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David Klotz

# Two Studies on the Late Period Temples at Abydos

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# Two Studies on the Late Period Temples at Abydos

DAVID KLOTZ

Throughout Pharaonic history, Abydos ranked among Egypt's most revered sites.[1] Reputed to contain the actual tomb of Osiris at Umm el-Qa'ab, this Upper Egyptian city attracted devoted pilgrims until the late Roman Period. Yet despite its legacy as a holy site in all eras, only scant architectural traces remain from the Late Period,[2] even though many private sarcophagi, stelae, and other objects attest to the continued performance of local cults.[3] Recent excavations have identified a sizeable temple near Kom el-Sultan dating primarily to the reigns of Nectanebo I and II of the Thirtieth Dynasty (c. 380-343 BCE), with building phases going back to the New Kingdom.[4] Additional material from outside Abydos provides

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1 See recently D. O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris*, Cairo, 2009.

2 O'Connor, *Abydos*, p. 121-136; for Abydos in the preceding periods (Dynasties 21-25), see A. Leahy, "Abydos in the Libyan Period," in A. Leahy (ed.), *Libya and Egypt: c. 1300-750 B.C.*, London, 1990, p. 155-200; *id.*, "Kushite Monuments at Abydos," in Chr.J. Eyre (ed.), *The Unbroken Reed, Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in honour of A.F. Shore*, *EESOP* 11, 1994, p. 171-192; *id.*, "Dating Stelae of the Libyan Period from Abydos," in G.P.F. Broekman, R.J. Demarée, O.E. Kaper (eds.), *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, *EgUit* 23, 2009, p. 417-440; O'Connor, *Abydos*, p. 126-128, 131-134.

3 H. De Meulenaere, "Une famille de prêtres thinites," *CdE* 29, 1954, p. 221-236; *id.*, "Le clergé abydénien d'Osiris à la Basse Époque," *OLP* 6/7, 1976/77, p. 133-151; *id.*, "Sculptures dorées d'Abydos," *CdE* 79, 2004, p. 81-88; K. Jansen-Winkeln, "Eine Familie im Totenkult," *ZÄS* 128, 2001, p. 133-141.

4 M. Marlar, "Excavations of the Temple of Osiris at Abydos Reported on behalf of the University of Pennsylvania Museum - Yale University - Institute of Fine Arts, New York University Expedition to Abydos," in J.-Cl. Goyon, Chr. Cardin (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, II, *OLA* 150, 2007, p. 1251-1259; *id.*, *The Osiris Temple at Abydos: An Archaeological Investigation of the Architecture and Decorative Elements of Two Temple Phases* (PhD Diss.; New York University, 2009); O'Connor, *Abydos*, p. 128-129.



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new historical background to these remarkable discoveries. Previously neglected Pharaonic blocks reused in the White Monastery Church in Sohag and a beautiful private statue in the Metropolitan Museum of Art shed light on the fate of the Late Period temples in Abydos.

## 1. THE LOST TEMPLE OF AMASIS?

A private statue belonging to the high-ranking official Peftuaneith (Louvre A 93) includes a wealth of information concerning the temple of Osiris at the end of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty. In a lengthy hieroglyphic inscription, Peftuaneith records the extensive renovation works he conducted in Abydos for Apries and Amasis.[5] He enumerates the most substantial building efforts as follows:[6]

> *I reported the condition of Abydos to the palace, to his majesty's ear. His majesty ordered me to do work in Abydos, in order to rebuild Abydos; I labored greatly in restoring Abydos, I put everything belonging to Abydos in its place. I lay awake seeking what was good for Abydos, I begged favors from my lord daily, in order to restore Abydos.*
>
> *I built the temple of Khentamenti as a solid work of eternity at his majesty's command, that he might see prosperity in the affairs of Tawer. I surrounded it with walls of brick, the shrine ʿrq-ḥḥ was of one block of granite, the august chapel of electrum, ornaments, divine amulets, all sacred objects were of gold, silver, and all precious stones.*

Peftuaneith's comprehensive renovation included the temple of Osiris-Khentiamentiu, the *ʿrq-ḥḥ* chapel, an august shrine (*ḥḏ šps*), a brick enclosure wall, the *w-pqr* (*wpg*) chapel (the monumental tomb of Osiris in Umm el-Qaʿab), and a new House of Life (scriptorium). Furthermore, Peftuaneith organized the economic infrastructure necessary to "provision the temple of Khentiamentiu," establishing "the Osiris Village (*grg.t-Wsîr*)," a large agricultural estate and vineyard to supply divine offerings, and replacing ritual equipment such as the sacred bark. Although Peftuaneith was active already under Apries, the restoration work at Abydos took place during the reign of Amasis.

Peftuaneith's testimony is substantiated to a small degree in the meagre archaeological record.[7] While excavating the Osiris temple precinct in Kom el-Sultan, Petrie discovered foundation deposits of both Apries and Amasis,[8] a naos inscribed with the cartouches of both pharaohs

5 E. Jelínková-Reymond, "Quelques recherches sur les réformes d'Amasis," *ASAE* 54, 1956-57, p. 275-287; S. Grallert, *Bauen – Stiften – Weihen: Ägyptische Bau- und* ***Restaurierungsinschriften*** *von den Anfängen bis zur 30. Dynastie*, *ADAIK* 18, 2001, p. 473-474; J. Heise, *Erinnern und Gedenken: Aspekte der biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit*, *OBO* 226, 2007, p. 229-233; Peftuaneith oversaw renovations at several sites throughout Egypt; Heise, *op. cit.*, p. 106-107.

6 Translation of M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature,* III: *The Late Period*, 1980, p. 34.

7 W.M.Fl. Petrie, *Abydos* I, *MEEF* 22, 1902, p. 31-33; *id.*, *Abydos* II, *MEEF* 24, 1913, p. 19-20.

8 Petrie, *Abydos* I, p. 32 and pl. LXX, figs. 6-9.


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(perhaps the very same *ḥḏ šps* mentioned by Peftuaneith),[9] an offering table of Amasis,[10] and quarry marks on foundation blocks with the label "Amasis, beloved of Osiris Lord of Abydos."[11] Amélineau had previously discovered a fragmentary stela of Amasis at Umm el-Qa'ab, apparently related to the Osiris burial in the tomb of Djer.[12] In addition, an obelisk of Amasis dedicated to gods from Abydos (Osiris, Sokar and Re-Harakhty), turned up slightly north in Mensha (Ptolemais),[13] and Golenischeff recorded a statue of the important Saite official Neshor in Sohag bearing an inscription dedicated to Osiris Lord of Abydos, probably from the reign of Apries.[14]

The textual and archaeological evidence agrees that Amasis was engaged in building projects near the temple of Osiris Khentyamenty in Kom el-Sultan, perhaps continuing the construction program of his predecessor Apries. However, little remains of the temple besides the foundations and the various *Kleinfunde* mentioned above. While some blocks may have found their way into the expanded Thirtieth Dynasty temple (see *infra*), no further traces of Amasis's architectural contributions have come to light at Abydos.

## Spolia in the White Monastery Church, Sohag

New information concerning this temple may be found in the White Monastery Church of St. Shenoute in Sohag, roughly 45 km north of Abydos.[15] Like many early Christian monuments, this church (c. 450 CE)[16] is partially built from Pharaonic and Graeco-Roman *spolia* – blocks, columns and other architectural elements salvaged from earlier buildings.[17] Although these pagan monuments at Sohag are quite famous, and several authors have recorded individual objects,[18] the *spolia* have never been the object of a comprehensive catalogue.

In 2007, the Yale White Monastery Church Documentation Project began recording all decorated material presently visible as part of broader multi-disciplinary investigations of

9 *Ibid*, p. 31-2, pl. LXVIII.

10 *Ibid*, p. 32, pls. LXIX and LXX, fig. 10; this object is now in the British Museum, EA 610.

11 Petrie, *Abydos* II, pl. XLVIII, 6, p. 19: "temple built by Aahmes II [Amasis], whose name is frequently found cut as a quarry-mark on the blocks"; cf. B. Kemp, "The Osiris Temple at Abydos," *MDAIK* 23, 1968, p. 147, pl. XLI, b.

12 É. Amélineau, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos, 1897-1898*, 1904, p. 165 (13), 301; O'Connor, *Abydos*, p. 133-134.

13 CG 17029; Ch. Kuentz, *CGC Obélisques*, 1932, p. 59-60, pl. 15.

14 O. Perdu, "Socle d'une statue de Neshor à Abydos," *RdE* 43, 1992, p. 145-162 (the statue is now missing); for the career of Neshor, see *id.*, "Neshor à Mendes sous Apriès," *BSFE* 118, 1990, p. 38-49.

15 PM V, 1937, p. 31; G. Lefebvre, "Deir-el-Abiad," in F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq (eds.), *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (*DACL*) IV.1, 1920, p. 457-502; U. Monneret de Villard, *Les couvents près de Sohag*, II, 1926; B. Verbeeck, *LÄ* V, col. 1052-1054, *s.v.* "Sohag"; *id.*, "De Kloosterkerken bij Sohag: De Architekturale Beslechting van een ideologisch Conflict," *Phœnix* 27, 1981, p. 91-102; P. Grossmann, *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten, HdO I*, 62, 2002, p. 528-535.

16 P. Grossmann, "Zur Stiftung und Bauzeit der grossen Kirche des Schenuteklosters bei Sūhāǧ (Oberägypten)," *ByzZ* 101, 2002, p. 35-54.

17 Fr.W. Deichmann, *Die Spolien in der spätantiken Architektur*, *SAWM* 6, 1975, p. 56-60, figs. 22-25; Grossmann, *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten*, p. 171-172.

18 R. Weill, "Monuments égyptiens divers, XII: Monuments d'Amasis et de Hakoris au Deir el-Abiad," *RT* 36, 1914, p. 97-100; H. Gauthier, "Un autel consacré à la déesse Mehit," *ASAE* 35, 1935, p. 207-212; P. Vernus, "Inscriptions de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire (II): Blocs du grand-prêtre d'Amon *Iwpwt* remployés dans le Deir-el-Abyad," *BIFAO* 75, 1975, p. 67-72.


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the site.[19] The epigraphic mission has thus far recorded over fifty inscribed blocks, dating from the Twenty-Second Dynasty to the reign of Antoninus Pius. While the final edition of all blocks is still in progress,[20] one can already hazard some preliminary conclusions on the well-preserved objects.[21]

Scholars have traditionally assumed that Shenoute's masons salvaged building material from earlier pagan temples close to the White Monastery complex, either from a completely vanished sanctuary of Horus-*ỉmy-šnw.t* (in ancient *Nšw*/*Šw*),[22] or from the temple of Repyt (Triphis) at nearby Atripe, roughly three kilometers south of the church.[23] Since the ongoing documentation survey has yet to discover any mentions of Horus-*ỉmy-šnw.t*, aside from the free-standing naos now in the Long Hall of the church,[24] the first hypothesis is no longer tenable.[25] As expected, many blocks can be securely traced to the temple at Atripe, including a Graeco-Roman ceiling block with a building inscription mentioning "Repyt, Eye of Horus in the West."[26] Most pieces from the Atripe group are concentrated in the interior (north-eastern) staircase.

19 The White Monastery Church Documentation Project is directed by Bentley Layton, under the auspices of the Yale Monastic Archaeology Project, Stephen J. Davis, executive director. Our research was given generous support by the Marilyn M. and William K. Simpson Endowment Fund for Egyptology at Yale University, under the direction of John C. Darnell. For project updates and detailed maps of the church, see www.yale.edu/egyptology/aw_white.htm.

20 D. Klotz, *Inscribed Pharaonic Material Reused in the White Monastery Church* (in preparation).

21 For the following, see D. Klotz, "Triphis in the White Monastery: Reused Temple Blocks from Sohag," *Ancient Society* 40, 2010, p. 197-213.

22 Suggested by H. Kees, "Kult-topographische und mythologische Beiträge," *ZÄS* 64, 1931, p. 108; followed by PM V, p. 31; A.H. Gardiner, *AEO* II, 1947, p. 46*; S. Sauneron, "Villes et légendes d'Égypte XXXII – Le chaudron de Sohag: comment naît une légende," *BIFAO* 69, 1970, p. 54-58; B. Van de Walle, "Une base de statue-guérisseuse avec une nouvelle mention de la déesse-scorpion Ta-Bithet," *JNES* 31, 1972, p. 79; H. Te Velde, *LÄ* III, p. 47; Verbeeck, *LÄ* V, col. 1052, *s.v.* "Horus imi-schenut,"; G. Vittmann, "Ein Amulett aus der Spätzeit zum Schutz gegen Feinde," *ZÄS* 111, 1985, p. 168, n. e; G. Wagner, V. Rondot, "Une dédicace au roi Ptolémée de la part d'un Alexandrin," *ZPE* 103, 1994, p. 250; R. El-Sayed, "Schenute und die Tempel von Atripe. Zur Umnutzung des Triphis-bezirks in der Spätantike," in H. Knuf, Chr. Leitz, D. von Recklinghausen (eds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense: Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*, *OLA* 194, 2010, p. 530-531, 538.

23 Suggested already by W.M.Fl. Petrie, *Athribis*, *BSAE* 14, 1908, p. 11, 14; this suggestion is largely accepted today; see e.g. Y. El-Masry, "More Recent Excavations at Athribis in Upper Egypt," *MDAIK* 57, 2001, p. 209; Grossmann, *Christliche Architektur in Ägypten*, p. 171, 532; K. Lembke, C. Fluck, G. Vittmann, *Ägyptens späte Blüte: Die Römer am Nil*, *ZBA,* 2004, p. 110; C.T. Schroeder, *Monastic Bodies: Discipline and Salvation in Shenoute of Atripe*, 2007, p. 95.

24 Weill, *RT* 36, 1914, p. 97-99; Lefebvre, *DACL* IV.1, p. 469, fig. 3647; Kees, *ZÄS* 64, 1931, p. 108; P. Grossmann, D. Brooks-Hedstrom, M. Abdal-Rassul, E.S. Bolman, "The Excavation in the Monastery of Apa Shenute (Dayr Anba Shinuda) at Suhag," *DOP* 58, 2004, fig. 10.

25 Furthermore, the cult center of this god (*Nšw*/*Šw*), can be reasonably identified with Demotic: *pr-sw*, Greek: Ptolemais, and Arabic: Mensha, as already suggested by Kees, *ZÄS* 64, 1931, p. 108-109; see further Klotz, "Triphis in the White Monastery" (*supra*, n. 21). A recently published inscription from Atripe states that the "domain/temple (*pr*) of Horus-*ỉmy-šnw.t*" was to the south-west of Atripe, thus in the opposite direction of the White Monastery: Chr. Leitz, D. Mendel, Y. El-Masry, *Athribis* II: *Der Tempel Ptolemaios XII*, 2010, p. xxxvii, n. 110; El-Sayed (in Knuf *et al.* (eds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, p. 524) argued this might designate a chapel of Horus-*ỉmy-šnw.t* within the Triphis temple.

26 Klotz, *Ancient Society* 40, 2010, p. 212, fig. 4; note that this ceiling block is strikingly similar to one of the only ceiling blocks from Atripe published thus far (*Athribis* II, p. 73 [C 1, 78], pl. 34). R. El-Sayed recently attempted to dismiss the notion that Shenoute could have attacked the temple of Atripe or reused any of its temple blocks in the White Monastery, noting that "bisher [kein] irgendein stichhaltiger textlicher oder archäologischer Nachweis erbracht worden wäre" (El-Sayed, in Knuf, *et al.* (eds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, p. 519-538; quote on p. 520). However, this very confident assertion needs to be seriously reevaluated in light of this particular inscription along with other related *spolia* in the White Monastery; although R. El-Sayed claims to have inspected this material (*ibid*, p. 530-1), he appears to have overlooked the significant hieroglyphic inscriptions.


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While the church builders employed a substantial number of blocks from neighboring Atripe, the majority of identifiable *spolia* derive from sites further south. The naos of Achoris dedicated to Horus-*ỉmy-šnw.t* could come from Mensha (Ptolemais) (cf. *supra*), while the granite altar of Necho II and Psamtek II, dedicated to Mehyt, should have originally stood in her temple in Eastern Behdet (Nag'a el-Mesheyekh).[27] Furthermore, a number of objects almost certainly traveled downstream from Abydos, including a statue belonging to the Saite official Neshor,[28] and at least five pieces of a monumental cenotaph of the High Priest of Amun, Iuput II.[29]

To this list, one can now add more than thirty large pink-granite blocks with fine reliefs and inscriptions. These pieces are scattered throughout the church, functioning primarily as door jambs and lintels in the various portals, and as ceiling slabs for the west staircase and windows between the Long Hall and the Nave.[30] The architects quite naturally preferred granite for these critical architectural elements over the more fragile limestone found in the temple of Atripe. The decoration on around thirty blocks is still visible, but the reliefs on other granite pieces throughout the church are obscured, either due to infelicitous location (i.e. built into the wall), or because the original surface has been effaced. Additional decorated blocks were also used for the church foundations, but these are not visible at present without excavation.[31]

A precise date for this stylistically homogenous group is confirmed by several cartouches of Amasis,[32] some of which suffered from *damnatio memoriae*.[33] On a block in the western staircase, the prenomen was selectively effaced so that the divine names ("Moon (*ỉ'ḥ*)" and "Neith") remained intact (fig. 1a).[34] The cartouches on most Hapi figures, meanwhile, were rendered

27 Gauthier, *ASAE* 35, 1935, p. 207-212; R.B. Gozzoli, "The Statue BM EA 37891 and the Erasure of Necho II's Names," *JEA* 86, 2000, p. 73, I.b3. For Mehyt of Eastern Behedet (modern Nag' al-Mesheyekh), see S. Cauville, "L'hymne à Mehyt d'Edfou," *BIFAO* 82, 1982, p. 105-125; B. Ockinga,Y. Al-Masri, *Two Ramesside Tombs at El-Mashayikh*, 1988, I, p. 1-2.

