



## A RAMESSIDE STELA OF THE CHANTRESS TJAUTY- NEDJEM FROM HELIOPOLIS

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### ABSTRACT

### الملخص

This article is devoted to the study and publication of the funerary stela of the female singer *tjwty- ndm*, which was discovered in 2008 in Heliopolis near the tomb of Panehsi. It is currently preserved in Arab El-Hisn magazine at El-Matariya under the registration No. 4008. There are no traces of colours on the stela, despite it being in good state of preservation; As some details in the figures have not been executed, it is considered to be unfinished. The decoration of the stela is composed of two registers separated by a horizontal line; it shows the owner of the stela Tjauty- nedjem and other individuals worshipping the gods Osiris and *Mr-Wr* who were worshipped in Heliopolis mostly. It dates to the Ramesside period.

خصصت هذه المقالة لدراسة ونشر لوحة جنازية للمغنية تشاوتى-نجم ، والتي تم اكتشافها في عام 2008 في هليوبوليس بالقرب من مقبرة بانحسي، وهي محفوظة حاليًا في مخزن عرب الحصن في المطرية تحت رقم سجل 4008. لا توجد على اللوحة أي آثار للألوان، وبالرغم من كونها في حالة جيدة من الحفظ إلا أن بعض التفاصيل من المناظر المنقوشة لم يتم تنفيذها، ولذا فهي تُعتبر غير مكتملة، تتكون نقوش اللوحة من صفتين يفصلهما خط أفقي، وتظهر صاحبة اللوحة تشاوتى-نجم وأفراد آخرون يتعبدون للآلهة أوزير ومر ور اللذين كانا يقدسان بصفة رئيسية في هليوبوليس. يعود تاريخ اللوحة إلى عصر الرعامسة.

### KEYWORDS

### الكلمات الدالة

لوحة؛ عصر الرعامسة؛ مغنية؛ هليوبوليس؛ Stela; Ramesside Period; A female Singer; Heliopolis; Tjauty- nedjem.

تشاوتى-نجم.

### INTRODUCTION

The stela was discovered by an Egyptian mission led by Mr. Wahid Al. Arkan from the ministry of Tourism and Antiquities in the area of Ain Shames, which used to be a part of the vast cemetery of Heliopolis. This stela and another one had been reused during the Late Period in the platform of a mud brick tomb, located near the tomb of Panhsi.

## DESCRIPTION:

This stela is made of limestone with measures 52 cm in height, 38 cm width and 8 cm thickness. It is an example of funerary stelae, with a semicircular top connected to the body of the stela without any dividing line. It is a prominent stylistic feature of the stelae of the New Kingdom<sup>1</sup>. This differs from the design of the stelae of Middle Kingdom<sup>2</sup> and the Second Intermediate Period<sup>3</sup>, the upper edge being separated from the body of the stela by a dividing line. From the ancient Egyptian perspective, this rounded edge may have resembled the sun's inclined path through the sky<sup>4</sup>.

## THE UPPER REGISTER:

Incised in sunken relief on the far left of the upper register, the god Osiris is standing on the Maat base. He is in a mummy form with a long strap in the back, also wearing the Atef-crown, a wide collar, and a false beard. In his right hand, he holds the *h̄k̄3* scepter and the *nh̄3h̄3* flagellum in his left hand. In front of him, there are four smaller figures of the sons of Horus<sup>a</sup> in a mummy form with animal heads except for *Imsty*. He is the first figure who has a human head while standing on the lotus flower and looking towards the owner of the stela. In front of Osiris there is a hieroglyphic



column incised in sunken relief. It reads as It It reads as follows: → *Wsir Wnn- nfr<sup>b</sup> nb t3 dsr<sup>c</sup>* (Osiris Onnuphris the lord of the necropolis) sic

Incised in sunken relief are two women and a man who are depicted standing in front of Osiris. There is a stand between them and Osiris, above which is a *nmst* jar<sup>d</sup> covered with a lid, shaped as a falcon head. This jar is surrounded by small horizontal lines<sup>c</sup>. The stand also has on both sides two lettuces<sup>5</sup>. The first woman, who is the owner of the stela, is standing, depicted with incomplete facial features. She wears a tight long and transparent garment<sup>f</sup>, covered with a loose gown with a sleeve veiling her left shoulder and reaching her elbow. In addition, this woman wears a short wig topped with a perfume cone<sup>g</sup> and a lotus flower. She holds in her left hand a crooked

<sup>1</sup> Bosticco, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze, Le Stele Egiziane del Nuovo Regno*, Roma, 1965, Tafel .1, 4-8; El – Banna, *JEA* 76, (1990), p. 175, pl. XVI; Müller – Wollermann, “Der Mythos Vom Ritus (Erschlagen der Feinde)”, *GM* 105, (1988), 69; Hermann, *Die Stelen der Thebanischen Felsgräber der 18 Dynastie*, 36, Abb. 4.

