

**An UNPUBLISHED STELA IN  
THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM,  
CAIRO JE 99452**

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### ***Abstract***

*The current article publishes a stela JE 99452 belongs to a chief priest called iaHms (Ahmose), with a Wab-priest called Wp-w3wt-ms (Wepw3wt-mes). The relation between the two priests is not precised on the stela. This stela came from Asyut, preserved now in the Egyptian museum in Cairo. Although the stela was discovered in the Salakhana tomb of Djefaihapy III, from the Middle Kingdom (reign of Amenemhat II), it dates back to the Ramesside Period as registered in the database of the museum, where it is now stored inside the basement. It's a round- topped stela, made from limestone, divided into two registers: the upper register depicts the god Osiris sitting, while the god Anubis standing behind him. The owner of the stela, Ahmose is kneeling in adoration gesture in front of them. The lower register depicts the goddess Hathor sitting, and Wepwawt--mes is kneeling in front of her. This study provides a comprehensive publication of the stela, scenes and inscriptions on its surface.*

***Keywords:*** Ahmose- Anubis-Asyut-Djefaihapi III– Hathor- Osiris- Salakhana-Stela- Wepw3wt-mes.

## "لوحة غير منشورة في المتحف المصري بالقاهرة JE 99452"

### الملخص العربي :

تتناول هذه المقالة دراسة للوحة غير منشورة من الحجر الجيري، تحمل رقم JE 99452 محفوظة في بديروم المتحف المصري بالتحريير ، تم العثور علي هذه اللوحة

داخل مقبرة جفاي حعبي الثالث من أسيوط، وهي المقبرة المعروفة بـ"السلخانة".

تعود اللوحة إلي عصر الدولة الحديثة (الأسرتين ١٩-٢٠)، وهي لوحة جنائزية كرسها كل من كبير الكهنة أحمس، والكاهن المطهر وبواوت-مس من أجل كل من الآلهة أوزيريس، أنوبيس، وحتحور "سيدة مجدنى" (أسيوط) .

اللوحة مقسمة إلى قسمين، يتعبد أحمس في قسمها العلوي إلي أوزيريس وأنوبيس، بينما يتعبد وبواوت مس إلى حتحور في القسم السفلي .

اللوحة للأسف أصابها كثير من التهشم، وبها نقص في أجزاء كثيرة منها، ولكنها على جانب كبير من الأهمية، حيث تحتوي على ثلاثة من المعبودات الجنائزية الكبرى أوزيريس، أنوبيس، حتحور، وقد تم إضافة إحدى العلامات التي تشير إلى الإله وبواوت، إله منطقة أسيوط الرئيسي.

**الكلمات الدالة :** لوحة - الدولة الحديثة - حعبي جفاي الثالث - السلخانة - أحمس -

وبواوت مس

### ***Introduction:***

The stela is a round-topped, made of limestone. It is preserved now in the Egyptian Museum basement, with the Journal d'Entrée number (*JE 99452*). It was discovered by G.Waignwrit in 1922, in the Salakhana tomb of *Djefaihapi III* in Asyut<sup>1</sup>. The stela is dated as recorded in the Egyptian museum data to the 19-20 Dynasty 1295-1070 BC. Asyut had its privacy of sacredness, that made a large number of stelae dated to the New Kingdom, deposited in a tomb from the Middle Kingdom, built four hundred years earlier than the New kingdom<sup>2</sup>.

