

An Upper Egyptian Stela

An upper Egyptian stela from the Middle kingdom

Dr. El-Azab Hassan *

Inventory number: Cairo Museum, GGC 20144 ⁽¹⁾.

Bibliography:

H.O. Lange, H. Schäfer, CGCV, VII, Grab-und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs, Berlin, 1902, p. 169-170, Taf. 13; A. Mariette, Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville, Paris, 1880, p. 372, Nr. 1044; J. Lieblein, Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques, vol. II, Leipzig, 1892, p. 717, Nr. 1847; Cat. Masp. Nr. 177; Malaise, SAK 9, 1981, p. 264; Fischer, JNES 16, 1957, 231 (47).

Provenance: The northern necropolis of Abydos ⁽²⁾.

Material: White Limestone.

Technical details: an inscribed stela without colour. No trace of color is visible. It is of bad or mediocre workmanship.

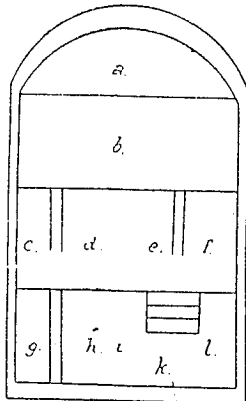
Measurements (maximum): Height: 49.5 cm, width: 30 cm.

Description (Fig.1, Pl.1):

The inscribed surface is well preserved. The motifs of round top and the figures are in bas-relief with incised hieroglyphs. Although simple in appearance and in a rather poor state of preservation, the stela, the object of this article bears some details of considerable interest concerning its paleography and artistic features.

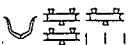
Representation and text:

This stela is divided into the rounded top of motifs, the first register of conventional funerary prayer (*htp - di - nsw*), the second and third registers of scene ^(a):

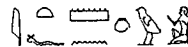


The top [a] is rounded and has the two jackals ^(b) kneeling down upon the pedestals.

Among the jackals, we find a column, which reads:

 Wp-w3wt
The jackal - god ^(c) Wepwawet ⁽³⁾

In the left corner, a vertical inscription, facing right, reads:


Tt. f⁽⁴⁾ Mnnw⁽⁵⁾
His father Menenu⁽⁴⁾

In 1st register the main inscription consists of four horizontal lines, running from right to left, of hotp-di-nesu ⁽⁶⁾ formula ^(e) [B] to Osiris, god of the west:



*htp di nsw wsir hnty imntyw ntr 3 nb 3bdw di f prt-hrw (w) t
hnkt k3w 3pdw sntr nrht ss nnhht ht nbt nfrt w^{ct}bt nht ntr im n k3 n
iry-^t n wršw ig3i-htp m³c-hrw ir(w) n nbt pr m^ct nbt im3h*

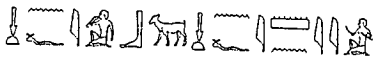
An offering, which the king gives (to) Osiris, the one who, is in front of the westerns, the great god.lord of Abydos ^(h). Ma he gives invocation ⁽⁷⁾ of bread ⁽ⁱ⁾, beer ^(j), oxen, fowl, incense, oil, alabaster, linen, and all things ood and pure ⁽⁸⁾ on which the god lives, to the spirit of Hall-keeper of the watcher of day-light Hours ^(k) Igai-hetep ⁽ⁱ⁾, justified, born of ^{lml} the mistress of the house ⁽ⁿ⁾, Mecet ^(o), mistress of the venerated state ⁽⁹⁾.

In 2nd register, below the te t, the representation is divided into two symmetrical parts of four men standing. The both arms of these men hang by their sides, with some empty hands ⁽¹⁰⁾. Every couple men are standing face to face. The couple men, and, wear a close - cropped head with plaited side-lock ⁽⁷⁾ covering the ears ⁽¹¹⁾, the other couple men, and, wear the same hair style, but without a side - lock, showing the ears ⁽¹²⁾.

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They are dressed in a short and wider kneelength kilt ^{p)} of flaring apron with belt is shown in raised relief against the sunk surface of the garment around their midsts. ⁽¹³⁾

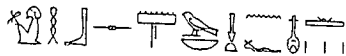
Between the man who stands on the left facing right, and the man , who stands on the right facing left , there is a column of the names of deceased brothers:



sn f ib sn flmny

His brother Ib, ⁽⁹⁾ his brother Imeny ^t

There is too a column between the couple men and :



Iry hbsw Wr-nb sn. f Nfrw

The keeper of clothing ⁽¹⁴⁾ er - neb ⁽¹⁵⁾ his brother ⁽⁸⁾ Neferu ⁽¹⁶⁾.

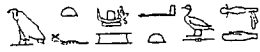
In the lower register, there is the same composition of five women. Four of them [g, h, i, j] are standing and their both arms hang by their sides with some empty hands ⁽¹⁷⁾. The woman is kneeling upon her legs, with her arms rest on the lap ⁽¹⁸⁾ The women , stand on the left, face to face, like the women , on the right , while the women [k] sits down among them , facing right.

They have a lappet long coiffure of two locks descending on the shoulder and neck; may be below their broad necklaces ⁽⁴⁾, making visible ears. ⁽¹⁹⁾

They wear a calf - length tight - fitting dress without shoulder straps ⁽²⁰⁾, unless it is with a not clear shoulder strap instead of a pair of straps, as is more usual; possibly one strap is omitted on stylistic grounds, however, to avoid confusion with the line of the long lappet of hair that falls vertically before her shoulder. ⁽²¹⁾

That is at least for the women facing right.

Between the women and , there is a vertical inscription of the names of deceased mother and her daughter:



mwt f m^ct s3t.s šd (u)

His mother Ma^cet, her daughter Shed⁽²²⁾

Above the woman , between the ladies and ; there are three horizontal lines^(v).



snt f Mr nbt pr Rtw m3⁽¹⁾ = jr w nbt pr ngt

His sister Mer⁽²³⁾, mistress of house, Retu⁽²⁴⁾, justified ;
mistress of house^(w), Denget⁽²⁵⁾.

Comments:

(a) It should be noted that the second register is for men and the third register for women of the deceased family.

