons

ms šw tfn.t hk3-p-hrd Gbb pw mr=sn
in šw-dhwiti Ir.t n nb=s (...)
ir(.t) hrw-nfr m hrw pn
hb Rnnwt.t h(r).tw r=f

Shu and Tefnut give birth to Heka-the-child,⁴⁶⁷ that means Geb, their beloved.
Shu-Thoth brings the Eye to its owner (...).
Celebrating holiday on this day.
It is called “The Festival of Renenutet.”

All of these rites situate a divine birth festival during the Festival of Renenutet, which almost always extends from 30 Pharmouthi to 1 Pakhons. In his study of the mammisi texts, Gutbub demonstrated another level of meaning in this festival, namely the connection with

⁴⁶⁵ LD IV, 60b = Daumas, *Les mammisis des temple égyptiens*, pp. 342-43; Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, p. 345, n. (r).

⁴⁶⁶ *Esna* II, No. 77, 11-12 = Sauneron, *Esna* V, pp. 21-22.

⁴⁶⁷ Although this looks like a passive form (i.e. *ms.tw šw tfn.t*, “Shu and Tefnut are born”; thus understood by Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d’Esna*, p. 21; Daumas, *Les mammisis des temples égyptiens*, p. 246, n. 3; Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, p. 338, n. (n); Grimm, *Die altägyptischen Festkalender*, p. 101; Derchain and von Recklinghausen, *La création*, p. 23, n. 61), this passage actually refers to Khnum-Shu and Nebtu-Tefnut giving birth to the local child god Heka-Geb, especially since Nebtu is explicitly the mother goddess on 30 Pharmouthi (recognized already by Sternberg-el Hotabi, *Mythische Motiven und Mythenbildung*, p. 44; for the assimilation of Heka-Geb at Esna, see also *Esna* III, 308, 26, where Heka receives the same epithet “He is Geb (*Gbb pw*).”

the Myth of the Wandering Goddess.⁴⁶⁸ The mother cow-goddess (Tefnut, Rattawy, Isis-Hathor, Nebtu) must be brought back to her temple by Shu-Onuris and Thoth, and this encounter between the goddess and Shu-Amun in the form of perfumed-air develops into a *hieros gamos*, allowing for the birth of the solar deity.

A damaged Ptolemaic text from the Mut Temple describes the same sequence of events.⁴⁶⁹ 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 *sw3d-b3* (= Shu-Onuris) (col. 5).⁴⁷⁰ After a lacuna, the text follows (cols. 6-7):

di=s r t3 hr-c
pr Hpri imitw [ih.ty]=s(y)
Rc pw imy mw.t=f
whm-rnp in Rc m W3s.t [nht].t hnw.t sp3.wt
 [...]
 [...] šww imi=s

m.t hns.n=t t3.wy [hr]=f

hpr rn=f n Hnsw-p3-hrd wr c3 tpy n'Imn

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

(Thus) came about his name of Chonsu the very great child, first of Amun.

The key to understanding this damaged passage is the implied quotation. Goyon assumed that Chonsu spoke to Mut, and thus translated : “‘Vois, le Double Pays est parcouru pour toi,’ dit-il (*m.t hns(.w) n-t t3.wy [dd]=f*).”⁴⁷¹ If this translation were correct, it would be unclear who exactly traverses the two lands for Mut, or why this should be a significant mythological event. However, if one reads *hns.n=t* as a simple *sdm.n=f* form, then Mut would be the one who travels across all of Egypt before giving birth in Thebes. This

⁴⁶⁸ Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, pp. 341-49, n. (r).

⁴⁶⁹ Goyon, *JARCE* 20 (1983): 54-61; Goyon’s extensive and perceptive commentary on this difficult text unfortunately has little to say about the general content; cf. also Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 142, n. (j).

⁴⁷⁰ Goyon, *JARCE* 20 (1983): 59, nn. 54-56.

⁴⁷¹ Goyon, *JARCE* 20 (1983): 56

interpretation is confirmed by other Theban texts describing Mut with identical terminology:⁴⁷²

hns(.t) t3.wy bh.ti hr itn
di(.t) r t3 m hw.t-Mw.t

She who traversed the Two Lands pregnant with the solar-disk,
 who gave birth in the Mut Temple.

In the context of the Mut Temple text, the reference to Mut traversing the two lands pregnant with the sun-disk assimilate her with Neith-Methyer who swam across Egypt with her son Re.⁴⁷³ They also call to mind the earlier reference to Thoth and Shu bringing her back to Thebes (col. 5). As discussed above, the return of the Wandering Goddess and her hieros gamos with the local god is a fundamental aspect of the festivals in the mammisi.

(b) The “temple of the bed (*hw.t-nmi.t*)” is a common designation for Egyptian mammisis,⁴⁷⁴ and several other texts designate Chonsu the Child as “Lord of the temple of the bed,”⁴⁷⁵ or “within the temple of the bed.”⁴⁷⁶ An unpublished Ptolemaic or Roman period block now in the Luxor Temple blockyard contains a fragmentary bandeau text mentioning:⁴⁷⁷

[...] *pr-Ms*
bh.n=s Hnsw ʿ3 n Imn
 [...] *hnt hw.t-nmi.t*
 r tr n [hb]-Rnn.t

[...] the Mammisi,
 she (sc. Mut) gave birth to Chonsu the eldest (child) of Amun
 [...] within the temple of the bed,
 at the time of the Renenutet [Festival].

⁴⁷² Aufrère, *Montou*, §178 (=Urk. VIII, 1c); 182c (Ptah Temple).

⁴⁷³ Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna*, pp. 268-69; for Mut as the “Great Cow, mother of Re,” cf. *Esna II*, No. 11, 17; Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 14; 25; Mut Temple, PM II², p. 256, (4g), line 5 = Sethe, *Notizbuch* 6, 83; Medinet Habu, First Pylon: PM II², p. 462 (10g) III (= Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 6).

⁴⁷⁴ Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, p. 164.

⁴⁷⁵ *Urk.* VIII, 137c; *Esna II*, No. 25, 15.

⁴⁷⁶ Chonsu Temple: PM II², p. 239, (74f) II.

⁴⁷⁷ The text is legible in the photograph published by Kariya and Johnson, *EA 22* (2003): 22; the block may come from the Mut Temple precinct (personal communication of Raymond Johnson).

This text confirms the “temple of the bed” as the location of Chonsu the Child’s birth during the Renenutet Festival (cf. *supra*, n. (a)).

The connection of Chonsu the Child to the mammisi is further expressed in the epithet “upon the birth-brick (*hry mshn.t*).”⁴⁷⁸ Meanwhile, a bandeau text describes the Mut Temple as “the birthplace (*mshn.t*) of the Creator of Light (= Mut).”⁴⁷⁹ Elsewhere, Chonsu the Child is said to be “nurtured in Thebes, his stable of life (*s3-n-^cnh*).”⁴⁸⁰

(c) Other Theban texts refer specifically to Mut as “she who births light again in Thebes (*ms(.t) šww m-wḥm m W3s.t*).”⁴⁸¹ The key phrase here is *m-wḥm*, “again,” as the birth of Chonsu the Child represented the second rising of the sun.⁴⁸² In this respect, he is also “Re after he repeated births (*R^c wḥm.n=f ms.w/msh^c.w*),”⁴⁸³ and “he who repeats the rejuvenation of Re in Thebes (*wḥm rnp n R^c m W3s.t*) ... who repeats births like the sun-disk (*wḥm ms.w mi itn*).”⁴⁸⁴

Chonsu the Child as reborn sun is thus associated with the entire solar cycle in a number of texts:

(1) Chonsu Temple, Unpublished: PM II², p. 240, (78) II,1:

itn nfr wbn m W3s.t
Itm m mšr m-ḥnt r3-M3nw
wḥm ^cnh r^c-nb tp-dw3w

The young solar-disk⁴⁸⁵ who rises from Thebes,
 Atum in the evening within the entrance of Manu,

⁴⁷⁸ *Urk.* VIII, 137c; the parallel in *Esna* II, No. 25, 15 writes: “who binds together the birth-seat (*tz mshn.t*),” but this may be due to confusion between the sky-sign used to write *hry* in Thebes, and the similar *tz*-sign (cf. Derchain, *ZPE* 65 [1986]: 203); for the epithet *tz-mshn.t*, cf. also Guermeur, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 281, n. r; Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 84; for Chonsu the Child and the birth-brick, cf. also an excerpt from the Mut Temple in Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 1308, 2.

⁴⁷⁹ Sauneron, *Mout*, No. 10, 1 (noted by Goyon, *CdE* 78 [2003]: 62, n. 90).

⁴⁸⁰ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 64i); the term “stable of life” is another designation of the mammisi, cf. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, p. 315, n. 1; Aufrère, *Montou*, pp. 259-60, n. (i).

⁴⁸¹ Aufrère, *Montou*, §152 (= *Urk.* VIII, 7f); *Urk.* VIII, 183c; elsewhere Mut is “she who creates light (*qm3.t šww*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 25; Sauneron, *Mout*, No. 10, 1; Goyon, *JARCE* 20 [1983]: 55, col. 7).

⁴⁸² The solar nature of Chonsu the Child was already recognized by Goyon, *JARCE* 20 (1983): 60, n. 62.

⁴⁸³ *Urk.* VIII, 137c; *Esna* II, No. 25, 14-15; *Opet* I, 160; Chonsu Temple, PM II², p. 239, (74f) II; Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 239, (74a) III (= Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 4).

⁴⁸⁴ *Urk.* VIII, 29b (=Aufrère, *Montou*, §228); cf. also the reference to Re “repeating rejuvenation in Thebes (*wḥm rnp m W3s.t*),” in the from the Mut Temple quote above (Goyon, *JARCE* 20 [1983]: 55, col. 6).

⁴⁸⁵ Same epithet for Chonsu the Child in *Tôd* II, 311, 7-8.

who repeats life every day in the morning.

- (2) *Urk.* VIII, 183b:

ḥwnw nfr ḥy tp-dw3w
m3wy r^c-nb

Beautiful youth, child in the morning,
who shines every day.

- (3) *Aufrère, Montou*, §§227-229 (= *Urk.* VIII, 29b):

ḥy m dw3w
nḥḥ m mšr
ḥwnw rnp r tp-tr.w
ii m št m-ḥt ktkf

Child in the morning,
old man in the evening,
youth who rejuvenates at the proper times,
who arrives as an infant after having aged.

- (4) *Clère, Porte*, Pl. 6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 64b):

ii m št m-ḥt snḥy
ir.n z3.t=f
izwy.n d.t=f
wr s(w) im=s r ntr.w ntry.t

ḥms.n=s sw m W3s.t
m sfi šps
ḥnḥ m ḥpr=f n ḥpr

Who arrives as an infant after old age,
made by his daughter,
fashioned by his *d*-serpent,
through her (sc. Mut) he is greatest of gods and goddesses.

That she gave birth⁴⁸⁶ to him in Thebes
was in the form of an august child,
the *ḥnḥ*-scarab, in his manifestation of Khepri.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁶ For the verb *ḥms*, “to give birth,” cf. *supra*, p. 92, n. 296 (Amunet).

⁴⁸⁷ For the *ḥnḥ*-scarab, cf. Minas-Nerpel, *Der Gott Chepri*, p. 50 (citing this passage).

The latter passage contains an interesting allusion to the local theology of Kematef, Irita and Mut. As mentioned in the texts before, Chonsu the Child represents Atum reborn in the morning, and thus he is recreated by his daughter, Mut,⁴⁸⁸ and the *d.t*-serpent (Irita). In the same offering scene, Mut is called:⁴⁸⁹

tfn.t hr.t-tp n R^c
hwn.t wr.t
p^cp^c(.t) it=s
z̄t.t hy=s m mnd.wy=s(y)

Tefnut, the uraeus of Re,
the great young-cat,
who gives birth to her father,
and nurses her child with her breasts.

In another of these scenes involving Chonsu the Child, Mut is “the mother of her maker, the daughter who acts as mother (*tm̄3.t n ir s(y)*, *z̄3.t ir(.t) mw.t*).”⁴⁹⁰

A festival calendar from the Mut Temple combines these key phrases within the context of the Renenutet Festival and the birth of Chonsu:⁴⁹¹

itn m-hnw=s
r iw nw n di r t̄3
hpr sbi.w hr(.w) ni wnn=sn

iw R^c whm.n=f msh^c.w
p^cp^c.n=s šww [hn].t hw.t-Mw.t
wn(s) šsp m ndb

qm̄3.tw n=s ms.w-ntr
t̄3 r-d̄r=f m [...] mk m sin.t

ir.tw n=f hb-rnn.t hnt pr-nsw
t̄3 pn r=d̄r=f mitt
hft itn htp=f m hrw r̄qy
hr hrw tpy n [š]mw

h^c hm.t=s m Rnn.t nfr.t
hr wnm ī3b n nsw.t-biti
dw̄3.tw itn i^ch hrw pn nfr

⁴⁸⁸ For Mut as the daughter of Atum-Kematef, cf. **4.38**.

⁴⁸⁹ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 64c).

⁴⁹⁰ *Urk.* VIII, 183c.

⁴⁹¹ Sauneron, *Mout*, No. 6, cols. 29-32; cf. Spalinger, *RdE* 44 (1993): 173-5.

imn.n=s [z3=s(?)] r ntr.w im=f

The sundisk is within her (Mut),
until the time of giving birth arrives,
when the enemies have fallen and are nonexistent.

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 made for her,
and the entire land is [...] festive in 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 (= I Pachons).

Her Majesty appears in procession as the Good Renenutet,
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.

From the numerous texts discussed above, it is clear that Mut gave birth to Chonsu the Child somewhere within the Mut Temple Precinct (*hw.t-Mw.t*) on the first day of Pachons (lit. “The (month) of Chonsu (*p3-n-Hnsw*),”⁴⁹² and thus the birth festival was the origin of the month name.⁴⁹³ Since the birth of all child gods was celebrated on the first of Pachons (cf.

⁴⁹² In a recent article discussing many of the texts examined above, Goyon surprisingly concluded that Mut gave birth to Amun rather than to Chonsu on the first day of Pachons (Goyon, *CdE* 78 [2003]: 65; followed by Thiers, *BIFAO* 104 [2004]: 563 and 567). There is no textual evidence that could support such an interpretation, and Mut is specifically called “Divine Mother of Chonsu the Child” (Inconnu-Bocquillon, *Le mythe de la Déesse Lointaine à Philae*, p. 69, Doc. 112), and “she gives birth as Chonsu (*di=s r t3 m Hnsw*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 210), while Chonsu the Child is “born of Mut” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 6 = *Urk.* VIII, 64b; 183b)

⁴⁹³ Cf. Brunner, *LÄ* I, col. 962: “Der I. Monat der *šmw*-Jahreszeit ist nach ihm [Chonsu] Pachons bennant worden, weil sein Fest, von dem so gut wie nichts bekannt ist, in ihn fiel.” Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, p. 337, n. (m, 1), already noted the unsurprising connection between Pachons and the Chonsu festival celebrating the birth of Chonsu the Child.

supra), Chonsu the Child was to some extent the prototypical divine infant, which may explain his unusual title “king of children (*nsw hrd.w*).”⁴⁹⁴

As mentioned above, Pachons was also the first month of the harvest season (*šmw*), and thus the annual rebirth of Chonsu symbolized the appearance of the new crops. As such, Chonsu the Child, like all child gods, was closely connected to food production. He often receives food offerings,⁴⁹⁵ and he is called: “great of food, plentiful of provisions, great of sustenance, who gives to whomever he loves (*nb k3.w, š3 df3.w, wr hr.wt, di n mr=f*).”⁴⁹⁶

The primary cult of Chonsu the Child took place in his temple within the Mut Precinct, presumably Temple A (cf. *supra*). In addition to his birth there, Chonsu the Child appeared in other festivals of Mut on his own processional bark,⁴⁹⁷ as described in a festival calendar excerpt:⁴⁹⁸

The [Majesty] of Mut is rowed within it (sc. the Isheru) together with her Ennead on 1 Tybi.

Mut, the Eye of Re, sits upon the Great Throne in the shrine “Great of Fear,”
Chonsu-the-Child on her right, Bastet on her left.

Several priests were associated with Chonsu the Child and the Mut Temple,⁴⁹⁹ and a particular pastophor and scribe named *p3-ti-Hnsw-p3-hrt* left behind a sizeable archive of demotic ostraca in the Mut Temple during the reign of Tiberius.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁴ *LD Text*, iv, pp. 2 and 5 (Mammisi of Armant); Edgerton, *Medinet Habu Graffiti Fascimiles*, Pl. 1.

⁴⁹⁵ E.g. *Urk.* VIII, 183.

⁴⁹⁶ *Urk.* VIII, 183g.

⁴⁹⁷ This is the processional bark that Montuemhat claimed to have renewed along with those of Mut and Bastet; cf. Leclant, *Montouemhat*, pp. 60-61; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, III, p. 32, and cf. also **4.10**.

⁴⁹⁸ Sauneron, *Mout*, No. 11, cols. 31-32 (translated *supra*, **4.10**).

⁴⁹⁹ Wild, *BIFAO* 54 (1954): 182 and 196; De Meulenaere, in Quaegebeur, ed., *Studa Paulo Naster oblata*, II: *Oriental Antiqua*, pp. 27-29; cf. also the naophorous statue of a priest of Chonsu the Child found at the Mut Temple, including a child figure that Wildung perhaps too hastily ascribed to Imhotep: Wildung, *Imhotep und*

The cult of Chonsu the Child was also popular on the West Bank, as evidenced by two Graeco-Roman votive reliefs depicting him, one in the Valley of the Queens,⁵⁰¹ the other in the First Court of the Ramesses III temple at Medinet Habu.⁵⁰² There are also a number of Demotic graffiti from the Treasury of the former temple listing certain “deliveries (*fy.w*)” brought “before Chonsu the Child (*m-b3ḥ Hnsw-p3-ḥrd*).”⁵⁰³ Most of these deliveries date to the months of Pharmouthi and Pachons, suggesting that they were brought specifically for the Chonsu Festival.

4.15 Chonsu *p3-ir-sḥr.w* and Chonsu-*wnn-nḥw*

These two forms of Chonsu appear parallel to one another at Chonsu Temple.⁵⁰⁴ They are depicted as anthropomorphic, but their epithets describe them both as simian.⁵⁰⁵ This compares well to a passage from the Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Third Intermediate

Amenhotep, pp. 39-40; note also that Chonsu the Child received separate offerings from the adult Chonsu, cf. Spiegelberg and Otto, *Eine neue Urkunde zu der Siegesfeier des Ptolemaios IV*, pp. 9-10.

⁵⁰⁰ Fazzini and Jasnow, *Enchoria* 16 (1988): 26-7.

⁵⁰¹ Sadek, et al., *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine*, 3, 4, Pl. CCVII, No. 3159a.

⁵⁰² Edgerton, *Medinet Habu Graffiti Fascimiles*, Pl. 1; Chonsu the Child also features in an offering scene on the Ptolemaic Pylon at Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 239, (74a) III (=Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 4); a votive graffito of Chonsu the Child in the Collonade Hall of Luxor temple, probably from the Ptolemaic Period, further attests to his popularity at Thebes (The Epigraphic Survey, *RILT* 2, Pls. 201-2, pp. 54-5).

⁵⁰³ Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*, pp. pp. 157, 159, 163, 220, and 262 (Nos. 262, 265, 291).

⁵⁰⁴ For Chonsu-*p3-ir-sḥr.w*, cf. already Posener, *Annuaire du Collège de France* (1967): 345-40; (1968): 401-7; (1969): 375-9; (1970): 391-6; Rondot, *BIFAO* 89 (1989): 268; Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, p. 6, n. 2; Traunecker, in: Clarysse, Schoors, and Willems, eds., *Fs Quaegebeur* II, p. 1198, n. d; Kessler, *Die Heilige Tieren*, p. 297; Derchain, in: 3. *Tempeltagung*, pp. 5-6; Zivie, *Tanis* III, p. 110; Thiers, *Cahiers de Karnak* 11 (2003): 587-602; the present discussion will focus primarily on the Graeco-Roman texts (many of which were discussed by Posener, *Annuaire du Collège de France* [1970]: 391-6).

⁵⁰⁵ Chonsu-*wnn-nḥw* is an “august *wpw*-ape” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 9 = *Urk.* VIII, 67c; cf. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 225), while Chonsu-*p3-ir-sḥr.w* is a “great *qfdn*-monkey” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 10 = *Urk.* VIII, 62c; cf. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1056); both words can also mean “judge,” as in Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 59 (= *Urk.* VIII, 94e).

Period,⁵⁰⁶ which mentions the two gods sitting on either side of Chonsu in Thebes Neferhotep.⁵⁰⁷ At Chonsu Temple, these two simian deities are said to be “within the Benenet (Chonsu Temple),” and both are said to “shine in the left-eye, guarding the temple of the judge (*psd m i3b.t iry ʿ3y.t n t3yty-z3b*).”⁵⁰⁸ The only difference between the two is that Chonsu-*wnn-nḥw* is said to have “come forth from the eye of Atum (*pr m ir.t Itm*),”⁵⁰⁹ while Chonsu-*p3-ir-sḥr.w* “came forth from the ear of Re (*pr m ʿnh Rʿ*).”⁵¹⁰ This is a variation on Chonsu-Thoth, who is often said to “come forth from Re” (cross reference), but the specificity of organs led Posener to identify the two gods as *ʿIr* “divine sight” and *Sḏm* “divine hearing,”⁵¹¹ an idea confirmed since the accompanying divine speech, where Chonsu-*wnn-nḥw* claims “I give you your ears hearing supplications (*di.n=i n=k ʿnh.wy=k(y) ḥr sḏm spr.w*),”⁵¹² while Chonsu-*p3-ir-sḥr.w* promises “I give you your luminous-eyes which see quickly (*di.n=i n=k 3h.ty=k(y) m33(.w) m ḥp*).”⁵¹³

⁵⁰⁶ For these decrees, see primarily Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom*; for further discussions and examples, cf. Fischer-Elfert, *JEA* 82 (1996): 129-44; Bohleke, *JEA* 83 (1997): 155-67; Quack, in Fischer-Elfert, ed., *Papyrus Ebers und die antike Heilkunde*, pp. 63-80.

⁵⁰⁷ Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom*, p. 1, with n. 1.

⁵⁰⁸ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 9 (= *Urk.* VIII, 67c); the parallel (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 10 = *Urk.* VIII, 62c) uses the variant *nt3*, “itinerant judge” (for this epithet, cf. p. 116, n. 426).

⁵⁰⁹ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 9 (= *Urk.* VIII, 67c).

⁵¹⁰ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 10 (= *Urk.* VIII, 62c); Derchain, in: *3. Temepeltagung*, p. 5, n. 21, suggested these epithets might refer to *conceptio per oculum* and *conceptio per aurum*.

⁵¹¹ Posener, *Annuaire du Collège de France* 70 (1970): 393-4, noted that *ʿIr* and *sḏm* could also come forth from the eyes and ears of Re (citing *Edfou* I, 508, 2; 521, 11); for *ʿIr* and *Sḏm* beside Chonsu in Chonsu Temple, cf. Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, Pls. 9, 13, pp. 122-4; a text from the Propylon of Chonsu Temple claims that “*ʿIr* and *Sḏm* are in festival (*ʿIr Sḏm m mk*)” after Chonsu’s successful judgement (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 59; this passage is incorrectly divided into split columns in *Urk.* VIII, 94e, cf. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, I, pp. 292-3, n. m).

⁵¹² Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 9 (= *Urk.* VIII, 67g).

⁵¹³ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 10 (= *Urk.* VIII, 62g).

While both of these forms of Chonsu may have had distinct shrines in the Ramesside Period,⁵¹⁴ they are only said to be “within the Benenet” in the Graeco-Roman inscriptions. Nonetheless, although nothing more is known about Chonsu-*wnn-nḥw*, there is a good deal of evidence for a distinct cult of “Chonsu-*p3-ir-sḥr.w* in Thebes,” who may or may not be distinct from “Chonsu-*p3-ir-sḥr.w* within the Benenet.” A number of priests in his service are known from papyri, statues, and graffiti.⁵¹⁵ Chonsu-*p3-ir-sḥr.w* in Thebes even appears to have had his own temple,⁵¹⁶ most likely to be identified with “Temple C” in East Karnak.⁵¹⁷

Chonsu-*p3-ir-sḥr.w* in Thebes is the protagonist in the so-called Bentresh Stela,⁵¹⁸ a text possibly dating to the Ptolemaic Period.⁵¹⁹ There he is invoked by Chonsu in Thebes

⁵¹⁴ Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 68, 8 and 10 (noted by Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom*, p. 1, n. 1).

⁵¹⁵ Wild, *BIFAO* 54 (1954): 182-83, n. (13); Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, p. 6, n. 2; Traunecker, in: Clarysse, Schoors, and Willems, eds., *Fs Quaegebeur II*, p. 1198, n. d; Coenen, *CdE* 79 (2004): 64 (19), 67 (43), (44) and (48); to their lists, add also CG 674 = Borchhardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, III, p. 21, Pl. 123; a demotic ostrakon (O. Strasbourg D 1973 + 2017) records donations of ḥḥ-bouquets to various Theban deities, including (l. 6) Chonsu-*p3-ir-syḥ*; Spiegelberg and Otto, *Eine neue Urkunde zu der Siegesfeier des Ptolemaios IV*, pp. 7-8; a graffito from the roof Chonsu Temple mentions a priest of Chonsu-*wn-nḥn*: Jacquet-Gordon, *The Temple of Khonsu*, III, p. 49, Pl. 47, No. 128.

⁵¹⁶ Inferred from Stele Berlin 7515 (Erman, *ZÄS* 38 [1900]: 126) and Vatican 265 (Botti and Romanelli, *Le sculpture del Museo gregoriano egizio*, pp. 83-4, pl. 62), as noted by Thiers, *Cahiers de Karnak* 11 (2003): 595; in addition, the Bentresh Stela, concludes when “Chonsu-*p3-ir-sḥr.w* arrived at his (own) temple in peace (*spr.n Ḥnsw-p3-ir-sḥr.w m W3s.t r pr=f m ḥtp*)” (ll. 27-8; Broze, *La Stèle de Bakhtan*, p. 76); the most persuasive evidence for a separate temple is the recently reconstructed Ptolemaic gateway dedicated to “Chonsu-*p3-ir-sḥr.w* in Thebes”: Thiers, *Cahiers de Karnak* 11 (2003): 587-602.

⁵¹⁷ PM II², pp. 254-5; Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-rê à Karnak*, pp. 8-9; Leclant, *Recherches*, p. 109; Quaegebeur, *OLP* 6/7 (1975/76): 471; Redford, who excavated this temple, doubted its attribution to Chonsu-*p3-ir-sḥr.w* (Redford, *JSEA* 18 [1988]: 10-11), suggesting that it was a temple of Chonsu the Child. Additional arguments supporting the traditional temple identification (*contra* Redford) were presented by Thiers, *Karnak* 11 (2003): 594-6; furthermore, the temple of Chonsu the Child was most likely within the Mut Precinct (cf. **4.14**).

⁵¹⁸ Broze, *La princesse de Bakhtan*; see most recently the translation by Ritner in: Simpson, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 361-6; extensive bibliography, *ibid.*, p. 550; and note also the important discussion of Koenig, *Magie et magiciens*, pp. 204-6.

Neferhotep to assist the Princess of Bakhtan who had recently become possessed (*hr-šh*).⁵²⁰ Chonsu-*p3-ir-šhr.w*, referred to as “the great god who repels wandering demons (*ntr ʿ3 šhr šm3y.w*),”⁵²¹ instantly exorcises the offending spirit, and his renown increases in both Bakhtan and Thebes. He vaunts of the same qualities at Chonsu Temple, where he is called:⁵²²

šd hm=f m dw3.t
rwi h3ty.w šhr šm3y.w
hsf 3h.w mt.w

He who rescues his servant in the underworld,⁵²³
 who removes *h3ty.w*-demons,⁵²⁴ who repels wandering demons,⁵²⁵
 who hinders spirits and ghosts.⁵²⁶

⁵¹⁹ For the various dates proposed, cf. Redford, *JSSEA* 18 (1988): 13, n. 28; pp. 9-10; note that the extended epithets of Chonsu-*p3-ir-šhr.w*, “great god, who repels the wandering demons” may hint at an early Ptolemaic date.

⁵²⁰ For the connotations of being *hr-šh*, cf. Broze, *La princesse de Bakhtan*, pp. 109-10, n. 56; Koenig, *Magie et magiciens*, pp. 206-9; cf. also Fischer-Elfert, *Abseits von Maat*, pp. 142, 221-2, for the similar phrase *hr-mwt*, “unter dem Totengeist.”

⁵²¹ Louvre C284, ll. 14, 15, 19; Chonsu-*p3-ir-šhr.w* receives the same epithets in *Urk.* II, 108, 14; Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 27 (=Urk. VIII, 76c and f); Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, I, pp. 15, n. (ba); p. 48, n. (az); 357, n. (w); an unpublished block from Luxor, quoted by Thiers, *Cahiers de Karnak* 11 (2003): 594, n. 57; Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10g) II; for *šm3y.w*-demons, cf. the references in Thiers, *Cahiers de Karnak* 11 (2003): 590, n. 29; and cf. Fischer-Elfert, *Abseits von Ma'at*, pp. 19-25.

⁵²² Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 27 =Urk. VIII, 76c.

⁵²³ Cf. also *Urk.* II, 108, 15; Thiers, *Cahiers de Karnak* 11 (2003): 589, Block 4 (partially restored); note also the local form of Osiris “who rescues his servants in the underworld (*šd hm.w=f m dw3.t*)” who receives land donations; cf. Graefe and Wassef, *MDAIK* 35 (1979): 103-18, esp. 107, n. (c).

⁵²⁴ For *h3ty.w*-demons, cf. Leitz, *Tagewählerei*, pp. 244-54; Fischer-Elfert, *Abseits von Ma'at*, pp. 19-20; note that at Tod, Chonsu-*p3-ir-šhr.w* in Thebes is “great god among the *h3ty.w*-demons.” (*Tôd* I, No. 144).

⁵²⁵ Cf. *Edfou* I, 272, 9, where “Chonsu of Behedet, Protector of his Father” says to the king: “I keep your body healthy from the *h3ty.w*-demons and the wandering demons.”

⁵²⁶ Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, p. 6, n. 2, and Thiers, *Cahiers de Karnak* 11 (2003): 594, n. 57, both translate this last phrase as “the spirits of the dead.” However, it seems more likely that this passage refers to two categories of ghosts, as is quite common in magical and medical texts; for the distinction between *3h.w* and *mt.w*, cf. Koenig, *BIFAO* 79 (1979): 113-4, n. (j); Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, pp. 115, n. 21 (c), 124-5, n. 1.

The power Chonsu-*p3-ir-shr.w* in Thebes maintained over the various spirits is reflected in his popularity in the Oracular Amuletic Decrees, used primarily for protection against a host of diseases. His connection to the *h3ty.w*-demons particularly reflects his influence over the decan stars and the dangerous messengers of Sakhmet associated with the New Year (cf. **4.16-17**).⁵²⁷ In fact, Chonsu-*p3-ir-shr.w* in Thebes even promises to protect the king from the “yearly pestilence (*i3d.t-rnp.t*)”⁵²⁸ that Sakhmet threatens to inflict during the epagomenal days.

The name Chonsu-*p3-ir-shr.w* has received a large variety of translations.⁵²⁹ Most explanations derive the epithet from Demotic *ir-syh/shy* and Coptic **ΕΡΩΙΩΙ**, “to have power, to exercise authority,”⁵³⁰ while others have interpreted this phrase as a reference to “performing oracles.”⁵³¹ However, *iri shr.w* is also what Re does for the Datians when he enters the Netherworld, and this phrase encompasses both protection of the deceased and supplying nourishment.⁵³² The use of vocabulary from the Underworld books is particularly appropriate for Chonsu-*p3-ir-shr.w*, because he primarily protects the living from inimical

⁵²⁷ At Bubastis, the local Chonsu “son of Bastet” was the chief emissary demon; see Rondot, *BIFAO* 89 (1989): 266-9.

⁵²⁸ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 27 (=Urk. VIII, 76f).

⁵²⁹ E.g. Sethe, *Urk.* VIII, p. 50: “Chons der Plänemacher”; Bohleke, *JEA* 83 (1997): 162: “Khonsu the Contriver”; Coenen, *JEA* 86 (2000): 89: “Khons-who-Governs” (similarly Broze, *La Stèle de Bakhtan*, p. 52, et passim); Thiers, *Karnak* 11 (2003): 587: “Khonsou-qui-fixe-le-sort.”

⁵³⁰ Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, pp. 452-3; Crum, *CD* 59b; for the use of the Demotic phrase, see primarily Smith,

⁵³¹ Posener, *Annuaire du Collège de France* 68 (1968): 404-5; Coulon, *RdE* 52 (2001): 106-7; the oracular aspect of Chonsu-*p3-ir-shr.w* resides in his function of a god of sight, for which see *supra*.

⁵³² Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 82-3, n. (8).

spirits and even rescues those within the Duat (cf. *supra*). His epithet could thus mean both “the protector, caretaker,” as well as “the one who exercises authority.”

4.16 Chonsu-p3-*ḥ*dr

The term *ḥ*dr is a Semitic loan-word meaning “savior,” and it is often applied to Amun and Amenope.⁵³³ Chonsu-p3-*ḥ*dr, however, is uniquely attested on the Propylon of Chonsu Temple,⁵³⁴ where he receives decapitated cattle from the pharaoh:⁵³⁵

*H*nsu-p3-*ḥ*dr m W3s.t-nḥt.t
 mn(f)y n ifd-n-hy
 ib n ḥm.t ḥ3 ḥnw.t-niw.wt
 inb n bi3 pḥr(.w) 3ḥ.t
 nbnb ḥry p.t
 gnš ḥry t3
 ib(.w) r3.w=sn mḥ(.w) m pḥty=f mnh

*n*rw rs ḥr niw.t=f
 pḥr z3=f ḥ3 imy.w=s
 w^c w^c.w nn ky ḥr-ḥw=f
 in nh.t=f mk t3.wy

Khonsu-p3-*ḥ*dr in Victorious Thebes,
 guardian of the four-corners of the firmament,
 heart of copper around the Mistress-of-Cities,
 a wall of iron surrounding the Akhet,⁵³⁶
 protector of what is below heaven,
 guardian(?)⁵³⁷ of what is upon earth,
 their hearts and mouths are filled with his effective strength.

Herdsmen who watches over his city,⁵³⁸

⁵³³ Vernus, in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron*, I, pp. 463-476; cf. also Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, p. 323, n. 11; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 189; Jansen-Winkel, *MDAIK* 60 (2004): 102, nn. (17) and (19).

⁵³⁴ Noted by Vernus, in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron*, I, p. 472.

⁵³⁵ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 46 (= *Urk.* VIII, 101c).

⁵³⁶ For this common epithet of Pharaohs, cf. Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande*, pp. 331-5.

⁵³⁷ The rare verb *gnš* applies to protective gods and seems to mean, “to choose, distinguish” (Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1103).

whose protection surrounds those within it,
truly unique, without peer,
it is his protection which guards the two lands.

Chonsu-*p3-ḏr* is thus described in military terms usually employed to praise the Pharaoh as commander-in-chief.⁵³⁹ This form of Chonsu guards Egypt and Thebes by surrounding it with his protection, and by watching over it like a shepherd. Chonsu-*p3-ḏr* repels the enemies of the king, while his counterpart, Chonsu-*p3-šhn* supervises the equally threatening celestial influences.

4.17 Chonsu-*p3-šhn*

The term *šhn* was an administrative title in the Ptolemaic period, often translated as “commander.”⁵⁴⁰ The word *šhn* survives into Coptic as **ϢⲀϢⲚⲈ** “to provide, supply” with the derived nomen agentis **ⲢⲚ̄-ϢⲀϢⲚⲈ** “manager (οἰκουργός).”⁵⁴¹ Nonetheless, the Greek translation of *šhn* in bilingual documents varies (e.g. ἡγούμενος, οἰκονόμος, or ἄρχων),⁵⁴² much like Egyptian *imi-r3*, “overseer,” and the range of duties held by the *šhn* includes

⁵³⁸ Cf. Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande*, p. 123, n. 329, and the similar topos of King as of “good shepherd (*mnw nfr*),” (*ibid*, pp. 349-51; Manassa, *The Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah*, p. 29, n. c).

⁵³⁹ Note that in this offering scene, the Pharaoh himself is labeled with similar epithets as Chonsu-*p3-ḏr*: “protector of the gods (*nd ntr.w*), guard of the Two Lands (*nbnb qbh.wy*), effective wall for Egypt (*inb mnḥ n t3-mry*).” (= *Urk.* VIII, 101a); for the phenomenon of a king and god sharing epithets, cf. Derchain, in Gundlach and Raedler, eds., *Selbstverständnis und Realität*, pp. 225-232

⁵⁴⁰ Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 892-3 (with references to previous discussions); Manassa, *The Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah*, p. 21, n. d, translates the verb *šhn* as “to deploy (troops)”; Darnell, *SAK* 22 (1995): 55, n. d (“organizer”); Derchain, in Minas and Zeidler, eds., *Aspekte spätägyptischer Kultur*, p. 73, n. 12, translated: “Khonsou, le commandant à Karnak”; Quaegebeur, in Heintz, ed., *Oracles et prophéties dans l’antiquité*, p. 29: “le guide”; Traunecker, *Coptos*, p. 227, nn. (n), noted that Chonsu *p3 šhn* assumed “diverses tâches qui incombent à « l’administrateur dans Karnak »” (*ibid*, p. 227, n. 1183).

⁵⁴¹ Crum, *CD* 385b; cf. also the title *sš-šhn*, which Collombert recently defined as a “titre administratif relatif à l’économie des temples, parfois lié au service de l’Offrande divine” (Collombert, *RdE* 48 [1997]: 22, n. [f]).

⁵⁴² Cf. recently Héral, *CdE* 65 (1990): 305-7.

administrative, economic, and religious spheres. Therefore it is perhaps best to translate the epithet for Chonsu simply as “the official.” Although Chonsu-*p3-sḥn* only appears once in the Graeco-Roman temple texts, he appears in Theban offering scenes already in the 20th Dynasty.⁵⁴³ All information about Chonsu-*p3-sḥn* comes from a meat-offering scene, where he is described as follows:⁵⁴⁴

Hnsw-p3-sḥn m Ip.t-s.wt
ḥbi inw.w m ndb
ḥti mḏ3.t nt sḥty.w
ḥsb iḥry.w n(w) ḥr-rnp.t
hby.w ir=sn m wd=f
ḥ(3)ty.w ḥr s.t-r3=f
ḥsf ḥr ḥbn ḥbnty.w
iw m3^c.w-ib m b3q=f

ḥnh m ḥf=f mwt m 3mm=f
wp=f im r-tp(-ḥsb)

Chonsu-*p3-sḥn* in Karnak,
 who collects tribute from the land,
 who inscribes the book of the trappers,⁵⁴⁵
 who reckons the annual enemies,⁵⁴⁶
 through whose command the *hby.w*-demons act,
 under whose authority are the *ḥ3ty.w*-demons,
 who punishes criminals on account of (their) crimes,
 while the true-of-heart are in his protection,



Life is in his grasp, death is in his fist,
 he judges, thereby, properly.⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴³ Christophe, *Les divinités*, p. 75, with n. 1; cf. also The Epigraphic Survey, *RILT* II, pp. 54-5, n. (c).

⁵⁴⁴ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 66 = *Urk.* VIII, 86b; translated by Derchain, in Minas and Zeidler, eds., *Aspekte spätägyptischer Kultur*, p. 73, n. 12.

⁵⁴⁵ For the hunters/fowlers, cf. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 916; Schott, *Bücher und Bibliotheken im alten Ägypten*, p. 107 (204), cites this text as the only example for such a book; nonetheless, compare the role of Tutu as “Lord of the Book (of Death and Life),” in relation to the messenger demons (Kaper, *Tutu*, pp. 63-4); cf. also Derchain, in Minas and Zeidler, eds., *Aspekte spätägyptischer Kultur*, p. 73, n. 9; Bohleke, *JEA* 83 (1997): 157-8, ll. 19-23, with p. 164, n. (k); Herbin, *SAK* 32 (2004): 185-6.

⁵⁴⁶ For *iḥry.w*-enemies, cf. Yoyotte, *Héra d’Héliopolis et la sacrifice humaine*, pp. 48-9; for the “annual enemies,” cf. Bohleke, *JEA* 83 (1997): 164, n. (k).

⁵⁴⁷ Assuming  is an abbreviation or error for ; for the expression *r-tp-ḥsb* “properly,” cf. Wilson, *A*

Chonsu's influence over the *ḥ3ty.w*-demons and other emissaries of Sakhmet at the New Year is well-known from the Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Third Intermediate Period.⁵⁴⁸ Like other Theban forms of Chonsu, Chonsu-*p3-shn* is described as a member of the local administration, dispensing divine agents in an organized, bureaucratic manner. Nonetheless, his particularly violent epithets, and the gory texts detailing the meat offering, distinguish Chonsu-*p3-shn* from the guardian Chonsu-*p3-ꜥdr*.

4.18 Chonsu-Re Lord of Thebes

The generally hieracocephalic deity Chonsu-Re appears rather often in the late New Kingdom decoration of Chonsu Temple,⁵⁴⁹ but only twice in the Graeco-Roman Period. In the first of these scenes, he appears parallel to Chonsu-Moon, and his position may be due to symmetrical considerations.⁵⁵⁰ Chonsu-Re appears beside Maat, daughter of Re, the pharaoh bears the traditional crown of Onuris and kills Apep, the enemy of the sun.⁵⁵¹ Although his own iconography is entirely lunar, his epithets have parallels in traditional solar hymns:⁵⁵²

šww m hrw
sd n i3b.t n 'Iri-t3w
wbn m B3ḥw ḥtp m M3nw
stw.t=fꜥbh(.w) m 'Ip.t-s.wt
di hr n ḥḥ.w ḏr pr=f

Light during the day,

Ptolemaic Lexikon, pp. 1137-8 (citing a similar spelling in *Edfou VII*, 254, 16); Derchain, *op. cit.*, suggests reading “*r tp-nfr* et comprendre “justement.””

⁵⁴⁸ Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom*; Fischer-Elfert, *JEA* 82 (1996): 129-44; Bohleke, *JEA* 83 (1997): 155-67.

⁵⁴⁹ For the earlier examples of Chonsu-Re, see Degardin, *CRIPPEL* 21 (2000): 39-52; *LGG V*, 769a.

⁵⁵⁰ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 11, parallel to Pl. 12 (Chonsu-Moon); cf. Derchain, *RdE*, 48 (1997): 71-3.

⁵⁵¹ For this particular scene, cf. Labrique, in Clarysse, et al., eds., *Egyptian religion: the last thousand years*, II, pp. 883-902; von Recklinghausen and Derchain, *La création*, pp. 35-9.

⁵⁵² Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 11 (= *Urk. VIII*, 66b); cf. Derchain, *RdE* 48 (1997): 72.

child of the left-eye of “Wind-Maker” (Amun),
 who rises from Bakhu and sets in Manu,
 whose rays mingle with Karnak,
 who sends brightness to the whole circuit of the sundisk,
 who gives (his) face to millions when he rises.

ḥnh m hrw
hr sqd m wi3=f rḥ nb
ḥpy wr ḥḥw=f m qdm
ḥ3y.n=f ntr.w m 3h.ty=f(y)
ii r nw=f nn 3b rḥ nb
Hnsw šww wr m W3s.t

He who lives during the day,
 while sailing in his bark every day,
 Great winged scarab with a body of gold,
 having brightened the gods with his luminous-eyes,
 who comes at his moment, without fail, every day,
 Chonsu, the great light in Thebes.

In another scene, he receives the sphinx-shaped incense holder, often associated with Atum and other solar deities, with an additional lunar-Chonsu attachment.⁵⁵³ Once again, his epithets designate him as the sun:⁵⁵⁴

itn wr thn ḥḥ
šww m hrw shd t3.wy
iḥ m grḥ hrs kkw

The great disk, scintillating of appearance,
 light during the day, who illumines the two lands,
 moon at night, who dispels darkness.

Both texts clearly designate Chonsu-Re as the sundisk during the day, but the latter invokes him as the moon during the night. Chonsu the Child was born as a solar infant, (cf. **4.14**), and there are brief periods during the month when the moon is visible during the daytime (cf. **4.13**).

⁵⁵³ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 26.

⁵⁵⁴ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 26 (= *Urk.* VIII, 81b).

4.19 Chonsu-Shu

Chonsu-Shu was a special form of Chonsu in Thebes Neferhotep, closely attached to Amenope of Djeme and the mortuary cult on the West Bank.⁵⁵⁵ His main task was traveling to Medinet Habu each day to give offerings to Kematef. A number of texts describe this event in explicit detail.⁵⁵⁶

hm-k3 n 'Imn-rn=f
pr m 'lp.t-s.wt m wp-hrw
hr snw n 'Iri-t3w
hfhf itrw r hft-hr-nb=s
r s^cr m3^c.t n Km-3.t=f

Ka priest of “Hidden-of-his-name,”⁵⁵⁷
 who leaves Karnak at the time of dawn,
 bearing *snw*-offerings for “Wind-Maker” (Amun),⁵⁵⁸
 who crosses (*hfhf*)⁵⁵⁹ the river to Medinet Habu (*hft-hr-nb=s*),
 in order to elevate Maat to Kematef.⁵⁶⁰

Similarly in a text from the Opet Temple, Chonsu-Shu is called:⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁵ Traunecker, *Karnak 7* (1982): 347-54, discusses most of the relevant documents; cf. also idem, *Coptos*, §317; Coulon, *BIFAO* 101 (2001): 141, n. (k); Mendel, *Die kosmogonische Inschriften*, pp. 75-6, n. d; Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 82; only Sethe, *Amun*, §117, incorporated the relevant texts from Medinet Habu, and nobody mentioned the unpublished inscriptions from Chonsu Temple.

⁵⁵⁶ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 5 (= *Urk.* VIII, 69b).

⁵⁵⁷ Var. “Ka priest of the ‘Ba-upon-his-throne’ (Amun)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 65 = *Urk.* VIII, 91h); Labrique reads this as *hnk* < *hm-k3* “pourvoyeur d’offrandes,” which in this mortuary context amounts to the same thing (Labrique, *RdE* 53 [2002]: 244).

⁵⁵⁸ Chonsu-Shu is elsewhere called “heart (*ntry*) of ‘Wind-Maker’” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 65 = *Urk.* VIII, 91b).

⁵⁵⁹ For *hfhf* used to describe the voyage of Chonsu-Shu, cf. P. Turin 1848, VI, 7 (after Herbin, *RdE* 54 [2003]: 82, n. 34); P. Cairo CG 58009, V, 11 (= Golenischeff, *Papyrus hiératiques*, p. 53); P. Cairo CG 58012, ro. 16 (= Golenischeff, *Papyrus hiératiques*, p. 61); Medinet Habu, Gate of Domitian, PM II², p. 475, D; this verb seems to refer to the movements of crocodiles (cf. Bedier, *Die Rolle des Gottes Geb*, p. 96, n. 13; Derchain, in Labrique, ed., *Religions méditerranéennes et orientales de l’antiquité*, p. 83, n. 64), thus alluding to Chonsu-Shu’s crocodile form (cf. *infra*).

⁵⁶⁰ Cf. *Edfou* I, 96, 6 and Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 65 (= *Urk.* VIII, 91b); “who elevates Maat for ‘Hidden-of-his-name’”; *Opet* I, 23: “in order to elevate Maat to Amun, the Father-of-fathers (*r s^cr m3^c.t n 'Imn, it-it.w*).”

⁵⁶¹ *Opet* I, 90.

d3i imn.t-W3s.t m hr.t-hrw
w3h-ih.t n b3-3 n Km-3.t=f nti im m'Imn
m ʕ.t-Igr.t hnʕ b3.w n Hmni.w

He who sails (to) Western Thebes daily,⁵⁶²
 who leaves offerings for the Great Ba of Kematef, who is there as Amun,
 in the Underworld chamber with the Bas of the Ogdoad.

In a Roman period offering scene from Chonsu Temple, the journey is given more poetic
 details:⁵⁶³

ʕq M3nw hr [...]w n it-it.w n Hmni.w
thn hr=f wnf ib=f hr m33=f
m syf šps ʕq=f r Ir.t-Rʕ

He who enters Manu bearing [offering]s for the Father of fathers of the Ogdoad,
 so that his face lights up and his heart rejoices upon seeing him,
 as the august child when he enters the Eye-of-Re (Thebes).

The same cultic activity is recorded in a text from the reign of Hadrian.⁵⁶⁴

d3i Nwn
s[htp] ib n ir wn tp-t3
sʕnh b3.w n it.w-mw.wt=f

He who sails across Nun,
 who appeases the heart of the maker of what exists on earth (Amun),
 who enlivens the Bas of his fathers and mothers.

Not surprisingly, Chonsu-Shu also found a place in mortuary literature.⁵⁶⁵

ʕq=k hs.ti hr Hnsw-Šw hft d3 hm=f r B.t-t3m.t
wnm=k m t3=f sʕm=k m hnq.t=f

⁵⁶² Vars. “who sails to Western Thebes at Medinet Habu (*hft-hr-nb=s*) with offerings for the Hidden Ba” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 65 = *Urk.* VIII, 91h); “who sails to Western Thebes (*d3i (r) Imnt.t-W3s.t*)” (*Opet* I, 23); “who sails to the Mound of Djeme” (Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 466 [38b]).

⁵⁶³ PM II², p. 239, (75) I,1.

⁵⁶⁴ *Deir Chelouit* III, 125, 12-14.

⁵⁶⁵ P. Leiden T 32, III,1-3 (= Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, pp. 145-7); for similar parallels, cf. Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 82; the same formula even appears in graffiti from Medinet Habu: Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*, Nos. 44, 11 (pp. 19 and 21), and 51, 20 (pp. 52-3, 199).

m sfsf 3w n B3 3 n Km.t

You shall enter with Chonsu-Shu when his majesty sails to Djeme,
so you might eat from his bread and drink of his beer,
during the giving of offerings to the Great Ba of Egypt (Kematef).

All of the texts specify that Chonsu-Shu makes the trip *daily*,⁵⁶⁶ specifically in the morning,⁵⁶⁷ which distinguishes him from Amenope of Djeme who only traveled every ten days (cf. **4.4**). While Amenope of Djeme was primarily associated with bringing cool waters (*qbhw*), Chonsu-Shu specifically brought food-offerings, most often *snw*-offerings.⁵⁶⁸ In addition, he would “elevate Maat for Amun (*siʿr m3ʿ. t n Imn*),”⁵⁶⁹ and “elevate offerings for the primeval gods (*siʿr htp.w n p3wty.w*),”⁵⁷⁰ and most importantly “satisfy the heart of Amun, the father of fathers of the Ogdoad (*sh̄tp ib n it-it.w n Hmni.w*).”⁵⁷¹ This role of food provider seems to be originally that of Shu, who would bring daily offerings to his deceased

⁵⁶⁶ *rʿ nb*: *Opet* I, 175; *m hr.t-hrw*: *Opet* I, 90; Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10f) IV (= Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 116); PM II², p. 466 (38b); *Kasr el-Agoûz*, 80 (with corrections in Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 34); P. Rhind I, VI, h11-12; P. Turin 1848, VI, 6-7 (after Herbin, *RdE* 54 [2003]: 82, n. 34); *m hr.t-hrw nt rʿ-nb*: P. Vatican 38606, 2 (= Herbin, *RdE* 54 [2003]: 82); P. Berlin 3162 III, 3-4 (cited by Herbin, *op. cit.*, p. 82); P. Parma ro. 5 (= Botti, *I cimeli egizi*, p. 57 and Pl. 14); *tp smin nb*: P. Cairo CG 58009, V, 11 (= Golenischeff, *Papyrus hiératiques*, p. 53); P. Cairo CG 58012, ro. 16 (= Golenischeff, *Papyrus hiératiques*, p. 61); *hr hrw*: Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*, No. 44, 11 (p. 19).

⁵⁶⁷ “Break of day (*wp-hrw*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 5 = *Urk.* VIII, 69b); “morning(?) (*iry-whm*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 67 = *Urk.* VIII, 90d; this is not the word *ir-whm*, “sky,” for which see Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 254); Cf. also Bucheum Inscription No. 36, where the Buchis bull is said to receive “libation and incense every day, rejuvenating water in the morning (*qbhw sn̄tr m hr.t-hrw, mw n rnp r d.t=f*)” (cf. Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, Pl. 36).

⁵⁶⁸ For the nature of *snw*-offerings, cf. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 856-7.

⁵⁶⁹ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 65 (= *Urk.* VIII, 91b); *Kasr el-Agoûz*, 80 (with corrections in Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 34); *Edfou* I, 96 .6; P. Cairo CG 58012, ro. 17 (= Golenischeff, *Papyrus hiératiques*, p. 61); *Opet* I, 23.

⁵⁷⁰ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 65 (= *Urk.* VIII, 91g); vars. “bearing offerings for his ancestors (*hr htp.w n it.w=f*)” (P. Turin 1848, VI, 7; after Herbin, *RdE* 54 [2003]: 82, n. 34); “bearing food and *snw*-offerings for the blessed dead (*hr m3ʿ.wt sn.w n h̄tpy.w*)” (P. Cairo CG 58009, V, 12 = Golenischeff, *Papyrus hiératiques*, p. 53).

⁵⁷¹ Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 446 (38b).

father Atum.⁵⁷² A text from the Opet temple, adapted to the local temple theology, even describes how Chonsu-Shu “feeds his father Osiris in Western Thebes.”⁵⁷³

Several priests of Chonsu-Shu are known,⁵⁷⁴ and a specific shrine for Chonsu-Shu was built in the south corner of the east exterior wall of Karnak temple in the Thirtieth Dynasty.⁵⁷⁵ The strange location of this shrine led Traunecker to formulate a rather ingenious theory about “rites de substitution.”⁵⁷⁶ According to Traunecker, an actual bark procession may have occurred once a year, but otherwise the chapel of Chonsu-Shu Karnak, which only “simulated” a bark shrine, would be visited daily by a certain priest. This daily cult would substitute for an actual trip across the Nile to Medinet Habu, symbolically enacting at Karnak the mortuary ritual on the West Bank.

Unfortunately, Traunecker’s thesis is not supported by any evidence,⁵⁷⁷ and assumes that crossing the Nile would have been too difficult or dangerous for a daily cult.⁵⁷⁸ A more straightforward explanation for the chapel’s location could be that it actually held a statue of

⁵⁷² Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, pp. 302-4.

⁵⁷³ *Opet I*, 175; note that Shu brings offerings specifically to Osiris already in the Coffin Texts, cf. Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, pp. 284, n. 1654, 304; for the separate cult of Osiris at Djeme, cf. **4.43**.

⁵⁷⁴ Traunecker, *Karnak 7* (1982): 351.

⁵⁷⁵ Traunecker, *Karnak 7* (1982): 339-54.

⁵⁷⁶ Traunecker, *Karnak 7* (1982): 351-2; Traunecker, et al., *La chapelle d’Achoris I*, p. 133, used the same theory to deny the existence of the Decade Festival of Amenope of Dhome.

⁵⁷⁷ He even noted that “nous ne possédons malheureusement aucun indice quant à la date de la grande sortie de Khonsou-Shou vers Djemê” (Traunecker, *Karnak 7* [1982]: 352, n. 97), even though there are literally dozens of texts that specify its daily celebration; regarding Amenope of Djeme, Traunecker elsewhere suggested that the Decade Festival comprised two parts: “une liturgie ordinaire célébrée trois fois par mois *et comportant un mécanisme de substitution dont nous ignorons le détail* et une liturgie solennelle célébrée une fois par an avec une grande navigation,” without specifying when the annual “decade festival” would have taken place (Traunecker, et al., *La chapelle d’Achoris I*, p. 133; italics mine).

⁵⁷⁸ Traunecker, *Karnak 7* (1982): 351; his only support for this assumption is the fictional Demotic story of Pedubast, where the priests of Bubastis try to hijack the bark of Amun (*ibid*, p. 351, n. 92).

Chonsu-Shu and that this image traveled to Djeme every day as all the texts claim. His chapel is located near the Chapel of Achoris and the ramp by which sacred barks entered the Nile.⁵⁷⁹ Its location outside of the main temple complex, niched within the exterior wall, would simplify the procession of Chonsu-Shu, as only the door to his naos would need opening. A similar cultic use of extra doors is architecturally and textually attested in the early morning rituals of Edfu, where priests used minor side doors and circumnavigated the exterior of the temple to bring in required purification water from the sacred well, one of many prerequisites for opening the main doors leading to the naos at sunrise.⁵⁸⁰

The daily mortuary service is only one of the functions carried out by Chonsu-Shu. A number of texts describe his return voyage back from Medinet Habu to Chonsu Temple. Two texts from Bab el-Amara refers to Chonsu-Shu as:⁵⁸¹

- (1) *ii bk3.(w) m tph.t-Nwn*
šfy.t n it=f m ḥ^c.w=f

He who returns pregnant from the Grotto of Nun,
 with the prestige of his father in his body.

- (2) *spr r W3s.t m ḥm šps*
sti=f ḥr=f r Bnn.t
rđi=f ḥ.t=f ḥr-tp=s r iw.t dw3w


He who arrives in Thebes as the august ḥm,
 turning his face towards the Benenet,⁵⁸²
 placing his body on it until morning comes.

⁵⁷⁹ For the launching of the divine barks, cf. Traunecker, *BIFAO* 72 (1972): 195-236; *La chapelle d'Achôris*, II.

⁵⁸⁰ Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou*, pp. 4-49; all of the rituals discussed by Alliot take place before the main door of the Sanctuary is opened (*ibid*, p. 53).

⁵⁸¹ (1) Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 5 (= *Urk.* VIII, 69b) = Medinet Habu, Ptolemaic Pylon, south thickness, cols. 3-4 (PM II², p. 462 (10c-e) = Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 11); (2) Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 65 (= *Urk.* VIII, 91b)

⁵⁸² Paralleled in P. Leiden T 32, III, 3 (= Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, pp. 145-7); *Opet* I, 23 (epithet of the king offering to Chonsu-Shu).

The “august ḥm ”⁵⁸³ (var. “divine ḥm ”⁵⁸⁴ or “great ḥm ”⁵⁸⁵) manifestation of Chonsu-Shu usually had the determinative of a crocodile or a falcon.⁵⁸⁶ A relief from the temple of El-Qal‘a, contains a representation of several crocodiles, among which is a falcon-headed crocodile labeled “Chonsu-Shu in Thebes.”⁵⁸⁷ A hymn from the Antonine portico at Medinet Habu mentions that a certain god “traversed (hns) the flood waters, and fashioned Thebes, he is (therefore) called Chonsu-in-Thebes [...]”⁵⁸⁸ The verb nbi , “to fashion,” is written as , alluding once again to the crocodile manifestation of Chonsu-Shu.

The cosmogonic text from Chonsu Temple explains precisely how the crocodile form of Chonsu-Shu became pregnant, why he traveled to the Benenet, and how he fashioned Thebes. At some point after his creation by Kematef, Tatenen-Chonsu began his own activities as demiurge:⁵⁸⁹

wn.i[n ...] ḥ3.t
 m rn=f pfy n Pth
 $\text{dd.tw Pth qm3 swḥ.t pr m Nwn [r] ntr [p]n}$

⁵⁸³ *Opet I*, 23; *Deir Chelouit III*, 125, 12-13; Mendel, *Die kosmognische Inschriften*, pp. 74-5 (restored); Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 58; omitted from *Urk.* VIII).

⁵⁸⁴ *Opet I*, 90; P. Leiden T 32, III, 3 (= Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, pp. 145-7).

⁵⁸⁵ *Opet I*, 23 (epithet of the king offering to Chonsu-Shu).

⁵⁸⁶ Cf. Traunecker, *Karnak 7* (1982): 348-9; Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, p. 75, n. (d); in one of the examples Mendel cites (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 58; omitted from *Urk.* VIII), Chonsu is called “the august ḥm (crocodile) with a falcon face, who crosses Nun ($\text{ḥm šps si3-ḥr, d3i Nwn}$ ”); the word ḥm “image” can refer to both falcons and crocodiles, and both determinatives are used (cf. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 178; Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, p. 120, n. 344).

⁵⁸⁷ Panatalacci and Traunecker, *Le temple d'El-Qal'a*, I, No. 47; Traunecker, *Coptos*, §317; note that already in the Twenty-Seventh Dynasty, the sanctuary of Hibis temple depicts a hieracocephalic crocodile labelled as “Chonsu Lord of the wedjat-eyes,” right behind Chonsu-Shu; Davies, *Hibis III*, Pl. 2, Reg. V, middle.

⁵⁸⁸ **5.11.1.8**, col. 2.

⁵⁸⁹ Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, Pls. 6-7, cols. 31-40, pp. 66-82; cf. also Smith, *On the Primaeval Ocean*, pp. 35-7

[hp]r=s sw m p.t t3 hh-n-hh.w Hmni.w
qm3 p.t t3

k3k3.n=f ir=f r nfr.t tn^(a)m š
qm3(.w) m tnn.t^(b)
bnbn=s hr=f mi p3 n(t)y hpr
m rn=s n Bnn.t

sti=f r swh.t
hpr 8.t m-hnw=s m sw3.w n Hmni.w

g3w.n=f sw im m Nwn
m Mh-wr
m.n=f st
iwr=s b^cn.t=f

hns=f r W3s.t m hprw=f n [...]
stp=f š3š.t=f hr mw m št3.t^(c)
hpr rn=f n Hnsw m W3s.t
[^chm] šps m Bnn.t

sti.n=f hr=f r Bnn.t tn
n m3^c.t=f pw z3.t=f wr
r s^ch^c=s m shm
m s3.t š3š.t hr šn^c.t=f
iwr[.ti] mitt [...]

in.n=[f sy] n z3t-q3 m Nwn
hpr niw.t
m rn=s n Niw.t^(d)
hpr Hw.t-Hr wr.t hr(.t)-ib Bnn.t
m rn=[s p]f[y] n Nw.t

^ch^c.n rdi.n=f h.t=f hr tp=s
pth.n=f s(y)^(e)m Pth it-ntr.w
hpr Hmni.w [...] m ifd.w=s

Then [...] the beginning,
in this his name of Ptah,
one calls this god "Ptah who created the egg which came forth from Nun."

It [came to pa]ss while he was in the heaven and earth,
Heh of Heh-gods of the Ogdoad,
who created heaven and earth.

He ejaculated towards this womb in the sea,
which was created within the tnn.t-chapel,

it came forth (*bmbn*) beneath him like that which had already happened,
in its name of *Bnn.t*.

He scattered his seed over the egg,
so that eight sections developed within it for the Ogdoad.


He went into the water there in Nun,
as the Great Swimmer,
having swallowed them,
so that his throat was pregnant with them.

He traveled across to Thebes in his manifestation of [...],
and he emptied his throat on the waters in the form of an egg,
thus came about his name of Chonsu in Thebes,
the august [image] in the Benenet.

He turned his attention to this Benenet,
(that means towards his Maat, his great daughter),
in order to set her up as a statue,
filling the throat from his chest,
so that [she] became pregnant likewise [...]

He brou[ght her] to the land which arose out of Nun,
thus the city came into existence,
in its name of "Nu,"
and Hathor the Great within the Benenet came into existence,
in this her name of Nut.

Then he put his belly above her,
and he opened (*pth*) it (= the egg) as Ptah father of the gods,
thus the Ogdoad came into existence [...] on her four sides.

(a) Mendel, following previous translators, read  as *s.t tn*, "this place."⁵⁹⁰ Nonetheless, the parallelism with the following section ("he scattered his seed over the egg"),⁵⁹¹ suggests that this word should also be the indirect object of the preceding verb. The same bracelet sign occurs in a number of other contexts in which it seems connected to words for eggs, wombs or mothers:


(1) *Opet* I, 183-4, North:

⁵⁹⁰ Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Texten*, pp. 72-3, n. b.


⁵⁹¹ For this phrase, cf. Smith, *On the Primaeval Ocean*, pp. 36-7, noting the Demotic parallel: [st]y=f t3y=f mtwy (Smith, *On the Primaeval Ocean*, pp. 31-2, Fragment 2, 6).

wn.n=f nfr.t m š3^c hr-h3.t sn.w=f
 He (sc. Osiris) opened the womb () in the beginning before his siblings.


- (2) *Opet I, 185, South, referring to a group of hippopotamus goddesses:*⁵⁹²

wnn=sn m rr.wt nfr.wt iry mi-qd=sn šps.wt ir.w imy.w 3bd=sn
 They are the *rr.t*-hippoes, all of the *nfr.wt* () and the *šps.wt* in their months.


- (3) Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 15 (= *Urk. VIII, 57c*), describing Mut):

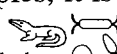
tm3.t-hr.t-tp pr(.t) m Nwn nfr.t(?) ms.t p3wty
 Mother-uraeus who came forth from Nun,  who birthed the Primeval one.

- (4) Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 24 (= *Urk. VIII, 82b*):

R^c.t-t3.wy hr.t-tp W3s.t, nfr.t(?) wtt(.t) t3ity-z3b
 Rattawy Chief of Thebes,  who gave birth to the Judge (= Thoth).⁵⁹³

- (5) *Médamoud I, 230, 2, addressing Thoth of Lower Egyptian Hermopolis:*⁵⁹⁴

ntk q3^c št3.t bs(.) m ib=f
 It is you who spat out the egg () which came forth from your heart.

Based on the first two examples, the sign appears to be a determinative for *nfr.t*, perhaps derived from *mn-nfr.t*, “bracelet.”⁵⁹⁵ In the second two examples, it is an epithet of Mut and Rattawy as mothers, perhaps Neith or the mysterious epithet  = *sbk.t-N.t*, “the Neith-crocodile.”⁵⁹⁶ In any event, Chonsu-Shu inseminates a feminine entity within the primeval waters to create the initial *Bnn.t*-egg.⁵⁹⁷

⁵⁹² Cf. also Mendel, *Die Monatsgöttin*, p. 134.


⁵⁹³ El-Sayed, *RdE* 21 (1969): 74, read this as <*snq(t)*>*N.t*; Budde, in Budde, et al., eds., *Kindgotter in Ägypten der griechisch-romischen Zeit*, p. 68, n. 211, tentatively read the mysterious sign as “Schesemet(?),” noting that the connection between her and Rattawy is “nicht ganz klar.”


⁵⁹⁴ For this text, with parallels, cf. Zivie, *Hermopolis et le nome de l'ibis*, I, pp. 186, 192-3, n. (g).


⁵⁹⁵ Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. p. 429.

⁵⁹⁶ For this epithet, cf. Budde, in Budde, et al., eds., *Kindgotter in Ägypten der griechisch-romischen Zeit*, pp. 34-5, n. 74; note, however, that this epithet otherwise never applies to Mut.

⁵⁹⁷ Compare the similar concept of Iusaas and Nebethetepet, the feminine aspects of Atum who allow for his initial act of autoerotic creation; cf. Vandier, *RdE* 16 (1964): 55-146; 17 (1965): 89-176; 18 (1966): 67-142; Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, pp. 45-53.

(b) Mendel claimed that the word  could be the *tnn.t*-chapel of Ptah-Tatenen in Memphis, or the goddess Tjenenet “die das Urland symbolisiert.”⁵⁹⁸ Because of the determinative, and the lack of any texts characterizing Tjenenet as “Urland,” (cf. **4.5.3**), the translation “*tnn.t*-chapel” is the most likely reading.

(c) Mendel read  as “das Gefüllte,” an otherwise unattested designation of an egg,⁵⁹⁹ but this might simply write *šd.t* < *št3.t*, “egg, womb.”⁶⁰⁰

(d) Mendel read this first name, spelled , as Iunyt, the obscure goddess of Armant who has nothing to do with the present text or cosmogonies in general, and for whom the canal determinative would be quite strange.⁶⁰¹ However, this orthography closely resembles a number of Demotic writings of the goddess Nut, all written with initial *in* > *n*.⁶⁰² Unfortunately, the next sentence claims that Hathor within the Benenet has the name of “Nut,” and the scribes probably did not repeat the same name twice. The present name could be Naunet, the feminine counterpart of Nun mentioned immediately above, and a goddess in whose name the canal sign frequently appears. However, this would be an unusual designation of Thebes. Alternatively, this could just be an “unetymological spelling” of *Niw.t*, “the City,” Thebes,⁶⁰³ creating a visual pun with the verb *ini*, “to bring” and the determinative of Nun, both mentioned above.

(e) The feminine object in question appears to be the egg containing the Ogdoad that Ptah opens (*pth*).⁶⁰⁴

In the most recent treatment of this very difficult text, Mendel assumed that the *Bnn.t* was the primeval land, leading to a strange chain of identifications: “das nach Theben

⁵⁹⁸ Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, p. 73, n. c, with no supporting evidence.

⁵⁹⁹ Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, p. 77, n. g.

⁶⁰⁰ The simplified *šd*-sign (F 30A) common in Graeco-Roman inscriptions closely resembles the *mḥ*-sign; cf. Traunecker, et al., *La chapelle d’Achôris*, II, pp. 191-2; Meeks, *Les architraves du temple d’Esna*, p. 202, §553.

⁶⁰¹ Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, pp. 79-80, n. f; for Iunyt, cf. **4.27**.

⁶⁰² Collected by Kockelmann, *JEA* 89 (2003): 227.

⁶⁰³ For the phonetic and conceptual similarities between *Nw.t* and *niw.t*, see most recently Billing, *Nut*, pp. 165-71.

⁶⁰⁴ For the phrase *pth št3.t*, “open the egg” in similar texts, cf. Ryhiner, *L’offrande du lotus*, p. 147, n. 8; compare the more common *sd swḥ.t*, “to break (open) the egg” (Sauneron, in: *Mélanges Maspero* I/4, p. 114.

gebrachte Ei ist der Keim *bnnt* = Maat = der Urhügel *s3tw* = die Stadt *niwt* = *Iwnyt* = Hathor des Chonstempels = Nut.”⁶⁰⁵ However, the text has nothing to say about the creation of the earth, rather Chonsu-Tatenen takes the *Bnn.t* to the initial land, suggesting that it already existed.⁶⁰⁶ The text is primarily focused on the creation of the egg of the Ogdoad, also called *Bnn.t*,⁶⁰⁷ as is clear from the order of events. Ptah first creates the *Bnn.t* and then he immediately scatters his seed over the egg, thus explaining why he receives the particular epithet “he who created the egg which came forth from Nun (*qm3 swḥ.t pr(.t) m Nwn*).”⁶⁰⁸

In this cosmogony, the crocodile form of Chonsu-Shu creates the Ogdoad, albeit in his form of Ptah-Tatenen. This seems to be a local variation on the more common creation narrative in which Tatenen-Amenope fashions the Ogdoad in Luxor Temple (cf. **4.3**), no doubt because the text appears in Chonsu Temple. The similarity between the two creation accounts should not suggest that Chonsu-Shu and Amenope were the same god, since they appear as two separate divinities in the mortuary cult of Kematef and the Ogdoad (cf. **4.4**).

⁶⁰⁵ Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, p. 81.

⁶⁰⁶ The creation of the earth is described earlier in the same cosmogony: Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, Pl. 4, cols. 18-19, pp. 58-9; similarly in a Demotic creation account, Ptah creates land before he makes the egg of the Ogdoad; Smith, *On the Primaeval Ocean*, pp. 26-31, 35.

⁶⁰⁷ For recent discussions of the root *bn*, cf. Baines, *Orientalia* 39 (1970): 389-404; Traunecker, *Coptos*, p. 152, n. (e); Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, p. 131-2, n. 2; in general, the word refers to objects both round (eg. *bnn.t*, “ball”), and pointed (eg. *bnbn*, “obelisk”), and as such aptly applies to both “seed” and “egg” (Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 318).

⁶⁰⁸ Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, pp. 44-51, 185-8, who translated the second phrase impossibly as “als er aus dem Nun hervorgekemmon ist.” The lack of a feminine ending for the second participle is normal for Graeco-Roman texts, and the Pharaonic examples she cited as arguments against the present translation (pp. 44-5, 50) do not relate to Ptah; most importantly, however, Mendel did not relate the epithet to the actual cosmogonical inscription, which explicitly describes Ptah-Tatenen (= Chonsu-Shu) creating the egg while still inside the Nun waters, so that the egg subsequently comes forth (*bnbn*) from Nun.

4.20 Harsiese

Harsiese (Horus son of Isis) was important throughout Egypt, but he appears to have also had a local Theban cult. He understandably features quite prominently in the temples of Deir Shelwit⁶⁰⁹ and Opet,⁶¹⁰ dedicated to his parents Isis and Osiris respectively. He most frequently receives the standard epithets “son of Osiris (z3 *Wsir*),”⁶¹¹ “heir of Osiris,”⁶¹² or “beneficent heir of Wennefer, justified (*iw^{cc} mnḥ n (Wnn-nfr m3^c-ḥrw)*)”.⁶¹³

Just like his father Osiris, Harsiese was also born in the Opet Temple, where the south chapel is dedicated to Isis and Harsiese,⁶¹⁴ and the decoration revolves around the birth of Harsiese.⁶¹⁵ The north wall shows Horus as a falcon within a bunch of papyrus, surrounded by two forms of Isis.⁶¹⁶ The frieze text on the same wall describes the proceedings:⁶¹⁷

ms Is.t z3=s Hr m ḥby.t
ᶜq=s ḥr=f m-b3ḥ Imn hrw ḥb-Rnn.t
ir=f n=f imy.t=pr n it=f Wsir

⁶⁰⁹ *Deir Chelouit* I, 21, 6, 14; 52, 7-8; II, 69, 6-7; III, 132, 5-6, 11.

⁶¹⁰ *Opet* I, 24; 28; 69; 73; 110; 135; 150.

⁶¹¹ *Deir al-Médîna*, 7, 6; 180, 4; 197, 4; *Deir Chelouit* I, 4, 6; III, 132, 5; *Kasr el-Agôuz*, 90; *Urk.* VIII, 198b; *Opet* I, 24; 28; 69; 73; 135; 150.

⁶¹² *Deir Chelouit* I, 52, 8; II, 69, 7.

⁶¹³ *Deir al-Médîna*, 197, 4-5; *Deir Chelouit* III, 132, 5-6; *Kasr el-Agôuz*, 90; var. “upon the throne of Wennefer (*ḥr ns.t n (Wn-nfr)*)” (*Deir Chelouit* I, 4, 6-7); *Urk.* VIII, 198b.

⁶¹⁴ This is explicit from the lintel: *Opet* I, 126, top; the important role of Isis as divine mother might explain why the Opet Temple could be called the Demetron, cf. Quaegebeur, *OLP* 6/7 (1975/76): 474, who explained: “Bien que l’attribution du nom de Déméter à Ipet puisse surprendre à première vue, il est évidente qu’elle se rapporte à l’assimilation d’*Ip.t-wr.t* à Isis.” Note, however, that there is no textual evidence for such an assimilation, and the fact that the goddesses appear in parallel positions in temple scenes (noted by Quaegebeur, *OLP* 6/7 [1975/76]: 474, n. 94), does not imply that they were identical.

⁶¹⁵ See already the summary of De Wit, *Opet* III, pp. 167-9.

⁶¹⁶ *Opet* I, 138; II, Pl. 5, V; for similar scenes, cf. Badawy, *CdE* 38 (1933): 78-90.

⁶¹⁷ *Opet* I, 138; III, 76; Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, p. 336, n. (m).

r šn nb n itn

Isis gives birth to her son, Horus, in Chemmis,
she enters before Amun bearing him on the day of the Renenutet Festival,
so he might make for him the inheritance of his father, Osiris,
concerning the entire circuit of the sundisk.

The bottom register of the east wall south wall shows the infant Harsiese upon the lap of Isis, surrounded by Meskhenet, Nechet, Wadjet, Thoth, and Khnum.⁶¹⁸ In the next scene, a child Harsiese wearing the double-crown stands upon the *zm3-t3.wy* plants and receives the *nh*-sign from Osiris together with Amunet, Isis, and Nephthys.⁶¹⁹ There he has the following label:

Hr-z3-Is.t z3 Wsir
iw^{cc} mnḥ pr m'Is.t
z3 smsw n Wsir
wr sp3.t=f r niw.t nb
mi wr k3=f r ntr.w

Harsiese, son of Osiris,
beneficent heir who came forth from Isis,
eldest son of Osiris,
whose nome is greater than any city,
as his Ka⁶²⁰ is greatest of the gods.

In the final, especially Theban scene, Horus receives life from Amun twice in the company of Mut and Chonsu.⁶²¹ On the left side, Amun transmits to him “the inheritance in order to rule the entire circuit of the sundisk (*imy.t-pr r ḥq3 šn nb n itn*).”⁶²² On the right side, in sharp contrast to the previous scene, the child god wears the Theban double-plumes,

⁶¹⁸ *Opet* I, 133-4; II, Pl. 6, VII.

⁶¹⁹ *Opet* I, 133-5; II, Pl. 6, VIII.

⁶²⁰ De Wit, *Opet* III, p. 74, read this as “ses travaux (*k3t.f*),” but the reading “Ka” is confirmed from parallels (e.g. *Urk.* VIII, 203b).

⁶²¹ *Opet* I, 142-3.

⁶²² *Opet* I, 143.

and is referred to not as Harsiese, but “Horus the very great child (Harpocrates), first born of Amun.” His epithets in this scene label him further as “son of Isis, sweet of love, lord of Thebes and Coptos, sovereign in cities and nomes (*z3 'Is.t, bnr-mrw.t, nb W3s.t Gb.t, ity m niw.wt sp3.wt*).”⁶²³

This latter epithet is unexpected since Harpocrates, son of Amun, was specifically associated with Coptos, not Thebes.⁶²⁴ Harsiese receives kingship from Amun, and when this happens he assumes the double plumes and the epithet “first born of Amun,” aspects typically applied to Harpocrates of Coptos.⁶²⁵ This transformation most likely explains why Harpocrates, and not Harsiese, appears with the other primary divinities on the south exterior wall of the Opet Temple with the following epithets:⁶²⁶

*z3 Wsir ms.n 'Is.t
bik n nbw pr m hby.t
k3.tw k3=f r 'Imn-wr
sfy šps bnr mrw.t
ir hr.w n hr.w nb*

Son of Osiris, born of Isis,
Falcon of gold who came forth from Chemmis,
One calls him “Amun-wer,”
the august child, sweet of love,
who provides for everyone.

The allusion to the birth in Chemmis, and the reference to Horus’s “Amunization” both point to the function of Harsiese within the south chapel of the Opet Temple.

⁶²³ *Opet I*, 142.

⁶²⁴ Ballet, *BIFAO* 82 (1982): 75-83; Aufrère, *Montou*, pp. 247-8, n. (j).

⁶²⁵ Ballet, *BIFAO* 82 (1982): 75-83.

⁶²⁶ *Opet I*, 260.

Harsiese also features prominently in the mortuary cult on the West Bank, where he receives the title “Great God in the Mound of Djeme (*ntr ʿ3 ḥri-ib i3.t t3m.t*).”⁶²⁷ As Traunecker has already noted, Harsiese often appears in parallel position to Amenope of Djeme in scenes of offering libation and incense.⁶²⁸ The Demotic story of Petubastis and the Priests of Amun (P. Spiegelberg) also mentions “Harsiese, son of Osiris, when he comes to libate for his father Osiris” in the context of the Theban Valley Festival.⁶²⁹

The scenes from the Ptolemaic Pylon of Medinet Habu call Harsiese “he who buries the Ba of his father, Osiris, who treads/visits his grave (*qrs b3 n it=f Wsir, ḥḥ.n=f iz=f*),”⁶³⁰ while a fragmentary text from the door thickness mentions that: “they [come?] to appease the heart of Horus for his father Osiris, on the day when he trod/visited the tomb (*[iw?]=sn r sndm-ib n Hr n it=f Wsir, m hrw ḥḥ.n=f iz*).”⁶³¹ The presence of a local cult of Harsiese at Medinet Habu is confirmed by several demotic graffiti which list priests of Kamutef, the Ogdoad, and Harsiese.⁶³²

⁶²⁷ Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 466 (38b); *Kasr el-Agoûz*, 90; var. “Lord of the Mound of Djeme” (*Deir al-Médîna*, 197, 5-6); in this connection, Traunecker, in Vleeming, ed., *Hundred-Gates Thebes*, pp. 193-4, 199, also notes the tomb of the Late Period priest Harsiese at Medinet Habu.

⁶²⁸ Traunecker, in Vleeming, ed., *Hundred-Gates Thebes*, pp. 197-8, citing *Opet* I, 24 and 25, and *Deir Chelouit* III, 72 and 78; to these attestations, one can cite the parallel scenes of Harsiese and Amenope of Djeme on the Lintel of the Bark Shrine at Medinet Habu (PM II², p. 466 [38a-b]), and the interior of the Ptolemaic Pylon, where Osiris of Djeme and Harsiese appear across from Kematef and Amenope of Djeme (PM II², p. 462 [10e] II-III and [10f] II-III).

⁶²⁹ Traunecker, in Vleeming, ed., *Hundred-Gates Thebes*, p. 187.

⁶³⁰ PM II², p. 462 (10b) II and (10e) III (= Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 106-7, 113).

⁶³¹ PM II², p. 462 (10c-e); quoted by Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning* I, p. 348; II, Pl. 150d.

⁶³² Medinet Habu Graffiti, Nos. 45, 7; 46, 8; 71, 5; 82, 2 (cf. Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*, p. 36, n. 7).

4.21 Hathor Chief of Thebes (Ptah Temple)

Hathor was worshipped within the Ptah Temple as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty.⁶³³ This pairing of Hathor and Ptah is somewhat unusual, although one could compare the peculiar bucephalic Hathor worshipped alongside Ptah in Memphis.⁶³⁴ The assumption that Hathor was assimilated with Sakhmet within the Ptah Temple is not supported by the texts.⁶³⁵ Among all the Graeco-Roman inscriptions of the Ptah Temple, Sakhmet only appears once,⁶³⁶ and Hathor is never referred to as Hathor-Sakhmet.

Hathor at Karnak functions primarily as a Theban form of Isis. This assimilation is done either directly,⁶³⁷ or through the appropriation of Isiac epithets such as “mother of God (*mw.t-ntr*),”⁶³⁸ or “Lady of the People (*nbty.t-rhy.t*).”⁶³⁹ The latter epithet is particularly associated with royal succession, and Hathor of Thebes is above all concerned with securing the throne for her son, Somtous (cf. **4.49**). She receives royal epithets such as “Lady of the Two Lands (*nb.t t3.wy*)”⁶⁴⁰ and “Ruler in Thebes, August in Memphis and Heliopolis (*hq3.t m*

⁶³³ See the famous building inscription of Thutmosis III: *Urk.* IV, 771, 6 (for which see Klug, *Königliche Stelen in der Zeit von Ahmose bis Amenophis III*, pp. 137-46, 511-2); cf. also The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* VII, Pl. 560B; Leclant, *Montuemhat*, p. 225, n. (aw).

⁶³⁴ Berlandini, *BIFAO* 83 (1983): 33-50.

⁶³⁵ *contra* Leclant, *Montouemhat*, pp. 62, n. p; 225, n. aw; idem, *Recherches sur les monuments thébaines*, pp. 301-2, n. 4.

⁶³⁶ *Urk.* VIII, 222b (together with her Memphite son, Nefertem).

⁶³⁷ Hathor = “(Great) Isis”: *Urk* VIII, 80c and i (= Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 28); 189 (9); 190b; 192b; *Opet* I, 25; 140.

⁶³⁸ *Urk.* VIII, 189 (9); 190b; 192b.

⁶³⁹ *Urk.* VIII, 19c (= Aufrère, *Montou*, §§267-9); 211; 212 (3); for this epithet associated with Isis primarily as royal mother, cf. Preys, *BIFAO* 102 (2002): 327-51.

⁶⁴⁰ *Urk.* VIII, 190e.

W3s.t, šps.t m inb-ḥd m ḥq3-ḥnd).”⁶⁴¹ Hathor of Thebes acts as “protector of her heir (*nd(.t) iw^c=s*),”⁶⁴² and “she who puts Horus (var. “her son”) upon the throne of his father (*rdi.t Hr hr ns.t it=f*).”⁶⁴³ One text describes this role in a particularly Theban milieu, as Hathor is said to be.⁶⁴⁴

nīs(.t) hr z3=s
spr(.t) W3s.t nḥ(.t) ḥry-ntr.w
zm3(.t)-t3.wy hr ns.t iw^c=s

She who supplicated concerning her son,
 who reached Thebes and beseeched the Chief of the Gods (Amun),
 who united the two lands⁶⁴⁵ beneath the throne of her heir.

Hathor’s appeal to Amun concerning her son Somtous is further alluded to in a more fragmentary text:⁶⁴⁶

ḥq=s m ḥtp hr it=s Imn
ḥ^c ib=f m m33=s
rdi.n=f imy.t-pr [n ...]

As soon as she enters in peace before her father, Amun,
 his heart rejoices from seeing her,
 having given the inher[itance to ...].⁶⁴⁷

The son of Hathor-Isis was simultaneously the Pharaoh, so Hathor of Thebes was also “she who makes the King through her speech, under whose authority the lord appears in glory (*ir(.t) nsw m ḏd.w=s, ḥ^c nb hr s.t-r3=s*).”⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴¹ *Urk.* VIII, 190b.

⁶⁴² Aufrère, *Montou*, §§267-9 (= *Urk.* VIII, 19c).

⁶⁴³ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§267-9 (= *Urk.* VIII, 19c); 211.

⁶⁴⁴ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 28 (= *Urk.* VIII, 80c); *Opet* I, 140.

⁶⁴⁵ Hathor of Thebes is also “she who unites the two lands for him as/with the Double Crown (*zm3(.t) n=f t3.wy m p3-šm.t*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 211).

⁶⁴⁶ *Urk.* VIII, 192e.

⁶⁴⁷ Compare a similar text concerning Isis and Harsiese (*Opet* I, 138), and cf. **4.20**.

Despite the primarily Isiac function of Hathor within the Ptah Temple, she still retained traditional Hathoric epithets, such as “the Gold (*nbw.t*),”⁶⁴⁹ “Gold of the gods (*nbw.t ntr.w*),”⁶⁵⁰ “mistress of goddesses (*hnw.t-ntr.wt*),”⁶⁵¹ and the ubiquitous “Lady of Heaven, Eye of Re, Mistress of all the Gods.”⁶⁵² She was also “Lady of praises, bountiful of love (*nb(.t) ḥzw.t, šš(.t) mrw.t*),”⁶⁵³ and more interestingly “Lady of love, for whose Ka beer was invented (*nb-mrw.t, šš^c.tw ḥnq.t n kš=s*).”⁶⁵⁴

Although Ptah and Hathor were the chief deities of the Ptah Temple,⁶⁵⁵ they do not seem to have been consorts, as Amun was the father of Sontous (cf. **4.49**). Only one text seems to describe any sort of relationship between Hathor and Ptah:⁶⁵⁶

wnn Pth m nb Iwnw-šm^c
Nbw.t m ḥr.t-tp Wšs.t
sw m tšity zšb m irw=f n dḥn
Is.t r-gs=f m Hw.t-ḥr

As long as Ptah is Lord of Southern Heliopolis,
and the Golden One is the Chief of Thebes,
he is as the judge-vizier in his form of the ibis,

⁶⁴⁸ *Urk.* VIII, 190e.

⁶⁴⁹ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 28 (= *Urk.* VIII, 80i).

⁶⁵⁰ *Urk.* VIII, 190e; 192b; 211.

⁶⁵¹ *Urk.* VIII, 190e; 211.

⁶⁵² *Urk.* VIII, 189 (9); 190b; 228c; 231d; 235 (2) (sometimes abbreviated).

⁶⁵³ *Urk.* VIII, 192e.

⁶⁵⁴ *Urk.* VIII, 190e; note also the the so-called “*mnw*-song,” a popular Hathoric hymn known from many copies throughout Egypt, also appears in the Ptah Temple: *Urk.* VIII, 189; cf. Sternberg-el Hotabi and Kammerzell, *Ein Hymnus and die Göttin Hathor*; and most recently Cauville, *Les fêtes d'Hathor*, pp. 68-79.

⁶⁵⁵ Both feature prominently on the rear exterior wall (cf. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 201 and Pl. 50); in dedication texts, the king is alternately beloved of Ptah and Hathor (*Urk.* VIII, 229 and 235).

⁶⁵⁶ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 28 (= *Urk.* VIII, 80f).

Isis is beside him as Hathor.

Within their small precinct at Karnak, Ptah and Hathor are identified with Thoth and Isis, two deities who interact frequently (particularly concerning Horus), but never as consorts. Their association in Thebes was understood in terms of traditional Memphite ideals of coronation and royal legitimacy.⁶⁵⁷

4.22 Hathor Mistress of the West (Deir el-Medineh)

The cult of Hathor in Western Thebes appears already in the Eleventh Dynasty.⁶⁵⁸ At this time she was primarily regarded as the goddess of the Western gebel behind Deir el-Bahari, the guide for the deceased souls of the Theban necropolis.⁶⁵⁹ In the Graeco-Roman Period, Hathor shared a temple with Maat at Deir el-Medineh, where she received the traditional epithet “Mistress of the West (*ḥnw.t Imnt.t*).”⁶⁶⁰ This form of Hathor does not appear outside of Djeme, and since the inscriptions from Deir el-Medinet are generally quite short, it is difficult to say much about her specific functions in the Graeco-Roman Period.

4.23 Hathor within the Benenet

Hathor within the Benenet was the consort of Chonsu in Thebes,⁶⁶¹ and a number of priests were in her service in the Graeco-Roman Period.⁶⁶² She most frequently wears a

⁶⁵⁷ For Isis, Memphis, and royal legitimacy in the Graeco-Roman period, cf. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*.

⁶⁵⁸ See primarily Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, pp. 57-75; Bernhauer, *GM* 164 (1998): 15-20;

⁶⁵⁹ for the early cult of Hathor in the Western desert of Thebes, cf. Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, I, pp. 66-7, 130-5.

⁶⁶⁰ *Deir al-Médina*, passim; *Kasr el Agoûz*, 48; Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10g) III (= Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 5); for this form of Hathor, see Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, pp. 94-7; Berlandini, *BIFAO* 83 (1983): 44; Montserrat and Meskell, *JEA* 83 (1997): 179-197; for Hathor Mistress of the West, in general, cf. Posener, *Le Papyrus Vandier*, p. 21; Smith, *Papyrus Harkness*, p. 182, n. 26 (b), and note the specific form of “Hathor Chieftess of Libya” (Smith, *Papyrus Harkness*, p. 229, n. 20); cf. also Meeks, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, pp. 137, n. 464.

⁶⁶¹ For Hathor within the Benenet, cf. primarily Degardin, in Luft, ed., *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt*, pp. 104-112; note however, that although Degardin claims that this form of Hathor “ne se manifestent pas dans

flower-bedecked naos-headress containing a uraeus,⁶⁶³ although she can also appear with the traditional Hathoric horns and sundisk.⁶⁶⁴ Hathor occasionally receives the epithet common to all solar goddesses, “Eye of Re, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the Gods,”⁶⁶⁵ as well as “Tefnut, the daughter of Re”⁶⁶⁶ and “uraeus upon his head (*mhn.t hr tp=f*).”⁶⁶⁷

Hathor within the Benenet retained her festive side, and one Ptolemaic text refers to her as “Lady of drunkenness, Lady of singing, Lady of acclamation, Lady of jubilation.”⁶⁶⁸ Another passage, framing a wine-offering scene, describes this Hathor as “the Golden of the gods, Mistress of music,” detailing further how:⁶⁶⁹

ir n=s it=s R^c hb=s th hrw 20 m tpy 3h.t
m-ht pr=s m Imnt.t nfr.t m Itm m mšrw

Her father Re created on her account the Festival of Drunkenness, I Akhet 20,⁶⁷⁰

d’autres monuments de la région thébaine, et encore moins dans d’autres sites égyptiens,” (ibid, pp. 111-2; followed by Thiers, *Karnak 11* [2003]: 592), Hathor “within the Benenet” is attested as far away as Edfu (*Edfou II*, 99, 7; 100, 14) and Qasr el-Ghueita in Khargeh Oasis (photos of Prof. J.C. Darnell).

⁶⁶² BM 8461, line 1 = Bierbrier, *HTBM 11*, pp. 38-9; Bietak, et al., *Das Grab des ‘Anch-Hor*, II, pp. 203, 1. 2, 209 (9); 273 (G 58), 276 (G 79).

⁶⁶³ Hathor of the Benenet is also depicted with a composite vulture-crown, cow-horns and solar-disk: Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 68; The Epigraphic Survey, *Khonsu Temple II*, Pls. 115A and B.

⁶⁶⁴ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 68; The Epigraphic Survey, *Khonsu Temple II*, Pls. 115A and B; this is probably also the case for the graffito of a sacred bark of Hathor on the roof of Chonsu Temple; Jacquet-Gordon, *The Temple of Khonsu*, III, p. 105, Pl. 118, No. 306, who did not mention Hathor of Benenet and assumed this was Hathor of Dendera: “What is Hathor doing here? The boat is depicted as a portable bark. Is she on a visit?”

⁶⁶⁵ The Epigraphic Survey, *Khonsu Temple II*, Pl. 115B; Chonsu Temple, PM II², p. 239 (74b) I; Bark Shrine, West Wall, cols. 48-49 = Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, Pl. 8; *Opet I*, 60; 75; Vars: “Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the Gods” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 5); “Lady of Heaven” (*Edfou II*, 99, 7).

⁶⁶⁶ Chonsu Temple, PM II (74a) I; *Opet I*, 23. Var. “daughter of Re” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 23).

⁶⁶⁷ *Opet I*, 23; var. “uraeus of light (*šww*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 23).

⁶⁶⁸ *Khonsu Temple II*, Pl. 115A.

⁶⁶⁹ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 68; cf. Cauville, *Les fêtes d’Hathor*, p. 51.

⁶⁷⁰ For the various “drunkenness” festivals of Hathor on this date, cf. Cauville, *Les fêtes d’Hathor*, pp. 50-9.

after she emerged from the beautiful West from Atum in the evening.

As the partner of Chonsu and Chonsu-Thoth, Hathor within the Benenet was also partially assimilated with Seshat,⁶⁷¹ either directly,⁶⁷² or through the epithets “Sefkhetabwy,”⁶⁷³ “Mistress of writing,”⁶⁷⁴ or “Mistress of the House of Books.”⁶⁷⁵

Just as Chonsu of Karnak is frequently “Lord of Maat,” so Hathor of the Benenet could be identified with Maat,⁶⁷⁶ primarily through the epithet “amulet of the judge-vizier (*iry-hh n t3ity-z3b*),”⁶⁷⁷ but also as “the ‘semen of the bull’ (Maat), who came forth from him, who sprung up together with him in the initial moment (*mtw.t-k3 pr.t im=f, bnbn(.t) hn^c=f m zp-tpy*).”⁶⁷⁸ Hathor was also be “the throat (*bgs.t*)” of the sungod,⁶⁷⁹ “from whose sight he lives, having breathed sweet air through her.”⁶⁸⁰ These particular epithets refer to Hathor as

⁶⁷¹ For Hathor in the Benenet and Seshat, cf. Budde, *Die Göttin Seshat*, pp. 159-60.

⁶⁷² Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 13

⁶⁷³ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 16

⁶⁷⁴ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 16

⁶⁷⁵ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 16; Var. “Lady of writing, Mistress of the House of Books.” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 22)

⁶⁷⁶ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 5; *Opet I*, 23.

⁶⁷⁷ Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, Pl. 8, col. 49; *Opet I*, 23; Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 5; vars. “amulet of the eldest” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 31), “amulet of her father” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 32); this epithet refers to the Maat-shaped amulet actually worn by high officials: Grdseloff, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 185-202.

⁶⁷⁸ Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, Pl. 8, col. 48; pp. 85-6.

⁶⁷⁹ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 22; Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, Pl. 8, cols. 49; for Maat/*Mr.t* as the throat of the sungod, see primarily Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr.t*, pp. 105-48.

⁶⁸⁰ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 23; *Opet I*, 23; var. “he lives without her ever leaving him (*nh^c=f tm=s hri r=f*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 22)

Maat-Tefnut, the daughter of Atum who provides him with air and life.⁶⁸¹ This role is perhaps responsible for her particular healing powers:⁶⁸²

wn(.t) fnd idn(.w)
wb3(.t) hhy.t g3.ti
šd(.t) bg(3)
wh^c(.t) q3s.w
nb(.t) sfl^h wh^c(.t) r nw=s

She who opens the clogged nose,
who clears the blocked throat,
who rescues the drowning,⁶⁸³
who loosens bonds,
Lady of release, who heals at her time.

These savior attributes make Hathor within the Benenet a particularly effective companion to Chonsu, who also protected against disease and demons (cf. **4.15-17**).

4.24 Imhotep

Imhotep was a high-ranking official in the Third Dynasty, and his role in building the Step Pyramid of Djoser at Saqqara led to his posthumous divinization as a famous sage with cult centers throughout Egypt and Nubia.⁶⁸⁴ In the Graeco-Roman Period, his primary residence in Thebes was in the Ptah Temple of Karnak, a place referred to simply as “the temple of Imhotep (*r-pr 'Ii-m-ḥtp*),”⁶⁸⁵ although he also featured prominently in the chapel of

⁶⁸¹ Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, pp. 172-3.

⁶⁸² Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 68 (= *Urk.* VIII, 85b).

⁶⁸³ For this epithet, cf. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, pp. 46-7, n. (am); Derchain-Urtel, in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, II: *Religion*, pp. 753-61.

⁶⁸⁴ For Imhotep in general, see primarily Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 5-250; idem, *Egyptian Saints*.

⁶⁸⁵ Quack, *RdE* 49 (1998): 256; cf. the detailed descriptions of the cult of Imhotep at Karnak, in *Urk.* VIII, 212 and 213 = **5.2.1.5.1-2**.

Amenhotep son of Hapu in Deir el-Bahari.⁶⁸⁶ This location was only natural, as Imhotep frequently appears as “son of Ptah (*z3 Pth*),”⁶⁸⁷ “heir of Tatenen (*iw^c t3-tnn*),”⁶⁸⁸ as well as “son of Henu (*z3 hnw*)”⁶⁸⁹ “son of the Ba, Lord of the Firmament (*z3 b3-nb-hy*),”⁶⁹⁰ and “son of ‘He who Assembles the Form’ (*z3 twt-qa*).”⁶⁹¹ His experience in the Old Kingdom administration carried into the divine government of Thebes, and thus Imhotep is a member of the “Council of Thirty (*m^cb3y.t*)” of Tatenen,⁶⁹² “the marvel of the guardian deities (*bi3.t nt*

⁶⁸⁶ Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*; Łajtar, *Deir el-Bahari in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, pp. 46-7, notes that there are 44 preserved votive inscriptions for Amenhotep/Amenothos, but only 16 for Imhotep/Aseklepios; two inscriptions from Deir el-Bahari describe the local cult of Imhotep, noting that he is “propitious of face (*nfr-hr*)” and “he who hears prayers in Western Thebes (*sdm nh.wt hr Imnt.t W3s.t*)” (Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, Nos. 23, 1 and 49, 1).

⁶⁸⁷ *Urk.* VIII, 217a; 230; 231d; *Deir al-Médîna*, 151, 2; Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, Nos. 22, 1; 24, 1; 25, 3; 64; 65; 68, 4; *Tôd* II, 236, 17; Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 203 and 213; vars. “son of Ptah-*rsy-inb=f*” (Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, Nos. 23, 1; 49, 1-2); “created (*qm3*) by *rsy-inb=f*” (Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, No. 65; *Tôd* II, 236, 17); “begotten (*wit*) of *rsy-inb=f*” (Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, No. 68, 3).

⁶⁸⁸ Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, No. 68, 4; vars. “created (*qm3*) by Tatenen” (*Deir al-Médîna*, 151, 2-3; Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 213); “born of Tatenen” (Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, No. 23, 1); “Tatenen fashioned you (*nbi tw t3-tnn*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 212 [1]).

⁶⁸⁹ Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, 68, 1; for this common epithet of Ptah-Sokar (lit. “he of the Henu-barque”), cf. *LGG* V, 159-60 (not recognized by Laskowska-Kusztal).

⁶⁹⁰ *Urk.* VIII, 212 (1), this is another epithet for Ptah, cf. primarily Wilke, *ZÄS* 76 (1940): 93-9; *LGG* II, pp. 682-3; and also see the discussion in **5.2.1.5**.

⁶⁹¹ Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, No. 32, 2; for this epithet of Ptah, cf. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 1132-3 (not recognized by Laskowska-Kusztal).

⁶⁹² *Urk.* VIII, 212 (1); this archaic political title also refers to the Thirty children of Tatenen comprising the Ogdoad, Djaisu, Shebtu and Djebau; Thier and Volokhine, *Ermant* I, No. 38, pp. 73-7.

z3.w-n=sn),”⁶⁹³ and he even “makes his counsel together with the Ogdoad as the judge (*ir sh.w=f hn^c Hmni.w m z3b*).”⁶⁹⁴

Imhotep was above all “a beneficent god (*ntr mnḥ*),”⁶⁹⁵ who “comes to whomever calls out to him, who gives life to everybody (*ii n ṣ n=f, di ṣnh n hr.w nb*).”⁶⁹⁶ Identified with Asklepios,⁶⁹⁷ he was specifically a healing deity, “the greatest doctor [...] excellent of his fingers, unto whom call thousands, without him ever sleeping night or day (*wr swnw [...] iqr db^c.w=f, ṣ n=f db^c.w, nn ṣw=f m grḥ m hrw*).”⁶⁹⁸ His most common feat was helping women conceive children, being “he who gives a son to whomever entreats him (*di z3 n snmḥ sw*),”⁶⁹⁹ and “he who makes the barren pregnant (*[sī]wr snb.wt*).”⁷⁰⁰

⁶⁹³ Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, No. 24, 3; *Deir al-Médîna*, 151, 3-4; Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 203; the “guardian deities (z3.w-n=šn)” is a general designation of ancestor gods; cf. Goyon, *Les dieux gardiens*, I, pp. 449-88.

⁶⁹⁴ Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, No. 65; he is also “the excellent god beside the Ogdoad (*ntr iqr r-gs Hmni.w*)” (Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, No. 24, 3), perhaps referring to his position in Western Thebes.

⁶⁹⁵ Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, No. 65; *Tôd II*, 236, 17; *Deir al-Médîna*, 151, 2; *Urk. VIII*, 231d.

⁶⁹⁶ *Urk. VIII*, 212 (3); 231d; Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, Nos. 24, 1; 49, 6; vars. “who gives life to whomever are loyal to him (*di ṣnh n šm hr mw=f*)” (*Deir al-Médîna*, 151, 4-5); “who creates their life (*ir ṣnh=sn*)” (*Urk. VIII*, 213 [14]; Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, No. 22, 2); “life who enlivens all that exists (*ṣnh sṣnh wnn.t nb*)” (Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, No. 23, 1).

⁶⁹⁷ Łajtar, *Deir el-Bahari in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, p. 47.

⁶⁹⁸ Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, No. 63.

⁶⁹⁹ Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, No. 23.

⁷⁰⁰ *Urk. VIII*, 212, 3; cf. also **5.2.1.5.1**, text note (f). Note that Imhotep also “enlivens/keeps alive the heir of those who serve him (*sṣnh iw^c n wn (m) šms.w=f*)” (Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, No. 63), which could either be a reference to his assistance in childbirth or to his protection of infants.

4.25 Irita

Irita (“he who created the earth”) was the serpentine son of Kematef (cf. **4.28**), as well as a form of Amun. Despite his importance in the Theban cosmogony, Irita appears surprisingly rarely in epithets of Amun. In fact, Irita is such a frequent epithet of Ptah, that he may be of Memphite origin.⁷⁰¹ Irita is sometimes directly identified with Ptah-Tatenen,⁷⁰² while elsewhere the king can be “son of Irita” while offering to Ptah.⁷⁰³ Some texts locate Irita within Memphis,⁷⁰⁴ while others claim that he takes part in Memphite activities.⁷⁰⁵ In all of these examples, Ptah-Tatenen-Irita is “he who created the primeval ones (*qm3 p3wty.w*),”⁷⁰⁶ a reference to Tatenen as the creator of all ancestor deities of whom the Ogdoad were just one group.⁷⁰⁷

Ptah was the Memphite creator god par excellence. A long tradition going back to the Coffin Texts describes him as the son of Atum, the active demiurge who succeeds the creator

⁷⁰¹ Noted already by Sandman-Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, pp. 185-6; Reymond, *ZÄS* 92 (1966): 117, n. 11.

⁷⁰² *Médamoud* I, No. 257; *Edfou* II, 37, 9; *Edfou* V, 68, 17; *Esna* III, 216, 2 (6-7); De Morgan, *KO* I, No. 108, divine column.

⁷⁰³ In *Esna* III, 243, 8, the king is “successor (*hry-ns.t*) of Irita,” while Khnum is identified with Tatenen and Ptah (*Esna* III, 243, 10-11); in *Edfou* III, 43, 5, a *hḥ*-offering scene, the king is “begotten of Irita,” a reference to Ptah and his act of lifting the sky; in *Edfou* V, 77, 13-14, a mirror-offering scene, the king is compared to Ptah *rsy-inb=f, Msnty*, and Irita; in *Deir Chelouit* III, 123, 6, the king is “[son] of Irita, image of ‘Creator of the Egg’ (= Ptah)”; for such comparisons between the king and Ptah, see Kurth, *Dekoration der Säulen*, pp. 224-6.

⁷⁰⁴ Primarily in geographic texts of the Memphite nome: *Edfou* I, 329, 13; *Edfou* IV, 21, 15; *Opet* I, 189; *Urk.* VIII, 127c.

⁷⁰⁵ *Esna* III, 332bis, 27-28: “You (sc. Khnum Lord of the Field) are the lord of gods and men, who created what exists, Ptah-Shu who came about as King in the Per-Wer in Ankh-tawy (Memphis), (...) you are Irita who performs Sed-Festivals (*twt nb ntr.w rmt, ir wnn.t, Pth-šw hpr m nsw.t m pr-wr m ḥn-t3.wy* (...) *twt Iri-t3 ir hb.w-sd*)” (cf. Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d’Esna*, pp. 227-8); Irita is mentioned in a scene involving the Four Kas of Memphis (De Morgan, *KO* I, Nos. 107, 8 and 108, royal column; cf. Meeks, *RdE* 15 [1963]: 38-9); even in a Theban text, the Ogdoad are said to travel north to Memphis so Re might “rule the throne of Irita” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 49 = *Urk.* VIII, 95c; cf. **4.39**).

⁷⁰⁶ *Edfou* II, 37, 9

⁷⁰⁷ Reymond, *ZÄS* 92 (1966): 116-28; Thiers and Volokhine, *Ermant* I, pp. 73-7.

god and fashions the cosmos.⁷⁰⁸ This relationship between Atum and Ptah provides a paradigm for understanding Kematef and Irita.

Texts involving Irita focus primarily on his initial emergence from the primeval Nun waters in the form of a snake. This extremely significant cosmic event is described in a number of inscriptions:

- (1) Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 21 (= *Urk.* VIII, 79h),⁷⁰⁹ describing Amun:

wnn b3 šps hr bs(.t) m Nwn
iw t3 3bh(.w) m zm3wy
sw m Iri-t3
itn=f m šww
šsp.n=f sw.w m nbit
h.n.f p.t w3h.n=f z3t [...]

When the august Ba emerged from Nun,
 while the earth was filled with darkness,
 he was Irita,
 his disk was light,
 having illumined the districts with fire,
 Just as he lifted heaven so did he set down the earth [...].

- (2) Aufrère, *Montou*, §§148-50 (= *Urk.* VIII, 12f), describing Amun:

wnn b3 šps (hr) bs(.t) m zm3wy
hr wd(.t) šsp m ntr.ty=fy
sw m Iri-t3 tw3 bnw hr s3=f
ntr 3 n dr-^c nwr ndb
nsw.t-ntr.w ir nn r-3w
p3wty-t3.wy hpr ds=f

When the august Ba emerged from darkness,
 emitting light with his divine-eyes,
 He was Irita, who lifts up the *bnw*-land upon his back,⁷¹⁰
 The great god of the beginning, who shakes the earth,
 King of the Gods, who made this in its entirety,

⁷⁰⁸ Berlandini, *RdE* 46 (1995): 9-41; Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, pp. 144-5.

⁷⁰⁹ For this text, see further **4.28** and **4.38**.

⁷¹⁰ For the initial *bnw*-land, cf. Traunecker, *Coptos*, No. 25, 1, and pp. 152-3, n. (e), for a similar text referring to Irita.

The Primeval of the Two Lands, the self-originate.

- (3) Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 2B (= *Urk.* VIII, 107 [1]), Thebes is called:

[r]d n'Iri-t3
q3w wr di tp=f m Nwn
iw t3 (r-)dr=f m zm3wi

[The plat]form of Irita,
the great high-mound ($\Delta \Delta$)⁷¹¹ that appeared out of Nun,
while the entire land was in darkness.

- (4) Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 4 (= *Urk.* VIII, 65h), describing Amun(-Kematef):

qm3 d.t=f m'Iri-t3
psd m Nwn zm3wi

He who created his body as Irita,
who (then) arose from Nun and darkness.

- (5) De Morgan, *KO* II, No. 941,⁷¹² describing Sobek:

pr m Nwn m'Iri-t3
He who came forth from Nun as Irita.

- (6) De Morgan, *KO* II, No. 939, Left, col. 1 (= Junker, *ZÄS* 67 [1931]: 54), describing Sobek:

shm=f wr m'Iri-t3
qm3.n=f m Nwn m qm3-3.t=f

His great image is as Irita,
whom he created while (still) in Nun as Kematef.

Irita emerged from Nun together with the primeval-uraeus Mut, whose flame created
“light after darkness” alluded to in the above passages (#1 and 2).⁷¹³ In this context, Irita
sometimes is merely alluded to as the *d*-serpent.⁷¹⁴

⁷¹¹ The three *k*-signs represent an archaizing orthography of the masculine *-w* ending of *q3w* “height, mound” (*Wb.* V, 4, 1-14), and not the plural as translated by Saleh, *MDAIK* 25 (1969): 118 (“The great mound(s?) that emerged from Nun”).

⁷¹² Cf. also Junker, *ZÄS* 67 (1931): 54, n. 7.

⁷¹³ For this aspect of Mut, cf. **4.38**.

- (8) *Edfou* V, 154, 4, describing Hathor:

pr.t m Nwn hn^c Iri-t3

She who came forth from Nun together with Irita.

- (9) *Esna* VI, 514, 12-13, describing Menhyt-Sakhmet:

wbn.t m Nwn hn^c Iri-t3

She who arose from Nun together with Irita.

- (10-11) *Esna* II, 64, 1 and *Esna* III, 216, 3 (13), describing Menhyt and Neith:

di(.t) tp=s m Nwn hn^c Iri-t3

She who appeared out of Nun together with Irita.

- (12-14) Aufrère, *Montou*, §§246-248 (= *Urk.* VIII, 18c); Chonsu Temple, PM II², p. 240, (78) II,1; *Esna* III, 395, 14-16, describing Mut and Menhyt:

pr.t hn^c d m nni.w

She who came forth together with the *d*-serpent from the inert-waters.

Other inscriptions allude to Irita's emergence from Nun without mentioning him explicitly:

- (15) De Morgan, *KO* I, 59, cols. 1-2 (= Derchain, et al., in Labrique, ed., *Religions méditerranéennes et orientales de l'antiquité*, p. 82 and Fig. 2), describing Sobek:

nbi.n=f Nwn m ir.ty=f(y)
(hr) ir(.t) sšp m-ht kkw

It was with his eyes that he burned Nun,
making light after darkness.

- (16) De Morgan, *KO* II, 958, Divine column, describing Sobek:

[...] *iw t3 3bh.w m zm3wy* [...]
qm3=f k3=f m Qm3-3.t=f
tw3.n=f tp=f hnt nt
nbi.n[=f Nwn] m m3wy n ir.t=fy

[...] while the earth was mixed with darkness [...]

⁷¹⁴ For the primeval *d*-serpent and Irita, cf. **4.38**.

He created his Ka as Kematef,
just as he lifted his head out from the water-surface,
so did [he] cook the [Nun] waters with the rays of his eye.

- (17) *Urk.* VIII, 142 (1-2), describing Thebes:

s.t dr-^c ʕ^c-Nwn n Imn-rn=f
ir.n=f[m] qm³.n=[f]
qfn.n=f s(y) m nb(.t) n ir.t=f
m [...] nh³

The ancient location of the ejaculation of Nun for He-Whose-Name-is-Hidden,
which he made [through] that which he created,
It was with the with the fire of his eye that he baked it,⁷¹⁵
in/as [...]the rough waters.

- (18) *Urk.* VIII, 138b and k, describing Amun of Karnak:

pr m Nwn
ms t³.wy m qm³.n ib=f

Who came forth from Nun,
and birthed the two lands through that which his mind created

bs m Nwn
qm³ t³ m p³.n=f hpr
m³wy n ib=f hpr(.w) hr-^c

Who burst forth from Nun,
who created the earth when he had come into existence,
the thoughts of his mind came about immediately.

- (19) Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 4 (= *Urk.* VIII, 65c), describing Amun of Karnak:

pr m Nwn (...)
wbn m Nwn ʒbh(.w) m zm³wy
wn-hn-šsr m itn=f

Who came forth from Nun (...)
who rose from Nun mixed with darkness,
who began light with his solar-disk.

⁷¹⁵ Cf. also *Esna* III, 252, 26 (= Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna*, p. 110), describing Neith: “who cooked the earth with the fire of her eyes, with the breath of flame which came forth from her mouth (*qfn.t t³ m nbi(.t) nty ir.ty=s(y)*, *m hh pr m r³=s*).” For the use of the verb (*s*)*qfn*, “to cook,” or in general, “to turn a liquid into a solid,” cf. the remarks of Sauneron, *BIFAO* 60 (1960): 22-3, n. 8.

(20) Stela BM EA 1432, ll. 2-3 (= **5.2.4.7**), describing Amun of Karnak:

wbn m Nwn
iw t3 m zm3wy
m hry-ntr.w nb.w hnty W3s.t

m3t.n=f p.t t3 dw3.t
ir.n=f rmt wt.t.n=f ntr.w
shpr.n=f hpr.w nb
tm3.t=f hn^c=f

Who rose from Nun,
 while the earth was in darkness,
 as the Chief of All the Gods foremost of Thebes,

He conceived heaven, earth, and the Netherworld,
 just as he made people, so did he beget the gods,
 with the result that he created all forms,
 while his *tm3.t*-serpent (= Mut) was with him.

This event is clearly quite important in the Theban cosmogony. While Kematef is the initial creator deity, he never leaves the primeval waters of Nun (cf. **4.28**). Irita's exit from Nun thus represents the first divine entry into the physical world, the step necessary for the creation of the cosmos. Using the "fire of his eye," a reference to Mut as the mother-uraeus, Irita cooks the initial waters and dries them into the initial earth. A text from Coptos provides an interesting variant on this creation account, relating the chthonic deity Geb (*Gbb*) to "the primeval land (*qbb*) that came about in the beginning, which came forth from the innards/coils (*q3b*) of Irita."⁷¹⁶

Although scholars often assume that Irita created the Ogdoad, because of an assimilation with Amenope,⁷¹⁷ there are no Theban inscriptions identifying Irita with Amenope. Reliefs of Amenope never mention Irita, and texts featuring Irita (either as Amun

⁷¹⁶ Traunecker, *Coptos*, No. 25, 1.

⁷¹⁷ E.g. Sethe, *Amun*, §§101, 114-5; Barta, *LÄ III*, col. 382; Traunecker, *Coptos*, p. 151, n. (c); Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, p. 133; Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 223, n. 17.

of Karnak or Medinet Habu) do not call him Amenope. On the contrary, an offering scene from North Karnak contains the following speech of the King to Amenope of Djeme.⁷¹⁸

*mn n=k nn n iht ib=k im=sn
w3h=k st n k3 n Iri-t3
shtp=k Nwn m pr im=f*

Take these offerings which you desire,
so you might offer them for the Ka of Irita,
so you might satisfy Nun with that which came from him.

Amenope of Luxor would probably not have presented offerings to his own Ka, suggesting that Amenope and Irita were in fact distinct deities.

Furthermore, unlike Amenope (cf. **4.3**), no inscriptions explicitly say that Amun-Irita created the Ogdoad. Two parallel texts from Karnak do refer to the Ogdoad as “the sons and daughters of Irita (*z3.w z3.wt n Iri-t3*),”⁷¹⁹ but this does not mean they are direct descendents of Irita.⁷²⁰ On the other hand, two inscriptions from Edfu label Ptah-Irita as “he who created the primeval gods (*qm3 p3wty.w*),”⁷²¹ while in an offering scene to Ptah from Deir Shelwit, the king is compared to both Irita and “the Creator of the Egg,” a distinct reference to Ptah as creator of the Ogdoad (cf. **4.39**).⁷²² These passages indicate that outside of Thebes proper, Memphite traditions made Ptah-Tatenen, the traditional Egyptian demiurge *par excellence*,

⁷¹⁸ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§236-8 (= *Urk.* VIII, 36c); Sethe, *Amun*, §§38, n. 3 and 114, already noted the problem this text demonstrates for his reconstruction of the generations of Amun; for Aufrère, *Montou*, pp. 345, n. (c), 348, n. (e), this is proof that Irita and Kematef are the same deity.

⁷¹⁹ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 67 (= *Urk.* VIII, 90c); *Urk.* VIII, 149b; note that at Edfu, the Ogdoad are called “the divine sons and daughters of “He who is South of his Wall (...) Irita” (*z3.w z3.wt ntry nt rsy-inb=f (...) Iri-t3*)” (*Edfou* VI, 174, 12-13).

⁷²⁰ Cf. Köthen-Welpot, *Theogonie und Genealogie im Pantheon der Pyramidentexte*, pp. 112-3 (for the broad understanding of “children” as descendants).

⁷²¹ *Edfou* II, 37, 9; *Edfou* V, 68, 17 (partially restored).

⁷²² *Deir Chelouit* III, 123, 6.

the creator of both the earth and the first generation of primeval deities.⁷²³ Within Thebes, however, these two cosmogonic stages were performed by two separate forms of Amun: Irita-Tatenen created the earth, while Amenope-Tatenen fashioned the Ogdoad within Luxor Temple.

This distinction may help to identify the cult location of Amun-Irita. While Kematef and the Ogdoad dwelled permanently beneath the Mound of Djeme, Irita was an active deity, and thus never appears as the recipient of funerary offerings. On the other hand, an offering scene from the Second Pylon at Karnak describes a form of Amun connected to the East Bank, with epithets befitting Irita.⁷²⁴

Imn-R^c nsw-ntr.w m pr=f
ntr wr hpr m zp-tpy
it-ntr.w pr m Nwn
ms t3.wy m qm3.n ib=f

Amun-Re King of the Gods in his Domain,
 great god who came about in the first moment,
 father of the gods who came forth from Nun,
 who birthed the lands through that which his mind created.

bs m Nwn
qm3 t3 m p3.n=f hpr
m3wy n ib=f hpr(.w) hr-c
tz nti.w-c n p.t t3 dw3.t
ir hry.w shpr hry.w
sšm.n=f hr.w r mtn=sn

He who came forth from Nun,
 who created the earth when he had come into existence,⁷²⁵
 the thoughts of his mind came about immediately,
 who bound together the habits of heaven, earth, and the underworld,

⁷²³ See primarily Reymond, ZÄS 92 (1966): 116-28; Thiers and Volokhine, *Ermant I*, pp. 73-7.

⁷²⁴ *Urk.* VIII, 138b and k; for priests of “Amun-Re in his Domain,” cf. Fairman, JEA 20 (1934): Pl. I, 2 and II, 1; Zayed, *ASAE* 57 (1962): 144, 147-9, 151, 154-5; cf. also *LGG I*, 324-5.

⁷²⁵ For the syntax of this epithet, cf. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, p. 133, n. 10.

who made those above and created those below,
having guided the faces to their paths.

The epithets of “Amun-Re King of the Gods within his domain” allude to Irita’s initial emergence from the waters of Nun and his creation of the world,⁷²⁶ implying that Amun of Karnak was Irita himself.⁷²⁷ This identification might explain the differences between the two Amuns of Karnak and Luxor;⁷²⁸ Amun of Karnak as Irita would embody the active solar god who began existence, while Amun of Luxor as Tatenen-Amenope would be the primeval creator god who fashioned the Ogdoad. Furthermore, this identification would suggest that after their initial exit from Nun, the serpentine pair Mut and Irita remained closely associated in their neighboring temples in Karnak.

4.26 Isis of Deir Shelwit

The earliest inscription from Deir Shelwit comes from the reign of Augustus (cf. **5.1.6**). In the most recent analysis of the temple, Zivie-Coche did not present any evidence of earlier cults of Isis in western Thebes.⁷²⁹ Nonetheless, the building technique of the propylon, and the strange placement of the Augustan gate, suggest the existence of an earlier

⁷²⁶ In this offering scene, Amun is accompanied by Mut “the uraeus of He whose Name is Hidden, the protector of Re on his brow (*pḥ3.t nt Imn-rn=f, nd.t n R^c m ḥ3.t=f*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 138c), a reference to the uraeus who emerges with Irita (cf. **4.38**).

⁷²⁷ Note also that several mythological inscriptions from Karnak refer to Thebes as “the staircase of Irita (*rd n Iri-t3*),” (Clère, Pls. 2B, 38 = *Urk.* VIII, 107 [1], 113 [1]; *Urk.* VIII, 143 [2]; the latter example completely misunderstood by Drioton, *ASAE* 44 [1944]: 134-5, n. [p]), both a phonetic pun, and also an allusion to the staircase of the Akh-Menu in Karnak (cf. Sethe, *Amun*, §§249 and 251; and **5.4.1**).

⁷²⁸ For the differences between Amun of Luxor and Amun of Karnak in the New Kingdom, cf. Pamminger, *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung* 5 (1992): 93-140.

⁷²⁹ Zivie, et al., *Le temple de Deir Chelouit*, IV; Zivie does not see any connection between Deir Shelwit and the nearby structures of Kom es-Samak or the Birket Habu (Zivie, *Le temple de Deir Chelouit*, IV, pp. 13-4).

structure from the 30th Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period, either rebuilt or redecorated in the Roman Period.⁷³⁰

Different pieces of evidence suggest the presence of an Isis cult on the West Bank before the Roman Period. A priestly autobiography from the Third Intermediate Period mentions a “temple of Isis of the Great Mound (*ḥw.t-ntr nt 'Is.t n i3.t wr.t*),”⁷³¹ while a Twenty-Fifth Dynasty statue found at Medinet Habu mentions “Isis who unites with the Mound of Djeme (*Is.t ḥnm.t i3.t-d3m.t*).”⁷³² An unpublished block, presently in Luxor Temple, contains a dedicatory inscription stating that an unknown pharaoh (with empty cartouches), “made among his monuments for his mother, Isis of the Mound of Djeme (*ir.n=f m mnw=f n mw.t=f, 'Is.t n i3.t-d3m.t*).”⁷³³

A number of Ptolemaic administrative documents also mention a temple of Isis within the district of Djeme.⁷³⁴ In one passage, this temple is in north Djeme,⁷³⁵ while elsewhere it is said to be bordered on the south by “the canal (*p3 m3c*),” and on the west by “the road of Amun of Djeme (*t3 mi.t n 'Imn n Dm3*).”⁷³⁶ The canal on the West Bank is known from a

⁷³⁰ Zivie, et al., *Le temple de Deir Chelouit*, IV, pp. 14, 64-6, 70, 84-5, 92.

⁷³¹ Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Biographien*, I, p. 149, n. 55; Zivie, *Le temple de Deir Chelouit*, IV, pp. 9, n. 41, 92, n. 11, considers this example, but assumes there is no relation to Deir Shelwit.

⁷³² Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains*, p. 287.

⁷³³ Unpublished, after personal photos. The block appears to be from a door jamb, presently lying on the ground between the southeast corner of Luxor Temple and the Chicago House blockyard (east of PM II², p. 328, Room XIV); the inscription could date from the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty to the Roman Period, although the style of the carving compares well to the Ptolemaic or Augustan blocks from Luxor (cf. **5.1.4**).

⁷³⁴ Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, pp. 105-6; Zivie, *Le temple de Deir Chelouit*, IV, p. 9, n. 43.

⁷³⁵ Pestman, *L'Archivio di Amenotes, figlio di Horos*, p. 95, n. 2; note that the temple of Deir el-Medina was also said to be in North Djeme (Pestman, *L'Archivio di Amenotes, figlio di Horos*, p. 95, n. [c]).

⁷³⁶ Botti, *L'Archivio demotico da Deir el-Medineh*, p. 45, n. 6 (from P. Botti 4, 12); for this road, cf. Cabrol, *Les voies processionelles de Thèbes*, pp. 73-4.

number of administrative documents, and it apparently lay near the border of Djeme and Armant,⁷³⁷ just like the temple of Deir Shelwit.

Isis was the primary deity of Deir Shelwit, a location known both as the “Hidden Mountain (*ḏw šṭṣ*)” and the “Western Mountain (*ḏw imnty*).”⁷³⁸ The former toponym recalls the island of Biggeh, the burial spot of Osiris to which Isis of Philae traveled to perform funerary rites, which was called both “the High Mountain (*ḏw qṣ*),” and the “Hidden Mountain (*ḏw šṭṣ*).”⁷³⁹ The toponym “Hidden Mountain” also appears in texts from Abydos, Diospolis Parva, and elsewhere to designate the western gebel and associated tombs.⁷⁴⁰ The “Western Mountain,” meanwhile, was a traditional designation of the western necropolis,⁷⁴¹ and a text from Karnak locates “the Duat of Thebes in the Western Mountain in the vicinity of the Mound of Djeme (*ḏwṣ.t nt Wṣs.t m ḏw Imnty m-ḥṣw iṣ.t-tṣ.w-mw.wt*).”⁷⁴² Deir Shelwit

⁷³⁷ Pestman, *L'Archivio di Amenotes, figlio di Horos*, p. 110, n. e.

⁷³⁸ Zivie, *Le temple de Deir Chelouit IV*, pp. 8-9; note that “mysterious mountain (*ḏw šṭṣ*)” is nearly synonymous with the “hidden mountain (*ḏw imn*)” which appears as a variant to the “Western mountain (*ḏw imnty*)” already in New Kingdom solar hymns; cf. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 93, n. (1); idem, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, p. 334, n. i.

⁷³⁹ Locher, *Topographie und Geschichte der Religion am ersten Nilkatarakt in griechisch-römischer Zeit*, pp. 175-7; for Isis of Deir Shelwit “upon the high mountain (*ḥr ḏw qṣ*),” cf. *Deir Chelouit III*, 129, 13; cf. also the designation of Abu Simbel as “the pure mountain (*ḏw w^cb*)” cf. Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz, *Le petit temple d'Abou Simbel*, I, pp. 203-4, n. 342.

⁷⁴⁰ See Meeks, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, p. 45, n. 20 (and references cited therein).

⁷⁴¹ Smith, *The Carlsberg Papyrus 5: On the primaeval Ocean*, p. 90; Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, p. 86, n. A; cf. also the use of the term “Libyan Mountain (*mons libycus*)” in *Asclepius 27* and *37* (cf. Copenhagen, *Hermetica*, pp. 83 and 90) to refer to an Egyptian necropolis.

⁷⁴² Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 38 (= *Urk.* VIII, 113 [1]).

was also called “the place of embalming (*r3-wry.t*),”⁷⁴³ associated with “the father of fathers” (Kematef),⁷⁴⁴ Osiris-Wennefer,⁷⁴⁵ and Atum.⁷⁴⁶

The popularity of Isis on the West Bank is evident in several Demotic graffiti carved throughout the desert.⁷⁴⁷ One such votive inscription extols her protection over travelers:⁷⁴⁸

“O ye of all lands, call out to Isis, the great goddess.
She listens all the time.
She never abandons the one who calls out to her in the road.
I called out to Isis.
She heard my voice and (the voice of) my companions.
She brought [us to our] great house,
we being well at the behest of Isis and the gods of Djeme.”

Another Demotic graffito records a number of epithets for Isis, including “lady of the mountain (*t3 nb.t n p3 tw*),”⁷⁴⁹ an epithet paralleled in a Demotic inscription from the Bucheum naming a “pastophor of Isis of the mountain (*wn n 'Is.t n p3 tw*).”⁷⁵⁰

4.27 Iunyt

The earliest representations of the goddess Iunyt go back to the Eleventh Dynasty, but very little is clear about her specific attributes or functions. Her name literally means “she

⁷⁴³ Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 245.

⁷⁴⁴ *Deir Chelouit* I, 25.

⁷⁴⁵ *Deir Chelouit* III, 156.

⁷⁴⁶ *Deir Chelouit* III, 129, 11-12: “Great Isis within the embalming place, august and mighty, who pacifies Atum within the Temple of Atum (*Is.t-wr.t hr(.t)-ib r3-wry.t, šps.t wsr.t šhpt(.t) 'Itm m-hnw hw.t-'Itm*)”; the latter phrase may be a reference to the Bucheum (*hw.t-'Itm*), cf. Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, pp. 252.

⁷⁴⁷ Jasnow, in Thissen and Zauzich, eds., *Grammata Demotika*, pp. 91-3, 97-105; Jasnow dates these particular graffiti to the Roman Period based on the palaeography.

⁷⁴⁸ Theban Graffito 3462; translation of Jasnow, in Thissen and Zauzich, eds., *Grammata Demotika*, p. 92.

⁷⁴⁹ Theban Graffito 3445, 12; Jasnow, in Thissen and Zauzich, eds., *Grammata Demotika*, p. 98.

⁷⁵⁰ Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, p. 268.

from Armant (*Iwny.t*),” an epithet equally appropriate for Tjenenet who was also based in Armant (cf. **4.53**). A certain goddess Tjenenet-Iunyt appears from the New Kingdom onwards,⁷⁵¹ suggesting a late syncretization of the two. However, since Tjenenet often appears alongside Iunyt, they were more likely two distinct goddesses, although their relationship is difficult to define.⁷⁵² One text from Edfu claims that Iunyt “resembles her mother who created her (*tw.t(.t) r mw.t=s qm3(.t) sy*),”⁷⁵³ which may indicate that Tjenenet was her mother.

Few epithets reveal the specific functions of Iunyt. She is both “daughter of Re,”⁷⁵⁴ and “eye of Re,”⁷⁵⁵ and she usually wears the Hathoric crown. A number of inscriptions identify her as “Great Isis, mother of god (*Is.t-wr.t mw.t ntr*),”⁷⁵⁶ “Isis the mother of Horus (*Is.t mwt nt Hr*),”⁷⁵⁷ and “heaven who created her Horus as the sundisk (*p.t shpr(.t) Hr=s m itn*).”⁷⁵⁸

⁷⁵¹ E.g. Farid, *MDAIK* 39 (1983): 62.

⁷⁵² For Tjenenet next to Iunyt, cf. *Edfou* I, 174; 312; *Edfou* IV, 121; *Tôd* II, 182; in *Deir Chelouit* III, 133, Tjenenet-Iunyt appears beside Iunyt; cf. also the brief discussion of te Velde, *JEA* 57 (1971): 84-5.

⁷⁵³ *Edfou* I, 312, 7-8.

⁷⁵⁴ *Deir Chelouit* III, 133, 8; *Tôd* II, 291, 11.

⁷⁵⁵ *Deir Chelouit* I, 23, 9; *Dendara* XV, 369, 7.

⁷⁵⁶ *Tôd* II, 291, 11-12.

⁷⁵⁷ *Tôd* II, 245, 2.

⁷⁵⁸ *Deir Chelouit* III, 133, 9.

4.28 Kematef (Kneph)

Kematef (Knêph/Kmêph)⁷⁵⁹ was a specific form of Amun in Medinet Habu,⁷⁶⁰ the ultimately primeval creator deity *par excellence*. His name, which literally means “he who completes his moment (*km 3.t=f*)” or “he whose moment is completed,” first appears in the Ptolemaic Period, but it may have had earlier precedents, as a passage from a Roman Period litany to Amun from Tanis demonstrates (ll. 6-7):⁷⁶¹

qm3 3.t
km 3.t=f
k3 mw.t=f

He who created the moment,
who completes his moment (Kematef),
Bull of his Mother (Kamutef).

The apposition of these epithets in the Tanis papyrus suggests that Kematef was in some sense a reinterpretation and appropriation of the epithet Kamutef (cf. **4.31**). The other epithet, “he who creates the moment,” differs only slightly from Kematef, and many examples of the name Kematef from outside of Thebes are written with the *qm3*-sign.⁷⁶²

⁷⁵⁹ For the Greek rendering of Kematef, see most recently Thissen, *ZPE* 112 (1996): 153-60; note however, that the strict distinction between Kematef = Kmeph(is), Kamutef = Kamephis is probably unnecessary. Chauveau noted the problems with the traditional derivation “Kamephis < *K3-mw.t=f*,” and demonstrated that **-mw.t=f* appears as **-mouthês* not **-mêphis* in bilingual mummy docketts (Chauveau, *RdE* 37 [1986]: 35-6); furthermore, there is only one example of the name Kamephis (*Korê Kosmou*, 32), which Thissen had already assumed was a scribal mistake for Kmephis (Thissen, *ZPE* 112 [1996]: 158).

⁷⁶⁰ The name Kematef most commonly accompanies Amun of Medinet Habu (*dsr-s.t*): *Deir al-Médîna*, 9, 2; 80; 130; 146; 196, 5; *Deir Chelouit* III, 125, 7; Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10d) II; (10f) I; (10f) II; Lintel (front and reverse) = Sethe, *Amun*, §115; PM II², p. 466 (38b); pp. 469-70 (48a); Gauthier, *BIFAO* 12 (1916): 140, II, B; *Urk.* VIII, 203g; this is always the case in demotic graffiti, cf. Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*, p. 27, n. 7.

⁷⁶¹ Vernus, *RdE* 31 (1979): 101-119; Guerneur, *Les cultes d'Amon*, pp. 297-8; Derchain-Urtel, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen*, p. 98.

⁷⁶² *LD* IV, 54a (Dendera); *Esna* III, 196, 2; 255, A; 389, 14; De Morgan, *K.O.* I, 58, Gt. Rz., col. 1 (= Derchain, in: Labrique, ed., *Religions méditerranéennes et orientales de l'antiquité*, p. 81); 59, 1 (= Derchain, *op. cit.*, p. 82); 61, 5 (= Derchain, *op. cit.*, Fig. 4, col. 35); *K.O.* II, 939, Left, 1 = (Junker, *ZÄS* 67 [1931]: 54); 958, Gt. Rz.; cf. Derchain-Urtel, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen*, pp. 90-2; Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*, pp. 27-8, n. 7, notes that in Demotic, Kematef always appears in the unetymological orthography *qm3*-

As Thissen has noted, Kematef is a particular epithet or form of Amun, never a separate divinity.⁷⁶³ Similar deities in other Graeco-Roman temples, such as Neith at Esna or Harsomtous at Dendera, can also be called Kematef, but never with the same frequency as Amun in Medinet Habu. In addition, a Graeco-Roman offering table contains an invocation offering of “Amun-Re-*dsr-s.t*, Kematef, father of the gods” and the Ogdoad.⁷⁶⁴

The name Kematef seems to refer to the initial moment of creation by the Heliopolitan creator god Atum.⁷⁶⁵ This moment (*ʒ.t*) of creation is violently brief,⁷⁶⁶ and a Late Egyptian “translation” of a Middle Egyptian text renders *m ʒ.t* “in the moment” as *m tʒ wnw.t > N-TEOYNOY* “immediately.”⁷⁶⁷ Just like Atum, Kematef was “the great god of the beginning (*ntr ʒ n dr-ʒ*),”⁷⁶⁸ “who came into existence in the beginning (*hpr m hʒ.t*),”⁷⁶⁹

ʒw.t=f (lit. “he who creates his office”), as the words *km*, “to complete,” or *ʒ.t*, “moment,” were no longer used in Demotic.

⁷⁶³ Thissen, *ZPE* 112 (1996): 157.

⁷⁶⁴ Gauthier, *BIFAO* 12 (1916): 140, II, B.

⁷⁶⁵ For similarities between Atum and Kematef, cf. recently Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, p. 49, n. B.

⁷⁶⁶ Gardiner, *JEA* 34 (1948): 12-3; Derchain-Urtel, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen*, pp. 87-9.

⁷⁶⁷ *Urk.* VI, 125, 19/20; cf. Schott, *Die Deutung der Geheimnisse des Rituals für die Abwehr des Bösen*, p. 206; cf. also the phrase *m km n ʒ.t*, “in the completion of a moment,” to denote speed (*Wb.* I, 1, 18).

⁷⁶⁸ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 21 (= *Urk.* VIII, 79b); Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462, (10b) I; Lintel (front and reverse) = Sethe, *Amun*, §115.

⁷⁶⁹ *Deir al-Médîna*, 196, 5; Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 466 (38a); (38b) *bis*; Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 21 (= *Urk.* VIII, 79b); Vars.: *hpr m zp tpy*: Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462, (10b) I; Lintel (front and reverse) = Sethe, *Amun* §115; PM II², p. 466, (38b) *bis*; *hpr hnt*: Marseille 5194 (= Gallet, *BIFAO* 101 [2001]: 196); *Deir Chelouit* III, 143, 14; for similar epithets for other Kematefs, cf. *Esna* II, 70, 12 and 16; de Morgan, *K.O.* I, 58 (Gt. Rz., col. 1); 59, 1; 61, 5.

“before anything had come into existence (*ni hpr(.t) hprw*).”⁷⁷⁰ Kematef “came into existence by himself (*hpr ds=f*),”⁷⁷¹ while “all alone (*nn ky hr hwi=f*).”

In this primeval state, Kematef resides within the primeval waters, being “the primeval *Bnn*, that means the Ba in Nun (*Bnn pw b3 m Nwn*),”⁷⁷² and it is from these Nun waters that Irita and Mut come forth (cf. **4.25, 4.38**). After his moment of creation, Kematef dwells within the Mound of Djeme, frequently called “the cavern of Nun (*tp̄h.t Nwn*),”⁷⁷³ and there he maintains control over the Inundation (see *infra*). A text from Edfu notes that the local agathos daimon serpent of Thebes was “he who is within the flood waters (*imy Nwy*),” a reference to Kematef and a pun on the name Amun (*Imn*).⁷⁷⁴ The idea of the agathos daimon in Nun resurfaces in Magical Papyri, where one encounters Bainphnoun (< *b3 n p3 Nwn*),⁷⁷⁵ and Phnounochthonios (lit. “the chthonic Nun”), equated in Demotic as “the agathos daimon within Nun (*p3 š3y nty hn p3 Nwn*).”⁷⁷⁶ Just like Atum, Kematef resides within Nun before creation and at the end of creation.⁷⁷⁷

⁷⁷⁰ Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10f) I; pp. 469-70 (45c); *Opet* I, 122.

⁷⁷¹ Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10f) II.

⁷⁷² Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, pp. 37-8.

⁷⁷³ Gabolde, *BIFAO* 95 (1995): 248-50;

⁷⁷⁴ Cf. **3.1.1**, text note (n).

⁷⁷⁵ PGM XIII 809; noted by Thissen, in Verhoeven and Graefe, eds., *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten*, p. 299.

⁷⁷⁶ Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shai*, pp. 168-70; Smith, *On the Primaeval Ocean*, pp. 22-3..

⁷⁷⁷ For Atum within the initial Nun waters, see Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, pp. 25-7, 36, 46-9; for Atum as the serpent within Nun after the destruction of the cosmos, see the account of Book of the Dead 175, for which see Otto, *CdE* 37 (1962): 249-56.

Kematef's most important act is the creation of his successors, the demiurge Irita and the primeval-uraeus Mut (cf. **4.38**). The lineage appears quite explicitly in the statement: "He is Kematef, the father of Irita (*Km-3.t=f pw it Iri-t3*)."⁷⁷⁸ In most cases, however, the details of their relationship are tricky to adduce. Since Amun is both Kematef and Irita, he can receive epithets of both hypostases within the same text.⁷⁷⁹ For example, Amun is called both "he who created Nun, and he who arose from within it while the land was mixed with darkness (*shpr Nwn, wbn m-hnt=f, iw t3 'bh(.w) m zm3wy*),"⁷⁸⁰ even though these two epithets refer specifically to Kematef and Irita. Nonetheless, some texts are quite explicit in contrasting the roles of the two primeval serpents. In particular, two parallel offering scenes from the propylon of Chonsu Temple contain labels to Amun that differentiate between Kematef (East) and Irita (West), employing the "wnn...sw..."-construction common in such texts.⁷⁸¹

East:⁷⁸²

wnn b3 imn (hr) di(.t) tp=f m Nwn
w'(.w) nn ky hr hwi=f
sw m z3-n-t3
ndb hr gs.wy=f(y)
t3w mw (hr) pr m-k3b=f

wnn tp=f hr dw3.t nt W3s.t

⁷⁷⁸ Medinet Habu, PM II², pp. 469-70 (45c) (= Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 90); *Opet* I, 122; *Esna* VI, 513, 12 (referring to Neith).

⁷⁷⁹ E.g. the short hymn to Amun of Medinet Habu (PM II², pp. 469-70 [48a]), where he is first called Irita (col. 1) and then Kematef (col. 2).

⁷⁸⁰ Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 466 (38a); partial parallel in Gallet, *BIFAO* 101 (2001): 196 (East Karnak);

⁷⁸¹ Husson, *L'offrande du miroir*, pp. 70-1, n. 3.

⁷⁸² Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 20 (= *Urk.* VIII, 84h); for this text, see Gutbub, in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron*, I, p. 434, n. 1; idem, *Textes fondamentaux*, I, pp. 289-90, n. (e); Sauneron, *Esna* V, p. 208, n. d; Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 44-5; cf. also the remarks of Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, p. 26.

m ḏw imnty m-ḥ3w i3.t-ḏ3m.t

That the hidden Ba showed his head in Nun,
was alone, with nobody else except himself,
He was the “beam-of-the-earth” serpent,
the ground upon his sides
wind and water emerging from his coils/innards.

It is below the Duat of Thebes that his head exists,
in the Western Mountain in the vicinity of the Mound of Djeme.

West:⁷⁸³

*wnn b3 šps ḥr bs(.t) m Nwn
iw t3 3bḥ(.w) m zm3wy
sw m Iri-t3
itn=f m šww
šsp.n=f sw.w m nbi.t=f
ḥ.n.f p.t w3ḥ.n=f z3t [...]*

That the august Ba emerged from Nun,
was while the earth was filled with darkness,
He was Irita,
his disk was light,
it was with his fire that he illumined the districts,
just as he lifted heaven, so did he set down the earth [...]with fire,
he lifted heaven and set down the earth [...]

These texts specify that Amun-Kematef “showed his head in (*di tp=f m*) Nun,”⁷⁸⁴
while Amun-Irita “emerged from/evolved out of (*bsi m*)” Nun.⁷⁸⁵ The two manifestations of
Amun are further distinguished by their epithets. Amun-Kematef is “hidden” or “remote
(*imn*),” not present or active in the physical realm, but retired to the divine sphere (in this
case the Nun waters and the Duat) where he remains eternally inapproachable. Amun-Irita,

⁷⁸³ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 21 (= *Urk.* VIII, 79h).

⁷⁸⁴ It is certain that this text refers to Kematef, as another text from Medinet Habu specifically claims that Kematef’s head was “beneath the Duat of Thebes (*Km-3.t=f(...)* *tp=f ḥr ḏw3.t-W3s.t*)” (PM II², p. 466 [38b]); an unpublished text from the Mut Temple describes how: “while the earth was in Nun, and darkness covered the sky, Kematef appeared in Thebes (*iw t3 m Nwn, zm3wy sš(.w) m-ḥt w^cb.t, di Km-3.t=f tp=f ḥr W3s.t*)” (PM II², p. 256, Entrance (4g), line 2 = Sethe, *Notizbuch* 6, 82).

⁷⁸⁵ For these nuances of the verb *bsi* “to emerge,” cf. Kruchten, *Les Annales des prêtres de Karnak*, pp. 154-5.

however, is “august (*šps*),” an adjective frequently used to describe physical statues of divinities which appeared in temples and processions.⁷⁸⁶ In other words, Kematef remains in the noetic realm, while his successor Irita is manifest in the cosmic sphere.

Irita is not a mere emanation of his father, but instead, Kematef actively creates Irita, being “he who created his body as Irita (*qm3 d.t=f m Iri-t3*),”⁷⁸⁷ “who fashioned his body with his own hands (*nbi d.t=f m c.wy=fy*),”⁷⁸⁸ or “who created himself as an agathos-daimon serpent (*qm3 sw m hcy nfr*).”⁷⁸⁹ Since Kematef remains within Nun, Irita is not just his successor, but also the “body (*d.t*)” of Amun present in the physical realm. Although Kematef was in essence a serpent (see *infra*), he did not have a material “body” like Irita, and he is even described as “without a father or mother to make his body (*nn it mw.t ir d.t=f*).”⁷⁹⁰ This theological subtlety is important already in the Creator Hymn from Hibis temple, where the primeval Amun first fashions his own body and name before creating the rest of the cosmos.⁷⁹¹

⁷⁸⁶ Cf. the comments of Kruchten, *BSEG* 21 (1997): 29, n. 25: “*špsi* est un term difficile, qui devrait encore être étudié, mais qui, en gros, semble s’appliquer à des réalités de l’Au-delà perceptibles/visibles dans notre monde.”

⁷⁸⁷ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 4 (= *Urk.* VIII, 65i).

⁷⁸⁸ Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 466 (38a); p. 469 (45c); Marseille 5194 = Gallet, BIFAO 101 (2001): 196; *Kasr el-Agoûz*, 79 (reading corrected in Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 35).

⁷⁸⁹ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 21 (= *Urk.* VIII, 79b); another variant is *Deir Chelouit* III, 125, 8-9: “who created his body during the birth of Re (*shpr hcw=f m ms.t-Rc*).”

⁷⁹⁰ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 21 (= *Urk.* VIII, 79b).

⁷⁹¹ Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 145-8.

Kematef also had an ophidian body, as his name is usually determined with a serpent.⁷⁹² In a scene from the Ptah Temple of Karnak, Amun of Medinet Habu is simultaneously the “august Ba of Kematef (...) the ancestor who created all of this (*dfn ir nn r-3w*), the agathos-daimon serpent with a falcon face (*ḥꜥy-nfr si3-ḥr*).”⁷⁹³ A damaged text from Medinet Habu describes the appearance of Kematef in great detail:⁷⁹⁴

irw=f isk mnmn-t3
gr-m-ḥꜥw=f rn=f
ntr pfy bsi m ḥ3.t itn
ḥf3 ḥr n bik
šn=f pw ni rh dr=f

nḥp=f mnmn t3
ḥꜥy.t=f 3.t n md(w.t) ḥḥ
ni in.tw 3w[=s in] 3 ḥ3ḥ-nmt.wt

His form, meanwhile, is the Earthshaker-serpent,⁷⁹⁵
 “He who is silent in his Body” is his name,
 that god who arose in the beginning, the sundisk,
 the serpent with the head of a falcon,⁷⁹⁶
 whose circuit is limitless,

Whenever he rises, the earth quakes.⁷⁹⁷

⁷⁹² Examples of the name Kematef from Kom Ombo and Esna are sometimes determined with a crocodile or a criocephalic crocodile, appropriate to their respective local theologies; cf. Derchain-Urtel, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen*, pp. 91-5; Raven, *OMRO* 73 (1993): 43-53.

⁷⁹³ *Urk.* VIII, 203g; another text describing Chonsu uses the same *nfr-ḥr* construction: “you are the august crocodile with a falcon head, who crosses Nun (*nik ḥm šps si3-ḥr d3i Nwn*).” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 58 [not in *Urk.* VIII]; Mendel’s translation of this passage, “Du bist die erlauchte Gestalt, der Falke beim Überqueren des Nun (*ḥr d3i nwn*),” [Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, p. 75] makes little sense, as Chonsu the crocodile, or hieracocephalous crocodile, is clearly the manifestation that would actually cross the Nile, rather than a simple falcon (cf. **4.19**).

⁷⁹⁴ Medinet Habu, First Pylon, south passage; PM II², p. 462 (10c-e); cf. Sethe, *Notizbuch*, 17, 11-12, cols. 9-14 (collated *in situ*).

⁷⁹⁵ For similar names of serpents, cf. *LGG* III, 302.

⁷⁹⁶ For the phrase *m ḥr n X* used to denote animal-headed deities, see Cauville, *ZÄS* 122 (1995): 53 and 58.

⁷⁹⁷ For this idea, cf. also Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 20 (= *Urk.* VIII, 84b), describing Amun-Kematef: “Whenever he shakes, everything trembles (*kikt=f, nwr t3*); “all lands quake for him when he moves (*mnmn n=f t3.w nb m nwr=f*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 138b); in another text, Kematef is one “who rumbles and quakes in (people’s) faces (*nwr*

His great tomb is of infinite depth,
[its] length cannot be reached even [by] the swift-footed.

A damaged section from the Chonsu cosmology may also describe the same composite Kematef:⁷⁹⁸

wnn hf3 tpy hr ir p.t n ib=f [...r s]hpr t3
bš p.t swh.t mi swh.t n bik
hr wnn=f m hr[n bik....]

The first serpent (sc. Kematef) made the sky with his heart [...] to create earth.
Heaven spat out an egg like a falcon-egg,
because he (sc. Kematef) was [falcon]-headed [...].

Philo of Byblos described Kneph (Kematef) in very similar terms in his account of sacred and immortal serpents:⁷⁹⁹

“It has been discussed by us more fully in the treatises entitled Ethothion, in which it is established that the snake is immortal and that it is resolved into itself as was said above.

“The Phoenecians call it Agathos Daimon. Similarly, the Egyptians name it Kneph. They attribute to it the head of a falcon (ἰέρακος κεφαλῆν) on account of the falcon’s activity. And Epeeis (who was named by them as the greatest hierophant and sacred scribe and whom Areios of Herakleopolis translated into Greek) allegorizes as follows word for word:

“The first and holiest being is the serpent which has the form of a falcon and is very pleasing. If it looked forth everything in its birthplace was filled with light. And if it shut its eyes there was darkness.”

“Moreoever the Egyptians (...) when drawing the world engrave as the circumference an airy and fiery circle and stretched out in the middle a snake in the form of a falcon. The whole figure looks like our Theta. Declaring the circle to be the cosmos, the snake in the middle is Agathos Daimon the connective [bond] of this [cosmos].”

mmn m hr.w)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 49 = *Urk.* VIII, 95c; Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 [10d-f] = Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 13).