### **1.General Description:**

**Inventory N°.** JE 99452

**Date:** New Kingdom

**Dynasty:** 19-20

**Owner:** *iꜥhms*, a chief priest, and *Wp-wꜣwt-ms*, *ꜥ Wꜥb-priest*.

**Material:** Limestone.

**Dimensions:** **H:** 34 cm, **W:** 20 cm, **Th.** 12 cm

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<sup>1</sup> The tomb of Salakhana is an ancient Egyptian tomb located in ancient Lycopolis, Asyut in the Nile valley. It belonged to a governor of Lycopolis *Djefaihapy III*, who lived around the middle of 12<sup>th</sup> Dyn. (reign of Amenemhat II) More than six hundred votive stelae were discovered in the tomb dating from the 18<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>th</sup> dynasty, most of them were dedicated in particular to the god Wepwawet. No-one knows why the stelae were put in his tomb, but it's possible that *Djefaihapy* had become regarded as a holy or saintly figure. See: Moss, Rosalind. "An Unpublished Rock-Tomb at Asyut" *JEA* 19, (London:1933) 33; Mahmoud El-Khadragy, "The Nomarchs of Asyut During the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom", in Seven Seasons at Asyut: First Results of the Egyptian-German Cooperation in Archaeological Fieldwork, The Asyut Project 2, Edited by Jochem Kahl, Ursula Verhoeven and Mahmoud El-Khadragy, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012), 31-46; Beinlich Horst, "Djefaihapi", *LÄ I*, (1975)1105 – 1108; Terence Duquesne, *The Salakhana Trove: Votive Stelae and Other Objects from Asyut*, (London: Dareng, 2009).

<sup>2</sup> Hanan Abass Ahmed, "Votive Stelae from Salakhana Tomb, Asyut", Fayoum University Journal 20, (2019) 627.

**Condition:** The stela is in a moderate condition of preservation, there are some missing sections in the corners, scratches, and damaged bits.

**Provenance:** Asyut

## **2.Description:**

### **2.1 The Upper register:**

The stela is a round-topped limestone stela, the figures and inscriptions are carved in sunk relief (**figs. no. 1-2**). In the upper register on the left side enthroned the god Osiris *ḥnty-ḥmnty* facing right, He is depicted sitting on a short backrest throne. He is wearing the *ꜣtf*-crown, a crown that surmounted by two feathers, two bent horns and sometimes two protector uraei serpents were added<sup>3</sup>. It was a specific crown of the god Osiris since the Middle Kingdom, and also related to the god *Amun*, and to the king in some occasions. The *ꜣtf*-crown symbolizes justice, truth and completeness<sup>4</sup>. Osiris is wearing a tight long cloak, holding two *ḥkꜣ*-scepters one in each hand to his chest, and a long curved-false beard.

Behind Osiris, standing the god Anubis, smaller in size than Osiris, with a human form, but having the head of a Jackal<sup>5</sup>. The two funerary gods are associated together as they were invoked in the offering formula on stelae from the first half of 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty stelae

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<sup>3</sup> Abd el-Mun'im Abu Bakr, "Untersuchungen Über die Ägyptischen Kronen". Glückstadt. (1987)7, 20; George, Thomas, Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day: Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1974), chap.183.

<sup>4</sup> Erman, Adolf & Grapow, Herman, Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache 1(*Wb I*), (1926) 23.2-3.

<sup>5</sup> Anubis is a funerary deity, depicted either as a recumbent jackal, or as a man with a jackal's head starting from the New Kingdom. Larger sculptures in the form of a recumbent jackal, but also a few of a man with a jackal's head. Smaller figurines and statuettes of a man with a jackal's head are rather common – especially from the Late Period. for more information about Anubis, see: Christian, Leitz, *LGG I*, 2002, 390; Anubis on stelae see for example in Arabic: Aisha Abdelaal, Mahmoud, "Private Stelae of the Middle Kingdom, The Collection of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo", (MA Thesis) Department of Egyptology, Faculty of Archaeology, Cairo University, Cairo, (1995).

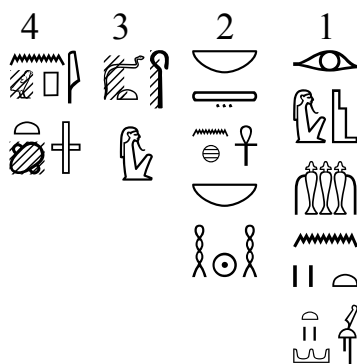
\_\_\_\_\_An UNPUBLISHED STELA IN THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM, CAIRO JE 99452 (CG 34004-34133). Both gods are represented over the sign that pronounces  $\overline{m}z^c$  (Gardiner Aa11)<sup>6</sup>.

