

## *ḥsyt n(t) ḥnw n ḥm-ntr tpy n Imn: A Proposal of Translation*

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[During the 3<sup>rd</sup> Intermediate Period, a female title related to the cult of Amun proliferated: *ḥsyt n ḥnw n Imn*, translated as “Singer in the Residence of the Temple of Amun”. Nevertheless, there are two more documents in which there is a title quite similar to the previous one: *ḥsyt n(t) ḥnw n ḥm-ntr tpy n Imn*. The last one offer some difficulties concerning the correct translation. Thus, the aim of this paper is to propose a new translation of this title, as well as offering the comprehensive analysis of the documents.]

**Keywords:** Favourite – Singer – *ḥsyt* – 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty

The title *ḥsyt n(t) ḥnw n ḥm-ntr tpy n Imn* is attested only in two documents. The first one is the stela A. 62, located in the Calvet Museum in Avignon (pl. 1). Its measures are 25 cm x 20 cm and it is made of wooden stucco, whose decoration is painted; in spite of its bad preservation, it still keeps some of its original polychromy. This stela follows P. Munro’s pattern of “Ganzbild-Stelen” or “Bubastidischer Typ”, since it consists of a scene in which the text is written on the figures of the deceased and the deity by way of legend.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the god is shown on the right side, a detail that differs from the pattern followed in the rest of the funerary stelae of this period.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription shows the following text:



(1) *d<d> mdw(?) (i)n Wsir<sup>3</sup> nb nh[h] n* (2) *ḥsyt(t) n(t) ḥnw n ḥm-ntr tp(y) n Imn* (3) *s3t/ḥmt=f n ḥm-ntr tpy n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> imy-r3 m3<sup>c</sup> Tw[pwt] m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw* (4) *Nsy-(5)-t3-nb-t3wy*

1. P. Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, ÄF 25, (Glückstadt, 1973), pp. 11-14.

2. This was also pointed out by A. Moret, “Monuments égyptiens du Musée Calvet à Avignon”, *RT* 35 (1913), p. 54, “La divinité est placée, par exception, à droite”.

3. The portable seat (Q2), that sometimes replaces the ordinary seat (Q1) in Middle Egyptian, does not look like the sign written on the stela.

(1) Words spoken (?) by Osiris, the lord of the *nḥḥ*-eternity, for (2) the favourite of the Residence of the HPA<sup>4</sup> (3) his daughter/wife of the HPA, general of the army, Iu[put], justified (4) Nesi-(5)–tanebtauy.

A. Moret<sup>5</sup> dealt, for the first time, with this stela in the first decade of the last century, he described each of its elements and translated its brief text as follows: “Dit par Osiris... La grande chanteuse de la maison du prophète en chef d’Amon ... du prophète en chef d’Amon”. S. Aufrère<sup>6</sup> translated, once again, this brief text, adding Osiris’s epithet, “the lord of eternity”<sup>7</sup> and the names of the deceased and the HPA Iuput. Regarding these two last elements, some aspects need to be clarified.

Due to damage in this part of the stela (fig. 1), there are some discrepancies<sup>8</sup> regarding whether he is the HPA Iuput or not. On the one hand, he might be Iuput, son of Shoshenq I, the founder of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, hypothesis supported by S. Aufrère,<sup>9</sup> H. Saleh<sup>10</sup> and F. Payraudeau.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, M. Loth<sup>12</sup> asserts that he would be Iuwelot, son of Osorkon I, the second king of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty. It is difficult to determine who this person really is, because the text is poorly preserved, even the title *imy-r3 mšꜥ* “general of the army”<sup>13</sup> does not allow us to distinguish between one or the other.

4. From now on, the abbreviation HPA stands for “High priest of Amun”. In addition, it will be used 4PA and PA for “Fourth priest of Amun” and “Priest of Amun”, respectively.

5. Moret, *RT* 30, (1913), p. 54, pl. 7, n° 3.

6. S. Aufrère, “Stèle de Nes-ba-neb-taouy”, in: M-P. Foissy-Aufrère, (ed.), *Égypte & Provence: civilisation, survivances et cabinet de curiosité*, (Avignon, 1985), p. 47.

7. Aufrère (Avignon, 1985), p. 47, n. 3 claimed that the epithet of Osiris is *nb dt*, but this spelling is incorrect since the sign  $\text{𓂏}$  *h* can be seen. Therefore, this epithet would be *nb nḥḥ*, see LGG III, 667-669.

8. U. Effland, J. Budka and A. Effland, *Studien zum Osiriskult in Umm el-Qaab/Abydos – Ein Vorbericht*, *MDAIK* 66 (2010), p. 73, n. 296, set out, for the first time, the problem of the identification of the person, dealing with the studies in which the main options are laid out.

9. Aufrère, (Avignon, 1985), p. 47.

10. H. Saleh, *Investigating Ethnic and Gender Identities as expressed on Wooden Funerary Stelae from The Libyan Period (c.1069-715 B.C.E) in Egypt*, BAR 1734, (Oxford, 2007), pp. 459 and 551.

11. F. Payraudeau, *Administration, société et pouvoir à Thèbes sous la XXIIe Dynastie Bubastite*, vol. 2, BdE 160, (Paris, 2014), vol. 2, p. 422.

12. M. Loth, “Thebanische Totenstelen der Dritten Zwischenzeit: Ikonographie und Datierung”, in: G.P.F. Broekman, R.J. Demarée & O.F. Kaper, (eds.), *The Libyan Period in Egypt. Historical and Cultural Studies. Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 25-27 October 2007*, (Leiden, 2009), p. 226, n. 40.







