

## TWO MIDDLE KINGDOM STELAE OF SA AMUN AND SNEFRUIPTAH IN THE GREAT EGYPTIAN MUSEUM GIZA (CGC 20188=20686).

**Adel Zine Al-Abidine**  
Department of Archeology  
Faculty of Arts  
University of Tanta

**Nahla Fahim EL-Sayed**  
PhD in Egyptology

### ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to publish and study Two Abydos stelae preserved now in the Magazine of the Middle Kingdom in the Great Museum in Giza under the numbers (CGC 20188and 20686) with discussion of the meaning of their Names and titles. Furthermore, it aims to transcribe. Translate and comment on their epigraphical features. The first stela belongs to a person named Sa-Amun, while the second is a stela of Snefruiphtah, the artistic style. The orthographic and paleographic features suggest a dating to the Late Twelfth Dynasty and early Thirteenth Dynasty, while of Snefruiphtah is typical of the reign Senwosert III.

### KEYWORDS

Middle Kingdom, false door stela. Sa-Amun, Snefruiphtah, Senwosert III. Late Twelfth Dynasty. Early Thirteenth Dynasty.

### INTRODUCTION

This paper is to publish and study funerary two stelae<sup>i</sup> preserved now in the store of the Middle Kingdom in the Great Egyptian Museum in Giza, the first one is a stela in the shape of a false door of person named Sa-Amun (CGC20188), the second is a false door stela of a person named Snefruiphtah(CGC20686), The genealogy of the owners of the stelae are not mentioned on these stelae, they were found at kom es-sultan<sup>ii</sup> in Abydos, Sohag governorate, The stelae are in good condition, The current condition of the stelae in comparison with the black and white photographs taken at the time of its discovery shows no change, the stelae share shape and orthographical and paleographical features, when they are compared to each other, suggest for a single or close period, where the art of the end Twelfth Dynasty continues through the Thirteenth Dynasty. Both Lange and Schäfer<sup>iii</sup> transcribed the hieroglyphs of thses two stelae and included their images, but they did not translate their texts, describe their scenes, nor investigate their styles or inscriptions. The aim of this paper is to translate and comment thses documents, by investigating their style, inscriptions as well as their iconographica, epigraphical features and dating criteria.

### المخلص

من أبيدوس تهدف تلك المقالة إلى نشر ودراسة لوحتين محفوظتين الآن في مخزن الدولة الوسطى بالمتحف المصري ، ٢٠١٨٨CG ، ويحملان أرقام الكتالوج ، بالإضافة إلى مناقشة معانى اسمائهم ٢٠٦٨٦CG ، والتعليق على سمات التهجئة وأشكال ، ونسخ النصوص وترجمتها اللوحة الأولى لشخص يدعى سا-أمون ، بينما ، العلامات اللوحة الثانية لشخص يدعى سنفرى-بتاح ، وقد تبين من هذه الدراسة أن الأسلوب الفنى وسمات التهجئة وأشكال العلامات للوحة سا-أمون تؤرخ بنهاية الأسرة الثانية عشر وبداية الأسرة الثالثة عشر بينما لوحة سنفرى -بتاح يرجع تاريخها إلى فترة حكم الملك سنوسرت الثالث.

### الكلمات الدالة

سنفرى-بتاح ، الدولة الوسطى ، لوحة باب وهمى ، سا-أمون. سنوسرت الثالث ، نهاية الأسرة الثانية عشرة ، بداية الأسرة الثالثة عشرة

## 1- The False Door Stela of Sa-Amun (fig.1)

### General Description

Rectangular stela in the shape of a false-door<sup>iv</sup> of Sa-Amun, The stela is in a good of preservation, The genealogy of the owner of the stela is not mentioned on this stela, It is made of limestone, measuring 46.1 cm in height, 6.5 cm in width and 28 cm in length, Now, it is registered under the accession numbers (CG 20188=GEM 14248=SR 3/9422). The stela was found at kom es-sultan in Abydos, Sohag governorate (fig.1). It is in good condition, The current condition of the stela in comparison with the black and white photographs taken at the time of its discovery shows no change.

Rectangular stela in the shape of a false-door, it has fine relief scenes and hieroglyphic inscriptions, both of which are executed in sunken relief, It is of a rather simple design, It is topped by the winged sun-disk. It is divided vertically by a rectangular hole/niche<sup>v</sup> (32.5 cm×6.5 cm). The god Osiris is depicted in the left side, while the god Min-Hor is depicted in the right side. The lower part inscribed by four horizontal lines of hieroglyphic inscriptions down every god in every side.

### Scenes and Inscriptions

**I-The top of the stela:** As noted above, the upper section is decorated with the winged sun-disk<sup>vi</sup> surrounded by two cobras<sup>vii</sup> around sun disk every side.

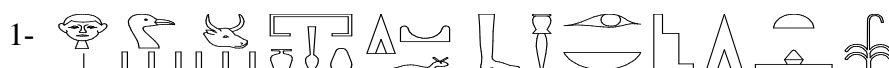
### II-Scenes

In the left side of the false door stela, the god Osiris<sup>viii</sup> is shown as a mummiform figure, he wears the white crown of Upper Egypt, suggests an upper Egyptian origin for the god, he wears the divine beard and the wide necklace, and he holds the wide scepter in both hands<sup>ix</sup>.