28 Perdu, *RdE* 43, 1992, p. 145-162.

29 Vernus, *BIFAO* 75, 1975, p. 67-72; the current survey has recorded one more block from this ensemble.

30 For the architectural functions of these blocks, cf. S. Clarke, *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*, 1912, p. 148-149; Deichmann, *Die Spolien in der spätantiken Architektur*, p. 56-60; Monneret du Villard, *Les couvents près de Sohag*, II, p. 123-124; Grossmann, *Christliche Architektur*, p. 171-172.

31 An unknown number of decorated blocks were visible when the foundations of the south-east corner of the church were exposed (cf. the photographs in Lefebvre, *DACL* IV.1, col. 461, fig. 3642; W.G. de Bock, *Matériaux pour servir à l'archéologie de l'Égypte chrétienne*, 1901, p. 45, fig. 57), but only one of these blocks was ever published: Vernus, *BIFAO* 75, 1975, p. 68, pl. X.

32 Blocks belonging to Amasis were noted already by Weill, *RT* 36, 1914, p. 97-98 (followed by PM V, p. 31); Lefebvre, *DACL* IV.1, col. 470; Vernus, *BIFAO* 75, 1975, p. 67; Verbeeck, *LÄ* V, col. 1052; El-Masry, *MDAIK* 57, 2001, p. 209, n. 27. Previous authors have also recorded the cartouches of Psamtek I and Apries (Petrie, *Athribis*, p. 11, 14; Lefebvre, *DACL* IV.1, col. 470; El-Masry, *op. cit.*, p. 209 ), but the present survey so far has not yielded any traces of these kings. It is possible that the earlier reports might have misinterpreted the traces on the partially effaced cartouches, understandable given that all these Pharaohs had similar prenomens (already acknowledged by Lefebvre, *DACL* IV.1, col. 470). Petrie also noted a shrine of Nepherites I built into the floor of the nave (*Athribis*, p. 14; *id.*, *Ancient Egypt* 2, 1915, p. 27), but any traces of this object have been covered by more recent paving stones.

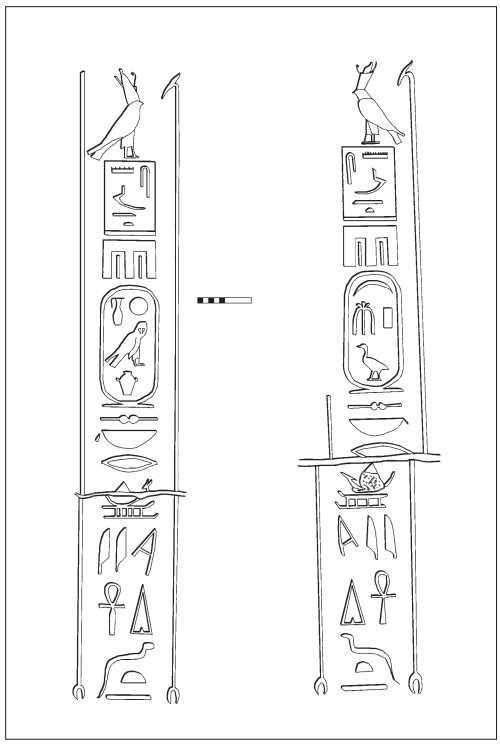
33 For attacks on the cartouches of Amasis, see H. De Meulenaere, *LÄ* I, p. 182, *s.v.* "Amasis"; Gozzoli, *JEA* 86, 2000, p. 79-80, n. 73. A detailed study on these erasures by A.J. Leahy is now in press (personal communication, 2008).

34 Cf. K. Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI-XXX*, 1988, p. 111, for a comparable example on a relief of Amasis from Memphis; the name of his son, the prince and general Amasis, was erased in precisely the same way on his sarcophagus from Memphis: A.O. Bolshakov, "Persians and Egyptians: Cooperation in Vandalism?," in S.H. D'Auria (ed.), *Offerings to the Discerning Eye: An Egyptological Medley in Honor of Jack A. Josephson*, *CHANE* 38, 2010, p. 45-53.


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almost completely illegible (fig. 1b).[35] Occasionally, the name of Amasis escaped destruction, as on the interior door jambs of the north portal.[36]

Given the fragmentary preservation of the Amasis material, the overall decoration program of which the blocks were originally part remains tantalizingly obscure. In addition to cartouches and processions of fecundity figures, the granite *spolia* predominantly feature legs and torsos of the king and various divinities (fig. 2). One large block preserves a small excerpt of an archaizing offering list (fig. 3a);[37] other fragments feature episodes from a Sed-Festival for Amasis.[38] On one block, the Wepwawet-standard accompanies two labels: "first occasion of celebrating the [Sed]-Festival (*zp-tpy sd ḥ3b[-sd]*)" and "the king makes a processional stop (*ḥtp nsw.t*)" (fig. 3b). Elsewhere, the Horus name of Amasis appears to the left of another Wepwawet-standard,[39] while on the right one discerns a label for a Meret-goddess (*Mr.t*) and the phrase "fashioning (a statue and performing) the Opening of the Mouth ceremony (*ms(.t) wp(.t)-r3*)" (fig. 3c).[40] A larger block near the church roof contains a remarkable example of the *Ruderlauf* (fig. 4a),[41] and the lintel slab of the north portal depicts a king wearing the red crown and the Sed-Festival robe, although his face is now partially obstructed by support beams (fig. 4b).



Cartouches of Amasis "beloved of Sokar" (Sohag, White Monastery Church, North Portal).

35 Based on his copy of the inscription, R. Weill already noted one of these blocks and correctly attributed it to Amasis (*RT* 36, 1914, p. 98); so far fifteen of the expected forty-two Hapi figures have been recorded, with the following distribution: Upper Egypt, nomes 1-3, 7, 12-14; Lower Egypt, nome 1; unknown, seven examples (all with missing nome emblems).

36 For the position of these texts, see Lefebvre, *DACL* IV.1, col. 475, fig. 3651; de Bock, *Matériaux pour servir à l'archéologie de l'Égypte chrétienne*, p. 48; Deichmann, *Die Spolien in der spätantiken Architektur*, fig. 25; the portal is no longer bricked up, but the inscriptions are still partially obscured by support beams.

37 A photograph appears already in Deichmann, *Die Spolien in der spätantiken Architektur*, fig. 24. For parallels, see W. Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferlist von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche*, *MÄS* 3, 1963, p. 48 (Nos. 8-15), 163; cf. the similar layout in the Saite tomb of Bakenrenef from Saqqara (*LD* III, 260c), which hints at the colossal scale of the present offering list.

38 The only other Sed-Festival scene for Amasis comes from Sais; see L. Habachi, "Sais and its Monuments," *ASAE* 42, 1943, p. 385, fig. 105.

39 East portal of the Long Hall. This block was described in part by R. Weill (*RT* 36, 1914, p. 97-98) who recorded the entire Horus name of Amasis, now missing.

40 For these activities in the context of the Sed-Festival, see P. Munro, "Bemerkungen zu einem Sedfest-Relief in der Stadtmauer von Kairo," *ZÄS* 86, 1961, p. 65-67.

41 For the *Ruderlauf* ritual, cf. H. Kees, *Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs*, 1912, p. 22-52, 74-102; M.J. Leblanc, *The Rituals of the Sed Festival: Ancient Egyptian Royal Ideology and Iconography from the Predynastic through the Graeco-Roman Period* (PhD Diss.; Yale University, 2011), Chapter 4 (with many references).

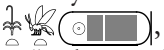

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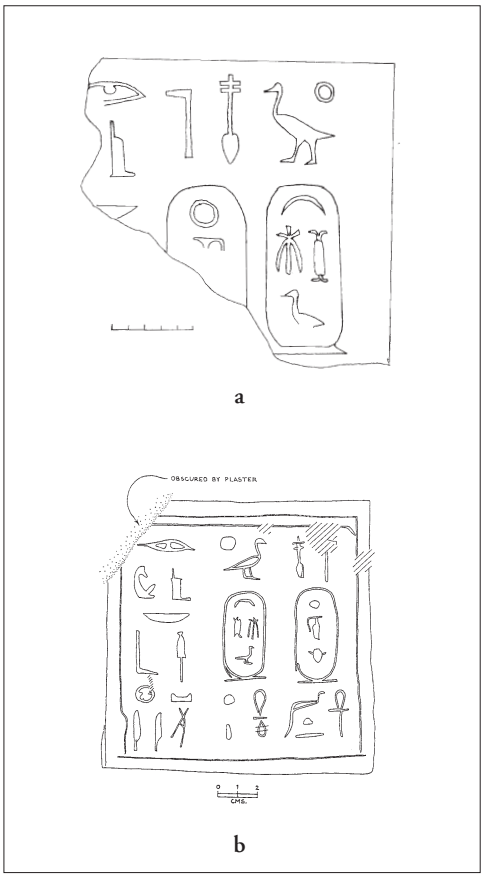
Among all the divinities represented, only Osiris appears with any frequency. One window slab preserves a full relief of Osiris with the following label (fig. 5a):



[ *Wsỉr nb ȝb]ḏw dỉ ꜥnḫ ḏ.t*
[ *Osiris Lord of Aby]dos, given life eternally.*

Other blocks preserve images of mummiform Osirian deities (fig. 5b-c); another relief juxtaposes "Khentyamenty, Lord of Abydos" with the cartouches of Amasis, and the royal titularies on the door jambs claim he is "beloved of Sokar" (cf. *supra*). Finally, a cartouche on the interior jambs of the north portal belongs to Amasis "son of Osiris" (fig. 6a) instead of the usual "son of Neith," a variant attested only on material from Abydos.[42]

From the preceding evidence, it is clear that the granite blocks at Sohag come from a sanctuary of Amasis in which Osiris played a major role, and the most likely candidate for their location would be Abydos, the closest temple with reliefs attributable to Amasis. These granite blocks could easily join the list of similar monuments definitely traced to Abydos, including the Amduat scenes of Iuput II (cf. *supra*).[43] Compelling evidence for this provenance comes from yet another block, currently along the north wall of the Nave, bearing the initial fragments of a royal titulary in large hieroglyphs (roughly 20 cm high): , probably to be restored as [*Ḫnm-ỉb*]-*Rꜥ*, "[Khnem-ib]-re" (Amasis). The bottom surface contains a smaller and more crudely inscribed text, which very closely resembles the ownership inscription of Amasis from Abydos.[44]




**a**

**b**

**a.** Quarry mark of Amasis, now in Sohag.
**b.** Quarry mark of Amasis, found *in situ* at Abydos (from Kemp, *MDAIK* 23, 1986, p. 147).

42 Petrie, *Abydos* I, pl.LXVIII; Kuentz, *Obélisques*, p. 60; cf. A.I. Blöbaum, *„Denn ich bin ein König, der die Maat liebt": Herrscherlegitimation im spätzeitlichen Ägypten, eine vergleichende Untersuchung der Phraseologie in den offiziellen Königsinschriften vom Beginn der 25. dynastie bis zum Ende der makedonischen Herrschaft*, *AegMonast* 4, 2006, p. 320.

43 In a discussion of the Abydene statue of Neshor found at Sohag, O. Perdu (*RdE* 43, 1992, p. 146, n. 6) had already suggested that the Amasis material (as recorded by Weill and Vernus) could have also come from Abydos, without elaborating on the content of the reliefs.

44 A photograph of this inscription was published by P. Vernus (*BIFAO* 75, 1975, p. 67, pl. VI), but with no scale, discussion of the context, or mention of the name Osiris. Similar ownership inscriptions have been found on blocks of Apries from Sais and Tanis: P. Wilson, *The Survey of Saïs (Sa el-Hagar), 1997-2002*, *MEES* 77, 2006, p. 210-211, fig. 69, pl. 29b.


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Although the inscription from Sohag is almost twice the size of its parallel at Abydos, both are stylistically similar, and one may easily restore the leftmost line of the Sohag text as follows: [*mry*] *Wsỉr nb* [*ȝbḏw*]). "[beloved of] Osiris Lord of [Abydos]". While Osiris can appear in offering scenes at any Egyptian temple, it is highly unlikely that this type of ownership inscription would mention Osiris unless the block belonged to his cult center at Abydos.

## *Interpretation*

The large group of granite blocks in the White Monastery Church can be securely attributed to Amasis. The fine granite, exceptional workmanship, content of the reliefs, and multiple references to Osiris, Sokar and Abydos in the few surviving texts, all strongly suggest that these *spolia* derive from nearby Abydos.

Since Osiris features prominently in the decoration program of most Egyptian temples,[45] one might argue that these blocks actually came from an Osirian chapel of another temple in the vicinity of Sohag, such as Atripe or Akhmim.[46] However, if this were the case, one would expect at least one reference to this alternate toponym,[47] whereas all the blocks from Sohag exclusively mention Abydos. Furthermore, there is no evidence for constructions of Amasis at any other site between Memphis and Thebes, while numerous sources attest to the extensive activity under his reign at Abydos. In other words, the Saite blocks at Sohag either derive from a temple of Amasis in an unknown location (never specifically named in the surviving inscriptions), a structure otherwise completely unattested in the archaeological and textual record, or they come from his well-known temple at Abydos, a place mentioned several times on the reliefs. While either interpretation is theoretically plausible, the latter option most adequately explains the decoration of the blocks in the context of Amasis's known building activities.

As noted above, the decorated blocks represent a mere fraction of the combined granite material at Sohag, and thus the original temple would have been a substantial construction. The preserved Hapi figures permit a rough estimate of the scale. Each fecundity figure with his column of text measures roughly 50 cm in width, thus assuming all 42 nomes were originally represented, this procession would require a minimum perimeter of 21 meters.[48]

Since all the Amaside decoration from Abydos was discovered at Kom el-Sultan, the blocks from Sohag should ultimately derive from the same building. Nonetheless, the exact nature of this structure is unclear. Peftuaneith claimed to have rebuilt the temple of Khentiamenty for Apries and Amasis (cf. *supra*), and Barry Kemp assumed the Saite traces at Kom el-Sultan

45 S. Cauville, *La théologie d'Osiris à Edfou*, *BdE* 91, 1983; *ead.*, *Le temple de Dendara: Les chapelles osiriennes,* I-III, *BdE* 117-119, 1997; L. Coulon, "Une trinité d'Osiris thébains sur un relief découvert à Karnak," in Chr. Thiers (ed.), *Documents de théologies thébaines tardives (D3T 1)*, *CENiM* 3, 2009, p. 1-18.

46 For a possible chapel of Osiris and Sokar at the Repyt temple in Atripe: Petrie, *Athribis*, pl. 21, 28-29; Leitz, Mendel, El-Masry, *Athribis* II, p. xvii, n. 32.

47 Cf. Petrie, *Athribis*, pl. 21, for Osiris-Khentyamenty and Sokar-Osiris specified as "within Akhmim (*ḫry-ỉb ʾIpw*)."

48 Note that according to Kemp's reconstruction of the Amasis temple at Abydos (*MDAIK* 23, 1968, p. 146, and fig. 1), the exterior wall had a perimeter of around 160 meters, while the interior wall of the sanctuary measured roughly 95 meters.


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represent the latest phase of the Osiris temple.[49] However, David O'Connor suggested the smaller buildings at Kom el-Sultan were actually royal Ka-chapels going back to the Old Kingdom, and that the main Osiris temple was the much larger structure to the south (cf. *infra*, Section 2).[50] Recent excavations by Michelle Marlar have confirmed the latter theory, and suggesting the smaller temple of Amasis at Kom el-Sultan was indeed a type of Ka-chapel.