13. In this case, it is necessary to make an explanation: the full title is *imy-r3 mšꜥ wr* “generalissimo of the army”. Therefore, this stela would be the first source where either Iuput or Iuwelot would hold that variant of the previous title. For Iuput, the documents are: the Djedphaiuefankh’s bandage (DB 320), the statue London EA 1307, the stela Gebel el-Silsila n° 100, the Bubastide Portal in Karnak; The HPA Residence, Karnak and the fragmentary stela TN 3/12/24/1. For Iuwelot, the documents are: The Apanage Stela, the stela London EA 1224 and the offerings table Moscow I.1.a.5000(4154). For more information about these objects, see G. Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Deir El-Bahari*, (Paris, 1889), pp. 572-573; M. Benson, J. Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher: An Account of the Excavation of the Temple and of the Religious Representations and Objects found therein, as illustrating the History of Egypt and the main Religious Ideas of the Egyptians*, (London, 1899), pp. 349-350; G. Legrain, “Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 31 Octobre 1902 au 15 Mai 1903”, *ASAE* 5 (1904), pp. 1-43; R. A. Caminos, “Gebel Es-Silsilah No. 100”, *JEA* 38 (1952), pp. 46-61; P. Anus, R. Saad, “Habitations de prêtres dans le temple d’Amon de Karnak”, *Kêmi* 21 (1971), pp. 217-238; K. Jansen-Winkel, “Die Stele London BM 1224”, *SAK* 17, (1990), pp. 215-219; O. Berlev, S. Hodjash, *Catalogue of the Monuments of Ancient Egypt from the Museums of the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Bielorrussia, Caucasus, Middle Asia and the Baltic states*, (Fribourg, 1998), pp. 157, 161, n. 105; The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak – Volume III. The Bubastite Portal*, OIP 74, (Chicago, 1954), pp. vii-xiii, pls. 1-12; K. Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit. Teil II: Die 22.-24. Dynastie*, (Wiesbaden, 2007), pp. 77-88, n° 16.8.



Plate 1. Courtesy of the Calvet Foundation, 1823. Avignon, Calvet Museum, inv. A. 62.



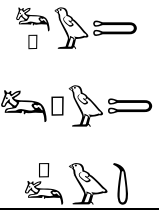


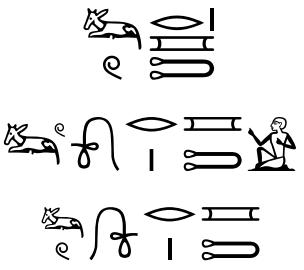

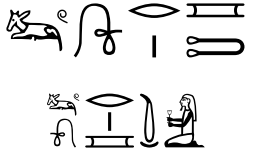






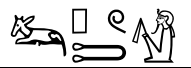
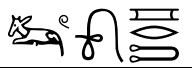



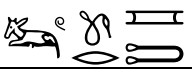
Figure 1. Detail of the title and the name of the HPA on the stela A.62. Courtesy of the Calvet Foundation, 1823. Avignon, Calvet Museum, inv. A. 62.












The remains of the sign  *iw* (E9) can be seen in the detail of figure 1; however, the next ones are almost impossible to see, except the last two that seem to correspond with  *m<sup>3</sup>-hrw* “justified”. Therefore, it is necessary to observe the remaining space and determine which signs might have appeared here. In order to do that, table 1, gathering the spellings<sup>14</sup> of the names of Iuput and Iuwelot, has been conceived. Starting from the idea that it has to be a short spelling, it would correspond with   for Iuput and with   for Iuwelot, just like A. Effland<sup>15</sup> claimed. Nevertheless, the last one is an unusual spelling if compared with the rest, since these always have some common elements. In addition, the variant of Iuput’s name that seems to fit best here is the most frequently found in the sources, so it would not be surprising that his name was written like this here as well.

14. F. Colin, *Les libyens en Égypte (XV<sup>e</sup> siècle a.C. – II<sup>e</sup> siècle p. C.). Onomastique et histoire*, PhD Thesis, (Bruxelles, 1996), vol. 2, pp. 5-6, 9. It is the only work where the different spellings of Libyan names, including Iuput and Iuwelot, have been shown, however, it is incomplete.

15. U. Effland, J. Budka, and A. Effland, *MDAIK* 66 (2010), p. 73, n. 296.

TABLE 1: Spellings of the names of Iuput and Iuwelot

Iuput		Iuwelot	
	Bandage of Djedptahiuiefankh		Theban Nile Level Record n° 16 (Karnak)
	Stela Gebel el-Silsila n°100		Apanage Stela JE 31882
	Vase JE 37457		Stela London EA 1224
	Bubastide Portal (Karnak)		Vase JE 37458
	Stela TN 3/12/24/1		Vase Ab K 1188
	The Abydos Cenotaph		Vase Ab K 2405
	Statue Cairo JE 36931/CG 42207		Offerings Table, Moscow I.1.a.5000(4154)
	Relief of el-Hibeh Temple		Vase E 22396/MG 4897
	Fragment of the Coffin UC 14225		Pectoral UC 13124


	Statue London EA 1307		Statue JE 36939/CG 42215
	Arm of the statue London EA 1307 <sup>16</sup>		Canopic Jars Ramesseum, n° 2008.STC.011- 014
	Ostracon Abydos <sup>17</sup>		
	Vase Abydos, Ab K 2363 a+b, Ab K 2404 a-c		
	HPA Residence, Karnak		
	Statue JE 91720/SR 15624		
	Statue Cairo JE 36920/CG 42213		
	Statue JE 36704/CG 42206		
	Statue JE 36679/CG 42208		

16. Jansen-Winkeln, (Wiesbaden, 2007), pp. 29-30, n° 12.39; H. Brandl, *Untersuchungen zur steinernen Privatplastik der Dritten Zwischenzeit: Typologie, Ikonographie, Stilistik*, (Berlin, 2008), vol. 1, p. 275 and 291-292. It has been assumed that the fragment of the arm belongs to the statue London EA 1307.

