

31-32. Two Stelae of the Chief Priest Wepwawet-aa

From Abydos
Leiden V 4 and Munich GL.WAF 35
Sesostris I — Amenemhet II

By their content the two stelae prove their Abydene origin. But as they lack a recorded provenience, the location of the tomb they came from cannot be determined. We note, however, that it was a real tomb, not a cenotaph, as befitted a "chief priest" of the Osiris temple. Differing in shape, size and dates, the two stelae had not been planned as a pair. Nevertheless, the later of the two, the Munich stela was, by its textual program, designed to complement the earlier one : on his Leiden stela Wepwawet-aa recites an ornate self-laudation, detailing his ancient nobility and high standing at court, and emphasizing his ancestral rights to an Abydene burial. The Munich stela adds a lengthy offering formula and a series of after-life wishes according to the text of the "Later Abydos Formula", and concludes by narrating the visit to the royal residence during which the office of "chief priest" was bestowed on him.

31. Leiden V 4 = No. 5

Piehl, *Inscriptions III*, xx-xxi; Boeser, *Beschreibung II*, No.5, pl. iv; Sethe, *Les.*, no. 15a, pp. 72f; Simpson, *Terrace*, ANOC 20.1, pl. 30. Spiegel, *Götter*, 84.

A rectangular painted limestone stela with cavetto cornice and torus molding, 160 x 105 cm. The upper third is filled by the inscription in thirteen lines. In the central register Wepwawet-aa and his wife are seated on the left before an offering table, facing family members and attendants arranged in three rows. In the bottom register Wepwawet-aa stands on the left, facing an offering table and two rows of offering bearers. On the damaged upper rim and sides of the cornice are the names and regnal dates of Sesostris I and Amenemhet II, the dates being "[year] 44" and "[year] 2".

The text consists of six units : Titulary. Consecration text. Career. Moral profile. Offering formula. Claim to front rank in the hereafter.

(1) The Prince, Count, Royal Seal-bearer, Sole Companion, *Sem*-priest, Leader of all kilts, Keeper of Nekhen, Priest of Maat, Overseer of ...¹, Great Priest of Osiris; Overseer of Linen in the Sanctuary², front-ranked in the treasure chamber, privy to the secrets (2) of seeing alone, Great Chamberlain in Abydos³, master of silence in privacy, with gloved hand in the hidden places in seeing his lord's beauty; to whom is entrusted what is and is not⁴, for the worth of (3) his efficiency is recognized⁵; the

Prince, Count, Chief Priest Wepwawet-aa says :

Consecration text

As for this tomb (*is pn*) that I made in the desert of the sacred land,
amidst the fathers who created my flesh,
nobles of the first day,
lords of monuments as elders of the office,
(4) the first to govern Heket's shore since the time of Geb,
I made it so as to make firm my place in their midst,
(it being) my district also.⁶

I assumed office as a youth (5) and became priest at my time of discernment. I quickened the pace under royal command and partook of praises⁷. The king gave to me as to one who makes growth; I was born (6) as one who understands and acts. It was my heart that advanced my position and I conformed to the deeds of my fathers⁸. I truly became the king's beloved; my office was famed throughout the land, love of me in the sovereign's (7) body.

It was king Kheperkare who placed me among his companions, for his majesty deemed me worthy⁹. As into my father's house did I enter my house when I took my seat in the temple. (8) I fared north and south from the residence, knowing I would do more than was ordered.

I committed no crime against people —
a thing hateful to the god —

I buried the old ones of my town,
I nourished (9) the unnourished.
I am one silent among speakers,¹⁰
of whom is said, "await his coming",
whose heart conducts his affairs,
who is sent because deemed worthy.¹¹

One whom the king honored (10) before the Two Lands,
his trusty (*mḥ-ib.f*) before his subjects;
one truly straight toward the people,
a noble who unties the knotty,
one loved of Tawer's gods.

