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The Votive Stela of the "Overseer of the Singers of the King" Nfr-rnpt (Egyptian Museum Cairo TR 14.6.24.17)

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THIS paper republishes the votive stela of *Nfr-rnpt* at the Egyptian Museum Cairo (inv. Nr. TR 14.6.24.17). It was published previously in 1936 by P. Labib, but this study did not give a hieroglyphic transcription of the stela. The translation of the inscriptions also needs to be revised. Additionally, P. Labib overlooked the work of A. Mariette which indicates that this stela came from Abydos,2 so the provenance needs no longer be based on assumption. Furthermore, the previous publication did not offer a commentary on the stela—on the titles of the owner, or the costume of the figures shown which help to identify the chronology. Thus, the present paper will investigate the history of the publication of the stela which has never been completely discussed. Secondly, the complete transcription for the stela, as well as a transliteration, a translation and a commentary on the inscriptions and titles of the owner will be given. The approach focuses on a newly facsimile of the stela, in order to point out the elements that previous studies did not remark.

Kamal for their help with the drawing of TR 14.6.24.17. I am also very grateful to Ms. Marwa Abd el-Razik and Mr. Sameh Abdel Mohsen of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo for their help with the excellent photographs of this stela.

1 P.Cl. Labib, "The Stela of Nefer-

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Ronpet", ASAE 36, 1936, pp. 194-196. 2 A. Mariette, Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant

les fouilles de cette ville, Paris, 1880, p. 434 [1159].

HISTORY OF THE PUBLICATION

A. Mariette³ was the first scholar to publish the stela in 1880, giving only a brief description of the object.⁴ He delivered a partial transcription of the sections which focus on the titles of the owner, his family's affiliation and the last three lines of the second register, containing a threat-formula.⁵ A. Mariette recorded the discovery of this stela with seven other stelae in the northern part of the southern cemetery at Abydos.⁶ These eight stelae do not bring any royal name. The datation was based on the common features, distinctive of the 19th Dynasty.⁷

K. Piehl⁸ also published this stela in 1895.⁹ He translated the eleven lines of hieroglyphs of the lower register, providing two plates of vertical lines for the entire transcription, running from left to right.¹⁰ However, he did not translate the inscriptions accompanying the deities and the people in the upper register.¹¹ Furthermore, no comment on the inscriptions of the stela were done. He reported that the stela was at the Museum of Boulaq.¹²

A slip in the dictionary of Berlin (no. 545), copies the titles of *Nfr-rnpt* and his brother, *Ímn-w3h-sw*, and their family affiliation on this stela. Later, P. Labib¹³ published this stela, showing an image for the first time and giving a translation.¹⁴ I listed this stela as a source for the goddess Werethekau, in the catalogue of my unpublished PhD.¹⁵ However, I did not comment the inscriptions as it was a secondary object study, on which *Ímn-w3h-sw*, brother's owner, bore the title of "first god's servant of Werethekau".¹⁶ I also listed the stela in two other recent publications.¹⁷

DESCRIPTION

The stela is currently kept in the Egyptian Museum Cairo, with the temporary number TR 14.6.24.17. It is a round-top limestone stela, well preserved apart from some erosion on the top curve, and retains some colour. Its height is 98 cm and width 66 cm. It has two registers.

First Register

The upper register shows two scenes. The right scene depicts the owner of the stela adoring Osiris and Isis. *Nfr-rnpt* wears an ankle length wrap-around kilt with a long tunic over the

- 3 M.L. BIERBRIER (ed.), *Who was who in Egyptology*, 1951, 4th ed., London, 2012, pp. 355–357.
- 4 A. Mariette, loc. cit.
- 5 Ibid., p. 434.
- 6 Ibid., pp. 433–437 [1158–1165].
- 7 Ibid., p. 415.
- 8 M.L. Bierbrier, op. cit., p. 432.
- 9 K. Piehl, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques recueillies en Europe et en Égypte, 3rd serie, I–II, Leipzig, 1895–1903, p. 57, pls. 90–92.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Ibid., p. 57.
- 12 Ibid., pp. 36, 57.
- 13 M.L. Bierbrier, op. cit., p. 305.
- 14 P.Cl. Labib, loc. cit.
- of Magic' in the Religious Landscape of Ancient Egypt, II, PhD thesis, University College London, London, 2014, pp. 244–245.
- 16 Ibid., p. 325.