17. P. Vernus, "Inscriptions de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire (II)", *BIFAO* 75, (1975), p. 70, n. 5, and F. Colin (Bruxelles, 1996), vol. 2, p. 6, n. 5, have concluded that the two transcriptions made by E. Amélineau, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos (1897-1898)*, (Paris, 1904), p. 203, n° 13 and 280, n° 13, belong to the same fragment.

The name of the deceased is another problem among the researchers. S. Aufrère<sup>18</sup> thought that it was “Nesbanebtaouy”, F. Payraudeau<sup>19</sup> “Nestanebetisheru”, and H. Saleh<sup>20</sup> and A. Effland<sup>21</sup>, “Nestanebtaouy/Nestanebettauy”. The root *Ns*, found in the previous readings of the name, can be seen with some clarity in the detail of the inscription (fig. 2). Due to its bad preservation, the

beginning of the next column is the most problematic part of the name. The next signs seem to be  $\ominus$

*t* and, probably,  3. Finally, *nb-t3wy* can be clearly seen, invalidating F. Payraudeau’s proposal. Therefore, the full name would be “Nesitanebtauy” (which belongs to the Lord of the Two Lands).<sup>22</sup> Regarding her family bonds, H. Saleh<sup>23</sup> claimed that she was the daughter of the HPA Iput and F. Payraudeau<sup>24</sup> agreed with Saleh’s filiation. However, the bad preservation of the inscription makes it difficult, once again, to prove it.

In figure 3, the signs are not clear at all as far as its identification is concerned. At first sight, the word seems to be *s3t* “daughter”, followed by a female determinative<sup>25</sup> that is not preserved. In this case, the spelling is unusual because the sign  $\bigcirc$  (X3) as *t* is uncommon and it would be found before

$\bigcirc$  *s3*. However, instead of *s3*, it could be  $\bigcirc$  *hmt* “wife”. This word would also be followed by a female determinative and the signs arranged in the same way, as well as in the previous case. Therefore, there would be two possibilities: on the one hand, it would confirm the existence of a second daughter of the HPA Iput, together with Neskhnosupakhered (A)<sup>26</sup> as shown in option A (fig. 4). On the other hand, this stela would be the first document in which a wife<sup>27</sup> of this HPA would be attested, as shown in option B (fig. 5).

18. Aufrère, (Avignon, 1985), p. 47.

19. Payraudeau, (Paris, 2014), vol. 2, p. 422.

20. Saleh, (Oxford, 2007), pp. 459, 551.

21. U. Effland, J. Budka, A. Effland, *MDAIK* 66 (2010), p. 73, n. 296.

22. Ranke, PN I, 179, 16.

23. Saleh, (Oxford, 2007), p. 459 and 551.

24. Payraudeau, (Paris, 2014), vol. 2, p. 422.

25. *Wb* III: 411, 8; TLA lemna-no. 125630.

26. Neskhnosupakhered A appears as the daughter of HPA Iput in the documents of her son, the 4PA Djedjehutyiefankh B, called Nakhtefmut A: the wooden stela found in the Ramesseum, statue Cairo JE 36704/CG 42206, the statue Cairo JE 36931/CG 42207, the statue Cairo JE 36679/CG 42208 and the statue Cairo JE 91720/SR 15624. For more information about these objects, see J. E. Quibell, W. Spiegelberg, *The Ramesseum*, (London, 1898), p. 21, pl. 30A; P. Barguet, J. Leclant, *Karnak-Nord IV: 1949-1951*, FIFAO 25, (Cairo, 1954), vol. 1, pp. 145-150; R. El-Sayed, “Nekhtefmout, supérieur des porte-encensoirs (I)”, *ASAE* 69, (1983), pp. 219-240; K. Jansen-Winkel, (Wiesbaden, 2007), pp. 141-144, n° 18.78; Brandl, (Berlin, 2008), pp. 228-229, pls. 128, 183c, 184b.















27. H. Kees, *Das Priestertum in Ägyptischen Staat vom neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit*, ProblÄg 1, (Leiden, 1953), p. 182; *Die Hohenpriester des Amun von Karnak von Herihor bis zum ende der Äthiopienzeit*, (Leiden, 1964), p. 84-5, n. 1, and D. B. Redford, “Studies in Relations between Palestine and Egypt during the first millennium B.C.”, *JAOS* 93, (1973), p. 9, suggested that Iput would have married a lady named Shepenese. These authors based their idea on the statue JE 91720/SR 15624. However, their idea is wrong, since they thought that the two Neskhnosupakhered ladies, who appeared in the document, were the same person. If we look at the text, there is no doubt that they are two different women. On the one hand,  [...]  [...]  [...]  [...]  [...]  [...]  [...]  [...]  [...]  [...]  [...]  [...]  [...]  [...]  [...]



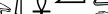











Figure 2. Detail of the deceased's name on the stela A.62. Courtesy of the Calvet Foundation, 1823.  
Avignon, Calvet Museum, inv. A. 62.



Figure 3. Detail of the family bond on the stela A.62. Courtesy of the Calvet Foundation, 1823.  
Avignon, Calvet Museum, inv. A. 62.

Dje(d)khonsuiuefankh, justified, that lady of the house, Neskhonsup(a)khered, has conceived, daughter of the HPA, overseer of the Upper Egypt, Iuput, royal son, lord of the Two Lands, Shoshenq Meriamun, that he lives”, and

[] [...]      [...]        

