



THE FUNERARY STELA OF DEDOW AND HIS WIFE DEDET (CG 20692)

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Abstract:

This paper aims to publish and study a round-topped funerary stela found at the north necropolis of Abydos. It is currently kept at Cairo Museum under the number (CG 20692, JE 12645, and SR 3 / 10400). The stela measures 64.5 cm high, 27 cm wide and about 10 cm thick. The stela is mostly in good condition. It has a well-prepared surface. It is also framed by a lightly incised borderline around the stela and incised borderlines between the registers. The hieroglyphs are carved in sunken relief, and the signs are shallow cut with no internal details. It belongs to a man called Dedow and his wife Dedet. It is divided into four parts. The upper part is the main text reserved for "ḥtp-dī-nsw(t)" offering formula. The second part represents the main scene that shows Dedow and his wife Dedyt receiving funerary offerings given by their son Sobek-hotep, while the third and fourth parts are decorated with depictions of Dedow's family members. The artistic style and the orthographic and paleographic features suggest that the stela is typical of the stelae of the late Twelfth Dynasty or the early Thirteenth dynasty.

1. Introduction

Abydos was an important religious site for the ancient Egyptians as it was the holy city of Osiris. From the middle kingdom to the Late Roman Period, pilgrims visited Abydos and had at least one stela erected there [1-4]. Archaeologists discovered a large number of stelae almost came from both chapels associated with tombs and those built in the votive zone overlooking the temple and town [5-7]. Every Middle Kingdom stela from Abydos is now a part of museum collections worldwide [8-10]. Unfortunately, large numbers of the stelae from Abydos cemetery are undocumented [11] because of the history of their large-scale 'harvesting' in Abydos before any serious attempts to record excavation there

and deriving others from earlier uncontrolled excavations [3,12-14]. The stela understudy was found by Mariette in the north necropolis of Abydos whose stelae represent a major component of the collection of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo [15]. It is a round-topped funerary stela^(a) currently kept at Cairo museum under the number (JE 12645, CG 20692, SR 3/ 10400). It measures 64.5 cm high, 27 cm wide, and about 10 cm thick. The stela is mostly in good condition. It has a well-prepared surface. It is also framed by a lightly incised borderline around the stela and incised borderlines between the registers. The hieroglyphs are carved in sunken relief, and the signs are shallow cut with no internal details. It belongs to a man called

Dedow and his wife Dedet. Thematically, the stela is divided into four parts. The upper part is reserved for five horizontal sunken hieroglyphic lines of "*htp-di-nsw(t)*" offering formula from right to left. The second one represents the main scene of Dedow and his wife Dedyt standing in front of the offering table receiving the funerary offerings from their son Sobek-hotep, while the lower two parts are decorated with eight standing figures of Dedow's family members. All women are dressed in long tight-fitting garments. A woman has one shoulder strap and wears long tripartite wigs and necklaces, while her long black hair is hanging on her shoulders. In contrast, the men are dressed in short kilts with large triangular, and wear short wigs, which reveal their ears or none. All male and female figures put their arms hanging by their sides, fig (1).

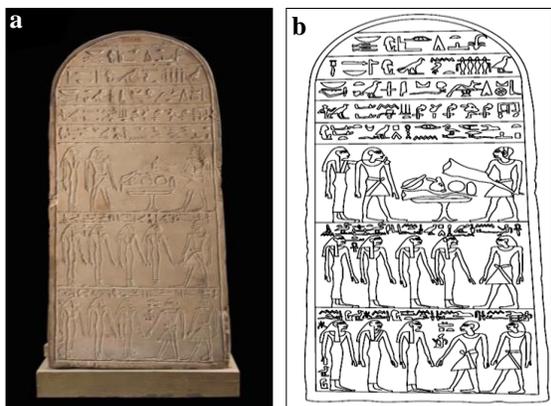


Figure (1) Shows **a.** the stela of Dedow and his wife Dedet, **b.** a facsimile of the stela of dd.w and his wife dd.t.

2. Methodological Study (Description and Texts)

A round-topped funerary stela was found in the northern necropolis in Abydos. It is currently located at Cairo museum. It is registered under accession no. (JE 12645, CG 20692, SR 3/ 10400). It measures 64.5 cm high, 27 cm wide and about 10 cm thick. The stela is mostly in good condition. It has a well-prepared surface. It is framed by a lightly incised borderline that runs around the stela and incised borderlines between

the registers in which the hieroglyphs are carved in sunken relief. The signs are shallow cut with no internal details. It belongs to a man called Dedow and his wife Dedyt. Thematically, the stela is divided into four registers, as follows:

2.1. The first register (A), fig (2).



Figure (2) Shows the first register



[1] *htp di nsw (n) Wsir nb Dd*

[2] *w hnty-imntyw ntr- 3 nb 3*

[3] *bdw di Inpw tpy dw.f imy-wt nb T3-dsr*

[4] *prt-hrw t hnkt h3 k3w 3pdw h3 šs h3 mnht n im3hw ddw*

\ Right side : *s3.f mr.f sbk-htp*

[5] Left side: *ir n hpw hmt.f ddt*

[1] "An offering given by the king^(b) (and) Osiris^(c), lord of Busiris^(d), [2] foremost of the westerners^(e), the great god^(f), lord of [3] Abydos^(g). An offering which (the king) gives and Anubis, who is upon his mountain^(h), the embalmer⁽ⁱ⁾, lord of the sacred land^(j) [4] Invocation offerings consisting of bread, beer, a thousand of oxen and fowl^(k), a thousand of alabaster, and a thousand of linen, for the revered one^(l), Dedow^(m), [5] Engendered by Hepow⁽ⁿ⁾, his wife Dedet^(o), his beloved son Sobek-Hotep^(p).