An offering-that-the-king-gives (to) Osiris, lord of Busiris, great god,
lord of Abydos :

May Anubis give (11) he on his mountain, *imy-wt*, lord of the necropolis;

May Heket give together with Khnum, the gods of the shore of Hu :
may they give a voice-offering of bread and beer, 1000 beef and fowl, and
1000 linens on the First Procession, on the Great Procession, on the
Wag-feast, on the Thoth-feast, on the Flame feast, on the First-of-the-year
feast, and all great (12) feasts celebrated in this temple.

May Mehun extend his hand to him¹² at the head of the august nobles,

May Osiris advance my seat over the great ones in the necropolis,
 for I am a man to whom one stretches out the hand !
 I am the son of a noble, (13) a great one in Tawer !
 A magnate in his house, one rich in his field,
 rich in meat-offerings in the temple !
 My fathers were lords since their ancestors,
 sons and seed of primeval ones,
 nobles of the first day !
 The honored Count and Chief Priest Wepwawet-aa, man of honor.

Notes

1) The reading of the title has not been established. — 2) *Pr-wr* is "shrine of Upper Egypt" or "sanctuary" in general. — 3) The *imy-hnt*, once a royal chamberlain, was now often a temple functionary (see Guilmot, CdE 39, 1964, 31-40). The stela of Senti the Younger (No. 41) suggests a connection between the two functions.— 4) On "what is and is not" see p. 54, n. 2. — 5) On this frequent use of *hr-ib* in the sense that something is "deemed" or "understood", see p. 45, n. 12; p. 51, n. 8, p. 54, n. 11, and p. 128, n. 2. It recurs twice more in this text. — 6) Sethe, *Les. 72*, took *sp3t.i grt* to be *sp3t.i gr.ty*; but "my district being silent", does not yield a good sense, whereas the unemended adverb *grt*, "also", conveys the speaker's assertion that, like his ancestors, he too was entitled to burial in the holy ground of Abydos. The construction invites study : is it a complete sentence ? — 7) The same two clichés, current at this time, are used by Intef son of Sent, BM 562, see p. 109 with n. 5. — 8) Rediu-Khnum had said, "It was my heart that advanced my position, it was my character that kept me in front" (see p. 45 with n. 10). Here, the same first sentence is employed with a different, suitable but less effective, complement. — 9) See n. 5. — 10) Lit. "among officials", *ink grw m-m srw*, with a deliberate rhyming effect. — 11) All three clichés recur in No. 45, the stela of Intef son of Sent, BM 572 (pp. 106ff). *S3w iwt.f* is "await his coming", rather than "beware of his coming", as its use on the stela of Senti the Younger, BM 574, makes clear (see p. 96, l. 8). That *s3w* often means "await", rather than "guard", was noted by Gardiner, JEA 43 (1957) 112f., also H. de Meulenaere, BIFAO 53 (1953) 106f. — 12) The wish that Mehun (god of sacrificial slaughter, represented by his priest) should extend his hand with offerings, is one of the wishes of the Abydos Formula. The scribe here failed to rephrase it from "to him" to "to me", as the sense required, for Wepwawet-aa now makes his final claim to favored treatment in the hereafter, commensurate with his eminence in life.

32. Munich GL.WAF 35

Spiegelberg et al., Grabsteine II, no. 3, pp. 2-7, pl. I; Sethe, *Les.*, no. 15b, pp. 73f.; München Kat. 1972, no. 35, pl. 21; Simpson, Terrace, ANOC 20.2, pl. 30. Spiegel, *Götter*, 99; Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier 205. Barta

in Fs Fecht, 63-76 (metrical reading).