According to Kemp's reconstruction, the Amasis temple would have opened to the south-west, with the entrance being parallel to the processional road leading to the Portal Temple of Ramesses II and ultimately to Umm el-Qa'ab. Since the main Osiris temple faced to the north-east, diagonal to the Amasis shrine, the bark of Osiris would have passed by the Ka-chapel before reaching the causeway and could have easily made processional stops therein during the Khoiak or Valley Festivals.[51]

Despite their fragmentary nature, the surviving reliefs from Abydos may provide further support for the Ka-chapel interpretation. In particular, the multiple Sed-Festival scenes (cf. *supra*) would be perfectly appropriate for a chapel celebrating the divine kingship of Amasis. Other scenes bear comparison to the preserved decoration of earlier Ka-chapels from Abydos, including the archaizing offering list (fig. 3a) and another scene in which the King and a Iunmutef priest standing before a deity (fig. 6b).[52]

It is impossible to determine when or how these blocks came to Sohag, or when the Amasis temple was dismantled. More intriguing, however, are the traces of *damnatio memoriae* on most of his cartouches. Since the attackers took care to not destroy the divine names, the erasures must have occurred while people could still read hieroglyphs. The most plausible candidate would be the Persian conqueror Cambyses, who famously exhumed Amasis's corpse just to flay and burn it (Herodotus III, 16).[53] If this is the case, these minor attacks to the Amasis temple may be related to the greater damage the Persians reportedly inflicted upon Abydos and its people (cf. *infra*, Section 2).

49 Kemp, *MDAIK* 23, 1968, p. 146.

50 O'Connor, *Abydos*, p. 80-81, 111-113; Marlar, in J.-Cl. Goyon, Chr. Cardin (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, II, 2007, p. 1251-1252; *id.*, *The Osiris Temple at Abydos*, 2009, p. 35-36; for the relative positions of these two structures, cf. O'Connor, *Abydos*, p. 120, fig. 66; J. Garstang, *El Arábah, A Cemetery of the Middle Kingdom; Survey of the Old Kingdom Temenos; Graffiti from the Temple of Sety*, *ERA* 6, 1900, pl. XXXVII, where the Amasis temple is labeled "Stone Pavement," and the larger temple covers the areas labeled "Platform and Pavement of Stone," "Rough Ground with traces of Brick Walls" and "Irregular Mound covered with Stone Chippings" (cf. Marlar, *The Osiris Temple at Abydos*, 2009, p. 12-14).

51 Compare the stela of Sety I commemorating the erection of a cenotaph for his father, Ramesses I, at Abydos (*KRI* I, 112, 4-6): "I caused his statue to reside within it, being provided like (previous) kings (*dỉ=ỉ ḥtp sšm=f m-ḫnw=s, sḏḏ.tỉ mỉ nsw.w*). Whenever the majesty of this august god, (Osiris)-Wennefer would come forth to rest therein, he would honor my father like those in the past (*pr ḥm n nṯr pn šps Wn-nfr r ḥtp ỉm, tr=f ỉt=ỉ mỉ ỉmy.w-ḫ3.t*), having elevated him among the blessed dead (*s'3.n=f sw m-m ḫzy.w*)."

52 For the decoration of earlier Ka-chapels, see Marlar, *The Osiris Temple at Abydos*, 2009, p. 234-235, 355-356 (fig. 116-117).

53 For the interpretation of Amasis's *damnatio memoriae*, see the forthcoming study by A.J. Leahy (*supra*, n. 33); for the various crimes attributed to Cambyses, see recently D. Kahn, "Note on the Time-Factor in Cambyses' Deeds in Egypt as told by Herodotus," *Transeuphratène* 34, 2007, p. 103-112.


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## 2. STATUE MMA 1996.91: A GENERAL FROM BUSIRIS AND THE RESTORATION OF ABYDOS

After the surge of building activity under Apries and Amasis, work at Abydos came to a dramatic halt after the invasion of Cambyses in 525 BC, and no records survive of architectural work at Abydos attributable to the Twenty-Seventh to Twenty-Ninth Dynasties.[54] Nonetheless, Abydos experienced a renascence in the Thirtieth Dynasty, a period of intense reconstruction throughout the entire country.[55] Nectanebo I and II donated two granite naoi to local deities,[56] Nectanebo II dedicated a statue to the goddess Meskhenet[57] and issued a decree protecting the nearby quarries.[58] Moreover, Petrie discovered cartouches of Nectanebo I near Kom el-Sultan,[59] and recent excavations by M. Marlar have yielded additional relief fragments confirming that Nectanebo I and II renovated the main Osiris temple originally constructed in the Eighteenth Dynasty or earlier.[60]

Private monuments further attest to cult activity at Abydos at this time. The vizier Harsiese, whose career spanned the Thirtieth Dynasty, was also "prophet of Osiris and Horus of the temple of *w-pq(r)* (Umm el-Qa'ab),"[61] and a sarcophagus of another priest of Nectanebo II was found at Abydos.[62] An Abydene funerary stela belonging to the "overseer of singers for the Osiris festival" Chaonnophris contains a unique autobiographical statement alluding to the resumption of proper temple services:[63]

54 G. Vittmann ("Rupture and Continuity: On Priests and Officials in Egypt during the Persian Period," in P. Briant, M. Chauveau (eds.), *Organisation des pouvoirs et contacts culturels dans les pays de l'Empire achéménide*, *Persika* 14, 2009, p. 112) recently discussed two cases of priests from Abydos who may have been active in the late Twenty-Seventh Dynasty, but precise dates are impossible to determine.

55 For the building efforts of Nectanebo I and II, see recently N. Spencer, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb from Bubastis. Religious Iconography and Temple Building in the 30th Dynasty*, *BMRP* 156, 2006, p. 47-52; C. Manassa, *The Late Egyptian Underworld: Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period,* I, *ÄAT* 72, 2007, p. 475-478.

56 CG 70017-70018; G. Roeder, *CGC Naos*, 1914, p. 50-55 (noting the provenance: "Kleiner Tempel westlich Schunet ez-Zebib"); M. Saleh, H. Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum, Cairo*, 1987, No. 257.

57 H. De Meulenaere, "Meskhénet à Abydos," in U. Verhoeven, E. Graefe (eds.), *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten. Festgabe für Philippe Derchain zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Juli 1991*, *OLA* 39, 1991, p. 243-251.

58 D. Meeks, "Oiseaux des carrières et des cavernes," in U. Verhoeven, E. Graefe (eds.), *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten*, *Festgabe für Philippe Derchain*, 1991, p. 233-241.

59 Petrie, *Abydos* I, p. 33; *Abydos* II, pl. XLIX.

60 Marlar, in J.-Cl. Goyon, Chr. Cardin (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, II, 2007, p. 1251-1259; *ead.*, *The Osiris Temple at Abydos*, 2009, especially p. 142-168, 312-317 (figs. 73-78); O'Connor, *Abydos*, p. 128-129. Note also that several blocks with the cartouches of Nectanebo I have also been found at Sohag (noted already by El-Masry, *MDAIK* 57, 2001, p. 209) see D. Klotz, "A Naos of Nectanebo I from the White Monastery Church (Sohag)", (forthcoming), although those objects do not necessarily come from Abydos.

61 Moscow, Pushkin Museum 5320, back pillar, col. 2; O.D. Berlev, S.I. Hodjash, *Sculpture of Ancient Egypt in the Collection of the State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts*, 2004, p. 310-315; cf. H. De Meulenaere, "Le vizir Harsiésis de la 30e dynastie," *MDAIK* 16, 1958, p. 235; immediately after this title, Harsiese mentions the title "prophet of Hathor Lady of Dendara."

62 Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum E.48.1901: D. Randall-MacIver, A.C. Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos, 1899-1901*, 1902, pl. XXXV, 1; cf. H. De Meulenaere, "Les monuments du culte des rois Nectanébo," *CdE* 35, 1960, p. 95-96, (9).

63 Cairo TR 29/10/24/2; following the translation of K. Jansen-Winkeln, "Beiträge zu den Privatinschriften der Spätzeit," *ZÄS* 125, 1998, p. 12-13, who dated it to the Thirtieth Dynasty on the basis of stylistic criteria.


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*smn.n=ỉ šmˁ m pr-Wsỉr*
*ḏr gm.n.tw=f ḫr-ḥɜ.t wɜỉ(.w) r wɜsy*

*I reinstated ceremonial music in the temple of Osiris,*
*since it was found to have fallen into ruin previously.*

A statue in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 1996.91) offers a valuable new perspective for the history of the Osiris temple in the Late Period (fig. 7). This object is notable for its exceptional workmanship, and it is certainly one of the finest examples of Thirtieth Dynasty statuary.[64] The hieroglyphic inscriptions are equally important for their historical significance and philological peculiarities, but they have so far remained unpublished and garnered only brief mentions in Egyptological literature.[65]

The statue is made from light meta-graywacke, and measures 69.2 cm in height.[66] Only the torso, thighs and arms are preserved, and a diagonal crack has removed most of the right side. Nonetheless, the statue is remarkably well carved, finely polished, and the sculptor captured the musculature and subtle torsion using a classical, archaizing pose. Stylistically, the torso is a great example of Thirtieth Dynasty sculpture.[67] The figure wears a tripartite, striated kilt with an uninscribed belt, and the bottoms of the pleats are carved in a scalloped form popular in the reign of Nectanebo I (fig. 8a),[68] although not necessarily exclusive to his reign.[69] The torso displays a moderate degree of bipartition, with no trace of a median line.[70] Although

64 PM VIII,2, 1999, p. 769, 801-727-310; Sotheby's London, *Egyptian, Middle Eastern, Greek, Etruscan and Roman Antiquities, Ancient Glass, and Art Reference Books, July 13, 1981*, p. 80-82, no. 164; M. Hill, J.P. Allen, *BMMA* 54/2, 1996, p. 8-9; Do. Arnold, *Apollo*, October, 1997, p. 15; *ead.*, in *Philippe de Montebello and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977-2008,* 2009, p. 7-8, fig. 9. The author would like to thank Dorothea Arnold, Lila Acheson Wallace Curator of Egyptian Art, for granting permission to publish the statue, Marsha Hill for offering additional photographs and many helpful suggestions, and Isabel Stuenkel for providing detailed measurements.

65 P.-M. Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens de la Basse Époque. Carrières militaires et carrières sacerdotales en Égypte du XI^e^ au II^e^ siècle avant J.-C.*, Antony, 1985, p. 164, 252, doc. 237; J.A. Josephson, *Egyptian Royal Sculpture of the Late Period, 400-246 B.C.*, *SDAIK* 30, 1997, p. 11, n. 70. K. Lembke, G. Vittmann, "Die Standfigur des Horos, Sohn des Thotoes (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum SMPK 2271)," *MDAIK* 55, 1999, p. 311, n. l.

66 The back pillar is 12 cm wide, and the intercolumnar width is 2.4 cm; the depth of the statue is 19.5 cm at the chest, and 26.6 cm at the legs.

67 M. Chevereau (*op. cit.,* p. 164) dated the statue to the period of the "dernières dynasties indigènes" (Twenty-Ninth to Thirty-First Dynasties); B. Bothmer (file in *CLES*), M. Hill, J.P. Allen (*op. cit.,* p. 8) and Do. Arnold (*op. cit.*, p. 15) placed it specifically in the reign of Nectanebo I.

68 Noted already by M. Hill, J.P. Allen, *ibid.*; clear parallels for the scalloped edges appear on royal statues of Nectanebo I, including Louvre E. 22752 (W. Seipel (ed.), *Gott, Mensch, Pharaoh*, Vienna, 1992, p. 472-473, No. 195; PM VIII, 1, 1999,p. 151, 800-858-690), Strasbourg University 352 (A.P. Zivie, *Hermopolis et le nome de l'ibis. Recherches sur la province du dieu Thoth en Basse Égypte* I: *Introduction et inventaire chronologique des sources*, *BdE* 66, 1975, p. 118-120, doc. 30; photograph from the *CLES*); Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Egiziano 22671 (PM VIII,1, 1999, p. 150, 800-858-800; J.-Cl. Grenier, *Museo Egiziano Gregoriano*, Roma, 1993, p. 51, pl. 15).

69 At least one example occurs after the reign of Nectanebo I (kindly noted by Marsha Hill): British Museum EA 1079 (Nectanebo II; N. Spencer, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb from Bubastis. Religious Iconography and Temple Building in the 30^th^ Dynasty*, *BMRP* 156, 2006, colour plate 4). Others are of uncertain date: Marseille, musée d'Archéologie méditerranéenne 826 (P.E. Stanwick, *Portraits of the Ptolemies: Greek Kings as Egyptian Pharaohs*, Austin, 2002, p. 105, fig. 41, Cat. A42: "Late fourth or third century B.C."), and Berlin 13254 (*Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 1967, p. 99, Cat. 962: "Römisch, wohl 1. Jh. n. Chr.").

70 For this detail in Late Egyptian sculpture, see B.V. Bothmer, H. De Meulenaere, "The Brooklyn Statuette of Hor, Son of Pawen (with an Excursus on Eggheads)," in L.H. Lesko (ed.), *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker*, Hanover, New Hampshire, London, 1983, p. 1; Josephson, *Egyptian Royal Sculpture of the Late Period*, 1997, p. 10-11; O. Perdu, "Le torse d'Irethorerou de la collection Béhague," *RdE* 49, 1998, p. 250.


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the head is broken, surviving traces confirm that the top of the back pillar had a trapezoidal shape typical for the period.[71] He carries small rolls of cloth in both hands,[72] and he displays the so-called "Isis-knot" (*tỉt*) on his left shoulder (fig. 8b). In general, this statue is quite similar to other striding statues of the Thirtieth Dynasty.[73] While its provenance is uncertain, the inscription indicates that it originally came from the temple of Osiris in Busiris,[74] a very important site which has yielded only a handful of objects thus far.[75]

The back pillar features four columns of inscriptions composed in very clear hieroglyphs. This text is well preserved with lacunae limited to the upper-right corner, the middle of the fourth column, and the entire bottom of the statue. The inscription is composed in the terse and very difficult semi-cryptographic style characteristic of the early Thirtieth Dynasty, evidenced on the Naucratis stela of Nectanebo I, the Metternich Stela (New York, MMA 50.85), and the statue of Tjaihapimu (New York, MMA 08.205.1).[76] During the reign of Nectanebo I, scribes experimented with new orthographies, rendering words by the barest consonantal elements (e.g.  = *ḏ* < *ḏḏ*, "to say";  = *tw* < *t(ɜ)w*, "breath";  = *wt* < *wɜ.t*, "road"). Employing novel alphabetic orthographies and graphic puns while simultaneously eschewing determinatives and phonetic complements, hieroglyphic inscriptions from this period appear deceptively simple. Despite its use of formulaic royal epithets and beautifully carved hieroglyphs, the Naucratis stela remains one of the most difficult inscriptions from any period,[77] and its various orthographic riddles were only gradually solved through the successive attempts by many eminent philologists.[78] The first section of the present statue —consisting primarily of laudatory clichés— is quite difficult in this regard, and the translations proposed are sometimes

71 For this development of the back pillar, see Perdu, *op. cit.,* p. 250-252; Vittmann, in Briant, Chauveau (eds.), *Organisation des pouvoirs et contacts culturels dans les pays de l'Empire achéménide*, 2009, p. 98.

72 For the enigmatic object, see primarily H.G. Fischer, "An Elusive Shape within the Fisted Hands of Egyptian Statues," *MMJ* 10, 1975, p. 9-21; A. Fehlig, "Das sogenannte Taschentuch in den ägyptischen Darstellungen des Alten Reiches," *SAK* 13, 1986, p. 55-94.

73 Compare especially the statue of Tjaihorpata (Brooklyn Museum of Art, 68.10.1; D. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep: Gottwerdung im alten Ägypten*, *MÄS* 36, 1977, p. 44-45, pl. 7).

74 Especially in col. 3, where the statue owner implores future readers to say his name beside the great god (Osiris) on account of the benefactions he performed in Busiris.

75 PM IV, 1934, p. 44; H.G. Fischer, "Some Early Monuments from Busiris, in the Egyptian Delta," *MMJ* 11, 1976, p. 5-24; O. Perdu, "Documents relatifs aux gouverneurs du Delta au début de la XXVI[e] dynastie," *RdE* 57, 2006, p. 176-177.

76 For the specific features of inscriptions from the Thirtieth Dynasty and early Ptolemaic Period, see H. De Meulenaere, "Une statue de prêtre héliopolitain," *BIFAO* 61, 1962, 40-42; Perdu, *RdE* 36, 1985, 92-96; *id.*, *RdE* 49, 1998, p. 252-253; and most recently Å. Engsheden, "On the Verge of Ptolemaic Egyptian: Graphical Trends in the 30th Dynasty," *Abgadiyat* 1, 2006, p. 35-41.