2.2..The second register (B)

The second register, fig (3). presents the main scene of the stela. It shows Dedow and his wife Dedyt standing in front of the offering table, receiving offerings provided by their son Sobek-Hotep who is described as his beloved. Dedow wears a short kilt with a large triangular and a short wig, which reveals his ear. Dedyt embraces her husband with her left arm. She wears tight-fitting garments with one shoulder strap and wears a long tripartite wig and necklace. Their son Sobek-Hotep is depicted standing on the other side of the offering table. He wears a short kilt with a large triangular, while his head is shaved, perhaps as an indication that he is performing the role of Sem-priest. He offers a big *hpš* to his parents. On the offering table, a set of poor offerings consist of two round and conical bread loaves, a bull's head, a piece of meat, and another bull's leg "*hpš*" besides the one offered by their son, which indicates the importance of this offering for the deceased in the ancient Egyptian religion^(a).



Figure (3) Shows the second register

2.3. The third register (C)

The third register, fig (4) consists of a scene with a hieroglyphic horizontal line. The scene depicts Dedow's brother Ankhow-shery stands facing four women. He wears a short kilt with a large triangular and a short wig, which reveals his ear. Above his figure, his name and his cognation to the stela's owner are written. The three women are depicted in the same shape as the woman

in the previous register. The name of each one is written above her figure except the name of Dedow's daughter Ienet-ef-ankh. Because the line was not enough to write his full name, the scribe had to write "*in*" in the line and "*t.f ʿnh*" in front of her face. The text reads:



Mwt.f hpw snt.f bbi s3t.f dd. s s3t.f int.f - ʿnh \ sn.f ʿnh.w-šri

His brother Ankhw-shery^(r). / His mother Hepow, his sister Bebi^(s), his daughter Ded-es^(t), his daughter Ienet-ef-ankh^(u).



Figure (4) Shows the third register

2.4. The fourth register (D)

The fourth register, fig (5). consists of a scene with a hieroglyphic horizontal line. The scene depicts Dedow's two brothers standing in front of three women. His first brother Sobek-Hotep wears a short kilt with a large triangular and shaved hair, while his second brother Dedow-Sobek wears in the same way with a short wig, which reveals his ear. The name of each one is written above his figure. The three women are depicted in the same shape as the woman in the previous registers. The name of each one is written above his figure except for the name of Sobek-Hotep, the scribe that was written as "*sbk*" in the line and "*hpt*" in front of his figure and the name of Sat-Neith written as *nt* behind her head and *s3t* beside her leg.



The text on the right side should be read as:



sn.f sbk-ḥtp. sn.f dd.w sbk^(v)

*"His brother Sobek-Hotep, his brother
Dedow-Sobek"*

The text on the left side should be read as:



snt.f snt^(w) snt.f s3(t)-nt^(x) snt.f s3.(t)-nt.

*"His sister Senet, his sister Sat-Neith, his
sister Sat-Neith"*

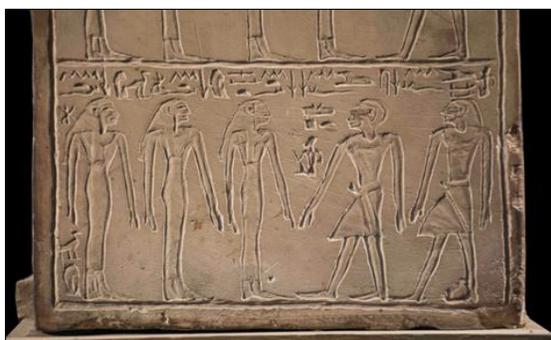


Figure (5) Shows the fourth register

3. Results

Many results were extracted, they are: *) A funerary stela was found in the northern necropolis in Abydos. It is currently located at Cairo museum. The stela is divided into four registers. The main texts are reserved for the "*ḥtp-di-nsw(t)*" offering formula. The main scene shows Dedow and his wife Dedyt receiving the funerary offerings. *) The stela of Dedow is a genealogy that shows Dedow's genealogy by depicting his family members alongside their names. *) Neither Dedow nor any of his family members held any titles, which confirms that Dedow and his family belonged to the low class. *) The epigraphical features of the stela, the way of inscriptions and scenes, and the poor style, beside the provenance in which the stela was discovered indicate that the stela could be dated to the late 12th dynasty or early 13th dynasty.

4. Discussion

4.1. The symbolism of funerary stela in the ancient Egyptian religion

Ancient Egyptians set up funerary stela to preserve a person's memory alive by portraying him in front of an offering table and identifying him with titles [16,17]. By the Middle Kingdom, funerary stelae were no longer reserved for the elite. Instead, they were popularized and made accessible to a broader sphere of society; even the most humble individual who could afford a stela could connect himself with gods [18,19].

