

Abydian Stelae Bearing Foreign Names

لوحات من أبيدوس تحمل أسماء أجنبية

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ملخص

يقدم هذا البحث نشرًا مفصلاً لثلاث لوحات جنائزية من مدينة أبيدوس؛ وهي اللوحات رقم ٣٤٠٨٢، ورقم ٣٤٠٨٣، ورقم ٣٤٠٨٥ في المتحف المصري. جميعها من الحجر الجيري، وتعود إلى الدولة الحديثة. وتحليل هذه اللوحات، وُجد أن ثلاثتها تحوي أسماء أجنبية، لعل من أهمها هو اسم (إبي-بعر)، الذي كان يُقرأ (إبي-سوتخ). يناقش البحث مدى صحة نطق هذا الاسم، كذلك اهتم بوظائف وألقاب أصحاب اللوحات الثلاث.

طرح البحث فرضية وجود مجتمعات من الأجانب، وخاصة الآسيويين، في مدينة أبيدوس امتداداً لبدء تغلغلهم في الدولة المصرية منذ الدولة الوسطى. كما عُمِلَ إحصاء للوحات من الحقبة التاريخية نفسها مع التعليق على وظائف وأسماء أصحابها وأفراد عائلاتهم وتأريخها إن أمكن، وكذلك مناقشة التصوير الفني لهم وانتماءاتهم الدينية.

Going through the funerary stelae discovered at Abydos and published by A. Mariette and P. Lacau, we find that some of them bore foreign names. This article deals with three of these stelae, housed in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. One of these monuments was crafted by a certain Iy-Bar, (CG 34083), while the other two were mentioning foreigners (CG 38082 and CG 38085). As a matter of fact, T. Schneider¹ has already dealt with the existence and the origin of the Asiatic foreign names according to the New Kingdom documents including some Abydian Stelae without going into any other further detail. Therefore, the present article is going to analyze the genealogy and jobs of the owners of these stelae along with the mention of foreigners on the New Kingdom Abydian Stela.



(Fig. 1) Stela of Twria CG 34082.

Doc. 1: Stela of Twria CG 34082 (Fig. 1)²

The monument is carved from painted limestone, having a height of 43 cm and a width of 24 cm. This round-topped stela is divided into three sections with figures in sunk relief and incised texts. It is slightly broken in the upper part where one of the two *Wd3.t* eyes, decorating the lunette, is currently missing. The upper register shows a scene of adoration in front of the god Osiris by a man, a small person and a woman. The god is enthroned and is mummified except for his hands that hold the *W3s* scepter. He wears the white crown and a broad collar with a back counterpoise, *menat*³. His name 𓂏𓂛𓂏 *Wsir* is in front of him just under the well-preserved *Wd3.t* eye. A richly filled offering table is figured between the group of worshippers and the deity.

The man raises his hands in a sign of adoration, same attitude as the woman, while the small person, figured as an adult, has his arms outstretched alongside of his body. The costumes are very simple. Both men are bold, wear a broad collar and a kilt while the woman has a lengthy wig and wears a long tight-fitting dress. The texts above their heads show their names. Above the man’s head we read (↓→)

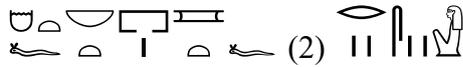
- 1. 𓂏𓂛𓂏 𓂏𓂛𓂏
- 2. 𓂏𓂛𓂏 𓂏𓂛𓂏 𓂏𓂛𓂏 𓂏𓂛𓂏
- 3. 𓂏𓂛𓂏 𓂏𓂛𓂏

(1) *hry h^ck.w^t* (2) *n Tmn tr* (3) *i^s*

(1) The chief of the barbers (2) of Amon Tr (3) i.

While above the small person’s head we read 𓂏𓂛𓂏 *Rm⁶* ‘Ro-ma’. Finally,

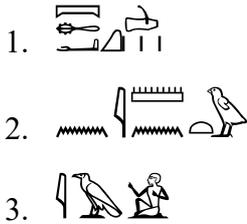
we read the woman's titles (↓→): (1)



(1) *hm.tsf nb.t pr mr.tsf* (2) *Rysy*⁷

- (1) His wife, the lady of the house, his beloved
- (2) *Rysy*.

On the second register, we see the funerary banquet. The two main characters are sitting on a couch and before them a richly garnished offering table. The costumes are pretty much the same as the upper register except for the man's long kilt and the perfume cones above the couple heads. The names and titles are, as before, written above the couple heads' (↓→):

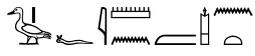


(1) *hry h'k.w* (2) *n Imn t (sic)* (3) *i3*

- (1) The chief of the barbers (2) of Amon T[r](3) i.

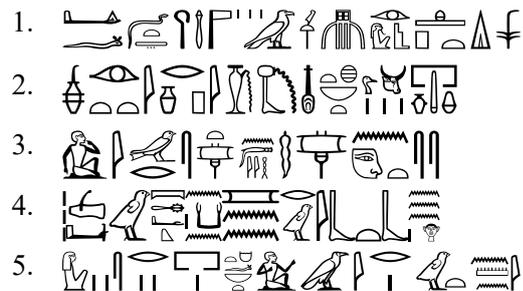
While above the woman's head we read (→)



On the opposite side of the offering table, and facing the main couple, we find three men, a very miniscule person and two women. The first of the men is outstretching his right arm towards the couple. While the two following men are holding flower bouquets always in their right hands. The three men wear the same outfit consisting of a short kilt and their heads are shaven. The names are, as usual, written above their heads. The first man's name is (→)  *s3sf Imn m Twn.t* 'His son, Amon-em-Iwnet'. The second's name is (←)  *smn*. The last one's name is

 *Nfr-w' b.t* 'Nefer-webet'. The very small person that follows is left anonymous, naked and his left arm is crossed on his chest. The two women standing by the end of the register, wear the same long tight-fitting dress and long wig, though the one at the far end is much smaller in height. The first of the two women holds a flower bouquet in her right hand while the left hand is outstretched towards the head of the small person standing before her. The last woman is placing her hands on her precedent's hips. Unfortunately, both names were chiseled during the antiquity.

Finally, comes a text written on five lines (←):



(1) *h'p di Niswt Wsir hnty imnti.w ntr 3 h'k3 d.t di3f* (2) *prt hr.w t hnkt 3pd.w k3.w h.t nb.t nfr.t w' b.t kbhw irp irtt* (3) *ssnt (sic) 3.w ndm n mh.yt swri* (4) *mw hr b3b3.t i[t]rw n k3 n hry h'k.w* (5) *n Imn tri hm.tsf nb.t pr Rysy*

'An offering which the king gives to Osiris, the foremost of the westerners, the great god, the ruler of eternity, that he may give a voice offering of bread and beer, oxen, fowl, all things good and pure, cold water, wine and milk, to breathe the sweet wind of the north, to drink water from the shore [of the] river, to the Ka of the chief barber of Amon Tri, his wife the lady of the house *Rysy*'.

Doc. 2: Stela of Iy-Bar CG 34083 (Fig. 2)⁸

This round-topped stela, also made from painted limestone, measures 0.24 cm in height and 0.18 cm in width. It's divided into two major

1.

2. *Mry-R^c m³(.t)-hr.w*

‘Mery-Ra, the justified’. While on the left side we see a bald man, standing in the same position as the woman, wearing a long robe with short sleeves. Above his head a three lines inscription that reads:

1.

2.

3.

