



## An Unpublished Funerary Votive Stela of Ahmose-Mery-Netier 'JE 99109' in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

**Heba Maher Mahmoud**

Associate Professor, Egyptology  
department, faculty of arts, Mansoura  
University, Egypt.

[hebamaheer@mans.edu.eg](mailto:hebamaheer@mans.edu.eg)

### ARTICLE INFO

#### Article history

Received 27 August 2024

Received in revised form 15 October 2024

Accepted 29 October 2024

Available Online 3 February 2025

### KEYWORDS

Apis Bull; Behdetite; Saqqara;  
Serapeum; Uraei; Winged sun disc.

### ABSTRACT

This article examines an unpublished stela (JE 99109) discovered in 1985 in the Serapeum area of northern Saqqara. It is a round-topped limestone stela, measuring 20 cm high, 15 cm wide, and 2.5 cm deep. The stela is divided into three registers. The top register features a winged sun disc with a couple of cobras on either side, accompanied by the title of *Bhdt* under every wing of the sun disc. The middle register showcases a colourful votive scene of Ahmose-Mery-Netier in front of *Hp nḥ* (Apis) with his titles displayed above and behind him. The bottom register of the stela contains a hieroglyphic votive text.

Despite severe damage to its sides, the stela is in good condition overall, with figures and text clearly arranged. Based on its stylistic characteristics (palaeographical, orthographical, and pictorial features), the stela dates to the 25th-26th Dynasties, while potential genealogical ties it to a known individual propose the 26th Dynasty.

The author presents a full publication of the scenes and the accompanying texts to contribute new insights into the collection of the votive stelae coming from Saqqara. Similar stelae have been addressed in prior scholarship, yet this one remained without studying, leaving a notable gap in the literature. In addition to offering a more in-depth analytical viewpoint on the stela's stylistic and literary elements. This paper will be of interest for scholars focused on religious practices and the pivotal role of Apis' worship in Saqqara during the Late Period.

### INTRODUCTION

While the customary and traditional practices of piety in Saqqara Necropolis involved offering votive animal mummies to the gods, the typical method of piety for Apis involved dedicating a stela in its final resting place. Through this practice, the dedicant connected with the god and established one's eternal existence before the god (Labudek 2010, 47). As a result, there are two categories of inscribed text discovered in the Serapeum: the official stelae made by kings, and the private stelae made by various priests, masons, and other workers in the burial vaults (Taylor 2010, 248) (Labudek 2010, 47) (Marković 2015, 138). Among the votive stelae preserved in the Serapeum, around 50% were in demotic script, 40% in hieroglyphic script, and around 10% in hieratic script (Marković 2015, 138). Hundreds of stelae were erected by private individuals as a sign of their piety and devotion to the Apis Bull. These stelae were placed in the recess of the hallways' walls to be visible to the visitors of the Serapeum (Taylor 2010, 248).

This stela dedicated by Ahmose-Mery-Netier belongs to the second category, and on March 9, 2002, was in the Egyptian Museum in El-Tahrir Square, under JE 99109. Discovered in Saqqara, it was excavated by the German mission in 1985, and its excavation number is R. No.



8389. It displays three registers: **(I)** a rounded lunette, decorated by a winged sun disc, **(II)** a pictorial depiction, and **(III)** seven horizontal lines of an incised hieroglyphic inscription in the lower part with horizontal lines between each line of hieroglyphs. Its sides are largely damaged (Pl. 1).

#### THE STELA'S DETAILS:

- Location and Number: Egyptian Museum in Cairo, JE 99109.
- Main Person(s): god's father, sem-priest, the prophet Ahmose-Mery-Netier, and Apis-Osiris.
- Provenance: Saqqara - Serapeum area.
- Material: Limestone
- Type: Round topped stela.
- Dimensions: Height 20 cm, Width 15 cm, Depth 2.5 cm.
- Technique: Painted limestone with hieroglyphs carved in sunken relief.
- Dating: From the 25<sup>th</sup> to the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.
- Genealogical Stela: the formula *Im3h(w) hr hp-*Wsir** followed by the name of the devotee and of his family.

#### THE DESCRIPTION

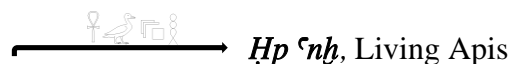
##### 1-The Upper Register (Lunette):

In the top of the rounded lunette, there is a winged sun disc framed by two cobras . The title  *Bhdt* appears under every wing of the sun disc (for similar instances, see, Louvre IM. 4017, and IM. 4018) (Vercoutter 1962, 59-64 Doc. H, 60-69 Doc. I, pl. VIII, IX) (Malinine, et al. 1968, pl. LII Nr. 192) (Fig. 1).

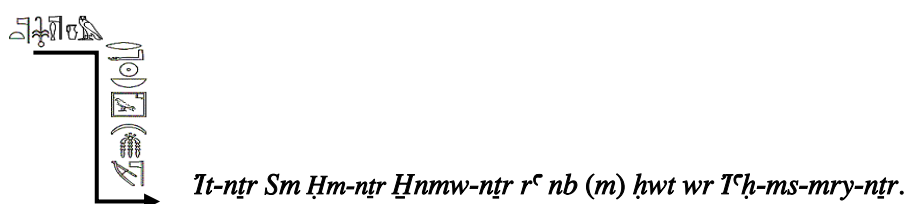
##### 2-The Second Register (The Main Scene):

In the second register, the main scene consists of a colourful funeral scene of a man kneeling and raising hands in adoration in front of the emanation and embodiment of the god Ptah, represented as the Apis Bull (Bonnet 1952, 48) (Devauchelle 1998, 593-595). The scene is vivid with colours. Ahmose-Mery-Netier is shown with short black hair that reach the middle of his neck. Only one long ear appears, a large almond eye, a sunken eyebrow, a thin nose, and a simple line represents his mouth (compare with the devotee's features in the Louvre stela IM. 4030, see Vercoutter 1962, 82-87 Doc. M, pl. XII). He wears a decorated short kilt, exposing the upper part of his body in front of *Hp ʿnh* (Apis Hepu). The god is in its full standing bull form (Labudek 2010, 48), with white and black marks, showing a double hair at its tail end (Taylor 2001, 247) (Aly 2006, 51-52), and it wears an uraei in front of its two horns, while looking to the east (Labudek 2010, 48) (Fig. 1).

##### Above Apis:

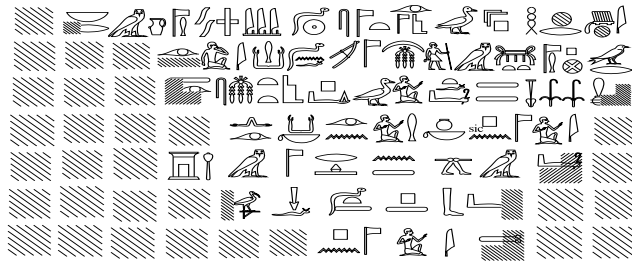


##### Above and Behind the Devotee:



“The divine father (god’s father), sem-priest, the prophet, and the one who is united with the god every day in the house of the greatest (Bulls), Ahmose-Mery-Netier”.

### 3-The Third Register (The Votive Text) (Horizontal Right to Left):



- (1) *Im3h(w) hr Hp Wsir It-ntr S(h)d Sm imy ʿbwy Hm-ntr Hnmw-ntr nb [r-st3w].*
- (2) *Wr P Hm-ntr Šsmitt smsw Tch-ms-mry-ntr dd.n.f hm-K3 i.ir [n.f mn wsir hp]*
- (3) *[s3] mi nn Sm3-t3wy-t3.f nht s3 P3-di-3st ms(w) t3-ir-[.....]*
- (4) *[dd.f] T ntr pn ink hm ir n K3.k nn ir[t.i i3b n.i m grh mi hrw]*
- (5) *[.....] ms n t3 r htp ntr m inb-sh [.....]*
- (6) *[.....] dt sn.f dhwty [.....]*
- (7) *[.....] T ntr pn [.....]*

### TRANSLATION

[1] The revered one before Osiris-Apis god’s father, the inspector of the sem-priests, the one who is in “two horns”, the prophet, the one who is united with the god, lord of [Rostau].

[2] the greatest of Pe, the priest of the goddess Shesmetet, the eldest Ahmose-Mery-Netier, he said: your Ka’s servant made [his monument for Osiris Apis]

[3] [Son] of the like therefore, Sema-tawy-tef-nakht, son of Padiese born to Ta-ir [.....]

[4] [he says]: “O, this god! I am a servant who acted for your Ka, I did not cease in the night to the day”

[5] [.....] offering on the land in order for the god to be satisfied in [his?] white booth.

[6] [.....] forever his brother Thot-[.....]

[7] [.....] “O, this god! [.....].

