

The Neferhotep Stela, Revisited
Kingship, Authority and Legitimacy in the Abydos Stela of
Neferhotep I

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I hereby certify that this work has not been submitted, partially or in full, towards a degree at any other university or institution. This is all my own work. Where the works of others have been consulted, due acknowledgement has been given.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a series of loops and a long horizontal stroke.

Signature of Candidate

For all my family, but especially my brother David,
who didn't get a mention in the dedication of our father's thesis as
he wasn't yet born.

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Abstract

Against the backdrop of the politically tumultuous Thirteenth Dynasty, the reign of Neferhotep I stands out for its length and stability. This stela of Neferhotep gives rare insight into the construction of royal authority and legitimacy, in a time where Egyptian kingship underwent extensive change. Ostensibly, this stela recorded the refashioning of the cult statue of Osiris, the form of which was based upon the king's own research in the temple archives, as well as his personal participation in the associated festival of Osiris in Abydos. Yet, as an example of the Königsnovelle text type, this inscription also served to demonstrate the singular qualities of the king, his power to act, and his special relationship with the gods.

The stela itself has been lost to history, and so for many years, the scholarship of it was hindered by the poor quality of its only drawn record. In light of the publication of a much improved hieroglyphic transcription by Helck, this thesis presents a new philological commentary of this inscription in its entirety, accompanied by a discussion of the ideology of kingship as conveyed in the text. In a time of great change, Neferhotep I drew upon the established religious motifs of Egyptian kingship in order to legitimise his reign and display his authority as king of Egypt.

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Abbreviations

ÄAT – Ägypten und Altes Testaments: Studien zur Geschichte, Kultur und Religion
Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments
AcOr – Acta Orientalia
ÄDS – Ägyptische Denkmäler in der Schweiz
ÄF – Ägyptologische Forschungen
ÄgAbh – Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
ÄL – Ägypten und Levante: Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Archäologie und Deren
Nachbargebiete
APAW – Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
ASGW – Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig,
Philologisch-historischen Klasse
BACE – Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology
BASOR – Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BEHE – Bibliothèque de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Études
CdÉ – Chronique d'Égypte
CHANE – Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CNI – Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies Publications
DE – Discussions in Egyptology
FCD – R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, (Oxford, 1962).
GardGr – A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of
Hieroglyphs*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1957).
GM – Göttinger Miszellen
HWB – R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.)*,
(KAW 64; Mainz am Rhein, 2006).
JARCE – Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt
JEA – Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JESHO – Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JNES – Journal of Near Eastern Studies
KÄT – Kleine Ägyptische Texte
KAW – Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt
KSG – Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen
LÄ – W. Helck, and E. Otto, (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden, 1975-1992),
I-VII.
LÄS – Leipziger Ägyptologische Studien
LingAeg StudMon – Linguae Aegyptia, Studia monographica
MÄS – Münchner Ägyptologische Studien
MDAIK – Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
MVÄG – Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen-ägyptischen Gesellschaft
NEA – Near Eastern Archaeology
OLA – Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLZ – Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
PM – B. Porter, and R.L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian
Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, (Oxford, 1927-1951), I-VII.
RdÉ – Revue d'Égyptologie
SAGA – Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens
SAOC – Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation
SE – Shire Egyptology

SSAW – Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig,
 Philologisch-historischen Klasse
 SSEA – Journal of the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities
 TLA – Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, *Thesaurus Linguae
 Aegyptiae*, (2014), <<http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/S05?d=d001&h=h001>>
 Urk. IV – W. Helck, (ed.), *Urkunden der 18 Dynastie, Abteilung IV, Heft 21: Inschriften
 von Zeitgenossen Amenophis' III*, (Berlin, 1958).
 Urk. III – H. Schäfer, (ed.), *Urkunden der Älteren Ätheopenkönigen, Abteilung III, Heft
 I: Siegesinschrift des Pianchi – Traumstele Bruchstück Berlin 1068*, (Leipzig, 1905).
 WA – Writings from the Ancient World
 Wb – A. Erman, and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Ägyptische Sprache*, (Berlin, 1926-
 1931), I-VII.
 YNER – Yale Near Eastern Researches
 ZÄS – Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache

1: Introduction

1.1: Historical Background: the Thirteenth Dynasty

“From their number, the brevity of their reigns and the evidently frequent interruptions in the dynastic succession it is clear that the kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty were neither as strong nor as wise as their predecessors of the Twelfth Dynasty.”¹

Studies of Egypt’s Thirteenth Dynasty are marred by pejorative statements such as these. Yet, as a cultural and administrative unit, there is little that marks the Thirteenth Dynasty as distinct from their predecessors.² Like the Twelfth Dynasty, the Thirteenth Dynasty kings continued to rule from the residence in *Iti-B.wy*, and the evidence thus far seems to suggest that the royal necropolis also continued to be located at Memphis.³ However, it is clear from the omission of Thirteenth Dynasty Kings on Ancient Egyptian king lists, such as that of the temple of Seti I at Abydos, and the deliberate

¹ W.C. Hayes, *The Sceptre of Egypt, I: From the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom*, (Connecticut, 1953), p.341.

² B.J. Kemp, ‘Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period c.2686-1552 BC,’ in B.G. Trigger, B.J. Kemp, D. O’Connor, and A.B. Lloyd, (eds.), *Ancient Egypt, a Social History*, (Cambridge, 1983), p.149; G. Callender, ‘The Middle Kingdom Renaissance,’ in I. Shaw, (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, (Oxford, 2002), p.137.

³ W.C. Hayes, ‘Notes on the Government of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom,’ *JNES* 12, (1953), pp.33-38. Regarding the royal necropolis at Memphis, all confirmed royal burials of the Thirteenth Dynasty have been located there thus far, see: K.S.B. Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period, c.1800-1550 B.C.*, (CNI 20; Copenhagen, 1997), p.80; However, it must be noted that recent excavations at South Abydos by the University of Pennsylvania have seemingly identified several Thirteenth Dynasty royal tombs, including those of Sobekhotep IV, and tentatively, Neferhotep I himself. This research may yet demonstrate the existence of an alternative royal necropolis at South Abydos, although currently it is only in preliminary stages, see: J. Wegner, ‘A Royal Necropolis at South Abydos: New Light on Egypt’s Second Intermediate Period,’ *NEA* 78.2, (2015), p.70; J. Wegner, and K. Cahill, ‘Royal Funerary Equipment of a King Sobekhotep at Abydos: Evidence for the Tomb of Sobekhotep IV?,’ *JARCE* 51, (2015), pp.123-164.

separation between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties in the Turin Canon that even in later periods of Egyptian history, the Egyptians themselves considered the Thirteenth Dynasty as distinct and a departure from normal practices.⁴ It is as political units that the two are vastly different. In place of the lengthy and prosperous reigns of the Twelfth Dynasty, the Thirteenth sees over fifty ephemeral kings on the throne in little more than 150 years.⁵ At the same time, the typical practice of hereditary succession is called into question with familial relationships between succeeding kings either dubious, or non-existent.⁶ Both these factors raise important questions about the nature of kingship during Dynasty Thirteen, particularly regarding legitimacy and the mechanisms of succession. In response to these questions, a variety of theories have been proposed.

For the early kings of this dynasty, Ryholt has proposed a system of “filiative nomina” as evidence for primogeniture succession.⁷ According to such a model, the ‘double names’ typical of the early Thirteenth Dynasty, such as Ameny Qemau and Qemau Siharnedjheritef, were used to express royal paternity, with the name of the father

⁴ M. Maree, (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (thirteenth-seventeenth dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects*, (OLA 192; Leuven, 2010), p.xii; D. McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship in Ancient Egypt: a study of Political Power and Administration through an Investigation of the Royal Tombs of the Late Middle Kingdom’ (PhD Thesis, University of Pennsylvania; Pennsylvania, 2008), p.22; K.S.B. Ryholt, ‘the Turin Kinglist,’ *ÄL* 14, (2004), p.142. The exact reasoning behind the divisions in the list is unknown, see: Ryholt, *ÄL* 14, p.132.

⁵ W. Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt*, (London, 2009), p.63. Regarding the specific number of kings belonging to the Thirteenth Dynasty: even on this point, scholars are not able to agree. An argument for 51 kings in 152 years, has been put forward in K.A. Kitchen, ‘The Basics of Egyptian Chronology in Relation to the Bronze Age,’ in P. Astrom, (ed.), *High, Middle or Low?: Acts of an International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology Held at the University of Gothenburg, 20th-22nd August, 1987*, (Gothenburg, 1987), pp. 44-45. At the other end of the spectrum, Ryholt argues for as many as 62 rulers of the Thirteenth Dynasty, with 51 appearing in the Turin Canon, plus an additional 11 which he restores into lacunae, see: Ryholt, *Political Situation*, pp.70-72.

⁶ There are only two secure attestations of father to son succession, and both of them occur indirectly in the titles of Queens Nubhetepti and Aahetepti, who were both ‘King’s Wives’ and ‘King’s Mothers,’ see: McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ p.115; The exact association of these women with specific pharaohs is unclear, although Ryholt places Nubhetepti during the reign of Awibre Hor, and Aahetepti as prior to Sobekhotep III, see: Ryholt, *Political Situation*, pp.38-39, 242-243.

⁷ Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.207.

preceding that of his son.⁸ If correct, this criterion would effectively establish primogeniture succession for nearly half of the first twenty kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty, from Sobekhotep I to Amenemhat VII.⁹ Taking this theory further, Ryholt argues that Sobekhotep I and Sonbef, the first two kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty, employed filiative nomina to claim descent from Amenemhet IV, and in doing so, establishes a genealogical link between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties.¹⁰ Indeed, the nomen Amenemhet is a frequent component of these double names and, whether it represents a true genealogical connection or only a symbolic one, it demonstrates an attempt to strengthen and legitimise the position of these kings through association with the previous dynasty.¹¹ The obvious limitation of this theory is that it is only applicable for the first part of the Thirteenth Dynasty as the use of double names ceases with

⁸ Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.207; Thus, in this instance, Qemau succeeded his father Ameny, likely a shortening for Amenemhet V, and was succeeded in turn by his son, Siharnedjheritef, according to Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.214. During the Middle Kingdom, the name of the father was written first in filiative expressions out of respect, as a form of honourific transposition. However, at an unknown point during the Thirteenth Dynasty, the order of names became reversed, As such, care must be taken when interpreting these double names as filiation, as the placement of this change “could theoretically result in a reversed chronology,” according to McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ pp.428-431; see also: C. Obsomer, ‘*di.f prt-hrw et la Filiation ms(t).n/ir(t).n comme Critères de Datation dans les Textes du Moyen Empire*,’ in C. Cannuyer, and J.M. Krutchen, (eds.), *Individu, Société et Spiritualité dans l’Egypte Pharonique et Copte, Mélanges Égyptologiques au Professeur Aristide Théodoridès*, (Brussels, 1993), pp.163-200. McCormack dates this change in order prior to the reign of Sobekhotep III, whose filiative scarab seals give his name prior to his father’s as a means of demonstrating elevated status above his non-royal parent, see: McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ p.438.

⁹ Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.207; If correct, is the operative phrase; Vernus has demonstrated in his study of double names amongst private individuals that double names have more uses than just filiation, including the ‘good’ name, as an honourific, or to differentiate people of the same name; see: P. Vernus, ‘Noms Propres Juxtaposés au Moyen Empire,’ *RdÉ* 23, (1971), pp.193-199. In addition, the further assertion that any king not employing filiative nomina during this time period must have been a ‘usurper’ of non-royal descent is “certainly stretching the material too far,” see: A. Dodson and D. Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt*, (Cairo, 2004), p.102.

¹⁰ Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.208; it should be noted that there is some debate surrounding the first king of the Thirteenth Dynasty; for the argument in favour of Sobekhotep Sekhemrekhutawy, see: Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.315. For the argument in favour of Khutawyre Wegaf, see: Grajetzki, *Middle Kingdom*, p.66.

¹¹ McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ p.110.

Amenemhat VII, after which a dramatically different approach is adopted, wherein kings begin to conspicuously proclaim their non-royal descent.¹² Indeed, if primogeniture succession was a feature of early Thirteenth Dynasty kingship, then the move away from this practice only becomes more striking.

Perhaps the most enduring theory regarding Thirteenth Dynasty kingship is that championed by Hayes, based upon the ‘elective kingship’ theory of Junker.¹³ Although Hayes rejected the notion of an elected king, saying that “anything like a popular election seems politically a little advanced for the eighteenth century B.C. it is, I think, not impossible that the kings of this period were appointed to the throne for limited periods of time, perhaps by viziers or by councils presided over by the viziers.”¹⁴ According to Hayes, the king acted as a figurehead, possessing limited authority, with true power being invested in the viziership on the basis that a single vizier might endure, whilst kings came and went.¹⁵ In particular, Hayes argued from the example of the vizier Ankhu and his family, claiming that Ankhu had served as vizier under as many as five successive kings, and that the office passed in a hereditary manner through his family.¹⁶ Whilst this theory initially gained widespread acceptance, it has been thoroughly rebutted by Quirke.¹⁷ As an alternative, Quirke proposes a ‘circulating succession’ theory in which “a number of important families see members on the throne

¹² Ryholt, *Political Situation*, pp.208, 297-298.

¹³ H. Junker, and L. Delaporte, *Die Völker des Antiken Orients, I: Geschichte der Ägypter*, (Geschichte der führenden Völker 3; Freiburg im Breisgau, 1933), pp.104-105.

¹⁴ W.C. Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum [Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446]*, (WM 5; Brooklyn, 1955), pp.147-148.

¹⁵ Hayes, *Papyrus Brooklyn*, pp.144-149.

¹⁶ Hayes, *Papyrus Brooklyn*, pp.146-147.

¹⁷ In particular, the theory rests on the incorrect dating of the Boulaq papyrus which artificially inflates the tenure of the vizier Ankhu from covering the reigns of two pharaohs, to five. Whilst Hayes was able to demonstrate the importance of Ankhu as a court figure, the presence of great officials alone does not negate the power of the king – consider, for example, the officials Senenmut and Rekhmire in the eighteenth dynasty – and indeed, the presence of great officials might instead be interpreted as evidence for a strong royal court, see: S. Quirke, ‘Royal Power in the 13th Dynasty,’ in S. Quirke, (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, (Kent, 1991), pp.134-135. It should, however, be noted that Hayes did acknowledge the possibility that Ankhu only served under two kings, see: Hayes, *Papyrus Brooklyn*, p.146. For the pervasive influence of this theory on scholarship, see: McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ pp.132-134.

as the kingship passes by irregular rotation around the court and perhaps beyond.”¹⁸ Such a theory would account for both the short reigns, as the eldest member of each family would be preferred, and for the non-royal background of Thirteenth Dynasty kings.¹⁹ However, this theory is based upon an anthropological model which requires both a clear vertical and horizontal social stratification: either an elite class or common ancestor from whom the leader may be selected, as well as a number of family groups within this class amongst which the leadership passes.²⁰ This particular social structure is not evident during the Thirteenth Dynasty, as there is no commonality in the backgrounds or titles of these kings, nor a discernible common ancestor.²¹ In addition, one of the fundamental principles of circulating succession is that immediate family members cannot lead in succession.²² As such, the known cases of direct familiar succession within the dynasty present an obvious obstacle.²³ It is intriguing, then, that Quirke claims this process of circulating succession was established during the more stable mid-Thirteenth Dynasty, as this period is dominated by the reigns of three brothers, Neferhotep I, Sahathor and Sobekhotep IV.²⁴

Kingship during Dynasty Thirteen, then, continues to present a problem. None of the proposed mechanisms for succession can account for the period as a whole, but rather, a variety of systems may have been employed in response to specific circumstances.²⁵ In turn, unclear succession practices drive a need for legitimation and a supporting ideological framework.

Scholarship on the Thirteenth Dynasty, however, has been dominated by the admittedly complicated issues of chronology, both within the period and in relation to the

¹⁸ Quirke, ‘Royal Power,’ p.138.

¹⁹ Quirke, ‘Royal Power,’ p.138.

²⁰ Quirke, ‘Royal Power,’ p.135, says “I would borrow from Jack Goody the concept of a circulating succession.” See: J. Goody, ‘Circulating Succession Amongst the Gonja,’ in J. Goody, (ed.), *Succession to High Office*, (Cambridge papers in social anthropology 4; Cambridge, 1966), pp.155-169.

²¹ McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ p.144.

²² Goody, ‘Circulating Succession,’ pp.159-160.

²³ McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ p.146.

²⁴ Quirke, ‘Royal Power,’ p.135; McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ p.146.

²⁵ McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ p.113.

surrounding dynasties.²⁶ As such, studies of the Thirteenth Dynasty are often incorporated into wider studies of the Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period as a whole.²⁷ In addition, the Turin Canon is the source which most frequently underpins studies of the Thirteenth Dynasty, and certainly, its significance in identifying the names of kings, some of whom were otherwise unknown, and their length of reign cannot be underestimated.²⁸ There are several problems inherent in the use of this king list, however, not least amongst them is that it does not account for overlap, which is particularly problematic during a time of likely co-regencies and competing dynasties.²⁹ Ryholt calls the canon “the only true king-list,” in that it is the only list that aimed to include all kings of Egypt without politically motivated exclusion.³⁰ However, that does not detract from the fact that the list is a Ramesside document, and therefore not contemporaneous with the times it recounts.³¹ A further complication is the fragmentary

²⁶ Due to the complexity of this issue, a comprehensive discussion of chronology of the Thirteenth Dynasty is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, see for example: C. Bennett, ‘A Genealogical Chronology of the Seventeenth Dynasty,’ *JARCE* 39, (2002), pp.123-155; D. Franke, ‘Zur Chronologie des Mittleren Reiches, Teil II: Die sogenannte Zweite Zwischenzeit Altägyptens,’ *Orientalia* 57, (1988), pp.245-274; D. Franke, ‘The Late Middle Kingdom (Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties): the Chronological Framework,’ *JEH* 1.2, (2008), pp.267-287; Ryholt, *Political Situation*, pp.132-133, 184-204; T. Schneider, ‘The Relative Chronology of the Middle Kingdom and the Hyksos Period (Dyns. 12-17),’ in E. Hornung, R. Krauss, and D.A. Warburton, (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, (Leiden, 2006), pp.168-196. For a comprehensive overview of these issues and the relevant scholarship, see also: McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ pp.36-61.

²⁷ For example, in Grajetzki, *Middle Kingdom*, pp.63-75; or in Ryholt, *Political Situation*, pp.69-84, 191-197, which has largely replaced J. von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten*, (ÄF 23; New York, 1964), as the authority on the Second Intermediate Period.

²⁸ McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ p.62; Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.27.

²⁹ Franke, *JEH* 1.2, p.269.

³⁰ K.S.B. Ryholt, ‘the Turin King-List or so-called Turin Canon (TC) as a Source for Chronology,’ in Hornung, et.al., *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, p.26, says “in the sense that the compiler of the document aimed at recording all the kings of Egypt along with their reign lengths.” However, even the Turin Canon is not simply a ‘historical’ record of kings, and when using it, one must be aware that such a document had a purpose distinct from that of the modern Egyptologist, see: Quirke, ‘Royal Power,’ p.125; McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ p.21.

³¹ Ryholt, ‘Turin King-List,’ p.26.

state of the papyrus, requiring reconstruction and interpretation which produces different results with every study.³²

Naturally, the diminished reigns of these Thirteenth Dynasty kings correspondingly reduced their means of producing monuments, resulting in a corpus of documentation for these kings that may be described as “pitifully small.”³³ No doubt this paucity of royal monuments is why there are so few studies that rely primarily upon contemporary evidence from within the Thirteenth Dynasty.³⁴ Yet it is precisely this enigmatic quality that makes the Thirteenth Dynasty, with its unusual kingship practices, both intriguing and in need of further study.

1.2: Historical Background: the reign of Neferhotep I

At the height of the Thirteenth Dynasty, the Pharaoh Neferhotep I is found. Comparatively speaking, Neferhotep enjoyed an unusually long reign – the Turin Canon credits him with eleven years and some months.³⁵ The position of Neferhotep within the dynasty is relatively secure. Indeed, the period surrounding his reign has been called the “most reliable chronological anchor” during this tumultuous period.³⁶ Although Franke’s chronology placed him as the twenty-second king and the revised chronology

³² McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ pp.61-62. The authoritative reconstruction is Ryholt, *Political Situation*, pp.9-33; but see also: J. Malek, ‘The Original Version of the Royal Canon of Turin,’ *JEA* 68, (1982), pp.93-106; A. Gardiner, *the Royal Canon of Turin*, (Oxford, 1959); and even T.G. Wilkinson, *The Fragments of the Hieratic Papyrus at Turin, containing the names of Egyptian Kings, with the Hieratic Inscription at the back*, (London, 1851).

³³ J. Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*, (Cambridge, 1988), p.53.

³⁴ One such study is Dawn McCormack’s 2008 PhD Thesis, which examines the monumental archaeology of the Thirteenth Dynasty Pharaohs as a display of royal power, see: McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ pp.2-3, 112; Another is Hayes, *Papyrus Brooklyn*; which focuses upon the Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446, as well as the Boulaq Papyri, and stelae C11 and C12 in the Louvre museum. Unfortunately, the incorrect dating of these crucial sources has rendered Hayes’ conclusions effectively void, but methodologically, it is a good example of the use of contemporary sources to draw conclusions regarding kingship in the Thirteenth Dynasty.

³⁵ Turin Canon, VII.25 according to the restoration of Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.192 (table 33); which corresponds to VI.25 in Gardiner, *Royal Canon of Turin*, pl.III; the fragment is damaged at the recording of the months with only one stroke still visible. Accordingly, Neferhotep may have ruled between one and four months past eleven years.

³⁶ J. Siesse, and S. Connor, ‘Nouvelle Datation pour le Roi Sobekhotep Khaankhre,’ *RdÉ* 66, (2015), p.236.

of Ryholt places him twenty-seventh, the discrepancy is the result of difficulties in identifying the early kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty.³⁷ It is universally agreed, that he succeeded Sobekhotep III and was succeeded in turn by Sobekhotep IV.³⁸ Alongside the Turin Canon, Neferhotep is also named on the Karnak King List.³⁹ Neferhotep stands out amongst the numerous Thirteenth Dynasty pharaohs for his breadth of attestations, and the variety of material forms upon which they appear, suggesting that he enjoyed a relatively prosperous reign.⁴⁰ Only one such attestation, however, comes from Lower Egypt; namely, a single scarab seal from Tel el-Yahudiya.⁴¹ From this, it has been suggested that Neferhotep did not reign over a united Egypt.⁴² Yet, his attestations at locations as diverse as Byblos to Buhen, as well as the discovery of a number of official and royal seals from the reign of Neferhotep in the Levant, suggesting that Neferhotep

³⁷ See, for example, the full dynasty lists of Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.197 (table 36); against Franke, *Orientalia* 57, pp.267-269. For a comparison of both chronologies, see: Schneider, 'Relative Chronology,' p.176 (fig II 7.1). Alternatively, Baker places Neferhotep I as the twenty-sixth king of the dynasty in D.D. Baker, *The Encyclopedia of the Egyptian Pharaohs, I: Predynastic through Twentieth Dynasty*, (Oakville, 2008), p.253.

³⁸ A recent study has argued for a later placement of Sobekhotep Khaankhra within the thirteenth dynasty, following Sobekhotep Khanefer. This would designate Sobekhotep III and Sobekhotep IV as Sobekhotep II and Sobekhotep III respectively, see: Siesse, and Connor, *RdÉ* 66, p.238 (fig. 3). The traditional numberings have been maintained here to avoid confusion.

³⁹ Entry 34, following K.R. Lepsius, *Über die Zwölfte Ägyptische Königsdynastie*, (APAW 1852; Berlin, 1853), pl.1; Again, Baker digresses, placing Neferhotep at entry 37 in this list, according to a numbering system he does not make clear, in Baker, *Egyptian Pharaohs*, I, p.253.

⁴⁰ Grajetzki, *Middle Kingdom*, p.71; J. von Beckerath, 'Neferhotep,' in *LÄ* IV, p.374; for a full listing of all known attestations of Neferhotep, see: Ryholt, *Political Situation*, pp.345-348.

⁴¹ P.E. Newberry, *Egyptian Antiquities Scarabs, an introduction to the study of Egyptian seals and signet rings*, (London, 1906), pl.X.5.

⁴² Baker, *Egyptian Pharaohs*, p.253; based upon Ryholt's argument that the Fourteenth Dynasty was entirely concurrent with the Thirteenth, see: Ryholt, *Political Situation*, pp.294-296. Ryholt's argument, in this matter, however, has gained little acceptance. For a thorough response against this proposition, see: D. Ben-Tor, J. Allen, and S. Allen, 'Seals and Kings,' review of K.S.B. Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period, c.1800-1550 B.C.*, (CNI 20; Copenhagen, 1997), *BASOR* 315, (1999), pp.55-58; and in return, Ryholt's own response: K.S.B. Ryholt, 'the Dates of Kings Sheshi and Yaqubar and the Rise of the Fourteenth Dynasty,' in Maree, *the Second Intermediate Period*, pp.109-126;

was able to maintain Egypt's foreign relations, would seem to refute the presence of this hypothetical gap.⁴³

From the length and strength of his reign, Neferhotep stands out as an exemplar of kingship amongst the Thirteenth Dynasty pharaohs, and yet his reign also features a number of the unusual characteristics which typify this period. In particular, his extended and distinctly non-royal family is conspicuously well documented in genealogical inscriptions from Philae and Sehel.⁴⁴ The Philae road inscription, which is likely the earlier of the two, names Neferhotep, alongside his parents, the 'God's Father' Haankhef and the 'Mother of the King' Kemi, as well as two 'King's Sons' Sahathor and Sobekhotep.⁴⁵ These same individuals appear on the Sehel inscription, whilst the 'King's Wife' Sonebsen, a further 'King's Son' Haankhef, and 'King's Daughter' Kemi, now also appear.⁴⁶

⁴³ Grajetzki, *Middle Kingdom*, p.71; N. Grimal, (trans. I. Shaw), *A History of Ancient Egypt*, (Cambridge, 1992), p.184. Neferhotep is attested upon the stela of the governor of Byblos, Yantinu, see: M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, (Paris, 1937-39), I, pl.xxx; as well as upon a decorative plaque (object no. E10577) now in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania. This object was originally attributed to Amenemhet III, in C. Randall-MacIver, and L. Wooley, *Buhen*, (Philadelphia, 1911), p.201; It clearly bears the Golden Horus name of Neferhotep: *mn-mr.wt.* and has since been redated to the reign of Neferhotep, in J. Wegner, and J. Houser-Wegner, *The Sphinx That Travelled To Philadelphia*, (Philadelphia, 2015), p.12 (fig.1.21). For the scarab seals, see Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.85. However, caution must be used when using the distribution of seals as a measure of royal power as their recyclability and portability "undermines attempts to read an exact geopolitical history out of scarab distribution," see: S. Quirke, 'Ways to Measure Thirteenth Dynasty Royal Power from Inscribed Objects,' in Maree, *Second Intermediate Period*, p.56.

⁴⁴ L. Habachi, 'New Light on the Neferhotep I Family as Revealed by their Inscriptions in the Cataract Area,' in W.K. Simpson, and W.M. Davis, (eds.), *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan: Essays in honour of Dows Dunham on the occasion of his 90th birthday*, (Boston, 1981), pp.77-81.

⁴⁵ Habachi, 'Neferhotep I Family,' p.78 (fig.5).

⁴⁶ Habachi, 'Neferhotep I Family,' p.78 (fig.4); it should be noted that the Sehel inscription does not actually name Neferhotep, and so this list could conceivably belong to his brother and successor Sobekhotep IV. However, the fact that the list was carved in close proximity to other inscriptions of Neferhotep's cartouches and by the same official as other known inscriptions of Neferhotep, makes him the more likely candidate, see: Habachi, 'Neferhotep I Family,' pp.77-79; M. Dewachter, 'Le Roi Sahathor et la Famille de Neferhotep I,' *RdÉ* 28, (1976), p.68.

This family history is further corroborated by a stela of Sobekhotep IV, the successor of Neferhotep. This stela, found in the Wadi Hammamat, again names Haankhef and Kemi as the parents of the king, whilst the cartouches of Neferhotep, qualified by the epithet ‘justified,’ are also given a place of honour beside the Horus name of Sobekhotep IV.⁴⁷ This stela confirms that the ‘King’s Son’ Sobekhotep of the Philae and Sehel inscriptions was both the brother and successor of Neferhotep, Sobekhotep IV.

The figure of Sahathor has been a source of some difficulty, until the discovery of a statue from the Heqaib sanctuary at Elephantine of the “King’s Son, Sahathor, whom the God’s Father, Haankef, made and whom the King’s Mother, Kemi, bore”, finally identifying Sahathor conclusively as another brother of Neferhotep.⁴⁸ The ‘King’s Son’ Haankhef, and ‘King’s Daughter,’ Kemi, are identified as the children of Neferhotep and Sonebsen, named for their grandparents.⁴⁹ Additionally, a gilded shabti and

⁴⁷ Habachi, ‘Neferhotep I Family,’ p.78 (fig.6); see also: W.K. Simpson, ‘the Dynasty XIII Stela from the Wadi Hammamat,’ *MDAIK* 25, (1969), pp.154-158; A. Spalinger, ‘Remarks on the Family of Queen *Hts-nbw* and the Problem of Kingship in Dynasty XIII,’ *RdÉ* 32, (1980), pp.100-101. The four ‘King’s Sons’ who appear on this stela are mistakenly all considered the sons of Neferhotep, in B. Schmitz, *Untersuchungen Zum Titel S3-Njswt „Königssohn“,* (Bonn, 1976), p.212. The ‘King’s Son’ Haankhef may be the same son of Neferhotep who appears on the Sehel inscription, or alternatively, all four ‘King’s Sons’ of the Wadi Hammamat stela may be the sons of Sobekhotep IV.

⁴⁸ Habachi, ‘Neferhotep I Family,’ pp.78 (fig. 8), 79 (fig. 7). Regarding Sahathor: the situation has been complicated by the presence of the name Sahathor, written without cartouche, on the Wadi Hammamat Stela of Sobekhotep IV, alongside three further ‘King’s Sons.’ This presents three options: firstly, to understand these two inscriptions as referring to the same Sahathor, who was deposed by Sobekhotep IV, but still acknowledged with honour in this inscription, see: Simpson, *MDAIK* 25, p.157. Alternatively, these two inscriptions refer to the same individual who is not the same as the King Sahathor of the Turin Canon. Dewachter proposes this theory as an option in his study of King Sahathor, but does not favour it. Instead, he argues that these inscriptions refer to distinct individuals: the brother of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV, who appears on the Sehel and Philae inscriptions; and another Sahathor who appears on the Wadi Hammamat Stela, see: Dewachter, *RdÉ* 28, pp.68-69, 72-73. That Sahathor the brother of Neferhotep and Sobekhotep can be equated with the King Sahathor of the Turin Canon is confirmed by the discovery of a cylinder seal, now in the Brooklyn Museum, which gives both the praenomen Menwadjre, and the name of his father, Haankhef, see: G.T. Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals Principally of the Middle Kingdom*, (Oxford, 1971), p.141. As the praenomens of both Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV are known, this cylinder must refer to another brother of theirs and Sahathor is the obvious candidate, see: Dewachter, *RdÉ* 28, p.71.

