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Ali Abdelhalim Ali

A Lunette Stela of Pasenedjemibnash in Cairo Museum CG 22151

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A Lunette Stela of Pasenedjemibnash in Cairo Museum CG 22151

ALI ABDELHALIM ALI*

This research is an analytical study of a round-topped limestone stela,[1] currently stored in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (CG 22151). The stela was made for Pasenedjemibnash[2] and dates to the first half of the 2nd c. BC.[3] It was discovered by Urbain Bouriant in the cemetery "Al-Hawawish" at Akhmim in Upper Egypt during the excavations by the French Mission under the supervision of Gaston Maspero in 1884-1885.[4]

* Ain-Shams University. I am grateful to my colleagues in the Egyptian Museum for permission to publish this stela.

1 R. Hölzl, "Stelae", in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* III, Oxford, 2001, p. 319-324; K. Martin, *LÄ* VI, col. 1-6, *s. v.* "Stele".

2 For details about this rare name and the reading *n'š* instead of *nḫt* see A. Abdelhalim Ali, "Der Sarkophagdeckel des Pasenedjemibnash im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo", *ASAE* 87, 2013 (Forthcoming); *PN* I, 117, 11; *PN* II, 354 (117, 11); E. Gaál, "The Sarcophagus Lid of *p3-sndm-jb-nht* in Cairo: A Preliminary Note", in U. Luft (ed.), *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt*, *StudAeg* 14, 1992, p. 189, no. 10; U. Bouriant, "Rapport au ministre de l'Instruction publique sur une mission dans la Haute-Égypte (1884-1885)", *MMAF* I, 1887, p. 375-378; A. Kamal, *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines*, t. I, *CGC*, 1905, p. 138-140, 124-126 (after cited A. Kamal, *Stèles*); W. Budge, *Some Account of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities in the Possession of Lady Meux*, London, 1896, p. 46, 54, 57; R. Brech, *Spätägyptische Särge aus Achmim: eine typologische und chronologische Studie*, *Aegyptiaca Hamburgensia* 3, 2008, p. 237; M. Thirion, "Notes d'onomastique : contribution à une révision du Ranke PN", *RdE* 54, 2003, p. 178-179; G. Vittmann, "Bemerkungen zu spätzeitlichen Objekten in Frankfurt", *GM* 141, 1994, p. 97; H. De Meulenaere, "Prophètes et danseurs panopolitains à la Basse Époque", *BIFAO* 88, 1988, p. 43-45; M-L. Buhl, *The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi*, *Nationalmuseets Skrifter* VI, 1959, p. 45; H. DeMeulenaere, "Notes d'onomastique tardive", *RdE* 11, 1957, p. 82; Louvre 116: P. Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée égyptien du Louvre* II, *Études égyptologiques* 8, 1879, p. 13.

3 Dating in comparison to the sarcophagus of the same owner: A. Abdelhalim Ali, *ASAE* 87 (Forthcoming) and according to the typology: cf. P. Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, *ÄgForsch* 25, vol. I, 1973, p. 132-141 (esp. p. 141).

4 U. Bouriant, *op. cit.*, p. 369, 375, 381; A. Kamal, *Stèles* I, p. II-III; M-L. Buhl, *op. cit.*, p. 203, 213; K. Kuhlmann, *Materialien zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Raumes von Achmim*, *SDAIK* 11, 1983, p. 52, 54, 57, n. 283. U. Bouriant copied the hieroglyphic inscriptions with a preliminary french translation in *MMAF* I, 1889, p. 375-378. Later, A. Kamal transferred the hieroglyphic inscriptions to his General Catalogue (A. Kamal, *Stèles* I, p. 138-140, pl. XLVI).

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Description [FIG. 1-2]

The stela is in a good state of preservation. It has fine relief scenes and hieroglyphic inscriptions, both of which are executed in sunken relief. It is divided into three parts: lunette, horizontal register and vertical rectangle. Both the register and the rectangle are framed by one vertical incised line on each side as well as horizontal lines between each line of hieroglyphic text. Its height is 0,60 m and its width is 0,38 m.

Upper Section (Lunette)

As noted above, the stela is round-topped. The upper section is decorated with the winged sun-disk with a cobra hanging from each side. The cobra on the left wears the crown of Upper Egypt (Nekhbet), while the other wears the crown of Lower Egypt (Uto). Between the two cobras, the following phrase is inscribed: , *Bḥdt nṯr ꜥ nb*, "Behdite, the great God,[5] Lord of (sky)". It is notable that the sky-sign, which is usually a part of the last phrase, is elongated to cover the register. Nineteen stars decorate this sky-sign.

Register

On the register is a scene of the stela's owner facing six deities. All of the figures are standing[6] and each is captioned with a short text indicating their name and titles. Pasendjemibnash is standing with his Ba-soul perched on his head. Both are posed in the attitude of adoration. In front of him a tall, slender offering table with long leg. On it sit flowers, loaves of bread, and a water vessel.[7] The owner is dressed in a long garment. His titles, followed by his name, are written in two vertical columns in front of the *ba*-soul:

Smꜣty ỉmy-ỉs Pꜣ[8]*-snḏm-ỉb-nꜥš*[9] *Stolist,*[10] *councillor,*[11] *Pasendjemibnash*

5 Instead, U. Bouriant copied , "the perfect god".

6 M. Lichtheim, "The Stela of Taniy CGC 20564: Its Date and its Character", *SAK* 16, 1989, p. 205.

7 The same table with its contents is depicted on other stelae in Cairo Museum, e.g. CGC 22015; CGC 22017; CGC 22128; CGC 22136; CGC 22152. A *nw*-jar instead of the vessel in CGC 22053 and CGC 22035, while *nw*-jar with the flowers and without the loaves on CGC 22122.

8 The *p*-sign is between the *ỉs*- and *ỉmỉ*-signs. The latter two signs are transposed.

9 Note the forearm with the hand holding a stick (Gardiner, *Sign List* D 40) instead of the usual forearm for the phonogram ꜥ.

10 For the transliteration *smꜣty*, see Gardiner, *Sign List* Aa 25. Greek Στολιστής means "one who clothes the god" especially Min and Horus. Besides clothing, the stolist was responsible for cleaning and anointing of god's statue. In addition, he appears in the *sd*-festivals and the divine service at Memphis particularly for Min: W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des Ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, *ÄgForsch* 18, 1954, p. 45-49; H. Gauthier, *Le Personnel du dieu Min*, *RAPH* 3, 1931, p. 39-43, 49-50; P. Montet, "Etudes sur quelques prêtres et fonctionnaires du Dieu Min", *JNES* 9, 1950, p. 18-27; D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, *BAR-IS* 866, 2000, no. 3252; R. Siegmann *et al.* (ed.), *Unter dem Schutz der Himmelsgöttin: Ägyptische Särge, Mumien und Masken in der Schweiz,* Zürich, 2007, p. 147, 215, no. 22; G. Vittmann, *LÄ* VI, 1980, col. 63-64, *s. v.* "Stolist"; St. Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700*, *GHP Egyptology* 1, 2004, p. 127.