### COMMENTARY





#### 1-Rounded Lunette

Stelae with a rounded lunette are known from the 11<sup>th</sup> Dynasty onward (Martin 1986, *LÄ VI*, col. 1-6) (Hölzl 2001, 319-324) (Hölzl 1992, 285-290). Similar examples of the Late Period also show the Apis Bull, such as the lunette of ʿnh-hnsw, in Louvre IM 2620 (Malinine, et al. 1968, N°. 157, pl. XLIII) (Labudek 2010, 117 A1).

#### 2-Sun-Disc

The winged sun disc, composed by a pair of falcon wings, appeared as a symbol in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty (Alam 2008, 103-104). It became common on the top of rounded stelae, irregular-shaped stelae, and rarely rectangular stelae in the Middle Kingdom, hovering over a scene of a

god for protection (Alam 2008, 103-104) (El-Toukhy 2013, 133). There are two forms of this symbol:


- I. The simple form  with a couple of uraei, making the form  (stelae CG 20678, CG 20539).
- II. The second form with long uraei ,  (as the present stela, and stela CG 20601).

Moreover, the sun disc is represented with wedjet-eyes, ankh sign, and two jackals (stela CG 20397) (El-Toukhy 2013, 133) (Lange and H. Schäfer 1902, LI. N°. 20678, XLVI N°. 20539, XLVII N°. 20601, XXVIII N°. 20397) (compare with the uraei in the stela of Padebehu(en)asset, probably dated to the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Taylor 2010, 250 fig. 184), and (Apis Stela Louvre IM. 4030) (Vercoutter 1962, 82-87 Doc. M, pl. XII).

### 3- *Bhdt*

There was no divine name on the sun disc's early representations, and the identity of the winged sun disc was somewhat unobvious. From the Middle Kingdom, it was given many titles such as *3b šwt*, *nb pt*, *ntr ʕ3*, rarely *ʕnh bhdt*, and *hnti im3* (Hamad & Bassiouni 2002, 539) (Alam 2008, 104). Additionally, it was called *ʕpi* and *ʕpp*, which derived from *ʕpi* “winged scarab”, a symbol of the morning sun, thanks to their similarity (Alam 2008, 104).

Sometimes, it is named *Bhdt*, *Bhdty* (Edfu), or *Hr nb Bhdt* “Horus, The Lord of Edfu” (Alam 2008, 104) (Hamad & Bassiouni 2002, 539), reflecting the relation between Horus and the sun disc, particularly in his title at Heliopolis, *ntr ʕ3 pri m 3ht* (Shonkwiler 2014, 63-64) (Alam 2008, 104). However, this connection between the winged sun disc and Horus, the lord of Edfu, was minor, and occurred from the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty onwards to raise the king to the state of gods. Later, the conformity between them took place according to the legend of the winged disc *ʕpy wr* in Edfu temple during the Late Period (Shonkwiler 2014, 63-64) (Alam 2008, 104).

The title  *Bhdt* appears under both wings of the sun disc in the stela, symbolising Upper and Lower Egypt illustrating the union of the Two Lands. This uraei made of two cobras, similarly showing this duality, may have been placed there to protect the sun, while the wings protect the votive scene with the god (Alam 2008, 104) (El-Toukhy 2013, 132).

### 4-Apis Bull “*Hp-Wsir*”

Funeral scene customarily displayed an adoration position for *Hp ʕnh* (Apis Hepu) in its full standing bull form. The Apis bull is identifiable thanks to specific markings. The first attestation of the specific Apis marks dates to the 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, from a fragment of limestone discovered in Hemaka's tomb. (Taylor 2001, 247, fig. 182) (Wilkinson 2003, 170-172, Fig) (Dodson 2009, 2) (Aly 2006, 51-52). The living Apis bull was considered the *b3* of Ptah and a manifestation of its power in the god's centre, Memphis. According to the Pyramid Texts and the Book of Dead, the divine bull was worshipped at Sais and Athribis in the Delta, and then he was worshipped all over Egypt during the Late and Graeco-Roman periods (Omran & Zouair 2014, 66) (Wilkinson 2003, 172). Similar *b3* are known: the Buchis bull for the god Ra in Armant, and the sacred ram of the god Osiris in Mendes (Maher 2021, 265 no.12). (for a survey of this Memphite cult, with focus on the Ptolemaic period) (Thompson 1988, 190-211).

The bull on this rounded top stela represents the living Apis and the *b3* of Ptah (Wilkinson 2003, 172). While it is challenging to translate accurately the meaning of the *b3*, it can be explained as the manifestation of power of a deity (El-Weshahy & Hafez 2022, 1), supported by the fact that the deity was manifested in another deity in ancient Egypt. For example, Amun was the *b3* of Shu, Ra was the *b3* of the Lord of Heaven, Shu was the *b3* of Amen, and Osiris was the majestic *b3* of the gods of Herakleopolis, and Osiris was the *b3* of the Lord of Cravens

“Anubis” and the *b3* of Ra, his own body, and the living *b3* of the Great Ennead at the same time (El-Weshahy & Hafez 2022, 1).

This link between Apis and the god Ptah occurred later, when he was referred to as *b3* or *whm* 'herald' of Ptah (Taylor 2001, 247) (Wilkinson 2003, 170). Yet, the earliest attestation was found on a porphyritic diorite bowl and dates to the reign of King Aha in the first dynasty, as Apis is seen running under the king (Simpson 1957, 139-142) (Maher 2021, 262 no. 3) (Taylor 2001, 247) (Jurman 2010, 225). On the Palermo Stone, Apis was mentioned and worshiped during the reign of king Den (Wilkinson, 2003, 172).

The deceased usually hope for the god's power and virility, as seen in the Pyramid Texts where the deceased king claims the surging power of the bull's phallus to be able to go and rise to the heavens (Wilkinson 2003, 171). Apis became Osiris in death, being identified as the son of Isis thanks to its divinity and powerful physical attributes of fertility and strength, which strongly linked the bull with kingship (Depuydt 1995, 119). In addition, this form of assimilation with other gods resulted in the form Osiris-Apis-Atum-Horus (Wilkinson 2003, 171).

In the Saqqara necropolis, many animals were found mummified and buried as votive offerings to the deities that they represented (Taylor 2010, 47). However, the children of Apis, the mothers of Apis – they were called the Isis cows, and they were also taken to Memphis when the bull was selected, and kept to be eventually buried in the Iseum not far from the Serapeum (Wilkinson 2003, 172) –, and the baboons of Thoth, those were the deity's living forms and a number of them could be alive at the same time. The Apis bull differed: the single living of Ptah 'Apis' was unique at one time. The Apis bull was buried in its own distinct chamber, in the underground catacombs of the Serapeum (Taylor 2010, 47). It was shown a special reverence through dedication of votive stelae in niches of the walls of the catacombs. The stela that Ahmose-Mery-Netier dedicated to *Hp ʿnh* was made to fit within this context.

The formula *Hp ʿnh* referred to the Living Apis bull, whereas *Hp-Wsir* and *Wsir-Hp* were those of the deceased Apis bull, analogous to Osiris NN (Pfeiffer 2008, 389). The deceased bulls' souls became part of Osiris as the Osirified bulls (Omran & Zouair 2014, 44-45) (Hamad & Bassiouni 2002, 546-547). This association between Apis and Osiris began in the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty (Omran & Zouair 2014, 44), whereas his origin, called by the Egyptians *Hp* (Hap), was not entirely obvious (Wilkinson 2003, 170).

## 5-The Titles of the Devotee

- God's father

*It-ntr* is one of the most popular titles in priesthood, held by Ahmose-Mery-Netier. The formula is *It-ntr* 'god's father' or *It-ntr n x* 'god's father of god x' (Labudek, 2010, 32-33) Regarding the argument about the meaning of the title *It ntr* (Borchardt 1905, 254) (Davies 1908, 23-24) (Gardiner 1947, no. 127). Sometimes, it was followed by:

- I. The title *Hm ntr* 'prophet' or *hm-ntr n x* "prophet of x". It seems to indicate a position in priesthood slightly above the god's fathers as they are fewer in number (Labudek 2010,32-33) (Zivie 1998, 164-165). see the stela of *Pth-nfr*, Louvre IM 3077 (Chassinat 1900, 19 lxii) (Malinine et al. 1968, 150-151) (PM 1981, 793-794).
- II. The title *Sm* 'Sem-Priest' or *Sm n x* 'Sem-Priest of god x' (Labudek 2010, 29) (Zivie 1998, 164-165), as the formula of the studied stela follows *It ntr sm*, and *It ntr shd sm*. Likewise, the stela of *It*, Louvre IM 3082 (Malinine et al. 1968, 149) (Pierret 1882, 68, no. 303) (PM 1981, 792).



