



## Unpublished Stela of *Hr-nht* from the Late Ramessid period (GEM-2353)

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### ABSTRACT

This paper presents a full publication of one of the unpublished stelae from Abydos unearthed by A. Mariette, which was recently conserved in the Grand Egyptian Museum (GEM 2353). It has been dated to the New Kingdom by A. Mariette and later to the Libyan period by A. Leahy, neither of whom produced a full publication. This article introduces a stylistic, orthographic, and paleographic study of the stela, as well as offering forms, names, and epithets that permit an approximate dating to the late Ramesside period.

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### 0. INTRODUCTION:

This stela (GEM 2353) was unearthed at North Abydos by A. Mariette, who conducted an extensive excavation of the site. He discovered 767 stelae in total (Mariette 1880, 105-504), among which were 705 stelae from the North Abydos site, dating to various periods. Unfortunately, he did not present any archaeological context for the site in order to clarify the stratigraphic sequence. He numbered this stela 1207 in his catalogue and copied a few of its texts (Mariette 1880, 554). This stela was kept in the Cairo Egyptian museum with numbers SR/13961 –JE. 2017 and was recently moved to the Grand Egyptian Museum with number GEM 2353, assigned to the New Kingdom department according to A. Mariette's dating (Mariette 1880, 454). A. Leahy dated this stela to the Libyan period (Leahy, Dating Stelae of the Libyan Period from Abydos. 2009, 437, fig. 14). However, the two different dates given for this object have motivated the authors to present a full publication of the stela in order to re-examine the dating criteria.

### 1. DESCRIPTION (fig. 1, 2, pl. 1):

A limestone stela (48x37x7.9cm) in sunk relief in three registers (lunette, panel, and text), as follows:

#### 1.1 Lunette:

The winged sun-disk [without uraei] occupies the whole lunette, where the term *Bḥdt* was carved in sunk-relief. The god Anubis is perched below holding the *shm* staff (S42 ) and the

flail (S45 ) fixed on his body. A similar depiction of Anubis appears on two Ramesside stelae (one with the flail on his back and the second without) (Moursi 1988, figs. 1-2, pls. 1-2).

**1.2 Panel:**

**1.2.1 Scene:**

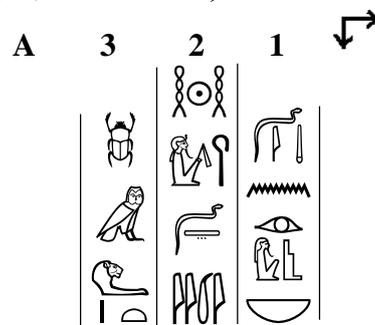
A traditional offering scene in sunk relief and topped with a wide heaven sign (N1 ) . The deceased, shown with the traditional posture, dress, and features of the New Kingdom, presents two offering tables with three round flat loaves (Stupko-Lubczynska 2016) and two spouted vessel. He is pouring water with spouted libation vessel on the offerings above two offering tables, in front of the god Osiris who is sitting on the throne in his usual mummiform aspect (Uphill 1957, 1) wearing the *3tf* crown (S8A ) and holding the *djed* scepter (R11 ) . Behind Osiris appears the goddess Isis bearing the sign (Q1 ) on her head and holding the *ʿnh* sign (S34 ) , wearing a long tight-fitting robe and raising her left hand in protection attitude towards Osiris.

The spouted libation vessel resembles the bronze example uncovered at the tomb of Antefoker (Dendara) by Petrie in 1898 and dated to the reign of Ramesses II, which is preserved in the Metropolitan Museum (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/568634> [March 19, 2022. 10.00 am] n.d.).

**1.2.2 Scene’s text:**

The whole text of the upper part of the stela is topped by the heaven sign (N1 ) and surmounts a horizontal line, probably representing the earth.

**1.2.2 A: Osiris text (fig. 1, A: Cols. 1-3):**



(1) *dd mdw in Wsir nb* (2) *nhh hk3 dt ity* (3) *hpr m h3t*

(1) Recitation by Osiris, lord of (2) perpetuity and Ruler of eternity. The Sovereign (3) who arises at the beginning.

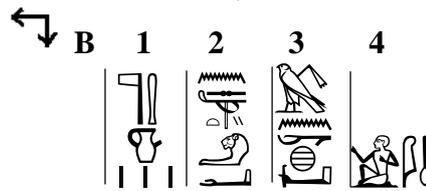
**1.2.2 B: Isis text (fig. 1, A: Col. 4):**



*3st nbt pt [nw]ntrw*

Isis mistress of the heaven of the gods.

1.2.2 C: Owner's titles (fig. 1, B: Cols. 1-4):



(1) *hm ntr hmt* (2) *n Mnw h3ty-<sup>c</sup>* (3) *Hr-nht* (4) *m3<sup>c</sup> hrw*  
 (1) Third priest (2) of Min, Mayor (3) Hor-nakht (4) the justified.

2- TEXT:

(The authors here inserts the facsimile of the text instead of typing with J-sesh hieroglyphic font because the uncommon shape of signs and mistakes of the signs location as the term *nh(w)* in the first line.)



(1) [*htp*]-*di-nsw* [*Wsir hnty*]-*imntyw nb 3bdw wn nfr hk3 nh(w)Ity wr m Ddw* (2) *di.f htp h3w m sntr h3w m t hntkt h3w m ihw-3pdw nb irt iht nfr(t) w<sup>c</sup>b(t) nb irt iht nfr(t) bnr hm ntr hmtw* (Erman and Grapow 1971, III. 89) *h3ty-<sup>c</sup> sš shnw* (Erman and Grapow 1971, IV. 218) (3) *wsir Hr-nht m3<sup>c</sup> hrw s3 hm ntr hmtw Min Hr(i)*.

