

The Middle Kingdom Funerary Stela of Sa-in-heret in the Grand Egyptian Museum (GEM 19860)

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Abstract:

This paper aims to publish and study a rounded – top funerary stela unearthed at the northern necropolis of Abydos in June 1860. The stela is displayed now in the Grand Egyptian Museum (GEM 19860). The paper deals with the main description of the stela and the figures depicted on it in its different parts followed by a commentary on its Artistic lineaments. Furthermore, it aims to transcribe, transliterate, translate the texts displayed on its various parts as well as the names and titles carved on the different parts followed by a commentary on the titles, epithets, the orthographical features and the paleographical ones. The stela relates to a person named Sa-in-heret. On the basis of the Artistic style as well as the orthographic and paleographic lineaments, the author suggests an early Twelfth Dynasty date for that stela, particularly from the late reign of Senwesret I to Amenemhat II.

Keywords:

Abydos, Funerary Stela, Grand Egyptian Museum, rounded-top stela, Sa-in-heret.

المخلص:

يهدف هذا البحث إلى نشر ودراسة لوحة جنائزية مستديرة القمة تم الكشف عنها في الجبانة الشمالية بأبيدوس في يونيو 1860م. اللوحة معروضة حاليًا في المتحف المصري الكبير وتحمل رقم GEM 19860.

تتناول هذه المقالة الوصف الرئيسي للوحة والأشكال المُثَلَّة على أجزائها المختلفة، متبوعًا بتعليق على عناصرها الفنية. بالإضافة إلى نسخ وترجمة النصوص المنقوشة على أجزائها المختلفة وكذلك الأسماء والألقاب المدونة على أجزائها المختلفة متبوعة بتعليق على الألقاب والنوعت وسمات التهجئة بها وأشكال تدوين العلامات عليها.

تُنسب هذه اللوحة لشخص يُدعى "سا-إن-حريت"، واستنادًا على الأسلوب الفني للوحة وسماتها وعناصرها الاملائية والخطية، يقترح الباحث تاريخًا مبكرًا يعود إلى أوائل الأسرة الثانية عشرة لهذه اللوحة وتحديدًا منذ أواخر عهد سنوسرت الأول إلى عهد أمنمحات الثاني.

الكلمات الدالة:

أبيدوس، المتحف المصري الكبير، سا-إن-حريت، لوحة جنائزية، لوحة ذات قمة مستديرة.

A. Introduction:

The stela is typical of those erected in large number in Abydos during the Middle Kingdom. Most of which centered in two locations: either the chapels connected with the tombs or that chapels erected in the votive region overlooking the temple and town⁽¹⁾.

The stela of Sa-in-heret was unearthed in his tomb at the northern necropolis of Abydos by Auguste Mariette in June 1860 during the excavation of the site⁽²⁾.

The stela was firstly mentioned by Mariette in his catalogue of the monuments discovered during the excavations of Abydos. He presented a very brief notes on the original location of this stela, its dimensions and a transcribe for only the names of its owner, his wife, the persons depicted on its various registers and their titles⁽³⁾. Maspero pointed out to the same stela as he transcribed its hieroglyphs and suggested a dating for it either by the Twelfth Dynasty or the Thirteenth Dynasty⁽⁴⁾.

Lange and Schäfer transcribed also the hieroglyphs of the stela but they neither describe its scenes nor examine its artistic style or inscriptions⁽⁵⁾. PM referred to that stela as an example for stelae discovered in Abydos and preserved in the Cairo Museum⁽⁶⁾. Franke mentioned the current stela and dated it to the beginning or middle of the Twelfth Dynasty depending on other sources of information concerning the people represented⁽⁷⁾. Freed listed it in a group of stelae that she identified as “workshop 10”⁽⁸⁾ some of which are dated to the time of Amenemhat II⁽⁹⁾, but Rita Freed did not present a specific date for that stela⁽¹⁰⁾. Hannig quoted the stela as an example for several words he referred to in his Wörterbuch⁽¹¹⁾. The stela is displayed at the Grand Egyptian Museum with the inventory number (GEM 19860) having previously held the inventory number of the Cairo Museum (JE 11231/ CG 20566 = SR 3/ 10507).

The aim of this study is to publish and study that stela and present an analytical study for its depictions and inscriptions. As well as examining its owner, his family and his social status in the Ancient Egyptian society and finally suggests a date for that stela.

B. Description (Figs. 1-2):

It is a rounded-top stela^(a) made of limestone measuring 60 cm in height, 32.5 cm in width and 8.5 cm in thickness. The stela is mostly in a good state of preservation.

The stela had a well-prepared surface. The edges are rough and not polished. The stela is not framed by any borderlines either at its sides or at its top and base. The verso of the stela was left rough⁽¹²⁾, and it neither bear any scenes nor inscriptions⁽¹³⁾, suggesting that it was meant to be placed in a niche.

All the depicted figures and hieroglyphs are sunken relief^(b) except for the owner and his wife are in raised relief^(c), while some of the signs are deep and sharp cut with some internal details can be visible as in the case of *m* (G 17), *tp* (D 1), town determinative (O 49) and *s3* (G 39) signs⁽¹⁴⁾.

It belongs to a man called *s3-in-hrt*. Thematically, the stela is divided into four parts. The upper part consists of a lunette which has a curve⁽¹⁵⁾. Its upper edge left blank without any decorations. Then an incised horizontal borderline is placed after which the main hieroglyphic text occupies the rest of the lunette^(d). The text includes three incised horizontal rows of inscriptions reads from right to left, it contains an offering formula⁽¹⁶⁾. Each line of the previous three is separated from the other by an incised horizontal borderline. As for the second part of the current stela which represents the main scene of the stela is representing the deceased and his wife in a raised relief before an offering table and a list of offerings⁽¹⁷⁾. As for the deceased he is depicted seated before the offering table

facing right, on a low backed lion legged chair⁽¹⁸⁾ with a pillow behind him. The chair is depicted on a step rises it from the ground.

He wears a short-striped knee-length kilt^(e) and a long wig with vertical overlapping rows of locks which reaches the shoulder and leaves the ear covered^(f). His neck is ornamented with a *wsh* collar^(g). He is barefooted. His right hand reaches out towards an offering table depicted before him while his left arm is folded across his chest holding a folded cloth which served as a handkerchief⁽¹⁹⁾. His wife stands after him, her relationship with the deceased is confirmed by a vertical row of incised inscription before her i.e. between her and the deceased. She is wearing a long tight-fitting garment starting below the chest⁽²⁰⁾ with two shoulder straps. The straps increase in width from shoulder to bodice forming a wide “V”^(h). Above her head appears a long tripartite wig covers the whole head leaving the ears exposed and extends on the chest⁽²¹⁾ while her long hair is visible hanging on her back. She wears a necklace in her neck. Her right arm is extending freely beside her side while her left arm is clasping her husband on his far shoulder⁽ⁱ⁾. Both the deceased and his wife were represented with elongated eyes, fleshy lips and pointed noses. Before the deceased’s face directly is an incised ideographic offering list runs from right to left towards the owner of the stela as to indicate that such abbreviated offering list was addressed to him.

Infront of his leg is a concave tray food offering⁽²²⁾ table^(j) mounted with the *sh*^(k). Above the *sh* is a reed-mat loaded with two geese. The left goose is bigger than the right one. As for the right goose, it was killed by wringing or twisting its neck (*wšn*) at the same moment it was offered to the deceased⁽²³⁾. Its neck is still visible below its body looking to the left towards the deceased. The two geese are loaded with a bunch of onions^(l).

Below the offering table to the left in front of the deceased’s leg directly is a vertical hieroglyphic inscription read as *dbht-htp* means “requirement of offering”. While on the right side of the offering stand is an ewer⁽²⁴⁾ whose spout is directed toward the deceased. Such ewer was placed on a low four-legged offering table “*wdhw*”^(m).

To the far side of the second part of the stela is a heap of offerings. It represents from up to down a chate⁽ⁿ⁾, a palm leaf^(o). Below the palm leaf to the left is a reed mat loaded with fig^(p) and to the right is another reed mat mounted with three conical bread loaves^(q) between both is a sac of Grapes^(r).

Below the previous to the left is a reed mat mounted with two rounded bread loaves^(s) surmounted with a chate and the last was loaded with a bunch of onions. To the right is a brazier^(t). Beneath the previous sorts of offerings is a chate, a sac of Grapes and a goose. At the lower part of that heap of offerings is a head of an ox^(u), some pieces of meat and another brazier which differs in shape than the upper one^(v).