11 Literary "who is in the office": W. Helck, *op. cit.*, p. 29-30; *Wb* I, 127, 1; H. Gauthier, *op. cit.*, p. 66-67; D. Jones, *op. cit.*, no. 247; St. Quirke, *op. cit.*, p. 50; L. Coulon, A. Masson, "Osiris Naref à Karnak", in L. Coulon (ed.) *Le culte d'Osiris au Ier millénaire av. J.-C., découvertes et travaux récents*, *BiEtud* 153, 2010, p. 153, no. a and p. 137; A. Leahy, "Two Late Period Stelae in the Fitzwilliam Museum", *SAK* 8, 1980, p. 174, no. 20.

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The deities facing Pasenedjemibnash, arranged from right to left, are Min-Re, Aperet-Isis, Osiris, Isis, Horus and Nephthys.

• *Min-Re* is shown in his typical mummiform style, standing on the *Maat*-base, with an erected phallus. His torso is covered with criss-crossing bandages. He raises his right arm, holding the *nḫḫ*-symbol. He wears the divine beard and the tall double-plumed crown with the sun-disk between the plumes. This crown is so tall that it extends slightly into the vault of sky above the figures. Behind him stands a pole and a sanctuary topped with three heads of lettuce.[12] Min-Re is accompanied by the following phrase:

Ḏd-mdw ỉn Mn-Rʿ nb Ỉpw nṯr ʿ3 nb pt
Words to be said by Min-Re, lord of Akhmim, great god, lord of the sky

• *Aperet-Isis*[13] is depicted as a standing lady wearing a narrow garment clinging her body. She wears Hathor's headdress, the cow's horns supporting the sun disk. She holds the *ʿnḫ*-sign in her right hand, while her left arm is bent upwards with the palm facing forwards. Her name is written in front of her headdress:

ʿpr(t)-Ỉst *Apere(t)-Isis*

• *Osiris* is shown as a mummiform figure standing on the *Maat*-base. Grasping the *ʿnḫ-wȝs-ḏd* composite sceptre in his hands, he wears the tripartite crown and the divine beard. His name and title are written in front of his crown:

Wsỉr ḫnty-ỉmntt *Osiris, foremost of the westerners*

• *Isis*, crowned with a throne, stands behind Osiris. In her right hand, she holds the *ʿnḫ*-sign. In her left hand, she holds up the *ṯȝw*-sign. She is dressed with a slender garment like Aperet-Isis. She is described as follows:

12 This is a symbol frequently shown behind Min. The sanctuary refers to the tent of the desert protected by him. St. Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, London, 1992, p. 46; H. Gauthier, *Les fêtes du dieu Min, RAPH* 2, 1931, p. 169-172.

13 Aperet-Isis appears on other stelae from Akhmim, e.g. CGC 22007, 1; CGC 22053 (A. Awadalla, "Une stèle cintrée de *Ns-Mnw*, Caire CGC 22053", *SAK* 25, 1998, p. 3-4); CGC 22095, 1; 22139, 4; Stela BM 1139. The name is reversed (Isis-Aperet) in 22114, 2; CGC 22070, 2. She protects the king's figure and carries the offerings of the Nile for the 9th Upper-Egyptian Nome in Opet temple at Karnak: C. De Wit, *Les inscriptions du temple d'Opet à Karnak*, *BiAeg* 11, 1958, p. 214 (right); *LGG* II, p. 105; K.P. Kuhlmann, "Der Felstempel des Eje bei Achmim", *MDAIK* 35, 1979, p. 186-187; E. Feucht, *LÄ* I, 1975, col. 335-336, *s. v.* "Aperetiset".

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Ỉst wrt mwt-nṯr *Isis, the great one, mother of the god* (i.e. Horus).[14]

• *Horus* stands behind his mother (i.e. Isis). He is depicted as a falcon headed deity wearing the double crown and Uraeus. He wears a short kilt with an oxtail hanging down in the back. Horus holds the *ʿnḫ*-sign in his hands and he is accompagned by the inscription:

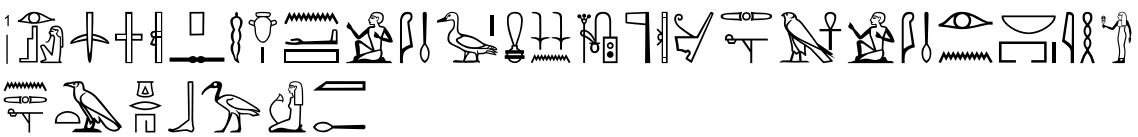
Ḥr s3-Ỉst nḏty-it=f *Horus, son of Isis, the protector of his father*

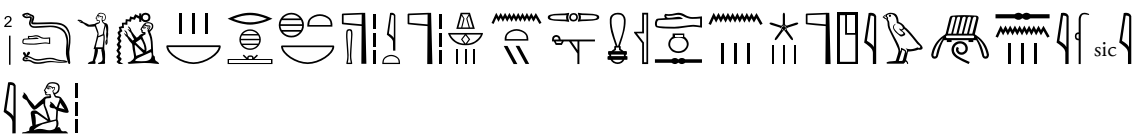
• *Nephthys*,vested by a narrow garment, is depicted with the *ʿnḫ*-sign in her right hand, while she holds up the same sign in her left hand. The inscription beside Nephthys is:

Nbt-Ḥt snt-nṯr *Nephthys, sister of the god*

Main Text [FIG. 2]

The lower part of the stela contains a text in 20 horizontal lines running from right to left.





14 For the relationship between Isis and Min, as well as that of Osiris and Harsiese, who is depicted behind her in the register of the stela, see M. Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*, *MÄS* 11, 1968, p. 129-134, 162-163 (for Akhmim as cult center of Isis). For "god's mother", see *LGG* III, p. 261-263.

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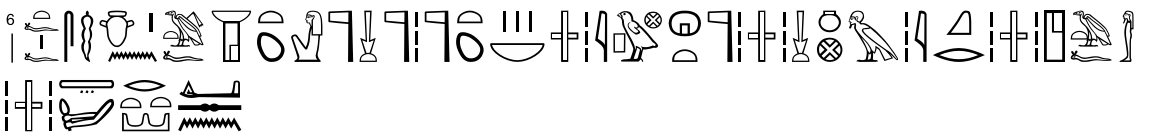
6 

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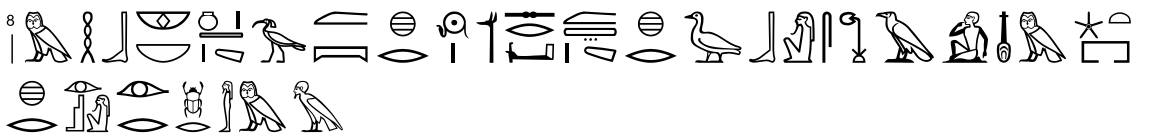
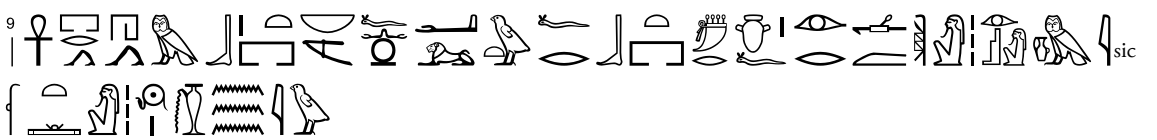
8 

