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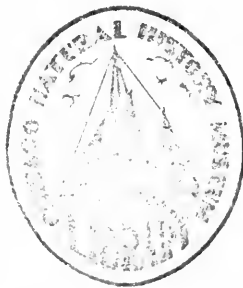
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ANTHROPOLOGICAL SERIES

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
FOUNDED BY MARSHALL FIELD, 1893

VOLUME XXIV

NUMBER 1

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EGYPTIAN STELAE
IN

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

BY
THOMAS GEORGE ALLEN
ASSISTANT CURATOR OF EGYPTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

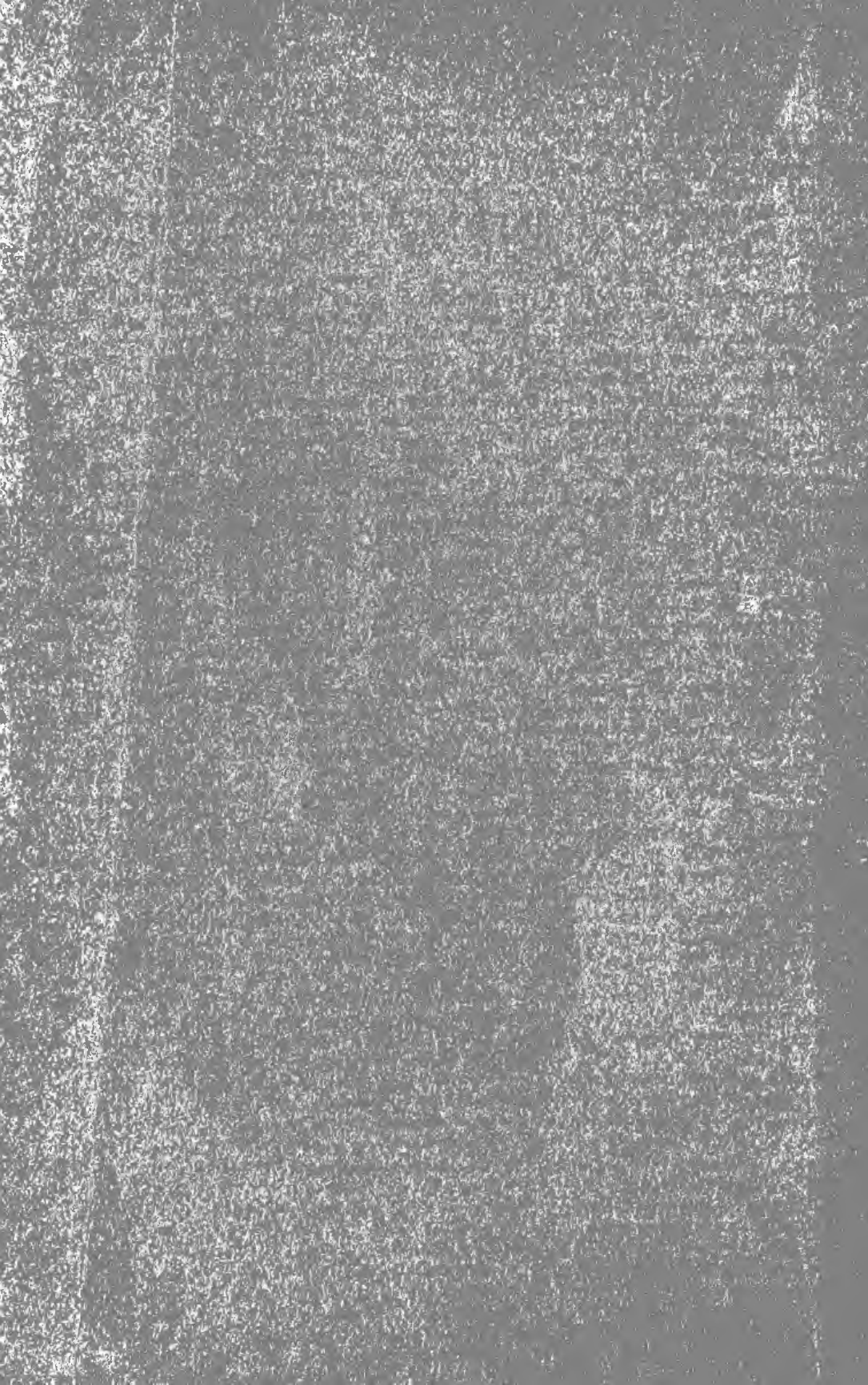
43 Plates and 43 Copies of Inscriptions in the Text

PAUL S. MARTIN
CURATOR, DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
EDITOR

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PREFACE

In preparing this publication of Field Museum Egyptian stelae hand copies of most of the hieroglyphic inscriptions have been included for the sake of clearness. Among these special attention has been paid to the arrangement and forms of the individual signs in the case of the earlier stelae. Even in the later ones, however, peculiarly made signs are frequently rendered with care. The attempt has been made throughout to indicate clearly just what signs are meant, except where the traces are unintelligible.

Where exact transliteration of Egyptian words is required (e.g., in the case of certain obscure titles and of the words discussed in the notes), the system followed is the same as in Gardiner's *Egyptian Grammar* except that our *y* represents both his *i* and his *y* and that we differentiate his *s* into the *z* and *š* which he gives as the original equivalents of the two Egyptian letters concerned. Our English spellings of Egyptian proper names are based largely on principles made current by Professor James Henry Breasted in his *Ancient Records of Egypt* (Chicago, 1906-1907). But since the sound of Egyptian *d* is that of our English *j* instead of the *z* there used, we have preferred the former letter. This course accords also with the fact that *z* as used in *Ancient Records* has no relation to the English *z* sound, which belongs properly (as noted above) to one of the Egyptian *s*'s.

Field Museum has been fortunate in possessing detailed labels written by Professor Breasted himself soon after the acquisition of these stelae. With this material as a background, and aided by the availability of almost forty years' further contributions to the study of Egyptology, it has, it is hoped, been possible to give here a fairly definitive account of these stelae. References to parallels have been kept brief. The bibliography on pages 77-78 gives full data on the publications concerned. The periods to which names cited by Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, are assigned by him have been duly considered in dating the stelae.

Besides my indebtedness to Professor Breasted, thanks are due to Dr. Berthold Laufer, late Curator of the Department of Anthropology, to Dr. Paul S. Martin, the present Curator, to Mr. Stephen C. Simms, Director, and to Mr. Stanley Field, President of Field Museum, who have made possible the publication of this monograph. Professor William F. Edgerton of the University of

Chicago has been so kind as to furnish me with notes on the few and brief demotic inscriptions. To my secretary and assistant at the University of Chicago, Mrs. Albert R. Hauser, I would express my appreciation for her capable services in the preparation of the manuscript during her free time. Mr. C. H. Carpenter, head of the Division of Photography at Field Museum, is responsible for the quality of the plates.

It should be stated that this manuscript was originally completed January 6, 1932, and that the pressure of current duties has not permitted as thorough study as should have been devoted to Egyptological literature published since that time.

THOMAS GEORGE ALLEN
Oriental Institute, University of Chicago

November 18, 1935

EGYPTIAN STELAE
IN
FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

INTRODUCTION

The Egyptian stelae here published, forming one unit in the Egyptian exhibit, were all collected on behalf of Field Museum by Mr. Edward E. Ayer. They belong to two different purchases. The first group, forming a part of Accession 257 and numbered in the 31200's, was obtained in 1896; the second group, part of Accession 594 and numbered in the 31600's, was obtained in 1898. A few analogous pieces similarly acquired, installed before 1931 in the rearranged exhibits of tomb sculpture and painting and of writing methods and materials, were not available for publication here. No record of the history of any of these objects prior to their purchase has been preserved. Hence the descriptions here given have all been derived from their varying styles, as compared with better documented stelae elsewhere, and especially from the inscriptions which they bear.

The history of Egypt falls into various main periods, which may for convenience be set down as follows:¹

Period	Dynasties	Years
Predynastic.....	before about 3400 B.C.
Protodynastic.....	1st-2d.....	about 3400-2980 B.C.
Old Kingdom.....	3d-6th.....	about 2980-2475 B.C.
Middle Kingdom.....	11th-12th.....	about 2160-1788 B.C.
Empire.....	18th-20th (first part).....	about 1580-1150 B.C.
Decadence.....	20th (last part)-25th.....	about 1150-663 B.C.
Renaissance.....	26th.....	663-525 B.C.
Persian.....	27th-30th.....	525-332 B.C.
Ptolemaic.....	332-30 B.C.
Roman, etc.....	after 30 B.C.
Coptic.....	early centuries after Christ

Stelae such as these are chiefly tombstones. Among the earliest which have been found in Egypt are many round-topped tablets which belonged to kings of the 1st and 2d dynasties and to their retainers.² The superstructure of the tomb was at that period

¹ The dates given are those assigned by Professor Breasted.

² Cf. W. M. F. Petrie, *The Royal Tombs* . . . (London, 1900-1901), Part I, front. and Plates XXX-XXXVI, and Part II, Plates XXVI-XXXI.

relatively undeveloped. Under the Old Kingdom, however, the superstructure became an imposing rectangular mass with stone walls showing a batter. Within its otherwise solid interior were left various chambers, independent of the underground tomb, including a place or places prepared for the reception of offerings to be made in behalf of the dead by the living. The offerings would be deposited on an offering-tablet let into the ground before a niche the shape of which has led archaeologists to call it a "false door." It was, indeed, conceived as a doorway through which the spirit of the deceased might return from the realm of the dead to receive and enjoy the offerings.¹

Even in the Old Kingdom it was still only kings and nobles or high officials who were able to enjoy such tombs as those described; and in many of the non-royal tombs it is expressly stated that they were given or at least equipped by the king. Humbler individuals seem to have been quite lacking in burial equipment. With the Middle Kingdom, however, the common man enters definitely into the picture. His tomb was relatively small and simple; but the "false door" of the Old Kingdom had survived in the guise of a tombstone or stela set up to mark his resting-place. Not only actual burials but also cenotaphs were thus identified. That is, during the Middle Kingdom the dead, wherever buried, were frequently given memorial tablets at Abydos, where the god Osiris himself was thought to be interred, that they might thereby enjoy a closer intimacy with that great ruler of the dead. A few stelae may be assigned to a third group as votive tablets, intended magically to perpetuate the worship they depict.

Descendants of both the earlier forms, the round-topped stelae of the Protodynastic Period and the rectangular "false doors" of the Old Kingdom, were used in the Middle Kingdom. The round-topped stela, however, gradually became predominant and persisted even into Coptic times.² Other forms, such as that of the Empire stela No. 31652, with a pyramid topping its curve, are quite rare.

The stones most readily accessible in Egypt were used for stelae. Limestone predominates; sandstone is rather common. Of other

¹ False doors may be seen in position in two Old Kingdom tomb chapels brought from Sakkara and re-erected at the west end of the Egyptian hall. For a detailed account of the development of their forms see Adolf Rusch, "Die Entwicklung der Grabsteinformen im Alten Reich," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, LVIII (1923), pp. 101-124.

² A late 18th dynasty tomb chapel with two stelae, one of each form, still standing in position, is illustrated by J. E. Quibell and A. G. K. Hayter, *Excavations at Saqqara: Teti Pyramid, North Side* (Le Caire, 1927), Plate 8.

stones, this particular group contains one example of granite and one of mica schist. The scenes and inscriptions usually combine the techniques of sculpture and painting. Their changing content from period to period is brought out in our descriptions of the individual stelae. The carving, mostly incised, rarely in relief, is often crude. The colors may have faded or even wholly disappeared, but frequently the surviving traces suffice to give a suggestion of their original brilliance.

THE INDIVIDUAL STELAE

MIDDLE KINGDOM

31694. LIMESTONE STELA OF INTEF, IN FORM OF A FALSE DOOR.
11TH DYNASTY? PLATE I.

The incised decoration shows in the rectangular panel above the "doorway" the deceased owner seated at a table loaded with food: the leg and head of an ox, another joint of meat, a goose, and some vegetables. The legs of his chair imitate those of a bull. Beneath the table stand a vase of drinking-water and a ewer and washbowl; for it was considered good form even in the other world to wash before eating. Over the table is written a prayer for offerings: "[¹A thousand¹] of geese and oxen, beer, alabaster (oil-jars), and clothing for the worthy one, Intef." On the lintel below the panel are engraved two sacred eyes.

Above the panel begin two prayers for mortuary offerings, extending each way from the central group of signs, which belongs to both, and turning downward to frame the panel and the "doorway." The prayer to our left reads: "A mortuary offering of bread and beer, oxen and geese, belonging to the worthy one, praised of his city, 'completely beloved,¹ Intef.'" That to our right reads: "A mortuary offering of bread and beer, oxen and geese, [belong]ing [to] him who is worthy in the presence of Ptah-Sokar (and) in the presence of the great god the lord of the sky, Intef."

Of the outer columns of inscriptions, incomplete above, that at our left reads: "... [worthy in the presence of Ptah-Sokar (and) in the presence of the great god the lord of the sky, the gang-boss Intef]." That at our right reads: "... [May ...] the lord of Abydos [grant] a good passage² to the worthy one, Intef."

At the bottom of each of the four columns of text stands a small figure of the deceased.

¹ Symbols used in transliterations and translations are:

[] Lost.

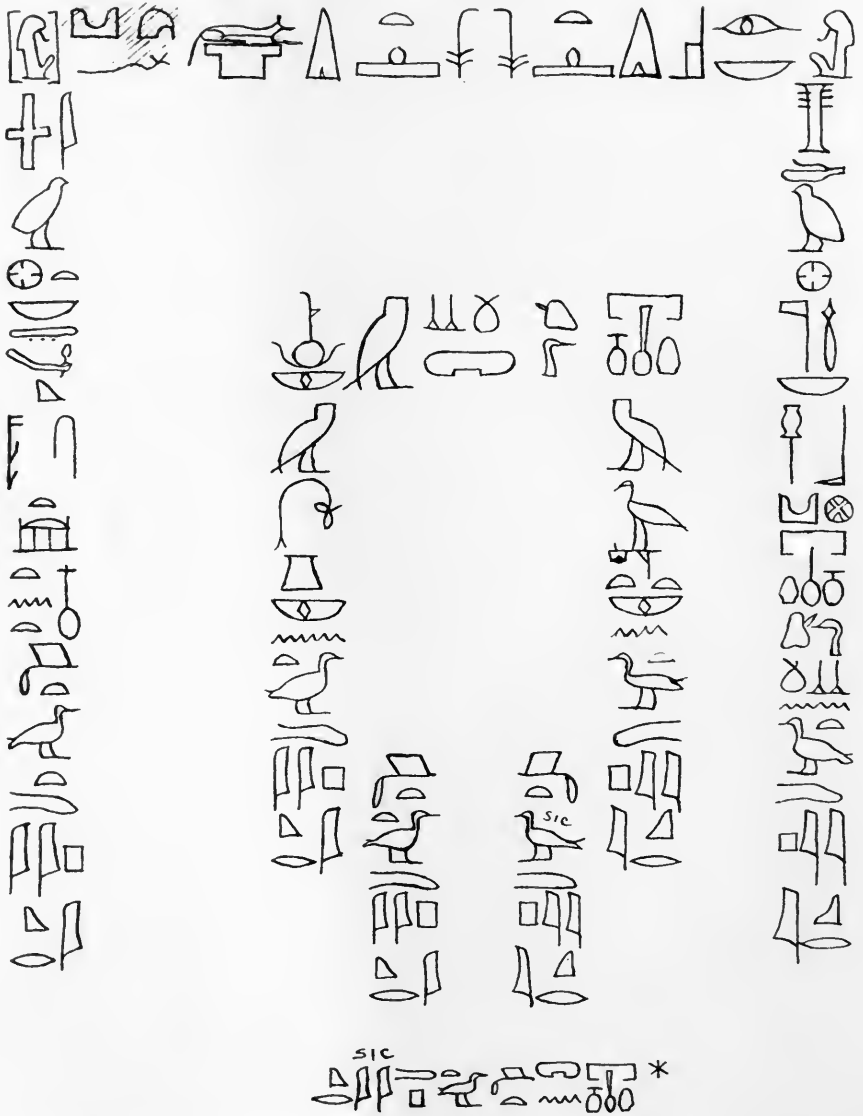
{ } Uncertain.

() Comments or additions by the translator.

< > Emendations, usually based on other ancient texts.

... Omitted by the translator, usually because corrupt or damaged and hence unintelligible.

² I.e., from this world to the next.



* Written small above the banquet scene.

TEXT OF NO. 31285

combined, is of course responsible for the grouping one above another of objects which must in part at least have lain beside one another on the table. The lady is enjoying the fragrance of a blue lotus blossom held in her left hand. Across the top of the panel

is written a prayer: "A mortuary offering for the worthy one, Sitimpiyoker."

In the upper right corner of the band above the panel begin two other prayers which should in reality, with omission of the duplicate elements, form only one. That reading to our left, then downward, asks "a mortuary offering of bread and beer, oxen and geese, alabaster (oil-jars), and clothing at the New Year's feast (and) at the *w3g*-feast for Sitimpiyoker." The right-hand inscription, using the same initial group of signs, asks "a mortuary offering at the feast of Thoth for Sitimpiyoker." At the foot of each of these columns stands a figure of the deceased lady.

Above the frame around the foregoing inscriptions comes a crudely incised cavetto cornice. The outermost frame again bears two inscriptions, one reading each way from the center of the horizontal member at the top. That to our left says: "A boon which the king gives¹ (and which) Anubis (gives), he who is upon the Viper Mountain, he who is in the oasis, the lord of the 'splendid land,'² (namely) goodly burial of the worthy one, Sitimpiyoker." The text at our right reads: "A boon which the king gives (and which) Osiris (gives), the lord of Busiris, the great god, the lord of Abydos, (namely) a mortuary offering of bread and beer, oxen and geese, alabaster (oil-jars), and clothing for Sitimpiyoker."

Though no parallel has been noted for the full name of our deceased lady, the names *Impi* and *Sitimpi* ("daughter of *Impi*") occur under both the Old and the Middle Kingdom. The two are found together on Cairo stela No. 20338, which mentions in its inscriptions even more feasts than are named above. Its date is indicated as early 12th dynasty by the occurrence of another name, *Sehetepibre*, which is the same as the throne name of *Amenemhet I*, the founder of that dynasty.