⁷⁹⁸ West Wall, cols. 28-9; Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, Pl. 6, pp. 64-6.

⁷⁹⁹ *apud* Eusebius, *Preparatio Evangelicae*, I, 10, 48-; translation of Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos*, pp. 245-6; cf. also Thissen, *ZPE* 112 (1996): 153, 157.

This description of Kneph/Kematef as a hieracocephalic ouroboros serpent recalls a magical vignette from PGM VII, 579-90, where a lion-headed ouroboros encircles a conjuration beginning with “ΚΝΗΦΙΣ ΧΦΥΡΙΣ (Kematef Chepri).”⁸⁰⁰

The concept of a primeval falcon-headed serpent residing in the depths of the primeval Nun waters also calls to mind the egg of Sokar as depicted in the Fifth Hour of the Book of Amduat.⁸⁰¹ Even though Sokar is traditionally a falcon-headed god, the egg of Sokar is a pill-shaped snake egg, reflecting Sokar’s primarily chthonic nature.⁸⁰² The prominent role of Sokar at Medinet Habu from the New Kingdom on (cf. **4.48**), may explain any similarities between him and Kematef

After his initial act of creation, Kematef retired to his tomb within the mound of Djeme,⁸⁰³ which could also be called “the Duat of Kematef.”⁸⁰⁴ He was subsequently joined there by his descendants, the Ogdoad (cf. **4.39**),⁸⁰⁵ who are described as being.⁸⁰⁶

⁸⁰⁰ Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri*, p. 134; excellent photograph in Parsons, *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish*, Pl. 35.

⁸⁰¹ See the discussion of Manassa, *The Late Period Underworld*, I, pp. 100, 127-30.

⁸⁰² For the chthonic aspect of Sokar, cf. Graindorge-Héreil, *Le Dieu Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire*, I, pp. 8-14.

⁸⁰³ Cf. *Deir al-Médīna*, 80: “The August Ba of Kematef who is in the district of Igaret in the Mound of Djeme.”

⁸⁰⁴ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 67 (= *Urk.* VIII, 90c); 145k; *Edfou* I, 289, 7; at Esna, the divine necropolis of Pi-netjer (*pr-ntr*) was also called “the mysterious Duat of Kematef” (*Esna* III, 197, 24); in all of these instances, the word Duat might better be translated as “crypt,” cf. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, p. 292, n. 1.

⁸⁰⁵ In this respect, Kematef is usually “father of fathers of the Ogdoad (*it-it.w n Ḥmni.w*)” (e.g. Medinet Habu: PM II², (38a) *bis*; (38b); *Opet* I, 142; Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 20 = *Urk.* VIII, 54b; *Urk.* VIII, 145k; Gallet, *BIFAO* 101 [2001]: 196; Gauthier, *BIFAO* 12 [1916]: 140, II, B; Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, p. 41, n. f; cf. primarily Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, p. 110, n. (22); el-Sayed, *BIFAO* 80 [1980]: 244, n. c), or simply “father of fathers” (e.g. *Opet* I, 116; Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*, pp. 27-8, n. 7).

⁸⁰⁶ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 49 (= *Urk.* VIII, 95c); a nearly exact parallel is found at Medinet Habu: PM II², p. 462 (10d-f) = Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 13, cols. 4-5.

htp(.w) m nn.t=sn m B.t-d3mw.t
hnm.t-^cnh n b3-^c3 n Km.t
m33 sdm
iwty mrh
^cnh r nhh nhp r d.t
nwr mnmn m hr.w

wnn=sn r-gs=f m tph.t=f Nwn
^cnh r nhh hm sk

They who settle in the undersky in the Mound of Djeme,
 Khenemet-Anch of the Great Ba of Egypt (= Kematef),
 he who continues to see and hear,
 without perishing,⁸⁰⁷
 who lives for ever, who lasts eternally,⁸⁰⁸
 who rumbles and quakes in (people's) faces.⁸⁰⁹

It is beside him, in the Grotto of Nun, that they exist,
 living forever, indestructible.

According to this text, Kematef, is still able to see and hear (*m33 sdm*), and technically lives on (*^cnh r nhh nhp r d.t*) within the Mound of Djeme although he is only perceptible when the earth trembles. Kematef's eternal existence within Djeme explains Plutarch's remarks about Osiris cults:

"The inhabitants of the Thebaïd alone do not (contribute to the Osiris burials), since they believe in no mortal god, but only in him whom they call Knêph, who is unbegotten and immortal."⁸¹⁰

⁸⁰⁷ *Wb.* II, 111, 17-20.

⁸⁰⁸ For this archaic use of *nhp*, see *Wb.* II, 283, 8 ("belegt *Pyr*"). The combination of this verb with the following *nwr* and *mnmn*, recalls the description of the earth-shaking Kematef serpent from the opposite wall at Medinet Habu translated above; cf. also Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 20 (= *Urk.* VIII, 84b), for Amun-Kematef "father of the fathers of the Ogdoad, who lives forever (*it-it.w n Hmni.w, ^cnh r nhh*)"; also *Urk.* VIII, 203g (Kematef): "who lives forever, never perishing (*^cnh r nhh, hm sk*)."

⁸⁰⁹ *LGG* III, p. 543, did not recognize the word *nwr*, and instead translated: "Die zu den Zukkungen(?) in den Gesichtern zurückkehren (*nww r mnmn m hr.w*)."⁸⁰⁹ Nonetheless, the combination of *nwr* and *mnmn* is quite common; cf. Osing, *Tebtunis Papyri* I, pp. 79-80, H 11.

⁸¹⁰ Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 21; trans. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, p. 151; of course, Plutarch's account is only half correct, as Osirian funerary rites were carried out on both sides of the Nile at Thebes (cf. **4.43** and **4.45**).

Kematef, who resided in the primeval Nun waters beneath Djeme, also retained control over the Inundation.⁸¹¹ This function is clear from a text describing a second voyage of Re to Medinet Habu:⁸¹²

wḥm=f-ᶜ m ḥnty r m33=sn
r nh.t Nwn m-ᶜ Nwn
šfw ᶜrm
snb.n=f tn.wy
ḥr wd pr(.w) m r3 n it=sn

Once again he (sc. Re) traveled south to see them (sc. the Ogdoad),
in order to request the Nun-waters from Nun,⁸¹³

That the flood swelled,⁸¹⁴
was having reached all the way to the desert edges,
through the decree issued from the mouth of their father.

Re's act of "requesting Nun-waters from Nun" is further described in a bandeau inscription from the bark shrine at Medinet Habu detailing the offerings brought to Kematef and the Ogdoad:⁸¹⁵

smsw ᶜ3 sᶜ3.n=f sᶜh=f m imh.t
snmh.n=f ḥᶜpi m h3w=f
m-b3ḥ it=f

⁸¹¹ For this point, cf. already Aufrère, *Montou*, pp. 348, n. (e).

⁸¹² Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 67 (= *Urk.* VIII, 90c); cf. Graefe, in Westendorf, ed., *Aspekte der spätägyptischen Religion*, pp. 58-9; the translation by Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 363, n. (d), 1, strays considerably from the original hieroglyphic text and makes little sense: "renouvelant le geste de lever le bras en naviguant vers le sud pour qu'ils voient Noun et de Nounet faire enfler les eaux (*r m33=sn Nwn Nnt šf(?) mw*); les montagnes vinrent à lui à l'ordre émanant de la bouche de leur père"; a close parallel occurs at Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10d-f) (= Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 13, cols. 10-13).

⁸¹³ The Medinet Habu redaction contains slight variants: "Once again the sundisk [...] in order to see them, in order to request Nun-waters from Nun, since you saw Upper Egypt [...] ([...] *wḥm-ᶜ in itn r m33=s(n), r nh.t Nwn m-ᶜ Nwn, dr m33.n=k šmᶜ* [...])" (PM II², p. 462 [10d-f] = Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 13, cols. 10-12).

⁸¹⁴ The word ᶜrm, "flood waters," is not in the *Wörterbuch*; it appears to be a variant of the term *wrm*, "high flood" used in other texts from Medinet Habu and elsewhere; cf. *Wb.* I, 332, 19; Meeks, *AL* 77.0975; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 244; Smith, *The Demotic Mortuary Papyrus Louvre E. 3452*, pp. 100-1, n. 8, 156, n. 8 (b); alternatively, it could be related to the term ᶜri.t, "Art Gewässer" (*Wb.* I, 209, 8).

⁸¹⁵ Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, Pl. 36e, ll. 8-9 (=Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 82-3).

Imn pw dsr-s.t
it-it.w Nwn[-wr]
nty im hn^c (Hmni.w)| nw hw.t-Imn

The eldest one (= Re) magnified his mummy in the cavern (= Osiris),
 and he beseeched the Inundation at its time,
 in the presence of his father,
 (that means Amun of Medinet Habu,
 Father of fathers, [Great]-Nun,
 who is there with the Ogdoad of the Amun Temple).⁸¹⁶

Multiple offering scenes establish that the flood waters are the reward for the mortuary offerings brought from the East Bank. In one example, Amenope of Djeme explains to the king:⁸¹⁷

twt n=i sh^tp ib n B^c-Imn m i^ht=k
m-^cb (Hmni.w)| nty r-gs=f
q³^c=f n=k h^cpi m it-n-k³
w^cb.tw r i³d.t-rnp.t

It is I who appeases the Hidden Ba (Amun-Kematef) with your food,
 together with the Ogdoad who are beside him,
 so he might spit out the Inundation for you as a high flood,
 being pure from the yearly pestilence.

Kematef's power over the Inundation derived from the fact that he resided in the "Grotto of Nun" beneath the Mound of Djeme. Marc Gabolde recently assembled a large number of textual sources describing the Inundation coming from Medinet Habu, and

⁸¹⁶ Cf. the similar phrasing in *Opet* I, 90: "The Great Ba of Kematef who is there in the Chamber of Igeret with the Bas of the Ogdoad (*b³ 3 n Km-3.t=f nty im m ˘.t Igr.t hn^c b³.w n Hmni.w*). For the ˘.t-igr.t at Medinet Habu, cf. also Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, pp. 38, 67; Traunecker, et al., *La chapelle d'Achôris*, II, p. 110, Text 4.

⁸¹⁷ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§236-238 (= *Urk.* VIII, 36f); cf. also the speech of the king to Amenope of Djeme in the same scene: "May you satisfy Nun with that which came out of him, so he might inundate the land for us with his ejaculate at the New Year (*sh^tp=k Nwn m pr im=f, b^ch=f n=n i³ m ˘³^c=f tp-rnp.t*)" (for the "ejaculate of Nun," cf. Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 23-5, n. B); Chonsu-Shu is similarly "(6) he who elevates Maat to Hidden-of-his-Name, who pacifies the Father of the Fathers of the Ogdoad, so he might spit out Hapi in [...]" (*si^cr m³^c.t n Imn-rn=f, sh^tp it-it.w n Hmni.w q^c=f h^cpi m [...]*)" (*Urk.* VIII, 119 [6]).

provided a geological explanation for this phenomenon.⁸¹⁸ However, this concept was not specific to Thebes, nor centered solely on Amun and the Ogdoad. Religious texts as old as the Pyramid Texts dictated that the Inundation and natural resources in general came from the efflux of buried ancestor deities like Osiris.⁸¹⁹ Conceptually related were the groups of local *agathoi daimones*, serpentine ancestor deities who regulated the level of the Nile for each nome.⁸²⁰ Kematef was both an *agathos daimon*-serpent and a deceased ancestor god, and thus he was in charge of the Nile and the source of all other earthly products. In the latter respect, Kematef was poetically the “beam-of-the-earth-serpent (*z3-n-t3*), with the ground upon his sides, wind and water emerging from his coils/innards,⁸²¹ while his head was beneath the Duat of Thebes.”⁸²²

4.29 Maat in Karnak

The contra-temple of North Karnak was dedicated to the goddess Maat in the New Kingdom,⁸²³ and it saw continued building and decoration into the Ptolemaic Period.⁸²⁴

⁸¹⁸ Gabolde, *BIFAO* 95 (1995): 235-58; largely repeated by idem, in Gasse and Rondot, eds., *Séhel entre l'Égypte et Nubie*, pp. 89-105; to his references, add Smith, *The Demotic Mortuary Papyrus Louvre E. 3452*, pp. 152-3.

⁸¹⁹ Assmann, in Grimal, Kamel and May-Sheikholeslami, eds., *Hommages Fayza Haikal*, pp. 5-16; Gutbub, in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron*, I, pp. 391-435.

⁸²⁰ Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, I, pp. 51-3, nn. (bp)-(bq); Kákosy, *MDAIK* 37 (1981): 255-60; Preys, *SAK* 30 (2002): 285-98; cf. also **3.1.1**, text note (n).

⁸²¹ Cf. also *Urk.* VIII, 203b (Kematef): “Air comes from his innards, the northwind from his nose (*pr t3w m q3b=f, mhy.t m fnd=f*).”

⁸²² Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 20 (= *Urk.* VIII, 84h); translated *supra*.

⁸²³ PM II², pp. 11-13; Varille, *Karnak I*, pp. 21-7; Vernus, *BIFAO* 75 (1975): 103-110; Jasnow, in Silverman, ed., *For His Ka*, p. 99, n. 5.

⁸²⁴ Jenni, *Die Dekoration des Chnumtempels auf Elephantine durch Nektanebos II*, p. 96; Minas, *OLP* 27 (1996): 60.

Records of Graeco-Roman priests of Maat,⁸²⁵ and a late hieratic inventory of cult objects from the Maat temple,⁸²⁶ attest to the continued importance of the contra-temple Maat also appears in the decoration of the Ptolemaic propylon of the Montu Temple, where “Maat, daughter of Re [...]” features among the deities specific to this edifice.⁸²⁷ On the south lintel of the same pylon, two large scenes depict Montu, Rattawy and Harpre the Child receiving offerings from Ptolemy III, Berenike, Victorious Thebes, and Maat. In these scenes, Maat is both “she who appeases Montu by uniting with his throne, without going far away from where he is (<s>h̄tp Mnt̄ m h̄nm s.t=f tm(.t) hr r bw wnn=f),”⁸²⁸ and similarly “she who appeases Montu, who unites with his temple, who repels his abomination from his city (sh̄tp Mnt̄ h̄nm hw.t=f nš bw.t=f r-h̄nt niw.t=f).”⁸²⁹

4.30 Maat in Deir el-Medineh

Deir el-Medineh had traditionally been called “the place of Maat (s.t-M3̄.t).”⁸³⁰ In the Graeco-Roman Period, Maat “the daughter of Re, Mistress of the West (z3̄.t-R̄, h̄nw.t-

⁸²⁵ For priests of Maat in Karnak, cf. Vernus, *BIFAO* 75 (1975): 105, n. (d); for the Graeco-Roman period, see especially Quaegebeur, *OLP* 6/7 (1975/76): 477, n. 115; el-Sayed, *ASAE* 74 (1999): 151-2, n. 62.

⁸²⁶ Jasnow, in Silverman, ed., *For His Ka*, pp. 99-112.

⁸²⁷ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§209-211 (=Urk. VIII, 79b [7]).

⁸²⁸ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§274-5 (=Urk. VIII, 13e).

⁸²⁹ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§271-3 (=Urk. VIII, 14e).

⁸³⁰ Ray, *GM* 45 (1981): 57-8, suggested that the name Djeme derives from *t3̄-s.t-m3̄.t*. It should be noted that P. BM 10395, ll. 1-2, mentions a certain Pasherpamut who was “lector-priest in the Place of Truth in the necropolis of Djeme (*hry-h̄b n t3̄ s.t m3̄.t n t3̄ h̄3̄s.t Dm3̄*)” (= Andrews, *Ptolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area*, p. 104), which seems to suggest that the “Place of Truth” was an area within the broader geographic span of Djeme, that the two terms were not entirely synonymous and therefore the relevant title was not “tautologous” as claimed by Andrews, *ibid*, pp. 83, n. 13, 105, n. 4.

Imnt.t” shared the temple of Deir el-Medineh with Hathor Mistress of the West.⁸³¹ Although her particular theological role there is rather obscure, one detail comes from a scene of Augustus offering to Hathor and Maat, where the goddesses are described as “the two sisters, gracious of heart, who appease the Ka of the Chief of Nomes by means of transfiguration spells (*sn.ty im3-ib shtp(.w) k3 wr-sp3.wt m (s)3h.w*).”⁸³² This text compares Maat and Hathor to Isis and Nephthys, appropriate to their mortuary functions in Western Thebes.

4.31 Min-Amun-Re-Kamutef

A specific form of Amun-Min, Kamutef (lit. “bull of his mother”)⁸³³ appears as early as the Middle Kingdom.⁸³⁴ In the Eighteenth Dynasty, Thutmosis III built a temple of Kamutef perpendicular to the Mut Temple precinct from which Amun-Kamutef would travel to Luxor during the Min Festival.⁸³⁵ Although priests of Amun-Kamutef are attested through the Graeco-Roman Period,⁸³⁶ and Kamutef features in the decoration of almost every Theban temple,⁸³⁷ little is known about the details of his cult. The majority of inscriptions do not connect him to a specific toponym, besides the generic designation “upon his great throne

⁸³¹ *Deir al-Médina*, Nos. 2, 17-18; 7, 8; 14, 4-6; 27, 7-8; 29, 9; 33, 15; 35, 1; 58, 17 and 21; 62, 9-10; 72, 8-9; 83, 9-10; 88, 18-19; 99, 8-9; 113, 2; 120, 8-9; 182, 9-11; *Kasr el-Agoûz*, 48-9.

⁸³² *Deir al-Médina*, No. 185.

⁸³³ For the epithet, cf. Haeny, *GM* 90 (1986): 33-4; Ricke, *Das Kamutef-Heiligtum*.

⁸³⁴ *LGG* VII, 258-60.

⁸³⁵ For the Min festival at Luxor temple, cf. Bell, in: *Égypte, Louqsor, Temple du Ka Royal*, p. 30; idem, in Shafer, ed., *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 178, 300, n. 167.

⁸³⁶ E.g. el-Sayed, *BIFAO* 84 (1984): 142, n. (a); Coenen, *CdE* 79 (2004): 64, No. 19; for priests of Min-Amun in the Graeco-Roman Period, cf. Coulon, *RdE* 52 (2001): 93, n. (n); for Graeco-Roman references to Min/Pan at Medinet Habu, cf. Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, pp. 103-4.

⁸³⁷ Karnak (Montu, Opet, Chonsu, East Temple), Luxor, Medinet Habu, Deir el-Medina, Deir Shelwit.

(*hry s.t=f wr.t*).”⁸³⁸ Nonetheless, Kamutef is sometimes “foremost of his Opet (*hnty ip.t=f*),”⁸³⁹ as well as “foremost of Karnak (*hnty Ip.t-s.wt*).”⁸⁴⁰

Min-Amun-Re-Kamutef either appears alone⁸⁴¹ or in the company of Isis, his traditional consort.⁸⁴² He quite often appears in positions parallel to Amenope, the other ithyphallic manifestation of Amun.⁸⁴³ Although there were a number of similarities between Amenope and Kamutef, the latter god did not participate in the ancestor cult, nor was he situated in Luxor Temple (cf. **4.2-4**).

Most epithets of Min-Amun-Re-Kamutef find parallels in descriptions of Min or Amun-Min at other temples. He is “high of double plumes (*q3-šw.ty*),”⁸⁴⁴ “upraised of arm (*βi-ʿ*),”⁸⁴⁵ and “vaunted of his perfection (*ʿb.tw m nfrw=f*).”⁸⁴⁶ The latter epithet refers to

⁸³⁸ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§233-5 (= *Urk.* VIII, 28b); Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 44 (= *Urk.* VIII, 102c); *Urk.* VIII, 134b; 164b; *Opet* I, 258; Medinet Habu, First Pylon (= Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 4); *Deir al-Médîna*, No. 30, 7; Abd el-Raziq, *Die Darstellungen und Texte des Sanktuars Alexanders des Großen im Tempel von Luxor*, p. 47 and Pl. 15a; *Deir Chelouit* III, 148, 7.

⁸³⁹ Abd el-Raziq, *Die Darstellungen und Texte des Sanktuars Alexanders des Großen im Tempel von Luxor*, p. 47 and Pl. 15a; el-Sayed, *BIFAO* 84 (1984): 142, n. (b).

⁸⁴⁰ *Urk.* VIII, 134k; var. “sovereign in Karnak (*ity m Ip.t-s.wt*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 164b).

⁸⁴¹ *Opet* I, 258; Aufrère, *Montou*, §§233-5 (= *Urk.* VIII, 28b); Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 44 (= *Urk.* VIII, 102c); *Deir al-Médîna*, No. 30; *Deir Chelouit* III, 148.

⁸⁴² *Urk.* VIII, 134b; 164b; Medinet Habu, First Pylon, PM II², p. 462 (10g) I; Gate of Domitian, PM II², p. 475, D.

⁸⁴³ *Urk.* VIII, 28; 102; 134; 162; Medinet Habu, PM II², pp. 462 (10g) I; 475, D.

⁸⁴⁴ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§233-5 (= *Urk.* VIII, 28b); Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 44 (= *Urk.* VIII, 102c); *Urk.* VIII, 134b; Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10g) I; Varille, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 161 (Contra-Temple of Karnak, reign of Domitian); *Deir al-Médîna*, No. 30, 8; var. “Beautiful of face with the Great double plumes (*nfr-hr m šw.ty-wr*)” (*Opet* I, 258).

⁸⁴⁵ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§233-5 (= *Urk.* VIII, 28b); Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 44 (= *Urk.* VIII, 102c); *Opet* I, 258; for this epithet, cf. also Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 341, n. (j); for the multiple meanings of this gesture, cf. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 401-14.

Kamutef's famous ithyphallus, an element further celebrated in epithets such as "erect of phallus (*nḥt-mt*),"⁸⁴⁷ and "he who arouses fear with his phallus (*ḥs-šnꜥ m nḥt=f*)." ⁸⁴⁸ He is therefore "he who engenders (*wtt*)," ⁸⁴⁹ "he who ejaculates and creates orgasm (*wsn ir ndmḏm*)," ⁸⁵⁰ and "he who created all that exists through his seed (*shpr wnn.t nb m mw=f*)." ⁸⁵¹ Similar epithets evoke the taurine nature of Kamutef, namely the "bull who copulates with the beauties (*k3 ḥry nfr.wt*)," ⁸⁵² "ejaculating bull (*k3 stī*)," ⁸⁵³ "bull who ejaculates Nun (*k3 stī Nwn*) (...) strong bull who begat the gods (*k3-nḥt wtt ntr.w*)." ⁸⁵⁴ In addition, Kamutef is also described as "Khepri when he procreated (*ḥpri m p3.n=f bnbn*)," ⁸⁵⁵ alluding both to the *bnbn*-stone of Heliopolis, as well as to images of ithyphallic Amun-Min figures with scarab torsos. ⁸⁵⁶

⁸⁴⁶ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§233-5 (= *Urk.* VIII, 28b); Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 44 (= *Urk.* VIII, 102c); *Urk.* VIII, 134b; *Opet* I, 258; Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10g) I; for this epithet, cf. Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, p. 126, n. B; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 147; *LGG* II, 82-3.

⁸⁴⁷ *Urk.* VIII, 134b; *Opet* I, 258; for *nḥt*, "erect," cf. Cauville, *ZÄS* 122 (1995): 58.

⁸⁴⁸ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§233-5 (= *Urk.* VIII, 28b); for this particular phrase describing ithyphallic cult statues, see the discussion of Blackman and Fairman, *JEA* 36 (1950): 70-1.

⁸⁴⁹ *Opet* I, 258; var. "the great engenderer (*wtt ꜥ3*)" (*Urk.* VIII, 134b); "he who engendered in the beginning (*wtt m ḥ3.t*)" (*Urk.* VIII, 134k).

⁸⁵⁰ *Urk.* VIII, 134b

⁸⁵¹ *Urk.* VIII, 134k.

⁸⁵² *Urk.* VIII, 134b; *Opet* I, 258.

⁸⁵³ *Deir Chelouit* III, 148, 7.

⁸⁵⁴ *Deir Chelouit* III, 148, 8; cf. also Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 23-5, n. B.

⁸⁵⁵ *Opet* I, 258; *Urk.* VIII, 134b; for similar uses examples of *p3.n=f sdm* in Graeco-Roman texts, cf. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, I, p. 133, n. (10).

⁸⁵⁶ E.g. Davies, *Hibis* III, Pl. 2, Reg. III; Book of the Dead, Spells 163 and 165; cf. also the description of the cult-statue of Amun-Min of Wadi Natrun in *Edfou* VI, 23, 7-8: "A mummy whose torso is a scarab, with the

The standing ithyphallic image of Min-Amun-Re-Kamutef would actually appear in procession during the Min Festival,⁸⁵⁷ unlike the similar cult statue of Amenope which remained veiled. The following text describes such a festival procession:⁸⁵⁸

Imn pw
iw=f m ḥq3
ḥ^c=f r pr(.t) r-ḥ3

ntr.w n=f m hy-hnw
ntry.t (hr) sšm m hr=f

He is Amun,
 when he is ruler,⁸⁵⁹
 appearing in procession to come forth.

Gods perform *hy-hnw*-jubilation for him,
 goddesses shake the sistra before him.

Just like Amenope (cf. **4.4**), the processional image of Kamutef is described as “the beautiful sundisk of turquoise, who fills heaven and earth with his grace (...) scintillating of appearances (...) more pleasant of appearance than all the gods (*itn nfr n mfk3.t, mḥ p.t t3 m im3w=f* (...) *tḥn ḥ^c.w* (...) *ḥ^c.w r ntr.w nb.w*).”⁸⁶⁰ Nonetheless, the glorious appearance of Kamutef also inspires fear and trembling, being “lord of fear and great of prestige (*nb nr.t wr*

double plumes on his head (*s^cḥ hr-ib=f m ḥprr, šw.ty m tp=f*)” (cf. Cauville, ZĀS 122 [1995]: 57); for a general discussion, cf. Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 112-3, n. B.

⁸⁵⁷ The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* IV, Pls. 197-208.

⁸⁵⁸ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 44 (= *Urk.* VIII, 102c; cf. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, pp. 285-6).

⁸⁵⁹ Cf. also *Urk.* VIII, 134k: “he who stands as king unto eternity (*ḥ^c m nsw.t hr nḥḥ*).”

⁸⁶⁰ *Urk.* VIII, 134k.

šfy.t),”⁸⁶¹ as well as “lord of majesty, great of prestige, for whom the entire Ennead trembles (nb βw, wr šfy.t, nwr n=f psd.t dmd.tw).”⁸⁶²

The concept of Kamutef is intimately tied to kingship and royal succession, and thus Min-Amun-Re-Kamutef is also associated with Horus,⁸⁶³ as both “the beneficent heir who came forth from Isis, the eldest son of Osiris (iw^{cc} mnḥ pr m’Is.t, z3 smsw n Wsir),”⁸⁶⁴ and the “King of the Gods (nsw.t-ntr.w).”⁸⁶⁵

4.32 Min-Reshef who Massacres his Enemies

Min who Massacres his Enemies (*Mnw sm3 hry.w=f*) is a special form of Min only attested in Montu Temple.⁸⁶⁶ There were nonetheless a number of priests enlisted in his service.⁸⁶⁷ He is basically equated with Harsiese who tracks down and kills the enemies of Osiris or of Re. One scene describes him as:⁸⁶⁸

Hr-z3-Is.t iw^{cc} mnḥ n (Wnn-nfr m3^c-hrw)|

⁸⁶¹ *Deir Chelouit III*, 148, 8.

⁸⁶² Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 44 (= *Urk.* VIII, 102c).

⁸⁶³ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§233-5 (= *Urk.* VIII, 28b); Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 44 (= *Urk.* VIII, 102c); var. “Horus the Victorious (*Hr nḥt*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 134k; for this form of Horus, cf. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, p. 115, n. 8).

⁸⁶⁴ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 44 (= *Urk.* VIII, 102c).

⁸⁶⁵ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§233-5 (= *Urk.* VIII, 28b); *Urk.* VIII, 134b; Medinet Habu, PM II², pp. 462 (10g) I; *Deir al-Médîna*, No. 30, 8

⁸⁶⁶ He is listed among the principal deities of the Montu Temple: *Urk.* VIII, 79b (8) (= Aufrère, *Montou*, §§209-211); for this god, see primarily Coenen, in Clarysse, et al., eds., *Egyptian Religion: the last thousand years*, II, pp. 1112-4; Aufrère transliterated the epithet with an otherwise unattested word *mdw* “enemy” (e.g. Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 274), which is actually the quite common word (*i*)*hryw* (Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 745; Yoyotte, *Héra d’Héliopolis et la sacrifice humaine*, pp. 48-9), as correctly understood by Sternberg-el Hotabi, *Der Propylon des Month-Tempels*, p. 93; Coenen, in Clarysse, et al., eds., *Egyptian Religion: the last thousand years*, II, 1105-6, 1108, 1113.

⁸⁶⁷ Coenen, in Clarysse, et al., eds., *Egyptian Religion: the last thousand years*, II, pp. 1103-1115; idem, *CdE* 74 (1999): 257-60; Herbin, *RdE* 50 (1999): 150, n. 9.

⁸⁶⁸ *Urk.* VIII, 23b (=Aufrère, *Montou*, §§202-204; the text is quite damaged).

sm3 sbi.w=f
 [z3] *Wsir*
ir ʿnd.w [m sm3.w] Stš
rkḥ(.w) ḥr ʿḥ=f m zbi-n-sd.t
sʿm m trw=sn

Harsiese, beneficent heir of Wennefer, justified,
 who massacres his enemies,
 [Son of] Osiris,⁸⁶⁹
 who makes slaughter [among the gang of] Seth,
 they burning upon his brazier as a burnt offering,
 who drinks of their blood.

The other scene similarly describes this form of Min as:

z3 ʿIs.t ntt sbi.w
Hr-Wnty ḥwi sbi n it=f
ḥnw.w=f ḥr ḥnd.wy=fy
m3i-ḥs3 wr ḥrs mr.ty
dmḍ bds m s3 ḥfty.w=f
q3-ʿ 3m ḥd
ḥwi ḥmty ir sm3.wy=f [m tm wn]

Son of Isis who binds the rebels,
 Horus-Wenty⁸⁷⁰ who smites the rebel of his father,
 whose enemies are beneath his feet,
 Great raging lion, red of eyes,
 who joins the knife in the back of his enemies,
 Upraised of arm, who grasps the bladed mace,⁸⁷¹

⁸⁶⁹ Aufrère filled the lacuna before “Osiris” with an *m* of predication, which led to the unusual conclusion that Min is both “heir of Wennefer” and Osiris avenging his own death. Despite the long commentary by Aufrère, *Montou*, pp. 280-3, n. (n), describing “Osiris/Min,” one could alternatively observe the parallel structure of epithets and simply restore *z3* “son,” perhaps written with an egg and diacritic stroke; thus “Heir of Wennefer, who massacres...[son of] Osiris, who makes slaughter.” The description of Harsiese as both “son of Osiris” and “beneficent heir of Wennefer” in the same text is common: e.g. *Urk.* VIII, 191b; *Opet* I, 24; 28; *Deir Chelouit* III, 132, 5-6; *Kasr el-Agoûz*, 90.

⁸⁷⁰ Horus standing on a bull is to be read Horus-Wenty, not Horus of Hebenu (*contra* Aufrère and Sternberg-El Hotabi), as the latter properly speaking stands on the back of an antelope; cf. De Meulenaere, in *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine*, pp. 27-8.

⁸⁷¹ Aufrère’s rejection of the verb *3m* “to grasp” based on his epigraphic copy is questionable (Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 290, n. [m]), as the photograph on p. 287 does not exactly match the drawing on p. 286. The same verb is written similarly (*im*) in the parallel scene (*Urk.* VIII, 23e). Moreover, even if the determinative were incorrect, the phrase “high of arm, who grasps the mace” perfectly describes the depiction of Min in this scene (cf. Aufrère, *Montou*, pp. 286-7), whereas the alternative translation of Aufrère (“l’élévé de bras quant à la tente”; *ibid.*, p. 290, n. [m]) makes little sense and is not supported by any parallels.

who smites the coward (Seth),
who makes his gang [non-existent].

This Theban warrior aspect of Min is also evoked in the Horus Myth of Edfu. After Horus slaughters a mass of enemies at the site of Djedem (Tod):⁸⁷²

dd.n R^c ḥ^c Hr-Bḥdty m33(=i) tw
dd.tw ḥw.t-R^c r i3.t tn ḥr[=s] r-mn hrw pn
ntr imi=s Hr-Bḥdty-R^c-Mn

That Re said: “Stop, Horus Behedety, so (I) might see you!”
was with the result that this mound is called Temple of Re unto this day.⁸⁷³
The god within it is Horus-Behedety-Re-Min.

This form of Min is most surprisingly also associated with “Reshef within the Montu Temple,”⁸⁷⁴ a Syrio-Palestinian warrior god.⁸⁷⁵ The association of Min and Reshef is most likely connected to Min’s role of god of desert lands and foreign countries, as well as the position of Montu of Thebes and Medamud protecting Thebes from the north-east (cf. **4.37**).

Despite the extensive commentary of Aufrère, no texts regarding this form of Min support his statement that “la force divine présentée ici n’est autre qu’une divinité lunaire au début de sa phase croissante.”⁸⁷⁶

⁸⁷² *Edfou* VI, 115, 1-2; cf. most recently Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, pp. 202, 368.

⁸⁷³ The etymology here appears to be somewhat garbled; Tod is called both “Temple of Re” and “Temple of Fighting (ḥ3),” and it seems that the latter is evoked by the speech of Re: “Stop! (ḥ^c)”

⁸⁷⁴ *Urk.* VIII, 79b (8) (= Aufrère, *Montou*, §§209-211); 31b (= Aufrère, *Montou*, §§205-207).

⁸⁷⁵ For references, see Aufrère, *Montou*, pp. 288-9, n. (g).

⁸⁷⁶ Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 275, n. (c); Aufrère’s comparison to epithets of Min at Sohag are irrelevant to this specific form of Min, and his claim that “la verbe ḥ^c est employé à dessein, en relation avec l’apparition des luminaires et des astres,” (*ibid*) is unconvincing, as the verb is more commonly used to describe the sun, the king, or a god “appearing” in a festival, as in the example to which Aufrère refers (*Urk.* VIII, 23c).

4.33 Montu: Introduction

Montu⁸⁷⁷ was perhaps one of the oldest deities of the Theban nome.⁸⁷⁸ Four distinct cults of Montu at Thebes, Medamud, Armant, and Tod are attested already by the First Intermediate Period.⁸⁷⁹ The four Montus appear collectively as gods of war in the New Kingdom, helping the pharaoh during battle,⁸⁸⁰ and guarding the prow of royal ships against aquatic enemies like Apophis.⁸⁸¹

The traditional group of four Montus retained their popularity in the Graeco-Roman Period. The personal name “he (of) the four Montus (Demotic: (*p3 n*)-*ftw-Mnt*; Greek: Φθo(υ)μωνθης)” is quite common in Theban documents,⁸⁸² and images of the four Montus occur in statuary and votive stelae.⁸⁸³ In Theban temples, this specific tetrad often appears in

⁸⁷⁷ A complete study of the god Montu remains a *desideratum*. Werner, *The God Montu*, limited his study to material from the New Kingdom and earlier; cf. also Bisson de la Roque, *BIFAO* 40 (1941): 1-49; a recent summary appears in the commentary of Aufrère, *Montou*, but much of his discussion is problematic due to the underlying and unfounded assumption that Montu was assimilated to Amun in the Ptolemaic period; cf. also Goldbrunner, *Buchis*.

⁸⁷⁸ Although Montu is connected to the Theban nome already in the Sixth Dynasty, this does not imply that he was the original god of the city Thebes. Rather, his early importance may be due to the political supremacy of Armant in the Old Kingdom, before the Eleventh Dynasty monarchs centralized power, along with the cult of Amun, in Thebes. Cf. Brovarski, in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, pp. 36-7; Darnell, *The Birth of Victorious Thebes* (forthcoming).

⁸⁷⁹ For the early evidence for Montu, see primarily Werner, *The God Montu*, pp. 9-12, 27-32; Valbelle, *RHR* 209 (1992): 4-5.

⁸⁸⁰ Botti, *JEA* 41 (1955): 66; Fischer-Elfert, *SAK* 27 (1999): 66-9; the military group of the four Montus may be alluded to in the stela of Nesumontu (Louvre C1), where the commander claims “I am one bull of Montu (*ink w' k3 n Mntw*)” (Sethe, *Lesestücke*, 81, 9).

⁸⁸¹ Werner, *JARCE* 23 (1986): 107-23; for the apotropaic decoration of ships in general, cf. Lippiello, *Symbolic Perceptions of New Kingdom Watercraft*; in Graeco-Roman temples, Montu appears almost exclusively at the prow of the solar bark, eg. *Edfou* III, 214, ult; 216, 6; 217, 9; 218, 8; 228, 15; *Dendara* X, 165, 11; 166, 14; 167, 15; 169, 5; 172, 8.

⁸⁸² Quaegebeur, in Verhoeven and Graefe, eds., *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten*, pp. 253-4.

⁸⁸³ Quaegebeur, in Verhoeven and Graefe, eds., *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten*, pp. 257-9; Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, pp. 275-6.

symmetric groups.⁸⁸⁴ Temple inscriptions mention the four Montus quite frequently, usually as a group of deities protecting Amun and Thebes.

The most extensive account of the four Montus comes from Tod in an account of the Horus Behdety's fight against the enemies of Re:⁸⁸⁵

R^c im=f m nb-nḥt.w
fdw-Mnt dmd(.w) m z3=f
sw m fdw ḥr.w ḥr nḥb.t w^c.t
fdw b3.w dmd(.w) m w^c
iw=sn sk m fdw Mnt
r dmd ḥm=f m ntr diw:
'Imn Mnt-fdw m šms=f
bz3=sn z3=sn ḥr niw.t=f W3s.t
inh.tw iry ḥr ifd.w=s

Wnn b3 šps n R^c m 'Iwnw-šm^c
ḥr z3 ir.t-R^c dr nḥḥ
b3 w3d n šw m nb dr.wt Ḥr tm3-^c m ḥw.t-R^c
ḥr ḥwi b3.t-ntr.w m nw-r-nw
dr(.w) igp m ^cq3=s
b3 dšr n Gbb m nb M3d.t tnr šḥpr ḥ3^ci.t m r3-d3.w
ḥr ḥwi ḥnw.t-niw.wt m 3w n nḥḥ
nbnb(.tw) m sw3.w=s r^c nb
b3 b(3)q n Wsir m nb W3s.t
mn.tw ḥr ns.t=f ḥry-tp ndb=f

He (sc. Horus Behdety) is Re as the Lord of Victories,
the four Montus are united in his protection,
being four faces on one neck,
four Bas united as one,
being, moreover, four Montus,
in order to unite with his majesty as the five gods:
(namely) Amun with the four Montus in his service,
guarding and protecting his city, Thebes,

⁸⁸⁴ *Deir Chelouit* III, Nos. 128, 130 (South Wall) and Nos. 140, 142 (North Wall); *Deir al-Médîna*, Nos. 194, 195 (South) and Nos. 198, 199 (North); North Face of the Gate of Domitian at Medinet Habu (Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, II, p. 62, Pl. 42); probably also on the top four scenes of the "Façade" of the so-called "Porte de Tibère" at Medamud, based on the description by Valbelle, in *Hommages Sauneron*, I, pp. 82-94.

⁸⁸⁵ *Tôd* I, 31A-B; for this text, cf. also Quaegebeur, in Verhoeven and Graefe, eds., *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten*, p. 259; Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, pp. 163-5, n. 9; Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, p. 209; Thiers, *Kyphi* 4 (2005): 63.

so that it is surrounded on its four sides.

The august Ba of Re is in Armant,
protecting the Eye of Re since eternity,
the Green Ba of Shu is Lord of Tod,
Horus valiant of arm in the Temple of Re,
protecting the “Bushes of the Gods” (= Thebes) at all times,
so that stormclouds are repelled from before it,
the Red Ba of Geb is Lord of Medamud,
the mighty who creates suffering on the battlefield,
protecting the Mistress of Nomes for the extent of eternity,
so that (it) is protected in its districts every day.
the White Ba of Osiris is Lord of Thebes,
remaining upon his throne presiding over his land.⁸⁸⁶

This inscription identifies the four Montus with the male members of the Ennead as follows: Re is the solar Montu in Armant, Shu-Onuris is the warrior Montu in Tod, Geb is the protector Montu in Medamud,⁸⁸⁷ and Osiris is the sovereign Montu within Thebes. While the assimilation of four local gods with the Ennead appears elsewhere, most notably at Mendes,⁸⁸⁸ the specific correspondences mentioned in the Tod text accurately describes the personalities of each Montu (see *infra*).

Bataille interpreted the significant role of the four Montus in the Graeco-Roman Period as an indication of the downfall of Amun, as well as the decadence of traditional notions of Pharaonic royal kingship.⁸⁸⁹

“La vogue de ce dieu (sc. Montu) dans la Thébaïde d’époque hellénistique et romaine n’était qu’un juste retour des choses au profit d’une vieille divinité thébaine de la XI^e dynastie, dépossédée de sa primauté par les souverains

⁸⁸⁶ For Osiris within Thebes “presiding over his land (*hry-tp ndb=f*), cf. *Opet* I, 183, Right, col. 1.

⁸⁸⁷ For Geb as an aggressive protector deity, cf. Bedier, *Die Rolle des Gottes Geb*, pp. 186-91.

⁸⁸⁸ For the four Montus equated with Re, Shu, Geb and Osiris, cf. *Tôd* I, 155, 7-8; *Tôd* II, 286, 9; Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, pp. 163-5, n. 9; as Egberts notes, the four male members of the Ennead are similarly identified with the four Bas of the Ram of Mendes and the four Bas of the Ram of Shashotep (known from Esna).

⁸⁸⁹ Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, p. 92; on p. 113, he summarizes “Amon est en décadence, Montou progresse.”

amoniens des XIIe et XVIIIe dynasties (...) Il semble que les Ptolémées et les Empereurs aient pris un malin plaisir à restaurer et enrichir ses sanctuaires ainsi qu'à fortifier autour des lieux de culte amonien une ceinture de temples du dieu rival."

This interpretation of a divine rivalry between Amun and Montu is instantly belied by archaeological evidence, as Pharaohs made additions and restoration at the temples of Armant, Tod, Medamud, and North Karnak throughout the Middle Kingdom, New Kingdom, and Late Period,⁸⁹⁰ and the cult of Montu was popular in Thebes already in the Third Intermediate Period.⁸⁹¹ The inscriptions from the Theban temples, which Bataille did not consider, universally claim that Amun was the supreme, transcendent deity, while the various Montus served as his guardians and representatives on earth (cf. *infra*).

4.34 Montu of Armant

Armant was the traditional home of Montu. The modern name of the city is itself derived from the Egyptian name *Iwny-Mnt*, "Iwny of Montu" (Greek: Ἡρμωνθίς, Latin: *Hermonthis*; Coptic: ⲬⲠⲠⲚⲓ).⁸⁹² The original name of Armant was simply *Iwny* (later *Iwnw*) but the near homophony of this word with *Iwnw*, "Heliopolis" led to the use of terms

⁸⁹⁰ For evidence from the Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom, see in general Werner, *The God Montu*; little remains at the site of Armant, but there are large remains of constructions by Thutmosis III and Ramesses II (Mond and Myers, *The Temples of Armant*); Tôd saw renovations in all periods, cf. Pierrat-Bonnefois, *Kyphi 2* (1999): 65; for buildings at Medamud, cf. Kitchen, *BIFAO 73* (1973): 193-200; Helck, *Historische Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit*, p. 13, No. 20; for North Karnak, note that while the Ptolemaic Montu temple was originally dedicated to Amun under Amenhotep III (as noted already by Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, p. 92), there was in fact a smaller Montu temple nearby at the same time (cf. Gabolde and Rondot, *BSFE 136* [1996]: 39-41; Gabolde, *Kyphi 4* [2005]: 40, n. 28).

⁸⁹¹ For the priests and temples of Montu from the New Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period, cf. Leclant, in *Mélanges Maspero*, I/4, pp. 93-5.

⁸⁹² For the history of the toponym, cf. Gardiner, *AEO II*, pp. 22*-24*; Eggebrecht, *LÄ I*, col. 435; for *Iwnw-Mnt*, cf. especially the following fragment of text in Thiers and Volokhine, *Ermant I*, pp. 3 and 7, Fig. 7: "As for *Iwnw* of Upper Egypt, it is called *Iwnw* of Montu (Armant) (*ir Iwnw-šm*^c, *dd(.tw) r Iwnw-Mnt* [...])"; *Iwnw-Mnt* appears more often in administrative texts, cf. Meeks, *Le grand texte des donations au temple d'Edfou*, pp. 64, n. (53), 6*, 2 and 7*, 11.

like *Ṭwnw-Mnt* and *Ṭwnw-šm^c*, “*Ṭwnw* of Upper Egypt,” just as with the city of Dendara (< *t3-Ṭwn.t-ntr.t*, originally *Ṭwn.t*).⁸⁹³

The exact meaning of the toponym “*Ṭwnw* of Upper Egypt” has long been debated. Until the New Kingdom, Armant is primarily referred to simply as *Ṭwny*.⁸⁹⁴ A number of texts from the New Kingdom show that “*Ṭwnw* of Upper Egypt” refers to the Theban nome in general as a southern replica of northern Heliopolis, the spiritual capital of Egypt.⁸⁹⁵ This is evident in a number of royal inscriptions, such as a dedicatory text of Thutmose III from Karnak:⁸⁹⁶

rh.n=i is nhh pw W3s.t
d.t pw Ṭmn
nb Ṭp.t-s.wt R^c
Ṭwnw-šm^c ir.t=f 3h.t im.t p.t

For I know that Thebes is cyclical eternity,
 while static eternity is Amun,
 the Lord of Karnak is Re,
 and *Ṭwnw* of Upper Egypt is his luminous eye which is in heaven.

Similarly, the building inscription of Ramesses II at Luxor Temple describes Amun-Re as follows:⁸⁹⁷

wnm.t=f W3s.t m niw.t Ṭwnw-šm^c
i3b.t=f m hq3-^cnd Ṭwnw-t3-mḥw

His right-eye of the Theban nome is the city of *Ṭwnw* of Upper Egypt,
 his left-eye in the Heliopolitan nome is *Ṭwnw* of Lower Egypt.

⁸⁹³ Daumas, *LÄ I*, col. 1060; for toponyms containing the word *Ṭwn*, “pillar,” cf. Stricker, in: *Proceedings of the Colloquium: The Archaeology, Geography and History of the Egyptian Delta in Pharaonic Times*, pp. 293-300.

⁸⁹⁴ Eggebrecht, *LÄ I*, col. 435.

⁸⁹⁵ E.g. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 311, n. 47; Bell, in Beinlich, et al., eds., *5. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, p. 25, n. 56 (with further references).

⁸⁹⁶ *Urk.* IV, 164, 5-8.

⁸⁹⁷ Abd el-Razik, *JEA* 60 (1974): 1B; idem, *JEA* 61 (1975): 126.

Nonetheless, other early references are somewhat ambiguous. A dedicatory inscription from Medinet Habu describes the temple of Ramesses III as “the processional station for the gods of *Ṭwnw* of Upper Egypt (*s.t-swtwt nt ntr.w nw Ṭwnw-šmꜥ*).”⁸⁹⁸ Given the processional connection between Armant and Medinet Habu in later periods, (cf. **5.3.2, 7.5**), the Twentieth Dynasty text may refer already to such visits by deities from Armant.⁸⁹⁹ In the Graeco-Roman Period, almost all Theban attestations of *Ṭwnw-šmꜥ* refer to Armant. The toponym appears in epithets of deities from Armant (e.g. Montu, Rattawy, Tjenenet, Iunyt, and Harpre), and never refers to divinities from Thebes proper (e.g. Amun, Mut, Chonsu, Amunet).

Already in the New Kingdom, Montu served as the Upper Egyptian counterpart of Atum from Heliopolis, particularly in the scenes of the “Introduction of the King (*bs.t-nsw.t*),” commonly designated as the “Montée Royale.”⁹⁰⁰ In these scenes, the king is accompanied by Atum of Heliopolis and Montu of Armant, signifying his recognition by the chief solar deities of Lower and Upper Egypt. The Heliopolitan influence on Armant is notable in the Graeco-Roman Periods, since some of the most important gods from Armant include Re-Harakhty, Iusaas, and Nebethetepet. Given Armant’s status as “Heliopolis of Upper Egypt,” the Graeco-Roman inscriptions understandably emphasize the solar nature of the local Montus.

⁸⁹⁸ Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu I*, Pl. 115, line 3 = *KRI V*, 306, 2; regarding this passage, Edgerton and Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III*, p. 143, n. 3d, already inquired: “What were the limits of Hermonthis? Is the name to be taken as designating Western Thebes?”

⁸⁹⁹ Note that another relief from Medinet Habu represents “Montu of *Ṭwny*” and “Tjenenet of *Ṭwny-šmꜥ*,” which in the context must refer to Armant; The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu VII*, Pl. 583C.

⁹⁰⁰ For Montu and Atum, see primarily Werner, *The God Montu*, pp. 236-264; for the “Introduction of the King (*bs.t-nsw.t*),” cf. Favard-Meeke, *Le temple de Behbeit el-Hagar*, pp. 338-9; Kruchten, *Les Annales des prêtres de Karnak*, p. 174.

In the Graeco-Roman Period, two different Montus appear at Armant, Montu(-Re) and Montu-Re-Harakhty.⁹⁰¹ This division is clear from a number of offering scenes that represent the two Montus side by side,⁹⁰² as well as from the titles of Hermonthite priests who held the title “priest of Montu Lord of Armant (*Iwnw-šm*) and Montu-Re-Harakhty.”⁹⁰³ This divine pair is parallel to the groups Amun Kematef and Amenope,⁹⁰⁴ Amun and Chonsu-Shu,⁹⁰⁵ and Amun and Montu of Thebes,⁹⁰⁶ suggesting that the two Montus represented an ancestor god (Montu-Re) and his active successor (Montu-Re-Harakhty).⁹⁰⁷

The senior Montu-Re was a deceased creator god, similar to Amun-Kematef at Medinet Habu. As such, he was called “Osiris complete of his limbs,”⁹⁰⁸ and he features as

⁹⁰¹ For this distinction, see already Sethe, *Amun*, §116; Quaegebeur, in Verhoeven and Graefe, eds., *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten*, pp. 257-9; Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, pp. 145, 162. It is not always easy to distinguish the two Montus, as in *Deir Chelouit* III, 131, 7: “Montu-Re Lord of Armant, Harakhty,” 139, 5: “Montu Lord of Armant, Re-Harakhty.”

⁹⁰² Medinet Habu, Lintel of First Pylon: PM II², p. 462 (10a-b, h-g) (= Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 110 and 117; cf. Sethe, *Amun*, §116); *Deir Chelouit* III, Nos. 122 and 152; *Tôd* II, No. 220.

⁹⁰³ Coulon, *RdE* 52 (2001): 88, 90, col. 2 (Ptolemaic); Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarge der Anchnesneferibre*, p. 4 (Roman); cf. also *LD* IV, 60b (Mammisi of Armant), where the Pharaoh is beloved of Montu-Re lord of Armant (*Iwnw-šm*), (Montu)-Re-Harakhty, and Harpre the Child; the main temple of Armant was dedicated to “Montu-Lord of Armant Harakhty” (Mond and Myers, *Temples of Armant*, II, Pl. 91, 15).

⁹⁰⁴ Medinet Habu, Lintel of First Pylon: PM II², p. 462 (10a-b, h-g) (= Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 110 and 117; cf. Sethe, *Amun*, §116).

⁹⁰⁵ *Deir Chelouit* III, Nos. 122 and 125.

⁹⁰⁶ *Deir Chelouit* III, Nos. 152 and 153.

⁹⁰⁷ The distinction between the two forms of Montu is consistent everywhere except at Edfu, where the epithets seem to have been confused.

⁹⁰⁸ *Ermant* I, 3; Medinet Habu: Sethe, *Amun*, §116; vars. “complete of his limbs (*tm m h^cw=f*)” (*Deir Chelouit* III, 152, 7); “who limbs are truly complete in his name of Atum (*tm h^cw=f m wn[-m³]^c] m rn=f n Itm*)” (*Deir Chelouit* III, 133, 10-11); “Osiris the Great (*Wsir wr*)” (*Deir Chelouit* III, 152, 17); the same epithet applies to the Buchis bull in *LD* IV, 64a.

the primary god in the Osirian crypts of Armant.⁹⁰⁹ He was also “the ancestor, the father in the beginning (*dfn it m š3ʕ*),”⁹¹⁰ “who came into existence in the beginning (*hpr m dr-ʕ*),”⁹¹¹ and “he who came into existence by himself, nothing existing before him (*hpr ds=f, ni wn tp-ʕ=f*).”⁹¹² As primeval deity, Montu-Re was identified with Nun,⁹¹³ Atum,⁹¹⁴ and even Kematef.⁹¹⁵ Just like those gods, Montu-Re was primarily a creator deity, the “father of all the gods (*it ntr.w nb*),”⁹¹⁶ “who made the gods (*ir ntr.w*).”⁹¹⁷ In his role of demiurge, he could be called Tatenen-Irita,⁹¹⁸ or “Irita in the beginning, who made all that exists come forth from his [body] (*Iri-t3 m š3ʕ, spr wnn.t [nb] m [hʕw]=f*),”⁹¹⁹ and even “first of the

⁹⁰⁹ *Ermant* I, 1A; 3, 6 and 16; 23, 2; 36, 4; 39, 4; 43A; for the Osirian rites carried out in the crypts, cf. Thiers and Volokhine, *Ermant* I, pp. 77-9.

⁹¹⁰ *LD* IV, 64b.

⁹¹¹ *Esna* VI, 488, 8; *Deir al-Médîna*, 175, 6; cf. also *Tôd* I, 67, 9 (fragmentary); var. “who came in the beginning (*iw m h3.t*)” (*Deir Chelouit* III, 131, 8).

⁹¹² *Deir Chelouit* III, 122, 9; vars. “who came into existence in the beginning, when there was nobody who could create him (*hpr m h3.t, ni wn qm3 sw*)” (*Deir Chelouit* III, 152, 7-8); “great god who came into existence by himself (*ntr ʕ3 hpr ds=f*)” (*Deir al-Médîna*, 195, 6).

⁹¹³ *Deir Chelouit* III, 131, 10; 139, 5: “Great Nun who fills the land with his body (*Nwn-wr mh t3 m hʕw=f*)” *Deir al-Médîna*, 175, 5: “Great Nun”; *Tôd* I, 67, 11-12, 15: “who arrives as Nun at his time annually (*iw m Nwn r nw=f tpy-rnp.t rnp.t*) (...) Nun who creates this (*Nwn ir nn*)”; *Deir Chelouit* III, 152, 7 and 17: “Great Nun of the Ogdoad (*Nwn wr n Hmni.w*) (...) who arrives as Nun, who floods the two lands with the efflux of his body (*ii m Nwn, bʕh t3.wy m rdw n hʕw=f*)”; Mond and Myers, *Temples of Armant*, II, Pl. 90, 3: “who came forth from Nun (*pr m Nwn*).”

⁹¹⁴ *Deir Chelouit* III, 131, 9 (“Atum the good old man (*Itm i3w nfr*)”); 133, 11: “Atum”; *Deir al-Médîna*, 192, 4: “Atum in [his] manifestation (*Itm m hprw[=f]*)”; *Tôd* I, 67, 9-10: “[...] prince in the Chapel of the Prince, great sovereign in the Chapel of the Obelisk ([...] *sr m hʕw.t-sr, ity wr m hʕw.t-bnbn*)”

⁹¹⁵ Medinet Habu: Sethe, *Amun*, §116 (“Kematef mighty of strength”); *Deir Chelouit* III, 152, 10.

⁹¹⁶ Medinet Habu: Sethe, *Amun*, §116; *Deir Chelouit* III, 122, 9-10; var. “father of fathers of all the gods” (*Ermant* I, 3, 8).

⁹¹⁷ *Ermant* I, 3, 16.

⁹¹⁸ *Deir Chelouit* III, 131, 8.

Ogdoad [...] great god of the four Montus (*tpy Hmni.w [...] ntr wr n p(3) fdw Mnt*).⁹²⁰ The latter epithet recalls Amenope I and the Great Bull of Medamud, who both embodied the chief, composite bull of the Ogdoad. In fact, Montu Lord of Armant features in three scenes together with the Ogdoad,⁹²¹ and one crypt of Armant contains a relief of Tatenen and the primeval gods.⁹²²

If Montu Lord of Armant was the local form of Atum, then Montu-Re-Harakhty represented the active solar deity. In some texts he is “Re of Res, ruler of rulers (*R^c R^c.w, hq3 hq3.w*),”⁹²³ almost certainly an allusion to the divinized statues of Amenhotep III and Ramesses II, also called “Re of the rulers (*R^c n hq3.w*).”⁹²⁴ A larger group of scenes certain group of texts identify Montu-Re-Harakhty with all stages of the daily solar cycle:⁹²⁵

- (1) Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 475, D, lintel:

R^c m irw=f
Itm m št3=f
nb-dr m snn=f nb

Re in his visible manifestation,
 Atum in his secret form,
 the All-Lord in all of his images.

- (2) *Tôd* I, 130, 8:

⁹¹⁹ *Deir Chelouit* III, 139, 16; var. “who created what exists (...) while the entire earth was in utter darkness (*shpr wnn.t (...) iw t3 dr=f m kkw šm^cy*)” (*Deir Chelouit*, 152, 8-9).

⁹²⁰ *Deir Chelouit* III, 131, 17.

⁹²¹ *Deir Chelouit* III, 139; Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10a) and (10h).

⁹²² Thiers and Volokhine, *Ermant* I, pp. 76-7 (although they do not mention Montu of Armant’s specific connection to Tatenen and the Ogdoad).

⁹²³ *Tôd* II, 220, 10-11; Medinet Habu, Gate of Domitian, Lintel: PM II², p. 475, D (partially restored).

⁹²⁴ Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz, *Le petit temple d’Abou Simbel*, I, pp. 149-50, n. 73, 154-5, n. 108.

⁹²⁵ For these types of epithets, cf. Ryhiner, *RdE* 29 (1977): 125-37.

R^c m irw=f, m hprw<=f> tpy

Re in his visible form in [his] initial manifestation.

- (3) *Tôd I, 1, 14-5:*

*nb-dr m irw=f
3hty m qd=f
Hpri m ssm<=f> št3*

The All-Lord in his form,
Akhty in his shape,
Khepri in <his> mysterious image.

- (4) *Deir Chelouit III, 130, 16:*

*sw m R^c m dw3w
Itm m mšrw
Mntw m hry-ib skt.t*

He is Re in the morning,
Atum in the evening,
and Montu within the day-bark

- (6) *Aufrière, Montou, §§167-9 (= Urk. VIII, 9b):*

*R^c m h^cw=f
Itm m ssm=f
nb-dr m hprw=f nb*

Re in his flesh,
Atum in his image,
All-Lord in all of his manifestations.

- (7) *R^c ds=f m hpr=f tpy*
Re himself in his first manifestation.⁹²⁶

⁹²⁶ *Edfou II, 72, 14.*

Montu-Re-Harakhty of Armant is the physical sundisk (*itn*),⁹²⁷ as well as “Akhty in the Akhet, the very great winged-scarab of fine-gold, who fills the land with his gold-dust (*ʒhṯy hnt ʒh.t, ʿpy ʿʒ wr n qtm, mh tʒ m nqr=f n nbw*).”⁹²⁸ His solar course is responsible for “repelling darkness (*hrs knḥw*)”⁹²⁹ so that mankind might see.⁹³⁰ Thus Montu of Armant is “he who views the land”⁹³¹ daily in order to illumine it, so that the land can see by means of his radiance (*mʒʒ tʒ r^c-nb r shḏ=f, mʒʒ tʒ m iʒh.w=f*).”⁹³² Similarly, Montu is “the great illuminator who illumines the earth with (his) rays, from whose sight everybody lives (*shḏ-wr shḏ tʒ m mʒi.w, ʿnh ḥr.w nb n mʒʒ=f*).”⁹³³

As a solar deity, Montu-Re-Harakhty was logically “august child of the Ogdoad (*pʒ sft šps n Ḥmni.w*).”⁹³⁴ and “he who came into existence by himself in the beginning in

⁹²⁷ *Deir Chelouit* III, 122, 14: “good sundisk of the firmament (*itn nfr n hy*)”; *Tôd* II, 220, 6: “sundisk of heaven (*itn n p.t*)”; *Tôd* II, 226, 18: “great sundisk (*itn wr*)”; cf. also *Deir Chelouit* III, 130, 8-9: “the good light (*šww nfr*).”

⁹²⁸ *Deir Chelouit* III, 130, 16; 152, 13; for the last expression, cf. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 551.

⁹²⁹ *Deir Chelouit* III, 130, 9.

⁹³⁰ For the luminous gaze of the solar deity allowing creation to see, see the discussion and references in Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 154, n. A, 159, n. B.

⁹³¹ The two mentions of *mʒʒ tʒ* (“he who sees the land” and “the land sees”) are sportive allusions to the name Montu, since the word *mʒʒ* can often write the phoneme *mn* in both Demotic and Hieroglyphic texts; see Smith, in Thissen and Zauzich, eds., *Grammata Demotika*, pp. 193-210; Jansen-Winkeln, *Biographische und religiöse Inschriften*, I, p. 67, n. 18.

⁹³² *Deir Chelouit* III, 122, 17.

⁹³³ *Esna* VI, 488, 8-11; cf. also *Deir Chelouit* II, 74, 14: “great sundisk, lord of illumination, having illumined the two lands with [...] (*itn wr, nb ḥḏḏw.t, sšp.n=f tʒ.wy m [...]*).”

⁹³⁴ Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10a and h) (= Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 109 and 117); *Deir Chelouit* III, 152, 12-13; var. “excellent child of the Ogdoad, great god who came into existence in the initial moment (*sft iqr n Ḥmni.w, nfr šps ḥpr m zp tpy*)” (*Deir Chelouit* II 74, 8); probably also *Deir Chelouit* I, 17, 7: “[august?] child (*sft [šps?]*)”; for the Ogdoad as creators of the sun, cf. **4.39**.

Hermopolis (*hpr ds=f m šꜥ n/m Hmnw*).⁹³⁵ As child and successor of the Ogdoad, he also takes part in their ancestor cult. He is thus “he who penetrates into the Mound of [Djeme],”⁹³⁶ “who takes his seat in his funerary districts beside the father of fathers (Kematef), who comes into the Mound of Djeme annually in order to establish the condition of [...] (*ir s.t=f m spꜥ.wt=f r-gs it-it.w, ii m i3.t-tꜥm.t tp-rnp.t r smn šhr n [...]*).”⁹³⁷ A text from Medinet Habu specifies that: “he arrives at the Mound of Djeme on the day of treading/visiting the tomb, in his beautiful festival of 26 Khoiak, in order to deposit offerings for his fathers and mothers (*spr=f r i3.t-dꜥm.t m hrw n hh iz, m hb=f nfr 3bd 3h.t hrw 26, r wꜥh iht n it.w-mw.wt=f*).”⁹³⁸ This was the final day of the Sokar Festival, and a large number of sources confirm Montu’s journey from Armant to Medinet Habu (cf. **7.5**).

4.35 Montu of Medamud

Montu of Medamud received a number of names. Already in the Middle Kingdom, he appeared as both “Montu Lord of Thebes, within Medamud” and “Montu Lord of Medamud.”⁹³⁹ In the Graeco-Roman temple inscriptions, Montu is similarly called both “Montu-Re Lord of Thebes, bull within Medamud (*Mnt-Rꜥ nb Wꜥs.t, kꜥ hꜥry-ib Mꜥd.t*)” and “Montu-Re Lord of Medamud.”⁹⁴⁰

⁹³⁵ Thiers and Volokhine, *Ermant* I, No. 4, 7; the last phrase could also read: “from the sand (šꜥ) of Hermopolis,” just like Montu of Thebes’s birth from the sand of Thebes (cf. **4.36**)

⁹³⁶ *Deir Chelouit* I, 9, 7 (the restoration seems clear, cf. Zivie, *Deir Chelouit* I, p. 28, n. [d]).

⁹³⁷ *Deir Chelouit* III, 152, 14-15.

⁹³⁸ Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10a and h) (= Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 109 and 117; Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, II, Pl. 150a).

⁹³⁹ Bisson de la Roque, *BIFAO* 40 (1940): 10-11, 14, 26, 28; Werner, *The God Montu*, pp. 39-40; Valbelle, *RHR* 209 (1992): 4-5.

⁹⁴⁰ See the discussions of Drioton, *Médamoud* I, pp. 1-6; note also the interesting variant in *Tôd* II, 284 I, 58: “Montu Lord of Thebes, Lord of Medamud.”

The former epithet has led to a certain degree of confusion. Traunecker, publishing a foundation stela dedicated to “Montu-Re Lord of Thebes, Bull within Medamud,” claimed that while “on pourrait donc conclure hâtivement que la stèle doit commémorer la construction de l’enceinte de Médamoud (...) il n’est guère possible, par contre, de se prononcer entre Médamoud et Karnak-Nord.”⁹⁴¹ However, the only support for Traunecker’s hesitation was the appearance of these epithets on the propylon of North Karnak.⁹⁴² From this one example, Traunecker suggested that “Montu-Re Lord of Thebes,” who had a temple in Thebes, borrowed his epithet from Montu of Medamud.⁹⁴³

The epithets of Montu are actually quite clear and precise. Montu of North Karnak was always “Montu-Re Lord of Thebes,”⁹⁴⁴ and since Medamud was a smaller town within the Theban nome, the local form of Montu was still “Lord of Thebes,” or perhaps “Lord of the Theban Nome,” but in his specific manifestation of “bull within Medamud.”⁹⁴⁵ The exact same situation existed at Tod, where the local form of Montu was sometimes “Lord of Tod,” but also “Lord of Thebes, Bull within Tod,”⁹⁴⁶ and “Montu-Re Lord of Tod, Great god in

⁹⁴¹ Traunecker, *Karnak 5* (1972): 154-5.

⁹⁴² Traunecker, *Karnak 5* (1972): 154; referring to Aufrère, *Montou*, §§164-6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 5).

⁹⁴³ Traunecker, *Karnak 5* (1972): 154-5; followed without question by Sambin and Carlotti, *BIFAO* 95 (1995): 429, n. 220.

⁹⁴⁴ Traunecker, *Karnak 5* (1972): 154-5, argued that “Lord of Thebes” did not refer to a specific temple.

⁹⁴⁵ The fact that this extended epithet refers to Montu of Medamud is clear from the numerous temple inscriptions from Medamud itself (*Médamoud*, Nos. 2A, 5, 54, 121, 123, 125, 127-128, 156-178, 314-316; and further examples in Varille, *BIFAO* 41 [1942]: Pls. II, IV-V = Ernst, *ZÄS* 129 [2002]: 16-7; Sambin, *BIFAO* 92 (1992): 159, Fig. 6, Sud, 160), as well as from a recently published temple construction stela found *in situ* at Medamud (Revez, *BIFAO* 104 [2004]: 502).

⁹⁴⁶ E.g. *Tôd* I, 146, 12; II, 226, 7; 292, 7-8; 319, 7-8; 326, 5; probably also 315, 19-20 (partially damaged); Bisson de la Roque, *BIFAO* 40 (1941): 37, ll. 4 and 9, 39, l. 24.

Armant (*Iwnw-šm*).⁹⁴⁷ The presence of “Montu-Re Lord of Thebes, Bull within Medamud” at North Karnak and Medinet Habu indicates that Montu of Medamud had cultic connections to these temples, not that the ancient scribes confused the local epithets.

Montu of Medamud was essentially a protector deity. While this role was shared by all Montus, this seems to have been the only notable function of Montu at Medamud. This local feature may be due to the geographical position of Medamud in the north-east corner of the Theban nome. In one inscription he is the god “who protects Thebes on its north and its east, who repels evil from its entrances (*ḥwi W3s.t ḥr mḥ.t=s ḥr i3b.t=s, šḥr d3 m r3-w3.t=s*).”⁹⁴⁸ The strategic importance of Medamud is evoked in an inscription from the so-called “Gate of Tiberius” describing the actions of the four Montus:⁹⁴⁹

*zm3=s n m zp m-ḥnt [niw.t tn]
 ḥr stp-z3 n It-t3.wy
 (ḥr) z3 b3.t-ntr.w ḥr i3b.t=s
 (ḥr) ḥm ii r=s m mḥ.t=s*

They unite as one within [this city = Medamud],
 making protection for the Capitol (lit. “Itj-Tawy”),
 protecting the “Bush of the Gods” (= Thebes) on its East,
 repelling whatever might come against it from its North.

Unfortunately, most of the relevant texts from Medamud are damaged, hampering any recognition of other features of the local Montu.

⁹⁴⁷ *Tôd* II, 291, 7-8; similarly Montu-Reharakhty of Armant who is also “Great God within Tod” (*Tôd* I, 1, 14-7); and note already in the New Kingdom, one finds epithets like “Montu Lord of Thebes within Armant” (Osing, *Das Tempel Sethos’ I. in Gurna*, p. 36 and Pl. 21).

⁹⁴⁸ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§164-6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 5k); Aufrère notes that this particular scene is in fact located on the north-east corner of the propylon.

⁹⁴⁹ Drioton, *CdE* 6 (1931): 267; Thiers, *Kyphi* 4 (2005): 64.

4.36 Montu of Thebes

The most common epithets of Montu-(Re) Lord of Thebes⁹⁵⁰ are “King of the gods,”⁹⁵¹ and “Amun-Re as a rejuvenated youth (*Imn-R^c m ḥwnw rnp*).”⁹⁵² These attributes designate Montu as a successor to Amun as divine king of Egypt ruling from Thebes,⁹⁵³ also called “Amun the great (*Imn wr*).”⁹⁵⁴ A number of texts detail this political transition:⁹⁵⁵

spr.n=f W3s.t Imn
tis.n=f hr s.t n w^c ir ḥḥ
wṯz.n=f ḥ^c n šw.ty-wr
šsp.n=f w3s
3m.n=f 3ms
n ib n snḥt pḥty=f

dw3 sw p3wty.w-tpy.w
dg3=sn k3=f tni(.w) r nṯr.w mi it=sn

He (sc. Montu) arrived at Thebes of Amun,
 he sat upon the throne of the Sole one who made Millions (Amun),
 he assumed the crown of the great double-plumes,

⁹⁵⁰ For Montu of Thebes, see primarily Leclant, in *Mélanges Maspero*, I/4, pp. 73-98; Sternberg-el Hotabi, Sternberg-el Hotabi, *Der Propylon des Month-Tempels in Karnak-Nord*; Aufrère, *Montou*; note that although the major temple at North Karnak was originally dedicated to Amun by Amenhotep III, Montu still had a small temple nearby; cf. Gabolde and Rondot, *BSFE* 136 (1996): 40-1; Gabolde, *Kyphi* 4 (2005): 40, n. 28.

⁹⁵¹ *Urk.* VIII, 2b; 6b; 10b; 13b; 14b; 48 (1) (=Aufrère, *Montou*, §§158-163, 171-173, 187-189, 212-216, 271-276); 68b (= Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 7); *Opet* I, 22; 55; 114; 252; *Deir Chelouit* III, 149, 14; 153, 14; *Deir al-Médina*, 2, 13; 23, 13; 199, 5; Medinet Habu, Small Temple, First Pylon (= Kaplony-Heckel, in Eyre, et al., eds., *The Unbroken Reed*, Pl. 20, p. 148); *Tôd* I, 24, 5-6; *Tôd* II, 185, 5; 307, 9.

⁹⁵² *Urk.* VIII, 13b (=Aufrère, *Montou*, §§271-273); 41 (2) (= Aufrère, *Montou*, §§141-143); 68h (=Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 7); 181b; Chonsu Temple, bark shrine = PM II², 239 (74b) II; Karnak Contra-Temple = Varille, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 161; *Deir Chelouit* III, 149, 7-8; 153, 14-15; vars. “Harakhty as a rejuvenated youth” (*Urk.* VIII, 14b = Aufrère, *Montou*, §§274-276); “Great Re as a rejuvenated youth” (*Urk.* VIII, 68b = Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 7); *Opet* I, 55 (restored after the parallel in *Urk.* VIII, 68h); for this epithet, cf. also Aufrère, *Montou*, pp. 118-9, n. (j).

⁹⁵³ Montu is “established upon his throne in Victorious Thebes (*zm3(.w) ḥr ns.t=f m W3s.t-nḥt.t*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 68h = Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 7; *Opet* I, 55); “upon his throne in Karnak (*hr s.t=f m Ip.t-s.wt*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 34b = Aufrère, *Montou*, §§187-189).

⁹⁵⁴ *Urk.* VIII, 13b (= Aufrère, *Montou*, §§271-273); *Tôd* II, 185, 7; he is specifically called “Lord of Thebes as Amun the great”: *Urk.* VIII, 14o (= Aufrère, *Montou*, §§271-273); 181b; *Tôd* I, 24, 6-7; cf. also *Deir Chelouit* III, 153, 16: “he [...] the two lands in his name of Amun the great ([...].n=f t3.wy m rn=f n Imn-wr).”

⁹⁵⁵ *Urk.* VIII, 68b (= Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 7).

he took up the *w3s*-scepter,
 he grasped the *3ms*-scepter,
 from the desire to strengthen his might.

The first primeval ones praise him,
 when they behold his Ka, most distinguished of the gods, like their father.

A similar text gives a sportive etymology for the name Montu:⁹⁵⁶

ph.n=f t3-šm^c
m33.n=f W3s.t s.t-ib n Imn-rn=f
sndm.n=f hr s.t n it=f R^c
^c*pr.n=f sw m hkr.w=f*

dw3 k3=f in d3d3.t m Ip.t-s.wt hr
mn.tw (n)=n m Mntw

He reached Upper Egypt,⁹⁵⁷
 he saw Thebes, the favorite place of Hidden-of-his-name (Amun),
 he sat upon the throne of his father, Re,
 he equipped himself with his regalia.

His Ka is worshipped by the Council in Karnak, saying:⁹⁵⁸
 “May you endure (*mn.tw*) (for) us as Montu (*mntw*)!”

The same events are described elsewhere in slightly different terms, with Montu associated
 with Harsiese (cf. *infra*):⁹⁵⁹

iw^c mnḥ n (wn-nfr m3^c-hrw)|
iqḥ niw.t ḥw.t-wtṯ n it=f
r šsp nsyw.t m Ip.t-s.wt
^c*ḥ^c hr srḥ n ḥm n nsw.t-bitī*
ḥq3 i3w.t nt wtṯ sw

[š]sr nfrw=f in imy.w W3s.t hr
mn.tw (n)=n hr s.t it=k

⁹⁵⁶ *Urk.* VIII, 4b (= Aufrère, *Montou*, §§174-176); for this etymology, cf. Sternberg-El Hotabi, *Der Propylon des Month-Tempels*, p. 30, n. 6.

⁹⁵⁷ Cf. also *Deir Chelouit* III, 153, 13: “He reached Upper Egypt as a high wind (*ph.n=f t3-šm^c m t3w q3*).”

⁹⁵⁸ Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 197, n. (o), took issue with this translation, apparently unaware of the common Middle Egyptian use of Noun + *hr* to introduce quotes; cf. Gardiner, *EG* §321.

⁹⁵⁹ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§171-3 (= *Urk.* VIII, 2b).

The beneficent heir of Wennefer, justified,
 who entered the city of the Mammisi⁹⁶⁰ of his father (Opet Temple),
 in order to receive kingship in Karnak,
 who stands upon the *serekh* of the majesty of the King,
 who rules the office of his begetter.

His perfection is [pro]claimed ([š]sr) by those within Thebes, saying:
 “May you endure (*mn.tw*) (for) us upon the throne of your father!”

This myth of succession is further detailed in yet another text, where Montu is called:⁹⁶¹

šsp Ip.t-s.wt r ḥq3 ns.t n wtṯ sw
snḏm ḥr s.t n Imn-rn=f
wsr w3s=f wsr=f

He who seized Karnak in order to rule the throne of his begetter,⁹⁶²
 who sat upon the throne of Hidden-of-his-name (Amun),
 the might of his *w3s*-scepter is his might.

Despite the references to Montu “arriving at” or “entering” Thebes, other inscriptions make Montu the son of Victorious Thebes herself. Two parallel texts say of Thebes that ““Her God” is what one calls Montu Lord of Thebes, who came forth from the egg in her sand (*ntr=s k3.tw r Mnt nb W3s.t pr m swḥ.t m šc=s*),”⁹⁶³ while Thebes is elsewhere equated with “the sand of the sacred egg, from which Montu(?) emerges (*n3 šc nt swḥ.t dsr(.t), iw pr Mnt(?) im=sn*).”⁹⁶⁴ In another scene, Victorious Thebes tells Montu:⁹⁶⁵

⁹⁶⁰ Despite the lengthy speculations of Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 195, n. (h), this is not to be read *ḥw.t-wnšb*, but simply *ḥw.t-wtṯ*, a common name for the Opet Temple (cf. **4.42**); for the so-called “clepsydra” spelling *wtṯ*, see already *Wb. I*, 381, 10.

⁹⁶¹ *Urk. VIII*, 14b (= Aufrère, *Montou*, §§274-276).

⁹⁶² Paralleled in *Urk. VIII*, 17b (= Aufrère, *Montou*, §§252-254).

⁹⁶³ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§139-143 (= *Urk. VIII*, 41[2] and 42 [2]).

⁹⁶⁴ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§82-84 (= *Urk. VIII*, 49b); this name is written with the seated god ideogram, but unfortunately the head is completely damaged; Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 79, n. (f), restored Atum, but this seems highly unlikely, especially given the present parallels.

⁹⁶⁵ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§ 274-276 (= *Urk. VIII*, 14n).

twt sḏ=i
ink ir ḏ.t=k
hpr šṯ3.t=k hnt šḥ=i

You are my child,
 it is I who made your body,
 since your egg came into existence within my sand.

The emphasis on the “sand” of Thebes apparently designates Montu as a native Theban, just like Amun and Osiris.

As the living ruler of Thebes and heir of Amun, Montu naturally is assimilated to Osiris Wennefer,⁹⁶⁶ often assuming the specific epithet *mryty* which commonly describes the Pharaoh.⁹⁶⁷ To this effect, Montu of Thebes could be “Osiris whose limbs are united (*Wsr tm(.w) m ḥḥ.w=f*),”⁹⁶⁸ specifically “when he governed Thebes as ruler (*m ity.n=f W3s.t m ḥq3*).”⁹⁶⁹ The Osirian aspect of Montu is particularly developed in a *nms.t*-offering scene, where Montu-Osiris is described in primarily royal terms:⁹⁷⁰

wnn ḥq3 šmḥ wsr.tw m W3s.t=f
k3 k3=f r ir im=s
sw m Mntw nḥt tqr-phṯy
šḥm ḥ3 siwh m nḥt=f
nsw-nsw.w biti-biti
ḥq3 mnḥ ḥq3-ḥq3.w

⁹⁶⁶ For Montu and Osiris, cf. Sternberg-el Hotabi, *Der Propylon des Month-Tempels*, pp. 146-7; Sambin and Carlotti, *BIFAO* 95 (1995): 429-30; for Osiris as successor of Amun, see **4.42**.

⁹⁶⁷ Aufrère, *Montou* §§184-6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 26b); §§187-189 (= *Urk.* VIII, 34b); §§212-6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 48 [1]); §§271-3 (= *Urk.* VIII, 13b); §§274-6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 14b); Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 7 (= *Urk.* VIII, 68g and h); *Urk.* VIII, 181g; *Opet* I, 55; *Tôd* I, 17, 16; 24, 1; 46, 1; for *mryty* (var. *mrwty*) as a royal epithet, cf. Grimal, *Termes de la propagande*, pp. 367, n. 1222, 379, n. 1287, 388, n. 1326, 617; Rondot, *La grande salle hypostyle de Karnak: les architraves*, p. 55, n. e; cf. also **4.44**, for Osiris-Mryty.

⁹⁶⁸ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§161-3 (= *Urk.* VIII, 10b); *Opet* I, 22; 114; Aufrère’s translation: “dont les humeurs sont intactes” is inaccurate.

⁹⁶⁹ *Opet* I, 22.

⁹⁷⁰ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§161-163 (= *Urk.* VIII, 10g).

As long as the ruler of Upper Egypt is mighty in his Thebes,
 being called “He who was made in there,”⁹⁷¹
 he is Montu the Victorious, violent of strength,
 Great power who boasts of his might,
nsw-King of *nsw*-Kings, *biti*-King of *biti*-Kings (),⁹⁷²
 Beneficent ruler, ruler of rulers.

Nonetheless, the same scene develops another result of this assimilation, namely Montu’s control over the Inundation:⁹⁷³

ir(.w) m W3s.t
wbn m nfr.t
iw^c t3.wy hnt hw.t wtt=f
whm-^cnh rnp r nw=f
mh ntr.w rmt m hr.wt=sn

He who was made in Thebes,
 who was born wearing the white crown,
 Heir of the Two Lands, foremost of his Mammisi (= Opet Temple),
 Inundation (*whm-^cnh*) who renews himself at his moment,
 who fills gods and people with their food.

This is the only text that ascribes power over the Inundation to Montu of Thebes, but it is most likely specific to the accompanying scene and has nothing to do with lunar control of the Inundation imagined by Aufrère.⁹⁷⁴

Montu’s position as son and successor also allows him to be identified with Horus.⁹⁷⁵

This assimilation occurs most in the epithet “Horus (Lord) of the *wsr.ty*-uraei (*Hr (nb)*-

⁹⁷¹ This name alludes to the creation of Montu within Thebes (cf. *supra*), as well as the common epithet of Osiris, *ir m W3s.t*, “Made in Thebes” (cf. *infra*).

⁹⁷² Aufrère, *Montou*, pp. 167 and 173, n. (v), instead translated: “celui d’Ogdoade (*Hmnjw*)”; however, for a clear parallel of this epithet, see *Urk. II*, 17, 17 (Satrap Stela); Guermeur, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 265, n. e.

⁹⁷³ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§161-163 (= *Urk. VIII*, 10b); For Osiris and the Inundation, see in general Assmann, in Grimal, et al. eds., *Hommages à Fayza Haikal*, pp. 5-16.

⁹⁷⁴ Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 172-3, n. (q).

⁹⁷⁵ For Montu of Thebes and Horus, cf. Sternberg-El Hotabi, *Der Propylon des Month-Tempels*, pp. 145-6.

wsr.ty),”⁹⁷⁶ a reference both to the two diadems of Horus,⁹⁷⁷ and to the two uraei always worn by Montu.⁹⁷⁸ Montu can also receive specific epithets of Horus, including “son of Isis,”⁹⁷⁹ “protector of his father (*nd n it=f*),”⁹⁸⁰ and “beneficent heir of Wennefer (*iw^c mnḥ n Wn-nfr*).”⁹⁸¹ Yet another reference to Horus can be found in the designation “Lord of Behedet as Harakhty (*nb Bḥd.t m Hr-ḥ.ty*).”⁹⁸²

Finally, Montu’s place in the “second generation” of gods is probably the reason why he is once referred to as “Irita who created all things (*Iri-t3 qm3 iḥt nb*).”⁹⁸³ Besides this one passage, Montu of Thebes does not share anything in common with Irita, such as the creation of the Ogdoad. (cf. **4.25**).

⁹⁷⁶ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§252-4 (= *Urk.* VIII, 17b); §§212-6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 48 [2]); *Opet* I, 55; 75; 252; *Deir Chelouit* III, 153, 13; *Deir al-Médina*, 23, 13-14; *Tôd* II, 185, 6; 222, 6-7; Med. Habu, First Pylon, north right II = Kaplony-Heckel, in Eyre, et al., eds., *The Unbroken Reed*, Pl. 20); Gate of Domitian, North Face, Left II (PM II², p. 475, D).

⁹⁷⁷ Especially in the Theban priestly title, “Priest of Horus, Great of two Uraei (*ḥm Hr wr w3d.ty*),” for which see the references in Coulon, *RdE* 57 (2006): 4, n. A.

⁹⁷⁸ Sternberg-El Hotabi, *Der Propylon des Month-Tempels*, p. 78, n. 1; Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Biographien*, I, p. 153, n. 1; Sethe, *Amun*, §3, suggested this was a later understanding of an earlier epithet of Montu, “Horus the Theban (*Hr W3sty*)” or “the Theban falcon (*bik W3sty*)” (cf. Gabolde, *Kyphi* 4 [2005]: 38-9).

⁹⁷⁹ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§184-6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 26b); var. “son of Isis as the strong bull (*z3 Is.t m k3 nḥt*)” (Aufrère, *Montou*, §§221-3 = *Urk.* VIII, 30b).

⁹⁸⁰ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§184-6 (= *Urk.* VIII), 26b.

⁹⁸¹ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§171-3 (= *Urk.* VIII, 2b).

⁹⁸² *Tôd* I, 24, 7; *Urk.* VIII, 181b; var. “Lord of Behedet as Lord of Eternity (= Re) (*nb Bḥd.t m nb nḥh*)” (Aufrère, *Montou*, §§274-6 = *Urk.* VIII, 14o).

⁹⁸³ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§138-40 (= *Urk.* VIII, 42 [2]); in the same passage, Montu is also called “Amun the Great (*Imn-wr*),” another reference to the second generation of Amun.

Montu of Thebes's secondary function is that of a valiant warrior, being the "lord of strength (*nb phty*),"⁹⁸⁴ "the strong/victorious bull (*k3 nht*),"⁹⁸⁵ and "he who seizes the Nine Bows (*it pd.wt-psd.t*)." ⁹⁸⁶ Montu also appears as "Kematef mighty of strength (*km-3.t=f nht-phty*),"⁹⁸⁷ an epithet distinct from Amun-Kematef,⁹⁸⁸ apparently related to Montu's "violent moment (*3.t*)." ⁹⁸⁹

4.37 Montu of Tod

Montu of Tod's primary duty was slaughtering the enemies of Re at the site of Djedem.⁹⁹⁰ An extensive narrative of this important event appears in a recently published inscription from Tod:⁹⁹¹

*ir i3.t tn bw pw spr R^c r=f
hr h3 hn^c ms.w bdš.w [...]*

⁹⁸⁴ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§212-6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 48 [2]); *Opet* I, 55; 56; 75; 114; 252; *Deir al-Médîna*, Nos. 2,12; 23, 13; *Deir Chelouit* III, 153, 13; *Tôd* I, 24, 5; *Tôd* II, 185, 6; 222, 6; Medinet Habu, Gate of Domitian, North Face, Left II (PM II², p. 475, D).

⁹⁸⁵ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§158-60 (= *Urk.* VIII, 6b); §§252-4 (= *Urk.* VIII, 17b); Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 7 (= *Urk.* VIII, 68b); *Opet* I, 55; 114; *Deir al-Médîna*, No. 199, 5; *Deir Chelouit*, III, 149, 14; *Tôd* I, 24, 6; *Tôd* II, 222, 6.

⁹⁸⁶ *Opet* I, 55; 114; *Deir al-Médîna*, No. 199, 5; *Tôd* I, 24, 6; note the conceptually and phonetically similar variant: "sovereign (*ity*) of the Nine Bows" (*Deir Chelouit* III, 153, 14; Medinet Habu, First Pylon = Kaplony-Heckel, in Eyre, et al., eds., *The Unbroken Reed*, Pl. 20; Varille, *Karnak* I, Pl. 57); the latter seems to be the original form of the epithet; cf. Christophe, *Karnak-Nord* III, p. 122, n. 1.

⁹⁸⁷ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§221-223 (= *Urk.* VIII, 30b); note that Osiris of Opet Temple is also called "Kematef, mighty of strength (*Km-3.t=f nht [phty]*)" *Opet* I, 196, 8).

⁹⁸⁸ Amun-Kematef is only twice described as "mighty of strength": Marseille 5194 (block from East Karnak, reproduced in Gallet, *BIFAO* 101 [2001]: 196); Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 91; in general, Amun is more frequently qualified as "Kematef who came about in the first moment (*hpr m zp-tpy*)."

⁹⁸⁹ Compare the passage of the battle of Kadesh (*KRI* II, 52, 1-4; cited by Bisson de la Roque, *BIFAO* 40 [1940]: 20): "I am like Montu when I cause them to taste my hand in the completion of an instant (*tw mi Mntw, di=i dp=sn dr.t=i m km-n-3.t*)," for more allusions to Montu in his "moment of rage (*3.t*)," see Werner, *The God Montu*, pp. 290-1.

⁹⁹⁰ Sauneron, *BIFAO* 62 (1964): 37-9; Zivie-Coche, *RdE* 29 (1977): 229-30; Grenier, in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron*, I, pp. 381-9 (for most occurrences of the toponym Djedem); Thiers, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 560-2, 565-6.

⁹⁹¹ *Tôd* II, 188A, 1-3.

iw pr hm=f m hq3-nd
hr d^cr hfty.w=f m niw.wt sp3.wt
sm.n=f i3.wt
hns.n=f dn.wt
nd.n=f sp3.t hr rn=s
Thn m-ht=f

[ib].n hm=f hr ir-shr.w n niw.t ph.n=f
iqh.n=f h3s.t-dp hr imy-wr.t
btn.w=f hr.tw n hry.t=f

whm.n=f [r] r sp3.wt i3bt.t
hr shr dw-kd h3 B3k.t
gm.n=f st twt(.w) m niw.t tn
hpr drw.t m rn=s m3^c

h^c=f r=sn m rnn tqr-phity pr-^c
hb.n=f wmt
Mnt-R^c nb drw.t
3-phity hnt r3-d3wy
psd.t=f m-ht=f hr ir ht-ib=f
ntr.w hpr m h3w=f
shy.tw m d.t=sn
sdr m h^cy=sn

[...ms.w] n R^c
ddm=sn m-hnw n ddm.t
ni ws m hnd=sn tp-rnp.t

As for this mound, it is the place where Re arrived,
while fighting the rebellious children [...]

His majesty came forth from the Heliopolitan nome,
seeking his enemies in cities and nomes.

Just as he went through the mounds,
so did he traverse the edges of cultivation,
having inquired (each) nome about its name,
while *Thn* (=Thoth) was with him.

His majesty [desired] to control the City (Thebes) where he arrived,
he entered the Hills of Dep in the west,⁹⁹²
and his enemies fell from fear of him.

⁹⁹² The “Hills of Dep (*h3s.t-Dp*)” are not related to Buto, but rather a designation of Upper Egypt; cf. Meeks, in Clarysse, et al., eds., *Egyptian religion: the last thousand years*, II, pp. 1182-3.

He did the same in the eastern districts,
driving out the Evil-of-Character (= Apep) from Egypt.
He found them assembled (*tw*) in this very city,
and thus “Tod” became its true name.

He went forth against them as a youth, violent of strength, forthcoming of arm.
he entered into the masses,
(namely) Montu-Re lord of Thebes,
Great of Strength within battle,
with his Ennead behind him doing the things he wished,
(namely) the gods who came forth from his body,
having power over their bodies,
and brandishing their weapons.⁹⁹³

[...the children] of Re,
they are assembled (*ddm*) within Djedem,
without end to their visiting it each year.

This annual massacre associated Montu of Tod with Shu-Onuris, the prototypical warrior god who battled the armies of Seth and Apep.⁹⁹⁴ This connection is evident in the most common epithet of Montu of Tod, “(Horus) valiant of arm (*tm3-ꜥ*),”⁹⁹⁵ a title characteristic of Onuris and other related gods.⁹⁹⁶ The martial character of Montu of Tod led to his assimilation with other warrior gods such as Khenty-n-irty, the blind deity from Letopolis,⁹⁹⁷ and even Ba'al, a Syro-Palestinian divinity.⁹⁹⁸

⁹⁹³ Devauchelle and Grenier, *BIFAO* 82 (1982): 163, and 164, n. (d), translate the phrase *sdr m hꜥ.w* in this passage as “passe la nuit en armes,” apparently disregarding *Wb.* IV, 393, 2-12; Thiers, *Tôd* II, p. 352 [Index], translates this phrase correctly as “fourbir les armes”; for more parallels at Tod, cf. *Tôd* I, 81, 6; 121A; 138, 6-7; cf. also Drioton, *CdE* 6 (1931): 267.

⁹⁹⁴ Junker, *Die Onurislegende*.

⁹⁹⁵ *Tôd* I, 31B, 2; 40, 1; 86, 6; 122B; 123A; 138, 9; 147, 9 and 15; *Tôd* II, 221, 19; 286, 6; 287, 5; 314, 7 and 16; cf. the similar epithet “high of arm (while fighting) (*q3-ꜥ hr ꜥh3*),” (*Tôd* I, 2,11; 22, 3; 68, 10; 148, 14; *Tôd* II, 216, 3; 221, 6; cf. already the First Dynasty pharaoh Horus Qa'a; Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, p. 202).

⁹⁹⁶ Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, p. 100, n. 2; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 1163-4; *LGG* VII, 462-4.

⁹⁹⁷ *Tôd* I, 37, 7; 86, 6; 105, 6; 122A; 149, 4; for the bellicose aspects of Khenty-n-Irty, see Junker, *Der Sehende und Blinde Gott*, pp. 28-9, 53-5, 64-5; Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, pp. 23-4, nn. (m)-(o).

Just like in the other cities, although to a greater extent at Tod, epithets stress the military prowess of Montu of Tod. In general he is “great of strength (ʕ3/wr pḥty),”⁹⁹⁹ “violent of strength (tqr pḥty),”¹⁰⁰⁰ “mighty of strength (wsr pḥty),”¹⁰⁰¹ “bravest of the brave (qn r qn.w),”¹⁰⁰² “raging Ba (b3 tkk),”¹⁰⁰³ and “great of magic (wr ḥk3w).”¹⁰⁰⁴ Not only is he “strong of arm (nḥt-ʕ),”¹⁰⁰⁵ but also “lord of weapons (nb r3-ʕ-ḥt),”¹⁰⁰⁶ “fast of arrows (ḥ3ḥ ṣsr.w)”¹⁰⁰⁷ “who shoots to kill (stī r mdd),”¹⁰⁰⁸ and “who delivers the coup de grâce (wdi r sʕrq).”¹⁰⁰⁹ Montu is a confident soldier, “firm of heart when he has entered the battlefield (mn-ib hb.n=f pg3),”¹⁰¹⁰ “cool of face while striking (qbb-ḥr ḥr sky),”¹⁰¹¹ and even “he who

⁹⁹⁸ *Tôd* I, 120D: “Montu-Baʕal, who has control over the scimitar (*Mnt-Bʕr, šḥm m ḥpš*)”; for the connections between Montu and Baʕal already in the New Kingdom, cf. Werner, *The God Montu*, p. 189.

⁹⁹⁹ *Tôd* I, 80, 9; 124, 9; *Tôd* II, 175, 6; 211, 3; 221, 19; 314, 16; *Deir Chelouit* III, 128, 14.

¹⁰⁰⁰ *Tôd* I, 32, 5; 33A; 34, 5; 41, 1; 81, 6; 146, 13; *Tôd* II, 286, 7; 287, 7; cf. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1154.

¹⁰⁰¹ *Tôd* I, 19, 3.

¹⁰⁰² *Tôd* I, 17, 10; *Deir Chelouit* III, 128, 14; cf. *Tôd* I, 4, 3: “Lord of bravery, to whom belongs victory, who nourishes the strength of the King (*nb qn, s3wy nḥt, srwd pḥty n nsw.t*).”

¹⁰⁰³ *Tôd* I, 32, 4; 63, 5; 151, 4; 153, 1; *Tôd* II, 173, 3; 287, 6.

¹⁰⁰⁴ *Tôd* I, 8, 12; 122A; 124, 9; *Tôd* II, 173, 3.

¹⁰⁰⁵ *Tôd* I, 10, 3; vars. “strong of arm (*nḥt ḥpš*)” (*Tôd* II, 221, 7); “mighty of arm (*wsr ḥpš*)” (*Tôd* II, 314, 16).

¹⁰⁰⁶ *Tôd* I, 2, 10-11; 32, 4; *Tôd* II, 174, 3.

¹⁰⁰⁷ *Tôd* I, 120D.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Tôd* I I, 7, 2; 53, 2; *Tôd* II, 190, 6; 251, 2.

¹⁰⁰⁹ *Tôd* I, 8, 5; 22, 3; 121B; 149, 6; cf. also *Tôd* I, 6, 2.

¹⁰¹⁰ *Tôd* I, 5, 3; cf. also “he who fights on the battlefield (*ḥ3 ḥr pg3*)” (*Tôd* I, 42, 1; 63, 5).

¹⁰¹¹ *Tôd* I, 43, 1.

rejoices while fighting (*h^c hr ^ch3*).¹⁰¹² This confidence stems from the effect he has on enemies: “multitudes flee from seeing him (*bh3 wmt m n dg3.t=f*),¹⁰¹³ “when he has picked up weapons, the enemies hide in their places (*šsp.n=f h^c.w, imn sbi.w m s.t=sn*),¹⁰¹⁴ “when he comes forth, the entire land quakes (*pr=f r h3, nwr t3 hr ndb=f*),¹⁰¹⁵ because “nobody can stand in his presence/vicinity (*ni ^ch^c m hz3/h3w=f*).¹⁰¹⁶

When Montu of Tod enters the battlefield on “the day of battle (*hrw dmd/^ch3*),¹⁰¹⁷ he is “commander of millions (*h3wty h^h.w*),¹⁰¹⁸ “lord of infantry (*nb mnfy.t*),¹⁰¹⁹ “numerous of recruits (*^cš3 d3m.w*),¹⁰²⁰ and “assembled of military scouts (*twt m mh.w-ib*).¹⁰²¹ These troops are defined as “his children united around him, being on all his sides protecting him

¹⁰¹² *Tôd* II, 288, 7-8.

¹⁰¹³ *Tôd* I, 42, 3; vars. “from whom masses flee (*bh3 n=f wmt*)” (*Tôd* I, 2, 11-2); “from whose war cry one flees (*bh3.tw m hmhm.w=f*)” (*Tôd* I, 5, 3); “from whose war cry one trembles (*sd3d3.tw m hmhm.w=f*)” (*Tôd* I, 43, 2); “[...]from hearing his shouts (*n sdm ph3.w=f*)” (*Tôd* I, 20, 3); “multitudes flee from his name’s pronouncement (*bh3 ^cš3 n dm rn=f*)” (*Tôd* I, 63, 5); “from whose name’s pronouncement one flees (*bh3.tw n dm rn=f*),” (*Tôd* I, 43, 1); note also that “his name destroys (*rn=f (hr) h^d*).” (*Tôd* I, 42, 3); “they flee from before him [in] large groups (*bh3=sn h3.t=f [iw=]sn m wmt*)” (*Tôd* I, 146, 21).

¹⁰¹⁴ *Tôd* I, 43, 4.

¹⁰¹⁵ *Tôd* I, 43, 3; var. “when he leaves his temple (...) the entire earth quakes (*di=f sw m pr=f (...) nwr t3 hr ndb=f*)” (*Tôd* I, 41, 1).

¹⁰¹⁶ *Tôd* I, 17, 11; 42, 2; 63, 5; 120D.

¹⁰¹⁷ *Tôd* I, 3,3; 19, 3; 58, 5; 108, 6; *Tôd* II, 189, 1; 190,5; 216, 3; 327; for this expression, cf. the discussion of Bedier, *Die Rolle des Gottes Geb*, pp. 73-4.

¹⁰¹⁸ *Tôd* I, 124, 9-10.

¹⁰¹⁹ *Tôd* I, 3, 3.

¹⁰²⁰ *Tôd* I, 6, 3.

¹⁰²¹ *Tôd* I, 1, 18; 6, 3; 108, 6; var. “surrounded with military scouts (*inh.tw m mh.w-ib*)” (*Tôd* I, 31A).

(*ms.w=f dmd(.w) m phr=f, wnn=sn m sw3.w=f hr ir bz3=f*).¹⁰²² The military forces of Montu are also “his Ennead,”¹⁰²³ “the children of Re,”¹⁰²⁴ and “the children of Atum.”¹⁰²⁵

Montu of Armant also participates in the ritual massacre: “as long as *Wryti* is Lord of Armant as Re (...) he is Foremost of the Akhet, travelling across the canal while attacking his opponents in the East (*wnn wryti m nb Twnw-šm^c m R^c (...) sw m hnty-3h.t, d3i=f mr hr dr rgy.w=f hr i3bt.t*).¹⁰²⁶ The journey of Montu of Armant to Tod is further confirmed by a text found at Armant, which describes a bark procession crossing the river and a canal to reach Tod and Djedem,¹⁰²⁷ as well as the festival calendar of Tod which mentions a ritual “book of Montu Lord of Armant’s arrival to Tod (*md3.t n iw Mnt nb Twnt r Dr.t*).¹⁰²⁸ Just as with the myth of Horus at Edfu, Montu of Armant was the elder Re, while Montu of Tod acted as the violent warrior Horus of Behedet.¹⁰²⁹

¹⁰²² *Tôd* I, 33A; var. “his beloved children (*ms.w=f mr(.w)=f*)” (*Tôd* I, 138, 11).

¹⁰²³ *Tôd* I, 46, 2; *Tôd* II, 187, 1

¹⁰²⁴ *Tôd* I, 35, 1-3: “As for this place, the children of Re entered it, uniting with the body of their father while striking (*ir s.t tn, iqh.n ms.w-R^c r=s, hr hnm d.t n it=sn m sk*).”

¹⁰²⁵ *Tôd* II, 286, 4; 322, 4; for the children of Atum at Tod, cf. also *Tôd* I, 166, and *infra*.

¹⁰²⁶ *Tôd* I, 1, 25; earlier in the text, Montu-Re-Harakhty of Armant is “he who enters Djedem (*iqh Ddm.t*)” (*Tôd* I, 15); in a geographic procession from Tod, the Hermonthite nome tells the local god that: “you are Montu the victorious, equipped with his accoutrements, who crosses the canal smiting his opponents (*ntk Mnt-nht, pr m hkr.w=f, sš mr hr hw(.t) rgy.w=f*)” (*Tôd* I, 85, 6); cf. also Devauchelle and Grenier, *BIFAO* 83 (1983):

¹⁰²⁷ Daressy, *RT* 19 (1897): 15 (for this text, see most recently Thiers, *BIFAO* 104 [2004]: 560): “the regulations for sailing the bark when this god (sc. Montu of Armant) travels to Djedem in order to carry out his good visit at the Temple of Re (Tod), etc. (*tp-rd n sqd wi3 hft d3.t ntr pn r ddm.t r ir(.t) hn=f nfr r hw.t-R^c*).”

¹⁰²⁸ Thiers, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 557,

¹⁰²⁹ For Montu of Tod beside Re, cf. *Tôd* I, 124, 10; 149, 5; *Tôd* II, 322, 8.

Every year, Montu of Armant, Montu of Tod, Rattawy (cf. **4.47**) and the army of divine children would travel to Djedem “seeking out the rebels (*h̄hi b̄tn.w*),”¹⁰³⁰ sometimes simply in order to “repel the enemies (*r dr h̄fty.w*),”¹⁰³¹ “to annihilate their strongholds in Egypt (*r sk s.t-^cn.t=sn m t̄3-mry*),”¹⁰³² thus “getting rid of disease (*sn̄i mn.t*).”¹⁰³³ More frequently, however, Montu “smites his enemies in Djedem (*h̄wi h̄fty.w=f hr D̄dm*),”¹⁰³⁴ “makes a slaughter of the villains (*iri š^c.t m bd̄š.w*),”¹⁰³⁵ “burns the rebels (*nbi sbi.w*),”¹⁰³⁶ “rages against his opponents (*hs̄3 m r̄qy.w=f*),”¹⁰³⁷ and “slays the the rebels in his moment of rage (*sm̄3 sbi.w m 3̄.t-n̄šn=f*)”¹⁰³⁸ while “his troops do what he desires to the Evil One (*n̄ht.w=f ir mr=f n Nbd̄*),”¹⁰³⁹ and “they attack those who abandoned his path (*ir=sn s̄bt n̄3*

¹⁰³⁰ *Tôd* I, 33B; 146, 21.

¹⁰³¹ *Tôd* II, 319, 8; vars. “who repels all his enemies (*dr b̄tn.w=f nb*)” (*Tôd* II, 315, 24); “who repels all enemies from his surroundings (*šhr d̄3i nb m sw̄3.w=f*)” (*Tôd* I, 8, 5; cf. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1221).

¹⁰³² *Tôd* I, 1, 25; 33B, 2; for the term *s.t-^cn.t*, “stronghold,” (lit. “place of the talon”), cf. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 948; Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, I, p. 244, n. (j); and add *Philä* I, 34, 7; *Esna* II, 58, 1; *Esna* VI, 474;

¹⁰³³ *Tôd* I, 8, 12; 149, 5; cf. Grenier, in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron*, I, p. 385, n. d.

¹⁰³⁴ *Tôd* I, 52, 2; vars. “who attacks (*hn̄*) his enemies in Djedem” (*Tôd* I, 90, 6); “who smites his enemy (*Hwi x̄fty=f*),” *Tôd* II, 231 6, 8-9;

¹⁰³⁵ *Tôd* I, 138, 11; vars. “the rebellious, meanwhile, are as ashes before him, after he made a great slaughter of them (*ms.w-bd̄š.w iw 3̄ m s̄sf.w r-^h3̄.t=f, ir.n=f st m š^c.t 3̄*)” (*Tôd* I, 153, 5); “[...] having made them into a great slaughter ([...] *ir.n=f st m š^c.t 3̄*)” (*Tôd* I, 38, 3); “he made their slaughter (*ir.n=f š^c.t=sn*)” (*Tôd* I, 146, 21); “he inflicted slaughter among them (*wd.n=f š^c.t im=sn*)” (*Tôd* II, 322, 7).

¹⁰³⁶ *Tôd* I, 40, 2; var. “having [bur]ned the rebels (*[nbi].n=f bd̄š.w*)” (*Tôd* I, 41, 2).

¹⁰³⁷ *Tôd* I, 41, 1.

¹⁰³⁸ *Tôd* II, 231, 11; var. “who slaughters the disaffected (*sm̄3 h̄3k.w-ib*)” (*Tôd* II, 322, 7).

¹⁰³⁹ *Tôd* I, 46, 1.

*h3^c=sn hsbw=f).*¹⁰⁴⁰ The key word in the ritual destruction is the verb *ddb/ddm*, “to sting (as a scorpion)” or “to gather in a heap,”¹⁰⁴¹ thus explaining the name of Djedem.¹⁰⁴²

The ritual massacre of enemies at Djedem is equated with the traditional battle against Apep.¹⁰⁴³ Tod thus became “the *m3rw*-shrine of felling Apep by Re in Djedem (*m3rw n shr ʿpp in R^c m Ddm*),”¹⁰⁴⁴ while Montu “smites Apep at the moment he chooses (*hwi ʿpp r nw šsp ib=f*),”¹⁰⁴⁵ and he even “makes the tortoise [vo]mit that which he swallowed (*s[b]š št3 ʿm.n=f*),”¹⁰⁴⁶ namely the sundisk. Moreover, the ritual attacks occur to the East of Djedem,¹⁰⁴⁷ an allusion to the traditional massacre of enemies in the Eastern Horizon at dawn.¹⁰⁴⁸ This event is further comemorated by a large Ptolemaic altar from Tod, which

¹⁰⁴⁰ *Tôd* I, 35, 3; for the latter expression, cf. Clère, *BIFAO* 79 (1979): 285-310; for other references at Tod, cf. Grenier, in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron*, I, pp. 383-4, n. (c).

¹⁰⁴¹ For the numerous occurrences of this word, cf. Grenier, in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron*, I, p. 385, n. (b), who settled on the translation, “amonceler, entasser (sous: entendu: les cadavres des ennemis).”

¹⁰⁴² This type of etiological word play is ubiquitous in texts like the Myth of Horus; see the remarks of Derchain, *RdE* 26 (1974): 15-9.

¹⁰⁴³ See recently Smith, in Frandsen and Ryholt, eds., *A Miscellany of Demotic Texts and Studies*, pp. 95-112.

¹⁰⁴⁴ *Tôd* I, 41, 1.

¹⁰⁴⁵ *Tôd* II, 187A, 1; var. “he who makes Apep non-existent (*ir ʿpp m tm-wn*),” (*Tôd* II, 231, 6, 9-10); in another fragmentary text, Montu of Tod is: “bravest of the brave, [great] of strength, [...who fe]lls Apep, who makes a slaughter [of Wa]memy, who slays [the enemy(?)] of the bark with his own arm as Montu atop the sandbank (*qn r qn.w [wr] phty [...sh]r ʿpp, ir š^c.t [m w3]mmt, sm3 [hftv(?)] wi3 m Mnt hr-tp tzy.t m ʿ=f*)” (*Deir Chelouit* III, 128, 14).

¹⁰⁴⁶ *Tôd* I, 8, 12; Grenier, in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron* I, p. 385, n. (a), did not recognize this common phrase and instead translated: “(...) abattant la tortue: il la dévore,” claiming that the harpoon could “swallow (ʿm)” the enemy; for the correct meaning of this phrase, an allusion to Apep-Wenty as a tortoise who swallows the sundisk, see Gutbub, in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron* I, pp. 413-23, 428-9 (to which this example should be added); Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 320-1; cf. also *Tôd* I, 151, 1: “he sm[ote] the turtle (*h[wi].n=f št3*).”

¹⁰⁴⁷ E.g. *Tôd* I, 1, 25; 46, 1; 68, 10; 130, 1; 138, 9; *Tôd* II, 173, 4; 322, 7.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Cf. **5.8.1.2.4**.

contains texts addressing the enemies (viz. sacrificed animals) with vivid details about their imminent destruction by Sekhmet and Serqet.¹⁰⁴⁹

The vast majority of inscriptions from Tod relate to this annual battle and subsequent massacre of enemies, to the extent that it is difficult to say anything else about the theology of this temple. This peculiar phenomenon may be due to an actual event known from a historical inscription of Sesostris I from Tod.¹⁰⁵⁰ In this text, Sesostris relates that he found the temple of Tod destroyed after civil wars, and inflicted severe capital punishments on the perpetrators:¹⁰⁵¹

snb.w pr pn
ir.n=i rsf.w im=sn
ni fh=(i) °(=i) m t3y hr hm.t
in.wt m srh.w
dw.w m phw.wt
hry.w m hty.w

di.w m °h
tk3 pw n irr=sn n=f
st.n=i sw r=s

Those who knocked down this temple,
 I made them into food offerings.

I did not spare men or women,
 valleys or water channels,
 mountains or marshlands,
 enemies or hill-people

Those who were put on the altar,
 as for this torch of their making for him,
 against them did I set fire to it.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Bisson de la Roque, *BIFAO* 40 (1941): 36-42.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Barbotin and Clère, *BIFAO* 91 (1991): 1-32; see most recently Buchberger, in Zibelius-Chen and Fischer-Elfert, ed., "Von Reichlich ägyptischen Verstande", pp. 15-2; Leitz, *Quellentexte zur ägyptischen Religion I*, p. 126-7, recently claimed that a historical background for the Myth of Horus at Edfu is generally considered less academically tenable than more recent astronomical-calendrical interpretations.

¹⁰⁵¹ Barbotin and Clère, *BIFAO* 91 (1991): Fig. 3, 9, col. 30.

Such accounts of burning enemies are rare among Egyptian royal inscriptions,¹⁰⁵² and it was quite possible that the historical event at Tod was still remembered in the Graeco-Roman Period, especially since the blocks with the text were incorporated into the Ptolemaic temple.¹⁰⁵³

As evidenced in the long account translated above, the massacre at Djedem was just one of many battles in Re's campaign against Seth and his allies throughout Egypt.¹⁰⁵⁴ The longest version of this battle occurs at Edfu, where Horus of Behedet fills Montu of Tod's role as military hero,¹⁰⁵⁵ and this redaction incorporates the Djedem myth as one of its many episodes.¹⁰⁵⁶

[^h].n gmḥ.n=f sn ḥr rsy-i3bt n W3s.t
n mdw.t itrw snw

dd.n R^c n Dhwti
n3 sbi.w ddb=f sn

dd Dhwti
R^c Ddm.t dd.tw [r] i3.t tn [ḥr=s r]-mn hrw pn

wn.in Hr-3ḥty ḥr ir(.t) ḥ3y.t 3(.t) im=sn
dd.n R^c ḥ^c Hr-Bḥdy m33 wi
dd.tw ḥw.t-R^c r i3.t tn ḥr[=s] r-mn hrw pn
ntr imi=s Hr-Bḥdy-R^c-Mn

¹⁰⁵² As Willems, *JEA* 76 (1990): 41, noted: "The importance of the present inscription is that it gives a description of death penalties that are said actually to have been carried out." For later examples of burning enemies, cf. Yoyotte, *Annuaire de l'ÉPHÉ. Sciences Religieuses* 89 (1980-1981): 31-102; Leahy, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 27 (1984): 199-206.

¹⁰⁵³ Barbotin and Clère, *BIFAO* 91 (1991): 2.

¹⁰⁵⁴ See the overview with bibliography in Leitz, *Quellentexte zur ägyptischen Religion* I, pp. 126-32.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Note that Horus of Behedet appears in *Tôd* I, 73, and is assimilated to Montu of Tod in *Tod* II, 322, 4.

¹⁰⁵⁶ *Edfou* VI, 114, 7 - 115, 2; cf. most recently Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, pp. 202, 367-8; Leitz, *Quellentexte zur ägyptischen Religion* I, pp. 129-32, Text C.

[Then] he (Horus) spotted them to the southeast of Thebes,
at a distance of two *itrw*.¹⁰⁵⁷

Re said to Thoth:

“May he turn these rebels into a heap (of corpses) (*ddb*)¹⁰⁵⁸!”

Thoth said:

“Re, this mound is [thus] called Djedem until today.”

Then Horus Behedety made a great slaughter among them.

Re said: “Stop, Horus Behedety, and look at me!”

thus this mound is called Temple of Re until today,¹⁰⁵⁹
the god within it is Horus-Bhedety-Re-Min.

During his visit to Djedem, Montu of Tod would also perform mortuary rites for the deceased ancestor gods, usually called “the children of Re.”¹⁰⁶⁰ One inscription claims that “their tomb is in the vicinity(?) of Djedem [...in] the land of the Field of the White Sand (*db3.t=sn m h3w(?) n ddm.t [...m] z3t 3h.t n šc-ḥd*),”¹⁰⁶¹ a place where “its sand is whiter than milk, its front goes up and its back goes down (*wbh.n šc=s r ḥd.w, ḥ3t=s hy, ph=s shd*).”¹⁰⁶²

Another text gives a detailed description of this location:¹⁰⁶³

¹⁰⁵⁷ For the translation of this phrase, cf. De Wit, *BIFAO* 55 (1955): 120; supported by Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 123; Leitz, *Quellentexte zur ägyptischen Religion* I, pp. 131-2 (*contra* Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, pp. 202, 367). As Leitz, *Quellentexte zur ägyptischen Religion* I, p. 132, noted, Tod and Djedem are roughly two *iteru* south of Luxor (although his claim that this fact was “bislang von keinem Bearbeiter erkannt” is not fair; cf. already Sauneron, *BIFAO* 62 [1964]: 37).

¹⁰⁵⁸ Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, p. 202, instead translated: “Diese Feinde hat er gesammelt.” While this translation is possible, the majority of similar puns in texts from Tod Temple refer to making large heaps (*ddm.t*) of enemies’ corpses (noted by Grenier, in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron* I, p. 385, n. [b]), and that particular nuance better fits what follows.

¹⁰⁵⁹ The etymology here appears to be somewhat garbled; Tod is called both “Temple of Re” and “Temple of Fighting (*ḥ3*),” and it seems that the latter is evoked by the speech of Re: “Stop! (*ḥ*)”

¹⁰⁶⁰ Cf. Grenier, in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron*, pp. 387-9; Thiers, *BIFAO* 104 (2005): 562.

¹⁰⁶¹ *Tôd* I, 166, 3-4.

¹⁰⁶² *Tôd* I, 45, 1.

¹⁰⁶³ *Tôd* II, 322, 5-6; partially translated by Grenier, in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron*, I, pp. 387-8.

[wn]n=tw hr zm3-t3 n ht im
mh.t n drw.t
z3t nt šc-hd nty m s.t-dsr

ni hnd s(w) rmt-cw.t-hf3-srq nb
ni sw3 iry.w-p.t m c-q3=s
mitt šc-q3 nt Iwnw

[...hr] ir(.t) z3w n s.t=tn

ir pr rsy hsf=f r mh.t=s
hpr.n mhyt hsf r rsy.t=s

ni kf3=s m33.tw=s dr rk h3.t=s

One performs the burial of the relic there,
to the north of Tod,
(namely) the land of the White Sand which is in the necropolis.

No people, animals, snakes, or insects walk there,
no birds pass in front of it,
just like the High Sand of Heliopolis.

[...] carries out the protection of this place.
If a southwind comes forth to bother its northern part,
then a northwind comes about to meet it to the south.

It has not been uncovered or seen since the time of its inception.

This description of the “White Sand” explicitly claims that the cemetery of Tod is modelled on the “High Sand” of Heliopolis,¹⁰⁶⁴ the archetypical burial mound for all Egyptian temples.¹⁰⁶⁵ A text from Dendera similarly calls the sacred mound of Edfu “the remote Behdet of the gods, the High Sand that hides the corpses (*Bhd.t št3(.t) nt ntr.w, šc-q3 št3 h3.wt*),” and Hathor tells the gods of Edfu: “see that you do not allow their corpses to be uncovered (...) for the sand upon their tombs should not be uncovered (*pтр=tn r tm di(.t) kf3*)

¹⁰⁶⁴ For the “High Sand” at Heliopolis, otherwise known primarily from the Piye Stela, cf. Raue, *Heliopolis und das Haus des Re*, pp. 81-3.

¹⁰⁶⁵ For the burial of Atum and his children in Heliopolis, cf. Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 118-21.

h3.wt=sn (...) ni is kf3(.w) šc hr iz(.w)=sn.”¹⁰⁶⁶ At Tod, the name “White Sand” might also involve a subtle allusion to the sandbank of Apep (cf. *supra*), or the slaughter (šc.t) which Montu inflicts at Djedem.¹⁰⁶⁷

At the burial site, Montu of Tod is “he who enters Djedem in order to supply the [living] Bas, [in order to] present funerary offerings to the Children of Re (*iqh ddm r htm b3.w [nh.w r] sfsf 3w n ms.w R*),”¹⁰⁶⁸ “who lays down offerings for the Bas, and their Bas come alive from beholding him (*w3h htp.w n b3.w, nh b3,w=sn n dg3.tw=k*),”¹⁰⁶⁹ “who enlivens the Bas of those in his following (*snh b3.w n imy.w ht=f*).”¹⁰⁷⁰ Since this visit to Djedem only happened annually (*tp rnp.t*),¹⁰⁷¹ Montu also installed an unusual group of mortuary priests and guardians for the rest of the year:

(1) *Tôd* I, 151, 7:

[...] *nty.w im*
tz.n=f ib=sn m qbhw=f
rdi.n=f qfdn.w m sw3.w n Igr.t=sn
hr sqbb ib=sn dr nhh.

[...] those who are there (the deceased),
just as he lifted up their hearts with his libation water,

¹⁰⁶⁶ Cauville, *Les fêtes d’Hathor*, pp. 110-1, Pls. 12-13 (= *Dendara* XIII, 78, 3-4 and 7-9).

¹⁰⁶⁷ For earlier puns and conceptual links between “sand (šc)” and “slaughter (šc.t),” cf. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 169-70, n. a.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *Deir Chelouit* III, 128, 5-7 (cf. Zivie-Coche, *RdE* 29 [1977]: 229-30); for the “living Bas” as another name of the deceased “Children of Re,” see most recently Waitkus, *Die Texte in den unteren Krypten*, p. 67, n. 33.

¹⁰⁶⁹ *Tôd* I, 89, 5; note the similar phrase describing the Ogdoad and Amenope: “the Inert-ones come alive from beholding their father (*nh Nni.w m ptr it=sn*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 64 = *Urk.* VIII, 87b).

¹⁰⁷⁰ *Tôd* I, 123B.

¹⁰⁷¹ For references, see Thiers, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 562, n. 84; Thiers unnecessarily confuses matters by translating *tp rnp.t* as “au début de l’année” (for *tp rnp.t* = “annually,” cf. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, I, pp. 289-90, n. 13), and assuming that these examples relate to something besides the primary festival in Tybi; note that despite the importance of daily and weekly mortuary services, the major ancestor processions of Behedet in Edfu, Khadi in Dendera, and the Valley Festival in Thebes only happened once a year.

so did he place apes all around their necropolis,
cooling their hearts eternally.

(2) *Tôd* I, 166, 8-9:

ir.n=f qfdn.w m sw3.w=sn
[hr] sty qbhw n k3=sn r^c-nb

He made apes all around them,
pour[ing] libation water to their Kas every day.

(3) *Tôd* I, 45, 2:

rdi.n=f qfdn.w sndm.tw m gs.w=sn
s^cb.tw=sn m ^c.wy=sn hr rdi.t [...]

He placed apes sitting on (all) their sides,
being pure of their hands while giving [...]

Another scene from Tod depicts the pharaoh as Onuris harpooning Apophis in front of a building, presumably the tomb at Djedem, upon which sits four apes.¹⁰⁷² A similar group of simian protector deities watch over the Osirian relic in the Chapel of the Leg (*hw.t-sbq.t*) in Edfu.¹⁰⁷³

4.38 Mut

Mut was the chief goddess of Thebes as early as the New Kingdom.¹⁰⁷⁴ Her name, which literally means “mother,” describes her primary role of consort of Amun¹⁰⁷⁵ and

¹⁰⁷² *Tôd* I, 157; Thiers, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 562, n. 77, assumed these were the deceased gods themselves; for the word *qfdn*, “ape,” cf. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1056.

¹⁰⁷³ *Edfou* I, 249, 3; 255, 4-10; 276, 1-4; *Edfou* II, 23-4 (115); called both *bnty.w* and *qfdn.w*.

¹⁰⁷⁴ For general discussions of the goddess Mut, cf. primarily Sethe, *Amun*, §§44-7; Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten*, pp. 353-4; Te Velde, *JEOL* 26 (1980): 3-9; *idem*, *LÄ* IV, cols. 246-8; *idem*, in Heerma van Voss, ed., *Studies in Egyptian Religion dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee*, pp. 127-137; *idem*, in Schoske, et al., eds., *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen-Kongresses, München 1985*, III, pp. 395-403; (H. te Velde has also announced a forthcoming monograph devoted to Mut); Naguib, *Le clergé féminin d’Amon Thébain à la 21e dynastie*, pp. 75-84; Troy, in Van Dijk, ed., *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, pp. 301-15.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Mut explicitly bears the titles “God’s Wife of Amun-Re and Divine Mother of the first Primeval one” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 25 = *Urk.* VIII, 77h).

mother of Chonsu.¹⁰⁷⁶ Nonetheless the orthography of her name, written with a vulture (to which her vulture-headress alludes), also associated her with Nechbet of Elkab.¹⁰⁷⁷ This connection ultimately derives from Mut's role as the wandering goddess of the eye of the sun, as evidenced by her common epithet, "Eye of Re, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods."¹⁰⁷⁸

As "Eye of Re," Mut assumed the leonine aspects of Sakhmet,¹⁰⁷⁹ Bastet,¹⁰⁸⁰ and Tefnut,¹⁰⁸¹ and she is almost always qualified as "Lady of the Isheru." The Isheru was a type of horse-shaped lake sacred to leonine goddesses throughout Egypt,¹⁰⁸² and it is possible that

¹⁰⁷⁶ For the birth of Chonsu the Child, cf. **4.14**.

¹⁰⁷⁷ A fragmentary text from the Mut Temple refers to "her form of a vulture (*nr.t*)" (Sauneron, *Mout*, No. 3, 3), while a hymn from the same gate directly associates Mut, "lady of fear (*nr.t*)," with Nechbet (Sauneron, *Mout*, No. 17, 10); another text mentions how Mut: "comes forth as a vulture, her wings spread making Karnak beautiful in peace (*pr=s m št3.t, gnš.wy=s(y) wnḥ.tw hr snfr Ip.t-s.wt m ḥtp*)" (Sauneron, *Mout*, 6, 15); an unpublished text from the Mut Temple refers to Mut "in this her name of Nechbet (*m rn=s pfy n Nḥb.t*)" (Sethe, *Notizbuch* 6, 84).

¹⁰⁷⁸ Examples include (with slight variants): *Edfou* I, 89, 9-10; 479, 5-6; *Edfou* II, 66, 7-8; 76, 7-8; *Edfou* VI, 318, 10; *Edfou* VII, 110, 8; *Deir al-Médīna*, Nos. 1, 12-13; 3, 8-9; 15, 10; 24, 9-10; 148; 183, 13; 191, 7; *Kasr el-Agoûz*, pp. 74, 79; *Esna* II, No. 11, 15-16; Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 3, 14, 15, 25; *Urk.* VIII, 117, 2; 135c; 138c; 165c (collated with author's photos); 182c; 183c; 203c; Aufrère, *Montou*, §§151-153 = *Urk.* VIII, 7b); *Tôd* II, Nos. 230, 9-10; No. 297, 9; *Opet* I, 116; 122; 143; 160; 167; Sauneron, *Mout*, Nos. 11, 31 and 41; 14, 3; 17, 20; *Shanhûr* I, No. 49, 4; for Mut as the Eye of Re in the Graeco-Roman Period, cf. Inconnu-Bocquillon, *Le mythe de la Déesse Lointaine*, pp. 325-7; for earlier references to Mut as "Eye of Re," cf. te Velde, in Schoske, et al., eds., *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen-Kongresses, München 1985*, III, pp. 395-403.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Mut = Sakhmet: *Opet* I, 143, and the extensive hymn to Mut-Sakhmet from the Mut Temple (= Sauneron, *Mout*, No. 11); for the feline manifestations of Mut, cf. te Velde, in Heerma van Voss, ed., *Studies in Egyptian Religion dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee*, pp. 134-6; Darnell, *SAK* 24 (1997): 45; Troy, in Van Dijk, ed., *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, p. 310; note also a New Kingdom stela dedicated to a leontcephalic Mut (Hodjash and Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow*, pp. 112 and 114, No. 56).

¹⁰⁸⁰ For Mut-Bastet, cf. **4.10**.

¹⁰⁸¹ Mut = Tefnut: Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 64c); Sauneron, *Mout*, No. 5, 2; Goyon, *JARCE* 20 (1983): 55-6, col. 10; Mut is also "daughter of Atum" (Sauneron, *Mout*, No. 11, 38); cf. also Troy, in Van Dijk, ed., *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, p. 314.

¹⁰⁸² For the different Isheru lakes throughout Egypt, cf. Gessler-Löhr, *Die heiligen Seen*, pp. 401-24; Preys, *RdE* 50 (1999): 164-7.

the Isheru of Thebes was modeled on an earlier structure at Bubastis or elsewhere in the Delta. A number of texts from the Mut Temple describe the creation of the Isheru. Sometimes the excavator is Mut's father, Re-Atum:¹⁰⁸³

- (1) *Itm hr ʿnd n=s ʾšrw [...nt] m dbn=s*
hr sqb ḥb.t nt t3w=s
 Atum digs out the Isheru for her [...nt-]waters around it,
 cooling the flame of her heat.¹⁰⁸⁴
- (2) *ʿnd n=s Rʿ ʾšrw m dbn=s [...]*
 Re dug out for her the Isheru around her [...].
- (3) *ir.n=s Rʿ (...) m ʿnd ʾšrw-r-shṭp-ib=s n Mw.t*
 She (sc. Mut) made Re (...) as the digger of the Isheru-to-appease-her-heart for Mut.
- (4) *iqḥ.n=s W3s.t ir.t-Rʿ*
bk3.ti m dḏd n ʿnh.t
iw ir=f n=s it=s Nwn p3wty-t3.wy [...]
[sqb]=f nbi.t n ḥm=s
ir.n=f nt m sw.w=s nb.w
šsp=s ḥw.t=s hr.ti
ʾšrw wr wn m dbn=s
ʿnd(.w) n [...]

She (sc. Mut) entered Thebes, the Eye of Re,
 pregnant with the iris of the living-serpent,¹⁰⁸⁵

Her father, Nun, the Primeval of the Two Lands [...], came to her [...],
 [...] so he might [cool] the flame of her majesty.
 He made *nt*-waters in all of her districts,
 with the result that she received her temple satisfied,
 the Great Isheru being all around it,

¹⁰⁸³ (1) Sethe, *Notizbuch* 6, 77, cols. 5-6; (2) Mut Temple = Sethe, *Notizbuch* 6, 72, col. 3 (translated by Otto, *Topographie des Thebanischen Gauces*, p. 39); (3) BM 617, lines 4-5 (= **5.2.4.2**); (4) Sethe, *Notizbuch* 6, 71, cols. 3-4 (translated by Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gauces*, p. 39; Waitkus, in Gundlach and Rochholz, eds., *4. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, pp. 162-3).

¹⁰⁸⁴ For this expression, cf. Goyon, *JARCE* 20 (1983): 60, nn. 70 and 72 (his reference to the Mut Temple gate should be corrected to Sauneron, *Mout*, No. 6, 24); Inconnu-Bocquillon, *Le mythe de la Déesse Lointaine*, pp. 216-7.

¹⁰⁸⁵ This is an allusion to Mut arriving at the Mut Temple to give birth to Chonsu the Child, cf. **4.14**; the same term, "iris of the living-serpent (*dḏd n ʿnh.t*)" designates Chonsu the Child in a similar context on stela BM EA 1432 (= **5.2.4.7**).

dug out by [...].

Other texts claim that the Isheru was built by groups of primeval deities.¹⁰⁸⁶ In one inscription, the lake is called “the Great Isheru consisting of *nt*-waters all around it, being dug out by the ancestor gods ([*T*]šrw wr m nt m dbn=s, m ʿnd n ntr.w tpy.w-ʿ).”¹⁰⁸⁷ The most complete version of the Isheru construction is found in a badly damaged text from the Mut Temple. This account begins by describing the appeasement of the Wandering Goddess returning from the desert by Thoth.¹⁰⁸⁸ Afterwards the narrative continues:¹⁰⁸⁹

spr=s hqʒ-ʿnd Twnw n Rʿ
hnm ib=f m rš
[...m] hpr=s m mhn.t hr.t-tp=f(...)

[...]n=f pʒwty.w iry m dd
šʒs r=tn r hʒs.t-dp [...]
ʿnd=tn mr n Wsr.t im
šd=tn mw=f m ʿ.wy=tn
[...] m nt=f
dr-nty htp=s m Nwn-wr

[...] in ntr.w m wd n Rʿ
iqh=sn niw.t-rsy.t
[...m bw] htp=s im=f
hnn m dr.t=sn sdʒm m ʿ.wy=sn
r snfr kʒ.t=sn im=f
[...]
dd wʿ ht snw=f m srf n ib=sn hr dd

¹⁰⁸⁶ For the primeval deities as builder gods, cf. Reymond, *The Mythical Origins of the Temple*; Finnestad, *Image of the World and Symbol of the Creator*; Gabolde, *BIFAO* 95 (1995): 252.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Sauneron, *Mout*, No. 10, 2; note also Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Fayum*, I, pp. 260-1, ll. 1226-33, where the Birket Fayum is excavated by the Ogdoad: “they excavated the lake with their own hands, with the result that Nun came forth from it from an infinite depth (šʒd=sn š m ʿ.wy=sn ds=sn, pr Nwn im=s m md n hḥ.w)” (cited by Gabolde, *BIFAO* 95 [1995]: 252).

¹⁰⁸⁸ Sauneron, *Mout*, No. 11, cols. 1-7. The context is clear from the following fragments: col. 2 “in order to appease her majesty (r shḥp hm=s)”; col. 3: “Rḥ-sy (= Thoth) understood [it] (ʿmʿm.n=[s] Rḥ-sy)”; col. 4: “the fierce lion is in [her] service, all animals are in her following (mʒi-hsʒ m šms[s], iʒw.t nb m iry-rd.wy=s)”; col. 7: “[...] rage, cooling her majesty with his utterances ([...] dndn (hr) sqb hm=s hft tp.w-rʒ=f).”

¹⁰⁸⁹ Sauneron, *Mout*, No. 11, cols. 8-17; translated by Sauneron, *Mout*, p. 22; Gabolde, *BIFAO* 95 (1995): 252, n. 66.

nn [šr.n] m hh n sd.t=tn

hpr rn n mr pn m Išrw
hr pr m r3 n p3wtj.w

No sooner did she (sc. Mut) reach the Heliopolitan Nome, Heliopolis of Re,
than his (sc. Re's) heart was filled with joy,
[...in] her manifestation of uraeus upon his head (...)

He (sc. Re) [commanded?] the primeval gods accordingly, saying:
“Hurry unto the hills of Dep,¹⁰⁹⁰
[...] dig out a canal for the Mighty one there,
and extract its waters with your own hands
[...] with its *nt*-waters,
because she delights in Great Nun.”

[...] by the gods, through the decree of Re,
they entered the Southern City (Thebes),
[...in the place] in which she delights,
hoes and shovels in their hands,
in order to improve their work therein.

[...]
One after another said through their excitement:
“We are [roasted (šr)?]¹⁰⁹¹ through the blast of your fire!”

The name of this lake became “Isheru,”
because of what came forth from the mouths of the Primeval ones.

The Graeco-Roman texts show an interesting development regarding the serpentine nature of Mut. Just like Tefnut, she is “daughter of Re,”¹⁰⁹² and “the august uraeus who encircles her father, Re.”¹⁰⁹³ Mut is also commonly described as “the *mhn.t*-serpent of light

¹⁰⁹⁰ There are a number of examples where “the hills of Dep (*h3s.t dp*)” are not associated with Lower Egyptian Buto; cf. Meeks, in Clarysse, et al., eds., *Egyptian religion: the last thousand years*, II, pp. 1182-3, although he thought the present passage “sans doute” referred to the Delta (p. 1183, n. 17); in Theban texts, the toponym seems to always be a designation of Upper Egypt, e.g. *Tôd* I, 80, 6; *Tôd* II, 188, 2.

¹⁰⁹¹ Restitution based on the context, and the paronomasia between šr, “to roast,” and Isheru (*Išrw*).

¹⁰⁹² Sauneron, *Mout*, No. 1, 6; vars. “daughter who acts as mother (*z3.t ir(.t) mw.t*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 183c); “mother who acts as daughter (*mw.t ir(.t) z3.t*)” (Sauneron, *Mout*, No. 5, 2); “daughter and mother (*tm3.t*)” (Aufrère, *Montou*, §§151-153, 177-179 = *Urk.* VIII, 7b and f, 1c).

¹⁰⁹³ *Urk.* VIII, 210; vars. “uraeus of Re” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 6 = *Urk.* VIII, 64c); “protector (*nd.t*) of Re upon his brow” (*Urk.* VIII, 138c) “protector (*nhy.t*) of his Majesty (Re)” (*Urk.* VIII, 203c); “great uraeus” (*irr.t 3.t*)”

(šww),”¹⁰⁹⁴ the coiled uraeus serpent encircling the sundisk.¹⁰⁹⁵ The most extended description of Mut as fire-spitting uraeus comes from a sistrum-offering scene:¹⁰⁹⁶

w^c.t nt it=s R^c hnw.t=f mn.ti m h3.t=f
 hr.t-tp hr(.t) tp n ir s(y) wtz.ti m-hnt wtt s(y)
 tz z3=s h3=f m nsr.t
 šhm nbi.t r hfty.w=f
 hrs(.) kkw šhpr hdd.w
 m33 hr nb m šsp=s

The unique-serpent of her father Re, his mistress-serpent affixed on his brow,
 the uraeus upon the head of her maker, raised before her begetter,
 whose protection is affixed around him as flame,
 whose spit-fire is powerful against his enemies,
 who dispels darkness and brings about light,
 through whose illumination every face sees.

The most important ophidian aspect of Mut is the epithet, *tm3.t-hr.t-tp*,¹⁰⁹⁷ which should be translated as “mother-uraeus,”¹⁰⁹⁸ The details of Mut’s primeval, serpentine

(*Shanhûr* I, 49, 4); for Mut as the protector of Re, cf. also Verhoeven and P. Derchain, *Le voyage de la déesse libyque*, pp. 6-7 (= P. Berlin 3053, IX, 3); for Mut protecting Re, cf. also Troy, in Van Dijk, ed., *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, pp. 302 and 310; note also the common epithet of Mut, “she who protects her city (*hw.t nîw.t=s*),” for which see Goyon, *CdE* 78 (2003): 53-61; for the constellation of goddesses associated with uraei, royal crowns, lions, and the Eye of the Sun, cf. also Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr.t*, pp. 16-8, 171-2, 204; Darnell, *SAK* 24 (1997): 35-48.

¹⁰⁹⁴ *Edfou* I, 96, 2-4; Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 21 (= *Urk.* VIII, 79c); *Tôd* II, No. 272, 6-7; JE 65903, line 2 (= **5.2.4.5**); vars. “the *mhn.t*-serpent who came about by herself” (*Edfou* II, 76, 6); “the *tm3.t-hr.t-tp* of light” (Chonsu Temple, PM II², p. 240 (78) I, 2); “*mhn.t*-serpent of the Primeval One” (*Tôd* II, No. 272, 9).

¹⁰⁹⁵ For *mhn*-serpents in general, cf. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 51; Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 32-34.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§151-153 = *Urk.* VIII, 7b.

¹⁰⁹⁷ *Opet* I, 116; 217, 7; *Deir Chelouit* III, 143, 10; *Kasr el-Agôuz*, 79 (= Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 35); *Esna* II, 11, 16; BM 617, line 3 (= **5.2.4.2**); Chonsu Temple, PM II², p. 240 (78) I, 2; Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 466 (38a); vars. *tm3.t-hr.t-ib* (*Urk.* VIII, 57c = Clère, Pl. 15; Sauneron, *Mout*, Nos. 7, 3; 10, 1); “mother(-uraeus) in the beginning (*tm3.t m-h3.t*)” (*Edfou* I, 96, 1-2; *Edfou* II, 76, 8; *Urk.* VIII, 77b = Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 25); “mother(-uraeus) (*tm3.t*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 70c = Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 3; BM 1432, line 3 = **5.2.4.7**); for a discussion of this term, cf. Goyon, *CdE* 78 (2003): 44-53.

¹⁰⁹⁸ For *tm3.t*, “mother,” cf. *Wb.* V, 308, 2-3; Fairman, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): 112; Goyon, *CdE* 78 (2003): 45-6; in many examples, *tm3.t* is parallel to *mw.t* in other epithets, and is therefore simply to be translated as “mother” (e.g.:). Goyon wished to coalesce attestations of the word *tm3.t* with (*i*)*tm.t*, the quadrifrontic Hathoric counterpart of Atum (Goyon, *CdE* 78 [2003]: 45-6), but the two terms are only phonetically and graphically

existence are revealed through a number of similar epithets. She is one who “came into existence in the beginning (*hpr(.t) m ḥ3.t*),”¹⁰⁹⁹ who “existed with Nun in the beginning (*wnn(.t) ḥnꜥ Nwn m š3ꜥ*),”¹¹⁰⁰ who “began creation within/out of Nun (*š3ꜥ(.t) ḥpr m Nwn*),”¹¹⁰¹ and who “came forth from Nun (*pr.t m Nwn*).”¹¹⁰² Some texts specify how exactly Mut emerged from the primeval Nun waters:¹¹⁰³

pr.t ḥnꜥ ḏ m Nni.w
 ꜥ(3)ꜥ.w ḏ.t=s m iꜥrr.t
 m-sni r it=s qm3=s

She who came forth from the inert-waters together with the *ḏ*-serpent,¹¹⁰⁴
 her body ejaculated out in the form of a uraeus,¹¹⁰⁵

similar; Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, pp. 26-7, already warned against confusing the two terms: “il n’est past toujours aisé de reconnaître ce qui appartient à Temet, car sous l’orthographe habituelle peut aussi se trouver le mot *tm3t* “mère”, sans rapport avec elle.” (p. 26), on p. 27, n. 11, he notes that if one makes such a mistake, there is “la difficult qu’[on] créait en introduisant dans ce contexte une notion qu’il est malaisé d’y concevoir.” Nonetheless, Mut is associated with (*i*)*m.t* in the New Kingdom (Troy, in Van Dijk, ed., *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, pp. 305-6).

¹⁰⁹⁹ *Kasr el-Agôuz*, 79 (= Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 35); *Opet* I, 116; *Esna* II, 11, 16; *Deir Chelouit* III, 143, 11; var. “who arose in the beginning (*wbn.t m-ḥnt*)” (*Edfou* I, 96, 3).

¹¹⁰⁰ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 3 (= *Urk.* VIII, 70c); *Medinet Habu*, PM II², p. 462 (10d) (= Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 109).

¹¹⁰¹ *Edfou* II, 76, 8-9; Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 25 (= *Urk.* VIII, 77b); *Chonsu Temple*, PM II², p. 240 (78) I, 2.

¹¹⁰² Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 15 (= *Urk.* VIII, 57c); *Medinet Habu*, PM II², p. 466 (38a); BM 617, ll. 2-3 (= **5.2.4.2**); vars. “who sprang forth from Nun (*bs(.t) m Nwn*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 79c = Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 21); “who arose from Nun (*wbn(.t) m Nwn*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 18c = Aufrère, *Montou*, §§246-248); note also a damaged inscription from Karnak describing Mut “[...] Nun in the initial moment ([...] *Nwn m zp-tpy*)” (PM II², p. 104 [312]; the text should have appeared as *Urk.* VIII, 157c).

¹¹⁰³ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§246-248 (= *Urk.* VIII, 18c); exact parallels to this text are preserved in the Augustan decoration of Chonsu Temple (PM II², p. 240, [78] II,1), and in *Esna* III, 395, 14-16, there describing Menhyt (neither parallel mentioned by Aufrère).

¹¹⁰⁴ This episode is described in a number of ways: “she who came forth from darkness together with the *ḏ*-serpent (*pr.t/wbn.t ḥnꜥ ḏ m zm3wy*)” (*Edfou* I, 96, 2; *Edfou* II, 76, 7); “she who came forth from the Great Encircling Sea together with the *ḏ*-serpent (*pr.t/wbn.t ḥnꜥ ḏ m phr-wr*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 21 and 25 = *Urk.* VIII, 79c and 77b; for the Great Encircling Sea (*phr-wr*) as the site of primeval creation, cf. Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, p. 150, n. B); for discussions of these epithets, cf. Husson, *L’offrande du miroir*, p. 66, n. 4; Sternberg el-Hotabi, *Mythische Motive und Mythenbildung*, p. 62, n. (b); Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 1249; Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 374, n. (n).

in the likeness of her father who created her.

This serpentine father of Mut can be none other than Kematef, and in fact Mut is explicitly referred to as “the daughter of Kematef.”¹¹⁰⁶ The mysterious *ḏ*-serpent with whom she emerges, therefore, must be Irita.¹¹⁰⁷ This is made clear in a scene from Karnak describing the creation of Irita (cf. **4.28**). In the divine column, Amun is described as following:¹¹⁰⁸

wnn b3 šps hr bs.(t) m Nwn

iw t3 3bh(.w) m zm3wi
sw m'Iri-t3
itn=f m šww
šsp.n=f sw3.w=f m nbi.t=f

That the August Ba burst forth from Nun,
was while the earth was mixed with darkness,
he was Irita,
his disk was light,
and it was with his flame (*nbi.t*) that he illumined the districts.

In the same scene, Mut is also “she who burst forth from Nun (*bs.t m Nwn*), emerging together with the *ḏ*-serpent,” and it is noted further that “it is her flame (*nbi.t*) that illumines the two lands.”¹¹⁰⁹ The careful use of vocabulary makes it clear that Irita emerges from Nun as a serpent alongside Mut as a uraeus, and that it is her spit-fire that temporarily illumines the world.

¹¹⁰⁵ Alternatively, this could read: “she who came forth from the inert-waters together with the *ḏ*-serpent who had ejaculated her body as the uraeus,” thus making the *ḏ*-serpent the creator of Mut.

¹¹⁰⁶ Berlin 14401, lines 2-3 (= **5.2.4.4**).

¹¹⁰⁷ In several of the above-mentioned texts, Amun is also said to “emerge from Nun” (*Edfou* I, 96, 3; *Urk.* VIII, 18h = *Aufrère, Montou*, §§246-248; *Urk.* VIII, 79h = *Clère, Porte*, Pl. 21); in these cases he is also referred to as “agathos-daimon serpent (*ḥʿy nfr*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 18b and 79b).

¹¹⁰⁸ *Clère, Porte*, Pl. 21 (= *Urk.* VIII, 79h).

¹¹⁰⁹ *Clère, Porte*, Pl. 21 (= *Urk.* VIII, 79c).

This episode of creation is known from other sources as well. In a hymn from the Opet Temple, Osiris is told: “Mut the mother-uraeus protects you with her flame, just like her majesty did for Irita (*Mw.t tm3.t-hr.t-tp hr hw.t=k m nbi.t=s, mi ir hm=s n Iri-t3*).”¹¹¹⁰ An inscription from the Mut Temple, meanwhile, says that Mut is “she who makes protection for her father Re as the guardian, who takes care of Irita (*ir(.t) nhy n it=s R^c mi mnf(.t), nd(.t) Iri-t3*).”¹¹¹¹ Finally, a label to Mut at Shanhur refers to her as “the great uraeus atop Irita (*i^crr.t 3.t hr.t-tp Iri-t3*).”¹¹¹²

An explicit version of this cosmogony appears at Edfu in an offering scene to Horus-Kematef and Hathor, where the latter is said, just like Mut, to have “come forth from Nun together with Irita (*bs(.t) m Nwn hn^c Iri-t3*).”¹¹¹³ Similarly at Esna, the lion-goddess Menhyt, in many ways comparable to Mut, is also called “Sakhmet the great, beloved of Ptah, great uraeus who arose from Nun together with Irita (*sh^m.t 3.t, mr.t-Pth, hr.t-tp 3.t, wbn(.t) m Nwn hn^c Iri-t3*).”¹¹¹⁴

The theology of the second generation of serpent-children was particularly developed at Esna. One text describes Esna as “the initial land of Tatenen foremost of the Southern District, the divine ground of the female-living-serpent, who appears out of Nun together

¹¹¹⁰ *Opet* I, 217, 7-8.

¹¹¹¹ Sauneron, *Mout*, No. 3, 9.

¹¹¹² *Shanhûr* I, No. 49, 4-5.

¹¹¹³ *Edfou* V, 154, 4.


¹¹¹⁴ *Esna* VI, 514, 12-13; Menhyt is also “she who emerged together with the *d*-serpent in the beginning (*pr(.t) hn^c d m h3.t*)” (*Esna* III, 395, 15); note that in the same scene, Khnum is qualified as: “Ptah Lord of the potter’s wheel, Tatenen who fashioned the primeval ones, august potter who completed his form as Kematef (*Pth nb nhp, t3-tnn ms p3wty.w, nhp šps km irw=f(m) Km-3.t=f*)” (*Esna* VI, 514, 8).

with Irita (*t3-tpy n t3-tnn hnty ʿ-rsy, z3t-ntry n ʿnh.t di(.t) tp=s m Nwn hnʿ Iri-t3*).¹¹¹⁵ A passage from the cryptographic litany to Neith describes her as “the living ancestor-serpent, who appears out of Nun together with Irita (*qrh.t-ʿnh.t di(.t) tp=s m Nwn hnʿ Iri-t3*).”¹¹¹⁶

Texts from other temples reinforce the identification of Irita with the *d*-serpent. Two parallel inscriptions describe Esna as follows:¹¹¹⁷

s.t-ʿn(.t) n Iri-t3
imh.t n tm3.t hnʿ d
rhn=sn is m hnt=s
hnm=f s(y) m ršw m rn=f n hnmw
mn=s h3=f m rn=s n Mnhy.t

The place of residence¹¹¹⁸ of Irita,
the grotto of the mother-uraeus together with the *d*-serpent,
for they rest, moreover, within it.
He (Irita/*d*-serpent) unites with her with delight in his name of Khnum,
she remains around (*mn-h3*) him in her name of Menhyt (*Mnhy.t*).

Another passage from the cryptographic litany qualifies Neith as “Irita-Tatenen,” while her name is sportively written as a *d*-serpent wearing a red crown: .¹¹¹⁹ Reliefs from Dendara depict a number of primeval serpents associated primarily with Harsomtous.¹¹²⁰

¹¹¹⁵ *Esna* II, 64, 1.

¹¹¹⁶ *Esna* III, 216, 3 (13); cf. Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative à Esna*, p. 36; a damaged parallel in *Esna* VI, 534, 1; for the *qrh.t-ʿnh.t* at Esna, cf. Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna*, p. 116, n. (ee).

¹¹¹⁷ *Esna* II, 58, 1 = *Esna* VI, 474; cf. Sternberg el-Hotabi, *Mythische Motive und Mythenbildung*, pp. 60-2.

¹¹¹⁸ This is just a variant spelling of *s.t-ʿn.t*, “place of the talon,” a reference to the temple as perch for the falcon-manifestation of a god (Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 948; *Philä* I, 34, 7), and not “die Stätte, an die *Jrj-t3* zurückkehrte” (Sternberg el-Hotabi, *Mythische Motive und Mythenbildung*, p. 60).


¹¹¹⁹ *Esna* III, 216, 2 (6); cf. Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative à Esna*, p. 36.

¹¹²⁰ See most recently Waitkus, *SAK* 30 (2002): 373-94.

One of these is a long snake carried on the arms of several priests, and labelled as “the august *d*-serpent.”¹¹²¹ A hymn to Amun of Medinet Habu, meanwhile, claims:¹¹²²

nn ntr twt=s(n) r d.t=f twy
d m dw3.t ntry

There is no god who might resemble this form of his,
(namely) the *d*-serpent in the sacred Duat.

The goddess Neith, occasionally identified with Kematef,¹¹²³ also receives the following epithet: .¹¹²⁴ Although Sauneron originally read this epithet as “the god who came about in the beginning (*ntr hpr m h3.t*),”¹¹²⁵ it is generally accepted that this is most likely to be read “sole god who transformed into two gods (*ntr w^c hpr m snw*).”¹¹²⁶ This sportive writing is at once an allusion to the ultimately Heliopolitan creation account of Atum creating Shu and Tefnut, and a specific reference to the three snake gods Kematef, Irita, and Mut (as uraeus-mother). This understanding of the epithet may explain another statement concerning Neith-Atum: “2/3 of her is male, 1/3 of her is female (2/3=*s m*

¹¹²¹ *Dendara V*, 42, 5-6; Waitkus, *Die Texte in den unteren Krypten des Hathortempels von Dendera*, p. 75.