<sup>2</sup> CGC. 20240, CGC. 20445, CGC. 20537, CGC. 20556; Lange, (H.O.) ed., *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo*, Vol. IV, Berlin, 1902; Tomich, *GM* 234, (2012), figs. 4,7, 9; Abdalaal, “Three Unpublished Stelae from the Egyptian Museum, Cairo”, in: Zahi A. Hawass (ed.), *The Realm of The Pharaohs*, Essays in Honor of Tohfa Handoussa, Cahier No. 37, Vol. 1, Le Caire, (2008), 46.

<sup>3</sup> Marée, *Egyptian Stelae in The British Museum from The 13<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasties*, Vol. 1, pls. 5-47.

<sup>4</sup> Westendorf, *Ägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn*, 22, 75f; Hölzl, *Die Giebfelddekoration von Stelen des Mittleren Reichs*, in: *Beiträge zur Ägyptologie*, Vol. 10, 10; Atallah, “Eine Stele aus dem Mittleren Reich im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo” in: *Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de L’Égypte*, Cahier No. 34, Vol. 1, 151.

<sup>5</sup> Farouk, *ASAE* 80, (2006), 199, taf. pl. 1.

sistrum to indicate her priestly function, and raises her right hand in adoring attitude. Above her head two hieroglyphic columns are incised in sunken relief. They read as follows: ←



šm<sup>h</sup>yt<sup>h</sup> nb(t) htpt<sup>i</sup> tjwty- ndm<sup>j</sup> (chantress of Nebet-Hetepet Tjauty- nedjem)

The stela shows another woman standing behind the first, also with incomplete facial features. She wears a similar garment, a long wig of which only one side depicted which is crowned with a perfume cone and a lotus flower. She is raising her hands in a worshipping posture. Above her head, hieroglyphic column is incised in sunken relief. It reads: ←



Hwt- Hry m<sup>3c</sup>(t) - hrw (Hathory justified)

At the right end of the upper register, a shaved-headed man with incomplete facial features is standing. He wears a long kilt extending from the waist to the middle of his leg and he raises his hands in a worshipping attitude. Two hieroglyphic columns are inscribed in sunken relief in front of his head. They read as follows: ←



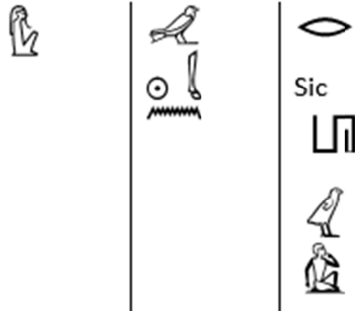
kn -wr m<sup>3c</sup>-hrw (Qen-Wer justified)

### THE LOWER REGISTER

The sacred bull *Mr - Wr*<sup>k</sup> is depicted in sunken relief at the far left of this register standing on a rectangular pedestal that lies on a sledge. There is an object in front of him that may be a lotus flower. The bull appears huge, with exaggerated penis and testicles. Between its horns is the sun disk, and there is a fan<sup>1</sup> upon its back. Similar scenes of this sacred bull are depicted on stelae dating to the Ramesside Period<sup>1</sup> such

<sup>1</sup> Zayid, *Trois Études d'Égyptologie*, 33, fig.16.

as the stela of *Hr-Min* currently in the Louvre Museum (C 292) from Heliopolis<sup>1</sup> and the stela of *p3-sr* recently kept in the magazine of El-Matariya (No. 3644)<sup>2</sup>. Above the head of the bull, three columns of sunken hieroglyphs: read as follows: →

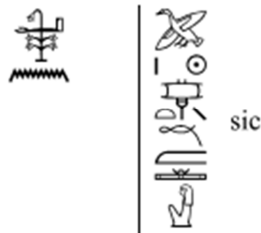


*Mr – wr Whm n R<sup>c</sup> m* (Mer-Wer the herald of Ra)

Before the head of the bull, there are two hieroglyphic symbols



In front of the bull stands the owner of the stela *t3wty- ndm*, who appears in the same posture as in the upper register, with the same unfinished facial features. Two columns of hieroglyphs above her head written in sunken relief read as follows: ←



*šm<sup>c</sup>y(t) n(t) P3-R<sup>c</sup> n t3wty- ndm* (the chantress of Pa-Ra Tjauty-nedjem)

Behind this woman, another female is raising her hands in an adoration, also with unfinished facial features and feet. She is wearing the same garment as the first woman and a tripartite wig topped by a perfume cone and lotus flower. Only the side and back parts of the wig are visible. This type of wig was widely worn during the New Kingdom<sup>3</sup>. Above the woman's head, two columns of hieroglyphs: read as follows: ←

<sup>1</sup> Desroches-Noblecourt, *Un Siècle de Fouilles Françaises en Égypte*, 268f, fig. 284; KRI. VII, 125(15).