⁴⁹ Habachi, ‘Neferhotep I Family,’ p.80.

miniature coffin discovered at Lisht, stylistically dated to the Thirteenth Dynasty and bearing the name of the ‘King’s Son,’ Wahneferhotep, has been interpreted as evidence for a potential further son of Neferhotep.⁵⁰

The family of Neferhotep can be traced back further as a stela of his father Haankhef, now located in the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, identifies his paternal grandparents, Nehy and Sonebtisi.⁵¹ From this stela, it is known that his grandfather Nehy bore the title *ḥnḥ n.y niw.t*, a title which designates men who performed physical labour, from workmen to soldiers.⁵² The only known title of Haankhef is *it-ntr*, which he presumably assumed after his son’s accession. Of his career prior to this, nothing is

⁵⁰ Hayes, *Sceptre*, I, pp.349 (fig.229); It is Clayton who decisively identifies this figure as a son of Neferhotep, in P.A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs*, (New York, 1994), p.92; however, it must be remembered that whilst the reference to Neferhotep in the name of this individual may suggest that he was born during or shortly after his reign, it does not conclusively demonstrate filiation. The quality of the craftsmanship, and the fact that it was “evidently deposited by reverent hands, not thrown out by tomb robbers, the little coffin stood upright in the sand with three pottery offering jars, lined up in a neat row,” may suggest the high social status of its owner, see: Hayes, *Sceptre*, I, p.350.

⁵¹ K.A. Kitchen, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the National Museum, Rio de Janeiro*, (Warminster, 1990), pl.47-48; it should be noted however, that Kitchen mistakenly attributes Haankhef as the father-in-law of Neferhotep, in K.A. Kitchen, ‘Non-Egyptians Recorded on Middle Kingdom Stelae in Rio de Janeiro,’ in Quirke, *Middle Kingdom Studies*, p.87. Regarding Sonebtisi, it has been argued that the mastaba of a woman by this name in the pyramid complex of Amenhotep I at Lisht may belong to this grandmother of Neferhotep, see: Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.84. For the much debated dating of this tomb, see: B.J. Kemp, ‘Dating Pharaonic Cemeteries Part 1: Non-mechanical Approaches to Seriation,’ *MDAIK* 31, (1975), pp.266-267; B. Williams, ‘The Date of Senebtisi at Lisht and the Chronology of Major Groups and Deposits of the Middle Kingdom,’ *Serapis* 3, (1975-6), pp.41-55; C. Lilyquist, ‘A Note on the Date of Senebtisi and Other Middle Kingdom Groups,’ *Serapis* 5, (1979), pp.27-28; J.K. Hoffmeier, ‘The Coffins of the Middle Kingdom: the Residence and the Regions,’ in Quirke, *Middle Kingdom Studies*, pp.72-73; and J. Bourriau, ‘Patterns of Change in Burial Customs during the Middle Kingdom,’ in Quirke, *Middle Kingdom Studies*, pp.17-18.

⁵² Ryholt, *Political Situation*, pp.225-226; the major study of this title is O. Berlev, ‘Les Prétendus « Citadins » au Moyen Empire,’ *RdÉ* 23, (1971), pp.23-48.

known.⁵³ Strikingly, however, Haankhef is acknowledged in the Turin Canon as the father of Neferhotep.⁵⁴

In addition to genealogical inscriptions, Neferhotep also employed genealogical scarab seals. Such scarab seals are only attested from the reigns of Sobekhotep III to Sobekhotep V during the Thirteenth Dynasty.⁵⁵ Under Neferhotep, however, a new form of these scarabs was initiated, where the title *ntr nfr* and praenomen were always accompanied by the paternal filiation, and the title *s3-R^c.w* and nomen were correspondingly always accompanied by the maternal filiation.⁵⁶ It is unclear what led Neferhotep and others kings of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty to proclaim their non-royal descent so frankly. Ryholt suggests it was a deliberate means of dissociation from earlier kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty, who “must have earned themselves an extremely poor reputation among the population. Otherwise, such a move would hardly have been necessary or even tolerated.”⁵⁷ What is clear is that these kings of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty did not shy away from their non-royal origins but publicly proclaimed them, and that this marks a radical change in the conception of royal legitimacy and authority in Ancient Egypt.

⁵³ Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.225.

⁵⁴ The only other individual to have his non-royal father recorded in the Canon is Sobekhotep II, where the expression ‘Son of’ is noted after his cartouche. Although the actual name of his father has been lost, his non-royal status is clear by the lack of a cartouche; see: Ryholt, *Political Situation*, pp.215, 225.

⁵⁵ Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.34.

⁵⁶ Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.34; for examples, see: E. Hornung, and E. Staehlin, (eds.), *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen*, (ÄDS 1; Mainz, 1967), p.211 (no.106), p.212 (no.108); also in Ryholt, ‘Political Situation,’ p.35.

⁵⁷ Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.297; in support of this theory Ryholt offers the observation that “the only cases of usurpation [of monuments] during the Thirteenth Dynasty were carried out by Sobekhotep III and Neferhotep I, who also happen to be the first two kings to proclaim their non-royal origin,” see: Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.285. However, there is only a single example of a stela in which Neferhotep has replaced the name of Wegaf with his own, and the isolated nature of this incidence can hardly be taken as evidence of a deliberate programme of *damnatio memoriae*. Indeed, it seems likely that the reuse of the Wegaf stela, which sets a protective boundary around the sacred area of Osiris, coincides with the events described in the stela that is the subject of this thesis, as part of the Osiris festival; See: A. Leahy, ‘A Protective Measure at Abydos in the Thirteenth Dynasty,’ *JEA* 75, (1989), pp.46-47, 59.

From these humble non-royal origins, it is difficult to determine the means by which Neferhotep came to the throne. The supposed military background of the Neferhotep family has led to suggestions of usurpation.⁵⁸ The theory is attractive, but only tentative; Quirke neatly summarises the weakness in this argument, saying “I do not wish to deny the role of the military in succession in any system of government, but I would deny that the evidence for the 13th dynasty points to a stronger role for the military at that time than at other periods.”⁵⁹ Specifically, there is no evidence to connect Neferhotep to the military sphere beyond his grandfather’s title, which is in itself, not an overtly militaristic title.⁶⁰ Moreover, no overlap is evident between Neferhotep’s own extensive genealogical documentation and that of his predecessor, Sobekhotep III.⁶¹ Although Sobekhotep did have presumptive heirs in the form of brothers and nephews, the throne passed to the Neferhotep family; and yet, there is no evidence of animosity towards the surviving members of the Sobekhotep family or to his monuments, which suggests that whatever the means of transition between the two kings, it was peaceful.⁶²

During his reign, Neferhotep may have employed co-regencies as a means of securing further transitions. An inscribed block from Karnak, bearing the cartouches of Neferhotep and Sobekhotep IV both accompanied by the epithet *di ḥ mi Rḥ.w*, has been interpreted as evidence for a co-regency between these two brother-kings.⁶³ If a co-regency between Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV is accepted, this raises an additional problem: according to the Turin Canon, Neferhotep was succeeded by his

⁵⁸ Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.282; von Beckerath, *Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, p.86.

⁵⁹ Quirke, ‘Royal Power,’ p.131.

⁶⁰ Quirke, ‘Royal Power,’ p.131.

⁶¹ Hayes, *Papyrus Brooklyn*, p.147; Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.298; for the extended family of Sobekhotep III, see: M.F. Laming Macadam, ‘A Royal Family of the Thirteenth Dynasty,’ *JEA* 37, (1951), pp.20-28.

⁶² Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.298.

⁶³ Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.227; on the theory that the phrase is only used of reigning kings. In addition, the presence of both the cartouches of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV on the Wadi Hammamat stela has been interpreted as further evidence for this co-regency, see: Habachi, ‘Neferhotep I Family,’ p.80. However, given that the cartouche of Neferhotep is qualified by the epithet ‘justified,’ and that the list also seems to name deceased members of Sobekhotep IV’s family, it is likely that this monument dates to the latter’s sole reign, see: McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ p.127.

brother Sahathor, who was in turn succeeded by Sobekhotep IV.⁶⁴ The only suitable explanation for this is that the reign of Sahathor occurred entirely within the reign of Neferhotep as another co-regency, and that upon his untimely death less than a year later, Neferhotep appointed his next brother, Sobekhotep, to the position.⁶⁵ Murnane admits the likelihood of co-regencies during the Thirteenth Dynasty, by simple virtue of the fact that the sheer number of attested kings in such a short time period suggests at least some overlap, but does not acknowledge any known examples.⁶⁶ Indeed, he opposes the proposed coregencies of the brother kings, on the basis that the cartouches of the Karnak block are not incorporated into a single design but appear on opposite sides, and therefore, there is no definitive evidence that they are contemporary.⁶⁷ In the absence of double-dated documents, the possibility that the three brothers simply ruled in succession cannot be discounted.⁶⁸

Regardless, the fratrilineal succession of the three brothers is amongst the unusual succession practices adopted during the Thirteenth Dynasty. If the myth of Osiris underpins Egyptian concepts of kingship, then the struggle between Horus and Seth does allow for the possibility of fratrilineal succession.⁶⁹ According to Bennett, such a practice is a means of creating stability in the succession and in particular, preventing the accession of young children to the throne, which given the rapid turnover of kings during the Thirteenth Dynasty, would likely have been the inevitable outcome.⁷⁰ This would account for why Neferhotep was succeeded by his brothers over his known son.

⁶⁴ Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.73, table 17.

⁶⁵ Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.228; the minimal attestation of Sahathor as king, including his absence on the Karnak King List, may indeed support the notion that he never ruled independently, see: Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.216; Dewachter, *RdÉ* 28, p.66

⁶⁶ W.J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, (SAOC 40; Chicago, 1977), p.230; Habachi, 'Neferhotep I Family,' p.80.

⁶⁷ Murnane, *Coregencies*, p.25.

⁶⁸ Murnane, *Coregencies*, pp.1-2; R.J. Leprohon, 'Royal Ideology and State Administration in Pharaonic Egypt,' in J.M. Sasson, (ed.), *Civilisations of the Ancient Near East*, (New York, 1995), I, p.281; McCormack, 'Dynasty XIII Kingship,' p.125.

⁶⁹ Leprohon, 'Royal Ideology,' p.274; McCormack, 'Dynasty XIII Kingship,' p.116. Although given the ultimate outcome of the myth and the triumph of Horus, it cannot be regarded as an overwhelmingly positive precedent.

⁷⁰ C. Bennett, 'the Structure of the Seventeenth Dynasty,' *GM* 149, (1995), pp.30-32.

As the ‘King’s wife’ Senebsen, Prince Haankhef and Princess Kemi appear on the Sehel inscription but not the earlier Philae one, it would appear that Neferhotep was married only after his accession, and accordingly, his son must have been but a small child throughout his reign.⁷¹ Fratrilineal succession, it would seem, is a practice borne out of necessity, not a wilful change in the ideology of kingship.⁷² In particular, it has been suggested that the designation of Sahathor and Sobekhotep as ‘King’s Sons’ in the genealogical inscriptions of Neferhotep was a means of mimicking typical succession practices and so easing this transition.⁷³ Together, these brother-kings form somewhat of a ‘sub-dynasty’ within the greater Thirteenth Dynasty, the presence of which seems to contradict any notion of an ‘elective’ or ‘circulating’ kingship.⁷⁴

Finally, the tomb of Neferhotep has not yet been found, although a number of suggestions have been put forward as to its location. On the basis of the discovery of the shabti of Wahneferhotep and a number of scarab seals of Neferhotep there, the site of Lisht, near the capital of Itjtawy, has long been proposed as the site of an undiscovered pyramid of Neferhotep.⁷⁵ Curiously, Stadelmann proposed that the ‘Unfinished’ pyramid at South Saqqara may have been the Memphite cenotaph of either Neferhotep

⁷¹ Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.227.

⁷² McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ p.118.

⁷³ McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ p.120. It seems more likely, however, that this can be explained by the use of the title ‘King’s Son’ as an honourific. McCormack also suggests that fratrilineal succession may have been a factor in the shorter reigns of Dynasty Thirteen kings, as inheritance within a generation leads to an increased age at the time of accession, see: McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ p.116. This conclusion, whilst logically sound, seems to be at odds with the evidence provided though, as the reigns of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV are amongst the longest known from the Thirteenth Dynasty. These three brothers are also the only confirmed case of fratrilineal succession during the Thirteenth Dynasty, although Ryholt has argued that Sekhemrekhutawy Sobekhotep I and Sekhemkare Senebef, as well as Khabaw and Djedkheperew, may also have been brothers, see: Ryholt, *Political Situation*, pp.209, 216-218.

⁷⁴ Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.283.

⁷⁵ Hayes, *Sceptre*, I, p.343; W.C. Hayes, ‘Egypt from the death of Ammenemes III to Seqenenre II,’ in I.E.S Edwards, G.J. Gadd, N.G.L. Hammond, and E. Sollberger, (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History, II/1: The Middle East and the Aegean Region, c.1800–1380 BC*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, 1973), p.50; Grimal, *Ancient Egypt*, p.184; this theory, however, is dependent on the unproven assertion that Wahneferhotep was a son of Neferhotep, who was buried in proximity to his father’s pyramid.

or Sobekhotep – presumably III or IV – with the true burial being located at Abydos.⁷⁶ The latter aspect of this theory, at least, is looking increasingly likely. A number of seals of Neferhotep were discovered in the Thirteenth Dynasty strata of the mortuary temple of Senusret III, associating this king with the area.⁷⁷ Structurally, tombs S9 and S10 at South Abydos seem to belong to the corpus of royal funerary monuments.⁷⁸ Although the superstructure for their subterranean burial apartments is now lost, it was likely pyramidal in form.⁷⁹ Recent excavations carried out by the University of Pennsylvania have uncovered a stela which “established ownership [of tomb S10] to one of the Sobekhotep kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty.”⁸⁰ Furthermore, coffin fragments found reused in another nearby royal tomb made it possible to place this Sobekhotep in the mid-late Thirteenth Dynasty, making it highly likely that he can be identified as Sobekhotep IV.⁸¹ As the proximity and near identical design of these tombs suggests a connection between their owners, there is a distinct possibility that the nearby S9 tomb is that of his brother and predecessor, Neferhotep I.⁸² It has been suggested that the South Abydos location of these Thirteenth Dynasty royal tombs represents a deliberate attempt to be associated with Senusret III.⁸³ Likely, and more significantly, however, is the association of this area with Osiris and his tomb.⁸⁴

1.3: A History of the Text

Amongst the monuments of Neferhotep, one stands out: a sandstone stela – variously known as ‘the Neferhotep stela,’ ‘the Abydos stela of Neferhotep,’ and ‘the Great

⁷⁶ R. Stadelmann, *Die Ägyptischen Pyramiden*, (KAW 30; Mainz am Rhein, 1985), pp.253-254.

⁷⁷ J. Wegner, *the Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III*, (Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Institute of Fine Arts Expedition to Egypt 8; New Haven, 2007), pp.313-315.

⁷⁸ McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ p.360

⁷⁹ Wegner, *NEA* 78.2, p.69.

⁸⁰ Wegner, *NEA* 78.2, p.70.

⁸¹ Wegner, *NEA* 78.2, p.70.

⁸² Wegner and Cahill, *JARCE* 51, (2015), p.158; Wegner, *NEA* 78.2, p.70.

⁸³ McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ p.359; certainly, this suggestion seems plausible when it is considered that a number of inscriptions of Neferhotep at Sehel are carved in proximity to, and in imitation of, inscriptions of Senusret III, see: Habachi, ‘Neferhotep I Family,’ p.77.

⁸⁴ D. McCormack, ‘the Significance of Royal Funerary Architecture for the Study of Thirteenth Dynasty Kingship,’ in Maree, *the Second Intermediate Period*, p.80.

Abydos stela,' – with forty lines of hieroglyphic text which describes in unparalleled detail the renewal of the cult statue of Osiris at the temple in Abydos.⁸⁵ The design of this statue is based upon the king's discovery of the true form of the god as a result of his expressed desire to seek out this knowledge in the sacred archives. There follows a description of the Osiris festival and the personal involvement of the king in performing these cultic duties. The stela was first published by Mariette, who discovered it embedded in the mud-brick walls which lined the processional way to the temple of Osiris at Abydos.⁸⁶ A description of the stela can be found in the *Catalogue Général des Abydos*, whilst a full drawing of the stela is recorded in the second volume of the *Abydos Description des Fouilles*.⁸⁷ The records of Mariette state that the stela was left in situ, although Breasted adds that it was later removed to the Boulaq museum in Cairo in order to prevent further deterioration from weather and vandalism.⁸⁸ Following this, all records of the stela cease and its present whereabouts are unknown. According to Breasted, the stela was "evidently exceedingly indistinct and difficult to copy," and as such, the resulting drawing is littered with errors.⁸⁹ Unfortunately, the loss of the physical stela means that this drawing is nowadays the only record of the inscription, and its many errors have no doubt hindered the study of the inscription, which is amongst the most significant extant from the Thirteenth Dynasty. Although Breasted did attempt the first, albeit very fragmentary, translation of the stela, these circumstances forced him to conclude that "a better text is now hardly a possibility."⁹⁰

Fortunately, Breasted's conclusion was incorrect. In 1927, Max Pieper produced an exhaustive study of the text which included his own hieroglyphic transcription with some degree of corrections and restorations to Mariette's drawing, a full transliteration and translation as well as a commentary on the grammatical and historical features of

⁸⁵ PM V/1, p.44.

⁸⁶ A. Mariette, *Abydos, Description des Fouilles Exécutées sur l'Emplacement de Cette Ville*, (Paris, 1880), II, p.29, 30 (no.200).

⁸⁷ A. Mariette, *Catalogue Général des Monuments d'Abydos*, (Paris, 1880), pp.233-234; Mariette, *Abydos*, II, pl.28, 29, 30.

⁸⁸ Mariette, *Monuments d'Abydos*, p.233; J.H. Breasted, *ARE*, I, p.332 note a. That the stela did arrive at the Boulaq museum seems likely as it was assigned a JE number, JE 6307, according to PM V/1, p.44.

⁸⁹ Breasted, *ARE*, I, p.332 note a.

⁹⁰ Breasted, *ARE*, I, p.332 note a.

the text.⁹¹ To this day, this remains the only comprehensive study dedicated solely to the Neferhotep stela. Nearly fifty years later, Rudolf Anthes published a comparative study of this stela and the Ichernofret stela, focusing upon the portrayal in these inscriptions of Osiris and his associated festival.⁹² Although primarily a historical commentary, this study was supplemented by some grammatical observations and corrections, as well as a mostly complete translation of the text.⁹³ Whilst these studies were vitally important to the early understanding of this stela, they were naturally limited by the drawing upon which they were based. Likewise, and particularly in the case of Pieper, they are also now somewhat outdated in their understanding of the Egyptian verbal system.

The scholarship of the stela is only now able to progress due to the efforts of Helck, who, through close and careful analysis of Mariette's record, was able to provide extensive amendments to the errors, as well as restorations of damaged sections, and published the updated hieroglyphs in his collection of historical texts from the Second Intermediate Period.⁹⁴ As a result, a vastly improved text of the Neferhotep stela – the likes of which Breasted could not even conceive of – has been made available for study and yet, the subsequent scholarship has been extremely limited. An English translation of the text was made available in Simpson's anthology of Egyptian literature.⁹⁵ Similarly, a French translation of the stela was produced by Stracmans.⁹⁶ Both these editions, however, provide little in the way of commentary or analysis of the text. Beate Hofmann has included a discussion of the text, including a full transliteration and

⁹¹ M. Pieper, *Die Grosse Inschrift des Königs Neferhotep in Abydos*, (MVAeG 32.2; Leipzig, 1927). For the early response to Pieper's commentary, see: W. Wolf, Review of M. Pieper, *Die Grosse Inschrift des Königs Neferhotep in Abydos*, (MVAeG 32.2; Leipzig, 1927), *OLZ* 33, (1930), pp.432-435.

⁹² R. Anthes, 'Die Berichte des Neferhotep und des Ichernofret über das Osirisfest in Abydos,' in Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *Festschrift zum 150 Jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums*, (Berlin, 1974), pp.15-49.

⁹³ Anthes, 'Osirisfest in Abydos,' pp.16-25; Anthes translates only the sections specifically pertaining to the Osiris festival, but offers a summary of the remaining portions.

⁹⁴ W. Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und Neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*, 2nd ed. (KÄT; Wiesbaden, 1983), pp.21-29.

⁹⁵ *The Neferhotep Stela*, (trans. W.K. Simpson) in W.K. Simpson, (ed.), *the Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 3rd ed. (New Haven, 2003), pp.339-344.

⁹⁶ M. Stracmans, 'La Grande Inscription du Roi Neferhotep I^{er} (XIII Dynastie Égyptienne),' *Phoibos* 5, (1950/1951), pp.173-181.

translation, as an example of the Königsnovelle in her study of this text type.⁹⁷ In addition, much of the inscription was also discussed, in small isolated sections, in Blumenthal's 1970's study of Middle Kingdom royal phraseology.⁹⁸ Although this resource has now also been somewhat superseded by Helck's new transcription, it provides an important backbone to this study of kingship as presented in the Neferhotep stela.

For the main part, scholarship of the Neferhotep stela has been published in German. Only the translations of Breasted and Simpson are available in English. This thesis, then, is the first major study of the text to be undertaken in English. In light of the exciting advances being made by the archaeological team of the University of Pennsylvania in the area of South Abydos, including the possible identification of tomb S9 as that of Neferhotep, an updated study of this, the most significant inscription of his reign, seems timely.⁹⁹

1.4: Methodology

There are two main elements to this study of the Abydos Stela of Neferhotep, corresponding to the two main chapters of this thesis: the first is highly empirical, essentially paralleling the structure of Pieper by providing a complete rendering of the hieroglyphic text, full transliteration, translation and accompanying grammatical commentary. This chapter forms the bulk of the thesis and so, in the interests of clarity, it has been subdivided into a number of smaller sections. Each individual segment contains a portion of the text, divided according to the structure of the narrative, with the transliteration and translation given sequentially. Commentary specific to each segment accompanies the text. However, for ease of access and reference, the running hieroglyphic transcription, transliteration and translation is reproduced in Appendix A.

⁹⁷ B. Hofmann, *Die Königsnovelle, "Strukturanalyse am Einzelwerk,"* (ÄAT 62; Wiesbaden, 2004), pp.85-99.

⁹⁸ E. Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum Ägyptischen Königtum des Mittleren Reiches I: Die Phraseologie,* (ASGW 61.1; Berlin, 1970); an index cross-referencing all lines of the Neferhotep stela discussed in Blumenthal's phraseology is provided in Appendix B.

⁹⁹ Wegner, *NEA* 78.2, p.70.

The production of a new typeset edition of the complete hieroglyphic text was the first aim of this project, done through careful comparison of the existing drawn transcriptions. As the only modern recorder to actually see the stela, due focus was given to Mariette's edition, but also taking into consideration the subsequent corrections and restorations of Pieper and Helck, in order to most accurately reproduce the original text. Plates giving a line by line comparison of the three existing transcriptions against the one produced for this study have been included, so that the historiographical development of the text is readily available. Such a task is made all the more difficult, and all the more essential, by the loss of the physical stela. This study greatly benefits from the availability of software such as JSesh, which allows for the creation of accessible text editions with clear signs free from the idiosyncrasies of handwritten records, whilst also maintaining the flexibility needed to best represent variations in the Egyptian. Likewise, this study benefits from the vast advances made in the understanding of Middle Egyptian in the near century since Pieper wrote his commentary of the Neferhotep stela. A 'Post-Polotskyan' understanding of the Egyptian verbal system informs the grammatical analysis of the text, drawing predominantly upon the grammars of Ockinga, based on that of Schenkel, and Allen, but also upon Gardiner's seminal grammar for the fundamentals of Middle Egyptian.¹⁰⁰

Of course, all texts are cultural artefacts in that they are embedded within the ideas of the society that produced them. In this way, the study of the written documents of the ancient world provides a window into ancient society. This is the final aim of this project: to examine the text against the historical background of the reign of Neferhotep in particular, for what can be gleaned about the function of kingship during this enigmatic time period. The content of the stela is overtly religious, and so naturally, studies of the text have focussed upon its religious significance and, in particular, the

¹⁰⁰ B. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*, 2nd ed. (Mainz am Rhein, 2005); W. Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, (Bonner Orientalische Studien Neue Serie 13; Bonn, 1962); J.P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian Grammar*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2010); GardGr; It should be noted here that it is the second edition of Allen's grammar which has been used in this study, as the most recent third edition contains a substantial departure from the traditional understanding of the Egyptian verbal system and returns to an almost Gardiner like approach, acknowledging only one form of the *sḏm=f*, which has not been conclusively demonstrated nor gained widespread acceptance, see: J.P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, 2014), p.461.

description of the Osiris festival.¹⁰¹ These discussions are readily available and as such, their conclusions will not be repeated. Instead, Chapter 3 focuses upon the political significance of the stela, particularly the function of kingship and expression of concepts of royal legitimacy and authority as presented in the text. Of course, the political and religious cannot easily be separated as the kingly office was both functional and religious.¹⁰² Indeed, the legitimation techniques evident in the stela frequently invoke the divine and so, naturally, any discussion of kingship must draw upon Egyptian religion. Egyptian religion, however, is not discussed here beyond its application to kingship. Few royal stelae are extant from the Middle Kingdom, and even fewer from the Thirteenth Dynasty, and so this stela offers a unique opportunity to examine how Neferhotep I conceived of and conveyed his own ideology of kingship.

1.5: Conventions

For clarity and consistency, the transliteration style and terminology of Ockinga's grammar are used throughout this thesis.

Accordingly, a period . is used to separate a grammatical ending or tense element from the word stem; whilst the equals sign = is used to attach a suffix pronoun.¹⁰³

In addition, no distinction is made between 'š/s' ꜥ and 's/z' — in the transliteration, as these signs are no longer distinguished phonetically in the Middle Kingdom, at the time when this stela was written. Conversely, the distinction between *t* and *ṭ*, as well as *d* and *ḍ* has been maintained as although these signs can be used interchangeably on occasion in this period, they are not yet entirely synonymous.¹⁰⁴

The dictionaries of Faulkner and Hannig, alongside the Wörterbuch and the Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae have all been used to inform the translations given.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ See, for example, Anthes, 'Osirisfest in Abydos,' pp.15-49; Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, 49-62.

¹⁰² J. Baines, 'Kingship, Definition of Culture, and Legitimation,' in D. O'Conner and D.P. Silverman, (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, (Leiden, 1995), p.3.

¹⁰³ Ockinga, *Concise Grammar*, p.7.

¹⁰⁴ Ockinga, *Concise Grammar*, p.2.

¹⁰⁵ *FCD*; *Wb*; *HWB*; R. Hannig, and P. Vomberg, *Wortschatz der Pharaonen in Sachgruppen*, 2nd ed. (KAW 72; Mainz am Rhein, 2012); *TLA*.

Regarding the philological markup conventions used in the transcription of the hieroglyphic text throughout Chapter 2 and Appendix A, a slightly modified system has been adopted as a result of the loss of the original stela, and to properly acknowledge the contributions of editors such as Helck and Pieper.

As is typical: (text in parentheses) denotes a grammatical clarification.

<text in angular brackets> indicates omitted signs.

{text in braces} indicates extraneous signs and mistakes in the Egyptian.

However: shaded text indicates signs that Mariette has recorded as damaged, but which are still visible in his drawing.

[shaded text within square brackets] indicates restored text that is not visible in Mariette's drawing, but has been supplied by later editors

[text within half brackets]¹ indicates an amendment to the record of Mariette by later editors.

On this final point, as any amendment subsequent to Mariette has been made without observing the original stela, they must be treated cautiously. That said, overwhelmingly, these amendments represent substantial improvements on the text as recorded by Mariette and without them, the text would still be largely unreadable. For this reason, they have been largely accepted. The restorations and amendments made by Pieper and Helck can be found in full in the plates. Other points of difference, based on the observations of other editors such as Anthes, Hofmann, Simpson, and even Breasted, are discussed in the footnotes.

2: Text, Translation and Commentary

2.1: Style and Structure

The stela is of typical Middle Kingdom form, with a vertical rectangular body topped by a rounded lunette.¹⁰⁶ A curved *pt* sign stretches over the lunette to symbolise the firmament, under which the first four names of the titulary of Neferhotep I appear, nestled beneath the winged sun-disk with two uraei.¹⁰⁷ The serekh is accompanied by both cartouches, a feature characteristic of the late Middle Kingdom.¹⁰⁸ Again, as is typical for the Middle Kingdom, there is a clear differentiation between the lunette and the following main body of text, which consists of forty rows of hieroglyphic writing reading from right to left.¹⁰⁹ It is composed in classical Middle Egyptian.¹¹⁰

The inscription incorporates a number of different literary devices, including direct speech of the king and companions, extended narrative prose and hymns of praise. At first, the text follows a clearly defined structure of three sets, each beginning with a brief narrative section, followed by a speech of the king, and concluding with a short reply of the companions, praising the king and his actions. In each of these tripartite

¹⁰⁶ R. Hözl, 'Stelae,' in D.B. Redford, (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, (Oxford, 2001), III, p.320; It has been suggested that the resurgence of the rounded lunette during the Middle Kingdom, particularly at Abydos, was inspired by archaic period stelae also found at Abydos, see: Leahy, *JEA* 75, (1989), pp.56.

¹⁰⁷ Hözl, 'Stelae,' p.320.

¹⁰⁸ Leahy, *JEA* 75, (1989), pp.47, says, "On the evidence available, the serekh is accompanied by only one cartouche on stelae of the Twelfth Dynasty. The earliest example in which both cartouches appear in such a case dates to the time of Amenemhat III, and this combination becomes normal in the Thirteenth Dynasty."

¹⁰⁹ Hözl, 'Stelae' p.322; Mariette, *Abydos*, II, pl.28-30.

¹¹⁰ Pieper has claimed both that a handful of early features of Late Egyptian are present in this inscription, and that the text is entirely free of late-Egyptianisms, see: Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.3, 19. This situation is complicated as it can be difficult to distinguish between mistakes on the part of the Egyptian scribe, and those made by the early copiest, both of which may appear similar to Late Egyptian. However, the assessment that that the text is a psuedoepigraphic text of a later period, or indeed outright forgery, based upon these grammatical elements, is unfounded, see: W.M.F. Petrie, *A History of Egypt, I: From the Ist to the XVIth Dynasty*, 8th ed. (London, 1916), p.212; Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.3.

sets, the narrative sections and replies of the companions are kept brief. Their purpose, it seems, is to support the statements made by the king in his speeches, by demonstrating the fulfilment of his plans in the narrative, and offering praises of them from the mouths of his companions. This pattern repeats itself three times, giving three sets which each contain three elements.¹¹¹

The first tripartite set begins by giving the regnal year and titulary of Neferhotep, followed by the heading ‘The appearing of his majesty upon the throne of Horus in the palace ‘Exalted of Beauties’ (lines 1-2). These initial lines give both the date and setting for the events of the inscription, and function as the first narrative section. It is immediately followed by the first speech of the king, in which the king announces his desire to rediscover forgotten knowledge within the sacred archives (lines 2-6). The speech of the king is, in turn, followed by the first reply of the companions which supports the king’s desire and asserts his authority (line 7).

In the second tripartite set, the narrative section recounts the journey of the king to the archive, where he fulfils the desire expressed in the first speech by uncovering the ‘writings of the house of Osiris,’ (lines 6-7). Again, this is followed by a speech of the king in which Neferhotep proclaims his divine filiation and ordination, as both the son of Osiris and Ra, as well as one chosen by the gods to be king. Importantly, he also announces his intention to renew the cult statue of Osiris based upon the writings he discovered in the archive. These actions, it is said, will bring great benefit to the land (lines 7-11). The second reply of the companions affirms the divine sanction of his plans (line 12).

In the third of these sections, the king has the Custodian of the Royal Property summoned to him (line 12). The third speech of the king is primarily addressed to this official as a command to travel to Abydos in order to renew the cult statue of Osiris (lines 12-14). The companions, in their third and final reply, again offer praises for this course of action (line 14).