An incised borderline separates the second part from the Third part of the stela which includes a procession consisting of five individuals, three men and two women, all of them facing right. As for the first two men to the right, they were depicted in a striding posture facing right with short hairs^(w), a plain collar around their necks and a simple short plain kilt with one side lapping over the other. Their left arms are fisted over their chests while their right arms are hanging down beside their sides. Both are represented barefooted. Before the first man is a vertical incised inscription divided into two parts: the upper one, directly before his face, shows his relation with the deceased and the second part, located below his elbow, shows his name and an epithet for him. As for the second man, his relationship with the deceased and his name were inscribed vertically before his face and continued horizontally over his head directly. Both men are followed by a woman who

was depicted standing wearing the same garment of *s3-in-hrt*'s spouse, on the previous part of the stela, with the same wig and collar however, she is folding her left arm to her chest while her right arm is hanging down beside her side, she is wearing a bracelet on her two arms around her wrists. She was also represented barefooted. Her relationship with the deceased and part of her name were inscribed vertically in front of her face and continued horizontally above her head. The names and in some cases the relationships of the people on the stela are indicated in vertical or horizontal hieroglyphs^(X).

The latter was followed by a man, the text does not provide any information about his relationship with the deceased. He appears with short hair, a plain collar around his neck and a triangular front protruding kilt with belt and knot marked around his waist. The upper part of his body is naked^(Y) and he is barefooted as well. A tail of an animal is hanging down between the man's knees⁽²⁵⁾. He is holding in his left hand a long staff whilst his right arm is holding a scepter⁽²⁶⁾. His title and name were inscribed directly before his face. His wife is following him, wearing the same attire as the other women on the stela but her left hand is ornamented with a bracelet and holding a lotus blossom^(Z) bent towards her face and her right arm is hanging down beside her side. She is depicted barefooted. Her relationship with her husband who is preceding her is inscribed horizontally between both heads⁽²⁷⁾ and continued over her head. Her name and two epithets for her were inscribed vertically behind her back.

The text does not provide any information concerning the last two people, consequently, they may be either colleagues or friends to its owner since they were attested in the same part of his family and at the same level^(aa). One can conclude that the large staff held by the third man may act as a barrier between the deceased's core family and his friends or colleagues.

It seems that the stela might had been broken before and was restored. A fact which is confirmed by the presence of a trace of a crack extending from the left side of the third part of the stela and then rising up gradually till the lower right side of the second part.

Below the third part is an incised horizontal borderline delineates it from the fourth part of the stela which is left blank except for two vertical hieroglyphic inscriptions runs from right to left representing two names for two individuals and two titles. The rest of this part might be prepared for other individuals to carve their names only because of the limited space on that part which allowed carving names only rather large figures depictions.

C. Commentary on the sculpture and the representations:

- a) The rounded-top stela was a frequent style from the Eleventh Dynasty⁽²⁸⁾ to the Roman Period⁽²⁹⁾. However, it was much known under Senwesret I and continued frequently in the reign of Amenemhat II⁽³⁰⁾. Such kind of stelae might had been known much earlier as reflected from the appearance of two rounded-top stelae placed at the entry of a sloping ramp led to Mastaba G 6040⁽³¹⁾. The rounded-top part might resembles the vaults of the burial chambers in the rock cut tombs of Upper Egypt or represents the sky and the central solar path which the deceased had to cross⁽³²⁾, or call attention to the tombs of the primordial gods. Badawy, for example, connected it to the Anubis shrine⁽³³⁾.
- b) Sunk relief was used in many of the Twelfth Dynasty rounded-top stelae⁽³⁴⁾ and it was common beside the raised relief during the Middle Kingdom⁽³⁵⁾.
- c) Rita freed noted that such an occasional depiction of the owner of the stela and his wife in a raised relief unlike the rest of the sunken reliefs of the stela was to provide contrast⁽³⁶⁾ i.e. to

highlight the scene. A feature which attested on many other Twelfth Dynasty stelae either in the case of the owner and his wife or the main offering table or the heap of offerings⁽³⁷⁾.

- d) The presence of a blank upper edge lunettes free from inscriptions or images and then a horizontal line is placed followed by the offering formula occupying the entire or the rest of the lunette is a limited artistic feature appeared during the Middle Kingdom in general and particularly during the Twelfth Dynasty and onwards⁽³⁸⁾. Although Rawash pointed out that such feature is dated to the late Twelfth Dynasty and early Thirteenth Dynasty⁽³⁹⁾. It was common in Abydos since the early of the Twelfth Dynasty⁽⁴⁰⁾.
- e) **Knee-length kilt:** The short kilt which reaches the knee was the dominant attire during the Old and Middle Kingdoms for Men. The kilt played a great role in the Ancient Egyptian doctrine as it reflected the god's Atum grip and through this, the deceased returns to life⁽⁴¹⁾. Such knee-length kilt was much known during the Twelfth Dynasty particularly from late Senwesret I through Amenemhat II⁽⁴²⁾.
- f) The shoulder length wig which falls in a gentle curve from the beginning of the forehead to the shoulder level and decorated with parallel lines is dated from Late Senwesret I through Amenemhat II⁽⁴³⁾. It is worth noting that the incised interior details of the wigs of either men or women was common from the reign of Amenemhat I and that of Senwesret I as well⁽⁴⁴⁾. However, the wig worn by *s3-in-hrt* was distinguished with vertical rows of individual curls, a stylistic feature dated, according to freed, by the time of Amenemhat I and Senwesret I⁽⁴⁵⁾.
- g) ***wsh* collar:** such name *wsh* means broad⁽⁴⁶⁾. As its shape takes the width of the chest. Such collar was awarded to loyal people who served the kings. It consists of several rows of beads. It symbolizes the two arms of Atum⁽⁴⁷⁾. When the Ennead⁽⁴⁸⁾ was created, the god Atum embraced them to give them life and protection. The *wsh* collar was worn by the deceased to represent the god Atum on his body so as to be given a part of the soul of Atum in order to enable him to live the same way the god Atum offered the life to the Ennead⁽⁴⁹⁾.
- h) **The (V) neck dress:** It was known since the late of the Old Kingdom and the first Intermediate Period in many provinces as in Coptus⁽⁵⁰⁾, Hagarsa⁽⁵¹⁾, Thebas⁽⁵²⁾ and Aswan⁽⁵³⁾. While it was rare in the Memphite Necropolis⁽⁵⁴⁾. As for the Middle Kingdom, The (V) neck was known as an attire for women on funerary stelae from the late reign of Senwesret I to that of Amenemhat II⁽⁵⁵⁾.
- i) The motif of a woman putting her hand on her husband's shoulder dated to the reigns of Senwesret I and Amenemhat II⁽⁵⁶⁾.
- j) The concave tray offering table was known as  or ⁽⁵⁷⁾ and read as *h3wt* or *h3t*⁽⁵⁸⁾.
It was a single legged table usually it was fabricated of alabaster or limestone⁽⁵⁹⁾. This table was utilized in the daily life. It was not dedicated to the funerary cult of the deceased until the Fourth Dynasty. Since then, it was started to be set before the false doors⁽⁶⁰⁾. It was widely spread on Middle Kingdom stelae⁽⁶¹⁾.
- k) **Offering the *sh*t:** the *sh*t sign / ideogram represents reeds growing side by side⁽⁶²⁾. Offering "*sh*t" was considered a general and comprehensive expression or manifestation of the granted endowments to temples as it considered as a source of offerings and goods in the Hereafter where the kings and righteous people feed on it⁽⁶³⁾.
The *sh*t fields had been of a great importance in rituals and the various offerings. As it expressed all good things that provided by both pastures and fields. So, when this kind of offerings is depicted, its owner obtains good things in all its forms and types.

The nobles were keen to depict themselves in front of offering tables which are surmounted with plant leaves (reeds) used to inscribe the word *sh*⁽⁶⁴⁾. These signs became an expression of provisions and offerings in general. This is supported by multiple texts of the offering of the *sh* that referred to its various products of plants, crops and fruits in addition to hunting birds and fish.

Therefore, when a deceased is depicted sitting on a table mounted with the *sh*'s leaves (reeds), he ensured that his table would provide him with all these good things of plants, crops, fruits, birds and fish⁽⁶⁵⁾.

- l) **Green Onions:** It was known in Ancient Egypt in different forms as:  ⁽⁶⁶⁾,  ⁽⁶⁷⁾,  ⁽⁶⁷⁾.

Green onion was presented on the offering tables mainly to Sokar / Sokar-Osiris⁽⁶⁸⁾. The manifestation of onion was linked with the dawn where the land was covered with white dew, as the white onion plant *h**dw* grew toward the light so as to return life to Sokar. Sokar thereafter changed from the rigid stationary state to a soaring falcon in the heaven⁽⁶⁹⁾. So, the onion was represented on offering tables to resurrect the deceased the sameway done before to Sokar⁽⁷⁰⁾. Another interpretation for the depiction of onions is that the deceased can benefit from it in the mouth-opening ritual, which is performed in the presence of onions due to its pungent smell that penetrates the lungs and helps in breathing. Thus, onions were used to resurrect the deceased and transformed from the rigid state to a resurrected human being.