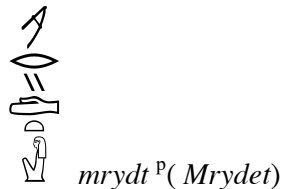
<sup>2</sup> Ali, “Three Stelae from Ain-Shams”, in *The Horizon Studies in Egyptology in Honour of M. A. Nur El- Din*, Vol. III, 65, pl. 1, Fig.1.

<sup>3</sup>Robins, *JARCE* 36, (1999), 63ff.



ꜥnt šdt .s<sup>5</sup> ( Anat Shedet –s)

A small girl with incomplete facial features and a naked body, except for a band around the waist, is seen at the far right of this register, probably a maid. She holds lotus flowers in her right hand while raising her left one in adoration. Incised above her head is a column of hieroglyphs.



## COMMENTS

- a- The funerary tasks of the four sons of Horus in protecting the deceased is referred to in (Pyr. 552, 1333, 1334, 1983, 1984, 2078, 2079)<sup>1</sup>, (CT.VI, 110, 115)<sup>2</sup> and (BD 17 and 137 A)<sup>3</sup>.

The occurrence of the four sons of Horus on the walls of tombs and on funerary stelae while standing on a blue lotus flower, whose roots grow either from the base of Osiris' throne or from the feet of Osiris, began in the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty. This is clearly represented on the walls of the tomb of Maya in Memphis and that of Neferhotep (TT 49) in Thebes<sup>4</sup>. This scene continued in the following periods, especially in the Ramesside Period as seen on the walls of TT 277 in Thebes<sup>5</sup>, on stela of *Nb-Imn* in the Cairo Egyptian Museum TR 5/7/24/10 (SR 11859)<sup>6</sup>, and the stela which was found near the tomb of Hori at Tell Basta<sup>7</sup>. The scene of the four sons of Horus was widely represented on funerary stelae, on which the deceased worships Osiris; it is likely that these all date to the Ramesside Period<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 109, 210, 286, 296f.

<sup>2</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 149f; Servajean, (Frédéric), “ Le Louts emergant et les Quatre Fils d' Horus, 268.

<sup>3</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 47, 128.

<sup>4</sup> Martin, *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis*, 171, fig. 109; Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-Hotep at Thebes*, pl. XXX; Koemoth, “ Les Quatre Fils d' Horus sur le Pavois ou sur Le Lotus de L' Image au Rituel”, *OLA* 191, Leuven, (2009), 381.

<sup>5</sup> Vandier d' Abbadie, “Deux Tombes Ramessides à Gournet – Mourrai”, pl. XXI; Hornung, *The Valley of the Kings, Horizon of Eternity*, fig. 87.

<sup>6</sup> Radwan, Darstellungen der Aufgehenden Sonne auf Einigen Stelen der Ramessidenzeit”, in : Westendorf, W., *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, 824, taf. 3 (3a).

<sup>7</sup> Habachi, Tell Basta, 101, pl. XXXVIII A.

<sup>8</sup> Hodjash, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts*, Moscow, Leningard, 1982, 141f, fig. 83; Radwan, *ASAE* 71, (1987), 224, pl. III; Moursi, *GM* 105, (1988), 59 - 61, pls. I, II.

By closely examining scenes of the four sons of Horus on the lotus flower in front of Osiris, it appears that their heads do not display a consistent direction, sometimes facing the deceased who is worshipping Osiris, like the scene depicted on the walls of the tomb of Amunmes (TT 373) in Thebes<sup>1</sup> and stela of *Pth-m-wi3* in the British Museum (No.167) from the Nineteenth Dynasty<sup>2</sup>, as well as the stela presented in this study. In other examples, they look towards Osiris, in tomb of Neferhotep (TT 257) in Thebes<sup>3</sup> from the Ramesside Period. This motif is frequently shown on stelae dating to the Ramesside Period.

It is possible that the deceased selected to have the four sons of Horus on the lotus flower in front of Osiris depicted to express the desire to be resurrected, given that ancient Egyptians believed that the blue lotus flower was a symbol of the resurrection. In accordance with Hermopolitan cosmogony, the child god Ra, who created all the gods and creatures, emerged from the lotus flower<sup>4</sup>. This is also affirmed in the Papyrus of Ani of the Nineteenth Dynasty where Ani's head is depicted emerging from the lotus flower as a symbol of resurrection<sup>5</sup>.

