

Abgadiyat

© 2015, Bibliotheca Alexandrina. All rights reserved.

NON-COMMERCIAL REPRODUCTION

Information in this Journal has been produced with the intent that it be readily available for personal and public non-commercial use; and may be reproduced, in part or in whole and by any means, without charge or further permission from the Bibliotheca Alexandrina. We ask only that:

- Users exercise due diligence in ensuring the accuracy of the materials reproduced;
- Bibliotheca Alexandrina be identified as the source; and
- The reproduction is not represented as an official version of the materials reproduced, nor as having been made in affiliation with or with the endorsement of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina.

COMMERCIAL REPRODUCTION

Reproduction of multiple copies of materials in this Journal, in whole or in part, for the purposes of commercial redistribution is prohibited except with written permission from the Bibliotheca Alexandrina. To obtain permission to reproduce materials in this Journal for commercial purposes, please contact the Bibliotheca Alexandrina, P.O. Box 138, Chatby 21526, Alexandria, Egypt. E-mail: secretariat@bibalex.org

Printed in Egypt

Abgadiyat

Issue No. 10, 2015

Issue No. 10, 2015

Scientific refereed annual journal issued by the
Bibliotheca Alexandrina Center for Calligraphy Studies



Board Chair

Ismail Serageldin

Editing Supervisor

Khaled Azab

Editor-in-Chief

Essam Elsaeed

Deputy Editor-in-Chief

Ahmed Mansour

Editors

Azza Ezzat

Amr Ghoniem

Language Control

Fatema Nabih

Perihan Fahmy

Marwa Adel

Graphic

Mohamed Yousri

Heba Abbas

Views presented in *Abgadiyat* do not necessarily reflect those of the
Bibliotheca Alexandrina Center for Calligraphy Studies.

Advisory Board

Advisory Board

Abdulaziz Al-A'raj

University of Algeria, Algeria

Abdul Rahman Al-Tayeb Al-Ansary

King Saud University, Saudi Arabia

Abdulhalim Nureldin

Cairo University, Egypt

Adnan Al-Harthy

Um Al-Qura University, Saudi Arabia

Ahmed Amin Selim

Alexandria University, Egypt

Alessandro Roccati

Turin University, Italy

Anne Marie-Christin

University of Paris 7, France

Bernard O'Kane

The American University in Cairo, Egypt

Fayza Heikal

The American University in Cairo, Egypt

Frank Kammerzell

University of Berlin, Germany

Friedrich Junge

University of Göttingen, Germany

Gunter Dreyer

Univeristy of New York, USA

Heike Sternberg

University of Göttingen, Germany

Khaled Daoud

University of Al-Fayyum, Egypt

Mahmoud Ibrahim Hussein

Cairo University, Egypt

Mamdouh el-Damaty

Ain Shams University, Egypt

Mohamed Abdulghany

Alexandria University, Egypt

Mohamed Al-Kahlawy

Union of Arab Archaeologists, Egypt

Mohamed Abdalsattar Othman

South Valley University, Egypt

Mohamed Hamza

Cairo University, Egypt

Mohamed Ibrahim Aly

Ain Shams University, Egypt

Mostafa Al-Abady

Alexandria University, Egypt

Raafat Al-Nabarawy

Cairo University, Egypt

Rainer Hannig

University of Marburg, Germany

Riyad Morabet

Tunis University, Tunisia

Sa'd ibn Abdulaziz Al-Rashed

King Saud University, Saudi Arabia

Solaiman A. al-Theeb

King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies

Zahi Hawass

Former Minister of State for Antiquities, Egypt

Contents

Guidelines for Contributors 7

Introduction *Essam Elsaed* 11

Astronomical and Cosmographic Elements in the Corpus of Mining Inscriptions of Wadi 'el-Houdi
Alicia Maravelia 12

A Middle Kingdom Funerary Stela of a Woman at Alexandria National Museum no. 42
Marzouk Al-Sayed Aman 23

The Illumination of Lamps (*Lychnokaia*) for Neith in Sais/Esna in Greco-Roman Egypt
Yousri Abdelwahed 31

Une nouvelle version du miracle du démenti comparatif : À propos du manuscrit '*Aqd al-Gawhar*
Jean-Loïc Le Quellec 46

Guidelines for Contributors

Guidelines for Contributors

Initial Submission for Refereeing

The manuscript must be submitted in three copies for refereeing purposes. The Journal of *Abgadiyat* follows the *Chicago Manual of Style*, with some modifications as cited below.

Final Submission

- 1- The final text (following amendments recommended by the editor or referees) must be provided on disk preferably CD, using MS Word, composed in 14 point font for Arabic and 12 point font for other languages.
- 2- The text should be in hard copy, printed clearly on A4 or standard American paper, on one side only, double-spaced throughout and with ample margins. Please do not justify the right-hand margin.
- 3- Please do not employ multiple typeface styles or sizes.
- 4 The Journal of *Abgadiyat* does not use titles such as Dr, or Prof. in text or notes or for authors.
- 5- Brackets should be all round-shaped, e.g. (.....)
- 6- Use single quotation marks throughout. ‘ ’
- 7- Avoid Arabic diacriticals. Only use in quotes.
- 8- The numbers of dynasties must be spelled out, e.g. ‘Eighteenth Dynasty’ and not ‘18th Dynasty’ or ‘Dynasty 18’. Similarly, numbers of centuries should be spelled out, e.g. ‘fifth century BCE’, ‘second century CE’. BCE and CE should be in capitals.
- 9- The ‘_’ dash between dates, page references, etc. (1901/02, 133–210) is an en-dash not a hyphen.