4.2. Abydene stelae

Virtually, every Egyptian wished to be cited and commemorated in the presence of Osiris, but not everyone had the opportunity to undertake a physical journey to Abydos [20]. Therefore, during the middle kingdom, lots of stelae were placed by the temple of Osiris at his cult center in Abydos. By placing a stela in Abydene chapels, the owner would be eternally included in the festivals and rituals dedicated to Osiris. In short, the stela acted as a pragmatic substitute for their own physical presence [20,21]. These stelae are known as "Abydene stelae". Many of them, especially those found in the north necropolis, are dated to the late middle kingdom. Moreover, the vast majority of Abydene stelae can be dated to the early 13th dynasty [22, 23]. On these stelae, the deceased was portrayed either offering or accepting offerings, usually with his family members [24]. According to their owners, Abydene stelae may be arranged into three types: [25,26]

- *) Stelae from Abydene citizen's tombs.
- *) Stelae erected by royal officials who went on specific missions to Abydos or the surrounding area.
- *) Stelae erected by pilgrims who visited Abydos for the Osirian festival and set up a memorial for themselves.

4.3. Types of Abydene stelae's workshops

The variety of the styles of Abydene stelae is thought to be attributed to their origins

in various Egyptian locations [26]. However, their exact locations are unknown [11]. Abydene stelae may be arranged according to their workshops, as follows: [27,28]

- *) Stelae produced in Abydos by royal or local craftsmen because it is thought that a large group of craftsmen lived near the Abydos necropolis and worked on private stelae [29,30] in local workshops [31-33].
- *) Stelae could be made elsewhere and sent to Abydos later [29,30,34].

4.4. The workshop on Dedow's stela

According to the classification of Alexander Ilin-Tomich of the late middle kingdom Abydene stelae's workshops [34], the characteristics of Dedow's stela combine the second and third workshops, which are dated to the Thirteenth dynasty workshop and are characterized by the following:

4.4.1. Workshop 2 (ca. the time of the vizier Ankhu^(y))

This workshop is distinguished with poor relief quality. All scenes and hieroglyphic inscriptions are executed in sunk relief, featuring inner details, and never executed in the silhouette style. The elongated torsos of sitting and standing figures should be recognized as the most remarkable trait associated with this workshop. Another major trait is the specific composition of an offering table with one round and one or two oval offerings. The owners of stelae wear bag wigs. Male and female wigs leave ears exposed, but the inner details of ears are not depicted. Men and women wear narrow collars. Men often wear short kilts [35,36].

4.4.2. Workshop 3 (ca. the reign Sobekhotep III^(z))

This workshop is distinguished in addition to the features of the previous workshop that the stelae are round-topped with human figures that have elongated skulls [37]. The products of this workshop have common features represented in the relative width of horizontal signs. Human figures are shown

with sharp lines and ill-proportioned torso and shoulders. This workshop is dated back to the 13th dynasty. Depending on the characteristics of its epigraphic and iconographic style, besides its features which correspond with those characterizing a group of stelae from Abydos^(aa), it is suggested that Dedow's stela is related to the workshop in Abydos [38,39].

4.5. Genealogy stelae and their relationship to the symbolism of the name in the ancient Egyptian religion

The Egyptians valued their personal names to a great extent as they symbolize the personality, the manifestation of the person, and the ability to impose influence on him [40]. According to an Egyptian belief, the permanent inscription of a person's name was necessary for achieving immortality. The long-term survival and uttering of a person's name determined whether he or she would be immortalized. Having the names and titles of the owner, as well as his family, relatives, and companions carved onto the stela, served as a form of individual insurance for the soul in the afterlife [41]. This might cause the emergence of a large number of names of the deceased's family on his funeral stela to perpetuate their memory with Osiris. Moreover, it was more prevalent in the lower classes, in which not every one of them could erect a stela alone. This may be the reason for the emergence of this type of stelae known as "genealogy stelae," to which Dedow's stela belong. I suggest that there is another reason for the emergence of this type of stelae besides the religious reason related to the sacredness of the name in the religion of the ancient Egyptian, namely an economic reason related to the weak economic capabilities of the members of the lower class among whom this type of stelae spread. Because each member of the family could not create his stela alone, one of them erected it and added the names of the rest of his family. As