- b- The title *wnn nfr*, associated with Osiris, dates to the Middle Kingdom<sup>6</sup>, as seen in the *hṯp-dī-nsw* formula on a stela in the Cairo Egyptian Museum (CGC 20578)<sup>7</sup>. This title continues to be seen archaeological sources from the New Kingdom onwards. It is mentioned in the second hour of the Amduat Book<sup>8</sup>, and on the walls of the temple of Seti I in Abydos<sup>9</sup>. It also appears on many funerary stelae dating to the New Kingdom, such as the stela in the Cairo Egyptian Museum TR 10/6/24/8 (SR. 11732) from the Eighteenth Dynasty<sup>10</sup> and the Ramesside stela 1330 stored in Giza main magazine<sup>11</sup>. Many funerary stelae dating to the Late Period, such as that of Horwadja in the Cairo Egyptian Museum J E 41332<sup>12</sup>, show such title.
- c- The epithet *nb t3 dsr*, was associated with a number of deities of the West, the necropolis, and the death like Webwawet<sup>13</sup>, Osiris<sup>14</sup>, and Ptah-Soker-Osiris<sup>15</sup>.
- d- The contents *nmst* jar varied between cold water, milk, beer, or perfumes<sup>1</sup>. It was also used as a purification jar during funerary rituals, as cited in Spell

<sup>1</sup> Seyfried, *Das Grab des Amonmose (TT 373)*, 122, fig. 151; Hassan, *La Tombe du Prince Khaemouaset (V dR no. 44)*, 78f, pl. LXXV.

<sup>2</sup> James, *The British Museum*, Vol. 9, 29, pl. XXV.

<sup>3</sup> Mostafa, *Das Grab des Neferhotep und des Meh (TT 257)*, 23, fig. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Bonnet, *Reallexikon der Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, 509; Pischikova, (E. V.), *JARCE* 31, (1994), p. 70; Hart, *The Routledge Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses*, 134.

<sup>5</sup> Spell 81 A; Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 79. For more information about the four sons of Horus See: Abd El Sattar, *SHEDET*. 5, (2018), 24-29; Hornung, *The Egyptian Book of Gates*, 372 f, 377-379; Dodson "Four Sons of Horus", *OEA* 1 562; Teeter, *Religion and Ritual in Ancient Egypt*, 139; Koefoed – Petersen, *Catalogue des Sarcophages et Cercueils Égyptiens*, pl. XXXI(6); Manniche, *Lost Ramessid and Post – Ramessid Private Tombs in the Theban Necropolis*, 22f, figs. 8, 9; Feucht, *Das Grab des Nefersecheru (TT296)*, pl. X (6); Scalf, F., *Book of The Dead, Becoming God in Ancient Egypt*, 164, fig. 14.4.

<sup>6</sup> LGG II, 541. LGG II, 541.

<sup>7</sup> Lange, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo*, Vol. II, 218.

<sup>8</sup> Hornung, *The Egyptian Amduat, The Book of Hidden Chambers*, 63.

<sup>9</sup> Calverley, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, Vol. 1, pl. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Assem, *MDAIK* 62, (2006), 63, 65f, pl. 15.

<sup>11</sup> El-Saady, *ZAS* 122, (1995), 101, 103, fig. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Selim, *SAK* 28, (2000), 244, taf. 12.

<sup>13</sup> KRI 1, 332 (13); Abdalaal, *MDAIK* 62, (2006), 4.

<sup>14</sup> Habachi, *Tell Basta*, 101 f, pl. XXXVIII A.

<sup>15</sup> Davies, *Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah*, 6. pl. III.

- 1180 of the Pyramid texts<sup>2</sup>. A similar falcon-headed *nmst* jar shown on this stela is represented on the walls of the temple of Ramesses II in Abydos<sup>3</sup>.
- e- Small horizontal lines are depicted around the jar, perhaps referring to the sweet scents from the essential oils contained in the jar spreading, as these oils are invisible. These lines may also imply the shining metal of the jar, such as gold, as is the case on the stela in the current study. This was repeated on many stelae<sup>4</sup>, as depicted on the stela of Houy from the Ramesside period<sup>5</sup>.
  - f- The fashion of the garment of the women was popular in the Ramesside period as shown on the walls of tombs and on stelae dating to this era<sup>6</sup>. Among others, the stela of Thoth, in the Leiden National Museum (V 51), and the stela 593 in Zagreb museum of Egyptian archaeology, Yugoslavia<sup>7</sup>.
  - g- The unguent cone appeared, as an artistic element, above men's and women's wigs in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Subsequently it was widely worn by women, occasionally with a lotus flower attached to it, during the Nineteenth Dynasty<sup>8</sup>, as shown on the stela of Houy in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (JE 36853)<sup>9</sup>, the Ramesside stela of *Twnn-nhb-Hnsw* in the British Museum (No. 700)<sup>10</sup>. This cone was used to moisten the hair<sup>11</sup>.
  - h- The title *šm<sup>c</sup>yt* means a female singer<sup>12</sup>. It appears with this form *šm<sup>c</sup>w* only once in the Old Kingdom tomb of Deja in Deir El Gebrawi in Assyut<sup>13</sup>.

