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David Klotz

Replicas of Shu. On the Theological Significance of Naophorous and Theophorous Statues

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Replicas of Shu
On the Theological Significance of Naophorous and Theophorous Statues

DAVID KLOTZ*

Et cum homo latius maneam,
intra unam aediculam
vim tantae maiestatis includam?

"Shall I, a man, housed more spaciously,
confine within a tiny shrine
power and majesty so great?"

Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, 31, 1.[1]

Introduction

In the New Kingdom, Egyptian sculptors invented a novel artistic medium for expressing personal piety.[2] For certain votive statues, erected in temples or along the processional roads, the dedicants (typically non-royal)[3] represented themselves standing or kneeling behind small statuettes of local divinities, either protected in small shrines ("naophorous statues"), or completely in the open, often seated on thrones ("theophorous statues").[4] As with the Menkaure dyads and

* University of Basel: eikones.

1 Translation of G.H. Rundell, in *Tertullian – Minucius Felix*, *LCL* 250, 1977, p. 412-413.

2 Chr. Meyer (*Senenmut: eine prosopographische Untersuchung*, *HÄS* 2, 1982, p. 92) raised the possibility that Senenmut himself may have invented this sculptural form.

3 While most naophoroi and theophoroi belonged to private individuals, around a dozen royal examples are attested in the Ramesside Period; see B. Lurson, "Les gestes de culte dans les statuaires royales égyptienne et mésopotamienne (fin III^e-fin II^e millénaires) : éléments d'une étude comparée", *AOB* (B) 11, 1998, p. 63-69, 72-75.

4 For questions of terminology, see primarily H. Ranke, "Eine spätsaïtische Statue in Philadelphia", *MDAIK* 12, 1943, p. 108; D. Wildung, in *LÄ* IV, 1982, col. 341, *s. v.* "Naophor"; B. Lurson, *op. cit.*, p. 65, n. 24. Note that the suffix "-phorous" refers to the entire statue itself, not just the priest, since often the dedicant does not actually carry the divinity off the ground, but only embraces the shrine (H. Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 111, n. 9). A Late Period osirophorous statue (BM 24784) bears a later Latin caption: *sacerdos Osirim ferens*, quite literally "priest *carrying* Osiris" (similarly in a damaged Greek label), even though the figure only holds his arms behind the god's statue (unpublished, but for the texts see A. Erman, "Eine ägyptische Statue aus Tyrus", *ZÄS* 31, 1893, p. 102; M. Malaise, "Statues égyptiennes naophores et cultes isiaques", *BSEG* 26, 2004, p. 74, no. 27; kindly brought to the author's attention by

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triads from Giza, or the numerous royal group statues of the New Kingdom, private naophoroi and theophoroi communicate above all else a privileged relationship between worshipper and the divinity. Memorializing the cultic act in imperishable stone, pious clergy would continue their temple service throughout perpetuity, "aspir[ing] to a metaphysical eternal existence in the retinue of the god represented within the shrine".[5]

Over the years, scholars have debated the precise theological significance of these statues.[6] With support from relevant texts on naophoroi and theophoroi, Hermann Ranke and Eberhard Otto characterized them as *Schutzstatuen*, depicting a gesture of mutually beneficial protection: the devotee guards the diminutive figurine or naos of the divinity with his arms, simultaneously receiving the eternal protection of the god or goddess represented on his statue.[7]

Hans Bonnet and others doubted whether Egyptian mortals would have believed themselves capable of protecting transcendent deities,[8] but priests regularly performed apotropaic rituals to guard divine statues and processional barks during potentially hazardous public outings.[9] In a figurative sense, Egyptian priests also protected their gods through benefactions and self-sacrifice. On his naophorous statue (Louvre A 93), Peftuaneith details the numerous reforms and renovations he oversaw in the temple of Osiris in Abydos, the god represented inside the naos.[10] Udjahorresnet, meanwhile, includes a text explicitly describing the protective gesture towards Osiris of Sais,[11] just as biographical inscriptions on the same statue commemorate the extraordinary measures he took to rescue Sais from destruction – or at least from profanation – at the hands of the Persian army.[12] Although not all naophoroi contain lengthy biographical inscriptions, those that do often refer to temple construction, renovation, supplying cultic equipment, or protecting local citizens, as in the following prominent examples:[13]

Henry Colburn). Furthermore, while naophoroi should by definition form a subset of theophoroi, in the following discussion, the term "theophoroi" only refers to statues where the divinities are not enshrined.

5 R.S. Bianchi, *Cleopatra's Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies*, London, 1988, p. 128; cf. similarly W.K. Simpson, "Remarks", in L.M. Berman (ed.), *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*, Cleveland, 1990, p. 81: "the owner is represented as a permanent member of the temple with the right to observe the ceremonies and partake of the offerings in perpetuity".

6 Summarized recently by M. Malaise, *op. cit.*, p. 75-77.

7 H. Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 109-112; E. Otto, "Zur Bedeutung der ägyptischen Tempelstatue seit dem Neuen Reich", *Or* 17, 1948, p. 456-466.

8 H. Bonnet, "Herkunft und Bedeutung der naophoren Statue", *MDAIK* 17, 1961, p. 91-98; followed by I.E.S. Edwards, "A Naophorous Figure of Irhorudjanefu", in J. Osing, E.K. Nielsen (ed.), *The Heritage of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of Erik Iversen*, *CNIP* 13, 1992, p. 46-47; Chr. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 82, 91-92.

9 J. van Dijk, "A Ramesside Naophorous Statue from the Teti Pyramid Cemetery", *OMRO* 64, 1983, p. 54-55. For other apotropaic temple rituals in general, see J.Fr. Quack, "La magie au temple", in Y. Koenig (ed.), *La magie en Égypte : à la recherche d'une définition*, Paris, 2002, p. 41-68. For the protection of divine barks, see also D. Klotz, "Between Heaven and Earth in Deir el-Medina: Stela MMA 21.2.6", *SAK* 34, 2006, p. 277, n. 49.

10 H. Bassir, *Image and Voice in Saite Egypt*, Tucson, 2014, p. 78-84, pl. 31-34.

11 I. Nagy, "Remarques sur une formule de l'inscription d'Oudjahorresne", in *Studia in Honorem K. Fóti*, *StudAeg* 12, 1989, p. 377-383.

12 Chr. Thiers, "Civils et militaires dans les temples. Occupation illicite et expulsion", *BIFAO* 95, 1995, p. 498-500.

13 Temple construction and the manufacture of divine statues are also prominent themes on theophorous statues: e.g. BM EA 69486 (unpublished; cf. D. Klotz, "Two Studies on the Late Period Temples at Abydos", *BIFAO* 110, 2010, p. 152, n. 168); JE 67093-67094 (Chr. Zivie-Coche, *Statues et autobiographies de dignitaires. Tanis à l'époque ptolémaïque*, *Tanis* 3, 2004, p. 256-259, 270-273).

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Cairo, CG 658	New constructions for the Neith temple in Sais.[14]
Cairo, RT 27/11/58/8	New temple or shrine for Neith in Sais.[15]
Brooklyn 37.353	Restoration of the Ptah temple, cult statues, priesthood in Memphis under Darius I.[16]
Philadelphia, The University Museum 42-9-1	New constructions in Sais, protected citizens.[17]
Hermitage 5629	Personal donation of items for the Mnevis cult, instructed priests in their duties.[18]
Berlin, ÄM 21596	Cleared canals near Behbeit el-Hagar.[19]
Berlin, ÄM 1048 + VÄGM 1995/116	Increased divine offerings and tribute for Sais.[20]

By shielding the small shrines on their private statues, the dedicants commemorated their protection of the physical temple, service within its cult, and effective management of its agricultural holdings. Certain naophorous statues from Sais beautifully illustrate the conceptual equivalence of the small naos and the larger temple complex, since they represent the entire Neith temple on the doors of the miniature shrines.[21]

Beyond these primary messages – mutual protection and eternal devotion – naophoroi implicitly express something that other votive statues do not. They represent the dedicant performing an exclusive, intimate service for his divinity: namely, carrying the divine statue within the inner chapels of the temple,[22] a privilege only granted to certain initiates. Jacobus van Dijk argued that the naophoroi might specifically allude to the moment of opening the naos to embrace and clothe the divine statue, since the naoi are usually represented as open.[23] Yet Georges Legrain discovered one naophorous statue with a separate removable door,[24] and later statues depict the naos as completely closed.[25]

14 R. el-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Saïs et ses divinités*, *BdE* 69, 1975, p. 93-108; with corrections by K. Jansen-Winkeln, "Zu den Denkmälern des Erziehers Psametiks II", *MDAIK* 52, 1996, p. 196-197; N. Spencer, "Sustaining Egyptian Culture? Non-Royal Initiatives in Late Period Temple Building", in L. Bareš, F. Coppens, K. Smoláriková (ed.), *Egypt in Transition: Social and Religious Development of Egypt in the First Millennium BCE*, Prague, 2010, p. 447-449.

15 E. Bresciani, "Una statue della XVI dinastia con il cosidetto «abito persiano»", *SCO* 16, 1967, p. 273-280.

16 K. Jansen-Winkeln, "Drei Denkmäler mit archaisierender Orthographie", *Or* 67, 1998, p. 163-168.

17 H. Ranke, *op. cit.*, p. 113-114, 116, col. 6-13, p. 135-138.

18 K. Jansen-Winkeln, "Die Biographie eines Priesters aus Heliopolis", *SAK* 29, 2001, p. 97-110.

19 P. Gallo, "Nectanebo I ed il ramo del Nilo di Busiri e Perhebit", *EVO* 10, 1987, p. 43-49; Å. Engsheden, "Philologische Bemerkungen zu spätzeitlichen Texten", *LingAeg* 13, 2005, p. 43-48.

20 P. Tresson, "Sur deux monuments égyptiens inédits de l'époque d'Amasis et de Nectanébo I[er]", *Kêmi* 4, 1933, p. 126-138.

21 R. el-Sayed, *op. cit.*, pl. X, XIX; A.-S. von Bomhard, *The Decree of Saïs. The Stelae of Thonis-Heracleion and Naukratis*, *OCMAM* 7, 2012, p. 128.

22 As M. Malaise noted, the closest iconographic parallels are reliefs of priests carrying divine statues from temple crypts to the Wabet or rooftop chapels at Dendera; in festival processions outside of the temple, however, divine statues always traveled within a portable bark, not in the arms of priests (*op. cit.*, p. 76-77).

23 J. van Dijk, *op. cit.*, p. 53-54; followed by M. Malaise, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

24 J. van Dijk (*op. cit.*, p. 53, n. 38) only mentioned one example, but noted that it was "exceptional". However, see L. Coulon, A. Masson, "Osiris Naref à Karnak", in L. Coulon (ed.), *Le culte d'Osiris au I[er] millénaire av. J.-C. : découvertes et travaux* récents, *BdE* 153, 2010, p. 135-136, n. 46, p. 151, fig. 3 (Queens [New York], Godwin-Ternbach Museum 60.19 = ex-JE 37008); for another small door which partially obscures the god within the naos, see CG 674 (L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo*, III, *Catalogue général*

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Indeed, the open doors on most naophoroi may serve another purpose. As votive statues filled temples around Egypt, sculptors and scribes devised various methods of distinguishing the otherwise monotonous private monuments in order to draw the attention of officiating priests. If the ubiquitous appeals to the living are any indication, dedicants were anxious that passersby might ignore their monuments, and certain inscriptions exhaust all rhetorical means to persuade future readers to pronounce a simple voice offering.[26] While a lector priest could easily skip over a group of nearly identical cuboid statues featuring short "banal" texts, he might pause to contemplate an unusual sculpture[27] or an especially enigmatic inscription.[28] Unlike cuboid or simple striding statues, the clergy could not ignore the open naophorous statues, for, at the very least, the divine statuettes visible within the open shrines would require incense and other offerings.[29]

Despite the large number of naophorous and theophorous statues in museums around the world, previous discussions of their theological significance focused on a small group of well-known inscriptions, such as the statue of Udjahorresnet. In a deceptively concise article, Herman De Meulenaere recently published a comprehensive typology of standing naophorous statues, incorporating many previously unpublished examples.[30] Two decades earlier, he had already outlined the significant formal and conceptual developments:[31]

> "À l'époque saïte, le lourd naos reposait sur un socle ou sur un pilier le soutenant. À la XXX^e^ dynastie, il apparaît, de manière tout à fait irréaliste, coincé entre les mains du dédicant, sans aucun lien avec le socle de la statue. À l'époque ptolémaïque, la position change encore, modification que l'on attribue généralement au rationalisme de la démarche grecque. Comme si les sculpteurs s'étaient aperçus que nul ne pouvait maintenir ainsi un naos de pierre, celui-ci est désormais figuré reposant sur le bout des doigts. Il devienne peu à peu plus petit aussi, si petit que de partie intégrante de la statue, il se transforme en simple attribut. Cette évolution était terminée à la fin de l'époque ptolémaïque, avec pour résultat la perturbation profonde du rapport harmonique entre l'homme et l'objet. Le naos a de surcroît tout à fait perdu sa signification de symbole de protection pour se transformer en une espèce d'offrande à caractère votif."

des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire, *N. 1-1294*, 1930, p. 21, pl. 123). Certain naoi on private statues are now empty (e.g. JE 37425 = H. Selim, "Three Unpublished Naophorous Statues from Cairo Museum", *MDAIK* 60, 2004, p. 159, n. 2, pl. 22; MFA 65.930 [unpublished]); like the Godwin-Ternbach statue, they may have originally contained removable statuettes and doors.

25 E.g. CG 688 (R. el-Sayed, "Un document relatif au culte dans le Fayoum à la Basse Époque. Statue Caire CG 688", *BIFAO* 81s, 1981, p. 313, n. 4, pl. XXXVII), and a Belgian private collection (H. De Meulenaere, in E. Gubel [ed.], *Van Nijl tot Schelde – Du Nil à l'Escaut*, Bruxelles, 1991, p. 256-259, no. 342 = Pierre Bergé & Associés, *Vente d'arts d'Orient, Extrême-Orient, archéologie*, Paris, May 28-29 2008, p. 154-155, no. 528).

26 O. Perdu, "Florilège d'incitations à agir", *RdE* 51, 2000, p. 175-192.

27 E.g. J.J. Clère, *Les chauves d'Hathor*, *OLA* 63, 1995; E. Bernhauer, *Innovationen in der Privatplastik. Die 18. Dynastie und ihre Entwicklung*, *Philippika* 27, 2010.

28 Cf. D. Klotz, "The Peculiar Statue of a Heliopolitan Priest: Hannover, Museum August Kestner 1935.200.510", *ZÄS* 139, 2012, p. 144.

29 Chr. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 81-82, 89-92; J. van Dijk, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

30 H. De Meulenaere, "Personnages debout tenant un naos dans la statuaire de la Basse Époque", in W. Claes, H. De Meuleanere, S. Hendrickx (ed.), *Elkab and Beyond: Studies in Honour of Luc Limme*, *OLA* 191, 2009, p. 223-231. Several of his unedited examples were published in subsequent years, cf. D. Klotz, *op. cit.*, p. 136, n. 2.

31 H. De Meulenaere, in E. Gubel (ed.), *Van Nijl tot Schelde – Du Nil à l'Escaut*, Bruxelles, 1991, p. 257 (no. 342).

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According to De Meulenaere, the large naoi resting on the ground or on socles during the 26th Dynasty gradually shrank into diminutive, easily portable boxes in the Ptolemaic Period. While the earlier statues harmoniously represented the *quid pro quo* relationship of mutual protection, the humble statuettes in the later naophoroi upset the delicate balance between worshipper and divinity.

Yet in a culture that venerated statuettes, amulets, and tiny magical gems, the size of a divine statue was practically irrelevant. As Paul Veyne once remarked about cult statues:[32]

> "Chaque idole capte l'omniprésence du dieu et de son efficacité, à la manière des récepteurs de télévision qui rendent présent dans chaque foyer le chef de l'État et sa parole souveraine [...] à travers l'idole, le dieu est présent, avec son rayonnement adorable et faiseur de miracles, mais présent à dose supportable."

Understood another way, all terrestrial images are infinitely smaller than the divinities they aspire to represent, but all are equally capable of temporarily hosting the divinity's numen.

Crucial for understanding naophoroi throughout the Late Period are the peculiar intermediate forms, De Meulenaere's fourth category: "Le naos, sans support, est serré entre les deux mains."[33] In these examples, the statue owner carries the shrine without any pillar or socle, holding both hands flat against the side of the naos. Bothmer had briefly commented on this phenomenon much earlier:[34]

> "A supportless naos is held between the palms of the hands, looking as if it might slip out and fall at any minute, a very curious *un-Egyptian* conception of weightlessness".

The unrealistic pose continued to intrigue De Meulenaere, who most recently inquired:

> "Comment un homme est-il capable de soulever un naos pesant en le serrant simplement entre les paumes de ses mains ? Cette attitude inconcevable n'a visiblement pas choqué les Égyptiens qui l'ont adoptée dans leur statuaire à partir de la 30^{e} dynastie."

De Meulenaere had previously suggested that the final development of naophoroi, where devotees carried shrines *on top* of their hands, was influenced by the arrival of more practically-minded Greeks in the Ptolemaic Period ("modification que l'on attribue généralement au rationalisme de la démarche grecque"), implying that the otherwise highly-skilled Egyptian sculptors of the 30th Dynasty did not know how to carry heavy objects. One might note that at Dendera, staircase reliefs depict priests carrying shrines in precisely the same manner, except each naos is also supported by thin straps which would be difficult to represent

32 P. Veyne, "Propagande expression roi, image idole oracle", *L'Homme* 114, 1990, p. 17.

33 H. De Meulenaere, "Personnages debout tenant un naos dans la statuaire de la Basse Époque", in W. Claes, H. De Meuleanere, S. Hendrickx (ed.), *Elkab and Beyond: Studies in Honour of Luc Limme*, *OLA* 191, 2009, p. 226-227.

34 B.V. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period, 700 BC to AD 100*, Brooklyn, 1960 (hereafter *ESLP*), p. 149 (italics mine).

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in three-dimensional sculpture.[35] Furthermore, portable shrines of this size were typically constructed from wood, not stone, and thus they might have been easier to carry than De Meulenaere supposed.[36]

Moreover, the unnatural pose may have been entirely intentional, and the 30th Dynasty sculptors could have chosen to underscore the difficulty of carrying naoi in this fashion. Just like oversized ears of Middle Kingdom statuary, or exaggerated bodily features at Amarna, the departure from realism would have had an ideological motivation. In the case of naophoroi, this would mean emphasizing the superhuman aspect of the gesture. As Otto already observed regarding this statue type:[37]

> "Es gibt nun mehrere Inschriften, die eindeutig dartun, dass die Tätigkeit der Priester für die Götterbilder sie weit über menschlichen Wesen heraushebt".

In fact, additional reliefs carved on certain naophorous statues directly associate the dedicants with Shu, the atlantid god who supported the heavens, but who also carried the naos of Amun-Re. This vignette is quite rare, occurring on only three out of the sixty-five statues De Meulenaere had cataloged (*infra*, doc. 1, 3-4), [38] as well as one previously unpublished osirophorous statue he did not mention, since his study focused exclusively on naophoroi *(infra*, doc. 2). Since the unedited monuments both merit closer study, they will be discussed first before analyzing the theological implications of this rare motif. In addition, other naophorous and theophorous statues feature texts relating to the same religious concept, even though they do not include the same vignette (doc. 5-7); their brief study will follow below.

Document 1 [PL. 1-4]
Mexico City, Private Collection

This statue was recorded in the archives of Bernard V. Bothmer at the Brooklyn Museum of Art, the *Corpus of Late Egyptian Statuary* (*CLES*), as no. 704 (= 776).[39] The object files note that the statue was once displayed at the shop of Phocion Tano in Cairo,[40] before moving to the estate of Dr. Endre Ungar (d. 1979) in Mexico City by 1956 at the latest. Select Egyptian artifacts from Dr. Ungar's collection were displayed at the Museum Rietberg in Zurich, and

35 M. MALAISE, *op. cit.*, p. 76, n. 23.

36 For some examples, see N. SPENCER, *A Naos of Nekhtorheb from Bubastis: Religious Iconography and Temple Building in the 30th Dynasty*, *BMRP* 156, 2006, p. 4.