9 

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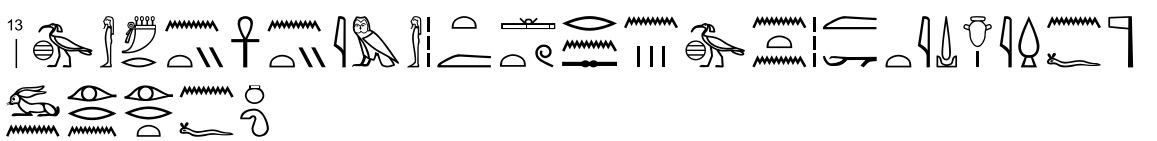
13 

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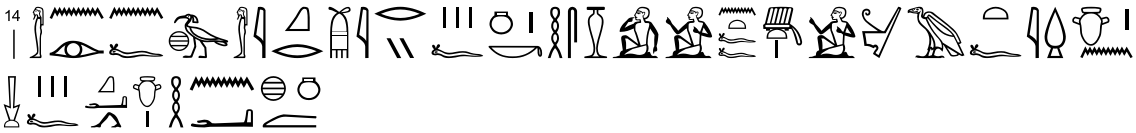
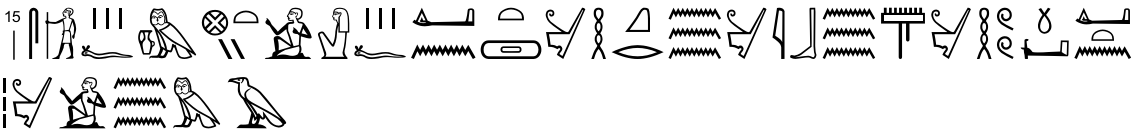
14 

15 

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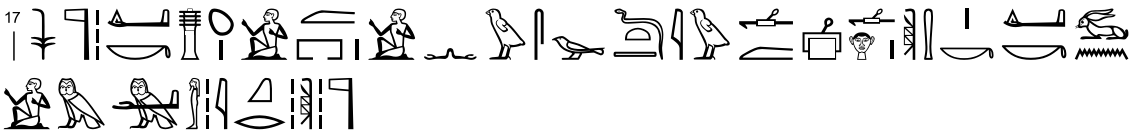
17 

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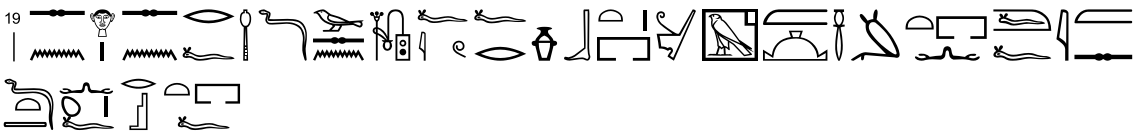
19 

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	Transliteration	*Translation*
1	*Wsỉr smɜty ỉmy-ỉs Pɜ-snḍm-ỉb-nʿšʸ(1) mɜʿ-ḫrw sɜ mỉ-nn sš-mḏɜt-nṯr n Mnw Ḥr-ʿnḫ mɜʿ-ḫrw ỉry n nb(t)-pr ỉḫy(t) n Mnw Tɜ-gr-ḥb mɜʿ(t)-ḫrw*	*Osiris, stolist, councillor, Pasnedjemibnash, true of voice, son of the like-titled (2), scribe of the god's book(3) of Min, Hor-Ankh(4) true of voice, born of the lady of the house, the musician(5) of Min Tagelibus(6) true of voice.*
2	*ḏdᵊf ỉ wʿbw nbw rḫ-ỉḫt nb Ḥmw-nṯr ỉt-nṯr ḫryw-ḥb(t) nt Mnw mỉ-qdᵊsn wnw ḫwt-nṯr r-ɜwᵊsn ỉsyw*	*He says: O(7) all wab-priests, you all wise-men, you all priests and god-fathers(8), all lector-priests of Min(9), all wnw-priests(10) of the temple (o) all the crew(11)*

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3 *ỉpw mỉ ꜥšɜ=sn ꜥnḫw nbw tp tɜ wnnyw wn=sn ꜥq=sn r sṯɜt nt Ỉpw ḫꜥt nt ỉmɜḫw dgɜ=sn nfr-ḥtp*

of Akhmim, all living(12) on earth, all people who exist and who enter to the necropolis(13) of Akhmim and the mound of the revered ones(14), as well as who see nfr-ḥtp(15),

4 *dgɜ=sn ꜥḥꜥ pn ꜥnḫ n=tn nb-wꜥ ḥry-tp st-<n>ḥḥ swɜḥ=f tn r nḥḥ pḥr sɜ=tn ḥr-sɜ=tn mỉ ḏdt=(t)n ḥtp-dỉ-nsw Mnw-*

who see that stela. Life should be to you(16). The sole lord(17), overseer of the place of millions (of years)(18) will let you endure eternally. May your son endure(19) after you as you say. The offering which the king(20) may give (together with) Min-

5 *Rꜥ nb ỉpw bɜ ꜥnḫ m ḥwt-ỉ̈ḥ ꜥpr(t)-Ỉst wrt ḥr(t) Ỉpw škr-Wsỉr ḥr(y) Ỉpw Ỉst wrt mwt-nṯr ḥr(t) Ỉpw Ḥr ꜥɜ m Ỉpw nḏ-*

Re the lord of Akhmim, the living ba-soul(21) in the temple of the Moon(22) and Apere(t)-Isis, the great, mistress of Akhmim(23) and Sokar-Osiris, the lord of Akhmim, Isis, the great, the mother of the god, mistress of Akhmim, Horus, the eldest(24) in Akhmim, Protector-

6 *ỉt=f snḏm-ỉb n mwt=f Nbt-ḥwt snt nṯr nṯrw nṯrwt nbw ỉmyw Ỉpw psḏt ỉmyw snwt bɜw ỉqrw ỉmyw ḫwt mwt=f ỉrw ỉmyw tɜ-ḏsr dỉ=sn*

of-his-father, one who delights the heart of his mother(25), Nephthys, sister of the god(26), all the gods and goddesses in Akhmim and the ennead who is in snwt (Akhmim)(27), the beneficent ba-souls(28) in the temple of his mother(29) and the forms in the necropolis. They may give

7 *prt-ḫrw t ḫnkt(30) kɜw ɜbdw ỉḫt nbt nfrt wꜥbt nḏmt bnrt dỉ pt ḳmɜ tɜ ỉnn ḫꜥpỉ m tpḥt=f(31) ꜥnḫ nṯr ỉm pr m-bɜḥ=sn m ḫrt-ḥrw m ḥb nb n pt*

an invocation offering, bread and beer, oxen and fowls and everything good, pure and sweet, which the sky gives, the earth creates, the inundation brings from its cavern, from which the god lives(32), which comes forth in front of them every day and every feast of the sky