Following the third reply of the companions, this tripartite structure is no longer used. Instead, there is an extended narrative section which recounts the journey to Abydos,

¹¹¹ Hofmann, *Königsnovelle*, p.96; see also: table 1.

first by the royal custodian and then by the king himself, in order to supervise the renewal of the statue and personally partake in the celebration of the festival of Osiris (lines 14-21). Unlike the narrative sections previously, this section stands out because of its length and detail. For this reason, this particular section of the text has been studied extensively for the information it gives regarding the elements of the Osiris festival.¹¹² It is also not followed by a speech of the king, as in the previous sections, but instead by a hymn in praise of Osiris (lines 21-24), which also contains a brief song in praise of the king (24-26). The remainder of the inscription is dominated by a lengthy speech of the king, (lines 27-40), which is firstly addressed to Osiris, describing both what the king shall do for the god, and what the god shall do for the king; it then gives instructions to the priests and threats to those who would rebel, before concluding with a statement of the king's motives and the resulting rewards for his actions.¹¹³

As a whole, then, the inscription may be divided into four main parts, the first of which employs narrative techniques, as well as direct speech of the king and companions, in a cyclical tripartite structure. The second part consists of an extended narrative section, recounting the Osiris festival and the renewal of the cult statue that is the crux of the inscription. The Hymn to Osiris and Fourth Speech of the King form the third and fourth major parts respectively.¹¹⁴

¹¹² See, for example: Anthes, 'Osirisfest in Abydos,' pp.15-49; Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, pp.49-62.

¹¹³ Hofmann, *Königsnovelle*, p.96.

¹¹⁴ Hofmann considers the hymn to Osiris and the fourth speech of the king together to make up one part, dividing the text into three, not four, main parts, see: Hofmann, *Königsnovelle*, p.96.

Table 1: Structure of the Text

Table 1: Structure of the Text				
Part 1	Tripartite Set 1	Narrative – Heading Date and Location	Lines 1-2	§2.4
		First Speech of the King	Lines 2-6	§2.5.1-2
		First Reply of the Companions	Line 6	§2.6
	Tripartite Set 2	Narrative – the King in the Archive	Lines 6-7	§2.7
		Second Speech of the King	Lines 7-11	§2.8.1-2
		Second Reply of the Companions	Line 12	§2.9
	Tripartite Set 3	Narrative – the King and the Royal Custodian	Line 12	§2.10
		Third Speech of the King	Lines 12-14	§2.10
		Third Reply of the Companions	Line 14	§2.11
	Part 2	Extended Narrative Section – the Osiris Mysteries	the Journey to Abydos	Lines 14-16
the Journey of the King			Lines 16-18	§2.13
the Procession to the Workshop			Lines 18-20	§2.14.1
the Role of the King			Lines 20-22	§2.14.2
Part 3	Hymn to Osiris	the Hymn to Osiris	Lines 22-24	§2.15
		In Praise of the King	Lines 24-26	§2.16
Part 4	Fourth Speech of the King	the Address to Osiris	Lines 27-32	§2.17.1-2
		Instructions to the Priests	Lines 32-35	§2.17.3
		Threat Formulae	Lines 36-39	§2.17.4
		Closing Remarks	Lines 39-40	§2.17.5

2.2: The Text as *Königsnovelle*

This inscription was accounted by Hermann as one of the earliest examples of the ‘Königsnovelle.’¹¹⁵ The most simplistic definition of the Königsnovelle is any text which focuses upon the qualities and deeds of the king.¹¹⁶ However, given the preeminent position of the king within Egyptian society, it is unsurprising that these are frequent motifs in Egyptian literature and so, a definition such as this encompasses more than it excludes.¹¹⁷ To distinguish the Königsnovelle, the king must act as the protagonist, within additional literary *topoi*.¹¹⁸ Specifically, the Königsnovelle is a ‘simple unit’ which presents a problem or deficiency that the king alone, with his unique qualities, is equipped to solve.¹¹⁹ His subsequent success in overcoming this problem highlights his glorious status as king and sets him apart as the intermediary between man and god.¹²⁰ In this stela, for example, the king seeks out forgotten knowledge within the sacred archives, in order to renew the statue of Osiris in the

¹¹⁵ A. Hermann, *Die Ägyptische Königsnovelle*, (LÄS 10; 1938), p.10. The Neferhotep stela has actually been credited as the first Königsnovelle in C.J. Eyre, ‘the Semna Stelae: Quotation, Genre and Functions of Literature,’ in S. Israelit-Groll, (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, (Jerusalem, 1990), I, pp.146-147; however, Spalinger has demonstrated that features of the Königsnovelle may be evident in far older visual representations from the Old Kingdom, see: A. Spalinger, ‘Königsnovelle and Performance,’ in V.G. Callender, L. Bareš, M. Bárta, J. Janák, and J. Krejčí, (eds.), *Times, Signs and Pyramids: Studies in Honour of Miroslav Verner on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, (Prague, 2011), pp.363-369.

¹¹⁶ It would be a mistake to consider the Königsnovelle as a genre itself, as the elements of the Königsnovelle can be found across a wide variety of text types, from building inscriptions, to war reports, to religious inscriptions such as this. As such, it would be more appropriate to consider the Königsnovelle as a literary device that may frame other genres of texts, see: A.J. Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians*, (YNER 9; New Haven, 1982), p.103; Spalinger, ‘Königsnovelle and Performance,’ p.362. For an exhaustive summary of the scholarship pertaining to the Königsnovelle, see: Hofmann, *Königsnovelle*, pp.15-32.

¹¹⁷ A. Loprieno, ‘the King’s Novel,’ in A. Loprieno, (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, (Leiden, 1996), pp.278-279.

¹¹⁸ Spalinger, *Aspects*, p.101.

¹¹⁹ J. Brophy, ‘Die Königsnovelle: an Egyptian Literary Form,’ *BACE* 2, (1991), p.16; Hermann, *Ägyptische Königsnovelle*, p.47; Loprieno, ‘the King’s Novel,’ p.279

¹²⁰ Brophy, *BACE* 2, p.16; Loprieno, ‘the King’s Novel,’ pp.282-283.

temple at Abydos and perform his cultic duties to the gods.¹²¹ The Königsnovelle is also episodic: that is, it recounts a particular episode situated within a specific time and locality which here, is given in the first line as year two of the reign of Neferhotep, in the ꜥh palace.¹²² Typically, the original location of the narrative is the palace, as it is in this text, although the narrative often moves from this location as a journey, such as those to the archive and then to Abydos, is another frequent motif of the Königsnovelle.¹²³ A further typical feature of the Königsnovelle is the presence of dialogue between the king and the court.¹²⁴ In this inscription, each speech of the king is met with praise from the companions, reinforcing the excellence of the king's intentions and actions.¹²⁵ Finally, the use of dialogue, changes of scenery through the journey motif, and songs of praise to the king and gods all giving a dramatic aspect, and sense of vivacity to the text.¹²⁶ This dramatic aspect appears both in the structure of the text as well within its content, in the performative nature of the Osiris mysteries described.¹²⁷

Most importantly for this study, the Königsnovelle gives insight into “concepts of royal ideology.”¹²⁸ By commemorating a single great deed of the king, the Königsnovelle is an act of selection, and in doing so, drives home that which is characteristic of an individual king and his kingship.¹²⁹ The Egyptian king stood at the crossroads between the human and the divine, as such the Königsnovelle serves to display “his infinite cosmic role” within “the reality of a finite historical event.”¹³⁰ By blending first person speech of the king which allows him the opportunity to put forward his ideology of

¹²¹ Loprieno, ‘the King’s Novel,’ p.280.

¹²² See: *Neferhotep Stela*, 1 in §2.3; and Spalinger, *Aspects*, pp.104-105.

¹²³ Spalinger, *Aspects*, p.102-103.

¹²⁴ Spalinger, *Aspects*, p.102.

¹²⁵ Brophy, *BACE* 2, p.16.

¹²⁶ Brophy, *BACE* 2, p.18; Hofmann, *Königsnovelle*, p.97; Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.63.

¹²⁷ C.J. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals: Enactments of Religious Renewal*, (Leiden, 1967), p.43; see also: §2.17.1.

¹²⁸ Brophy, *BACE* 2, p.18.

¹²⁹ Loprieno, ‘the King’s Novel,’ pp.284-285.

¹³⁰ Loprieno, ‘the King’s Novel,’ pp.284, 286.

kingship, with narrative demonstrating his power to act, and hymns of praise, the Königsnovelle functions as a political medium within a literary framework.¹³¹

¹³¹ G. Posener, *Littérature et Politique dans l’Egypte de la XII Dynastie*, (BEHE, 307; Paris, 1969) p.137.

2.3: Lunette



Bḥd.ty ntr-ꜥ3 nb p.t

*Hr.w Grg-ḫ.wy nsw.t bi.ty Ḥꜥi-šḫm-Rꜥ.w s3 Rꜥ.w Nfr-ḥtp mri.y Wsir ḥnt(.y)-
imn.tyw nb 3bd.w*

*Hr.w-nbw Mn-mr.wt nsw.t bi.ty Ḥꜥi-šḫm-Rꜥ.w s3 Rꜥ.w Nfr-ḥtp mri.y Wsir
ḥnt(.y)-imn.tyw nb 3bdw*

Behedity, the Great God, Lord of the sky

Horus: founder of the two lands;¹³² King of Upper and Lower Egypt,¹³³
Khasekhemra,¹³⁴ Son of Ra, Neferhotep,¹³⁵ beloved of Osiris, Foremost of the
Westerners, Lord of Abydos

¹³² Typically, participle forms within the titulary are found in the perfective. Leprohon, in his study of the royal titulary, suggests that this may have resulted from the time elapsed between the king's accession, upon the death of his successor, and the proclamation of the titulary at the coronation, saying "when the new king's names were announced at his coronation perhaps the sentiments expressed in the various epithets were already considered a *fait accompli*," see: R.J. Leprohon, *The Great Name: Ancient Egyptian Royal Titulary*, (WA 33; Atlanta, 2013), p.4.

¹³³ There is some discussion of the interpretation of the *nsw.t bi.ty* title, which expresses the dual nature of Egyptian kingship. Traditionally, this is interpreted as dominion over the dual kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt. However, it has been suggested that instead it represents the stark contrasts of ancient Egyptian life –cultivation and desert, and the life and death they embody, in particular, see: S. Quirke, *Who Were the Pharaohs, a history of their names with a list of cartouches*, (London, 1990), pp.10-11. For its familiarity for the reader, the traditional interpretation has been adopted here.

¹³⁴ translated as: 'the power of Ra appears'

¹³⁵ translated as: 'the perfect one is satisfied'

Horus of Gold:¹³⁶ enduring of love; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khasekhemra; Son of Ra, Neferhotep, beloved of Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos

Four of the names of Neferhotep as Pharaoh are found under the protective wings of the sun-disk with two uraei.¹³⁷ The winged sun-disk is identified by the name Behedity, which appears twice, in reversed orientation, beneath each wing of the disk, reading from the outer point of the wing inwards and followed by the epithet *ntr-ꜥ3*. The epithet *nb p.t* appears only once, at the centre and as a part of both reversed orientation readings. The lunette is dominated by the throne and birth names of Neferhotep, appearing twice, as well as the dual references to Osiris, which clearly identify the protagonists of the inscription to follow. The favour of Osiris towards Neferhotep, demonstrated here through the phrase ‘Beloved of,’ is a prominent theme of the inscription. The passive perfective participle *mri.y* establishes a hierarchical relationship between the superior, here Osiris, who is ascribed the active role, and the inferior passive recipient of his love, typically the commissioner of the inscription, who in this case, is the king.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ There is some discussion as to whether this title ought to be rendered the ‘Gold’ name or the ‘Horus of Gold’ name. The latter has been used here as by the Middle Kingdom, the falcon had become a consistent element of this title, see: Leprohon, *The Great Name*, p.16; Quirke, *Who Were the Pharaohs*, p.31. For further discussion of this title, see: A. Spalinger, ‘Concepts of Kingship: The Golden Horus Name,’ in F. Coppens, J. Janák, and H. Vymazalová, (eds.), *Royal Versus Divine Authority*, (KSG 4.4; Wiesbaden, 2015). pp.331-350.

¹³⁷ For the winged sun disk as a protective symbol, see: R. Shonkwiler, *The Behdetite: A Study of Horus the Behdetite from the Old Kingdom to the Conquest of Alexander*, (PhD Thesis, University of Chicago; Chicago, 2014), p.169.

¹³⁸ W.K. Simpson, ‘Amor Dei: *ntr mrr rmt m t3 w3* (SH. SAI, 147-148) and the Embrace,’ in: J. Assmann, E. Feucht, and R. Grieshammer, (eds.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur: Studien zum Gedenken an E. Otto*, (Wiesbaden, 1977), p.494.

2.4: Titulary, Date and Opening of the Inscription






*rnpt sp 2 hr hm n(.y) Hr.w Grg-t3.wy Nb.ty Wp-m³.t Hr.w-nbw Mn-mr.wt nsw.t
bi.ty H^ci-shm-R^c.w s3 R^c.w Nfr-htp msi.n mw.t-nsw.t Kmi di ^cnh dd w3s mi R^c.w d.t
| h^ci.t¹³⁹ hm=f hr s.t Hr.w m ^ch Wts-nfr.w¹⁴⁰*

Year 2 under the majesty of Horus: founder of the two lands; the Two Ladies: who has revealed maat;¹⁴¹ Horus of gold: enduring of love; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khasekhemra; Son of Ra, Neferhotep,¹⁴² whom Kemi, the mother of the king, bore; given life, stability and dominion like Ra, forever.

The appearing of his majesty upon the throne of Horus in the palace ‘Exalted of Beauties.’

The main body of the inscription opens again with the titulary of the king, giving all five names of the king. There are several features of interest in the titulary of Neferhotep: names formed with *grg* are highly unusual, and the epithet *mn-mr.wt* is

¹³⁹ Mariette here gives D21 and D26, , see: pl.III in this volume. The correction was proposed by Breasted and has been adopted by all subsequent editions, see: Breasted, *ARE*, I, p.333.

¹⁴⁰ Regarding the name of the palace: Mariette gives A35 , see: pl.III. Breasted reads this as *Wts-nfr.w*, translated as ‘Structure or Bearer of Beauty,’ in, Breasted, *ARE*, I, p.333; whilst Pieper agrees with this transliteration, he also comments that this sign is unknown as a determinative for *wts*, see: Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, pp.6-7. Helck then amends the sign to U40 with A24, , see: pl.III. The translation ‘exalted’ follows Simpson, and nicely conveys the sense of *wts* in this context, see: *Neferhotep Stela*, 2 (trans. Simpson,) in Simpson, *Literature*, p.340.

¹⁴¹ This phrase is known as an epithet of Thoth, see: B. Gunn, ‘Notes on Ammenemes I,’ *JEA* 27, (1941), p.4 n.4.

¹⁴² For the titulary of Neferhotep I, see: Leprohon, *Great Name*, p.67; J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der Ägyptischen Königsnamen*, (MÄS, 49; Mainz, 1984), pp.96-97; Baker, *Egyptian Pharaohs*, I, pp.252-253; Quirke, *Who Were the Pharaohs*, p. 55.

otherwise unknown as a name.¹⁴³ Likewise, neither *wp-mꜣ.t* nor Neferhotep are attested as royal names prior to this period, although the latter is known as a non-royal name.¹⁴⁴ However, innovation in the titulary and the elevation of non-royal names to royal ones, especially in the nomen given prior to accession, should not be surprising in a period typified by its sheer number of kings, frequently of non-royal backgrounds.

The maternal filiation is given through the perfective relative form, and appears in conjunction with the Son of Ra title.¹⁴⁵

Finally, the infinitive *ḥꜣ.t*, serves as a heading for the inscription but also recalls the solar quality of Egyptian kingship.¹⁴⁶ Similarly, as is seen in this text, the *ḥꜣ* palace is the ‘seat of Horus’ upon the earth and serves a ritual purpose, most importantly, as the physical locality of the king’s authority in his divine role.¹⁴⁷ Together, this opening section locates the content of the inscription in a definitive time and place.¹⁴⁸

Pieper notes in his commentary the curious lack of month and days in the given date.¹⁴⁹ It cannot be known whether this ambiguous date refers to the events described within the text, or the setting up of the inscription itself, although the former is more likely.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴³ The only other attestation of *grg* in a royal name is found in the Two Ladies name of Tawosret, see: Leprohon, *Great Name*, p.125; von Beckerath, *Ägyptischen Königsnamen*, pp.162-163; *mn-mr.wt* is otherwise unattested as a royal name in either Leprohon or von Beckerath, as well as unattested as a non-royal name in H. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, (Glückstadt, 1935), I.

¹⁴⁴ *wp-mꜣ.t* was later used in the nomen of Intef V, see: Leprohon, *Great Name*, p.89; von Beckerath, *Ägyptischen Königsnamen*, pp.128-129. For Neferhotep as a non-royal name see: Ranke, *Ägyptischen Personennamen*, p.198; Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.6.

¹⁴⁵ In combination, these allude to the notion of divine birth of the king, see §3.1.2.

¹⁴⁶ Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, §14.9; Quirke, *Who Were the Pharaohs*, p.11; Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.42 (A 5.21).

¹⁴⁷ G. Pagliari, *Function and Significance of Ancient Egyptian Royal Palaces from the Middle Kingdom to the Saite Period*, (PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham and Università di Roma; Birmingham, 2012), pp.234-245; see also: R. Gundlach, ‘Horus in the Palace,’ in R. Gundlach, and J.H. Taylor, (eds.), *Egyptian Royal Residences*, (KSG 4.1; Wiesbaden, 2009), p.60. Gundlach identifies the *ḥꜣ* as a palace within the larger frame of the *pr.w-nsw.t* in Gundlach, ‘Horus in the Palace,’ p.63.

¹⁴⁸ Spalinger, *Aspects*, p.104-105.

¹⁴⁹ Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.4.

¹⁵⁰ Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.4.

2.5: the First Speech of the King


2.5.1: Part 1







$\underline{dd}<.in>$ ¹⁵¹ $\dot{h}m=f$ n $s^c h.w$ $smr.w$ $wnn.yw$ $m-\dot{h}t=f$ $s\dot{s}.w$ $m3^c(.w)$ $n(.w)$ $mdw.w-ntr$
 $\dot{h}r.(y)w-tp$ $s\dot{s}t3.w$ $nb(.w)$ iw $3bi.n$ $ib=i$ $m33$ $s\dot{s}.w$ $p3w.t-tp.t$ | $n.t$ $\dot{I}tm$ $pg3.w$ $n=i$ r
 $sip.t(y)-wr$ $imi.w$ $rh(=i)$ ¹⁵² ntr m $\dot{k}m3=f$ $psd.t$ m $\dot{k}i.w=sn$ ¹⁵³ $m3^c(=i)$ $n=sn$ $\dot{h}tp.w-$
 ntr $[wdn](=i)$ $[t.w]$ ¹⁵⁴ $\dot{h}r$ $wd\dot{h}w.w$ $rh=i$ ntr | m $\dot{i}rw=f$ ¹⁵⁵ $msi=i$ sw mi $tp.t-^c=f$ ¹⁵⁶

¹⁵¹ The contingent perfect ending – omitted by the scribe – was restored by Helck, see: pl.III. The frequency with which this exact construction is used throughout the text gives weight to this reconstruction.

¹⁵² Helck marks the suffix pronoun as omitted text in his transcription, see: pl.IV. However, given the frequency with which the first person suffix pronoun is dropped, particularly in first person direct speech where it can be assumed logically, this amendment seems unnecessary.

¹⁵³ Mariette here gives T19 , from which Pieper can derive no meaning. He does, however, acknowledge that this phrase ought to parallel the first and tentatively suggests a translation of “gestalt,” in Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.10. Alternatively, Wolf suggests a reading of $psd.t$ m $ntr.w=sn$, “die Neunheit in ihren Göttern,” in his review of Pieper, see: Wolf, *OLZ* 33, p.432. This reading of Wolf is adopted, though questioningly, in Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.121 (C 2.4). Helck’s amendment resolves this problem, see: pl.IV.

¹⁵⁴ Mariette has indicated a rounded but indeterminate sign, which Helck restores as X1 . However, the given sign is larger and more rounded than  is normally found. X2  would also be a logical reconstruction, especially given that there is ample blank space above in which  could also be reconstructed to give the full reading of the word for bread, see pl.IV.

¹⁵⁵ $\dot{i}rw$ is understood here as referring to the physical form of the god in his statue, see: Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, pp.121-122 (C 2.7); E. Hornung, ‘Der Mensch als “Bild Gottes” in Ägypten,’ in O. Loretz, *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen*, (Munich, 1967), p.126.

Then his majesty said to the nobles, the companions who were in his following, the true scribes of the sacred writings and the masters of all secrets, “My heart has desired to see the writings of the primeval time of Atum. Open, for me, the great inventory. Cause that (I) might know the god in his essence and the Ennead in their nature, so that I might present divine offerings to them and [offer breads] upon the offering tables, so that I might know the god in his form and might create him according to his first state.”¹⁵⁷

The contingent perfect here introduces the direct speech of the king, whilst the dative *n* indicates the audience to whom it is addressed. Yet the titles given here are few. Both *sḥ.w* and *smr.w* are highly generalised designations for officials.¹⁵⁸ The third and fourth titles given here are variants on well-known titles, but their exact appearance here is unparalleled.¹⁵⁹ Significantly, the choice of these two specific titles seems to reflect the pursuit of knowledge and wisdom that is a theme of the text. Pieper comments that the use of minimal titles highlights the ritual, as well as official, nature of this inscription.¹⁶⁰ By limiting the titles of the nobles, focus is placed on the king himself. The heart of the king, the organ of thought and understanding, is said to be the driving force behind his pursuit of religious knowledge, reinforcing the image of the scholarly king who alone both identifies and resolves a problem.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁶ The unusual form of *tp.t-ḥ=f* seen here, with the suffix pronoun attached to the first element of the compound, is acknowledged in the Wörterbuch, see: *Wb*, V, p.285.

¹⁵⁷ In his translation, Simpson draws a distinction between *ḫmʒ* and *ḫi*, which are both understood as referring to the non-corporeal nature of the god, and *irw* as the physical in the form of the statue, see: *Neferhotep Stela*, 3 (trans. Simpson) in Simpson, *Literature*, p.340.

¹⁵⁸ Neither designation is attested as a formal title in W.A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom: with a Glossary of Words and Phrases Used*, (Beruit, 1982), or H.G. Fischer, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom: a Supplement to Wm. Ward's Index, Part 1: Additional Titles*, (New York, 1985).

¹⁵⁹ *sš.w mʒḥ(.w) n(.w) mdw.w-ntr* appears to be a variation on the title *sš mdw-ntr*, found here with the adjective *mʒḥ* and in an indirect genitive construction, see: Ward, *Egyptian Titles*, p.160 (1385); Likewise, *ḫr.(y)w-tp sšḫ.w nb(.w)* is a curious combination of *ḫr.y-tp* and *ḫr.y-sšḫ*, with *sšḫ.w* further qualified by the adjective *nb(.w)*. For *ḫr.y-tp* see: *FCD*, p.175; For *ḫr.y-sšḫ*, see: Ward, *Egyptian Titles*, p.119 (1004).

¹⁶⁰ Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.8.

¹⁶¹ R.B. Parkinson, *the Dream and the Knot, Contextualising Middle Kingdom Literature*, (LingAeg StudMon 2; Göttingen, 1999), p.63.

Breasted argues that the elusive ‘primeval writings of Atum’ ought to have been located in Heliopolis, at the sanctuary of Atum.¹⁶² The designation *sip.t(y)-wr* is unknown outside of the stela, although a close parallel – a room called the *sip.t(y)* – is said to be in Heliopolis in the Westcar papyrus.¹⁶³ Unusually, the direct object of the imperative *pg3.w* is introduced here by the preposition *r*.

The subjunctive *rh(=i)* stands as the object of the imperative *imi(.w)*, expressing causality, and is then followed by a series of further subjunctives in subsequent clauses of purpose.¹⁶⁴ The first person suffix pronouns are again absent but can logically be assumed in direct speech. These purpose clauses highlight that all of Neferhotep’s actions are driven towards better serving the gods through offerings and the creation of their statues, the form of which is informed by his pursuit of knowledge. This text also reveals a consciousness of the past, even the mythic past, and a desire to emulate it in the Egyptian worldview. Particularly, the reference to the ‘first state’ of the god recalls the idealised primeval time which the king seeks to replicate.¹⁶⁵ It is this past, and the documents which record it, that inform the king’s actions.¹⁶⁶

Additionally, this section of text also begs the question, who is the god referred to? Although the stela as a whole focuses on Osiris, the text remains ambiguous regarding the identity of ‘the god’ until the discovery of the ‘writings of the house of Osiris.’ Pieper suggests that this section likely refers back to Atum as the primeval god and the head of the Ennead.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶² Breasted, *ARE*, I, p.333.

¹⁶³ W.V. Davies, (ed.), A.M. Blackman, *the Story of King Kheops and the Magicians, transcribed from Papyrus Westcar (Berlin Papyrus 3033)*, (Kent, 1988), 9.5

¹⁶⁴ Following *Neferhotep Stela*, 3 (trans. Simpson), in Simpson, *Literature*, p.340. Alternatively, Hofmann understands *m3^c* and *wdn* as some sort of passive future, see: *Stela Neferhotep*, 3 (trans. Hofmann,) *Königsnovelle*, p.89.

¹⁶⁵ D.B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books: a Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*, (SSEA IV; Mississauga, 1986), p.131.

¹⁶⁶ J. Baines, ‘Ancient Egyptian Concepts and Uses of the Past: 3rd and 2nd Millenium BC Evidence,’ in R. Layton, (ed.), *Who Needs the Past: Indigenous Values and Archaeology*, (One World Archaeology 5; London, 1989), p.141.

¹⁶⁷ Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.9.

2.5.2: Part 2



iri.n=sn wi m nd.ty=sn r smnh mnw.w=sn tp-t3 m3^c.n=sn n=i iw^c.t Gbb]¹⁶⁸
 šn[n.t] nb.t¹⁶⁹ Itn | rdi(.w) n<=i> i3w.t=i m hr.(y)-tp t3 rh[=f s]3.y[t]=i mty iw=i
 [hr] iri.t mi ntr iw=[i] rdi.y=i h3w-hr sip.(w)t n=i dd=sn n=i hr mr.wt=[sn] r |
 iri.t hft wd.t=sn

“It is in order to establish their monuments upon the earth that they have appointed me as their protector. It is to me that they have given the inheritance of [Geb], namely, all which the sundisk encircles. It is because he knows my precise wisdom that my office as head of the land was given to me. I act like the god.¹⁷⁰ [I] will give in excess of than that which was given to me. It is because of their desire to act in accordance with that which they command that they give to me.”

If the first section of this first speech of the king addresses the desire of the king to know and serve the god, then this second section makes an unequivocal statement

¹⁶⁸ Pieper suggests the restoration of Geb, but does not include it in his transcription of the hieroglyphs, see: Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.10; it is Helck who later amends the hieroglyphs, see: pl.V. Alternatively, the reading “the inheritance of Re,” is suggested in Breasted, *ARE*, I, p.333. Given the parallel in line 9, however, Geb seems the significantly more likely restoration.

¹⁶⁹ Helck here has ammended Mariette, giving *nb.t* where Mariette has recorded *tw* following *Itn*. The presence of *nb.t* is expected in this stock phrase and Helck’s amendment here has been adopted as there is little sense to be made from the phrase as given by Mariette. See: pl.V.

¹⁷⁰ Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.96 (B 6.7), tentatively gives the future, “Ich [werde?] handeln wie ein Gott.” However, Helck’s restoration of the preposition *hr*, identifies this construction as the complex aorist II, see: pl.VI.

regarding the nature of Neferhotep's kingship. It is divinely appointed – the third person plural subject refers back to the Ennead.¹⁷¹ Furthermore, the creation of monuments is understood as the action through which Neferhotep will act as the 'protector' of the gods.¹⁷² A series of three emphatic constructions follow. In the first, emphasis is directed upon the purpose of Neferhotep's kingship – making monuments for the gods – expressed by the *r* with infinitive. In the second, it is the suffix dative which is emphasised, drawing attention to the specific selection of Neferhotep. The 'inheritance of Geb' and the office of 'head of the land' are understood as allusions to authority over the earth, or the kingship.¹⁷³ Both these emphatic constructions are introduced by the nominal present perfect. The third, however, is introduced by the perfective passive and emphasises the following circumstantial clause, which highlights the reason for Neferhotep's selection as king, namely, his wisdom.

The final sentences of this first speech of the king present a number of problems. The intent behind the sentence "I will give more than that which was given to me" is clear: as king, Neferhotep will return the favour of the gods abundantly.¹⁷⁴ Grammatically, however, the construction is entirely obscure. Following *iw=i*, a complex verb form would be expected and yet, instead, the future prospective appears. Perhaps this is best understood as scribal error, in which the future prospective has been used in place of the *r* with infinitive in the complex future. Conversely, the grammar of the final sentence "It is because of their desire to act in accordance with that which they command that they give to me" is simple. The aorist introduces a further emphatic construction which emphasises the following prepositional phrase. "Their desire" is qualified by the preposition *r* with infinitive, expressing purpose, and the further prepositional phrase,

¹⁷¹ Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, pp. 27 (A 2.3), 31.

¹⁷² Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.104 (B 6.33).

¹⁷³ The inheritance of Geb is, of course, the earth. See: Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.33 (A 3.11); H. Goedicke, 'Some Notes on the Nitocris Adoption Stela,' *JARCE* 8, (1969-1970), p.71; and L.V. Zabkar, 'Adaption of Ancient Egyptian Texts to the Temple Ritual at Philae,' *JEA* 66, (1980), p.128 n.8, which describes this phrase as "an allusion to the Memphite Theology according to which Geb, having made Horus the king of Lower Egypt and Seth the king of Upper Egypt, changed his mind, and gave his entire kingdom to Horus." This allusion to authority over the whole country may be particularly pertinent if the Thirteenth Dynasty was concurrent with other competing dynasties, as seems likely. For the potential overlap of dynasties at this time, see §1.1 n.26.

¹⁷⁴ See also: Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.166 (D 3.6).

hft followed by the feminine aorist relative form. The expected direct object of *dd* is absent, though likely it can be assumed to be the already mentioned ‘inheritance of Geb’ and ‘office as head of the land,’ i.e. the kingship.¹⁷⁵ The end result, however, is the circular implication that the gods are compelled to act according to their own decrees.


2.6: the First Reply of the Companions



*dd.in nn n(.y) smr.w wd.tn k3=k pw hpr(.w)*¹⁷⁶ *iti.y nb wd3 hm=k r pr.(w)w n.w*
*ss.w m3 hm=k mdw(.w)-ntr nb.w*¹⁷⁷

Then these companions said, “That which your Ka has decreed is that which occurs. May your majesty proceed to the houses of writing so that your majesty might see all the words of the god.”

As with the speech of the king, the contingent perfect is used here to introduce the direct speech of the companions. There is some debate surrounding the restoration of the damaged section following *hpr*, with Pieper giving the feminine prospective participle ending, whilst Helck instead restores a phonetic complement, presumably as the ending of the imperfective participle.¹⁷⁸ Graphically, the tall, narrow signs of Pieper’s restoration better fit the lacuna, whilst the feminine ending is expected for the abstract concept and in agreement with the feminine relative form.¹⁷⁹ However, the prospective participle is almost entirely unknown in Middle Egyptian, usually replaced by the future

¹⁷⁵ Simpson gives “It was because of their desire that one act according to what they command that they gave (it) to me.” see: *Neferhotep stela*, 6 (trans. Simpson), in Simpson, *Literature*, p.340. Presumably he understands  as *iri=tw*, however, following a preposition one really expects the infinitive. See also: Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, pp.92-93 (B 5.6).