(1) *h^tp di niswt* (2) *Wsir nb* (sic) (3) *di-f n h.t nb(.t) nfr.t w^cb.t* ‘(1) An offering which the king gives, (2) Osiris lord (sic), (3) that he may give every beautiful and pure thing’.

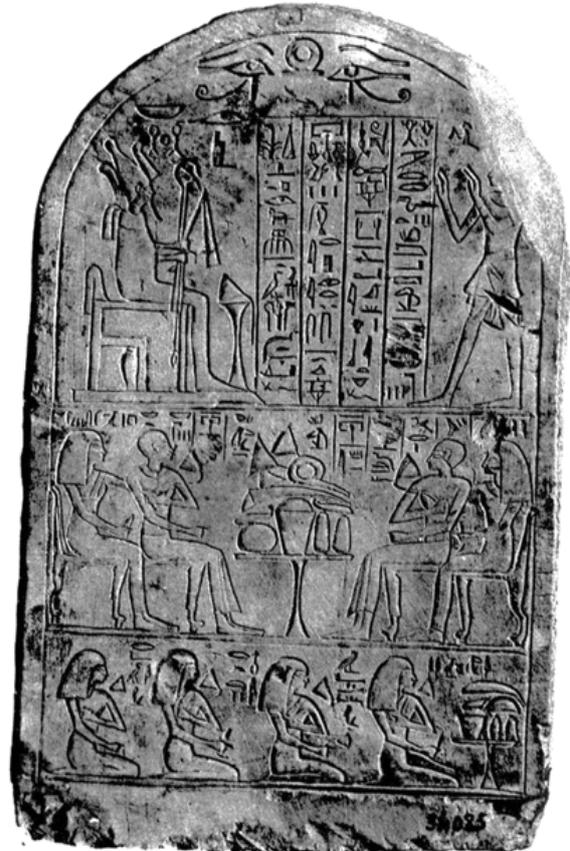
Finally, we find a single line of hieroglyphs (←):

h^tp di niswt h^tp di Wsir hn(ty) Imn(tt) ntr 3 hk3 d.t di-f n h.t nb(.t) nfr(.t) w^cb(.t)

‘An offering which the king gives, Osiris the foremost of the west, the great god, ruler of eternity, that he may give every beautiful and pure thing’.

Doc. 3: Stela of Neb-Neteru CG 34085 (Fig. 3)¹⁰

Measuring 0.48 m in height and 0.305 m in width, this round-topped stela is made from limestone. The lunette is adorned with two *Wd3.t* eyes encircle a *šn* sign. It is divided into three registers, the first being the largest. It shows an offering scene before Osiris, who is shown seated, wearing the *3tf* crown, a broad collar with a back



(Fig. 3) Stela of Neb-Neteru CG 34085.

counterpoise and completely mummified except for his hands that are holding the *hk3*, the *w3s* and the *Nbh*. In front of the god, we find a very simple altar with a single lotus flower. His name is *Wsir nb h^h* ‘Osiris lord of eternity’. On the far right of the stela we find a male worshipper, whose head is unfortunately broken, wearing a short-elaborated kilt. Between the two figures, we find a four columns text (↓→):

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

(1) *hṭp di niswt hṭp di Wsir hnty imnt ntr iwnw* (sic for ʕ3) *hk3 d.t diʕf* (2) *pṛt hr.w t hnkt ʕpd.w k3.w kbhw irp ir.tt ssnt* (sic) (3) *ndm n mh[.yt] n k3 n wʕ ik* (sic for *ikr*)¹¹ *bi.tʕf* (4) *w3h ib mrr rmt sdm.w ʕš¹² n [pr-hd- n-Imn] Nb-ntr.w*

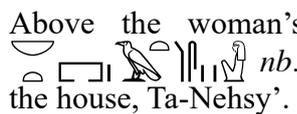
‘An offering which the king gives, Osiris the foremost of the west, the great god, ruler of eternity, that he may give a voice offering of bread and beer, oxen, fowl, cold water, wine and milk, to breathe the sweet wind of the north, to the Ka of the only trustworthy because of his qualities, [the] patient, beloved by mankind (Egyptians?) the servant of [Imn] Neb-Neteru’.

On the second register, two couples, respectively a man and a woman, are facing each other and between them we find a fine richly ornamented offering table. Both are seated on a lion-legged couch. The two bald men wear a broad collar, a long kilt and inhale a lotus flower. Each of the women wear a long wig and long tight dress. They embrace their men with one hand while holding a lotus bud in the other hand.

Above each group, we find the names and titles of the couple. On the left, above the man’s head we read (↓←):

 *sdm-ʕš n* (sic) [*n pr-hd n Imn*] *Nb-ntrw*

‘The servant in [the treasury of Amon], Neb-Neteru’.

Above the woman’s head we see (→):
 *nb.t pr t3-nhsy* ‘the lady of the house, Ta-Nehsy’.

While on the right we read above the man’s head (↓→):

 *sdm-ʕš n pr-hd n Imn [Imn]-hṭp dd[.tw]¹³ nʕ P3-rwy*

‘The servant in the treasury of Amon, [Amon]-Hotep that is called Parwy’

And above the woman’s head we read:  [*ʕmqn?*] y.

At the final register, we find four kneeling women behind a much less decorated offering table. The four women wear the same long wig and the same tight fitted dress. Each of them holds a blossomed lotus flower on the left hand, while on the right a flower bud takes place. Their names are written just above their heads. From right to left (→):  *Ipwy*¹⁴,  *Mhy*,  *Nfr.t-iry* and  *Rʕy*.

Notes

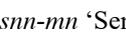
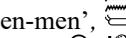
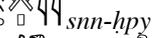
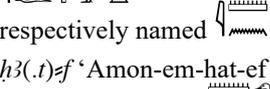
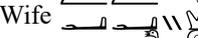
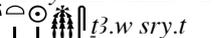
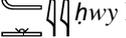
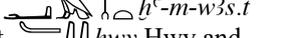
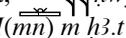
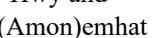
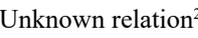
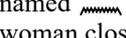
The first and the last lines in the texts have signs that were inverted. The scribe did not really follow the orthodox method when writing. For example, we find  directly followed by  when all the signs should be evenly directed.

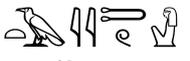
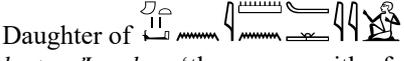
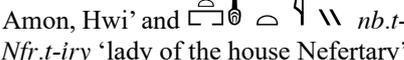
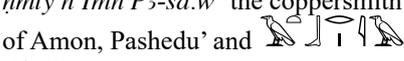
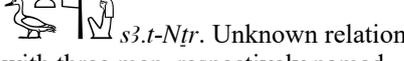
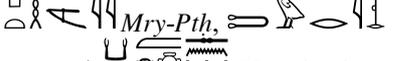
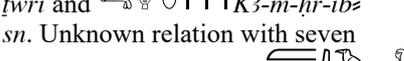
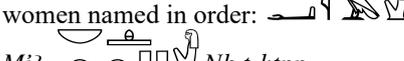
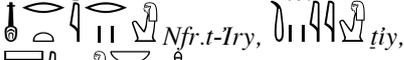
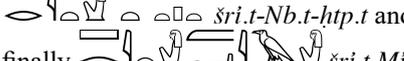
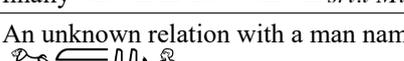
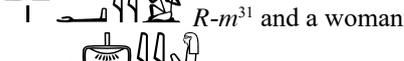
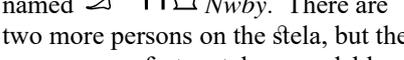
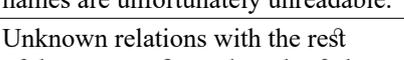
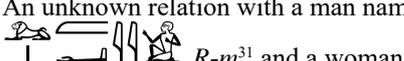
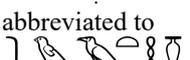
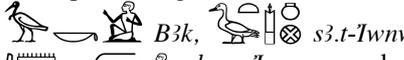
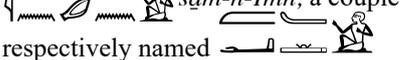
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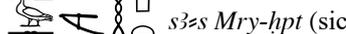
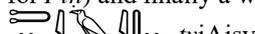
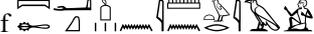
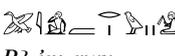
Unfortunately, the pictures provided are on a greyscale, hence no comments on the colors nor the finishing could not be provided. As we go through these stelae, we find a real fertile source for a foreign presence in Abydos. Whether they were actual residents in the city or pilgrims, they made sure to leave an ex-voto in the vicinity of the main temple dedicated to Osiris¹⁵, which some were subject to the destruction caused by the zealous followers of Akhenaton.