FONTS

Contributors must check with the editor, in advance, if the text employs any non-standard fonts (e.g. transliterations, Hieroglyphics, Greek, Coptic, etc.) and may be asked to supply these on a disk with the text.

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF ARABIC WORDS

- 1- The initial hamza (◌) is not transcribed: amāna, ka-sura.
- 2- The article (al) should be connected with the word it determines through a hyphen, avoiding what is known in Arabic as ‘solar’ *al*, i.e. it should be written whether pronounced or not: *al-šams*, *al-qamar*.
- 3- No capital letter is given to the article (al) but the word it determines, except at the beginning of a sentence where the article also must have a capital letter: *al-Gabarti*.
- 4- Arabic diacritics are not transcribed: *laylat al qadr*, and not *laylatu l-qadri*.
- 5- The (tā’ marbuta) is written as a, but if followed by genitive it should be written as *al-madina*, *madinat al-Qahira*.
- 6- For transliteration of plural in Arabic words use any of the following options:
 - Arabic singular: *waqf*,
 - Arabic plural: *awqaf*,
 - Arabic singular followed by (s) in Roman letters: *waqf-s*.

FOOTNOTES

- 1- Citations must be on separate pages appended as endnotes, double-spaced.
- 2- Footnote numbers should be placed above the line (superscript) following punctuation, without brackets.
- 3- The title of the article must not include a footnote reference. If a note is needed for 'acknowledgement' this should be by means of an asterisk (*) in the title and an asterisked note before the first footnote.

ABSTRACT

An abstract (maximum 150 words) must be provided. The abstract will be used for indexing and information retrieval. The abstract is a stand alone piece and not part of the main body of the article.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Concerning periodicals and series, abbreviations should follow those in Bernard Mathieu, *Abréviations des périodiques et collections en usage à l'IFAO*, 4^{ème} éd. (Cairo, 2003). Available online at www.ifao.egnet.net. Ad hoc abbreviations, after complete full reference, may be used for titles cited frequently in individual articles.
- Accepted forms of standard reference works may also be applied. Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, should be cited as PM (not italicized).

CITATIONS should take the form of:

Article in a journal

J.D. Ray, 'The Voice of Authority: Papyrus Leiden I 382', *JEA* 85 (1999), 190.

- Cite subsequently as: Ray, *JEA* 85, 190.

Article or chapter in a multi-author book

I. Mathieson, 'Magnetometer Surveys on Kiln Sites at Amarna', in B.J. Kemp (ed.), *Amarna*

Reports VI, *EES Occasional Publications* 10 (London, 1995), 218-220.

- Cite subsequently as: Mathieson, in Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports* VI, 218-220.

A.B. Lloyd, 'The Late Period, 664-323 BC' in B.G. Trigger, B.J. Kemp, D. O'Connor and A.B. Lloyd, *Ancient Egypt. A Social History* (Cambridge, 1983), 279-346.

- Cite subsequently as: Lloyd, in Trigger, *et al.*, *Ancient Egypt. A Social History*, 279-346.

Monographs

E. Strouhal, *Life in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1992), 35-38.

- Cite subsequently as: Strouhal, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 35-38.

D.M. Bailey, *Excavations at el-Ashmunein, V. Pottery, Lamps and Glass of the Late Roman and Early Arab periods* (London, 1998), 140.

- Cite subsequently as: Bailey, *Excavations at el-Ashmunein, V.* 140.

Series publication

W.M.F. Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, *BSAE* 12 (London, 1906), 37, pl.38.A, no.26.

- Cite subsequently as: Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, 37, pl. 38.A, no. 26.

Dissertations

Josef W. Wegner, *The Mortuary Complex of Senwosret III: A Study of Middle Kingdom State Activity and the Cult of Osiris at Abydos* (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1996), 45-55.

- Cite subsequently as: Wegner, *The Mortuary Complex of Senwosret III*, 45-55.

ELECTRONIC MEDIA

- Cite preferentially to a hard-copy edition of material posted on a website. If material is available solely in electronic form, provide sufficient information to enable users to correctly access the sources. However, a citation

such as www.mfa.org/artemis/fullrecord.asp?oid=36525&did=200. might be more elegantly, if less directly, expressed textually: See, for example, acc. 19.162, illustrated at www.mfa.org/artemis. The <http://> protocol may be omitted in citations to sources posted on the World Wide Web (e.g., www.mfa.org/giza, rather than <http://www.mfa.org/giza>); it should be retained in other instances (e.g., <http://aaupnet.org>; or <http://w3.arizona.edu/~egypt/>)

- For citations to electronic journals, CD-ROM, and similar media, see the relevant chapter in *the Chicago Manual of Style*.
- Authors' initials and publication details, including full article title and/or series name and volume number should be provided in the first citation; surname alone, and an abbreviated title should be used subsequently. The use of *Ibid*, *Op. cit.* and *Loc. cit.* should be avoided. Precise page references should be given.

