



شَدَت

مجلة سنوية محكمة تصدرها كلية الآثار - جامعة الفيوم



العدد الرابع (2017م)

شَدَت العدد الرابع (2017م)

SHEDDET Issue No.4 (2017)



SHEDDET

Annual Peer-reviewed Journal of the Faculty of Archaeology - Fayoum University



Issue No. 4 (2017)

PRINT ISSN: 2356-8704
ONLINE ISSN: 2536-9954

SHEDET



Fayoum University



Faculty of Archaeology

SHEDET

Issue No. 4 (2017)

Annual Journal issued by The Faculty of Archaeology, Fayoum University

ISSN: 2356-8704

Print ISSN: 2356-8704

Online ISSN: 2536-9954

WEBSITE: <http://www.fayoum.edu.eg/shedet/>

SHEDET

Fayoum, 2017



Fayoum University



Faculty of Archaeology

JOURNAL OF THE FACULTY OF ARCHAEOLOGY – FAYOUM UNIVERSITY

(SHEDET)

FOUNDED BY

THE FACULTY OF ARCHAEOLOGY – FAYOUM UNIVERSITY

The guidelines, the publications and the news of the journal is available online at

WEBSITE: <http://www.fayoum.edu.eg/shedet/>

© 2017 Faculty of Archaeology – Fayoum University

2017, Faculty of Archaeology - Fayoum University. All rights reserved.

NON-COMMERCIAL REPRODUCTION

Information in this journal has been produced with the intent that it be readily available for personal and public non-commercial use and may be reproduced, in part or in whole and any means, without charge or further permission from the Faculty of Archaeology-Fayoum University. We ask that:

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

COMMERCIAL REPRODUCTION

Reproduction of multiple copies of materials in this journal, in whole or in part, for the purposes of commercial redistribution is prohibited except with written permission from The Faculty of Archaeology – Fayoum University. To obtain permission to reproduce materials in this journal for commercial purposes, please contact the Faculty of Archaeology – Fayoum University, Postal code 63514. Al-Fayoum city. Egypt.

E-mail: shedt@fayoum.edu.eg & editor.shedet@fayoum.edu.eg



Fayoum University



Faculty of Archaeology

SHEDET, Issue No. 4 (2017)

Annual Peer-Reviewed Journal Issued By The Faculty Of Archaeology, Fayoum University

BOARD CHAIR

Prof. Dr. Atef Mansour M. RAMADAN

Dean of the Faculty of Archaeology – Fayoum University

THE DIRECTOR OF THE JOURNAL

Prof. Dr. Ahmed TONY

Vice dean for the post graduate and research

MANAGING EDITORS

Dr. Maher A. EISSA

Dr. Ahmed AMEEN

Associate Prof. of Coptology/Egyptology

Associate Prof. of Islamic Archaeology

Faculty of Archaeology – Fayoum University

ASSISTANT EDITORS

Dr. Abdelrazek EL-NAGGAR

Restoration Dep., Faculty of Archaeology – Fayoum University

Dr. Mohamed A. NASSAR

Egyptology Dep., Faculty of Archaeology – Fayoum University

Dr. Shrief Eissa

Restoration Dep., Faculty of Archaeology – Fayoum University

Dr. Ibrahim WAGDY

Islamic Archaeology Dep., Faculty of Archaeology – Fayoum University

LANGUAGE EDITOR

G. VARITIMIDIS

THE SECRETARY

Dr. Said Saeid Zaki

Islamic Archaeology Dep., Faculty of Archaeology – Fayoum University



Fayoum University



Faculty of Archaeology

Advisory Board

Anne BOUD'HORS	IRHT – CNRS (Paris), France.
Arianna D'OTTONE	University of Rome, Italy.
Atef Mansour M. RAMADAN	Fyoun University, Egypt.
Austin NEVIN	Politecnico di Milano, Italy.
El-Sayed MAHFOUZ	Assiout University, Egypt.
Ezzat H. QADOUS	Alexandria University, Egypt.
Gamal A. MAHGOUB	Fyoun University, Egypt.
Jacques VAN DER VLIET	Leiden University, the Netherlands.
Khaled EL-ENANY	Helwan University, Egypt.
Mahmoud EL-HAMRAWY	Sohag University, Egypt.
Matija STRIC	University College London, UK.
Mohamed ABDEL- HADY	Cairo University, Egypt.
Mohamed Abdel-Satar OTHMAN	Sohag University, Egypt.
Mohamed M. ALKAHLAWY	Cairo University, Egypt.
Ola EL_OGAZY	Cairo University, Egypt.
Philippe COLLOMBERT	Geneva University, Switzerland.
Rafat EL-NABARAWY	Cairo University, Egypt.
Stefan HEIDEMANN	Hamburg University, Germany.
Stephen QUIRKE	University College London, UK.

Views are presented in this journal do not necessarily reflect those of the Faculty of Archaeology – Fayoum University.



Fayoum University



Faculty of Archaeology

EDITORIAL FOREWORD

On behalf of the editorial board and the administration of the faculty of Archaeology – Fayoum University, we are proud to present the fourth issue of *SHEDET* (the Journal of the Faculty of Archaeology – Fayoum University). With this journal, we are opening a new era of scientific publication of Heritage and Archaeology in Egypt, designed to reach people all over the world, and to be judged according to international standards of excellence.

Presenting the fourth volume of *SHEDET* gives us – in the same context of our three previous volumes– happiness and challenge; happiness in being able to provide our readers with a volume of selected and refereed intellectual contributions, and challenge in trying to sustain this journal and provide publications of international quality. Of course help is needed from scholars and researchers all over the world in the field of heritage and archaeology, to be able to continue and sustain producing this publication. The continuation of this journal is vitally important, as it is one of the very few scientifically peer-reviewed journals dedicated to Archaeology in Egypt

The main scope of the *SHEDET* Journal is various aspects of ancient Egyptian, Islamic and Coptic archaeology, conservation, museology, and heritage (concerning language, literature, history, art, and related subjects), before the modern period. It aims to publish research that contributes to the enlargement of knowledge or the advancement of scholarly interpretation.

Finally, we would like to thank all contributors to the successful publication of this new journal for their support and collegial collaboration, and express our hopes for more successful issues to come. We must also thank all the editorial team, language editor, and advisory board for all their efforts.