[1] An offering that the king gives (to) Osiris, foremost of the westerners, lord of Abydos [and to] Wennefer the lord of living ones, the great ruler of Abusir, Bana [2] May he give a table of offerings of thousands of incense and thousands of (A. H. Gardiner 1957, 483, 531) bread and beer and thousands of oxen [It could be also translated as "flesh" see, (Winlock 1920, 211) and fowl (A. H. Gardiner 1957, 473, 483) and everything made good and pure and everything made good and sweet (A. H. Gardiner 1957, 483) for third priest, mayor, the scribe who writes commands, [3] Osiris Hor-nakht, the justified, son of third priest of Min, Hori.

3- COMMENTARY:

3.1 Lunette:



This is the name of Edfu, whose other names *Db3* and *Bhdt / Bhdt mht* are known from Lower Egypt according to a fragmentary scene of the temple of the king Sahure at Abusir, representing Horus Behdetite among other Lower Egyptian deities. K. Sethe assumed that it was located at Damanhur, and according to A. Gardiner *Bhdt* of Upper Egypt was Ombos and *Bhdt* of Lower Egypt was Tell el-Balamun (south-west Damietta 20km.). (A. Gardiner 1944, 23-24) So the term *Bhdt* could represent the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt. The sign (X1) is inscribed to the right and the sign (O49) is inscribed to the left of the title "*Bhdt*" in parallel.

### 3.2 Panel:

#### 3.2.1 The Ujat eye:

The first appearance of the two eyes was at the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, on false doors. (Dawood 1998, 438) Blackman assumed that the two eyes appeared on stelae and false doors because in and about them the presence of the dead was felt especially to reside, and to enable the dead to see the light of the day and to see the visitors who entered from time to time. (Blackman 1916, 250-254) However, the eye in question is single and probably depicts the intact eye of Horus representing protection and health. (Mohamedin 1996, 123-124) Also the *Ujat* eye is one of the Abydene symbols of stelae in the Late Period. (Munro 1973, 83) In some stelae [*Abydien Stelae from the Late Period were divided by Munro into three groups; "Abydos I" dating to 7<sup>th</sup> Century B.C., "Abydos II" dating to 6<sup>th</sup> Century B.C. and "Abydos III" dating to 4<sup>th</sup> Century B.C. ; See, (Munro 1973, 82-83)], such as those of Ken-Amun, Neb-Amun, and Amenemhat from the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, (Bull 1929, 76-84) (Hermann 1940, 60-63) instead of the familiar double winged sun-disk there are two *Ujat*-eyes or a sun-disk with one wing balanced by a single *Ujat* eye as a distinctive feature for protection.*

#### 3.2.2 Scene's text: Osiris text [1.2.2 A]:

-  *Ity* (fig.1 [Col. A2]):

“The sovereign.” The first appearance of this title was during the Middle Kingdom, (Leitz 2002, I. 588-591) and other deities were also ascribed this title, such as Amun, Osiris, and Horus. (Erman and Grapow 1971, I. 143)

-  *hpr m h'c'* (fig.1 [Col. A3]) “who arises at the beginning”:

(Erman and Grapow 1971, III. 263) (Hannig 1995, 594) (Leitz 2002, V. 692-694) :

- This title appeared in the New Kingdom, 21-24 Dyn., Late Period and Greco-Roman period. (Leitz 2002, V. 692) It described the following gods: Amun, Amun-Re, Amun-Re-Atum, Amun-Re-Atum-Horakhty, Amun-Re-Djeserst (*Imn-R<sup>c</sup>-Dsr-st*), Ihy, Ihy-wr, Osiris, Ptah, Ptah-Tatenen, gods who are comes from Nun, (*Ntr-pr-m-Nwn*), Re-phdty, Horakhty, Rapehdety, Rahorakhty, Horpehdety, Horpawty (*Hr-p3wty*), Horsomtus, Hortehen (*Hr-thn*), Horibniwtef, Khnum, Sobek-Re, Soker-Osiris, Schu, Tatenen and Atum. (Leitz 2002, V. 692-693)
- This title accompanies the god Atum. (Leitz 2002, VII. 416)
- It is not in the list of Osirian titles and epithets given by Leitz, (Leitz 2002, II. 528-569) so this could be the first example of Osiris with this title.

#### 3.2.3 Scene's text: Isis text [1.2.2 B]:

- *3st nbt pt [nw] ntrw*:

The term (pt) is written with an unusual ideogram, where the determinative (N1 ) preceded (Q3 ) and (X1 ). This title could be added to the list of those attested for “Isis in heaven.”

#### 3.2.4 Scene's text: Owner's text [1.2.2 C]:

-  *hm ntr hmtw* (Erman and Grapow 1971, III. 89) *n Mnw* [fig. 1, B1, B2]: [The transcription combined between J-sesh and Facsimile to show the actual writing of the vessel and the name of god Min.]

This title is ascribed to the god Amun (*hm ntr hmtw n Imn*) in TT 98 of Ka-m-herb-sen, TT 158 of Tha-nefer, a granite sarcophagus of Amenhotep in Tanis, and a stela of Rama-ray (Leiden V.8). (Al-Ayedi 2006, 342)

Although the common determinative of this title is the sign W24 () (Erman and Grapow 1971, III. 89) the determinative in question of this title inscribed as () which could be very

close to the signs W9 () and W9A () with the handle to the rim of the vessel, but the sign in question has a rounded bottom in contrast to W9 and W9A, which have a flat bottom. So it could be an addition to the family of W9-type signs which have three shapes (W9, W9A, W9B ) , so this example could be an addition to the hieroglyphic sign list (Hannig 1995, 1323-1474) as (W9C ) .