In the right side of the false door stela, Min Hor Nekhet<sup>x</sup> appears in his traditional form as a human figure standing upright and wrapped as a mummy on the base with a slanted façade represented the maat, and his erect penis member, as the usury of fertility and sexual power<sup>xi</sup>, his left arm is hidden in the scrolls, and his right arm<sup>xii</sup>, it is represented lifted to head level with his elbow and forearm forming a right angle, while the palm of his hand is open. Above the hand is a flail *nh3h3*<sup>xiii</sup> hanging loose, he wears the distinctive crown (a double crown of feathers), the crown is tall and double plumed with a long ribbon in the back, Behind him the vessel, perhaps, is this vessel in which the lettuce plant was placed, the symbol of the god Min or the shrine of Min<sup>xiv</sup>.


### III-Inscriptions

The main inscription on this stela contains four horizontal lines every side divided by incised horizontal lines, running right to left, the text contains on the offering formula, one of them was presented to the god Osiris, and the other is for the god Min Hor Nekhet, the text also contains the owner's name and his title, the first text down the god Osiris, contains four horizontal line, running right to left, as follows:





Twelfth Dynasty<sup>xxxv</sup>, the only structural difference between Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom formulas is the additional insertion of a prospective *di.f* “may he give”, introducing the following request for an invocation offering<sup>xxxvi</sup>, It is believed that *prt-hrw* was introduced during the Eleventh Dynasty, However, The construction changed in the Twelfth Dynasty to *di.fl.s/.sn*<sup>lhhvii</sup>.


e) *k3w-3pdw*: Oxen and fowl is one of the most ubiquitous elements of the offering formula,  It wrote this way on a few stelae of Twelfth Dynasty and Thirteenth Dynasty, spread the Second Intermediate Period<sup>xxxviii</sup>.





f) *n-k3-n*: The occurrence of this phrase on stela is probably known from an earlier date despite claims by Bennett<sup>xxxix</sup>, although only later in the Dynasty did it make its way to the superstructure<sup>xl</sup>. Its occurrence on Stela is even later than the end of the Old Kingdom<sup>xli</sup>. Bennett suggests that *n k3 n* occurred since the time of “Amenemhat II”, after the alternations happened to the formula since the time of “Senusert I”<sup>xlii</sup>. This form of writing did not occur before the Thirteenth Dynasty<sup>xliii</sup>, All the inscriptions dating to the Thirteenth dynasty use the form *n-k3-n* NN<sup>xliiv</sup>, “to the ka of NN” to introduce the recipient<sup>xliv</sup>. And followed *n-k3-n* the name (and Titles) of the deceased to follow as well as one, or both<sup>xlvi</sup>.

g) *Wr mdw šm<sup>c</sup>w* was evidently of great importance of high-ranking status, this is evident from the title he held<sup>xlvii</sup>, It was one of the most common regular titles of the late middle kingdom, A holder of this title was perhaps the staff of the vizier and officials in his bureau in the late middle kingdom and

h) *mnw hr-nht* : appears in the offering formulas primarily in the Thirteenth Dynasty<sup>xlviii</sup>. the appearance of this god in the offering formula seems to be synchronous with the appearance of ithyphallic Min figures on Abydene stelae<sup>xlix</sup>, This god is attested in 10 Thirteenth Dynasty documents(docs.109, 139, 154, 155, 162, 164, 168, 170,191, 201)<sup>l</sup>. Especially in Thirteenth Dynasty<sup>li</sup>, Anyway, according to him, the monuments of the late middle kingdom attest the regular use of the title might in front of the owner’s name<sup>lii</sup>.

## V-Dating of the Stela

The offering formula permits us to propose the Late Twelfth Dynasty as a date for this stela. The absence of Osiris determinative is characteristic for the Late Twelfth Dynasty stela and later<sup>liii</sup>, and use the sign Q2  in the name of Osiris refers to the Thirteenth Dynasty, where it was used during the Thirteenth Dynasty<sup>liv</sup>.

The grammatical structure *di.f prt-hrw* is a chronological element of the stela of the Twelfth Dynasty and later<sup>lv</sup>. The use of the sign  (S3) instead of the sign  (N35) in the formula *n-k3-n*, whether wrote  or  at the end of the Middle Kingdom, in the latter half of the Twelfth Dynasty<sup>lvi</sup>, then it became used on all stelae dating from the Thirteenth Dynasty<sup>lvii</sup>.

Depicting deities in large size on the body of the stela, such as Osiris ,Min, and Hor Ra Akhty, spread in the Thirteenth Dynasty, The phrase *Mnw-hr-Nht* in the offering formula outside the cultic centers of *Min* is a sign of a Thirteenth Dynasty date<sup>lviii</sup>.

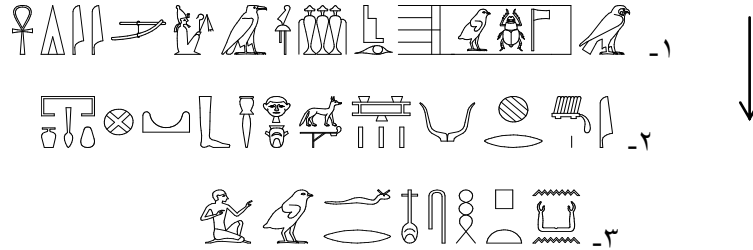
The shape of the stela is an important element of the history of the stela, as the rectangular stela appeared in the form an false door since the reign of the king Senwosert III and spread in the Thirteenth Dynasty<sup>lix</sup>.

The representations of winged sun disk in the top of this stela indicate a post to end Twelfth Dynasty date, the winged sun disk appeared surrounded by two snakes on a small number of the



shen"šn<sup>lhviii</sup> is placed between the two eyes to confirm the protection, besides the udjat-eyes from the north side, there are two hieroglyphic signs above each other  $\text{♀} \Delta$  di  $\text{ϵnh}$  .