8 *m ḥb nb n tɜ ɜḫ m pt ḫr rꜥ wsr m tɜ ḫr Gb sḫɜ nfr m dwɜt ḫr Wsỉr ỉrr ḫprw m bɜ*

and every feast of the earth, being glorious in the sky near Re, strong on earth near Geb and (having) good remembrance(33) in the netherworld near Osiris, making the transformation into a living ba-soul(34)

9 *ꜥnḫ pr ḥɜ m bw nb mr=f n šnꜥ=tw=f(35) r bw ḏr ỉb=f ỉrr wꜥ m šmsw Wsỉr ḫnm ỉst Rꜥ qbb r*

coming forth or in to anywhere, it would like(36). It will not be prevented from (any) place as it desires, being one of the followers of Osiris, joining the crew of Re, and (having) the cool water in(37)

10 *tr=f mw rnpỉ r nw=f pɜt(38) n ỉɜb rꜥ-nb mḥy nt tɜ(39)-tnn ṯɜw nḏm n Ỉtm r ḫnm*

its time, the fresh water in its time and the cake without being ceased(40) every day. The north winds of Tatenen and the good wind of Atum(41), they will join

11 *šrt n kɜ n wsỉr smɜty ỉmy-ỉs Pɜ-snḏm-ỉb-nꜥš mɜꜥ-ḫrw sɜ ḥr-ꜥnḫ mɜꜥ-ḫrw ỉry n nbt pr Tɜ-gr-ḥb mɜꜥ-ḫrw n*

to the nose of the Ka of Osiris(42), stolist, councillor, Pasnedjemibnash, true of voice, son of Hor-Ankh true of voice, born of the lady of the house, Tagelibus true of voice.

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12 *wrd rɜ=tn m ḏd n hɜ m ḏfɜw=tn n qsn n ḏd bw ỉqr n ɜtp r=tn ṯɜw n rḫ-s(w)*

May your mouth not be weary from speaking. May your food not be reduced(43). *There would be no trouble in excellence. There would be no load against you. May the wind of rḫ-s(w)*(44)

13 *ɜḫ(.w) ḏr nty ʿnḫ nty(w) ỉm dm=tw rn=sn ɜḫ n=tn m-ḫt jwḏɜ-ỉb ỉmɜ n=f nṯr wn ỉrr(w) n(=ỉ) ỉr(y)t n=f ỉnk*

be useful(45) *because those who are there are living*(46). *Then their names shall be pronounced*(47). *It shall be useful for you (for) future. Joyful is the one toward whom the god is kindly disposed. It shall be done for me what has been done for him (as) I*(48) *am*

14 *ỉrw n ỉr(w) n=f ɜḫ ỉqr ʿpr ỉrw=f ỉnk ḥsy n ỉt=f ỉmɜḫ n mwt=f ỉmɜ ỉb n snw=f ʿq*(49)*-ỉb ḥnʿ ḫnmsw=f*

one who acts for the one who acts for him and an excellent spirit(50), *whose belongings are equipped. I am one, who is praised by his father, who is glorified by his mother*(51), *who is beloved by his brothers*(52), *who is confidant to his friends*

15 *ḫnm nỉwtyw=f dỉ.n(=ỉ) t n ḥqr mw n ỉb ḥbs n ḥɜy dỉ=tn n=ỉ mw m ɜt*

and a citizen (in) his town(53) *(as) I gave bread*(54) *to the hungry*(55), *water to the thirsty and clothes to the naked man. May you give me water in every moment*(56),

16 *nb ḫft dgɜ=tn ʿḥʿ pn ḏr nty ỉnk šry ʿḥʿ ỉwty wn=f ỉ nṯr pn špsy Mnw-Rʿ nb Ỉpw*

when you see(57) *this stela, because I am still young without crime*(58). *O you this noble god, Min-Re the lord of Akhmim,*

17 *nsw nṯrw dỉ=k ḏd sɜ=ỉ m pr=ỉ n ws ḏt ỉw wʿ m-sɜ wʿ ḥr smš ḥm=k dỉ=k wn=ỉ m-m ỉrw ỉqrw šmsw nṯr*

king of gods: may you allow my son last in my house without stopping forever(59). *One after the other*(60) *will follow your majesty. May you let me be among the excellent forms, which follow the god.*

18 *ḥɜt=ỉ ḏd=tỉ m ỉst=f bɜ=ỉ ḥr pr(t) hɜ(t) ḥr=s n mrḥ ḏt ỉr s nb dgɜ=sn ʿḥʿ pn sḫ*

May my body endure in its tomb. May my soul go forth and into it (= tomb) without being decayed forever. As for anyone who sees (pl.) this(61) *stela and strikes <it>*(62),

19 *=sn ḥr=sn r=f ḥḏ=sn sš=f ỉw=f r ḫbt nt Ḥt-ḥr m ỉɜt mrt n pr=f ỉm=s ḏt n sɜ=f r st=f*

while his face is towards it and damages(63) *its inscriptions, he will be <given> to the place of execution of Hathor in the mound of pain*(64). *He will not go forth from it. His son will not be in his position.*

20 *s nb dgɜ=sn ʿḥʿ pn dwɜ=sn nṯr nb mk=sn sš=f ỉw=f m-m ḥsyw n nṯr=f ỉw sɜ=f mn.w m pr=f*

As for anyone who sees (= pl.) this stela, who adores (= pl.) (65) *every god*(66), *and protects (= pl.)*(67) *its writings, he (= sing.) will be among the praised ones*(68) *for his god, and his son will endure*(69) *in his house.*

