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# Thoth as Textual Critic The Interrupting Baboons at Esna Temple

#### **David Klotz**

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έστι συγγένεια κυνοκεφάλων Αἰγύπτια ἐπισταμένων γράμματα

There is a type of baboon that understands Egyptian writing.

Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica*, I.14

IEROGLYPHS DEPICTING the baboon and the ibis, the two most common avatars of Thoth, could write many phonetic and ideographic values associated with the god. Herman De Meulenaere discussed many of the options in a classic study, and additional values can be found in more recent sign-lists.

My ongoing study of the writing system and vocabulary of Esna temple has revealed a previously unrecognized logographic use for the simple baboon ( $\frac{1}{2}$ ), apparently limited to this temple. At Esna, this sign most commonly writes  $\underline{dd}$ , nfr, in, and i (the latter usually in the name 'Itm), but it also represents the copula pronoun pw in over twenty examples. Several of the relevant passages have been translated previously, but since scholars were unaware of this potential ideographic value, they typically transcribed the sign as nfr or ignored it altogether, sometimes resulting in unconvincing translations.

The first two attestations have direct parallels that spell out the copula pronoun phonetically, establishing the equivalence proposed here. In the other examples, however, this particular reading must be deduced from context. Most often, the pronoun pw is the only possible interpretation. Other passages afford multiple possibilities, but even then pw is usually the most sensible option, since no compelling reasons (i.e. direct parallels, set phrases) demand alternate readings. Some of the relevant texts present significant challenges and merit further discussion and comparison with helpful parallels (particularly text 24), so they will be translated with detailed commentary below.

¹ H. DE MEULENAERE, "Les valeurs du signe ∄ à la Basse Époque," *BIFAO* 54, 1954, p. 73-82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> D. Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische*, 2008-2009, (hereafter: D. Kurth, *EP*) I, p. 204-205; II, p. 1125; for additional logographic values for the baboon not registered there, see *infra* "Appendix."

# **Examples**

**1.** Esna IV, 421, 4 and Esna III, 331, 10:<sup>3</sup>

421, 4:



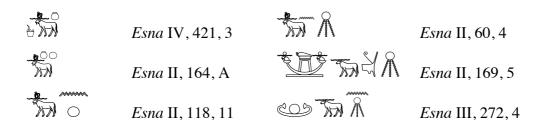
331, 10:



Nw.t pw nt 3hty (a) wbn = f(b)htp = fim = s

Because she is Nut of the Horizon god (Akhty), in whom he rises and sets.

- (a) Both versions employ the simplified writing of *Jhty*, regularly found in the divine name Horakhty (e.g. ), as found in other texts from this temple: (Esna III, 272, 5) and (*ibid*, 275, 9). Accordingly, one should correct A.W. Blackman's peculiar suggestion to read an identically written god at Edfu as \**Ity*, "Table-god," especially since a similar group () clearly writes *Jhty* elsewhere at Edfu.
- (**b**) This sportive, partially acrophonic spelling of wbn ( $w < w \ge d \cdot t$ ,  $b < b \ge d \cdot t$ ), was noted already by Sauneron for a single hymn (Esna III, 331). In addition to his examples, many orthographies of this verb employ the  $b \ge d \cdot t$ -ram:



In the latter two examples, the divine barks write w < wiz, as they do frequently elsewhere in Esna.<sup>8</sup>

As with similar spellings of the verb *psd*, "to shine," or the hymn composed entirely with rams (*Esna* II, 126), these orthographies reflect a thoroughly criocentric worldview, in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The parallel was translated by S. SAUNERON, Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna, Esna V, 1962, p. 151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> A.M. BLACKMAN, "The King of Egypt's Grace Before Meat," *JEA* 31, 1945, p. 63-64, n. 28; followed by P. WILSON, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1178-1179, and *LGG* VII, 447.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Edfou IV, 83, 14; discussed by M.-L. RYHINER, "A propos des trigrammes panthéistes", *RdE* 29, 1977, p. 132, with n. 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> S. SAUNERON, Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna, p. 155, n. h.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> In Demotic, this term had similarly reduced to a monosyllabic word w: Fr. HOFFMANN, "Die Lesung des demotischen Wortes für "Götterbarke"", *Enchoria* 23, 1996, p. 39-51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> S. SAUNERON, *L'écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna*, *Esna* VIII, 1982, p. 168-169; D. KURTH, *EP* I, p. 356-357. Specific examples outside of the litanies include: *Esna* II, 96, 2 and 156, 25 (both in Šw, "Shu"); *Esna* III, 378, 17 and 21 (both in tw, "air").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> M.-Th. DERCHAIN-URTEL, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen zur griechisch-römischen Zeit in Ägypten, ÄAT* 43, 1999, p. 196-197, and add *Esna* II, 150, 1.

which every natural phenomenon is a manifestation of Khnum. Moreover, the simple uraeus is the characteristic ornament of the sacred ram of Esna (*Esna* II, 140; VI, 503; cf. *infra*, 24), so that the sunrise and solar radiance are linked directly to appearances of the local divine animal.<sup>10</sup>

# **2.** Esna II, 97, 3; 47, A and B (extended imperial titulary):

97, 3: 47, A: 47, B:

ity [hq3] z3 hq3, wd=k pw tkn r hr.t

Sovereign, [ruler], son of the ruler, it is your decree that approaches up to heaven.

All three texts repeat a set of royal epithets attributed to various Roman emperors throughout Egypt. This particular section is paralleled outside of Esna, and in five other examples the copula pronoun pw occurs in the same position. Jean-Claude Grenier already noted the peculiar use of the baboon in 97, 3, but rather than propose a new phonetic value for this sign, he tentatively suggested understanding the simian here as the particle i(w).

#### **3.** Esna II, 3, A (Dedication text):

Hnmw-R' nb T3-Sn.t

Khnum-Re, Lord of Esna,

hry-nhp n Psd.t

Chief of the Potter's Wheel for the Ennead,

 $\check{S}w \ pw \ Tfn.t \ r-\dot{h}n'=f$ 

that means Shu, along with Tefnut,

n/m Mnhy.t

in the form of Menhit,

*Nb.t-ww hr.tw r=s* 

(she is also called Nebtu).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Note that the sacred effigies of Min or Amenope would be carried in procession as temporary replacements for the sun or moon: D. KLOTZ, *Caesar in the City of Amun: Egyptian Temple Construction and Theology in Roman Thebes*, *MRE* 15, 2012, p. 56, n. 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Studied in detail by J.-Cl. GRENIER, "Le protocole pharaonique des empereurs romains (Analyse formelle et signification historique)," *RdE* 38, 1987, 81-104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Dendara XII, 183, 5; H. GAUTHIER, Kalabchah I, 57, 58, 142, 143; cf. J.-Cl. GRENIER, RdE 38, 1987, 93, 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> J.-Cl. GRENIER, *RdE* 38, 1987, 96, n. g: "S'il faut sans doute comprendre *pw* après *wdw f/k* des versions 2 et 4, que faire du babouin assis de la leçon d'Esna?"

Philippe Derchain and Daniel von Recklinghausen skipped over the baboon sign in their translation, <sup>14</sup> perhaps regarding it as a unique determinative for "Shu." Nonetheless, similar explanatory glosses explicitly identify Khnum Lord of the Field with Shu. <sup>15</sup>

Esna III, 232, 12-13 (135-136):

Hnmw Mnhy.t m T3-Sn.t

Khnum and Menhit in Esna:

T3-Tnn pw hn' N.t

that means Tatenen together with Neith.

Hnmw Nb.t-ww m Pr-ntr

Khnum and Nebtu in Pi-Netjer:

Šw pw hn' Tfn.t

that means Shu together with Tefnut.

Esna IV, 424, 1 (epithets of Khnum-Shu):

Hnmw-R' nb-sh.t Šw pw

Khnum-Re Lord of the Field, that means Shu (...)

sn.t = f m nb(.t) - 3h.t r - gs = f

his sister is as the Lady of the Field beside him,

m rn=s n Mnhy.t

in her name of Menhit,

Nb.t-ww hr.tw r≈s

(she is also called Nebtu).16

Esna VI. 507:

 $n\underline{t}r w^{\epsilon} \underline{h}p(r) m n\underline{t}r snw$ 

The sole god who transformed into two,

Hnmw Mnhy.t

(namely) Khnum and Menhit,

Nb.t-ww hr.tw r≈s

(she is also called Nebtu).

<sup>14</sup> Ph. DERCHAIN, D. VON RECKLINGHAUSEN, *La création – Die Schöpfung*. *La façade ptolémaïque du temple d'Esna*. *Pour une poétique ptolémaïque*, *RitEg* 10, 2004, p. 103: "Schu – Tefnut ist bei ihm als Menhit (Šw Tfnt r-hn'≤f n Mnhyt)."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Cf. also *Esna* III, 348, 26, describing a festival procession for Khnum Lord of the Field: "the august god (...) that means Shu, son of Re (Šw pw z3 R<sup>c</sup>)."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Here and in the following example, the apparent bees are actually unusual forms of the grasshopper, obtaining the normal cryptographic value r; cf. D. MEEKS, Les architraves du temple d'Esna: Paléographie, PalHier 1, 2004, p. 108, §289, 293; for another seemingly apian depiction of a grasshopper or locust, see id., "De quelques 'insectes' égyptiens. Entre lexique et paléographie," in Z. Hawass, P. Der Manuelian, R.B. Hussein (eds), Perspectives on Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Edward Brovarski, CASAE 40, 2010, p. 291, fig. 9d.