31680. LIMESTONE STELA OF MENI, IN FORM OF A FALSE DOOR. 12TH DYNASTY? PLATE III.

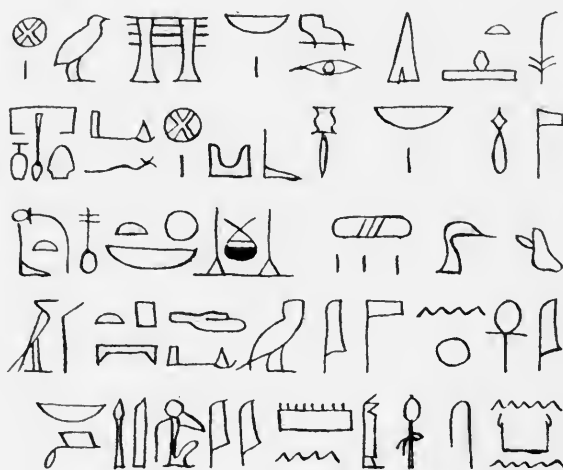
The decoration and inscription on this stela are merely painted. The colors used are dull blue for the scene, the inscription, and the cavetto cornice above it, and black for the base of the stela and for

¹ On this formula see Alan H. Gardiner in the *Egypt Exploration Society's "Theban Tombs Series," I* (London, 1915), pp. 79-93, and more briefly in his *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 170-173.

² Euphemism for "the cemetery."

the lacings indicated on the upright members at the sides.¹ The blue coloring for flesh is highly unusual.

The deceased owner is shown seated before a table on which rest two tall loaves and a round loaf or cake. The five-line inscription above him, which reads as follows, identifies him: "An offering which



TEXT OF NO. 31680

the king gives (to) Osiris, the lord of Busiris, the great god, the lord of Abydos, that he may give a mortuary offering of bread and beer, oxen and geese, alabaster (oil-jars), clothing, (and) everything good and pure on which a god lives, which the sky gives (and) < the earth > produces, to the spirit of the officer of the guard Meni, deceased,² possessor of worthiness."

31649. LIMESTONE STELA OF MEMI, IN FORM OF A FALSE DOOR.
12TH DYNASTY? PLATE IV.

The cavetto cornice here is painted in red and green. Lacings on the frame surrounding the incised scene and inscription are indicated

¹ The cavetto cornice is derived from palm branches, and the torus molding with lacings from bundles of reeds used to protect plastered corners. See W. M. F. Petrie, *Egyptian Decorative Art* (2d ed.; London, 1920), pp. 97-100.

² The phrase *m³ hrw* means literally "righteous (or correct) in speech." Its use springs from the "justification" of the god Osiris, which came to be shared by his subjects, the dead. Thus in the Middle Kingdom it is equivalent to the term "deceased" which we are using regularly in our translations. Under the Empire, however, the phrase is occasionally in special cases applied to the living.

in black. There are traces of black on the background of the panel. The four-line inscription reads: "An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris, the lord of Busiris, the great god, the lord of Abydos, that he may give a mortuary offering of bread and beer, oxen and geese, alabaster (oil-jars), clothing, (and) everything [g]ood and pure on which a god lives, at the monthly feast and at the [. . .]-feasts [to] the spirit of the worthy one, the priest Memi, deceased."

The name written above the man standing below is surprisingly not Memi but "Heni." It is very unlikely, however, that two



TEXT OF NO. 31649

different individuals are meant. Behind the latter stands "his wife, his beloved, Bibi, deceased." Before this couple appear numerous food offerings. On a low stand in the foreground (below) are sealed jars of drink. On the mat in the center are piled bread and cakes, vegetables, and jars of ointment. On another mat, in the background (above), rest a goose, an oxhead, and various cuts of meat.

The stela was broken in two diagonally in ancient times. The lower half has been exposed to a weathering which the upper half has escaped.

31664. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF IBSINISUTYA.
EDFU. 11TH-12TH DYNASTY. PLATE V.

All color, if any was present, has vanished from this crudely incised stela. At the top are the sacred eyes with the symbol of "offer-



TEXT OF NO. 31664

ing" between them. The inscription reads: "An offering which the king gives¹ (to) Horus of Edfu and Osiris that they may give a mortuary offering of bread and beer, oxen and geese, to the spirit of

¹ Except for No. 31685 (see next page) all occurrences of this so-called "offering-formula" on the stelae described from here on show the ideogram for "give" written *before* the word "boon or offering." Though this inversion in the *writing* suggests the possibility of a corresponding change in the *meaning*, Egyptian religious thought was so conservative that it has seemed best to translate the formula uniformly. In any event, whether we have a nominal clause, as translated, or a wish, "May the king give an offering," the formula had by now become in effect a spell which was magically to provide offerings as needed.

of bread and beer, oxen and geese, and everything good to the spirit of Senhotep the daughter of Bau."

31672. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF NAKHTI AND WAHKA. ABYDOS? 12TH DYNASTY. PLATE VI.

Both the inscriptions and the scenes here are incised. No color is preserved. At the top come two spells. That to our left reads: "A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris for the worthy one, the manager of the household, Nahkti, deceased, (and) his wife Nethej, deceased." The spell at our right reads: "A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris for the worthy one, Wahka, deceased, offspring of Sebekhotep,¹ deceased, possessor of worthiness, (and) his (Wahka's) wife Nofretrekhiti, deceased."

Beneath these texts we find the two couples seated at either side of a table piled with food. The men are both in mummy form and wear the beard and carry the insignia of the god Osiris himself, with whom at their death they have become identified. The women, seated on the ground, seem still to wear the long, close-fitting garb of the living.

The lower half of this stela contains the names and figures of relatives and dependents. Those mentioned in the upper row, beginning at our right, are: "His brother, the chamberlain Sehetepibre"; "the worthy one, the chief of the physicians, Wahka, deceased"; and "his wife Wahka, deceased." Those in the middle row are: "His mother Nofrettu,² deceased"; "his daughter Ankhetu,³ deceased"; and "his son Nakhti, deceased." In the bottom row we find "his sister Maret, deceased"; "his wife Senbet, deceased"; and "the steward Senebbu, deceased." Down the margin at our right are added the names of "his friend (fem.) Neferhet, deceased," and "his sister Shedu."

31679. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF SEBEK. ABYDOS? 12TH DYNASTY? PLATE VII.

At the top are incised the sacred eyes with the "ring" symbol between them. The three lines which follow read: "An offering which the king gives (to) Ptah, Sokar, and Osiris the great god, the lord of

¹ His mother.

² The same spelling, with the order of signs unmistakable, is found in Cairo stela No. 20099.

³ Cf. Cairo stela No. 20153 (from Abydos), which seems from this and other names occurring upon it to have belonged to a member of the same family.

Abydos, that they may give a mortuary offering of bread and beer, oxen and geese, incense and ointment to the spirit of the supervisor of the ruler's table, Sebek,¹ deceased, (and) his wife, the king's ornament² Yusni."³

The three registers below picture various relatives. Of the four in each register, two face inward from each side. Their names are as follows, beginning at the center of each register and reading first the two names to our right, then the two to our left:

"The supervisor of the ruler's table, Sebek, deceased."

"His son, the judge Nemu."⁴

"His son, the judge 'Kirdis'.⁵

"His wife, the king's ornament Yusni."

"His wife Nubyiti."

"< His > daughter Nubenib."⁶

"His brother, the judge Bebiseneb."⁷

"His son, the judge Khnummose."

"His son, the judge Bebiseneb."

"His son, the judge Khnum."

"His son, the judge Merikhnum."

"His son, the judge Hor."

Traces of red color remain on the figures, especially those of the men.

¹ The only Cairo stela on which this name occurs in this spelling are Nos. 20296 and 20540, both of which come from Abydos. The name is feminine, however, in No. 20540 and possibly even in No. 20296.

² This title (*hkrt ny-šwt*) seems to be applied to women who have previously been inmates of the royal harem.

³ That this name means "She is mine (*yw.š n.y*)" is shown by its writing in Cairo stela Nos. 20030, 20035, 20155, 20237, 20749, in all of which the name, though feminine, ends with a "man" sign which clearly represents the first person suffix pronoun. In Cairo No. 20157*d*, as here, we have instead the "woman" sign, which may be either the first person feminine pronoun (representing the mother as speaking?) or the determinative of the name as a whole.

⁴ I.e., "dwarf." The initial *n* is the negative instead of the normal alphabetic sign.

⁵ The signs seem clear, but their interpretation is obscure. The end of the name reminds one of the much later theophorous type represented, e.g., by "Amenirdis." Should we by any chance read not *k* but *fnd*, with the epithet *fndy* representing Thoht, and emend *r* to the "eye" sign *yr*?

⁶ This name occurs on Cairo stela Nos. 20170*b* and 20660*c*.

⁷ The *Bb* in our name is evidently only an abbreviated writing for *Bby*. Cf. *Bby-šnb* in Cairo stela No. 20056*g* (fem.) and the numerous Cairo occurrences of *Bby* alone as a name for either men or women.

31647. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF SEVEN PERSONS. ABYDOS? 12TH DYNASTY? PLATE VIII.

This stela, with its numerous beneficiaries, may well have been not a tombstone but a memorial tablet, set up at Abydos to gain for these humble folk the advantage of direct association with Osiris in person; for will they not have made pilgrimages thither to see and worship at the god's own tomb in the Abydos cemetery?

Besides the sacred eyes and the "ring," the symbols of the "East" and the "West" are shown presenting offerings at our left and right



TEXT OF NO. 31647

respectively in the upper register. The figures and inscriptions are all incised. No traces of the original colors are preserved on the stela; but its lower end is stained, perhaps by a modern preservative.

The middle register shows three men seated on the ground. Before them stand two jars of ointment and a table bearing two loaves and a jar. These offerings are evidently being presented by a fourth man shown on a much smaller scale at our right. The two columns of text above him give his name: "The keeper of the meat supply, Ati, deceased." The adjoining columns read, beginning at our right: "An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris, the lord of

Abydos, that he may give everything good and pure on which a god lives to the spirit of the butler 'Semsuemno'.¹ Then follows another spell: "An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris, the lord of Abydos, < that he may give . . . > to the spirit of the 'master mariner' Seneberau (and) to the spirit of the . . . Seneb[ti]fi, deceased."

The lowest register shows four women seated on the ground. The twelve columns of text above them are a spell in their behalf: "An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris, the lord of Abydos, < that he may give . . . > to the spirit of the housemistress Nehi, to the spirit of the housemistress Abetib, to the spirit of the housemistress Anekhtunmutnisut, (and) to the spirit of the housemistress Nehi, deceased."

Across the bottom of the stela runs an addition in large characters: "For the spirit [of] Sen[eb]tifi, deceased, he carved [this stela]."

EMPIRE

31650. ROUND-TOPPED SANDSTONE STELA OF TANEKET AND NEBNOFER. THEBES? 18TH DYNASTY. PLATE IX.

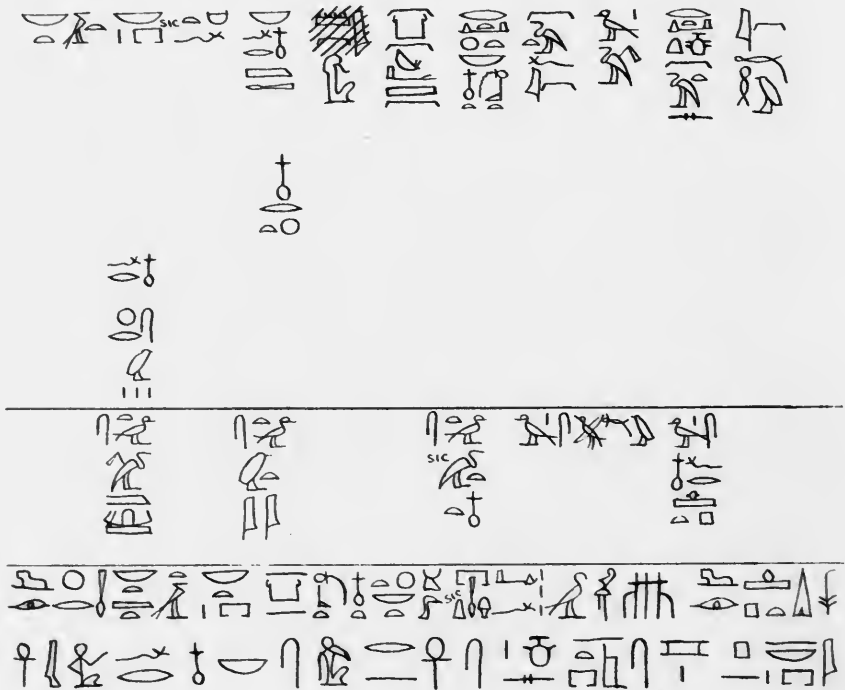
Between the sacred eyes at the top is pictured a bowl with the "water" symbol beneath it. The deceased owner and her husband are seated at our left before a table of offerings which are being presented by her son and daughter. Other offerings are in their hands. With his right hand the son is perhaps offering incense, while the daughter with her right hand is pouring a libation. Other sons and daughters appear in the register below. The offerings on the table include loaves and a jar, cuts of meat, onions, and a blue lotus blossom and bud. There are slight traces of the original colors: red on the skins and vessels, white on the garments, blue on the hieroglyphs and the dividing lines and on the lotus buds. The inscriptions and figures are all incised.

The columns of inscription above at our right read: "Giving everything good and pure to his mother by Simut" and "Giving bread and beer to her mother by Mehu." The remaining columns, reading toward our left, say: "For the spirit of the 'hearer of the call' of Amon, Nebnofer, deceased, (and) his wife, the housemistress Tanebet." Beside Tanebet's chair stands a small boy holding a blue lotus bud in his left hand. Before him is written his name, "Neferssekheru." Nebnofer himself holds a blue lotus blossom to his nose, with the remark: "More beautiful than < any > thing." The fact that

¹ The first sign might also be read *wr*, the last sign *r* or *h*. None of the possible combinations appears in Ranke's list.

the name of Amon in Nebnofer's title has been cut away shows that the stela was made prior to the "heretical" reign of Ikhnaton (about 1375-1358 B.C.), under whom the defacement doubtless took place.

The relatives in the second register, all of whom have with them additional offerings, are, at our right, two men, "her son Peshedu"



TEXT OF NO. 31650

and "her son Neferhotep"; at our left, three women, "her daughter Mutnofret," "her daughter Tui," and "her daughter Mutemuya."

Across the bottom of the stela runs a two-line spell: "An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris presiding over the Westerners, that he may give a mortuary offering of bread and beer, oxen and geese, and everything good and pure to the spirit of the housemistress Tanebet, justified in the presence of Osiris.¹ It is this householder, her beloved, her darling, who keeps her name alive, (namely) Neb-

¹ The phrase *m³t hrw hr Wsyr* is evidently to be translated as above, though *m³t hrw* alone is normally equivalent to "deceased." Cf. p. 16, n. 2.

nofer, living again." The final statement agrees with the fact that the children are called "her" sons and "her" daughters in showing that the stela was erected primarily for Tanebet. Nebnofer's epithet "living again" suggests, however, that he too had passed away. In any event his affection has succeeded in "keeping alive" his wife's name until this day.

31656. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF TEFKET AND HUMATH. ABYDOS? EARLY 18TH DYNASTY? PLATE X.

The background of the sacred eyes and "ring" and of the scene below them has been cut away so that those parts appear in low re-



TEXT OF NO. 31656

lief. The writing both here and in the lines below is incised. The surface is much darkened; it was once coated with black paint, part of which has survived.

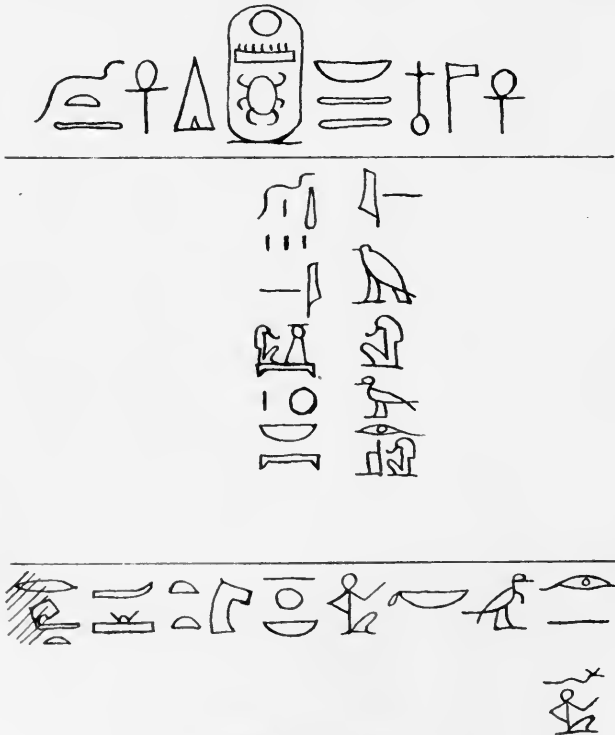
At our right are seated "Humath" and "Tefket" receiving offerings from "Tahui" and "Ahmose." With her left hand the former pours a libation. The latter holds in his left hand a white lotus blossom. On the table in the center lies a bunch of onions. Under the table stand a jar of drink and various cakes and loaves. The prayer below reads: "An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris presiding over the Westerners, the lord of Abydos, that he may give a mortuary

offering of bread and beer, oxen and geese, and everything good and pure on which a god lives to the spirit of the < house > mistress < Tefket, deceased >. It is her daughter who keeps her name alive, (namely) Tahui." The scribe has been guilty of gross carelessness in omitting from this prayer the very name of the deceased lady. Fortunately for her, he had written it over her figure in the scene above. The last sentence explains the relationship of Tahui. Ahmose may have been either the son of Tefket or the husband of Tahui.

The lower left-hand corner of the stela had evidently been damaged even before the inscription was cut, for the prayer was finished before the break was reached. This stela, like No. 31650, was made primarily as a monument to a mother.