(b) These jackals were usual in the stelae, which belong to the same period (Middle Kingdom) and site (Abydos). It is usual to see, in the rounded top, the two jackals, and face to face, kneeling down up on the small pedestals of the form of chapels; that of right hand who guide the sun on the ways of north, and that of left hand who guide him upon the routes of south. Then they were the two guides of the sun through the sky of south and the sky of north, namely, upon the routes which guide from the east to south, and from south to the west throughout the sides of world during the daytime, and through the valleys of the other world during the night. They were used as a guide of the deceased who accompanied the sun god. The right jackal is titled "this who presides the wrapping", the left jackal "this who is upon his mountain," and these two titles indicate the double part of the jackal god Anubis: he cares the embalmment of the mummy and receiving it in the mountain where the tomb was digging⁽²⁶⁾.

The tomb is often personated by two jackals; the Egyptians considered very early this animal as the guardian of these cemeteries where they were seeing him to go round continuously, and the god to whom the name of Wepwawet was originally

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consecrated, namely "that on who opens the roads" before the deceased, that one who guide the deceased to the roads of the other world. It is important to notice that the round - topped stelae rarely show the jackal⁽²⁷⁾.

(C) The Wepwawet shrine at Asyut: The necropolis of ancient Asyut contains the impressive rock-tombs of several of its provincial governors of the Middle Kingdom. One of these, belonging to Hapdjefi III of the 12th Dynasty, was re-used in part as a "popular" shrine of devotion to the local god Wepwawet from the New Kingdom until Saite times. From the unfinished forecourt opens a pillared portico leading into the rock - tomb itself. Along the south wall of the portico were found over 600 small votive stelae, mainly in very poor condition. Some 247 of the stelae were dedicated to Wepwawet himself. This is certainly the case with the one well-preserved, well-published stela by Brunner⁽²⁸⁾. It is the bottom register, which reveals the reason for this stela. Here, a jackal - headed god spears a crocodile that chases a man swimming in the river, while Amun stands before a table of offerings. As pointed out by Brunner, this scene tells us much more than the short and badly - written texts (in contrast to Deir el-Madina). A man in the Nile (Pateweret) was pursued by a crocodile, asked deliverance from Wepwawet (and Amun?), and got away safely. Therefore, he dedicated this stela in the portico - shrine, as a thank - offering⁽²⁹⁾. The god spearing the crocodile is described as "Wepwawet - ra, Lord of Adoration"⁽³⁰⁾ the Rescuer (P3 šdty^(?)) Of the Asyut⁽³¹⁾ from the crocodile with^(?) every fish. This would include a clear allusion to a man's being rescued from the crocodile by his god, Wepwawet. Whether the portico of Hapdjefi III was simply a hallowed spot where the faithful might leave their memorials for Wepwawet and the gods, or had an active cult, we do not know⁽³²⁾.

The name of the god Wepwawet is found in WB⁽³³⁾ but without the sign III of plural.

In Middle Egypt there was another god of the dead, having a jackal's form, except Anubis, was named Wep-wawet. There was really couple gods were named Wep-wawet looking like Anubis. In order to differentiate clearly between Anubis and Wep-wawet, we can say that Anubis was animal kneeling, so he was titled: the one who was kneeling on his belly; but Wep-wawet was standing on his legs. It may be another difference between them that the

Greeks divided these two animals, which we named the jackals, into two kinds: Anubis, the dog - god, and Wep-wawet, the wolf-god. The couple gods Wep-wawet played a part in Osiris myth, where they were, as their name "the couple opens the way" shows the companions of Osiris fight, who precede him in the battle; therefore they were sometimes represented with a fight scepter and arch. They were titled: the armed couple arrows ... the victorious couple ... the strong couple over all gods⁽³⁴⁾. Gaillard⁽³⁵⁾ refused the description of Wepwawet as a wolf.

(d) It is clear that the name⁽³⁶⁾ of deceased father⁽³⁷⁾ is just mentioned, not his figure, like the deceased himself.

(e) The writing with which we are concerned is $\overline{\overline{\overline{\Delta}}}$ (or $\overline{\overline{\overline{\Delta}}}$), with $\overline{\overline{\overline{\Delta}}}$ as the second word in the group. The WB states (III, 186), concerning this writing, ' $\overline{\overline{\overline{\Delta}}}$ (Dyn. 18)'. This statement is perfectly correct as regards vertical inscriptions. But in horizontal inscriptions, no example of this writing has been noted prior to the second intermediate period. (This may be an error, because now we had this example through this stela). This can be expressed in the form of a spelling of the *htp - di - nsw* in horizontal inscriptions. The writing of $\overline{\overline{\overline{\Delta}}}$ is unusual in 11-13 dynasties.

But the writing of $\overline{\overline{\overline{\Delta}}}$ is usual in 11-13 dyns⁽³⁸⁾. The first fact emerging was that the *htp - di - nsw* formula changed continuously throughout the Middle Kingdom. The second fact was that it was possible to distinguish between formulae of the early and late twelfth Dyn. The thirteenth Dynasty is the latest limit for Middle kingdom *htp - di - nsw* formulae because in the next dynasty (14 dyn.) the formula appears to take its New kingdom form, i.e. *di - htp - nsw*. It may investigate mainly the following points of our stela formula:

Change in the grammatical structure of the formula:

The grammatical structure of the formula changes in one respect during the Middle Kingdom. In the twelfth dynasty *di. f prt-hrw* 'that he may give an invocation' is preferred. Thus the formula must have been re-interpreted in the twelfth dynasty.

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Divine Names:

Of the gods invoked in the *htp-di-nsw* formula, Osiris is far and away the most popular in the 12th dyn. (In the reigns of Sesostris I, Ammenemes II Sesostris III).

Change in the writing of the name of Osiris:

Throughout the Middle Kingdom changes occur in the orthography of certain words in the formula. Thus often in the early twelfth Dynasty, the name of Osiris is written with the determinative 𓂏 .

The combined titles of Osiris:

The combined titles of Osiris are of interest chiefly because they change in each period. Thus in the 11th dyn. they are usually *hnty imntyw* and *nb 3bdw*. In the reign of Sesostris I the title 𓂏 is added.

The title *hnty imntyw*:

As in the name of Osiris, the determinative 𓂏 of *hnty imntyw* drops out later (12th dyn.) in the Middle kingdom.

The title *ntr 𓂏*:

The words '𓂏 the Great God' after the name of Osiris rarely occur until the twelfth Dynasty.

The title *nb 3bdw*:

Note that instead of the title *Nb ddw* which shows a steady decline throughout the 12th dyn., the title *Nb 3bdw* occurs in all the Osiris formulae of this dynasty.

The offering - List in the formula:

In the 12th dyn. incense and oil are often added to the usual offerings mentioned in the formula: bread, beer, oxen, fowl, alabaster and linen.

The Phrase 'On which the God lives':

This phrase, which occurs in the formula after the list of offerings, appears first under Sesostris I.