a genealogy stela, Dedow's stela depicts his family members alongside their names up to three generations, which are represented with words, e.g., *ir.n*, *hmt.f*, *sn.f*, *snt.f*, *s3.f*, *s3t.f*^(bb), as follows: *) His mother: -*mwt.f**h**pw*, His mother Hepow. *) He had three brothers. - *sn.f*^c*nh.w-šri* "His brother Ankhov Shery". - *sn.f sbk-htp*, "his brother Sobek-hotep" - *sn.f dd.w sbk* "his brother Dedow-Sobek" *) He had four sisters: - *snt.f bbi* "his sister Bebi" - *snt.f snt* "his sister Senet". - *snt.f s3.(t)* - *nt*. "his sister Sat-Neith." - *snt.f s3.(t) -nt*. "his sister Sat-Neith." *) His wife: - *hmt.f dd.t*. "his wife Dedet". *) he had a son and two daughters: - *s3.f sbk.htp*. "his son Sobek-hotep" - *s3t.f dd. s* "his daughter Dedes" - *s3t.f int.f -c*^{nh} "his daughter Ienet-ef-ankh". In addition to presenting his family, Dedow's stela provides some indication of his position in society, which would appear in the lowest ranks as shown by the poor quality of the depictions and hieroglyphic texts, fleshy features, pug noses, and very fleshy lips. Furthermore, neither Dedow nor any of his family members held any title. The women also did not hold any titles, such as the common title for the upper-class women. After that, it moved to the middle class, *nbt-pr* "the lady of the house"^(cc) [42], which confirm that Dedow and his family belonged to the low class. Furthermore, by studying the different styles of Abydene stela, we can say that Dedow and his family were Abydene residents.

4.6. Dating

Although there are few characteristics of the stela that date to the mid 12th dynasty, Dedow's stela has many features of the stela that are dated to the late 12th and early 13th dynasties, as follows: *) The lunette is characterized by the simple and imperceptible top, and its decoration contains lines of text. The lower part shows offering scenes and depictions of the owner. See *CG* 20768, *CG*20478, J.E. 40056, J.E. 39755 [43]. *) A limited number of stela leave the lunette

free of inscriptions or images. Then, a horizontal line is placed, after which the *htp-di-nsw* formula is written that occupies the entire lunette. See, for example, *CG*. 20083, *CG*. 20084, *CG*. 200418, *CG*. 200666, *CG*. 200317, *CG*. 20601, J.E. 52453, J.E. 38917. *) Frequently, the deceased is depicted either sitting or standing in front of the offering table with a text above this scene. Most of the time, this text is the *htp-di-nsw* formula. It, then, depicts the family of the deceased in successive registers sitting or standing, separated by horizontal lines. See, for example, *CG*. 20022, *CG*. 20023, *CG*. 20075, *CG*. 20341, *CG*. 20151, *CG*. 20229, *CG*. 20406, *CG*. 20450, *CG*. 20554. *) The way of the arrangement of *htp-di-nsw* formula^(dd): The sign *di* comes at the end of the composition as a prominent character of the horizontal inscription of this formula from the Twelfth to the Thirteenth dynasties [44-50]. *) The writing of *Ddw* is particular for the late reign of Senusret I [51, 52]. *) The lower parts of many stela of the late 12th dynasty or early 13th dynasty are divided into many registers, depicting the members of the owner's family. The figures and text are intermixed. They are often surrounded by a frame [11, 53]. *) Towards the late 12th dynasty, secondary figures of about the same size as the owner were used [54]. *) The standing couple on the same scale: The woman put her hand on the man's shoulder dated to the reigns of Senusret I and Amenemhat II [22,55]. *) The offering table became smaller in order to accommodate the numbers of the figures depicted on the stela: *CG*. 20556, J.E. 39754, J.E. 40055, J.E. 46784. *) The vast majority of men wear a wig with a bulge at the back and rarely wear anklets. See *CG*.20687, *CG* 20436. *) Writing the sign for *mnht* "clothes" with three vertical poles introduces the recipient of the offering formula with *n jm3h* – which both point to the middle kingdom [16,24, 45,56]. At the same time, it uses the

filiation formula *jr.n*+Mother's name, which did not occur before the late years of Senusret I [57]. *) The poor quality of the inscriptions and scenes indicate the decline of work-manship at the end of the middle kingdom and the 13th dynasty. *) The figures were depicted with fleshy features, pug noses, fleshy lips, ears exposed by wig, elongated skull the distinct bulge at the back of the heads of the male with the large size of ears, as well as the ill-proportioned shoulders, hands, and feet [54]. *) The provenance in which the stela was discovered, the north of Abydos necropolis, may aid in its dating because most stelae from the north necropolis are dated to the late 12th or 13th dynasty [58]. In addition, it is noted that the scribe was not accurate in estimating the distance between the signs, which made some signs very close to each other to the point of overlapping because sometimes the line was not sufficient to write the entire text and the scribe had to write some words in front of or behind the figures. For example, in the third register, the line was not enough to write the full name of his daughter *int.f ḥnh*, and he had to write "in" in the line and "*t.f ḥnh*" in front of her face. It is repeated in the fourth register when writing his brother's name "*sbk-ḥtp*" as he wrote "*sbk*" in the line and "*ḥtp*" in front of his figure. Moreover, when writing his sister's name *s3t-nt*, he wrote *nt* behind her head and *s3t* beside her leg. Perhaps, this weakness in carving figures and writing texts is because this stela dates back to the late 12th dynasty or early 13th dynasty, which was a turmoil and decay period. In sum, it bears the features of this period.