An offering table partially damaged in front of the two deities, piled with: a jar, two loaves of bread; a bouquet of lotus flower. The owner of the stela “Ahmose” is shown kneeling in front of the two deities in adoration posture. He is wearing a leopard cloth, over a wide pleated dress, and a collar with beads around his neck. The features of the man indicate that he was a priest, thus, he holds the title *imy-r ḥm nṯr* “The chief priest”.

He appeared with the dominant features of the Ramesside Period, in which the important male as shaven head became more frequent when performing religious rituals, so it is clearly that the donor of this stela was a priest with a shaved head<sup>7</sup>.

## 2.2 The Text:

There are seven columns of inscriptions with the titles of Osiris and Anubis. The text is divided into two parts, four columns to the left bearing the titles of Osiris, with some traces of the name of the god Anubis and his title. From the middle to the right, four columns with invocations and the name and titles of the owner of the stela. Unfortunately, there is a damaged area in the left side, most likely have contained further epithets of Osiris and Anubis, we can read the text from right to left:



<sup>6</sup> Erman, Adolf & Grapow, Herman, *Wb II*, 12.

<sup>7</sup> Aylward Blackman, *Gods, Priests, and Men, Studies in the Religion of Pharaonic Egypt*, (New York: Kegan Paul International, 1998).





Wsr hnty imnty<sup>(a)</sup> nb t3 ʿnh<sup>(b)</sup> nb nhḥ<sup>(c)</sup> ḥk3 dt? <sup>(d)</sup> Inpw imy  
(wt)<sup>(e)</sup>////




“Osiris the lord of the Westerners, lord of the land of life, lord of eternity, ruler of everlasting, Anubis who is in the place of embalmment////”

## 2.3 Comment:

### a. hnty imnty:

This is one of the god Osiris’s most popular titles as a funerary god. It means “*Foremost of the Westerners*”<sup>8</sup>, in which the last refers to the dead. This title was given to Osiris in the Old Kingdom in the Pyramid Texts (Pyr.2020, 2021) and continued to be used until the Greco-Roman period<sup>9</sup>. The sign used of xnty is written

with three jars of water  and sometimes with four jars . This sign appeared from the Middle Kingdom onwards<sup>10</sup>. Here the sign is written in a different way , it is probably by mistake, or a hieratic sign, he may have meant to be written as the sign .

For the word imnty   means “*the west*”, it is developed from the sign  imnt , it was first an epithet to the god Anubis<sup>11</sup>.

### b. nb t3 ʿnh:

This title means “*Lord of the land of life*”, it was given to Osiris on a stela from Abydos (Cairo CG 20745), it was not attested in tombs or coffins. Gardiner demonstrated that the word t3-ʿnh is named together with the word R-Krrt in the Medinet Habu list just

<sup>8</sup> Maria Theresia Derchain-Urtel, “Osiris im Fadenkreuz”, *GM 156*, (1997) 47-54.

<sup>9</sup> Raymond Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969) 291; CGC. 34182, 34505; JE 1892, 32025, 2013; TN. 5/7/24/10, 10/6/24/11, 14/6/24/17.

<sup>10</sup> Edward Brovarski, “An Unpublished Stele of the First Intermediate Period in the Oriental Institute Museum”, *JNES 32/4*, (1973) 453-465.

<sup>11</sup> DuQuense, “The Jackal Divinities” (2005), 28; *Wb III*, 305.




before Asyut, suggesting that they were names of the whole or part of the necropolis there<sup>12</sup>.

