

# **The Cultural Manifestations of Religious Experience**

Studies in Honour of Boyo G. Ockinga

Edited by Camilla Di Biase-Dyson  
and Leonie Donovan

in cooperation with  
Heike Behlmer, Julien Cooper, Brenan Dew,  
Alice McClymont, Kim McCorquodale and Ellen Ryan

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Band 85

Gegründet von Manfred Görg

Herausgegeben von Stefan Jakob Wimmer und Wolfgang Zwickel



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## List of Abbreviations

### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ABBREVIATIONS

- BD* Faulkner, R.O. 1972. *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, London.
- CT* Buck, A. de 1935–1961. *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 7 Vols, Oriental Institute Publications, Chicago.
- KRI I* Kitchen, K.A. 1975. *Ramesseid Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Vol. I, Oxford.
- KRI II* Kitchen, K.A. 1979. *Ramesseid Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Vol. II: Ramses II, Oxford.
- KRI III* Kitchen, K.A. 1980. *Ramesseid Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Vol. III, Oxford.
- KRI IV* Kitchen, K.A. 1982. *Ramesseid Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Vol. IV, Oxford.
- KRI V* Kitchen, K.A. 1983. *Ramesseid Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Vol. V, Oxford.
- KRI VI* Kitchen, K.A. 1983. *Ramesseid Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Vol. VI, Oxford.
- KRI VII* Kitchen, K.A. 1989. *Ramesseid Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Vol. VII, Oxford.
- KRI VIII* Kitchen, K.A. 1990. *Ramesseid Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, Vol. VIII, Oxford.
- RITA I* Kitchen, K.A. 1993. *Ramesseid Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Translations I, Ramesses I, Sethos I, and contemporaries*, Oxford.
- RITA II* Kitchen, K.A. 1996. *Ramesseid Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Translations II, Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions*, Oxford.
- RITA III* Kitchen, K.A. 2000. *Ramesseid Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Translations III, Ramesses II, his contemporaries*, Oxford.
- RITA IV* Kitchen, K.A. 2003. *Ramesseid Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Translations IV, Merenptah and the late Nineteenth Dynasty*, Oxford.
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- RITA VII* Kitchen, K.A. 2012. *Ramesseid Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Translations VII, Addenda to I-VI*, Oxford.
- RITANC I* Kitchen, K.A. 1993. *Ramesseid Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments I, Ramesses I, Sethos I, and contemporaries*, Oxford.
- RITANC II* Kitchen, K.A. 1999. *Ramesseid Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments II, Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions*, Malden-Oxford.
- RITANC III* Davies, B.G. 2013. *Ramesseid Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments III*, Malden-Oxford.
- RITANC IV* Davies, B.G. 2014. *Ramesseid Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments IV*, Malden-Oxford.
- RITANC VII* Davies, B.G. forthcoming 2017. *Ramesseid Inscriptions, Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments VII*, Malden-Oxford.
- LÄ I* Helck, W. and Otto, E. (eds) 1975. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie I*, Wiesbaden.
- LÄ II* Helck, W. and Westendorf, W. (eds) 1977. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie II*, Wiesbaden.
- LÄ III* Helck, W. and Westendorf, W. (eds) 1980. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie III*, Wiesbaden.
- LÄ IV* Helck, W. and Westendorf, W. (eds) 1982. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie IV*, Wiesbaden.
- LÄ V* Helck, W. and Westendorf, W. (eds) 1984. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie V*, Wiesbaden.
- LÄ VI* Helck, W. and Westendorf, W. (eds) 1986. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie VI*, Wiesbaden.
- LGG* Leitz, C. et al (eds), 2002–2003. *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, Bd. I–VII, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 110–116, Leuven.



- PM I/1 Porter, B. and Moss, R.L.B. 1960. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, Vol. I, *The Theban Necropolis, Part 1: Private Tombs*, second edition, Oxford.
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- PM V Porter, B. and Moss, R.L.B. 1937. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, Vol. V, *Upper Egypt: Sites (Deir Rifâ to Aswân, excluding Thebes and the Temples of Abydos, Dendera, Esna, Edfu, Kom Ômbo and Philae)*, Oxford.
- PM VII Porter, B. and Moss, R.L.B. 1951. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, Vol. VII, *Nubia, the Deserts, and Outside Egypt*, Oxford.
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PN I Ranke, H., 1935. *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I. Verzeichnis der Namen*, Glückstadt.
- PN II Ranke, H., 1952. *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen II. Einleitung, Form und Inhalt der Namen, Geschichte der Namen, Vergleiche mit anderen Namen, Nachträge und Zusätze zu Band I, Umschreibungslisten*, Glückstadt/Hamburg.
- PN III Ranke, H., 1977. *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen III. Verzeichnis der Bestandteile*, Glückstadt.
- Urk. I Sethe, K. 1932–1933. *Urkunden des Alten Reichs, Abteilung I, Band I, Heft 1-4*, Leipzig.
- Urk. IV Sethe, K. 1906. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Abteilung IV, Band I, Heft 1-4, Historisch-biographische Urkunden*, Leipzig.
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## OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

ÄM	Prefix for registration number, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin
AR	Altes Reich
Abb.	Abbildung
BM	Prefix for registration, British Museum, London
bes.	besonders
bzw.	beziehungsweise
c.	<i>circa</i> , about, approximately
cf.	confer, compare
DeM	Deir el-Medina
d. h.	das heißt
Diam.	diameter
DZA	<i>Digitalisiertes Zettelarchiv</i>
ed.	editor, edition
eds	editors
EK	El-Kab
et al.	<i>et alii</i> , and others
evtl.	eventuell
fig.	figure
figs	figures
H.	height
Hrsg.	Herausgeber
JdE, JE	Journal d'Entrée, Egyptian Museum, Cairo
Kol.	Kolumne
KV	Kings' Valley
L.	length
M.a.W.	Mit anderen Worten
MFA	Prefix for registration number, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
MR	Mittleres Reich
n.	note
n.d.	no date
NR	Neues Reich
O.	Ostrakon
o. ä.	oder ähnliches
OIM	Prefix for registration number, Oriental Institute Museum, Univ. of Chicago
P.	Papyrus
pl.	plate
pls	plates
PN	Personenname, personal name

QV	Queens' Valley
rto	recto
s.	siehe
s. a.	siehe auch
s. o.	siehe oben
s. v.	<i>sub voce</i>
Sp.	Spalte
Taf.	Tafel
<i>TLA</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae</i>
TT	Theban Tomb
u. a.	und andere, unter anderem
u. ä.	und ähnlich
UC	Prefix for registration number, University College, London
var.	variant
vgl.	vergleiche
vso	verso
W.	width
Z.	Zeile
z. B.	zum Beispiel
z. T.	zum Teil
ZwZt	Zwischenzeit

## Graffiti on a Thirteenth Dynasty stela from Abydos (Louvre C8)

*Nico Staring, Leiden University*

It is my pleasure to present this study to Boyo Ockinga on the occasion of his 65th birthday\*. I have been in the privileged position to have worked under his supervision on my PhD thesis at Macquarie University. He made me feel at home in Sydney when I first arrived ‘down under’ and has been extremely supportive and encouraging during my studies; always time for a chat and coffee (or ‘long black’/‘flat white’ in Australia).