PHOTOGRAPHS

- These should be scanned at 300 dpi for reproduction at the same size. The images should be saved as CMYK TIFF files (JPEGs are rarely adequate).
- Illustrations and graphics should not exceed 30% of the text.
- All image files must be submitted on a CD. Please do not E-mail images to the editors without prior consultation.

CAPTIONS

For figures, appropriate credit should be provided, double-spaced, on a separate sheet, and in electronic form on the CD with the final version of the article.

COPYRIGHT

- Responsibility for obtaining permission to use copyright material rests with the author. This includes photocopies of previously-published material.
- Submitted research papers and articles will not be returned to authors whether published or not.
- A brief Curriculum Vitae (CV) should be submitted together with the research paper.

Please visit the *Abgadiyat* journal web page:

<http://www.bibalex.com/calligraphycenter/abgadiyat/static/home.aspx>

Introduction

The tenth issue of *Abgadiyat*, an annual journal issued by the Center for Calligraphy Studies, expresses the continuity of the Center and its constant aspiration to win the trust of scholars and researchers who are interested in its publications of refereed scientific material and specialized works in the field of writing and inscriptions. Since its first issue in 2006, *Abgadiyat* has assumed the responsibility of bridging the gap between the different fields of calligraphy and writing studies. The Journal seeks to achieve the Center's major objective of providing specialists with the rare information they need for their studies in writing and inscriptions, as well as raising the awareness of this field amongst non-specialists.

Followers of this Journal will find a variety in its published topics. Yet, the topics focus on one, mutual field: writings and inscriptions; the papers tackle the same topic from different perspectives. *Abgadiyat*, which promotes the values of difference, diversity, and accepting the other, includes in its tenth issue a selection of Arabic and English researches that cover a wide range of topics for scholars all over the world. In this issue, some papers focus on the study of Islamic writings, such as those inscribed on Yemeni coins dating back to the period between 696 AH and 721 AH or on the walls of an Ayyubid mosque in Damascus; and the writings that emerged during the era of the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad. Other papers study Ancient Egyptian writings—including the astronomical and cosmic symbols—on the quarries of Wadi al-Hudi, and also the writings on a funerary stela dating back to Middle Kingdom of Egypt. Topics related to the Greco-Roman civilization; the ceremonies held for goddess Neith in the towns of Sais and Esna in Egypt during the Greco-Roman period; and the inscriptions of Constantine city, east Algeria, that date back to the period from the end of the third century BCE to the fourth century CE are also tackled. All this proves the universality of *Abgadiyat*, which tends to cover all the alphabets and writings ever witnessed in history in a way that creates a balance among different themes of research.

The Center for Calligraphy Studies is always keen to emphasize the continuation of this Journal in order to fill in an obvious shortage in scientific research, in spite of what this dedication entails of increased, ample efforts exerted by editors to deal with various languages, inscriptions, and their different writing methods.

Essam Elsaed

Director of the Center for Calligraphy Studies

A Middle Kingdom Funerary Stela of a Woman at Alexandria National Museum no. 42*

لوحة جنائزية لامرأة تعود لعصر الدولة الوسطى، محفوظة بمتحف الإسكندرية القومي تحت رقم ٤٢

Marzouk Al-Sayed Aman**

ملخص

يقدم البحث دراسة للوحة جنائزية ترجع لعصر الدولة الوسطى، محفوظة بمتحف الإسكندرية القومي. تشتمل الدراسة على تعقيب على الأسلوب الفني للوحة، وكذلك دراسة النص الجنائزي والألقاب، وكذلك السمات الفنية في رسومات الأشخاص التي وجدت عليها؛ ومن خلال ذلك أمكن تأريخ تلك اللوحة.

إن اللوحة التي هي موضوع الدراسة محفوظة حالياً بمتحف الإسكندرية القومي تحت رقم ٤٢. ولقد كانت معروفة في المتحف المصري التي جُلبت منه إلى متحف الإسكندرية في ٣١ ديسمبر عام ٢٠٠٣ تحت رقم (20445 CG)، ومصدرها الرئيسي هو أبيدوس (1004.Cat. Abyd.Nr).

تُظهر هذه اللوحة أسلوب اللوحات الملونة ذات القمة الدائرية. لقد حُددت قمة اللوحة والجانبان بواسطة خط محفور لُون باللون الأخضر، وقُسمت اللوحة إلى ثلاثة مقاطع؛ في القسم العلوي توجد عينا «الوجات» اللتان كانتا توجدان بصفة غالبية على لوحات عصر الأسرة الثانية عشرة فصاعداً؛ أما القطاع الثاني من اللوحة فيشتمل على النص الرئيسي الذي يتكون من تسعة أسطر من اللغة المصرية القديمة بنقش غائر، الخمسة أسطر الأولى منها التي كُرسَتْ لصاحبة اللوحة تبدأ تقريباً من منتصف اللوحة وتتجه أحرف كتاباتها من اليمين إلى اليسار؛ أما الأسطر من السادس حتى التاسع فتبدأ تقريباً من منتصف اللوحة أيضاً، ولكن تتجه أحرف كتاباتها من اليسار إلى اليمين لصنع نوع من التناسق. ولقد كُرس السطران السادس والسابع لابن صاحبة اللوحة؛ في حين إن السطرين الثامن والتاسع كُرسا لابنة صاحبة اللوحة؛ أما القطاع الثالث من اللوحة فيحتوي على رسم رئيسي في اللوحة لصاحبتها السيدة تي وولدها وابنتها أمام مائدة القرابين في تناسق فني بديع.