**c.nb nhh:**

The title "*Lord of Eternity*", is first appeared in the Middle Kingdom, and continued in the texts of the New Kingdom. The word *nhh* is used in conjunction with the word *dt* means eternity and perpetuity<sup>13</sup>. Another title of Osiris is the title *hkz dt* that gives the same meaning, while Osiris is represented by a mummy with the head of a Bennu-bird at a very early period that proves the idea of an eternal existence was connected with the *Bennu-bird*<sup>14</sup>.

**d. Imy-wt:**

Anubis is often described as *imy-wt*<sup>15</sup> "*The One in the Place of embalmment*"<sup>16</sup>. The various meaning of *wt* have to do with embalming, particularly with the mummy wrappings, and the priest who oversaw mummification was called *wt(y)*<sup>17</sup>. *Imy-wt* is another

symbol that appeared as animal skin without a head  that was hung from a rod and put inside a pot. Anubis's role in obtaining Osiris's secrets during his mummification and encasing the secrets in a revered leather container known as "*imy-wt*" was connected to this skin. Consequently, it became an epithet of Anubis, who was referred to as "*the embalmer*", "*who is in the place of mummification or embalming*" or "*who is in the wrappings*" because Anubis was identified with mummification, and was thought to have wrapped Osiris<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> Alan Gardiner, "The Autobiography of Rekhmerēc", *ZÄS* 60, (1925) 62-76.

<sup>13</sup> *Wb II*, 299, 2.

<sup>14</sup> Wallis Budge, *Osiris and The Egyptian Resurrection, Vol. I*, (London: Philip Lee Warner 1911) 60; Leitz, Christian, *LGG II*, 528-569.





<sup>15</sup> *Wb I*, 73, 15.

<sup>16</sup> Leitz, Christian, *LGG I*, 390-394.

<sup>17</sup> Terence DuQuesene, *The Jackal Divinities of Egypt, From the Archaic Period to Dynasty X*, (London: Darenco Publications, 2005) §166.

<sup>18</sup> George Hart, *The Routledge Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses*, (London & New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2005); Ursula Köhler, "Das Imiut, Untersuchungen zur Darstellung eines mit Anubis Verbundenen

Anubis was one of the gods who were always invoked in the *hṭp-di-nsw* formula, beginning in the Fourth Dynasty until the early Twelfth Dynasty<sup>11</sup>. By the reign of Amenemhat III, Osiris had become the most popular god, while Anubis had lost favor<sup>19</sup>. The god's name is commonly represented in the form of a recumbent jackal on a tall pedestal<sup>20</sup>. The text here is worn out, and the title is

not complete, but one can conclude the title after the sign  maybe consequently came the rest of the title usual written by the sign of an egg  and the bread  in his title  *imy-wt* “who is in the wrappings”<sup>21</sup>.

## 2.4 The Prayer Formula:



[1] *Ir i3w*<sup>(a)</sup> *n Wsir wnn-* [2] *nfr*<sup>(b)</sup> *n k3 n imy-r hm ntr*<sup>(c)</sup> *n* [3]  
*ntrw nbw i3h-ms*<sup>(d)</sup>[4]-

“Giving praises to Osiris Onnophrios, for the Ka of the chief priest of every god, Ahmose”

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Religiösen Symbols II”, *GOF IV. Reihe Ägypten* 4, (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975) 444-452; Salima Ikram, *Death and Burial in Ancient Egypt*, (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2015).

<sup>19</sup> John Bennett, “Growth of the *@tp-di-nsw* Formula in the Middle Kingdom”, *JEA* 27, (1941) 80.

<sup>20</sup> Witkowski, Mickal, “Quelques Remarques sur le Nom d’Anubis Graphie et Étymologie”, *Études et Travaux* 12, (1983) 38ff.

<sup>21</sup> *Wb II*, 73, 14-15.

## 2.5 Comment:

### a. Ir iAw:

The prayer formula on this stela include an initial phrase formula *ir iʒw*<sup>22</sup>, the phrase means “praising” or “adoration”<sup>23</sup>, it is a formula known from the Old kingdom’s texts<sup>24</sup>. Another form was written also as *dī.t iʒw*, continued in the Middle Kingdom side by side with *rdī.t iʒw*, and in the New Kingdom, continued in the following time it was even used in the Coptic inscriptions.