This title becomes more common from the Middle Kingdom, since there are several *šm<sup>c</sup>yt* and *šm<sup>c</sup>* mentioned on statues and stelae dating to this era<sup>14</sup>. This title was also used in its feminine form *šm<sup>c</sup>yt* from the New Kingdom onwards<sup>15</sup>, as seen on the aforementioned stela of Thoth dating to the early Nineteenth Dynasty<sup>16</sup>

- i- Regarding to the title's association with the goddess Nebet-Hetepet as referred to in the texts of this stela, it is worth noting that Suzanne Onstine, in her study of the role of the chantress '*šm<sup>c</sup>yt*' in ancient Egypt, recorded 929 cases of the

<sup>1</sup> Kees, (H.), *Der Götterglaube im Alten Ägypten*, 264f; Tawfik, *MDAIK* 35, (1979), 343.

<sup>2</sup> Pyr.1180; Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 190.

<sup>3</sup> Iskander, *The Temple of Ramesses II in Abydos*, Vol. 1, 350, pl. 4.5.11.

<sup>4</sup> Demarée, *The 3h ikr n Rc-stelae: on Ancestor worship in Ancient Egypt*, pl. II (ca 1 / 4).

<sup>5</sup> Valbelle, *BIFAO* 75, 1975, 139, pl. XIX.

<sup>6</sup> Staehelin, "Tracht", *LÄ* VI, Col. 730; Leblanc, *Ta Set Neferou une Necropole de Thebes – Ouest et Son Histoire I*, pl. CLXIV a; Green, "Clothing and Personal Adornment", *OEAE* II, 277; Bierbrier, (M. L.), *The British Museum*, Vol. 12, 19, pl. 61, (349).

<sup>7</sup> Saleh, *Les Antiquités Égyptiennes de Zagreb*, 35, fig. 17.

<sup>8</sup> Demarée, *The 3h ikr n Rc-stelae*, pls. IV, V, VII, X, XI, XII; Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire, in Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, Nos 34001-34189, pls. XLVII (34097), -LV (34133) (usually CG 34097); Mostafa, *Das Grab des Neferhotep und des Meh*, 30, Fig. 8; Tosi, *Stele Ealtre Epigrafi di Deir El Medina*, Vol. 1, 105 (No. 50069); Green, "Hairstyles", *OEAE* II 73.

<sup>9</sup> Radwan, "Six Ramesside Stelae in the Popular Pyramidion – Form", 225, pl. IV.

<sup>10</sup> Bierbrier, *The British Museum*, Vol. 12, pl. 71, no.700.

<sup>11</sup> Cherpion, *BIFAO* 94, (1994), 79, 81; Muhammed., *ASAE* LIX, (1966), 175.

<sup>12</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 266; *Wb.* IV, 479 (8).

<sup>13</sup> Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrawi*, Vol. II, 8, pl. VII.

<sup>14</sup> Moussa, *MDAIK* 31, (1975), 93, 94, Abb. 1; Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, 175 (nos. 1515, 1516); *Wb.* IV, p. 479(8); Stefanović, *GM* 220, (2009), 96; Lange, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo*. Vol. I, 167f (CG no 20142).

<sup>15</sup> Naguib, *Le Clergé Féminin d' Amon Thébain à La 21 Dynastie*, 236; Onstine, *The Role of the Chantress (šm<sup>c</sup>yt) in Ancient Egypt*, 71, 80, 82f.

<sup>16</sup> Affara, "A New Kingdom Stela in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden", 151, fig.1.





No. 10689 in the British Museum, which dates to the reign of Ramesses II, contains a text about the assistance of *Mr – Wr* who resides in Heliopolis in the purification of the deceased<sup>1</sup>.

Manetho has claimed that this bull had been worshiped before the Middle Kingdom<sup>2</sup>. The worship of the *Mr – Wr* bull spread widely from the reign of Thutmose III<sup>3</sup>. The *Mr – Wr* bull held many titles similar to those of Osiris. He also assumed the title *Wsir Mr- Wr* as a dead bull after death. This title is inscribed on the Heart Scarab of the mummy of the *Mr- Wr* bull found in Heliopolis, preserved in The Toledo Museum of Art in USA<sup>4</sup>. Furthermore, this title attached to the *Mr – Wr* bull is inscribed on statues and canopic jars dating to the Ramesside Period<sup>5</sup>. It was also given the title *Wnn nfr* from the New Kingdom<sup>6</sup>, which is already one of Osiris's titles<sup>7</sup>. It is mentioned on stelae, such as the Egyptian Museum (TR 2/2/21/1) from the reign of Ramesses II<sup>8</sup>, and on the walls of the *Mr – Wr* tomb in Arab Al Tawil in Heliopolis from the reign of Ramesses VII<sup>9</sup>.

- l- The fan is used as an attribute for the bull-god, as depicted on the stela of *p3-sr*, which dates to Ramesside period<sup>10</sup>, the stela 1327 stored in Giza main magazine from the same period<sup>11</sup>, and the presently studied one.
- m- The title *wḥm n Rꜥ* was held by the *Mr – Wr* bull<sup>12</sup> during the Eighteenth Dynasty, and it means the herald of Ra who acquainted his desires and decisions<sup>13</sup>. It is probable that the bull held such a title due to being one of the deities of Heliopolis, which was the center of the worship of Ra. This title continued to be associated with the *Mr – Wr* bull until the Greco-Roman period<sup>14</sup>.