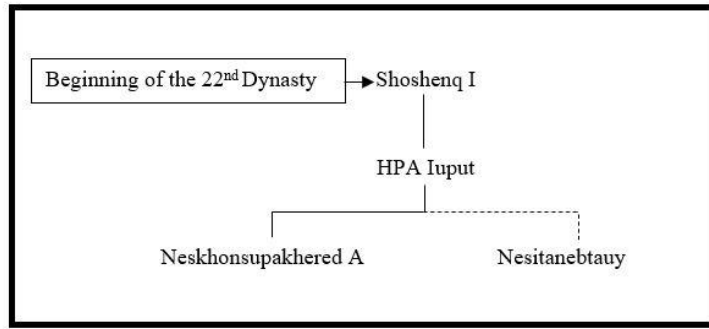


Figure 4. Option A.

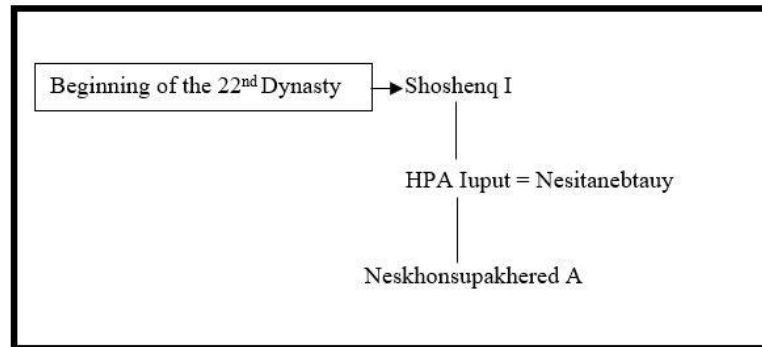
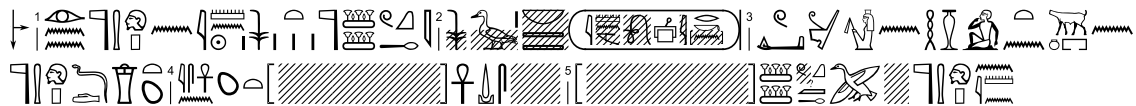


Figure 5. Option B.

The title *hsyt n(t) hnw n hm-ntr tpy n Imn* does not appear complete in the second document, but it is likely to be the same. This is a hieroglyphic graffito,<sup>28</sup> located on the east wall of the Colonnade Hall in front of an image of the goddess Mut in the Luxor Temple (pl. 2; fig. 6). G. Daressy<sup>29</sup> transcribed it and the Epigraphic Survey<sup>30</sup> translated it and published a photograph and a drawing; this inscription is also mentioned in other studies.<sup>31</sup>



(1) *Ir.n (i)n hm-ntr tp(y) n Imn-R<sup>c</sup> nsw ntrw ššnq m<sup>3c</sup>-hrw* (2) *s3 nsw nb t3wy Wsrkn mry-Imn* (3) *dī.n=i n hsynt n(t) hnw n hm-ntr tp(y) dd-b3stt*-(4)-*iw=s-‘nh s3t [...]* *‘nh wd3 s(nb) [...]*(5) *[...] ššnq m<sup>3c</sup>-hrw p3 hm-ntr tp(y) n Imn*


28. PM II<sup>2</sup>: 313; K. Jansen-Winkel, *Text und Sprache in der 3. Zwischenzeit: Vorarbeiten zu einer spätmittelägyptischen Grammatik*, ÄAT 26, (Wiesbaden, 1994), p. 334.






29. G. Daressy, “Notes sur les XXII<sup>e</sup>, XXIII<sup>e</sup> et XXIV<sup>e</sup> Dynasties”, *RT* 35, (1913), p. 133.



30. The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple – Volume 2. The Façade, Portals, Upper Register Scenes, Columns, Marginalia, and Statuary in the Colonnade Hall*, OIP 116, (Chicago, 1998), p. 54, pls. 201-202.

31. *GLR* III, 330, n° 28A; K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt: 1100-650 B.C.*, (Warminster, 1973), p. 306, n. 265.






(1) Made by the HPA, king of the gods, Shoshenq, justified (2) royal son, lord of the Two Lands Osorkon Meriamun (3) I have done to the favourite of the residence of the HP, Djedbast-(4)-iuesankh, daughter (of) [...] l.p.h. [...] (5) [...] Shoshenq, justified, the HPA.

Based on G. Daressy's transcription, R. K. Ritner<sup>32</sup> also translated this graffito. The first mistake of his translation was in the lady's name, calling her "Djedeseiuesankh"; however, the sign  *b3st* (W2) can be seen, so the real name is "Djedbastiuesankh". Due to its bad preservation, the next part of the inscription is the hardest to read. R. K. Ritner translated as "While his son [causes her name] to live, the standard bearer of Pharaoh, l.p.h., [...] [...] born of the [...] Shepenwepet, the justified, of

the estate of the First Prophet of Amun". The beginning of his translation is wrong because  *t* can be seen after  *s3*, so it would be not a son, but a daughter. It is doubtful as well that the sign following the word  *s3t* is  *f*, even The Epigraphic Survey<sup>33</sup> suggested that it would be  *p3*, as if it was part of the name of the lady's father "Padi[...]"; however, this is difficult to assert.

The signs   *nh wd3 s(nb)* "l.p.h." are the only ones clearly visible in this column but, what is its real meaning? The Epigraphic Survey<sup>34</sup> proposed that these would be "the good wishes" that the goddess Mut would give to Djedbastiuesankh. However, R. K. Ritner<sup>35</sup> claimed that these would be the elements that are frequently associated with the name or the figure of the Pharaoh. If this was the case, could this lady have some family bond with a king? Based on the remaining inscription, neither option can be asserted or denied.

The fifth column is problematic. One of the main problems is that the first signs are not preserved, so it is difficult to be sure of the link between this part of the text and the previous one<sup>36</sup>.