### b. *Wsir wnn nfr*:

This title appeared from the Middle Kingdom, attested to Osiris. Mercer related this title with the title of a Babylonian deity, who was called *Merduck*, whose name was written also by the eye and the throne, and was titled by the “good deity” comparing with Osiris who was called *Wennefer* means “who is always good”<sup>25</sup>. Rusch translates this as “*der Gut seiende*” and points out that originally the epithet has nothing to do with Osiris<sup>26</sup>, Gardiner translates this as “*beneficence*”<sup>27</sup>, but the meaning of “well-being” is probably dominant. However, Leitz mentioned this as a proper name of the god Onnophris<sup>28</sup>.

### c. *Imy-r hm ntr n ntrw nbw*:

The title *hm-ntr* means “prophet” or literally “*Servant of the god*”, is a high rank in the systematic hierarchy in ancient Egypt<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>22</sup> *Wb I*, 28, 2-3.

<sup>23</sup> Emma Brunner, “*Gebet*”, *LÄ II*, (1977) 452.

<sup>24</sup> *Pyr.* (Neith) 493


<sup>25</sup> John Gwyn Griffiths, “The Origins of Osiris and His Cult Studies in the History of Religion”, *MÄS 9*, (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1980) 57.

<sup>26</sup> Adolf Rusch, “Onnophris” *Real Enc* 18:1 (1939) 483–484.

<sup>27</sup> Alan Henderson Gardiner, “ONNOΩΦΙΣ.” In *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia: Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Feier des 250jährigen Bestehens der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin II/2*, edited by Anonymous, (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag 1950) 44–53

<sup>28</sup> Leitz, Christian, *LGG I*, (Leuven: Peeters 2002) 375–376.

<sup>29</sup> Aylward M.Blackman, *Gods, Priests and Men, Studies in the Religion of Phraonic Egypt*, (London: Kegan Paul International 2011) 127.

Dates back to the Old Kingdom<sup>30</sup>, and here the title *imy-r hm ntr* is used as an administrative title more than a religious one. It refers to the local governor of the district, he holds this title in local temples in the Old and Middle Kingdoms<sup>31</sup>. Here *Ahmoose* is bearing the title *imy-r hm ntr* “*The high priest*” and also the followed written title in the third column *imy-r hm ntr n ntrw nbw* “*The high priest of all gods*”. The latter title is held by *Ahmoose* refers to the offices he held related to the cult of several divinities in several temples, and that was not of course in the same town or region<sup>32</sup>. The sign for the word *ntrw* in the beginning of the third column is written in a strange way to be read clearly, the sign is probably written in hieratic as it is very near to the sign  that designates the word *ntrw*<sup>33</sup>, and just as it is written in the title *imy-r hmw ntrw nbw* “*Overseer of all prophets of all gods*”<sup>34</sup>.

## 2.6 The Lower Register:

The lower register shows the goddess Hathor, sitting on her throne on the left side, manifested in the female form, holding the *W3d*-scepter in her left hand, and the *nh*-sign in her right hand which is partially damaged. She is wearing her usual headdress that consisted of two horns of a cow, with the sun-disc between them. In front of her head her titles, written as:

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<sup>30</sup> *Wb III*, 88,19.

<sup>31</sup> Dilwyn Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, Vol.I, (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000),171; William Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of Middle Kingdom*, with a Glossary of Words and Phrases Used, (Lebanon: The American University of Beirut 1982).

<sup>32</sup> Spencer, Neal, *Priests and Temples:Pharaonic*. In A.B.Lloyd(ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt I*, (Chichester: 2010) 257.

