

The Saite Oracle Papyrus reconsidered

The oracle text and the localization of the cult of Montu-Re-Harakhty

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JUST OVER sixty years ago, R. Parker first published and translated the extraordinary Saite Oracle Papyrus (hereafter: SOP) (P. Brooklyn 47.218.3) dated to the reign of Psamtik I (651 BC).¹ Since this seminal work, the document has long been used as a primary source for socio-cultural studies that contributed to the establishment of contemporary genealogical reconstructions.² In this regard, one could refer in particular to the study of H. de Meulenaere, published thirty-five years after Parker's *editio princeps*, in which he provided further prosopographical details about several witnesses enumerated in the text.³ Since then, the papyrus has been mentioned either in relation to the social history of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties or in the context of Egyptian oracles.⁴ However, the actual event it records has so far been overlooked by scholars.

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¹ TM no. 56305: R.A. PARKER, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum (Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.3)*, Providence, 1962; R.S. BIANCHI, "Vignette from an Oracle Papyrus", in R.A. Fazzini *et al.* (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum*, New York, 1989, no. 72. See also: K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften der Spätzeit IV. Die 26. Dynastie I. Psametik I. – Psametik III*, Wiesbaden, 2014, p. 218-231 (53.363) (hereafter: JWIS IV).

² M.L. BIERBRIER, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1300–664 B.C.). A Genealogical and Chronological Investigation*, Liverpool, 1975; G. VITTMANN, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit. Genealogische und prosopographische Untersuchungen zum thebanischen Priester- und Beamtentum der 25. und 26. Dynastie, Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien 3. Beiträge zur Ägyptologie 1*, Vienna, 1978; K.A. KITCHEN, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 BC)*, Warminster, 1996; F. PAYRAUDEAU, *Administration, société et pouvoir à Thèbes sous la XXII^e dynastie bubastite, I-II, BdE 160*, Le Caire, 2014.

³ H. DE MEULENAERE, "Le papyrus oraculaire de Brooklyn, trente ans après", in J. van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman Te Velde, Egyptological Memoirs 1*, Groningen, 1997, p. 243-249.

⁴ See *inter alia*: A. VON LIEVEN, "Das Orakelwesen im Alten Ägypten", *Mythos* [en ligne] 10, 2016, p. 24; L. COULON, "Le clergé à l'époque pharaonique: organisation, recrutement et statut", in L. Coulon, P.-L. Gatier (eds.), *Le clergé dans les sociétés antiques: Statut et recrutement*, Paris, 2018, p. 48-49; K. JANSEN-WINKELN, "Der Titel *zm3(tj) W3st(j)* und die Propheten des Month in Theben", *SAK* 47, 2018, p. 131; F. PAYRAUDEAU, "Les oracles", in F. Gombert-Meurice, F. Payraudeau (eds.), *Servir les dieux d'Égypte: Divines adoratrices, chanteuses et prêtres d'Amon à Thèbes*, Paris, p. 185; K. RYHOLT, "Libraries from Late Period and Graeco-Roman Egypt, c. 800 BCE – 250 CE", in K. Ryholt, G. Barjamovic (eds.), *Libraries Before Alexandria*, Oxford, p. 406-410; O. PERDU, "Sur les traces d'un Thébain de la fin de la XXV^e dynastie responsable de la chancellerie royale", in S.-W. Hsu *et al.* (eds.), *Ein Kundiger der in die Gottesworte eingedrungen ist: Festschrift für den Ägyptologen Karl Jansen-Winkel zum 65. Geburtstag, ÄAT 99*, Münster, 2020, p. 220 and 223-225; *id.*, "L'oracle d'Amon à Thèbes à la lumière de son personnel", *BSFE* 204, 2021, p. 78 and 88; C. M. SHEIKHOESLAMI, "Montu Priestly Families and the Cults of Amun and Osiris in Twenty-fifth Dynasty at Thebes", *BSFE* 204, 2021, p. 97. Most

This paper focuses on the circumstances of the oracular consultation of Pamiu with respect to his father's transfer of service from the cult of Amun to that of Montu by revisiting the main oracle text of the papyrus. The significance of Montu and the geographical scope of the toponym *'Iwnw-šm'* – appearing in many witness-copies – will be also treated by investigating additional private sources, dated to the Twenty-second – Twenty-sixth Dynasties, belonging to the personnel of the local form of the god at Armant.

The SOP and the circumstances of the oracle of Amun

The so-called “Brooklyn Library” contains several documents dated to the seventh-sixth century BC, i.e., the Saite Period.⁵ Some of these papyri are manuals dealing with elements of different cult topographical units or snakes and snake-bites while others focus on royal protection or the confirmation of royal power. The SOP, a private documentary text, is the earliest document in the library, dated to year 14 of Psamtik I [fig. 1]. Its exact provenance is unknown; however, the content of the papyrus points to a Theban origin.⁶ Two extraordinary features can be observed regarding the document: first, it begins with a beautifully executed polychrome illustration representing the processional bark of Amun carried by *w' b*-priests on the left towards four high-ranking Theban dignitaries (Montuemhat, Nesptah, Horemakhet and Padiamunnebnestaw) in front of the divine bark on the right.⁷ Second, the papyrus has preserved the signature of fifty of the most influential officials of Thebes, among whom some were already in position during the Kushite Period. This unusually lengthy witness list⁸ testifies that the event described in the papyrus, which took place in Karnak at the dawn of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, was considered to be quite remarkable.

The fragmentary vignette of the papyrus is followed by the main oracle text detailing its *raison d'être*, i.e., the oracle delivered during the festival procession of “Amonrasonther the very ancient god of the beginning of creation” (*'Imn-R' nsw ntr.w ntr' 3 wr n š3' n hpr*).⁹ After the veiled statue of the god left its sanctuary in a portable bark in order to perambulate the sacred precinct, the divine bark stopped in the “Hall of Review” (*wsh.t-šnw*), which could be equated

recently Anke Blöbaum held a lecture with the title “The Saitic Oracle Papyrus revisited: The witnesses list as source for a deeper understanding of the internal relations of the Theban clergy” at the international colloquium *Clergés et cultes thébaines des Libyens aux Saïtes* in 2019.

⁵ K. RYHOLT, in *Libraries Before Alexandria*, Oxford, 2019, p. 406-410.

⁶ Based on the SOP, K. Ryholt supposed that all papyri of the “Brooklyn Library” came from Western Thebes: K. RYHOLT, in *Libraries Before Alexandria*, Oxford, 2019, p. 407. D. MEEKS, however, presumed a Heliopolitan origin for the mythological manual of the Delta (P. Brooklyn 47.218.84): D. MEEKS, *Mythes et légendes du Delta d'après le papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.84*, MIFAO 125, Le Caire, 2006, p. 1. Most recently an Elephantine origin has been proposed for the manual: A. VON LIEVEN, “Theology”, in I. Shaw, E. Bloxam (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Egyptology*, Oxford, 2020, p. 845 (n. 3).

⁷ Cf. an approximately contemporary document with traces of a colorful vignette discovered in Qasr Ibrim, Nubia: P. WILSON *et al.*, “Fieldwork, 2003-04: Sais, Memphis, Tell el-Amarna, Tell el-Amarna Glass Project, Qasr Ibrim”, *JEA* 90, 2004, p. 33-34 (fig. 4).

⁸ For witness-copy-contracts, see: M. DEPAUW, “Demotic Witness-Copy-Contracts”, *RdE* 50, 1999, p. 67-105.

⁹ R.A. PARKER, *op. cit.*, p. 7-11 and pl. 2. For this specific form of the god, see: J.-M. KRUCHTEN, “La terminologie de la consultation de l'oracle de l'Amon thébain à la Troisième Période Intermédiaire”, in J.-G. Heintz (ed.), *Oracles et prophéties dans l'antiquité: Actes du colloque de Strasbourg, 15-17 juin 1995*, Paris, 1997, p. 55-64. For Egyptian oracles, see most recently: J. WINAND, “Les décrets oraculaires pris en l'honneur d'Henouttaouy et de Maâtkarê (X^e et VII^e pylônes)”, *Cahiers de Karnak* 11, 2003, p. 603-710; A. VON LIEVEN, *Mythos* [en ligne] 10, 2016, p. 17-30; F. PAYRAUDEAU, in *Servir les dieux d'Égypte*, Paris, 2018, p. 184-187; J.P. ELIAS, T. MEKIS, “Prophet-registrars of Min-Hor-Isis at Akhmim”, *MDAIK* 76/77, 2020/2021, p. 83-111, esp. 102-106.

with the Bubastite Court constructed by Sheshonq I in front of the second pylon.¹⁰ This court might have been the place where Pamiu – bearing no titles – advanced, addressing Amun in a petition regarding his father’s priestly service. The relevant passage of the text (Column A, lines 3-6)¹¹ is presented below.



Fig. 1. The Saite Oracle Papyrus, main oracle text (© Brooklyn Museum).



¹⁰ E.A. SULLIVAN, “Karnak: Development of the Temple of Amun-Ra”, in W. Wendrich (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles, 2010, p. 17-18; F. PAYRAUDEAU, in *Servir les dieux d’Égypte*, Paris, 2018, p. 185.

¹¹ R. A. PARKER, *op. cit.*, pl. 2.

<p>(3) (...) ḥ' smi¹² in P3-miḥw z3 Ḥr-z3-'Is.t (4) z3 Pf-t3w m dd m-b3ḥ p3 ntr '3 my n=i 'Imn-R' nsw ntr.w p3 ntr '3 n dr-' p3 ntr '3 wr š3' (5) ḥpr nh rn=k '3 wr šps mn rn=k r nhḥ sp-sn p3y=i it w'b n p3y=k pr pf wšd (6) Ḥr-z3-'Is.t z3 Pf-t3w p3y=i it Mntw-R'-Ḥr-3ḥ.ty</p> <p>st3 r=f ii n ḥrw=f in p3 ntr '3</p>	<p>(3) (...) Then Pamiu, son of Harsiese, (4) son of Peftjau, addresses a petition, saying before the great god: “Come to me Amonrasothen, the great god of the beginning, the very ancient god who began (5) creation; may your very ancient and august name live, may your name endure forever and ever. That is my father, a w'b-priest of your temple. (6) Harsiese, son of Peftjau, my father, (intends to) serve Montu-Re-Harakhty.”</p> <p>Towing towards him, the great god is coming at his voice.</p>
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The petition of Pamiu comprises two statements: (1) “That is my father, a w'b-priest of your temple” and (2) “Harsiese, son of Peftjau, my father, (intends to) serve Montu-Re-Harakhty”.¹³ In the first statement, the petitioner reveals his father's position as a w'b-priest belonging to the temple of Amun. The second statement is concerned with the actual request of Pamiu, namely that his father would like to transfer to the cult of Montu-Re-Harakhty. Curiously, the verb *wšd*¹⁴ is not applied here in connection with greeting or divine approval as one would expect in an oracular procedure.¹⁵ Montu-Re-Harakhty is not the subject but the object of the sentence and therefore the meaning “approve” seems to be irrelevant in the present context. The subject of the verb is Harsiese, who is not actually present during the entire consultation and thus he cannot “greet” the god. A secondary meaning of *wšd* is, however, “adore, worship”, leading Parker to interpret it as “to serve”¹⁶ – an act presented not by but to the god – which fits best in this context. A similar construction with *wšd* + a divine name as its object appears much later in the Embalming Ritual (P. Boulaq 3) in the sense of greeting.¹⁷ As *wšd* expresses the approval of the god at the end of the consultation in most oracular texts, the verb used by Pamiu even foretold the positive outcome of the petition (“Towing towards him, the great god is coming at his voice”).

¹² For *smi* in the sense of “address a petition or request”, see: P. VERNUS, “Un texte oraculaire de Ramsès VI”, *BIFAO* 75, 1975, p. 109, n. (n).

¹³ R.A. PARKER, *op. cit.*, p. 9 translated the second statement, which lacks any interrogative pronouns, as “Should Harsiese son of Peftjau, my father, serve Montu-Re'-Harakhti?”. However, questions are often presented in the form of statements during public consultations: F. PAYRAUDEAU, in *Servir les dieux d'Égypte*, Paris, 2018, p. 185.

¹⁴ *Wb* I, 375, 7-15; J. ČERNÝ, “Egyptian Oracles”, in R.A. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum (Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.3)*, Providence, 1962, p. 45; K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Text und Sprache in der 3. Zwischenzeit. Vorarbeiten zu einer spätmittelägyptischen Grammatik*, ÄAT 26, Wiesbaden, 1994, p. 54-59.

¹⁵ J. WINAND, *Cahiers de Karnak* 11, 2003, p. 622 and 692 (Index).

¹⁶ R.A. PARKER, *op. cit.*, p. 9-10.

¹⁷ S. TÖPFER, *Das Balsamierungsritual: Eine (Neu-)Edition der Textkomposition Balsamierungsritual (pBoulaq 3, pLouvre 5158, pDurham 1983.11 + St. Petersburg 18128)*, SSR 13, Wiesbaden, 2015, pls. 9 (col. x+4,4) and 21 (col. x+10,2).