37 E. OTTO, *op. cit.*, p. 459.

38 H. De Meulenaere (*op. cit.*, p. 226) also noted that this feature occurs on Hannover 1935.200.510: "[le pilier] est décoré […] sur *o* d'un personage levant les deux bras", but this appears to have been a typographical error for his example "*e*" = Alexandria 20959 (see below, doc. 4) or example "*q*" = Mexico City, private collection (see below, doc. 1). No such figure is depicted on the Hannover statuette: D. KLOTZ, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII.

39 The author heartily thanks Yekaterina Barbash from the Brooklyn Museum of Art for assistance with the *CLES* files, supplying photographs, and for answering additional inquiries.

40 For the Tano family, see M.L. BIERBRIER, *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (4th ed.), London, 2012, p. 534.

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appeared in various publications,[41] but the collection was dispersed in 1992 following the decease of his widow.[42] Nonetheless, the present statue remained in Mexico and currently belongs to a different private collection.[43] Only the briefest references to this object have appeared thus far in print.[44]

The statue is made from black granite with brown inclusions. The head was reattached in modern times, so the neck and the entire top of the back pillar have been restored. The head appears to fit the body well, both in terms of size and material. Yet in the notes of the *CLES*, Bothmer observed that the head "is of similar material but w[ith] distinctly brown spots," and refrained from confirming the join, classifying the statue with other headless monuments. Including the head, the statue is 81 cm tall; without the head it is only 63 cm. The base measures roughly 25 cm (width) by 30 cm (depth).[45]

The subject wears an outfit found on several other statues,[46] comprising three elements: a crew-neck undershirt,[47] a V-neck tunic with long, flaring sleeves, and finally a large wrap-around cloak secured around the upper chest. The V-necked tunic was an authentically Egyptian garment, but the longer flaring sleeves became noticeably more popular in Dynasty 27 and later, particularly in Memphis.[48]

41 H.G. Fischer, "An Elusive Shape within the Fisted Hands of Egyptian Statues", *MMJ* 10, 1975, p. 16, n. 48, p. 18-19, fig. 12-14; *id.*, "Addenda to 'Five inscriptions of the Old Kingdom' (*ZÄS* 105, 1978, p. 42-59)", *ZÄS* 107, 1980, p. 86-87, fig. 1; H. Schlögl (ed.), *Geschenk des Nils: Ägyptische Kunstwerke aus Schweizer Besitz*, Basel, 1978, no. 124. The author would like to thank Drs. Jaromir Malek and Vincent Razanajao of the Topographical Bibliography for information regarding the former Ungar collection.

42 *Sotheby's London*, July 10, 1992, no. 388-391.

43 The present owner, who wishes to remain anonymous, graciously provided many detailed photographs for study and answered questions about the object's history. The author would also like to thank Miguel Arturo Perez-Caballo (Yale University), for taking additional photographs and measurements.

44 H. De Meulenaere, *op. cit.*, p. 225 (q): "Le Caire, commerce, statue de Djedhor (inédit; *CLES*: n° 776)"; D. Klotz, *Caesar in the City of Amun: Egyptian Theology and Temple Construction in Roman Thebes*, *MRE* 12, 2012, p. 109, n. 536; D. Klotz, M. LeBlanc, "An Egyptian Priest in the Ptolemaic Court: Yale Peabody Museum 264191", in Chr. Zivie-Coche, I. Guermeur (ed.), *« Parcourir l'éternité ». Hommages à Jean Yoyotte*, II, *BEHE* 156, 2012, p. 675, n. 158 (the latter two references both anticipating the present study).

45 The naos alone measures 18 cm (width), 19 cm (height), 9 cm (depth).

46 For similar clothing in Late Period statuary, see recently O. Perdu, *Les statues privées de la fin de l'Égypte pharaonique (1069 av. J.-C.-395 apr. J.-C.)*, I, *Hommes*, Paris, 2012, p. 50-53.

47 Several other statues exhibit the combination of V-neck tunic with a crew-neck undershirt: B.V. Bothmer, *ESLP*, p. 84, 144-145, pl. 61-62 (no. 65), 70 (no. 74), 104 (no. 121); CG 617 (L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo*, II, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire, N. 1-1294*, 1925 p. 163); Leiden F 1968/12.1 (M.A. Nur-el-Din, "A Demotic Text on a Torso at Leiden", *OMRO* 61, 1980, pl. 6); J.-Cl. Grenier, "Le prophète et l'Autokratôr", *RdE* 37, 1986, pl. 14; Antwerp, Vleeshuis Museum AV I (H. Willems, W. Clarysse [ed.], *Les Empereurs du Nil*, Leuven, 2000, p. 319, no. 262); JE 38064 + Brooklyn 55.175 (B.V. Bothmer, "A Brooklyn Head on a Cairo Statue: the Egyptian Priest Wesir-wer", in M.E. Cody [ed.], *Egyptian Art: Selected Writings of Bernard V. Bothmer*, Oxford, 2004, p. 158-159), Florence, Museo Egizio, 11900 (O. Perdu, *Le crépuscule des pharaons*, Bruxelles, 2012, p. 105, no. 40); Vienna, KhM ÄS 20 (E. Rogge, *Statuen der Spätzeit. 750. – ca. 300 v. Chr., CAA Wien* 9, 1992, p. 120); Louvre E 25499 (J. Vandier, "La statue de Hekatefnakht", *RevLouvre* 14, 1964, p. 58, fig. 1). For various combinations of garments, see also O. Perdu, *Les statues privées de la fin de l'Égypte pharaonique (1069 av. J.-C.-395 apr. J.-C.)*, I, *Hommes*, Paris, 2012, p. 53.

48 D. Klotz, M. LeBlanc, *op. cit.*, p. 647, n. 10 (with references); cf. also I. Matthieson, E. Bettles, S. Davies, H.S. Smith, "A Stela of the Persian Period from Saqqara", *JEA* 81, 1995, p. 27, fig. 3 (bottom), p. 31, pl. V-VI. According to B.V. Bothmer, the flaring sleeves might reflect a "northern style" (*ESLP*, p. 76; cf. also A.R. Schulman, "A 'Persian Gesture' from Memphis", *BES* 3, 1981, p. 104-105). Note, however, that this feature also occurs on a statue from Karnak in Upper Egypt (JE 38064 + Brooklyn 55.175; B.V. Bothmer, *op. cit.*, p. 161).

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The wrap-around cloak, once considered a Persian innovation, occurs from Dynasty 26 through the Roman Period.[49] On earlier examples, this garment flares out more at the base to accommodate the striding posture, just as on long kilts. Yet here, the long garment has a tight, cylindrical shape completely covering the legs, so that the subject almost resembles a pillar or column, a feature first attested in the 30th Dynasty.[50] Since this thick garment covered most of the torso, it may have evoked private epithets expressing discretion, notably *ỉmn-ḫ.t*, *ḥȝp-ḫ.t* "hidden of belly", and *sšṯȝ-šnb.t* "covered of chest".[51] Years ago, De Meulenaere studied these expressions as they occurred on various private monuments of the Late Period, several of which feature the tight wrap-around cloak.[52]

The wrap-around garment is secured in a noteworthy fashion. For pre-Ptolemaic statues, a prominent "roll" emerges from behind the cloak, and the overlap is tied in a small bundle near the subject's right armpit.[53] On early examples, the fastening is centered in the middle of the chest: the "roll" covers the left breast, while the overlap hangs down symmetrically over the right breast, and both are roughly the same size.[54] In the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, this feature is simplified considerably to an abstract, rectangular roll with no overlap.[55] Yet on the Mexico City statue, and other statues of the 30th Dynasty and early Ptolemaic period, the roll is centered in the middle of the chest and the small overlap falls between the chest and right arm, so that the shape suggests the hieroglyphic sign  (fig. 1).[56]

49 M. Malaise, "Les hypostoles. Un titre isiaque, sa signification et sa traduction iconographique", *CdE* 82, 2007, p. 316-318. For examples from the Saite period, see G. Vittmann, "Continuity and Rupture: On Priests and Officials in Egypt during the Persian Period", in P. Briant, M. Chauveau (ed.), *Organisation des pouvoirs et contacts culturels dans les pays de l'Empire achéménide*, *Persika* 14, 2009, p. 97, n. 37-38.

50 One such statue dates to the reign of Nectanebo I, see B.V. Bothmer, *ESLP*, pl. 68 (no. 72 = San Francisco, de Young Museum 54664). For additional examples, cf. D. Klotz, "The Theban Cult of Chonsu the Child in the Ptolemaic Period", in Chr. Thiers (ed.), *Documents de théologies thébaines tardives (D3T 1)*, *CENIM* 3, 2009, p. 106, n. 77; and add also British Museum, EA 65443 (E.R. Russmann, *Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum*, *JNES* 63/2, 2001, p. 253-255, no. 141); Belgium, Private Collection (cf. *supra*, n. 25); JE 37995 (unpublished; Karnak Cachette Database, CK 536); Athens 2009 (O. Tzachou-Alexandri [ed.], *The World of Egypt in the National Archaeological Museum*, Athens, 1995, p. 164); Bonn L 885 (A. Blasius, "Eine bislang unpublizierte Priesterstatuette aus dem ptolemäischen Panopolis", in A. Egberts, B.P. Muhs, J. van der Vliet [ed.], *Perspectives on Panopolis*, *P.Lug. Bat.* 31, 2002, pl. II); Naples 241834 (C. Cozzolino, "Recent Discoveries in Campania", in R. Pirelli [ed.], *Egyptological Studies for Claudio Barocas*, *Serie egittologica* 1, 1999, p. 22, fig. 1, p. 35, pl. 1); R. Anthes, *Mit Rahineh 1956*, *Museum Monographs*, 1965, pl. 37.

51 The term *šnb.t* can denote the chest, seat of the physical heart (J.H. Walker, *Studies in Ancient Egyptian Anatomical Terminology*, *ACES* 4, 1996, p. 181, 313), as well as the throat or esophagus, and by extension "utterance" (*CDD Š* [10:1], p. 181-182); thus the epithet can imply discretion in both thought and speech.

52 H. De Meulenaere, "Une formule des inscriptions autobiographiques de basse époque", in O. Firchow (ed.), *Ägyptologische Studien*, *VIO* 29, 1955, p. 219-223; of his examples, the following exhibit the same robe: (a) Vatican 22689 (G. Botti, P. Romanelli, *Le sculture del Museo Gregoriano Egizio*, *MVAA* 9, 1951, pl. XXXV), (c) Hermitage 5629 (K. Jansen-Winkeln, *op. cit.*, pl. 2-6), (e) Athens 2009 (cf. *supra*, n. 51).

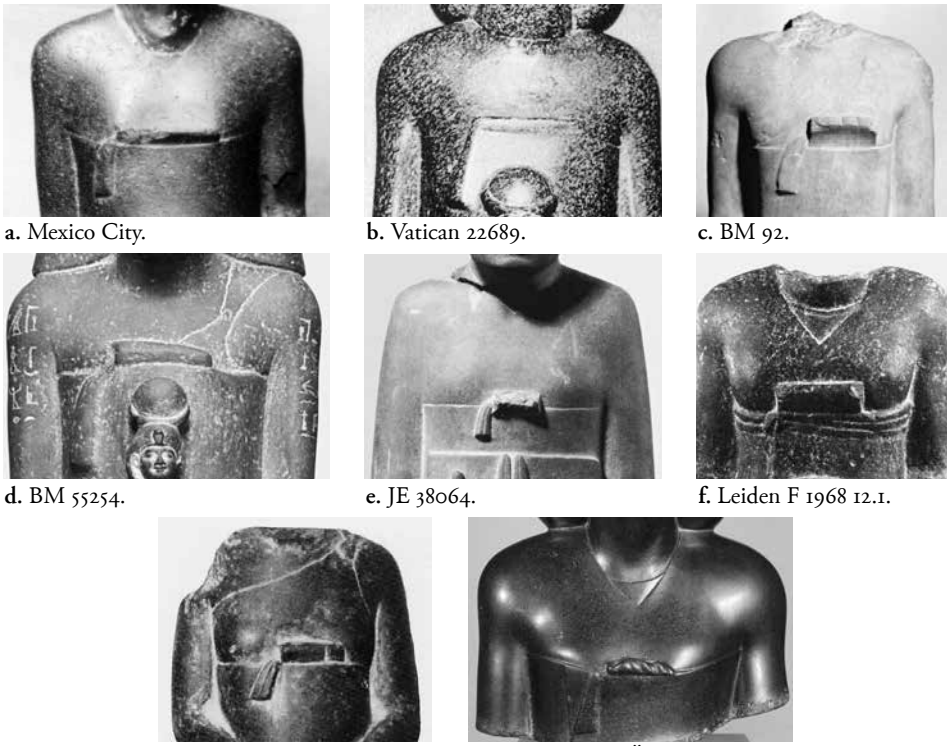
53 See the detailed discussion by B.V. Bothmer, *op. cit.*, p. 75-76.

54 B.V. Bothmer, *op. cit.*, pl. 59, fig. 148 (no. 63), p. 62, fig. 157 (no. 65), pl. 63, fig. 159 (no. 66); cf. also Louvre A 93 (cf. *supra*, n. 10); Cairo, JE 97196 (H. Selim, "Three Unpublished Late Period Statues", *SAK* 32, 2004, pl. 23).

55 D. Klotz, M. LeBlanc, "An Egyptian Priest in the Ptolemaic Court: Yale Peabody Museum 264191", in Chr. Zivie-Coche, I. Guermeur (ed.), *« Parcourir l'éternité ». Hommages à Jean Yoyotte*, II, *BEHE* 156, 2012, p. 647-648, n. 13.

56 (**a**) Mexico City, detail (cf. pl. 1); (**b**) Vatican, 22689 (cf. *supra*, n. 53); (**c**)-(**d**) British Museum, EA 92 and 55254 (D. Klotz, "The Theban Cult of Chonsu the Child in the Ptolemaic Period", in Chr. Thiers (ed.), *Documents de théologies thébaines tardives (D3T 1)*, *CENIM* 3, 2009, p. 130, fig. 1, p. 132, fig. 3); (**e**) JE 38064 + Brooklyn 55.175 (B.V. Bothmer, "A Brooklyn Head

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a. Mexico City. **b.** Vatican 22689. **c.** BM 92.
d. BM 55254. **e.** JE 38064. **f.** Leiden F 1968 12.1.
g. Paponot statue. **h.** Vienna, KhM ÄS 20.

Fig. 1a-h. Wraparound ties resembling the *ỉmɜḫ*-sign.

Since these stylized knots usually occur on naophorous or theophorous statues,[57] they might function as emblematic rebuses: "Venerated (*ỉmɜḫw* = the knot) before (*ḫr* < *ḫr*, "carrying" = the naophorous gesture) the god (= the divinity in naos)." On the present statue, the upper roll is quite thin and flat, similar to the statues in the Vatican and Vienna (fig. 1, b, h).[58]

The subject stands behind a trapezoidal naos with a cavetto cornice. The open shrine reveals a standard figurine of Ptah, holding a scepter with his right hand over the left. As on other pieces

on a Cairo Statue: the Egyptian Priest Wesir-wer", in M.E. Cody (ed.), *Egyptian Art: Selected Writings of Bernard V. Bothmer*, 2004, p. 157, 159); (**f**) Leiden F 1968/12.1 (M.A. Nur-el-Din, *loc. cit.*); (**g**) Paponot statue (V. Laurent, "Une statue provenant de Tell el-Maskoutah", *RdE* 35, 1984, pl. 12); (**h**) Vienna, KhM ÄS 20 (E. Rogge, *op. cit.*, p. 150). Further comparable examples include CG 1085 (L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo*, IV, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire*, *N. 1-1294*, 1934, p. 50, pl. 162), JE 38599 (unpublished; http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/?id=665), and Brooklyn 71.139 (J.A. Josephson, *Egyptian Royal Sculpture of the Late Period, 400-246 B.C.*, *SDAIK* 30, 1997, p. 2, pl. 1b).

57 Occasionally similar knots occur on statues without naoi, as the dedicants simply grasp their arms: B. Rantz, "À propos de l'Égyptien au geste 'perse'", *RBPH* 67, 1989, pl. IIIb (Paponot statue), IVb (JE 52536).

58 For further examples, cf. also BM 178 (H. De Meulenaere, "E pluribus una", *BIFAO* 87, 1987, pl. XXI), and Philadelphia, The University Museum 42-9-1 (H. Ranke, *op. cit.*, pl. 24).

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from this period, the statue owner's hands are almost disproportionally large.[59] Typologically, this object fits neatly into De Meulenaere's third category: "le naos est supporté par une espèce de pilier."[60] The thin, abstract pillar almost sprouts from the wrap-around garment, gradually blossoming to support the naos. As Hassan Selim observed, the combination of pillar and shrine resemble the *sḫm*-hieroglyph or similar scepters.[61] De Meulenaere concluded that such statues are attested from the late 26th Dynasty (Amasis) through the early Ptolemaic Period, and geographically limited – with only one exception – to Lower Egypt.

Beneath the naos, on the front of the pseudo-pillar, is the representation of a striding male figure. He stands on a horizontal ground-line and raises both of his hands above his head, with fingers pointed outwards. His head is completely shaved and egg-shaped, just like on the statue, and he wears a short, tripartite kilt and what appears to be a broad collar. Since he neither has a beard nor wears headgear characteristic of Shu or Heh (i.e. ostrich plume or *rnp*-sign), one may conclude that the figure is Djedhor himself, and not a divinity.

On the back pillar, a long, thin *pt*-hieroglyph surmounts the three-column inscription, a detail indicative of the Dynasty 30 or later.[62] Although the original neck and pillar were destroyed, Bothmer noted small traces of decoration above the *pt*-sign – perhaps the remains of an adoration scene – and observed that the back pillar begins to taper at the same point, so that it would have originally terminated in a pyramidion. Once again, these features point toward a date after Dynasty 27.[63]

The clean-shaven head is very smooth and elongated (pl. 3a), a feature popular in private statuary of the 4th-3rd c. BC often referred to as an "egg-head".[64] Its various features (large ears, weak chin, raised eyebrows, and plastic, hieroglyphic eyes), most closely resemble the head of Hornefer (MMA 1980.422) from the early 3rd c. BC,[65] and Bothmer and De Meulenaere's remarks concerning the latter object apply equally well to the Mexico City head: "with its high forehead and small pouting mouth the face makes a childlike impression."[66] If this head, restored in modern times, truly belongs to the present statue, this detail would further support the proposed 4th c. BC date.

59 Cf. the comments of B.V. Bothmer, *ESLP*, p. 89-90; and compare also Vatican 22689 (*supra*, n. 53); British Museum, EA 92 (D. Klotz, *op. cit.*, p. 130, fig. 1); similarly the vignette on the Vienna statue (*infra*, doc. 3), about which E. Rogge (*op. cit.*, p. 65) remarked "Die erhobenen Arme mit der übergroßen Händen [...] stützen den Naos".

60 H. De Meulenaere, "Personnages debout tenant un naos dans la statuaire de la Basse Époque", in W. Claes, H. De Meuleanere, S. Hendrickx (ed.), *Elkab and Beyond: Studies in Honour of Luc Limme*, *OLA* 191, 2009, p. 225-226.

61 H. Selim, "A Naophorous Statue in the British Museum (EA 41517)", *JEA* 76, 1990, p. 202.

62 H. De Meulenaere, "E pluribus una", *BIFAO* 87, 1987, p. 139-140.

63 O. Perdu, "Le torse d'Irethorerou de la collection Béhague", *RdE* 49, 1998, p. 250-252.

64 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*, London, 1986, p. 10-15; O. Perdu, *Les statues privées de la fin de l'Égypte pharaonique (1069 av. J.-C.-395 apr. J.-C.)*, I, *Hommes*, Paris, 2012, p. 427; *id.*, *Le crépuscule des pharaons. Chefs-d'œuvre des dernières dynasties égyptiennes*, Bruxelles, 2012, p. 86-89.

