A Ptolemaic Stela of Hor in the Egyptian Museum Cairo

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ABSTRACT: The goal of this paper is to publish and study a funerary round-topped stela, nowadays stored in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (CG 22134)[1]. It was owned by the deceased Hor. In 1885, it was discovered by the French Egyptologist G. Maspero under the auspices of the French Mission in the ancient Necropolis of Al-Hawawish at Akhmim[2]. Based on the typology, orthography and stylistic features it could be dated to the first half of the second century BC[3].

KEYWORDS: Funerary stela, Al-Hawawish, Akhmim, Greco-Roman Period, Book of the Dead.

لوحة بطلمية خاصة بحور في المتحف المصري بالقاهرة

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الملخص: تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى نشر ودراسة أحد اللوحات الجنائزية والمحفوظة حاليًا بالمتحف المصرى بالقاهرة تحت رقم (CG 22134) والتى تخص المتوفى حور، والتى تم الكشف عنها بواسطة عالم المصريات الفرنسى ماسبيرو فى الجبانة القديمة للحواويش بأخميم عام ١٨٨٥م.

واستنادا الى نظام الكتابة واسلوب التهجئة والخصائص الفنية بمكننا تأريخها بالنصف الأول من القرن الثانى ق.م.

الكلمات الدالة: لوحة جنائزية، الحواويش، أخميم، العصر اليوناني، كتاب الموتى.

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[1] I would like to express my deepest thanks to the Director of the Egyptian Museum for permission to publish this Stela.

[2] A.Kamal, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire N° 22001 22208 Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines, T. I, Texte,* (Cairo: IFAO, 1905), I-II.

[3] See for the typology, P. Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen,* ÄgForsch 25, vol. I, (Germany: Verlag J.J. Augustin, Gluckstadt, 1973), 132-141.

This stela is made of limestone with medium state of preservation. Its height is 0,76 cm and its thickness is 0,41 cm. Both the relief scenes and hieroglyphic inscriptions are incised in sunken relief. The winged sun-disk with two pendent uraei hanging from each side decorate the upper round-topped section[1]. Beneath the lunette is a scene that shows two recumbent jackals facing each other's upon the sign of the sky[2]. The artistic details are not performed as well, the right one is slightly swollen the head, the neck and the chest. One vertical incised line frames the main scene and the 10 vertical columns of hieroglyphs on each side. On the register and beneath the lunette is a scene shows the stela's owner facing left wearing a long skirt[3], his hair looks like a cap in a cut shape[4] with both arms raised in the adoration attitude. Facing the deceased is a slender offering table with a primary sketch of a vessel and of flower[5]. Across it four standing deities[6] are shown: Osiris, Anubis, Isis and Nephthys. Osiris is standing wearing a tight-fitting garment in mummiform style[7] with the false beard and the Atef crown. The crook and the flail were left without incised. Behind him Anubis wears a short kilt and holds the usual wAs-sceptre in his left hand while his right was left without grasping the anx-sign. Behind him Isis wears a long tight-fitting dress reaching to mid-calf and holds the wAD-scepter in her left hand while her right was left without holding the anx-sign. Behind her Nephthys[8] with the same artifice details except her symbol on her head [fig1,2]. The bottom part contains a text in 10 vertical columns of hieroglyphs depicting the adoration of the sunrise through the 15th chapter of the *Book of the Dead,* versions 15a and 15b, running from right to left. Some of the texts are completely worn away in different places, the beginnings and ends of the columns have been damaged; the extensive damage seems to have existed after Kamal transcribed the texts[9].

Here two goals are behind this work. The first one is to offer a new version of this chapter throughout the publication of this stela. The second one is to provide an analytical study by comparing the current text of this chapter and the other hieroglyphic versions that are existed on eleven stelae from Akhmim[10] and four

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[1] Note that the usual titles of the winged sun-disc *Bḥdty ntr ꜥ3 nb pt* are left.