The SOP does not provide sufficient information about Pamiu and his father Harsiese. However, some of the inscriptions in the later tomb TT 243 enable us to identify these persons and their social status in Thebes.¹⁸ The owner of the tomb – located on the Asasif – was a certain Pamiu whose pedigree corresponds to that of the petitioner in the SOP. The texts of the tomb reveal that he was a great governor of Memphis, a governor of Thebes and a royal scribe (*ḥ3ty-^c wr Mn-nfr ḥ3ty-^c n nīw.t sš nsw*), indicating his high social status. Furthermore, he held the enigmatic title *ḥnk(-nwn) m 'Iwnw-šm^c*, it being controversial whether the geographical scope of the toponym refers to Armant or Thebes/Karnak.¹⁹ Whereas Harsiese, father of Pamiu, only held the title “w^c b-priest” on the papyrus, he bore several others in the later tomb of his son Pamiu, TT 243: “prophet of Montu, lord of Thebes within *'Iwnw-šm^c*, *imy-īs* of [Shu] and Tefnut in Thinis, *ḥsk*-priest of Osiris in Abydos” (*ḥm-ntr Mntw nb W3s.t ḥry-ib 'Iwnw-šm^c imy-īs n [Šw] Tfn.t m Tny ḥsk n Wsir m 3bdw*). The cult of Montu of *'Iwnw-šm^c* is also attested in the titulary of Harsiese’s father (Pefitjau) and grandfather (Djedmontuiufankh). Accordingly, it can be deduced that the title *ḥm-ntr Mntw nb W3s.t ḥry-ib 'Iwnw-šm^c* was a hereditary priestly office among the male members of the family probably held by Pamiu as well.

Regarding Harsiese and his new position, Parker made two suggestions that are worth reconsidering:

1. “Harsiese was being considered for an advance in rank from *w^c b* of Amon to *it-ntr*, God’s Father, of Montu, and that the god was asked to signify his approval of this change, the more significant because he would be losing one of his own clergy if he did agree.”²⁰
2. “That *'Iwnw Šm^c w* was a name of the Re^c chapel in the temple of Karnak in the time of Thutmose III and then by extension a name for the entire temple and for all of Thebes has been conclusively demonstrated (...) In Montu, Lord of Thebes, Residing in Southern Heliopolis, (or the variant titles), then, we have a divinity whose seat is in the Karnak Re^c chapel itself, as a colleague of Amon-Re^c (-Harakhti)”.²¹

First, Parker emphasized that Harsiese was promoted to the rank of an initiated divine father (*it-ntr*).²² However, based on the above-mentioned inscriptions from TT 243, we know that he served the cult of Montu as a prophet (*ḥm-ntr*) and, therefore, belonged to the uppermost stratum of the god’s cultic personnel. Whether the request of Pamiu on behalf of his father was about a transfer from the cult of Amun or an extension of priestly duties to the cult of Montu as

¹⁸ PM I/1, p. 332; G. VITTMANN, *Priester und Beamte*, Vienna, 1978, p. 187-189; *id.*, “Zum Eigentümer des thebanischen Grabes 243”, *GM* 31, 1979, p. 77.

¹⁹ K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Biographische und religiöse Inschriften der Spätzeit aus dem Ägyptischen Museum Kairo I-II*, *ÄAT* 45, Wiesbaden, 2001, I, p. 30-32, n. (4); L. GOLDBRUNNER, *Buchis: Eine Untersuchung zur Theologie des heiligen Stieres in Theben zur griechisch-römischen Zeit*, *MRE* 11, Turnhout, 2004, p. 253-254; R. BIRK, *Türöffner des Himmels: Prosopographische Studien zur thebanischen Hohepriesterschaft der Ptolemäerzeit*, *ÄA* 76, Wiesbaden, 2020, p. 214-216 and 224-227; A. WÜTHRICH, C. DIETRICH, “The Copenhagen Wooden Stela AAD6 from the National Museum of Denmark: An Unusual Testimony of the 22nd Dynasty”, *ÄgLev* 31, 2021, p. 527-529.

²⁰ R.A. PARKER, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10-11. H. Brunner also accepted this proposal in his review of Parker’s monography: H. BRUNNER, “Review of Richard A. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum [Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.3]*, Providence, 1962”, *AOF* 21, 1966, p. 113.

²² For priestly hierarchy and initiation, see: J. GEE, “Prophets, Initiation and the Egyptian Temple”, *JSSEA* 31, 2004, p. 97-107.

well remains an open question. However, Harsiese's titulary in the tomb of his son apparently does not include any title in connection with the temple of Amun.²³

Second, based on the observations of H. Kees and M. Doresse,²⁴ Parker located the cult of Montu *nb W3s.t hry-ib 'Iwnw-šm* (and its variants appearing in the witness-copies) in the Re chapel of Karnak, i.e., the solar shrine on the roof of the Akhmenu. Although titles relating to the roof-temple of Re appear among the offices of Montu priests (especially in the Besenmut family),²⁵ there is no evidence for a cult of Montu in this area of the temple complex. Consequently, the toponym *'Iwnw-šm* and its connection with Montu refers to another location in the Theban landscape.

The toponym *'Iwnw-šm* and Montu as its lord

Parker's inconclusive presumption – linking “Montu, Lord of Thebes, Residing in Southern Heliopolis” with the roof-chapel of the Akhmenu – can be challenged both in the light of the divine name and the accompanying toponym recorded on the papyrus.

Naming the god whom his father intends to serve in the petition, Pamiu applies the designation “Montu-Re-Harakhty” without indicating the toponym or temple to which this specific divine form belongs. The same designation occurs twenty-five times in the witness-copies, with only a few cases presenting the variants *Mntw nb 'Iwnw*²⁶ or *Mntw nb 'Iwnw-šm*²⁷ instead. At the time of the SOP, the most important cult place of Montu in the Karnak complex was North Karnak;²⁸ however, the local manifestation never appeared as Montu-Re-Harakhty in either contemporary or later sources. Instead, monumental and private inscriptions referred to Montu residing in the northern precinct as *Mntw(-R) nb W3s.t*.²⁹ Later in the Graeco-Roman Period, Montu-Re-Harakhty is represented in the Theban documentation beside the primordial creator Montu-Re and as the child and successor of the Ogdoad at Armant.³⁰ Accordingly, the variant “Montu-Re-Harakhty” – applied in the main oracle text as well as in most witness-copies – alone could be a clear indicator that Harsiese's new workplace should not be sought in Karnak.

²³ JWIS IV, p. 189-190 (53.327).

²⁴ H. KEES, “Ein Sonnenheiligtum im Amonstempel von Karnak”, *Orientalia* 18, 1949, p. 440-441; M. DORESSE, “Les temples atoniens de la région thébaine”, *Orientalia* 24, 1955, p. 123-125.

²⁵ H. KEES, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit*, Leiden, Köln, 1953, p. 306; L. BOHNENKÄMPER, “Diener von Month und Amun: Zur Tradierung von Priestertiteln in der Bs-n-Mw.t-Familie”, in L.D. Morenz, A. El Hawary (eds.), *Weitergabe: Festschrift für die Ägyptologin Ursula Rößler-Köhler zum 64. Geburtstag*, *Göttinger Orientforschungen* 53, Wiesbaden, 2015, p. 120.

²⁶ R.A. PARKER, *op. cit.*, pls. 5, ll. 8 and 13; 9, l. 15; 13, ll. 3, 7 and 10; 15, l. 3.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pls. 13, l. 14; 14, ll. 4 and 15; 16, l. 3.

²⁸ V. RONDOT, L. GABOLDE, “Karnak, Precinct of Montu” in K.A. Bard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, London, New York, 2005, p. 476.

²⁹ See e.g. the posthumous statue of Nakhtefmut A (North Karnak T 35 = Cairo JE 91720) found at North Karnak on which the owner addresses prayers to *Mntw-R' nb W3s.t*: K. JANSEN-WINKELN, “Drei Gebete aus der 22. Dynastie”, in J. Osing, G. Dreyer (eds.), *Form und Mass: Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des alten Ägypten: Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht zum 65. Geburtstag am 6. Februar 1987*, *ÄAT* 12, Wiesbaden, 1987, p. 238-253. See also the double dedicatory text on the Bab el-Abd to Amun-Re of Karnak and Montu-Re of Thebes: S.H. AUFRÈRE, *Le propylône d'Amon-Rê-Montou à Karnak-Nord*, *MIFAO* 117, Le Caire, 2000, p. 90 (fig. 9) and 96 (fig. 11).

³⁰ D. KLOTZ, *Caesar in the City of Amun: Egyptian Temple Construction and Theology in Roman Thebes*, *MRE* 15, Turnhout, 2012, p. 152-154; C. ZIVIE-COCHE, “L'Ogdoad d'Hermopolis à Thèbes et ailleurs ou l'invention d'un mythe”, *EVO* 39, 2016, p. 77; C. THIERS, “Stratégies pour une divinisation: la stèle insolite de Pachermontoupanakht”, *BIFAO* 122, 2022, p. 533.

When the divine name is accompanied by an epithet in the oracle text and its copies, it is either 'Iwnw or 'Iwnw-šm' (see *supra*). 'Iwny / 'Iwnw is considered to be the oldest designation of Armant, documented as early as the Old Kingdom,³¹ and it remained in use until the Graeco-Roman Period.³² The precise geographical scope of 'Iwnw-šm' in the era between the New Kingdom and the Ptolemaic Period has been widely debated, however.³³ Before discussing the toponym in connection with the SOP and Montu, let me premise that its simultaneous use with the older variant 'Iwnw in the document strongly suggests – contrary to Parker – that the intention of Harsiese was, in fact, to be a priest in the temple of Armant. The divine name “Montu-Re-Harakhty” also confirms this scenario.

The term 'Iwnw-šm' is first documented under Ahmose and later Thutmose I.³⁴ On the Mut Temple statue of Senenmut (Cairo CG 579), the toponym appears beside 'Ip.t-s.wt in the titulary of the owner: “overseer of all royal works in Karnak (and) in 'Iwnw-šm'” (*hrp k3.t nb.t n.t nsw m 'Ip.t-s.wt m 'Iwnw-šm*).³⁵ The inscriptions of the very same statue also display the title *imy-r hm.w-ntr n Mntw m 'Iwny / 'Iwnw*, clearly applying the older designation for Armant. In the titles of New Kingdom Montu priests, Armant was mainly referred to by the variants 'Iwny or 'Iwnw³⁶ while administrative documents present the term 'Iwnw-Mntw.³⁷ In the case of Senenmut, 'Iwnw-šm' might have designated Thebes in general rather than the southern cult place of the god. Additionally, the toponym seems to allude to the Theban nome in contemporary royal inscriptions as the southern replica of Heliopolis.³⁸

³¹ See the tomb of Ihy (TT 186) on the el-Khokha hillock: M. SALEH, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs at Thebes I. The Tomb of Unas-Ankh no. 413; II. The Tomb of Khenty no. 405; III. The Tomb of Ihy no. 186*, AV 14, Mainz am Rhein, 1977, p. 24 and pl. 15/2.

³² C. THIERS, “Fragments de théologies thébaines: la bibliothèque du temple de Tôd”, *BIFAO* 104, 2004, p. 557 (VII, 2) and 571 (fig. 1); C.M. ZIVIE, *Le temple de Deir Chelouit III. 90-157: Inscriptions du naos*, Le Caire, 1986, p. 73 (no. 122, 8).

³³ See *inter alia*: H. KEES, *Orientalia* 18, 1949, p. 440-441; E. OTTO, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaus*, *UGAA* 16, Berlin, 1952, p. 86-88; M. DORESSE, *Orientalia* 24, 1955, p. 123-125; R.A. PARKER, *op. cit.*, p. 10-11; A. VARILLE, *Inscriptions concernant l'architecte Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, *BdE* 44, Le Caire, 1968, p. 28-31; A. EGGBRECHT, “Armant”, in W. Helck, E. Otto (eds.), *LÄ I*, Wiesbaden, 1975, p. 435; R.A. PARKER, J. LECLANT, J.-C. GOYON, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, Providence, London, 1979, p. 23 (n. 9); L. GABOLDE, *Le “Grand Château d'Amon” de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak*, *MAIBL* 17, Paris, 1998, p. 143; K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *BRIS*, Wiesbaden, 2001, I, p. 30-32, n. (4); A.H. PRIES, *Das nächtliche Stundenritual zum Schutz des Königs und verwandte Kompositionen: Der Papyrus Kairo 58027 und die Textvarianten in den Geburtshäusern von Dendara und Edfu*, *SAGA* 27, Heidelberg, 2009, p. 30-31 (n. 165); D. KLOTZ, *Caesar in the City of Amun*, Turnhout, 2012, p. 149-150; R. BIRK, *Türöffner des Himmels*, Wiesbaden, 2020, p. 214-227; A. MASSON-BERGHOFF *et al.*, *Le quartier des prêtres dans le temple d'Amon à Karnak*, *OLA* 300, Leuven, Paris, Bristol, 2021, p. 666-667; C. THIERS, *Ermant II. Bab el-Maganîn (Ermant II, n^{os} 1-33)*, *MIFAO* 147, Le Caire, 2022, p. 29 (n. 98); C. LEBLANC, A. SESANA, *Le Bel Occident de Thèbes Imentet Neferet de l'époque pharaonique aux temps modernes: Une histoire révélée par la toponymie*, Paris, 2022, p. 59-60.

³⁴ *Urk.* IV, 52, 17; L. GABOLDE, *Le “Grand Château d'Amon” de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak*, *MAIBL* 17, Paris, 1998, p. 143.

³⁵ L. BORCHARDT, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire n^{os} 1-1294: Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten II*, Berlin, 1925, p. 127-130, esp. 128 (line 6).

³⁶ D. CHAPMAN, personal communication.