Graffiti are considered as one of the richest sources of evidence available of the personal experience of religion in Ancient Egypt.<sup>1</sup> This applies not only to textual graffiti, but also to their figural counterpart. Figural graffiti have long been neglected by scholars and therefore remained difficult to interpret. The growing number of publications dedicated to the study of figural graffiti over the last years has increased their corpus, especially for the New Kingdom and later periods. Earlier periods are yet underrepresented. This study is dedicated to the graffiti left on a royal monument of the Thirteenth Dynasty. The main aim of this article is to make the graffiti available to a wider scholarly audience. After discussing the monument’s provenance, context, and ownership, the graffiti are described and interpretations about their function and motives of the graffitist are offered.

### **Stela Louvre C8 = N 162 (FIGURE 1)<sup>2</sup>**

Limestone

H. 190 cm; W. 106 cm; Th. 14 cm

Ex-coll. Drovetti, 1827

#### *Select bibliography*

Prisse d’Avennes (1847: 2, pl. 8); Pierret (1878: 107); Petrie (1924: 219–220, fig. 125); Leca (1971: fig. 107); Helck (1975: 17, no. 25); Szafranski (1990: 249, pl. 19a); Staring (2011: 148–150, figs 1–2).

#### ***Provenance and how the stela came to the Louvre***

Stela Louvre C8 (N 162) formed part of the second collection of Bernardino Drovetti (1776–1852), acquired in 1827 by order of Charles X.<sup>3</sup> Drovetti, the Italian Consul-General of France in Egypt (1811–1814 and 1821–1829) and renowned collector of Egyptian antiquities, assembled his vast collections by employing agents to excavate on his behalf and by buying from scores of native excavators. The way in which his excavations (and those of his contemporaries)<sup>4</sup> were executed has often been described as rather careless.<sup>5</sup> At Abydos it was the Italian missionary Ladislaus (1780–1828) who excavated on Drovetti’s behalf. *Padre* Ladislaus travelled to Egypt in 1806 to become a superior in the Roman

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\* I would like to thank the editors of this *Festschrift* for inviting me to contribute to it.

<sup>1</sup> Dijkstra (2012: 7).

<sup>2</sup> I thank Dr Catherine Bridonneau for sending me this photograph and Dr Geneviève Pierrat-Bonnefois for providing me with an extract of the Musée du Louvre collection database pertaining to this object.

<sup>3</sup> Inv. 1927, no. 425. See, for example, Kanawaty (1987); Ridley (1998: 271–274). The collection had been assembled by 1824.

<sup>4</sup> His contemporaries included Jean (Giovanni) d’Anastasi (1780–1860) who likewise amassed huge collections of antiquities. The large number of Middle Kingdom stelae now held in the collection of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (see Boeser: 1909) points to his involvement in the 1820s ‘excavations’ at Abydos.

<sup>5</sup> See the descriptions given by contemporaries in Ridley (1998: 278–282).

Catholic convent at Girga north of Abydos.<sup>6</sup> In pursuit of collectable, attractive objects little (if any) attention was paid to their find contexts.<sup>7</sup>

It should come as no surprise that the exact provenance of stela Louvre C8 is not recorded. Yet, it has long been attributed to Koptos on account of the ithyphallic deity Min, whose main seat of worship was at that site.<sup>8</sup> This attribution becomes untenable when considering the textual evidence,<sup>9</sup> which invokes Osiris-Khentiaementiu ‘Lord of Abydos’ and the ithyphallic deity Min-Horus-the-victorious who is designated as ‘the son of Osiris, residing at Abydos’. These epithets point to Abydos as the stela’s place of origin. A cult of Min-Horus-the-victorious is indeed well established at this site otherwise known primarily for the worship of Osiris.<sup>10</sup> The material evidence includes a great number of private stelae from cenotaphs and tombs (Abydos North) depicting this ‘Son of Osiris’ being worshipped by both kings and private individuals.<sup>11</sup>

### **Iconography**

The round-topped stela is divided in two parts. The lunette contains the representation of the winged sun-disk (Horus of Edfu) positioned above text columns mentioning Osiris-Khentiaementiu (right; separated by column dividers) and king Sobekhotep III.

A *p.t*-sign designating the sky separates the lunette from the scene below. The text is divided into 12 columns separated by column dividers: three columns (right) are associated with the representation of Min-Horus-the-victorious and nine columns with the two ladies who are identified as daughters of Sobekhotep III: Iuhet-ibu named Nose/Nosy and Dedet-Anuket. They both wear an ankle-length sheath dress and plain *wesekh*-collar. A diadem is placed upon their short, braided wigs. It consists of a head-band with long and short streamers and a lotus-flower bow-knot on the back. The front is provided with a uraeus.<sup>12</sup> Min-Horus-the-victorious stands on a pedestal shaped as the *maat*-sign.<sup>13</sup> He is characteristically represented as a standing, ithyphallic and mummiform man.<sup>14</sup> His left arm is raised over his shoulder and in his open hand he holds a *nhꜣhꜣ*-flail which he does not grasp. Min wears a plain *wesekh*-collar and two ribbons are crossed over the chest. He sports a divine beard and wears the distinctive crown consisting of a close-fitting skullcap surmounted by two tall rigid feathers. Min’s sanctuary is depicted behind his pedestal.

### **Technical observations**

The representations and hieroglyphs of this stela are neatly carved in sunk relief. It demonstrates the workmanship of a well-trained artist who operated under royal patronage.<sup>15</sup> The monochrome yellowish-white limestone does not reveal any visible traces of colour. The stela is chipped along the edges and a few larger flakes are broken off, most notably at the top of the lunette. The faces of the two ladies show signs of intentional damage probably inflicted in ancient times. Their eyes and mouth and the uraeus of Dedet-Anuket have been hammered by a blunt tool resulting in small concentric

<sup>6</sup> Dawson, Uphill and Bierbrier (2012: 306).