The designation of the deceased:

In the reign of Sesostris III the older designation (i.e. *im3hyw* or *im3hy* honored one) drops out leaving *k3 n* 'the spirit of'. Thus the fact that 'honored one', originally an earthly title, changed to 'the spirit of' indicates a radical change in religious belief at this time. The dead man was no longer conceived as an 'honored' man, but as a spirit.

It is important to notice that in the 12th dyn. The phrase *swt.f nbt* 'in all his places', which appeared after the name of Osiris, falls out of use, appearing in dated formulae only once, in the reign of Sesostris I. Thus the formula in the Middle Kingdom is seen to be a growing organism, not merely a collection of ancient meaningless phrases, an idea held in some quarters⁽³⁹⁾.

It is interesting to notice that in 12th dyn. The phrase *ht nbt nfrt w'bt* 'all good and pure things', is added to the offering list in the formula.

(f) The phrase *hotp - di - nesu*, it should be noted that it is not in the usual order $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$. There are two methods to translate it: (1) 'An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris', but this translation needs a preposition which is often missed and is not usual in the classic Egyptian of the same period. (2) 'An offering that the king and Osiris give', this translation is probably incorrect because the following form *di .f* has the singular subject and not the plural (*di.sn*), which is usually used when more than one god is mentioned. It could be another translation for this phrase, if it is *htp nswty . di Wsir*: 'The royal offering which Osiris gives'; in which the word *nswty* is a nisba form as an adjective of the noun *htp* the antecedent of the following relative form *di Wsir*⁽⁴³⁾. The formula *htp dj nsw.t*⁽⁴¹⁾ is divided into three elements 𓏏 ⁽⁴²⁾, 𓏏 ⁽⁴³⁾ and 𓏏 ⁽⁴⁴⁾. Var. 𓏏 is not in WB. The form 𓏏 is of the Old Kingdom, but in MK it is 𓏏 .




(g) The name of Osiris is not found in Ranke, PN and WB⁽⁴⁵⁾ with this form of writing.



We now know that many votive stelae of MK came from the wadi of shrines at Abydos, forming a series of small votive shrines (made up of stelae) along a route for processions of Osiris⁽⁴⁶⁾.

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This represents the piety of the officials of the Middle Kingdom, mainly of middle and higher ranks.

By the presence of these little chapels, the dedicatory could share permanently in the feasts of Osiris. Osiris received prayers mostly for the performing of his pilgrimage. He was, apparently, not much invoked by the popular communities, except for his manifestation with some popular deities like Meretseger, with whom he is often depicted, especially on the stelae of her chapels. He is also depicted in the chapel of Ptah, in the Valley of the Queens. Of course, Osiris is always present on the funerary monuments, even when made by the working class. He is for every body the god of Eternity, and his cult as such remains particularly popular among the ordinary people during the New Kingdom. The pilgrims to Abydos showed a lot of devotion for the lord of that city; by doing so, they hoped to obtain the god's favor after their death. Moreover, the cult of Osiris attracted them because they had partly dropped the myth of Heliopolis⁽⁴⁷⁾. The large quantity of stelae discovered in Abydos⁽⁴⁸⁾ and which were dedicated to Osiris by people from the lower levels of officialdom give us a clear idea about the importance of this sacred place and the importance of this sacred place and the popularity of its god who secured everlasting life for his worshippers. When we speak about the nomenclature of Osiris, we can say that the usual titles and epithets are chief (or 1st) of the West, Wennefer (i.e. who has a perpetual beauty), Lord of Abydos, lord of Eternity, king of the two Lands, Lord of the West, the Great God, Ruler of Eternity, Lord of the sacred land, king of Eternity. The unusual titles and epithets are the one who opens the door to let people enter (in the Nether world), king of the living, Ptah – Sokar – Osiris, who lives in the sanctuary štit, High in crown, Father of the gods and lord of eternity, king of upper and lower Egypt, who lives in *Igr (t)?*, the soul (*b3*) of the Gods⁽⁴⁹⁾. Schäfer⁽⁵⁰⁾ analysed the rites and mysteries of Osiris on the basis of their texts.

(h) The word  is not found in WB⁽⁵¹⁾. So I think that it may be one word, not a mixture of two words ⁽⁵²⁾ and ⁽⁵³⁾ with the meaning of Abydos town.

(I) In the writing of word ⁽⁵⁴⁾, the writer used the sign  as a det. of plurality, common in hieroglyphic from Dyn. XII, following

appears in personal name $\overline{\text{A}}$ 'the god $\overline{\text{A}}$ is content'. Two occurrences cited by Ranke⁽⁷⁵⁾ have proven to refer to the same individual. There can be no doubt that the owner is the same *Tg3i-htp*⁽⁷⁶⁾.

(M) It is familiar that when the dead family is mentioned in the offering formula, it is used the phrase *ir(w) n* with the father's name and the phrase *msw n* with the mother's name. But in our formula, it is used the phrase *ir(w) n* with the mother of deceased.

(N) It is observed that the fem. title *nb.t pr* is first found in the reign of Amenemhet III. Important, furthermore, is this title 'lady of the house', borne by any female member of the family, not only the deceased's mother. It is not found on dated stelae earlier than this king. It is still quite common in later times (Ammenemes IV and the 13th Dyn.)⁽⁷⁷⁾. Mariette⁽⁷⁸⁾ translated it just 'the lady'.

(O) Although his mother's name was M^c.t according to Ranke and Budg⁽⁷⁹⁾ in the meaning of 'the ship or boat Me^c.et', it is possible to be *mry - m^cndt* 'the beloved one of morning - bark' of the sun - god⁽⁸⁰⁾, or 'beloved one of day - bark' of sun - god⁽⁸¹⁾, or 'beloved one of the sun - bark in the morning'⁽⁸²⁾. In his study of Abydos North Offering Chapels, Simpson transliterated it 'wh^c.t'⁽⁸³⁾.




(P) During the 12th dynasty and up to the beginning of XVIII th. dynasty, men of high rank wore the shendot when out hunting or fishing. In order to curb the use of the shendot by those who were not entitled to it, a law was enacted during the Middle Kingdom prohibiting its use to everyone with the exception of certain persons to whom a special permission was granted⁽⁸⁴⁾.



Though there is little change in the types of costume worn by the men and women of the period of the Middle kingdom when compared with that of the former age, in it the arts of Egypt reached what is said by experts to be their apogee of delicacy and taste during the central period, namely, that of the 12th Dynasty (2111 B.C. - 1898 B.C.)⁽⁸⁵⁾.