تُلقى هذه اللوحة بصفة عامة الضوء على جانب من المعتقدات الجنائزية في مصر القديمة في عصر الدولة الوسطى بوجه عام والأسرة الثانية عشرة على وجه الخصوص، ويبدو من أسلوبها الفني أنها قد صُنعت في ورشة محلية في أبيدوس.

The publication of a Middle Kingdom stela is exhibited in Alexandria National Museum, including comments on the style, titles, iconography, paleography, and dating criteria.

The stela, which is the subject of this article, is housed in Alexandria National Museum with the inventory number 42. This monument was known in Cairo Museum (CG 20445) from the publication of H. Lange and H. Schafer, *Denksteine II*.¹ This stela and other pieces are from the Cairo Museum to the Alexandria National Museum which was inaugurated on 31 December 2003.²

It is a round-topped stela (Figs. 1, 2a, 2b). The provenance of the stela is Abydos, Northern Necropolis (Cat. Abyd. Nr.1004.).³

Dimensions: Height: 29 cm; Width: 21 cm.

Material: Limestone.

Shape: Rectangular, round topped.

Method: Incised.

This stela shows the form of a painted round-topped stela. The top and the two sides are defined by a line painted green. The stela is divided into three sections. The first is the lunette, which is adorned with a pair of *wdj*-eyes, as often on funerary stelae from the Twelfth Dynasty onwards.⁴ The second section contains the main text which consists of nine vertical rows of hieroglyphs in sunken relief. The first five rows of hieroglyphs begin almost from mid of stela. They run right-left;⁵ they commemorate the owner of the stela. The sixth and seventh rows begin almost from mid of stela too, but they run left-right, they identify her son. The eighth and the ninth rows, run left-right, they identify her daughter.

(5) (4) (3) (2) (1) (6) (7) (8) (9)

Below the text, the third section contains the main scene in sunken relief, where three people are shown. On the left, the seated figure of the owner of the stela,



(Fig. 1) Stela of *Ti*, photograph (Alexandria National Museum, no. 42).



(Fig. 2a) Stela of *Ti*, line-drawing (Alexandria National Museum, no. 42).



(Fig. 2b) a horizontal sector of the Stela of *Ti*, line-drawing (Alexandria National Museum, no. 42).

Ti faces right. She is seated on a low-backed chair. She wears a lappet wig and a fitting dress. Before her a table of offerings is piled with, from bottom to top and left to right, a calf's head, a conical, a round and a conical loaf of bread, leeks, and a slaughtered duck or goose.⁶ Her right hand extends toward the offering table and her left hand holds a lotus flower up to her nose.⁷ Above, in front of the owner of the stela three symmetrical arranged jars are found, two of them are well-rounded ointment (*mrht*, (or) *mdt*) sealed jars,⁸ among them a rounded sealed pot.

On the right, a boy and a girl are seated on the ground. They face the offering table and their mother. The family of *Ti*, which is represented on the stela, is recognized by their characteristics as *sAs* and *sAt.s*, they are her son and her daughter. The son is seated, with one knee raised. He faces left and wears a small kilt. His left arm rests on his knee, while his right is on her breast. His hair is short. Behind the son, the daughter is seated. The equal status makes the daughter next to the son but there is no perspective in painting artwork, the daughter faces left with one knee raised. Her left arm rests on her knee, while her right is on her breast. She wears a long wig. All the scenes and inscriptions are painted green. The figures are carved in the silhouette style,⁹ all the human figures only bits of interior detail were touched with the chisel, never including the facial features, while in places parts of their exterior outlines are missing.¹⁰ This style is known from the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty.¹¹ This is the style of the workshop that was active in Abydos.¹² It thus seems probably that this stela is a local product.

The Lunette



The stela has a lunette that is decorated with two *wdjet*-eyes.¹³

They are combined with the *sn* -ring . The two *wdjet*-eyes are flanked with *ibbt* and *imnt* signs on the two sides.

The presence of the two *wdjet*-eyes and the *sn* ring on the lunette of rounded-top stela is attested as early as the Fifteenth Year of the reign of Senusert III.¹⁴ However, there is a stela (Cairo CG 20606) certainly even earlier, probably from about the reign of Amenemhet II.¹⁵ The two *wdjet*-eyes are symbols of protection and defense and they were preferential not only because of their protective and defensive quality but probably also because they are decorative.¹⁶ They are the emblem of the hereafter the sun; they took their significance through their relation with the sun cycle.¹⁷

The epithets which complement the eyes in the lunette describe the *wdjet*-eyes as eastern and western, they refer to 'East' and 'West'; they join the eyes with the morning-barque and the night-barque of the sun god. The arch of the lunette represents the daily track of the sun barques.¹⁸

The Text

(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)

(1) *hṭp di nsw wsir nb 3bdw* (2) *di.f prt-hrw t hnkṭ k3w 3pdw sš mnht snṯr mrht* (3) *hṯ nbt nfrt wʿbt ʿnht* (4) *nṯr im dt hr nṯrw* (5) *n k3 n nbt pr ti ir(t) n snbt*

'(1) An offering which the king gives (a) and/ to¹⁹ Osiris (b), lord of Abydos, (c) (2) so that he

may give invocation-offerings (d) of bread, beer (e), oxen, fowl, alabaster, clothing, incense²⁰(f), oil (g), (3) and all good and pure things, on which (4) god lives²¹(h) forever with (i) the gods, (5) for the *ka*(j) of the mistress of the house (k) *Ti* (l) born of²²(m) *Snb*’.