65 This head joins the well-known statue of Hornefer (Lausanne, MCBA 7); photographs of the otherwise unpublished head are available at: http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/100009386.

66 B.V. Bothmer, H. De Meulenaere, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

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Prosopography

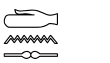
The statue's owner was named Djedhor (Teos), son of Wennefer (Onnophris) and Diamuntjau (see *infra*, Text B, n. j). Although both masculine names were extremely common in this period, this specific pairing only occurs on a handful of texts, none of which can be securely associated with the present statue. Djedhor holds only the common position *ḫtmty-bỉtỉ*, "royal seal-bearer," and mentions no titles for his father.

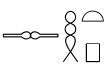
Provenance, Epigraphy, and Date

As mentioned above, the statue was purchased at Phocion Tano's shop in Cairo. The statuette of Ptah in the naos indicates the object's Memphite origin, and the inscriptions specify that it was originally dedicated within the Tjenenet temple, somewhere near the Serapeum in North Saqqara.

The meager prosopographic data do little to establish the statue's date. Epigraphically, the inscriptions feature numerous archaizing orthographies typical of the Late Period (i.e. Dynasty 25-early Ptolemaic Period).[67] The undetermined, alphabetic spellings on this statue find their closest parallels on monuments of Dynasty 30 such as the Naukratis stela,[68] although several particular examples occur already in Dynasty 26. Nonetheless, the cramped sign arrangement on the Mexico statue hardly evokes the elegant simplicity of Saite inscriptions; rather, it more closely resembles other private monuments of the 4th c. (e.g. the Naples "Stela," statue Louvre A 94). In particular, the epigraphy and preservation of the inscriptions bear a striking similarity to the restored statue of Udjahorresnet discovered at Mit Rahina, dating to around 340 BC.[69] In short, both the sculptural style and epigraphy support a date in the 4th c. BC for this statue, most likely prior to the Ptolemaic Period.

- Alphabetic Spellings


dns (col. 1)


sḫtp (col. 3)[70]


ḥḥỉ (col. 3)[71]

67 See recently K. Jansen-Winkeln, "Die Stiftung der Privatstatuen mit Königsnamen in der 26. Dynastie", *GM* 231, 2011, p. 61. For the earliest phases, see O. Perdu, "L'avertissement d'Aménirdis Ire sur sa statue Caire JE 3420 (= CG 565)", *RdE* 47, 1996, p. 48-54; Fr. Payraudeau, "Les prémices du mouvement archaïsant à Thèbes et la statue Caire JE 37382 du quatrième prophète Djedkhonsouiouefânkh", *BIFAO* 107, 2007, p. 141-156.

68 For the distinctive writing style of Dynasty 30, see D. Klotz, "Two Studies on the Late Period Temples at Abydos", *BIFAO* 110, 2010, p. 138, n. 76; *id.*, "The Peculiar Statue of a Heliopolitan Priest: Hannover, Museum August Kestner 1935.200.510", *ZÄS* 139, 2012, p. 137-138, n. 19.

69 R. Anthes, *op. cit.*, p. 98-100, pl. 36.

70 Naukratis Stela, col. 7: A.-S. von Bomhard, *op. cit.*, p. 70, n. b.

71 Cf. H. De Meulenaere, "Une statue de prêtre héliopolitain", *BIFAO* 61, 1962, p. 41; K. Jansen-Winkeln, "Eine Grabübernahme in der 30. Dynastie", *JEA* 83, 1997, p. 171, fig. 2, col. 2 (Brooklyn 56.152), 174, n. (o); I. Guermeur, *Les cultes d'Amon hors de Thèbes*, *BEPHE* 123, 2005, p. 305 (Brooklyn 52.89, col. 3); compare also the similar spelling of *ḥḥ.w*, "thousands", on the Naukratis stela, col. 2 (A.-S. von Bomhard, *op. cit.*, p. 58-59, n. c), and JE 47291, col. 3 (I. Guermeur, *op. cit.*, p. 222, col. 3).

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- Alphabetic Spellings exhibiting Phonetic Change

 *ḫr* (col. 1)[72]

 *ʿqɜ-ỉb* (col. 3)[73]

 *pgɜ* (col. 3)[75]

 *ỉnk* (col. 3)[76]

 *nṯr.w* (col. 1, 3; n. c)

 *nfr* (col. 3)[74]

 *ỉb* (col. 3; n. u)

- Ideographic Writings

 *ỉmɜḫ* (col. 1)[77]

 *nb* (col. 1)[78]

 *ỉɜw* (col. 2)

 *ɜḫ.w* (col. 1)

 *rmṯ.w* (col. 3)

72 According to *Wb*. III, 315, 1, this spelling is only "griech".

73 For this spelling, see G. Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Petosiris*, II, *BiGen* 29, 2007, 2nd edition, p. 28 (no. 57, 1); 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. 88, pl. III, col. 1; J.J. Clère, "Une statuette du fils aîné du roi Nectanabô", *RdE* 6, 1951, p. 138, col. 1; S. Hodjash, O. Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow*, Leningrad, 1982, p. 131, l. 9 (I.1.b.270). An example of this specific orthography occurs already in Dynasty 26: J.-P. Corteggiani, "Une stèle héliopolitaine d'époque saïte", in *Hommages Sauneron*, I, *BdE* 81, 1979, p. 127, col. 2 .

74 H. De Meulenaere, "*NṮ(R)* et *NF(R)*", in Chr. Berger, G. Clerc, N. Grimal (ed.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, IV, *BdE* 106, 1994, p. 69-70; K. Jansen-Winkeln, *BRIS* I, p. 328.

75 For this spelling, see *Wb*. I, 561, 1; K. Jansen-Winkeln, "Zu den Denkmälern des Erziehers Psametiks II", *MDAIK* 52, 1996, p. 194, fig. 2, c3.

76 For this spelling of the first person singular independent pronoun, see K. Jansen-Winkeln, *BRIS* I, p. 82, n. 8; D. Kurth *Einführung ins Ptolemäische* (hereafter: *EP*), II, 2007-2008, p. 610, § 62. It occurs already in Dynasty 26: H. Wild, "Statue d'un noble mendésien du règne de Psammétik Ier aux musées de Palerme et du Caire", *BIFAO* 60, 1960, p. 55-56, n. n.

77 A notecard from the Wörterbuch (DZA 20.736.100) notes that this value is attested already in the New Kingdom, citing "Turin 1089"; however, I have been unable to identify this reference, and the falcon eye more often writes *ỉr* or *mɜɜ* during the New Kingdom: D. Klotz, "Once Again, Min ( ): Acrophony or Phonetic Change?", *GM* 233, 2012, p. 24, n. 34. Definite examples are attested as early as the Third Intermediate Period (K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22 und 23 Dynastie*, I, *ÄAT* 8, 1985, p. 299), and this value becomes very common in the Late Period, e.g. G. Lefebvre, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

78 This sphinx represents this word extremely often in Dynasty 30 and the Graeco-Roman Period (especially in the nomen of Nectanebo I), but it occurs already in Dynasty 26 (H. De Meulenaere, "Une statue de prêtre héliopolitain", *BIFAO* 61, 1962, p. 40, n. 5; also R.B. Gozzoli, "The Statue BM EA 37891 and the Erasure of Necho II's Names", *JEA* 86, 2000, p. 69, col. 3; K. Jansen-Winkeln, "Zu den Denkmälern des Erziehers Psametiks II", *MDAIK* 52, 1996, p. 190, fig. 1, d2; *id*., "Die Stiftung der Privatstatuen mit Königsnamen in der 26. Dynastie", *GM* 231, 2011, p. 58 [*bis*]; O. Perdu, "Documents relatifs aux gouverneurs du Delta au début de la XXVIe dynastie", *RdE* 57, 2006, p. 169, fig. 4, col. 2). The simple recumbent lion writes *nb* already in the New Kingdom: É. Drioton, "Essai sur la cryptographie privée de la fin de la XVIIIe dynastie", *RdE* 1, 1933, p. 40, no. 62.

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- Varia

 *rk (?)* (col. 1; n. h)

 *pʿ.t* (col. 2; n. i)

 *zꜣṯw* (col. 3, n. o)

 *nḏm* (col. 2; n. k)

 *ỉmꜣ* (col. 3, n. u)

From an art-historical perspective, several notable features (tunic with flaring sleeves, wrap-around robe, small pillar under the naos) are attested already in Dynasty 26, but only become widespread in the Persian Period and later. Other attributes ("egg head", pyramidal back pillar with adoration scene, *ỉmꜣḫ*-shaped knot) do not occur before Dynasty 29, and the most similar pieces (especially Vatican 22689 and Berlin 14765) date to Dynasty 30 through the early Ptolemaic period. Bothmer tentatively classified the statue as "Dyn. XXXI", contemporaneous with the remarkably similar – albeit very fragmentary – statue of Udjahorresnet discovered at Mit Rahina.

Considering the substantial construction and renovation at Memphis during the 30th Dynasty,[79] and the lack of any connection to the prominent family of Memphite priests from the Ptolemaic Period, it seems prudent to assign the Mexico City statue to the 4th c. BC.

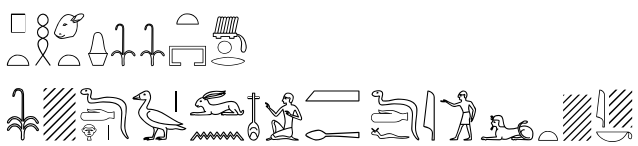
Inscriptions

Although the hieroglyphs were originally executed with great skill, the surface has eroded in spots, obscuring certain hieroglyphs. The *CLES* file contains multiple photographs taken under different lighting conditions, in addition to a provisional hand-copy, ostensibly by Bothmer. These resources have made it possible to create facsimile copies of the texts, and additional photographs from the current owner of the statue allowed for further collation.

A. Front of Naos [PL. 3b]

Inscriptions run along the frame of the naos door, but the carving is so shallow, and the surface so badly weathered, that the signs are hardly legible. The following copy benefited greatly from the *CLES* hand-copy. The texts are symmetric, moving outwards from the center of the lintel.

Left Side



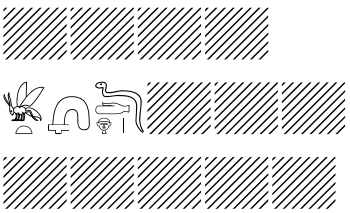
79 E.g. G. DARESSY, "Construction d'un temple d'Apis par Nectanébo Ier", *ASAE* 9, 1908, p. 154-157; Chr. ZIEGLER, "Nectanebo II in Saqqara", in V. Callender, *et. al.* (ed.), *Times, Signs and Pyramids*, 2011, p. 441-449. note also the prominent Memphite tombs from this dynasty: K. JANSEN-WINKELN, "Eine Grabübernahme in der 30. Dynastie", *JEA* 83, 1997, p. 169-178; J. BAINES, "Merit by Proxy: the Biographies of the Dwarf Djeho and his Patron Tjaiharpta", *JEA* 78, 1992, p. 241-257; Fr. VON KÄNEL, "Les mésaventures du conjurateur de Serket Onnophris et de son tombeau", *BSFE* 87-88, 1980, p. 31-45.

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ỉmɜḫw ḫr Ptḥ ḫnty Ṯnn.t	*Venerated before Ptah, foremost of Tjenenet,*
[...]*-nsw Ḏd-ḥr*	*king's [...] Djedhor,*
zꜣ Wn-nfr mꜣʿ-ḫrw	*son of Wennefer, justified.*
ḏd=f	*He says:*
ỉ nb[=ỉ] t[wꜣ.n=ỉ] ỉ[rw]=k[a]	*O [my] Lord, [I hereby] li[ft up?] your fo[rm?].*

a. These restorations, proposed with the greatest reserves, are based on a similar text on Alexandria 20959 (*infra*, doc. 4). If correct, this restored statement would refer to the naophorous gesture.

Right Side

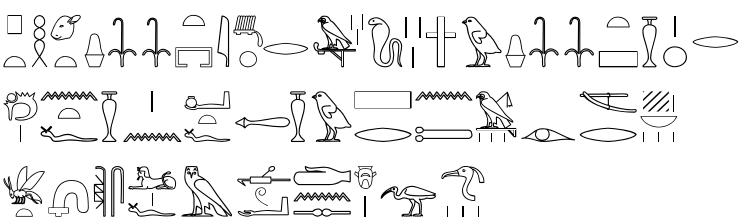


[...][a]	*[...]*
ḫtmty-nsw Ḏd-ḥr	*royal seal-bearer, Djedhor,*
[...][b]	*[...]*

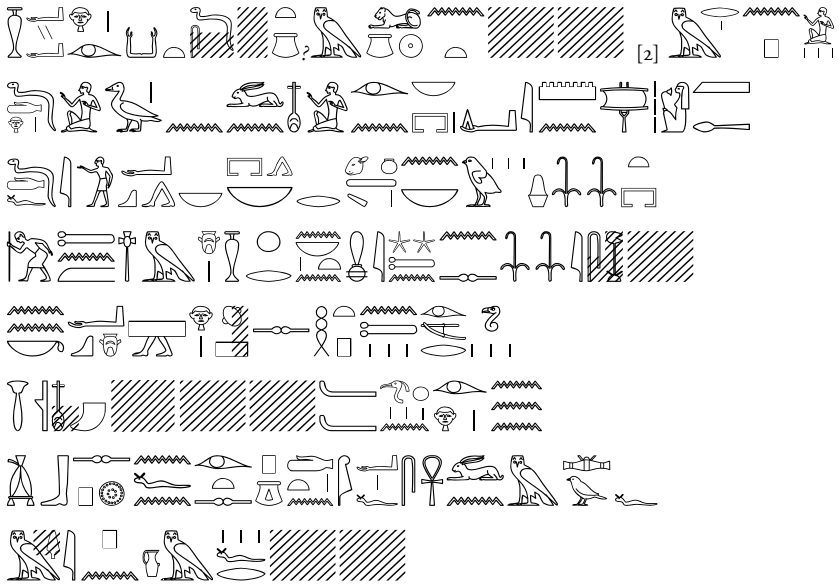
a. Comparing the texts on the left side and the beginning of the back pillar inscription (col. 1), one might propose restoring *ḫzy ḫr nṯr.w nṯr.wt ỉmỉ.w Ṯnn.t*, "praised by the gods and goddesses within Tjenenet." However, it is difficult to confirm any of the expected signs with the faint traces in the photograph.
b. Restore "born of the Lady of the House, Diamuntjau," and perhaps another statement by Djedhor to Ptah.

B. Back Pillar [PL. 4]

The back pillar contains three columns of inscriptions that are relatively well preserved. A large lacuna interrupts the middle of the third column, and a small amount of text is missing from the bottom. For the most part, the text repeats well-known biographic clichés attested on other Late Period private monuments, albeit with some notable variants.

[1] 

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[1] *ỉmɜḫw ḫr Ptḥ ḫnty Ṯnn.t*[a]
ḥzy ḫr nṯr.w nṯry.w ỉmy.w Ṯnn.t
ỉmɜḫw n ỉt=f
ḥzy n mw.t=f[b]
ʿɜ ḥzw(.t) ḫr nṯ(r).w[c]
ỉr mrr(.t) [ḫr(?)].w-nb.w[d]
ḫtmty-bỉty
šms nb=f m wʿʿ.w[e]
dns-ỉb[f] *gm ɜḫ.w(t)*
qb-ʿ.wy ḫr ỉr(.t) kɜ.t ḏs[r][g]
[…] *m rk nt* […][h]
[…] [2] *m rɜ n pʿ.t*[i]
Ḏd-ḫr
zɜ n Wn-nfr
ỉr.n nb(.t)-pr
Dỉ-Ỉmn-ṯɜwj mɜʿ(.t)-ḫrw

ḏd=f
ỉ ʿq nb pr nb
r sn(.t)-tɜ n nb.w Ṯnn.t
ỉɜw=ṯn m nḏm-ỉb
ḥz(w) ḫr nb=tn nb=tn[k]
mỉ dwɜ=tn nṯr[l] *n snn=ỉ*
sḫ[ɜ=tn wỉ…][m]

[ḫr nty] [3] *ỉnk ʿq(ɜ)-ỉb*[n]
šm ḫr zɜṯw[o]

Venerated before Ptah, foremost of Tjenenet,
praised by the gods and goddesses in Tjenenet,
venerated of his father,
praised of his mother,
great of praise before gods,
who does what all [people?] like,
royal seal-bearer,
who serves his lord in private,
careful in thought, who finds useful things,
cool of arms while performing sacred work,
[…] at the time of […]
[…] in the mouth of the people:
Djedhor,
son of Wennefer,
born of the Lady of the House,
Diamuntjau, justified.

He says:
O all who enter and all who exit,
in order to honor the lords of Tjenenet,
you shall grow old in happiness,
being favored by your Lord,
if you pray for this statue,
[and] remem[ber me…]

[For] I am straight of heart,
who walks upon the paved ground,

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sḫtp nṯ(r).w	*who appeases the gods,*
ỉr mrr(.t) rmṯ.w	*who does what men like,*
wꜣḏ-qd nfr-biꜣ.t[p]	*fresh of form, good of character,*
[...]	*[...]*
ḥḥỉ ꜣḥ.w(t) n ỉr(.w) ḥr mw[q]	*who seeks benefactions for whoever acts loyally,*
ḏbꜣ zp nf(r) n ỉr{.t} s(w)[r]	*who repays a good deed to whoever does it,*
pg(ꜣ) ḏr.t n šw-ʿ=f[s]	*who extends his hand to the empty-handed,*
sʿnḫ wn m gꜣw=f[t]	*who enlivens he who is in need,*
ỉmꜣ-ỉb n ḫnm.w=f[u]	*graceful to his associates,*
r[...]	*[...]*

a. The Tjenenet was a Memphite temple, apparently north of the Serapeum in Saqqara, home to Ptah, Isis, and other unspecified divinities.[80] An additional example of this title occurs on a Memphite statue found in Puteoli, where the owner bears many sacerdotal charges, including: "priest of Ptah, Isis, and the gods within the (Tje)nenet (, not [Cozzolino])."[81]

b. This series of epithets is very frequent in the Late Period.[82]

c. This abbreviated spelling of *nṯr*, which reoccurs in column 3, is rather common in the Late Period, reflecting contemporaneous pronunciation (e.g. Coptic: ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ, Greek: –νουθις).[83]

d. Tentatively restoring . Direct parallels are lacking, but one might compare the similar variant *ỉr mrr.t bw nb*, "one who does what everybody likes" (e.g. CG 535), or the more common expression *ỉr mrr.t rmṯ.w*, "one who does what people like".[84]

e. This original epithet appears to conflate two very common expressions *šms nb=f r nmt.wt=f*, "one who follows his lord at all of his steps,"[85] and *mdw n nsw.t m-wʿʿ.w*, "one who speaks to the king in private".[86] Djedhor thus vaunts of enjoying private audiences with the king, following him alone into the palace while other officials waited outside.[87]

80 See the discussion of A. Leahy, "Beer for the Gods of Memphis in the Reign of Amasis", in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, H. Willems (ed.), *Egyptian Religion, the Last Thousand Years: Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, I, *OLA* 84, 1998, p. 381-387; followed most recently by St. Pasquali, *Topographie cultuelle de Memphis 1a- Corpus. Temples et principaux quartiers de la XVIII*[e] *dynastie*, *CENIM* 4, 2011, p. 92, n. 309. The Tjenenet notably served as the setting for the Nehebkau festival in Memphis: C. Leitz, *Geographisch-osirianische Prozessionen aus Philae, Dendara und Athribis (Soubassementstudien II)*, *SSR* 8, 2012, p. 283-284.

81 C. Cozzolino, *op. cit.*, p. 27, col. 1 (corrected after the photograph in *ibid.*, p. 36, pl. 2); C. Cozzolino did not recognize the honorific transposition, and instead translated: "prophet of Ptah, *ʿrk-ỉnsw*(?) of Isis mother of the gods" (*ibid.*, p. 27). For this writing of *ḫnt-<T>nn.t*, see A. Leahy, *op. cit.*

82 R. el-Sayed, "À la recherche des statues inédites de la Cachette Karnak au Musée du Caire (suite) (II)", *ASAE* 75, 2000, p. 203, n. j; O. Perdu, "Exemple de stèle archaïsante pour un prêtre modèle", *RdE* 52, 2001, p. 188-190, n. 40.