¹¹²² Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, Pl. XXXVIa, (α) col. 3 (= Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 84); the text mentions both Kematef and Irita; for Amun as the (*w*)*d*-serpent, cf. also the Roman hieratic text from Tanis edited by Vernus, *RdE* 31 (1979): 101-19, l. 8.

¹¹²³ *Esna III*, 247A; 255A; *Esna VI*, 513, 12.

¹¹²⁴ *Esna VI*, 507; variant spellings in *Esna II*, 63, 3; 104, 4; *Esna III*, 206, 1; *Esna VI*, 546, 1 (after *LGG IV*, pp. 391-2).

¹¹²⁵ Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna*, p. 253, n. (a).

¹¹²⁶ Von Lieven, *Der Himmel über Esna*, p. 130, n. 376; *LGG IV*, p. 391; Derchain and von Recklinghausen, *La Création*, p. 148; Leitz, *Quellentexte zur ägyptischen Religion I*, p. 148; this epithet also appears in the

previously unrecognized variants  and  (*Esna III*, 255A; 328B; for the sun and moon writing “two,” cf. de Wit, *CdE* 37 [1962]: 273; Cauville, *BIFAO* 90 [1990]: 95, 98).

t3y 1/3=s m hm.t).”¹¹²⁷ The serpentine Neith-Kematef contains within itself (or himself) the potentialities of her two offspring, Khnum-Irita and the uraeus Menhyt, and thus it is two parts male (Kematef, Irita) and one part female (Menhyt).

4.39 The Ogdoad

The Ogdoad (*Hmni.w*)¹¹²⁸ were a group of eight primordial deities from Hermopolis.¹¹²⁹ This divine corporation included four male-female pairs, most often named Amun and Amunet (< *imn*, “hidden”), Nun and Nunet (< *Nwn*, “primeval, chaotic water”), Kek and Keket (< *kk*, “darkness”), Heh and Hehet (< *hh*, “infinity”).¹¹³⁰ Because Amun and Amunet were so closely connected to Thebes, their position is often filled by an alternate pair, Nia and Niat (< *ni3* “lack, emptiness”).¹¹³¹ While the gods were traditionally frog-headed and the goddesses snake-headed,¹¹³² they generally appear as completely

¹¹²⁷ For references and different interpretations, cf. Sauneron, in *Mélanges Mariette*, pp. 243-4; Halloff, in Haring and Klug, eds., 6. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, pp. 123 and 130.

¹¹²⁸ For the Ogdoad in general, see Sethe, *Amun*, §§81-177; Roeder, *Hermopolis, 1929-1939*, pp. 38, 172-4; Yoyotte, *Annuaire de l'ÉPHÉ. Sciences religieuses* 76 (1968-69): 112; Ryhiner, *L'offrande du lotus*, passim; Traunecker, et al., *La chapelle d'Achôris II*, pp. 115-7; Bickel, *La cosmogonie Égyptienne*, pp. 27-9; Hollis, *JARCE* 36 (1998): 61-72; Alhazred, *Necronomicon*; Smith, *On the Primaeval Ocean*, pp. 35-41, 50-3, 77, 85-6, 89-90; Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, pp. 59-64, et passim; Darnell and Manassa, *Tutankhamun's Armies*, pp. 37-8, 40-2; Manassa, *The Late Period Underworld, I*, pp. 370-1, 374-5.

¹¹²⁹ Marc Gabolde recently asserted that the Ogdoad was originally from Thebes and that “l’origine hermapolitaine de ces huit dieux est une confusion linguistique tardive” (Gabolde, *BIFAO* 95 [1995]: 251, n. 65); all textual sources mentioning the Ogdoad undermine this interpretation, especially the evidence for priests and temples dedicated to the Ogdoad at Hermopolis from as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty (cf. Roeder, *Hermopolis, 1929-1939*, pp. 172-4). One can hardly imagine that the Hermopolitan priests were “confused” about their own gods and goddesses.

¹¹³⁰ For the interpretation of these names, see Sethe, *Amun*, §§126-37; Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, pp. 293-4, n. 7; Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, pp. 60-2.

¹¹³¹ Sethe, *Amun*, §§133-7; Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, p. 62, n. a, suggested the alternative reading *Nn* and *Nn.t*, “the tired ones.”

¹¹³² Note especially the frog-headed statuette of Kek: Gillam, *JEA* 67 (1981): 185-7; the frog-headed feature is also mentioned in *Dendara V*, 38, 10, “his good face <is of> a frog (*hr=f nfr* <*m*> *bhn*)” (cf. Waitkus, *Die Texte in den unteren Krypten des Hathortempels von Dendara*, p. 70); cf. also P. Dem. Berlin 13603, I, 18-19 (= Erichsen and Schott, *Fragmente memphitischer Theologie in demotischer Schrift*, pp. 311, 322: “he (sc. Ptah)

anthropomorphic in the Graeco-Roman temple scenes.¹¹³³ The reptilian and amphibian aspects of the Ogdoad reflect their aquatic origins (cf. *infra*), as well as their place in the liminal primeval state between chaos and ordered creation. This transitional nature of frogs was aptly described by Horapollon:¹¹³⁴

“When (the Egyptians) want to write ‘unformed man’ (*anthropon aplaston*), they draw a frog. For frogs are born from the mud of the river. Whence sometimes it seems in parts (already) like a frog, in others (still) like something earthy.”

The aquatic Ogdoad were originally “fashioned in Nun (*nbi(.w) m Nwn*),”¹¹³⁵ and they “arose from Nun, while the land was mixed with darkness, and all that existed was in the flood (*wbn(.w) m Nwn, iw t3 3bh(.w) m zm3wy, wnn.t nb m wrm*).”¹¹³⁶ According to Theban sources, they were “fashioned in the Opet (Luxor Temple) by their father Tatenen, in his workshop of the initial moment (*nbi(.w) m Ip.t in it=sn t3-tnn, m iz.t=f n k3.t nt zp-tpy*).”¹¹³⁷ The involvement of the Memphite god (Ptah)-Tatenen is attested already in the

[made] four of them snake-headed [...] Hehet, Kek [...] ([*ir*]=*f 4 n.im=w hr hf* [...] *Hh.t Kk* [...]); cf. also Smith, *On the Primaeval Ocean*, pp. 31-2, 36, Fragment 2, ll. 8-9, where Ptah creates the Ogdoad: “[...] eight divinities out of them, four male[s with frog heads], and four females with heads [of serpents...]” (trans. Smith).

¹¹³³ Cf. Gillam, *JEA* 67 (1981): 186, n. 8, for a partial list of human-headed Ogdoads.

¹¹³⁴ Horapollon I, 25 (trans. Van der Hoorst, *Chaeremon, Egyptian Priest and Stoic Philosopher*, pp. 42-3); for similar ideas in earlier Egyptian religion, cf. Barta, *JNES* 58 (1999): 111-3; Le Men, *Kyphi* 5 (2006): 87-96.

¹¹³⁵ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 49 (= *Urk.* VIII, 95c); *Urk.* VIII, 145b; *Edfou* V, 85, 10.

¹¹³⁶ Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 469 (45b) (= Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, Pl. XXXVI a (β); Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 90-1); var. “those who came into existence before, when the earth was mixed with darkness, who came forth from Nun (*hpr(.w) hnt, iw t3 3bh(.w) m zm3wy, pr(.w) m Nwn*)” (Medinet Habu, Gate of Domitian, North face, left lintel = PM II², p. 475).

¹¹³⁷ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 67 (= *Urk.* VIII, 90c); *Urk.* VIII, 149b; vars. “Tatenen bore them in the Southern Opet (*ms s(n) t3-tnn m Ip.t rsy.t*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 145b); “who were made in Thebes, whom Tatenen created in the Opet (*ir(.w) m W3s.t, qm3.n t3-tnn m Ip.t*)” (Auffrère, *Montou*, §§242-244 = *Urk.* VIII, 35c); “whom Tatenen created in the Southern Opet (*qm3.n t3-tnn m Ip.t-rsy.t*)” (*Opet* I, 26); “Tatenen gave birth to them in Victorious Thebes in the Southern Opet, in the vicinity of the sacred Duat in the Mound of Djeme (*pꜥpꜥ st t3-tnn m W3s.t-nht.ti m Ip.t-*

New Kingdom P. Leiden I 350, III, 24, where Amun is told: “you transformed into Tatenen in order to birth the primeval ones in your initial primeval moment (*iry=k hprw=f m t3-tnn r smsi p3wty.w m p3wty=k tpy*).”¹¹³⁸ Certain Thirtieth Dynasty sarcophagi include a new section added to the Eighth Hour of the Book of Amduat in which the deceased is equated with “Tatenen, the bull of bulls, great of sexual pleasure,¹¹³⁹ who created the Ogdoad in the palms of his hands (*m tp dr.ty*).”¹¹⁴⁰ In Graeco-Roman texts, this relationship is the most common, as the Ogdoad were “begotten of Tatenen,¹¹⁴¹ the children of the Creator, the successors of ‘The Opener of the Doors of Heaven’ (*wtt(.w) t3-tnn, ms.w ms-nty, hry.w-t3 nw wn-ꜥ3.wy nw-p.t*).”¹¹⁴² Even Amenope, the chief god of Luxor Temple, fashioned the Ogdoad while bearing the epithet “Tatenen in the Southern District” (cf. **4.3**). The same compromise appears in Chonsu Temple, where the chief creator of the Ogdoad is Tatenen, not Chonsu:¹¹⁴³

ḥꜥ.n rdi.n=f ḥ.t=f ḥr tp=s
pḥ.n=f s(y) m Pḥ it-ntr.w
ḥpr Ḥmni.w [...] m ifdw=s
t3w ḥm.t n wꜥ nb (...)

s.t m t3.w rpy.wt n t3-tnn

rsy.t, m-h3w dw3.t dsr.t m i3.t-d3m.t” (Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 469 [45] = Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, Pl. XXXVI a (β) = Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 91-2).

¹¹³⁸ Zandee, *De Hymnen aan Amon von Papyrus Leiden I 350*; for early connections between Amun and Tatenen, cf. Schlögl, *Der Gott Tatenen*, pp. 75-8; Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, p. 78, n. G.

¹¹³⁹ For Tatenen as “the bull of sexual pleasure (*k3 ndmḏm*)” while creating the Ogdoad, see *Edfou* VI, 174, 12; 175, 7.

¹¹⁴⁰ Trans. of Manassa, *The Late Period Underworld*, I, p. 158; for the different means of creation Ptah-Tatenen employs, cf. Smith, *On the Primeval Ocean*, p. 36.

¹¹⁴¹ Same epithet in *Edfou* III, 312, 6.

¹¹⁴² *Edfou* V, 85, 8-9; for Ptah-Tatenen as “Opener of the Doors of Heaven,” cf. Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, p. 126, n. 389.

¹¹⁴³ Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, Pl. 7, cols. 39-43; pp. 81-4.

sk t3 n Niw.t hr.tw r t3-tnn
r-nty ms t3-tnn Hmni.w m W3s.t

Then he (sc. Chonsu) placed his body upon it (sc. the Benenet);
he created it as Ptah, Father of the Gods,
with the result that the Ogdoad came into existence [...] on its four sides,
a man and woman for each one (...)

They are the men and women of Tatenen,
while one calls Tatenen “Land of the City (*t3-n-niw.t*),”
because Tatenen bore the Ogdoad in Thebes.

In some inscriptions, the Ogdoad are said to be “born in Thebes, (but) created in Memphis (*ms.w m W3s.t, pth(.w) m Mn-nfr*),”¹¹⁴⁴ since the Memphite Ptah-Tatenen created them within Luxor Temple. The Ogdoad were also “the sons and daughter of Irita,”¹¹⁴⁵ another allusion to Ptah-Tatenen, as well as “created by Atum (*qm3(.w) n Itm*),” possibly a reference to Kematef.¹¹⁴⁶

Generally speaking, the Ogdoad were but a subgroup of the primeval deities called “the children of Tatenen (*ms.w t3-tnn*),”¹¹⁴⁷ also known as the “first generation (*h.t tp.t*),”¹¹⁴⁸ as a recently published text from Arman makes clear:¹¹⁴⁹

¹¹⁴⁴ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 49 (= *Urk.* VIII, 95c); *Edfou* I, 289, 2; for the difficulty of translating *pth*, “to open” or “to create,” cf. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 381-2; beside the Demotic Memphite Theology text, there are no other texts that locate the Ogdoad’s creation within Memphis.

¹¹⁴⁵ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 67 (= *Urk.* VIII, 90c); *Urk.* VIII, 149b.

¹¹⁴⁶ Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 469 (45b) (= Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, Pl. XXXVI a (β); Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 90-1); *Opet* I, 27; *Deir Chelouit* I, 31, 10; also probably *Edfou* IV, 140, 14; for Kematef and Atum, cf. **4.28**.

¹¹⁴⁷ Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 469 (45a) (= Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, Pl. XXXVI a (β); Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 91-2); *Edfou* I, 289, 1: “the children of Tatenen, who came forth from him, whom he engendered to found the two lands (*ms.w t3-tnn, pr(.w) im=f, wtt.n=f r grg t3.wy*)”; for the children of Tatenen in general, see Reymond, *ZÄS* 92 (1966): 116-28.

¹¹⁴⁸ Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 469 (45a) (= Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, Pl. XXXVI a (β); Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 91-2); *Urk.* VIII, 143 (5).

¹¹⁴⁹ Thiers and Volokhine, *Ermant* I, No. 38, with discussion on pp. 73-7.

^hḥ^c.n nbi Pth ms.w=f
 hr shpr=sn m ntr 30
 (hr) wp(.t) rn=sn iry
 Hmni.w db3.w hmn.w d3is.w nw mh.t-wr.t

And then Ptah fashioned his children,
 creating them as a group of thirty gods,
 distinguishing their names as follows:
 the Ogdoad, the Djebau, the Builders, and the Djaisu of Methyer.

After their initial creation by Tatenen, the Ogdoad travelled north to the city of Hermopolis. To accomplish this journey, they “floated from (Luxor), and they landed at the Isle of Fire (*mhy=sn im, dmy=sn iw-nsrsr*),”¹¹⁵⁰ and they “floated as his (sc. Tatenen’s) attendants, and they stopped at the high mound (*mhy=sn m iry.w-rd.wy=f, ḥ^c=sn hr q3y q3*).”¹¹⁵¹ The Isle of Fire in Hermopolis was traditionally an important place of transition between the living and the dead, as well as the place from which the sun arose.¹¹⁵² The Ogdoad travel to this lake in order to make Re,¹¹⁵³ illuminating the darkness which they inhabited. To this effect, they are often “the mothers and fathers who made light (*it.w mw.wt ir(.w) šww*),”¹¹⁵⁴ “the lords of brightness, who made light and radiance, who began

¹¹⁵⁰ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§242-244 (= *Urk.* VIII, 35c); *Urk.* VIII, 149b; var. “they floated to the Isle of Flames (*mhy=sn r iw-nsrsr*),” (Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, Pl. 7, col. 43, pp. 82-3); for *mhy*, “to float,” see Meeks, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, p. 156, n. 558.

¹¹⁵¹ *Urk.* VIII, 145b.

¹¹⁵² See the discussion of Thiem, *Speos von Gebel es-Silsileh*, I, pp. 34-51.

¹¹⁵³ They “give birth to Re in the Great Initial Sea,” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 49 = *Urk.* VIII, 95c), “make Re appear from the Great Initial Sea (*sh^c R^c m š ‘3*)” (*Edfou* IV, 141, 11), and “they create Re within the lotus (*shpr=sn R^c hnt nhb*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 67 = *Urk.* VIII, 90c; they are also “they who gave birth in Hermopolis (*p^cp^c.w m Wnw*)” (*Edfou* III, 312, 6); in another text, the Ogdoad claims: “we give birth to Re on the high mound (*bh=n R^c hnt q3y q3*)” (*Edfou* V, 86, 14); “who create light within the high mound (*qm3(.w) šww hnt q3y q3*)” (Aufrère, *Montou*, §§242-244 = *Urk.* VIII, 35c).

¹¹⁵⁴ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 49 (= *Urk.* VIII, 95c); *Edfou* V, 85, 9; var. “the men and women who created light (*t3y.w hm.wt qm3(.w) šww*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 67 = *Urk.* VIII, 90c; 149b); “fathers and mothers who came into existence in the beginning, who gave birth to Re (*it.w mw.wt hpr(.w) m-h3.t, ms(.w) R^c*)” (Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 469 [45b] = Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, Pl. XXXVI a (β); Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 90-1); “the fathers and mothers in the beginning, the primeval ones who came into existence in the Beginning, the

illumination, who made solar rays (*nb.w šsp, ir(.w) šww hdd.wt, šš^c(.w) šhd, ir(.w) sksk*).”¹¹⁵⁵

A more abstract description of their creative act occurs in a long hymn from their temple at Medinet Habu:¹¹⁵⁶

*it.w m šš^c hpr
 shpr(.w) wnn.t
 ir(.w) šsp swšⁱ(.w) kkw (...)
 ir(.w) šww m mšwy n ib=sn (...)
 wn(.w) šsp m-ht zmšy*

The forefathers in the beginning of existence,
 who created what exists,
 who made brightness and distanced darkness (...)
 who made light with the thoughts of their minds (...)
 who opened light after darkness.

The Demotic creation account explains the motivation for the Ogdoad’s actions:¹¹⁵⁷

*mtw=w hpr=w hn [pš mw irm pš] kki
 [i.ir=]w ph d.t.t=w r di.t hpr shd
 iw=f^cšš³ r pš shd r.wnw hpr r š^c hi tš p.t
 iw=f di.t hpr pš itm wr
 nty [bn iw=f] hr pš tš*

*in nš mšwy irm Nšy=w-Hmni.w [...]
 iw=f r h di.t hpr shd iw=f^cšš³
 di=f mn N^cy=w-hmniw r Hmnw
 iw=w [...]*

Then they (sc. the Ogdoad) came about in [water and] darkness,

forefathers of Re (*it.w is hn^c mw.wt m šš^c, pšwty.w hpr(.w) m-hš.t, it.w n R^c*)” (Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 469 [45a] = Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, Pl. XXXVI a (β); Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 91-2); “the fathers and mothers of the sundisk (*it.w mw.wt n itm*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 145b; Medinet Habu, First Pylon, Lintel: PM II², = Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 111); “the enduring ones who made the sundisk (*dd.w ir(.w) itm*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl 49 = *Urk.* VIII, 95k); “the ancestors who made Akhty (*tpy.w-^c ir(.w) šhty*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 67 = *Urk.* VIII, 90k); “they who gave birth to Akhty (*p^cp^c(.w) šhty*)” (*Tôd* I, 134, 1).

¹¹⁵⁵ *Edfou* IV, 140, 12.

¹¹⁵⁶ Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 469 (45b) (= Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, Pl. XXXVI a (β); Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 90-1); this text and its theological implications are discussed at great length by Darnell, “*For I See the Color of the Uraei*” (forthcoming).

¹¹⁵⁷ P. Dem. Berlin 13603, II, 1-3 = Erichsen and Schott, *Fragmente memphitischer Theologie in demotischer Schrift*, pp. 312, 323.

[it occurred] to them to create a light,
 which was bigger than the light which had reached the height of heaven,
 when he (sc. Ptah?) created the great sundisk
 which [was not] on earth.

The light and the Ogdoad [...] the god,
 he was able to create a great light,
 he allowed the Ogdoad to land at Hermopolis,
 while they were [...].

As a result, the Ogdoad were said to have “illuminated the land since they came forth in the initial moment, making illumination through their actions (*bh(.w) t3 pn dr pr=sn m zp-tpy, ir(.w) hdd.wt m r3-^c.wy=sn*).”¹¹⁵⁸

The process of creation is described most thoroughly in the P. Dem. Berlin 13603 (II, 4-6):¹¹⁵⁹

š=f m-z3=w dd=f
my tmi [p3 4 k3.w] my tmi t3 4.t ih
my tmi[=w n] t3y hti

ir [n3] hwt.w w^c k3 km
ir n3 shm.wt w^c.t ih.t km.t
dd[=w n=w n rn] Imn Imn.t

p3y p3 k3 r t3 ih.t rn=s
iw=f bš t3 mtwy r p3 mw hn p3 šy 3 n Hmnw

He (sc. Ptah) called after them, saying:
 “May [the four bulls] unite, may the four cows unite,
 may [they] unite immediately!”

[The] males transformed (into) one black bull,
 the females transformed (into) one black cow,
 [who were] called Amun and Amunet.

The bull hurried to that cow,

¹¹⁵⁸ *Edfou V*, 85, 12-13.

¹¹⁵⁹ Erichsen and Schott, *Fragmente memphitischer Theologie in demotischer Schrift*, pp. 312, 323-4; closely following the translation and comments of Smith, *On the Primaeval Ocean*, pp. 39 and 50.

ejaculating semen to the water in the Great Sea in Hermopolis.

The males of the Ogdoad transform into four bulls, identified in some texts as the four Montus (cf. **4.9, 4.33**), while the females become four cows, also identified with the four Rattawys (cf. **4.8, 4.47**). The primeval bulls then unite as the August Bull of Medamud or Amenope, while the cows join together as Amunet-Methyer (cf. **4.8**). This couple mates and casts semen into the Nun waters to produce a lotus blossom. This entire process is described in multiple temple texts:

- (1) *Edfou IV, 140, 11-12 (= Ryhiner, L'offrande du lotus, p. 37):*

*it.w wsn.w mw.wt ms(.w)
š3^c(.w) wt šhpr(.w) swḥ.t
k3.w tzy(.w) id.wt šsp(.w)
hnm.w hnm(.w) dr-^c*

The fathers who ejaculate, the mothers who give birth,
who began procreation, who created the egg,
the bulls who become erect, the cows who receive,
the builder gods who united in the beginning.

- (2) *Edfou I, 289, 2-3 (= Ryhiner, L'offrande du lotus, p. 142):*

*wt.t.w m Nwn
bh.w m nwy
pr nḥb nḥn im=f
wpš t3 m m3wy=f*

They who ejaculated into Nun,
who became pregnant in the flood waters,¹¹⁶⁰
so that a lotus emerged in which was a child,
and the entire land lit up from his rays.

- (3) *Edfou IV, 139, 13-15 (Ryhiner, L'offrande du lotus, p. 36)*

*rdi=tn mtw.t=tn r bnn(.t)
wsn=tn ir=f m wb3 3^c*

¹¹⁶⁰ Ryhiner, *L'offrande du lotus*, p. 142 translated these participles as passive: "Ceux qui ont été engendrés dans le Noun et mis au monde dans les flots," without explaining how these epithets refer to the following mention of the lotus.

rdi=tn r Nwn dmd(.w) m qd-w^c
wbn iw^c=tn m syf

Just as you put your seed towards the egg,¹¹⁶¹
 so do you procreate by ejaculating sperm,¹¹⁶²
 so you might place it in Nun united together,
 with the result that your heir comes forth as a child.

(4) *Edfou V, 86, 11-12 (= Ryhiner, L'offrande du lotus, p. 46):*

t3y.w ir(.w) ndmndm
hm.wt p^cp^c(.w) 3 is swh.t
sty=sn
k3.w k3k3(.w) id.wt
ih.wt šsp(.w) mtw.t

The males who ejaculated,
 and the women who produced the egg,
 which they inseminated,
 The bulls who breed with the cows,
 the cows who receive the seed.


(4) *PSI inv. I 72, 4, 20-23 (= Osing and Rosati, Papiri geroglifici e ieratici da Tebtynis, I, pp. 163-4, and II, Pl. 20B):*

fdw t3y.w fd.t hm.wt Hmni.w (...)
qm3.n=sn is mtwt=sn r bnn
hft wsn=sn m wb3-^c3^c

The four males and four femals of the Ogdoad (...)
 having cast their seed towards the *Bnn*-egg,
 when they procreated¹¹⁶³ by ejaculating.

¹¹⁶¹ For the translation of *bnn(.t)*, “egg,” cf. the cosmogony from Chonsu Temple, discussed in **4.19**; note also Zivie-Coche, in Vandersleyen and Berger, eds., *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, IV, pp. 425-6; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 318, discussing this passage suggests: “Instead of *bnn* being an egg fertilised by semen, the simile is of a lotus seed being fertilised by the primordial sea Nun.” A difficult text from Esna speaks of Khnum “who makes semen into bones, the great potter who attaches flesh around them, who affixes body parts(?) upon the egg within the womb (*ir mw m qs.w, Nhp wr, tz h^c.w m sw3w=s(n), smn mtw.t(?) hr Bnn(.t) m id.t*)” (*Esna III*, 311, 19).

¹¹⁶² For the rare phrase *wb3 3^c*, “to ejaculate sperm,” cf. Meeks, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, p. 148, n. 522.

¹¹⁶³ Tentatively reading:  = *wsn* < *wš/wšr* (or < *šn*), common values of the hair sign (Cf. Cauville, *Dendara. Le fonds hiéroglyphique*, pp. 53-4; Meeks, *Les architraves du temple d'Esna*, p. 42, §107).

(5) *Urk. VIII, 145b:*

wbn nhb R^c im=f
psd šww m-ht snk
m rn=f n Imn-wr

Just as a lotus bud arose in which was Re,
so did light shine after darkness,
in his name of Amun-wer.

(6) *Urk. VIII, 149b:*

shpr=sn R^c hnt nhb
They created Re within the lotus-bud.

The various creation accounts describe the Ogdoad in terms of mating bulls and cows, but the same texts specify that an egg and semen go into the Nun waters.¹¹⁶⁴ Although such a process would not make much sense with bovids,¹¹⁶⁵ these texts aptly describe the external reproduction practiced by frogs. First the female frog deposits eggs into a body of water, then the male frog inseminates these eggs by ejaculating on top of them. Thus even though the Ogdoad transform into bulls and cows, they still manage to reproduce like frogs.

The result is that a lotus comes forth from Nun containing Re as a luminous child.

The Ogdoad then worship the sun at his rising:¹¹⁶⁶

dw3=sn i3w m ntr.w m sbh.t-šm^c
ntr 3 hpr m zp tpy
hr sw3š m-b^ch=f
hr wn=s[n] m Nwn
kkw phr(.w) m hr=sn

dd=f iw z3=tn r shd t3 m kkw

¹¹⁶⁴ Cf. Smith, *On the Primaeval Ocean*, p. 50; Ryhiner, *L'offrande du lotus*, p. 202, did not note the presence of the egg, and summarized "après leur acte d'amour, ils ont déposé leur liquide séminal dans l'eau primordiale."

¹¹⁶⁵ Note, however, the conceptual links between wombs and eggs in Egyptian texts; cf. Sauneron, in *Mélanges Maspero I*, pp. 115-6.

¹¹⁶⁶ Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, Pl. 7, cols. 44-7, pp. 83-4.

m33 in w^c snw=f

di=sn i3w mitt iry
hr di(.t) i3w n R^c m pr=f

They worshipped the eldest of the gods in the southern gate,
the great god (= Amun), who came about in the first moment,
praising in his presence,
while the[y] were in Nun,
with darkness everywhere before them.

He said: “Your son shall illumine the land in darkness,
then one shall see his fellow.”

They all gave praise accordingly,
praising Re at his rising.

The image of the Ogdoad praising the newborn solar child became iconic in the Late Period,¹¹⁶⁷ and they are frequently called “the great Ogdoad who give praise to Re, the baboons who chatter for their son (*Hmni.w wr.w di(.w) i3w n R^c, htt.w htt(.w) n z3=sn*),”¹¹⁶⁸ “who give praise to their heir since he illumined the earth for him (*di(.w) i3w n iw^c=sn dr shd.n=f n=sn t3*).”¹¹⁶⁹

After the birth of Re in Hermopolis, the Ogdoad take their son to be acclaimed as king of Egypt:¹¹⁷⁰

hnty(.w) hr=f r hw.t-mshn.t =sn
r šsp=f nsyw.t n Iri-t3w

¹¹⁶⁷ Cf. Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 69-73; for the Ogdoad perpetually praising Amun, cf. also **4.40**.

¹¹⁶⁸ *Deir al-Médīna*, 36, 2-5, 7-10; *Edfou III*, 312, 5-6; *Edfou IV*, 140, 8; cf. also *Edfou V*, 85, 7, where the Ogdoad are: “the baboons chattering for he who comes forth from [Nun], since he illumined the earth for them (*htt.w hr htt n pr m [Nwn], m psd.n=f n=s(n) t3*).” Cf. also PSI inv. I 72, 4, 20-21 (= Osing and Rosati, *Papiri geroglifici e ieratici da Tebtynis*, I, p. 163, II, Pl. 20B): “The four males and four women of the Ogdoad who give praise to Re (*nty hr rdi.t i3w n R^c*).”

¹¹⁶⁹ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 67 (= *Urk. VIII*, 90c); var. “who give praise to Re since he illumined the earth for them” (*Urk. VIII*, 149b); “the baboons chattering for he who comes forth from [Nun], since he illumined the earth for them (*htt.w hr htt n pr m [Nwn], m psd.n=f n=s(n) t3*)” (*Edfou V*, 85, 7).

¹¹⁷⁰ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 49 (= *Urk. VIII*, 95c).

hdi(.w) m-ht r mh.t-t3.wy
r hq3=f ns.t n Iri-t3

The ones who sailed south with him to their birthplace (= Thebes),
 so he might receive the kingship of Wind-Maker (= Amun),
 who sailed north afterwards to Memphis,
 so he might rule the throne of Irita (= Ptah).

By making this trip, the Ogdoad helped Re accomplish the traditional coronation
 rites, which ideally took place in the dynastic cities of Memphis, Thebes, and Heliopolis.¹¹⁷¹

The importance of the Ogdoad in securing kingship is further underscored in another text:¹¹⁷²

spr st R^c r šsr nsyw.t=f
sr=sn n=f nty r hpr

Re approached them in order to proclaim his kingship,
 they foretold to him what was going to happen.

With Re securely on the throne, Ogdoad moved north where they “completed their
 lifetimes in Heliopolis (*skm(.w) ḥ^c=sn m Iwnw*),”¹¹⁷³ and then “returned into Nun within the
 Temple of the Obelisk (*ḥq=sn m Nwn hnt ḥw.t-Bnbn*).”¹¹⁷⁴ Afterwards, “they sailed south to
 Thebes (*hnty=sn is r W3s.t*),”¹¹⁷⁵ where they “returned into Nun before their father who
 created them,¹¹⁷⁶ and they entered the Duat of Kematef (*ḥq=sn m Nwn hr it=sn qm3=sn*,

¹¹⁷¹ Cauville, *Essai sur la théologie du temple d’Edfou*, p. 18; Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I*, pp. 164 and 166, n. m.

¹¹⁷² Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 67 (= *Urk. VIII*, 90c); a partial parallel exists at Medinet Habu: PM II², p. 462 (10d-f) = Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 13, cols. 8-9.

¹¹⁷³ *Opet I*, 27; var. “who completed their lifetime in their sanctuary in Heliopolis (*skm(.w) ḥ^c=sn m iwnn=sn hnt wh^c-t3*)” (Clère, Pl. 49 = *Urk. VIII*, 95c; for *wh^c-t3*, cf. Meeks, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, p. 66, n. 107) cf. also *Deir Chelouit I*, 31, 10, where the Ogdoad are “the ones who came forth from Heliopolis after their lifetime was completed (*pr(.w) m Iwnw m-ht km ḥ^c=s(n)*).”

¹¹⁷⁴ *Urk. VIII*, 145i.

¹¹⁷⁵ *Opet I*, 27; var. “they returned therefrom to the Eastern Horizon of Medamud (*iw=sn im r 3ḥ.t-i3bt.t n M3d.t*)” (*Urk. VIII*, 145i).

¹¹⁷⁶ Cf. Aufrère, *Montou*, §§242-244 (= *Urk. VIII*, 35c): “who entered their sanctuary within the Grotto of Nun (*ḥq(.w) m iwnn=sn hnt tḥ.t-Nwn*)”; for “the Grotto of Nun” as a name for Medinet Habu, cf. **4.28**.

šsp=sn dw3.t n Km-3.t=f),”¹¹⁷⁷ thus “settling within their burial place in the Mound of Djeme (htp(.w) m nn.t=sn m i3.t-d3m.t).”¹¹⁷⁸ In one inscription, the Ogdoad makes the decision to travel to Medinet Habu:¹¹⁷⁹

sh3.in Hmni.w k3=sn
 shtp=n <m> d.t=n m i3.t-t3m.t
 ʿnh=n im=s hnt tph.t twy nt Nhb-k3.w
 sš n t3w n nty.w im

Then the Ogdoad recalled that they said:
 “Let us rest <within> our bodies¹¹⁸⁰ in the Mound of Djeme,
 so we might live therein within this grotto of Nehebkau,
 the nest of air for those who are there.

In a text from Edfu, meanwhile, Thoth himself performs the burial rites:¹¹⁸¹

hts.n=f tpy.w=ʿ m-ht km ʿhʿ=sn
 hnty=f hr=sn r sp3.t-imnt.t I3.t t3m.t
 dw3.t n km-3.t=f

He (sc. Thoth) mummified them after thir lifetime was complete,
 he went south carrying them to the Western District of the Mound of Djeme,
 the Duat of Kematef.

Although their lifespans were complete, they are still called “the blessed dead who continue to live in the Mound of Djeme (htpty.w ʿnh.w m i3.t-d3m.t),”¹¹⁸² while other texts

¹¹⁷⁷ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 67 (= *Urk.* VIII, 90c); for the verb šsp, “to enter as a ruler,” cf. Smith, *The Demotic Mortuary Papyrus Louvre E. 3452*, pp. 87-8, 91-5, 96-7, for Osiris “entering (šsp) the Mound of Djeme.”

¹¹⁷⁸ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 49 (= *Urk.* VIII, 95c); for the term nn.t, “crypt, netherworld,” see Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, p. 293, n. 6; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 525; Meeks, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, p. 142, n. 488; cf. also *Urk.* VIII, 145i: “they entered to the Mound of Djeme (ʿq=sn r i3.t-d3m.t)”; “who settle in their necropolis in Khefethernebes (htp(.w) m hr.t=sn m hft-hr-nb=s)” (Aufrère, *Montou*, §§242-244 = *Urk.* VIII, 35c); “who settle in their city in [...] (htp.w m niw.t=sn m [...])” (*Opet* I, 27); “their necropolis is the Mound of Djeme (t3-dsr=sn m i3.t-t3m.t)” (*Edfou* III, 312, 6).

¹¹⁷⁹ Medinet Habu, Bark Shrine: Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, Pl. 36e = Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 83.

¹¹⁸⁰ For the restoration, cf. Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Fayum*, pp. 262-3, l. 1245-6, where the Ogdoad say: “We rest in our bodies in the Mound of Djeme (shtp=n m d.t=n m i3.t-t3m.t).”

¹¹⁸¹ *Edfou* I, 289, 6-7; cf. Ryhiner, *L’offrande du lotus*, pp. 142-4; for Thoth’s role burying the Ogdoad, see further Smith, *On the Primeaval Ocean*, pp. 87-9 (not discussing this example); Volokhine, *BIFAO* 102 (2002): 421-3.

claim that “the live forever, never perishing (*ḥnh r nhh, hm.w sk*).”¹¹⁸³ This feature is characteristic of all “deceased” ancestor gods, who are generally referred to as “the living Bas (*b3.w-ḥnh.w*).”¹¹⁸⁴ Residing in the Nun waters of Djeme beside their forefather Kematef, they continue to receive funerary offerings from Chonsu-Shu, Amenope of Djeme, Montu-Re-Harakhty of Armant, Harsiese, Thoth-*stm* of Qasr el-Agouz, Isis of Deir Shelwit, and even Amun of Karnak. As a text from Edfu describes:¹¹⁸⁵

d3i n=sn šw hr htp.w r^c-nb
snn <R> tpy hrw 10
spr st b3-ḥnh hry-ntr.w nb
r tr n hb-in.t

sḥnh(.w) b3.w=sn
s3h(.w) h3.wt=sn
ir.tw hkn.w n k3=sn
sfsf.tw n=s(n) 3w
in b3 [...] m W3s.t Imn-wr k3.tw m rn=f
twt r=f ir hm-k3 n qm3=sn

(Chonsu)-Shu crosses to them bearing offerings every day,
the image <of Re> every ten days,
the living Ba, chief of all the gods (= Amun) reaches them,
at his time of the Valley Festival.

Their Bas are revitalized,
their corpses are transfigured,
praises are made for them
offerings are presented to them,
by the [...] Ba in Thebes, called Amun-wer by name,
it is he who¹¹⁸⁶ acts as Ka-priest for their creator.

¹¹⁸² Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 469 (45a) (= Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, Pl. XXXVI a (β); Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 91-2.

¹¹⁸³ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 49 (= *Urk.* VIII, 95c); Medinet Habu: PM II², p. 462 (10d-f) = Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 13, cols. 4-5.

¹¹⁸⁴ Cf. Waitkus, *Die Texte in den unteren Krypten des Hathortempels von Dendera*, p. 67, n. 33 (with further references).

¹¹⁸⁵ *Edfou* I, 289, 8-10; cf. Ryhiner, *L'offrande du lotus*, p. 143.

¹¹⁸⁶ For the predication *twt r=f*, cf. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1130.

While most texts mention the Ogdoad in connection with their act of creation or their participation in the ancestor cults, the group can also appear as guardian deities. They often bear rather violent epithets,¹¹⁸⁷ and they even appear at Dendera in a series of protective genies carrying knives.¹¹⁸⁸ At Edfu, the Ogdoad “come to Mesen in order to protect his (sc. Re’s) Ka (*it=sn r Msn r z3 k3=f*),”¹¹⁸⁹ while in the Opet Temple, Osiris is told that “the Ogdoad protect your body (*Hmni.w hr hw(.t) h^c.w=k*).”¹¹⁹⁰ This protection extends to private individuals, for a passage in P. Harkness V, 6, promises the deceased: “the Ogdoad will protect you continually (*n3y.w-hmniw whm=w mky.t=t*).”¹¹⁹¹

The main guardpost for the Ogdoad appears to have been in Karnak, not Medinet Habu. A bandeau inscription from the Roman gate at Medamud claims that the four men of the Ogdoad “are within Karnak in protection of the Ba Great of Prestige (*wnn=sn m-hnt Ip.t-s.wt m z3 n p3 b3 wr-šfy.t*),”¹¹⁹² while a funerary papyrus tells the deceased “you will see the Ogdoad united together in protection of their son, the King of the Gods (*dg3=k Hmni.w*

¹¹⁸⁷ E.g. *Edfou* V, 86, 5: “Kek, valiant bull, foremost of Kas, who burns up the foes as enemies (*Kk k3 qn hnty k3.w qq kiyw m šnty.w*)”; further examples occur for all members of the Ogdoad, cf. *Dendara* II, 182-183; *Dendara* V, 38-40; *Edfou* V, 85-6.

¹¹⁸⁸ *Dendara* X, 366-368, Pls. 200 and 231; cf. Cauville, *Les chapelles osiriennes*, II: *Commentaire*, p. 171.

¹¹⁸⁹ *Edfou* VI, 174, 15.

¹¹⁹⁰ *Opet* I, 120-1, 3;

¹¹⁹¹ Translation of Smith, *Papyrus Harkness*, pp. 78 and 219, n. 6 (b); note the similar phrase in IV, 31: “the gods of the First Primeval instant will protect you continuously (*n3 ntr.w p3wty-tp whm=w mky.t=t*)” (Smith, *Papyrus Harkness*, pp. 210-1, n. 21 [b]).

¹¹⁹² Drioton, *CdE* 6 (1931): 265-6; Sambin, *BIFAO* 92 (1992): 174; partially paralleled in *Opet* I, 26, “the Ogdoad who is in Karnak in the protection of the Ba Great of Prestige (*Hmni.w wn(.w) m Ip.t-s.wt m z3 n p3 b3 wr šfy.t*).” For *wr-šfy.t* as a special designation of Amun in the Akh-Menu, cf. **5.4.1**, text note (c).

dmd(.w) m zp m z3 n z3=sn nsw-ntr.w).”¹¹⁹³ The presence of the Ogdoad within the rear sanctuaries of Karnak is further suggested by the following text:¹¹⁹⁴

šm=k hr t3 m Ip(.t)-s.wt
m33=k Imn m h^c=f nb
zm3 b3=k hn^c n3 Hmni.w
m33=k Imn-R^c nsw-ntr.w m hb=f nfr

You shall travel on the ground in Karnak,
 you shall see Amun in all of his processions,
 your Ba will associate with the Ogdoad,
 you shall see Amun-Re King of the Gods in his good festival.

Furthermore, a Late Ramesside temple inspection account mentions damage on “the right door of the chapel next to the Ogdoad (*p3 sb3 wnmy n t3 sbh.t nty r-gs Hmni.w*)”¹¹⁹⁵ in close proximity to “the gate of Amun Mighty of Prestige (*p3 try n Imn-shm-šfy.t*),” that is the Fourth Pylon, the entrance to Karnak temple proper.¹¹⁹⁶ Finally, it is worth noting that the main sanctuary of the Akh-Menu contained exactly eight niches along its side walls, leading Barguet to suggest they might have held statues of the Ogdoad.¹¹⁹⁷

¹¹⁹³ P. Leiden T 32, II, 16; Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, p. 132; the epithet probably refers to either Amun of Karnak or Osiris within Thebes, not Amenope of Djeme as Herbin suggests.

¹¹⁹⁴ Sauneron, *Rituel de l'embaumement*, pp. 9, 13 – 10, 2; cf. Goyon, *Rituels funéraires de l'ancienne Égypte*, p. 52.

¹¹⁹⁵ P. Rochester MAG 51.346.1, B11 = Goelet, *JEA* 82 (1996): 118, nn. (dd) and (ff); Quack, *SAK* 28 (2000): 229, n. (x), alternatively read: *t3 pds nty r-gs Hmni.w*, “the box which is next to the Ogdoad,” without noting that *pds*, “box” is masculine.

¹¹⁹⁶ Quack, *SAK* 28 (2000): 232, tentatively located the shrine of the Ogdoad near the Second Pylon because they appear on the decoration of its gate, but this suggestion is unconvincing since they feature on every gate in Karnak and Medinet Habu.

¹¹⁹⁷ Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 200, n. 1; cf. also Beaux, *Le cabinet de curiosités de Thoutmosis III*, p. 25; idem, *Karnak* 9 (1993): 101-8.

The Ogdoad protecting Amun in Karnak also appears in magical and Hermetic literature. In two parallel incantations (PGM XIII, 787-9, XXI, 18-9) a pantheistic creator god is called:¹¹⁹⁸

“He whom the eight guards protect (ὅν δορυφοῦσιν οἱ ὀκτώ φύλακες),
namely Hê, Hô, Chô, Chouch, Noun, Nauni, Amoun, and Amauni.”¹¹⁹⁹

The same term for guard (φύλαξ) applies to the Ogdoad in the Hermetic treatise “The Ogdoad reveals the Ennead,” where Trismegistus asks for his books to be inscribed on stelae in his sanctuary (ΟΥΩΠΕ < w^rb.t)¹²⁰⁰ in Diospolis (N.H. VI, 62, 4-9):¹²⁰¹

ε-Υ̅Ν̅ Ω̅ΜΟΥ[Ν̅ Μ̅]-ΦΥΛΛΞ̅ ΡΟΕΙΣ̅ ΕΡΟΨ̅ Μ̅Ν̅ [...] Μ̅-ΦΗΛΙΟΣ̅
 Ν̅-ΖΟΥΤ̅ Μ̅[Ε]Ν̅ ΖΙ̅ ΟΥΝΑΜ̅ ΕΥΕ̅ Μ̅-ΠΡΟΣΩΠ̅{Ρ̅}ΟΝ̅ Ν̅-ΚΡΟΥΡ̅
 Ν̅-ΖΙΟΜΕ̅ ΔΕ̅ ΖΙ̅ ΟΒΟΥΡ̅ ΕΥΕ̅ Μ̅-ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ̅ Ν̅-ΕΜΟΥ̅.

Which eight guards protect with [...] of the sun,
the men on the right are frog-faced,
while the women on the left are cat-faced.¹²⁰²

The Ogdoad have further duties in Karnak, as a hymn from Medinet Habu calls them
“The great mighty Ogdoad in Karnak, the council of judges of Victorious Thebes (*Hmni.w*

¹¹⁹⁸ Merkelbach and Totti, *Abrasax I*, pp. 138-9, 184-5; Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, pp. 190, 259; cf. also Fauth, *Helios Megistos*, pp. 107-8.

¹¹⁹⁹ I.e. Heh, Hehet, Kek, Keket, Nun, Nunet, Amun and Amunet; explained already by Sethe, *Amun*, §92.

¹²⁰⁰ Despite Quaegebeur’s suggestion to translate this word as *wb3*, “forecourt,” (Quaegebeur, in Bondi, et al., eds., *Studi in onore de Edda Bresciani*, pp. 465 and 471, n. 40; followed by Cabrol, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*, pp. 82, n. 107, 85), it seems unlikely that stelae with Hermetic wisdom would be placed in the forecourt like public decrees; cf. a similar description of secret: “But [Sanchuniathon] having had access to the hidden texts found in the *adyta* of the temple of Ammon, composed in letters which, indeed, were not known to everyone” (trans. Baumgarten, *The Phoenecian History of Philo of Byblos*, p. 64); for the *topos* of Egyptian stelae with mystical knowledge, cf. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, pp. 29-30.

¹²⁰¹ Parrott, ed., *Nag Hammadi Codices V, 2-5, and VI*, pp. 368-9; Mahé, *Hermès en Haute-Égypte*, I, pp. 35-7, 84-5; cf. also Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, pp. 35 and 170, although note that simple “Diospolis” clearly refers to Thebes and not Diospolis Parva (contra Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, p. 170, n. 58), just as it does in countless documentary texts from Thebes, as well as in the account of Thessalos (cf. **2.3**), which Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes*, p. 163, correctly identified as Thebes.

¹²⁰² The phrase Μ-ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ Ν̅ appears to be a direct translation of the earlier Egyptian *m hr n X*, “with the face of X,” frequently used to describe divine statuettes and vignettes with non-human heads (cf. Cauville, *ZÄS* 122 [1995]: 55-6, 58).

wr.w nḥt.w m ip.t-s.wt, d3d3.t sdm.w nw W3s.t nḥt.ti).”¹²⁰³ Another text claims that Tatenen created them “in order to pronounce judgements (*r wdꜥ-md.wt*).”¹²⁰⁴

4.40 Opet

Opet the Great was a Theban manifestation of the celestial goddess Nut, specifically in her role of “she who bore the gods (*ms.t ntr.w*).”¹²⁰⁵ Nut was traditionally considered the mother of Osiris, Isis, Seth, and Nephthys, and in the Graeco-Roman Period, this cosmogony was located specifically in Upper Egypt. A bandeau inscription from Dendera from the reign of Augustus summarizes the various births as follows:¹²⁰⁶

di(.t) r t3 m i3.t-di (...)
ir.tw sn=s Wsir m W3s.t
z3=s Hr m Gs.t
sꜥꜥ.tw Nik(?)m Nbw.t
psd Nb.t-ḥw.t m-ḥnw n ḥw.t

(Isis) was born in Iat-di (Dendera) (...).
 her brother Osiris was made in Thebes,
 and her son Horus in Cusae,
 The enemy (= Seth) was ejaculated out in Ombos,
 Nephthys shone from within Diospolis Parva.

A long text from the Opet Temple describes in great detail how Nut-Opet gave birth to Osiris in Thebes:¹²⁰⁷

¹²⁰³ Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 469 (45a) (= Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, Pl. XXXVI a (β); Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 92).

¹²⁰⁴ *Opet* I, 26.

¹²⁰⁵ *ms(.t) ntr.w*: Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 30 (= *Urk.* VIII, 74c); *Urk.* VIII, 147c; *Opet* I, 29; 33; 43, Sud; 53; 63; 77; 80; 86; 115; 132A; 150; 151; 153; 161; 162; 165; 168A and C; 171; 265, 4; *LD* IV, 28b (Chonsu Temple; PM II, 236-7 [43]); Bénédite, *Philae*, 105, 19; she is also said to give birth to “the servant stars (*b3kty.w*),” *Opet* I, 41; var. “who birthed the stars as the Great Khenemet (*ms(.t) b3.w m ḥnm.t-wr.t*)” (*Opet* I, 53)

¹²⁰⁶ Cauville, *BIFAO* 90 (1990): 86-7, 93-4, nn. (8)-(11).

¹²⁰⁷ *Opet* I, 183-4, Montant ext. S. = De Wit, *Opet* III, p. 101; partially translated by Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, p. 174; note that the legend of Osiris's birth within the Opet Temple appears already on a stela of from the Twenty-Fifth or Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Coulon and Gabolde, *RdE* 55 (2004): 2-3, ll. x+6-9, 5, n. (p); the Sanctuary of Hibis Temple includes a tableau of Opet, Osiris, and Geb with the caption: “the birth of

wnn 'Ip.t-wr.t hr šd dmdy.t=s
dr wnn=s ḥ^c.ti m šd.t
spr.n=s kbs.t m 'Ip.t-rsy.t
 sbh.t tfy n imn-rn=f
 nis=s n ntr pfy
 3ms-ib n ib n di r t3
 Nwn-wr s^cnḥ wnn.t
 rdi.t t3w r di sn^c n nty <nis> r rn=f
 ir z3 n pr-ms
 ^cnḥ iwr.t n dm k3=f

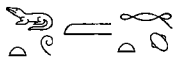
ntr.w p3wty.w ḥpr m ḥ3.t
*dw3=s*n ḥm=f m bw w^c
 *ir=s*n i3w n ntr ir-t3w
 imn irw ḥ3p s(w) r ms.w=f

ii.n ḥrw=s ḥn^c ntr.w tpy.w=^c
 ḥft iqh.n=s pr-'Ip.t-wr.t

hms=s (Wn-nfr m3^c-ḥrw) | m tp n dw3w
pr šww m ndb
 sn.wy=f(y) mit.t m s.t-mshn.t=sn
 wnn=sn r-gs=f m s.t=f

ḥpr Nw.t m rn n p.t
 ms.w=s r ^cnḥ.w=s


When Great Opet had completed her term,

when she had appeared as the mother (),¹²⁰⁸

Osiris (*ms Wsir*)” (or possibly: “the child Osiris (*msw Wsir*)”) in the section of Theban deities; Davies, *Hibis* III, Pl. 2, Reg. V, left (noted by Cauville, *Les chapelles osiriennes: commentaire*, p. 237; Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project* I, p. 4, translated “Offspring of Osiris,” and asked “are we to understand this figure as Horus?”)

¹²⁰⁸ De Wit tentatively read: “depuis qu’elle est devenue enceinte (?) dans la matrice (*št3.t*),” reading the crocodile as an unconventional spelling of a rare verb *sw* “to create” (*Opet* III, p. 138, n. [394]). Alternatively, the crocodile frequently writes ḥ^ci, “to appear” (cf. *Wb.* III, 242, 8), and a similar description appears in de Morgan, *K.O.* I, 45, col. 1 (= Mendel, *Die Monatsgöttin*, p. 132, Pl. VII):

ir ḥw.t-nmi.t s3-n-^cnḥ pw
iqh s(y) t3-sn.t-nfr.t m šd.t
 m sdd=s n rr.t wr.t šps.t ḥnty pr-ms
 As for the Chapel of the Birthbed, it is the Stable of Life,

Tasenetnefret enters it as the mother (),
 in her form of the great, august hippopotamus within the Mammisi.

she reached the *ksb.t*-tree¹²⁰⁹ in the Southern Opet (Luxor),
 that palace of Hidden-of-his-Name (Amun),
 so she might call that god,
 he who delights at the desire to give birth,
 Nun-wer, who enlivens that which exists,
 who gives air to comfort whomever <calls> his name,
 who protects the mammisi,
 through uttering whose name pregnant women live.

The primeval gods, who came about in the beginning,
 (perpetually) worship his majesty in unison,¹²¹⁰
 and give praise to the god who makes air (Amun),
 the one hidden of appearance, who conceals himself from his children.

Her voice arrived along with (those of) the ancestor gods,
 when she entered¹²¹¹ the Great Opet temple.

Just as she gave birth to Wennefer, justified, at the top of the morning,
 so did light come forth upon the earth,
 and his siblings, likewise, in their own birthplaces,
 existing (now) beside him in his dwelling place.

Thus “Nut” became the name of heaven,
 and her children are her living-stars.

The same event is described in a slightly different fashion elsewhere:¹²¹²

wnn Nw.t spr Ip.t-rsy.t
hw.t-wtt š3^c ms p3wty.[w...]
r W3s.t [niw.t'Imn]
ntr ii n š n=f

The second word appears to be *šd.t*, “nurse” (Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1040), with confusion between the *mḥ*- and *šd*-signs, as well as between the pustule and the egg signs (cf. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 147; Thiers, *Tôd* II, p. 297).

¹²⁰⁹ The *kbs/ksb.t*-tree of Luxor appears in the same context in *Opet* I, 17, line 2; it is also one of the sacred trees of Thebes (cf. **3.1.1**, text note (i)); for the present example, cf. Koemoeth, *Osiris et les arbres*, pp. 158-9.

¹²¹⁰ For the topos of Amun surrounded by the perpetually worshipping Ogdoad, see Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 69-71, n. B, 72-3, n. A; for the Ogdoad speaking “in unison,” cf. *KRI* IV, 29, 10-11 (Festival Hymn of Merneptah from Hermopolis).

¹²¹¹ De Wit read this verb as *šs* “to hurry,” (De Wit, *Opet* III, p. 138, n. [399]); for the correct reading of *iqḥ*, “to enter; penetrate,” see Grenier, in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron*, I, p. 383, n. (b).

¹²¹² *Opet* I, 17 = De Wit, *Opet* III, p. 6.

ntr.w ʕ3.w *hr dw3 b3 3nh ms.w*
hr w[...] *p^cp^c=s*

wbn št3.t m-hnt Ip.t-[wr.t] hr ksb.t
[...] *pr wtt*
pr r=f[*wy*]n [...] [*...*]
[...] *hpr shd m-hnt W3s.t* [...] [*...*]
nbi.wt m-phr=s
imytw ih.ty n Ip.t-wr.t

When Nut arrived at the Southern Opet (Luxor),
the temple of engendering,
[in] which the birth of the primeval [ones] began,¹²¹³
at Thebes [the city of Amun],
the god who comes to whoever calls him,
the great gods¹²¹⁴ were worshipping the Ba, Living of Births,¹²¹⁵
and [...] so she might give birth.

The womb opened¹²¹⁶ within the [Great] Opet [Temple] beneath the *ksb.t*-tree,
[...] the place of engendering,
light burst forth¹²¹⁷ [...]

¹²¹³ For the Ogdoad created within Luxor Temple, cf. **4.3, 4.39**.

¹²¹⁴ For the *ntr.w* ʕ3.w (*wr.w*) as a specific designation of the Ogdoad, cf. Thissen, *Demotische Graffiti*, p. 36, n. 7; el-Sayed, *BIFAO* 80 (1980): 236, n. (c).

¹²¹⁵ For this epithet of Amun, cf. Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 26-7, n. A.

¹²¹⁶ De Wit, *Opet III*, p. 6, translated “lorsque l’œuf apparut,” noting that the verb *wbn* was written like another word “open wound” (*ibid.*, p. 124, n. 13; citing *Wb.* I, 294-5); however, the noun *št3.t* can also mean “womb” (e.g. *Opet I*, 183, translated *supra*; cf. Frandsen, *JNES* 66 [2007]: 101-3), and thus *wbn* might refer to dilation, providing a pun on the *Bnn.t* (Chonsu Temple) mentioned later. Another example of this phrase occurs in P. Brooklyn 47.218.84: “The rectum is abominable to her (Tefnut), since the womb came forth outwards (*iw bw.t n=s phwy.t, dr wbn št(3).t m-rwty*)” (Meeks, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, pp. 20, 102, n. 289); note also that many Theban texts refer to Osiris or the King as “he who arose from the womb (*wbn m št3.t*),” cf. *Wb.* I, 293, 19; Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 115-6; and note also *Urk.* VIII, 97i, where Osiris is said to “arise from the womb (*wbn m h.t*)”; cf. also the spelling of *wbn* “to rise,” in *Edfou III*, 85 (cf. Gutbub, *BIFAO* 52 [1953]: 66-7) and Louvre C 232, l. 15 (= Jansen-Winkeln, *Sentenzen und Maximen*, p. 90, A.4.d.8), written with the following



hieroglyph of a cow giving birth:

¹²¹⁷ De Wit, *Opet III*, p. 123, n. (15), declined to translate this damaged phrase, but enough traces remain to show that this is parallel to *Opet I*, 186, line 1; in both example, the phrase *r=f* is understood as the particle *r=f* (the suffix-pronoun referring to *wyn*, “light”), intensifying the action of “coming forth (*pr*)” (for this function of *r=f*, cf. Shisha-Halevy, *JAOS* 106 [1986]: 641-58); De Wit’s translation of *Opet I*, 186, “la lumière sortit <de> sa bouche (*pr wyn <m> r.f*)” (De Wit, *Opet III*, p. 103), makes little sense, as there is no masculine referent for the suffix pronoun, and no other texts mention a mouth associated with the birth of Osiris.

[...] and illumination came about within Thebes [...] with uraei all around it, between the thighs of Great Opet [...].

These two texts describe the same course of events. Nut arrives at Thebes in her form of Great Opet,¹²¹⁸ already pregnant with Osiris. Just like all Egyptian mothers, divine or mortal, she beseeches Amun¹²¹⁹ to help her through childbirth and allow her newborn to breathe.¹²²⁰ She goes specifically to Luxor Temple,¹²²¹ most likely because of its traditional association with the Royal Ka and divine birth scenes.¹²²² Nonetheless, she afterwards returns to the Opet Temple where she actually gives birth to Osiris on the first epagomenal day.¹²²³ Plutarch described this event in great detail:¹²²⁴

“They relate that on the first of these (epagomenal) days Osiris was born, and at the hour of his birth a voice issued forth saying, “The Lord of All advances to the light.” But some relate that a certain Pamytes, while he was drawing water in Thebes, heard a voice issuing from the shrine of Zeus, which bade him proclaim with a loud voice that a mighty and beneficent king, Osiris, had been born.”

¹²¹⁸ Cf. *Opet* I, 228 (describing the Opet Temple): “Nut is within it in her form of Great Opet (*Nw.t im=f m irw=s n Ip.t-wr.t*).”

¹²¹⁹ Cf. also *Opet* I, 132A: “she who calls to her father, with the result that Amun arrives [...] (*nis(.t) n it=s, ii Imn [...]*).”

¹²²⁰ For Amun-Shu assisting during childbirth, cf. Daumas, *Les mammisis des temples égyptiens*, pp. 429-35; Derchain-Urtel, in: *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, II, pp. 753-61; Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, p. 62, n. E; for the specific context of the Opet temple, see Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, pp. 173-4; idem, *RdE* 54 (2003): 114.

¹²²¹ A Ramesside relief on the Ninth Pylon at Karnak depicts Opet shaking sistra before Amun of Luxor (*hnty-ip.t=f*) (*LD* III, 219a; cf. Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 256), while in a Ptolemaic scene from Chonsu Temple representing Amenope, Opet, and the Ogdoad, Opet is called: “Great Khenmet in the Southern Opet (= Luxor), Divine Mother of Kamutef (*hnm.t-wr.t m ip.t-rsy.t, mw.t-ntr n K3-mw.t=f*)” (PM II², pp. 236-7 (43) = *LD* IV, 28b).

¹²²² See in general Bell, *JNES* 44 (1985): 289; Brunner, *Geburt des Gottkönigs*.

¹²²³ Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, p. 175.

¹²²⁴ Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 12.

As Bergman has already noted, the specific detail of the loud voice issuing from Karnak (“the shrine of Zeus”) finds parallels in the Egyptian texts themselves.¹²²⁵ One passage claims that upon Osiris’s birth, “his voice was heard in the depths of the earth, Amun himself rejoiced (*sdm.tw hrw=f m md(.wt) t3, Imn ds=f ib=f m ršw*).”¹²²⁶ The “Book of Traversing Eternity” states that on the First Epagomenal day “you hear the sound made during the birth of Osiris (*sdm=f hrw irr ms=w Wsir*).”¹²²⁷

Some texts describe the birth using straightforward terminology. Opet-Nut is the goddess “who gave birth to her son Osiris within the Great Opet Temple, to the west of Chonsu Temple (*ms(.t) z3=s Wsir m-hnw pr-Ip.t-wr.t, r gs imnty n pr-Hnsw*),”¹²²⁸ “the nurse who begat the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Osiris (*mn^c.t wtt(.t) nsw.t-biti Wsir*),”¹²²⁹ as well as “she who reared the prince of the White Crown in her Great Opet temple, who nursed the ruler on the throne of his father (*rr.t sr-hd.t m ip.t=s wr.t, mn^c(.t) ḥq3 ḥr ns.t it=f*).”¹²³⁰

In the majority of inscriptions, however, Opet-Nut gives birth to pure light,¹²³¹ most often as “she who gave birth to light within Thebes (*p^cp^c(.t) šww m(-hnw) W3s.t*)”¹²³² and

¹²²⁵ Berman, *Isis Seele und Osiris-Ei*, pp. 91-2.

¹²²⁶ *Opet* I, 208 (= De Wit, *Opet* III, p. 105); cf. also *Opet* I, 120, l. 1: “Holiday goes through the entire land, Egypt celebrates, Amun is festive, the gods rejoice, there is a shout in Thebes (*hrw nfr phr(.w) m t3 dr=f, t3-mry m mk, Imn m ḥb, ntr.w m rš, ‘y’y m-hnw W3s.t*).”

¹²²⁷ P. Leiden T 32, IV, 5-6 = Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, pp. 57, 175, 443-5.

¹²²⁸ *Opet* I, 171, ll. 6-7; var. “Great Nut who bore Osiris (*Nw.t-wr.t ms(.t) Wsir*)” (*Opet* I, 18).

¹²²⁹ *Opet* I, 53, divine column; vars. “she who begat Osiris in Thebes (*wtt(.t) Wsir m W3s.t*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 147c); “mother of god who begat *Mryty* (*mw.t-ntr wtt(.t) Mryty*)” (*Opet* I, 155A; for this local epithet of Osiris, cf. **4.44**).

¹²³⁰ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 30 (= *Urk.* VIII, 74c); for the epithet *sr ḥd.t*, “prince of the white crown” associated with Osiris, cf. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, p. 147, n. 4.

¹²³¹ For Osiris as a *Lichtkind*, cf. **4.42**, and note especially the birth account in *Opet* I, 228, 1: “Light comes forth beside the Benenet (= Chonsu Temple), illuminating the shrine of the Prince of Gods (*wnn šww r-gs Bnn.t, (hr) šhd iwnn n sr-ntr.w*).”

“she who begat light within the Great Opet Temple (*wtt(.t) wyn m Ip.t-s.wt*).”¹²³³ The solar birth of Osiris is not entirely unusual. Nut was the traditional goddess who gave birth to the solar disk in the morning, thus in Thebes, the local form of Opet-Nut logically gave birth to Osiris as a replica of the sun.

Nonetheless, there does appear to be a special Theban emphasis on the light-nature of Osiris, particularly in the interpretation of his name Wennefer as “good light (*wyn nfr*).” (cf. **4.42**) Bergman cited this local tradition as the source of a passage in Diodorus Siculus, in which Osiris claims to be born like the sun.¹²³⁴ Another parallel to Opet as “she who birthed light (*pꜥpꜥ(.t) šww*)” can be found in the Demotic Magical Papyri (Griffith, *LLM* VI, 19-20 = *PDM* xiv. 167-9):¹²³⁵

i Nw.t mw.t-mw
i Ip.t mw.t-st.t
iw n=y Nw.t mw.t-mw
iw n=y Ip.t mw.t-st.t

“O Nut, mother of water,
 O Opet, mother of fire,
 come to me, Nut, mother of water;
 come, Opet, mother of fire.”

One surprising feature of Opet is that she also bears the characteristic epithets of the Goddess of the Eye of the Sun, namely “Eye of Re, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the

¹²³² Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 30 (= *Urk.* VIII, 74c); *Opet* I, 29; 43, Sud; 115) vars. “who gave birth to light within the Great Opet Temple (*pꜥpꜥ(.t) šww m-hnw pr-Ip.t-wr.t*)” (*Opet* I, 53); “who procreated light (*bnb[n.t] šww*)” (*Opet* I, 41, 4-5).

¹²³³ *Opet* I, 18 (partially restored); 43, Sud; 115; 168 (partially restored); var. “who begat light in Karnak (*wtt(.t) wyn m Ip.t-s.wt*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 42 = *Urk.* VIII, 103c); women and goddesses can also said to *wtt*, “beget,” despite the phallus determinative, cf. *Wb.* I, 381, 16 and 382, 2.

¹²³⁴ Diodorus Siculus I, 27.5; Bergman, *Isis-Seele und Osiris-Ei*, pp. 90-8.

¹²³⁵ For this passage, cf. also Smith, *The Demotic Mortuary Papyrus Louvre E. 3452*, p. 58, n. 10 (a).

Gods.”¹²³⁶ This feature may be due to her association with Hathor, as evidenced by her Hathoric solar disk and horns.¹²³⁷ As the solar-eye, Opet is also “Lady of Uraei (*nb.t-irr.wt*),”¹²³⁸ and she is a goddess “who carries out his (Osiris’s) protection and keeps his body safe every day (*ir(.t) z3=f swd3(.t) h^cw=f r^c-nb*).”¹²³⁹

As mother of the royal child Osiris, Opet was of considerable political importance. She was “mistress in the royal palace (*hnw.t m pr-nsw.t*),”¹²⁴⁰ and after the birth of Osiris, she “distinguished the king inside the House of Atum upon the throne of his father (= Amun) (*tni nsw.t m-hnw pr-Itm hr ns.t it=f*).”¹²⁴¹

4.41 Osiris: Introduction

As in all temples of Egypt, Osiris held a prominent place in the various temples of Thebes.¹²⁴² Osiris was born in Thebes, and he reigned over Karnak as the heir of Amun in the local forms Osiris within Thebes and Osiris-*mryty*. In Graeco-Roman Thebes, Osiris was supposedly buried in Djeme, but he also had a funerary cult in Karnak in his form of Osiris the Coptite.

¹²³⁶ *Opet* I, 33, Sud; 77; 165; 168C.

¹²³⁷ E.g. Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 30 and 42.

¹²³⁸ *Opet* I, 63.

¹²³⁹ *Opet* I, 115.

¹²⁴⁰ *Opet* I, 63, where she is also “Ruler in the Per-Nu (*hq3.t m pr-nw*)”;

¹²⁴¹ *Opet* I, 53.

¹²⁴² For the Theban cults of Osiris, see primarily Coulon, *BIFAO* 101 (2001): 137-152; idem, in: Hawass, ed., *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first Century*, I, pp. 138-46; idem, in Borgeaud and Volokhine, eds., *Les objets de la mémoire*, pp. 47-72; idem, *RdE* 57 (2006): 1-46; Herbin, *RdE* 35 (1984): 105-26; idem, *RdE* 54 (2003): 67-127.

4.42 Osiris within Thebes

While Osiris may have traditionally been lord of Abydos and Busiris, inscriptions from the Late Period unanimously asserted that Osiris came from Thebes.¹²⁴³ This tradition first appears in a Late Period (25th or 26th Dynasty) stela from the Opet Temple,¹²⁴⁴ and a tableau from Hibis Temple (27th Dynasty) groups Opet, Osiris, and Geb, with the caption “the birth of Osiris (*ms(.t) Wsir*)” in a series of Theban deities.¹²⁴⁵

In the Graeco-Roman Period, numerous inscriptions feature “Osiris within Thebes,”¹²⁴⁶ often further qualified as “the sovereign within the Great Opet Temple (*ity hnt pr-ʿIp.t-wr.t*).”¹²⁴⁷ The Opet Temple, and by extension all of Thebes, was the birthplace of Osiris: “the temple of his birth-brick (*hw.t-mshn.t=f*),”¹²⁴⁸ “the temple of his creation (*hw.t-wt=f*),”¹²⁴⁹ “the temple of his swaddling (*hw.t-nwd=f*),” “the temple of his birth bed/bier (*hw.t-nmi.t-f*),” and “his stable of life (*sʒ.t=f n nḥ*).”

¹²⁴³ For the birth of Osiris in Thebes, see Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton*, pp. 8-9; Drioton, *ASAE* 44 (1944): 131, n. (cc); Bergman, *Isis-Seele und Osiris-Ei*, pp. 73-98; Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, p. 194, n. (d); Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 77 (1977): 145-9; Cauville, *Les chapelles osiriennes: commentaire*, pp. 236-8; cf. also **3.1.2**.


¹²⁴⁴ Coulon and Gabolde, *RdE* 55 (2004): 2-3, ll. x+6-9, 5, and p. 3, n. (p); the earliest stages of the Opet Temple date as early as the New Kingdom, cf. Coulon and Gabolde, *RdE* 55 (2004): 7.

¹²⁴⁵ Davies, *Hibis* III, Pl. 2, Reg. V, left.

¹²⁴⁶ *Opet* I, 35; 65; 71, 4; 73; 88; 89; 99; 102; 121; 131; Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 52 (= *Urk.* VIII, 88b); *Urk.* VIII, 151b; Helck, *Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Ramses' II. in Karnak*, p. 102, Bild 85 (probably Ptolemaic).

¹²⁴⁷ *Opet* I, 35; 73; 88; 89; 99; 102; 121; 131; 136; 257; Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 42 (= *Urk.* VIII, 103b); Aufrère, *Montou*, §§196-198 (= *Urk.* VIII, 24b); *Urk.* VIII, 147b; 151b; vars. “Sovereign within his Temple of Creation (*ity hnt hw.t-wt=f*)” (*Opet* I, 220); “sovereign in *hft-hr-nb=s*,” (*Deir al-Médîna*, 53, 1); cf. also “venerated one (*imʒhw*) in the Great Opet Temple” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 62 = *Urk.* VIII, 88b).

¹²⁴⁸ Cf. Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 84.

¹²⁴⁹ *Opet* I, 71, 4; 88; 102; 108; 121; cf. Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 84; this word also occurs as a designation of Thebes in Aufrère, *Montou*, §§171-173 (= *Urk.* VIII, 2b), spelled as , but Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 195, n. (h) misread this as an otherwise unattested term, *hw.t-wnšb*.

According to local traditions, the goddess Nut came to Thebes in her manifestation of Opet and gave birth to Osiris inside the Opet Temple (cf. **4.40**). While a large number of inscriptions from the Opet Temple describe this important event, the following examples are perhaps the most complete accounts:

(1) *Opet I*, 233, 1-6:

hrw pn nfr hb t3 r-dr=f
diw hrw.w hry.w rnp.t ng3-w^cb-m-sh.t=f
d3w wbg(.w) h3wti hrs(.w)
bi3.t bq3.tw nn igp
wbn R^c m-hnw W3s.t
(Wn-nfr m3^c-hrw) m hw.t-wtt=f
psd=f im=s hnt hw.t-lp.t-wr.t
shd 3h.ty=f(y) p.t t3

di=f sw mw.t=f r t3 m hw.t mshn.t=f
š3y rr.t m wd.t n=f k3.w hr-h3.t=f
rnn.t hr-s3=f sby.w iry m-dbn=f

wsr=f hr isp(.t) n ntry-n-R^c
dd.tw n=f W3s-ir
wn.n=f m nsw nty z3.w-n=sn r-gs it=f Imn-wr

On this good day, the entire land celebrates,
 (namely) the fifth epagomenal day, “the pure wild bull in his prairie.”¹²⁵⁰

When the storm has cleared up, when clouds are pushed back,
 when the sky is clear, without any stormclouds,
 Re rises from within Thebes,

 Wennefer, justified, in the temple of his creation,
 he rises from it (sc. Thebes) out of the Great Opet Temple,
 so that his brilliant-eyes illumine heaven and earth.

His mother gives birth to him in the temple of his birth-brick,
 Shai and Reret decreeing sustenance to him in front of him,
 Renenet behind him, and the birth-gods all around him.

He became mighty (*wsr*) on the throne of the Divinity of Re (= Amun),
 thus he is called Osiris,
 and he was King of the protector gods beside his father, Amun-wer.

¹²⁵⁰ For this designation, cf. Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 98; Leitz, *Tagewählerei*, pp. 419, 425-7.

(2) *Opet I*, 183-4, Right, cols. 1-2 = De Wit, *Opet III*, p. 102:

wnn šww hr wbn m W3s.t
hry-tp ndb=f m pr-Ip.t-wr.t
hd.t m tp=f i3rr.t m phr=s
hm=f m hwnw nfr
dd.t(w) Wn r rn=f m-h3.t
dr pr wyn hr mshn.t=f

wn.n=f nfr.t m-š3^c hr-h3.t sn.w=f
k3.tw rn=f r (Wn-nfr m3^c-hrw)|

ir.tw=f m W3s.t
wsr hm=f
dd.tw n=f W3s-ir

When light emerged from Thebes
 presiding over his land in the Great Opet Temple,
 the white crown on his head, and the uraeus encircling it,
 His Majesty was the beautiful youth,
 he was called “Wen” (*wn*) in the beginning,
 because light (*wyn*) came forth upon his birth-brick.

He opened (*wn*) the womb (*nfr.t*) in the beginning, before¹²⁵¹ his siblings,
 (thus) he is called “Wennefer (*wn-nfr*) justified.”¹²⁵²

He was made (*ir*) in Thebes (*W3s*),
 and his majesty became mighty (*wsr*),
 (thus) he was called Osiris (*W3s-ir*).


The three names of Osiris reflect the three stages of his birth. He was called “Wen”
 because of his luminous aspect (*wyn*),¹²⁵³ Wennefer (Onnophris) because he opened the

¹²⁵¹ Reading *hr* < *h3r*; De Wit, *Opet III*, p. 102, did not recognize this spelling of *hr*, and instead translated: “encerclant (= protégeant) les cœurs (*h h3ty*) de ses frères”; Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 106, meanwhile translated “(?) devant ses frères (*h h3t snw.f*)”; the preposition *hr-h3.t*, “before,” refers to the fact that Osiris was the first-born of Nut (cf. Herbin, *RdE* 54 [2003]: 98).

¹²⁵² Cf. *Opet I*, 17, ll. 5-6: “Moreover, he is also called Wennefer, justified, because [he op]en[ed] the womb in the Benenet (*Wn-nfr m3^c-hrw*)| *is k3.tw m whm, dr [w]n[.n=f] nfr.t m Bnn.t*”; *Opet I*, 104: (*wn-nfr m3^c-hrw*)| *is k3.tw m whm*.

¹²⁵³ For the name *Wn*, cf. also *Opet I*, 38; *Opet I*, 170, 4-5: “Wen who made light in Thebes (*Wn ir wyn m W3s.t*)”; cf. Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, pp. 176-7.

womb,¹²⁵⁴ and Osiris because he was mighty (*wsr*)¹²⁵⁵ and made in Thebes (*ir m W3s.t*).¹²⁵⁶

In the Graeco-Roman Period, the name Osiris frequently appears as  (*w3s-ir*),¹²⁵⁷ a sportive orthography that apparently alludes to the latter epithet.¹²⁵⁸

The first name of Osiris, “Wen,” alludes to his birth as a luminous child. Osiris within Thebes is thus frequently called “light which arose from the Great Opet Temple (*šww wbn m pr-ʿIp.t-wr.t*),”¹²⁵⁹ as well as “he who made light within the belly of his mother (*ir ššp m h.t n mw.t=f*).”¹²⁶⁰ This solar aspect of Osiris’s birth of is poetically described in a number of texts:

(1) *Opet I*, 231, 4-5; cf. De Wit, *Opet III*, 108:

ir.n sw tm3.t=f hnt hw.t-nwd=f
mi w3w3 n R^c tp-dw3w
wbh.n=f wtz.t mi imy-hr.t
šsr.n=f qbh.w mi i3hy

¹²⁵⁴ For *wn nfr.t* “to (first) open the womb,” see *Opet I*, 17, 5-6 (mostly damaged); 186, 1; cf. also *Opet I*, 170, 4, where Osiris is the “eldest son” of Geb “who opened the womb (*wn h.t*).” For modern interpretations of the name Wennefer, see most recently Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, pp. 100-1, n. 13 (a).

¹²⁵⁵ For puns on *wsr* and the name Osiris, cf. Traunecker, *Coptos*, p. 78, n. (k); *Opet I*, 233, 5; cf. also the pronunciation of *ws(r)* in Ozymandes < *wsr-m3^c.t-R^c*, and the name Pausis/Paousis < *p3-n-ws(r)*, for which see Thissen, *GM 88* (1985): 56-7; idem, *Das Rheinische Museum für Philologie* 145 (2002): 60.

¹²⁵⁶ For this epithet, see also *Opet I*, 54; 104; 167; 220; *Deir al-Médina*, 53, 1; cf. the similar “born in Thebes” ; “made in the Great Opet Temple (*ir(.w) m pr-ʿIp.t-wr.t*)” (*Opet I*, 80; 110); “whose mother made him in the Great Opet Temple (*ir sw mw.t=f m pr-ʿIp.t-wr.t*)” (*Opet I*, 111); “he was king of the gods the day his mother made him (*nsw=f nfr.w hrw ir sw mw.t=f*)” (*Opet I*, 136); cf. also Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 74 and 91.

¹²⁵⁷ E.g. Aufrère, *Montou*, §§196-198 (= *Urk.* VIII, 24b); Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 42 (= *Urk.* VIII, 103b); *Opet I*, 17; 18; 28; 29; 62; 64; 121.; this spelling was known to Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, and Macrobius; cf. Thissen, *GM 88* (1985): 55-61.

¹²⁵⁸ Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, p. 194, n. (d), noted that the verb *iri*, “to make” is characteristic of the Theban creation of Osiris.

¹²⁵⁹ *Opet I*, 28; 64; 173; 199; *Shanhûr I*, No. 52, 5; vars. “Light which arose from Thebes (*šww wbn m W3s.t*)” (*Opet I*, 111); “Light which was made in the Great Opet Temple (*šww ir(.w) m pr-ʿIp.t-wr.t*)” (*Opet I*, 80); “light arose from Thebes (*wnn šww hr wbn m W3s.t*)” (*Opet I*, 183, Right, col. 1); “light that arose from Bakhu (*šww wbn m B3h.t*)” (*Opet I*, 18).

¹²⁶⁰ *Opet I*, 108.

sq3=f(r) qm3-wr m km n 'n.t
Ip.t wr.t m ry.t hr=f
d3=f m 'nh imywt<=s>
r-^c št3 m-^cq3 mshn.t=f

His mother (= Opet) made him (= Osiris) within his temple of swaddling,
 like the rays of Re in the early morning,
 Just as he brightened the firmament like He-who-is-in-Heaven,
 so did he illumine the sky like the Luminous One,
 rising up (to) the heavens in the completion of an instant.
 The Great Opet temple is the sky beneath him,
 and it is within <it> that he travels in life,
 as far as the Necropolis (= Medinet Habu) across from his Mammisi.

(2) *Opet I, 186, 1-2:*

pr rf wyn m-hnt Ir.t-R^c
dr wn nfr.t m Bnn.t

Wsir psd(.w) m-hnw W3s.t
shd.n=f t3.wy m-ht snk

Light burst forth from within the Eye of Re (= Thebes),
 when the womb opened in the Benenet.

Osiris is risen within Thebes,
 having illumined the Two Lands after darkness!

(4) *Opet I, 250, 3-5:*

itn wbn(.w) m-hnw W3s.t
(Wn-nfr m3^c-hrw) | pr(.w) r-h3

di s(w) mw.t=f r t3 hnt hw.t-nwd=f
m m3wy itn [...] nn.t [...]
[...]s r hr.t m [...] 'h^c

Nw.t m gb.t hr=f
htp=f m [tph.t(?)] Nwn
[m]-sty n hw.t-mshn.t=f

The sundisk is arisen within Thebes,
 Wennefer, justified, has come forth into the world!

His mother gave birth to him within his temple of swaddling
 as the rays of the sundisk [...] the sky [...]
 [...] towards heaven [...] at noon,
 Nut is the sky beneath him,

he sets in [the grotto of(?)] Nun,¹²⁶¹
[in] view of his Mammisi.

(5) *Opet* I, 43-4 (right):

Wsir-(Wn-nfr m3^c-hrw)| nsw-ntr.w
bik ntry psd tp-dw3w
dw3 sw ntr.w nb m33=sn sw
py wr pg3-dnh.wy
d3i hr.t m m3^c-nfr

Osiris-Wennefer, justified, King of the Gods,
Divine falcon who shines in the early morning,
whom all gods worship when they see him,
Great winged-scarab, outstretched of wings,
who crosses heaven with good wind.

After his solar birth, Osiris became the “august child in the temple of his creation (*hy šps m hw.t-wtt=f*),”¹²⁶² or the “youth within the Domain of Geb (*hwnw hnt pr-Gbb*).”¹²⁶³ While still a child, Osiris immediately “received kingship from his father Amun (*šsp nsyw.t m-^c it=f Imn*),”¹²⁶⁴ since “he was king of the gods on the day his mother made him (*nsw=f ntr.w m hrw ir sw mw.t=f*),”¹²⁶⁵ and he “received kingship on the day he was born (*šsp nsyw.t m hrw*

¹²⁶¹ The “grotto of Nun” is a common designation of Djeme (cf. **4.28**) located across the river from the Opet Temple; cf. *Opet* I, 231, 5, where Osiris travels to “the Necropolis across from his Mammisi (*š3(.t) m-^cq3 n hw.t-mshn.t=f*),” and *Opet* I, 250, 6, where Osiris “comes forth from the grotto of Nun (*pr m tph.t Nwn*).”

¹²⁶² *Opet* I, 88; var. “august image (*šhm šps*) in the temple of his creation” (*Deir al-Médîna*, 53, 1).

¹²⁶³ *Opet* I, 29; var. “good child in the [Domain] of Geb (*hy nfr m [pr] Gbb*)” (*Deir al-Médîna*, 53, 1); the “Domain of Geb” is another designation of the Opet Temple (cf. De Wit, *Opet* III, p. 160; Bedier, *Die Rolle des Gottes Geb*, p. 111, n. 2).

¹²⁶⁴ *Opet* I, 167; according to certain texts, Osiris was already king in the womb: (1) “He who inherited the two lands before he had come forth from his mother, who ruled the land while upon his swaddling clothes (*iw^c t3.wy ni pr(.t)=f m mw.t=f, hq3 ndb tpy nwd=f*)” (*Opet* I, 88); in other texts, he was said to “come forth from the womb as a beautiful youth, (already) wearing the white crown (*pr m h.t m hwnw nfr, h^c(.w) m hd.wt*)” (*Opet* I, 18; cf. also *Opet* I, 17, 5; 108; 183, Right, col. 1); for similar epithets, cf. Budde, in Budde, et al., eds., *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, pp. 75-8.

¹²⁶⁵ *Opet* I, 136; Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 42 (= *Urk.* VIII, 103b); *Urk.* VIII, 147b (partially restored).

ms.tw=f).¹²⁶⁶ As a first step, “his qualities were elevated beside the Great Ba (= Amun) (*s^cr.tw s^hr.w=f r-gs b3-wr*).”¹²⁶⁷ Next, “a decree came forth for him within Karnak that he rule the circuit of the sundisk (*pr n=f h^ry.t m-hnw Ip.t-s.wt r hq3=f šn n itn*),”¹²⁶⁸ and thus Osiris was:¹²⁶⁹

hry ns.t Imn m h^w.t-wtt=f
h(r)y.t hr Iri-t3w
spr=f nmt.t i3hw
r hbi=f inw m ndb.w
hry.w hr Nn.t hry.w s3 Gbb
b=sn im=f m wd=f

He who is upon the throne of Amun in the temple of his creation,
 (through) the decree of Wind-Maker (Amun),
 so that he might reach the extent of the sun,
 in order to collect tribute from the lands,
 beneath the belly of Nut and above the back of Geb,
 (since) he is their lord through his (Amun’s) command.

This royal succession is further emphasized in a mythological text from Karnak describing

Amun:

ir.n=f rn=f m (Imn[-R^c] nsw.t-ntr.w)|
dr nsw=f wnn.t

whm.n=f sw m Nsw.t-biti nb-nsw.t-t3.wy
m s.t Wsir

He created his name as Amun-[Re] King of the Gods,
 since he ruled what exists.

¹²⁶⁶ *Opet* I, 18.

¹²⁶⁷ *Opet* I, 17, 6; 183, Right, col. 2; for *B3-wr* designating Amun in Karnak, cf. Jansen-Winkel, *SAK* 36 (2007): 54, n. (7).

¹²⁶⁸ P. Vatican 38608, l. 6-7 (= Herbin, *RdE* 54 [2003]: 87-88, Pl. I); citing also *Opet* I, 54: “he was given the inheritance in Heliopolis of Upper Egypt (= Thebes), when a decree came forth from there (Karnak) (*rdi.tw n=f imy.t-pr m Iwnw-šm^c, pr h(r)y.t im=s*).”

¹²⁶⁹ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 42 (= *Urk* VIII, 103b); cf. Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): p. 89.

He repeated himself as the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands,
in the throne of Osiris.¹²⁷⁰

After receiving the inheritance from Amun, Osiris received the official royal titulary,¹²⁷¹ “(Osiris-Wennefer, justified)|, King of the Gods ((*Wsir-wn-nfr, m3^c-hrw*)| *nsw.t-ntr.w*),” always written with a cartouche.¹²⁷² He was then “sovereign within the Great Opet Temple,” (cf. *supra*), “sovereign foremost of Karnak (*ity hnty Ip.t-s.wt*),”¹²⁷³ “Osiris in the Domain of Amun (*Wsir m pr-Imn*),”¹²⁷⁴ “Ruler of Thebes (*hq3 W3s.t*),”¹²⁷⁵ “who occupies his throne in Karnak (*sndm s.t=f m Ip.t-s.wt*).”¹²⁷⁶ Osiris’s reign in Karnak even leads to his identification as “the Ka of Irita, Kematef mighty of strength (*k3 n Iri-t3, Km-3.t=f-nht-phty*).”¹²⁷⁷ The role of active sovereign in Thebes is further developed in the specific local form of Osiris-*mryty* (**4.44**), as well as in the Osirian Montu Lord of Thebes (**4.36**).

¹²⁷⁰ Cf. an epithet of Amun from the Bark Shrine at Medinet Habu (= Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 86): “Amun-Re King of the Gods, the august image, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands in the throne of Osiris.”

¹²⁷¹ Cf. *Opet* I54: “his titulary was assigned, his cartouche was tied together to be King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wennefer, justified (*iw wd(.w) nhb=f, wf(.w) rn=f r nsw.t-biti (Wn-nfr, m3^c-hrw)*).”

¹²⁷² *Opet* I, 18; 28; 29; 39; 43; 54; 62; 64; 65; 76; 80; 98; 99; 102; 110; 111; 115; 121; 136; 150; 157; 161; 162; 167; 170; 173; 199; 220; 228B; 250, 8; 253; 257; Aufrère, *Montou*, §§196-8 (= *Urk.* VIII, 24b); Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 33 (= *Urk.* VIII, 72b); *Urk.* VIII, 201c; *Deir al-Médîna*, 19, 4; 32, 5; 59; 86, 5; 102, 5; 122, 2; 193, 4; Chonsu Temple, PM II², p. 239 (74g) II, (74a) II; Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10e) II (= Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 106). Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 262, n. (r), gives a poetic but completely unsupported interpretation of this extremely common epithet: “Ces trois noms et épicleses désignent Osiris sous son aspect lunaire, dirigeant la venue des étoiles qui disparaissent devant la masse lumineuse de la lune” (similarly Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 149, n. [k]).

¹²⁷³ *Opet* I, 64; Chonsu Temple, PM II², p. 239 (74a) II.

¹²⁷⁴ *Opet* I, 59.

¹²⁷⁵ *Opet* I, 16; 161.

¹²⁷⁶ *Opet* I, 115.

¹²⁷⁷ *Opet* I, 196; for the phrase “Ka of Irita,” cf. also *Urk.* VIII, 36b; for the epithet “Kematef mighty of strength,” cf. **4.36**; note elsewhere that Osiris is told “Mut the mother-uraeus protects you with her flame, just like her majesty did for Irita (*Mw.t tm3.t-hr.t-tp hr hw.t=k m nbi.t=s, mi ir hm=s n Iri-t3*)” (*Opet* I, 217, 7-8).

After Seth murdered Osiris and scattered his limbs across Egypt, “Osiris is reassembled in the Great Opet Temple by the gods in the land in which he was born (*i^cb.tw Wsir m pr-Ip.t-wr.t in ntr.w m t3 ms.tw=f im*).”¹²⁷⁸ The reassembly (*i^cb*) denotes the physical process of mummification, as Osiris can be “he whom the gods wrap in his stable of life (*nwd sw ntr.w m s3.t=f n ‘nh*).”¹²⁷⁹ The reconstitution of Osiris’s body was particularly associated with Thebes, as the priestly geographic manuals specify that the “skin (*imy.t*)” of Osiris, the final body part needed to complete his reassembly, was the relic of the Theban nome (cf. **3.1.2**). At the same time, it also refers to the union of the corpse of Osiris within Thebes and his Amun-Re,¹²⁸⁰ who appears in the form of an ithyphallic Ba-bird called:

*Imn-r3 b3 šps n Wsir
 htp hr h3.t=f m hw.t-wtt=f
 wbn m d.t=f m z3b-šw.ty
 pd dnh.wy=f(y) m nfr-hr*

Amun-Re the August Ba of Osiris,
 who rests upon his corpse in the temple of his creation,
 who arises from his body as the (falcon) dappled of plumage,
 who spreads his wings with a human face.

As a result of this divine union between Osiris and the solar Amun-Re,¹²⁸¹ Osiris is reborn within the Opet Temple, once again on the First Epagomenal Day,¹²⁸² being “he who repeats

¹²⁷⁸ *Opet I*, 120-1, l. 2; for the correct translation of *i^cb* in this context, cf. Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 91-2; vars. “his corpse is reassembled in his mammisi (*i^cb(.w) h3.t=f m hw.t-mshn.t=f*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 62 = *Urk.* VIII, 88b); “he is reassembled in the Great Opet Temple (*i^cb.tw=f m pr-Ip.t-wr.t*)” (*Opet I*, 91); “his body is reassembled in the temple of his creation (*i^cb.tw d.t=f m hw.t-wtt=f*)” (*Opet I*, 109); “his body is reassembled in the Great Opet Temple (*i^cb.tw d.t=f m pr-Ip.t-wr.t*)” (*Opet I*, 68); note also that Sokar is said to “unite with Osiris in the Great Opet Temple (*i^cb(.w) Wsir m pr-Ip.t-wr.t*)” (*Deir al-Médîna*, 60, 3-4).

¹²⁷⁹ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 62 (= *Urk.* VIII, 88b); *Urk.* VIII, 151b

¹²⁸⁰ See primarily *Opet I*, 120; Gutbub, in *Mélanges Mariette*, pp. 303-48; this famous scene is labelled specifically as “Osiris is reassembled (*i^cb.tw Wsir*)” in *Opet I*, 120-1, l. 2; cf. also *Opet I*, 91 and 109, where the “reassembly” of Osiris appears in the epithets of Amun.

¹²⁸¹ This is merely a Karnak version of the traditional Solar-Osirian unity, for which see Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, passim.

life in his city, in the vicinity of the Great Opet Temple in Thebes (*wḥm ᵚnh m niw.t=f, m-h3w pr-Ḳp.t-wr.t m W3s.t*),¹²⁸³ and he “who is born again in his bed-chapel (*ms m wḥm m ḥw.t-nmi.t=f*).”¹²⁸⁴

Osiris in Thebes was also a lunar god closely associated with Chonsu in the neighboring temple,¹²⁸⁵ appearing as “the beautiful disk that rises from the Akhet, the moon of heaven, every day (*itn nfr psd m 3ḥ.t, Ḳwn n p.t rᵚ-nb*),”¹²⁸⁶ “moon which shines on day of the first moon (*iᵚḥ psd tpy-3bd*),”¹²⁸⁷ and even “the moon who renders women pregnant (*iwn-ḥᵚᵚ siwr ḥm.wt*).”¹²⁸⁸ Several texts give further accounts of the lunar properties of Osiris:

(1) *Opet* I, 44, Nord, col. 1.

ḥᵚ=k m p.t
m itn n grḥ
šww m idn n Rᵚ

ii=k m rnp
ḥry-tp sin.t
wbg.n=k šn-ḥp.ty

That you appear in heaven,
 is as the nocturnal disk,
 light as the replacement-disk of Re.

That you return as a youth,
 is at the beginning of the six-day festival,
 having illumined the outer limits.

¹²⁸² This is the reason for the major celebrations on Osiris’s birthday; cf. *Opet* I, 120-1.

¹²⁸³ *Deir al-Médîna*, 58..

¹²⁸⁴ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 62 (= *Urk.* VIII, 88b); *Urk.* VIII, 151b.

¹²⁸⁵ For connections between the Opet and Chonsu Temples, cf. Degardin, *JNES* 44 (1985): 115-31.

¹²⁸⁶ *Opet* I, 110.

¹²⁸⁷ *Opet* I, 111.

¹²⁸⁸ *Opet* I, 220; for this concept, cf. Smith, *On the Primaeval Ocean*, pp. 125-6; cf. also **4.13**.

(2) *Opet I, 81:*

nbw ḥsbd tp, ntr m ḥr(.t)
shd t3.wy m m3wy=f
rnp.tw tp-3bd

Gold and turquoise of face, god in heaven,
who illumines the two lands with his rays,
being renewed at the beginning of each month.

(3) *Opet I, 250, 5-6:*

whm=f msh^c.w tp-dw3w r^c-nb
m B3ḥ.t ḥnt ḥw.t-Ḥp.t (...)

nb wtz.t ḥq3 ^cnḥ.w
sqd b3kty.w ḥr wd=f
shḥm wr pr m B3ḥ.t
wnf ḥr nb n dg3=f
iwn-ḥ^c wbn m d3wy
^cb3 t3.wy m-ḥt snk

That he repeats births at the beginning of each morning,
is in Bakhu within the Opet Temple (...)

Lord of the Firmament, ruler of the ^cnḥ-stars,
on whos command the b3kty-stars travel,
Great Power who comes forth from Bakhu,
from beholding whom all faces delight,
Moon who rises in the night,
who illumines the two lands after darkness.

(4) *Opet I, 253:*

w3ḥ-qd=f (...)
wps̄.n=f t3.wy
m snw n itn
r swd3 W3s.t m d3wy

He who leaves behind his form (...) ¹²⁸⁹
That he illumined the two lands,
was as the second of the solar disk,

¹²⁸⁹ For this epithet of the waning moon, cf. Derchain, *RdE* 48 (1997): 74-5; in *Opet I*, 228B, Osiris is “he who repeats his form (*whm qy=f*),” a reference to the waxing moon.

in order to guard over Thebes at night.¹²⁹⁰

4.43 Osiris of Djeme

Although Osiris had numerous burial sites throughout Egypt (e.g. Busiris, Abydos, Philae), the Late Period Theban tradition dictated that he was buried in Djeme.¹²⁹¹ This fact is expressly described in a *Ruderlauf* scene, where the king claims:¹²⁹²

hns.n=i iw.w
phr.n=i sp3.wt
s3q=i h^c.w=k m bw nb

i^cb.n=i d.t=k h^cw-ntr
m pr-^lp.t-wr.t hw.t-wt^l=k
zm3=i t3 im=k
m sp3.t imnt.t i3.t-t3-mw.t dw3.t nt Km-3.t=f

Just as I have circulated the isles,
so have I gone through the districts,
so I might assemble your limbs from all places.

That I have reunited¹²⁹³ your corpse, the divine body,
in the Great Opet Temple, your Mammisi,¹²⁹⁴
is so I might bury you,
in the Western district of Djeme, the Duat of Kematef.

¹²⁹⁰ Cf. Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 27 (= *Urk.* VIII, 76b): “Chonsu-Thoth (...) who appears in the West in order to protect Thebes during the night (*di=f sw m hnt.t r swd3 W3s.t m grh*),” and compare the similar role of Chonsu-*p3-ir-shr.w* (cf. 4.15).

¹²⁹¹ Note that “Osiris within the Mound of Djeme” already appears in the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty; see Sambin and Carlotti, *BIFAO* 95 (1995): 429; the Sokar-Osiris chapels at Ramesses III’s temple at Medinet Habu (PM II², p. 511, Room 25) suggests the existence of an earlier, developed cult of Osiris at Djeme.

¹²⁹² Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 33 (= *Urk.* VIII, 72d); for other examples, see Herbin, *RdE* 35 (1984): 122, n. 67; idem, *BIFAO* 54 (2003): 113, with n. 180; cf. especially *Opet* I, 91 (describing Amun-Re the august Ba of Osiris): “he is reassembled in the Great Opet temple, (he) is buried in the Western district of the Mound of Djeme (*i^cb.tw=f m pr-^lp.t-wr.t, hts.tw(=f) m sp3.t imnt.t i3.t t3m.t*).”

¹²⁹³ For the use of the verb *i^cb*, “to reassemble,” in this context, cf. Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 91-2.

¹²⁹⁴ In the same scene, the King is described as follows: “he is like Horus, the child of Osiris, who reassembles his body in the Great Opet Temple, who (re)creates Wennefer, justified, as he was, on the day of celebration in the entire land (*sw mi Hr, msw Wsir, i^cb(w) d.t=f m pr-^lp.t-wr.t, shpr Wn-nfr m3^c-hrw mi wnn=f, m hrw nfr m t3 (r)-dr=f*)” (Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 33 = *Urk.* VIII, 72g).

A similar statement occurs in a hymn from Deir Shelwit:¹²⁹⁵

di.tw=f r t3 tp-rnp.t
m 3h.t-nhh n Imn m W3s.t
ir.tw iht n smn=f wr
m i3.t t3m.t bw dsr n b3-3 Km-3.t=f

He is born each year,
in the Akhet of Eternity of Amun in Thebes,
one carries out the the rites for his great image,
in the Mound of Djeme, the sacred place of the Great Ba of Kematef.

Osiris of Djeme features prominently in the reliefs of Medinet Habu, Deir Shelwit, Qasr el-Agouz, and notably Deir el-Medineh, where he presided over the southern chapel,¹²⁹⁶ and was called “Osiris-Khentiamentiu, Great God of the Mound of Djeme (*Wsir-hnty-imnty.w, ntr 3 n i3.t-t3mw.t*).”¹²⁹⁷ Inscriptions from Medinet Habu describe how Harsiese performed funeral services for his father there (cf. **4.20**), while other texts even claim that Chonsu-Shu took part in Osiris’s mortuary cult.¹²⁹⁸ Deir Shelwit preserves a hymn to Osiris of Djeme said to be performed by the Ogdoad,¹²⁹⁹ and numerous Theban papyri contain similar hymns.¹³⁰⁰

¹²⁹⁵ *Deir Chelouit III*, 127, 22-25.

¹²⁹⁶ PM II², pp. 405-6 (26-29); this chapel was named “the Temple of Osiris (*pr Wsir*),” (*Deir al-Médîna*, 121, 8).

¹²⁹⁷ *Deir al-Médîna*, 4, 5-6; 45, 5-6; 56, 7; 59; vars. “within (*hr-ib*) the Mound of Djeme” (*Deir al-Médîna*, 19, 6; 21, 6; 32, 7; 86, 6-7); “Lord of the Mound of Djeme” (*Deir al-Médîna*, 58, 2-3; 70).

¹²⁹⁸ E.g. *Opet I*, 175.

¹²⁹⁹ *Deir Chelouit III*, 127, 2: “Osiris Great God of Djeme, the initial Ogdoad who founded this land say to you: ‘Arise, Arise!’ (*Wsir ntr 3 n d3m.t, dd=sn n=k Hmni.w tpy.w htb(.w) t3 pn, tz.tw zp sn*).”

¹³⁰⁰ Haikal, *Two Funerary Papyri of Nesmin*; Smith, *The Demotic Mortuary Papyrus Louvre E. 3452*, pp. 64-5; Stadler, *Enchoria* 25 (1999): 83, 100; idem, *Enchoria* 26 (2000): 111-2; the text in Herbin, *RdE* 35 (1984): 105-126, is a litany addressed specifically to Osiris of Djeme.

Although Osiris and Kematef were both buried in Djeme and received mortuary offerings from a host of deities, this does not mean they were assimilated,¹³⁰¹ a nuance recognized already by Plutarch when he claimed the Thebans worshipped Kneph, not Osiris.¹³⁰² The ancestor cult of Kematef and the Ogdoad was certainly “Osirian,” but this was true of for any deceased gods, including Osiris-Buchis at Armant. As seen above (cf. **4.4** and **4.20**), Harsiese and Amenope of Djeme could appear in parallel positions at Medinet Habu, indicating that they roles were similar but not necessarily identical. This subtle distinction is clear in an inscription from Deir Shelwit specifying that Osiris of Djeme “rests beside the Great Ba of Kematef (*htp r-gs b3 ʿ3 n Km-3.t=f*).”¹³⁰³

This cohabitation of Osiris and Kematef at Djeme goes back to the apocalyptic Chapter 175 of the Book of the Dead, where Atum describes the eventual destruction of the cosmos:¹³⁰⁴

iw t3 pn r ii.t m Nwn m hhw mi tp.t=f
ink zp.ty=fy hnʿ Wsir
ir.n=i hprw=i m k.t hf3.t
nty ni rh sy rmt ni m33 sy ntr.w

The earth shall return into Nun and flood-waters like it was before,
 I am he who shall remain together with Osiris,
 after having made my transformation into another serpent,

¹³⁰¹ The assimilation of Osiris-Kematef is commonly assumed; eg. Herbin, *RdE* 35 (1984): 122, n. 67; Stadler, *Enchoria* 25 (1999): 92; Aufrère, *Montou*, 348, n. (d); Sethe, *Amun*, §107, supported this idea with a quote from the Opet Temple: “der *Km-3.t-f*-Schlange, die dort ist als Osiris,” but the text actually reads: “Kematef, who is there as Amun” (*Opet* I, 90); note however, that in Traunecker, *Coptos*, No. 4, 6, the Theban nome tells Osiris: “You are made in Thebes, whose Ka is mightiest of the gods, in your name of Osiris-Kematef[...] (*ntk ir(.w) m W3s.t, wsr k3=f r ntr.w, m rn=k n Wsir-Km-3.t=f[...]*)”); nonetheless, this examples comes from a geographical procession in which Osiris is assimilated to deities from each nome.

¹³⁰² Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 21; cf. Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride*, p. 151.

¹³⁰³ *Deir Chelouit* III, 154, 18-19 (for the reading *r-gs*, cf. **5.10.2**); cf. also *Deir Chelouit* III, 127, 23-5; 155, 19-21.

¹³⁰⁴ Text after Otto, *CdE* 37 (1962): 252-3.

which men cannot know nor gods see.

This passage perfectly describes the realm of Djeme in which the serpentine Kematef-Atum dwells with Osiris of Djeme within the primeval waters of Nun.¹³⁰⁵ The Theban priests of the Graeco-Roman period were surely aware of these similarities, and an adapted version of this text even appears in a hymn to Osiris in the Opet Temple: “He (sc. Osiris) is the only one who will remain together with the majesty [of] Re, when the earth is in Nun. (*ntf pw w^c spy=f hn^c hm [n] R^c, iw t3 m Nwn*).”¹³⁰⁶

4.44 Osiris-Mryty

Osiris-Mryty may have originally been one of several Delta manifestations of Osiris, akin to Osiris-Sepa, Osiris-Hemag, and Osiris-Res-Wedja.¹³⁰⁷ Nonetheless, this epithet eventually came to denote the resuscitated Osiris upon his bier, provided with crowns and staves.¹³⁰⁸ In the Graeco-Roman Period, this form of Osiris was considered particularly Theban.¹³⁰⁹ A Ptolemaic text from the exterior west wall of Chonsu Temple describes Osiris as “he upon the bier, Mryty, Great God within the Benenet (*hry-nmi.t, Mryty ntr ʿ3 hry-ib Bnn.t*),”¹³¹⁰ suggesting that Osiris-Mryty had a separate cult within Chonsu Temple.¹³¹¹

¹³⁰⁵ For the connection of this text to Kematef, see already Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 322-3; Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, p. 66; Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. p. 49, n. 289.

¹³⁰⁶ *Opet I*, 112, 13; Otto discussed this adaptation already in *CdE* 37 (1962): 251-5.

¹³⁰⁷ Cauville, *La Théologie d'Osiris à Edfou*, p. 183; idem, *Les chapelles osiriennes: commentaire*, p. 118; Goyon, *BIFAO* 65 (1967): 110, n. (14); Žabkar, *ZÄS* 108 (1981): 142-3; Traunecker, *Coptos*, §348; Favard-Meeks, *Le temple de Behbeit el-Hagar*, pp. 348-9; Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, p. 112; for various interpretations of the epithet, cf. Piankoff, *RdE* 1 (1933): 172-4.

¹³⁰⁸ See especially *Dendara X*, Pls. 106, IX and 111, IX.

¹³⁰⁹ Cauville, *Les chapelles osiriennes: commentaire*, pp. 117-8.

¹³¹⁰ Degardin, *JNES* 44 (1985): 130, Fig. 12; Piankoff, *RdE* 1 (1933): 172; Osiris-Mryty also appears in an Augustan relief of Chonsu Temple (PM II², p. 239, [75] II,2), where the damaged text mentions: “Re sees him in the Benenet (*R^c hr m33=fm Bnn.t*).”

The epithet *mryty* (var. *mrwty*, *mrty*), “beloved,” was traditionally an epithet of the king as popular leader.¹³¹² Osiris-*Mryty*’s royal nature appears through epithets indicating sovereignty, “perfect ruler (*ḥqꜣ nfr*),”¹³¹³ “King of the Two Lands and Chief of the Banks (*nsw.t-tꜣ.wy ḥry idb.w*),”¹³¹⁴ “Great Official (*sr wr*),”¹³¹⁵ “chief who seized the two lands altogether (*wr it tꜣ.wy tmm.w*).”¹³¹⁶

Several inscriptions describe Osiris-*Mryty*’s (re)birth: “child of gold who came forth from Nut (*ḥy n nbw pr m Nw.t*),”¹³¹⁷ “great power who came forth from Geb (*šḥm wr pr m Gbb*),”¹³¹⁸ “great of sweetness in the womb of his mother (*wr bnr m ḥ.t n mw.t=f*),”¹³¹⁹ and “he who comes forth from the womb to clear the charges against him (*wbn m ḥ.t r rwi dbꜣ=f*),”¹³²⁰ while the goddess Opet could be “she who engendered *Mryty* (*wtt(.t) Mryty*).”¹³²¹ Other text, meanwhile, focus on his royal inheritance and coronation. He is the “royal youth

¹³¹¹ For Osiris-*mryty* “within the Benenet,” see *Opet* I, 188; Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 45 (= *Urk.* VIII, 97b); cf. also Degardin, *JNES* 44 (1985): 115-31.

¹³¹² Cf. Montu of Thebes, **4.36**.

¹³¹³ *Opet* I, 52; 148; 314, No. 56; Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 30 (= *Urk.* VIII, 74b); just *ḥqꜣ*: *Opet* I, 183, Left; Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 45 (= *Urk.* VIII, 97i).

¹³¹⁴ *Opet* I, 52; Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 45 (= *Urk.* VIII, 97b); just “King of the Lands”: *Opet* I, 314, No. 56.

¹³¹⁵ *Opet* I, 257.

¹³¹⁶ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 30 (= *Urk.* VIII, 74b).

¹³¹⁷ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 30 (= *Urk.* VIII, 74b).

¹³¹⁸ *Opet* I, 69.

¹³¹⁹ Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 30, 45 (= *Urk.* VIII, 74h, 97b); note that a number of these epithets derive from a widely attested hymn to Osiris “Pantocrator,” cf. Žabkar, *ZĀS* 108 (1981): 141-5; idem, *Hymns to Isis in Her Temple at Philae*, pp. 34-6.

¹³²⁰ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 45 (= *Urk.* VIII, 97i).

¹³²¹ *Opet* I, 155A.

who wears the white crown, the uraeus atop his head (*ḥwnw nsw wp ḥd.t, mḥn(.t) pḥr(.ti) m tp=f*),¹³²² “the heir (*iwꜣ*),”¹³²³ and “he who receives crowns upon the throne of Re (*šsp ḥkr.w ḥr ns.t Rꜣ*).”¹³²⁴

4.45 Osiris the Coptite

The local Osirian rituals from Coptos were of considerable importance in the annual Khoiak ceremonies throughout Egypt.¹³²⁵ Osiris the Coptite (*Wsir Gbty*) was associated with the “gold chapel (*ḥw.t-nbw*)” in Coptos, where priests fashioned votive statuettes and prepared the annual grain Osiris mummies.¹³²⁶ Thebes had a replica of this chapel in East Karnak, (cf. **5.2.1.4**) and the local Theban cult of “Osiris the Coptite” was active in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods.¹³²⁷ A Theban festival papyrus from the Roman Period outlines in great detail how this form of Osiris traveled through the Akh-Menu and the rest of Karnak during the Sokar Festival in an elaborate bark procession.¹³²⁸ The two texts preserved in Osiris the Coptite’s chapel say little about any local attributes he might have, besides being “mysterious of appearance within Karnak (*št3 irw ḥry-ib Ip.t-s.wt*).”¹³²⁹

¹³²² Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 30 (= *Urk.* VIII, 74h); for this common epithet of Osiris, cf. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, p. 330, n. 8.

¹³²³ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 45 (= *Urk.* VIII, 97i).

¹³²⁴ *Opet* I, 52.

¹³²⁵ Yoyotte, *Ann. ÉPHE. Sciences religieuses* 86 (1977-1978): 168-9; Traunecker, *Coptos*, §§112 (b), 290, 377.

¹³²⁶ Traunecker, *Coptos*, Nos. 10, 1; 33, 8-10; Pantalacci and Trauncker, *Le Temple d’el-Qal’a* I, Nos. 3; 17; 12; 42; II, No. 206; *The Temple of Shanhûr* I, No. 52, 3-6.

¹³²⁷ Coulon, et al., *Karnak* 10 (1995): 205-37; Coulon, *BIFAO* 101 (2001): 137-152; idem, in: Hawass, ed., *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first Century*, I, pp. 138-46; idem, in Borgeaud and Volokhine, eds., *Les objets de la mémoire*, pp. 47-72.

¹³²⁸ Barguet, *Le Papyrus N. 3176 (S) du Musée du Louvre*.

¹³²⁹ *Urk.* VIII, 176b.

4.46 Ptah Lord of Thebes

A local Theban cult of Ptah is attested already in the New Kingdom, when Thutmosis III rebuilt the existing, mudbrick Ptah temple (possibly of Middle Kingdom date) in stone.¹³³⁰ This temple is located in the North sector of Karnak, and Ptah appears there primarily in company with Hathor Chief of Thebes and Somtous (cf. **4.21** and **4.49**). However, he appears to have any relationship between these deities and Ptah was never expressed. Several epithets distinguish Ptah of Thebes, “Neferher,”¹³³¹ “Lord of Maat,”¹³³² and “Lord of Thebes (*nb W3s.t*).”¹³³³

Ptah of Thebes resembles both Chonsu and Thoth, receiving epithets such as “heart of Re (*ib n Rʿ*),”¹³³⁴ “the Knowledgeable one (*rh-sw*),”¹³³⁵ “royal judge in his form of the ibis (*t3ity-z3b m irw=f n dhn*),”¹³³⁶ “itinerant judge (*nt3*),”¹³³⁷ and of course “Lord of Maat.” The

¹³³⁰ Commemorated in a famous stela: *Urk.* IV, 763-772; for this stela, cf. most recently Klug, *Königliche Stelen in der Zeit von Ahmose bis Amenophis III*, pp. 137-46, 511-2.

¹³³¹ Aufrère, §268; *Opet I*, 110; 131; 149; *Urk.* VIII, 208a; 217b; 223a; 225; 228b; *Tôd II*, 237, 8; 312, 7; for this epithet, cf. Berlandini, *RdE* 46 (1995): 31-7.

¹³³² *Urk.* VIII, 196; 209; 217b; [223a]; 225; 228b; 229a; 234 (1); 235 (1); var. “chief of Maat (*sr M3ʿ.t*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 180b); this seems to be his primary Theban epithet from the New Kingdom onwards, e.g. *Urk.* IV, 769, 4; Helck, *Die Ritualszenen*, p. 98 (Bild 81); Nelson and Murnane, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*, Pls. 27, 249, 235; Christophe, *Les divinités*, pp. 41, 46, 52; Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 358-60; note that this is also a common epithet of Chonsu in Thebes (cf. **4.13**).

¹³³³ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 28; Aufrère, *Montou*, §§267-9 bis; *Urk.* VIII, 188b; 208a; 209; 215 (a); 217b; 223a; 225; 229a; 234 (1); 235 (1); var. “foremost of Thebes (*hnty W3s.t*)” (*Opet I*, 110; 131; 149).

¹³³⁴ *Urk.* VIII, 180g; var. “august Ba within the chest of Re.” (Aufrère, *Montou*, §§267-9); in the so-called Chonsu cosmology, the description of Ptah concludes with the sentence: “thus is it said about Chonsu-in-Thebes, ‘He is the heart of Amun-Re.’” (West Wall, col. 18; cf. Mendel, pp. 44ff); for Chonsu and Thoth as the heart of Re, cf. Derchain-Urtel, *Thoth*, pp. 81-94; cf. also **4.13**.

¹³³⁵ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§267-9.

¹³³⁶ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 28.

¹³³⁷ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 28.

similarity between Theban Ptah and Chonsu has been noted already by Leclant, who added “Khonsu et Ptah, dieux lunaires, momiformes, ont plus d’un point commun.”¹³³⁸

The assimilation of Ptah and Chonsu-Thoth he ensures the lawful succession of Horus to the throne of his father, being “he who appeases the gods, who unites the Two Lands for Harsiese upon the throne of his father in Victorious Thebes,”¹³³⁹ and “the beneficent avenger of (*nd mnḥ*) of Wennefer (=Osiris), the confidant and savior of of Shentayt (= Isis)¹³⁴⁰ (...) who establishes the fate of Horus, having distinguished him as ruler of the throne of his father.”¹³⁴¹

Also like Chonsu and Thoth, Ptah in Thebes can act as the creative demiurge. On account of his advanced wisdom, he is:¹³⁴²

sš swd3-ib
ir sšm n nty(.w)-iwtj.w
ib n R^c m3t iḥt nb
ntry ib=f qm3 wnn.t
wr m pt wd md.w m 3ḥ.t

The scribe of communication,
 who made the forms of what is and is not,
 heart of Re, who conceived all things,
 it is his heart that created what exists,
 chief in heaven, who makes pronouncements in the Akhet.

¹³³⁸ Leclant, *Montouemhat*, p. 225, n. (ay); note especially the assimilation of Chonsu-Shu and Ptah-Tatenen in the cosmogony of Chonsu Temple; cf. **4.19**.

¹³³⁹ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 28.

¹³⁴⁰ Shentayt refers specifically to Isis in her role of grieving widow and protective mother; cf. Cauville, *BIFAO* 81 (1981): 21-40; Coulon, *BIFAO* 101 (2001): 137-52; idem, in Hawass, ed., *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first Century*, I, pp. 138-46.

¹³⁴¹ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§267-9; cf. also *Urk.* VIII, 188e: “he who establishes Horus upon the throne of his father, about which all the gods rejoice”; *LD* IV, 61d (Armant): “he who gives the throne of his majesty (*isb.t n ḥm=f*) to (his living) image (*snn*) [...]”

¹³⁴² *Urk.* VIII, 180g.

The creator aspect of Ptah is most apparent in his form of Ptah-Tatenen,¹³⁴³ as in the following hymn from Karnak:¹³⁴⁴

[...] *Pth-t3-tnn it ntr.w q3-šw.ty spd ʿb.wy*
Imn-wr pw hpr m h3.t
qm3 p.t t3 mw dw.w
Imn-rn=f m tph.t-d3.t
sdm.tw hrw=f n m33.tw[f.....] ʿ3.w
ʿhi p.t m k3.t [...]

spd dr.ty hr qdi wnn.t
hmww-ib m k3.t nb
w3h nsyw.t smnh ʿhʿ i3w n nhh d.t

ir k3.w ms id.wt
tz pr.t n ntr.w

nb m3ʿ.t
sr iy.t [...] *nb*
nhb-k3.w nhb [k3.w]

[...] Ptah-Tatenen, father of the gods, high of double-plumes, sharp of horns,¹³⁴⁵
 He is Amun-wer, who came about in the beginning,¹³⁴⁶
 who created heaven, earth, the waters and mountains,¹³⁴⁷
 He-whose name-is-hidden in the *tph.t-d3.t*,
 whose voice is heard but who is not seen [...] great.
 Who raised heaven through the work of [...]

Skilled of hands while building what exists,
 crafty of heart in all works,
 who establishes kingship, and makes effective a long lifetime of all eternity.

Who created bulls and birthed cows,
 who bound the seed of the gods.

Lord of Maat,

¹³⁴³ *Urk.* VIII, 144b; 196; 208a; *Tôd* II, 237, 5-8.

¹³⁴⁴ *Urk.* VIII, 196; excerpts of this hymn reappear throughout the Thebaid (cf. the following notes).

¹³⁴⁵ Same sequence of epithets up to here in *Urk.* VIII, 208a.

¹³⁴⁶ Same sequence of epithets up to here in *LD* IV, 61d (Armant).

¹³⁴⁷ Same sequence of epithets up to here in *Urk.* VIII, 144b; *Tôd* II, 237, 5-8.

who predicts what is to come, and [...] all [...]
Nehebkau, who provisions [Kas?]

In another text, Ptah-Tatenen is:¹³⁴⁸

hpr m ḥ3.t
imn-rn=f pw ir wnn.t
hpr ds=f m w^c hr-ḥw=f
ni ḥ(.w) p.t ni w3ḥ(.w) t3
Nwn m igb ḥb(.w) m zm3wi
nn ḥt nb ḥnt=f

He who came about in the beginning,
(that means He-whose-name-is-hidden, who made what exists),
who came about by himself, all alone,
before the heaven had been lifted, before the earth had been established,
while Nun was stormy, mixed with utter darkness,
there was nothing before him.

Similar inscriptions describe Ptah of Thebes as “he who made what is, and created all things (*ir nty, qm3 ḥt nb*),”¹³⁴⁹ and “he who foretold what would exist (*šsr wnn.t*).”¹³⁵⁰ Of all these primeval creator epithets, perhaps the most significant is the rather common “father of the gods (*it ntr.w*).”¹³⁵¹ Although this title is well-attested for Ptah in earlier periods, it appears to have a particular significance in Thebes, where Kematef is “father of the fathers of the gods,” (cf. **4.28**) and thus Ptah-Tatenen is associated with Amenope I the creator of the Ogdoad (cf. **4.3**). This relationship is expressed explicitly,¹³⁵² but also alluded to implicitly, when Ptah is said to be “he who made the bulls and bore the cows.”¹³⁵³ This epithet refers to

¹³⁴⁸ *Urk. VIII, 188e.*

¹³⁴⁹ *Urk. VIII, 188b.*

¹³⁵⁰ *Urk. VIII, 188e.*

¹³⁵¹ *Urk. VIII, 144b; 196; 208a; Deir Chelouit III, 123, 7; LD IV, 61d (Armant); Tôd II, 237, 5-8.*

¹³⁵² In *Deir Chelouit III, 123, 7*, Ptah is specifically “he who created the luminous Ogdoad (*shpr Ḥmni.w i3ḥ.w*).”

¹³⁵³ *Urk. VIII, 196 (translated supra).*

the Demotic Memphite Theology, where Ptah specifically creates the Ogdoad as four black bulls and four black cows which unite to give birth to the sun.¹³⁵⁴ Another detail from the same creation account, where the Ogdoad emerges from a cosmic egg, is alluded to in Ptah's epithet "he who created the egg which came forth from Nun (*qm3 swḥ.t pr m Nwn*)."¹³⁵⁵

4.47 Rattawy

Rattawy,¹³⁵⁶ whose name literally meant "female sundisk of the two lands,"¹³⁵⁷ was primarily a solar goddess, the "Eye of Re"¹³⁵⁸ and "uraeus of her father."¹³⁵⁹ This role is most explicit in a text from Medamud:¹³⁶⁰

[*dd*] *R^c n Tfn.t*
iw rdi.n=i n=t bw nb r-^c t3.wy

¹³⁵⁴ Erichsen and Schott, *Fragmente memphitischer Theologie in demotischer Schrift*, pp. 312, 322-3; cf. also the chapter on the Ogdoad.

¹³⁵⁵ Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, pp. 44-51, who instead translates "der das Ei geschaffen hat, als er aus dem Nun hervorgekommen ist" (p. 45, with discussion, pp 49-50, n. c).

¹³⁵⁶ For Rattawy in general, see Gutbub, *LÄ V*, cols. 151-5; Werner, *The God Montu*, pp. 266-73; Budde, in Budde, et al., eds., *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, pp. 31-8, 82-6; Kockelmann, *JEA* 89 (2003): 217-30.

¹³⁵⁷ Rattawy also receives the separate epithet "Ra't (*R^c.t*)," literally "feminine sun" (*LD IV*, 62c; 64c); note also *Opet I*, 139, 3, where Isis is "Ra't of the Heaven (= Thebes)" (for Rattawy in Thebes and Isis, cf. *infra*). Von Lieven, *SAK* 29 (2001): 277-82, asserted that all references to the feminine sundisk (*itn.t*) and even the Eye of Re refer exclusively to Sothis; however, while this interpretation is true for some cases, it is overly reductive and does not explain a large number of examples where the goddess represents the physical disk and light of the sun (cf. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 219-23; Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 178-82). This observation is true for Rattawy, who only receives the epithet Sothis once out of a very large number of epithets (*LD IV*, 65a), and who is associated with the Inundation only once (*Deir Chelouit III*, 131, 15).

¹³⁵⁸ In the common epithet "Eye of Re, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the Gods": *Opet I*, 114; 145; *Shanhûr I*, 47; *Kasr el-Agoûz*, 73; *Tôd II*, 183, 8-9; 221, 10-11; 222, 10-11; 228, 10-11; *Ermant I*, No. 3; *Deir al-Médîna*, 189, 7-8; *Deir Chelouit III*, 128, 11-12; vars. "Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the Gods" (*Urk. VIII*, 63c = Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 8); "Eye of Re" (*Tôd II*, 175, 9).

¹³⁵⁹ *Kasr el-Agoûz*, 41; cf. also Drioton, *Médamoud I*, 105, which describes Montu attacking serpents along with "his uraeus who protects his forehead, who repels darkness from the earth, as Ra't of the all lands (*hr.t-tp=f z3.t dhn.t=f, dr(.t) snk m t3, m R^c.t t3.wy mi-qd=sn*)."

¹³⁶⁰ Drioton, *Médamoud I*, 14, 2 (the text is very fragmentary).

[wnn=s hpr(?)].tw m R^c.t-t3.wy
[...] spr Tfn.t r i3.t tn M3d[.t...]

Re [said] to Tefnut:

“I have given you all places unto the limits of the Two Lands,
[and thus] she [came about] as Rat-tawy
[...] Tefnut arrived at this mound of Medamud [...].

Just like her consort Montu, Rattawy had cult centers in all four cities of the Palladium of Thebes. An inscription from Tod celebrates this fact through a series of plays on words, as Rattawy is “the Mighty (*wsr.t*) in Thebes (*W3s.t*), Neith (*N.t*) in Armant (*Iwn.t*), Sovereign (*Ity.t*) [in] Tod, Maat in Medamud (*M3dw*).”¹³⁶¹

In the New Kingdom, Rattawy appears to have been the main consort of Montu at Karnak and Medamud,¹³⁶² while Tjenenet and Iunyt were his primary companions in Armant and Tod.¹³⁶³ Nonetheless, while Tjenenet was important in the latter two locations, Rattawy also held a prominent position in Tod, and was much more important in the Mammisi of Armant,¹³⁶⁴ which was called “the temple of Rattawy,” and was specifically dedicated to “Rattawy within Armant.”¹³⁶⁵ As discussed elsewhere, Rattawy was the consort of the

¹³⁶¹ *Tôd* I, 68, 7-8.

¹³⁶² Werner, *The God Montu*, pp. 273-5.

¹³⁶³ Bisson de la Roque, *BIFAO* 40 (1941): 30; Werner, *The God Montu*, pp. 266-73.

¹³⁶⁴ Eg. Farid, *MDAIK* 39 (1983): 61; The recent comments of Ray, in Walker and Ashton, ed., *Cleopatra Reassessed*, p. 11, are thus remarkably uninformed: “At this period the consort of Montu was a little-known goddess, whose name was Re’t-tawi, or ‘Female sun of the two lands.’ This name gives the impression of being somewhat composite, even artificial, since it reads more like an epithet or sobriquet than a personal name (...) There is a possibility that the cult of Re’t-tawi was not native to Armant, but was intrusive into the theology of the place. If this development was recent when Cleopatra planned the scenes at Armant, this would increase the suspicion that the choice of this goddess was deliberate. Re’t-tawi was not there because she had always been there; she was there because Cleopatra wanted her to be there.”

¹³⁶⁵ *LD* IV, 60b and 61a.

creator god Montu-Re Lord of Armant, while Tjenenet only appears beside Montu-Re-Harakhty (cf. **4.34**).

In general, the four Montus of the Theban nome were paired with a Rattawy, while the solar Montu-Re-Harakhty of Armant often appeared with Tjenenet. Just as the four Montus could take the form of bulls (cf. **4.9** and **4.33**), so did the Rattawys appear as cows who united to form Amunet or Methyer to create the sun (cf. **4.8**). A bandeau text from the “Gate of Tiberius” at Medamud describes the four bulls of Montu and mentions that “their cows are together with them as the four Rattawys, Methyer [...] the royal wife, the cow uniting with her bull (*id.wt=sn r-ḥn^c=sn m fd.t R^c.t-t3.wy, Mḥ.t-wr.t [...] ḥmw.t-ntr, ih.t ḥr ḥnm k3=s*).”¹³⁶⁶ Another inscription from Tod describes the primeval mothers of the sun:¹³⁶⁷

*iw=sn sk m fd.t R^c.t-t3.wy
 hr ḥbi inw m ifd n Nn.t
 dmd=sn d.t=sn m Mḥ.t-wr.t
 tnn=sn snn=sn m tnn.t
 sw m Imn.t tm3.t n šww
 wtt(.t) wyn m š3^c*

They were, moreover, the four Rattawys,
 collecting tribute from the four corners of heaven,
 they united their bodies as Methyer,
 they distinguished their images as Tjenenet,
 they are as Amunet, the mother of the sun,
 who begat light in the beginning.

¹³⁶⁶ Drioton, *CdE* (1931): 266.

¹³⁶⁷ *Tôd* II, No. 249, 1-2 (cf. also **4.8**); note that in *Tôd* I, 68, 5, Rattawy of Tod is “excellent mother of the Primeval gods (*tm3.t iqr.t n ntr.w p3wty.w*).”

Rattawy's bovine nature, evident in her Hathoric cow-horns, allows for her assimilation to Methyer as the mother of Harpre the Child,¹³⁶⁸ and probably also explains the following passage from the "Book of Traversing Eternity":¹³⁶⁹

šsp n=k mw hr htp.w tp-^c R^c.t-t3.wy
 hft w3h-h^t tp hrw 10
 hf^c n=k snb.w=s n ^cnh-w3s mhn.w=s nw irt.t

Receive water and food before Rattawy,
 during the placing of offerings every ten days,
 Seize her jugs of ^cnh-w3s-milk and her pots of irt.t-milk.

Just as Montu of Thebes was the living ruler of Karnak, the heir of both Amun and Osiris (cf. **4.36**), so Rattawy is frequently equated with Isis as first lady and divine mother.¹³⁷⁰ She is given royal epithets such as "Great Queen, Lady of the Two Lands, Mistress of the circuit of the sundisk (*nsw.t wr.t, nb.t t3.wy, hnw.t šn nb n itn*),"¹³⁷¹ "Lady of the Akhet (...) Lady of the Palace (*nb.t 3h.t (...) nb.t ^ch*),"¹³⁷² She could also appear as Khersekhet (*hrsk.t*), an epithet characteristic of Nephthys.¹³⁷³

¹³⁶⁸ For Rattawy specifically as the "great cow (*ih.t-wr.t*)," see LD IV, 61g (actually depicted as a cow); 62e; 64a; *Tôd* I, 24, 10; and cf. *infra*.

¹³⁶⁹ P. Leiden T 32, III, 11-12; cf. Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, pp. 54, 155-6, 439.

¹³⁷⁰ *Opet* I, 22; 114; 145; *Deir al-Médîna*, 199; Rattawy is also identified with Isis the ruler through the specific epithet "Lady of the People (*nbty.t rhy.t*)"; cf. Preys, *BIFAO* 102 (2002): 327-51; note that Montu and Rattawy of Thebes appear in parallel position to Harsiese and Isis on the Propylon of Montu (*Urk.* VIII, 16c and 20c = Aufrère, *Montou*, §§258-263); at Armant, Rattawy is assimilated to Isis as "divine mother of Horus (*mw.t-ntr n Hr*)" (LD IV, 64b); for Rattawy of Medamud and Isis, cf. Sambin and Carlotti, *BIFAO* 95 (1995): 430.

¹³⁷¹ *Opet* I, 158B.

¹³⁷² *Urk.* VIII, 13c (= Aufrère, *Montou*, §§271-273).

¹³⁷³ *Tôd* I, 8, 9; 88, 5 (partially restored); *Tôd* II, 176, 8; 244, 4; P. Leiden T 32, III, 10 (Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, p. 153, did not identify this goddess with Rattawy, even though she is mentioned in connection with the Mammisi of Armant (*pr-wbh.t*)); for this epithet in general, cf. Collombert, *RdE* 48 (1997): 63-4.

Rattawy often acts as a guardian deity, in part due to her function as solar uraeus, but also in the role of Isis protecting Horus. She appears most frequently in scenes of offering the *wḏ3*-pectoral,¹³⁷⁴ and even receives the epithets “Lady of amulets, equipped with ornaments (*nb.t z3w.w, ʿpr.t ḥkr.w*),”¹³⁷⁵ and “Shetayet who guards the two lands.”¹³⁷⁶ In the Osirian context of the Opet temple, she is equated with “Isis who protects her brother Osiris (*Is.t ḥw=s sn=s Wsir*),”¹³⁷⁷ while elsewhere “she protects her son Horus upon the throne of his father (*ḥw=s z3=s Hr ḥr ns.t it=f*).”¹³⁷⁸

Rattawy carries out her protection specifically as “Seshat, Mistress of the House of Books”¹³⁷⁹ and “Greatest Magician (*wr.t ḥk3w*).”¹³⁸⁰ Rattawy of Thebes “rescues Horus with her spells (*šd.t Hr m s3ḥ.w=s*),”¹³⁸¹ and is called “one who protects her son, who puts his Ba in the Akhet, who covers his body with her spells (*ḥw.t z3=s, rdi.t b3=f n 3ḥ.t, ḥ3p.t d.t=f m s3ḥ.w=s*),”¹³⁸² as well as “she who covers¹³⁸³ her son with the power of her appearance, who

¹³⁷⁴ *Opet* I, 22; 55; *Urk.* VIII, 16c (= Aufrère, *Montou*, §§258-260); 68c (= Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 6); 181c; *Deir al-Médîna*, 199; probably also *Kasr el-Agoûz*, 41; for the offering of the *wḏ3*-pectoral, cf. Graefe, in Westendorf, ed., *Aspekte der spätägyptischen Religion*, pp. 71-7.

¹³⁷⁵ *Kasr el-Agoûz*, 41.

¹³⁷⁶ *Urk.* VIII, 13c (=Aufrère, *Montou*, §§271-273).

¹³⁷⁷ *Opet* I, 22; 114.

¹³⁷⁸ *Opet* I, 145.

¹³⁷⁹ Thebes: *Urk.* VIII, 68c (= Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 6); she is also “Sefkhetabwy, Lady of Writing (*nb.t-sš.w*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 4c = Aufrère, *Montou*, §§174-176); cf. also Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 202, n. (h); Budde, *Die Göttin Seshat*, p. 181, notes that this syncretism is “lokal auf Theben begrenzt.” Medamud: “Great Seshat Lady of Writing, Sefkhetabwy Mistress of the House of Books” (*Opet* I, 158A); Tod: “Great Seshat, Lady of Writing, who stretches the cord for the palace (*pḏ šsr n ʿḥ*)” (*Tôd* I, 8, 7-8).

¹³⁸⁰ *Urk.* VIII, 16c (= Aufrère, *Montou*, §§258-260); *Tôd* I, 148, 9; for Isis as “Greatest Magician,” cf. Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 198, n. (t) (with references to earlier literature).

¹³⁸¹ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 68c).

¹³⁸² Aufrère, *Montou*, §§171-173 (= *Urk.* VIII, 2c).

also steadies his heart with her utterances (*hm3q z3=s m 3h.w qfy.t=s, smn sk ib=f m šsr(.w)=s*).¹³⁸⁴ In addition to her son, Rattawy also “protects Re with select utterances (*z3 R^c m d3is.w stp.w*),”¹³⁸⁵ and protects Osiris “with her excellent utterances (*ir mk=f m d3is.w iqr.w*).”¹³⁸⁶ Her use of magical spells also earns her the epithets “painful of speech and sharp of counsel (*mr ššr, spd šh*),”¹³⁸⁷ and she “[fells] the enemies with her excellent utterances (*[šhr.t] hfti.w m 3hw=s*).”¹³⁸⁸ A number of demotic texts threaten potential liars with “the curse (*hyt*) of Rattawy within Thebes.”¹³⁸⁹

Rattawy of Tod even accompanied Montu of Tod in battle (cf. **4.37**) as “she who protects his majesty in combat (*mk(.t) hm=f m r3-d3w*),”¹³⁹⁰ and “she who reins in the enemies of Re, a wall around him on the day of engagement (*rth(.t) hfty.w n R^c sbh h3=f hrw dmd*).”¹³⁹¹ In Armant, Rattawy “carries out protection for Montu the Victorious (*ir(.t) nh.t n*

¹³⁸³ For this word *hm3g*, meaning to cover a body with precious stones (here related to the offering of the *wd3*-pectoral), cf. Zecchi, *A Study of the Egyptian God Osiris Hemag*, pp. 67-70, and specifically p. 69 for this passage.

¹³⁸⁴ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§258-260 (=Urk. VIII, 16c).

¹³⁸⁵ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 6 (=Urk. VIII, 68c).

¹³⁸⁶ *Opet* I, 22.

¹³⁸⁷ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§174-176 (=Urk. VIII, 4c).

¹³⁸⁸ *Deir Chelouit* III, 128, 11 (Rattawy of Tod).

¹³⁸⁹ Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*, pp. 30-1; Kockelmann, *JEA* 89 (2003): 223-4.

¹³⁹⁰ *Tôd* I, 146, 17-18.

¹³⁹¹ *Tôd* I, 148, 10-11; cf. also *Tôd* II, 286, 5-6, which describes Montu visiting Djedem: “that means Re circling within the Grotto of Nun, while his uraeus is as Rattawy (*p_{hr} R^c pw m-hnt ip_h.t Nwn, i_{br}r.t=f m R^c.t-*B.wy*).*”

Mnt-nht),”¹³⁹² while in Tod she even receives the strange epithet “mighty in striking, to whom (even) horses make jubilation (*tnr(.t) m sky, smsm.wt (hr) ir(.t) nhm n=s*).”¹³⁹³

The frightening aspect of Rattawy was balanced by her festive side, particularly at Medamud where she was “Lady of intoxication, Mistress of happiness (*nb.t th hnw.t 3w.t-ib*),”¹³⁹⁴ “Mistress of dancing, Lady of drunkenness, unto whom is rejoicing in the good place of He-whose-name-is-Hidden (Amun) (*hnw.t ib3, nb(.t) nwh, s3wy nhm m s.t nfr.t n Imn-rn=f*).”¹³⁹⁵ Scenes from the entrance to Medamud depict female singers, a mixed ensemble of musicians (*dm3 n hzy.w*), dancers (*tnf.w*),¹³⁹⁶ and even a dancing Bes celebrating the return of Rattawy from “the ends of Kenset (Nubia).”¹³⁹⁷ A nearby inscription preserves the remarkable hymn these celebrants sang at the arrival of the wandering goddess:¹³⁹⁸

“Come, oh Golden One, who eats of praise,
because the food of her desire is dancing,
who shines on the festival at the time of lighting (the lamps),
who is content with the dancing at night.

Come! The procession is in the place of inebriation,
that hall of travelling through the marshes.
Its performance is set,

¹³⁹² LD IV, 65a.

¹³⁹³ *Tôd I*, 127, 14-15 (Rattawy of Medamud).

¹³⁹⁴ *Deir Chelouit III*, 140, 10; cf. the wild animals who praise Rattawy in a hymn from Medamud; Darnell, *SAK 22* (1995): 80-94.

¹³⁹⁵ Drioton, *Médamoud I*, 105; the only Rattawy associated with dancing and drunkenness is Rattawy of Medamud.

¹³⁹⁶ For the Libyan *tnf.w*-dancers, cf. Quaegebeur and Rammant-Peeters, in Quaegebeur, ed., *Studia Paulo Naster oblata*, II, pp. 195-205; Darnell, *SAK 22* (1995): 72, n. c.

¹³⁹⁷ Drioton, *Médamoud II*, 322, 325, 327, 329, and Figs. 7-9; in Drioton, *Médamoud II*, 322, 1, the dancers are specifically said to “perform the *gsgs*-dance and the *ib3*-dance for Rattawy (*gsgs ib3 n R^c.t-ib.wy*).” For the *gsgs*-dance, cf. Darnell, *SAK 22* (1995): 66, n. a, 69-70, n. b.

¹³⁹⁸ Drioton, *Médamoud II*, 328; translation of Darnell, *SAK 22* (1995): 47-94, with extremely detailed commentary.

its order is in effect,
without anything lacking it it.

When the royal children pacify you with what is desired,
the officials consecrate offerings to you.
When the lector exalts you in intoning a hymn,
the magician reads the rituals.
When the organizer praises you with his lotus blooms,
the percussionists take up the tamborine.
The virgins rejoice for you with garlands,
the women with the wreath-crown.
The drunken celebrants drum for you during the cool of the night,
with the result that those who awaken bless you.

There dance ecstatically for you the Mentyew-Libyans in their (peculiar) clothing,
and the Nubians with their mace(s);
The nomads throw themselves down to you in front of you,
and the bearded ones declaim for you.

The *kyky*-simians give praise to you with *spn*-staves,
and the *kri.w*-apes with *ssndm*-sticks;
The griffins cover themselves for you with their wings;
The foxes raise up their heads for you.

The Reret-goddesses praise you,
their mouths open,
their forearms in adoration before you.”

This hymn, which may be of Roman date, attests to the incredible vitality of the festivities for Rattawy at Medamud.¹³⁹⁹ The importance of this festival in the Roman Period is suggested by several Theban demotic ostraca, all from the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, recording deliveries of wine to the “temple (*p3 ʿ.wi*) of Rattawy” specifically for a “banquets (*wm.t*).”¹⁴⁰⁰

¹³⁹⁹ cf. also idem, *Médamoud II*, pp. 14-5.

¹⁴⁰⁰ See primarily Mattha, *Demotic Ostraca*, pp. 191-2, Nos. 263-6; for more examples, cf. Kockelmann, *JEA* 89 (2003): 223-4.

Rattawy was also the “divine mother of Harpre the Child (*mw.t-ntr n Hr-p3-R^c p3 hrđ*),”¹⁴⁰¹ taking the form of “the great cow who birthed Re (*ih.t-wr.t ms(.t) R^c*).”¹⁴⁰² At the same time, numerous inscriptions label Rattawy as “the Neith-crocodile(?),”¹⁴⁰³ mother of Thoth (*sbk.t-N.t(?) mw.t/tm3.t n Dhwti*).”¹⁴⁰⁴ Just as Amunet-Neith gave birth to Re (cf. **4.8**), so Rattawy-Neith gives birth to Thoth in Armant (cf. **4.52**). Both goddesses are associated with the female members of the Ogdoad,¹⁴⁰⁵ and the creation of Thoth also takes place in Hermopolis (Sea of Flames).¹⁴⁰⁶ The parallel births of Re and Thoth are even described in similar terms, as Thoth receives the following epithets:¹⁴⁰⁷

(1) *Opet* I, 55:

¹⁴⁰¹ *Tôd* II, 226, 11; for Rattawy and Harpre, see primarily Budde, in Budde, et al., eds., *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, pp. 31-8, 82-6.

¹⁴⁰² *LD* IV, 61g; 64a; var. “Great Cow [who gave birth to] Re, Rayet who bore Horus, mother of God (*Ih.t-wr.t [ms.t] R^c, R^cy.t bh.t Hr, mw.t-ntr [...]*)” (*LD* IV, 62e); “the cow when she birthed light (*ih.t bh.n=s šww*)” (*Tôd* I, 24, 10).



¹⁴⁰³ For the reading of this epithet, almost always written , see most recently Budde, in Budde, et al., eds., *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, pp. 34-5, n. 74 (with references to earlier suggestions), who opted not to transliterate or translate it. Perhaps the epithet somehow refers to the crocodile form of Neith, for which see most recently Derchain and von Recklinghausen, *La création*, p. 47, n. 143; Halloff, in Haring and Klug, eds., *6. Ägyptologische empeltagung*, p. 129.

¹⁴⁰⁴ *Urk.* VIII, 82i (= Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 24); *Opet* I, 55; *Deir Chelouit* III, 142, 11; vars. “mother of Isden” (*Urk.* VIII, 14c = Aufrère, *Montou*, §§274-276; 63c = Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 8; *Le Kasr el-Agoûz*, 41); “Mother of Isden, who birthed (*p^cp^c*) *Rh-sw*” (*Urk.* VIII, 181c); “Neith(?) who begot the judge (*N.t(?) wtt(.t) tity-z3b*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 82b = Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 24); “who made *İpy* in the Great Sea, who birthed *Dhn* in the Sea of Flames” (*Tôd* I, 139, 1-3); “she who birthed the eldest son of Re, Crocodile-Neith(?) who [made] the Eldest of the Decree (*bh.t smsw R^c, sbk.t-N.t [ir.]t smsw-wđ*)” (*LD* IV, 64c); “who made the “Reckoner” for Akhty (*ir(.t) İp n 3hty*)” (*LD* IV, 64a); “Crocodile-Neith(?) who begat the Eldest of the Decree, who made *Rh-sw* (Thoth) for Akhty (*sbk.t-N.t wtt.t smsw-wđ, ir.t Rh-sy n 3hty*)” (*LD* IV, 65a).

¹⁴⁰⁵ In a text from Tod, Amunet is described as the composite of the “four Rattawys” (*Tôd* II, 249, 1-2).

¹⁴⁰⁶ *Tôd* I, 139, 1-3; for the Sea of Flames, see most recently Thiem, *Speos von Gebel es-Silsileh*, pp. 33-51.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Budde, in Budde, et al., eds., *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, pp. 34-5, 82-3, n. 258, understands these passages as references to Rattawy; however, although all these examples come from descriptions of Rattawy, they occur after the name Thoth and appear to refer to him.

wbn m sšn m hnt š-ʕ3
wbn R^c m nhb

He who rose from the lotus within the great lake,
(when) Re rose from the lotus-blossom.¹⁴⁰⁸

- (2) Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 8 (= *Urk.* VIII, 63c):

psd m Nwn hn^c i3hw

He who shines out of Nun together with the Radiant One (= Re).

- (3) *Deir Chelouit* III, 142, 12:

pr(?) hr sšn hn^c hy hr nhb

He who came forth(?)¹⁴⁰⁹ on the lotus together with the child on the lotus-blossom.

The theme of Harpre/Thoth coming forth from the lotus allows Rattawy to be “the lotus stem from which Sia blossomed, in order to guide the entire world (*ʕr.t wbs Si3 im=s, r sšm t3 hr ndb=f*).”¹⁴¹⁰ As Budde has noted, a text from Edfu gives a similar account of Thoth emerging from the lotus in Hermopolis beside Re,¹⁴¹¹ and a similar tradition in Karnak held that Chonsu also came forth from the lotus.¹⁴¹²

¹⁴⁰⁸ This example speaks against Budde’s assertion that the newborn sun god “namentlich nicht bennant ist” in connection with Rattawy (Budde, in Budde, et al., eds., *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, p. 82, who nonetheless cites this passage, *ibid*, n. 258).

¹⁴⁰⁹ The text appears to read *pr=s*, “she comes forth,” which might support understanding this passage as a reference to Rattawy. Nonetheless, this entire passage is quite damaged, and the majority of examples describe the parallel births of Re and Thoth.

¹⁴¹⁰ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§274-6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 14c); Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 24 (= *Urk.* VIII, 82b); cf. Budde, in Budde, et al., eds., *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, p. 35.

¹⁴¹¹ Budde, in Budde, et al., eds., *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, pp. 82-3, n. 258 (citing *Edfou* I, 289, 2-5; for which see also Ryhiner, *L’offrande du lotus*, p. 142).

¹⁴¹² Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, pp. 106-9 (not mentioned by Budde).

4.48 Sokar-(Osiris)

Although the chthonic deity Sokar was ultimately a Memphite god, he also had an extremely popular cult in Thebes already in the New Kingdom.¹⁴¹³ The main Pharaonic cult centers of Sokar, namely the Akh-Menu of Karnak¹⁴¹⁴ and Medinet Habu,¹⁴¹⁵ appear to have remained active into the Graeco-Roman Period. Priests of “Sokar within Karnak (*Skr ḥry-ib Ip.s-s.wt*)” are known from the Ptolemaic Period,¹⁴¹⁶ Ptolemaic inscriptions call Sokar-Osiris “mysterious of forms within Karnak (*št3-irw ḥry-ib Ip.t-s.wt*),”¹⁴¹⁷ and Sokar features prominently in the extensive Khoiak rituals of Karnak preserved on a Roman Period papyrus.¹⁴¹⁸ At Medinet Habu, the cult of Sokar shifted to the Small Temple, which was rededicated by Achoris to both “Amun-Re of Djeser-Set” and “Ptah-Sokar-Osiris within the Mound of Djeme (*Pth-Skr-Wsir ḥry-ib B.t-t3.w-mw.wt*),”¹⁴¹⁹ and Sokar-Osiris appears on the Ptolemaic First Pylon at Medinet Habu.¹⁴²⁰ The temple of Deir el-Medineh contains an

¹⁴¹³ See in general: Graindorge-Héreil, *Le dieu Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire*; Stadler, *Enchoria* 26 (2000): 110-1.

¹⁴¹⁴ Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 182-90; Graindorge-Héreil, *Le dieu Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire*, pp. 156-7.

¹⁴¹⁵ Note that there was also a temple of Sokar attached to the Mortuary Temple of Amenhotep III on the West Bank, Graindorge-Héreil, *Le dieu Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire*, pp. 48-53, 439-1

¹⁴¹⁶ See the references in: el-Sayed, *ASAE* 74 (1999): 146, n. 37.

¹⁴¹⁷ *Urk.* VIII, 32b (= Aufrère, *Montou*, §§ 199-201); cf. also *Urk.* VIII, 92i (= Clère, *La Porte*, Pl. 63): “Lord of the Djendjer-bark, god with[in] Karnak (*nb dndrw, ntr ḥry-[ib] Ip.t-s.wt*).”

¹⁴¹⁸ Barguet, *Le Papyrus N. 3176 (S) du Musée du Louvre*; Graindorge-Héreil, *Le dieu Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire*, pp. 253-6.

¹⁴¹⁹ Traunecker, et al., *La Chapelle d'Achôris à Karnak*, II, pp. 113 and 116, Text 14.

¹⁴²⁰ PM II², p. 462 (10h) II (= Sethe, *Notizbuch*, 17, 3); for an explicit reference to “Sokar within the Mound of Djeme,” cf. *Deir al-Médîna*, No. 90, 5.

elaborate depiction of the Sokar bark,¹⁴²¹ and an extensive hymn to Sokar-Osiris is preserved from Deir Shelwit (reign of Hadrian):¹⁴²²

rs=k nfr m htp tpy dw3w r^c-nb
Wsir-Skr hry-ib šty.t
b3 šps wḥm rnp=k
dd=sn n=k in ntr.w p3wty.w psd.t š3^c Htm.t
h^c.w-ntr=k m-hnw gs-pr [nb]

ihy n=k p3 nfr zp-snw
hy nfr.wy iw=k
wḏ3=k r ḥw.t-^c3.t m'Iwnw
ḥnd=k mry.t r iw=s-^c3=s
šm=k ^cnḥ.ti r t3-^cnḥ.t
ir=k s.t=k m ḥw.t-sr
iw=k n=n p(3) sr wr
wḥm rnp=k m ḥ3pi
ir=k s.t=k m ḥw.t-sr
s.t=ib=k pw imy t3.wy
[...].tw=k'itm m hry.w-[t3]
wsh nmt.wt=k m ḥw.t-bnw
[...] ḥr gmḥ.w n išd šps m ḥw.t-^c3.t
[šsp=k?] qbḥw ndm m mw n rnp
m ^c.wy'Is.t Nb.t-ḥw.t
z3=k Hr m stm
ḥq3.n=f ns.t [...]=k nn ws

May you awake beautifully from rest at the top of the morning, every day!
 Osiris-Sokar within the Shetyt,
 August Ba, may you repeat your rejuvenation!
 (so the Primeval gods, the Ennead who created Egypt, say to you)
 Your divine body is within [every] temple!

Jubilation unto you, o good one!
 Jubilation, how good is your arrival!
 May you proceed to the Great Temple in Heliopolis,
 may you ascend the street to Iusaas,
 may you go alive (^cnḥ.ti) to the Necropolis (t3-^cnḥ.t)
 may you make your place in the Temple of the Prince,
 may you come to us, o Great Prince,
 may you repeat your rejuvenation as the Inundation,
 may you make your place in the Temple of the Prince,

¹⁴²¹ *Deir al-Médîna*, No. 60.