77 E.g. J. Baines, "Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions," *JARCE* 27, 1990, p. 17.

78 See the bibliography in M. Lichtheim, "The Naucratis Stela Once Again," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, *SAOC* 39, 1976, p. 139, n. 1; further refinements and new readings were recently proposed by Å. Engsheden, "Philologische Bemerkungen zu spätzeitlichen Texten," *LingAeg* 13, 2005, p. 39-43. Other particularly difficult texts of the Thirtieth Dynasty or early Ptolemaic Period include Bayonne 498 (De Meulenaere, *BIFAO* 61, 1962, p. 29-42); JE 47291 (I. Guermeur, *Les cultes d'Amon hors de Thèbes*, *BEPHE* 123, 2005, p. 221-222); Lyon, musée des Beaux-Arts E.G. 1748 (J.-Cl. Goyon, M. Gabolde, "Trois pièces de Basse Époque et d'époque ptolémaïque au musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon," *BMML*, 1991/3-4, p. 2-13); Alexandria 20959 (I. Guermeur, "Les monuments d'Ounnefer, fils de Djedbastetiouefânkh, contemporain de Nectanébo I[er]," in I. Régen, Fr. Servajean (eds.), *Verba Manent. Recueil d'études dédiées à Dimitri Meeks*, *CENiM* 2, 2009, p. 178-192); Ph. Derchain, in D. Boschung, *et al.* (eds.), *Die antiken Skulpturen in Chatsworth, sowie in Dunham Massey und Withington Hall*, *CSIR* III.8, 1997, p. 127-128; and Hannover, Kestner-Museum 1935.200.510 (to be published by the author).


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tentative. However, the historical content, recounting military actions against foreigners and the reconstruction of temples is relatively straightforward, and bears many similarities with the biographies of contemporaneous Generals from the Delta.[79]

## Text and Translation [FIG. 9]

### A. *Titles and Epithets* (cols. 1-2)



[1] *[ỉry-pʿ.t ḥɜty-ʿ m] ʿnḏty*[a] *ḥqɜ m Nỉw.t-rn=s*[b]
*wr m rḫ bw(ɜ) m kfɜ-ỉb*[c]
*mt(r)-ḥ(ɜ.t)*[d] *ỉmn sḫr(.w)*[e]
*sbɜ ḥr.w nb.w m mdw=f*
*sšm ḫm fqɜ nb-rḫ*[f]
*dỉ n=f ḫ.t nb sɜr=s*[g]
*dns-mhw(.t)*[h]
*ỉw ḏ(d)=f m ṯ(ɜ)w n ʿnḫ*[i]
*m(w)nf n* […][j]
[2] […] *ḫnb rqy.w*[k]
*ḥtr ỉṯɜ*[l]
*ʿn šnʿ.w m snḏ=f*[m]
*ỉr mɜʿ.t spd r wšm*[n]
*stp.n nṯ(r) m-ḫnt nỉw.t=f*[o]
*ḥr ỉr(.t) ḏd n=f ỉb=f*[p]

*(ỉmy)-rɜ mšʿ wr tpy n ḫm=f*[q]
*ḫm-nṯr ḫkn.t nt ʿɜ wr*[r] *n Pr-Wsỉr*
*[ḫm]-nṯr* […]

79 Primarily J. VERCOUTTER, "Les statues du général Hor, gouverneur d'Hérakléopolis, de Busiris et d'Héliopolis (Louvre A. 88, Alexandrie s.n.)," *BIFAO* 49, 1950, p. 85-114 (G. GORRE, *Les relations du clergé égyptien et des Lagides d'après les sources privées*, *StudHell* 45, 2009, p. 198-209); and *Urk*. II, 24-26 (GORRE, *op. cit.*, p. 396-401).


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[1] *[Count and governor in the] Busirite nome, chief in Nỉw.t-rn=s (Mostai)*
*great in knowledge, notable of trustworthiness,*
*straight of heart, hidden of design,*
*who teaches everybody through his speech,*
*who guides the ignorant and rewards the possessor of intelligence,*
*to whom every body gives their wisdom,*
*reserved of speech,*
*his words arrive as the breath of life,*
*protector of* […],
[2] […] *who slays the rebels,*
*and who ties up the thief,*
*aggressors flee through fear of him,*
*who performs Maat,*
*sharper than a seed,*
*chosen by god from among those in his city,*
*for doing that which his heart told him.*

*First Generalissimo of his Majesty,*
*priest of the door bolt of the great portal of the temple of Osiris (Busiris),*
*[pr]iest [of …]*

**a.** Enough traces remain to safely read , "Busirite Nome."[80] The titles are restored on the basis of similar sequences from the Late Period.[81]

**b.** *Nỉw.t-rn=s* is another name for Mostai (usually *Msḏ.t*),[82] a city in the Busirite nome.[83] In a recently published geographic list from Athribis, *Nỉw.t-rn=s* appears in apposition to *Msḏ.t* (reading , instead of ).[84] The contemporaneous General Hor was also "director of the districts (*ḫrp w.w*) of Busiris, Heliopolis and *Nỉw.t-rn=s*."[85]

**c.** The epithet "great of knowledge (*wr m rḫ*)" occurs on two sarcophagi of the Thirtieth Dynasty.[86] Although the latter epithet *bw(ɔ) m kfɜ-ỉb*, "great of trustworthiness (or: discretion)"

80 P. Montet, *Géographie* I, 1957, p. 97; O. Perdu, "Un dieu venu de la campagne," *RdE* 56, 2005, p. 131-166.

81 For titles composed *ḫɜty-ʿ* + toponym, see primarily H. De Meulenaere, "Le vizir Harsiésis de la 30ᵉ dynastie," *MDAIK* 16, 1958, p. 233; I. Guermeur, *BiOr* 60, 2003, p. 332; cf. especially *Urk*. II, 24, 6-7 and 25, 6 (Berlin 7).

82 For the identification of *Nỉw.t-rn=s*, see J. Yoyotte, *AEPHE.V*ᵉ *section* 75, 1967-68, p. 104. Other examples of this toponym include Vercoutter, *BIFAO* 49, 1950, p. 103, col. 2, 107, n. (m); P. Vernus, *Athribis. Textes et documents relatifs à la géographie, aux cultes, et à l'histoire d'une ville du delta égyptien à l'époque pharaonique*, *BdE* 74, 1978, p. 122, 128 n. (ab); Guermeur, *Les cultes d'Amon hors de Thèbes: recherches de géographie religieuse BEPHE* 123, 2005,p. 64, 65, n. i; Perdu, *RdE* 57, 2006, p. 156, fig. 1b, col. 3, 157, n. a; and Turin 3024 (*CLES* photo; noted by Yoyotte, *op. cit.*, 104).

83 For the location of Mostai, see primarily Yoyotte, *AEPHE* 75, 1967-1968, p. 102-108; *id.*, *AEPHE* 76, 1968-1969, p. 108-113; Guermeur, *op. cit.*, p. 64, n. (f), 188-192.

84 *Athribis* II/1, 337 (C 5, 29), corrected after the photograph in *ibid*, II/3, pl. 90.

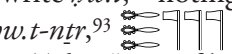
85 Vercoutter, *BIFAO* 49, 1950, p. 103, col. 2.

86 *Urk.* II, 25, 7 (Berlin 7); E. Bresciani, S. El-Naggar, S. Pernigotti, Fl. Silvano, *La galleria di Padineit, visir di Nectanebo I*, *Saqqara* I, 1985, pl. XII, col. 1. Compare also the epithet *ʿpr m rḫ*, "equipped with knowledge," in J. Vercoutter, *Textes biographiques du Sérapéum de Memphis. Contribution à l'étude des stèles votives du Sérapéum*, *BEHE* I 316, 1960, p. 94.


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is apparently without parallel,[87] one might compare the similar phrase *wr mˁm-ỉb*, "great of omniscience (lit. "consuming of heart")" in a Saite Period autobiography (Zagreb No. 672).[88]

**d.** Tentatively reading  as *mt(r)-ḫɜ.t*, "true of heart."[89] A similar orthography of *mḏ* () for *mtr* in the epithet *mtr-ỉb* occurs in two autobiographies of the Twenty-Ninth and Thirtieth Dynasties.[90] One might also consider reading *mḏ-ỉb*, "deep of heart/mind,"[91] although such an epithet is not attested elsewhere. An early Ptolemaic inscription spells *mt(r)-ỉb* as  (*Urk*. II, 60, 1).

For  = *ḫɜ.t*, one might compare the use of this sign to write *ḫw.t*,[92] noting that this phenomenon is quite popular in the Thirtieth Dynasty:  *ḫw.t-nṯr*,[93]  = *ḫw.wt-nṯr.w*, "temples."[94] Alternatively, this could simply be a variant *mt(r) ḫ.t*, "true of body," since the terms *ḫɜ.t* and *ḫ.t* are relatively interchangeable in other epithets.[95]

**e.** *Ỉmn-sḫr.w* is apparently a variant of the more common epithets *ḫɜp-ḫ.t ḫr sḫr.w=f*, "hidden of body concerning his designs," and "one who hides/suppresses the designs of the body (*ỉmn/hrp sḫr.w ḫ.t=f*)," both of which express "discretion."[96]

**f.** A similar sequence of epithets occurs on a statue attributed to the General Hor currently in Alexandria:[97]

– MMA 1996.91: 

– Alexandria w/o #: 

87 For the meaning of *kfɜ-ỉb*, see E. Hornung, "Lexikalische Studien II," *ZÄS* 87, 1962, p. 115-116; and the forthcoming discussion by J.C. Darnell, C. Manassa, "A Trustworthy Seal-Bearer on a Mission: The Monuments of Sabastet from the Khephren Diorite Quarries" (in press). The term *bwɜ*, "notable (one)," occurs fairly often in inscriptions from this period, cf. K. Jansen-Winkeln, "Drei Statueninschriften einer Familie aus frühptolemäischer Zeit," *SAK* 36, 2007, p. 51, (c) 4; *Urk*. II, 17, 6; 18, 12.

88 J. Monnet Saleh, *Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb*, 1970, p. 55, col. 7; for this meaning of *ˁm-ỉb*, see K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Biographische und religiöse Inschriften der Spätzeit aus dem Ägyptischen Museum Kairo*, *ÄAT* 45, 2001, I, p. 241, n. 4; D. Klotz, *Adoration of the Ram*: *Five Hymns to Amun-Re from Hibis Temple*, *YES* 6, 2006, p. 149, n. A.

89 *Wb*. II, 173, 6; J.M.A. Janssen, *De traditioneele egyptische Autobiografie vóór het Nieuwe Rijk*, I, 1946, p. 23-24; Heise, *Errinern und Gedenken*, 2007, p. 96, n. 251.

90 Vernus, *Athribis*, p. 174, col. 1, 175, n. (a); *id.*, "Inscription d'un personnage d'Athribis bien en cours sous la XXIX$^{e}$ Dynastie," *MDAIK* 37, 1981, p. 484, n. (e).

91 For the sentiment, compare *Ani* D, 4, 2-3 (= J.Fr. Quack, *Die Lehren des Ani: ein neuägyptischer Weisheitstext in seinem kulturellen Umfeld, OBO* 141, 1994, pp. 106-7, 174, 308-9): *ỉr ḫɜ.t (rmṯ) wsḫ st r šnw.t, mḏ sw r šdy.t*, "As for the heart (of a man), it is wider than a granary, it is deeper than a well."

92 *Wb*. III, 358, 12-14; M. Smith, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, *CDPBM* 3, 1987, p. 97-98, note (a) to VI, 21; D. Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemäisch*, I, 2007, p. 226, 238, n. 242.

93 JE 47291, col. 2 (Guermeur, *Les cultes d'Amon hors de Thèbes*, 2005, p. 222; reign of Nectanebo I); Athens, National Museum 2009 (D. Mallet, "Quelques monuments égyptiens du musée d'Athènes," *RT* 18, 1896, p. 11, Front, col. 5; fourth century BCE); W.M.Fl. Petrie, *Nebesheh and Defenneh*, *MEEF* 4, 1888, pl. 10 (11).

94 G. Roeder, "Zwei hieroglyphische Inschriften aus Hermopolis (Ober-Ägypten)," *ASAE* 52, 1954, p. 384, line 4 (reign of Nectanebo I), in the context: "he who gives temples to them (viz. the gods), who builds their statues therein, (and puts) every body in their service, so they might bring to him a great Inundation in its season (*rdỉ ḫw.wt-nṯr.w n=sn, msỉ ˁḥm(.w) ỉm=sn, (rdỉ) bw nb r šms=sn, ỉn=sn n=f ḥˁpỉ wr r tr=f*)." Cf. also I. Guermeur, "Le groupe familial de Pachéryentaisouy. Caire JE 36576," *BIFAO* 104, 2004, p. 253, 254, n. x (fourth century BC).

95 Fr. Daumas, "L'origine égyptienne de la tripartition de l'âme chez Platon," in *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub*, 1984, p. 46-48, 50-51; N. Shupak, *Where Can Wisdom be Found? The Sage's Language in the Bible and in Ancient Egyptian Literature*, *OBO* 130, 1993, p. 293-295.

96 See J.J. Clère, "L'expression *dnś mhwt* des autobiographies égyptiennes," *JEA* 35, 1949, p. 39-42, for these phrases and related epithets.

97 Vercoutter, *BIFAO* 49, 1950, p. 103, pl. V, col. 2.


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Vercoutter translated the Alexandria example as follows: "son horreur, c'est l'homme qui ne sait payer (lit. qui ignore le paiement), possesseur de plus de biens que le grenier royal (lit. le Double Grenier)."[98] However, this interpretation requires interpreting *rḫy* as an unusual spelling of *ḫr.t/iḫ.t*, "goods."[99] Moreover, if *ḫm-fqꜣ* were truly a compound meaning, "the one ignorant of reward," one would expect the seated-man determinative to follow *fqꜣ*, not *ḫm*.

Instead, one could translate the Alexandria example as follows: "one whose abomination is the ignorant, (but) who rewards (*fqꜣ*)[100] the possessor of knowledge; overseer of the Double Granary (*imy-rꜣ šnw.ty*)."[101]

The dichotomy between "the learned (*rḫ*)"[102] and "the ignoramus (*ḫm*)" pervades Egyptian wisdom literature.[103] The extreme reactions to these groups on the Alexandria statue recall an earlier statement about Akhenaten: "He sets his wrath against the one ignorant of his teaching, (but) his praise is for the one who knows it (*ỉr=f bꜣw=f r ḫm sbꜣy.t=f, ḥzw.t=f n rḫ sỉ*)."[104] The owner of the MMA statue was more open-minded, and vaunts of having guided (*sšm*) the ignorant towards knowledge.[105]

**g.** In the absence of any obvious parallels, the translation of this passage remains speculative, inspired by earlier autobiographical phrases like: "one to whom people tell their secrets (*ḏd.n n=f ḫ.wt ỉmỉ.t=sn/ḫr.wt=sn*)" (lit. "to whom bodies (again *ḫ.wt*!) tell their contents."[106] The lack of determinatives is particularly frustrating here, since the element  could potentially write *sꜣꜣ/sꜣr.t*, "wisdom," *sꜣw/sꜣr*, "satiety,"[107] *zỉ r* "to await,"[108] or *sỉꜣ r*, "to perceive."[109]

98 Vercoutter, *BIFAO* 49, 1950, p. 103; followed by Perdu, *RdE* 36, 1985, p. 98-9, n. k.

99 Vercoutter, *BIFAO* 49, 1950, p. 105-106, n. (h); followed by G. Gorre, *Les relations du clergé égyptien*, 2009, p. 202.

100 For officials "rewarding (*fqꜣ*)" their underlings in Late Period autobiographies, cf. Vercoutter, *BIFAO* 49, 1950, p. 89, and pl. III, col. 3; J.J. Clère, "Autobiographie d'un général gouverneur de la Haute-Égypte à l'époque saïte," *BIFAO* 83, 1983, p. 89, col. 3; and compare also the stela of Nectanebo I from Hermopolis, line 31 (Roeder, *ASAE* 52, 1954, p. 411): "his majesty gave rewards to the prophets and priests for completing all works he had performed in Hesret (*wnn ḫm=f ḫr dỉ.t fqꜣ n ḫm.w-nṯr.w wʿb.w m ʿrq kꜣ.t nb ỉr.t.n=f m Ḥzr.t*)."

101 For this abbreviation of *imy-rꜣ*, see Kuentz, *BIFAO* 34, 1934, p. 154-157.

102 Note that in the Hor Ostraca, Thoth is both "the learned one (*pꜣ rḫ*)" and "the possessor of knowledge (*pꜣ nb rḫ*)" (J.D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor*, 1976, p. 160), suggesting that *rḫ* and *nb rḫ* are were roughly equivalent epithets.

103 Shupak, *Where Can Wisdom Be Found?,* 1993, pp. 183-5; H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Die Lehre eines Mannes für seinen Sohn: eine Etappe auf dem "Gotteweg" des loyalen und solidarischen Beamten*, *ÄgAb* 60, 1999, I, p. 69, 194-195.

104 N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, VI, *ASEg Memoir* 18 1908, pl. 21, line 27; cf. H. Guksch, *Königsdienst: zur Selbstdarstellung der Beamten in der 18. Dynastie*, *SAGA* 11, 1994, p. 156.

105 As Shupak notes (*op. cit.*, p. 184, 196), several other Egyptian texts speak of educating the ignorant (*ḫm.w*), since they were deemed worthy for instruction. For the general theme of "guiding (*sšm*)" others, cf. J.-P. Corteggiani, "Une stèle héliopolitaine d'époque saïte," in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron*, *BdE* 81, 1979, I, p. 131, n. (l).