Such association between the title *wḥm n Rꜥ* and the *Mr – Wr* bull; appears on numerous sources, including statues dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty<sup>15</sup>. It was also common on many stelae of the Ramesside Period<sup>16</sup>. For instance; a stela dating to the 26<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of Ramesses II in the Cairo Egyptian Museum (TR 2/2/21/1)<sup>17</sup>, the stela of *Hr-Min* (Louvre Museum C 292)<sup>18</sup>, and

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, Vol. 1, 78, 112, Pl. 60.

<sup>2</sup> KaKosy, "Mnevis", *LA IV*, Col. 165.

<sup>3</sup> Dodson, "Bull Cults", in: Salima Ikram (ed.), *Divine Creatures, Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt*, 92.

<sup>4</sup> Spiegelberg, *JEA* 14, no. 1/2, (1928), 12, fig. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Dodson, "The Canopic Equipment from the Serapeum of Memphis", in: Anthony Leahy & John Tait, Tait, *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith*, 65; Touraëff, *JEA* 4, no. 2/3, (1917), 120, pls . XXIII, XXV.

<sup>6</sup> *LGG III*, 329.

<sup>7</sup> Lurker, *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, 93.

<sup>8</sup> KRI II, 363(15).

<sup>9</sup> Daressy, "La Tombe du Mnévis de Ramsès VII", 215.

<sup>10</sup> Ali, "Three Stelae from Ain-Shams", 65f, pl.1, fig.1.

<sup>11</sup> El-Saady, "Two Heliopolitan Stelae of the New Kingdom", 101, 103, fig. 1.

<sup>12</sup> And other Egyptian deities: *LGG II*, 523.

<sup>13</sup> *Wb.1*, 344(15); Bell, *Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, 10; Sabbahy, "The Mnevis Bull at Horizon of the Disc", in *Amarna Letters* 4, 37.

<sup>14</sup> *LGG II*, 523.

<sup>15</sup> *Urk. IV*, 1372(15).





















<sup>16</sup> Desroches- Noblecourt, ed., *Un Siècle de Fouilles Françaises en Égypte*, pp. 268f, fig. 284; Petersen, O. K., *Les Stèles Égyptiennes*, 34, taf. 41; Moursi, *SAK. 14*, (1987), 225f, 228, 233, 235, 237, Abbs. 1, 2, 4, 5.

<sup>17</sup> KRI II, 363(12).

<sup>18</sup> KRI VII, 125(15).

- the stela of *Tḥ-ms* (Berlin Museum No. 14200), which was found in Heliopolis<sup>1</sup>.
- n- The title of *šmꜣyt*, which is associated with the deity *P3 – Rꜥ*<sup>2</sup>, appears on many many stelae dating to the Nineteenth Dynasty, among these that of *Rꜥ-ms* (British Museum No. 139)<sup>3</sup> and the stela of Maya (Egyptian Museum in Cairo TR 14/10/69/1)<sup>4</sup>. It is also depicted on stelae dating to the Twentieth Dynasty such as the stela of Amun-em-wia (British Museum No. 1183)<sup>5</sup>. It is to be noted that the owner of this stela holds two titles, namely *šmꜣy (t) n(t) p3 Rꜥ* and *šmꜣyt nb(t) ḥtpt*.
  - o- –Ranke and Schneider have not mentioned the name *ꜥnt šdt.s* despite citing other names which have, as a part of their structure, the name of the Syrian goddess *ꜥnt*, appeared in Egypt at the beginning of the New Kingdom and her worship widespread by the Ramesside period, as one of the foreign deities<sup>6</sup>.
  - p- The unique name *mrdt* is not attested in Ranke<sup>7</sup>; suggesting that it was perhaps foreign.

## PALEOGRAPHIC COMMENTS

- Osiris's name is written with the determinative  on this stela. Yet, this determinative generally appeared in the New Kingdom, as seen on a stela preserved in the Cairo Egyptian Museum (JE 33238) and dating to the time of Thutmose IV or Amenhotep III<sup>8</sup>, and another stela from the reign of Ramesses II (Cairo Egyptian Museum CGC 34517)<sup>9</sup>.
- The epithet *nb t3 dꜣsr* was always written like this  <sup>10</sup> or  <sup>11</sup>. Hence, the artist of the stela under consideration wrote this title incorrectly  as , as, unusually the sign *dꜣsr* came before the sign *t3*.
- The maat sign in the upper register is written with the reed sign instead of the feather in the word *mꜣꜥ-ḥrw*.
- Regarding to the writing of the name of the *Mr-Wr* bull, it was written in different ways including    -    -     -     <sup>12</sup>. Gardiner believes that the sign 

<sup>1</sup> Moursi, "Corpus der Mnevis – Stelen und Untersuchungen zum Kult der Mnevis – Stiere in Heliopolis Heliopolis 1", 225f, Abb. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Wb.* II, 401(8).