17 A.M.M. Ouda, "Did Werethekau 'Great of Magic' have a Cult? A Disjunction Between the Scholarly Opinions and Sources", *Current Research in Egyptology 2013, Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Symposium*, Oxford, 2014, pp. 110–111; A.M.M. Ouda, "Werethekau and the Votive Stela of *P3-n-Imn* (Bristol Museum H 514)", *BMSAES* 22, 2015, p. 69.

top, a collar, and sandals on his feet. He does not wear a wig and his head is shaved. Osiris and Isis stands before him. Osiris is depicted in mummiform, standing on a pedestal, wearing a broad collar, and counterpoise, an Atef-crown with cobra, and a divine beard. He holds a w3s-sceptre in his hands. Isis is shown standing behind, or perhaps next to Osiris, with her right hand raised in blessing. She wears the tripartite wig, crowned with the sun-disc, flanked by two horns, and a long tight ankle-length dress.

The inscription before the deceased reads:



- [1] dit i3w n
- [2] Wsir in imy-r3 hsyw
- [3] n nb-t3wy Nfr-rnpt m3'-hrw
- [1] Giving adoration to
- [2] Osiris by the overseer of singers
- [3] of the lord of the Two Lands, a Nfr-rnpt, Justified
- a. This title occurs twice in the second register of the stela in the form of *imy-r3 hsyw n nb-t3wy* (ll. 1 and 4, see below), and twice more in the form of *imy-r3 hsyw n pr-^c3* (ll. 7, 8 and 9, see below). ¹⁸ It seems that this was his main title, preceding his name in the four examples. He bores another title on the stela, *imy-r3 hsyw n ntrw nbw*¹⁹ (l. 1, below). These two titles linked *Nfr-rnpt* to the king, the royal palace and the temple.²⁰
- 18 Cf. the titles of imy-r3 hsww pr-'3, "overseer of singers of the Great House", imy-r3 hsyw and imy-r3 hsywt nt pr nb.f 'nh wd3 snb: D. Jones, An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom, I, BAR-IS 866, Oxford, 2000, p. 181; B. Mathieu, "Réflexions sur le 'fragment Daressy", in Chr. Zivie-Coche, I. Guermeur (eds.), Parcourir l'éternité: hommages à Jean Yoyotte, II, BEHE 8, Turnhout, 2012, p. 836; W.A. WARD, Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom: With a Glossary of Words and Phrases Used, Beirut, 1982, p. 38 [285-286].
- 19 Cf. E. Teeter, "Inside the Temple: The Role and Function of Temple Singers", in E. Teeter, J.H. Johnson (eds.), *The Life of Meresamun: a Temple Singer in Ancient Egypt*, OIMP 29, Chicago, 2009, p. 25.
- 20 S.S. EICHLER, *Die Verwaltung des Hauses des Amun in der 18. Dynastie*, SAK, Beiheft 7, Hamburg, 2000, pp. 168–169; P. BRISSAUD, Chr. ZIVIE-COCHE, *Tanis : travaux récents sur le Tell Sân el-Hagar*, Paris, 1998, p. 481. The word *hsy* is used to describe a singer-player, especially in the scenes which include harpists or a group of musicians: S.L. Onstine, *The Role of the Chantress (śm*′yt) *in Ancient*

Egypt, BAR-IS 1401, Oxford, 2005, p. 14; S.E. FANTECHI, A.P. ZINGARELLI, "Singers and Musicians in New Kingdom Egypt", GM 186, 2002, p. 28, n. 15. The title, imy-r3 hsyw, is attested in relation to specific gods: Ptah, Amun, Amun-Ipet: S.L. Onstine, op. cit., p. 14; S.S. EICHLER, op. cit., p. 168; Ph. Brissaud, Chr. Zivie-Coche, op. cit., p. 471, pl. VII a, fig. 1, pp. 474–76, pl. VII b, fig. 2.

The inscription above the deities reads:



- [1] Wsir hnty
- [2] Ímntt nb 3bdw
- [3] 3st wrt nbt pt
- [1] Osiris foremost of
- [2] the West, lord of Abydos
- [3] Isis, the great, lady of heaven

The other scene, on the left of the upper register, represents Imn-w3h-sw, the brother of Nfr-mpt, adoring Horus and Wepwawet. The god Horus is represented with a falcon head wearing a tripartite wig and the double Crown. He wears a short tight kilt with bull's tail hanging from the waist. He is bare-chested except for a broad collar. He holds a w3s-sceptre in his right hand, while his left hand grasps an nb-sign. The god Wepwawet is depicted with the head of jackal standing behind, or perhaps next to Horus, with both hands at his sides. He wears a short tight kilt with a tail falling behind, and a tripartite wig. Imn-w3h-sw stands before the gods with hands raised in adoration pose. He wears complex layered clothing. He has a fine tunic worn as an under-garment, a long wrap-around kilt over this and a sash kilt tied around the hips so it is positioned high at the back and low in the front. He also wears sandals and a broad collar. His head is bald and neck is thin.