The title *It-ntr* 'god's father' represented a low- to mid-level clerical post, possibly above the *w<sup>c</sup>b* priests (Labudek 2010, 32). These god's fathers would have worked in four pylons, who

took their posts on a rolling basis for a month at a time. This is known thanks to the stela of the members of the phyles of a priesthood, that belonged to Ptah-hotep as PM lists) (PM 1981, 799) (Chassinat 1901, 80-81 CXXXV) (Labudek 2010, 274 C2). This explains why *It-ntr* ‘god’s father’ is a title borne by so many priests, who often have additional titles. If a person took the title early but then got promoted to a higher position, he may have kept listing it as a kind of ‘honorary’ title despite no longer doing the physical tasks (one can envisage that *Tḥms-mry-ntr*, regarding his role as a god’s father, had many tasks to guarantee the daily care of the deity statue in the temple, such as clothing and feeding) (Labudek 2010, 32).

Thus, *Tḥms-mry-ntr* was a sem-priest, the inspector of the sem-priests, the one who is in “two horns”, the prophet, the one who is united with the god, the greatest of Pe, the priest of the goddess Shesmetet, and the Ka’s servant, besides being a god’s father. Likewise, in the stela of *Sm3-t3wy-t3.f-nht*, Louvre IM 4044, dating to the reign of Darius, the dedicant’s father is listed as a ‘god’s father’ and ‘greatest of the directors of the craftsmen of Ptah’, the highest position in the Memphite priesthood (PM 1981, 803) (Chassinat 1899, 66, xxiv) (De Meulenaere 1985, 263-266) (Pierret 1882, 76, no. 324) (Labudek 2010, 338 C47).

- Sem-Priest, Inspector of Sem-Priests

Sem-priest and Inspector of Sem-priests were titles also held by Ahmose-Mery-Netier on the stela, which means he has a specific role in funerary ceremonies, and he was connected with Ptah. Sem-priests were connected with both Ptah and Sokar in Memphis (Labudek 2010, 33), and they also operated in phyles like the gods’ fathers, based on the listing of the four phyles of “gods’ fathers and Sem-priests” found on the stela Louvre IM 4054 (PM 1981, 799) (Chassinat 1901, 80-81 cxxxv) (Labudek 2010, 274 C2).

The title of Sem-priest was known from the Old Kingdom (Pyramid Texts, 848), and some kings held it, such as Khnumhotep I, Amene, and Khnumhotep II (Hamad & Bassiouni 2002, 550). Sem-priest and Inspector of Sem-priests are functions that refer to the mid- to high-level positions of Ahmose-Mery-Netier. as he was seconded after the lector-priest, (*Hry-hbt* appeared as;  and his rare title  *wr hry-hbt hry-tp* “Greatest of Chief Lectors”) (Maher 2021, 173-177) (Jones 2000, 781) (Kees 1962, 119-139) (Forshaw 2013) (Smith 1993, 15), evidenced by the opening of the mouth ritual, which was performed for humans and Osiris (Labudek 2010, 33) (Book of the Dead Papyrus from Ani tomb, EA 10470) (Taylor 2010, fig. 29, no. 33) (Scalf 2017, 124 fig. 10. 8, 125) (Hamad & Bassiouni 2002, 549). In addition, the Sem-priest decorates the god statue, as a priest named Nefer-Aker, who worked as the bearer of the seals of the king Senwsret III, mentioned (Hamad & Bassiouni 2002, 550).

- God's Servant

*Hm-ntr* is the most typical title, which means “god's servant” and is frequently rendered as “priest” or “prophet” (Murray 1908, XXVI) (*Wb* III, 87, 88). The title appears as *hm-ntr* and *hm-ntr n x* “prophet” or “prophet of x”. Spiegel discusses further the writing of *hm* and *hmt* (1939, 122-124). This position seems slightly higher than that of *Itw-ntr* “the god’s fathers” in a priesthood as they are fewer in number (Labudek 2010, 32).

Among the Serapeum stelae, many mention various kinds of “prophets”, but a majority are those of Ptah, a given since Ptah's temple is located in Memphis (Labudek 2010, 32-33).

- The Greatest of Pe (Greatest One of Buto)

It was one of the common titles during the Old Kingdom (Helck 1987, 237 Nr. 6) (Jones 1908, 385 Nr. 1424). For example, it was held by *hsy-Rc*, *Rc-htp*, and *K3-nfr* (Murray 1908, XIX) (Quibell 1913, pl. 31, 5). The titles refer to a man who was responsible of this region (Helck 1987, 237 Nr. 6). It is, however, unusual for this title to appear during the Late Period. It is

suggested that this is linked to the politics during the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and the growing significance of the Delta generally and the Saite capital particularly. This title would indicate that the rulers of the Delta regions had influential roles and it pointed out to revert all that had been during the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms.

- Ka-Servant

The Ka-servant is one of the most common titles from the Old Kingdom (Jones 2000, 176–179, 292–293, 591–593, 943–945). It is translated as Ka-servant, Ka-priest, and funerary priest and has long been believed to be the leader of the funerary cult that was frequently practiced at the necropolis (Casado 2019, 126, no.3, Fig. 1). The community of Ka-servant's main responsibility was to fulfil the deceased's demands by performing cultic rituals and delivering his offerings. According to both iconographic and textual sources, ancient Egyptians perceived the Ka-service as a communitarian system composed of several members, including women (Casado 2019, 126).

- The Priest of The Goddess Shesmetet

*Šsmtt* appeared at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Lacau 1902, 200). She was thought to be a version of Bastet from the 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Newberry 1932, 318). Her name is “she of the Shesmet-girdle” (Junker 1929, 149 Nr. 8) (Nibbi 1976, 54-55) (Newberry 1932, 316-318). It is likely that she was initially worshipped at a town of the same name *Šsmtt*, Saft al-Henneh (close to Bubastis in the Delta) (Newberry 1932, 319). She is listed alongside other lioness goddesses in the Pyramid Texts (262): “King Unis is conceived by Sekhmet, born of Shesmetet” (Lacau 1902, 199-200), and she is grouped with Sekhmet, Bastet, and Weret-hekaw on a monument of “Kha-Ankh-Re” Sobekhotep IV of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Newberry 1932, 319) (Wilkinson 2003, 128-129). Furthermore, she once appeared as a form of the goddess Mut in the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. On monuments of the 18<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, and 30<sup>th</sup> Dynasties, she is grouped with the goddesses Bastet and Buto, and in the list of deities in the temple of Sety I at Abydos, Shesmetet is mentioned in “the town of Iwyt”, a place-name that occurs only in this list (Newberry 1932, 319) (Nour El-Den 2009, 271).

Ahmoose-Mery-Netier appears here as one of her priests, as she had a group of priests, started with a couple sons of Snefru, *nfr- m3t* and *hm-Iwnw*, (served as *Hm-ntr Šsmtt*) (Jones 582-583 Nr. 2138) (Murray 1908, pl. xxx) under the supervision of someone known as “the Shesmet-girdle man”. A priest of the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty with the same title is mentioned on the stela of Daw (Junker 1929, 149 Nr. 8, 151 Nr. 13) (Junker 1934, 190 Nr. 15) (*Wb* IV, 538.16) (Strudwick 1985, 110 Nr. 86, 117 Nr. 96, 137 Nr. 126) (Newberry 1932, 319-320).

- Honorary Titles

Ahmoose-Mery-Netier also holds honorary titles:

- I. *hnmw-ntr r<sup>c</sup> nb (m) hwt wr* “the one who is united with the god every day in the house of the greatest Bulls”.
- II. *Imy bwy* “he one who is in two horns”. It is possible that *bwy* is the abbreviation of a toponym in the vicinity of Memphis.
- III. *hnmw-ntr [nb r-st3w]*:

The first two titles were used for the person during his life, but the most significant one, *hnmw-ntr [nb r-st3w]* “the one who united with god, Lord of Rostau”, was used for the person after death. “The one who is united with the god” is an expression that showcases the relationship between the deceased and the god of the netherworld. Influenced by changes in the solar religion in the New Kingdom at a certain point after the entering of Ra into the western horizon and passing through the underworld each night, in a temporary union ‘Ra resting in Osiris and Osiris resting in Ra’, emerged newly born (especially prominent in the New

Kingdom, as evidenced in both the Book of the Dead and guides to the underworld; however, some considered its existence to date back to the Old Kingdom) (Smith 2014, 91-92) (Kamal El-Deen 2013, 62-84). Later, there were developments in the relationship between the dead and Osiris from the Late Period to the Ptolemaic Period, resulting in the acquisition of new attributes and characteristics of Osiris reflected in his relationship with the deceased (Smith 2014, 95). Moreover, “Lord of Rostau” is a title of the god Osiris, maybe the birthplace of Osiris, (Labudek 2010, 34) (*LÄ* V, col. 304-309) (BÁCS 2008, 114) (Aly 2006 57) (EL-Sadeek 1984, 41, 44, 45, 48, 49), and due to the entity Apis-Osiris, it became a common title of Apis-Osiris in the majority of votive stelae in the Serapeum, such as the stela of *P3-n-**imn***, Louvre IM 2689 (Malinine et al. 1968, 175-176) (PM 1981, 793), the stela of ***Ip*** Louvre IM 2665 (Lieblein 1871, 386, no. 1200) (Malinine et al. 1968, 176-177), and the stela of ...***di-nb-wn***, Louvre IM 3042 (Malinine et al. 1968, 162 PM 1981, 796).