It can easily be gathered from the illustrations that the types of costume worn by both sexes were very similar. The high waist-line prevails in feminine dress, while the male costume, if girded, was generally confined about the hips⁽⁸⁶⁾. They wear the *šndy.t*

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kilt, in which non-royal persons are fairly frequently depicted from the end of the Old Kingdom onward. The men sometimes wear the stiff projecting type of kilt rather than the *šndy.t* ⁽⁸⁷⁾.

(Q) It is noticed that it is without det. , although Lieblein ⁽⁸⁸⁾ put it. According to Longe-Schäfer ⁽⁸⁹⁾, the sign , the calf ⁽⁹⁰⁾ may be an error for something like , the kid of raised tail ⁽⁹¹⁾.

(R) On the contrary of the name *ḥb*, it has det. . It is not in Ranke PN, but in the same form without det.  on other stelae of the same time ⁽⁹²⁾.

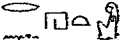




(S) It is taken notice that the name and title of Wer-neb are mentioned without his relation, like brother for example, of the dead. Lieblein ⁽⁹³⁾ added det.  to the name Nefru.

(T) It is interesting to notice that the men and the women do not wear a broad collar.

(U)  may be an error for something like  according to Mariette's ⁽⁹⁴⁾ expression: 'la fille d'elle', who changed wrongly the sites of the mother and her daughter from left to right on the stela. It is noticed that he considered the inscription of the daughter's name is damaged.



(V) It is noticeable that the 1st and 3rd lines run from right to left according to the women (i) and (k) direction to right, but 2nd line runs from left to right according to the woman (l) direction to left. The two mistresses of house have just their names, not their relation of the deceased. Retu is the single individual who has the title 'justified'. These female names have no the determinative of seated woman. Although the name of deceased mother has it in the offering formula, her name loses it, as her daughter's name Shed.

(W) It is important to notice that the deceased wife is recognized by just her name, not her picture or her title 'his wife' as it is on the stela of the same individual of the same time ⁽⁹⁵⁾. Mer is called 'his sister' and Denget is named with her in such a way as to suggest that she is a sister too, though this is not explicitly stated. On BM 236 Denget, seated behind the owner, is called 'his wife'. Černý has presented evidence for sibling marriage prior to the New Kingdom.

And it seems possible that the stelae of *Ig3i- htp* provide a further example ⁽⁹⁶⁾.  in Lieblein ⁽⁹⁷⁾ reference may be an error for the phonetic writing of the name of deceased wife, but he added det.  (Seated woman) to it; and sign , det.  to Mr. Mariette ⁽⁹⁸⁾ considered the title *m3^c - hrw* after *rtw* is damaged, and have written the name of deceased wife as Lieblein, while he added just the sign  to Mr. Once again Mariette translated the title *nbt pr* before *Rtw* and *Dngt* just 'the lady'.

Conclusion:

The results of the analysis are summarized:

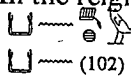
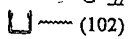
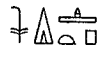

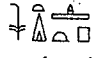
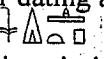
- To keep the similarity, the artist made a distribution of the person s' figures wherein he divided the persons into groups. Every group consists of two persons standing face to face, among them a column of inscription. But among the couple women [i], [1], there is an inscription of three horizontal lines and kneeling woman below it.
- The writer divided every column into two portions: the upstairs one has the hieroglyphs, facing left, of men [d], [f], and facing right, of woman [g]. But the downstairs one has them, facing right, of men [c], [e], and facing left, of woman [h].
- The writer separates the two portions by line in the column between the men [e], [f], and the women [g], [h]. But he do not in the column between the men [c], [d].
- The proper names of men [d], [c], [f] have no det. , like the deceased father, the deceased in the offering formula, and his brother Imeny.
- Likewise the proper names of ladies are without det. , Except that of deceased mother in the formula.
- As a result of the examination of the proper names and titles which indicates their relation of the deceased, it is evident that he has a family of his parents, three brothers, and one sister. There is a daughter of his mother, it is possible that she is a sister - in - law (a sister born of his mother, not his father). There are other persons: the keeper of clothing *Wer - neb*, and the mistress of

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house Retu, it is very difficult to determine which relation of deceased is intended through their titles.

-Dating:

It may be summarized the opinions of dating as following:

- Mariette⁽⁹⁹⁾ placed this stela in the group of stelae of 13th and 14th dynasties.
- It may be dated from the end of 12th dynasty on basis of the two jackals in its rounded top as the stela, nr. 23 of Marseille Museum of the same date⁽¹⁰⁰⁾.
- The title of Osiris *Nb ddw* shows a steady decline throughout the Twelfth Dynasty Osiris formulae⁽¹⁰¹⁾.
- In the reign of Sesostri III, the older designation of deceased,  the spirit of the honoured one, drops out leaving ⁽¹⁰²⁾.
- The writing of , with  as the second word in the group, is unusual in 11-13 Dynasties. Some of stelae, which have the writing  in a horizontal inscription, quite certainly belong to the latter part of the second intermediate period on grounds of style, and there is no reason for dating any of them as early as the twelfth Dynasty. The writing  of the *htp - di - nsw* was introduced into horizontal inscriptions during the second intermediate period, and probably towards the end of that period, as no certain examples as early as the thirteenth Dynasty have yet come to light⁽¹⁰³⁾.
- It may be dated, on basis of the other stela of the deceased (BM 236), from 13th dynasty⁽¹⁰⁴⁾.
- The suggestion that this stela may well be later than the thirteenth dynasty, is made on the basis of the later arrangement of *htp - di - nswt* after the 13th Dyn.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾
- On the basis of the style and the inscription its date can readily be placed toward the end of the Middle kingdom- that is, the thirteenth or the last years of the twelfth Dynasty. The orthography and the phrasing of these stereotyped phrases

conform in every respect to the usage of the late twelfth and the thirteenth Dynasty⁽¹⁰⁶⁾.

-Franke suggests a date in the end of 13th dyn. For the late form of offering formula⁽¹⁰⁷⁾.

-As a result of the examination of the inscriptions signs and the presentation, it is evident that this stela belongs to Middle kingdom or 13th dynasty⁽¹⁰⁸⁾.

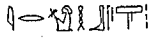




-The above described and discussed epigraphic and iconographic elements of the stela indicate a date ranging from the 12th dyn. to the latter part of the second intermediate period.