<sup>7</sup> The excavations of the ‘brutal monk’ Ladislaus were long remembered, as can be demonstrated by the graphic description provided in St. John (1834: Vol. 1, 297).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Dodson and Hilton (2004: 109) (*Iuhetibu B Fendy*, ‘on a stela from Koptos [Louvre]’).

<sup>9</sup> See also: Leahy (1989: 59 n.85).

<sup>10</sup> Kemp and Merrillees (1980: 236); Romanosky (2001: 414–415). Min-Horus-the-victorious was the son of Osiris and Isis. His epithet refers to him being the powerful conqueror of Seth.

<sup>11</sup> A selection of stelae can be found in Simpson (1974): ANOC 16.2 (CGC 20240); ANOC 49.2 (Avignon, Musée Calvet A3); ANOC 57.4 (Leiden V, 21); ANOC 59.3 (CGC 20612); ANOC 65.4 (Berlin 7287); and ANOC 67.1 (Hannover, Museum August-Kestner 2931).

<sup>12</sup> Compare these to the so-called Antef-diadem, National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden AO Ila-2 (Thebes, Seventeenth Dynasty): Raven (1988).

<sup>13</sup> The deity could also be depicted standing on a stepped dais representing a terraced hill: for example, *Urk.* IV, 1031.6; and stela Hermitage 1084 of Sobekhotep (Abydos, Thirteenth Dynasty): Bolšakov and Quirke (1999: 53–57, pl. 11).

<sup>14</sup> See also Ogdon (1985–1986); Romanosky (2001).

<sup>15</sup> Private stelae of this period are generally of ‘inferior’ quality workmanship.

indentations. The same can be observed over the top-half of the deity's phallus, along with a slight discolouration around it as if the area has been repeatedly rubbed.<sup>16</sup>

### Texts and Translation

→ [1] *Bḥd.ty nṯr ʿz sʿb šw.t nb p.t*

He of Behdet (Horus of Edfu), Great God, Variegated of Feathers, Lord of the sky.

← [2] *Bḥd.ty nṯr ʿz sʿb šwt nb Msn*

He of Behdet (Horus of Edfu), Great God, Variegated of Feathers, Lord of Mesen (Edfu).

←↓ [3] <sup>(1)</sup> *Wsir ḥnt.y* <sup>(2)</sup> *imn.tyw nṯr ʿz nb* <sup>(3)</sup> *ʿbḏw di=f* <sup>(4)</sup> *ʿnh wʿs nb snb nb* <sup>(5)</sup> *ḏd.t nb mi Rʿ ḏ.t*

Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, Great God, Lord of Abydos, may he grant all life and (all) dominion, all health, and all stability like Re forever.

↓→ [4] <sup>(1)</sup> *Hr(.w) Hw(i).w-tʿ.wy* <sup>(2)</sup> *nṯr nfr nb tʿ.wy nb ir(i).t ḥ.t* <sup>(3)</sup> *(n.y-)sw.t-bi.t(y) Šhm-Rʿ swʿḏ-tʿ.wy* <sup>(4)</sup> *sʿ Rʿ Sbk-ḥtp(.w)* <sup>(5)</sup> *di ʿnh ḏd wʿs snb* <sup>(6)</sup> *ʿw(.t)-ib=f ḥnʿ kʿ=f* <sup>(7)</sup> *ḥr s.t Hr(.w) ḏ.t*

Horus Khui-tawy, Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Rituals; King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sekhemra Sewadj-tawy; Son of Re, Sobekhotep, given life, stability, dominion, health and happiness with his *ka* on the throne of Horus forever.

←↓ [5] <sup>(1)</sup> *Mn(.w)-Hr(.w)-nḥt* <sup>(3)</sup> *sʿ Wsir ḥr(.y)-ib ʿbḏw*

Min-Horus-the-victorious Son of Osiris who dwells in Abydos.

↓→ [6] <sup>(1)</sup> *di.t iʿw n* <sup>(2)</sup> *Wsir nṯr ʿz nb ʿbḏw* <sup>(3)</sup> *Wp(i)-wʿ.wt Šmʿ(.w) Mḥ(.w) Mn(.w)-Hr(.w)-nḥt* <sup>(4)</sup> *di-sn pr(i).t-ḥrw t ḥnk.t kʿ.w ʿpd.w mnḥ.t* <sup>(5)</sup> *ḥ.t nb.t nfr.t wʿb.t tʿw nḏm n(.y) ʿnh* <sup>(6)</sup> *n kʿ n(.y) sʿ.t n(.y)sw(.t) Iwh.t-ib.w ḏd.t Fnd mʿʿ.t-ḥrw* <sup>(7)</sup> *ms(i).t.n ḥm(.t)-(n.y)sw(.t) Nni nb.t imʿh* <sup>(8)</sup> *ḥtp-di- n(.y)-sw(.t) Wsir nb ʿnh-tʿ.wy n kʿ n(.y) (D) sʿ.t n(.y)sw(.t) Dd.t-ʿnk.t mʿʿ.t-ḥrw ms(i).t.n ḥm(.t)-(n.y)sw(.t) Nni*

Giving adoration to Osiris the Great God, Lord of Abydos, Wepwawet of Upper and Lower Egypt, (and) Min-Horus-the-victorious, that they may grant an invocation offering of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, linen, all good and pure things and a sweet breeze of life to the *ka* of the king's daughter Iuhet-ibu<sup>17</sup> named Nose/Nosy,<sup>18</sup> true of voice, born of the king's wife Neni, lady of reverence (and) an offering which the king gives (to) Osiris, Lord of Ankh-tawy, to the *ka* of the king's daughter Dedet-Anuket,<sup>19</sup> true of voice, born of the king's wife Neni.

↓→ [7] *dwʿ nṯr sp 4*

Adoring the god 4 times.

↓→ [8] *dwʿ nṯr sp 4*

Adoring the god 4 times.