## 6. Textual Notes:








































- ***Im3hw+hr** or (+n)*

It refers to the one who is respected, honoured, venerated, and endowed (with means) (Gardiner 2007, 465 Section F3) (Jones 2000, 11) (Faulkner 1991, 20) (*Wb.* I, 81.16). The word ***Im3hw*** first appeared in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty (Abd El-Sattar 2024, 6). ***Im3hw+hr** or (+n)* is a formula used for deities, kings, and occasionally ordinary deceased persons with/of someone, usually the king or the great god, who wishes to be honoured in their afterlife (Eyma & Bennett, 2003, 26-27) (Abd El-Sattar 2024, 6-7) (Boraik & Abd El-Sattar & Fayez 2016, 5-6). Nonetheless, it has become evident that ***Im3hw*** as a title is unrelated to the fact that its bearer is deceased, and could be applied to both the dead and the living (Abd El-Sattar 2024, 6) (Jansen-Winkel 1996, 30-33). On ***im3hw*** (Moret, 1897, 57-75, 121-123) (Helck 1956, 63-75) (Fischer 1979, 45-46) (Jones 2000, 11-43) (*LÄ* 6, 989-992) (Garnot 1952, 95–106).



Finally, the formula ***im3hw hr hp wsir*** also appears as ***hp wsir im3hw hr***, Osiris Apis, the revered one before, e.g, in the stela of ***{P3}-šri-{n}-pth?***, Louvre IM 4052 (Chassinat 1903, 62 clxxx) (PM 1981, 803), (Labudek 2010, 325 C38), and the stela of ***Mry-ptḥ*** Louvre IM 4030 (PM 1981, 812) (Vercoutter 1962, 82-7).

- :


 is a determinative in Osiris name in the Late Period especially during the Saite and post-Saite periods (Smith et al, 1995, 34) as  is seen in the stela of ***P3-di-s{w}***, Louvre IM 4001 (Labudek 2010, 326-237 C39) (Chassinat 1903, 61 clxxx) (PM 1981, 803), and the stela of ***P3-di-3st***, Louvre IM 4169 (Chassinat 1901, 87 cxlvii) (PM 1981, 803),  in the stela of ***Psmṯk***, Louvre IM 4098 (Chassinat 1901, 83-84 cxli) (De Meulenaere 1966, 20) (De Meulenaere 1985, 263-266) (PM 1981, 803), and  in the stela of ***Mry-ptḥ***, Louvre IM 4030 (PM 1981, 812) (Vercoutter 1962, 82-7). For the spelling with the pennant  (Gardiner sign list R 8) (Leahy 1979 141-153) (Smith, Following Osiris, 112-121).







Also, stelae combined  and  (                                  ) such as the stela of ***di-ptḥ-i3w***, Louvre IM 5343 (Chassinat 1900, 179, cxxv) (Lieblein 1871, 396, no. 1229) (PM 1981, 811), whereas other stelae used only the determinative  (  ) such as the stela of ***Psmṯk***, Louvre IM 4084 (Chassinat 1900, 177-178, cxxii) (Gestermann 2001, 127-147) (PM 1981, 811). In instances, the name of Osiris is simplified into , as seen in the stela of ***sm3-i3wy-i3.f-nḥt & dd-hr-iw.f-ḥnḥ***, Louvre IM 4095 (Chassinat 1903, 55-56 clxix) (PM 1981, 803) (Labudek 2010, 393-340





C48), and the stela of *dd-b3stt-iw.f-nh*, Louvre IM 4000 (Chassinat 1903, 56 clxxi) (PM 1981, 804), or  in the stela of *P3.f-t3w-wy-hnsw*, Louvre IM 3096 (Chassinat 1899, 65, xxi) (Pierret 1882, 74, no. 317) (PM 1981, 811), the stela of *Pth-htp*, Louvre IM 4062 (Chassinat 1900, 178-9, cxxiv) (PM 1981, 811). The highly simplified  appears also on stelae of the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, such as stela Nr. 18459, dating to the 24<sup>th</sup> reigning year of Taharqa (Aly 2006, 46).





- **Sem-Priest Formulas**



 is the first term used by Ahmose-Mery-Netier in the stela, as it was the usual formula of the title “sem-priest” to be written without any determinative, such as the stela of *dd-imn-iw.f-nh*, Louvre IM 3591 (Malinine et al. 1968, 172-173) (PM 1981, 794) (Labudek 2010, 174 A29), the stela of *Nfr-tm-htp*, Louvre IM 3142 (Labudek 2010, 196-197 A41), the stela of *nh-wn-nfr*, Louvre IM 4009 (Chassinat 1901, 79-80 cxxxiv) (Lieblein 1871, 342, no.1045) (PM 1981, 798) (Vercoutter 1962, 34-36), and the stela of *Mmy*, JE 99107 (Hamad & Bassiouni 2002, 539-566). It was sometimes written next to the determinative of a seated man from the Middle Kingdom (Hamad & Bassiouni 2002, 539-566).

The reeds , growing side by side in  have a common phonetic to *sht* “marshland”, “country” and its derivative  *shty* “peasant”. Occasionally, it expresses the phonetic *sm*  “occupation” (Gardiner 1026, 481), which is the second term used for Sem-priest (the stela of *Nfr-ib-r*, Louvre IM 4110) (Chassinat 1900, 176-177 cxix) (PM 1981, 798) (Vercoutter 1962, 48-58). The reeds are also used by Ahmose-Mery-Netier to express a higher rank of the same title, which is  *shd sm*, “Inspector of Sem-priests” (see  in the stela of *Sm3-t3wy-t3.f-nht & dd-hr-iw.f-nh*, Louvre IM 4095) (Chassinat 1903, 55-56 clxix) (PM 1981, 803) (Labudek 2010, 3<sup>93</sup>-340 C48).



Furthermore, the sign *hd* () is missing. In the stela of *Sm3-t3wy-t3.f-nht & dd-hr-iw.f-nh*, Louvre IM 4095, Chassinat indicated before *sm* “sic” () in line 6, indicating a missing element too (Chassinat 1903, 55-56 clxix).



-  **god’s father**

 is the common formula of the title  as seen in the alabaster shawabti of 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty official Yuya in the Metropolitan Museum of Arts (Aldred 1957, 31). The title formula ,  (Faulkner 1991, 32) (Lesko 2002, 50) appears in the Serapeum stelae, such as the stela of *Nfr-tm-htp*, Louvre IM 3142 (Chassinat 1900, 168-169 xciv) (Lieblein 1871, 395, no.1224) (Malinine et al. 1968, 148) (PM 1981, 795), and the stela of *P3-di*, Louvre IM 2789 (Malinine et al. 1968, 169) (Chassinat 1900, 172 cvii) (PM 1981, 795).

The -sign in the group  can be translated *it-ntr* and *hm-ntr*; ‘god’s father’ and ‘prophet’) (Labudek 2010, 112), e.g. the stela of *Hr*, Louvre IM 3076 (Malinine et al. 1968, 160) (Pierret 1882, 71, no. 310) (PM 1981, 792) (Labudek 2010, 135 A10), and the stela of *Kr.f-imn*, Louvre IM 3129 (Chassinat 1900, 169 xcvi) (Lieblein 1871, no.1225) (Malinine et al. 1968, 152) (PM 1981, 792) (Labudek 2010, 139 A12).



-  *Hm-ntr*

 is the most common and well-known spelling of the title *Hm-ntr* (*ntr* precedes *hm* for veneration). Among the Late Period's stelae of the Serapeum, the title appeared on several occasions with this formula ; the stela of *ʕnh-wn-nfr*, Louvre IM 4060 (Chassinat 1901, 86 cxliv) (PM 1981, 802) (Labudek 2010, 308 C24), the stela of *Hr*, Louvre C317 (Chassinat 1903, 52-53 clxiii) (PM 1981, 802) (Labudek 2010, 313-315 C30), the stela of *p3-f-t3w-ʕwy-hnsw*, Louvre IM 4107 (Chassinat 1901, 90-91 clv) (Lieblein 1871, 393, no. 1217) (PM 1981, 803), and the stela of *psmtk-mnh-ib*, Louvre IM 2857 (Chassinat 1895, 53-4 iv and 1900 173-4 cxi) (Pierret 1882, 73, no. 314) (PM 1981, 803).













Also, the -sign in the group  uses *ntr* to be included in both the previous and following signs translated as *hm-ntr* and *hnm-ntr*; “prophet”, and “the one who united with god”.