Esna II, 104, 4:

[ît] m Hnmw

The [father] is Khnum,

mw.t m Mnhy.t

the mother is Menhit,

*Nb.t-ww k3.tw r k3=s* 

(she is also called Nebtu by name).

Esna VII, 633 (epithets of Neith):

T3-Tnn hn' hm=s

Tatenen is with her Majesty (Neith),

Hnmw Mnhy.t

(that is) Khnum and Menhit,

Nb.t-ww hr.tw r≈s

(she is also called Nebtu).

Most of these examples imply that Nebtu was just another name for Menhit, both representing complementary aspects of Tefnut: the raging lioness (Menhit), and the pacified goddess of fecundity (Nebtu).<sup>17</sup> Indeed, hymns to Menhit evoke Nebtu as one of her many forms or names,<sup>18</sup> and the two are often mentioned together, notably in the famous dance of Shu.<sup>19</sup> Nonetheless, the first text (*Esna* III, 232) makes a neat distinction applicable to most texts: Khnum-Tatenen and Menhit-Neith represent the first generation of primeval creator deities at Esna, while Khnum-Shu ("Lord of the Field") and Nebtu-Tefnut cultivate the created world, as the active second generation installed at North Esna.

**4.** Esna II, 31, 62 (describing Shu and Tefnut in the Hw.t-t2.wy):



thn  $\check{s}ps$  im r-gs=sn (a) ntf pw w'-n-hmt (b)

The august ibis (Thoth) is there beside them (Shu and Tefnut), that is why he is "One of the Three."

(a) Several texts record Thoth's presence beside Shu and Tefnut, since he was one of the primary gods in North Esna, at a temple referred to by various names (e.g. *Pr-ntr*, *Hw.t-ts.wy*, *Sh.t-R'*, *Pr-rw.ty*).<sup>20</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Such a relationship is suggested, for example, in *Esna* III, 235, 11, where Menhyt returns from Nubia (*Kns.t*) as the angry goddess, but "her Ka is pacified as Nebtu ( $shr k \ge smNb.t-ww$ )."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> E.g. *Esna* III, 233, 15 (3-4); 251, 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> E.g. Esna III, 351, B; 380, 25; 382, 5, 7, 12; Esna VI, 520, 1; cf. A.-R. ALI MOHAMED, "The Dance for Appeasing Menhyt-Nebtou at Esna," in O. El-Aguizy, M.S. Ali (eds), Echoes of Eternity. Studies presented to Gaballa Aly Gaballa, Philippika 35, 2010, p. 149-162.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> E.g. *Esna* II, 58, 6; 60, 4; 77, 10 (Phamenoth 11); 81, 4; 163, 27.

(b) This peculiar epithet designates Thoth specifically at North Esna.<sup>21</sup> Here "the triad" clearly designates Shu, Tefnut, and Thoth, but elsewhere the other two divinities are Horus and Seth (cf. *LGG* II, 285).

# **5.** *Esna* II, 53:



[...] T3-[Sn].t pw tis=f d.t=f ( $\mathbf{a}$ ) im=f smn=f  $sn\underline{t}$  nb m iry-wdhw ( $\mathbf{b}$ )

[...] it is E[sn]a, in which he reposes his body, and sets up every foundation as Chief of the Altar.

s[.t nt nḥi] ms.w m-ḥnt≥s (c)

tni šɔy [ḥr msḥn.t...] (d)

[...twt] (e) mɔɔɔ sw r (di)-mr.t (f) ḥr-R'

(i)'(ḥ) (g) im≥s (ḥr) sḥḍ (h) tɔɔ.wy

The pla[ce of beseech]ing children is within it,
and distinguishing fate [upon the birthbrick]
[...] it is more perfect to see than the sky bearing Re,
the moon within lighting up the two lands.

- (a) This transitive use of *tis*, "to sit; repose" (not registered in *Wb*. V, 242, 12-18), is also used in *Esna* III, 212, B: *tis=f d.t=f m šdi.w*, "he reposes his body in the fields."
- (b) The last, damaged group is uncertain, but a similar title is attested in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>22</sup> This particular spelling of nb (n + bz) is quite common at Esna.<sup>23</sup>
- (c) This passage can be restored thanks to multiple parallels:

Esna II, 16, 1:

s.t nt nḥi ms.w

The place of requesting children,

dbh z3.wt m-hnt≈f

and of entreating daughters within it:

ir(.t) im3 bw-nb m ms.w=sn

of making everybody happy with their progeny.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Esna II, 81, 4 (context damaged); Esna III, 309, 27; Esna VI, 493, 9; in all of these examples, the numeral "three" is written with three Ba-birds.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> H.G. FISCHER, Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom. A Supplement to Wm. Ward's INDEX, 1985, p. 40, 57 (No. 519); cf. also the divine epithet iry-wdhw n R' (LGG I, 406), carried by various "dieux maîtres d'autel."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Chr. LEITZ, *SAK* 29, 2001, p. 254-255, with n. 20; D. KURTH, *EP* I, p. 210, n. 106; to which one can add several examples, e.g. *Esna* II, 171, B; *Esna* III, 328, A; 393, 23; *Esna* VI, 541, A; *Esna* VII, 549.

# Esna II, 63, 4 (epithets of Khnum):

di z x n dw x s(w) He who gives a son to whoever praises him,

 $z \cdot t \cdot n \cdot db \cdot h \cdot s(w)$  and a daughter to whoever entreats him.

Esna III, 377, 4 (hymn to Khnum):

AFRICATION OF THE

rdi zi n dbh sw He who gives a son to whoever entreats him,

hm.t n nhi sw and a wife to whoever asks him.

Esna III, 255, B (epithets of Khnum):

rdi zi zi.t He who gives a son and daughter

 $n \ n \dot{h} i(.w) = sn$  to those who request them,<sup>24</sup>

*ir im3 bw-nb m ms.w=sn* who makes everybody happy with their progeny.<sup>25</sup>

Esna III, 387, 5 (hymn to Khnum):

di z z z t He who gives a son and daughter

*n nhi sw* to whoever entreats him.

Esna VII, 633 (Esna monography):

[bw?]-wr n mw.t-ntr.w The great [place] of the Mother of Gods,

swr=s nsw-bity hnt iht-mn she magnifies the King within the world,

*ḥr dbḥ z₃-z₃.t m ḥnt≥f* requesting (< ∑ 💆 ) children therein.

- (d) For this phrase, cf. Esna II, 150, 2; Esna III, 311, 6; 313, A.
- (e) Restoring this passage after the nearly exact parallel (*Esna* II, 16, 2):

<sup>24</sup> The phallus in the verb nhi is a mistake for the hw-tusk that often occurs in spellings of this word: e.g. Esna II, 63, 4; Esna III, 380, 28; 353, B; 377, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Comparing the preceding example, the two city-signs (O49) should somehow write the plural suffix pronoun (ssn) here. While this sign can easily write n < niw.t (D. KURTH, EP I, p. 354, n. 262-3), the phonetic value s is exceptional and its derivation is uncertain.

# 

- (f) This must be an abbreviated form of *di-mr.t*, "heaven." <sup>26</sup>
- (g) This shortened form of "moon" ( $^{\prime} < i^{\prime}h$ )<sup>27</sup> occurs quite frequently at Esna.<sup>28</sup>
- (h) While the sense of this passage is clear, the precise transliteration is uncertain, since the ram possesses many phonetic and logographic values at Esna. The parallel (Esna II, 16, 2), appears to employ the verb  $s\check{s}p$ , and in the present text, the ram micht conceivably write  $\check{s}p$  $< \check{s}fy.^{29}$

Alternatively, the ram alone might stand for the verb shd, "to shine," as it does at least once elsewhere at Esna. The same word is also written with a ram (s < sr) wearing a white crown (hd).<sup>31</sup> Yet in these two cases, the unadorned caprid might have obtained the phonetic value from *shty*, "ram."<sup>32</sup>

# **6.** Esna II, 58, 5:



hpr rn≈f n Hk3

His name came to be "Heka,"

Gbb pw m hy nfr

that means Geb as a good child,

z3 niw.t=f

who guards his city.