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Notes

1. A. Kamal (*Stèles* I, p. 138) puts instead of due to confusion with the hieratic *n*. U. Bouriant ("Rapport au Ministre de l'Instruction Publique sur une Mission dans la Haute-Égypte (1884-1885)", *MMAF* I, 1887, p. 375) puts instead of .
2. Since the 22 nd Dynasty in genealogies. It means "with the same titles and rank of his father and grandfather": *Wb* II, 37, 10-11; H. Selim, "The Naophorous Statue JE 38016 in the Cairo Museum", *MDAIK* 56, 2000, p. 365; Kh. el-Enany, "Fragment d'une stèle d'Apis mentionnant le roi Téti (Caire JE 40044)", *RdE* 61, 2010, p. 79-82. About genealogy see generally M. Fitzenreiter (ed.), *Genealogie –Realität und Fiktion von Identität*, *IBAES* 5, 2005.
3. *Wb* II, 188.3; D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, *BAR-IS* 866, 2000, no. 3132; W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des Ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, *ÄgForsch* 18, 1954, p. 18, 31.
4. *PN I, 246, 12.*
5. H. Gauthier, *Le Personnel du dieu Min*, *RAPH* 3, 1931, p. 95, 115-116.
6. A common personal name in Akhmim, Abydos and Thebes during the Ptolemaic period: *PN* I, 371, 12; P. Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, *ÄgForsch* 25, vol. I, 1973 p. 229, 236, 243, 303, 324, 328; M.Z. Allam, "Der Totenbuchspruch 162 im Papyrus Leiden T20", *ASAE* 80, 2006, p. 47-52, and n. d.
7. Almost the same in CGC 22054, 7, but it begins with vocative to those who live upon earth. The vocative is destined to the *wab*-priests of Osiris and of the king: M. Kamal, "The Stela of *šḥtp-ỉb-rˁ* in the Egyptian Museum", *ASAE* 40, 1940, p. 222: CG 20583, 21.
8. *Wb* I, 142, 1. Cf. the appeal to the god's-fathers, scribes, lector-priests, etc. in E. Brovarski, "Senenu, High Priest of Amun at Deir El-Bahri", *JEA* 62, 1976, p. 60, pl. XI A, 2.
9. Instead, lector-priests of Akhmim in CGC 22174, 10-11 (A. Kamal, *Stèles* I). Cf. also *Wb* III, 395, 4-10; D. Jones, *op. cit.*, no. 2848.
10. *Valeurs phonétiques* 3, p. 447; D. Kurth, *A Ptolemaic Sign-List. Hieroglyphs Used in the Temples of Graeco-Roman Egypt and their Meanings*, Hützel, 2010, p. 134. Reading in comparison with CGC 22114, 8, where the same clause exists. For *wnwt ḥwt-nṯr* since Senusert III: *Wb* I, 317, 8.
11. The sign could have been mistaken for a similar one , which makes more sense. But other possibilities could be given here, namely *rnpyw* "young people" or also *ỉmyw* "dwellers": *Wb* I, 72, 13-15. In all cases the inhabitants of Akhmim are meant.
12. Since the Old Kingdom and 1st Intermediate Period: H. Selim, "Two Unpublished First Intermediate Period from Cairo Museum", *SAK* 35, 2006, p. 296. Further examples in M. Lichtheim, *Maat in the Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies*, *OBO* 120, 1992, p. 155-159.
13. in U. Bouriant, *op. cit.*, p. 375. Cf. also *Wb* IV, 356, 9-10. The same phrase in CGC 22152, 9-10. But instead of entering, the text in CGC 22152 gives *ỉỉ=sn*. CGC 22174, 12 reads *ỉỉ=sn r st̠yt nt snwt* instead of *Ỉpw*. Since the Old Kingdom, the Ancient Egyptians prohibit entering to the tomb without being pure. Compare the tombs of Ti and Meriruka at Saqqara: H. Wild, "L'ʻadresse aux visiteursʼ du tombeau de Ti", *BIFAO* 58, 1959, p. 104-105; *Urk*. I, 87-88. For the verb *ˁq* denoting direction, see I. Hafemann, "Zum Zusammenspiel von Semantik und Syntax ägyptischer Verben", *LingAeg* 10, 2002, p. 169-172.

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14. The sign could be a misleading for *ỉmȝḫ*. I am thankful to the referee for this remark. See also *Wb* I, 82. 1-12.

15. in U. Bouriant, *op. cit.*, p. 375. The scribe put the -sign under and -signs. For Nefer-hotep: *LGG* IV, p. 218-219; Fr. Labrique, "Khonsou et la néoménie à Karnak", in D. Budde et al. (ed.), *Kindgötter im Ägypten der griechisch-römischen Zeit. Zeugnisse aus Stadt und Templel als Spiegel des interkulturellen Kontakts, OLA* 128, 2003, p. 195-224; Ph. Collombert, "La stèle de Nesmin (complément à *RdE* 48, 1997, p. 15-70)", *RdE* 49, 1998, p. 239-242.

16. Cf. BM EA 893: W. Budge, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc. in the British Museum,* IV, *HTBM* 4, 1912, pl. 49.

17. Instead in U. Bouriant, *op. cit.*, p. 375. For *nb-wʿ*: *Wb* II, 230, 5; *LGG* III, p. 609-610.

18. The word for millions is placed inadvertently between the *st*-sign and the *t*-sign as well as the determinative.

19. In this context, the verb *pḫr* should be translated as "endure", which fits better than the original meaning "go around, circulate": *Wb* I, 544, 12-547. 7; P. Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon. A Lexicographical Study of the Ptolemaic Texts in the Temple of Edfu*, *OLA* 78, 1997, p. 366-367. E. Otto (*Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit. Ihre geisteschichtliche und literarische Bedeutung*, *PdÄ* 2, 1954, p. 30) translates typically "dauern".

20. For this formula since the Old Kingdom, see G. Lapp, *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches, SDAIK* 21, 1986, p. 30-40; W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel, ÄgForsch* 24, 1968, p. 209-221.

21. in U. Bouriant, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

22. Cf. *Valeurs phonétiques* 3, p. 488. But *ḥwt* in U. Bouriant, *op. cit.*, p. 375, while A. Kamal (*Stèles* I, p. 150) considers it *ḥwt-mnḫt*. The sign could be neither of them in any case. A moon temple is attested at Akhmim. For the relationship between the temple of the moon and the goddess Aperet-Isis, see K. Kuhlmann, "Der Felstempel des Eje bei Achmim", *MDAIK* 35, 1979, p. 187.

23. Aperet-Isis has the same title in CGC 22139, 4 but also *ḥnwt-Ỉpw* in CGC 22124, 2. H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques* IV, Le Caire, 1927, p. 47.

24. The same procession of gods is depicted on the lunette. For Horus the eldest in Akhmim, see *LGG* V, p. 247.

25. I.e. Horus, see *LGG* VI, p. 406-407. Some examples from Akhmim: CGC 22007, 2; CGC 22074, 2; CGC 22077, 2.

26. Cf. the same in CGC 22116, 2; CGC 22152, 3.

27. K. Kuhlmann, *loc. cit.*; CGC 22069, 14; CGC 22070, 6; CGC 22095, 2; CGC 22171, 2; 22174, 2; CGC 22209, 3-4; CGC 22098, 1-2. A priest for *snwt* with the following title "great (*wr*) of *snwt*", in CGC 22077, 6; CGC 22087, 5.

28. in U. Bouriant, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

29. "Temple of the mother", in *Valeurs phonétiques* 3, p. 483, 486; *Esna* 16, 2; *Esna* 63, 3. Beside the temple of the mother, Esna has also "temple of the father" (*Valeurs phonétiques* 3, p. 492); *Esna* 225, 26. In addition, the word *mwt* can be related the titles of Min-Re, which are "Bull of his mother" and "One who embraces his mother" referring to fertility: H. Gauthier, *Les fêtes du dieu Min, RAPH* 2, 1930, p. 135-138, 140-141. The oldest goddess in relation with

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Min at Coptos and Akhmim is not Isis, but "the Mother of Min": *LGG* III, p. 256b-c; H. Gauthier, *op. cit.*, p. 71-72.