Prof. Dr. Atef Mansour & Prof. Dr. Ahmed Tony

Fayoum, 2017

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL FOREWORD		IV
CONTENTS		V
ANCIENT ARCHAEOLOGY & EGYPTOLOGY		
DENISOVA CAVE: A PROMINENT PALAEOLITHIC SITE IN NORTH ASIA	Abou Al-Hassan BAKRY	1–21
UNPUBLISHED MUMMY BANDAGES IN THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM CAIRO	Ahmed Kh. SAFINA	22–36
WHAT IS THE TITLE OF MERREW?	Islam I. AMER	37–50
THREE INCOMPLETE LIMESTONE STELAE FROM IHNASYA EL-MEDINA (HERAKLEOPOLIS MAGNA)	Hayam H. RAWASH	51–66
ISLAMIC ARCHAEOLOGY		
THE COINAGE OF AL-ANDALUS	Almudena ARIZA ARMADA	68–90
COFFEE CUP HOLDERS “AZRUF” MADE OF BRASS “AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ARTISTIC STUDY”	Ayman M. EDRIS	91–102
A RARE PERSIAN PORTRAIT RUG “DATING & ANALYSIS”	Hamada THABET & Ramy MOHSEN	103–115
TIRNOVO (SINCE 1965 “VELIKO TÄRNOVO”) FROM MEDIEVAL BULGARIAN CAPITAL TO TURKISH ISLAMIC CULTURAL CENTRE A GENERAL OVERVIEW	Machiel KIEL	115–131
BETEL BOX (PANDAN) FROM MUGHAL ERA IN INDIA PRESERVED AT NATIONAL MUSEUM OF NEW DELHI “COMPARATIVE ARTISTIC STUDY & FIRST PUBLISHED”	Sameh ELBANNA	132–153
CONSERVATION		
THE MORTAR DAMAGE AND ITS HARMFUL EFFECTS ON THE GLAZED CERAMIC TILES IN TERBANA MOSQUE – ALEXANDRIA, EGYPT	Elshaimaa ABD-ELRAHIM & Ibrahim WESHAHY	155–166
ESTIMATION OF FIRING TEMPERATURE OF ISLAMIC CERAMIC USING XRD AND FTIR	Hamada SADEK	167–174

ANCIENT ARCHAEOLOGY & EGYPTOLOGY

SHEDET Issue nu. 4 (2017)



SHEDET Issue nu. 4 (2017)





Three Incomplete Limestone Stelae from Ihnasya el-Medina (Herakleopolis Magna)

Hayam H. RAWASH

Faculty of Archaeology, Cairo University, Egypt
E-mail: hhafez762@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This article deals with publication of three unpublished incomplete limestone stelae from Ihnasya El-Medina necropolis. The first stela was found in 2010, during work digging for a water-pipe project at the depth of five meters underground in front of El-Masharka district. The second and the third stelae were found by some thieves in the region of Ihnasya city. The police officers found two stelae and filed the report under the misdemeanor number 4083/Ihnasya 2009. These stelae were dedicated to the gods Osiris and Anubis; and are now preserved in Ihnasya El-Medina Magazine. Publishing these three stelae in one article due to that they are from one area, and it seems that they have the same type.

المخلص

يتناول هذا البحث نشر ودراسة ثلاثة لوحات غير مكتملة من الحجر الجيري، من جبانة إهناسيا المدينة. وجدت اللوحة الأولى في عام 2010 أثناء حفر مشروع أنابيب المياه، علي عمق حوالي خمسة أمتار، أمام منطقة المشركة. أما اللوحتان الثانية والثالثة، إكتشفها بعض لصوص الآثار في منطقة إهناسيا المدينة. وقد وجدهم ضباط الشرطة وذلك وفقاً لتقرير الشرطة في المحضر رقم 4083 / إهناسيا لعام 2009 . وقد كرسست هذه اللوحات إلي المعبودات أوزير، وأنوبيس، وهي جميعاً محفوظة في مخزن إهناسيا المدينة. ويأتي نشر ودراسة هذه اللوحات في مقال واحدة، نظراً لأن الثلاث لوحات أتوا من جبانة واحدة وهي جبانة إهناسيا المدينة، وتتنمي اللوحات إلي نفس النوع من اللوحات.

KEYWORDS

Limestone Stelae – Ihnasya el-Medina –
Herakleopolis Magna – Incomplete Stelae –
false door

الكلمات الدالة

لوحات من الحجر الجيري – إهناسيا المدينة – هيراكلوبوليس
ماجنا – لوحات غير مكتملة – باب وهمي

INTRODUCTION

The stelae have lost some fragments which are revealed by comparisons between the remains of the right and left sides which contained hieroglyphs and the titles of the stela's owner, as well as between similar stelae from the same period inside Ihnasya necropolis and others. As to the first and the second stelae; comparison can be found, such as the stela of *Ndmwi* (Inv.Nr.2502/Ihnasya 2007), the stela of *Ipj-h3.iš.wt.f* (Inv.Nr.2535/Ihnasya

2010),¹ the stela of *hnm-htp* N.25 Dahshour necropolis),² and the stela of *Nny* (N.28 Dahshour necropolis)³. As for the third stela; one may find comparisons in similar stelae, such as some discovered by the Spanish missions at Ihnasya el-Medina, (register numbers 199, 208, and 408). Through these comparisons we can trace the missing parts of these stelae as follows:

[1] - Stela of *Ipi* (Pl.1, fig.1)

A false door stela is belonging to an individual called *Ipi*.

Material: limestone.

Measurement: 60 x 50 x 15 cm.

Place of preservation: Ihnasya El-medina Magazine (Inv. Nr. 2611/ Ihnasya 2011).

State of preservation: The relief and hieroglyphs are in a fairly good state of preservation, rendered in sunken relief.

Description

The stela is divided into three registers. The first register represents the remains of the lintel of the stela, which usually appears under the jambs of similar examples. The first part of the lintel has lost its horizontal section, but would have contained horizontal hieroglyphs with two formulas of *htp -di -nsw*. The first one begins at the right side of the stela, which as usual, contained the well-known formula for the god Osiris, an offering invocation, title and the name of the owner of the stela *Ipi*. The second register represents the left side of the stela, which is mostly lost except the title *im3hw* and the remains of the owner's figure. Most of the second formula which should be begin on the left side of the stela, was lost, it would usually end with the well-known formula for the god Anubis, offering invocations, titles and the name of the owner of the stela *Ipi*. But we have only the owner's titles and his name with his figure. The third register represents the middle of the stela which usually is containing the cornice; below it are twelve colored flower petals, painted dark yellow and red. These petals separated the lintel of the stela from its main panel. Below is a figure of the stela's owner *Ipi*, who is seated before the offering table in the center of the stela and surrounded by a molding in the shape of square. Lying on this table are typical items; a woven mat, a heap of food, and a goose. Under the offering table there are the *hs* jar, and the pan and jar, which were used in the purification of the deceased. They had a magical significance, meaning that the deceased became free of his sins.⁴ Most of the traditional offering formula was lost but through the remains of some letters, one can read as follow "An offering consisting of a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of ointment-jars and a thousand of clothing for the ba of *Ipi*. The stela's owner figure is seated before the offering table and he is gripping a piece of cloth in the left hand and holding it toward his chest while the right hand extended towards the table. *Ipi* was depicted sitting on a low lion leg chair with back support. Below the owner's figure there are remains of a false door which helps the *k3* of *Ipi* to go back and forth through it, enabling him to see what was happening outside the tomb.