83 H. De Meulenaere, "*NṮ(R)* et *NF(R)*", in Chr. Berger, G. Clerc, N. Grimal (ed.), *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, IV, *BdE* 106, 1994, p. 66 (to which these examples should be added); note that such spellings are attested already in the New Kingdom: J.C. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity*, *OBO* 198, 2004, p. 62, n. 120, p. 104, n. 316. Cf. also D. Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische* (hereafter: *EP*), I, 2007-2008, p. 520-521, § 18; J.Fr. Quack, "Critical Remarks on a Proposed Etymology of Hebrew נצר and Aramaic *Nqr*", *JAEI* 5:2, 2013, p. 30-32, n. 34.

84 J. Janssen, *De traditioneele egyptische Autobiografie vóór het Nieuwe Rijk*, I, Leiden, 1946, p. 46-47; H. De Meulenaere, "Une statue de prêtre héliopolitain", *BIFAO* 61, 1962, p. 38, n. p; O. Perdu, *op. cit.*, p. 195-199.

85 J. Janssen, *op. cit.*, p. 111-112.

86 H. De Meulenaere, *op. cit.*, p. 36, n. g; O. Perdu, "Documents relatifs aux gouverneurs du Delta au début de la XXVI[e] dynastie", *RdE* 57, 2006, p. 158-159, n. f; D. Klotz, "The Statue of the *dioikêtês* Harchebi/Archibios: Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art 47-12", *BIFAO* 109, 2009, p. 293, n. l, p. 310, col. 1.

87 For this theme, cf. D. Klotz, *op. cit.*, p. 291, n. 50, p. 292, n. 61.

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Alternatively, this could be an abbreviated reference to temple services he performed within the Tjenenet, similar to *Petosiris* 81, 3-4: "one who serves his lord (*šms nb=f*; sc. Thoth), who enters the sacred place and performs his duty in privacy (*m-wʿʿ.w*) together with the priests of Hermopolis".[88]

f. The epithet *dns-ỉb* (lit. "heavy of mind")[89] is a variant of the expressions *dns-mhwt* or *dns-rɜ*, both of which occur with greater frequency in the Late Period.[90]

g. While priests often claim to be "cool (*qbb*)" in their movements (*nmt.t*) or various body parts (*rɜ*, *ḫ.t*, *ỉb*), this particular phrase is unique.[91] As with similar expressions in other biographies, this epithet refers to performing sacred rituals calmly and with dignity.[92]

h. Because of the lacunae, this epithet remains obscure. Nonetheless, one might compare similar spellings of *rk*, "time; era" (e.g. , , or ).[93]

i. At first glance, this group appears to write **ỉmy-rɜ n p(ɜ) mšʿ*, "General," but the common military title is never written with the direct genitive or the definite article,[94] and these words are absent from the Greek and Coptic derivatives (ⲗⲉⲙϥ·ⲥⲉ, Λεμεισα).
Instead, one may read the final word () as *pʿ.t*, "the indigenous elite," similar to  (*Edfou* I, 461, 8). This spelling could either be a graphic error for ,[95] or perhaps a simplified alphabetic writing of the word without the usual *ʿayin* (cf. Akkadian: *-pé*, Coptic ⲡϥ·).[96]
While the beginning of this epithet is missing, one might compare phrases such as (1) *rn=f ʿnḫ(.w) m rɜ n pʿ.t*, "his name lives in the speech of the people," (2) *mnḫ rn=ỉ rsy m rɜ n rmṯ.w*, "my name is truly excellent in the speech of men," or (3) *bnr-mrw.t m rɜ n z nb*, "sweet of love in the speech of every man".[97]

j. The mother's name is apparently unique, although many parallels exist for the onomastic formation (*dỉ* + Divinity + *ṯɜw*,[98] or *dỉ-Ỉmn* + Benefit),[99] and the association of Amun with the breath of life is banal.[100]

88 G. Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Petosiris*, I, *BiGen* 29, 2007, 2nd edition p. 136; *id.*, *Le tombeau de Petosiris*, II, *BiGen* 29, 2007, 2nd edition p. 53.

89 *Wb*. V, 469, 4; J. Janssen, *op. cit.*, p. 37 (citing only *Urk*. VII, 64, 7); J.J. Clère, "L'expression *dnc mhwt* des autobiographies égyptiennes", *JEA* 35, 1949, p. 41-42.

90 See primarily: J.J. Clère, *op. cit.*, p. 38-42; *id.*, "Deux nouveaux exemples de l'expression *dnc mhwt*", *JEA* 37, 1951, p. 112-113; with additional references in D. Klotz, "Two Studies on the Late Period Temples at Abydos", *BIFAO* 110, 2010, p. 143, n. h; *id.*, "The Peculiar Naophorous Statuette of a Heliopolitan Priest: Hannover, Museum August Kestner 1935.200.510", *ZÄS* 139, 2012, p. 140, n. f.

91 *Wb*. V, 23, 11-16; J. Janssen, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

92 H. De Meulenaere, "Une formule des inscriptions autobiographiques de basse époque", in O. Firchow (ed.), *Ägyptologische Studien*, *VIO* 29, 1955, p. 226-231.

93 *Wb*. II, 457; *Wb. Belegstellen* II, p. 691-692.

94 Unlike in the Demotic title *pɜ ḥry n pɜ mšʿ n nɜ*, "chief of the police" (W. Erichsen, *DG*, p. 182).

95 For similar spellings, see *Wb*. I, 503; P. Wilson, *PL*, p. 347.

96 J. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen*, II, *SDAIK* 3, 1976, p. 470-471, n. 132. Note that in Demotic, the final *ʿayin* disappears in the plural form of the related title *ỉry.w-pʿ.t* > *rpy.w*; cf. *CDD R* (01:1), p. 33-34.

97 (1) *Urk*. VII, 33, 14 (Beni Hasan); (2) *Urk*. IV, 945, 4; (3) BM 137, l. 3 (Taimouthes): E.A.E. Reymond, *From the Records of a Priestly Family from Memphis*, *ÄgAbh* 38, 1981, p. 169.

98 E.g. *Tỉ-Ḥnsw-ṯɜw* (E. Lüddeckens, *DemNB*, 1248); *Dỉ=f-pɜ-ṯɜw* (H. Ranke, *PN* II, 332, 14).

99 E.g. *Dỉ-Ỉmn-pɜ-wḏɜ* (H. Ranke, *PN* II, 332, 4), *Dỉ-Ỉmn-pɜ-snb* (H. De Meulenaere, "Notes d'onomastique tardive (deuxième série)", *RdE* 12, 1960, p. 69, n. 4), *Dỉ-Ỉmn-pɜ-ʿnḫ* (K. Donker van Heel, "Papyrus Louvre E 7852: a Land Lease from the Reign of Taharka", *RdE* 48, 1997, p. 89, n. b).

100 D. Klotz, *Caesar in the City of Amun: Egyptian Theology and Temple Construction in Roman Thebes*, *MRE* 12, 2012, p. 61-62. For this divine attribute in onomastics, compare: *Ỉmn-pɜy=ỉ-ṯɜw* (H. Ranke, *PN* I, 27, 10); *Pɜy=f-ṯɜw-ḥr-ʿ.wy-Ỉmn* (*ibid.*, *PN* I, 127, 25); the supposed name **Nỉ-wỉ-Ỉmn-pɜ-ṯɜw-n-ʿnḫ* (*ibid.*, *PN* II, 294, 9) was identified as a personal motto by M. Thirion, "Notes d'onomastique. Contribution à une révision du Ranke *PN* (Troisième série)", *RdE* 34, 1983, p. 103.

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k. The word *nḏm* () employs the biliteral *nḏ* in an unconventional position, recalling comparable Late Period spellings of *nḏ* () and *šnḏ.t* ().[101] Similar wishes for a sweet lifetime coupled with royal favors abound on contemporaneous monuments and were recently discussed at length by Olivier Perdu,[102] to which one might add the following examples from Dynasty 30:

1. CG 29307:[103]

zbỉ(.w) r ỉmɜḫw m nḏm-ỉb	*He passes to a venerated state in happiness,*
ỉw ḥzw.t=f ḥr nsw.t	*with favor of him before the king.*

2. CG 682, Back Pillar, col. 5:[104]

ḥr-sɜ tp-tɜ=k m nḏm-ʿnḫ	*After your earthly life (tp-tɜ)*[105] *in happiness,*
ḥr ḥz.wt nsw.t-nṯr.w	*with the favor of the King of the Gods,*
zmɜ-tɜ ỉm=k m tp-nfr	*you will be buried correctly.*

l. Appeals to "praise god" on behalf of the deceased are fairly common.[106] As J.J. Clère remarked long ago, the term *snn* can also designate standing statues such as the present object.[107]

m. Restoring: , or something similar, based on the traces. Appeals to "commemorate (*sḫɜ*)" the names or Kas of the deceased are common in this context.[108]

n. The first epithet is quite common in the Late Period.[109] When paired with the following phrase,[110] it often has the specific nuance of "loyal" or "honest."

101 D. Klotz, "Two Studies on the Late Period Temples at Abydos", *BIFAO* 110, 2010, p. 139, col. 2 (MMA 1996.91); *id.*, "The Peculiar Statue of a Heliopolitan Priest: Hannover, Museum August Kestner 1935.200.510", *ZÄS* 139, 2012, p. 138, col. 2, p. 141, n. 47.

102 O. Perdu, "Un témoignage sur « Isis-la-grande » et la ville de Ro-néfer", in Chr. Zivie-Coche, I. Guermeur (ed.), *« Parcourir l'éternité ». Hommages à Jean Yoyotte*, II, *BEHE* 156, 2012, p. 893-895, n. i-j.

103 G. Maspero, H. Gauthier, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, II, *CatGen* 41, 1939, p. 8.

104 R. el-Sayed, "Un document relatif au culte dans Kher-Aha (statue Caire CG 682)", *BIFAO* 82, 1982, p. 199-200, who translated differently: "(les glorifiés) sont derrière. Que tu vives une vie agréable avec les dieux et le roi de Haute Égypte, en jouissant des faveurs."

105 For this term, see L. Coulon, "Les sièges de prêtre d'époque tardive. À propos de trois documents thébains", *RdE* 57, 2006, p. 12-13, n. FF.

106 O. Perdu, "Le monument de Samtoutefnakht à Naples", *RdE* 36, 1985, p. 106, n. j.

107 J.J. Clère, "Une statuette du fils aîné du roi Nectanabô", *RdE* 6, 1951, p. 147, n. D; H. Wild, "Statue de Hor-Néfer au musée des Beaux-Arts de Lausanne", *BIFAO* 54, 1954, p. 207-208, n. 48.

108 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. 204-205, n. (g); O. Perdu, "Socle d'une statue de Neshor à Abydos", *RdE* 43, 1992, p. 158, n. (q); *id.*, in Chr. Zivie-Coche, I. Guermeur (ed.), *« Parcourir l'éternité ». Hommages à Jean Yoyotte*, II, *BEHE* 156, 2012, p. 895, n. k; C.R. Price, *Materiality, Archaism and Reciprocity: The Conceptualization of the Non-Royal Statue at Karnak during the Late Period (c. 750-30 BC)*, PhD Diss., University of Liverpool, 2011, p. 226-229, who argued for the translation "commemorate".

109 J.J. Clère, *op. cit.*, p. 142-143, n. L; *id.*, "*ʿḳɜ-ỉb* « honnête, loyal »", *BIFAO* 89, 1989, p. 67-71; O. Perdu, *op. cit.*, p. 156, n. m; *id.*, *« Parcourir l'éternité ». Hommages à Jean Yoyotte*, II, *BEHE* 156, 2012, p. 891-892, n. e.

110 The closest parallel occurs on JE 37328: *nw=ỉ ʿqɜ-ỉb šm=ỉ ḥr zṯw*, "I am straight of heart, I walk upon the paved path" (K. Jansen-Winkeln, *BRIS* I, p. 260; *id.*, *BRIS* II, p. 438, 41, a2).

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o. This term was the subject of an erudite, oft-cited, yet ultimately inconclusive study by Clère.[111] Based on the context, and two frequent determinatives (, ), this word almost certainly designates a path or road. The most common stone determinative () and usual *w*-ending led Clère to favor the transliteration *ḫsb.w*, comparing a term of uncertain meaning otherwise associated with minerals. Turquoise was imported in *ḫsb.w*, and *ḫsb.w* were used to draw apotropaic images on the ground. However, Clère never explained how to reconcile this very technical definition with the general meaning of "road; path," a weakness in his argument that he himself admitted.[112]

In view of the various nuances of the mineral word *ḫsb.w*, one might compare Semitic near-cognates (Arabic *ḥaṣab*, "stones, pebbles, gravel";[113] Akkadian *ḫaṣbattu*, "potsherd, fragment")[114] and similar Egyptian verbs (e.g. *ḫsb*, "to break"; *ḫšb*, "to hack off")[115] and translate the latter term as "pebble, chip, flake, shard." Ancient Egyptians could import chips (*ḫsb.w*) of minerals, or likewise draw magical designs on the ground using pebbles (*ḫsb.w*). However, proper roads, such as processional routes and highways, would have been regularly swept clear of such obstructions, so the latter word could hardly be a synonym for "way" or "path."

Instead, the mysterious term, which occurs so frequently in private and divine epithets, might have a different transcription. The pustule sign can represent many phonetic and ideographic values, but few fit the proper context.[116] Fairman and others had advocated reading *šȝw*, "designated path,"[117] but this hypothetical word is never written in *Klartext*. Other common phonetic values for this sign include *wt* ("mummy"), and *mt* ("death"), which could support the readings *wȝ.t* or *mỉ.t* (both meaning "road"), if not for the frequent *w*-ending.

Somewhat more likely is the term *q(ȝ)ḫ*, a reading which Clère briefly entertained but eventually dismissed.[118] His objections were twofold: 1) this phonetic value is only rarely attested; 2) the translation *qȝḫ*, "silt," would hardly make sense here. Yet the pustule alone often writes the bilateral value *qḫ* in the word *ỉqḫ*, "to enter; penetrate" (e.g. , not discussed by Clère).[119] In Demotic, moreover, the same pustule sign regularly serves as a determinative to the much more common word *qḫ*, "district", or more generally "the earth;

111 J.J. Clère, "Recherches sur le mot  des textes grêco-romains et sur d'autres mots apparentés", *BIFAO* 79, 1979, p. 285-310; see also H. De Meulenaere, "Une famille sacerdotale thébaine", *BIFAO* 86, 1986, p. 139-140, n. b; O. Perdu, *op. cit.*, p. 157-158, n. o; G. Vittmann, *Altägyptische Wegmetaphorik*, *BeitrÄg* 15, 1999, p. 26.

112 J.J. Clère, *op. cit*, p. 308-310.

113 H. Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, p. 211; E.W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, I, p. 581. Cf. also Hebrew *ḥaṣab*, "to cut; hew out (stones)" (Gesenius, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, p. 298). Note, however, that Semitic /ṣ/ is usually rendered by Egyptian D (J.E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*, Princeton, 1994, p. 408-409, 437; G. Takács, *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*, I: *A Phonological Introduction*, *HdO* I, 48/1, 1999, p. 256-257), so a direct borrowing of these terms is unlikely.

114 *CAD* VI, 1956, p. 129, 131-132.

115 *Wb*. III, 166, 6-7; 339, 6.

116 D. Kurth, *EP* I, p. 229.

117 For references, see J.J. Clère, *op. cit.*, p. 290-291; J.Fr. Quack has recently opted for the earlier transliteration (e.g. "Les normes pour le culte d'Osiris. Les indications du Manuel du Temple sur les lieux et les prêtres osiriens", in L. Coulon [ed.], *Le culte d'Osiris au I^er^ millénaire av. J.-C. : Découvertes et travaux récents*, *BdE* 153, 2010, p. 26: "délaisser la voie [*ḫȝ ʿ šȝ.w*]").

118 J.J. Clère, *op. cit.*, p. 306-308. Recently, D. Kurth has once again argued for reading *qȝḫ* in these expressions (*EP* I, p. 244, n. 407).

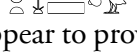
119 D. Kurth, *EP* I, 244, n. 408.

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ground", eventually derived from *qɜḥ*, "silt".[120] Most importantly, this term may occur in *Pleneschreibung* in the autobiography of the Ptolemaic official Senu/Zenon, spelled as .[121] Nonetheless, the *w*-ending commonly found in this word would still be unexpected for *qɜḥ* or similar terms.

An example from a private stela, not mentioned by Clère, provides additional insight into the nature of this word. In her fascinating biography from Abydos, the noble lady Taisis claims that she was:[122]

mɜʿ-ỉb ḫr nṯr.w nṯry.t	*True of heart before gods and goddesses*
tm.t ḫɜʿ(?)  *ḫnt ḥw.t-nṯr=s(n)*	*not leaving the* *in their temples,*
sḫr(.t) sɜ.t m mrr(.wt)=sn	*who drove out impurity from their streets,*
twr(.tỉ) wʿb(.tỉ) ḫr wɜ.t=sn	*being pure and clean on their path,*
mɜɜ(.t) kɜ(.w)=sn m ḫʿ(.w)=sn	*who beheld their Ka's in their processions,*
swɜš(.t) ḥm(.w)=sn m ḥb.w=sn	*and praised their majesties in their festivals.*

First, the spelling of the second epithet calls for comment: .[123] If the *ḫɜ*-plant alone writes the verb *ḫɜʿ*,[124] then the remaining signs would appear to provide the phonetic spelling of the word in question, namely *ṯɜš*, "border, district." While that translation is roughly equivalent to *qɜḥ*, "district", and would make reasonable sense in the general context,[125] the word *ṯɜš* is not otherwise written with the pustule or the *w*-ending. Accordingly, this might be an erroneous spelling, or perhaps a singular writing of *ḫɜš* > *šɜš*, "to trespass".

From the context, however, it emerges that the mysterious word was a path or other area of the ground, apparently made of stone, which could be located within a temple. While this definition would be difficult to reconcile with *qɜḥ*, "silt, earth," not to mention *šɜw* or *ḥsb.w*, it corresponds excellently to the term *zɜṯw*, "ground, paving stone."[126] Like the word in question, *zɜṯw* is often written with a final *-w*, and it can appear with the stone determinative, particularly when referring to paving stones within a temple.[127] Moreover, the

120 W. Erichsen, *DG* 547 (*s. v. qḥ*, "Das Erdreich"); M. Chauveau, "Inarôs, prince des rebelles", in F. Hoffmann, H.-J. Thissen (ed.), *Res severa verum gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004*, *StudDem* 6, 2004, p. 41, l. 6, 43; *id.*, "Le saut dans le temps d'un document historique: des Ptolémées aux Saïtes", in D. Devauchelle (ed.), *La XXVI^e dynastie, continuités et ruptures*, Paris, 2011, p. 43.

121 *Urk.* II, 66, 1 (noted by J.J. Clère, *op. cit.*, p. 305-306); for this text, see recently I. Guermeur, "Glanures (§ 1-2)", *BIFAO* 103, 2003, p. 286, 292-293 (x + 16).

122 Pushkin Museum, I.1.b.270, l. 6-7: S. Hodjash, O. Berlev, *op. cit*, p. 190-191; P. Derchain, "Femmes (II)", *BSEG* 24, 2000-2001, p. 48.

123 Hodjash and Berlev translated this passage: "one whose altars and stelae are prosperous [*rwḏ.t ḫɜ.wt ʿḥʿ.w*] (lit. one prosperous of altars…) in her temple" (*op. cit.*, p. 190; followed by P. Derchain, *op. cit.*, p. 48, n. 27), but did not explain the curious spelling of *ʿḥʿ*, "stela." The correct interpretation was noted already by H. De Meulenaere, *op. cit.*, p. 139, n. b, no. 4; and G. Vittmann, *op. cit.*, p. 133 (11.30).

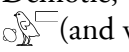
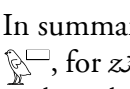
124 Cf. J.J. Clère, *op. cit.*, p. 287, n. 2.