### Sobekhotep III, his family, and his reign

Sobekhotep III reigned for approximately five years (c. 1744–1741 BC) during the late Middle Kingdom Thirteenth Dynasty (c. 1781–1650 BC).<sup>20</sup> During this period Egypt was ruled by a series of ephemeral kings about whom we know very little and whose precise succession is not always clear. Sobekhotep III followed after a number of such ephemeral kings including Khendjer, Imyrameshaw, Antef V, and Seth. Sobekhotep III had been an elite officer ('Officer of the Ruler's Crew') before ascending to the throne.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Compare to stela Glasgow City Museum and Art Gallery '23–33ad (Abydos, late Thirteenth Dynasty: Kemp and Merrillees [1980: 234–236, fig. 73]). The coat of yellow paint covering the image of Min has been worn away in earlier times by rubbing.

<sup>17</sup> *PNI*, 18 [17].

<sup>18</sup> *PNI*, 142 [20]; Vernus (1986: 6 [11]).

<sup>19</sup> *PNI*, 403 [9].

<sup>20</sup> Turin King List vso VI, 24; Spalinger 'Sobekhotep' in: *LÄ* V, 1039–1041; Ryholt (1997: 222–224, 298 [4¼ years] and Table 55); Dodson and Hilton (2004: 100–107).

<sup>21</sup> Ryholt (1997: 222 n.771).

Once he had taken office (possibly by means of a *coup d'état*),<sup>22</sup> he started to publicly proclaim his non-royal descent,<sup>23</sup> thereby dissociating himself from his immediate predecessors whose memories he erased by usurping their monuments. Despite the few years on the throne, Sobekhotep III's reign is relatively well documented and the remains of his monuments have been found at various sites in Egypt.<sup>24</sup> His direct successor was king Neferhotep I, also of non-royal descent. No family relation has been established between the two.

Sobekhotep III's family is documented on a number of monuments<sup>25</sup> and royal (scarab) seals.<sup>26</sup> His father was the God's Father and Elite Officer, Montuhotep, and his mother was named Iuhet-ibu. Sobekhotep and his wife<sup>27</sup> Neni had two daughters, Iuhet-ibu and Dedet-Anuqet. The family tree<sup>28</sup> can be further reconstructed with information recorded on stelae Vienna ÄS 135,<sup>29</sup> a rock-cut stela from the Armant-Nag Hammadi Road (Wadi el Hol),<sup>30</sup> and a relief (composite altar) from Sehel Island.<sup>31</sup> A noteworthy feature in stela Louvre C8 is that the name and nickname of Sobekhotep III's first daughter Iuhet-ibu named Nosy has been written in a cartouche. This custom was the king's sole preserve until the Twelfth Dynasty, when a wife of Sesostri III received it, followed by a daughter of Amenemhat III.<sup>32</sup> The use of the cartouche for royal children was rare, and it probably signalled the individual's special status.<sup>33</sup> We do not know what exactly the special status of Iuhet-ibu would have been. From the historical records, however, we learn that Sobekhotep III was succeeded not by his daughter (or two brothers), but by a king who was otherwise unrelated to him.

The royal residence of the Thirteenth Dynasty kings would have been at Itj-tawy (Memphis). The known burials of its kings were situated nearby in the Memphite necropolis (Saqqara South, Dahshur and Mazghuna). Although the final resting place of Sobekhotep III is yet to be found, the recent identification of the tombs of the brother-kings Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV, direct successors of Sobekhotep III, at Abydos opens up the possibility that the latter's tomb should be situated there as well.<sup>34</sup> Interestingly, two stelae mentioning or erected in honour of his family members (his wife Neni<sup>35</sup> and his brother Seneb<sup>36</sup>) and a stela depicting a king Sobekhotep standing before the ithyphallic deity Min-Horus-the-victorious have also been excavated at Abydos.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Ryholt (1997: 297).

<sup>23</sup> This example is followed by his successors Neferhotep I, Sihathor, Sobekhotep IV, and Sobekhotep V.

<sup>24</sup> Ryholt (1997: 297–298, 343–344 [File 13/26]).

<sup>25</sup> Another family stela, found at Abydos (Ayrton, Currelly and Weigall [1904: pl. 13]), names the King's Mother Iuhet-ibu and the God's Father Dedu-Sobek. While this lady Iuhet-ibu has often been identified as the mother of Sobekhotep III (for example, Macadam [1951: 22]), the identification has long been questioned: for example, Spalinger 'Sobekhotep' in: *LÄ* V, 1040, Ryholt (1997: 246–248) made the connection to another family stela (in Athens) and concluded that they are the parents of yet another, unidentified king.

<sup>26</sup> In addition to Ryholt (1997), see also the earlier discussion by Macadam (1951).

<sup>27</sup> A second queen of Sobekhotep III was named Senebhenas (recorded in the Wadi el Hol rock-inscription).

<sup>28</sup> See Spalinger 'Sobekhotep' in: *LÄ* V, 1041–1042; Ryholt (1997: 222–225, Table 55); Dodson and Hilton (2004: 106–107).

<sup>29</sup> Hein and Satzinger (1989: 4,44–47) (with references to earlier literature), bought by E.A. Burghart in Egypt in 1821.

<sup>30</sup> Macadam (1951: 23–28, pl. 6); Helck (1975: 15, no. 23).

<sup>31</sup> Macadam (1951: pl. 6); Dodson and Hilton (2004: fig. on p. 105).

<sup>32</sup> Dodson and Hilton (2004: 25).

<sup>33</sup> A later Eighteenth Dynasty example includes Prince Wadjmose, a younger son of Thutmose I.

<sup>34</sup> Wegner (2015: 70–71); Wegner and Cahail (2015): tombs S9 and S10, located immediately due west of the funerary enclosure of Sesostri III at the foot of the *gebel* known as *dw-Inpw*, Mountain-of-Anubis.

<sup>35</sup> Leiden VLDJ 3: Boeser (1909: 7, no. 17, pl. 16). Limestone, 54.5 x 34.5 cm (ex-coll. D.J. van Lennep (1855 [1847])). The stela is dedicated by the *m-r pr n(y) hm.t (n.y-)sw.t Nni Ꞁ.w.s.*, Steward of the King's Wife Neni, l.p.h., named *Psšw*.

<sup>36</sup> Vienna ÄS 135, limestone, 50.2 x 29.8 x 5 cm: Hein and Satzinger (1989: 4,44–47). The stela (featuring the ithyphallic deity Min 'who dwells in Abydos') was made by 'his *hrd*' (servant/subordinate), Kawah.

<sup>37</sup> Cairo CG 20146 (limestone, 50 x 29 cm; north enclosure, temple of Osiris): Mariette (1880: no. 767); Lange and Schäfer (1902: I, 172; IV, pl. 13).