<sup>33</sup> Georg Möller, *Hieratische Palaographie, Die Aegyptisch Buchschrift in Iher Entwicklungvon der Funften Dynastie bis zur Romischen Kaiserzeit*, II, (Osnabrück: Otto Zeller 1965) 49(548); Jeanette Taylor, *An Index of Male Non-Royal Egyptian Titles, Epithets & Phrases of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty*, (London: Museum Bookshop Publications, 2001): 326; *Wb II*, 360, 14.

<sup>34</sup> Susan Eichler, “Die Verwaltung des “Haus des Amun” in der 18. Dynastie, *SAK 7*, (Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 2000), no.504, 317.



**Comment:****a. *Nbt Mddny*:**

It is a title of Hathor in Asyut, ancient siut , it was the capital of the 13<sup>th</sup> nome of upper Egypt<sup>35</sup>. *Mddny* is a village in Asyut, the evidence for Hathor cult in Asyut is attested as early as the First Intermediate Period. Many sarcophagi of that time refer to *@t-hr nbt Mddny*<sup>36</sup>. Some scholars prefer to identify *Mddny* with the modern Drunka, about 4 km. to the south of Asyut<sup>37</sup>. Others suggest different places such as al-Masâyid and Rifâ<sup>38</sup>. Magee, who prefers the reading Mdn, suggests that it referred to a mythical place, and was an epithet applied to Hathor after she was connected with the Osirian myth at Asyut in the Middle Kingdom<sup>39</sup>.

**b. *irt Rꜥ*:**

One of the most important titles of Hathor that shows the relation between the goddess and the sun god *Re*. Hathor is directly connected to both *Re* and Horus; especially to their eyes. She is said to have been born as a tear from the eye of *Re*<sup>40</sup>. Thus, she was his daughter. Both *Re* and Horus have individual mythologies surrounding their eyes. The left eye of Horus, is the lunar eye and the right eye of *Re* is the solar eye. This solar eye may also be the

<sup>35</sup> Teodozja I.Rzeuska, In the Shadow of Wepwawet: An Early Necropolis on Gebel Asyut Al-Gharbi?, *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization* 18, (Poland: 2014), 83-100.

<sup>36</sup> Émile Chassinat, & Charles Palanque, Ch., “Une Campagne de Fouilles dans la Nécropole d’Assiout”, *MIFAO* 24, (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l’IFAO, 1911), 19, 27, 127, 132, 137, 166; Schafik Allam, “Beiträge zum Hathorkult bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches”, *MÄS* 4, (Berlin: Bruno Hessling, 1963), 95, n. 10.

<sup>37</sup> Henri Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des Noms Géographique Contenus dans les Textes Hiéroglyphiques III*, (Le Caire: Société Royale de Géographie d’Egypte, (1926) 26; Allam, “Hathorkult”, 95-96;


Farouk Gomaà, “Besiedlung Ägyptens Während des Mittleren Reiches”, *TAVO* 66/1, (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1986) 275—76.

<sup>39</sup> Diana Magee, “Asyut to the End of the Middle Kingdom: A Historical and Cultural Study” (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis; Oxford 1988) 194-95.

<sup>40</sup> John Coleman Darnell, “The Apotropaic Goddess in the Eye”, *SAK* 24 (1997) 43.

“wandering daughter of Re”, as well as the womb of the mother from which the sun is born<sup>41</sup>. Hathor's dual character is highlighted by her job as Re's eye, which demonstrates her ability to be both a strong goddess and a mother figure who can be angry when needed.

**c. *Ir i3w n @t-hr:***

Apart from the praising formula *irt i3w*, *rdit i3w* and *di i3w* is missing, after the name of Hathor there is unreadable title of the goddess, then came a missing part then the name of *Wennefer*, therefore the author suggests that it must be another praising formula that always follows the previous one, this phrase is  means “kissing the ground for”<sup>42</sup>, as giving a high degree of obedience to the god. This formula involving Osiris, Wepwawet, and also Anubis it is first found on a stela of the Second Intermediate Period<sup>43</sup>. The two forms occurred together; for example, on the stele of Neferrenpet TR 14.6.24.17. It also documented in the greeting and veneration of the king by foreigners in the 18th dynasty, e.g. It is noticed that the expression was commonly attested of the stelae from Deir El-Medina; for example, JE 43564; JE 43566; JE 43567; JE 65059; JE 72020<sup>44</sup>. So the author suggests that the missing part here is *sn tA n* that follows *ir iAw*.