- m) The four-legged offering table was known as  or  *wdh*⁽⁷¹⁾. It was manufactured in daily life of bronze or wood or copper. By the advent of the Middle Kingdom, it was read as “*wdh*” and since then it was used as a determinative for words that indicate offerings tables⁽⁷²⁾. The four legged offering table was known on many Middle Kingdom funerary stelae⁽⁷³⁾.

- n) **Chate:** It was known in the Ancient Egyptian language as  and  *šp*⁽⁷⁴⁾. Chate was depicted on offering tables since the Old Kingdom⁽⁷⁵⁾. By the Middle Kingdom it was very frequent on the tomb walls as that of Amenemhat (BH 2)⁽⁷⁶⁾, Kheti (BH 17)⁽⁷⁷⁾ and Khnumhotep II (BH 3)⁽⁷⁸⁾ at Beni Hassan and the funerary stelae particularly those of the early to middle Twelfth Dynasty⁽⁷⁹⁾.

- o) **Palm Leaf:** It was known in the Ancient Egyptian language as  or  *bnr*⁽⁸⁰⁾. However the term “*bnr*” appeared in the tombs of the First Dynasty, The date palm had been depicted on the Antiquities since the predynastic period⁽⁸¹⁾.

The palm leaves (fronds) were part of the presented offerings in order to glorify the dead and also a means of addressing them (the dead) into the earthly world⁽⁸²⁾. It was also used as a covering for the path through which the deceased passed to the afterlife⁽⁸³⁾.

Palm leaf (frond) appeared on Middle Kingdom stelae, as that of *intf ikr nḥw* which is dated to the late of the Middle Kingdom at the British Museum⁽⁸⁴⁾ and CG 20745⁽⁸⁵⁾.

- p) **Fig:** It was known in the Ancient Egyptian language as  ⁽⁸⁶⁾. Figs are one of the most common fruits depicted in tomb paintings of the Middle Kingdom either the tree itself or the fruit on the offering tables⁽⁸⁷⁾.

The fig fruit appears on funerary Middle Kingdom stelae as CG 20589⁽⁸⁸⁾. Such examples confirm that fig as a food was a main constituent on the offering tables.

Figs, according to Herodotus, were used as part of the sacrifice to the gods where the sacrificial animals were stuffed with figs before being scarified⁽⁸⁹⁾.

q) Conical bread loaves:

Bread had a significant role concerning with the continuity of life in the Netherworld⁽⁹⁰⁾. It also protected the deceased from eating his own dirtiness in case of absence of bread on his offering table⁽⁹¹⁾.

The cone-shaped bread loaf (X2 and X3)⁽⁹²⁾ was known in the Ancient Egyptian language as

 *šns*⁽⁹³⁾.

Selim Hassan pointed out that the name *šns* seems to refer to the shape of the loaf rather than the kind of dough from which it was made⁽⁹⁴⁾.

It is worth commenting that the *htp* sign (R4) consists of a conical shaped loaf positioned on a reed mat⁽⁹⁵⁾. The cone shaped loaf symbolized the eternal hill which arised from the eternal ocean “Nun”⁽⁹⁶⁾ and from which the creator sun god arose, indicating the initial creation⁽⁹⁷⁾. Consequently, the conical shaped loaf was a symbol of creation, resurrection and rebirth⁽⁹⁸⁾. This explains its depiction on numerous Middle Kingdom stelae⁽⁹⁹⁾. Such kind of bread was often offered to gods so as to be pleased and to avert their anger⁽¹⁰⁰⁾.

r) Grapes: It was known in the Ancient Egyptian language as *irp*⁽¹⁰¹⁾.

Grapes or vines were consumed in Ancient Egypt as fresh fruit as well as its usage in making wine⁽¹⁰²⁾.

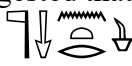
Maria Jané noted that grapes were depicted in the Ancient tombs as well as funerary stelae as a symbol of resurrection and might had been considered to play a role in the transfiguration process undertaken by the kings as part of the Journey into the Hereafter⁽¹⁰³⁾. She also added that grapes designated revitalization and rebirth⁽¹⁰⁴⁾. Thus, it was depicted on the current stela and other Middle Kingdom Funerary stelae as CG 20542, CG 20565 and CG 20588⁽¹⁰⁵⁾.

s) Round bread loaves: It was known in the Ancient Egyptian language as *psn*⁽¹⁰⁶⁾.

In the Middle Kingdom, the round bread loaf was mentioned on the offering lists on a large scale⁽¹⁰⁷⁾.

For Middle Kingdom funerary stelae where the round loaves attested on it, CG 20021, CG 20023, CG 20027, CG 20029, CG 20031, CG 20045, CG 20053, CG 20064, CG 20076, CG 20079, CG 20105 and CG 20121, CG 20233, CG 20336, CG 20357, CG 20522, CG 20719, CG 20737 and CG 20745⁽¹⁰⁸⁾.

t) Bell shaped brazier has a lid with a handle: The current stela presented two different kinds of incense burners or braziers offered to the deceased. The First one is a bell-shaped brazier has a lid with a handle.

Ogdan suggested that this kind of braziers was used as a determinative for the word that refers to incense,  *sntr*⁽¹⁰⁹⁾, in the offering lists since the early Dynastic period⁽¹¹⁰⁾.

Radwan believed that this type of braziers had appeared since the Sixth Dynasty and its industry developed in the Eleventh Dynasty⁽¹¹¹⁾.

Heinrich noted that these vessels were placed on the top of stands in the Old Kingdom and was known as  *h3w*⁽¹¹²⁾.

The Bell braziers were known in the Old Kingdom scenes either in its earlier form ⁽¹¹³⁾ or with a lid similar in size or with a pointed top⁽¹¹⁴⁾.

The current Bell-shaped brazier appeared on the tomb of Senebi at Meir⁽¹¹⁵⁾ and continued in the Middle Kingdom as on the current stela and that of Nbw.sn (CG 20593)⁽¹¹⁶⁾.

Incense was a must to be offered to the deceased as part of the offering list from the earliest times⁽¹¹⁷⁾. It was believed that it had a super power that help the deceased to be resurrected in the Netherworld⁽¹¹⁸⁾. And it was supposed that it gives strength and ability for eternal life⁽¹¹⁹⁾. Consequently, braziers or incense burners were required in order to burn incense for the deceased which interprets its appearance on the offering tables.

- u) **Head of an Ox:** The ox's head was known in the Ancient Egyptian language as ⁽¹²⁰⁾ *k3* (*ih, ng3w*)⁽¹²¹⁾.

The ox's head was a frequent kind of offerings on the offering tables and the *b3* mansions⁽¹²²⁾.

- v) **A brazier with a base:** The second kind of braziers offered to the deceased on the stela is a brazier with a base. Perhaps one of the oldest examples of that type of braziers is that was found in Abydos and dates back to the Archaic Period⁽¹²³⁾. It was made of red ware (pottery) and had a short base resembling trumpet⁽¹²⁴⁾.

In the Valley and Mortuary temples of king Snefru⁽¹²⁵⁾, Ahmed Fakhry found incense burners (braziers) made of red ware, He described it as taking the shape of a table with a small dish on its top⁽¹²⁶⁾. Fakhry added that such brazier is distinguished by its cylindrical stand (trunk) topped with a flat surface⁽¹²⁷⁾.

Sometimes the incense burning vessel (dish) is attached to the base or is separated from it⁽¹²⁸⁾. The brazier with a base was depicted in the tombs of *Hsy-Rc* and *Ti* at Saqqara from the Old Kingdom⁽¹²⁹⁾.

It is worth to note that in Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, there are three braziers made of pottery distinguished with a high base from Umm el-Qaab, dates back to the reign of Senwesret II. They are characterized by their straight tubular trunk topped with a deep flat plate in the middle in order to place the incense grains inside it⁽¹³⁰⁾. These braziers resemble the one appeared on the current stela.

The brazier with a base is depicted on the walls of Middle Kingdom tombs as that of Amenemhat (BH 2) Beni Hassan⁽¹³¹⁾ and Akhet-hetep at Meir⁽¹³²⁾ both dated to Senwesret' I reign.

The same kind of brazier appeared on two Middle Kingdom stelae: CG 20020⁽¹³³⁾ and CG 20693⁽¹³⁴⁾.