[2] The sky sign is sometimes decorated with stars, see Stele London BM EA 711; CG 22151. It seems that the part between the winged sun-disc and the two recumbent jackals was left unfinished by neglecting the additional stones without evacuation.

[3] This kilt is quite common on other Ptolemaic stelae, see for example, A.Kamal, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes*, CG.22077, Pl.XXV.22122.

[4] For a close parallel see B.Bothmer, "A New Fragment of an Old Palette", **JARCE**, 8 (1969): 5.; E.R. Russman, *The Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty*, (Brooklyn: Bruxelles, Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1974), 29-33.

[5] For a close parallel see BM 10558; BM 10826; BM # 225 quoted from M.Mosher, *The Book of the Dead, Saite through Ptolemaic Periods: A Study of Traditions Evident in Versions of Texts and Vignettes*, Volume 1 (BD Spells 1-15), (United States: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2017),459.

[6] This is an usual form of the late Period attitude see, Lichtheim, M., "The Stela of Taniy CGC 20564: Its Date and its Character", **SAK**, 16 (1989):205.

[7] For the substitution of Osiris for Re-Horakhty and the explanation behind that see, Mosher, M., The Book of the Dead, 2016, 458.
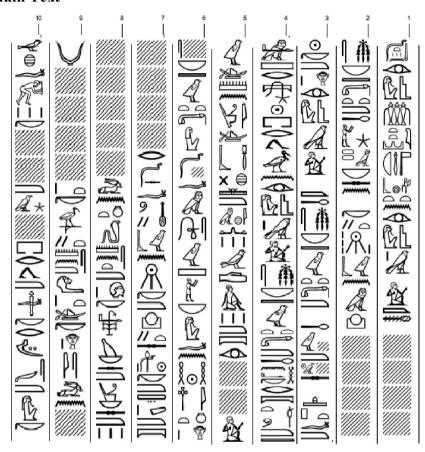
[8] For the presence of both Isis and Nephteth in this chapter see, Berlin 3039, BM 10045, BM, 10316, quoted from Mosher, M., The Book of the Dead, 460, note 10.

[9] In the following text, I provide the current state adding the additional texts copied by kamal in the textual notes.

[10] CG, 22025; CG 22070; CG 22144; CG 22147; CG 22148; CG 22149; Stele Berkeley California 86 (Nr. 6-19880); Stele London BM EA 1018.

sarcophagus from Thebes[1] dated back from the Saite period down to the end of the Greco-Roman Period. I aim to survey and examine the traditions and the developments happened in this chapter by the variations and modifications attested in the different versions reached to the Ptolemaic Period[2].

The Main Text

1- *ḏd mdw (i)n wsir ẖnty imntt nṯr ꜥꜣ nb ꜣbḏw n wsir Ḥr mꜣꜥ ḫrw*

2- *ms nbt-pr wtt.mꜣꜥ ḫrw dwꜣ Rꜥ-Ḥr-ꜣḫty nb stwt ꜣwbn m ꜣḫt [iꜣbtt nt pt psḏ]*

3- *.k m ḥr wsir Ḥr mꜣꜥ ḫrw ms nbt-pr wtt mꜣꜥ ḫrw [dwꜣ] tw m dwꜣw sḥtp f m*

4- *mšrw pr bꜣ n wsir Ḥr ms nbt-pr wtt mꜣꜥ ḫrw ḥnꜥ.k r pt wḏ tw m*

5- *wiꜣ mni [m sktt] ꜣbḫ m iḫmw wrd m pt w[sir Ḥr]*

6- *[m]s nbt-pr wtt ḏ[d].f m swꜣš nb.f n nḥḥ inḏ ḥr*

7- *[.k Rꜥ-Ḥr Ḫpri ḫp]r ḏs.f nfr.wy wbn.k m ꜣḫt sḥḏ.k m tꜣ m pt*

8- *[M stwt.k nṯrw nbw m ḥꜥꜥ mꜣꜣ.sn nswt nb] wnwt smn.t m tp.k šmꜥt.s mḥw.s m*

9- *Wpt[.k ir.s st.s m ḫꜣ]t.k ḏḥwty smn(w) m ḥꜣt wiꜣ.k ḥr swnw*

10- *ẖftyw.k [imyw] m dwꜣt pr(w) m ḫsf.k r mꜣꜣ sšm.k.*

1- Recitation by Osiris, Foremost of the West [(a)], great god, Lord of Abydos[(b)] to Osiris, Hor[(c)], true of voice,