5. Conclusion

The stela of Dedow and his wife Dedet (CG 20692, JE 12645, and SR 3/10400) is a rounded-topped funerary stela. It was found in the northern necropolis in Abydos. It is currently located at

*Cairo museum. The stela is divided into four registers (A, B, C, D). Register (A) contains the main texts reserved for the "*ḥtp-di-nsw(t)*" offering formula. Register (B) is the main scene that shows Dedow and his wife Dedyt receiving the funerary offerings provided by their son Sobek-Hotep, while registers (C) and (D) depict Dedow's family members. The figures and hieroglyphs are carved in sunk relief with very few internal details of modeling. No traces of color are preserved. Undoubtedly, the epigraphical features of the stela, the way of inscriptions and scenes, and the poor style indicate that the stela could be dated to the late 12th or early 13th dynasties. Moreover, it is originated from a workshop in Abydos. The stela of Dedow is a genealogy that shows Dedow's genealogy by depicting the members of his family alongside their names. The family can be inferred up to three generations, as follows: The first generation represents his mother Hepow, while the name of his father is not mentioned on the stela. The second generation represents Dedow and his brothers (Ankhow-Shery, Sobek-Hotep, Dedow-Sobek) and sisters (Bebi, Senet, and two sisters called *s3t-nt*). The third generation represents Dedow and his wife Dedet and their son (Sobek-Hotep who held the same name as his uncle. This stela indicates the strong family relationship between Dedow and his family and his intense love for his brother, who gave his beloved son the same name and daughters (Dedes and *lenet-ef-ankh*). Neither Dedow nor any of his family members held any titles, which confirms that Dedow and his family belonged to the low class.*

6. Endnotes

- (a) The rounded-top stela was a popular style from the Middle kingdom to the Roman period. See: Hölzl, R. (2001). "Stelae", in: Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, III, University Press, Oxford, Oxford pp. 319-324; Shaw, I & Nicholson, P. (1995). "Stelae", The British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt, British Museum Press, London.
- (b) *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula should be read as "an offering that the king has given and that Osiris or Anubis or both have given", rather than "an offering that the king has given to Osiris / Anubis" since

- this dedication does not indicate that the gift was given by the king himself, but rather that the funeral offering was approved by the king. Since the king was seen as a conduit between people and gods, the offering was made in his honor. See: Satzinger, H. (1997). "Beobachtungen zur Opferformel: Theorie and Praxis", in: *Ling Aeg* 5, pp.177-188; Franke, D. (2003), "The Middle kingdom offering Formula - A Challenge", *JEA* 89, pp. 39-57; Stefanovic, D. (2010). "The Late Middle Kingdom stela of the staff of provisioning sector (Sna) (Musées d'art et d'histoire, Genève 6875)", *SAK* 39, pp .313 -319.
- (c) Osiris was the Egyptian god of the underworld. His cult dates back to the first dynasty, but he first appeared in the offering formula in the Fifth dynasty. See: Hölzl, R. (2002). "Ägyptische Opfertafeln und Kultbecken", *HÄB* 45, pp. 327-328; Smith, M. (2017). "Following Osiris. Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four Millennia", *Ilu. Revista De Ciencias De Las Religiones* 22, pp. 561-563. This form  was common during the Old and Middle kingdoms. See: *Wb*, I, 359, 5.
- (d) The writing of *Ddw* in its earlier form is . it is written here as  without the city-sign. It changed in different ways until the reign of Amenemhat III. See: Griffiths, J. (1980). "The Origins of Osiris and His Cult", in: Van Voss, M. H., Sharpe, E., Werblowsky, R. (eds.), *Studies in the History of Religions*, XL, Brill, Leiden.
- (e) *hnty- imntyw* 'Foremost of the West-erners'. He was the original local deity in Abydos as the protector of the deceased in the West. Osiris is thought to have arisen from the Delta. By the end of the Old kingdom, he had taken on the role of the former god of the dead *hnty imntt*, and *hnty imntyw* was used as a title of Osiris since the Old kingdom and continued in the New kingdom. See: Yamamoto, K., (2015), "Abydos and Osiris: the Terrace of the Great God", in: A. Oppenheim, D. Arnold, D. Arnold and K. Yamamoto (eds), *Ancient Egypt transformed: The Middle kingdom*, Yale Univ.Press, New Haven, pp. 250-253.
- (f) *ntr-ʿ3* was a common epithet in ancient Egyptian religious texts. It is unclear to whom it referred. It might refer to Ra, Osiris, or the king himself. However, it is most likely referred to the god Osiris, especially since the 12th dynasty, the reign of Senusret I onwards, See: Fischer, H. (1992). "Marginalia II", *GM* 128, pp.72-75 The horizontal arrangement of the ʿ3-sing is already recorded at the late reign of Mentuhotep II, The vertical ʿ3-sing arrangement points to the early Middle kingdom. See: Allen, J. (1996). "Some Theban Officials of The Early Middle kingdom", in *Der Manuelian, P., (ed.), Studies in Honour of William Kelly Simpson, I*, Boston, pp.1-26.
- (g) *Wsir nb Ddw hnty- imntyw ntr ʿ3 nb 3bdw* was the most common epithet of Osiris on the Abydos stelae in the early 13th dynasty. See Selim, S. (2000). "The Stela of *hr-wd3w* in the Cairo museum (JE 41332)", *SAK* 28, pp. 243-256; Abdel-Raziq, A. (2013). "A Middle kingdom funerary stela of a woman at Al-Salam School Museum, Assiut", *JEA* 99, pp. 275-281.
- (h) *tpj dw.f*, "who is upon his mountain" is a famous title of Anubis. It had great significance in the late 12th and 13th dynasties as a result of development of Abydos. See: Wegner, J. & Abu El-Yazid. (2006). *The Mountain of Anubis: Necropolis seal of the Senusert III Tomb Enclosure at Abydos*, in: Czerny, I. *Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak*