- w) **Short hair:** Short and natural hair was a common feature from late Amenmhat I to Senwsert I⁽¹³⁵⁾.
- x) **The direction of writing:** The direction of writing in both the vertical and the horizontal texts inwhich the signs run from right to left, this is due to the large number of relatives on the current stela which made the Artist trying not to lose any space above or on the sides of the stela. Such action made by the Artist affected the quality of the figures as all show little facial details compared with the other two figures and the kinds of offerings depicted on the above part⁽¹³⁶⁾.
- y) This feature appeared on many stelae till the Thirteenth Dynasty⁽¹³⁷⁾.
- z) **Lotus blossom:** Lotus was known in the Ancient Egyptian language with three different names:  *s3n*⁽¹³⁸⁾,  *s3pt*⁽¹³⁹⁾ and  *nhb*⁽¹⁴⁰⁾.

In the Middle Kingdom, Lotus flower was used as a decorative element on many private stelae as CG 20019, CG 20029, CG 20055, CG 20059, CG 20071, CG 20076, CG 20081, CG 20148, CG 20184, CG 20291, CG 20357, CG 20425, CG 20456, CG 20522, CG 20588, CG 20730⁽¹⁴¹⁾.

Lotus flower was associated with resurrection owing to its nectar which renew the sense of smell for the deceased⁽¹⁴²⁾. It also rejuvenates his respiratory and sexual ability and realize resurrection in the Netherworld⁽¹⁴³⁾. Consequently, the deceased desired to be a lotus in order to guarantee his rebirth and resurrection⁽¹⁴⁴⁾.

The theme of holding a lotus flower was firstly depicted under Senwesret I and disappeared after the reign of Amenemhat II⁽¹⁴⁵⁾.

- aa) Baligh noted that in Abydos stelae even friends and colleagues were added on the commemorative stelae in addition to the family members such as parents, spouses and children⁽¹⁴⁶⁾. Leprohon pointed out that the desire to see close friends share in one of the most important religious acts of their time and to have their names endure in that most sacred of places, the terrace of Osiris at Abydos were the motives for that feature⁽¹⁴⁷⁾. Hölzl indicated that the appearance of other people other than the family members raised the prestige and status of its owner⁽¹⁴⁸⁾.

D. Text:

D.1: Text on the First part of the stela:



(1) *ḥtp-di-nsw* (n) *Wsir nb Ddw ntr-ꜥ3 nb 3bdw* (2) *pṛt-ḥrw t ḥnkt iḥw*⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ *3pdw šs mnḥt m ḥt nb(t) nfrt ḥn.t(i) ntr im* (3) *n k3 n im3ḥy ḥr Inpw tpy ḏw.f S3-in-ḥr.t m3ꜥ-ḥrw nb im3ḥw*⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

(1) An offering has given by the king ^(a) (and) Osiris ^(b), Lord of Busiris ^(c), the great god ^(d), lord of Abydos ^(e) (2) An invocation offering ^(f) (consisting of) bread, beer, oxen, fowls ^(g), alabaster, clothing ^(h) and all good things upon which the god lives ⁽ⁱ⁾ (3) to the ka of ⁽ⁱ⁾ the venerated before ^(k) Anubis ^(l) who is upon his mountain ^(m) Sa-in-heret ⁽ⁿ⁾ Justified ^(o), possessor of reverence ^(p).

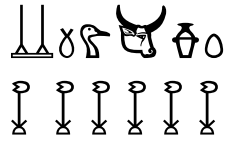
D.2: Texts on the second part of the stela:

D.2.1: Text below the offering table:



dbḥt ḥtp

Offering requirements ^(q)

D.2.2: Text in front of the seated man:

h3 t h3 hnkt h3 ihw h3 3pdw h3 šs h3 mnht

one thousand loaves of bread, one thousand beers, one thousand oxen, one thousand fowls, one thousand alabaster (vessels) and one thousand clothing^(R).

D.2.3: Text between the seated man and the standing woman:

hmt.f mrt.f S3.t-mhy.t nb(t) im3hw



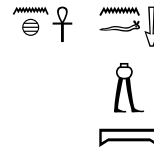
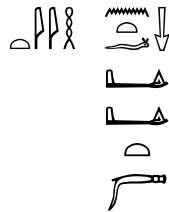
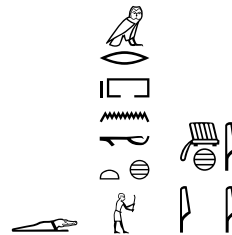
His beloved wife⁽¹⁵¹⁾ Sat-mehyt ^(s), Possessor of reverence.

D.3: Texts on the third part of the stela:**D.3.1: Text in front of the first man to the right:**

Sn.f In-hr.t-nht nb im3hw



His brother In-heret-nakht ^(t), possessor of reverence.

D.3.2: Text before the second man:*Sn.f In-ḥr.t-ꜥnh*His brother In-heret-Ankh ^(u).**D.3.3: Text before and above the first woman:***Snt.f Dd.t-mḥyt*His sister Dedet-mehyt ^(v).**D.3.4: Text before the third man:***im3ḥy imy-r pr Nḥt-sbk*The venerated⁽¹⁵²⁾, steward of the house (estate) ^(w), Nakht-Sobek ^(x).**D.3.5: Text above and behind the last woman:***ḥmt.f mrt.f Nb.t-iwn.t m3ꜥt-ḥrw nb(t) im3ḥw*His beloved wife Nebet-Iwnt ^(y) Justified,

possessor of reverence.

D.4: Texts on the fourth part of the stela:

D.4.1: Text of the first vertical inscription on the right:*šmsw⁽¹⁵³⁾ Hp.y⁽¹⁵⁴⁾*The follower ^(z) Hepy ^(aa).**D.4.2: Text on the second vertical Inscription on the right:***Wdpw In-iti.f*The butler ^(bb) Intf ^(cc)**E: Comment on the Text:**

- (a) *h̄tp-di-nsw*: such formula shall be translated as “An offering that the king has given and that Osiris or Anubis or both of them have given” other than reading it as “An offering that the king has given to Osiris or Anubis⁽¹⁵⁵⁾. The Author adopts that point of view because this dedication does not refer that such gift was given by the sovereign himself, but rather that the funeral offering was confirmed by the monarch. Since the monarch was considered as a channel / mediator between people and the deities, the offering was offered in his honor⁽¹⁵⁶⁾.

The arrangement of the   : in which the  (t) sign is centered above the *h̄tp* sign after the  (*nsw*) sign is a very common feature in the Twelfth Dynasty⁽¹⁵⁷⁾.

- (b) **Osiris:**

The Egyptian deity of the Underworld⁽¹⁵⁸⁾. Despite his cult was known since the First Dynasty, the Fifth Dynasty was when he made his initial appearance in the offering formula⁽¹⁵⁹⁾.



that form of the deity's name was frequent during the Old and Middle Kingdoms⁽¹⁶⁰⁾. During the Eleventh Dynasty and often in the early of the Twelfth Dynasty, the name Osiris was inscribed with the god determinative [A 40]. Later, in the middle to the late of the Twelfth Dynasty, the determinative was usually dropped out⁽¹⁶¹⁾.

- (c) **nb Ddw**: lord of Busiris, Busiris (*pr-wsir*) was the capital of the Ninth provenance of Lower Egypt⁽¹⁶²⁾, symbolized by the                               

occurs on the current stela between the  sign and the city determinative, most probably in order to inscribe the vertical stroke under the city determinative. The filling vertical stroke in the writing of *Ddw* was not known before the Heracleopolitan period⁽¹⁶⁷⁾. Later, particularly during the Twelfth Dynasty, it became very frequent either on coffins⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ or funerary stelae⁽¹⁶⁹⁾. Furthermore, the writing of *Ddw* here with the city sign was common during the early of the Twelfth Dynasty, particularly during the reign of Senwesret I⁽¹⁷⁰⁾.

(d) *ntr ʕ3* (the great god):

A frequently used general epithet, it was referred to wide range of deities including Osiris, Re, Horus, Seth, Geb and Atum⁽¹⁷¹⁾. However, it was used as an epithet for Osiris since the Twelfth Dynasty⁽¹⁷²⁾, particularly since the reign of Senwesret I⁽¹⁷³⁾.

The ʕ3 sign  (O 29) was inscribed in this epithet horizontally, such feature was actually recorded at the late reign of Mentuhotep II, the Fifth monarch of the Eleventh Dynasty⁽¹⁷⁴⁾,

while the vertical order  refers to the early of the Middle Kingdom⁽¹⁷⁵⁾.

(e) *nb 3bdw*: lord of Abydos, A very known widespread epithet for Osiris in the Twelfth Dynasty⁽¹⁷⁶⁾. Abydos has been historically important as a cult center for the most important god of the dead in Ancient Egypt.

The arrival of Osiris in Abydos was associated with the end of the Old Kingdom to substitute *hnty-imnty*⁽¹⁷⁷⁾.