- *Imy*




Griffith followed Erman's perspective who claimed that *imy+ x* meant not only “he who is in x” as Gardiner translated (Gardiner 2007, 62), but also, occasionally, “he in whom x is”, “that in which x is”, as he quotes the expression *imy rn.f* “that in which his name is” (Griffiths 1942, 66) (Erman 1915, 107-108). According to Gardiner's view, these adjectives (*Imy*, *hry*) are sometimes abbreviated in such a way as to be indistinguishable from the prepositions (*m*, *hr*) from which they are derived, *imy-r* “overseer”, a variant of “one who is in the mouth”, “of his subordinates”, and *hry-tp* ʕ3 “a great chief” of a province, literally a “great one who is over the head” (Gardiner 2007, 62).

Griffiths added examples for using *Imy* (Pyr., 60 I d, 69 I f , , on which Horus or Seth is, and a couple of usages from the Book of Dead) as “which was x”, and “which was in x” (Griffiths 1942, 66-67). He further objects to accepting the translation of Gardiner for Sinuhe (*Wb.* II, 500. 20). For Blackman, “*imy* may occasionally bear the meaning of the ‘*m* of equivalence’ in adjective form” (Blackman 1930, 64, 5).

-  *hnmw-ntr*

This formula made many appearances with the meaning “unite”; , , , , , , , ,  (Lesko 1984, 206) (KRI 1, 48. 7, 100. 10, 108. 5, 113. 7, 114. 3), whereas -formula appears as an 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty epithet, giving  the meaning “one, who assumes the *b3t* emblem”. This was probably used as a paraphrase of its old title  (Fischer 1963, 51).

- *nb [r-st3w]*

Although the title is incomplete here, it is commonly found in the majority of the Serapeum stelae. It would appear as  like in the stela of *P3-n-imn*, Louvre IM 2689 (Malinine et al. 1968, 175-176) (PM 1981, 793), or  like the stela of *Ip*, Louvre IM 2665 (Lieblein 1871, 386, no. 1200) (Malinine et al. 1968, 176-177) (PM 1981, 794), or  like the stela of ...*di-nb-wn*, Louvre IM 3042 (Malinine et al. 1968, 162); (PM 1981, 796).

- **The Greatest of Pe (Greatest One of Buto)**

Due to the poor condition of the stone, the title is not obvious, and it may be either **wr P (Greatest one of Buto)** or **wr n niwt (Greatest one in the city)**. From the layout's perspective, the author prefers the reading **wr P**.

- **Hm-ntr Šsmtt**

The goddess Shesmetet's name was written in various ways through time (Newberry 1932, 318 no.3, 321 pl.50). Gardiner gave the -sign code (S17\*) (this girdle was worn by various gods) (Pyr, 1136). Sometimes, it approximates to (S 22) or to (S12) (Gardiner 2007, 507). Lacau was the first to draw attention to this goddess, but he misunderstood her nature, thinking that the -sign represented a hall or chapel (Lacau 1902, 198-200). He does not seem to have connected the sign with that of Shesmet-girdle. This sign is an ideogram in the name of the goddess , **Šsmtt**, phonetic **šsm** in , **šsm** "malachite" and in , **t3-šsm** "to-Shesmet", a region East of Egypt) (Urk. IV, 875), (Gardiner 2007, 507) (Newberry 1932, 320, no. 2, 321-323 nos.1, 2).

- **Smsw**

Its original formula was (Urk. IV, 1409. 3), but variations exist (Faulkner 1991, 229). In the Serapeum stela, the scribe sometimes uses only the determinative, such as in the stela of **psmtk-m-3ht**, Louvre IM 4097 (Chassinat 1901, 78-79 cxxxiii) (Lieblein 1871, 397, no. 1230) (PM 1981, 801), and the stela of **dd-pth-ib-f-nc**, Louvre IM 3999 (Chassinat 1903, 56 clxx) (PM 1981, 801), and in the stela of **W3h-ib-r-nc-mry-nt**, Louvre IM 4112 (Chassinat 1913, 59-61, clxxix) (PM 1981, 811) (Vercoutter 1962, 93-99), or using both, (line 1) and (line 8) in the stela of **Hr**, Louvre C317 (Chassinat 1903, 52-53 clxiii) (PM 1981, 802),




- **dd.n.f K3 i.ir [n.f mn wsir hp]**


The sentence **dd.f/dd.n.f** is the common votive formula that is recited by the stela's devotee, e. g., the stela of **Nfr-ib-r-nc**, Louvre IM 4110 (Chassinat 1900, 176-177 cxix) (PM 1981, 798) (Vercoutter 1962, 48-58), the stela of **Tc-h-ms**, (Labudek 2010, 280 C5), the stela of **P3-di-hr-m-hb**, Louvre IM 4018 (Chassinat 1900, 178 cxxiii) (PM 1981, 800) (Vercoutter 1962, 65-69), and the stela of **Psmtk-m-3ht** (Labudek 2010, 290 C13).

Although, the statement **dd.n.f K3 i.ir** [.....] is incomplete in the stela, the author suggests that it could be completed as **k3 i.ir [n.f mn wsir hp]** My soul made [her monuments for Osiris Apis] comparing it with the stela of **N3-N3**, Louvre IM 4058 (Malinine et al. 1968, 164) (Labudek 2010, 142-143 A14).




- **[s3] mi nn**

**mi nn** (the -two rushes with shoots are the phonem **nn** "this" according to the word , **nnt** "rushes" in Pyr. 557) (Gardiner 1926, 842) means "the like-titled" or "the like" therefore. It occurs often during the Late and Ptolemaic periods, and indicates that a person is the same as the one written before or after him in the text even in terms of status or titles (Rashed 2019, 124). This group is incomplete in the stela, and it should be **[s3] mi nn**, when comparing it with in the stela of **?-nht**, Louvre IM 4040 (Chassinat 1903, 51 clx) (PM 1981, 798) (Labudek 2010, 261 B6), the stela of **Hk3-m-s3f**, Louvre IM 4013 (Labudek 2010, 272 C1)

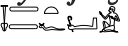







(Chassinat 1901, 76-77 cxxx) (Lieblein 1871, 345, no.1051) (PM 1981, 799), and  in the stela of *Hr-ir-ꜥ3 rn.f nfr ....-hp*, Louvre IM 4063 (Chassinat 1899, 67 xxvi) (Pierret 1882, 77, no.326) (PM 1981, 800). By considering the missing sign space on the stela, one can deduce it should have been  rather than .

Apparently,  *s3* “son” is involved in the same line of the stela, like in the stela of *Hnmw-ib-rꜥ*, Louvre IM 4032 (Chassinat 1901, 89-90 cliv) (Lieblein 1871, 393, no. 1216) (PM 1981, 802-803) (Vercoutter 1962, 88-92).






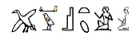

- *Tꜥh-ms-mry-ntr*





The name of the deceased was written with the crescent moon  (Gardiner 1926, 486) (Urk. IV, 813), like in the stela of *Tꜥh-ms*, Louvre N241/317 (Posener 1959, 46-47) (Labudek 2010, 278 C4).  (N12) is an alternative form of *Tꜥh* “moon” Pyr. 732 (Gardiner 1926, 486) (Urk. IV, 12, 15, 30, 808), considering that  *Tꜥh-ms* is used in writing in many stelae, such as that of the members of the phyles of a priesthood, Louvre IM 4054 Year 4 of Darius (Chassinat 1901, 80-81 cxxxv) (Labudek 2010, 273-274 C2).

- *Sm3-t3wy-t3.f-nht*



The name of  *Sm3-t3wy-t3.f-nht* was written with the determinative , while the name appeared on other stelae without it and with  instead of  ( is an alternative form of , and repeated ) (Gardiner 1926, 487), such as in the stela of *P3.f-t3w-ꜥwy-hnsw*, Louvre IM 4107 (Chassinat 1901, 90-91 clv) (Lieblein 1871, 393, no. 1217) (Labudek 2010, 330-331 C42), or it was written as  *Sm3-t3wy-t3.f-[nht]*, such as in the stela of the members of the phyles of a priesthood, Louvre IM 4054 (Labudek 2010, 273 C2).

- *P3-di-3st*







The same writing of , *P3-di-3st* appeared in the stela of *W3h-ib-rꜥ-wn-nfr & W3h-ib-rꜥ-mry-ptḥ* (Labudek 2010, 355 D11). The name was written using another determinative , as  in the stela of *It*, Louvre IM 3082 (Labudek 2010, 137 A11) (Malinine et al. 1968, 149) (Pierret 1882, 68, no. 303) (PM 1981, 792), or  with determinative , as in the stela of *P3-di-3st* (Chassinat 1899, 60-61 ix) (Malinine et al. 1968, 159) (Pierret 1882, 67, no. 297) (PM 1981, 793), or  *P3-di-[w]-3st*, with determinative  in the stela of *P3-iwiw-n-hr*, Louvre IM 3727 (Malinine et al. 1968, 186-187) (PM 1981, 795).

It happened that the same name was written with different writings in one stela as , and  in the stela of *di-ptḥ-i3w* (Labudek 2010, 309 C25), and ,  in the stela of *Pḥ-ptḥ* (Chassinat 1900, 178-9, cxxiv) (PM 1981, 811).