(6)	(7)

(6) *htp di nsw pth-skr*²³ *di.f* (7) *ht nbt nfrt w^cbt n k3 n s3.s hk3*

‘(6) An offering which the king gives and/to Ptah-Sokar (n), so that he may give (7) all good and pure things for the *Ka* of her son *hk3*’(o)

(8)	(9)

(8) *htp di nsw wp-w3wt di.f ht nbt* (9) *nfrt w^cbt n k3 n s3t.s hnwt m3^ct hrw*

‘(8) An offering which the king gives and/to *wep-wawot* (p), so that he may give all (9) good and pure things for the *Ka* of her daughter *hnwt* (q) true of voice’.

- a. This writing of *htp-di-nsw* is the most common found on the monuments of the Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties.²⁴
- b. During the Middle Kingdom, changes happened in the orthography of definite words in the formula. Thus in the Eleventh Dynasty, and often in the early Twelfth Dynasty, the name of Osiris is written with the determinative ; later the determinative is usually dropped. Instead of often appears in the Eleventh Dynasty and early Twelfth Dynasty, the writing occurs in these formulae in the reign of Sesostri III.²⁵
- c. Bennett noted that the combined titles of Osiris in the Eleventh Dynasty are usually *nb ddw*, *hnty imntyw* and *nb 3bdw*.²⁶ However, Hassan Selim has noted that the last title continued in use during the Twelfth Dynasty and Thirteenth Dynasty.²⁷
- d. The presence of *di.f* before *prt-hrw* is attributed to the Twelfth Dynasty.²⁸ The grammatical structure of the formula changes during the Middle Kingdom. In the Eleventh Dynasty *prt-hrw* ‘an invocation’ is used; while in the Twelfth Dynasty *di.f prt-hrw* ‘that he may give an invocation’ is preferred²⁹ from the reign of Amenemhat I.³⁰ Thus, the formula must have been re-interpreted in the Twelfth Dynasty.³¹
- e. On the stela the *hnkt*-sign has an unusual writing as .
- f. The *snt*-sign was written incorrectly .
- g. The usual offerings that were mentioned in the formula in the Eleventh Dynasty are bread, beer, oxen, fowl, alabaster, and linen. In the Twelfth Dynasty, incense and oil are often added, they appeared for the first time during the reign of King Sesostri I.³²
- h. Bennett noted that the phrase, *nht ntr im* ‘on which god lives’, appeared first under Sesostri I.³³ While Hassan Selim has noted that

this phrase appeared for the first time during the reign of King Amenemhat I within the phrase *ht nbt nfrt w'bt 'nht ntr im* after the offering list.³⁴

- i. A few formulas of the early Twelfth Dynasty, use the preposition *hr* before the god's name. Franke noted that 'the preposition *h r* is not equivalent to a dative 'to', and it does not connect the king's formula with the god's name, but belongs to the god's formula'.³⁵
- j. In the Eleventh Dynasty, and usually during the reign of Sesostris I, the deceased is voted , , etc. 'honored one'. Bennett mentioned that by the time of Ammenemes II  is placed ahead making  'the spirit of the honored one'.³⁶ Hassan Selim suggested that the presence of *n k3 n im3h* before the name appeared in the Eleventh Dynasty.³⁷ During the reign of Sesostris III, the older designations , , etc. 'honored one' and  'the spirit of the honored one' drop out leaving  'the spirit of'. Therefore, the fact that 'honored one', originally an earthly title, changed to 'the spirit of' indicates a radical change in religious belief during the reign of Ammenemes II. The deceased man was no longer conceived as an 'honored' man, but as a spirit.³⁸
- k. The title  *nbt pr* 'housewife, mistress' is found so frequently on almost every funerary stela in the Middle Kingdom. Ward said that this title implies that its holder is a married woman,³⁹ but Pflüger mentioned that it was borne by any female member of the family too.⁴⁰ Pflüger noted that this title was not found on dated stelae earlier than Amenemmes III,⁴¹ but Ilin-Tomich mentioned that this title was attested during the reign of Amenemhat II.⁴² It was used frequently during the reign of Senowsret III and is a widely used dating criterion.⁴³ It is still quite common after Amenemmes III region.⁴⁴
- l. The name of the owner of the stela,  *ti ir(t)n snbt*, is not recorded in Ranke, PN, but a similar woman name  *ti snb(w)*⁴⁵ is cited. Two other names of women were found on the stela of the Queen's College, Oxford, cat.no.1110, which was found in Abydos, dated to the Twelfth Dynasty, all of them were named *Te(n)tetney*, the mother of *Reniso(n)b* and his daughter.⁴⁶
- m. The presence of *ir(t).n* before the name of the mother occurs in the Middle Kingdom. Three types were found in the Middle Kingdom: A (son or daughter) *ms(t).n* C(mother), A *ir(t).n* C from Mentuhotep II (Nebhepetre) onwards; and A *ir(t).n* B (father) is noted from the Thirteenth Dynasty onwards.⁴⁷
- n. Osiris and Anubis were invoked in the *htp di nsw* formula, during the Eleventh Dynasty. However in the Twelfth Dynasty, Osiris is far and away the most popular; Ptah-Soker-Osiris often was invoked in formulae of the reign of Ammenemes III and later.⁴⁸
- o. The name of the son of the owner of the stela,  *hk3*, is mentioned in Ranke, PN.⁴⁹
- p. Anubis lost favor and he was replaced in many cases by Wepwawet most often in the reign of Sesostris III.⁵⁰ Maybe, because this stela has three texts, the first text invoked Osiris, the second invoked Ptah-Soker, and the third invoked *Wepwawet*.
- q. The daughter  *hnwt* her name is cited by Ranke, PN.⁵¹ *hnwt* was used as a personal name during, Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom.⁵² This name was incised on a Middle Kingdom funerary stela also found in Abydos, Northern Necropolis, the same site of the stela under study.⁵³