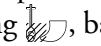
125 For the phrase *ḫɜʿ ṯɜš*, "to leave a (religious) district", compare the sentence quoted by Crum, *CD* 452a (*s. v.* "d *bishopric*"): ⲁⲓⲕⲱ ⲡⲁⲧⲱⲱ ⲛⲭⲥⲓ ⲁⲓⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲕⲉⲧⲱⲱ, "I left my district behind me and went to another district".

126 *Wb.* III, 423-424, especially 424, 4-8; R.O. Faulkner, *CDME*, p. 211; L.H. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* (2nd ed.), p. 10.

127 P.J. Frandsen, "A Fragmentary Letter of the Early Middle Kingdom", *JARCE* 15, 1978, p. 27-29, n. h; L. Postel, I. Régen, "Annales héliopolitaines et fragments de Sésostris I^er réemployés dans la porte de Bâb al-Tawfiq au Caire", *BIFAO* 105, 2005, p. 262-263, n. ff.

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pustule sign regularly represents the phonetic value *sṯỉ* or *sṯɜ*,[128] and it regularly determines the derivative word in Demotic, *(ɜ)sṯ*, "ground".[129]
In summary, the term  (and variants) most likely corresponds to spellings such as , for *zɜṯw*, "(paved) ground," with the pustule writing *s(ɜ)ṯ* or *s(ɜ)t*. In a temple setting, such as the stela of Taisis, this word should designate the stone floor within the temenos; in more general contexts, where it appears alongside synonyms for "road" (e.g. *wɜ.t*, *mṯn*), it might specifically denote a more formal, paved processional route.

p. Restoring , based on the traces and the frequent occurrence of this epithet in combination with *wɜḏ-qd*.[130]

q. References to traveling "upon the water" of divinities or the king abound in the Late Period.[131] The present formulation features two rare variants: the choice of the verb *ỉrỉ*, "to act",[132] and the impersonal use of the phrase *ḥr mw*, without the expected suffix pronoun or direct genitive.[133]

r. Although similar phrases occur elsewhere in the Late Period, they usually pertain to divinities, not individuals.[134] Nonetheless, a very close parallel can be found on a much earlier monument from the First Intermediate Period (Florence, 1540): *ḏbɜ nfr n ỉr(.w) sw*, "one who repays goodness to whoever performs it".[135]

s. Epithets involving the phrase *pgɜ-ḏr.t* (or variants) occur frequently in all periods,[136] but the present formulation is unique. The term *šw-ʿ*, "destitute; helpless" (lit. "empty-handed")[137] is a rarer variant of the more common locution *ỉwty-n=f*.[138]

128 *Wb.* IV, 349, D. Kurth, *EP* I, p. 229, 244, n. 404-405.

129 W. Erichsen, *DG*, p. 11.

130 J.J. Clère, Une statuette du fils aîné du roi Nectanabô", *RdE* 6, 1951, p. 142, n. K; J.-P. Corteggiani, *op. cit.*, p. 129, n. (d); O. Perdu, "Documents relatifs aux gouverneurs du Delta au début de la XXVI^e^ dynastie", *RdE* 57, 2006, p. 170-171, n. e; I. Guermeur, *Les cultes d'Amon hors de Thèbes*, *BEPHE* 123, 2005, p. 305, n. a.

131 O. Perdu, "Exemple de stèle archaïsante pour un prêtre modèle", *RdE* 52, 2001, p. 199-200; G. Vittmann, *op. cit.*, p. 137-141.

132 *Wb*. I, 111, 21; *Wb*. II, 52, 17 ("handeln"), with *Belegstellen* II, p. 80; G. Vittmann, *op. cit.*, p. 168 (*s. v.* "*jr ḥr mw*"); cf. also *Esna* II, 64, 2, where Khnum and Neith: *ṯz ỉwʿ n ỉr (ḥr) mw=sn*, "assemble an heir for whoever acts loyally to them".

133 For more examples, see H. Ranke, "The Statue of a Ptolemaic Στρατηγος of the Mendesian Nome in the Cleveland Museum of Art", *JAOS* 73, 1953, p. 194, col. 2, p. 195-196; O. Perdu, "Socle d'une statue de Neshor à Abydos", *RdE* 43, 1992, p. 147, l. 2, 157-158, n. (o); *Petosiris* 65, 13 (G. Lefebvre, *op. cit.*, p. 41).

134 For the formula, and variants, see K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Sentenzen und Maximen in den Privatinschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit*, Berlin, 1999, p. 91-92 (A.4.d.8-12); P. Vernus, "Khâemouaset et la rétribution des actions", in L. Gabolde (ed.), *Hommages à Jean-Claude Goyon offerts pour son 70^e^ anniversaire*, *BdE* 143, 2008, p. 412-415.

135 J. Janssen, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

136 *Ibid.*, p. 61; R. el-Sayed, "Deux statues inédites du musée du Caire", *BIFAO* 84, 1984, p. 144-145, n. n; P. Der Manuelian, *Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-Sixth Dynasty*, London, 1994, p. 7-9; K. Jansen-Winkeln, "Zu den Denkmälern des Erziehers Psametiks II", *MDAIK* 52, 1996, p. 195, n. 11; O. Perdu, "L'avertissement d'Aménirdis I^re^ sur sa statue Caire JE 3420 (= CG 565)", *RdE* 47, 1996, p. 59, n. p; I. Guermeur, *op. cit.*, p. 305 (Brooklyn 52.89, col. 2). In most examples, the hand is extended "to everybody (*n bw nb*)."

137 This phrase occurs elsewhere on two statues of Harwa (BM 55306, Louvre A 84; B. Gunn, R. Engelbach, "The Statues of Harwa", *BIFAO* 30, 1931, p. 810-811); cf. also Cairo, RT 1/6/24/6 (K. Jansen-Winkeln, "Ein Kaufmann aus Naukratis", *ZÄS* 124, 1997, p. 111, Text a); the TLA also notes an example in *Edfou* VII, 277, 7. For a pejorative use of this term (i.e. "stingy"), see CG 42225: *m ỉr šw-ʿ m ỉḫt=k*, "handle nicht geizig mit deinem Vermögen" (K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22 und 23 Dynastie*, II, *ÄAT* 8, 1985, p. 372, 3.9.8).

138 E.g. JE 36918, Back Pillar, col. 4: *dwn.n=ỉ ḏr.t=ỉ n ỉwty-n=f* (K. Jansen-Winkeln, "Drei Statueninschriften einer Familie aus frühptolemäischer Zeit", *SAK* 36, 2007, p. 63); CG 29310, col. 3: *ỉnk wn ḏr.t n ỉwty-n=f* (G. Maspero, H. Gauthier, *op. cit.*, p. 47); see further H. De Meulenaere, "Une statue de prêtre héliopolitain", *BIFAO* 61, 1962, p. 36-37, n. k; G. Posener, "Origine des expressions *ntj-wn* 'le possédant' et *ỉwtj-n.f* 'le non-possédant'", *RdE* 6, 1951, p. 235

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t. In the second phrase, the term *wn-m-gꜣw=f* (lit. "he who is in his state of lack") is a unique synonym for *šw-ʿ* in the preceding epithet. For a similar sentiment, one might compare a passage from two statues of Harwa: "he who pacifies the destitute (*sḫtp ỉwty-n=f*) with that which he lacked (*m gꜣw=f r=s*)".[139]

u. Although damage partially obscures the tree sign, and its position is somewhat surprising,[140] an exact parallel for this epithet occurs in the celebrated biography of Wennefer from Saqqara (*ỉmꜣ-ỉb n ḫnmy.w=f*).[141] The alphabetic spelling () of *ỉb*,[142] "heart," reflects contemporary pronunciation after the final *b* devoiced to *p*.[143] Similar examples occur in the Late Period, as both *ỉb*, "heart" (),[144] and *ỉp-ỉb*, "knowledgeable" ();[145] the latter phrase was vocalized as ⲁⲡ-ⲉⲡ in a Roman Period lexicon from Tebtunis.[146]

Document 2
Kent, Chiddingstone Castle: Denys Eyre Bower Collection, 01.0573 [pl. 5-6]

This striding osirophorous statue currently belongs to the Denys Eyre Bower collection in Chiddingstone Castle, Kent.[147] Although the precise acquisition date is unknown, the object

139 B. Gunn, R. Engelbach, *op. cit.*, p. 808 (with the correction by Ch. Kuentz, "Remarques sur les statues de Harwa [avec 2 planches]", *BIFAO* 34, 1934, p. 161-162). For the present combination of *sʿnḫ* and *gꜣw*, compare Louvre C 123, col. 9: *r sʿnḫ tꜣ m-ḫt gꜣw*, "in order to revive the land after (a period of) destitution" (Chr. Thiers, "Ptolémée Philadelphe et les prêtres de Saïs. La stèle Codex Ursinianus, fol. 6 rº Naples 1034 Louvre C. 123", *BIFAO* 99, 1999, p. 427, 429).

140 Nonetheless, for other examples of signs transposed behind tall birds, see P. Der Manuelian, *op. cit*, p. 92-93.

141 G. Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 47, col. 3 (CG 29310). For similar combinations, compare JE 37149: *ỉmꜣ-ỉb n sn.w=f, ḫnm-ỉb n ḫnmy.w=f* (K. Jansen-Winkeln, *BRIS* II, p. 430, no. 38, a4); RT 18/12/24/4: *ỉmꜣ-ỉb n sn.w=f, mry ḫnmy.w=f* (*ibid.*, p. 436, no. 40, b6).

142 The word *ỉb*, "heart", is often spelled alphabetically in Dynasties 26-30: P. Der Manuelian, *op. cit.*, p. 82. Cf. also D. Klotz, *op. cit.*, p. 138-139, pl. XVIII, col. 2; despite the extended commentary on this epithet (*ibid*, p. 141-143, n. k), the final suggestion proposed is the most reasonable (*ibid.*, p. 142-143 [γ]): *mʒʿty, wꜣḥ-ỉb n wbꜣ n=f ỉb*, "Righteous one, patient to whoever confides in him"; for the alphabetic spelling of *wꜣḥ* there, see also CG 807 (K. Jansen-Winkeln, "Zu den Denkmälern des Erziehers Psametiks II", *MDAIK* 52, 1996, p. 190, fig. 1, e2, in the phrase: *wꜣḥ tp-tꜣ*).

143 D. Kurth, *EP* I, p. 226. Note the relatively frequent interchange between *ỉb* and *p(ꜣ)* in divine and royal names: R. Jasnow, "Evidence for the Deification of Tuthmosis III in the Ptolemaic Period", *GM* 64, 1983, p. 33-34; H.-J. Thissen, *Die demotischen Graffiti von Medinet Habu: Zeugnisse zu Tempel und Kult im Ptolemäischen Ägypten, DemStud* 10, 1989, p. 152; D. Budde, "Harpare-pa-chered: Ein ägyptisches Götterkind im Theben der Spätzeit und griechisch-römischen Epoche", in D. Budde, S. Sandri, U. Verhoeven (ed.), *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit. Zeugnisse aus Stadt und Tempel als Spiegel des interkulturellen Kontakts*, *OLA* 128, 2003, p. 70-71.

144 M. Burchardt, "Ein saitischer Statuensockel in Stockholm", *ZÄS* 47, 1910, p. 112, l. 3, 115, n. 19; J.-Cl. Goyon, M. Gabolde, "Trois pieces de Basse Époque et d'époque ptolémaïque au musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon", *BMML* 1991/3-4, p. 3, fig. 1, p. 7, fig. 4, p. 11 (although the *p*-sign is clear in the published photograph, the editors emended it to a heart in their hand copy). For the converse spelling (*ỉb* for *ỉp*), see B. Backes, *Drei Totenpapyri aus einer thebanischen Werkstatt der Spätzeit (pBerlin P. 3158, pAberdeen ABDUA 84023, pBerlin, P. 3159)*, *HAT* 11, 2009, p. 28.

145 H. De Meulenaere, "La statue d'un haut fonctionnaire saïte (Stockholm, MME 1986:1 + Vatican 22686)", *BMMNEA* 31, 1998, p. 14, col. 2, p. 19, n. (j); De Meulenaere read this phrase as *ỉpỉp-ỉb* ("une variante exceptionnelle du cliché"), but the verb *ỉpỉp* is otherwise unattested.

146 J. Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis* I, *Carlsberg Papyri* 2, *CNIP* 17, 1998, p. 172, 178, n. P.

147 For the substantial Egyptian collection at Chiddingstone Castle, see J.S. Phillips, A.M. Dodson, "Egyptian Antiquities of Chiddingstone Castle Kent, England", *KMT* 6/1, 1995, p. 51-61; A.M. Dodson, "Amenmesse in Kent, Liverpool, and Thebes", *JEA* 81, 1995, p. 115; M.L. Bierbrier, *op. cit*, p. 76. One may also consult the brief online catalogue by Nicholas Reeves: http://www.nicholasreeves.com/item.aspx?category=Collections&id=241.

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appeared at auction as late as 1954,[148] and Denys Bower was imprisoned from 1957-1961, having non-fatally shot his fiancée and himself,[149] and rarely acquired antiquities after his release. Besides a short entry in PM VIII (801-735-420), this statue has only garnered brief mentions elsewhere.[150] It is currently on display at the Houston Museum of Natural Science.

Made of light greywacke, the statue is only preserved up to the subject's waist, measuring roughly 35 cm (height) × 11 cm (width) × 17,5 cm (depth).[151] In the preserved fragment, significant portions of the right side and front of the statue base are also missing. Remarkably, the entire Osiris figure has survived intact, giving the impression that the rest of the statue was intentionally broken away to transform an osirophorous statue into a simple statuette of Osiris, perhaps as early as the Roman period.[152]

As on similar pieces from this era, the statue owner wears a very long skirt that clings tightly to his limbs, and a large sporran damaged on the right side. Both garments are entirely smooth, without any pleats or folds. The subject stands behind Osiris and holds his arms around the god. However, he just barely touches the divinity with his fingertips: a significant amount of negative space separates his hands from Osiris' upper arms, giving only the illusion of an embrace. This feature can be found on other standing osirophorous statues,[153] as well as on kneeling theophorous statues carrying an enthroned Osiris,[154] and in certain instances the negative space between the hands and Osiris is large enough to accommodate hieroglyphic inscriptions.[155] Subtly avoiding contact with the divine figurine, the dedicants express their

148 Sotheby's London, *Ethnographical Art Including Works of Art from Benin, Oriental Art and Antiquities*, London, July 5-6 1954, p. 208, no. 208.

149 "Attempted Murder of Young Woman", *The Times (London)*, London, November 21 1957, p. 19; "Double Romance Comes at a Price", *The Financial Times (London)*, London, March 18 2006, p. 16.

150 M. Thirion, "Notes d'onomastique. Contribution à une révision du Ranke *PN* (Septième série)", *RdE* 42, 2001, p. 225-226, no. 7; a short description also appears in the online catalogue of Nicholas Reeves (cf. *supra*, n. 147). The author would like to thank the Trustees of the Denys Eyre Bower bequest for permission to publish the statue, as well as Maria Esain (Chiddingstone Castle) for providing excellent photographs and object details.

151 Measurements kindly provided by Marian Esain. In addition, the figure of Osiris measures 22.5 cm tall, and his small socle is 5,5 cm × 5,5 cm.

152 The same phenomenon can be observed on JE 37332 (K. Jansen-Winkeln, *BRIS* II, pl. 21), Hermitage 2962 (B. Turajeff, "Einige unedierte Saïtica in russischen Sammlungen", *ZÄS* 48, 1910, p. 161, fig. 2-3; I.A. Lapis, M.E. Mat'e, Древне-египетская скульптура в собрании государственного Эрмитажа, 1969, pl. 75), Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum (C. Koch, "Ein Würzburger Original. Das Fragment einer naophoren Statue in der Sammlung des Martin von Wagner Museums", in J. Hallof (ed.), *Auf den Spuren des Sobek. Festschrift für Horst Beinlich*, *SRaT* 12, 2013,177), and BM EA 2288 (unpublished naophorous statue).

153 Cf. B.V. Bothmer, H. De Meulenaere, *op. cit.*, pl. II, fig. B, p. 3 (discussing Brooklyn 77.50: "The fingers lightly touch the shoulders of the Osiris figure, a gesture of presentation devoid of action"); additional examples include CG 48647 (J.A. Josephson, M.M. Eldamaty, *Statues of the XXVth and XXVIth Dynasties*, *Catalogue général des antiquités egyptiennes du musée du Caire*, *N. 48601-48649*, 1999, pl. 47), British Museum, EA 24784 (photographs unpublished; cf. M. Malaise, "Statues égyptiennes naophores et cultes isiaques", *BSEG* 26, 2004, p. 74, no. 27); and the very large gap on JE 37939 (unpublished; Karnak Cachette Database, CK 489).

154 E.g. JE 38021 (M. Azim, G. Reveillac, *Karnak dans l'objectif de Georges Legrain*, II, 2004, p. 288); JE 38061 (K. Jansen-Winkeln, *BRIS* II, pl. 23); CG 48604 (J.A. Josephson, M.M. Eldamaty, *op. cit.*, pl. 4a); Pushkin Museum, I.1.a.4997 (O.D. Berlev, S.I. Hodjash, *Sculpture of Ancient Egypt in the Collection of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts*, Moscow, 2004, p. 252-253); Boston, MFA 97.890 (H. De Meulenaere, P. MacKay, *Mendes* II, *ARCER* 1, 1976, pl. 20d, no. 50).

155 Hermitage 2962 (cf. *supra*, n. 152), and WAG 22.174 (G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore, 1946, p. 59, pl. XXXI, no. 173).

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deference to Osiris, anticipating Egyptian priests of the Graeco-Roman period who carried sacred objects with veiled hands.[156]

Osiris stands at the back of a small, square socle and leans backwards slightly, resting his lower body on the statue owner's kilt.[157] He wears a composite white crown with double plumes, featuring a simple uraeus (partially damaged) whose long tail demarcates a median line on the front. The short beard is attached below his chin, with no traces of a chin-strap.[158] Like the figure standing behind him, his crown and garments are entirely smooth, lacking a collar or other common attributes. Conforming to what Roeder dubbed the "Lower Egyptian" style[159] – appropriate for a statue from Mendes (cf. *infra*) – Osiris holds his hands above each other in the middle of his torso: the right hand in front of his sternum holds the flail, the left sitting over his stomach grasps the crook.

On the front of the socle, a squatting figure of Heh/Shu lifts his arms up to support Osiris. His hands stretch upwards and are represented on the upper surface. The caption appears to label this representation as the statue owner, Phatres (cf. *infra*, Text C).

Stylistically, the object is an excellent candidate for the 26th Dynasty, when osirophorous statues were extremely common.[160] References to Neith of Sais in the inscriptions and the simplified, archaizing hieroglyphic orthographies would support this date. Although only half of the statue is preserved, certain features of the Osiris statuette might narrow the date of manufacture.[161]

The presence of double plumes excludes a date before Psamtik I,[162] and the strapless beard does not appear until the reign of Psamtik II.[163] At the same time, the statue does not fit easily into late Dynasty 26 or the Persian Period either. The Osiris statuette is relatively tall, coming up high on the dedicant's chest, whereas divine figurines on theophorous statues tend to shrink throughout the 26th Dynasty and later, ultimately reducing to small votive objects in the Ptolemaic Period.[164] Subjectively, the face of Osiris looks nothing like Apries or Amasis, but bears a striking resemblance to the only portrait securely attributable to Psamtik II.[165] Both

156 P.P. Koemoth, "L'hydrie isiaque et le rituel égyptien à l'époque romaine", *CRIPEL* 20, 1999, p. 109-123; Fr. Dunand, "Prêtre portant dans ses mains voilées un 'Osiris-canope'", in Fr. Goddio (ed.), *Alexandrie : les quartiers royaux submergés*, London, 1998, p. 189-194.