- *ink ḥm ir n K3.k*




 *ink ḥm ir n K3.k* “I am a servant who acted for your Ka” is a votive formula, regularly used in the Serapeum stelae, such as the stela of *Tꜥh-ms*, Louvre IM 4017 (Briant 2002, 481-482) (Chassinat 1901, 78 cxxxii) (Lieblein 1871, no. 1214) (PM 1981, 799) (Posener 1959, 42-43) (Vercoutter 1962, 59-64), and  *ink ḥm ir m3ꜥ ntr.f*, “I am a servant who accomplished the justice of his god” in the stela of *Mry-ptḥ* (Labudek 2010, 361 D15) (PM 1981, 812) (Vercoutter 1962, 82-87).

- *nn ir*

 *nn ir* ( *n* “in” and  *nn* “not”) (Gardiner 1926, 454). When comparing it with  *nn irt.i* in the Royal stela of Darius, year 34 (PM 1981, 800) (Vercoutter 1962, 70-77) (Labudek 2010, 402 Royal 11),  *wp-3.w rn.f nfr p3.f-t3w-ty-b3stt*, Louvre IM 4109 (Labudek 2010, 300-301 C18), and the stela of *mry-ptḥ*, it appears to be closer to  *nn ir [i3b n.i m grḥ mi hrw]*, I did not [cease in the night to the day to] (PM 1981, 812) (Vercoutter 1962, 82-87) (Labudek 2010, 361 D15).

-  *Inb-sh*

The sign  (O21) is the facade of a shrine (Ideo. or det. in  *sh-ntr* “the divine booth”) (Gardiner 2007, 495). *Inb-sh* is used here for customisation, despite  *Inb hdt* being the most common in the Serapeum stela, such as in the stela of *Psmṯk-m-3ḥt*, Louvre IM 4097 (Chassinat 1901, 78-79 cxxxiii) (Lieblein 1871, 397, no. 1230) (PM 1981, 801), and  *Inb hḏ* in the stela of *Hr*, Louvre C317 (Labudek 2010, 314-315 C30).

-  *T ntr p[n]*: The scribe appears to have forgotten to write the  -sign of  in the 4<sup>th</sup> line, as it seems to be the same sequence as in the 7<sup>th</sup> line.

**THE GENEALOGY OF AHMOSE-MERY-NETIER**

The stela presented a formula of *Im3ḥ(w) ḥr ḥp-Wsir*, which was followed by the name of the devotee, *Tḥ-ms-mry-ntr*, and his family. This allows the following reconstruction:



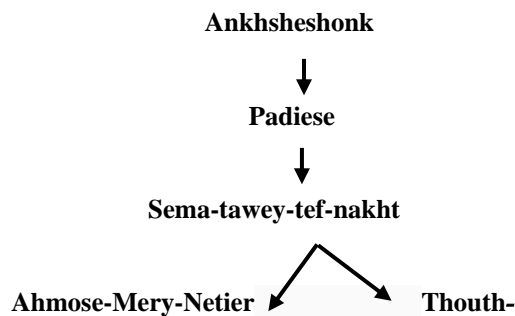
The name of the devotee’s father was Sema-tawey-tef-nakht, which was a common name during the late Egyptian dynasties, after the name of “Tef-nakht” (727-720 B.C.), the great prince who played an important role during the Kushite period (Gaballah 2011, 65-66, 73-78). Furthermore, a well-known individual with this name was Sema-tawey-tef-nakht who served during the reign of King Psamtik I (664-609 B.C.). This individual left numerous monuments without mentioning his lineage (Daressy 1919, 29-33) (Petrie 1905, Pl. XXVII) (Mariette 1972, pl. 34 g). However, some similarities may be pointed out here:

- From his inscriptions, he was related to a royal lineage (Selim 2019, 87) as Daressy said: “It was possible that his lineage was connected to those princes, the Kings of Ehnasya” (Daressy 1919, 32-33).
- A papyrus from El-Hibeh dates to the reign of Darius I (522-486 B.C) (nearly more than 4 meters or 14 feet in length, and closely written over the whole of the recto and five-sixths of the verso), but most of its content refers to events in the Saite Period, in particular the reign of the King Psamtik I (664-609 B.C.) and his senior officials. It presented the great roll of Padieses or memorial of Padieses (Griffith 1909, 60) (Roeder 1927, 282). The story of El-Hibeh papyrus contains several references to senior officials, namely Padiese, son of “Ankhsheshanq”, and his son Sema-tawey-tef-nakht, who successively inherited the position of Master of the Ships, and the governor of Patores in Upper Egypt (Griffith 1909, 61) (Selim 2019, 97-98). When Padiese became elderly, he asked for help in his work in the 4<sup>th</sup> year of Psamtik I. (His career must have begun before, may be during the reign of Taharqa 689-664 B.C., or under the reign of one of the minor princes in the Middle Egypt) (Selim 2019, 98). His nephew Padiese I started to inspect Ehnasya (Griffith 1909, 61) (Selim 2019, 98). After Padiese’s death in the 8<sup>th</sup> year of Psamtik I’s

reign, Sema-tawey-tef-nakht took his place as the Master of the Ships, and the governor of Patores (Griffith 1909, 61) (Selim 2019, 98), where Padiese I continued his position as inspector for a year (it seems that he did this to give the new captain the chance to do his job) (Selim 2019, 98). Then, Sema-tawey-tef-nakht was mentioned in the years 19<sup>th</sup>, 31<sup>st</sup>, and 34<sup>th</sup> of the reign of Psamtik I (Tab. 1) (Griffith 1909, 61) (Selim 2019, 98).

- Furthermore, the most significant inscription that supports Sema-tawey-tef-nakht's history, is the adoption stela of *Nit-Ḳrt*, the daughter of Psamtik I (Caminos 1964, 71-101) (Goedicke, 1970, 69-71) (Blöbaum 2003, 33-44). There Sema-tawey-tef-nakht was the Master of the Ships who accompanied the princess in her journey from the Harem Palace in Sais to Thebes in the 9<sup>th</sup> year of her father's reign (Maher 2016, 209), as he was clearly mentioned in the stela "The sole friend, the nomarch of the Naart-khant district (Ehnasya El-Madina), the generalissimo and chief of the ships Sema-tawey-tef-nakht" (Selim 2019, 99) (Caminos 1964, 74).
- This leaves no room for doubt about the reality of Sema-tawey-tef-nakht. Unfortunately, this contradicts the papyrus (Sema-tawey-tef-nakht did not succeed his father Padiese until the 18<sup>th</sup> year of Psamtik I). Yet, if we rely on the validity of what was stated in the papyrus, we will assume that Padiese had retired from active service in the government before the ninth year, and continued to hold his titles and some authority, where his son was actually responsible for the active service (Selim 2019, 99).

Thus, the potential family of the stela devotee may be as follows:



Unfortunately, this genealogy remains an assumption as Sema-tawey-tef-nakht did not mention his father's name in any of his surviving monuments (Petrie 1905, pl. XXVII) (Mariette 1972, pl. 34 g). So, it is possible to doubt that Padiese is really of great importance, and the complainant Padiese, who came about one hundred and fifty years later, claimed that Sema-tawey-tef-nakht was his uncle's grandfather and his boss to maximize his status (Selim 2019, 99).

## CONCLUSION

To sum up, Ahmose-Mery-Netier dedicated his stela with traditional votive formula for Apis-Hebu. His titles and epithets reflected that he had many priestly positions, some related to the priesthood of Memphis, such as god's father, the sem-priest, the prophet, the inspector of the sem-priests, the one who united with god, and the Ka-servant, while his title of priest of the goddess Shesmetet connected him with a position outside of Memphis. In addition to his religious status, Ahmose-Mery-Netier was *Wr-P*, putting him in charge of the town of Buto. Thus, he was a person who had religious, practical, and social status that qualified him to dedicate a stela for Apis-Hebu.