¹⁷⁶ Helck here restores only the phonetic complement, see: pl.VII. This, however, leaves an unusual amount of space. I would propose instead that the reconstruction follows the parallel in line 12, with the phonetic complement, bookroll determinative and plural strokes.

¹⁷⁷ Pieper disputes the presence of this word, arguing instead that the bookroll ought to precede the plural strokes as the determinative for *mdw-ntr*, in Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.13; see also: pl.VIII.

¹⁷⁸ see pl.VIII.

¹⁷⁹ see also: Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.406 (G 8.49).

verbal adjective.¹⁸⁰ Its presence would therefore be odd, but not impossible, in this text composed in near flawless Middle Egyptian. The parallel in line 12, however, which clearly employs the imperfective participle, lends weight to Helck's reconstruction.¹⁸¹

This speech of the companions consists of two sentences. The first of which is a tripartite *pw* sentence, formed of the feminine perfective relative form and imperfective participle. Presumably it is the subjunctive used in the second sentence, first to express a wish and then in a final clause of purpose, out of deference. The purpose of this speech is to declare the authority of the royal Ka. The imperfective nature of the participle indicates that the will of the king is continuously and always fulfilled.

It is also interesting to note that here, the records that the king desires are located in the *pr.(w)w n.w sš.w*, as opposed to the *sip.t(y)-wr* of line 3.

2.7: the King in the Archives



wḏ3 pw iri.n ḥm=f r | pr.w-mḏ3.t wn.in ḥm=f ḥr pg3 sš.w ḥn^c nn n(.y) smr.w ḥ^c.n gmi.n¹⁸² ḥm=f sš.w n(.w) pr.w Wsir ḥnt(.y)-imn.tyw nb 3bdw

His majesty set out to the archive. Then, his majesty opened the scroll together with these companions. Then, his majesty found the writings of the house of Osiris, foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos.

Three different narrative forms – the non-verbal tripartite narrative form, the contingent perfect and the auxiliary *ḥ^c.n* introducing the present perfect, respectively – are used to drive the story forward. The tripartite narrative form indicates the beginning of a new episode within the narrative, whilst the contingent perfect, which here supports the

¹⁸⁰ Ockinga, *Concise Grammar*, §101.

¹⁸¹ See: §2.9; pl.XIII.

¹⁸² Although it is possible for the auxiliary *ḥ^c.n* to be followed by the historic *sḏm=f* form, it is far more likely to be followed by the *sḏm.n=f*, and so Pieper adds the *.n* ending of the present perfect, see: pl.VIII.

pseudo-verbal construction, marks elements within a sequence of events.¹⁸³ The narrative form introduced by ḥꜥ.n then begins another new episode, characterised by the discovery of sacred knowledge.¹⁸⁴ This passage has been interpreted as evidence for the literacy of the king.¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, this is the first reference to Osiris in the main body of the text and marks the beginning of the focus on Osiris, where previously there have been only non-specific references to ‘the god.’

Curiously, this section of text gives yet another different location – the *pr.w-md3.t* – which is understood to be a library associated with a temple.¹⁸⁶ Furthermore, these writings of the house of Osiris differ from the previously mentioned writings of Atum. It is unclear whether these should be interpreted as multiple events of the king conducting research in various archives, or if a variety of terms are being applied to the same event. It is, however, difficult to reconcile writings of the Osiris cult being preserved amongst the sacred texts of Atum. Logically, Pieper argues, writings ‘of the house of Osiris’ ought to be kept within his temple, whilst Breasted has argued previously and equally plausibly, that the sacred writings of Atum ought to be in his temple at Heliopolis.¹⁸⁷ However, it has also been suggested that this apparent contradiction may also play into the tension between the priesthoods of Atum and Osiris over the primacy of each god, with the presence of texts of Osiris in the temple of Atum exalting the role of Osiris.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸³ Ockinga, *Concise Grammar*, §113, §88b.3b.

¹⁸⁴ Ockinga, *Concise Grammar*, §95b.3

¹⁸⁵ J. Baines, and C.J. Eyre, ‘Four Notes on Literacy,’ *GM* 61, (1983), p.78; H. te Velde, ‘Scribes and Literacy in Ancient Egypt’, in H.L.J. Vanstiphout, K. Jongeling, F. Leemhuis, and G. J. Reinink, (eds.), *Scripta Signa Vocis: Studies about Scripts, Scriptures, Scribes and Languages in the near East, Presented to J. H. Hospers by His Pupils, Colleagues and Friends*, (Groningen 1986), pp.260-261.

¹⁸⁶ A.H. Gardiner, ‘The House of Life,’ *JEA* 24, (1938), p.177; M. Alliot, ‘Les Rites de la Chasse Au Filet aux Temples de Karnak, D’Edfou et D’Esneh,’ *RdÉ* 5, (1946), p.77.

¹⁸⁷ Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.14; Breasted, *ARE*, I, p.333.


¹⁸⁸ H. te Velde, ‘Scribes and Literacy,’ p.261.


2.8: the Second Speech of the King

2.8.1: Part 1





*dd.in hm=f n nn n(.y) smr.w iw hm=i <hr>¹⁸⁹ | nd it=i Wsir hnt(.y)-imn.tyw nb 3bdw
 msi=i sw hn^c [psd.t]=f mi m3.tn hm=i m sš.w=f iri.w [ki=f]¹⁹⁰ m nsw.t bi.ty m pri.w=f
 m h.t n(.t) Nwt | iw=i m s3=f nd.ty=f ms.tw=f [pri m] hr(.y)-wsh.t=f [rdi.n]¹⁹¹ n=f Gbb
 iw^c.t=f psd.t htp.ti¹⁹² hr=s iw=i m i3w.t=f 3.t n.t dd R^c.w s3 mnḥ ms(s)¹⁹³ msi sw*

¹⁸⁹ Pieper restores , to give the complex aorist II, see: pl.VIII. Anthes, however, notes that there is insufficient space at either the end of line 7 or beginning of line 8 to accommodate this restoration and as such, it should be considered text omitted by the scribe, see: Anthes, ‘Osirisfest in Abydos,’ p.20. Alternatively, though unlikely, Simpson appears to restore the preposition *r*, giving the complex future, which he translates as “My Majesty will protect my father,” see: *Neferhotep Stela*, 7-8 (trans. Simpson), in Simpson, *Literature*, p.341.

¹⁹⁰ There are substantial variations in how this section is reconstructed: *m33.w ki=f* in Anthes, ‘Osirisfest in Abydos,’ p.20; *m33.w=f mi h^ci=f* in Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*; *iri.w ki=f* in Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, pp.22-23. The reconstructions of Pieper and Helck can be compared in pl.IX. Hofmann follows Helck in her study, though interprets  as the noun *ir.w*, see: *Stela Neferhotep*, 8 (trans. Hofmann) *Königsnovelle*, pp.86, 90.

¹⁹¹ The restoration is by Helck. Pieper alternatively gives *m3^c.n*, see: pl.X

¹⁹² Helck amends the first M17  recorded by Mariette to U33 , to give the third person feminine singular old perfective ending, see: pl.X.

¹⁹³ This participle really ought to be understood as the imperfective as the action has not yet taken place. The end of this line is extremely cramped, which may account for the lack of gemination. Simpson also translates this imperfectively, in *Neferhotep Stela*, 9 (trans. Simpson), in Simpson, *Literature*, p.341.

Then his majesty said to these companions, “My majesty protects my father, Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos; in that I shall create him, together with his [Ennead] according to that which my majesty has seen in his writings. It was at his emergence from the womb of Nut that his [form] was made as King of Upper and Lower Egypt. I am his son, his protector, his offspring who [has come forth as] the Master of his Broad Hall, he to whom Geb has [given] his inheritance, the Ennead being satisfied because of it. I am in his great office of Ra’s giving, an effective son who creates the one who created him.”

Although *hnt(.y)-imn.tyw* is an epithet of Osiris as a funerary god, by identifying the god as the once-King of Egypt, it is established here that his primary role within this text is political, as the model for Egyptian kingship.¹⁹⁴ As Osiris is the central figure of this inscription, he is continually set apart, but not above the Ennead.¹⁹⁵ This section of the second speech of the king focusses upon the relationship between Osiris and Neferhotep. Indeed, the epithet *nd it(=f)* is one used almost exclusively of Horus with regard to Osiris.¹⁹⁶ Although the exact semantic significance of this epithet remains unclear, it is generally understood as “the favourable action done to Osiris by Horus.”¹⁹⁷ Its use in the Complex Aorist II reaffirms Neferhotep’s continual fulfilment of the duties of Horus. Following on, the subjunctive *msi* in a subordinate clause expresses the action through which Neferhotep will act as Horus towards Osiris, namely, the creation of this statue.

¹⁹⁴ For *hnt(.y)-imn.tyw* and other epithets of Osiris, see: G. Hart, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses*, (London, 1986), p.152. For the political significance of Osiris, see: J. Assmann, (trans. D. Lorton), *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, (Ithica, 2001), pp.123-124.

¹⁹⁵ Assmann, *Search for God*, p.124, says, “It would perhaps not be surprising if Osiris had occupied the supreme position in the Egyptian pantheon, with the result that he played the principal role in nearly all the stories about deities. But that was in no way the case. Although Osiris was one of the most important deities, he was no ‘Supreme Being.’ In Egypt, such concepts were connected with the sun god, who was the antithesis of Osiris.”

¹⁹⁶ P. Derchain, and M.T. Derchain-Urtel, ‘Harendotes (Celui a qui son Pere Demande des Comptes), *GM* 233, (2012), pp.5-8; J.G. Griffiths, ‘The Meaning of *nd* and *nd-hr*,’ *JEA* 37, (1951), pp.32-37; Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.104 (B 6.34).

¹⁹⁷ Griffiths, *JEA* 37, p.34; Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.11.

Particularly relevant for the thirteenth dynasty, the emphatic construction introduced by the perfective passive *iri.w* emphasises that Osiris was destined to rule from the moment of his birth, and in doing so, sets precedence for the predestination of the king.¹⁹⁸ Likewise, Osiris being designated as a king expresses an early understanding that the institution of kingship was an office of the gods prior to its human occupation.¹⁹⁹

Again, the divine filiation of Neferhotep as the son of Osiris is forcefully reiterated in the extended adverbial sentences, with multiple nominal elements all functioning as the predicate in conjunction with the preposition *m*.²⁰⁰ The perfective participle *pri* is used adjectivally, to qualify the noun *ms.(w)t=f*, whilst the title *hr(.y) wsh.t=f* is significant as the *wsh.t* hall is place in which Osiris himself is later justified in the text.²⁰¹ As such, this title foreshadows Neferhotep's responsibility for the justification of Osiris through his participation in the festival. The divinely ordained authority of Neferhotep as king is likewise reaffirmed threefold, from Osiris, Geb and Ra.²⁰² The perfective relative form again restates kingship as the 'inheritance of Geb,' whilst the aorist with nominal subject *dd R^c.w* affirms the solar base of Egyptian kingship. From the expression *i3w.t=f*, the office of kingship is understood to have been once exercised by the gods, now bestowed upon Neferhotep,²⁰³ although the identity of the third person suffix pronoun is somewhat obscured – in context it could refer to either Ra or Osiris. Here, the latter is preferred as, typically in this section, the third person is used to designate

¹⁹⁸ E. Hornung, (trans. J. Baines), *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: the One and the Many*, (Ithica, 1982), p.142.

¹⁹⁹ D. Lorton, Review of W. Barta, *Untersuchungen zur Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs: Ritus und Sadralkönigtum in Altägypten nach Zeugnissen der Frühzeit und das Alten Reiches*, (MÄS 32; Munich, 1975), *JAOS* 99, (1979), p.462.

²⁰⁰ See also: Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, pp.65-66 (B 1.11) .

²⁰¹ Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.134 (C 4.3); see also §2.17.1. For the title *hr(.y) wsh.t*, see: Ward, *Egyptian Titles*, p.116 (972).

²⁰² Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.33 (A 3.12).

²⁰³ For *i3w.t* as the office of king, see Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.27 (A 2.4); Additionally, Blumenthal says that *i3w.t* used with *rdi* is not frequently used as the awarding of kingship by the gods until the New Kingdom.

Osiris. Finally, the balanced epithet *ms(s) msi sw* presents the relationship between king and gods as symbiotic.²⁰⁴

2.8.2: Part 2



| *dd=i wr.t di=i sdm=tn [st wpi](.w)*²⁰⁵ *tn ib r ʿnh=f hr=s di=i rh=tn ʿnh m3^c m*
sšrw n(.y) w3h tp-t3 iri.t mnw.w n Wsir srwd rn n(.y) Wnn-nfr iri.tw nn 3h | n t3
smnh n [t3] nb [ink] im.(y) ib n(.y) it=f R^c.w [nb n.tt] iw.tt smnh.n sw ntr.w m
[h.t] pri.n=f tni m nsw.t bi.ty hpr nfr-hd.t r [dhn.t]=f hk3.n=f psd.t [tm].ti

“I will say a great thing and I will cause that you might hear [it. Open] the heart in order that he live through it. I will cause that you might know a just life in the manner of those who live long upon the earth. The making of monuments for Osiris and strengthening the name of Wennefer,²⁰⁶ if these are done, it shall be beneficial for the land and effective [for every land. I] am one who is in the heart of his father Ra, [lord of that which is] and that which is not, he whom the gods caused to be effective in the [womb], he having come forth distinguished as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the white crown having come into being upon his [brow], he having ruled the Ennead entirely.”

²⁰⁴ See also: Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.122 (C 2.8). A parallel of this phrase occurs in the restoration stela of Tutankhamun, line 3, see: Urk IV.21, p.2026.

²⁰⁵ This reconstruction of the imperative reinforced by the dependent pronoun is by Helck, and has also been followed by Simpson and Hofmann in their respective translations, see: *Neferhotep Stela*, 10 (trans. Simpson), in Simpson, *Literature*, p.341; *Stela Neferhotep*, 10 (trans. Hofmann,) *Königsnovelle*, p.86. Pieper, however, suggests a reading of *s3i=tn ib*, translated as “seid satt in bezug auf das Herz,” in Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.17. Pieper’s reconstruction is also adopted in Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.414 (G 8.83).

²⁰⁶ Wennefer, of course, is Osiris, this title having been assimilated into the identity of Osiris from an earlier funerary god, see: Hart, *Gods and Goddesses*, p.157.

A close parallel of this opening phrase, *dd=i wr.t di=i sdm=tn st*, is found in the Loyalist Instruction.²⁰⁷ In both texts, this ‘great thing’ is proffered as a means of attaining a righteous and long life. In the Loyalist Instruction, however, this phrase introduces a section outlining the excellent qualities of the king and encouraging due reverence to him, whilst in this inscription, it is devotion to Osiris and the gods which is exhorted.²⁰⁸ In the following sentence, the infinitives with nominal subjects express the actions through which this devotion to Osiris ought to be displayed. In turn, these function as the topicalised subjects of the following conditional, resumed by the nominal demonstrative *nn*.²⁰⁹ The conditional, in which the passive subjunctive *iri.tw* acts as protasis and the old perfectives *3h* and *smnh* as apodoses, expresses the benefits to society as a result of the renewal the statue of Osiris by the king.

This speech of the king concludes with a nominal sentence with first person independent pronoun as subject with the nisbe of the preposition *m* and noun as the predicate. This sentence also states the divine filiation of Neferhotep, this time as the son of Ra. Following the name of Ra is a number of epithets of the god, beginning with *nb n.tt iw.tt*, where the dual expressions of existence and non-existence are said to describe the authority of Ra as extending “to the spatial and temporal end of the created world.”²¹⁰ The perfective relative form of the causative *smnh* with the prepositional phrase *m h.t* expresses his efficacy from birth. Following on from this, the next two circumstantial *sdm.n=f* constructions also suggest that from the first moment of his existence, Ra was imbued with the dignity and regalia of royalty. As with the references in the previous segment to Osiris being king from birth, these imply that the holder of

²⁰⁷ The dependent pronoun is absent in the Loyalist Instruction version. See: *the Loyalist Instruction*, 9 (trans. J.P. Allen), *Middle Egyptian Literature*, (Cambridge, 2014), pp.156-157; G. Posener, *L'Enseignement Loyaliste: Sagesse Égyptienne du Moyen Empire*, (HES 5; Geneva, 1976), pp.17-18. For the phrase as it appears in this stela, see also: Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, pp.404-405 (G 8.46)

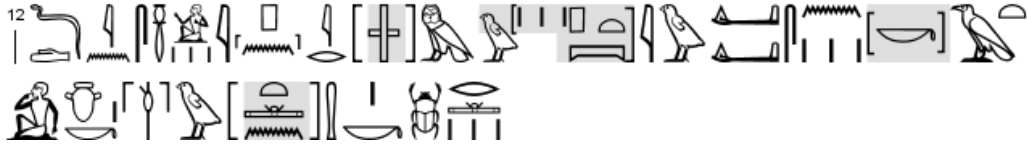
²⁰⁸ W.K. Simpson, ‘the Loyalist Instruction from the Sehetepibre Stela,’ in Simpson, *Literature*, p.172.

²⁰⁹ It is Simpson who translates this as a conditional, see: *Neferhotep Stela*, 10-11 (trans. Simpson), in Simpson, *Literature*, p.341. Simpson, however, translates the infinitives as a subordinate clause of the previous sentence. Similarly, see: Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, pp.129-130 (C 3.7). The interpretation of the infinitives as the topicalised subject follows that of Hofmann, in *Stela Neferhotep*, 10 (trans. Hofmann), *Königsnovelle*, p.90.

²¹⁰ Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, p.235.

the kingly office is predestined. Finally, the last circumstantial clause designates Ra as the ruler of the Ennead.



2.9: the Second Reply of the Companions



| *dd.in smr.w ipn ir im.(y)w [p.t] iw dd=sn [k]3.t ib=i wd[.tn]*²¹¹ *hm=k hpr.w*

Then these companions said, “Regarding the ones who are in [the sky], they allow the plan of your heart. That which your majesty [has] decreed is that which comes to pass.”

In this short speech placed in the mouths of the king’s companions, the topicalised subject highlights the gods’ endorsement of the king’s plan to renew the cult statue of Osiris.²¹² These interjections of the companions are brief, in order not to draw focus away from the words and deeds of the king. In the nominal sentence, the use of an imperfective participle *hpr.w* expresses the continuous aspect of the king’s authority, whilst the perfective relative form *wd.tn hm=k* refers to this specific decree of the king, namely, the commission of this statue by Neferhotep, and is feminine as it expresses an abstract construct. Unusually for this text, the plural adjectival demonstrative *ipn* has been used here to qualify *smr.w*, where the nominal demonstrative *nn* is usually found.

²¹¹ Here, Mariette gives D58  which Helck amends to V25 , See pl. XIII. It would make no sense to interpret this as the late Egyptian negative *bw* as there are no late-egyptianisms present in the text, see: Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.19.

²¹² Helck restores the lacuna to give *im.(y)w [p.t]*, see pl.XIII. Prior to this, Blumenthal comments that the identity of the topicalised subject has been lost, in Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.396 (G 8.19). The ones who dwell in the sky, of course, are the gods, see: Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, p.227



Then his majesty caused that the Custodian of Royal Property who was amongst the following of his majesty, might be summoned [to him]. Then his majesty said to him, “Travel [southwards with a crew of sailors]. Do not sleep night or day until you reach Abydos. Cause that the Foremost of Westerners might set out. I shall make his monuments like the first time.”

In the narrative section, in order to focus upon the actions of the king, the *.tw* passive subjunctive is used as the object of the contingent perfect, with the king taking the active role as the subject. Furthermore, the Royal Custodian is only identified by his title.²¹⁶ The third speech of the king is by far the shortest, consisting only of the three imperative statements addressed to the Royal Custodian and the declaration of his intent to renew the cult statue of Osiris. The imperative *š3s* is reinforced by the preposition (*i*)*r* with suffix pronoun. Again, emulation of the primeval past is presented as the aim of

²¹⁶ Simpson, 'Neferhotep Stela,' p.341 n.4; Contrast this with the biographical stela of Iykhernofret, who was sent by Senusret III to perform a similar task. Unlike this anonymous Custodian of Royal Property, Iykhernofret is identified both by his name and titles, see: *The Stela of Iykhernofret*, 2-3 (trans. W.K. Simpson), in Simpson, *Literature*, p.426.

this restoration in the final subjunctive clause, introduced by the non-enclitic particle *ih*.²¹⁷

Additionally, there are several small but important details contained within this segment. Firstly, the instruction to travel southwards indicates that the location of the narrative thus far, presumably the residence, is north of Abydos and so lends support to the argument that the residence at Itjityw was not abandoned until later in the dynasty.²¹⁸ Moreover, the title ‘Foremost of the Westerners’ is used here in place of the name Osiris, demonstrating that any distinction between Osiris and the archaic jackal god of Abydos, Khenty-imentiu, had been lost.²¹⁹

2.11: the Third Reply of the Companions



*dd.in nn n(.y) smr[.w] nfr.w[y dd.tn=k²²⁰ iti.y] nb iri=k [mnw].w=k m 3bdw n
it=k hnt(.y)-imn.tyw*

Then these companions said, “How great is [that which you have said, Sovereign] Lord, that you will make your [monuments] in Abydos for your father, Foremost of the Westerners.”

The entire purpose of these short interjections by the companions is to extol the virtues of the king and the excellence of his actions, as demonstrated by the admirative *.wy* in the adjectival non-verbal sentence. The perfective relative form *dd.tn=k* is used cataphorically, to refer to the following future prospective with nominal object *iri=k* *[mnw].w=k*.

²¹⁷ Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.163 (D 2.5).

²¹⁸ Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.20.

²¹⁹ Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.21; Hart, *Gods and Goddesses*, p.153.

²²⁰ Helck restores this lacuna, but without the *.n* ending of the perfective relative form, see: pl.XV. Based on parallels in the previous replies of the companions, however, it would make better sense to interpret this as the perfective and as such, the ending has been supplied. For the parallels, see: lines 6 and 12, in §2.6 and §2.9 respectively,

2.12: the Journey to Abydos



š3s (i)r=f pw iri.n sr pn m hnt.yt hft²²¹ | wd.tn²²² n=f hm=f spr pw iri.n[=f r 3bdw
r]²²³ sh^ci.w²²⁴ [ntr pn²²⁵ wd3] pw iri.n hm n(.y) ntr pn r nšmt²²⁶ nb.t d.t [r iri.t
wd]3.wt=f b^chi(.w) itrw [š3 m] | sty Pwnt spr pw iri.n=[sn²²⁷ r] hnw [...]
iwi.in=tw r smi n²²⁸ hm=f r dd iw ntr pn wd3(.w) m htp

This official travelled southwards in accordance with that which his majesty decreed to him. [He] arrived [at Abydos] at the displaying of [this god]. The majesty of this god [set out] to the Neshmet-barque, the Mistress of Eternity, [in order to make his departure], the [great river] being flooded [with] the aroma of

²²¹ Mariette concludes this line with a small lacuna followed by *pw*, which Helck later amends to *hft*, see: pl.XV.

²²² Helck adds the feminine ending to the relative form, see: pl.XVI.

²²³ It is Pieper who first restores the name of Abydos in this lacuna, see pl.XVI. Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.22.

²²⁴ Pieper also amends N37 , to N28 , to give *sh^ci*, see pl.XVI.

²²⁵ In this lacuna, Pieper restores the name of Osiris, whilst Helck prefers the more generic ‘*ntr pn.*’ see pl.XVI.

²²⁶ This writing of Neshmet, with the plural strokes, is somewhat odd, Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.23.

²²⁷ Helck has restored the third person plural suffix pronoun, referring to return of the entire procession, see pl.XVII. Due to the lacuna, however, it is also plausible that the suffix pronoun is the third person feminine singular =*s*, referring only to the Neshmet Barque, see: Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.22.

²²⁸ Helck has amended Mariette’s quail chick and book roll determinative following *smi* to give the more expected determinative of the man with hand to his mouth, and preposition *n* indicating the indirect object, see: pl. XVII.

Punt. They arrived at the residence [...] Then one came in order to report to his majesty, saying, “this god has set out satisfactorily.”

A series of tripartite narrative *pw* constructions, most commonly used with verbs of movement as is the case here, document the journey of the royal custodian to Abydos.²²⁹ The old perfective *sh^ci.w* is used here, in conjunction with the preposition *r*, temporally, indicating that he arrived around the time of the festival of Osiris, when the statue was displayed in procession outside the temple.²³⁰ The Neshmet-barque, too, is associated with this festival as the boat upon which the statue of the god was transported.²³¹ The ‘aroma of Punt’ is said to accompany the presence of the divine, hence the Nile being described by the old perfective *b^chi(.w)* as metaphorically flooded with its scent as the god sets forth upon it in the barque.²³²

It then appears that an official returns to the residence to report a procession of the god to the king.²³³ This report is introduced by the contingent perfect with indefinite suffix pronoun, which seems to be a variation on the *iwi=tw* formula of military texts.²³⁴ This formula is typically used to deliver a brief account of battles “in which the king did not personally lead his army.”²³⁵ By keeping the detail of the battle report minimal, the focus is directed towards the king’s actual involvement as decision-maker and supreme-leader.²³⁶ In this inscription, therefore, this formula is used as a “scribal *modus operandi*” to move the narrative quickly past aspects in which Neferhotep was not personally involved, and towards his own journey to Abydos and participation in the

²²⁹ Ockinga, *Concise Grammar*, §113.

²³⁰ G. Robins, ‘Cult Statues in Ancient Egypt,’ in N. H. Walls, (ed.), *Cult Image and Divine Representation in the Ancient Near East*, (Boston, 2005), p.9. For the approximate dating of this festival, see B. Mojssov, *Osiris: Death and Afterlife of a God*, (Malden, 2005), p.130 n.13.

²³¹ D. Jones, *Boats*, (London, 1995), p.22.

²³² Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, p.133; H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs: Studien zur Überlieferung eines altägyptischen Mythos*, (ÄgAbh 10; Wiesbaden, 1964), p.51.

²³³ Exactly which procession of the god referred to is unclear, as the procession of the god upon the Neshmet barque from the temple to the workshop for renewal is described several lines later. Perhaps it is simply the procession of the god from the temple to the Neshmet barque. Simpson, ‘Neferhotep Stela,’ p.340, says, “the sequence of events is not entirely clear.”

²³⁴ Spalinger, *Aspects*, p.21.

²³⁵ Spalinger, *Aspects*, p.20.

²³⁶ Spalinger, *Aspects*, pp.20-21.

festival.²³⁷ The report itself is phrased as a pseudo-verbal construction, with the old perfective as predicate.

2.13: the Journey of the King



wd3 pw iri.n hm=f [m] | dp.t-ntr [ist ḥ^c.w] pn g[rg](.w) mskt.wt [imw.w] [...] s[wd]3(.w) nsw.t ds=f r ḥ3.t tp mr r sns²³⁸ ḥn^c ntr pn rdi.t m3^c ḥtp.w-ntr n it=f ḥnt(.y)-imn.tyw ḥntyw irp²³⁹ | ih.wt-ntr n Wsir ḥnt(.y)-imn.<tyw> m rn.w=f nb(.w) w3ḥ[.n=f]²⁴⁰ n ntr [pn] sh̄tp [///]m.w²⁴¹ sh̄r sbi ḥr nšm.t

His majesty set out upon the god's boat, this [fleet] being furnished with mesket-barques²⁴² and [imu-ships.]²⁴³ [...] The king himself [was conveyed] at the front,

²³⁷ Spalinger, *Aspects*, p.21.

²³⁸ Mariette here gives *nn*, which makes no sense in the context. The correction is by Pieper, see pl.XVIII.

²³⁹ Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.24, also suggests an alternative reconstruction of *irb* as ointment, based on a parallel in the Brugsch papyrus, Berlin Papyrus 3038, VIII.9. Alternatively, Anthes argues for a reading of *ir.y*, "zugehörig zu," in Anthes, "Osirisfest in Abydos," p.22.

²⁴⁰ Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, pp.120-121 (C 2.3), describes *w3ḥ* as the "Terminus technicus für Darbringung von Opfern belegt."

²⁴¹ Here, Helck offers the unsubstantiated restoration *sh̄tm.w*, to read 'pacifying the destroyers,' see: pl.XIX. However, in the context, it seems more likely that *sh̄tp* refers to satisfying the gods through offerings. The lack of determinative would also argue against the reading *sh̄tm.w*.

²⁴² The Mesket barque is usually found in the pyramid texts as the mythical boat in which the sun god makes his nightly journey through the underworld, Jones, *Boats*, p.14; for attestations in the pyramid texts, see P. Der Manuelian, (ed.), J.P. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, (WA 23; Atlanta, 2005), p.462; see also D. Jones, *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms*, (London, 1988), p.247, for further attestations.

upon the canal, in order to associate with this god; causing that the god's offerings might be presented to his father, Foremost of the Westerners. Myrrh, wine and all the god's things for Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, in all of his names, are that [which he] set down for [this] god; satisfying the [...] and driving back those who rebel against the Neshmet-barque.

The tripartite narrative form is used to introduce the journey of the king. It is intriguing that the fleet of the king is described as consisting of both real and mythical boat types. As discussed previously, this section of the text focuses upon the actions of the king. The reflexive use of *ds=f* following the perfective passive *swd3(.w)* directs emphasis back onto the king as the one leading the procession²⁴⁴ The *r* with infinitive construction expresses the purpose of their voyage, and indeed, the purpose of the king more broadly, to know and serve Osiris, whilst the subsequent infinitive *rdi.t* demonstrates the means by which he will do so, namely, through the making of offerings. The verb *snsn* implies a relationship of great familiarity and closeness.²⁴⁵ This section concludes with a list of the offerings which Neferhotep has made to Osiris, which together with the perfective relative form *w3h.n=f* make up a nominal non-verbal sentence; as well as the infinitives *shtp* and *shr*, which demonstrate the ways in which Neferhotep's fulfills his ritual duties towards Osiris as Horus, and thus, King.²⁴⁶ It would appear that the account of the Osiris festival begins at this point in the text.²⁴⁷

²⁴³ A type of transport or cargo ship, see: Jones, *Nautical Titles*, p.129; S.R.K. Glanville, 'Records of a Royal Dockyard of the Time of Tuthmosis III: Papyrus British Museum 10056 (Part II),' *ZÄS* 68, (1932), p.8.

²⁴⁴ Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.121 (C 2.5); GardGr, §36.

²⁴⁵ Faulkner offers the translation 'be brotherly,' amongst others, in *FCD*, p.233.

²⁴⁶ Anthes suggests interpreting these verbs as "Pseudopartizip ... oder aktivische *sdm.f* form, oder auch Infinitiv," in Anthes, 'Osirisfest in Abydos,' p.22. Simpson translates them as infinitives, see: *Neferhotep Stela*, 19 (trans. Simpson), in Simpson, *Literature*, p.342.

²⁴⁷ Anthes, 'Osirisfest in Abydos,' p.41.

²⁵⁰ For *msi* as the act of creation of a statue, see Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.122 (C 2.9). The use of *msi* over other verbs describing acts of craftsmanship reflects the significance of the place of the cult statue in Egyptian thought, as the manifestation of the gods' presence on earth through which human beings could encounter the divine, see: W.K. Simpson, 'Egyptian Sculpture and Two-Dimensional Representation as Propaganda,' *JEA* 68, (1982), pp.266-267; Robins, 'Cult Statues in Ancient Egypt,' pp.1-2.

procession.²⁵¹ This function of Wepwawet, as one who prepares and protects passage during the procession, is evident not only in his name, but is also made explicit in the circumstantial clause, *wpi.n=f w3.wt m [hft.yw=f]*.²⁵² It is interesting that in this account, the restoration of the statue occurs after the slaughtering of the god's enemies and the presentation of offerings to him described in the previous section, in contrast with the stela of Iykhernofret, in which the procession and these events take place after the restoration.²⁵³ The continued use of the narrative construction *ḥꜥ.n* leaves little room for doubt regarding the order of events.

