





















## MNH, “THE BUTCHER” AND LORD OF THE BUTCHER DEMONS

**Amr Gaber**  
Alexandria University

### ABSTRACT

This work investigates a demon, Meneh, who is attested from the Middle Kingdom until the Graeco-Roman Period in epigraphic and iconographic evidence. His epithets reflect aggression, ferocity, and violence, which Meneh uses mainly against enemies of the deities. Additionally, he can be a threat to the deceased. However, not only did he have his own cult in the Graeco-Roman temples, but he also had his own clergy. Therefore, this work studies his various aspects *in extenso*. Moreover, newly proposed readings of two of his epithets, as well as the similarity of functions and mutual connection to Osiris, establish his link to the butcher demons.

### NAME AND DETERMINATIVES

Meneh, whose name has different variants as *mnḥ*, *mnḥy*, *mnḥwy*, *mnḥw*, *ḥmn*,<sup>1</sup> and *imnḥy*<sup>2</sup> (TABLE 1:1–44), means “the butcher” or “the slayer.”<sup>3</sup> His name is often confused with the goddess *mnḥyr*<sup>4</sup> and the god *ḥmn*<sup>5</sup> due to the similarity in writing. Despite the fact that his name is mostly accompanied by a wide array of determinatives, ranging from  (A40),<sup>6</sup>  (A179),<sup>7</sup>  (A199A),<sup>8</sup>  (R8),<sup>9</sup>  (C268B),<sup>10</sup> or  (C39A)<sup>11</sup> to the double determinatives  (A199A)+ (G7C),<sup>12</sup>  (A199A)+ (A40A),<sup>13</sup>  (A199A) +  (R8),<sup>14</sup>  (R8) +  (A40)<sup>15</sup> or  (T30) +  (A40),<sup>16</sup> only one determinative,  (A199A), showing a man holding a knife in one hand, reflects the meaning of his name and duties that he performs, while  (T30) illustrates the tool with which he carries out his duties. Meneh is first attested in the Coffin Texts, where his temple is mentioned in Spell 580, entitled *tm šmw šḥdw*, “not to walk with head looking down-

wards.”<sup>17</sup> In this spell, the deceased proclaims that *iw pr mnḥ sd̓yt n wnm N pn ḥs swr n tn* “(when) the temple of Meneh is sealed, this N will not eat faeces and will not drink (urine) for you.”<sup>18</sup> Instead the deceased will live on the two loaves of *ḥnmt*-bread issued from the altar of Re.<sup>19</sup>

### ICONOGRAPHY AND ATTRIBUTES


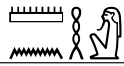




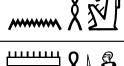
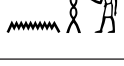




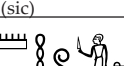
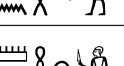
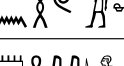
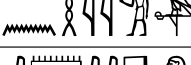



The first surviving representation is in the eighth hour of the Book of *Amduat*, dating to the New Kingdom. Meneh is depicted in the ninth cavern together with three other deities (second place).<sup>20</sup> Each one of them, including Meneh, is represented as a human mummiform standing with a ceremonial beard and a hieroglyphic sign  (S27A) of clothing before them.<sup>21</sup> The text before them narrates: *wnm.sn m šhr pn mnḥwt.sn m b̓ḥ.sn mnw ḥr š̓y.sn m s̓t̓ ir in ḥr* “They are like this. Their clothing before them, remaining on their sand as a mystery made by Horus.”<sup>22</sup>

TABLE 1: Tracing the attestations of Meneh<sup>a</sup> (continued on next page).

NO.	WRITING	DATE	SOURCE	PUBLICATION	NOTES
1		Middle Kingdom	Coffin Text Spell 580	CT VI, 159d	Coffin: Beni Hassan Cairo JE 37563b
2		Middle Kingdom	Coffin Text Spell 1100	CT VII, 417a	Coffin: Bersheh BM EA 38042
3		New Kingdom	Book of the Dead Chapter 153A	Naville 1908, pl. XV	Papyrus of Youa: Cairo CG 51189
4		New Kingdom	Book of the <i>Amduat</i> <sup>b</sup>	Hornung 1965, 151	Ninth cavern of the eighth hour: deity No. 614
5		Twenty-fifth Dynasty	Stele of Pi'ankhy; Cairo JE 48862 (+JE 47086 –JE 47089)	Grimal 1981, §16=L.83	Line 83
6		Darius	Hibis Temple	Davies 1953, 10	West door jamb-room VI (K of Winlock) <sup>c</sup>
7		525–530 BCE	Granite Sarcophagus of Ankhhappy, Cairo JE 15011	Cairo CG 29303, 98	Second band of text: exterior face of the body: south-east section
8		525–530 BCE	Granite Sarcophagus of Djedhor; Cairo JE 15039	Cairo CG 29304, 129	Exterior face of the body: western face: upper band of text
9		Ptolemaic	Statue of the Museum Lausanne No. Eg. 7	Wild 1954, 182, pls. II–III, col. 4	Fourth column: posterior face: dorsal pillar
10		Ptolemaic	A granite statue of a certain Platon; Cairo JE 38033; CK 608 Legrain No. 672.	Coulon 2001, pl. XX	First column on the dorsal pillar of the statue
11	 (sic)	Ptolemaic	P. Bremner-Rhind (BM EA 10188)	Faulkner 1933	Col. 20, 21–22
12					Col. 20, 21–22
13					Col. 26, 14
14					Col. 33, 6
15		Ptolemaic	Edfu Temple	<i>E</i> I, 174, 1	Third register: northern wall: third western chamber
16		Ptolemaic	Edfu Temple	<i>E</i> II, 52, 2	Fourth register: southern wall: second hypostyle hall
17		Ptolemaic	Edfu Temple	<i>E</i> III, 301, 15	Western face: third architrave: first hypostyle hall
18	 (sic)	Ptolemaic	Edfu Temple	<i>E</i> III, 323, 9	Eastern face: third architrave: first hypostyle hall

## NOTES

<sup>a</sup> The attestation of Meneh in the temple of Medamoud is considered by Leitz as the god's name, making this a designation of the bull. Therefore, it has been excluded from this table. See Drioton 1926, no. 343, 12.

<sup>b</sup> This writing occurs in the tombs of Thutmose III (KV 34), Amenhotep II (KV 35), Sety I (KV 17), Tauseret and Sethnakht (KV 14), Ramesses III (KV 11), and Ramesses V and VI (KV 9). Additionally, it occurs in the tomb of Useramun (TT 61). The text is broken in the tombs of Thutmose I (KV 38) and Amenhotep III (KV 22). See Hornung 1965, Langfassung, 4. bis 8. Stunde, 639.

<sup>c</sup> PM VII, 285 (100), plan on 276; Davies 1953, 16, pl. 10.

TABLE 1: (continued from previous page) Tracing the attestations of Meneh (continued on next page).




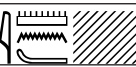
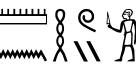
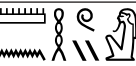
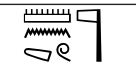
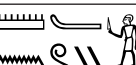

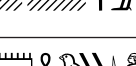




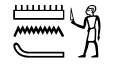




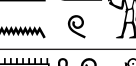
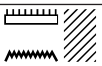
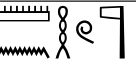
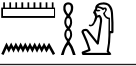