157 Similarly: CG 724 (L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten I von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo*, III, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire, N. 1-1294*, 1930, pl. 134); CG 48648 (J.A. Josephson, M.M. Eldamaty, *op. cit.*, pl. 49), JE 37332 (K. Jansen-Winkeln, *BRIS* II, pl. 21-22), JE 36724 (unpublished; see CK 696). On other osirophorous statues, the god stands completely upright with a significant gap between his back and the statue owner's skirt: e.g., CG 42238 (cf. the additional photos CK 354); CG 48647 (J.A. Josephson, M.M. Eldamaty, *op. cit.*, pl. 47).

158 H. De Meulenaere, B.V. Bothmer, "Une tête d'Osiris au musée du Louvre", *Kêmi* 19, 1969, p. 13-14.

159 G. Roeder, "Die Arme der Osiris-Mumie", in O. Firchow (ed.), *Ägyptologische Studien*, *VIO* 29, 1957, p. 248-249.

160 In the files of the *CLES*, B.V. Bothmer classified this statue as "Pre-Pers/Pers."

161 For iconographic features of Osiris statuettes in the Late Period, see primarily H. De Meulenaere, B.V. Bothmer, *op. cit.*, p. 12-15; *id.*, in L.H. Lesko (ed.), *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker*, London, 1986, p. 3.

162 B.V. Bothmer, *ESLP*, p. 46, note to no. 39 (double plumes); J.A. Josephson, "A Portrait Head of Psamtik I?", in P. Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, II, Boston, 1996, p. 436-438, fig. 7 (Osiris statuette of Psamtik I featuring feathers).

163 B.V. Bothmer, *op. cit.*, p. 52-53, n. 44-45; H. De Meulenaere, B.V. Bothmer, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

164 D. Klotz, "A Good Burial in the West", in L. Coulon (ed.), *Karnak Cachette Colloquium* (in press).

165 Paris, musée Jacquemart-André, MJAP-S 873: J.A. Josephson, "Royal Sculpture of the Later XXVIth Dynasty", *MDAIK* 48, 1992, p. 94, pl. 16a; O. Perdu, *Le crépuscule des pharaons*, Bruxelles, 2012, p. 188-189, no. 93. For the likenesses between portraits of Osiris and the ruling king in statuary as a potential dating criterion, cf. J.A. Josephson, "A Portrait Head of Psamtik I?", in P. Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, II, Boston, 1996, p. 436-438.

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feature a round face, narrow eyes, a weak chin, and a "thick-lipped, pouting mouth" (Josephson). Taken together, these observations point towards a date in the middle of Dynasty 26.[166]

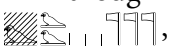
Owner and Titles

The owner was a certain Phatres (*Pȝ-ḥtr*, lit. "the Twin"), son of Peftuaneith and Esenchebis, the latter the daughter of a Sobekhotep. While the subject's name was relatively rare,[167] his parents' names were both extremely common during the Late Period. Michelle Thirion, citing personal communication by Jean Yoyotte, remarked that a canopic jar of the same Phatres belonged to a private collection,[168] but I have not succeeded in locating that object.

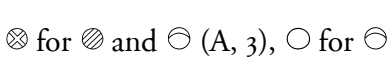
All around the statue, inscriptions mention the Ennead of Mendes in the Eastern Delta, certainly its original destination. While the dedicant's grandfather, Sobekhotep, held two specific titles linked to nearby Baqliya (*fkty*) and Tell Tebilla (*rḫ-nsw.t*), Phatres himself only mentions priestly charges linked to the Western Delta (*smsw*, *wr-ˁ*). Presumably, then, he dedicated this monument while visiting his mother's family in Mendes. Based on his theophoric name, Phatres' father, Peftuaneith, may have come from Sais.

Inscriptions

The statue features a lengthy inscription on the left side, in the sizeable negative space beneath the leg. On the right side, an equally large space is left blank because it is below the kilt.[169] Since the text on the left side begins with the affiliation, it must continue the inscription from the back pillar (Text A). In addition, a short horizontal text adorns the statue socle, moving from the front to the left side (Text B); a symmetric inscription should have featured on the right side, but that area is completely missing. Finally, a small caption accompanies the representation of Shu/Heh (Text C).

Although quite short, the inscriptions contain a number of graphic peculiarities such as , *psḏ.t*, "Ennead" (A, Back Pillar).

Some of these variants are simple errors, for example:

 for and (A, 3), for (B),  for  (A, 2)

 for or  (A, 2)

166 Furthermore, the present object shares various features in common with the osirophorous statue Hermitage 2962 (cf. *supra*, n. 152), which bears cartouches of Psamtik II.

167 H. Ranke, *PN* I, 116, 7; *id. PN* II, 282, 16; E. Lüddeckens, *DemNB*, p. 206-207; M. Thirion, *op. cit.*, p. 225-226 (already mentioning the present example, as doc. 7). A similar spelling occurs on a Dynasty 25 statue base (PM VIII, 802-140-670; for the text, see E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit*, I, *ÄgAbg* 37, 1981, p. 208-209, n. 3, pl. 4*, text P11, A). Another example of this name, previously unrecognized, appears on Pushkin Museum I.1.a.4997 (cf. I. Guermeur, *op. cit.*, p. 307, n. b: "Peheretcher (*Pȝ-ḥr-ṯr*)"; O.D. Berlev, S.I. Hodjash, *op. cit.*, p. 257, with n. ж: "P(a)-her-cher").

168 M. Thirion, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

169 While most statues respect this convention, texts occasionally occur on the right side of the kilt: B.V. Bothmer, *op. cit*, pl. 44, fig. 106 (MMA 19.2.2).

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Other orthographic choices permit multiple interpretations:

 for *nb(.w)*, "lord(s)", or variant spelling for *n*, "of" (*infra*, n. b);

 for *kꜣ=k*, "your Ka", or phonetic spelling of *kꜣ*, "the Ka" (*infra*, n. c);

 for *ỉ*, "to say", or mistake for , *ỉmꜣḫw*, "venerated" (*infra*, n. h);

- Text A
  Back Pillar (one column), and Left Side (six columns)



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[ḥtp-dỉ-nsw.t]
[p]sḏ.t ꜥ3(.t) n(.t) Ḏd.t
n kꜣ (n)
wr-ꜥ smsw sš-nsw.t
Pꜣ-ḥṯr mꜣꜥ-ḫrw […]

[A royal offering of]
the Great [E]nnead[a] *of*[b] *Mendes,*
for the Ka (of)[c]*,*
the wr-ꜥ and smsw,[d] *Royal Scribe,*
Phatres, justified […]

[1] *zꜣ n Pꜣ(y)=f-ṯꜣw-(ḥr)-ꜥ(.wy)-N.t*
ms.n (ỉ)ḫy.t N.t nb(.t) Sꜣw
[Ỉs.t-m]-[2]*Ḫb.t*
zꜣ.t (ỉry)-ḥt-nsw.t fkṯ(y)
Sbk-ḥtp [mꜣꜥ-ḫrw]
[3] *ỉ(mꜣḫw) ḫr psḏ.t-ꜥ3(.t) n(.t) Ḏd.t*
ỉw[4]*=f mn(.w) r-*[5]*nḥḥ r-*[6]*ḏ.t*

son of Peftuaneith,
born of the singer of Neith, Lady of Sais,
[Esen]chebis,[e]
daughter of the (r)ḫ-nsw.t[f] *and fkty,*[g]
Sobek-Hotep [justified]
v(enerated)[h] *before the Great Ennead of Mendes,*
remaining forever and for all eternity.

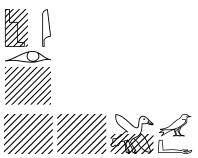
- Text B
  Sides of the Statue Base (front and right only)



ḥtp-dỉ-[nsw.t]
psḏ.t ꜥ3(.t) n(.t) Ḏd.t
n kꜣ (n)
wr-ꜥ […]

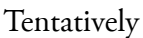
A [royal] offering of
the Great Ennead of[b] *Mendes,*
for the Ka (of)[c]*,*
the wr-ꜥ-priest[d]*, […]*

- Text C
  Front of Osiris' socle



ỉ [Ws]ỉr[i] […]
wr-ꜥ Pꜣ-[ḥṯr mꜣꜥ-ḫrw]

O [Os]iris […]
the wr-ꜥ-priest, Pha[tres, justified].

a. Tentatively restoring: . Based on the parallel texts (A3, B) this group should be an ornate spelling of "Ennead," employing nine hieroglyphs, as in spellings such as , , or .[170] The substitution of for to write *nṯr* is noteworthy,

170 *Wb*. I, 559; H. Junker, *Über das Schriftsystem im Tempel der Hathor in Dendera*, Berlin, 1903, p. 81; D. Klotz, *Caesar in the City of Amun: Egyptian Theology and Temple Construction in Roman Thebes*, *MRE* 12, 2012, p. 343, col. 5; *Edfou* VII, 12, 5.

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although perfectly understandable.[171] Nonetheless, the surviving traces at the top of the surviving portion are difficult to reconcile with , as no horizontal base is visible. The expected sign might be in the lacuna, or perhaps a different hieroglyph was used.

b. In the present context, the modifier *nb* requires explanation. Based on similar offering formulas, one could restore "the Great Ennead, the lord<s> of Mendes (*nb<.w> Ḏd.t*)",[172] in which case the plural ending could have been omitted via the consonantal principle. Later on, however (col. 3), the text refers to the same group as "the Great Ennead *of* Mendes (*n(.t) Ḏd.t*)". The latter variant suggests an equivalence of  and  in the present inscription, either through graphic confusion between the two signs,[173] or more likely due to the phonetic reduction of *nb* to *n* before *Ḏd.t*, just as in the toponym *Bꜣ-n(b)-Ḏd.t* (Greek: *Mendes*; Akkadian: *Pintiti*).[174]

c. For an offering text, one would expect to read *n kꜣ n NN*, "for the Ka of *NN*" rather than a vocative *n kꜣ=k NN*, "for your Ka, *NN*." As with the alternation between *nb* and *n* (*supra*, n. b), this spelling could theoretically derive from graphic confusion between  and .[175] However, this particularity occurs on other Late Period monuments, and Philippe Collombert convincingly argued that in those cases the entire group  (and variants) could simply write *kꜣ*, with the *k*-basket serving as a phonetic *complement* or *mater lectionis*.[176] This interpretation finds further support in comparable spellings of the name Geb (e.g. ),[177] and archaizing orthographies of *kꜣ* (e.g.) in other Late Period texts.[178]

d. According to geographic lists from Edfu, Dendera, and Tebtunis, both titles denote specific priesthoods associated with the seventh Lower Egyptian nome (Metelite) in the northwest Delta.[179] The first title, *wr-ˁ*,[180] occurs most often in Memphite contexts,[181] but here and

171 This value is only attested once in the New Kingdom: H. Satzinger, "Zur kryptographischen Beischrift eines "Gabenbringers" (Relief Wien Inv.Nr. 5081/5082)", *GM* 86, 1985, p. 31-32 (noted by D. Kurth, *EP* I, p. 249, 261, n. 147); for various sacred birds used to write *nṯr*, cf. also A. Gutbub, "Jeux de signes dans quelques inscriptions des grands temples de Dendérah et d'Edfou", *BIFAO* 52, 1953, p. 86-97.

172 Cf. K. Jansen-Winkeln, *BRIS* II, p. 412-413, no. 31, b1 (*psḏ.t ꜥꜣ.t nb.w Ỉwnw-šmˁ*), c1-2 (*psḏ.t nb.w ỉmnt.t*); *LGG* III, 148-149 (*psḏ.t ꜥꜣ.t nb.w NN*), 153-154 (*psḏ.t nb.w NN*).

173 H. Junker, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien nach den Inschriften von Dendera, Edfu und Philae*, *DAWW* 54, 1910, p. 31.

174 D. Klotz, "Once Again, Min (): Acrophony or Phonetic Change?", *GM* 233, 2012, p. 21-28 (especially p. 28).

175 H. Junker, *loc. cit.*

176 P. Collombert, "Hout-Sekhem et le septième nome de Haute-Égypte II : les stèles tardives", *RdE* 48, 1997, p. 20, n. a.

177 S. Bedier, *Die Rolle des Gottes Geb in den ägyptischen Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, *HÄB* 41, 1995, p. 164-165; D. Kurth, "Der Einfluß der Kursive auf die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu", in D. Kurth (ed.), *Edfu: Bericht über drei Surveys; Materialien und Studien*, *Edfu Begleitheft* 5, 1999, p. 73-74

178 H. Wild, *op. cit.*, n. 48; O. Perdu, "Le torse d'Irethorerou de la collection Béhague", *RdE* 49, 1998, p. 253, n. (f). Note also the use of this uniliteral sign to write *gꜣw*, "lack" on MFA 1970.509: W.K. Simpson, "Three Egyptian Statues of the Seventh and Sixth Centuries B.C. in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts", *Kêmi* 21, 1971, p. 32-33, fig. 10, col. 2 (reading: *gm ḏꜣs m gꜣw=f*; cf. DZA 31.543.690).

179 For the *wr-ˁ*-priest, see *Dendara* X, 21, 8; for the *smsw*, see *Edfou* I, 331, 17; *Dendara* X, 21, 6; P. Carlsberg 182.1, L18, 15 (J. Osing, *op. cit.*, p. 241, pl. 24). For these titles in general, see recently D. Klotz, "Regionally Specific Sacerdotal Titles in Late Period Egypt: Soubassements vs. Private Monuments", in A. Rickert, B. Ventker (ed.), *Altägyptische Enzyklopädien, Soubassementstudien* I, vol. II, *SSR* 7, 2014, p. 732-734; E. Tiribilli, *Il Delta occidentale dell'Egitto: ricerche storiche e religiose. La provincia dell'Arpione Occidentale dalle origini all'Epoca Tolemaica*, PhD Thesis, Università degli studi di Torino, 2014, p. 703-706.

180 It is uncertain whether the religious office derives from the Old Kingdom title *wr-ˁ*, "greatest of the sedan chair", for which see *Wb*. I, 332, 17; D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets, and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, I, *BAR-IS* 866, 2000, p. 384-385, no. 1420; *LGG* II, 428-429.

181 I. Guermeur, *op. cit.*, p. 66, n. (a); H. De Meulenaere, *BiOr* 64, 2007, col. 134.

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on a Late Period seal (Louvre E 10967)[182] it is linked to the *smsw*-priest of the Libyan nome (LE VII). The title *smsw* (lit. "the elder") occurs quite frequently on Late Period shabtis, and is sometimes associated with the local god Ha.[183]

e. The restoration follows the copy by Michelle Thirion, apparently based on a more complete spelling from a canopic jar of Phatres in a private collection.[184]

f. Similarly abbreviated spellings of this title occur in the Late and Ptolemaic periods,[185] perhaps reflecting the original Old Kingdom reading *(ỉry)-ḫ(t)-nsw.t*. Since most of the offices mentioned in this genealogy are regionally specific priestly titles, this may be another sacerdotal office, here linked to Osiris and his temple (*Ḥw.t-ḥs3*) in the city of Tell Tebilla (*R3-nfr*) in the Northeast Delta.[186] Tell Tebilla is just north of Mendes, the presumed origin of this statue; moreover the statue-owner's father was named after Sobek, a prominent divinity at Tell Tebilla. The present combination of religious titles (*rḫ-nsw.t* and *fkty*) can be found on other Saite monuments from the same region (Taranto, Museo Nazionale Inv. 7.511; Alexandria 435).[187]

g. Despite the perturbed orthography, this word is certainly the common title *fkty*, "tonsured priest," most often associated with Memphis, Hermopolis Parva (Baqliya), Abydos, and Akhmim.[188] Since the present statue almost certainly came from Mendes, a connection to nearby Hermopolis Parva would seem likely.[189]

h. Tentatively emending  to , based on the context. The space where one would expect the *ỉm3ḫ*-sign is covered by the subject's calf muscle, unless it was lost in the damaged portion at the end of the preceding column.
Opting for the *lectio difficilior*, one could alternatively understand the following as a divine pronouncement introduced by a *sḏm.ḥr=f* contingent clause:

ỉ.ḥr psḏ.t ʿ3.t n(.t) Ḏd.t	*Then the Great Ennead of Mendes will say (ỉ):*[190]
ỉw=f (r) mn r nḥḥ r ḏ.t	*"He will endure forever and all eternity"!*

i. Because of the lacuna, it is impossible to decide whether this section addresses the god Osiris in the naos, or whether it refers to the Osiris of the deceased Phatres.

182 P.E. Newberry, *Scarabs: an Introduction to the Study of Egyptian Seals and Signet Rings*, 1906, pl. XXXVIII, 27.

183 J.F. Aubert, L. Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes : chaouabtis, ouchebtis*, Paris, 1974, p. 258, 261.

184 M. Thirion, *op. cit.*, p. 225. Moreover, this name is very common in the Saite Period: G. Vittmann, "Ein Denkmal mit dem Namen der Königsmutter Esenchēbe (Berlin 10192)", *ZÄS* 103, 1976, p. 145, n. b.

185 G. Gorre, "*Rḫ-nswt*: titre aulique ou titre sacerdotal « spécifique »?", *ZÄS* 136, 2009, p. 12-13, especially p. 12, n. 32: "Le *r* de *rḫ* est souvent omis."

186 I. Guermeur, "Glanures (§ 3-4)", *BIFAO* 106, 2006, p. 116-117, n. i.

187 I. Guermeur, *op. cit.*, p. 117, n. i; *id.*, *Les cultes d'Amon hors de Thèbes*, *BEPHE* 123, 2005, p. 217.

188 *Wb.* I, 580, 4; D. Klotz, *op. cit.*, p. 742.

189 The *fkty* is recorded as a specific priest from Hermopolis Parva in *Edfou* I, 333, 17.

190 *Wb.* I, 89, 7-11; R.O. Faulkner, "The Verb *ỉ* 'to say' and its Developments", *JEA* 21, 1935, p. 177-190.

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Document 3
Vienna, KhM ÄS 5774 + Paris, Musée Rodin 284 (Dynasty 26)

This naophorous statuette dates to the reign of Apries.[191] On the front of the short pillar, the statue owner (Udjahorresnet, *alias* "Neferibre is the Lord of Strength"), is depicted lifting up both arms, symbolically supporting the naos of Ptah. Before him is a unique caption (fig. 2).

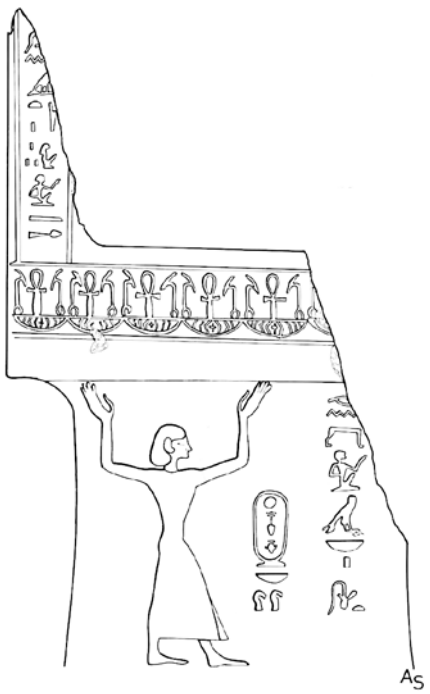


Fig. 2. KhM ÄS 5774. Udjahorresnet supports naos of Ptah over his head.
From E. Rogge, *Statuen der Spätzeit. 750. – ca. 300 v. Chr., CAA Wien* 9, 1992, p. 67.

ỉr.n(=ỉ) mk(.t) m/n[a] nb=ỉ tw3(=ỉ)
I hereby act as a guardian for my Lord, whom I support.

a. De Meulenaere refrained from translating this difficult caption, but only summarized "Une brève légende explique la scène qui se trouve sur le support qui relie le naos au socle".[192] Rogge, meanwhile, understood "Ich bin ein Schützer als Herr des Stützens (**ỉr.n=ỉ mk.t m nb tw3*)".[193] However, "lord of support" is syntactically awkward, and not otherwise attested as an epithet for deities such as Shu, Heh, or Ptah. Instead, this is most likely an example of phonetic dissimilation (*n* > *m*) preceding *nb*.[194] The standing figure of Udjahorresnet

191 H. De Meulenaere, "Raccords memphites", *MDAIK* 47, 1991, p. 246-249, pl. 28-29; E. Rogge, *op. cit.*, p. 64-70.

192 H. De Meulenaere, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

193 E. Rogge, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

194 P. Der Manuelian, *op. cit*, p. 76; K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik Grammatik der Texte der 3. Zwischenzeit*, *ÄAT* 34, 1996, § 54, 271; D. Kurth, *EP* I, p. 513, n. 3.