In the left side of this section, there are the inscription of three vertical hieroglyphic lines running from right to left, text reads:



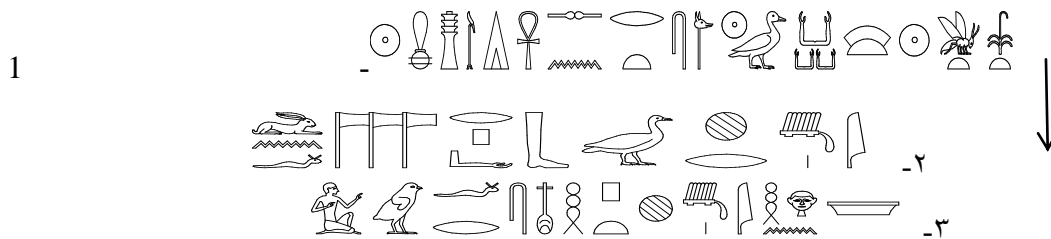
1-  $hr \text{ ntr } hprw \text{ wsir } hnty \text{ imntyw}^{lhv}$  mry di  $\text{ϵnh}$

2-  $im3hy \text{ hrwpw}^3wt \text{ hry-ib}^{lhv}$  3bdw prt-hrw t  $hnkt$

3-  $n-k3-n \text{ snfr.wi-pt}^{lhi}$

Horus  $\text{ntr } hprw$ , Osiris foremost of the westerners beloved given life, the venerated before Wepwawet<sup>lxxii</sup> guest Abydos, invocation offering (consisting of) bread and bear, to the ka of Snefruipthah.

In the right side of this section, there are the inscription of three vertical hieroglyphic lines running from left to right, text reads:



$Nsw-bity \text{ h}^c-k3w-r^c \text{ s3-r}^c \text{ sn-wsrt}$  di  $\text{ϵnh}^{lhviii}$  w3s  $dd \text{ mi } r^c$

$im3hy \text{ hr } gb \text{ r-p}^ct \text{ ntrw } wn.f \text{ wn } hr \text{ n } im3hy \text{ snfr.wi}^{lhv}$  -pth

king of upper and lower Egypt  $\text{h}^c-k3w-r^c$  son of Re Snwosert given life dominion and stable like Re , the venerated before Geb , the noble, shining of gods to the venerated Snefruipthah .

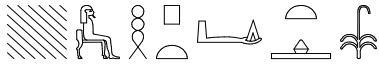
**III-** The Third section includes the decoration of incomes and exits. On the left at the beginning of the third section, there is a horizontal hieroglyphic line, running from right to left, line reads:



$im3h(y) \text{ hr } wsir \text{ hnty } imntyw \text{ nb } 3bdw \text{ prt-hrw } k3w \text{ 3pdw } šs \text{ mnht}$

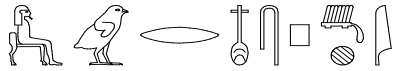
The venerated before Osiris foremost of the westerners, lord of Abydos, invocation offerings (consisting of) bread and bear, cattle and fowl, alabaster and clothing .

Below this, there are number of texts horizontal hieroglyphic lines running from right to left, begins on the right, text read:



*ḥtp-di-nsw pth šps*

An offering which the king gives (to) ptah noble .



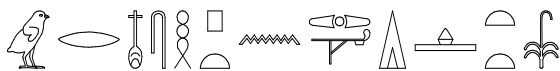
*im3ḥ(y) snfr.wi-ptḥ<sup>lhv</sup> šps*

The venerated Snefruiptah noble.



*ḥtp-di-nsw wsir n gb.w<sup>lhvi</sup> ...*

An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris for Gebw.



*ḥtp-di-nsw min n snfr.wi-ḥtp<sup>lhvii</sup>*

An offering which the king gives (to) for Snefruiptah .



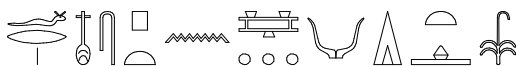
*im3ḥ(y) (h)r gb snfr.wi pth*

the venerated before Geb Snefruiptah .



*ḥtp-di-nsw nšmt snfr.wi-ḥtp*

An offering which the king gives (to) sacred barque of Osiris<sup>lxxviii</sup> for Snefruiptah .



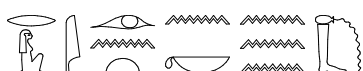
*ḥtp-di-nsw wp-w3wt n snfr.wi-ḥtp<sup>lhbib</sup>*

An offering which the king gives (to) wepwawet for Snefruiptah .



*snfr.wi-ptḥ šps*

Snefruiptah noble.















*w<sup>c</sup>b n.k iry nt iry<sup>hh</sup>*

Cleanse for you *iry nt iry*

#### IV-Dating of the Stela

Date of The Stela back to the fifteenth year of the reign of king Senwosert III, Twelfth Dynasty. found three titles on the stela belonging to king Senwosert III; title Hory “*n<sup>r</sup> hprw*”, title *nsw bity* “*h<sup>c</sup> k3w r<sup>c</sup>* “ and title *s3-r<sup>c</sup>* “*sn-wsrt*”.