31655. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE VOTIVE STELA OF HUERHETEF. ABYDOS? 18TH DYNASTY. PLATE X.

At the top stands an invocation to the deified king Thutmose III: "Live the good god, the Lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperre



TEXT OF NO. 31655

(his throne name), given life forever." Below are pictured two gods who are identified both by their costumes and symbols and by the inscriptions accompanying them: "Utterance by Onuris-Re, lord of the sky," and "< Utterance > by Horus the son of Osiris." The second occurrence of the word "utterance" seems to have been actually written, but facing in the wrong direction. After he had erased it the scribe apparently forgot to replace it correctly, but began instead with the following word, "by." The tablet was erected to obtain the favor of these two gods and also of the deified Thutmose III.

Across the bottom the dedicator himself, whom the stela was intended to benefit, has added his signature: "The servant of Nebpehtire, Huerhetef, made (it)."

The figures and inscriptions alike are incised. There are traces of red on the crown of Onuris and on the sun-disk of Horus.

31288. LIMESTONE STELA OF THE DOORKEEPER THUTMOSE, IN FORM OF A FALSE DOOR. 18TH DYNASTY. PLATE XI.

The scenes and inscriptions are all incised. On the cavetto cornice are traces of blue and of red. Traces of flesh color remain on some of the women's figures. Bits of background coloring, now brown, are also present.

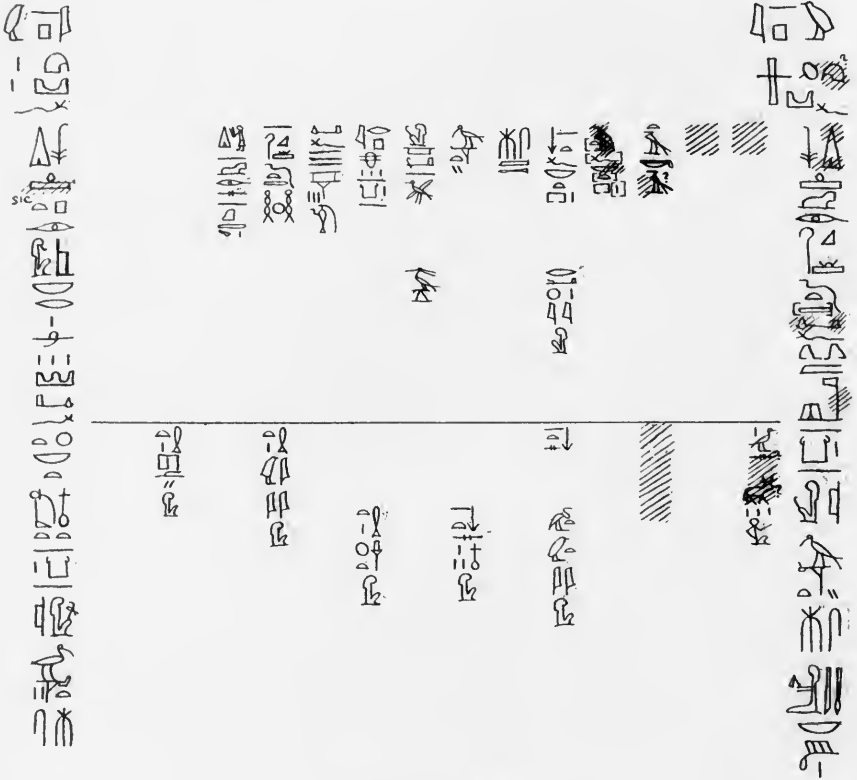
In the center of the lintel are carved the "ring," the "water" symbol, and a bowl, flanked by the sacred eyes and beyond them by figures of the wild dog or jackal god. At our left he is called "Anubis upon the Viper Mountain"; at our right, "Anubis who is in the oasis and upon the Viper Mountain."

Of the prayers on the jambs, that at our left reads: "An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris, the lord of Rosetau, that he may give everything good and pure to the spirit of the doorkeeper Thutmose." That at our right reads: "An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris, the ruler of eternity, that he may grant exit from and entrance into the cemetery to the spirit of the doorkeeper Thutmose, deceased, possessor of worthiness."

The scene in the upper register represents Thutmose and his wife praying to Osiris. Between the god and his worshipers stands a table piled with food. Under it are jars twined with blue lotus blossoms. Above this scene we read: "Giving praise to Osiris, kissing the earth to the ruler of eternity forever. May he give water, a cool breeze, and wine to the spirit of the doorkeeper of the inundation Thutmose,

deceased, his sister (i.e., wife) the housemistress Rai, (and) [his] mother the housemistress Taka. . . .”

In the second register appear various sons, daughters, and servants: “Her son . . . ihu”; “[her son] . . .”; “her sister Muttui”;



TEXT OF NO. 31288

“her sister Nofru”; “the maidservant Sekhmet”; “the maidservant Yui”; and “the maidservant Hedi.” Very little remains of the figures of the two men. The stela is modernly patched at that point.

31281. ROUND-TOPPED BLACK GRANITE VOTIVE STELA OF KING AMENHOTEP III. 18TH DYNASTY. PLATE XII.

Though this tablet was ostensibly made in behalf of a king, its refractory material has caused great difficulties for the craftsman who incised its scenes and inscriptions. There are no traces of paint.

In the rounded upper portion between the seated god Osiris and the king who stands before him are written their respective names: "Os[iris] the great god, the lord of the sky," and "the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nibmare, the son of [Re], Amenhotep, 'ruler of Thebes'." In his hands the king holds other offerings in addition



TEXT OF NO. 31281

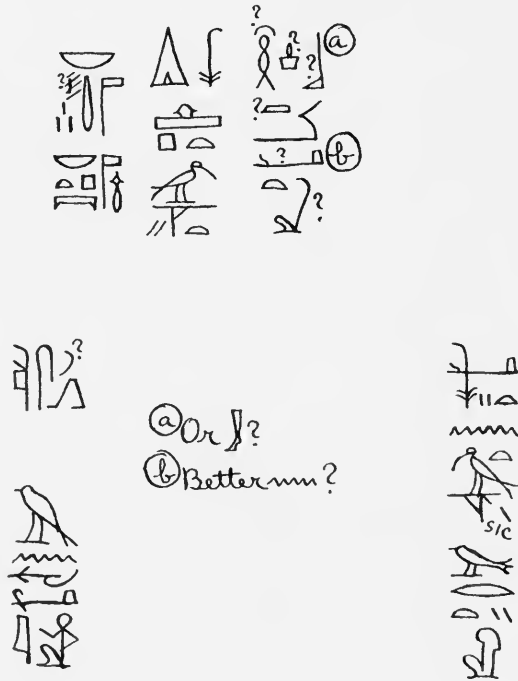
to those piled on the table before him. Between the god and the king the stone bears other markings which may possibly be traces of faintly incised additional words or phrases. In the lower register the king, here called "the son of Re, Nibmare,"¹ kneels to utter the prayer written in the five columns of text before him. Behind him a tall jar rests upon a wooden stand. The prayer reads: "Giving

¹ This combination of the throne name with the title which normally goes with the personal name gives some ground for suspecting the authenticity of the stela.

praise to Osiris, kissing the earth to the great god. I give '[prai]se (and) awe' to thy beautiful face. Make content the spirit 'of' . . . 'Give to him goodly rule.'"¹

31283. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF NAKHTI AND WERTI. 18TH-19TH DYNASTY. PLATE XII.

The scenes and inscriptions are lightly incised. The stela has been broken in two and repaired.



TEXT OF NO. 31283

At our left above sits Thoth with the crescent moon on his head; at our right, a goddess wearing the sun-disk and cow-horns of Hathor.

¹ Partially similar texts are to be found in *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*, Part VII (London, 1925), Plate 12, No. 275, and in *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, II (Leipzig, 1924), p. 119 (No. 7769). These references are due to the kindness of Miss Elizabeth Stefanski of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. No parallel for the latter portion is known to me. My drawing reproduces only such lines, meaningless in part, as close examination could detect. My tentative translation of the end involves some emendations of the signs which I have recorded.

The table between them holds a jar and a blue lotus blossom. Above it we read: "An offering which the king gives (to) Thoth, master of the divine utterances,¹ the great god, the lord of the sky." A third column at our right evidently applied to the goddess, but its reading is obscure.

In the lower register the owner and his wife, pictured kneeling in prayer before a table heaped with offerings, are called respectively "the follower of Horus,² Nakhti," and "the songstress of Thoth, Werti."

31663. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF USERHET. THEBES?
19TH DYNASTY. PLATE XIII.

The surface has been discolored, probably by modern impregnation with a preservative. No traces of painting remain. In the rounded top appear the "ring," "water," and a bowl between the sacred eyes. The owner stands praying to Osiris and Isis. On the dais before Osiris stand two tables of food offerings. The columns of text above the tables read: "An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris presiding over the West, the great god, the ruler of eternity. The army-scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands,³ Userhet, living again, possessor of worthiness, made (it)." Isis is designated by the inscription before her as "Isis the great, mother of the god, lady of the sky, mistress of the Two Lands." Behind Userhet stands another prayer: "An offering which the king gives (to) Re-Har-akhte,⁴ lord of the mountain of Min,⁵ for the spirit of the priest Wajmose." That the latter was a son of Userhet appears from the inscriptions below.

In the next register appear various relatives seated on the ground before a low stand of food offerings. They are, beginning at our left: "His sister, the housemistress Shefese, born of Amenemopet, 'deceased¹'; "his daughter Muttui"; "his son Kha <m>wese"; "his

¹ The ancient sacred writings or the hieroglyphic script in which they were written.

² A term sometimes applied to the deceased, especially in Middle Kingdom texts. Cf. Erman and Grapow, *Aegyptisches Wörterbuch*, IV (1929), p. 486.

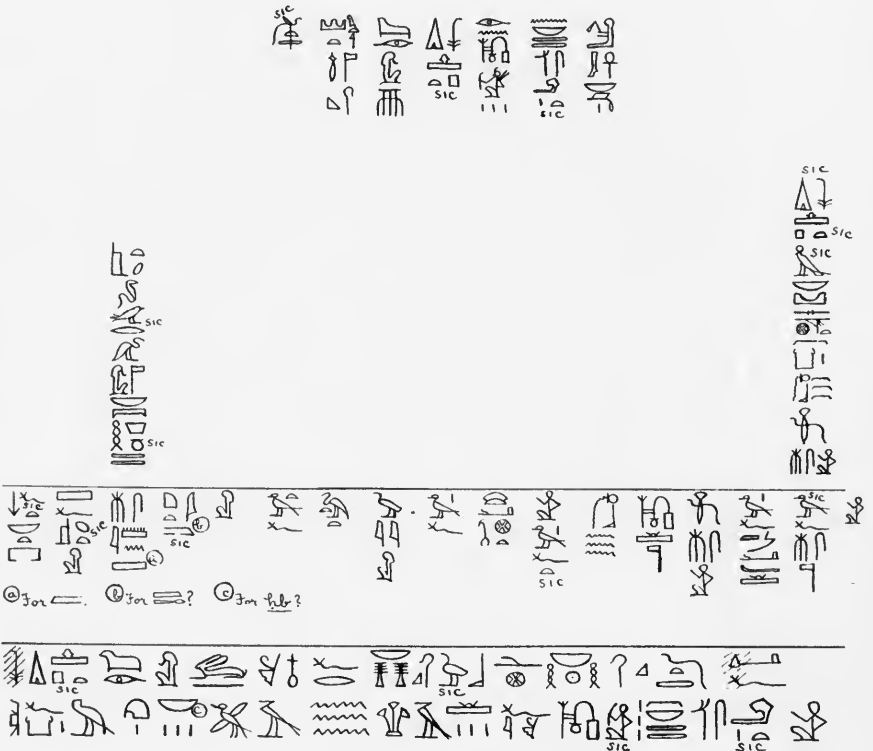
³ The king.

⁴ Though the photograph suggests the presence of the double "horizon" sign, examination of the original shows that actually the space above the falcon's back is blank.

⁵ This place-name does not appear in H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*.

son, the priest, the scribe of the god, Wajmose"; "his son Mahu"; and "his daughter¹ 'Nuthermose¹."²

Across the bottom runs a two-line prayer: "An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris-Wennofer, lord of Busiris, ruler of Abydos,



TEXT OF NO. 31663

lord of perpetuity, ruler of eternity, that he (the god) may grant that he (the deceased) follow <his> spirit at the 'festivals of the' first (of each month), the water (being) around him.³ It is the army-scribe of the Lord of the Two Lands, Userhet, (who makes this prayer)."

¹ The scribe has omitted the feminine *t* and has used a man's figure as determinative!

² Although written *Mš-ntr*, this name appears to be of the same type as the neighboring name *Wšd-mš*.

³ Or, "at the first (of each month), the lords of the water (being) around him"? The meaning of this passage is obscure.

of the Old Kingdom and the great obelisks erected by pharaohs of the Empire. In the latter as here the fundamental element is the pyramid, whether it surmounts a tall obelisk shaft or this otherwise round-topped tombstone.¹ The incised surface of this stela has been affected by salts. Subsequent treatment has slightly darkened it. No traces of paint remain.

The upper scene shows the deceased Nefretiri, with attendants, praying before Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys. On the table before the deities are laid food offerings and a blue lotus blossom. Before Osiris is written his name: "Osiris presiding over the West." Isis and Nephthys wear their names as headdresses. Over the women we read: "Praise to thy spirit, lord of the West, offered by the housemistress Nefretiri, deceased, in peace; her daughter, Osiris the housemistress Maia, deceased; (and) her daughter Da. . . ." These *three* names accompany the figures of *four* people of progressively smaller size. It seems probable that the next to the last figure was inserted after the original design was complete, for suggestions of additional words of the inscription appear alongside the garments of that lady.

The bottom register shows worship of the Apis-bull in his shrine. Above him is written his name: "The living Apis, herald of Ptah."² Above his worshipers we read: "Done by the priest of Ptah, Mer-'miptah',³ deceased; his son, the priest Petowe; her daughter, the housemistress 'Bek[ur]'el;⁴ her 'mother', the 'amiable' housemistress 'Nuhe'.⁵

¹ More or less contemporary stelae the scenes of which exhibit pyramid symbolism include Cairo 34079 (published by Lacau), Florence 2591 (Berend, Plate IX), and University of California No. 88, from Memphis (Lutz, Plate 45). Specially interesting is stela No. C 56 of the Musée Guimet in Paris. Each of its side panels represents an obelisk. In the middle of its top above a bull figure a pyramidion on larger scale stands out. Moret dates this stela to the 22d dynasty by comparison with a similar Apis stela published by Mariette (*Le Serapéum de Memphis*, Plate 32).

² The sign copied as a seated king is surely *whm* instead. See A. Erman on Apis in *Sitzungsberichte der K. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1916, pp. 1147-51. Cf. this same scene on Florence stela No. 2541 (Berend, Plate VII).

³ Or "Mermihp<et>," reading before the seated man a weaponed arm with *t* omitted above it?

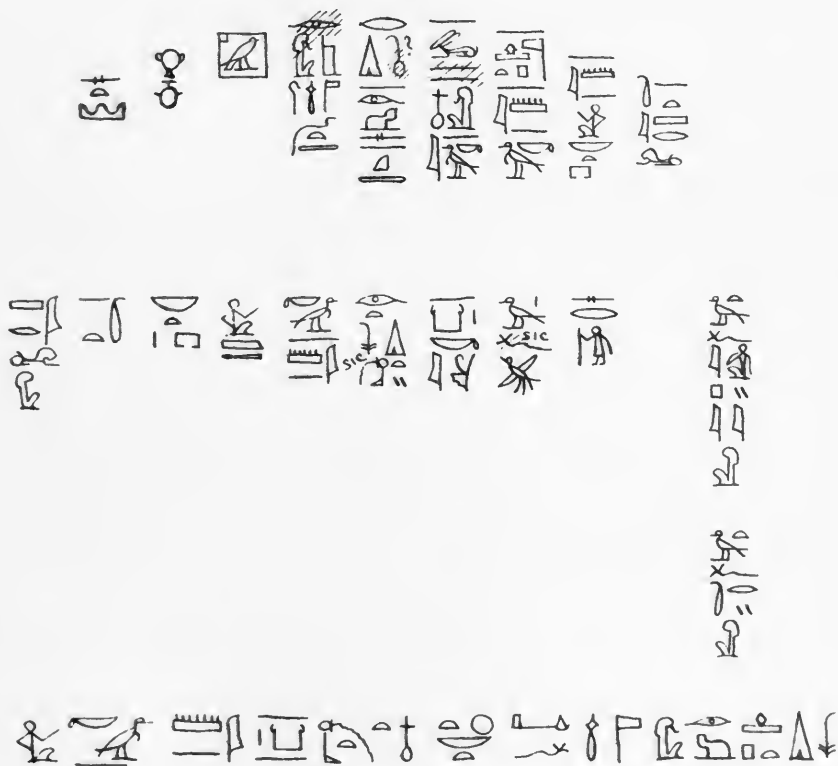
⁴ This name as we have read it is the same as that of Seti I's queen mentioned in Papyrus Mayer A 3 (ed. Peet), except that we lack room for an *r* after *wr*.

⁵ A lady with name spelled as here appears as a "daughter" on Florence 2595 (Schiaparelli's No. 1628), another stela pyramidal above the rounded top; but the relatives there named do not seem to permit of her being the same person.

31272. ROUND-TOPPED SANDSTONE STELA OF BEKENAMON AND TENTISHRU. THEBES? 19TH-20TH DYNASTY. PLATE XV.

The scenes and inscriptions are incised. The scenes especially are skilfully drawn. The tablet has been broken, and some of the surface along the breaks has been lost.