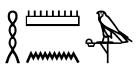
NO.	WRITING	DATE	SOURCE	PUBLICATION	NOTES
19		Ptolemaic	Edfu Temple	<i>E IV</i> , 84, 11	Second register: western face: exterior: naos
20		Ptolemaic	Edfu Temple	<i>E IV</i> , 240, 17	Second register: eastern face: exterior: naos
21		Ptolemaic	Edfu Temple	<i>E V</i> , 63, 8	Second register: eastern section: south wall: court
22		Ptolemaic	Edfu Temple	<i>E V</i> , 161, 15	Second register: western section: south wall: court
23		Ptolemaic	Edfu Temple	<i>E VII</i> , 119, 2	Girdle wall: outer west face: second register
24		Ptolemaic	Edfu Temple	<i>E VII</i> , 280, 12	Girdle wall: outer east face: second register
25		Ptolemaic	Edfu Temple	<i>E VI</i> , 159, 4	Third register: western interior wall: girdle wall
26		Ptolemaic	Edfu Temple	<i>E I</i> , 565, 15	Western wall: eastern staircase: offering bearer no. 3
27		Empty cartouches—Late Ptolemaic	Dendera Temple	<i>D XI/I</i> , 59, 3	Room E' of Chassinat: upper register: exterior lintel: door
28		Empty cartouches—Late Ptolemaic	Dendera Temple	<i>D VII/I</i> , 183, 12	Eastern wall: eastern staircase.
				<i>D VII/I</i> , 196, 5	Western wall: eastern staircase.
29		Empty cartouches—Late Ptolemaic	Dendera Temple	<i>D VIII/I</i> , 93, 9	Eastern wall: western staircase
30		Empty cartouches—Late Ptolemaic	Dendera Temple	<i>D VIII/I</i> , 111, 4	Northern wall: western staircase
31		Empty cartouches—Late Ptolemaic	Dendera Temple	<i>D IV</i> , 189, 11	Northern wall: Court of the Chapel of the New Year
32		Roman	Dendera Temple	<i>D IX/I</i> , 241, 16	Side room III: a scene located above the cornice of the door: exterior of the door
33		Roman	Dendera Temple	<i>D XV/I</i> , 155, 13	Exterior of the pronaos: upper lintel: eastern door [G'-I'1]
34		Roman	Esna Temple	<i>Esna II</i> , 163, 18	Interior face of column B: curtain wall
35		Roman	Esna Temple	<i>Esna III</i> , 257A	Upper band of text: column 8
36		Roman	Esna Temple	<i>Esna III</i> , 381, 10	A scene on column 17
37		Roman	Esna Temple	<i>Esna III</i> , 266, 5	A scene on column 8
38		Roman	Esna Temple	<i>Esna III</i> , 268A	Lower band of text: column 8
NOTES <sup>d</sup> There is an unidentified crown on the head of the second determinative. See <i>Esna II</i> , 163, 18.					

TABLE 1: (continued from previous page) Tracing the attestations of Meneh.

NO.	WRITING	DATE	SOURCE	PUBLICATION	NOTES
39		Roman	Esna Temple	<i>Esna</i> III, 266, 13	A scene on column 8
40		Roman	Asfun block	Farid 1986, 41–43	Block No. 2
41		Roman	Asfun block		Block No. 3
42		Roman	Block from Tod temple	<i>Tôd</i> I, 130, 4	Third register: eastern interior wall: hypostyle hall
43		Roman	Edfu Temple	<i>Edfu</i> I, 464, 14	Western side: <i>Bandeau de la frise</i> : Hall of Offerings.
44		Roman	Hieratic Papyrus Tebtunis (P. Berlin 7808/7810 + P. Louvre AF 11112)	Osing 1998, 285	Papyrus IV [C 2, 17]

In the temple of Hibis at Kharga Oasis, Meneh’s depiction dates to the Persian Period. Meneh appears sitting on his knees on a pylon in the guise of a mummified human body. He has the head of a lion with both hands emerge from the bandages and each holds a knife, while the rest of the three deities beneath him are damaged.<sup>23</sup> On the opposite door lintel, there are another four deities, which indicates that Meneh is among guardian deities protecting room VI (K of Winlock).

As a member of the nine dead deities of Edfu, appearing only in the temples of Horus at Edfu (Ptolemaic Period) and Hathor at Dendera (Late Ptolemaic Period/Roman Period), Meneh is depicted in two different forms. The first is a human mummified form.<sup>24</sup> The second is a complete humanoid form, whether sitting on a throne<sup>25</sup> or standing,<sup>26</sup> wearing a short kilt, *nms*-headdress, a wide collar, and holding the *w3s*-sceptre in one hand and the *nh*-sign in the other.

In the hypostyle hall of the temple of Esna, Meneh is depicted on a column (no. 8) as a hieracophelic deity wearing the *hmhm*-crown, a short kilt, a short top having straps, wide collar, armlets, and a bracelet in his left hand. He holds in his right hand a knife while grasping the *nh*-sign in the other. The deity stands while being followed by Isis before the Roman Emperor Hadrian/Antoninus Pius, who is spearing a creature (destroyed).<sup>27</sup> The same iconography was depicted again on another column (no. 17) within the temple of Esna, where Meneh while holding a

*w3s*-sceptre stands behind Khnum-Re in front of the Roman Emperor Trajan, who spears a bull.<sup>28</sup> On a sandstone block found at Asfun el-Mataana,<sup>29</sup> the Roman Emperor Antoninus Aurelius is depicted before Menehwy who wears a sun disc above his head, with the head of a cobra at the front and its tail at the back.<sup>30</sup> On another block, Menehwy wears the *hmhm*-crown before the same emperor.<sup>31</sup> On two other blocks from the same locality (badly damaged), which once formed a single scene, the Roman emperor is depicted before Menehwy, who is shown seated on a throne, wearing a short kilt while holding a knife and a sceptre (damaged) in the right hand and the *nh*-sign in the other. The sceptre of another deity can be seen behind Menhewy.<sup>32</sup> The rest of these four blocks are missing and so the full scene cannot be reconstructed.

#### EPITHETS

The epithets of Meneh can be divided sevenfold. The first category echoes his divinity, the second shows his cult centres, the third reveals his role as a butcher, the fourth illustrates his strength and aggression, the fifth connects to his functions, the sixth reflects his iconography, and the seventh shows his control over demons.

The first category reflects his divinity: *ntr* 𐩎𐩣𐩧 “the great god”<sup>33</sup> and *ntr nfr* “the good god.”<sup>34</sup>

The second specifies the cult centres where he is worshipped or as a lord of foreign localities:

- 1) *shd*: This is a locality in Meidum<sup>35</sup> and occurs only in one epithet, *hnty shd* “the foremost of Sehedj.”<sup>36</sup>
- 2) *hwt-htp*: this locality is attested in two different epithets, *šš dmwt m hwt-htp* “the one with several of knives in the Mansion of Offerings,”<sup>37</sup> and *nb hwt-htp* “lord of the Mansion of Offerings.”<sup>38</sup> *hwt-htp* is a designation of Esna, the capital of the third nome of Upper Egypt.<sup>39</sup>
- 3) *hwt-bnwy*: It is present in one epithet, *hry-ib hwt-bnwy* “who resides in the Mansion of the two *bnw*-birds.”<sup>40</sup> This is a designation of a temple situated in the region of Esna.<sup>41</sup> It was called *pr-ntr* “the temple of the god,” a place where Shu and Tefnut were worshipped and referred to as the “Children of Re”<sup>42</sup> or the two birds.<sup>43</sup>
- 4) *hwt-bnw*: It is attested in one epithet, *hry-ib hwt-bnw* “who resides in the Mansion of the *bnw*-birds.”<sup>44</sup> This is a designation of a temple called *pr-hnm* “the temple of Khnum,” situated in the region of Esna.<sup>45</sup> In a text in the temple of Esna, the two designations, i.e., *hwt-bnwy* and *hwt-bnw*, are mentioned beside each other.<sup>46</sup>
- 5) *t3-rrt*: It is cited once in *ntr š m t3-rrt* “the great god in Dendera.”<sup>47</sup>
- 6) *hwt-snfwr*: This locality, which is found in the third nome of Upper Egypt,<sup>48</sup> goes by the modern name of Asfun,<sup>49</sup> and located about 11–12 km to the north of Esna.<sup>50</sup> It is mentioned in two different epithets, *nb hwt-snfwr* “lord of the Mansion of Senefru,”<sup>51</sup> and *hnt hwt-snfwr* “the foremost of the Mansion of Senefru.”<sup>52</sup>
- 7) *hwt-hnm*: one of the designations of Esna,<sup>53</sup> which is cited in *hry-ib hwt-hnm* “who resides in the Mansion of Khnum.”<sup>54</sup>
- 8) *bhdw-n-rʿ isbt nt rʿ*: These are two designations for Edfu that are attested in two epithets: *hry-ib bhdw n rʿ* “who resides in the Throne of Re,”<sup>55</sup> and *hnt isbt nt rʿ* “the foremost of the Throne of Re.”<sup>56</sup>
- 9) Epithet connected to foreign locality: *hk3 fkhrr* “ruler of Fekher,” which is a locality in eastern Africa.<sup>57</sup>

The third category reveals his role as a butcher demon: *šš dmwt* “the one with several knives.”<sup>58</sup> This epithet appears three times in the temple of Esna,<sup>59</sup> two times at Asfun,<sup>60</sup> four times in the temple of Hathor at Dendera,<sup>61</sup> once on a statue from Diospolis (Thebes east),<sup>62</sup> and once also on a statue from the Karnak Cachette (Cairo JE 38033).<sup>63</sup> Another similar form, *šš ds*, is mentioned twice in the temple of Dendera.<sup>64</sup> *spd dmt* “sharp of knives” is attested only once in the temple of Dendera.<sup>65</sup> These epithets reflect not only the function that he carries out as a butcher but also his iconography in which he tends to carry one or more knives.