Conclusion

The carved scenes and inscriptions on this Stela are largely symmetrical as:

- Two *wdj*-eyes which are combined with the *sn*-ring, are flanked with *ibbt*  and *imnt* 

signs on the two sides, the writing of the word *ibbt* runs right–left, while the writing of the word *imnt* runs left–right, the end of the two words is the same in the two sides of the lunette.

- The main text of the mother begins almost in the mid of the stela, it runs right–left. The two short texts of her son and her daughter begin almost in the mid of the stela too, but they run left–right.
- The head of the ox faces the head of the bird in mother's *htp di nsw* formula this confirms the use of symmetry even in the smallest details in the stela.
- Concerning the main scene, the offering table is almost in the mid of the stela, the figures of the owner, her son and her daughter are on its two sides.

The green color which the inscriptions and scenes of the stela were painted, was regarded as the color of vegetation, and of supporting life,⁵⁴ so it was used as a symbol of resurrection for people and renewal for offerings.

The stela represents in its painting and decoration the artistic style that follows Early Twelfth Dynasty,⁵⁵ semicircular top,⁵⁶ low-relief figures,⁵⁷ text continuous from lunette into rectangle (as in Eleventh Dynasty).⁵⁸ Gift list tends to follow *dif*.⁵⁹ Incense, oil,⁶⁰ alabaster, linen, *ht nbt nfrt w'bt nht ntr im* are added to gift list.⁶¹ Wife and children appear often. Women are smelling straight-sided lotus flowers with short stems.⁶² Strong symmetry was attested in the reign of Amenemhat II, and it continues into later reigns.⁶³ The appearance of vertical text has occurred in the reign of Amenemhat II, and it continues into later reigns.⁶⁴ Ascription *n k3 n (name)* was found.⁶⁵ First appearance of as Osiris name in the reign of Sesostri III was noted.⁶⁶ So this stela can be dated to Early Twelfth Dynasty, maybe the reign of Sesostri III.⁶⁷

Notes

- * I thank Dr. Nadia Khedr, Former Director of Alexandria National Museum and the staff of the Museum, for permission to publish the stela and for providing the photograph. Further thanks are due to the *Abgadiyat* referees for their comments; the present text owes much to their recommendations.
- ** Egyptology Department, Faculty of Arts, Assiut University 'dr-aman2010@hotmail.com'.
- 1 See: H.O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab-und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs*, II (Berlin, 1908), 40 (20445).
 - 2 wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexandria_National_Museum.
 - 3 Lange and Schäfer, *Grab-und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs*, II, 40 (20445).
 - 4 D. Franke, 'The Middle Kingdom Offering Formulas: A Challenge', *JEA* 89 (2003), 56; J. Bennett, 'Motifs and Phrases on Funerary Stelae of the Later Middle Kingdom', *JEA* 44 (1958), 121; A. Abdel-Raziq, 'A Middle Kingdom Funerary Stela of a woman at Al-Salam School Museum, Assiut', *JEA* 99 (2013), 275; J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* (Paris, 1954), II, 489–491, Fig. 298 (20032).
 - 5 The writer means the direction of hieroglyphic alphabet, the determinatives and hieroglyphs rows.
 - 6 On the motif of the duck or goose, cf. L.M. Berman, 'The Stele of Shemai, Chief of Police, of the Early Twelfth Dynasty, in The Cleveland Museum of Art', *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, I (Boston, 1996), 94–95, Fig.1.
 - 7 On the motif of the lotus flower and its connotations of rebirth, see: M. Malaise, 'La position de la femme sur les stèles du Moyen Empire', *SAK* 5 (1977), 189–191. The mother plays no important role during the Eleventh Dynasty, but becomes the central figure under Sesostri I. On the dated stelae from the time of Amenemmes III she is regularly either represented or mentioned. Brothers and sisters are not found on the dated stelae of the Eleventh Dynasty; they are introduced, for the first time, in the Twelfth Dynasty. The motif of holding the lotus, only in connection with women, is first found on dated stelae under Sesostri I. It disappears after the time of Amenemmes II, having always been rare. From Amenemmes II onwards, men too are represented as smelling the lotus. See: K. Pflüger, 'The Private Funerary Stelae of the Middle Kingdom and Their Importance for the Study of Ancient Egyptian History', *JAOS* 67 (2) (1947), 130.
 - 8 Revise: A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford, 1926), 527(w1).