Although the sides of the stela and the inscription were lost, they can be partly reconstructed by comparing the text to similar stelae from the Serapeum. The design, layout, inscription, style

of the figures, details of the offering scene in the main scene, and the epigraphic idiosyncrasies of the hieroglyphic text of the stela proposed that it dated back to the 25<sup>th</sup>-26<sup>th</sup> Dynasties. The hypothesis regarding the devotee's family suggested a date of 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

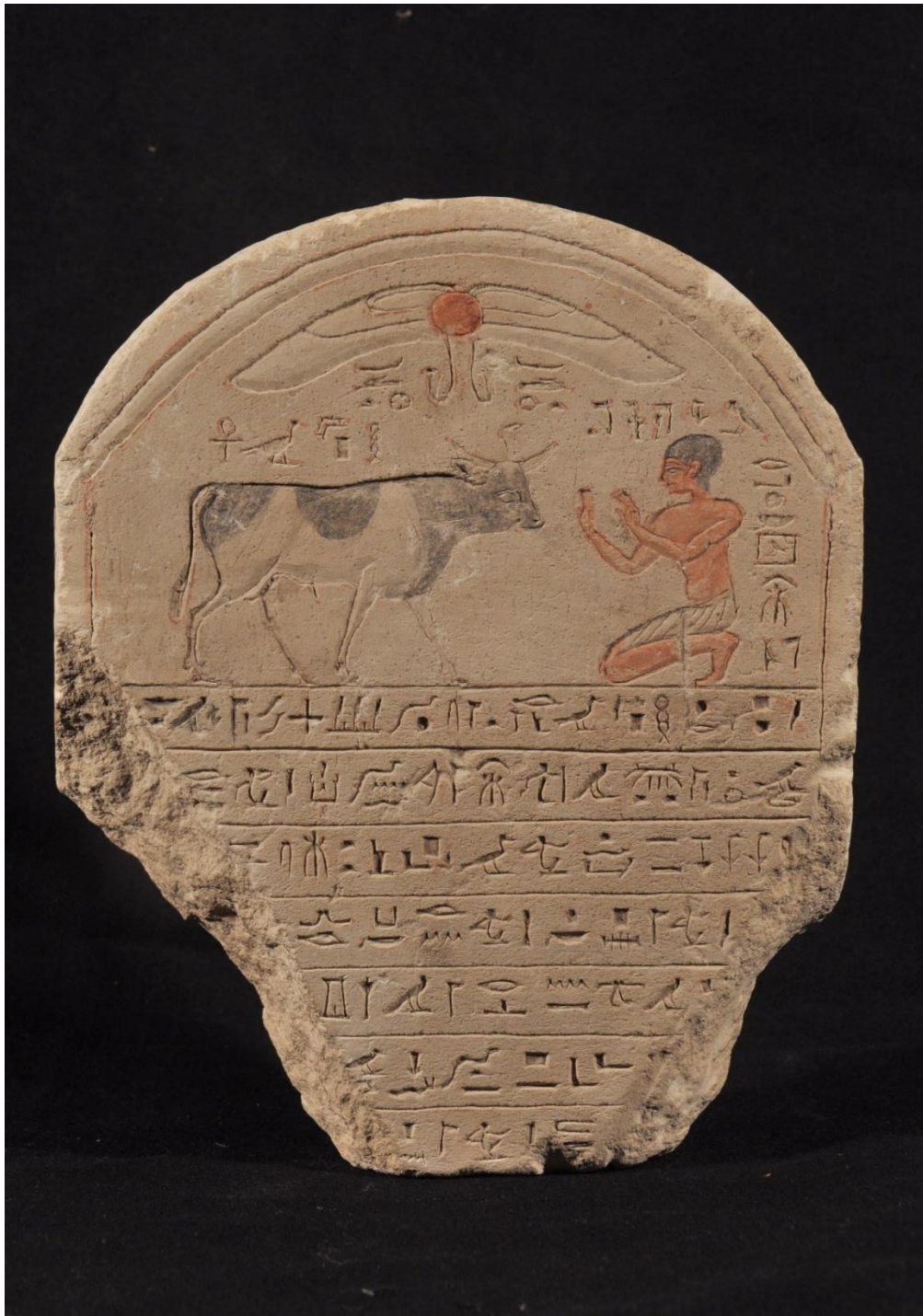
1. Abd El Sattar, I. (2024). Old Kingdom stone block of ꜥsm-nfr from Saqqara: Study in his family prosopography. *SHEDET* 12, 1-18.
2. Aldred, C. (1957). The end of the El-'Amārna period. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 43, 30-41.
3. Aly, I. M. (2006). Documents inédits provenant des petits souterrains du Serapeum de Memphis (textes et commentaire). *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*, 62, 43-61.
4. Bács, A. T. (2008). Ahmose at Rosetau: A curious early Ramesside attestation. In *Memoriam István Tóth* (pp. 111-122). Budapest.
5. Bergman, J. (1968). Ich bin Isis: Studien zum memphitischen Hintergrund der griechischen Isisaretalogien (*Historia Religionum*, 3). Uppsala.
6. Blackman, M. A. (1930). Notes on certain passages in various Middle Egyptian texts. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 16(1/2), 63-72.
7. Blöbaum, A. I. (2003). Einige Bemerkungen zur Adoptionsstele der Nitokris. In A. Blöbaum, J. Kahl, & S. Schweitzer (Eds.), *Ägypten-Münster: Kulturwissenschaftliche Studien zu Ägypten, dem Vorderen Orient und verwandten Gebieten* (pp. 33-44). Wiesbaden.
8. Bonnet, H. (1952). *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*. Walter de Gruyter.
9. Boraik, M., Abd El Sattar, I., & Fayez, L. (2016). The false door of N(y)-s(w)-sA-jb from Giza. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*, 72, 1-9.
10. Caminos, R. (1964). The Nitocris adoption stela. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 50, 71-101.
11. Chassinat, É. (1899). Textes provenant du sérapéum de Memphis. *Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes*, 21, 56-73.
12. Chassinat, É. (1900). Textes provenant du sérapéum de Memphis. *Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes*, 22, 9-26.
13. Chassinat, É. (1901). Textes provenant du sérapéum de Memphis. *Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes*, 23, 76-91.
14. Depuydt, L. (1995). Murder in Memphis: The story of Cambyses's mortal wounding of the Apis bull (ca. 523 B.C.E.). *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 54(2), 119-126.
15. Devauchelle, D. (1998). Une invocation aux dieux du Sérapéum de Memphis. In W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, & H. Willems (Eds.), *Egyptian religion: The last thousand years, part I (Studies in Egyptian Religion, 84)* (pp. 593-595). Peeters.
16. Dodson, A. (2005). Bull cults. In S. Ikram (Ed.), *Divine creatures: Animal mummies in ancient Egypt* (pp. 72-91). The American University in Cairo Press.
17. Dodson, A. (2009). Rituals related to animal cults. In J. Dieleman & W. Wendrich (Eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*. Los Angeles.
18. El-Enany, K. (2010). Fragment d'une stèle d'Apis mentionnant le roi Téli (Cairo JE 40044). *Revue d'Égyptologie*, 61, 79-82.
19. El-Sadeek, W. (1984). Twenty-sixth dynasty necropolis at Gizeh (*Beiträge zur Ägyptologie*, 5). Wien.
20. El-Toukhy, M. (2013). Protection symbols on the top of the middle kingdom stelae (in Cairo Museum). *Egyptian Journal of Archaeological and Restoration Studies*, 3, 131-137.



21. El-Weshahy, M., & Hafez, N. (2022). The scenes of the bA of Osiris at ancient Egypt. *Journal of the Association of Arab Universities for Tourism and Hospitality*, 22(3), 1-15.
22. Erman, A. (1915). Die Bedeutung der Adjektiva auf -j. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 52, 107-108.
23. Erman, A., & Grapow, H. (1925-1931). *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* (Vol. 1). J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
24. Eyma, A., & Bennett, J. C. (2003). *Delta-man in Yebu*. Universal Publishers.
25. Fischer, G. H. (1963). *Varia Aegyptiaca*. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 2, 15-51.
26. Fischer, G. H. (1979). Two old kingdom inscriptions restored. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 65, 42-46.
27. Forshaw, R. (2013). *The role of the lector (Xry-Hbt) in ancient Egyptian society* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Manchester].
28. Gardiner, H. A. (2007). *Egyptian grammar: Being an introduction to the study of hieroglyphs*. Clarendon Press.
29. Garnot, F. (1952). The jmAx and the jmAxww in the Pyramid Texts. In S. A. B. Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts* (pp. 95-106). Longmans, Green and Co.
30. Geodicke, H. (1970). Notes on the Nitocris adoption stela. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 8, 69-71.
31. Griffith, F. L. (1909). *Catalogue of the demotic papyri in the John Rylands library, Manchester: With facsimiles and complete translations*. Manchester University press.
32. Griffiths, J. G. (1942). The inverted use of 'Imy'. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 28, 66-67.
33. Hamad, F. S., & Bassiouni, A. H. A. (2022). Unpublished stele no (JE 99107) at the Egyptian Museum. *Sohag Journal of Archaeology and Museology*, 33, 533-566.
34. Helck, W. (1956). Wirtschaftliche bemerkungen zum privaten grabbestiz im alten reich. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*, 14, 63-75.
35. Hölzl, R. (2001). Stelae. In *Oxford encyclopedia of ancient Egypt* (Vol. 3, pp. 319-324). Oxford University Press.
36. Mathieson, I., Bettles, E., Davies, S., & Smith, H. S. (1995). A stela of the Persian period from Saqqara. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 81, 23-41.
37. Jansen-Winkel, K. (1996). Zur bedeutung von jmAx. *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie de Genève*, 20, 29-36.
38. Jones, D. (2000). *An index of ancient Egyptian titles, epithets and phrases of the Old Kingdom* (Vol. 1). Oxford,
39. Jurman, C. (2010). Running with Apis the Memphite Apis cult as a point of reference for social and religious practice in late period elite culture. In L. Bares et al. (Eds.), *Egypt in transition: Social and religious development of Egypt in the first millennium BCE*, Prague. (pp. 143-184).
40. Kees, H. (1962). Der sogenannte oberste vorlespriester. *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 87, 119-139.
41. Labudek, J. (2010). *Late period stelae from Saqqara; A socio-cultural and religious investigation* [Master's dissertation, The University of Birmingham].
42. Lange, H. O., & Schäfer, H. (1902). *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo, Teil I. Text zu No. 20001-20399*. Reichsdruckerei.
43. Leahy, A. (1979). The name Osiris written . *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, 7, 141-153.