In the upper register the deceased owner and his wife worship Osiris and Isis. The latter wears the sun-disk and cow-horns of



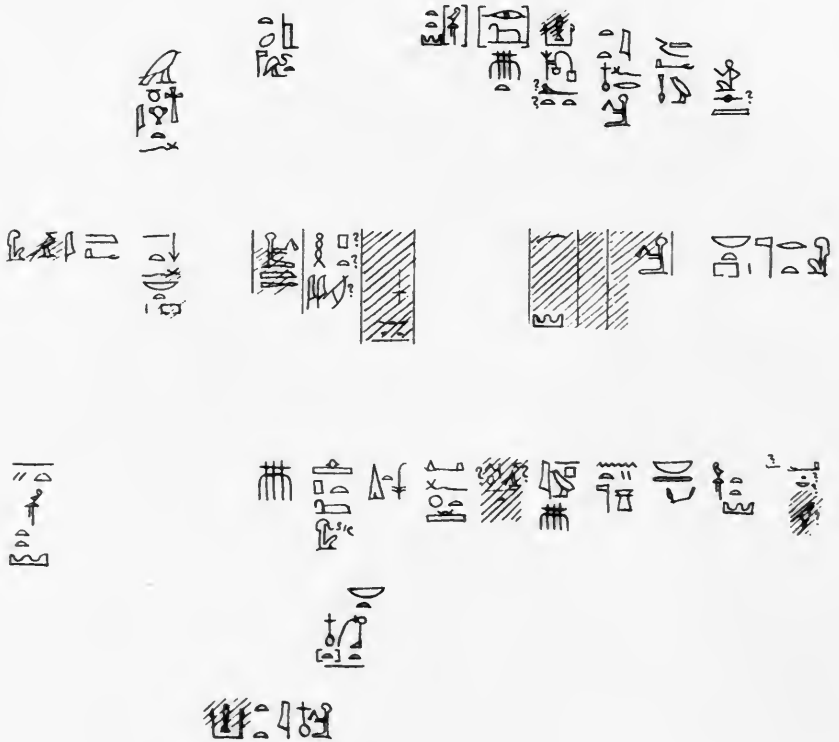
TEXT OF NO. 31272

Hathor, with whom she has now become identified. The inscriptions over the deities give their names: "Os[iris] the great god, ruler of eternity," and "Hathor dwelling in the desert." The other columns of text at the top read: "Giving . . . to Osiris,¹ kissing the earth to

¹"An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris" is suggested by the traces of signs, but is ruled out by the parallelism required by the following expression. We would expect "giving praise," but apparently have something else.

Wennofer, by the servant of the temple-estate of Amon, Bekenamon, (and) the housemistress Tentishru.”

In the lower register these two are seated before a table of offerings which are being presented by their son. The inscriptions above this scene name once more “Bekenamon, deceased, (and) the housemistress Tentishru.” The columns over the offering state: “Making



TEXT OF NO. 31669

an ‘<offering> which the king gives,’ so that thou art pure for thy spirit, by his(!)¹ son Peser.” Behind this son are seated two ladies, “his daughter Api” and “his daughter Tiri,” who may be participating in this rite. The line at the bottom of the stela is the formula: “An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris the great god, that he may give everything good and pure to the spirit of Bekenamon.”

¹ The Egyptian reverts to the third person here and in many other cases which would be made to agree differently in English.

31669. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF TETINOFER. 20TH DYNASTY? PLATE XVI.

The incised surface of this stela is smoothly wrought but slightly discolored. In the upper scene "the mortuary priest,¹ the... scribe Tetinofer, deceased,..." worships "[Osiris] presiding over the [Wes]t," "Isis the mother of the god," and "Horus the avenger of his father."

In the middle register two couples are seen, each seated before a table piled with offerings. The inscriptions which were originally written above this scene have been smoothed away so that very little remains legible. The names of those at our left seem to be "... 'Meriptah', deceased," and "his sister, the housemistress Maia." At our right the man's name is illegible, but his wife is "the housemistress Nothret."

The lowest register shows a third scene in the other world. Tetinofer and his wife kneel before a tree-goddess who pours water into their cupped hands to satisfy their thirst. Behind them stand "Anubis before the hall of the god, lord of the 'splendid land,' " and the goddess personifying "the West," who wears its symbol on her head. A spell scattered in disjointed fragments through the scene reads: "An offering which the king gives (to) Os<iris> presiding over the West, that he may give everything good and pure to the mortuary priest² Tetinofer." The wife's name has been defaced.

Behind the "West" goddess stand traces of a few more hieroglyphs which do not seem to belong to the scene. Their presence suggests that all of the defacements which we have noticed came about from smoothing off a previous inscription. In other words, the tablet appears to have been re-used.

31660. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF ...HET. 20TH DYNASTY FF. PLATE XVII.

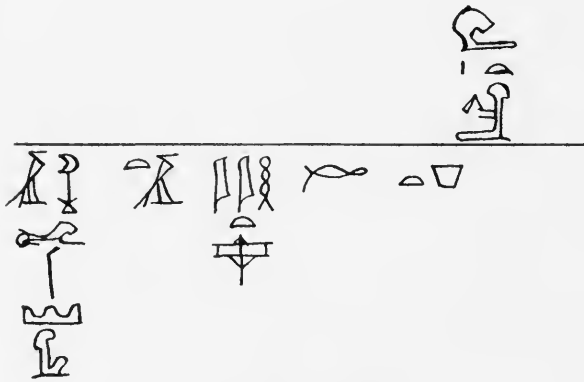
The grayish surface of the stone shows traces of red color in some of the outlines in the lower register.

In the upper register the deceased, "the priest of 'Min',...-het," stands worshipping before "Osiris" and "Isis." The lower

¹ Or "h_zk-priest"?

² Or "h_zk-priest," as before.

register shows two women, "Hentmehit" and "Takharu," seated on the ground before a table bearing offerings.

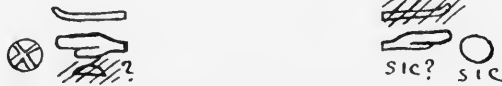


TEXT OF NO. 31660

LATE

31676. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF FOUR UNNAMED PERSONS. 22D DYNASTY FF. PLATE XVIII.

This stela is merely painted. The outlines are in red, some of them redrawn in black. The women's hair seems to have been



TEXT OF NO. 31676

painted solid black. Under the winged sun-disk is twice written "the Edfuan," designating the god whom it symbolizes. Between the words stand the sacred eyes. Three women and one man in the

register below stand worshipping the sun-god, this time in human form except for his falcon(?) head, on which he wears a large sun-disk. The three ladies, at least, wear on their heads cones of perfumed ointment such as had been wont to be worn by banqueters of the Empire. Over the heads of all four are rectangles which had been prepared to receive their names, but which have been left blank.

31681. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF A NAMELESS LADY.
26TH DYNASTY FF. PLATE XVIII.

This painted tablet shows the winged sun above. A border of variously colored rectangles frames the top and sides of the scene that follows. A deceased lady at our right stands worshipping Osiris, Isis, and Anubis. The lower part of the stela contains a prayer in four lines; but only the initial sign \int remains legible. This suggests, however, that the text begins, as so often, "An offering which the king gives . . ." The names of the deities and worshiper in the scene itself, though perhaps once written there, are now illegible.

Much color still survives. The sun-disk is of solid red; the wings are sketched in black. The rectangles in the frame are some brown, some red, some yellow, and some of uncertain color. The jackal face of Anubis and the legs of Osiris (in the center) are deep red. The legs at least have probably been retouched. Both the figures and the inscriptions were drawn in black. The first and third lines of the prayer are written on a yellow background.

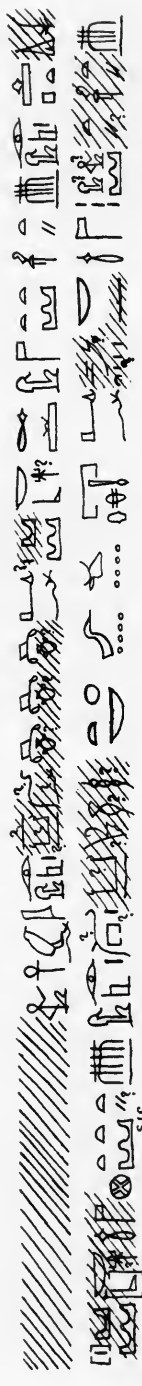
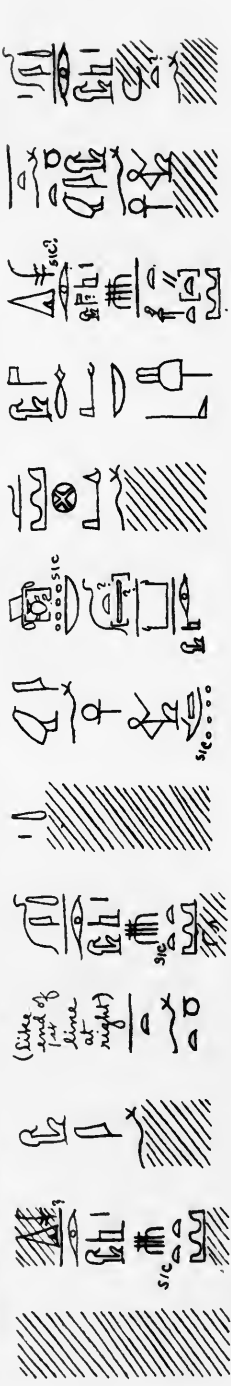
31659. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF A FAMILY OF FIVE.
26TH DYNASTY FF. PLATE XIX.

This stela in its present form is painted only. It is, however, possible that the rough surfaces dividing the text columns in the bottom register are remains of sunken lines belonging to a previous sculptured surface which had been cut down and re-used.

The winged sun within the rounded top is as before accompanied by two writings of the god's name, "the Edfuan." Between them stand the sacred eyes, flanking the symbol for "beauty."

The scene across the middle shows two women and three men, all wearing cones on their heads, with hands upraised in prayer, presenting offerings to Osiris and Isis. The names of the deceased persons and of the deities, though inserted, are now illegible.¹

¹ These and the foregoing legends are not included in our drawing.

(Scribe of
 the
 line
 of
 right)

TEXT OF NO. 31659

Below comes a two-line prayer, partly illegible: "An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris presiding over the West, the great god, the lord of Abydos, that he may give food offerings ¹(and) viands to the spirit of¹ Osiris Efonekh presiding over the Westerners, the great god, the lord of . . . , may he give a mortuary offering of beer and bread, oxen and geese, and everything ¹sweet (and) pleasant to the spirit of the steward of¹ Osiris presiding over the <Wes>t, the great god, the lord of Abydos." In the columns which follow, another prayer, beginning at our right, reads: "Utterance by Osiris the . . . of Tefnut, Efonekh ¹<An offering> which the king gives (to)¹ Osiris presiding over the West, the great god, the lord of Abydos, that he may give . . . all food offerings ¹forever¹¹ to the spirit of Osiris Efonekh, deceased, Utterance by Osiris presiding over the <Wes>t ¹(for)¹ the . . . of Tefnut, Ef. . . . ¹[An offering] which the king gives to¹² Osiris presiding over the <Wes>t"

This tablet as originally painted had a red sun-disk with tiny black dashes for the feathers of its wings. The signs beneath the winged sun were outlined in red, and all except the two *d*'s were filled with white. The flesh of the women in the main scene has been modernly recolored a shiny pink!

31275. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF AN UNKNOWN MAN AND WOMAN. 26TH DYNASTY FF. PLATE XIX.

The designs on this painted stela are in red with occasional traces of additional black outlines. The semihieratic inscriptions, mostly vanished, are or were in black.³ Traces of blue remain on the brows of the sacred eyes which flank the sign for "beauty" beneath the winged sun. The deceased husband and wife appear below, presenting offerings to the falcon-headed sun-god. Abnormal shapes and proportions suggest the possibility of a forgery. Three large blue lotus blossoms are prominent just under the faded inscriptions.

PTOLEMAIC

31280. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF JE¹KHONS¹EFONEKH. THEBES? PTOLEMAIC PERIOD. PLATE XX.

The designs and inscriptions on this painted tablet are sketched in black. The sun-disk, three of the rectangles in the borders, the

¹ The traces do not suit *df(3w)*, "viands," as they did in the first line above.

² Or is our *n*, "to," really *h'tp*, "offering," occurring here instead of at the left in the preceding group?

³ The signs left are too uncertain to justify copying.

flesh of the deceased, the bodies of the deities, the tall jars under the offering-table, and the dividing lines in the inscription below are red.

From the winged sun-disk above depend two uraei, symbols of deity and royalty. Beside them at each side is named the deity symbolized by the disk, "the great god, the Edfuan, the lord of the sky." The single line of text which forms the next item reads: "An offering which [the king] gives (to) Osiris presiding over the West, the great god, the lord of Abydos, that he may give a mortuary offering."

The main scene, which takes place under a starry sky, shows the deceased, "the . . . ,¹ Je'khons'efonekh,"² praying before "Re-Harakhte," "Anubis," "Isis," and "Nephthys."

The six lines at the bottom are again a prayer. It begins like the one above, then enters into details: "that he may give mortuary offerings: a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of geese, a thousand of incense, a thousand of ointment, a thousand of wine, a thousand of milk, a thousand of raiment, a thousand of all good offerings, a thousand of everything pure, a thousand of . . . , O Osiris . . . ,³ Je'khons'efonekh, son of the similarly titled Inarōs."⁴

31657. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF PETOWE. PTOLEMAIC PERIOD. PLATE XX.

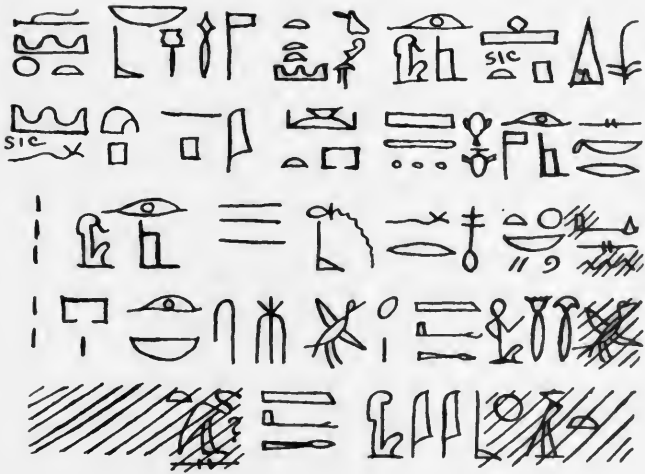
The rectangles in the border of this stela are alternately red and blue, with black dots. This band of rectangles is framed by stripes of yellow. The outermost part of the border is red. The sun-disk and its wings are red, though the inner part of each wing is blue. The outlines everywhere are black. The pendent uraei are yellow,

¹ Uncertain titles, repeated in the last line of the main inscription. They may possibly read: "the *ymy-yz*, the *hzk*-priest of Pharaoh." On all but the "Pharaoh" cf., e.g., pp. 47, 51, and 67.

² Khonsu, the god whom we believe to be mentioned in this theophorous name, was the child member of the Theban triad. That our stela may have come from Thebes is suggested both by the use of his name and by the fact that Cairo stelae Nos. 22210 (which names another Jekhonsefonekh) and 22071 (bearing the names Khonsirdis and Pekharukhonsu) actually came from Thebes. Cairo stela No. 22004, however, which mentions another Khonsirdis, came from Hassaia near Edfu.

³ See n. 1 above.

⁴ The Greek spelling of the father's name, which means in Egyptian: "The eye of Horus is against them (i.e., against enemies of the deceased)." On its writings and transliteration see p. 58, n. 1. The foregoing inscriptions are easily legible on our Plate XX.



TEXT OF NO. 31657

as is the skin of the goddesses Isis and Nephthys. The latter's dress is red like the flesh of Osiris and of the deceased. The crown of Osiris is yellow, and the dress of Isis is brown. The backgrounds of the five inscribed lines at the bottom were respectively yellow,

white, red, white, and red. The white has, however, turned to a grayish brown.

Beside each of the uraei stands the sun-god's appellation, "the Edfuan." Beneath him appears the "sky" sign. Under it the deceased, "Petowe," is seen "praising the god four times." The deities before whom he prays are "Osiris," "Isis," and "Nephthys." The prayer at the bottom reads: "An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris presiding over the West, the great god, the lord of Abydos, (to) Sokar-Osiris dwelling in the midst of the sanctuary, (and to) Anubis who is on the Viper Mountain, that they may give everything good and pure <to> Osiris Petowe, deceased, son of Pemose, born of the housemistress Tekhebi, deceased, 'her mother' (being) . . ."

31671. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF NETEMPEASESE. ABYDOS? PTOLEMAIC PERIOD. PLATE XXI.

On this crudely incised stela only a few traces of red and blue remain in the outlines of the forms and signs. Under the winged



sun "Netempeashese, deceased," worships Osiris, Isis, and the ibis-headed Thoth. Buds are twined around the jars supported on stands beneath the offering-table. The prayer below reads: "An offering which the king gives to¹ Osiris presiding over the West, the great god, the lord of Abydos, that he may give a mortuary offering of beer and bread, oxen and geese, everything good and pure, wine, milk, (and) clothing to the musician of [Os]iris presiding over the West, the great god, the lord of Abydos, Netempeashese, [deceased, 'son'²] of the *ymy-yz*, the *hzk*-priest, the high priest of Osiris the great god, the lord of Abydos, Fektihor, [deceased, 'worthy'¹] in the presence of Osiris the great god, offspring of the housemistress Nesitefnut '(and)¹ the *hzk*-priest Nesikashuti."

The names in Netempeashese's family are all interesting. That name itself, meaning "Sweet is the call of Isis," may refer to the goddess's mourning for her slain husband Osiris or perhaps to the pleasure found in serving her.³ The father's name is "The shaven-headed one (i.e., the priest) of Horus." The father's mother, if we understand the broken text aright, was "She who belongs to Tefnut," and his father was "He who belongs to the Lofty of Plumes (probably Min⁴)."

The facts that both Netempeashese and the father were in the service of Osiris and that the father and grandfather each bore the title of *hzk* indicate that this stela came from Abydos. The *hzk* title is, however, applied in this late age to priests at Akhmim also, and the probable allusion to Min might likewise suggest the latter site.⁵

31678. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF PEDIESE. AKHMIM. PTOLEMAIC PERIOD. PLATE XXII.

On this incised tablet only a few traces of the red outlines which guided the stonemason remain. The winged sun-disk appears alone at the top. The scene of worship shows the deceased before Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys. Below is written the prayer: "An offering which the king gives to Osiris presiding over the West, the great god, the lord of Abydos; Ptah-Sokar-Osiris the great god, dwelling in the

¹ Here for the first time among these stelae the "to" is surely written.