106 Janssen, *De traditioneele egyptische Autobiografie*, I, 1946, p. 125; W.K. Simpson, "The Stela of Amun-wosre, Governor of Upper Egypt in the Reign of Ammenemes I or II," *JEA* 51, 1965, p. 67, n. (r), pl. XIV, line 8. Compare also the following epithets: "one to whom the mind is revealed (*wbꜣ(.w) n=f ỉb*)," "on to whom that which is in the heart is revealed, consisting of that which is hidden from all (other) people (*wbꜣ(.w) n=f ntt m ỉb m ḫꜥp.t r rmṯ nb*)," and "one to whom secret affairs are spoken (*ḏd.w n=f md.t ḫꜥp.t*)" (Janssen, *op. cit.*, p. 53, 125; D.M. Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, *PdÄ* 12, 1998, p. 108-109, 284, 397; Simpson, *JEA* 51, 1965, p. 67, n. t). For *ḫ.wt*, "bodies," denoting "people" by metonymy, see *Wb*. III, 357, 15, and the Naucratis Stela, col. 4.

107 E.g. *dỉ.n=f ḫ.t nb(.t) sꜣr=s*, "he gave every belly its satiety." Compare Naucratis Stela, col. 4: "Every man is sated through his provisions (*s(ꜣỉ) z nb ḫ(r) df(ꜣw)=f*)" (following H. De Meulenaere, "Zwei Bemerkungen zur Naukratisstele," *ZÄS* 84, 1959, p. 78);


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**h.** Literally, "heavy of speech," with the general meaning "reserved."[110] The present spelling with the hippopotamus for *dns*, "heavy," occurs already on a statue of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty.[111]

**i.** The first sign () could alternatively write the particle *ỉw*, resulting in a slightly different translation: "whatever he says is the breath of life." The abbreviated orthographies  for *ḏd*,[112]  for *ṯ3w*,[113] and  for *ʿnḫ*),[114] are all attested in texts from the Thirtieth Dynasty. Kings or gods can communicate the "breath of life" through their voices,[115] but some private individuals bear epithets such as "one who rejuvenates millions with his speech (alone) (*snḫn ḥḥ.w m tp-r3=f*)."[116]

for this term spelled *s3r* (for *s3w*), cf. Chr. Thiers, *Ptolémée Philadelphe et les prêtres d'Atoum de Tjékou: Nouvelle édition commentée de la « stèle de Pithom »*, *OrMonsp* 17, 2007, p. 70, line 24.

108 H. De Meulenaere, "Notes ptolémaïques: 2. L'expression *s3w r ỉw.t.f*," *BIFAO* 53, 1953, p. 106-107; A.H. Gardiner, "'To await' in Middle Egyptian," *JEA* 43, 1957, p. 112-113; Å. Engsheden, "Un Mendésien en Dalécarlie. Statue ZAE 74 de la collection Zorn," in I. Régen, Fr. Servajean (eds.), *Verba manent. Recueil d'études dédiées à Dimitri Meeks par ses collègues et amis*, *CENiM* 2, 2009, p. 119-120, n. (k).

109 E.g. *dỉ.n=f ḫ.t nb(.t) sḏ3 r=s*, "he ensured that every body was aware of it (viz. the reward)." For the phrase *sḏ3 r*, "to be aware of," cf. K. Jansen-Winkeln, "Drei Gebete aus der 22. Dynastie," in J. Osing, G. Dreyer (eds.), *Form und Mass*, *ÄAT* 12, 1987, p. 238-239, fig. 1, col. 6, 248, n. 8: "You know all the things I have done, you are aware of them (*ỉw=k rḫ.tw ỉr.n=ỉ nb, ntk sḏ3 r=sn*)." This translation could correspond to other biographies in which officials claim to have instructed other priests (e.g. K. Jansen-Winkeln, "Die Biographie eines Priesters aus Heliopolis," *SAK* 29, 2001, A4 and B8). Note that the terms *sḏ3* and *s33/s3r.t* are virtually synonymous; cf. Shupak, *Where Can Wisdom Be Found?*, p. 222-226, and compare an epithet of Tjaihorpata (Dynasty 30): "whom the king promoted because of his perception (*sḏ3.w*), whom the king advanced on account of his wisdom (*s3r.t*)" (G. Maspero, *CGC Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, 1914, I, p. 240).

110 See primarily Clère, *JEA* 35, 1949, p. 38-42; *id.*, "Deux nouveaux exemples de l'expression *dnś mhwt*," *JEA* 37, 1951, p. 112; W.A. Ward, "Lexicographical Miscellanies," *SAK* 5, 1977, p. 283-284; Bresciani *et al.*, *La galleria di Padineit, visir de Nectanebo* I, pl. XII, col. 1, p. 73, n. (d); G. Posener, "Du nouveau sur Kombabos," *RdE* 37, 1986, p. 95.

111 H. De Meulenaere, "Raccords memphites," *MDAIK* 47, 1991, p. 247, col. 1, 248, n. (b). Other examples are roughly contemporaneous with the New York statue: Vienna, ÄS 20 (Ph. Derchain, *Les impondérables de l'hellénisation: littérature d'hiérogrammates*, *MRE* 7, 2000, p. 41, pl. I, col. 1; noted by Clère, *JEA* 35, 1949, p. 39, n. 4) and Athens, National Museum 2009 (Mallet, *RT* 18, 1896, p. 11, Front, col. 1; noted by Clère, *JEA* 37, 1951, p. 112, B). Note also several examples of the nearly synonymous *dns-r3* spelled with the hippopotamus: *Urk.* II, 25, 8; 60, 4; Hannover, Kestner-Museum 1935.200.510 (cf. *supra*, n. 78).

112 Other examples from the Thirtieth Dynasty include Naucratis Stela, cols. 5, 6, 8, 13; De Meulenaere, *BIFAO* 61, 1962, 32, 41; O. Perdu, "Le monument de Samtoutefnakht à Naples," *RdE* 36, 1985, p. 95; *Urk.* II, 25, 9; note that this abbreviation is extremely common in the early Ptolemaic Satrap Stela (*Urk.* II, 16, 6 and 15; 17, 5, 8, 11, 14; 18, 7 and 12; 19, 3). For earlier examples, see J. Černý, "The Stela of Emhab from Tell Edfu," *MDAIK* 24, p.1969, p. 90, n. (F); Perdu, *RdE* 43, 1992, p. 154-155, n. (i).

113 For another Thirtieth Dynasty example, see Metternich Stela, line 220 (C.E. Sander-Hansen, *Die Texte der Metternichstele*, *AnAeg* 7, 1956, p. 65); for earlier attestations, see Perdu, *RdE* 43, 1992, p. 158, n. (r); *id.*, "Hommage d'une princesse saïte à son précepteur," *BIFAO* 105, 2005, p. 216, n. c.

114 Naucratis Stela, col. 4; Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 54, 1954, 92, Doc. 6a.

115 For the king, compare: M. Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*, *BiAeg* 8, 1938, 28, 15 (discussed by J. Assmann, "Die "Loyalistische Lehre" Akhenatens," *SAK* 8, 1980, p. 17-18): "just hearing his [vo]ice is the breath of life (*ṯ3w n ʿnḫ sḏm [ḥr]w=f*)." For gods allowing the deceased to breathe via their speech, see J.C. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity*, *OBO* 198, 2004, p. 213-214. Cf. also H.G. Fischer, "An Eleventh Dynasty Couple Holding the Sign of Life," *ZÄS* 100, 1973, p. 23-25.

116 R. el-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Saïs et ses divinités*, *BdE* 69, 1975, p. 127, n. h. Of course private individuals could enliven the deceased by means of their "breath of the mouth (*ṯ3w n r3*)," for which see P. Vernus, "La formule 'le souffle de la bouche' au Moyen Empire," *RdE* 28, 1976, p. 139-145; K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Sentenzen und Maximen in den Privatinschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit*, 1999, p. 18, 45-48.


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**j.** One could possibly restore "protector of [the orphan]," "[the widow]," "[the poor]," or similar terms.[117]

**k.** "He who repels the enemies (*ḫnb rqy.w*)" was one of the guardians of Osiris in Book of the Dead 145.[118] The statue owner thus mythologizes his own work restoring the temples of Osiris in Busiris and Abydos, and possibly also expelling Persians from Egypt.

**l.** Reading  = *ḫtr*, "to tie up (birds),"[119] possibly referring to the act of binding prisoners' arms behind their backs like pinioned fowl.[120] The term *iṯȝ*, "thief," can also refer to demonic enemies.[121]

**m.** On the statue Louvre A. 88, the General Hor claims to be one "who repels the opponents (*ḫsf šnʿ.w*)," apparently also in reference to the Persians.[122] This specific term is common among gargoyle texts, where the lion repels (*šnʿ*) the enemies (*šnʿ.w*) and storm clouds (*šnʿ.w*).[123] The present example might allude to the title "priest of the door-bolt (*ḫkn.t*)" mentioned later (cf. *infra*), for which one might compare a doorway inscription from the Opet Temple: "I am the lion-shaped door-bolt of the great portal (*ỉnk ḫkn.t nt sbȝ wr*) (…), who repels the enemy (*šnʿ šnʿ*)" (*Opet* I, 6, 1-3).

**n.** Despite the unconventional orthography of  = *spd*, "sharp,"[124] this group is recognizable as the classical epithet "sharper than a grain (of wheat)," attested already in the First Intermediate Period.[125] As in the present example, this phrase usually qualifies a statement about "performing Maat (*ỉrỉ mȝʿ.t*)."[126]

**o.** Reading  = *nty(.w)*,[127] following the pattern of similar epithets,[128] especially *Petosiris*, No. 82, 103: *stp(.w) n ỉmy.w nỉw.t=f*, "chosen among those in his city."[129]

117 For many epithets beginning with *mwnf*, "protector," see De Meulenaere, *BIFAO* 61, 1962, p. 36, n. (k); Heise, *Erinnern und Gedenken*, 2007, p. 316.

118 *LGG* V, *OLA* 114, 2002, p. 219 (noting the variants *ḫn rqy.w* and *ḫnt rqy.w*; *ibid*, p. 158 and 229); for the various meanings of *ḫnb* and related words, see A. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning: A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-chests and Driving the Calves*, *EgUit* 8, 1995, I, p. 320, n. 5; another General from the late Ptolemaic Period mentions driving away "rebels (*rqy.w*)," see Lembke, Vittmann, *MDAIK* 55, 1999, p. 311, n. l.

119 *Wb*. III, 202, 2-3: "(gefangene Vögel) zusammenbinden" (I thank John C. Darnell for this suggestion); for the orthography, see *Val. Phon.* II, p. 331-332 (especially No. 779); *Dendara* XII, 14, 18.

120 H. Junker, "Die Feinde auf dem Sockel der Chasechem-Statuen und die Darstellung von geopferten Tieren," in O. Firchow (ed.), *Ägyptologische Studien*, 1955, p. 162-75.

121 Cf. *LGG* I, *OLA* 110, 2002, p. 627a, 639a.

122 Vercoutter, *BIFAO* 49, 1950, p. 87, pl. III, col. 1.

123 P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, *OLA* 78, 1997, p. 1018-9; *Dendara* XII, 321, 10;

124 Other examples of *spd* written as *sbd* occur in inscriptions from the Twenty-Sixth and Twenty-Seventh dynasties; see G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte*, *BdE* 11, 1936, p. 90, n. (b), who already noted the descendants in Demotic (*sbt*) and Coptic (cobτe).

125 *Wb*. I, 374, 5; el-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Saïs et ses divinités*, p. 125, l. 34, 127, n. (f); M. Lichtheim, *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies*, *OBO* 120, 1992, p. 31; K. Jansen-Winkeln, *SAK* 29, p. 2001, p. 103, col. 4, and 108, n. (68); J. Osing, G. Rosati, *Papiri geroglifici e ieratici da Tebtynis*, 1998, p. 68.

126 El-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Saïs*, p. 125; Jansen-Winkeln, *SAK* 29, 2001, p. 103, col. 4.

127 For Thirtieth Dynasty parallels, see Naucratis Stela, col. 13; Roeder, *ASAE* 52, 1954, p. 421.

128 *Wb*. IV, 337, 13-14; Guksch, *Königsdienst*, 1994, p. 112-113; K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie*, *ÄAT* 8, 1985, I, p. 232, n. 5; Heise, *Erinnern und Gedenke*, 2007, p. 338; cf. also *Urk.* II, 3, 14 (Naple Stela); Derchain, *Les impondérables de l'hellénisation*, 2000, pl. IV, col. 2.

129 Compare also JE 36663, ll. 9-10: *stp n nỉwty.w=f*, "one chosen by his fellow citizens" (H. De Meulenaere, "Une famille sacerdotale thébaine," *BIFAO* 86, 1986, p. 139, 140, n. d, and pl. VI).


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Alternatively, this word could be an abbreviated form of *nṯ(r)*,[130] and thus one could read "chosen by the god within his city," i.e. "his local god." The latter option would find a close parallel in another Thirtieth Dynasty biography: "whom god distinguished because of what his heart created for him (*ṯnỉ nṯr ḥr qmȝ n=f ỉb=f*)."[131]

**p** The value  = *ḏd*, "to say," is common in this period.[132]

**q.** For similar orthographies of (*ỉmy*)-*rȝ msḏ*, see Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens de la Basse Époque*, p. 261-262. The full title, "Great generalissimo in chief of his majesty (*ỉmy-rȝ msḏ wr tpy n ḥm=f*)" was quite common in the Thirtieth Dynasty (cf. Chevereau, *op. cit.*, p. 205) and thus it is impossible to identify the owner of the statue based on his titles alone.

**r.** Door bolts on Late Period temples were sometimes shaped like lions , as with the present determinative for the word *ḥkn(.t)*.[133] A similar title appears on the Ptolemaic Period sarcophagus of Panehemise (Vienna ÄS 4), who was "priest of the Mound of Shena', priest of the gods and goddesses united within it, priest of its portal, priest of its door bolts (),priest of its trees, and priest of its water."[134]

## B. *Restorations in Busiris* (col. 3)

[3] 

[3] [...] *nṯr*
*dm=ṯn rn=ỉ r-gs nṯr ʿȝ*[a]
*ḥr nty ỉr.n=ỉ ȝḫ.w n/m Pr-Wsỉr*
*smȝwỉ=ỉ s.t wr.t n nṯr-ʿȝ*

*rdỉ.n=ỉ wṯz-nfr.w n Wsỉr nb-Ḏdw*
*ḥḏ-šps n Wsỉr ḥry-s.t-wr.t*[b]
*m ḥḏ mk(.w) m nbw*

130 Similar orthographies are popular in the Late Period: H. De Meulenaere, "*NṮ(R)* et *NF(R)*," in C. Berger, G. Clerc, N. Grimal (eds.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, *BdE* 106/4, 1994, p. 65-71.

131 J.J. Clère, "Une statuette du fils aîné du roi Nectanabô," *RdE* 6, 1951, p. 138.

132 H. De Meulenaere, "Les valeurs de signe  à la Basse Époque," *BIFAO* 54, 1954, p. 74; note especially E.J. Sherman, "Djedḥor the Saviour Statue Base OI 10589," *JEA* 67, 1981, p. 86, col. 6, 87-89, *passim*

133 See primarily A. Varille, "La grande porte du temple d'Apet à Karnak," *ASAE* 53, 1955, p. 85-90, pl. IX, col. 1; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 682-683; Cauville, *Dendara. La porte d'Isis*, 35, 5 and p. 272, n. 91. For lions (*rw.ty*) protecting gateways (*rw.t*), see already H. Goedicke, "A Lion-Cult of the Old Kingdom Connected with the Royal Temple," *RdE* 11, 1957, p. 57-60; H. Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418): a Case Study in Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom*, *OLA* 70, 1996, p. 318-319.

134 Guermeur, *Les cultes d'Amon hors de Thèbes*, 2005, p. 132; see in particular the discussion of J. Yoyotte, *ACF* 95, 1994-1995, p. 679.