For this passage, Heike Sternberg tentatively proposed transcribing the baboon as im, "there" ("Geb befand sich dort als gutes Kind"), with no connection to the proceeding clause concerning Heka.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, the assimilation of Heka-Geb, son of Khnum-Shu and Menhyt-Tefnut, is frequently expressed at Esna, <sup>34</sup> often employing the very same gloss: "that means Geb (Gbb pw)."35

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Wb. II, 110; V, 420, 1-3; Esna II, 30, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Wb. I, 159, 13 (cf. i'h-msw > Amasis). The simplification of this word to a weak consonant – via the consonantal principle, due to the proximity of 'ayin and h – may also explain how the crescent moon came to write î or îw in 'Iwnw, "Heliopolis," and 'Iwn.t, "Dendera" (cf. H.W. FAIRMAN, ASAE 43, 1943, p. 234, 256-257, n. XXVII; D. KURTH, EP I, p. 329, n. 108, both with different explanations).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> E.g. Esna II, 184, 14; Esna III, 282, A; Esna IV, 400; Esna VI, 528, 12; 541, B; 546, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> D. Kurth, *EP* I, p. 199, 209, n. 94, 511, n. 2, discussed an uncertain example elsewhere (*KO* I, 86, 2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Esna III, 331, 10 (wbn-s shd.n-s hdd.wt-s); reading confirmed by the exact parallel in Esna IV, 421, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> D. KURTH, EP I, p. 210, n. 105; Chr. LEITZ, SAK 29, 2001, p. 258 (16); to their examples, add Esna II, 164, A; Esna III, 389, 15; 394, 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> For this term, cf. J. YOYOTTE, "Études géographiques II. Les localités méridionales de la région memphite et « le pehou d'Héracléopolis »," *RdE* 15, 1963, p. 101-106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> H. STERNBERG, Mythische Motive und Mythenbildung in den ägyptischen Tempeln und Papyri der griechischrömischen Zeit, GOF IV, 14, 1985, p. 60, 66, n. (z).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> *Ibid*, p. 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> E.g. *Esna* II, 77, 11; 104, 11 (also called *hy nfr z3 niw.t-f*); 107, 3; *Esna* III, 308, 26.

# 7. Esna II, 75:



hw.t-N.t pw sndm=s im

It is the Temple of Neith, in (which) she dwells.

# 8. Esna II, 80, 7 (epithets of Khnum):



T3-Tnn pw ir nn r-3w

He is Tatenen, who created everything entirely.

# **9.** Esna II, 125, 1:



iwnn (a) pw n N.t nb(.t) k3pw(?) (b) hnw.t Pwn.t

It is the residence of Neith, Lady of kyphi(?), Mistress of Punt.

- (a) As frequently at Esna, one must emend the determinative from 1 to  $\Box$ .
- (b) The spelling of this word is problematic, and possibly influenced by the similar toponym Kpn, "Byblos." Either term would be appropriate for the present text, a description of the temple "laboratory" that held incense, oils, and other *materia sacra*. <sup>36</sup>

# **10.** Esna II, 163, 19 (hymn to Neith):



T3-Sn.t pr(.w) m 3h.w=s Z3w=s pw m t3-šm

Esna is equipped with her excellent things, for it is her Sais in Upper Egypt.

Sauneron translated this passage correctly ("car c'est sa ville de Saïs dans le pays du Sud!"), but did not comment on the baboon's function.<sup>37</sup>

#### **11.** Esna IV, 424, 3:



 $s.t = s \ n \ rsi.t \ (T3) - Sn.t \ (\mathbf{a})$ 

Her southern seat is Esna,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Cf. S. SAUNERON, *Esna* II, p. 225.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> S. SAUNERON, Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna, p. 289.

sp3.t=s n mhi.t Mh-N.t

(her northern district being *Mh-N.t*),

Zzw=s pw m tz-šm°

it (Esna) is her Sais in Upper Egypt.

(a) Although the toponym "Esna" is consistently written T<sub>2</sub>-Sn.t throughout the temple, a few examples omit the initial element, 38 and this abbreviated form is standard in Demotic papyri.<sup>39</sup>

Without mentioning the parallelism with the preceding example (10), Alexandra von Lieven translated this passage slightly differently: "das Mh-N.t-Heiligtum ist ihr schönes Sais in Oberägypten (Siw.t=s nfr m ti šm')."40 Yet in the parallel, Esna itself, not the Mh-N.t, is called "Sais of Upper Egypt." Indeed the present text distinguishes between Neith's two residences, the twin Saises of Upper and Lower Egypt: 41 the original city in the Delta (here parenthetically called Mh-N.t, emphasizing its northern location), and the secondary, southern residence (Esna).

Elsewhere, only one inscription directly identifies Esna with the Mħ-N.t (Esna II, 16, 2).<sup>42</sup> However this is a cult-topographical monography listing alliterative pairings between the temple and its chief divinities; thus Esna is called, inter alia, "the Mh-N.t of Methyer (Mh-N.t n Mh.t-wr.t)." In similar texts, these correspondences can often be quite forced, and thus there is little reason to assume the *Mh-N.t* was a standard designation for Esna.

**12.** Esna II, 190, 1 (describing the colonnade hall using various idyllic metaphors):

It is a reed-marsh which you travel to behold.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> E.g. *Esna* II, 60, 2; 63, 1; *Esna* III, 206, 2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Ph. COLLOMBERT, "À propos des toponymes de la stèle Bucheum n° 9," in A. Gasse, Fr. Servajean, Chr. Thiers (eds), Et in Ægypto et ad Ægyptum. Recueil d'études dédiées à Jean-Claude Grenier II, CENiM 5, 2012, p. 203-206.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> A. VON LIEVEN, Der Himmel über Esna: eine Fallstudie zur religiösen Astronomie in Ägypten am Beispiel der kosmologischen Decken- und Architravinschriften im Tempel von Esna, ÄgAbh 64, 2000, p. 98-99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Esna if frequently identified as Sais in Upper Egypt: e.g. Esna II, 83, 1; 163, 25; Esna IV, 424, 3; Esna VII,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Another inscription states that the small "laboratory" at Esna (cf. supra, n. 31) was also called "Mḥ-N.t"; but the same text continues by noting this was true everywhere in Egypt (Esna II, 85, 2: hpr Mh-N.t m rn s hr ì 3b.t n r-pr nb r-mn hrw pn, "Its name has come to be Mh-N.t on the left-side of all temples, up until today."); cf. also Esna II, 163, 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Note the more extensive parallel in Esna II, 156, 21: "(May you find the very great hypostyle hall filled with columns rising up to meet your Majesty), just like a reed-marsh which you would travel to behold (mi twf swtwt=k r m33=f)."

# 13. Esna III, 224, 1:



dr nty hb Pth pw 'h f p.t m hrw pn

For it is the festival of Ptah, he lifts up the sky on this day.

Sauneron translated: "car c'est la fête de Ptah-au-beau-visage qui a soulevé le ciel en ce jour," restoring a face (hr) on the knee of the baboon (nfr), thus writing Ptah's typical epithet nfr-hr. However, he did not explain which word in the passage corresponds to "c'est", nor did he justify rendering the subsequent sdm > f as an active participle.

# **14**. Esna III, 260, 9 (Invocation hymn to Khnum-Shu):



ntk pw pr(.w) m swh

For it is you who manifests as the air,

mhy.t hnm n fnd≈k

the north-wind being the breath of your nose,

r s'nh hr-nb

in order to enliven everybody.

Sauneron translated this passage as follows: "C'est encore toi qui sors sous forme de vent." Although he did not comment on the baboon's grammatical function, his interpretation suggests the enclitic particle is, "moreover; meanwhile."

#### **15.** Esna III, 267, 9 (epithets of Khnum-Shu):



[...] rwd ib=f r s'nh R' pw hry-ntr.w

[...] his heart is firm in order to support life, for he is Re, Chief of the Gods.

#### 16. Esna IV, 422:



iw=k h'.ti m p.t mhi.t it-it.w pw n ntr.w Hnmw-R'

You appear in the southern sky, that is: father of fathers of the gods, Khnum-Re.

Alexandra von Lieven tentatively read the baboon as *nsw*, "king," a valid transcription of the baboon, and supposed the goddess Neith might be a determinative.<sup>46</sup> Since the red crown

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> S. SAUNERON, Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna, p. 74, with n. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> S. SAUNERON, Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna, p. 360.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> A. VON LIEVEN, *Der Himmel über Esna*, p. 90, n. a, who noted the alternative solution *ntr-ntr.w*, "god of gods."

would be inappropriate for the word nsw, however, one might alternatively emend the second sign (e.g. )) and thereby translate nsw-bity ntr.w, "Dual King of the Gods." Nevertheless, the latter epithet is not otherwise attested at Esna (LGG IV, 326), whereas "father of fathers of the gods" is quite common (LGG I, 576-577), so the baboon most likely writes pw here as well.

# **17.** Esna III, 377, 8:



pr-hyn (a) pw n wtt-ntr.w

It is the *pr-hyn* of He who Begat the Gods,

 $m rn = f n \underline{H}nmw(\mathbf{b}) - Pth$ qm3 swh.t

in his name of Khnum-Ptah,

who created the egg,

 $prm[Nwn](\mathbf{c})$ 

and who emerged from [Nun].

(a) The pr-hyn was originally a sanctuary of Amun between Karnak and the Mut Temple precinct, associated with Min-Kamutef and processions to Luxor temple.<sup>47</sup> A recently uncovered relief from Luxor depicts Ramesses II offering bread to a god who wears a beard and double plumes, bearing the garbled label:<sup>48</sup>



Mansour Boraik tentatively read: "Amun-Ra who resides in Ihyny(?)," but one might propose emending the text as follows, further confirming the link to Luxor temple:



"Amun-Re within the *pr-ihyn*."