The fourth category illustrates his ferocity, strength, and aggression: *hs3* “the fierce one,”<sup>66</sup> *kn* “the brave,”<sup>67</sup> *khh* “raging lion,”<sup>68</sup> *khh nht* “the strong lion,”<sup>69</sup> *nš dniwt* “who is loud of cry,” *pr-ʿ* “the mighty one,”<sup>70</sup> *b3 tkk* “the strong ba,”<sup>71</sup> *itt m shm.f* “who seizes with his power,”<sup>72</sup> *nb šʿt* “lord of slaughter,”<sup>73</sup> *m3i-hs3* “the fierce lion,”<sup>74</sup> *tkr phty* “mighty in strength,”<sup>75</sup> *wr šʿt* “great of massacre,”<sup>76</sup> *š phty* “great of power,”<sup>77</sup> *nn hʿ.tw m h3w.f* “no one fights in his vicinity,”<sup>78</sup> *q kswy.f* “who dismembers his enemy,”<sup>79</sup> *sm3 h3kw-ibw* “who slaughters his enemies.”<sup>80</sup> As a butcher, the strength of his arms are reflected in these epithets: *kn kbty* “strong of arms.”<sup>81</sup> and *itt ʿwy.fy* “who seizes with his hands.”<sup>82</sup>

The fifth category of the epithets of Meneh is connected to the functions that he undertakes, i.e., protecting deities and localities, defeating harmful beings as well as being an offerer of meat:

- 1) Killing enemies of Sekhmet and Neseret, who are manifestations of Hathor of Dendera, in order to satisfy them: *mds tpw nw hftyw* “who cuts off the heads of the foes.”<sup>83</sup> Thus Sekhmet is satisfied: *shtp shmt m hrt.s* “who satisfies Sekhmet with her portion.”<sup>84</sup> Furthermore, he cuts off the heads of the enemies of Hathor in order to satisfy her or her manifestation: Nesret (Flame): *hsk tpw nw h3kw-ibw*<sup>85</sup> *stp nw sbiw stptwt m ʿ htp nbwt m h3w.sn* “who cuts off the heads of the foes, the pieces of meat of the foes are cut into pieces with the arm, who satisfies the golden one (Hathor) with their meat,”<sup>86</sup> *shtp nsrt m*



*hwdw* “who satisfies Nesret with provisions;”<sup>87</sup> *shtp nsrt m stpwt h’w nw hftyw hsk tpw* “wy *nn wni-mw n wsrt* “who satisfies Nesret with pieces of meat and the bodies of the foes, who cuts off the heads and the hands of those who are hostile to Weseret;”<sup>88</sup> and *sh m sbiw* “who overpowers the rebels.”<sup>89</sup> Therefore, Meneh plays an important role in accomplishing the ritual of *shtp shmt* “satisfying Sekhmet” in the temple of Hathor at Dendera, and subsequently world order is maintained.<sup>90</sup>

- 2) Defeating the enemies of Re: According to a text in the temple of Dendera, Meneh is *shr hftyw nw r’* “who overthrows the foes of Re.”<sup>91</sup>
- 3) Slaying Seth, who takes several forms, including that of a bull: A text in the temple of Dendera reads: *sm<sup>3</sup> sm<sup>3</sup>w m<sup>3</sup>bw nbd* “who slaughters the bulls in the forms of Nebed (Seth).”<sup>92</sup>
- 4) Protecting Esna: *shr sbiw r pr-ntr* “who drives away the foes of *pr-ntr* (Esna),”<sup>93</sup> *mds ky m-hnt sh* “who kills the enemy before Sekhet (Esna).”<sup>94</sup>
- 5) Praising Neith in the temple of Esna: *mnh hr ir n.s i<sup>3</sup>w* “Meneh to do praise to her (Neith).”<sup>95</sup>

In addition to these functions, there are more attested via other texts:

- 6) Cutting the head of Apep: Meneh appears in the spell of taking the knife to smite Apep, found in the Book of Overthrowing Apep in Papyrus Bremner-Rhind (P. BM EA 10188). It dates to the early Ptolemaic Period.<sup>96</sup> Apep was stopped with the knife of Meneh (col. 22, 20–21): *ndrw sp-sn mnh shr.(i) hft n r’ m ds.k ndrw sp-sn mnh shr.(i) hft n pr-’ m ds.k* “Seize, seize, (O) Meneh, I fell the foe of Re with your knife. Seize, seize, (O) Meneh, I fell the foe of Pharaoh with your knife.”<sup>97</sup> Another part of the papyrus

reads (col. 33, 6–7): *mnh hry ds.f wr s’yt.f hr tpw sbiw.k* “Meneh with his great knife cuts to pieces the heads of those who rebel against you (Re).”<sup>98</sup> In the Coffin Texts (Spell 1100):<sup>99</sup> *nhm.n N tn shtyw ny h<sup>3</sup> m’f mnh<sup>100</sup> spd<sup>3</sup> t iwty hs.f* “I have taken the knives of the attacker from him, (even) Meneh, sharp of striking-power, who has not been repelled.”<sup>101</sup> This spell is the predecessor of the Book of Overthrowing Apep, which was developed later.<sup>102</sup>

- 7) Vanquishing a harmful serpent: A text, accompanying a deity called Nekhet (the victorious)<sup>103</sup> in the temple of Horus at Edfu in an offering of *stpwt* “pieces of meat,” reads:<sup>104</sup> *tp.k r dw iwty wy.fy rdwy.fy dbdb iw.f.k hr msk.k mnh r.k ’s<sup>3</sup> [dsw] nw imnhw<sup>105</sup> rsyw* “your head is (doomed) to evil, without arms<sup>106</sup> or jambs, your flesh is cut off your leather (because) Meneh is against you, the one with several of [knives] of the southern butchers.”<sup>107</sup> The text refers to a malevolent serpent, probably Apep,<sup>108</sup> in the temple of Edfu, who threatens the temple order and against whom Meneh must act. The confusion between the reading of *h<sup>3</sup>tyw<sup>109</sup>* and *imnhw* is probably because both are capable of vanquishing Apep and the uncertainty created by the sign (A199A), which is used in writing both of their names. This uncertainty led Goyon to suggest *h<sup>3</sup>tyw<sup>110</sup>*.
- 8) Providing offerings to the main deity of the temple: A text, accompanying the procession depicted on the northern wall of the western staircase heading towards the roof of the temple of Dendera, reads:<sup>111</sup> *h<sup>3</sup> m<sup>3</sup> s<sup>3</sup>r m nmt-ntr m-’ mnh ’s<sup>3</sup> dmwt* “one thousand pieces of roasted meat from the divine slaughterhouse of Meneh, the one with several knives.”<sup>112</sup> Another text, accompanying a fecundity figure, in the temple of Hathor at Dendera, mentions:<sup>113</sup> *in.f n.t imnhw hry nmt nt r’ hr stpw nfrw ury ’f htp.t hr iht m hrt-hrw ir hprw.t r mrrt ib.t* “he (the king) brings to you (Hathor) Meneh, the chief of the

slaughterhouse of Re, carrying pieces of good meat, made by his hand. She (Hathor) is satisfied because of the offering every day and your manifestation is sustained to love your heart.”<sup>114</sup> Another text on the western staircase of Dendera confirms the same role: *hry stpwt nw sbiw* “carrying the pieces of meat of the rebels.”<sup>115</sup>