¹ Rawash, 'Two Unpublished Stelae from Ihnasya EL-Medina', *The scientific magazine of South Valley University*, vol. 9 (2014), 505-525.

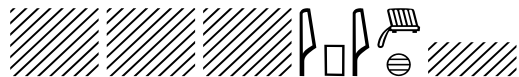
² De-Morgen, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, (Vienne,1895), 38, fig.79; the stela is preserved now in Cairo museum (CG 1478).

³ De-Morgen, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, .40, fig.81, The present location of this stela is unknown.

⁴ Gardiner, 'The Baptism of the Pharaoh', *JEA* 36 (1950), 3.

Texts

Most of the upper part of the lintel was lost; these usually is containing, in their upper parts horizontal hieroglyphs written from the middle, two formulae of *hṯp di nsw*. The details of the first one, which run right to left, were lost:



[*hṯp di nsw Wsir nb ḏdw prt ḥrw t⁵ k3w 3pdw nt*] *im3ḥw Ipi*/////////////////.

[*May the king give a boon (to) the god Osiris lord of Busiris, invocation offerings from bread, oxen, and fowl off the revered Ipi* ///////////////////.

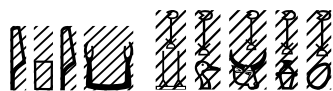
Most of the details of the second line, which begins on the left side, were lost:



[*hṯp di nsw Inpw tpj ḏw.f prt ḥrw t k3w 3pdw nt rh nsw*] *mrj nb.f m3^c ḥsj .f im3ḥw Ipi*.

[*May the king give a boon (to) the god Anubis who upon its hill, invocation offerings from bread, oxen, and fowl of the king's acquaintance*] *the real beloved by his master, his praised one, the revered Ipi*.

The third register is containing a figure of the stela owner *Ipi*, who is seated before the offering table, which as usual supported a woven mat, a heap of food, and a goose. Most of the traditional offering formula was lost but one can read the text as following:



h3 t h3 hnkt h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 mnht {n} k3 Ipi.

[*An offering consisting off*] *a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl {for} the spirit of "Ipi"*.

Comment

- a- This type of stela undoubtedly dated to the First Intermediate Period or the beginning of The Middle Kingdom 2160-1950 BC, because the shape of the stela was very popular during these periods⁶.
- b- The owner of the stela's name *Ipi* was attested from The Old Kingdom,⁷ the First Intermediate,⁸ the Middle Kingdom Periods,⁹ and was still used in the New

⁵ Wb I, 528-529; Speleer, *Textes de Cercueils*, (Paris,1946), 171b.

⁶ Revise many similar stelae from the same periods inside Ihnasya necropolis itself or outside it, see the introduction.

⁷ PN.I, 22; Petrie *Deshasheh. Egypt Exploration Fund Fifteenth Memoir*, (London,1898), 1.6; PM.IV, 161-162; PM.III, 540; Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte I*, (Leipzig 1923),18 and texts to Taf.18; Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, (London&Boston,1978), pl.56 (b), 208-222; PM.III, 161-2; Garlstang, *The Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt as illustrated by Tombs of the Middle Kingdom*, (London,1907), 36-41, figs.25-8, 188, 167-72, figs.173-7; from Naga el-Deir, PM. V, 26.

Kingdom,¹⁰ and Late Periods (2160-1950 BC).¹¹ During the excavations, were done by the Spanish mission in Ihnasya el-Medina from 1966-2010. Many false doors stelae were discovered containing the name *Ipi*,¹² so this name is considered the second most popular name in Ihnasya after the famous name *htj*.

- c- The main title of *Ipi* is lost, the main titles are usually carved on the jamb and the right side of the stela, and these two pieces are missing. The beginning of the traditional title¹³ of *Ipi* is lost, but with the existing fragments it can be reconstructed as:

[*rh nsw*] *mrj nb.f m3^c hsj .f im3hw Ipi*: 'The king's acquaintance, the real beloved of his master, his praised one, the revered *Ipi*'.¹⁴ These titles were found on many stelae at Ihnasya el-Medina.¹⁵ The main title [*rh nsw*] 'the king's acquaintance',¹⁶ was a dignitary title, but it sometimes indicates to a religious job related to the god Osiris, especially if it listed with other religious titles¹⁷. This title was common in the tombs of the different necropolises of the First Intermediate Period and the beginning of The Middle Kingdom, for instance the tomb of Impy in Kom EL-Fakhry necropolis¹⁸

- d- The main offering formula *htp- di -nsw*¹⁹ which was recorded on stelae of the First Intermediate, and the Middle Kingdom was the *htp -di- nsw*, dedicated mainly to the gods Osiris²⁰ and Anubis²¹, which had many roles related to the deceased in the

⁸ PM.I, 389; PM.V, 26; Wainwright, 'Three Stelae From Naga el-Deir', *ASAE* 25 (1915), 164-166, pl. I-III.

⁹ Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, (London, 1893), pl.20; R. Anthes, 'Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub', in: K. Sethe (ed.), *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte u. Altertamskunde Ägypten, herausg. V. G. Steindorff. Bd.g.*, (Leipzig, 1928); Berlin 7779c; Florenz, *Schiaparelli* 1538; Anthes, *Hatnub*, l.27; Graffiti 40; Brit. Mus. 851; Cairo 20313.g; PN.I, .23; PM.III, 551, 460; PM.IV, 267; PM.V, 256; Quibell, *Excavation Saqqara in 1905-1906*, 4-5, (Le Caire, 1907), pl. 22 (I), 27.

¹⁰ Louvre C7, Untein; PN.II, 23.

¹¹ PM.III, 867 from Dyn.xxvi; PM VIII, 746; Steindorff, Cat.59 (171), pls. xxxii-cxxi, in Baltimore (Md), Walters Art Gallery, 22, 76.