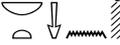
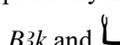
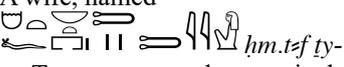
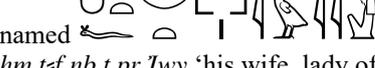
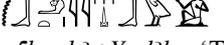
In order to understand further their presence, their titles and their genealogy, it was important to

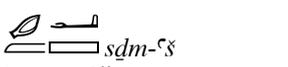
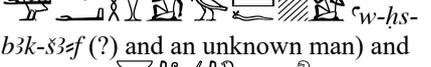
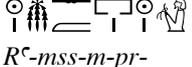
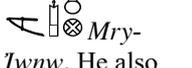
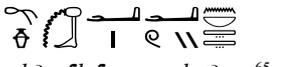
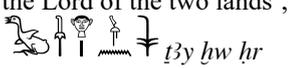
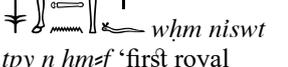
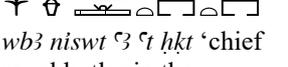
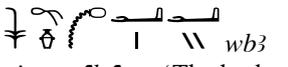
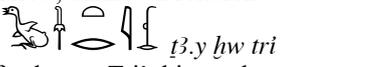
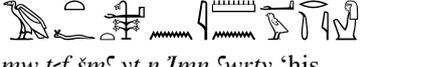
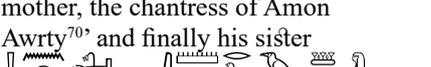
go through different documents discovered in the vicinity of the temple of Osiris¹⁶.

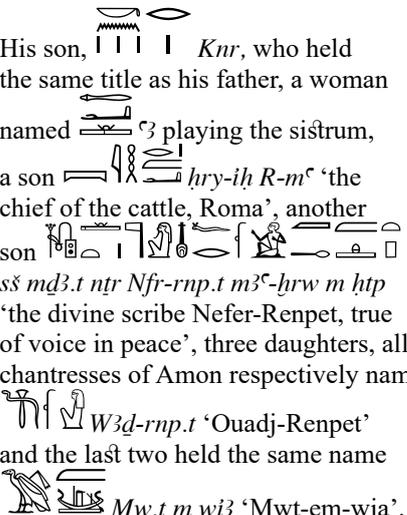
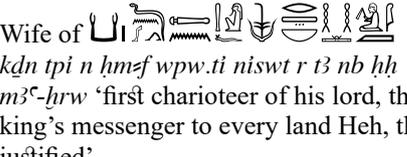
Name	Gender	Title/Job	Known Family	Reference
 <i>k3 ri3</i> ¹⁷	Male	 <i>idnw p3-s3 n Itn</i> 'deputy of the troops of Aton' ¹⁸	Father  <i>it s3 Imn</i> 'father, Sa-Amon', mother  <i>mw.tsf</i> <i>9hwty</i> 'his mother, Djehouti', three brothers respectively named  <i>snn-mn</i> 'Senen-men',  <i>snn-hpy</i> 'Senen-Hepy' and  <i>Rm-wi3</i> 'Ra-em-wia'. A wife named  <i>it-rsw</i> 'It-rsu'. Three sons respectively named  <i>imn m h3(.t)sf</i> 'Amon-em-hat-ef',  <i>wi3ty</i> 'Wuiaty' and  <i>s3-Imn</i> 'Sa-Amon'. Two daughters  <i>t3-mh.yt</i> 'Ta-Mehyt' and  <i>mr.yt</i> 'Meryt'.	Stela of Karia CG 34061 ¹⁹
 <i>T3-r3-y</i> ²⁰	Male	<i>W^cb</i> priest of the god Thot	Wife  <i>Mmy</i> . An unknown relation with  <i>t3.w sry.t</i> <i>R^c-ms</i> 'the standard bearer Ramses' and his wife who is left nameless. Also unknown relation with a woman named  <i>hwy</i> Hwy, three men named respectively  <i>h3-m-w3s.t</i> Khaemwaset,  <i>hwy</i> Hwy and  <i>T(mn) m h3.t</i> (Amon)emhat and a nameless woman.	Stela of Ramses CG 34062 ²¹
 <i>k3r(3)</i>	Female	Unknown	Unknown relation ²² with  <i>Imn-ms</i> , a woman named  <i>Wsr.t-h3.t</i> , two men respectively named  <i>mn</i> ,  <i>hwi</i> and a woman closely figured to her named  <i>Mwy</i> .	Stela of <i>Imn-ms</i> CG 34067 ²³
 <i>Tby</i>	Female	Unknown	Wife of  <i>Nb-sny</i> and mother of  <i>R^c</i> 'Ra'	Stela of Ra CG 34070 ²⁴

Name	Gender	Title/Job	Known Family	Reference
 <i>t3ytw</i> ²⁵	Female	Unknown	Daughter of  <i>hmty n Imn hwy</i> ‘the coppersmith of Amon, Hwi’ and  <i>nb.t-pr Nfr.t-iry</i> ‘lady of the house Nefertary’, sister of  <i>hmty n Imn P3-sd.w</i> ‘the coppersmith of Amon, Pashedu’ and  <i>t3bri3</i> .	Stela CG 34072 ²⁶
 <i>Rfy</i> ²⁷	Male	Scribe	His mother  <i>mw.tsf mr(.t)sf s3.t-Ntr</i> . His wife bears the same name as his mother’s  <i>s3.t-Ntr</i> . Unknown relations with three men, respectively named  <i>Mry-Pth</i> ,  <i>twri</i> and  <i>K3-m-hr-ib sn</i> . Unknown relation with seven women named in order:  <i>Mi3</i> ,  <i>Nb.t-htpp</i> (sic. <i>htp.t</i>),  <i>Rfy</i> ²⁸ ,  <i>Nfr.t-Iry</i> ,  <i>tiy</i> ,  <i>Sri.t-Nb.t-htp.t</i> and finally  <i>Sri.t MiA</i>	Stela of <i>Rfy</i> CG 34074 ²⁹
 <i>K3-s3</i> ³⁰	Male	Unknown	An unknown relation with a man named  <i>R-m</i> ³¹ and a woman named  <i>Nwby</i> . There are two more persons on the stela, but their names are unfortunately unreadable.	Stela of <i>K3-s3</i> CG 34075 ³²
 <i>sw-t3-t3-hs</i> ³³ abbreviated to  <i>sw-t3-hs</i>	Male	<i>sdm-cs</i> and  <i>msw 3b.wt n Pth</i> ‘Bearer (of) the offerings to Ptah’	Unknown relations with the rest of the persons figured on the stela  <i>B3k</i> ,  <i>s3.t-Iwnw</i> ,  <i>sdm-n-Imn</i> , a couple respectively named  <i>M^c-hwi</i> and  <i>Nb.t-pr t3.wy</i> and the persons figured on the third register respectively named  <i>M^c-hwi</i> ,  <i>t3-h^c</i> ,  <i>sk3</i> ,  <i>t3i</i> ,  <i>P3-Nhsy</i>	Stela of <i>sw-t3-t3-hs</i> CG 34078 ³⁴