The same role exists in the temple of Horus at Edfu, where a text, located on the western wall of the eastern staircase, reads: *in.f n.k mnḥwy hry-tp nmt r sm<sup>3</sup> k<sup>3</sup>w nw nmt-ntr <sup>3</sup>bwy sbiw.k* “he (the king) brings to you (Horus) Meneh, chief of the slaughterhouse, to slaughter the oxen of the divine slaughterhouse.”<sup>116</sup> Another text accompanying the offering bearer reads: *mnḥwy r iwt.f sm<sup>3</sup>wty nbḏ m ḥf.f* “Menehwy at his coming, the confederates of evil are in his fist.”<sup>117</sup> A part of the text in the *Bandeau de la frise* of the Hall of Offerings also describes his role among other deities as it states:<sup>118</sup> *ḥmn r stf n.f r<sup>3</sup>* “Hemen”<sup>119</sup> to cut geese for him.” This is one of the rare cases in which “Meneh” is written as “Hemen”; Wilson identified the name as a variant of Meneh.<sup>120</sup>




The sixth category of epithets coincides with Meneh’s iconography in the temple of Esna: *ḥmḥmt* “who is great of *ḥmḥm*-crown (roar),”<sup>121</sup> *ḏrty šps* “the august falcon,”<sup>122</sup> and *bik ntri* “the divine falcon.”<sup>123</sup>

The seventh and last category shows his control over demons, which is reflected through two epithets, both from the temple of Dendera. The readings of the names within these two epithets are not certain. The first epithet, stated by Leitz to be *nb ḥ<sup>3</sup>tyw* (?) “the lord of *ḥ<sup>3</sup>tyw* demons,”<sup>124</sup> is mentioned twice (TABLE 2:1–2). Another form of this epithet, *hry ḥ<sup>3</sup>tyw* (?) “chief of *ḥ<sup>3</sup>tyw* demons,”<sup>125</sup> appears only once (TABLE 2:3). The epithet *hry ḥ<sup>3</sup>tyw* (?),<sup>126</sup> which

was also acquired by Tutu,<sup>127</sup> is a matter of debate among scholars. While Yoyotte translated it as “[chef des] massacreurs”<sup>128</sup> without giving a transliteration, Sauneron read it as *šm<sup>3</sup>tyw*.<sup>129</sup> Vernus, Germond, and following them el-Sayed, translated it as “le chef des émissaires.”<sup>130</sup> Kaper agrees with Sauneron’s reading, describing the sign as an ithyphallic demon with a cat’s head and a thick tail, standing on his hind legs and holding a knife.<sup>131</sup> As for the epithets of Meneh, one has *ḥ* (A199A), which can be used for many demons, such as *hbyw*, *ḥ<sup>3</sup>tyw*, *ḥnttyw*, *wpwtyw*, *ist*, and *mnḥw* “the butchers.”<sup>132</sup> The second epithet, which is written with the sign *ḥ* (C87) representing a lion-headed deity holding a knife in each hand, can also be used for (*i*)*mnḥw* and *ḥ<sup>3</sup>tyw*.<sup>133</sup> There are three occurrences of two deities having the epithet of a “chief of the *mnḥw* demons.” The first is a text engraved above the head of a male fecundity figure at Kom Ombo carrying two trays, one above the other and each having three oxen, and reads: *ḥnḥw inpw hry-tp mnḥw* “Anubis, chief of the butcher demons.”<sup>134</sup> Both Herbin and Rickert believe that these are the *mnḥw* demons.<sup>135</sup> Another text accompanying a male fecundity figure (head damaged) in the temple of Khonsu at Karnak, which shows that Anubis held the same epithet, has been reconstructed by Rickert as *in.f n.[k inpw hry-tp mnḥw]* “he (the king) brings to [you (the deity) Anubis, chief of the butchers].”<sup>136</sup> The third instance shows Horus the Behdetite having the epithet: *ḥnḥw hry mnḥw* “chief of the butcher demons” once, in an offering scene of *rdit ḏ hr ḥt* “placing fat on the fire” in the temple of Edfu.<sup>137</sup>

These characteristics lead to two questions: Which reading should be proposed for the epithets of Meneh, and why is *mnḥ* not associated with the (*i*)*mnḥw* demons instead? The *imnh n wsir* “butcher of Osiris” is mentioned in the papyrus of Yuya (P.

TABLE 2: Epithets of Meneh with unconfirmed readings.

NO.	EPITHET	DATE	SOURCE	PUBLICATION	NOTES
1		Late Ptolemaic	Dendera Temple	D VII/I, 196, 6	C87: a lion-headed deity holding a knife in each hand
2		Late Ptolemaic	Dendera Temple	D VIII/I, 93, 9	A199A: A standing man holding a knife in his right hand
3		Late Ptolemaic	Dendera Temple	D VIII/I, 111, 4–5	A lion-headed deity holding a knife in his right hand

Cairo CG 51189), dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty,<sup>138</sup> and in Chapter 153A of the Book of the Dead.<sup>139</sup> Furthermore, *mnhw nw wsir* “the butchers of Osiris” are also cited in the Coffin Texts.<sup>140</sup> Hence, the link between the *mnh* and the *mnhw* demons as both associated with Osiris can be established.<sup>141</sup> Moreover, Meneh is the son of Osiris, as will be seen later.

Elsewhere, I have demonstrated that the *mnhw* butchers belong to Osiris and they were equipped with sharp knives and painful nails to inflict wounds on Osiris’ enemies.<sup>142</sup> They also open the ways before the deceased. Both have similar orthography for their names, can be a threat to the deceased, and have a common function, i.e., vanquishing Apep. Last but not least, both share the same responsibility, as Meneh is called *hry nmt nt r* “chief of the slaughterhouse of Re” in the temple of Dendera,<sup>143</sup> which coincides with the epithet of the butcher demons who are called *hry(w) nmt nt r* “chiefs of the slaughterhouse of Re,” mentioned in the temple of Edfu.<sup>144</sup> Being a son of a certain deity who controls certain demons established a connection between the deity’s child and these demons. Tutu, the son of Neith who is associated with the *h<sup>3</sup>tyw* demons, is the chief of the *h<sup>3</sup>tyw* demons. Moreover, Anubis the son of Osiris<sup>145</sup> who is associated with the *mnhw* demons is the chief of the *mnhw* demons. Furthermore, Horus the Behdetite, who is also called the son of Osiris, is the chief of the *mnhw* demons.<sup>146</sup> Thus, it is more likely that Meneh, who is the son of Osiris and is associated with *mnhw* demons, is the chief of the *mnhw* demons. Accordingly, I propose the reading of the epithets of Meneh as *nb mnhw* “lord of the butchers” (TABLE 2:1–2) and *hry mnhw* “chief of the butchers” (TABLE 2:3).

#### SON, WIFE, AND PARENTS

Meneh has a son according to a text accompanying an infant deity in the temple of Esna, which reads: *s<sup>3</sup> mnh p<sup>3</sup> hrd<sup>3</sup> wr tpy n mnh mnh [...]* *pr m<sup>3</sup> st hy šps n wnn-nfr*.<sup>147</sup> “the excellent son, the child,<sup>148</sup> the first very great child of Meneh,<sup>149</sup> excellent [...] who comes forth from Isis, the august child of Wenenefer (Osiris).” Isis, beautiful of eye, and the excellent son are both depicted in front of the Roman Emperor Caracalla who offers a *mnit*-necklace.<sup>150</sup> The son is depicted as a child with a side-lock, wearing the double crown with a lappet at the back, while putting his index finger in his mouth, and holds the *hk<sup>3</sup>*-sceptre, the *nh<sup>3</sup>*-flail, and the *nh*-sign in his right

hand.<sup>151</sup>

Through this text the parents of *mnh* are revealed, a relationship confirmed by another text at Esna:<sup>152</sup> *shpr hrt n it.f wsir s<sup>3</sup>-st* “who creates provisions for his father Osiris, son of Isis.” Another epithet from Esna stresses the same fact, *pr m<sup>3</sup> st s<sup>3</sup> smsw n wnn-nfr* “who comes forth from Isis, the eldest son of Wenenefer.”<sup>153</sup> It would appear that he had a female counterpart called *mnht*,<sup>154</sup> who is mentioned following his name in a hieratic papyrus from Tebtunis (P. Berlin 7808/7810 + P. Louvre AF 11112) dating to the second century CE.<sup>155</sup> Due to the fragmentary condition of the papyrus and given the fact that this is her only attestation so far,<sup>156</sup> she remains a mystery.