The inscription above *İmn-w3h-sw* reads:



- [1] rdít íðw n Ḥr Wp-wðwt [2] ín ḥm-nṭr tpy n Wrt-ḥkðw [3-4] ímy-rð ímyw-ḥnt Ímn-wðḥ-sw
- [1] Giving adoration to Horus and Wepwawet [2] by the first god's servant of Werethekau^a [3-4] overseer of chamberlains^b İmn-w3ḥ-sw

- a. Five people bore the title of the "first god's servant of Werethekau". ²¹ The earliest attestation dates to the 18th Dynasty, while the latest dates to the reign of Ramesses XI. ²² Other priests of the goddess Werethekau: the "pure-priest of Werethekau", "chief of the pure priests of Werethekau", and "god's servant of Werethekau", were attested from the New Kingdom onwards as well. ²³
- b. The chamberlain took charge of dressing the king, adorning him with the jewellery,²⁴ and placing the crown on the head of the king.²⁵ He was very close to the king and his family inside the royal palace.²⁶ During the New Kingdom, the *imy-lpnt*; "chamberlain", was associated with the *wrlpw*, "the anointer", adorning and dressing the king in the ceremonies of the coronation and the *Sed*-festival.²⁷ The vizier *P3-sr*, contemporary of Seti I/Ramesses II, held the title of "overseer of chamberlains of the lord of the Two Lands" and the title of "the first god's servant of Werethekau".²⁸ It is the first clear example of combining the two titles.²⁹ This could help for dating our stela. However, there is an earlier example for *İmn-lptp*, contemporary of Amenhotep III, who held the titles "great chamberlain" and "[first god's servant] of Werethekau" in his tomb at Qurna.³⁰ It was reconstructed by Helck.³¹ *Hrî-dd.n.f* bore the title of "chamberlain" on his wooden statue Cairo JE 21871 [7d], which was found in Saqqara, and the title of "first god's servant of Werethekau", dated to the 18th Dynasty.³²

- 21 A.M.M. Ouda, op. cit., p. 110.
- 22 Ibid., pp. 110–111; cf. a possible reconstruction for an earlier inscription in the tomb of *hq3 r nhh* of the reign of Amenhotep II-Thutmose IV (TT 64: *LD* III, 260).
- 23 Ibid., pp. 107-110.
- 24 K. DAOUD, "Ramose, an Overseer of the Chamberlains at Memphis", *JEA* 80, 1994, p. 204; M. El-ALFI, "Le torse d'une statue d'Achmoun", *DiscEg* 21, 1991, pp. 13–14, n. 12.
- 25 M. GUILMOT, "Le titre *Imj-khent* dans l'Égypte Ancienne", *CdE* 39, 1964, p. 33; A. GARDINER, "The Coronation of King Ḥaremḥab", *JEA* 39, 1953, p. 26.

 26 M. GUILMOT, op. cit., p. 34. As for their participation in the funeral ceremonies and their service in the temple read: ibid., pp. 35, 37–38; K. DAOUD, op. cit., p. 204; J.-Cl. GOYON, "L'origine et le du titre Tardif [...] et variantes. En
- marge du papyrus de Brooklyn 47.218.50 [1]", *BIFAO* 70, 1971, p. 81. The holders of this important title also held occasionally the title "the great god's servant of Heliopolis": M. El-Alfi, op. cit., p. 14. As for the title of "chamberlain of the god's wife" read: R. Moss, "The Statue of an Ambassador to Ethiopia at Kiev", *Kush* 8, 1960, p. 270; D. METAWI, "Pedesi, a Chamberlain of the Divine Adoratress (Cairo CG 670 and JE 37031)", *JARCE* 49, 2013, pp. 51–53, 55, figs. 6–7.
- 27 J.-Cl. Goyon, op. cit., pp. 79[2-3]–80; V. LORET, "Le tombeau de l'amxent Amen-hotep", *MMAF* 1, 1884, p. 27; during the Saite Period, the *lyrp lywwt Nt*, "director of the temple of Neith" took the responsibility of the *imy-lynt*, performing the ritual of the coronation: J.-Cl. Goyon, op. cit., p. 81.
- 28 A.M.M. Ouda, op. cit., p. 111.

- 29 Ibid., p. 111.
- 30 V. Loret, op. cit., p. 30; another contemporary example for *P3-sr* (temp. of Amenhotep III) who combines the titles of "overseer of chamberlains" and "god's servant of Werethekau" on stela Louvre C 65: A.M.M. Ouda, op. cit., p. 67; É. Drioton, "Essai sur la cryptographie privée de la fin de la XVIIIe" dynastie", *RdE* 1, 1933, p. 25, pl. 4.
- 31 Urk IV, 1938.
- 32 L. BORCHARDT, Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten, III, CGC Nr. 1-1294, Berlin, 1930, p. 103, pl. 149; C. CHADEFAUD, Les statues porteenseignes de l'Égypte ancienne (1580–1085 avant J.-C.), Paris, 1982, p. 103.