The word *3bdw* was inscribed on the first line of the stela without the *dw* sign (N 26). It was

accidentally omitted by the writer although there is a fine space above the  (b) sign (D 58) which might had been reserved for the *dw* sign. There is an expletive vertical stroke in the writing of *3bdw* below the city determinative, such feature was known in the First Intermediate Period⁽¹⁷⁸⁾. It was attested on Twelfth Dynasty coffins⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ as well as Early Twelfth Dynasty stelae⁽¹⁸⁰⁾.

Osiris with his epithets *ntr ʕ3* and *nb 3bdw* were mostly attested during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties⁽¹⁸¹⁾.

It is worth to comment that the sequence of Osiris's epithets: *nb Ddw*, *ntr ʕ3* and *nb 3bdw* was known since the reign of Senwesret I⁽¹⁸²⁾. While under the reign of Senwesret III all Osiris's epithets were usually dropped except for the epithet *hnty imnty*⁽¹⁸³⁾.

(f) *pri-hrw*: An invocation offerings⁽¹⁸⁴⁾. It is worth to note that the absence of di.f after the offering formula (*hnp-di-nsw*) points out to a date in the early Twelfth Dynasty⁽¹⁸⁵⁾.

(g) *ihw 3pdw*: The writing of both elements of the offering formula in that way without plural strokes or any determinative, was a very frequent orthographical feature in the early Twelfth Dynasty⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ and to the Late of the Middle Kingdom and thereafter⁽¹⁸⁷⁾.

(h) *ʕs mnht*: Both terms were common in the Middle Kingdom offering formulae, both terms were inscribed on the stela as , instead of , such paleographical feature was common in the Twelfth Dynasty till the end of Amenemhat's II reign⁽¹⁸⁸⁾.

(i) *ʕnh.t(i) ntr im*: On (upon) which the god lives, is read *ʕnh.t(i)* as the prospective relative *sdm.f* construction Feminine Singular⁽¹⁸⁹⁾. That formula was known firstly since the time of

Senwesret I⁽¹⁹⁰⁾. Later that phrase was often combined with “*didit pt km3t t3 innt H'py*” (which the sky gives, the land fashions and the Nile brings)⁽¹⁹¹⁾.

- (j) The use of the phrase “*n k3 n*” followed by the epithet *im3hy* to introduce the recipient of the invocation offering was known since the early of the Twelfth Dynasty⁽¹⁹²⁾, particularly during the reign of Senwesret I⁽¹⁹³⁾. In the reign of Senwesret III the formulation of “*n k3 n im3hy*” + Name of the recipient was stopped occurring leaving only the phrase “*n k3 n*”⁽¹⁹⁴⁾.

- (k) *im3hy hr*: , the spelling of that epithet is *im3hy hr*⁽¹⁹⁵⁾. It appears at the end of the Old Kingdom⁽¹⁹⁶⁾. Hannig translated it as: “The venerated or the blessed”⁽¹⁹⁷⁾. Pflüger noted that such epithet was originally a secular title designating some sort or royal favorite⁽¹⁹⁸⁾. As time went on, it took on a funerary aspect: the one “honored” with the earthly king changed into one “honored” with the king of the dead “Osiris” or other funerary deity⁽¹⁹⁹⁾.

The epithet *im3hy* was frequent during much of the Middle Kingdom, as it was from the Old Kingdom and thereafter⁽²⁰⁰⁾. Such epithet usually attested at the end of the offering formula following the list of requests and proceeding the name of the inscription owner⁽²⁰¹⁾.

Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts suggest that once the deceased had realized the status of *im3h*, he could partake to some extent in the domain of the gods⁽²⁰²⁾. In the Middle Kingdom, *im3hy* was used to indicate at least in some cases to the living and the dead as well⁽²⁰³⁾.

im3hy was followed by the preposition *hr* and the name of a deity whom the individual is said to be venerated by. such epithets account for the vast majority of references to gods and goddesses in non-royal inscriptions during the Old through the Middle Kingdoms.

The tendency to name funerary deities following the epithet *im3hy hr*, particularly in the middle to late of the Twelfth Dynasty, supports the confirmation that these epithets by the time had come to refer primarily to the afterlife⁽²⁰⁴⁾.

- (l) *Inpw*: Anubis was one of the most distinguished Egyptian gods⁽²⁰⁵⁾. Anubis was one of the deities who were frequently mentioned after *im3hy hr* since the Old Kingdom through the Eleventh Dynasty and into the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty, after which Inpw's name was less frequent reflecting his relative decline in favor of Osiris⁽²⁰⁶⁾.

The name of God Inpw is attested on the stela in the form of a Jackal lying on his chapel (E16)⁽²⁰⁷⁾, this form was very frequent during the Eleventh Dynasty particularly in the time of Intef II⁽²⁰⁸⁾ and continued in the Twelfth Dynasty⁽²⁰⁹⁾.

- (m) *tpy dw.f*: It is translated as “who is upon his mountain”. A very frequent epithet to Anubis⁽²¹⁰⁾. It was attested in the offering formula firstly in the Fifth Dynasty⁽²¹¹⁾.

That epithet was of a great importance in the Twelfth Dynasty due to the development of Abydos⁽²¹²⁾.

- (n) *sa-in-heret*: It is the name of the stela's owner, It was inscribed once only on the current stela. His name means “son of Onuris”⁽²¹³⁾. A very common private name for males during the Middle Kingdom⁽²¹⁴⁾, particularly during the Twelfth and the Thirteenth Dynasties⁽²¹⁵⁾. It was known

in the Middle Kingdom with several forms as: , , and  ⁽²¹⁶⁾.

The name of the owner of the stela is linked with god Onuris⁽²¹⁷⁾, whose name means “The one who brought or the one who fetched the distant ones”, Onuris was a fighting and a hunter deity who is attested as a local god of Thinis⁽²¹⁸⁾ in the Eighth nome of Upper Egypt⁽²¹⁹⁾.

As the local god of Thinis, Onuris has been referred to since the end of the Old Kingdom through the titles of his priests who were buried in the Thinitic Necropolises⁽²²⁰⁾, and played a role in the proper name of the region as well⁽²²¹⁾.

This name *s3-in-hr.t* many indicate that the stela's owner hometown was Thinis.

- (o) ***m3^c-hrw***: Hannig translated this epithet as “Justified”⁽²²²⁾. This epithet usually followed the name of the deceased since the end of the Eleventh Dynasty. The addition of this epithet was considered as a kind of honor for him as it indicates that he showed his innocence during his trial and was permitted to enter the otherworld⁽²²³⁾.
- (p) ***nb im3hw***: Jones translated it as “possessor of reverence” or “venerated state”⁽²²⁴⁾. It is closely related in its meaning to *im3hy* and was equivalent to it⁽²²⁵⁾.

It is usually attested at the end of the offering formula following the name of the inscription's owner and the epithet *m3^c-hrw* respectively as in case of the latter's occurrence⁽²²⁶⁾. *nb im3hw*

may modulated by a prepositional phrase formed of the preposition  and either a deity's name who was usually related with funerary cult⁽²²⁷⁾ or the term *ntr* “god”⁽²²⁸⁾.

Such epithets were unusual during the Middle Kingdom, The presence of *nb im3hw*, according to Doxey, does not refer necessarily that the individual whom it related to was already dead⁽²²⁹⁾. *nb-im3h(w)* was known for the first time in the offering formulas since the Fourth Dynasty⁽²³⁰⁾. It first appears as an epithet sporadically since the late of the Eleventh Dynasty however it became very frequent during the Twelfth Dynasty⁽²³¹⁾. By the Thirteenth Dynasty it became less frequent and gradually the epithet *w3hm-^cnh* was used instead⁽²³²⁾.

It is worth to note that the abbreviated writing of the  *im3h* sign (F39) with a vertical stroke underneath is a common Middle Kingdom paleographical feature⁽²³³⁾.

- (q) ***dbht htp***: is an initial or introductory invocation recited by the *hry wdb*⁽²³⁴⁾ before executing the *htp-di-nsw* as a part of the repast ritual that carried out to awake, care and cure the deities, the deified kings as well as the deceaseds⁽²³⁵⁾. This initial invocation is frequent in the temples as well as the tombs offering lists, as it converts the inscription into a label of kinds accompanying the tabular offering lists displayed on the walls or the stelae⁽²³⁶⁾.
- (r) The text lacks the referring to the recipient of the offerings and his epithets after naming the offering list, most probably due to the lack of space. Perhaps writing it directly in front of the head of the owner of the stela indicates that he is the recipient of these sorts of offerings.
- (s) **Sat-mehyt**: A female personal name known since the Middle Kingdom⁽²³⁷⁾, particularly since the Twelfth Dynasty⁽²³⁸⁾ and continued thereafter in the New Kingdom⁽²³⁹⁾. The name means “the daughter of the (goddess) mehyt”⁽²⁴⁰⁾.