#### GOD’S RESPONSE

In return for the Roman emperor’s (Trajan’s) ritual performed before Meneh in the temple of Esna, i.e., *mds sm<sup>3</sup>* “stabbing the bull,”<sup>157</sup> Meneh slaughters the emperor’s enemies: *di.i h<sup>3</sup> bdšw.k r nmt* “I caused that your enemies fall against the slaughterhouse.”<sup>158</sup> Moreover, Meneh grants the Roman Emperor Hadrian/Antoninus Pius power against his enemies for the same ritual in another scene:<sup>159</sup> *di.i nh<sup>t</sup> wy.k r hw hftyw.(k) dpdp sbiw.k m ds.i* “I gave your arms power to strike your enemies and to cut off your rebels with my knife.”<sup>160</sup> Furthermore, as a member of the nine dead deities of Edfu, Meneh appears in two different offering scenes. The first is *wp r<sup>3</sup> sp 4* “opening of the mouth four times,”<sup>161</sup> and the second is *irt sntr kbh* “burning incense and pouring a libation.”<sup>162</sup> Meneh grants Ptolemy IV in return the same: *di.i (n.k)whm rnpt mi hpri* “I give to you repetition of years like Khepri.”<sup>163</sup> Despite the different nature of offerings, Meneh appears in other offering scenes with this group of deities, but his response is not mentioned, as he is not accompanied by a text.<sup>164</sup> During the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, according to a text on the “victory-stele” of Piankhy, the king makes an offering to Meneh. It reads: *m<sup>3</sup> n.f<sup>3</sup> bt-<sup>3</sup>st n [i]mnhy hnt šhd* “he (the king) offered a great offering to Imnhy the foremost of Sehedj.”<sup>165</sup> Moreover, this text reflects the idea that demons were not objects of cults until the Late Period.<sup>166</sup>

#### PRIESTS

The clergy of Meneh is rarely attested, and there are only two examples mentioning his priests. The first is a *hm-ntr* “priest” for *mnh s<sup>3</sup>-dmwt* “Meneh, the one with several of knives,” called Hor-nefer. He is



mentioned on a statue dating from the reign of Alexander the Great or the early Ptolemaic Period. The body of this basalt statue is now on display in the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lausanne (Eg. 7).<sup>167</sup> Another priest/scribe of *mnh* *šš-dmwt*, Plato Junior, a man of Greek origin from the first century BCE, is attested on a granite statue (Cairo JE 38033).<sup>168</sup>

#### THE KING AS MENEH’S SON OR LIKE MENEH

The king is referred to twice in the temple of Dendera as *sw mi mnh* “he is like Meneh,” while offering the *hnk stpwt* “pieces of meat”<sup>169</sup> before two sacred serpents of Dendera in one scene,<sup>170</sup> and [*hnk*] *ššr* “roast a piece of meat”<sup>171</sup> before Hathor and Horus-sema-tawy in another.<sup>172</sup> The king, while slaughtering an antelope before Montu and Tanenet in the temple of Tod, is called *sš mnh*<sup>173</sup> “son of Meneh.” In several instances the king has the epithet of Meneh, mainly in connection with a meat offering in the temples of Edfu and Dendera.<sup>174</sup>

#### ASSIMILATION

According to epigraphic and iconographic evidence, a fecundity figure assimilated into Meneh<sup>175</sup> in the temple of Hathor at Dendera is depicted on the eastern<sup>176</sup> and the western walls<sup>177</sup> of the eastern staircase while ascending towards or descending from the roof. A second fecundity figure assimilated into Meneh is depicted on the eastern<sup>178</sup> and northern<sup>179</sup> walls of the western staircase. The fecundity figure in the four previously mentioned cases is accompanied with his name and epithets after a *qd-mdw-in* formula. It is represented in a complete human form, wearing the *nms*-headdress, wide collar, short kilt, and a bull’s tail, while carrying a tray laden with pieces of meat among a procession of deities who carry provisions. A third fecundity figure assimilated into Meneh is illustrated on the northern wall of the court of the chapel of the New Year in the temple of Hathor at Dendera. Here Meneh is depicted in a humanoid form wearing a short kilt, *nms*-headdress, wide collar, and a bull’s tail, carrying the *št*-sign in the left hand and a vessel in the other, while a gazelle is represented beside him.<sup>180</sup> On the western wall of the eastern staircase of the temple of Horus at Edfu a fecundity figure assimilated into Meneh is depicted in the guise of a humanoid form wearing the *nms*-headdress, broad collar, short kilt, and a bull’s tail, while carrying different pieces of meat.<sup>181</sup> This shows that Meneh participated with his offerings, i.e., pieces of meat,

in festivals connected with the roofs of the temples of Edfu and Dendera.

#### FESTIVALS

Two religious festivals in the calendar of the temple of Esna mention Meneh, who participates in the first festival while the second is his own festival. The first, called *hb hnm* “festival of Khnum,” was celebrated from the first day of the fourth month of the *šht*-season until the sixth day, and other deities also participated.<sup>182</sup> The second festival, which was celebrated on the twentieth day of the fourth month of *šmw*-season, was called *hb mnhwy* “festival of Menehwy,” and offerings were presented on the altar.<sup>183</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

Meneh has been envisaged through his epithets as a bloodthirsty butcher to the enemies of deities such as Hathor of Dendera, his main mission being to slaughter them, dismember and decapitate their bodies, and offer their meat to deities to satisfy them. One enemy, Seth, should be stopped. Another enemy, Apep, must be defeated, otherwise he would jeopardise the stability of the cosmos by attacking the barque of Re in his journey every day. By taking part in the ritual of satisfying Sekhmet, he saves the cosmic order from being endangered. His role as a guardian is attested through his depiction on the door jamb of room VI (K of Winlock) in the temple of Hibis among other deities. As a member of the nine dead deities of the temple of Edfu, not only did Meneh adopt two new iconographies, but he also performed new duties among this group, which appeared in the temple of Dendera as well. Since Anubis and Horus the Behdetite both have the epithets of “son of Osiris” and “chief of the butcher demons,” and based on the connection between Meneh and Osiris as Osiris’ son, it seems logical to infer that these two epithets, i.e., “lord of the butcher demons” and “chief of the butcher demons,” can be possessed by Meneh as well.

Was Meneh entirely a benevolent demon? Texts found on two sarcophagi, of Ankh-hapy (Cairo JE 15011)<sup>184</sup> and Djedhor (Cairo JE 15039),<sup>185</sup> dating to 525–30 BCE, read: *n it bšf imnhwy spd ds* “his ba (deceased) is not seized by Meneh, sharp of knife.”<sup>186</sup> This is the only evidence that demonstrates how Meneh could threaten the deceased, and it recalls the danger of the butcher demons towards the deceased.<sup>187</sup> Meneh has both benevolent and

malevolent aspects.<sup>188</sup> Despite the threat Meneh can present to the deceased, the benevolent role is predominant in his functions, unlike those of the butcher demons. According to epigraphic and iconographic evidence, it was not until the Graeco-Roman Period that Meneh’s cult gained popularity, he had his own festival, and his parents and son were revealed. His cult was active in different geographical localities such as Edfu, Dendera, Esna, and Asfun during the Graeco-Roman Period.