2- born of lady of the house [(d)] Weteth[(e)], true [(f)] of voice, adoring Re-Horakhty, Lord of rays[(g)], who rises [in the eastern horizon of the sky, may you shine] [(h)]

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[1] CG 41001, CG 41002, CG 41017, CG 41042.

[2] See, Mosher, M., The Book of the Dead, 311- 468.; For more review see:
http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/account/registrieren.

[3] This writing is only of Greco-Roman Period. See WB, IV, 331 (5-6).

3- on the face of Osiris[i], Hor, true of voice, born of lady of the house Weteth, true of voice, as he [adores] [j] you in the morning and that he propitiates in

4- the evening, may the *ba* of Osiris Hor born of lady of the house Wetet, True of voice, go forth[k] with you in the sky, that he may command in the sacred-bark[l],

5- That he may moor[m] [in the night-bark][n] and that he may merge with the unwearing stars in the sky[o] Osiris, [Hor]] [p]

6- born to lady of the house Wetet, he says honouring his lord of eternity, Hail to you

7- [Re-Hor, Khepri who came into being] [q] by himself [r], how beautiful is your rising in the horizon when you illuminate in the land and in the sky

8- [with your rays[s], all gods are in rejoicing when they see the king of all, the[t]] uraeus is fixed on your head[u], Upper Egyptian crown and Lower Egyptian crown on

9- [your brow, she makes her place on your forehead[v]], Thoth is fixed in front of your sacred bark punishing

10- your enemies [w],[who are[x]] in the Underworld who have gone out to receive you at your approach to see your image[y].

Textual Notes

(a) This word is copied by Kamal by using the sign (R14) ⚑ but, it was incised by the enlarging feather (H6) ⌐ in the original text.

(b) The sign (U23) ⌐ has been mistakenly transcribed by Kamal for the sign (R18A) ⌐. This writing style is one of the important criteria of the Greco-Roman orthography[1].

(c) The owner's name occurred four times with two varied orthographies as: ⌐, ⌐. It is a common name from the Middle Kingdome to the end of Greco-Roman Period[2].

(d) This sign has been mistakenly incised for the sigh (O1) ⌐ .

(e) In the Original text, the owner mother's name is provide without a coil rope (V1) ⌐. This sign is given by Kamal depending on the columns 3,4 and 5. Interestingly it occurred four times with three orthographies as: ⌐[3], ⌐, ⌐. Also it was only attested during the Greco-Roman period[4].

(f) This sign has been mistakenly incised for the sigh (Aa11) ⌐ .

(g) This is a Greco-Roman variation of the word *stwt*[5].

(h) This completion is given by Kamal in his catalogue as: [⌐], but it is now completely destroyed.

(i) Some differences of this introductory line can be noted:
- *'I R' nb stwt wbn m 3ḫt i3btt n pt psḏ.k m ḥr n wsir NN*[6].
- *'I R' nb stwt wbn m 3ḫt i3bty nṯr '3 psḏ m ḥr n wsir NN* [7].

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[1] See Wb, I, 9 (1).
[2] see H.Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, (German, Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1935), 242.
[3] This writing is suggested by Kamal and not existed on the orginal.
[4] Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, 88.3.
[5] See WB, IV, 331 (5-6).
[6] CG 22057; CG, 22057; CG 22144; CG 22148.
[7] CG 22 147.