The title of *hm ntr* appears without opening forms or words, as in some cases such as the sarcophagus of Amenhotep at Tanis, where the title is preceded by *Wsir*, the title of the deceased, in the two vertical columns of texts. (Kitchen 2003, IV. 134 :10[i, ii])

▪  **Mnw [fig. 1, B2]:**

This transcription According to Leitz, (Leitz 2002, III. 288) there are many writings to

the name of the god Min, as follows:  ,  ,  ,  ,  ,

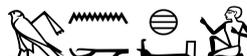
 ,  ,  ,  ; but the writing here was inscribed

with the sign O34 () instead of the commonly-used sign () . (Hannig 1995, 1369) This writing was inscribed in the texts of the god Min's feast in the Medinet

Habu and Ramesseum temples, as:  . (Gauthier, Les Fête du Dieu Min. 1931, II. 61, 179, 189-190)

▪  **h3ty-<sup>c</sup> [fig. 1, B2]:**

This epithet is carved with signs F4 () and D36 () to give the common shape of the epithet, as in the Old King.dom. (Erman and Grapow 1971, III. 25) (Al-Ayedi 2006, 315) (Jones, An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom. 2000, 496 [1858])

▪  **Hr- nht(.w) [fig. 1, B3]:** (H. Ranke 1935, I. 249)

This name appears in various writings ( ,  ,  ,  ,  ,  ) and is attested in most periods, as on an offering table dating to the Middle Kingdom (no. 23081) and on an offering table (no. 23084) from the New Kingdom, as well as on an offering table dating to the Late Period (no. 23164) (H. Ranke 1935, I. 249) (Kamal 1909, I. 67-69, 123) and also on a wooden stela taht probably dates to 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty. (Abdelmaguid 2015, 77-79) The term is *nht* always carved with sign Aa1 () (Erman and Grapow 1971, II. 316-317) (Lesko 2004, II. 30-31) (Hannig 1995, 428-429), but here it is carved with an unusual

shape (  ) probably for the first time. Furthermore, one of the unusually-shaped signs is the sign of the wave of water ( N35  ), which is carved as very small vertical and oblique sunk relief triangles (  ) despite the accuracy of the lines and ratio of the main scene, but some signs of the text suffer from quick and inaccurate carving.

▪  *m3<sup>c</sup> hrw* [fig. 1, B4]:

This title consists of two signs: H6 (  ) and P8 (  ), but in this case it is carved also with inaccurate borders of the signs, so they look like M17 (  ) and U33 (  ). (A. H. Gardiner 1957, 547-548) There are two writings of this title; the first is B4 (  ), and the second is in the text (  ). No other individual with this name is listed in the names index in Porter and Moss (Porter and Moss 1962, V. 288) for Upper Egypt (Abydos) sites.

3.3 Text:

3.3.1 *Wsir:*

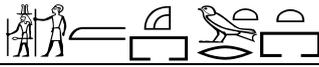
The god Osiris appeared commonly in the formula *hṭp-di-nsu* from the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty often given the epithets *hnty imntyw, nb ḏḏw, nṯr ʿ3, nb 3ḏw*. (Bright 2005, 9-12)

3.3.2 *Ity wr m Ḍdw* :

*Ity wr* “the great ruler” -is a well known title from Greco-Roman period ascribed to many gods, including Osiris. (Leitz 2002, I. 594)

One of the common titles of Osiris is *Ity m Ḍdw* the ruler in Busiris, attested for the Middle Kingdom and the Greco-Roman period (  ) (Leitz 2002, I. 603) and also *wr m Ḍdw* the great one in Busiris (  ), attested for the new Kingdom, Third Intermediate Period, Kushite, Late Period and Greco-Roman period, ascribed to the god Osiris and the god Soker-Osiris, from which probably the title *sr wr m Ḍdw* was derived. (Leitz 2002, II. 471)

The following table shows all titles of Osiris as *Ity wr m+Place* without *Ḍdw*; all of these titles are attested during the Greco-Roman period:

No.	Complete form	Transcription	Meaning	Date
1	<i>Ity wr m Ipt wrt</i> (Leitz 2002, I. 594)		The great ruler of Opet-temple	Greco-Roman
2	<i>Ity wr m Ht mn</i> (Leitz 2002, I. 596)		The great ruler in the world	Greco-Roman
3	<i>Ity wr m st wrt</i> (Leitz 2002, I. 596)		The great ruler in the great place	Greco-Roman

So the title *Ity wr m Ddw* () could be a new title for Osiris and could be added to the list of his titles appearing on this stela and dating to the New Kingdom.

### 3.3.3 *Ddw* .

Busiris (Abusir Bana) in the ninth district of Lower Egypt. (Gauthier, Dictionnaire des noms Géographiques contenus dans les Textes Hieroglyphiques. 1939, VI. 135-136) The earliest writing of Busiris was (, ) , which then evolved through various forms until the reign of Amenemhat III, when it was most commonly written . (Bright 2005, 9) Other unusual writings include  until the time of Senwosert III, (Bennet 1941, 78-79) as well as , (Dawood 1998, 98, pl. 18) and in New Kingdom . (Gauthier, Dictionnaire des noms Géographiques contenus dans les Textes Hieroglyphiques. 1939, VI. 135)

The writing here *Ddw*  is listed by Gauthier as one of various writing forms with sign X1 (). But in the *Wörterbuch* this writing is dated to the Late Period and belongs to *Ddt* (Mendes). (Erman and Grapow 1971, V. 630)

Therefore, this could be a new writing of Busiris from the New Kingdom, or, if it refers to Mendes; it could be also a new title for Osiris not previously attested, as *Ity wr m Ddt* “The great ruler in Mendes.”