The only signs that can be seen are two  *s3*, followed by  *q* and a blurred one that can be restored thanks to the name in the first column: Shoshenq.<sup>37</sup> Two horizontal lines, interpreted as  *m3-hrw* "justified", also appear after the name; nevertheless, these signs do not have the common morphology, so a question mark has been written in the transcription. Finally, the title   *p3 hm-ntr tp(y) n Imn* "The HPA" has been linked to the previous Shoshenq, although it does not follow the pattern<sup>38</sup> since the title precedes the name. To sum up, we can only speculate about what this inscription contained, since nothing allows to confirm or deny any hypothesis.

32. R. K. Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*, Writings from the Ancient World 21, (Atlanta, 2009), p. 264, n° 65.

33. The Epigraphic Survey, (Chicago, 1998), p. 54, n. f., "The shape of the damage directly below *s3.t* suggests the head and tip of the upper wing of the *p3*-bird".

34. The Epigraphic Survey, (Chicago, 1998), p. 54, n. g.

35. Ritner, (Atlanta, 2009), p. 264, n. 65.

36. The Epigraphic Survey, (Chicago, 1998), p. 54, n. h., linked the two text columns restoring "Life, prosperity, and health [...] and love] [before (?)] Sheshonq".

37. This option suggests that G. Daressy's transcription and R. K. Ritner's translation are wrong, which was asserted by The Epigraphic Survey, (Chicago, 1998), p. 54.

38. Another similar exception can be seen in the graffito on the roof of the temple of Khonsu in Karnak, dated to Year 7 of Takeloth III, which is now lost. This reveals the genealogy of the second priest of Khonsu in Thebes-Neferhetep, Ankhefenkhonsu. His maternal line shows a certain [...] *-r-ti*, whose name has been restored as Nimlot, who is also the father of Shoshenq I. This has been possible thanks to the fact that the title that appears after his name was attached to him *p3 [wr 3 n M3]* "The [Great Chief of Ma]", just like in the Cairo CG 66285 stela. See G. Daressy, "Inscriptions inédites de

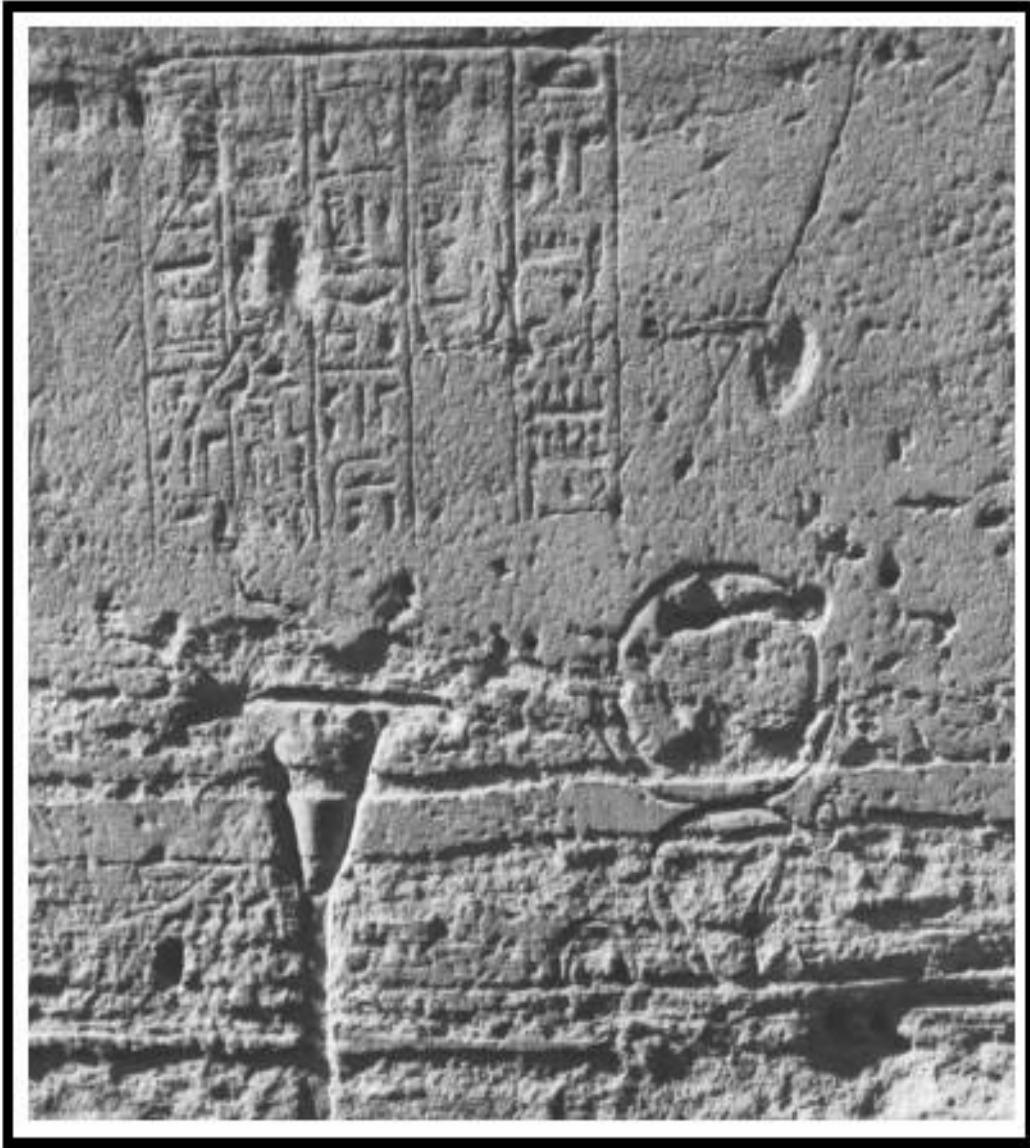


Plate 2. The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple – Volume 2. The Façade, Portals, Upper Register Scenes, Columns, Marginalia, and Statuary in the Colonnade Hall*, OIP 116, Chicago, 1998, pl. 201: Hieroglyphic graffiti before Mut. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