<sup>3</sup> KRI IV, 124f; James, *The British Museum*, Vol. 9, 24 f, pl. XX.

<sup>4</sup> KRI III, 280f; Gaballa, *BIFAO* 71, (1972), 132.

<sup>5</sup> Bierbrier, *The British Museum*, Vol. 10, 42, pl. 99.

<sup>6</sup> Ranke, *PN* I, 69,70; Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen in Ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches.*, 72f.

<sup>7</sup> Ranke, (H.), *PN* I, ??








<sup>8</sup> Abdalaal, "Three Unpublished Stelae from the Egyptian Museum, Cairo", 50-53, fig. 3; *Wb.* I, 359(5). 359(5).






<sup>9</sup> Lowle, "Two Monuments of Perynefer, a Senior Official in the Court of Ramesses II", 57, fig. 1.









<sup>10</sup> Atallah, "Eine Stele aus dem Mittleren Reich im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo", 151f; Bakry, *ASAE* LVII, (1962), 12, pl. II.

<sup>11</sup> *Wb.* II, 227(10).

<sup>12</sup> *LGG* III, 328.

or  may serve as a determinative of the word *Mr* in the structure *Mr – Wr*   , or that this may be read as the phonogram *Mr* in the same structure   <sup>1</sup>. According to what is mentioned above, and by

comparing the writing's form of the name *Mr – Wr*    on the stelae of the Ramesside Period (e.g. Cairo Egyptian Museum TR 2/2/21/1)<sup>2</sup>, it is obvious that the writer who inscribed the texts of the examined stela wrote the sign  incorrectly uniquely since it should have been written as 

- Concerning the letters  they may belong to the word *whm*, according to Leitz<sup>3</sup>, Hannig<sup>4</sup> and Lesko<sup>5</sup>. The artist had written them wrong in the line line before because there is not enough space, which is occupied by the sun disk on the head of the bull.
- The artist who inscribed the texts of the stela replaced the sign  *ndm* with  *mh* in the name of *t3wty-ndm* in the lower register, even though he already wrote the name correctly in the upper register. And the word *ndm* is mentioned in the Berlin Dictionary with the sign  not  <sup>6</sup>.
- The artist replaced the sign  with  in the name of *εnt šdt .s* where he used the sign  as a phonetic complement to *šdt* instead of the right sign *šd* as mentioned in *Wb*<sup>7</sup>.

## CONCLUSIONS

According to this presentation, it appears that the owner of the stela wanted to display a selection of deities who were related to one another, and some associated with Heliopolis where the stela was found. It is evident from her title *šm<sup>c</sup>y(t) nb(t)-ḥtpt* that the owner was a chantress of the goddess Nebet-Hetepet who was worshiped in Heliopolis<sup>8</sup>. Within the framework of the relationship among the gods Ra and Osiris, the owner of the stela chose to incarnate the superiority of Osiris which he reached during the New Kingdom, nearly equal to the rank of Ra. This is manifested in the incorporation of Osiris and Ra into a ram-headed mummy that symbolically represented the nocturnal sun. This is evident from the scenes of the tomb of Nefertari, wife of Ramesses II<sup>9</sup>. Moreover, Osiris is identical to Ra at the third hour of

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 93, Sign- List O (5).

<sup>2</sup> El - Alfi, *JEA* 58, (1972), 177, fig.2.

<sup>3</sup> *LGG* II, p. 523.

<sup>4</sup> Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen. Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, 226.

<sup>5</sup> Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, vol. 1, 109.

<sup>6</sup> *Wb*. II, p. 378(8-21).

<sup>7</sup> *Wb*. IV, pp. 560-563.

<sup>8</sup> Guglielmi, "Nebet – hetepet", Cols. 362, 363.

<sup>9</sup> Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*, 120, 122; Assem, "Stela of Amenemnet (TN. 10/6/24/8)", 66.

of the Book of the Gates<sup>1</sup>, in which it is stated that Osiris rests in Ra and Ra rests in Osiris. It is also mentioned in chapter 182 of the Book of the Dead<sup>2</sup> as well as the texts inscribed on one of the chapels of Tutankhamun<sup>3</sup>.