³⁷ P. BM EA 10052, recto XII, 22-23: T.E. PEET, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*, I-II, Oxford, 1930, pl. 33. The correspondence between 'Iwnw-šm' and 'Iwnw-Mntw can be detected in several Graeco-Roman texts: G. MÖLLER, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museum zu Edinburg I-II, Demotische Studien* 6, Leipzig, 1913, *passim* (hieratic and demotic versions); C. THIERS, Y. VOLOKHINE, *Ermant I. Les cryptes du temple ptolémaïque: étude épigraphique*, *MIFAO* 124, Le Caire, 2005, p. 7 (fig. 7).

³⁸ D. KLOTZ, *Caesar in the City of Amun*, Turnhout, 2012, p. 149-150. See also the soubassement text on Hatshepsut's northern obelisk equating 'Iwnw-šm' with Thebes/Karnak: *Urk.* IV, 361, 16 (= KIU 1730, 3-4).

The first firm evidence of 'Iwnw-šm' as a reference not only to Thebes but also to Armant can be dated to the Ramesside Period. The owner of a recently found Ramesside tomb in the North Asasif necropolis³⁹ was a certain Khatu, a first prophet of Montu at Armant (*hm-ntr tpy n Mntw nb 'Iwny*). His wife held the title “great of the *hnr.t* of Montu, lord of Armant” (*wr(.t) hnr.t n Mntw nb 'Iwny*), while their daughter was a “songstress of Montu, lord of Armant” (*šm 'y.t n Mntw nb 'Iwnw-šm*). In the titulary of Khatu and his wife, the local form of the deity is designated as *nb 'Iwny*; however, the title of their daughter displays Montu *nb 'Iwnw-šm*. Similarly, in one of the offering scenes of his mortuary temple in Medinet Habu, Ramesses III presents wine to Montu *nb 'Iwny* and his consort Tjeneret *hry(.t)-ib 'Iwnw-šm*.⁴⁰ Based on these attestations, it can confidently be stated that the two toponyms – *'Iwny* and *'Iwnw-šm* – were interchangeable and both could have been used to designate Armant in at least titles and epithets relating to Montu and his entourage already in the Ramesside Period. Other occurrences of the toponym can be observed in connection with Thoth/Khonsu-Thoth, who regularly appears with the epithet *nb / hry-ib 'Iwnw-šm* which, according to Chr. Thiers, refers to Armant rather than Thebes.⁴¹ The same can be said about another passage from a dedicatory inscription at Medinet Habu in which the temple of Ramesses III is designated as a “processional station of the gods and goddesses from *'Iwnw-šm*” (*s.t-swtwt n.t ntr.w ntr.wt m 'Iwnw-šm*).⁴² Given the possibility that processions from Armant to Medinet Habu – similar to the annual Graeco-Roman festival on Khoiak 26 – already took place in the Ramesside Period,⁴³ the toponym in this passage could be a further reference to Armant.

As will be seen below, attestations of *'Iwnw-šm* in titles relating to Montu also point to Armant from the early Twenty-second Dynasty (Sheshonq I/Osorkon I) on. The chronological gap between the Twentieth and Twenty-second Dynasties can be bridged by some inscriptions of Herihor and Pinedjem I in Karnak. In one of the scenes of Herihor in the temple of Khonsu, Montu and Tjeneret are depicted with the accompanying captions *nb W3s.t hry-ib 'Iwnw* and *hry(.t)-ib 'Iwnw-šm*, respectively.⁴⁴ The “geographical list” of Pinedjem I, inscribed on the sphinxes in front of the Karnak Temple, displays Montu as *nb [...] hry-ib 'Iwny* and Tjeneret-Rattawy as *hry(.t)-ib 'Iwnw-šm*.⁴⁵

³⁹ F.Y. ABD EL KERIM, “New Tombs of the North Asasif”, in E. Pischikova, J. Budka, K. Griffin (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2014, p. 112-114.

⁴⁰ Cf. THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *Medinet Habu VI. The Temple Proper II. The Re Chapel, the Royal Mortuary Complex and Adjacent Rooms with Miscellaneous Material from the Pylons, the Forecourts and the First Hypostyle Hall*, OIP 84, Chicago, 1963, pl. 380, 4a; THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *Medinet Habu VII. The Proper Temple III*, OIP 93, Chicago, 1964, pl. 583/C.

⁴¹ C. THIERS, *Ermant II*, Le Caire, 2022, p. 29 (with n. 98). For the various forms of Thoth in Karnak, see: R. BIRK, “Thebanische Astronomen der Ptolemäerzeit (I): Das Dossier des Harmais (Kairo, TR 25/10/17/5 und JE 43652)”, in C. Thiers (ed.), *Documents de Théologies Thébaines Tardives (D3T 4)*, CENiM 27, Montpellier, 2021, p. 1-42.

⁴² THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *Medinet Habu II. Later Historical Records of Ramses III*, OIP 9, Chicago, 1932, pl. 115 (line 3).

⁴³ M. BARWIK, “Two Pilgrims from Armant at Deir el-Bahari”, *SAK* 38, 2009, p. 45-52. For the festival of Khoiak 26, see: D. KLOTZ, *Caesar in the City of Amun*, Turnhout, 2012, p. 392-398.

⁴⁴ THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *The Temple of Khonsu I. Scenes of King Herihor in the Court*, OIP 100, Chicago, 1979, pl. 32.

⁴⁵ I owe thanks to Gabriella Dembitz for this reference. See also: G. DEMBITZ, “La «liste géographique» de Pinedjem I^{er} à Karnak: Premier essai de reconstitution d’une géographie religieuse de l’Égypte sous la XXI^e dynastie”, in J. Gonzalez, S. Pasquali (eds.), *Au-delà du toponyme: Une approche territoriale Égypte & Méditerranée Antiques: Actes du colloque tenu à Montpellier Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier 3 les 27-28 octobre 2015*, TDENiM 1, Montpellier, 2019, p. 23-40, esp. 40 (fig. 7). See already: P. BARGUET, *Le temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak: Essai d’exégèse*, RAPH 21, Le Caire, 1962, p. 50.

The witness list of the SOP contains at least thirteen persons who were associated either with Montu, lord of *W3s.t* or Montu, lord of 'Iwnw-šm' [fig. 2] making a clear distinction between Thebes / North Karnak and Armant as well as the local manifestations of the god attached to these temples. Among these witnesses, five persons (nos. 1, 1a, 26, 31 and 41) belonged to the cult of Montu at Armant ('Iwnw-šm') and six (nos. 5, 36, 38, 39, 42 and 47) to the cult of Montu at Thebes / North Karnak. The association of the remaining two (nos. 36a and 43) is not specified or the toponyms have been lost in a lacuna. Concerning the ranks of these men, one can distinguish ten prophets (*hm-ntr*), two scribes (*sš htm.t-ntr* and *sš wb3 / t3*) and one attendant (*imy-s.t-*). Furthermore, two third prophets are attested as being connected with Armant (no. 26)⁴⁶ and Thebes / North Karnak (no. 47). As “scribe of the oracles of the domain of Amun” (*sš bi3y.t n pr 'Imn*), Amenemhat (no. 1) recorded the oracular consultation preserved in the SOP. It is, however, not a mere coincidence that, at the same time, he held a sacerdotal position relating to the temple of Armant. On statue Cairo JE 37880, his father (no. 1a) is entitled not only a prophet of Montu of Thebes (*hm-ntr Mnṯw nb W3s.t*) but also a scribe of the divine seal of Montu of Armant (*sš htm.t-ntr n Mnṯw nb 'Iwnw-šm*).⁴⁷

Witness no.	Name of witness	Montu-related title	Other title(s)
1.	'Imn-m-ḥ3.t	<i>hm-ntr Mnṯw nb W3s.t ḥry-ib 'Iwnw-šm</i> '	<i>sš bi3y.t n pr Imn</i>
1a.	<i>Ns-Ḥnsw-wn-nḥw</i>	[<i>sš htm.t-ntr n(?) Mnṯw nb 'Iwnw-šm</i>] ⁴⁸	<i>hm-ntr n 'Imn-R' nsw ntr.w sš ' n nsw n ḥft-ḥr sš bi3y.t n pr 'Imn imy-r sb3 n pr 'Imn ḥr s3 tpy imy-s.t- ' n p3 ḥtp '3 w' b n pr 'Imn p3 mtr ḥr s3 [...] sš mḏ3.t-ntr n pr Mw.t</i>
5.	<i>P3-iwiw[-...]</i>	<i>hm-ntr n Mnṯw nb W3s.t</i>	-
26.	<i>Ḥr-z3-'Is.t</i>	<i>hm-ntr 3-nw Mnṯw nb 'Iwnw-sm</i> '	-
31.	<i>Ḥnsw-ī.[īr- '3]</i>	<i>hm-ntr Mnṯw m 'Iwnw-šm</i> '	-
36.	<i>P3-di-'Imn-nb-ns.wt-t3.wy</i>	<i>imy-s.t- ' pr Mnṯw nb W3s.t</i>	<i>hm-ntr n 'Imn-R' nsw ntr.w sš wb3 / t3</i> ⁴⁹
36a.	<i>R'-m-m3'-ḥrw</i>	<i>sš wb3 / t3 pr Mnṯw</i>	<i>hm-ntr n 'Imn</i>
38.	<i>Bs-n-Mw.t</i>	<i>hm-ntr Mnṯw nb W3s.t</i>	-
39.	<i>P3-t3w(-m)- (.wy)-[...]</i>	<i>hm-ntr n Mnṯw nb W3s.t</i>	-
41.	<i>Dd-'Imn-īwzf- 'nh</i>	<i>hm-ntr n Mnṯw nb 'Iwnw-šm</i> '	-
42.	<i>Dd-'In-ḥr.t-īwzf- 'nh</i>	<i>hm-ntr n Mnṯw nb W3s.t</i>	-
43.	[...]	<i>hm-ntr n Mnṯw [...]</i>	-
47.	<i>Mnṯw-m-ḥ3.t</i>	<i>hm-ntr 3-nw Mnṯw nb W3s.t</i>	<i>hm-ntr 'Imn-R' nsw ntr.w 3ṯw-ntr</i>

Fig. 2. Witnesses in the SOP with Montu-related titles.

⁴⁶ For another third prophet of Montu at Armant, see *infra*, doc. 18.

⁴⁷ F. PAYRAUDEAU, “Généalogie et mémoire familiale à la Troisième Période Intermédiaire. Le cas de la statue Caire JE 37880”, *RdE* 64, 2013, p. 63-91.

⁴⁸ The reconstruction of the title is based on the inscriptions of statue Cairo JE 37880, see *infra*, docs. 9-10.

⁴⁹ On the speculation of the orthography, see: H. DE MEULENAERE, in *Essays on Ancient Egypt*, Groningen, 1997, p. 247.

To sum up, Kees and others⁵⁰ correctly pointed out that during the New Kingdom, especially in Eighteenth Dynasty royal and private inscriptions, the toponym *'Iwnw-šm'* designated Thebes / Karnak rather than Armant. More recently, D. Klotz suggested that in the Graeco-Roman Period “almost all Theban attestations of *'Iwnw-šm'* refer to Armant” except some archaizing priestly titles such as *wr m33(.w) m 'Iwnw-šm'* and *hnk(-nwn) (m) 'Iwnw-šm'*.⁵¹ R. Birk analyzed these titles, complemented by the office *hm-ntr n Mntw nb 'Iwnw-šm'*, in the Ptolemaic Period.⁵² According to him, while the Theban Greatest of Seers can be localized in the Akhmenu and the prophets of Montu *nb 'Iwnw-šm'* at Armant with certainty, the title *hnk(-nwn) (m) 'Iwnw-šm'* can be connected either with Thebes or Armant with no conclusive distinction at present.⁵³ Dealing with the Hermonthite form of Thoth, Thiers has also noted that “Il faut attendre la XXX^e dynastie (Nectanébo II) pour que Iounou-chemâ désigne Ermant”.⁵⁴

Although these observations are no doubt correct, they seem to be a bit cautious since the cult of the Buchis bull – introduced under Nectanebo II – was unequivocally centered at Armant, which was referred to as *'Iwnw-šm'* on all known Bucheum stelae.⁵⁵ Based on the brief survey presented above, I would propose an earlier date for the identification of *'Iwnw-šm'* with Armant since Montu and his consorts were associated with the toponym already in Ramesside and Third Intermediate Period monumental and private inscriptions. Therefore, one could safely presume that *'Iwnw-šm'* also designated Armant, at least in connection with Montu and related deities, from the Ramesside Period on. Accordingly, at the time of the SOP the toponym most probably stood for the southern cult place of the god. This evidence along with the SOP further confirms that Harsiese transferred his service not only from the cult of Amun to that of Montu but also from Karnak to Armant.

The cult of Montu at Armant in the Third Intermediate Period and the Twenty-sixth Dynasty

Prior to the Third Intermediate Period – and especially in the Ramesside Period – the cultic and administrative personnel of Montu were best-documented in his temples in Thebes and Armant. The earliest periods have been covered by the works of E. Werner, M. Betrò and E. Dalino.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ H. KEES, *Orientalia* 18, 1949, p. 440-441; M. DORESSE, *Orientalia* 24, 1955, p. 123-125; A. VARILLE, *op. cit.*, p. 28-31.

⁵¹ D. KLOTZ, *Caesar in the City of Amun*, Turnhout, 2012, p. 150 (with n. 903). See also: C. ZIVIE-COCHE, “Une cohorte de déesses à l’entour d’Amon”, in F. Gombert-Meurice, F. Payraudeau (eds.), *Servir les dieux d’Égypte: Divines adoratrices, chanteuses et prêtres d’Amon à Thèbes*, Paris, p. 239.