¹⁴²² *Deir Chelouit III*, 124, 1-11; Pl. 15.

which is your favorite place in the two lands,
 [...] you [...] Atum in the temples,¹⁴²³
 may your strides become wide in the Temple of the Phoenix,
 [...] beneath the [...] of the August Ished-Tree in the Great Temple,
 [may you receive?] cool, sweet water, namely the water of rejuvenation,
 from the hands of Isis and Nephthys,
 your son Horus is Sem-priest,¹⁴²⁴
 having ruled your throne [...] without cease.

The hymn continues in the label to Sokar-Osiris:¹⁴²⁵

nḥb.tw sp3.wt ntr.w n k3=k
drp.tw ḥ3.wt=sn n shm.w=k
b3=k ḥ(w) m ntr šps
wsh nmt.wt m p.t-rsy.t

wp.tw n=k r3=k
wn.tw n=k ir.ty=k(y)
sš.w fnd=k ḥ(w) wy=k(y) in wp-r3.w
m33=k nn ir n=k z3=k
iw twt=k dd.tw hnt hry.w-t3 nn ws

The districts of gods are allotted for your Ka,¹⁴²⁶
 their altars are provided for your images.¹⁴²⁷
 May your ba live as the august god,
 wide of stride in the southern sky.¹⁴²⁸

¹⁴²³ For *hry.w-t3*, “temples,” cf. *infra*, col. 24; Derchain, *Les impondérables de l'hellénisation*, p. 76, n. 9.

¹⁴²⁴ In this scene, Hadrian is labelled as: “Image of the Libator, who provides offerings for the Excellent Bas and the deceased, who carries out his role of Sem-Priest, in order to make the Ba alight upon the corpse (*msw.t n qbḥw, sfsf3w n b3.w iqr.w ḥtpty.w, tr snn=f n stm, r shn b3 ḥr ḥ3.t*).” (*Deir Chelouit III*, 124, 14).

¹⁴²⁵ *Deir Chelouit III*, 124, 20-25; Pl. 15.

¹⁴²⁶ Similar phrases in other labels of Sokar-Osiris: “he for whose Ka nomes are allotted (*nḥb.tw sp3.wt n k3=f*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 32b = Aufrère, *Montou*, §§ 199-201; Aufrère [*Montou*, p. 270, n. [o]], disregarding the parallels, claimed that *nḥb* “paraît impropre dans le contexte,” and instead resorted to an odd transitive use of the verb *rš*: “réjouissant les nomes grâce à son ka (*rš=tw sp3wt n k3=f*)” [*ibid*, p. 265]; for another parallel with an identical spelling of *nḥb*, cf. *Deir Chelouit II*, 72, 15); “He for whom the cities were planned, for whom the nomes were built (*sip.tw n=f niw.wt, sps.tw n=f sp3.wt*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 92i = Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 63); for more examples and discussion, cf. Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 94-5.

¹⁴²⁷ Cf. Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 96.

¹⁴²⁸ Reference to Sokar-Osiris as Orion, for which see: Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 100-2; in the same offering scene (*Deir Chelouit III*, 124, 29-30) Isis is said to: “transform his (Sokar’s) Ba into Orion in the southern sky (*shpr b3=f m S3ḥ m p.t-rsy.t*)”

Your mouth is opened,
 your eyes are opened,
 your nose and ears are opened by the Opener of Mouths,
 so you might see this which your son has done for you,¹⁴²⁹
 while your image endures throughout the temples, without cease.

In the same scene at Deir Shelwit, the divine column behind Sokar-Osiris contains a classic allusion to the Solar-Osirian unity:¹⁴³⁰

R^c htp(.w) m Wsir
ntr.wy m sns n (...)
tz phr

Re rests in Osiris,
 the two gods are united (...)
 and vice-versa.

This is an abbreviated version of the famous label “It is Re who rests in Osiris, it is Osiris who rests in Re.”¹⁴³¹

An earlier text from Karnak recognizes Sokar-Osiris as the original ancestor god, the one for whom all funerary rites were invented:¹⁴³²

sip.tw ntw.wt n=f sps.tw n=f sp3.wt
dsr.tw hm.w r s3t3 shm.w=s
smd dw3.t r h3p h3.t=f
snt.tw n=f w^cb.t
ir.tw n=f tp.w-rd
p3.tw n=f k3.t n'Inp(w)
qn.tw n=f dr
nwd.tw n=f md

¹⁴²⁹ For identical phrases in other Osirian texts, cf. Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 119-20.

¹⁴³⁰ *Deir Chelouit* III, 124, 31.

¹⁴³¹ For this phrase, cf. Assmann, *Liturgischen Lieder*, pp. 101-5, and note that the abbreviation with *tz-phr*, “vice-versa,” occurs already in the Litany of Re (cited by Assmann, *Liturgischen Lieder*, p. 101); the similar phrase: “It is Osiris who rests in Re (*Wsir pw htp m R^c*),” also occurs in a Roman Period papyrus from Thebes, cf. Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 104, who calls it “banal.”

¹⁴³² Clère, *La Porte*, Pl. 63 (= *Urk.* VIII, 92i).

š3̄.tw n=f zm3-t3
qm3.tw n=f s3h
w3h.tw n=f ih.t
nhb.tw n=f sšm-hs s̄nh Pth

He for whom cities were planned, for whom nomes were built,
 in order to hide whose images that shrines were fashioned,
 in order to hide whose corpse the the Underworld was deepened,
 for whom the *w̄b.t*-chapel was founded,
 for whom regulations were made,
 for whom the works of Anubis were begun,
 for whom clothing-rites were completed,
 for whom oil was melted,
 for whom burial-rites were begun,,
 for whom transfiguration-spells were created,
 for whom offerings are placed,
 and for whom the performing of the “rite of enlivening Ptah” was assigned.

The popularity of Sokar in Western Thebes continued into the Roman Period, as the image of his sacred henu-bark appears on Egyptian mummies from the late third century CE.¹⁴³³ It is unclear whether Sokar took place in the Sokar Festival at Medinet Habu during the Roman Period, since the inscriptions focus more on the union of Montu-Re-Harakhty of Armant with Kematef and the Ogdoad.¹⁴³⁴ Nonetheless, two Roman inscriptions from Medinet Habu mention the Sokarian *ndrw*-bark in connection with Montu’s arrival at Djeme.¹⁴³⁵

4.49 Somtous

Somtous (lit. “he who unites the two lands (*zm3-t3.wy*”)”) was a relatively minor deity

¹⁴³³ Riggs, *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt*, pp. 238-40.

¹⁴³⁴ Cf. **7.5**.

¹⁴³⁵ Cf. **5.3.2.4**, col. 3; **5.11.1.7**, col. 3.

in Thebes who has previously gone unrecognized.¹⁴³⁶ He was the firstborn of Amun¹⁴³⁷ and Hathor “Chief of Thebes,”¹⁴³⁸ and thus appears as the child-deity in the Mammisi of the Hathor temple at Deir el-Medineh,¹⁴³⁹ as well as in the Ptah Temple.¹⁴⁴⁰ His relationship to Hathor is framed in Osirian terms, where his mother Hathor-Isis (cf. **4.49**) requests the royal succession for her son Somtous.¹⁴⁴¹ The Theban scribes understood the Ptah-Hathor-Somtous triad as follows:¹⁴⁴²

wnn Pth m nb Twnw-šm^c
Nbw.t m hr.t-tp W3s.t
sw m t3ity z3b m irw=f n dhn
Is.t r-gs=f m Hw.t-hr
Zm3-t3.wy m Hr z3-Is.t
imy.t-pr n it=f hr=f

As long as Ptah is Lord of Southern Heliopolis,
and the Golden One is the Chief of Thebes,
he is the judge-vizier in his form of the ibis,
Isis is beside him as Hathor,
and Somtous as Harsiese,
having the inheritance of his father.

¹⁴³⁶ Somtous must be distinguished from Harsomtous of Dendera, as shown by Quaegebeur, *CRIPÉL* 13 (1991): 113-21; however, Quaegebeur assumed that all attestations of Somtous refer to a god from Herakleopolis, and did not recognize the separate Theban Somtous.

¹⁴³⁷ *Deir al-Médîna*, 182, 5; 183, 7; *Urk.* VIII, 195b; Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 201 and Pl. 50.

¹⁴³⁸ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 28 (= *Urk.* VIII, 80f); *Urk.* VIII, 195b.

¹⁴³⁹ *Deir al-Médîna*, 182, 5; 183, 7; he also appears on the lintel of the main gate: *ibid.*, 172, 6.

¹⁴⁴⁰ *Urk.* VIII, 195b and e; 197 (8); 212 (2); cf. also the exterior east wall of the Ptah Temple (not in *Urk.* VIII): Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 201-6, Pl. 50 = Doc. 142 (= Wildung, *Egyptian Saints*, pp. 56 and 59, Fig. 38), where he appears together with Ptah, Hathor, Imhotep and Amenhotep son of Hapu, the major gods of the temple.

¹⁴⁴¹ Hathor of Thebes, in her role of Isis, specifically “unites the two lands (*zm3 t3.wy*)” for her son, Somtous: Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 28 (= *Urk.* VIII, 80c and g); *Urk.* VIII, 211; *Opet* I, 140.

¹⁴⁴² Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 28 (= *Urk.* VIII, 80i).

Thus Hathor-Isis beseeches Ptah-Thoth to confer the kingship and inheritance of Osiris to her son Somtous-Harsiese. The rest of his epithets designate Somtous as the successor of both Osiris and Amun, the reigning heir who, having “united the two lands in Karnak,”¹⁴⁴³ “remains upon his throne in Victorious Thebes.”¹⁴⁴⁴

4.50 Thoth-*stm* and Thoth-*dd-ḥr-p3-hb* in Djeme

The small temple of Qasr el-Agouz, immediately to the south of Medinet Habu, housed two local forms of Thoth: Thoth-*dd-ḥr-p3-hb* and Thoth-*stm*, both of whom were located “within the Mound of Djeme (*ḥry-ib i3.t-d3m.t*).”¹⁴⁴⁵

The first god, whose epithet literally means “the face of the ibis speaks,” was the local oracular ibis.¹⁴⁴⁶ The existence of a true ibis cult is further supported by the numerous ibis burials in Western Thebes,¹⁴⁴⁷ Demotic contracts from the Ptolemaic Period mentioning priests of ibises,¹⁴⁴⁸ and even graffiti of mummified ibis-headed Thoths in the Theban Western Desert.¹⁴⁴⁹ Although he only appears in a few scenes, his epithets clearly designate his oracular character. Besides being “Lord of Maat (*nb m3̣̣.t*),” he is literally “the bird who

¹⁴⁴³ *Urk.* VIII, 195b.

¹⁴⁴⁴ *Urk.* VIII, 195e.

¹⁴⁴⁵ See Volokhine, *BIFAO* 102 (2002): 405-23; note however that Volokhine only discusses several important inscriptions from Qasr el-Agouz, and additional epithets support and enrich his interpretation.


¹⁴⁴⁶ For names of oracular gods beginning with *dd-ḥr*, see Volokhine, *BIFAO* 102 (2002): 412-6.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Kessler, *Die heiligen Tiere und der König*, I, pp. 159-65 (Volokhine, did not discuss any of the physical evidence for the ibis cult in Thebes).

¹⁴⁴⁸ Andrews, *Ptolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area*, pp. 21, n. 44, 22, n. 75, and 77, n. 17.

¹⁴⁴⁹ E.g. Sadek, et al., *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine*, III/4, Pl. 207, Nos. 3241a-b.

transforms into “Earth-Knower” (*gmḥsw ḥpr m ʿm-t3.wy*),¹⁴⁵⁰ and “the excellent ibis who transforms into “He who Separated the Two Adversaries” (*hb iqr ḥpr m wp-rḥ.wy*),¹⁴⁵¹ clear allusions to the ibis as a physical manifestation of Thoth during oracular sessions.¹⁴⁵² This local manifestation of Thoth also had his own bark,¹⁴⁵³ and one inscription mentions that “as long as Thoth-*dd-p3-ḥr-hb* appears on his throne, he appears in procession within the Necropolis in the Mound of Djeme (*wnn dhwti-dd-p3-ḥr-hb ḥʿ(.w) m s.t=f, ḥʿ=f ḥnt t3-dsr m i3.t-d3m.t*).”¹⁴⁵⁴ The oracular powers of this form of Thoth allow him to “give a long lifetime to whoever is loyal to him (*dī ʿḥʿ q3 n šm ḥr mw=f*).”¹⁴⁵⁵

The main god of Qasr el-Agoûz, however, appears to have been Thoth-*stm*.¹⁴⁵⁶ His epithet, always spelled , most likely designates Thoth as the mortuary *s(t)m*-priest of Kematef and the Ogdoad.¹⁴⁵⁷ This interpretation is clear from his epithets, as he is “he who pacifies the heart of the father of fathers (Kematef) (*shṭp ib n it-it.w*),”¹⁴⁵⁸ “who

¹⁴⁵⁰ *Kasr el-Agoûz*, 55 = Volokhine, *BIFAO* 102 (2002): 407 (with no comment on the theological implications of the epithet).

¹⁴⁵¹ *Kasr el-Agoûz*, 55 (with correction in Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 18).

¹⁴⁵² For the concept of “transforming into (*ḥpr m*)” a divinity, see most recently Servajean, *Les formules des transformations*.

¹⁴⁵³ *Kasr el-Agoûz*, 94, Fig. 51; the drawing is slightly inaccurate, as noted by Volokhine, *BIFAO* 102 (2002): 409, n. 18.

¹⁴⁵⁴ *Kasr el-Agoûz*, 49, only read the first few words; the complete text is after Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 19.

¹⁴⁵⁵ *Kasr el-Agoûz*, 88 (completed after Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 33).

¹⁴⁵⁶ For this point, see already Volokhine, *BIFAO* 102 (2002): 411-2.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Volokhine, *BIFAO* 102 (2002): 417-23, convincingly demonstrated that the translation “Thoth the *s(t)m*-priest” is far more likely than *stm < sdm*, “Thoth who hears (*stm < sdm*),” even though the latter epithet would make him an interesting pendant to the oracular Thoth “the face of the ibis speaks.”

¹⁴⁵⁸ *Kasr el-Agoûz*, 86 (corrected by Volokhine, *BIFAO* 102 [2002]: 410); the phrase “pacifying the heart (*shṭp ib*)” also describes the mortuary rites of Amenope of Djeme (*Opet* I, 262) and Chonsu-Shu (Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 446 (38b)).

elevates Maat for Amun, father of fathers of the Ogdoad (*si^r m³.t n 'Imn, it-it.w n Hmni.w*),”¹⁴⁵⁹ and “who pacifies the Primeval gods in the Necropolis in the Mound of Djeme (*sh^tp n^r.w p³wty.w m t³-dsr n i³.t-d3m.t*),”¹⁴⁶⁰ all actions specifically connected to the mortuary rites of Djeme. Furthermore, a relief from Deir el-Medineh features Thoth “the Scribe of Truth of the Ennead, libationer in the Mound of Djeme (*sš m³.t n ps^d.t, qbhw m i³.t-d3m.t*).”¹⁴⁶¹ As Volokhine noted, Thoth and the Ogdoad are both from Hermopolis, so it is only natural that a local Thoth takes part in the ancestor cult at Djeme.¹⁴⁶² Thoth’s role as funerary priest for the Ogdoad is attested elsewhere at Edfu and in a fragmentary Demotic creation account.¹⁴⁶³

4.51 Thoth within Thebes

A small propylon (*mh.t*)¹⁴⁶⁴ dedicated to “Thoth within Thebes (*hry-ib W3s.t*)” was built in North Karnak by Ptolemy IV.¹⁴⁶⁵ Little specific character is given to Thoth in this temple, besides the following string of epithets: “Lord of Maat, who lives through her, scribe

¹⁴⁵⁹ *Kasr el-Agoûz*, 71 (corrected in Volokhine, *BIFAO* 102 [2002]: 409); cf. also *Kasr el-Agoûz*, 39, col. 18: “he who elevates Maat to Amun [...] (*s^r m³.t n 'Imn* [...])” (the text is incomplete and incorrectly attributed to Amenhotep son of Hapu; corrected in Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 20); Chonsu-Shu also “elevates Maat” to Amun-Kematef; e.g. Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 65 (= *Urk.* VIII, 91b); *Kasr el-Agoûz*, 80 (with corrections in Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 34); *Edfou* I, 96, 6; *Opet* I, 23.

¹⁴⁶⁰ *Kasr el-Agoûz*, 75 and 88 (corrected after Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 27 and 31).

¹⁴⁶¹ *Deir al-Médîna*, 111, 6-8 (discussed by Volokhine, *BIFAO* 102 [2002]: 422).

¹⁴⁶² Volokhine, *BIFAO* 102 (2002): 423.

¹⁴⁶³ *Edfou* I, 289, 6-7; cf. Ryhiner, *L'offrande du lotus*, pp. 142-4 (cf. **4.38**); Smith, *On the Primaeval Ocean*, pp. 87-9.

¹⁴⁶⁴ For this term, cf. Traunecker, *Coptos*, §§340-6.

¹⁴⁶⁵ For the temple(s) of Thoth in North Karnak; cf. Varille, *Karnak* I, pp. 39-40, Pls. 99-104; see primarily Dewachter, *RdE* 36 (1985): 175-7, 187; Volokhine, *BIFAO* 102 (2002): 405, n. 5; for the cult of Thoth “in the Domain of Amun (*pr-'Imn*),” cf. Coulon, *RdE* 57 (2006): 19, n. (B).

who makes proclamations in the Akhet, who gives life to whom he prefers (*nb m3^c.t, ʿnh im=s, sš wd md.w m 3h.t, di ʿnh n mr=f*).¹⁴⁶⁶ Another fragment mentions something about “Osiris the ibis [...] (*Wsir p3-hb*).”¹⁴⁶⁷

4.52 Thoth within Armant

Thoth is specifically associated with Armant (*Iwnw šm*) in a number of inscriptions.¹⁴⁶⁸ The only epithet specifically attached to this form of Thoth is the rather banal epithet “Lord of Hieroglyphs (*nb mdw-ntr*).”¹⁴⁶⁹ Thoth of Armant was most likely the adult form of Harpre, the main child god of Armant and child of Rattawy (cf. **4.47**).

4.53 Tjenenet

Tjenenet was primarily the consort of Montu-Re-Harakhty of Armant.¹⁴⁷⁰ She could also appear with Montu of Tod,¹⁴⁷¹ Montu of Thebes¹⁴⁷² and Montu of Medamud,¹⁴⁷³ but in

¹⁴⁶⁶ *Urk.* VIII, 238c; Varille, *Karnak I*, Pl. 100.

¹⁴⁶⁷ *Urk.* VIII, 239; Varille, *Karnak I*, Pl. 102, Fig. 78.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Examples include: abd el-Raziq, *Die Darstellungen und Texte des Sanktuars Alexanders des Großen im Tempel von Luxor*, p. 46 (f); *Urk.* VIII, 197 (7); Armant, Bab el-Maganin (noted in Mond and Meyers, *Temples of Armant*, I, p. 181); cf. also Aufrère, *Montou*, §§190-2 (= *Urk.* VIII, 25b): “Chonsu-Thoth within Armant”; Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 10 (= *Urk.* VIII, 62b): “Chonsu-Thoth Lord of Armant”; *Kasr el-Agoûz*, 82: “Thoth in Armant” (as an epithet of Chonsu); probably also *Opet I*, 229 (partially damaged). For priests of “Thoth within Armant,” cf. Jansen-Winkeln, *Ägyptische Biographien*, I, n. 41, n. 13; Meeks, *Le grand texte des donations au temple d'Edfou*, pp. 68-9, n. (61A).

¹⁴⁶⁹ *Opet I*, 229; Armant, Bab el-Maganin (incorrectly translated in Mond and Meyers, *Temples of Armant*, I, p. 181; corrected from detailed photos and handcopies in the archives of the EES).

¹⁴⁷⁰ *Edfou I*, 100, 3-4; *Esna VI*, 488, 13-15; *Deir Chelouit I*, 17, 10-11; *Deir Chelouit III*, 130, 12-14; *Urk.* VIII, 9c (= Aufrère, *Montou*, §§167-9); *LD IV*, 65a (Armant); *Tôd I*, 1, 10-2; *Tôd I*, 71, 2-5; *Tôd I*, 130, 12-14; *Tôd II*, 220, 14-17; *Deir el-Medina*, 195, 8-9; Medinet Habu, First Pylon = *LD Text iii*, 151; Medinet Habu, Gate of Domitian: PM II², p. 475, both sides of lintel (as Tjenenet-Iuny); probably also in *Deir Chelouit I*, 48, 7-8, where in spite of the extremely damaged text, her crown and parallelism with No. 40 (featuring Montu of Armant and Rattawy) strongly suggest that the goddess is Tjenenet, and not Rattawy as labelled in the publication.

¹⁴⁷¹ *Tôd II*, 231, 19-21; since Tod was closely associated to Armant, Tjenenet seems to have been the primary goddess there already in the New Kingdom (cf. The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu VII*, Pl. 575c;)

the latter two cases, she was specifically the composite Tjenenet-Rattawy. In all temples Tjenenet is most commonly designated as “within Armant (*ḥr.t-ib Twnw-šm*),”¹⁴⁷⁴ but even through she may have traditionally been the chief goddess of Armant, Rattawy was clearly more important in the Graeco-Roman Mammisi (cf. **4.47**). The main difference between Tjenenet and Rattawy at Armant lies in the fact that Tjenenet only appears beside the solar Montu-Re-Harakhty,¹⁴⁷⁵ while Rattawy exclusively accompanies the deceased creator god Montu(-Re) Lord of Armant.¹⁴⁷⁶ This might indicate that Tjenenet was more important as a uraeus-goddess, while Rattawy was more involved with primeval creation (cf. **4.47**). A similar relationship occurs in Thebes, where Mut accompanies the solar Amun-Re while Amunet is the consort of the creator Amenope (cf. **4.3** and **4.8**). At Armant, however, the situation is slightly different, as Rattawy was always the mother of Harpre the Child.

¹⁴⁷² *Deir el-Medina*, 101, 17-18 (as Tjenenet-Rattawy).

¹⁴⁷³ *Deir el-Medina*, 8, 9-10 (as Tjenenet-Rattawy within Medamud).

¹⁴⁷⁴ *Edfou* I, 100, 3; 312, 4; *Deir Chelouit* I, 17, 10-11; 23, 6-7; III, 130, 12-13; 133, 5-6; 145, 6; *Urk.* VIII, 9c (= Aufrère, *Montou*, §§167-9); *LD* IV, 65a; Mond and Meyers, *Temples of Armant*, Pl. 90.1; *Tôd* I, 20; *Deir al-Médîna*, 101, 17-18; 186, 4; 195, 8-9; Medinet Habu, Gate of Domitian, North face, right lintel: PM II², 475, D; vars. “within Armant (*ḥr.t-ib Twnw-Mntw*)” (*Edfou* I, 174, 14); “within the Nome of the Beginning (*ḥr.t-ib sp3.t-ḥ3.t*)” (*Deir Chelouit* III, 145, 6-7); “Lady of Armant (*nb.t Twnw-šm*)” (*Tôd* II, 220, 14; Medinet Habu, First Pylon: PM II², p. 462 (10b) = *LD Text* iii, 151); “Lady of the Nome of the Beginning (*nb.t sp3.t-ḥ3.t*)” (*Tôd* II, 182, 5-6); “Mistress in Armant (*ḥnw.t m Twnw-šm*)” (*Tôd* II, 236, 9-10); “[...Ar]mant ([...Twnw]-šm)” (*Tôd* II, 236, 13).

¹⁴⁷⁵ *Deir Chelouit* I, 17; *Deir Chelouit* III, 130 (Tjenenet-Iuny); *LD* IV, 65a; *Deir al-Médîna*, 195; *Tôd* I, 1; 71; Medinet Habu, First Pylon: PM II², p. 462 (h) III (= Sethe, *Notizbuch*, 17, 4); Medinet Habu, Gate of Domitian: PM II², p. 475, D, both sides of lintel; *Deir el-Rumi* (unpublished; after the translation in Lecuyot, *Kyphi* 2 [1999]: 36); possibly also *Ermant* I, 4 (damaged).

¹⁴⁷⁶ *Deir Chelouit* III, 131; *Ermant* I, 3; *LD* IV, 64a and b; *Deir al-Médîna*, 189; 195 (Iuny-Rattawy); Medinet Habu, Gate of Domitian: PM II², p. 475, D, multiple scenes (cf. **5.8.3**).

Like all other solar goddesses, Tjenenet frequently bears the formulaic epithets of Hathor and Tefnut:¹⁴⁷⁷ “daughter of Re,”¹⁴⁷⁸ and “Eye of Re, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the Gods.”¹⁴⁷⁹ In this role, she is most often “the uraeus of Re,”¹⁴⁸⁰ “the great serpent upon the brow of Harakhty, flame (*nb.t*) of gold (*nbw*) who illumines (*nbnb*) the land for the All-Lord (*nb dr*) (*dngngs.t wr.t m wp.t Hr-3hty, nbi(.t) n nbw nbnb(.t) t3 n Nb-dr*),”¹⁴⁸¹ “flame of light, who creates illumination (*nbi.t n šww, shpr(.t) shd*),”¹⁴⁸² or perhaps most vividly:¹⁴⁸³

wnn wr.t r ntr.w ntry.t (hr) s^cd h^c.w n R^c m r3-^c.wy=s
s^cr.n=s tp=f m ^crr.t
r wdi hh=s r h3^c-hsbw=f

The greatest of gods and goddesses heals the body of Re with her actions,
 having ascended atop him as a uraeus,
 in order to send her breath of fire against his rebel.

As the apotropaic uraeus, Tjenenet eliminated the enemies of the sun god, with titles such as “agent of Re while striking, who burns the flesh of [his] enemies (*mh(.t)-ib n R^c m sk*,

¹⁴⁷⁷ Tjenenet as Hathor, cf. *Edfou* I, 100, 3; 174; 312, 6; *Tôd* I, 47, 7; for Tjenenet as Tefnut: *Edfou* I, 100, 3; 174, 14; 312, 4; Medinet Habu, First Pylon: PM II², p. 462 (10b) = *LD Text* iii, 151).

¹⁴⁷⁸ *Edfou* I, 174, 14; 312, 4 and 6; *Esna* VI, 488, 13; *Deir Chelouit* III, 145, 6; var. “daughter of Atum” (*Urk.* VIII, 9c = Aufrère, *Montou*, §§167-9).

¹⁴⁷⁹ *Edfou* I, 100, 4; *Esna* VI, 488, 13-14; *Opet* I, 141; *Deir Chelouit* III, 145, 8; Mond and Myers, *Temples of Armant*, Pl. 90.1; *Tôd* II, 15-16; var. “Eye of Re (*ir.t R^c*)” (*Deir Chelouit* I, 23, 7; *Tôd* I, 20; 71, 2; 126, 7; II, 182, 5-6; Medinet Habu, Gate of Domitian; PM II², p. 475, D; First Pylon: PM II², 462 (10b) = *LD Text* iii, 151).

¹⁴⁸⁰ *Edfou* I, 100, 3-4; vars. “the *mhn.t*-serpent, the uraeus of the All-Lord, who magnifies his tongue-fire while encircling his disk (*Mhn.t hr-tp n nb-dr swr nsr.t=s m phr itn=f*)” (*Edfou* I, 312, 5-6); “uraeus of the sundisk (*i^crr.t n itn*)” (*Deir Chelouit* I, 23, 12); “uraeus of Re-Harakhty (*hr.t-tp n R^c-Hr-3hty*)” (Aufrère, *Montou*, §§167-9 = *Urk.* VIII, 9c); “uraeus of Re, when she has made the day bright, the earth lives from the flame of [...] (*(hr.t)-tp n R^c, wps.n=s hrw ^cn^h t3 m nbi.t n [...]*)” (*Tôd* I, 130, 13-14).

¹⁴⁸¹ *Deir Chelouit* III, 130, 13-14.

¹⁴⁸² *Deir Chelouit* III, 133, 6.

¹⁴⁸³ *Deir Chelouit* III, 133, 11.

bt(.t) ḥꜥ.w n ḥfty.w[=f],”¹⁴⁸⁴ and “Akhtyt who rises from the Akhet and fells the enemies of [her] father (*3ḥt.t wbn m 3ḥ.t shꜣ ḥfti.w n it[=s]*).”¹⁴⁸⁵ The uraeus manifestation of Tjenenet features prominently in a monography from Tod:¹⁴⁸⁶

*Mnt (ḥr) di ḥr.t-tp=f ḥnꜥ=f r-ḥ3 m ḥw.t-Rꜥ
 ḥtp=s im=s m s.t-Rꜥ
 iw ḥw.t-nbw m sh n tnn.t-Iwny.t m ḏw n nbw*

Montu takes his uraeus with him out of the Temple of Re (= Tod),
 She dwells within it in the Throne of Re,
 the Gold Temple is the chapel of Tjenenet-Iunyt in the Golden Mountain.¹⁴⁸⁷

The violent Tjenenet could also appear with a lion’s head,¹⁴⁸⁸ or bear the particular epithet “fiery-one (*pꜥy.t*).”¹⁴⁸⁹

Tjenenet was also “mother of mothers,”¹⁴⁹⁰ “mother of the gods,”¹⁴⁹¹ “divine mother who birthed the gods (*mw.t-nꜥr ms(.t) nꜥr.w*),”¹⁴⁹² and more specifically “divine mother of Re (*mw.t-nꜥr n.t Rꜥ*).”¹⁴⁹³ A Ptolemaic priest held the title “he who contents the mother of

¹⁴⁸⁴ *Tôd* I, 126, 8-9.

¹⁴⁸⁵ *Tôd* II, 236, 14-15.

¹⁴⁸⁶ *Tôd* II, 322, 3.

¹⁴⁸⁷ For the Gold Temple at Tod, cf. the building inscription, *Tôd* II, 283B: “[...] he [built/made] the Gold House for his mother, Tjenenet upon divine ground (*[qd/ir].n=f ḥw.t-nbw n mw.t=f Tnn.t ḥr z3t nꜥry*).”

¹⁴⁸⁸ *Tôd* I, 126.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Aufrère, *Montou*, §§167-9 (= *Urk.* VIII, 9c), and p. 187, n. (m); see also *Deir Chelouit* III, 145, 5.

¹⁴⁹⁰ *Tôd* I, 71, 3-4; *Tôd* II, 236, 10-11; *Deir Chelouit* I, 17, 11.

¹⁴⁹¹ *Tôd* II, 231, 20-1.

¹⁴⁹² *Urk.* VIII, 9c (= Aufrère, *Montou*, §§167-9); var. “mother who birthed the gods (*tm3(.t) ms.t nꜥr.w*)” (*Edfou* I, 174, 17).

¹⁴⁹³ *Deir Chelouit* III, 130, 12; 133, 5 (“mother of Re”).

Montu, Tjenenet in Ar[mant] (*shr ib mw.t n Mnt, tnn.t nb(.t) Twnw [šmꜥ]*).¹⁴⁹⁴ Other epithets make it clear that Tjenenet was a primeval creator goddess, similar to Amunet or Rattawy (cf. **4.8** and **4.47**). She was thus “the ancestress of gods and goddesses (*df(n).t n ntr.w ntry.t*),”¹⁴⁹⁵ “the sparkling egg that came forth from Nun, the All-Lord since the beginning (*swḥ.t sbq.t wbn(.t) m Nwn, nb.t-dr dr b3ḥ*),”¹⁴⁹⁶ “great Neith who began pregnancy, Opet who begat all that is (*Nt wr.t š3ꜥ(.t) iwr, Ip.t wtt(.t) nty nb*),”¹⁴⁹⁷ and remarkably “the cow [...] of the great ones of the First Primeval time, who unites with her husband as a bull [...] (*id.t [...] wr.w nw p3wty-tpy, sns(n).t t3y=s m k3*).”¹⁴⁹⁸ The maternal aspect of Tjenenet is further underscored by her characteristic crown depicting a bovine uterus.¹⁴⁹⁹

4.54 Summary

The primary constellation of divinities at Thebes circled around Amun and the creation of the cosmos. In his form of Kematef, Amun was the first divinity to become manifest from within the chaotic primeval waters of Nun, sparking the first act of creation that resulted in the emergence of the twin serpents Amun-Irita and Mut, the primeval mother-uraeus. These deities were the first beings to emerge from Nun into the physical cosmos, and using Mut’s fire they cooked and dried up regions of the primeval waters to create the initial

¹⁴⁹⁴ Wild, *BIFAO* 54 (1954): 182, 189-91, n. (18), who instead translated “qui contente la mère de Montou et de Tanent (?), seigneur(s) d’Hermonthis (?).”

¹⁴⁹⁵ *Deir al-Médina*, 186, 5.

¹⁴⁹⁶ *Tôd* I, 71, 2-3.

¹⁴⁹⁷ *Deir Chelouit* III, 145, 7-8.

¹⁴⁹⁸ *Tôd* I, 1, 21-2; for another possible example of Tjenenet associated with the four primeval Rattawy cows of the Ogdoad, cf. *Tôd* II, 249, 2.

¹⁴⁹⁹ Derchain-Urtel, *Synkretismus in ägyptischer Ikonographie: Die Göttin Tjenenet*; Collombert, *RdE* 46 (1995): 205-8.

earth, and ultimately took up residence within Karnak, where they gave birth to the moon as Chonsu. In a slightly different tradition, Amenope-Tatenen, whose precise cosmogonic origins remain obscure, created the Ogdoad within Luxor Temple. The members of the Ogdoad then swim to Hermopolis where they mate, both as frogs and as bulls, to create the sun-god Re. In some accounts, the eight members of the Ogdoad unite to form a bull and a cow named Amun and Amunet, and thus Amunet can also be the mother of the sun.

The initial creation account of Kematef, Irita and Mut, was essentially a Theban version of the traditional Heliopolitan cosmogony in which Atum creates the initial divine pair of Shu and Tefnut. Amenope-Tatenen derives from a particularly Memphite theology where Ptah-Tatenen created the initial group of builder gods, while the Ogdoad were originally from Hermopolis. The Theban priests thus incorporated the three major cosmogonic traditions from Heliopolis, Memphis, and Hermopolis, and reshaped them into a unified theory in which Amun was simultaneously Atum, the son of Atum, the creator of the Ogdoad, a member of the Ogdoad, and the solar-child of the Ogdoad.

On top of this already complex array of Amuns comes the theological world of Chonsu. Originally born in the Mut Temple, Chonsu resided in his own temple at Karnak as Chonsu in Thebes Neferhotep, accompanied by Hathor of Benenet. As a lunar deity, he filled the role of supreme judge and vizier, often in the composite form of Chonsu-Thoth, while Hathor of Benenet functioned as both Maat and Seshat. As vizier, Chonsu in Thebes Neferhotep commanded a number of subordinate administrative Chonsus with authority over messenger demons, using their power to protect the faithful (*Chonsu-p3-ir-shr.w*, *Chonsu-p3-dr*), or to punish the wicked (*Chonsu-p3-shn*). *Chonsu-p3-ir-shr.w* and *Chonsu-wn-nhn* were literally the eyes and ears of Chonsu, communicating his decisions through oracles. Finally,

Chonsu-Shu acted as Tatenen to create the Ogdoad in Chonsu Temple in yet another variant of the creation account, and he also brought food offerings to the gods of Djeme every morning.

Montu had four cult centers around Thebes, and the four Montus were associated with the four males of the Ogdoad as well as the first four men of the Ennead. In Armant, where the influence of Heliopolis was particularly strong, the chief god Montu of Armant was essentially Atum, while his successor Montu-Re-Harakhty was the local form of Re. Montu of Tod took the form of Shu-Onuris in the annual battle against Apophis at Djedem, and Montu of Medamud represented Geb while guarding Thebes from the north-east. Montu Lord of Thebes, meanwhile, resembled Osiris insofar as he was a Theban-born king presiding over Karnak, but he differed from Osiris in that he was neither deceased nor a lunar god.

Each Montu was paired with a local Rattawy, and the four Rattawys collectively embodied the female members of the Ogdoad. At Karnak and Armant, Rattawy was the mother of Harpre the Child, a god who appears to have been identical with Thoth of Armant. While all Rattawys were essentially Hathoric, Rattawy of Medamud in particular seems to have enjoyed elaborate drinking and dancing festivals. At Armant, Tjenedet was also a consort of the solar Montu-Re-Harakhty, acting primarily as a fiery protector goddess.

Thebes was home to a number of child gods, all of whom celebrated their annual rebirth during the Chonsu Festival. Mut was the mother of Chonsu the Child in the Mut Temple, but there was also Isis and Harsiese in the Opet Temple, Hathor of Thebes and Somtous at Deir el-Medina, while Rattawy gave birth to Harpre the Child in Armant and

possibly North Karnak. The most important birth festival, however, commemorated the Theban creation of Osiris by Nut-Opet in the Opet Temple.

Amenhotep son of Hapu and Imhotep at Deir el-Bahari and the Ptah Temple were perhaps the most renowned oracular healing gods in Thebes. However, there was also a similar popular cult of “Amun who hears Prayers” behind the Akh-Menu in Karnak, as well as a small chapel of Chonsu-*p3-ir-shr.w*, who also protected against diseases. For legal disputes, local citizens took oaths before both Chonsu of Thebes Neferhotep, as well as the August Bull of Medamud.

At Medinet Habu, Amun-Kematef, the Ogdoad, and Osiris of Djeme remained below the earth in the Grotto of Nun, controlling the Inundation and receiving a variety of mortuary offerings. Chonsu-Shu would bring food from Karnak every day, Amenope of Djeme would arrive from Luxor every week, while Montu-Re-Harakhty would travel from Armant every year during the Sokar Festival. In addition to these regularly scheduled visits, Isis of Deir Shelwit and Thoth-*stm* from Qasr el-Agouz, also took care of the ancestor gods, as did Harsiese. The circle of deceased gods also included the mummified Buchis bull of Armant, as well as the Children of Re who were buried under the White Sand of Djedem.

Chapter 5

Temple Activity in the Roman Period

5.0 Introduction

The substantial archaeological and epigraphic evidence for temple construction, renovation, decoration, and priestly activity at Thebes demonstrates that the temples not only continued to function, but actually grew during the Roman Period. Scholars have largely downplayed the significance of the physical evidence,¹ in large part because many of the relevant monuments have only recently been discovered,² or have never been published.³ These previous surveys have only considered the scale of Roman building projects in Thebes, with little regard for the function or purpose of the additions and even less for the actual content of the numerous hieroglyphic inscriptions on the monuments.

Furthermore, previous analyses of Roman Period temple activity in Egypt have focused on the personal attitudes of emperors towards Egyptian religion and their official policies towards Oriental cults in Rome.⁴ While this approach might explain the high level

¹ E.g. Bataille, *CdE* 26 (1951): 345: “On constate ça et là quelques constructions d’Auguste, de Tibère, des Flaviens et des Antonins: peu de chose en définitive auprès de ce qu’avaient fait les Ptolémées”; Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, p. 262: “This (temple) activity continued under succeeding emperors, but at a rapidly declining rate (...) the last inscription at Thebes (Karnak) is of Domitian (...) there is nothing later than Antoninus in the entire Theban region”; Vandorpe, in Vleeming, ed., *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, p. 237: “The activity of the great temples had almost ceased. There were, however, some important contributions by Augustus, Tiberius, the Flavii and the Antonini to the building and decoration of some of the temple.”

² Among the Roman Period buildings at Thebes, the following structures do not feature in PM II², and thus are not necessarily well-known by non-specialists: **5.1.1.1, 5.1.2, 5.1.3, 5.1.4, 5.1.6, 5.1.7, 5.3.3, 5.10.1, 5.11.2, 5.12.1, 5.13.1, 5.14.1, 5.15.1.**

³ **5.3.2.1-4, 5.11.1.1-15, 5.11.5.**

⁴ E.g. Kákósy, *Acta Antiqua Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32 (1989): 129-36; Traunecker, *Coptos*, pp. 329-30; Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, pp. 267-8.

of temple building under Nero and Domitian, it cannot explain why the majority of Egyptian construction and decoration took place under supposedly traditionalist emperors like Augustus, Tiberius, and Antoninus Pius.⁵ A more productive inquiry requires comparing the general building policies of each emperor throughout the Roman Empire, while also considering the political and economical conditions in Egypt.⁶

The following chapter catalogues all known architectural and epigraphic evidence for Roman Period temple activity in Thebes from Augustus to Constantine. Particular attention will be paid to the context of each structure to determine the significance and function of the renovations and additions, and especially how they related to the surrounding Pharaonic monuments. In addition, this survey includes translations and textual commentary of all major Theban temple inscriptions from the Roman Period, the majority of which are unpublished. These hieroglyphic texts are of the utmost importance for interpreting the architectural evidence, and they also provide many important details about the theology and religious festivals during the Roman Period.

⁵ Kaper, in Kaper, ed., *Life on the Fringe*, p. 140, even noted: "It is interesting to observe how the intensity of building activities ascribed to the Roman emperors in Egypt stood in reverse relation to the private interests of the individual emperors and their support for the Egyptian cults in Rome."

⁶ While of course multitudes of books study different aspects of Roman Egypt, the only comprehensive political history of the period is the short and outdated work by Milne, *A History of Egypt under Roman Rule*; nonetheless, one can consult the brief surveys of Bowman, in Bowman, et al., eds., *The Cambridge Ancient History*², X, pp. 676-702; idem, in Bowman, et al., eds., *The Cambridge Ancient History*², XII, pp. 313-326; Jouguet, *La domination romaine en Égypte*; Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule*; further general introductions appear in the exhibition catalogues: Willems and Clarysse, ed., *Les empereurs du Nil*, and Musées de Marseille, *Égypte Romaine, l'autre Égypte*; for the economic history of Egypt, see in general Johnson, *Egypt and the Roman Empire* (although the primary focus is Byzantine Egypt).

I Augustus (30 BCE – 14 CE)

“Since the city (Rome) was not adorned as the majesty of the Empire demanded and was exposed to flood and fire, he so beautified it that he could justly boast that he had found it built of brick and left it in marble.”

Suetonius, *Augustus*, 28 (trans. Rolfe)

5.1.0 Introduction

On August 1, 30 BCE, Octavian entered Alexandria at the head of his victorious army.⁷ In the following days, Cleopatra committed suicide, Ptolemy XV Caesarion was murdered, and the younger children of Antony were adopted by Octavia. Octavian could thus famously state “I added Egypt to the Empire of the Roman people (*Aegyptum imperio populi Romani adieci*).”⁸ However, the death of Antony effectively ended the Second Triumvirate, thereby complicating the political situation in Rome, and Octavian required several years to define his new role as sole ruler.⁹ Taking care not to resemble too closely Julius Caesar, working to satisfy both Senators attached to late Republican ideals and Eastern administrators previously attached to Marc Antony, Octavian only became Princeps and “Augustus” after the First Settlement of January, 27 BCE.¹⁰ The early Principate remained rather unstable, facing various crises and minor revolts, and only at the end of the 20’s BCE that Augustus’s reign was firmly established in Rome itself.¹¹

⁷ For the final days of the Ptolemaic Period, see Huß, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit*, pp. 748-9.

⁸ *Res Gestae*, §27.

⁹ For the transition from Republic to Empire, see in general Syme, *The Roman Revolution*; for the actions of Augustus in particular, see more recently, Lacey, *Augustus and the Principate*.

¹⁰ Rich, *Cassius Dio and the Augustan Settlement*; Lacey, *Augustus and the Principate*; Kienast, *Augustus*, pp. 78-99.

¹¹ Kienast, *Augustus*, pp. 111ff.

The years following Actium were just as difficult for Egypt, which underwent significant changes.¹² The former Ptolemaic Empire was now a Roman province governed by a prefect, Alexandria was denied the right to a Senate (*boulê*), the administrative system was substantially revised, and three legions, nine cohorts, and three cavalry-wings (*alae*) of the Roman army were installed throughout the country.¹³ The early Roman administration of Egypt was not very popular, since at some point before April 29 BCE, a revolt broke out in Upper Egypt within the Qena Bend.¹⁴ According to Strabo, this rebellion in the Thebaid came about “because of taxes (*διὰ τοὺς φόρους*),” most likely the new poll-tax applied to all farmers in the *chora*.¹⁵ The most detailed account, however, comes from the trilingual

¹² For the transition period, see Geraci, *Genesi della provincia romana d’Egitto*; Capponi, *Augustan Egypt*.

¹³ Strabo, *Geography*, 17, 1.52; see Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt*, pp. 20, 27-8.

¹⁴ Stickler, „*Gallus amore peribat*“?, pp. 77-8; Veisse, *Les « révoltes égyptiennes »*, pp. 74-6; the terminus *ante quem* is given by the Hieroglyphic date on the Cornelius Gallus stela (Locher, *Ancient Society* 32 [2002]: 92, n. 52).

¹⁵ Strabo, *Geography*, 17, 1.53; this is the interpretation of Rathbone, *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 4 (1993): 88, noting that the earliest Egyptian poll-tax receipts come from Thebes already in 24/23 BCE; a similar testimony appears in Ammianus Marcellinus (17, 4.5) in a discussion of damage done to Thebes: “Long afterwards, Cornelius Gallus, who was procurator of Egypt in the reign of Octavian, ruined the city by peculation on a large scale. When he returned home he was put on trial for his thefts and for pillaging the province” (trans. Hamilton, *The Later Roman Empire*, p. 121).

(Hieroglyphic, Latin, Greek) stela of the prefect Cornelius Gallus erected at Philae,¹⁶ in which he claimed to be:¹⁷

*defection[is] Thebaidis intra dies XV, quibus hostem v[icit, bis] acie victor,
V urbium expugnator, Bore[se]os, Copti, Ceramices, Diospoleos
Meg[ales, Op]hieu, ducibus earum defectionum inter[ce]ptis*

“Victor over the revolte[d] Thebaid within fifteen days, during which he [twice] d[efeated] the enemy [in b]attle, and conqueror of five cities: Bore[sis], Coptos, Keramike, Diospolis Magna, Ophieon, after having cau[gh]t the leaders of their revolts (...).”

τὴν Θηβαΐδα ἀποστσαν ἐν πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμέραις δις [ἐν παρ]ατάξει κατὰ κράτος νικήσας σὺν τῶι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν ἀντιταξαμένων ἐλεῖν, πέν[τε τε πό]λεις τὰς μὲν ἐξ ἐφόδου, τὰς δὲ ἐκ πολιορκί[ας] καταλαβόμενος, Βορήσιν, Κόπτον, Κεραμική[ν, Διόσπ]ολιν μεγάλην, Ὀφιῆον

“(He) who twice in fifteen days defeated [in ba]ttle and by force the revolted Thebaid, capturing the leaders of those arrayed against him, and took fi[ve ci]ties, some by storm, others by siege: Bore[sis], Coptos, Keramik[e, Diosp]olis Magna, Ophieon.”

The precise location of these toponyms has been debated over the years. While the identities of Coptos (Qift), Diospolis Magna (Karnak), and Keramike (Medamud)¹⁸ are well-

¹⁶ For the texts and translations of the Greek and Latin portions, see most recently Stickler, „*Gallus amore peribat*“?, pp. 19-24, 75-83; Locher, *Ancient Society* 32 (2002): 93; Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, pp. 123-4, n. 45, 173-3, n. 320; the Hieroglyphic portion is extremely difficult to read, mainly because the stone is worn down and it is hard to distinguish the individual signs. The edition of the hieroglyphic portion published by Borchhardt and Erman, *SPAW* 1896, pp. 472-4, has not yet been replaced, although a new edition by M. Minas-Nerpel, F. Hoffmann, and S. Pfeiffer is in preparation (personal communication by Prof. Minas-Nerpel); the only “translations” of the hieroglyphic inscription are by Erman, in Lyons and Bochart, *SBAW* 20 (1896): 474-5, and Pierce, in Eide, et al., eds., *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*, II, pp. 696-9; nonetheless, a reasonable summary of the Hieroglyphic text can be found in Žabkar, *Hymns to Isis in Her Temple at Philae*, pp. 70-2; Grenier, in *ANRW* II, 18.5, p. 3185; Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, pp. 236-7.

¹⁷ Text after Stickler, „*Gallus amore peribat*“?, p. 76; slightly modified translation of Hägg, in Eide, et al., eds., *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*, II, pp. 691 and 695.

¹⁸ Even though Bataille demonstrated long ago that Keramike was Medamud (Bataille, *CdE* 21 [1946]: 237-44; idem, *Les Memnonia*, p. 26), some scholars continue to repeat the old theory that Keramike must be Ballas, because the latter town was famous for pottery (the so-called “Ballas jars”); e.g. Stickler, „*Gallus amore peribat*“?, p. 77; Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, p. 233, n. 665.

established, Borexis and Ophieum have so far resisted identification.¹⁹ The cities appear to be listed from north to south, so Borexis should be north of Coptos. As Bowman has already noted, Borexis may be identical with the Upper Egyptian Busiris that rebelled in league with Coptos against Diocletian around 293 CE, and in fact a papyrus from 315 CE lists Borexis alongside Qena (Maximianopolis) and Dendera.²⁰ Based on the toponym and its relative geographic location, reasonable candidates might be Ballas or Farshut.²¹ Ophieum might correspond to Opet (Luxor Temple),²² but it more likely designates Egyptian Hefat, modern day Mo'alla.²³ Since Gallus only spent fifteen days capturing all five cities, the shorter

¹⁹ E.g. Veisse, *Les « révoltes égyptiennes »*, p. 76: “la localisation de Borèsis reste énigmatique, mais on peut supposer qu’il s’agit d’un village situé en aval de Coptos.”

²⁰ Bowman, *BASP* 21 (1984): 31-4, citing P. Erlangen 52; no recent discussions of the Gallus stela mention Bowman’s valuable suggestions or the late mention of Borexis.

²¹ The modern Deir el-Ballas is phonetically quite similar to Borexis, very close to Coptos, and there is some evidence of Graeco-Roman occupation there: Parker, *JARCE* 2 (1963): 113-6. Farshut is somewhat less likely, as it was actually pronounced in Coptic as **ΒΕΡϢΟΥΤ** (S), **ΒΕΡϢΩΤ** (B) in Coptic (Brovarski, in Lesko, ed., *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies in Memory of William A. Ward*, pp. 40-1), it was substantially further north from Coptos, and there is little evidence of Pharaonic or Graeco-Roman installations there. Nonetheless, one cannot overstress the importance of the Luxor-Farshut road for Pharaonic residents of the Qena Bend (cf. Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, I, *passim*) and it would have been strategically important for both the rebels and for Gallus to control.

²² This is the generally accepted identification (e.g., most recently Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, p. 233, n. 665, calling the town Orphieum); however, this identification is problematic on phonetic grounds, as *Ἰρ.τ* is always vocalized with an omega, not an omicron (see most recently Thissen, *Das Rheinische Museum für Philologie* 145 [2002]: 47-8); a later Arabic martyr legend mentions a Diocletianic military camp near a town called al-Hifa in connection with Luxor Temple (Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, III, pp. 110-1).

²³ Thus Erman, *SPAW* 1896, p. 478; Yoyotte and Charvin, *Strabon. Le voyage en Égypte*, p. 263; this identification is etymologically more likely (cf. *ḥḥw*, “snake” > **ϢϢ**; Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 319); Hefat appears in religious inscriptions of the Graeco-Roman Period (Gardiner, *AEO* II, pp. 15*-17*; Wild, *BIFAO* 54 [1954]: 193-4; Montet, *Géographie*, II, pp. 49-50), and was historically an important military site (Vandier, *Mo’alla*, pp. 5-8, *et passim*); it is likely that Ophieion is another name for Touphion, a city which Ptolemy located south-east of Thebes, as already suggested by Daressy, *ASAE* 19 (1920): 243 (although he thought both toponyms were Luxor); this hypothesis has been rejected by scholars who continue to identify Touphion with Tod (e.g. É. Bernand, *Inscriptions grecques d’Égypte et de Nubie au Musée du Louvre*, pp. 58-9; Kayser, *ZPE* 97 [1993]: 219, n. 16); for Touphion < *ḥḥ.t*, cf. already Gardiner, *AEO* II, p. 15*. One should also note a contemporaneous inscription from Wadi Semna in the Eastern desert recording the dedication of a “temple in the Ophiate region (ἐν τῶι Ὀφιᾶτι ἱερῶν)” (Bernand, *Pan du désert*, No. 51, 11, pp. 120-1; on p. 127, Bernand claimed that the saw no relation to the Cornelius Gallus stela).

itinerary from Ballas to Luxor would have been slightly easier. However, capturing Farshut and Hefat would have given him complete control of the whole Qena Bend, i.e. the entire Thebaid. In any event, after his experience suppressing the rebellion, Cornelius Gallus may have later tried to enlist Theban soldiers in a failed effort to lead his own revolt against Augustus.²⁴

The next prefect, Aelius Gallus, seems to have reneged on the agreement Cornelius Gallus established with the Meroitic chiefs, and placed the Triakontaschoinos back under the administrative control of the Elephantine nome.²⁵ This led to an invasion of Upper Egypt (up to the Thebaid)²⁶ by disaffected Nubian raiders, and the protracted Nubian campaigns of the following prefect, Publius Petronius that only ended with the treaty of Samos in 20 BCE.²⁷ From this point on, Egypt and Nubia do not seem to have caused Augustus any substantial troubles.

In the area of religion, Augustus has typically been described as apathetic or even hostile towards local Egyptian traditions and Egyptianizing cults in Rome.²⁸ This perception is in large part the result of the formal propaganda directed against Antony and Cleopatra, and the general anti-Eastern sentiment popular in Rome before the Battle of Actium, and

²⁴ P. Oxy. 37, 2820, I, 19-22; this is the most recent interpretation of a very controversial text by Stickler, „*Gallus amore peribat*“?, pp. 36-7; cf. also Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, pp. 238-40.

²⁵ For this interpretation of the events, cf. Locher, *Ancient Society* 32 (2002): 75-96.

²⁶ Strabo, *Geography*, 17, 1, 54; for this passage, cf. Locher, *Ancient Society* 32 (2002): 77-8.

²⁷ For the Roman-Nubian battles, see primarily Locher, *Ancient Society* 32 (2002): 96-133; Stickler, „*Gallus amore peribat*“?, pp. 85-101; Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, II, pp. 17-9.

²⁸ E.g. Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration des cultes égyptiens en Italie*, pp. 385-9; this view has been challenged most recently by Dundas, *Historia* 51 (2002): 433-448.

well-known from classical poets and historians.²⁹ While Augustus may actually have delivered the jingoistic speech before the Battle of Actium,³⁰ he certainly never fought against the traditional Egyptian gods as recorded in Book VIII of the Aeneid.

Nonetheless, the actions of Octavian while still in Egypt (30 BCE)³¹ require some degree of explanation. After paying homage to the body of Alexander, Octavian turned down a chance to see the deceased Ptolemies, claiming “I came to see kings, not corpses,”³² and similarly refused to visit the Apis bull, adding that he “was accustomed to worshipping gods, not cattle.”³³ Grenier has noted that these actions were “désagréable” and compared them to the atrocities attributed to the earlier Persian conquerer, Cambyses.³⁴ While Octavian may have gone too far disrespecting the native cults, it may not have been due to anti-Egyptian sentiments, as much as anti-Ptolemaic attitudes. A closer examination of Octavian’s actions in Egypt shows that he took pains from the very beginning to appeal to the Alexandrians, notably by addressing the crowd in Greek, and above all respecting the body of the city’s founder, Alexander the Great. Octavian tried in many ways to emulate the respected Alexander, especially after the Battle of Actium, to the extent that the latter’s

²⁹ This point was made already by Glare, *The Temples of Egypt*, p. 31; Dundas, *Historia* 51 (2002): 435-8; Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharaos*, pp. 206-9, *et passim*; for Augustan pre-Actium, anti-Egyptian propaganda, cf. Scott, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 11 (1933): 7-49; Zanker, trans. Shapiro, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, pp. 57-62; Wyke, in Powell, ed., *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus*, pp. 98-140 (for classical views of Cleopatra); Gurval, *Augustus and Actium*.

³⁰ Dio Cassius, L, 24-30.

³¹ For Octavian’s official acts in Alexander, see primarily Dio Cassius LI, 16.3-5.

³² Dio Cassius, LI, 16.5; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 18.

³³ Dio Cassius, LI, 16.5; similarly Suetonius, *Augustus*, 93.

³⁴ Grenier, in *ANRW* II 18.5, pp. 3182-4; idem, in: Musées de Marseille, *L’Égypte romaine, l’autre Égypte*, p. 38

image was depicted on Octavian's private seal.³⁵ Just as Alexander was said to have been fathered by Amun, so was there an Egyptian tradition that Octavian's mother, Atia, was actually impregnated by Apollo in the form of a snake.³⁶ Octavian was most likely trying as hard as possible to distance himself, in the eyes of Rome and Egypt, not from Egyptian religion, but from Antony, Cleopatra, and the succession of decadent Hellenistic Ptolemies of the preceding centuries, and compare himself to the widely respected Alexander.

Little evidence in Egypt itself suggests that Augustus sought to antagonize the native priesthood and religious institutions.³⁷ New regulations and inspections, traditionally interpreted as stifling the potentially rebellious priesthood, need to be seen in the context of earlier Egyptian and Ptolemaic practices, as well as the overall increase of bureaucracy in the early Imperial period which touched all aspects of Egyptian life.

Egyptian documents show a more nuanced view of native priests and their interactions with Augustus. A priest from Herakleopolis mentions making requests directly to the new Emperor,³⁸ an unusual claim that led Grenier to hypothesize a type of imperial *conventus* in Alexandria, "où, durant son court séjour, Octavien dut convoquer sans doute les notables civils et religieux de Basse Égypte pour leur signifier l'ordre nouveau qui allait

³⁵ For Augustus and Alexander, cf. Kienast, *Gymnasium* 76 (1969): 432-40; Gurval, *Augustus and Actium*, pp. 70-3; Hölbl, in Schade-Busch, ed., *Wege öffnen*, p. 98; and especially Spencer, *The Roman Alexander*, p. 269 (s.v. "Augustus").

³⁶ For the Egyptianizing story of Octavian's conception, cf. Grandet, *RHR* 203 (1986): 365-379; Heinen, in *ANRW* II.18.5, pp. 3170-1; Hölbl, in Schade-Busch, ed., *Wege öffnen*, p. 107.

³⁷ This is the conclusion of Glare, *The Temples of Egypt: the Impact of Rome*; Dundas, *Historia* 51 (2002): 433-8; Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*.

³⁸ Grenier, *RdE* 37 (1986): 81-9.

désormais prévaloir.”³⁹ The final two stelae from the Serapeum at Memphis record that Augustus appointed Psenamun to be the High Priest of Ptah, as well as “priest of Caesar.”⁴⁰

One of Augustus’s many achievements was the extensive list of building and renovation projects carried out within the capital of Rome.⁴¹ This attempt at urban renewal was not limited to Rome, but affected all of the provinces as well.⁴² Egypt itself saw an incredible boom in temple decoration and construction under Augustus, primarily in Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia.⁴³ New temples were built at Shanhur, El-Qal’a, Dendera, Philae, Dendur, Qertassi, Kalabsha, Dakka, Maharaqqa, and decoration continued at Coptos, Dendera, Kom Ombo, Elephantine, Philae, Biggeh, Debod, and in the Fayyum.

Whether or not Augustus was interested in Egyptian cults, he was definitely aware of the propagandistic benefits of displaying his image and titulary in the temples across Egypt, as in any other province.⁴⁴ If nothing else, the imperial money spent restoring temples, and the Roman administrators, soldiers, and laborers sent to carry out these works, would all help

³⁹ Grenier, *RdE* 37 (1986): 88.

⁴⁰ Crawford, in *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis*, pp. 40-2; Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, pp. 294-6.

⁴¹ Gros, *Aurea Tempia*, pp. 15-52 (primarily for temples); Kienast, *Augustus*³, pp. 408-49; and most recently Favro, in Galinsky, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*, pp. 234-263.

⁴² For building projects in the West, cf. Mierse, in Raaflaub and Toher, eds., *Between Republic and Empire*, pp. 308-333; for the East, cf. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, pp. 94-5.

⁴³ Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, pp. 230-248; Grenier, *Les titulaires des empereurs romains*, pp. 9-16; Kákosy, in *ANRW* II.18.5, pp. 2904-5; Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I, pp. 9-24; II, *passim*; Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, p. 262; see most thoroughly Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, pp. 139-209; note also Cauville, *RdE* 57 (2008): 29-31, for Augustus at Dendera.

⁴⁴ See in general Zanker, trans. Shapiro, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*; cf. particularly his comments on the Emperor cult (p. 299): “One encountered pictures and statues of him (sc. the Emperor) everywhere, and there were also, of course, the coins with his likeness, minted in almost every city. This in itself represented a unique means of honoring the world ruler on a scale never seen before.”

pacify the notoriously rebellious native Upper Egyptians.⁴⁵ It is in fact notable that the most of Augustus's constructions in Egypt focused around the areas in which he faced serious opposition in the 20's BCE (see *supra*), namely Lower Nubia and the Qena Bend (Coptos, El-Qal'a, Shanhur, and Thebes).⁴⁶ Thebes was not excluded from the general boom of temple activity in Egypt. Substantial temple construction, renovation, and decoration took place at Karnak (Dromos, First Pylon, Opet Temple, Chonsu Temple), Medamud, the Mut Temple, Luxor Temple, Deir el-Medineh, Deir Shelwit, and Tod (cf. **Plate 1**).⁴⁷

5.1.1 Karnak (cf. Plate 2)

5.1.1.1 Dromos and First Pylon (cf. Plate 3)

Roman building activity features prominently at the primary temple entrance from the west, encompassing the riverine tribune,⁴⁸ the dromos,⁴⁹ and the First Pylon. Careful excavations of the dromos have revealed several ground levels, and one may thus conclude that the clearance and repaving of the entire processional entrance dates to the beginning of

⁴⁵ Cf. already the comments of Capponi, *Augustan Egypt*, p. 29: "That Egypt was under Roman rule was also clear from two other important factors: the immigration of Roman officials in Alexandria and in the *chora*, and the ubiquitous presence of Roman soldiers and veterans, who carried out both military and civil tasks throughout the province."

⁴⁶ Commenting on the heavy concentration of building activity around Coptos, Pantalacci and Traunecker, *ASAE* 70 (1984-85): 134, hesitated to conclude whether "ce soit à la suite de cette opposition de débuts de l'Empire, ou en raison des intérêts économiques des Romains dans le région." Cf. similarly Traunecker, *Coptos*, §214.

⁴⁷ Compare the negative, and inaccurate, evaluation of work under Augustus at Thebes by Charvet and Yoyotte, *Strabon, le voyage en Égypte*, p. 174, n. 437: "La seule manifestation connue du règne d'Auguste est la poursuite, inachevée, de l'ornementation extérieure du petit temple ptolémaïque d'Opet, le Démétrion, à Karnak."

⁴⁸ For the function and significance of the temple tribune, cf. Traunecker, *Le chapelle d'Achôris*, II, pp. 89-93; Jaritz, in Janosi, ed., *Structure and Significance*, pp. 341-400.

⁴⁹ For the west dromos of Karnak and all its associated structures and statues, see most recently Cabrol, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*, pp. 16-8, 117-36, 189-207, 430-3, 581-9.

the Roman period.⁵⁰ In addition, new socles were provided for the row of sphinxes, and a new system of irrigation canals was installed to water the plants along the dromos.⁵¹

Further highlighting the east-west processional route of Karnak, Augustus redesigned and renovated the portal of the uninscribed and incomplete First Pylon of the Thirtieth Dynasty.⁵² A new sandstone lintel was installed with four reliefs depicting Augustus offering Maat to the Theban Triad and wine to ithyphallic forms of Amun.⁵³ Augustus in the role of Pharaoh was therefore the first image any visitor to Karnak would see.

The most significant construction along this newly renovated processional route was the small, prostyle, granite and mudbrick temple built perpendicular to the right (south) of the dromos, immediately before the First Pylon.⁵⁴ This temple was dedicated to the Emperor cult,⁵⁵ and bases to several of the Imperial statues erected within have survived. Two statue bases are dedicated to Augustus “son of God, Zeus Eleutherios.”⁵⁶ This designation appears

⁵⁰ Cabrol, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*, pp. 133-4 (with references to earlier literature), demonstrates that the *terminus ante quem* for the dromos is Year 1 of Tiberius (Cabrol, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*, p. 133, n. 90), since the subsequent level contained his stelae (cf. *infra*); this can be pushed back even earlier, since the Imperial shrine (cf. *infra*) dates to Augustus. However, it is possible that some of this work on the dromos took place under Cleopatra VII, as the priests of Thebes credited Kallimachos with having built the “terrace (κρηπίς)” of a temple, presumably Karnak (Bernand, *La prose sur pierre*, I, pp. 108-9, l. 25 [No. 46]; cf. Thiers, in Molin, ed., *Les régulations sociales dans l’antiquité*, p. 290).

⁵¹ Cabrol, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*, p. 133, referred to this renovation project as “un programme rénovateur de grande envergure.” Note the contemporaneous renovation of the temple dromos at Tebtunis: Rondot, *Le temple de Soknebtynis et son dromos*, §§160-166.

⁵² Lauffray, *Kêmi* 20 (1970): 102-3.

⁵³ Lauffray, *Kêmi* 20 (1970): 103, Fig. 3; good photographs of this otherwise undiscussed lintel were kindly provided by Dr. Luc Gabolde (CFEETK, Neg. N°s 1332 and 1333); these blocks are not discussed in Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharaos*.

⁵⁴ Lauffray, *Kêmi* 21 (1971): 118-121; Cabrol, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*, p. 660; Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I, pp. 22-4, Abb. 17 and 18.

⁵⁵ Lauffray, *Kêmi* 21 (1971): 120, already assumed that “il est possible que ce petit temple était dédiée au culte impérial,” without further discussion; for the function of this temple, cf. the discussion *infra*.

⁵⁶ Jouguet, *ASAE* 39 (1939): 603-4; idem, *ASAE* 40 (1940): 635-7.

otherwise only rarely in Greek and Demotic documents,⁵⁷ and it is possible that the present reference to Augustus as Zeus(-Amun) was due in part to the location of the shrine before Karnak temple. Such an interpretation is strengthened most of all by the theological significance of the mudbrick temple (cf. *infra*). In any event, this epithet is not attested until Year 7 of Augustus (23 BCE),⁵⁸ suggesting that the Emperor shrine was not built until the political situation had stabilized in Upper Egypt and Nubia (cf. *supra*). An uninscribed colossal statue found in Karnak, now in the Egyptian Museum, has recently been identified as Augustus in Egyptian style.⁵⁹ Although the exact provenance of the statue is unknown, it may have been placed within or before the Emperor shrine.⁶⁰

In 1893, before the remains of the Emperor cult shrine were excavated and studied, another colossal statue (4.15 meters tall) of Amenhotep son of Hapu was found in its immediate vicinity.⁶¹ Wildung dated the statue to the reign of Ptolemy II, but this was based

⁵⁷ Bureth, *Les Titulatures impériales*, p. 24; for the various interpretations of Augustus as “son of god” (*divi filius*), or equated with “Zeus Eleutherios,” cf. Geraci, *Genesi della provincia romana d’Egitto*, pp. 153-4; Felber, *GM* 123 (1991): 27-36; Hölbl, in Schade-Busch, ed., *Wege öffnen*, p. 106; Herklotz, *Princeps und Pharao*, pp. 247-50, 256-61.

⁵⁸ Felber, *GM* 123 (1991): 30, n. 14.

⁵⁹ CG 701; the suggested identification with Augustus made by Strocka, in: Stucky and Jucker, eds., *Eikones*, pp. 177-80, has been generally accepted (e.g. Heinen, in *ANRW* II.18.5, Pl. 10; Hölbl, in Schade-Busch, ed., *Wege öffnen*, p. 103; idem, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I, p. 23; Herklotz, *Princeps und Pharao*, pp. 365-7). Nonetheless, this hypothesis has been rejected by Boschung, *Die Bildnisse des Augustus*, p. 202, No. 268*, while Walker, in Walker and Ashton, eds. *Cleopatra Re-assessed*, p. 82, plausibly suggested the statue might instead represent Ptolemy V.

⁶⁰ Suggested by Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I, p. 23; note that the colossal statue was only 2.9 meters tall and thus could easily have fit inside the small Roman temple, the interior height of which was at least 5.4 meters, according to Lauffray, *Kémi* 21 (1971): 120.

⁶¹ CG 1199 (not discussed by Herklotz, *Princeps und Pharao*); Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 251-5; idem, *Egyptian Saints*, pp. 107-8; Daressy, *RT* 19 (1897): 12, described the original position of the statue: “Cette statue était à huit mètres du grande pylône de l’ouest, la face tournée vers ce pylône, à quelques pas en arrière et au sud de l’avenue de béliers. La situation était assez bizarre, et il est probable que le monument n’était pas dans sa position primitive.”

on rather tenuous stylistic comparisons.⁶² The statue is definitely archaizing, and the tense forearm muscles are specific to statues of the Old Kingdom and Late Period.⁶³ The hieroglyphic texts of the statue should date to the Graeco-Roman Period on the basis of the late orthographies, but it is not possible to conclude whether they are Ptolemaic or early Roman. Above the offering formula and titles inscribed on the socle, one finds the Greek titulary of Augustus: “Kaisaros Autokrator, Son of God, Zeus Eleutherios Sebastos.”⁶⁴ Wildung assumed the titulary was a later addition, but this is also far from certain.

The back pillar of the statue (now inaccessible) contains a three column inscription:⁶⁵

¹ *sš-nsw imy-r3 mšc Imn-ḥtp m3c-ḥrw dd[=f]*

*[i Im]n-[Rc] n[sw.t]-ntr.w nb-p3wty-t3.wy ḥnty Ip.t-s.wt
i.my sdd snn=i pn m-ḥnw ḥw.t-ntr=k
mi wbn n=k šww šhs n=k ḥcpi
di=k šsp=i snw.w hr c3b=k rc-nb
mi cm.w nw sp3.wt [nb.t]^(a)*

² *sš-nsw sš-nfr.w ḥry-tp Imn-ḥtp m3c-ḥrw dd=f*

*šms=i nsw.t-biti (nb-m3c.t-Rc) | z3-Rc (Imn-ḥtp ḥq3-W3s.t) |
sḥ.n=f(wi) r sḥ.w wr.w
tni=f wi imytw šny.t=f
iw=i m sd m3c n biti*

⁶² Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 254-5, dated the statue based on the remarks of Bothmer, *Egyptian Statuary of the Late Period*, p. 127, who claimed merely that private colossal statues tend to date to the reigns of Ptolemy II and XII. However, not only is this not a precise dating criterion, but it is debatable whether or not this would even apply to Amenhotep son of Hapu in this period, as he was not considered to be an ordinary private citizen.

⁶³ Observation of Prof. J.C. Darnell; for the tense forearm muscles in Egyptian statuary, see the detailed discussion of Russmann, *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 8 (1973): 140-1. As Russmann notes, the forearm became less pronounced in the Middle Kingdom, almost non-existent in the New Kingdom, only to reappear in archaizing sculpture of the Saite Period. Thus a possible *terminus post quem* for the Amenhotep son of Hapu statue might be the Twenty Sixth Dynasty.

⁶⁴ Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 253, assumed this inscription was added later.

⁶⁵ Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 253-4; Wildung reproduces the copy of Borhardt, as the back pillar was subsequently permanently installed in a wall of the Egyptian Museum; for the inscription, cf. also Wildung, *Egyptian Saints*, p. 107.

ꜥ hz.wt m stp-z3
 dd n=i nsw.wt i3w n wr n 3h=i [...]

³ sš-nsw sš-nfr.w Imn-htp m3^c-hrw dd=f

hnd=i hr mw n nb-ntr.w ^(b)

ink hm n Imn ^(c)

(?)^(d)=i is m sb3.w nw p.t

sm3wi=i w3sy nb m md.w-ntr

shd=i gš ^(e) n b3w-R^c

di=f n=i 3w r r3^c hn.ty

s^ch^c=f n=i mnw ꜥ wr m hft-hr n hm=f

mn(.w) w3h(.w) d.t

¹ The Royal Scribe, Overseer of the Army, Amenhotep, justified, [he] says:

[O Am]un-[Re] Ki[ng] of all the Gods, Primeval one of the Two Lands,
 foremost of Karnak,

Let this statue of mine endure inside your temple,
 like the sun rises for you and the Inundation runs to you,
 may you let me receive all offerings upon your altar, every day,
 like the divine images of [every] district.

² The Royal Scribe, Chief Scribe of Recruits, Amenhotep, justified, he says:

I served the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebmaatre, Son of Re, Amenhotep
 Ruler of Thebes (= Amenhotep III),

He dignified (me) beyond the great dignitaries,
 distinguishing me among his entourage,
 while I was a true child of the *biti*-king,
 great of praise in the Palace.

It is because of the greatness of my power that kings give praise to me [...]

³ The Royal Scribe, Scribe of Recruits, Amenhotep, justified, he says:

It is (now) to the Lord of the Gods that I am loyal,

I am a servant of Amun,

I (?) meanwhile in the stars of heaven,

I restored all that was ruined in hieroglyphs,

I illumined what was obscure in the “Bas of Re,”


so he might give to me a long (life) to the limits of eternity,

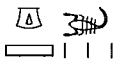
so he might erect for me a very great monument in front of his Majesty,
 enduring and lasting eternally.

(a) A parallel mention of offerings occurs in *Opet* I, 38, South.

(b) The “Lord of the Gods” was the portable sacred bark of Amun,⁶⁶ suggesting that Amenhotep was somehow involved with festival processions to the dromos.

(c) In the Graeco-Roman period, Amenhotep was above all a servant of Amun.⁶⁷

(d) Daressy copied , which makes little sense. This passage apparently refers to Amenhotep’s celestial associations.⁶⁸

(e) The word *gš*, “darkness, obscurity” also appears as  in *Médamoud*, No. 176, 7, where a solar god “illuminates what is dark (*hr šhđ gš.w*.)” The “Bas of Re” were sacred texts kept in temple libraries.⁶⁹

This undated inscription is clearly archaizing, although it contains a number of later orthographies and influences. In particular, the wish to “receive *snw*-offerings upon the altar” of Amun closely resembles a passage from a hymn to Imhotep in the Ptah Temple at Karnak from the reign of Tiberius, where that god is invoked to “receive *snw*-offerings from what comes forth upon the altar (*šsp=k snw.w m pr hr ʿ3b*)” of the gods of Karnak.⁷⁰

The text also includes a request of Amenhotep to have his monument erected “in front of (*hft-hr*) his Majesty.”⁷¹ Although this passage can be interpreted a number of ways,

⁶⁶ Kruchten, in Verhoeven and Graefe, eds., *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten*, pp. 179-87; idem, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak*, p. 288, s.v. *Nb-ntr.w*; idem, *BSEG* 21 (1997): 27, 31-2, 34-5.

⁶⁷ Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 203, Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, Nos. 15, 3; 33, 2-3; possibly also *Deir al-Médīna*, 166, 3-4 (partially restored).

⁶⁸ Cf. Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 82-8; and cf. **4.1**.

⁶⁹ Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 299-300, note especially the mention of priests “who interpret mysteries of the ‘Bas of Re’ (*whʿ(.w) itm.w n b3.w-Rʿ*)” on Stela Louvre C 232 (cited by Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 300), similar to Amenhotep’s claim to “illuminate what was obscure.”

⁷⁰ *Urk.* VIII, 143 (3) (cf. **5.2.1.5.2**); the similarity between the two texts was already noted by Sauneron, *BIFAO* 63 (1965): 82, n. (y).

⁷¹ Note that the excavators found the statue actually facing the First Pylon; Daressy *RT* 19 (1897): 12.

depending on the precise nuance of *hft-hr*,⁷² it seems that the statue was originally intended for its precise spot before the First Pylon of Karnak. Ultimately, it is impossible to conclude whether this archaizing, colossal statue was created entirely in the reign of Augustus, or if the Greek titulary was an early Imperial addition to a Late Period or Ptolemaic statue. In either case, the titulary of Augustus is significant in that it shows the statue of Amenhotep Son of Hapu was intentionally incorporated into the Imperial architectural ensemble in front of the First Pylon. In addition, the description of Amenhotep son of Hapu receiving *snw*-offerings from the altar of Amun may hint at similar cult practices rendered to the neighboring, contemporary statues of Augustus and of his predecessors in the Imperial temple.

The precise beliefs and practical details of Roman Imperial worship remains a hotly debated topic.⁷³ The notion of a ruler cult was a novelty in Augustan Rome, because, as Gradel noted, “a ruler cult presupposes the existence of a ‘ruler’, king, emperor or otherwise, and the Roman republic in the very nature of this term had no ruler.”⁷⁴ Whether or not the Romans actually considered the living Emperor to be a god just like their traditional gods, the fact remains that beginning with Augustus,⁷⁵ a large number of temples throughout the Empire were built containing statues of the Emperor,⁷⁶ and festivals and sacrifices were carried out in his honor.⁷⁷

⁷² In the Late Period, the term *hft-hr* refers both to the dromos and the forecourt of the temple; cf. Cabrol, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*, pp. 88-91.

⁷³ See most recently Clauss, *Kaiser und Gott*; Gradel, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion*; Cancik and Hitzl, eds., *Die Praxis der Herrscherverehrung in Rom und seinen Provinzen*.

⁷⁴ Gradel, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion*, p. 27.

⁷⁵ For the Emperor cult of Augustus in general, cf. Clauss, *Kaiser und Gott*, pp. 54-75, 503-6.

⁷⁶ For Imperial cult temples, see primarily Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti* (note, however, that the temple at Karnak is noticeably absent from this book); for the cult statues, cf. Price, *Rituals and Power*; Schmid, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 14 (2001): 113-42; Zanker, trans. Shapiro, *The Power of Images*, pp. 297-315; Hitzl, in

The Imperial temple at Karnak is clearly Roman in appearance, and it bears comparison to other Emperor shrines throughout the Empire.⁷⁸ The temple at Karnak is prostyle in design with an arrangement of four by two columns.⁷⁹ It was preceded by a granite staircase which ascended to the small pronaos, followed by a naos almost twice the size of the pronaos; the pronaos was roughly 5.5m X 4 m,⁸⁰ while the naos was 5.5m X 6 m.⁸¹ The naos was dedicated primarily to holding large statues of the Emperors.⁸²

The precise nature of the Imperial cult in Egypt has also been widely discussed.⁸³ From a very early date in his reign, Augustus appeared in Egyptian temple reliefs in the role

Cancik and Hitzl, eds., *Die Praxis der Herrscherverehrung in Rom und seinen Provinzen*, pp. 100-4; Witschel, in Stemmer, ed., *Standorte*, pp. 253-6.

⁷⁷ Price, *Rituals and Power*, pp. 101-32, 207-33; Clauss, *Kaiser und Gott*, pp. 316-41; Chaniotis, in Cancik and Hitzl, eds., *Die Praxis der Herrscherverehrung in Rom und seinen Provinzen*, pp. 3-28; Herz, in *ibid*, pp. 47-67.

⁷⁸ The following features classify the Imperial shrine as specifically Roman in design, as opposed to other, more Hellenistic temples from elsewhere in the Empire; for this distinction, see Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti*, pp. 61-2.

⁷⁹ Similar examples among the Emperor shrines at Pula, Magdalensberg, Thera, Antiochia ad Pisidiam (Yalvaç), and Philae; cf. Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti*, examples A 16, 17, 37, 43, 50 (Pls. 14a, 23a, 39b, 46b, 54b, 55); for a discussion, see further Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti*, pp. 53 and 61.

⁸⁰ Compare the following dimensions: Ostia – 13.1 X 7.6 m² (Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti*, p. 132); Pula – 7 X 5.95 m² (*ibid*, p. 151); Magdalensberg – 11.4 X 5.6 m² (*ibid*, p. 153); Thera - 5.25 X 3.26 m² (*ibid*, pp. 184-5); Philae – 7.8 X 3.8 m² (*ibid*, p. 220).

⁸¹ Compare the following dimensions: Ostia – 13.1 X 11 m² (Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti*, p. 132); Pula – 7 X 9.42 m² (*ibid*, p. 151); Magdalensberg – 11.4 X 11.7 (*ibid*, p. 153); Thera - 5.25 X 5.94 m² (*ibid*, pp. 184-5); Philae – 7.8 X 10.1 m² (*ibid*, p. 220).

⁸² Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti*, pp. 81-81; Schmid, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 14 (2001): 123-34.

⁸³ Dunand, in *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten*, pp. 47-56; Huzar, in *ANRW II.18.5*, pp. 3092-3143; Heinen, in *ANRW II.18.5*, pp. 3144-3180; Glare, *The Temples of Egypt: the Impact of Rome*, pp. 141-171; Geraci, *Genesi della provincia romana d'Egitto*, pp. 150-4; see most recently Dundas, *Pharaoh, Basileus and Imperator*; Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharaoh*, pp. 244-401 (specifically on Augustus).

of officiating Pharaoh, bearing an extensive titulary and epithets associating him with multiple gods.⁸⁴ However, as Dunand noted:⁸⁵

“Si les textes lui attribuent sans équivoque une filiation et une nature divine, cela ne signifie pas pour autant qu’un culte lui est adressé à titre personnel dans les temples en question: c’est la fonction royale et sacerdotale qu’il incarne qui est en quelque sorte divinisée.”

In other words, one can only talk about a true *cult* if statues of the Emperor received offerings along with the other deities in the Egyptian temples. Dunand claimed further that:⁸⁶

“Il n’est rien qui indique l’existence d’un culte célébré conformément aux liturgies égyptiennes, en l’honneur d’un empereur associé aux dieux égyptiens, à l’intérieur même de leurs temples.”

Unlike their Hellenistic predecessors, who held priestly synods and actively organized the national cult of the deified Ptolemies, the Romans (according to Dunand) did not seem interested in managing a similar Imperial cult. Thus while the Roman Emperors allowed themselves to be portrayed as gods in temple scenes, they did not actively seek or foster such ideological control, deeming it extraneous to their primary goal, making the native Egyptians work “avec le maximum d’efficacité.”⁸⁷

Dunand’s conclusions are contradicted by the Imperial cult shrine at Karnak, which was in fact incorporated into a functioning, traditional Egyptian temple, and did contain statues of the ruling Emperors. Furthermore, while Dunand and others saw a distinct rupture

⁸⁴ For the appearance of Augustus in Egyptian temples, cf. Heinen, in *ANRW* II.18.5, pp. 3163-76; Huzar, in *ANRW* II.18.5, pp. 3120-4; Grenier, in *ANRW* II.18.5, pp. 3182-91; Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I, pp. 9-24; idem, in *Wege öffnen*, pp. 98-108; and now Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*.

⁸⁵ Dunand, in *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten*, p. 50.

⁸⁶ Dunand, in *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten*, p. 53; similarly Geraci, *Genesi della provincia romana d’Egitto*, pp. 150-4; note that while Grenier critiqued the approach of Dunand (Grenier, in *ANRW* II 18.5.1, p. 3190, n. 14) he still noted that “le problème du culte d’Auguste reste délicat.” (*ibid*, p. 3191, n. 15).

⁸⁷ Dunand, in *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten*, pp. 55-6.

between Macedonian and Roman royal ideology, it is important to note that the Karnak chapel was apparently built over an earlier Ptolemaic structure, from whence probably came the statues of Ptolemy VI Philopator and Cleopatra II found in the Roman shrine's foundations.⁸⁸

Nonetheless, the attempt to compare Roman Emperor worship in Egypt to Ptolemaic precedents is rather shortsighted, as there are important and well-attested Pharaonic precedents for ruler cults, especially at Karnak.⁸⁹ The most striking parallels for this practice are the bark shrines of Ramesses III and Sety II at Karnak, placed perpendicularly to the right and left of the same East-West processional route (cf. **Plate 3**).⁹⁰ These bark shrines were both placed before the Second Pylon, which in their time was the main entrance to Karnak Temple.⁹¹ Their locations were to some extent inspired by the Eighteenth Dynasty royal palaces also situated perpendicular to the main entrance to Karnak to the north.⁹² The bark shrines at Karnak were designated specifically as "Temples of Millions of Years (*hw.wt nt hh*

⁸⁸ Lauffray, et al., *Kêmi* 20 (1970): 71, Pl. 15; Lauffray, *Kêmi* 21 (1971): 119-20; Thiers, *BIFAO* 102 (2002): 389-404.

⁸⁹ For the Pharaonic cult of living pharaohs, see primarily Nelson, *JNES* 1 (1942): 127-55; Habachi, *Aspects of the Deification of Ramesses II*; Bell, *JNES* 44 (1985): 251-294; idem, in Posener-Kriéger, ed., *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, I, pp. 31-59; Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*; Darnell and Manassa, *Tutankhamun's Armies*, pp. 19-24, 40-4; note that a particular statue cult existed for Nectanebo II at Karnak (De Meulanaere, *CdE* 35 [1960]: 92-107; Holm-Rasmussen, *Acta Orientalia* 40 [1979]: 21-5); for Ptolemaic statue cults at Karnak, see Thiers, *BIFAO* 102 (2002): 389-404.

⁹⁰ Cabrol, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*, pp. 507-8; for the bark shrine of Seti II, cf. Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*, pp. 409-15; for the temple of Ramesses III, cf. The Epigraphic Survey, *RIK* I-II.

⁹¹ Concerning the location of the Imperial shrine in front of the First Pylon, Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I, p. 59 and Herklotz, *Princeps und Pharao*, p. 273, suggested that Augustus did not dare to place his own cult chapel within the precinct of Amun. While this may have been the case, the builders of the Imperial shrine were simply following the precedent of their Pharaonic predecessors.

⁹² Gitton, *BIFAO* 74 (1974): 63-73; O'Connor, *CRIPPEL* 11 (1989): 79-81.

n rnp.wt),” and their religious significance is clear from their texts and comparisons to similar structures throughout Thebes.⁹³

An informative example is the shrine of Sety II at Karnak mentioned above.⁹⁴ This chapel served as a bark shrine with three rooms for the processional barks of Amun, Mut and Chonsu. The rear wall of the bark shrine for Amun contained a statue niche with door posts to house the cult statue of Sety II, as indicated by the decoration.⁹⁵ The same chapel also contains a relief depicting the bark of Amun, with the following text of Amun to the Pharaoh:⁹⁶

tw=i htp.k(w) m hw.t=k ib=i 3w.w
sšm=k-hwy m šms=i
dd=f hr=i

I stay within your temple being happy,
 your divine image is in my following,
 so that it endures with me.

The evidence from the bark shrine of Sety II, and from all other “temples of million years” in general, demonstrates the cultic proceedings and religious significance of such structures. The bark of Amun would dwell within the shrine containing the cult statue of the living king, their Kas would unite and the kingship of the Pharaoh would be renewed, to perpetuate a desired reign of “millions of years.”⁹⁷ During its residence in the chapel, the divinely infused

⁹³ Treated extensively by Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*.

⁹⁴ Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*, pp. 409-15.

⁹⁵ Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*, pp. 411-3; this should be compared to the statue niches in the bark shrine of Ramesses II at Luxor Temple, used for the same purpose; cf. Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom*, p. 47; Murnane, in Posener-Kriéger, ed., *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, II, pp. 135-48; Bell, *JNES*, 44 (1985): 269-71.

⁹⁶ *KRI* IV, 255, 5-6; discussed by Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*, p. 411.

⁹⁷ See the conclusions of Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*, pp. 661-8.

royal statue would serve as an intermediary between the people and Amun, listening to prayers and petitions.⁹⁸

The key features of the Pharaonic “temples of millions of years” are all present in the Imperial chapel: the relatively small size, the position perpendicular to the main processional route before the temple entrance, and the statues of the reigning king. Although most “temples of millions of years” were built in the New Kingdom, the practice was attested as recently as the reign of Alexander the Great. The bark shrine in Luxor Temple was completely renovated during his reign,⁹⁹ and dedicatory inscriptions claims that Alexander “renovated the temple of millions of years (*sm3wt=f ḥw.t-ntr nt ḥḥ.w m rnp.wt*).”¹⁰⁰ Alexander took great pains to legitimize his rule in Egypt, and the reconstruction of the bark shrine of Amun ingeniously connected his royal Ka with Amun in the tradition of Pharaohs such as Amenhotep III and Ramesses II.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Bell, *JNES* 44 (1985): 270-1; idem, in Shafer, ed., *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 168-70; note that Imperial statues in Egypt also received petitions, cf. Millar, in Cotton and Rogers, ed., *Rome, The Greek World, and the East*, II, pp. 300-1 (noting especially P. Oxy. 2130, ll. 8-10; Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XVII, pp. 233-4, with further references).

⁹⁹ Abd el-Raziq, *Die Darstellungen und Texte des Sanktuars des Alexanders des Großen im Tempel von Luksor*; Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*, pp. 587-9; Murnane, in Posener-Kriéger, ed., *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, II, pp. 135-148.

¹⁰⁰ Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*, p. 587.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Martinez, *BSEG* 13 (1989): 107-16; for the numerous works of Alexander and Philipp Arrhideios at Karnak and Luxor Temples, see Chauveau and Thiers, in Briant and Joannès, eds., *La transition entre l'empire achéménide et les royaumes hellénistiques*, pp. 390-5; although note that their scepticism that Alexander and his successors would have “planifié et financé des programmes architecturaux dans les temples égyptiens pour asseoir leur légitimité et faire montre de leur capacité à assimiler les notions complexes de la religion égyptienne,” (p. 399) is unwarranted; Alexander had personally journeyed all the way to Siwa Oasis for this very reason, namely in order to connect his royal legitimacy to the cult of the god Amun (for the political and religious motivations behind this act, cf. Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*, pp. 10-12, 78), and the fact that almost all temple works Egypt during his reign took place in Thebes demonstrates at the very least that he showed special favor to the Theban priests of Amun.

Augustus, the Roman heir of Alexander (cf. *supra*), similarly had his own cult chapel built before Karnak, the traditional political and religious capital of, and associated his rule with that of Amun, the Egyptian royal god *par excellence*. The location in front of Karnak appears to have been deliberate and informed,¹⁰² since with the exception of the Augustus temple at Philae, no similar structure existed at any other Egyptian temple.¹⁰³

The precise date of this construction is somewhat difficult to determine. A comparable prostyle temple was built for Augustus behind the Isis temple at Philae by the Prefect Publius Rubrius Barbarus.¹⁰⁴ The *terminus post quem* for this structure would be the end of the career of Cornelius Gallus (27 BCE),¹⁰⁵ since his famous trilingual decree was used in the foundation of the new Augustus shrine.¹⁰⁶ However, the shrine was not completed until year 18 of Augustus (c. 13/14 BCE),¹⁰⁷ namely after the treaty with Meroe at Samos (20 BCE). Nonetheless, there are indications of earlier forms of Emperor worship at Philae. According to Strabo, Meroitic armies invaded Upper Egypt during the Prefecture of

¹⁰² The theological significance of the bark shrine of Sety II would have been clear to any Egyptian priest of the Roman Period, as the relevant inscriptions discussed above were carved in large hieroglyphs throughout the monument, which has remained intact ever since; cf. Azim and Reveillac, *Karnak dans l'objectif de George Legrain*, I, p. 109, and II, pp. 16-7, for the condition of the bark-shrine upon its initial rediscovery.

¹⁰³ Most Emperor shrines were located in the forum of a city (Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti*, pp. 26-32), and only rarely were they associated with ancient religious sites (Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti*, pp. 35-6, citing primarily the temple of Augustus in the Acropolis), and thus the location of the Karnak shrine was particularly significant.

¹⁰⁴ PM VI, p. 253, L; Borchardt, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 18 (1903): 73-90; Hänlein-Schäfer, *Veneratio Augusti*, pp. 219-22; Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, p. 237; Lembke, et al., *Ägyptens späte Blüte*, p. 37, Abb. 53; Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich. Der Römische Pharao und seine Tempel*, II, pp. 20-21, Abb. 18 and 19; Herklotz, *Princeps und Pharao*, pp. 273-5.

¹⁰⁵ For this date, cf. Stickler, „*Gallus amore peribat*“?, pp. 47-9.

¹⁰⁶ Noted already by Borchardt, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 18 (1903): 84-5.

¹⁰⁷ For the inscription of Rubrius Barbarus on the central lintel; Borchardt, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 18 (1903): 84; Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae*, II, No. 140, pp. 72-6.

Aelius Gallus (c. 26/25 BCE), defeated the three cohorts stationed in Syene,¹⁰⁸ captured Elephantine and Philae, and “pulled down the statues of Caesar (ἀνέσπασαν τοὺς Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντες).”¹⁰⁹ This suggests that a statue cult of Augustus existed in Philae before the official dedication of the Emperor shrine in Year 18, and it is quite possible that the famous bronze head of Augustus found in Meroe may have belonged to such a statue.¹¹⁰

The two statue bases of Augustus from Karnak, as well as the colossal statue of Amenhotep son of Hapu, both refer to the Emperor as “Zeus Eleutherios,” which provides a tentative *terminus post quem* of 23 BCE.¹¹¹ The fact that Augustus was not referred to as *theos* may indicate that the statues were dedicated during his lifetime.¹¹² The colossal statue attributed to Augustus appears to be in the “Actium style,” (cf. *supra*) and therefore might date to an earlier period, perhaps after the siege of Cornelius Gallus.

5.1.1.2 Opet Temple

The interior of the Opet Temple was decorated entirely during the reigns of Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, and the two exterior doors were decorated under Ptolemy

¹⁰⁸ For the Roman cohorts at Syene, cf. Speidl, in: *ANRW* II.10.1, pp. 770-775.

¹⁰⁹ Strabo 17.1.54; cf. Yoyotte and Charvet, *Strabon: Le Voyage en Egypte. Un regard romain*, p. 188, n. 486; Locher, *Ancient Society* 32 (2002): 77-9.

¹¹⁰ Boschung, *Die Bildnisse des Augustus*, pp. 160-161, No. 122, Pl. 95; Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich. Der Römische Pharao und seine Tempel*, II, pp. 17-19 with Abb. 17; for various interpretations of this head, see Locher, *Ancient Society* 32 (2002): 112-3; Stöckler, „Gallus amore peribat“?, p. 99; Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, pp. 368-70.

¹¹¹ Felber, *GM* 123 (1991): 30, n. 14.; while this is the earliest dated attestation of this epithet, there are a number of undated examples which could potentially be earlier.

¹¹² So Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharaoh*, p. 273.

XII Neos Dionysos.¹¹³ All scenes and texts on the exterior walls were carved in the reign of Augustus,¹¹⁴ in addition to the decoration added to the crypt beneath the sanctuary.¹¹⁵ These extensive texts primarily consist of an extensive geographic procession, as well as large reliefs featuring the primary Theban deities on the rear exterior wall, and elaborate bandeau texts. These latter inscriptions describe the primary festival of the Opet Temple, namely the birth of Osiris on the first epagomenal day (cf. **4.40** and **4.42**), and they also commemorate the building activity of Augustus. After the extensive titularies for the Emperor, the restoration work is described as follows:

Inscription 1 (*Opet I*, 186,6 – 187,2; cf. *Opet III*, pp. 103-4):

Wsir-Wn-nfr htp=f m pr=f m hnty-mks
hnm.n=f hm=f
htp=f hr mnw pn nfr ir(.n) n=f nsw.t-biti (3wdwgrdr)|
gm.n=f pr-Ḳp.t-wr.t iqr.ti m k3.t=f
mnḥ(.ti) m irw=f nb

pd šsr=f in hm in sš3.t hnt pr-mḏ3.t
sw3ḥ hss=f in hmni.w
sḥḥ ifdw=f in skr
ḥws (i)n hnmw m ḥ.wy=f(y) ḏs=f n Wsir (Wn-nfr m3ḥ-ḥrw)| nsw.t-ntr.w
m ir.n z3=f mr=f z3-Rḥ nb ḥḥ.w (kysḥrs)| hr rn=f

mr sw ntr ḥ3 hr mnw=f
mtn=f sw m nsyw.t hr s.t-Hr
ḥḥ.ti m nsw.t-biti nb-t3.wy hnt ḥnh.w-d.t

Osiris-Wennefer dwells (eternally) within his temple as Khenty-Mekes,
 having united with his shrine.
 He is pleased with this beautiful monument which the King of Upper and
 Lower Egypt, Imperator, made for him,

¹¹³ De Wit, *Opet I*, p. vi; for the earlier architectural history of the Opet Temple, see Coulon and Gabolde, *RdE* 55 (2004): 7.

¹¹⁴ PM II, p. 252, (53)-(58); de Wit, *Opet I*, p. VI, pp. 182, 186-324.

¹¹⁵ PM II, p. 251, (46)-(52); de Wit, *Opet I*, pp. 172-9.

having found the Great Opet Temple perfect in its work,
and excellent in all of its aspects.

Its cord was drawn by the majesty of Seshat within the House of Books,
its foundations were laid by he of Hermopolis (= Thoth),¹¹⁶
its four corners were established by Sokar,
built by Khnum with his own hands for Osiris-Wennefer,
King of the Gods,
through that which his [beloved] son, the son of Re, Lord of Appearances,
[Caesar], did in his name.

Just as the great god loves him because of his monument,
so does he reward him with kingship upon the throne of Horus,
appearing as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands,
foremost of the living, eternally.

Inscription 2 (*Opet I*, 218, 5-219, 1; cf. *Opet III*, pp. 106-7):

[(3wtwkrtrw)| ...] (kys^crs)| ^cnh d.t mry Wsir-Wn-nfr nsw.t ntr.w psd.t ^c3.t imy.w pr-²Ip.t-
wr.t

(...)

s^ch^c.n=f h^w.t-[ntr] n it=f šps nb-w^c Wsir-Wn-nfr
q3 sy r nfr wsh sy r mn^h
nn ir(.t) mit.t dr p3wty
nbi.n hmw.w tpy n wnw.t=sn ph3-ib.w iqr-d^b.w

ir.n=f sy n it=f m-d^b3 n dw3.t
htp k3=f št3 m hnt=s

di.n=f h^c<=f> hr srh mi Hr
it.n=f hb-sd n d.t

[Imperator...] Caesar, living eternally, beloved of Osiris-Wennefer, King of the gods,
and the great Ennead within the Great Opet Temple.

(...)

He erected a temple for his august father, the Sole Lord, Osiris-Wennefer,
it being perfectly tall and excellently broad,
without the like being done since the primeval time.
fashioned by craftsmen top of their hours, open-minded and dextrous.

He made it for his father as a replacement for the Netherworld,
so that his mysterious Ka might repose within it.

He has caused <him> to appear upon the *serekh* like Horus,

¹¹⁶ Following Parlebas, SAK 4 (1976): 275.

having taken eternal Sed festivals.

5.1.1.3 Chonsu Temple

Work in Chonsu Temple focused entirely on the rear tetrastyle hall, a locus of decoration and renovations under Ptolemy VIII, Ptolemy XII, and the anonymous Pharaoh responsible for the engraving of the extensive Chonsu Cosmology on the east and west walls.¹¹⁷

During the reign of Augustus, the entire south wall was decorated with eight offering scenes of Augustus before various Theban deities, distributed as follows:¹¹⁸

East		West	
Mut of the Isheru	Thoth	Chonsu-Shu	Opet
Sistra	Food offering	Food offering	Plants
Chonsu the Child	Chonsu-Neferhotep	Amun-Re of [D _s]r-s.t	[Osiris-M]ryty
<i>smꜣꜥ-ꜣb.t</i>	<i>ꜣi-ihꜥ</i>	Maat	<i>snꜥr</i> and <i>qbꜥw</i>

The upper register of the west wall includes two extremely damaged scenes, one containing a processional bark, with clear traces of Augustus's cartouche.¹¹⁹

On the east side of the south wall, a renovation text of Augustus interrupts the bandeau text of Ramesses IV encircling the rest of the chapel:¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Laroche-Traunecker, W. Clarysse, et al., eds., *Egyptian religion: the last thousand years*, II, p. 913-4; Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, pp. 9-11, Pl. 17; Mendel reasonably concludes that the blank cartouches in the Chonsu Cosmology may very likely date to the reign of Cleopatra VII (*ibid*, p. 11).

¹¹⁸ PM II², pp. 239-240, (75) and (78) (note that several of the descriptions of scenes and divinities are inaccurate). The only published scene is of Augustus giving Maat to Amun, reproduced in Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I, p. 56, Abb. 50; the epithets from these scenes are discussed in the relevant epithet sections based on handcopies and photographs by the author.

¹¹⁹ PM II, p. 239 (76).

sm3[wi mnw ...in] ntr nfr
Hr [tm3-^c hwy] h3s.wt wr [phty]
nht B3q.t hq3 hq3.w stp n Nwn-wr
nsw.t biti nb t3.wy (3wdg[r]3t[wr])|
z3-R^c nb h^c.w (kys3rs)| ^cnh d.t
[mry] Hnsw-m-W3s.t

Rene[wing the monument ... by] the good god,
 Horus, [mighty of arm, who smites] the foreign lands, great of [strength],
 Champion of Egypt, Ruler of rulers, chosen by Great Nun,
 King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Impe[r]at[or],
 Son of Re, Lord of Appearances, Caesar, living eternally,
 [beloved] of Chonsu-in-Thebes.¹²¹

In the specific context, the phrase “renewing (*sm3wi*) the monument” refers both to the usurpation of the earlier Ramesside cartouches, as well as covering the blank walls with new reliefs and inscriptions.¹²²

5.1.1.4 East Karnak

While no constructions dating to Augustus are found in the East Temple, one can surmise the continued importance of this solar temple on the basis of what Augustus did not do. Ammianus Marcellinus (17.4.12) described how Augustus decided to leave the sole obelisk standing in Karnak:¹²³

¹²⁰ PM II, p. 239 (75); partially visible in Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I, p. 56, Abb. 50; translation from handcopy and photos made *in situ*.

¹²¹ Restorations based on the identical sequence of epithets in the Horus name of Augustus as attested in the neighboring Opet Temple: Grenier, *RdE* 38 (1987): 82, No. 6 (to which this example should be added). Even without noting the usurped bandeau, Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, p. 178, noted: “Im Barkensanktuar des Chonstemeples wird also deutlich gemacht, dass Augustus, wie schon Ramses IV., sein Königtum von den Göttern erhalten hatte.”

¹²² For this connotation of *sm3wi mnw* already in the New Kingdom, see the comments in The Epigraphic Survey, *RILT* 1, p. xix, n. 15; for renewal texts, see in general Grallert, *Bauen – Stifeten – Weißen*, I, pp. 67-73; as Grallert notes, the “renewal” can also refer to recarving damaged inscriptions, as in the autobiography of Amenhotep son of Hapu (cf. *supra*, 1.1.1), who claimed to “renew what was ruined in hieroglyphs.”

¹²³ Translation of Hamilton, *The Later Roman Empire*, pp. 122-3. For this passage, cf. also de Jonge, *Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus XVII*, pp. 94-8; Cancik and Cancik-Lindemaier, in Meyer, ed., *Egypt: Temple of the Whole World*, pp. 42-3.

“The flatterers whose habit it was to inflate the pride of Constantius kept dinning in his ears that the emperor Octavian, who brought two Egyptian obelisks from Heliopolis and set up one in the Circus Maximus and the other in the Campus Martius,¹²⁴ did not dare to disturb or move the one which was brought to Rome in our day (the sole obelisk from Karnak East) because he was daunted by the difficulties prevented by its size. But let me tell those who do not know that the reason why that early emperor left this obelisk untouched when he moved some others was that it was dedicated as a special offering to the Sun God and placed in the sacred precinct of a magnificent temple, to which access was forbidden. There it towered over the whole structure.”

Historians generally agree that the usurpation of the Heliopolitan obelisks was designed to express “l’assujettissement du dieu solaire égyptien au Sol romain.”¹²⁵ Nevertheless it is important to stress that the actual cults and temples of Heliopolis had significantly waned in importance already by the end of the Pharaonic period, as the neighboring city of Babylon (Kheraha, Fustat, modern day Old Cairo) grew substantially and gradually replaced the formal religious center.¹²⁶ The removal of these obelisks would have thus had great symbolical meaning for Augustus and Rome, without causing as much practical damage to native Egyptian cults as removing the obelisk at Karnak (cf. **5.18.1**)

¹²⁴ For these obelisks, now in the Piazza del Popolo and Monte Citorio respectively, see Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*, pp. 117-20, 125-29; the latter obelisk served as gnomon for the Horologium Augusti in the Campus Martius, cf. Buchner, *Die Sonnenuhr des Augustus*; Kienast, *Augustus*, pp. 240-1.

¹²⁵ Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration des cultes égyptiens en Italie*, p. 387; cf. similarly Cancik and Cancik-Lindemaier, in Meyer, ed., *Egypt: Temple of the Whole World*, pp. 45-6; this is based on the Latin inscription on the Obelisk, CIL VI, 701-2: *Imp. Caesar Divi f. Augustus [...] Aegypto in potestatem populi Romani redacta Soli donum dedit.*

¹²⁶ Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 54 (1954): 111-115; a similar opinion was expressed by Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*, p. 128; note that Strabo (17.1.27) described Heliopolis in his time as “completely deserted (πανάρημος),” a phrase which Yoyotte considered “excessive,” while still noting that no royal monuments or local officials are known from Heliopolis after 300 BCE (Yoyotte and Charvet, *Strabon: Le Voyage en Egypte. Un regard romain*, p. 124, n. 280).

5.1.2 Medamud

Just like at the Mut Temple and Luxor Temple, Augustus and Tiberius added a mudbrick temenos wall to the Graeco-Roman temple of Montu at Medamud. The cartouches of both Augustus and Tiberius appear on the so-called “Porte de Tibère,”¹²⁷ the main gate to this mudbrick enclosure wall, which indicate that construction on the ensemble began in the reign of Augustus.¹²⁸ In addition, a recently published stela, originally discovered by the French excavators at Medamud in the early 20th century, specifically commemorates the construction of this wall by Augustus.¹²⁹ On the lunette, Augustus offers wine to Montu of Medamud, Rattawy, and Harpre the Child.¹³⁰ The short inscription details the construction efforts:¹³¹

¹ *nsw.t-bitī nb-t3.wy (3wtkrtr)|*
z3-R^c nb-h^c.w (kysrs)| ^cnh(.w) d.t

ir.n=f<m> mnw=f² n it=f Mnt-R^c nb M3d.t R^c.t-t3.wy hr.t-ib M3d.t
ir.n=f inb m db3.t m k3.t mnḥ.t nt nhḥ
³ *3w=f mh 336 wsh=f mh 336*

iswy⁴ hr=f m qnw nhḥ h3s.wt nb hr tb.ty=f(y)
hr ns.t nb.wy d.t

¹ The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Imperator,

¹²⁷ For the still incompletely published “Porte de Tibère,” cf. Valbelle, *BSFE* 81 (1978): 18-26; idem, in *Hommages Sauneron*, I, pp. 82-94; the bandeau texts have already appeared in Drioton, *CdE* 6 (1931): 259-70; idem, *RdE* 2 (1936): 21-33.

¹²⁸ Grenier, *Les titulaires des empereurs romains*, pp. 10 and 12, n. (g) (with personal communication from Valbelle, noting: “On peut donc penser que la Porte de Tibère à Medamoud fut d’abord décorée (embrasures) sous Auguste puis que l’essentiel des travaux (extérieur) fut poursuivi et achevé sous Tibère.” cf. Revez, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 504-5.

¹²⁹ Revez, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 495-510.

¹³⁰ Wine is frequently offered to Montu: e.g. *Opet* I, 114; *Urk.* VIII, 2; *Deir al-Médîna*, No. 28; *Ermant* I, Nos. 3 and 4.

¹³¹ Revez, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 502-4, 510, Fig. 4.

Son of Re, Lord of Appearances, Caesar, living eternally,

(Of) his monuments he made ² for his father, Montu-Re Lord of Medamud,
and Rattawy within Medamud,

He made a brick wall in excellent work of eternity,
³ the length of which is 336 cubits, the width 336 cubits.

The reward ⁴ for it is valor and strength, and all foreign lands beneath his sandals,
while upon the throne of the Two Lords, eternally.

The construction of a new temenos wall and propylon at Medamud was a logical continuation of the decoration work carried out by the late Ptolemies.¹³² Nonetheless, since Cornelius Gallus claims to have besieged Medamud (Keramike) as part of his campaign in the Thebaid, it is difficult not to see the construction of a new enclosure wall as related to the rebellion.¹³³ Even if Gallus had not destroyed any parts of the temple, the construction of the new gate and enclosure wall could have been an attempt at appeasing the rebellious factions of Medamud.¹³⁴

5.1.3 Mut Temple

The architectural, epigraphic and archaeological of Mut Temple remain only partially published. While no monuments found thus far *in situ* carry the cartouches of Augustus,¹³⁵ several stela of Tiberius allude to works begun by Augustus in the Mut Precinct:¹³⁶

¹³² For the work of the later Ptolemies, possibly including Cleopatra VII, see Sambin, *BIFAO* 99 (1999): 397-409; cf. also the comments of Revez, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 505: “Sur le plan politique, il se peut qu’Auguste ait voulu sciemment laisser sa marque dans la zone du temple élargie par les derniers Ptolémées, dans un souci de légitimité et de continuité avec la dynastie précédente.” Similarly Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, p. 181.

¹³³ Revez, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 506, n. 44, rejects any connection between the new wall and the rebellion.

¹³⁴ For concessions granted to Egyptian temples after rebellions in the Ptolemaic Period, see Veisse, *Les « révoltes égyptiennes »*, pp. 213-20. In this regard one should compare the construction work of Augustus at Coptos, another of the rebelling towns (Traunecker, *Coptos*, §214); the renovation of the enclosure wall at Luxor Temple happened much later under Tiberius, and probably have nothing to do with the campaigns of Cornelius Gallus (cf. **5.1.0**).

¹³⁵ Certain blocks bearing the cartouches of Augustus found at Luxor may derive from the Mut Precinct, but too little is known about them to make any conclusions.

(1) Berlin 14401 (cross reference), l. 3:

“He (sc. Tiberius) completed work on the very great wall which his father had made around the Mut Temple.”

(2) Allard Pierson Museum 7763 (cross reference), ll. 1-4:

“He (sc. Tiberius) carried out beneficent works on top of the monument of his father, Caesar, for his mother Great Mut (...) a great enclosure wall around her sacred sanctuary, the Mut Temple.”

(3) BM 398 (cross reference), ll. 1-5:

“He (sc. Tiberius) made for his mother, Great Mut (...) a great wall encircling her shrines (...), on top of the excellent works of his father, Caesar, when a high inundation for his Majesty had knocked it down. He completed all of his works excellently.”

These stelae appear to indicate that Augustus originally built the enclosure wall around the Mut Precinct. Stela Berlin 14401 claims that Tiberius completed the work of his father, which suggests that the enclosure wall was never finished in the reign of Augustus. BM 398 however appears to state that part of Augustus’s wall was damaged by the inundation, which suggests that Tiberius “completed (*s^crq*)” the wall by filling in the damaged areas. In either event, the enclosure wall around the Mut Precinct was at least begun by Augustus.

Further events in the Mut complex might also be suggested from the difficultly legible Stela Dem. IFAO 3, which dates to year 13 or 14 of Augustus (18 or 17 BCE).¹³⁷ The upper register depicts Amun and Chonsu the Child, and the latter deity had his own temple in the Mut Precinct (cf. **4.14**). The text may mention a certain festival (l. 1), but the inscription is so damaged that it is difficult to ascertain what exactly this stela commemorates.

¹³⁶ Noted by Revez, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 506, n. 44.

¹³⁷ Devauchelle, *BIFAO* 82 (1982): 148-150, Pl. 21; Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes*, pp. 146-7, No. 160.

5.1.4 Luxor Temple

No traces of activity during the reign of Augustus survive at Luxor Temple. Nonetheless, a number of blocks bearing his name were employed in later buildings (Christian and Islamic), and additional inscribed blocks can be dated to the same time due to similar carving style and orthographies.¹³⁸ Based on the inscriptions and decoration preserved, it is possible that the blocks derive from the Mut Temple,¹³⁹ and this might relate to the general restoration of the Mut Precinct known from the Tiberius stelae (cf. *supra*, **1.3**). Unfortunately, almost all of these blocks are unpublished and will probably remain so for the next decade, making any preliminary interpretations impossible for the time being.¹⁴⁰

5.1.5 Deir el-Medineh

The Ptolemaic temple at Deir el-Medineh, dedicated to Hathor Mistress of the West and Maat, was originally built as if emerging from the western gebel. In the reign of Augustus, however, the ground behind the temple was leveled and the mudbrick temenos wall was extended to the west, in order to construct a small mudbrick contratemple.¹⁴¹ Bruyère referred to this as an “Iséion,” or “la gynécée de la déesse locale,” and compared it

¹³⁸ Grenier, *Les titulaires des empereurs romains*, p. 12, n. (f), notes the existence of such blocks in the Luxor Temple blockyards, as well as in “éléments encore en place des chapelles édifiées devant le môle est du pylône”; cf. also Grenier, in *ANRW* II 18.5, p. 3191, n. 15; Kariya and Johnson, *EA* 22 (2003): 24; further blocks are present in the foundation of the Coptic church to the west of the Collonade Hall (after photos of the author; for the location, see the plan in Grossmann, *MDAIK* 29 [1973]: Abb. 1).

¹³⁹ Personal communication of W. Raymond Johnson and Christophe Thiers; see recently Johnson and McClain, in D’Auria, ed., *Servant of Mut*, pp. 134-40, for a Ptolemaic temple scene reconstructed entirely from Luxor blocks, presumably from the Mut Temple.

¹⁴⁰ Personal communication of W. Raymond Johnson of the Epigraphic Survey.

¹⁴¹ *PM* II², p. 407 (35); Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-1940)*, pp. 34-5, 68-9; Montserrat and Meskell, *JEA* 83 (1997): 182; Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich* I, pp. 55-9, Abb. 55-6.

to the Isis temple located behind the Hathor temple at Dendera.¹⁴² This comparison is quite inappropriate, however, as the local theology of Deir el-Medineh and Dendera are quite different, and more importantly, Isis is mentioned nowhere in relation to this Roman Period edifice.

The only decoration in this new chapel consists of two parallel reliefs on the rear exterior wall of the Ptolemaic temple, carved in the reign of Augustus.¹⁴³ The scene on the north side features Hathor and Maat, the patron deities of Deir el-Medineh, and the south side features Rattawy and Tjenenet-Iunit of Armant. The latter two goddesses recall the orientation of scenes at Medinet Habu, where the deities of Armant always appear south of the temple axis. Their presence in this position on the rear exterior wall suggests a processional link between Armant and Deir el-Medineh, perhaps a stop for Montu and his entourage on their journey to Medinet Habu during the Khoiak Festival.¹⁴⁴

The inscriptions themselves provide no references to the cultic function of the Roman contratemple. The position of the scene, however, bears comparison with the relief on the rear exterior wall of the Ptah temple,¹⁴⁵ and especially the contra-temple of Chonsu Temple.¹⁴⁶ These were both places of popular worship, where the uninitiated masses could approach the deities usually kept within the inner naos of the temple. Bruyère himself noted that the mudbrick architecture resembled, among other kiosks, the popular shrine and

¹⁴² Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-1940)*, p. 69; a number of scholars have repeated this incorrect information: PM II², p. 407 (35); Dunand, *BIFAO* 81 (1981): 139; Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*, p. 39; Riggs, *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt*, p. 217.

¹⁴³ Bourguet, *Deir al-Médîna*, Nos. 184-187.

¹⁴⁴ For the Sokar Festival and the processional road connecting Armant to West Thebes, cf. **7.5**.

¹⁴⁵ Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 201-6, Pl. 50 = Doc. 142.

¹⁴⁶ Traunecker and Laroche, *Karnak* 6 (1980): 167-196.

sanatorium of Amenhotep son of Hapu at Deir el-Bahari.¹⁴⁷ The additional presence of Rattawy and Tjenenet-Iunit may suggest that their cult statues briefly inhabited the edifice during festivals when they visited, so that residents of Western Thebes might make offerings to these goddesses from Armant.

5.1.6 Deir Shelwit

Early explorers of Egypt, notably Champollion and Lepsius, recorded a small gate between the propylon and the main temple at Deir Shelwit bearing the cartouches of “Autokrator Kaisaros” that has totally disappeared by now.¹⁴⁸ Champollion reasonably assumed that this must be Augustus, but Lepsius claimed that it was “in so schlechtem Stil, das er kaum dem Caesar Augustus zugeschrieben werden kann und wohl einem späteren Kaiser gehört.”¹⁴⁹ Zivie most recently dated this intermediary gate to the reign of Augustus.¹⁵⁰ Part of this gate was brought back to the Berlin Museum,¹⁵¹ from whence it disappeared during World War II.¹⁵² The purpose of this small gate is not well understood. It may have belonged to an earlier structure that was later removed to make way for the Roman temple.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-1940)*, p. 35.

¹⁴⁸ Zivie, et al., *Le temple de Deir Chelouit*, IV, pp. 8-9, 11-12, and p. 97, s.v. “Auguste.”

¹⁴⁹ *LD Text iii*, p. 192.

¹⁵⁰ Zivie, et al., *Le temple de Deir Chelouit*, IV, p. 11.

¹⁵¹ Berlin 2119; the texts are reproduced in *LD Text iii*, p. 193.

¹⁵² Zivie, et al., *Le temple de Deir Chelouit*, IV, p. 12.

¹⁵³ For previous activity at Deir Shelwit, cf. **4.26**; for the later construction efforts, see **5.3.3**.

5.1.7 Tod

Recent epigraphic surveys have uncovered scattered blocks from Tod bearing the cartouches of Augustus.¹⁵⁴ Although it is too soon to determine where exactly the blocks belong, their simple existence attests to further decoration work under Augustus, presumably completing the programs of Cleopatra VII.¹⁵⁵

II Tiberius (14-37 CE)

“When the prefect Aemilius Rectus once sent Tiberius more money than was stipulated from Egypt, he sent back to him the message: ‘I want my sheep shorn, not shaven (κείρεσθαι μου τὰ πρόβατα ἀλλ’οὐκ ἀποξύρεσθαι βούλομαι).”

- Cassius Dio, LVII, 10.5¹⁵⁶

5.2.0 Introduction

Tiberius has a reputation for being the Emperor most violently opposed to Egyptian cults in Rome, going so far as to exile Isiac priests to Sardinia after a scandal involving a priest of Anubis.¹⁵⁷ This action was characteristic of the general modesty and distaste for disorder, pomp and excess repeatedly expressed by Tiberius,¹⁵⁸ who also tried to remove

¹⁵⁴ Christophe Thiers, lecture given at the *Zweite ptolemäische Sommerschule*, Aussois, 2007; for the blocks from Tod, see the preliminary report of Thiers, in Goyon and Cardin, eds., *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, II, pp. 1807-12.

¹⁵⁵ Ch. Thiers, lecture given at the *Zweite ptolemäische Sommerschule*, Aussois, 2007.

¹⁵⁶ Similarly in Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 32; Tacitus, *Annals*, 4.6; cf. Seager, *Tiberius*, pp. 144, and 265, n. 169.

¹⁵⁷ Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration des cultes égyptiens en Italie*, pp. 389-395; for the reign of Tiberius in general, see the biographies: Kornemann, *Tiberius*; Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*; Storoni Mazzolani, *Tibère, ou la spirale du pouvoir*; Seager, *Tiberius*² (with extensive bibliographies).

¹⁵⁸ For the importance of *moderatio* in the Imperial ideology of Tiberius, cf. Seager, *Tiberius*², p. 261, n. 72.

actors and gladiators from Rome,¹⁵⁹ and similarly suppressed Jews, Druids, and astrologers.¹⁶⁰

As with the theater, however, there is no evidence for such a ban in Egypt or elsewhere outside of Rome.

Rather, the architectural record in Egypt shows that Tiberius continued the temple projects begun by Augustus. This is a logical extension of the building policy he pursued in Rome which was by all accounts extremely modest,¹⁶¹ and which “might have been calculated, (was) in fact calculated, to remind the *plebs* of the genial and generous Princeps they had lost.”¹⁶² During his relatively short reign,¹⁶³ Tiberius’s building projects in Rome were limited to the following:¹⁶⁴

- (1) Completion or renovation of temples begun by Augustus, dedicated to Castor, Concord, Liber, Libera, Ceres, Janus, Fors Fortuna, and Spes.
- (2) Construction of the temple of Divus Augustus.
- (3) Restoration of the Theater of Pompey.
- (4) An arch in the Forum Romanum in honor of Germanicus.
- (5) Two arches in the Forum Augustum in honor of Germanicus and Drusus.
- (6) Construction of a large camp for the Praetorian Guard.

¹⁵⁹ Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, pp. 122-3; Garzetti, trans. Foster, *From Tiberius to the Antonines*, pp. 29-30; Seager, *Tiberius*², pp. 115-6.

¹⁶⁰ Seager, *Tiberius*², pp. 123-5.

¹⁶¹ For the building activity of Tiberius at Rome, cf. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, pp. 45-8; Smith, *Tiberius and the Roman Empire*, pp. 246-7; Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, p. 123; Garzetti, trans. Foster, *From Tiberius to the Antonines*, p. 30; Seager, *Tiberius*², p. 117.

¹⁶² Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, p. 123; for an economic explanation of this phenomenon, cf. M.K. and R.L. Thornton, *Julio-Claudian Building Programs*, pp. 46-51.

¹⁶³ Blake, *Roman Construction in Italy from Tiberius through the Flavians*, p. 10, noted that Tiberius only effectively controlled building projects for the first half of his reign, since “his absence from the city during the last decade of his reign curtailed the number of new public monuments in Rome for which he was personally responsible.”

¹⁶⁴ After Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, pp. 45-8; Blake, *Roman Construction in Italy from Tiberius through the Flavians*, pp. 10-18; Ward-Perkins noted that “after half a century of unprecedented building activity (under Augustus), a pause cannot have been altogether unwelcome” (*ibid*, p. 45).

While many Romans were disappointed by the comparatively small amount of monumental architecture, Cassius Dio rationalized the building policy and philosophy of Tiberius as follows:¹⁶⁵

“When completing the buildings which Augustus had begun without finishing them he inscribed upon them the other’s name (...) This principle of inscribing the original builder’s name he carried out not only in the case of the buildings erected by Augustus, but in the case of all alike that needed any repairs; for, although he restored all the buildings that had suffered injury (he erected no new ones whatsoever himself except the temple of Augustus), yet he claimed none of them as his own, but restored to all of them the names of the original builders. While expending extremely little for himself, he laid out very large sums for the common good, either rebuilding or adorning practically all the public works and also generously assisting both cities and private individuals.”

This testimony provides an alternative perspective through which to view the Egyptian building activity of Tiberius.¹⁶⁶ One should not expect to find new temples, but rather renovations and additions to earlier work, particular that of his predecessor Augustus.¹⁶⁷

Despite his short reign, dislike of extravagance, and notoriously tight control of state funds, Tiberius was responsible for a considerable amount of temple decoration and construction in Egypt.¹⁶⁸ New buildings were erected or repaired at Coptos,¹⁶⁹ Dendera,¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁵ Cassius Dio, LVII.10 (trans. Cary, *Dio’s Roman History*, VII, p. 135).

¹⁶⁶ In spite of the extensive series of stelae commemorating renovations at Coptos realized during the reign of Tiberius by his administrator Parthenios, Traunecker was amazed that the inscriptions on the temple only contain references to Augustus and Caligula (Traunecker, *Coptos*, §276). Rather than a reflection of Tiberius’s antipathy towards Egyptian cults, one should consider that the work of Tiberius could have been primarily anepigraphic, and if it were epigraphic, the name of Augustus might have still been carved as described by Cassius Dio.

¹⁶⁷ Cf. already the remarks of Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, p. 248: “the unchanging prosperity of Egypt permitted the emperor Tiberius to continue the temple-building program. It is difficult to establish whether during Tiberius’s twenty-three year reign new temples were built or only unfinished Augustan projects completed.”

¹⁶⁸ Grenier, *Les titulaires des empereurs romains*, pp. 16-23; Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I, pp. 25-6; Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, pp. 248-50; Kákosy, *Acta Antiqua Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32 (1989): 129-36; idem, in: *ANRW* II 18.5, pp. 2907-9.

¹⁶⁹ Traunecker, *Coptos*, §277; Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes*, pp. 173-5, 187-8, Nos. 184-6, 198.

and Berenike on the Red Sea coast,¹⁷¹ while decoration continued at Assuan, Dakka, Debod, Dendera,¹⁷² Edfu,¹⁷³ Elephantine,¹⁷⁴ Esna,¹⁷⁵ Kom Ombo,¹⁷⁶ Atripe,¹⁷⁷ Shanhur,¹⁷⁸ El-Qal‘a, and especially Philae.¹⁷⁹

Astounded by the apparent contradiction implied by the amount of Tiberius’s building activity in his Egypt and his hostile attitude towards Egyptian cults in Rome, Kákosy ingeniously suggested that all these renovations were actually ordered by Germanicus during his fateful trip through Egypt.¹⁸⁰ With respect to Thebes in particular, this theory is even more tempting, as Germanicus’s visit to Karnak was described in detail by

¹⁷⁰ Construction of the East Gate: Cauville, *La Porte d’Isis*, pp. xi-xiii; the Pronaos (PM VI, pp. 45-50); construction of the enclosure wall: Aimé-Giron, *ASAE* 26 (1926): 109-10 = Bernand, *Les portes du désert*, pp. 122-4, No. 27.

¹⁷¹ Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, III, pp. 19-22.

¹⁷² Exterior of Naos: *Dendara IX*, 5-8, 10-15 (cf. Cauville, *Le fonds hiéroglyphique*, p. 4).

¹⁷³ Gate of the Mammisi, cf. Cauville and Devauchelle, *RdE* 35 (1984): 44; Kurth, *Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu*, I: *Edfou VIII*, p. 141, n. 3.

¹⁷⁴ Laskowska-Kusztal, *Die Dekorfragmente der ptolemäisch-römischen Tempel von Elephantine*, pp. 21-2.

¹⁷⁵ Earliest Roman decoration of the Ptolemaic pronaos; cf. Grenier, *CdE* 63 (1988): 57-9.

¹⁷⁶ Continued decoration of the Augustan forecourt: PM VI, p. 182 = de Morgan, *K.O.* I, Nos. 118-167.

¹⁷⁷ Petrie, *Athribis*, Pl. 21 (cf. also el-Masry, *MDAIK* 57 [2001]: 216-7).

¹⁷⁸ Willems, et al., *The Temple of Shanhûr*, I, pp. 7, 20.

¹⁷⁹ West Collonade: PM VI, pp. 208-9, (23)-(44); Arensnuphis Chapel, enclosure wall: PM VI, pp. 210-211, (49)-(56) (Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, II, pp. 48-51, Abb. 58-61); Gate of Ptolemy II, west face: PM VI, pp. 213-4, (65)-(67); East Collonade, Room of Tiberius: PM VI, p. 222, (146)-(153); Mammisi, vestibule: PM VI, p. 223, (161)-(164) = *Philä II*, 174-205; Mammisi, west exterior wall: PM VI, pp. 226-7, (199)-(207) = *Philä II*, 306-363, 402-3; Main Temple, exterior walls: PM VI, pp. 245-6, (371)-(374), (378)-(381).

¹⁸⁰ Kákosy, *Acta Antiqua Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32 (1989): 129-36; for the Egyptian tour of Germanicus, see in general Weingärtner, *Die Ägyptenreise des Germanicus*; Hennig, *Chiron* 2 (1972): 349-365; Foertmeyer, *Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, pp. 113-5; cf. also Dils, *ZPE* 100 (1994): 347-50.

Tacitus (*Annals*, II.60).¹⁸¹ While such an intervention on behalf of Thebes by Germanicus is indeed possible, Tacitus nowhere refers to such an act, and he does not portray Thebes as in need of repairs. As discussed above, there is no reason to assume that Tiberius would have completed and renovated the monuments begun by Augustus in certain parts of the Empire, but not those in Upper Egypt. Therefore the building activity of Tiberius is perhaps better regarded in the same light as that of his predecessor; enacted with the double aim of appeasing the Egyptian *chora*, and spreading imperial propaganda to the outer reaches of the Empire. The intense building activity in Egypt belies the traditional view that Tiberius was only interested in exploiting the provinces, not in advancing their social and economic life.¹⁸² The majority of works in Egypt may have been more utilitarian than glamorous, but the same can be said of Rome.

Many temples of Thebes saw official works under Tiberius, including Karnak (Dromos, Chonsu Temple, Opet Temple, Temple of Osiris the Coptite, Ptah Temple, Middle Kingdom Court), Medamud, Luxor Temple, and the Mut Temple (cf. **Plate 4**). While Theban temple inscriptions in the name of Tiberius are relatively modest in number, as expected after the comments of Dio Cassius (cf. *supra*), over a dozen stelae commemorating renovations carried out at Thebes attest to Rome's deep interest in the former capital of Egypt.¹⁸³ As remarked above, a similar case exists with Coptos, where the numerous Greek and Demotic stelae of Parthenios provide all relevant information about the time of Tiberius

¹⁸¹ Cited by Kákósy, *Acta Antiqua Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32 (1989): 129-30; for this text, cf. **2.2**.

¹⁸² This was the view of Alföldy, *Latomus* 24 (1965): 824-44; for more balanced assessments of the provincial policy of Tiberius, see Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, pp. 125-47; Seager, *Tiberius*², pp. 138-52.

¹⁸³ De Meulenaere, *OLP* 9 (1978): 69-73; a new edition of these stelae is currently in preparation by P. Collombert, who graciously provided me with photos and handcopies of several of the less accessible stelae.

(cf. *supra*). These important stelae will be discussed in connection with the various temples to which they relate.

5.2.1 Karnak (cf. Plate 5)

5.2.1.1 Dromos

The east-west processional route and the approach to the First Pylon maintained its cultic significance through the reign of Tiberius. The Roman Emperor cult shrine in front of the First Pylon has not preserved any statue bases dedicated to Tiberius,¹⁸⁴ and this may be a result of his famous refusal to assume divine honors at Rome.¹⁸⁵ Nonetheless, the dromos at Karnak was still considered an important location for displaying Imperial authority. At least twelve Greek stelae dating to Year 1 of Tiberius (14-15 CE) were found while excavating the sphinx-lined dromos.¹⁸⁶ These most likely stood originally along the dromos itself, proclaiming the new Emperor in his first year of rule.¹⁸⁷

5.2.1.2 "Cour de le Moyen Empire"

The so-called Middle Kingdom Courtyard of Karnak was located between the Sixth Pylon and the Akh-Menu of Thutmosis III.¹⁸⁸ This area contained the original Amun temple

¹⁸⁴ On the remaining statue bases, only some bearing the names of Augustus, Claudius, and Titus are legible; cf. Wagner, *BIFAO* 70 (1971): 29-30.

¹⁸⁵ Kornemann, *Tiberius*, pp. 105-9; Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, pp. 139-40; Seager, *Tiberius*², pp. 119-20; for the divine status of Tiberius, see especially Clauss, *Kaiser und Gott*, pp. 76-89, who noted that "in tiberischer Zeit kaum eine klare Konzeption der göttlichen Verehrung des Kaisers bestand, jedenfalls nicht bei Tiberius selbst" (*ibid*, pp. 77-8).

¹⁸⁶ Wagner, *BIFAO* 70 (1971): 21-29; *idem*, *Karnak* 10 (1995): 547.

¹⁸⁷ Wagner, *BIFAO* 70 (1971): 26; for the dromos as an ideal location for erecting statues, stelae and other public proclamations, cf. Cabrol, *Les voies processionelles de Thèbes*, pp. 765-8; Criscuolo has alternatively suggested that the stelae were used as boundary markers (Criscuolo, in Vleeming, ed., *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, pp. 25-6).

¹⁸⁸ Lauffray, *Karnak* 6 (1980): 18-26, Pls. 6-7; Zimmer, in: Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak*, pp. 5-10; Gabolde, *Le "Grand Chateau d'Amon" de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak*, §§119-122, 188, 190, 192; *idem*, in

of Thebes, constructed in the reign of Sesostris I on the site of earlier, Eleventh Dynasty constructions.¹⁸⁹ This Middle Kingdom structure was dismantled during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III, and the primary sanctuary of Amun was rebuilt immediately to the east as the Akh-Menu.¹⁹⁰ Nonetheless, some edifice must have remained in the area once occupied by the temple of Sesostris I, since there is a substantial amount of space between the bark shrine of Thutmosis III/Phillip Arrhidaios and the Akh-Menu.¹⁹¹ The continued presence of a structure in this area is further confirmed by the processional corridor leading to the Akh-Menu located to the south of the main east-west axis in order to circumnavigate the chapels of Hatshepsut and the Middle Kingdom court area.¹⁹²

One sandstone block found in the Middle Kingdom courtyard attests to restoration work performed under Tiberius.¹⁹³ To the right is the label to the king:¹⁹⁴

sm3wi mnw ir.n nsw.t-biti nb-t3.wy (t3iry[s])| z3-R^c nb-h^c.w (kysrs nty [hwy])|

Renewal of the monument carried out by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt,
Tiberi[us], the Son of Re, Lord of Appearances, Caesar Augus[tus].

Guksch and Polz, eds., *Stationen. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens*, Rainer Stadelmann gewidmet, pp. 181-196; for more recent research in this area, cf. Charloux, *EA* 27 (2005): 20-4.

¹⁸⁹ Gabolde, *Le "Grand Chateau d'Amon" de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak*.

¹⁹⁰ Gabolde, *Le "Grand Chateau d'Amon" de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak*, §§220-1; for the sanctuary in the Akh-Menu, cf. Beaux, *Le cabinet de curiosités de Thoutmosis III*; idem, *Karnak IX* (1993): 101-8;

¹⁹¹ Gabolde, *Le "Grand Chateau d'Amon" de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak*, §§122, 190, noting renovations done in the Middle Kingdom Court by Thutmosis III; cf. also the nearby inscription of the High Priest Mencheperre (Twenty-First Dynasty) recording temple inspections (Jansen-Winkel, *Inshriften der Spätzeit*, I, pp. 74-5).

¹⁹² PM II², pp. 106-7, (238)-(330); cf. Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 114-5; Carlotti, *CRIPÉL* 24 (2004): 75-97.

¹⁹³ PM II², p. 110; Legrain, *RT* 22 (1900): 63-4; Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 155; Gabolde, *Le "Grand Chateau d'Amon" de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak*, §190; the block is now in the Cheikh Labib magazine (personal communication of Dr. Luc Gabolde).

¹⁹⁴ After Photo CFEETK No. 44.343; kindly provided along with notes by Dr. Luc Gabolde.

To the left is a fragment of the label to the deity:

[*dd md.w in*] *Imn-R^c nsw.t ntr.w*

[...] “[Words spoken by] Amun-Re King of the Gods [...]”

The precise nature of the renovations in this area is impossible to ascertain based on the fragmentary evidence. Nonetheless, work carried out in the most ancient section of Karnak is quite notable, and comparable to the inscriptions of Tiberius within Luxor Temple. If nothing else, the renovation indicates the continued use of the general Akh-Menu area, as well as the importance of the east-west processional axis of the temple.

5.2.1.3 Chonsu Temple and the Opet Temple

The decoration of these contiguous and cultically related temples was completed in the reign of Augustus (cf. **5.1.1.2-3**).¹⁹⁵ The only construction known from the time of Tiberius is that detailed in stela BM 1634,¹⁹⁶ which features appears Tiberius presenting the temple to Chonsu in Thebes Neferhotep and Osiris-Wennefer, King of the Gods. The short inscriptions details further work from the reign of Tiberius:

¹ *ϵnh Hr tm3-ϵ hwi h3s.wt*
hq3 hq3.w stp n Nwn-wr
² *nsw.t-biti nb-t3.wy (tbyrys)|*
z3-R^c nb-h^c.w (kysrs nty hwi)|

ir.n=f m mnw n it=f
³ *Hnsw-m-W3s.t nfr-htp*
Wsir^(a) (Wn-nfr m3^c-hrw)| nsw.t-ntr.w
šn^c w^cb^(b) m m3w r⁴ b3k htp.w-ntr im=f r^c-nb^(c)

iswy hr=f m nsyw.t ϵ3.t hr s.t-Hr d.t

¹ Live the Horus, Valiant of Arm, who smites the foreign lands,

¹⁹⁵ For connections between Chonsu Temple and the Opet Temple, cf. Degardin, *JNES* 44 (1985): 115-31

¹⁹⁶ Published thoroughly by De Meulenaere, *OLP* 9 (1978): 72-3; additional photographs were provided by the British Museum.

Ruler of rulers, chosen by Great Nun,
² The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Tiberius,
Son of Re, Lord of Appearances, Caesar Augustus.

He made among the monuments for his father,
³ Chonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep,
Osiris-Wennefer, justified, King of the Gods,
a bakery anew, in order to ⁴ prepare offerings in it every day.

His reward is a great kingship upon the throne of Horus, eternally.

- (a) De Meulenaere drew the figure of Osiris with a beak, a feature which clearly appears on the photograph as the more expected beard.
- (b) The *šn^c-w^cb*, “bakery,” was a building associated with each temple, in which the required offerings would be prepared.¹⁹⁷
- (c) Similar descriptions of bakeries occur in texts from actual structures themselves (*šn^c n m3w r b3k htp.w-ntr im=f hr.t n hrw n r^c nb*),¹⁹⁸ while temple offerings are often referred to as “prepared in the bakery (*b3k.tw hr šn^c w^cb*)” in New Kingdom records.¹⁹⁹

As Traunecker has already noted, this stela must refer to the actual *šn^c-w^cb* found to the west of Chonsu temple and north of the Opet temple, located against the temenos wall.²⁰⁰ The original structure dates to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and was restored under Ptolemy III.²⁰¹ In the time of Tiberius, the bakery was thus rebuilt (*ir ... m m3w*), perhaps in connection with the increased activity at both Chonsu Temple and the Opet Temple.

¹⁹⁷ Traunecker, *RdE* 38 (1987): 147-62; Darnell, *Enchoria* 16 (1988): 129, n. 6 (discussing this example); Haring, *Divine Households*, pp. 98-100; Carlotti and Chappaz, *Karnak* 10 (1995): 177, n. a.

¹⁹⁸ Traunecker, *RdE* 38 (1987): 149, n. 17; cf. the similar expressions in private inscriptions: “I erected her (sc. Mut) storehouse for her in order to prepare her offerings therein (*s^ch^c.n(=i) n=s šn^c=s r b3k htp.w-ntr=s im*) (Leclant, *Montouemhat*, pp. 214 and 218, col. 13); “he built a great bakery anew in order to prepare offerings in it every day (*sps.n=f šn^c 3 w^cb n m3w r b3k htp.w-ntr im=f r^c-nb*)” (Quaegebeur, in Van’t Dack, ed., *The Judaeo-Syrian Egyptian Conflict of 103-101 B.C.*, pp. 93-4, col. 3, 100, n. [26], who compared the identical passage to the present example).

¹⁹⁹ Haring, *Divine Households*, pp. 98, n. 8, and 100.

²⁰⁰ Traunecker, *RdE* 38 (1987): 153, 160, Fig. 2B, 161, Fig. 3C.

²⁰¹ Traunecker, *RdE* 38 (1987): 153.

This stela represents an officially sponsored renovation of facilities for the storage and preparation of divine offerings. Rather than antagonizing and oppressing Theban priests and religious institutions, Tiberius actually funded improvements in temple infrastructure that would ensure the proper maintenance of traditional cult services.

5.2.1.4 Temple of Osiris the Coptite

The small temple of Osiris the Coptite (cf. **4.45**), the Theban center for the Khoiak festival, was constructed in the Ptolemaic Period or slightly earlier.²⁰² This temple, known as the *ḥw.t-nbw*, served as the workshop for fashioning Osiris effigies out of grain which were subsequently interred in the neighboring Osirian catacombs.²⁰³ Although little decoration remains, two columns of text from a door jamb were carved in the name of Tiberius:²⁰⁴

¹ *ntr n B3q.t ḥq3 rww nw t3-i3ḥw*
nīw.wt sp3.wt grg(.w) n rn=f
gs-pr.w hr ḥm=f
sn.t=f Is.t m z3 n ḥw=f Nb.t-ḥw.t hr mk d.t=f
z3=f Hr mn(.w) hr ns.t=f m nsw.t-ntr.w r nhḥ

² *Wsir (wnn-nfr m3ḥ-hrw nsw.t-ntr.w) | Gbty ḥnty ḥw.t-nbw*
nsw.t m p.t bitī m t3 ity 3 m hr.t-ntr
3 m d3m.t spd m Iwnw tnn ḥnty inb-ḥd

ḥtp hr=k nfr n nsw.t-bitī (tbyrs) |

¹ The god of Egypt, ruler of the districts of the land of the Luminous one,
 for whose name cities and nomes are founded,
 whose image the temples bear,
 whose sister Isis is his protection, Nephthys guarding his body,

²⁰² PM II², p. 207; Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébaines*, pp. 54-6; Coulon, in Hawass, ed., *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first Century*, I, pp. 138-46.

²⁰³ Coulon, in Hawass, ed., *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first Century*, I, pp. 138-46; for the latter structure, see further Coulon, et al., *Karnak 10* (1995): 205-27.

²⁰⁴ LD Text, iii, p. 38 = *Urk.* VIII, 177 = Berlin 2120; cf. also Traunecker, *Coptos*, §377; Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 95.

whose son Horus remains upon his throne as King of the Gods eternally,

² Osiris-Wennefer, justified, King of the Gods, the Coptite, foremost of the
Gold House,
nsw.t in heaven, *biti* on earth, great sovereign in the Necropolis,
Great in Djeme, sha[rp] in Heliopolis, distinguished in Memphis.

May your good face be kind to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Tiberius.

Although quite short, the first column of this inscription displays quite sophisticated organization. The epithets move from broad areas (“Egypt,” “districts of the Luminous land”²⁰⁵), to local communities (“cities and nomes”), specific structures (“temples”), to divine entities (Isis, Nephthys, Horus). Furthermore, the secondary epithets of Osiris in strophes 2-5 employ an interesting chiastic structure:

- (2) Stative (*grg(.w)*)
- (3) Prepositional phrase (*hr hm=f*)
- (4) Prepositional phrase (*m z3, hr mk(.t)*)
- (5) Stative (*mn(.w)*)

The final epithets, meanwhile, make Osiris ruler of the three cosmic regions (Heaven, Earth, Netherworld),²⁰⁶ and the three dynastic cities of Egypt (Djeme = Thebes, Heliopolis, Memphis).²⁰⁷

This brief inscription does not detail any specific work carried out in the small Osiris temple. Nonetheless, this text does indicate that the cult of Osiris the Coptite remained active through the reign of Tiberius. Moreover, P. Louvre N 3176 (S), dated recently to the

²⁰⁵ For this phrase, cf. also Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 3 (= *Urk.* VIII, 70g).

²⁰⁶ For similar epithets denoting Osiris-Kosmokrator, see e.g. *Opet* I, 15; 54; 62; *Deir al-Médina*, 19, 5-6; 32, 6; 45, 6-7; 53, 2; 56, 8-9; 59; 86, 6-7; Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, p. 139, n. b.

²⁰⁷ Cf. also *Opet* I, 54, where Osiris is “Lord (*nb*) in Thebes, Chief (*hry-tp*) in Heliopolis, Ruler (*hq3*) in Memphis.”

first or second century CE,²⁰⁸ further confirms the continued use of this edifice into the Roman Period. This papyrus details the Osirian bark processions carried out in Karnak during the Khoiak Festival, and mentions the temple of Osiris of Coptos as one of the many processional stops.²⁰⁹

5.2.1.5 Ptah Temple

The fourth gateway before the Ptah Temple at Karnak contains two extensive hymns to Imhotep carved in the reign of Tiberius.²¹⁰ The better preserved of the two has been thoroughly translated and studied,²¹¹ while the other has received only one tentative translation in print.²¹² This latter hymn was designated as a hymn to Amenhotep, son of Hapu by Wildung,²¹³ on the assumption that the pair Imhotep and Amenhotep would naturally have parallel hymns. This notion was supported by a misunderstanding of one of the epithets in the second hymn, *b3-nb-hy* “Ba, Lord of the Firmament.” Wildung assumed this referred to Amun, and concluded that the reference to his son (col. 1) cannot mean

²⁰⁸ Bargaet, *Le Papyrus N. 3176 (S) du Musée du Louvre*; the Roman date for this papyrus was proposed independently by Quack and Osing, and has been generally accepted, cf. Coulon and Gabolde, *RdE* 55 (2004): 9, n. 20.

²⁰⁹ Bargaet, *Le Papyrus N. 3176 (S) du Musée du Louvre*, pp. 31-4; Coulon, in: Hawass, ed., *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first Century*, I, pp. 138-46.

²¹⁰ PM II², p. 197 (4) (c)-(d).

²¹¹ *Urk.* VIII, No. 213; Sauneron, *BIFAO* 63 (1965): 73-87; Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 207-9; idem, *Egyptian Saints*, pp. 58-9; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, III, pp. 104-7; Leitz, *Quellentexte zur ägyptischen Religion I: Die Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, pp. 113, 116-7, Text B.

²¹² *Urk.* VIII, No. 212; Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 209-211, Pl. 53; a liberal translation of certain sections appears in Wildung, *Egyptian Saints*, p. 105.

²¹³ Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 210; this conclusion has been generally accepted, e.g. Sauneron, *BIFAO* 63 (1965): 74; Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, I, p. 455, n. (a); Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, III, pp. 104-5; Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, p. 19, n. 51; Leitz, *Quellentexte zur ägyptischen Religion I*, p. 113.

Imhotep.²¹⁴ However, this epithet most commonly refers to Ptah as the craftsman who fashioned heaven,²¹⁵ whose son would, in fact, be Imhotep.²¹⁶ In addition, the hymn states later (col. 5) that the divinity's Ka-priest is with (*r-ḥn*) him, namely Amenhotep, son of Hapu.²¹⁷ This interpretation is supported by a similar phrase in the other hymn to Imhotep (cols. 5-6), claiming “that your (sc. Imhotep) brother worships you (...) your beloved, who loves you, Amenhotep, son of Hapu, being with you, never separating from you.” Amenhotep does accompany Imhotep in most representations, but usually as his slightly inferior companion, designated only as “scribe” and “priest of Amun.”²¹⁸ It is not surprising, therefore, that only Imhotep received hymns at the Ptah Temple, which at this time was simply called “the Imhotep Temple.”²¹⁹ (cf. *infra*)

²¹⁴ Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 210.

²¹⁵ Wilke, *ZÄS* 76 (1940): 93–9; Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou*, p. 266, n. 1312; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 598–600; Waitkus, *Die Texte in den unteren Krypten des Hathortempels von Dendera*, p. 120, n. 19; *LGG* II, pp. 682-3 (with many examples of the *B3-nb-hy* as craftsman); while this epithet can refer to Amun, that often occurs in a Memphite context (e.g. *Hibis* III, Pl. 33, col. 35; cf. Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 122-3); furthermore, if this were a reference to Amun, then the epithet would most likely be determined by an ideograph of Amun, as later in the same hymn, col. 2 “beside the Hidden Ba (= Amun).” Finally, Amenhotep is always said to be the son of Hapu/Apis (cf. Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, p. 101), but not of Ptah; as Sauneron already noted: “Imhotep et Amenhotep son confrères en art médical – et frères, si l’on veut, par l’effet d’un destin commun. Leur parenté s’arrête là” (Sauneron, *BIFAO* 63 [1965]: 86, n. [aaa]).

²¹⁶ *LGG* II, 683, cited this example without any interpretation: “In unklarem Zusammenhang (vorher steht s3).”

²¹⁷ Wildung, however, ignored the word “Ka-priest” and translated: “[...] zusammen mit dir, königlicher Schreiber Amenhotep-Sohn-des-Hapu” (Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 210).

²¹⁸ Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 201-248; Wildung himself noted later how Amenhotep “in Karnak im Schatten des Imhotep steht” (*ibid.*, p. 254).

²¹⁹ The main temple of Amenhotep was of course the shrine at Deir el-Bahari; cf. **4.1**.

5.2.1.5.1 Hymn on the South Pillar²²⁰

¹ nfr.wy hr=k
 iw=k [ii].t[w m htp]
 z3 b3-nb-hy

nbi tw t3-tnn m whm=f rnp
 sns=f tw hr m^cb3y.(t)
 fq3[=f tw m ...] šps.w

^cpr.n=f tw m k3.t [...]
 [...] =f tw m d3is.w
 šd=f tw m iry-md.w

² iri.n=f tw m snw n 'Isdn[...] m [...].w
 rh tp-ḥsb rdi.t wršy.t ^(a)

nḥ.n=f phr=k t3.w
 swd3=k imy.w=s(n)
 wd^c=k h3y.t n i3h[...] =k

s3h=k s.t=k r-gs B3-Imn

it=k im[...m...] ^(b)
 (hr) rdi.t imy.t-pr n Hr r zm3-t3.wy ^(c)

³ Nbty.t-rhy.t sk m Hw.t-hr ^(d)
 hr dmd wrt.t n ^c3-m3^c-hrw
 k3=k m ntr htp.tw z3=sn
 hr rdi.t ^cnḥ n hr.w nb ^(e)

snb[=k...]
 [si]wr=k snb.wt ^(f)
 (hr) nḥm z m-^c [hfty]=f ^(g)

si3.n=k h3ty.w
 rh.n=k ⁴ [ib.w...]
 [...] di t3w
 s3wi=k ^ch^c
 ni p3.n=k bhñ šnw

šm^c=k w3sy
 mh=k gm wš
 m k3.t n it=k hn[^c...].w hr k3 wr [...]
 [...] n d3is.w tp-^c=k

²²⁰ Urk. VIII, No. 212; collated with the photograph in Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, Pl. 53.

*di=k*⁵ [...] *hr t.t Tri-t3* ^(h)
mitt ^c*hm.w tpy-hn.wt=f* ⁽ⁱ⁾
sšm.n=k ih.t n i3h.w
mi [...]

hm-k3[=k] r-hn^c=k
sš-nsw.t Imn-htp z3 h3pi
⁶ *z3 n nb-ms.wt whm[-^cnh...]* ⁽ⁱ⁾ *n imn-rn=f*

sh3[=tn ...] z3=tn mr=tn (tybrys)!

¹ How beautiful is your face,
 when you have [come in peace],
 Son of the Ba-*nb-hy* (=Ptah),

Tatenen fashioned you as his young replica,
 he associated you among the Council of Thirty,
 [he] rewarded [you with] august [...]s.

He equipped you with the work of [...]
 he [...] you with utterances,
 he raised you as Keeper-of-Words.

² He made you as the second of Isden [...] with [...],
 who knows what is correct,
 who sets festival times.

That he requested that you circulate the two lands,
 was so you might heal those within them,
 so you might remove disease [...] your [...].