The stela included a number of features that were widespread in this period, The shape of the stela is an important element for this period, as the rectangular stelae with cornice and rounded sides in the form an false door appeared since the reign of the king Senwosert III<sup>lxxxix</sup>. A sign *šn* appeared surrounded by two eyes *w<sup>d</sup>3t* at the tops of the stelae since the reign of the king Senwosert III<sup>lxxxii</sup>. the order of the offering formula *htp-di-nsw* with the sign of *htp* in the middle between *nsw* and *di*<sup>lxxxiii</sup>, and the arrangement of *htp-di-nsw* with the *t* sign centered above the *htp*  sign after the *nsw*  sign was common in the Twelfth Dynasty<sup>lxxxiv</sup>. The writing of the name of the god Osiris  without a determinative commonly occurs during the reign of Amenemhat III and lasted through the twelfth dynasty<sup>lxxxv</sup>. the abbreviated writing of the sign *jm3h*  placed above the vertical stroke  is typical of the Middle Kingdom<sup>lxxxvi</sup>. the title *nb* *3bdw*    with this form widely appears in the Twelfth Dynasty<sup>lxxxvii</sup>. The phrase *k3w-3pdw*   wrote this way during the Twelfth Dynasty<sup>lxxxviii</sup>.

**Figuration:**





(fig. 1)

(CG20188-GEM 14248-SR 3/9422)



(fig. 2)

(CG 20686=JE 18525=GEM 4109=SR 3/10395).



- <sup>i</sup> Badawy, A., *La Stèle funéraire sous l’Ancien Empire; Son Origine et Son fonctionnement*, ASAE 48 (Le Caire 1948), 215.
- <sup>ii</sup> For further information about kom es- sultun, see Ilin- Tomich, A., *From Workshop to Sanctuary the Production of Late Middle Kingdom Memorial Stela*, MKS 6 (London 2017), 138.
- <sup>iii</sup> Lange, H. O., and Schäfer, H., *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches im Museum von Kairo No. 20001-20780*, *Catalogue Générale des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, I, Texte zu No. 2001-20399, (Berlin 1902), 217-218; IV, pl. XVI; *Grab und Denksteine des Mittleren Reich im Museum von Kairo Nos. 20400-20780*, II, 312- 313; IV, pl. LII.
- <sup>iv</sup> Hölzl, R., "Stela", in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, 3, (Oxford 2001), 319- 324; Martin, K., *Stele*, in: *LÄ*, VI (1986), col. 1- 6; Müller, H. W., *Die Totendensteine des Mittleren Reiches ,ihre Genesis, ihre Darstellungen und ihre composition*, MDAIK 4 (1933), 191-201f, fig 20, 21. Vandier, J., *Manuel d’archéologie égyptienne*, II, (Paris 1954), 416; Evers, H. G., *Staat aus dem Stein*, I, (Munich 1929), 74.
- <sup>v</sup> More on the hole/niche inside of the false door stela see Badawy, in: *BIFAO* 35 (1953), 117- 119, fig. 1-7- 9.
- <sup>vi</sup> Kees, H., *Horus und séth als Götterpaar*, II, (Leipzig 1924), 71- 73; The winged sun disk appeared during the reign of king snefru, where the king’s cartilage appeared on the side of the queen’s box, *Hetebheres at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo*, see Badawy, A., *La Stèle Funéraire sous L’Ancien Empire: son origine et son Fonctionnement*, 228- 232; the winged sun-disk has appeared on the tops of stelae since the Middle Kingdom, see Wilkinson, R., *Reading Egyptian Art*, (London 1999), 101; In most of the stelae, the individual was not depicted beneath the winged sun disk, but rather depicted kings and deities see Baines, J., *The Stela of Emhab: Innovation , Tradition, Hierarchy*, *JEA* 72(1986), 52.
- <sup>vii</sup> The cobra was associated with the sun disk and was its protector since the early age, and it kept the path of the sun, but it became a miniature model that is suspended in the sun disk, see Westendorf, W., *Der Ring um die Sonnenscheibe*, *GM* 211(2006), 115-116.
- <sup>viii</sup> The oldest mention of Osiris is in the Pyramid Texts as the king united with Osiris in the netherworld see Sethe, K., *Altägyptische Pyramiden Text*, 2 Bde, Leipzig, (1908), 214 (a-c); Osiris took the role of the formerly god of the dead *hnty imntt*, the god of the netherworld who appeared in the presynaptic period as a couching jackal protecting Abydos necropolis see Saied, M., *Götterglauben und Gottheiten in der Vorgeschichte und Frühzeit Ägyptens*, Doktorarbeit, Kairo- Uni, (1997), 6-7; *LGG*, II, 532:568.
- <sup>ix</sup> Gwyn, J., "Osiris", in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt II*, (Oxford 2001), 615-619; *LGG* II, 527-528; for depicted the god Osiris down the winged solar-disk see *CG* 20024; *AA* 41(1984), No. 132; Seyfrid, K. J., in: *MAS* 15 (1981), 247, No. 14, *CG* 20542, 535.
- <sup>x</sup> Romanosky, E., "Min", in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt II*, (Oxford 2001), 414; Wilkinson, R., *The complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*, (London 2003), 115; McFarlane, A., *The cult of Min in the third millennium B.C.*, *BACE* (1990), 69-75; McFarlane, A., *The god Min to the End of the Old Kingdom*, (*Australian Centre for Egyptology* 1995), 153(nr. 312); Barbara, S. Lesko, B., *The great goddesses of Egypt*, (Oklahoma, United States 1999), 15f, 81f; Lucas Baqué- Manzano, *Further Arguments on the Coptos Colossi*, *BIFAO* 102(2002), 26; Munro, I., *Das Zelt- Heiligtum des Min*, *MÄS* 41(1983).
- <sup>xi</sup> Ogdon, J., *Some Notes on the iconography of the God Min*, *BES* 7, (1985-1986), 29-41.
- <sup>xii</sup> For more information on the right raised arm of the god Min see Zandee, J., *De Hymnen ann Amon van papyrus Leiden* 1, 350, (Leiden 1947); Moret, A., *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Egypte. D’après les papyrus de Berlin et les textes du temple de Séti 1<sup>er</sup> à Abydos*, (Paris 1902), 131; Hassan, S., *Hymnes religieux du Moyen Empire*, (Le Caire 1930), 141; Junker, H., *Die Onurislegende*, Wien 1917(reprint 1988), 36.
- <sup>xiii</sup> Concerning the iconographic relation between Min and the flail, it can be said that the flail was a symbol of force and authority, whereas, the flail of Min-Horus in combination with his phallus produces an element of protection and a symbol of his authority against the enemies of the god, see Lichtheim, M., *Ancient Egyptian Literature I*, (Berkeley 1975), 204; It can also be considered the flail as a symbol of fecundity, see Mace, A. C., & Winlock, H., *The tomb of Senebtisi at Ishet*, *Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition*, (New York 1916), 97; Sourdiver, C., *La main dans l’Égypte Pharaonique. Recherches de morphologie structural sur les objets égyptiens comportant une main*, (Berne 1984), 586.
- <sup>xiv</sup> *LGG* III, S. 293.
- <sup>xv</sup> Barta, W., *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel, ÄF 24*, (Glückstadt 1968), 56; Lapp, G., *Opferformel, Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches*, 21(1986), §§ 155-159, 91-110; wrote in different forms and know since the old kingdom, see Gardiner, A., *Egyptian Grammar, Excursus B*, 172 ; Barta, W., *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, 39.
- <sup>xvi</sup> Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, *Verzeichnis der Namen*, (Glückstadt 1935), I, 79(19).
- <sup>xvii</sup> Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 280(22).
- <sup>xviii</sup> Satzinger, H., *Beobachtungen zur Opferformel: Theorie and Praxis* in: *LingAeg* 5(1997), 177-188; Franke, D., *The Middle Kingdom Offering Formulas: A challenge*, in: *JEA* 89(2003), 45- 50; Offering Formula appeared since the fourth dynasty see Müller, H. W., *Die Totendensteine des Mittleren Reiches ,ihre Genesis, ihre Darstellungen und ihre composition*, 185; Translations of this formula have varied, "the king is satisfied and granted" or "A gift offered