As a shrine for Amun-Kamutef, the *pr-hyn* was connected to the ithyphallic demiurge Amenope, who fashioned the Ogdoad and other gods within Luxor Temple.<sup>50</sup> By extension, the pr-hyn was also an appropriate residence for Khnum or Khnum-Ptah at Esna, specifically where he might "beget the gods" (17) and "create what exists" (18). The

<sup>47</sup> J. OSING, Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I, The Carlsberg Papyri 2, CNIP 17, 1998, p. 162, n. a; 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. 110, n. f; id., Caesar in the City of Amun, p. 143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> M. BORAIK, "Inside the Mosque of Abu El-Haggag: rediscovering long lost parts of Luxor Temple. A preliminary report," Memnonia 19, 2008, p. 144-145 (scene d).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> M. BORAIK, *Memnonia* 19, 2008, p. 144, with n. 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> D. KLOTZ, Caesar in the City of Amun, p. 54-55, 175-176.

generative function of this edifice might explain the unusual spitting-mouth determinative in example 18.<sup>51</sup>

(b) The present spelling ( ), <sup>52</sup> remarkably lacks the usual determinative of a seated Khnum, and in isolation this writing is difficult to reconcile with the local god. Nonetheless, similar celestial spellings for Khnum – featuring the radiant sun and sky signs – abound at Esna, preparing readers to recognize this potentially obscure divine name: <sup>53</sup>

R A	Esna III, 225, 18 (50); 232, 12 (135); 394, 23
R O O	Esna III, 225, 16 (45)
	Esna III, 378, 22 $(n < nhp)$
	Esna III, 377, 2 $(n < n\underline{t}r)$
	Esna III, 379, 24; VI, 587, 23 (n < nt̞r)
	Esna III, 224, 2; 225, 17 (48), 20 (57) (n < ntr)
	Esna III, 393, 21 (n < Nwn)
	Esna III, 272, 4 (n < Nw.t, "Nut")
RART	Esna III, 377, 5 (n < nbi.t, "flame")
and T	Esna III, 355, 7 (34, 35)

The first two signs are thus closely associated with the name Khnum. The final hieroglyph likely derives its phonetic value  $m < m \ge wy$ , "radiance." Surprisingly, among all the divine names at Esna, this value is only attested one other time, earlier in the same inscription (*Esna* III, 377, 5). The might also represent the final m in Late Period trigrams for Atum ( $\mathbb{A}$ ), assuming that group should be read in retrograde (\* $\mathbb{A}$ ).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Note that the related term hyn, "border," can also appear with a range of determinatives: A. EGBERTS, In Quest of Meaning: A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves I, EgUitg 8, 1995, p. 135-136, n. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> S. Sauneron also translated this divine name as "Khnoum-Ptah" (*Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna*, "Additions et corrections," p. C, note to p. 210); followed by *LGG* VI, p. 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> In most of the examples that follow, the final consonant is p (< p.t), reflecting the pronunciation *Chnoubis*; cf. S. SAUNERON, *L'écriture figurative*, p. 83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> D. KURTH, *EP* I, p. 319, 328, n. 71, registered this phonetic value, citing only S. SAUNERON, *L'écriture figurative*, p. 193; however, the latter page does not contain textual references, and most likely intended the present attestation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> D. KLOTZ, "Two Curious Orthographies for Khepri," *ENIM* 3, 2010, p. 72-73.

#### **18.** Esna IV, 431, 3:

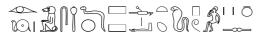


pr-hyn pw n qm3-wnn.t

It is the *pr-hyn* of He-who-Created-what-Exists.

Both examples (17-18) begin the same way. For the first text, Sauneron translated "le beau lieu de résidence"; in the second, Von Lieven similarly understood "die schöne Wohnung." However, there are no other examples where the pr-hyn is described as "good (nfr)," and thus the reading pw is preferable in these instances as well.

# 19. Esna IV, 423 (epithets of Nebtu):



ir.t-R' pw shd t3.wy w'.t pw nn snw=s

She is the Eye of Re, who brightens the two lands,

she is the unique-serpent, without her double.

For this example, parallelismus membrorum suggests the baboon also writes pw.

#### **20.** Esna VI. 538:



<sup>56</sup> D. KLOTZ, Adoration of the Ram, p. 163, n. B; D. KURTH, EP I, p. 280, n. 66; Chr. LEITZ, "Der Lobpreis des Krokodils: Drei Sobekhymnen aus Kom Ombo," in H. Knuf, Chr. Leitz, D. von Recklinghausen (eds), Honi soit qui mal y pense. Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen, OLA 194, 2010, p. 313, n. 55. Examples include: Esna II, 76, 9, 11; 96, 1; 117; 180, A; 187, A; Esna III, 335, 1; 367, 24; Esna VII, 552, 1; 587, 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> D. KLOTZ, Adoration of the Ram, p. 46, n. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> For this epithet, see primarily D. MENDEL, *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften in der Barkenkapelle des Chonstemepls von Karnak*, *MRE* 9, 2003, p. 44-51, 181-189 (to her examples add *Esna* VII, 633); Ptah-Hephaistos also opens up (*pth*) the primeval egg in a cosmogony reported by Damascius: M.L. WEST, "*Ab ovo*: Orpheus, Sanchuniathon, and the Origins of the Ionian World Model," *ClassQuart* 44, 1994, p. 291-293; D. KLOTZ, *Caesar in the City of Amun*, p. 107, n. 526.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> S. SAUNERON, Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna, p. 210; A. VON LIEVEN, Der Himmel über Esna, p. 114-115.

Thoth as Textual Critic: The Interrupting Baboons at Esna Temple



hw.t-Hnmw pw

It is the Khnum Temple

n it-z3.w-n=sn

for the Father of the Guardian Deities,

hw.t-nbi

the Temple of the Fashioner,

n ir Hnm.w 7 (a)

for He who made the Seven Khnums,

m-tp(?) (**b**) D3is.w 7 wr.w (**c**) [...]

at the head of(?) the Seven Great Djaisu [of Methyer...].

(a) Matthias Rochholz identified this first group as "die 7 Kinder (*hrd.w* or *ms.w*)," assuming that the next group of gods were Khnums;<sup>60</sup> however, this group of "seven children" is not otherwise attested. Khnum is most often hailed for making the other seven Khnums,<sup>61</sup> and he is specifically called a "fashioner (*nbî*)" in this sense elsewhere:<sup>62</sup>



 $nbi im=k(?) \underline{H}nmw ir \underline{H}nmw 7$ 

You(?)<sup>63</sup> are the Fashioner, Khnum who made the Seven Khnums.

In the present text, this group of gods can be identified simply from the context. Nonetheless, the term may also be read phonetically. The first four children serve as uniliterals  $(\underline{h}, n, m, w)$ , while the last three mark the plural; collectively, the seven hieroglyphs represent the cardinal number. Similar spellings of Khnum (in the singular) occur throughout the temple, enabling readers to recognize this group:

Esna III, 225, 11 (25); 275, 9

Esna III, 355, 3 (29) (m < m3<sup>c</sup>.t)

Esna III, 277, 24 (9) (<u>h</u> < <u>h</u> < <u>h</u> rp)

More often, the child hieroglyph only writes one of the first two consonants, either  $\underline{h}$  (<  $\underline{h}y$ , "child"), or n (< nww, "child").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> M. ROCHHOLZ, Schöpfung, Feindvernichtung, Regeneration: Untersuchung zum Symbolgehalt der machtgeladenen Zahl 7 im alten Ägypten, ÄAT 56, 2002, p. 56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> LGG VI, p. 28; D. KLOTZ, Adoration of the Ram, p. 141-143, with n. B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Esna III, 232, 6 (107); compare similar references to Esna as "the place of fashioning (s.t-nbt)" the creator gods: Esna II, 63, 3; 80, 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Emending the t to the similarly-shaped wig (S 56); S. Sauneron tentatively translated this passage: "le modeleur-d'argile (?), qui fit les Sept Khnoum" (L'écriture figurative, p. 22).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> S. SAUNERON, *L'écriture figurative*, p. 115. For additional examples of <u>h</u>, add also *Esna* III, 277, 20 (2); 318, 11; 377, 4; *Esna* VII, 587, 27; for examples of <u>n</u>, add *Esna* III, 224, 1; 264, 25; 366, 2 (16); 393, 21.

(b) As written, the compound preposition is problematic,  $^{65}$  since one might expect the phrase m-'b, "together with." Although not registered elsewhere with this value, the head could theoretically write  $'b < ^*'p$ , "head" (cf. Demotic: 'p(e).t, Coptic:  $\Lambda\Pi\varepsilon$ ). Alternatively, the horn that usually occurs in this word may have been re-interpreted here as db (Coptic:  $T\Lambda\Pi$ ) instead of 'b,  $^{68}$  and subsequently rendered with the homophonous head sign. Finally, the head alone could also write the numeral "seven," modifying the Djaisu. However, when the head is followed by a single stroke, as it is here, it properly writes the number "eight" (i.e. seven plus one).

In any event, Khnum is not usually credited with fashioning the Djaisu, since that task is performed by Neith-Methyer. Consequently, this group might be the compound preposition *m-tp*, "at the head of; in charge of" (*Wb*. V, 271, 10), implying that Khnum's builders presided over Neith's Djaisu at Esna.