### The graffiti (FIGURE 2)

Despite the fact that stela Louvre C8 is well known as a historical document, the abundantly present figural graffiti have until recently received no scholarly attention. Line drawings made by Prisse d'Avennes (1847)<sup>38</sup> and Flinders Petrie (1924) show no graffiti,<sup>39</sup> and studies that included a photograph of the stela do not refer to them.<sup>40</sup> It was during a casual visit to the Louvre in 2009 that I noticed the graffiti on this stela. I later revisited the museum in order to properly document the graffiti and to take detailed photographs.<sup>41</sup> As the monument is currently being exhibited behind a heavy and irremovable glass plate, it proved to be difficult to take accurate measurements and impossible to copy the graffiti from the original.

- GRAFFITO 1      *Jackal*  
 Dimensions:    c. 9.4 x 11.4 cm  
 Technique:      Shallowly scratched  
 Description:    The representation of a standing jackal facing right. The animal has a thick tail, a rather long neck, and its rectangular head has an internal zigzag line.
- GRAFFITO 2      *Jackal*  
 Dimensions:    c. 8.0 x 8.5 cm  
 Technique:      Shallowly scratched  
 Description:    The representation of a standing jackal with long neck, facing right. The area on the stela where the head is depicted is damaged and it is tempting to suggest that the graffitist made the most of this (damaged) shape
- GRAFFITO 3      *Jackal*  
 Dimensions:    c. 9.9 x 8.9 cm  
 Technique:      Incised  
 Description:    The representation of a standing jackal facing right. The animal's front side is near-vertical while its body is drawn upwards diagonally towards the back. Its muzzle is tapered and the ears are drawn with care for internal details. The outlines are repeatedly cut deep into the stone's surface.  
 Literature:      Van Pelt and Staring (forthcoming: fig. 11 [right]).
- GRAFFITO 4      *Jackal*  
 Dimensions:    c. 10.9 x 16.4 cm  
 Technique:      Incised  
 Description:    The representation of a standing jackal wearing a collar, facing right, positioned upon a horizontal line (top part of a standard) with uraeus drawn in front. The jackal has been drawn naturalistically and its interior surface has been smoothed.  
 Literature:      Van Pelt and Staring (forthcoming: fig. 11 [left]).
- GRAFFITO 5      *Jackal*  
 Dimensions:    c. 3.5 x 5.0 cm  
 Technique:      Scratched  
 Description:    The representation of a standing jackal facing right, standing upon a horizontal line (top part of a standard).

<sup>38</sup> Prisse d'Avennes (1847: pl. 8).

<sup>39</sup> Petrie (1924, fig. 125). Moreover, the drawing curiously omits the god's prominent phallus. Compare to the photo used in another publication (Petrie [1896: pl. 9, below]), showing a relief block from Coptos with king Sesostris I depicted before the ithyphallic god Min. The god's phallus is intentionally obliterated from view. In the same publication, the phallus is conspicuously absent from the line drawings of other relief-decorated blocks featuring Min (pls 6.6, 6.12, 18.2, 22).


<sup>40</sup> Leca (1971: fig. 107); Szafranski (1990: 249, pl. 19a).

<sup>41</sup> I am much indebted to Dr Christophe Barbotin, who accommodated my visit and provided extra light in order to produce the best photos possible.



- GRAFFITO 6 *Jackal*  
 Dimensions: c. 5.0 x 7.0 cm  
 Technique: Incised  
 Description: The representation of a standing jackal facing right, standing upon a horizontal line (standard) with uraeus and *shedshed* at front. The jackal has a pointed muzzle and two separately drawn ears. The outlines are deeply incised and its interior surface has been smoothed.
- GRAFFITO 7 *Jackal head*  
 Dimensions: c. 2.5 x 2.5 cm  
 Technique: Scratched  
 Description: The representation of a jackal head, facing right.  
 Literature: Staring (2011: 149, fig. 2.)
- GRAFFITO 8 *Jackal head atop an ankh sign*  
 Dimensions: c. 13.4 x 5.5 cm  
 Technique: Carved in sunk relief  
 Description: The representation of a jackal head facing right, positioned atop an *ankh*-sign with stepped cross-bar and recessed loop. The head is cut not as deeply as the *ankh*. The animal has a tapering muzzle and two ears that are slightly bent forward.  
 Literature: Staring (2011: 149, fig. 2).
- GRAFFITO 9 *Sailboat* (FIGURE 3)  
 Dimensions: c. 11.4 x 27.3 cm  
 Technique: Scratched  
 Description: The representation of a river sailboat proceeding towards the right.<sup>42</sup> Two parallel curved lines depict the spoon shaped hull with pointed prow and stern. The boat has a square cabin amidships and a small forecabin with railing. The pole mast starts at the deck and runs through the central cabin. It is held upright by two lines securing it fore and aft. Middle Kingdom sailboats had only a fore-stay, so the line drawn between mast and stern might depict the yard's lifts to lower and hoist the sail. The square sail (with vertical sail-stitching) is suspended from a horizontal spar representing the yard and its lower end is bent to the boom. The diagonal line running between quarterdeck and sail could be the rope by which the yard was controlled, trimming it at a suitable angle to the wind. The large steering oar is mounted axially over the stern and the oar's butt-end is secured to the steering oar post. A second, short and near-vertical line represents the tiller fitted to the stanchion's head, used as a lever for steering. Two lines between the hull and oar depict the ropes that safeguarded it against loss.
- GRAFFITO 10 *Paddling boat*  
 Dimensions: c. 14.9 x 18.9 cm  
 Technique: Scratched  
 Description: The representation of a river paddling boat proceeding towards the right. The curved hull is represented by two parallel lines and seven rowing oars are drawn as diagonal lines of varying length.
- GRAFFITO 11 *Oval shape*  
 Dimensions: c. 5.5 x 3.0 cm  
 Technique: Incised  
 Description: This well-drawn oval shape resembles a cartouche in vertical position.
- GRAFFITO 12 *Jar with spout*  
 Dimensions: c. 8.0 x 4.0 cm  
 Technique: Shallowly scratched



<sup>42</sup> For a description of Middle Kingdom sailboats and their nomenclature, see for example, Jones (1995: 45–48). The Twelfth Dynasty model boat Ägyptische Sammlung, Universität Tübingen 369 offers a close parallel to the boat depicted in the graffito, although it is missing the cabins, see Brunner-Traut and Brunner (1981: 50–53, pl. 37 [below]). A good parallel in relief-decoration can be seen in Avignon, Musée Calvet A6 of Sokarhotep (Abydos, Thirteenth Dynasty): Aufrère (1985: fig. 5a).