In conclusion, taking into consideration the results of the paleographic and epigraphic study on the one hand, and the study of the artistic features on the other, a date at 13th dynasty is suggested.

An Upper Egyptian Stela

Notes

- (*) Lecturer in Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, South Valley University, Sohag.
- (1) I am grateful to the Director General of Cairo Museum for permission to publish this stela.
- (2) Simpson, *The terrace of the great god at Abydos*, ANOC 45, I, p. 13, pl. 63. According to Lange – Schäfer, *op. cit.*, p. 169 its provenance may be Asyût, although Dr. Zbigniew Szafranski, member of Polish-Egyptian Mission of the Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el – Bahari, through a personal communication, points out that it may be determinedly El-Kūsiyah where is the jackal – god Wepwawet. See Gardiner, EG, p. 560.
- (3) God of Asyût, Gk. $\text{O}\text{U}\text{O}\text{I}\text{S}$: Gardiner, EG, 560. This name, by this form, is not found in Ranke, PNI, 77 (17), but just by the transliteration wp-w3.wt.
- (4) It is written without det. A in PN. It may consider just: it of it "the father", not his father as in WBI, 141.
- (5) It is without det. A and *mnw* only in PNI, 151 (9). But *Mmnw* in: D.Franke, *personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich*, AA 41, 1984, S.96 (Nr.102), 129 (Nr.160).
- (6) for the offering formula see: Gardiner, *the Tomb of Amenemhet*, p. 79 ff; Paul C. Smith, *The writing of htp di nsw in the Middle and New kingdoms*, JEA 25 (1939), pp. 34-37; C.J.C. Bennett, *Growth of the htp di nsw formula in the middle kingdom*, JEA 27 (1941), pp. 77-82 and W.Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opfer formel*, 1968.
- (7) J.J. Clère, *Mélanges Maspero I* (1935-38), p. 764; it could be translated, that he may give invocation – offerings: Gardiner, EG, p. 170.
- (8) Gardiner, *op. cit.*
- (9) $\text{im}3\text{h}$: Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 553; honour – veneration, the blessed state of the dead: Faulkner, *op. cit.*, p.20; nb. $\text{im}3\text{h}$: WBI, 81.
- (10) J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, 3/1, Paris, 1958, 227.
- (11) Vandier, *op. cit.*, 481-483.
- (12) Vandier, *op. cit.*, 481-482; H.G. Fischer, *A God and a general of the oasis on a stela of the Middle kingdom*, JNES 16 (1957), 223.
- (13) Vandier, *op. cit.*, 493; Heuzey, *Histoire du costume*, 12-13; Jéquier, *Sarcophages du Moyen Empire*, in: MIFAO 47, p. 17 – 20, fig. 41-45; G. Vogelsang – Eastwood, *Pharaonic Egyptian clothing*, Leiden, 1993, 32 – 52, 53-71; Id., *Patterns for ancient Egyptian clothing*, Leiden, 1992, 11-13, 14-17; L. Speleers, *Le Costume Oriental Ancien*, Bruxelles, 1923, 63.

- (14) It is another form  ; W.A. Ward, Index of Egyptian administrative and religious titles of the Middle kingdom , Beirut , 1982 , 65 (529).
- (15) It is not in PN ; but on other stelae of Middle kingdom like Cairo 20023g, 20030 F , in another form  great is the lord : PN I,81(12) •
- (16) PNI , 203(18) •
- (17) Vandier , op. cit., 237-238.
- (18) Ibid , 239-240.
- (19) Ibid , 488-489 ; Jéquier , op. cit. , 3 , 62 ; Fischer , op. cit., 224.
- (20) Jéquier , op. cit., 17-24; Vandier , op. cit., 499-500; Iutz , Textiles and costumes among the peoples of the ancient near east, Leipzig , 1923 . 113-114; Vogelsang - Eastwood , op. cit., 95-129; Speleers , op. cit., 68 .
- (21) Fischer , op. cit., 224.
- (22) It is noted that Ranke (PNI , 330)⁽¹⁰⁾ added dets .  or  to this name and we can not determine which one is intended in it .
- (23) PNI , 155(13) . Mery : R. J. Leprohon , Stelae I, 1985 , 82.
- (24) PNI , 227 (26) .
- (25) Dng . t the female pygmy' : PNI , 400(16) .
- (26) G . Maspero , Catalogue du Musée Égyptien de Marseille , Le Caire (1889) , p. 16-17 , nrs. 23,24 .
- (27) Ch. Boreux , Musée national du Louvre . Département des antiquités Égyptiennes . . Guide-catalogue sommaire , vol. 1 , Paris , 1932 , p. 73; M.Foissy , P. Aufrère , Egypte et Provence : Civilisation , survivances et " Cabinets de Curiositez " , Avignon , 1985 , p. 34 .
- (28) H. Brunner , DIK 16 (1958) , P. 5-19 , P 1.3 , BM . 1632.
- (29) Loc. Cit. , 8 , 9 , 11.
- (30) I. E . , the god to whom adoration is owed by others.
- (31) Here , perhaps , S3wt may just possibly stand for an adjective , S3wt(y) man of Asyut¹ in this case pataweret himself.
- (32) H. Bonnet , Reallexikon der Ägyptischen religionsgeschichte , Berlin , 1952 , P. 842-844; A.I. Sadek , Popular Religion in Egypt during the New kingdom , HÄB 27 (1987) , 40-42
- (33)  Wp-w3w.t , name des Wolfgottes von Siut : WBI , 304 .