² The sex of the deceased remains obscure because of the imperfectly preserved hair and the unusual style of costume.

³ Cf. the title *šdm š*, "hearer of the call (i.e., servant)."

⁴ Cf. Min's epithets on Cairo stela No. 22171.

⁵ Cairo 22171 came from Akhmim.

midst of the sanctuary;¹ Isis the great, the mother of the god, dwelling in the midst of Akhmim; and Anubis, lord of the 'splendid land,' 'him who is in the oasis,'¹ before the hall of the god; that they may give



TEXT OF NO. 31678

a mortuary offering of bread and beer, oxen and geese, (and) provide the (magical) protection of Osiris Pediese, son of 'Nepernakht', offspring of the housemistress 'Benret'."

31654. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF TUTUSIRWER.² AKHMIM. PTOLEMAIC PERIOD. PLATE XXIII.

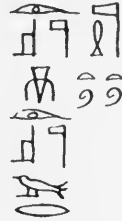
This incised stela still retains traces of red on the wings of the sun-disk and on the figures. Its surface, especially at our right, shows traces of brownish yellow.

"Osiris the priest and servant of the god, Tutusirwer," is seen worshipping Osiris, Horus, Isis, and Nephthys. The prayer is addressed, in the same terms as those found on the preceding stela,

¹ Though written here with the "coffin" sign only, occasional phonetic spellings accompanied by that sign show that in this context we should regularly read *štyl*. Cf. Erman and Grapow, *Aeg. Wb.*, IV, p. 559.

² Or "Tutusir the Elder"?

to Osiris and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris.¹ It continues with the naming of "Isis the great, the mother of the god, dwelling in the midst of Akhmim 'in' the house of Isis the great in the midst of Akhmim; Anubis



- ① Looks like \dagger , *y_my*; but cf. *hry-yb* in next line and *y_my* in 4th line.
- ② With beard, as in same phrase in Cairo stela No. 22035.
- ③ Sign *tyt*? Used for *t*? Cf. same(?) sign used for *ty* in *glety* in our stela No. 31671, line 4.

TEXT OF NO. 31654

the lord of the 'splendid land,' Anubis before the hall of the god, Anubis 'dwelling in the oasis'; (that all these deities may) provide the (magical) protection of Osiris the priest and servant of the god, Tutusirwer, son of the priest and servant of the god Tutushu, de-

¹ The sign above the "land" sign in line 2 of the prayer, though transcribed as z, must be read as s.

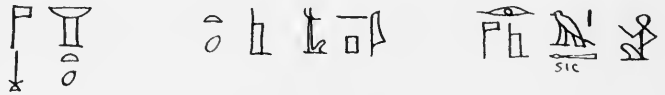
ceased, son of Nesimin, deceased, offspring of the housemistress, the musician¹ of Min, 'Nofret'. 'Total, five.'²

31279. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE VOTIVE STELA WITH FIGURE OF HORUS. PTOLEMAIC PERIOD. PLATE XXIV.

The sunken relief figure on this stela depicts the sun-god Horus in falcon form, wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. Above him flutters as usual the winged sun-disk with uraei, this time beneath the symbol of the "sky." Over the falcon's back we see once more the sun-disk, this time encircled by a uraeus. The burning sting of the venom of this sacred cobra presumably caused its association with the sun and thence with deified Egyptian royalty. A similar votive tablet in the Cairo Museum³ bears the name "Ptolemy." The Field Museum tablet, however, is entirely unscrubbed. No traces of coloring remain.

31667. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF HOR. AKHMIM? PTOLEMAIC PERIOD. PLATE XXV.

The surface of this stela has been pitted by the action of salts. It has been discolored at top and bottom, apparently by a modern preservative.



TEXT OF NO. 31667

¹ The *yhy* sign is similarly made in No. 31671, line 2.

² Though this seems to be the reading, it makes an unusual ending. If we grant the admissibility of this type of ending, we may assume further that the scribe has miscounted, for he has named only four people. Or have we here by any chance a memorandum referring to the number of figures in the scene?

³ Cairo 22164.

"Hor, deceased," appears praying before "Osiris," "Anubis," "Isis," and "Nephthys the sister of the god (Osiris)." The prayer below reads: "An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris presiding over the West, the great god, the lord of Abydos; Sokar-Osiris dwelling in the midst of the sanctuary; Isis the divine; Nephthys the sister of the god; Anubis, lord of the 'splendid land'; Imset, Hapi, Duamutef, (and) Kebehsenuf; that they may give a mortuary offering of bread and beer, oxen and geese, incense, clothing, everything good and pure, (and) provide the (magical) protection of Osiris the priest, the '*ymy*'-*yz*', the *hzk*-priest, Hor, deceased, son of the priest, the '*ymy*'-*yz*', the *hzk*-priest, Nejemibre, deceased, offspring of the housemistress, the musician of Min, Tesherehit,¹ deceased, forever and ever."

31273. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF JEHOR. AKHMIM? PTOLEMAIC PERIOD. PLATE XXVI.

The inscriptions on this stela are incised and the figures are in sunken relief. Traces of red remain on and below the winged sun-disk. The "sky" symbol separates this from the scene below, where "Osiris Jehor" is praying to "Harakhte,² lord of the sky," "Osiris the great god," "Anubis, lord of the 'splendid land,'" "Isis," and "Nephthys."

The six-line prayer reads: "An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris presiding over the West, the great god, the lord of Abydos; Sokar-Osiris dwelling in the midst of the sanctuary; Isis the divine; Nephthys the sister of the god; Anubis, lord of the 'splendid land,' before the hall of the god, him who is upon the Viper Mountain; Imset, Hapi, Duamutef, (and) Kebehsenuf; that they may give a mortuary offering of bread and beer, oxen and geese, incense, [... everything good and] pure which the sky gives and the earth produces and the Nile brings³ from <his> cavern, ¹(and) the sweet breath of the north wind¹ to the spirit of Osiris Jehor, deceased, son of Thutir'rekhsu^{1,4} deceased, offspring of the housemistress

¹ The sign which looks like *šd* must be read *mḥ*. Cf. the same name on stela No. 31270 and in Ranke's list.

² The sun-disk of Re seems not to be present on the falcon's head. The two "horizon" signs over his back are not wholly certain.

³ The text mistakenly inserts here, "to thee."

⁴ For the apparent *Dḥwtj-yr-(y)ḥt.š* read *Dḥwtj-yr-(r)ḥ-š(w)?* See Ranke, I, p. 407, No. 17.

Te'repet', justified <in> the presence of Osiris the great god, the ruler of eternity."¹

Of the very numerous Ptolemaic stelae in Cairo naming Jehors³ all but three of those cited in Kamal's index (No. 22031 from Abydos, Nos. 22058 and 22112 from Assuan) came from Akhmim. So it is probable that this Field Museum stela also came from that site.

31269. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF NESIMIN. AKHMIM. PTOLEMAIC PERIOD. PLATE XXVII.

The scene and inscriptions on this stela are incised as usual. There are no traces of color. The priest Nesimin is shown praying before "Osiris-Wennofer, ruler of the West, lord of eternity, king of the gods," "Horus the avenger of his father," and "Hathor dwelling in the midst of the desert." The offerings on the table before Osiris consist of four loaves, two geese, a blue lotus blossom, and two lotus buds. Two jars appear to be suspended from the table. The columns of inscription before Nesimin read: "Osiris the priest Nesimin, son of the priest of Min, Nesihor, he says: 'I have come unto thee, Wennofer, great god, ruler of the West, that I may see thee and that I may praise thy beauty. Mayest thou grant that my soul shall follow thy spirit while my body abides in the realm of the dead and my name abides upon earth. May I go forth by day without ceasing to behold the sun when he shines.'"

The much longer prayer in the horizontal lines below says: "An offering which the king gives to Osiris-Wennofer, the great god, ruler of the West; Sokar-Osiris dwelling in the midst of Akhmim; Hathor dwelling in the midst of the desert; (and) Horus, lord of the desert; that they may give a mortuary offering of bread and beer, oxen and geese, (and) a good remembrance in Akhmim to the spirit of Osiris the priest, the servant of Horus, in charge of the mysteries of the mother of the god, the great *w'b*-priest of Thoth and his companions, the *h3p*-priest of Min, the pure-handed one in charge of the mysteries of his divine ennead, stately of step in the seats of the lords,³ '(with) the image of Anubis over his eyes,¹ follower of his lord at his every festival, untiring in performing his every purifica-

¹ The text adds, "Twice." If *dt* alone is to be repeated, the second *dt* might be translated, "forever."

² For the Greek spellings, "Teós," etc., see Preisigke, *Namenbuch*.

³ The knife after *šwt* may be a late phonetic determinative; cf. its use with *šst* (Erman and Grapow, *Aeg. Wb.*, I, p. 20). Are "the lords" the gods or the dead? Or should we translate *m šwt nbw* as "everywhere," assuming that the recumbent lion can at this late stage stand for *nb*, "all," as well as for *nb*, "lord"?

tion, . . . doing justice so that the great ones rejoice at hearing what he says, mighty ¹(and) strong¹ . . . in 'exalting¹ him, one who went upon the water of his god¹ (and) spoke in behalf of his territory ¹(and) protected¹² his servants, Nesimin, son of the priest Nesihor, son of the similarly titled Nesimin, born of the musician of Min, Muthotep, deceased. O Osiris, priest of Min, Nesimin, mayest thou behold Re when he rises in life; may his rays mingle with thy mummy. Mayest thou praise Atum when he sets in the western mountains; may thy soul renew its youth with him. Mayest thou cross <in> the *nšmt*-bark without ceasing thy following of Wennofer at his every festival. Mayest thou enter into the cave ¹of the wind¹. ¹Mayest thou be in his vicinity early in the morning.¹ Mayest thou receive cakes upon the pure offering-table after the god at his meals. May thy name be remembered at the steps of the temple of Min, beside the great god, at the feast ¹on the first day of each ten-day period¹, thou being one among the retinue of Osiris. Mayest thou go forth as a living soul, mayest thou assume any form at will, while thy body abides in the realm of eternity and thy name abides in Akhmim ¹(and) Senu¹ without its perishing forever."

31683. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF PETOWE.³ AKHMIM. PTOLEMAIC PERIOD. PLATE XXVIII.

The now brownish surface of this incised stela shows no traces of paint. The winged sun-disk is labeled "the lord of the sky, the Edfuan, the great god." Beneath the "sky" symbol which follows, "Petowe, deceased," worships "Osiris presiding over <the Wes>t, the great god, exercising (magical) protection," "Anubis," "Isis," and "Nephthys." Petowe's name, as written, confronts his figure, though it should normally face in the same direction.

Below comes the prayer: "An offering which the king gives to Osiris presiding over the West, the great god, the lord of Abydos; Sokar-Osiris the great god, [dwelling in the midst of the sanctuary]; Isis the great, the mother of the god, dwelling in the midst of Akhmim; Nephthys, the sister of the god; (and) Anubis before the hall of the god, the embalmer, the great god, lord of the 'splendid <land>'; that they may give a mortuary offering of bread [and beer], oxen and geese, wine and milk, incense and ointment, clothing and libation, to

¹ That is, who was subject to his god.

² Read *hw*?

³ This name, in both of its hieroglyphic occurrences, looks like "Pebatowe," but the demotic writing supports the simpler reading.

[the spirit] of Osiris Petowe, deceased, son of Pediese, deceased, offspring of the housemistress [Ta]res,¹ deceased, forever."² The inscription continues in demotic with the name and parentage of the deceased owner, apparently followed by other personal names the connection of which is obscure.³

31661. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA WITH CONFUSED TEXT. PTOLEMAIC PERIOD. PLATE XXIX.

This incised tablet is of hard pinkish limestone, its surface darkened, perhaps by treatment for salts. The stone thickens toward



TEXT OF NO. 31661

the base. Under the winged sun-disk, representing Horus, "the Edfuan," a man whose name seems to be Hapernesu worships Horus and Isis, before whom are written not simply their names but the phrases "Utterance by Horus" and "Utterance by Isis" respectively. The would-be prayer below is a strange hodgepodge of bits out of more normal inscriptions. With emendations, it seems to begin:

¹ Cf. Ranke, I, p. 365, No. 6. The tail of the ¹³-bird survives. A lady's name Tas, written with just the same signs we assume here, except that the *r* is absent, occurs on Cairo stela No. 22006, from Abydos.

² The somewhat corrupt hieroglyphic text is so clear in Plate XXVIII, if followed with the translation in hand, that no line drawing is given.

³ Data on demotic due to Dr. Edgerton.

"Year 11—oxen and geese—may she present to Osiris the hearer (fem.) of the words of Neit, that she (Neit?) may purify Osiris Haperna(!) <si> <be>fore him . . ." These uncertain and disconnected phrases are followed by others the application of which is even less clear. The stela was either wrought by a thoroughly ignorant man or else is a forgery.

31268. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF ISIKHEB. DENDERA? PTOLEMAIC PERIOD. PLATE XXX.

Traces of colors are preserved: red on the disk and wings of the sun, on the flesh of Horus and Osiris, and in many signs; blue in some of the lower dividing-lines and signs; dark yellow in some of the signs. This stela has been broken in two crosswise below the center, but is well mended. At its top the winged sun, labeled at each side "the Edfuan," hovers under a curved "sky" symbol. The two uraei depending from the disk wear respectively the crown of Upper and that of Lower Egypt. The deceased lady then appears, praying before Re (falcon-headed), Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys, who are distinguished by their headdresses.

The prayer below is addressed to the sun-god: "O Re, lord of rays, who risest in the eastern horizon of the sky, shine thou in the face of Osiris the housemistress Isikheb, deceased, daughter of the priest of Horus of Edfu (and) priest of Hathor of Dendera, Amenhotep, deceased, born of the housemistress Titenese, deceased, when she praises thee in the morning,¹ when she makes offering to² thee in the evening. May the soul of Osiris Isikheb, deceased, ascend with thee to the sky, setting out in the morning bark, mooring in the evening bark, mingling." As the last line of the stela has now been filled, the inscription stops abruptly in the midst of a sentence.³ This prayer is the beginning of the post-Empire version of Spell 15 of the Book of the Dead.

31673. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF INARÖS. AKHMIM. PTOLEMAIC PERIOD. PLATE XXXI.

The incised surface has been darkened, perhaps by preservative treatment. Much red and green coloring is preserved, though no longer brilliant.

¹ A pun on the root *dw*³ used for both "praise" and "morning."

² Another pun is implied here, for the primary meaning of *šhlp* is "to put to rest," "to make or let (the sun) set."

³ Except for minor breaks, our plate shows the foregoing inscription clearly. The first line probably began with a *y*. The divine figure below it probably wore the sun-disk with uraeus as in the first line. In the last line parts of *c* and of the *m'ndt*-bark survive around the break.

The scene below shows the deceased praying before Osiris, Horus, Isis, Nephthys, and Hathor(?). The names which should have been written in the columns provided before the deities have been omitted. The two columns of text before the deceased are unfortunately illegible in spite of their appearance of readability.

The prayer which follows reads: "An offering which the king <gives> to Osiris presiding over the West, the great god, dwelling in the midst of Akhmim; Sokar¹ the great god, dwelling in the midst of the sanctuary; Isis the great, the mother of the god, dwelling in the midst of Akhmim; all the great gods; Anubis; the two sisters;² Imset, Hapi, Duamutef, and Kebehsenuf; Anubis before the hall of the god; <. . .>,³ deceased. May I see thee, may my 'spirit'⁴ enter into the sky and my body into Duat. May it (my spirit⁴) behold Osiris presiding over the West together with his divine ennead forever and ever." The text continues with five lines of demotic. The first four of them utilize less than two-thirds of the width of the stela; the last line is of full length. The first line includes mention of the father, Pedimin.⁵

31653. ROUND-TOPPED SANDSTONE STELA OF PEDIUPWAWET.⁶
AKHMIM? PTOLEMAIC PERIOD? PLATE XXXII.

The scenes and inscriptions are incised. Some red remains on the sun-disk, on the bodies of the deities and the deceased, etc.

Between the two uraei depending from the sun-disk stands that god's designation, "the Edfuan, the great god, the lord of the sky."

In the main scene, beneath the "sky" symbol, "Pediupwawet" presents offerings before the squatting deities "Osiris," "Isis," "Horus the son of Isis," and "Nephthys."⁷

¹ The second sign after Sokar's name may possibly be the falcon-headed Re wearing sun-disk on head.

² Presumably Isis and Nephthys.

³ The scribe has apparently omitted the prayer proper: "that they may give a mortuary offering of . . . to . . ."

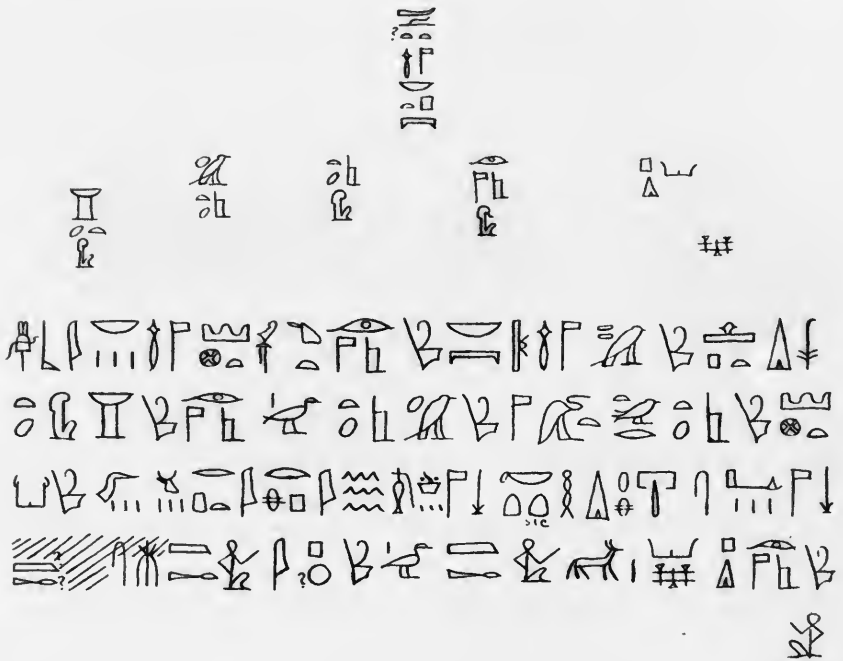
⁴ The pronoun is masculine, hence cannot refer to "body," which is feminine.