This inscription also gives a rare insight into the construction of cult statues and temple ornaments, indicating that such work was fashioned from metal and adorned with semi-precious stones.²⁵⁴ The use of these precious materials made cult objects the ideal targets for reuse, and as such, few have survived, which only increases the value of inscriptions such as this.²⁵⁵ The plural old perfectives *msi(.w)* and *shkr(.w)* could conceivably refer to either the altars alone, or to the altars as well as the cult statues of Osiris and the Ennead. The latter is preferred here.

²⁵¹ Hart, *Gods and Goddesses*, pp.162, 222-223.

²⁵² This protective function of Wepwawet, particularly towards Osiris as part of this festival, is also evident in his association with "Horus the fighter," see: E. Graefe, 'Upuaut,' in *LÄ VI*, p.863.

²⁵³ Anthes, 'Osirisfest in Abydos,' p.40.

²⁵⁴ D. Lorton, 'the Theology of Cult Statues in Ancient Egypt,' in M.B. Dick, (ed.), *Born in Heaven, Made on Earth, the making of the cult image in the ancient Near East*, (Indianna, 1999), p.126.

²⁵⁵ Lorton, 'Theology of Cult Statues,' p.126; Robins, 'Cult Statues,' p.4; Robins identifies two potential surviving cult statues, both of the god Amun, one made of gold, the other of silver and gold, but acknowledges the possibility that these may simply be elaborate votive offerings, see: Robins, 'Cult Statues,' p.5. For these two statues, see: G. Robins, *Egyptian Statues*, (SE 26; Risborough, 2001), p.14 (fig. 6); E.R. Russmann, *Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum*, (London, 2001), pp172-173 (82).

2.14.2: the Role of the King



$is[t^{256} (i)r=f \dot{h}m=f] \underline{ds}=f <\dot{h}r> \dot{h}rp^{257} k3.t=sn [m \dot{h}d]^{258} nbw [\dot{h}mt] \dot{h}m=f w3b(.w)$
 $m \text{ } ^c bw \text{ } n\dot{t}r \text{ } m [k3.t]=f n(.y) nb \text{ } imn.t \text{ } ist (i)r=f ir \text{ } sm3.t^{259} s\dot{s} wb3 | n(.y) [is] m3 sw$
 $k3.t [m \dot{h}w.t-n\dot{t}r \text{ } tn] [...] is[t (i)r=f ir] \dot{h}m=f [gmi]^{260} nn s\dot{s} \underline{d}[s=f] n-sp gmi st s\dot{s}$

²⁵⁶ Pieper and Helck give alternative restorations of the non-enclitic particle. Pieper gives *ist*, whilst Helck gives *ist*, see: pl.XXI. The former is used consistently in the following lines, so there seems little reason to doubt Pieper's restoration.

²⁵⁷ Helck restores the preposition, omitted by the scribe, to give the pseudo-verbal construction, see: pl.XXI. Alternatively, Anthes argues for interpreting as a participle, presumably the perfective, in a nominal sentence, see: Anthes, 'Osirisfest in Abydos,' p.23.

²⁵⁸ Pieper proposes the restoration *m ḥw.t-nbw* in this lacuna, Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.27; see also: pl.XXI. This reconstruction is also adopted by Blumenthal, in Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.132 (C 3.16). However, this does not seem to account for the full length of the damaged section, and so Helck's restoration has been followed here.

²⁵⁹ The amendment to give the title 'stolist' is by Helck, see: pl. XXI. Precisely why this title has a feminine ending remains unclear.

²⁶⁰ The extensive damage to this section of the text has prompted a number of differing restorations. Helck's restoration of a topicalised nominal subject followed by the perfective participle, has been adopted here. Pieper gives *ist (i)r=f gmi.n ḥm=f ds=f*, which is plausible, but does not account for the connection between this clause and the following; For both of these reconstructions, see: pl.XXII. Anthes gives the more dubious restoration *tsis gmi.n ḥm=f ds=f*, translated as "Spruche, den seine Majestät gefunden hat ... er selbst," in Anthes, 'Osirisfest in Abydos,' pp.17, 23.

*nb n.ty m-ht hm=f rdi.n ntr nn m ib=f m | sšt²⁶¹ [mi] Wsir [hnt.y-imn.tyw nb
3bdw]*

[Now his majesty] himself was overseeing their work [in silver], gold, and [copper]; his majesty being made pure through the purity of the god and through his [crafting] of the Lord of the West.²⁶² As for the stolist, scribes and servants of the [workshop] who saw him working [in this temple] [... ...] [As for] his majesty, [who found] this knowledge [himself], never had any scribe who was in the following of his majesty found it. That the god put this in his heart secretly was [like] Osiris, [foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos].

The reinforcing of the subject of the pseudo-verbal construction with *(i)r=f* highlights the supervisory role of the king in these works. Additionally, as in the previous section, the materials used in the construction are mentioned, specifically silver, gold and copper.²⁶³ The use of these materials is significant in that the bodies of the gods were thought to be made of silver and gold.²⁶⁴ Just as Neferhotep will create the statue of the god according to his “first state,” he will utilise materials “appropriate for a deity’s body.”²⁶⁵ In the following subordinate clause, the old perfective is used passively with the instrumental preposition *m* to express that the ritual purity of the king is the result of the renewed purity of the god’s statue, and his own actions, expressed through the infinitive with possessive suffix pronoun, in making it so. Unfortunately, the majority of the next sentence is lost, except for the topicalised nominal subjects which are qualified

²⁶¹ Again, several alternative restorations of this phrase have been proposed: Pieper suggests *m ib n(.y) hr.(y)w sšt*, although there is no trace of *hr.(y)w*, nor any space into which it could be placed, see: pl.XXII. Anthes, alternatively, reads the quail chick as the Horus bird, giving *m ib n(.y) Hr.w*, in Anthes, ‘Osirisfest in Abydos,’ p.23. Helck however, replaces the genitive with the third masculine singular suffix pronoun, and the quail chick with the owl, to give the preposition *m*, see: pl.XXII.

²⁶² A parallel of the phrase *w3b(.w) m bw ntr* is found in the Konosso Stela of Tuthmosis IV, see: *Konossostele Tuthmosis IV*, 2-3, in Urk. IV, p.1545 (487); *Felsstele Thutmosis’ IV., Konosso*, 2-3 (trans. Hofmann,) pp.269, 271.

²⁶³ Note the similarity in materials between this inscription and that of Iykhernofret, see *Iykhernofret*, 12-15 (trans. W.K. Simpson), in Simpson, *Literature*, pp.426-427.



²⁶⁴ Robins, ‘Cult Statues,’ p.6; Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, p.134.


²⁶⁵ Robins, ‘Cult Statues,’ p.6; see also line 4, in §2.5.1.

²⁶⁸ For differing restorations, see: pl.XXIII. Pieper gives *iw shr* as a passive, see: Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.27; Pieper's interpretation is followed in Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.127 (C 2.30).

[*n.w dw3.t*] *sb3.w n.w sh.t Brw* [*3w*] *ib=f hr 3b.wt=k tp-tr.w*²⁷² <*m hrw.w*> *n.w pri.w ntr nb m w3g m Dhwt*²⁷³ | *hn.ty rnp.wt=k im*²⁷⁴

Existing was decreed for him in the egg. He has driven back those who have rebelled against your majesty, he having been praised day and night.²⁷⁵ He has grasped the opponents of your ship, he pacifying the ones who have rebelled in Ra-Pekher.²⁷⁶ <He has> known the gateways [of the netherworld]²⁷⁷ and the doors of the fields of Iaru, he being [joyful] (lit. his heart being wide) because of

²⁶⁹ Mariette clearly records here P3 , which Helck unnecessarily amends to P1 , see: pl.XXIII. Hofmann follows Helck, see: *Stela Neferhotep*, 22 (trans. Hofmann), *Königsnovelle*, p.87. For *wi3*, see: Jones, *Nautical Titles*, p.241.

²⁷⁰ In this instance, Helck follows Mariette, giving *sgr*, whilst Pieper has amended Mariette to give *sgrh*, see: pl.XXIII. In this study, the interpretation of Pieper has been adopted due to the presence of the D41  determinative, which is known to be the determinative for *sgrh*, but not for *sgr*. Blumenthal disputes this reading, arguing instead for a reading of *shr*, presumably based on the parallels in lines 18 and 22, see: Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.126 (C 2.26); and also: pls. XIX, XXIII. Blumenthal's suggestion is adopted in Anthes, 'Osirisfest in Abydos,' p.24.

²⁷¹ The omitted *.n* ending and pronominal subject of the present perfect has been restored here by Helck. Pieper alternatively restores *iw[=f] rh*. However, given the use of the complex present perfect in the previous section, Helck's parallel here seems likely, see: pl.XXIV.

²⁷² This term is traditionally translated as "calendrical festivals," see: *Wb*, V, p.270; and *FCD*, p.298. Of it, Gardiner says, "the exact significance of the element *tp* in the compound *tp-trw* still presents a puzzle." in A. Gardiner, 'Tuthmosis III Returns Thanks to Amun,' *JEA* 38, (1952), p.21.

²⁷³ Following *Dhwt*, Pieper restores the preposition *m*, whilst Helck favours the sun-disk as a determinative for *Dhwt*, see: pl.XXIV.

²⁷⁴ Pieper reads this as *iw*, attached to the following clause, see: pl.XXV. However, as *iw s3=k mnh* cannot readily be understood as an independent clause and as Mariette's *im* is perfectly plausible, this amendment seems unnecessary.

²⁷⁵ This translation is based upon Helck's reconstruction, which omits the *t* following *dw3.w*, to give the perfective passive, see: pl.XXIII.

²⁷⁶ The location of Ra-Pekher has been a matter of some debate. Nowadays, it is most frequently identified with Umm el-Qaab, see: Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.29; *HGW*, p.1357. Leahy argues persuasively for this in Leahy, *JEA* 75, pp.57-59; and A. Leahy, 'the Date of Louvre A.93,' *GM* 70, (1984), pp.48-49. For the opposing argument, see: E. Chassinat, *Le Mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak*, (Cairo, 1966), pp.254-260; and B. Gessler-Lohr, 'Die Heiligen Seen Ägyptischer Tempel', (Hildesheim, 1983), pp.425-437.

²⁷⁷ This reading is tentatively proposed in Anthes, 'Osirisfest in Abydos,' p.20; the actual restoration is by Helck, see: pl.XXIV.

your offerings of the calendrical festivals: <on the day> of every god's going forth in the wag-festival and the Thoth-festival, an eternity of your years therein.

Following on from the name and titles of Osiris in the previous section, here begins a short passage of praises to Osiris. Firstly, the infinitive *wnn* acts as the object of the perfective passive *wḏ.w*, whilst the prepositional phrase *m swḥt* alludes to his primordial creation.²⁷⁸ Then come two complex present perfect expressions, with a further subordinate circumstantial clause, in which Osiris acts powerfully as the protector of the king. These protective actions which Osiris performs for the king bear a great similarity to those also performed by the king for Osiris during the festival.²⁷⁹ The perfective participle *sbi* is the object of both *shr.n=f* and *sgr=f*. The use of alliteration in these phrases highlights the lyrical quality of this hymn to Osiris.

The references to the 'gateways of the netherworld' and the 'doors of the fields of Iaru' recall the death of Osiris and his place as lord of the afterlife. The continued faithfulness of Neferhotep in providing offerings to the gods, and particularly Osiris, during various festivals is a theme of this section. The preposition *hr* establishes a correlation between the actions of the king, namely, his making of offerings, and its results, that Osiris is joyful, as indicated by the old perfective. Of the festivals mentioned however, no new information is gleaned from this text.²⁸⁰ In the final clause of this section, a tension exists between the idealised notion of the near-immortal, god-like king, and the reality of a mortal earthly ruler.

²⁷⁸ Translated passively, following Simpson, see: *Neferhotep Stela*, 22 (trans. Simpson), in Simpson, *Literature*, p.342.

²⁷⁹ see §2.13.

²⁸⁰ Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.30.

2.16: In Praise of the King



$s3=k$ $mn\dot{h}$ $n\text{-}wn.t$ $\dot{h}r\text{-}\dot{h}w=f$ $m\dot{i}$ $\dot{H}r.w$ $i\dot{w}$ [nd^{281} $s3$] pn $it[=f$ $mst\dot{w}]=k$ $sdf3y$
 $wd\dot{h}w.w=k$ $sn\dot{d}m$ sty $\dot{h}w.t\text{-}ntr=k$ $k[f].w$ [$s.t$] $wr.t$ [$wb3$]. w $k3r$ 3 $n(.y)$ msi
 $sw[\text{'}\dot{h}\text{'}]=f$ m $nsw.t^{282}$ $\dot{h}r$ $\text{'}\dot{h}\text{'}w$ $n\dot{h}\dot{h}$ $n(.y)$ tp [$t3$ $rw\dot{d}$]= f $m\dot{i}$ $p.t$ $\dot{d}d=f$ $m\dot{i}$ $t3$ $ski=f^{283}$
 $n\dot{h}\dot{h}$ $m\dot{i}$ $N\dot{h}b\text{-}k3.w$ im [wn] f | ib $n(.y)$ $w3b.w=k$ $\dot{h}nk=sn$ n $\dot{h}n.tyw=f$ [$3w$ ib $n(.y)$]

²⁸¹ The reconstruction of this lacuna is somewhat dubious. Pieper proposes the reading ntr nfr pn , although concedes that he cannot identify any verb to complete the sentence, in Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.31. It is difficult to reconcile Helck's reconstruction with the traces left by Mariette, though the parallel in line 8 gives it sufficient weight to be adopted here, see: pls.IX, XXV

²⁸² The reconstruction of this initial phrase presents some difficulties. Pieper, following most closely the signs Mariette has given, reads $\dot{d}i.n$ $\dot{s}hm=f$ m $nsw.t$, interpreting the standing figure A21 \dot{A} as an alternative reading for statue, literally, an image of power, in Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.31. Blumenthal follows Pieper, in Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.136 (C 5.6). There are several problems with this interpretation, however; the first being that this sign is unknown as a rendering of $\dot{s}hm$, and secondly, that $\dot{s}hm$ itself is an adjective and unlikely to be a substitute reading for a physical object. Helck amends $\dot{d}i.n$ to $\text{'}\dot{h}\text{'}$, see: pl.XXVI; and this has been well accepted, although modern commentators have still struggled to reconcile the standing figure sign. Hofmann interprets this as $sr=f$, translated as "Sein Herrscher war König..." in *Stela Neferhotep*, 25 (trans. Hofmann), *Königsnovelle*, pp.87, 92. Simpson, alternatively, reads this sign as the determinative for $\text{'}\dot{h}\text{'}$, in *Neferhotep Stela*, 24 (trans. Simpson), in Simpson, *Literature*, p.343.

²⁸³ Regarding this verb, Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.96 (B 6.9), says "in Verbindung mit Zeitausdrücken hier erstmals belegt."

*dw3.w=k iri.w hnw.w n twt.w=f]*²⁸⁴ *nsw.t bi.ty H^ci-shm-R^c.w [...]* *s3 R^c.w Nfr-ḥtp*
ḥnh d.t n nhḥ msi.n mw.t-nsw.t Kmi m3^c.t ḥrw

Your effective son, there is none beside him like Horus. This [son protects his] father. Your [offspring], who endows your offering tables and who makes sweet the smell of your temple. Uncover the great [place. Open] the great shrine of the one who made him.²⁸⁵

It is possessing a lifetime of eternity upon [the earth] that he [stands] as king, that he might prosper like the heavens and be stable like the earth, and that he might spend an eternity like Nehebkau therein; the hearts of your priests [are delighted] when they make offerings to his statues; [the hearts of your adorants are wide (i.e. joyful), praises having been made to his images.]

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khai-sekhem-ra, Son of Ra, Neferhotep, living forever and ever, whom the Mother of the King, Kemi, true of voice, bore.

Although these lines give praise to the king, they are addressed to Osiris and, as such, form part of the hymn to Osiris. It is unsurprising then, that the relationship between god and king is a key theme of this section. Firstly, the topicalised expression *s3=k mnḥ* clearly states their filial relationship, whilst the ‘uniqueness formula,’ *n-wn.t ḥr-ḥw=f mi Ḥr.w*, equates Neferhotep with Horus and unequivocally proclaims his sole suitability to fill the role of king.²⁸⁶ As discussed previously, the image of Neferhotep as the protector of his father, Osiris, here expressed by the complex aorist I, is a designation of Horus.²⁸⁷ As before, this expression is followed by epithets elucidating the ways in which Neferhotep has acted as a faithful son to Osiris, through the two

²⁸⁴ Nearly half of this line has been lost. The extensive reconstruction is by Helck, although there are scant traces in Mariette from which to base it, see: pl.XXVII.

²⁸⁵ Hofmann, here, employs the infinitive, see: *Stela Neferhotep*, 24-25, (trans. Hofmann), *Königsnovelle*, p.92; This, however, does not account for the presence of plural strokes. Interpreting these as imperatives, on the other hand, does; see: *Neferhotep Stela*, 24-25 (trans. W.K. Simpson), in Simpson, *Literature*, p.343.

²⁸⁶ Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.97 (B 6.12); For the compound preposition, see, GardGr, p.133, §178; for parallels, see: A.M. Blackman, ‘the Pharaoh’s Placenta and the Moon-God Khons,’ *JEA* 3, (1916), pp.241-243.

²⁸⁷ Derchain, and Derchain-Urtel, *GM* 233, pp.5-9; Griffiths, *JEA* 37, pp.32-36.

imperfective participles.²⁸⁸ The function and audience of the following imperatives is unclear.

In the emphatic construction, the emphasis on the following prepositional phrase *hr ḥꜥ.w nḥḥ* highlights the hyperbolic lifespan of the king. Although the Egyptians were acutely aware of the limits of human existence, an extended lifespan was considered symbolic of excellence.²⁸⁹ In this way, this emphatic construction and subsequent subjunctives, wishing him eternal life in the manner of the cosmos and the gods, metaphorically demonstrate the merit of Neferhotep's kingship.

Regarding *hn.tyw=f* and *twt.w=f*, the third person masculine singular suffix pronoun must refer to Neferhotep, although the statues referred to are those made of Osiris, by Neferhotep, and not statues of Neferhotep himself. These clauses express the satisfaction of the priesthood with the renewal of the statues.²⁹⁰

This desire for life eternal is one that finds expression several times in this passage, both in the emphatic construction and subsequent subjunctive clauses, as well as in the expression *d.t n nḥḥ* following the abbreviated titulary. The dual concepts of *d.t* and *nḥḥ* convey an understanding of a totality of time eternal, as different but complementary ideas.²⁹¹ These praises of the king conclude with his throne and birth names where again, the mother of the king appears in conjunction with the 'Son of Ra' title.²⁹² This passage as a whole employs rhetorical praise, and in doing so, deftly avoids self-laudatory praise.²⁹³

²⁸⁸ See also: Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.124 (C 2.18).

²⁸⁹ P.A. Bochi, 'Time in the Art of Ancient Egypt: from Ideological Concept to Visual Construct,' *KronoScope* 3, (2003), p.52; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books*, p.xviii.

²⁹⁰ Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, pp.137-138 (C 5.10)

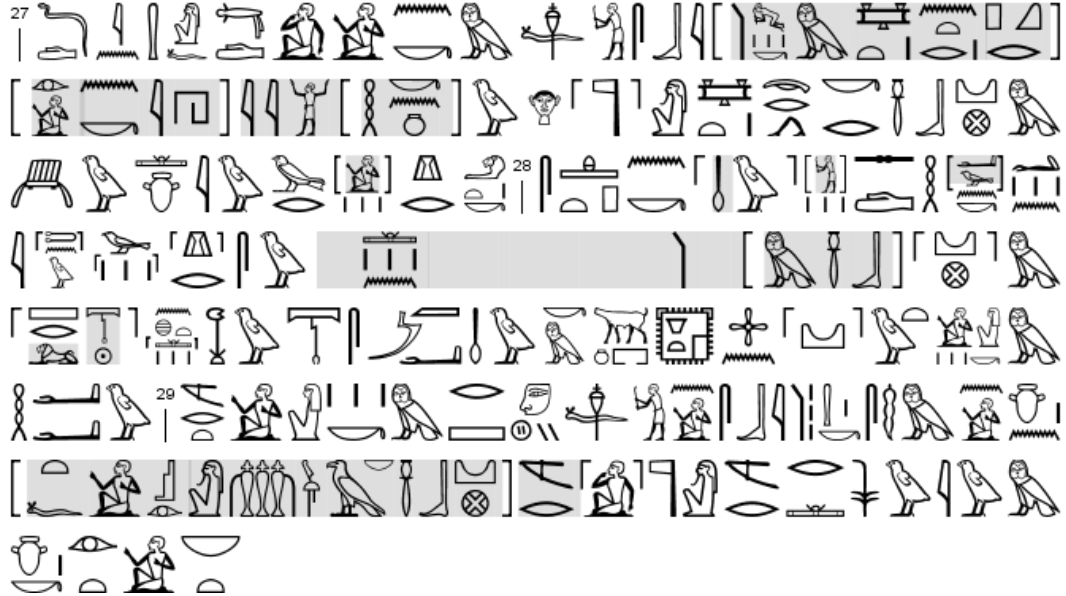
²⁹¹ Precisely what each term means, however, is still debated – past and future; time and space; dynamic and static; cyclical and lineal; life and the afterlife; all have been put forward. For a summary of the scholarship, and the complexity of the terms, see E. Hornung, (trans. E. Bredeck), *Idea into Image: Essays on Ancient Egyptian Thought*, (Princeton, 1992), pp.65-69.

²⁹² Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.149 (D 1.6)

²⁹³ Eyre, 'the Semna Stelae,' pp.142-143.

2.17: the Fourth Speech of the King

2.17.1: The Address to Osiris, Part 1







| *dd.in ḥm=f šdi=i n=k m ḥsf sbi.[w=k²⁹⁴ m w3.t n.t R3-pkr iri=i n=k ih](h)y*
[hknw]²⁹⁵ ḥr w3.t-ntr²⁹⁶ spr=k r 3bdw m 3w-ib iw wr.w²⁹⁷ hr-ḥ3.t=k | shtp(.w)
n=k hrw.(y)w sdḥ(.w) n=k rmn.w n(.w) itnw.w [...][m 3bdw] mšrw n(.y) iḥ.t-
h3wy sm3^c-hrw=k m ḥnw wsh.t wnd.wt²⁹⁸ m ḥ^cw | mr.wt=k m ršrš ḥsf.n=i

²⁹⁴ The suffix pronoun here is somewhat disputable. Mariette quite clearly records traces of the third person masculine singular suffix pronoun, which Pieper follows in his transcription. Helck, however, restores the expected second person as the king here is addressing Osiris directly; see pl.XXVIII.

²⁹⁵ This is another substantial reconstruction by Helck, when virtually the entirety of this phrase is given as a lacuna in Mariette, see pl.XXVIII.

²⁹⁶ The amendment is by Pieper, see pl. XXVIII.

²⁹⁷ Anthes proposes the amendment  *twr.w*, whilst Pieper and Helck simply omit the first  given by Mariette, to read *wr.w*. See pl.XXVIII.

²⁹⁸ This word is rendered: *k3wt.y* in Mariette, Pieper and Helck, see pl.XXIX. However, *wn* is rarely written with  in the Middle Kingdom, and the arms of the  are unusually proportioned in Mariette's drawing, it has been suggested to me that this word should be amended to *wnd.wt*, translated as 'subjects,' according to *Wb*, I, p.326; *FCD*, p.63.

*sbi.w*²⁹⁹ *hm=k sndm.n=i ib n(.y) [it=i Wsir hnt(.y)-imn.tyw nb 3bdw]*³⁰⁰ *mri ntr mrr sw iw m ib=k iri.t=i nb.t*

Then his majesty said, “I will recite for you whilst driving away [your enemies on the road to Ra-Pekher. I will make rejoicing] and [praises] for you upon the road of the god. When you arrive at Abydos in joy; the great ones shall be before you, the enemies having been pacified for you, and the arms of the opponents being brought low for you [...] [in Abydos], (on) the evening of the evening of ceremonies;³⁰¹ you will be justified inside the *wsht*-hall, whilst your workers will exalt and your servants will rejoice, I having driven back the opponents of your majesty and made sweet the heart of [my father, Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos]; the god loves the one who loves him. In your heart is all that I will do;”

Intriguingly, the return procession of the renewed statue from the workshop to the temple is not recounted in this inscription. Instead, this fourth speech of the king describes the procession in the future tense.³⁰² The use of the *m* with infinitive construction indicates that this action is an accompanying circumstance, concurrent with the main action expressed in by the future prospective *sbi.w*. In this way, the ‘driving off’ of the gods enemies is understood to be performed in a ritual manner through this ‘reciting.’³⁰³ The phrase *spr=k r 3bdw m 3w-ib* has been interpreted as a topicalised circumstantial clause of the extended independent adverbial non-verbal sentence *iw*

²⁹⁹ Here, Anthes argues that the preposition *hr* ought to be restored, reading *sbi.w* as a participle, see: Anthes, ‘Osirisfest in Abydos,’ p.24.

³⁰⁰ This substantial restoration is by Helck, see pl.XXX; although Pieper first makes the suggestion, in Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.32.

³⁰¹ Typically, this term is translated ‘night-offerings,’ see: *FCD*, p.182. However, it has been argued that the word may also refer to ceremonies, in line with its usage in the title *nb iri.t ih.t*, ‘lord of ritual,’ see: B. Ockinga, “A Royal Ritual Text in TT 233” in M. Collier, and S. Snape, (eds.), *Festschrift for Kenneth A. Kitchen*, (Liverpool, 2011), p.348 n.12.

³⁰² *Neferhotep Stela*, 27 (trans. Simpson), in Simpson, *Literature*, p.343.

³⁰³ Of this, Bleeker says, “a religious pageant was staged at these celebrations, which due to the dignified manner in which the pharaoh and officiating priests played their parts and to the enthusiasm and elation of the spectators, came to have a certain dramatic intensity,” in Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals* p.43. For *šdi* as the reading aloud of ritual texts, see: Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.134 (C 4.4).

wr.w hr-ḥ3.t=k, indicating the circumstances in which the god will arrive in Abydos; namely, being greeted by the ‘great ones’³⁰⁴ and his enemies having already been defeated.³⁰⁵ The end of this sentence is badly damaged, with up to an entire clause having been lost. The signs *hr sw* appear to be visible, but their meaning is elusive. Following the lacuna, the future causative *sm3^c-hrw* is used to express the ceremonial justification of the god in the *wsh.t* hall.³⁰⁶ The auxiliary *wnn* introduces the two subordinate pseudo-verbal constructions, converting them to the future tense. In each, the preposition *m* with infinitive is used to indicate accompanying circumstances. In contrast, the subsequent circumstantial *sdm.n=f* constructions demonstrate the actions that the king has already performed for Osiris.

The phrase *mri ntr mrr sw* presents a rare and interesting attestation of reciprocal love between god and king.³⁰⁷ Prior to the growth of personal piety in the later New Kingdom, *mri* was understood to express a hierarchical relationship, with the active person, the god, as superior to the passive human recipient.³⁰⁸ Yet here, the king is implicitly understood as the subject of the imperfective participle *mrr*, giving him an equally active role as the god, presumably Osiris, who is the subject of the circumstantial *mri*.³⁰⁹

There are several intriguing features of the final sentence *iw m ib=k iri.t=i nb.t*. All the elements of an adverbial non-verbal sentence are present. It is introduced by the particle *iw*, making it extended and independent, with the feminine relative form as subject and

³⁰⁴ The identity of these ‘great ones’ has been a matter of some debate. Pieper understands these to mean the Ennead, see: Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.33; Alternatively, Simpson translates this as ‘the magistrates,’ in *Neferhotep Stela, 27* (trans. Simpson), in Simpson, *Literature*, p.343. Here, the generic ‘great ones’ has been used as the exact meaning is uncertain, following *Stela Neferhotep, 27* (trans. Hofmann), *Königsnovelle*, p.92,

³⁰⁵ *hsf* is used here in a ritual sense, referring back to the king’s performance of the Osiris festival in which the enemies of the god were symbolically slaughtered, see: line 18 in §2.13; Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.125 (C 2.22).

³⁰⁶ see: §2.8.1, pp.40-41.

³⁰⁷ Simpson, ‘Amor Dei,’ p.498.

³⁰⁸ Simpson, ‘Amor Dei,’ p.494; Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, pp.70-71 (B 1.21).

³⁰⁹ Of this, Simpson says, “there is perhaps the implication that the god loves only the one who loves him.” Simpson, ‘Amor Dei,’ p.498.

a prepositional phrase as predicate. Yet the predicate precedes the subject.³¹⁰ Additionally, the aorist or even perfective relative form would be expected here, but the lack of gemination or perfect .n ending leaves no option but to read this as the prospective relative form.³¹¹

2.17.2: The Address to Osiris, Part 2



smnh=k mnw.w=i m ḥw.t-ntr=k di=k wnn=i m | šms.wt ḥm=k di=k rn=i m r³
 n(.y) mr.wt=k srwd=k³¹² ʿwy=i [m ḥ]knw imi rdi n=i ʿwy ḥm.w-ntr m pri.t ḥr
 ḥ3.t ʿ3.t sh3=sn | {n}³¹³ wi m sh3(.w) nfr nrw=sn dm.w rn=i ḥʿi=sn m rdi.t ʿnh=i
 mri=sn rdi.t n=i ḥknw m tp³¹⁴ tr.w | r³-pr.w pn m swd it n s3=f iw=f r wʿb ntr pn
 i33.yt=f n(.y) [i]3w.t³¹⁵ [s3w] ih.wt iwʿ.t=f ih mnḥ=f ḥr ns.t=f

³¹⁰ Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.91 (B 5.1).

³¹¹ Pieper, Hofmann and Simpson all translate this as the imperfective, see: Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.34; *Stela Neferhotep*, 29 (trans. Hofmann), *Königsnovelle*, p.92; *Neferhotep Stela*, 29 (trans. Simpson), in Simpson, *Literature*, p.343.

³¹² Mariette gives this as the present perfect, which Pieper follows. Helck, however, amends this to the *sdm=f* by replacing the .n ending with the book-roll determinative to agree, see pl.XXXI.

³¹³ The preposition is superfluous as the dependent pronoun is the direct object of the verb. Helck removes it in his transcription, here it has been included but marked as scribal error. See pl.XXXII.

³¹⁴ *tp* is omitted by Helck in his transcription.

³¹⁵ There is some debate surrounding the reading of this passage. Pieper gives the future verbal adjective *i3m.ty=fy* before restoring *n twt=i* as the indirect object, translated as ‘Als ein Priester wird dienen diesem

“you make my monuments effective in your temples, you cause that I might be in the following of your majesty, you put my name in the mouth of your servants,³¹⁶ you cause my two arms to flourish [through] praise.³¹⁷ Cause that the two arms of the priests might give to me at the coming forth before the great altar, that they might recall me with beautiful memories, that they might fear the ones who proclaim my name,³¹⁸ that they may rejoice in causing that I might live, and that they might delight in giving praise to me during the seasons of this temple when a father hands over to his son. He will be a *w^cb*-priest of this god, his rod of old age,³¹⁹ [guarding] the things of his inheritance. May he be firm upon his throne.”