Name	Gender	Title/Job	Known Family	Reference
 G3g3	Female	Nb.t-pr 'Lady of the house'	A son named  <i>hr-m-wi3</i> who worked as  <i>hry-sn n b-w3b.t</i> ³⁵ Two daughters ³⁶ , one is named  <i>twy</i> and the other is  <i>t3-3gm(?)</i> A nameless son ³⁷ Two grandsons  <i>Imn-m-ip.t</i> ³⁸ and  <i>Iry</i> ³⁹ . Unknown relation:  <i>ipyy</i> , a woman named  <i>tyr</i> suckling an infant named  <i>s3zs Mry-hpt</i> (sic for <i>Pthi</i>) and finally a woman named  <i>tyiAisy</i>	Stela of <i>hr-m-wi3</i> CG 34079 ⁴⁰
 Rysy ⁴¹	Female	Nb.t pr 'lady of the house'.	Wife of  <i>hry-hk.w n Imn twri3</i> 'the Chief barbers of Amon <i>twri3</i> ' and an unknown relation with a person named  <i>Rm</i> ⁴²	Stela of <i>twri</i> , CG 34082 ⁴³
 Ty-B3r ⁴⁴	Male	 <i>iry Pr-hd</i> 'The keeper of the treasury'.	Wife  <i>Mry-Rc</i> 'Mery-Ra'.	Stela of <i>Ty-B3r</i> CG 34083 ⁴⁵
 P3-r3-wy	Male	 <i>sdm-cs n pr-hd n Imn</i> 'The <i>sdm-cs</i> in the treasury of Amon'.	Nb-ntr.w (probably father, holding the same title) t3-Nhsy (probably Mother) Four other women (<i>Ipwy</i> , <i>Mhy</i> , <i>Nfr.t-iry-Rcy</i>) unknown relation.	Stela of <i>Nb-Ntr.w</i> CG 34085 ⁴⁶
 P3-im-rwy	Male	 <i>s3b</i> 'Judge' ⁴⁷	His wife  <i>nb.t pr mr(.t)3 K3rwn3</i> 'Mistress of the house his beloved Karuna'. His sons  <i>Mry-Rc</i> 'Meri-Ra' ⁴⁸ and  <i>wcb wsr Mnw</i> 'Ouab-Ouser-Menu'. His daughter  <i>Mw.t Nsw</i> 'Mut Nsw' and finally the wife of his son  <i>Nfriti-Wbn</i> 'Neferti-Ouben'.	Stela of <i>Mry-Rc</i> CG 34091 ⁴⁹

Name	Gender	Title/Job	Known Family	Reference
 <i>P3-r3-y</i>	Male	Unknown	Not clear, since he is figured on a stela (CG 34105) with other persons without any title.	Stela of <i>R3-y</i> , CG 34105 ⁵⁰
 <i>P3-y-t3-my</i> ⁵¹	Male	 <i>whc-hmi</i> Helmsman ⁵² .	His son  <i>Ms-sw</i> . Unknown relation with three persons figured on the lower register, a man and two women, respectively named  <i>hc-m-W3s.t</i> ,  <i>3s.t</i> and  <i>Nb.t sn</i> (....) <i>B3k.t</i> (?)	Stela of <i>P3-y-t3-my</i> CG 34108
 <i>P3-i3-m-y3i</i>	Male	Unknown	A female (probably wife since she is sitting with the owner) named  <i>Bk3</i> . A son named  <i>In3y</i> .	Stela of <i>P3-i3-m-y3i</i> CG 34115 ⁵³
 <i>P3-Nhsy</i>	Male	Unknown	Two sons respectively named  <i>B3k</i> and  <i>K3ri</i>	Stela of <i>P3-Nhsy</i> CG 34122 ⁵⁴
 <i>P3-Nhsy</i>	Male	Unknown	A wife, named  <i>hm.tsf ty</i> . Two sons named respectively  <i>s3sf Nhsy</i> - <i>h3w</i> 'his son Nehesy-Khaw' and  <i>s3sf sdm-s n pr-hd Pth-p3-mniw</i> 'his son the servant in the treasury of Ptah Pa-Meniu' who was married to a woman named  <i>hm.tsf nb.t pr Iwy</i> 'his wife, lady of the house Iwy'. He also had a sister named  <i>sn.tsf t3-hc.t</i> 'his sister, Ta-Khaet'.	Stela of <i>P3-Nhsy</i> CG 34127 ⁵⁵
 <i>Ynd3bw</i>	Male	 <i>wcb n h3.t Ynd3bw</i> 'The front <i>Wcb</i> priest' of king Ahmos in Abydos-reign of Ramses II	None	Stela of Paser <i>JE</i> 43649 ⁵⁶
 <i>try-ky-ty</i>	Male	 <i>hry-hb</i> 'Lector priest' of the great royal wife <i>s3.t-Tch</i> wife of Thotmosis III. (Eighteenth Dynasty)	Unknown	<i>Offering table of the queen s3.t-Tch</i> ⁵⁷

Name	Gender	Title/Job	Known Family	Reference
 <i>Pn-r-t3</i>	Male	Unknown	Wife  <i>t3-s3m.t</i> ⁵⁸	<i>Berlin 7292</i> ⁵⁹
 <i>P3-hw-kfy</i>	Male	 <i>sdm-cs</i> ‘servant’ ⁶⁰	A nameless wife and other unclear relations with members on the stela: three men respectively named ( <i>s3 pr-hd Mi3</i> ,  <i>cw-hs-b3k-s3cf</i> (?) and an unknown man) and a woman ( <i>nb.t-pr tniwh</i>)	<i>Stela of P3-hw-kfy</i> ⁶¹
 <i>R^c-mss-m-pr-R^c</i> ⁶² who also had a nickname  <i>Mry-twnw</i> . He also added his real foreign name  <i>B3-nyw-t3-n3</i> ‘Benazan’ ⁶³ as well as the name of his hometown  <i>d3r-b3sn3</i> ‘Ziri-Bashan’ ⁶⁴	Male	 <i>wb3 wcb cy n nb t3.wy</i> ⁶⁵ ‘The pure hand butler of the Lord of the two lands’,  <i>t3y hw hr wnm n niswt</i> ‘fan bearer on the right of the king’,  <i>whm niswt tpy n hmcf</i> ‘first royal herald of his Majesty’ and  <i>wb3 niswt t3 t hkt</i> ‘chief royal butler in the Kitchen’.	Father  <i>tyw-p3-c3</i> and his nameless mother.	<i>Stela of R^c-mss-m-pr-R^c</i> ⁶⁶
 <i>Pn-t3-wr</i> ⁶⁷	Male	 <i>wb3 niswt wcb cy wy</i> ‘The butler (of) the king, pure (of) hands’ ⁶⁸ .	Wife,  <i>sn.tcf nb.t prcf smc.yt n Imn 3s.t</i> <i>Nfr.t</i> , ‘his sister, the mistress of his house, the chantress’ ⁶⁹ of Amon, Isisnofret’, unknown relation with  <i>t3.y hw tri</i> ‘the fan bearer Tri’, his mother  <i>mw.tcf smc.yt n Imn wrty</i> ‘his mother, the chantress of Amon Awrty’ ⁷⁰ , and finally his sister  <i>sn.tcf smc.yt n Imn Rwk333</i> ‘his sister, the chantress of Amon Rouqasha’ ⁷¹	<i>Stela of Pn-t3-wr</i>