⁵² R. BIRK, *Türöffner des Himmels*, Wiesbaden, 2020, p. 214-227.

⁵³ See also: A. WÜTHRICH, C. DIETRICH, *ÄgLev* 31, 2021, p. 529.

⁵⁴ C. THIERS, *Ermant II*, Le Caire, 2022, p. 29 (n. 98). See also: C. THIERS, “Deux fragments d’une (?) statue-cube du général Djeddjéhoutyioefānkh (A)”, *RdE* 72, 2022, p. 183-184. For the same suggestion, see already: J. YOYOTTE, “Montou à Karnak, Haremsunis à Tanis: Deux structures théologiques parallèles”, in I. Guermeur (ed.), *Histoire, géographie et religion de l’Égypte ancienne, Opera selecta par Jean Yoyotte*, OLA 224, Leuven, 2013, p. 130.

⁵⁵ See also the titulary of Tjaihorpata, a prominent official under Nectanebo II whose priestly duties were concentrated mainly in the local cults at Armant (*'Iwnw-šm'*): D. VARGA, “The Children of Montu: Harpara and Horus-Shu in Ptolemaic and Roman Thebes”, in R.G. Tatomir *et al.* (eds.), *Gods and Humans in Ancient Egypt: Proceedings of the Conference Held 25-27 September 2020, Hyperion University, Bucharest*, JAEI 39, 2023, p. 279.

⁵⁶ E.K. WERNER, *The God Montu: From the Earliest Attestations to the End of the New Kingdom*, A Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University, New Haven, 1985; M. BETRÒ, *Armant dal I Periodo Intermedio alla fine del Nuovo Regno: Prosopografia*, Pisa, 2001; E. DALINO, *Les grands prêtres d’Égypte à l’époque Ramesside. Prosopographie et Histoire I-II*, CENiM 30, Milano, 2022, *passim*. A new study

Two further sources can be added, at least, to their corpus: the first is a granodiorite statue of the first prophet of Montu of Armant Ramose, dated to the New Kingdom, which was unearthed in the area of the pronaos of the main temple at Armant in 2013.⁵⁷ The second is the Ramesside tomb of Khatu and his family in the North Asasif necropolis (see *supra*).

After the intense building activity of New Kingdom pharaohs,⁵⁸ Third Intermediate Period presence at Armant can be detected on a much smaller scale. Pieces of a stela were recently found in the course of the re-examination of some lapidary fragments.⁵⁹ The object can be dated to the Third Intermediate Period and it was probably dedicated to Montu and one of his consorts depicted in the pictorial field. One can also mention another small stela, found in the foundation of the pronaos, which can be tentatively dated to the Twenty-second Dynasty.⁶⁰ A third stela – originating from Armant – can probably be attributed to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty and once belonged to the god’s father of Amun, chamberlain of the lord of the Two Lands and true royal acquaintance Djedkhonsuiufankh.⁶¹ His paternal grandfather and great-grandfather were prophets of Montu, lord of Thebes (*hm-ntr Mntw nb W3s.t*). The excavations carried out in the temple by R. Mond and O.H. Myers revealed a fragmentary statue belonging to one of the High Stewards in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.⁶² Among the titles one can observe “inspector of the prophets in Thebes (and) Armant” (*shd hm.w-ntr m W3s.t 'Iwnw-šm*). Unfortunately, the name of the owner is not preserved; however, a small cartouche with the praenomen (Wahibre)| is carved on the right shoulder of the statue indicating that the High Steward flourished in the reign of either Psamtik I or Apries. An offering table in the name of Djedmutiusankh, daughter of Ankhefenmut – a prophet of Amun and a craftsman of the temple of Mut – also originates from Armant.⁶³

Private sources dated to the Third Intermediate Period regarding the cult of Montu outside Thebes proper (*W3s.t*) are relatively limited. Contemporary burials from the middle and upper terraces of Hatshepsut’s mortuary temple belonged to Montu priests whose most frequent title was *hm-ntr (n) Mntw nb W3s.t*.⁶⁴ However, it is currently debated whether the toponym *W3s.t* in their titulary refers to the city of Thebes, the entire nome or specifically to the North Karnak precinct, which can be securely attributed to Montu during the reign of Taharqa.⁶⁵ Since other

on the cult of Montu in the New Kingdom is being prepared by David Chapman in his dissertation at Macquarie University, extending the corpus in Werner (personal communication).

⁵⁷ C. THIERS, “Armant: Recent Discoveries at the Temple of Montu-Re”, *EA* 44, 2014, p. 34; E. DALINO, *op. cit.*, p. 304 (doc. 416).

⁵⁸ R. MOND, O. H. MYERS, *The Temples of Armant: A Preliminary Survey I-II*, London, 1940, p. 1-17; C. THIERS, “Armant (Hermonthis)”, in R. Bagnall *et al.* (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, Hoboken, 2013, p. 720.

⁵⁹ C. THIERS *et al.*, “Ermant (2021)”, *Bulletin archéologique des Écoles françaises à l'étranger* [en ligne], 2022, p. 2-3 (fig. 2).

⁶⁰ C. THIERS, *EA* 44, 2014, p. 35.

⁶¹ Stela Florence 7632: S. BOSTICCO, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze: Le stele egiziane di epoca tarda*, Roma, 1972, p. 13-14 (no. 2) (dated to the Twenty-second Dynasty). For a revised date to the Saite Period, see: *JWIS* IV, p. 1069-1070 (60.580) (with earlier references). See also: M. THIRION, “*in-’Imn-nzy.f-nbw*: «un nom qui mérite une recherche»?”, in C. Zivie-Coche, I. Guermeur (eds.), «*Parcourir l'éternité*»: *Hommages à Jean Yoyotte I-II*, *Bibliothèque des Hautes Études, Sciences religieuses* 156, Turnhout, 2012, p. 995-996 (no. 9).

⁶² *JWIS* IV, p. 695 (59.72).

⁶³ *JWIS* IV, p. 1100 (60.649).

⁶⁴ C.M. SHEIKHOESLAMI, “Montu Priestly Families at Deir el-Bahari in the Third Intermediate Period”, in Z.E. Szafranski (ed.), *Deir el-Bahari Studies 2, Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 27/2, Warsaw, 2018, p. 325-363.

⁶⁵ L. GABOLDE, V. RONDOT, “Le temple de Montou n’était pas un temple à Montou”, *BSFE* 136, p. 27-41; C.M. SHEIKHOESLAMI, “Montu Priests in Third Intermediate Period Thebes”, in E. Pischikova, J. Budka,

forms of the god are also documented – although sporadically – in contemporary sources, one would presume that *nb W3s.t* could have primarily stood for the temple precinct at North Karnak. On his naophorous kneeling statue (Baltimore, WAG/WAM 180, see *infra*, doc. 18),⁶⁶ dated to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, Pakharkhonsu, e.g., refers to himself as a third prophet of Montu of Armant (*hm-ntr 3-nw n Mntw nb 'Iwnw-šm*) and a prophet of Montu of Thebes (*hm-ntr Mntw nb W3s.t*). In this case, the two toponyms clearly designate two different cult places of the god⁶⁷ constituting part of the sacred landscape of Thebes or the so-called “Theban Palladium” proper.

With respect to Montu of Armant, Third Intermediate Period Oracular Amuletic Decrees also constitute an interesting group of sources.⁶⁸ These small-sized papyri, dated to the Twenty-first and the beginning of the Twenty-second Dynasty,⁶⁹ are inscribed with the decree of a god or a group of deities, in the form of an oracle, providing protection for the owner. The Hermonthite form of the god is documented on three papyri: P. BM EA 10083, P. BM EA 10321 and P. Turin 1984. On the verso of P. BM EA 10083, Montu-Re-Harakhty, lord of Thebes within Armant (*Mntw-R 'Hr-3h.ty nb W3s.t hry-ib 'Iwnw-šm*) and his consort Iunyt within Armant (*'Iwny.t hry(.t)-ib 'Iwnw-šm*) ensure the protection and well-being of the owner.⁷⁰ The decree of P. BM EA 10321 is put forward by Montu-Re-Harakhty, lord of Thebes within Armant (*Mntw-R 'Hr-3h.ty nb W3s.t hry-ib 'Iwnw*); in it he guarantees physical health for the owner as well as enabling him to worship the Theban triad (Amun, Mut, Khonsu) and Montu of Armant (*Mntw nb 'Iwnw*).⁷¹ Lastly, the oracle on P. Turin 1984 is decreed by three Hermonthite deities, namely Iunyt (*'Iwny.t hry(.t)-ib 'Iwnw-šm*), Montu (*Mntw p3 hry s.t wr.t*) and Khonsu (*Hnsw p3 hry-ib 'Iwnw-šm*).⁷² Montu appears here with the epithet “who is upon the great throne”, a

K. Griffin (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium BC: Art and Archaeology of the Kushite Period and Beyond*, *GHP Egyptology* 27, London, 2018, p. 379-380; K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *SAK* 47, 2018, p. 131.

⁶⁶ K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften der Spätzeit IV. Die 26. Dynastie II. Gottesgemahlinnen / 26. Dynastie insgesamt*, Wiesbaden, 2014, p. 1047-1048 (60.539) (hereafter: JWIS IV).

⁶⁷ The Second Intermediate Period stela of Samontu (Cairo CG 20712), a *w'b*-priest of Montu, is also of particular importance at this point: S. KUBISCH, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit: Biographische Inschriften der 13.–17. Dynastie*, *DAIK* 34, Berlin, 2008, p. 328-332 and pl. 11/b. His biographical text mentions all four cult places of the god, namely Armant (*'Iwny*), Thebes (*W3s.t*), Tod (*Drty*) and Medamud (*M3dw*), where the priest could have carried out ritual activities by circulating among them. Note, however, that the fourth cult place of Montu was not located in North Karnak at this time but in the zone of the mortuary temple of Montuhotep II: L. GABOLDE, *Karnak, Amon-Rê: la genèse d'un temple, la naissance d'un dieu*, *BdE* 167, Le Caire, 2018, p. 445-446; C.M. SHEIKHOESLAMI, in *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, London, 2018, p. 377.

⁶⁸ I.E.S. EDWARDS, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Fourth Series: Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom I-II*, London, 1960.

⁶⁹ R. LUCARELLI, “Popular Beliefs in Demons in the Libyan Period: The Evidence of the Oracular Amuletic Decrees”, in G.P.F. Broekman, R.J. Demarée, O.E. Kaper (eds.), *The Libyan Period in Egypt: Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st -24th Dynasties: Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 25-27 October 2007*, Leiden, 2009, p. 231 (with n. 1).

⁷⁰ I.E.S. EDWARDS, *op. cit.*, p. 1-12 and pl. II. The recto of the papyrus also mentions the Ennead of *'Iwnw-šm* referring most likely to Thebes/Karnak rather than Armant in this case: I.E.S. EDWARDS, *op. cit.*, p. 2 and pl. I (line 17).

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 29-33 and pl. X.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 63-72, and pl. XXII. For the local form of Khonsu at Armant, see: G. SCHREIBER, *The Sacred Baboons of Khonsu: History of a Theban Cult*, *Archaeolingua Series Minor* 44, Budapest, 2020, p. 103-104. For the iconographical similarities between Montu and Khonsu, see: C.M. SHEIKHOESLAMI, “The End of the Libyan Period and the Resurgence of the Cult of Montu”, in G.P.F. Broekman, R.J. Demarée, O.E. Kaper (eds.), *The Libyan Period in Egypt: Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st -24th Dynasties: Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 25-27 October 2007*, Leiden, 2009, p. 362; F. RELATS MONTERRAT, L. MEDINI, A. FORTIER, “Quelques considérations sur le «tableau de l'oracle de Médamoud»: un relief culturel?”, *BIFAO* 118, 2018, p. 392.

designation that can be found in two sacerdotal titles associated with his cult at Armant.⁷³ Based on internal evidence, one would wonder if the provenance of P. BM EA 10321 and P. Turin 1984 might have been Armant since all the deities, appearing in the texts, bear epithets referring to this cult center.

In the following dossier, the currently known private monuments, relating to the personnel of Montu at Armant, are collected and discussed briefly in chronological order. All of them originate from the Theban region and are dated to the Twenty-second – Twenty-sixth Dynasties with the exception of P. Louvre E 3231b, an early demotic papyrus which can be attributed to the reign of Darius I in the Twenty-seventh Dynasty. Since, to the best of my knowledge, this is the only document that can be associated with the cult of Montu at Armant from the time of the First Persian Domination,⁷⁴ it is included in the present prosopography to complete the dossier of pre-Ptolemaic Period priests of Montu at Armant.

Doc. 1. Stela BM EA 645

Relevant person(s)	<i>'Imn-m-īn.t</i> (i)
Montu-related title(s)	<i>ḥm-nṯr n Mntw nb W3s.t ḥry-ib 'Iwny</i>
Date	early Twenty-second Dynasty (Sheshonq I)
Provenance	probably Thebes
Bibliography	K. Jansen-Winkeln, “Vier Denkmäler einer thebanischen Offiziersfamilie der 22. Dynastie”, <i>SAK</i> 33, 2005, p. 127-135 and pl. 6.