⁵ The demotic writing is too small to be readily legible from a photograph, and the stela itself is too well housed to be readily accessible for study. Hence Dr. Edgerton has not been able to furnish further details.

⁶ Spelled "Petophōis" in Greek; see Preisigke, *Namenbuch*.

⁷ Ptolemaic stelae in which deities appear squatting in a bark are quite common; cf. Kamal. Otherwise, however, this posture seems rare. One good parallel, representing Osiris, Isis, and Thoth, to whom the king himself is seen offering the "field" symbol, occurs on a private stela (No. 13943 in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago) dated in year 11 of King Necho, son of Psamtik I, i.e., in 598 B.C. This latter stela, of limestone, is, like the Field Mu-

The four-line hieroglyphic prayer reads: "An offering which the king gives to Harakhte the great god, the lord of the sky; to Osiris presiding over the West, the great god, the lord of Abydos; to Isis the great, mother of the god; to Horus the son of Isis, son of Osiris;



TEXT OF NO. 31653

(and) to Nephthys the sister of the god; that they may give a mortuary offering, giving oil, incense, libation, wine, milk, oxen, and geese to the spirit of Osiris Pediupwawet, deceased,¹ son of 'Pekhi', deceased, born of . . . , 'deceased¹.' One line of demotic is added. It reads merely: "Osiris Pediupwawet, 'dec[ea]sed¹.'"²

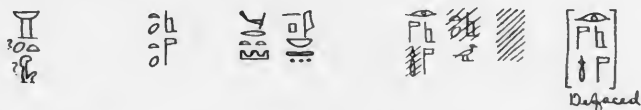
seum one, round-topped, surmounted by the winged disk, and has its main inscription written in horizontal lines. The parallelism here suggests that this Field Museum stela is perhaps older than the Ptolemaic period to which we have assigned it.

¹ A possible *t* and diagonal stroke visible in our plate between the words *m³* and *brw* are more likely to be accidental marks on the stone.

² So Dr. Edgerton, who calls attention to the highly unusual spelling of the verb for "give" with *d* in the middle of the demotic writing of the name.

31270. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF PEHET. AKHMIM. PTOLEMAIC PERIOD. PLATE XXXIII.

On this incised stela all the designs and inscriptions were originally sketched in red. A ram within the sun-disk on the bark had been outlined in black and the spaces between his legs filled with solid red which was perhaps intended to be cut away as the part above his



TEXT OF NO. 31270

back has been. But the cutting around him remains incomplete. Red still appears on the garments of Osiris and Isis and on the flesh of the deceased. The lines ruled between the columns of inscription above the figures in the main scene are likewise red. The surface, having been somewhat rubbed, now has a generally pinkish cast. A dark spot above the table of offerings is a flint nodule.

Under the winged sun the bark of the sun-god sails upon the "sky" symbol. The bark is occupied by a huge sun-disk within which is the partially carved figure of a ram. The ram and the disk together thus symbolize the compound deity Amon-Re.

In the main scene the deceased, whose name has here been left unwritten, worships "[Osiris the great god]," "[Horus the son of]

Isis, the son of Osiris, the great god," "Anubis,¹ lord of the 'splendid land,' " "Isis the divine," and "Nephthys."

The long prayer reads: "An offering which the king gives to Osiris presiding over the West, the great god, the lord of Abydos; Sokar-Osiris dwelling in the midst of Akhmim; Horus the avenger of <his father>; Anubis, lord of the 'splendid land'; Isis the great, mother of the god, dwelling in the midst of Akhmim; (and) Nephthys the sister of the god; that they may give a mortuary offering of bread and beer, oxen and geese, incense, clothing, (and) everything good and pure to the spirit of Osiris the priest, the '*<y-my>-yz*', the *hzk*-priest, Pehet, deceased, called Nesihor, deceased, son of the priest, the '*<y-my>-yz*', the *hzk*-priest, Nesimin, deceased, offspring of the housemistress, the musician of Min, Teshere-mehit, deceased. He says: 'O Re, 'grant that thy ray(s) may . . . unto¹ the darkness, 'thy face < . . . >'. The priest, the '*<y-my>-yz*', the *hzk*-priest, Pehet, he says:² 'I (was) one worthy 'in the presence of¹ his father, praised of his mother, the favorite of his brothers and sisters, attached to his relatives and his 'city-gods'. I (was) one who did what his god desired every day.' 'O¹ Re-Harakhte, lord of radiance, rising in the eastern horizon of the sky, mayest thou shine in the face of Osiris the priest, the '*<y-my>-yz*', the *hzk*-priest, Pehet, deceased, son of the priest Nesimin, deceased, offspring of the housemistress Teshere-mehit, forever.'" The last sentence, like the prayer on No. 31268 (p. 57), is taken from Spell 15 of the post-Empire Book of the Dead.

31675. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF PESHEREME HIT. AKHMIM. PTOLEMAIC PERIOD. PLATE XXXIV.

The incised surface is now brownish, perhaps from treatment. There are faint traces of red color which may originally have covered the whole area of the inscription.

Between the uraei depending from the winged sun-disk is written the name of that deity, "the Edfuan, the great god, the lord of the sky." At each side lies a wild dog or jackal labeled "Anubis."

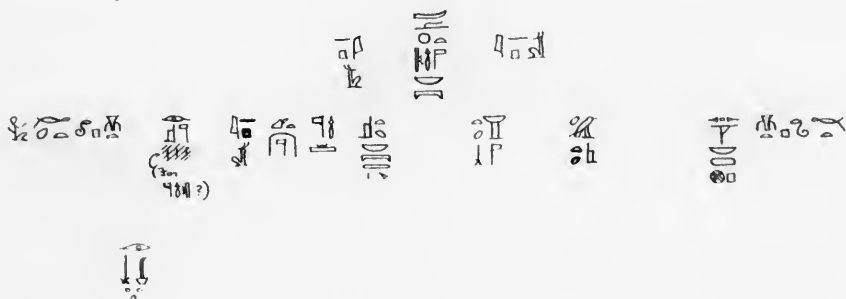
Below the "sky" symbol on which the jackals rest are carved two scenes, back to back. At our right "the priest Peshere-mehit" worships "Min the lord of Akhmim," who stands before his shrine, "Horus the son of Isis," and "Nephthys the sister of the god." At our left "the priest Peshere-mehit" is "offering incense" to "Osiris

¹ The *n* is merely sketched in black; it has not been cut.

² The *d* is merely sketched in red, now very faint; it has not been cut.

'the great god', "Anubis before the hall of the god, the great god," and "Isis, mistress of sky and earth."

The long prayer below is so similar to that on No. 31267, described next, that the translations of the two are here given together.¹ They read as follows: "An offering which the king gives to Osiris presiding over the West, the great god, the lord of Abydos; Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, the great god, dwelling in the midst of the sanctuary; Min-Re, lord of Akhmim, king of the gods, the living 'soul' who is in



TEXT OF NO. 31675, UPPER PART

the house of the moon(-god);² Horus the avenger of his father Osiris, the comforter³ of his mother Isis as the great one 'who succeeded'⁴ his father; Isis the great, the mother of the god,⁵ mistress of sky and earth;⁶ Nephthys, excellent divine sister of her brother; Anubis before the hall of the god, the great god, lord of the 'splendid land';⁷ Imset, Hapi, Duamutef, and Kebehsenuf; all the gods and goddesses who are in Akhmim (and) Senu; that they may give a mortuary offering of bread and beer, oxen and geese, wine and milk,

¹ Cf. especially Cairo stelae Nos. 22045, 22074, and 22077, all from Akhmim.

² Cf. Gauthier, *Dict. des noms géog.*, IV, p. 47, and the references there given. J. H. Walker in Petrie, *Athribis*, Plate XVIII, has as a variant instead of our crescent a disk between horns. *Ibid.*, Plate XVII, he apparently had a form like ours but misread it as a coil-shaped *w*. No. 31267 inserts here "'in' the seat of the 'Pleasant One' (Hathor?), mistress of Akhmim."

³ Literally, "him who rejoiced the heart."

⁴ With *n ht* for *ymy-ht*?

⁵ No. 31675 inserts "dwelling in the midst of Akhmim."

⁶ "And earth" is lost in No. 31267. No. 31675 adds a slightly uncertain phrase: "Sebek, lord of the inundation."

⁷ Only one of the two signs needed for "lord" and "land" respectively is present in No. 31675.

incense and ointment,¹ clothing, libation, everything good and pure, pleasant and sweet which the sky gives and the earth produces and the Nile brings forth from his cavern, even the viands whereon the gods live,² the pleasant breeze which comes forth from³ Shu (and) the good north wind which comes forth from Tefnut⁴ to the nose of⁵ the spirit of Osiris⁶ the great priest of Senu, the servant of Horus, Pesherehit, deceased, son of Osiris the priest Jehor, deceased, born of the housemistress, the musician of Min, Tediisir. Praise of Harakhte, lord of radiance, rising in the eastern horizon of the sky: Mayest thou shine in the face of Osiris the priest Pesherehit, deceased, son of Osiris the priest Jehor, deceased, born of the housemistress, the musician of Min, Tediisir, deceased. May he praise 'thee', . . . 'make offering to' thy . . . 'as the living soul of Upwawet'. May the soul of Osiris Pesherehit, deceased, ascend with thee to the 'upper' sky in the morning-bark; may it live in thy presence forever and ever." The last sentences, beginning with "Praise of Harakhte," are based on Spell 15 of the Book of the Dead.

31267. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF TEREPEL. AKH-MIM. PTOLEMAIC PERIOD. PLATE XXXV.

The shelly porous limestone is incised with scenes and inscriptions very like those of No. 31675 above. The line divisions and the signs and to some extent the figures in the scenes still show many traces of the red with which they were originally outlined. The "sky" band and the sun-disk also show some red.

The vaulted upper portion is decorated like No. 31675 except that the plumage of the sun's wings is carved in more detail and that the two jackals are not labeled. The two scenes back to back below the "sky," this time separated by a vertical line, represent the same deities as on No. 31675. Even the inscriptions in the scene at our right have the same contents, except that this time the deceased is a

¹ "Ointment" lost in No. 31267.

² No. 31675 omits "whereon the gods live."

³ "From" is omitted by No. 31675.

⁴ No. 31675 inserts: "the life which comes forth from Re, the 'dnz' (Cairo 22074 has *znf*, "blood") which comes forth from Osiris, and the fragrance (*ydt*) which comes forth from Isis."

⁵ Our reading *r šrt* is based on Cairo 22077 and the appropriateness of the breeze at the nostrils. Cf. also our No. 31277 (below). Otherwise it might be preferable to read *r hnt*, "before."

⁶ Beginning here with the name of the deceased the two texts differ completely. We continue with that of No. 31675.

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TEXT OF NO. 31267, UPPER PART

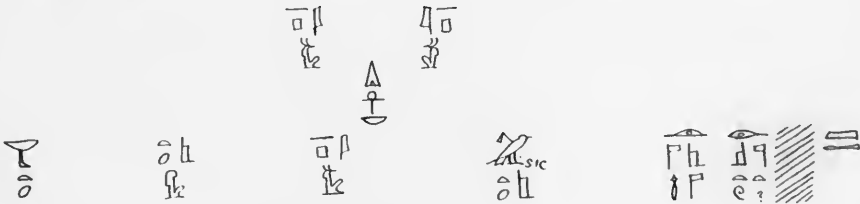
lady, "Terepet,¹ deceased," and that she is stated to be "offering incense to the city-god." In the scene at our left "Terepet, deceased," is "praising the [great] god . . ." The deities before whom she stands are "Osiris the great god," "Anubis before the hall of the god," and "Isis, mistress of the sky."

The long prayer which occupies the rest of the stela has been translated above as far as the name of the deceased. Beginning there we find "the musician of Min, Terepet, deceased, daughter of Osiris the priest, the *ymy-ysz*, the chief *hzk*-priest of Senu, the servant of Horus, Hor, deceased, born of the housemistress, the musician of Min, Muthotep, deceased. 'May . . . live' forever and ever; 'may there live' the soul of the . . . , the chamberlain . . ." The badly broken last line, left untranslated, is written in demotic.²

31277. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF TUTPEO. AKHMIM. PTOLEMAIC PERIOD. PLATE XXXVI.

Pinkish veinings in the stone itself crop out irregularly on its incised surface.

The jackals beneath the winged sun-disk are each labeled "Anubis." Between the scepters held in their forepaws is written the



TEXT OF NO. 31277, UPPER PART (exclusive of demotic)

phrase, "given all life." A line of demotic fills the "sky" band above a scene of worship showing "Osiris Tut[peo], deceased," before "Osiris the great god," "Horus < the son > of Isis," "Anubis," "Isis," and "Nephthys." The demotic gives only the owner's name and parentage: "Osiris Tutpeo, son of Osiris Hor, < his > mother (being) Tesherehin, 'ju[stife]d' forever."³

¹ Cf. the name "Terenpet" found on No. 31276 (pp. 68 f.).

² No certain readings can be derived from a photograph, and the original is now not readily accessible for study.

³ Demotic translated by Dr. Edgerton, who notes that *m*^{3c} in *m*^{3c} *hrw* (if this is intended) is here written with *m* only. We translate that phrase here "justified,"

The prayer below¹ reads: "An offering which the king gives to Osiris presiding over the West, the great god, the lord < of Abydos >; Ptah-Sokar-Osiris the great god, dwelling in the midst of the sanctuary; Isis the great, the mother of the god, dwelling in the midst of Akhmim; Nephthys the sister of the god; Anubis before the hall of the god, great god, lord of the 'splendid land'; Imset, Hapi, Duamutef, and Kebehsenuf; that they may give a mortuary offering of bread and beer, oxen and geese, wine and milk, incense, ointment, clothing, everything good and pure, sweet and pleasant which the sky gives and the earth produces to the nose of the spirit of Osiris Tutpeo,² deceased, son of Hor, deceased, born of Teshheremin, deceased, forever and ever."

31276. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF TEKERTHOTH. AKHMIM?³ PTOLEMAIC PERIOD. PLATE XXXVII.

All the surfaces of this stone are darkened. Much red remains on the sun-disk and wings, on the bodies of Horus and Osiris, and on the sun-disk on the head of Horus. Both figures of the deceased show stripes of red on his garments. Parts of the band of rectangles are red; some of the narrower divisions are black; other coloring is lost. The two jackals are black with red neckbands. The hieroglyphs in the inscriptions were apparently outlined in black before cutting.

The winged sun is called "the Edfuan" as usual. The two uraeus serpents depending from it wear the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt respectively, and are appropriately labeled "Nekhbet" and "Uto."

Two scenes of worship below the band of rectangles are divided by a one-column inscription: "Osiris Tekerthoth, deceased, daughter of Ankhapi, deceased." At our left "Osiris Tekerthoth, deceased," is "praising Re four times." The sun-god's figure is, however, labeled not "Re" but "Harakhte." In the scene at our right "Osiris Tekerthoth, deceased," appears before "Osiris."

rather than merely "deceased" as usual (cf. p. 16, n. 2), because of the "forever" which follows. The three names occur in Greek as "Totoēs" (without *p*³⁻³), "Hōros," and "Semminis" respectively; see variants also in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*.

¹ Clear enough in our plate.

² The name might also be read "Tut the Elder," except for the position of the seated man determinative, which comes at the end of the whole phrase.

³ Another Tekerthoth is mentioned in Cairo stela No. 22149, from Abydos; cf. Ranke, I, p. 371, No. 13. However, the name Ankhapi, borne by our lady's father, occurs on Nos. 22009 and 22032 only, both from Akhmim; and the name Terenpet, borne by her mother, is found in various spellings on Cairo 22040, '45, '52, '87, '185, and '238, all from Akhmim.

The text below says: "Osiris Tekerthoth, deceased, offspring of the housemistress Terenpet, deceased, she says in doing homage to the lord of eternity: 'Hail to thee, Harakhte-Khepri, who came into being of himself. How beautiful is thy dawning in the horizon, thou who illuminest the Two Lands with thy¹ rays while all the gods exult as they see the king of the sky, 'the lord,' with the uraeus abiding on thy head as it takes its place on thy forehead,² while the crown of Upper and the crown of Lower Egypt abide on thy brow.'"³ Terenpet's hymn is another selection from Spell 15 of the Book of the Dead.

31677. ROUND-TOPPED MICA SCHIST STELA OF SHESEPMIN. KOPTOS? PTOLEMAIC PERIOD. PLATE XXXVIII.

This incised stela of rather unusual material bears no traces of color. Long scratches, somewhat suggesting the crocodile-god Sebek resting on a shrine, disfigure the first four lines of the main text.

Beneath the winged sun at top sits the ibis of Thoth, his beak resting on the feather symbolic of "truth."

Below the starry sky on which Thoth appears to rest "Osiris Shesepmin" stands by a table of offerings, his hands upraised in worship before "Osiris presiding over <the West>," "Isis the great, the mother of the god," and the ibis-headed "Thoth."

The prayer that follows reads: "An offering which the king gives to Osiris of Koptos, presiding over Hatnub, the great god, Wennofer, justified,⁴ king of the gods, lord of perpetuity, ruler of eternity, great sovereign in the realm of the dead; Isis the great, the mother of the god, lady of the sky, mistress of the Two Lands, who protected⁵ her brother (Osiris), who overthrew his enemies, who put her son Horus upon the throne of his father, the righteous lord; Thoth the doubly great, lord of Hermopolis, lover of righteousness;⁶ that they may give a mortuary offering of bread and beer, oxen and

¹ The Egyptian uses here the third person, "his."

² Literally, "in thy head-and-neck." Or may the last words, *m wsr.t.k*, mean "as thy symbol of power"? Cf. Erman and Grapow, *Aeg. Wb.*, I, p. 363.