Name	Gender	Title/Job	Known Family	Reference
 <i>Nti-b3-r-ti3</i> ⁷⁴	Male	 <i>Imy-r ms n</i> <i>pr Imn</i> ‘The director of the troops ⁷² of the house of Amon’	 His son, <i>Knr</i> , who held the same title as his father, a woman named <i>3</i> playing the <i>si3trum</i> , a son <i>hry-ih R-m</i> ‘the chief of the cattle, Roma’, another son <i>s3 md3.t n3r Nfr-rnp.t m3c-hrw m htp</i> ‘the divine scribe Nefer-Renpet, true of voice in peace’, three daughters, all chantresses of Amon respectively named <i>W3d-rnp.t</i> ‘Oudj-Renpet’ and the last two held the same name <i>Mw.t m wi3</i> ‘Mwt-em-wia’.	Stela of <i>t3ny</i> ⁷³
 <i>Nti-b3-r-ti3</i> ⁷⁴	Female	 <i>sm yt n</i> <i>Imn</i> ‘Chantress of Amon’	 Wife of <i>kdn tpi n hm3f wpw.ti niswt r t3 nb hh m3c-hrw</i> ‘first charioteer of his lord, the king’s messenger to every land Heh, the justified’.	Stela of Heh ⁷⁵

As seen, Abydos had its own share of foreign activity that was not exclusive to a certain social standard. Usually the chapels, in which ex-voto stelae or statues were placed, were made of mudbricks. Mostly they had no associated tombs and their elaboration, as well as their size, demonstrate an array of social standards. If we examine the provided documents along with those from a precedent era, we may fairly say that there was a solid community of foreigners in Abydos⁷⁶ yet we can not say that they all resided in the city. The previous table provided 26 foreign names, 23 of which are Asiatics and three are Nubians⁷⁷.

Although the Egyptian art reserved, in it is a majority, a stereo-typed representation of the foreigners who were looked upon as a lower class⁷⁸, we find in these stelae an evidence that many of them assumed important tasks and were in direct contact with the King⁷⁹ and others assumed priestly charges⁸⁰. Others held mediocre jobs

but still managed to place a stelae in this sacred place⁸¹. We also find jobs that were connected to the craftsmanship of the treasury ‘*s3dm-c3 n pr-h3d*’ whether that of a temple or another one. It is quite interesting that women were often referred to as housewives, nevertheless, we have an example of a woman who worked as a ‘chantress of Amon’.

We saw that these foreigners were ‘Egyptianized’ to the extent that some of them married Egyptian women and the women married Egyptian men. The offspring of these marriages were considered Egyptians. We also find that many were named in foreign names though their parents’ names were Egyptian. Most probably in that case they were named after an ancestor. This point shows that some of these foreigners chose to completely merge with the Egyptian society, while others chose to keep their original name and even mention their homeland⁸².

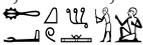
In their artistic representation, none of them was represented by his ethnic traits. They were represented as Egyptians with their costumes, ornaments and even wigs⁸³. They used to dress according to what was fashionable⁸⁴.

When it comes to the spiritual aspect, it is quite hard to totally understand their religious orientation. Some of them fully adopted the Egyptian religion not only by making offerings before the Abydian Triade⁸⁵ but also in expressing personal piety; in the stela of Iy-Baar, though he kept his name formed with the name of the god Baal, he is seen with his wife adoring a unique representation of the four sons of Horus in a boat⁸⁶.

At the end, we can fairly say that the Abydian Stelae remain a very fertile source to study many aspects of the burial and cultural traditions in Ancient Egypt.

Notes

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- 1 T. Schneider, 'Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches', *OBO* 114 (1992).
- 2 Discovered in the Northern necropolis of Abydos, dated from the reign of Thotmosis IV, cf. A. Mariette, *Catalogue des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville* (Paris, 1880), 392-393; P. Lacau, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, nos. 34065-34186, Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, Tome premier, Deuxième fascicule (Cairo, 1926), 131, pl. XLII.
- 3 For the significance of this collar and its importance, cf., P. Bargout, 'L'origine et la signification du contrepoids du collier-menat', *BIFAO* 52 (1952), 103-111.
- 4 The original sign in the text could not be found in the sign list provided by the JSesh program. It resembles more either the sign U37 but in an

inverted form, , or the hair sign D3A but also in an inverted form , and only two strands. For the interpretation of the sign U37 as 'razor', cf., G. Andreu & S. Cauville, 'Vocabulaire absent du Wörterbuch (II)', *Rd'E* 30 (1978), 17. Common barbers did not have a privileged status in Ancient Egypt. According to papyrus Sallier II, in what is known as 'Satire of Trade' we read: '*The Barber shaves into the end of the evening, continually at the call, continually on his elbow, pushing himself continually from street to street looking for people to shave. He does violence to his arms to fill his belly, like bees that eat that eat at their toil*' [*Papyrus Sallier II, col. V, l. 3-5.*] but in this precise case, we face a barber attached to the priestly body of the temple of Amun and was the chief in charge of the barbers shaving the bodies of the priests, as a requirement of purity, which means that he definitely had a better social status than the ordinary or common barber. We also have evidence of the existence of a special 'royal barber' who was responsible to wash the 'face of his Lord' in a morning ritual. Barbers were usually under the protection and patronage of the god Dwa-wer. For more information about barbers in ancient Egypt, cf., P. Kaplony, 'Barbier', in *LÄ* I, cols. 617-618; N. Arafa, 'Le barbier, , en Egypte Ancienne', *CCE* 13-14 (2010), 175-198.

- 5 Ranke, *PN* I, 382, 5.
- 6 Ranke, *PN* I, 222, 9; Schneider, *OBO* 114, 152, N 322.
- 7 Ranke, *PN* I, 226, 29.
- 8 Lacau, *Catalogue Général*, 132-133, pl. XLII. Unfortunately, this stela is absent in Mariette, *Abydos*. And neither *PM* V nor Lacau provide any exact dating. According to the couple's clothing style, we can say that it probably dates either from the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty or the Ramesside period.
- 9 For the meaning of Iry as keeper, cf., H.G. Fischer, *Egyptian titles of the Middle Kingdom, A supplement to Wm. Ward's index* (New York, 1997), 10, no. 513a; A. Al-Ayedi, *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom* (Cairo, 2006), 181, no. 536 and p. 186 no. 557. The title appeared also without any details on an offering table of a certain Mehu dating back to the Twentieth Dynasty, cf.