(c) Since all the heads are damaged, the identity of this group can only be inferred from the context. Beside the seven Khnums, the seven Djaisu of Methyer were the other great primeval deities at Esna. Although Neith created all thirty builder gods, local tradition downplayed the significance of the Shebtiu and Ogdoad who were so important at Edfu and elsewhere. Remarkably, the Latopolite cosmogony even mocks the ignorance of the Ogdoad, in contrast to the Djaisu:

'h'.n dd.in ntr.w ipw
Then these gods said (to Neith):

hm=n m nn sdm=n
We knew nothing (hm=n) about this which we have just heard!"

hpr Hmni.w m rn n nn ntr.w
Thus "Ogdoad (Hmni.w)" became the name of these gods.

In short, the Djaisu are the most likely group of seven in the present text, especially since they are often qualified as "great (wr)," unlike the seven Khnums.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> M. Rochholz understood this passage quite oddly: "das Haus-des-Schöpfers für den, der die 7 Kinder schuf, die gemacht wurden *mit dem Kopf von* 7 erwachsenen Chnumen" (*Schöpfung*, *Feindvernichtung*, *Regeneration*, p. 56 [italics mine]).

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Esna III, 345, 14: m-'b dɔis.w nw Mḥ.t-wr.t, "together with the Djaisu of Methyer," where the compound preposition is spelled non-etymologically as: mɔ'-b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> *CDD* ' (03.1), p. 54-55; W. CRUM, *CD*, p. 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> For the possible etymological relationship between 'b and db (both "horn"), see H. SATZINGER, "Egyptian 'ayin in Variation with d," LingAeg 6, 1999, p. 145.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> D. KURTH, *EP* II, p. 688.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> In two earlier copies of the text, H. Brugsch recorded ram heads for these gods (*Thesaurus*, p. 1370m, 1373v), leading M. Rochholz to identify this group as the seven Khnums (*Schöpfung*, *Feindvernichtung*, *Regeneration*, p. 56). However, Brugsch reproduced the heads differently on each page, putting the accuracy of his copies into doubt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Esna III, 206, 3 §7. For the thirty primeval builder gods in general, see D. BUDDE, "Dreißig Götter der Genese des Tempels," in W. Waitkus (ed.), *Diener des Horus. Festschrift für Dieter Kurth zum 65. Geburtstag*, AegHamb1, 2008, p. 17-40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Esna III, 206, 7 §11; S. SAUNERON, Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna, p. 262.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Esna II, 58, 2; 81, 3; 107, 2; Esna VI, 474; 481, 11-12.

For this example, Rochholz also read the baboon as *nfr*, here functioning as a stative: ",,Das-Haus-des-Vaters" ist vollkommen (*nfr*) für den Vater der Schutzgötter." However, such a statement would be without parallel for a temple monography.

#### **21.** Esna III, 262, 22 (16):



R' nb R'.w nb-dr pw it-ntr.w

Re, lord of Res, that means: the All-Lord, father of the gods.

This example is somewhat uncertain, since the baboon could alternatively stand for the initial i in it, "father" (i.e. 2 for 3), as it does earlier in the same hymn to write "Atum" (3); 262, 20 [6]). However, the conventional spelling for "father" (3) is rarely encountered at Esna, 75 the most frequent orthographies being 3 and 3 In his translation of this hymn, Sauneron did not comment on the baboon, and rendered the passage as follows: "soleil seigneur des soleils, le seigneur universel."

#### **22.** Esna II, 106, 3:



 $3h.t=sn\ m-hnw$  'Iwny.t 'Iwn pw(?) rn=f

Their Akhet is within Esna ('Iwny.t), that is why his (Khnum's) name is "Pillar of Wind" ('Iwn).

Throughout Esna, Khnum Lord of the Field, identified with Shu, is often called "Great Pillar of Wind ('*Iwn-wr*)" (*LGG* I, 185), and thus one might propose reading the baboon here as *wr*, "great." Although not registered elsewhere, this value would derive from a common epithet of Thoth, <sup>77</sup> similar to the word '3 (cf. infra, *Appendix*, no. 3).

The same word *iwn* often appears with a final *yod*:

Esna III, 367, 17 Esna IV, 433, 3

Esna II, 162, 5; IV, 432, 11

Esna IV, 415

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> M. ROCHHOLZ, Schöpfung, Feindvernichtung, Regeneration, p. 56

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> The few exceptions include Esna II, 107, 1; Esna III, 260, 8 (3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> S. SAUNERON, Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna, p. 369.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> D. KURTH, *EP* I, p. 143 (human with ibis head).

These examples raise the possibility that the baboon might write *yod* in this example. Nonetheless, this solution is less likely since the sign occurs after the determinative.

While the epithet '*Iwn-wr* may be more common, there are several examples where Khnum is simply called '*Iwn* without a modifier. Notably, this abbreviated form occurs in a text distinctly similar to the passage in question (*Esna* II, 80, 2):



dd.tw'Iwn m rn n Šw

One says "Pillar" ('Iwn) as the name of Shu,

'Iwny.t m rn n sp3[.t] tn

and Esna ('Iwny.t) as the name of this nome.

Both texts explain the traditional name of Esna, relating it to an epithet of Khnum-Shu (cf. sportive writings of the toponym '*Iwny.t* such as:  $\bigcirc$  The adjective wr would needlessly complicate this neat etiology ('*Iwny.t* < '*Iwn*), and thus the baboon could easily represent the copula pw in the present example as well.

**23.** *Esna* VII, 549 (protocol of the Emperor Titus):



[...]  $m3i-nht pr-^{c}pw$  (a) [...] a mighty lion, that means a champion,

nsw-nsw.w

King of Kings,

nsw-bity nb-t3.wy (**b**) King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands.

- (b) Geb, identifiable by his typical crown, here writes tz, "earth," via the principle of direct representation. This value is quite common elsewhere for the toponym Tz-Sn.t, "Esna." In one of the famous cryptographic hymns (Esna II, 103), the ram writes this word specifically while wearing Geb's crown ( $\approx \frac{3}{500}$ ). Perhaps derived from the latter value, even a bare-headed ram could represent tz or tz:

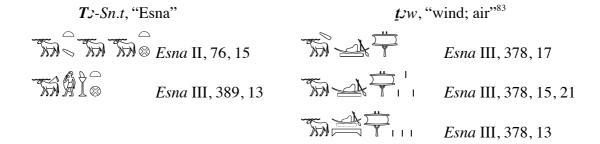
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> LGG I, 185, lists many examples where Khnum is simply associated with "the wind (*iwn*)"; in the following examples, '*Iwn* is treated as a special epithet or name, followed by a divine determinative: *Esna* II, 30, 1; 31, 6; *Esna* III, 239, A; 373, D.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> D. KURTH, *EP* I, p. 360, n. 59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> D. KURTH, "Die Lautwerte der Hieroglyphen in den Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit – zur Systematik ihrer Herleitungsprinzipien," *ASAE* 69, 1983, p. 296, n. 2; add also *Esna* II, 164, A; *Esna* III, 318, 11; 378, 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Chr. Leitz, "Die beiden kryptographischen Inschriften aus Esna mit den Widdern und Krokodilen," *SAK* 29, 2001, p. 255 (5), 258-259 (16), 260 (21), 261: "Herkunft: unbekannt."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> D. KURTH, *EP* I, p. 209, n. 97 (only noting the first example).



This specific crown is associated with Geb already in the New Kingdom,<sup>84</sup> and the same sportive value occurs in the titulary of Sety I at Abydos:85



wsr [pd.wt] m t3.w nb.w

Mighty of [bows] in all lands.

In the latter text, the plural tz.w is not spelled phonetically, as Drioton and Roberson assumed. 86 Rather, as Étienne-Fart already recognized, the text employs three unique logograms for t2: 協意等.87

# **24.** Esna VI, 503, 1-3.

In this scene, the Emperor Decius presents the potter's wheel to Khnum-Re Lord of Esna and to the sacred ram of Esna; the latter stands upon a pedestal and carries a simple uraeus on his head. While the following caption is quite difficult, it helps to remember that this sacred ram was considered the composite of the Bas of Re, Shu, Geb and Osiris, just as at Mendes.<sup>88</sup>



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> For the boat writing w, cf. supra, n. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> J. YOYOTTE, "Les stèles de Ramsès II à Tanis (deuxième partie)", *Kêmi* 11, 1950, p. 59-61, Pl. VII. <sup>85</sup> É. DRIOTON, "Les protocoles ornementaux d'Abydos," *RdE* 2, 1936, p. 12, Fig. 6, 15, n. k (assumed this figure was Osiris, and tentatively suggested reading m < Mryty); M. ÉTIENNE-FART, " « De rebus quae gerentur... » dans deux inscriptions ramessides," BIFAO 94, 1994, p. 137-138 (also assumed the figure was Osiris, but derived t(3) < ity, "the sovereign"); J.A. ROBERSON, The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques. Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky, OBO 262, 2013, p. 112-117, with n. k (refrained from translating this sign, since "no plausible alternatives can be offered").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> For the heron, Drioton assigned the acrophonic value w < wdz (RdE 2, 1936, p. 15, n. k), while Roberson proposed the uniliteral 3 through avian substitution (*The Awakening of Osiris*, p. 116, n. k). Yet this sign writes the word t3 already in other texts of the New Kingdom: J.C. DARNELL, The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity: Cryptographic Compositions in the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX, OBO 198, 2004, p. 26, n. d; D. KLOTZ, "Once Again, Min: Acrophony or Phonetic Change?", GM 233, 2012, p. 25, n. H)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> M. ÉTIENNE-FART, *BIFAO* 94, 1994, p. 138.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> A. EGBERTS, *In Quest of Meaning* I, p. 163-165, n. 8-9 (with references).