### 3.3.4 *di.f*:

This form comes before the list of offerings as *di.f* or *di.sn* (he/they might give.....). (Bright 2005, 9).

### 3.3.5 *sš šnw*: (Erman and Grapow 1971, IV. 218) (Al-Ayedi 2006, 572)

This could also be read *sh3w šnw* (Hannig 1995, 820). The term *sh3w* was well known since Old Kingdom. (Kahl, Das System der Aegyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0-3 Dynastie. 1994, 124) (Kahl, Kloth and Zimmermann, Die Inschriften der 3 Dynastie. Eine Bestandsaufnahme 1995, 22-27)

## 4- PALAEOGRAPHICAL & ORTHOGRAPHICAL STUDY::

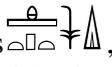
This study strongly suggests that the scribe probably copied the main text from a hieratic source, because of the variation of the sign (N35 ) and the unusual rendering of other signs, including (*i.e.* Aa1 , D4 , D21 , G17 ) as follows:

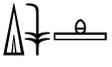
### 4.1 *Hr-nht*

The owner's name is carved with two writings, as follows:  (B. 3),  (main text, Line 3), where the signs (N35 ) , (Aa1 ) and (A1 ) are different, probably due to

being carved by different scribes. It could be also that it is the first time that the falcon has a flail on his back in the New Kingdom or the Late Period personal names. (H. Ranke 1935, I. 249) The sign Aa1 (☉) has three forms here, as follows: (☉, ☉) of *Hr-nht* and (☉) of *ʿnh* and *iht nbt*.

#### 4.2 *htp-di-nsw*:

This formula appeared in the Old Kingdom, particularly in the Pyramid Texts, as , (Erman and Grapow 1971, III. 186-187) and in the 11<sup>th</sup> Dynasty commonly with the spelling , also usual in the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. The usual spelling of this form in the horizontal texts in the New Kingdom and later is . (Smither 1939, 34) (Erman and Grapow 1971, II. 186-187) (Bright 2005, 8-9, 13, 68-71) (Naguib 1980, 22) (Brovarski 1989, I-III. 241-3, 308, 312, 761-3) Another writing of this form is , as on the stela of Hor and Shuty from the time of Amenhotep III. (Edwards 1939, 22-25, pl. XXI)

This writing  appeared in Old Kingdom. (Erman and Grapow 1971, III. 186)

According to the list of Smither, no form starts with the conical loaf (X8 ) from Middle Kingdom onwards. (Smither 1939, 34-37) But A. Ilins-Tomich listed five stelae from Antaeopolis, capital of the 10<sup>th</sup> nome of Upper Egypt, installed in Abydos [According to Ilins-Tomich's 3<sup>rd</sup> assumption (Stelae could be produced elsewhere and later moved to Abydos) See; (Ilins-Tomich 2012, 69) (CG 20164, CG 20206, CG 20313, CG 20342 and Lyon H 1576), all dating to the Middle Kingdom, which start with this formula. (Ilins-Tomich, From Workshop to Sanctuary. The Production of Late Middle Kingdom Memorial Stelae. Middle Kingdom Studies 6. 2017, 153) By checking and comparing the writing and order of this form () from the end of Middle Kingdom onwards, there is no example with this writing, see; (Hermann 1940, passim) (Stewart 1976, passim) (Edwards 1939, passim) (Bolshakov and Quirke 1999, passim) (Hall 1925, passim) (James 1970, passim) (Bierbrier 1982, passim) (Bierbrier, The British Museum Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae. 1987, passim) (Bierbrier, The British Museum Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae. 1993, passim) (Lapp 1986, 1-6, 25, 30-34) except a stela preserved in the Ashmolean Museum (1895.153) from Thebes dating to the Late Period (680 B.C.) (Munro 1973, 189-190. Pl. 2[Abb. 8]) Therefore, this example appears for the first time in the New Kingdom.

#### 4.3 *ʿnh (w)*: (Erman and Grapow 1971, I. 201)

This term inscribed as , probably by scribal error, since N35 () should be above Aa1 (☉).

#### 4.4 *h3 m*:

The sculptor combined the main features of the signs (G1 ) and (G17 ). The intended sign is "m"  but it was carved with the head of (G1) and legs and tail of (G17). This could indicate that there was a hieratic source for the text, resulting in confusion on the part of the sculptor.

#### 4.5 *sntr*: (Erman and Grapow 1971, IV. 180-181)

This word is inscribed here with a new shape, with the determinative . The common shape of the determinative is R7 () the equivalent of Old Kingdom W10\* = Pyr. Aa 4  (A. H. Gardiner 1957, 483, 501). So, the new shape in question could be an addition to the hieroglyphic sign list (Hannig 1995, 1323-1474) as R7A(.

#### 4.6 *t hnkt*:

The word *t* “bread” is inscribed as , although the usual writings include X1 $\ominus$ , X2 $\ominus$ , X3 $\ominus$ , X4 $\ominus$ , X5 $\ominus$ , X6 $\ominus$ . (Erman and Grapow 1971, V. 205) (Kahl, Das System der Aegyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0-3 Dynastie. 1994, 825-827) Nevertheless, the sign X7() was often substituted for the bread-loaf (X2 $\ominus$ ) in the Middle Kingdom (Brovarski 1989, I. 248-249) and also in the Late Period from the time of Sheshonk IV. (Peet 1920, 56, pl. VII) The only case till now of bread with the circle determinative comes with “*t-hd* white bread”      (18<sup>th</sup> Dyn.) (Erman and Grapow 1971, V. 210), and also with “*t-wr*”,       . (Erman and Grapow 1971, V. 209) Thus the rounded sign could be used here for the first time with the sign X1( $\ominus$ ) for this word.