May you reach your place beside the Hidden Ba (= Amun),
 Your father is there [as ...],
 giving the inheritance to Horus in order to unite the two lands,

³ The Lady of the People, meanwhile, is as Hathor,
 uniting the double crown for Great-of-Justification (= Horus),
 Your Ka is a pacified god, their son,
 giving life to everybody.

Just as [you] heal [the sick],
 so do you [help] the barren conceive,
 rescuing a man from his [enemy].

Just as you understand hearts,
 so do you know ⁴ [minds...]
 [...] giving air,

It is without ever having accepting bribes,
that you extend lifetimes.

Just as you restore what is ruined,
you restore what is found missing,
through the work of your father [...]
[...] of the Djaisu before you.

You give/let ⁵ [...] from the table of Irita,
likewise the images (by) he-who-is-upon-his-duties,
you direct food for the transfigured-spirits,
likewise [...]

[Your] Ka-priest is with you,
the Royal Scribe Amenhotep, Son of Hapu,
⁶ the son of the Lord of births, repeating [life...] of Hidden-of-Name,

May [you (both)] remember [...] your beloved son, Tiberius.

(a) Wildung's translation of this passage ("der das Rechnungswesen besser kennt als die Behörde, die den Tagesdienst hat") involves reading the verb *rdi* as the preposition *r*. The word *wršy.t* however is the most problematic aspect. This substantive appears to derive from the verb *wrš* "to spend the day; to guard," a word often used to refer to Hathoric festivals.²²¹

The *Wörterbuch* records two words written *wrš.t*, "ein Zeitabschnitt" or "Name eines Festes."²²² An Osiris liturgy from Thebes mentions a specifically lunar *wrš*-festival: "May you appear as the moon at the time of the *wrš*-festival (*h^c=k m i^ch r tr n wrš*)."²²³

A similar noun may be found on another monument of Imhotep which refers to his death as follows:²²⁴

hrw pr.t b3 n Ti-m-htp r gb.t
wrš.t ʕ3.t n ntr pn m t3 (r)-dr=f

The day when the Ba of Imhotep went forth to heaven:
great *wrš.t*-festival of this god in the entire land.

²²¹ For nuances of the verb *wrš* and related terms, cf. Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, I, pp. 130-1.

²²² *Wb.* I, 336, 2-3.

²²³ Haikal, *Two Hieratic Funerary Papyri of Nesmin*, I, 39 (= P. BM 10209, III, 24); II, pp. 20, 41-2, n. 137, citing also Gardiner, *JEA* 19 (1933): 22 and Pl. VI, l. 8, for a reference to a "*nfr-wrš*-festival" of Sobek from the Dakhleh Stela, which Gardiner (*JEA* 19 [1933]: 22 and 26) translated as "Beauty of Daytime."

²²⁴ BM EA 512 = Wildung, *Imhotep und Amunhotep*, p. 75, Pl. 14B, cols. 11-12.

Wildung translated the word *wrš.t* as “Aufenthalt,”²²⁵ while Meeks tentatively proposed “veillée (?) dans un temple.”²²⁶ The word in question in the Imhotep calendar is most likely related to Demotic word *wrš*, a type of festival conducted in the Serapeum in Memphis.²²⁷ This in turn might be related to the more common *rš*, a technical term for “purificatory offerings.”²²⁸ If this is indeed the same word in the Imhotep hymn, then the epithet might designate him as the one who organizes funerary cults.²²⁹

- (b) This is most likely another reference to the father of Imhotep, Ptah.
- (c) This is an allusion to the child god Somtous venerated in the Ptah Temple (cf. **4.49**).
- (d) Hathor of Thebes assumes the epithet “Lady of the People” here in her aspect of Isis, as elsewhere in the Ptah Temple (cf. **4.21**).
- (e) Otto translated this difficult passage as: “Dein Ka ist ein Gott; du bist befriedigt (?) ..., wenn (du) jedermann Leben gibst.”²³⁰ Wildung, meanwhile, read (impossibly) “Your *ka* is a god to give life and health to everybody.”²³¹
- (f) The term *snb.t* is usually understood to mean “barren woman,”²³² but it might more precisely be a spelling of *snf.t*, “bleeding woman,” a term for a woman who has suffered a miscarriage.²³³

²²⁵ Wildung, *Imhotep und Amunhotep*, p. 75; cf. also his discussion in *ibid*, p. 78.

²²⁶ Meeks, *AL* I, 77.0989; followed by Vittmann, in: *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, II, pp. 955, 957-8.

²²⁷ Pestman, et al., *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues*, II, pp. 15-6, n. (bb); noted in connection with the Imhotep text already by Vittmann, in: *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, II, p. 957, n. 62.

²²⁸ Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, p. 66; Nur el-Din, *The Demotic Ostraca*, p. 259, n. to line 5; Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, p. 458.

²²⁹ Note that at Deir el-Bahari, Imhotep is “he who gives regulations to the gods (*dī tp.w-rd n ntr.w*)” (Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 52-3, No. 64).

²³⁰ Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, p. 137, 1.

²³¹ Wildung, *Egyptian Saints*, p. 105.

²³² Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 861-2; note that the restoration is confirmed by a passage in the hymn to Imhotep from Dendera, where he is called “he who impregnates the barren (*siwr snb.t*)” (*Dendara XIII*, 59, 14 = Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, p. 139).

²³³ For this interpretation of the word *snf.t*, cf. Frandsen, *JNES* 66 (2007): 83-6; the interchange of *f/b* in Roman texts is not uncommon, e.g. *Esna* VI, 480, 19 (*šfy.t*, “prestige,” spelled as *šby*); cf. also Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, p. 76, n. e; for a similar phenomenon in late Demotic, cf. Jasnow and Zauzich, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth*, I, p. 89.

(g) Restoring $m\text{-}^c$ [*hfty*]=*f*, “from his enemy,” based on similar texts.²³⁴

(h) The “table of Irita” is also mentioned in the Book of Traversing Eternity.²³⁵

ptr=k'Iri-t3 m hb hr.w
m tph.t=f nty iw tp=f m h3w=s
mmmn=k r hw.t-ntr=f 5 sp.w n hrw
nn hsf^c=k hr t.t=f

May you see Irita in the “Faces” festival,
in his grotto in the vicinity of which is his head,
may you travel to his temple 5 times a day,
never being turned away from his table.

(i) This epithet or title is not attested elsewhere,²³⁶ but it is most likely related to the phrase *hr* (*ir.t*) *hnw.t=f*, “upon (performing) his duties” which usually refers to priests engaged in cult services.²³⁷

(j) Restored from a label to Amenhotep son of Hapi at Deir el-Bahari: “Amenhotep, justified, made by the Lord of births, repeating life, Hapu, justified (*Imn-htp m3^c-hrw ir.n nb-msw.t whm-^cnh h3pw m3^c-hrw*).”²³⁸

5.2.1.5.2 Hymn on the North Pillar²³⁹

¹ *h(y) n=k p(3) ntr im3-ib*
Ti-m-htp z3 Pth
mi r pr=k hw.t-ntr=k m W3s.t
p(t)r tw shm.w=s m h^c

²³⁴ Proposed already by Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, pp. 136, 186 (245); followed by Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, p. 455, n. (a).

²³⁵ P. Leiden T 32, II, 16-17 = Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, pp. 51, 132-3, 435.

²³⁶ LGG VII, 391, tentatively read this example as “Der Erste seiner Opfertgaben (*hn.w*),” but note that the bread-sign was already noted as a common determinative for *hnw.t* “duty, cult service” by *Wb.* III, 102, 16.

²³⁷ *Wb.* III, 102, 7; similarly a passage from the Hibis Creator Hymn (col. 29), describes how “the stars are upon (performing) their duties (*sb3.w hr hnw.t=sn*),” possibly a reference to the decan stars and other messenger demons (correcting the reading of Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, p. 162 [“upon their circuits”], as already recognized by the editors of the *Wörterbuch*).

²³⁸ Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, p. 29, No. 15.

²³⁹ *Urk.* VIII, No. 213; Sauneron, *BIFAO* 63 (1965): 73-87.

šsp=k 3w im=s
hnm=k sntr
rnp d.t=k m qbhw

s.t=k twy st-ib=k mr=k
3h n=k s(y) r s.wt=k ni.wt

m33=k Imn r hb.w tpy tr.w
dr s.t=k² m-qrf r=f
hnm=k^cnh m hnm.t^cnh
sw m-sty n pr=f r M3nw
swsr(.w) ^c=k in Mnt nb W3s.t
hf^c=k mhy.t hnty <r> pr=k
dg3=k i3h.w itn m psd-m-nbw
m-h3w sb3.w n nb-šfy.t
gmh=k hw.wt-ntr hr ifdw n pr=f
šsp=k snw m pr hr ^cb=sn
iwh.n=k hh=k
m mw in hm.w-ntr=k
qbhw nn m 3d.w-mr=k
pr.t-hrw=sn n=k m iht nb nfr
htp.w df3.w hr.t-hrw
ir.t-Hr w3d nbty hd
zbb-n-sd.t tpy wh3

⁴ hn b3=k m p.t r pr=k r^c nb
hr hrw hknw n w^cb=k
ndb=k s3h.w n imy-r s.t-hnt=k hr w3h iht n k3=k
t3y.w hr sw3š=k hm.wt hr hf=k
nty.w iwty.w hr siw bnr=k
dr snb=k [s]t
twt ir ^cnh=sn
šm^c.n=k nhp⁵ it=k

mzy=sn n=k inw=sn
rmn=sn g3.w=sn
hrp=sn n=k iht=sn
n ib t3ms=k m gs-ph3
s^cm=k m dsr m-^cb sn.w=k ntr.w p3wty.w
drp=k 3h.w iqr.w m spy.w=k

rh.w-iht (hr) dw3 n=k ntr
sn=k tpy=sn mry=k mr=k
Imn-htp z3-h3py

wnn=f hn^c=k⁶
ni hr=f r=k
d.t=tn dmd(.w) m zp

*šsp b3=tn m iht mr=tn
in n=tn z3=tn (kysrs nty hwy)|*

¹ Praise be unto you, o god, gracious of heart,
Imhotep, son of Ptah,
Come to your domain, your temple in Thebes,
so you its statues might see you,
so you might receive offerings therein,
so you might smell incense,
so your body might rejuvenate through cool waters,

This place of yours, your favorite location, which you love,
it is better for you than all places!

May you see Amun at his seasonal festivals
from your seat in ²his vicinity.
May you receive life in Khenmet-ankh,
which is in view of your domain at Manu,
May your arm be rendered mighty by Montu Lord of Thebes,
May you grasp the North-wind within your domain,
May you see the light of the sundisk as he-who-rises in gold,
in the vicinity of the upper gate of the Lord of Prestige,
May you behold ³the temples on the four corners of your domain,
May you receive offerings from that which comes forth upon their altars,
having flooded your throat with water which your priests bring,
this cool water of your food administrators,
they make invocation offerings for you with all good things,
food, provisions, daily,
wine, beer, milk, and burnt offerings at nightfall.

⁴ May your Ba alight from heaven at your domain every day,
at the sound of the call of your *ihy-w^cb*-priest,
May you hear the transfiguration spells of your chief priest,
while laying down offerings for your Ka,
Men worship you, women revere you,
rich and poor alike praise your sweetness,
since you healed [th]em,
you are the one who made their lives,
having renewed the potter's wheel ⁵of your father.

Just as they bring to you their tribute,
so do they carry their vessels to you,
so they might consecrate for you their offerings,
from the desire that you eat of the bread,
that you might drink of the beer,
alongside your brothers, the primeval gods,
that you might feed the excellent spirits with your remainders.

The learned ones worship you,
the chief among them being your brother,
your beloved whom you love,
Amenhotep son of Hapu.

May he be with you,
never leaving you,
your bodies united together,
may your Ba receive the offerings which you love,
which your son, Caesar Augustus, has brought to you.

These hymns recreate two aspects of the cult of Imhotep in the Roman Period in vivid detail. The first hymn praises the god for his abilities and role as a healer, literally “encircling the two lands” to heal the sick and remove disease (col. 2). The same text also mentions Imhotep’s position within the Karnak, sharing a temple with Ptah, Hathor of Thebes and Somtous (cols. 2-3). The second hymn, meanwhile, focuses instead on listing all of the festivals and food offerings given to Imhotep. The first section mentions the larger processions of Thebes carried out for Amun and Montu (cols. 2-3), specifying that Imhotep only gets secondary offerings from the main gods’ altars (cols. 3). The next section mentions the specific activities carried out specifically for Imhotep by his priests (*hm.w-ntr* and *‘d.w-mr*), including daily offerings of food and wine and nocturnal sacrifices upon an altar (cols. 3). The hymn continues to list yet another source of provisions for Imhotep, namely the more humble bread and beer brought by private people seeking medical cures (cols. 4-5).

Further evidence for the inclusion of Imhotep in Theban festivals comes from a Roman Period festival papyrus. Among the multiple processional stops listed for the bark of Osiris during the month of Khoiak, P. Louvre N. 3176 (S) also mentions going to the “temple of Imhotep (*r-pr Ii-m-htp*).”²⁴⁰ The most reasonable assumption for this location would be

²⁴⁰ After the corrections of Quack, *RdE* 49 (1998): 256.

the Ptah Temple in Karnak, which contains numerous depictions of Imhotep (cf. **4.24**). While Quack dismissed this idea as “wenig wahrscheinlich,”²⁴¹ the papyrus provides a further detail supporting this location. When the procession comes to the entrance of the temple of Imhotep (*r3 r-pr Ti-m-ḥtp*), ritual cloth is given to the divine statue, followed by:²⁴²

dw3 Ti-m-ḥtp ḏd-mdw
nfr.wy ḥr=k Ti-m-ḥtp
z3 t3-tnn r ph.t=f

The hymn to Imhotep:
 “How beautiful is your face, o Imhotep,
 son of Tatenen...” to its conclusion.

Barguet and Quack both recognized that this passage in the Louvre papyrus quotes the *incipit* of a hymn to be recited, without identifying which particular text this might be. These words are almost identical to the beginning of the first hymn to Imhotep preserved at the fourth gate (i.e. the entrance) to the Ptah Temple in Karnak:

How beautiful is your face [...],
 son of the Ba-*nb-hy* (= Ptah), whom Tatenen fashioned.

While the parallel is not exact, the two hymns are similar enough to reasonably conclude that the Osirian processions at Karnak also stopped at the Ptah Temple.²⁴³ The fact that this temple could be referred to simply as “the temple of Imhotep” in the Roman Period, is a further indication of its primary function as sanatorium at this point.

²⁴¹ Quack, *RdE* 49 (1998): 255-6; his suggestion to identify the temple with the small storage room (PM II², p. 104 [312]), containing, among other decoration, a small relief of Imhotep and Amenhotep is quite unlikely; for the purpose of this room, cf. already Traunecker, *CRIPEL* 11 (1989): 89-111.

²⁴² Quack, *RdE* 49 (1998): 256.

²⁴³ Hymns beginning with “How beautiful is your face (*nfr.wy ḥr=k/t*)” are admittedly quite common in Graeco-Roman temples, especially in gateways like one at the Ptah Temple (e.g. De Morgan, *K.O.* I, No. 206, sud; *Opet* I, 33, nord), and in fact a similar hymn to Imhotep appears in his shrine at Deir el-Bahari: “How beautiful is your face, begotten of *rsy-inb=f* (Ptah), eldest son of Hidden-of-his-Name (Amun)!” (Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 56-7, No. 68, col. 1). Nonetheless, the mention of Imhotep and the specific context of Karnak makes the identification plausible.

5.2.2 Medamud

Decoration came to a close on the so-called “Porte de Tibère” during the reign of Tiberius (cf. *supra*, 5.1.2). The sphinx-lined dromos was originally dated to the reign of Tiberius on the assumption that it would have been contemporary with the propylon,²⁴⁴ but the uninscribed sphingoi have been recently dated to Nectanebo I on the basis of iconographic details.²⁴⁵

5.2.3 Luxor Temple

5.2.3.0 Introduction

Traces remain of a Graeco-Roman relief in the south portal of the Collonade hall of Luxor Temple depicting a king, possibly Tiberius, offering the field to Amun; the figurines are roughly outlined in a shaky incised line while the inscriptions were sketched in red paint.²⁴⁶ This lost inscription is significant as one of only two datable inscriptions carved in Luxor Temple since the reigns of Alexander and Phillip Arrhidaios.²⁴⁷ This may be evidence that Tiberius rebuilt the south portal,²⁴⁸ emphasizing the south-west processional axis in a manner comparable to his restoration work in the Middle Kingdom Courtyard at Karnak (cf. 5.2.1.2). A demotic ostrakon from Year 14 of Tiberius, recording the leasing of temple

²⁴⁴ Bisson de la Roque, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1931-1932)*, pp. 1-2.

²⁴⁵ Cabrol, *Les voies processionales de Thèbes*, p. 183, n. 29.

²⁴⁶ PM II², p. 90 (c)-(d); Gayet, *Le temple de Louxor*, pp. 1-3. Gayet identified the cartouche of Tiberius without reproducing the text; any traces of paint on this area were entirely illegible by the late 1980's (personal communication of Prof. John C. Darnell).

²⁴⁷ For the small restoration work under Ptolemy IV, cf. Quaegebeur, in: *Égypte, Louqsor, Temple du Ka Royal*, p. 63; for other possible Ptolemaic renovations, cf. Vandorpe, in Vleeming, ed., *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, p. 220.

²⁴⁸ So Traunecker, in: *Égypte, Louqsor, Temple du Ka Royal*, p. 62.

services in “the Opet (*ḥt Ḥpḥ*),”²⁴⁹ further confirms the continuation of temple services in Luxor Temple.

Six stelae commemorating restoration work demonstrate the focus of renovations at Luxor temple during the reign of Tiberius.²⁵⁰ These stelae fall into roughly two categories; some depict scenes from a cycle which Labrique has referred to as the “rituel d’animation du temple”²⁵¹ (1-4), while others present traditional offering scenes (5-6). The stelae are fairly uniform in size, decoration, and preservation.

Based on a series of scenes at Edfu, Labrique established that the “rituel d’animation de temple” consists of four main parts: (1) the foundation and construction of the temple,²⁵² (2) the purification of the temple,²⁵³ (3) the “prise de la possession du temple,” where the divinity finally receives the properly consecrated edifice,²⁵⁴ and (4) a concluding Maat offering.²⁵⁵ The rites of founding the temple appear in temples from the 18th Dynasty onwards, but usually only selected scenes are depicted. At its most complete, this extended ritual included up to twelve separate events, and Tiberius’s series of stelae may originally

²⁴⁹ O. Dem. Brüssel E 353, ll. 2-3; Wängstedt, *CdE* 44 (1969): 228-30.

²⁵⁰ New photos and handcopies of all Luxor stelae were kindly provided by Philippe Collombert, who is preparing a full publication of the Tiberius stelae.

²⁵¹ Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou*, pp. 133-46, 237-72.

²⁵² Montet, *Kémi* 17 (1964): 74-100; Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou*, pp. 237-72.

²⁵³ Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou*, pp. 133-41

²⁵⁴ Gutbub, in: *Hommages à François Daumas*, II, pp. 389-407; Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou*, pp. 141-3; Fazzini, in Hawass and Richards, eds., *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt*, I, pp. 282-3.

²⁵⁵ Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou*, pp. 143-4; Labrique aptly describes the Maat offering as the “rite conclusif, évitant la fatale omission et symbolisant à lui seul la raison d’être de tous les actes décrits” (*ibid.*, p. 144); similarly Derchain and von Recklinghausen, *La création*, p. 6, discuss “l’offrande de Maât, qui résume l’ensemble de tous les rituels.”

have numbered twelve, one for each pertinent scene. Nonetheless, as they stand, the first four stelae record the primary steps of temple construction: digging the earth to lay the foundations (1), making the bricks (2), dedicating the completed temple (3), and the concluding offering of Maat (4)

The epithets and texts related to the various rites are all derive from earlier sources, and parallels occur in similar scenes at Edfu, Dendera, and elsewhere. The most relevant information to be gained from these stelae for the present purposes are the brief references to work carried out in Luxor.²⁵⁶

5.2.3.1 Luxor Museum 228 (cf. Plate 6a)

Bibliography: Fakhry, *ASAE* 34 (1934): 88-9, Pl. I, No. 2; Habachi, *OLP* 6/7 (1975/76): 250; De Meulenaere, *OLP* 9 (1978): 71; Grenier, *RdE* 38 (1987): 83, 90.

Scene: Hacking up the Earth (*hbs t3*)²⁵⁷

Divinities: Amun-Re Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Amun Foremost of his Opet.

¹ *Hr tm3-ꜥ nd n qm3 s(w)*
z3 mr=f (ir)^(a) 3h.w n it=f
² *nsw.t-biti nb-t3.wy*
(dybrys)| (kysrs nty-hwy)|
ntr nfr dd n it=f m 3h.w³ tr=f n k3=f^(b)

šsp.n=i hnn
3m.n=i hꜥy
hsb=i t3 r r3-ꜥ Nwn^(c)

⁴ *snꜥ.n=i inb h3 ip.t=k wr.t*
smnh(.ti) m irw=f r d.t

ib=i⁵ hꜥꜥ(.w) hr srwd mnw=k
twt(.w) <n> ir.tw^(d)

ink iwꜥꜥ=k iw=i hr ns.t=k d.t

²⁵⁶ Briefly summarized by De Meulenaere, *OLP* 9 (1978): 71.

²⁵⁷ For analysis of the scene with parallels, cf. Labrique, *Stylistique à Edfou*, pp. 251-5 (the closest parallel is *Edfou* II, 60, 7-9); in the following commentary, parallels will only be noted when necessary for understanding the Tiberius versions.

¹ Horus, Valiant of arm, protector of his creator,
 his beloved son (who does) benefactions for his father,
² The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two lands,
 Tiberius Caesar Augustus,
 The good god, who speaks to his father by means of the benefactions ³ he performed
 for his Ka:

Just as I have picked up the hoe,
 so have I grasped the tool,
 so I might hack up the earth all the way to Nun.

⁴ It is around your great Opet that I have laid the foundation for a wall,
 so that it is made excellent in its details for eternity.

My heart ⁵ rejoices in making your monuments endure,
 being exactly as they should be done.

I am your heir while I am upon your throne, eternally.

- (a) For the restoration, cf: *Edfou* II, 60, 7-8: *ir z3 mr=f 3h.w n it=f mi Hr hr nd Wsir* “his beloved son does benefactions for his father, like Horus protecting Osiris.”²⁵⁸
- (b) For similar phrases, cf. Coulon, *RdE* 52 (2001): 96, n. (ii).
- (c) Cf. *Edfou* II, 60, 8-9: *t3 r-dr Nwn*; *Edfou* III, 106, 5: *r3-c mw*.
- (d) The only parallel is damaged: *Edfou* II, 60, 10: *h^c ib=i hr srwd mnw=k tw[t...]*. The second phrase is a variant of a common expression in the trilingual decrees: *stwt(.w) n ir.tw=sn* “which are meet/required to be do.”²⁵⁹ *Edfou* VII, 12, 2: *twt n iry* “exactly (complete) as it should be.”²⁶⁰

5.2.3.2 Luxor Museum 229 (cf. Plate 6b)

Bibliography: Habachi, *ASAE* 51 (1951): 449; *idem*, *OLP* 6/7 (1975/76): 248, Pl. 9; De Meulenaere, *OLP* 9 (1978): 71; Grenier, *RdE* 38 (1987): 83, 90.

²⁵⁸ Cf. also Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 45 (= *Urk.* VIII, 97h).

²⁵⁹ References in *Wb.* V, 257, 11; for the variants and multiple Greek and Demotic equivalents, cf. Daumas, *Les moyens d'expression*, pp. 200-3 (§109); Bucheum Stela 16 (Reign of Domitian), l. 6 (Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, Pl. 8); cf. also *Edfou* VIII, 12, 2: *twt n iry* “exactly (complete) as it should be (trans. of Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1132).

²⁶⁰ Translation of Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1132.

Scene: Molding Bricks (*šht db.t*)²⁶¹
 Divinites: Amun-Re King of the Gods, Amenope of Djeme.

¹ Hr tm3-^c rwd ^c.wy ^(a)tz-^b.wy
 s^ch3 hw.wt n ntr.w nb
 nsw.t-bitī nb-t3.wy ² (dybrys)|
 z3-R^c nb-h^c.w (kysrs nty-hwy)|
 ntr nfr nsw.t t3.wy hq3 idb.w
 tz t3 mi ³ ir [s]w ^(b)

šsp.n=i 3h.t ^(c)
 zm3(.tw) hr ^cntyw hms.w mn[w]r ^(d) m-^cb hr.w(t)=f
⁴ 3m.n=i ht-db.t m ^c.wy=i ds=i
 šht=i db.t r ⁵ hws ^(e) hw.t-ntr=k
 mshn.t=k twy r grg t3.wy ^(f)


di=k tw(=i) ^(g) hry-tp t3 hr s.t Hr mi R^c d.t

¹ Horus, Valiant of arm, firm of arms, who binds the Two Lands,
 who erects temples for all the gods,
 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, ² Tiberius,
 The Son of Re, Lord of Appearances, Caesar Augustus,
 The good god, King of the Two Lands, Ruler of the banks,
 who binds together the earth like ³ [h]is maker.

Just as I have picked up earth,
 mixed with myrrh, grain and inc[en]se with its ingredients,
⁴ so have I picked up the brick-mold with my own hands,
 so I might form the brick ⁵ in order to fortify your temple,
 this birth-brick of yours in order to found the two lands.



May you place me upon earth, on the throne of Horus, like Re, eternally.



(a) The epithet “firm of arms” is common for Khnum and other builder gods.²⁶²


(b) Traces of  are visible in the damage. In the caption, “Amun-Re King of the Gods” is also “King of the Two lands, Ruler of the banks, who binds together the earth.”

²⁶¹ For parallels, cf. Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou*, pp. pp. 261-5 (closest parallel is *Edfou II*, 60, ult. – 61, 2).

²⁶² *LGG IV*, p. 660.


(c) Reading:  =  = *šsp*, confirmed by the parallel in *Edfou* II, 61, 1; cf. also

Dendara IX, 71, 7: *šsp.n=i t3*. The second word  < , could possibly read *z3t*, “earth” (< *st3*),²⁶³ but the same sign also appears frequently as a determinative to *3h.t*.²⁶⁴

(d) Reading: , confirmed by *Edfou* II, 61, 1; *Edfou* VII, 48, 8.

(e) Reading *šs* < *hws*, based on phonetic change,²⁶⁵ since most parallels mention molding the brick “in order to fortify (*r hws*)” the temple: *Edfou* II, 61, 1; *Edfou* III, 114, 8; *Edfou* VII, 48, 6; *Dendara* IX, 71, 9.

(f) This expression appears to be formulaic, cf. *Edfou* II, 61, 2: *mshn.t [t]fy (r) grg t3.wy*; *Edfou* III, 114, 4: *mshn.t r grg pr=k*; 114, 8: *mshn.t r grg hw.wt*. (Dendera, *Baugeschichte*. However it could refer specifically to Luxor as the birth place of the Ogdoad, who are often said to “found the two lands (*grg t3.wy*).” (cf. **4.39**)

(g) Reading:  = *wi*, “me,” a common spelling of the dependent pronoun already in the Late Period.²⁶⁶

5.2.3.3 Egyptian Museum, w/o # (cf. Plate 7a)

Bibliography: Fakhry, *ASAE* 34 (1934): 89, Pl. I, No. 3; Habachi, *OLP* 6/7 (1975/76): 250; De Meulenaere, *OLP* 9 (1978): 71, n. 18; Grenier, *RdE* 38 (1987): 83.

Scene: Giving the Temple to his Father (*rđi.t pr n it=f*)²⁶⁷

Divinities: Amun-Re King of the Gods, Amenope of Djeme.

¹ [*Hr tm3-ꜥ*] *nb ir(.t)-ih.t n it=f*
3h sw r ir(.t) hnt
nsw.t-bitı nb-t3.wy (dybry[s])
² [(*kysrs nty-hwi*)]
ntr nfr hr hr m3ꜥ.t
mnh shr smn hp.w

²⁶³ Daumas, ed., *Valeurs phonétiques des signes*, IV, pp. 738-40.

²⁶⁴ See the discussion of Derchain, *RdE* 9 (1952): 40; cf. the nearly identical spelling of *3h.t* in the epithet *imy-r3 3h.t*, “overseer of the field,” in *Esna* VI, 500, 8.

²⁶⁵ For the nuances of verb *hws*, “to make cohesive,” see Meeks, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, p. 132, n. 446; for the spelling, compare the possibly related verb *šš* “to construct” (Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1033).

²⁶⁶ See most recently Jansen-Winkel, *SAK* 36 (2007): 65, n. (12).

²⁶⁷ For interpretations and numerous parallels to this scene, see Gutbub, in: *Hommages à François Daumas*, II, pp. 389-407; Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou*, pp. 141-3; Fazzini, in Hawass and Richards, eds., *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt*, I, pp. 282-3.

rdi^(a) *pr n it=f*
ʿrq.tw [...]

³ [...] *sh.w is.w*
iqr m k3.t=f rwd [m ...]

⁴ [...] *psd=f m hnt=f mi* [*R*^c(?)]
hr whm msh^c.w mit.t itn
di=f sw [...]^(b)

⁵ [...] *k3=k mi Hr hnty k3.w* [*ʿnh.w*]

¹ [Horus, Valiant of arm], lord of performing rites for his father,
so it is better than it was before,
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Tiberi[us],
² [Caesar Augustus],
The good god, who takes delight from Maat,
effective of plans, who establishes laws,
who gives the temple to his father,
being completed [...]

³ [...] of ancient designs,
excellent in its work, enduring [in its ...],

⁴ [...],
so he might shine within it like [Re(?)]
repeating births like the sundisk,
so he might appear [...]

⁵ [...] your Ka, like Horus foremost of the [living] Kas.

(a) This orthography of the participle *rdi*, “he who gives” with the otiose *-t* is common in Graeco-Roman inscriptions.²⁶⁸

(b) Just as in other texts of “giving the temple to its lord,” Tiberius claims to have built a proper temple in accordance with ancient designs, and he compares the completed structure to heaven in which Re dwells.²⁶⁹

5.2.3.4 Luxor Museum, w/o # (cf. Plate 7b)

Bibliography: Habachi, *ASAE* 51 (1951): 449; *idem*, *OLP* 6/7 (1975/76): 248-49, Pl. 10; De Meulenaere, *OLP* 9 (1978): 71.

²⁶⁸ Junker, *Grammatik der Denderatexte*, §116 ; Engsheden, *La reconstitution du verbe* , p. 73, Fig. XIV..

²⁶⁹ Gutbub, in: *Hommages à François Daumas*, II, pp. 389-407.

Scene: Offering Maat (*hnk-m3^c.t*)²⁷⁰

Divinities: Amun-Re Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Amenope of Djeme; behind Tiberius stands the divinized Luxor Temple.²⁷¹

¹*Hr tm3-^c hwy h3s.wt*
nsw.t-biti nb-t3.wy (tbrys)| (kysrs nty-hwy)|

ir.n=f m [mnw n it=f]
²*Imn-R^c nb-ns.wt-t3wy hnty Ip.t-s.wt*
ntr ³ nb p.t hnty ip.t=f
nb M3^c.t htp=f hr=s
inb ³ wr m db.t m(-rwty) ^(a) rw.t-di-m3^c.t n Ip.t-rsy.t
mshn.t nfr.t nt hmni.w
⁴*m-ht gm.n=f sw shnn { .n=f } ^(b)*

sm3wi=f sw m m3w m k3.t ⁵ n nhh
r mk hw.t-ntr=f rh3k.w-ib [...]

di=f snb nb hr s.t-Hr [...] d.t

¹ Horus, Valiant of arm, who smites the foreign lands,
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Tiberius Caesar,

Among [his monuments] he made [for his father],
² Amun-Re Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, foremost of Karnak,
Great god, lord of Heaven, foremost of his Opet,
Lord of Maat, who rests upon her,
a great ³ wall in bricks in (front of) the *rw.t-di-m3^c.t* of Southern Opet,
the good birthplace of the Ogdoad,
⁴ after he found it in disarray.

He renewed it again as a work ⁵ of eternity,
in order to protect his temple from the disaffected [...]

May he give all health upon the throne of Horus [...] eternally.

(a) Understanding a haplography for the word *rw.t/rwty*,²⁷² a term that can mean both “in front of” as well as “around.”²⁷³ The *rw.t-di-m3^c.t* (lit. “the gate of administering justice”),

²⁷⁰ For Graeco-Roman Maat offering scenes, see Leitz, *Die Außenwand des Sanktuars in Dendara*, pp. 204-8; Derchain and von Recklinghausen, *La création*, pp. 91-100, 141-2.

²⁷¹ She is depicted with the *ip.t*-sign on her head, and labelled “The Southern Opet, the [...] of the Primeval Ones (*ip.t rsy.t [...] p3wty.w*).”

²⁷² Following De Meulenaere, *OLP* 9 (1978): 71, n. 19.

was a general designation for the area in front of a temple's main gate or pylon, and thus usually denotes the forecourt.²⁷⁴

(b) Literally: “made to be chaotic.”²⁷⁵ Egyptian temple construction inscriptions traditionally evoked the topos of ruined or neglected temples previous to the renovation, although such accounts often contain a certain degree of historical truth.²⁷⁶

5.2.3.5 CG 22198 (cf. Plate 8a)

Bibliography: Kamal, *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines*, p. 194, Pl. 70; Daressy, *ASAE* 19 (1920): 164-5; Vandier, *La famine dans l'Égypte ancienne*, p. 148; Traunecker, *Karnak* 5 (1972): 147, n. 9; Habachi, *OLP* 6/7 (1975/76): 249-50; De Meulenaere, *OLP* 9 (1978): 71; Doresse, *RdE* 31 (1979): 48 and 56-7; Grenier, *RdE* 38 (1987): 83, 90; Cabrol, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*, pp. 598-600.

Scene: Food offering (partially damaged)

Divinities: Amun of Karnak (label damaged), ithyphallic [Amenope] of Djeme.

¹ [Hr] tm3-^c hnmw n idb.w
 sm3wi w3sy mh gm-wš m itr.ty^(a)
 nsw.t-bitī z3-R^c nb-t3.wy
² (tybrys)| (kysrs nt(y)-hw)|
 ntr nfr snn n R^c iw^{cc} n Hr f3i-^c
 w3h iht n³ it=f tp hrw-10 nb
 sfsf 3w hr s.t-hr n wtt sw^(b)

qd inb h3⁴ ip.t n t3-tnn^(c)
 s3w-n-^cnh^(d) n s^cnh-ms.w
 s.t-ib=f m wdn-3.t=f^(e)
 nn snw=f[...]

⁵ di=f ii n=f Hr^cpi^c 3 wr r tr [...]
 [...]=f[r^c] nb
 nn qn rnp.t

²⁷³ De Meulanaere, *BIFAO* 53 (1953): 91-102.

²⁷⁴ See primarily Traunecker, *Coptos*, §§347-57 (with references to earlier discussions); van den Boorn, *JNES* 44 (1985): 1-25; Quaegebeur, in Cannuyer and Kruchten, eds., *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'Égypte pharaonique et copte*, I, pp. 201-20; Traunecker, *Coptos*, p. 376, concluded that the “seul point commun à tous ces édifices: ils sont tous situés sur le parvis, dans une aire délimitée par le téménos et les pylônes.”

²⁷⁵ For the nuances of the root *hnn*, which can mean “confusion,” “chaos,” or even “rebellion,” and commonly used as an epithet for Seth, cf. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 773; Labrique, in *Egyptian Religion. The Last Thousand Years*, II, pp. 891-3.

²⁷⁶ Cf. Redford, *Pharonic King-lists, Annals, and Day-books*, pp. 259-75; Wiener and Allen, *JNES* 57 (1998): 20-1.


¹ [Horus], valiant of arm, Khnum of the banks,
who restores what is ruined, who fills what is found missing in Egypt,
The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands,

² Tiberius Caesar Augustus,

The good god, image of Re, heir of Horus raised of arm,
who leaves offerings for ³ his father every decade,
who purifies offerings under the supervision of his begetter,

who built a wall around ⁴ the Opet of Tatenen,
the stable of life of “He who enlivens births,”
his favorite place as “He whose moment is heavy,”
without his equal [...]

⁵ May he cause a very great Inundation to come at the time of [...]
[...] his [offerings], every [day?],
without a year of famine.

(a) The spelling of  for *mḥ*, “to fill” is derived from *mḥt*, “nest.”²⁷⁷

(b) These are all traditional epithets of Amenope of Djeme (cf. **4.4**). The phrase “under the supervision of his begetter (*ḥr s.t-ḥr n wtt sw*)” occurs frequently in similar texts describing the Decade festival.²⁷⁸

(c) Daressy himself noted that the sign appears to be “l’image du dieu Tanen, mais il est probable que la coiffure a été dégradée et qu’on doit lire Hapi.”²⁷⁹ This “correction” by Daressy was prompted by his assumption that the stelae commemorated a Nilometer or chapel of Hapi at Luxor.²⁸⁰ However, the mention of “a very great Inundation” at the end of the stela (l. 5) is rather formulaic, and does not indicate that the stela was dedicated to Hapi himself.²⁸¹ Rather, this wish for a high Inundation is most likely tied to the Amenope-style epithets of Tiberius (cf. *supra*, n. [b]), the associations with water offerings to Kematef, and the offering scene itself in which Tiberius presents plants, the products of Hapi, to Amun and Amenope. The fact that the cult of Tatenen is frequently located in Luxor Temple, the Opet

²⁷⁷ *Wb*. II, 121, 10; note its common use in the word *mḥi.t*, “northwind” (*Wb* II, 125, 6-8); for the epithet *mḥ gm-wš*, cf. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 449.

²⁷⁸ Herbin, *RdE* 35 (1984): 111, n. 14 (to which this example should be added).

²⁷⁹ Daressy, *ASAE* 19 (1920): 164, n. 2.

²⁸⁰ This interpretation was followed by Cabrol, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*, p. 600.

²⁸¹ Recognized in part by Traunecker, *Karnak* 5 (1972): 147, n. 9.

in which he fashioned the Ogdoad,²⁸² supporte the reading of this sign with its normal value of “Tatenen.”

(d) The “stable of life” is another term for a mammisi.²⁸³

(e) This epithet usually has violent or martial connotations (“he whose moment of rage is heavy/severe”).²⁸⁴ It is not entirely clear how this phrase might refer to Amun of Luxor,²⁸⁵ unless it contrasts him with Kematef (“he whose moment is complete”), as a creator god whose lifetime continues. This interpretation is supported by a text from Karnak where Heh of the Ogdoad gives the king “the lifespan of the venerated ones, and the ‘heavy moment’ of the blessed ones (ḥꜥw n imꜣḥ.w, wdn-ꜣ.t n.t ḥzy.w),”²⁸⁶ suggesting that wdn-ꜣ.t might also refer to a long stretch of time. This distinction would refer to the fact that Kematef retired beneath Djeme after his initial act of creation, while Amenope remained in Luxor Temple as an active creator god (cf. 4.3 and 4.28).

5.2.3.6 CG 22193 (cf. Plate 8b)

Bibliography: Kamal, *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines*, p. 190, Pl. 66; Daressy, *ASAE* 19 (1920): 165; Traunecker, *Karnak* 5 (1972): 147, n. 8; Habachi, *OLP* 6/7 (1975/76): 249; De Meulenaere, *OLP* 9 (1978): 71; Grenier, *RdE* 38 (1987): 83, 90; Cabrol, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*, pp. 598-600.

Scene: Tiberius embraces Amun, while Seshat inscribes Heb-Sed festivals.

Divinities: Amun, ithyphallic Amenope (labels hardly legible), Seshat.

¹ Hr tmꜣ-ꜥ ir nh.t^(a) n it=f
 swdꜣ d.t- n qmꜣ d.t=f
 nsw.t-biti nb-tꜣ.wy
 (tybrys)| (kys[rs nty-ḥwy])|
 [ntr nfr]² snn n Rꜥ iwꜥꜥ mnḥ n Itm

qd pr=f smn ḥw.t-ntr=f
 shꜥp kꜣ=f[...]

²⁸² For Tatenen described specifically as “within the (Southern) Opet,” cf. *Urk.* VIII, 87b (=Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 64); 139b; 160b; *Opet* I, 154A; Medinet Habu = Doresse, *RdE* 25 (1973): 132, Doc. IV; and cf. 4.4.

²⁸³ Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, p. 315, n. 1; Aufrère, *Le propylône d’Amon-Rê-Montou*, pp. 259-60, n. (i); for the original, literal meaning (“stable of goats (nḥ.w)”), cf. Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis*, I, p. 102, n. g.

²⁸⁴ Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 279; *LGG* II, p. 628; Derchain, *Les impondérables de l’hellénisation*, pp. 46, 80, n. 45, translated this epithet in a private inscription as “fermeté d’âme.”

²⁸⁵ There might be an allusion to the reliefs depicting the Battle of Kadesh on the pylon of Luxor Temple (PM II², pp. 304-5 [13]-[14]), or other military inscriptions from the temple, for which see Darnell, in Bryan and Lorton, eds., *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke*, p. 47; Darnell and Jasnow, *JNES* 52 (1993): 263-74.

²⁸⁶ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 67 (= *Urk.* VIII, 90g).

³ *dd rn=f mi ir.n=f n=sn*
sh3.w=f [mn.ti] rwd.ti r nhh

qn.n=f ip.t=f⁴ [m] k3.t=s nb.t
spr.n sh.w=f hr.t
t_{sm}(.w)^(b) r nfr in hm n [Dhwti (?)]
⁵ [...] ^(c) *tp=s in nb(.t)-sš.w^(d)*

ir.n=f nn [...]
r swr hm=f

di=f n=f iswy n nh hn^c snb hr s.t-Hr

¹ Horus, Valiant of arm, who makes protection for his father,
 who protects the body of the creator of his body,
 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands,
 Tiberius Caes[ar Augustus],
 [The good god], ² image of Re, beneficent heir of Atum,

who builds his domain, who establishes his temple,
 who appeases his Ka [...]

³ so that his name endures like that which he made for them,
 and that the remembrance of him shall [remain(?)] and endure for eternity.


Just as he completed his Opet ⁴ [in] all its works,
 so did his benefactions reach up to heaven,
 being built very well by the majesty of [Thoth (?)]
⁵ [...] atop it by the Lady of Writing (= Seshat).

That he made this [...],
 was in order to magnify his Majesty.

May he give him a reward of life and health upon the throne of Horus.

(a) This sign was correctly recorded, but left untranslated, by Daressy.²⁸⁷ It apparently refers to the embrace of Amun and Tiberius, as well as the result of the enclosure wall.

(b) The verb *t_{sm}*, can mean “to build” in general, but in the context of the other Luxor stelae, it may refer specifically to an enclosure wall or bastion (*t_{sm}.t*).²⁸⁸

(c) The damaged term for an architectural feature () is said to be on top of the temple or enclosure wall, and might refer to crenellations.

²⁸⁷ Daressy, *ASAE* 19 (1920): 165; Grenier’s reading of *iw^{cc}* “heir” (*RdE* 38 [1987]: 83, 90) is clearly impossible from the published photograph and from a larger photograph kindly provided by Ph. Collombert.

²⁸⁸ For *t_{sm}* and *t_{sm}.t*, cf. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1175 (with further references).

(d) Note that Seshat appears on the lintel of this stela.

5.2.3.7 Summary

The four scenes of “animating the temple” on the six Luxor Temple stelae of Tiberius presumably commemorate the same construction, as they all belong to the cycle of foundation rites. The specific restorations of each stela can be summarized as follows:

- 1 Wall around the Opet (*inb ḥ3 Ip.t*)
- 2 No specific information.
- 3 No specific information.
- 4 Great brick around / in front of the *rw.t-di-m3^c.t* of the Southern Opet (*inb ʿ3 m(-rwty) rw.t-di-m3^c.t n Ip.t rsy.t*)
- 5 Wall aro[und] the Opet of Tatenen (*inb ḥ[3] Ip.t n tnn*)
- 6 Wall (possibly a bastion) with something on top of it.

Stelae 1 and 5 mention a wall “around the Opet,” while stela 4 mentions a brick wall in front of/around (*m rwty*) the forecourt (*rw.t-di-m3^c.t*) of Luxor Temple. While the term “Opet” could refer to Luxor Temple as a whole, it originally referred specifically to the rear chapels.²⁸⁹ If one interprets the term Opet this way, the stelae may refer to Roman Period renovations in the original temple of Amenhotep III. The specific mention of a wall is quite interesting, as excavations have shown that the south doorway of the bark sanctuary was walled up sometime during the Roman Period, while the east portal of the same chapel was enlarged.²⁹⁰ The exact motives for these changes are unclear, but they nonetheless had the effect of separating the Opet proper from the festival courts to the north.

²⁸⁹ Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor*, pp. 9-12; Grallert, in Dorman and Bryan, eds., *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, pp. 40-3.

²⁹⁰ Murnane, in *Mélanges Mokhtar II*, pp. 145-7, esp. p. 147, Fig. 3; idem, in: *Égypte, Louqsor, Temple du Ka Royal*, p. 15; Bell, *JNES* 44 (1985): 274, n. 117; these renovations may have taken place later under Diocletian; cf. **5.17.3**.

If, however, the term Opet refers to Luxor Temple in its entirety, then the statements of stelae **1**, **4**, and **5** would suggest work on the mudbrick temenos wall which encircled both the temple and the forecourt area. While a mudbrick enclosure wall definitely surrounded the entire Luxor Temple precinct, every bit of this wall from the First Pylon south was refashioned into a stronger fortification wall by the Roman army during the reign of Diocletian. According to Golvin, “il est donc impossible de savoir, en l’état actuel de nos connaissances, si celle-ci fut refaite (ou étendue) sous la XXXème dynastie ou à l’époque ptolémaïque et romaine.”²⁹¹ Nonetheless, the original enclosure wall north of the First Pylon, which created a forecourt with its northern boundary at the sphinx-lined dromos, was not affected by these military renovations, and whole sections of this wall still remain. While this original wall was most likely built under Nectanebo I,²⁹² Golvin has noted that some sections were clearly rebuilt in the Roman period, as evidenced by the presence of baked bricks used to restore the original unbaked bricks, an architectural feature long present in Egypt but only common in the Imperial era,²⁹³ as well as the brick bonding pattern (C1) and the addition of stone reinforcements paralleled in Roman constructions at Tod and Dendera.²⁹⁴ Golvin tentatively suggested that this renovation may have occurred in the reign of Hadrian, during the construction of the Serapeion in the northwest corner of the enclosure

²⁹¹ Golvin, in Vleeming, ed., *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, p. 36.

²⁹² Abd el-Razik, *MDAIK* 23 (1968): 156-9; Spencer, *Brick Architecture in Ancient Egypt*, p. 74.

²⁹³ For baked bricks in Egyptian architecture, cf. Spencer, *Brick Architecture in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 140-1.

²⁹⁴ Spencer, *Brick Architecture in Ancient Egypt*, p. 80; Golvin, in Vleeming, ed., *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, p. 37; for good photos, cf. Leclant, *Orientalia* 19 (1950): 263-4, Pl. 34; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Le temple de l’homme*, II, Pl. 49; these might be the architectural feature mentioned in stela **2.3.6**, line 5.

wall (cf. **5.10.1**).²⁹⁵ While this scenario is possible, the six restoration stelae of Tiberius, four of them mentioning the enclosure wall, point towards the major work being done much earlier. Since stela (4) mentions a damaged wall, and stela (5) mentions a great Inundation, it is quite possible that the entire enclosure wall may have been damaged by a high flood.²⁹⁶

Although some of the stelae (1, 5, 6) mention building an enclosure wall around presumably all of Luxor Temple, none of them are very specific. The most detailed text (4) refers only to an enclosure wall around the forecourt of Luxor, the area with archaeological evidence for Roman repairs to the enclosure wall. Furthermore, while the less detailed stelae (1, 5, 6) claim that Tiberius “built” a wall, stela (4) also specifies that Tiberius “restored (*sm3wi*)” the enclosure wall, after he had found it “in a chaotic state (*shnn*),” a statement that would aptly describe the baked-brick renovations. Stela (4), providing perhaps the most accurate summary of the Luxor renovations, notably bears the scene in which Tiberius offers Maat to Amun.

5.2.4 Mut Temple

5.2.4.0 Introduction

Just as with Luxor Temple, the building work of Tiberius at the Mut Temple complex is known only from commemorative stelae.²⁹⁷ They fall into four categories:

I. Tiberius kneels and offers to a seated Mut and Chonsu, seven lines of text:²⁹⁸

²⁹⁵ Golvin, in Vleeming, ed., *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, p. 37.

²⁹⁶ A stela from Dababiyeh (near Gebelein) records an especially high flood that reached Luxor Temple in the reign of Smendes (Twenty-First Dynasty); cf. Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit*, I, pp. 1-3; Grallert, *Bauen – Stiften – Weihnen*, I, pp. 238-9; Cabrol, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*, pp. 640-6 (suggesting that *Ip.t-rsy.t* refers to a region south of Luxor); a graffito from the reign of Osorkon III at Luxor Temple notes another inundation that apparently flooded the temple; Daressy, *RT* 18 (1896): 181-6; Vandier, *La famine dans l'Égypte ancienne*, p. 123; the Tiberius stelae credit a high flood for the damage to the enclosure wall of the Mut Temple precinct (cf. *infra*, **2.4.3-4**).

²⁹⁷ These stela from the Mut temple will also be published with new photos, copies, and extensive commentary by Philippe Collombert (personal communication); the commentary that follows will be restricted primarily to explaining difficult readings, and establishing the precise details of temple construction.

- 1 Allard Pierson Museum 7763
- 2 BM EA 617
- 3 BM EA 398
- 4 (Berlin 14401)²⁹⁹

II. Tiberius stands and offers to Chonsu the Child, Mut, Chonsu-Neferhotep, and Mahes/Tutu, five lines of text:³⁰⁰

- 5 JdE 65903
- 6 JdE 65904

III. Tiberius stands and offers Maat to Chonsu the Child, Amun-Re of Karnak, Mut, and Chonsu-Neferhotep, seven lines of text:

- 7 BM EA 1432

IV. Tiberius stands before Amun-Re of Karnak, Mut, and Chonsu:

- 8 Caracol 241³⁰¹

5.2.4.1 Allard Pierson Museum 7763 (cf. Plate 9a)

Bibliography: van Haarlem, *CAA: Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam*, I, No. 7763 (with references to earlier literature); idem, in: Musées de Marseilles, *L’Égypte romaine, l’autre Égypte*, pp. 64-5, No. 42; Revez, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 506, n. 44; corrections to the handcopy of van Haarlem are based on the published photograph.

Scene: Offering a sphinx-shaped incense burner.

Divinities: Great Mut, Lady of the Isheru, the Great One in Thebes (*t3 ʕ3.t m W3.s.t*),³⁰² Chonsu in Thebes, Neferhotep, Shu the Eldest son of Re.

¹ *ʕnh Hr nsw.t-biti nb-t3.wy (tibrys)|*
z3-Rʕ nb-hʕ.w (kysrs)| di ʕnh

²⁹⁸ No provenance is given for any of these stelae, but it is notable that they first appear in Egyptological literature shortly after the excavations of Benson and Gourlay in the Mut temple precinct (noted by Prof. Darnell).

²⁹⁹ This stela was lost during World War II, and no known photographs of it exist. While Erman noted that no relief decoration remained (*ZÄS* 38 [1900]: 124, n. 4), this stela is similar in content to the above stelae, and it also has seven columns of text.

³⁰⁰ Both of these stelae were found 150 meters north of Luxor temple: Habachi, *OLP* 6/7 (1975/76): 250-1.

³⁰¹ It is not entirely certain that this stela relates to Mut Temple, but the decoration is similar to that of stela 7.

³⁰² For Mut “the great in Thebes,” cf. also *Urk.* VIII, 203c.

ir.n=f k3.t² mnḥ.t ḥri-tp mnw n it=f (kysrs)|
n mw.t=f Mw.t-wr.t nb(.t) išrw³ t3^{c3.t} m W3s.t
ḥnw.t t3y^(a) dw3 b3.t(=s)
bwt=s pw mwt iwty mwt=s^(b)

⁴ *s3wy^{c3} m-h3 dry.t=s dsr.t*
ḥw.t-Mw.t
hyn n itn
⁵ *m3rw^(e) n tḫ.t-wd-k3=f^(d)*
r <t> wr=s
r stnm ḥr⁶ [=s d3y] nb mt^(e)
r swtwt ḥr-tp Išrw wr
r dbḥ⁷ š3y m-^c Mshn.t^(f)
Rnn.t m-^c nb(.t)-wd.t^(g)

di=s n=f ḥ^c ḥri-tp srḥ mi Hr d.t

¹ Live the Horus, King of Upper and Lower Egypt., Lord of the Two Lands, Tiberius , Son of Re, Lord of Appearances, Caesar, given life.

He carried out beneficent ² works on top of the monument of his father, Caesar, for his mother Great Mut, Lady of the Isheru, ³ the Great One in Thebes, the Male-Bastet, praised of (her) Ba, (her abomination is death, being immortal),

⁴ (namely) a great enclosing wall around her sacred sanctuary, the Mut Temple, the shrine of the solar disk, ⁵ the *m3rw* of his throat, in order to make it pure, in order to drive away ⁶ any dead [enemies], in order to lead processions upon the Great Isheru, in order to request ⁷ Shai from Meskhenet, and Renenet ^(g) from the Lady of Decrees. ^(h)

May she give to him appearances upon the *serekh*, like Horus, eternally.

(a) The *LGG* read this epithet as “Bastet of Djeme,”³⁰³ but Djeme written *t3* + *mt* is extremely unlikely and otherwise unattested, and moreover Bastet is never associated with Djeme. Instead, this is probably the unusual epithet known from the Coffin Texts, *B3st.t-t3y*, “the male Bastet.”³⁰⁴ This epithet refers to Mut-Bastet in her form of ithyphallic goddess



³⁰³ *LGG* II, p. 735.

³⁰⁴ *LGG* II, p. 743, reads this name as if it were masculine, i.e. “the Bubastite man (*b3sty-t3y*).”

with a lion's head,³⁰⁵ as evidenced in a passage in Coffin Text Spell 1013 describing such a *Mischgestalt*.³⁰⁶

hr=i m ntr iwf=i m rmt
h^c.n=i q³.n=i
m B3st.t-t3y

My face is (that) of a god,³⁰⁷ my flesh is (that) of a man,
 just as I have appeared, so have I become exalted,
 as the male Bastet.

- (b) There is a pun on the name Mut and her abomination, “death (*mwt*).”
- (c) The *m3rw* was a type of open-air shrine usually featuring a lake and gardens, and it was the space designated for the physical, often animal, manifestation of a god.³⁰⁸ The present example might refer to the Isheru as the place where Mut appeared in procession.³⁰⁹
- (d) The “throat of Re” is usually an epithet of Maat.³¹⁰
- (e) For the translation of this phrase and its various connotations (primarily Osirian), cf. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, I, pp. 102-3, n. (5) (mentioning this example).
- (f) The photograph clearly shows  “Shai”³¹¹ instead of just  (van Haarlem). Mut is referred to here as Meskhenet, the birth goddess with control over fate.³¹²

³⁰⁵ Suggestion of Prof. J.C. Darnell; images of this form of Mut appear in Chonsu Temple (*LD* III, 219b = *PM* II², p. 242 [109]) and the section of Theban deities at Hibis Temple (Davies, *Hibis* III, Pl. 2, Reg. III; cf. Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project* I, p. 2, No. 8; Naguib, *Le clergé féminin d'Amon*, pp. 82-3); for other ithyphallic images of Mut, see most recently Manassa, *The Late Egyptian Underworld*, I, p. 191.

³⁰⁶ *CT* VII, 232b-c.



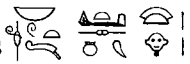
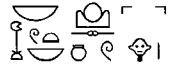
³⁰⁷ This phrase apparently distinguishes Bastet-*t3y* as having a non-human (i.e. animal) face; for similar descriptions, cf. Cauville, *ZÄS* 123 (1995): 58.

³⁰⁸ For the *m3rw*-shrines, cf. Kemp, *Amarna Reports* 6 (1995): 418-32, 452-5; Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 66-8; Cabrol, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*, pp. 600-7; Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, pp. 246-52; the “Book of the Temple” gives a detailed description of the *m3rw*-shrine, cf. Quack, in Fitzenreiter, ed., *Tierkulte im phraonischen Ägypten und im Kulturvergleich*, pp. 113, 115-117; and most recently J.C. Darnell, “The Eleventh Dynasty Royal Inscription from Deir el-Ballas,” (forthcoming). A Late Period priest from Karnak was “priest of Isis of the *m3rw* (*Is.t n p3 m3rw*),” perhaps a reference to Mut Temple (JE 37847, l. 4 = Jansen-Winkel, *MDAIK* 60 [2004]: 100, 102, n. [16]).

³⁰⁹ Manniche, in *L'Égyptologie en 1979*, II, pp. 271-3, already suggested that the *m3rw* Amenhotep III built in Thebes could have been the Isheru of the Mut Precinct (for a critique of this position, cf. Cabrol, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*, pp. 603-5), without actually mentioning the Tiberius stela.

³¹⁰ Cf. Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, p. 35, n. m (with references to earlier discussions).

³¹¹ For this writing of Shai, cf. Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shaï*, pp. 55-7, 277 (J and K); the example on this stela was already recognized by Quaegebeur, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

- (g) The photograph clearly shows  instead of  (van Haarlem).
- (h) The photograph shows  instead of  (van Haarlem). The epithet “Lady of decrees” describes Mut-Sakhmet as leader of the messenger demons.³¹³ This entire section describing Mut in connection with the divinities associated with birth and fate (Shai, Meskhenet, and Renenet), should be compared to a passage from the so-called Mut Ritual.³¹⁴

w3h pr.t im=n š3y pw
nts ḥnw.t=n Rnn.t m ḥr.w nb
Mshn.t shpr.ti m wd=s
ir'ir m shr.w=s

That the seed dwells within us means Shai,
 but she, our lady, is Renenet for all people,
 under whose decree (*wd*) Meskhenet is created,
 through whose designs the Creator acts.

5.2.4.2 BM EA 617 (1052) (cf. Plate 9b)

Bibliography: Budge, *Guide to the Egyptian Collections*, p. 277 and Pl. 51; Traunecker, *Karnak 5* (1972): 145, 147, 149; De Meulenaere, *OLP 9* (1978): 70-1.³¹⁵
 Divinities: Mut, Chonsu-Moon, Chonsu the Child
 Offering: Bread.³¹⁶

¹ *ḥ Hr nsw.t-biti nb-t3.wy*
(tibrys)| (kysrs)| nty-ḥwi

ir.n=f m mnw=f² n mw.t=f

³¹² For the relationship between Shai and Meskhenet, cf. Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shaï*, pp. 92-3, 154-5; Quaegebeur described this particular example as “une formule originale” (*op. cit.*, p. 93); for Mut associated with the birth brick (*mshn.t*), cf. *Urk.* VIII, 135c.

³¹³ For the decrees (*wd.w*) of Mut, cf. Sauneron, *Mout*, No. 14, cols. 10 and 13; Quaegebeur read this tentatively as “Maître de la vie (?)” (Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shaï*, p. 93).

³¹⁴ P. Berlin 3053, XIV, 7 – XV, 1 = Verhoeven and Derchain, *Le voyage de la déesse libyque*, pp. 18-19, 44, n. (bf), 62-3, Text H-I.

³¹⁵ Additional photos were provided by the British Museum.

³¹⁶ Traunecker claimed this was a land sign (Traunecker, *Karnak 5* [1972]: 143, n. 1), but it actually appears to be a loaf of *šns*-bread; cf. *Deir Chelouit III*, No. 134; for this specific offering, see Leitz, *Die Außenwand des Sanktuars in Dendara*, pp. 226-7; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 1022-3.

Mw.t wr.t nb(.t) 'Išrw
mw.t ms(.t) ḥq3.w ntr(.t) n t3
pr(.t) m³ Nwn m tm3.t-ḥr.t-tp m š3(ꜥ).t
wtt.n=s iḥ.t nb ḥ
ms.n=s Pth
⁴ *ir.n=s Rꜥ*
r-ḥt 'Imn it=f it it.w
wꜥ m twt n ꜥ.wy
ky m ḥnd 'Išrw-⁵ r-šḥtp-ib=s n Mw.t=f^(a)

inb ḥ3 m-rwty pr-ḥd.t n nb.t-šmꜥ
št3y.t iwh.t-rd.wy⁶ nb(.t) w3d.ty^(b)

ir.n=f sw n ḥm.t=s r imn šḥr=s
r sšt3 s.t=s
r ii m rwty⁷=s^(c)

di=s n=f k3 fdw n Rꜥ nty m ib=s
r sšm k3.w n ḥ.w d.t

¹ Live the Horus, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Tiberius Caesar Augustus,

He made among his monuments ² for his mother,
 Great Mut, Lady of the Isheru,
 Mother who birthed the rulers, goddess of the earth,
 who came forth from ³ Nun as the mother-uraeus in the beginning,
 just as she begat all living things,
 so did she give birth to Ptah,
⁴ it was following Amun, his father, the Father of fathers,
 that she made Re,
 one was firm of arms,
 the other dug out the Isheru- ⁵ to-appease-her-heart for Mut,

a great wall around the White-Crown Temple of the Lady of Upper Egypt,
 the Vulture, soaked of legs, ⁶ Lady of Diadems,

he made it for her majesty in order to hide her image,
 in order to make secret her place,
 from whoever might come from outside ⁷ it.

May she give to him the four Kas of Re which are in her heart,
 in order to direct food to the living, eternally.

(a) For similar texts describing the construction of the Isheru, cf. **4.38**.

(b) All of these epithets identify Mut with Nechbet,³¹⁷ the vulture goddess of Elkab who is closely associated with the White Crown and diadems (*w3d.ty*) in general.³¹⁸ The vulture itself could also write “Nechbet,” but the epithet *šty.t* “the Vulture” is quite common,³¹⁹ and the vulture itself serves to write *šb* phonetically.

The epithet “soaked of legs” is quite mysterious,³²⁰ and Budde and Kurth tentatively suggested that this might “bezeichnet den Geier als Aasfresser, der im Blut der Kadavers steht.”³²¹ Alternatively, this might relate to Nechbet’s location in the Nun waters in the Nut Book,³²² both as a distant avian goddess who brings incense from foreign lands,³²³ but also as the wandering goddess who brings the Inundation.³²⁴ This reference to a vulture goddess associated with the primeval waters is quite appropriate for Mut in the present stela which previously described the excavation of the Isheru lake.³²⁵

(c) This description is closely paralleled at Dendera, where one of the crypts is said to be built:³²⁶

³¹⁷ Cf. **4.38**; or the identification between Mut and Nechbet in relation to the White Crown, cf. de Meulenaere, *OLP* 9 (1978): 70, n. 11; el-Sayed, *BIFAO* 84 (1984): 148; Quaegebeur, quoted by Traunecker, *Egyptian Religion. The Last Thousand Years*, II, p. 1229; Mut Temple is referred to as “temple of the White Crown (*hw.t-ḥd.t*),” (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 756b; Sethe, *Notizbuch* 6, 83); another text from the Mut Temple states more explicitly:

ḥd.t k3.tw r Mw.t nb.t Ṛšrw

pr-ḥd.t k3.tw r pr[=s...]

m rn=s pfy n Nḥb.t

“She of the White Crown” (or: Bright One = Nechbet) is what one calls Mut Lady of the Isheru,

“Temple of the White Crown” is what one calls [her] temple [...]

in this her name of Nechbet.

(Sethe, *Notizbuch* 6, 84; partially quoted in Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 757g = 1309g).

³¹⁸ Cf. in general Traunecker, in *Egyptian Religion. The Last Thousand Years*, II, pp. 1217-29

³¹⁹ Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 1037-8.

³²⁰ For the reading of this epithet, which is somewhat commonly applied to Nechbet, cf. Budde and Kurth, in Kurth, ed., *Edfu: Studien zu Vokabular, Ikonographie und Grammatik*, p. 4, n. 10; Leitz, ed., *LGG* I, pp. 203-4.

³²¹ Budde and Kurth, in Kurth, ed., *Edfu: Studien zu Vokabular, Ikonographie und Grammatik*, p. 4, n. 10

³²² See most recently von Lieven, *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne*, I, pp. 50-1.

³²³ Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 480.

³²⁴ See the interpretation of von Lieven, *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne*, I, pp. 128-30.

³²⁵ For the association of primeval deities’ feet and the Nun waters, cf. Gabolde, *BIFAO* 95 (1995): 235-58; idem, in Rondot and Gasse, eds, *Séhel. Entre Nubie et Égypte*, pp. 89-105.

³²⁶ *Dendara V*, 97, 3; Waitkus, *Die Texte in den unteren Krypten des Hathortempels von Dendera*, p. 89; for temples designed further examples of temples designed to conceal the gods, cf. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 615-6; Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, I, pp. 359-60; Smith, *On the Primaeval Ocean*, p. 86; Darnell, in Bryan and Lorton, eds., *Essays in Egyptology in Honor of Hans Goedicke*, pp. 39 and 46, n. e; Traunecker, et

r imn ntr m-ḥnt=s
r ḥ3p dd.w
r ii m rwty
m w3i stty.w r-ḥnt Ḥtmn

In order to hide the god within it,
 to conceal the ancestors,
 from whoever might come from outside,³²⁷
 when the Asiatics come into Egypt.

5.2.4.3 BM EA 398 (1053) (cf. Plate 10a)

Bibliography: Erman, *ZÄS* 38 (1900): 124; Piehl, *Sphinx* 5 (1902): 125-6; Budge, *A Guide to the Egyptian Collections*, p. 277, Pl. 52; Traunecker, *Karnak* 5 (1972): 145, 147, 149; De Meulenaere, *OLP* 9 (1978): 69-70; Kákosy, *Acta Antiqua Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32 (1989): 132, Abb. 1; Thiers, *BIFAO* 95 (1995): 505-6, 511; Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I, p. 25, Abb. 19; Revez, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 506, n. 44; Coulon, *RdE* 57 (2006): 17, n. 46.

Scene: Tiberius offers one mirror.³²⁸

Divinites: “Mut, Lady of the Isheru, Isis the Mother of the sundisk,”³²⁹ and Chonsu in Thebes, Neferhotep, Horus lord of Happiness in Karnak.

¹ *ḥnh Hr nsw.t-bitī (tbrys)|*

al., *La chapelle d’Achôris*, II, pp. 109-10, Text I; D. Klotz, “The Cult-Topographical Inscription from Qasr el-Zayyan” (forthcoming).

³²⁷ Waitkus, not using this parallel, did not recognize this sign as *rwty* and instead tentatively suggested *sbḥ.t* “gate,” and translated quite differently: “und im das Gemach zu gelangen, wenn die Asiaten hinein nach Ägypten(?) kommen” (Waitkus, *Die Texte in den unteren Krypten des Hathortempels von Dendera*, pp. 89, 93, n. 48); for the perjorative term “whoever comes from outside (*ii m rwty*),” cf. Herbin, *RdE* 50 (1999): 181; note, however, that this designation is not always negative, as in the autobiography of Stela Vienna 5103, ll. 10-11 (= Wreszinski, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus dem K.K. Hofmuseum in Wien*, p. 87):

šsp=i ḥ3.t bg3.w hr w3.t
sš(=i) 3.wy n ii.w m-rwty
r rdi.t n=w iḥt sḥnh=w im=f
 Just as I received those stranded on the road,
 so did (I) open doors to those who came from outside,
 to give them food from which they might live.

³²⁸ For mirror-offering scenes, cf. Husson, *L’offrande de miroir*; Leitz, *Die Außenwand des Sanktuars in Dendara*, pp. 209-10; in most cases, two mirrors (*itn.wy*) are offered, with references to the two celestial disks (*itn.wy*), the sun and the moon.

³²⁹ This epithet appears in part to refer to the mirror (*itn*); for Isis as the mother of the sundisk, cf. *Deir Chelouit* III, No. 154, 4; for Mut giving birth to “the disk” (solar or lunar), cf. **4.14**.

z3-R^c nb-h^c.w (kysrs)| di(.w) ^cnh

ir.n=f(m) mnw=f² n mw.t=f Mw.t-wr.t nb(.t)-Išrw

Is.t-wr.t mw.t n(t) itn

psd=f im=s

idn.t ³ p.t ^(a)

sbt^y ^c3 m-dbn hm.w=s

s.t-ib n Imn

h^c=f m-hnt=s sdr=f im=s

⁴ r h_d=f t3

hr-tp k3.t mn_h.t n(t) it=f (kysrs)|

hft snb.n ^(b) s(w) H^cpi ^c3 n hm=f

⁵ s^crq.n=f k3.t=f nb r mn_h

r sh_{ri} s3.t m ^(c)mry.w ⁶ nb.w

ii.(w) r mzi inw.w=s_n

phr=s_n sw r nh(.t) ^(d) spr.w=⁷s_n ^(e)

iswy hr=f m nsyw.t n Imn

pd.wt psd.t hr tb.ty=f(y) hr s.t Hr mi R^c d.t

¹ Live the Horus, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Tiberius,
Son of Re, Lord of Appearances, Caesar, given life.

(Among) his monuments, ² he made for his mother,
Great Mut, Lady of the Isheru,
Great Isis, mother of the sundisk,
from whom he shines,
the substitute ³ for heaven,

a great wall encircling her shrines (= the Mut Precinct),
the favorite place of Amun,
in which he rejoices, in which he spends the night,
⁴ until he illumines the earth,
on top of the excellent works of his father, Augustus (Caesar),
when a high inundation for his Majesty had knocked it down.

⁵ That he completed all of his works excellently,
was in order to drive away impurity from all ⁶ commoners
who come to bring their tribute,
encircling it in order to make their ⁷ supplications.

The reward for this is the kingship of Amun,
the Nine Bows beneath his sandals, upon the throne of Horus, like Re, eternally.

- (a) This epithet refers to the celestial Mut-Isis.³³⁰
- (b) This is apparently the verb *snb*, “to knock down.”³³¹
- (c) From the photograph, this sign is an *m*, and not the *m3^c.t-socle*.³³²
- (d) The photograph shows the expected *nh*-bird, not the quail chick.³³³
- (e) Traunecker thought this last passage described the practices of popular religion,³³⁴ while Thiers grouped it with a number of Egyptian texts describing the occupation of temples by commoners or troops.³³⁵ The interpretation rests on the understanding of the phrase *shri m* and the term *inw*. Thiers assumed that the impurity “provient *des Merou qui encombrant les alentours du sanctuaire*,”³³⁶ and doubted that the *inw* “dont il est difficile d’appréhender le sens réel”³³⁷ were part of the religious activities. Nonetheless, if one translates *shri m* as “to drive away from,” then the wall was built to protect the actual visitors who made the pilgrimage to the Mut Temple from disease.³³⁸ A similar example may be found in a text describing the Temple of Esna:³³⁹

iw=f m z3

³³⁰ Cf. the similar epithet of Isis: “replacement of her mother Nut (*idn.t nt mw.t=s Nw.t*)” (Bénédite, *Philae*, 98, 6; after *LGG* I, 645); or the apparent word *is.t*, “sky” written with the name of Isis, for which see Fairman, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): 107; Budde and Kurth, in Kurth, ed., *Edfu: Studien zu Vokabular, Ikonographie und Grammatik*, p. 4, n. 7.

³³¹ Cf. Darnell, *SAK* 22 (1995): 75, n. 145; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 858-9.

³³² Thus the restoration by Thiers, *BIFAO* 95 (1995): 506, n. (a) is unnecessary; while he chose to read *m mry.w* as *n mry.w*, this is more likely the phrase *shri X m Y* “to drive away X from Y” (*Wb.* IV, 220, 3).

³³³ *contra* Erman, *ZÄS* 38 (1900): 124; Thiers, *BIFAO* 95 (1995): 505.

³³⁴ Traunecker, *Karnak* 5 (1972): 145, n. 1.

³³⁵ Thiers, *BIFAO* 95 (1995): 505-6; followed by Coulon, *RdE* 57 (2006): 17, n. 46; the reference to “all people who come (*mry.w nb.w ii(.w)*),” should not be confused with the usually perjorative term “those who come from outside (*ii(.w) m-rwty*).”

³³⁶ Thiers, *BIFAO* 95 (1995): 506 (italics mine).

³³⁷ Thiers, *BIFAO* 95 (1995): 506, n. 1.

³³⁸ Note that the present stela describes the construction of a *sbty*-enclosure wall, and a text from Esna specifies that: “the place where the city-dwellers stand is the enclosure wall of the temple, they shall not enter past the dromos (*s.t-rd.wy nt niwty.w sbty n hw.t-ntr, nn q=sn hr d3d3.t*)” (*Esna* III, 197, 18; Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d’Esna*, p. 341).

³³⁹ *Esna* II, 176, 9-10; this text is not discussed by Derchain-Urtel, in Gundlach and M. Rochholz, eds., *4. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, pp. 3-15.

iw=f w3w3(.w) r s3.t
iw=f w^cb(.w) r ht nb dw
sfh(.w) zm3ty n ii r s3h=f
snb(.w) h3y.t n swtw t s.t=f

It (sc. the temple) is protected,
 it is removed from impurity,
 it is purified against any evil thing,
 enemies are released from whoever comes to reach it,
 sickness is healed for he who travels through it.

Despite the objections of Thiers, the meaning of *inw* in the Tiberius stela can in fact be understood, on the basis of a similar passage in the contemporaneous hymn to Imhotep from Karnak, in which people are said to praise Imhotep because he “makes them healthy” and “makes them live,” and subsequently “they bring their offerings (*mzi inw*)” to him, which he is requested to eat and drink.³⁴⁰

5.2.4.4 Berlin 14401 (now lost)³⁴¹ (cf. Plate 10b)

Bibliography: Erman, *ZÄS* 38 (1900): 124-5; Piehl, *Sphinx* 5 (1902): 126-7; De Meulenaere, *OLP* 9 (1978): 69-70; Traunecker; Revez, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 506, n. 44.

¹ *nh Hr nsw.t-biti nb-t3.wy*
(tbrys)| (kysrs)| nty-hwy

ir.n=f m mnw²=f n mw.t=f
Mw.t nb(.t) Išrw
3(.t)-h^c m Ip.t-s.wt
bi3.t-3.t nt ntr.w m w-B3st.t^(a)
z3.t³ Km-3.t=f^(b) iwty snw(.t)=s

s^crq.n=f k3.t m inb [3]
ir.n it=f m-rwty hw.t-⁴ Mw.t
s3.t n Wsr.t
3h.t šps n.t b3 šfy.t [...]
wq3.t n R^c mh.ti m dbh.w=s
pr.⁵ ti db3.ti^(c) m r3.w=s
hft gm.n=f s(w) hbs(.w) n m3^c.ty
iw wr(.tw) r rh=f m rd.w^(d)

³⁴⁰ *Urk.* VIII, 145, 4-5 (cf. **5.2.1.5.2**); for this passage, cf. already the comments of Sauneron, *BIFAO* 63 (1965): 85, n. (tt): “Il s’agit des offrandes que déposent les « *consultants* », soit pour obtenir l’intervention du dieu, soit pour remercier de sa bienveillance, si le malade a guéri (...) le sens pourrait aussi bien être que les malades font une offrande (alimentaire) au dieu.”

³⁴¹ This stela apparently disappeared during World War II, before the Berlin Museum had made any photos or squeezes (personal communication of Klaus Finneiser).

⁶ *ir.n=f sw n hm.t=s*
r sh3p hw.t-ntr=s šps(.t)
m ʕ3 n 3h=s^(e) r tpy-ʕ

mhn=s⁷ hr tp=f m mhn.t wr.t
wḏ=s hh=s r hfty.w=f
iw=f hr s.t-Hr ḏ.t

¹ Live the Horus, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands,
 Tiberius Caesar Augustus,

He made, among his monuments ² for his mother,
 Mut Lady of the Isheru,
 Great of appearance in Karnak,
 Great marvel of the gods in Bubastis,
 daughter of ³ Kematef, without her equal,

he completed the work on the [great] wall
 which his father had made around the Mut ⁴ Temple,
 the byre for the Mighty,
 the august Akhet of the Ba of Prestige (= Amun) [...]
 the Eye of Re filled with its elements,
 equipped ⁵ and supplied with its fractions,
 when he had found it hacked up by the flood waters,
 which were greater/deeper than he could discover on foot.

⁶ That he made it for her Majesty,
 is so that he might conceal her august temple,
 inasmuch as it has now become greater than before.



Just as she coils ⁷ upon his head as the great *mhn.t*-serpent,
 so does she send her fiery breath against his enemies,
 while he is upon the throne of Horus, eternally.

(a) For the connections between Mut and Bastet, cf. **4.10**.

(b) This strange writing of Kematef was recognized already by Piehl.³⁴² For the relationship between Mut and Kematef, cf. **4.38**.

(c) Erman did not reproduce this vertical sign, but noted: “Das Zeichen steht jetzt etwa unten wie ein 𓂗aus, doch hat es oben einen Kopf.”³⁴³ Since the verb *ḏb3* occurs frequently

³⁴² Piehl, *Sphinx* 5 (1902): 126; cf. the discussion of Derchain-Urtel, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen*, pp. 96-7, but note that the *wr*-bird Erman copied was probably just a small aleph-vulture (suggested by Derchain-Urtel, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen*, p. 117, n. 35), and not a strange writing of *3.t < ʕnd*.

along with *mḥ* and *ḥpr* in similar texts describing the divine eye,³⁴⁴ perhaps the stela originally read:  or  for *ḏb(3)*.

(d) This translation is admittedly somewhat conjectural. Erman left this passage untranslated, noting only that in this phrase “wird etwas stecken wie »bis in die Fundamente«.”³⁴⁵ A similar description of a flooded temple occurs in the tomb of Petosiris.³⁴⁶

(e) This phrase (*m ʕ3 n 3ḥ=s*) appears to be a late variation on the formula *n ʕ3.t n sdm=f* (Nominal) meaning “inasmuch as he hears.”³⁴⁷

5.2.4.5 JdE 65903 (cf. Plate 11a)

Bibliography: Fakhry, *ASAE* 37 (1937): 27 and Pl. IB; Habachi, *OLP* 6/7 (1975/76): 251; De Meulenaere, *OLP* 9 (1978): 71.

Offering: Beb collar.³⁴⁸

Divinities: Chonsu the Child, Mut, Chonsu in Thebes Neferhotep, and Mahes.³⁴⁹

¹ *ḥnḥ Hr k3 nḥt ḥḥ m W3s.t*
nb.ty mr m3ḥ.t
Hr-nbw smn hp.w
nsw.t biti nb t3.wy (tbrys)|
² *z3-r3 nb ḥḥ.w (kysrs)|*

sm3wi.n=f k3r n mḥn.t n šww
nbi.n=f sw³ m wḥm
in ḥmmw.w tpy n wnw.t=sn
ḥrq(.w) m ir.w=f nb
in ir-iḥt=f⁴ wr m rk=f^(a)

³⁴³ Erman, *ZÄS* 38 (1900): 125, n. 1.

³⁴⁴ *Wb.* V, 558, 2; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1229.

³⁴⁵ Erman, *ZÄS* 38 (1900): 125, n. 2.

³⁴⁶ Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Pétoisiris*, I, p. 105; II, p. 37, No. 61, ll. 34-36; for similar descriptions of flooded temples, cf. also Vandier, *La famine en Égypte ancienne*, pp. 123-5; Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine*, p. 165, n. (7). Darnell, *ZÄS* 124 (1997): 101-3.

³⁴⁷ Gardiner, *EG*, §181.D; for similar phraseology in later texts, cf. Coulon, *RdE* 52 (2001): 96, n. (ii).

³⁴⁸ For the *bb*-collar, associated closely with the Wandering Goddess (here in her form of Mut), see Mialon, *Kyphi* 1 (1998): 63-84; Derchain and von Recklinghausen, *La création*, pp. 49-52, 134-5.

³⁴⁹ Identified by Collombert; cf. Kaper, *The Egyptian God Tutu*, p. 361, n. 37.

sphr(.w)^(a) *rn.w ns.wt hr=s*
iw inb.w mi ir.n Sš3.t hn^c5 Dhwti


iw Mw.t (r) ms(.t) ntr.w im=s
m irw=s n hnm.t p3 mr=s^(b)
di(.w) ^cnh d.t


¹ Live the Horus: Mighty Bull who appears in Thebes,
Two Ladies: Beloved of Maat,
Golden Horus: Who established laws,
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Tiberius,
² Son of Re, Lord of Appearances, Caesar,

just as he renewed the shrine of the *mhn*-serpent of light,
so did he fashion it ³ anew,
by the best craftsmen of the hourly crews,
so that it was completed in all of its details,
by a ritualist ⁴ great in his time.

The names of kings are inscribed upon it,
while the walls are as if Ptah and ⁵ Seshat(?) had made it.

Mut comes in order to birth the gods within it,
in her form of nurse of her beloved,
given life eternally.

(a) Reading:  = *sphr*, “to inscribe.”³⁵⁰

(b) De Meulanaere claimed that this section mentioned “Nout qui donne naissance aux dieux,”³⁵¹ but this does not correspond to the actual epithet, spelled: .

This appears to correspond to a common epithet of Nut, *hnm.t-wr.t*, “the great (celestial) nurse.”³⁵²

5.2.4.6 JdE 65904 (cf. Plate 11b)

Bibliography: Fakhry, *ASAE* 37 (1937): 25-27, Pl. 1A; Habachi, *OLP* 6/7 (1975/76): 250; De Meulanaere, *OLP* 9 (1978): 71; Kaper, *The Egyptian God Tutu*, pp. 360-1 (Doc. S-65).

³⁵⁰ The examples in Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 829-30, and Coulon, *RdE* 52 (2001): 95, n. (x), confirm this reading; for a similar “confused” spelling, see Volokhine, *BIFAO* 102 (2002): 410, n. b.

³⁵¹ De Meulanaere, *OLP* 9 (1978): 71.

³⁵² Cf. the variants in *LGG* VI, pp. 21-5; for *hnm* written with just the *wp*-horns, cf. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 769.

Offering: Plants.³⁵³

Divinities: Chonsu-the-Child, Great Mut Lady of the Isheru, Chonsu in Thebes Neferhotep, and Tutu Great of Strength

¹ *ᵚnh Hr mki Km.t*
nb.ty wr-phty hwi h3s.wt
nsw.t-biti nb.t3.wy (tibrys)|
² *z3-Rᵚ nb h3.w (kysrs)|*

ir.n=f sm3wi mnw n mw.t=f
šps.t wsr.t
³ *Mw.t-wr.t nb išrw*
gm.w w3i(.w) r w3si

nbi=f sw m m3w
dsr.tw⁴ m irw=f nb
mi ir.n Dḥwti ds=f

s.t z3b-sš pw n ntr hnᵚ ntr.t
Išrw⁵ wr n hr.t-tp m Nwn
ib=s 3w im=f rᵚ-nb

mry di ᵚnh mi Rᵚ d.t

¹ Live the Horus: Protector of Egypt,
Two Ladies: Great of Strength, Smiter of Foreign Lands,
The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Tiberius,
² Son of Re, Lord of Appearances, Caesar.

He carried out the renewal of the monument for his mother,
the August and Mighty,
³ Great Mut, Lady of the Isheru,
which had been found having fallen into ruin.

He fashioned it anew,
so that it was sacred ⁴ in all of its forms,
as if made by Thoth himself.

It is the place of “roaming the marshes” for the God with the Goddess,
the Great ⁵ Isheru for the Uraeus within Nun (= Mut),
within which she delights every day.

Beloved and given life, like Re, eternally.

³⁵³ For these scenes, see Leitz, *Die Außenwand des Sanktuars in Dendara*, pp. 197-9.

(a) Mut Temple is frequently called “the place of roaming the marshes.”³⁵⁴ In stela BM 1432 (cf. **5.2.4.7**), ll. 4-5, it is “his (sc. Amun’s) place of roaming the marshes, in which he stops and spends the night.” A text from an unpublished block from the reign of Augustus, perhaps from the Mut Temple,³⁵⁵ includes the following request to Amun:



my r=k z3b sš im=f
stwt.n=f n s.t-ib=k

Come and roam the marshes in it!
It resembles your favorite place.

A further unpublished text from the Mut Temple describes the sanctuary as “their place of roaming the marshes,” referring to Mut and Amun as Shu and Tefnut.³⁵⁶ The phrase “roaming the marshes” can sometimes refer to the *hieros gamos*,³⁵⁷ and the present mention of “the god with the goddess” most likely alludes to the union of Mut and Amun-Kamutef to produce Chonsu the Child.³⁵⁸

5.2.4.7 BM EA 1432 (1055) (cf. Plate 12a)

Bibliography: Budge, *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*, p. 283 and Pl. 39; De Meulenaere, *OLP* 9 (1978): 71.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁴ For the phrase “roaming the marshes,” see Darnell, *SAK* 22 (1995): 52-3, n. f, 89-90; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 790-1; Traunecker, *Coptos*, p. 249, n. (n); Depauw and Smith, in Hoffmann and Thissen, eds., *Res severa verum gaudium*, pp. 81-2, 86-7, 89; and D. Klotz, “The Cult Topographical Text from Qasr el-Zayyan,” (forthcoming).

³⁵⁵ The block was later reused in the foundation of a Christian church west of the Collonade Hall of Luxor Temple (cf. the plan in Grossmann, *MDAIK* 29 [1873]: Abb.1; for the Augustan blocks at Luxor Temple, cf. **5.1.4**; the present text is based on photographs of the author.

³⁵⁶ For this identification, cf. also Sauneron, *Mout*, No. 5, 1, where Mut Temple is called “Tarer for Shu and Tefnut”; Esna temple is similarly called the “place of roaming the marshes for the Kas” of Shu and Tefnut (*Esna* II, 30, 2; 31, 34).

³⁵⁷ An aspect overly emphasized by Depauw and Smith, in Hoffmann and Thissen, eds., *Res severa verum gaudium*, pp. 81-2, 86-7, 89; the phrase “roaming the marshes” quite frequently has no discernible sexual overtones: *Esna* III, 286, 15; *Deir Chelouit* III, 143, 14; Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak*, pp. 257, 260, n. (B); *Urk.* VIII, 104b = Clère, *La porte d’Évergète*, Pl. 40 (trans. Labrique, in Budde, et al., eds., *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, pp. 207-9).

³⁵⁸ Cf. **4.31**, and note that the Kamutef temple directly adjoined the Mut Temple precinct.

³⁵⁹ The translation is based on photos provided by the British Museum in addition to a provisional handcopy made by Philippe Collombert.

Divinities: Chonsu the Child, Amun-Re King of the Gods, Mut Lady of the Isheru, Chonsu in Thebes Neferhotep.
Offering: Maat.

¹*nḥ Hr nsw.t-bitī nb-t3.wy (tbrys)|*
z3-R^c nb-ḥ^c.w (kysrs)|

ir.n=f m mnw n it=f Imn-R^c nsw.t-ntr.w
²*ntr šps ḥpr ḥr-ḥ3.t*
wbn m Nwn iw t3 m zm3wy
m ḥry-ntrw nb ḥnty W3s.t ^(a)
m3t.n=f³ p.t t3 dw3.t
ir.n=f rmt wtt.n=f ntr.w
shpr.n=f ḥpr.w nb

tm3.t=f ḥn^c=f
ir=s p.t ḥr=f
wbn=f im=s R^c nb
⁴*mḥn=s ḥr tp=f m i^crr.t-^cnḥ.t*
nb.t t3 m wps.t ^(b)

p.t n Km.t k3.tw r pr=s ^(c)
s.t=f pw⁵ nt z3b-sš ^(d)
shn=f r sdr=f im=s
ḥr ḥnm nfrw n ib=s r^c nb
ḥnm ḥr nb m itn wr

p^cp^c.⁶n=s dfd n ^cnḥ.t
Hnsw wr tpy n Imn

m33.n=f pr=f m iry n m3wy
in sš3.t⁷ nb(.t) pr-md3.t
ḥr s.t-ḥr n z3=f mr=f nty ḥwy
swd.n=f nswy.t n it=f
ḥr s.t-Hr d.t

¹ Live the Horus, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Tiberius, Son of Re, Lord of Appearances, Caesar,

He made, among the monuments for his father, Amun-Re King of the Gods,

² the august god who came about in the beginning,
who arose from Nun, while the earth was in darkness,
as the Chief of all the Gods, Foremost of Thebes,
he conceived ³ heaven, earth, and the underworld,
just as he made people,
so did he beget the gods,
thus did he create all forms.

His *tm3.t*-serpent is with him,
 making a sky above him,
 just as he rises through her everyday,
⁴ so does she coil upon his head as the living-uraeus,
 who burns the earth with fire.

“The Heaven of Egypt” is what her temple is called,
 it is ⁵ his place of “roaming the marshes,”
 he alights so he might spend the night therein,
 uniting with the perfection of her heart,
 with the result that all faces unite with the great sundisk,
 when she had given birth ⁶ to the iris of the living-serpent,
 Chonsu the very great child, first born of Amun.

Just as he (sc. Amun) saw his temple as built anew,
 by Seshat, ⁷ Lady of the House of Books,
 under the authority of his beloved son, who is august,
 so did he confer to him the kingship of his father,
 upon the throne of Horus, eternally.

(a) While this phrase is difficult to read from the photos, it appears to be the epithet “Chief of all the Gods” which frequently qualifies Amun-Re “the august image (*sh̄m-šps*),”³⁶⁰ most notably in the lunette of this stela.

(b) These epithets describe Mut as the primeval *tm3.t*-serpent who accompanies Irita in the first moments of creation (cf. **4.38**), borrowing from a text from Chonsu Temple.³⁶¹

tm3.t=f hn^c=f
ir=s p.t hr=f
smn=s t3 hr hm=f
wbn wnm.t=f im=s mi itn
psd i3b.t=f m [...]

His *tm3.t*-serpent is with him (sc. Amun),
 making a sky above him,³⁶²
 establishing the earth beneath his Majesty,
 Just as his right eye rises from her as the sundisk,

³⁶⁰ *Opet* I, 30, 116, 143, 166; *Urk.* VIII, 133d; Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 3, 15; Medinet Habu, PM II², pp. 462 (10b), 466 (38a), 469 (45c).

³⁶¹ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 2A (= *Urk.* VIII, 105 [1]).

³⁶² Another text from Karnak claims: “the mother-uraeus, she is the heaven of Egypt (*tm3.t-hr.t-ib, nts p3y p.t n Km.t*)” (*Urk.* VIII, 143 [5]); for “the Heaven of Egypt” referring to the Mut Temple, cf. *infra*, n. (c).

so does his left eye shine as [...].

Several other texts call Mut the sky in which the solar disk rises,³⁶³ perhaps an allusion to the birth of Chonsu the Child as the reborn sun.³⁶⁴

(c) “The Heaven of Egypt (*p.t nt Km.t*)” elsewhere refers to Thebes in general,³⁶⁵ similar to the designation “Heaven upon Earth (*p.t hr-s3 t3*).” (cf. **3.2**)

5.2.4.8 Stela Caracol 241 (cf. Plate 12b)

Bibliography: Unpublished; the following translation is based on a handcopy and photograph graciously provided by Phillippe Collombert.

Scene: Molding bricks(?)³⁶⁶

Divinities: Amun, Mut and Chonsu (labels are damaged)

¹ *nh Hr tm3-c hwi h3s.wt*
wr phty nht B3q.t [...] ² *stp n ntr.w*
nsw.t-biti nb-t3.wy (tybrys)|
z3-Rc nb-hc.w (kysr[s]| ...]

³ *ir.n=f m mnw n it=f Imn-Rc nsw-ntr.w*
[shm šp]s [hry-ntr.w nb...]^(a)

⁴ *hws.n=f inb c3 [...]*

⁵ *[...] s im=f*

iswy hr=f m hc n Rc [...]

¹ Live the Horus, Valiant of arm, who smites the foreign lands,
Great of strength, protector of Egypt [...] ² chosen of the gods,
The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Tiberius,
Son of Re, Lord of Appearances, Caesar [...]

³⁶³ In *Urk.* VIII, 135c, Mut is: “the sky who gave birth to the sun disk (*gb.t bh.n=s itn*)”; in the context of Irita and Mut rising together from Nun, Mut is further said to have been “fashione as his (sc. Irita’s) firmament for rising (*nbi.tw m h3y.t n wbn*)” (Aufrère, *Montou*, §§246-248 = *Urk.* VIII, 18c; *Esna* III, 395, 15; Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 375, n. [p], argued that the cow should be read as *rnp* instead of *nbi*, “to fashion,” but the latter reading is confirmed by the *Esna* parallel, not mentioned by Aufrère); cf. also *supra*, **2.4.3**, l. 2.

³⁶⁴ Cf. **4.14**, for many references.

³⁶⁵ *Opet* I, 139, 3; Laskowska-Kusztal, *Le sanctuaire ptolémaïque de Deir el-Bahari*, p. 30, No. 17, 1; De Morgan, *K.O.* II, No. 886 (referring to Thebes in a geographic procession); this also appears to be an epithet of Mut in *Urk.* VIII, 143 (5).

³⁶⁶ The lunette is very badly damaged, but the bent posture of Tiberius and the mention of “stabilizing (*hws*)” the wall recall the brick-molding stela from Luxor Temple (cf. **2.3.2**).

³ He made among the monuments for his father,
Amun-Re King of the Gods,
[Aug]ust [Image, Chief of all the Gods...]

⁴ He fortified a great wall [...]
⁵ [...] in it.

The reward for it is the lifetime of Re [...]

(a) For the restored epithets of Amun, cf. *Opet* I, 30; 116; 143; 166; *Urk.* VIII, 133d; Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 3 and 15; Medinet Habu, PM II², pp. 462 (10b), 466 (38a).

5.2.4.9 Summary

The Tiberius stelae from the Mut Temple do not present the same unity of composition as those from Luxor. As noted above, the structure of the texts and the decoration of the lunettes fall into three groups. Accordingly, the renovations mentioned in the stelae can be separated as follows:

Group I

- 1 Great wall around the august chapel (*s3wy 3 h3 dry.t dsr.t*)
- 2 Great wall outside the temple of the white crown (*inb 3 m-rwty pr-hd.t*)
- 3 Great wall around her chapels (*sbty 3 m-dbn hm.w=s*)
- 4 [Great] wall outside the Mut Temple (*inb [3] (...) m-rwty hw.t-Mw.t*)

Group II

- 5 Renewal (*sm3wi*) and rebuilding (*nbi m m3w*) of the shrine of the uraeus of light (*k3r n mhn.t n šww*)
- 6 Renewal (*sm3wi*) and rebuilding (*nbi m m3w*) of unknown edifice.
- 7 Remaking (*iri m m3w*) of unknown edifice.

All of the stelae in Group I mention making an enclosure wall around the Mut Temple. Although the specific location of these works differs from stela to stela, the general mentions of “her chapels” (3) and “the Mut Temple” (4) suggest that the wall went either around the Mut Temple alone or around the entire Mut Temple Precinct. The latter option is indeed possible, since the style of brick-work in the enclosure wall is characteristically

Graeco-Roman,³⁶⁷ and certain sections “show some signs of re-working in the Roman Period.”³⁶⁸ At the same time, recent excavations have uncovered large portions of a presumably Roman Period brick wall surrounding the Mut Temple itself and extending east towards the supposed Mammisi of Chonsu the Child (Temple A).³⁶⁹

The texts on several stelae claim that the wall was built after a high inundation had knocked it down (3, 4), and this fits well with evidence of Roman Period renovations to the larger enclosure wall. One stela claims that the renovation was done “in order to lead processions on the Isheru” (1), while another evokes the primeval excavation of the Isheru (2). These allusions suggest that the works did not isolate the Isheru from the Mut Temple, further supporting the conclusion that the stelae describe the entire precinct temenos. Besides, if the exterior wall had remained untouched by the high flood, it is difficult to understand how the interior wall could have suffered water damage.

The stelae of Group II mention rebuilding an unknown edifice, vaguely referred to as “the shrine of the uraeus” (5), and the temple of Amun (7). The inscriptions, however, reveal that the building in question could have been the Mammisi of the Mut Temple. Stela (5) claims that Mut comes to the temple to give birth, while the other stelae (6, 7) describe the edifice as the “place of roaming the marshes” for Amun and Mut, a reference to their *hieros gamos*, and stela (7) actually describes the birth of Chonsu the Child.³⁷⁰ As noted above,

³⁶⁷ According to Spencer, *Brick Architecture*, pp. 79-80; for the enclosure wall of the Mut Temple Preinct, cf. also Golvin and el-Sayed, *Karnak 9* (1993): 148-9.

³⁶⁸ Fazzini, in Hawass and Richards, eds., *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt*, I, p. 280.

³⁶⁹ Spencer, *Brick Architecture*, p. 80; Fazzini, *ASAE* 70 (1984-85): 281, n. 5; idem, in Hawass and Richards, eds., *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt*, I, p. 280, concludes the latter option is more likely.

³⁷⁰ For the birth of Chonsu in the Mut Temple, cf. **4.14**.

similar decoration concerning the birth of Chonsu the Child appears on Augustan blocks at Luxor Temple (cf. **5.1.4**, **5.2.4.6**, n. (a)), while other stelae claim that Augustus built some unknown construction at the Mut Temple (cf. **5.1.3**), suggesting that both Augustus and Tiberius rebuilt the Mammisi of Chonsu the Child in the Mut Temple. Future excavations at the Mut Temple, and the eventual publication of the Graeco-Roman blocks from Luxor Temple may confirm this hypothesis.³⁷¹

Further evidence for official cultic activity in the Mut Temple comes from an archive of demotic ostraca excavated within the temple precinct and dating primarily to the reign of Tiberius (10/11 CE – 36/7 CE), consisting of receipts and temple oaths, most of which involve the “chief pastophor (*hry wn*)” named *p3-ti-hnsw-p3-hrt*.³⁷²

5.2.5* Armant

A sandstone stela in Rio de Janeiro depicts a Pharaoh offering wine to Montu-Re-Harakhty Lord of Armant (*Iwnw šm*),³⁷³ and Tjenenet within Armant.³⁷⁴ The cartouches are empty, and the body of the stela is uninscribed, but Kitchen nonetheless attributed it to

³⁷¹ See most recently Johnson and McClain, in D’Auria, ed., *Servant of Mut*, pp. 134-40, for a late Ptolemaic relief reconstructed from Luxor blocks, presumably deriving originally from the Mut Temple.

³⁷² Fazzini and Jasnow, *Enchoria* 16 (1988): 23-48; as Jasnow noted (p. 27), his name and duties are probably connected to the temple of Chonsu the Child located within the Mut Precinct see **4.14**.

³⁷³ Kitchen, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the National Museum, Rio de Janeiro*, II, Pl. 105, transcribed *Mntw*, but the photo on Pl. 106 actually reads *Mnt-R^c-hr-3hty*. Graeco-Roman scribes rarely spelled “Montu” with the final –w.

³⁷⁴ Kitchen, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the National Museum, Rio de Janeiro*, I, pp. 112-115; II, Pls. 105-6 (Inv. 679); Kitchen assumed that *Iwnw-šm*^c referred to Thebes, and thus concluded that the stela came from North Karnak. However, the Montu of that temple was specifically “Montu Lord of Thebes (*W3s.t*),” and he rarely appeared next to Tjenenet (cf. **4.53**). Furthermore, although *Iwnw-šm*^c often denoted Thebes in the New Kingdom, it only meant Armant in the Graeco-Roman Period (cf. **4.34**).

Tiberius because of stylistic similarity to his other Theban stelae.³⁷⁵ While the lunette decoration vaguely resembles the Tiberius stelae from Thebes, it bears closer comparison to the early Roman stelae from Dendera, Coptos, and elsewhere, which date from Augustus to Nero.³⁷⁶ Since Tiberius did not leave any traces of building activity on the West Bank, the stelae could possibly date to the reign of Augustus (cf. **5.1.5, 5.1.6**) or Claudius (cf. **5.3.2-3**).

III Claudius (41-54 CE)

5.3.0 Introduction

Claudius had few occasions to interfere or deal directly with Egypt during his short but eventful reign.³⁷⁷ Nonetheless, his generally liberal attitude and the open-minded policies of his reign were quite amenable to the spread of Egyptian religion throughout the Empire.³⁷⁸ Claudius notably proclaimed an official policy of religious tolerance,³⁷⁹ and he even wrote a personal letter to the Alexandrians in attempt to end religious strife.³⁸⁰ Claudius surrounded himself with a number of Egyptians and Egyptophiles, including a certain Harpocras.³⁸¹

³⁷⁵ Kitchen, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the National Museum, Rio de Janeiro*, I, p. 113; Kitchen, assuming that this stela was from North Karnak, attempted to sketch a general East bank building program of Tiberius; note, however, that there are no records of temple work on the West Bank under Tiberius.

³⁷⁶ See conveniently Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes*, pp. 263, 265-7.

³⁷⁷ For the reign of Claudius, see primarily Levick, *Claudius*.

³⁷⁸ Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration des cultes égyptiens en Italie*, pp. 401-2.

³⁷⁹ Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration des cultes égyptiens en Italie*, p. 402; cf. also Cauville, *RdE* 58 (2007): 29-39, for possible evidence of this policy in Claudian temple reliefs at Dendera and Edfu.

³⁸⁰ Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*; Musurillo, *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*; Pestman, *New Papyrological Primer*², No. 16; Levick, *Claudius*, pp. 182-5.

³⁸¹ Suetonius, *Claudius*, 28, 1; see Gossen-Stein, *RE* VII.2, col. 2410, s.v. "Harpokras (2)."

Claudius's son-in-law and successor, Nero, was educated at this time by the Alexandrian Chaeremon, a priest and stoic philosopher famed for his detailed knowledge of Egyptian religion.³⁸² Also during the reign of Claudius or Nero, the cosmopolitan scholar Thessalos of Tralles purportedly came to Thebes to study the magical techniques of the Ancient Egyptians.³⁸³

Although Claudius famously supported traditional Egyptian cults throughout the Empire, his reign saw no large temple construction projects in Egypt.³⁸⁴ Outside of Thebes, the only documented temple activity under Claudius's rule was the continued decoration – sometimes of considerable extent – of a number of Upper Egyptian temples, including Dendera,³⁸⁵ Athribis,³⁸⁶ Coptos,³⁸⁷ el-Qal'a,³⁸⁸ Shanhur,³⁸⁹ Esna,³⁹⁰ Kom Ombo,³⁹¹ and

³⁸² Van der Hoerst, *Chaeremon. Egyptian Priest and Stoic Philosopher*; Kákosy, in *ANRW* II.18.5, p. 2910; Thissen, in Moers, ed., *jn.t dr.w (Fs. Junge)*, II, p. 625.

³⁸³ The beginning of the text is addressed to the emperor Claudius Germanicus, which could be either Claudius or Nero; cf. Festguière, *The Egyptian Hermes*, pp. 152-3.

³⁸⁴ Grenier, *Les titulaires des empereurs romains*, pp. 26-30; Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I, pp. 28-9; Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, pp. 251-3.

³⁸⁵ Decoration of much of the Pronaos; PM VI, p. 75; Cauville, *BIFAO* 90 (1990): 83; idem, *RdE* 58 (2007): 29-39; minor decoration on East Gate; Cauville, *La Porte d'Isis*, pp. xi-xiii.

³⁸⁶ Petrie, *Athribis*, Pls. 24-30; el-Masry, *MDAIK* 57 (2001): 216-7.

³⁸⁷ Traunecker, *Coptos*, §§32-35, 38, 62, 64.

³⁸⁸ Most of the decoration: cf. Pantalacci and Traunecker, *Le temple d'el-Qal'a*, I, p. 9; II, p. 2, et passim.

³⁸⁹ Willems, et al., *The Temple of Shanhûr* I, pp. 7, 21.

³⁹⁰ Construction and decoration of the facade and exterior walls of the Roman Pronaos; *Esna* II, Nos. 47-51; Sauneron, *BIFAO* 51 (1952): 112; the decoration of the exterior walls will appear in *Esna* VII, scheduled for publication in 2008 (personal communication of Laurent Coulon).

³⁹¹ De Morgan, *K.O.* I, Nos. 167 and 173; PM VI, p. 197, (216) and (220).

Philae.³⁹² While this situation may appear at odds with the pro-Egyptian attitude of Claudius, it perfectly mirrors Claudius's building policies in Rome and the provinces.³⁹³ Blake summarized these works as follows:

“Claudius found Rome equipped with public buildings adequate for practically every need of the growing city, and he felt no urge to perpetuate his memory in costly edifices for which there was no necessity (...) In general, his contributions were utilitarian or of minor importance. His main interest was in engineering works away from Rome.”³⁹⁴

Claudius focused his engineering resources primarily on public works, especially building the Harbor of Ostia and draining Lake Fucine.³⁹⁵ In the provinces, labor was devoted most commonly to building or renovating roads, arches and aqueducts,³⁹⁶ rather than temples or other public monuments.

Official activity at Thebes fits into the general pattern of building and decoration in Egypt and the rest of the Empire under Claudius. Minor decoration continued at Karnak, while Claudius's general concern for maintaining roads is reflected in the work on the processional route connecting Medinet Habu and Armant (cf. **Plate 13**). Furthermore, documentary evidence possibly related to the construction of Deir Shelwit first appears under Claudius.

³⁹² The so-called Temple of Harendotes: PM VI, p. 254; Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, pp. 252-3; Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, II, p. 87; in addition, a partially damaged cartouche of Claudius appears on the Pylon of Edfu Temple (*Edfou VIII*, 78; cf. Kurth, et al., *Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu*, I: *Edfou VIII*, p. 141, n. 3; for an interpretation, cf. Cauville, *RdE* 58 [2007]: 38-9).

³⁹³ Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, pp. 52-6; Blake, *Roman Construction in Italy from Tiberius through the Flavians*, pp. 25-33; Levick, *Claudius*, pp. 108-111; for work in the provinces, see Levick, *Claudius*, pp. 178-9, 234-5, nn. 30-33.

³⁹⁴ Blake, *Roman Construction in Italy from Tiberius through the Flavians*, p. 25.

³⁹⁵ See recently M.K. and R.L. Thornton, *Julio-Claudian Building Programs*, pp. 57-96.

³⁹⁶ Levick, *Claudius*, pp. 167-175.

5.3.1 Karnak

5.3.1.1 First Pylon

At least three separate statues of Claudius were erected in the Emperor shrine in front of the First Pylon of Karnak (cf. **5.1.1.1**), as documented by statue bases dedicated in his name, two of which appear to mention a “Prefect Luc[ius...].”³⁹⁷ Wagner suggested that this must refer to L. Aemilius Rectus II, who was Prefect of Egypt from November 41 to April 42 CE.³⁹⁸ Such an early date would confirm that these statues were erected during the lifetime of the Emperors, not after their death and “official deification.” Although Claudius publically disapproved of cult temples for himself, he did condone the erection of his own statues in Egypt.³⁹⁹

5.3.1.2 Ninth Pylon

An excellently carved graffito on the south face of the Ninth Pylon depicts Amun of the Akh-Menu (cf. **5.4.1**). While this graffito has been attributed to the reign of Nero,⁴⁰⁰ it

³⁹⁷ Wagner, *BIFAO* 70 (1971): 29-31.

³⁹⁸ Wagner, *BIFAO* 70 (1971): 31; followed by Bureth, in *ANRW* II.10.1, p. 477.

³⁹⁹ Claudius personally mentioned in his letter to the Alexandrians (P. London 1912): “I agree to the erection in their several places of the statues of myself and my family (τάς τε ἑκα{τασ}σταχοῦ τῶν ἀνδριάντων ἀναστάσεις ἑμοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ γένους μου ποιήσασθε συνχωρῶι).” (trans. of Hunt and Edgar, *Select Papyri*, II, pp. 80-81; Pestman, *New Papyrological Primer*², No. 16); note that this letter was sent to the Prefect L. Aemilius Rectus and thus it is roughly contemporary with the Karnak statues. For the status of the Emperor cult under Claudius in general, see especially Claus, *Kaiser und Gott*, pp. 94-8.

⁴⁰⁰ Barguet, *Le Temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 254, 287, n. 1; followed by Grenier, *Les titulaires des empereurs romains*, p. 34, without indicating that this reading is based on a substantial restoration.

could equally well date to the reign of Claudius, since all that remains of the damaged cartouche are the elements common to both names: “[...] Claudius Caesar Augustus [Germa]nicus Imperator.”⁴⁰¹

5.3.2 Medinet Habu

5.3.2.0 Introduction

The reign of Claudius saw the construction of a small stone gate in front of the Twentieth Dynasty exterior walls, probably as part of a mudbrick enclosure wall (cf. **Plate 14**).⁴⁰² This gate is oriented on a north-south axis, and the south side of the remaining west jamb depicts Claudius wearing the red-crown entering the temple to his north.⁴⁰³ Hölscher noted the position “would seem to indicate that the gate was considered as an entrance to the Small Temple.”⁴⁰⁴ This suggestion is reasonable, and if one projects the axis defined by the gate of Claudius northwards, this path terminates precisely before the First Pylon of the Small Temple (see Fig. 1), the original entrance prior to the Roman courtyard of Antoninus Pius (cf. **5.11.1**). The remains of a stone sphinx of Nectanebo I were also found next to the gate.⁴⁰⁵ Such sphingoi are characteristic of a temple dromos,⁴⁰⁶ further supporting the existence of a well-defined processional route arriving from the south.

⁴⁰¹ Noted already by Cesaretti, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984): 8-9.

⁴⁰² PM II², p. 482, (2); Hölscher, *The Excavation at Medinet Habu*, V, pp. 36-7, Pl. 23A-B; Zivie, in *L’Égyptologie en 1979*, II, 103, incorrectly referred to this as “une porte de Tibère.”

⁴⁰³ PM II², p. 482, (2a); Hölscher, *The Excavation at Medinet Habu*, V, Pl. 23A (note that the caption should be corrected to “from the south and the north respectively,” as accurately identified in Porter and Moss).

⁴⁰⁴ Hölscher, *The Excavation at Medinet Habu*, V, p. 37.

⁴⁰⁵ Hölscher, *The Excavation at Medinet Habu*, V, p. 37; for the other sphingoi of Nectanebo I in Thebes (Luxor, Karnak North, Medamud), cf. Cabrol, *Les voies processionales de Thèbes*, pp. 182-4.

A well-known inscription from the reign of Hadrian notes that the temple of Deir Shelwit is located on “the road of Montu-Re-Harakhty,”⁴⁰⁷ a route that would connect the temples of Armant and Djeme, especially for Montu of Armant’s visit to Medinet Habu during the Sokar Festival (cf. **7.5**). Based on the location of the gate of Claudius, it may be possible to reconstruct a portion of the route. Proceeding due south through this gate, the road would first pass the temple of Qasr el-Agouz (perpendicular to the route on the east) and then reach the western boundary of the Birket Habu.⁴⁰⁸ Unlike the north and south boundaries, the western end of the Birket has two rows of mounds, separated by a substantial and intentionally constructed path.⁴⁰⁹ The purpose of this path has never been explained,⁴¹⁰ and it is tempting to identify this with the “Road of Montu,” particularly because the path terminates precisely at Deir Shelwit.⁴¹¹ An extensive, elevated road connects Deir Shelwit and Medinet Habu, passing by the remains of Malqata on the west.⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁶ See the extensive documentation and analysis of Cabrol, *Les voies processionales de Thèbes*, pp. 171-420 (to which this example should be added).

⁴⁰⁷ *Deir Chelouit* III, 154, 20-21; Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, p. 348, n. 159; Vittmann, *Altägyptische Wegmetaphorik*, p. 187; Thiers, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 565.

⁴⁰⁸ For the Birket Habu, see primarily Kemp and O’Connor, *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 3 (1974): 101-136.

⁴⁰⁹ Cf. the photograph in Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, p. 215, Fig. 8; note the comments of Kemp and O’Connor, *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 3 (1974): 121-2: “The dumping of the spoil was patently not a haphazard process but an integral part of the whole carefully planned enterprise. It is distributed with some evenness around the perimeter (...) for much of the north-western side the mounds are in a double row, separated by a broad ‘avenue.’”

⁴¹⁰ Kemp and O’Connor, *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 3 (1974):

⁴¹¹ Note that Lepsius referred to Deir Shelwit as the “Tempel der Isis am südwestlichen Ende des Sees” (*LD text*, III, p. 191); Zivie, *Le temple de Deir Chelouit*, IV, pp. 13-4, denied any relationship between Deir Shelwit and the neighboring Birket Habu and Malqata.

⁴¹² Kemp, *JEA* 63 (1977): 73, Fig. I, 81 and n. 19 (with references to earlier literature); cf. also the photograph in Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, p. 215, Fig. 8; based on his close study of the road, Kemp

Demotic documents of the Ptolemaic Period also reveal the existence of processional routes in this area. Certain contracts of the Theban choachytes mention “the road of Amun towards Djeme (*t3 my.t n 'Imn r Dm3*)” and “the road of Amun of Djeme (*t3 my.t n 'Imn n Dm3*).”⁴¹³ Although these roads have not been precisely located, the context of the documents make it clear that these routes are oriented north-south, as they often form the eastern or western boundaries of different properties.

The gate of Claudius at Medinet Habu preserves some very important but unfortunately quite damaged inscriptions.⁴¹⁴ The surface of the stone is quite eroded, and at least one inscribed block has disappeared since the photos published by Hölscher. The almost complete lack of scholarly attention to this monument is unfortunate, as the texts are important for understanding its function and the theological significance of Montu in the Khoiak Festival. As seen below, the inscriptions describe the procession from Armant, and even include a hymn addressed to Montu at his arrival.

concluded that the it must have been quite late, and suggested that it could be “a military road or something similar which, because of the obstruction caused by the Birket Habu, had to forsake its river valley course and for a short distance take to the desert, skirting round the limits both of Malkata and Medinet Habu. At its south-westerly end it passes by the desert altar at a short distance and finally disappears beneath the temple of Deir esh-Shelwit.” (Kemp, *JEA* 63 [1977]: 81).

⁴¹³ Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, pp. 36-7; Andrews, *Ptolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area*, pp. 22, n. 79, 24, n. 16, 91, n. 14; Cabrol, *Les voies processionales de Thèbes*, pp. 73-4.

⁴¹⁴ The texts are similar in carving style, orthographies, difficulty, and general content to inscriptions from a Roman gate from Coptos, perhaps carved under Claudius or Nero (Traunecker, *Coptos*, Nos. 51-52).

5.3.2.1 South face = PM II², p. 482, (2a)

The preserved left jamb of the southern entrance to the gate depicts Claudius wearing the red crown and presenting offerings. The pharaoh is labeled with the following damaged cartouches:⁴¹⁵

[...(...)] *kysrs nty hwy* | [...(...)] *3[w]twgrtr* |
 [...] Caesar Augustus, [...] Imperator.



Below his arms is the following label:⁴¹⁶

ʕq nb ^(a) *r tph.t Nwn* ^(b) *hr iri-t3w* ^(c)
 [*iw=w wʕb(.w) zp-2*]

Whosoever enters into the Grotto of Nun before the Wind-Maker (Amun),
 be pure! (two times)

(a) Gabolde read this phrase as “tu pénètres” (*ʕq=k*),⁴¹⁷ but collation shows this is actually the expected *ʕq nb*, “whosever enters.”⁴¹⁸

(b) For this designation of Medinet Habu, cf. **4.28**.

(c) Collation *in situ* and with the older photos of Hölscher show that this is to be read:
 “wind-maker,”⁴¹⁹ and not  (so Gabolde).

53.2.2 West interior, north jamb = PM II², p. 482 (2b) (cf. Plate 15)

The door jamb preserves a partially damaged two-column text:⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁵ Hölscher, *The Excavation at Medinet Habu*, V, Pl. 23A; collated *in situ*; the lower block, visible in the original photo of Hölscher, is now missing, and the text has been restored after the earlier photo.

⁴¹⁶ A partial version of this text was published in Gabolde, *BIFAO* 95 (1995): 249; idem, in Gasse and Rondot, eds., *Séhel entre l'Égypte et Nubie*, p. 99 (incorrectly labelled as “gravée sur la porte de Tibère”).

⁴¹⁷ Gabolde, *BIFAO* 95 (1995): 249; idem, in Gasse and Rondot, eds., *Séhel entre l'Égypte et Nubie*, p. 99.

⁴¹⁸ *Wb.* I, 281, 22; for this phrase, see especially Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz, *Le petit temple d'Abou Simbel*, I, p. 206, n. 351.

⁴¹⁹ For this epithet of Amun, cf. Sethe, *Amun*, §210.

¹ [...] *qm3 db^c.w=f^(a)*
imi(.t)-pr hr=f nt it-it.w [...]
[...m B3h.t r] M3nw
m ^ch^c n itn=f hr wbn htp
nsyw.t^(b) nt Km-3.t=f
[dd m r3=f hpr(.w) hr-^c (e)]
h^cpi r-h^t=f n(n) 3b]

² [...] *w3.t hr wnm-i3b=f*
hr nh.t irw=f nr.t^(a)
iw=f ii.w n t3 in.t
p(3) hry ntr.w
qn.wy i3d.t=f r P[w]n.t^(e)

[sp3.t-h3.t^(f) (hr) nhm n ii=f
iw ii dbn.t=f tpy-rnp.t rnp.t]^(g)


¹ [...] which his fingers created,
 having the inheritance of the father of fathers,
 [...from Bakhu to] Manu,
 with the lifetime of his sundisk, rising and setting,
 and the kingship of Kematef,
 with the result that what he says with his mouth happens immediately,
 and Hapi is under his authority, without cease.

² [...] the road upon his left and right,
 entreating his form annually,
 when he has come to the Valley:

The chief of the gods,
 how stronger is his scent even than P[un]t!


[The Nome of the Beginning rejoices at his arrival,
 when his cycle comes each year].




(a) Reading:  . This does not appear to be an epithet of Amun, and therefore the presence of the ideogram is probably due to the suffix pronoun.⁴²¹

⁴²⁰ Based on a handcopy and photos made *in situ*; texts from the lower block, now missing, are restored after Chic. Or. Inst. 8313.

⁴²¹ Cf. the similar example in another text from Medinet Habu (5.11.1.3).


(b) Reading:  = *nsyw.t*, “kingship.”⁴²² The festivals of the ancestor cult at Djeme often feature the theme of royal succession and legitimacy.⁴²³

(c) This is a common characteristic of creator gods, particularly Amun.⁴²⁴

(d) Reading:  = (*n*) *nr.t*, “annually.”⁴²⁵

(e) The reference to the sweet scent of Montu is appropriate both since it describes the physical manifestation of a divinity during a festival procession,⁴²⁶ and also because Montu is technically arriving from the south, the direction of Punt.⁴²⁷

(f) The Nome of the Beginning is a common name for Armant,⁴²⁸ or more generally speaking, the entire western Theban nome encompassing Armant and Djeme as in the present context.

(g) Reading:  = *tpy rnp.t rnp.t*, “annually.”⁴²⁹

5.3.2.3 West interior, north thickness = PM II², p. 482, (2c) (cf. Plate 16)

The thickness contains “shadow of the door” decoration, in addition to four lines of titularies with extended epithets:⁴³⁰

⁴²² For this spelling, see already *Wb.* II, 332, 13; Fairman, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): 99, 2 (a); *Esna* III, No. 272, 3.

⁴²³ For this theme at Medinet Habu, cf. Sambin and Carlotti, *BIFAO* 95 (1995): 427; Traunecker, in Vleeming, ed., *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, pp. 196-9; note the similar expressions for the transmission of the royal inheritance discussed by Herbin, *BIFAO* 54 (2003): 87-90; for the inheritance of Kematef, cf. **5.11.1.10**, col. 3.

⁴²⁴ Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, pp. 14-5, 140-1.

⁴²⁵ Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 527; Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, pp. 289-90, n. (13).

⁴²⁶ For the sweet smell of the divinity, see the examples in *Wb.* 152, 9-11, and the discussions of Zandee, *Der Amunhymnus*, II, pp. 702-6; Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 145-6, n. A.

⁴²⁷ For Montu and Punt, cf. the name of a Roman priest from Deir Shelwit, “He of Montu the Nubian (Pamontekysis)” (cf. **5.14.1**).

⁴²⁸ Thiers, in Eldamaty and Trad, eds., *Egyptian Museum Collections Around the World*, II, p. 1163, n. 47.

⁴²⁹ For this expression, Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, pp. 289-90, n. 13.

⁴³⁰ From a handcopy and photos made *in situ*, in addition to photos from the Oriental Institute; the titularies, but not the epithets, were already registered by Grenier, *Les titulaires des empereurs romains*, p. 30.

¹ [*ḥnḥ ntr nfr ...*] *wr ḥb.w-sd mi Ḳtm*
z3-Rḥ nb ḥḥ.w
(*g3rmnyqs [3]wdwgrtr*)|

² [*ḥnḥ ntr nfr ...*].*w [n] wn ḥr mw[=f...] qn*
nsw.t bitī nb-t3.wy
(*tibrys [g]rwtys [k]ys[rs] nty ḥwi*)|

³ *ḥnḥ ntr nfr ir mr ntr.w ir mnw r grg pr.w [...]*
nsw.t-bitī [nb-t3.wy]
(*tibrys grwtys kysrs nty ḥwi*)|

⁴ *ḥnḥ ntr nfr sqr wdn.t ḥbs-t3^(a) m r3-ḥ.wy=f*
z3-Rḥ nb-ḥḥ.w
(*g3rmnyqs 3wdwgrtr*)|

¹ [Live the good god ...] great of Heb-Sed festivals like Atum,
Son of Re, Lord of Appearances,
Germanicus [I]mperator.

² [Live the good god ...to] whoever is loyal to him are [...] mighty,
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands,
Tiberius [C]laudius [C]aesa[r] Augustus.

³ Live the good god, who does what gods desire, who makes monuments to
establish temples [...]
King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands,
Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus.

⁴ Live the good god, who consecrates litanies and hacks the earth with his acts,
Son of Re, Lord of Appearances,
Germanicus Imperator.

(a) The specific liturgical combination of *sqr wdn.t* and *ḥbs t3* is attested since the Pyramid Texts, and is often related to the Sokar Festival.⁴³¹

5.3.2.4 West interior, north thickness = PM II², p. 482 (2c) (cf. Plate 17)

The north face of the west jamb also preserves a damaged three-column hymn composed in the second person:⁴³²

⁴³¹ Derchain, *Les impondérables de l'hellénisation*, p. 79, n. 42; for the importance of Montu of Armant in the Sokar Festival at Medinet Habu, cf. **7.5**.

¹ [...]
[...ni].w[t] m nfrw=k

sfsf.n[=k 3w]
[s]šm.n=k qfn.w n b3 3 n Km.t
dd.hr=f hr=k
ib=f m tfn

² [...]
[s]hd[=k] n=f dw3.t
snsn[.n=k] Imn[ty.w]
[...]=sn

h^c n=k [sdr.w]
sdr n=k h^c.w (a)
[...] n iw.t=k

nsw.t imnt.t twt b.wy (b) nb shr.w
smn.tw hr s.t-r3=k

³ [...] dndrw (c)

z3 R^c wr
šps.n=k (d) hw.t-ntr n [...]
m bw-nfr h^c w n t3.wy
[...] s.t [...]
[...] m nb [...]
[nt]k ir n=f hnbb.t

bw.w=k mn.tw r tr n rnp.t
iw spr=k n=n n rnp.t [...]

¹ [...]
[...citie]s with your perfection.

[Just as you] provided [offerings...]
so did you [consecra]te food for the Great Ba of Egypt (Kematef),
then he speaks before you,
while his heart rejoices.

² [...]
[you il]luminat[e] for him the Duat,
having united with the West[erners],
[...]

Just as [those lying down] stand up [for] you,

432 Hölscher, The Excavation at Medinet Habu, V, Pl. 23B, collated in situ.

so do those standing up lie down for you,
[...] at your arrival.

The King of the West, assembled of horns, Lord of plans
is established through your authority,
³ [...] the *dndrw*-bark.

Great son of Re,
you have supplied the temple of [...] august,
with good products and wealth of the two lands.
[...] place [...]
[...] as lord of [...],
It is [yo]u who creates air for him.

All of your places are established ever year,
when you arrive to us annually [...]

- (a) This phrase is well-attested in solar hymns, referring originally to the reactions of the deceased upon Re's arrival in the Netherworld, and by extension, to the acts of homage paid to a divinity upon its entrance to a temple.⁴³³
- (b) Gutbub has characterized this Osirian epithet, which appears most often in the Opet Temple, as specifically Theban.⁴³⁴
- (c) The *dndrw*-bark is specifically associated with the Sokar Festival.⁴³⁵
- (d) For the transitive use of *šps*, "to supply," cf. *Wb.* IV, 448, 13-20.

5.3.2.5 Summary

While none of the texts specifically mention Montu, the mentions of a festival arrival, the reference to the "Nome of the Beginning," and the allusions to the Khoiak Festival make it rather certain that the texts relate to Montu of Armant during his visit to Medinet Habu (cf.

⁴³³ Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 97-8, n. C; to those references, add also *Esna* II, 156, 19; 163, 26 (with the interesting formulation: "those standing up lie down for her, and vice-versa (*sdr n=s ḥ^c.w, tz-phr*") and cf. the comments of Derchain-Urtel, in Gundlach and Rochholz, eds., 4. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, p. 10.

⁴³⁴ Gutbub, in *Mélanges Mariette*, pp. 338-9; as Gutbub noted, this epithet applies both to Osiris in Thebes (e.g. *Opet* I, 29) and Amun as the "august Ba of Osiris" (*Opet* I, 90, 109).

⁴³⁵ *Wb.* V, 579, 9; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1238; cf. also *Dendara* X, 241, 7 and 9, Pls. 111 and 140 (for depictions).

7.5) As mentioned above (**5.3.2.0**), this gateway originally stood on the north-south processional road connecting the small temple of Medinet Habu to Armant, and thus the architecture and the inscriptions form a perfectly logical ensemble.

5.3.3 Deir Shelwit

While earlier sections of Deir Shelwit may have been constructed or decorated under Augustus (**1.6**), the decoration of the surviving Naos and Propylon did not begin until the reign of Galba (**5.1**). Since Galba reigned for only seven months, the naos and propylon of Deir Shelwit are unlikely to have been constructed entirely in his reign. A number of heretofore neglected ostraca shed light on the early building stages of the temple.

A large number of Greek and Demotic ostraca ranging from year 11 of Claudius to year 14 of Nero (52-68 CE), presumably from Armant,⁴³⁶ register temple income (Demotic: *šdi*; Greek: *λογεία*) for Isis and an unspecified male god.⁴³⁷ A number of the men involved are priests of Isis (*hm-Is.t*), while others are *prostates* (Demotic: *rd*) of Isis. This specific type of document is unattested elsewhere in Demotic or Greek ostraca,⁴³⁸ and interpretations

⁴³⁶ Based primarily on the frequent occurrence of the theophoric name *p3-(n)-Bḥ* / Pibuche “He of the Buchis bull”; for this name, see primarily Clarysse, in Thissen and Zauzich, eds., *Grammata Demotika*, pp. 30-5; Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*, p. 95, n. 1; Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, p. 271.

⁴³⁷ Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, I, pp. 253-6; II, pp. 117, 119-22 (Nos. 402, 412-420); *Papiri greci e latini*, III, p. 128, No. 262; Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 54 (1918): 116-120; Wängstedt, *Ausgewählte demotische Ostraka*, pp. 40, 72-3, nn. 86-8; idem, *Or. Suec.* 16 (1967): 41-2; Gallazzi, et al., *Ostraka Greci del Museo Egizio*, p. 71, No. 76; also mentioned, without interpretation, by Cesaretti, *Nerone e l’Egitto*, pp. 31-2.

⁴³⁸ While mentions of temple income (*šty*) are not infrequent in Theban documents (cf. Pestman, et al., *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues* pp. 14-5, n. [s]; Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, pp. 459-63; Vleeming, *Enchoria* 15 [1987]: 154), the specific term “god’s income” (*šdi-nṯr*; *λογεία τοῦ θεοῦ*) is unique to this specific collection.

have remained somewhat vague.⁴³⁹ Despite the distinctly Theban-Hermonthite subject matter of the documents, Otto made the following conclusions:⁴⁴⁰

“Als Empfänger der λογεία können mithin aus der grossen Zahl ägyptischer Isistempel nur jene in Betracht kommen, mit denen das Heiligtum eines männlichen Gottes verbunden gewesen ist, und diese Bedingung erfüllt nun aufs beste dergeniige Tempel, der meines Erachtens schon ganz allein auf Grund jener λογεία-Quittung zu erschliessen ist (...) nämlich der berühmte Isistempel zu Philä.”

The attribution of these ostraca to Philae is based on Otto's false assumption that Philae temple was dedicated to both Isis and Khnum.⁴⁴¹ In reality, Khnum was actually worshipped at Elephantine at a temple quite distinct from Philae, where he was surrounded by a constellation of deities (Satis and Anukis) which did not involve Isis.⁴⁴²

The temple of Deir Shelwit, on the other hand, was dedicated to Isis and Montu.⁴⁴³ Although Isis was by far the presiding deity, the temple is also said to have been built for Montu of Armant,⁴⁴⁴ and Isis and Montu appear as the main divinities in one of the inscriptions describing the local cult-theology.⁴⁴⁵ The Hermonthite milieu of this bilingual

⁴³⁹ The primary discussions of these ostraca are found in Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, I, pp. 253-6; Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, I, pp. 359-363; Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, pp. 244-6.

⁴⁴⁰ Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, I, p. 362.

⁴⁴¹ Dunand, *BIFAO* 81 (1981): 140, n. 1, alternatively suggested that the god in question could be Sarapis.

⁴⁴² For the Graeco-Roman temples at Elephantine, see Laskowska-Kusztal, *Die Dekorfragmente der ptolemäisch-römischen Tempel von Elephantine*.

⁴⁴³ Galazzi, et al., *Ostraka Greci del Museo Egizio*, p. 71, suggested the god could be Montu on the basis of the Hermonthite personal names (followed by Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, p. 245), but they did not relate the ostraca to Deir Shelwit.

⁴⁴⁴ *Deir Chelouit* I, No. 2.

⁴⁴⁵ *Deir Chelouit* I, No. 16, 1; for the importance of Armant in the inscriptions of Deir Shelwit, see Zivie, *BSFE* 80 (1977): 21-32; idem, *BIFAO* 77 (1977): 151-61; in this connection, note also a Demotic stela dedicated to a number of gods, including Montu of Armant and Isis within Djeme; Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes*, pp. 217-8 (No. 215).

archive alone makes it certain that the ostraca concern Deir Shelwit, and recently discovered demotic ostraca mentioning “collections (Sty)” found *in situ* at Deir Shelwit further support this interpretation.⁴⁴⁶

The construction history of Deir Shelwit can thus be traced from the reign of Claudius. Over a course of at least sixteen years, local priests of Isis collected temple taxes to fund the construction of the new naos and propylon.⁴⁴⁷ Construction finished in the final year of Nero and decoration began immediately after in the following year under Galba (cf. **5.5.1**).

While this type of archive is entirely unique, the role of the *rd*-agent (*prostates*) in collecting funds for temple construction, is well known from another such official, Parthenios, who was active at the temple of Coptos at exactly the same time.⁴⁴⁸ From the reigns of Tiberius through Nero, Parthenios supervised temple renovations and constructions at Coptos which he commemorated in over twenty stelae. The institution of the *rd*-agent (from Middle Egyptian *rwḏ*) actually existed already in the First Intermediate Period.⁴⁴⁹ Among his many administrative duties, the *rwḏ*-agent was frequently in charge of collecting taxes or tribute, and in Ptolemaic religious associations, the same agent received dues from

⁴⁴⁶ These demotic ostraca, discovered by the Japanese mission at Kom el-Samak and Deir Shelwit, will be published by Richard Jasnow (personal communication).

⁴⁴⁷ Even though the propylon was decorated first, it is likely that the naos would have been built at the same time or even before the propylon.

⁴⁴⁸ Farid, *MDAIK* 44 (1988): 13-65; Traunecker, *Coptos*, pp. 33-6, 330; Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes*, pp. 170-97.

⁴⁴⁹ See primarily Kruchten, in Lipinski, ed., *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East*, II, pp. 517-22, and the more recent discussion and references in J.C. Darnell, “The Eleventh Dynasty Royal Inscription from Deir el-Ballas” (forthcoming).

the other members.⁴⁵⁰ The “Deir Shelwit archive” of ostraca thus perfectly demonstrates the two roles of the *prostates*, collecting religious dues from fellow priests of Isis, and paying for the construction or renovation of a temple.

The flurry of activity at Deir Shelwit must have been related to the new gate of Claudius at Medinet Habu (cf. **5.3.2**). As noted above, the processional road connecting Armant and Medinet Habu passed directly by Deir Shelwit, and the inscriptions from the latter temple connect it culturally to the ancestor cults at Medinet Habu. The two sites thus seem to have been part of a single construction program on the West Bank, even though one resulted in official temple decoration, and the other in a large collection of receipt ostraca.⁴⁵¹

IV Nero (54-68 CE)

5.4.0 Introduction

The Emperor Nero was among many things a notorious Philhellene.⁴⁵² His extended tour through Greece was just one manifestation of his love for things Eastern. Several events in Nero’s reign connected the Emperor to Egypt.⁴⁵³ In particular, Nero was educated in part

⁴⁵⁰ See especially de Cenival, *Les associations religieuses en Égypte*, p. 165; and Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9. II*, p. 412.

⁴⁵¹ Compare the comments of Grallert, *Bauen – Stiften – Weißen*, I, p. 240, on a similar combination of works at Karnak and Luxor under Nectanebo I: “Der König versteht also die gesamte Prozessionsallee mit den beiden Tempeleingängen in Karnak und Luxor als ein einziges Baukonzept.”

⁴⁵² For the life of Nero in general, see primarily Griffin, *Nero: the end of a dynasty*, and Champlin, *Nero* (the latter with an extensive bibliography of recent studies); for Nero’s philhellenism, see primarily Schumann, *Hellenistische und griechische Elemente in der Regierung Neros*; Griffin, *Nero*, pp. 208-20; this latter trait is often attributed to his familial relation to Marc Antony.

⁴⁵³ For Nero’s Egyptomania, see Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration*, pp. 403-5; Champlin, *Nero*, p. 174, summarized: “Hellenic Egyptians rose for the first time in significant numbers to positions of real political and cultural power; privileges were showered on Alexandria and Egypt generally; Rome, as it was rebuilt after the fire, has been seen as modeled on Alexandria, the Golden House as an imitation of the royal palace there; Egyptian motifs proliferated in art; even Nero’s imitation of Apollo/Helios has been seen as derived in part from the solar theology of the ancient pharaohs.”

by the Egyptian expert Chaeremon, and prior to the military coup that ended his reign, he supposedly made plans to flee to Alexandria.⁴⁵⁴

In contrast to his predecessor, Claudius, Nero resumed a large monumental building program in Rome and the Provinces.⁴⁵⁵ Many temples in Egypt witnessed a corresponding surge in construction and decoration,⁴⁵⁶ including: Hermopolis,⁴⁵⁷ Dendera,⁴⁵⁸ Coptos,⁴⁵⁹ Shanhur,⁴⁶⁰ Esna,⁴⁶¹ Kom Ombo,⁴⁶² Philae,⁴⁶³ as well as temples in Dakhleh Oasis (Deir el-Haggar and Ismant el-Kharab),⁴⁶⁴ and the Fayum (Akoris, Qasr Qarun [Dionysias], Karanis, Dimeh [Soknopiaiou Nesos]). Thebes was hardly affected by this reinvigorated temple program, seeing only minor activity at Karnak and Deir Shelwit.

⁴⁵⁴ Champlin, *Nero*, p. 174; Morgan, *69 A.D.*, p. 29.

⁴⁵⁵ For the building program of Nero, see Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, pp. 56-61; Elsner, in Elsner and Masters., eds., *Reflections of Nero*, pp. 112-27; Griffin, *Nero*, p. 64; much of the work in Rome was necessitated by the fire of 64 CE.

⁴⁵⁶ For Nero and Egypt, see primarily: Thissen, *LÄ IV*, cols. 460-1; Cesaretti, *Nerone e l'Egitto*; Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I, pp. 29-33; Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, pp. 253-260; Grenier, *Les titulaires des empereurs romains*, pp. 31-35; Kaper, in Kaper, ed., *Life on the Fringe*, p. 140.

⁴⁵⁷ Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I, pp. 50-1.

⁴⁵⁸ Construction of the Roman Mammisi (Daumas, *Les Mammisis de Dendara*, p. xxiii); Small decoration of East Gate (Cauville, *La Porte d'Isis*, pp. xi-xiii); decoration on exterior of the Pronaos.

⁴⁵⁹ Traunecker, *Coptos*, pp. 34-5; Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes*, pp. 194-5, No. 201.

⁴⁶⁰ Willems, et al., *The Temple of Shanhûr*, I, pp. 7-8.

⁴⁶¹ *Esna II*, Nos. 88 and 91; *Esna VI*, No. 502.

⁴⁶² Minor decoration: PM VI, 196 (182).

⁴⁶³ Minor decoration: PM VI, 208 (23)-(25)

⁴⁶⁴ Kaper, *Temples and Gods in Roman Dakhleh*, pp. 24-6, 28, n. 193.

5.4.1 Karnak - Ninth Pylon

The only trace of decoration at Thebes under Nero is a graffito on the south face of the Ninth Pylon in Karnak.⁴⁶⁵ This inscription is quite well carved, depicting a standing Amun holding a *w3s*-scepter. In front of him is a label of three columns.⁴⁶⁶

¹ *dd-mdw in [Imn...m] 3h-mnw* ^(a)
p3 šww ʕ ^(b) ²[...]
 [...] *wr šfy.t* ^(c)
bik ʕ šps ^(d) ³*wbn m nḥb* ^(e)

¹Words spoken by [Amun...in] the Akh-Menu,
 the great light ² [...]
 [...], great of prestige,
 great august falcon ³ who rises from the lotus.

(a) This specific form of “Amun in the Akh-Menu” is known already from the New Kingdom.⁴⁶⁷ A large number of priests of Amun of the Akh-Menu are known from the Late and Ptolemaic Periods.⁴⁶⁸

(b) Amun-Re was clearly a solar god, but this is the only attestation of the epithet “the great light (*p3 šww ʕ*).” Other texts from Karnak claim that “light comes forth for him (*pr n=f šww*),”⁴⁶⁹ and more importantly that “his solar disk is light which creates illumination

⁴⁶⁵ PM II², p. 181 (544); Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 254, 287, n. 1; Cesaretti, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984): 8-9; idem, *Nerone e l'Egitto*, p. 30; collated with photos taken by Marc LeBlanc; as noted above (cf. **5.3.1.2**), this graffito may date instead to the reign of Claudius.

⁴⁶⁶ Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 254; collated with personal photos.

⁴⁶⁷ Pécoil, *La Heret-ib et les chapelles attenantes*, Pls. 12, 13, 14; Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees*, p. 44, n. 55; LGG I, 309

⁴⁶⁸ Selim, *SAK* 32 (2004): 369, 371-2; Jansen-Winkel, *Biographische und religiöse Inschriften*, I, pp. 31, n. (1), 33, n. (7); Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*, p. 29, n. 8; the title “priest of Amun-Re Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands in the Akh-Menu (*ḥm-Ntr Imn-Rʕ nb-nš.wt-t3.wy m 3h-mnw*)” is frequently attested on monuments of the Ptolemaic priest Wahibre and his family, including BM EA 8461, ll. 4-5 (= Bierbrier, *HTBM* 11, Pls. 74-5), BM EA 8462 (= Bierbrier, *HTBM* 11, Pl. 79A), and objects found in the tomb of Anchor in Assasif: Bietak, et al., *Das Grab des 'Anch-Hor*, II, pp. 195 (561, 562), 199, 203, ll. 5-6, 209 (8-9), (12-13); 276 (G 79); there were also priests of the *hry.t-ib*, another designation of the Akh-Menu: Jansen-Winkel, *Biographische Inschriften*, I, p. 56, n. (9) (with references); idem, *MDAIK* 60 (2004): 103, n. (8); cf. further Traunecker, in Clarysse, et al., eds., *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years*, II, p. 1219.

⁴⁶⁹ Clère, *Porte*, Pls. 3 and 15 (= *Urk.* VIII, 70b and 57b).

(*itn=f šww ir ḥdd.wt*).⁴⁷⁰ The high priest Osorkon, upon his initiation into the Akh-Menu, called the sanctuary “the great, august throne of Amun, that is to say heaven (*t3 ns.t ʿ3.t šps.t n Imn, p.t pw*),” and described the sacred image of Amun as “the light which is in it (*šww imy=s*).”⁴⁷¹

(c) The notion of *šfy.t*, “prestige, terror” is intimately associated with Amun and his ram form.⁴⁷² The particular epithet “great of prestige” may refer to a specific form of Amun at Karnak, perhaps the Akh-Menu.⁴⁷³ The portal of the Fifth Pylon, the entrance to the main section of Karnak (*ip.t-s.wt*), was called “Amun Great of Prestige (*Imn wr-šfy.t*),”⁴⁷⁴ while the priest Hor referred to the Akh-Menu as “the sacred palace of the Ba (Great of) Prestige (*ḥ dsr n b3 (Wr) šfy.t*).”⁴⁷⁵ The second hymn to Imhotep from the Ptah Temple (**2.1.5.2**), further associates Amun, the Akh-Menu, “prestige (*šfy.t*),” and the physical sundisk when it requests:⁴⁷⁶

“May you behold the radiance of the sundisk as “he who shines in gold,”
in the vicinity of the upper gate of the Lord of Prestige.”

(d) The falcon manifestation of Amun is relatively uncommon.⁴⁷⁷ The present example, mentioned after the epithet “great of prestige,” bears comparison with a series of epithets describing the solar “Amun-Re, Lord of Thebes, august god who illumines the two lands”.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁰ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 20 (= *Urk.* VIII, 84b); note also Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 21 (= *Urk.* VIII, 79h): “he is Irita, and his disk is light (*sw m Iri-t3, itn=f m šww*).”

⁴⁷¹ Kruchten, *Les Annales des prêtres de Karnak*, pp. 59 and 62.

⁴⁷² Zandee, *Der Amunhymnus*, pp. 222-4.

⁴⁷³ The four males of the Ogdoad (= the four Montus) are said to dwell “in Karnak in the protection of the Ba Great of Prestige (*m Ip.t-s.wt m z3 n p3 b3 wr-šfy.t*)” (*Opet* I, 26; also in an inscription from the “Gate of Tiberius” at Medamud: Drioton, *CdE* 6 [1931]: 265-6), one of several references to their presence in Karnak Temple (cf. **4.39**); one nome text lists “The great image in Thebes, the one Great of Prestige (*ʿ3-šfy.t*)” as the chief deity of the Theban Nome (*Edfou* IV, 175, 5); for more references to Amun as *wr-šfy.t* specifically in Karnak, see also *Urk.* VIII, 52g, 102c and 140k.

⁴⁷⁴ Barguet, *Le temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 99, 106, 107, n. 4; Grothoff, *Die Tornamen der ägyptischen Tempel*, pp. 89-90, 100, 425, 487; cf. also the names of the portals to the Fourth and Sixth Pylons: “Amun-Re Mighty of Prestige (*Imn-Rʿ šhm-šfy.t*)” and “Menkheperre, Beloved of Amun Great of Prestige (*Mn-ḥpr-rʿ mry Imn ʿ3-šfy.t*)” (Barguet, *Le temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 89 and 116; Grothoff, *Die Tornamen der ägyptischen Tempel*, pp. 87-8, 92-3, 246, 272-3); for a distinct “temple of Amun-ʿ3-šfy.t” within Karnak Temple in a New Kingdom administrative document, see Manniche, *GM* 29 (1978): 80; cf. further Jansen-Winkel, *SAK* 36 (2007): 54, n. (7).


⁴⁷⁵ Barguet, *Le temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 287.

⁴⁷⁶ *Urk.* VIII, 213 (2).

⁴⁷⁷ Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 38-9.

⁴⁷⁸ *Urk.* VIII, 140k.

ntr/Hr šṭ3-ms.w
gmḥs ʿš3 inm.w
i3w rnp sw r nw=f
nḥḥ ir wdh
 [...] *wr šfy.t*

The god/Horus () mysterious of births,
 the predatory-falcon, numerous of colors,
 elder who rejuvenates himself at his time,
 old man who acts as child,⁴⁷⁹
 [...] great of prestige.

In the same initiation text of the priest Hor mentioned above (*supra*, note c), the Akh-Menu is said to be the location for “seeing the mysterious form of Horus who Illumines (*m33 šṭ3 Hr sty*).”⁴⁸⁰ Another priestly autobiography describes his initiation into the Akh-Menu, describing the falcon image of Amun within the Akhet:⁴⁸¹

dhn wi Imn-Rʿ r wn-ʿ.3wy-nw-p.t
m33=i irw=f imy-3h.t
bs.n=f wi r ʿh dsr=s
m33=i Hr m msw.t=f

Amun-Re appointed me to be Opener-of-the-Gates-of-Heaven,
 so I might see him in his form within the Akhet,
 he initiated me to the Palace in its sanctity,
 so I might see Horus in his birth.

Note also that Karnak Temple is elsewhere called “the Akhet of Horus for the Falcon of Gold (*3h.t-Hr n bik n nbw*).”⁴⁸²

(e) The reference to the lotus recalls an epithet of Amun “great god of the beginning (*ntr ʿ3 n dr-ʿ*),” who is also called “old man who returns as a lotus (*nḥḥ iw m nḥb*).”⁴⁸³ The lotus has primarily solar connotations (cf. **4.39**), and thus this epithet further designates Amun in the Akh-Menu as the newborn sun within the Akhet.

⁴⁷⁹ For similar paradoxical epithets (e.g. “father who acts as mother (*it ir mw.t*),” cf. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, p. 108, n. (17).

⁴⁸⁰ Bargaet, *Le temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 287; for the solar Amun described as “Horus who Illumines,” cf. Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 54 and 156.

⁴⁸¹ CG 42225 = Kruchten, *Les Annales des prêtres de Karnak*, p. 182.

⁴⁸² *Urk.* VIII, 45.

⁴⁸³ *Urk.* VIII, 132b; *Opet* I, 254.

This short and fragmentary inscription nonetheless manages to reveal a great deal about the theology of Amun in Karnak. In particular, it confirms that Amun in the Akh-Menu was primarily a living solar deity,⁴⁸⁴ in stark contrast to the deceased creator Amun-Kematef of Medinet Habu (cf. **4.28**).

In addition, this graffito indicates that the Akh-Menu was still functioning through the reign of Nero.⁴⁸⁵ This result is not entirely surprising, as the renovation of the Contra-Temple under Domitian (cf. **5.8.1.2**) implies that services continued in the Akh-Menu until even later. Moreover, a papyrus written some time in the first two centuries CE describes the course of the Theban Khoiak Festival, featuring numerous stops at locations throughout the Akh-Menu.⁴⁸⁶ Even more remarkable is a previously unrecognized description of the mysteries in the Akh-Menu in P. Leiden T 32, a text dated to regnal year ten of Nero (65 CE).⁴⁸⁷ This funerary papyrus details a variety of Theban festivals in which the deceased wishes to participate, among which is the following account (III, 25-31):⁴⁸⁸

ḥnn b3=k r W3s.t 3ḥ-mnw=k
hrw mspr n 3bd l šmw
ꜥq=k ḥnꜥ ꜥk.w pr=k ḥnꜥ pr.w
m dsr wr zp-snw m ḥw.t-ntr=f

⁴⁸⁴ Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 287, n. 1, quoting this graffito, noted that it “met bien l’accent sur le renouveau solaire que représente Amon en cet endroit.” Compare also Amun-Atum of the attached *ḥw.t-bnbn* (cf. **4.6**); for previous discussions of the solar nature of the Akh-Menu, cf. Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 288-92; Lauffray, *Kêmi* 19 (1969): 179-218; Dumas, *Karnak* 6 (1980): 261-84.

⁴⁸⁵ The late survival of the Akh-Menu was discussed in part by R. Jasnow, “Through Demotic Eyes” (unpublished lecture, 2002).

⁴⁸⁶ Barguet, *Le Papyrus N. 3176 (S) du Musée du Louvre*, pp. 35-7; idem, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 294-5.

⁴⁸⁷ For the date, cf. Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, p. 5.

⁴⁸⁸ Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, 55-6, 166-9, 443; while Herbin noted that one passage might refer to the Akh-Menu (*ibid.*, p. 166), his translation and commentary assume that the context is entirely Osirian.

Your Ba alights in Thebes, your Akh-Menu,⁴⁸⁹
 on 3 Pachons,
 you enter with those who enter, and exit with those who exit,
 in very great sanctity in his temple.

dg3=k k3.t ni rh=s m sšt3=s
in hry-sšt3
ni m33 ni sdm
ndb=k qm3wty.w n wš3 m ikk
<m> sš3 wr zp-snw m hw.t-f

You behold works unknowable in their mystery,
 (performed) by the Chief of Mysteries,
 without seeing or hearing.
 You hear the mourners who utter cries,⁴⁹⁰
 in very great security⁴⁹¹ in his temple.

sdm=k hrw n hnty-n-ir.ty
ˆ.wy=fy hr bin.t
hnty-Qs hr sh m d3d3.t

spr dni.w n hm.w=f r ˆnh.wy=ky
hft sšm-hs m ˆhˆy.t

You hear the voice of Khenty-n-irty,
 his hands upon the small harp,
 and Foremost of Qus (Haroeris) playing the large harp.


The cries of his priests reach your ears,
 when the ritual is carried out at noon.

⁴⁸⁹ One could alternatively translate: “and your monument is effective/luminous (*3h mnw=k*),” similar to the original name of the Akh-Menu: “the monument of Menkheperre is effective/luminous (*3h mnw Mn-hpr-rˆ*)” (Barguet, *Le temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 157 and 283). Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l’éternité*, p. 166, noted: “On pourrait voir ici une discrète référence à l’*Akh-menou* de Karnak, mais, à l’époque tardive, cet important sanctuaire osirien est essentiellement évoqué dans les rites de Khoiak.” This claim is based solely on the Louvre Papyrus mentioned above, and does not preclude other uses of the Akh-Menu.