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#### Abbreviations

- AEO Gardiner, A. H. 1947. *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 3 vols. London: Oxford University Press.
- Cairo Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Journal d’entrée.
- JE de Buck, A. 1935–1961. *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 7 vols. Oriental Institute Publications 34–87. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- CT
- D I–V Chassinat, É. 1934–1947. *Le Temple de Dendara*, vols. I–V. Le Caire: Institute français d’archéologie orientale. Vols. II–II, 2nd edition: Le Caire: Institute français d’archéologie orientale, 2004; vol. IV, 3rd edition: Le Caire: Institute français d’archéologie orientale, 2012; vol. V, 2nd edition: Le Caire: Institute français d’archéologie orientale, 2006).
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- DZA Digitalisiertes Zettelarchiv, <<http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/S05?d=d007&h=h018>>.
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- LÄ Helck, W., E. Otto and W. Westendorf (eds.). 1972–1992. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 7 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- LD Lepsius, C. R. 1849–1859. *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien: nach den Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestät dem Koenige von Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm IV nach diesen Ländern gesendeten und in den Jahren 1842–1845 ausgeführten wissenschaftlichen Expedition*, 12 vols. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung. (Reprint: Geneva: Éditions de Belles-lettres, 1975.)
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- tiev 1930, 68; *LÄ* II, 1117, s.v. Hemen; Gabra 1974, 234–237; *AEO* II, 14\*–17\*; Willems 1990, 43–46.
- <sup>6</sup> *E* II, 52, 2; *E* III, 301, 15; *E* VII, 280, 12.
- <sup>7</sup> Cairo JE 15039; Cairo CG 29304, see Maspero 1914, 129.
- <sup>8</sup> Cairo JE 15011; Cairo CG 29303, see Maspero 1914, 98; *E* III, 323, 9; *E* IV, 84, 11; *E* VII, 119, 2; *D* IX/I, 241, 16; *D* XV/I, 155, 13.
- <sup>9</sup> On a Kushite Period stele, dating to Piankhy's reign (Cairo JE 48862), for which see Grimal 1981, §16, 1.83; *Urk.* III, 26, 83; Yoyotte 1963, 99, 105.
- <sup>10</sup> *Esna* III, No. 266, 5.
- <sup>11</sup> *Esna* III, No. 268A.
- <sup>12</sup> Faulkner 1933, cols. 22, 21; 33, 6.
- <sup>13</sup> *E* IV, 240, 17.
- <sup>14</sup> *D* VIII/I, 93, 9.
- <sup>15</sup> *E* I, 174, 1.
- <sup>16</sup> Naville 1908, pl. XV.
- <sup>17</sup> *CT* VI, 195d.
- <sup>18</sup> The text clearly shows *mnḥ*, but the translation mistakenly mentions it as Hemen. See Faulkner 2004, 470; Carrier 2004, 1360–1361.
- <sup>19</sup> Faulkner 2004, 470.
- <sup>20</sup> The three other deities are: Darkness (first), Who keeps off the *Akh*-spirits (third), and Hacker of the Earth (fourth); see E. Hornung and Abt 2007, 270.
- <sup>21</sup> Hornung 1965, 151, No. 614; Hornung 1992, 639–640.
- <sup>22</sup> Hornung and Abt 2007, 270.
- <sup>23</sup> Davies 1953, 10.
- <sup>24</sup> *PM* VI, 149 (252)–(255); *E* I, 173, 1–174, 8; *E* IX, pl. 23a; *SERaT* 900668; *PM* VI, 143(179); *E* I, 382, 4–15, pl. 31c; *E* XII, pl. 327; *SERaT* 901588; *PM* VI, 136 (108)–(109); *E* II, 51, 3–52, 9; *E* IX, pl. 40d; *SERaT* 901836; *E* III, 323, 5–12; *E* IX, pl. 80; *SERaT* 900246.
- <sup>25</sup> *PM* VI, 130; *E* III, 301, 8–16; *E* IX, pl. 79; *SERaT* 900345; *PM* VI, 156 (291)–(294); *E* IV, 83, 4–85, 8; *E* X, pl. 85; *SERaT* 900637; *PM* VI, 158 (302)–(305); *E* IV, 239, 13–241, 14; *E* X, pl. 91; *PM* VI, 126 (43)–(46); *E* V, 61, 17–63, 16; *E* X, pl. 113; *SERaT* 900974; *PM* VI, 125 (39)–(42); *E* V, 160, 12–

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> For two cases, for the confusion between *mnḥ* and *ḥmn*, see TABLE 1:43–44. For the theory that *ḥmn* and *mnḥ* were originally one deity, and that the priests had to invent another deity and split the territories among them, see Farid 1986, 51.
- <sup>2</sup> This writing is attested only in the Graeco-Roman Period in the temple of Edfu so far. For the *i*-prefix before the name see Edel 1956, 17.
- <sup>3</sup> *Wb* II, 87, 17; Smith 1979, 162; Wilson 1997, 433. For the different signs used for the writing of his name in the Coffin Texts, see van der Molen 2008, 308; Hannig 1995, 340.
- <sup>4</sup> Wild 1954, 191.
- <sup>5</sup> Farid 1986, 50–53. For this deity, see *LGG* V, 150a–b; see also Vandier 1950, 8–13; Nims 1952, 40–1, 45; Vandier 1955, 73–79; *LD* IV, 27b; Viken-

- 162, 6; *E* X, pl. 117; SERaT 900855; PM VI, 166 (328)–(333); *E* VII, 118, 4–119, 9, pl. 167; SERaT 901369; PM VI, 167 (337) – (344); *E* VII, 279, 16–281, 2, pl. 175; SERaT 901262; PM VI, 44 (XX); *D* XI/I, 58, 11–59, 8; *D* XI/II, pl. 39; SERaT 111692; *D* IX/I, 241, 9–19; SERaT 110192; *D* XV/I, 155, 5–14, pl. 62; SERaT 111937.
- <sup>26</sup> *D* XIV/I, 205, 8–206, 9, pl. 164; SERaT 111954.
- <sup>27</sup> *Esna* III, No. 266; PM VI, 112. The text states that the ritual is “killing sacrificial animal.” See also SERaT 600078.
- <sup>28</sup> *Esna* III, No. 381; PM VI, 112; SERaT 600096.
- <sup>29</sup> It was built on the ancient village of *hwt-snfꜣw* or *hsfn*; see Farid 1986, 49.
- <sup>30</sup> Farid 1986, 41, fig. 4, pl. 6.
- <sup>31</sup> Farid 1986, 42–43, fig. 5, pl. 6.
- <sup>32</sup> Farid 1986, 45, figs. 9–10, pl. 7.
- <sup>33</sup> *E* VII, 280, 12; *D* VIII/I, 111, 4; *Esna* III, No. 381, 10.
- <sup>34</sup> *Esna* III, No. 268A.
- <sup>35</sup> Grimal 1981, 92, no. 276; see also Montet 1961, 197–198; Montet 1960, 58; Gauthier 1928, 44. For *shꜣt n mhꜣt-tꜣwy* in a decree dating to year 23 of the reign of Ptolemy V, see Daressy 1911, 4 (9); Daumas 1952, 168; Yoyotte 1963, 100–103.
- <sup>36</sup> Stela Cairo JE 48862; *Urk.* III, 26, 83; Grimal 1981, 92 (no. 276); Yoyotte 1963, 99; *LGG* V, 862a.
- <sup>37</sup> *Esna* II, No. 55, 5; *Esna* III, No. 266, 5.
- <sup>38</sup> *Esna* III, No. 268A; *LGG* III, 694a.
- <sup>39</sup> Gauthier 1929, 115–116.
- <sup>40</sup> *Esna* III, No. 266, 5.
- <sup>41</sup> Gauthier 1927, 67.
- <sup>42</sup> This is the same designation of the nine dead deities of the temple of Horus at Edfu, for which see Gaber, forthcoming. The ten dead deities of Dendera have the same epithet. See Gaber 2015, 248.
- <sup>43</sup> *Esna* V, 8. For this temple, see Abdel-Rahman 2009, 5–6; El-Sayed 1982, 643, doc. 1050.
- <sup>44</sup> *Esna* III, 268A; *Esna* III, No. 381; 10–11.
- <sup>45</sup> *Esna* V, 7.
- <sup>46</sup> *Esna* II, No. 55.
- <sup>47</sup> *D* VII/I, 183, 12; DZA 20.793.820.
- <sup>48</sup> Montet 1961, 49.
- <sup>49</sup> Gauthier 1927, 126.
- <sup>50</sup> *AEO* II, 12\*–17\*; *LÄ* III, 90, s.v. Hut-Snofru; see also Černý 1963, 89–92.
- <sup>51</sup> *Esna* III, No. 381, 10; *LGG* III, 694b–c.
- <sup>52</sup> *Esna* III, No. 257A.
- <sup>53</sup> Gauthier 1927, 120.
- <sup>54</sup> *Esna* III, No. 266, 13.
- <sup>55</sup> *E* VII, 119, 2; Kurth 2004, 212.
- <sup>56</sup> *E* IV, 249, 17.
- <sup>57</sup> *Esna* III, No. 257A; Gauthier 1925, 163; *LGG* V, 508c. For *hkꜣ fkhꜣr* as an epithet for Montu-Re-Horakhty, see *D* IX/I, 244, 5; *LGG* V, 393c–394a.
- <sup>58</sup> *LGG* II, 222a–b.
- <sup>59</sup> *Esna* III, No. 266, 5, No. 268A, No. 381, 10; *LD*, Text, IV, 31(y).
- <sup>60</sup> Farid 1986, 41–44, figs. 4–5, pl. 6; *Esna* V, 50, footnote (b), 377.
- <sup>61</sup> *D* VII/I, 183, 12; DZA 20.793.820; *D* VII/I, 196, 5; DZA 20.793.760; *D* VIII/I, 93, 9; DZA 20.793.830; *D* VIII/I, 105, 1; 196, 5.
- <sup>62</sup> See Wild 1954, 193. The body of the statue is now in Lausanne, Musée des Beaux-Arts (Eg 7), see TM 48399.
- <sup>63</sup> CK 608, see <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck608>; TM 113837, see [www.trismegistos.org/text/113837](http://www.trismegistos.org/text/113837); Coulon 2001, 88, 90, 93 (k).
- <sup>64</sup> *D* VIII/I, 86, 5–6; *D* VIII/I, 111, 4; *LGG* II, 222b.
- <sup>65</sup> *D* VIII/I 111, 4. This is also an epithet of Amun; see *LGG* VI, 286a.
- <sup>66</sup> *Esna* III, No. 268A; *LGG* V, 478b.
- <sup>67</sup> *Esna* III, No. 381; *LGG* VII, 214a.
- <sup>68</sup> *Esna* III, No. 266, 6.
- <sup>69</sup> *Esna* III, No. 257A; *Esna* III, No. 268A; *LGG* VII, 292c–293a.
- <sup>70</sup> *D* VII/I, 196, 5; *D* VII/I, 183, 12; DZA 20.793.820; *D* VIII/I, 93, 9; DZA 20.793.830; *Esna* III, No. 257A; *LGG* III, 55c–56b.
- <sup>71</sup> *D* VII/I, 183, 13; DZA 20.793.820; *D* VII/I, 196, 6; DZA 20.793.760; *D* VIII/I, 93, 9; DZA 20.793.830; *LGG* II, 705c–706c.
- <sup>72</sup> *D* VII/I, 183, 12–13; DZA 20.793.820; *D* VIII/I, 111, 5. For *itt m phty.f*, see *D* VIII/I, 93, 9–10; DZA 20.793.830; *Esna*, No. 381; *LGG* I, 633b.
- <sup>73</sup> *D* VIII/I, 93, 9; DZA 20.793.830; *LGG* III, 747c–