- I, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 149, Leuven, pp.419-435.
- (i) *imy wt* was an epithet of Anubis. It took the form of animal skin without a head, carrying a stick, and was placed inside a pan, and the animal's tail typically ended with the lotus flower. This skin was linked to mummification and Anubis' role in gathering Osiris' secrets during its mummification and placing it in a sacred leather bottle known as "*imy-wt*". Thus, it became an epithet of Anubis. Probably, it means "the embalmer", "who is in the place of mummification or embalming" or "who is in the wrappings" as Anubis was synonymous with mummification and believed to be responsible for wrapping Osiris. See Wb I, 73,15; Hart, G. (2005). *The Routledge Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses*, Taylor & Francis Group, London & New York; Köhler, U. (1975). *Das Imiut, Untersuchungen zur Darstellung eines mit Anubis verbundenen religiösen symbols II* (Göttinger Orientforschungen IV. Reihe Ägypten 4) Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, p. 444-452; Ikram, S. (2015) *Death and burial in ancient Egypt*, The American University in Cairo Press, Cairo.
- (j) *nb t3 dsr*: This title alludes to the necropolis's location in the desert, emphasizing the geological environment in which Anubis served as a burial god. See: Hart, G. (1986), *A Dictionary of Egyptian gods and goddesses*, Routledge, London.
- (k) *k3.w 3pd.w*: This way of writing was widespread in the late Middle kingdom. However, it increased significantly during the 13th dynasty and even more by the Second Intermediate Period. See: Ilin-Tomich, A. (2011) 'Changes in the *hṯp-dj-nsw* formula in the late Middle kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period', *ZÄS* 138, pp. 20-34.
- (l) *im3hw*. Both the deceased and the living are addressed by the epithet *im3hw*. Using the form "*n im3hj*" alone is a pattern dating to the early Twelfth dynasty, by the time of Amenemes II *k3 n* is placed in front, making the form *k3 n im3hj*. Finally, in the reign of Sesostris III, the older designation drops out *k3 n* noted that the Middle kingdom is known for its abbreviated writing of the sign *im3h*. See: Winkeln, W. (1996). "Zur Bedeutung von *im3h*", *BSEG* 20, p. 30-33; Chauvet, V. (2002). *The conception of the private tombs of the Late Old kingdom*, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore; Bennett, C. (1941), "Growth of the *hṯp-di-Nsw* Formula in the Middle kingdom", *JEA* 27 pp.77-82.
- (m) *dd.w*: This name appeared in the Middle kingdom. It was used as a common male and female name. For example, see the stela of *ddw* from Abydos 11th dynasty Florence Mus.7593, see: P. N, I, 402, 13; The Stela of Sebek-khu and his brother Dedow, Manchester museum; see: Baines, J. (1987). *The stela of Khusobek: Private and Royal Military Narrative and Values*, in: J. Osing & G. Dreyer (eds) *Form und Mass, Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des alten Ägypten*, Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht zum 65. Geburtstag am 6. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, pp. 14-20.
- (n) *hṯpw*: During the Old kingdom, this name was used as a female name. Then, it was used for both genders in the Middle kingdom, P. N, I 283, 14. It was common during the Middle kingdom. See The stela of Inher-tankh and wife Hepu, 13th dynasty, probably from Abydos; the stela of Sehetepib and his two wives, both called Hepu from 12th, now in Paris, Musée du Louvre. See; Berlev, O. & Hodjash, S. (1998). *Catalogue of the monuments of Ancient Egypt, From the Museums of the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Bielorrussia, Caucasus, Middle Asia and the Baltic States* (Orbis Biblicus