30. Note the conversion of the bread-sign and the beer-sign in the original.
31. A. Kamal (*Stèles* I, p. 139) copies *pṯḥt* (*p*-sign upon *t*-sign) .
32. W. Barta, *op. cit.*, p. 212 (Bitte 2a). For this usual formula cf. CGC 22001, 5-6; CGC 22007, 4-5; CGC 22014, 3; CGC 22015, 4-5; CGC 22017, 4; CGC 22016, 5; CGC 22025, 4; CGC 22034, 4-5; 22171, 2-6 and others.
33. Cf. CGC 22053, 7 and 9; CGC 22069, 4-5. "A good remembrance on earth" is found in W. Barta, *op. cit.*, p. 218 (Bitte 183a).
34. W. Barta, *op. cit.*, p. 216 (Bitte 101a). Also, Min-Re is mentioned as living *ba* in line 5 of our stela. In addition, transforming into a living *ba* means living a full life in the netherworld, see L. Zabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts*, *SAOC* 34, 1968, p. 141-142. Spells in the Book of the Dead have the title of transforming into a living *ba*-soul, e.g. BD 85 in E. Hornung, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter, Die Bibliothek der alten Welt*, *BAW*, 1979, p. 172-173; P. Barguet, *Le Livre des morts des anciens Égyptiens*, *LAPO* 1, 1967, p. 122.
35. in U. Bouriant, *op. cit.*, p. 375-376. For this expression, cf. CGC 22069, 5-6: W. Barta, *op. cit.*, p. 218 (Bitte 138a).
36. W. Barta, *op. cit.*, p. 215 (Bitte 67b).
37. *Wb* V, 25, 10-11; F*CD* 277.
38. A long sign, which is considered as in U. Bouriant, *op. cit.*, p. 376, but *r* (mouth) in A. Kamal, *Stèles* I, p. 139, with question mark. Cf. *Wb* I, 495, 6-9.
39. Note the conversion of writing the signs: strock before *t*-sign.
40. *Wb* I, 6, 2-8. This phrase could be interpreted through another stela CGC 22114, which reads: "I do not cease from your offerings (means those of the god) in any day".
41. Var. "The good north-wind coming forth from Atum", in W. Barta, *op. cit.*, p. 215 (Bitte 79a).
42. in A. Kamal, *Stèles* I, p. 139. Cf. the life-sign comes forth from Re to the nose of the deceased (Osiris) in W. Barta, *op. cit.*, p. 217 (Bitte 123a).
43. Lit. "descend", see I. Hafemann, *op. cit.*, p. 183-189.
44. Lit. "One who knows himself (Thoth)": *Wb* II, 445, 8-10; P. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 590; *Edfu* VII, 254, 15-16; *LGG* IV, p. 707; M-Th. Derchain-Urtel, *Thot à travers ses épithètes dans les scènes d'offrandes des temples d'époque gréco-romaine*, *RitesEg* 3, 1981, p. 64-68. The relationship between Thoth and the winds is evident in the Book of the Dead, e.g. BD 161, where Thoth opens the four doors of heavens to let winds come to the dead: E. Hornung, *op. cit.*, p. 338-339 (Abb. 83); P. Barguet, *op. cit.*, p. 127-128. This connection is based on the similarity of Thoth and Shu. Thoth also bears the symbols of life and wind in BD 125 (TT 296): M. Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches*, *ArchVer* 46, 1984, p. 66, Abb. 77.
45. in U. Bouriant, *op. cit.*, p. 376. The standing mummy should be a determinative for the word *ꜣḫ*, despite it does not exist in *Worterbuch*. A good parallel could be found in the next line (14) of the stela. Also, in Coffin Texts, the word *ꜣḫ* takes the determinative of a man of rank seated on a chair (Gardiner A50), which refers to veneration, see G. Englund, *Akh – une notion religieuse dans l'Égypte pharaonique*, *Borreas* 11, 1978, p. 67-71. The word *ꜣḫ*

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occurs together with *rḫ-sw* in *Edfu* III, 121, 16; M-Th. Derchain-Urtel, *op. cit.,* p. 66, who identifies the *ɔḫw* as "magical words". For the meaning of *ɔḫw* as magical words (of Thoth) see also P. Boylan, *Thoth the Hermes of Egypt*, London, 1922, p. 128-10; R.K. Ritner, *Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practices*, *SAOC* 54, 1993, p. 30-35.

46. I.e. the deceased in the necropolis (*Wb* I, 72, 5); E. Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

47. in U. Bouriant, *op. cit.*, p. 376. For *dm=tw rn=sn*, cf. R. Koch, *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe*, *BiAeg* 17, 1990, p. 71, 2; F. Vogelsang, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*, *UGAÄ* 6, 1964, p. 52.

48. in U. Bouriant, *op. cit.*, p. 376, while the head-sign in A. Kamal, *Stèles* I, p. 139.

49. Note the *q* before *ʿ*.

50. The three words (*ɔḫ ỉqr ʿpr*) occur together in Z. Hawass, "An Inscribed Lintel in the Tomb of the Vizier Mehu at Saqqara", *LingAeg* 10, 2002, p. 222; N. Kloth, *Die (auto-) biographischen Inschriften des ägyptischen Alten Reiches: Untersuchungen zu Phraseologie und Entwicklung*, *SAK Beihefte* 8, 2002, p. 49, pl. 3.

51. Instead, *ỉnk ỉmɔḫ n ỉt ḫsy n mwt* in CGC 22114, 6-7.

52. Also in CGC 22173, 3.

53. in U. Bouriant, *op. cit.*, p. 376. For *ḫnm nỉwt=f* cf. the text of Djefaihapi (Siut I): *Urk*. VII, 24, 12.

54. in U. Bouriant, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

55. Instead of *ḫqr*, the owner of CGC 22114, 6 has *ỉwtt rɔ=f*, "who has no mouth".

56. in A. Kamal, *Stèles* I, p. 140. For the meaning *ɜt-nb*, see J. Ogdon, "Studies in Ancient Egyptian Magical Writing 2: A propos of the Word *ɜT*", *GM* 164, 1998, p. 79-83.

57. in U. Bouriant, *op. cit.*, p. 376. But only an eye in A. Kamal, *Stèles* I, p. 140.

58. *Wb* I, 314, 7-13; B. Menu, "Le tombeau de Pétosiris (3): culpabilité et responsabilité", *BIFAO* 96, 1996, p. 354; J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy: According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions*, *The Literature of Death and Dying*, New York, 1960, p. 43; 287; *Urk*. IV, 131, 10-12.

59. In CGC 22114, 10-11, we read the wish that the son of his son endures in the house of the god.

60. The meaning of this is "generation after generation" (*Wb* I, 274, 10). For details about this title since the 18th Dynasty, see K. Jansen-Winkeln, "Der Ausdruck *wᶜ zɜ wᶜ*", *GM* 123, 1991, p. 53-56; E. Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

61. in U. Bouriant, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

62. in A. Kamal, *Stèles* I, p. 140. For this verb, see *Wb* III, 466, 13-467, 13.