- 748a.
- 74 *D VIII/I*, 111, 5; *LGG III*, 211a–212a.
- 75 *D VII/I*, 196, 5; *DZA 20.793.760*; *LGG VII*, 441c–442b.
- 76 *D VII/I*, 196, 5–6; *DZA 20.793.760*; *LGG II*, 462a–b.
- 77 *Esna III*, No. 381.
- 78 *Esna III*, No. 381; *LGG III*, 481a.
- 79 *Esna III*, No. 381, *LGG II*, 239b–c.
- 80 *Esna III*, No. 381; *LGG VI*, 323c.
- 81 *D VIII/I*, 111, 4–5; *LGG VII*, 218c–219a.
- 82 *D VII/I*, 196, 6; *LGG I*, 628a.
- 83 *D VII/I*, 183, 13; *DZA 20.793.820*; *LGG III*, 473b.
- 84 *D VII/I*, 183, 13; *DZA 20.793.820*; *D VIII/I*, 93, 10; *DZA 20.793.830*; *LGG VI*, 471a–b.
- 85 *D VIII/I*, 111, 5–6; *LGG V*, 489a.
- 86 *D VIII/I*, 111, 5–6.
- 87 *D VII/I*, 183, 14–15; *DZA 20.793.820*; *D VIII/I*, 93, 11; *LGG IV*, 353a–354b.
- 88 *D VII/I*, 196, 7; *DZA 20.793.830*.
- 89 *D VII/I*, 196, 6; *DZA 20.793.830*; *LGG VI*, 540a–b.
- 90 For the importance of this rite, see Germond 1981, 252. For the rite itself, see Goyon 2006.
- 91 *D VIII/I*, 111, 5; *LGG VI*, 579a–b.
- 92 *D VII/I*, 196, 6–7; *DZA 20.793.830*; *LGG VI*, 326c.
- 93 *Esna III*, 268A; *LGG V*, 522c–523a.
- 94 *Esna III*, 268A; *LGG V*, 862a–b.
- 95 *Esna II*, 163, 18.
- 96 TM 48496.
- 97 Faulkner 1933, col. 22, 21–22; Faulkner 1937, 168; *DZA 20.793.750*.
- 98 Faulkner 1933, col. 33, 6–7; Faulkner 1938, 53; *DZA 20.793.840*.
- 99 CT VII, 417a.
- 100 For the uncertain reading of this word as *tm* “leader (?)” see Carrier 2004, 2280–2281.
- 101 Faulkner 2004, 157.
- 102 Kousoulis 1999, 24; Kousoulis 2000.
- 103 For other attestation of Nekhet in the temple of Edfu, see *E III*, 33, 6; *E VI*, 329, 11–12; *E VIII*, 126, 4. Nekhet, who usually appears as one of a group of nine deities, is represented among eight deities in this scene only due to the lack of space. Each one of these deities including Nekhet is represented as a falcon-head deity wearing the short kilt and the bull’s tail while holding a knife in the right hand and a spear in the left hand. See *E X/II*, pl. CXLV.
- 104 PM VI, 160 (308)–(311); SERaT 901130; *E VI*, 159, 4; *E X/II*, pl. CXLV; Beinlich 2008, 119.
- 105 See Goyon 2006, 57, footnote 4. Kurth follows Goyon’s reading, for which see Kurth 2014, 274.
- 106 For the same description of serpents, see Goyon 2006, 56, footnote 8.
- 107 *E VI*, 159, 4. For the reading of *h<sup>3</sup>tyw rsyw*, which is attested only once, see *LGG V*, 637c. See Kurth 1994, 243; Kurth 2014, 274.
- 108 Kurth 2014, 274.
- 109 For the *h<sup>3</sup>tyw* in charge of slaying Apep, see Faulkner 1938, 43.
- 110 See Goyon 2006, 57, footnote 4.
- 111 *D VIII/I*, 104, 15–105, 1; *D VIII/II*, pl. DCCXLIV.
- 112 For a similar text, without mentioning the name of the demon, see *D IV*, 205, 13–14; Cauville 2001, 336–337.
- 113 *D IV*, 189, 11; Cauville 2001, 306–307.
- 114 *D IV*, 189, 11; Cauville 2001, 306–307.
- 115 *D VIII/I*, 86, 5–6; *DZA 20.793.850*.
- 116 *E I*, 565, 15.
- 117 *E I*, 555, 8.
- 118 *E I*, 464, 14; *DZA 25.792.840*.
- 119 As mentioned before, *hmn* is often confused with *mnh*.
- 120 Wilson 1997, 467.
- 121 *Esna III*, No. 266, 6; *LGG II*, 34b–c.
- 122 *Esna III*, No. 257A; *LGG III*, 635b–c.
- 123 *Esna III*, No. 268A.
- 124 *D VII/I*, 196, 6; *DZA 20.793.760*; *D VIII/I*, 93, 9; *DZA 20.793.830*; *LGG III*, 712a.
- 125 *D VIII/I*, 111, 4–5; *LGG V*, 372c–373a.
- 126 *hry h<sup>3</sup>tyw* is attested as a royal epithet in an offering scene of *hnk m<sup>3</sup>t* “giving maat” in the temple of Edfu; see *E IV*, 76, 2. Chassinat suggested that the sign used with the royal epithet was a jackal-headed deity and that, despite the chiseling, he