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la XXII<sup>e</sup> Dynastie”, *RT* 18, (1896), p. 51; A. M. Blackman, “The Stela of Shoshenk, Great Chief of the Meshwesh”, *JEA* 27, (1941), pp. 83-95; K. A. Kitchen, (Warminster, 1973), pp. 534-535; J. Yoyotte, “Osorkon fils de Mehytouskhé, un pharaon oublié?”, *BSFE* 77-78, (1977-1978), pp. 39-54; K. Jansen-Winkel, “Beiträge zur Geschichte der Dritten Zwischenzeit”, *JEH* 10, (2017), p. 23 and 30, n. 17.

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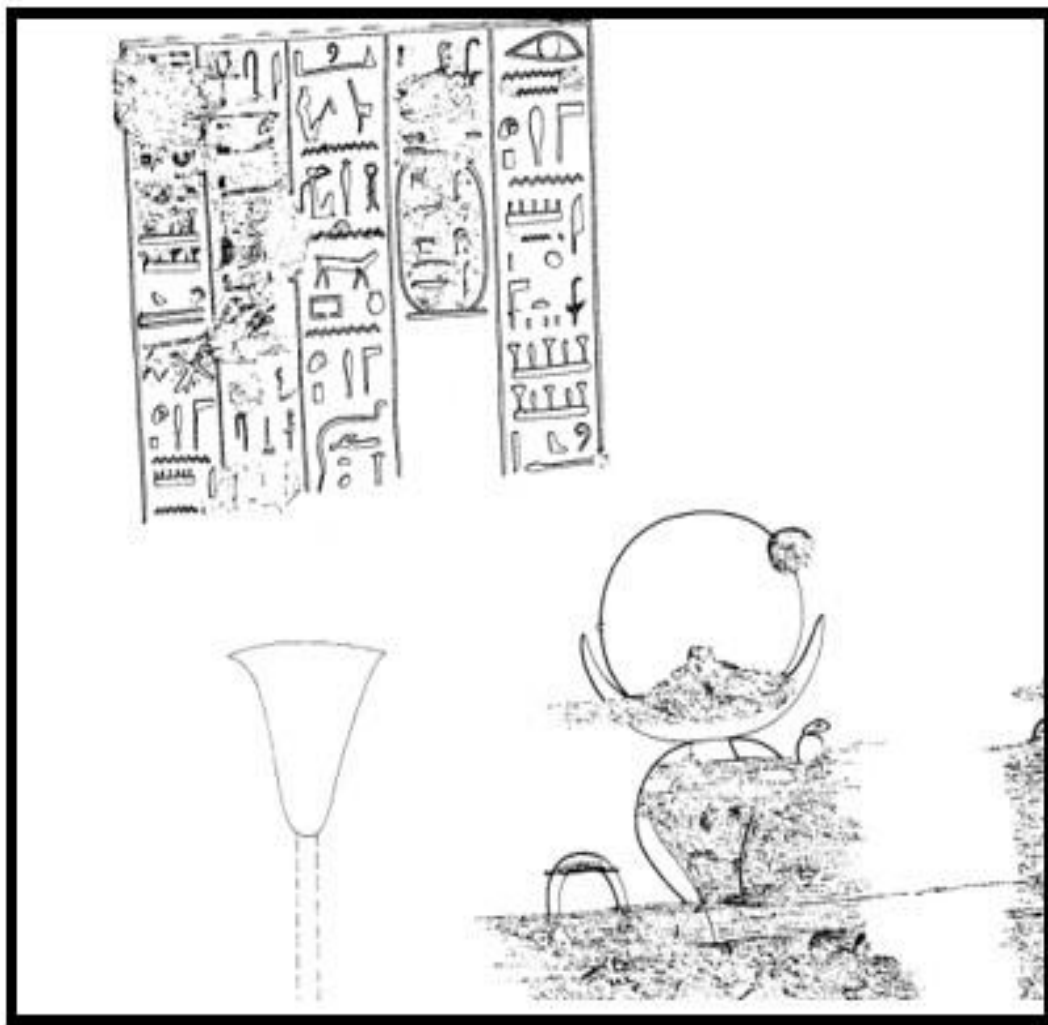


Figure 6. The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple – Volume 2. The Façade, Portals, Upper Register Scenes, Columns, Marginalia, and Statuary in the Colonnade Hall*, OIP 116, Chicago, 1998, pl. 202: Hieroglyphic graffiti before Mut (drawing). Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.




Leaving aside the analysis of the documents, it is time to move on to deal with the title *ḥsyt nt ḥnw n ḥm-nṯr tpy n Imn*, whose translation is not as clear as it may seem. This difficulty can be seen reading H. Saleh's translation<sup>39</sup> of this title in the stela A. 62, "Singer in the Interior (Chamber) of the Temple [of Amun]". S. Aufrère<sup>40</sup> translated it as "La chanteuse-musicienne de l'intérieur d'Amon". Why has the reference to the HPA been omitted if it is seen in the text of the stela? A possible answer would be that this title would have been understood incorrectly to fit in with the well-known *ḥsyt n ḥnw n Imn*. As far as the title in the Luxor's graffito is concerned, The Epigraphic



39. Saleh, (Oxford, 2007), pp. 459 and 551.

40. Aufrère, (Avignon, 1985), p. 47.

Survey<sup>41</sup> claimed that “This title is otherwise unattested but is most likely a variant of the well-known *ḥsy.t n.t ḥnw n imn*, songstress of the residence of Amun”.