¹² Stela no.174 (Lopez, *Ehnasya season 1968*); P. Die.M.Carmen, *Ehnasy el-Medina Heracleopolis Magna Egipto*, (Madrid, 2010), 28, no.1781, fig.31, no.1789, 28; *120 Year of Spanish Archaeology in Egypt*, (Madrid, 2009), 183.

¹³ About titles and epithets see: Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of The Middle Kingdom* (Beirut, 1982).

¹⁴ HT.II, 14; CGC 20609; Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles*, 104, no.857.a, and no.1156.

¹⁵ Stela no.210 for Dj (Lopez, *Ehnasya season, 1968*).

¹⁶ Baud, 'Famille Royale et sous l'Ancien Empire Égyptien', *BdE* 126 (1999), 107ff.

¹⁷ Wb, II, 446, 1Z; Coulon, 'Les Uraei Gardiens du Fétiche Abydienien', in: Devauchelle, D. (ed), *La XXVIe Dynastie: Continuités et Ruptures, Actes des Journées d'Etudes Tenues à l'Université de Lille 26-27, Novembre, 2004* (Paris, 2006), 90; De Meulenaere, 'Le Clergé Abydienien d'Osiris à la Basse Époque', in: *Mélanges J.Vergote, OLP 6* (1975-1976), 138.

¹⁸ El-Hitta, *La Revue du Caire, Numéro Spécial 33, No. 175* (1955), 50; Lilyquist, 'Early Middle Kingdom Tombs at Mitrahina', *JARCE* 11 (1974), 27-30

¹⁹ G. Lapp, *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches*, (Mainz, 1986); Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der Altägyptischen Opferformel*, (München, 1968); Wilkinson, *Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, (London, 2005), 176-177; Cauville, *Offerings to the Gods in Egyptian Temples*, (Paris, 2012), 63.

²⁰ Griffiths, 'Osiris', in: *LÄ IV* (1982), 623-634; Lurker, *An Illustrated Dictionary of the Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, (London, 1980), 92-94; Erman, *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, (London, 1907), 16; Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, (London, 1904), 113-118.

²¹ Badawy 'La Stèle Funéraire sous l'Ancien Empire son origine et son fonctionnement', *ASAE* 48 (1948), 224; Altenmüller, 'Anubis', in: *LÄ I* (1975), 327-333.

nether world.²²

- e- The stela is of the "false doors" type, which was in the shape of doors²³ and bore offerings to gods.²⁴ This type was known from - at least- the third dynasty,²⁵ and it became popular in the first Intermediate Period.²⁶ By the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, the false door stelae became as the ordinary stelae.²⁷ The difference between the function of the ordinary funerary stelae and the false doors was that the first aimed to confirm the owner's possession of his tomb, while the false door aimed to confirm the relationship between the owner and the gods of the nether world, which the formulae on these stela dedicated to them, and also to help the deceased to get in and out his tomb.²⁸

[2] - Stela of *ḥnw* or *ḥnwi* (Pl.2, fig.2)

A stela of the false door' is belonging to an individual called "*ḥnw* or *ḥnwi*".

Material: limestone.

Measurement: 76 x 72 x 16 cm.

Place of preservation: Ihnasya El-medina magazine (Inv. Nr. 4083/1- 2010 Ihnasya).

State of preservation: The relief and hieroglyphs are in a fairly good state of preservation, rendered in sunken relief.

Description

The stela is stolen from a site near the cemetery of the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom at Ihnasya. It is lost most its upper part, through a comparison of other stelae with what remains of this stela, most of its details can be reconstructed. It contained hieroglyphs for the titles and name of the stela's owner *ḥnw* or *ḥnwi*. The jamb and the lintel of the stela are lost. The hieroglyphs were written in three registers. The first one represents the remains of the right side, including the right lintel, which contained horizontal hieroglyphs beginning from the middle, with two formulae of *ḥtp di nsw*. The first formula usually is containing the standard formula for the god Osiris, an offering of invocations, the title and the name of the owner of the stela *ḥnwi*. Most of the second register on the left side of the stela is also lost, except the lower part of the stela owner's feet. The upper part of the third register on the middle of the stela is lost. There is a figure of the stela's owner *ḥnwi* who is seated before the offering table in the center of the stela and surrounded by a molding in the shape of square. This table usually supported a woven mat and the heap of food, including goose. Most of the traditional offering formula is intact: An offering consisting of {a

²² Seeber, 'Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten', *MÄS* 35 (1976), 154ff; H.Willems, 'Anubis as a Judge', in: H.Willems & Others, *Egyptian Religion the Last Thousand Years, Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur* OLA 84 (1998), 719-743; *RÄRG*, 568-576.

²³ It also beared the names of the real doors such as *:rwt ḥnd r3 pr* see: *Wb* II, 397, 8; *Wb* II, 403, 13; G.Lapp, 'Die Stelenkapelle des Kmz aus der 13.Dynastie', *MDAIK* 50 (1994), 231-233; Badawy, 'La stèle funéraire Égyptienne à Ouverture Axiale', *BIE* 35 (1954), 25.

²⁴ F.Le Corsu, 'Stele-portes, Égyptiennes a elements emboites d'Epoque Greco-Romaine', *RdE* 20 (1986), 110.

²⁵ J.L.Smith, *Paintings from Egypt, An Exhibition in Celebration of the Fifth Anniversary of the Department of Egyptology* (Brown, 1998), 24.

²⁶ C.Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs Égyptiens de L'Ancien Empire et de la Première Periode Intermédiaire*, (Paris, 1995), 58ff.

²⁷ H.Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein, II*, (München, 1929), 83.

²⁸ Jequier, *Manual d'Archeologie Égyptienne*, 350ff; J.Capart, 'Égypte pharaonique, Chars a Voile en Égypte', *CdE* 32 (1941), 206ff.; K. Martin, 'Stele', in: *LÄ, VI* (1982), 1; H.Saleh, 'Investigating Ethnic and Gender Identities on Wooden Funerary Stelae from Libyan Period in Egypt', in: *BAR International Series* 1734 (2007), 13.

thousand of bread}, a thousand of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of ointment-jars and a thousand of clothing which belonging to *ḥnwī*. The stela's owner figure is seated before the offering table and he is holding a piece of cloth in the left hand, gripping it to his chest while the right hand extended towards the table. *ḥnwī* is depicted sitting on a low lion leg chair with back support. Below the owner's figure are names of scared oils, which are carved around the sides of a false door shape. This false door was believed to help the spirit of *ḥnwī* to go back and forth through it, enabling him to see what happened outside the tomb. Upon the false door, there is a remnant of the determinative for scared oil which should be *st-(j)-hb*, the odour of festivals²⁹ and the name of *ḥknw* oil of parsing³⁰. On the left side of the false door there are names of *tw3(wt)* anointing oils³¹, *ḥtt (nt)* *ḥ3* the best of cedar oil³² and *ḥtt (nt) ṯhnw* the best of Libyan oil.³³ Most of the left side of the false door is lost which should be begin with the name of "*sft*"³⁴ juniper oil³⁵, in the lower of this side there is the name of *n-ḥnm*,³⁶ "union oil" also has been translated as *nšm* – slave³⁷.