- A. Kamal, *Tables d'Offrandes*, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptienne du Musée du Caire nos. 23001–23256 (Le Caire, 1909), 81, no. 23094. Unfortunately, we do not have any information about the nature of this job since the title did not precise which treasury the owner of the stela oversaw, but most probably it could be one of the temples in the city. For more information about the *pr-hd*, cf., E. Schott, 'Das Goldhaus in der ägyptischen Frühzeit', *GM* 2, 1972, 37–41; B. Schmitz, 'Schatzhaus', in *LÄ* V, cols. 536-539; S. Desplancques, *L'institution du trésor en Égypte des origines à la fin du Moyen Empire* (Paris, 2006); W. Fritschy, 'The *pr-hd* and the Early Dynastic State', *JEA* 105 (2019), 1-16.
- 10 Lacau, *Catalogue Général*, 134-135, pl. XLII. Unfortunately, there is no dating to this stela neither in *PM* V, nor in Lacau. It is not published as well by Mariette in *Abydos*. But the costumes could help date the stela either from the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty or the Ramesside period.
- 11 *Wb* I, 276, 1.
- 12 The title *sdm-ꜥš* is commonly translated as 'servant', *Wb* IV, 389, (12-16). It is specifically linked to Deir al-Medina since most of the workmen who lived there took that title. Yet, in this case, we find that the owner of the stela was a servant in the treasury of Amon. It seems that this post was running in the family since we find another male Amonhotep, who was nicknamed Parwy, held the same position though the family liaison remains unclear. However, the duties of this job remain unclear.
- 13 This form is a late form from the *rn nfr*, a second name given after birth, indicating a double identity. For more information on this point, cf., P. Vernus, 'Name', *LÄ* IV, cols. 322-323; H. de Meulenaere, 'Le Surnom Égyptien à la Basse Époque', *PIHANS* 19 (1966), 2-3.
- 14 The name is not considered a foreign name according to Schneider, *OBO* 114, 67(a).
- 15 This costume continued to be adopted in the Late Period where many foreigners made sure to immortalize themselves whether in the temple of Abydos or in other cities like Memphis, cf.
- ج. فيتمان، مصر والأجانب في الألفية الأولى قبل الميلاد، ترجمة وتقديم عبد الجواد مجاهد (القاهرة، ٢٠٠٩)، ١٠٩-١١٠.
- 16 The upcoming table is based on the stela published by A. Mariette in his work *Catalogue des monuments d'Abydos*; F. Petrie, *Tombs of the courtiers and Oxyrhynchos*, *BSAE* 28 (1922); Lacau, *Catalogue Général*; Schneider, *OBO* 114. Not all datings of the upcoming pieces were possible since not all of them were stated by Mariette who was the main excavator in this area.
- 17 The name is looked upon as an Asiatic name by Schneider, *OBO* 114, 279 (N 655), though the parents' names were purely Egyptian. It makes us wonder whether the person in question had foreign ancestry or not.
- 18 It is worth mentioning that T. Schneider falsely dated this stela to the time of the Amarna, Schneider, *OBO* 114, 279 (N 655), while it is practically impossible to find a stela in Abydos from that era. It is true that it mentions Aton, but we find attestation of the god Aton since the reign of Thoutmosis IV. Furthermore, the stela has the name of the god Amon, which negates its belonging to the Amarna era. Finally, it was published by Mariette under the section of the stela dating from the time of Thoutmosis IV, cf., Mariette, *Catalogue des monuments d'Abydos*, 385, no. 1062.
- 19 Lacau, *Catalogue Général*, 108-109.
- 20 Schneider, *OBO* 114, 32 (N 44).
- 21 Mariette, *Catalogue des monuments d'Abydos*, 437, no. 1166 (stating that it belongs to the Nineteenth Dynasty without further dating); Lacau, *Catalogue Général*, 109-110.
- 22 The connection of the woman with the other persons depicted on the stela is quite obscure though T. Schneider said that she is the wife of the owner of the stela *Imn-ms* although nothing clearly states that she held the title of *Nb.t-pr* or *hm.tsf*.
- 23 Lacau, *Catalogue Général*, 114-115.
- 24 Lacau, *Catalogue Général*, 117-118; Schneider, *OBO* 114, 16 (N 5). A. Mariette gives a vague dating stating its dates prior to Amenhotep IV, cf., *Catalogue*, 408, no. 1110.
- 25 Although the names of the two daughters are of foreign origins, the names of the brother and both parents are Egyptian. It makes us question the origin of one or the two of the parents since the two

- names are acknowledged as Asian, cf., Schneider, *OBO* 114, 229 (N 484) and 232 (N 493).
- 26 Lacau, *Catalogue Général*, 119-120. A. Mariette dates it to the reign of Thoutmosis IV, cf., Lacau, *Catalogue Général*, 391, no. 1075.
- 27 Schneider, *OBO* 114, 151, Zus. 1.
- 28 Schneider, *OBO* 114, 152, Zus. 2.
- 29 Lacau, *Catalogue Général*, 121-122. A. Mariettes dates this stela to the Nineteenth Dynasty cf., Lacau, *Catalogue Général*, 429, no. 1146.
- 30 The name of this person is not present in neither H. Ranke (*PN*) nor T. Schneider (*Asiatische Personennamen*). Still, in the latter, there is a woman named *K3-s3-N3* and a man named *K3-s3-sw*, Schneider, *OBO* 114, 219 (N 460) and p. 220 (N 462). It makes us wonder strongly if the above-mentioned name, *K3-s3*, is nothing but the stem of the two names. Although this stela was twice stated by A. Mariette, he does not provide an exact dating and only states that it dates to the Eighteenth Dynasty and in its second mention says it is from the Nineteenth Dynasty, cf., Lacau, *Catalogue Général*, 392 no. 1077 and p. 438, no. 1167.
- 31 Schneider, *OBO* 114, 153.
- 32 Lacau, *Catalogue Général*, 123.
- 33 It is worth mentioning that this name was not looked upon by neither H. Ranke, *PN*, nor T. Schneider as a foreign name. We must take into consideration that no Egyptian name was formed of syllables that are not connected or does not give a meaning when put together. In the abbreviation of the name, the 'A' was read an 'M' by Ranke (*PN* I, 302, 13), although in A. Mariette, who dates it once to the reign of Thoutmosis IV (*Catalogue*, 394, no. 1082) and once to the Nineteenth Dynasty (p. 428, no. 1143), and Lacau, *Catalogue Général*, 125-126, no. CG 34078. it was written an 'A'.
- 34 Lacau, *Catalogue Général*, 125-126.
- 35 The *w^cb.t* was the place of embalmment, the tomb, a pure place for work, an offering slab, the kitchen or refectory, *Wb* I, 284 (1-9); R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1988), 57(10). Considering the meaning of the title bore by *hr-m-wi3*, 'the chief of the granary in the Wabet', this latter could not mean but kitchen or refectory, and in this case it is probably the one attached to the temple.
- 36 Each bears the title of  *s3.t3s* 'her daughter'.
- 37 Bearing the title  *s33s* 'her son'.
- 38 Who probably was working as a brewer, since there is an adoring figure at the side of the stela with the caption  *f^ti Imn-m-Ip.t* 'the brewer Amon-em-Ipet'
- 39 Schneider, *OBO* 114, 33, N 48.
- 40 Lacau, *Catalogue Général*, 126-127. A. Mariette dates it to the reign of Thoutmosis IV. Lacau, *Catalogue Général*, 390, no. 1073.
- 41 According to T. Schneider, the absence of the foreigner's determinative  (T14) in these two names made it more Egyptianized given the fact that it was borne by both Egyptians and foreigners (Schneider, *OBO* 114, 293-294). The absence of this sign is not actually a strong argument for judging the nationality of the person since we have many foreign names written without it, such as Aurti, Ruqasha, Iousha, Anatemheb and many other. It is quite hard to find an Egyptian meaning to the names of the two names Tri and Rysy. Schneider also stated that Ranke said that the name, Rysy, is an abbreviated form of the name 'rsj' (Ranke, *PN* I, 226.29; Schneider, *OBO* 114, 293). The existence of the vowel 'y' in the name Rysy, leads us to rule out this opinion: it is hard to believe that the Ancient Egyptian inserted the vowel 'y' between the 'r' and 's' which are the root of the verb 'rs'.
- 42 Also, an Asiatic according to Schneider, *OBO* 114, 152, 322.
- 43 Cf., *supra*, Doc. 1.
- 44 The reading of this name is somehow problematic. Should it be read *Iy-B^cr* or *Iy-st^h*. As stated by T. Schneider, this name is not of an Asian origin and it must be read as *Iy-st^h-r* (Schneider, *OBO* 114, 15). He also stated that according to H. te Velde, the name of the god Seth is written without any phonetic complement. Nevertheless, the proper names list provided by H. te Velde, does not include the name *Iy-st^h*, and there is no mention whatsoever of this