As for the ram:  $bz pw n (\mathbf{c}) R' (\mathbf{d})$   $bz (\mathbf{e}) Sw (\mathbf{f})$   $bz n Wsir (\mathbf{h})$   $bz n Wsir (\mathbf{h})$   $bz n W n (\mathbf{h})$ 

(a) This is a standard orthography for the particle ir, at Esna and elsewhere.<sup>89</sup>

(b) Here the word sr, "ram," has reduced to the uniliteral s plus the usual determinative ("is: the small sign in front of the ram appears to represent the expected uraeus, but it might also be the sidewise mouth writing r), as it occurs later in the same offering scene: (503, 15), and possibly elsewhere: (503). The same ram obtains the uniliteral value often at Esna, particularly in Imperial cartouches. In Coptic, the word had reduced to esoou (plural), but one finds similarly reduced spellings much earlier: e.g. (Old Kingdom), (New Kingdom).

(c) = n (< n.t, ``water surface''), a relatively common value at Esna.<sup>94</sup>

(d) Emending with to with "Re," based on similar spellings from Esna:

<b>im</b> ⊠ ©	Esna II, 16, 2 (in the epithet: tm3.t-R', "Mother of Re" = Neith)
	Esna VI, 508, 8; 517, 12
m 📶	Esna IV, 450, 2; VI, 480, 8; 492, 8; 498, 8; 515, 8; 530, 4
$M \supseteq M$	Esna IV, 405, 1

<sup>89</sup> D. KURTH, *EP* I, p. 301, 308, n. 5; II, p. 770.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Esna III, 267, 7; the context for this word is very fragmentary, and the group might instead write *dsr*, "sacred," spelled *t3-sr* (cf. Esna II, 106, 2; 162, 3 and 6).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> D. KURTH, *EP* I, p. 209, n. 93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> This pronunciation enables sportive writings with the homophonous words *sw*, "six" (Coptic: COOΥ; J. OSING, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis* I, *Carlsberg Papyri* 2, *CNIP* 17, 1998, p. 122, n. g) and *sbz*, "star" (Coptic: ClOΥ; A. VON LIEVEN, *Grundriβ des Laufes der Sterne. Das Sogenannte Nutbuch, Carlsberg Papyri* 8 I, *CNIP* 31, 2007, p. 61, n. 279; D. Klotz, "A New Edition of the 'Book of Nut," *BiOr* 68/5-6, 2011, cols. 481-2).

<sup>93</sup> Noted by Wb. IV, 462, 7; cf. also D. KURTH, EP I, p. 465, n. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> D. Kurth, *EP* I, p. 336, n. 315; M.-Th. Derchain-Urtel, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen*, p. 172.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> For confusion between the simple cup and the incense burner, see D. KURTH, EP I, p. 429, n. 32.

(e) Because of parallelism, both words ( and and and m) must write bz, "ram," written as if the word were pronounced fz. Only rarely attested in Demotic, the labial shift b > f is exceptional for a hieroglyphic text, and these spellings reflect the inscription's very late date (reign of Decius, c. 249-251 CE). The only other certain example of such change occurs in a nearby scene from Esna, where one finds  $\delta fy.t$ , "prestige," spelled:

Out of context, such unconventional spellings would be nearly impossible to identify. Accordingly, the ancient scribe sandwiched these variants between two standard writings of the word (), subtly guiding readers toward the correct solution.

- (f) This peculiar spelling of Shu occurs frequently at Kom Ombo and Esna, most likely derived from a similarly shaped Demotic ligature for the biliteral  $\check{s}w$ . <sup>100</sup>
- (g) The five-pointed star writes the number five, and by extension, the fifth god of the Ennead, Geb. 101
- (h) From the context, the god in question must be Osiris, and a similar spelling of his name occurs in a cryptographic litany:  $\frac{1}{100}$  The first two signs occur in the present example, but here the expected final r-is missing. Instead, one should read the present example as w(-) + sr(-) = Ws(i)r. The ram stands for this biliteral value in comparable spellings of Osiris, such as w(i) + sr. When w(i) + sr and possibly w(i) + sr.

 $<sup>^{96}</sup>$  D. KURTH, *EP* I, p. 222, 231, n. 26, registered two examples of the converse phenomenon, where the ram head might write  $f_2$  ( $< b_2$ ), but admitted they are both uncertain.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> D. Kurth, *EP* I, p. 511, n. 4 (but cf. J.Fr. Quack, *WdO* 39/1, 2009, p. 137); R. Jasnow, K.-Th. Zauzich, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Thoth*, 2005, I, p. 89; D. Klotz, *Caesar in the City of Amun*, p. 254, n. 225.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> For interchange between Egyptian labials in general, see generally D. KURTH, *EP* I, p. 495-496, 505-511; D. KLOTZ, "On the Origin of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Masc.Sing. Suffix Pronoun (*sf*). A Comparative Approach," *LingAeg* 19, 2011, p. 248; cf. also O.E. KAPER, "Galba's Cartouches at Ain Birbiyeh," in K. Lembke, M. Minas-Nerpel, St. Pfeiffer (eds), Tradition and transformation: Egypt under Roman Rule, *CHANE* 41, 2010, p. 189 (Latin "v" rendered with Egyptian *b*).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Esna VI, 480, 19 (reign of Caracalla, c. 211-217 CE); discussed by D. KURTH, EP I, p. 507, who already noted comparable derivatives in Coptic (**Q)BE** / **Q)BH**); compare also the Egyptian Arabic honorific: shubbēk, "your Excellency" (A.A. Youssef, From Pharaoh's Lips: ancient Egyptian language in the Arabic of today, 2003, p. 93).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> A. GUTBUB, *Textes fondamentaux de la théologie de Kom Ombo*, *BdE* 47, 1973, I, p. 341-342, n. r; D. KLOTZ, "Remarks on Ptolemaic Epigraphy and Lexicography. §3 – Two Unusual Writings of Shu," *RdE* 64, 2013, p. 30-33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> See recently Sh. BEDIER, "Die Schreibung des Namens des Erdgottes Geb mit dem Sternzeichen und mit der Zahl 5," in W. Waitkus (ed.), *Diener des Horus. Festschrift für Dieter Kurth zum 65. Geburtstag*, *AegHamb* 1, 2008, p. 1-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Esna III, 217, 20 (O 6); cf. Chr. LEITZ, "Les trentes premiers versets de la litanie d'Osiris à Esna (*Esna* 217)," *RdE* 59, 2008, p. 238-239.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Multiliteral signs do occur in the primarily alphabetic litanies from Esna (S. SAUNERON, *L'écriture figurative*, p. 92); while those divine names are usually written as trigrams, certain examples use only two signs (*ibid*, p. 93).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Fr.-R. HERBIN, "Une nouvelle page du Livre des Respirations," *BIFAO* 84, 1984, p. 255, n. 7, Pl. LV (Ms Golenischeff 517, col. 2).

 $<sup>^{105}</sup>$  Esna II, 58, 5; for the horns writing w, see S. SAUNERON, L'écriture figurative, p. 137, 192. H. Sternberg transcribed this name literally as bz-dmd, "the united Ba (Re-Osiris)" (Mythische Motive und Mythenbildung, p. 60, 66, n. aa), but the sportive orthography permits both readings.

Subsequently, the preceding sign ( $\frac{1}{3}$ ) should write the indirect genetive  $nti < n\underline{t}r$ . The following word ( $\frac{1}{3}$ ), meanwhile, would be swh, "breath." If Sauneron's copy is correct, this reading would derive from the following elements:

$$\[ \] = s \ (\langle s.t \rangle, \] = w \ (\langle wi; \text{ with phonetic complement}), \]^{109} \] = h.$$

Elsewhere, Khnum-Shu of Pi-netjer manifests as the breath of life specifically in the form of a "great august ram (sr '3 šps)" (Esna III, 267, 8 and 268, B).

**25.** Esna VI, 525, 2-3 (offering the royal inheritance):



ns.t≈k pw (r) r³- ° nḥḥ

This is your throne for all time;

imi.t-pr≈k pw mn.tw š3'-d.t

this is your inheritance, enduring until eternity.

This example is not entirely certain, since it relies on a minor emendation (nb for k), perfectly reasonable for a text from the reign of Commodus. Moreover, the baboon is open to multiple interpretations. In his study of similar scenes, Jacques Kinnaer translated this text as follows: "c'est ton trône jusqu'à l'éternité et chaque Imit-per établi (smn.tw) jusqu'à l'éternité." Although he did not comment on the baboon hieroglyph, it could alternatively write the uniliteral s in smn, "to establish." Nonetheless, the parallel structure favors reading pw in both phrases.

#### Conclusion

As mentioned in the introduction, previous translators had either ignored the baboon in their editions (3, 10, 14, 21), or transcribed it as nfr(11, 13, 17-18, 20). The latter option might be envisaged for some texts, but it is grammatically impossible for others (e.g. 3, 4, 6, 14-16, 19). The value pw is confirmed from two direct parallels (1-2) and similar syntax (19, 25), and it explains the other twenty-one examples quite well.