⁴⁹⁰ Herbin translated the phrase *m ikk* as “en larmes (?)” (Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l’éternité*, pp. 56, 167-8), while in a similar text, Goyon, *Le papyrus d’Imouthès*, p. 93, read *rmy=i n=k m ikk*, as “je pleurs pour toi, ne sois pas étonné(?)!” (P. MMA 35.9.21, 54, 2). Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I*, p. 77, n. e, connected this word to Egyptian *g3g3/gwg*, “shout” (> Demotic: *gˆgˆ*; Coptic: ⲪⲚⲀⲚ).

⁴⁹¹ For the phrase *m sš3 wr* (parallel to *m dsr wr* above) cf. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 806; Jasnow and Zauzich, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth*, I, p. 197; Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l’éternité*, pp. 56 and 168, translated “rites de protection.”

nmt=k rd n 3h.t-nhh
dg3=k b3 wr-šfy.t m sšt3=f
ptr=k Imn-R^c m hpr=f tpy
Wsir m irw=f n w^cb.t
nn hsf^c=k nn šn3 nmt.wt=k m-hnt Ip.t-s.wt r-3w=s

You ascend the staircase/platform of the Akhet-of-Eternity,⁴⁹²
 you behold the Ba Great of Prestige in his mysterious form,
 you see Amun-Re(?) ()⁴⁹³ in his initial manifestation,

and Osiris in his form of the Wabet,
 Your arm is not repelled, your steps are not turned back anywhere in Karnak.

Herbin assumed that this section described some sort of funerary rites, primarily because of the emphasis on secrecy.⁴⁹⁴ Nonetheless, the repeated emphasis on security would also pass well for the rites in the Akh-Menu, to which only the initiated high priests had access.⁴⁹⁵ Furthermore, the mention of harp playing at noon seems inappropriate for Osirian mysteries, as the harp was usually banned from mortuary shrines like the Abaton of Philae.⁴⁹⁶ to be at odds with an Osirian Moreoever, the reference to “ascending the staircase of the Akhet of Eternity” to behold the “Ba Great of Prestige,” a term denoting Amun within

⁴⁹² Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, pp. 168-9, claimed that this location is otherwise unknown, and suggested a connection to the Necropolis. Nonetheless, Karnak is elsewhere referred to as: “the Akhet of Eternity of the King of Gods (3h.t-nhh n nsw.t-ntr.w)” (*Urk.* VIII, 41 [2]); or “the Akhet of Eternity of Amun in Thebes (3h.t-nhh n Imn m W3s.t)” (*Deir Chelouit* III, 127, 23; specifically as the birthplace of Osiris); cf. also *Dendara* X, 115, 3 (designation of Thebes).

⁴⁹³ This reading is admittedly tentative, here understanding the hide-sign as *im* (Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 64-5), the goose as *r* < *r(3)*, and the pustule as ^c (Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 46-8); Quack, *OLZ* 91 (1996): 154, suggested reading the goose as *h.t* < *h3.t* to arrive at “Khentikhety,” but this makes even less sense in the present context, and his mythological-phonetic explanation is far from convincing. The orthography with the hide-sign suggests an allusion to the Theban relic, namely the skin of Osiris (cf. **3.1.2**).

⁴⁹⁴ Coulon, in Hawass, ed., ed., *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first Century*, I, pp. 143-4, compared this passage to sections of the Khoiak rites from Dendera.

⁴⁹⁵ Kruchten, *Les Annales des prêtres de Karnak*, pp. 254-63.

⁴⁹⁶ See Emerit, *BIFAO* 102 (2002): 189-210, who demonstrated that while harp players often performed during funeral processions or even the recitation of transfiguration hymns (*s3h.w*), they were banned from the “corpse” of Osiris.

the Akh-Menu (cf. *supra*, text note),⁴⁹⁷ finds parallels in earlier initiatory texts.⁴⁹⁸ Chief among these is the autobiography of Harkhebi:⁴⁹⁹

ϵ q=kw hr ntr
 m33=i bs pw dsr n ir-ntr.w
 ϵ r.n=i hr rd r 3h.t nt p.t
 q3h=i m-h3.t sktt
 dw3=i ntr sw3š=i b3w=f

I entered before the god,
 so I might see this sacred image of He who Made the Gods,
 I ascended the staircase to the Akhet of Heaven,
 so I might bow down before the Night-Bark,
 so I might worship the god and praise his divine presence.

The nature of the graffito is in itself quite significant for reconstructing religious activity in Roman Karnak. Like many other such votive reliefs, this graffito is surrounded by small square holes which would have supported a screen or veil, making the image into a true icon.⁵⁰⁰ Similar votive reliefs surrounded by small square holes to support veils or screens appear on exterior walls of Theban temples already in the late New Kingdom, images that could open to serve as true icons for the veneration of worshippers.⁵⁰¹ Even among the clergy of Karnak, only certain high-ranking, initiated priests would have access to the inner shrines of the Akh-Menu.⁵⁰² For this reason, the accessible iconic image of “Amun in the

⁴⁹⁷ Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, p. 169, suggested that this could refer equally to Amun or Osiris.

⁴⁹⁸ For these texts in general, cf. Kruchten, *Les Annales des prêtres de Karnak*; Laboury, *RdE* 51 (2000): 92-5; Assmann, in Assmann and Bommas, ed., *Ägyptische Mysterien?*, pp. 67-75.

⁴⁹⁹ CG 42231 = Kruchten, *Les Annales des prêtres de Karnak*, p. 184; for the staircase of Amun at Karnak, cf. also Guerneur, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 250, Text B2.

⁵⁰⁰ For the technical aspects of veiling images, see Brand, in Knoppers and Hirsch, eds., *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World*, pp. 263-4; idem, in Dorman and Bryan, eds., *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, pp. 61-3.

⁵⁰¹ See primarily Brand, in Knoppers and Hirsch, eds., *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World*, pp. 257-266; idem, in Dorman and Bryan, eds., *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, pp. 59-64.

Akh-Menu” would have been particularly desirable for the masses of Thebes, even in the Roman Period.⁵⁰³

5.4.2 Deir Shelwit

A large number of ostraca mentioning “collections” for a certain Theban or Hermonthite temple of Isis, Deir Shelwit, are dated to the reign of Nero (2.3). As discussed above, the temple must have been completed or nearly completed by the last regnal year of Nero, for the temple decoration began in the following reign of Galba (5.1-2).

V Year of the Four Emperors (68-69 CE)

5.5.0 Introduction

Fierce civil war occupied the interval between the Judio-Claudian and Flavian dynasties, a period often called “the Year of the Four Emperors” as four separate men assumed the title of *princeps* between the suicide of Nero (June 9, 68 CE) and the accession of Vespasian (December 22, 69 CE).⁵⁰⁴ Quite understandably, this was not a time for extensive building projects, either in Rome or in Egypt.⁵⁰⁵ The only temple activity in all of Egypt datable to this year took place in Thebes, at Deir Shelwit. A careful look at the reliefs

⁵⁰² Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak*, pp. 254-63.

⁵⁰³ Note that an image of “Amun within the Akh-Menu” featured among the similar reliefs on the exterior wall of Karnak: Helck, *Die Ritualszenen auf der Umfassungsmauer Ramses’ II. in Karnak*, Pl. 36; concerning this and similar images, Brand noted: “When more common deities such as Amen-Re or Ptah are veiled, they sometimes have epithets that mark them as rare manifestations” (Brand, in Knoppers and Hirsch, eds., *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World*, p. 265; idem, in Dorman and Bryan, eds., *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, p. 62).

⁵⁰⁴ For this period see most recently: Morgan, *69 A.D.: The Year of Four Emperors*.

⁵⁰⁵ Blake, *Roman Constructions in Italy from Tiberius through the Flavians*, p. 97, noted: “the troubled months (...) were scarcely conducive to building activity.”

of this temple shows once again that the Egyptian priests were quite aware of the details of Imperial struggles.⁵⁰⁶

5.5.1 Galba (June 68 – January 69 CE)

Galba served as Governor of Spain during the reign of Nero, but associated himself with the rebellion of Vindex early in 68 CE.⁵⁰⁷ After the suicide of Nero, Galba was immediately declared Emperor by the Senate on June 9, but only arrived in Rome after a difficult journey in early October.⁵⁰⁸ Galba must have had some degree of popular support in Egypt, as a lengthy decree by the prefect Tiberius Julius Alexander,⁵⁰⁹ drafted July 6 and carved on the propylon of Hibis Temple in Khargeh Oasis on September 28,⁵¹⁰ was already dated to his reign.⁵¹¹ Given the fact that news required on average 20-25 days to reach

⁵⁰⁶ Noted by Kaper, *Temples and Gods in Roman Dakhleh*, p. 31, while discussing the presence of a cartouche of Pertinax; cf. also the well-known example of the Severan Emperors at Esna: Sauneron, *BIFAO* 51 (1951): 111-121.

⁵⁰⁷ For the career of Galba, see Morgan, *69 A.D.*, pp. 31-73.

⁵⁰⁸ Morgan, *69 A.D.*, p. 43.

⁵⁰⁹ For this famous decree, see primarily Chalon, *L'édit de Tiberius Julius Alexander*; el-Abbadi, *BIFAO* 65 (1967): 215-26; Bernard, *Le prose sur pierre*, No. 57; Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I, p. 33; III, p. 39; for the career of Tiberius Julius Alexander, see Turner, *JRS* 44 (1954): 54-64; Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt*, pp. 185-90; Morgan, *69 A.D.*, pp. 175-6; 179, 181-2, 184, 186-7.

⁵¹⁰ The location of Hibis Temple is not terribly surprising given the recent boom in the Roman population of the "Great Oasis" (Khargeh and Dakhleh), as evidenced by substantial Roman farms and settlements (cf. Bousquet, *Tell Douch et sa région*), as well as the new temples from the second-half of the first century CE: Deir el-Haggar (Nero and Titus), Ismant el-Kharab (Nero), Amheida (Vespasian), Dush (Domitian and Trajan); cf. Kaper, in Kaper, ed., *Life on the Fringe*, 148, 151-2.

⁵¹¹ Morgan, *69 A.D.*, p. 175; this is not to suggest that the edict is in any way a work of pro-Galba propaganda, as Wilcken suggested (for the rejection of this idea, cf. Reinmuth, *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 65 [1934]: 248-59; El-Abbadi, *BIFAO* 65 [1967]: 215-26). The document was composed in response to complaints made to the prefect, most likely during his annual *conventus*, the trip through the Chora and back to Alexandria which usually lasted from January to July (cf. Capponi, *Augustan Egypt*, pp. 30-1); the fact that Galba became Emperor shortly before the edict was drafted is most likely mere coincidence.

Alexandria from Rome,⁵¹² the immediate recognition of Galba as Emperor is quite remarkable.⁵¹³

The only records of official temple activity during the half-year reign of Galba are found at Deir Shelwit.⁵¹⁴ The temple and propylon were apparently constructed in the reigns of Claudius and Nero (**3.3** and **4.2**), and the decoration of the propylon began under Galba. Only the scenes in the north thickness were completed before Galba's death in January 69 CE.⁵¹⁵

5.5.2 Otho (January – April, 69 CE)

Otho reigned for an even shorter period than Galba, and his efforts were more occupied with the escalating civil war against Vitellius.⁵¹⁶ Just as with Galba, temple decoration under Otho was limited to Deir Shelwit,⁵¹⁷ where the scenes in the south thickness of the propylon (opposite those of Galba) were carved.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹² Rathbone, *ZPE* 62 (1986): 102.

⁵¹³ Sherwin-White, *JRS* 56 (1966): 242, claimed that the 80-day delay between the drafting in Alexandria and publication at Khargeh was remarkably long, noting: "one might suspect that Alexander was for some political reason concerned with news from Rome held up publication."

⁵¹⁴ For Galba in Egypt, cf. Poethe, *LÄ* II, cols. 372-3; Grenier, *Les titulaires des empereurs romains*, p. 35-6.

⁵¹⁵ *Deir Chelouit* I, Nos. 16-18, 26, 32 (only Nos. 17-18 preserve the cartouche of Galba; the rest of the scenes of this section are now destroyed); cf. Zivie, *BIFAO* 77 (1977): 157; idem, *Le temple de Deir Chelouit* I, p. vii.

⁵¹⁶ For the brief reign of Otho, see primarily Morgan, *69 A.D.*, pp. 91-138.

⁵¹⁷ For the general lack of Egyptian material from the reign of Otho, cf. Thissen, *LÄ* IV, col. 638; Grenier, *Les titulaires des empereurs romains*, pp. 35-6.

⁵¹⁸ *Deir Chelouit* I, Nos. 11-15, 19-25, 27-31; cf. Zivie, *BIFAO* 77 (1977): 157; idem, *Le temple de Deir Chelouit* I, p. vii; as a side note, it is interesting that Otho "fut un Isiaque convaincu. Il célébra souvent en public le culte d'Isis, vêtu de lin suivant les rites" (Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration*, p. 405). Nonetheless, the fact that the only cartouches in Egypt come from Deir Shelwit, and Isis temple, is coincidental.

5.5.3 Vitellius (April – December, 69 CE)

The name of the ephemeral Emperor Vitellius does not appear on any temple in Egypt, not even at Deir Shelwit.⁵¹⁹ This fact is somewhat surprising, as one might expect the artisans would have continued decorating the propylon throughout his reign. It is possible on the one hand that the scenes were actually carved then, and that Vespasian merely usurped them after defeating Vitellius militarily. However, one must remember that Egypt, like much of the East, sided with Vespasian during the last part of the civil war. Although the Egyptian prefect Tiberius Julius Alexander nominally supported Vitellius,⁵²⁰ he was the first major official to swear allegiance (along with his legions) to Vespasian on July 1, and he welcomed him in Alexandria for the final months of the conflict.⁵²¹ Vitellius was thus only recognized in Egypt from April to July, and perhaps this was simply not enough time to complete the facade of the propylon at Deir Shelwit.

VI Vespasian (69-79 CE)

5.6.0 Introduction

Vespasian managed to defeat Vitellius in large part because of the support of Tiberius Julius Alexander, the prefect of Egypt, who had power over two legions and more importantly, the grain shipments to Rome.⁵²² Upon taking power, Vespasian dedicated most of the Empire's resources towards rebuilding Rome after the disastrous reign of Nero and the

⁵¹⁹ For the career of Vitellius, see Morgan, *A.D. 69*, pp. 139-255

⁵²⁰ Turner, *JRS* 44 (1954): 61; Morgan, *A.D. 69*, p. 181.

⁵²¹ Morgan, *A.D. 69*, pp. 184, 186-7; for the public actions of Vespasian in Alexandria and their symbolic-propagandistic value in the context of traditional Egyptian religion and history, see the analysis of Derchain, *CdE* 28 (1953): 261-79.

⁵²² Levick, *Vespasian*, pp. 46 and 54.

civil war of 68-69 CE. This earned Vespasian the reputation of a great builder and benefactor of Rome, beginning the Flavian tradition of constructing large public monuments in the heart of the city, including the Forum, the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and the Colosseum.⁵²³

To finance these substantial projects, Vespasian placed the burden primarily on the provinces, where he effected numerous economic changes.⁵²⁴ In Egypt, he ordered a census, created the new *Fiscus Alexandrinus*, raised taxes, and possibly sold off the privileged Imperial estates.⁵²⁵ Although Vespasian was initially welcomed with great acclamation in Alexandria during the civil war,⁵²⁶ his harsh economic reforms made him quickly unpopular.⁵²⁷ The Alexandrians even referred to him as *Kybiosaktes* (“fish monger”), an allusion to the ephemeral and unpopular husband of Berenike IV, Seleucus *Kybiosaktes*.⁵²⁸

This combination of the large tax burden and intense focus on construction within Rome may explain the small amount of building activity in Egypt during the ten-year reign of Vespasian.⁵²⁹ Outside of Thebes, there were apparently no new constructions, and a

⁵²³ For Vespasian’s constructions in Rome, see Levick, *Vespasian*, pp. 124-34; Blake, *Roman Construction in Italy from Tiberius through the Flavians*, pp. 88-96; Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, pp. 63-70; for the development of architecture in Rome under the Flavians in general, see most recently D’Ambra, *Private Lives, Imperial Virtues*.

⁵²⁴ For these economic changes in general, cf. Levick, *Vespasian*, pp. 95-106.

⁵²⁵ Levick, *Vespasian*, pp. 98-9; B.W. Jones, ed., *Suetonius: Vespasian*, pp. 91-5.

⁵²⁶ For Vespasian’s visit to Alexandria, see Derchain, *CdE* 28 (1953): 261-79.

⁵²⁷ B.W. Jones, ed., *Suetonius: Vespasian*, pp. 106-9; the negative reaction of the Alexandrians is described at length in Cassius Dio, 66.8.2.

⁵²⁸ Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 19, 2 (cf. B.W. Jones, *Suetonius: Vespasian*, pp. 108-9); for Seleucus *Kybiosaktes*, cf. Huß, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit*, pp. 692-3.

⁵²⁹ For the few mentions of Vespasian in Egypt, cf. Grenier, *Les titulaires des empereurs romains*, pp. 36-8. Vespasian may have openly diverted funds from the Egyptian temples; according to Cassius Dio (66.8.3), he was so unpopular among the Alexandrians: “In the first place, he collected large sums from them in various

handful of scenes were carved at Kom Ombo⁵³⁰ and Esna.⁵³¹ Thebes itself saw only a few minor changes, with works restricted to Medamud and Deir Shelwit

5.6.1 Medamud

Construction resumed again at Medamud for the first time since Tiberius (2.2). Several scenes from the large “mur-pylône” surrounding the large forecourt bear the cartouches of Vespasian.⁵³² This wall connected the main temple with the late Ptolemaic kiosks,⁵³³ surrounding the Ptolemaic solar court containing a large altar.⁵³⁴ Like much of Medamud, this particular section is extremely damaged, and it is difficult to gauge the extent of Vespasian’s contribution.

5.6.2 Deir Shelwit

Work on the propylon at Deir Shelwit crawled along under Vespasian, which saw the decoration of the facade of the propylon.⁵³⁵ It is quite remarkable that this was the only work accomplished at the temple until the accession of Domitian twelve years later (cf. 5.8.4).

ways, overlooking no source, however trivial or however reprehensible it might be, but drawing upon every source, sacred and profane alike (καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὁσίων πάντων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ὁμοίως), from which money could be secured” (trans. of Cary, *Dio’s Roman History*, VIII, pp. 270-3).

⁵³⁰ PM VI, p. 196, (190-3); de Morgan, *K.O.* II, Nos. 879, 884-889, 901.

⁵³¹ *Esna* II, Nos. 47b, 457-9, 564; *Esna* IV¹, No. 431, 457-459

⁵³² PM V, p. 140 (23); cf. Bisson de la Roque, *Médamoud* (1926), pp. 17-20, 29; Drioton, *Médamoud*, II, Nos. 346-7.

⁵³³ Sambin, *BIFAO* 99 (1999): 397-409.

⁵³⁴ Ernst, *ZÄS* 129 (2002): 14-7.

⁵³⁵ *Deir Chelouit* I, Nos. 1-10 (cartouches are only preserved in Nos. 3-5 and 9); cf. Zivie, *Le temple de Deir Chelouit*, I, p. vii.

VII Titus (79-81 CE)

7.0 Introduction

During his brief reign, Titus continued the extensive Roman constructions of his father, Vespasian.⁵³⁶ At the same time, Titus seems to have eased his predecessor's economic policies towards the provinces.⁵³⁷ The rate of temple activity picked up a bit,⁵³⁸ with slightly more decoration at Esna⁵³⁹ and Deir el-Haggar.⁵⁴⁰ Nonetheless, Titus only left one small monument in Thebes.

5.7.1 Karnak

The reign of Titus provides the latest statue dedication from the Emperor shrine before the First Pylon at Karnak.⁵⁴¹ (cf. **5.1.1.1**) The short inscription reads as follows:⁵⁴²

“To the [s]on of the god Vespasian, the god Titus.”

⁵³⁶ For the Roman constructions of Titus, cf. Blake, *Roman Construction in Italy from Tiberius through the Flavians*, pp. 96-99; Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, pp. 70-73; Jones, *The Emperor Titus*, pp. 143-6.

⁵³⁷ For benefactions to the provinces under Titus, cf. Jones, *The Emperor Titus*, p. 144; cf. the summary by Garzetti, *From Tiberius to the Antonines*, p. 262: “Thus the nature of Titus's political activity is fairly clear: it followed the lines laid down by Vespasian, with the modifications suggested by a nature that was more sensitive and more eager for applause.”

⁵³⁸ Grenier, *Les titulaires des empereurs romains*, pp. 39-40.

⁵³⁹ Much of the decoration of the facade: Sauneron, *Esna II*, p. 320, with the corrections in Sauneron, *Esna III*, p. 392; some of the architraves: *Esna IV/1*, p. xviii (correcting Titus for “Vespasien”).

⁵⁴⁰ Kaper, *Temple and Gods in Roman Dakhleh*, pp. 24-5.

⁵⁴¹ Golvin, et al., *BIFAO* 81 (1981): 117, incorrectly claimed that “aucune des inscriptions retrouvées sur les bases de statues placées dans la cella, n'est postérieure au règne de Claude,” while still noting the dedication to Titus (*ibid*, p. 117, n. 3).

⁵⁴² Jouguet, *ASAE* 39 (1939): 605, No. 3; *idem*, *ASAE* 40 (1940): Pl. 68, No. 3.

Jouguet suggested the dedication might date after the death of Titus (81 CE),⁵⁴³ but these types of statues appear to have been erected immediately after the accession of the new Emperor.⁵⁴⁴

VIII Domitian (81-96)

5.8.0 Introduction

During the rather turbulent reign of Domitian, which ended in his assassination and subsequent *damnatio memoriae*, Egypt had little effect on the Roman Empire apart from its usual agricultural and economic importance.⁵⁴⁵ The only particularly Egyptian episode involving Domitian was early in his career, when he disguised himself as an Isiac priest and hid in the Sarapeion of Rome to save his life.⁵⁴⁶ Domitian later restored the Iseum and Serapeum located in the Campus Martius,⁵⁴⁷ and commissioned the erection of a large

⁵⁴³ Jouguet, *ASAE* 39 (1939): 605.

⁵⁴⁴ Cf. Clauss, *Kaiser und Gott*, p. 112, who noted that the Praetorian Guard found statues of Galba in the Imperial palace only months after his rise to power; for the cult of the deified Titus throughout the Empire, see Jones, *The Emperor Titus*, pp. 152-3 and 155-6; Clauss, *Kaiser und Gott*, pp. 117-9.

⁵⁴⁵ For the reign of Domitian, B.W. Jones, *The Emperor Domitian*; Southern, *Domitian: Tragic Tyrant*; for the details of the *damnatio memoriae* of Domitian and the proscription of his titulary from public monuments, cf. Martin, *La titulaire épigraphique de Domitien*, Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation*, pp. 111-35; note that Domitian hieroglyphic titulary generally survived the *damnatio memoriae*, except at Deir el-Haggar (Hölbl, *Altägypten in römisches Reich*, III, p. 84).

⁵⁴⁶ Tacitus, *Hist.*, III, 74; Suetonius, *Domitian*, I, 4.

⁵⁴⁷ Lembke, *Das Iseum Campense in Rom*.

obelisk inscribed with hieroglyphs.⁵⁴⁸ Domitian's reign also saw the erection of two additional obelisks in Benevento.⁵⁴⁹

In Egypt, religious life proceeded as usual, and in fact the reign of Domitian appears to have seen a surge in religious activity relative to those of his predecessors, Vespasian and Titus.⁵⁵⁰ Just as in Rome and the other provinces,⁵⁵¹ Domitian's reign is notable for the extensive temple construction and decoration projects in Egypt; as with other Roman emperors, this building program was focused primarily on Upper Egypt and the Oases.⁵⁵² Domitian built, renovated, or decorated temples in Hermopolis,⁵⁵³ Akhmim,⁵⁵⁴ Dendera,⁵⁵⁵ Coptos,⁵⁵⁶ Esna,⁵⁵⁷ Kom Ombo,⁵⁵⁸ Kom er-Resras,⁵⁵⁹ Aswan,⁵⁶⁰ Dush,⁵⁶¹ Deir el-Haggar,⁵⁶²

⁵⁴⁸ For this obelisk, now in the Piazza Navona, see Iversen, *Obelisks in Exile*, I, pp. 80-2; Grenier, *Mémoire de l'école française de Rome. Section Antiquité* 99/2 (1987): 937-61; idem, in: *La Villa di Massenzio sulla Via Appia*, II. *Il Circo*, pp. 128-41.

⁵⁴⁹ Müller, *Der Isiskult im antiken Benevent und Katalog der Skulpturen aus den ägyptischen Heiligtümern im Museo del Sannio zu Benevent*, p. 82; Iversen, *Acta Orientalia* 35 (1973): 15-28; Colin, *CdE* 68 (1993): 247-260.

⁵⁵⁰ For the Egyptian religious activity during the reign of Domitian, cf. Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie*, pp. 144-7; Kákosy, in *ANRW* II.18.5, pp. 2915-6; Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, pp. 260-3; Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I, pp. 35-6.

⁵⁵¹ For the prolific building activity of Domitian in Rome itself, cf. Jones, *The Emperor Domitian*, pp. 79-98; Southern, *Domitian: Tragic Tyrant*, pp. 126-132; Blake, *Roman Construction in Italy from Tiberius through the Flavians*, pp. 99-124, 134-141; Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, pp. 73-84; D'Ambra, *Private Lives, Imperial Virtues*, pp. 26-46; Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples*, pp. 159-72; for works in the provinces, cf. Garzetti, *From Tiberius to the Antonines*, pp. 278, 651-3.

⁵⁵² Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, pp. 260-3; Grenier, *Les titulaires des empereurs romains*, pp. 40-5.

⁵⁵³ Snape, *A Temple of Domitian at El-Ashmunein*.

⁵⁵⁴ Kuhlmann, *Materialien zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Raumes von Achmim*, p. 45.

⁵⁵⁵ Construction of the Propylon: PM VI, p. 43.

⁵⁵⁶ New bridges: Traunecker, *Coptos*, §22; Bernard, *La prose sur pierre*, I, pp. 136-9; II, pp. 154-5.

⁵⁵⁷ Domitian's reign saw the completion of a large amount of the interior decoration, especially the columns; see the indices in *Esna* II, p. 321; *Esna* III, pp. xxii and 392; *Esna* IV:1, p. xviii.

and Bahariya.⁵⁶³ Temple construction and decoration under Domitian was just as prolific in Thebes, specifically in the temples of Karnak, Medamud, Medinet Habu and Deir Shelwit (cf. **Plate 18**).

5.8.1 Karnak

5.8.1.1 Dromos

Excavations at the main dromos of Karnak discovered fragments of a large stela dating to Year 8 of Domitian (89 CE).⁵⁶⁴ The Greek text on the stela was called a “manual of sales taxes (Γνώμων τελωνικὸς τοῦ νόμου),” and it listed tariffs for merchants of wine, pottery, cloth, and other goods. The presence of such a stela has suggested to some that the dromos of Karnak had become a busy marketplace or forum by the reign of Domitian.⁵⁶⁵ However, the temple dromos had traditionally been the location for taking oaths about contracts,⁵⁶⁶ paying taxes,⁵⁶⁷ and erecting public decrees,⁵⁶⁸ and all of these activities might have required a copy of the latest tax laws.

⁵⁵⁸ De Morgan, *Kôm Ombo* I, Nos. 58-75; II, Nos. 957-9; for the dedication of the Hathor chapel, cf. McCrum and Woodhead, eds., *Select Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors*, p. 63, No. 178.

⁵⁵⁹ Sayce, “Excavations at Gebel Silsila,” *ASAE* 8 (1907): 102-5.

⁵⁶⁰ De Wit, *CdE* 35 (1960): 108-19; Jaritz, *MDAIK* 31 (1975): 237-57.

⁵⁶¹ Dils, *Der Tempel von Dusch*, pp. 14-5.

⁵⁶² Kaper, Kaper, ed., *Life on the Fringe*, p. 149.

⁵⁶³ Colin, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 103-33; the Naos of Domitian in the Egyptian Museum is of uncertain provenance: Rondot, *BIFAO* 90 (1990): 303-37.

⁵⁶⁴ Wagner, *BIFAO* 71 (1972): 161-79.

⁵⁶⁵ Alston, in Parkins, ed., *Roman Urbanism*, p. 153; Blyth, *Karnak*, p. 233.

⁵⁶⁶ See in general Kaplony-Heckel, *Die demotischen Tempeleide*; Vleeming, *Ostraka Varia*, pp. 129-35; Quaegebeur, in Cannuyer and Kruchten, eds., *Individu, société et spiritualité*, I, pp. 201-220.

5.8.1.2 Contra-Temple (cf. Plate 19)

With the number of obelisks built in Rome during the reign of Domitian (cf. **5.8.0**) it is quite interesting that the only architectural modifications in Karnak took place at the contra-temple of East Karnak,⁵⁶⁹ an edifice which faced the famous “sole obelisk” (Lateran obelisk).⁵⁷⁰ This obelisk was the largest in all of Egypt, and it was said to have “dominated the whole structure” of Karnak until the 4th century CE.⁵⁷¹ The contra-temple, begun by Hatshepsut and completed by Thutmose III, was placed against the rear exterior wall of the main Amun temple. Other similarly placed shrines are often associated with popular cults, as places where those not permitted to enter into the inner sanctuary could still approach the divine.⁵⁷² Indeed the contra-temple of Karnak, with its Osiride statues, obelisks, and statues of Amun and Amunet literally reproduced on a smaller scale the view that one would have entering the main Amun temple.⁵⁷³ Examples of such shrines abound in the Graeco-Roman

⁵⁶⁷ Vleeming, *Enchoria* 15 (1987): 147-54; there are numerous Roman Period tax receipts mentioning the bank of Diospolis, which may have been located near the dromos; cf. Bogaert, *ZPE* 57 (1984): 241-96.

⁵⁶⁸ Cabrol, *Les voies processionelles de Thèbes*, pp. 765-8.

⁵⁶⁹ PM II², pp. 215-8; Varille, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 137-247; Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 220-3; Nims, in: *Aufsätze zum 70. Geburtstag von Herbert Ricke*, pp. 107-11; Guglielmi, in Gundlach and Rochholz, eds., *Ägyptische Tempel – Struktur, Funktion und Programm*, pp. 59-60; Bell, in Shafer, ed., *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 181, 300-1, n. 172. Contra-temples were built at all other major temples of Karnak, see the list in Laroche and Traunecker, *Karnak* 6 (1980): 174.

⁵⁷⁰ Barguet, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 269-80; Desroches-Noblecourt, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 257-67; Martin, *Ein Garantsymbol des Lebens*, pp. 159-171; Azim, *Karnak* 6 (1980): 124-7, Fig. 13; Fowden, *JHS* 107 (1987): 51-7; Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, pp. 176-9; Bell, in Beinlich, et al., eds., *5. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, pp. 23-6.

⁵⁷¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XVII, 4.12.

⁵⁷² Only a certain class of priests were given full access to the main temple of Amun; cf. Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak*, pp. 251-63.

⁵⁷³ Noted by Gabolde, *Le “Grand Chateau d'Amon” de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak*, §21.

period abound in the Graeco-Roman period,⁵⁷⁴ and similar practices existed already in the New Kingdom.⁵⁷⁵

In a text listing his various building projects at Thebes, Thutmosis III refers to the contra-temple as “a proper place of the ear (*s.t mt.t nt msdr*).”⁵⁷⁶ Ptolemaic period inscriptions from the East Temple of Ramesses II,⁵⁷⁷ placed directly to the east of the contra-temple, confirm that this continued as a place of popular worship.⁵⁷⁸ There Amun is specifically designated as “Amun who hears prayers (*Imn sdm nh.wt*)”⁵⁷⁹ (cf. **4.6**). The location of the contra-temple and its connection to the East Temple of Karnak highlight its function as a place for the general populace to make praise and supplications to Amun. Therefore it is somewhat surprising that the texts added during the reign of Domitian mention nothing about making supplications or “Amun who hears prayers.” Nonetheless, these Roman period texts do not represent a late reinterpretation of the religious significance of this edifice. Rather, as will be seen by studying the inscriptions of Domitian, these texts explain

⁵⁷⁴ E.g. at Dendera, Kom Ombo, and Dush; cf. Gutbub, in Maehler and Strocka, eds., *Das ptolemäische Ägypten*, pp. 165-76; Dils, *Der Tempel von Dusch*, pp. 219-24; Zivie, et al., *Le temple de Deir Chelouit*, IV, pp. 50-1; for comparable devotional sites on exterior walls at Thebes, cf. Brand, in Knoppers and Hirsch, eds., *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World*, pp. 257-66; idem, in Dorman and Bryan, eds., *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, pp. 59-65.

⁵⁷⁵ Murnane, in Posener-Kriéger, ed., *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, II, pp. 135-48; Bell, *JNES* 44 (1985): 270-1.

⁵⁷⁶ Nims, in: *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*, pp. 70, cols. X + 13, 73.

⁵⁷⁷ For this temple, cf. Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 223-42; Gallet, *BIFAO* 101 (2001): 183-96; Carlotti and Gallet, in Goyon and Cardin, eds., *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, I, pp. 271-82. Lætitia Gallet is preparing a full publication of this monument (Gallet, *BIFAO* 101 [2001]: 183).

⁵⁷⁸ For the connection between the contra-temple and the East temple, cf. Nims, in *Fs. Ricke*, 107-11; Guglielmi, in Gundlach and Rochholz, eds., *Ägyptische Tempel – Struktur, Funktion und Programm*, pp. 59-60; Bell, in Shafer, ed., *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 300-1, n. 172.

⁵⁷⁹ e.g. *Urk.* VIII, 161b, 165b; Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 233, line 1; the temple is referred to as “this good place of hearing prayers (*s.t tn nfr.t nt sdm nh.wt*)” (*ibid.*, pp. 234-5, col. 5).

certain features of the contra-temple and East Temple which have heretofore been unrecognized.⁵⁸⁰

After the Thirtieth Dynasty no further building activity took place in the contra-temple until the reign of Domitian. At this time, decoration of the encasements of the two flanking obelisks of Hatshepsut was completed with reliefs on the north wall of the north obelisk,⁵⁸¹ and the south wall of the south obelisk.⁵⁸² In addition, a scene of Domitian praising a child god and Amun was added to the east face of the northern obelisk encasement,⁵⁸³ and a parallel scene most likely existed on the now damaged southern chapel. Most notable, however, was the addition of a new eastern portal to the temple, constructed and decorated in the reign of Domitian.⁵⁸⁴

A lengthy hymn, paralleled to a large extent by a similar hymn to Amun from the Ptah Temple at Karnak, accompanies the scene of Domitian praising Amun.

⁵⁸⁰ Cf. the recent comments of Cabrol regarding the East Temple: "L'importance de l'ouverture vers l'est du temple de Karnak est évidente. Mais le matériel hétéroclite et dispersé de Karnak-est ne permet pas d'en connaître toutes les facettes fonctionnelles (...) L'importance de l'une de ses issues les plus vitales et fréquentées de Karnak est aujourd'hui occultée par la pauvreté du matériel archéologique" (Cabrol, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*, pp. 700-1).

⁵⁸¹ PM II², p. 218 (41); Varille, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 161-2, Pl. XXIX.

⁵⁸² PM II², p. 218 (34); Varille, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 167-8, Pls. XXXVI-XXXVII.

⁵⁸³ PM II², p. 218 (38); Varille, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 163-5, Pls. XXXI, 1 and XXXIII.

⁵⁸⁴ PM II², p. 216 (14) (a)-(b); Varille, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 168, Pl. XXII; Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 221-2; the reading of the cartouche as Domitian was established by Sauneron, *BIFAO* 53 (1953): 149-52.

5.8.1.2.1 Hymn to Amun (cf. Plate 20)⁵⁸⁵

¹ *ntr nfr ir i3w n it=f*
s3-t3 n ntry n Rc^(a)
hf3 tyt n k3-nsw.t-^cnh^(b)
nh n ir [sw m] hh.w
dd md.w

² *ii.n=i hr=k*
^c.*wy=i m i3w*
ib=i ^cpr.ti m s3h.w
dw3=i n hm=k m d3is.w stp.w^(c)
m m3t.w nfr.w nw [...]
[...] r-3w n³ gb.t
sni-t3 r šn n p3 t3
dw3=i ntr n=k
m swr b3w=k
mi wr k3=k r ntr.w^(d)
iw=i m ^cq3 dd.w^(e) m[...]
[..] nb⁴ tp-r3.w

hn=(i) k3=k m hm=[k]
ir=i n=k mdw=k hr-tp n h3s.wt nb^(f)
hr hrp b3k.t=sn r ^crry.t[=k...]^(g)
[...] m wd[=k]
⁵*[h]^c.ti m nsw.t-biti hr s.t=Hr hnty k3.w [^cnh.w]*

¹ The good god, who praises his father,
 who makes acclamation for the heart of Re,
 who praises the image of the living Royal Ka,
 who beseeches the one who made [himself into] millions.

Words spoken:

² That I have come before you,
 is with my arms in praise,
 my mind equipped with transfiguration spells,
 so I might worship your majesty with choice utterances,
 with beautiful thoughts of [...]
 [...] to the limits of the ³ sky,
 making proscynesis to the whole circuit of the earth,
 so I might praise you,
 by means of what aggrandizes your *b3w*-manifestation,

⁵⁸⁵ Varille, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 163-5, Pls. XXXI, 1 and XXXIII; a color photo can be found in Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I, p. 57, Abb. 53.

as your Ka is greatest of the gods,
 I am correct of speech in [...]
 [...] lord⁴ of utterances.

I hereby provision your Ka in [your] sanctuary,
 and I act as your staff over all foreign lands,
 directing their tribute to [your] high-gate [...]
 [...] through [your] command,
⁵ [app]earing as the King of Upper and Lower Egypt upon the throne of Horus,
 foremost of the Kas [of the living].

To the left of Domitian, the end of the response of Amun is preserved:

[*di.n=i n=k ...*] *hr nh.t n-k 'nh=sn*
 [I give to you the ...] entreating to you that they might live.

(a) This epithet of Amun is paralleled in the Ptolemaic gate of the East temple;⁵⁸⁶ it appears to read “divinity of Re” (so Barguet). However an occurrence of the word *ntry* “heart/mind (of Re),” which occurs primarily in Ptolemaic texts,⁵⁸⁷ is more likely.

(b) The “living Royal Ka” appears as one of the Bas of Amun in the Invocation Hymn from Hibis Temple, with parallels in the Edifice of Taharqa and the Roman period crypt of the Opet Temple in Karnak.⁵⁸⁸ The mention of the Royal Ka here is particularly interesting, as the decoration of the contra-temple under Thutmosis III indicates that much like the “Temples of Millions of Years,” this edifice was visited by the Ka-stature of the reigning king.⁵⁸⁹ In particular, the north interior wall of the alabaster shrine of Amun and Amunet depicts a Iunmutef priest presenting a large food-offering towards the statues, with the following label:⁵⁹⁰

[...] *n k3-nsw.t (Mn-hpr-R^c)*
n k3=sn [...]
tw w3b(.w) zp snw

⁵⁸⁶ Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 234, col. 3; noted already by Barguet, *op. cit.*, p. 235, n. 5; other examples for Amun include *Opet I*, 233, 5, and an unpublished text from the Mut Temple: Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 756 (c) and 1308 (3).

⁵⁸⁷ *Wb.* II, 365, 5-7; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 559; there may be some connection with Amun “who comes forth from the heart of god” as a reference to his falcon-manifestation, cf. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, pp. 151-4, n. 6.

⁵⁸⁸ Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 35-6, n. B.

⁵⁸⁹ Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*.

⁵⁹⁰ Varille, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 146, Pl. XII, 1.

[...] for the Royal Ka of (Menkheperre),
for their Ka [...],
they are pure, they are pure.

This partially damaged text seems to allude to the fusion of the Kas of Amun and Thutmosis III, similar to that described for Amenhotep III at Luxor Temple.⁵⁹¹

- (c) Paralleled in the Ptah Temple of Karnak (*Urk.* VIII, 203d) and *Edfou* I, 41, 10-11.⁵⁹²
- (d) Also paralleled in the Ptah Temple of Karnak (*Urk.* VIII, 203d) as well as at Chonsu Temple (*Urk.* VIII, 70b).⁵⁹³
- (e) The emphasis on the correctness of the King's speech is quite common in scenes of "praising god (*dw3 ntr*)" (see *infra*).⁵⁹⁴
- (f) These two initial *sdm=f* verb forms could be taken as a *Wechselsatz*, but the lack of gemination in the verb *iri* would be troublesome even for an inscription from the late 1st century CE.⁵⁹⁵ Alternatively these statements could be understood as circumstantial to the scene,⁵⁹⁶ namely Domitian praising Amun while bringing offerings and foreign prisoners/tribute (cf. *infra*).
- (g) The *ʿrry.t* "high gate" or "temple approach"⁵⁹⁷ is a common designation for the area near the eastern gate of a temple, palace,⁵⁹⁸ or even the Netherworld itself.⁵⁹⁹ The description of the contra-temple of Karnak as an *ʿrry.t* is particularly interesting, as a New Kingdom papyrus describes how Thutmosis III sought to solve a health epidemic by looking in ancient

⁵⁹¹ Bell, *JNES* 44 (1985): 251-94; note that the Opet Festival likely began in the Akh-Menu before proceeding to Luxor, cf. Bell, in Shafer, ed., *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 158-60.

⁵⁹² For further references to "select utterances (*d3is.w stp.w*)," see Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, pp. 162-3.

⁵⁹³ For the phrase *swr b3w=k/t* in similar texts, cf. Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou*, p. 214, n. 971.

⁵⁹⁴ For the specific phrase *ʿq3-dd*, cf. Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, pp. 114-5; for the quality of the King's speech in general, cf. *ibid*, pp. 77-9.

⁵⁹⁵ The geminating *irr=f* does occur in Ptolemaic non-temple texts, albeit rarely; Engsheden, *La réconstitution du verbe en égyptien de tradition*, p. 58.

⁵⁹⁶ For the "dramatic *sdm=f*," cf. Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses*, §11, n. 6; Gilula, *JEA* 57 (1971): 15, n. 2.

⁵⁹⁷ For the nuances of the word *ʿrry.t*, cf. Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple*, pp. 147-57.

⁵⁹⁸ Haeny, *ZÄS* 94 (1967): 71-8; for the word *ʿrry.t* designating the temple of East Karnak already in the New Kingdom, cf. Quaegebeur, in Cannuyer and Kruchten, eds., *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'Égypte pharaonique et copte*, p. 201.

⁵⁹⁹ Hornung, *Das Amduat*, I, p. 5, n. 22; Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 115-6.

writings, and praising god within the *ṛrry.t*.⁶⁰⁰ As the contra-temple was built primarily by Thutmosis III, it is quite possible that the papyrus refers to prayers addressed Amun at his “proper place of hearing.”

This hymn is notable in the final mention of directing tribute of foreign lands to the “high-gate” of Amun and providing for his Ka.⁶⁰¹ The entrance of an Egyptian temple is the appropriate place for bringing tribute to the resident divinity. At Karnak temple, there appears to have been little room to accomplish such a task at the main western entrance, since the western tribune was too small for anything but ceremonial use,⁶⁰² and moreover, the decoration of the First and Second Pylons mention nothing about bringing in food offerings or foreign tribute.⁶⁰³ The dromos and First Pylon to the west were used primarily for bark processions of Amun.⁶⁰⁴ However, the eastern gate of Karnak, built by Nectanebo I and decorated partially in the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, includes the following speeches of Amun.

North:⁶⁰⁵

di=i iw n=k t3-mḥw m ksw n ḥr=k
ḥry.w-šṛ (ḥr) sni-t3 n b3w=k

⁶⁰⁰ Vernus, *Orientalia* 48 (1979): 181, nn. i-j.

⁶⁰¹ For the *ṛrry.t* as a place for bringing offerings, cf. Favard-Meeks, *Le temple de Behbeit el-Hagara*, p. 177, n. 765.

⁶⁰² All that appears to have officially passed through the First Pylon were the sacred barks and holy water used for temple rituals; cf. Traunecker, *BIFAO* 72 (1972): 195-236.

⁶⁰³ For the scanty decoration of the First Pylon, cf. Lauffray, *Kêmi* 20 (1970): 102-3, Fig. 3; the structures before the Second Pylon all appear to be processional in nature: (1) the bark-shrine of Sety II (Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*, pp. 409-15), (2) the temple of Ramesses III (The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, I-II); (3) the collonade hall of Taharqa (Lauffray, *Karnak* 5 [1975]: 77-92).

⁶⁰⁴ For the western entrance to Karnak, see primarily Lauffray, *Kêmi* 20 (1970): 101-110; idem, *Kêmi* 21 (1971): 77-144; Lauffray, et al., *Kêmi* 20 (1970): 57-61; Lauffray, et al., *Karnak* 5 (1975): 43-76; cf. also Cabrol, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*, pp. 581-9.

⁶⁰⁵ *LD* IV, 8a bis; *Urk.* VIII, 51e; R.A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *The Temples of Karnak*, Pl. 242.

di=i n=k t3 pn m s.t-ḥr=k
ḥq3=k t3.wy m 3w.t-ib
di=i n=k r3-ꜥ n šww
šn n t3 ḥr 3w=f

I cause Lower Egypt to come bowing before you,
 the desert dwellers kissing the earth to your *b3w*-manifestation.
 I put this land under your command,
 so you might rule the two lands in happiness.
 I give you the limit of the sun,
 and the circuit of the entire earth.

North:⁶⁰⁶

di=i iw n=k t3-šmꜥ m ksw n snd=k
ḥ3s.wt rsy.t ks.w n b3w=k
di=i iw n=k nḥsy.w nw ḥnt-ḥn-nfr
ḥr b3k n t3-sṯi
di=i n=k ptr nb n ir.ty=i
šn n p.t ḥr ifdw=s

I cause Upper Egypt to come to you bowing from fear of you,
 the southern countries bent to your *b3w*-manifestation.
 I cause the Nubians from Khenthennefer to come to you,
 bearing tribute from Ta-Seti.
 I give you all sight of my eyes,
 and the circuit of the entire sky.

These promises of Amun to Ptolemy II, namely control over foreign peoples and their goods, resonates with the fragment of Amun's reply to Domitian in the hymn from the contra-temple. Although the beginning of that text is damaged, from other parallels one can restore that Amun gives to Domitian a certain group of foreigners bringing tribute and "praying to you that they might live (*ḥr nḥ.t ꜥnh=sn*)."⁶⁰⁷

While the hymn to Amun spoken by Domitian suggests that the contra-temple was in some way a place to bring offerings and tribute, the primary religious texts from this edifice

⁶⁰⁶ LD IV, 8a; *Urk.* VIII, 52e; Schwaller de Lubicz, *The Temples of Karnak*, Pl. 242.

⁶⁰⁷ For the phrase *ḥr nḥ.t ꜥnh=sn*, see for example *Urk.* VIII, 49a; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 531.

are the two fragmentary inscriptions carved on either side of the main door, also from the reign of Domitian.⁶⁰⁸ The text on the left is an abbreviated solar hymn, reminiscent of the King as Solar Priest text.

5.8.1.2.2 Left Door Post (cf. Plate 21a)⁶⁰⁹

¹ [...] *h̄tp=k m-[hn]t=s m irw=k n R^c-Itm*
sdr im=s iwr.tw r^c nb
dwʒw <ms.tw>=k^(a) m syf šps
ʿq m rʒ^(b) [...]

² [*šsp*]^(c) *zʒb.w nwh=k*
stʒ gspty.w^(d) wiʒ=k
sdm=k hʒy imy.w wiʒ=k
zʒ-tʒ [...]

³ [...] *n nsw.t-biti nb-tʒ.wy (ʒwtw[krtwr] kysrs)|*
zʒ-R^c nb[-h^c.w] (t[mtinys] nt[y]-hwy)| ʿnh(.w) d.t

¹ [...] you set wi[thin] it in your form of Re-Atum,
 who spends the night therein, and is conceived, every day,
 who <is born> in the morning as the august child,
 who enters into the mouth [...]

² Just as the jackals [receive] your tow-rope,
 so do the *gspty.w* drag your bark,
 so you might hear the jubilation of those within your bark,
 and the celebration of [...]

³ [...] for the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands,
 (Imper[ator] Caesar),
 Son of Re, Lord of [Glorious Appearances], (Do[mitian] Augustus),
 may he live eternally!

(a) This sequence of events occurs quite often in Egyptian solar hymns. The restoration is based on a common formula.⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰⁸ Varille, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 168, Pl. XXII; Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 221-2.

⁶⁰⁹ PM II², p. 216 (14) (a); Varille, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 168, Pl. XXII.

⁶¹⁰ *Wb.* IV, 390, 16; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 120, 175, n. (5).

(b) This is clearly an allusion to earlier Egyptian cosmological texts, such as the King as Solar Priest treatise or the Book of the Night, where Re “enters in the mouth, and exits from the thighs (of Nut),”⁶¹¹ and not *r3[-pr]* “temple” as Barguet suggested.⁶¹²

(c) The verb *šsp* “to receive” is restored from similar passages from solar hymns.⁶¹³

(d) The *gspty.w* are frequently said to drag the solar bark in Graeco-Roman astronomical texts.⁶¹⁴

5.8.1.2.3 Right Door Post (cf. Plate 21b)⁶¹⁵

¹ [...] *t n snb h3w.t* ^(a) *pw* [...] [*...d*]*r(.w) d^c snb i3d.t* ^(b) [...] ² [...] *mnw gs.w-pr wr bi3.wt* ^(c) *h^cy.t* ^(d) *n nb-ntr.w* ^(e) *z3t ntry hpr m h3.t* *3tt sp3[.wt....]*

³ [...] *h^c q3* [*n*] *nsw.t-biti nb-t3.wy* (*3wtwkrtr* [*kys*]*rs*)| *z3-[R^c] nb h^c.w* (*[t]mtins nty-hwy*)| *hr s.t-Hr* [*nh.w mi*] *R^c* [*d.t*]

¹ [...] it is the [place] of ascending the altar [...] [...] the storm is [rep]elled, the inundation waters rise [...] ² [...] monuments and temples, great of marvels, The palace of the Lord of Gods, the divine land which came about in the beginning, the Nurse of the nom[es...]

³ [...] a long lifetime [for] the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, (Imperator [Caes]ar), Son of Re, Lord of Glorious Appearances, ([Do]mitian Augustus), upon the throne of Horus, [living like] Re [eternally].

⁶¹¹ Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, pp. 26-7, n. 4, 40-43.

⁶¹² Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 222, n. 1.

⁶¹³ *Wb.* II, 223, 10; cf. also *Hibis* III, Pl. 33, col. 9 (= Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, p. 86, Pls. 6 and 39): *šsp tw h.t nt z3b.w, st3=sn <tw> m wi3=k* “The corporation of jackals receives you, as they drag <you> in your bark.”

⁶¹⁴ Labrique, in Gundlach and Rochholz, eds., 4. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, p. 117; Quack, in Haring and Klug, eds., 6. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, pp. 224-5, 231.

⁶¹⁵ PM II², p. 216 (14) (b); Varille, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 168, Pl. XXII.

(a) This sign slightly resembles the *wḏ3*-pectoral,⁶¹⁶ but no word beginning with *wḏ3*- would make much sense in the present context, except perhaps *wḏ3.t* “temple roof.”⁶¹⁷ More accurately, this hieroglyph appears to depict the so-called “horned altar,”⁶¹⁸ notably the one located directly to the east of the contra-temple containing a staircase that one indeed require ascending (cf. *infra*).

(b) Clearing the sky of storms and hindrances is often mentioned as a prerequisite for ensuring the passage of natural phenomena, such as the solar course or the arrival of the inundation.⁶¹⁹ Alternatively, one could see these phrases as describing parallel events: “the storm cloud is repelled, and pestilence passes away/is healed (*sbn/snb i3d.t*).”

(c) Epithets such as *wr/ʕ3/ʕš3 bi3.wt* apply both to Amun and to Ramesside Pharaohs,⁶²⁰ notably in the bandeau inscription of Ramesses II on the exterior wall of Karnak temple in close proximity to this text.⁶²¹

(d) This word appears to be identical to *ḥʕ.t* “Palast” recorded by the *Wörterbuch*, noted in particular as a place for bringing tribute.⁶²²

(e) The “Lord of Gods” is a specific epithet for the portable bark of Amun of Karnak, used both in processions and oracular decisions.⁶²³ The mention of the bark of Amun calls to mind the relief on the south face of the contra-temple which depicts Domitian before one god and two goddesses, with a text at the back claiming:⁶²⁴

[...] *ntr.w ntr.yt ḥr ir(.t) ḥb-ḥn.t n 'Imn-Rʕ nsw.t-ntr.w*

⁶¹⁶ *Wb.* I, 401, 10; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 283-5.

⁶¹⁷ Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 288.

⁶¹⁸ For the “horned altar,” cf. primarily Soukiassian, *BIFAO* 83 (1983): 316-33; Quaegebeur, in Quaegebeur, ed., *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*, pp. 329-53; Ernst, *ZÄS* 129 (2002): 12, 14-5; the “horned altar” is also written in hieroglyphs on the obelisk of Antinoos: Grimm, et al., *Der Obelisk des Antinoos*, p. 44.

⁶¹⁹ Cf. Darnell, *ZÄS* 124 (1997): 102-5; for the Inundation referred to as *i3d.t*, cf. Van der Plas, *L'Hymne à la crue du Nil*, I, pp. 70-1, 75-6.

⁶²⁰ Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne*, pp. 352-4.

⁶²¹ Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 217.

⁶²² *Wb.* III, 39, 17; as the editors of the *Wörterbuch* noted, this may just be a variant for the more common *ḥ* “palace.”

⁶²³ Kruchten, in Verhoeven and Graefe, eds., *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten*, pp. 179-87; idem, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak*, p. 288, s.v. *Nb-ntr.w*; idem, *BSEG* 21 (1997): 27, 31-2, 34-5.

⁶²⁴ Varille, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 168 and Pl. XXXVI (collated by the author *in situ*).

[...] gods and goddesses carry out the Navigation Festival⁶²⁵ of Amun-Re-Sonthor.

While this text could refer to the Opet Festival, the Decade Festival, or the Beautiful Festival of the Valley, the proximity of the contra-temple to the Sacred Lake suggests a bark procession on the lake itself. The word *hn.t* “navigation,” moreover is used to describe bark processions of Mut on the Isheru.⁶²⁶

5.8.1.2.4 Summary

These texts from the doors of the contra-temple are significant in associating a Heliopolitan solar hymn (5.8.1.2.2), an altar (5.8.1.2.3, col. 1), and the *h^cy.t* “palace,” (5.8.1.2.3, col. 2) a place for bringing offerings and tribute, just like the “high gate” to which “all foreign lands direct their tribute” (5.8.1.2.1, col. 4). This gives the “horned altar” east of the contra-temple a particular solar significance, and connects the contra-temple cultically to the nearby “sole obelisk.” The importance of the sole obelisk in the Graeco-Roman period is clear from the numerous mentions of “Amun within the Obelisk Temple” (cf. 4.6).

The Heliopolitan nature of East Karnak is due primarily to its eastern - and thus solar - location.⁶²⁷ Although the design for Karnak was in many ways modelled on predecessors at Heliopolis,⁶²⁸ the temple is primarily oriented west, towards the Nile. Although this orientation allows for bark processions along the east-west axis, it causes a

⁶²⁵ Collation shows that this sign is the *hb*-vessel, not the *k*-basket as read by Varille, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 168.

⁶²⁶ E.g. Sauneron, *La porte ptolémaïque de l'enceinte de Mout à Karnak*, No. 11, col. 31: “The [majesty] of Mut is rowed in it (sc. the Isheru) together with her Ennead on the first of Peret (*hn.tw [hm] n Mw.t im=f hn^c psd.t=s m tpy pr.t*).”

⁶²⁷ The solar significance of the “sole obelisk” of Karnak was still understood as late as the Byzantine Period. The historian Ammianus Marcellinus explains that Augustus did not remove it from Karnak because “it was dedicated as a special offering to the Sun God and placed in the sacred precinct of a magnificent temple, to which access was forbidden.” (Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XVII, 4.12)

⁶²⁸ Gabolde, *Le “Grand Chateau d’Amon” de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak*, §§222-238.

problem for the Daily Cult Ritual performed on the statue of Amun.⁶²⁹ This ritual includes singing an invocation hymn (“may you awake in peace/from rest! (*rs=k m htp*)”) to the deity at the beginning of the morning, when the naos was opened and the first rays of sunlight would hit the cult statue.⁶³⁰ Such a sequence of events is impossible with the westward orientation of Karnak, and the naos of Amun in the Akh-Menu most likely faced to the south.⁶³¹ In order to get around this difficulty, Egyptologists have pointed to the northern section of the Akh-Menu, referred to as the “solar complex.”⁶³² Within these solar chapels, a staircase leads to a roof chapel which faces east and contains an altar built in the reign of Thutmosis III.⁶³³ The cult statue of Amun would presumably exit his sanctuary in the Akh-Menu and ascend the staircase in order to “join with the sundisk (*hnm itn*).”⁶³⁴ However, such rooftop ceremonies are not textually recorded for the daily statue cult but only for festivals such as the New Year.

The contra-temple at Karnak solves this particular problem of orientation, as its cult statues face east, and thus the first rays of light would illumine them as soon as the doors to the naos were opened in the morning. Such a use of the contra-temple may be confirmed by the Karnak redaction of the Daily Statue ritual (P. Berlin 3055), which includes an additional

⁶²⁹ Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte*; Guglielmi and Broh, in van Dijk, ed., *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, pp. 101-66.

⁶³⁰ Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte*, pp. 121-38; cf. also Patanè, *Les hymnes du matin* (Disst.; Geneva, 1989); Goedicke, *SAK* 34 (2006): 187-204.

⁶³¹ For the sanctuary, cf. Beaux, *Karnak* 9 (1993): 101-8; idem, *Le cabinet de curiosités de Thoutmosis III*; Gabolde, *RdE* 50 (1999): 278-81.

⁶³² Lauffray, *Kêmi* 19 (1969): 179-218; Daumas, *Karnak* 6 (1980): 264-5; Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 25 (1969): 174-5.

⁶³³ Ernst, *ZÄS* 128 (2001): 1-6.

⁶³⁴ Daumas, *Karnak* 6 (1980): 264-5.

episode of opening the naos (*wn-hr*) not included in any other version.⁶³⁵ This section begins with a reference to the solar complex at East Karnak.⁶³⁶

wn(.w) hr n R^c m hw.t-bnbn
Imn mn m W3s.t

The face of Re has been revealed in the *hw.t-bnbn*,
 (namely) Amun who dwells in Thebes.

The proper sequence of rites in the Daily Cult Ritual after opening the naos includes (1) “seeing god (*m33 ntr*),” (2) “kissing the earth (*sni t3*),” followed by (3) “praising god (*dw3 ntr zp 4*).”⁶³⁷ The lengthy hymn recited by Domitian (**5.8.1.1**) strongly resembles similar texts recited in other scenes of *dw3 ntr*,⁶³⁸ and is in fact paralleled directly by the hymn spoken upon opening the naos of Horus at Edfu.⁶³⁹ The text even mentions the rite of “kissing the earth.” (**5.8.1.1**, col. 3) This adoration of the specifically Heliopolitan Amun in his manifestation of the sun is further confirmed by the excerpt of the solar hymn found on the door to the sanctuary (**5.8.1.2.2**) in the contra-temple.

The solar hymns and rituals associated with the contra-temple are closely tied to the “horned altar” and sole obelisk located directly to the east. Such an association of the *bnbn*-obelisk and giant altar is known already from the sun temples of Userkaf and Niuserre at Abu

⁶³⁵ Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte*, pp. 108-120; it is unclear if the following hymns of P. Berlin 3055 (*ibid.*, pp. 120-38), are to be recited at this particular opening of the naos.

⁶³⁶ P. Berlin 3055, X, 6-8 = Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte*, pp. 108-9; note that a similar introduction appears in pChester Beatty IX, r° 14, 4 and *Tôd* II, 304, 1; note that the latter example occurs at the entrance to the “Salle des Offrandes” (cf. *infra*).

⁶³⁷ Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou*, pp. 196-220.

⁶³⁸ For a partial list of other scenes, cf. Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou*, p. 213, n. 965; cf. also *Dendara* I, 6, 17; *Dendara* II, 55, 14; 67, 15; etc.

⁶³⁹ *Edfou* I, 41, 10-11; cf. Alliot, *Le Culte d'Horus à Edfou*, p. 80.

Ghurab⁶⁴⁰ and the Great Temple of the Aten from Amarna.⁶⁴¹ Large meat offerings are particularly associated with the cult of Re, and thus the placement of the “horned altar” next to the contra-temple of Karnak is quite appropriate. Although it was most likely built in the Ptolemaic period,⁶⁴² the “horned altar” seems to have merely replaced an earlier offering table of the 25th Dynasty.⁶⁴³ An earlier altar, perhaps portable, was probably used already in the reign of Thutmose III, as a number of reliefs in the contra-temple depict him presenting offerings to Amun.⁶⁴⁴

The texts and decoration of the contra-temple designate it as a place for bringing tribute and food offerings (**5.8.1.2.1**, col. 4; **5.8.1.2.3**, col. 2) directed presumably to the “horned altar” or to the earlier altars which preceded it. As noted above, the texts on the east gate at Karnak describe the subjugation of enemies, and their subsequent bearing of tribute to the king (*supra*). This general theme is prevalent at East Karnak, and series of Hapi figures are depicted in the east colonnade hall of Taharqa⁶⁴⁵ and in the contra-temple itself, carrying food offerings from the east into the temple.⁶⁴⁶ The decision to conduct food

⁶⁴⁰ Lehner, *The Complete Pyramids*, pp. 149-152.

⁶⁴¹ Barguet already compared the contra-temple of the Great Aten Temple in Akhetaten, with its eastward orientation, *bnbn*-obelisk and altar, to the contra-temple of Thutmose III at Karnak: Barguet, *RdE* 28 (1976): 151.

⁶⁴² For the date of the altar, cf. Quaegebeur, in Quaegebeur, ed., *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*, p. 333, n. 27.

⁶⁴³ Varille, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 169-70, Pl. XXXIX; for the date, cf. Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV^e dynastie dite éthiopienne*, p. 59.

⁶⁴⁴ Varille, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 146, Pl. XII,1; 148, Pl. XIV; 149, Pl. XV.

⁶⁴⁵ Leclant, *BIFAO* 53 (1953): 152-8; idem, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV^e dynastie dite éthiopienne*, pp. 56-8.

⁶⁴⁶ Similar processions of Hapi figures are ubiquitous on altars from the Old Kingdom onwards; cf. Ernst, *ZÄS* 128 (2001): 4-5 (with many references).

offerings through the east gate may have been based on economic and logistic reasons. As noted above, there was little room for such food supplies to land at the small docking station before the western First Pylon, and moreover that area was primarily used for bark processions.⁶⁴⁷ The east gate, however, bordered the large cultivated landscape to the east of Karnak, an agricultural area from which most plant and meat offerings would surely derive.

The location of the “horned altar” in the solar complex of East Karnak, particularly the contra-temple, had strongly symbolic religious connotations as well. Quaegebeur recently demonstrated that the “horned altar” was used primarily for *Vernichtungsoffern*, symbolic offerings in which the entire animal would be burnt up and destroyed.⁶⁴⁸ The primary purpose of such offerings was not to feed the gods, but rather to destroy enemies of Re at the boundary of the temple in a fiery ritual. However, unlike similar apotropaic images of the Pharaoh smiting enemies which could be placed on any exterior wall of the temple, the “horned altar” is specifically located in the eastern section of Karnak, within a distinctly solar architectural and theological context. The topography of Karnak is thus a projection of the mythological solar cycle, and the contra-temple represents the Eastern Horizon. In mythological terms, the Eastern Horizon is the location of the *htmy.t* “the place of destruction,” where the enemies of Re are ultimately destroyed by the newborn and recharged solar disk in a fiery bloodbath, the cause of the red sky immediately before sunrise.⁶⁴⁹ In relation to Karnak, it is interesting to note the famous description of Amun as

⁶⁴⁷ For the subtle logistics required to manœuvre the riverine bark of Amun onto land and through the First Pylon, see the interpretation of Traunecker, et al., *La Chapelle d’Achôris*, II, pp. 89-93.

⁶⁴⁸ Quaegebeur, in Quaegebeur, ed., *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*, pp. 342-7; Cabrol, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*, p. 717.

⁶⁴⁹ For the destruction of enemies in the Eastern Horizon, cf. A. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, p. 14, n. (aw); Leitz, *Tagewählerei*, pp. 52-3; Smith, in Frandsen and Ryholt, eds., *A Miscellany of Demotic Texts and Studies*,

judge in the Late Egyptian Miscellanies, where he is said to send the innocent to the West, and the guilty to “the place of rising,” that is the East, spelled, however, as if the word were a type of furnace.⁶⁵⁰

The contra-temple served as a complex interface between Amun and the populace. It was the place where one brought gifts and offerings, and where the beneficent Amun would hear requests and heal the sick. At the same time, the contra-temple was a place of judgement, where the violently solar Amun would rise from his temple and mercilessly punish the enemies of Re.⁶⁵¹

5.8.2 Medamud

Temple decoration at Medamud resumed for the first time since Tiberius (**2.2**). The cartouches of Domitian and several scenes appear on the exterior walls of the Ptolemaic temple,⁶⁵² not to be completed until the reign of Trajan (**9.1**).

5.8.3 Medinet Habu

At the Small Temple of Medinet Habu, Domitian made the first architectural contribution since Claudius (**3.2**). At this time, a sandstone propylon was built into the rear temenos wall to the west of the Small Temple.⁶⁵³ This gate contains offering scenes

p. 97, n. 17; Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey in the Egyptian Western Desert*, I, p. 118; idem, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity*, pp. 145-6.

⁶⁵⁰ Discussed by Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 146, n. 498.

⁶⁵¹ For the gate as a place of both popular worship and capital punishment, cf. Quaegebeur, in Cannuyer and Kruchten, eds., *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'Égypte pharaonique et copte*, pp. 201-220; idem, in Heintz, ed., *Oracles et prophéties dans l'antiquité*, pp. 28-9; note that the contra-temple is described as the *ḥrry.t* (**8.1.2.1, col. 4**), the gate where one brings offerings, but also a place for administering justice; cf. van den Boorn, *JNES* 44 (1985): 1-25; Guermeur, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 270, n. j.

⁶⁵² PM V, p. 142 (53)-(61); cf. E. Drioton, *Médamud I*, No. 101.

⁶⁵³ PM II², p. 475, D; Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, II, p. 62, Pl. 42.

involving the primary deities of Thebes and Armant, and the decoration of the lintel, with Montu, Amun, and the Ogdoad on both faces, bears close comparison with the First Pylon of the same temple built and decorated by Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II.

This gate was later dismantled and the blocks were used for Coptic houses in the area. Although Daressy carefully reassembled these blocks in the early Twentieth century, he reconstructed the pylon in a nearby location with arbitrary orientation; Hölscher proposed an original location in the rear temenos wall, but he had little to say about the orientation.⁶⁵⁴ Fortunately, the preserved decoration on the gate of Domitian was organized in a clear pattern: deities of Armant and Tod on one side, and divinities from Karnak and Medamud on the other.⁶⁵⁵

***South Face**

[Kek and Keket] Nia and Niat	Montu-Re-Harakhty of Armant Tjenenet-Iunyt	[Amun-Re]- <i>Dsr-s.t</i> Mut	[Nun and Nunet] Heh and Hehet
Montu Lord of Armant Rattawy within Armant			[Ithyphallic Amun] Amunet in Karnak
Osiris-Wennefer of Armant Isis			Chonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep Hathor within the Benenet
Montu [of Tod] [Tjenenet]			Amun-Re of Karnak Chonsu-Shu
Montu Lord of Armant Rattawy within Armant			Amun-Re of Karnak Mut Lady of the Isheru

⁶⁵⁴ Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, II, p. 62.

⁶⁵⁵ The following diagrams are based on photos and handcopies by the author. Although some of the names are damaged, the gods and epithets can be identified based on iconography or parallelism.

*North Face

Nun and [Nunet] Heh and Hehet	Amun-Re of Karnak Mut [Lady] of the Isheru	Montu-Re-Harakhty of Armant Tjehenet-Iunyt	Kek and Keket Nia and Niat
Min-Amun-Re[-Kamutef] Isis			Re-Harakhty Nebet-Hetepet
Montu-Re Lord of Thebes, Rattawy within Thebes			Montu-Re Lord of Armant Rattawy within Armant
Montu Lord of Medamud Rattawy within Medamud			[Montu of Tod] [Tjehenet/Rattawy of Tod]
Amun-[...] within Karnak Mut [Lady of the] Isheru			Montu Lord of Armant. [Rattawy within Armant]

Most scenes and inscriptions from the Small Temple of Medinet Habu reflect a certain symmetry, where gods from the south (Armant and Tod) appear on the left (south), while gods from the north and east (Karnak, Luxor, Medamud) appear on the right (north). The gate of Domitian probably also showed this disposition in its original position, and thus the current “South Face” would have been the East Face, while the “North Face” would have been the West Face.

5.8.4 Deir Shelwit

Only two scenes from the propylon of Deir Shelwit were decorated in the reign of Domitian, both on the west face of the propylon.⁶⁵⁶ Artisans thus finally completed the

⁶⁵⁶ *Deir Chelouit* I, Nos. 34-35.

decoration of the propylon, a project that began in 69 CE, and work would not resume again until the reign of Hadrian (cf. **5.10.2**).⁶⁵⁷

IX TRAJAN (98-117 CE)

5.9.0 Introduction

While Trajan spent a great amount of time campaigning in Dacia and Parthia, he still managed to fund extensive building projects in Rome and throughout the Empire during his reign.⁶⁵⁸ In Egypt, Trajan surpassed the earlier construction and decoration programs of Domitian,⁶⁵⁹ including further work at Akhmim,⁶⁶⁰ Dendera,⁶⁶¹ Esna,⁶⁶² Kalabsha,⁶⁶³ Kom

⁶⁵⁷ A number of blank cartouches on the facade of the Naos (*Deir Chelouit* II, Nos. 57-65, 68-79) could possibly date to the intervening years reigns of Nerva or Trajan.

⁶⁵⁸ For the reign of Trajan, see most recently Bennett, *Trajan, Optimus Princeps* (with extensive bibliography); for the building program at Rome under Trajan, see Blake, *Roman Construction in Italy from Nerva through the Antonines*, pp. 10-39; Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, pp. 84-95; Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples*, pp. 173-83; Bennett, *Trajan, Optimus Princeps*, pp. 138-60; for works in the provinces, see Garzetti, *From Tiberius to the Antonines*, pp. 335-9, 668-71, 756-7.

⁶⁵⁹ Grenier, *Les titulaires des empereurs romains*, pp. 47-56; Kákosy, in: *ANRW* II 18.5, pp. 2917-8; Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, p. 263; Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I, pp. 36-7.

⁶⁶⁰ Kuhlmann, *Materialen zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Raumes von Achmim*, pp. 41-5.

⁶⁶¹ Primary decoration of the Mammisi; Daumas, *Les mammisis de Dendara*, pp. xix-xxii, xxiv.

⁶⁶² See the indices in *Esna* III, pp. xxiii and 392 (much of the column decoration); *Esna* VI, p. 201.

⁶⁶³ Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, II, pp. 113-5.

Ombo,⁶⁶⁴ Philae,⁶⁶⁵ as well as new temples associated with the quarries in the Eastern desert (Mons Claudianus and Mons Porphyrites).⁶⁶⁶

5.9.1 Medamud

At Thebes, the only traces of temple work under Trajan was at Medamud, where artisans completed the decoration of the exterior walls of the Ptolemaic temple begun under Domitian (cf. **5.8.2**).⁶⁶⁷

X Hadrian (117-138 CE)

5.10.0 Introduction

While Hadrian was responsible for some of the great architectural additions to Rome,⁶⁶⁸ he was equally beneficent to cities and temples throughout the Empire.⁶⁶⁹ Egypt also flourished during this reign, the most dramatic change being the creation of the Hellenistic city Antinoopolis,⁶⁷⁰ as well as the construction of the extensive Via Hadriana

⁶⁶⁴ De Morgan, *K.O.* II, No. 941; studied in great detail by Gutbub, in Maehler and Strocka, ed., *Das ptolemäische Ägypten*, pp. 165-76.

⁶⁶⁵ Trajan's Kiosk: PM VI, p. 250.

⁶⁶⁶ Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich. Der Römische Pharao und seine Tempel*, III, pp. 25-31.

⁶⁶⁷ PM V, p. 142 (53)-(61); Drioton, *Médamoud I*, Nos. 109, 120-133, 156-177, 214, 271-278, 283, 284).

⁶⁶⁸ Blake, *Roman Construction in Italy from Nerva through the Antonines*, pp. 40-65; Boatwright, *Hadrian and the City of Rome*.

⁶⁶⁹ Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*; note, however, that Boatwright neglects all Egyptian evidence except for that relating to Alexandria and Antioopolis, and therefore comes to the skewed conclusion that "Hadrian is known to have interacted personally with (...) three or fewer (cities) each in the Gallic and German provinces, in Hispania and Lusitania, in Egypt (...). One could argue that there were simply not as many cities for him to attend to in the far north and west, or in Egypt and Arabia, as there were in Italy, North Africa, and the Greek East." (Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, p. 207).

⁶⁷⁰ Grimm, et al., *Der Obelisk des Antinoos*.

running through the Eastern desert.⁶⁷¹ Work also continued at traditional Egyptian temples,⁶⁷² with continued decoration at Dush⁶⁷³ and Esna,⁶⁷⁴ as well as new constructions at Philae,⁶⁷⁵ and the oases of Khargeh (Nadura)⁶⁷⁶ and Dakhleh (Ismant el-Kharab, 'Ain el-Birbiyeh, Deir el-Hagar).⁶⁷⁷

The considerable renaissance of temple activity at this time was probably due in large part to the fact that Hadrian actually travelled extensively throughout Egypt in 130-131 CE.⁶⁷⁸ Before him, only Augustus, Vespasian and Titus had visited Egypt, and their trips were limited to Alexandria and the Delta. Hadrian, travelled with a large entourage, including his wife Sabina and his companion Antinoos, both to Alexandria and to Upper Egypt. The itinerary of Hadrian's tour can be reconstructed in large measure from papyri sent to local administrators in Middle and Upper Egypt announcing his arrival and ordering

⁶⁷¹ For the Via Hadriana, see recently Sidebotham, et al., *JARCE* 37 (2000): 115-126.

⁶⁷² Grenier, *Les titulaires des empereurs romains*, pp. 56-60; Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I, pp. 36-9; Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, pp. 263-5; Kákosy, in: *ANRW* II 18.5, pp. 2918-2922.

⁶⁷³ Dils, *Der Tempel von Dusch*, pp. 18-20.

⁶⁷⁴ Sauneron, *Esna* III, p. 392..

⁶⁷⁵ The so-called "Gate of Hadrian": PM VI, pp. 254-5.

⁶⁷⁶ Grenier, *Les titulaires des empereurs romains*, p. 56; although the decoration of the portal dates to Hadrian, architectural traces show that the preserved Roman court was added to an earlier, possibly Ptolemaic, temple; cf. J.C. Darnell, "Preliminary Report on Qasr el-Ghueita Temple" (forthcoming).

⁶⁷⁷ Kaper, *Temples and Gods in Roman Dakhleh*, pp. 26, 29-30; idem, in Kaper, ed., *Life on the Fringe*, pp. 149 and 151, noting the distinct surge of temple activity in the oases under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.

⁶⁷⁸ For the travels of Hadrian in general, see primarily Halfmann, *Itinera principum*, pp. 40-47, 188-210; for the trip to Egypt specifically, see in detail Kákosy, *ANRW* II 18.5, pp. 2918-22; Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie*, pp. 419-26; Halfmann, *Itinera principum*, pp. 193-4; Derchain, *Le dernier obélisque*; Foermeyer, *Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, pp. 107-8, 117; for the correspondance between cities visited by Hadrian and benefactions received, see Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, pp. 206-8.

suitable provisions.⁶⁷⁹ True to his general philhellenic interests in Oriental religions and mysteries, Hadrian made sure to meet with Egyptian priests along his visit.⁶⁸⁰ Although dialogues between Roman tourists and native priests are described in the accounts of Strabo, Tacitus, and Thessalos (cf. **Chapter 2**), similar exchanges from the visit of Hadrian are preserved in Egyptian sources.

A recently published bilingual, Demotic-Greek ostrakon from the Fayyum (Medinet Madi), records the beginning of a conversation between Hadrian and local priests:⁶⁸¹

w3h p3 pr-ε3 αΔΡΙΑΝΟC ii r Kmy h3.t-sp 15

w3h=f dd

ih irm in rh n sh

w3h 5 wεb.w p3-ti=w hnsu irm hnsu-n-rnp n3 hrt.w P3-htr irm sbk-hεpi [dd...]

The Emperor Hadrianos came to Egypt in year 15,
he said:

“And what about the skill of writing?”

The five priests - Pateus, Chonsu and Chonsenrenep, the children of Phatres, as well as Sobek-Hapi - [said...].

Since the rest of the conversation is not preserved, it is difficult to determine the precise context of Hadrian’s inquiry. Nonetheless, it appears that he asked the Egyptian priests (with Egyptian names) about the ability to write hieroglyphs.⁶⁸²

⁶⁷⁹ Sijpesteijn, *Historia* 18 (1969): 109-18 (with critical remarks by Lewis, *BASP* 8 [1971]: 19-20; Bowman, *JRS* 66 [1976]: 157); *idem*, *ZPE* 89 (1991): 89-90 (possible visit to Hermopolis); Van Minnen and Sosin, *Ancient Society* 27 (1996): 176-7; Pestman, *The New Papyrological Primer*², No. 34; Willems and Clarysse, ed., *Les Empereurs du Nil*, pp. 157-8, Nos. 26-7.

⁶⁸⁰ Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie*, pp.

⁶⁸¹ O. dem Medinet Madi 298 = Menchetti, *EVO* 27 (2004): 27-31; as Manchetti noted (p. 27), this object was explicitly labelled as the first of multiple ostraca.

⁶⁸² Cf. also Derchain, *Le dernier obélisque*.

Another episode of Hadrian's contact with Egyptians comes from a later magical papyrus. In order to promote the efficacy of a certain spell, the scribe added the following story:⁶⁸³

“Burnt offering: Pachrates, the prophet of Heliopolis, revealed it to the emperor Hadrian, revealing the power of his own divine magic. For it attracted in one hour, it made someone sick in 2 hours, it destroyed in 7 hours, sent the emperor himself dreams as he thoroughly tested the whole truth of the magic within his power. And marveling at the prophet, he ordered double fees to be given him.”

While this anecdote may be entirely fictional,⁶⁸⁴ it still attests to Hadrian's reputation as an Emperor with a personal interest in Egyptian mysteries. A similar tradition was later attached to Darius I, who was said to have been interested in Egyptian religion, science, and magic during his visit to Egypt.⁶⁸⁵ In the case of Darius, the contemporary hieroglyphic inscription of Udjahorresnet, a prominent Saite official and priest who claims to have taken Cambyses and Darius through the temple of Neith, demonstrates that a certain degree of truth could lie behind such legends.⁶⁸⁶

Remarkably, the most conclusive evidence of Hadrian's personal interactions with Egyptian priests comes from Thebes. During his visit to Thebes, a several members of his entourage carved inscriptions on the Colossus of Memnon.⁶⁸⁷ The most celebrated of these

⁶⁸³ PGM IV, 2447-2455; trans. of O'Neil, in Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, p. 83; cf. also Kákosy, in: *ANRW II* 18.5, p. 2920.

⁶⁸⁴ The figure Pachrates/Pancrates does turn up in a number of contemporary sources, cf. Birley, *Hadrian*, pp. 241, 243-5; for his name, cf. Thissen, in Verhoeven and Graefe, eds., *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten*, p. 296.

⁶⁸⁵ Recorded in both Diodorus Siculus (I, 46.4) and the Demotic magical papyri (Johnson, in Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, p. 215).

⁶⁸⁶ Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 6-7.

⁶⁸⁷ A. and É. Bernard, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon*, pp. 19-21.

memorials are the series of extensive, poetic epigrams of the poetess Julia Balbilla.⁶⁸⁸ In the course of various inscriptions, Balbilla described how Hadrian and his wife Sabina visited the statue on a number of occasions, and that Memnon let out a great cry at the approach of Hadrian (Nos. 28 and 30). The reaction of Memnon was interpreted as a sign: “it became clear to all that the gods loved him,” (No. 28, 12) and also that “Memnon feared the great Hadrian” (No. 30, 8).

Another inscription reveals an extremely important facet of the Imperial visit to the Colossus. At one point Balbilla addresses both statues, first Memnon and then (No. 29, 3): “Amenothis, king of Egypt, according to what the priests learned in ancient myths relate (Ἀμένωθ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου, ἐνέποιον ἱρηεὺς μύθων τῶν παλᾶων ἱδρῖες).” Balbilla attributes her accurate knowledge of the statue’s original owner, Amenothis (Amenhotep III),⁶⁸⁹ to learned priests. This fact implies that at least one Egyptian priest capable of reading hieroglyphs accompanied Hadrian on his tour of Thebes, serving as tour guide and translator of the Pharaonic monuments (cf. **2.2**). Such priests would not have been hard to find in Thebes, as the contemporary hieroglyphic texts from Deir Shelwit confirm (cf. **5.10.2**).⁶⁹⁰

It is hard to imagine that Hadrian visited Thebes without seeing any monuments besides Memnon. On the way, he would have seen a number of new works and construction works in progress, at Luxor, Deir Shelwit, and Armant.

⁶⁸⁸ A. and É. Bernard, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon*, pp. 80-96, Nos. 28-31.

⁶⁸⁹ For the Greek renderings of Amenhotep, cf. Quaegebeur, *RdE* 37 (1986): 100.

⁶⁹⁰ A. and É. Bernard, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon*, p. 90, mention the other mentions of Amenhotep in connection with the southern colossus.

5.10.1 Luxor Temple

On January 24, 126 CE, the *neokoros* Gaius Julius Antoninus dedicated a temple to “Zeus Helios, great Sarapis (Ζεὺς Ἡλῖος μέγας Σάραπις)”⁶⁹¹ great Sarapis” in front of Luxor Temple.⁶⁹² In his own words, he claimed to have “rebuilt the temple at his own expense, and consecrated a statue, as a vow of his piety.”⁶⁹³ The inscription dates to the prefecture of Titus Flavius Tatianus,⁶⁹⁴ an official who also left an inscription on the Colossus of Memnon on March 20, 126 CE.⁶⁹⁵ The proximity of dates between these two inscriptions was probably no coincidence, as the Prefect of Egypt ordinarily travelled to Upper Egypt from January to April as part of his annual *conventus*.⁶⁹⁶ Furthermore, January 26th was Hadian’s birthday,⁶⁹⁷ and thus the dedication might have coincided with festivals ordinarily performed on the Imperial *dies natalis*.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹¹ This was a common designation of Sarapis, cf. Merkelbach, *Isis regina – Zeus Sarapis*, pp. 78-9, §138.

⁶⁹² For this temple, see Golvin, et al., *BIFAO* 81 (1981): 115-48; Wild, in *ANRW* II.17.4, pp. 1789-91, 1844; Kater-Sibbes, *Preliminary Catalogue of Sarapis Monuments*, pp. 22-3, Nos. 122-123; the recent article by Grossmann, in Moers, et al., eds., *Jn.t-dr.w - Festschrift für Friedrich Junge*, I, pp. 281-6, surprisingly does not refer to the full publication of the monument in *BIFAO* 81; for the dedication, see Wagner, *BIFAO* 81 (1981): 130-1, Pl. 30.

⁶⁹³ Wagner, *BIFAO* 81 (1981): 130; note that a Ptolemaic ostrakon mentions a Sarapeion in Diospolis, perhaps at Karnak: Bagnall, et al., *Otraka in Amsterdam Collections*, p. 5, No. 7.

⁶⁹⁴ For the reconstruction of the mutilated name, see Wagner, *BIFAO* 81 (1981): 132-4; Van der Leest, *ZPE* 59 (1985): 141-5, did not cite the earlier study of Wagner, but nonetheless arrived at the same conclusion.

⁶⁹⁵ A. and É. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon*, pp. 74-5, No. 24.

⁶⁹⁶ Noted by Van der Leest, *ZPE* 59 (1985): 142-3; for the Imperial *conventus*, see further Capponi, *Augustan Egypt*, pp. 30-1.

⁶⁹⁷ Wagner, *BIFAO* 81 (1981): 129.

⁶⁹⁸ For the Imperial birthday celebrations in Egypt, cf. Perpillou-Thomas, *Fêtes d’Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine*, pp. 168-71.

The reconstruction of the Sarapeion was thus probably to some degree supported by the Prefect, who would have been well aware of Hadrian's support for Sarapis and Isis.⁶⁹⁹ Titus Flavius Tatianus was still Prefect during the visit of Hadrian, and it is quite likely that he proudly brought the Emperor to see the recently renovated shrine four years later (cf. **5.10.0**).

The temple is located in the north-west corner of the forecourt of Luxor Temple within the enclosure wall renovated under Tiberius.⁷⁰⁰ Almost every aspect of the Luxor Sarapeion finds close parallels in similar edifices from the Roman Period throughout the Empire,⁷⁰¹ the vast majority of which date to the second century CE.⁷⁰² In addition, the temple in front of Luxor in many ways closely resembles the Roman Emperor shrine in front of Karnak (cf. **5.1.1**):⁷⁰³ both were roughly the same size, both were made primarily of mud-brick with a sandstone portal, and both contained Roman-style statues.⁷⁰⁴

Most importantly, both Roman shrines were orthogonal to the main processional axes of their associated Egyptian temples. Golvin and Abd el-Hamid interpreted the position and

⁶⁹⁹ Dunand, *BIFAO* 81 (1981): 147, n. 1, notes that Hadrian supported the selection of the new Apis bull in 121 CE.

⁷⁰⁰ See the plan in Golvin, et al., *BIFAO* 81 (1981): 116, Fig. 1; for the work of Tiberius at Luxor, cf. **2.3**.

⁷⁰¹ For Sarapis and Isis temples in the Roman Period, cf. Wild, in *ANRW* II.17.4, pp. 1739-1851.

⁷⁰² Wild, in *ANRW* II.17.4, pp. 1834-6, noting that only one Sarapion dates to the first century, twenty-two to the second century, and four to the third century.

⁷⁰³ For comparisons between the chapels, see already Golvin and Abd el-Hamid, *BIFAO* 81 (1981): 116-20.

⁷⁰⁴ For the Hellenizing statue of Isis found in the Sarapaion at Luxor, see the early photos of Leclant, *Orientalia* 20 (1951): Pls. XLV (fig. 1) and XLVII (fig. 4), taken before the head and arms were stored in an SCA magazine; for an interpretation, see primarily Dunand, *BIFAO* 81 (1981): 135-9, Pls. 31-2; note also that several other statues were found within the shrine, but now are also located within an SCA magazine (Golvin and Abd el-Hamid, *BIFAO* 81 [1981]: 124).

relatively small size of the Sarapeion before Luxor Temple as evidence of the decline of Thebes:

“Aussi, ce petit temple apparaît-il dans le grand ensemble monumental de Louqsor, comme le témoin bien modeste d’une époque de déclin de la ville. De faible dimensions et construit en matériaux ordinaires, il demeure éclipsé par la masse majestueuse du grand temple pharaonique voisin, qui comme celui de Karnak témoigne, au contraire, avec éclat de la grandeur incomparable de Thèbes à son apogée.”⁷⁰⁵

This interpretation ignores the fact that Ramesses II, quite arguably one of the wealthiest Pharaohs with the greatest building legacy in Egyptian history, constructed a bark-shrine of comparably modest dimensions in the north-east corner of the festival court of Luxor Temple.⁷⁰⁶

Just as with the Emperor shrine at Karnak (cf. **5.1.1.1**), the size of the shrine at Luxor Temple was not indicative of the prosperity of local priests, but rather a sign of deference for the chief deity of the larger temple, Amun. The most significant feature of the small shrine was its location immediately to the right and perpendicular to the temple dromos. Similar again to the Roman temple at Karnak, this specific placement suggests that the Sarapeion featured as a bark shrine for the processional images of Amun during his trips between Karnak and Luxor.

The theological and cultic implications of the Luxor Sarapeion are difficult to interpret. Although Luxor temple preserves no official building or decoration activity since the reign of Tiberius (cf. **5.2.3**), the location of the Sarapeion suggests that the temple was

⁷⁰⁵ Golvin and Abd el-Hamid, *BIFAO* 81 (1981): 128.

⁷⁰⁶ PM II², pp. 309-10; Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit*, pp. 328-38; note, however, that unlike the Sarapeion, this shrine is on Luxor Temple’s east-west axis, in order to receive the divine barks from the western quay during the Opet Festival; cf. Bell, in Shafer, ed., *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 178, 300, n. 167.

still running and in good physical shape. If this were not the case, and if Luxor temple had been abandoned at this point, then the symbolic placement of the new Sarapis shrine beside the dromos of the defunct temple, precisely aligned to the ancient processional axis, would have been a meaningless gesture. It is difficult to imagine that Gaius Julius Antoninus would have wanted his name associated with a Sarapeion built next to a heap of Pharaonic temple blocks.

On the contrary, we know that the cult of Amun at Luxor (Amenope) survived to at least this point, as Amenope features in a contemporaneous offering scene from Deir Shelwit.⁷⁰⁷ Furthermore, the architecture and inscriptions from the Small Temple of Medinet Habu indicate that the image of Chonsu-Shu from Karnak still visited Djeme daily as late as the reign of Antoninus Pius (cf. **5.11.1.8**). Although Amenope is not mentioned in the preserved portions of these texts, the orientation of the western portal to the Antonine forecourt at Medinet Habu suggest that the Luxor-Medinet Habu processional route was still active.

As mentioned above, the dedicant responsible for the Luxor Sarapeion was a Roman *ex-decurion* and *neokoros* of Great Sarapis.⁷⁰⁸ While this title had a range of meanings throughout the Roman Empire,⁷⁰⁹ in Egypt the *neokoroi* were typically high-ranking members of society attached to the cult of Sarapis in Alexandria, attested exclusively in the second and third centuries CE.⁷¹⁰ Just as at Alexandria, Theban *neokoroi* first appear in the

⁷⁰⁷ *Deir Chelouit* III, 126 (reign of Hadrian).

⁷⁰⁸ Wagner, *BIFAO* 81 (1981): 131.

⁷⁰⁹ See most recently Burrell, *Neokoroi*, pp. 3-6.

⁷¹⁰ Goette, *MDAIK* 45 (1988): 178-86.

reign of Hadrian, and they continue to be important until the mid-third century CE.⁷¹¹ Three *neokoroi* with Romanized names (e.g. Julius Sarapammon), left a dedication near the Opet Temple under Marcus Aurelius (cf. **5.12.1**), and the *neokoros* and “sacred herald” of Apollo (Montu),⁷¹² Pa[sem]jis, dedicated an altar at Deir el-Rumi in 223 CE (cf. **5.15.1**). In addition, a group of six elaborately decorated coffins buried in an earlier tomb at Deir el-Medineh belonged to the wealthy family of the *neokoros* Psenmonthes (alias Pebos), dating probably to the reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla.⁷¹³ Thus just as elsewhere in Egypt, the new title of *neokoros* begins to dominate Egyptian priestly records beginning with the present example. Unlike Gaius Julius Antoninus, however, most of the Theban *neokoroi* have traditional Egyptian names, even if they served Sarapis or Apollo.⁷¹⁴ The dedication by a *neokoros* at Luxor demonstrates that in the field of religion, Romans were attracted to traditional Egyptian cult centers, while the other cases of *neokoroi* show how the native Egyptian priesthood was becoming increasingly Romanized in terms of language and titles.

⁷¹¹ For the various *neokoroi* of Thebes, cf. Wagner and Lecuyot, *BIFAO* 93 (1993): 415-6; Riggs, *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt*, pp. 216-7; the earliest *neokoros* in Thebes was Servius Sulpicius Serenus, also a Roman soldier, who left an inscription on the Memnon statue during a visit from Alexandria in 122/3 CE, about three years before the rededication of the Luxor Sarapeion (A. and É. Bernard, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon*, pp. 66-7, No. 20; Goette, *MDAIK* 45 [1988]: 182, No. 3).

⁷¹² For the equivalence of Apollo and Montu, cf. Wagner and Lecuyot, *BIFAO* 93 (1993): 417; Kayser, *ZPE* 97 (1993): 217-9; note that the only published inscription from Deir el-Rumi claims the temple was dedicated to Montu of Armant (cf. **5.11.2**).

⁷¹³ Bruyère and Bataille, *BIFAO* 36 (1936-1937); see most recently Riggs, *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt*, pp. 205-17; for the date, cf. Bataille, *BIFAO* 36 (1936-1937): 167 and 174.

⁷¹⁴ Riggs, *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt*, p. 216, incorrectly claimed that Psenmonthes/Pebos was the only native Egyptian *neokoros*; note that Egyptians very frequently referred to native gods by their Greek equivalents when writing in Greek; for this phenomenon in Thebes, cf. Quaegebeur, *OLP* 6/7 (1975/76): 463-478.

5.10.2 Deir Shelwit

Work at the temple of Deir Shelwit had stopped after the reign of Vespasian, when the decoration of the propylon was completed. Under Hadrian, artisans covered the interior walls of the naos with remarkable offering scenes and elaborate inscriptions.⁷¹⁵ The texts of all of the ritual scenes are extremely interesting but also quite difficult because of the creative orthographies and state of preservation. A complete translation with commentary is beyond the scope of this study.⁷¹⁶ For the present purposes, the magnificent hymn to Isis and one of the bandeau texts will suffice to demonstrate the complexity and quality of these very late inscriptions.

5.10.2.1 Hymn to Isis = *Deir Chelouit III, 154*

Two lengthy hymns to Isis adorn the rear wall of the naos at Deir Shelwit. Although hymn on the right side is quite damaged,⁷¹⁷ the other text is almost completely preserved and will thus be translated here.⁷¹⁸

In the scene framing the hymn, Hadrian is designated as follows:⁷¹⁹

nsw.t-bitī nb t3.wy (3wtwkrtrw kysrs dryns)|
z3-R^c nb h^c.w (3tryns nty-hw)|
snn [n] Šw
shṭp ib n 3h.t m p.t w^cb.ti nn h3ty

⁷¹⁵ *Deir Chelouit II*, Nos. 86-89; *III*, Nos. 90-157; for the high quality of the reliefs, see the photograph in Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I, p. 64, Abb. 65.

⁷¹⁶ Most of the epithets are translated and discussed in the Chapter 4. Interpretations without translations of most of the scenes can be found in Zivie-Coche, *Annuaire ÉPHE. Section religieuses* 101 (1992-1993): 113-4; 103 (1994-1995): 141-3; 104 (1995-1996): 184-8.

⁷¹⁷ *Deir Chelouit III*, 155.

⁷¹⁸ *Deir Chelouit III*, 154; for a previous translation with brief commentary, cf. von Lieven, *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 46 (2006): 165-71.

⁷¹⁹ *Deir Chelouit III*, 154, 11-15; corrections are made after the photograph in *ibid.*, Pl. 19.

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Emperor Caesar Trajan.
 Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Hadrian Augustus,
 Image [of] Shu, ^(a)

who appeases the heart of the “Akhet” within a sky clear and cloudless. ^(b)

nsw.t-biti

ty.t dsr.t n [ʿm]-t3.wy

rs shṭp wd3.t m tp.w-r3=f

r iwʿIs.t m mhy.t-nfr.t



hsf=s ḏw hr t3 r sʿnh wnn.t

nb ḥʿp(y) (3wtwkrtrw kysrs)| (tryns ʿtryns (n)ty-ḥw)|

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt,
 the sacred replica of World-[knower], ^(c)
 the guard who appeases the *wedjat*-eye with his incantations,
 until Isis comes as the good North-Wind, ^(d)

so she might drive away evil from the land, to enliven all existence.

The Lord of the Inundation, ^(e) Emperor Caesar, Trajan Hadrianus Augustus.

(a) Reading  instead of  (Zivie).⁷²⁰ Hadrian is said to be the image of Shu, most likely because of his role pacifying the celestial goddess, comparable to Shu-Onuris or Arensnuphis pacifying Tefnut.⁷²¹



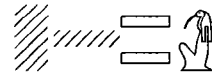
(b) Stage directions of this type usually refer to the sky from which the King or solar-disk is reborn, newly purified after the chaotic and cloudy forces of Apep have been banished.⁷²² Devoid of clouds, the solar bark and other celestial bodies can travel unobstructed. At the same time, as with other cosmographic texts, the cloudless sky is the ideal setting for observing and describing astronomical phenomena.⁷²³ This small detail is thus crucial for the following hymn which details both Isis’s participation in the solar cycle and her place within the constellations of the night sky (see *infra*).

⁷²⁰ For the phonetic spelling of Shu, cf. *Deir Chelouit II*, 86, 1.

⁷²¹ See most recently Inconnu-Bocquillon, *Le mythe de la Déesse Lointaine à Philae*, p. 157, *et passim*.

⁷²² Darnell, *ZÄS* 124 (1997): 103-4; idem, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity* (PhD Disst.), pp. 197-203 (with extensive discussion and many examples).

⁷²³ Von Lieven, *Der Himmel über Esna*, p. 74.

(c)  Reading  instead of  (Zivie). The king is often compared to Thoth “the world-knower (*ʿm-t3.wy*)” when reciting hymns of praise, as he clearly wishes to praise the divinity in all his/her names and aspects.⁷²⁴ Thoth is particularly appropriate as a role model in this situation, not just because of his extensive knowledge, but also because he often acts as messenger to other deities,⁷²⁵ having a particularly close rapport with Isis.⁷²⁶

At the same time, Thoth is also closely linked to Shu, through their common efforts to cajole the Goddess of the Wandering Eye of the Sun back to Egypt.⁷²⁷ Shu-Onuris is apparently able to do this by his military feats and dancing, while Thoth uses his persuasive speech and delightful words to entreaty Tefnut to return home.⁷²⁸

The epithet “earth-knower” also frequently applies to the King in ritual scenes in which he demonstrates his astronomical, geological, or geographical knowledge.⁷²⁹ This is quite appropriate for the hymn to Isis that follows (cf. *infra*).

(d) For Isis as the “good North-Wind,” see also *Deir Chelouit* I, No. 11, 1. The north-wind often accompanies the arrival of the Inundation in Egyptian texts, apparently because it slowed down the Nile maximized the period of flooding,⁷³⁰ and thus this epithet is another reference to Isis bringing the beneficent Inundation at the New Year.⁷³¹

(e) This epithet of Hadrian summarizes his act of pacifying the raging goddess, thereby ensuring a pleasant Inundation.⁷³²

Isis, meanwhile, bears the following epithets:⁷³³

⁷²⁴ Derchain-Urtel, *Thoth*, ; Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou*, p. 15, n. 278; Sauneron, in Ricke, ed., *Elephantine*, p. 40, n. h; Volokhine, *BIFAO* 102 (2002): 407, n. b.

⁷²⁵ See recently Collombert, *RdE* 48 (1997): 258.

⁷²⁶ For Thoth, and not the king, worshipping Isis, cf. *Dendara* VI, 113, 4 (after Inconnu-Bocquillon, *Le mythe de la Déesse Lointaine à Philae*, p. 179, n. 198); Dils, *Der Tempel von Dusch*, p. 177, Pl. 75.

⁷²⁷ Inconnu-Bocquillon, *Le mythe de la Déesse Lointaine à Philae*, p. 146, unconvincingly suggests that the *wnš-kwḏ* in the Demotic *Mythus* “n’est pas Thoth lui-même, mais son lieutenant.”

⁷²⁸ E.g. *Mythus* 8, 6-18; cf. de Cenival, *Le Mythe de l’Oeil du Soleil*, pp. 20-3.

⁷²⁹ Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou*, p. 15, n. 278.

⁷³⁰ Sauneron, *BIFAO* 60 (1960): 12-6 (with references to earlier discussions).

⁷³¹ Bergman, *Isis-Seele und Osiris-Ei*, pp. 10-69; Darnell, *SAK* 24 (1997): 44.

⁷³² For similar royal epithets, cf. Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz, *Le petit temple d’Abou Simbel*, I, p. 220, n. 483; Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande*, p. 263, n. 824; Zivie, *BIFAO* 74 (1974): 113; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 622.

⁷³³ *Deir Chelouit* III, 154, 16-24.

Is.t-wr.(t) Mw.t-ntr wsr.t hr(.t)-ib dw-št3
qbhw.t mnḥ.t sqb(.t) ib n sn=s m qbhw ndm
nn ws m k3w n Wsir ntr-ᶜ3 n d3m.t
ḥtp r-gs^(a) b3 ᶜ3 n Km-3.t=f
[ḥ]nᶜ b3.w šps.w n it.w mw.wt Hmni.w
š3ᶜ grg-t3

iw=s r-gs=f ḥry-ib dw šps hr w3.t n(t) Mntw-Rᶜ-Hr-3ḥty
r s[n]ḥn ḥᶜ.w=f m whm-ᶜnh rnp
m k3=s n St.t sty ḥᶜpy r tr=f
mi nts 3ḥ.t n(t) sn=s Wsir
wr z3=sn m rwd r ir ḥr.w

Great Isis, Mother of God, Mighty within the Remote Mountain,
 Beneficent libatress, who cools the heart of her brother with sweet water,
 without any end to food for Osiris, the Great God of Djeme,
 who dwells beside the Great Ba of Kematef,
 [to]gether with the august spirits of the Fathers and Mothers of the
 Ogdoad,
 who began the earth's foundation.

She is beside him in the august mountain upon the Road of Montu-Re-Harakhty,
 in order to re[ju]venate his body with rejuvenating water,
 in her name of Satet who produces the Inundation at its time,
 for she is the “Akhet” of her brother Osiris,
 their son is great of plants in order to supply food.

In the divine column, Isis is further described as a food producer:

sh.t nfr.t m t3
3ḥ.t shp(.t) ht-n-ᶜnh
sm3wi(.t) d.t=s tpy-rnp.t n Wsir (...)
r tḫ.t=f m i3.t-t3m.t
ir(.t) s.t=s r-gs=f hr dw-št3

Beautiful field in the land,
 “Akhet” who produces the “wood-of-life,”⁷³⁴
 who renews her body at the New Year for Osiris (...)
 at his grotto who joins his domain to his grotto in the Mound of Djeme,
 who makes her seat beside him on the Remote Mountain.

(a) The photograph shows r-gs, “beside,” and not just damage.

⁷³⁴ For Isis and the *ht-n-ᶜnh*, cf. also Sambin and Carlotti, *BIFAO* 95 (1995): 410, n. 84 (another attestation from Thebes), and *Deir Chelouit* III, 113, 2.

The main hymn follows:⁷³⁵

¹ *i3w n=t 'Is.t*

hy n=t nb(.t)-t3.wy

hn n=t wr.t-hk3w

² *hy n k3=t*

h(y) n hm=t 'Is.t wr.t mw.t-ntr

hn n=t³ itn m d.t=f

hknw n=t 'Itm m h.t=f

mi ntt p.t di sw R^c m-hnw=s

psd i^ch m-q3b=s

⁴ *ntr.w imy.w p.t (hr)^(a) sw3š=t*

iry.w 3hty.w^(b)

mi ntt id.t wnm(.t) rr.w=s

ms(.t) sn r nw=s[n]^(c)

⁵ *s^cr md.wt^(d) imy.w (m)skt.t*

sh^tp tw m3^c.tyw nw m^cnd.t^(e)

mi ntt sh^c(.t) R^c tpy dw3.t

sh^tp(.t) 'Itm m grh

⁶ *ihm.w-sk (hr) sns n=t*

wpwt.yw nw p.t-rsy.t

mi ntt St.t nb(.t) tp-rnp.t

hnw.t h3bs.w r-gs S3h^(f)

⁷ *ihm.w-wr^d dw3=sⁿ tw*

[g]n[h].wt nw p.t mhy.t

mi ntt 'Ip.t-wr.t m ghr(.t)^(g)

z3.t msh.t m-q3b⁸ ntr.w^(h)

htpty.w⁽ⁱ⁾ imy.w hr.t-ntr (hr) h^cc n=t

qrrty.w m qrr.wt=sⁿ

mi ntt Hw.t-Hr hnw.t 'Imnt.t

w^d.t-mdw⁽ⁱ⁾ n⁹ sdr.w hr h.t=sⁿ

^ch^c.w hr s[d]=sⁿ^(k)

m3^cty.w m wsh.t-m3^c.ty

mi ntt m3^c.t^(l) tp m3^cty

^cnh=sⁿ m r3=t¹⁰ nty m dw3.t^(m)

¹ Praise be unto you, Isis!

Praise to you Lady of the Two Lands,

⁷³⁵ *Deir Chelouit III, 154, 1-10.*

Praise to you, Greatest Sorceress,
² Praise to your Ka,
Praise to your majesty, Great Isis, Mother of God.

The sun praises you ³ in the morning,
Atum praises you at night,
for you are the sky in which the sun appears,
and inside which the moon shines.

⁴ The gods in heaven worship you,
those of the Akhet,
for you are the sow who eats her piglets,
and births them at the[ir] proper times.

⁵ Just as those within the night-bark raise their voices,
so do the justified of the day-bark appease you,
for you are she who makes Re appear in the morning,
and who makes Atum set at night.

⁶ The Imperishable Stars praise you,
namely the messengers of the Southern Sky,
for you are Sothis, Lady of the New Year,
mistress of the *h3bs.w* beside Orion.

⁷ The Indefatigable stars continue to worship you,
namely the [s]ta[r]s of the Northern Sky,
for you are Great Ipet in the sky,
who guards the Great Dipper in the middle of ⁸ the stars.

The blessed dead who are in the Necropolis rejoice for you,
namely the cavern-dwellers in the caverns,
for you are Hathor, Mistress of the West,
who makes proclamations for ⁹ those lying upon their bellies,
those standing upon their tails,
and the justified in the Hall of Maat,
for you are Maat on the head of the justified,
they live from your utterance ¹⁰ which is in the Netherworld.

(a) The expected *hr* preceding the infinitive is missing in this and the other pseudoverbal phrases in this hymn. As Kurth noted with inscriptions from Edfu, this omission may be partially phonetic, as in all examples the preposition *hr* (Coptic 21) precedes a sibilant or aspirant (*sw3š, sns, hʳʳ*).⁷³⁶

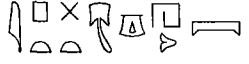
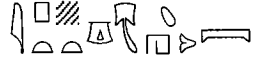

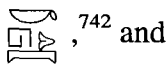
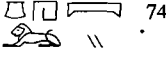
⁷³⁶ For this phenomenon, see Kurth, in Kurth, ed., *Edfu: Studien zur Ikonographie*, pp. 52-4.

(b) For “those of the Akhet (*iry.w 3h.t*),” cf. Haikal, *Two Hieratic Funerary Papyri of Nesmin*, II, p. 61, n. 28.

(c) This passage parallels the Book of Nut from the Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos,⁷³⁷ a text which was re-copied with demotic annotations at some point in the Imperial Era.⁷³⁸

(d) This phrase occurs in New Kingdom Netherworld books, as well as in Roman funerary papyri.⁷³⁹

(e) The adoration given to Isis in the solar barks is evoked in a number of similar texts.⁷⁴⁰

(f) Reading:  instead of  (Zivie).⁷⁴¹ This previously unrecorded word for “sky,” *ghr.t* (*ghl.t*) also appears in both *Deir Chelouit* III, 157 and *Tôd* I, 73, 2 as , in *Médamoud* I, 179, 2 as ,⁷⁴² and in a block from Armant, probably from the Roman Period, as .⁷⁴³ In the first three examples, *ghr.t* seems to contrast with *gb.t*, “sky,”⁷⁴⁴ and thus this might be a specific term for the north

⁷³⁷ Grapow, *ZÄS* 71 (1935) 45-7; this parallel has been noted already in *LGG* V, p. 133; von Lieven, von Lieven, *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 46 (2006): 169.

⁷³⁸ P. Carlsberg I, V.1-3; Lange and Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. I*, pp. 8-9 for further references, see Koenig, *Le Papyrus Boulaq* 6, 23 n. (o); Hornung, *Zwei ramessidische Königgraber, Ramses IV. und Ramses VII*, pp. 93-4; von Lieven, *Der Himmel über Esna*, p. 148; Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity*, p. 32; cf. also Kurth, *Der Sarg der Teüris*, p. 21, n. 223.



⁷³⁹ *Wb.* IV, 33, 8-13.

⁷⁴⁰ “Adoration for you in the night-bark, praise for you in the day-bark (*i3w n=t m mskt.t, hn n=t m m'nd.t*)” (Žabkar, *Hymns to Isis in Her Temple at Philae*, p. 117, Fig. 9, cols. 2-3); “Adoration in the night-bark, praise in the day-bark (*i3w m mskt.t, hnw m m'nd.t*)” (Dils, *Tempel von Dusch*, p. 177, Pl. 75); “May we worship you in the night-bark (*dw3=n n=t m (m)skt.t*)” (Kurth, *Der Sarg der Teüris*, pp. 5-6, Text B); for Isis in the solar bark in general, see Žabkar, *Hymns to Isis in Her Temple at Philae*, pp. 73-4, 81-2, 90-1; cf. also the Hellenistic forms of Isis who protects sailors (Isis Pelagia, Pharis, Euploia, etc.), Merkelbach, *Isis regina – Zeus Sarapis*, pp. 66-7, §§117-9; Malaise, *Pour une terminologie et une analyse des cultes isiaques*, pp. 141-9.

⁷⁴¹ The copy of Zivie, *Deir Chelouit* III, 154, slightly rearranged the order of signs when transposing the horizontal columns for the vertical text copy; the the translation of von Lieven, *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 46 (2006): 167-8, “die zufriedengestellt ist(?) beim(?) Bewachen (*shr<.ti> hr s3w*),” is thus to be abandoned; for the hide-sign writing *m* at Deir Shelwit, cf. Zivie-Coche, in Der Manuelian, ed., *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, II, pp. 870-2; Derchain-Urtel, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen*, pp. 78, 308-9; neither of these authors noted that this sign-value occurs already in the New Kingdom (Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 64; derived from *imy* “within,” current in the Coffin Texts), and thus the acrophonic derivation *m* < *msk3* Derchain-Urtel proposed is unnecessary.

⁷⁴² Correcting the transcription of Drioton after the photo in *Médamoud* I, p. 81, Fig. 16.

⁷⁴³ Farid, *MDAIK* 35 (1979): 67, No. 26, Pl. 15c (noted to the author by Christophe Thiers).

sky.⁷⁴⁵ A further example occurs in P. Carlsberg I, 1, 1, where it refers to the cosmic image of Nut: “This is the female-image () of the sky (*t3 rpi.t nt khr.t twy*).⁷⁴⁶ Since this word only appears in the Roman period, it might be a borrowing from Latin *caelum*, or it might be related to another obscure term for the sky, *kh3.t*, .⁷⁴⁷ Alternatively, since the term in two instances may specifically designate the night sky or the “undersky,”⁷⁴⁸ *ghr.t* might be related to Gehenna (Coptic: ΓΕΖΕΝΝΑ, Greek: γέεννα), the Hebrew designation of the fiery underworld.⁷⁴⁹

(g) The position of Isis-Sothis beside Orion in the southern sky is well documented in other sources.⁷⁵⁰ In this connection, she often receives the epithet “ruler of the decans (*hq3.t h3bs.w*).”⁷⁵¹

(h) The hippopotamus goddess Opet traditionally restrains the dangerous *msh.t*-constellation from the rest of the gods.⁷⁵²

⁷⁴⁴ Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 1097-8.

⁷⁴⁵ In *Tôd* I, 73, 1-2, the king offers the two uraei of Egypt, so the binary aspect is quite marked; e.g. “west and east,” “Upper and Lower Egypt,” “*nsw.t*-king and *biti*-king,” “*gb.t*-sky and *ghr.t*-sky,” “Bakhu and Manu.” The example in the north frieze text of *Deir Chelouit* III, 157 is parallel to *gb.t* in the corresponding south frieze (*Deir Chelouit* III, 156); in *Médamoud* I, 179, 2, the king is promised something “from the *ghr.t*-sky unto the *gb.t*-sky.”

⁷⁴⁶ Von Lieven, *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne*, p. 47, n. 90, translates “eine Vornübergebeugte(?)” without noting any of the hieroglyphic attestations.

⁷⁴⁷ *Esna* III, 368, 33; cf. Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d’Esna*, p. 181, n. (y); a Roman Period papyrus contains a number of previously unattested words for “sky,” cf. Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis* I, p. 296.

⁷⁴⁸ *Deir Chelouit* III, 157, and P. Carlsberg I, 1, 1, the *ghr.t*-sky is the location of the setting sun and dying stars.

⁷⁴⁹ For Greek and Coptic conceptions of Gehenna, cf. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, pp. 320-2.




⁷⁵⁰ See most recently the numerous examples discussed by Sambin and Carlotti, *BIFAO* 95 (1995): 419-21; Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 100-1; to their notes, add also *Deir Chelouit* III, 124, 29-30; and *Le temple de Deir al-Médina*, 89, the label to a scene with Orion followed by Sothis as a cow:

b3 n Is.t m rn=s n Spd.t 3.t m pt-rs.t
hr ir(.t) z3 n sn=s Wsir m s3h m pt (rs.t)
r/tw shtp=f m hr.t-ntr

The Ba of Isis in her name of Sothis the Great in the Southern Sky,
protecting her brother Osiris as Orion in the (Southern) Sky,
until/while he sets in the Necropolis.

⁷⁵¹ Noted already by von Lieven, *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 46 (2006): 170; for the title, see the references in Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 100, n. 110.

⁷⁵² von Lieven, *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 46 (2006): 170 (with references).

- (i) The *hṯpty.w* are a traditional group of the blessed dead in the Netherworld who frequently appear in solar hymns.⁷⁵³
- (j) The photograph shows , *wd*, instead of damage.⁷⁵⁴
- (k) Von Lieven alternatively read “die Abbilder auf ihren S[tandarten(?)] (*shṯm.w hr i[3wt(?)]=sn*), restoring the *s*-bolt to the divine standard .⁷⁵⁵ However, the expression “the recumbent serpents stand up for you on their tails (*ḥḥ n=k sdr.w hr sd=sn*)” is well attested in texts describing the Netherworld.⁷⁵⁶ Moreover, the photo of the present text supports the reading  *hr sd=sn*.
- (l) The identification of Isis and Maat is not common.⁷⁵⁷
- (m) Although Isis traditionally played an important role in the Netherworld,⁷⁵⁸ descriptions of her descent into the Netherworld are much less common in the Graeco-Roman Period. One exception is a hymn to Isis from the Opet Temple where she is said to be:⁷⁵⁹

sn.(t) p.t t3 dw3.t
pḥr(t) imy.w
h3p(t) h3.t n sn=s Wsir
pš(t) gbt.y=s(y) hr=f
hwi=s ḥḥ.w=f

She who goes through heaven, earth, and the underworld,
 who encircles those who are there;
 who covers the corpse of her brother Osiris,

⁷⁵³ See the references in Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, pp. 106-7; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 687-8; and add *Deir Chelouit* I, 46, 3; a priestly manual defines them as “the gods who are in the following of Osiris” (Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis*, p. 287, n. a).

⁷⁵⁴ Correctly suggested as an emendation by von Lieven, *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 46 (2006): 168; for parallels for this epithet of Isis, cf. *Deir Chelouit* II, 69, 9-10; *Deir Chelouit* III, 124, 28.

⁷⁵⁵ Von Lieven, *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 46 (2006): 168 and 169, n. k; for the conflation of the *ḥḥ*- and *shṯm*-signs in Roman inscriptions, cf. Meeks, *Les architraves du temple d'Esna*, p. 177, §485.

⁷⁵⁶ Cf. the references collected in Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, p. 97, n. 201.

⁷⁵⁷ For Isis-Maat and equivalents in Hellenistic Isiac cults, see Griffiths, in Berger and Grimal, eds., *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, III, pp. 255-64.

⁷⁵⁸ See most recently: Manassa, *The Late Egyptian Underworld*, I, pp. 128-9.

⁷⁵⁹ *Opet* I, 139, cols. 2-3; de Wit, *Opet* III, pp. 76-7.

who spreads her arms around him,
thereby protecting his body.

In general, however the voyage through the Duat is typically the action of Re, and the phraseology of this section of this hymn accordingly borrows heavily from traditional solar hymns and Netherworld books.

Texts from Philae specify that Isis “enters the Netherworld (*ḥk=s dw3.t*),”⁷⁶⁰ “just as she penetrated into the earth, so did she repel darkness (*iqḥ.n=s t3, ḥsr.n=s kkw*),”⁷⁶¹ and that “the August one circulates throughout the Netherworld after her brother Osiris (*šn šps.t m Igr.t m-ḥt sn=s Wsir*).”⁷⁶² Those passages allude to the voyage of Isis to the island of Biggeh to render funerary services to Osiris within the Abaton.⁷⁶³

Similarly, Isis of Deir Shelwit would descend into the Netherworld when she visited Osiris, Kematef, and the Ogdoad at Medinet Habu. This comparison between real world funerary cults at Medinet Habu and the solar rejuvenation of Osiris in the Netherworld is paralleled in descriptions of the other divine visitors to Medinet Habu, Chonsu-Shu, Amenope, and Montu of Armant (cf. **5.11.1.15**). Nonetheless, the Deir Shelwit hymn adds an additional dimension to the mortuary rites by associating Isis with Sothis, returning to Egypt at the New Year in her form of the pacified Goddess of the Eye of the Sun. By reciting this brilliant hymn, Hadrian pacifies the potentially dangerous goddess through his impressive blending of astronomy, cosmology and mythology, thus bringing the beneficent

⁷⁶⁰ Bénédite, *Philae*, 125, 1.

⁷⁶¹ *Philä* II, 77, 3-4.

⁷⁶² Žabkar, *Hymns to Isis in Her Temple at Philae*, p. 79, Fig. 7, cols. 5-6.

⁷⁶³ Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton*; Inconnu-Bocquillon, *Le mythe de la Déesse Lointaine à Philae*, pp. 270-1.

flood to Egypt (with the epithet “Lord of the Inundation (*nb H^cpi*)”), simultaneously enabling the proper water offerings for Osiris, Kematef and the Ogdoad in Djeme.

5.10.2.2 North Bandeau = Deir Chelouit III, 157

Is.t wr.t mw.t-ntr
ir.t-R^c hr(.t)-ib dw-imnty

ghr.t^(a) wr.t šsp'ltm hn^c dd.w(?)^(b)
r shpr d.t=f h.t=f^(c)

nhp^(d) R^c r=s m-^cb i3h.w=f
r sqd=f r r3-^c=f n sf^(e)
dr shd.n=f dw3.t
p_hr.n=f'Igr.t
nty.w im hr ir(.t) n=f i3w
3bh stw.t(=f) h^cw n wrd-ib
hnm itn itn^(f)

w_hm.n=f h^c m R^c tp-dw3w
˘.wy=f(y) h3yty.w^(g)
r bs m 3h.t
m d3i=f^(h) m skt.t
wr.ti m phty=f
˘pp hr.ti m nbi.t=f⁽ⁱ⁾

rn=f wr m Mnt m Iwnw-šm^c
hr gs rsy-i3bty nty'Is.t-t3m.t

w_hm.n=f [...]
m hb nfr n 3bd 4 3h.t 26^(j)
w3h.n=f iht nt it-it.w mw.wt=f
si3(?^(k)).n=f shr.w n hr-m-^c(l)=sn

iw z3'Is.t m nsw.t n t3.wy
m wd md.w
twt=f hry-tp t3
mn.ti hr ns.t=f r^c-nb

Great Isis, Mother of God, Eye of Re within the Western Mountain,
 Great sky who receives Atum with the stars,
 in order to create day and night.

That Re leaps up to her together with his radiance,
 is so he might sail to his point of yesterday,
 after having illumined the netherworld,

having travelled throughout Igeret,
the ones therein giving him praise,
so (his) rays might mingle with the body of Tired-of-Heart
(Osiris),
and the solar disk might unite with the solar disk.

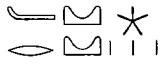
It was as Re in the morning that he repeated appearances,
his limbs being radiant beings,
in order to emerge from the Akhet,
while he travels in the night-bark,
being great of strength,
and Apep having fallen because of his flame.

His great name is Montu in Armant (*Iwnw-šm*),
to the south-east of the Mound of Djeme.

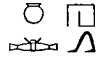
That he repeated his [...],
was in the beautiful festival of 26 Khoiak,
having deposited offerings for his fathers and mothers,
having perceived(?) the conditions of those with them.

The son of Isis is King of the two lands,
as one who issues proclamations,
his image upon earth,
remaining upon his throne every day.

(a) For this word for sky, cf. *supra*, **5.10.2.1**, n. (e).

(b) Reading:  = *hn^c dd.w*, “with the deceased stars.”⁷⁶⁴ This appears to refer to Isis as Nut who receives the setting sun (Atum) and the dying stars in order to give birth to them again (cf. *supra*, **5.10.2.1**, 3-4), as well as the location of Deir Shelwit as the entrance (lit. “the place of mummification (*r3-wry.t*)”)⁷⁶⁵ to the Necropolis of Djeme.


(c) The phrase *d.t=f h.t=f*, “day and night,” refers to the outer body and inner belly of Nut by which the sungod travels,⁷⁶⁶ and is thus quite appropriate for the present description of Isis-Nut.


(d) Reading:  = *nhp*, “to leap up,” a verb closely associated with the sunrise.⁷⁶⁷

⁷⁶⁴ Compare the common designation of *dd.w*, “ancestors” (Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 1252-3).

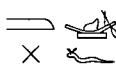
⁷⁶⁵ Cf. **4.26**.


⁷⁶⁶ Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1250.

(e) Reading:  = $r r^3-c=f n sf$.⁷⁶⁸ A similar spelling of r^3-c appears in the Temple of Ramesses III before the Second Pylon of Karnak, with a direct copy in the nearby Chapel of Achoris before the First Pylon.⁷⁶⁹

(f) Reading:  = $^c.wy=f(y) h^3yty.w$, “his limbs are radiant beings.” This phrase is remarkably similar to a text from the tomb of Ramesses VI, which describes the solar god: “his two (visible) limbs being two snakes, his two arms remaining in the solar disk ($^c.wy(t)y=f(y) m hf(3).wy$, $^c.wy=f(y) mn m itn$).”⁷⁷⁰ While that particular description refers to an image of an anguipede sundisk, the underlying theological concept is that of the rays of the sun as fiery limbs of Re, as famously depicted on the Amarna Period Aten.⁷⁷¹

(g) Compare the similar statement in a hymn from Medinet Habu, “the son unites with his father ($hnm z^3 hn^c it=f$)” (5.11.1.7, col. 3).

(h) The reading:  = $m d^3i=f$, “while he sails,” is confirmed by a similar spelling

in the parallel bandeau text (5.10.2.2): , $m d^3i$, “while sailing.”

(h) For Montu slaying Apophis, cf. 4.33 and 4.37.

(i) This is the date of the Sokar Festival when Montu-Re-Harakhty of Armant travelled to Medinet Habu (cf. 7.5).



⁷⁶⁷ Cf. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 190-1, 297-9.

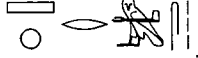
⁷⁶⁸ For this phrase, cf. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 241; this passage thus refers to Montu-Re-Harakhty returning to Armant after travelling through the Netherworld of Djeme.

⁷⁶⁹ Traunecker, et al., *La chapelle d'Achôris à Karnak*, II, pp. 47, col. 11, 48-9, n. j (reference courtesy of Prof. John C. Darnell).

⁷⁷⁰ Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 231, 233-7, Pl. 30; note that a direct link between the two texts is theoretically possible, as the Tomb of Ramesses VI was the most popular tomb for Roman visitors, many of whom were native Thebans (cf. Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, p. 171; there are also many Demotic graffiti in the tombs of the Valley of the Kings, a large percent of which may be from the Roman Period, cf. Vinson, *ARCE Bulletin* 189 [2006]: 19-21).

⁷⁷¹ Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 385-9.

④ Tentatively reading:  =  = *si3.n=f*, “he perceived,” although the solar god usually “takes care of (*ir shr.w*)” or “decrees conditions (*wḏ shr.w*)” to the deceased (cf. *infra*, **5.11.1.10**, col. 3).

(k) Reading:  = *hr-m-ḥ=sn*, “with them.”⁷⁷²

This remarkable bandeau inscription begins by equating Isis with Nut as the sky in which the sun travels and becomes rejuvenated, just as in the large hymn (**5.10.2.1**). Montu-Re-Harakhty, the sundisk himself, sails through Isis (viz. Deir Shelwit) as the day-sky in order to reach the Netherworld of Medinet Habu. The parallels between Montu’s voyage to Djeme and the daily course of the sun, a concept that predominates in the Antoninus Pius hymns at Medinet Habu (cf. **5.11.1.13**), become more evident here when Armant is defined as being “to the south-east of the Mound of Djeme.” The text thus states that Montu travels from the south-east to the north-west and back again,⁷⁷³ making his festival procession a living reenactment of the solar cycle.⁷⁷⁴ The processional station of Deir Shelwit, personified as Isis, thus functioned figuratively as the sky connecting Armant and Medinet Habu,⁷⁷⁵ a role which also appears in an inscription from the propylon.⁷⁷⁶

wnn Mnt m itn

⁷⁷² For similar orthographies, see Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 744.

⁷⁷³ Egyptian religious texts traditionally describe the solar course going from the north-east to the south-west, although there are exceptions (cf. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 131-2, n. 9); note that at Medinet Habu, the decoration on the south gate of Antoninus Pius (cf. **5.11.1.11-12**) depicts the King of Lower Egypt on the west (left), and the King of Upper Egypt on the east (right), demonstrating the conceptual links West ≈ North and East ≈ South.

⁷⁷⁴ Similar theological ideas lay behind the daily chariot rides of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, cf. Darnell and Manassa, *Tutankhamun’s Armies*, p. 39.

⁷⁷⁵ For the temple replicating the sky upon which divine barks travel, cf. Kurth, *Den Himmel stützen*.

⁷⁷⁶ *Deir Chelouit I*, 16, 1.

*di=f sw m R^c-Hr-3hty hry ntr.w nb
 wnn tnn.t m b3q.t hr=f
 sw m Is.t m skt.t n hm=f*

As long as Montu is the solar disk,
 appearing appears as Re-Harakhty, chief of all the gods,
 as long as Tjenenet is the sky beneath him,
 she is in the form of Isis in the day-bark of his majesty.

A similar astronomical interpretation of Deir Shelwit comes from the interior of the same
 propylon:⁷⁷⁷

[...] *wbn [R^c?] m sty(=f) r shtp Itm m ʿnh.t hr s3=s
 wd=f bw nfr imy=s*

*sw m r3-wry.t nt it-it.w
 hr dw-št3 m hnm-ʿnh.t
 (...) m sni r gb.t n šww
 sw m s.t-rd.wy n wnsnš
 hr sfsf 3w n qrr.t n p3wty.w*

[...Re?] rises across from it,
 in order to appease Atum in the West behind it,
 so he might decree the goodness within it.

It is the burial place of the father of fathers,
 upon the Hidden Mountain in Khenmet-Anch,
 (...) resembling the heaven of the sun,
 it is the processional stop of he who hurries,
 purifying offerings for the cavern of the Primeval Ones.

5.10.3 Armant

Although the temples of Armant are almost entirely destroyed, early Egyptologists copied some of the inscriptions and even took some photographs. Lepsius noted the presence of multiple large columns inscribed with the cartouches of Hadrian that were still in place

⁷⁷⁷ Deir Chelouit I, 25.

during his visit.⁷⁷⁸ Unfortunately, it is impossible to appreciate the exact significance of these works.⁷⁷⁹

XI Antoninus Pius (138-161 CE)

5.11.0 Introduction

The generally uneventful reign of Antoninus Pius was perhaps the most prosperous, peaceful, and overall best-governed period of the Roman Empire.⁷⁸⁰ Two historical sources mention an Egyptian rebellion which Antoninus suppressed,⁷⁸¹ and the contemporaneous edict of the prefect M. Sempronius Liberalis vaguely refers to “vexations (δυσχέρεια)” in the country.⁷⁸² In addition, the poet Aelius Aristides listed “wickedness of those around the Red Sea” among minor problems facing the Roman Empire,⁷⁸³ but the historical validity of this passage is uncertain.⁷⁸⁴

⁷⁷⁸ *LD Text*, iv, p. 1.

⁷⁷⁹ Further study of the scattered blocks at Armant may yield more fragments of decoration from Hadrian; cf. Thiers, in Goyon and Cardin, eds., *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, II, pp. 1807-1816.

⁷⁸⁰ For the reign of Antoninus in general, see Hüttl, *Antoninus Pius*; Garzetti, *From Tiberius to the Antonines*, pp. 441-471; Grant, *The Antonines*, pp. 9-23.

⁷⁸¹ (1) *Historia Augusta, Vita Pii 5.5*: “In Achaea also and in Egypt he (sc. Antoninus) put down rebellions” (2) John Malalas XI.23 (= Jeffreys, et al., *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, p. 149): “He began a campaign against the Egyptians who had rebelled and killed the *augustalios* Deinarchos.” For the interpretative problems involved with these texts, see already Hüttl, *Antoninus Pius*, I, pp. 290-3, n. 356. The passage from John Malalas is particularly problematic, as there may have been some confusion with Caracalla – also named Antoninus – who actually did invade Alexandria, for which see most recently Buraselis, *ZPE* 108 (1995): 166-88.

⁷⁸² Zaccaria, *L'editto di M. Sempronius Liberalis*, pp. 29-31; Zaccaria wisely concludes that the troubles refer to the general problem of anachoresis, not to any specific political rebellions (Zaccaria, *L'editto di M. Sempronius Liberalis*, pp. 56-75); for this edict, cf. also Cowey, *ZPE* 106 (1995): 195-9.

⁷⁸³ Aelius Aristides, *Orationes* XXVI.70; this has traditionally been interpreted as an allusion to wars with the Blemmyes (e.g. Grant, *The Antonines*, p. 17).

⁷⁸⁴ Behr, *P. Aelius Aristides: Orations XVII-LIII*, II, pp. 376-7, n. 77, considers this whole passage “problematic,” as it is not even certain which Emperor Aristides was addressing.

Classical authors portrayed Antoninus Pius as distrustful of oriental cults and superstitions, supporting traditional Roman gods wherever possible.⁷⁸⁵ In practice, however, Antoninus was a great benefactor to foreign cults all across the Empire, sending money to rebuild and restore provincial temples wherever necessary.⁷⁸⁶ Comparing the building policies of Antoninus in Rome to that in the provinces, Garzetti noted that:

“They followed the same lines of universal and impartial attention. An ostentatious exaltation of Italy at the expense of the provinces cannot be detected in his programme any more than the opposite tendency can be detected in Hadrian’s.”⁷⁸⁷

Antoninus Pius was not a particularly memorable builder in Rome itself, due in part to Antoninus’s general economic policy limiting state funds to restoring existing buildings.⁷⁸⁸ Indeed Rome had witnessed decades of monumental building projects from Vespasian to Hadrian, and there was perhaps little need or space for more large-scale developments.

Egypt, however, saw a significant boom in temple construction, renovation, and decoration.⁷⁸⁹ Artisans executed works in Alexandria,⁷⁹⁰ Dendera,⁷⁹¹ Elephantine,⁷⁹² Esna,⁷⁹³

⁷⁸⁵ Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie*, pp. 427-8.

⁷⁸⁶ Hüttl, *Antoninus Pius*, II, passim.

⁷⁸⁷ Garzetti, *From Tiberius to the Antonines*, p. 454.

⁷⁸⁸ Blake, *Roman Construction in Italy from Nerva through the Antonines*, pp. 65-70; Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, pp. 124-6; Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples*, pp. 212-8; Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, p. 124, summarized: “the fifty-odd years that followed the death of Hadrian are a lean period in the architectural history of the capital,” noting that the Antonines “were content to restrict themselves to the bare minimum consistent with dynastic prudence and the proper maintenance of imperial authority.”

⁷⁸⁹ Grenier, *Les titulaires des empereurs romains*, pp. 60-5; Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I, p. 39; Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, pp. 265-70; Kákósy, in: *ANRW* II 18.5, p. 2922; Thiers, *RdE* 51 (2000): 269, n. 30; Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, p. 263, inaccurately concluded that “imperial support for the construction, renovation, and decoration of buildings in Egyptian temples declined markedly after Augustus, [and] shrank gradually through the reign of Antoninus.”

⁷⁹⁰ According to the *Historia Augusta*, *Vita Pii*, VIII.2-4, Antoninus restored the Pharos; if the passage of John Malalas actually refers to Antoninus Pius (cf. *supra*) then he also built the Temples of the Sun and Moon.

Komir,⁷⁹⁴ Kom Ombo,⁷⁹⁵ as well as Khargeh (Nadura and Qasr Zayyan)⁷⁹⁶ and Dakhleh Oases (Ismant el-Kharab).⁷⁹⁷ The Theban nome was no exception, undergoing further construction and receiving the final, yet quite extensive, hieroglyphic temple decoration at Medinet Habu, Deir el-Rumi, Deir Shelwit, Medamud, Armant, and Tod (cf. **Plate 24**).

Grenier claimed that the sudden boom in temple activity under Antoninus Pius was “inattendue (mais il faudra tenter de l’expliquer).”⁷⁹⁸ Kaper further noted “Such extensive building projects could only have been initiated by the central authorities, probably with a political aim in mind.”⁷⁹⁹ While political or propagandistic motives may have been involved, the prosperity of the Egyptian temples was likely more simply a consequence of the general prosperity experienced throughout the Roman Empire.

5.11.1 Medinet Habu

5.11.1.0 Introduction

Antoninus’s Construction efforts focused primarily at the Small Temple of Medinet Habu, specifically the enlargement of the Ptolemaic portico before the First Pylon with large

⁷⁹¹ Propylon of Harsomtous Temple: PM VI, 198 (3) = *LD IV*, 87c; *LD Text II*, p. 254.

⁷⁹² Laskowska-Kusztal, *Die Dekorfragmente der ptolemäisch-römischen Tempel von Elephantine*, pp. 10-1.

⁷⁹³ *Esna III*, Nos. 257-269 (Column 8); North Esna: Sauneron, *MDAIK* 16 (1958): 271-9.

⁷⁹⁴ Es-Saghir and Valbelle, *BIFAO* 83 (1983): 149-70.

⁷⁹⁵ Minimal decoration: De Morgan, *KO II*, Nos. 949 and 951.

⁷⁹⁶ For the major inscriptions of Antoninus at Qasr el-Zayyan, see D. Klotz, “The Cult-Topographical Text from Qasr el-Zayyan” (forthcoming).

⁷⁹⁷ Kaper, in Kaper, ed., *Life on the Fringe*, p. 149.

⁷⁹⁸ Grenier, in *ANRW II* 18.5, p. 3190.

⁷⁹⁹ Kaper, in Kaper, ed., *Life on the Fringe*, p. 141.

columns, new decoration, and the construction of a large open-air forecourt (cf. **Plate 25**).⁸⁰⁰ The layout of the forecourt was quite similar to the so-called courtyard of Antoninus at Medamud (cf. **5.11.4**) and that of Augustus in Kom Ombo.⁸⁰¹ These latter examples were large solar-courts designated for receiving food offerings and consecrating them on the colossal altars preserved *in situ*.⁸⁰² Although no altar was found intact in the Antonine courtyard at Medinet Habu, many of the texts mention bringing in food-offerings from all over the world. A description of a festival from Esna mentions similar food offerings carried out in the forecourt:⁸⁰³

*di iht ʕš3 bnr m hft-hr n ntr pn
 m r3 n h3y.t
 ʕ3b.t hr p3-htp ʕ3 wʕb m hft-hr n nb-nhp
 sdʕ3 h3.wt m k3.w 3pd.w m3-hd ghs.w t3y-n-ni3.w
 q3h-ʕ m iht nb.w nfr n k3 n nb-Iwny.t m-ʕb psd.t=f*

Giving many sweet offerings on the dromos of this god,
 at the entrance of the forecourt,
 a large composite offering upon the great pure offering table,
 on the dromos of the Lord of the Potter's Wheel (Khnum),
 provisioning the altars with bulls, birds, oryxes, gazelles, male ibexes,
 offering all good things for the Ka of the Lord of Esna together with his Ennead.

In the reign of Antoninus Pius, scribes carved extensive hymns and descriptions of offerings on the entrance to the portico and on the west and south portals of the courtyard. These religious texts are for the most part beautifully carved but are unfortunately only fragmentarily preserved. Thus far, only nineteenth century scholars (Champollion, Lepsius,

⁸⁰⁰ PM II², p. 461 (1)-(4); Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu, II: The Temple of the Eighteenth Dynasty*, pp. 31, 59-62; Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, pp. 199, Fig 150, 265-6.

⁸⁰¹ Noted already by Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, p. 235.

⁸⁰² See Ernst, *ZÄS* 129 (2002): 12-9.

⁸⁰³ *Esna* III, 284, 12-13; Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna*, pp. 183-5; for many other texts describing food offerings in temples, cf. Simonet, *Le Collège des Dieux Maîtres d'Autel*.

and Brugsch) have published brief excerpts of these Roman texts.⁸⁰⁴ Sethe copied a large number of the inscriptions in his *Notizbücher*,⁸⁰⁵ but he did not include them in his contributions to the *Wörterbuch* or in his classic study on Amun and the Ogdoad. These texts are remarkably explicit in outlining the theology and cults of Medinet Habu and Thebes in general, and attest to an incredible knowledge of traditional Egyptian religion into the mid-second century CE.⁸⁰⁶

East Gate

5.11.1.1 South screen (left) = PM II², p. 461 (1a)⁸⁰⁷ (cf. Plate 26a)

Antoninus Pius wears the white crown and presents a food offering. Above him are the remains of a four-column inscription describing offerings brought by the king:

¹ [...] m² [...]
³ [...] wnn.t
 ddm.wt=sn isk^(a)4[...=s]n
 ti-sw m Nwn nni sw r nw=f
 hr b^ch t3.wy m hw rsf.w

⁸⁰⁴ The Epigraphic Survey of the University of Chicago plans to publish these extremely important texts in Vol. IV of their edition of the Small Temple of Medinet Habu; since even Vol. I has not appeared yet, the present translations and commentary are based on photographs and handcopies made *in situ* by the author; the following translations and discussions have greatly benefited from numerous discussions with Prof. John C. Darnell, who had studied the Graeco-Roman inscriptions at Medinet Habu for several seasons as part of The Epigraphic Survey (cf. *Oriental Institute Annual Report 1997-98*).

⁸⁰⁵ Digital scans were graciously provided by Prof. Seidelmeyer of Berlin; references will be given to the *Notizbücher* for each inscription Sethe actually copied.

⁸⁰⁶ The only descriptions of these texts are those of Daressy, *Notice explicative des ruines de Médi-net Habou*, p. 3 (noting that they “contiennent des prières aux huit génies primordiaux et exaltent les bienfaits de la crue annuelle du Nil”), and Zivie, in *L’Egyptologie en 1979*, II, p. 102: “Pour ce qui est du contenu, je dirai simplement ici qu’un des tetes de l’embrasure de la porte nord fait largement allusion aux offrandes apportées par le pharaon aux dieux primordiaux.”

⁸⁰⁷ Champollion, *Notes descriptives*, I, p. 314; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 1304; the block depicting the head and cartouches of Antoninus is now in Berlin (No. 2121); cf. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, II: *The Temple of the Eighteenth Dynasty*, p. 31, Fig. 26.

¹[...] in ² [...]
³ [...] what exists,
 their heaps, meanwhile ⁴ [...]
 while he is as Nun who settles at his time,
 flooding the Two Lands with sustenance and produce.

- (a) Reading *ddm.wt*, “heaps (of offerings),”⁸⁰⁸ one of many references to food brought to the forecourt of Medinet Habu.

5.11.1.2

Below the arms of Antoninus is the following vertical inscription:⁸⁰⁹

^c*q r ḥw.t-ntr m nw mtr* ^(a)

³*ḥ.t pw nt R^c m zp [tpy]* ^(a)
tpḥ.t pw nt Nwn-wr

[...w^c*b.w zp-snw*]

Whosoever enters the temple at the proper time,

this is the Akhet of Re in the [initial] moment,
 this is the cavern of Nun the Great,

[... Be pure!] ^(c)

- (a) For the expression *nw mtr*, cf. Wb. II, 219, 5.
- (b) The Small Temple of Medinet Habu is also called the “Akhet of Re in the initial moment,” in a Ptolemaic text from the First Pylon.⁸¹⁰
- (c) For this restoration, cf. *supra*, **3.2.1**.

⁸⁰⁸ Wb. V, 634, 7-18, noting Coptic $\chi\lambda\tau\mu\epsilon$, “heaps of grain” (Crum, *CD*, 792b).

⁸⁰⁹ Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 1304; reproduced in Gabolde, *BIFAO* 95 (1995): 250.

⁸¹⁰ PM II², pp. 462-3 (10h) = Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter*, §252; for temples identified with the Akhet, cf. Darnell, in Bryan and Lorton, eds., *Essays in Egyptology*, pp. 40-2.

5.11.1.3 North screen (right) = PM II², p. 461 (1b)⁸¹¹ (cf. Plate 26b)

Antoninus wears the red crown and presents a food offering.⁸¹² Below his arm is the following label.⁸¹³

ḥtp-di-nsw.t iḥ.t nb nfr w^cb

An offering which the king gives, all good, pure things.

Above Antoninus are the remains of another four-column inscription:

¹ [...]

² [...Imn]-wr [w]r sw r ntr.w

swḥ n ³ [...]

[...] ^cnḥ.wy=s(y)

ḥtp db^c.w=f hr ir 3bw=s

⁴ [...] hr tkn di-mr.t ^(a)

hr ḥb(.t) inw m b3ḥ.t r-^c m3nw

¹ [...]

² [...Amun]-wer, who is greatest of the gods,
the breath of [...]

³ [...] her ears,

his become satisfied from doing what she desires,

⁴ [...] approaching heaven,

collecting tribute from Bakhu to Manu.

(a) Cf. *Wb.* V, 420, 1-3; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1183.

5.11.1.4

Below the arm of Antoninus is the following vertical inscription.⁸¹⁴

^cq r ḥnm.t-^cnḥ h3y[.t...]

[...w^cb.w zp 4]

⁸¹¹ Champollion, *Notes descriptives*, I, pp. 314 and 708; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 1304.

⁸¹² Only fragments of his second cartouche remains: (^ct[r]yns [^cntnyns...])| “Had[r]ianus A[ntoninus...]”; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 1304.

⁸¹³ Champollion, *Notes descriptives*, I, p. 708.

⁸¹⁴ Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 1304.

Whoever enters Khenmet-Anch, the open-cour[t...]
[...be pure!]

Portico

Just like with the east gate, parallel scenes of Antoninus Pius wearing the white crown (south) and red crown (north) are preserved on the east entrance to the Roman Portico, with extensive texts above. Two more inscriptions are found on the south and north interior walls of this gate.

5.11.1.5 East entrance, south face = PM II², p. 461 (4a)⁸¹⁵ (cf. Plate 27)

¹ nsw.t-šm^c (a) iṯ nhsy.w
hq3 h3s.wt-rsy.t m nht.w=f (dd=f) (b)

ii.n(=i) dy m irw=i n nsw.t
hr (c) g3.wt nw qbh^w-Stḥ (d)
² inw iry nw phr p.ty
r-mn r3-^c kkw-zm3wy (e)
iḥt nb nfr wn m-q3b=sn

hrp=i st r 3b.t³ n nb=f
t ḥnq.t k3.w 3pd.w ghs.w (f) ni3w sbi.w-n-wd3.t (g)
nn r-3w nty m-ḥr-m-^c=sn (h)
⁴ hr.tw r 3bw(.t)-ntr (i)
r shb (j) igr.t <n> nb=s r^c-nb

Mnt nb Twnw-šm^c R^c-Hr-3ḥty
Nwn-wr wtṯ iḥt nb

b^cḥ.n=f t3(.wy)
⁵ ḥbs.n=f (k) idb.w
nn idr n hp.t=f

bs rdw=f ḥ.t-n-^cnḥ
fd.t=f (hr) sš ḥrr.w nb
qm3 np(r)y
r šd.t rnp.wt (l)

⁸¹⁵ Sethe, *Notizbuch*, 17, 6-7.

pr^(m) *nb m i3hw=f*
wnn.t nb hpr hr-s3=f⁽ⁿ⁾
drp.w psd.t m-itr.ty^(o)
hr rdi(.t) m htp-di-nsw.t

šsp k3=f hn^c psd.t

¹The King of Upper Egypt, who seizes the Nubians,
 who rules the southern lands through his victories (says):

It is in my form of King that I have come here,
 bearing products from the Marshes of Seth,
²and tribute from the circuit of the heavens
 down to the realm of utter darkness,
 all good things which exist within them.

I hereby consecrate them as a hecatomb ³ for his lord:
 Bread, beer, cattle, fowl, gazelles, ibexes, oryxes,
 and all this which is among them, ⁴
 being distant from the images of god,
 in order to make festive Igeret <for> its lord, daily.


Montu Lord of Armant, Re-Harakhty,
 Great Nun, who begat all things.

Just as he inundated the (two) land(s),
⁵so did he cover the shores,
 without limit to his course.

His efflux brings forth the wood-of-life,
 while his sweat opens all flowers,
 which create grain (Nepri)
 in order ⁶to grow plants.


Just as Renenutet comes forth through his radiance,
 so does all that exists come about on his back,
 which provisions the Ennead throughout Egypt,
 through that which is given as a royal offering.

May his Ka receive (offerings) together with the Ennead!

(a) The reading  = *nsw.t-šm^c* "King of Upper Egypt" is supported by the similar introduction from a text on the South Gate (cf. **5.1.11.11**, col. 1).⁸¹⁶

⁸¹⁶ Reading suggested by Christian Leitz; for both readings of the white crown, cf. Fairman, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): 99.

(b) The implied “he says (*dd=f*)” is restored here after the similar structure of the texts on the South Gate (*infra*, 11.1.11).⁸¹⁷


(c) Reading:  = *hr* < *h3r*, “sack.”⁸¹⁸

(d) The *qbhw* of Seth is the southern equivalent of the *qbhw* of Horus,⁸¹⁹ a mythological region located beyond the ordered cosmos, apparently to the north-west of Egypt.⁸²⁰ The southern *qbhw* of Seth may have also evoked the toponym *qbhw* “First Cataract.”⁸²¹

(e) *r3-c kkw-zm3wy*: cf. *Wb.* V, 144, 5; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1091. Note the use of similar terminology on the First Pylon of the Ramesside temple at Medinet Habu.⁸²²

h3s.wt rsy.w nw t3-Nhsı
r-mn t3.w ph.w r-dr.w kkw-zm3wy

“The southern countries of Nubia,
as far as the lands and *pehu* at the limits of utter darkness.”

(f) Reading:  = *ghs.w* (spelled *khš.w*).⁸²³

⁸¹⁷ Cf. also the introduction to the procession of Hapi figures in *Deir Chelouit II*, 61, 4: “The *biti*-king of Lower Egypt says before Isis: “I bring to you all things” (*biti t3-mhw dd=f hr 'Is.t: in=i n=t iht nb*).”

⁸¹⁸ For this reading (not listed in Daumas, ed., *Valeurs phonétiques*, or other sign lists) cf. Perdu, *RdE* 47 (1996): n. 22, who alternatively suggests an origin based on confusion with the *hr*-sign; cf. also Jansen-Winkel, *SAK* 36 (2007): 68, n. (43); for more examples, see Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, p. 41 (his reference should be corrected to **B**, IV, 24 = p. 489); *Tôd I*, 19, 2; 22, 2; 23, 2; 29, 4; 105, 5 (the *sics* are thus unnecessary); Sauneron, *Mout*, Pl. 18, No. 22, 3; *Deir Chelouit II*, 73, 10; *Deir Chelouit III*, 96, 2; Drioton, *Médamoud I*, No. 98, 2 (= Fig. 6); cf. also **4.42**.

⁸¹⁹ *Wb.* V, 29, 8; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 1052; add also *Edfou IV*, 205, 1; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, p. 61, n. 1; Guermeur, *BIFA O* 104 (2004): 253, Texte C1, 254, n. y; for the *qbhw*-regions in general, see primarily Egberts, *JEA* 77 (1991): 61-7; Egberts did not discuss the present example, which seems to speak against his conclusion that both the northern and southern *qbhw*-regions were both located north of Egypt; for the *qbhw* region in the Nut Book, see most recently von Lieven, *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne*, I, pp. 153-7, who notes that the *Qbhw* are not exclusively northern.


⁸²⁰ Based on a relief in the Yale Peabody Museum; cf. Scott, *Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale*, pp. 154-5; this important example of the north-western *qbhw*-Horus was also not discussed by Egberts, *JEA* 77 (1991): 61-7.

⁸²¹ Suggested by Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 1052; for *qbhw* denoting the First Cataract region, cf. most recently Locher, *Topographie und Geschichte der Religion am ersten Nilkatarakt in griechisch-römischer Zeit*, pp. 98-9, 102-3.

⁸²² The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu II*, Pl. 101, 27.

⁸²³ Although the interchange between *s/š* is common in Graeco-Roman texts, note that Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 350, compared Egyptian *ghs* to Arabic *gahš*, “little donkey; gazelle.”

(g) The oryx was the traditional “rebel of the wedjat-eye (*sbi n wd3.t*).”⁸²⁴

(h) Reading:  = *hr-m-ꜥ*, “together with.”⁸²⁵

(i) The word *3bw.t*, “image” refers to slaughtered animals in the phrase “images of Seth (*3bw.wt Sth*)” or “images of the Evil One (*3bw.wt Nbd*),” because such animals received official brands (*3b.wt*) signifying they were not divine.⁸²⁶ The opposite term, *3bw.t ntr* “image of god” (or: “branded as divine”) is not recorded in dictionaries, but occurs in a number of Theban texts to denote sacred animals.⁸²⁷ This is evident in a scene from Chonsu Temple featuring the two sacred bulls of Chonsu-Thoth, since the king is called “he who protects the images of god (*3bw.wt-ntr*).”⁸²⁸ Therefore, the animals “who are distant from the images of god” must refer to the animals fit for sacrifice, as in a meat-offering scene from Chonsu Temple where the butchered animals are designated as “the enemies who are distant from the image of god (*sbi.w hr.w r 3bw.wt-ntr*).”⁸²⁹

⁸²⁴ Derchain, *Le sacrifice de l'oryx*; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 819; cf. also *Tôd* I, 130, 9-10.