Texts

Most of the upper part of the lintel was lost, which usually contained in its upper part horizontal hieroglyphs extending from its middle, with two formulas of *ḥtp -di-nsw*, the details of the first one which on the right side are lost:



[*ḥtp di nsw Wsir nb ḏdw prt ḥrw t k3w 3pdw nt imj-]*r mš^c mrj nb.f im3ḥw *ḥnw*.

[*May the king give a boon (to) the god Osiris lord of Busiris, invocation offerings from bread, oxen, and fowl for the commander]of the army, the beloved by his master the revered ḥnw.*

All details of the second lintel, on the left side were lost. The third register contained a figure of the stela's owner *ḥnwī*, who is seated before the offering table which usually supported a woven mat and the heap of food, such as goose. There is most of the traditional offering formula, so we can know they were: "An offering consisting of {a thousand of bread}, a thousand of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of ointment-

²⁹ Wb IV, 350; D. Meeks, *Annee lexicographique III* (1979) (Paris, 1982), 278; Abdel Hamid Shimy, *Parfum et parfumerie dans l'Ancienne Egypte (de l'Ancien Empire a la fin du Nouvel Empire)*, vol. I, (Lyon, 1997), 30-31.

³⁰ Wb III, 181, 5-6; W.A.Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, I (New York, 1953), 117; Abdel Hamid Shimy, *Parfum et parfumerie dans l'Ancienne Egypte*, 29-30.

³¹ Wb V, 251, 4; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, 117; Abdel Hamid Shimy, *Parfum et parfumerie dans l'Ancienne Egypte*, 33.

³² Wb I, 228, 6; Wb III, 28, 10-11; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, I, 117; Abdel Hamid.Shimy, *Parfum et parfumerie dans l'Ancienne Egypte*, 33-34.

³³ Wb V, 394, 9; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, 117; Abdel Hamid Shimy, *Parfum et parfumerie dans l'Ancienne Egypte*, 35.

³⁴ Gardiner, *AEO*, I, 8.

³⁵ Wb V, 118, 12-13; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, 2, who translated *sft* as 'Syrian Balsam'; Abdel Hamid.Shimy, *Parfum et parfumerie dans l'Ancienne Egypte*, 30-31.

³⁶ Wb II, 319.

³⁷ Wb II, 319, 1-2; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, 117; Abdel Hamid.Shimy, *Parfum et parfumerie dans l'Ancienne Egypte*, 30-31.

jars and a thousand of clothing which belonging to {the spirit of} *ḥnwī*. The text is as follows:



m (k3) im3ḥw ḥnwī <ḥ3 t> ḥ3 hnkt ḥ3³⁸ k3w ḥ3 3pdw ḥ3 mnht] //////////////

to (the spirit of) the revered ḥnwī (an offering consisting of) <a thousand of bread>, a thousand of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of ointment-jars and a thousand of clothing.

Comment

- a- This type of stela dates from the First Intermediate Period and the beginning of Middle Kingdom, because the shape of the stela was very popular during this period³⁹.
- b- The owner of the stela's name is mentioned two times, once as *ḥnw* and the second time as *ḥnwī*. The second shape did not appear before, so this is the first time it is represented at Ihnasya el-Medina, while the first shape appeared at the end of the First Intermediate Period from the time of Montohotep –Nebheptre⁴⁰, and became very common during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties⁴¹.
- c- The main title of "anxw" was the commander of soldiers, while the traditional titles are: who beloved from his master, these titles are:
[imj-]r mšꜥ mry nb.f im3ḥw ḥnw 'the commander of the army, the beloved by his master, the revered ḥnw'. These titles were found on many stelae at Ihnasya el-Medina⁴², and in many tombs from this period.⁴³
- d- The earliest known complete list of the seven scared oils appeared in the Pyramid Texts;⁴⁴ later examples appeared in tombs of the Sixth Dynasty.⁴⁵ Furthermore,

³⁸ *ḥ3* referred to the numerous offerings dedicated to the kA of the deceased, see: Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, (London, 2005), 96-102; Nicola, *Living with the Dead, Ancestor Worship and Mortuary Ritual in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2013), 13-15; R. Clark, *Myth & Symbol in Ancient Egypt*, (London, 1959), 231-234.

³⁹ Revise many similar stelae from the same periods inside Ihnasya necropolis itself or outside it, see the introduction.

⁴⁰ PM.VIII, 267; *Paris Musee National du Louvre*, E.17365; J. Vandier, *Manuel d'Archeologie Egyptienne III, Les grandes époques, La Statuaire* (Paris, 1958); E. Delange, *Catalogue des Statues Egyptienne du Moyen Empire, Musee du Louvre* (Paris, 1987), 180-181; *Urk.I*, 92,7; K. Sethe, 'Der Name 'Merui-tensi' und die Entwicklung der Filiationsangabe bei den Agypten', *ZÄS* 49 (1967), 98; *PN*. I, 68.

⁴¹ PM. V, 20, 48, 52, 96, 247-248; L. Habachi, *Elephantine IV, The Sanctuary of Heqaib* (Cairo, 1985), *AV* 33, 166 (1), fig 1, pl.211(d); in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, AE.I.N.28; Koefoed. Peterson, *Cat. des Statues* 19 (26), 80, 83, pl.27; Farina, *Regio Museo* 1931, fig on.42 (right); L. Curto, *Antica Egitto nel Museo Egizio di Torino* (1984), fig.on.107; J. DeMorgan, *Catalogue des Monuments et Inscriptions de l' Egypte Antique* (Vienna, 1894), 26; A. Kamal, *Tables d'offrands*, *CGC*, 42-3, 50-2; T.E. Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos*, III (London, 1913), pls.23(1), 29 (9), 25(7), 35, 119-20 (23-4); W. Spiegelberg & Portner, *Aegyptischen Grabsteine und Denksteine aus suddeutschen Sammlungen I*, pls.9 (14), 12 (20), 10, 12.

⁴² Stela no.210 for Ddj (Lopez, *Ehnasya season*, 1968).

⁴³ For example the tomb of Impy in Kom-El-Fakhry Necropolis, see: C. Lilyquist, 'Early Middle Kingdom Tombs at Mitrhina', *JARCE* 11 (1974), 29.