63. *Wb* III, 213, 4-5; CGC 22069, 14-15.

64. in both A. Kamal, *Stèles* I, p. 140 and U. Bouriant, *op. cit.*, p. 376. In Original, the sign before is not but a -vase, which has the value *ḫbbt* in *Valeurs phonétiques* 4, p. 773; *Dend.* I, 72, 6; *Wb* III, 252, 9-14; S. Morschauser, *Threat-Formulae in Ancient Egypt*, Baltimore, 1991, p. 80-81; E. Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 55. Instead of *mrt*, U. Bouriant (*op. cit.*, p. 376) has . *ỉɔt mrt* could be a variation of *ỉɔt nmt* (U. Bouriant, *op. cit.*, p. 376).

65. in U. Bouriant, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

66. in U. Bouriant, *op. cit.*, p. 376, while in A. Kamal, *Stèles* I, p. 140.

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67. in U. Bouriant, *op. cit.*, p. 376. *mk* means "keep away": W. Schenckel, ",(Sich) fernhalten' und dergleichen in den Sargtexten", in H. Felber (ed.), *Feinde und Aufrührer: Konzepte von Gegnerschaft in ägyptischen Texten besonders des Mittleren Reiches*, *ASAW* 78, 2005, p. 124-129.

68. in A. Kamal, *Stèles* I, p. 140.

69. The *n*-sign between the *mn-* and the *m*-sign dose not exist in A. Kamal, *Stèles* I, p. 140.

General Commentary

The stela bears an unique depiction of the *ba*-soul perched on the owner's head. As far as I know, this scene has no parallel. There are some Theban stelae, which depict the deceased together with his *ba*-soul, adoring the sun-barge. The *ba*-soul on those stelae is standing in front of the deceased.[15] On the stela of Hor-Min in the Berlin Museum, the deceased holds his *ba*-soul on his left arm.[16]

Another distinctive characteristic of this stela concerns with the sky between the lunette and the register. This sky serves a double function: it represents the sky over the scene, in addition it stands for the word *pt*, which comes in the *bḥdt- nṯr-ʿ3-nb-pt* formula.

Although its meaning is somewhat obscure, the main text on the lower part of the stela could be divided several items:

1. The introduction (line 1), including information about the owner: his name, titles, and parents (genealogy). It is repeated in line 11. It is remarkable, that the scribe does not use the same expressions, such as *mỉ-nn* and the title of Tagelibus (*ỉḫyt n Mnw*). He uses the egg, instead of reusing the goose for "son".

2. An appeal to the gods, priests (six categories: *wʿb*, *rḫw-ỉḫt*, *ḫm-nṯr*, *ỉt-nṯr*, *wnw*, *ḫryw-ḥbt*) and inhabitants of Akhmim (lines 2-4), to guard the stela and protect it.

3. An appeal for offerings using the offering formula (lines 4-12).

4. A self-portrayal (lines 13-16), in which social and ethical aspects, as well as the owner's piety, are put forth.

5. Wishes for the afterlife (lines 4-14, 17-18).

6. Wishes for his successors (lines 17).

7. A threat (lines 18-19).[17]

8. A promise for security (lines 20).

The deities are mentioned either directly or alluded to. The gods and goddesses on the register are mentioned again in the text (lines 4-6). They are described as gods and goddesses or as the pantheon of Akhmim and its necropolis. Each deity has his or her proper epithet connected to Akhmim: Min-Re is "Lord of Akhmim". Moreover, the god Min-Re is described

15 Examples in P. Munro, *op. cit.*, pl. 18, fig. 62, 63, 64, 65.

16 Inv. Nr. 7274, after L. Zabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts*, *SAOC* 34, 1968, pl. IV.

17 For threat-formulae in Ancient Egypt generally, see S. Morschauser, *Threat-Formulae in Ancient Egypt*, Baltimore, 1991, esp. p. 46 and 60; H. Sottas, *La préservation de la propriété funéraire dans l'Ancienne Égypte avec le recueil des formules d'imprécation*, *BEPHE* 205, 1913.

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as a "noble god" and "king of the gods" (lines 16-17). The god has a special temple in the text, the "house of the moon" as well. This house could refer to the connection between Min-Re to Thoth, the lunar-god. The "temple of his mother" refers to the temple of Min-Re at Akhmim.

Other gods in the register (Aperet-Isis, Sokar-Osiris and Isis) have the title "*ḥry*", "in the middle of" and refers to visiting deities. On the other side, Nephthys has no title with respect to Akhmim in the main text, while Horus has the particular title "great in Akhmim". Horus and Min-Re are strongly connected. Both are children of Isis and Osiris.[18]

In addition to the main gods of Akhmim, some funeral aspects of the cosmic gods are to be considered: Re is lord of the sky, Geb is lord of the earth, Osiris is lord of the netherworld (lines 8-9). The winds are connected to Tatenen and Atum (line 10), while the place of punishment is related to Hathor as goddess of the necropolis.

Also, there are some allusions to some deities, whose titles are mentioned in the main text, such as Thoth (*rḫ-sw*, line 12). Thoth had an importance in Akhmim, especially in his connection to the family of Pasenedjemibnash, whose mother's name is Tagerheb. Heb is a part of the latter's name and developed into the Greek word (ibis), the sacred bird of Thoth. In the necropolis of Al-Hawawish, many Ibis mummies were found.[19] In addition to his connection to the mother of Pasenedjemibnash, the house of the moon is accented.

Furthermore, the main text contains some philological, paleographical and epigraphical characteristics.[20] To express the meaning of "all or whole", the following structures are used: *nb* (lines 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 16, 18, 20), *mỉ-qd*+suff. (line 2), *r-ȝw*+suff. (line 2), *mỉ-ʿšȝ*+suff. (line 3), *nbw tp tȝ* (line 3). This variety of suffixes enriches the context and avoids redundancy. In addition, the text contains a kind of pun by using the similar sounding words. This pun is a technique known from rhetoric. Such cases are: *wnw wn=sn* (line 3), *pḫr sȝ=tn ḫr sȝ=tn* (line 4), *irr(w)* […] *ir(y)t* […] *irw* […] *ir(w)* […] *irw* (lines 13-14). Some words and signs are written in several forms:

1. The verb *dgȝ* and the word *ʿḥʿ* are fully written in line 4, and then abbreviated (and) in lines 16, 18 and 20.
2. The word *s* (man) is written normally in line 18, but in an unusual way in line 20.
3. The determinative of *hb* occurs in two forms: in line 1, and in line 11.
4. The definition particle *pȝ* is written in two different ways: in line 1, and in line 11.

Some hieratic signs are used in the main text, surely because the scribe copied the text from a papyrus scroll.

18 M. Münster, *op. cit.*, p. 129-134.

19 K. Kuhlmann, *Materialien zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Raumes von Achmim*, *SDAIK* 11, 1983, p. 57, n. 285 and 286. For Ibis and *hb*: P. Boylan, *Thot, the Hermes of Egypt: A Study of some Aspects of Theological Thought in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1922, p. 78-79; J. Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth, two Key Figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion*, *Studies in the History of Religion* XXVI, 1973, p. 106-107.