Following the sentence *iw m ib=k iri.t=i nb.t* in the previous section, are a series of circumstantial clauses which express the various ways in which Osiris has shown favour to Neferhotep.³²⁰ The monuments referred to must naturally be the statues that are the subject of this inscription.³²¹ Additionally, Pieper claims that the provision that the king “might be in the following of your majesty” allows for a statue of the king to

Gott wer meiner Statue Opfer darbringt,’ see: Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, pp.36-37; see also pl.XXXIII. However, the verb *ibm*, meaning ‘to offer’ is not attested in the Wörterbuch. Faulkner does give this word, but only as attested in this stela, see: *FCD*, p.9. Blumenthal adopts this restoration, see: Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.135 (C 5.2).

³¹⁶ *di=k rn=i m r3 n.y mr.wt=k* is present in both the transcriptions of Mariette and Pieper, but omitted in Helck, see pl.XXXI.

³¹⁷ According to *FCD*, p.236, this can also be understood as ‘to fulfil a contract,’ with *ṣ.wy* understood as a metaphor for record or contract. Simpson acknowledges both possibilities in his translation, see: *Neferhotep Stela*, 29 (trans. W.K. Simpson), in Simpson, *Literature*, p.343.

³¹⁸ Helck restores the plural imperfective participle *dm.w*, see pl.XXXII. Alternatively, Blumenthal suggests the restoration *nrw=sn m sh3 rn=i*, on the basis of a parallel in the Victory Stela of Piya, line 15, see: Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.140 (C 6.8); For the Victory Stela, see: Urk. III, p.9. Pieper however, gives a further alternative, *swr*, translated as ‘to promote,’ see: Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, pp.34-35.

³¹⁹ The phrase *i33.yt=f n(y) i3w.t* seems to be an alliterative variation on *mdw-ntr*, the staff of old age, which designates the helper and heir of his father, see: T.S. El-Din, ‘the Title “*mdw-j3wj*” “the Staff of Old Age,” *DE* 37, (1997), p.64. This variant, however, is otherwise unattested.

³²⁰ *Neferhotep Stela*, 29-30 (trans. W.K. Simpson), in Simpson, *Literature*, p.343; *Stela Neferhotep*, 29-30 (trans. Hofmann), *Königsnovelle*, p.92

³²¹ Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.34.

accompany that of the god.³²² Furthermore, it seems likely that placing his name in the mouth of the servants is an allusion to the songs of praise sung by the priests, and in this context, particularly the priests of Osiris.³²³

The imperative *imi* is used to indirectly exhort the priesthood of Osiris to support Neferhotep. The expected direct object of the subjunctive *rdi* is absent. All that follows *imi* is effectively a single long sentence, with multiple subjunctives in purpose clauses. The third person plural subjects of these subjunctives are, of course, the priests. Perhaps these clauses ought to be interpreted as the implied objects of *rdi*, detailing precisely what the priests shall ‘give’ to the king. The verb *sh3* is used here both with a present sense, that the king may constantly be on their minds, but also that Neferhotep will live eternally through the memory of his good deeds.³²⁴ This is reinforced in the next phrase, where the priests are tasked with ensuring that he might live, presumably beyond death.³²⁵ This continuous aspect is again highlighted by the passage of time in the final clause. There are several ways to interpret “the seasons of this temple when a father hands over to his son.” Firstly, and perhaps most obviously, it could suggest a hereditary priesthood.³²⁶ Secondly, the father and son could designate a king and his successor, referring either to Neferhotep as the successor of Osiris, or alternatively, to Neferhotep and his eventual successor. The context suggests either the first or last option. This son is also the subject of the following complex future. The simplest explanation for this passage is that the son of the priest will become the priest in his father’s stead. However, the fact that this passage also discusses the provisions for Neferhotep to be remembered and praised after his death lends support to the latter theory. In addition, this would account for the final subjunctive “May he be firm upon his throne,” wherein the masculine third person suffix pronoun could refer to

³²² Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.35.

³²³ Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.136 (C 5.7).

³²⁴ M.H. Wiener, and J.P. Allen, ‘Separate Lives: the Ahmose Tempest Stela and the Thera Eruption,’ *JNES* 57.1, (1998), p.15; Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.140 (C 6.8).

³²⁵ Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.137 (C 5.8), suggests that *rdi nh* here has ritual, rather than literal, meaning.

³²⁶ Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.137 (C 5.8).

Neferhotep's successor.³²⁷ Any other interpretation of this final clause requires Neferhotep to be speaking of himself, as the one upon the throne, in third person.³²⁸

2.17.3: Instructions to the People



*sdm.w nn whm.w wd=i i[w] grt iri.t | mnw.w m srwd p3.wt ntr.w m=tn³²⁹ wi hr
rdi.t rh[=tn rdi](.w)=i hft-hr=tn rs-tp tn hr hw.t-ntr dgi.w m-di mnw.w iri.n=i
di=i shr nhh hft ib=i hhy=i 3h.w n m-hr m rdi.t sp pn m ib=tn w3i r hpr m hnw st
tn iri.n st ntr n ib=i | r smnh mnw.w=i m hw.t-ntr=f r srwd htm.w=i m pr.w=f
mri hm=f iri.tn=i n=f hci sw m š3.tn=i iri.t rdi.ntw n=f m3^c hrw*

“Hear this, repeat that which I decree.³³⁰ Now, the making of monuments perpetuates the gods’ offerings.³³¹ Behold, I am causing that [you] might know

³²⁷ Hofmann interprets this phrase as an interrogative, see: *Stela Neferhotep*, 32 (trans. Hofmann), *Königsnovelle*, p.92. However, the non-enclitic particle *ih* is most commonly used to introduce wishes in the form of the subjunctive, see: Ockinga, *Concise Grammar*, §37.

³²⁸ Perhaps the best alternative explanation for this discontinuity is simply scribal error.

³²⁹ *m=tn* here is the presentative: the preposition *m* with second person plural suffix pronoun. The scribe however, seems to have confused this with the noun *mtn*, meaning road, hence the addition of the unnecessary determinative, see: Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.38.

³³⁰ According to Blumenthal, *wd(.t)* is synonymous with *wd(.t)-mdw* in the Middle Kingdom, and “sind nicht in jedem Fall von den finite oder nominalen Formen des Verbums zu unterscheiden,” see: Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.399 (G 8.32).

³³¹ A type of sacrificial cake, according to *Wb*, I. p.495; See also Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.125 (C 2.21).

that I [have been put] before you. Be vigilant over the temple. Look upon the monuments which I have made, I putting the plan of eternity at the front of my heart, I seeking out what is beneficial for the future through placing this matter in your heart.³³² That which was far from happening inside this place, the god has done it because of my desire to make my monuments effective in his temple and to fulfil my contracts in his house;³³³ his majesty loves that which I have done for him, he rejoicing in that which I have ordained the doing of, justification having been given to him.”

In this section of the speech, the king no longer addresses Osiris, but offers instructions to the people, beginning with a simple exhortation to repeat this decree, *wḥm* being used here in the sense of to disseminate this decree generally amongst the population.³³⁴ In the following sentence, the infinitive *iri.t* and noun *mnw.w*, in a direct genitive construction, stand as the nominal subject of the pseudo-verbal construction with the progressive *m srwd* as predicate, which establishes a clear correlation between the act of building monuments and the abundance of offerings. Another pseudo-verbal construction follows, introduced by the presentative *m=tn*, likely addressing the wider (literate) Egyptian populace. The first person singular dependent pronoun is the subject, with the predicate expressed again by the preposition *hr* with *rdi.t*. The subjunctive *rh* is the object of the infinitive *rdi.t*, whilst the perfective passive *rdi(.w)* is the object of the subjunctive in turn. Following this, imperatives urging care for the temple and the monuments within it are issued.³³⁵ The feminine perfective relative forms *iri.tn=i* and *š3.tn=i* likely refer to the creation of these monuments. The following circumstantial clauses intimate that the renewal of the statue of Osiris was Neferhotep's first priority, and that it will prove beneficial now and into the future.³³⁶

³³² Here, it should be recalled that the heart was considered like the mind, as the centre of knowing and understanding in the body, see: Parkinson, *the Dream and the Knot*, p.63

³³³ Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.131 (C 3.12).

³³⁴ Pieper interprets this as a specific command to repeat the song of the king before the statue of Osiris, see: Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.37.

³³⁵ Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.131-132 (C 3.13).

³³⁶ Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.142 (C 6.11)

The phrase *w3i r hpr* – in which *w3i* is the perfective participle, the preposition *r* is used directionally, and *hpr* is the infinitive – is used as a metaphor for an unlikely event.³³⁷ Together, this phrase functions as the topicalised object of the following *iri.n*, resumed by the dependent pronoun *st*. This unlikely event seems also to refer to the renewal of the statue of Osiris that is the major theme of this inscription. The renewal of the statue, then, was unlikely to happen, but because of the desire of the king to serve Osiris through the creation of monuments, Osiris has enabled it. The following circumstantial clauses express the joyful state of Osiris as a result of these actions. Again, both perfective relative forms, *iri.tn=i* and *š3.tn=i*, refer to the renewal of this statue by Neferhotep. The use of the passive present perfect in the final phrase, *rdi.ntw n=f m3^c hrw* alludes to the vindication of Osiris in the mysteries by the king.³³⁸

2.17.4: Threat Formulae





*ink s3=f nd.ty=f rdi=f n=i iw^c.t n(.y) tp(.y)-t3 [ink] nsw.t 3 ph.ty mnḥ wd.t-mdw
nn ḥḥ rk.ty=fy³³⁹ wi nn tpr itnw.w=i³⁴⁰ t3w nn rn=f m-m ḥḥ.w nḥb k3=f hnt.y*

³³⁷ See also: J.F. Quack, 'Ein altägyptisches Sprachtabu,' *LingAeg* 3 (1993), p.64.

³³⁸ Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.79 (B 3.8).

³³⁹ The earliest use of this word is describing a defensive action, although it is used to describe the actions of enemies towards the king from the Middle Kingdom, see: Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.252 (F 5.7).



³⁴⁰ Mariete and Pieper give the determinative for this word as A13 , whilst Helck, seemingly unnecessarily, amends to A14, , instead, see: pl.XXIX. According to the Wörterbuch, A13 is not used

sr.w iw=f r rw.ty n ntr pn [m itnw].ty=fy wd.t hm=i tm.t(y)=sn iri(.w) hft wd pn
 n(.y) hm=i tm.t(y)=sn s^crw(.w) wi n ntr pn špsy tm.t(y)=sn im3(.w)³⁴¹ n iri.tn=i
 m htp.w-ntr=f [tm.t(y)=sn] rdi(.w) n=i hknw | m h3b nb n(.y) r3-pr.w pn m-[hnw]
 hw.t-ntr mi kd=s n.t r3-pr.w pn i3w.t nb.t n.t 3bdw

“I am his son, his protector, he gives to me the inheritance of the one who is upon the earth.”³⁴² I am the king, great of strength, effective of command. The one who will defy me will not live. My opponent will not breathe air. His name will not be amongst the living. His Ka will be bound before the nobles.³⁴³ He will be removed from this god; [namely,] those who will [oppose] that which my majesty decrees, those who will not act in accordance with this decree of my

as a determinative for this word prior to the Eighteenth Dynasty, and so it would appear that this text is an early example of this writing. Likewise, the amended determinative of Helck is not attested until the graeco-roman period, see: *Wb* I, p.145; and M. Stracmans, ‘Les Lignes 36-38 de la Grande Inscription du roi Neferhotep de la XIIIe dynastie’ *CdÉ* 25, (1950), p.28. Additionally, in the Middle Kingdom, this word is used to describe individuals who are insubordinate to authority, see: Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.252 (F 5.7).

³⁴¹ The interpretation of this word has been difficult. Here, it has been read as *im3*, following the translation of Simpson, see: *Neferhotep Stela*, 38 (trans. Simpson) in Simpson, *Literature*, p.344; see also: *Wb* I, p.79. Alternatively, Pieper reads this as *i3m*, based on a supposed parallel in line 30 that is likely an error in itself, see: Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.39; also: *FCD*, p.9; Blumenthal and Hofmann both follow this interpretation of Pieper, see: Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.137 (C 5.9); and *Stela Neferhotep*, 38 (trans. Hofmann), *Königsnovelle*, p.88.

³⁴² The reading of this phrase has been somewhat contested. Pieper, following Mariette gives  but proposes a reading of *pr-is.wt*, see: Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.39; and pl.XXXVII. Blumenthal, following Pieper, reads “Er (Osiris) gibt mir das Erbe [seines(?)] Hauses,” see: Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.33 (A 3.10); Helck, however, amends the text to  see: pl.XXXVII. The reference to the inheritance of the earth recalls the previously mentioned inheritance of Geb in lines 5 and 9, see: §2.5.2 and §2.8.1 respectively.

³⁴³ The Wörterbuch offers two translations for *nḥb*: ‘würden verleihen,’ in *Wb* II, p.291; and ‘anschrren,’ in *Wb* II, p.293. The second option has been adopted as the context makes clear that this verb is intended as a punishment, see: Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.40; Stracmans, *CdÉ* 25, pp.28-29; Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, pp.252-253 (F 5.8). Furthermore, Pieper also suggests that the phrase *nḥb k3=f* has been deliberately constructed to reference the god Nehebkau, alluding to his role in the judgement of the dead, in Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, pp.40-41.

majesty, those will not cause me to rise to this noble god,³⁴⁴ those who will not be well-disposed to that which I have done with his divine offerings, (and) [those who will not] give praise to me during every festival of this temple [within] this house of god in its entirety of this temple and every office of Abydos.”

The noun *iwꜥ.t* is used here, as it has been throughout the text, to refer to the divine inheritance of the kingly office, from Geb to Osiris to Neferhotep as Horus.³⁴⁵ This clause is framed by two nominal non-verbal sentences, each formed with the first person independent pronoun and a nominal predicate. Although it cannot be known for certain, it seems highly likely that both these sentences are stressed subject examples, emphasising the status of Neferhotep as both Horus and king.³⁴⁶ The following epithet ꜥ3 *ph.ty* is the only explicit reference to the physical prowess of the king in this text.³⁴⁷

A series of five threats follow, each of which is constructed slightly differently. In the first, the stipulation is expressed through the future verbal adjective, whilst the injunction takes the form of the negative complex future.³⁴⁸ The use of the future verbal adjective introduces a conditional element, of “‘potential’ rather than ‘factive’ situations.”³⁴⁹ In the following two threats, the negative complex future and negated adverbial non-verbal sentence likewise promise death to any who oppose the king.³⁵⁰ These first three threats all indicate capital punishment, and are expressed through

³⁴⁴ Although this phrase is typically used to refer to the ascension of the king to the gods upon his death, here it likely refers to “Teilhaberschaft am Kult des Osiris,” see: Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.137 (C 5.9).

³⁴⁵ Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.33 (A 3.10-12).

³⁴⁶ See also: line 9, §2.8.2; Griffiths, *JEA*, 37, pp.32-36; Ockinga, *Concise Grammar*, §51.

³⁴⁷ This epithet is not commonly used of kings until the New Kingdom, although intriguingly, it is used of gods from the Middle Kingdom onwards, see: Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.217 (F 2.9). The second epithet, *mnḥ wd.t-mdw*, however, is commonly used for both gods and kings during the Middle Kingdom, see: Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.390 (G 8.5).

³⁴⁸ S.N. Morschauser, *Threat Formulae in Ancient Egypt*, (PhD Thesis, Johns Hopkins University; Baltimore, 1987) pp.7, 35.

³⁴⁹ Morschauser, *Threat Formulae*, p.7.

³⁵⁰ Morschauser, *Threat Formulae*, pp.35, 38-39; Morschauser acknowledges that there are difficulties in morphologically distinguishing the subjunctive from the prospective in these clauses, and that these threats can also be interpreted in an optative sense, Morschauser, *Threat Formulae*, pp.28.

negatives.³⁵¹ Conversely, the final two threats are affirmative, employing the future prospective and an adverbial non-verbal sentence respectively, and suggest ritual punishment.³⁵²

Following these threats, a list of those who will face the punishments described is introduced by the preposition *m*, all with the future verbal adjective. All but the first are negated by the negative verb *tm* with the negative complement, and expound against the failure to perform certain ritual actions such as making praises and offerings. Only the first future verbal adjective *itnw.ty=fy* alludes to active rebellion against the king.

2.17.5: Closing Remarks



*ist iri.n hm=i nn n(.y) mnw.w n it=i Wsir hnt(.y)-imn.tyw nb 3bdw | n ʕ3.t n(.t)
mrr=i sw r ntr.w nb.w rdi=f n=i isw hr nn n(.y) [mnw.w=i] ʕh m hh n.w rnp.wt
mtn.ywt iri=i m iri.tn=[f] m3ʕ.t pw hr ib n(.y) ntr*

“Now, my majesty has made these monuments for my father, Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos, because of the greatness of my loving him more than all the gods; he will give to me a reward because of these, my monuments: a lifetime with millions of years. The reward for my actions is in that which he has done. It is maat in the heart of the god.”

Here, in the closing lines of the inscription, Neferhotep states his motive for creating this statue of Osiris, with the preposition *n* here being used to express reasoning, whilst the following the genitive construction between the noun ʕ3.t and the nominal aorist *mrr*, together with the *r* of comparison conveys the magnitude of his love and devotion to Osiris. In the statement *mrr=i sw*, the first person suffix pronoun refers to the king, and

³⁵¹ See also: Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, p.252 (F 5.7).

³⁵² Morschauser, *Threat Formulae*, p.418

the dependent pronoun referring Osiris. This is, therefore, a rare example from the Middle Kingdom which places the king in the active role as the subject, with the god as the object of his love.³⁵³ More typically, Osiris takes the active role in rewarding Neferhotep, as the subject of the future prospective *rdi=f*, with the king understood as the indirect object in the dative.³⁵⁴ The reward for his actions, a hyperbolically long lifespan, stands in apposition. The inscription concludes with a bipartite *pw* sentence, the implied subject of which is understood to be the actions recounted in the stela. As a result of the renewal of the statue of Osiris, and the king's personal participation in the associated festival, maat has been maintained in the heart of the god.

³⁵³ Simpson, 'Amor Dei,' p.498; Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, pp.75-76 (B 2.12).

³⁵⁴ Blumenthal comments that *isw* is the "Termunis technicus für das Prinzip der Gegenseitigkeit zwischen Gott und König," see: Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*, pp.86-87 (B 4.20).

3: Kingship, Legitimacy and Authority in the Neferhotep Stela

3.1: Introduction

The Pharaoh is perhaps the most iconic institution of Ancient Egypt. As the ideal form of government and fundamental to Egyptian society, the Egyptian monarchy endured over three thousand years of recorded history, rebounding even after periods of substantial upheaval, such as those usually termed the ‘intermediate periods.’³⁵⁵ It did not, however, endure unchanged.³⁵⁶ In particular, transitional periods bear witness to the strong correlation between political forces and changes in the ideology of kingship.³⁵⁷ The Thirteenth Dynasty, which straddles the divide between the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, is one such time.³⁵⁸ It would seem that a succession crisis occurred in the wake of the collapse of the Twelfth Dynasty, prompting a radical reconceptualization of kingship in the Thirteenth.³⁵⁹ Of course, all institutions of power “must continually reaffirm [their] right to exist,”³⁶⁰ however, the

³⁵⁵ D. O’Conner, and D.P. Silverman, (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, (Leiden, 1995), p.xvii. The terminology ‘intermediate period’ is used here as a marker of periods of disunity in Egyptian history, Maree, *Second Intermediate Period*, p.xi.

³⁵⁶ D.P. Silverman, ‘the Nature of Egyptian Kingship,’ in O’Conner and Silverman, *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, p.49.

³⁵⁷ Silverman, ‘the Nature of Egyptian Kingship,’ p.49.

³⁵⁸ At present, there is no scholarly consensus on whether the Thirteenth Dynasty belongs to the Middle Kingdom or to the Second Intermediate Period. Mernefer Ay is the last Pharaoh of the Thirteenth Dynasty to be securely attested in both Upper and Lower Egypt and so it is often assumed that the Thirteenth Dynasty lost control of the Delta following his reign. On the criterion of disunity, this point is often judged to be the transition between the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. See, for example: Franke, *JEH* 1.2, p.272. On the other hand, Ryholt has argued for a much earlier rise of the Fourteenth Dynasty than is typically accepted, during the reign of Neferusobek of the Twelfth Dynasty, which would place the Thirteenth Dynasty entirely within the bounds of the Second Intermediate Period; see: Ryholt, *Political Situation*, pp.294-295. For an overview of the issue, and problems of terminology, see: Maree, *the Second Intermediate Period*, pp.xi-xii.

³⁵⁹ Quirke, ‘Royal Power,’ p.139; McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ p.4

³⁶⁰ Baines, ‘Kingship, Culture, and Legitimation,’ p.7.

rapid turnover and unclear succession mechanisms of these Thirteenth Dynasty kings meant that they faced a far greater need to legitimise their rule than most.

As such, questions of the function and ideology of kingship have been amongst the most important for scholars of this period, but the answers to these questions have often remained obscure. As a result of their vastly diminished reigns, the Thirteenth Dynasty Pharaohs have left little in the way of archaeological, iconographic or inscriptional evidence from which to understand them.³⁶¹ At the same time, the flourishing of literature in the Middle Kingdom gave voice to texts which portray “complex images of the king’s role, allowing for dissent, disputed succession, and questions of motivation, responsibility and policy.”³⁶² One such literary device is the *Königsnovelle*, which specifically “functions as a mirror of changing paradigms of royalty.”³⁶³ Accordingly, this stela of Neferhotep I, which is acknowledged as one of the few known examples of the *Königsnovelle* type from the Middle Kingdom and amongst the most significant inscriptions extant from the Thirteenth Dynasty, offers a rare chance to analyse how this particular king conceived of and conveyed his own ideology of kingship during this intriguing time.³⁶⁴

In response to Barta’s *Untersuchungen zur Göttlichkeit des Regierenden Königs*, David Lorton has put forward an understanding of Egyptian kingship based on a conceptual model developed by Fritz Kern.³⁶⁵ This theory rests on five principle tenets:

³⁶¹ O’Conner, and Silverman, *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, p.xxvi.

³⁶² Baines, ‘Kingship, Culture, and Legitimation,’ p.19; see also: Parkinson, *the Dream and the Knot*, p.63.

³⁶³ Loprieno, ‘the King’s Novel,’ pp.294-295.

³⁶⁴ The Berlin Leather Roll has been credited as an earlier example, according to Brophy, *BACE* 2, p.15.

However, a recent study by Andreas Stauder has suggested that the composition Berlin Leather roll is more likely to be dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty, based upon linguistic analysis, see: A. Stauder, *Linguistic Dating of Middle Egyptian Literary Texts*, (LingAeg StudMon 12; Hamburg, 2013), p.257.

³⁶⁵ Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.461; see also, F. Kern, *Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages*, (New York, 1970). It should be noted that Kern’s model was developed from medieval evidence, and thus, care must be taken when applying these principles to ancient evidence. As Lorton says, “the purpose of employing this model, needless to say, is not to make Egyptian kingship seem artificially like medieval kingship, but rather to raise well-defined issues and see what the Egyptian evidence has to say about them,” see: Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.461. In this aim, he is successful, and a similar methodological approach has been adopted here.

- 1) the divine sanction of the monarchical principle
- 2) the individual's right to the throne
- 3) the consecration of the king
- 4) the interaction between king and law
- 5) the right to resistance.³⁶⁶

In this chapter, these five principles are analysed against the observations of the Neferhotep stela made in the previous chapter, in order to illuminate the mechanics of kingship, legitimacy and royal authority during the reign of Neferhotep I in the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty.

3.1.1: Divine Sanction

By rooting the monarchical institution in the primeval time of the gods, the Egyptians found “an excellent means of expressing the divine character and sanction of the monarchy.”³⁶⁷ The first explicit mention of the kingship of the gods is attested in the Turin Canon, which names the gods as the first rulers of Ancient Egypt.³⁶⁸ However, scattered and implicit references to the gods as kings can be traced back to earlier texts of the Middle Kingdom, including this stela of Neferhotep.³⁶⁹ Indeed, in this inscription, various gods are identified as having taken the form of ‘King of Upper and Lower Egypt.’³⁷⁰ In the second speech of the King, Osiris is said to have been predetermined as ‘King of Upper and Lower Egypt’ from the moment he came forth from the body of Nut.³⁷¹ Not only was Osiris himself the model for Egyptian Kingship, the Osirian myth was a present and active part of the Egyptian state, underpinning the Egyptian mode of succession – as the deceased king became Osiris, his successor became Horus upon the earth.³⁷² Equally, in the closing lines of the King's second speech, Ra is also affirmed as one who was king of Egypt, possessing royal regalia such as the White Crown of Upper

³⁶⁶ Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.461.

³⁶⁷ Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.462.

³⁶⁸ Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.462; Gardiner, *Royal Canon of Turin*, pl.1.

³⁶⁹ Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.462.

³⁷⁰ Lorton, *JAOS* 99, pp.461-462, only discusses the use of the specific phrase “since the time of Osiris/Ra/Geb” as an example of kingship as exercised by the gods.

³⁷¹ *Neferhotep Stela*, 8; see §2.8.1 in this volume.

³⁷² Assmann, *Search for God*, pp.123-124.

Egypt, and having rulership over the Ennead, from birth.³⁷³ More obliquely, perhaps, the references to the ruler as one who receives the earth as the inheritance of Geb demonstrate an understanding of Geb as having had king-like authority over the earth.³⁷⁴ Together, these references allude to the primeval kingship of the gods, in which the ancient institution of Egyptian kingship found both its ideological foundation and therefore, divine sanction.

Yet the divine aspect of the monarchy was not confined to the primeval times. Instead, as each king took up the mantle of Horus, the divine office was perpetuated.³⁷⁵ In this way, the institution of kingship itself was eternal, although the individual holder of the office was only “transitory.”³⁷⁶ The continuous use of the serekh, and the place of Horus in the titulary of the king both serve to identify the individual pharaoh as the symbolic manifestation of Horus upon the earth.³⁷⁷ The serekh features prominently in the lunette of this stela, and likewise, the Horus name and Golden Horus names of Neferhotep are again reiterated in the opening line of the inscription, which gives his full titulary.³⁷⁸ Furthermore, Neferhotep is said to occupy the throne of Horus and the *ḥ* palace, the

³⁷³ *Neferhotep Stela*, 11; see §2.8.2; Interestingly, Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.462, states that the phrase “since the time of Ra” is only attested from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards, yet this text contains a clear, if differently phrased, reference to Ra as king.

³⁷⁴ *Neferhotep Stela*, 4, 9; see §2.5.2 and §2.8.1 respectively.

³⁷⁵ Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.461. At this point, a few words concerning the divinity of the king are necessary. This topic has been one greatly debated amongst Egyptologists, and as such, the wealth of scholarship on this matter puts it largely beyond the scope of this thesis. For example, for the king as a god, see the arguments of S. Morenz, *Die Heraufkunft des Transzendenten Gottes*, (SSAW 109.2; Berlin, 1962); and H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods: a study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature*, (Chicago, 1948). On the other hand, for a more restrained view of the divinity of the king, see: W. Barta, *Untersuchungen zur Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs: Ritus und Sadralkönigtum in Altägypten nach Zeugnissen der Frühzeit und das Alten Reiches*, (MÄS 32; Munich, 1975), and G. Posener, *De la Divinité du Pharaon*, (Cahiers de la Société Asiatique 15; Paris, 1960). In this study, which focuses primarily on the functional aspects of legitimacy and authority, the approach of Lorton has been adopted: “it would surely be futile to establish a sort of “divinity scale” from 0 to 100 and try to fix the king's divinity at some point on it.” For the purposes of this thesis, “to observe that the king stood at neither 1 nor 100 on such a hypothetical scale is sufficient,” see: Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.461.

³⁷⁶ Leprohon, ‘Royal Ideology,’ p.275.

³⁷⁷ Baines, ‘Kingship, Culture, and Legitimation,’ p.9; Silverman, ‘Nature of Egyptian Kingship,’ p.68.

³⁷⁸ see §2.3 and §2.4.

palace specifically associated with Horus as his place of authority upon the earth. The latter, in particular, again recalls the symbolism of the serekh and its connotations of the eternal office of kingship.³⁷⁹

The status of Neferhotep as Horus is stressed continuously throughout the stela. More than a dozen references identify Neferhotep as Horus or the son of Osiris more broadly.³⁸⁰ Of these, several go on to qualify Neferhotep with the specific epithet of Horus, ‘who protects his father, Osiris.’³⁸¹ Generally understood as “the favourable action done to Osiris by Horus,”³⁸² which in this particular example, is the stated intent to renew the cult statue of Osiris, as well as those of his ennead. Accordingly, the renewal of the statue that is the subject of this commemorative stela serves to continuously highlight that Neferhotep fulfils the necessary duties of Horus towards Osiris. By placing this commemorative inscription within the framework of the Königsnovelle, the unique qualities of the king, who alone fulfils this divine role, are demonstrated. This is further reinforced by the ‘uniqueness formula’ found in line 24.³⁸³

3.1.2: Right to the Throne

Of course, more important for any king than the divine sanction of the monarchical institution, was the divine sanction of an individual monarch. Typically, the individual’s right to the throne was judged on two-fold criteria – firstly, via kinship; and secondly, via divine selection.³⁸⁴ In theory, the second outweighed the first, as the concept of ‘royal blood’ through hereditary succession was foreign to a kingship ideology which reckoned the monarch as the progeny of the sun god, not of an earthly father.³⁸⁵ Indeed, the Thirteenth Dynasty “provides a period in which, without harm to Egyptian kingship theory, family ties are virtually absent from the record.”³⁸⁶ In practice, however, father-

³⁷⁹ Gundlach, ‘Horus in the Palace,’ p.63; Baines, ‘Kingship, Culture, and Legitimation,’ p.9.

³⁸⁰ *Neferhotep Stela*, 8, 9, 14, 17, 24, 29, 36, and 39; in §2.8.1, §2.11, §2.13, §2.16, §2.17.1, §2.17.4, and §2.17.5, respectively. There are four such statements in line 24 alone.

³⁸¹ *Neferhotep Stela*, 8, 9, and 24; in §2.8.1, and §2.16.

³⁸² Griffiths, *JEA*, 37, p.34.

³⁸³ *Neferhotep Stela*, 24; §2.17.1.

³⁸⁴ Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.462.

³⁸⁵ Quirke, ‘Royal Power,’ p.137.

³⁸⁶ Quirke, ‘Royal Power,’ p.138.

to-son succession seems to have been the favoured model and through this practice, a single ruling family was typically able to dominate the Egyptian kingship.³⁸⁷ At the same time, however, the ascending king was also Horus, with his predecessor as Osiris. In this way, under typical circumstances in which a son succeeded his royal father on the throne, the earthly father was also conflated with the divine Osiris figure. For a claimant without a royal background, however, such as Neferhotep and other kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty, legitimacy is utterly reliant upon this second aspect of personal divine selection and it is unsurprising, therefore, that numerous expressions of it are found within this stela.

Perhaps the most obvious method of proclaiming divine sanction for an individual was the principle of divine birth, which designated the king as the son of Ra and thus, removed the need for an earthly, kingly, father.³⁸⁸ It is often asserted that the motif of the divine birth cannot be securely attested in royal ideology prior to the Eighteenth Dynasty.³⁸⁹ However, the discovery of several blocks bearing scenes of the divine birth from the causeway of the pyramid complex of Senusret III at Dashur have yielded an important Middle Kingdom precedent for this motif that is so prevalent in this stela.³⁹⁰ Significantly, these scenes suggest that Ra, and not Amun, was the original deity associated with the divine birth.³⁹¹

As such, the emergence of the title ‘Son of Ra’ in the Fourth Dynasty can be interpreted as the first manifestation of the divine birth.³⁹² In this stela, not only does Neferhotep give his ‘Son of Ra’ title on several occasions throughout the text, he also makes the

³⁸⁷ Quirke, ‘Problems of Thirteenth Dynasty Kingship,’ p.396. As a related example, see the Tuthmosid succession of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, which favoured an indirect father-to-son succession, usually strengthened by marriage to a more senior but female hereditary claimant, see: Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.462.