This large limestone stela can be dated to the beginning of the Twenty-second Dynasty and belongs to *'Imn-n-īn.t* (i), a member of the prominent Nespaqashuty family.⁷⁵ The owner is referred to as a royal scribe of the army, a third prophet of Khonsemwaset-Neferhotep as well as a prophet of Montu, lord of Thebes within Armant (*ḥm-nṯr n Mntw nb W3s.t ḥry-ib 'Iwny*).⁷⁶

Doc. 2. Priestly annals no. 35

Relevant person(s)	<i>'Imn-m-īn.t</i> (i) or Djedthothiufoankh (A)
Montu-related title(s)	<i>ḥm-nṯr Mntw nb 'Iwny / 'Iwnw-šm</i> (?)
Date	early Twenty-second Dynasty (Osorkon I)
Provenance	Karnak
Bibliography	K. Jansen-Winkeln, <i>Inschriften der Spätzeit II. Die 22.-24. Dynastie</i> , Wiesbaden, 2007, p. 61-62 (13.40).

⁷³ H. SELIM, “Three Unpublished Late Period Statues”, *SAK* 32, 2004, p. 363-368 and pls. 19-20 (statue Alexandria, Nat. Mus. 124); R. BIRK, *Türöffner des Himmels*, Wiesbaden, 2020, p. 509 (statue Cairo JE 37986, unpublished).

⁷⁴ Montu of Armant is depicted twice in the Hibis Temple: N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Temple of Hibis in el Khargeh Oasis III. The Decoration*, New York, 1953, pls. 2 (register VII, bull-headed mummiform figure with the label text: *Mnt(w) nb 'Iwnw*) and 4 (register II, falcon-headed man holding scepter and mace with the label text: *Mnt(w) nb 'Iwnw-šm*). See also the Persian Period graffiti from Armant: S. P. VLEEMING, *Demotic Graffiti and Other Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications (Short Texts III 1201-2350)*, *Studia Demotica* 12, Leuven, 2015, p. 96-98 (nos. 1433-1437).

⁷⁵ For the family, see: F. PAYRAUDEAU, *Administration, société et pouvoir*, Le Caire, 2014, p. 137-138 (8.1.2).

⁷⁶ This designation of Montu is already documented in the Middle Kingdom: F. BISSON DE LA ROQUE, “Notes sur le dieu Montou”, *BIFAO* 40, 1941, p. 10.

Priestly annals no. 35, dated to the reign of Osorkon I, was inscribed by a person who occupied sacerdotal offices in the cults of Mut, Khonsemwaset-Neferhotep and Montu. Although the name of the initiated priest is missing, based on the preserved titles ([...] *wr(.t) nb(.t) 'Išrw ḥm-ntr 3-nw n Ḥnsw m W3s.t Nfr-ḥtp ḥm-ntr n Mntw nb* [...]) he can be either 'Imn-m-*in.t* (i) (see doc. 1) or his son Djedthothiufoankh (A), (see doc. 3) both belonging to the Nespaqashuty family who served in Armant.⁷⁷

The toponym following *ḥm-ntr Mntw nb* is quite fragmentary: J.-M. Kruchten⁷⁸ and K. Jansen-Winkel reconstructed it as 'Iwny or 'Iwnw-šm' while F. Payraudeau read it as *W3s.t*. If the person in the text can be identified either with 'Imn-m-*in.t* (i) or Djedthothiufoankh (A) then it could be presumed that the toponym following the divine name would be 'Iwny / 'Iwnw-šm' rather than *W3s.t*.

Doc. 3. Fragments of a cuboid statue (Gadaya R-3 and Gadaya 1994-01)

Relevant person(s)	Djedthothiufoankh (A)
Montu-related title(s)	<i>ḥm-ntr n Mntw nb 'Iwnw-šm'</i>
Date	early Twenty-second Dynasty (Sheshonq I-Osorkon I)
Provenance	unknown (Gadaya R-3); foundations of the Hotel Marriott Luxor (Gadaya 1994-01)
Bibliography	C. Thiers, “Deux fragments d’une (?) statue-cube du général Djeddjéhouyouefānkḥ (A)”, <i>RdE</i> 72, 2022, p. 175-184.

The owner of this recently found fragmentary cuboid statue was Djedthothiufoankh (A), son of 'Imn-m-*in.t* (i) and member of the prominent Nespaqashuty family during the Twenty-second Dynasty. (see docs. 1-2) Based on his titulary, preserved on the proper right side of the statue, Djedthothiufoankh (A) occupied clerical positions in the priesthoods of Amun, Mut as well as Montu, lord of Armant (*ḥm-ntr n Mntw nb 'Iwnw-šm*). Like his father,⁷⁹ he also held the titles “royal scribe of the army” (*sš nsw n mš*) and “general” (*imy-r mš*).

Doc. 4. Statue Cairo JE 37374

Relevant person(s)	Iufaa
Montu-related title(s)	<i>ḥm-ntr n Mntw nb 'Iwnw-šm'</i>
Date	early Twenty-second Dynasty (Harsiese I / Osorkon II)
Provenance	Karnak Cachette
Bibliography	F. Payraudeau, “Ioufāa, un gouverneur de Thèbes sous la XXII ^e dynastie”, <i>BIFAO</i> 105, 2005, p. 197-210.

⁷⁷ F. PAYRAUDEAU, *Administration, société et pouvoir*, Le Caire, 2014, p. 412 (doc. 12-F) and 610 (doc. 278-E).

⁷⁸ J.-M. KRUCHTEN, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI-XXIII^{mes} dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l'initiation des prêtres d'Amon*, OLA 32, Leuven, 1989, p. 131 and pl. 11.

⁷⁹ F. PAYRAUDEAU, *Administration, société et pouvoir*, Le Caire, 2014, p. 410-412 (doc. 12).

The cuboid statue of Iufaa was posthumously dedicated by his son Horwedja. The specimen is dated by the cartouches of Harsiese I (contemporary of Osorkon II) engraved on its shoulders. The owner occupied priestly positions both in Thebes and at Armant. At a certain point in his career, he received the offices of governor of Thebes (*rwḏ ʿz ḥsf n nṯw.t*)⁸⁰ and third prophet of Mut. The only title connecting Iufaa with Armant was “prophet of Montu, lord of Armant” (*ḥm-ntr n Mntw nb ʿIwnw-šm ʿ*) appearing twice on the statue.⁸¹ Based on the familial dossier, no other members of his family held offices in connection with the cult of Montu at Armant.

Docs. 5-6. Statues Cairo JE 36971 and JE 36998

Relevant person(s)	Pakharu (and probably his paternal ascendants)
Montu-related title(s)	<i>ḥm-ntr Mntw nb / ḥry-ib ʿIwnw-šm ʿ</i>
Date	Twenty-second – Twenty-third Dynasties
Provenance	Karnak Cachette
Bibliography	K. Jansen-Winkel, <i>Biographische und religiöse Inschriften der Spätzeit aus dem Ägyptischen Museum Kairo</i> , <i>ÄAT</i> 45, Wiesbaden, 2001, I, p. 23-33; II, p. 337-345.

These two cuboid statues of the Twenty-second – Twenty-third Dynasties⁸² were dedicated to Nespasefy by his two sons Pakharu (Cairo JE 36971) and Djedmontuufankh (Cairo JE 36998). The honoree was a craftsman of the temple of Amun and a temporary priest of Amun of the Akhmenu; however, his paternal ancestry included titles related to Armant and the local cult of Montu. His father Pakharu was a prophet of Montu of Armant (*ḥm-ntr Mntw nb / ḥry-ib ʿIwnw-šm ʿ*) and based on the term *mī-nw*, all the members of his paternal lineage could have held the same sacerdotal office at Armant. Furthermore, Panehesy – the grandfather of Nespasefy – received the title *ḥnk(-nwn) ʿIwnw-šm ʿ* as well.

Additionally, the figures of Montu and his consort Rattawy, to whom incense and libation are presented by Pakharu, the father of Nespasefy, are depicted on the proper right side of both statues.⁸³ The god is designated as *nb Wʿs.t ḥry-ib ʿIwnw-šm ʿ ntr ʿz nb pt* while the goddess is not provided with any epithets. The figure of Montu usually appears on contemporary and later private statues beside Amun (and his triad), Osiris, Amaunet and Rattawy.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ F. PAYRAUDEAU, “La désignation du gouverneur de Thèbes aux époques libyenne et éthiopienne”, *RdE* 54, 2003, p. 131-153.

⁸¹ K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften der Spätzeit II. Die 22.-24. Dynastie*, Wiesbaden, 2007, p. 156-159 (19.7) (hereafter: JWIS II).

⁸² For the dating of the specimens, see: H. DE MEULENAERE, “Review of Karl Jansen-Winkel, *Biographische und religiöse Inschriften der Spätzeit aus dem Ägyptischen Museum Kairo*, *ÄAT* 45, Wiesbaden, 2001”, *BiOr* 60, 2003, p. 322.

⁸³ H. BRANDL, *Untersuchungen zur steinernen Privatplastik der Dritten Zwischenzeit: Typologie – Ikonographie – Stilistik I-II*, Berlin, 2008, p. 316 (Add. 3-4).

⁸⁴ P. BARGUET, J. LECLANT, *Karnak-Nord IV (1949-1951)*, I-II, FIFAO 25/1-2, Le Caire, 1954, pls. CXXXII-CXXXIII (North Karnak T 40); K. JANSEN-WINKELN, in *Form und Mass*, Wiesbaden, 1987, p. 238-253 (North Karnak T 35 = Cairo JE 91720); A. EL-TOUKHY, “A Late Period Standing Statue of *Pz-ḥr-Ḥnsw* in the Egyptian Museum JE 37860”, *BEM* 2, 2005, p. 61-64 (Cairo JE 37860); H. BRANDL, *op. cit.*, pls. 48-49, 58, 67, 76-77, 79, 80-81 and 82-85, 86-87, 94a (Berlin, ÄM 17272, Cairo CG 717, 42218, 42226, 42227, 42230, 42231, Cairo JE 36662 and JE 36926); D. KLOTZ, “The Sorrows of Young Nesmin: The Early Demise of a Theban Priest”, in C. Thiers (ed.), *Documents de Théologies Thébaines Tardives (D3T3)*, *CENiM* 13, Montpellier, 2015, p. 118-121 (Cairo JE 38025); R. BIRK, *Türöffner des Himmels*, Wiesbaden, 2020, pls. 28-30 (Cairo JE 37973); D. VARGA,

Docs. 7-8. Coffin set BM EA 6657 and statue Cairo JE 38039

Relevant person(s)	Nesbanebdjed (i) and Ankhpakhered (ix)
Montu-related title(s)	<i>ḥm-ntr Mntw nb W3s.t; sm3ty w3s.t; ḥm-ntr Mntw nb 'Iwnw-šm' / Mntw-R' nb W3s.t k3 hry-ib 'Iwnw</i>
Date	Twenty-second – Twenty-fifth Dynasties
Provenance	Thebes (coffin set); Karnak Cachette (statue)
Bibliography	F. Payraudeau, <i>Administration, société et pouvoir à Thèbes sous la XXII^e dynastie bubastite I-II</i> , BdE 160, Le Caire, 2014, p. 433-434 (doc. 37) and 509-510 (doc. 151).

The coffin set BM EA 6657⁸⁵ and the cuboid statue Cairo JE 38039⁸⁶ form the personal dossier of Nesbanebdjed (i), son of Ankhpakhered (ix), whose career can be placed to the transitional period between the Twenty-second and Twenty-fifth Dynasties.⁸⁷ The inscriptions on these private monuments reveal that Nesbanebdjed was a royal scribe, governor of Thebes and chief of the scribes in the temple of Amun. As a priest, he served the cults of Montu of Thebes (*ḥm-ntr Mntw nb W3s.t*) and the goddess Maat (*ḥm-ntr M3'.t z3.t-R'*) whose cult center was the contra-temple to that of Amenhotep III at North Karnak. Additionally, other sacerdotal offices can be attributed to him, associating him, e.g., with the cults of Mut (*hpt wd3.t*), Ptah (*qbhw Pth*) and Osiris (*hsk*).

Nesbanebdjed was also a *sm3ty w3s.t*, a title which has been interpreted in different ways. Following the proposal of H. Gauthier,⁸⁸ Jansen-Winkel understood its second component as a nisbe with the meaning “(the) Theban (i.e. Montu)”, and therefore, he equated the title with *ḥm-ntr Mntw nb W3s.t*.⁸⁹ On the other hand, C. Sheikholeslami considered it as a title relating to the sacred *w3s.t*-staff that once stood in the North Karnak precinct⁹⁰ – a more probable suggestion given the title’s orthographical variants and the limited time period of its use. Sacred objects, such as the august staff (*p3 mdw šps*) of various deities, could similarly have distinct personnel.⁹¹

Unlike Nesbanebdjed (i), his father Ankhpakhered (ix) was a prophet of Montu of Armant. His title is given as *ḥm-ntr Mntw nb 'Iwnw-šm'* on the coffin lid while its variant on the cuboid statue is “prophet of Montu-Re, lord of Thebes, bull within Armant” (*ḥm-ntr Mntw-R' nb W3s.t*

“The Cult of Montu and the Bull at Medamud in the Ptolemaic Period”, in C. Thiers (ed.), *Documents de Théologies Thébaines Tardives (D3T 4)*, CENiM 27, Montpellier, 2021, p. 177-180 and 184 (fig. 5) (Cairo JE 37342).

⁸⁵ K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Inschriften der Spätzeit III. Die 25. Dynastie*, Wiesbaden, 2009, p. 496-497 (52.262) (hereafter: JWIS III).

⁸⁶ JWIS III, p. 496 (52.261).

⁸⁷ F. PAYRAUDEAU, *RdE* 54, 2003, p. 140-141 (no. 10).

⁸⁸ H. GAUTHIER, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire nos 41042-41072: Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou I-II*, Le Caire, 1913, p. 543.