- *ỉ Rꜥ nb stwt wbn m ꜣḫt iꜣbtt nt pt Rꜥ psḏ.k m ḥr n wsir NN[1].*
- *ỉ Rꜥ nb stwt wbn m [ꜣḫt] iꜣbtt nt pt Rꜥ psḏ.k m [ḥr wsir n NN][2].*
- *dwꜣ Rꜥ-Ḥr-ꜣḫty nb stwt wbn n̠.f m ꜣḫt iꜣbtt nt pt psḏ n.k m ḥr wsir NN[3].*
- This line is omitted in some cases[4].

(j) Kamal transcribed in his catalogue this portion as: [✶🕊️🏺⌒🕊️═✶🕊️☉], but the original text is coming without the signs of *dwꜣ*.

(k) As displayed on the parallel texts, there are significant differences come as:

- *iꜣw.tw Rꜥ-Ḥr [m] dwꜣw sḥtp.tw [m] mšrw pr bꜣ n wsir NN[5].*
- *dwꜣ.f tw m dwꜣw sḥtp.f tw m mšrw pr bꜣ n wsir NN[6].*
- In one case the artist omitted the name of the deceased in *pr bꜣ n wsir NN* and used a reflexive suffix pronoun *f* and goes ahead to the next sentence as: *dwꜣ.f m dwꜣw sḥtp m mšrw pr bꜣ.f r ḥnꜥ.k r pt[7].*
- This line is used as introductory formula in CG 22145. Also *pr bꜣ n wsir NN* came after *ꜣbḫ m iḥmw wrḏ[8].*

(l) Based on the parallel texts three orthographies are observed for this word as: ═🕊️◅[9], ◅[10], 🕊️◅[11]. This may be bears the reading *wiꜣ* or *mꜥnḏt*.

(m) Kamal's catalogue provided this sign 𓌉 in *mni* but it is not existed in the original text. This sign is clearly shown in CG 22057, CG 22144 and CG 22146.

(n) With regard to CG CG 22057, CG 22144 this completion is supported.

(o) There are little variations can be observed in this line as:

- *ḥnꜥ.k r pt wḏ.tw m wiꜣ mni m msktt ꜣbḫ.f m iḥmw wrḏ m pt[12].*
- *ḥnꜥ.k r pt wḏ m wiꜣ mni m msktt ꜣbḫ.f m iḥmw wrḏ [the artist omitted m pt][13].*
- *ḥnꜥ.k r pt wḏ m wiꜣw nb ḥḥ[14].*
- *ḥnꜥ.k r pt ḥḏ m wiꜣ mni m wnn imntt[15].*

(p) The seat sign (Q1) and the owner's name are completely worn away, but Kamal provided it as: [𓌉🕊️🏺].

(q) The section is completely destroyed, but kamal's catalogue provided as: [🕊️𓏤𓎡𓏤].

(r) The considerable number of parallels provide some variations as:

- *ḏd.f swꜣš nb.i nb r nḥḥ ind ḥr.k Rꜥ-Ḥr-ꜣḫty Ḫpri ḫpr ḏs.f[16].*
- *ind ḥr.k [Rꜥ]-Ḥr-ꜣḫty Ḫpri ḫpr ḏs.f[17].*

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[1] CG 41017.
[2] CG 22142.
[3] CG 22145.
[4] CG 41001.
[5] CG 22057.
[6] CG 22144; CG 41001.
[7] CG 221147.
[8] CG 22145.
[9] The current stela line 4.
[10] CG 22144.
[11] CG 22057; CG 22146.
[12] CG 22057.
[13] 22144.
[14] CG 22145.
[15] CG 22146.
[16] CG 41001.
[17] CG 41002.

- in CG 22145 this artist adds after *ind ḥr.k Rꜥ-Ḥr-ꜣḫty Ḫpri ḫpr ds.f* a new sentence comes as: *ḏd.f swꜣš m stwt.k nṯrw nbw[1]*.

(s) Two exceptions are noted for this line as: *nfr.wy wbn.k m [ꜣḫt].k sḥd.k tꜣwy m stwt.k[2]*.

(t) The section is completely destroyed, but kamal's catalogue provided as: [𓀭 hieroglyphic signs].