The name of the deceased's spouse is associated with goddess mehyt⁽²⁴¹⁾. Mehyt, “Lion goddess”, was usually depicted in a woman's body with lioness head surmounted by *3tf* crown upon its head⁽²⁴²⁾. It was the companion of “Onuris” in Thinis⁽²⁴³⁾. Thus, it was named “mistress of Thinis”. As the author mentioned in the case of the husband, this name may indicate that this lady was originally from Thinis.

- (t) **In-heret-nakht**: His name means “Onuris is Strong”⁽²⁴⁴⁾. In-heret-nakht as a name was known before the Middle Kingdom, most probably from the First Intermediate Period⁽²⁴⁵⁾. By the advent of the Middle Kingdom, that name was frequently used, particularly in the Twelfth Dynasty since the reign of Senwesret I⁽²⁴⁶⁾ and thereafter⁽²⁴⁷⁾ till the end of the Middle Kingdom⁽²⁴⁸⁾. It was also attested in the New Kingdom⁽²⁴⁹⁾.

Such name was used as a personal name for both males and females⁽²⁵⁰⁾. It is reflected from the name its association with the deity “*Ini-hrt*”, the same as his brother the owner of the stela.

- (u) **In-heret-Ankh**: His name means “Onuris is alive”⁽²⁵¹⁾. It was used as a personal name for both Genders⁽²⁵²⁾. In-heret-Ankh was a Middle Kingdom name used during the Twelfth Dynasty only⁽²⁵³⁾. It was well known since the reign of Senwesret I as reflected from papyri Reisner I-IV⁽²⁵⁴⁾. His name is associated as well as his brothers with the god Onuris.
- (v) **Dedet-mehyt**: Her name means “which (the goddess) mehyt gives”⁽²⁵⁵⁾. *dd.t-mhyt* was a female personal name⁽²⁵⁶⁾. That name is very rare during the Middle Kingdom, It is attested only on the current stela and another stela preserved in Torin Museum dated approximately to the reign of Amenemhat II⁽²⁵⁷⁾ and might be referred to the same woman of CG 20566. Her name is associated with the goddess “Mehyt” as her Brother’s wife depicted on the previous part of the stela.
- (w) **Imy-r pr**: Ward translates the title as “steward or administrator”⁽²⁵⁸⁾, Fischer adopted the translation of “steward” for the title⁽²⁵⁹⁾. Lately, Jones pointed out to two translations as: “steward of the house or the estate” and “overseer of the house or the estate”⁽²⁶⁰⁾. It was a functional office known since the Old Kingdom and continued in the Middle Kingdom⁽²⁶¹⁾. Fischer referred that the holders of the title (*imy-r pr*) were either stewards of private estates or civil officials whom responsibilities were determined in the increasing number of the inscriptions of the holders of that title in the period later than the Old Kingdom⁽²⁶²⁾. It is worth to note that some tomb scenes manifest the holders of that title executing funerary rituals before the owner of the tomb as in the tomb of *hnty-k3i / ihhi* where the *imy-r pr* was represented performing as a lector priest and reciting the spells during the execution of the rite of *dit-mw*⁽²⁶³⁾ or burning incense⁽²⁶⁴⁾. The same job was done by “sm” priest, in the scenes of the cult temple of Pepy II, who is depicted performing the ritual of “pouring of water” in front of the king who is represented seated before a table of offerings⁽²⁶⁵⁾. Another “sm” priest presented participating in the rituals before the table of offerings at the last phase of the burial⁽²⁶⁶⁾. Such similarity in function may have led to the similarity in clothing between “*imy-r pr*” and “sm”, which occurred on the current stela where there is a tail recognized between the legs of the holder of *imy-r pr* which might be a leopard skin, the famous attire of the “sm” priest⁽²⁶⁷⁾. *Imy-r pr* was also associated with farms and estate administration, as during the Middle Kingdom, *Imy-r pr* was heading the barn when counting of the grain, heading of more than a thousand people, also was heading of the cattle, the flock, the donkeys, the sheep and the pigs as well as delivering the clothes to the treasury that were requested of *imy-r pr* by the administration⁽²⁶⁸⁾. The *imy-r pr* was responsible for drawing up the final reports of the estate activities and presenting them to the estate owner or the town owner⁽²⁶⁹⁾. Helck added that “pr” was a farm in which grain was grown, livestock was grazed and linen was spun by the wives of the farm workers that was then delivered to the state treasury⁽²⁷⁰⁾.
- (x) **Nakht-Sobek**: His name means “Strong is Sobek”⁽²⁷¹⁾ a personal name used for both Genders⁽²⁷²⁾. It was a very well-known name in the early of the Twelfth Dynasty at Abydos⁽²⁷³⁾ and thereafter in the late of the Twelfth Dynasty⁽²⁷⁴⁾ and onwards to the New Kingdom⁽²⁷⁵⁾. The Structure of the name consists of an adjective / verb, *nht* which means “to be strong”⁽²⁷⁶⁾, and a deity’s name. As for the deity, He was “Sobek” whose name means “crocodile”. He was depicted in the form of a complete crocodile or a man with the head of a crocodile⁽²⁷⁷⁾. In either manifestation, Sobek

usually wears a headdress composed of a solar disk with horns and tall ostrich feathers (plumes)⁽²⁷⁸⁾.

Sobek's place in the Egyptian worship was most predominant during the Middle Kingdom even earlier than the days of the monarch Amenemhat III, as such deity was part (Theophoric elements) in many private names in the Middle Kingdom⁽²⁷⁹⁾.

Sobek was attached with the cults of other particular deities as Amun, Re and Osiris⁽²⁸⁰⁾. His relation with Osiris explains its appearance on stelae from Abydos during the Middle Kingdom as the current one.

- (y) **Nebet-Iwnt**: Her name means “the lady of Dendera”⁽²⁸¹⁾. It was used as a female personal name only⁽²⁸²⁾. *nbt-Iwnt* was known with the same orthography inscribed on the stela since the mid of the 12th Dynasty⁽²⁸³⁾ till its late⁽²⁸⁴⁾ and onwards in the 13th Dynasty⁽²⁸⁵⁾ until the New Kingdom⁽²⁸⁶⁾.

nbt-Iwnt, was in fact a title of goddess Hathor⁽²⁸⁷⁾. Known Since the Old Kingdom and thereafter till the Greco-Roman period⁽²⁸⁸⁾ and it was used as a personal name for women as well.

- (z) **šmsw**: Blackman translated this title as “Henchman”⁽²⁸⁹⁾ Ward, Jones and Al-Ayedi adopted the translation “retainer”⁽²⁹⁰⁾ despite Jones who added another interpretation which is “follower”⁽²⁹¹⁾.

The retainers or *šmsw* seemed originally to have been a civil (non-military) class of personal attendants of the king or a personage of high degree⁽²⁹²⁾. McFarlane pointed that *šmsw* designated an official travelling with the sovereign in the capacity of an escort⁽²⁹³⁾.

Quirke noted that the title *šmsw* indicated a position linked with one of the high-ranking officials or to offices either civilian or military⁽²⁹⁴⁾.

Perhaps, that opinion was based on the fact that retainers / followers of the nomarch of the 15th nome of Upper Egypt (Hare nome) during the Heracleopolitan period who were at first servants began to bear weapons, and clearly constituted his household troops or body guards and formed a gang of local militia against their sovereign⁽²⁹⁵⁾. These gangs most probably consisted of small and chosen groups of men trusted by their masters and thus being an influencing factor during crisis⁽²⁹⁶⁾.

In the Twelfth Dynasty, the nomarch had as well their armed *šmsw* (retainers) in attendance with them as a *šmsw* was depicted, in the tombs of Amenemhat and Khnumhotep II of Beni Hasan, equipped with a battle axe and shield⁽²⁹⁷⁾.

Sinuhe, who was firstly attached to the household of the queen and accompanied Senwesret during his expedition against Libya described himself as *ink šmsw šms nb.f* (I am the follower / retainer who follows his master)⁽²⁹⁸⁾. Then the text described the status of Senwesret I when he knew the news of the residence as *bik ḥi.f ḥnʿ šmsw.f* (the falcon flew off with his retainers). Consequently, the royal retainers were a corps of men at arms who attended with the person of the pharaoh when going to war or officers of troops linked with the royal household.

Quirke pointed that retainers of Early Middle Kingdom administration were classified by the late Middle Kingdom into: the *šmsw* / retainers who belonged to the military sector (*šmsw ʿrryt*, *šmsw n rmn tpy* and *šmsw n ḥk3*) and retainers or followers who followed their lord with items of clothes like sandals rather than weapons for protection⁽²⁹⁹⁾.

Stefanović noted that it is impossible to differentiate between *šmsw*-soldiers and *šmsw*-servants outside the military contexts⁽³⁰⁰⁾.