- et Orientalis 17), Freiburg (Schweiz), Göttingen.
- (o) *dd.t*: A female name that appeared in the Middle kingdom, P. N, I, 403, 5.
- (p) *sbk-htp*: This name appeared in the Old kingdom. It was used as a male name, then it was used for both genders during the Middle kingdom, P. N, I, 305, 6. It was a common name during this period. See for example, the false door of Sebekhotep early or mid 12th dynasty Moscow, State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts; the stela of Iatib and his father Sebekhotep, 12th dynasty, Musée du Louvre; the stela of Sankh-hor the son of a woman called Sebekhotep, middle 12th dynasty Musée du Louvre; a stela, Sebekhotep Scribe of the great khenret, 13th dynasty, formerly in Paris, Musée Guimet, 2664 and 14318, then in Musée du Louvre, E. 20163, now in Lyons, Musée Guimet, see: Hodjash, S & Berlev, O. (1982). The Egyptian reliefs and stelae in the Pushkin museum of fine arts, Aurora Art Pub. Leningrad, Moscow.
- (q) *hps*: The ancient Egyptian linked the magical power of *hps* with the life and the strength of the deceased to whom it is given. It was also used in the ritual opening of the mouth that restores life to the deceased. See Gordon, A. & Schwabe, C. (2004). The quick and The Dead: Biomedical theory in ancient Egypt, Brill, Leiden.
- (r) *ḥnḥ.w-šri*, A male name that appeared in the Middle Kingdom. See: P. N, I, 68, 7; CG 20720a
- (s) *bbi*: This name appeared as a male name during the Old kingdom. See: P. N, I, 95, 16. However, it was used in the Middle kingdom as a male and female name. See, for example, a relief fragment of Bebi, a vizier under the king Mentuhotep II in the Eleventh dynasty found in the mortuary temple of the king at Deir el-Bahari and now in the British Museum; the stela of the *wḥb* priest Bebi, 13th dynasty, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, then in Musée du Louvre, E. 13077, on loan to Nantes, Musée Dobrée; a stela, of Jmnjj son of a woman called Bebi late 12th or 13th dynasty, in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (Queen's College 1111), Probably from Abydos; a stela, of Deb, son of woman, wife Keki K, daughter of woman Bebi, late 12th or 13th dynasty, in St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, 1069. probably from Abydos; Stela of Senredu and his wife Mutiankhti and Bebi, 13th dynasty, formerly in V. Golenishchev colln. 4157, now in Moscow, State Pushkin museum of fine arts, I.1.a 5608; a stela of Dedusobek and mother Sent, daughter of woman called Bebi, late 11th dynasty or early 12th dynasty, at Sotheby's in 1954, now in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1954. 25, see: Bolshakov, A. & Quirke, S. (1999). The Middle kingdom stelae in the Hermitage, Utrecht [Netherlands], Paris; Lieblein, J. (1873). Die Aegyp-tischen Denkmäler in St. Petersburg, Helsingfors, Upsala und Copenhagen, Gedruckt von A. Brogger, Christiania ; Freed, R. (1996), "Stela workshops of early dynasty 12", in: Der Manuelian, P. (ed.), Studies in honor of William Kelly Simpson, Vol. 1, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, pp. 297-336; Bright, D. (2006). "The Dating of four funerary stelae of the twelfth dynasty", The Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology 17, pp.7-22.
- (t) *dd.(t)*, a female name that appeared in Middle kingdom. It was written using the two arms and also written using two loaves of *di* bread, see: P. N, I, 403, 17; P. N, I, 404, 6; it attested several times on stelae from Middle Kingdom see; a stela of Senusert, son of Ipepy and woman Dede(t), 13th dynasty, formerly in Anastasi colln., now in Paris, Musée

- du Louvre, C 188 [E.3288]. Archives phot. E.929, see: Gayet, E. (1886 and 1889). Musée du Louvre. Stèles de la XIIe dynastie, 10, F. Vieweg, É. Bouillon, successeur, Paris; Pierret, P., (1878). Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée Égyptien du Louvre II, Vieweg, F., Paris Allen, J. (2003). "The high officials of the early Middle kingdom", in: Strudwick, N. & Taylor, J. (eds.): The Theban Necropolis, The British Museum Press, London, pp. 14-29.
- (u) *int.f-^cnh*, P. N, I, 34, 11, a female name that appeared in the Middle kingdom. See: CG. 20125.
- (v) *dd.w sbk*, P.N, I, 401, 19, a male and female name appeared in the Middle Kingdom. For example, see a stela of Dedusobek (CG 20596) from the northern necropolis at Abydos dated to the late Middle kingdom; a stela of Dedusobek, 12th dynasty, London, Petrie Museum; a stela of Dedusobek, 13th dynasty, London, Petrie Museum; a stela of Dedusobek from Abydos 13th dynasty, a stela of Dedusobek, 12th dynasty, Musée du Louvre. See: Stefanović, D. (2009). "The Stela of Dedusobek. (Cairo, CG20596)", ZÄS 136 (1), pp. 84-86; Simpson, W. (1974). The terrace of the great God at Abydos: The offering chapels of dynasties 12 and 13, Publ. of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt 5, The Univ. museum of Pennsylvania, New Haven-Philadelphia; P. N, I, 402, 24, CG 20022b
- (w) *sn.t*, P.N, I, 296,21, a female name that appeared from the Old kingdom and continued during the Middle kingdom. It is noted that the writer mistakenly wrote the letter  (^c) instead of the letter  (ⁿ). For another stela that has this name, see: the stela of Dedusobek and his mother Sent in the late 11th or early 12th dynasty, Oxford, Ashmolean museum, the stela of Horw a son of a woman called Sent, in the early 12th dynasty, Musée du Louvre, Probably from Abydos; a stela of Mery, son of a woman called Wekmet and his father Ankhu son of a woman called Senit, 12th or 13th dynasty, probably from Abydos, in Rio de Janeiro, Museu Nacional, Inv. 628 [2420]. See: Freed, R. (1996). "Stela workshops of early dynasty 12", in: Der Manuelian, P. (ed.) Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson I, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, pp. 297-336; Sethe, K., (1928). Ägyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht. Texte des Mittleren Reiches. 2nd, Hinrichs, Leipzig; De-Rougé, E. (1883). Notice des monuments exposés dans la Galerie d'Antiquités Égyptiennes, département des antiquités égyptiennes. Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- (x) *s3(t)-Nt*: This name was not attested in the book of H. Ranke. I suggest that it should be read as *s3(t)-nt*, i.e., "Daughter of Neith" on the basis that I consider the asterisk sign to be the emblem of the goddess Neith. About the variants of the Neith emblem, see: El-Sayed, R. (1982). *La déesse Neith de Saïs*, Bibliothèque d'étude 86, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Le Caire; Lurker, M. (2003). *Lexikon der Götter und Symbole der alten Ägypter*. Handbuch der mystischen und magischen Welt Ägyptens. 3. Auflage der Sonderausgabe. Scherz, Bern. Noting that the combination of the *s3t* + a name of a god or a goddess was common since the Middle kingdom, e.g., *s3(t)-b3stt*, "Daughter of the goddess Bastet", P. N, I, 288, 11; *s3(t)-mn.w*, "Daughter of the God Min", P.N, I, 289, 5; *s3(t)-mntw*, "Daughter of the God Montho", P. N, I, 289,9; *s3(t)-r^c*, "Daughter of the God Re", P. N, I, 290, 2; *s3(t)-Ht-hr*, "Daughter of the Goddess Hathor", P.N, I,291,14; *s3(t)-Hr*, "Daughter of the God Hours", P.N, I, 291, 28. - My thanks are due to Dr. Alexander