by the king and the god” so in the old kingdom see Barta, W., Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel, 261-270; and in the middle kingdom, the concept changed to become “A gift that the king can give to the god then the god gives it to the deceased” see Gardiner, A., Egyptian Grammar, Excursus B, 170-173; Leprohon, J., “The offering formula in the first Intermediate Period” *JEA* 76 (1990), 163-164; Lapp, G., Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches, §§ 50-52, 32-33.


<sup>xix</sup> his sequence of epithets (*wsir nb ddw ntr ʿ3 nb 3bdw*) is the most frequent on the Abydos stelae see Barta, W., Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel, 56; For the range and frequency of the sequences of epithets on Abydos stelae see Spiegel, J., Die Götter von Abydos (GOF IV. Reihe Agypten 7; Wiesbaden 1973), 173-176.

<sup>xx</sup> Barta, W., Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel, 46ff, for the appearance of *di.f* after the *htp-di-nsw* formula as a dating criteria see Obsomer, C., *di.f prt hrw* et la filiation *ms(t).n/ir(t).n* comme critères de datation dans les textes du moyen Empire, dans, in: Ch. Cannuyer/ J.M. Kruchten (eds), Individu, société et spiritualité dans l’Égypte pharaonique et copte : Mélanges égyptologiques offerts au professeur Aristide Théodorides, (Ath/Bruxelles/Mons 1993), 163-201; Satzinger, H., Beobachtungen zur Opferformel: 177-188cf; Frank, D., The Good Shepherd Antef (Stela BM EA 1628), in: *JEA* 93(2007), 170-171.

<sup>xxi</sup> Barta, W., Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel, 16; Lapp, G., Opferformel, §§ 155-159, 91-110; wrote in different forms and know since the old kingdom, see Gardiner, A., Excursus B, 172; Barta, W., Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel, 39; Lapp, G., Opferformel, §§ 155, 91.

<sup>xxii</sup> Ward, W. A., Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom, with a glossary of words and phrase used (Beirut 1982), 87, no. 721; Quirke, S., Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700BC, *Egyptology I*, GHP (London 2004), 87; The latter is one of the Titles used predominantly in the Theban and Upper Egyptian administration during the late Middle Kingdom, see Ilin-Tomich, A., Theban Administration in the Late Middle Kingdom, *ZAS* 142/2(2015), 120, 128, 147; It is attested in large numbers on different monuments dating from the early and mid-Thirteenth dynasty, see Quirke, S., Titles and Bureaux of Egypt, 87.

<sup>xxiii</sup> Franke has noted that on several Second Intermediate Period stelae an additional *di,dd* was added, spelled 

or  see Franke, D., The Middle Kingdom Offering Formulas: A challenge, 23-24; these spellings only occur in the Second Intermediate Period. Recently, Marée has shown that most examples belong to an Abydos workshop he has studied see Marée (ed), M., The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth –Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects, OLA 192 (Leuven 2010), pp. 250-252.

<sup>xxiv</sup> For the *htp-di-nsw* formula in general see Barta, W., Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel, passim; Lapp, G., Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches, passim.

<sup>xxv</sup> Müller, H. W., Die Totendenksteine des Mittleren Reiches, ihre Genesis, 185.

<sup>xxvi</sup> and wrote *htp-di-nsw* since the age of the Fourteenth Dynasty until the age of the Eighteenth Dynasty and beyond see Smither, P. C., The Writing of *htp-di-nsw* in The Middle and New Kingdom, *JEA* 25, No. 1 (1939), 34-37; Bennett, C. J., Growth of *htp-di-nsw* Formula in the Middle Kingdom, in: *JEA* 27(1941), 77ff; Franke, D., The Good Shepherd Antef (Stela BM EA 1628), 39 f.