The inscription above the deities reads:



- [1] Ḥr ind-[2] ḥr it.f s3-3st
- [3] *Wp-W3wt*
- [4] nb-3bdw ntr-'3 nb t3-dsrt
- [1] Horus, avenger of [2] his father, son of Isis,
- [3] Wepwawet
- [4] lord of Abydos, the great god, lord of the Sacred land

Second Register

The second register of the stela has a text of eleven lines of hieroglyphs. The inscription falls into three sections: the first one is an adoration of Osiris (ll. 1–4). The second section is an offering formula (ll. 5–9) which is dedicated to the Osiris triad, Wepawawet, and Anubis. The last section of the stela is a threat formula (ll. 9–11). The inscription reads as follow:

- [1] dw3 Wsîr hnty îmntt nb 3bdw^a în îmy-r3 hsyw n ntrw nbw îmy-r3 hsyw n nb-t3wy^b Nfr-rnpt m3^c-hrw, s3 s3b H3t ms(w).n T3-wsrt
- [2] n° W3st dd.f ii.n.i hr.k ntr-'3 Wsir hnty imntt wnn-nfr nb t3-dsrt h'y.kwi n m3 nfrw.k
- [3] 'wy.i m izw hr dwz hm.k ntk w' sbby nhh di.k zh wsr mz'-hrwd tzw ndm n mhy
- [4] two prt hst m hrt-ntr m hprw nb mry.i n ks n imy-rs hsywe n nb-tswy Nfr-rnpt ms'-hrw dd.f
- [5] htp-dî-nsw Wsîr hnty îmntt wnn-nfr nb 3bdw 3st wrt mwt-nṭr Ḥr înd-ḥr ît.f f s3 3st bnrt mrwt
- [6] Wp-w3wt nb 3bdw psdt imywt t3-dsrt Înpw imy-wt tpy dw.f hnty sh-nţr di.sn⁸ prrt nb(t) hr wdhw.sn m t hnkt^h k3w 3pdw
- [7] kbhw îrpⁱ îrtt ht nbt nfrt w' bt 'nh(t) ntr îm.sn n k3 n w' îkr nfr bî3t w3h îb grw m3'-hrw îmy-r3 hsyw
- [8] n pr-'3 'nh(.w) wd3(.w) snb(.w) Nfr-rnpt m3'-hrw s3 s3b H3t ms n nbt-pr T3-wsrt it.f sn.f hm-ntr tpy n Wrt-hk3w
- [9] imy-rz imyw-hnt n nb-tzwy imn-wzh-sw mz'-hrw imy-rz hsyw n pr-'z 'nh(.w) wdz(.w) snb(.w) Nfr-rnpt mz'-hrw dd.f i wrw hmw-ntrw
- [10] w'bw hryw-hb rmt nb iwt.snk hr s3.i m hhw rnpt ir rwi.t(y).fy rn.i r dit rn.f iw ntr
- [II] $r db3 n.fm skt hnt.ftp t3 ir dmt.frn.i n wd pn iw ntr <math>r^1$ irt n.fm mitt^m
- [1] Adoring Osiris, foremost of the West, lord of Abydos, by the Overseer of the singers of all of the gods, Overseer of the singers of the lord of the Two Lands, *Nfr-rnpt*, justified, son of the dignitary *H3t*, born of *T3-wsrt*
- [2] of Thebes. He says: "I came before you, great god, Osiris, foremost of the west, Wenennefer, lord of the Sacred Land, rejoicing for seeing your beauty.
- [3] My arms are in adoration, worshipping your majesty. You are the one who traverses eternity. May you give the glorification, the might, the justification, the gentle (*i.e.* sweet) breeze of the north,
- [4] the breezeⁿ which comes forth and back in the cemetery, in all forms which I love to the Ka-spirit of the Overseer of the singers of the lord of the Two Lands, *Nfr-rnpt*, justified." He says:
- [5] "An offering-that-the-king-gives of Osiris, Foremost of the West, Wenennefer, lord of Abydos, Isis, the great, mother of the god, Horus, Avenger of his father, son of Isis, sweet^o of love,^p
- [6] Wepwawet, lord of Abydos and ennead^q who is in the sacred land, Anubis, who is in the mummy wrappings,^r who is up on his mountain, in front of the divine booth, may they give all that comes forth on their altars of bread, beer, oxen, fowl
- [7] cool water, wine, milk, and all good and pure things, which a god lives on them," for the Ka-spirit of the uniquely excellent, the good character, friendly one, quiet one, justified, the overseer of the singers
- [8] of the Pharaoh, l.p.h., *Nfr-rnpt*, justified, son of the dignitary, *Ḥɔt*, born of lady of the house, *Tɔ-wsrt*, (to) his father, (and) his brother, first god's-servant of Werethekau,
- [9] Overseer of the chamberlains of the lord of the Two Lands, " *Ímn-w3ḥ-sw*, justified, the Overseer of the singers of the pharaoh, l.p.h., *Nfr-rnpt*, justified. He says: "O great ones, gods-servants,