³ These texts are all clear in our plate.

⁴ This is the phrase *m³ hrw* which in the case of mortal dead we have been translating as "deceased."

⁵ Read *hwt*.

⁶ An Empire occurrence of this epithet of Thoth is mentioned by P. Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt* (Oxford, 1922), p. 187.

geese, wine and milk, incense and libation to Shesepmin, deceased, son of Pemin, deceased, offspring of the housemistress Tered, deceased."



TEXT OF NO. 31677

ROMAN

31688. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA WITH SOMEWHAT CONFUSED TEXT. ROMAN PERIOD. PLATE XXXIX.

The surface of this crudely incised stela has been much affected by the action of salts. It is bordered and divided by bands of wide red and narrow black rectangles. The background of the scene was

probably yellow, with the figures of the deities in red. The garments of the deceased were originally sketched in black and were in part left uncut.

Under the winged sun comes an unusual statement which apparently reads: "May the king give life and offerings of food." Then

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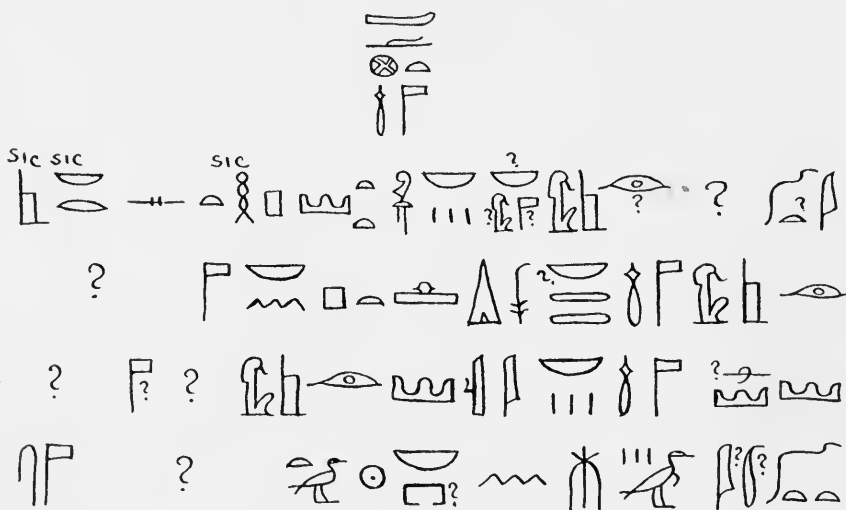
beneath a "sky" symbol the deceased appears worshipping the four sons of Horus. All five figures wear cones upon their heads. No labels accompany them.

The first line of the main inscription below is framed above by a double and below by a triple row of falcon plumage with black in the incisions. This line, together with lines 2, 4, and 6 below, has a red ground; lines 3 and 5 have a yellow ground. These six lines of text show considerable confusion in the use of signs, a confusion natural to a writer quite ignorant of the language of the hieroglyphs. That language was indeed long since dead in the Roman period here represented. With the help of various emendations, however, we may read: "<An offering> which the king gives (to) Atum, lord of

the Two Lands of Heliopolis, that he may give a mortuary offering and offerings of food (and) beer¹ to Osiris the songstress of the temple of Amon, Inarōs,² deceased, 'the' possessor of worthiness <in the presence of>³ the great god, the lord of the sky; daughter of 'Har-keh¹', deceased, 'the' possessor of worthiness <in the presence of>⁴ the great god, the lord of the sky. Her mother (was) the songstress of Amon '(and)' Horus, Tesherenetyah, deceased, ['the'] possessor of worthiness <in the presence of>⁵ the lord of the sky. May the king give offerings of food."

31668. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA WITH CONFUSED TEXT. ROMAN PERIOD. PLATE XL.

The porous stone has been elaborately painted. The sun-disk and the middle third of the feathers of the wings are red; the rest



TEXT OF NO. 31668

of each wing is green or blue-green. Red occurs also on the body and symbol of Nephthys, the dress and symbol of Isis, the disk of Re-Harakhte, the body of Osiris, and the flesh of the deceased. The inscription "the Edfuan" beneath the winged sun, the kilt of

¹ This word has been misplaced in the text so that it stands after "Osiris."

² Clearly feminine here (cf. *mwt.s*, "her mother," below); Ranke has masculine examples only.

³ Emend *r.w* to *hr*. ⁴ Emend *rt* to *hr*. ⁵ Emend *rt* to *hr*.

Anubis, the dress of Nephthys, the flesh of Isis, the figure of the sun-god, the face and drapery of Osiris, and the serpent(?) below the main scene are green or blue-green. The two jackals under the sun's wings, the body of Anubis, the scepters of Nephthys, Isis, and the sun-god (only that of Nephthys still clearly visible), the hair of the deceased, and the lines of inscription below are black. The stela is outlined and its divisions marked off with red, supplemented with black above and below the serpent(?) only.

In the main scene a deceased lady appears before Osiris, Re-Harakhte, Isis, Nephthys, and Anubis. The four-line inscription below is a hit-and-miss combination of misunderstood excerpts from mortuary texts. It reads more or less as follows: "[Utterance by Osiris the lord of the gods,¹ the lords of the West,¹ (and) Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, the great god, 'lord of the Two Lands'. An offering which the king gives 'to the lord of the gods' . . . , the great god, lord of the tomb, Osiris . . . , born of the housemistress Sitre . . . her god." Traces of what may be a demotic memorandum form the beginning of a fifth line.

31662. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF NESIMIN. AKHMIM. ROMAN PERIOD. PLATE XLI.

On this painted stela the sun-disk, uraei, petals of the lotus and top of the jar on the offering-stand, flesh of the deceased, moon-disk of Thoth, skirt and part of the wings of Isis, and bodies of the second and fourth sons of Horus are red, as is the thick stripe between the second and third lines of the inscription below. The rectangles in the borders are red, green, and blue, with perhaps one yellow rectangle, irregularly arranged with narrower black units between them. Parts of the wings of both the sun-disk and Isis, the bodies of the first and third sons of Horus and of Re-Harakhte, the flesh of Isis, and parts of the kilts of Thoth and the deceased are green. The outlines and the inscriptions were sketched in black.

Between the uraei of the winged sun stands his designation: "the great god, lord of the sky, brilliant of plumage." At each side stands his title, "the Edfuan."

The main scene shows "Thoth [the great¹, lord of 'Hermopolis' . . .," leading forward "Osiris the priest of Akhmim, Nesimin, deceased." Thoth, the secretary of the gods, is ibis-headed. He wears the moon-disk on his head and holds his scribal palette in his

¹ Better "lord . . .," as another epithet of Osiris? Cf. plural probably to be read singular in "lord of the tomb" in line 3.

⊕ so originally?

⊕ Read ?

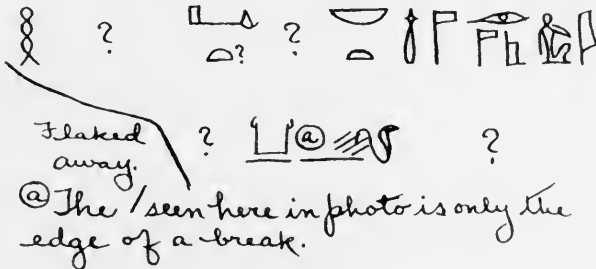
⊕ The ' seen here in photo is only a nick in the stone.

right hand. The gods before whom he is presenting Nesimin are "Re-Harakhte, the great god, chief of the gods," "Isis the great, mother of the god, lady of the sky," and the four sons of Horus.

The text below reads: "An offering which the king gives to Re-Harakhte, the great god, chief of the gods, who comes forth from the horizon, (even) Atum-Re, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis, that he may give a mortuary offering of bread and beer, oxen and geese, incense, clothing, wine, milk, everything good and pure, everything good and sweet and pleasant on which a god lives, all offerings and all viands for the worthy one, the spirit of Osiris the prophet, the priest of Akhmim, the servant of Horus, in charge of the mysteries of the mother of the god, the acquaintance of the king, Nesimin, deceased, son of the similarly titled Inarōs, deceased, born of the housemistress 'Yarti'erow,¹ deceased."

31687. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF AN UNNAMED MAN. ROMAN PERIOD. PLATE XLII.

All the outlines on this crude, painted stela are in black. The sun-disk, every third rectangle in the border, some bands across the



TEXT OF NO. 31687

vase-stand, and three bands accompanying the lines of inscription below were once solid red. The sky and some of the other rectangles may have been yellow.

Two jackals recline beneath the wings of the sun. The scene of worship below them takes place under the "sky" symbol. Since the rectangle over the head of the deceased has been left blank, his name remains unknown. He is worshipping Osiris and Isis. The

¹This name is etymologically similar to the preceding (cf. p. 44, n. 4); it means: "The two eyes (of some god, here unnamed) are against them."

goddess wears not her own symbol but the sun-disk and cow-horns of Hathor, with whom she had long been identified.

The two-line inscription at the bottom is almost illegible; we can only be sure that it is a prayer: "O Osiris, great god, lord of . . . , give . . .¹ for the spirit of"

This stela resembles No. 31681 in arrangement, but is dated later by its style.

31666. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE VOTIVE STELA OF A ROMAN EMPEROR AS PHARAOH. ROMAN PERIOD. PLATE XLII.

The background of this memorial tablet has been cut away so that the scene stands out in low relief. Its framework represents a chapel with cornice. Under a "sky" symbol stands the squat figure of a Roman emperor as Pharaoh, presenting libation(?) and incense before a sphinx Egyptian in attributes but not in style. Over the sphinx hovers the winged sun. The emperor's name remains unknown. It should have been inserted in the misunderstood blank column left in bas-relief in front of his head.

COPTIC

31284. ROUND-TOPPED LIMESTONE STELA OF 'APA JOHANNES'. COPTIC PERIOD. PLATE XLIII.

This stela pictures the deceased in high relief within a chapel the pediment of which is supported by papyrus columns. Part of the surface is covered with an incrustation containing some red coloring

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TEXT OF NO. 31284

matter, all due to natural deposition. Removal of the incrustation across the bottom has revealed a corrupt one-line Coptic inscription which seems to name the deceased as Apa Johannes.²

¹ Though the signs beginning the second line seem the clearest of all, they have proved the most tantalizing.

² I owe to Professor W. H. Worrell of the University of Michigan my feeling of relative certainty in this emendation.

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31694. STELA OF INTEF

76 x 59 cm.

See page 12



31285. STELA OF SITIMPIYOKER

69 x 50 cm.

See page 13



31680. STELA OF MENI

46 x 25 cm.

See page 15



31649. STELA OF MEMI

41 x 26 cm.

See page 16



31664. STELA OF IBNISUTYA. EDFU

49 x 28.5 cm.

See page 18



31685. STELA OF SENHOTEP. KOM OMBO
22 x 14.5 cm.
See page 19



31672. STELA OF NAKHTI AND WAHKA. ABYDOS?
30 x 17.5 cm.
See page 20



31679. STELA OF SEBEK. ABYDOS?

49 x 24.5 cm.

See page 20



31647. STELA OF SEVEN PERSONS. ABYDOS?

35 x 23.5 cm.

See page 24



31650. STELA OF TANEBET AND NEBNOFER. THEBES?

46 x 35.5 cm.

See page 25



31656. STELA OF TEFKET AND HUMATH. ABYDOS?
29 x 23.5 cm.
See page 27



31655. VOTIVE STELA OF HUERHETEF. ABYDOS?
35 x 21 cm.
See page 28



31288. STELA OF THE DOORKEEPER THUTMOSE

104 x 87.5 cm.

See page 29



31281. VOTIVE STELA OF KING AMENHOTEP III

30.5 x 23 cm.

See page 30



31283. STELA OF NAKHTI AND WERTI

25.5 x 19.5 cm.

See page 32



31663. STELA OF USERHET. THEBES?

61 x 42 cm.

See page 33



31652. STELA OF NEFRETIRI. MEMPHIS

67 x 48 cm.

See page 35



31272. STELA OF BEKENAMON AND TENTISHRU. THEBES?

52 x 37 cm.

See page 37



31669. STELA OF TETINOFER

48.5 x 32.5 cm.

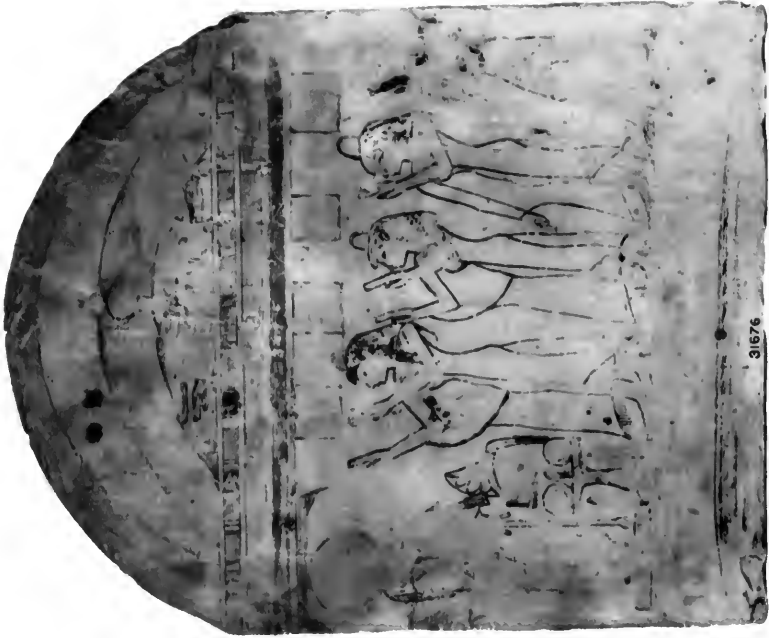
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31660. STELA OF ... HET

22 x 16 cm.

See page 39



31676. STELA OF FOUR UNNAMED PERSONS

30 x 24.5 cm.

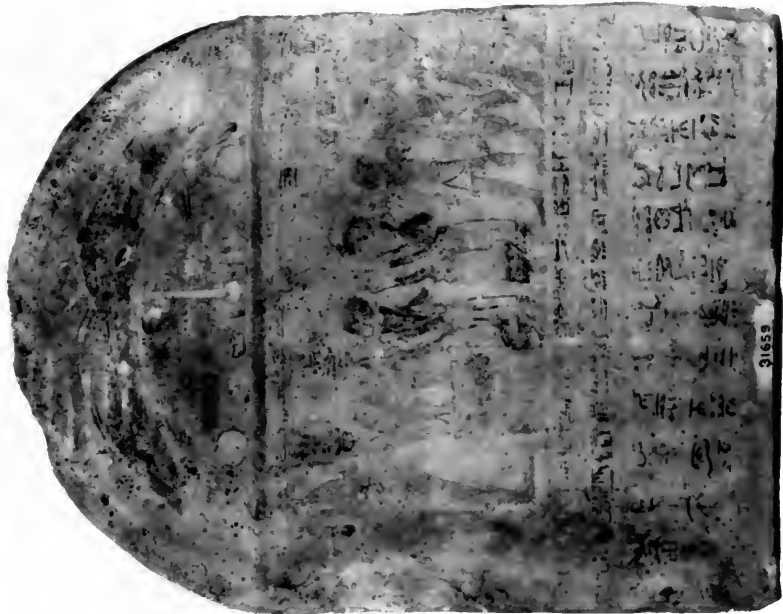
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31681. STELA OF A NAMELESS LADY

32.5 x 22 cm.

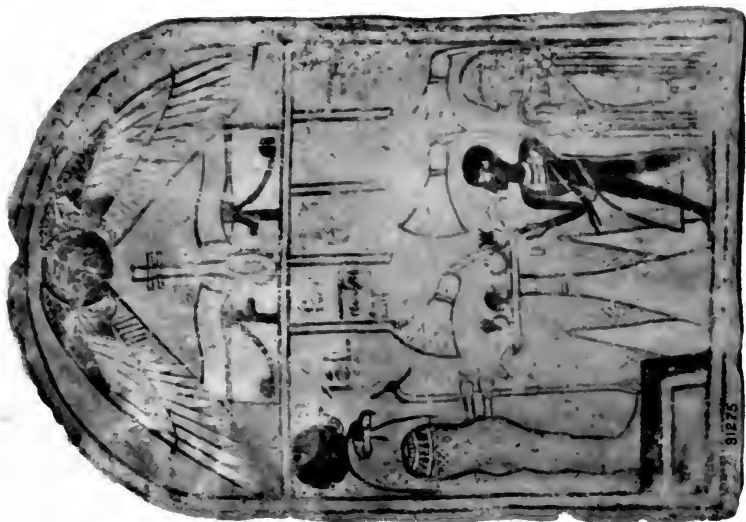
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31659. STELA OF A FAMILY OF FIVE

34 x 27 cm.

See page 41



31275. STELA OF AN UNKNOWN MAN AND WOMAN

37.5 x 26 cm.

See page 43



31280. STELA OF JEKHKHONSFONEKH. THEBES?

32.5 x 23 cm.

See page 43



31657. STELA OF PETOWE

31.5 x 22 cm.

See page 44



31671. STELA OF NETEMPEASHESE. ABYDOS?

35.5 x 27.5 cm.

See page 46



31678. STELA OF PEDIESE. AKHMIM

44.5 x 31.5 cm.

See page 47



31654. STELA OF TUTUSIRWER. AKHMIM

52 x 35 cm.

See page 48



31273. STELA OF JEHOR. AKHMIM?

35.5 x 30.5 cm.

See page 51



31269. STELA OF NESIMIN. AKHMIM

57 x 33.5 cm.

See page 53



31683. STELA OF PETOWE. AKHMIM

40 x 27 cm.

See page 55



31661. STELA WITH CONFUSED TEXT

41 x 23 cm.