<sup>xxvii</sup> Bennett, C. J., Growth of *htp-di-nsw* Formula in the Middle Kingdom, 27-8.

<sup>xxviii</sup> Ilin-Tomich, A., “Changes in the *htp-di-nsw* Formula in the Late Middle Kingdom and the second Intermediate period”, *ZAS* 138(2011), 21, n. 13.

<sup>xxix</sup> Bennett, C. J., Growth of *htp-di-nsw* Formula in the Middle Kingdom, 78.

<sup>xxx</sup> Ilin-Tomich, A., From Workshop to Sanctuary the Production of Late Middle Kingdom Memorial Stela (London 2017), 9; Amgad, J., An Unpublished Stela of Nedjesankh/Iew and His Family (CG 20394/JE 15107), *J. ARCE* 55(2019), 81.

<sup>xxxii</sup> Selim, S., The Stela of *hr-wd3w* in the Cairo Museum (JE 41332), in: *SAK* 28, (2000), 254.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> Abdel-Raziq, A., A Middle Kingdom funerary stela of a woman at Al-Salam School Museum, Assiut, in: *JEA* 99(2013), 277.

<sup>xxxiiii</sup> Hein, I & Satzinger, H., Stelen des Mittleren Reiches I, Einschließlich Der 1 und II. Zwischenzeit, (Mainz, 1989), 39-43, 48-54, 56-61.

<sup>xxxv</sup> Clère, J., La Stèle de Sânkhtah, chambellan du roi Râhotep”, in: *JEA* 68 (1982), 66.

<sup>xxxvi</sup> Orel, S., Two Unpublished Stelae from Beni Hasan”, in: *JEA* 81, (1995), 218; Bright, D., Dating Funerary Stelae of the Twelfth Dynasty, (Macquarie University 2005), 27.

<sup>xxxvii</sup> Franke, D., The Middle Kingdom Offering Formulas - A Challenge, 46; Obsomer, C., *di.f prt hrw* et la filiation *ms(t).n/ir(t).n* comme critères de datation dans les textes du Moyen Empire, 192-196.



<sup>xxxviii</sup> Azam, L., An Unpublished Stela in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 88011”, in: *CASAE* 37(2008), 71; Bennett, C. J., Growth of the *htp-di-nsw* formula in the Middle Kingdom”, 77; Lapp, G., Eine spezielle Opferformel des Mittleren Reiches, in: *SAK* 14, (1987), 181-183.

<sup>xxxix</sup> Ilin-Tomich, A., “Changes in the *Htp-di-nsw* Formula”, 24.

<sup>xl</sup> Bennett, C. J., Growth of *htp-di-nsw* Formula in the Middle Kingdom, 79:81.

<sup>xli</sup> Barta, W., Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel, 33, n. 3.

<sup>xlii</sup> Abdalla, A., The Cenotaph of Sekwaskhet Family from Saqqara, in: *JEA* 78(1992), Fig 2 (b).