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[10] pure-priests, lector-priests, all people who will come after me in millions of years. As for him who shall remove my name to place his name, god will

[12] reimburse him, destroying his statue upon earth, if he called my name on this stela, god will make to him likewise."

COMMENT ON THE PREVIOUS TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION (A. MARIETTE, K. PIEHL, P. LABIB)

- a. Piehl adds the sign of niwt (O49), though the original inscription does not show it. 33
- b. Piehl used (N16) instead of (N17).34
- c. Piehl missed the n (N₃₅) in the transcription ms(w).n.³⁵
- d. Piehl used the sign (H6), though the correct one is (Aa11).³⁶
- e. Piehl used the sign (N₃₃A), instead of (Z₂).³⁷
- f. Piehl has an additional sign (Z1) in *it.f*, though the original inscription does not have.³⁸
- g. The determinative of sn in Pieh's transcription is (N₃₃A), though the right one is (Z₂).³⁹
- **h.** Piehl applied the determinative of the three strokes (Z2) twice for t and hnqt, though the text used (Z2) once for both of the words.⁴⁰
- i. Piehl used the determinative of (Z₂) in the word of irp, though it is (Z₃).⁴¹
- j. Piehl used (N16) for the word of t3wy, but it is (N17). 42
- **k.** The three strokes (\mathbb{Z}_3) in *sn* were omitted in Piehl's copy.⁴³
- 1. Mariette in the last line of the inscription used (D₄) instead of (D₂₁).⁴⁴
- m. Mariette overlooked the sign (Y1) in mitt. 45
- **n.** Labib overlooked the translation of *t3w*, "breeze" in l. 4, translating the sentence *t3w prt h3t m hrt-ntr m hprw nb*, "a coming and going in the Underworld in every form". ⁴⁶
- **o.** Piehl translated the word of *bnrt* into "palm",⁴⁷ instead of the expression *bnrt mrwt*, "sweet of love".⁴⁸
- p. This epithet is attested for both women and goddesses.⁴⁹ Mut held this epithet on the northern wall of the sanctuary in the Speos at Gebel el-Silsila from the reign of Horemheb,⁵⁰ the walls of the temple of Karnak,⁵¹ and the eastern wall of the shrine of Khonsu in the forecourt of the temple of Luxor.⁵² Mehit bore this epithet on the northern wall of the sanctuary of Horemheb at Gebel el-Silsila.⁵³ Isis held this epithet in a series of epithets on the aforementioned sanctuary at Gebel el-Silsila on the eastern wall⁵⁴ and also on a
- 33 K. Piehl, op. cit., pl. 91 [col. 2 from left].
- 34 Ibid., pl. 91 [col. 3 from left].
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Ibid., pl. 91 [col. 5 from left].
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Ibid., pl. 91 [col. 6 from left].
- 39 Ibid., pl. 91 [col. 7 from left]; cf. the word *þryw-þb* in his transcription as well (ibid., pl. 92, col. 2).
- 40 Ibid., pl. 91 [col. 8 from left].
- 41 Ibid.

- 42 Ibid., pl. 92 [col. 1 from left].
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 A. Mariette, op. cit., p. 434.
- 45 Ibid., p. 434.
- **46** P.Cl. Labib, op. cit., p. 195; K. Piehl, op. cit., p. 57.
- 47 K. Piehl, op. cit., p. 57.
- 48 Wb I, 463, 4-5.
- 49 *LGG* II, p. 805; *Wb* I. 463, 4-5.
- 50 A.-Chr. THIEM, Speos von Gebel es-Silsileh: Analyse der architektonischen und ikonographischen Konzeption im

Rahmen des politischen und legitimatorischen Programmes der Nachamarnazeit, ÄAT 47,1, Wiesbaden, 2000, p. 182, pp. 328–329 [5], Abb. 17.

- 51 *KRI* I, 20 [8]; *KRI* VI, 88 [10].
- 52 KRI II, 616 [15].
- 53 A.-Chr. Тніем, ор. cit., pp. 182, 328, 330 [11–12], Abb. 17.
- 54 Ibid., pp. 325–326 [6], Abb. 16.