#### 4.7 *hnkt*:

The word *hnkt* “beer” is commonly inscribed with the determinative of the beer-jug (W22 ) (A. H. Gardiner 1957, 483) (Erman and Grapow 1971, III. 117) but here we have the determinative (W59 ) as on on the stela of Hepu (GEM 23753) dating to the late Middle Kingdom. (Fawzi 2021, 91, fig. 1, pl. 1) Another example appears on the stela of ‘Ankhefenmut from the time of Takelot III (23<sup>rd</sup> Dyn.). (Uphill 1957, pl. 1)

Usually *t hnkt* “bread and beer” were preceded by the phrase *pri-hrw m*, but here the latter phrase is missing, as on the Abydos stelae of the Middle Kingdom that are assigned to Abydos workshop 1 and date to the reign of Amenemhat III. (Ilin-Tomich, From Workshop to Sanctuary. The Production of Late Middle Kingdom Memorial Stelae. Middle Kingdom Studies 6. 2017, 142) A. Ilin-Tomich classified the stelae of the Middle Kingdom into three workshops according its inscriptions and also he put three assumptions of the production of stelae of Abydos; A) Stelae could be produced in Abydos by local Craftsmen. B) Stelae could be produced by non-local craftsmen. C) Stelae could be produced elsewhere and later transported to Abydos. (Ilin-Tomich, Late Middle Kingdom Stelae Workshops at Thebes. 2012, 69) (Ilin-Tomich, From Workshop to Sanctuary. The Production of Late Middle Kingdom Memorial Stelae. Middle Kingdom Studies 6. 2017, 141-145).

#### 4.8 *K3w*:

This word is inscribed as , which seems to be the flesh sign, (Winlock 1920, 211) although the usual writing is F1 . The word *k3w* is inscribed with both signs on a false door of Ankh-khaf from the Fourth Dynasty, now in the British Museum (BM 45), (Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c. in the British Museum. 1911, 9, pl. 18) so this could be the first writing without F1 from the New Kingdom.

#### 4.9 *nb irt iht nfr(t)*:

This term appears twice here as , which is often a royal title () (Erman and Grapow 1971, I. 124) Another example with (D21 ) instead of (D4 ) is inscribed on a stela from the Middle or New Kingdom in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge. (Dodson 1992). Consequently, one may not simply assume that the scribe confused (D21 ) and (X1 ) because (X1) is inscribed clearly in the text.

#### 4.10 *h3ty-<sup>c</sup>* (Hannig 1995, 538-539) and *h3t* | :

The transcription of the term *h3t*  | is used to express the adverb of place in the upper text of the main scene [A3] and also used to express the profession of Hor-nakht as “mayor” in the main text (line 2). The carved outline of the head of the lion in the upper text [A3] is different than that of the example in main text, where it is very clear that the first shape has a smoothly curved line and the second shape has a sharp line and angles: [A3]  |  and line (2)  | .

The title *h3ty-<sup>c</sup>* in the upper text of the scene [B2] was damaged as follows: . So there are two writings of the title *h3ty-<sup>c</sup>*:  |  and .

#### 4.11 *Wsir*:

There are two writings of the name of Osiris: the one in the upper text of the scene [A1] and the second in the main text line (3) as follows:

##### 4.11.1 (fig1. [A1]):

The sign D4 () is inscribed as  and is same as the eye-sign in Osiris' name as inscribed on a stela of Naga-ed-Dêr (Dunham 44)  and dating to the First Intermediate Period. (Brovarski 1989, IV. 837, 886) Another example is , where the eye is oblique, as inscribed on the sarcophagus of the queen *Hnhnt*, the wife of king Mentuhotep II. (Brovarski 1989, IV. 1041)

##### 4.11.2 [line 3]:

The sign Q2 () appeared in the name of Osiris at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Hodjash and Berlev 2004, 115) (Ilin-Tomich, Changes in the Htp-di-nsw Formula in the Late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period' 2011, 21) and was used in his divine name (ruler of eternity) from the 13<sup>th</sup> Dyn. (Ilin-Tomich, From Workshop to Sanctuary. The Production of Late Middle Kingdom Memorial Stelae. Middle Kingdom Studies 6. 2017, 8, 27) The form  does not appear before Senusert III. (Bright 2005, 9) (Bennet 1941, 78) Some examples from the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty with the  include: (Erman and Grapow 1971, I. 359) (Hall 1925, VII. 5, 9, 14. Pls. 1-4, 24, 49) (Edwards 1939, VIII. 43-47, pls. 37-38)

- Limestone pyramidal Naos of Ineni.
- A stela of Karei and Heq-nefer.

- A coffin of Djehuty-mes.

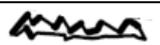
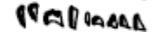
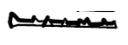
All of these show the same writing as on this stela. Yet the rough carving of this word () seems to render the sign D4 () as D21 () , as in some examples of Osiris' name, as

follows:  . (Brovarski 1989, IV. 837) The sign Q2 () is inscribed as , which is very close to the sign D42 () due to the rough lines and could perhaps indicate the hand of an unskilled sculptor.

Commenting on Kaplony's reading *ir.t k3.i*, J. Kahl proposed the reading *ir.yt k3* to explain the mouth sign (D21 ) . (Regulski 2010, 96) Many examples of the mouth as "ir" instead of the eye (D 4 ) occur in the time of king Djer, such as (*Hr.w nbw ir.t(i)* , *ir.n* , *ir.n Inp.w* , *ir.t k3=i*) (Kahl, Das System der Aegyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0-3 Dynastie. 1994, 442) (Kahl, Fruehaegyptisches Woerterbuch. Harrassowitz Verlag. 2002, 46) So D21 () instead of the eye-sign D4 () may be expected.