44. Maher, H. (2021a). Unpublished funerary votive stela of Horwedja 'JE 99108' in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. *Sohag Historical and Archaeological Journal*, 24(1), 262-277.
45. Maher, H. (2021b). Unpublished block statue of the lector '%-aA' in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG. 570). *Bulletin of the Corpus of Late Egyptian Scribes*, 38, 165-186.
46. Malinine, M., Poesner, G., & Vercoutter, J. (1968). *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis I*. Éditions des Musées Nationaux.
47. Mariette, A. (1872). *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie*. Librairie A. Franck.
48. Mariette, A. (1882). *Le Sérapéum de Memphis I*. F. Vieweg.
49. Marković, N. (2015). The cult of the sacred bull Apis: History of study. In M. Tomorad (Ed.), *A history of research into ancient Egyptian culture conducted in Southeast Europe* (pp. 185-202). Oxford.
50. Marković, N. (2016). A look through his window: The sanctuary of the divine Apis bull at Memphis. *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections*, 1, 57-70.
51. Meyrat, P. (2014). The first column of the Apis embalming ritual papyrus Zagreb 597-2. In J. F. Quack (Ed.), *Ägyptische Rituale der griechisch-römischen Zeit* (pp. 263-337). Tübingen.
52. Moret, A. (1897). La condition des féaux en Égypte dans la famille, dans la société, dans la vie d'outre-tombe. *Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes*, 19, 112-120.
53. Müller, H. W. (1933). Die Totengedenksteine des Mittleren Reiches, ihre Genesis, ihre Darstellungen und ihre Komposition. *MDAIK*, 4, 165-206.
54. Omran, W., & Zouair, N. (2014). The depiction of Apis in the Greco-Roman tombs of Egypt. *JAAUTH, Special Issues/Part 1*, 44-65.
55. Petrie, W. M. F. (1905). *Ehnasya: 1904*. Kegan Paul, Trench, Tübner & Co.; Bernard Quaritch [etc.].
56. Pfeiffer, S. (2008). The god Serapis, his cult and the beginnings of the ruler cult in Ptolemaic Egypt. In P. McKechnie & P. Guillame (Eds.), *Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his world* (Mnemosyne: Supplements Vol. 300, pp. xx-xx). Brill.
57. Rashed, M. G. (2019). The block statue of Djedhor son of Tjanefer (Cairo JE 37200). *JARCE*, 55, 117-136.
58. Roeder, G. (1927). *Altägyptische Erzählungen und Märchen: Ausgewählt und übersetzt*. Eugen Diederichs.
59. Scalf, F. (2017). *Book of the dead: Becoming god in ancient Egypt*. Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
60. Shonkwiler, L. R. (2014). *The Behdetite: A study of Horus the Behdetite from the Old Kingdom to the Conquest of Alexander* (Ph.D. dissertation). University of Chicago.
61. Simpson, W. K. (1957). A running of the Apis in the reign of 'Aha and passages in Manetho and Aelian. *Orientalia*, 26, 139-142.
62. Smith, M. (1993). *The liturgy of opening the mouth for breathing*. Griffith Institute-Ashmolean Museum.
63. Smith, M. (n.d.). Osiris and the deceased in ancient Egypt: Perspectives from four millennia. *Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études (EPHE), Section des sciences religieuses*. Retrieved from [URL]
64. Taylor, H. J. (2001). *Death and the afterlife in ancient Egypt*. British Museum Press.
65. Thompson, J. D. (1988). *Memphis under the Ptolemies*. Princeton University Press.

66. Vercoutter, J. (1962). *Textes biographiques du Sérapéum de Memphis: Contributions à l'étude des stèles votives du Sérapéum*. Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion.
67. Wilkinson, H. R. (2003). *The complete gods and goddesses of ancient Egypt*. The American University in Cairo Press.
68. Zivie, A. (1998). Une stèle tardive récemment découverte dans la zone du Bubasteion à Saqqara. In W. Clarysse et al. (Eds.), *Egyptian religion: The last thousand years: Studies dedicated to the memory of Jan Quaegebeur* (pp. 164-165). Peeters.



(Pl. 1) The Stela of *Tḥ-ms-mry-nṯr* (by the Photography Committee)



(Fig. 1) Sketch of the Stela of *Th-ms-mry-ntr*

King	Regnal Dates	Masters of the Shipping	Additional Details
		“Ankhshashanq”, priest of Amonrasonther in Thebes? 5/15	
<b>Psmatik I</b>	<b>year 4, 5/19.</b>	↓ his son Padiese. Master of the Shipping, in charge of Ptores (Upper Egypt), 5/14. settled in Herakleopolis, 6/8. orders Padiese (I) to re-furnish the temple of El-Hibeh out of the dues which had been wrongfully exacted, 7/I.	Padiese (I) advises the king to appoint Sem-tawey-tef- nakht to govern Ptores as a noble with him, 10/1
	<b>year 14, 21/12.</b>	gives Padiese (I) the prophet-ship of Ammon of Teuzoi(El-Hibah) and his Ennead 8/I	
	<b>year 18, 9/20</b>	Padiese, 9/ 20. ↓ his son Sema-tawey-tef-nakht made Master of the Shipping and governor of Ptores (Upper Egypt), 10/4. dwells in Hnes, 10/8. buries his father, 10/9.	
	<b>year 19, 10/11.</b>	sole governor of Ptores (Upper Egypt).	
	<b>year 31, 11/2.</b>	sends a captain to take the guilty priests prisoners 11/16. sends chief of police to Padiese, 12/10.	
	<b>Year 34, 22/9</b>		
<b>Psmatik-Necho</b>	<b>20 more years of Psmatik, 16 of Necho</b>	welcomes Essemteu, 14/II (Masters of the Shipping disappear from the narrative.)	

(Tab. 1) Order of the principal persons and the events, which recorded in Padiese III’s complaint in Demotic Papyrus No. IX, the John Rylands library.

## لوحة جنائزية نذرية غير منشورة لـ "أحمس مري نثر" "JE 99109" في المتحف المصري بالقاهرة.

### الملخص

تهدف هذه الورقة البحثية إلى نشر لوحة الكاهن "أحمس-مري نثر" رقم (JE 99109)، المحفوظة بالمتحف المصري، والمكتشفة بمنطقة السرابيوم شمال سقارة. وهي عبارة عن لوحة من الحجر الجيري ذات قمة مستديرة، يبلغ ارتفاعها ٢٠ سم وعرضها ١٥ سم، بينما عمقها ٢,٥ سم. تنقسم اللوحة إلى ثلاث أقسام؛ يزين قمة اللوحة قرص شمس المجنح مع زوج من الصل على جانبيه مصحوباً بلقب *Bhdt*، ويعرض الجزء الأوسط مشهداً تعديلاً لـ "أحمس-مري-نثر" أمام *Hp nh*، بينما يحتوي الجزء السفلي من اللوحة نصاً نذرياً بالهيروغليفية. وعلى الرغم من الأضرار الجسيمة التي لحقت بجوانب اللوحة، فإن اللوحة تعد في حالة جيدة بشكل عام، كما بدأ ترتيب الأشكال والنصوص واضحاً إلى حد ما. ومن خلال الخصائص الأسلوبية والإملائية، وكذا العناصر التصويرية، فإن اللوحة ربما تؤرخ إما بعصر الأسرة الخامسة والعشرين أو الأسرة السادسة والعشرين، بينما التصور النسبي المقترح للكاهن قد يضع احتمالية أكبر لتأريخ اللوحة بالأسرة السادسة والعشرين.

هبة ماهر محمود

أستاذ مساعد قسم الآثار المصرية، كلية الآداب  
جامعة المنصورة، مصر.

[hebamaheer@mans.edu.eg](mailto:hebamaheer@mans.edu.eg)

### بيانات المقال

#### تاريخ المقال

تم الاستلام في ٢٧ اغسطس ٢٠٢٤  
تم استلام النسخة المنقحة في ١٥ اغسطس

٢٠٢٤

تم قبول البحث في ٢٩ اكتوبر ٢٠٢٤  
متاح على الإنترنت في ٣ فبراير ٢٠٢٥

### الكلمات الدالة

الثور أبيس؛ بحدت؛ سقارة؛  
السرابيوم؛ الصل؛ قرص  
الشمس المجنح.