- proper name in Velde's book, cf., H. Te Velde, 'Seth the God of Confusion', *ProbAg* 6 (1967), 136-137. In the opinion of R. Stadelmann, 'Baal', *LÄ* I, 591, the name of the god Baal was also written with the Sethian animal. A very important, yet neglected fact, the god Seth was not allowed to appear in Abydos, the Holy city of Osiris. Even the king himself, namely Sethi I, wrote his name in the temple he built, in honor of the Osirian Triade, using the dress Knot of Isis  instead of the sign in question [for more information concerning this point, cf., A. Piankoff, 'Le nom du roi Sethos en Égyptien', *BIFAO* 47 (1947), 175-177]. Therefore, it would not be acceptable to use the same sign in the domain of Osiris in the private names unless it refers to the god Baal. Finally, according to Cornelius, although the two gods Seth and Baal were identified together in the New Kingdom, the name Baal is always written with the determinative of the Sethian animal [I. Cornelius, *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Bacal, Late Bronze and Iron Age I Periods (c 1500-1000 BCE)*, *OBO* 140 (1994), 143].
- 45 Cf., *supra*, Doc.2.
- 46 Cf., *supra*, Doc. 3. His mother was definitely not from Egyptian origin since her name means 'the black woman'.
- 47 *Wb* III, 421- 422 (7-2). This title has a great debate on its nature. Some see in it 'Judge' others see 'Esquire' or 'Expert'. It was a shape shifting title changing its meaning when it was associated with different words and titles. For more information on this word cf., E.V. Walle, *s3b Corpus*, 3 vols (Bruxelles, 2014). For the title in this specific case (*ir.n +s3b*) cf., vol. 3, p. 77, no. 3.
- 48 This person, *Mry-R^c*, assumed an important role *ḫ^c.w ḫ^c.w ḫ^c.w psd.t n nb ḫ^c.wy šms niswt m is.tfnb* 'the bearer of the arms of the lord of the two lands, the follower (of the) king in all (of) his place' during the reign of Thoutmosis III, Mariette, *Catalogue des monuments d'Abydos*, 380-381, no. 1055; Lacau, *Catalogue Général*, 141.
- 49 Lacau, *Catalogue Général*, 140-142.
- 50 Regarding this name, we notice that the owner of the stela is named  *R3-y*. Therefore, we might wonder if we have the same person's name with two different writings or we have two different persons with two different names (*R3-y/P3-R3-y*). The reason for this question is the presence of the syllable *p3* in the name *P3-R3-y* that might be taken as a definite article for the word *R3-y*, regardless of its meaning. In fact, T. Schneider dealt with *P3-R3-y* as one word with Semitic origin (Hebrew) meaning 'Jungstier' 'little or boyish' (Schneider, *OBO* 114, 108). Meanwhile the name *R3-y* (Ranke, *PN* I, 216, 24) was frequently attested on the Egyptian monuments during the New Kingdom, as a masculine and a feminine name. For this reason, we have two possibilities either to consider *R3-y* as a foreign name with the *p3* article in *P3-R3-y* or consider that they were two different names 'regardless' of the similarity between them (one Egyptian *R3-y*, without any obvious meaning, and the other is foreign *P3-R3-y*). For the stela, cf., Lacau, *Catalogue Général*, 160-161. A. Mariette dates it to Thoutmosis IV, cf., Lacau, *Catalogue Général*, 399, no. 1089.
- 51 The stela is very small. On the lunette, the owner and his wife are both sitting on a couch receiving offerings from their son. Due to this small size, the name of the owner was interpreted by Mariette, *Catalogue des monuments d'Abydos*, 389-399, no. 1088 (dating it to Thoutmosis IV), as two persons' names  *P3y* and  *t3-My*. Nevertheless. Lacau, *Catalogue Général*, 163, and Schneider, *OBO* 114, 106-107, N 226 read it as one name. The latter even rendered the Hebrew origin, Jātôm or Orphin, of the name.
- 52 The sign of  *wh^c* was falsely copied by Mariette  *hm*. The presence of the  *c* as a phonetic complement favors the reading of Lacau, *Catalogue Général*, 163.
- In the very end of the stela and after the offering formula, a huge ship was drawn as a connotation of deceased's title and name.
- 53 Lacau, *Catalogue Général*, 168. A very poor stela. Consisting of only one row, it shows none of the divinities and the lunette is completely free of any decoration. It only shows a libation made to the elder couple by the young son named Iany.
- 54 Lacau, *Catalogue Général*, 174. Absent in A. Mariette.
- 55 Lacau, *Catalogue Général*, 177-178. Dates to the Eighteenth Dynasty according to Mariette, *Catalogue*, 412, no. 1119.