⁴⁴ W.A. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* I, 117; S. Tawfik, 'Die Alabaster Paletten für die Sieben Salböle im Alten Reich', *GM* 30 (1978), 77ff; H. Altenmüller, 'Das ÖlMagazin im Grab des Hesire', *SAK* 4 (1976), 13ff; J. Malek, 'An Ointment-Slab of Sekhemptah', *GM* 33 (1979), 35-40.

⁴⁵ W. K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Qar and Idu at Giza*, (Boston, 1976), figs. 40-41.

during both the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period, the names of these oils are mentioned on monuments inside and outside Egypt.⁴⁶ The seven sacred oils were used in the daily service of the temples and tombs to anoint the statue of the god or the deceased.⁴⁷ The Ancient Egyptians anointed the mummy with these oils before wrapping it with linen as this served to bind the linen wrappings to the body.⁴⁸ These oils were also connected with the opening of the mouth ritual.⁴⁹ In addition to these functions in the funerary rituals and daily service in the temple, the seven sacred oils were used also by the Egyptians in their daily life.⁵⁰

[3] - Stela of *Hty-ꜥ3* - (pl.3, fig. 3)

A fragment of a stela belonging to an individual called *Hty-ꜥ3*.

Material: limestone.

Measurement: 1 x 22 x 15 cm.

Place of preservation: Ihnasya El-Medina Magazine (Inv.Nr. 4083/2- 2010 Ihnasya).

State of preservation: The relief and hieroglyphs are in a fairly good state of preservation, rendered in sunken relief.

Description

It is suggested that the stela was stolen from a site near from cemetery of The First Intermediate Period at Ihnasya. This part of the stela represents the right side, which indicates that the stela consisted of the upper part, which contained two horizontal lines of hieroglyphs starting from the left side of the stela and connected with two vertical lines in the right of the stela. These two horizontal lines should begin with the famous formula *htp-di-nsw*, which is followed by Osiris and Anubis. The lower part of this stela contained a horizontal line of hieroglyphs, which also ran from left to right. It probably began with the formula of Anubis, because it finishes with the name of the god Imyut.

It can be suggested that the right side of the stela contained two vertical lines of hieroglyphs, similar to those on the left side, written vertically. From my comparison studies, It can be suggested that the middle part of this stela contained the jamb and the lintel of the stela, with a figure of the stela's owner, *hty-ꜥ3*, who was seated before the offering table in the center of the stela and surrounded by a molding in the shape of square. This table usually contained on its top a woven mat and the heap of food, and a goose with a traditional offering formula: "An offering consisting of a thousand of bread a thousand of beer, a thousand of oxen, a thousand of fowl, a thousand of ointment-jars and a thousand of clothing to the spirit of *hty-ꜥ3*. It could be suggested that the middle of this stela was finished with a false door shape to help the spirit of the *hty-ꜥ3* go back through it and to see what was happening outside the tomb.

⁴⁶ N. Kanawti, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish, The Cemetery of Akhmim* 10 vols. (Sydney, 1980-1992), vol. IV, pl.9, figs.30-32; Idem, *El-Hawawish*, vol.X, pl.2, fig.10 .

⁴⁷ Z. Hawass, 'A Unique Old Kingdom Headrest and Offering Tablet of Seven Sacred Oils Found at Saqqara', *Memnonia* 9 (1998), 158, pl .XIX.B.

⁴⁸ W. A.Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* I, 117.

⁴⁹ T.G.Baly, 'Notes on the ritual of opening the mouth', *JEA* 16 (1930), 173-186; A.M.Blackman , 'The Rite of Opening the Mouth in Ancient Egypt and Babylon', *JEA* 10 (1924), 47-59; J. Gayon, *Rituel Funeraires de l'Egypte Ancienne* (Paris, 1972), 89-90; Abdel Hamid.Shimy, *Parfum et parfumerie*, 26-119; R. Germer, 'öle' in: *LÄ* IV (1982), 554-555.

⁵⁰ Z. Hawass, *Memnonia* IX, 158.

Texts

Most of the upper part of the stela was lost, especially the right side which usually contained horizontal hieroglyphs written from left to right, the remaining two lines read as follows:

The first line:



[prt hrw t k3w 3pdw nt im3hw hr ntr ʕ3] <pt> nb.t⁵¹ hty-ʕ3
 [Invocation offerings of bread, oxen, and fowl for the revered from the great god] master of
 the sky hty-ʕ3.

The second line:



[prt hrw t k3w 3pdw nt im3hw hr ntr ʕ] nb.t⁵² pt hty-ʕ.

[Invocation offerings of bread, oxen, and fowl for the revered from the great god] master of the sky hty-ꜥ3.

The right side of the stela contains two verticals lines of hieroglyphs. The outer one reads as follows:



prt hrw t k3w 3pdw nt rh nswt m3^c hsj.f n st ib.f im3hw hr hty-3.

Invocation offerings of bread, fowl for the real king's acquaintance, the praised one, who is seated in his heart, the revered hty-ꜥ3.

The inner vertical line as following:



*p*rt hrw t k3w 3pdw nt mry nb.f m3^c im3hw hr ntr 3 nb pt hty-3.

Invocation offerings of bread, oxen, and fowl for the real beloved of his master, the revered one, from the great god lord of the sky hty-ꜣ3.

In the lower part of the stela are remains of horizontal hieroglyphic writing, written from right to left, which its beginning is lost, as follows:

⁵¹ The writer mistakenly wrote *pt nb.t* instead of *nb pt* as the line in the upper part of the stela.

⁵² The writer also mistakenly wrote *nb.t* instead of *nb* as the inner vertical line.







[prt hrw t k3w 3pdw nt im3hw hr Imj-w]t? hty-ʕ3

[Invocation offerings of bread, oxen, and fowl from the god> Imy.w]t⁵⁴ <for the revered one> ,hty-ʕ3.

Comment

- a- Undoubtedly the style of this stela is different from the other stelae (1, 2), this style has not been discovered before in cemeteries of the First Intermediate Period, but we have many examples from the cemetery of the Middle Kingdom at Ihnasya. That means that this style was developed during this time.⁵⁵
- b- The owner of the stela's name hty-ʕ3 was unknown before in Ihnasya, but it was known during the Middle Kingdom.⁵⁶ There is a stela in the Leiden Museum had the name hty-ʕ3t.⁵⁷ While the origins of this name are found in the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties, where most of Ihnasya's kings bore this name hty, it is also a typical name among common people in Ihnasya and others necropolises in the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom. For instance the owner of tomb number V in Asuit necropolis was called hty T⁵⁸, and another hty occupied tomb number III in the Asuit necropolis.⁵⁹ Probably adding the epithet ʕ3 to a name for giving honor and glorification to his owner, and the meaning of the name is "The great hty".