**d. *di.sn:***

The sentence “*di.sn*” means “*They may grant*”, as there are two persons on the stela *Ahmoose* and *Wepwawt-mes*, so “*sn*” of plural is used. The expression “*di.sn*” was used in the offering formula that appeared in the 12<sup>th</sup> dynasty, not earlier than that<sup>45</sup>, and

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<sup>41</sup> Erik Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996) 113.

<sup>42</sup> Pyr.755 b-c (422); Mercer, Samuel, *The Pyramid Texts*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1952) 225; Allen, Thomas George, *The Book of the Dead*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1974) 19.

<sup>43</sup> Selim Hassan, *Hymnes Religieuses du Moyen Empire*, (le Caire, 1928), 123f.

<sup>44</sup> Mona El Nadi, “The Gods Represented on Stelae from Deir El Medineh in the New Kingdom”, (Unpublished MSc. Thesis, Cairo, 1999).

<sup>45</sup> Claude Obsomer, “*di.f prt-hrw* et la Filiation *ms(t).n ir(t).n* Comme Critères de Datation dans les Textes du Moyen Empire”, In *Individu, Société et*



was usually followed by the expression “prt-xrw” means “invocation” but the offering formula here is not completed as appeared on different stelae<sup>46</sup>.

e. *hnKt ꜥse*:

This kind of vases appeared in the Pyramid Texts, and as an element among the Offerings from the Old Kingdom. It was a beer vessel, it was used during the daily rituals of purification in temples<sup>47</sup>.

f. *n k3 wꜥb*:

The offering is invoked to the *ka* of *Wepwawt-ms*, who was a Wab-priest means “*pure priest*” or “*priest of purification*” his title is preceded by the usual expression for offering *n k3 (n)*, but the second “*n*” here is missing by a mistake from the writer.

The title wab is written by the sign for fumigation which was the sign  (Gardiner R 5) *k3p*, it is a censer for fumigation. In the Dynasty XIII somewhat resembles a wrist and a hand<sup>48</sup>, while in later period it was interpreted as a “claw”, but it is a doubtless sign to be used here as the liquid is longer as in the sign , so it is the sign that refers to the job of the man, as a priest of purification<sup>49</sup> and

Spiritualité dans l’Egypte Pharaonique et Copte, édits par Christian Cannuyer et Jean-Marie Kruchten, (Bruxelles 1993)163-196,169.

<sup>46</sup> The offering without using the complete expression comes on the following stelae: A Middle Kingdom stela in Zagreb Museum no. 585; a New Kingdom stela in Cairo Museum CGC 34.81; and a New Kingdom stela in Matariya Museum no.235, see: Pierre Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire, in Catalogue Générale des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos.34001-34189*, (Le Caire 1909), pl.XLI.

<sup>47</sup>Peter Lacovara, “Vessels”, in Redford, D.B (ed.) *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, Vol. III, (Oxford 2001) 481.

<sup>48</sup> Kurt Sethe, “Urkunden der 18<sup>th</sup> Dynastie IV. Historisch- Biographische Urkunden”, *Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums IV*, (Leipzig: J.C.Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1909). IV, 997, 6.


<sup>49</sup> Abdul Rahman Al-Ayedi, *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom*, (Ismailia: Obelisk Publications, 2006) 236, no. 750.




is used mistakably to refer to the daily job of the wab-priest, who fumigate and purify the god in the temple daily. The sign for mw is always written by the three waves of water written differently than in other words on the stela. It is written just as in hieratic form. Pure-priests were less powerful than the rank of the Hm-nTr, they had no access to the cult statue in the sanctuary of the temple. They had only access to the processional figures of gods which they carried in ceremonial processions<sup>50</sup>.