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*rdỉ.n=ỉ mỉtt n Ỉnpw ḥr-ỉb Ḥw.t-Ỉnpw*[c]
*r ỉr(.t) ꜣ* […][d]

[3] […] *god,*
*may you pronounce my name beside the great god,*
*because I performed benefactions for/in Busiris,*
*renovating the great seat of the Great God.*

*Just as I donated the processional bark for Osiris Lord of Busiris,*
*and the august shrine for Osiris upon the Great Throne,*
*(made) from silver and covered with gold,*
*so I donated the same to Anubis within Cynopolis,*
*in order to protect* […]

**a.** The phrase *r-gs nṯr ꜥ* appears with an identical orthography on a Memphite relief from the reign of Nectanebo I (Brooklyn 56.152).[135]

**b.** Although the term *ḫḏ šps*, "august shrine," often refers to the sanctuary or a free-standing naos, the presence of silver and gold suggests this object was a small portable naos intended to hold a statuette of Osiris.[136]

**c.** The present "house of Anubis (*Ḥw.t-Ỉnpw*)" is most likely Cynopolis of the Busirite nome (modern Abusir Bana) well known in Greco-Roman sources, but heretofore never attested in hieroglyphic or demotic texts.[137]
Building inscriptions frequently state that temple renovations are intended to protect or hide the divine statues from harm.[138]

135 K. Jansen-Winkeln, "Eine Grabübernahme in der 30. Dynastie," *JEA* 83, 1997, p. 171, fig. 2, col. 2, 174, n. (m); cf. similarly H. De Meulenaere, *BIFAO* 61, 1962, p. 32, col. 2 (also Thirtieth Dynasty) where the funerary wish should read: *sḫꜣ=tn rn=ỉ r-nfr r-gs ḥnw.t-nṯr.w*, "May you recall my name well beside the Mistress of the Gods (Hathor)."

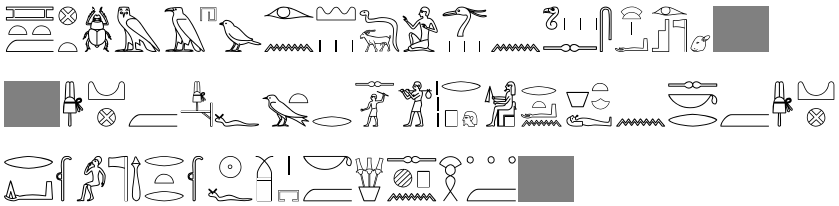
136 See already *Wb.* III, 209, 2; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 1997, p. 692; S. Cauville renders all examples of this word as "reliquaire" (*Dendara I*, p. 394; *Dendara III*, p. 556; *Dendara IV*, p. 761; *Dendara V-VI*, 2, pp. 354-5). Note that Peftuaneith also dedicated "one august shrine of electrum (*wꜥ ḫḏ šps m ḏꜥm*)" for the Osiris temple at Abydos, and that it also contained "divine amulets, all ritual requirements made from gold, silver, and all types of precious stones (*ꜣꜣ.w nṯry, dbḥ.wt nb nw ỉḫt-nṯr m nbw ḫḏ ꜥꜣ.t nb*)" (Louvre A 93, cols. 3-4 = Jelínková-Reymond, *ASAE* 54, 1956-57, p. 276); for a similar shrine built for Osiris in Libya, see A. Rowe, *A History of Ancient Cyrenaica: New Light on Aegypto-Cyrenaean Relations; Two Ptolemaic Statues Found in Tolmeita*, *CASAE* 12, 1948, p. 74, col. 3. Cf. also JE 67093 (Chr. Zivie-Coche, *Tanis : travaux récents sur le Tell Sân El-Hagar, 3, Statues et autobiographies de dignitaires : Tanis à l'époque ptolémaïque,* 2004, p. 271, col. 8): "I renewed the august shrine in electrum, filled with all precious stones, so that the statue of the Lord of Mesen (Horus) might appear in procession within it (*srnp=ỉ ḫḏ šps m ḏꜥm, mḥ(.w) m ꜥꜣ.t nb, ḥꜥ sšm nb-Msn m ḥr-ỉb=s*)."

137 A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano*, 1935, III, p. 166; St. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit: eine Sammlung christlicher Stätten in Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, *TAVO* 41, 1984, I, p. 318-324; Gardiner, *AEO* II, p. 177*.

138 R. Preys, *Les complexes de la Demeure du Sistre et du Trône de Rê. Théologie et décoration dans le temple d'Hathor à Dendera*, *OLA* 106, 2002, p. 65, n. 601-602.


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## C. *Restorations in Abydos* (col. 4)

[4] 

[…] [4] *mỉtt m Nỉw.t-ḫprr*[a]
*m ɜḥ ỉr.n ḫɜsty.w*[b]
*ḏr=ỉ ɜḫ.w n rmṯ.w=s*[c]

*sḫ=ỉ Wsỉr ḫnt[y-Ỉmnty.w…]*[d] *[nb? ɜb]ḏw m ɜbḏw.t=f wr.t*[e]
*r sḫr šmɜy.w*[f] *r p(ɜ) tp šps*[g]

*rdỉ.n(=ỉ) bd n Skr m ɜbḏw*[h]
*r dỉ(.t) rnp nṯr ɜ r tr=f*[i]
*pr=ỉ pr=k m dbḥ.w*
*sḫpr.n(=ỉ) wɜḥy(.t) m* […][j]

[…] [4] *the like in Nỉw.t-ḫprr (Abydos),*
*from the anguish which the foreigners had caused,*
*seeking out benefactions for its people.*

*That I caused Osiris Khenty[amentiu? lord of?] Aby[dos] to appear in procession*
*within his great Abydene standard,*
*was in order to drive away wandering spirits from the august head (of Osiris).*

*That I donated a mummy-shaped mold for Sokar in Abydos,*
*was in order to allow the Great God to rejuvenate at his time;*
*I equipped your temple with necessary implements,*
*having created abundance/grain in* […]

**a.** *Nỉw.t-ḫprr* (lit. "City of the Scarab") is a surprisingly well-attested designation of Abydos in the Late Period,[139] and an identical orthography occurs in *Philä* I, 49, 18. The present example complements the use of *Nỉw.t-rn=s* for Mostai in column 1 (*supra*, n. b).

139 H. Gauthier, *DG* III, 1926, p. 80; P. Montet, *Géographie* II, 1961, p. 101 (arguing it was actually Thinis); *LGG* III, 522-3; H. Beinlich, *Die „Osirisreliquien" Zum Motiv der Körpergliederung in der altägyptischen Religion*, *ÄgAb* 42, 1984, p. 113, n. 5, 223-224, 279, n. 59; and recently M. Stadler, „Der Skarabäus als osirianisches Symbol vornehmlich nach spätzeitlichen Quellen," *ZÄS* 128, 2001, p. 75, 77-78. Examples include: Bénédite, *Philae*, 90, 15; *Philä* I, 49, 18; *Dendara* I, 93, 7; *Dendara* II, 133, 4; 142, 4; *Dendara* V, 73, 8; *Dendara* X, 52, 4; 76, 1; 116, 3; 200, 3; 232, 3; 325, 7; *Dendara* XI, 60, 8; *Dendara* XII, 66, 11-12; *Dendara* XIII, 27, 14; *Opet* I, 213, n. 8; *Tôd* I, 89, 4; *Edfou* I, 108, 2; *Edfou* III, 247, 14-15; *Edfou* V, 97, 4; 293, 14-15; *Edfou* VI, 229, 14; L*D* IV, 62d (Armant). For another occurrence in a private inscription, see H. De Meulenaere, "Un prêtre d'Akhmim Abydos," *CdE* 44, 1969, p. 218, n. (u).


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**b.** Reading  = *ḫɜsty.w*, "foreigners,"[140] which in the present context should refer to the Persians (cf. *infra*). The same expression occurs in the Mendes Stela, line 9 (*Urk.* II, 38, 7-8), in which Ptolemy II visits the local temple and oversees restoration work in order to "remove the damage which the evil foreigners had inflicted against it (*rwỉ ɜḥ ỉr ḫɜsty.w bdš.w r=f*)."

**c.** The phrase *ḏʿr ɜḫ.w*, "to seek benefactions," is common in other auto-biographies.[141] The orthography  = *ḏʿr* appears to be unique, although the sportive value of the second animal for *ʿr* (< "goat," "horned animal")[142] is attested already in a private inscription of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty.[143] A similar example might occur in the biography of the General Hor, who claimed to be "one who restores what is missing in the temples, who elevates (*sʿr* = ) their magnificence to the god upon the throne (viz. the King) (*mḥ gm-wš m gs.w-pr.w, sʿr bɜw=sn n nṯr ḫr ns.t*)."[144] As in other inscriptions, this official seeks benefactions (*ɜḫ.w*) for the population of Busiris (col. 3) and Abydos, not just for the gods.[145]

**d.** The lacuna is definitely large enough to restore Khenty[imentiu], and this would fit the general Abydene context.

**e.** The Abydene standard (*ɜbḏw.t*)[146] was the most sacred object of Abydos, since it was supposed to contain and protect the head of Osiris (cf. *infra*).

140 *Wb.* II, 235, 13-14. This precise orthography occurs elsewhere in *Urk.* II, 38, 8 (Mendes Stela), G. Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Pétosiris* I, *BiGen* 29, 1924 (2nd ed. 2007), II, p.32, n° 59, 3, and the Ballas inscription of Montuhotep II (J.C. Darnell, "The Eleventh Dynasty Royal Inscription from Deir el-Ballas," *RdE* 59, 2008, p. 89, 95, and pl. IX, line x + 8); compare orthographies like  (Sherman, *JEA* 67, 1981, p. 88, col. B2, 95, n. u; Bucheum Stela 8, line 6; 9, line 8 = Goldbrunner, *Buchis*, pls. 4-5),  (Thiers, *Ptolémée Philadelphe et les prêtres d'Atoum de Tjékou*, 2007, p. 34, line 9), or  (Zivie-Coche, *Tanis* 3, 2004, p. 258, col. 10).

141 *Wb.* V, 540, 4; Janssen, *De traditioneele egyptische Autobiografie* I, 1946, p. 121; Chr. Thiers, *La stèle de Ptolémée VIII Évergète II à Héracléion*, *OCMAM* 4, 2009, p. 13, line 12 (reading *ɜḫ.w*, not "*wbn/psḏ* (?)"); *Urk.* II, 66, 7 (*ḏʿr nfrw*); for the more common phrase *ḫḫỉ-ɜḫ.w*, see E. Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérisseuse de Djed-her-le-sauveur*, *BdE* 23, 1956, p. 90-91, n. 11.

142 *Wb.* I, 208, 10; P. Vernus, "Une localité de la région d'Héracléopolis," *RdE* 19, 1967, p. 166-168; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 1997, p. 165. For this sign used as a phonogram for *ʿr*, see *Val. Phon.* I, p. 222 (221); S. Cauville, *Dendara. Le fonds hiéroglyphique au temps de Cléopâtre*, 2001, p. 83; *Wb.* I, 208, 4, 209, 3; Vernus, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

143 K. Piehl, "Saitica," *ZÄS* 31, 1893, p. 90, n. d, discussing the word *sʿr* in BM 83 (cf. Guermeur, *Les cultes d'Amon hors de Thèbes*, 2005, p. 107, C); another example from a private inscription occurs on Moscow, Pushkin Museum Stela 270 (S.I. Hodjash, O.D. Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow*, 1982, p. 131, line 1): (…) *ỉỉ=sn r sṯɜ.t ṯn, ʿr=sn r mʿḥʿ.t ṯn*, "(all scribes…) who shall come to this necropolis and go up ()to this cenotaph."

144 Vercoutter, *BIFAO* 49, 1949, p. 103, col. 1; Vercoutter alternatively translated: "qui momifie leurs âmes divines (c'est-à-dire: les animaux sacrés) (*sʿḥ bɜ.w=sn*)" (followed by Gorre, *Les relations du clergé égyptien*, 2009, p. 202, 208). For the use of the verb *sʿr*, "to bring up (a subject)" in this context, see Jelínková-Reymond, *ASAE* 54, 1956-57, p. 282, n. 14; J.J. Clère, "Une statue naophore hathorique d'époque saïte," *RdE* 24, 1972, p. 53, col. 2; Bothmer, *ESLP*, 1960 pl. 42, fig. 102, col. 3; Heise, *Erinnern und Gedenken*, 2007, p. 311-312; see also Guermeur, in Régen, Servajean (eds.), *Verba manent*, I, 2009, p. 181, col. 3, 189, n. w (also written with the goat).

145 Cf. Derchain, *Les impondérables de l'hellénisation*, 2000, pl. IV, col. 8: "I performed benefactions for the (entire) Coptite Nome (*ỉr.n=ỉ ɜḫ.w n Nb.wy*)"; Zivie-Coche, *Tanis* 3, 2004, p. 258, col. 10: "I performed great benefactions for the residents of Tanis (*ỉr.n=ỉ ɜḫ.w wr.w n ỉmy.w sḫ.t-ḏʿn.t*)."

146 For the term *ɜbḏw(.t)*, "Abydene standard" (not in the *Wörterbuch*), see É. Chassinat, *Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak*, II, 1968, p. 588-591; R. Anthes, "Die Berichte des Neferhotep und Ichernofret über das Osirisfest in Abydos," in *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums, MÄSB* 8, 1974, p. 44, n. a, 46-47, n. f; Fr-R. Herbin, *Le Livre de parcourir l'éternité*, *OLA* 58, 1994, p. 108-109; D. Meeks, *Mythes et légendes du Delta d'après le papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.84*, *MIFAO* 125, 2006, p. 44, n. 15, 300, n. 1002. For the object itself, see H.E. Winlock, *Bas-Reliefs from the Temple of Rameses I at Abydos*, *MMAP* 1, 1921, p. 15-26.


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**f.** Protective deities are usually the ones who "drive away errant spirits (*sḫr šmɜy.w*)."[147] In a geographically-structured hymn from Edfu, Horus in Abydos is specifically "he who drives away wandering spirits (*sḫr šmɜy.w*)" from the tomb of his father, Osiris (*Edfou* VIII, 6, 12). This term might be another reference to the Persians (cf. *supra*, **b.**), and this text recalls the Speos Artemidos inscription of Hatshepsut in which she blames wandering nomad elements (also *šmɜy.w*) among the foreign Hyksos for destruction to Egyptian temples during the Second Intermediate Period.[148]

**g.** The "august head" belongs to Osiris,[149] and was traditionally preserved within the Abydene standard. The ability of this relic to ward off enemies from Osiris's head is further described in a caption from Dendera (*Dendara* X, 229, 9-10):

*ɜbḏw šps swḏɜ tp-nṯry m ɜbḏw*
*pḥ.n=s ḥr.t r sḫr sbỉ.w r=f*

*The august Abydos-standard which protects the "divine head" in Abydos,*
*it is in order to repel enemies from it (viz. the head) that it reached the sky.*

**h.** According to a famous inscription from Dendera, two *bd*-molds were used to fashion mummy-shaped effigies of Osiris-Khentyamenty and Sokar from grain, sand, aromatics and water during the Khoiak festival.[150]

**i.** This phrase finds a direct parallel in CG 297, col. 3, where the priest Hor claims to have renovated the temple of Osiris "in order to rejuvenate the Great God at his time (*r srnp nṯr ʿɜ r tr=f*)."[151]

**j.** These actions echo a passage in the Naucratis Stela, column 6, where Nectanebo I is said to be "one who increases necessary objects (*sʿšɜ dbḥ.w*), and creates abundance in everything (*sḫpr wɜḥy.t m ḫt nb*)."[152] The *dbḥ.w* could refer to generic ritual implements for the temple.[153]

147 *LGG* VI, *OLA* 115, 2002, p. 459; Chr. Thiers, "Une porte de Ptolémée Évergète II consacrée à Khonsou-qui-fixe le sort," *Cahiers de Karnak* 11, 2003, p. 589, n. b, 594, n. 57; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 1997, p. 894, 1008-1009. For the semantic evolution of the term *šmɜy.w*, from "foreign nomads" to "demons," see H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Abseits von Ma'at. Fallstudien zu Außenseitern im Alten Ägypten*, 2005, p. 19-25.

148 J.P. Allen, "The Speos Artemidos Inscription of Hatshepsut," *BES* 16, 2002, p. 5, pl. 2, col. 37-38.

149 For the specific term "august head (*tp šps*)" in similar contexts, see Herbin, *Le Livre de parcourir l'éternité*, 1994, p. 110; Meeks, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, p. 44, n. 15; Chr. Leitz, "Les trente premiers versets de la litanie d'Osiris à Esna (Esna 217) » *RdE* 59, 2008, p. 261; cf. also *Dendara* X, 36, 14, and compare the similar "divine head (*tp-nṯry*)" of Osiris mentioned in *Dendara* X, 229, 9 and 401, 14.

150 For the term *bd*, see Chassinat, *Le Mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak*, I, 1966, p. 198-200; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 1997, p. 336; Meeks, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, 2006, p. 68, n. 122; for the separate "mold of Sokar" (distinct from the "mold of Osiris"), see *Dendara* X, 31, 2-5, 32, 9-11, 50, 8, Pls. 5 and 30, and the discussion of Chassinat, *op. cit.*, p. 55, 57-58. For the Osirian grain-mummies in general, see the summaries and bibliography in S. Cauville, *Le temple de Dendara: Les chapelles osiriennes*, II: *commentaire*, *BdE* 118, 1997, p. 17-19; Chr. Leitz, *Quellentexte zur ägyptischen Religion* I: *Die Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, *EQA* 2, 2004, p. 133-140; M. Minas-Nerpel, "Die ptolemäischen Sokar-Osiris-Mumien: Neue Erkenntnisse zum ägyptischen Dynastiekult der Ptolemäer," *MDAIK* 62, 2006, p. 197-213; and most recently M.C. Centrone, *Egyptian Corn-Mummies: a Class of Religious Artefacts Catalogued and Systematically Organized*, 2009.