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simultaneously functions as determinative and first person suffix pronoun following the word *twꜣ* in the text.
On the back pillar, the deceased explains why he stands behind the naos:



dỉ.n=f wỉ ḥꜣ=f
n mr(w.t) ỉr.t mk(.t)=i
ḥr sỉꜣ.n=f mꜣʿ ỉb=ỉ

That he (Ptah) placed me behind him,
was from the desire to perform my protection,
for he recognized my heart was true.

Document 4
Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 20959 (Dynasty 30)

This naophorous statue dates to the 30th Dynasty, and belonged to a prominent official named Wennefer, known to have served under Nectanebo I.[195] Even though the inscriptions on the back address Neith, the naos contained a male divinity,[196] most likely Re.[197] On the narrow pseudo-pillar, which blends into the wrap-around robe, a similar male figure stands with his arms upraised (fig. 3); this detail is partially lost in the damage, but surviving traces confirm that his arms cannot have been at his sides.

Below this man is a three-column inscription, running down the pseudo-pillar, and then on either side (fig. 3).



Fig. 3. Alexandria 20959. Wennefer supports naos of Re(?) with upraised arms (partially damaged). From I. Guermeur, "Les monuments d'Ounnefer, fils de Djedbastetiouefânkh contemporain de Nectanébo Ier", in I. Régen, Fr. Servajean (ed.), *Verba manent : recueil d'études dédiées à Dimitri Meeks par ses collègues et amis*, I, *CENIM* 2, 2009, p. 195, pl. II.

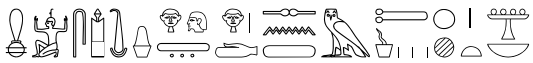
195 I. Guermeur, "Les monuments d'Ounnefer, fils de Djedbastetiouefânkh contemporain de Nectanébo Ier", in I. Régen, Fr. Servajean (ed.), *Verba manent: recueil d'études dédiées à Dimitri Meeks par ses collègues et amis*, I, *CENIM* 2, 2009, p. 178-187, 194-195.

196 Compare statues from the Mut precincts of Karnak and Tanis that address Chonsu the Child and his mother Mut: D. Klotz, "The Theban Cult of Chonsu the Child in the Ptolemaic Period", in Chr. Thiers (ed.), *Documents de théologies thébaines tardives (D3T 1)*, *CENIM* 3, 2009, p. 108-109, col. 2; p. 111-112, n. h; p. 127, doc. 8; Chr. Zivie-Coche, *op. cit.*, p. 271, col. 7 (JE 67093, only addresses Chonsu the Child).

197 The face is almost completely effaced, and the crown completely missing. I. Guermeur suggested it might represent Sobek, but admitted the possibility of other gods (*op. cit*, p. 178, n. 7, p. 179, n. 22). Nonetheless, the inscriptions on the back pillar do not mention Sobek but do refer to Re twice (col. 2-3), including a request for Neith to "bring up my situation before Re (*sỉʿr=t mdw=ỉ ḥr Rʿ*)", Moreover, the surviving traces around the head, especially the flat hairline, best fit a falcon face (I. Guermeur, *op. cit.*, p. 194, pl. Ia).

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Front: 

Left: 

Right: 

(ỉmy)-rꜣ sš ḫnt wr	*The overseer of scribes of the Great Enclosure,*
Wn-nfr ḏd=f	*Wennefer, he says:*
tw(ꜣ).n=(ỉ) tw nb=ỉ	*That I have lifted you up, my Lord,*
mỉ ḥḥ smn.tw ḥr-tp tꜣ[a]	*is as Heh established upon earth,*
ḥr šsp snw m ḏbꜣ.w	*receiving secondary offerings in return,*
ḥrw ỉḫ.t-(ḥr)-ḫ(ꜣ)w.t	*on the Fifth Lunar day;*
mỉ dỉ=k wꜣḏ kꜣ=ỉ m pr=k	*and as you allow my Ka to flourish in your domain,*
rᶜ-nb	*every day,*
nỉ ḥr=ỉ r=k ḏ.t	*never parting from you, eternally.*

a. Guermeur deemed this passage "délicat à traduire", but suggested reading *mỉ ḥsj mn.t(w) ḥr tp-tꜣ*, "dans la mesure où je suis un bienheureux établi sur terre".[198] Nonetheless, this interpretation ( = *ḥsỉ*), requires an acrophonic derivation of the final sign (*ỉ* < *ỉwn*). Since evidence for acrophony is scarce before the Roman Period,[199] one might alternatively suggest confusion between the very similar signs and ,[200] thus obtaining: * , *smn.t(w)*, "established".

Document 5
Saint Petersburg, Hermitage 5629 (Ptolemaic Period)

Only the bottom half of this naophorous or theophorous statue remains, but the inscriptions indicate that the Heliopolitan originally carried an image of Re-Harakhty.[201] Since there are no traces of a support, the subject would have held the statuette or naos in his hands, and thus the statue most likely dates to Dynasty 30-early Ptolemaic Period. Numerous columns of text encircle the tight wrap-around garment, but a text immediately under the naos directly addresses Re-Harakhty, commenting on the naophorous gesture:[202]

ỉ nb=ỉ Rᶜ-Ḥr-ꜣḫty	*O my Lord, Re-Harakhty,*
ỉt-ỉt.w nṯr.w nb	*father of fathers of all the gods:*

198 I. Guermeur, *op. cit.*, p. 178, 180, n. e-f.

199 D. Klotz, "Once Again, Min (): Acrophony or Phonetic Change?", *GM* 233, 2012, p. 21-30.

200 Chr. Zivie-Coche, "Les rites d'érection de l'obélisque et du pilier *ioun*", in *Hommages à Serge Sauneron*, I, *BdE* 81, 1979, p. 481, n. 4; D. Kurth, *EP* I, p 344, 351, n. 165.

201 K. Jansen-Winkeln, "Die Biographie eines Priesters aus Heliopolis", *SAK* 29, 2001, p. 97-110.

202 *Ibid.*, p. 100-101, A2; quoted in reference to naophoroi already by E. Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 460-461.

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twꜣ.n=ỉ sšm=k m ˁ.wy=ỉ — *That I have lifted up your image in my hands,*
dỉ=k ṯz=ỉ ḥr-tp nỉwty.w=k — *is so you might elevate me above your (other) citizens.*[203]

By employing the keyword *twꜣ*, the dedicant implicitly identifies himself with Shu who supports the sun; in return, he expects to tower over his peers just like the enormous, atlantid god whose head reaches up to the sky.[204] In his second address to Re-Harakhty, the priest further associates himself with Shu:[205]

ˁq.n=ỉ r-ḫft-ḥr=k — *That I entered into your presence,*
ỉw snḏ n ḥr.t-tp=k m ỉb=ỉ — *was with fear of your uraeus in my heart;*
dỉ=k šm=ỉ r=s m snw.t — *you let me go to her in the sixth-day festival,*
swꜣš=ỉ sy m sns.w — *so I might praise her with hymns,*
shtp=ỉ sy m tp-rꜣ(.w)=ỉ — *pacify her with my utterances,*
sqꜣ=ỉ ḥm.t=s r qꜣy n ḫrw=ỉ — *elevate her Majesty to the height of my voice,*
spr=s ḥm=k m ỉhꜣy — *so she reaches your Majesty in delight,*
ḥˁˁ=k m nfrw=s — *and you rejoice at her beauty.*

This passage apparently relates a local Heliopolitan ceremony, whereby the priest would attach a uraeus to the statue of Re-Harakhty. However, the particular language recalls the myth of the Wandering Goddess, whom Shu-Onuris and Thoth must cajole back to mainland Egypt. In both texts from this statue, the priest assumes a divine status by identifying himself with Shu, hoping for a privileged, intimate relationship with the solar deity in the afterlife, thereby surpassing his fellow Heliopolitans.

Document 6
Cairo, CG 700 (Ptolemaic Period)

On his colossal statue from Tanis, Djedhor, son of Wennefer, carries a group statue of Amun, Horus of Mesen, and Chonsu the Child in his hands.[206] On the side of the Back Pillar, he addresses Amun-Re:[207]

ỉnk snn=k pr ỉm=k — *I am your replica who came forth from you,*
zꜣ=k ˁꜣ ỉr mrr=k — *your eldest son who performs what you desire;*

203 K. Jansen-Winkeln (*op. cit*, p. 101, 104, n. 4-5) separated these statements differently ("Ich habe dein Bild mit meinen Händen erhoben. Du hast mich aufsteigen lassen an die Spitze der Bewhoner deiner Stadt"), understanding the first clause as a performative *sḏm.n=f*, and the second a preterite *sḏm=f*. Nonetheless, the priest appears to be describing a reciprocal *do ut des* arrangement between himself and Re-Harakhty; similarly understood by E. Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 459.

204 In other biographies, individuals vaunt that their heads would reach the sky during their lifetimes (G. Vittmann, "Die Autobiographie der Tathotis", *SAK* 22, 1995, p. 311, n. 105), either a metaphor for happiness (so Vittmann), or perhaps a reference to their considerable influence. E. Otto noted that this particular text emphasizes "der nahezu göttliche Charakter des Priesterdienst tuenden Menschen" (*op. cit.*, p. 460).

205 K. Jansen-Winkeln, *op. cit.*, p. 100-101, A8-10.

206 Chr. Zivie-Coche, *op. cit.*, p. 85, fig. 14.

207 *Ibid.*, p. 134-135, col. 3-4, 139, n. g.

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ỉnk wn ꜥ3.wy nw p.t	*I am he who opens the doors of heaven,*
m33 ỉmy=s	*and who sees what is inside;*
ỉnk rmn n sšm=k	*I am a carrier of your image,*
tw3 sḫm=k mỉ Šw	*who lifts up (tw3) your statue like Shu,*
sḫpr ḥknw mỉ Ḏḥwtỉ	*and who creates praises like Thoth.*

Similarly on the back pillar, Djedhor further likens himself to Shu with the following epithet:[208]

rmn nṯr m ỉdnw n Šw	*He who supports the god as a replacement of Shu.*

As Zivie-Coche already noted, Djedhor alludes here to Shu's less common role of naophorous priest (cf. *infra*, Conclusion).[209]

Document 7
Brooklyn Museum of Art, 37.36E

On this kneeling naophorous statue, probably from Dynasty 26, the dedicant holds a shrine of Bastet on his thighs.[210] A short text on top of the naos addresses the goddess as follows (col. 2-4):[211]



ỉ(3)w[a] *n=t*	*Praise be to you,*
ḥy Nbw.t ḥnw.t(=ỉ)[b]	*O Golden One, (my) mistress!*
nḏm-ỉb=t m/n[c] *rmn-p.t*	*May your heart be sweet to He who Supports Heaven;*
dỉ=t ꜥ.wy=t m/n[c] *w3ḏ-rḥy.t*[d]	*may you give your arms to the Child of the People(?),*
m ỉw=f m sḥ.t[e]	*when he returns from the field,*
hrw nḏ-ḥr n [Nfr]-tm[f]	*on the day of greeting [Nefer]tem,*
dw3[y.t] n.t wp.t-rnp.t	*(and) on the morni[ng] of the New Year.*

208 *Ibid.*, p. 101, 103-104, col. 10
209 *Ibid.*, p. 127, n. p.
210 P. O'Rourke, "A Late Naophoros from Bubastis", *BES* 10, 1989-1990, p. 109-128.
211 *Ibid.*, p. 119 (with a considerably different translation); collated with detailed photographs provided by Yekaterina Barbash of the Brooklyn Museum of Art. For the first part of the text, see already D. Klotz, M.J. Le Blanc, "An Egyptian Priest in the Ptolemaic Court: Yale Peabody Museum 264191", in Chr. Zivie-Coche, I. Guermeur (ed.), *« Parcourir l'éternité ». Hommages à Jean Yoyotte*, II, *BEHE* 156, 2012, p. 675, n. a-b.

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a. O'Rourke understood the first group *ỉw*, "to come," noting that one could also read *r-nt(t)*, "because".[212] However, context supports restoring *ỉ(ɔ)w*, "praise".

b. Devotees regularly address their goddess as "(my) mistress" on private statues.[213]

c. For the phonetic shift *n* > *m*, cf. *supra* (doc. 3).

d. O'Rourke recognized the word *wɜḏ*, "a type of bird" (*Wb*. I, 268, 7), but overlooked the similar title  (incorrectly copied as [*wɜḏ-šnb.t*] in *Wb*. I, 264, 4). This function occurs in the Sokar festival scenes from Medinet Habu, where it labels two priests who carry the Nefertem standard in front of small barks of Smithis and Wadjyt (not labeled);[214] other participants accompany Hathor, Bastet, Sakhmet, and a container filled with five geese. While the entire episode at Medinet Habu is quite mysterious,[215] it appears from this scene that is a specific priestly title associated with Nefertem and five goddesses, including Bastet, during a festival associated with the Delta and fields, hence the five geese. The Brooklyn statue confirms this interpretation, as the dedicant identifies himself as a , specifically during an agricultural celebration involving Nefertem and Bastet.
One wonders if the titles mentioned at Medinet Habu and the Brooklyn statue are both variants of the sacerdotal office *wr-wɜḏ*, "eldest offspring" (), connected to Bastet and Wadjet in Bubastis.[216]

e. O'Rourke assumed the field and the following circular sign wrote "Sekhet," "a Bubastite locale",[217] yet that toponym is properly *sḫ.t-nṯr*.[218] This phrase more likely refers to an agricultural festival performed "in the field (*m sḫ.t*)".[219]

f. O'Rourke transcribed this group differently () and consequently translated "Atum".[220] However, not only would the star be an unexpected divine determinative in a Saite inscription, but distinctive traces of the *nfr*-sign can be seen in the first sign (). Meanwhile, the star most likely begins a new word for "morning".

While the second portion of this invocation alludes to obscure, Bubastite rituals involving Nefertem and Bastet, the beginning is quite clear. Once again, the private official assumes a

212 P. O'Rourke, *op. cit.*, p. 120, n. a.
213 D. Klotz, in Chr. Thiers (ed.), *Documents de théologies thébaines tardives (D3T 1)*, *CENIM* 3, 2009, p. 108-109, col. 2 (*nw=ỉ šms=t Mw.t, ḥnw.t=ỉ*); D. Klotz, M. LeBlanc, "An Egyptian Priest in the Ptolemaic Court: Yale Peabody Museum 264191", in C. Zivie-Coche, I. Guermeur (ed.), *« Parcourir l'éternité ». Hommages à Jean Yoyotte*, II, *BEHE* 156, 2012, p. 673-674, col. 3 (*ỉ ḥnw.t=ỉ Bɜst.t*); K. Lembke, G. Vittmann, "Die Standfigur des Horos, Sohn des Thotoes (Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum SMPK 2271)", *MDAIK* 55, 1999, p. 312, n. dd, p. 313, col. 3 (*ỉ ḥnw.t=ỉ*).
214 The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu* IV, Chicago, 1940, pl. 226, col. 11, 15; G.A. Gaballa, K.A. Kitchen, "The Festival of Sokar", *Or* 38, 1969, p. 10 (who translated: "the one who prospers the people"), 62-63.
215 See the lengthy discussion by C. Graindorge, "La quête de la lumière au mois de Khoiak: une histoire d'oies", *JEA* 82, 1996, p. 83-105.
216 D. Klotz, "Regionally Specific Sacerdotal Titles in Late Period Egypt: Soubassements vs Private Monuments", in A. Rickert, B. Ventker (ed.), *Altägyptische Enzyklopädien*, *Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion* 7, 2014, p. 748-749.
217 P. O'Rourke, *op. cit.*, p. 121, n. e.
218 P. O'Rourke, *op. cit.*, p. 117, n. d; O. Perdu, "Un monument d'originalité", *JEA* 84, 1998, p. 127-128.
219 For such rituals, see (*inter alia*) S. Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna*, Esna 5, 1962, p. 59-60; 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. 209, col. 2, p. 210, n. d; J.C. Darnell, "A Midsummer Night's Succubus – The Herdsman's Encounters in P. Berlin 3024, the Pleasures of Fishing and Fowling, the Songs of the Drinking Place, and the Ancient Egyptian Love Poetry", in S.C. Melville, A.L. Slotsky (ed.), *Opening the Tablet Box: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Benjamin R. Foster*, *CHANE* 42, 2010, p. 115-118.
220 P. O'Rourke, *op. cit.*, p. 121, n. f.

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characteristic epithet of the god Shu, as "he who supports (*rmn*) heaven". Unlike the standing statues discussed above (doc. 1-6), this individual kneels on the ground, indicating that the protective gesture alone would have evoked associations with Shu.

Conclusion

This previously overlooked vignette occurs on four statues (fig. 4), dating from Dynasties 26-30 and all coming from Lower Egypt (Memphis, Mendes, the Fayyum). On two of the statues (doc. 1, 4), the naos rests upon a pseudo-pillar which emerges from the garment. In this case, the standing figure appears to label this feature, perhaps conveying the idea that Shu or Heh support the naos, not a physical pillar or socle.[221] The other statues (doc. 2-3) include this feature on a distinct socle, perhaps imitating the royal *tw3-pt* scheme that often decorates bark stands (cf. *infra*).



Doc. 1. **Doc. 2.** **Doc. 3.** **Doc. 4.**

Fig. 4. Comparison of figures with upraised arms.

In Egyptian iconography, the raised-arm gesture possessed multiple significations.[222] As a hieroglyph (), this man alone suffices to write the verb *ḥꜥi*, "to rejoice," and during the New Kingdom, non-royal officials would lift up their arms while accepting rewards in public.[223] In a mortuary context, the deceased might likewise adopt this pose to celebrate their *mɜꜥ-ḫrw* justification in the afterlife.[224] Yet unlike these purely jubilant postures, the figures on these four statues actively support the naoi or divine statues with their hands.

221 Alternatively, the figure of Shu might also represent the word *šw*, "void, emptiness" (cf. H. Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata*, *OLA* 70, 1996, p. 271-272) a sportive label to the negative space beneath the naos (suggested by Joshua Roberson).

222 J.C. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity*, *OBO* 198, 2004, p. 404-411.

223 A. Hermann, "Jubel bei der Audienz: zur Gebärdensprache in der Kunst des Neuen Reiches", *ZÄS* 90, 1963, p. 49-66.

224 J.C. Darnell, *op. cit.*, p. 409-410, for the equivalence of lifting heaven and *mɜꜥ-ḫrw*-status. Note also that when the deceased emerges from the tribunal, he receives the plume of justification on his head (e.g. *CT* I, 26b), thus replicating the iconography of Shu and Heh.

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The closest iconographic prarallels are the numerous depictions of men supporting the Djed-pillar on their shoulders, as represented on pillars and doorjambs of Memphite and Theban tombs of the New Kingdom.[225] As previous studies have discussed, this gesture alludes to various Memphite festivals ("raising the Djed-pillar (*sʿḥʿ ḏd*)", "lifting the sky (*ʿḥ̓ p.t*)"), divinities (Ptah, Shu, Osiris), and theological concepts (Solar-Osirian unity, maintenance of the cosmos, ascension to heaven, receiving the breath of life). Since most examples of this earlier image come from the Memphite necropolis, the most immediate reference is to Ptah: the dedicants lift up the "august Djed-pillar" (*ḏd špsỉ* = Ptah), which in turn perpetually supports the sky and raises up the sun every morning. In other words, the New Kingdom figures become supporters of the Divine Support.[226]

The Djed-pillar scenes, although restricted to the Ramesside Period, certainly prefigure the men supporting the naoi on these four statues.[227] Indeed, a Memphite influence is discernible in the later statues: two of the four statues feature Ptah (doc. 1, 3), and he features rather frequently in other Late Period naophoroi.[228]

However, the naophorous statues evoke a slightly different relationship between worshipper and his divinity. Whereas the Memphite priests emulated Ptah by supporting the Djed-pillar, the later statues identify the dedicant with Shu or Heh.[229] On the Alexandria statue, Psenobastis compares himself to Heh (doc. 3), and several texts employ the keyword *twꜣ*, "to lift up, support" (doc. 1[?], 3, 4). The labels accompanying the vignette include the dedicant's name (doc. 2, 4), while the text on the Alexandria statue describes the gesture in the first person singular (doc. 3). In other words, these figures do not represent the god Shu, they specifically portray the dedicants *as* Shu.