- stela BM EA 156 of the Ramesside Period.⁵⁵ Maat held the epithets *bnrt mrwt m 'ḥ ît.s R'*, "sweet of love in the palace of her father, Re" in the tomb of the aforementioned vizier *P3-sr* (TT 106, Qurna).⁵⁶ Many other goddesses bore this epithet in the Greco-Roman Period.⁵⁷
- **q.** This should be translated into "the ennead",⁵⁸ instead of "the company of the gods"⁵⁹ or "le cycle divin".⁶⁰
- r. P. Labib translated the epithet of Anubis $+\frac{S}{2}$ into *imy wḥɔt*, "who is in the Oasis (?)". ⁶¹ However, the applicable transliteration and translation is *imy wt*, "who is in the place of embalming" or "who is in the mummy wrappings". ⁶³
- s. P. Labib translated the word of *grw*, "silent". However, a suitable translation could be "quiet" or "self-controlled". 65
- t. A. Mariette reported that the ancient Egyptian scribe did not write the name of *Nfr-rnpt*'s father, *Ḥɔt*, after *it.f.*⁶⁶ Piehl thought that *it*, "father" is an honorary qualification for *Nfr-rnpt*'s brother, *Imn-wɔḥ-sw*, in this instance. P. Labib translated the whole passage "his father and his brother were (?) the chief prophets of Werethekau". However, there is another interpretation that the giving of the gods of bread, beer, oxen etc., is dedicated to the Ka-spirit of *Nfr-rnpt*, his father, and his brother. His father's name is not written, as it has been recalled in the family affiliation of *Nfr-rnpt* at the same line.
- u. P. Labib translated *imy-r imyw-lnt* as "Overseer of the provisions of the lord of the Two Lands", 69 though the correct translation is "Overseer of chamberlains of the lord of the Two Lands". 70
- v. The threat-formulae invoked a threat against violators of the tomb, burial chamber, the image, and the corpse of the deceased. In the Ramesside Period, there is an increase in using threat-formulae. The king started invoking threats of divine punishment, imitating the individuals who started it earlier in time. The inscriptions of the 19th Dynasty contain an invocation against the removal of a stela or an inscription from its place e.g. the monumental ostracon Boston MFA 11.1498: The vizier who shall remove this stela from its place: he shall not be satisfied with m3't; nor shall he follow Amun in all his festivals. Another inscription of the high priest of Amun, Hry-Hr, contemporary of Ramesses XI, on his statue in the Egyptian Museum Cairo, CG 42190, indicates that if anyone removes his image from its place (rwi p3 twt hr st.f) after many years, the Theban triad will punish him; his name shall not exist in the land of Egypt and he will die of hunger and thirst. The closest threat-formula to our votive stela, the subject of this paper, is the inscription of the High Priest of Amun, Imn-Htp, contemporary of Ramesses IX. A block was found at Karnak that
- 55 T.G.H. JAMES, *Hieroglyphic Texts* from Egyptian Stelae Etc., London, 1970, p. 32, pl. 38A [BM 156, lower register, 1st line].
- 56 KRI I, 287 [12].
- 57 *LGG* II, p. 805.
- 58 A. Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphics, Oxford, 1957, p. 486 [sign-list N 9].
- 59 P.Cl. Labib, op. cit., p. 196.
- 60 K. Piehl, op. cit., p. 57.

- 61 Ibid., p. 196.
- 62 *Wb* I, 380 [1-4]; *LGG* I. p. 232 [col. 3].
- 63 J.P. Allen, op. cit., p. 12.
- 64 Wb V, 180 [10].
- 65 L.H. LESKO, A Dictionary of Late Egyptian, Berkeley, 2004, p. 191.
- 66 A. Mariette, loc. cit.
- 67 K. Piehl, loc. cit.
- 68 P.Cl. LABIB, loc. cit.: He also considers *İmn-wz*ḥ-sw as the father of *Nfr-rnpt*: ibid., p. 195.

- 69 Ibid., p. 196.
- 70 See above p. 181 [b].
- 71 S. Morschauser, *Threat-Formulae* in *Ancient Egypt*, Baltimore, 1991, p. 176-181.
- 72 Ibid., p. 182.
- 73 Ibid., p. 182.
- 74 KRI IV, 359 [5-7].
- 75 S. Morschauser, op. cit., p. 192.
- 76 *KRI*VI, 844 [2-4]; S. Morschauser, op. cit., p. 193.