151 K. Jansen-Winkeln, "Die Inschrift des Porträtstatue des Hor," *MDAIK* 54, 1998, p. 229, 230, fig. 1, 233, n. 26.

152 For the term *wɜḥy.t*, "grain; harvest; abundance," in similar inscriptions, see Vercoutter, *BIFAO* 49, 1950, p. 106, n. (i); cf. also Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 1997, p. 197; Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, I, 1995, p. 290, n. 15.

153 Jelínková-Reymond, *ASAE* 54, 1957, p. 284, n. 27; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 1997, p. 1190-1191.


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Alternatively, if the author is still speaking about the mold of Sokar, the *dbḥ.w* and *wꜣḥy.t*, "grain," may refer specifically to the special objects necessary for creating the grain mummy. Note that one section of the Khoiak inscription from Dendera lists "the objects necessary for the mold of Sokar (*nꜣ dbḥ.w n pꜣ bd n Skr*)."[154]

## Summary

The owner of the statue held the important military position of chief Generalissimo (*ỉmy-rꜣ mšʿ wr*), and his administrative and sacerdotal titles connect him to Busiris and Mostai in the Delta. He presents himself using a series of traditional idealizing epithets, with a particular focus on his education, eloquence, and his efforts in defending Egypt from its enemies (viz. the Persians).

Art historical and epigraphic considerations support dating the statue to the fourth century BCE, perhaps more precisely to the reign of Nectanebo I (cf. *supra*). The fact that Nectanebo I and II also funded building projects at Abydos further argues in favor of this conclusion. As Neal Spencer has noted, high-ranking officials were responsible for much of the temple reconstruction in the Thirtieth Dynasty,[155] and private restoration texts often accompany royal inscriptions, as with Peftuaneith and Amasis (cf. *supra*, Section 1).

As noted above (section A, text note **q**), the sole title of Generalissimo is not sufficient to identify the statue's owner. Nonetheless, the object bears a number of artistic and textual similarities to the monuments of another Generallisimo, Hor (Louvre A. 88 = **A**, and Alexandria, w/o # = **B**).[156] Textually, these include the mention of expelling "opponents (*šnʿ.w*)" (**A**, col. 1), the gazelle to write *ʿr* (**B**, col. 2), and the epithets involving *ḫm* and *fqꜣ* (**B**, col. 2). Like the owner of the MMA 1996.91, Hor was also in charge of Mostai (*Nỉw.t-rn=s*), (**A**, col. 2), defended Egypt against foreigners (**A**, col. 1), and financed temple renovations and administrative changes (**A**, cols. 2-4, **B**, cols. 3-4). Artistically, the statues are all similar sizes and modeled in the same striding pose, although the kilts are quite different.[157] In addition, the inscriptions are strikingly similar in layout as all three statues have four columns, the signs are carved in the same style, and the spacing is almost identical.[158] It is tempting to suggest that MMA 1996.91 represents another statue of the general Hor, erected in Busiris or Abydos to commemorate his local euergetism, while the other statues celebrating benefactions to Harsaphes, Heneb, and other deities would come from Herakleopolis;[159] at the very least, it is not unimaginable

154 *Dendara* X, 34, 13-35, 35, 11; cf. CHASSINAT, *Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak*, II, 1968, p. 493-497; Fr. JANOT, *Les instruments d'embaumenent*, *BdE* 125, 2000, p. 37-40 (kindly suggested by Philippe Collombert); for similar private donations of valuable ritual or mummification equipment, see Chr. THIERS, "Égyptiens et Grecs au service des culte indigènes. Un aspect de l'évergétisme en Égypte lagide," in M. Molin (ed.), *Les régulations sociales dans l'Antiquité. Actes du colloque d'Angers 23 et 24 mai 2003*, 2006, p. 277; D. KLOTZ, "The Statue of the *dioikêtês* Harkhebi/Archibios: Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art 47-12," *BIFAO* 109, 2009, p. 296-297, n. z.

155 N. SPENCER, *A Naos of Nekhthorheb from Bubastis*, 2006, p. 51.

156 VERCOUTTER, *BIFAO* 49, 1950, p. 85-114; GORRE, *Les relations du clergé égyptien et des Lagides*, 2009, p. 198-209.

157 VERCOUTTER, *BIFAO* 49, 1950, Pls. I and IV.

158 Even the average sizes of the hieroglyphs are close to those on the Louvre and Alexandria statues; cf. VERCOUTTER *BIFAO* 49, 1950, p. 101, n. 1.

159 Compare the Saite officials Neshor and Peftuaneith (discussed *supra*, Section 1), who dedicated statues to various local deities in both Upper and Lower Egypt.


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that all three statues are products of the same Lower Egyptian *atelier*. Nonetheless, this statue could have easily belonged to another member of the burgeoning military elite of the Thirtieth Dynasty with ties to Nectanebo, an industrious social class responsible for a renascence of archaizing inscriptions, temple reconstruction, and religious scholarship.[160]

The General first mentions benefactions he performed for the temples in his hometown of Busiris. He renovated the sanctuary (*s.t wr.t*) of the local Osiris temple, and donated a new processional bark (*wṯz-nfrw*) and portable shrine (*ḥḏ šps*) to carry the divine statue. He performed similar works for the god Anubis in the nearby town of Cynopolis. In the final column, the General speaks of similar temple benefactions he performed in Abydos, here called Scarab City (*Nỉw.t-ḫprr*). Abydos had traditionally been a popular pilgrimage destination, as followers wished to erect their own stelae and private shrines as close as possible to the tomb of Osiris.[161] Since this official was also a priest of Osiris in Lower Egypt (Busiris), his munificence towards Abydos reflects particularly pious devotion to his local god by restoring his ancient temple in Upper Egypt. The same type of euergetism was performed by the high-ranking official Nestaisous (most likely from the Thirtieth Dynasty), a priest of Amun in Xois (Lower Egypt) who commissioned an impressive group statue for the temple of Amun at Karnak and noted that he "placed his arms around the priests of Thebes, after the City had fallen into <dis>order (*rdỉ ꜥ.wy=f ḥꜣ ḥm.w-nṯr.w Wꜣs.t ḏr wꜣỉ N(ỉw).t m <ḫ>nnw*)."[162]

The anonymous General's gifts at Abydos are relatively modest compared to his contributions in the Busirite nome, consisting primarily of cult objects: a silver mold to fashion grain-mummies of Sokar during the annual Khoiak festival, restoration of the Abydene standard, and additional small objects used for temple services (*dbḥ.w*). The most interesting detail is that these donations were necessary to undo "the damage inflicted by the foreigners (*ꜣḫ ỉr.n ḫꜣsty.w*)." Because of the statue's Thirtieth Dynasty date, this phrase can only refer to the Persians,[163] implying they had confiscated these valuable ritual objects or even damaged the temples. The fact that the General does not mention similar damage at Busiris or Cynopolis supports the veracity of these claims, suggesting that like in the Ptolemaic Period, Abydos or even Upper Egypt as a whole may have suffered from Persian attacks again anti-Persian rebels.[164]

160 See in general N. Spencer, *op. cit.*, p. 47-52; Manassa, *The Late Egyptian Underworld,* 2007.

161 Cf. the Saite statues of Peftuaneith and Neshor from Abydos (*supra*), just two of the many private monuments these prominent officials dedicated throughout Egypt.

162 Guermeur, *BIFAO* 104, 2004, p. 271, 278-279, n. v; Guermeur noted additional examples of priests of Amun in Balamun (Lower Egypt) who also donated statues at Karnak (*ibid*, p. 246, n. 4).

163 For *ḫꜣsty.w* denoting Persians in contemporaneous inscriptions, see especially Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Pétosiris*, II, 1923, (2nd ed. 2007), p. 32 (n° 59, 3); and the discussions of G. Posener (*La première domination perse en Égypte*, 1936, p. 167-168); Sherman, *JEA* 67, 1981, p. 95, n. u; D. Devauchelle, "Le sentiment anti-perse chez les anciens Égyptiens," *Transeuphratène* 9, 1995, p. 77-80; Chr. Thiers, "Civils et militaires dans les temples. Occupation illicite et expulsion," *BIFAO* 95, 1995, p. 499, n. a.

164 Note that such attacks on sacred sites even occurred in the Pharaonic Period, as when Khety damaged the nearby necropolis of Thinis during the First Intermediate Period: P. Vernus, "Ménès, Achtoès, l'hippopotame et le crocodile – lecture structurale de l'historiographie égyptienne," in U. Verhoeven, E. Graefe (eds.), *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten*, 1991, p. 333-335; J.C. Darnell, "The Message of King Wahankh Antef II to Khety, Ruler of Heracleopolis," *ZÄS* 124, 1997, p. 106-108.


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## The Sebennytic Renaissance and the Persians

This brief phrase about the "foreigners" adds a compelling new perspective on the transitional fourth century BCE, the religious policies of the Persian Empire, and the responses of the indigenous elite. A group of autobiographies from the late Thirtieth Dynasty, Second Persian Domination, and reign of Alexander (primarily Petosiris, Djedhor the Savior, the general Hor, Onnophris, Somtoutefnakht), have long served as the primary sources for this turbulent period of Egyptian history.[165] The inscription on MMA 1996.91 differs from these well-known texts in two critical regards.

The anonymous general specifies that the damage was caused by "foreigners." Restoration inscriptions traditionally explain previous temple destruction as the result of human negligence or natural disasters such as floods.[166] Contemporaneous autobiographies generally evoke the former topos, making oblique references to a period of chaos, ignorance, or neglect, particularly in reference to temples and religious activities. According to Petosiris, all of Egypt was in turmoil and "the priests had gone away, ignorant of what was happening therein (*wʿb.w ḫr(.w) m nn rḫ ḫpr ỉm*)."[167] Wennefer, another official from Hermopolis, built a new sacred lake at the Thoth temple in order to carry out purification rituals, decrying that the temple had "been damaged for ages (*wn(.w) wȝsy ḏr ḥn.ty*)" and that "there were no longer any priests inside (*nỉ wn wʿb nb m-ḫnt=s*)," so that he was moved to perform a thorough purification of fourteen days before resuming temple services.[168] Somtoutefnakht commented that his local god, Harsaphes, had "turned his back on Egypt."[169]

Unlike his peers, the anonymous General names the agent of destruction, namely the "foreigners." If the statue truly dates to the reign of Nectanebo I, or even to the reigns of Teos or Nectanebo II (cf. *supra*), this passage is one of the earliest allegations of Persians molesting Egyptian temples.[170] Most sacerdotal decrees of the Ptolemaic Period celebrate the Lagide reclamation of Egyptian statues purportedly carried away by the Persians.[171] Skeptical historians

165 See recently M. Chauveau, Chr. Thiers, "L'Égypte en transition: des Perses aux Macédoniens", in P. Briant, Fr. Joannès (eds.), *La transition entre l'Empire achéménide et les royaumes hellénistiques (Vers 350-300 av. J.-C.*, 2006, p. 388-389; B. Menu, "L'apport des autobiographies hiérioglyphiques à l'histoire des deux dominations perses," *Transeuphratène* 35, 2009, p. 154-161.

166 D. Redford, *Pharonic King-Lists, Annals, and Day-Books*, *SSEAP* 4, 1986, p. 259-275; M. Wiener, J.P. Allen, "Separate Lives: The Ahmose Tempest and the Theran Eruption," *JNES* 57, 1998, p. 20-21; for building inscriptions in general, see Grallert, *Bauen – Stiften – Weihen*; J.B. McClain, *Restoration Inscriptions and the Tradition of Monumental Restoration* (PhD Diss.; University of Chicago, 2007).

167 Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Pétosiris* II, 1923 (2nd ed. 2007), p. 54, n° 81, 32-33.

168 British Museum, EA 69486 (unpublished); see http://www.britishmuseum.org/research.aspx; H. De Meulenaere, "La statuette du scribe du roi Pakhnoum (Le Caire JE 37456)," *CdE* 72, 1997, p. 17.

169 *Urk*. II, 3, 15; Perdu, *RdE* 36, 1985, p. 105, n. g.

170 When Cambyses arrived in Egypt, the Saite official Udjahorresne complained of "foreigners" (probably from the Persian military) who had taken up residence within the temple of Neith, but he made no allegations of destruction or stolen property; Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte*, p. 14-17; Chr. Thiers, "Civils et militaires dans les temples. Occupation illicite et expulsion," *BIFAO* 95, 1995, p. 498-499.

171 See most recently Thiers, *Ptolémée Philadelphe et les prêtres d'Atoum de Tjékou*, p. 100-106. Some historians have suggested that it was actually the Assyrians (also designated as "the foreigners") who deported the statues during their Egyptian invasion in the seventh century BCE, and traces of this action might be found in the Demotic story "The Quest for the Divine Limbs," where Imhotep and Djoser travel to Assyria to recover the sacred relics of Osiris (cf. K. Ryholt, "The Life of Imhotep (P. Carlsberg 85)," in G. Widmer, D. Devauchelle (eds.), *Actes du IXe congrès international des études*


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have tried to dismiss these episodes as fictitious propaganda, a literary *topos* devised to legitimize Ptolemaic rule in Egypt as guardians of Pharaonic religion and culture.[172] However, the Thirtieth Dynasty testimony of our anonymous General demonstrates that Egyptians were accusing the Persians of raiding temple treasuries before Ptolemy I and even before the second Persian invasion of Artaxerxes III Ochus.

Additional early references to such deportations may occur on the naos of Nectanebo I from Saft el-Henna (CG 70021).[173] The dedicatory inscriptions celebrate how Nectanebo discovered the divine statues depicted on the naos and allude several times that these objects had been missing for a period of time. One passage mentions that these gods had been "hidden since the time of the ancestors, when turmoil had come to pass in Egypt (*ỉmn(.w) ḏr rk ḏrty.w, m wɜỉ ḫrw r ḫpr ḥr Bɜq.t*),"[174] while another excerpt notes that Nectanebo restored the statues to their proper place "after an extended period of time (in which) they had wandered off to foreign lands (*m-ḫt pḏry.t ɜw(.t) s(n) ḥr pḏrḏr r ḫɜs.wt*)."[175] According to the most detailed portion, the chief local god Sopdu chose to reveal himself to Nectanebo I "after a great many years (*m-sɜ rnp.wt qn.w*)":[176]

*sk sw ḥr nḥ.t ɜḫ.w=f*
*ỉw nṯr pn m s.t štɜ.t*
*nn rḫ st ỉn ḥry.w-sštɜ.w*
*psḏ.t nb nw spɜ.t tn m ỉmn ḏ.t=sn*

*rdỉ.n st nṯr m ỉb n nb-tɜ.wy*
*(r) ỉr.tˁ n mɜɜ nfrw ḥm=f* […]
[…] *rnp.wt qn.w nn rḫ ḫpr ỉm*

*ỉw.tw ḥr mɜɜ s(w) m gɜgɜ*
*ḥr sr=s m mrỉ.t m ḥˁˁ m-ḏd*
*ḥqɜ pr.n=f ḥr ỉɜbt.t*
*sṯḥn.n=f tɜ m ɜḫ.w=f*

*démotiques*, *BdE* 147, 2009, p. 308-310). While this is possible, one should note that there are few if any references to stolen statues in royal and private inscriptions of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, after the expulsion of the Assyrians, compared with the multiple allusions to this *topos* in the Thirtieth Dynasty and early Ptolemaic Period.

172 E.g. P. Briant, "Quand les rois écrivent l'histoire: la domination achéménide vue à travers les inscriptions officielles lagides," in N.-Chr. Grimal, M. Baud (eds.), *Événement, récit, histoire officielle. L'écriture de l'histoire dans les monarchies antiques*, 2003, p. 171-183.

173 Roeder, *CGC Naos*, 1914, p. 58-99 (not discussed by Briant, *op. cit.*); translations can be found already in I.W. Schumacher, *Der Gott Sopdu, der Herr der Fremdländer*, *OBO* 79, 1988, p. 163-175; N. Spencer, *A Naos of Nekhthorhet*, p. 23-26; new studies are in preparation by Åke Engsheden and Hélène Virenque (personal communication).

174 Roeder, *CGC Naos*, 1914, p. 94, § 344.

175 Roeder, *CGC Naos*, 1914, p. 76, § 316; cf. Klotz, *BIFAO* 109, 2009, p. 298, n. ag (noting a similar formulation in the Canopus Decree, line 6); Schumacher, *op. cit.*, p. 170, translated: "Nach der Umlaufszeit(?) einer Spende beim Herumschweifen zu den **Fremd**ländern."

176 Roeder, *CGC Naos*, 1914, p. 63, §295c-e; Schumacher, *op. cit.*, p. 164. The personal connection between Sopdu and Nectanebo I is emphasized throughout the inscription, especially in the following excerpt: "(Sopdu) desired (to return) to his proper throne (specifically) during the reign of Kheperkare (Nectanebo I), his beloved son (*ɔb=fs.t=f m rk ḫpr-kɜ-Rˁ zɜ=f mr=f*)" (Roeder, *CGC Naos*, 1914, p. 79, § 321c).