(u) Some differences can be observed in this line as:
- *nṯrw nbw m ḥꜥꜥ mꜣꜣ.sn nswt m pt nb wnw.tw mnt m tp.k* [3].
- *nṯrw nbw ḥꜥꜥ mꜣꜣ.sn nsywt.k r pt ? wnwt mn.tw ḥnꜥ.k r tꜣ* [4].
- *nṯrw nbw m ḥꜥꜥ mꜣꜣ.sn nsywt n.k wnwt mn.tw m tp.k* [5].
- *nṯrw nbw m ḥꜥꜥ ḥtp mꜣꜣ.sn nswt n pt nb wnwt mnt.ti m tp.k* [6].

(v) This completion is given by kamal as: [hieroglyphic signs].

(w) A significant differences are noted in this line as:
- *ir.n.s st.s m ḥꜣt.k ḏḥwty mn.ti m ḥꜣt wiꜣ.k ḥr swnw ḫftyw.k nbw imyw dwꜣt*[7].
- *Iw ir.s st.s m ḥꜣt.k ḏḥwty mnti m ḥꜣt wiꜣ[.k]*[8].
- in CG 22147 Djeheuty is omitted and his task of guarding the sun boat is linked to the urea as: *ir.s st.s m ḥꜣt.k m wiꜣ.k ḥr swnw ḫftyw.k [nbw]*[9].
- *ḏḥwty ikm wiꜣ.k ḥr sir n ḫftyw.k* [10] .

(x) The signs of *imyw* are given by Kamal as: [hieroglyphic signs].

(y) A Little completion of this line comes as: *ḫsf.k r mꜣꜣ sšm.k pw nfr*[11].

Conclusions

Certainly Hor is an extremely common name that is not informative, but his mother's name Weteth is not at all common. His mother name may be a significance key to determine him and his family but unfortunately it was given for one time in our stela and it seems that her name was not widespread. No other sources register this name again as it listed in Ranke. Also this name is provided in a unique case in the Akhmim stelae.

By examining eleven documents of the 15th chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, versions 15a and 15b, existed in eight stelae from Akhmim and four sarcophagus from Thebes, it has become clear that there are significant differences of interest can be observed during the Ptolemaic area. With regard to the introductory formula, there are two verbs invoked the sun god. The first one is *i* 𓇋, 𓇋𓀁 which means "to say" and it is only used to adore Re while the other one is *dwꜣ* 𓇼𓀢 which means "to adore" is exclusively linked with Re-Horakhety. Also a minor variation can be noted regarding the absence or the presence of *n* of past as *wbn m ꜣḫt* or *wbn n.f m ꜣḫt*. Furthermore three variations can be seen while invoking the sun god to shine on the face of the deceased as: *psḏ.k m ḥr n wsir; nṯr ꜥꜣ psḏ m ḥr n wsir; Rꜥ psḏ n,k m ḥr wsir*. In the

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[1] CGG 22145.
[2] CG 41001; CG 241002.
[3] CG 22025.
[4] CG 22143.
[5] CG 22145.
[6] CG 41002.
[7] CG 22025.
[8] CG 22145.
[9] CG 22147.
[10] CG 22143.
[11] CG 22144.