Description: A graffito resembling the hieroglyphic sign , a *hes*-jar with lid and curved spout. The jar is positioned atop the lower back of a jackal (Graffito 4).

GRAFFITO 13 *Hieroglyphic signs*

Dimensions: c. 8.5 x 3.5 cm

Technique: Scratched

Description: A group of graffiti resembling hieroglyphic signs. The two upper signs could be read as , *ntr nfr*, Perfect God, an epithet of the king. The sign below depicts a crudely drawn circle with two horizontal lines below, perhaps an attempt at writing , *nb t3.wy*, Lord of the Two Lands.

### **Graffiti: discussion**

#### *Jackal graffiti*





Eight graffiti depict jackals: two heads and six standing animals. All undoubtedly represent the canine deity Wepwawet, the ‘Opener of the Ways’ who was intimately linked with the funerary realm. He played an important role in the Osiris-festival at Abydos (the procession of Wepwawet preceding the image of Osiris) and he is often addressed in texts and depicted on stelae from that site.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, Wepwawet is invoked in the text associated with the two royal daughters on stela Louvre C8.

The jackals are not randomly placed wherever space is available. Instead, they are intentionally placed near the foreheads and feet of the two royal daughters, oriented towards the right as if they are leading them on their way towards the deity.

Comparing the jackals, they are all drawn differently and the graffitist(s) used various techniques. This implies that the graffiti were drawn not by one and the same individual, and it may indicate that new graffiti were added over a prolonged period of time. The graffiti may have been drawn by both trained (cf. graffito 4) and untrained (cf. graffito 5) draughtsmen.

It is obviously difficult to establish the exact reasons for creating these graffiti. Their close proximity to, and alignment with the two royal daughters at least implies a wished-for direct association. One may perhaps assume them to be a means of communication with the divine, intended to secure divine protection for them.<sup>44</sup> Wepwawet’s capacity of *psychopompos* would certainly fit such an interpretation.

#### *The ankh-sign*

The *ankh* is one of the best known Egyptian amuletic motifs. As a three-consonant hieroglyphic sign (*ꜥnh*) it was used to write the word ‘life’<sup>45</sup> and it had associations with the human senses of smell, hearing, and sight, for example , *ꜥnh*, ‘bouquet of flowers’,<sup>46</sup> , *ꜥnh.wy*, ‘ears’, , *ꜥnh*, ‘mirror’, and , *ꜥnh.t*, ‘eye of a god’.<sup>47</sup> There is an obvious connection of the *ankh* to the conception of resurrection and the cults of Osiris and Min. The *ankh* also brings with it an air of divine communication and promise of eternal life with the gods.<sup>48</sup> In tomb and temple iconography, the *ankh* is often associated with deities and royalty. Both can be depicted holding the *ankh*, or it is presented to their noses. It was also a common iconographic feature in the lunette of round-topped stelae, often in combination with other (apotropaic) symbols.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>43</sup> See, for example, O’Connor (2009: 87–96); Yamamoto (2015).

<sup>44</sup> Van Pelt and Staring (forthcoming).

<sup>45</sup> Often used in epithets such as *whm ꜥnh*, ‘repeating life’, and *di ꜥnh*, ‘given life’. On private stelae the phrase *sꜥnh m=f*, ‘who causes his name to live’ identifies the person who dedicated the stela – often to a deceased relative.


<sup>46</sup> See also: *ꜥnh imy*, ‘odoriferous plants’, used in embalming (*Wb* I, 203).

<sup>47</sup> *Wb* I, 204–205.

<sup>48</sup> Hill (2010: 243).

<sup>49</sup> Placed between two *wedjat* eyes (for example, stela Vienna ÄS 135 of Seneb: Hein and Satzinger [1989, 4,47]) and between two jackals (Anubis) recumbent on a shrine (for example, stela Tübingen 461 of Iyi: ANOC 72,2; Brunner-Traut and Brunner [1981: 91–92, pl. 59]).

The *ankh* as a dominant iconographic feature has a very striking parallel in five Middle Kingdom private stelae from Abydos. The so-called *ankh* stelae were set up at tomb structures and memorial chapels in the area north of the Osiris temple enclosure.<sup>50</sup> The *ankh*'s loop is hollowed out and cut through the stone.<sup>51</sup> This feature has been compared to Middle Kingdom stelae with rectangular openings<sup>52</sup> resembling the similarly shaped wall-opening to the *serdab* in tomb superstructures. The openings could have served as windows by means of which the *ka* was able to partake in the offerings and enter and leave the tomb or memorial chapel. This interpretation is supported by the opening-of-the-face formula on the stela of Senebef (Vienna ÄS 109), inscribed next to the *ankh*.<sup>53</sup> In the text below the window, Senebef narrates how he made the chapel 'at the Terrace of the Great God, Lord of Life (*nb ḥnh*), Foremost of Abydos, in the area of *Nebet-Hetepet*' so as to 'smell the incense that comes forth'. Thus, the *ankh* enabled the deceased (or his *ka*) to see the god and smell its fragrance, i.e. serving multiple senses.

The question is whether the *ankh* graffito should be interpreted along the same line. The hymn text carved in the section above the two royal daughters presents a good indication. Column 6.5 reads: *di-sn* [...] *tꜣw nꜣm n(.y) ḥnh*, 'that they may grant [...] a sweet breeze of life'.<sup>54</sup> What about the relationship between the *ankh*-graffito and the jackal head? The *ankh*-stelae again prove to be instructive in this regard. The adoration texts (*di.t iꜣw*) or *ḥtp-di-(n.y)-sw.t* formulae carved in relation to the openwork *ankh* are nearly all addressed to Wepwawet.<sup>55</sup> The jackal head atop the *ankh* could be interpreted as a *pars pro toto* of Wepwawet, the protector and/or provider of the *ankh*, 'life'. One may also note the sun disk with uraeus and *ankh*, , depicted behind the Horus falcon upon the *serekh* of the Horus-name in column 4.1, which may have inspired the graffitist.