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- (34) A. Erman, *La religion des Egyptiens*, Paris, 1937, P. 66, fig. 32; J. Ceram, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, London, 1952, P. 17; CF. Siut I, 232-233.
- (35) Gaillard, *Ann.* 27, 33; Gardiner, *EG*, 460 (E 18).
- (36) Muw is not in this form in WB 2, 72.
- (37) 𓏏 it (itf) Vater: WB 1, 141.
- (38) P.C. Smither, *The writing of Htp - di - nsw in the Middle and New kingdoms*, *JEA* 25, 1939, 34.
- (39) C. J. C. Bennett, "Growth of the Htp - di - nsw formula in the Middle kingdom", *JEA* 27, 1941, p. 77-82.
- (40) For examples see R. Engelbach, *Two steles of the late Middle Kingdom from Tell Edfu*, *ASAE* 23 (1923), P. 183, 185; W.C. Hayes, *Hor - emkhacuef* of Nekhen and his trip to IT - Towe, *JEA* 33 (1947), P.4; G. Daressy, *Monuments d'Edfou datant du Moyen Empire*, *ASAE* 17 (1917), PP. 238, 240, 243, 244; Ch. Kuentz, *Deux stèles d'Edfou*, *BIFAO* 21 (1923), P. 107; and B. Gunn, *A Middle kingdom stela from Edfu*, *ASAE* 29 (1929), p. 6 (2).
- (41) WB 2, 325.
- (42) *Ibid*.
- (43) WB 5, 419.
- (44) WB 3, 194.
- (45) WB 1, 359.
- (46) W. K. Simpson, *The Terrace of the great god at Abydos*, New Haven, 1974, *ANOC* 45. I, P. 1-10, P. 1.63.
- (47) CF. H. Junker, *Giza II*, 56 FF.; H. Kees, *Totenglauben*, 163; J. Vandier, *La Religion Egyptienne*, Paris, 1949, 85 FF.
- (48) Mariette, *catalogue Générale des Monuments d' Abydos*, Paris, 1880; Drioton - Vandier, *L'Egypte*, Paris, 1952, XXXI - XXXVI.
- (49) H. Bonnet, *op. cit.*, P. 568 - 576; A. I. Sadek, *op. cit.*, p. 9, 85, 108 - 110.
- (50) H. Schäfer, *Die Mysterien*, PP. 83 - 85 (39-41)
- (51) WB 1, 9; WB 2, 228.
- (52) Gardiner, *op. Cit.*, 489, 550; Faulkner, *A concise dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 3; WB 1, 9.
- (53) Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 498, 535, 627; Faulkner, *op. cit.*, 125; WB 2, 210.
- (54) Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 531, 532, 598; Faulkner, *op. cit.*, 292; WB 5, 209, 210.

- (56)Ibid, 530, 606 ; Faulkner , op. cit. , 173 ; WB3 , 117.
- (57)J. Lieblein , Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques , vol. 1 , Leipzig , 1871 , p. 148 , Nr. 440 ; Ibid , vol. 11 , 1892 , p. 717 , Nr. 1847 .
- (58)W. A. Ward , op. cit. , 58 (466. (
- (59)London BM 236 : W. Budge , Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae in the British Museum , Part v , London , 1914 , p.7 (236) , pl. 15 ; Simpson , ANOC 45 , pl. 63 , D.Franke , op. cit. , p. 129 , Nr. 160.
- (60)W. K. Simpson , op. cit. , p. 20.
- (61)H. G. Fischer” , A god and a general of the oasis on a stela of the late Middle Kingdom’ , JNES 16 , 1957 , 231 .
- (62)Gardiner , op. cit. , 556.
- (63)Faulkner , op. cit. , 25.
- (64)WB1 , 104.
- (65)Faulkner , op. cit. , 65 ; WBI , 336 .
- (66)Gardiner , op. cit. , 562.
- (67)WB1 , 336.
- (68)Hierogl . Texts BM , V , p. 7 , p 1.15.
- (69)P. E. Newberry , Scarabs , London , 1906 , p. 144 , No. 22 , pl.17.
- (70)Helck , Zur verwaltung , p. 243 , n. 4.
- (71) G. Th. Martin , Egyptian administrative and private - name seals Oxford, 1971 , p. 27 , No. 284 , pl.37 [27] .
- (72)PN1 , 48 (28) ; PN11 , 335 (2) .
- (73)PN1 , 48 (28) .
- (74)For the god see Bonnet , op. cit. , p.267.
- (75) $\begin{matrix} \text{Ⲛ} \\ \text{ⲙ} \\ \text{ⲙ} \\ \text{ⲙ} \end{matrix}$, $\begin{matrix} \text{Ⲛ} \\ \text{ⲙ} \\ \text{ⲙ} \\ \text{ⲙ} \end{matrix}$: Ranke , op. cit.
- (76)Fischer , op. cit. ; $\begin{matrix} \text{Ⲛ} \\ \text{ⲙ} \\ \text{ⲙ} \\ \text{ⲙ} \end{matrix}$ (M.K.) Ig3j : WB1 , 140.
- (77)Pflüger , JAOS 67 , 129 .
- (78)Mar. , Cat. d’ Abyd. , 372 .
- (79)PN 1 , 146 (21) ; Budge , op. cit.
- (80)Gardiner , op.cit. , 525 , 568.
- (81)Fulkner , op. cit. , 105 .
- (82)WB 2 , 48.
- (83) Simpson , op. cit. , p. 20.

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



- (56)Ibid , 530 , 606 ; Faulkner , op. cit. , 173 ; WB3 , 117.
- (57)J. Lieblein , Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques , vol. 1 , Leipzig , 1871 , p. 148 , Nr. 440 ; Ibid , vol. 11 , 1892 , p. 717 , Nr. 1847.
- (58)W. A. Ward , op. cit. , 58 (466. (
- (59)London BM 236 : W. Budge , Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae in the British Museum , Part v , London , 1914 , p.7 (236) , pl. 15 ; Simpson , ANOC 45 , pl. 63 , D.Franke , op. cit. , p. 129 , Nr. 160.
- (60)W. K. Simpson , op. cit. , p. 20.
- (61)H. G. Fischer' , A god and a general of the oasis on a stela of the late Middle Kingdom' , JNES 16 , 1957 , 231 .
- (62)Gardiner , op. cit. , 556.
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- (64)WB1 , 104.
- (65)Faulkner , op. cit. , 65 ; WB1 , 336 .
- (66)Gardiner , op. cit. , 562.
- (67)WB1 , 336.
- (68)Hierogl. Texts BM , V , p. 7 , p 1.15.
- (69)P. E. Newberry , Scarabs , London , 1906 , p. 144 , No. 22 , pl.17.
- (70)Helck , Zur verwaltung , p. 243 , n. 4.
- (71) G. Th. Martin , Egyptian administrative and private - name seals Oxford , 1971 , p. 27 , No. 284 , pl.37 [27] .
- (72)PN1 , 48 (28) ; PN11 , 335 (2) .
- (73)PN1 , 48 (28) .
- (74)For the god see Bonnet , op. cit. , p.267.
- (75) $\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{O}}$, $\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{O}}$: Ranke , op. cit.
- (76)Fischer , op. cit. ; $\overline{\text{H}}\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\text{O}}$ (M.K.) $\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{G}}\overline{\text{J}}$: WB1 , 140.
- (77)Pflüger , JAOS 67 , 129 .
- (78)Mar . , Cat. d' Abyd. , 372 .
- (79)PN 1 , 146 (21) ; Budge , op. cit.
- (80)Gardiner , op. cit. , 525 , 568.
- (81)Fulkner , op. cit. , 105 .
- (82)WB 2 , 48.
- (83) Simpson , op. cit. , p. 20.