**g. Wp-w3wt-ms:**

This name of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person on the stela means “Who was begotten by Wepwawt”, it is attested in Ranke, namely wp-wAwt-ms, it is preceded by the title “s3b” that means “judge, dignitary” so beside his rank as a wab priest he is proud of his administrative job<sup>51</sup>. The name Wp-wAwt-ms appeared in the New Kingdom<sup>52</sup>, on stelae: 7316, 7317, Berlin museum<sup>53</sup>.

**g.** The formula  n k3 n "for the ka of" appeared rarely in the old kingdom, is used from the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and all known 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty inscriptions use this form to introduce the recipient<sup>54</sup>.

**h.** The stela is finished by the epithet  m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw<sup>55</sup> which often equivalent to deceased, originally applied to Osiris<sup>56</sup>, the epithet is

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<sup>50</sup> Spencer, Neal, Priests and Temples:Pharaonic. In A.B.Lloyd(ed.), A Companion to Ancient Egypt I, (Chichester: 2010) 255-73.

<sup>51</sup>Anne Taylor, An Index of Male Non-Royal, 192, no. 1877.

<sup>52</sup> Hermann Ranke, Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I, (Glückstadt: Verlag von J.J. Augustin, 1935) no. 23

<sup>53</sup> Günther, Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, (Leipzig: Hinrichs 1913) 134, 142; Ernst Bergmann, Inschriftliche Denkmäler der Sammlung Ägyptischer Alterthümer des Österreichischen Kaiserhauses, Rec.de Trav. 9, Paris 1887, Nr.53, 41-42.



Detlef Franke, "The Middle Kingdom Offering Formulas- A Challenge", *JEA* 89, (2003) 39-57; Tomich, Alexander, "Changes in the Htp-di-nsw Formula in the Late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period", *ZÄS* 138 (2011).

Wb I,15,1-7.

Leitz, Christian, *LGG III*, 215- 17.

also used in connection with Horus as the "triumphant", it is used from the Old Kingdom (Pyr.689), in the New kingdom referring to the victories of kings.<sup>57</sup>

## Conclusion:

- The stela was executed rapidly and that is obvious in some signs that are written in hieratic, it was common to have a draft in hieratic and after finishing the stela, some signs remain in hieratic, for example the title of *Ahmose Imy-r hm ntr n ntrw nbw*, the sign of *ntrw* (in the upper register) is written in hieratic, also the three waves of water in the title of the *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priest *Wepwawt-mes*(in the lower register), although the sign N35  is written more than once on the stela with this usual form, but it is written in hieratic as three horizontal lines . Perhaps a local craftsman to be dedicated to the god Osiris so it bears writing mistakes that could dates the stela to the late Ramesside Period, as errors occurred of this kind of the end of the New Kingdom.
- Some signs were roughly added to the inscriptions; for example, the horns sign for the name of the god *Wepwawt* although he is not represented on the stela.
- The relation between the two persons on the stela is not attested, but it is well known that the high priest conferred his job to his elder son, so it seems that the relation is father and son stela.
- On the basis of its stylistic, iconographic, and epigraphic details, the stela is most likely dating to the New Kingdom, the general character of the inscriptions and the clothing style, all combine to suggest a date in the Ramesside period. The internal evidence which points to Asyut: the fact that Osiris is referred to in the inscriptions as "*lord of the land of life*", and the title *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priest, held by links him with *Wepwawat*, who enjoyed a prominent cult in Asyut.

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<sup>57</sup> Denise Doxey, "*Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom: A Social and Historical Analysis*", (Brill, Leiden-Boston1998) 91.

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**(Figure 1)**

Stela JE 99452 © Egyptian Museum in Cairo



**(Figure 2)**

Line drawing of the Stela JE 99452 (by: Rasha Abd El Hafez)