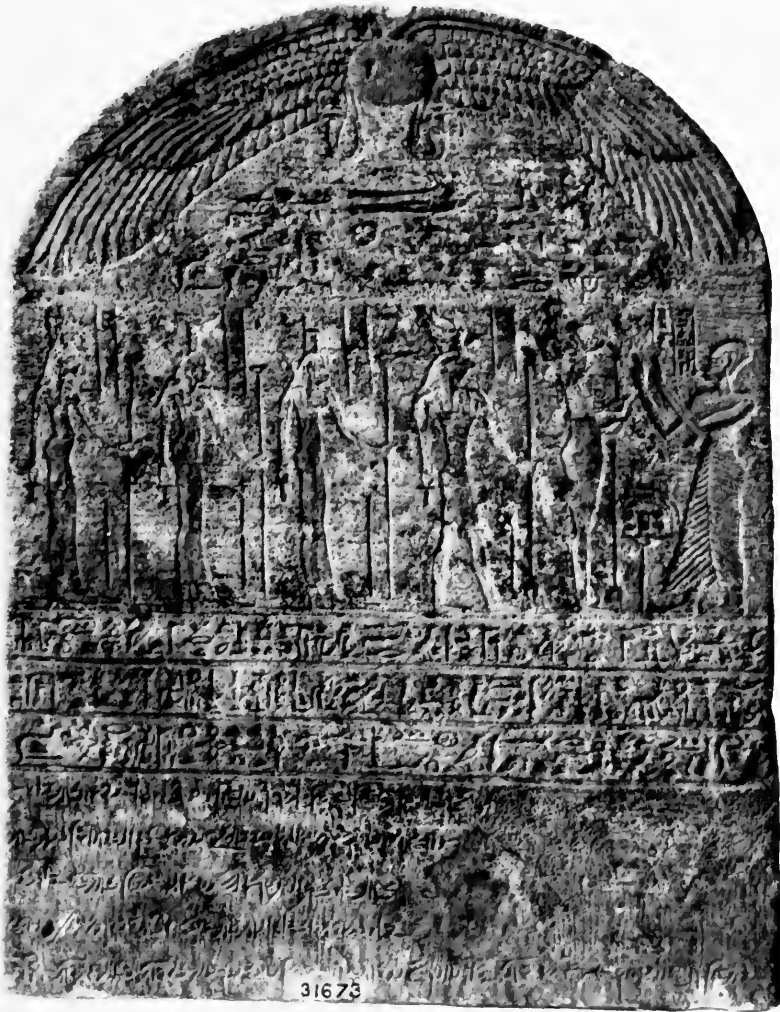
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31268. STELA OF ISIKHEB. DENDERA?

40.5 x 26.5 cm.

See page 57



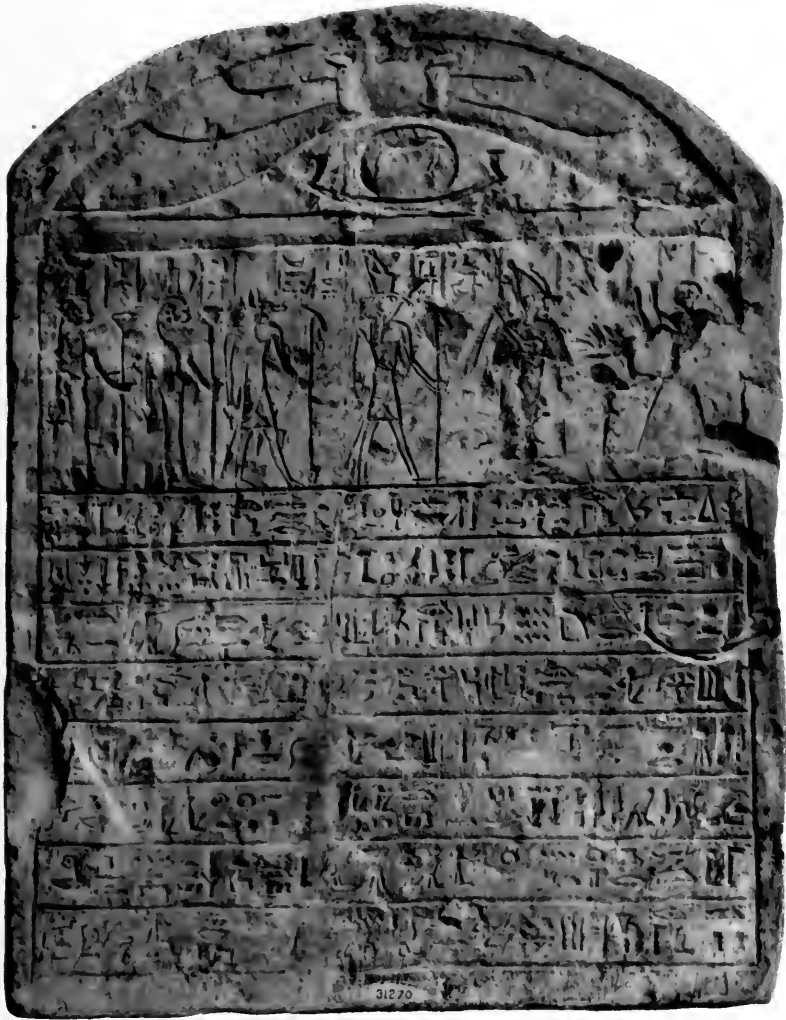
31673. STELA OF INARÖS. AKHMIM
41 x 31 cm.
See page 57



31653. STELA OF PEDIUPWAWET. AKHMIM?

54 x 44 cm.

See page 59



31270. STELA OF PEHET. AKHMIM

51.5 x 40 cm.

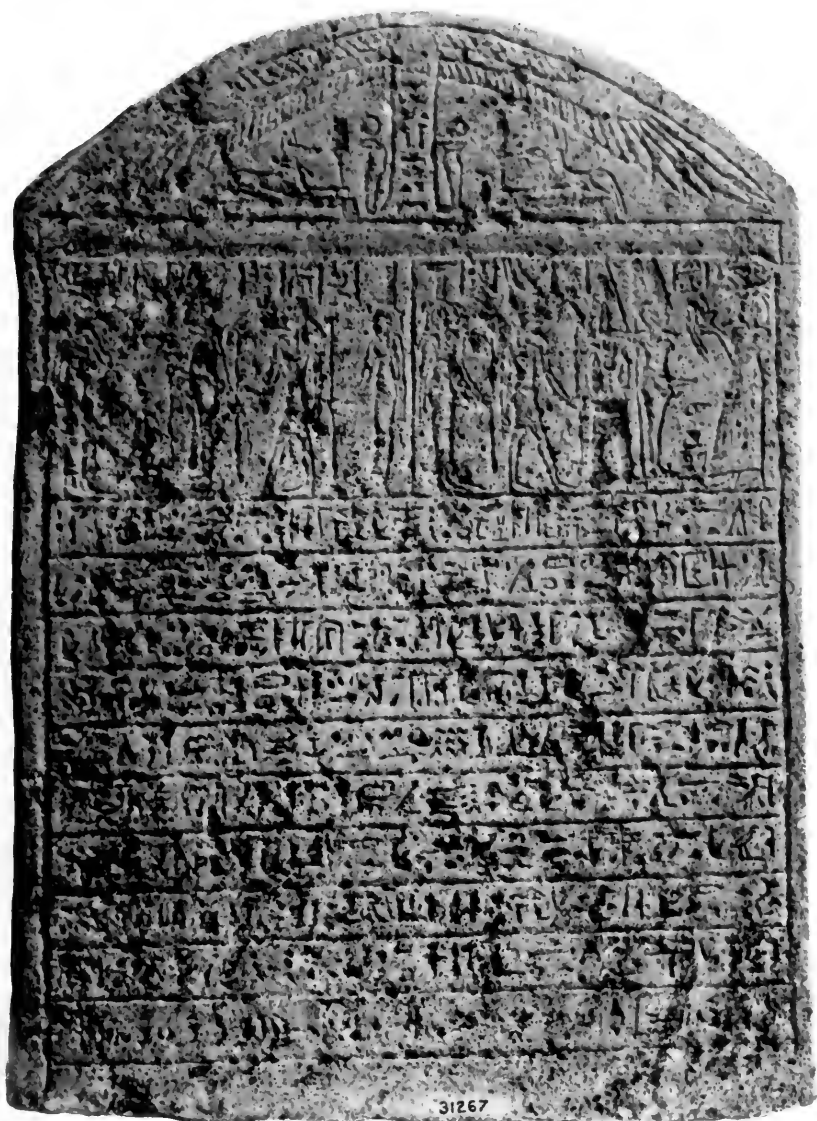
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31675. STELA OF PESHEREMEHIT. AKHIMIM

57 x 46 cm.

See page 62



31267. STELA OF TEREPEP. AKHMIM

57 x 41 cm.

See page 65



31277. STELA OF TUTPEO. AKHMIM

35.8 x 27.5 cm.

See page 67



31276. STELA OF TEKERTHOTH. AKHMIM?

40.5 x 22 cm.

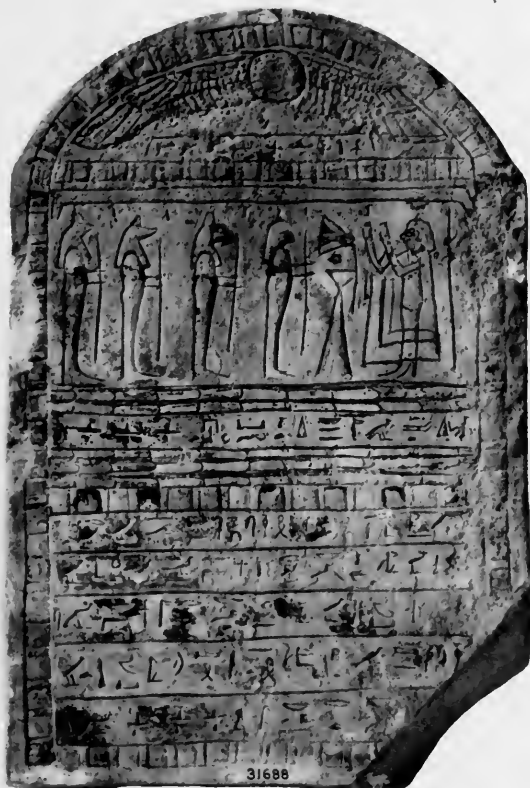
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31677. STELA OF SHESEPMIN. KOPTOS?

44 x 22.5 cm.

See page 69



31688. STELA WITH SOMEWHAT CONFUSED TEXT

31.5 x 21 cm.

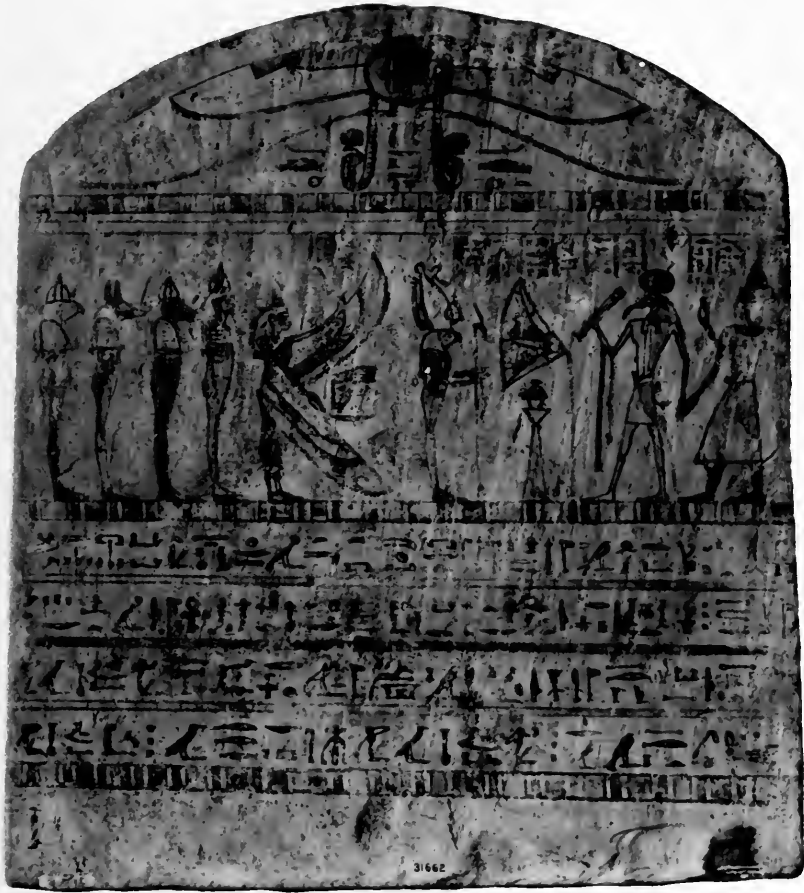
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31668. STELA WITH CONFUSED TEXT

42 x 33 cm.

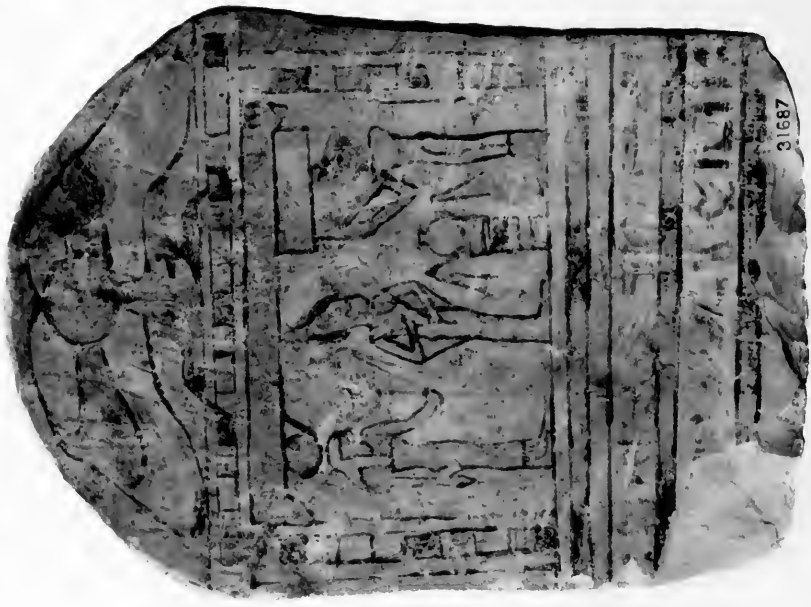
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31662. STELA OF NESIMIN. AKHIMIM

51 x 45.5 cm.

See page 73



31687. STELA OF AN UNNAMED MAN

31.5 x 23.5 cm.

See page 75



31666. VOTIVE STELA OF A ROMAN EMPEROR AS PHARAOH

21 x 18.5 cm.

See page 76



31284. STELA OF 'APA JOHANNES'

40.5 x 22.5 cm.

See page 76

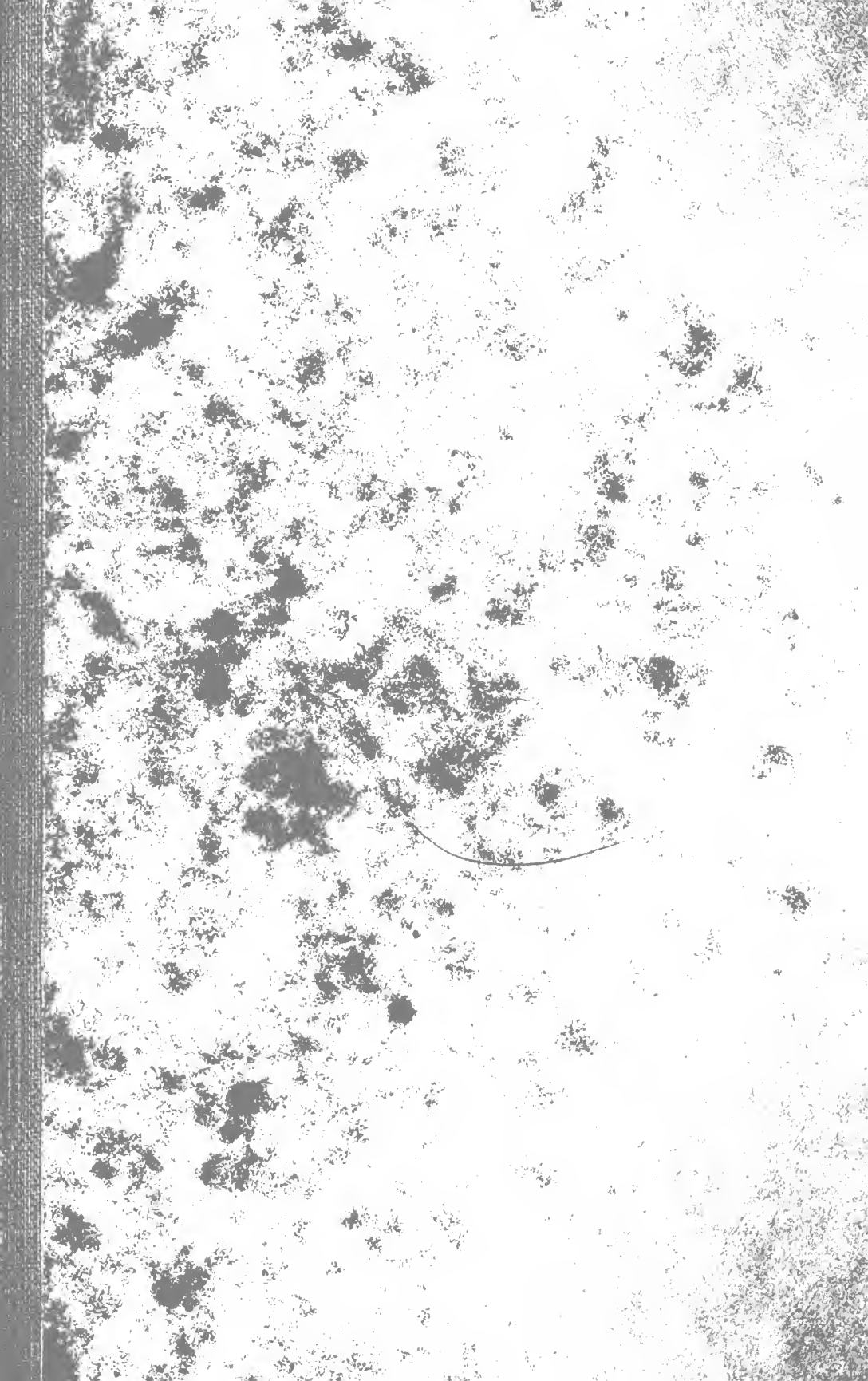
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