³⁸⁸ McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ p.100.

³⁸⁹ Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.463; Silverman, ‘the Nature of Egyptian Kingship,’ pp.70-72; A. Oppenheim, ‘The Early Life of Pharaoh: Divine Birth and Adolescence Scenes in the Causeway of Senwosret III at Dashur,’ in M. Barta, F. Coppens, and J. Krejci, (eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010/1*, (Prague, 2011), p.174.

³⁹⁰ Oppenheim, ‘Early Life of Pharaoh,’ p.175.

³⁹¹ Oppenheim, ‘Early Life of Pharaoh,’ pp.180-183.

³⁹² Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, p. 142; Leprohon, ‘Royal Ideology,’ p.274.

unequivocal statement “[I] am one who is in the heart of his father Ra.”³⁹³ However, the generic use of the term ‘son’ in Egyptian and other Near Eastern languages means that the title alone cannot be interpreted as conclusive proof of divine filiation.³⁹⁴ At the same time, even if the title does denote only protection and acceptance, not overt filiation, it still establishes the “unassailable position” of one in relation to the sun god.³⁹⁵

The Westcar Papyrus, on the other hand, provides a clear rationalisation of the ‘Son of Ra’ title.³⁹⁶ Of course, there is also somewhat of an issue with using the Westcar Papyrus as evidence for Middle Kingdom thought. Although stylistic features may date the composition of the text to the Middle Kingdom, the only extant copy dates to the Second Intermediate Period.³⁹⁷ As such, the use of the Westcar Papyrus as evidence for the divine birth in the Middle Kingdom requires some extrapolation. Nonetheless, it is necessary to do so here, as the Westcar Papyrus contains several important facets of the

³⁹³ The ‘Son of Ra’ title appears twice in the lunette, §2.3; again in the full titulary in line 1, §2.4; and also in the reduced titulary in line 26, §2.16. The quoted section appears in line 11, §2.7.4.

³⁹⁴ Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.460.

³⁹⁵ Baines, ‘Kingship, Culture, and Legitimation,’ p.14; Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.460, suggests that the title indicates only that “Re was in a position superior to and protective of the king.” Likewise, in the New Kingdom, it has been argued that this title is understood metaphorically, rather than literally, and that divine birth was outweighed by divine selection, see: B. Ockinga, ‘Hatshepsut’s Appointment as Crown Prince,’ in S. Bar, D. Kahn, and J.J. Shirley, (eds.), *Egypt, Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature*, (CHANE 52; Leiden, 2011), p.236.

³⁹⁶ Baines, ‘Kingship, Culture, and Legitimation,’ p.17.

³⁹⁷ For the dating of the composition to the Middle Kingdom, see: R. Parkinson, ‘Papyrus Westcar,’ in D.B. Redford, (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egypt*, (Oxford, 2001), III, p.24; S. Quirke, ‘Narrative Literature,’ in Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, p.271. However, the most recent discussion of the issues with dating the composition of this text is by Stauder, who notes that it although the text was likely composed after the Twelfth Dynasty, it is impossible to know precisely how long after, and that therefore, it may equally be composed close to the dating of the papyrus itself, see: Stauder, *Linguistic Dating*, p.113. For the dating of the actual papyrus, see: R. Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, (New York, 2002), p. 295. Specifically, Posener, *Littérature et Politique*, p.12, argues for a Dynasty Fifteen Date; whilst H. Goedicke, ‘Thoughts about the Papyrus Westcar,’ *ZÄS* 11, (1993), pp. 23-36, favours a Dynasty Seventeen Date. Of course, if both the dating to the Fifteenth Dynasty, and an overlap between the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Dynasties, could be proven, then this would provide no obstacle at all, but at present, neither theory has been demonstrated beyond doubt.

divine birth that seem to be paralleled in this stela of Neferhotep. In spite of their non-royal parentage, these triplets of the Westcar papyrus are predestined to rule precisely because they are the children of Ra, and as such, the papyrus provides an important precedent and legitimisation motif for kings from a non-royal background.³⁹⁸ Even Khufu himself accepts these children's future kingship, which demonstrates "that there is no authority on earth which can change the divine decision of Re."³⁹⁹ Certainly, this image of the three brother-kings found in the papyrus cannot fail to recall the real-life three brother-kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty, Neferhotep I, Sahathor and Sobekhotep IV.⁴⁰⁰

A smaller but no less significant detail for this particular stela, however, is that the Westcar papyrus incorporates the figure of the mother into the divine birth for the first time.⁴⁰¹ Notably, the name of Neferhotep's mother, Kemi, is given twice in the stela, associated with the 'Son of Ra' title and the nomen of the king on both occasions.⁴⁰² Similarly, as discussed previously, Neferhotep initiated a new form of genealogical scarab seal in which the title *s3-Rc.w* and nomen were accompanied by the maternal filiation.⁴⁰³ This combination, which Neferhotep employed extensively, alludes to the divine birth.⁴⁰⁴ It has also been argued that the emphasis placed on non-royal parentage also alludes to this notion of divine birth, which would account not only for the inclusion of Kemi, the mother of Neferhotep, in this stela, but also the extensive genealogical inscriptions of this period of the Thirteenth Dynasty, as well as the unusual

³⁹⁸ McCormack, 'Dynasty XIII Kingship,' p.103.

³⁹⁹ McCormack, 'Dynasty XIII Kingship,' p.103.

⁴⁰⁰ D. Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine, Geschichte eines Provinzheiligtums im Mittleren Reich*, (SAGA 9; Heidelberg, 1994), pp.69-70; Alternatively, it has been suggested that these three brother kings were the inspiration behind the Westcar Papyrus story, which would naturally lead to the assumption that the composition post-dates their reigns, see: Quirke, 'Royal Power,' p.130.

⁴⁰¹ McCormack, 'Dynasty XIII Kingship,' p.102 n.413.

⁴⁰² *Neferhotep Stela*, 1, 26; see §2.4 and §2.16, respectively.

⁴⁰³ Ryholt, 'Political Situation,' p.34; it is intriguing that in all these instances, in the stela and on the seals, the maternal filiation and 'Son of Ra' title accompany the nomen, although the 'Son of Ra' title is more commonly associated with the praenomen, see: McCormack, 'Dynasty XIII Kingship,' p.104.

⁴⁰⁴ McCormack, 'Dynasty XIII Kingship,' p.104.

inclusion of the father of Neferhotep, Haankhef, in the Turin Canon.⁴⁰⁵ Whether metaphorical or literal, the divine birth motif was employed by Neferhotep to justify his claim to the throne.

Divine birth, however, is not the only means of individual legitimisation. Equally, a king could appeal to notions of divine ordination without engenderment. According to Lorton, divine selection is attested in the ‘Instructions for King Merikare,’ with the statement “He (i.e. a god) has made for them (mankind) rulers in the egg (i.e. womb).”⁴⁰⁶ This idea also finds expression in this stela of Neferhotep, though in a less overt manner. The statements that both Osiris and Ra were predestined for kingship from the time of birth provide precedent for pre-ordained kingship.⁴⁰⁷ The use of the verb *mri*, such as in the lunette of this stela, may be used to indicate selection as a result of the specific favour of the god.⁴⁰⁸ The stela also stresses the divine selection of Neferhotep as one to whom “Geb has given his inheritance” and who is in the “great office of Ra’s giving.”⁴⁰⁹ Furthermore, the Ennead are said to be satisfied as a direct result of Neferhotep’s selection.⁴¹⁰ Finally, the stela even offers a specific reasoning for the selection of Neferhotep – for his wisdom.⁴¹¹

Indeed, the motif of the scholarly king is developed throughout the inscription. Even his Two Ladies name appears to allude to Thoth, the god of knowledge.⁴¹² It is the king’s own expressed desire to see the “writings of the primeval time of Atum” in the “great

⁴⁰⁵ O.D. Berlev, ‘the Eleventh Dynasty in the Dynastic History of Egypt,’ in D.W. Young, (ed.), *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky*, (Massachusetts, 1981), p.365; McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ p.103.

⁴⁰⁶ Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.463.

⁴⁰⁷ The references to Osiris occur in *Neferhotep stela*, 8, 22, see §2.8.1 and §2.15, respectively; whilst the reference to Ra occurs in *Neferhotep stela*, 11, see §2.8.2.

⁴⁰⁸ D. Wildung, ‘Ramses, die große Sonne Ägyptens,’ *ZÄS* 99, (1972) , p.36 n.33.

⁴⁰⁹ For the “inheritance of Geb” see *Neferhotep stela*, 9, §2.7.2, as well as *Neferhotep stela*, 4, 36, in §2.4.3 and §2.16.8 respectively. The reference to the “great office of Ra’s giving,” also occurs in *Neferhotep stela*, 9, §2.7.2.

⁴¹⁰ *Neferhotep stela*, 9, §2.8.1.

⁴¹¹ *Neferhotep stela*, 5, §2.5.2.

⁴¹² Gunn, *JEA* 27, p.4 n.4; Hart, *Gods and Goddesses*, p.214.

inventory” which results in the discovery of the “writings of the house of Osiris.”⁴¹³ Accordingly, from this discovery, the king learns the ideal form of the cult statue of Osiris and vows to renew it “according to that which my majesty has seen in his writings.”⁴¹⁴ Again, the uniqueness of this quality of the king is reiterated in the statement: “[As for] his majesty, [who found] this knowledge himself, never had any scribe who was in the following of his majesty found it.”⁴¹⁵ The image of the scholarly king searching the archives is rare, and so it is unusual that Neferhotep would choose to emphasise this aspect over more traditional values of the king, such as physical prowess and victories in war.⁴¹⁶ In place of a warrior who surpasses even his generals on the field of battle, Neferhotep is presented as a scholar, who surpasses his scribes in his quest for knowledge.⁴¹⁷ Conversely, the only description of the king’s physical attributes occurs in the epithet “great of strength.”⁴¹⁸ Lorton notes that “it is virtually axiomatic that he who controls the army ... controls the throne.”⁴¹⁹ As discussed previously, Neferhotep and other Thirteenth Dynasty Pharaohs have faced accusations of violent usurpation through very tentative connections to the military.⁴²⁰ Yet this emphasis on the scholarly nature, as opposed to physical power, would refute these suggestions.⁴²¹ The message of divine selection, however, is clear: whom the gods themselves have appointed as king should not be set aside.

⁴¹³ *Neferhotep stela*, 2-3, 6-7; §2.5.1 and §2.7.

⁴¹⁴ *Neferhotep Stela*, 8; §2.7.1.

⁴¹⁵ *Neferhotep Stela*, 21; §2.13.2.

⁴¹⁶ The only parallel is found in the building texts of Ramesses II at Luxor temple, see: M. Abd el-Razik, ‘the Dedicatory and Building Texts of Ramesses II in Luxor Temple I: the Texts,’ *JEA* 60, (1974), p.144; and M. Abd el-Razik, ‘the Dedicatory and Building Texts of Ramesses II in Luxor Temple II: Interpretation,’ *JEA* 61, (1975), p.125.

⁴¹⁷ te Velde, ‘Scribes and Literacy,’ p.260.

⁴¹⁸ *Neferhotep Stela*, 36; §2.17.4.

⁴¹⁹ Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.461; see also: Goody, ‘Succession to High Office,’ pp.42-43.

⁴²⁰ Ryholt, ‘Political Situation,’ p.282; the fragile military connection is discussed in Quirke, ‘Royal Power,’ p.131.

⁴²¹ On the other hand, one might also argue that this emphasis on peaceful scholarship represents a deliberate attempt to disassociate from a violent usurpation, but such a theory would be pure speculation.

3.1.3: Consecration

According to Lorton, consecration “focusses upon the relationship between the king and the gods.”⁴²² The primary rite of the consecration of the king was the coronation, in which he was invested with the sacred regalia and imbued with the royal Ka.⁴²³ The coronation both realised his authority, and affirmed his right to rule.⁴²⁴ Of course, this decree is dated to year 2 of the reign of Neferhotep, and is primarily concerned with the participation of the king in an entirely different ceremony, and so naturally, there is no obvious reference to the coronation. Pieper, however, does claim that the use of the infinitive *hꜥi.t* in the second line of the inscription alludes to the coronation.⁴²⁵ Certainly, this is one aspect of the word, but it encompasses much more, referring not only to the accession and indeed, all appearances of the king; it also highlights the very solar nature of Egyptian kingship.⁴²⁶ Likewise, the *ꜥh* palace, which is also mentioned in the second line of the inscription, has been postulated as the location in which the coronation ceremony took place.⁴²⁷

⁴²² Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.463.

⁴²³ Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.463; Leprohon, ‘Royal Ideology,’ p.274; McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ p.105. No full account of the coronation ceremony has survived, and although much of it can be restored from disjointed scenes and inscriptions, the order of its elements remains unknown, see: Leprohon, ‘Royal Ideology,’ p.274. For a discussion of a number of these elements that make up the coronation ceremony, see: H.W. Fairman, ‘The Kingship Rituals of Egypt,’ in S.H. Hooke, (ed.), *Myth, Ritual and Kingship: Essays on the Theory and Practice of Kingship in the Ancient Near East and Israel*, (Oxford, 1958), pp.78-83, 96-97; and Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*, pp.95-96. For the significance of the Ka in Egyptian royal ideology, see: B. Ockinga, ‘Hatshepsut’s Election to Kingship: the Ba and the Ka in Egyptian Royal Ideology,’ *BACE* 6 (1995), pp.92-99.

⁴²⁴ Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, p.142; McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ p.105.

⁴²⁵ Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.6.

⁴²⁶ Quirke, *Who Were the Pharaohs*, p.11.

⁴²⁷ Because of its association with Horus and the divine office, the *ꜥh* has been credited as “the place where all the ceremonies connected to the transition of the magical power of the sun-god to the king were performed, in Pagliari, *Ancient Egyptian Royal Palaces*, p.235. From the New Kingdom, the coronation ceremonies of Hatshepsut and Horemheb were said to have been performed in the *ꜥh* palace, see: Pagliari, *Ancient Egyptian Royal Palaces*, p.235. In the case of Hatshepsut, however, this ceremony should not be understood as a historical event, see: Ockinga, ‘Hatshepsut’s Appointment as Crown Prince,’ p.261.

More significantly, however, the first proclamation of the king's titulary occurred during the coronation.⁴²⁸ These five names did not only identify and distinguish the king, they also exuded "essence of kingship" itself.⁴²⁹ For Neferhotep, his Horus and Two Ladies names, in particular, promise the return of stability and maat to Egypt under his rule, reflecting the political upheaval of the time.⁴³⁰ As such, the titulary was perhaps the most recognisable symbol of an individual's kingship, and it is precisely this recognisability that allowed the titulary to serve as an iconographic symbol of royal power, even to the illiterate.⁴³¹ In a stela such as this, which lacks other symbols of kingship such as royal dress, crowns and regalia, the titulary itself served as the key iconography of the king, hence the sheer size dedicated to it in the lunette.⁴³² Furthermore, it has been argued that as the full titulary was first proclaimed at the coronation, the subsequent appearance of the fivefold names, such as in the opening of this inscription, is deliberately used to recall this event and the investiture of authority in the king.⁴³³

Fundamentally, the coronation was a religious ceremony which demonstrated the acceptance of the king by the gods, or more practically, by the priesthood.⁴³⁴ Just as the support of the military is virtually indispensable for the successful exercise of royal power, so too was the support of the priesthood in a society as dominated by religion as Ancient Egypt.⁴³⁵ By maintaining the cults, building and rebuilding temples, and endowing them with lands, the king was effectively able to buy the support of the priesthood, and by extension, the gods.⁴³⁶

Furthermore, if consecration is understood as both acceptance and sanctification, then quite a literal expression of this idea is found in the Neferhotep stela: as the cult statue of Osiris is renewed, Neferhotep too is said to be "made pure through the purity of the

⁴²⁸ Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.463; Leprohon, 'Royal Ideology,' p.274; Quirke, *Who Were the Pharaohs*, p.10.

⁴²⁹ Quirke, *Who Were the Pharaohs*, p.10.

⁴³⁰ Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, p.5; Grimal, *Ancient Egypt*, p.184

⁴³¹ Leprohon, 'Royal Ideology,' p.275.

⁴³² Mariette, *Abydos*, II, pl.28.

⁴³³ Quirke, *Who Were the Pharaohs*, p.18.

⁴³⁴ Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.463; Fairman, 'Kingship Rituals,' p.81.

⁴³⁵ Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.463.

⁴³⁶ Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.463.

god.”⁴³⁷ In this way, Neferhotep is shown to be imbued with this specific quality of the god as a direct result of his piety and devotion to the cult of Osiris.

The language used to develop this relationship between the king and the god is striking, speaking not just of a relationship of acceptance from superior to subordinate, but of reciprocity; almost equality. There are two instances in the text in which both Osiris and Neferhotep are understood to act mutually towards each other. Firstly, Neferhotep is described as “an effective son who creates the one who created him.” In this example, although both Neferhotep and Osiris function as the subjects of the verb *msi*, by framing the relationship as one between father and son, the superior place of Osiris over the king is maintained. Again, the second example occurs in a content which discusses Neferhotep’s dutiful actions towards his father, Osiris, although the father-son framing device is slightly removed from the actual expression: “the god loves the one who loves him.”⁴³⁸ This statement is quite remarkable as prior to the Ramesside period and its associated growth of personal piety, the verb *mri* is used of strict hierarchical relationships; of superior to inferior, with the superior being taking the active role, whilst the inferior becomes the passive recipient.⁴³⁹ Perhaps the most frequent example of this is in the phrase ‘King N beloved of God N,’ which occurs twice in the lunette of this stela, with Neferhotep declared “beloved of Osiris.”⁴⁴⁰ Yet in this phrase “the god loves the one who loves him,” both the king – Neferhotep being implicitly understood as the one who loves the god – and the god fulfil both the active and passive roles, implying an equality between them. Furthermore, the final lines of the inscription go beyond this reciprocal love and instead proclaim “the greatness of my loving him more than all the gods.”⁴⁴¹ Here, at the close of this final speech of the king, Neferhotep offers his love for Osiris as the reasons for his particular devotion to him and for the renewing of his statue. This statement would not be particularly noteworthy, beyond a

⁴³⁷ *Neferhotep Stela*, 20; §2.14.2.

⁴³⁸ *Neferhotep Stela*, 29; §2.17.1.

⁴³⁹ Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, p.202; Simpson, ‘Amor Dei,’ pp.493-494.

⁴⁴⁰ Simpson, ‘Amor Dei,’ p.494; Mariette, *Abydos*, II, pl.28; §2.3.

⁴⁴¹ *Neferhotep Stela*, 40; §2.17.5; Of this phrase, Simpson says “it should be remembered that *mrj* has other meanings, such as to wish or desire,” in Simpson, ‘Amor Dei,’ p.498; but he gives no alternate translation.

justification of his actions, were it not for the fact that Neferhotep here is given the entirely active role.

Yet this alone cannot designate the king as somehow superior to the god. In contrast, throughout the stela, the actions of Neferhotep are shown as deriving entirely from the gods. Although, initially, the desire to search the archives which led to the discovery of the writings of Osiris is said to come from the heart of the king himself, it is later revealed that “the god put this in his heart secretly.”⁴⁴² In addition, the form that the cult statue should take is dictated by the sacred writings discovered by the king in the archives.⁴⁴³ As such, these writings themselves inform and legitimise the king’s actions.⁴⁴⁴

3.1.4: the King and the Law

Similarly, one of the chief duties of the Egyptian king was the maintenance of maat, the divine principles governing correct world-order to which the king was bound.⁴⁴⁵ Amongst these principles, the king had a duty to both preserve and renew the cults.⁴⁴⁶ It is this theme which is most highly developed throughout the stela. Indeed, the first expressed desire of the king is to know the god and the ennead better, in order to renew the cult statues according to their original form, and to make offerings to the gods.⁴⁴⁷ The stela then goes on to describe in detail the fulfilment of this desire: how the king first sends an official to Abydos, before making the journey himself to Abydos, bringing myrrh, wine and other unnamed offerings.⁴⁴⁸ Subsequently, the cult statues of Osiris and the ennead are taken to the workshop in procession, and renovated with all manner of precious materials, including bronze, silver, gold, copper and precious stones.⁴⁴⁹ Consistently, the personal role of the king is emphasised. It is the king himself who

⁴⁴² *Neferhotep Stela*, 2-3, 21-22; §2.5.1, and §2.14.2.

⁴⁴³ *Neferhotep Stela*, 8; §2.8.1.

⁴⁴⁴ J. Baines, ‘Ancient Egyptian Concepts and Uses of the Past,’ p.141.

⁴⁴⁵ Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.464.

⁴⁴⁶ Leprohon, ‘Royal Ideology,’ p.274.

⁴⁴⁷ *Neferhotep Stela*, 2-4; §2.5.1.

⁴⁴⁸ *Neferhotep Stela*, 12-18; §2.10, §2.12, and §2.13.

⁴⁴⁹ *Neferhotep Stela*, 18-20; §2.14.1.

discovered the knowledge with which to renew the statue;⁴⁵⁰ the king himself who travelled at the front of the boats bringing offerings;⁴⁵¹ the king himself who oversaw the work of the craftsman in creating the statue;⁴⁵² and the king himself who partook in the Osiris festival, ensuring the ritual destruction of the god's enemies.⁴⁵³ It is notable that Neferhotep here claims to have personally participated in the Osiris mysteries, in contrast with Senusret III, who sends an official in his stead.⁴⁵⁴ According to Baines, as the kingship was fundamentally a religious office which drew much of its legitimacy from appeals to the divine, one of the greatest challenges any Egyptian king could face was the "drawing apart of religion and kingship and a slow desacralization of the latter."⁴⁵⁵ Participation in such ritual serves as a clear display of the king's power and reaffirms his unique ability to act as a link between the earth and the divine realm.⁴⁵⁶ Through such acts, the Pharaoh demonstrated the very validity of his office, and the reason for its continued existence.

For his devotion to the gods in renewing the cult statue of Osiris, it is said that the king will be richly rewarded.⁴⁵⁷ He is said to receive long life, the praises of the priests during his life and a good remembrance after his death.⁴⁵⁸ In addition, the king is said to be under the protection of Osiris. In actions fortuitously similar to those performed by the king for Osiris as part of the mysteries, Osiris has "driven back those who have rebelled against your majesty," "grasped the opponents of your boat," and silenced "the ones who have rebelled in Ra-Pekher."⁴⁵⁹ Similarly to the principle of divine selection, this endorsement and protection by the gods serves to strengthen the position of

⁴⁵⁰ *Neferhotep Stela*, 21; §2.14.2.

⁴⁵¹ *Neferhotep Stela*, 16-17; §2.13.

⁴⁵² *Neferhotep Stela*, 20; §2.14.2.

⁴⁵³ *Neferhotep Stela*, 18, and 27-29; §2.13, and §2.17.1.

⁴⁵⁴ *Iykhernofret*, 4 (trans. Simpson), in Simpson, *Literature*, pp. 425-427.

⁴⁵⁵ Baines, 'Kingship, Culture, and Legitimation,' p.4.

⁴⁵⁶ Baines, 'Kingship, Culture, and Legitimation,' p.4; Silverman, 'the Nature of Egyptian Kingship,' p.67.

⁴⁵⁷ *Neferhotep Stela*, 40; §2.17.5.

⁴⁵⁸ *Neferhotep Stela*, 29-30, 40; §2.17.2, and §2.17.5.

⁴⁵⁹ *Neferhotep Stela*, 22-23; §2.15.

Neferhotep as king. In somewhat circular reasoning, his very actions as king serve as a post-facto legitimising factor for that kingship.⁴⁶⁰

Neferhotep, however, is not the only one to benefit from the renewing of the statue. Of Osiris, Neferhotep also says that he “loves that which I have done for him, he rejoicing in that which I have ordained the doing of.”⁴⁶¹ The making of monuments is understood as a means of perpetuating the offerings which satisfy the gods, and in turn, the satisfaction of the gods results in that which is beneficial for Egypt.⁴⁶² Using the same phrase as the loyalist instructions, “I will say a great thing and cause that you might hear it,” the building of monuments to Osiris and “strengthening the name of Wennefer” are put forwards as a means of attaining a long and righteous life for the people; a means which Neferhotep will provide.⁴⁶³ In addition, prosperity and good order are said to be maintained as fathers will live to old age, and see their sons inherit their offices.⁴⁶⁴ As such, this stela extensively documents the power of Neferhotep to fulfil his duties to the god as king and in doing so, maintain maat. In turn, by maintaining maat, he is shown to exercise the necessary qualities of the Egyptian king.⁴⁶⁵

3.1.5: the Right to Resist

This criterion, Lorton acknowledges, is the weakest of the model as the concept of resistance to royalty rarely finds expression in Egyptian texts.⁴⁶⁶ Whilst the institution of Egyptian kingship itself, passing cyclically and eternally from Osiris to Horus through its transient human occupants, has little to fear from human resistance, “individual kings might reasonably fear rebellion;”⁴⁶⁷ hence the need to demonstrate a legitimate claim to the throne through methods such as divine sanction – by birth and by

⁴⁶⁰ McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ p.105, says: “the fact that someone successfully became king was sufficient to indicate that he possessed the royal ka and that he was divinely chosen for this highest office in the human realm.”

⁴⁶¹ *Neferhotep Stela*, 35; §2.17.3.

⁴⁶² *Neferhotep Stela*, 10-11, 32-33; in §2.8.2, and §2.17.3.

⁴⁶³ *Neferhotep Stela*, 10-11; §2.8.2. For the parallel, see: *Loyalist Instruction*, 9 (trans. J.P. Allen,) in Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, pp.156-157

⁴⁶⁴ *Neferhotep Stela*, 32-33; §2.17.2.

⁴⁶⁵ McCormack, ‘Dynasty XIII Kingship,’ p.109.

⁴⁶⁶ Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.464.

⁴⁶⁷ Baines, ‘Kingship, Culture, and Legitimation,’ p.14.

selection – and consecration; and to demonstrate authority through displays of ritual, efficacy and the fulfilment of maat.⁴⁶⁸ The presence of an extensive threat formula in the fourth speech of the king in this inscription suggests that the turbulent political climate of the Thirteenth Dynasty may have provoked unrest and difficulties for kings such as Neferhotep. Such threat formulae were designed to act as a deterrent against rebellious behaviour.⁴⁶⁹ The stela promises both death and ritual punishment to all “those who will [oppose] that which my majesty decrees, those who will not act in accordance with this decree of my majesty, those will not cause me to rise to this noble god, those who will not be well-disposed to that which I have done with his divine offerings, (and) [those who will not] give praise to me during every festival of this temple.”⁴⁷⁰ Although these threats are not structured as “codified legal stipulations,” but rather as a means of dissuasion, the authority of the king to carry out the punishments stipulated should not be doubted.⁴⁷¹ In this way, the king was not only bound to the principles of maat, he was also one who could dispense justice.⁴⁷²

In addition, the dialogue element of the Königsnovelle is often said to indicate the potential for dissent and discussion between the king and his officials. There is no indication of dissent in this inscription, however, as the speeches of the officials offer only wholehearted agreement with the actions of the king.⁴⁷³ In only a handful of short lines, these speeches offer praise,⁴⁷⁴ as well as divine endorsement of the king’s actions,⁴⁷⁵ and again reiterate his authority.⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁶⁸ Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.460; Baines, ‘Kingship, Culture, and Legitimation,’ p.7.

⁴⁶⁹ Morschauser, ‘Threat Formulae,’ p.416.

⁴⁷⁰ *Neferhotep Stela*, 36-39; §2.17.4.

⁴⁷¹ Morschauser, ‘Threat Formulae,’ pp.417-418; for a brief discussion of punishment in texts prior to the New Kingdom, see: D. Lorton, ‘The Treatment of Criminals in Ancient Egypt: Through the New Kingdom,’ *JESHO* 20, (1977), p.51.

⁴⁷² Leprohon, ‘Royal Ideology,’ p.274.

⁴⁷³ Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.464; Leprohon, ‘Royal Ideology,’ p.273; for the speeches of the officials, see: *Neferhotep Stela*, 6, 12, 14; in §2.6, §2.9, §2.11 respectively.

⁴⁷⁴ *Neferhotep Stela*, 14; §2.11.

⁴⁷⁵ *Neferhotep Stela*, 12; §2.9.

⁴⁷⁶ *Neferhotep Stela*, 6, 12; §2.6, §2.9.

3.2: The Making of Monuments

One final aspect of kingship not developed in Lorton's model, but essential to this stela, is the building of monuments. Indeed, the stela itself states that the very purpose of Neferhotep's kingship was to establish the monuments of the gods upon the earth.⁴⁷⁷ Not only does the content of this stela illuminate the importance of building monuments, such as the cult statue of Osiris described, as a means of upholding maat, but the stela itself also functioned as a commemorative monument. The building of monuments served as an obvious display of royal power, encoded with visual messages of legitimation.⁴⁷⁸ The monuments of Thirteenth Dynasty Pharaohs are scarce, and those that are known are relatively small. Yet, the comparatively long reign of Neferhotep evidently allowed him to contribute architecturally to a number of significant sites. Neferhotep was evidently strongly invested in the cult of Osiris at Abydos.⁴⁷⁹ Not only was this stela set up at Abydos, Neferhotep also recut an earlier Thirteenth Dynasty stela, likely from the reign of Wegaf, which established a protective boundary around the sacred area of Wepwawet at Abydos.⁴⁸⁰ Alongside these stelae, a further two scarab seals, an inscribed block, and a vase of Neferhotep are known from the area.⁴⁸¹ Neferhotep is also known to have contributed to other significant religious sites, with an inscribed pedestal and naos containing two statues discovered at Karnak.⁴⁸² In particular, these contributions to important religious sites demonstrated the same devotion to the cults that is such a strong feature of the content of this stela, and served as a legitimising factor in his reign. Additionally, a statue of Neferhotep from Elephantine now resides in the Aswan Museum, with another statuette in the Museo Civico, Bologna.⁴⁸³ Together, the diversity of locations and materials used highlight the

⁴⁷⁷ *Neferhotep Stela*, 4; §2.5.2

⁴⁷⁸ McCormack, 'Dynasty XIII Kingship,' p.112

⁴⁷⁹ Wegner and Cahill, *JARCE* 51, (2015), p.159.

⁴⁸⁰ Leahy, *JEA* 75, (1989) pp.47-49.

⁴⁸¹ Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.345 (10-14).

⁴⁸² Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.345 (16-17).

⁴⁸³ For the Elephantine statue, see: W.V. Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed*, (London, 1981), no.21;

Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.346 (31). For the statuette, which is thought to be from Medinet el-Faiyum, see: Davies, *Royal Statue Reattributed*, no.20; Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.345 (8).

power and prosperity of the reign of Neferhotep I amongst the unusual political climate of the Thirteenth Dynasty.⁴⁸⁴

In addition, the purpose of this stela went beyond that of a physical monument, and indeed, beyond that of a commemorative text as well. Just as depictions of the king victorious in battles never fought, and participating in cult duties never performed could endow the king with these necessary qualities, so too could a stela proclaiming the legitimacy of the king ritually serve to make it so.⁴⁸⁵

3.3: Conclusions

From the beginning, this stela of Neferhotep I had two purposes: ostensibly, it commemorated the renewal of the cult statue of Osiris and the participation of the king in the Osiris festival at Abydos. Yet throughout, there is also a strong undercurrent of themes which serve to legitimise the reign of Neferhotep and express his authority as king. In his study of the functional nature of kingship, Lorton drew a distinction between rituals by which the king was “endowed with the right to rule ... and those by which he exercised his rulership.”⁴⁸⁶ The aspects belonging to the first category – which includes divine sanction both of the monarchical principle and the right of the individual monarch to rule, as well as the consecration which publicly demonstrated the acceptance of the king by the gods – all serve as legitimising factors for the king. It is not sufficient to merely gain the throne, however. It then must be maintained, and as such those of the second category – such as the fulfilment of maat, in both the display of ritual and the dispensing of justice – demonstrate his ability to then rule effectively.⁴⁸⁷ The non-royal background of Neferhotep has obscured the means by which he actually gained the throne, but having gained it, an ideological justification for his accession is found in this stela. In the absence of hereditary succession, Neferhotep must appeal to the divine foundation of the Egyptian kingship, and as such, the stela both alludes to the notion of divine birth and appeals to the principle of divine selection. As the son of Ra, Neferhotep claims a birth-right to the throne. By virtue of being king, he is then also

⁴⁸⁴ Grajetzki, *Middle Kingdom*, p.71.