From the previous, *šmsw* might have been a military title or a term for servant who was engaged militarily when required or a shortened form of one of the titles and epithets that included the word *šmsw* as *šmsw ʿrryt*, *šmsw n rmn tpy*, *šmsw n ḥk3* or *šmsw n ḥ3ty*-⁽³⁰¹⁾.

šmsw were a small and selected corps who are highly confident with the king and offered worthy to him in case of crisis⁽³⁰²⁾, thus they were engaged for the needs of expeditions in military campaigns as well as delivering them to public work sites or to fortresses in border zones⁽³⁰³⁾. They also might had been servants on the estates of their lords⁽³⁰⁴⁾.

For this *šmsw* on the stela (Hepy), he might be a servant on a state of his landlord as his title and name were inscribed beside the name of a butler “*Intf*” at the bottom of the stela.

(aa) **Hepy**: Ranke read that name with two readings: *hp.p.y*⁽³⁰⁵⁾ and *hp.y*⁽³⁰⁶⁾. For the orthography of

the name, It is inscribed on the stela as  with extra secondly  p. Such addition led to read it with the two possible readings. It is worth to note that most of the members of that stela were mentioned on the stela of *in-ḥr.t-nḥt* at Torino (CMT 1527) where the name of that *šmsw*

was written as  only without the extra (p)⁽³⁰⁷⁾.

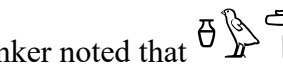
Thus, *hp.p.y* was an alternative reading for *hp.y*. In addition, the spelling with the extra (p) did not appear, as far as I know, in any other personal name in the Middle Kingdom bear the name

Hepy. *hp.y* was a personal name used for both genders⁽³⁰⁸⁾.  with that orthography was known in the Middle Kingdom since the reign of Senwesret I⁽³⁰⁹⁾ and continued in the Twelfth Dynasty⁽³¹⁰⁾ to its late⁽³¹¹⁾ and thereafter in the Thirteenth Dynasty⁽³¹²⁾. The name was followed by the seated man determinative [A1] most probably to refer that it was a male personal name.

(bb) **Wdpw**: Wb mentioned that the title means “attendant or servant in the house”⁽³¹³⁾. Ward adopted the translation of “Butler”⁽³¹⁴⁾. Lately, Jones suggested four interpretations for the title: “Butler, attendant, Steward and cupbearer”⁽³¹⁵⁾.

Wdpw was known as an administrative title as well as a religious one since the Old Kingdom⁽³¹⁶⁾. It was also continued as a title during the Middle and New Kingdom⁽³¹⁷⁾.

The title *wdpw* was inscribed in an abbreviated form using the beer-Jug determinative⁽³¹⁸⁾ in

one of its variants:  / . Junker noted that  *wdpw* was utilized to point out a “butler” specialized in supplying the beverage only⁽³¹⁹⁾, perhaps, such opinion

was derived from the determinative  , Junker added that it might indicate “cupbearer” as well beside the “butler”⁽³²⁰⁾.

It is worth to note that the title *wdpw* was attested solely or with the addition of a specific activity following it in order to indicate the whole either as an administrative title or a religious one⁽³²¹⁾.

The tale of the Eloquent Peasant pointed out to the *wdpw* as a hunter who was glad of being a slaughterer


mk tw *wdpw* rš.f pw rḥs

Behold, you are a butcher (butler) whose delight is slaughter⁽³²²⁾.

A *wdpw* was also represented, in a scene on the west wall of the tomb of *Ni-k3-nswt* at Giza, as a butler carrying a foreleg of an ox⁽³²³⁾. Which reflects the role of butlers in butchery activities. Butlers were usually depicted in different attires to those worn by the slaughterers and their assistants. They were most probably lay persons who aided the slaughter with different tasks⁽³²⁴⁾.

Both PT and CT refer to *wdpw* in their contexts:

In the PT:

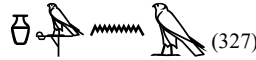
PT 120 b (spruch 205):



Wdpw n R^c

Attendant / steward of Re⁽³²⁶⁾.

PT 566 b (spruch 349):



Wdpw n Hr

Attendant / steward of Horus⁽³²⁸⁾.

For the tasks of *wdpw* in the PT, PT 124 bc (spruch 207):



Wdpw 'b3 mw rkḥ sḏt ḥnd m 'b s3šrt

Butler (cup bearer), presents water, illuminates the fire (for) a joint among the roast meat⁽³³⁰⁾. Consequently, *wdpw* was in charge of fetching the offerings that consist of water, meat and bird⁽³³¹⁾. From the previous, PT pointed to *wdpw* as a title held by a deity who was taking charge of giving and presenting all sorts of offerings.

In the CT: Spell 215:



'h^c rf 3gb wdpw n R^c ḥr wḏḥwd.i

“stand up, O plenty, you Butler of Re, at my offering table”⁽³³³⁾.

Thus, The holder of the title was responsible for the offering table.

Some scenes and texts affirm that the holder of the title *wdpw* was in charge of preparing, providing and serving food⁽³³⁴⁾.

Quirke mentioned that *wdpw* (cup bearer) might had brought the food from the preparation room to the place of eating⁽³³⁵⁾.

Thus, The Author concludes that *wdpw* was a low ranking office held by a person who was responsible for preparing, providing the food as well as bringing it to the dinning place and serving it to his master. In addition to doing some butchery activities.

That earthly role was carried out by some deities in the Netherworld as reflected from the Pyramid and Coffin texts⁽³³⁶⁾.

- (cc) **Intf**: His name means “He (whom) his father brought. A personal name held by males and females⁽³³⁷⁾. It was known since the Old Kingdom⁽³³⁸⁾ and appeared in the First Intermediate Period⁽³³⁹⁾. During the Middle Kingdom it was a very common name⁽³⁴⁰⁾, particularly by the advent of the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty⁽³⁴¹⁾.

Intf was an example of the basileophoric names. i.e. names which contain a king's name⁽³⁴²⁾.

The structure of the name *In-it.f* consists of a relative clause with *sḏm.f* form⁽³⁴³⁾.

F. Genealogy:

The Middle Kingdom stelae from Abydos which feature vast listings of names, have long been a valuable source of genealogical information. However, in addition to the obvious family links that can be seen on each stela, there are many other names that do not fit neatly into the core family group and whose exact relationship with the family group is difficult to discern⁽³⁴⁴⁾.

However, it turns out that when these names are accompanied by titles, A link can be formed between the two groups, and this relationship was frequently between coworkers at work⁽³⁴⁵⁾.

According to Grajetzki⁽³⁴⁶⁾, biographical inscriptions were rare between the 13th – 17th Dynasties. During that time, the stela's owner was frequently seen with coworkers, including officials from his socioeconomic class as well as coworkers from lower administrative levels⁽³⁴⁷⁾.

In an effort to defend the placement of coworkers on a family stela, Leprohon asserted that one could ask different acquaintances if they needed space on his own stela, which might help defray the cost of such a stela⁽³⁴⁸⁾.

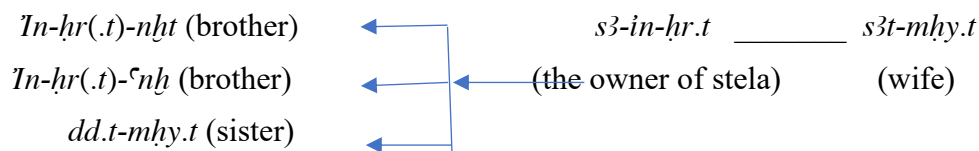
Leprohon also remarked that some Artisans who are featured on family stelae but do not appear to be related to the family may have been included because of their work on the stela or a craftsman may have agreed to lower his charge in exchange for the right to engrave his own name on the stela⁽³⁴⁹⁾.

The aim of family members' names appearing on the funerary stela was to preserve their memory alongside Osiris. Furthermore, it was more prevalent among the poorer classes because not all of them could afford to erect a stela on their own. As a result, one of them built the stela and added the names of his family members who were unable to do it on their own⁽³⁵⁰⁾.

According to the aforementioned, the current stela did not mention any further information indicating the Genealogy of its owner regarding his grandparents nor his parents.

It only provides the names of two of his brothers, a sole sister as well as the name of his spouse. Although the stela mentions other four individuals, they weren't preceded by any words through which one can identify the connection of their partenance with *s3-in-hr.t* and his family. Sa-in-heret did not mention any children for him, he might have been sterile.

The matrix below shows the relationship between the depicted figures:



The stela of *s3-in-hr(.t)* reflects some allusions of his status in the society, which appears in the lowest ranks. Such suggestion depends on the titles of the other individuals represented on the stela without his family who were butler, servant and a steward. Most probably they were Sa-in-heret's colleagues.