- <sup>xlii</sup> Bennett, C.J., Growth of *htp-di-nsw* Formula in the Middle Kingdom, 79 (N. 6).
- <sup>xliii</sup> Pflüger, K., The Private Funerary stela of the Middle Kingdom and their importance for the study of Ancient Egyptian History, in: JAOS, vol. 67, No. 2 (1947), 133.
- <sup>xliv</sup> There are several examples on the Thirteenth Dynasty stela mentioned the phrase *n k3 n* typically see Cf. Stelae BM EA 215, EA 238, EA 252; Cairo CG 20089. Lapp, G., Eine spezielle Opferformel des Mittleren Reiches, 182.
- <sup>xliv</sup> Ilin-Tomich, A., "Changes in the *htp-di-nsw* Formula", 26.
- <sup>xlvi</sup> Whelan, P., An Unfinished late Middle Kingdom Stela from Abydos, in S. Grallert, and W. Grajetzki, Life and Afterlife in Ancient Egypt during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, GHP Egyptology 7, (London 2007), 133.
- <sup>xlvi</sup> Ward, W. A., Index MK, no 721; Quirke, S., Titles and Bureaux, p. 87; Quirke, S., the Regular Titles of the Late Middle Kingdom, in: RdE 37 (1986), 113, 120.
- <sup>xlviii</sup> Ilin-Tomich, A., "Changes in the *htp-di-nsw* Formula", 23.
- <sup>xlix</sup> Malaise, M., Les représentations de divinités sur les stèles du Moyen Empire", in: Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblate, Acta Iranica 23 (Leiden 1984), 408-411.
- <sup>l</sup> Ilin-Tomich, A., "Changes in the *htp-di-nsw* Formula", 23.
- <sup>li</sup> Helck, W., Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches, PÄ 3 (1958), 51ff; Grajetzki, W., Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches, Schriften zur Ägyptologie A2 (2000), 39ff; Quirke, S., Titles and Bureaux of Egypt, 87.
- <sup>lii</sup> Quirke, S., Titles and Bureaux of Egypt, 1.
- <sup>liii</sup> Franke, D., The Middle Kingdom Offering Formulas, 39-40; Smither, P.C., The Writing of *htp-di-nsw* in The Middle and New Kingdom, 34-37; Bennett, C. J., Growth of *htp-di-nsw* Formula in the Middle Kingdom, 77-78.
- <sup>liiv</sup> Ilin-Tomich, A., From Workshop to Sanctuary, 9; Amgad, J., An Unpublished Stela of Nedjesankh/Iew and His Family (CG 20394/JE 15107), 81.
- <sup>liv</sup> Obsomer, C., *di.f prt hrw* et la filiation *ms(t).n/ir(t).n* comme critères de datation dans les textes, 198.
- <sup>lvi</sup> Pflüger, K., The Private Funerary stela of the Middle Kingdom and their importance for the study of Ancient Egyptian History, 133; EL-Sayed, M., Late Middle Kingdom stela from Assiut, in: H. W. Fischer-Elfert & R. B. (eds.) Parkinson, Studies on the Middle Kingdom in Memory of D. Franke, PHILIPPIKA 41, (Wiesbaden 2013), 161-199; it sometimes replaces the sign  (S3) instead of the sign  (N35) from the Twelfth Dynasty and recurrently at the end of the Middle Kingdom, see Obsomer, C., Égyptien Hiéroglyphique. Grammaire pratique du Moyen égyptien, Collection Langues et Cultures anciennes 11 (2009), 239.
- <sup>lvii</sup> Ilin-Tomich, A., "Changes in the *htp-di-nsw* Formula", 26; Ilin-Tomich, A., Middle Kingdom Stela Workshop at Thebes, in: GM 234 (2012), 80; EL-Shal, O., La stèle d'Ioutjèni et les liturgies processionnelles de la fin du Moyen Empire CGC 20476, GEM 4439, in BIFAO 115 (2015), 462.
- <sup>lviii</sup> Ilin-Tomich, A., "Changes in the *htp-di-nsw* Formula", 23.
- <sup>lix</sup> Müller, H.W., Die Totendenksteine des Mittleren Reiches, ihre Genesis, 191-201, fig. 20-21; J. Vandier, Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne, II, (Paris 1954), 416; Evers, H.G., Staat aus dem Stein, I, (Munich 1929), 74.
- <sup>lx</sup> Hölzl, R., "Round-Topped Stela from the Middle Kingdom to the Late Period, Remarks on the Decoration of the Lunettes", SCIE I (1992), 287; Hölzl, R., Die Giebelfelddekoration von Stelen des Mittleren Reich, (Wien 1990), 48-50.
- <sup>lxi</sup> Helck, W., Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches, PÄ 3 (1958), 51ff; Grajetzki, W., Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches, Schriften zur Ägyptologie A2 (2000), 39ff; Quirke, S., Titles and Bureaux of Egypt, p. 87.
- <sup>lxii</sup> Haeny, G., 'Scheintür', in LÄ V, (Wiesbaden 1984), 564, fig. 2.
- <sup>lxiii</sup> Pflüger, K., The Private Stela of the Middle Kingdom and Their Importance for the Study of Ancient Egyptian History, 128.
- <sup>lxiv</sup> The Hory of king Senwosert III.
- <sup>lxv</sup> Title of the god Osiris, see LGG II, 528-534.
- <sup>lxvi</sup> Title of the coronation of king Senwosert III.
- <sup>lxvii</sup> Goodwin, C. W., "On the Symbolic Eye Uta", ZÄS 10 (Berlin 1872), 124; Wilkinson, R., Reading Egyptian Art, (London 1992), 43; Two udjat eyes appeared since the Old Kingdom on the fake doors, during the Middle Kingdom, It appeared on coffins see Stadelmann, R., "Places", in: OEA, III (Oxford 2001), 15; Moret, A., "Serdab et Maison du Ka", ZÄS 52 (Berlin 1914), 89; Hart, G., A Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses, (London 1986), 73; in order for the deceased to fulfill his wish by seeing the light of day see Tawfik, S., "A *w<sup>c</sup>b* Priest Stela from Heliopolis", GM 29 (1978), 133, while the udjat eyes appeared on stela since the Twelfth Dynasty, for protection and ward off evil, bring good luck, cure and health, and the deceased can look at those who offer him offerings, Two eyes symbolizing the entombed deceased who, through it, can always have a connection with our world see Tawfik, S., "A *w<sup>c</sup>b* Priest Stela from Heliopolis", 133; Radwan, A., The Stela Louvre C211, 107; in the New Kingdom, the two udjat eyes is depicted, and two wings are added to it, which fly behind the king and the gods, try to cast protection shadows on them see Wilkinson, R., Reading Egyptian, 43; and in the Late period, two udjat eyes fell depicted at the top of the stela, and the winged sun disk became the predominance of the top decoration, which became more

widespread until the Ptolemaic period see Hölzl, R., "Round-Topped Stelae from the Middle Kingdom to the Late Period", 287.

<sup>lxxviii</sup> Hölzl, R., Die Giebelfelddekoration von stelen des mittleren Reiches, 111. cf. also Fischer, H. G., Archaeological Aspects of Epigraphy and palaeography, in: Caminos, R. A. & Fischer, H. G., (eds), Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and palaeography, (New York 1976), 46-47; A sign appeared *sn* surrounded by two eyes *wꜥt* at the tops of the stelae since the end of the Twelfth Dynasty see Robins, G., The Art of Ancient Egypt, (London 1997), 204; symbolize the sign *sn* to life, resurrection, renewal and protection, it is a symbol of the universe as it consists of the sun disk representing the world of the sky and the base that represents the earth and the underworld, therefore, the *sn* sign was depicted on the stelae to ensure the deceased was supplied with offerings in the other world see Hölzl, R.,

"Round-Topped Stelae from the Middle Kingdom to the Late Period, 287.

<sup>lxxix</sup> This word appeared with different forms as 

see: LDD, V, 783. the common form during the Thirteenth Dynasty is  see: Hein, I. & Satzinger, H., *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches I, Einschließlich Der I und II. Zwischenzeit*, Mainz, (1989).