The word that makes it difficult to translate to provide an accurate translation of the title is *ḥsy*. What meanings does this word have in the dictionaries?<sup>42</sup> R. O. Faulkner defined *ḥsy* as “Favoured / Praised one”,<sup>43</sup> although *ḥswti* is the word that means “Favourite”<sup>44</sup> and *ḥsy*, “Concubine”.<sup>45</sup> A. Erman and H. Grapow translated it as “Gelobte / Geachtete”<sup>46</sup> and “Sängerin/Günstling”,<sup>47</sup> whereas L. H. Lesko and B. S. Lesko<sup>48</sup> as “Praised / Favoured / Singer / Chantresses” for *ḥsy*. In the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*, it is used *ḥst* for “Sängerin”<sup>49</sup> with a different spelling and *ḥzyt* for “Günstling”.<sup>50</sup> Finally, R. Hannig<sup>51</sup> *ḥsy* as “Gelobte / Gepriesene / Geachtete / Geschätzte”,<sup>52</sup> however, *ḥst* is the word which was given the meaning “Sängerin / Rhythmusschlägerin”.<sup>53</sup> Therefore, the word *ḥsy* not only means “Singer” but also “Favoured / Favourite”.

Moreover, S. Emerit<sup>54</sup> emphasised the use of determinatives to confirm the meaning of this word linked to music:  (D41) would indicate the rhythm to sing and  (A2) would explain an action related to speech, to recitate. Regarding the transcription of the documents discussed in this paper, the determinative  only appears in the Luxor graffito.

Another way to provide a good translation of the title is to check how the word *ḥsy* has been translated in titles during the different periods of the ancient Egyptian history. In the Old Kingdom,<sup>55</sup> there is a difference between the two meanings which can be seen in a change in their spellings:  *ḥzyt* translated as “One Favoured by” and  *ḥs(w)* as “Singer”. There was not a distinction in the Middle Kingdom,<sup>56</sup> since the only meaning is that of “Singer” with a few changes

41. The Epigraphic Survey, (Chicago, 1998), p. 54, n. d.

42. S. E. Fantecchi, “Singers and Musicians in New Kingdom Egypt”, *GM* 186, (2002), p. 28, n. 12, listed the meanings of *ḥm'yt* and *ḥsy* in the different dictionaries.

43. *FCD*, 177, 6-7.

44. *FCD*, 10.

45. *FCD*, 9.

46. *Wb* III, 157, 2.

47. *Wb* III, 165, 13, 15.

48. L. H. Lesko, B. S. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, (Providence, 2002), vol. 1, pp. 22, 27, 198, 323-330 and 330-331. They translated *ḥst* as “Favour / Praised / Blessings / Songs”. For the meaning of “Favourite”, they offer these three words: *ib-ib*, *imy-ib tpy* and *mḥ-ib*.

49. TLA lemma-no. 109400.

50. TLA lemma-no. 109670.

51. R. Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen. Großes Handwörterbuch Deutsch-Ägyptisch (2800 - 950 v. Chr.)*, KAW 64, (Mainz, 1995).


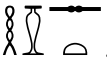
52. Hannig, (Mainz, 1995), p. 558.

53. Hannig, (Mainz, 1995), p. 559.

54. S. Emerit, “Le vocabulaire de la musique égyptienne ancienne et ses particularités”, in: A.-A. Both, R. Eichmann, E. Hickmann, and L.-C. Koch, (eds.), *Studien zur Musikarchäologie VI, Herausforderungen und Ziele der Musikarchäologie. Vorträge des 5. Symposiums der Internationalen Studiengruppe Musikarchäologie im Ethnologischen Museum der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, 19.-23. September 2006*, *Orient Archäologie* 22, (Rahden, 2008), p. 432.

55. D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, BAR 866, (Oxford, 2000), vol. 1, pp. 659-662.

56. W. A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, (Beirut, 1982), pp. 128-129; S. Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom: The Hieratic Documents*, (New Malden, 1990), pp. 95-96; D. Stefanovic, “The Feminine Stelae of the Middle Kingdom: Addenda (The Non-Royal Women of the

in the spelling:  and . From the New Kingdom onwards, other titles connected to singers were established,<sup>57</sup> like those containing the word *šmʿyt*.<sup>58</sup> Finally, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Intermediate Period, there was a proliferation of a title containing the word analysed, *hsyt (n) hnw n Imn*,<sup>59</sup> whose real function is not exactly known.<sup>60</sup>

Nevertheless, the translation of *hsyt* as “Singer” in a title is not so clear. This was addressed by S. L. Onstine,<sup>61</sup> who discussed the duality in the meaning of this word, claiming that “A person designated *hsy n N* may therefore be called singer of N or praised / favorite / beloved of N”. However, if this word would appear in a context in which there were instruments or elements related to music, the meaning of *hsyt* is clearer, as the author pointed out.

Furthermore, if the formula *hsy n N* appears linked to a man, it is usually translated as “Favourite of” or “Favoured by” a divinity, a detail that was also highlighted by S. L. Onstine.<sup>62</sup> Some examples of this, on the one hand, are the statue Cairo CG 559<sup>63</sup> in which the word *hsy* was translated as “Favori” by G. Daressy,<sup>64</sup> as “Geehrte” by K. Jansen-Winkel<sup>65</sup> and as “Favorite” by M. Lichtheim.<sup>66</sup>

Middle Kingdom III: *hsyt*”, *GM* 209, (2009), pp. 95-98. D. Stefanovic claimed that “The holders of the title *hsyt* were probably mainly responsible for entertainment, not for performing music at religious ceremonies”.