- 9 D. Stefanović, 'The Feminine Stelae of the Middle Kingdom: Stela Leiden 35', *GM* 218 (2008), 81; A. Bishoff, W. Grajetzki, 'A stela of the Early Middle Kingdom in the South African Cultural History Museum, Cape Town, South Africa', *Discussions in Egyptology* 54 (2002), 37; cf. Marcel Marée, 'Edfu under the Twelfth to Seventeenth Dynasties: The monuments in the National Museum of Warsaw', *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 12 (2009), 40, Fig. 4; D. Stefanović, 'The *Hmt n tA-wr bbi*', *GM* 231 (2011), 97–100, Fig. p. 100; R.E. Freed, 'Stela Workshops of Early Dynasty 12', *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, I (Boston, 1996), 318.
- 10 Cf. Marée, *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 12 (2009), 40, Fig. 4; Grajetzki, In: *Discussions in Egyptology* 54 (2002), 37.
- 11 Grajetzki, *Discussions in Egyptology* 54 (2002), 37.
- 12 Cf. Marée, *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 12 (2009), 40, Fig. 4.
- 13 R. Hözl, *Die Giebfelddekoratation von Stelen des Mittleren Reiches* (Wien, 1990), 88.
- 14 Franke, *JEA* 89 (2003), 56; M. Eldamaty, 'Stela of luyres in Cairo Museum', *Echoes of eternity studies presented to Gaballa Aly Gaballa, Philippika* 35 (Wiesbaden, 2010), 91.
- 15 Franke, *JEA* 89, 56.
- 16 See: R. Hözl, 'Round-Topped Stelae from the Middle Kingdom to the Late Period', *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia: Atti* (Turin, 1992), I, 287.
- 17 See: M.C. Budischovsky, N. Genaille, 'Les stèles égyptiennes du Musée de Rennes : 1. Tabet (?) 2. Neferabou et Maaninakhoutouf', *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest*, 93 (1) (1986), 6–7; W. Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn*, *MAS* 10 (Berlin, 1966), 44–49.
- 18 See: Hözl, *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia: Atti* I, 287; Westendorf, *MAS* 10, 40ff.
- 19 See: H. Satzinger, 'Beobachtungen zur Opferformel: Theorie and Praxis', *Lingua Aegyptia* 5 (1997), 177–188; Franke, *JEA* 89, 45–49; W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, *ÄF24*, (Glückstadt, 1968), 57ff.
- 20 See: Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 501(R7).
- 21 Revise: H. Selim, 'Three Identical Stelae from the End of the Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty', *SAK* 29 (2001), 324–326.
- 22 *Tr(t) n born of*, Revise: H. Satzinger and D. Stefanović, 'Offerings for the KAS of Six Ladies (British Museum Stela No. 1679)', *UDC* 2–138(32), 29.
- 23 Revise this form: Satzinger and Stefanović, *UDC* 2–138(32), 28.
- 24 P.C. Smither, 'The Writing of *Htp-di-nsw* in the Middle and New Kingdoms', *JEA* 25 (1939), 34; see also: W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, 43–84; H. Selim, 'Three Identical Stelae from the End of the Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty', *SAK* 29 (2001), 325–6; K. El-Enany, 'Une stèle privée de la fin du Moyen Empire découverte à Karnak : Le Caire, Musée égyptien JE 37515', *BIFAO* 108 (2008), 108; P. Vernus, 'Sur les graphies de la formule "l'offrande que donne le roi" au Moyen Empire et à la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire', *Middle Kingdom Studies* (New Malden, 1991), 144–5; Satzinger, *Lingua Aegyptia* 5, 177–88.
- 25 C. Bennett, 'Growth of the *Htp-d'i-nsw* Formula in the Middle Kingdom', *JEA* 27 (1941), 78; Des Bright, *Dating Funerary Stelae of the Twelfth Dynasty, A Condensed Version of Dr Desmond Bright's thesis* (Macquarie University, 2005), 9, 20.
- 26 Bennett, *JEA* 27, 80.
- 27 Selim, *SAK* 29, 325; See also: M. Eldamaty, *Echoes of eternity studies presented to Gaballa Aly Gaballa, Philippika* 35 (Wiesbaden, 2010), 92.
- 28 Selim, *SAK* 29, 325–326; J. Bennett, 'Motifs and Phrases on Funerary Stelae of the Later Middle Kingdom', *JEA* 44, 121.
- 29 Bennett, *JEA* 27, 77–78; Des Bright, *Dating Funerary Stelae of the Twelfth Dynasty*, 9; C. Obsomer, 'Dl.f prt-brw et Ia filiation *ms(t).nlr(t).n* comme critères de datation dans les textes du Moyen Empire', *Mélanges Théodoridès* (1993), 169.
- 30 Des Bright, *Dating Funerary Stelae of the Twelfth Dynasty*, 19.
- 31 See: Bennett, *JEA* 27, 77–78; Des Bright, *Dating Funerary Stelae of the Twelfth Dynasty*, 9; Obsomer, *Mélanges Théodoridès*, 169.
- 32 Bennett, in: *JEA* 27, 79.
- 33 Bennett, *JEA* 27, 80; Des Bright, *Dating Funerary Stelae of the Twelfth Dynasty*, 9.
- 34 Selim, *SAK* 29, 326(h).
- 35 Franke, *JEA* 89, 44.
- 36 Bennett, *JEA* 27, 79.
- 37 Selim, *SAK* 29, 326(i).