It is worth to note that neither *s3-in-hr.t* nor any of his known core family members held any title. As well as all the women represented on the stela did not hold any title like *nbt-pr*⁽³⁵¹⁾, which was firstly a common title for Upper-class women. Afterwards it was held by middle-class women⁽³⁵²⁾. In addition to the poor-quality depiction of, the characters depicted on the third part of the stela in terms of their features, ornaments and clothes. And the hieroglyphic texts accompanying the last two parts of the stela. All the previously mentioned affirm that *s3-in-hr.t* and his family most probably belonged to the low class.

G. Dating and Conclusion:

- (1) Regarding the dating of this stela, Freed had listed it among a set of stelae that she recognized as "workshop 10"⁽³⁵³⁾. Some of these stelae were dated to the reign of Amenemhat II⁽³⁵⁴⁾. Such classification made Ilin-Tomich lately, depending on other products of the workshop, suggest dating the stela approximately to the reign of Amenemhat II⁽³⁵⁵⁾.

The stela bears some iconographical, orthographical and paleographical features that points out to the Twelfth Dynasty in general as: The usage of the sunk relief, the presence of a blank upper edge lunettes free from inscriptions or images, the arrangement of the *hṭp-di-nsw* formula in which the uniliteral sign (*t*) was centered above the trilateral sign of (*hṭp*) following the trilateral sign of (*nsw*), the writing of *ihw* and *3pdw* in the offering formula, the epithet *tpy ḏw.f* of Anubis, the writing of *ḥnh.ti nṯr im* and the personal names were well known during the Twelfth Dynasty. On the other hand, some orthographical and paleographical features reduces that wide dating to a particular one extends from the early of the Twelfth Dynasty to the end of the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty as: the writing of god Osiris with the god determinative, the usage of a vertical stroke below the city determinative in the word *3bdw*, the writing of *pṛt-ḥrw* without *ḏi.f* preceding it and the appearance of the god Anubis after the epithet *im3hy ḥr*.

The stela as well bears features which are known under the reigns of late Amenemhat I and Senwesret I only as: the short and natural hair, the interior details of the wigs were incised and the appearance of a kind of wig with its vertical rows of individual curls.

It also possesses other features which are familiar under Senwesret I and very rare after his reign as: the appearance of provisions⁽³⁵⁶⁾ and the writing of *Ddw* with the city determinative. Some other features are not known later than the reign of Amenemhat II as: the deceased is not wearing either bracelets or anklets, the knee-length kilt, the (v) neck dress, the presence of a woman holding a lotus flowers. The sequence of Osiris's epithets: *nb Ddw*, *nṯr ʿ3* and *nb 3bdw*,

the writing of  and the usage of *n k3 n + im3hy*.

Finally, some other features pointed out to the period extending from Senwesret I to Amenemhat II as: the rounded-top stela, the posture of a woman putting her hand on her husband's shoulder, the appearance of a woman holding a lotus flower, the deceased is not

wearing bracelets or anklets, the sequence of Osiris's epithets, the writing of  and the usage of *n k3 n + im3hy*.

The stela reflects two features known only from the late reign of Senwesret I to Amenemhat II which are the knee-length kilt and the (v) neck dress of the women.

According to the previous, the Author tends to date this stela from late Senwesret I through Amenemhat II.

- (2) *s3-in-ḥr.t* was a low ranking official as reflected from:
 - a. The absence of any titles for him and all of his family members on the current stela and on the stela (CMT 1527) which related to the same family.
 - b. The absence of the title *nbt pr* before the women's names which was a middle-class title at that time.
 - c. The poor quality of clothes worn by his family members particularly the kilt and the absence of any kind of wigs for them.
 - d. The lowest titles of the individuals depicted on the stela outside his family.
- (3) The style of the stela as well as the name of the stela's owner and the names of his family members in addition to the discovery of this stela in his tomb in the north necropolis of Abydos may suggest that they were Abydene Residents.
- (4) The title *imy-r pr* was the highest administrative (official) title mentioned on the stela.
- (5) Nakht-Sobek might had been a civil official in a private estate as well as executing funerary rituals for his master as reflected from his title, appearance and attitude.

- (6) Nakht-Sobek might have been a close friend to the family of *s3-in-hr.t* or his immediate superior thus relationship may have reflected his depiction and his wife in the same level with *s3-in-hr.t*'s brothers and sister.
- (7) Hepy and Intef most probably were colleagues for *s3-in-hr.t*.
- (8) Sa-in-heret allowed Hepy and Intef to inscribe their names and titles on his stela to defray the cost of such a stela and their inability to erect a stela for themselves.
- (9) Both Hepy and Intef were most probably officials (servants) in the private estate whom the "*imy-r pr nht-sbk*" was responsible for. Hepy was a servant on the estate and Intef was preparing, providing and bringing the food and serving it to his lord.
- (10) No children for Sa-in-heret are depicted on the stela, consequently he might be sterile.

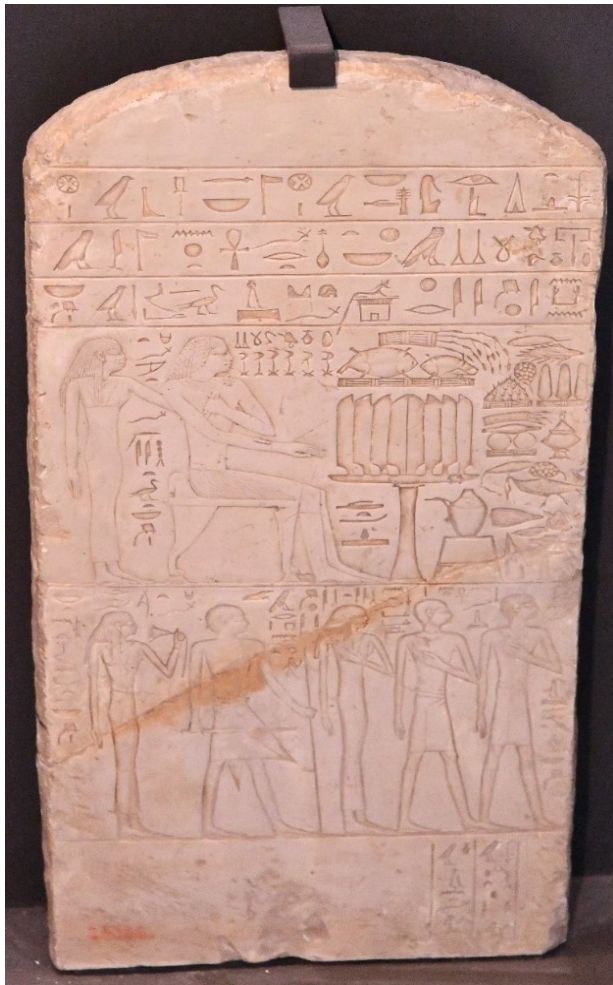


Fig. 1. Stela of Sa-in-heret (GEM 19860)
(photo: Ahmed Hamdy Abdelmoniem)

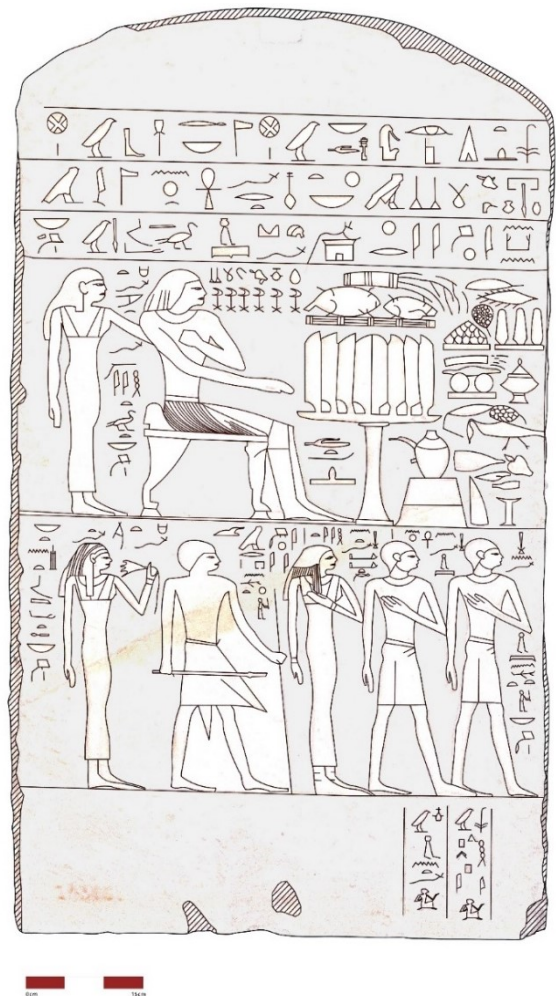


Fig. 2. Stela of Sa-in-heret (GEM 19860)
(drawing: Ahmed Hamdy Abdelmoniem)

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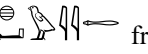
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