- Ilin-Tomich for helping me to read this name.
- (y) Ankhu was the vizier of the 13th dynasty during the early years of the Second Intermediate period under the kings Khendjer and Sobekhotep II. See: Grajetzki, W. (2009). *Court Officials of the Egyptian Middle kingdom*, Bloomsbury Pub., London.
- (z) Sobekhotep III was a king of the thirteenth dynasty. See: Laming Macadam, M. (1951). "A royal family of the thirteenth dynasty", *JEA*, 37, pp. 20-28.
- (aa) For similar stelae from the late twelfth dynasty and the early Thirteenth dynasty, see: Selim, H. (2001). "Three identical stelae from the late twelfth dynasty or thirteenth dynasty", *SAK* 29, pp.319-330; Grajetzki, W. (2009). *Court officials of Egyptian Middle kingdom*, Bloomsbury Pub., London, p.36; EL-Sayed, M. (2013). "Late Middle kingdom stelae from Assiut", in Fischer-Elfert, H. & Parkinson, R. (eds.), *Studies on the Middle kingdom in memory of Detlef Franke*, *Philippika* 41, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, pp.161-199; El-Masry, Y. (2006). "Old and Middle kingdom stelae from the 4th, 5th and 8th nomes of Upper Egypt", *Memnonia. Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la Sauvegarde du Ramesseum* 17, pp. 171-93; Amer, A. (1999). "A Stela from Abydos in Liverpool." *Göttinger Miszellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen diskussion* 171, pp. 19-22; Leahy, A. (1981). "A stela of the Second Intermediate period. *Göttinger Miszellen. Beiträge zur Ägyptologischen Diskussion* 44, pp. 23-31; Franke, D. (2002). "The Middle kingdom stelae publication project, exemplified by Stela BM EA 226." *British museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 1, pp. 7-19; Naguib, S. (1980). "A Middle kingdom stela in Oslo." *Chronique d'Égypte, Bulletin Périodique de la Fondation Égypt-ologique Reine Elisabeth* 55, p.17-22; Stefanović, D. (2010). "Four Middle kingdom stelae from the National archaeological museum, Athens", *JEA* 96, pp. 207-215.
- (bb) During the Middle kingdom, the name of the mother of the stela's owner was written as *mswt. n* or *ir n* + the name of the deceased's mother, while the names of the family members that express the lineage are mentioned in succession, see: Robins, G. (1979). "The Relationships specified by Egyptian kinship terms of the Middle kingdom and the New kingdom", *CdE* 54, pp. 197-217; Anthes, R. (2007). *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, J.C. Hinrichs, Leipzig.
- (cc) For the female titles in Southern Upper Egypt in the late Middle kingdom and the Second Intermediate period, see: Ilin-Tomich, A., (2018). "Female titles specific to southern Upper Egypt in the late Middle kingdom and the Second Intermediate period", *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 26, pp. 19-36.
- (dd) The order in which the signs of the offering formula are arranged  with *sw.t* + *htp* without phonetic complements and the symbol *di* at the end is a style of writing that originated in the late Twelfth dynasty and continued in the Thirteenth Dynasty. See: Marée, M. (1993). "A Remarkable Group of Egyptian stelae from the Second Intermediate Period", *OMRO* 73, pp. 8-11; Smither, P. (1939). "The Writing of *htp-di-nsw* in The Middle and New kingdom", *JEA*. 25, pp. 34-37; Wb III, 186, 1; Vernus, P. (1991). "Surles graphies de la formule "L'offrande que donne le roi au Moyen Empire et à la Deuxieme Periode Intermediaire", in: Quirke, S. (ed.) *Middle kingdom studies*, New Malden, pp.141-52.

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