⁸²⁵ For this particular spelling, cf. Fairman, *BIFAO* 43 (1945): 111 with n. 3; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 744-5.

⁸²⁶ Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 5-6; Yoyotte, *Annuaire de l'ÉPHÉ. Sciences Religieuses* 89 (1980-1981): 42-54; von Känel, *Les prêtres-ouâb de Sekhmet*, pp. 255-77; for the “images of the Evil One,” cf. *infra*, **11.1.11**, col. 4.

⁸²⁷ Cf. also Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 60 (= *Urk.* VIII, 89c, col. 1), where the king refers to the sacred bull of Chonsu-Thoth: “Behold your calf of the image of god (*mk bhs=k nt ihry(.t)-ntr*).”

⁸²⁸ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 60 (= *Urk.* VIII, 89a); similarly in Aufrère, *Montou*, §§164-6 (= *Urk.* VIII, 5g; paralleled in Mallet, *Le Kasr el-Agoûz*, p. 53; cf. Vittmann, *Altägyptische Wegmataphorik*, p. 131), the king is described as follows:

sw mi Hr

hr sm3 ihry.w

hr hwi 3bw.wt nt ntr.w

hr db3 ims.w nt nfy th mtn

hr swd3 šm-hr-mw

“He is like Horus,

while slaughtering the enemies/sacrificial animals,

(but) protecting the images of god,

while punishing the crimes of those who deviate from the way,



(but) making prosper those who are loyal.”

Aufrère, *Montou*, pp. 174 and 177-8, n. (f), did not follow the structure of these epithets, and claimed that *hwi*, “to protect,” should have the otherwise unattested meaning “to eliminate.” However, the verb *hwi*, “to protect,” frequently applies to both “Götterbildern” and “heiligen Tieren” (*Wb.* III, 245, 4-6).

⁸²⁹ Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 46 (= *Urk.* VIII, 101g).

Alternatively, the phrase *hr.tw* might be a parenthetical remark: “may you avoid (*hr.tw*) the sacred animals!”⁸³⁰


(j) The verb *shb*, “to make festive,” often has the extended meaning “to put food on an altar.”⁸³¹

(k) Reading:  = *hbs*, “to cover.”⁸³² The parallel version of this passage on the South Gate (cf. *infra*) writes this word as .

(l) The theme of the inundation and grain nourishing plants is a steady theme in earlier creator hymns.⁸³³ The present text seems to describe the agricultural cycle, where Montu’s efflux (*fd.t* and *rdw*)⁸³⁴ causes trees and plants to grow, blossom, and make seeds which create more plant.

(m) Reading:  = *pr Rnnwt.t*, “Renenutet comes forth.”⁸³⁵

(n) This is a reference to plants growing from the earth, as in the common reference to plants growing “on the back of Geb.”⁸³⁶

(n) Reading:  = *m-itr.ty* “in the two chapels; throughout Egypt.”⁸³⁷

⁸³⁰ *Wb.* III, 145, 20; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 669; note a similar parenthetical use of *hr.tw* in the middle of a festival description in *Esna* III, 284, 4 (= Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d’Esna*, p. 127).

⁸³¹ *Wb.* IV, 214, 6.

⁸³² For the Inundation “covering (*hbs*)” the banks, cf. *Wb.* III, 65, 8, and add *Deir Chelouit* III, 124, 17-18; note also the similar use of *st3m*, “to clothe” in *Wb.* IV, 357, 7: “das Ackerland „befruchten“ (vom Nil),“ perhaps related to *sd3m*, used in the same context (*Wb.* IV, 380, 2).

⁸³³ Van der Plas, *L’Hymne à la crue du Nil*, I, pp. 101-2.

⁸³⁴ For the parallelism of *fd.t* and *rdw*, cf. Sauneron, *Rituel de l’embaumement*, p. 50; for the present association of *rdw*-efflux and the “wood of life,” cf. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, p. 217 (No. 157, 4): “the wood of life comes forth from the efflux of his limbs (*hpr* (...) *ht-n-nh m rdw-c.wt=f*)”; for the “wood of life” in general, cf. Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 30-2, n. A (with further references).

⁸³⁵ The reading of the first group is confirmed by parallels in hieratic texts: Herbin, *BIFAO* 84 (1984): 271, n. (g); cf. also Derchain-Urtel, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen*, p. 306; the specific group appears primarily in the Roman Period, but compare the orthography of Ptolemy V “Epiphanes” (*ntr pr*) with the shining sundisk (*Wb.* I, 521, 17; suggested by Prof. Colleen Manassa); for the uraeus alone writing “Renenutet,” see Daumas, *Valeurs phonétiques*, II, p. 372; Cauville, *Dendara. Le fonds hiéroglyphiques*, p. 131; this hieroglyphic value probably also explains the Uraeus-crown of Princess Berenike which the Canopus Decree claimed to be a sportive hieroglyphic orthography of “Berenike, Mistress of Virgins (*hnw.t-rnn.wt*)” (cf. Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret von Kanopos*, pp. 163-67).

⁸³⁶ For this phrase, cf. the remarks of Derchain, *RdE* 48 (1997): 73.

**5.11.1.6 East entrance, north face = PM II², p. 461 (4b)⁸³⁸
(cf. Plate 28)**

¹ *biti-mḥw* ^(a) *šḥm m* [*Sty.w*] ^(b)

r-ᶜ mḥ.w [...]

[...] ² *nw t3 bl* ^(c)

r idr n šn n itn

bw wr [...]

[...] ³ *st r ᶜ.t šps.t*

snw.w nb wn m ḥnt=sn

m33=k [...]

⁴ *iw ph qnw=sn* [*r*] *ḥr.t* ^(d)

ḥtp.w dḥ3.w ḥt[3.w r...]

[...] ⁵ *nb ndm*

qbḥw sntr ᶜ3b.t sm3ᶜ.w iry r ᶜ.t imn[.t]

[...w] *bn Rᶜ-Ḥr-3ḥ.ty ḥry ntr.w* [...]

⁶ [...] *stp gs.w-pr*

[...] *ḥr* [...] = *sn r tr=f*

ḥnty itr.ty

Rᶜ-wr ḥry ntr.w nb

di=i bᶜḥ [...]

¹ The King of Lower Egypt, who has power over [the Asiatics],
as far as the northern [...]

[...] ² of foreign lands,
unto the limits of the circuit of the sundisk,
great things [...]

[...] ³ them to the august chamber,
and all offerings which exist within them.

May you see [...]

⁴ their fat reaching [unto] heaven,
offerings and provisions which are supp[lied to...]


[...] ⁵ all sweet [...],
cool-water, incense, hecatombs, which are also offered to the hidde[n]
chamber.

⁸³⁷ *Wb.* I, 148, 7-8; for another example of *m* < *miw*, “cat” (Consontal Principle), cf. Sauneron, *L’écriture figurative à Esna*, p. 134; the cat more frequently writes *mi* (*Wb.* II, 37, 1), and the present orthography may be due in part to elision of the *yod* (i.e. *m-itr.ty* < *m(i)-itr.ty*).

⁸³⁸ Sethe, *Notizbuch*, 17, 7.

[...Re-]Harakhty, chief of the gods [ri]ses [...]
⁶ [...] the temples,
 [...] before their [...] at his time,
 throughout Egypt.
 Great Re, chief of all the gods,

I cause [...] to flood [...].

- (a) Reading:  = *biti-mhw*, “King of Lower Egypt.” (cf. **5.11.1.5**, text note (a)).
- (b) For the restoration, compare the very similar text in *Esna III*, 359, 40: “Overseer of the Northern District (...) who has power over the Asiatics (*imy-r3* ^c*-mhy* (...) *sh̄m* (*m*) *st̄ty.w*).”
- (b) For *t3-bl*, “foreign land,” see *Wb.* I, 461, 9; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Leikon*, p. 322; *Tôd* I, 68, 3, *Esna III*, 359, 40, but note that the expression appears already in the New Kingdom.⁸³⁹
- (c) This phrase occurs frequently in food offering texts.⁸⁴⁰

5.11.1.7 South interior = PM II², p. 461 (4c)⁸⁴¹ (cf. Plate 29)

¹ *wnn nsw.t-biti* (3wtwkr̄twr kysrs t̄its ^cr̄ys ^c(d)ryns)|
 z3-R^c nb-h^c.w (^cntwnyns sbsts wsbws nty h̄wy)|
 hr h̄rp inw.w ^c3.w wr.w iht nb nfr šm^c
 n s^ch.w šps.w nt hm̄ni.w nty h̄ts(.w) hr imn.t w3s.t
 r s3^c [...n ...].w [...]
² r sq3 sfsf 3w n nni.w
 h̄rd.w r nw=sn nb
 n h^cw-ntr^(a)
 r srwd p3.wt n qr̄hty.w^(b)

iw Nwn nni r nw=f
 Mnt-R^c-Hr-3hty
 h̄nm.n=f wsh̄.t it-it.w^(c)
 r tr=f tpy-rnp.t n[n] 3b
 m hb=f nfr 4 n [3h̄.t 26]^(d)

⁸³⁹ Fischer-Elfert, *SAK 27* (1999): 66-7; cf. also Sauneron, *Kush 7* (1959): 68.

⁸⁴⁰ Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, p. 83, n. 132; Goyon, *Le Rituel de sh̄tp Sh̄mt*, p. 95, n. 104.

⁸⁴¹ Sethe, *Notizbuch*, 17, 8-9.

[...] *dsr/dr=f m3w n ib[=f...]*

³ [...] *Ir-t3*

m iw=f r dbn.t=f^(e)

dd(.w) dr h3w^(f) p.t

hpr dd.tw k3-hr-k3 r 3bd pn

dr hnm z3 hn^c it=f^(g)

w3h.n=f ih.t n nty imn

hrw pn n dndrw^(h)

sqd.n=f sin.t

di=f sw m r3-^c= [f] n sf⁽ⁱ⁾

dw3ty.w m hy [...]

⁴ [...] *i3.t-t3m.t nty [b3.w] iqr.w^(j)*

m Hr-3hty wbn m hr.t

sdr n=f sdr.w

^ch3 n=f ^ch3.w^(k)

[...] *s^ch.w mi qd=sn*

wbh.n=f st3.w n imy.w t3.wy^(l)

m wd n it=f

Nwn h^c=f m Iwnw-šm^c r sp3.t igr.t

wp=f H^cpi [...]^(m)

⁵ *rnp h3.wt n dg3=f*

srq hmni.w⁽ⁿ⁾ n iw=f n=sn

(hr) ir(.t) sst3.w n hnty-mks

rnp Wsir^(o) m whm

[...]

[...] *dr]=f^(p) wrd r s.t tn*

Hr-i3bty^(q) phr-ns.t n qm3 sw

w3h ih.t [n Km]-3.t[=f]^(r)

ntr pn šps [...]

¹ The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius Ha(d)rian, Son of Re, Lord of Appearances, Antoninus Pius Eusebius Augustus, is directing very great tribute, all good things of Upper Egypt, to the august mummies of the Ogdoad,

who are buried on the West of Thebes,

in order to magnify [...for the Ogdoad]d [...]

² in order to raise the provisions for the inert ones,

who rejuvenate at all their times,

by means of the “divine body,”

in order to ensure the food for the ancestral ones.

That Nun who settles at his time arrives,
(namely) Montu-Re-Harakhty,
was having entered the broad-hall of the Father of Fathers,
during his season every year, without fail,
in his beautiful festival of IV [Akhet 26]

[...] sacred/completely, the thoughts of [his] heart [...]

³ [...] Irita when he comes at his cycle,
enduring since the time of heaven.

It happens that one calls this month Khoiak (lit. “Ka upon Ka”),
since the son united with his father,
having presented offerings to he who is hidden,
on this day of the *dndrw*-bark,
having sailed throughout Egypt,
in order to reappear at [his] position of yesterday,
while those of the Underworld were in jubilation [...].



⁴ [...] the Mound of Djeme of the Excellent [Bas],
as Harakhty who rises in heaven.

Just as the recumbent ones lie down for him,
so do the standing ones stand up for him [...],
(namely) the mummies in their entirety [...],
he having illumined the mysteries which are in the earth,
through the decree of his father.

Nun appears in Armant (*Iwnw-šm*) in the District of Igeret,
so he might open the Inundation [...]

⁵ Just as corpses rejuvenate from beholding him,
so does the Ogdoad breathe when he comes to him,
carrying out mysteries for Khenti-Mekes (= Osiris),
so that Osiris is rejuvenated again,
[...]
[driv]ing [away] weariness from this place.

Horus-the-Easterner, the successor of his creator,
who places offerings [for Kem]at[ef],
this august god [...].

- (a) The “divine body” is another word for the inundation waters,⁸⁴² a reference to the corpse of Osiris as the source of the Nile.⁸⁴³
- (b) The term *qrḥ.t*, related to *qrḥ.t*, “egg, womb,” denotes a feminine ancestral serpent.⁸⁴⁴ A priestly autobiography from the Karnak Cachette mentions “the ancestral ones who are in the Sacred land (*qrḥty.w imy.w t3-dsr*)” parallel to the Ogdoad.⁸⁴⁵
- (c) The “court of the father of fathers (Amun)” is the only known designation for the court of Antoninus Pius.⁸⁴⁶
- (d) For Montu’s visit to Medinet Habu during the festival of IV Akhet (Khoiak), cf. **7.5**.
- (e) This passage appears to identify Irita with Montu of Armant, although the broken context makes this difficult to confirm.
- (f) Although the group  is usually read as *rk*, “time,”⁸⁴⁷ the spelling here indicates that it could also spell *h3w*, “time; vicinity.”⁸⁴⁸ 
- (g) This is perhaps the only Egyptian text to explain the etymology of the festival and month of Khoiak; namely, the living Ka of Montu visits the deceased Ka of Kematef.⁸⁴⁹
- (h) The *dndrw* is one of the barks of Sokar (cf. **5.3.2.4**, n. [c]).

⁸⁴² Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 621; Sauneron, *Rituel de l'embaumement*, p. 50; note especially Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 47 (= *Urk.* VIII, 96f), where this term refers to the water Amenope of Djeme brings to Kematef and the Ogdoad; for a similar orthography of *h3w-ntr* occurs in *Deir Chelouit II*, 74, 3.

⁸⁴³ Cf. Assmann, in Grimal, et al., eds., *Hommages Fayza Haikal*, pp. 5–16.

⁸⁴⁴ Sauneron, in *Mélanges Maspero I*, 4, pp. 113–20; Goyon, *JARCE* 20 (1983): 55, col. 1; Franke, *GM* 164 (1998): 63–70; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1067 (suggestion of Prof. John C. Darnell).






⁸⁴⁵ Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Biographien*, I, p. 38, n. 3; II, p. 448, 2; cf. also *LGG* VII, p. 317; they both read this example as *grḥty.w*, “nocturnal ones.” Note also that Keket is called “the Mysterious *qrḥ.t*-serpent” in Mallet, *Le Kasr el-Agoûz*, p. 78 (= Sethe, *Amun*, §149); a Roman Period papyrus lists both the *grḥty.w* and *qrḥ[ty.w]* as residents of the Underworld; Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I*, p. 287.

⁸⁴⁶ For the extended meaning of *hnm*, “to visit (a temple),” cf. *Wb.* III, 378, 9.

⁸⁴⁷ *Wb.* II, 457, 4.

⁸⁴⁸ For the crocodile as a general symbol of time in Graeco-Roman Egypt, see primarily Kákosy, *MDAIK* 20 (1965): 116–20; note especially the assimilation of Geb-Sobek-Chronos, for which see further Traunecker, *Coptos*, §316.

⁸⁴⁹ For the union (*dmḏ*) of the son with the deceased father in the Netherworld in Graeco-Roman texts, cf. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, I, p. 102, n. (z).

- (i) This formula is extremely common in New Kingdom solar hymns.⁸⁵⁰
- (j) The restoration of [b3.w] *iqr.w* is fairly certain based on the context.⁸⁵¹
- (k) For this phrase, cf. **5.3.2.4**, n. (a). The spelling of *sdr* as  is due to the sign's appearance in Late Period Hieratic.⁸⁵² The "mummies (*s^ch.w*)" may refer specifically to the Ogdoad, as in *Opet I*, 26.
- (l) This phrase must be circumstantial to the preceding statements, because the deceased can only arise after the sun god has passed by and reinvigorated them with his light.⁸⁵³
- (m) Gabolde has interpreted this passage as a reference to the phenomenon whereby the arrival of the annual inundation was first observable in the low ground of Western Thebes.⁸⁵⁴
- (n) Reading:  = *Hmni.w*:  = *hmn* < *hnm*,⁸⁵⁵  = *iw*,  = *.w*. This somewhat unusual orthography apparently alludes to the enigmatic signs behind the Pharaoh during the Sed Festival and other rituals.⁸⁵⁶ This choice was probably motivated in part by the use of the word *srq* "to breathe,"⁸⁵⁷ and the position of the scorpion among the enigmatic

⁸⁵⁰ Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, p. 241; cf. also **5.10.2.2**, text note (e); *Esna III*, 260, 6 (reign of Antoninus Pius): "turning back at your position of yesterday (*wdb* (r) *r3-c=k n sf*)" (cf. Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna*, p. 359).

⁸⁵¹ Cf. Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, p. 142; Meeks, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, p. 94, n. 251.

⁸⁵² This sign is known from other Graeco-Roman texts: Sauneron, *Quatre campagnes à Esna*, p. 49; Quack, *Lingua Aegyptia* 5 (1997): 239; cf. also Smith, *RdE* 57 (2006): 230.

⁸⁵³ Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 94, 100-1, 12-1, 193-4, 203-5, 326-7, and note especially p. 309, for an unambiguous example of the sequence of events: "After (*ir m-ht*) this great god passes by these goddesses, they stand up (*h^c.hr=sn*)" (translation of J.C. Darnell).

⁸⁵⁴ Gabolde, *BIFAO* 95 (1995): 235-258; discussing this passage on p. 250.


⁸⁵⁵ This particular sign appears with the same phonetic value in other writings of "the Ogdoad" at Esna, Parlebas, *SAK* 4 (1976): 274; Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, p. 73, n. 33; cf. also the different interpretation of Broze, *RdE* 44 (1993): 4, n. 2; for the origin of this sign, cf. Posener, *RdE* 7 (1950): 194.



⁸⁵⁶ For these signs, see recently Favard-Meeks, *Le temple de Behbeit el-Hagar*, pp. 218-9, n. 935; Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, pp. 64-5.

⁸⁵⁷ Compare the similar phrase in a contemporaneous hymn to Shu from Esna: "It was so that those who are there (= the deceased) breathe that you reached the western part of heaven (*spr.n=k imnt.t nt p.t, srq nty.w im*)" (*Esna III*, 260, 13; Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna*, p. 359); for corpses breathing due to the arrival of Re in the Netherworld, cf. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 100-1.




symbols, as follows: . This choice of symbols evokes the distinctly Memphite Sed Festival, an allusion that is quite appropriate for the Sokar festival mentioned throughout this text.⁸⁵⁸

(o) Reading:  = *Wsir*.⁸⁵⁹ Alternatively, one could read this as “the districts (*w.w*) are rejuvenated,” but this makes little sense in the present context.

(p) It is not clear how to read the traces: . One might expect the text to describe repelling weariness (death)⁸⁶⁰ from the Duat or Medinet Habu, but the usual values of the bull’s head are *qn* and *šs*, neither of which make much sense.⁸⁶¹ This might read *dr* “to drive away” < (*i*)*dr* “herd,” perhaps under the influence of the next word  *s.t* “place,” since the same cloth-sign can write *dr*, “to drive away.”⁸⁶²

(q) “Horus of the East” is a common designation of the newly reborn sun, rising from the eastern horizon.⁸⁶³

(r) The traces are clear: , and furthermore the placing of offerings (*w3h ih.t*) frequently occurs in connection with Kematef and the Ogdoad.⁸⁶⁴

⁸⁵⁸ Note that the Sed Festival ideally took place in the beginning of Tybi, immediately after the Sokar Festival; for connections between the two festivals, cf. Graindorge-Héreil, *Le Dieu Sokar à Thèbes*, I, pp. 277-8, 414-6.

⁸⁵⁹ This cryptographic orthography is attested elsewhere, see Daumas, et al., *Valeurs phonétiques*, II, pp. 314-5, [469], [471] and [473], for Osiris written with one, two, or three quail chicks; cf. similar examples in *LGG* II, p. 528; Derchain-Urtel, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen*, p. 108 (with an unnecessary acrophonic interpretation); this is most likely derived from *w + sr + r(3)*.

⁸⁶⁰ For *wrd*, “weariness” as a designation of death, cf. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy*, p. 82.

⁸⁶¹ Nonetheless, cf. *Wb.* V, 469, 6-7, for *qn*, “to complete,” in the extended meaning “to make an end of; destroy.”

⁸⁶² Zivie-Coche, in Der Manuelian, ed., *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, II, pp. 872-4; for the palindromic phrase *dr wrd*, “to repel weariness,” cf. *Urk.* VIII, 143 (2); *Esna* III, 206, 4.

⁸⁶³ Bricault and Pezin, *BIFAO* 93 (1993): 72-77; *LGG* V, pp. 241-2; Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, p. 165; note that Horus of the East can also refer to Sopdu as god of the Eastern frontier: Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey* I, pp. 100-1, n. j.

⁸⁶⁴ E.g. *Opet* I, 25; 87; 262; Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10f) II (= Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, II, Pl. 115); p. 462 (10b and g); Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 47 (= *Urk.* VIII, 96b); *Urk.* VIII, 156b; for the rite of *w3h-ih.t*, see primarily Favard-Meeks, *Le temple de Behbeit el-Hagara*, pp. 421-41.

5.11.1.8 North interior = PM II², p. 461 (4d)⁸⁶⁵ (cf. Plate 30)

¹ [wnn nsw.t bitī (3wtwkrtr ky)srs tyts ʿrys ʿ[d]ryns)|
z3-R^c nb-[h^c.w] (ʿntwnyns sbsts iwsbws nty-[hwi]| hr ...]

[...]

[...].w^(a)

htp.w dʃ3.w nn idr.w
di=f iḥt nb [...]

² [...M3]nw r^c-nb
dw3.t dsr.t nt Hmni.w^(b)

iqh=f[.....]

ḥns.n=f nwy^(c)

nbi.n=f W3s.t^(d)

dd.tw r=f Hnsw m W3s[.t...]^(e)

[...] ³ m iḥḥ

b3 n Šw ʿq=f s[y hr.t-hrw]
in(n) s(y) b3 n R^c tpy hrw 10^(f)

[...]

Dd.t^(g) imy m nsr.t [...]

[...] ⁴ [...] r sm3^c qbh^w n it-it.w

di=f[sw r] imn.t W3s.t

h[...]w [...]

[r] wh^c tzz.wt imy=f^(h)

r [n]h[p] Nwn m wrm=f⁽ⁱ⁾ nty bw[...]

⁵ [...] ḥnty nt mi ir r [...]

nn wšr

[...] šḥm.w n=f imy r-ḥt [...]

[...] wi3 [...]

¹ [While the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Imperator Cae]sar Titus Aelius
Ha(d)rian,
Son of Re, Lord of [Appearances], Antoninus Pius Eusebius Aug[ustus
is..]

[...]

[...the Ogdoad?],

offerings and provisions without limit,
as he gives all [good] things [...]

[...] ² [...Ma]nu every day,

⁸⁶⁵ PM II², p. 461 (4d); Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 10-11.

the sacred Duat of the Ogdoad,

He enters [...]

Just as he traversed (*hns*) the flood waters,
so did he fashion Thebes,
(he is therefore called Chonsu-in-Thebes [...]).

[...] ³ [...] at dusk.


The Ba of Shu enters it [daily],
and it is every ten days that the Ba of Re (= Amenope) reaches it,
[...]
Djedet is there as the fiery-uraeus,
[...] ⁴ [...] in order to direct libations to the father of fathers,

He puts [himself in] the West of Thebes,
[...]
[to] release the bonds from him,
so that Nun might [ri]se in its high flood of [...]


⁵ [...] sailing the *nt*-waters as made for [...]
without fail,
[...] the images belong to him, for [...]
[...] the bark [...]

(a) Only the determinatives remain, but it is clear that this is some designation of the Ogdoad.

(b) This passage seems to identify Djeme with Manu, the western horizon into which the sun sets.⁸⁶⁶

(c) Reading:  = *nwy*, “waters.”⁸⁶⁷ The second determinative probably alludes to the cosmogony from Chonsu Temple in which Chonsu-Shu swims to Thebes as a crocodile in order to spit out the primeval egg (cf. **4.19**).

(d) The crocodile determinative for *nbi*, “to fashion” refers to the crocodile form of Chonsu-Shu who creates Thebes (cf. **4.19**).

(e) Reading: .

⁸⁶⁶ For Manu specifically equated with Medinet Habu, see Darnell, in Bryan and Lorton, eds., *Studies in Honor of Hans Goedicke*, pp. 36-8; Guerneur, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 258, n. h; cf. also **11.1.10**, col. 2.

⁸⁶⁷ For a similar spelling of *nwy* with a redundant spitting-mouth determinative, cf. de Wit, *BIFAO* 55 (1955): 114.

(f) This reference to the periodic visits of Chonsu-Shu and Amenope of Djeme curiously uses employs an appropriate gnomic Noun + *sđm=f* for the first phrase (*b3 n šw ʿq=f s[y]*), but then a nominal *sđm=f* clause for the second phrase (*in b3 n Rʿ s(y)*),⁸⁶⁸ apparently to contrast the daily versus the decade festival. The fact that Chonsu-Shu is called “the Ba of Shu” (= air) and Amenope is “the Ba of Re” (the sun) suggests that this passage might connect the mortuary rites at Djeme to the four elements.⁸⁶⁹

(g) “Djedet” is a common designation of the Goddess of the Eye of the Sun.⁸⁷⁰ However it is unclear precisely which goddess this is in the present context, as the epithet *Dd.t* is never used in other Graeco-Roman texts from Thebes. The goddess Sakhmet appears on the north side of the Ptolemaic Pylon at Medinet Habu, immediately to the left of the present text. Although she only appears extremely rarely in the corpus of Graeco-Roman temple texts from Thebes,⁸⁷¹ she does receive particularly interesting epithets in this scene:⁸⁷²

Shm.t ʿ3.t mry(.t) Pth
Tfn.t z3.t-Rʿ hr(.t)-ib ʿB.t-d3m.t
wđ.t hh=s r h3k.w-ib
r tm di.t pr d3d3 nb m sw3w nb m ʿnh.t

Sakhmet the Great, beloved of Ptah,
Tefnut, daughter of Re, within the mound of Djeme,
who commands her fiery breath against the disaffected,
lest any enemy come forth from any region of the Necropolis.

The fact that Sakhmet appears beside Amenope may further support a connection to the present texts, which describes mortuary offerings from the East bank.

(h) The act of “untying the knots (*wḥʿ tzz.wt*)” has Osirian connotations, namely removing the wrappings from the mummy to allow the resurrected to move again.⁸⁷³

⁸⁶⁸ For *ini*, “to reach (a location),” cf. *Wb.* I, 91, 3; Meeks, *AL* I, 77.0317; a similar example may occur in Herbin, *RdE* 35 (1984): 124, line 8: “Great Nun (perpetually) floods for you from his grotto, and Hapi brings his cool water to you (*Nwn wr ḥw=f n=k m tḫ.t=f, ḥrp n=k Hʿpi qbḥw=f*),” although the second phrase could be a purpose clause (“so Hapi might bring his cool water to you”).

⁸⁶⁹ For the “Ba of Shu” and the “Ba of Re” denoting the elements of air and fire, cf. Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*, pp. 29, n. C, and 166, n. 169.

⁸⁷⁰ *LGG* VII, pp. 680-1.

⁸⁷¹ Her only other attestation is *Urk.* VIII, 222b (Ptah Temple).

⁸⁷² *PM* II², p. 462 (10b) I (= Sethe, *Notizbuch* 16, 112); note also that Rattawy of Medamud once receives the epithet “Sakhmet in the mound of Djeme” (*Deir al-Médîna*, 23, 20).

⁸⁷³ *Wb.* I, 348, 5 and 8; note the more general use of the phrase to mean “to solve problems,” Janssen, *De traditioneele egyptische autobiografie vóór het Nieuwe Rijk*, I, pp. 56-7, W.

Alternatively, this might also refer to the ritual of “undoing the standards (*wh^c-tz.wt*),” one of the concluding sections of the Festivals of Djeme.⁸⁷⁴

(i) The verb *nhp*, “to jump up,” can refer both to the resurrection of Osiris and to the flooding Inundation.⁸⁷⁵ Given the above mention of “releasing bonds,” the present passage likely refers to Kematef or Osiris coming back to life in the form of Nun waters. A Roman Period papyrus with a hymn to Osiris of Djeme begins by entreating Osiris to “leap up (*nhp*)” out of the Underworld,⁸⁷⁶ while a Demotic hymn similarly associates the resurrection of Osiris of Djeme with the release of flood waters.⁸⁷⁷

South Gate, north face

Both sides of the north (interior) face of the South Gate preserve hymns addressed to Montu of Armant at his arrival to Medinet Habu from the south (cf. **5.3.2** and **7.5**). The texts on the South Gate are in general badly weathered, and many of the signs are difficult to make out.⁸⁷⁸

5.11.1.9 South Gate, north face, east = PM II², p. 461 (2g) (cf. Plate 31)

¹ *ind-hr=k m htp zp snw*
Mnt-R^c-Hr-3hty
wbn m Nwn
 [...]
i3w rnp zbi nhh
 [...]
d3i.n=f hr.t m k3 rnp
r htp m h.t n mw.t=f^(a)
Imnty.w m i3w n [...]

⁸⁷⁴ Goyon, in Parker, et al., *The Edifice of Taharqa*, p. 58, n. 39.

⁸⁷⁵ Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, pp. 120-1, 297-9; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 529.

⁸⁷⁶ Herbin, *RdE* 35 (1984): 110, n. (3).

⁸⁷⁷ Smith, *The Demotic Mortuary Papyrus Louvre E. 3452*, pp. 152-3; for Kematef’s control over Nun waters, cf. **4.28**.

⁸⁷⁸ Daessy, *Notice explicative des ruines de Médinet Habou*, p. 3, called the South gate inscriptions: “assez frustes.” Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 15-16, only copied excerpts of the texts, noting: “Die wenigen Inschriften. die dieses Thor enthält, sind in einer solchen Ausführung und Erhaltung, daß sie nur immer streckenweise mit Anstrengung zu lesen sind.”

[...] r^c nb

nb p.t t3 dw3.t r-3w=sn
² [b]3-b3.w hry s.wt=št3.wt
nb 3h.t [n.t] 33nw

rsy mhty i3bty imnty pr=sn iry m [r3=f]

wd=f sn.w^(a) n ndb
nn wbs.w m h^c.w=f
di[=f] šsp n hr nb
hrp=f st dr shpr=f st

Wsir [...]
qm3.n=f np(r)y [...]
r šd rnp.w

it mw.t n nty.w nb
³ i3w.t nb š nb
th(h)=sn n dg3.tw=f

b^ch.n=f t3.wy
hbs.n=f idb.w
nn idr n hp.t[=f...]

hry ntr.w imn(.w)m'Igr.t
t3y.w [hn^c] mw.wt im r-gs=f
[...] m D3m.t
sdr.w hr [...]

sm3^c.n=f df3.w htp.w
hr^c.wy z3=k mr=k nb-t3.wy ()|
z3-R^c nb-h^c.w ()|
h^c(.w) hr s.t-Hr mi R^c d.t

¹ Greetings in peace!
Montu-Re-Harakhty,
who rose out of Nun,
[...]
Old man who rejuvenates, who traverses eternity,
[...]
It is as a rejuvenating bull that he sailed across,
in order to rest in the womb of his mother,
while the Westerners are in praise for [...]
[...] every day.

Lord of heaven, earth, the underworld entirely,
² Ba of Bas, chief of the mysterious places,

Lord of the Akhet of Manu.

The southwind, northwind, westwind, eastwind come forth from [his mouth],
he sends sustenance to the land,
namely this which flourishes through his body.

[He] gives light to everyone,
he directs them,
since he created them.

Osiris [...]
having created grain (Nepri),
[in order to] nurture young plants.

The father and mother of all that is,
³all animals, all plants rejoice upon beholding him.

Just as he flooded the two lands,
so did he cover the banks,
without limit to [his] course.




Chief of the gods who is hidden in Igeret,
the fathers [and] mothers there beside him
[...] in Djeme,
those lying down [...]

That he directed to you provisions and offerings,
is upon the arms of your beloved son, Lord of the Two Lands (),
Son of Re, Lord of Appearances (),
appearing on the throne of Horus like Re eternally.

(a) The voyage towards the “womb of his mother” refers to Montu-Re-Harakhty entering the Netherworld of Djeme. The epithet *k3 rnpi*, “rejuvenating bull,” frequently describes the August Bull of Medamud specifically as the union of the four men of the Ogdoad.⁸⁷⁹ The emphasis on the taurian aspect of Montu might suggest that the Buchis bull also travelled from Armant during the Sokar Festival.⁸⁸⁰

⁸⁷⁹ P. Leiden T 32, III, 14 (cf. Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, p. 156); *Urk.* VIII, 6b (= Aufrère, *Montou*, §§158-60); *Urk.* VIII, 30b (= Aufrère, *Montou*, §§221-23); for an earlier example of Montu of Armant as a “rejuvenating bull,” cf. Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, p. 202; cf. also **4.9**.

⁸⁸⁰ For the associations between the Buchis bull and Medinet Habu, cf. Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, pp. 222-4.

(b) Tentatively reading:  = *sn.w*, “secondary offerings.” This perturbed orthography also appears in a fragmentary text nearby as ⁸⁸¹ and possibly also in an inscription from Medamud as ⁸⁸².

5.11.1.10 South Gate, north face, west = PM II² p. 461, (2h) (cf. Plate 32)

¹ *i3w zp-snw*
mk sw ii.tw
Mnt-R^c-Hr-3hty ii.tw m hb=f

mk sw ii.tw m hpr=f n šww
3h.ty=f(y) šhd=sn imnt.t
p^hr-ns.t nty Hmni.w
sf[sf] 3w n htp[ty.w ...]
 [...]
 [...] *m s.t=sn*

² *ii šww [...].n=f*
q3 h^cpi m qrr.t=f
bs.n=f Nwn
qm3.n=f qbhw
(r) šhtp ib n it-it.w

nhz.n=f nty nm^c(.w)
imy.w M3nw st3(.w) ^(a) r m33=f

ii.n=f m i3w
r[n]p r nw=f
ms.tw=f hz.ti m syf [...]

ii nb m t3
³ *w^d=f shr.w n t3 pn ^(b)*
m sti isk n it-it.w
hry.t=f ^(c) mn.ti hnty is.wy

ii Nwn nni[.n=f]
whm.n=f hnw.t=f m hb Ip.t

⁸⁸¹ PM II², p. 460 (2c); for the medial *yod* in the word *sn.w*, cf. Valloggia, in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron*, I, p. 287.

⁸⁸² *Médamoud I*, 143, 7.

*htp R^c m d.t=f ds=f
m-^c [...] = f qrr.t=f
m hb in.t [...].*

¹ Greetings!
Behold, he has come,
Montu-Re Harakhty has come in his festival.

Behold, he has come in his manifestation of light,
his radiant-eyes illumine the West,
the successor of the Ogdoad,
who gives offerings to the dec[eased...]
[...]
[...] in their places.

It is having [...] ² that light arrives,
Hapi rises from his cavern
through the swelling of Nun,
he created cool waters,
(in order to) appease the father of fathers.


That he awoke those who were asleep,
was with the result that those within Manu come back in order to see him.

That he has come,
is as an old man who rejuvenates at his time,
having been reborn, praised(?) as a child [...]

That the lord comes into the earth,
³ is in order to make pronouncements for this land,
being in view, meanwhile, of the father of fathers (= Kematef),
whose decree is established throughout Egypt.

It is [having] settled that Nun arrives,
having repeated his riverine procession in the Opet festival.

Re rests within his own body,
with [...] his cavern
during the Valley Festival [...].

(a) Although the verb is damaged, it appears to read:  *st3*, “to come (back).”⁸⁸³ The same verb occurs in a similar passage in P. Rhind I 8h, 2: “everybody comes back in order to see you (*hr nb (hr) st3 r m33=k*).”⁸⁸⁴

(b) Re always issues decrees and cares for the deceased (usually *wꜥ-mdw* and *ir-shr.w*, instead of the present *wꜥ-shr.w*)⁸⁸⁵ when he enters into the Underworld, here called “the earth (*t3*).”⁸⁸⁶

(c) The word *hry.t*, “royal decree,” occurs almost exclusively in Graeco-Roman texts from Thebes.⁸⁸⁷ For the decree of Kematef, compare a similar passage on the Gate of Claudius at Medinet Habu (cf. **5.3.2.4**, col. 1).

South Gate, south face

Each side of the south face of the gate contains a five-column hymn, above a scene of the king presenting a *hꜥp-di-nsw*-offering (preserved on the west half only), followed by a three-line inscription at the base. The texts on the south face of the gate are the worst preserved texts of the Antonine Courtyard, and the surviving traces are extremely weathered.

5.11.1.11 Left side = PM II², p. 461 (2a) (cf. Plate 33)

¹ *biti t3-mḥw dꜥ=f*

ii.n=i di [m irw=i n...]
[hr inw(?)...]^(a)

⁸⁸³ Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 968; Thiers, *Ptolémée Philadelphie et les prêtres d'Atoum de Tjékou*, p. 29, n. (39).

⁸⁸⁴ Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind*, p. 38; similarly in de Morgan, *K.O.* I, 60, 6 = Derchain, in Labrique, ed., *Religions méditerranéennes et orientales de l'antiquité*, p. 89, Fig. 3, col. 20, “all eyes move to see him (*ir.t nb (hr) st3 r m33=f*).”

⁸⁸⁵ Cf. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 82-4, 144-6; cf. a similar passage from the Book of Gates: “This god assigns their plans only after he ascends from the earth (*ntr pn wꜥ=f shr.w=sn m-ht is r=f m t3*)” (trans. Manassa, *The Late Egyptian Underworld*, I, p. 22), and note that this parallel further supports taking *wꜥ=f shr.w* in the Medinet Habu hymn as a subjunctive purpose clause.

⁸⁸⁶ For *t3* = “the Underworld,” cf. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 353, n. 341.

⁸⁸⁷ Cf. Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 87-9, to which this example should be added, as well as *Deir Chelouit* I, 16, 2; 19; 21, 5; 38, 4; *Deir Chelouit* III, 151, 4; Bucheum Stela 16, l. 7 (= Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, Pl. 8).

[...] ² nn idr=sn
bi3.wt m-^c [...]
[...] ³

wtz=i g3.wt iry nw Qm3ty.w ^(b)
r-rwty [hw.t(?)=k] ^(c)
[...m] w^cb wr
iwtym33 im n dr-ntr.w

(i) hry.w hr(.w) n nm.wt=sn ^(d)
⁴ wnm k3=f m h3.t-stp.w=sn
[...] i^cw.t nn hn^c p3y.w nt 3bw.t Nbd
nn wn ntr [...] im=sn ^(e)

⁵ sšm=i st m b3h=f
zm3.w m zp
sh̄m hm=f im=sn ^(f)
[r] nw mr=f
rdi=i spy.w ^(g) sk n tpy.w-^c

¹ The King of Lower Egypt says:

[It is in my form of ...]
that I have come here,
[bearing tribute(?)...]
[...] ² without their limits,
marvels from [...]
³ [...]

I hereby elevate the goods of the Qematy-people in front of your [temple(?)]
[...in] great purity,
without being seen as long as the gods exist.


The enemies have fallen to their slaughtering blocks,
⁴ so that his Ka might eat of their choice cuts,
these wild animals and birds of the image of the Evil One,
without there being a god [...] among them.

⁵ I conduct them before him,
united together,
so that his majesty might have power over them,
[at] the moment he desires,
while I give the remainder to the ancestors.

(a) For the restoration, cf. **5.11.1.5**, col. 1.



(b) The Qematy, “people of the gum-tree region,” usually come from the north-east and bring vessels (*g3.wt*).⁸⁸⁸ They appear to be distinguished from the gum-eating Nubians from the south.⁸⁸⁹

(c) For the restoration, cf. **5.11.1.12**, col. 4.

(d) Reading:  = *hr*, “to fall,”⁸⁹⁰ a verb which frequently appears in connection with enemies/victims (*ihry.w*) and the slaughtering block.⁸⁹¹

(e) This is another reference to the distinction between sacred and wild animals.⁸⁹² While the present insistence on the non-divinity of the food offerings appear to be unique for a temple text, the unpublished Book of the Temple explicitly outlines the duties of the Sakhmet priest in similar terms: “Er ist est, der [zu allem Vieh] tritt, um heilige Tiere darunter zu erkennen, um zu verhindern, daß sie auf den Schlachtblock kommen; um [Verseuchtes zu] bemerken [und zu verhindern], daß man davon ißt.”⁸⁹³

(f) For the use of *sh̄m m*, “to have power over” to refer to food, cf. Perdu, *SAK 27* (1999): 292-3, n. (i). This phrase likely reflects the concept of a god deriving power from other beings by eating them, as in the Cannibal Hymn where the king is said to “live from gods (*ʿnh̄ m ntr.w*).⁸⁹⁴

(g) This word, written here as  and in the following text as  (cf. *infra*), is apparently *spy.w*, “remainder of food.”⁸⁹⁵ The infixed ‘*ayin*’ may reflect the current pronunciation, as in Coptic **ϢϢϢϢ**, “to remain.”⁸⁹⁶

⁸⁸⁸ Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 1058 and 1095, noting the alliteration; for more reference to the “gum people,” cf. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, I, p. 117, n. 11; Favard-Meeks, *Le temple de Behbeit el-Hagara*, pp. 34-5.

⁸⁸⁹ Cf. Sauneron, *Kush 7* (1959): 63, discussing Setne II, 3, 6.

⁸⁹⁰ The orthography *šr* < *hr* is quite common (e.g. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 744-5); for the interchange *n/r*, cf. Fairman, *ASAE* 43 (1943): 237; Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 9, n. 39.

⁸⁹¹ Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 745.

⁸⁹² Cf. *supra*, **11.1.4**, n. (i).

⁸⁹³ Translation of Quack, in Fischer-Elfert, ed., *Papyrus Ebers und die antike Heilkunde*, pp. 67-8.

⁸⁹⁴ Cf. Eyre, *The Cannibal Hymn*, pp. 78, 148-50 (suggested by Prof. J.C. Darnell).

⁸⁹⁵ *Wb.* III, 440, 6; cf. Sauneron, *BIFAO* 63 (1965): 81, n. (w).

⁸⁹⁶ Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, p. 194.

5.11.1.12 Right side = PM II², p. 461 (2b) (cf. Plate 34)

¹ *nsw.t t3-šm^c [dd=f]*

ii[.n=i] di

m irw[=i] n nsw
hr [in.w(?)]^(a) nb nw Hnt^(b) [...]
[iht nb nfr(?)] wn(.w) m q3b=sn^(c)
w^cb.tw [...]
² nn dw [...]
mzi=i^(d) sn r [...].w nb
r šhb t.t=f im=sn

[...]

³ *hnk irw.n=i m hr=f*
sdf3.n=i mit.t [...] imy.w-h.t=f
m in.w nb n [...]
[...] ⁴ m-^cb wnd.w

wdn=i st iry [r]-rwty dry.t=f
sm3^c=i st m b3h=f
sm3.w m zp

3b hm=f
⁵ *dr m33=f sn*
wnm^(e) k3=f im=sn

m-ht nn sšm(=i) hs.w^(f)
rđi(=i) spy.w=f sk (n) tpy.w-^c

¹ The King of Upper Egypt [says]:

It is in [my fo]rm of [king]
 that [I] have come here,
 bearing all [products(?)] of Khenet[...],
 and [all good things(?)] which are within them,
 being pure [...] ² without evil,
 so I might direct them to [...]
 in order to decorate his table with them.

³ I have offered them before him,
 and I have also provisioned the [...] of those in his following,
 with all products of [...]
 [...] ⁴ together with offerings.

Just as I consecrate them in front of his temple,

so do I conduct them before him,
united altogether.

His majesty desires (them),
⁵when he sees them,
so that his Ka eats them.

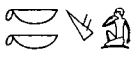
After this, I conduct rituals,
giving his remainders (to) the ancestors.

(a) For the restoration, cf. **5.11.1.5**, col. 1.

(b) The toponym Khenet occurs in a number of Graeco-Roman texts, and apparently refers to a gold producing region in Nubia, perhaps an abbreviation of the New Kingdom location *Hnty-hn-nfr*.⁸⁹⁷

(c) For the restoration, cf. **5.11.1.5**, col. 1.

(d) Reading:  = *mzi*, “to bring.”⁸⁹⁸

(e) Reading:  = *wnm*, “to eat.”⁸⁹⁹ The spelling is perhaps influenced by the following word, *k3*.

(f) For the “performing of rites (*sšm ḥs*)” associated with food offerings in the forecourt of a temple, cf. *Esna* III, 284, 13; Sauneron, *Esna* V, p. 134.

5.11.1.13 Left side, bottom = PM II², p. 461 (2a)⁹⁰⁰ (cf. Plate 35a)

¹ *iw^{cc} mnḥ n nb-ḥdd.wt*
spr=f ḥw.t-bnbn n² qm3 sw
ir.n=f irw=f r šḥb ḥm=f

¹ The beneficent heir of the Lord of Illumination,

⁸⁹⁷ Daumas, in Lipiński, ed., *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East*, II, pp. 698-9; for Khentyhen-nefer in Graeco-Roman texts, cf. *Urk.* VIII, 52e; *Deir Chelouit* III, 103, 2; *Esna* III, 370, 39.

⁸⁹⁸ For the otiose leg derived from *zbi*, see already *Wb.* II, 135, 7; for similar spellings with the ‘ayin-cup, cf. Derchain-Urtel, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen*, p. 216; also *Deir Chelouit* III, 114, 2.

⁸⁹⁹ For similar phonetic spellings of *wnm*, cf. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1069.

⁹⁰⁰ Slightly incorrect copies in Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 1304; Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 16.

He arrives at the *hw.t-bnbn* of ²his creator, ^(a)
 having performed his rituals in order to make festive his sanctuary.

(a) The *hw.t-bnbn* was a Heliopolitan toponym, here likely referring to the association of Kematef and Atum.⁹⁰¹

5.11.1.14 Right side, bottom = PM II², p. 461 (2b)⁹⁰² (cf. Plate 35b)

¹ *iry-sšm-šm* ^(a) *n ii m š3^c*
rs r-s3 t3š=f
² *mnḥwy* [...] = *f sm3y.w*
shṭp=f it=f m r3-^c.wy=f

¹The successor of “He who came in the beginning” (=Amun),
 who watches after his border,

²The butcher [...] the enemies,
 satisfying his father through his actions.

(a) Reading:  = *iry-sšm-šm*, “heir.”⁹⁰³

5.11.1.15 Summary

The Antonine inscriptions give important details about the multiple festivals carried out at Medinet Habu. The majority of them describe bringing food and water for Kematef and the Ogdoad (5.11.1.1, 3, 5, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14). One inscription explicitly discusses Chonsu-Shu, the god of Karnak who brought daily offerings to Medinet Habu (5.11.1.8). The largest event, however, was the Sokar Festival in the month of Khoiak, when Montu of Armant would visit Djeme (cf. 7.5). This festival is celebrated in a number of texts, all on the southern side, facing Armant (5.11.1. 5, 7, 9-10). The two hymns

⁹⁰¹ For Kematef and Atum, cf. 4.28.

⁹⁰² Partially copied in Sethe, *Notizbuch* 17, 16.

⁹⁰³ Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 88-9; Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, p. 321, n. 8 (with many similar spellings); cf. also *Tôd* I, 73, 8.

facing the processional road to Armant praise Montu at his arrival (**5.11.1.9-10**; cf. also **5.3.2.4**). In all texts relative to the Sokar Festival, Montu of Armant is specifically identified with Re-Harakhty (cf. **4.34**), and his entrance to the divine crypts of Kematef and the Ogdoad is equated with Re's traditional descent into the Underworld, described with terminology reminiscent of older solar hymns and Netherworld books (esp. **5.11.1.7**, cols. 3-5).⁹⁰⁴

5.11.2 Deir el-Rumi

Archaeologists discovered remains of a small Roman temple reused in a Coptic monastery in the Valley of the Queens, now called Deir el-Rumi.⁹⁰⁵ The earliest decoration comes from the reign of Antoninus Pius, and the only published inscription mentions that Antoninus Pius built the monument "for his father, Montu-Re Lord of Armant (*Iwnw-šm*)."⁹⁰⁶ The decoration includes divinities and inscriptions consistent with the theology of Medinet Habu and Thebes in general, including the August Bull of Medamud, the four Montus and Rattawys, Amenope, Osiris, Isis, Harsiese, and the Ogdoad.⁹⁰⁷ The temple features a circular construction which Lecuyot and Gabolde have suggested represents the

⁹⁰⁴ Already in the New Kingdom, Amun of Karnak's voyage to Western Thebes during the Beautiful Festival of the Valley was conceived in similar terms to Re's descent into the Netherworld, cf. Wiebach, *SAK* 13 (1986): 263-91.

⁹⁰⁵ For the site, see Derchain, *CdE* 34 (1959): 21-30; Lecuyot, in *Sesto congresso internazionale di Egittologia*, I, pp. 383-90; idem, *Kyphi* 2 (1999): 33-61; Lecuyot and Gabolde, in Eyre, ed., *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, pp. 661-7; Marc Gabolde is currently preparing the publication of the inscriptions.

⁹⁰⁶ Lecuyot and Gabolde, in Eyre, ed., *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, p. 664, Fig. 2; translated in Lecuyot, *Kyphi* 2 (1999): 34.

⁹⁰⁷ Following the descriptions by Lecuyot and Gabolde, in Eyre, ed., *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, p. 663; Lecuyot, *Kyphi* 2 (1999): 35.

“mound (*i3.t*)” of Djeme, representing the actual burial place of Kematef and the Ogdoad directly behind Medinet Habu in the entrance to the Western gebel.⁹⁰⁸

5.11.3 Deir Shelwit

Antoninus Pius completed the decoration program of his adopted father, Hadrian, by adding scenes and inscriptions to the facade of the Pronaos.⁹⁰⁹ In addition to a few offering scenes and procession of fecundity figures, Antoninus inscribed four frieze and bandeau inscriptions comparable to the contemporaneous texts from Medinet Habu.

5.11.3.1 Left Bandeau = Deir Chelouit II, No. 66

$\epsilon nh \ ntr \ [nfr.....] \ ndm=ib$
 $nb \ mn\dot{h} \ hr-ib \ itr.ty$
 $\quad hti.tw \ hm.w \ ntr.w \ r \ rn=f$
 $nb \ d\dot{s}rty.w$
 $\quad nsy.n=f \ t3-mri$
 $\quad wr.w \ iry \ r-rwty \ \epsilon rry.t=f$
 $nsw.t-biti \ nb-t3.wy \ (3wtwkrtrw \ kys[rs \ t]yts \ [\epsilon r]ys \ \epsilon try[n]s)$
 $[...] \ (\epsilon n[tn]yns \ nty-hwi \ iwsbws)$
 $\quad h\epsilon .tw \ hr \ s.t \ it=f \ m \ nsyw.t \ \epsilon 3$

Live the [good] god [...] happiness,
 effective lord within the two lands,
 in whose name the chapels of the gods are inscribed,
 Lord of the the desert dwellers,
 having ruled Egypt,
 the rulers, likewise, are outside his high gate,
 King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands,
 Imperator Caesa[r T]itus Aelia[n] Hadria[n],
 [...] An[ton]inus Augustus Pius,
 appearing upon the throne of his father in great kingship.

5.11.3.2 Right Bandeau = Deir Chelouit II, No. 67

$\epsilon nh \ ntr \ nfr$

⁹⁰⁸ Lecuyot and Gabolde, in Eyre, ed., *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, pp. 661-7; for Djeme equated with Manu, cf. **11.1.8**, n. (b).

⁹⁰⁹ *Deir Chelouit II*, Nos. 66-67, 80-83; although the cartouches in the remaining scenes are empty, they were most likely contemporary to the rest of the decoration (*ibid.*, Nos. 56-65, 68-79).

biti it nt
sty.w n=f m nhb.w
nb Rb.w
hr-tp=f t3-mri
iz.ty n=f m w3h-tp

wr z3 wr phr-ns.t n hfnw
h^c hr ns.t it=f

nsw.t-biti nb-t3.wy (3wtg[rtw]r kysrs tyts ^crys ^ctryns)|
z3-R^c nb-h^c.w (^cntynty nty-hwi iwsbws)|
h^c.tw hr s.t Hr

Live the good god,
biti-king who seizes the red crown,
 for whom the Asiatics are private property,
 Lord of the Libyans,
 ruling the homeland (= Egypt),
 for whom the two palaces (= Egypt) are bowed.

The Great, son of the Great, successor of myriads,
 who stands upon the throne of his father,

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Emperor Caesar Titus
 Aelius Hadrian,
 Son of Re, Lord of Appearances, Antoninus Augustus Pius,
 appearing upon the throne of Horus.

5.11.3.3 Left Frieze = *Deir Chelouit II, No. 80*

^cnh ntr nfr nb t3-ntry
hwnw=f itr.ty m ndm-ib

it.n=f snw.t
hq3.n=f idb.w-Hr
ir=f nb n qbh.wy

nsw.t-biti nb-t3.wy (3wtwgrtwr ksrs tyts ^crs ^ctryns)|
z3-R^c nb-h^c.w (^cntynty nty-hwi ^cwsbws)|
^cnh(.w) d.t

Live the good god, lord of the Divine Land,
 who rejuvenates the Two Lands with pleasantness,

Just as he seized Egypt,
 so did he rule the Banks of Horus,
 thus acting as lord of the Two Marshlands.

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Emperor Caesar
Titus Aelius Hadrian
Son of Re, Lord of Appearances, Antoninus Augustus Pius.
living eternally.

5.11.3.4 Right Frieze = *Deir Chelouit II, No. 81*

ḥnh ntr nfr ḥq3 n B3q.t
š3y pw n gs.w-pr.w
ity mnḥ n snw.t
ḥti ḥm n Šnty.t

nsw.t-bitī nb-t3.wy (3wtwgrtwr ksrs tyts ḥrys ḥtryḥns)|
z3-Rḥ nb-ḥḥ.w (ḥntwnyns nty-ḥwi iwsbws)|

Live the good god, ruler of Egypt,
that means Shai of the temples,
Beneficent ruler of Egypt,
who inscribes the sanctuary of Shentayt (= Isis).

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Emperor Caesar
Titus Aelius Hadrian
Son of Re, Lord of Appearances, Antoninus Augustus Pius.

5.11.4 Medamud

Cartouches of Antoninus Pius appear only in the Portico and the columns of the Courtyard at Medamud.⁹¹⁰ As with the temple of Tod, the decoration program may have been more extensive during this reign, but the remains of reliefs are too fragmentary to know conclusively.

⁹¹⁰ *Médamoud I*, No. 4; possibly also No. 1, C-D, cf. Thiers, *RdE* 51 (2000): 266-9; *Médamoud II*, Nos. 348-349; PM V, p. 140 (Columns of the courtyard); Bisson de la Roque, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1926)*, pp. 4-10, 29-30.

5.11.5 Armant

The large sandstone propylon was erected before the Ptolemaic temple in the reign of Antoninus Pius. Now known as “Bāb el-Maganīn,”⁹¹¹ the badly preserved scenes carved only on the east face appear as follows:⁹¹²

Destroyed		Destroyed	
Min Isis (labels damaged)		Destroyed	
Horus of Edfu Hathor of Edfu Offering: Damaged		Thoth within Armant Hathor [...] Lady of Armant Offering: Damaged	
Montu[...] Rattawy Lady of Armant Offering: Field		Montu-Harakhty [...] Tjenedet within Armant Offering: Field	

5.11.6 Tod

The Graeco-Roman temple at Tod was built and decorated primarily during the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II. A precise date for construction of the first vestibule is difficult to determine, as much of this section is now destroyed, and a large number of cartouches were left blank. Nonetheless, the offering scenes and frieze text on the north exterior wall

⁹¹¹ The preserved cartouches read: (ʿwtwgrtwr kysrs nty-ḥwi) (ʿtryns ʿntwnyns [...]) “Autokrator Kaisaros Sebastos Hadrianus Antoninus [...]”

⁹¹² Described in Mond and Myers, *The Temples of Armant*, I, p. 181; small photo on Pl. VI; cf. also Thiers and Volokhine, *Ermant* I, p. 15, Fig. 8; Thiers, in Goyon and Cardin, eds., *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, II, p. 1815. The present synopsis is based on handcopies in the archives of Mond and Myers in the Egypt Exploration Society, London; a new epigraphic copy of these texts is being prepared by Ch. Thiers and Y. Volokhine, and will appear in *Ermant* II (personal communication of Ch. Thiers).

preserve the titulary of Antoninus Pius,⁹¹³ and a large amount of the Antonine exterior wall has been reconstructed from blocks reused in a nearby Coptic church.⁹¹⁴

XII Marcus Aurelius (161-180 CE)

5.12.0 Introduction

The golden age of the Antonines began to decline under Marcus Aurelius.⁹¹⁵ Although he was both an excellent ruler and general, Marcus Aurelius had to cope with new problems that would trouble Rome for most of the second century CE. His early victories in Parthia were followed by a disastrous plague (c. 165/6 CE).⁹¹⁶ The ever-growing Germanic threat finally achieved epic proportions, and Marcus Aurelius spent much of his reign waging the Marcomannian War. While Aurelius was campaigning in the far north, the Prefect of Syria, Avidius Cassius, proclaimed himself Emperor in the east. The like had not occurred since the Year of the Four Emperors (69 CE), but such rulers would appear all too frequently in the coming century.

In Egypt, a violent rebellion of the Boukoloï broke out in the Delta sometime around 171-172 CE.⁹¹⁷ The Boukoloï, rural Egyptians whose cannibalistic practices may have been

⁹¹³ *Tôd* I, p. ix, n. 1; Nos. 66-79.

⁹¹⁴ Bisson de la Roque, *Tôd*, pp. 152-3; see primarily Thiers, in Goyon and Cardin, eds., *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, II, p. 1809.

⁹¹⁵ For the reign of Marcus Aurelius, see primarily Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*².

⁹¹⁶ Gilliam, *The American Journal of Philology* 82 (1963): 225-51; Bagnall and Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt*, p. 173; Duncan-Jones, *JRA* 9 (1996): 108-136; Bagnall, *JRA* 13 (2000): 288-92; C.P. Jones, *JRA* 18 (2005): 293-301; Bagnall, *JRA* 13 (2000): 288-92.

⁹¹⁷ Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*², pp. 174-5; Lewis, *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 34 (1993): 113-4; Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt*, pp. 77, 83-4; McGing, *BASP* 35 (1998): 181-2; Rutherford, *JHS* 120 (2000): 107-9.

exaggerated,⁹¹⁸ defeated the Roman army and began to advance on Alexandria. Since Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus were occupied in Germany, the Syrian Prefect Avidius Cassius brought his own troops and quelled the revolt. This action endeared Avidius Cassius to the Egyptians, and thus it was no surprise that they supported his claim to the throne in 175 CE.⁹¹⁹ After only a few months, Avidius Cassius was assassinated before Marcus Aurelius could return to Rome.

In the wake of the failed revolt of Avidius Cassius, Marcus Aurelius sailed to Egypt in order to regain personally the loyalty of the erstwhile partisans of Cassius. Although he changed the Prefect, Marcus Aurelius reportedly showed clemency to the Alexandrians.⁹²⁰ According to the *Historia Augusta*, Marcus Aurelius even managed to enjoy himself during this brief visit.⁹²¹

apud Aegyptios civem se egit philosophum in omnibus studiis templis locis

“While in Egypt he conducted himself like a private citizen and a philosopher at all the places of study, temples, and in fact everywhere.”

This mention of Aurelius visiting temples immediately evokes the actions of his adoptive grandfather and spiritual mentor, Hadrian (cf. **5.10.0**).⁹²²

Marcus Aurelius’s openness to Egyptian cults is best known through the career of Arnuphis (< *Hr-nfr*, “Good Horus”).⁹²³ Once during his European campaigns, Aurelius and

⁹¹⁸ For the reputation of the Boukoloi in Late Antique fiction, see primarily Rutherford, *JHS* 120 (2000): 107-9, who goes so far as to posit “the possibility arises that Cassius Dio [71.4], or his source (possibly Marius Maximus), was influenced by contemporary fiction” (*ibid*, p. 109).

⁹¹⁹ For the multiple connections of Avidius Cassius to Egypt and Alexandria, see Bowman, *JRS* 60 (1970): 24-6; *idem*, *JRS* 66 (1976): 157-8.

⁹²⁰ Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*², p. 193.

⁹²¹ *SHA, Marc. Aur.* 26.3 (trans. Magie, *The Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, I, pp. 194-7).

⁹²² Note that both Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius were initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries while in Greece.

his army were cut off from all water sources, when a miraculous rain came to their rescue. An Egyptian *magus* named Arnuphis was purported to have caused the rain by invoking Hermes-Aerios among other Egyptian gods.⁹²⁴ This legend is in part confirmed by a Greek dedication to Isis by “Arnouphis the hierogrammatos of Egypt,” which was found at Aquileia, the temporary military base of Marcus Aurelius during his campaigns.⁹²⁵

Continuously occupied as he was with wars and famine, it is not surprising that Marcus Aurelius did not leave behind an impressive architectural legacy.⁹²⁶ Construction in Egyptian temples also slowed considerably after the flurry of activity under Antoninus Pius.⁹²⁷ Decoration continued as usual at Esna,⁹²⁸ Kom Ombo⁹²⁹ and Philae,⁹³⁰ while new constructions appeared in Asfun el-Mata‘na.⁹³¹ Although major temple decoration ended at

⁹²³ See primarily Guey, *Revue de Philologie* 22 (1948): 19-62; with the response by Posener, *Revue de Philologie* 25 (1951): 162-8 (pointing out further Pharaonic precedents for such an event); Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration et diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie*, pp. 428-32.

⁹²⁴ Dio Cassius XLI, 8; for the various interpretations of the epithet ἀηριος, cf. Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration et diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie*, p. 431, n. 3; as Guey, *Revue de Philologie* 22 (1948): 47-55, already suggested the adjective ἀηριος may allude to Shu, recalling the traditional pair of Shu-(Onuris) and Thoth as the specific gods who travelled outside of Egypt to bring back the raging goddess (Tefnut) whose return coincided with the annual Inundation.

⁹²⁵ Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration et diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie*, p. 430-1.

⁹²⁶ For the works at Rome, cf. Blake, *Roman Construction in Italy from Nerva through the Antonines*, pp. 71-2, who concluded “Marcus Aurelius was not a builder. His talents lay in other directions” (*ibid.*, p. 71); for the small construction projects scattered throughout the provinces, see Garzetti, *From Tiberius to the Antonines*, pp. 512-3, 715-7, 768-70.

⁹²⁷ Grenier, *Les titulaires des empereurs romains*, pp. 65-70; Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I, pp. 39-40; Arnold, *Temples of the Last Pharaohs*, pp. 270-1; Kákosy, in: *ANRW* II 18.5, pp. 2922-4.

⁹²⁸ *Esna* VI, p. 201; cf. also Depuydt, *JARCE* 40 (2003): 55-67.

⁹²⁹ De Morgan, *K.O.* II, 948, 952, 963-4; cf. PM VI, p. 197, (228)-(231); the other scenes in this general area (including the famous scene with the medical instruments, *K.O.* II, 950; cf. Sambin, *RdE* 48 [1997]: 185-200) probably also date to this reign, but the titularies are too damaged.

⁹³⁰ The majority of the decoration on “Hadrian’s Gate”: PM VI, pp. 254-5; Junker, *WZKM* 31 (1924): 53-81.

⁹³¹ Farid, *SAK* 13 (1986): 35-53.

Thebes after Antoninus Pius (nonetheless, cf. **5.16.1**), minor priestly activity is still attested from the Opet Temple.

5.12.1 Opet Temple

French excavations to the north of the Opet temple uncovered fragments of two Greek stelae dating to the reign of Marcus Aurelius.⁹³² The first stela preserves a dedication by three neokoroi,⁹³³ Julius Didymus, Julius Besarion, and Julius Sarapammon.⁹³⁴ Neokoroi were often attached to the cult of Sarapis (cf. **10.1**), but the title is actually quite vague, and it is possible that these men were neokoroi of Amun of Karnak.⁹³⁵ The second stela is even more fragmentary than the first;⁹³⁶ the few traces appear to mention both Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, as well as a certain Quint[us...], who may be identical to the Prefect Q. Baienus Blassianus (c. 167-168 CE).⁹³⁷

Unfortunately, the texts of the stelae are so fragmentary that it is impossible to suggest their original purpose. Archaeologically, the stelae were found in the same area as the earlier bakery (*šn^c w^cb*) attached to the Opet Temple and Chonsu Temple (cf. **2.1.3**), so it is plausible that the first stela may have commemorated restorations performed there. At

⁹³² Lauffray, et al., *Kēmi* 20 (1970): 88-90; Wagner, *BIFAO* 70 (1971): 31-36, Pl. 7.

⁹³³ For the neokoroi at Thebes, cf. **5.10.1**.

⁹³⁴ Wagner, *BIFAO* 70 (1971): 31-4.

⁹³⁵ Wagner, *BIFAO* 70 (1971): 34, notes that the priests could not have been Neokoroi of Sarapis.

⁹³⁶ Wagner, *BIFAO* 70 (1971): 34-6.

⁹³⁷ Unknown to Wagner, *BIFAO* 70 (1971): 36; for the identification of Quint[us...] with this prefect, cf. Bastianini, *ZPE* 17 (1975): 297, n. 2; idem, in: *ANRW* II.10.1, p. 510; Bureth, in: *ANRW* II.10.1, p. 487.

the very least, the first stela records further dedications from Egyptian priests at Karnak, albeit with more Hellenized names.⁹³⁸

XIII Commodus (177-192 CE)

“He (sc. Commodus) practised the worship of Isis and even went so far as to shave his head and carry a statue of Anubis (...) While he was carrying about the statue of Anubis, he used to smite the heads of the devotees of Isis with the face of the statue.”⁹³⁹

-- *SHA, Vita Commodi*, 9

5.13.0 Introduction

Tradition remembers Commodus as one of the worst Emperors in Roman history.⁹⁴⁰ He maintained notoriously bad relations with the Senate, renamed Rome “Commodiana,” and entrusted his *cubicularius* Cleander with considerable authority, while he himself spent most of his time engaged in extravagant gladiatorial activities as Commodus-Hercules.

Nonetheless, Commodus did enjoy a relatively long reign (twelve years after his father’s death), and his popularity at the time was due in large part to his lavish lifestyle and numerous benefactions to cities and temples, particularly in the East.⁹⁴¹ Commodus left few traces in the temple decoration of Egypt,⁹⁴² with minor continued work at Esna, Kom

⁹³⁸ Wagner, *BIFAO* 70 (1971): 33, noted that the repeated name “Julius” may indicate that the priests were recently granted Roman citizenship.

⁹³⁹ *HA: Vita Commodi*, 9.

⁹⁴⁰ For an objective survey of Commodus’s accomplishments and leadership, see recently Von Saldern, *Studien zur Politik des Commodus*; for a more subjective view, cf. Hekster, *Commodus: An Emperor at the Crossroads*.

⁹⁴¹ For Commodus’s minor construction works in Rome, see Blake, *Roman Construction in Italy from Nerva through the Antonines*, pp. 72-3; Von Saldern, *Studien zur Politik des Commodus*, pp. 167-73; for the benefactions to the provinces, and Commodus’s general philhellenism, see Garzetti, *From Tiberius to the Antonines*, pp. 542-3, 726-9, 773-4; Von Saldern, *Studien zur Politik des Commodus*, pp. 265-300.

⁹⁴² Grenier, *Les titulaires des empereurs romains*, pp. 70-3; for Commodus’s interest in Egyptian deities, cf. Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration et diffusion des cults égyptiens*, pp. 432-6.

Ombo,⁹⁴³ Philae, Karanis,⁹⁴⁴ and ‘Ain el-Birbiyeh,⁹⁴⁵ much of which was accomplished during his coregency with Marcus Aurelius.

5.13.1 Karnak

The reign of Commodus provides one of the most remarkable monuments in the entire Roman Theban corpus. Early excavators discovered a large sandstone pillar (1.2 m) next to the North obelisk of Hatshepsut within the *wꜣdy.t*-hall of Karnak, between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons.⁹⁴⁶ Although only the pillar survives, the original excavator, George Legrain, once referred to the object as a “socle sur lequel se trouvaient deux statues de fort mauvais style.”⁹⁴⁷ Unfortunately, he did not describe the statues and they have since disappeared, so it is impossible to suggest what exactly they represented.

The two surviving faces of the pillar preserve large inscriptions, one in Demotic, the other in Greek, dated to year 21 of Commodus (180 CE). Although the right half of the Demotic inscription is now destroyed, enough remains to show that both of the inscriptions were roughly similar. The complete Greek dedication reads as follows:⁹⁴⁸

“To Zeus Helios Ammon, greatest god,
Tiritmis, daughter of Teos, priestess, has erected (the statue?)
according to the testament of Teos, son of Inaros, prophet and leader, her father,
because of piety, to the (general) good,

⁹⁴³ De Morgan, *K.O.* II, Nos. 954-5.

⁹⁴⁴ Boak, *Karanis. The Tempels, Coin Hoards, Botanical and Zoölogical Reports*, pp. 42-4.

⁹⁴⁵ Kaper, in Kaper, ed., *Life on the Fringe*, p. 149; Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, III, pp. 79-80.

⁹⁴⁶ CG 50057A = Spiegelberg, *ASAE* 7 (1906): 250-4; Grenier, *Les titulaires des empereurs romains*, pp. 72-3; Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes*, pp. 211-2, No. 207; excellent photographs in Azim and Reveillac, *Karnak dans l’objectif de George Legrain*, II, p. 109, 4-4/45 and 4-4/46; for the location, see Spiegelberg, *ASAE* 7 (1906): 250, Fig. 1 (= PM II², Fig. X, between (213b) and column I).

⁹⁴⁷ Azim and Reveillac, *Karnak dans l’objectif de George Legrain*, I, p. 191.

⁹⁴⁸ Slightly modified translation of Vleeming, *Some Coins of Artaxerxes*, p. 211.

in year 21 under Marus Aurelius [Commodus] Antoninus Caesar, the Lord,
21st of Hathyr.”

The Demotic inscription, meanwhile, mentions that Teos was “High Priest of Amun-Re King of the Gods (*hm-ntr tpy n 'Imn-R^c nsw-ntr.w*)” (l. 2), the latest mention of a traditional High Priest anywhere in Egypt.⁹⁴⁹

The specific location of the statue base is even more significant, however, for it attests to the continued function of the hypostyle court between the IVth and Vth pylons as a seat for priestly statues. Although this court was originally called the “columned hall (*w3dy.t*),” a later text refers to it as “the columned hall with statues (*w3d(.t) twt*),”⁹⁵⁰ which led Barguet to suggest: “la salle hypostyle a donc pu être, par excellence, la salle où étaient déposées les statues votives des grands-prêtres.”⁹⁵¹ In fact, a number of New Kingdom royal statues were found *in situ* in this columned hall,⁹⁵² and it quite possible that private statues were originally placed here before they were buried in the Karnak Cachette.

Since Karnak temple proper (*Ip.t-s.wt*) began at the IVth pylon, the court south of the IVth pylon was similar in function to the columned pronaos of other temples.⁹⁵³ Namely, while the inner chapels were reserved for the divine statues, the columned forecourt served as a place for festival processions. Inscriptions on many of the private statues in the Karnak Cachette reveal that the statues were placed in these festival areas, thereby enjoying offerings

⁹⁴⁹ Quaegebeur, *BSFE* 70-71 (1974): 43, noted that this inscription comes about two hundred years after the last attested High Priest of Memphis.

⁹⁵⁰ Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 311-2.

⁹⁵¹ Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, p. 312, n. 1.

⁹⁵² Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 102 and 106; *PM II*², p. 84; note also the reliefs depicting statues of Amenhotep III on sledges, *PM II*², p. 81 (212c-d).

⁹⁵³ So Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 314-5.

such as incense and annointments during the processions of the portable bark of Amun.⁹⁵⁴ As Tiritmis dedicated the statue base to her deceased father, the High Priest of Amun Teos, the statue itself was most likely represented him as well. This well-informed placement of a priestly statue within the wadjyt-hall thus further attests to the continued importance of the bark of Amun at this date, long after the last official decoration of Karnak Temple under Domitian (cf. **5.8.1.2**).

Discussing this inscription, Quaegebeur has noted that two Greek ostraca from the end of the Second Century CE record priests designated as “archipastophors of the third pylon of Amun.”⁹⁵⁵ He suggested that this unusual title might refer to the decoration on the Third Pylon, namely scenes of the Opet Festival.⁹⁵⁶ While this is an attractive hypothesis, it assumes that the Egyptians numbered the pylons the same way as modern Egyptologists. Alternatively, if one counts the from the Akhmenu outwards, the third pylon would be what Egyptologists refer to as the Fourth Pylon, the main entrance to the *wadjyt*-hall and Karnak Temple proper. The title “archipastophor of the third pylon of Amun” would then further confirm the cultic importance of the Eighteenth Dynasty *wadjyt*-hall.

⁹⁵⁴ For the position and purposes of these statues, see most recently Rizzo, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 511-21.

⁹⁵⁵ Quaegebeur, *OLP* 6/7 (1975/76): 465; idem, *BSFE* 70-71 (1974): 44 and 55, n. 24; citing J.G. Tait, *Greek Ostraca in the Bodleian Library*, II, Nos. 1480 and 1569.

⁹⁵⁶ *PM II*², p. 61, (183).

XIV Septimius Severus (193-211 CE) and Caracalla (198-217 CE)

5.14.0 Introduction

The Libyan Septimius Severus was the first Emperor to establish a firm base of support after the death of Commodus in 192 CE.⁹⁵⁷ Among their many accomplishments, Septimius Severus and his successors were responsible for a minor resurgence of building activity in Rome and throughout the Empire,⁹⁵⁸ particularly in Severus's native city of Lepcis Magna.⁹⁵⁹

Septimius Severus travelled to Egypt together with the royal family (Caracalla, Geta, and Julia Domna) from 199-200 CE.⁹⁶⁰ During their stay in Alexandria, Severus and his co-Augustus Caracalla heard supplications and responded to a large number of petitions (*libelli*) from individuals and groups,⁹⁶¹ and also issued numerous proclamations aimed at maintaining order and ending *anachoresis*.⁹⁶² Severus also dramatically reorganized the

⁹⁵⁷ For the reign of Severus, see in general Birley, *Septimius Severus*²; Grant, *The Severans*.

⁹⁵⁸ For the Roman constructions of the Severan period, cf. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, pp. 126-135.

⁹⁵⁹ Cf. Ward-Perkins, *Lepcis Magna*.

⁹⁶⁰ For the Egyptian tour of Septimius Severus, see primarily Hannestad, *Classica et Mediaevalia* 6 (1944): 194-222; Halfmann, *Itinera principum*, 217-8, 220-1; Birley, *Septimius Severus*², pp. 136-9; Parássoglou, in Hanson, ed., *Collectanea Papyrologica*, pp. 261-6; Ray, *ZPE* 27 (1977): 151-6; for the chronology, see most recently Lewis, *Historia* 38 (1979): 253-4 (= *On Government and Law in Roman Egypt*, pp. 242-3); Willems and Clarysse, eds., *Les Empereurs du Nil*, pp. 32, 37-8.

⁹⁶¹ Westermann and Schiller, *Apokrimata*; Williams, *JRS* 64 (1974): 86-103; Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, pp. 240-52 (esp. 244-5).

⁹⁶² For edicts of Severus and Caracalla requiring Egyptians to return to their native nomes, see Thomas, *JEA* 61 (1975): 201-21.

local administration of Egypt in 200/201 CE when he installed municipal councils (*boulai*) in each nome who more directly managed local funds and taxation.⁹⁶³

Whether this change directly affected Egyptian temples is unclear,⁹⁶⁴ but it is true that the third century witnessed no new temple constructions, only continued decoration. The increase of Hellenistic and Roman public buildings within Egypt during the second and third centuries might alternatively indicate that Egyptians as a whole were becoming more and more Romanized in their lifestyles and architectural tastes.⁹⁶⁵ This shift need not have been to the detriment of the temples, however, as is often assumed. Rather, the fact that more modern urban centers developed around ancient temples, rather than demolishing them, attests to the continued importance of the historical buildings.⁹⁶⁶ The Roman style Sarapeion in front of Luxor Temple (cf. **5.10.1**) reveals such a “Romanized” accommodation and augmentation of an earlier temple, as does the Diocletianic military camp settled around the same monument at the end of the third century (**5.17.1**).

The increased Romanization of Theban cults was further evident in the change of traditional titles. While old offices like “god’s father (*it-ntr*)” and “high priest (*hm-ntr tpy*)” continued (cf. **5.13.1**), an increasing number of *neokoroi* with both Greek and Egyptian

⁹⁶³ See primarily Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*; Bowman and Rathbone, *JRS* 82 (1992): 107-27; Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, pp. 55-7.

⁹⁶⁴ Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*, p. 200, claimed: “The temples, too, were brought under the local administration of the *bouleutai*, but hardly to their benefit (...) the temple had now to persevere within the constraints of the local economy and under the supervision of the town council.” However, the actual records show that the town councils had minimal control over temple funds (Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, pp. 97-8); for a different view on the impact of the Severan reforms, cf. Glare, *The Temples of Egypt*, pp. 107-40.

⁹⁶⁵ Cf. Alston, in Parkins, ed., *Roman Urbanism*, pp. 147-72; Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, pp. 45-8.

⁹⁶⁶ Cf. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, p. 48: “A Greek living in a nome metropolis was reminded daily by these temples that the gods of the place were Egyptian.”

names appear, not always associated with Sarapis (cf. **5.10.1**). In 212 CE, Caracalla granted citizenship throughout the Roman Empire, an act no doubt influential in the increasing “Romanization” of Egyptian cities and temples.

Despite their trips throughout Egypt and their general fascination with Eastern religions,⁹⁶⁷ Severus and Caracalla did not leave behind a notable building record with respect to Egyptian temples, and the only official reliefs come from the temple of Esna, where decoration had proceeded slowly but continuously since the reign of Tiberius.⁹⁶⁸ While Septimius Severus usually receives credit for repairing the Colossus of Memnon and thus ending his vocal performances, no physical or clear epigraphic evidence supports such a claim.⁹⁶⁹ At least one author of an inscription dated after the Imperial visit (c. 205 CE) still claimed to have heard the Memnon.⁹⁷⁰ Visitors may have stopped leaving graffiti on the Colossus for a number of reasons, for example the fact that by the third century much of the good writing surface on the statue was already covered with inscriptions.⁹⁷¹

Although no remains of construction or renovation under Severus and Caracalla survive at Thebes, minor documents highlight continued activity in the temples.

⁹⁶⁷ Cf. Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration et diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie*, pp. 438-9.

⁹⁶⁸ Grenier, *Les titulaires des empereurs romains*, pp. 74-6.

⁹⁶⁹ See the discussion of Bowersock, *BASP* 21 (1984): 21-33, but note that his alternative conclusion, namely that Zenobia ordered the repairs, is similarly groundless.

⁹⁷⁰ A. and É. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines de Memnon*, pp. 146-8, No. 60.

⁹⁷¹ For the location of the graffiti, see A. and É. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines de Memnon*, pp. 9-12, Pls. LXX-LXXIII.

5.14.1 Deir Shelwit

Two graffiti from Deir Shelwit date precisely to year 200 CE, under the joint reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla.⁹⁷² The inscriptions celebrate Pamontekysis (< p³(-n-)Mnt-kš, “He of Montu the Ethiopian”)⁹⁷³ attaining the rank of stolist, a position still lower than *prophetes*, possibly as a result of the visit by Severus and Caracalla which happened in the same year. Although these are the only priestly graffiti from Deir Shelwit, they indicate that there a hierarchy of priests continued to operate at the temple.

XV Severus Alexander (222-235 CE)

5.15.0 Introduction

Like his predecessors, Severus Alexander may have also visited Egypt, although the only evidence comes from documents making preparations for his arrival.⁹⁷⁴ The only hieroglyphic temple inscription dated to his reign is at Esna.⁹⁷⁵

5.15.1 Deir el-Rumi

The only object from Thebes is a fragment of an altar with a dedication by the *neokoros* and *hierakeryx* of Apollo (“divine herald”) named Pa[...]is (perhaps Pa[zem]is, “He of Djeme”),⁹⁷⁶ made in year 3 of Severus Alexander at the temple of Deir el-Rumi.⁹⁷⁷ As

⁹⁷² LD VI, 76, Nos. 60-1; Jouguet, in: *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, pp. 241-4; Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, pp. 105-6; Zivie, *Le temple de Deir Chelouit*, IV, p. 93-4.

⁹⁷³ For similar names ending in *-kysis* < “Kush,” cf. Lüdeckens, in Endesfelder, et al., eds., *Ägypten und Kusch*, pp. 286-91; Winnicki, in Verhoogt and Vleeming, eds., *The Two Faces of Graeco-Roman Egypt*, pp. 175-6.

⁹⁷⁴ See most recently van Minnen and Sosin, *Ancient Society* 27 (1996): 171-81.

⁹⁷⁵ Following the restoration of Grenier, *CdE* 63 (1988): 61-3.

⁹⁷⁶ Suggested by Wagner and Lecuyot, *BIFAO* 93 (1993): 415.

Wagner and Lecuyot noted, the reference to the god Apollo surely refers to Montu, as Montu usually received this name in Greek inscriptions.⁹⁷⁸ As noted above, the only inscription yet published from Deir el-Rumi claims that it was built for “Montu Lord of Armant.” (11.2) Furthermore, if the restoration of the name is correct, then Pa[zem]is would represent another Egyptian priest taking the title of *neokoros*, and remarkably making a Greek dedication to Montu.

XVI Valerian(?) (253-260 CE)

16.1 Medinet Habu

The last official reliefs in Thebes come from the Small Temple of Medinet Habu.⁹⁷⁹ On the left side (south) of the door jamb, an emperor gives wine to Montu and Rattawy,⁹⁸⁰ while on the right side (north), the same figure presents incense and a libation (*sntr qbhw*) for Amenope of Djeme.⁹⁸¹ The two scenes are the same size, in parallel position, and of comparable carving style, and thus they most likely form an ensemble. Montu and Rattawy probably represent Armant, and thus the tableau commemorates the primary mortuary services of Montu of Armant from the south (cf. 7.5) and Amenope of Djeme from Luxor Temple (cf. 4.4).

⁹⁷⁷ Wagner and Lecuyot, *BIFAO* 93 (1993): 413-8.

⁹⁷⁸ For Montu and Apollo, cf. Quaegebeur, *OLP* 6/7 (1975/76): 465-7; Wagner and Lecuyot, *BIFAO* 93 (1993): 417.

⁹⁷⁹ PM II², p. 472, (79) (a-b); Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I, p. 45, incorrectly refers to these reliefs as graffiti.

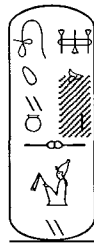
⁹⁸⁰ The scene still preserves paint, and even though no labels exist, the identification of the deities is certain.

⁹⁸¹ The latter scene is reproduced and translated by Doresse, *RdE* 23 (1971): 122-6, Pl. 7A.

The cartouches in the scene with Amenope are inscribed, but in such a fashion that the precise Emperor is difficult to identify.⁹⁸² While the prenomen is clearly written as (*kysrs nty-hwy*), “Caesar Augustus,” the nomen is much more complicated to establish, as the combination of carving quality and damage makes it difficult to identify the hieroglyphs. Grenier transcribed the second cartouche as follows:



Based on this rendering, Grenier read the name as *gʳʳḏns* “Gordianus,” identifying him with Gordian III (238-244 CE), an Emperor who is otherwise unattested in Egyptian documentation.⁹⁸³ Nonetheless, this explanation is extremely problematic, not only because of the odd sign values (e.g. $\text{𓆎} = \text{𓆏}$), the writing of *dn* for “-dian-”, but also because of the transcription of the hieroglyphs themselves.⁹⁸⁴ Based on collation *in situ* and with photographs made under various lighting conditions, the following rendering more closely resembles the actual signs:





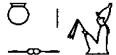


⁹⁸² For the most recent attempt, see Grenier, *CdE* 63 (1988): 63-6.

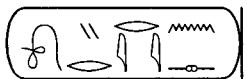
⁹⁸³ Grenier, *CdE* 63 (1988): 66, n. 2, noting one possible Demotic graffito at Philae written *Gwltn*.

⁹⁸⁴ The most difficult reading is the first sign as a *k*-basket.

Although the middle is damaged, enough remains to suggest reading *w3lryns*, “Valerian,”⁹⁸⁵

with  = *w3*,  = (*i*)*r/l*,⁹⁸⁶  = *r*,  = *y*,  = *ns(y)*.⁹⁸⁷ Unlike Gordian,

Valerian is actually attested in other Egyptian documents,⁹⁸⁸ most notably in a Buchis stela

where his name appears in a similar orthography: .⁹⁸⁹ If this reading is

correct, it would mean that the Medinet Habu reliefs are some of the last known temple

scenes in Egypt.⁹⁹⁰

XVII Diocletian (284-305 CE)

“Capitoline Zeus took pity at last on the human race and gave the lordship of all the earth and the sea to the godlike king Diocletian. He extinguished the memory of former griefs for any still suffering in grim bonds in a lightless place. Now a father sees his child, a wife her husband, a brother his brother released, as if coming into the light of the sun a second time from Hades. Gladly Diogenes, saver of cities, received the favour of the good king and swiftly dispatched to the cities the joyful forgetfulness of griefs. The whole land takes delight in its joy as at the light of a golden age, and the iron, drawn back from the slaughter of men, lies bloodlessly in the scabbard. You too have rejoiced to announce the royal gift to all, governor of the Seven Nomes, and the Nile has praised your mildness earlier still, when you governed the towns on Nilotic Thebes with care and righteousness.”

- *P. Oxy. LXIII 4352* (trans. C. Adams)⁹⁹¹

⁹⁸⁵ Another possible Emperor beginning with *Va-* could be Vaballathus, the Palmyrean usurper who had control over Egypt for a short period during the reign of Aurelian (cf. Watson, *Aurelian and the Third Century*, pp. 61-3, 67-71, 82-3).

⁹⁸⁶ The egg often writes *ir(w)* in Roman texts, cf. Cauville, *Dendara. Le fond hiéroglyphiques*, p. 123; Leitz, *Quellentexte zur ägyptischen Religion*, I, p. 165.

⁹⁸⁷ For the king with the white crown as an ideogram for *nsw*, “king,” cf. Gardiner, *EG*, p. 446.

⁹⁸⁸ Grenier, *Le titulaires des empereurs romains*, pp. 82-3.

⁹⁸⁹ Bucheum stela No. 18, l. 1 (= Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, Pl. 9; Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I, p. 37, Fig. 31).

⁹⁹⁰ The only later datable temple relief is a fragment depicting Maximinus Daia (305-313 CE) from Tahta in Middle Egypt; cf. Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I, p. 113, Fig. 157.

⁹⁹¹ Adams, in Swain and Edwards, eds., *Approaching Late Antiquity*, pp. 86-7.

5.17.0 Introduction

After decades of relative anarchy, Diocletian restored a degree of stability to the Roman Empire.⁹⁹² In order to manage the vast geographical extent of the Empire and effectively deal with threats on all frontiers, Diocletian appointed Maximian as a second Caesar, and then co-Augustus in 285-286 CE. The two Emperors ruled jointly, with Diocletian in the East and Maximian in the West. In 292-293 CE, revolts broke out in Egypt in Busiris/Boresis and Coptos while Diocletian was campaigning in the Balkans.⁹⁹³ To deal with this crisis, Diocletian sent Galerius to Egypt as his associated Caesar, and Maximian appointed Constantius I as his own appointed Caesar.⁹⁹⁴

Shortly afterwards, Diocletian drastically reformed the administration of Egypt, as he did throughout the Empire.⁹⁹⁵ He split the province of *Aegyptus* into two separate provinces (*Aegyptus* and Thebaid),⁹⁹⁶ and removed the posts of the *dioiketes*, *epistratego*i, and the *idios logos*, replacing them with new positions including *katholikos*, *praesides*, and *dux*; and he

⁹⁹² For Diocletian and the Tetrarchy, see most recently Kuhoff, *Diokletian und die Epoche der Tetrarchie*; Rees, *Diocletian and the Tetrarchy*.

⁹⁹³ Barnes, *Phoenix* 30 (1976): 180-2; idem, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, pp. 54-5; Bowman, *BASP* 15 (1978): 26; idem, *BASP* (1984): 33-36

⁹⁹⁴ For Galerius in Egypt, see primarily Barnes, *Phoenix* 30 (1976): 181-2; idem, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, pp. 62 and 196; according to Speidel and Pavkovic, *AJP* 110 (1989): 151-4, a Latin graffito from Luxor temple (El-Saghir, et al., *Le camp romain de Louqsor*, p. 120, No. 50), may date to 293 CE and thus commemorate Galerius's control over Thebes and his creation of two new legions in the Thebaid.

⁹⁹⁵ Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, I, pp. 42-69.

⁹⁹⁶ Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, pp. 204-5, 211-2, noting that *Aegyptus* was later subdivided into three separate provinces, *Aegyptus Iovia*, *Aegyptus Herculia*, and *Arabia Nova* (c. 314/5 CE), and then reunited under Constantine (c. 324 CE); for further details, cf. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, pp. 63-4; Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt*, p. 234, n. 3; Bowman, *BASP* 15 (1978): 28, suggests that Galerius may have created the Thebaid province after the rebellion of 292-3 CE.

also enacted substantial tax reforms.⁹⁹⁷ These massive changes may have been partially responsible for the second revolt that broke out sometime around 297.⁹⁹⁸ The Egyptian prefect L. Domitian Domitianus, proclaimed himself rival Emperor with the support of a *corrector* named Achilleus. The exact details of the rebellion are unknown, but Domitianus was clearly recognized throughout Egypt, and Diocletian personally took part in the final siege of Alexandria in March 298.⁹⁹⁹ Literary and papyrological sources document his subsequent voyage through Egypt down to Lower Nubia, where he brokered a treaty with the Blemmyes, formally granting all land south of Philae to the Blemmyes and Nobatae.¹⁰⁰⁰

The reign of Diocletian also saw extensive reorganization of the entire Roman military.¹⁰⁰¹ In Egypt, two new legions were created in the Thebaid, *legio I Maximiana* and *legio II Flaviania Constantia*.¹⁰⁰² New fortresses were created throughout the Empire, and the fortifications of the southern boundary were consolidated at Philae.¹⁰⁰³

⁹⁹⁷ For the reforms of Diocletian in Egypt, see Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte*; Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*; Bowman, *BASP* 15 (1978): 25-38; Adams, in Swain and Edwards, eds., *Approaching Late Antiquity*, pp. 82-108; Dijkstra, *Religious Encounters on the Southern Egyptian Frontier in Late Antiquity*, 11-4; for the rest of the Empire, cf. recently Ermatinger, *The Economic Reforms of Diocletian*; Kuhoff, *Diokletian und die Epoche der Tetrarchie*, pp. 267-564.

⁹⁹⁸ See primarily Schwartz, *L. Domitius Domitianus (étude numismatique et papyrologique)*; Adams, in Swain and Edwards, eds., *Approaching Late Antiquity*, pp. 87-9; Kuhoff, *Diokletian und die Epoche der Tetrarchie*, pp. 184-98.

⁹⁹⁹ Bowman, *BASP* 15 (1978): 27.

¹⁰⁰⁰ For the details of this treaty, see Dijkstra, *Religious Encounters on the Southern Egyptian Frontier in Late Antiquity*, pp. 33-6; for the chronology of Diocletian's journey, cf. Bowman, *BASP* 15 (1978): 29.

¹⁰⁰¹ See primarily von Berchem, *L'armée de Dioclétien et la réforme constantinienne*; Kuhoff, *Diokletian und die Epoche der Tetrarchie*; pp. 411-83.

¹⁰⁰² Speidel and Pavkovic, *American Journal of Philology* 110 (1989): 153-4.

¹⁰⁰³ Dijkstra, *Religious Encounters on the Southern Egyptian Frontier in Late Antiquity*, pp. 11-14.

In the midst of these sweeping administrative, economic, and military changes under Diocletian, that Thebes not surprisingly underwent transformations. All work focused at Luxor temple, where the temple of Amun was incorporated into a new Roman fortress, while one of the interior rooms was changed into a sanctuary for the Emperor cult.

5.17.1 Luxor Temple

5.17.1.1 Roman Fortress

The original enclosure wall of Luxor temple (cf. **5.2.3.7**) was entirely rebuilt into a rectangular mudbrick fortification wall characteristic of the third century CE.¹⁰⁰⁴ The primary features include square-shaped corner towers, multiple rounded interval towers, and up to seven large U-shaped gates. After his excavations in the early Twentieth Century, Legrain attempted to identify a large number of interior structures (e.g. prison, bath, “arc de triomphe,” etc.), but in reality, extremely little archaeological data is available concerning any internal structures related to the military camp.¹⁰⁰⁵

The only well-preserved elements from within the camp are the two groups of tetrastyla.¹⁰⁰⁶ The east tetrastylon, a group of four colossal columns, bear Latin inscriptions dated to 300-301 CE, while the bases of the west tetrastylon were inscribed in 308-309 CE,

¹⁰⁰⁴ Habachi, *ASAE* 51 (1951): 447-68; el-Saghir, et al., *Le camp romain de Louqsor*, especially pp. 5-33; Lander, *Roman Stone Fortifications*, pp. 187, 190, 201, 223; for comparable fortresses in Egypt, see most recently Abdel Wareth and Zignani, *BIFAO* 92 (1992): 185-210; in recent years, a joint mission of ARCE and the Epigraphic Survey have restored the Diocletianic paintings at Luxor, and Michael Jones has begun new investigations into the archaeological record of military structures.

¹⁰⁰⁵ El-Saghir, et al., *Le camp romain de Louqsor*, pp. 13-6, noting that most of the non-temple features are actually later Coptic churches, for which see Grossmann, *MDAIK* 29 (1973): 167-81; note that the elaborate reconstruction drawing of J.-Cl. Golvin, in el-Saghir, et al., *Le camp romain de Louqsor*, Pl. XX, is largely speculative.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Lacau, *ASAE* 34 (1934): 17-46; El-Saghir, et al., *Le camp romain de Louqsor*, pp. 11-2, 20-1, 122, Figs. 21-3, Pls. XVI-XVIII.

during the second Tetrarchy.¹⁰⁰⁷ The *tetrastyle*, or *tetrakionia*, was a popular type of monument during the two Tetrarchies, particularly in the East.¹⁰⁰⁸ The tetrastylon was generally located in a large public place, such as a forum. Each column represented a member of the Tetrarchy,¹⁰⁰⁹ and their grouping emphasized the important tetrarchic value of Imperial *concordia*, the peaceful co-rule of the four corners of the Empire.

5.17.1.2 The Imperial Chapel

The vestibule immediately south of the Hypostyle Hall of Luxor Temple was completely renovated in a Roman style, presumably all during the reign of Diocletian.¹⁰¹⁰ The floor of the vestibule was repaved, using among other things, blocks and column capitals from earlier structures.¹⁰¹¹ The original south door was closed off and converted into a recessed apse.¹⁰¹² Four large granite columns were erected before the apse (only two are still standing), which are generally assumed to be serve as bases for a ciborium or baldachin covering an Imperial throne.¹⁰¹³

¹⁰⁰⁷ Lacau, *ASAE* 34 (1934): 17-46; Wagner, in el-Saghir, et al., *Le camp romain de Louqsor*, pp. 20-1.

¹⁰⁰⁸ See the detailed discussion by Thiel, *Antiquité Tardive* 10 (2002): 209-326; important parallels can be found, *inter alia*, at Palmyra, Ptolemais (Cyrene), and Antinoopolis; Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, pp. 46-7, noted that the addition of tetrastyla to other Egyptian cities like Hermopolis and Oxyrhynchus indicated their transformation into Hellenistic *metropoleis* in Late Antiquity.

¹⁰⁰⁹ In some examples, statues of the Caesars and Augusti took the place of the columns; cf. Thiel, *Antiquité Tardive* 10 (2002): 209-326.

¹⁰¹⁰ PM II², pp. 320-1 (118-124); Monneret de Villard, *Archaeologia* 95 (1953): 85-105; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975): 225-51; Deckers, *Jahrbuch des deutschen archaologischen Instituts* 94 (1979): 600-48; El-Saghir, et al., *Le camp romain de Louqsor*, pp. 17, 27-31, Figs. 29-32, Pl. XXII; Golvin, et al., in: *Égypte, Louqsor, Temple du Ka Royal*, pp. 75-8; Rees, *Greece & Rome* 40 (1993): 183-6; Gabelmann, *Antike Audienz- und Tribunalszenen*, pp. 204-5; Kolb, *Herrscherideologie in der Spätantike*, pp. 175-86; Reddé, *JRA* 17 (2004): 456-8; Hölbl, vol. I; Lembke, et al., *Ägyptens späte Blüte*, pp. 80-1, Abb. 145-146.

¹⁰¹¹ El-Saghir, et al., *Le camp romain de Louqsor*, p. 17.

¹⁰¹² El-Saghir, et al., *Le camp romain de Louqsor*, pp. 17, 28-9; Reddé, *JRA* 17 (2004): 456-8.

¹⁰¹³ Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975): 230-1, 248-51.

The walls of the vestibule, originally inscribed under Amenhotep III, were entirely covered with two layers of plaster and covered with frescoes. While only a small amount of the painted decoration survives today, John G. Wilkinson made a number of detailed watercolors, sketches and notes of the frescoes in the early Nineteenth century, when substantially more of the scenes still remained.¹⁰¹⁴ Close comparisons of the surviving traces with images from contemporaneous Tetrarchic arches, coins, statues, and literary accounts, have allowed scholars to produce plausible reconstructions of most of the tableaux.¹⁰¹⁵ Recent conservation measures have wonderfully restored the vibrant colors of the original paintings, but have not uncovered any new details of the decoration.

The east wall contains a procession of soldiers with shields but no armor, accompanied by a number of horses.¹⁰¹⁶ The west wall is now almost entirely destroyed, but Wilkinson originally noted some traces of a chariot, possibly bearing the name of Diocletian.¹⁰¹⁷ Enough decoration remains from the south wall, to either side of the apse, to suggest that the scenes were roughly symmetrical. The better preserved south-east side contains traces of a bejeweled footrest (*suppedaneum*), upon which rests one Imperial shoe. Based on its size and position, this fragment probably belonged to a large throne with footrest which seated two Imperial figures, probably one Augustus and one Caesar (e.g. Diocletian and Galerius). Below the throne are numerous men depicted wearing the *chlamys* and

¹⁰¹⁴ Reproduced in Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975): Figs. I-IV and 6-14.

¹⁰¹⁵ Especially that of Deckers, Deckers, *Jahrbuch des deutschen archaologischen Instituts* 94 (1979): Abb. 33-34; reproduced in el-Saghir, et al., *Le camp romain de Louqsor*, Pl. XXII; it should be noted that while the imagery in the frescoes have numerous parallels, the extensive Luxor Temple paintings are unique in their size and medium for this time period.

¹⁰¹⁶ Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975): 232-3 and Fig. 3.

¹⁰¹⁷ Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975): 238-9.

significantly veiling their hands (*manus velatae*), a gesture signifying the divinity of the Emperors.¹⁰¹⁸ Two of the men carry bejeweled sashes, apparently one for each ruler, while another carries a standard (*vexillum*). The scene on the south-west wall was likely quite similar, although all that remains are some of the men with veiled hands. However on this side, it appears that some of the figures carry a large object, which might have been a divine statue.

5.17.1.3 Summary

It is practically the *communis opinio* that Luxor temple cannot have remained operational into the reign of Diocletian.¹⁰¹⁹ However, this conclusion has never been supported by any convincing evidence. Vandorpe, recently claimed that “a new military camp was built around the old temple of Luxor, which had apparently not been frequented as a sanctuary for the last 50 years,”¹⁰²⁰ without providing any evidence to support the latter statement or the imaginary figure of 50 years. She may have based her argument on earlier comments of Bagnall, who claimed: “Greek graffiti inside the temple show clearly that the ancient cult was effectively abandoned before the Romans reused the building, as indeed one would expect.”¹⁰²¹ This explanation is unconvincing, because the Greek votive inscriptions are not located within the main temple, but rather on the exterior walls and in the festival

¹⁰¹⁸ This detail is particularly significant for Gabelmann, *Antike Audienz- und Tribunalszenen*, p. 205.

¹⁰¹⁹ Cf. however Murnane, *LÄ IV*, col. 577, n. 12: “Monneret de Villard (...) states that the temple cannot have been in use when it was enclosed within the Roman camp; but this point remains to be proved.”

¹⁰²⁰ Vandorpe, in Vleeming, ed., *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, p. 236; cf. also Dijkstra, *Religious Encounters on the Southern Egyptian Frontier in Late Antiquity (AD 298-642)*, p. 30: “In some cases, cults had even ended by the third century, as for example in the famous temple complex of Luxor (Thebes) where Diocletian built a military camp.”

¹⁰²¹ Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, p. 263; cf. also Bagnall, *JEA* 76 (1990): 253: “After a long history as a temple of the first rank, the sanctuary apparently fell out of use in the mid-third century AD.”

court of Ramesses II.¹⁰²² The appearance of graffiti in these locations is quite significant, as these places were open to the public already in the New Kingdom,¹⁰²³ and were host to a large number of hieroglyphic and hieratic graffiti in the Pharaonic period.¹⁰²⁴ Their position demonstrates that access to the inner shrines was still limited to high priests, and that the non-initiated had recourse to leaving votive inscriptions on the exterior walls.¹⁰²⁵

The following remarks of Bingen demonstrate how such conclusions about the Third Century decline of Luxor are based on assumptions:¹⁰²⁶

“La plupart des graffites sont antérieurs à l’établissement du camp et n’ont rien à voir avec l’armée romaine. Nombre entre eux ont d’ailleurs un acte de vénération au dieu Amon, alors que seule la décadence irrémédiable qui a frappé la culte de ce dernier au IIIe siècle de notre ère explique la réforme de l’espace sacré en un camp impérial.”

It is certainly difficult to imagine that Diocletian would have intentionally ordered the end of the cult of Amun of Luxor. Although Diocletian was fervently anti-Christian and anti-Manichean,¹⁰²⁷ he was generally a supporter of Egyptian cults,¹⁰²⁸ and his religious

¹⁰²² For the location of the graffiti, cf. the map in El-Saghir, et al., *Le camp romain de Louqsor*, Pl. I; and the discussion of Bingen, *CdE* 61 (1986): 331.

¹⁰²³ The original decoration of the Ramesside courtyard clearly indicates that commoners were allowed this far into the temple; cf. popular cults in the Ramesside court, see already Bell, in Shafer, ed., *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 164-7; for popular cult use of the triple bark-shrine of Ramesses II, cf. Bell, *JNES* 44 (1985): 269-71.

¹⁰²⁴ For graffiti on the exterior walls, see Brand, in Knoppers and Hirsch, eds., *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World*, pp. 257-66; Abd el-Raziq, *ASAE* 69 (1983): 211-8; Jansen-Winkeln, *ZÄS* 132 (2005): 35-9; for graffiti on the facade of the Collonade Hall exiting the Ramesside court, see The Epigraphic Survey, *RILT* II, pp. 52-65; the existence of earlier graffiti is not mentioned by Bingen or Bagnall.

¹⁰²⁵ This seems to be recognized elsewhere by Bagnall, *JEA* 76 (1990): 253, who noted that “most [graffiti] date to a period when Amun was still venerated here.”

¹⁰²⁶ Bingen, *CdE* 61 (1986): 331.

¹⁰²⁷ For the Christian persecution under the First Tetrarchy, see De Ste. Croix, *Harvard Theological Review* 47 (1954): 75-113; for the anti-Manichean edict of Diocletian, see Gardner and Lieu, *Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire*, pp. 116-8; Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs*, pp. 135-6.

¹⁰²⁸ Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration et diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie*, pp. 446-9.

persecutions seem to reflect his desire to defend traditional paganism.¹⁰²⁹ Diocletian's self-identification with Jupiter make it even more unlikely that he would have knowingly destroyed a major temple of Amun.

But would the creation of the Imperial shrine have destroyed the cult of Amun? It is important to note that the Portico of Amenhotep III was originally a festival room, not "le saint-des-saints" as some have claimed.¹⁰³⁰ The Eighteenth Dynasty decoration included reliefs depicting the Min Festival, the Sed Festival, and above all the Opet Festival.¹⁰³¹ The conversion of the south door into an apse restricted traffic from the Imperial shrine to the actual bark-shrine and sanctuary, but this does not mean the sanctuary was effectively closed.

On the contrary, other modifications provided a new access point to the bark-shrine of Amun. First, Roman builders widened the original door in the north-east corner of the bark-shrine and capped it with a brick arch.¹⁰³² Egyptologists familiar with the complicated building history of Luxor Temple have noted the possible significance of this feature. As Murnane noted, "the elaborate realization of this last detail could suggest, contrary to previous belief, that some vestige of the native Egyptian cult still survived in this part of the temple during late antiquity."¹⁰³³

¹⁰²⁹ Cf. Millar, *Rome, the Greek World, and the East*, II, p. 311: "Unless we are to reject all our evidence, we must conclude that the Tetrarchic persecutions, like those of the mid-third century, were concerned with the preservation of the pagan cults as such."

¹⁰³⁰ Bagnall, *Ktema* 13 (1988): 287.

¹⁰³¹ One can easily compare the Roman frescoes to the original reliefs on the same walls, as described in PM II², p. 320 (118), II, 1: "[King] in palanquin carried by priests, followed by three rows of soldiers, and courtiers." For the decoration and purpose of the Portico, see in greater detail Bell, *JNES* 44 (1985): 263-75.

¹⁰³² El-Saghir, et al., *Le camp romain de Louqsor*, p. 18, Pl. I (for the location).

¹⁰³³ Murnane, in Posener-Kriéger, ed., *Mélanges Mokhtar*, II, p. 146; cf. the similar comments of Bell, *JNES* 44 (1985): 274, n. 117: "the construction of a secondary entrance giving access to the south end of the temple from the east indicates the continuance of some Amun rituals here."

The importance of the Romanized east entrance to the bark-shrine is further emphasized by the modifications to the two adjacent chapels to the east.¹⁰³⁴ The east wall of both rooms was removed and replaced with a row of brick columns on the same axis.¹⁰³⁵ In addition, masons blocked up both the north and south portals to the bark-shrine, making the arched east door the sole entrance.¹⁰³⁶ This series of renovations effectively created a columned portico in front of the two eastern chapels, which now served as hypostyle halls entering into the bark-shrine. The bark-shrine, now entirely closed on all but one side, became the focal point of the southern section of the temple. The enlargement of its east door may have even allowed the processional bark of Amun to exit to the eastern chamber and even outside of the temple.

These small modifications to the rear chambers of Luxor would have actually restored the chapels of Amun to their original structure in the New Kingdom. The blocked “doorway” in the Imperial chamber which the Roman builders walled up had actually only been there since the reign of Alexander, who added the opening to connect his new bark-shrine to the rest of the temple.¹⁰³⁷ In the Pharaonic Era, everything north of this wall, including the Collonade Hall and forecourt, were separated from the chapels of Amun, properly speaking the “Southern Opet.” The main temple actually had an east-west axis, unlike the north-south axis of the forecourts, and one could only enter the main sanctuary by

¹⁰³⁴ PM II², Fig. XXXII, Rooms XIII and XIV.

¹⁰³⁵ El-Saghir, et al., *Le camp romain de Louqsor*, p. 18, Fig. 33; Murnane, in Posener-Kriéger, ed., *Mélanges Mokhtar*, II, p. 147, Fig. 3; as El-Saghir, et al., *Le camp romain de Louqsor*, p. 18, note, it is not possible to conclude whether “les ingénieurs romains sont responsables de cette destruction.”

¹⁰³⁶ Murnane, in Posener-Kriéger, ed., *Mélanges Mokhtar*, II, pp. 145-6, and 147, Fig. 3; these changes are not discussed by el-Saghir, et al., *Le camp romain de Louqsor*.

¹⁰³⁷ Murnane, in Posener-Kriéger, ed., *Mélanges Mokhtar*, II, pp. 145-6, and 147, Fig. 3; Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie*, II, 2, pp. 844-5.

first entering the columned hall (Room XVII) from the east.¹⁰³⁸ Thus the Roman Period renovations, reestablishing the physical barrier between the Amun temple in the south and the royal festival courts to the north, while emphasizing the east-west axis of the rear chambers, may reflect a desire of the priests to restore the temple to its original, pre-Ptolemaic layout.

Lacking any new archaeological or architectural evidence, these remarks must remain hypothetical. Nonetheless, if the bark-shrine no longer functioned cultically at this point, one must wonder why else these localized renovations took place.¹⁰³⁹ Even the hypothesis that the back rooms were used as storage magazines or other official rooms does not explain the need for the subtle changes. Furthermore, it must be noted that unlike other rooms, the bark-shrine is beautifully preserved and shows no sign of reuse. In addition, although Greek and Latin graffiti were carved all around the rest of Luxor Temple (cf. *infra*), not a single ancient graffito can be found in the bark-shrine itself, suggesting that the chapel remained at least somewhat sacrosanct well into Late Antiquity.

Archaeologically, there is no evidence that Luxor was in decline before the installation of the Roman camp. Lacau discussed this point in his publication of the tetrastyla:¹⁰⁴⁰

“Tout d’abord ce temple était-il encore vivant en 300? Les deux villes, nous l’avons vu, sont juste au niveau du sol du temple, il n’y a aucune surélévation. Ce qui veut dire que le terrain environnant n’avait pas encore été envahi par des constructions et était encore sacré. Mais le temple devait vivre d’une vie bien ralentie.”

¹⁰³⁸ PM II², pp. 329-30; for the original axis of the rear chambers, cf. Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor*, pp. 79-82 (noted by Prof. J.C. Darnell).

¹⁰³⁹ None of the other rear chambers of Luxor show signs of any such modifications.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Lacau, *ASAE* 34 (1934): 44.

Furthermore, there are no archaeological or architectural indications that the Roman camp affected the interior of the temple in any area outside of the Imperial shrine. Objectively speaking, there is no reason to conclude that the military camp ended the cult of Amun of Luxor, or found the temple already abandoned.

XVIII Constantine (306-337 CE)

5.18.0 Introduction

In 324 CE, after the defeat of Licinius at Chrysopolis, Constantine became sole Augustus, declared Christianity the official religion of Rome, and started the first restrictions on pagan sacrifices. Nonetheless, non-Christian temples continued to operate throughout the Empire into the fifth century, and Constantine supported and even tolerated certain pagan cults.¹⁰⁴¹ This means that for most of Egypt, Constantine does not seem to have deliberately suppressed the traditional temples.

5.18.1 Karnak

Unfortunately for Thebes, Constantine had no qualms about raiding non-Christian edifices for treasures and valuable works of art. In fact, he dispatched *comites* throughout the Empire to retrieve such objects to adorn the new capital at Constantinople.¹⁰⁴² For the Romans, the obelisk was the most imposing Egyptian monument,¹⁰⁴³ and Thebes was

¹⁰⁴¹ Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, pp. 211, 245-8, thought that Constantine mainly supported pagan cults in the West; for more on Constantine's ambiguous policies towards pagans, see more recently Lee, in Lenski, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*, pp. 172-6 (with further bibliography).

¹⁰⁴² Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* I, 92; II, 1083, n. 33; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, p. 247; Fowden, *JHS* 87 (1987): 55, notes that despite the general plundering, "the temples themselves were allowed to remain open and to retain the basic cult-objects that were necessary (...) violence was to be avoided."

¹⁰⁴³ For the large number of obelisks already in Rome, cf. Iversen, *Obelisks in Exile*, I.

particularly famous for its many surviving obelisks.¹⁰⁴⁴ It is not entirely surprising, then, that from among all possible Egyptian monuments, Constantine's agents selected two obelisks from Karnak temple, the sole obelisk of the *ḥw.t-bnbn* in East Karnak (cf. **5.1.4** and **5.8.1**), and another obelisk from before the Seventh Pylon.¹⁰⁴⁵ These obelisks were most likely chosen because they were the largest and most accessible specimens within Karnak.¹⁰⁴⁶ At the same time, it is worth noting the two obelisks in front of Luxor Temple, which would have been much simpler to remove, were left intact, probably because they were deemed essential elements of the Diocletianic military camp.¹⁰⁴⁷

The mere gesture of removing these obelisks would indicate an already waning priesthood in Karnak. More importantly, however, the logistics required for this enormous project had destructive consequences for the temple. Both obelisks originally stood on the periphery of the temple precinct under Thutmosis III, and thus their transportation and erection would have been relatively straightforward. However, later constructions, including the Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Pylons along the north-south axis, the Sacred Lake, the Edifice of Taharqa, and the monumental enclosure wall of the Thirtieth Dynasty, now stood between the sole obelisk and transport barges docked on the Nile. A conscientious engineer would have lead the sole obelisk out the East gate and then haul it around the southern or northern enclosure walls to reach the river.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Strabo, 17, 1.27 and 46; Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, 17, 4.6 (cf. **2.1** and **2.5**); Fowden, *JHS* 87 (1987): 53, n. 21a, suggests that Constantine might have learned of the Theban obelisks from Diocletian.

¹⁰⁴⁵ For this obelisk, now in Istanbul, cf. Azim, *Karnak* 6 (1980): 91-114; Azim and Golvin, *Karnak* VII (1982): 167-80, 209-11; Traunecker, *Karnak* 7 (1980): 203-8.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Suggested by Azim, *Karnak* 6 (1980): 127.

¹⁰⁴⁷ The western obelisk remained in place until the Nineteenth Century, when it was taken to Paris; cf. Solé, *Le voyage d'obélisque*.

Since Constantine had no compelling reasons to preserve the structural integrity of Karnak, his engineers probably took the shortest possible route to the Nile. Working from this assumption, it is possible to follow the likely route of the sole obelisk through Karnak temple based on the trail of damage it must have left.¹⁰⁴⁸

The first step required dismantling the south wall of the chapel surrounding the sole obelisk, giving room for it to travel south towards the Sacred Lake.¹⁰⁴⁹ Next, moving west between the Sacred Lake and the south exterior wall of the Amun Temple, the obelisk would have originally run straight into the Edifice of Taharqa. Accordingly, the south half of the latter chapel was completely razed,¹⁰⁵⁰ granting passage to the obelisk and its haulers. Travelling to the west, the next obstacle would have been the east and west walls of the “Cour de la Cachette” between the Seventh Pylon and the the main temple. In fact, one now finds huge gaps large enough for the obelisk in both walls, as well as regularly spaced rectangular breaks in the west wall which could have given room for towropes, posts, or other equipment.¹⁰⁵¹ After “Cour de la Cachette,” the sole obelisk could have then travelled due west, bypassing the temple of Ramesses III, and exiting the large gap in enclosure wall to the river.¹⁰⁵² The obelisk before the Seventh Pylon would have followed pretty much the

¹⁰⁴⁸ Following the hypotheses of Azim, *Karnak 6* (1980): 124-7, Fig. 13.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Barguet, *ASAE 50* (1950): 271; Barguet further noted that socle of the obelisk was broken, and that one Ramesside block on the ground shows possible signs of towropes (*ibid.*); Azim, *Karnak 6* (1980): 120-23, notes the possible remains of scaffolding similar to that used for the obelisk before the Seventh Pylon (cf. *infra*).

¹⁰⁵⁰ Azim, *Karnak 6* (1980): 125; the strange half destroyed super structure is still visible today, cf. Leclant, in: Parker, et al., *The Edifice of Taharqa*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁰⁵¹ Azim, *Karnak 6* (1980): 125-6, noting that some of these gaps have been filled by modern restorers.

¹⁰⁵² Azim, *Karnak 6* (1980): 126.

same trajectory, with a slightly shorter journey beginning immediately to the south of the “Cour de la Cachette.”¹⁰⁵³

The removal of these obelisks from Karnak must have been a humiliating blow for the local Theban priesthood, and one can only imagine how the destruction of temple walls affected cult services and festivals. Nonetheless, this unfortunate event did not necessarily signal the end of traditional Egyptian religion in Thebes. The last stela preserved from the Bucheum dates to 340 CE during the reign of Constantius II, providing evidence that at least one Theban institution survived.¹⁰⁵⁴

XIX Summary

In the reign of Augustus, temples witnessed extensive renovation work throughout Thebes. A number of projects stressed continuity with the preceding dynasty, completing decoration projects begun by the late Ptolemies.¹⁰⁵⁵ The new enclosure wall at Medamud may also reflect a desire to complete and protect the works of Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra VII,¹⁰⁵⁶ although it might have also repaired damage inflicted by Cornelius Gallus.¹⁰⁵⁷ The renovation of the First Pylon and dromos of Karnak demonstrates the importance of the tribune, traditionally associated with festival processions, and indicates an attempt to proclaim the new rule of Augustus to all visitors to the temple.¹⁰⁵⁸ The new Imperial chapel

¹⁰⁵³ Azim, *Karnak* 6 (1980): 126.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Grenier, *BIFAO* 83 (1983): 197-208; Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, pp. 116-7, 161, 301-2, Pl. 10.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Opet Temple (**5.1.1.2**), Chonsu Temple (**5.1.1.3**), Deir el-Medineh (**5.1.5**), Tod (**5.1.7**).

¹⁰⁵⁶ Cf. **5.1.2**.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Cf. **5.1.0**.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Cf. **5.1.1.1**.

in front of the dromos, meanwhile, closely imitated the nearby Pharaonic temples of the Royal Ka.¹⁰⁵⁹ The precise location of this chapel indicates Augustus' desire to attach the new Imperial cult to the worship of Amun at Karnak, following the precedent of Alexander at Luxor Temple.

Tiberius continued temple projects of Augustus,¹⁰⁶⁰ and he also completed similar renovations to the enclosure wall at Luxor Temple.¹⁰⁶¹ Numerous restorations took place throughout Karnak and Luxor,¹⁰⁶² including the addition of two lengthy hymns to Imhotep at the Ptah Temple.¹⁰⁶³ Tiberius also rebuilt the Mammisi of Chonsu the Child at the Mut Temple, perhaps completing earlier work of Augustus,¹⁰⁶⁴ as well as the bakery for divine offerings (*šnꜥ wꜥb*) attached to the Chonsu and Opet temples.¹⁰⁶⁵

The reign of Claudius witnessed the first Roman Period additions to Medinet Habu and the construction of the new temple of Isis at Deir Shelwit.¹⁰⁶⁶ The location of the Claudian gate at Medinet Habu, together with its hieroglyphic inscriptions, clearly indicate that it was built upon the processional route connecting Medinet Habu to Armant.¹⁰⁶⁷ The growing importance of this route may explain the new building efforts at Deir Shelwit, since

¹⁰⁵⁹ Cf. **5.1.1.1**.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Medamud (**5.2.2**), Mut Temple (**5.2.4**).

¹⁰⁶¹ Cf. **5.2.3**.

¹⁰⁶² Cf. **5.2.1.2**, **5.2.1.4**, **5.2.2.3**.

¹⁰⁶³ Cf. **5.2.1.5.1-2**.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Cf. **5.1.3** and **5.2.4.9**.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Cf. **5.2.1.3**.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Cf. **5.3.2** and **5.3.3**.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Cf. **5.3.2.1-5**.

this temple was located along the “road of Montu-Re-Harakhty,” and was explicitly referred to as a processional station for Montu during the Sokar Festival.¹⁰⁶⁸

Temple activity at Thebes expanded under Domitian, with new decoration and construction throughout the nome.¹⁰⁶⁹ Perhaps the most important work took place at the contra-temple of Karnak, where Domitian added new reliefs and solar hymns to the original chapel of Thutmosis III behind the Akh-Menu.¹⁰⁷⁰ These renovations indicate that the inner sanctuaries of Karnak were still functioning,¹⁰⁷¹ and the religious texts display a sophisticated understanding of the theological significance of the temples, the sole obelisk, and the horned altar of East Karnak.

During the reign of Hadrian, a Roman military officer sponsored the reconstruction of a Serapeion in the forecourt of Luxor Temple.¹⁰⁷² Its location perpendicular to the dromos suggests the continued festival use of the processional route between Karnak and Luxor Temples,¹⁰⁷³ and its position in front of the First Pylon of Luxor, similar to the Imperial chapel at Karnak, further implies the incorporation of Sarapis into the cult of Amun of Luxor. At the same time, artisans decorated the naos of Deir Shelwit with offering scenes and theologically complex hymns to Isis.¹⁰⁷⁴

¹⁰⁶⁸ *Deir Chelouit I*, 25 and *Deir Chelouit III*, 154, 20-21; cf. also **5.10.2.2**.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Medamud (**5.8.2**), Medinet Habu (**5.8.3**), Deir Shelwit (**5.8.4**).

¹⁰⁷⁰ Cf. **5.8.1.2-4**; Klotz, *ZÄS* 125 (2008): 65-79.

¹⁰⁷¹ As does the votive relief from the Ninth Pylon dating to Claudius or Nero, cf. **5.4.1**.

¹⁰⁷² Cf. **5.10.0**.

¹⁰⁷³ Perhaps for the Opet Festival or the Min Festival, cf. **7.2** and **4.31**.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Cf. **5.10.2**; the work of Hadrian at Armant (cf. **5.10.3**) may have been part of the same building program in Western Thebes, but the evidence is too fragmentary to draw any conclusions.

Antoninus Pius was by far the most prolific builder at Thebes, completing decoration at temples in all corners of the nome.¹⁰⁷⁵ His most important works took place at Djeme, where he built the new temple of Deir el-Rumi and significantly enlarged the forecourt of the Small Temple of Medinet Habu.¹⁰⁷⁶ The latter structure featured numerous beautifully composed and excellently carved hymns which further attest to the Theban theologians' continued mastery of the hieroglyphic script and the classical Middle Egyptian language.¹⁰⁷⁷ These temples of Djeme in particular continued to flourish into the third century, as work continued at Deir el-Rumi under Severus Alexander,¹⁰⁷⁸ while another Emperor, apparently Valerian, added new reliefs to the Small Temple of Medinet Habu.¹⁰⁷⁹

Many scholars assume that the construction of the military camp at Luxor Temple under Diocletian marks the end of the local cult of Amun. However, a close inspection of the architectural evidence reveals that the Roman additions only affected the outer festival structures, while small modifications to the southern chapels separated the Amun temple proper from the new Imperial Chapel, restoring the original distinction between royal and Amun chapels that existed in the New Kingdom.

In summary, the architectural and epigraphic remains from Thebes during the Roman Period, consist of a nearly continuous series of renovations, renewals, modifications, and new constructions from Augustus to Antoninus Pius at fourteen different temples, with additional

¹⁰⁷⁵ Deir Shelwit (**5.11.3**), Medamud (**5.11.4**), Armant (**5.11.3**), Tod (**5.11.6**).

¹⁰⁷⁶ Cf. **5.11.1-2**.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Cf. **5.11.1-15**, and **Chapter 6**.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Cf. **5.15.0**.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Cf. **5.16.1**.

attestations of priestly decoration going through the third century. The official temples continued to expand throughout the Roman Period, suggesting that the cults were still active if not growing in size. Based on this archaeological and epigraphic evidence, it is impossible to maintain that Thebes “suffered a slow starving to death,”¹⁰⁸⁰ or that it had devolved into a quaint “ville-musée.”¹⁰⁸¹

¹⁰⁸⁰ Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, p. 268 (referring to Egyptian cults in general).

¹⁰⁸¹ Bataille, *CdE* 26 (1951): 345.

Chapter 6

Grammar of the Roman Period Texts

6.1 Introduction

Even though the main languages spoken in Roman Egypt were Demotic and Greek, scribes continued to compose temple texts in an archaizing language approximating Middle Egyptian, the classical stage of the hieroglyphic script.¹ Ever since the New Kingdom, scribes wrote religious, historical, and autobiographical texts in the artificial language scholars refer to as “Neo-Middle Egyptian” or “Traditional Egyptian.”² In this archaizing register, Egyptians would use verbal forms they had seen in earlier texts but had disappeared from the spoken language, with varying degrees of consistency. One of the most significant differences between Middle Egyptian and later forms of the language was the reduction of the perfective *sḏm.n=f* forms to the preterite *sḏm=f*.³ After this change, which took place in the early New Kingdom, it can be difficult to determine whether a given *sḏm=f* is imperfective or perfective, and whether it is nominal or circumstantial, as scribes using Neo-Middle Egyptian would use the perfective *sḏm.n=f* parallel to preterite *sḏm=f* forms in the same inscription.

¹ For different approaches to the archaizing language of the Graeco-Roman Period, see the recent summaries of Engsheden, *La reconstitution du verbe en égyptien de tradition*, pp. 1-9, 29-36; von Lieven, *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne*, I, pp. 223-50.

² For the terminology, cf. recently Engsheden, *La reconstitution du verbe en égyptien de tradition*, pp. 2-3.

³ For this process, see in detail Kruchten, *Lingua Aegyptia* 6 (1999): 1-97.

In Ptolemaic and Roman texts, *sdm.n=f* forms are quite common, although their exact significance has been greatly debated.⁴ While some translators have noted distinctions between the *sdm=f* and *sdm.n=f* verbal forms,⁵ others claim that the syntactical differences are meaningless, and translate both forms arbitrarily based solely on what they think the context demands.⁶ Depuydt recently asserted that Egyptians were incapable of reading Middle Egyptian already in the New Kingdom, and thus later scribes using *sdm.n=f* forms were merely imitating earlier texts without understanding what they were doing.⁷ In the same year, however, Quack published a Late Period papyrus (26-27th Dynasty) in which a knowledgeable scribe translated an example of a nominal *sdm.n=f* into Demotic as the second tense *i.ir=f sdm*, demonstrating that ancient Egyptians were at least capable of understanding Middle Egyptian as modern Egyptologists might be.⁸

In a recent study on Ptolemaic grammar, Engsheden demonstrated that verbal morphology (e.g. gemination, verb endings) was generally of little significance, at least in royal and private stelae.⁹ Nonetheless, many Graeco-Roman inscriptions demonstrate that at

⁴ Primarily surrounding the possible “ritual” or “performative,” *sdm.n=f*; see Labrique, *GM* 106 (1988): 53-63; Kurth, *GM* 108 (1989): 31-44; idem, *GM* 113 (1989): 55-65; Derchain, *GM* 110 (1989): 13-8.

⁵ Notably Žabkar, *ZÄS* 108 (1981): 141-71; idem, *Hymns to Isis in Her Temple at Philae*; Mendel, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften*, p. 152; Labrique, in Budde, eds., *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, pp. 195-224; Broze, *RdE* 44 (1993): 3-10, and *BIFAO* 99 (1999): 63-72, treats the alternation between *sdm=f* and *sdm.n=f* on a case by case basis.

⁶ E.g. Aufrère, *Montou*, p. 549; Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, pp. 42-5; von Lieven, *Der Himmel über Esna*, p. 94, mentioned the difficulty of interpreting the *sdm=f* and *sdm.n=f* forms in astronomical texts from Esna, but refrained from analyzing them or making consistent distinctions in the translations.

⁷ Depuydt, *SAK* 27 (1999): 65-85.

⁸ Quack, *JEA* 85 (1999): 155-8; cf. especially the remarkably correct use of the *sdm.n=f* throughout a late Ptolemaic Period Demotic papyrus from Thebes, analyzed in detail by Smith, *The Demotic Mortuary Papyrus Louvre E. 3452*, pp. 212-30.

⁹ Engsheden, *La reconstitution du verbe en égyptien de tradition*, pp. 39-85.

least some Egyptian scribes continued to pay attention to verbal syntax.¹⁰ In particular, the texts from Roman Thebes are remarkably consistent in distinguishing between *sdm=f* and *sdm.n=f* forms in terms of syntax. The following list briefly catalogues the verbal forms that appear in the texts translated in Chapter 5.¹¹

6.2 Verbal Forms

1. Nominal *sdm.n=f*

(a) Nominal *sdm.n=f* + adverbial adjunct

5.2.3.1, l. 4:

snt.n=i inb h3 ip.t=k wr.t, “It is around your Opet that I have laid the foundation for a wall.”

5.8.1.2.1, col. 2:

ii.n=i hr=k, ʿ.wy=i m i3w, ib=i ʿpr.ti m s3h.w, “that I have come before you, is with my arms in praise, my mind equipped with transfiguration spells”

5.11.1.5, col. 1:

ii.n(=i) di m irw=i n nsw, “It is in my form of Upper Egyptian king that I have come here.”¹²

5.11.1.10, col. 2:

iw.n=f m i3w rnp sw r nw=f, “it is as an old man who rejuvenates at his time that he has arrived.”¹³

¹⁰ Engsheden, *Le reconstitution du verbe en égyptien de tradition*, pp. 104-5, tried to demonstrate the opposite. for his corpus; however, a number of his examples of initial *sdm.n=f* clearly work as nominal forms (e.g. his “ex. 56” emphasizes the location of Alexandria, “ex. 57-58” both include *Wechselsätze*, while “ex. 60” has a clear circumstantial adjunct marked by *iw=f*), while other *sdm.n=f* forms are clearly circumstantial pluperfect forms (pp. 114-7); Paulet, *CdE* 81 (2006): 77-93, studied the texts from the Geographic processions at the Opet Temple, and repeated Engsheden’s conclusions regarding *sdm=f/sdm.n=f*; this study looked primarily at the specific phrase, *in.n=i n=k*, “I hereby bring to you,” which often uses the “performative *sdm.n=f*.” But while Paulet assumed the examples of *in=i n=k* were defective, they could also represent correct usage of the “dramatic *sdm=f*” accompanying the scene (cf. *infra*).

¹¹ Since many of the relevant inscriptions are fragmentary, this survey only includes examples where the context is clear enough to determine the verbal form. While some of the forms may appear ambiguous, the grammatical form can often be established from parallel texts at Thebes or elsewhere, discussed in the relevant textual commentary in **Chapter 5**.

¹² Similarly **5.11.1.11**, col. 1; **5.11.1.12**, col. 1 (partially restored).

¹³ This emphasizes the fact that Montu-Re-Harakhty arrives at Medinet Habu specifically in his rejuvenated form (cf. **7.5**).

(b) Wechselsatz

5.2.3.1, l. 3:

šsp.n=i ḥnn, ʒm.n=i ḥ^cy, “just as I have picked up the hoe, so have I grasped the tool.”

5.2.3.2, l. 3:

šsp.n=i ʒḥ.t (...) *ʒm.ni ḥt-dḅ.t*, “Just as I have picked up earth (...) so have I grasped the brick-mold.”

5.2.3.6, ll. 3-4:

qn.n=f ip.t=f (...) *spr.n ʒḥ.w=f ḥr.t*, “Just as he completed his Opet (...) so did his benefactions reach unto heaven.”

5.3.2.4, col. 1: *sfsf.n[=k ʒw]*, *[s]šm.n=k qfn.w*, “[Just as you] presented [offerings], so did you consecrate food.”

5.11.1.5, cols. 4-5:

b^cḥ.n=f tʒ ḥbs.n=f idḅ.w, “Just as he flooded the land, so did he cover the shores.”¹⁴

5.11.1.5, col. 6:

pr Rnnwt.t m iʒḥw=f wnn.t nb ḥpr ḥr sʒ=f, “Just as Renenutet comes forth in his radiance, so does all that exists come into being upon his back.”

5.11.1.8, col. 2:

ḥns.n=f nwy nbi.n=f Wʒs.t, “just as he crossed the flood waters, so did he fashion Thebes.”

2. Nominal *sḍm=f*

(a) Nominal *sḍm=f* + adverbial adjunct

5.11.1.8, col. 3:

in(n) s(y) bʒ n R^c tpy ḥrw 10, “it is every ten days that the Ba of Re (= Amenope) reaches it.”

(b) Nominal *sḍm=f* + Circumstantial *sḍm.n=f*

5.11.1.7, col. 2:

iw Nwn ḥnm.n=f wsh.t it-it.w, “That Nun arrives is having entered the broad hall of the Father of Fathers.”

(c) Nominal *sḍm=f* + subjunctive *sḍm=f* (purpose clause)

¹⁴ Similarly **11.1.9**, col. 3.

5.11.1.10, cols. 2-3:

ii nb m t3 wd=f shr.w n t3 pn, “That the lord comes into the earth, is in order to make pronouncements for this land.”

(d) Object of a prepositional phrase

5.11.1.7, cols. 3 and 5:

m/n iw=f, “at his arrival.”

(e) Subject of *sdm=f*

5.11.1.7, col. 3:

hpr dd.tw, “it so happens that one says.”

(f) Wechselsatz

5.2.1.5.2, col. 5:

mzy=sn n=k inw=sn, rmn=sn n=k g3.wt=sn, “Just as they conduct their tribute to you, so do they carry their packages to you.”

5.3.2.4, col. 2:

h^c n=k [sdr.w] sdr n=k h^c.w, “Just as the [recumbent ones] stand up for you, so do the standing ones lie down for you.”¹⁵

5.8.1.2.2, col. 2:

[šsp] z3b.w nwh=k st3 gspty.w wi3=k, “Just as the jackals [receive] your tow-rope, so do the *gspty.w* drag your bark”

5.11.1.7, col. 5:

[rnp] h3.wt n dg3=f srq Hmni.w n iw=f n=sn, “just as corpses [rejuvenate] from seeing him, so does the Ogdoad breathe from his coming to them.”

3. Circumstantial *sdm.n=f*

5.2.1.5.2, cols. 4-5:

sm3wi.n=k nhp “you having renewed the potter’s wheel.”

5.11.1.7, col. 3:

w3h.n=f iht n nty im, “he having placed offerings to he who is there.”

sqd.n=f Sin.t, “he having sailed throughout Egypt”

5.11.1.7, col. 4:

¹⁵ Similarly **11.1.7**, col. 4.

wbh.n=f št3.w, “he having illumined the mysteries.”

4. Indicative/Circumstantial sdm=f

(a) *iw sdm=f*

5.11.1.6, col. 4

iw ph qnw=sn Nw.t, “their scent reaches Nut”

(b) Noun + *sdm=f* (Gnomic)

5.2.1.5.2, col. 3:

hm.w-ntr=k (...) c^d-mr.w=k pr.t-hrw=sn n=k (...) hr.t-hrw, “Your priests (...) and food suppliers make invocation offerings for you (...) daily.”

5.2.1.5.2, col. 5:

rh.w-ih^t dw³ n=k ntr, “the wise ones perpetually worship you.”

5.2.3.1, l. 2:

ntr nfr dd=f n it=f, “the good god speaks to his father.”

5.10.2.1, col. 7:

ihm.w-wr^d dw³=sn tw, “the infatigable-stars worship you.”

5.11.1.7, col. 4:

Nwn h^c=f, “Nun appears.”

5.11.1.8, col. 3:

b³ n Šw c^q=f sw [r^c nb], “the Ba of Shu enters it [daily].”

5.11.1.9, col. 2:

rsy mh^{ty} i³bty imnty pr=sn iry m [r³=f], “the southwind, northwind, westwind, eastwind, (perpetually) come forth from [his mouth].”

5.11.1.9, col. 3:

i^cw.t nb š nb th^h=sn n dg³.tw=f, “all animals and all plants rejoice from seeing him.”

5.11.1.10, col. 1:

3h.ty=f(y) sh^d=sn imnt.t, “his eyes illumine the West.”

5.11.1.11, col. 1:

biti t³-mh^w dd=f, “the King of Lower Egypt says.”

(c) Dramatic *sḏm=f* (circumstantial to an offering scene)¹⁶

5.8.1.2.1, col. 4:

ḥn=(i) k3=k, “I hereby provision your Ka.”

5.11.1.5, col. 2:

ḥrp=i st, “I hereby consecrate them.”

5.11.1.11, col. 3:

wtz=i g3.wt iry nw Qm3ty.w r-rwty [ḥw.t-ntr]=k, “I hereby elevate the products of the gum-tree people outside your [temple].”

5. Subjunctive *sḏm=f*

(a) Jussive

5.2.1.5.2, col. 1:

m33=k'Imn, “may you see Amun.”

5.2.1.5.2, col. 4:

šsp b3=tn m iḥt, “may your Ba receive the offerings.”¹⁷

(b) Object of *rdi*

5.2.3.5, col. 5:

di=f ii n=f ḥ'pi '3 wr, “may he cause a very great inundation to arrive.”

(c) Purpose clause

5.2.1.5.2, col. 1:

ptr tw šḥm.w=s, “so its statues might see you.”

5.2.1.5.2, col. 5:

ḥrp=sn n=k iḥt=sn, “so they might consecrate their offerings to you.”

5.8.1.2.1, col. 2:

dw3=i n ḥm=k, “so I might worship your majesty.”

(d) Following a preposition

¹⁶ Cf. Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses*, §11, n. 6; Gilula, *JEA* 57 (1971): 15, n. 2; Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 459.

¹⁷ This hymn contains a long list of jussive *sḏm=f* forms.

5.2.1.5.2, col. 4:
dr snb=k st, “since you healed them”

5.11.1.7, col. 3:
dr hnm z3 hn^c it=f, “since the son united with his father.”

5.11.1.9, col. 2:
dr qm3=f st, “since he created them.”

6. Preterite *s_dm=f*

5.2.1.5.1, col. 1:
nbi tw t3-tnn, “Tatenen fashioned you.”

snsn=f tw hr m^cb3y.(t), “he associated you among the Council of Thirty.”

5.2.1.5.1, col. 1:
šd=f tw, “he raised you.”

5.2.4.4, l. 4:
sm3wi=f sw, “he renewed it.”

7. Contingent Clauses

(a) *s_dm.hr=f*

5.3.2.4, col. 1:
“then he speaks before you.”

6.3 Conclusion

The Theban temple inscriptions from the Roman Period consistently employ *s_dm=f* and *s_dm.n=f* forms according to their proper Middle Egyptian usage. The bare initial *s_dm=f* appears primarily in the nominal or subjunctive, and the only circumstantial *s_dm=f* forms are the gnomic Noun + *s_dm=f*, the “dramatic *s_dm=f*,” and even one example of *iw s_dm=f*. The *s_dm.n=f* occurs in both nominal (primarily in *Wechselsatz* constructions) and circumstantial forms (pluperfect). The only exceptions are the few examples of the preterite *s_dm=f*, which all occur in texts from the reign of Tiberius.

In a recent discussion of archaizing texts from the Late Period, both hieroglyphic and Demotic, von Lieven concluded that the presence of Middle Egyptian features in a given work implies it is either a direct copy of an older text, or a “Patchworktext” piecing together phrases excerpted from earlier inscriptions.¹⁸ The Theban priests in the Roman Period would have had access to an incredible number of Middle Kingdom texts, both from papyrus archives, but primarily from the myriad inscriptions on the temples they occupied. Unlike at other temples like Esna or Dendera, which were completely rebuilt and decorated in the Graeco-Roman Period, Theban priests preserved the earlier Pharaonic reliefs and inscriptions and sometimes even recarved them.¹⁹ The careful attention to syntax in the Roman Period texts at Thebes, particularly in the hymns from Medinet Habu, demonstrate that the priests and scribes were perfectly capable of reading and comprehending the large quantity of inscriptions that surrounded them in both temples and tombs. More than in any other Egyptian city in the Roman Period, the priests of Thebes could truly claim to understand and represent the millennial traditions of Pharaonic Egypt.

¹⁸ Von Lieven, *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne*, I, pp. 223-50, esp. p. 247.

¹⁹ Note especially the renewal of the Bark Shrine of the Small Temple of Medinet Habu under Ptolemy VIII, which even recarved the earlier renewal texts of Haremhab, Sety I, and Amenmesse, among others (cf. Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, II, p. 17; *Urk.* IV, 2135; *KRI* IV, 197, 14).

Chapter 7

Theban Festivals

7.1 Introduction

The preceding survey of Roman Period temple activity in the Theban nome has demonstrated that the buildings were the object of a considerable program of decoration, construction, and renovations during the first two centuries of Imperial rule (cf. **Chapter 5**). While this architectural history reflects the continued significance and relative economic prosperity of the Theban temples, to what degree these repairs and modifications reflect the general vitality of religious life during the Roman Era is not readily apparent.

Contemporaneous descriptions of meditative Egyptian priests of the Roman Period discussing philosophy and astronomy,¹ the multitude of temple inscriptions and papyri emphasizing ritual purity and restricting temple access,² and the increasing complexity of the hieroglyphic script, which makes the already obsolete and arcane Middle Egyptian even more difficult for modern translators, all can give the impression of a shrinking priesthood retreating into their sanctuaries to forget the political and sociological changes in the outside world. Assmann recently advanced such a view to explain the religious changes in the Graeco-Roman period:³

¹ See **Chapter 2**.

² See recently Leitz, *Quellentexte zur ägyptischen Religion*, I, pp. 37-43; Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, pp. 211-20; note that such injunctions against ritual impurity are prevalent in the Pharaonic period as well, cf. Fischer-Elfert, *Abseits von Ma'at*.

³ Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt*, p. 420.

“In this new demographic context, the elite had a heightened need for self-definition (...) This intensification of the complexity – and corresponding intensification of the significance – of the knowledge administered by the priestly elite was their means to compensate for the loss of political significance and to preserve the social distance between themselves and the illiterate masses.”

This image of an ever dwindling yet elitist group of desperate, fanatical priests has dominated academic discourse on Roman Period religion in Egypt.⁴ An initial visit to the temple of Esna could easily confirm such a view. Decoration on the walls and columns in the pronaos, a structure of relatively modest dimensions, took roughly two centuries to complete (c. 14-217 CE). The composition of each offering scene and inscription required a great deal of research, theological speculation, and creative wordplay, especially in the sophisticated yet complicated cryptographic litanies to the primary divinities of the temple,⁵ the product of hyper-intellectual Latopolite priests seeking “to heighten command of the script to the level of virtuosity.”⁶

As true as this impression might be, the content of the inscriptions at Esna focus primarily on public festivals.⁷ In addition to the general festival calendars, the columns include detailed summaries of the major celebrations as well as numerous hymns recited during these events, some of which appear in the more colloquial Egyptian of the Roman Period.⁸ The walls of Esna Temple are covered with scenes depicting the Pharaoh presenting

⁴ Cf. 1.1.

⁵ For the cryptographic texts, cf. Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna*; Leitz, *SAK 29* (2001): 251-76; for the layout and conception of the offering scenes, see von Recklinghausen and Derchain, *La création*; for the elaborate astronomical reliefs and texts, see *Esna IV:1*; von Lieven, *Der Himmel über Esna*.

⁶ Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt*, p. 420.

⁷ For many of these inscriptions, see Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna*.

⁸ Quack, in Gestermann and Sternberg-el Hotabi, eds., *Per aspera ad astra*, pp. 107-21; note that the hymns composed in what Quack dubbed “Monumental-demotisch” mainly invoke Khnum in his functions of protector

flowers, plants, food and drinks during the festivals, in addition to depictions of the bark processions for Khnum, Neith, and Heka the Child.⁹ Thus while the temple served as a local refuge for sacerdotal and scientific knowledge,¹⁰ it was also the departure point for a large number of festival processions connecting Esna to neighboring sanctuaries and towns. These public religious festivals were essential to traditional Egyptian religious life, as Frankfurter recently summarized:¹¹

“It is in the festival that the temple and the social and physical environment enter into most intimate interaction through, on the one hand, the appearance of the gods’ images outside the temple, and on the other hand, the enthusiasm of the audience toward the temple, its symbols and officials.”

Thebes was home to a great number of festivals in the Pharaonic Period. Beginning already with Montuhotep II, annual processions of sacred barks ritually connected the major temples of Karnak, Deir el-Bahari, Luxor and Medinet Habu in a large network of roads and processional shrines.¹² The walls of New Kingdom Theban tombs are filled with vibrant depictions of the Beautiful Festival of the Valley, while temple reliefs record the proceedings of the Opet, Sokar, and Min Festivals.

and healing god, rather than in his cosmological and cosmogonic roles, and thus they might actually represent more “popular” hymns recited during processions.

⁹ For the processional scenes, see von Recklinghausen and Derchain, *La création*, pp. 104-17.

¹⁰ Assmann, in Osing, ed., *The Heritage of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 9–25.

¹¹ Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*, p. 52.

¹² Cabrol, *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*; for the establishment of Theban festival routes under Montuhotep II, see Ullmann, in Dorman and Bryan, eds., *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, pp. 3-26; Darnell, “The Eleventh Dynasty Royal Inscription from Deir el-Ballas” (forthcoming); for the development of these routes in the early New Kingdom, see Darnell and Manassa, *Tutankhamun’s Armies*, pp. 20-2.

While extensive liturgical calendars and related texts provide many details on processions in the Graeco-Roman Period at temples such as Edfu and Dendera,¹³ only fragments of similar inscriptions survive from Theban temples, specifically at the Mut temple and Tod.¹⁴ Nonetheless, two very important religious papyri contain a wealth of information concerning Theban festivals during the Roman Period. The first, P. Louvre N. 3176 (S), contains detailed instructions for Osirian rituals carried out in Karnak temple during the month of Khoiak.¹⁵ P. Leiden II 32, dated precisely to 65 CE (reign of Nero),¹⁶ is a copy of the mortuary composition “the Book of Traversing Eternity” with an interpolated chapter describing many Theban festivals in great detail.¹⁷ These papyri, combined with documentary papyri, ostraca, graffiti and temple inscriptions, allow for a rather detailed reconstruction of the major religious celebrations in Graeco-Roman Thebes.

The most important evidence for festival activity in Roman Thebes, however, comes from the architectural remains. Had the Theban priests significantly waned in influence and withdrawn into a small clique of irrelevant religious enthusiasts, then they probably would have focused their building and engraving efforts on the innermost and most important shrines. Instead, most of the Roman Period construction actually took place on the periphery

¹³ In general see Grimm, *Die altägyptischen Festkalender in den Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche*; Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*; Cauville, *Les fêtes d'Hathor*; Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna*.

¹⁴ For the Ptolemaic festival calendar from the Mut temple, see Sauneron, Mout, Nos. 6 and 11; Spalinger, *RdE* 44 (1993): 161-84; Goyon, *CdE* (2003): 43-65; for the various inscriptions related to festivals at Tod, see Thiers, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 553-72.

¹⁵ Barguet, *Le Papyrus N. 3176 (S) du Musée du Louvre*; the papyrus dates to some time within the first two centuries CE; cf. Coulon, *RdE* 57 (2006): 24, with n. 66..

¹⁶ Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, p. 5.

¹⁷ P. Leiden T 32, II, 15 – IV, 9; Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, pp. 51-7, 131-78.

of the temple, in locations specifically associated with the processional routes.¹⁸ The most notable example was the broad festival court at Medinet Habu, added by Antoninus Pius, which greatly expanded the forecourt of the temple to accommodate the numerous barks and offerings that arrived during its many festivals.¹⁹ This late architectural addition demonstrates that the celebrations at Medinet Habu were popular enough that the local priests felt the need to enlarge the festival court.

The manual of priestly knowledge preserved in Edfu temple and a number of Roman papyri from Tebtunis lists the following major festivals for the Theban nome:²⁰ the Opet Festival (*ḥb Ip.t*), the Khoiak (Festival) (*k3-ḥr-k3*), the Chonsu Festival and the Valley Festival (*I šmw II šmw*). The following chapter will survey evidence for these and other major celebrations in the Roman Period, paying particular attention to the architectural evidence and the hieroglyphic temple texts.

7.2 Daily and Decade Festivals

As discussed in the Epithet Chapter, the gods of Medinet Habu received daily and weekly mortuary offerings from Chonsu-Shu and Amenope of Djeme respectively. The periodicity of these trips appears to have carried astronomical implications; Chonsu-Shu reached Djeme in the early morning just as the moon disappeared into the western mountains, while Amenope of Djeme arrived at the end of the decade, precisely when a

¹⁸ Cf. **5.19**.

¹⁹ Cf. **5.11.1.0**.

²⁰ Cf. **3.1.1**, text note (k).

decan star would die and enter the Netherworld.²¹ Both festivals were probably relatively small affairs,²² and there is no reason to assume priests only “virtually” carried out the simple ceremonies.²³ On the contrary, a votive inscription from the Western Theban gebel depicts a small riverine bark of Amenope of Djeme manned by two sailors.²⁴ The precise location of the graffito, on a peak near Deir el-Rumi, behind Medinet Habu, has an excellent view of the Nile Valley and Theban temples, so that the artist could have actually watched the bark procession between Luxor and Medinet Habu from his vantage point.²⁵

In the Roman Period, both gods from the East Bank, Chonsu-Shu and Amenope of Djeme, feature constantly in mortuary papyri as guaranteed bringers of offerings for the deceased.²⁶ They appear in offering scenes on the Gate of Domitian at Medinet Habu,²⁷ the Hadrianic decoration of Deir Shelwit,²⁸ and a relief at Medinet Habu from the mid-third century CE, possibly carved under Valerian, represents Amenope of Djeme.²⁹ A stela commemorating construction work at Luxor under Tiberius briefly mentions the decade

²¹ P. Carlsberg I, 3, 26, specifically claims that “just as one (star) dies/sets, so does another come alive/rise every ten days (*mwt/htp wꜥ nḥ/hꜥi ky tp hrw 10*)” (Von Lieven, *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne*, I, pp. 71, 150, 402; similarly P. Carlsberg, I, 6, 2); cf. also **4.4**.

²² For the logistics behind the cult of Amenope of Djeme, cf. Doresse, *RdE* 25 (1973): 113.

²³ Contra Traunecker, Traunecker, *Karnak* 7 (1982): 351-2; Traunecker, et al., *La chapelle d’Achoris* II, p. 133.

²⁴ Doresse, *RdE* 31 (1979): 57-8, Fig. 1; Sadek, et al., *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine*, III/4, Pl. 209, No. 3186.