- (84) Lutz , Textiles and costumes among the peoples of the ancient near east , Leipzig و 1923 , 117 - 118 .
- (85) Houston , Ancient Egyptian , Mesopotamian and Persian costume and decoration , London , 1954 , 13 - 19 , Fig. 23 .
- (86)Houston , Hornblower , Ancient Egyptian , Assyrian , and Persian costumes and decorations , London , 1920 , 4-5 .
- (87)Fischer , op. cit. , 224 .
- (88)Lieblein , Dictionnaire , vol. 11 , 717 , nr. 1847 .
- (89)Lange - Schäfer , CGCV , 170 .
- (90)Gardiner , op. cit. , 458 (E3) .
- (91)Ibid , 459 (E8) ; PN1 , 19 (13) .
- (92) Cairo 20015 , Imn.jj : PN1 , 31 (13). BM 236 , another stela of same man : Hierogl. Texts BM , V , 7 . jmn.jj (Ameni) : Leprohon , op. cit. , 162 .
- (93)Lieblein , op. cit. .
- (94)Mar. , Cat. d' Abyd. , 372 (1044) .
- (95)BM 236 , J. Černý , Consanguineous marriages in pharaonic Egypt, JEA 40 , 1954 , 23 - 29 , Simpson, op. cit. .
- (96)Fischer , op. cit. , 231 .
- (97)Lieblein , op. cit. .
- (98)Mariette , op. cit. .
- (99)Mar. , Cat. d' Abyd. Nr. 1044 .
- (100)Maspero , op. cit. , 16 , 17 - nr. 23 .
- (101)Bennett , op. cit. , 78 .
- (102)Ibid , 79 .
- (103)Smither , op. cit. .
- (104)Budge , HTBM , op. cit. .
- (105)Fischer , op. cit. .
- (106)Ibid. 224 , 223 ,
- (107)"Ende 13. Dyn" : . späte" Form der Opferformel : D. Franke , Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich , Ägyptologische Abhandlungen , Band 41 , Wiesbaden , 1984 , p. 96 (102) , 129 (160) .
- (108)On March 25 , 2000 , this is the opinion of Dr. W. Raymond Johnson , through the personal communication , the Field Director of Oriental Institute of Chicago University in Luxor .

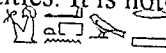
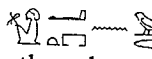
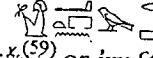
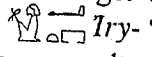
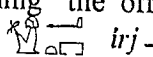
An Upper Egyptian Stela

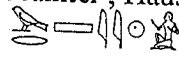
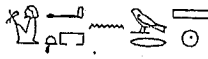
an ideo. Or det. to show that it should be understood three times ⁽⁵⁵⁾
 Did he mean another meaning:

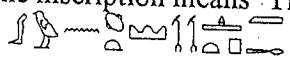
the loafs of bread, unless he means: three loafs of bread?




(j) In the word  ⁽⁵⁶⁾, it is writing the determinative , which represented milk-jug with a loaf covering the milk, instead of its usual determinative  beer-jug. It is too used the det. , It may mean: the beer - jugs or three jugs of beer.

(k) It is very difficult to determine which meaning is intended in titles. It is noted that this title was in two forms:

 ⁽⁵⁷⁾, but it was in another form:
 *iry - c.t n wršw* ⁽⁵⁸⁾, or as it was shown on the other stela of this deceased  guardian of the House of the watch *Irj jt nj wršw* ⁽⁵⁹⁾ or *iry c.t n wrš* ⁽⁶⁰⁾. Fischer points out that it may be "keeper of the chamber of the daily watch(ers)" ⁽⁶¹⁾. *Irj c.t* is just 'official' ⁽⁶²⁾, whereby it has to translate 'as' to get a reasonable meaning 'the official as a watchman'.  *Irj - c.t* 'hall-keeper' ⁽⁶³⁾;  *irj - c.t* 'Hausbeamter, Hausuerwalter' ⁽⁶⁴⁾.

 *wršy* ⁽⁶⁵⁾ 'watchman' ⁽⁶⁶⁾;  *Irj c.t n wršw* ⁽⁶⁷⁾. Perhaps not a title, but a description of function.

(L) Budge ⁽⁶⁸⁾ transliterated it 'Tchāmui - hetep'. According to Newberry ⁽⁶⁹⁾, on basis of a scarab, the inscription means 'The Uartu of the Oxyrhynchite Oasis, Hetep' 
Ig3i- htp w'rtw w 3t m3c-hrw ⁽⁷⁰⁾.

It is noticed that Newberry translated the name of stela owner just 'hetep', where he considered the signs  as a proper name of place of the Oasis. Through an inscription of private - name seal, Martin ⁽⁷¹⁾ transliterated it *Ig3i-htp*; or according to Ranke ⁽⁷²⁾: *Ig3j htp (.w)* ' (the god) *ig3j* is beneficent'. It is important to note that on the seal of the same deceased from Abydos, his name is inscribed in the form of old kingdom, although it was from Middle kingdom ⁽⁷³⁾. *Ig3i* is recognized as the god of the oasis ⁽⁷⁴⁾. It is just possible that the emblem  is to be taken as a writing of the goddess 'I3.t. The old kingdom occurrence of a deity  (late sixth dynasty) is certainly 'Ig3i'; it