#### 4.12 n:

Many variants of sign (N35 ) were inscribed on the stela in question as follows:

No	Variants	Context
1		<i>hnty-imnty</i>
2		Preposition
3		Preposition
4		<i>Hr-nht</i>
5		<i>Wn-nfr</i>
6		<i>nh</i>
7		<i>shnw</i>
8		<i>Hr-nht</i>

- 1) Nos. 1, 6 are the same as  on a stela from the time of Ramesses II. (Fuscaldo 1990, fig. 1)
- 1) Nos. 2, 3, 4, 7: these shapes are similar to examples from the time of king Khasekhemwy (Regulski 2010, 525)
- 2) No. 5: It seems to have been inscribed first as horizontal lines, then small triangles were added to the sign. Nine examples from stela (4 painted and 5 carved) from the First Intermediate Period show the form  , probably rendered thus in order to facilitate drawing, where the heaven sign  (N1 ) was probably drawn first and the triangles added above and below. (Brovarski 1989, I. 253, IV. 830-1[*note 23*]) Another example of various shapes of the *n*-sign in a single text appears on the left part of architrave over the entrance of the Mastaba of *Mrr*i from the Old Kingdom, particular the sign with double line through the middle () .(Fischer 1955, 15)
- 3) No. 7 is the same as those inscribed on a stela from the time of Amenhotep II () , (Davies 2009, 37, fig. 1) a stela from the time of Tutankhamun [] (Darnell 2003, 76), a stela from the Second Intermediate Period () (Leahy, A

Stela of the Second Intermediate Period 1981, fig. 1) , a stela from the time of king Takelot III (  ) (Uphill 1957, Pl. 1), and a stela of Pau from the 18<sup>th</sup> Dyn. (Hall 1925, 13-14, pl. XLVII)

The *n*-sign is inscribed as a straight line from the time of Amenemhat III as attested by the first group of stelae of the Abydos workshop from the Middle Kingdom. (Ilin-Tomich, From Workshop to Sanctuary. The Production of Late Middle Kingdom Memorial Stelae. Middle Kingdom Studies 6. 2017, 142). The multiple ideogram of N35 strongly suggests a hieratic source for this text, which perhaps confused the sculptor when carving the inscription.

## 5- STELA'S DATE:

A. Leahy assumed that many unpublished stelae in the Egyptian Museum originated from Abydos, but they are not from Mariette's excavation. (Leahy, Dating Stelae of the Libyan Period from Abydos. 2009, 436-437) Indeed, he re-dated a group of stelae to the Libyan period, (Leahy, Dating Stelae of the Libyan Period from Abydos. 2009, 437, fig. 14) [See; nos: Brussels E. 6251, Brussels E. 4439, Cairo T.11.11.24.2, Cairo T. 3.4.17.1, British Museum EA 642, Cairo JE 66285, Cairo JE 91272, Cairo JE 91259, University College, London 14496, Cairo T.22.8.15.3, Cairo JE 30435, Hanover, Kestner-Museum 1935.200.210, Cairo JE 30434.] (Leahy, Dating Stelae of the Libyan Period from Abydos. 2009, 417-440) i.e. the 21<sup>st</sup> to the 24<sup>th</sup> Dynasties. (Leahy, Abydos in the Libyan Period. 1990, 155-175) In another publication, he identified Libyan-period stelae from Abydos (not including this example), and in his conclusion (Leahy, Dating Stelae of the Libyan Period from Abydos. 2009, 417-440) he indicates that two stelae, this one and a second (No. T/17/3/25/13) as tripartite stelae, assuming that the framing line topping the columns of hieroglyphic text above the figures combines with two lines of text below the scene to create effectively a tripartite stela, which distinguish the Libyan type (Leahy, Dating Stelae of the Libyan Period from Abydos. 2009, 437). This is consistent with stelae from Thebes which dating to Third Intermediate Period which have outline frames connecting with two *w3s* signs or columns on the two sides of the stela, representing the East and West. (Loth 2009, 222) Thus Leahy indicates that these two stelae probably date to the Libyan period, (Leahy, Dating Stelae of the Libyan Period from Abydos. 2009, 37) although this one has no framing lines, which are the main feature of the Libyan period, and the second example suffered damage of two borders. But the recent discovery of a stela of Seti I from Tal-Habua II (Tharu), now in the Cairo Museum (no. 927), shows that many features of Libyan stelae were known in the Ramesside period. Therefore, the date of this stela to the Late Ramesside Period based on the following features:

5.1 The Anubis depicted on the lunette holding S42 (  ) with the flail fixed on his back is same as on two Ramesside stelae (one with the flail on his back and the second without). (Moursi 1988, figs. 1-2, pls. 1-2).

5.2 The spouted libation vessel of the scene is the same as the bronze example uncovered at the tomb of Antefoker in Dendara by Petrie in 1898, dated to the reign of Ramesses II and now in the Metropolitan Museum. (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/568634> [March 19, 2022. 10.00 am] 2022).

5.3 The writing of the name of the god Min (  ) was inscribed in the texts of the Min feast in the Medinet Habu and Ramesseum temples. (Gauthier, Les Fête du Dieu Min. 1931, 61, 179, 189-190).