⁵³ It can be suggested that the writer either mistakenly wrote the determinative of the town  instead of the main determinative  of the word *imy-wt*, or he used the determinative of the place  with the word *imy-wt* as this word means "who is in the place of mummification" an epithet to Anubis. Or probably the missing part indicated to a geographical district ended with  which hty-ʕ3 was one of its officials?

⁵⁴ The meaning of the word is uncertain, it takes the shape of an animal skin without a head, holding onto a stick, inside a pan, the tail of the animal usually ended with the lotus flower. This skin was known as "the son of the cow hesat", which was regarded as the mother of Anubis. This skin was used from the First Dynasty and was related to mummification, the role of Anubis in collecting the secretions of Osiris during its mummification and putting them in a sacred leather bottle which was known as the *imy-wt*, which became an epithet to Anubis which meant "who is in the place of mummification" or "who is in the wrappings" as Anubis was associated with mummification and responsible for wrapping Osiris. This epithet appeared with the most common epithet of Anubis *nb t3 dsr* 'lord of the sacred land' on many stelae, especially stelae with the *hpt di nsw* formulae. For more details see: U. Köhler, *Das Imiut* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 346; R. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddess* (London, 2003), 187-192; M.L. Bierbrier, *The British Museum Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae ETC*, Part 2 (Cambridge, 1987), pl. 48; S. Ikram, *Death and Burial in Ancient Egypt* (Cairo, 2015), 36.

⁵⁵ Spanish missions at Ihnasya el-Medina, registration numbers: 199, 208, and 408.

⁵⁶ PN.I, p277-27.

⁵⁷ J.H. Holwerda & P.A.A. Boeser, *Wijngoarden in der Beschrijving van de Egyptische Ver Zameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, Deel I–XIV, Leiden und S. Gravenhage 1905-1932, Leiden V.109.

⁵⁸ For the details about the tomb, see PM, IV, 264; P. Montet, *Les Tombeaux des Siout et Deir Rifeh, Kémi III* (1930-1935), 107-111; H. Brunner, *Die Texte aus den Gräbern der Herakleopolitenzeit von Siut* (ÄF3; Glückstadt, 1937), 11ff; M. El-Khadragy & J. Kahl, 'The First Intermediate Period Tombs at Asyut Revisited', *SAK* 32 (2004), 241f; M. Zitzman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, (Uitgeverij Peeters and Department Oosterse Studies (Leuven- Paris –Walpole, 2010), 39.

⁵⁹ For the details about the tomb, see PM IV, 260ff

- c- The main titles of *hty-ʿ3* were: *{rh nswt m3ʿ mrj.f n st ib.f}*, the king's real acquaintance, his beloved one, and who is seated in his heart. This formula is attested since the Twelfth Dynasty until the Thirteenth Dynasty.⁶⁰

Stela	Owner's name	Titles	Date
No.1	<i>Ipi</i>	The real king's acquaintance, the beloved by his master, the praised one.	The First Intermediate Period or the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.
No.2	<i>ʒnhw (ʿnhwi)</i>	The commander of the army, the beloved by his master.	The First Intermediate Period or the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.
No.3	<i>hty-ʿ3</i>	The real king's acquaintance, praised one, and who is seated in his heart.	The Middle Kingdom.

Facsimiles & plates of the stelae



Fig. 1 & Pl. 1: Stela of *Ipi*

⁶⁰ W.Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung Zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches* (Berlin, 2000), 225; S. Quirk, 'The Regular Titles of the Late Middle Kingdom', *RdE* 35 (1984), 108 (no.7); W.A.Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative*, 875a; D.Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom II* (Oxford, 2000), Nr.3268.