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*He (Nectanebo I) was requesting (to see) his radiance,*[177]
*while this god was in a remote location,*[178]
*which was unknown even by those charged with secrets,*
*as the entire Ennead of this district were hiding their bodies.*

*The god put it in the mind of the Lord of the Two Lands,*
*to make an effort to see the perfection of his majesty* […]
*[…after] many years when nobody knew what was happening.*

*One (Nectanebo I) suddenly saw him in astonishment,*
*jubilantly proclaiming it in the streets, saying:*
*"The Ruler has returned from the East!*
*He has illumined the earth with his radiance."*

In this official account, the gods went into hiding during the Persian Period, and Sopdu only returned once Nectanebo took control of Egypt. While it is possible that priests had carefully concealed the statues for safekeeping, the narrative might simply justify how the divine objects left the country, much like the pseudo-historic Bentresh Stela.[179]

Returning to MMA 1996.91, the main crime against Abydos was apparently related to the valuable ritual equipment. Unfortunately, our anonymous General does not specify which Persian ruler was responsible, although one thinks first of Cambyses or Xerxes I, the Great Kings with the worst reputations with regards to Egyptian temples and cults.[180] One might even postulate that there was one memorable disaster in Abydos, when the cartouches of Amasis were erased (cf. *supra*, Section 1) and the temple stripped of its precious relics. Only new evidence from Abydos, Sohag, or some unexpected source can clarify this matter.

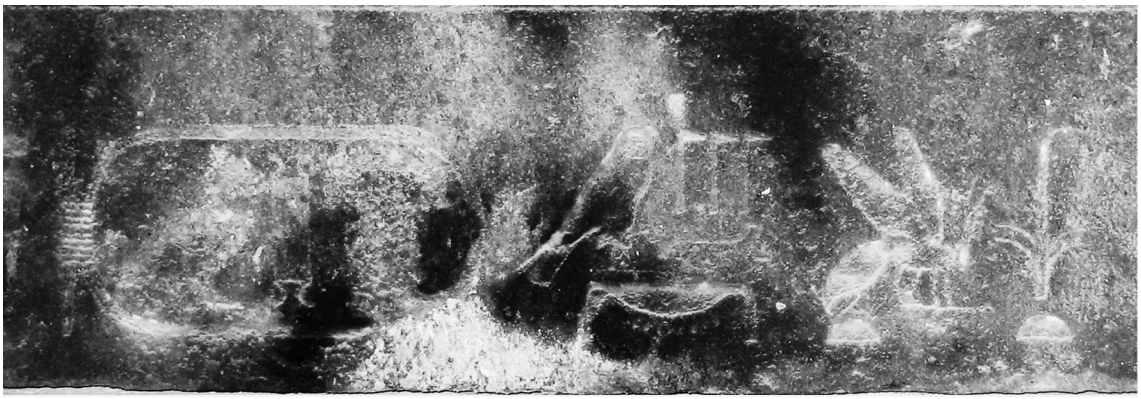
177 In another text, Nectanebo I brings Sopdu back to his throne "after many years during which they had been requesting to see him (*m-ḫt rf ḥn.ty rnp. wt ỉw=sn ḥr nḫ(.t) mɔɔ=f* )" (Roeder, *CGC Naos*, 1914, p. 79, § 321c).

178 Elsewhere the gods are said to have been "found in another remote location (*gm.w m k.t s.t-št3.t*)" (Roeder, *CGC Naos*, 1914, p. 69 and 71, § 305 and 308).

179 See recently W.K. Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 2003, p. 361-366, 550.

180 For Cambyses, see K. Jansen-Winkeln, "Die Quellen zur Eroberung Ägyptens durch Kambyse," in T.A. Bács (ed), *A Tribute to Excellence: Studies offered in honor of Ernö Gaál, Ulrich Luft, László Török*, *StudAeg* 17, 2002, p. 309-319; Kahn, *Transeuphratène* 34, 2007, p. 103-112; for Xerxes, see H. Klinkott, "Xerxes in Ägypten. Gedanken zum negativen Perserbild in der Satrapenstele," in St. Pfeiffer (ed.), *Ägypten unter fremden Herrschern zwischen persischer Satrapie und römischer Provinz*, *Oikumene* 3, 2007, p. 34-49.


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**a.**



**b.**

**FIG. 1 a-b.**
**a.** Partially mutilated cartouche of Amasis (Sohag, White Monastery Church, west staircase).
**b.** Hapi figures, with mutilated cartouches of Amasis (Sohag, White Monastery Church, northeast staircase).


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a.



b.

**FIG. 2 a-b.** Two blocks with various divinities (Sohag, White Monastery Church, west staircase).


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a.



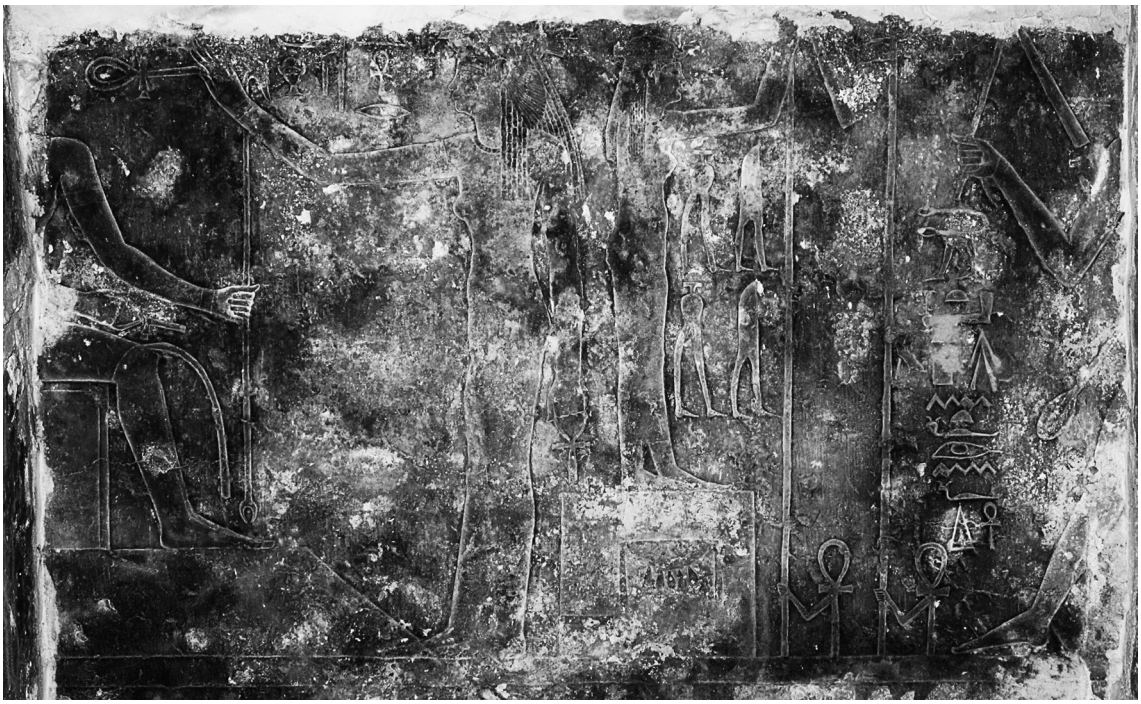
b.



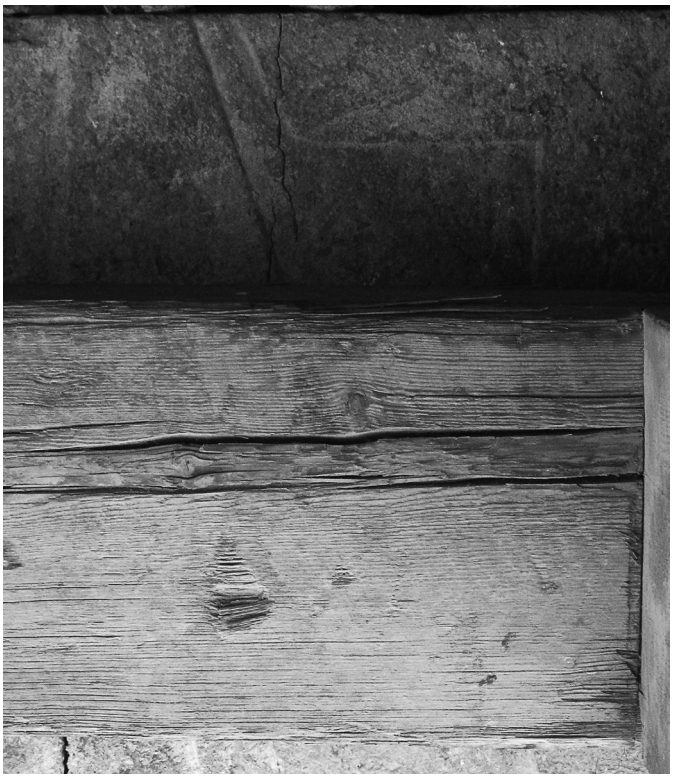
c.

FIG. 3 a-c.
a. Archaizing offering list (Sohag, White Monastery Church, south portal of west exterior wall).
b. Sed-Festival Scene (Sohag, White Moanstery Church, loose block along north wall of Nave).
c. Sed-Festival Scene (Sohag, White Monastery Church, east portal of Long Hall).


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**a.**



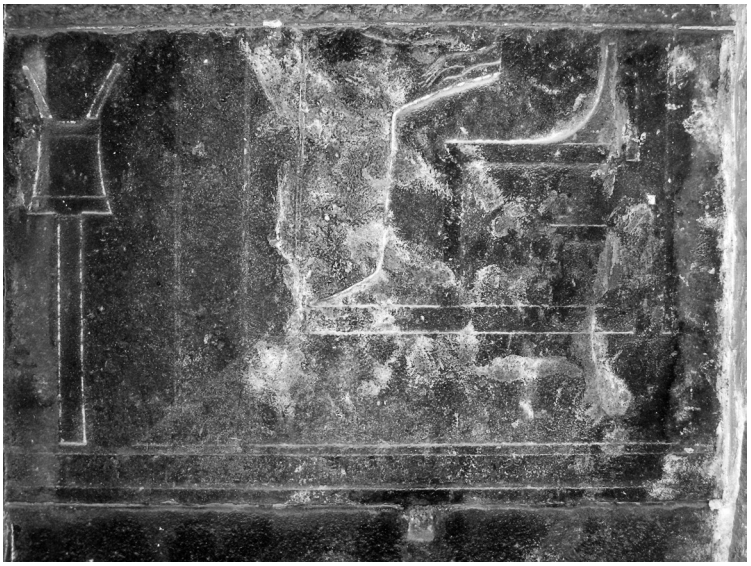
**b.**

**FIG. 4 a-b.**
**a.** Sed-Festival scene (*Ruderlauf*) (Sohag, White Monastery Church, west staircase, upper gallery).
**b.** Amasis in Sed-Festival robe (Sohag, White Monastery Church, north portal, interior).


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a.



b.



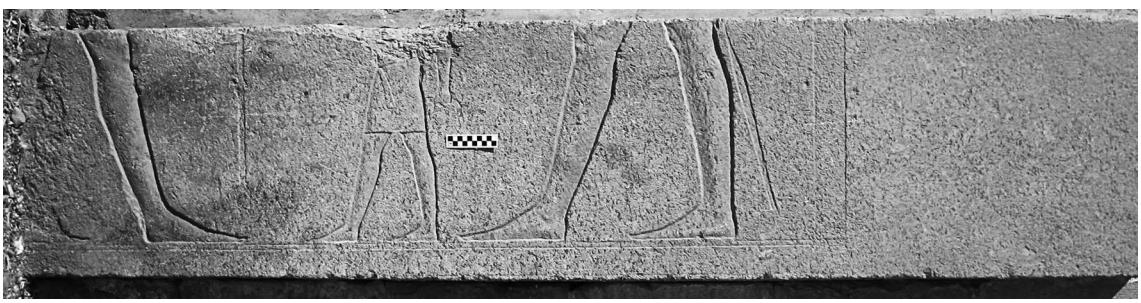
c.

FIG. 5 a-c.
**a.** Relief of Osiris "[Lord of Aby]dos" (Sohag, White Monastery Church, window between Nave and Long Hall).
**b.** Relief of enthroned Osiris (Sohag, White Monastery Church, west staircase).
**c.** Relief with mummiform figures (Sohag, White Monastery Church, window in north exterior wall).


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a.



b.

**FIG. 6 a-b.**
**a.** Cartouche of Amasis "son of Osiris" (White Monastery Church, north portal, east interior jamb).
**b.** Relief with King and Iunmuef priest before a divinity (Sohag, White Monastery Church, east portal of south wall).


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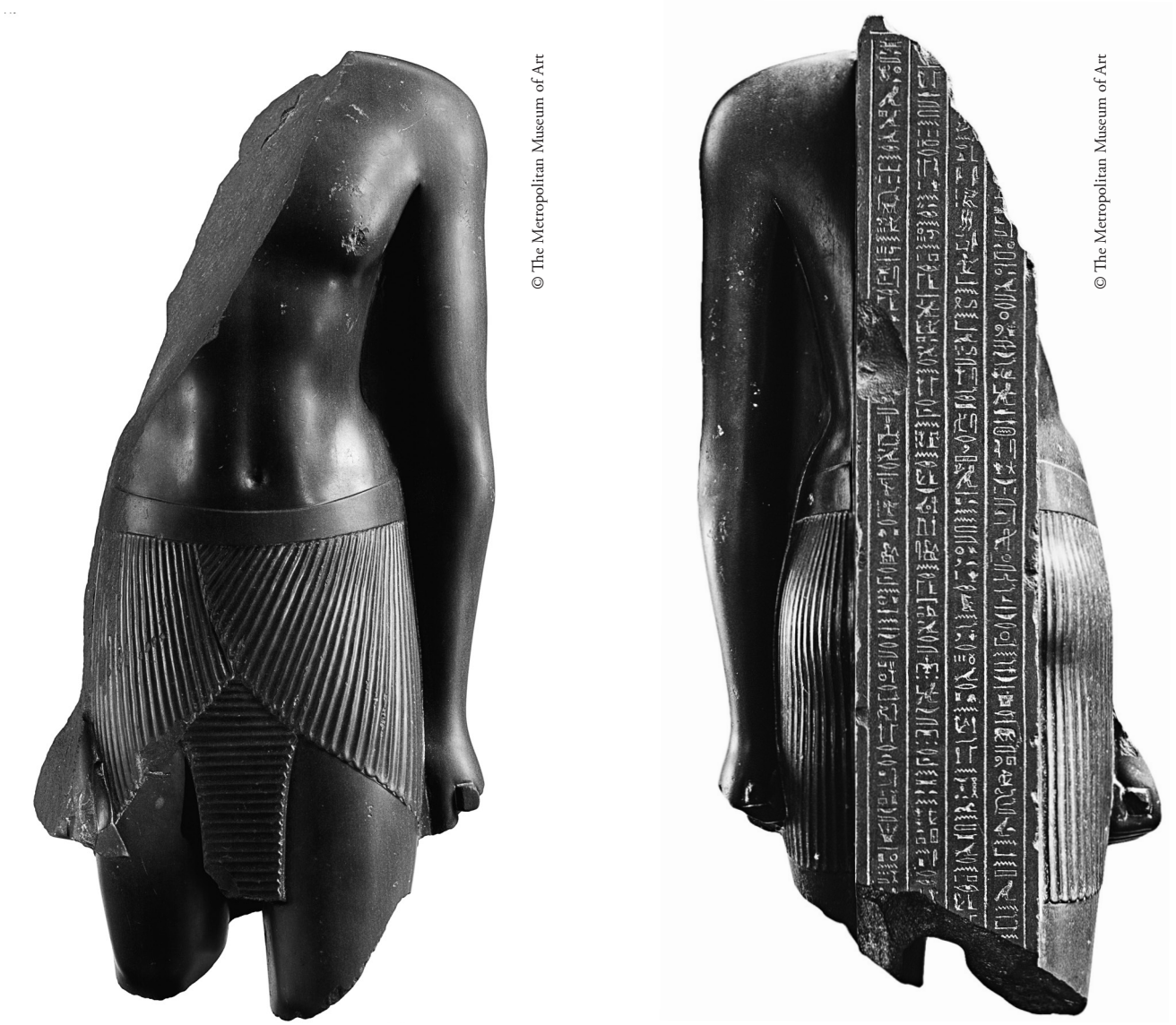

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FIG. 7. Statue MMA 1996.91, front and back.


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a.



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b.

**FIG. 8 a-b.**
**a.** Statue MMA 1996.91, detail of kilt.
**b.** Statue MMA 1996.91, left profile.


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**FIG. 9.** Statue MMA 1996.91, back pillar.

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