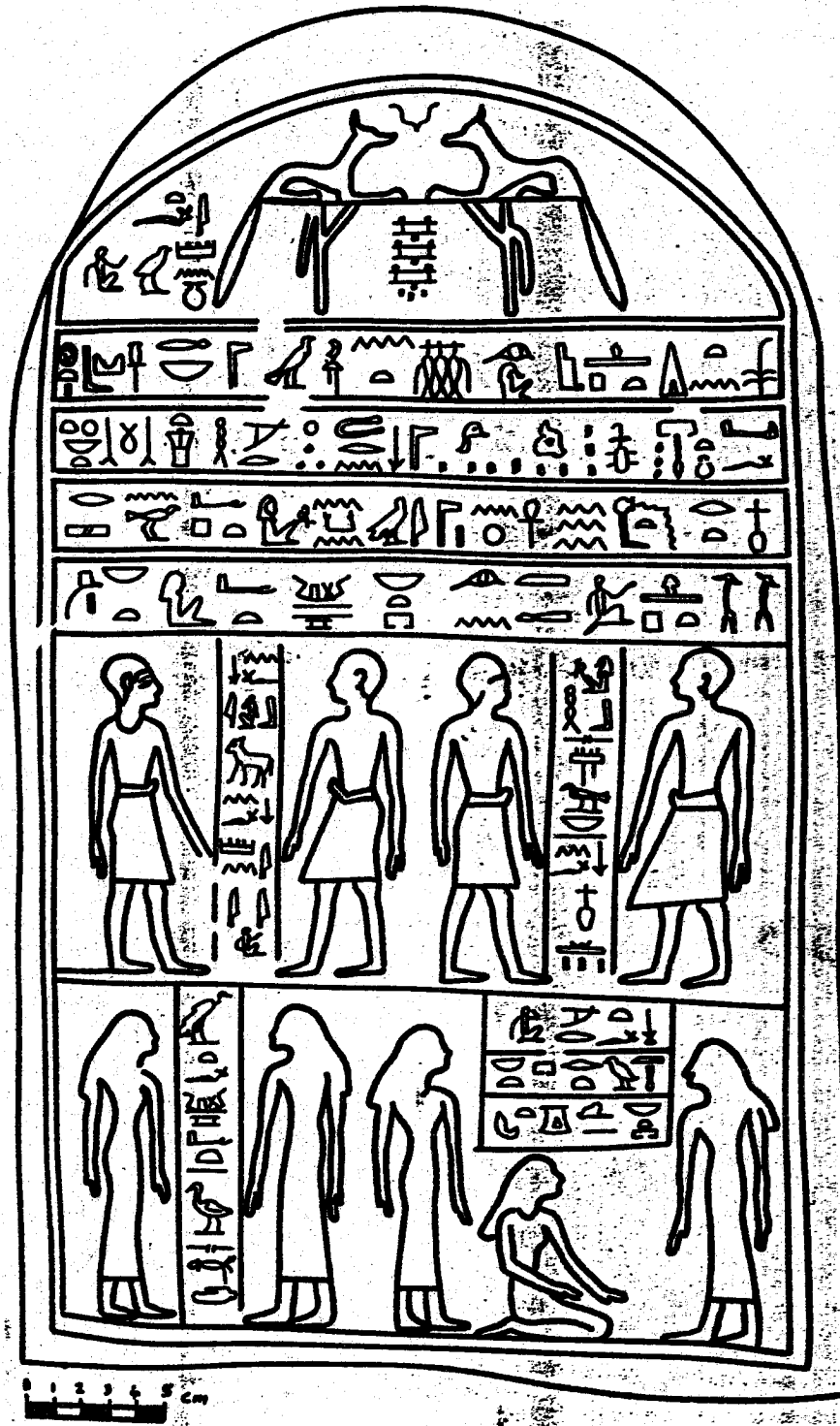
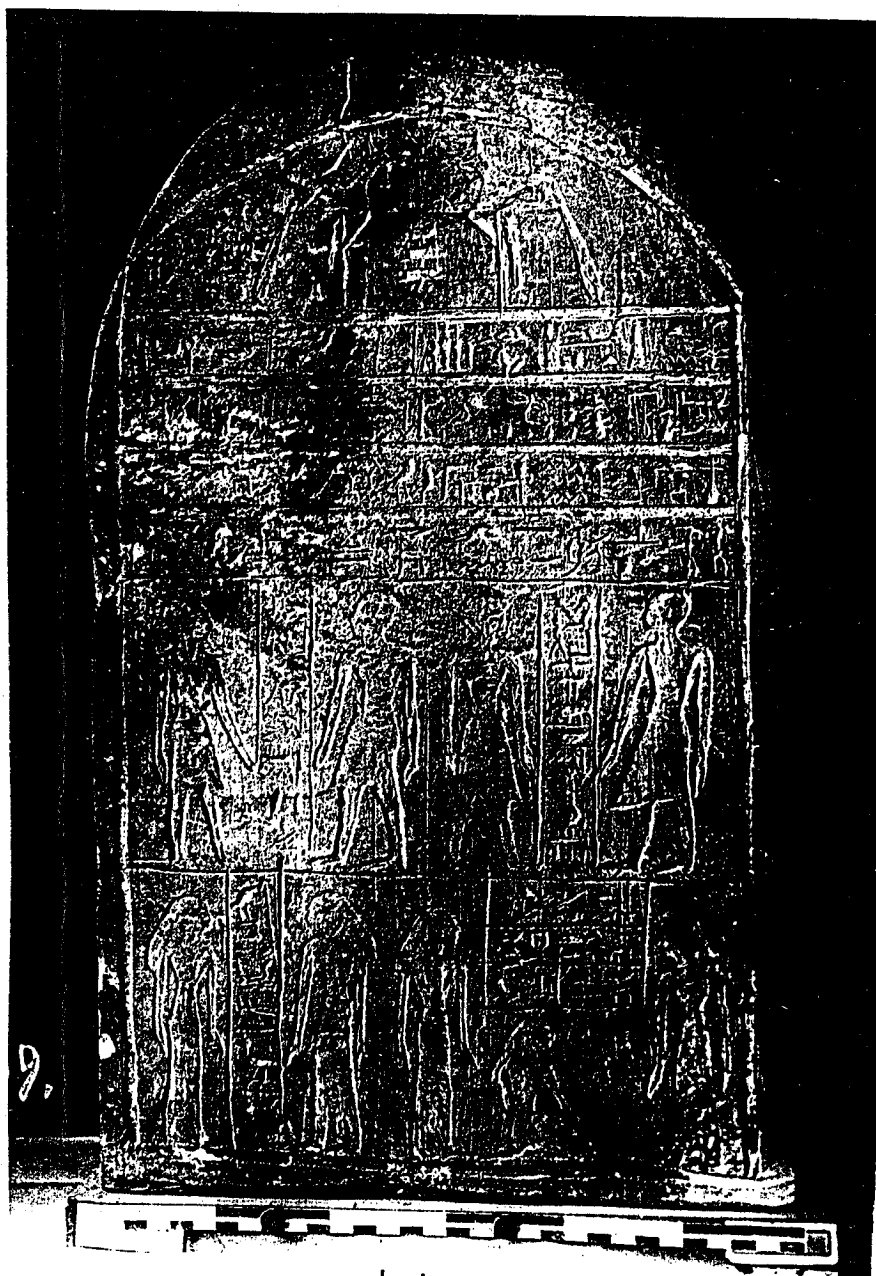


fig. 1.



pl. 1.

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