⁸⁹ K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *SAK* 47, 2018, p. 121-135.

⁹⁰ C.M. SHEIKHOESLAMI, in *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, London, 2018, p. 387; *id.*, *BSFE* 204, 2021, p. 103-105.

⁹¹ H. DE MEULENAERE, “Une statuette égyptienne à Naples”, *BIFAO* 60, 1960, p. 128-129; *id.*, “L’enseigne sacrée du dieu Khnoum dans l’onomastique gréco-égyptienne”, *CdE* 75, 2000, p. 235-240; D. KLOTZ, “A Theban Devotee of Seth from the Late Period – Now Missing Ex-Hannover, Museum August Kestner Inv. S. 0366”, *SAK* 42, 2013, p. 168, n. (j). Cf. the cult of the sacred emblem (*šhm (šps)*) in Diospolis Parva: P. COLLOMBERT, “Hout-Sekhem et le septième nome de Haute-Égypte II: les stèles tardives”, *RdE* 48, 1997, p. 50-55.

k3 hry-ib 'Iwnw). The slightly different epithets undoubtedly refer to the same local form of Montu; however, Armant appears in a subordinate position to Thebes in the latter.⁹²

Docs. 9-10. Statue Cairo JE 37880 and a statue fragment in a private collection

Relevant person(s)	<i>Ns-Hnsw-wn-nhw</i>
Montu-related title(s)	<i>sš htm.t-ntr (n) Mntw nb 'Iwnw-šm ' ; hm-ntr Mntw nb W3s.t</i>
Date	Twenty-fifth Dynasty
Provenance	Karnak Cachette (Cairo JE 37880); Thebes (statue fragment)
Bibliography	F. Payraudeau, “Généalogie et mémoire familiale à la Troisième Période Intermédiaire. Le cas de la statue Caire JE 37880”, <i>RdE</i> 64, 2013, p. 63-91; O. Perdu, “Sur les traces d’un Thébain de la fin de la XXV ^e dynastie responsable de la chancellerie royale”, in S.-W. Hsu <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>Ein Kundiger der in die Gottesworte eingedrungen ist: Festschrift für den Ägyptologen Karl Jansen-Winkel zum 65. Geburtstag</i> , <i>ÄAT</i> 99, Münster, 2020, p. 209-232.

The fragmentary cuboid statue Cairo JE 37880, inscribed on its front side, back pillar and around the base, belonged to a certain *Ns-Hnsw-wn-nhw*, son of Djedmutiufankh. The specimen can be dated to the first half of the seventh century BC, i.e., to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. The dorsal inscription has a long genealogy of the owner: 21 relatives on the paternal and 11 relatives on the maternal side. Many titles in the titulary of *Ns-Hnsw-wn-nhw* refer to him as a scholar and magician/doctor (e.g. *sš md3.t-ntr n pr Mw.t* and *imy-r hrp Srq.t n pr 'Imn*). With the combination of sacerdotal and administrative offices he definitely presented himself as a leading character of his time.

As was convincingly demonstrated by Payraudeau, *Ns-Hnsw-wn-nhw* of Cairo JE 37880 can be identified with the father of Amenemhat, the recorder of the oracle of Amun in the SOP.⁹³ There, he has titles connected to Amun, Mut and the pharaoh (*sš ' n nsw n hft-hr*) while his position in the cult of Montu is attested by the lacunary title [...] *Mntw nb 'Iwnw-šm '* which can be completed with *sš htm.t-ntr (n)* based on the title documented on the back pillar (col. 2) of statue Cairo JE 37880. Furthermore, *Ns-Hnsw-wn-nhw* also bore the title *hm-ntr Mntw nb W3s.t* on his statue. While his son Amenemhat served Montu only at Armant (see *supra*, fig. 2), *Ns-Hnsw-wn-nhw* occupied a clerical position in the temple at North Karnak as well as an administrative post in the temple of Armant.

More recently, O. Perdu published another statue fragment kept in a private collection. The study of the owner’s titulary⁹⁴ – comprising the titles *sš ' n nsw n hft-hr*, *sš b3zy.t [n pr] 'Imn*, *sš md3.t-ntr n pr Mw.t* and *sš htm.t-ntr n Mntw nb 'Iwnw-šm '* – enabled him to connect the piece to the above-mentioned *Ns-Hnsw-wn-nhw*, owner of Cairo JE 37880 and witness no. 1a of the SOP.

⁹² Cf. some attestations from the Middle Kingdom in which the *k3*-element may or may not be expressed: R. MOND, O.H. MYERS, *The Temples of Armant: A Preliminary Survey I-II*, London, 1940, pl. XCIX/2 (*Mntw nb W3s.t k3 'Iwny pr(.w) m Drtv*); F. BISSON DE LA ROQUE, *BIFAO* 40, 1941, p. 10 (*Mntw nb W3s.t hry-ib 'Iwny*).

⁹³ F. PAYRAUDEAU, *RdE* 64, 2013, p. 72-75. See also: R.A. PARKER, *op. cit.*, p. 14-15 (no. 1a).

⁹⁴ O. PERDU, in *Festschrift für den Ägyptologen Karl Jansen-Winkel*, Münster, 2020, p. 214-221 and 223-225.

Doc. 11. Intermediary coffin Luxor Museum J 845

Relevant person(s)	Pamiu (ii) and Padiamunet (iii)
Montu-related title(s)	<i>ḥm-ntr Mntw nb 'Iwnw; ḥm-ntr Mntw nb Drty; ḥm-ntr Mntw nb W3s.t; sm3ty w3s.t</i>
Date	Twenty-fifth Dynasty
Provenance	Deir el-Bahari (Tomb XVIII)
Bibliography	C.M. Sheikholeslami, “Resurrection in a Box. The 25th Dynasty Burial Ensemble of Padiamunet”, in R. Sousa (ed.), <i>Body, Cosmos and Eternity. New Research Trends in the Iconography and Symbolism of Ancient Egyptian Coffins</i> , <i>Archaeopress Egyptology</i> 3, Oxford, 2014, p. 111-124.

The burial equipment of Padiamunet (iii) was discovered by É. Baraize in Deir el-Bahari in the first half of the twentieth century.⁹⁵ His set comprised an outer rectangular *qrs*w-type coffin with vaulted lid and four corner posts as well as outer and inner bivalve anthropoid coffins. The owner belonged to one of the most prestigious families of the Third Intermediate Period, i.e., the family of Pamiu (ii) into which Takeloth III married two of his daughters during the Twenty-third Dynasty.⁹⁶

The lid of Padiamunet’s intermediary coffin is inscribed with seven columns of texts containing his titles and filiation surmounted by the vignette of Book of the Dead spell 154, which depicts the sun disc with its rays uniting with the mummified deceased who is lying on the funerary bier.⁹⁷ According to the owner’s titulary, he was *inter alia* a prophet of Montu of Thebes and a monthly-service priest in the temple of Amun, while the title sequence of Pamiu (ii), Padiamunet’s great-grandfather, informs us that he served the cult of Montu at Armant as a prophet (*ḥm-ntr Mntw nb 'Iwnw*).⁹⁸ Based on all known sources related to this extensive family, it can be deduced that Pamiu (ii) was the only person who occupied a position in the Hermonthite clergy of Montu, while other members (e.g., Pamiu (v), Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi)) were in the service of the god at North Karnak.

⁹⁵ D.A. ASTON, *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21-25: Chronology – Typology – Developments*, Wien, 2009, p. 216 (TG 887); C.M. SHEIKHOLESAMI, in *Deir el-Bahari Studies* 2, Warsaw, 2018, p. 325-363.

⁹⁶ For the family, see: F. PAYRAUDEAU, *Administration, société et pouvoir*, Le Caire, 2014, p. 155-157 (8.3.3); *id.*, “La famille du vizir Pamy et sa nécropole familiale de Deir el-Bahari: un cas d’étude prosopographique”, in F. Gombert-Meurice, F. Payraudeau (eds.), *Servir les dieux d’Égypte: Divines adoratrices, chanteuses et prêtres d’Amon à Thèbes*, Paris, 2018, p. 64-75.

⁹⁷ H. KOCKELMANN, “Sunshine for the Dead: On the Role and Representation of Light in the Vignette of Book of the Dead Spell 154 and Other Funerary Sources from Pharaonic and Graeco-Roman Egypt”, in R. Jasnow, G. Widmer (eds.), *Illuminating Osiris: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Mark Smith*, Atlanta, 2017, p. 181-196.

⁹⁸ Furthermore, Pamiu (ii) was also a prophet of Montu, lord of Tod (*ḥm-ntr Mntw nb Drty*). For the theological and festival connection between the temples of Armant and Tod, see: S. DEMICHELIS, *Il calendario delle feste di Montu: Papiro ieratico CGT 54021, verso*, Torino, 2002, p. 69-71; C. THIERS, *BIFAO* 104, 2004, p. 560-562.

Doc. 12. Theban tomb TT 33 of Padiamenope

Relevant person(s)	family members on the maternal side
Montu-related title(s)	priests of Montu of Armant and / or North Karnak
Date	Twenty-fifth – Twenty-sixth Dynasties
Provenance	el-Asasif
Bibliography	C. Traunecker, “Abydenian Pilgrimage, Immortal Stars and Theban Liturgies in the Tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33)”, in E. Pischikova, J. Budka, K. Griffin (eds.), <i>Thebes in the First Millennium BC. Art and Archaeology of the Kushite Period and Beyond</i> , GHP Egyptology 27, London, 2018, p. 126-151.

One of the largest tombs in the Theban necropolis (TT 33)⁹⁹ belonged to Padiamenope who held the titles of lector priest and scribe in charge of the royal archives, among others. Although he occupied no important political and economic positions, he seems to have had a close relation with the last Kushite rulers (Taharqa and Tantamani). On his maternal side, Padiamenope was related to a local priestly family from Armant. Some of his cousins were priests of the local form of Montu while others served the cult of Montu of Thebes.¹⁰⁰

The god is mentioned in a prominent place in tomb TT 33, as a short text on the wall of the passageway between corridors XII and XIII refers to the “followers of Montu, lord of Thebes”¹⁰¹ who enter the tomb to study the diverse texts and who, according to Sheikholeslami,¹⁰² might have included those priests buried on the upper terrace of Hatshepsut’s mortuary temple.

Doc. 13. Statue Cairo JE 37195

Relevant person(s)	Djedhor
Montu-related title(s)	<i>sš mdꜣ.t-nꜥr n Mnꜥw nb 'Iwnw-šm</i> ‘
Date	Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Psamtik I)
Provenance	Karnak Cachette
Bibliography	K. Jansen-Winkel, <i>Inscripfen der Spätzeit IV. Die 26. Dynastie II. Gottesgemahlinnen / 26. Dynastie insgesamt</i> , Wiesbaden, 2014, p. 1074 (60.592).

⁹⁹ S. EINAUDI, *La rhétorique des tombes monumentales tardives (XXV^e-XXVI^e dynasties): une vue d’ensemble de leur architecture et de leur programme décoratif*, CENiM 28, Drémil-Lafage, 2021, p. 48-53 and 123-156.

¹⁰⁰ C. TRAUNECKER, “The “Funeral Palace” of Padiamenope: Tomb, Place of Pilgrimage, and Library: Current Research”, in E. Pischikova, J. Budka, K. Griffin (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2014, p. 211; C.M. SHEIKHOESLAMI, in *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, London, 2018, p. 380.

¹⁰¹ C. TRAUNECKER, I. RÉGEN, “La tombe du prêtre Padiamenopé (TT 33): éclairages nouveaux”, *BSFE* 193-194, 2015-2016, p. 65-66; C. TRAUNECKER, “Abydenian Pilgrimage, Immortal Stars and Theban Liturgies in the Tomb of Padiamenope (TT 33)”, in E. Pischikova, J. Budka, K. Griffin (eds.), *Thebes in the First Millennium BC: Art and Archaeology of the Kushite Period and Beyond*, GHP Egyptology 27, London, 2018, p. 137 (fig. 6).

¹⁰² C.M. SHEIKHOESLAMI, in *Deir el-Bahari Studies 2*, Warsaw, 2018, p. 331 and 343.

The unpublished scribal statue Cairo JE 37195 is attributed to the time of Psamtik I and belonged to a certain Djedhor. He bore the same name as the father of *Ns-Ḥnsw-wn-nḥw* on P. Louvre E 3228b, which has been recently dated to year 13 of Taharqa (instead of Shabaqa).¹⁰³ Furthermore, some of his titles are identical with the offices of *Ns-Ḥnsw-wn-nḥw* in the SOP. However, a familial connection between either of these two persons called *Ns-Ḥnsw-wn-nḥw* remains merely hypothetical.¹⁰⁴ Djedhor has the titles *ḥm-nṯr b3zy.t n pr 'Imn, wn 3.wy pt m 'Ip.t-s.wt, ḥnk(-nwn)* and *imy-r sb3*.