57. S. L. Onstine, *The Role of the Chantress (šmʿyt) in Ancient Egypt*, PhD Thesis, (Toronto, 2001), pp. 65-70; Saleh, (Oxford, 2007), p. 212; J. Li, *Women, Gender and Identity in Third Intermediate Period Egypt: The Theban Case Study*, (New York, 2017), pp. 35-36. The titles with *šmʿyt/šmʿw* were attested in the Middle Kingdom and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Intermediate Period; however, these spread at the beginning of the New Kingdom, when the supremacy of Amun and Thebes took place.

58. Onstine, (Toronto, 2001), pp. 8-9; Saleh, (Oxford, 2007), p. 211; Li, (New York, 2017), p. 35. This word was translated as: “Musician” in FCD 266, 26, “Sängerin/Musikantin/Sistrum spielend” in *Wb* IV: 479, 8-9, “Songstress / Chantress / Singer / Female Musician” in Lesko, Lesko (Providence, 2002), vol. 2, p. 123 and “Sängerin / Musician” in TLA lemna-no. 154810. This word seems to have had a limited use connected to sacred contexts, such as funerals or processions of deities. It also appears to be related to percussion in musical scenes, as in the tombs of Kenamun (TT 93) and Kheruef (TT 192). See Onstine, (Toronto, 2001), p. 22 and 24, n. 34.

59. E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Insitution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit*, *ÄA* 37, (Wiesbaden, 1981), vol. 2, pp. 47-48; J. Li, *Elite Theban Women of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries BCE in Egypt: Identity, Status and Mortuary Practice*, PhD Thesis, (Berkeley, 2010), p. 33, n. 18; Li, (New York, 2017), p. 34.

60. J. Yoyotte, “Les vierges consacrées d’Amon thébain”, *CRAIBL* 105:1, (1961), p. 50; E. Teeter, “Meresamun’s Egypt”, in: E. Teeter, J. H. Johnson (eds.), *The life of Meresamun. A temple singer in Ancient Egypt*, OIMP 29, (Chicago, 2009), p. 17; Li, (Berkeley, 2010), p. 32, n. 17; Li, (New York, 2017), p. 33. Together with the *šmʿyt n Imn*, the women who hold this title may have been assistants of the God’s Wives of Amun, connecting them with the worship of this divinity or their service as “Lady-in-waiting”. Besides, the archaeological evidence has suggested that these women held a good position in the social hierarchy. For the discussion, see E. Teeter, “Female Musicians in Ancient Egypt”, in: K. Marshall (ed.), *Rediscovering the Muses: Women’s Musical Traditions*, (Boston, 1993), pp. 68-91; R. K. Ritner, “Fictive Adoptions or Celibate Priestesses?”, *GM* 164, (1998), p. 85; E. Teeter, “Celibacy and Adoption among the God’s Wives of Amun: A Revaluation of the Evidence”, in: E. Teeter, J. Larson, (eds.), *Gold of Praise*, SAOC 58, (Chicago, 1999), p. 405; Saleh, (New York, 2007), p. 214.

61. Onstine, (Toronto, 2001), pp. 13-16.

62. Onstine, (Toronto, 2001), p. 15.

63. A statue made by the 4PA Djeddjehutyuefankh B called Nakhtefmut A, for his father, the 4PA Djedkhonsuiuefankh A, son of PA Nespernebu and Nesmut A, and husband of Neskhnosupakhered A, daughter of HPA Iuput (22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty). See PM II<sup>2</sup>: 337; G. Daressy, “Notes et remarques”, *RT* 16, (1894), pp. 56-60; K. Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22.-23. Dynastien*, *ÄAT* 8, (Wiesbaden, 1985), 2 vols, pp. 9-24 and 433-40; Jansen-Winkel, (Wiesbaden, 2007), p. 95-8, n° 17.17; Brandl, (Berlin, 2008), pp. 113-114, pls. 54-55, 1641.

64. Daressy, *RT* 16, (1894), pp. 57, 60.

65. Jansen-Winkel, (Wiesbaden, 1985), vol. 1, pp. 10, 13.

66. M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Volume III: The Late Period*, (Berkeley, 1980), pp. 14, 16.



this paper is related to the HPA, an office of great relevance in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Intermediate Period, especially during the 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasties. The translation “The singer of the Residence of the HPA” seems less likely, due to the relationship between the role of the singer and the worship of a specific deity.

This title would reveal a close link between the lady who held it and the HPA, a family bond confirmed in the text of the stela. Although this one is not directly shown in the inscription of the graffito, the relationship should have existed, since it was made by the HPA Shoshenq (Q)<sup>71</sup> to Djedbastiuesankh. This connection could also suggest that these women held a good position in the social hierarchy. Besides, Nesitanebtauy and Djedbastiuesankh held only this title, suggesting that holding it was enough to indicate her status and power in the Theban society.

Given that this title has not been studied, it is not possible to know exactly the real role played by the women who held it, nor its true connotation or the reason for its appearance. This title is only found in these two documents, both quite close in time, resulting in a difficult context to explain: the title appeared in the beginning of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, but it disappeared soon after that, without very much historical echo. Given that there are no more examples in other documents, the task of explaining why those women were linked to the HPA as well as confirming their good position in the social hierarchy, is complicated. Could it be an honorary title? If so, what would be the reason to be bestowed? What was the true connection with the HPA? This title offers more questions than answers, but, maybe, the discovery of more documents will shed light on these issues.

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71. This HPA Shoshenq (Q), son of Osorkon I, is designated like this in the studies of A. Dodson, “The Prophet of Amun Iuput and his distinguished Ancestors”, *JEA* 95, (2009), pp. 51-66, and F. Payraudeau, Paris, 2014).

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