#### *Boat graffiti*

The two graffiti representing boats are scratched into the stela's undecorated dado. Graffiti of boats are very common among the corpora recorded in temples<sup>56</sup> and tombs.<sup>57</sup> The graffiti commemorated the graffitists' presence at or visit to a tomb, which is comparable to the depictions of feet (*vestigia*). As such, boats graphically represented the graffitist's safe arrival at a sacred site and at the same time ensured the graffitist's perpetual presence.<sup>58</sup> In case of the boats on stela Louvre C8, the journey-aspect can be connected to their very presence at Abydos. The two different types of boat, a sailboat and a

<sup>50</sup> Hill (2010) (with references to older literature); Yamamoto (2015: 267–269, Cat. 203–204).

<sup>51</sup> See Vienna ÄS 109 of Senebef, Butler (Abydos, late Twelfth Dynasty): Hein and Satzinger (1993: 7,37–44); Yamamoto (2015: 267–268, Cat. 203); Brussels Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire E 4320 of Pepi, Overseer of the Delta (Abydos, surface find region W, cenotaph fields): Peet and Loat (1913: pl. 13.4); Cairo CG 20353 of Sobekhotep, Director of the Thinite nome (Abydos, 'Middle Kingdom'): Lange and Schäfer (1902: I, 363–364; IV, pl. 26); Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool E.30 of Amenyseneb, Controller of the Phyle at Abydos (two-sided; Abydos, early Thirteenth Dynasty): Kitchen (1961; 1962); Yamamoto (2015: 268–269, Cat. 204); University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology E9952 of Sobekhotep, Administrator of the ruler's table (Abydos Cemetery D, Tomb 78; Thirteenth Dynasty): Randall-Maciver and Mace (1902: 87, pl. 43).

<sup>52</sup> See, for example, Lange and Schäfer (1902: 180–181, pl. 14 [Cairo CG 101530]; 207–208, pl. 15 [Cairo CG 20177]; 217–218, pl. 16 [Cairo CG 20188]; 395–296, pl. 28 [Cairo CG 20397]; 312–313, pl. 52 [CG 20686]; 381–282, pl. 57 [CG 20748]). The rectangular opening often 'guarded' by Wepwawet (of Upper and Lower Egypt) and accompanied by a *ḥtp-di-(n.y)-sw.t* offering formula mentioning this deity.

<sup>53</sup> Yamamoto (2015: 268).



<sup>54</sup> See also the statue base of Sobekhotep, owner of *ankh*-stela Cairo CG 1247: Hill (2010: 235).

<sup>55</sup> Senebef (Vienna ÄS 109): *ḥtp-di-(n.y)-sw.t* to Osiris and Wepwawet; Amenyseneb (Liverpool E30): *ḥtp-di-(n.y)-sw.t* to Wepwawet of Upper and Lower Egypt; Sobekhotep (UPenn E9952): no formula or adoration text; Sobekhotep (Cairo CG 20353): adoration text to Osiris; Pepi (Brussels E4320): adoration text to Osiris and Wepwawet.

<sup>56</sup> See, for example, Cotteville-Giraudet (1931: pl. 20, Gr. 115 [Middle Kingdom]) and Dijkstra (2012: 73–79).

<sup>57</sup> Van Pelt and Staring (forthcoming).

<sup>58</sup> Dijkstra (2012: 43–47, 73, 153); Staring (forthcoming).

paddling boat, evoke the journey to and from Abydos (the ‘*Abydosfahrt*’). Graffito 9 represents the journey by boat sailing upstream (in a southward direction): , *hnti* (*nʿi.t m hnt*); and graffito 10 represents the rowing downstream (in a northward direction): , *hd(i).t* (*nʿi.t m hd*). The same configuration of the journey north and south can be observed in Middle Kingdom private tomb and stela decoration.<sup>59</sup>

### Interpretation and implications

The provenance of stela Louvre C8 depicting the two daughters of king Sobekhotep III has long been debated. Its texts provide evidence for Abydos as its place of origin. This provenance is supported by the evidence raised by the figural graffiti: most notably the boats evoke the pilgrimage to Abydos. Questions about the interpretation of the graffiti and the identity and motives of the graffitists are more difficult to answer because the original context of this stela is not known. However, stelae depicting private and royal individuals in adoration before Min-Horus-the-Victorious have been excavated in the North Cemetery ‘cenotaph zone’ overlooking the temple of Osiris and the processional route towards the Umm el Qaab/Poker.<sup>60</sup> As a royal monument it will have stood in a prominent place among the memorial chapels. Monuments the size of stela Louvre C8 are furthermore uncommon during the Thirteenth Dynasty and one could therefore imagine that it was well visible to the public. Large, royal monuments would have gathered most attention for the longest time, whether from temple personnel or pilgrims visiting the Abydos festivals. The stelae erected by the early Thirteenth Dynasty king Ugaf, later rededicated by Sobekhotep III’s successor Neferhotep I,<sup>61</sup> illustrate that the building of private memorial chapels and tombs in this area was very popular and this will have undoubtedly translated in huge masses of visitors to the annual festival. The graffiti at least indicate that it was accessible over a prolonged period of time. The types of graffiti suggest that the monument was visited in connection to the Osiris festival, but one can only guess as to the identity of the graffitists. The individuals were certainly able to draw and they were aware of the ritual acts involved in visiting memorial chapels. A study of tomb-graffiti in the Memphite necropolis revealed that the figural graffiti could have been left by those same individuals who produced textual graffiti whose identity has been recorded.<sup>62</sup> Those responsible for the graffiti on stela Louvre C8 may thus have been ritual specialists, i.e. priests, family members, or subordinates of the stela owner. The hieroglyphic signs scratched over the chest of Iuhetibu and the cartouche drawn in front of her may finally reveal something about her special status. If interpreted correctly, the signs read *ntr nfr nb t3.wy*, Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands. Was she the intended heir to the throne? Without any supporting evidence, this suggestion may be too farfetched. The hieroglyphic signs could just as well have been an attempt at copying part of the text in column 4.2 above.

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<sup>59</sup> Yamamoto (2015: 252–253). For the representation of the two boats illustrating the double journey on Middle Kingdom stela-chapels from Abydos, see: Paris, Musée du Louvre C18 = N 172 (ANOC 52.3; Thirteenth Dynasty, Khaankhre Sobekhotep II to Userkare Khendjer); ex-coll. Drovetti, 1827: Delange (2015: 260–261, Cat. 195); Avignon, Musée Calvet A5–6 (ANOC 53.2; late Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty); ex-coll. Martinenq, 1829: Aufrère (1985: 22–24, fig. 5a, c).