<sup>lxxx</sup> A resident guest in another temple see Badawi, A. & Kess, H., Hand Woerterbuch, (Kairo, Staatsdruckerei 1958), 163.

<sup>lxxxi</sup> Ranke, H., Die Ägyptischen Personennamen, 1, 315 (16).

<sup>lxxxii</sup> was a funerary deity For Wpawwt, see Eissa, A., Untersuchungen zum Gott Upuaut his zum Ende des Neuen Reiches, unpublished PhD, (Cairo Uni 1989), passim; and one of the earliest gods worshipped at Abydos. Starting with the 12<sup>th</sup> dynasty, he became the main deity of Abydos and gained, the epithets "Lord of Abydos" and "Lord of the Necropolis" see Morenz, S., Egyptian Religion, translated by A. E. Kemp, (Cornell University press 1992), 173; Houser-Wecner, J., in: Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt. III (2001), 96-97.

<sup>lxxxiii</sup> The artist made a mistake here and wrote a sign-*ꜥnh* before sign-*di*.

<sup>lxxxiv</sup> The artist made a mistake and made a sign-*nfr* before sign-*s*.

<sup>lxxxv</sup> Another form of writing the name see Ranke, H., Die Ägyptischen Personennamen, 1, 315 (16).

<sup>lxxxvi</sup> Ranke, H., Die Ägyptischen Personennamen, 1, 350 (16).

<sup>lxxxvii</sup> Another form of writing the name see Ranke, H., Die Ägyptischen Personennamen, 1, 315 (16).

<sup>lxxxviii</sup> This word appeared in the middle Kingdom see Wb II, 339.

<sup>lxxxix</sup> Another form of writing the name see Ranke, H., Die Ägyptischen Personennamen, 1, 315 (16).

<sup>lxxx</sup> This name was not mentioned by Ranke, H., Die Ägyptischen Personennamen, I.

<sup>lxxxxi</sup> CG20014, CG20231, CG20393, CG20435, CG20528, CG20686, CG20715.

<sup>lxxxii</sup> Evers, H. G., Staat aus dem Stein, II, (Munich 1929), 566.

<sup>lxxxiii</sup> Franke, D., The Middle Kingdom Offering Formulas, 39-40; P. C. Smither, The Writing of *htp-di-nsw* in the Middle and New Kingdoms, 34-37; C. J. Bennett, "Growth of the Htp-di-nsw Formula in the Middle Kingdom", 77-78.

<sup>lxxxiv</sup> Smither, P. C., The Writing of *htp-di-nsw* in the Middle and New Kingdoms, 34-37; Urk. VII, 43, 6; 54, 2; Barta, W., Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel, 53, 72; Budge, W., Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum, I, (London 1911), pls. 48, 53-54; Budge, W., Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum, II, (London 1912), pls. 2-5, 10-17, 19, 20, 22, 25, 27-31, 34-36, 38-39, 44; Blackman, A. M., Some Middle Kingdom Religious Texts, in: ZÄS 47 (Berlin 1910), 116; Fischer, G. H., Egyptian Studies III, Varia Nova, (New York 1996), 134, pl. 21; 135, pl. 33a; 139, pl. 26; Simposon, W. K., The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos; The Offering Chapels of Dynasty 12 and 13, Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt 5, (Philadelphia 1974), pl. 24. ANOC 14.1, CCG 20043, ANOC 15.1, CCG 20055; pl. 25, ANOC 16.2, CCG 20240; pl. 46, ANOC 30.1, CCG 20515; Saleh, M., Official Catalogue. The Egyptian Museum Cairo, (Mainz 1987), 91-92; Spanel, D. B., Paleographic and Epigraphic Distinctions between Texts of the So-called first Intermediate Period and the Early Twelfth Dynasty, in: Der Manuelian p., (ed.), Studies in Honour of William Kelly Simpson, II, (Boston 1996), 780-781, fig. 4-5; Franke, D., Drei neue Stelen des Mittleren Reiches von Elephantine, in: MDAIK 57 (Wiesbaden 2001), 26, Abb. 4; Bazin, L., & EL-Enany, Kh., La stèle d'un chancelier du roi et prophète d'Amon de la fin du Moyen Empire à Karnak, in: Cahiers de Karnak 13 (2010), 2-3, figs. 1-2; EL-Enany, Kh., Une stèle privée de la fin du Moyen Empire découverte à Karnak. Le Caire, Musée égyptien JE 37515, in: BIFAO 108 (Le Caire 2008), 96-97; this arrangement was also common in the first Intermediate Period see Fischer, H. G., the Nubian Mercenaries of Geldein during the First Intermediate Period, in: Kush 9 (Khartoum 1961), 47, fig. 1; 57, fig. 3; 60, fig. 4; Kubisch, S., Die Stelen der 1. Zwischenzeit aus Gebelin, in: MDAIK 56 (Wiesbaden, 2000), 250.

<sup>lxxxv</sup> Bennett, C. J. C., Growth of the *htp-di-nsw* Formula in the Middle Kingdom, 78.

<sup>lxxxvi</sup> Urk. VII, 8, 6, 18; 9, 2; 11, 11; 20, 7; 21, 15; 22, 13, 20; 23, 15; 24, 7; 28, 8, 19; 32, 4; 33, 4; 34, 7; 35, 15.

<sup>lxxxvii</sup> Selim, S., The Stela of *hr-wꜥꜥw* in the Cairo Museum (JE 41332), 254.

<sup>lxxxviii</sup> Ilin-Tomich A., "Changes in the Htp-di-nsw Formula", 24.