- 56 KRI III, 464-465 (l. 2). According to Legrain, it was quite unique to find a mention of the names of the priests that were carrying the sacred boat of the divined deceased king, Ahmos. They were originally eight priests but only the names of four were mentioned. Unfortunately, no massive info was given about the nature of the work of these priests. We can only understand that they were given the title *W^cb n h3.t qr W^cb n Ph.wy* according to their position vis-à-vis the boat, cf., G. Legrain, 'Un miracle d'Ahmes Ier à Abydos, sous le règne de Ramsès II', *ASAE* 16 (1916), 161-170.
- 57 The offering table is made from limestone. It was made for the funerary cult of the queen Sat-Iaah, since it holds the notion 'n k3 n' and the owner is qualified as 'm³c.t-hr.w'. It makes us wonder the existence of a funerary chapel dedicated to the cult of the deceased queen. For further information on this piece, cf., Mariette, *Catalogue des monuments d'Abydos*, T. II, pl. 53; Mariette, *Catalogue des monuments d'Abydos*, 157 (no. 1346), Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes*, 27 (no. 23034). It is worthy to mention that this piece was falsely dated by Mariette to the Thirteenth dynasty and by Kamal to the Twelfth Dynasty.
- 58 Ranke, *PN I*, 367, 18.
- 59 G. Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, T. II (Leipzig, 1924), 200; Ranke, *PN I*, 367, 18. The wife's name is probably of Egyptian origin. According to Roeder's publication, it is a very basic stela showing the couple worshipping in front of the Abydial Triade and dates to the end of the New Kingdom or later.
- 60 *Wb IV*, 389, (12-16).
- 61 Mariette, *Catalogue des monuments d'Abydos*, 459, no. 1220. (JE 21783); Mariette, *Catalogue des monuments d'Abydos*, T. II, pl. 50
- 62 For more information on this person, cf., J. Berlandini, 'Le dignitaire ramesside Ramsès-empereur-Rê', *BIFAO* 74 (1974), 1-19.
- 63 Schneider, *OBO* 114, 89-90 (N173); R. Giveon, 'Two Egyptian documents concerning Bashan from the time of Ramses II', *RSO* 40, Fasc. 3 (Septembre 1965), 201.
- 64 Corresponds broadly to the present-day Golan. For more information cf., E. Lipiński, *On the Skirts of Canaan in the Iron Age: Historical and Topographical Researches* (Leuven, Paris, 2006), 225ff; Giveon, *RSO* 40, Fasc. 3, 201
- 65 *Wb I*, 292 (3-6); Al-Ayedi, *An Index of administrative, religious and military titles of the New Kingdom*, 245.
- 66 Mariette, *Catalogue des monuments d'Abydos*, T. II, pl. 50.
- 67 Mariette, *Catalogue des monuments d'Abydos*, 421-422; Mariette, *Catalogue des monuments d'Abydos*, pl. 49. The stela was retrieved from his tomb in the Northern Cemetery, *PM V*, 58.
- 68 Cf., *supra*, footnote no. 8.
- 69 For the chantresses of Amon, cf., S. Lynn Onstine, *The role of the Chantress Smayt in Ancient Egypt* (Toronto, 2001).
- 70 According to Mariette, this name is the equivalent of the modern Egyptian name Warda, the rose. Mariette, *Catalogue des monuments d'Abydos*, 422. According to Schneider, it means 'girl' in the Hebrew language. Schneider, *OBO* 114, 74 (N138).
- 71 This name was read Raqasha by Kitchen, KRI IV, 103, l.9. For the etymology of the name, cf., Schneider, *OBO* 114, 157-158 (N 336).
- 72 *Wb II*, 155, (2-19). Since we do not attest any military troops attached to any divine temple, it is very probable that this title refers to a General-in-Chief in the temple of Amon.
- 73 Mariette, *Catalogue des monuments d'Abydos*, no. 1158, p. 433
- 74 In his book, Petrie pronounced the name as exactly written Netabpartaa, cf., Petrie, *Tombs of the courtiers and Oxyrhynchos*, *BSAE* 28, 11-12, pl. 31 no. 2. While Schneider read it as above, see *OBO* 114, 147 (N313).
- 75 Petrie, *Tombs of the courtiers and Oxyrhynchos*, *BSAE* 28, 11-12.
- 76 A.-L. Mourad, 'Asiatics and Abydos: From the Twelfth Dynasty to the Early Second Intermediate Period', *BACE* 24 (2013), 31-58. For more information on the Asiatics infiltrations, cf., B. Menu, 'Onomastique et statut des immigrants syro-

- palestiniens dans l'Égypte du Moyen Empire', *Droit et cultures* [En ligne], 64 | 2012-2013, mis en ligne le 08 janvier 2013, consulté le 28 juillet 2020. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/droitcultures/2789>, *Id.*, *Rise of the Hyksos, Egypt and the Levant From the Middle Kingdom to the Early Second Intermediate Period*, *Archeopress Egyptology*, 11 (2015).
- 77 The wife of the owner of the stela CG 34085, who was called *t3-Nḥsy* and the owners of the stelae CG 34122 and 34127 named *P3-Nḥsy* that literally means 'The Nigger', *cf.*, *Wb* II, 303, 3-7.
- 78 J. Assmann, 'Zum Konzept der Fremdheit im alten Ägypten', in *Originalveröffentlichung in: Meinhard Schuster (Hrsg.), Die Begegnung mit dem Fremden. Wertungen und Wirkungen in Hochkulturen vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart, Colloquium Rauricum* 4 (Stuttgart und Leipzig, 1996), S. 77-99 p. 84. He even stated that the teachings of the concept of Maat, were mainly an upper-class exclusivity starting from the responsibility and self-discipline to body care. All of this sets the Egyptian upper-class apart from the foreigners as well as from II, om the local lower classes. We need to clarify that by the beginning of the Twentieth Dynasty, the foreign infiltration in Egypt was so prominent to the extent that they were given fiefs and were bound to serve in the army, *cf.*, P. Vernus, 'Les étrangers dans la civilisation pharaonique', *BACLE* (1994), 54. It reminds us of the social status of the workers at Deir el Medina. For more information, *cf.*, L.H. Lesko, *Pharaoh's Workers, The villagers of Deir el Medina* (New York, 1994), 67.
- 79 Like Ramses-em-per-ra and Pen-ta-our.
- 80 Like *Ynd3bw*, *try-ky-ty*, *t3ny*, *K3ri3*, *T3-r3-y* and *sw-t3-t3-ḥs*.
- 81 For example: the owner of the stela CG 34108 who was a helmsman.
- 82 We find that Ramses-em-per-ra mentioned both on his stela.
- 83 To know further about the hair and its relationship with the social class, *cf.*, G. Robins, 'Hair and the Construction of Identity in Ancient Egypt', *JARCE*, 36 (1999), 55-69.
- 84 For more information on the Egyptian costumes and some of the foreign parallel, *cf.*, M.G. Houston and F.S. Hornblower, *Ancient Egyptian Assyrian and Persian Costumes and Decorations* (London, 1920).
- 85 We find another monument of Ramses-em-per-ra making an offering before Hathor with her bovid head, *cf.*, Berlandini, *BIFAO* 74, pl. III.
- 86 *Cf.*, *supra*, Doc. 2. Usually the representation of the four sons of Horus in an iconographical context is that of four mummified figures emerging from a lotus under the feet of the god Osiris. Their role in the mummification is well known and highlighted with their relation to the visceral jars. They were also connected to the stars. For more information about these deities, *cf.*, M. Heerma van Voss, 'Horuskinder', in *LÄ* III, cols 52-53; F. Servajean, 'Le Lotus émergeant et les quatre fils d'Horus : Analyse d'une métaphore Physiologique', *ERUV* 2, *OrMonsp* 11 (2001), 261-297. In fact, this is quite a unique representation of the four sons of Horus alone in a barque. Some may think that this is the *nšmt* barque, the sacred barque of the god Osiris. However, if we examine closely the iconography of the *nšmt* barque, we will find that it must carry the Osiris Fetish and usually share many similarities with the *ḥnw* barque, the sacred barque of the god Sokaris. For more information, *cf.*, C. Karlshausen, *L'iconographie de la barque processionnelle divine de la barque en Égypte au Nouvel Empire*, *OLA* 182 (Leuven, Paris, 2009); K.J. Eaton, 'The Festivals of Osiris and Sokar in the Month of Khohiak: The Evidence from Nineteenth Dynasty Royal Monuments at Abydos', *SAK* 35 (2006), 88-89; Vinson, Steve, 2013, *Boats (Use of)*. In Willeke Wendrich (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles, pp. 5-8, <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002gw1hs>. The physical appearance of the bark resembles to a great extent that of the solar bark. It is well known that the solar bark was present in both realms: the living and the dead. We are dealing here with the latter. The originality of this representation is the unique presence of the four sons of Horus. In this aspect, it most probably highlights not only their astronomical aspect and role but also their identification with the arms and the legs of the deceased upon his residency in the sky, *cf.*, B. Mathieu, 'Les Enfants d'Horus, Théologie et Astronomie', *ENIM* 1 (2008), 13. For more information on the solar bark, *cf.*, D. Jones, *Boats, The Trustees of The British Museum* (1995), 14-18, for a physically similar bark but with a different crew, *cf.*, E. Naville, *The Funeral Papyrus of Louiyya, T. M.*