20 For a detailed epigraphic study for stelae from Greco-roman period: M.Th. Derchain-Urtel, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen zur griechisch-römischen Zeit in Ägypten*, *ÄAT* 43, 1999, p. 11-29; M.Th. Derchain-Urtel, "Epigraphische Anmerkungen zu den Stelen aus Achmim", in A. Egberts (ed.) *Perspectives on Panopolis*, *P.L.Bat.* 31, 2002, p. 83-94.

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1. The sign *n* is written as [21] in almost every line except for line 15, where for *mw* (water) and *ỉbw* (thirsty) is found.

2. The small circle ○ is used for the signs (line 6); (lines 3, 5, 6, 15, 16); (lines 4, 7, 10, 16); (line 9); and (lines 2, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19).[22]

3. The sign (line 3) is similar to the *mn*-sign (line 20).

4. The negative (*n*) is in lines 9, 10, 16, and 19, but in lines 11, 12, 17 and 18, in line 12, in line 12. It is similar to the word *ḥr* .

5. The word for clothes (*mnḫt*) is written [23] (line 15).

6. stands for the trilateral-sign *ḥr* (lines 4 and 16). It seems to be a *sḫm*-sign.[24]

7. for the vocative (lines 2 and 16).

8. [25] is used as a determinative for *ḫnms* (line 15).

Confusion between signs is also attested in the main text, such as:

1. The sign for lines 2 and 9.

2. The *nḏs*-bird as a determinative for words for "bad" (lines 12, 16, 17, 18, 19) is replaced by the *wr*-bird. The latter is correctly used only in lines 5 and 11.

3. The word "million" (line 4) is placed between the *st*- and the *t*-sign.

4. The scribe added the suffix =*f* after *mwt* (line 6), apparently as a correction.

5. For the word *ḫtp*, the scribe put and upon the (line 3).

As shown in the previous pages, our stela presents a unique example of both depiction and text from Ahkmim. Therefore, this study could be a beginning for a wider project on the stelae of Akhmim from Greco-Roman period. This project will provide Egyptology with rich information on titles, society and funeral aspects at that time.

21 M. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* I, Leipzig, 1909-1936, no. 331; D. Kurth, "Der Einfluss der Kursive auf die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu", in D. Kurth (ed.), *Edfou*: *Bericht über drei Syrveys; Materialien und Studien*, *Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu. Begleitheft* 5, 1999, p. 70.

22 Particularly H.W. Fairman, "An Introduction to the Study of Ptolemaic Signs and their Values", *BIFAO* 43, 1945, p. 116; D. Kurth, *op. cit.*, p. 90-91; S. Cauville, *Dendara. Le fonds hiéroglyphique au temps de Cléopâtre*, Paris, 2001, p. 247.

23 M. Möller, *op. cit.*, no. 430.

24 Cf. M. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* III, Leipzig, 1909-1936, no. 380; no. 449; D. Kurth, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

25 M. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* I, Leipzig, 1909-1936, no. 14.

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Fig. 1. Stela Cairo CGC 22151.

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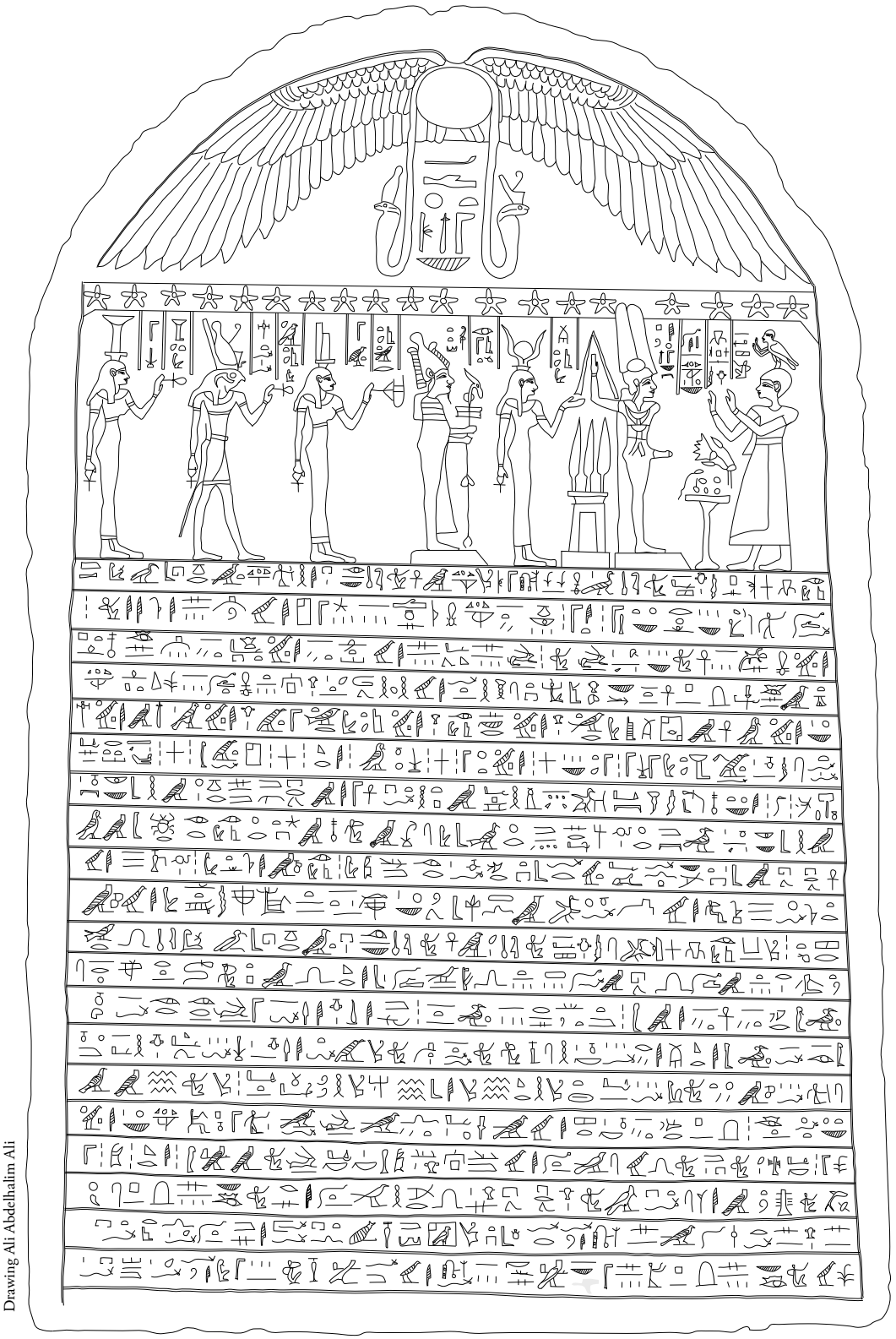

Fig. 2. Stela Cairo CGC 22151, line drawing.

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