- 38 Bennett, *JEA* 27, 79; A.I. Tomich, 'Changes in the *Htp-di-nsw* Formula in the Late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period', *ZÄS* 138 (2011), 26; Pflüger, *JAOS* 67(2), 133; L. Bazin, K. El-Enany, 'La stèle d'un 'chancelier du roi et prophète d'Amon' de la fin du Moyen Empire à Karnak (Le Caire JE 37507)', *Cahiers de Karnak* 13 (2010); Bennett, *JEA* 44, 121.
- 39 W.A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut, 1982), 99 (823).
- 40 Pflüger, *JAOS* 67(2), 29.
- 41 Pflüger, *JAOS* 67(2), 129.
- 42 A. Ilin-Tomich, 'A Twelfth Dynasty Stela Workshop Possibly from Saqqara', *JEA* 97 (2011), 26.
- 43 Ilin-Tomich, *ZÄS* 138, 21.
- 44 Pflüger, *JAOS* 67(2), 129.
- 45 Ranke, *PNI*, 377(16).
- 46 Paul C. Smither and Alec N. Dakin suggest that the date of the stela is perhaps late in the Twelfth Dynasty. Paul C. Smither and Alec N. Dakin, 'Stelae in the Queen's Colledge, Oxford', *JEA* 25 1939, 160–63, Pl.XXI(3).
- 47 Selim, *SAK* 29, 327; Obsomer, *Mélanges Théodoridès*, 172.
- 48 Bennett, *JEA* 27, 80; Des Bright, *Dating Funerary Stelae of the Twelfth Dynasty*, 9.
- 49 Ranke, *PNI*, 256(21). This name was incised also on a stela found in Memphis, dated to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty. E. Chassinat, 'Textes provenant du Sérapéum de Memphis', *Rec. de Trav.* 22 (Paris, 1849), 172(CVI).
- 50 Bennett, *JEA* 27, 80; Des Bright, *Dating Funerary Stelae of the Twelfth Dynasty*, 9.
- 51 Ranke, *PNI*, 242(18).
- 52 Ranke, *PNI*, 242(18).
- 53 See: Lange and Schäfer, *Grab-und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs*, II, 142–144 (20536g).
- 54 M. Lurker, *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1980), 55.
- 55 Des Bright divided the Twelfth Dynasty to Early Twelfth Dynasty, second half of this Dynasty and End of it: the first includes the reigns of Kings Amenemhat I, Senusret I, Amenemhat II, Senusret II, and Senusret III; while the Second half of this Dynasty includes the reigns of Kings Amenemhat III, Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferu. Each of them has its own artistic style. See: Des Bright, *Dating Funerary Stelae of the Twelfth Dynasty*, 18–20.
- 56 See: R. Hözl, *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia: Atti*, I (Turin, 1992), 285.
- 57 Cf. Bishoff, Grajetzki, *Discussions in Egyptology* 54 (2002), 37; D. Stefanović, *GM* 231 (2011), 97–100, fig. p. 100; Freed, *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, I, 318.
- 58 Des Bright, *Dating Funerary Stelae of the Twelfth Dynasty*, 18.
- 59 Bennett, *JEA* 27, 77–78; Des Bright, *Dating Funerary Stelae of the Twelfth Dynasty*, 9; Obsomer, *Mélanges Théodoridès*, 169.
- 60 C. Bennett, 'Growth of the *Htp-di-nsw* Formula in the Middle Kingdom', *JEA* 27 (1941), 79.
- 61 Selim, *SAK* 29, 326(h).
- 62 Pflüger, *JAOS* 67(2), 129; Freed, *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, I (Boston, 1996), 310.
- 63 Des Bright, *Dating Funerary Stelae of the Twelfth Dynasty*, 19.
- 64 Des Bright, *Dating Funerary Stelae of the Twelfth Dynasty*, 19.
- 65 Bennett, *JEA* 27, 79; Tomich, *ZÄS* 138, 26; Pflüger, *JAOS* 67(2), 133; Bazin, El-Enany, *Cahiers de Karnak* 13, 19; Bennett, *JEA* 44, 121.
- 66 Bennett, *JEA* 27, 78; Des Bright, *Dating Funerary Stelae of the Twelfth Dynasty*, 9, 20.
- 67 Revise: Bennett, *JEA* 27, 78; Des Bright, *Dating Funerary Stelae of the Twelfth Dynasty*, 9, 20.