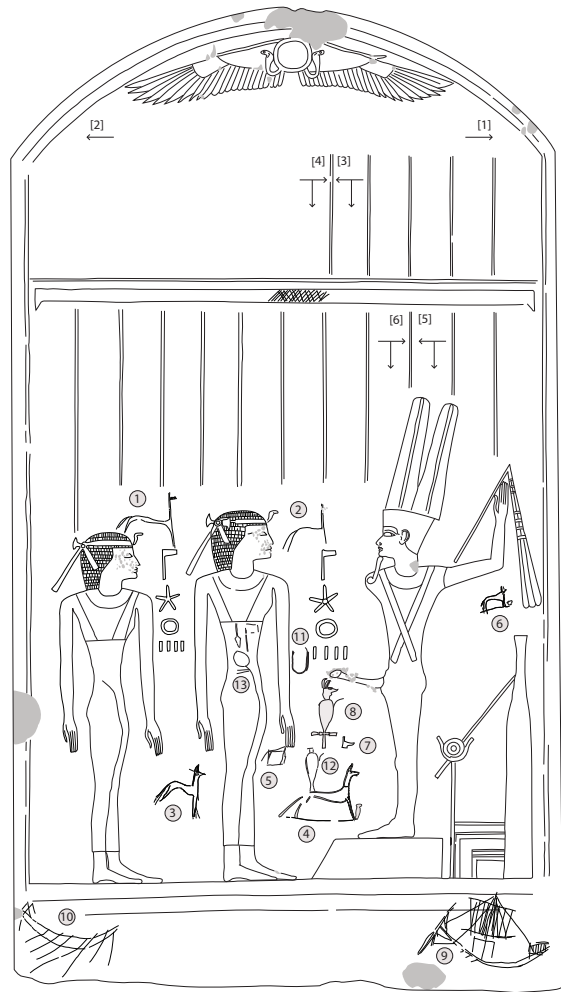
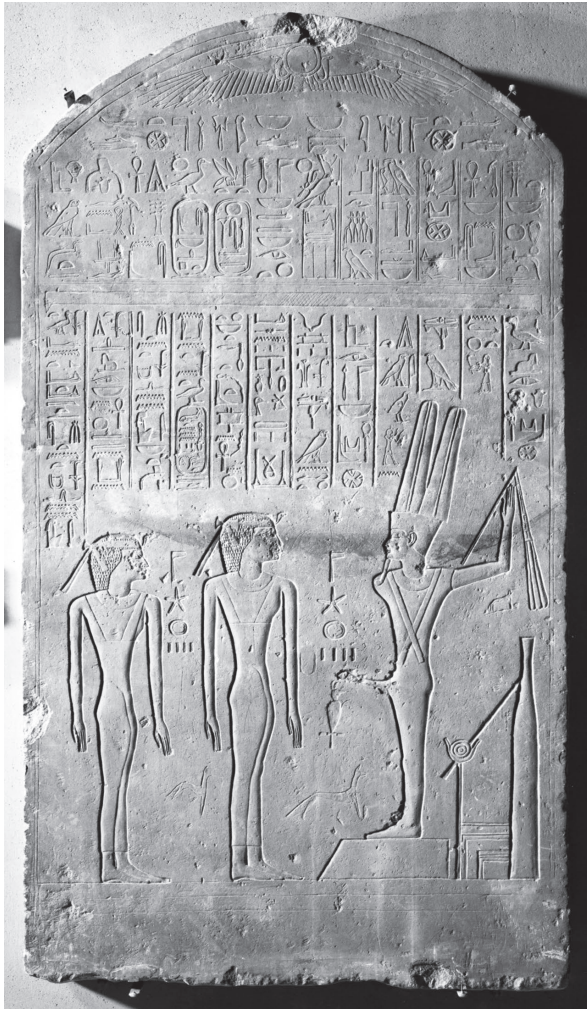
<sup>60</sup> See n.11 and 37, above, and Simpson (1974: 10). According to Macadam (1951: 21), the stela was a ‘funerary monument’ for the daughters of Sobekhotep III who were survived by him. The epithet ‘true of voice’ however need not necessarily point to a funerary context.

<sup>61</sup> Leahy (1989). One stela survived: Cairo JE 35256 (CG 20786).

<sup>62</sup> Van Pelt and Staring (forthcoming).

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*Left Above:*

FIGURE 1. Stela Louvre C8 (N 162) depicting two daughters of Sobekhotep III before Min-Horus-the-Victorious.  
© Musée du Louvre/Maurice et Pierre Chuzeville.

*Right Above:*

FIGURE 2. Digital line drawing of stela Louvre C8 with its graffiti. *Drawing:* Nico Staring.

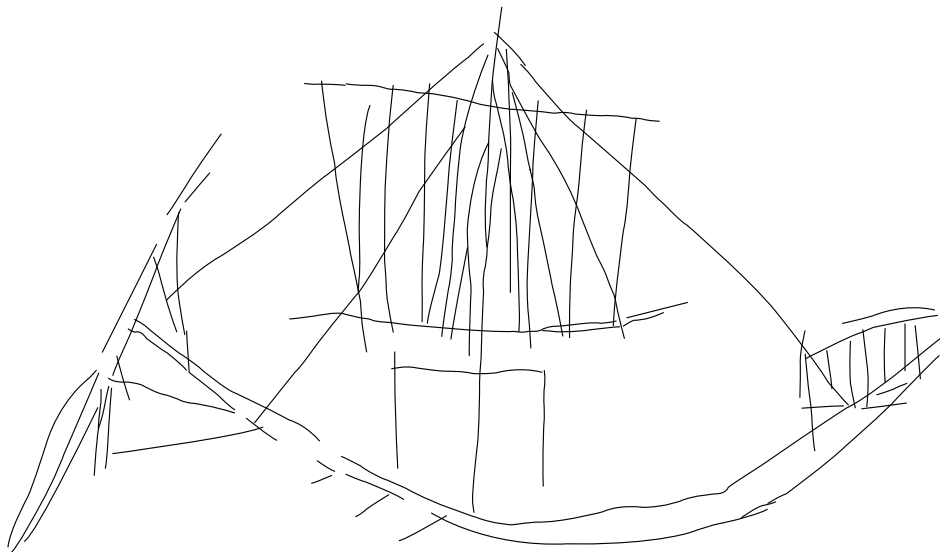


FIGURE 3. Graffito 9: sailboat. *Drawing:* Nico Staring.