As for the cult of Montu at Armant, Djedhor also held the title “scribe of the divine book of Montu, lord of Armant” (*sš md3.t-nṯr n Mntw nb 'Iwnw-šm*). Enumerating the different priestly classes on a hierarchical basis, the Memphis Decree placed the “scribes of the divine book” after clothing priests (*hry-sštz 'b-nṯr*).¹⁰⁵ As specialists in sacred texts and knowledge, the scribes of the divine book belonged to temple libraries (*pr-md3.t*)¹⁰⁶ and were responsible for the compilation and final revision of texts as well as for the storage of ritual papyri and other documents relevant for the temple cult.¹⁰⁷

Doc. 14. Theban tomb TT 36 of Ibi

Relevant person(s)	Ibi
Montu-related title(s)	<i>ḥm-nṯr Mntw nb 'Iwnw / 'Iwnw-šm</i> ; <i>imy-r ḥm.w-nṯr n Mntw nb 'Iwnw / 'Iwnw-šm</i> ; <i>ḥm-nṯr n Mntw nb Drwt</i>
Date	Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Nitocris-Psamtik I)
Provenance	el-Asasif
Bibliography	K.P. Kuhlmann, W. Schenkel, <i>Das Grab des Ibi, Obergutsverwalters der Gottesgemahlin des Amun. Thebanisches Grab Nr. 36 I. Beschreibung der unterirdischen Kult- und Bestattungsanlage</i> , AVDAIK 15, Mainz, 1983.

After the deaths of Montuemhat A and his son Nesptah B, the control of Thebes, and by extension southern Egypt, fell to Ibi, the first High Steward of the newly installed God’s Wife

¹⁰³ K. DONKER VAN HEEL, “P. Louvre E 3228: Some Late Cursive (Abnormal) Hieratic Gems from the Louvre”, *JEA* 101, 2015, p. 320-325, esp. 324-325 (n. 32).

¹⁰⁴ F. PAYRAUDEAU, *RdE* 64, 2013, p. 74-75 (with n. 30).

¹⁰⁵ A. NESPOULOUS-PHALIPPOU, *Ptolémée Épiphane, Aristonikos et les prêtres d’Égypte: Le Décret de Memphis (182 a.C.): Édition commentée des stèles Caire RT 2/3/25/7 et JE 44901*, CENiM 12, Montpellier, 2015, p. 45-48 and 170-171.

¹⁰⁶ F. WESPI, “Das Bücherhaus (*Pr-md3.t*) des späten ägyptischen Tempels”, in S. Baumann, H. Kockelmann (eds.), *Der ägyptische Tempel als ritueller Raum: Theologie und Kult in ihrer architektonischen und ideellen Dimension: Akten der internationalen Tagung, Haus der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, 9.-12. Juni 2015*, SSR 17, Wiesbaden, 2017, p. 271-287.

¹⁰⁷ Based on an unpublished papyrus from Tebtynis (P. Florence PSI inv. D 102) – dated to the second century AD – containing regulatory and normative texts for the ideal operation of a temple: F. WESPI, “Das Gesetz der Tempel: Ein Vorbericht zu den Priesternormen des demotischen Papyrus Florenz PSI inv. D 102”, in M. Ullmann (ed.), *Akten der 10. Ägyptologischen Tempeltagung: Ägyptische Tempel zwischen Normierung und Individualität, München, 29-31. August 2014*, Wiesbaden, 2016, p. 179-194.

of Amun Nitocris.¹⁰⁸ According to the inscriptions in his tomb (TT 36),¹⁰⁹ he held three different priestly offices connected with two distinct temples of Montu in the Theban Nome. He was a *ḥm-ntr Mntw nb 'Iwnw / 'Iwnw-šm* and later advanced to being *imy-r ḥm.w-ntr n Mntw nb 'Iwnw / 'Iwnw-šm*.¹¹⁰ The latter title probably supplemented the office of *imy-r ḥm.w-ntr n Ḥw.t-Ḥr nb.t 'Iwn.t* borne earlier by Ibi as well as by his mother.¹¹¹ Additionally, the owner of TT 36 also held the position *ḥm-ntr Mntw* in the temple of Tod.¹¹²

Doc. 15. Theban tomb TT 279 of Pabasa

Relevant person(s)	Pabasa
Montu-related title(s)	<i>ḥm-ntr n Mntw nb W3s.t ḥry-ib 'Iwnw-šm</i> ; <i>imy-r ḥm.w-ntr n Mntw nb Drwt</i>
Date	Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Nitocris-Psamtik I)
Provenance	el-Asasif
Bibliography	G. Vittmann, “Neues zu Pabasa, Obermajordomus der Nitokris”, <i>SAK</i> 5, 1977, p. 245-264.

Succeeding Ibi, his son Pabasa – the owner of tomb TT 279¹¹³ – occupied the position of High Steward of the God’s Wife of Amun under Nitocris and Psamtik I. Pabasa was also connected with the cult of Montu. At Armant, he held the title *ḥm-ntr n Mntw nb W3s.t ḥry-ib 'Iwnw-šm*, while at Tod he supervised the local prophets as *imy-r ḥm.w-ntr n Mntw nb Drwt*.¹¹⁴

Doc. 16. Theban tomb TT 196 of Padihorresnet

Relevant person(s)	Padihorresnet
Montu-related title(s)	<i>imy-r ḥm.w-ntr n Mntw nb W3s.t ḥry-ib 'Iwnw-šm</i> ; <i>imy-r ḥm.w-ntr n Mntw nb Drwt</i>
Date	Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Nitocris-Psamtik I / Necho II / Psamtik II)
Provenance	el-Asasif
Bibliography	E. Graefe, <i>Das Grab des Padihorresnet, Obervermögensverwalter der Gottesgemahlin des Amun (Thebanisches Grab Nr. 196)</i> , <i>Monumenta Aegyptiaca</i> 9, Turnhout, 2003.

¹⁰⁸ G.P.F. BROEKMAN, “On the Administration of the Thebaid during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty”, *SAK* 41, 2012, p. 117-119. For High Stewards in general, see recently: O. PERDU, “Le grand intendant de l’adoratrice d’Amon thébain”, in F. Gombert-Meurice, F. Payraudeau (eds.), *Servir les dieux d’Égypte: Divines adoratrices, chanteuses et prêtres d’Amon à Thèbes*, Paris, p. 338-343.

¹⁰⁹ S. EINAUDI, *op. cit.*, p. 56-58 and 193-213.

¹¹⁰ *JWIS* IV, p. 637, 645, 646 and 652 (59.48).

¹¹¹ G.P.F. BROEKMAN, *SAK* 41, 2012, p. 118.

¹¹² *JWIS* IV, p. 637 (59.48).

¹¹³ S. EINAUDI, *op. cit.*, p. 58-60 and 215-235.

¹¹⁴ *JWIS* IV, p. 661 and 664 (59.55).

Being the great-grandson of Ibi, Padihorresnet – the owner of tomb TT 196¹¹⁵ – came from a family of officials who served the God’s Wife Nitocris.¹¹⁶ He inherited several titles from his predecessors Pabasa and Ibi connected with the cults at Qus and Asyut. Furthermore, his leading position in the temples of Armant and Tod is indicated by the offices “overseer of the prophets of Montu, lord of Thebes within Armant” (*imy-r hm.w-ntr n Mnṯw nb W3s.t hry-ib ’Iwnw-šm*) and “overseer of the prophets of Montu, lord of Tod” (*imy-r hm.w-ntr n Mnṯw nb Drwt*), respectively.

Doc. 17. P. Louvre E 7839 (TM no. 46136)

Relevant person(s)	Padiatum
Montu-related title(s)	<i>ibṯ n pr Mnṯ nb ’Iwnw</i>
Date	Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Amasis)
Provenance	Thebes
Bibliography	K. Donker Van Heel, <i>Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts Collected by the Theban Choachytes in the Reign of Amasis: Papyri from the Louvre Eisenlohr Lot</i> , Leiden, 1995, p. 216-221 (doc. 21).

P. Louvre E 7839, dated to year 37 of Amasis (534 BC), is an early demotic land lease which formed part of the archive of Djekhy and his son Ituredj. The latter rented an endowment field to the tenant Padiatum in return for a share of the harvest at the end of the season. The field in question provided the income to support the care of the tomb of Djekhy, son of Bes(en)mut, a member of the prominent Besenmut family.¹¹⁷

The only title recorded for Padiatum is “apiarist of the domain of Montu, lord of Armant” (*ibṯ n pr Mnṯ nb ’Iwnw*). In ancient Egypt, apiculture and honey harvesting were minor industries and needed specialists, i.e., beekeepers, who were responsible for bees and the collection of honey.¹¹⁸ Pharaohs usually donated honey to temple facilities, as is described in the Twenty-second Dynasty Chronicle of Osorkon, where honey is mentioned among the donations made to the temple of Karnak.¹¹⁹ Honey was an expensive commodity; its economic, religious, cosmetic and medical uses remained essential until the very end of the pharaonic era and it was a recurrent element among the offerings dedicated to the gods in temple rituals¹²⁰ and to the deceased in the mortuary cult. Apiarists such as Padiatum were usually attached to temple economies.¹²¹

¹¹⁵ S. EINAUDI, *op. cit.*, p. 62-63 and 259-274.

¹¹⁶ G.P.F. BROEKMAN, *SAK* 41, 2012, p. 119-120.

¹¹⁷ K. DONKER VAN HEEL, *Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts Collected by the Theban Choachytes in the Reign of Amasis: Papyri from the Louvre Eisenlohr Lot*, Leiden, 1995, p. 22-23. For the Book of the Dead papyrus of Djekhy, see: JWIS IV, p. 559-560 (57.290). See also: L. BOHNENKÄMPER, in *Weitergabe*, Wiesbaden, 2015, p. 112.

¹¹⁸ For beekeeping and honey production, see *inter alia*: B. S. FEIERABEND, *Biene und Honig im pharaonischen Ägypten: Eine Studie anhand schriftlicher und bildlicher Quellen*, Mainz, 2009; G. KRITSKY, *The Tears of Re: Beekeeping in Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, 2015.

¹¹⁹ R.A. CAMINOS, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon, AnOr* 37, Roma, 1958, p. 142 (§ 222) and 170 (§ 276).

¹²⁰ M. ZECCHI, “On the Offering of Honey in the Graeco-Roman Temples”, *Aegyptus* 77, 1997, p. 71-83.

¹²¹ In Christian times, beekeepers were attached to Coptic monasteries: H. SATZINGER, P.J. SIJPESTEIJN, “Zwei koptische Papyri aus der Papyrussammlung der Princeton Universtiy”, *Enchoria* 16, 1988, p. 49-53.

So far, P. Louvre E 7839 is the only document in which an apiarist attached to the cult of Montu appears. To the best of my knowledge, there is no temple scene where honey is offered to Montu as it was related mainly to ithyphallic and procreative deities (especially Min) testifying to the connection between honey (as an aphrodisiac) and fertility/sexuality.¹²² For that very reason, a special group of priests in the Coptite Nome were called “beekeepers (of Min)” (*fdty (Mnw)*).¹²³

Doc. 18. Statue Baltimore, WAG/WAM 180 (22.175)

Relevant person(s)	Pakharkhonsu
Montu-related title(s)	<i>hm-ntr 3-nw n Mntw nb 'Iwnw-šm</i> ; <i>hm-ntr Mntw nb W3s.t</i>
Date	Twenty-sixth Dynasty
Provenance	Karnak Cachette
Bibliography	K. Jansen-Winkeln, <i>Inscripfen der Spätzeit IV. Die 26. Dynastie II. Gottesgemahlinnen / 26. Dynastie insgesamt</i> , Wiesbaden, 2014, p. 1047-1048 (60.539).

The naophorous kneeling statue of Pakharkhonsu, son of Nesbanebdjed, can be dated to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. The owner bore several titles relating to the domain of Amun (*iri fd.t, sš hsb* and *sš htm.t-ntr*) and he was also a “servant of the light” (*hm-wn*),¹²⁴ a *hmk(-nwn)*-priest in *'Iwnw-šm*¹²⁵ and an “embracer of the wedjat-eye” (*hpt wd3.t*).¹²⁶ In the priesthood of Montu, Pakharkhonsu occupied two distinct positions: *hm-ntr 3-nw n Mntw nb 'Iwnw-šm* and *hm-ntr Mntw nb W3s.t*. The former was connected with the cult of the god at Armant while the latter positioned him at North Karnak.

The hierarchical structure of the priesthood of Montu is rarely documented in the first millennium BC. However, Harsiese, witness no. 26 in the SOP, bore the same title (*hm-ntr 3-nw Mntw nb 'Iwnw-šm*) as Pakharkhonsu.¹²⁷ Furthermore, Pasherienmut and Montuemhat B, respectively the son and grandson of Montuemhat A, were third prophets of Montu, lord of Thebes, as evidenced by the statue Cairo CG 42243 and witness no. 47 in the SOP.¹²⁸

¹²² M. ZECCHI, *Aegyptus* 77, 1997, p. 72.

¹²³ H. GAUTHIER, *Le personnel du dieu Min*, Le Caire, 1931, p. 85-87; D. KLOTZ, “Regionally Specific Sacerdotal Titles in Late Period Egypt: Soubasements vs. Private Monuments”, in A. Rickert, B. Ventker (eds.), *Altägyptische Enzyklopädien: Die Soubasements in den Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, Soubasementstudien I/2, SSR 7/2, Wiesbaden, 2014, p. 758.

¹²⁴ J. YOYOTTE, “Prêtres et sanctuaires du nome héliopolite à la Basse Époque”, *BIFAO* 54, 1954, p. 102-105; L. COULON, “Les statues d’Osiris en pierre provenant de la Cachette de Karnak et leur contribution à l’étude des cultes et des formes locales du dieu”, in L. Coulon (ed.), *La Cachette de Karnak: Nouvelles perspectives sur les découvertes de Georges Legrain*, BdE 161, Le Caire, 2016, p. 528-530.

¹²⁵ A. MASSON-BERGHOF *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 668.

¹²⁶ C.M. SHEIKHOESLAMI, *BSFE* 204, 2021, p. 105.

¹²⁷ R.A. PARKER, *op. cit.*, p. 21 and pl. 9 (line 9).