two sentences *dwȝ .. m dwȝw / sḥtp.. m mšrw,* two ways are used as *dwȝ.f tw / sḥtp.f tw*; *iȝw.tw / sḥtp tw.* The next spell *pr bȝ n wsir NN ḥnˁ.k r pt* is a fixed formula in all stelae and sarcophagus except one case ommited the name of the deceased and referred to him by using the reflexive suffix pronoun *f.* Also *ḥnˁ.k r pt* is omitted and followed by *ȝbḥ m iḥmw wrd.* In *wḏ m mˁnḏt mni m msktt,* the artist sometimes omitted the two terms *mˁnḏt* and *msktt* and used one word referring to them as *wiȝw nb n ḥḥ* as a sort of summarization. Alternatively *wḏ / wdi /ḥḏ* are usually used by the artists. Also *di.k r pt* is used instead of *ḥnˁ.k r pt.* With regard to the different parallels of the spell *ḏd.f swȝš nb.i /.f r ḥḥ,* it become clear that it was not a fixed formula and the context may begin with *ind ḥr.k Rˁ-Ḥr-ȝḫty Ḫpri ḫpr ḏs.f .* Alternatively *nswt / nsywt* are frequently used in *mȝȝ.sn nswt m pt nb.* Also three kind of preposition are noted in this sentence as *r pt; m pt; n pt.* with regard to all variations that provided to the last line it seems that the artist can omitted the speech of Djehwty and linked it to Isis who has the same role of guarding as *ir.s st.s m ḥȝt.k m wiȝ.k ḥr swnw ḫftyw.k.* Alternatively *ikm / mn m ḥȝt wiȝ.k* are used, so as to *sir / swnw ḫfryw.k nbw.* A sort of completion is noted by following *r mȝȝ sšm.k* with *pw nfr.*

By surveying all vignettes of the previous documents, it become clear that the main scene is depicting the deceased adoring some standing deities comes in CG 22025 as: Min, Osiris, Horus, Nephthys and Anubis [fig 3] . In CG 22114 the deceased is shown in a double symmetric scene before two groups of deities. The right one is Min, Horus and Hathor while the second group is Re-Horakhty, Osiris and Isis [fig 4]. In CG 22057 the deceased stands in adoration pose before Osiris, Isis and Nephthys in the right side and before Amun, Re-Horakhty and Anubis in the left side[fig 5][1]. With regard to Stele London BM EA 711, the deceased is depicted in adoration pose before a row of deities as Osiris, Horus, Anubis, Hathor, Isis and Nephthys [fig 6]. In CG 22144 a significant differences is that the adoring god is shown sitting on the throne and a group of protective demons are shown among Osiris, Horus, Anubis and Nephthys.

By examining these documents, some results can be observed as follows:

- Adoration before standing deities was the main scene on the stelae.
- The stelae's owners were commonly shown in adoration pose by rising their arms with a slender offering table containing one vessel and flower before them.
- Osiris is shown holding the crook and the flail or the the usual *wȝs*-sceptre with the crook and the flail.
- in the double symmetric scene the deceased adores three deities in the right and the same number in the left.
- The main adoring deities are Osiris, Isis, Nephteth and Anubis.

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[1] See S. P.Vleeming, A Hieroglyphic-Demotic Stela from Akhmim, in: Hoffmann, F.; Thissen, H. J. (Hg.), Res severa verum gaudium. Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004, (Leuven : Dudley, Mass.;Peeters, 2004.), 623-637, Abb. LVIII.
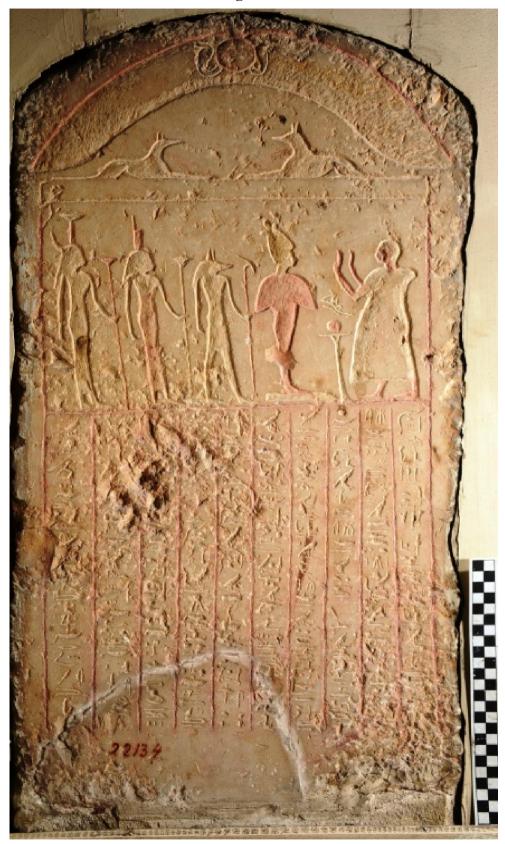
Figures