This new ideographic value occurs in all areas of the temple (facade, columns, architraves, exterior), from the reign of Ptolemy VI (3-4) until the mid third-century CE (24). In most examples discussed above, the baboon occurs precisely where one would expect the copula pronoun pw. Frequently, it introduces a figurative designation of Esna (1, 5, 7, 9-12, 17-18, 20). The baboon also modifies divine names (3, 6, 8), thereby establishing syncretistic relationships (e.g. Khnum = Shu; Heka = Geb), it explains a certain festival (13: hb Pth pw),

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> S. SAUNERON, *L'écriture figurative*, p. 171, 193. For the specific use of this genitive marker, distinct from the masculine indirect genitive *n*, cf. D. KURTH, *EP* II, p. 801-805, §164

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Noted already by D. KURTH, EP I, p. 359, n. 19.

<sup>108</sup> For the first group, S. Sauneron noted: "Signe mal compris, déformation, peut-être, de "?" (*Esna* VI, p. 86, n. a).

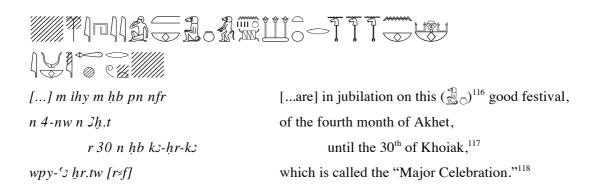
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> D. KURTH, *EP* I, p. 356, No. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> J. KINNAER, "Le Mekes et l'Imit-per dans les scènes des temples ptolémaïques et romains," *OLP* 22, 1991, p. 86

appears in a traditional gloss formula introduced with ir, "as for" (24; cf. Wb. I, 103, 2), and follows after independent pronouns for in a classic nominal pattern (4, 14). 111

In some other, more ambiguous passages, the baboon coordinates related epithets (15-16, 19, 21-23). In these examples, the copula pronoun is technically unnecessary, and would have been added only for emphasis. In those examples, one might propose reading the baboon as the enclitic particle *is*, "moreover; furthermore," either derived from ns < in-sw (as in the personal name: = Ns-Mnw, Esminis), 112 or from the common uniliteral value s. However, unlike with the copula pw, this ideographic value is not confirmed by any direct parallels.

One could envisage multiple derivations for this logographic value. Phonetically, the baboon can write both wp and ip (both epithets of Thoth), and either value could reduce to p(w) via the Consonantal Principle. Historically, the copula pronoun was abbreviated to  $p(\mathbb{Q}, \mathbb{Z})$ , or  $p^{i}$  ( $\mathbb{Q}$ ); cf. Coptic:  $\Pi \mathbf{E}$ ), and the baboon may have represented the uniliteral p at least once, in Esna II, 81, 5-6:



However, in archaizing liturgical and magical texts of the Graeco-Roman period, the copula can also be spelled phonetically as ip(w) (Demotic: ip, Old Coptic;  $E\Pi$ ). Since the baboon normally represents ip, "to reckon" (epithet of Thoth), this simple derivation presents the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> M. GILULA, "An Unusual Nominal Pattern in Middle Egyptian," *JEA* 62, 1976, p. 162.

 $<sup>^{112}</sup>$  H. DE MEULENAERE, *BIFAO* 54, 1954, 76-82; in Demotic the onomastic element *ns* ("he/she belongs to") can be phonetically represented as is: *CDD N* (04:1), p. 119-120.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> D. KURTH, *EP* I, p. 204.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Wb. I, 490, 5-7; A. VON LIEVEN, Grundriβ des Laufes der Sterne, p. 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Wb. I, 502, 1; E. Edel, Altägyptische Grammatik, §§182, 193; R. van der Molen, A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts, ProblÄg 15, 2000, p. 129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> The phrase *hb pn nfr* is common, whence the present translation. Nevertheless, one could just as easily ascribe the normal uniliteral value s to the baboon, thus obtaining: *m hb sn nfr*, "in *their* (sc. Khnum-Shu and Nebtu-Tefnut) good festival."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Each ram-headed standard (*mdw*) represents the numeral ten (*mdw*), as it does in *Esna* III, 339, 1; cf. S. SAUNERON, *Les fêtes religieuses*, p. 29; it might also occur in *Esna* VII, 586, referring to the Thirty creator gods.

gods.

118 For similar references to the "major celebration (wpy '3)" of Khoiak, when divinities from the region came to visit Esna, Khnum of the Field united with Nebtu, and was vindicated in his trial (wp.t) over the enemies of Re; cf. Esna II, 55, 6 (Khoiak 6); 127, 8 ([w]py '3 \hr.tw r=f); Esna III, 194, B; 337, B; 346, 24; 347, 25 (\sigma bd-4 \sigma \hr.tw \hr.tw \left(10, wpy '3 \hr.tw \reft(10, wp) \frac{1}{2} \hr.tw

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> *Wb.* I, 502, 1; D. KURTH, *EP* II, p. 623; J.Fr. QUACK, *WdO* 39/2, 2009, p. 275 (with references to Demotic and Old Coptic examples).

most elegant solution. In short, the baboon writes ip (standard value), which happens to be the contemporaneous pronunciation of the copula pronoun (originally spelled pw).

At the same time, this sign aptly represents the grammatical function of pw, since the baboon was a manifestation of Thoth, not only the god of writing and eloquent speaking, <sup>120</sup> but also the chief interpreter of obscure textual passages and mythological tales, as so vividly recorded in the "Book of Thoth." According to various Egyptian traditions, baboons were naturally gifted with a sacred language. <sup>122</sup> Moreover, certain oracular apes uttered the decisions of Thoth at Tuna el-Gebel, <sup>123</sup> while a pair of divine simians, Chonsu-pz-ir-shr.w and Chonsu-nhn, served as mediums for Chonsu-Neferhotep in Thebes. <sup>124</sup> In the Demotic "Mythus," the particularly loquacious monkey, an avatar of Thoth, hardly stops talking.

Meanwhile, the verb  $\underline{dd}$ , "to say," is also written with the baboon. At Esna, this spelling may occur more frequently than traditional phonetic writings. Etiological derivations of toponyms or divine names are often introduced by the phrase  $\underline{dd}.tw$ , "one says..." ( $\mathbb{C}$ ), and many of the hymns begin with  $\underline{dd}-mdw$ , "words spoken" (e.g.  $\mathbb{C}$ ). As with the copula pronoun, this value may originally have had a phonetic origin, 125 but it still alludes to the baboon's propensity for dialog and could thus function as an ideogram, essentially a direct representation of "the talker." As De Meulenaere noted years ago, examples of the baboon for  $\underline{dd}$  are commonplace, but the ibis, a creature not typically known for its loquacity, writes the same word extremely rarely. 126

In the texts from Esna translated above, explanatory glosses, signaled by the speaking baboon, interrupt the main text to introduce background knowledge, alternate mythological traditions, and even deeper levels of interpretation. It is almost as if Thoth himself had been sitting beside the Latopolite scribes in the form of a baboon (recalling the beloved genre of New Kingdom private statues), <sup>127</sup> speaking up periodically to contribute his own exegesis. How often modern readers of the Esna texts might wish for such divine assistance!

ENIM 7, 2014, p. 33-60

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Cf. Y. VOLOKHINE, "Le dieu Thot au Qasr el-Agoûz. *Dd-hr-p3-hb*, *Dhwty-stm*," *BIFAO* 102, 2002, p. 414: "Que Thot soit écrivain est un chose avérée; or, il est également connu comme un dieu parlant."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> See recently R. JASNOW, ""Caught in the Web of Words"–Remarks on the Imagery of Writing and Hieroglyphs in the Book of Thoth," *JARCE* 47, 2011, p. 297-317.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> H. TE VELDE, "Some Remarks on the Mysterious Language of the Baboons," in J.K. Kamstra, H. Milde, K. Wagtendonk (eds), *Funerary Symbols and Religion (Fs. Heerma van Voss)*, 1988, p. 129-137.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Y. VOLOKHINE, *BIFAO* 102, 2002, p. 415-416.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> D. KLOTZ, Caesar in the City of Amun, p. 95-96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> The origin of this common value for the baboon sign was a lively subject of debate between H.W. Fairman and É. Drioton, the latter defended by very prominent scholars. Yet while the baboon certainly derives this value from the name Thoth (cf. S. SAUNERON, J. YOYOTTE, "Le cynocéphale comme graphie du nom de Thot," RdE 7, 1950, p. 9-13), this process did not involve acrophony (i.e. d(d) < Dhwty). Rather, this convention ultimately relies on older abbreviations of Thoth in which his name appears to be simply t, "bread" (Wb. V, 211, 3; D. KURTH, EP I, p. 219, n. 340; J. PARLEBAS, "Sur l'origine de la valeur Dhwty de θ et le groupe C dans les noms de personnes," CM 15, 1975, p. 39-43), and thus CM 15 or CM 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> H. DE MEULENAERE, *BIFAO* 54, 1954, p. 74, with n. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Cf. E. DELANGE, Le scribe Nebmeroutef, 1996.