- could still see the head and the nose. See *E* IV, 76, footnote 1. The jackal-headed determinatives are associated with the *šm³yw* demons, for which see *Wb* IV, 471. SERaT reads this epithet as *hry-hnttyw* “chief of the *hnttyw* demons.” See SERaT 900604.
- <sup>127</sup> It appears on a block from Athribis; see Kaper 2003, 260 (R-38).
- <sup>128</sup> Yoyotte 1955, 136.
- <sup>129</sup> Sauneron 1960, 272, footnote 22.
- <sup>130</sup> Vernus 1978, 200, doc. 170, pl. 34; Germond 1979, 27, footnote 16; el-Sayed 1982, 485, doc. 685.
- <sup>131</sup> Kaper 2003, 28, 260 (R-38).
- <sup>132</sup> Blackman and Fairman 1943, 21, no. 6. For *h³tyw* and *hnttyw*, see Kurth 2010, 7; Kurth 2007, 131. For *h³tyw*, see Sass 2014, 25–27. For *mnh*, see Leitz 2004, 154. For all of these readings, see Daumas 1988, I, 32. For *mnh*, see *E* VI, 142, 12; Wilson 1997, 433.
- <sup>133</sup> For *hnwt šm³yw*, see *D* VI, 40, 1; S. Cauville 2004, 308. For the reading of *hnwt imnhw*, see Daumas 1988, 109. Leitz read it as *wpwttyw*, but the reading is not certain. See *LGG* V, 173b.
- <sup>134</sup> See *KO* 66 (right). For examples where the king has the epithet of *mnh*, “the butcher.” see Ibrahim 1971, 137–28.
- <sup>135</sup> Herbin 1999, 197, footnote 104; Grenier 1977, 21; Rickert 2011, 83, pl. 17. As for Leitz, he reads it as *hry-tp mniww* “chief of the shepherds.” See *LGG* V, 394b. For another attestation of this epithet in the temple of Edfu with uncertain reading, see *E* II, 168, 8.
- <sup>136</sup> *Opet* I, 224 (left); Rickert 2011, 83, pl. 16; Rickert 2014, 357.
- <sup>137</sup> See *E* V, 146, 9. For the reading of *hrj hnttyw*, see SERaT 900823.
- <sup>138</sup> Dating to the reign of Amenhotep III, see *TM* 134267.
- <sup>139</sup> Munro 1994, pl. 58. Cairo CG 51189. See Quibell 1908, 68; Naville 1908, pl. XV.
- <sup>140</sup> *CT* VII, 133f; *LGG* III, 305b.
- <sup>141</sup> For the *mnhw* demons, see Gaber 2015, 31–36.
- <sup>142</sup> For the functions of the *mnhw* butchers, see Gaber 2015, 31–36.
- <sup>143</sup> *D* IV, 189, 11; Cauville 2001, 306–307.
- <sup>144</sup> *E* I 470, 1; *E* IX, pl. 35c; DZA 26.863.530; Gaber 2015, 31–36.
- <sup>145</sup> For Anubis as son of Osiris, see Gaber 2015, 318–320.
- <sup>146</sup> For Horus the Behdetite as the son of Osiris, see Shonkwiler 2014, 143, 158, 203, 302, 473.
- <sup>147</sup> *Esna* VI/I, No. 523, 10–11.
- <sup>148</sup> *LGG* VI, 81a.
- <sup>149</sup> *LGG* II, 18c.
- <sup>150</sup> SERaT 600143; Beinlich 2008, 311.
- <sup>151</sup> *Esna* VI/I, 143.
- <sup>152</sup> *Esna* III, No. 381.
- <sup>153</sup> *Esna* III, No. 257A.
- <sup>154</sup> For the reading as *hmnt* and not *mnht*, see Osing 1998, 285–286, pl. 29 (C 2, 17).
- <sup>155</sup> *TM* 56095.
- <sup>156</sup> Leitz reads the name as *mnht*: see *LGG* III, 305c.
- <sup>157</sup> SERaT 600096.
- <sup>158</sup> *Esna* III, No. 381, 13.
- <sup>159</sup> SERaT 600078.
- <sup>160</sup> *Esna* III, No. 266, 9.
- <sup>161</sup> SERaT 900668; Beinlich 2008, 330.
- <sup>162</sup> SERaT 901836; Beinlich 2008, 509.
- <sup>163</sup> *E* I, 173, 1; DZA 20.793.800; *E* II, 52, 2; DZA 20.793.810.
- <sup>164</sup> These god’s responses are not a part of a recent study. See von Pfeil-Autenrieth 2008.
- <sup>165</sup> Grimal 1981, 88.
- <sup>166</sup> See Lucarelli 2011, 110.
- <sup>167</sup> The head is now in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Egyptian), MMA 1980.422. *TM* 48399; see [www.trismegistos.org/text/48399](http://www.trismegistos.org/text/48399); Wild 1954, 182, pls. II–III.
- <sup>168</sup> *TM* 113837; Clarysse 2010, 284; Coulon 2001, 88, 90, 93 (k). It appears that the policy of the Ptolemies was to concentrate administrative, military, and religious power among the same families. See Fischer-Bovet 2008, 297.
- <sup>169</sup> Beinlich 2008, 119.
- <sup>170</sup> SERaT 110355; *D* II, 165, 5, pl. CXLIII; Cauville 1999, 250–251.
- <sup>171</sup> Beinlich 2008, 121.

- <sup>172</sup> SERaT 110986; *D* VII/I, 160, 12; *D* VII/II, pl. DCLXII.
- <sup>173</sup> *Tôd* I, 130, 4.
- <sup>174</sup> For *k³ dšr stp ḥpšwy.fy*, see SERaT 900228; *E* III, 178, 15. For *ḥrw-ᶜ (?) stpw*, see SERaT 900646; *E* IV, 128, 12. For *m³i m³-ḥd*, see SERaT 901140; *E* VI, 142, 12. For *ts-ih̄t*, see SERaT 110655; *D* III, 185, 12–13. For *ḥw-ᶜ r stpw*, see SERaT 110558; *D* VI, 36, 2. For *wḏ³t*, see SERaT 110605; *D* VI, 143, 3–4. See also Ibrahim 1971, 137–138; Wilson 1997, 433.
- <sup>175</sup> For other fecundity figures assimilated into Amun, Re and Hapy, see Baines 1985, 259–260.
- <sup>176</sup> *D* VII/I, 183, 12–15; DZA 20.793.820; *D* VII/II, pl. DCLXXI.
- <sup>177</sup> *D* VII/I, 196, 5–7; *D* VII/II, pl. DCLXXXVI; DZA 20.793.760. See also Mariette 1873, pl. 16; see also Yoyotte 1963, 105.
- <sup>178</sup> The deity has a ceremonial beard. See *D* VIII/I, 93, 9–11; *D* VIII/II, pl. DCCLXXXVII.
- <sup>179</sup> A gazelle is represented standing beside Meneh, for which see *D* VIII/I, 111, 4–6; *D* VIII/II, pl. DCCLXI.
- <sup>180</sup> *D* IV, pl. CCXCIX.
- <sup>181</sup> *E* IX, pl. XXXVIII (I).
- <sup>182</sup> *Esna* II, No. 55, 5; S. El-Sabban 2000, 162; Grimm 1994, 56–57; Farid 1986, 53.
- <sup>183</sup> *Esna* II, No. 77, 17; *Esna* V, 6–7; El-Sabban 2000, 168; Grimm 1994, 140–141.
- <sup>184</sup> TM 109510. Cairo CG 29303, see Maspero 1914, 98.
- <sup>185</sup> TM 109514. Cairo CG 29304, see Maspero 1914, 129.
- <sup>186</sup> LGG VI, 286a–b.
- <sup>187</sup> For the different threats of the butcher demons towards the deceased, see Gaber 2015, 31–36.
- <sup>188</sup> For other demons having both aspects, see Pantalacci 1995, 187–198; Lucarelli 2006, 210–211.