²⁵ Suggested by Prof. John C. Darnell; for similar examples between Egyptian festivals and desert rock inscriptions, cf. Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey* I, pp. 129-34.

²⁶ See most recently Stadler, *Enchoria* 26 (2000): 112-3; Herbin, *RdE* 54 (2003): 82.

²⁷ **5.8.3**.

²⁸ *Deir Chelouit* III, Nos. 125 and 126.

²⁹ Cf. **5.16.1**.

voyage of Amenope of Djeme,³⁰ while another text from the reign of Antoninus Pius at Medinet Habu describes the continued arrival of both deities at their traditional times.³¹

7.3 Opet Festival (19 Paophi - 15 Athyr)

The Opet Festival was the most important royal festival of Thebes during the New Kingdom.³² The riverine barks of Amun, Mut, Chonsu, and the Pharaoh would travel upstream from Karnak to Luxor, hauled by a large number of soldiers chanting festival songs. Once at Luxor, Amun of Karnak and the king would enter the inner shrines where their Ka's would mingle with the primeval creative Ka of Amun of Luxor. Thus imbued with divine energy, the king would return to Karnak along with the divine triad upon their riverine barks.

Evidence for the Opet Festival in the Roman Period, however, is not very extensive. The Roman Period festival calendar from Esna briefly lists “the Festival of Amun in his Opet (*hb Imn m Ip.t=f*)” on the traditional starting date of Paophi 19.³³ Echoes of the Theban Opet Festival appear in the calendar of Kom Ombo which lists a thirty day festival for Haroeris beginning on 2 Paophi, introduced as follows:

³⁰ **5.2.3.5**, ll. 2-3.

³¹ **5.11.1.8**, col. 3.

³² For the Opet Festival in general, see primarily Murnane, *LÄ IV*, cols. 574-9; Bell, *JNES* 44 (1985): 251-94; idem, in Shafer, ed., *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 157-76; The Epigraphic Survey, *RILT* 1 (with extensive commentary on the scenes from Luxor temple); Cabrol, *Les voies processionelles de Thèbes*, pp. Darnell and Manassa, *Tutankhamun's Armies*, pp. 204-6; Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, pp. 416-7. For the dates, see Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten*, pp. 965-6.

³³ *Esna* II, 55, 3; Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna*, p. 14; Grimm, *Die altägyptischen Festkalender*, pp. 40-1, 378; for the sacerdotal links between Thebes and Esna, note especially Bucheum Stela No. 9, ll. 9-10 (Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, pp. 59-60), where the priests from Armant travel to Esna to inspect a Buchis bull, and then sail north with him to Luxor Temple (for this stela, cf. **4.4**); note also that certain priests served both Theban and Latopolite deities (e.g. Coulon, *RdE* 52 [2001]: 101-2).

*sh^c ntr pn m hb=f nfr n ^cq dmy=f m-ht wnn=f m t3-mhw
ir(.t) nti.w-^c=f htp m t3(y)=f Ip.t*

Procession of this god in his good festival of “Entering his city after he was in Lower Egypt”:
performing his rites, residing in his Opet.

A hymn from Medinet Habu, from the reign of Antoninus Pius, briefly mentions that by the end of Khoiak, the Nun waters had settled after Nun “repeated his riverine procession during the Opet Festival.”³⁴ Furthermore, a fragmentary inscription from the contra-temple at Karnak dating to Domitian states that: “gods and goddesses carry out the Navigation Festival (*hb hnw*)³⁵ of Amun-Re King of the Gods.”³⁶ A parallel scene depicts a number of gods, including Amenope of Djeme.³⁷ However this “Navigation Festival” could also denote the Valley Festival, or possibly a small bark procession on the nearby sacred lake of Karnak.³⁸

Explicit descriptions of the Opet Festival only occur in Theban mortuary papyri of the Roman Period, including the so-called “Embalming Ritual”:³⁹

*hnd=k m rd.wy=k(y) hr z3t m W3s.t
šm=k hr t3 m Ip.t-s.wt
m33=k Imn m h^c=f nb
zm3=k hn^c Hmni.w
m33=k Imn-R^c nsw-ntr.w m hb=f nfr
3bd 2 3h.t sw 19*

³⁴ PM II², p. 461 (2h), col. 3; cf. **5.11.1.10**; the flood-waters ideally receded by the end of Khoiak, the end of the Inundation season.

³⁵ Varille, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 168 and Pl. 36 (collated by the author).

³⁶ See the discussion in Domitian, **5.8.1.2.3**, n. (e).

³⁷ Varille, *ASAE* 50 (1950): 162 and Pl. 29.

³⁸ Note the similar use of *hnw* in a bark procession in the Mut Temple; Sauneron, *Mout*, No. 11, 31: “The [majesty] of Mut is rowed (*hn.tw*) on (the Isheru) together with her Ennead on the first of Peret.” For similar processions on sacred lakes, cf. Cauville, *BIFAO* 93 (1993): 79-172; idem, *Les fêtes d’Hathor*, p. 28-9.

³⁹ P. Boulaq 3, III, 22 = Sauneron, *Rituel de l’embaumement*, p. 10; for the date of the manuscript, see *ibid.*, p. xiii.

You shall travel with your feet on the ground of Thebes,
 you shall travel on earth in Karnak
 you shall see Amun in all of his festival appearances,
 while you associate with the Ogdoad,
 you shall see Amun-Re King of the Gods in his beautiful festival,
 on II Akhet (Paophi) 19.

A similar account comes from the Theban recension of the “Book of Traversing Eternity”
 dating to the reign of Nero:⁴⁰

šm=k m htp m-hnt W3s.t-nht.t
m hb Ip.t sw 19
dg3=k nsw-ntr.w
m hnw m-hnt wi3-ntr mi skt.t
hms=k m wi3=f hnty izy.t=f
hft di sw hm=f r m33 [...].w
h^c=k m wsh.t m-ht ntr.w-ntry.t
hrw pfy n p3 it-bnr
iw=k m ht=f nn šn^c(.w) nmt.wt=k
hft wd3 hm=f r Ip.t-s.wt

You shall travel in peace within Victorious Thebes,
 in the Opet Festival, day 19,
 you shall see the King of the Gods,
 sailing within the divine bark like the night-bark,⁴¹
 you shall sit in his bark foremost of his crew,
 when his majesty goes to see [...],
 you shall stand in the courtyard together with the gods and goddesses,
 on that good day of “the Sweet Father,”⁴²
 you shall return with him, without your steps being repelled,

⁴⁰ P. Leiden T 32, III, 7-9; Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, pp. 53-4, 151-3, 439.

⁴¹ Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, p. 152, noted that this comparison to the night-bark finds an exact parallel in the Opet Festival inscriptions from the reign of Tutankhamun at Luxor Temple, for which see now The Epigraphic Survey, *RILT* I, Pl. 18, pp. 7-8; note that when Amun of Karnak visits Medinet Habu, he travels instead in the day-bark (*m^cnd.t*); cf. Clère, *Porte*, Pl. 14 (= *Urk.* VIII, 59k); Medinet Habu, Bark Shrine, PM II, p. 470 (47) (= Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften* II, Pl. 36e); cf. Guermeur, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 258, n. (h).

⁴² Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, p. 153, noted that this passage was a “phrase bien allusive!” The only parallel cited for this epithet in *LGG* is *Esna* III, 319, 16, a hymn recited to Khnum during the festival of “Installing the Potter’s Wheel in the Womb of All Women” in which Khnum is invoked as: “Lord of the potter’s wheel as the effective potter, who founds the land in the form of “sweet father,” who binds the luminous seed, engendering ram who turns semen into bone (*nb nhp m nhp mnḥ, grg t3 m ir it-bnr, t3 pr.t 3ḥ.t, k3 stj, ir mw m qs.w*.)” This epithet thus perfectly suits Amenope-Tatenen as fashioner of the Ogdoad within Luxor Temple (cf. **4.4**).

when his majesty returns to Karnak.

These two papyri notably make Amun-Re of Karnak the only protagonist of the Opet Festival, with no mention of the traditional bark of the king.

In 126 CE, the retired decurion G. Julius Antoninus rebuilt a Sarapeion along the dromos of Luxor Temple (cf. **5.10.1**). As discussed above, the axis of the new temple was exactly perpendicular to the processional road connecting Karnak and Luxor, a fact that strongly suggests the Hadrianic temple was cultically linked to the processional road. The position of the Sarapeion thus implies that festival processions between Luxor and Karnak continued in some form into the second century CE, although it is not clear that they would have included the Opet Festival.

The decoration of the Diocletianic chamber in Luxor Temple (**5.16.1.2**) displays notable similarities with earlier depictions of the Opet Festival. The Roman paintings include processions of soldiers and horses along the east and west walls,⁴³ while on the south-east wall, at least one soldier carries a *vexillum* standard.⁴⁴ In the central niche, the Tetrarchy appears with *nimbi* while one figure carries a globe, symbols of their divine kingship and domain over the world.⁴⁵ In the scenes on the south wall, all subjects keep their hands covered, another allusion to the Emperors' divinity in this particular scene.⁴⁶ The emphasis on the sacred appearance of the Tetrarchs bears comparison with the Opet Festival,

⁴³ For the importance of the military at the Opet Festival, cf. Darnell and Manassa, *Tutankhamun's Armies*, pp. 62, 72, 86, 204-6.

⁴⁴ Cf. Darnell and Manassa, *Tutankhamun's Armies*, p. 86, Fig. 14.

⁴⁵ Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975): 244-5.

⁴⁶ Gabelmann, *Antike Audienz- und Tribunalszenen*, p. 205.

after which the Pharaoh would emerge reinvested with the Royal Ka.⁴⁷ As Bell noted in his discussion of the Opet Festival and the Royal Ka:⁴⁸

“The Romans’ selection of this part of the temple for the worship of the divine emperors was surely deliberate, motivated by awareness of the 1500-year-long tradition of its association with the cult of the divine king. That the Romans cut off direct access to the Amun sanctuary beyond, however, signifies that the source of the emperors’ divinity was now different from that of the Egyptian king.”

Although the Roman artists may have looked to the nearby Opet procession reliefs at Luxor Temple in part for inspiration, it is not entirely clear that the Diocletianic reliefs even represent a festival. The presence of soldiers suggests that this scene might commemorate the *adventus* of Diocletian and his army into Upper Egypt,⁴⁹ while the tableaux featuring the thrones recall other Late Antique representations of tribunals.⁵⁰ Thus although the cult of Amun of Luxor appears to have survived into the fourth century CE, albeit in a slightly reduced form, there is no evidence that the Opet Festival continued at this time.

7.4 Beautiful Festival of the Valley (15-26 Payni)

The “Beautiful Festival of the Valley (*hb nfr n in.t*)” was one of the largest celebrations in ancient Thebes.⁵¹ While Amenope of Djeme traveled from Luxor to Medinet Habu every ten days, the Valley Festival was the single occasion when Amun of Karnak visited the mortuary temples and tombs of the Theban west bank. The arrival of Amun was

⁴⁷ Bell, *JNES* 44 (1985): 251-94.

⁴⁸ Bell, *JNES* 44 (1985): 274; followed by Reddé, in el-Saghir, et al., *Le camp romain de Louqsor*, pp. 30-1.

⁴⁹ Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975): 238-43.

⁵⁰ Gabelmann, *Antike Audienz- und Tribunalszenen*, pp. 204-5; Kolb, *Herrscherideologie in der Spätantike*, pp. 185-6.

⁵¹ For the Valley Festival, see primarily Schott, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstantale*; Traunecker, et al., *La chapelle d’Achôris*, II, pp. 134-7; Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, I, pp. 132-3.

thought to lure the spirits of the blessed dead from their tombs, in order that they might receive air and energy from his divine presence. At the same time, families of the deceased would gather outside the tombs and conduct lavish banquets, thereby communing with the spirits of their ancestors. Because of the mortuary aspect of the Valley Festival, much information about it comes from paintings and votive stelae from New Kingdom private tombs.⁵² Nonetheless, a number of Graeco-Roman sources attest to its continued importance and provide additional details on the course of events.⁵³

A mortuary papyrus dated to the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period records in great detail a variety of Osirian rites to be enacted during the Valley Festival.⁵⁴ The Geographic Inscription from Edfu Temple (reign of Ptolemy VI) lists the Valley Festival was one of the primary celebrations in the Theban Nome (3.1.1, text note (k)). Another text from Edfu mentions the mortuary services performed for the Ogdoad by Chonsu-Shu and Amenope of Djeme, and then describes how:⁵⁵

The living Ba, chief of all the gods (= Amun) reaches them,
at his time of the Valley Festival,
their Bas are revitalized,
their corpses are transfigured,
praises are made for them
offerings are presented to them,
by the [...] Ba in Thebes, called Amun-wer by name,
it is he who acts as Ka-priest for their creator.

⁵² Schott, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstantale*.

⁵³ For the later evidence, see already Foucart, *BIFAO* 24 (1924): 9-43; Traunecker, et al., *La chapelle d'Achôris*, II, pp. 134-7.

⁵⁴ Haikal, *Two Hieratic Funerary Papyri of Nesmin*.

⁵⁵ *Edfou* I, 289, 8-10; for this text, cf. **4.39**; note that a similar description occurs on a Ptolemaic statue from the Karnak Cachette; Guerneur, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 256, Text D, 259, n. i.

A similar festival at Kom Ombo took place from Payni 15-28, when Amun within Kom Ombo (*Imn ḥry-ib Nby.t*) would sail to the local necropolis of (Shed)-Beg.⁵⁶

More concrete references to the Valley Festival in the Ptolemaic Period arise from non-religious contexts. In a Greek papyrus from the famous bilingual archive related to the trial of Hermias, a witness mentions the arrival of the epistrategos to Thebes in Payni “during the riverine-procession (diabasis) of Great Amun.”⁵⁷ A Greek decree of Ptolemy VIII erected in the dromos of Karnak temple also mentions certain “riverine-processions (*diabases*)” of Amun “towards the Memnonia.”⁵⁸ Diodorus Siculus also seems to have described the Theban Valley Festival (I, 97.9):⁵⁹

“For each year among the Egyptians the shrine of Zeus is carried across the river into Libya and then brought back some days later, as if the god were arriving from Ethiopia.”

Evidence for the Valley Festival during the Roman Period is less extensive.⁶⁰ A detailed account of the festival proceedings appears in the “Book of Traversing Eternity” dating to the reign of Nero:⁶¹

⁵⁶ De Morgan, *K.O.* I, 424, 8-9; II, 597, 8-10; cf. Grimm, *Die altägyptische Festkalender*, pp. 116-21, 155, 171-2, 408; Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, I, p. 101, n. (w).

⁵⁷ Pestman, *Il processo di Hermias*, p. 184, n. a; Vandorpe, in Vleeming, ed., *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, p. 218.

⁵⁸ Wagner, *BIFAO* 70 (1971); for the date of the inscription (either Ptolemy V or VIII), see most recently Bingen, *CdE* 77 (2002): 295-302.

⁵⁹ Trans. Oldfather, *Diodorus of Sicily*, I, p. 335; similar remarks occur in a scholion of Homer (Van der Valk, ed., *Eustathii: Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, I, p. 196); Burton, *Diodorus Siculus, Book I*, pp. 282-3.

⁶⁰ Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, p. 91, claimed: “Il est permis de croire que la *Fête de la Vallée* n’a pas survécu aux catastrophes qui ont marqué l’histoire de Thèbes à la fin du Ier siècle avant notre ère,” because “Strabon, qui visita Thèbes, ne parle pas de la Fête” (same opinion repeated by Montserrat and Meskell, *JEA* 83 [1997]: 195); however, Strabo visited Upper Egypt in the winter (cf. Locher, *Ancient Society* 32 [2003]: 78, n. 16), and thus he would not have seen the Valley Festival if it took place as scheduled in the summer; for Haikal, *Two Hieratic Funerary Papyri of Nesmin*, II, p. 15, n. 8, the mention of the Valley Festival in funerary papyri “may be accidental and due to the fact that the papyrus was copied from an earlier original, but it may also indicate

^hḥ^c=k ḥr w^r.t nt imnt.t-W3s.t
 hrw pfy n sd3i n.t
^hf=k wsr-ḥ3.t db3(.w) m ḥkr.w=f
 ntr-ntr.w htp.tw im=f
 sdm=k snhmhm nt izy.t nsw.t
 wi3-ntr šsp.n=f itrw
 m33=k ḥd.t m imy-irty im=f
 dšr.t hr ḥf^c ḥm=f
 ptr=k nsw.t-ntr.w m sšt3=f
 it-ntr.w m ḥprw=f dšr
 šm=k m ḥtp m-ḥnt ḥtpty.w ḥr ḥry.w
 m ḥb 'In.t
^hḥ^c=k ḥr rd.wy=k(y) m s^cḥ n t3w
 m ḥ^cw ^cnḥ iwty m33=f
 ḥms=k m wh^c ḥn^c b3.w iqr.w
 hrw pfy wh^c št3.w

You shall stand on the bank of Western Thebes,
 on the day of crossing the water surface,
 you shall see the Userhat bark decorated in its accoutrements,
 with the God of Gods dwelling within it,
 you shall hear the cries of the royal crew,
 when the bark of the god has entered the river,
 you shall see the white crown as the captain within it,
 and the red crown grasping its rudder,
 you shall behold the King of the Gods (=Amun) in his mysterious form,
 the Father of the Gods in his sacred manifestation,
 you shall travel in peace among the blessed dead before the saints,
 during the Festival of the Valley,
 you shall stand upon your feet as a mummy of air,
 as a living body which cannot be seen.
 you shall sit down to eat together with the excellent Ba-spirits,
 on this day of interpreting mysteries,

The most secure attestation of the continued celebration of the Valley Festival in the Roman Period comes from Deir el-Bahari, where visitors dedicated a votive inscription to

that the feast was still remembered at that period" (similar sentiments in Traunecker, et al., *La chapelle d'Achôris*, II, p. 137).

⁶¹ P. Leiden T 32 II, 18 - 22; Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, pp. 51-2, 133.

Amenope on 12 Payni, 119 CE (reign of Hadrian).⁶² The appearance of Amenope at the Valley Festival is surprising, as it was usually Amun of Karnak who visited Western Thebes.

7.5 Chonsu Festival (30 Pharmouthi – 1 Pachons)

Pachons was the first month of the growing season (*pr.t*), and most cities in Egypt celebrated this agricultural event with the birth festival of the local child god.⁶³ In Thebes, the most important event was the birth of Chonsu the Child (cf. **4.14**), but similar festivals took place in the Opet Temple for Harsiese (cf. **4.20**), Harpre the Child in Armant (cf. **4.47**), and Somtous at Deir el-Medineh (cf. **4.49**).

In the Roman Period, a number of sources attest to the continued importance of the Chonsu Festival within the Mut Temple Precinct. A description of the celebration appears in the Book of Traversing Eternity:⁶⁴

Just as you lie down at evening within the Mut Temple,
on the day of the Renenutet Festival,
so do you awake in the evening in the temple of the 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 in haste before the rejuvenated youth,
when his majesty proceeds to see his child.

As discussed above (cf. **5.1.3-4**, **5.2.4.9**), Augustus and Tiberius appear to have rebuilt the Mammisi of Chonsu in the early Roman Period, strongly suggesting that the Chonsu

⁶² Lajtar, *Deir el-Bahari in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Nos. 123-4, pp. 48-9, 65, 205-11; on p. 65, Lajtar asserts that although the inscriptions might appear to relate to the Valley Festival: “this does not mean that people who left those inscriptions came to Deir el-Bahari temple on the occasion of a visitation by the bark of Amun as such visits had not taken place for several hundred of years by the Roman period.” This statement is completely unfounded, and furthermore overlooks the strong evidence for the Valley Festival in the Ptolemaic Period (cf. *supra*).

⁶³ For the Chonsu Festival, see already **4.14**.

⁶⁴ Papyrus Leiden T 32, III, 22-25; Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, pp. 55, 163-66, 441; for this text, see in detail **4.14**.

Festival continued to be celebrated within the Mut Precinct. Anu further conclusions about the nature of the festival and its connections to other temples in the Roman Period, however, will have to await the publication of the excavations at Mut Temple and the relevant blocks from Luxor Temple.

7.6 Sokar Festival (Khoiak 26)

While Chonsu-Shu came to Djeme daily and Amenope of Djeme arrived every week, the largest festival at Medinet Habu was the annual procession of Montu-Re-Harakhty of Armant on Khoiak 26. This schedule of mortuary rites is reflected in a Roman Period inscription on the reused sarcophagus of Anchnesneferibre, where the deceased hopes for:⁶⁵

*ht nb nfr w^cb rnp.t m-^c Mnt-R^c-hr-3hty
snw m hr.t-hrw m-^c Hnsw-Šw m W3s.t
qbhw tp-hrw-10 m-^c Imn-^cIp.t n d3m.t*

All good, pure things annually from Montu-Re-Harakhty,
snw-offerings daily from Chonsu-Shu in Thebes,
libations every ten days from Amenope of Djeme.

The most important documentation for the Sokar Festival in all of Egypt are the Twentieth Dynasty reliefs and texts in the Festival Court of Medinet Habu.⁶⁶ This festival was still celebrated at Medinet Habu in a slightly different form during the Graeco-Roman Period, with celebrations centered at the Small Temple. As Sethe already noted, an important reference to this festival appears on both sides of the lintel of the Ptolemaic Pylon of Medinet Habu, with a partial parallel at Deir Shelwit from the reign of Hadrian.⁶⁷ The

⁶⁵ Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarge der Anchnesneferibre*, p. 5.

⁶⁶ The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu VI*, Pls. 222-26; Gaballa and Kitchen, *Orientalia* 38 (1969): 1-76; Graindorge-Héreil, *Le dieu Sokar à Thebes*.

⁶⁷ *Deir Chelouit III*, 157; noted by Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, I, p. 348, n. 159.

following text labels Montu-Re-Harakhty Lord of Armant, placed in parallel position to Amenope of Djeme:⁶⁸

spr=f r i3.t-d3m.t
m hrw n hhi iz
m hb=f nfr 3bd 4 3h.t 26
r w3h iht n it.w mw.wt

That he arrives at the Mound of Djeme,
 is on the day of treading the grave,
 in his good festival of the 26th of Khoiak,
 in order to lay down offerings for the fathers and mothers.⁶⁹

Another inscription from Deir Shelwit calls Montu-Re-Harakhty of Armant “he who makes his seat in his funerary districts beside the father of fathers, he who comes to the Mound of Djeme annually to establish the condition of [...] (*ir s.t=f m sp3.wt=f r-gs it-it.w, ii m/n i3.t-d3m.t tp-rnp.t r smn shr n [...]*).”⁷⁰ An extensive text from the Portico of Antoninus Pius at Medinet Habu further details the offerings brought to the Ogdoad by Montu-Reharakhty, noting in particular how:

“That Nun who settles at his time arrives,
 (namely) Montu-Re-Harakhty,
 was having entered the broad-hall of the Father of Fathers,
 during his season every year, without fail,
 in his beautiful festival of IV [Akhet 26] (...)

It happened that one calls this month Khoiak (lit. “Ka upon Ka”),
 since the son united with his father,
 having presented offerings to he who is hidden,
 on this day of the *dndrw*-bark (...).”⁷¹

⁶⁸ Medinet Habu, PM II², p. 462 (10a and h); translated by Sethe, *Amun*, §116; handcopy of the version on the East lintel in Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, II, Pl. 150a; translation in *ibid.*, I, p. 348.

⁶⁹ *Deir Chelouit* III, 157, reads: “for the father of fathers, the mother of mothers.”

⁷⁰ *Deir Chelouit* III, 152, 14-5 (mentioned by Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, I, p. 348, n. 159).

⁷¹ PM II², p. 461 (4c); see **5.11.1.7**; Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, I, pp. 348-9; II, Pl. 150b and c, published copies and translations of excerpts of this text in a broader discussion on the festivals during Khoiak.

While these basic details of the Sokar Festival are relatively well-known,⁷² a broader analysis of sources, further demonstrate its popularity during the Graeco-Roman Period. Several Demotic graffiti from the Small Temple of Medinet Habu date precisely to the final days of Khoiak.⁷³ In particular, graffito No. 234 explicitly ties the votive inscription to the arrival of Montu from Armant, since it is dated as follows (ll. 13-15): “regnal year 18, day 21 of Khoiak, while Montu-Re-Harakhty dwells here (in) Djeme (*n ḥ3.t-sp 18, ibd 4 3ḥ.t sw 21, iw Mnt-R^c-Hr-3khty ḥtp dy (n) dm3*).”⁷⁴ The author of graffito No. 129, meanwhile, explicitly states that his inscription was “written in regnal year 1, day 26 of Khoiak, while I perform the water rites for the Festival of Montu and [...] (*sh ḥ3.t-sp 1.t, ibd 4 3ḥ.t sw 26, iw=y thb p3 ḥ^c Mnt irm* [...]).”⁷⁵ A Roman centurion of the twenty-second legion left a votive graffito on the Colossus of Memnon on December 22, 84 CE, showing that he visited the region of Djeme precisely on Khoiak 25 or 26.⁷⁶

A Demotic documentary papyrus (P. Berlin 3115, Text A) records the important festivals (lit. “days of drinking (*hrw.w n swr*)”) of the Theban choachytes. The last entry in this list is “the *hmni*-festival of Montu, Khoiak 26,”⁷⁷ precisely the date of Montu’s voyage

⁷² E.g. Sethe, *Amun*, §116; Traunecker, et al., *La chapelle d’Achôris II*, pp. 117, 124; Thiers, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 565; Thiers and Volokhine, *Ermant I*, pp. 77-8.

⁷³ Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*, pp. 58-9, 70, 72, 98-9, 140-1 (Nos. 53, 72, 77, 129 and 234).

⁷⁴ No. 129, ll. 5-6; Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*, pp. 140-1.

⁷⁵ Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*, pp. 98-9.

⁷⁶ A. and E. Bernard, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon*, p. 47, No. 10; note that a number of votive graffiti from Philae also date to the end of Khoiak (cf. Foertmeyer, *Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, p. 214).

⁷⁷ De Cenival, *Les associations religieuses*, pp. 105, 184-5, Pl. VIII; Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Chocahytes*, p. 201, n. q.

from Armant to Djeme.⁷⁸ Initially, De Cenival assumed that this festival involved the Bull of Medamud.⁷⁹ The specific term *hmni*, “festival,” however is a *hapax*, and Pestman only suggested that “the determinatives point to some kind of “adoration” of the god.”⁸⁰ Since the word once appears with a final *-w*, it is quite likely that the *hmni(w)*-festival was somehow related to the Ogdoad (*Hmni.w*) of Djeme.

The most important new information about the Sokar Festival and the procession of Montu from Armant to Djeme comes from the Roman Period buildings and inscriptions at Medinet Habu and Deir Shelwit. Placing the epigraphic descriptions of the festival within their precise architectural context, it is possible to reconstruct the order of events of the Sokar Festival in greater detail, and better appreciate the theological significance of the procession.

On the morning of Khoiak 26,⁸¹ priests descended into the crypts of Armant to perform an invocation hymn to Montu-Re-Harakhty:⁸²

h3y mi n b3[=k] ntr šps
pr m šw.t
h̄tp=k hr h̄3.t=k m-hnw šty.t=k
snsn=k s̄h=k h̄ry nmi.t=k

wp.tw n=k r3=k
wn.tw n=k ir.t(y)=k(y)
wb3.tw n=k fnd=k ̄nh.wy=k(y)
iw nn ir n=k ntr.w p3wty(.w)

⁷⁸ De Cenival, *Les associations religieuses*, p. 185, stated that this festival must have been for the August Bull of Medamud, apparently unaware of the Khoiak festival at Medinet Habu, or that the Bull of Medamud is never called “Montu.”

⁷⁹ De Cenival, *Les associations religieuses*, p. 185; Traunecker, et al., *La chapelle d’Achôris*, II, p. 136, correctly recognized the connection of this festival to Montu-Re-Harakhty’s arrival from Armant.

⁸⁰ Pestman, *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes*, p. 201, n. q.

⁸¹ Although the date is not specifically mentioned at Armant, the hymn is identical to one recited at the Opet Temple during the Osirian festivals on Khoiak 26 (cf. Thiers and Volokhine, *Ermant* I, pp. 77-8).

⁸² Thiers and Volokhine, *Ermant* I, No. 2A-C, pp. 30, 77-8, 83-5.

sḏm=k nis ḥr psḏ.t
m3w.ti wḥm.n=k rnp

O come to your Ba, august god,
come forth as a shade,
may you rest upon your corpse within your Shetyt-shrine,
may you unite with your mummy upon your funerary bier!

Your mouth is opened for you,
your eyes are opened for you,
your nose and ears are opened for you,
this was done for you by the Primeval ones.

Hear the invocation among the Ennead,
be renewed, having repeated rejuvenation!

This hymn mentions the ritual of “Opening the Mouth,” an indication that the statue of Montu-Re-Harakhty was ritually prepared for his active role during the festival procession.⁸³ After the priests took his statue from the crypts,⁸⁴ the journey set off northwards on the so-called “road of Montu-Re-Harakhty (*w3.t nt Mnt-Rḥ-Hr-3hty*).”⁸⁵

The bark of Montu-Re-Harakhty made at least one stop at the temple of Deir Shelwit, which was specifically called “the processional station of he who hurries while presenting offerings to the cavern of the Primeval ones (*s.t-rd.wy n wnšnš ḥr sfsf 3w n qrr.t p3wty.w*).”⁸⁶ From there, he continued upon the road of Montu which most likely passed along the northern border of the Birket Habu (cf. **5.3.2.0**). Immediately before reaching Medinet Habu, the

⁸³ For the Opening of the Mouth Ritual, see most recently Quack, in Ryholt, ed., *Hieratic Texts from the Collection*, pp. 69-150 (with many references to previous studies).

⁸⁴ For the procession of cult statues from temple crypts, see primarily Waitkus, *Die Texte in den unteren Krypten des Hathortempels von Dendera*, pp. 263-72.

⁸⁵ *Deir Chelouit III*, 154, 20-21; Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, p. 348, n. 159; Vittmann, *Altägyptische Wegmetaphorik*, p. 187; Thiers, *BIFAO* 104 (2004): 565.

⁸⁶ *Deir Chelouit I*, 25; cf. the use of the verb *wnšnš* to describe Amenope of Djeme during the decade festival, cf. Herbin, *Le livre de parcourir l'éternité*, p. 140.

procession would pass by Qasr el-Agouz, the small temple of the local Thoth-*stm*, another deity involved in the funerary rites at Djeme (cf. **4.50**).

Arriving at Medinet Habu, the procession would pass through the gate of Claudius to the east of the main enclosure wall. The inscription on the south face of this gate designates Montu-Re-Harakhty as the rightful successor of Kematef and briefly describes the celebrations at his arrival.⁸⁷

[People are on (?)] the road upon his left and right,
 entreating his form annually,
 when he has come to the Valley:
The chief of the gods,
 how stronger is his scent even than P[un]t!
[The Nome of the Beginning (Western Thebes) rejoices at his arrival,
 when his cycle comes each year].

Meanwhile, the text on the north face addresses Montu in the second person, literally as if spoken by priests of Medinet Habu watching the procession arrive from the south. This fragmentary hymn first notes the funerary offerings and a particularly intimate tête-à-tête between Montu and Kematef:⁸⁸

[Just as you] provided [offerings...]
so did you [consecra]te food for the Great Ba of Egypt (Kematef),
 then he speaks before you,
 while his heart rejoices.

From the gate of Claudius, the procession would travel along the sphinx-lined dromos,⁸⁹ ending up at the Small Temple itself. While the bark would have originally gone directly to the Ptolemaic portico before the First Pylon, after the renovations of Antoninus

⁸⁷ PM II², p. 482 (2b) = Claudius, **5.3.2.2**.

⁸⁸ PM II², p. 482 (2c) = Claudius, **5.3.2.4**.

⁸⁹ For the small evidence for such a dromos, cf. Hölscher, *The Excavation at Medinet Habu*, V, p. 37.

Pius, the path must have gone through the south face of the Roman courtyard.⁹⁰ Similar courtyards at Kom Ombo and Medamud were the location for large festival celebrations, as well as food offerings burnt on monumental altars,⁹¹ and based on the Antonine inscriptions, it is quite likely that similar food offerings were presented here before entering the inner shrines of the Small Temple.⁹² The reliefs on the south face of the south gate depict the King presenting food offerings (*htp-di-nsw.t*) during his arrival at the festival.⁹³ The king is thus “the good butcher (*mnḥwy nfr*),”⁹⁴ and he consecrates all sacrificial animals and tribute, “in front of (*r-rwty*)” the temple.⁹⁵

The interior of the south gate, meanwhile, preserves two hymns celebrating Montu’s arrival.⁹⁶ Just as on the Gate of Claudius, these hymns are specifically on the north face, so that whoever read them would literally face Amun and the north-south processional route. The left hymn addresses him directly: “Greetings, in peace, Montu-Re-Harakhty, who rose out of Nun!”⁹⁷ while the right hymn describes his festival procession in the third person.⁹⁸

⁹⁰ The connection between the Gate of Claudius and the south gate to the Roman court is most evident in the photograph of Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, II, Pl. 41b.

⁹¹ See most recently Ernst, *ZÄS* 129 (2002): 12-9.

⁹² In Medinet Habu Graffito No. 44, 2, describes presenting offerings (*gyl.w* and *wtn.w*) in the same area in front of the Ptolemaic Pylon, although this graffito predates the construction of the Roman courtyard (Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu*, pp. 19-20, 22, n. 2). At Karnak, the main altar for food offerings was located between the Fifth Pylon and the Akh-Menu, approximately the so-called Middle Kingdom courtyard (Barguet, *Le temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak*, pp. 318-22); of course food offerings could enter the Akh-Menu enclosure to reach the altar of Re-Harakhty in the roof temple, cf. Ernst, *ZÄS* 128 (2001): 1-6.

⁹³ **5.11.1.11-14.**

⁹⁴ **5.11.11.14**, l. 2.

⁹⁵ **5.11.1.11**, col. 3, **5.11.1.12**, col. 4; for the various nuances of *m-rwty*, *r-rwty*, cf. De Meulanere, *BIFAO* 53 (1953): 91-102.

⁹⁶ **5.11.1.9-10.**

⁹⁷ **5.11.1.11**, col. 1.

“Behold, he has come,
Montu-Re Harakhty has come in his festival.

Behold, he has come in his manifestation of light,
his radiant-eyes illumine the West...”

Once inside the courtyard, the procession turned west to face the Small Temple. The inscriptions on the east face of the Roman portico once again mention the numerous food offerings brought for Kematef and the Ogdoad.⁹⁹ Going through the portico, Montu-Re-Harakhty would pass by a six-column hymn describing his voyage to Djeme and his benefactions for the ancestor deities.¹⁰⁰ From there he would move through the Ptolemaic Pylon and head into the main bark shrine of the Small Temple.

Textual sources say nothing about the technical proceedings once inside Medinet Habu, but they do describe the mortuary services in mythological terms, equating the visit to Djeme with Re’s nightly entrance into the Netherworld.¹⁰¹ According to a hymn from Deir Shelwit, Montu-Re-Harakhty, travelled specifically from east to west in order to reach the Djeme, mirroring the daily course of the sun from Bakhu to Manu.¹⁰² On his arrival to Djeme, the denizens of the Netherworld celebrate at his arrival,¹⁰³ because they receive food and are able to breathe again.¹⁰⁴ The inscriptions place particular emphasis on the reunion of

⁹⁸ **5.11.1.12**, col. 1.

⁹⁹ **5.11.1.5-6**.

¹⁰⁰ **5.11.1.7**.

¹⁰¹ Note the imposing inscription on the east gate of the Roman courtyard, which labels Medinet Habu as the entrance to the Netherworld: “Whosoever enters the temple at the proper time, this is the Akhet of Re in the [initial] moment, this is the cavern of Nun the Great” (**5.11.1.2**).

¹⁰² *Deir Chelouit* III, 157; cf. **5.10.2.3**.

¹⁰³ E.g. **5.3.2.4**, col. 4; **5.10.2.3**; **5.11.1.7**, cols. 3-4; **5.11.1.9**, cols. 1 and 3.

¹⁰⁴ **5.11.1.7**, col. 5.

Montu-Re-Harakhty with Kematef, a variation on the traditional union of Re and Osiris. This event is described as “the solar disk unites with the solar disk,”¹⁰⁵ “the son unites with the father,”¹⁰⁶ and one text even claims that Kematef afterward speaks to Montu “with his heart rejoicing.”¹⁰⁷ The result of this action is that Montu-Re-Harakhty leaves with bearing the decree (*hry.t*) or inheritance (*imy.t-pr*) of the Father of Fathers, entitling him to the “the kingship of Kematef.”¹⁰⁸ Afterwards, Montu-Re-Harakhty would leave Medinet Habu to return to Armant via Deir Shelwit, an action equated in one text with Re leaping out of the Underworld up to Nut as the day sky.¹⁰⁹

The extension of the Small Temple of Medinet Habu under Claudius and especially Antoninus Pius, in addition as the construction and decoration of Deir Shelwit from Claudius to Antoninus Pius, attest to the growing popularity of the Sokar Festival as the Roman Period progressed. The henu-bark of Sokar became a particularly popular decorative motif on Roman mummies from Western Thebes,¹¹⁰ and a funerary text from the reign of Augustus expresses the wish “that he might rejuvenate his body in the Mound of Djeme, beside the mummies who follow Sokar (*rnp d.t=f m i3.t-t3m.t r-gs s^ch.w šms(.w) Skr*).”¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵ **5.10.2.3.**

¹⁰⁶ **5.11.1.7**, col. 3.

¹⁰⁷ **5.3.2.4**, col. 1.

¹⁰⁸ **5.3.2.2**, col. 1; **5.11.1.10**, col. 3; for the link between the mortuary rites at Djeme and royal legitimacy, cf. Traunecker, in Vleeming, ed., *Hundred-Gated Thebes*, pp. 183-201.

¹⁰⁹ **5.10.2.3.**

¹¹⁰ Riggs, *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt*, pp. 238-40.

¹¹¹ Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarge der Anchnesneferibre*, p. 5.

As late as the fourth century CE, a group of ironworkers from Armant made multiple trips along the same road to Western Thebes, where they sacrificed a donkey.¹¹² In the commemorative inscriptions they left behind, they mention “slaughtering a donkey before the god.”¹¹³ The specific date of 1 Tybi suggests a connection with the Sokar Festival which lasted through the end of Khoiak and sometimes into the beginning of Tybi.¹¹⁴ As Łajtar already noted, the sacrifice of a donkey was actually part of the Sokar ritual,¹¹⁵ making the actions of the iron-workers perfectly appropriate in the festival context. However, Łajtar did not realize that the Sokar Festival in Western Thebes incorporated a large festival procession, specifically from Armant to the region of Djeme.¹¹⁶ The subsequent voyage of Montu-Re-Harakhty to temples besides Medinet Habu is suggested by his prominent position in the other temples of Djeme (Deir el-Medineh, Deir el-Rumi, Deir Shelwit), and the fact that the Sokar Festival historically included an extended visit through the necropolis after Khoiak 26.¹¹⁷

¹¹² Łajtar, *JJP* 21 (1991): 53-70; *ibid*, *Deir el-Bahari in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, pp. 95-103, 244-63, Nos. 162-172; Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*, pp. 25, 64, 72; Bagnall, *JJP* 34 (2004): 15-21, reviewed the chronology of the inscriptions, and concluded that the latest secure date was 332 CE.

¹¹³ Łajtar, *JJP* 21 (1991): 56.

¹¹⁴ Graindorge-Héreil, *Le dieu Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire*, I, pp. 277-8, 414-6; the connection to the Sokar Festival was already suggested by Łajtar, *JJP* 21 (1991): 67-9.

¹¹⁵ Łajtar, *JJP* 21 (1991): 67.

¹¹⁶ Łajtar, *JJP* 21 (1991): 69-70, noted that “it would be very interesting to know why the iron-workers from Hermonthis chose for their gatherings and sacrifices this particular temple in Deir el-Bahari, situated some 20 kilometres from their place of living,” suggesting only that “what attracted *siderourgoi* in Deir el-Bahari was probably the general holiness of the place itself.”

¹¹⁷ Graindorge-Héreil, *Le dieu Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire*, pp. 239-58, 393-6.

The annual trips of the iron-workers thus does not represent a random expression of late period paganism by a small club of devoted followers.¹¹⁸ This group from Armant, carried out a traditional festival procession to Djeme, possibly dating back to the New Kingdom,¹¹⁹ that had actually grown in importance in the first two centuries CE. The fourth century date of their activity is not surprising, as the institution of the Buchis Bull at Armant, their religious center, continued to function until 340 CE, if not later.¹²⁰

7.7 Conclusions

While some evidence points to the continued celebration of the Opet Festival, Valley Festival and Chonsu Festival, most documentation from the Roman Period relates to the funerary cult of Kematef and the Ogdoad at Medinet Habu. Chonsu-Shu, Amenope of Djeme, and Montu-Re-Harakhty, who represented three of the largest temples in Thebes (Karnak, Luxor, and Armant, respectively), came to Djeme daily, weekly, and annually to give offerings to the ancestor gods. The construction of the Gate of Claudius at Medinet Habu, the temple of Deir Shelwit, and the extension of the festival forecourt of Medinet Habu under Antoninus Pius, indicate that the Sokar Festival, and in particular Montu-Re-Harakhty's voyage along the processional route from Armant to Djeme, continually grew in scale and importance into the late second century CE.

¹¹⁸ Łajtar, *JJP* 21 (1991): 70, assumed that Deir el-Bahari was abandoned by this point, and even tried to argue that the pilgrims did not need a temple or statue of their god, since "it was enough for him to be in [the] mind of the *siderourgoi*, his worshippers." Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, p. 269, cited these inscriptions as evidence for the impoverished state of pagan festivals in Late Antiquity, describing them as "a series of four dipinti, in bad Greek, recording apparently annual visits by the ironworkers of Hermonthis between 324 and 357 to the abandoned temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, the highlight of which was the sacrifice of a donkey."

¹¹⁹ Note a text of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, that describes the temple as a "processional station for the gods of *Iwnw* of Upper Egypt (*s.t-swṯwt nt ntr.w nw Iwnw-šm^cw*)," which might already designate Armant (The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* I, Pl. 115, line 3 = *KRI* V, 306, 2; cf. the comments of Edgerton and Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III*, p. 143, n. 3d).

¹²⁰ Grenier, *BIFAO* 83 (1983): 197-208; Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, pp. 115-6, 161, 302.

Chapter 8

Epilogue

Thebas nemo ignorat

- Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, XXII, 16.2

At the end of the third century CE, a man named Abammon wrote an extensive treatise on divine cosmogonies, oracular epiphanies, religious sacrifice, and astrology in response to the philosopher Porphyry.¹ Abammon, whose name is patently Egyptian,² composed this work to explain and defend the philosophical nature of Egyptian religion, explicitly calling himself an Egyptian priest.³ In book VIII, he tackles the difficult problem of multiple cosmogonic traditions:⁴

“Following another system of ordering, he (sc. Hermes) gives the first rank to Kmeph, the leader of the celestial gods, whom he declares to be an intellect thinking himself, and turning his thoughts towards himself; after him, he first appoints the indivisible One and what he calls the “first product,” which he also calls Eikton. It is in him that there resides the primal intelligising element and the primal object of intellection (...)

¹ For the most recent edition, cf. Clarke, et al., *Iamblichus: De mysteriis* (with many references to earlier literature); the work has long been attributed to Iamblichus writing under a pseudonym, but Derchain, *CdE* 76 (1963): 220-6, argued that Abammon demonstrated such accurate knowledge about Egyptian theology of the Graeco-Roman period, that he could have been an Egyptian priest as indeed he claimed to be; Clarke, et al., *Iamblichus: De mysteriis*, p. xxviii, n. 47, hastily dismiss this hypothesis, but cannot explain why Iamblichus would have adopted the pseudonym.

² Clarke, et al., *Iamblichus: De mysteriis*, pp. xxxiiii-xxxvii, try to dismiss any connection with the god Amun, and conclude: “Disappointing as it is, there does not appear to be any etymological meaning behind the pseudonym” (p. xxxvii). However, they do not mention Thissen’s very reasonable suggestion that this name reflects *iw=f(n) Imn*, “he belongs to Amun” (Thissen, in Verhoeven and Graefe, eds., *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten*, p. 294).

³ Iamblichus, *De mysteriis*, I, 1.3.

⁴ Iamblichus, *De mysteriis*, VIII, 3; slightly modified translation of Clarke, et al., *Iamblichus: De mysteriis*, pp. 308-313.

“In addition to these, other rulers have been set over the creation of the visible realm. For the demiurgic intellect, who is master of truth and wisdom, when he comes to create and brings into the light the invisible power of the hidden *logoi*, is called Amoun in the Egyptian tongue, when he infallibly and expertly brings to perfection each thing in accordance with truth he is termed Ptah (the Greeks translate Ptah as Hephaistos, concentrating only on his technical ability), when he is productive of goods he is called Osiris, and he acquires other epithets in accordance with other powers and activities.

“There is also among them another system of rule over all the elements in the realm of generation and the powers resident in them, four masculine entities and four feminine, which they assign to the sun.”

Abammon shows a remarkable knowledge of the specifically Theban cosmogony from the Graeco-Roman Period. The first god Kmeph never enters the cosmos, dwelling eternally in the purely intellectual realm, just as Kematef remained in the Nun waters (cf. **4.28**).⁵ The next god after Kmeph was “the first product” Eiktôn, perhaps a scribal error for Eirtôn, “Irita.”⁶ However, the actual demiurge was Amun, specifically called Ptah when he fashions the cosmos.⁷ This distinction accurately reflects the Theban theology, where Irita was the first god to emerge from Kematef, but Amenope-Tatenen was the deity who actually created the Ogdoad (cf. **4.3** and **4.25**). Abammon also mentions the four male and female pairs in the Ogdoad, and correctly noted their association with the sun (cf. **4.39**).⁸

⁵ Given the number of plays on words in the following account (e.g. where Amun is associated with the “invisible power of the hidden *logoi*,” two consecutive allusions to *imn*, “hidden, invisible”; cf. Derchain, *CdE* 76 [1963]: 224), one wonders if the description of Kmeph as “intellect thinking himself (voῦν εἶναι αὐτὸν εἰαυτὸν vooῦvta),” might not reflect an *interpretatio graeca* of Nun = voῦν, “intellect.”

⁶ Suggested already by Clarke, et al., *Iamblichus: De mysteriis*, pp. xlv-xlvi, 311, n. 410; since the earliest manuscripts for this text date to the 15th century CE, such confusion regarding an Egyptian name isdivine name is not unlikely; Oréal, *RdE* 54 (2003): 279-85, recently argued that Eiktôn could alternatively be a rendering of *ḥk3w*, “magic,” with a hellenizing -των ending. However, while *ḥk3w* was undoubtedly important to Egyptian theology, it does not feature in Graeco-Roman Period cosmogonies as such, especially in relation to Kematef.

⁷ Note that the description of Ptah “when he infallibly and expertly brings to perfection each thing in accordance with truth,” recalls his Ptah’s characteristic epithet “Lord of Maat” (cf. p. 284, n. 1333).

⁸ For this passage, see already Derchain, *CdE* 76 (1963): 225.

Regardless of whether Abammon was actually an Egyptian priest, or merely a pseudonym of Iamblichus, this section from *De mysteriis* represents a strikingly accurate account of Theban theology from the Roman Period within the context of Neo-Platonist discourse. In other words, when Abammon presents a typical Egyptian cosmogonic system to Porphyry and the entire philosophical community of the late third century, he describes the specifically Theban theology of Amun-Kematef (Kmeph) and the Ogdoad.

The example of Abammon once again demonstrates the reputation of Thebes as a center of traditional Pharaonic temple rituals and theological speculation (cf. **Chapter 3**). This image of “ancient Thebes” partially explains the surge in visitors’ graffiti in the Roman Period, as well as Thessalos’s description of local priests (cf. **2.3**). The large number of magical, literary, and funerary papyri from Roman Thebes, combined with the famous coffins and mummies from the West Bank (“Soternalia”), all attest to the thriving cultural and intellectual milieu of the local priesthood. Greek and Demotic administrative ostraca, meanwhile, demonstrate that Thebes maintained its status as an important economic and military site (cf. **1.2**). The present survey of building activity has revealed that the Theban temples benefited from an almost continuous series of architectural renovations, expansions; while the analysis of the hieroglyphic inscriptions showed that Theban priests continued to compose innovative and erudite hymns in classical Middle Egyptian (cf. **Chapters 5-6**).

In terms of construction and decoration, Egyptian temples experienced a veritable renaissance of activity in the early Roman Period which continued until the reign of Antoninus Pius in the late second century CE.⁹ A similar trend is perceptible with demotic

⁹ In general Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, I-III; Cauville, *RdE* 58 (2007): 29-39, recently noted a remarkable example of the early Roman administration’s direct involvement with local temple construction and decoration.

literary, religious, magical and funerary papyri.¹⁰ Altogether, Egyptian religion flourished in the Roman Period, and Theban priests and temples remained a center for traditional Pharaonic theology and religious practice.

¹⁰ Cf. Zauzich, in *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten*, pp. 77-80; for the large number of recently published and newly discovered Roman Period papyri from Tebtunis, see the recent overview by Ryholt, in Lippert and Schentuleit, eds., *Tebtynis und Soknopaiu Nesos*, pp. 141-70.

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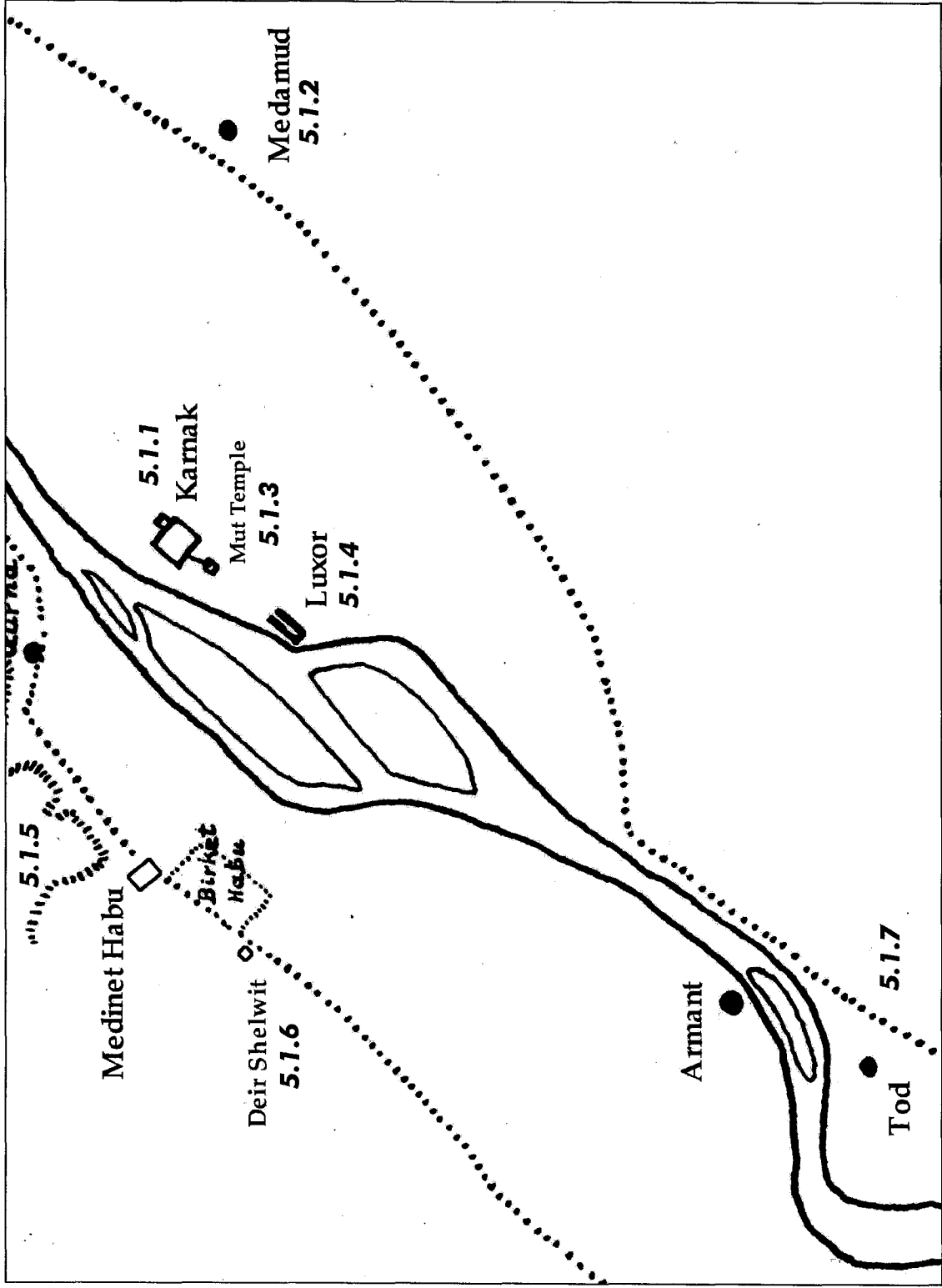


Plate 1: Temple activity under Augustus (after: Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaves, Pl. I*)

Plate 2: Temple activity at Karnak under Augustus

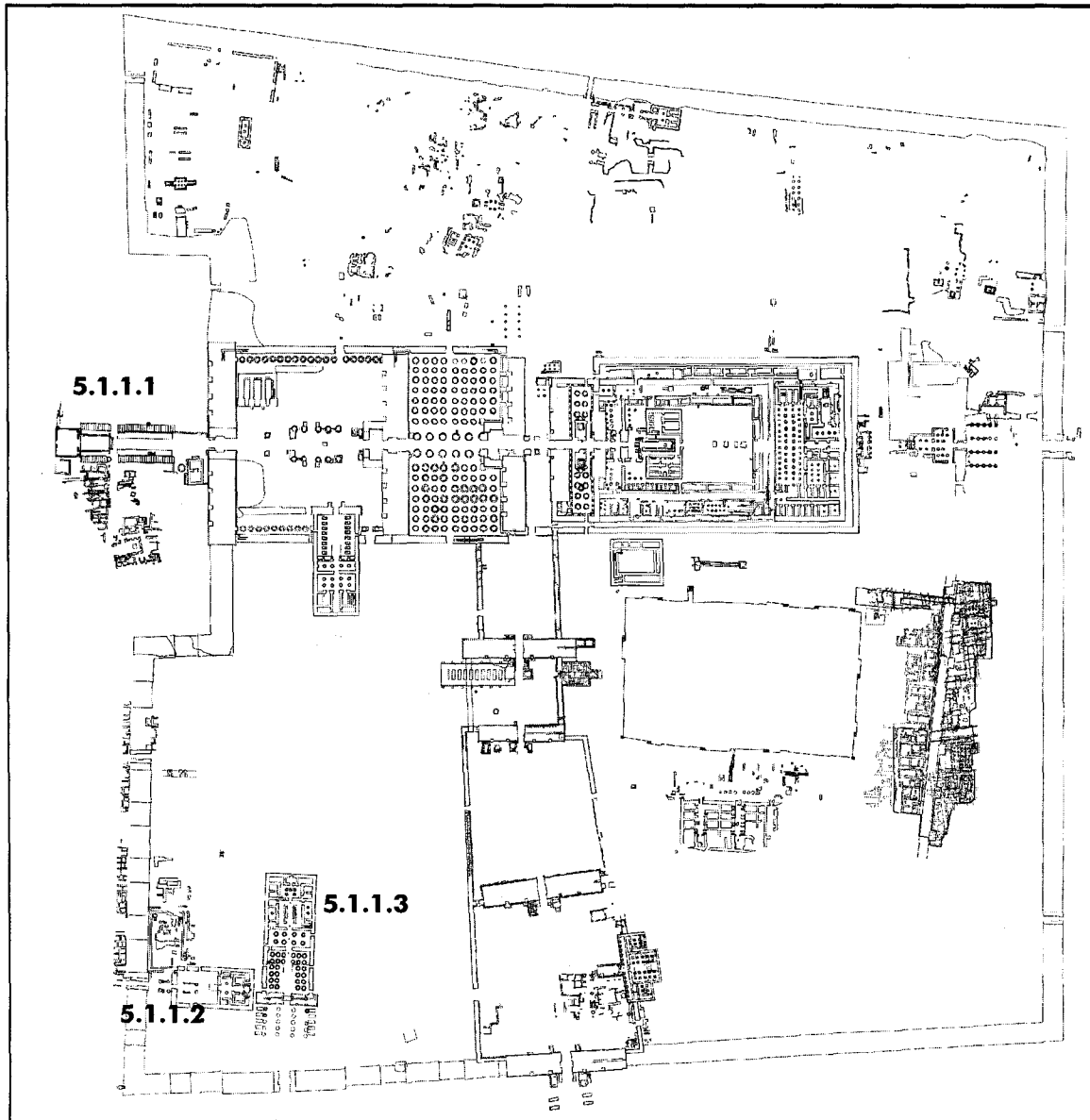


Plate 3: Karnak, Position of the Imperial Chapel

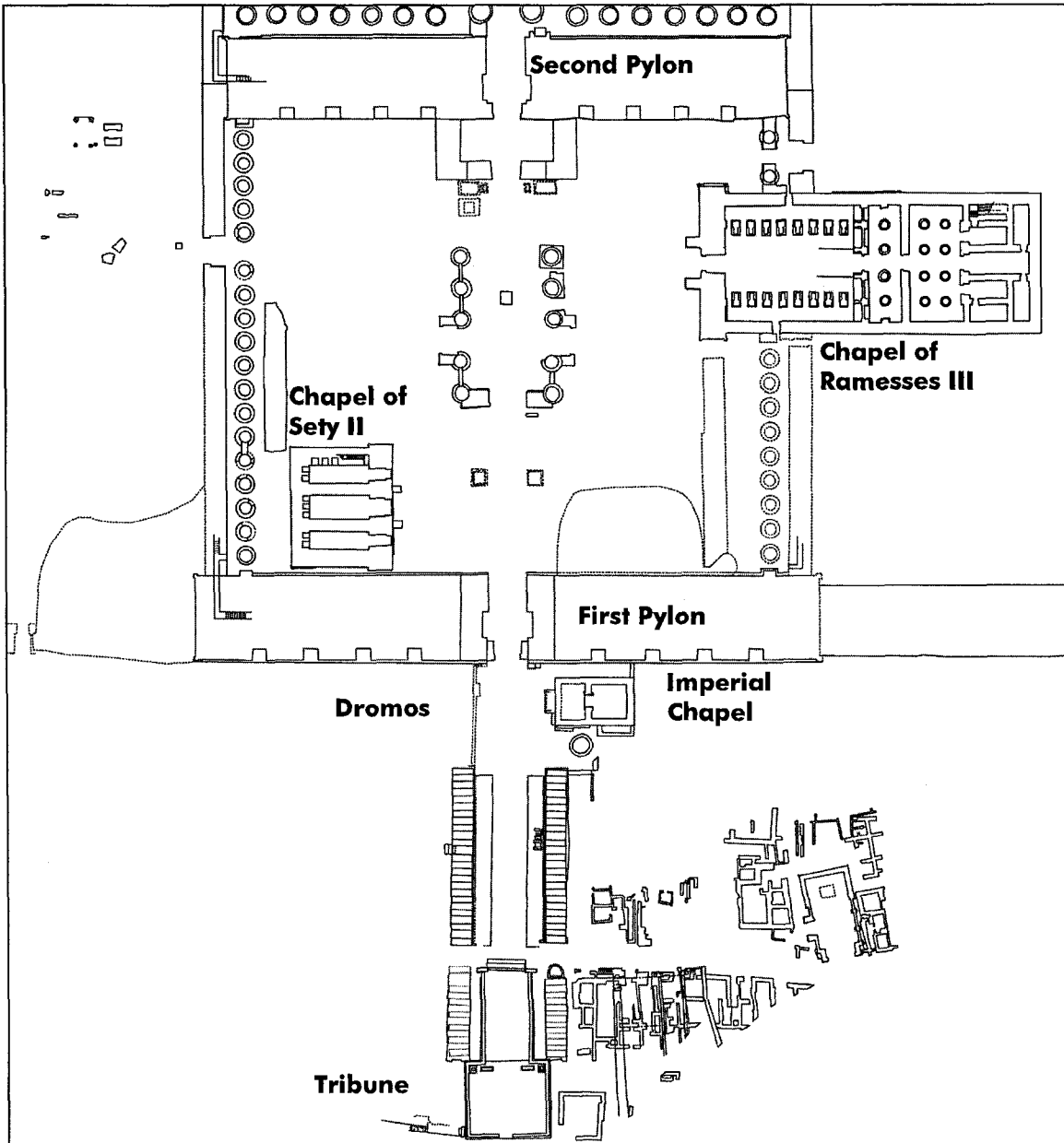


Plate 4: Temple activity under Tiberius (after: Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaus*, Pl. I)

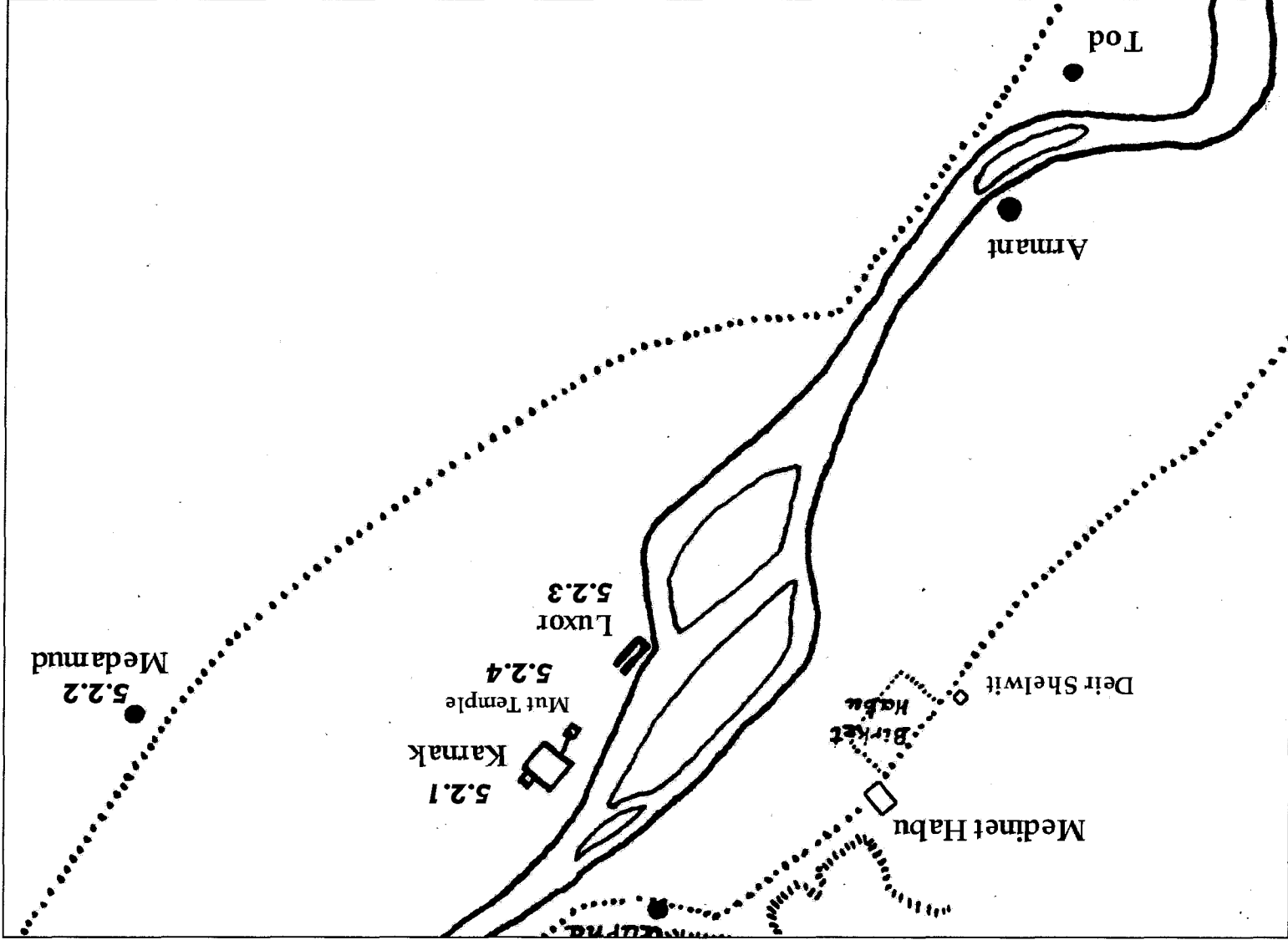


Plate 5: Temple activity at Karnak under Tiberius

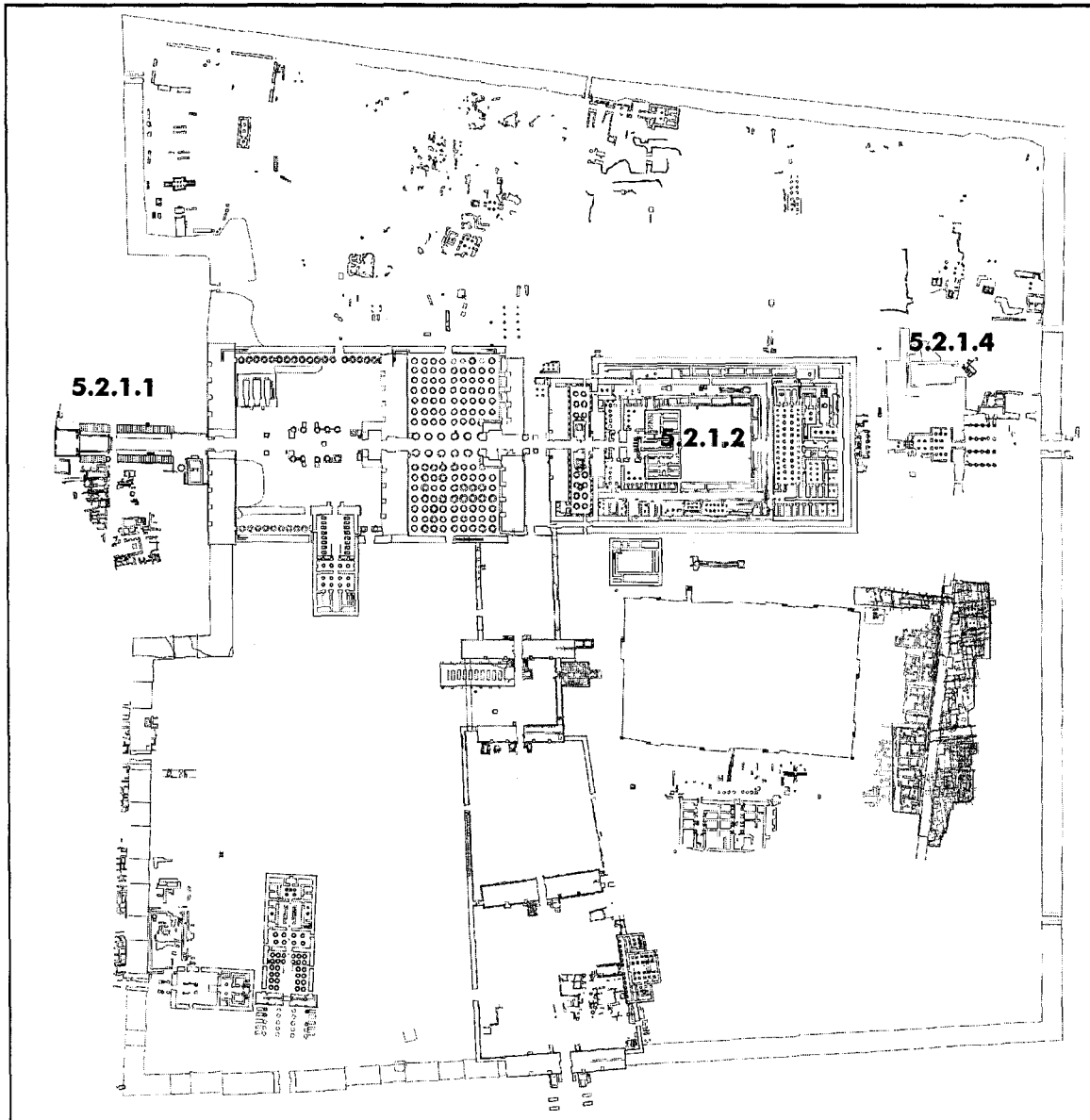
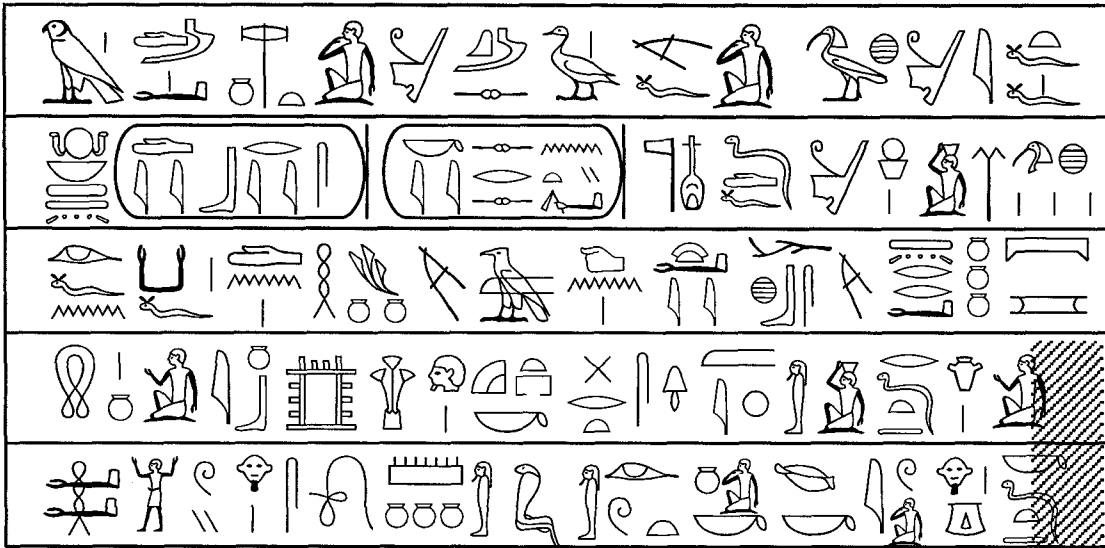


Plate 6

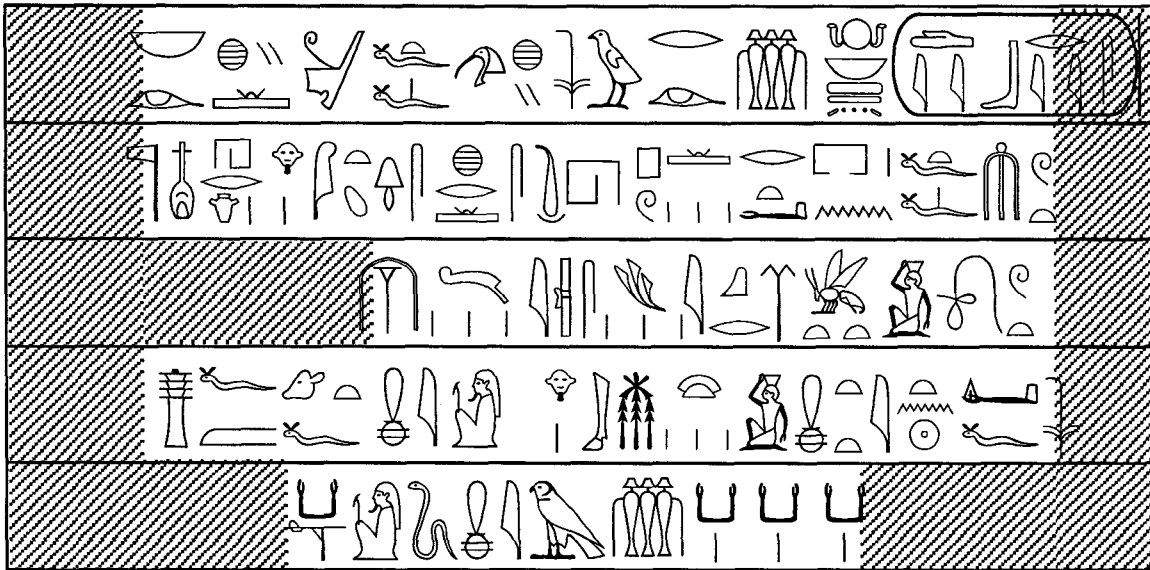


a. Luxor Museum 228 (5.2.3.1)

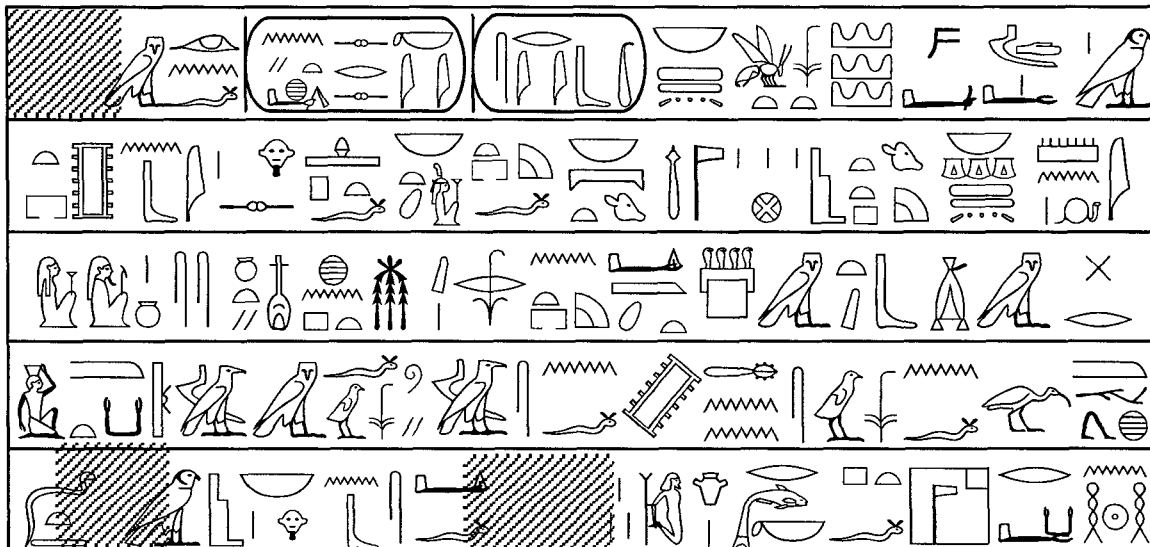


b. Luxor Museum 229 (5.2.3.2)

Plate 7

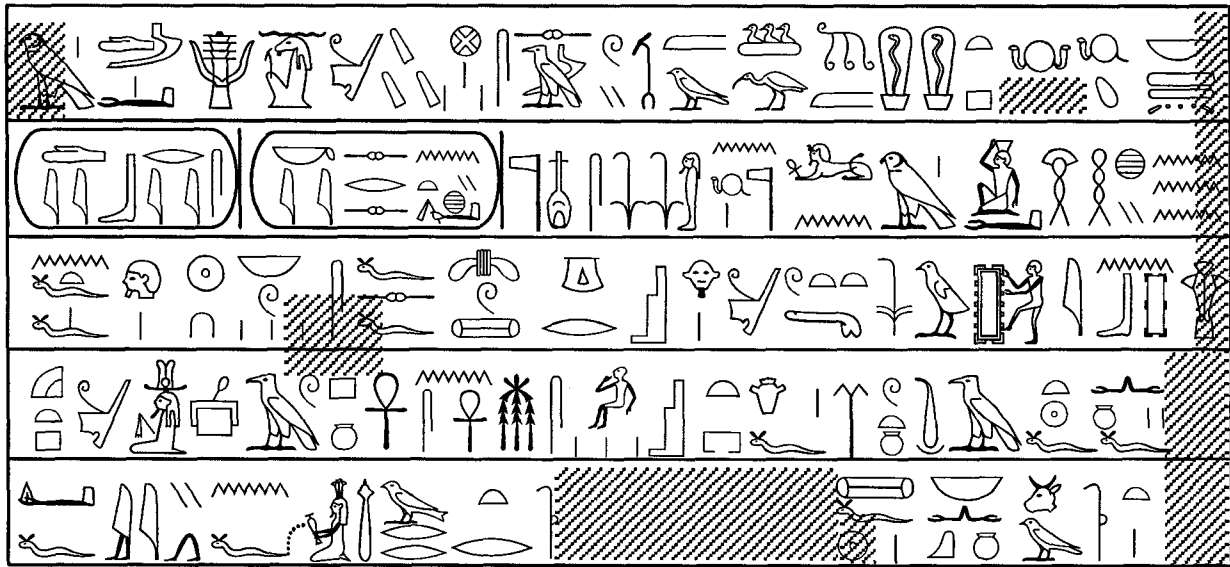


a. Egyptian Museum w/o # (5.2.3.3)

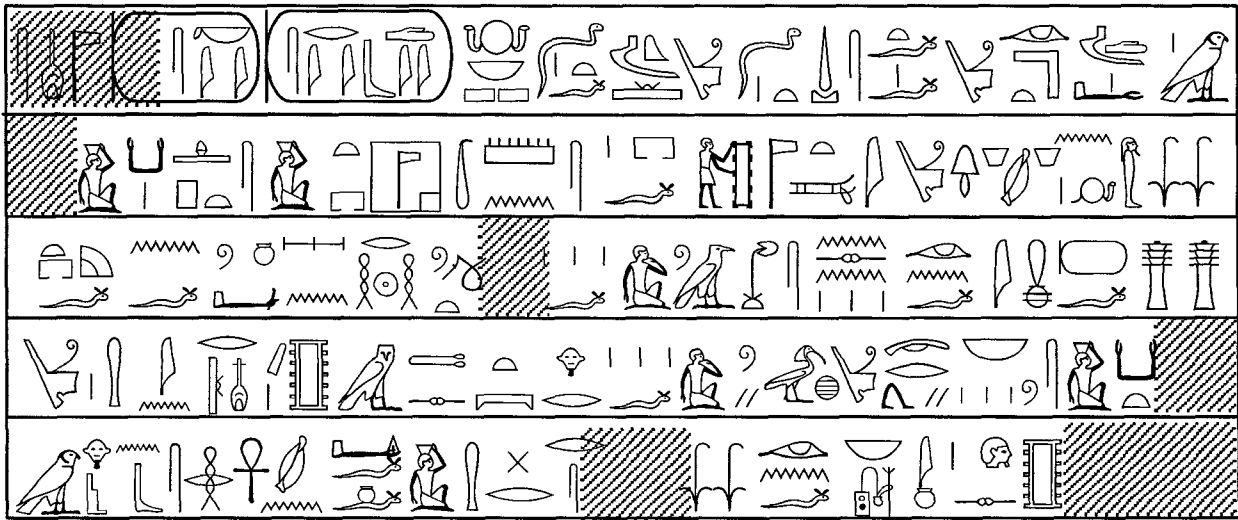


b. Luxor Museum w/o # (5.2.3.4)

Plate 8

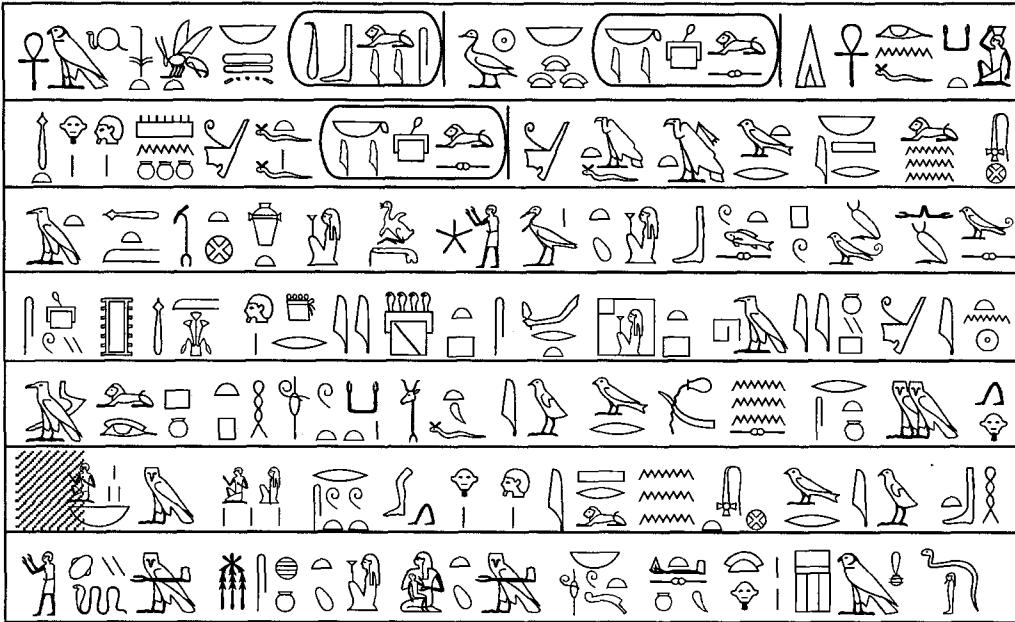


a. CG 22198 (5.2.3.5)



b. CG 22193 (5.2.3.6)

Plate 9

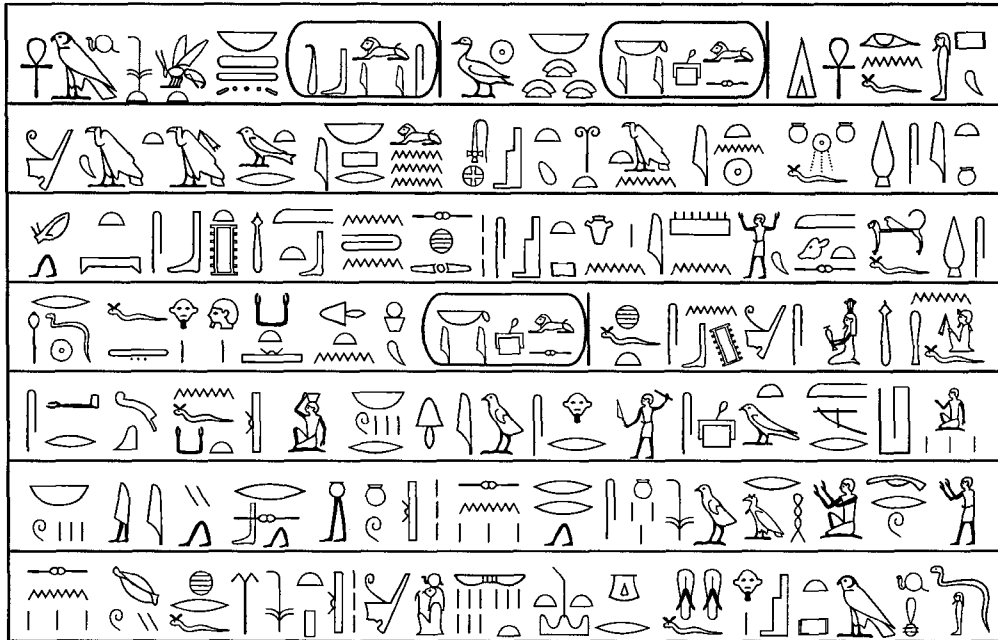


a. Allard Pierson Museum 7763 (5.2.4.1)



b. BM EA 617 (1052) (5.2.4.2)

Plate 10



a. BM EA 398 (1053) (5.2.4.3)

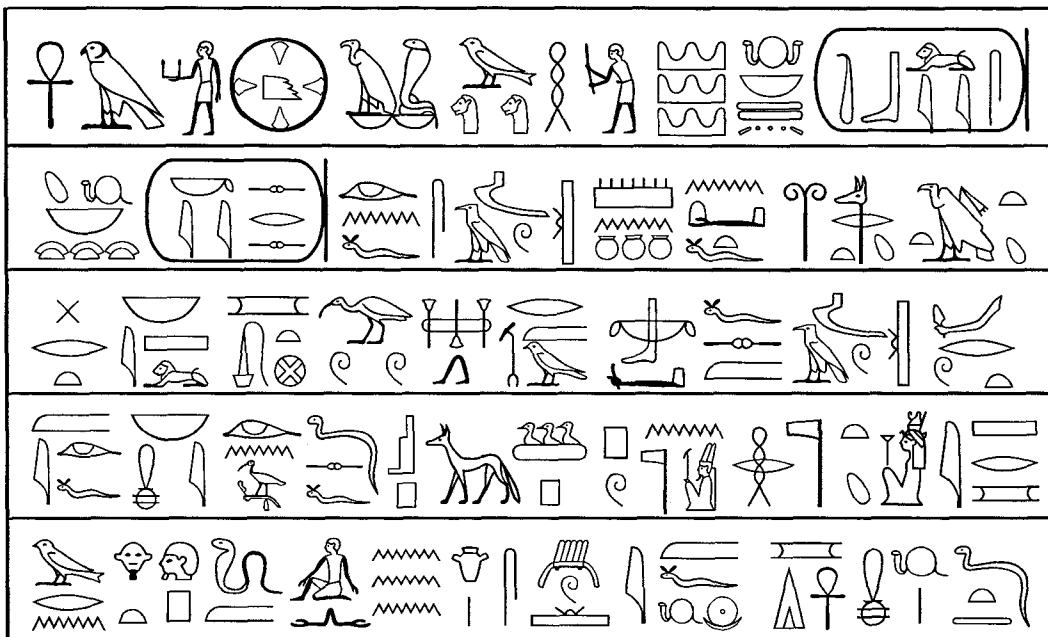


b. Berlin 14401 (5.2.4.4)

Plate 11

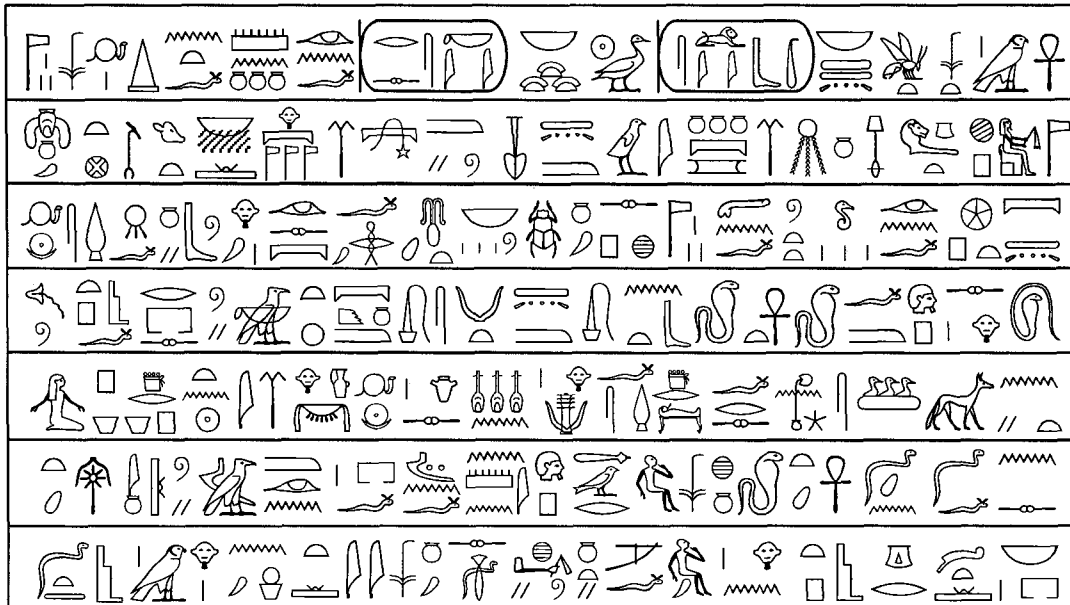


a. JdE 65903 (5.2.4.5)

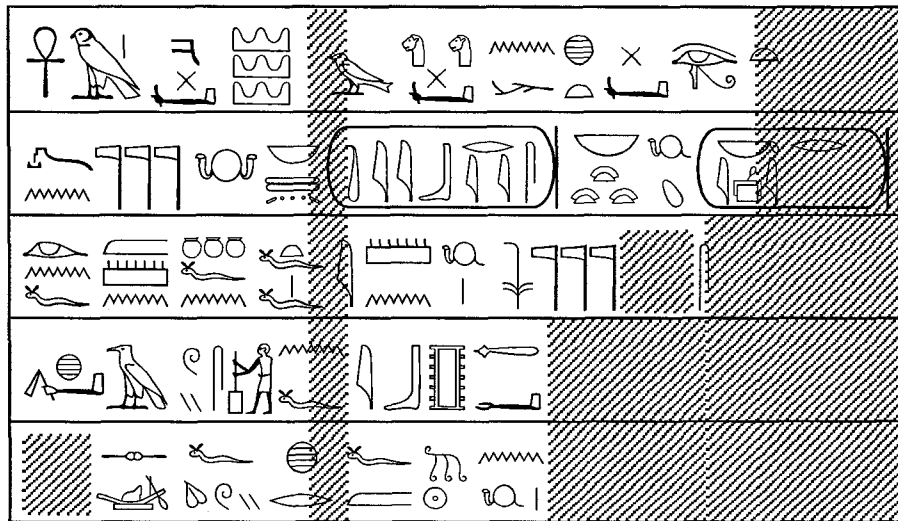


b. JdE 65904 (5.2.4.6)

Plate 12



a. BM EA 1432 (1055) (5.2.4.7)



b. Caracol 241 (5.2.4.8)

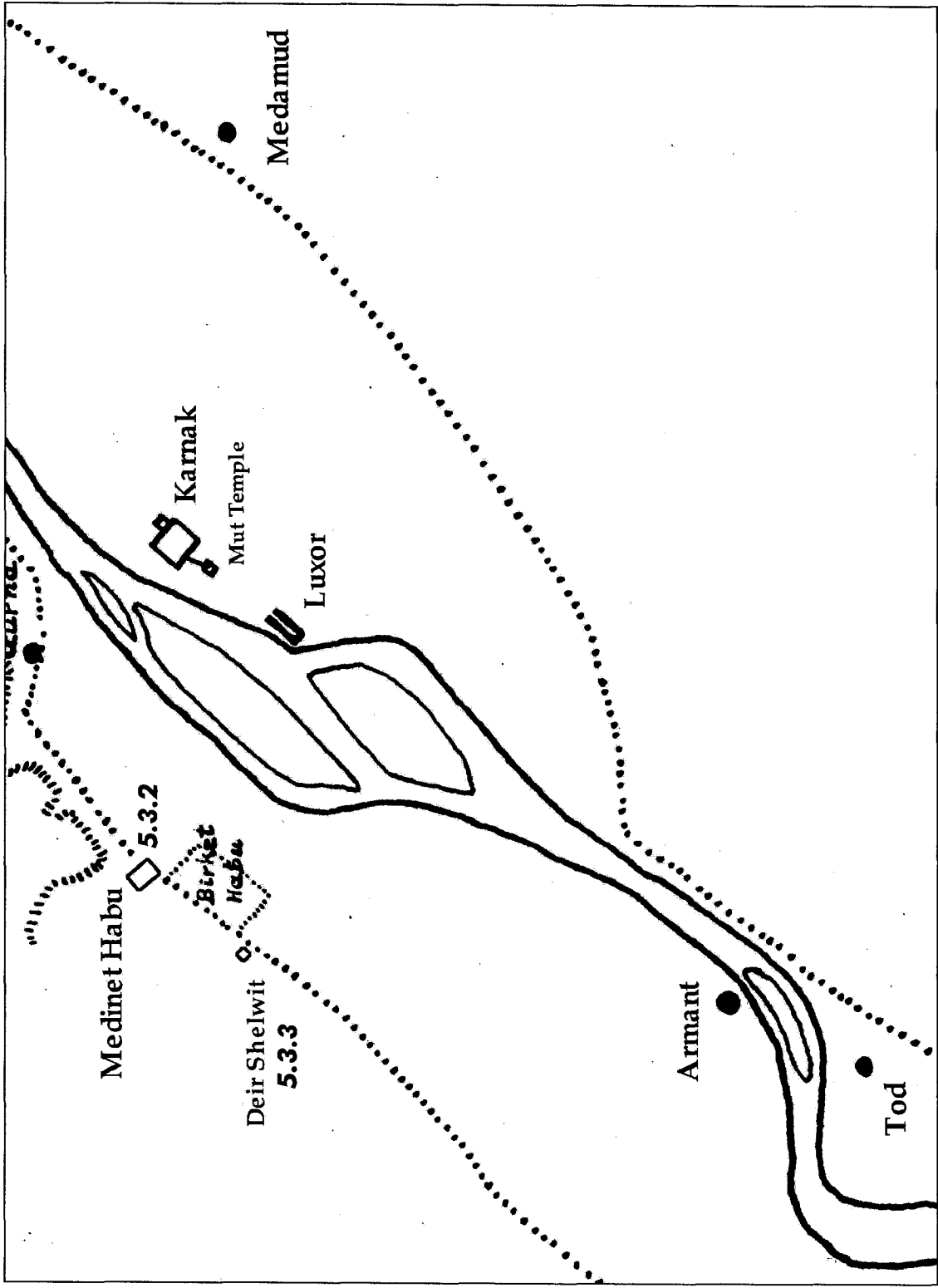


Plate 13: Temple activity under Claudius (after: Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaius*, Pl. I)

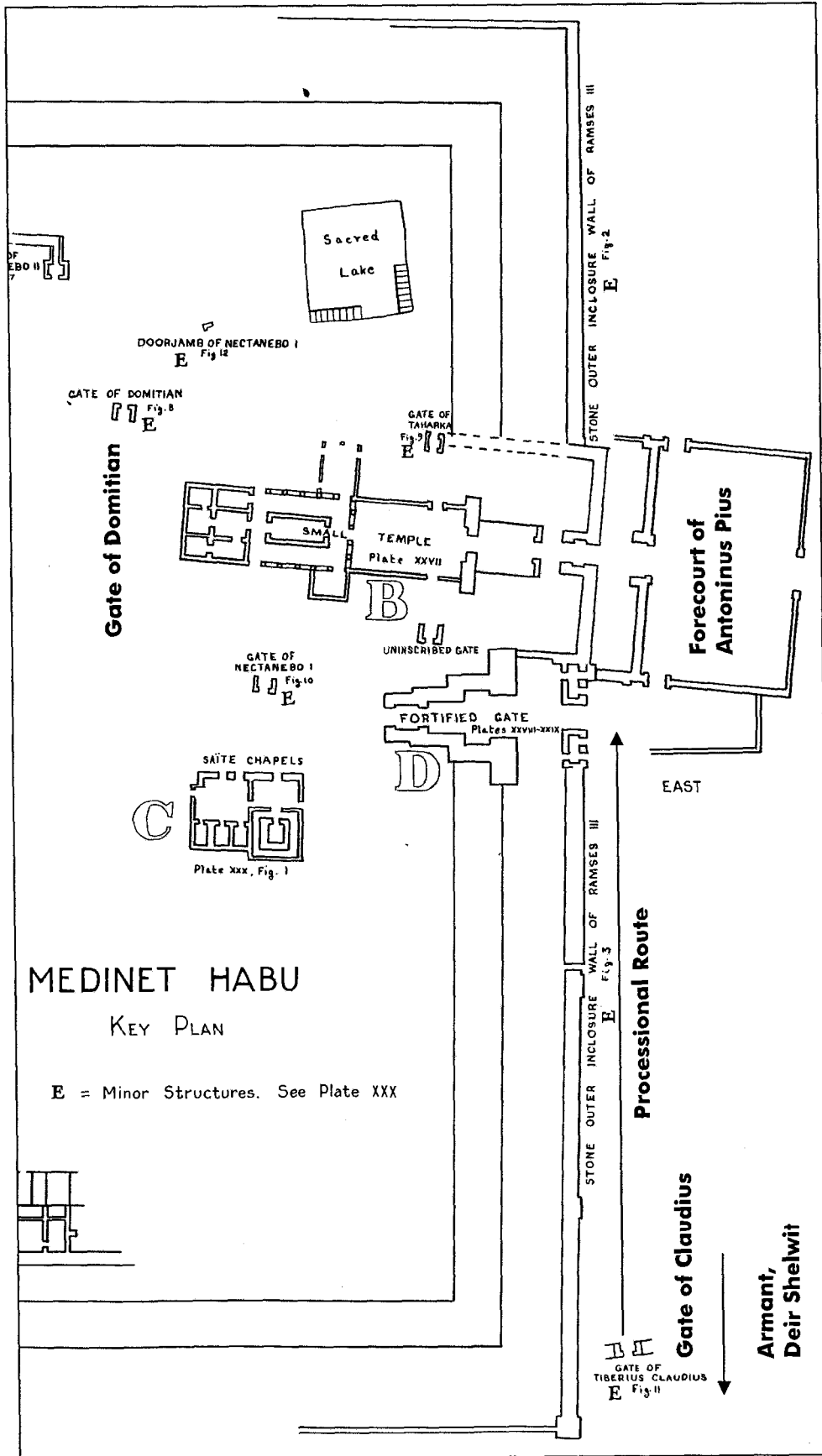


Plate 14: Medinet Habu, Roman Constructions
(after: Nelson, Key Plans Showing Locations of Theban Temple Decoration, Pl. XXIV)

Plate 15: Medinet Habu, Claudius (5.3.2.2)

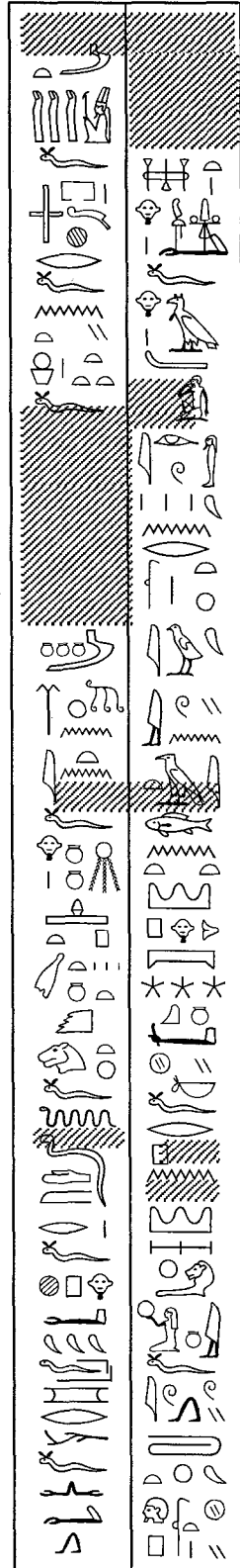


Plate 16: Medinet Habu, Claudius (5.3.2.3)

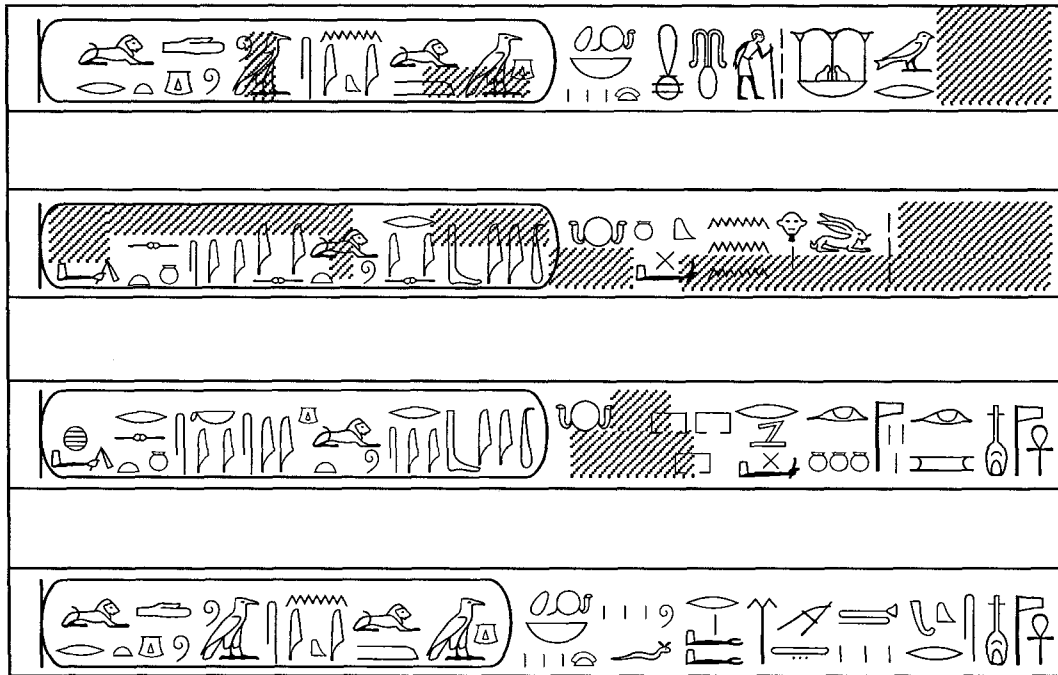
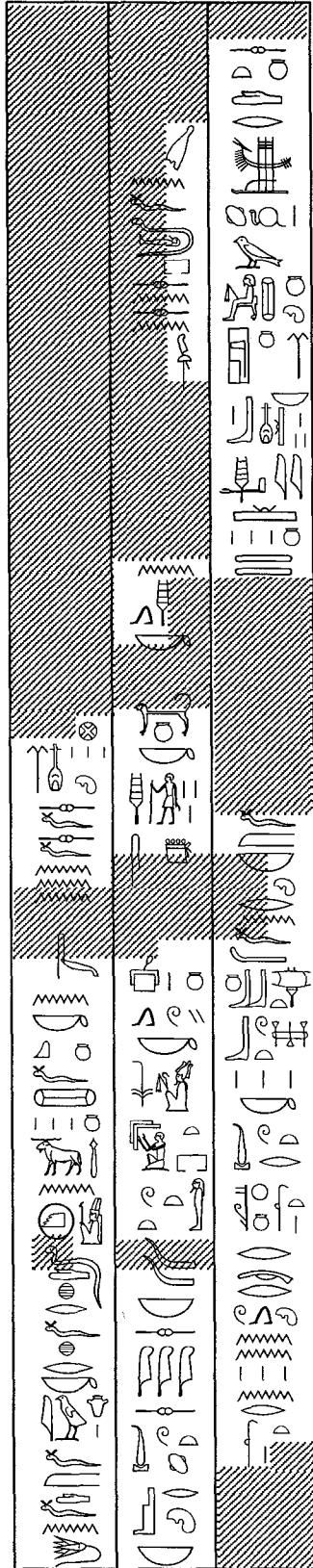


Plate 17: Medinet Habu, Claudius (5.3.2.4)



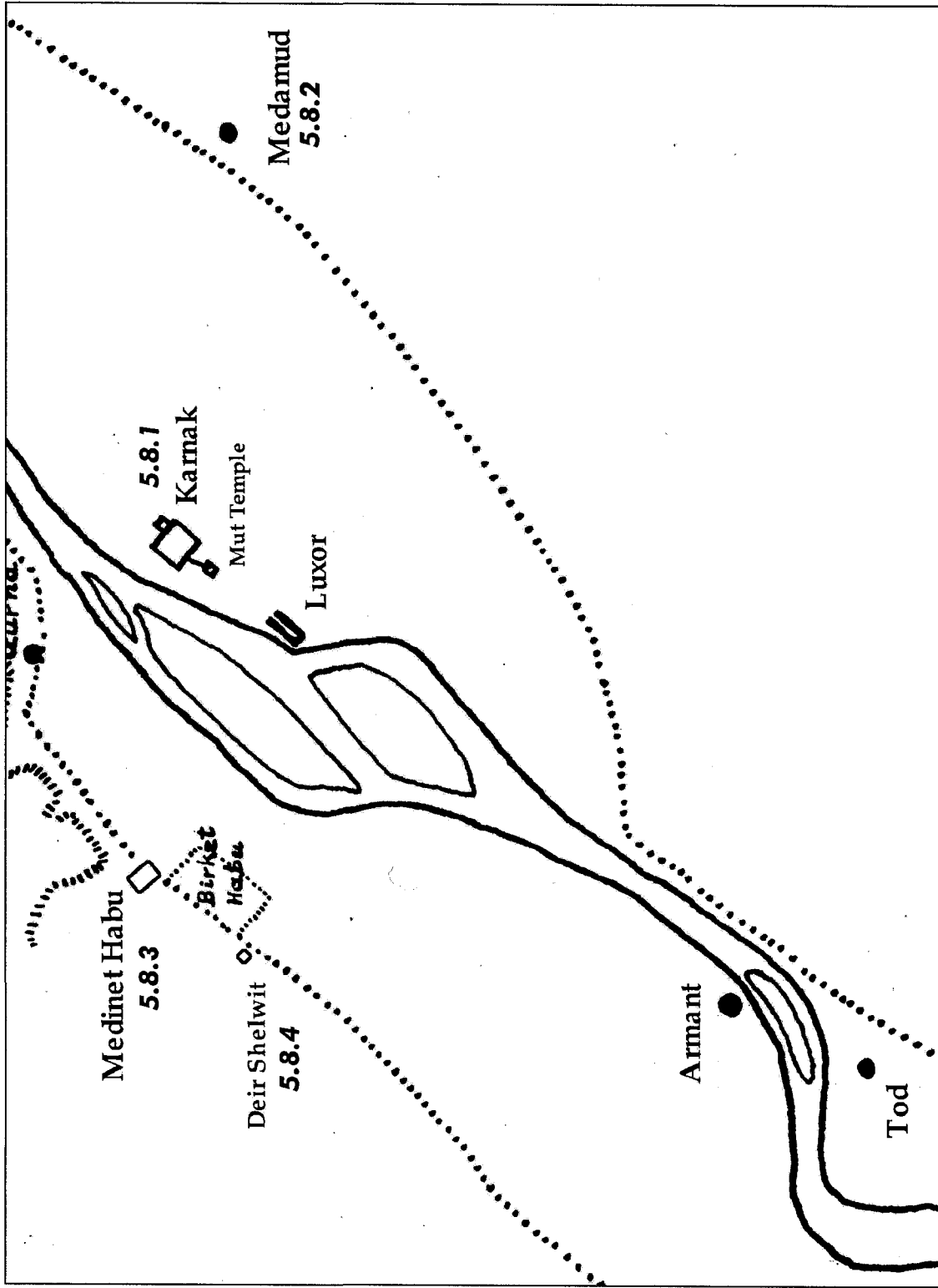


Plate 18: Temple activity under Domitian (after: Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaves, Pl. I*)

Plate 19: Karnak, Position of the Contra-Temple
(map of Karnak courtesy of CFEETK, <http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/>)

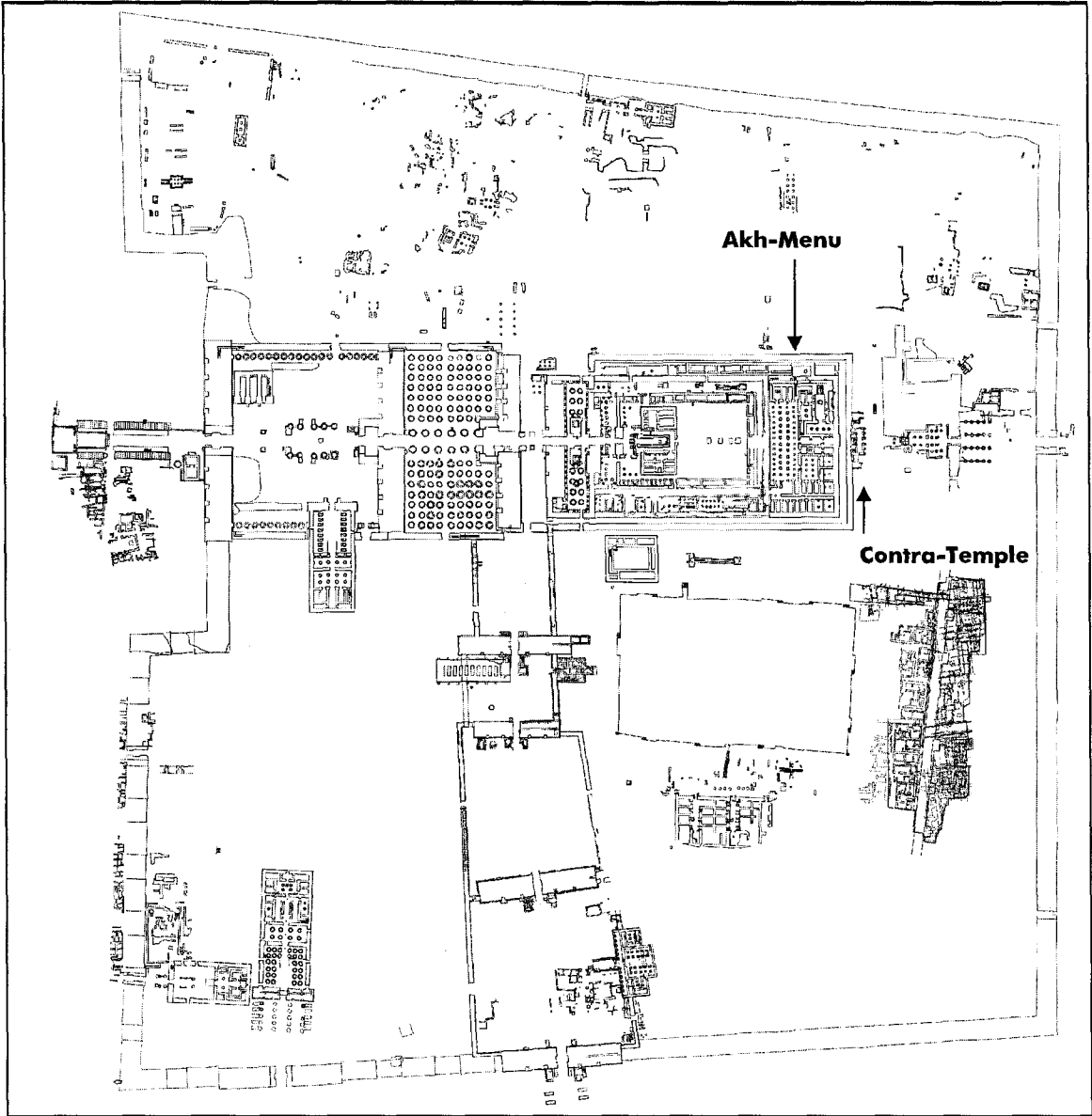


Plate 20: Contra-Temple, Domitian (5.8.1.2.1)
(from: Varille, ASAE 50 [1950]: Pl. XXXIII)

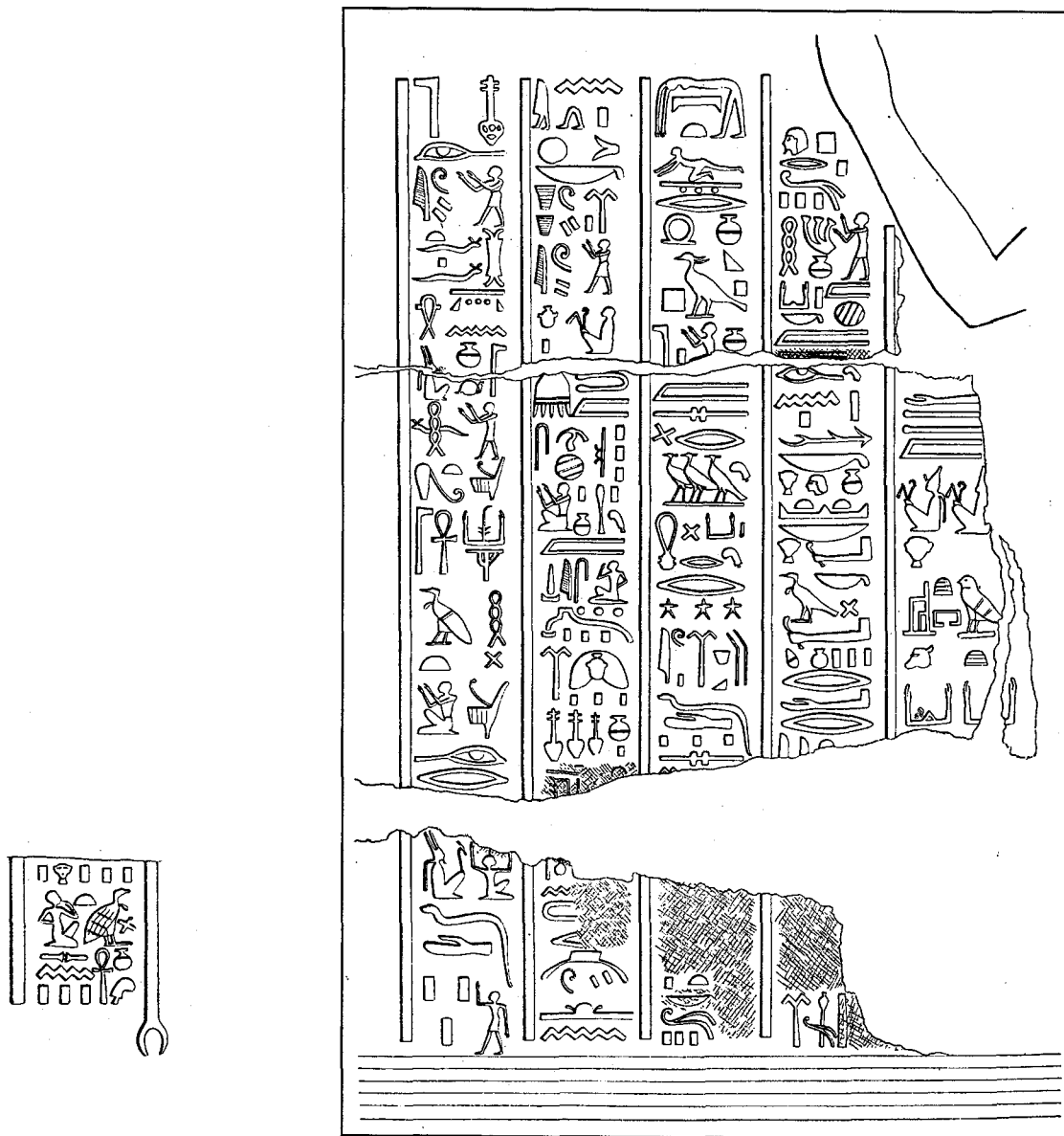
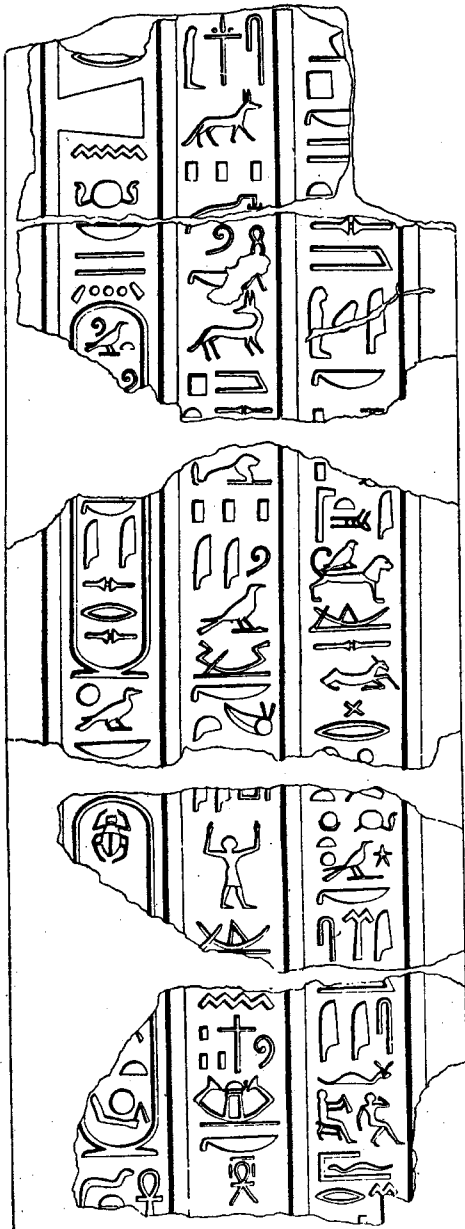
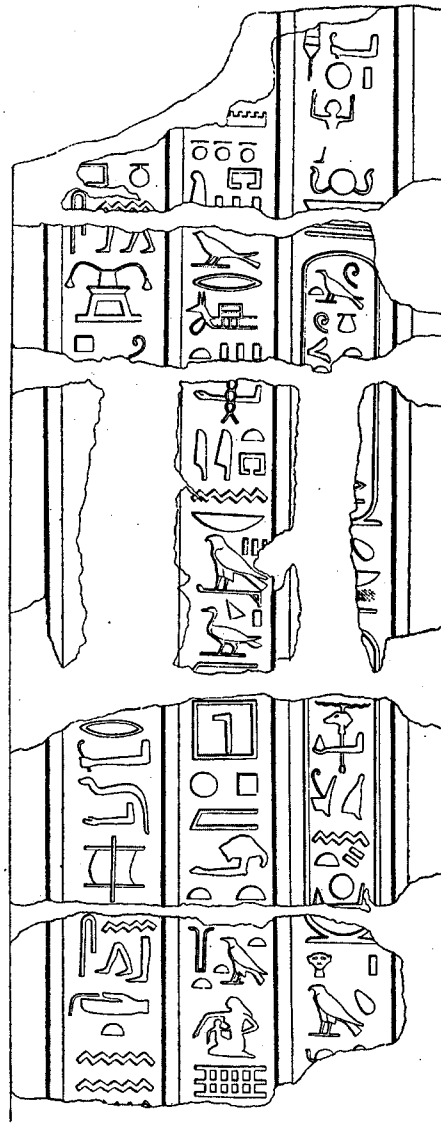


Plate 21: Contra-Temple, Domitian
(from: Varille, AS AE 50 [1950]: Pl. XXII)



a. 5.8.1.2.2



b. 5.8.1.2.3

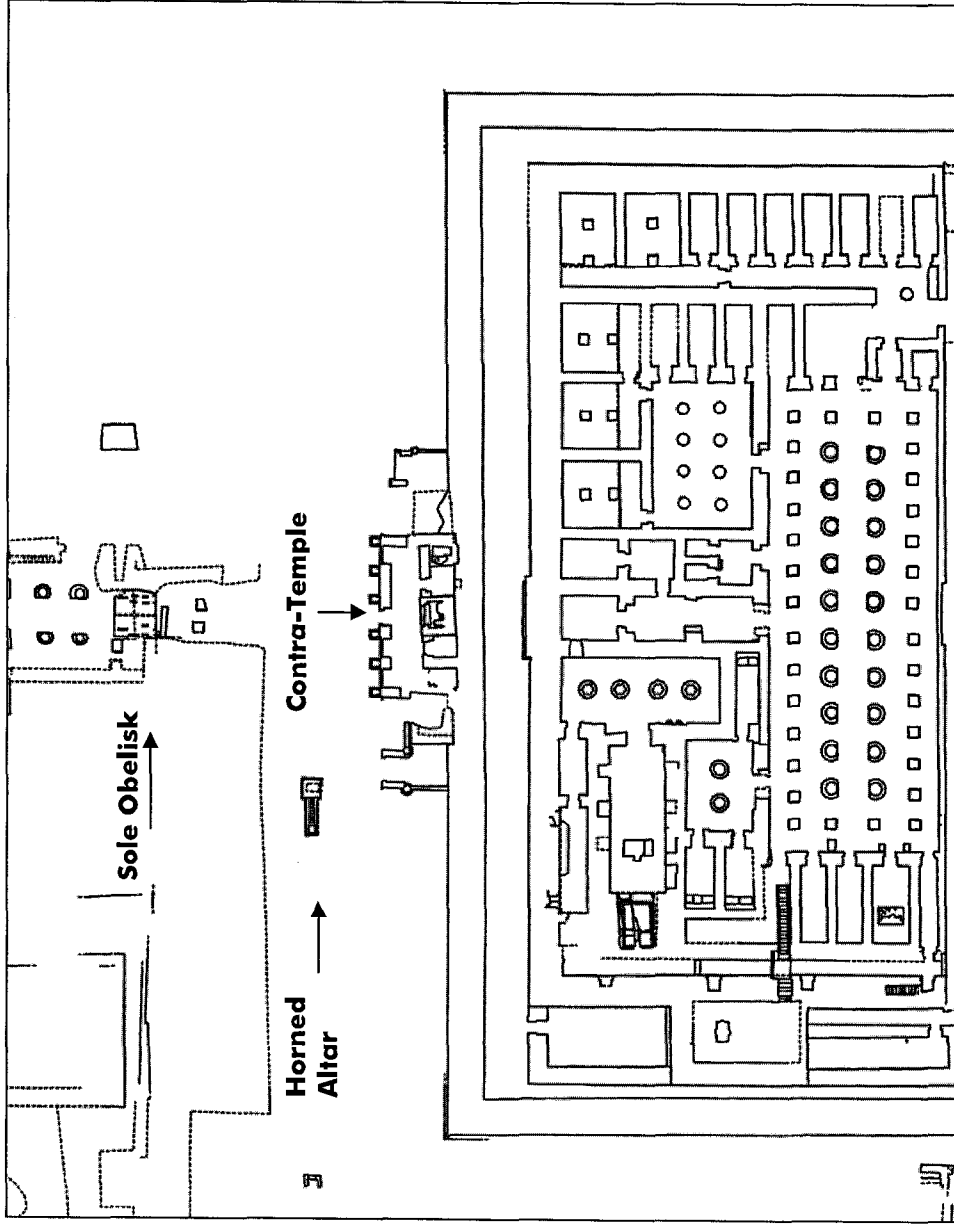


Plate 22: Karnak, Contra-Temple and associated structures
(map of Karnak courtesy of CFEETK, <http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/>)

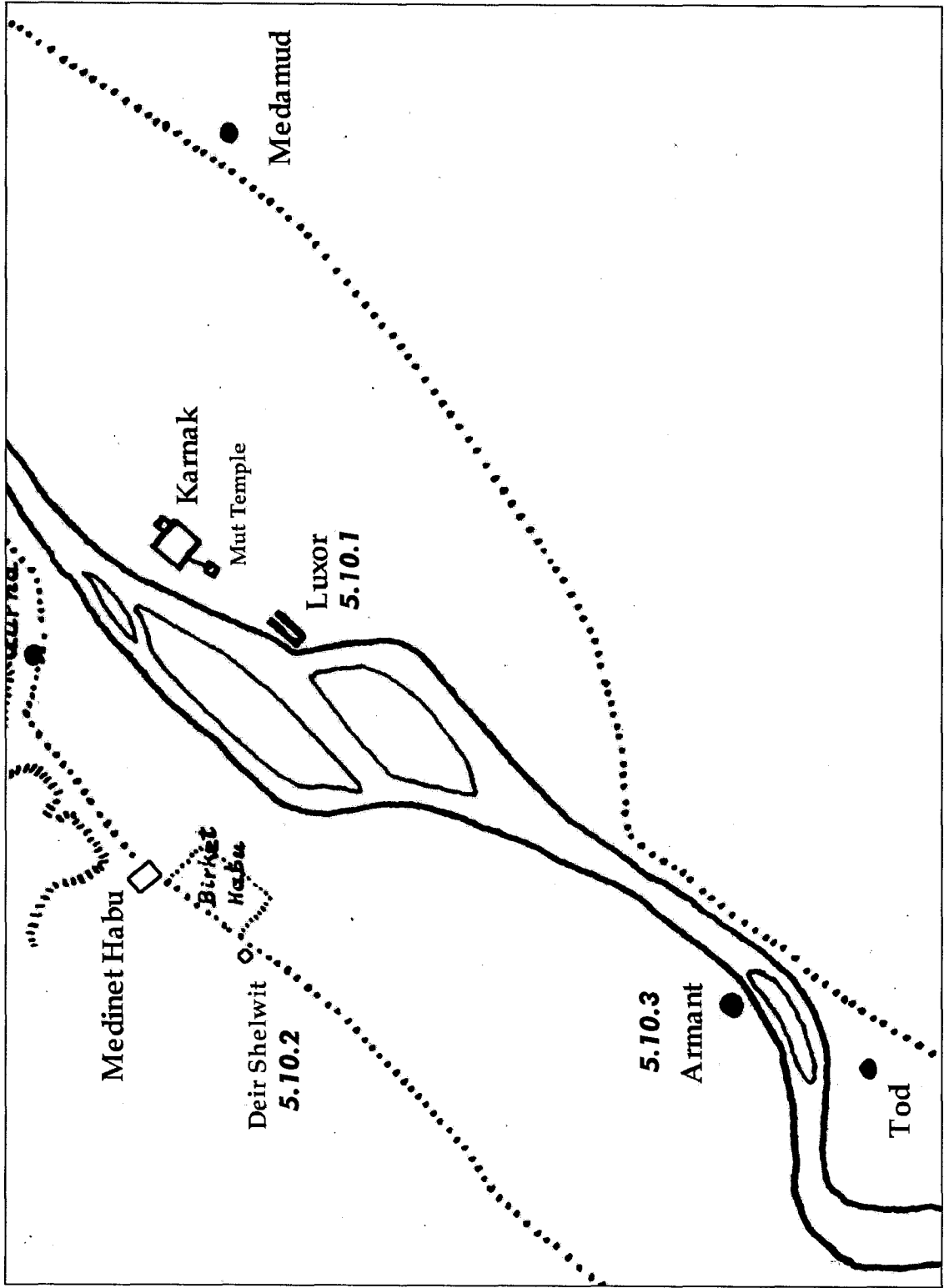


Plate 23: Temple activity under Hadrian (after: Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaves, Pl. I*)

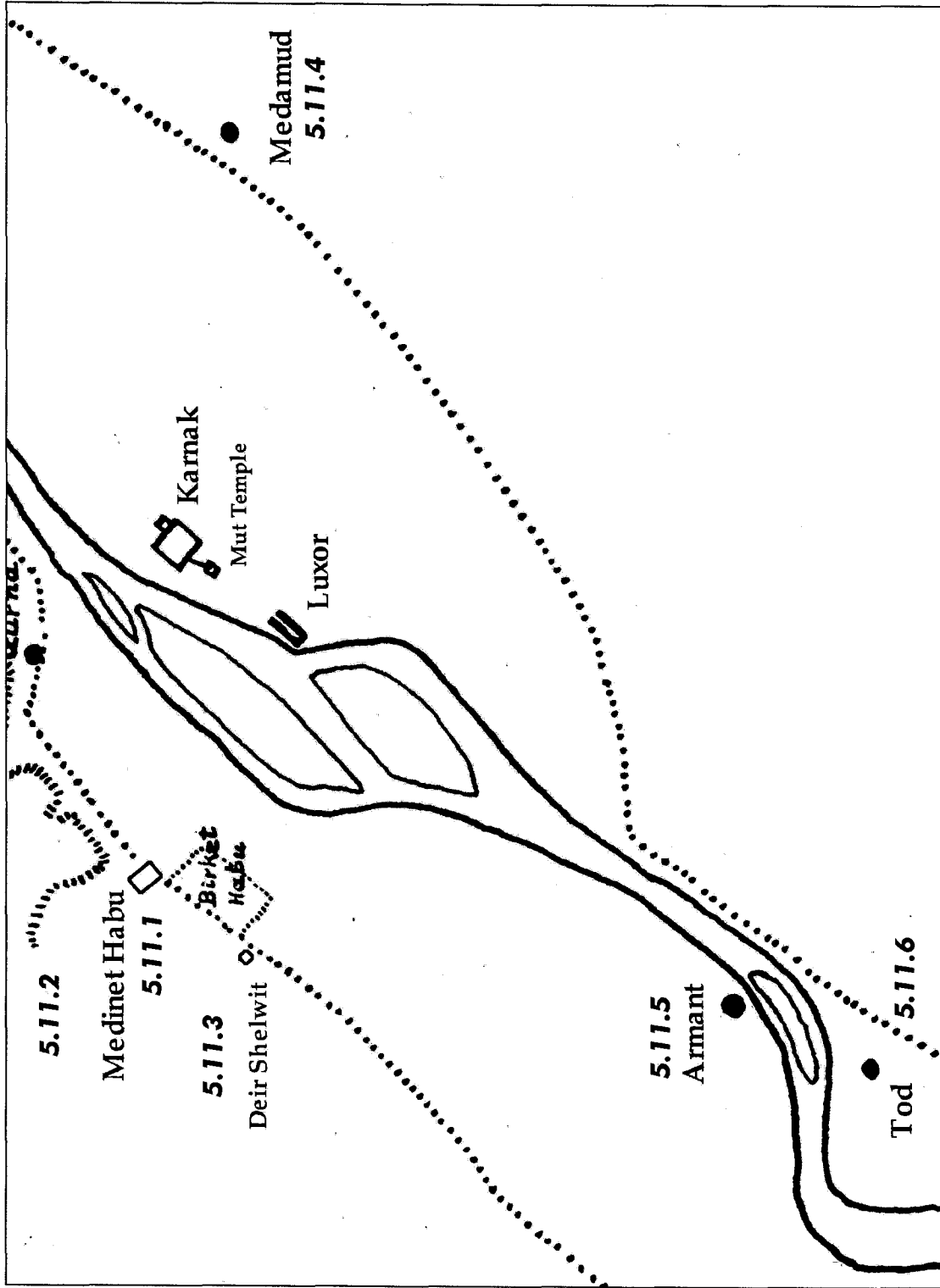


Plate 24: Temple activity under Antoninus Pius (after: Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaves, Pl. I*)

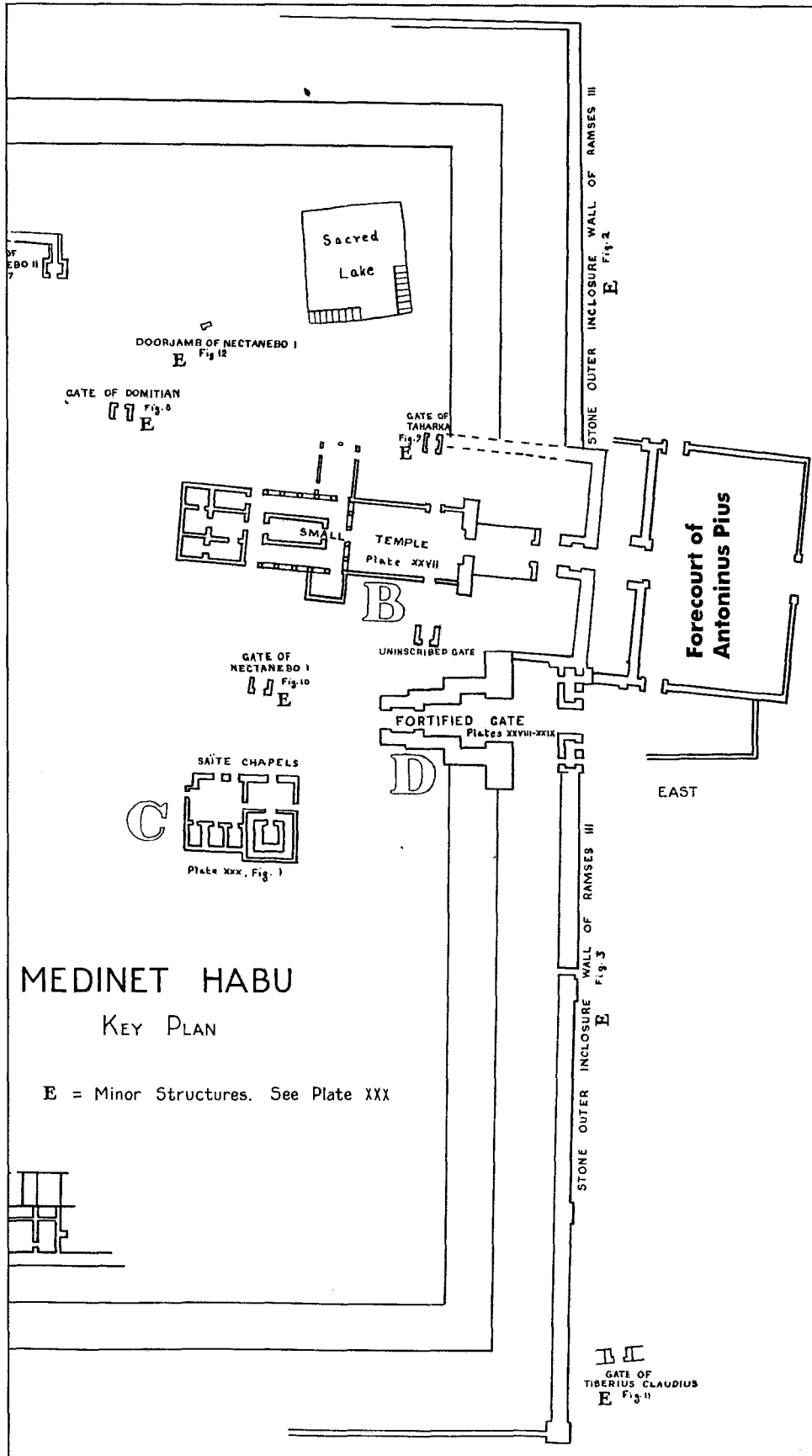


Plate 25: Activity at Medinet Habu under Antoninus Pius
(after: Nelson, Key Plans Showing Locations of Theban Temple Decoration, Pl. XXIV)

Plate 28: Medinet Habu, Antoninus Pius (5.11.1.6)

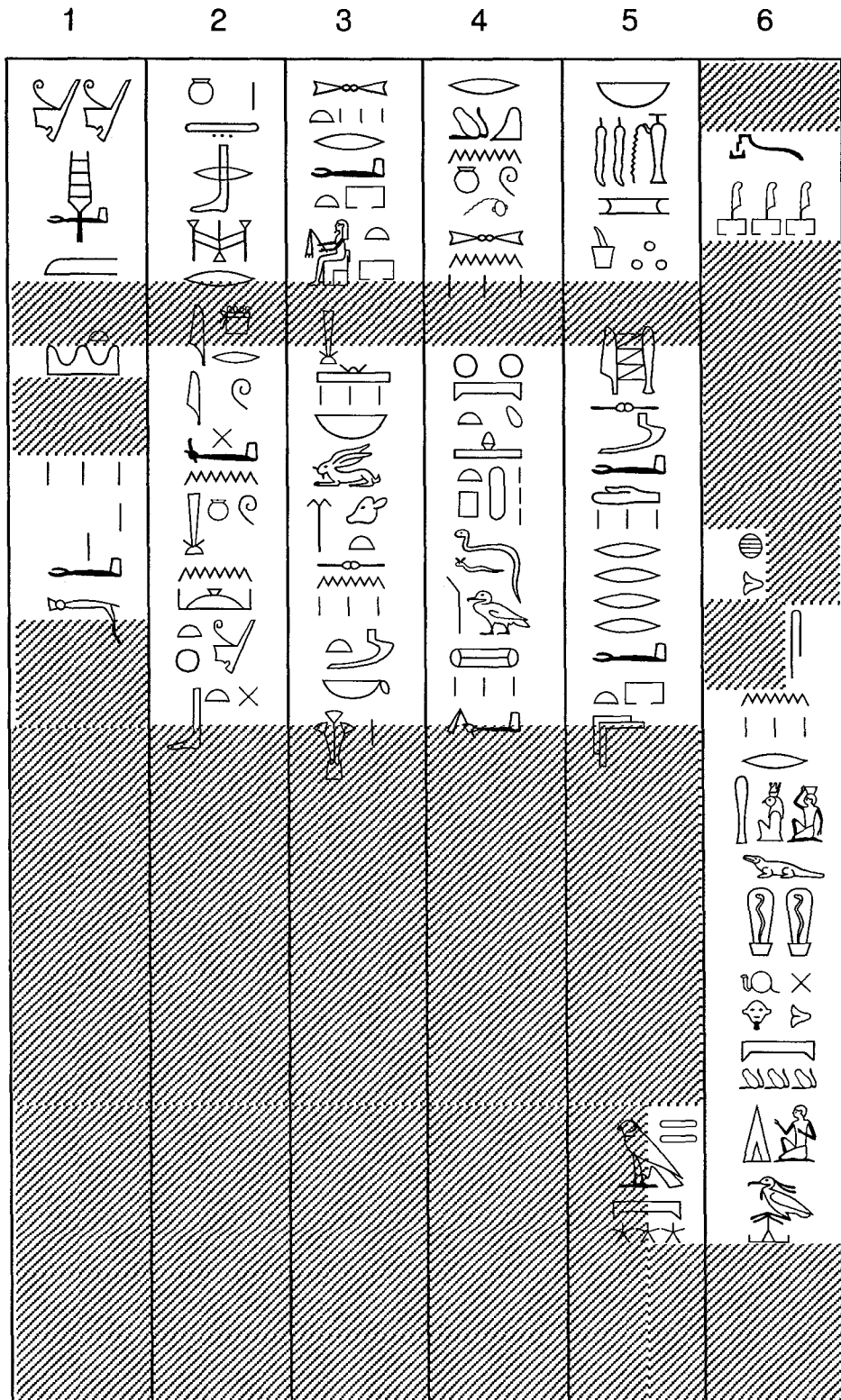


Plate 29: Medinet Habu, Antoninus Pius (5.11.1.7)

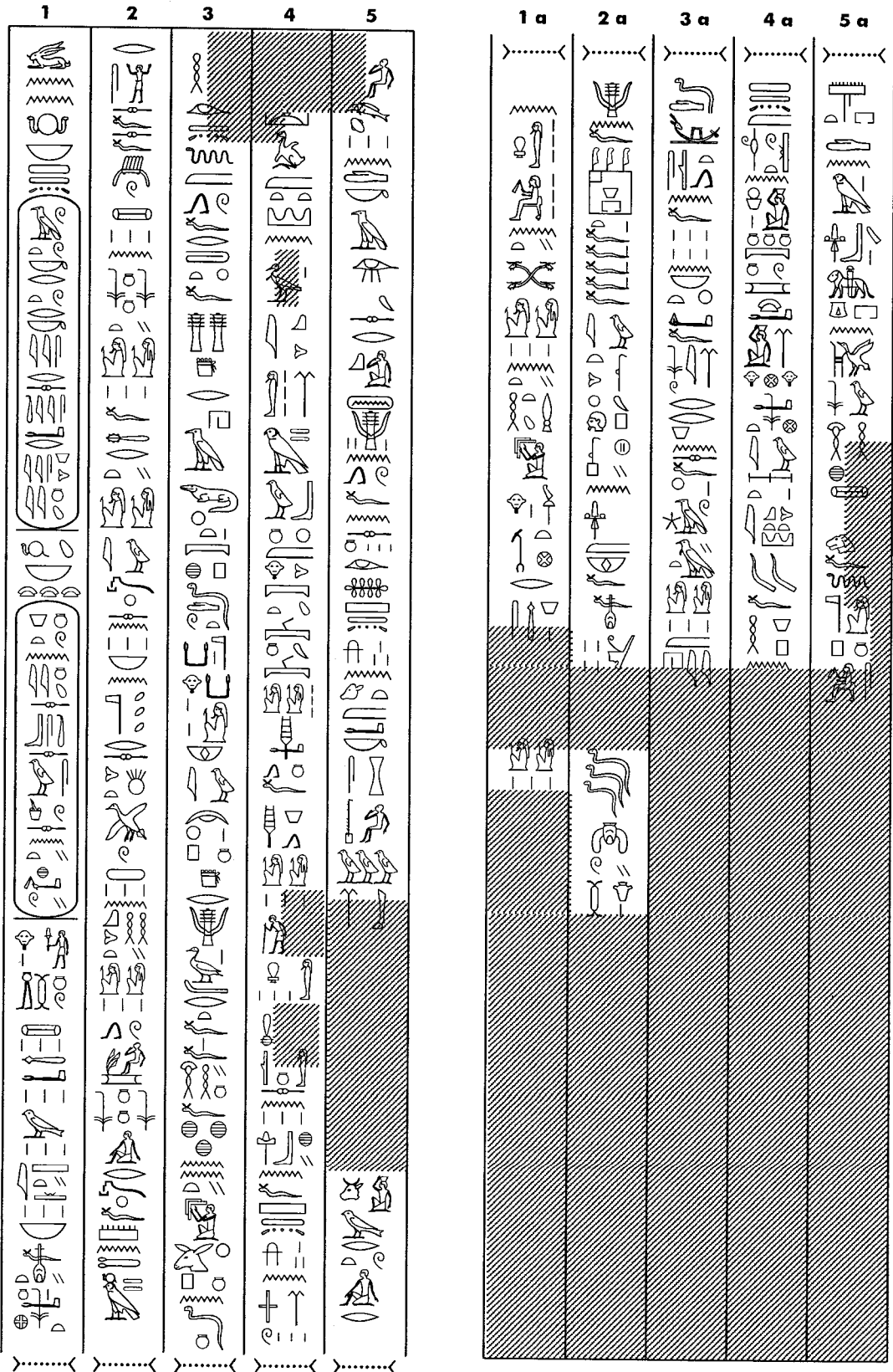


Plate 30: Medinet Habu, Antoninus Pius (5.11.1.8)

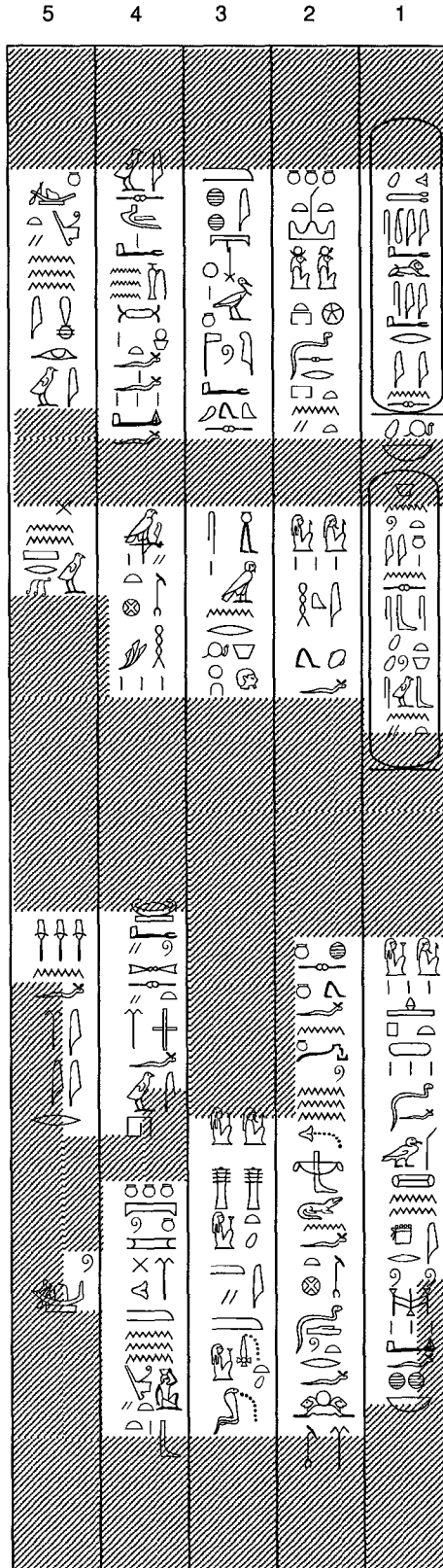


Plate 31: Medinet Habu, Antoninus Pius (5.11.1.9)

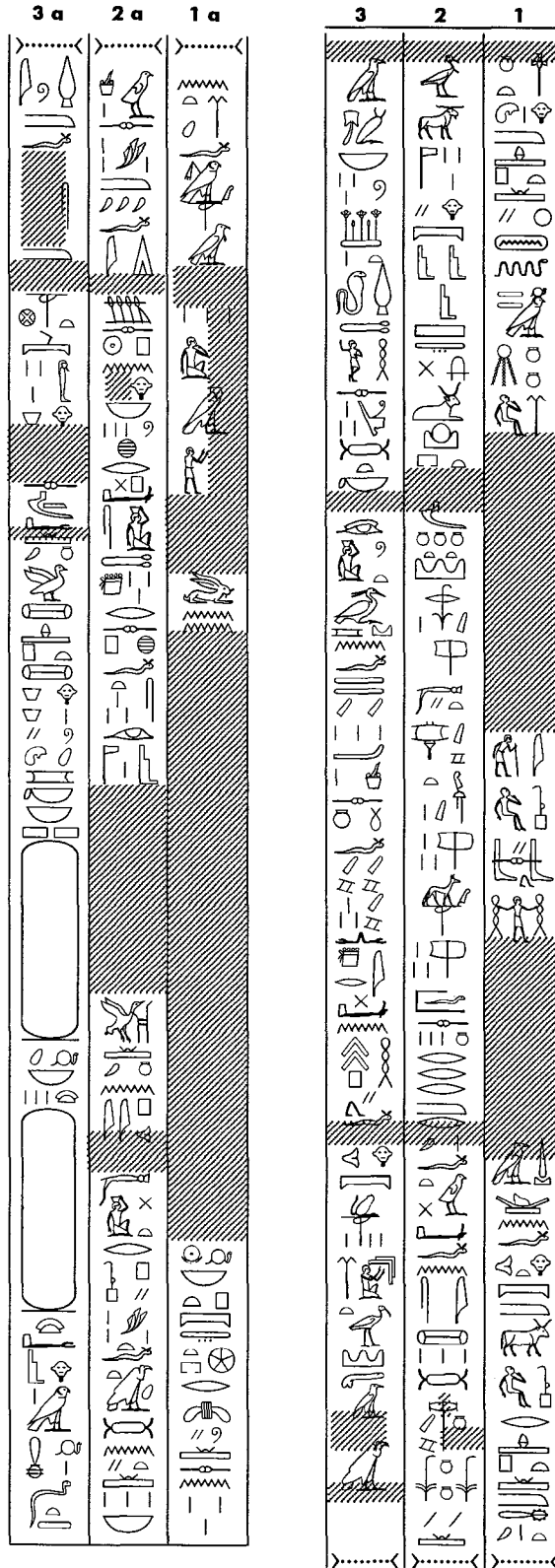


Plate 32: Medinet Habu, Antoninus Pius (5.11.1.10)



Plate 34: Medinet Habu, Antoninus Pius (5.11.1.12)

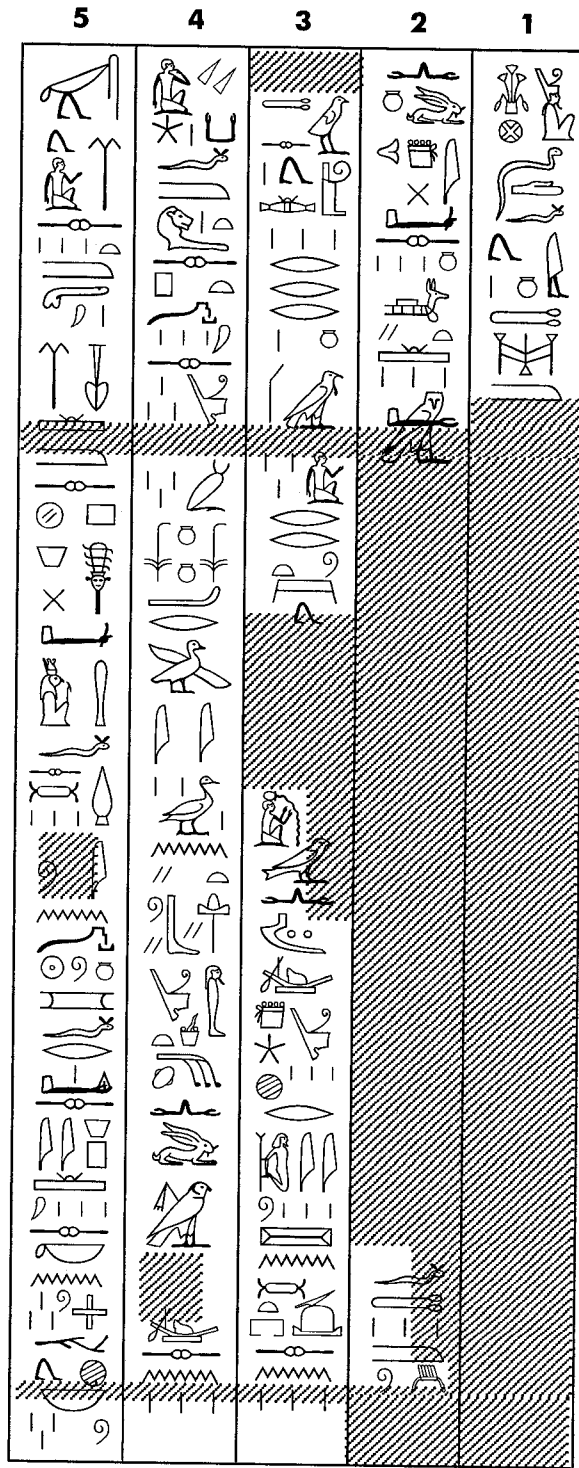
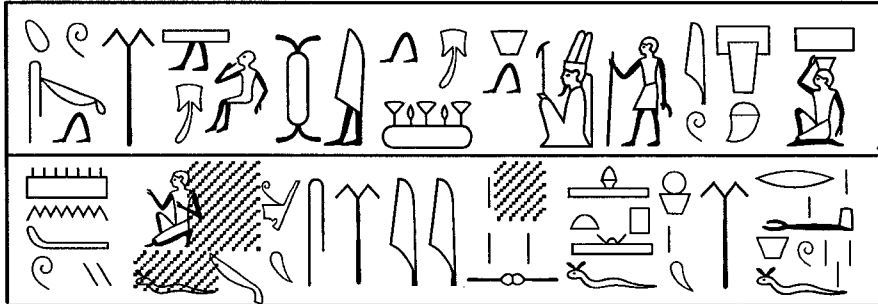
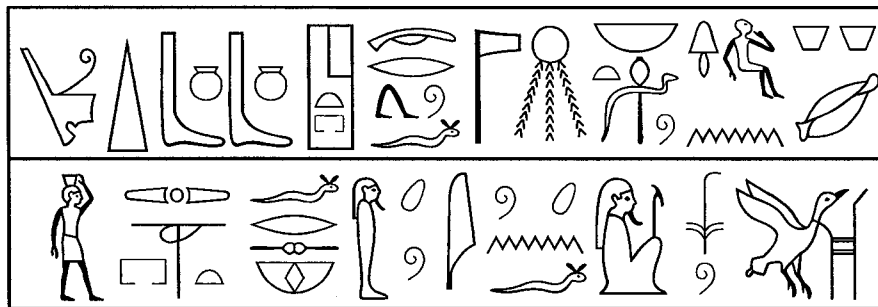


Plate 35: Medinet Habu, Antoninus Pius



a. 5.11.1.13



b. 5.11.1.14