The same is true of certain naophorous statues or theophorous statues that do not feature the man with raised arms. These latter objects are typologically diverse, including kneeling naophorous (doc. 7), naophorous without pillar (doc. 5), and theophorous (doc. 6). Djedhor explicitly compares himself to Shu (doc. 6), the Heliopolitan priest equates his cultic activi-

225 M.C. Betrò, "Il pilastro del Museo Civico di Bologna 1892 ed il suo contesto storico-religioso", *EVO* 3, 1980, p. 37-54; J. van Dijk, "The Symbolism of the Memphite Djed-Pillar", *OMRO* 66, 1986, p. 7-20; J. Berlandini, "Contribution à l'étude du pilier-*djed* Memphite", in A.-P. Zivie (ed.), *Memphis et ses necropolis au Nouvel Empire. Nouvelles donnés, nouvelles questions*, Paris, 1988, p. 23-33; *ead.*, "Ptah-demiurge et l'exaltation du ciel", *RdE* 46, 1995, p. 25-28; R. Assem, "Scenes of the Djed-Pillar", in U. Rössler-Köhler, T. Tawfik (ed.), *Die ihr vorbeigehen werdet… Wenn Gräber, Tempel und Statuen sprechen: Gedenkschrift für Prof. Dr. Sayed Tawfik Ahmed*, *SDAIK* 16, 2009, p. 58 (for Theban examples).

226 For Ptah supporting the sky, expressed in various syncretistic forms throughout Egyptian history, see primarily J. Berlandini, *op. cit.*, 1996, p. 9-41. For the Djed-pillar lifting up the sun, see further B.R. Hellinckx, "The Symbolic Assimilation of Head and Sun as Expressed by Headrests", *SAK* 29, 2001, p. 70-73.

227 For conceptual similarities between the Djed-pillar scenes and later naophoroi, see already J. Berlandini, *op. cit.*, p. 27-28.

228 CG 807 (K. Jansen-Winkeln, "Zu den Denkmälern des Erziehers Psametiks II", *MDAIK* 52, 1996, pl. 31); JE 37210 (H. Selim, "Three Unpublished Naophorous Statues from Cairo Museum", *MDAIK* 60, 2004, pl. 23); Toronto, ROM 969.137.1 (E.A. Hastings, *The Sculpture from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqāra, 1964-76*, *EES* 61, 1997, pl. XXII-XXV); T. Stäubli *et al.*, *Werbung für die Götter*, Freiburg, 2003, p. 54-57, no. 65-66; Pierre Bergé & Associés, *Archéologie*, November 30 2012, no. 348 http://www.pba-auctions.com/html/fiche.jsp?id=2643490&np=1&lng=fr&npp=1000&ordre=&aff=&r=.

229 Note, however, that on certain coffins from the Third Intermediate Period, Shu is depicted supporting the Djed-pillar, not Ptah: A. Hermann, "Eine ungewöhnliche Gesichtsdarstellung des Neuen Reiches", *ZÄS* 75, 1939, p. 61, n. 4; J. van Dijk, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

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ties with Shu's pacification of Tefnut (doc. 5), and all three statues employ the keywords *twꜣ* or *rmn* (doc. 5-7).

In short, the acts of carrying, supporting, or just protecting a divine naos or statue, sufficed to identify the subject with the Heliopolitan god Shu. As suggested in the introduction, this divine equivalence might explain the peculiar form of standing naophoroi popular in the 4th c. BC, where dedicants would hold the shrines unnaturally between their hands without pillar or support (cf. *supra*). By assuming this impossible posture, sculptors drew attention to the artificiality of the naophorous conceit, the notion that a human could carry or protect a god.[230] In other words, this iconographic convention intentionally represented the priests as replicas of the atlantid god Shu, perfectly capable of supporting such shrines. The vignettes under discussion confirm this conceptual leap: when carrying divine statues and shrines, the priest is assisted by Shu, represented under the naos and identified with the dedicant.

Nonetheless, these statues do not evoke Shu merely as the patron deity of heavy lifting. Rather, they refer to a tradition in which the Heliopolitan god served as naophorous priest for Re, thus representing the archetypal bearer of divine shrines. Multiple temple inscriptions from the Ptolemaic period characterize Shu – or his Theban avatar, Chonsu-Shu – as a priest tasked with carrying the naos of Amun-Re. The primary source is a mythological text from the Second Pylon of Karnak. After creating the cosmos, gods, and people, Amun-Re institutes the first clergy of primeval deities to serve him:[231]

wḏ.n=f (Nny.w)|	*He ordained the Ogdoad*
m ỉt.w-nṯr-ḥm.w-(nṯr)=f	*as his god-fathers and prophets,*
ḥnʿ Šw m ḥm-nṯr=f	*along with Shu as his naophorous priest,*
Tfn.t n=f m ḥm.t-nṯr	*and Tefnut as God's Wife.*

In the line referring to Shu, the sign following *ḥm-nṯr* clearly depicts a priest carrying a portable shrine on his shoulders, serving as both a determinative and suffix pronoun (fig. 5). This theme is elaborated in various offering scenes, where Shu or Chonsu-Shu can support (*kꜣwt*) the shrine (*kꜣr*) of Amun upon their heads, just as the royal Ka (*kꜣ*) bears the *serekh* over his head.[232] In the famous staircase processions at Dendera, meanwhile, naophorous priests are



Photo D. Klotz

Fig. 5. Detail of inscription from the Second Pylon of Karnak.

230 On Ramesside theophorous I statues, priests credit their local god with making their limbs strong enough (*rwḏ*) to carry such divine effigies: e.g. K*RI* IV, 131, 3-4; K*RI* VII, 407, 13-14.

231 *Urk.* VIII, 142, 5; É. Drioton, "Les dédicaces de Ptolémée Évergète II sur le deuxième pylône de Karnak", *ASAE* 44, 1944, p. 119-120, n. c; D. Klotz, *Caesar in the City of Amun: Egyptian Theology and Temple Construction in Roman Thebes*, *MRE* 12, 2012, p. 60-61; R. Preys, "L'originalité des soubassements de la porte monumentale du deuxième pylône du temple d'Amon à Karnak", in A. Rickert, B. Ventker (ed.), *Altägyptische Enzyklopädien, Soubassementstudien* I, vol. II, *SSR* 7, 2014, p. 866-867.

232 A. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux de la théologie de Kom Ombo*, I, *BdE* 47, 1973, p. 439-441, n. d; D. Klotz, *op. cit.*, p. 108-109.

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described with the neologism , *ỉšš*, "to carry (a shrine)" a denominal verb based on a common epithet of Shu, "spittle (*ỉšš*) of Atum".[233]

In Thebes, this cultic service naturally follows from Chonsu-Shu's role as a local mortuary priest or *choachyte* who voyaged from Karnak to Medinet Habu daily to provide water and incense to Kematef, the Ogdoad, and the blessed dead buried in the Mount of Djeme.[234] Yet this tradition had more ancient roots, as Shu had long represented the ideal funerary priest, serving both his deceased father Atum,[235] and his grandson Osiris.[236]

In general, Shu was an active demiurge who controlled the breath of life as well as all earthly sustenance.[237] In Graeco-Roman offering scenes, Shu supervises the creation of divine offerings in his role of *ḥry-ỉdb* or *ḥry-wḏb*.[238] At Esna, meanwhile, priests distinguished between two demiurgic manifestations of Khnum: in Esna proper, the urban Khnum-Re was identified with Ptah-Tatenen, responsible for creating gods and humanity; in North Esna, the agricultural god, Khnum Lord of the Field, was a local form of Shu.[239]

A large liturgical hymn from Edfu accompanies the consecration of food offerings to the sacred falcon.[240] In this text, the officiating priest, specifically the "servant of the falcon (*ḫm-gmḥsw*)," presents food to a god he addresses as . Blackman identified this god as an obscure, otherwise unattested **Ṯty*, "Table-god,"[241] but a much more likely reading is *ɜḫty*, "He of the Horizon (Re-Atum)".[242] The falcon priest explicitly identifies himself with Shu presenting offerings to his father,[243] and he receives various epithets befitting Shu, master of largesse. Just as Horus sacrifices to his deceased father Osiris, so the Heliopolitan heir Shu gives offerings to his creator Re-Atum.

All of these examples illustrate how Shu served as a divine priest, particularly while presenting food offerings to the gods or cool water to the deceased. But they do not explain his

233 *Wb*. I, 136, 1; D. Meeks, *AL* II, 78.0507; P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 114; S. Cauville, *Le temple de Dendara. Les chapelles osiriennes*, III: *Index*, *BdE* 119, 1997, p. 64.

234 D. Klotz, *op. cit.*, p. 101-104.

235 Shu tends to his deceased father Atum in the Coffin Texts (H. Altenmüller, "Die Vereinigung des Schu mit dem Urgott Atum: Bemerkungen zu CT I 385d-393b", *SAK* 15, 1991, p. 1-16; H. Willems, "The Shu- Spells in Practice", in H. Willems (ed.), *The World of the Coffin Texts*, *EgUit* 9, 1996, p. 209-226; *id.*, *The Coffin of Heqata*, *OLA* 70, 1996, p. 278-286, 290-292, 295-297, 312-313.

236 For Shu serving Osiris in the Coffin Texts, see *ibid.*, p. 284, 303-304; in later tradition, Shu-Onuris and Tefnut-Mehyt protect and revivify Osiris in Abydos, cf. S. Cauville, "L'hymne à Mehyt d'Edfou", *BIFAO* 82, 1982, p. 117.

237 Cf. H. Willems, *op. cit.*, p. 302-303, with n. 1800.

238 D. Inconnu-Bocquillon, "Les titres *ḥri-ỉdb* et *ḥri-wḏb* dans les inscriptions des temples gréco-romains", *RdE* 40, 1989, p. 65-89.

239 Chr. Leitz, "Die beiden kryptographischen Inschriften aus Esna mit den Widdern und Krokodilen", *SAK* 29, 2001, p. 253-254. Note, however, that the two aspects sometimes merge into a singular creative deity: "Ptah-Shu" (e.g. *Esna* III, 225, 15 [41], 19 [53]; 301, 12; 308, 25; *Esna* VI, 503, 13; 537, 19).

240 A.M. Blackman, "The King of Egypt's Grace Before Meat", *JEA* 31, 1945, p. 57-73; D. Kurth, *Edfou* VI, *ITE* I/3, 2014, p. 260-269; substantial portions of this text are repeated at Kom Ombo and Esna: J.-Cl. Goyon, "Une formule solennelle de purification des offrandes dans les temple ptolémaïques", *CdE* 45, 1970, p. 267-281.

241 A.M. Blackman, *op. cit,* p. 63-64, n. 28; followed by P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1178-1179; *LGG* VII, 447.

242 D. Klotz, "Thoth as Textual Critic: The Interrupting Baboons at Esna Temple", *ENIM* 7, 2014, p. 34, n. a; D. Kurth, *Edfou* VI, p. 261, n. 7.

243 *Edfou* VI, 152, 2: "the servant of the falcon bends his hand for him in his physical form of Shu, son of Re (*ḫm-gmḥs ḥr qɜḏ n=f ḏr.t m ỉrw=f n Šw zɜ-Rʿ*)"; *Edfou* VI, 153, 6: "he is like Shu, who bends his hand to his creator (*sw mỉ Šw, qɜḏ ḏr.t n qmɜ sw*)"; *Edfou* VI, 155, 7-8: "the servant of the falcon in his form of Shu, son of Re (*ḫm-gmḥs m ỉrw=f n Šw zɜ-Rʿ*)"; cf. also *Edfou* VI, 156, 5-6, describing the divine falcon of Edfu: "his son Shu bends his hand to him (*zɜ=f Šw ḥr qɜḏ n=f ḏr.t*)". Cf. D. Kurth, *Edfou* VI, p. 251, n. 4-6.

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particular connection to the naophorous form. Shu most often appears supporting the sky on his hands, but he also lifts up or carries other celestial entities. In the concluding scenes of the Netherworld Books, for example, it is specifically Shu who elevates the newly reborn Re out of the Duat.[244] Already in the Coffin Texts, Shu proclaims:[245]

wp=ỉ wꜣ.t n Rʿ
That I open a way for Re,
sqd=f r ꜣḫ.t ỉmnt.t
is so he can sail to the western horizon.
ỉnk r fnḏ=f
It is I who am at his nose,
ʿ.wy=ỉ ḫr=f
my arms carrying him.

In other words, Shu not only holds up the sky, but he can also support the solar bark and Re himself. Priests who carried divine barks, statues,[246] naoi, or standards in procession thus emulated Shu on a smaller scale.[247] Unequivocal evidence for this association comes from a royal statue from Memphis (present location unknown), where Ramesses II carries the divine standard of a god (Ptah or Amun) and remarks:[248]

m.k (wỉ) ḥr šms ḥm=k nb-nṯr.w
Behold, I serve your majesty, Lord of the Gods.
ʿ.wy=ỉ wʿb(.w) ḥr mdw-šps=k
My pure arms are upon your divine staff,
ḥpt.n(=ỉ) sw
having embraced it.
m.k (wỉ) ḥr wṯz nfrw=k n rḫy.t
Behold, I elevate your perfection to the masses,
mỉ ỉr.n Šw n ỉt=f Rʿ […]
just like Shu did for his father, Re […]

As this New Kingdom statue demonstrates, the king could also emulate Shu, most strikingly in the ritual of "lifting up heaven (*twꜣ p.t*)".[249] Just as on the naophorous statues under discussion, the king lifts the sky over his head, and the captions expressly compare him to Shu and Heh. In these royal scenes of "lifting up heaven (*twꜣ-p.t*)", whether in temples or on bark stands, the superhuman gesture is metaphorical. By sponsoring temple construction and maintaining processional routes, the king provides a sacred, celestial pathway for the solar bark. It is through his ordinary benefactions that he "supports" the figurative "heaven".[250] With the private naophorous statues, meanwhile, dedicants vaunt their support on a micro-scale. While they may not have built entire temples, non-royal officials could donate necessary cultic

244 B.R. Hellinckx, *op. cit.*, p. 64, n. 11 (with many references), p. 68-70.

245 *CT* II, 37g-h (Spell 80); cited by B.R. Hellinckx, *op. cit.*, p. 70, n. 35.

246 Compare British Museum EA 60042, a statuette of the ithyphallic Amun-Kamutef (E. Graefe, *op. cit.*, p. 224-227, pl. 20a-b, P24). Similar to the private statues discussed above, Shu is depicted on the front of its socle carrying the solar bark in his upraised arms, thereby forging a conceptual link between the processional image and the bark.

247 On a stela from Deir el-Medina (MMA 1996.91), the famed scribe Amennakht claimed to be "between heaven and earth (*r ỉwd p.t r ỉwtn*)" during a bark procession of Amun, perhaps comparing himself to Shu because he participated in the public festival (D. Klotz, "Between Heaven and Earth in Deir el-Medina: Stela MMA 21.2.6", *SAK* 34, 2006, p. 272, col. 2, p. 277-278, n. d, pl. 22).

248 *KRI* II, 495, 6-7; discussed by H. Satzinger, "Der heilige Stab als Kraftquelle des Königs: Versuch einer Funktionsbestimmung der ägyptischen Stabträger-Statuen", *JKSW* 77, 1981, p. 27 (A 16); C. Chadefaud, *Les statues porte-enseignes de l'Égypte ancienne (1580-1085 av. J.-C.). Signification et insertion dans le culte du Ka royal*, Paris, 1982, p. 32-33, 142 (PE R II 9), 173, n. 16.

249 D. Kurth, *Den Himmel Stützen: Die „Twꜣ pt" Szenen in den ägyptischen Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Epoche*, *RitEg* 2, 1975.

250 D. Kurth, *op. cit.*, p. 136-143.

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equipment, erect portals and statues, properly manage the local priesthood, or in the case of Udjahorresnet, save a temple from invading armies (cf. *supra*, Introduction). At the very least, initiated priests could protect their favorite divinity by literally carrying the sacred statue or naos responsibly in processions.

In the Coffin Texts, Shu bypasses various obstacles – including threatening serpents and flames – in order to reach the mysterious shrine of his deceased father, Re-Atum. Above all else, the Shu-spells aimed to transform the deceased into Shu (*ḫpr m Šw*), thereby obtaining the breath of life and all earthly goods. In the later naophorous and theophorous statues, devotees represented this transformation in three dimensions, identifying themselves with Shu, the shrine-bearing priest *par excellence*. Perhaps they intended to demonstrate that they had access to the inner sanctuary, that they maintained an intimate relationship with their local divinity and performed crucial rituals for its statue, just as Shu served Re-Atum. Or perhaps they merely wished to memorialize their individual *support* for their favorite gods and goddesses, without which the cults eventually ceased to function.

Previous interpretations of naophorous and theophorous statues are still valid: dedicants protected the divinities with their bare hands, received the same divine offerings, and participated in the temple cult for all eternity. Yet it was only by identifying themselves with Shu that these non-royal, mortal individuals could presume to accomplish such superhuman activities.

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1a. 1b.

Pl. 1a-b. Mexico City, ex-collection Endre Ungar. Front and Back (photos courtesy of the *CLES*).

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2a.



2b.

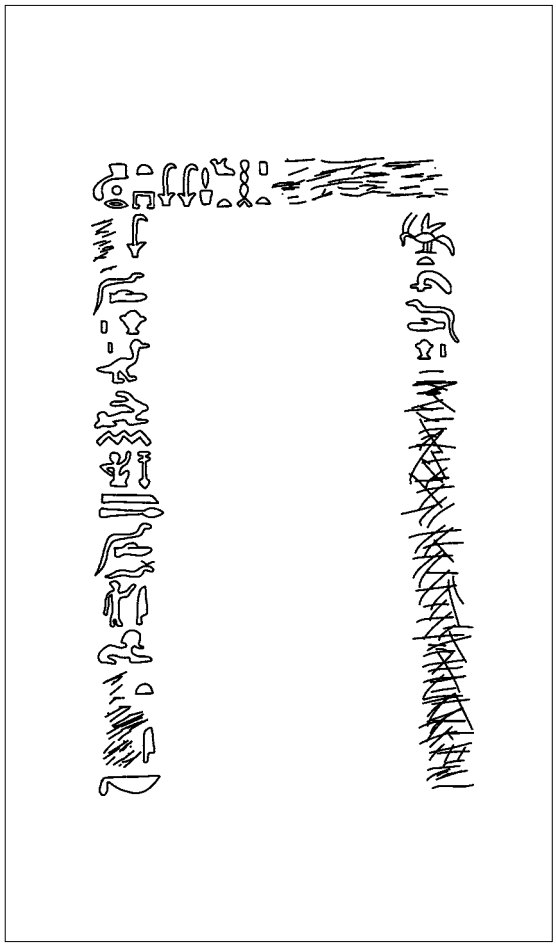
Pl. 2a-b. Mexico City, ex-collection Endre Ungar. Right and Left profiles (photos courtesy of the *CLES*).

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3a. Mexico City, ex-collection Erich Ungar. Detail of Head (photograph courtesy of the *CLES*).





3b. Mexico City, ex-collection Endre Ungar. Front of Naos (photograph courtesy of the *CLES*).

Pl. 3a-b.

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4a.



4b.

Pl. 4a-b. Mexico City, ex-collection Endre Ungar. Back Pillar (photograph courtesy of the *CLES*).

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5a.



5b.

Pl. 5a-b. Chiddingstone Castle, Denys Eyre Bower Collection, 01.0573. Front and Back (photographs courtesy Trustees of the Denys Bower bequest).

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6a.



6b.

Pl. 6a-b. Chiddingstone Castle, Denys Eyre Bower Collection, 01.0573. Right and Left profiles (photographs courtesy Trustees of the Denys Bower bequest).

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