A handsome round-topped limestone stela, 136 x 70 cm. The inscription in twenty-five lines covers most of the surface. The last six lines are shorter, leaving space on the lower left for the relief figure of Wepwawet-aa who is seated before an offering table. The first line, in the lunette, contains the regnal date which is now damaged. The text consists of four distinct sections : 1. A long offering formula. 2. An "Appeal to the Living" which includes a list of the gods worshipped at Abydos. 3. A major portion of the "Later Abydos Formula". 4. Wepwawet-aa's account of his investiture with the chief priesthood and the benefits it brought him.

(1) Year ---¹ under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt *Nebkaure*, given life forever. (2) An offering-that-the-king-gives (to) Osiris, lord of Busiris, Khentamenthes great god, lord of Abydos, that he may give a voice-offering of bread, beer, beef, fowl, (3) alabaster, clothing, and everything good and pure : the bread-ration, the beer-offering; *qsrt*-beer, slaughtered oxen, incense on the flame; fowl, (4) food offerings and choice cuts; sweets and milk of the *hesat*-cow; what is libated on the great altar as offerings for the temple; what goes up (5) on the august altar before Khentamenthes on the *Wag*-feast, the Thoth feast, the *Haker*-feast, the First Procession, the great Procession, the New Year's feast, the River Journey of the god, the Flame feast (6) the First-of-the-year feast, the monthly feast, the half-monthly feast, the Sokar feast, the *s3d*-feast, the Procession of Min, the Vigil of Peqer², the *tnwt*-feast, the five epagomenal days — being the feasts of Osiris on which (7) the spirits love to eat — for the *ka* of the Count and Chief Priest Wepwawet-aa; he says :

O counts, inspectors, priests, and chamberlains,
say : 1000 bread, beer, beef, fowl, alabaster, and clothing
for the temple of Re, Khentamenthes, and Wepwawet,
and Shu, Tefnut, Thoth, Khnum,
Sokar, Hemen (8) Geb, Nut,
Min, Onuris, Amun, Ptah,
Khemy, Horus, southern and northern,
Wengyt, the Ennead, Neith and Heket,
Hathor, Anubis, Isis, Nephthys, and Sebyt,³

for the *ka* of the Count and Chief Priest Wepwawet-aa, Great Chamberlain in Abydos (9) front-ranking in the temple, excelling in management in the house of his lord, sole pillar, teacher of conduct, who offers sacrifice in (10) the temple in the course of each day, the Chief Priest Wepwawet-aa.

*Afterlife Wishes*⁴

- 1 May hands be stretched to him with offerings from before the great god, after his *ka* has been satisfied therewith.
- 2 (11) May he be transfigured by the great of Busiris (and) the

- entourage in Abydos.
- 3 May he open the ways he wishes in peace, in peace.
 - 4 May those in Tawer exalt him, (12) the priests of the great god.
 - 5 May hands be given him in the *neshmet*-bark on the ways of the west.
 - 6 May he ply (*dsr.f*) the oars in the night-bark,
 - 7 May he sail in the day-bark.
 - 9 (13) May he travel (*sd3.f*) with the great god when the god fares to Ro-Pequer, the great *neshmet*-bark holding its course, on the feasts of the necropolis.
 - 10 May the Bull-of-the-west transfigure him (14) when he joins him at his oars.⁵
 - 11 May he hear jubilation from the mouth of Tawer at the *Haker*-feast on the night of vigil, the vigil of Horus-the fighter.⁶
 - 12 May he tread (*dndn.f*) the good ways (15) at the entrance of the western lightland — the Chief Priest Wepwawet-aa. He says :

When I had gone north to offer salutations at the great residence of his majesty, the seal-bearers who are in the palace (16) and the persons at the portal saw my being ushered into the palace, I being made to enter unannounced. An ox was slaughtered (17) for my meal; feet bestirred themselves for me. As one praised did I come forth from the palace, one beloved of the king's house. (18) For office had been conferred on me by the palace, namely that of Chief Priest and Great Chamberlain in Abydos. Every rank of mine had been advanced (19) over (those of) my fathers who had been before. His majesty granted me to slaughter oxen in the temple of (20) Osiris Khentamenthes in Thinite Abydos. (21) There accrued to me (income) from their hides because I was (22) so greatly favored by his majesty over every count who had been there (23) since its beginning. My statues (24) were placed in the temple as a follower of the great god. (25) Offerings were established for them, and their loaves were set down in writing.