- 5.4 The name of Osiris written  as in the New Kingdom (18<sup>th</sup> Dyn.). (Erman and Grapow 1971, I. 359) (Hall 1925, 5, 9, 14, pls I-IV, XXIV, XLIX) (Edwards 1939, pl. XXXVII-XXXVIII).
- 5.5 The common writing of the sign N35 () as  ,  in the New Kingdom. (Fuscaldo 1990, fig. 1) (Davies 2009, 37, fig. 1) (Darnell 2003, 76).
- 5.6 The scene was carved very well, with good proportions and both sunk and raised relief, as in the *3tf* crown, in contrast to the texts, which were inscribed with rough and unclear signs including mistakes, as can be seen in the writings of *Hr-nht, t, nhw, K3w, Wsir*. which means the sculptor may have copied his text from a hieratic source and thus confused many of the signs.
- 5.7 Various writings of one sign, N35 () which suggest that the scene was carved very well by a professional craftsman, but the text was added later by a local craftsman when the visitor came to Abydos and bought a stela from the workshop in order to dedicate to Osiris. Alternatively, one of the relatives of the deceased person came to visit Abydos and purchased a stela, and the craftsman added the text, names, and titles of the deceased.
- 5.8 None of the paleography, orthography, or stylistic features show evidence of Middle Kingdom or 2nd Intermediate period date.

All of these features suggest that the stela could be dated to the Ramesside period, and could indeed be late Ramesside in date, since carving errors of this type are typical of the end of the New Kingdom.

## 6- CONCLUSION:

A. Mariette carried out an extensive excavation at Abydos, particularly in the northern part of the site, in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, where he uncovered many stelae from various periods. Unfortunately, he did not produce any sections in his excavation reports to clarify the stratification. Therefore, his date for the stela could be based on some features of the New Kingdom Phase of his excavation. A. Leahy posited some rules for dating the stelae of the Libyan period, indicating (without publication) that the stela discussed here should be dated to the Libyan period, assuming that it has the outline frame characteristic of the Libyan period, which is however not found on this stela. According to the above paleographic and orthographic study, there are many features on this stela characteristic of the New Kingdom, particularly of late Ramesside period particularly the rough and uncommon signs.

The shape of main text, in contrast to the text of the scene, indicates that it was carved by two artisans, perhaps indicating an actual workshop for stelae at Abydos, where the main scene was carved carefully by a qualified artisan. Whenever a customer wished to dedicate a stela to a deceased relative, he would choose a stela according the figured scene and buy it, then a less skilled carver would add the chosen texts, names and titles of the deceased. In addition, here we see the new title of Osiris, *Ity wr m ddtw* and the first occurrence the loaf-sign (X8) at the beginning of the *hpt di nsw* formula in the New Kingdom.

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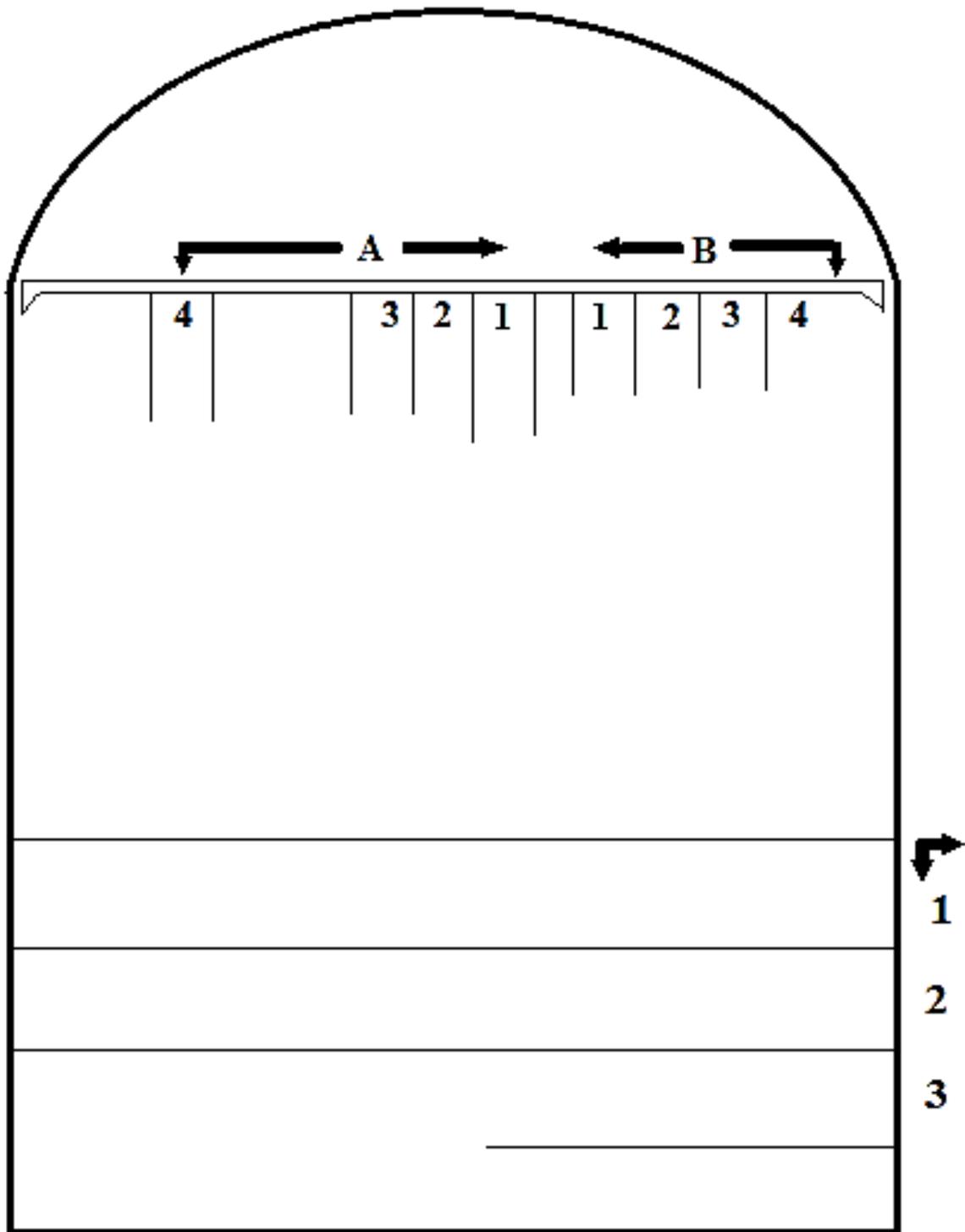