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has a threat, directed against usurpation of his text or erasing it.⁷⁷ The inscription reads: *ir* p3 nty iw.f rwi [rn].i r dit rn.f hb lmn 'h'.f hr-tp t3 tm, "as for the One who will remove my [name] to place his name, Amun will lessen his entire life-time on earth". ⁷⁸ Another group of Ramesside graffiti occurs on the local shrines of Amun and Hathor at Deir el-Bahari. These are directed against erasing the name and text of their owners. ⁷⁹ One of these reads "as for the one who shall erase my name in order to place his name: Ptah shall be an opponent for him, while Sekhmet shall pursue his wives, and Taweret his children". ⁸⁰

DISCUSSION

The name of *Nfr-rnpt* is attested once, according to Ranke, ⁸¹ in the Old Kingdom⁸² and many times later in the New Kingdom⁸³ and the Late Period. However, the way of writing his name, which occurs on our stela, has not been attested before the New Kingdom. There are many tombs on the West Bank of Thebes for men named *Nfr-rnpt*. ⁸⁴ However, none of them had the same occupation as *Nfr-rnpt* or the identical family affiliation. The name of *İmn-w3h-sw* is attested in the New Kingdom. ⁸⁵

This stela should be attributed to Nfr-rnpt, not to Imn-w3p-sw, although both of them are depicted on the upper register of the stela. The name of Nfr-rnpt is followed by the name of his parents twice which did not happen for his brother. Nfr-rnpt is depicted on the right side of the stela, which is more important than the left side, adoring Osiris and Isis.

The depiction of the Osiris triad in its upper register is further evidence pointing to the provenance of this stela as Abydos. The second register opens with adoration of the god Osiris, the main god of Abydos. ⁸⁶ The offering formula in the second register addresses the Osiris triad as well. The main epithet of Wepwawet on this stela is "lord of Abydos". He is represented twice on this stela with this epithet. He was worshipped in Abydos; he replaced Anubis, the god of the necropolis, according to a 12th Dynasty stela, and became a local god. ⁸⁷ He was a

- 77 Ibid., p. 195.
- 78 KRI VI, 533 [12-13].
- 79 S. Morschauser, op. cit., p. 196; A.I. Sadek, "An attempt to Translate the Corpus of the Deir el-Bahari Hieratic Inscriptions", *GM* 71, 1984, p. 69 [DB 51], 73 [DB 67].
- 80 Ibid., p. 69 [DB 50].
- 81 *PN* I. 197 [18].
- 82 G. Daressy, *Le Mastaba de Mera*, Mémoires de l'Institut égyptien 3, Cairo, 1900, p. 541.
- 83 A. Erman, "Der Zauberpapyrus des Vatikan", ZÄS 31, 1893, p. 125; G. ROEDER, Die Denkmaler des Pelizaeus-Museums zu Hildesheim,
- Kunst und Altertum: Alte kulturen im lichte neuer forschung 3, Berlin, 1921, p. 95 [1892]; E. Schiaparelli, Museo archeologico di Firenze: Antichità egizie, Rome, 1887, p. 310 [1583]; P.A.A. Boeser, Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseum der Altertümer in Leiden V: Die Denkmäler des Neuen Reiches III: Stelen, Haag, 1913, p. 10, tf. 17 [35].
- 84 PM I, p. 83 [TT 43], p. 249 [TT 133], p. 254 [TT 140], p. 283 [178], p. 335 [249], p. 404 [336].
- 85 PNI, 27 [2]: II, 65; There are two Ramesside tombs on the West Bank of Thebes for men, whose names were

- *İmn-w3ḥ-sw*, but their family affiliation is different from our case as well: PM I, p. 229 [TT III], p. 35I [TT 274].
- 86 J. Spiegel, *Die Götter von Abydos*, GOF IV.I, Wiesbaden, 1973, p. 7ff.
- 87 E. Graefe, *LÄ* VI 1986, col. 863, s.v. "Upuaut"; A. Leahy, "A Protective Measure at Abydos in the Thirteenth Dynasty", *JEA* 75, 1989, pp. 41–60; J. Spiegel, op. cit., pp. 54–59; N. Durisch, "Culte des canidés à Assiout: trois nouvelles stèles dédiées à Oupouaout", *BIFAO* 93, 1993, p. 207, n. 12.

fighter against the enemies of Osiris, "Horus the protector" and "the son of Osiris" in Abydos. 88 Wepawawet also was "the opener of ways", who led the processions in the Osiris mysteries in Abydos. 89 The name of Anubis was included in the offering formula in the second register, together with the Osiris triad and Wepwawet. Anubis was worshipped at Abydos. 90 This stela is devoted to the Osiris triad, Wepwawet, and Anubis.

The family of the owner of the stela may come from Thebes, however the stela was found in Abydos. His mother was called *T3-wsrt* of Thebes. The last section of the inscription in the second register addresses the identity of the object, *i.e.* the stela.