¹²⁸ JWIS IV, p. 153-154 (53.278); R. A. PARKER, *op. cit.*, p. 27 (no. 47).

Doc. 19. Funerary stela BM EA 8460

Relevant person(s)	Djedmontuiufankh
Montu-related title(s)	<i>iry- ʒ n Mntw nb 'Iwnw-šm</i>
Date	Twenty-sixth Dynasty
Provenance	Thebes
Bibliography	K. Jansen-Winkeln, <i>Inschriften der Spätzeit IV. Die 26. Dynastie II. Gottesgemahlinnen / 26. Dynastie insgesamt</i> , Wiesbaden, 2014, p. 1078 (60.601).

This Theban funerary stela belongs to P. Munro's "Theben IID" type which can be dated roughly between the late 7th and early 6th century BC.¹²⁹ Below the offering scene – depicting the deceased in adoration before Re-Harakhty, Isis and the Four Sons of Horus – a standard offering formula is inscribed in three lines containing the title and name of the owner: “the doorkeeper of Montu, lord of Armant” (*iry- ʒ n Mntw nb 'Iwnw-šm*) Djedmontuiufankh. The owner held a non-priestly position in the temple administration,¹³⁰ controlling access at the entrance of the temple and supervising certain units of the temple economy of Armant. Further doorkeepers in the temples of Montu are known in the Graeco-Roman Period.¹³¹

Doc. 20. Base of a wooden female statuette (collection of Raymond Sabatier)

Relevant person(s)	Namenkhamun and Djedamuniufankh
Montu-related title(s)	<i>hm-ntr Mntw nb 'Iwnw-šm</i> ; <i>hm-ntr Mntw nb Wʒs.t</i>
Date	Late Period (probably Twenty-sixth Dynasty)
Provenance	unknown (probably Thebes)
Bibliography	G. Legrain, “Textes recueillis dans quelques collections particulières”, <i>Rec Trav</i> 14, 1893, p. 56-57 (no. 35).

This base of a wooden female statuette came from the collection of the French consul in Egypt Jean-Baptiste Gabriel Raymond-Sabatier (1810-1879), part of which was sold at Hôtel Drouot in 1890. Six lines of inscription can be observed on the upper part of the base containing an offering formula addressing Anubis, lord of the Sacred Land (*nb tʒ dsr*) while another short text runs around the sides. The statuette was dedicated to the August Lady of the House (*nb.t pr šps.t*) *Tʒyʒs-gy*, whose father Djedamuniufankh was a prophet of Montu of Thebes and a scribe of the divine seal of Amun. The inscriptions also mention the husband of the honorée,

¹²⁹ P. MUNRO, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen, Ägyptologische Forschungen* 25, Glückstadt, 1973, p. 38 and 222. See also: C.M. SHEIKHOESLAMI, “Doorkeepers in Third Intermediate to Saite Period Thebes”, *JARCE* 59, 2023, p. 203 (no. 63).

¹³⁰ For doorkeepers in the Ramesside Period at Deir el-Medina, see also: M. GOECKE-BAUER, “Untersuchungen zu den Torwächtern”, in J.J. Janssen, E. Froom, M. Goecke-Bauer (eds.), *Woodcutters, Potters and Doorkeepers: Service Personnel of the Deir el-Medina Workmen*, *EU* 17, Leiden, 2003, p. 63-153; K. GABLER, *Who's Who Around Deir el-Medina: Untersuchungen zur Organisation, Prosopographie und Entwicklung des Versorgungspersonals für die Arbeitersiedlung und das Tal der Könige*, *EU* 31, Leiden, Leuven, 2018, p. 485-488.

¹³¹ U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Die demotischen Tempeleide I-II, ÄA* 6, Wiesbaden, p. 273-275 (no. 164); C. ANDREWS, *Ptolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area*, *CDPBM* 4, London, 1990, p. 31-34 (no. 6).

Namenkhamun, who held the title “prophet of Montu, lord of Armant” (*ḥm-ntr Mntw nb 'Iwnw-šm*). The statuette was dedicated by the son of *Tzyꜣs-qy*, who was named after his maternal grandfather Djedamuniufankh.

Doc. 21. P. Louvre E 3231b (TM no. 46827)

Relevant person(s)	Hor
Montu-related title(s)	<i>w' b n Mnt nb 'Iwnw</i>
Date	Twenty-seventh Dynasty (Darius I)
Provenance	Thebes
Bibliography	E. Cruz-Uribe, “Two Early Demotic Letters from Thebes (P. dém. Louvre E. 3231c and 3231b)”, <i>RdE</i> 51, 2000, p. 9-15; K. Jansen-Winkel, <i>Inschriften der Spätzeit V. Die 27.–30. Dynastie und die Argeadenzeit I. Kambyzes-Tachos</i> , Wiesbaden, 2023, p. 73 (63.156).

P. Louvre E 3231b might have belonged to the archive of Tsenhor, however, there are still uncertainties regarding its original context.¹³² The document, dated to year 25 of Darius I (497 BC), deals with the cultivation of farmland which was part of a larger domain bordered by the place (*tꜣ s.t*) of Hor, son of Wennefer, who was a *w' b*-priest of Montu of Armant (*w' b n Mnt nb 'Iwnw*). Although priests of the local form of the god appear only sporadically in Saito-Persian archives,¹³³ they are documented more frequently – either individually or collectively – on later papyri.¹³⁴

Conclusion

The long witness list of the SOP, on the one hand, provides an extraordinary opportunity to study the higher echelons of Theban society as well as the interconnections between the most prominent families in the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties. The main oracle text, on the other hand, provides insight into an uncommon request addressed to Amun by a son on behalf of his father regarding a transfer of service from the cult of Amun to that of Montu(-Re-Harakhty). The public petition was eventually approved by the supreme deity of Karnak. But in which temple could Harsiese’s new workplace be located?

Based on the variant of the theonym and the toponym *'Iwnw-šm* in the oracle text and its witness-copies, the present study has shown that Harsiese fulfilled his new priestly duties not in the solar shrine on the roof of the Akhmenu – as was suggested by Parker – but in the temple of Armant since *'Iwnw-šm* could designate this cult place, especially in relation to Montu at this time and even earlier in the Ramesside and the Third Intermediate Periods. This conclusion can be further confirmed by the following facts: (1) out of the thirteen witnesses who were

¹³² K. DONKER VAN HEEL, *Mrs. Tsenhor: A Female Entrepreneur in Ancient Egypt*, Cairo, New York, 2014, p. 202-204.

¹³³ Cf. the notarial family of North Karnak in the archive of Tsenhor: P.W. PESTMAN, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor (P. Tsenhor): Les archives privées d'une femme égyptienne du temps de Darius I^{er}*, *Studia Demotica* 4, Leuven, p. 155-158 (§ 1).

¹³⁴ G. BOTTI, *L'archivio demotico da Deir el-Medineh I-II*, Firenze, 1967, p. 96-103 (no. 12) and 131-135 (no. 24); C. ANDREWS, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

associated with the cult of Montu and who certified the document, five persons served at Armant (see *supra*, fig. 2); and (2) both Amenemhat, the recorder of the oracle, and his father *Ns-Hnsw-wn-nhw* held titles in connection with the Hermonthite temple.

One can presume that a priestly delegation travelled from Armant for this significant event that took place in Karnak in order to witness Amun's verdict as well as to accept and welcome their new fellow priest personally. Although not contemporary evidence, the analogy with the installation of the new Buchis bulls in the Graeco-Roman Period is unequivocal. Many Bucheum stelae mention that both Theban and Hermonthite residents gathered to participate in the coronation ceremony welcoming the new earthly manifestation of Montu.¹³⁵ Furthermore, the enthronement of the sacred animal was also preceded by a processional oracle delivered by Amenope of Djeme in the Luxor Temple as the last word about the installation of the chosen candidate.¹³⁶

From the additional prosopography, it can be deduced that the composition of the personnel of Montu at Armant in the period under discussion comprised *inter alia* prophets (docs. 1-8, 11, 18, 20), scribes (docs. 9-10, 13), *w'b*-priests (doc. 21), doorkeepers (doc. 19) and beekeepers (doc. 17). In comparison with priests of Montu *nb W3s.t* in the influential families of Montuemhat, Besenmut and Hor A, the number of the god's personnel attached to the temple of Armant is still not well attested. However, many persons serving this cult came from prominent families or held elevated positions. Just to mention a few of them, *'Imn-m-in.t* (i)'s son Djedthothiufankh (A) (docs. 2-3) married the daughter of Sheshonq I and became a third prophet of Amun.¹³⁷ Iufaa and Nesbanebdjed (i) (docs. 4 and 7-8) – the latter being the son of Ankhpakhered (ix) – were both governors of Thebes.¹³⁸ Pamiu (ii) (doc. 11) occupied the positions of third prophet of Amun, governor of Thebes and vizier; moreover, he was the last attested viceroy of Kush.¹³⁹

The significance of Montu can be also traced in the titulary of some Twenty-sixth Dynasty High Stewards since the control of the divine cult at Armant (and Tod) was concentrated in the hands of three consecutive members of one family (Ibi, Pabasa and Padihorresnet). Bearing the title “overseer of the prophets of Montu”, they were in charge of the local priesthood in the southernmost temples of the god during the reigns of Psamtik I and Psamtik II (664-589 BC).

Interregional connections between the temples of the Theban Palladium and the personnel attached to the local hypostases of Montu can also be revealed by some of the documents. The titles on docs. 7-10, 18 and 20 confirm that either the owners served both in the temples of Armant and North Karnak or there were, at least, two members of a family whose duties linked them to one or the other of these sites. Docs. 11 and 14-16, on the other hand, belonged to persons whose titulary includes titles in relation to Armant and Tod. The riverine procession between the two southernmost temples of Montu is well-known from the scenes of the Ramesside tomb of Khonsu (TT 31), the blocks from the Ptolemaic temple library of Tod and

¹³⁵ For the relevant documents, see: D. KLOTZ, *Caesar in the City of Amun*, Turnhout, 2012, p. 400, n. (b) (with n. 107).

¹³⁶ See stela Cairo JE 53147 (= Bucheum stela no. 9): J.-C. GRENIER, “Les pérégrinations d'un Boukhis en Haute Thébaïde”, in C. Thiers (ed.), *Documents de Théologies Thébaines Tardives (D3T 1)*, CENiM 3, Montpellier, 2009, p. 39-48; D. KLOTZ, “Two Overlooked Oracles”, *JEA* 96, 2010, p. 251-254; G. SCHREIBER, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

¹³⁷ F. PAYRAUDEAU, *Administration, société et pouvoir*, Le Caire, 2014, p. 137.

¹³⁸ *Id.*, *RdE* 54, 2003, p. 134-135 (no. 3) and 140-141 (no. 10).

¹³⁹ *Id.*, in *Servir les dieux d'Égypte*, Paris, 2018, p. 64-75; C M. SHEIKHOESLAMI, in *Deir el-Bahari Studies 2*, Warsaw, 2018, p. 329-330 and 333.

other Graeco-Roman temple texts.¹⁴⁰ Due to the lack of similar epigraphic evidence for Armant and North Karnak, the cultic relation between these locales seems to be less evident. However, the titles of *Ns-Ḥnsw-wn-nḥw* (docs. 9-10) and Pakharkhonsu (doc. 18) undoubtedly attest to such a connection.

What could the motivation behind the transfer of Harsiese's services from the cult of Amun of Karnak to that of Montu of Armant be? Did he have a more personal connection to Montu or his southern temple? Why was it Pamiu who intervened on behalf of his father? Was Harsiese an old man at that time¹⁴¹ or, as a *w' b*-priest of Amun, was he one of the bearers of the divine bark illustrated in the initial vignette of the papyrus so he could not receive the oracular decision directly? Let me stop at this point with these questions which though currently unanswered, will hopefully drive scholarly minds to explore further details related to this extraordinary private document.

Postscript

In the meantime, a few other private monuments have turned up complementing the above-discussed dossier of the author on the pre-Ptolemaic personnel of Montu at Armant. The documents are attached below:

Doc. 22. Lid of an anthropoid coffin from the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192)

Relevant person(s)	Mer-...]
Montu-related title(s)	<i>ḥm-ntr Mntw nb W3s.t ḥry-ib 'Iwnw-šm</i> ˆ
Date	Twenty-fifth Dynasty
Provenance	el-Asasif (TT 192)
Bibliography	L. Habachi, "Clearance of the Tomb of Kheruef at Thebes (1957-1958)", <i>ASAE</i> 55, 1958, p. 325-350 and pls. I-XXII.

Docs. 23-24. Funerary stelae Athens Nat. Arch. Mus. Ξ 189 and 190

Relevant person(s)	Padihor (father of the owner of the stelae)
Montu-related title(s)	<i>ḥm-ntr Mntw nb 'Iwnw-šm</i> ˆ
Date	late Twenty-sixth Dynasty
Provenance	probably Thebes
Bibliography	PM VIII/4, p. 443-444 (803-077-021) and 444 (803-077-022).

¹⁴⁰ S. DEMICHELIS, *op. cit.*, p. 69-71; C. THIERS, *BIFAO* 104, 2004, p. 560-562; D. KLOTZ, *Caesar in the City of Amun*, Turnhout, 2012, p. 162-167; F. UGLIANO, "TT 31 of Khonsu at Sheik Abd el-Gurnah (Thebes): Researches into Constructed Landscapes", *Acme* 66/1-2, 2014, p. 7-32.

¹⁴¹ K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *SAK* 47, 2018, p. 131.