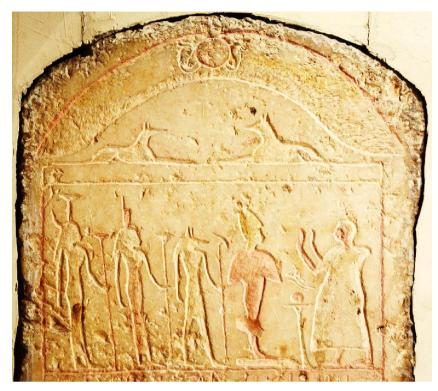
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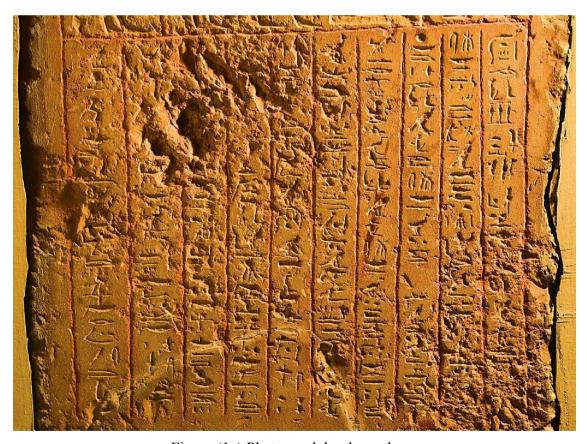
Figure (1b) Photograph by the author
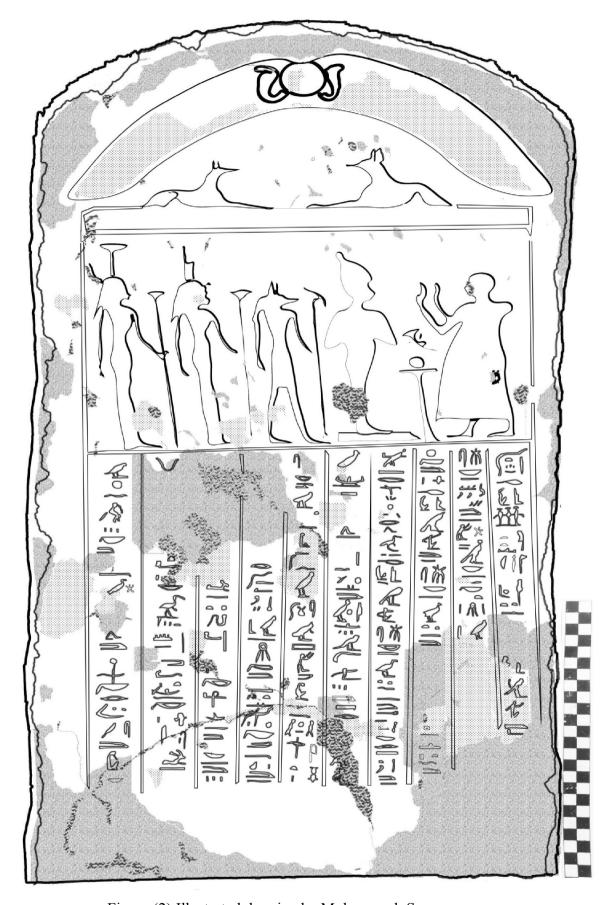

Figure (1c) Photograph by the author

Figure (2) Illustrated drawing by Mohammed, S

Figure (3) CG 22025, Kamal, A., Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes, II, PL IX.

Figure (4) CG 22114, Kamal, A., Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes, II, PL XXXIV.

Figure (5) CG 22057, Kamal, A., Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes, II, PL IX.

Figure (6) see Vleeming, S. P., A Hieroglyphic-Demotic Stela from Akhmim, Abb. LVIII.

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