Mariette attributed this stela to the Ramesside Period. There is ample evidence which supports that this stela could be dated to this period. The title of the "overseer of chamberlains" and the "first priest of Werethekau" were both attested clearly together first on the objects of *P3-sr*, contemporary of Seti I and Ramesses II. So the stela could be dated to the reign of Seti I or Ramesses II. The type of the costume of the owner cannot be precisely compared with any of the twenty types included in Hofmann's study of the art of the Ramesside private tombs. However, Hoffman's garment type (no. 14), which dates to early in the Ramesside Period could be linked to our stela.⁹¹

The main titles and occupation of *Nfr-rnpt* was "Overseer of the singers of the lord of the Two Lands", "Overseer of the singers of the pharaoh, l.p.h.", and "Overseer of the singers of all the gods". This indicates that he had a high position in Egyptian society, providing music necessary for the king and associated him with the temple, and the members of elite.

88 E. Graefe, op. cit., col. 863; M. Münster, Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches: vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches, MÄS 11, Berlin, 1968, p. 119.

89 A. Leahy, op. cit., p. 54; N. Durisch, op. cit., pp. 207–208, nos. II–I2.

90 J. Spiegel, op. cit., pp. 42–49.

91 E. HOFMANN, Bilder im Wandel; die Kunst der Ramessidischen Privatgräber, Theben 14, Mainz, 2004, pp. 168–169.

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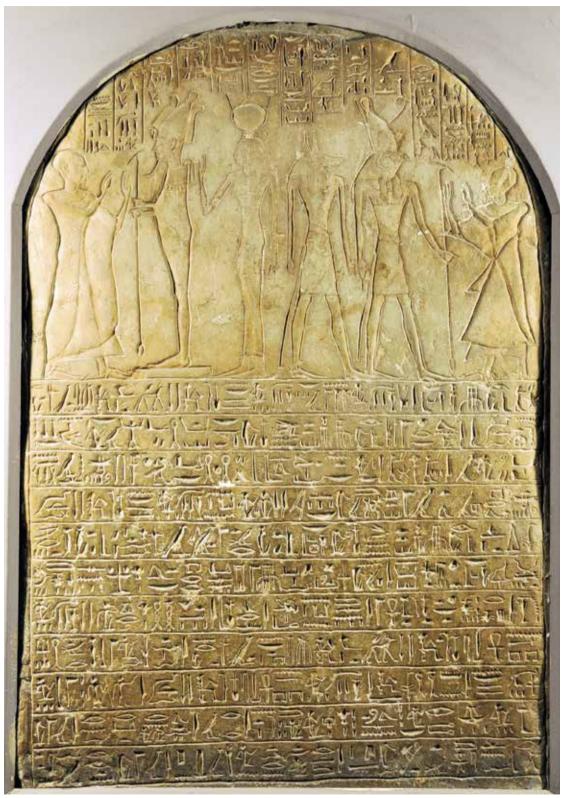


Fig. 1. The stela of *Nfr-rnpt* (Egyptian Museum Cairo TR 14.6.24.17). Courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, photograph by Sameh Abdel Mohsen.

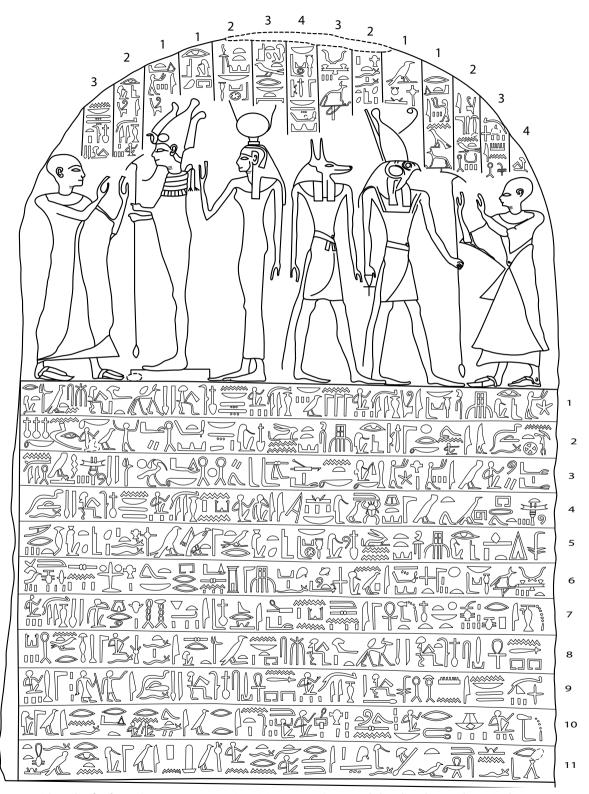


Fig. 2. The stela of Nfr-rnpt (Egyptian Museum Cairo TR 14.6.24.17). Facsimile by Ahmed M. Mekawy Ouda.