# **Appendix: Additional Simian Values**

Traditionally, this group writes nsw < in-si, "he who brings it," a reference to Thoth bringing back the Wandering Eye of the Sun. For the same reason, it can also write the divine name Onuris, literally 'Ini-hr.t, "he who brings back the distant (eye)." The sign occurs at least two times at Esna, and previous translators have suggested reading both examples as 'Ini-hr.t or 'Ini-ir.t. 128 Nonetheless, consideration of other parallels suggests another previously unrecognized value:

All three texts refer to Thoth-Lunus as "the blazing bull" (kz-psi) who restores the missing parts to the wedjat-eye, a metaphor for the waxing moon (LGG VII, 256). Based on the first passage, the composite-baboon signs in the latter two texts should write the epithet ip-wdz.t, "he who restores the wedjat-eye." Just as with the compound ip-ib (cf. infra, no. 2), the baboon writes ip (an epithet of Thoth) and the eye stands for wdz.t. The context is entirely lunar, and thus one need not assume confusion with the Myth of the Wandering Goddess here. 129

$$(2) = dd$$

This group, a baboon holding a heart, occasionally serves as a monogram for the epithet ip-ib, "knowledgeable; conscientious." At Esna, meanwhile, the sign is simply an elaborate spelling of dd, "to say," for which one would expect the simple baboon.

The first example comes from the Festival Calendar, where the correct reading is confirmed by a close parallel:

Esna II, 77, 16:

Esna III, 206, 15 (§21):

$$dd.(\hat{i})n R' n ntr.w$$

Then Re said to the gods

 $nty r-hn' = f$ 

(who were with him):

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> A. VON LIEVEN, *Der Himmel über Esna*, p. 72-73, 76; D. MEEKS, *Les architraves du temple d'Esna* p. 61, §162.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Contra A. von Lieven, Der Himmel über Esna, p. 76 (discussing 414, 1)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Not registered in *ValPhon* I, p. 244-250, or D. KURTH, *EP* I, p. 204-205; but see already H. DE MEULENAERE, *BIFAO* 54, 1954, p. 75; D. KLOTZ, "The Peculiar Naophorous Statuette of a Heliopolitan Priest: Hannover, Museum August Kestner 1935.200.510," *ZÄS* 139, 2013, p. 138, col. 1, 139, n. d.

 $s\check{s}p(r)-h3.t\ N.t$ 

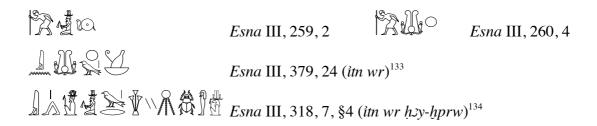
"Make a light in front of Neith!" <sup>131</sup>

A second example comes from the opening of a difficult hymn to Khnum:

Esna III, 387, 1:



Sauneron correctly deciphered the difficult final group ( ) as the epithet h'im itm, "he who appears as the sundisk," but he did not remark on the baboon sign, and appears to have skipped over it in his translation. <sup>132</sup> To support his interpretation of the final epithet, one may compare other spellings of *itn* featuring Tatenen, his crown, and the walking legs:



Furthermore, the use of the crocodile to write  $h^{\epsilon}i$ , not uncommon at Esna and elsewhere. may occur in another obscure passage (Esna IV, 424, 1):

wpš t3.wy

He who brightens the two lands,

h'î m îtn psd m ḥr.t

who appears as the sun-disk, 136 and shines in heaven.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> For the final phrase, see S. SAUNERON, Les fêtes religieuses, p. 270, n. c; cf. also the Theban form of Osirisp3-wyn-(r)-h3.t2f (lit. "he before whom is light"): L. COULON, "Les sièges de prêtre d'époque tardive. À propos de trois documents thébains," RdE 57, 2006, p. 14, with n. 23-24. The second text (Esna III, 206, 15), specifies later that the gods carry torches in front of Neith during this procession.

<sup>132</sup> S. SAUNERON, Les fêtes religieuses, p. 219, 221 n. (b): "Noun l'ancien, père des dieux, celui qui apparaît sous la forme du disque solaire."

The double crown writes wr < wrr.t (D. KURTH, EP I, p. 375), here serving as a superfluous phonetic complement.

<sup>134</sup> S. Sauneron tentatively read these epithets as: "... Geb (?), Tanen l'Ancien, Khnoum radieux de forme" (Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna, p. 87, 90, n. a). However, as discussed above (Ex. 23, n. b), Geb simply writes the uniliteral value t.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> E.g. *Esna* III, 204, A; 264, 26.

The second crocodile writes it < 3d, "to rage," a phonetic value already attested in the Middle Kingdom (Wb. I, 143, 4; D. Kurth, EP I, p. 276). A. von Lieven rendered this passage differently (h'i m hnt(?), "der an der Spitz erscheint"; Der Himmel über Esna, p. 96-97), but this interpretation does not account for the final n. For more examples of this epithet at Esna, cf. LGG V, 642-643.

But back to the main text, and how to interpret the baboon. The editors of the *Lexikon* registered this example as uncertain and tentatively suggested the epithet ip-ib (*LGG* VII, 693c), which would hardly fit the present context. As Joachim Quack noted, the disembodied bird's head on the second line writes (r)-dd, introducing an explanatory gloss, similar to Coptic  $\times e$ . <sup>137</sup> Just as in the previous example (*Esna* II, 77, 16), the composite baboon holding the heart should also write dd here, resulting in the following translation:

ind-ḥr≥k Ḥnmw-R' nb T3-Sn.t Greetings, Khnum-Re Lord of Esna!

(r)-dd Ptḥ-t3-ṭnn Nwn-wr it-nṭr.w i.e. Ptah-Tatenen, Great Nun, Father of the Gods,

(r)-dd ḥ'ì m itn (...) i.e. he who appears as the sun-disk (...).

Each iteration of (r)- $\underline{d}d$  thus introduces a different aspect of Khnum-Re: first the demiurgic (Ptah-Tatenen), then the solar.

Although not registered in previous lists, this logographic value is hardly surprising, since it is a frequent epithet of Thoth, and he can often write this adjective.<sup>138</sup>

Esna III, 394, 25:

wr-wr.w '3-'3.w Greatest of the great, best of the best,

wr.w(y) sw r ntr.w nb how much greater is he than all the gods.

Sauneron tentatively translated the first phrase: "le grand des grands, le considérable des considérables (?)," but did not discuss this unique use of the baboon sign. 139

(4) 
$$= mnh,$$
 "excellent; beneficent"

Just as with the preceding example, *mnh* is a standard epithet of Thoth, and is regularly spelled with the simple ibis. Unrecorded with this value elsewhere, even at Esna, the baboon writes this word on a Late Period statue from Thebes (Hannover, ex-Museum August Kestner, S. 0366), <sup>140</sup> as confirmed by a nearly identical parallel (Cairo, JE 37199): <sup>141</sup>

<sup>140</sup> Chr.E. LOEBEN, *Die Ägypten-Sammlung des Museum August Kestner und ihre (Kriegs-)Verluste*, *MusKest* 15, 2011, p. 218, 266; fully published by D. KLOTZ, "A Theban Devotee of Seth from the Late Period – Now Missing: Ex-Hannover, Museum August Kestner Inv. S. 0366," *SAK* 42, 2013 (in press).

http://recherche.univ-montp3.fr/egyptologie/enim/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> J.Fr. QUACK, "Philologische Miszellen 3," LingAeg 5, 1997, p. 239.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> D. KURTH, EP I, p. 143 (human with ibis head), 252 (ibis on a standard)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> S. SAUNERON, Les fêtes religieuses, p. 206.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> K. Jansen-Winkeln, Biographische und religiöse Inschriften der Spätzeit aus dem Ägyptischen Museum Kairo I, ÄAT 45, 2001, p. 190; II, p. 412 (31a, line 3), Pl. 67.

# Hannover:

Cairo:

ntr pfy '3 (var. '3 mnh) O this great god (var. "O great and excellent god"),

nb 'Ip.t-s.wt lord of Karnak,

nd mnh n sš.w excellent guardian of those who pass by.

#### Résumé:

Au temple d'Esna, l'hiéroglyphe du babouin assis possède plusieurs valeurs phonétiques et idéographiques. En plus des valeurs déjà connues, ce signe peut aussi signifier le pronom *pw*, qui devait, à cette époque, être prononcé *ip*. Bien que cet emploi ne se rencontre pas hors du temple d'Esna, il est néanmoins attesté dans une vingtaine d'exemples renvoyant à l'ensemble de la période se rapportant à ces inscriptions. Tous les textes pertinents sont traduits ici avec un commentaire détaillé. Dans un appendice, quatre nouvelles valeurs logographiques pour l'hiéroglyphe du babouin assis sont analysées.

#### **Abstract:**

At the temple of Esna, the seated baboon sign obtains several phonetic and ideographic values. In addition to previously recognized usages, this hieroglyph also represents the copula pronoun pw, which at the time should have been pronounced ip. Although apparently limited to Esna, this value occurs in over twenty examples, spanning the full diachronic range of the inscriptions. All examples are translated with detailed commentary. In an appendix, four additional, previously unrecorded values of the seated baboon sign are discussed.

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