Notes

1) The illegible year date is given as "13" in the München Kat. 1972, p. 48, and as "23 or 6" in Simpson, Terrace, p. 27. — 2) See below n. 6. — 3) With minor variations, the same list of gods appears on the stelae Louvre C 15 and Turin 107; the list is discussed by Spiegel, Götter, 99. — 4) Here follow eleven of the first twelve wishes of the "Abydos Formula" in the version of the 12th dynasty and in its standardized order. The full version is discussed in connection with Louvre stela C 3, (No. 36) see pp. 86ff. The omission of wish no. 8, "May 'welcome in peace' be said to him by the great of Abydos", may well have been deliberate, since Wepwawet-aa claimed to belong to the "greatest" of Abydos. Not that we can be sure who was meant by the term "great of Abydos". Spiegel, Götter, 122, assumed that the earliest kings were meant: "Die 'Grossen von Abydos' sind ja die

Bewohner des alten Königsfriedhofs, die als Vornehmste aller in Abydos versammelten Toten den engsten Kreis des Osiris bilden..." In any case, they seem to be distinct from the "entourage in Abydos", regularly mentioned in wish no. 2 in parallel with the "great of Busiris", in whom Spiegel, Götter, 142, saw "anonyme Gefolgsgötter des Osiris". — 5) The meaning of *hkn hn'.f m hpwt.f* is uncertain; it recurs in Louvre C 3 as *hkn.n.f m hpwt.f*, in BM 573 as *hkn.k hn'.f m hpwt.f*, and in BM 567 as *hkn.f hn'.f m hpwt.f*. That suggests that in the first two examples *hkn* ought to be *hkn.f*, and that the action meant by *hkn* is one of "joining". — 6. The ceremony called *sdr̄t Pqr* or *sdr̄yt Hr šn*, a most secret part of the Osiris Mysteries, is discussed below p. 88, n. 9 & p. 100, n. 4.

33-35. Three Stelae of the Priest Amenysnb

From Abydos
Louvre C 12 & C 11 and Liverpool E. 30
13th Dynasty

Deriving from the early plundering of Abydos, the two Louvre stelae are listed in PM V,46 in the section entitled "Finds from Temple of Osiris and in or near Enclosure". The Liverpool stela, however, came from Garstang's excavations at Abydos in 1907. As Kitchen reports in his publication, docketts on Garstang's photographs suggest that the stela was found in Tomb 303 or 305. Note that Garstang's "Cemetery E" (see plan in PM V, 38) is located at some distance from the Osiris temple enclosure, whereas the two Louvre stelae are said to have come from "in or near Enclosure". It means that the three stelae had not stood together, and this is borne out by the difference in quality between the well carved Louvre stelae and the more coarsely done relief work of the Liverpool stela : the latter had been made for Amenysnb's tomb, while the Louvre stelae were memorials designed for display in the immediate vicinity of the temple.

One can surmise that Amenysnb had built his tomb before he was given the task of cleansing and renovating the Osiris temple. In carrying out this task, and being amply rewarded, he had access to good craftsmen and the means to pay them. Thus he could commission two handsome memorials whose location within or near the temple enclosure assured a front seat to one who desired "to praise Wepwawet, lord of Abydos, at his procession".

Louvre C 12 and C 11 : PM V, 46. Sethe, Les., nos. 17a+b, pp. 76f.; Simpson, Terrace, ANOC 58.1-2, pl. 80 (numbers reversed); Helck, 2. Zwischenzeit, nos. 12-13, pp. 7-9 (numbers reversed).