The artist of the stela expressed the identification of Ra to Osiris on this stela is expressed through the depiction of Osiris as the god of the underworld and the popular god amongst most of the population during the New Kingdom<sup>4</sup>, and through the representation of the symbols of Ra in the form of the *Mr- Wr* bull which was considered Ra's herald<sup>5</sup>. The *Mr- Wr* bull was associated with Ra by means of the fore mentioned title and the representation of the sun disk between its horns as being one of the deities of Heliopolis which was the main cult center of Ra<sup>6</sup>. Just as the *Mr- Wr* bull was associated with Ra, it was also connected to Osiris since it held the title "Osiris" when it died<sup>7</sup>, as well as holding one of Osiris's titles, namely *Wnn nfr*<sup>8</sup>. Within the same concept, the artist included the four sons of Horus as they are related to both Osiris and Ra. They guarded the mummy of Osiris in chapters 17 and 137 A of the Book of the Dead<sup>9</sup>. They also fought against the serpent Apep and its allies who were the enemies of Ra according to the Books of the Gates and in the Amduat on the walls of the tomb Ramesses VI<sup>10</sup>.

All the deities represented on the stela are linked with Heliopolis. Osiris is a member of the Ennead of Heliopolis; he is the son of Geb and Nut according to the Pyramid Texts<sup>11</sup>. His relationship with Heliopolis is further reinforced by the discovery of a stela currently preserved in the magazine of El-Matariya dating to the Ramesside Period; it contains the phrase *Wsir hrj – ib Twnw* (i.e. Osiris who resides in Heliopolis)<sup>12</sup>. Concerning the god *Mr – Wr*, he was worshiped at Heliopolis where two Ramesside tombs were discovered<sup>13</sup>. As for the relationship of the four sons of Horus with Heliopolis, this may be attributed to their connection with the Osiris myth, which took place in the Delta marshes<sup>14</sup>.

Despite of the artist's ingenuity in depicting the deities of the stela under discussion he lacked expertise in his writing skills. This is manifest in the many errors detected in the text of the stela. Furthermore, the titles and personal names are briefly mentioned, without any reference to the relationship between the figures depicted on the stela. As a result, it is unknown; whether they descended from the same family. But as it was

<sup>1</sup> LGG V, 784.

<sup>2</sup> Spell 182; Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, p. 181; Hart, *The Routledge Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses*, 134.

<sup>3</sup> Piankoff, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon*, 65. pl. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom*, 108.

<sup>5</sup> Bargaet, *Le Livre des Morts des Anciens Egyptiens*, 136; Bell, *Cults and Creeds in Graeco- Roman Egypt*, 10.

<sup>6</sup> El - Alfi, "Recherches Sur Quelques Scarabées de Ramsès II", 177, fig. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Spiegelberg, "A Heart Scarab of the Mnevis Bull", 12, pl. IV (2).

<sup>8</sup> Lurker, *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, 93.

<sup>9</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of The Dead*, 47, 128.

<sup>10</sup> Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, vol. 1, 203f, 270, pls. 58, 59, 89, figs. 62, 63, 80.

<sup>11</sup> Griffiths, "Osiris", *LA* IV, Col. 625; Pyr. 1655; Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 247; Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten*, 264.

<sup>12</sup> Alfi, "Three Stelae from Ain-Shams", 68f, pl. III, fig. III.

<sup>13</sup> Daressy, (M.G.), "La Tombe d' un Mnévis de Ramsès II", p. 196; id., "La Tombe d' un Mnévis de Ramsès VI", p. 211.

<sup>14</sup> Servajean, "Le Lotus émergeant et les Quatre Fils d' Horus. 264.

customary for ancient Egyptians to depict their family on their own stelae, it is possible that all the figures depicted on the stela are members of the family of *t3wtyn-dm*.

## CHRONOLOGY

This stela most likely dates to the New Kingdom, and specifically to the Ramesside period.

The following evidences supports this dating:

- The lack of dividing line between the upper curved edge and the body of the stela is considered as a feature of stelae of the New Kingdom.
- The worship of Osiris was a motif commonly represented on stelae of the Ramesside Period.
- The four sons of Horus were first depicted above a lotus flower placed in front of Osiris on stelae of the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and this depiction became popular on stelae of the Nineteenth Dynasty.
- The garments of the women depicted on the stela of the study show the fashion of the Nineteenth Dynasty, especially the sleeves, which reach the elbows.
- The perfume cone with the lotus flower attached to it, above the women's wig is prevalent in scenes of the New Kingdom, and the Nineteenth Dynasty in particular.
- The *Mr- Wr* bull was first depicted in scenes of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and it was widely represented on stelae of the Ramesside Period.
- The writing of Osiris's name with the determinative shown on the stela under consideration was common in the New Kingdom.
- The title *Wḥm n R<sup>c</sup>* "Herald of Ra" was first associated to the *Mr- Wr* bull in the Eighteenth Dynasty.
- The title *šm<sup>c</sup>y(t) n(t) P3 R<sup>c</sup>* was commonly found on stelae of the Ramesside Period.
- The presence of the name of the foreign goddess *ḥnt* within the structure of personal names was common in the New Kingdom, and the Nineteenth Dynasty in particular.

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Pl.1 stela of *t3wty- ndm* (in Arab El-Hesn magazine at El-Mataria under registration No. 4008). Photo by Marion Wenzel



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