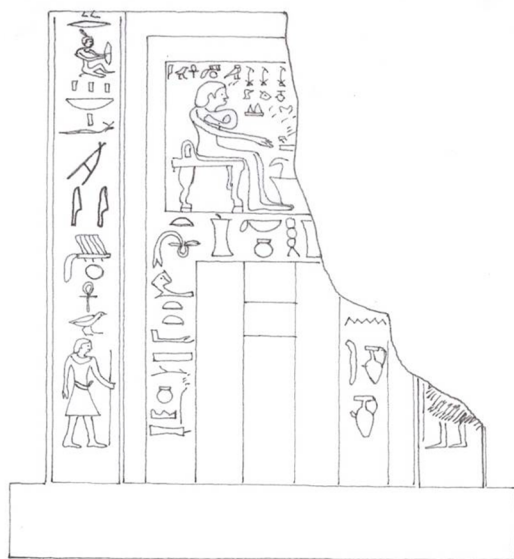


Fig. 2 & Pl. 2: Stela of ḥnw or ḥnwi



Fig. 3 & Pl. 3: Stela of *hty-3*

REFERENCES

- Altenmüller H., 'Das ÖlMagazin im Grab des Hesire', *SAK* 4 (1976).
- _____, 'Anubis', in: *LÄ* I (1975), 327-333.
- Anthes R., 'Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub', in: K.Sethe (ed.), *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte u. Altertamskunde Ägypten, herausg. V. G. Steindorff. Bd. g.*, (Leipzig, 1928).
- Assmann J., *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, (London, 2005).
- Badawy A., 'La stèle funéraire Égyptienne à Ouverture Axiale', *BIE* 35 (1954).
- Baly T.G., 'Notes on the ritual of opening the mouth', *JEA* 16 (1930), 173-186
- Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der Altägyptischen Opferformel*, (München, 1968).
- Baud, 'Famille Royale et sous l'Ancien Empire Égyptien', *BdE* 126 (1999).
- Bierbrier M.L., *The British Museum Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae ETC*, Part 2 (Cambridge, 1987).
- Blackman A., 'The Rite of Opening the Mouth in Ancient Egypt and Babylon', *JEA* 10 (1924), 47-59
- Brunner H., *Die Texte aus den Gräbern der Herakleopolitenzeit von Siut (ÄF3; Glückstadt, 1937).*
- Budge W., *The Gods of the Egyptians*, (London, 1904).
- Carmen P. *Ehnasy el-Medina Heracliopolis Magna Egipto*, (Madrid, 2010).
- Die.M., *Offerings to the Gods in Egyptian Temples*, (Paris, 2012).
- Clark R., *Myth & Symbol in Ancient Egypt*, (London, 1959).
- Coulon, 'Les Uraei Gardiens du Fétiche Abydenien', in: Devauchelle, D. (ed), *La XXVIe Dynastie: Continuités et Ruptures, Actes des Journées d'Etudes Tenues à l'Université de Lille 26-27, Novembre, 2004* (Paris, 2006), 85-108.
- Curto L., *Antica Egitto nel Museo Egizio di Torino* (Torino-1984).
- De Meulenaere, 'Le Clergé Abydénien d'Osiris à la Basse Epoque', in: Mélanges J. Vergote, *OLP* 6/7 (1975-1976), 132- 140.
- Delange E., *Catalogue des Statues Egyptienne du Moyen Empire, Musee du Louvre* (Paris, 1987).
- De-Morgan J., *Catalogue des Monuments et Inscriptions de l'Egypte Antique* (Vienna, 1894).
- _____, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, (Vienne, 1895).
- E-Khadragy M. & Kahl J., 'The First Intermediate Period Tombs at Asyut Revisited', *SAK* 32 (2004).
- El-Hitta, *La Revue du Caire, Numéro Spécial 33, No. 175* (1955).
- Erman A., *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, (London, 1907).
- Evers H., *Staat aus dem Stein, II*, (München, 1929).
- F. Le Corsu, 'Stele-portes, Egyptiennes a elements emboites d'Epoque Greco-Romaine', *RdE* 20 (1986).
- Gardiner A., 'The Baptism of the Pharoh', *JEA* 36 (1950), 3-12.
- Garlstang, *The Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt as illustrated by Tombs of the Middle Kingdom*, (London, 1907).
- Gayon J., *Rituels Funeraires de l'Egypte Ancienne* (Paris, 1972).
- Germer R., 'öle' in: *LÄ* IV (1982), 554-555
- Grajetzki W., *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung Zur Zeit*

- Griffiths, *des Mittleren Reiches* (Berlin, 2000).
- Hawass Z., 'Osiris', in: *LÄ IV* (1982), 623-634.
- Hayes W.A., 'A Unique Old Kingdom Headrest and Offering Tablet of Seven Scared Oils Found at Saqqara', *Memnonia* 9 (1998).
- Holwerda J.H. & Boeser P.A.A., *Scepter of Egypt*, I (New York, 1953).
- Holwerda J.H. & Boeser P.A.A., *Wijngoarden in der Beschrijving van de Egyptische Ver Zamelings in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, Deel I –XIV, (Leiden und S, Gravenhage 1905-1932).
- Ikram S., *Death and Burial in Ancient Egypt* (Cairo, 2015).
- Jequier, *Manual d'Archeologie Egyptienne* (Paris-1998).
- Jones D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom II* (Oxford, 2000).
- Kanawti N., *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish, The Cemetery of Akhmim* 10 vols. (Sydney, 1980-1992).
- Köhler U., *Das Imiut* (Wiesbaden, 1975).
- Lapp G., 'Die Stelenkapelle des Kmn aus der 13.Dynastie', *MDAIK* 50 (1994), 231-233.
- Lapp G., *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches*, (Mainz, 1986).
- Lilyquist C., 'Early Middle Kingdom Tombs at Mitrahina', *JARCE* 11(1974), 27-30.
- Lopez, *Ehnasya season*, 1968
- Lurker, *An Illustrated Dictionary of the Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt*, (London, 1980).
- Malek J., 'An Ointment-Slab of Sekhemptah', *GM* 33 (1979), 35-40.
- Martin K., 'Stele ', in: *LÄ VI* (1982), 1-4.
- Meeks D., *Annee lexicographique III* (1979) (Paris, 1982).
- Montet P., *Les Tombeaux des Siout et Deir Rifeh, Kémi III* (1930-1935).
- Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, (London, 1893).
- Nicola, *Living with the Dead, Ancestor Worship and Mortuary Ritual in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2013).
- Peet T.E., *The Cemeteries of Abydos, III* (London, 1913).
- Petrie, *Deshasheh. Egypt Exploration Fund Fifteenth Memoir*, (London, 1898).
- Quibell, *Excavation Saqqara in 1905-1906*, (Le Caire, 1907).
- Quirk S., 'The Regular Titles of the Late Middle Kingdom', *RdE* 35 (1984), 101-110.
- Rawash H., 'Two Unpublished Stelae from Ihnasya EL-Medina', *The scientific magazine of South Valley University*, vol. 9 (2014), 505-525.
- Saleh H., 'Investigating Ethnic and Gender Identities on Wooden Funerary Stelae from Libyan Period in Egypt', in: *BAR International Series* 1734 (2007).
- Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten*, (Berlin, 1976)
- Sethe K., 'Der Name 'Merui-tensi' und die Entwicklung der Filiationsangabe bei den Ägypten', *ZÄS* 49 (1967).
- Shimy Abdel Hamid, *Parfum et parfumerie dans l'Ancienne Egypte (de l'Ancien Empire a la fin du Nouvel Empire)*, vol. I, (Lyon, 1997).
- Simpson W. K., *The Mastaba of Qar and Idu at Giza* (Boston, 1976).
- Smith J. L., *Paintings from Egypt, An Exhibition in Celebration of the Fifth Anniversary of the Department of Egyptology* (Brown, 1998),

- Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, (London&Boston, 1978).
- Speleer, *Textes de Cercueils*, (Paris, 1946).
- Spiegelberg W. & Portner, *Aegyptischen Grabsteine und Denksteine aus suddeutschen Sammlungen I*, (Berlin, 1906).
- Tawfik S., 'Die Alabaster Paletten für die Sieben Salböle im Älten Reich', *GM* 30 (1978).
- Vandier J., *Manuel d'Archeologie Egyptienne III, Les grandes époques, La Statuaire* (Paris, 1958).
- Wainwright, 'Three Stelae From Naga el-Deir', *ASAE* 25 (1915), 164-166
- Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of The Middle Kingdom* (Beirut, 1982).
- Wilkinson R., *Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, (London, 2005).
- _____, *The Complete Gods and Goddess* (London, 2003).
- Willems H., 'Anubis as a Judge', in: H.Willems & Others, *Egyptian Religion the Last Thousand Years, Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur OLA* 84 (1998), 719-743.
- Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte I*, (Leipzig 1923).
- Ziegler C., *Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs Égyptiens de L'Ancien Empire et de la Première Periode Intermédiaire*, (Paris, 1995).
- Zitman M., *The Necropolis of Assiut*, (Uitgeverij Peeters and Department Oosterse Studies (Leuven- Paris –Walpole, 2010).
- *120 Year of Spanish Archaeology in Egypt*, (Madrid, 2009).