Fig. (1)  
Diagram of the Stela

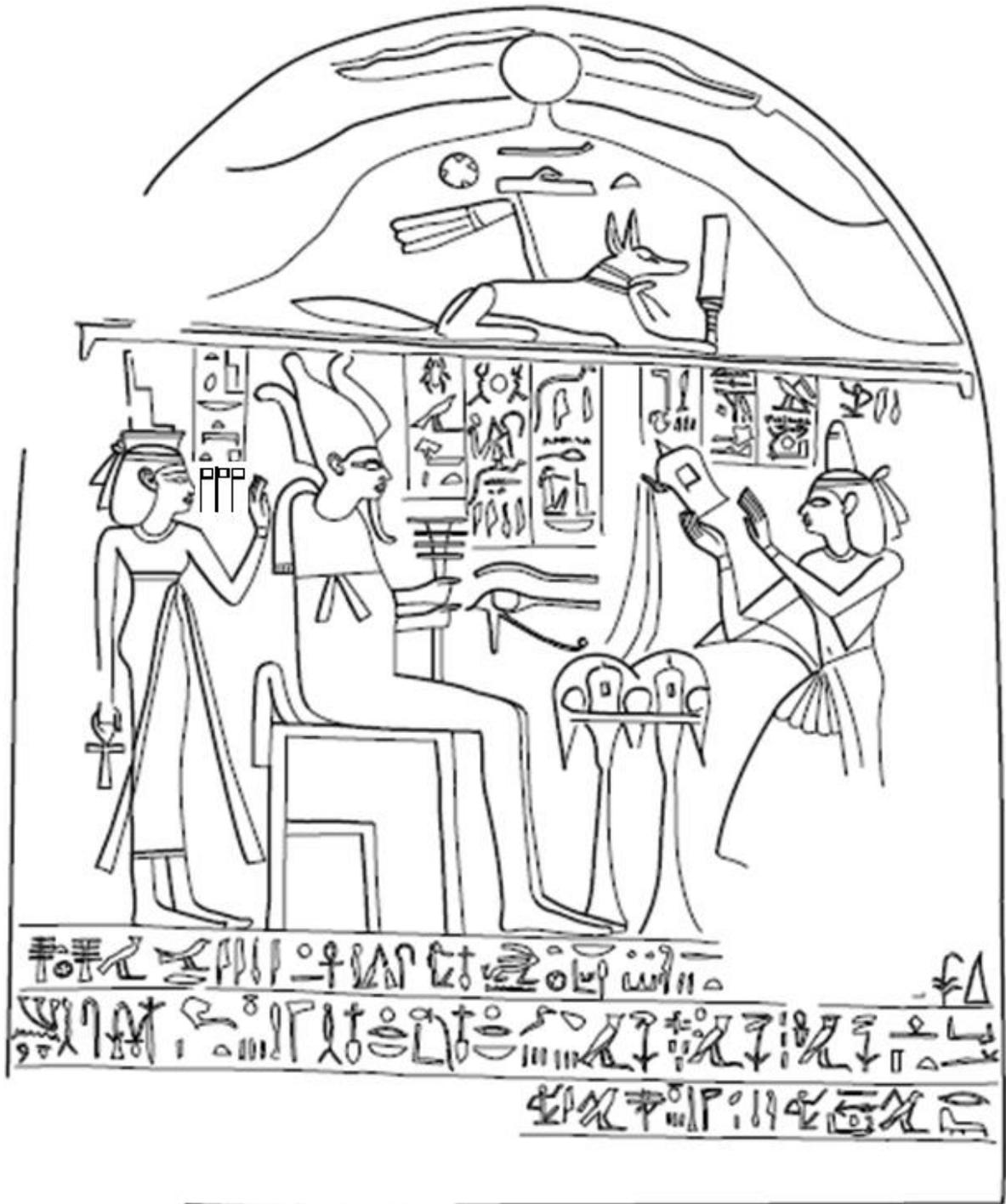


Fig. (2)  
Stela of Hornakht



Pl. (1)  
Stela of Hornakht

## "لوحة غير منشور للمدعو *Hr-nht* من أواخر عصر الرعامسة" (GEM-2353)

### المخلص

يقدم هذا البحث نشرًا كاملاً لواحدة من لوحات أبيدوس المكتشفة بواسطة أوجست مارييت. محفوظة حالياً في المتحف المصري الكبير (GEM 2353). تم تأريخ هذه اللوحة بعصر الدولة الحديثة بواسطة مارييت ومن بعده أرخها ألكسندر ليهي بالعصر الليبي، دون أن يقدم كليهما نشرًا علمياً للوحة. هذا البحث يقدم دراسة تحليلية، فنية، هجائية، أشكال العلامات بالاضافة الى صيغ القرابين، الأسماء والنوعت والتي أدت لتأريخ هذه اللوحة تقريباً بأواخر عصر الرعامسة.

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### بيانات المقال

#### تاريخ المقال

تم الاستلام في ٢٥ فبراير ٢٠٢٣

تم استلام النسخة المنقحة في ١ أكتوبر

٢٠٢٣

تم قبول البحث في ٢٨ أكتوبر ٢٠٢٣

متاح على الإنترنت في ١٠ يونيو ٢٠٢٤

### الكلمات الدالة

مقبرة،

مقبرة-صف،

ذراع أبو النجا،

شيخ عبد القرنة،

جبانة طيبة،

حجرة الطقسة،

طيبة،

الدولة الحديثة،

الدولة الوسطى،

تمثال