⁴⁸⁵ P.J. Frandsen, ‘Aspects of Kingship in Ancient Egypt,’ in N. Brisch, (ed.), *Religion and Power, Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond*, (Chicago, 2008), p.48.

⁴⁸⁶ Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.460.

⁴⁸⁷ Lorton, *JAOS* 99, p.460.

accounted as Horus, the son of Osiris. In fulfilling his duties to Osiris, through the renewal of the statue and his own personal participation in the festival, Neferhotep demonstrates the necessary qualities of Horus, and thus suitability for the kingship. This relationship between Osiris and Neferhotep is further developed throughout the stela as a means of demonstrating the unique role of the king as the intermediary between the gods and mankind; as well as showing the endorsement of Neferhotep as king by the priesthood and the gods. It is this same devotion to the gods, evident in his actions, which ensures that the key duty to which the king is bound, the maintenance *maat*, is fulfilled. In this way, Neferhotep is affirmed as one who is able to exercise kingship. Equally, his authority is proclaimed as one who dispenses justice against those who should rebel against his divinely-ordained kingship. Finally, the stela itself serves as a physical testament to the power and authority of Neferhotep as king of Egypt, whilst also ritually legitimising his reign.

4: Conclusions

Every stela is a microcosm of the culture that produced it, reflecting not only the artistic and literary traditions of its time, but also cultural and ideological values.⁴⁸⁸ In addition, as an example of the Königsnovelle, this stela is reflective of the political *Sitz im Leben* of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty and as such, gives rare insight into the questions that remain regarding the nature and function of kingship during this fascinating but turbulent time.⁴⁸⁹

The Königsnovelle symbolically demonstrates the infinite and eternal nature of the office of kingship within the relatable bounds of a finite event.⁴⁹⁰ By focusing on the actions of a king within this single event, the Königsnovelle demands an act of selection which reveals the personal priorities of an individual king.⁴⁹¹ In this way, the event commemorated in the Königsnovelle becomes a token not only of his unique character as king, but the characteristics of his kingship more broadly.⁴⁹² Erected within the bounds of the sacred space at Abydos, and with content that recounts in detail the fulfilment of religious duties by the king personally, this stela makes clear that the cult of Osiris was profoundly important during the reign of Neferhotep.⁴⁹³ Yet for the Königsnovelle, it is not sufficient to merely recount the event. Instead, the event of the Königsnovelle is used to display the authority and glory of the king, and to put forward his ideology of kingship. It is, fundamentally, a “politically motivated use of history.”⁴⁹⁴ Alongside its value as a religious text, this inscription served to legitimise the reign of Neferhotep and proclaim his authority as king of Egypt.

Amidst the wealth of Egyptian literature surrounding the king, legitimisation is rarely an overt theme as in principle, his authority as an absolute monarch was unquestionable.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁸⁸ D. Franke, *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum from the 13th to 17th Dynasties, Volume I, Fascicule I: Descriptions* (London, 2013), p.2.

⁴⁸⁹ Loprieno, ‘the King’s Novel,’ p.280.

⁴⁹⁰ Loprieno, ‘the King’s Novel,’ p.284.

⁴⁹¹ Loprieno, ‘the King’s Novel,’ p.285.

⁴⁹² Loprieno, ‘the King’s Novel,’ p.284.

⁴⁹³ This trend is a frequent feature of the Thirteenth Dynasty more broadly. For a record of the physical contributions to the site of Abydos by various Thirteenth Dynasty kings, see: Leahy, *JEA* 75, p.59.

⁴⁹⁴ Loprieno, ‘the King’s Novel,’ p.287.

⁴⁹⁵ Baines, ‘Kingship, Culture, and Legitimation,’ p.7.

Yet to legitimise their authority is a continual challenge faced by monarchs in all forms, across time and culture. For a king such as Neferhotep, who like many kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty emerged from an obscure background, this challenge was more pronounced. This stela, both in its content and ritual significance, serves as one such means of legitimisation. Despite the pronounced differences in the kingly office during the Thirteenth Dynasty, Neferhotep primarily drew upon already established ideological foundations of Egyptian kingship to legitimise his reign. In particular, the motif of the divine birth of the king provided a recognized mechanism through which a non-royal claimant could justify their accession.⁴⁹⁶ It is precisely this motif, as well as the principle of divine selection, which foremost underpins the legitimacy of Neferhotep as king in the absence of a hereditary claim.⁴⁹⁷ Egyptian kingship as an institution was intertwined with Egyptian religion, with the human king occupying the divine office of Horus.⁴⁹⁸ As such, many of the legitimisation techniques evident in this inscription appeal to this religious core: alongside the frequent statements of divine birth and election throughout the text, Neferhotep fulfils his duties to Osiris, as expected of Horus, through the renewal of the cult statue and his personal participation in the subsequent festival, and as a result, ensures the maintenance of maat throughout the land. Although the kingship itself was in flux during the Thirteenth Dynasty, with a rapid turnover of ephemeral kings and no clear mechanism for succession, it would appear that Neferhotep found stability and justification in the traditional religious foundations of Egyptian kingship.⁴⁹⁹

Yet the political function is only one aspect of a text such as this, and to neglect its literary qualities would be a disservice. The primary purpose of this thesis, therefore, is to provide a philological commentary of the text in its own right, before drawing out specific statements of legitimacy and authority, in order to elucidate the function and ideology of kingship during the reign of Neferhotep I. These questions of the function and ideology of kingship, and in particular, the principles of succession, remain the

⁴⁹⁶ Quirke, 'Royal Power,' pp.137-138.

⁴⁹⁷ Siesse and Connor, *RdÉ* 66, p.230.

⁴⁹⁸ Baines, 'Kingship, Culture, and Legitimation,' p.3; Leprohon, 'Royal Ideology,' p.275; McCormack, *Dynasty XIII Kingship*, p.99; Silverman, 'Nature of Egyptian Kingship,' p.67.

⁴⁹⁹ Baines, 'Kingship, Culture, and Legitimation,' p.18; J. Baines, 'The Inundation Stela of Sebekhotep VIII,' *AcOr* 36, (1974), p.54.

most important issues in the study of the Thirteenth Dynasty.⁵⁰⁰ Although this stela is uniquely placed to give insight into how Neferhotep himself conceived of and conveyed his own ideology of kingship, it can shed no light on the succession mechanism by which he gained the throne, only how he justified it after accession. Indeed, the study of a single text can never adequately account for the intricacies of any given historical period, especially one as complex as the Thirteenth Dynasty, and to draw conclusions about the broader historical period from this text alone would be unwarranted. It is only through study of the corpus as a whole that one can understand “the elements that together comprise kingship in ancient Egypt, according to the written documentation of the Egyptians themselves.”⁵⁰¹ Yet, amongst the extant royal inscriptions of the Thirteenth Dynasty, the Neferhotep stela is perhaps the most significant and for this reason, it is hoped that the study of this text will provide a firm foundation for further study of royal inscriptions from the Thirteenth Dynasty, in order to more comprehensively address the issues surrounding kingship during this enigmatic period.

⁵⁰⁰ S. Quirke, *An Investigation into Problems of Thirteenth Dynasty Kingship with Special Reference to Papyrus Bulaq 18*, (PhD Thesis, Cambridge University; Cambridge, 1986), p.396.

⁵⁰¹ Silverman, ‘the Nature of Egyptian Kingship,’ p.50.

Appendix A

i) Transcription⁵⁰²



⁵⁰² Although the text throughout this thesis has been reproduced from left to right for the ease of the reader, the full transcription here reads from right to left as it is found in the original stela.

𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃𐀄𐀅𐀆𐀇𐀈𐀉𐀊𐀋𐀌𐀍𐀎𐀏𐀐𐀑𐀒𐀓𐀔𐀕𐀖𐀗𐀘𐀙𐀚𐀛𐀜𐀝𐀞𐀟𐀠𐀡𐀢𐀣𐀤𐀥𐀦𐀧𐀨𐀩𐀪𐀫𐀬𐀭𐀮𐀯𐀰𐀱𐀲𐀳𐀴𐀵𐀶𐀷𐀸𐀹𐀺𐀻𐀼𐀽𐀾𐀿𐁀𐁁𐁂𐁃𐁄𐁅𐁆𐁇𐁈𐁉𐁊𐁋𐁌𐁍𐁎𐁏𐁐𐁑𐁒𐁓𐁔𐁕𐁖𐁗𐁘𐁙𐁚𐁛𐁜𐁝𐁞𐁟𐁠𐁡𐁢𐁣𐁤𐁥𐁦𐁧𐁨𐁩𐁪𐁫𐁬𐁭𐁮𐁯𐁰𐁱𐁲𐁳𐁴𐁵𐁶𐁷𐁸𐁹𐁺𐁻𐁼𐁽𐁾𐁿𐂀𐂁𐂂𐂃𐂄𐂅𐂆𐂇𐂈𐂉𐂊𐂋𐂌𐂍𐂎𐂏𐂐𐂑𐂒𐂓𐂔𐂕𐂖𐂗𐂘𐂙𐂚𐂛𐂜𐂝𐂞𐂟𐂠𐂡𐂢𐂣𐂤𐂥𐂦𐂧𐂨𐂩𐂪𐂫𐂬𐂭𐂮𐂯𐂰𐂱𐂲𐂳𐂴𐂵𐂶𐂷𐂸𐂹𐂺𐂻𐂼𐂽𐂾𐂿𐃀𐃁𐃂𐃃𐃄𐃅𐃆𐃇𐃈𐃉𐃊𐃋𐃌𐃍𐃎𐃏𐃐𐃑𐃒𐃓𐃔𐃕𐃖𐃗𐃘𐃙𐃚𐃛𐃜𐃝𐃞𐃟𐃠𐃡𐃢𐃣𐃤𐃥𐃦𐃧𐃨𐃩𐃪𐃫𐃬𐃭𐃮𐃯𐃰𐃱𐃲𐃳𐃴𐃵𐃶𐃷𐃸𐃹𐃺𐃻𐃼𐃽𐃾𐃿𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆

24
 25
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ii) Transliteration

rnp.t sp 2 hr hm n(.y) Hr.w Grg-t3.wy Nb.ty Wp-m3^c.t Hr.w-nbw Mn-
 mr.wt nsw.t bi.ty H^ci-shm-R^c.w s3 R^c.w Nfr-htp msi.n mw.t-nsw.t Kmi di
 n^ch dd w3s mi R^c.w d.t | h^ci.t hm=f hr s.t Hr.w m h Wts-nfr.w dd<.in>
 hm=f n s^ch.w smr.w wnn.yw m-ht=f sš.w m3^c(.w) n(.w) mdw.w-ntr
 hr.(y)w-tp sšt3.w nb(.w) iw 3bi.n ib=i m33 sš.w p3w.t-tp.t | n.t Itm pg3.w
 n=i r sip.t(y)-wr imi.w rh(=i) ntr m km3=f psd.t m ki.w=sn m3^c(=i)
 n=sn htp.w-ntr [wdn](=i) [t.w] hr wdhw.w rh=i ntr | m irw=f msi=i sw
 mi tp.t^c=f iri.n=sn wi m nd.ty=sn r smnh mnw.w=sn tp-t3 m3^c.n=sn n=i
 iw^c[.t Gbb] šn[n.t] nb.t Itn | rdi(.w) n<=i> i3w.t=i m hr.(y)-tp t3 rh[=f
 s]3.y[t]=i mty iw=i [hr] iri.t mi ntr iw[=i] rdi.y=i h3w-hr sip.(w)t n=i
 dd=sn n=i hr mr.wt=[sn] r | iri.t hft wd.t=sn dd.in nn n(.y) smr.w wd.tn
 k3=k pw hpr(.w) iti.y nb wd3 hm=k r pr.(w)w n.w sš.w m3 hm=k
 mdw(.w)-ntr nb.w wd3 pw iri.n hm=f r | pr.w-md3.t wn.in hm=f hr pg3
 sš.w hn^c nn n(.y) smr.w h^c.n gmi.n hm=f sš.w n(.w) pr.w Wsir hnt(.y)-
 imn.tyw nb 3bdw dd.in hm=f n nn n(.y) smr.w iw hm=i <hr> | nd it=i
 Wsir hnt(.y)-imn.tyw nb 3bdw msi=i sw hn^c [psd.t]=f mi m3.tn hm=i m
 sš.w=f iri.w [ki=f] m nsw.t bi.ty m pri.w=f m h.t n(.t) Nwt | iw=i m s3=f
 nd.ty=f ms.tw=f [pri m] hr.(y)-wsh.t=f [rdi.n] n=f Gbb iw^c.t=f psd.t
 htp.ti hr=s iw=i m i3w.t=f 3.t n.t dd R^c.w s3 mn^ch ms(s) msi sw | dd=i
 wr.t di=i sdm=tn [st wpi](.w) tn ib r n^ch=f hr=s di=i rh=tn n^ch m3^c m
 sšrw n(.y) w3h tp-t3 iri.t mnw.w n Wsir srwd rn n(.y) Wnn-nfr iri.tw nn
 3h | n t3 smnh n [t3] nb [ink] im.(y) ib n(.y) it=f R^c.w [nb n.tt] iw.tt
 smnh.n sw ntr.w m [h.t] pri.n=f tni m nsw.t bi.ty hpr nfr-hd.t r [dhn.t]=f
 hk3.n=f psd.t [tm].ti| dd.in smr.w ipn ir im.(y)w [p.t] iw dd=sn [k]3.t
 ib=i wd[.tn] hm=k hpr.w rdi.in hm=f nis.tw n=f ir.y-ih.t-nsw.t n.ty m-ht
 hm=f dd.in [n=f] hm=f | š3s (i)r=k m hnt.[yt hn^c is].wt pr.w m sdr grh
 mi hrw r spr.t=k r 3bdw imi wd3 hnt.(y)-imn.tyw ih iri=i mnw.w=f mi |
 sp tp dd.in nn n(.y) smr[.w] nfr.w[y dd.tn=k iti.y] nb iri=k [mnw].w=k m
 3bdw n it=k hnt.(y)-imn.tyw š3s (i)r=f pw iri.n sr pn m hnt.yt hft | wd.tn
 n=f hm=f spr pw iri.n[=f r 3bdw r] sh^ci.w [ntr pn wd3] pw iri.n hm n(.y)

*ntr pn r nšmt nb.t d.t [r iri.t wd]3.wt=f b^chi(.w) itrw [3 m] | sty Pwnt spr
 pw iri.n=[sn r] hnw [...] iwi.in=tw r smi n hm=f r dd iw ntr pn wd3(.w)
 m htpwd3 pw iri.n hm=f [m] | dp.t-ntr [ist h^c.w] pn g[rg](.w) mskt.wt
 [imw.w] [...] s[wd]3(.w) nsw.t ds=f r h3.t tp mr r sns n hn^c ntr pn rdi.t
 m3^c htp.w-ntr n it=f hnt(.y)-imn.tyw ntyw irp | ih.wt-ntr n Wsir hnt(.y)-
 imn.<tyw> m rn.w=f nb(.w) w3h[.n=f] n ntr [pn] shtp [///]m.w shr sbi hr
 nšm.t h^c.n sh^c.i.w hm n(.y) ntr pn psd.t=f i^cb.ti [m-ht=f] | iw Wp-w3.wt
 hr-h3.t=f wpi.n=f w3.wt m [hft.yw=f] h^c.n rdi(.w) wd3 hm n(.y) ntr pn r
 hd.t htp=f s.t=f m hw.t-nbw r msi.t nfr.w hm=f hn^c psd.t=f wdhw.w=f
 msi(.w) [m hsmn] s[hkr(.w) m] | 3.t nb.t šps.t n.t t3-ntr is[t (i)r=f hm=f]
 ds=f <hr> hrp k3.t=sn [m hđ] nbw [hmt] hm=f w3b(.w) m bw ntr m
 [k3.t]=f n(.y) nb imn.t ist (i)r=f ir sm3.t sš wb3 | n(.y) [is] m3 sw k3.t [m
 hw.t-ntr tn] [...] is[t (i)r=f ir] hm=f [gmi] nn sš d[s=f] n-sp gmi st sš nb
 n.ty m-ht hm=f rdi.n ntr nn m ib=f m | sšt3 [mi] Wsir [hnt.y-imn.tyw nb
 3bdw] iw [wd.w n=f wnn] m swht iw [shr.n=f] sbi hr hm=k dw3.w=f
 hrw.w mi grh iw h[f]^c.n=f rk.w.w n(.w) wi3=k sgrh=f | sbi m R3-pkr iw
 rh<.n=f> sbh.w [n.w dw3.t] sb3.w n.w sh.t Brw [3w] ib=f hr 3b.wt=k
 tp-tr.w <m hrw.w> n.w pri.w ntr nb m w3g m Dhwtty | hn.ty rnp.wt=k im
 s3=k mnh n-wn.t hr-hw=f mi Hr.w iw [nd s3] pn it[=f mstw]=k sdf3y
 wdhw.w=k sndm sty hw.t-ntr=k k[f].w [s.t] wr.t [wb3].|w k3r 3 n(.y) msi
 sw[h^c]=f m nsw.t hr h^c.w nhh n(.y) tp [t3 rwd]=f mi p.t dd=f mi t3 ski=f
 nhh mi Nh3b-k3.w im [wn]f | ib n(.y) w3b.w=k hnk=sn n hn.tyw=f [3w ib
 n(.y) dw3.w=k iri.w hnw.w n twt.w=f] nsw.t bi.ty H^ci-shm-R^c.w [...] s3
 R^c.w Nfr-htp nh^c d.t n nhh msi.n mw.t-nsw.t Kmi m3^c.t hrw | dd.in hm=f
 šdi=i n=k m hsf sbi.[w=k m w3.t n.t R3-pkr iri=i n=k ih](h)y [hknw] hr
 w3.t-ntr spr=k r 3bdw m 3w-ib iw wr.w hr-h3.t=k | shtp(.w) n=k
 hrw.(y)w sdh(.w) n=k rmn.w n(.w) itnw.w [...] [m 3bdw] mšrw n(.y) ih.t-
 h3wy sm3^c-hrw=k m hnw wsh.t wnd.wt=k m h^cw | mr.wt=k m ršrš
 hsf.n=i sbi.w hm=k sndm.n=i ib n(.y) [it=i Wsir hnt(.y)-imn.tyw nb
 3bdw] mri ntr mrr sw iw m ib=k iri.t=i nb.t smnh=k mnw.w=i m hw.t-
 ntr=k di=k wnn=i m | šms.wt hm=k di=k rn=i m r3 n(.y) mr.wt=k
 srwd=k ^c.wy=i [m h]knw imi rdi n=i ^c.wy hm.w-ntr m pri.t hr h3.t 3.t*

$sh^3=sn \mid \{n\}$ $wi \ m \ sh^3(.w)$ $nfr \ nrw=sn \ dm.w \ rn=i \ h^c i=sn \ m \ r\dot{d}i.t \ ^c nh=i$
 $mri=sn \ r\dot{d}i.t \ n=i \ hknw \ m \ tp \ tr.w \mid r^3-pr.w \ pn \ m \ sw\dot{d} \ it \ n \ s^3=f \ iw=f \ r \ w^c b$
 $n\dot{t}r \ pn \ i^3y.t=f \ n(.y) \ [i]^3w.t \ [s^3w] \ ih.wt \ iw^c.t=f \ ih \ mn\dot{h}=f \ hr \ ns.t=f \ s\dot{d}m.w$
 $nn \ wh\dot{m}.w \ w\dot{d}=i \ i[w] \ grt \ iri.t \mid mnw.w \ m \ srw\dot{d} \ p^3.wt \ n\dot{t}r.w \ m=\dot{t}n \ wi \ hr$
 $r\dot{d}i.t \ rh[=\dot{t}n \ r\dot{d}i](.w)=i \ h\dot{f}t-hr=\dot{t}n \ rs-tp \ \dot{t}n \ hr \ hw.t-n\dot{t}r \ dgi.w \ m-\dot{d}i \ mnw.w$
 $iri.n=i \ \dot{d}i=i \ sh\dot{r} \ nh\dot{h} \ h\dot{f}t \ ib=i \ hhy=i \ ^3h.w \ n \ m-\dot{h}t \ m \ r\dot{d}i.t \ sp \ pn \ m \ ib=\dot{t}n \ w^3i$
 $r \ hpr \ m \ hnw \ st \ tn \ iri.n \ st \ n\dot{t}r \ n \ ib=i \mid r \ smnh \ mnw.w=i \ m \ hw.t-n\dot{t}r=f \ r$
 $srw\dot{d} \ htm.w=i \ m \ pr.w=f \ mri \ hm=f \ iri.tn=i \ n=f \ h^c i \ sw \ m \ \dot{s}^3.tn=i \ iri.t$
 $r\dot{d}i.ntw \ n=f \ m^3^c \ hrw \ ink \ s^3=f \ n\dot{d}.ty=f \ r\dot{d}i=f \ n=i \ iw^c.t \ n(.y) \ tp(.y)-t^3 \ [ink]$
 $nsw.t \ ^c^3 \ ph.ty \ mn\dot{h} \ w\dot{d}.t-mdw \ nn \ ^c nh \ rk.ty=fy \ wi \ nn \ tpr \ itnw.w=i \ t^3w \ nn$
 $rn=f \ m-m \ ^c nh.w \ nhb \ k^3=f \ hnt.y \ sr.w \ iw=f \ r \ rw.ty \ n \ n\dot{t}r \ pn \ [m \ itnw].ty=fy$
 $w\dot{d}.t \ hm=i \ tm.t(y)=sn \ iri(.w) \ h\dot{f}t \ w\dot{d} \ pn \ n(.y) \ hm=i \ tm.t(y)=sn \ s^c rw(.w)$
 $wi \ n \ n\dot{t}r \ pn \ \dot{s}psy \ tm.t(y)=sn \ im^3(.w) \ n \ iri.tn=i \ m \ htp.w-n\dot{t}r=f \ [tm.t(y)=sn]$
 $r\dot{d}i(.w) \ n=i \ hknw \mid m \ h^3b \ nb \ n(.y) \ r^3-pr.w \ pn \ m-[hnw] \ hw.t-n\dot{t}r \ mi \ k\dot{d}=s$
 $n.t \ r^3-pr.w \ pn \ i^3w.t \ nb.t \ n.t \ ^3b\dot{d}w \ i\dot{s}t \ iri.n \ hm=i \ nn \ n(.y) \ mnw.w \ n \ it=i$
 $Wsir \ hnt(.y)-imn.tyw \ nb \ ^3b\dot{d}w \mid n \ ^c^3.t \ n(.t) \ mrr=i \ sw \ r \ n\dot{t}r.w \ nb.w \ r\dot{d}i=f$
 $n=i \ isw \ hr \ nn \ n(.y) \ [mnw.w=i] \ ^c h^c \ m \ hh \ n.w \ rnp.wt \ mtn.ywt \ iri=i \ m$
 $iri.tn=[f] \ m^3^c.t \ pw \ hr \ ib \ n(.y) \ n\dot{t}r$

iii) Translation

Year 2 under the majesty of Horus, founder of the two lands; the Two Ladies, who has revealed maat; Horus of gold, enduring of love; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khasekhemra; Son of Ra, Neferhotep, whom Kemi, the mother of the king, bore; given life, stability and dominion like Ra, forever.

The appearing of his majesty upon the throne of Horus in the palace ‘Exalted of Beauties.’

Then his majesty said to the nobles, the companions who were in his following, the true scribes of the sacred writings and the masters of all secrets, “My heart has desired to see the writings of the primeval time of Atum. Open, for me, the great inventory. Cause that (I) might know the god in his essence and the Ennead in their nature, so that I might present divine offerings to them and [offer breads] upon the offering tables, so that I might know the god in his form and might create him according to his first state. It is in order to establish their monuments upon the earth that they have appointed me as their protector. It is to me that they have given the inheritance of [Geb], namely, all which the sundisk encircles. It is because he knows my precise wisdom that my office as head of the land was given to me. I act like the god. [I] will give in excess of than that which was given to me. It is because of their desire to act in accordance with that which they command that they give to me.”

Then these companions said, “That which your Ka has decreed is that which occurs. May your majesty proceed to the houses of writing so that your majesty might see all the words of the god.”

His majesty set out to the archive. Then, his majesty opened the scroll together with these companions. Then, his majesty found the writings of the house of Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos.

Then his majesty said to these companions, “My majesty protects my father, Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos; in that I shall create him, together with his [Ennead] according to that which my majesty has seen in his writings. It was at his emergence from the womb of Nut that his [form] was made as King of Upper and Lower Egypt. I am his son, his protector, his

offspring who [has come forth as] the Master of his Broad Hall, he to whom Geb has [given] his inheritance, the Ennead being satisfied because of it. I am in his great office of Ra's giving, an effective son who creates the one who created him. I will say a great thing and I will cause that you might hear [it. Open] the heart in order that he live through it. I will cause that you might know a just life in the manner of those who live long upon the earth. The making of monuments for Osiris and strengthening the name of Wennefer, if these are done, it shall be beneficial for the land and effective [for every land. I] am one who is in the heart of his father Ra, [lord of that which is] and that which is not, he whom the gods caused to be effective in the [womb], he having come forth distinguished as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the white crown having come into being upon his [brow], he having ruled the Ennead entirely."

Then these companions said, "Regarding the ones who are in [the sky], they allow the plan of your heart. That which your majesty [has] decreed is that which comes to pass."

Then his majesty caused that the Custodian of Royal Property who was amongst the following of his majesty, might be summoned [to him]. Then his majesty said to him, "Travel [southwards with a crew of sailors]. Do not sleep night or day until you reach Abydos. Cause that the Foremost of Westerners might set out. I shall make his monuments like the first time."

Then these companions said, "How great is [that which you have said, Sovereign] Lord, that you will make your [monuments] in Abydos for your father, Foremost of the Westerners."

This official travelled southwards in accordance with that which his majesty decreed to him. [He] arrived [at Abydos] at the displaying of [this god]. The majesty of this god [set out] to the Neshmet-barque, the Mistress of Eternity, [in order to make his departure], the [great river] being flooded [with] the aroma of Punt. They arrived at the residence [...] Then one came in order to report to his majesty, saying, "this god has set out satisfactorily."

His majesty set out upon the god's boat, this [fleet] being furnished with mesket-barques and [imu-ships.] [...] The king himself [was conveyed] at the

front, upon the canal, in order to associate with this god; causing that the god's offerings might be presented to his father, Foremost of the Westerners. Myrrh, wine and all the god's things for Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, in all of his names, are that [which he] set down for [this] god; pacifying the [...] and driving back those who rebel against the Neshmet-barque.

Then the majesty of this god was caused to appear, his ennead being assembled [in his following.] Wepwawet was before him, he having cleared the roads from [his enemies.] Then it was caused that the majesty of this god might set out to the chapel so that he might rest in his place in the sculptor's workshop, in order to create the beauty of his majesty, together with his ennead, and his altars; they being created [from bronze] and [being adorned] with every noble stone of the god's land. [Now his majesty] himself was overseeing their work [in silver], gold, and [copper]; his majesty being made pure through the purity of the god and through his [crafting] of the Lord of the West. As for the stolist, scribes and servants of the [workshop] who saw him working [in this temple] [... ..] [As for] his majesty, [who found] this knowledge [himself], never had any scribe who was in the following of his majesty found it. That the god put this in his heart secretly was [like] Osiris, [foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos].

Existing was decreed for him in the egg. He has driven back those who have rebelled against your majesty, he having been praised day and night. He has grasped the opponents of your ship, he pacifying the ones who have rebelled in Ra-Pekher. <He has> known the gateways [of the netherworld] and the doors of the fields of Iaru, he being [joyful] (lit. his heart being wide) because of your offerings of the calendrical festivals: <on the day> of every god's going forth in the wag-festival and the Thoth-festival, an eternity of your years therein.

Your effective son, there is none beside him like Horus. This [son protects his] father. Your [offspring], who endows your offering tables and who makes sweet the smell of your temple. Uncover the great [place. Open] the great shrine of the one who made him.

It is possessing a lifetime of eternity upon [the earth] that he [stands] as king,

that he might prosper like the heavens and be stable like the earth, and that he might spend an eternity like Nehebkau therein; the hearts of your priests [are delighted] when they make offerings to his statues; [the hearts of your adorants are wide (i.e. joyful), praises having been made to his images.]

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khai-sekhem-ra, Son of Ra, Neferhotep, living forever and ever, whom the Mother of the King, Kemi, true of voice, bore.

Then his majesty said, “I will recite for you whilst driving away [your enemies on the road to Ra-Pekher. I will make rejoicing] and [praises] for you upon the road of the god. When you arrive at Abydos in joy; the great ones shall be before you, the enemies having been pacified for you, and the arms of the opponents being brought low for you [...] [in Abydos], (on) the evening of the evening of ceremonies; you will be justified inside the *wsḥ.t*-hall, whilst your subjects will exalt and your servants will rejoice, I having driven back the opponents of your majesty and made sweet the heart of [my father, Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos]; the god loves the one who loves him. In your heart is all that I will do; you make my monuments effective in your temples, you cause that I might be in the following of your majesty, you put my name in the mouth of your servants, you cause my two arms to flourish [through] praise. Cause that the two arms of the priests might give to me at the coming forth before the great altar, that they might recall me with beautiful memories, that they might fear the ones who proclaim my name, that they may rejoice in causing that I might live, and that they might delight in giving praise to me during the seasons of this temple when a father hands over to his son. He will be a *wḥb*-priest of this god, his rod in old age, [guarding] the things of his inheritance. May he be firm upon his throne.

Hear this, repeat that which I decree. Now, the making of monuments perpetuates the gods’ offerings. Behold, I am causing that [you] might know that I [have been put] before you. Be vigilant over the temple. Look upon the monuments which I have made, I putting the plan of eternity at the front of my heart, I seeking out what is beneficial for the future through placing this matter in your heart. That which was far from happening inside this place, the

god has done it because of my desire to make my monuments effective in his temple and to fulfil my contracts in his house; his majesty loves that which I have done for him, he rejoicing in that which I have ordained the doing of, justification having been given to him.

I am his son, his protector, he gives to me the inheritance of the one who is upon the earth. I am the king, great of strength, effective of command. The one who will defy me will not live. My opponent will not breathe air. His name will not be amongst the living. His Ka will be bound before the nobles. He will be removed from this god; [namely,] those who will [oppose] that which my majesty decrees, those who will not act in accordance with this decree of my majesty, those will not cause me to rise to this noble god, those who will not be well-disposed to that which I have done with his divine offerings, (and) [those who will not] give praise to me during every festival of this temple [within] this house of god in its entirety of this temple and every office of Abydos.

Now, my majesty has made these monuments for my father, Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos, because of the greatness of my loving him more than all the gods; he will give to me a reward because of these, my monuments: a lifetime with millions of years. The reward for my actions is in that which he has done. It is maat in the heart of the god.”

Appendix B

A substantial amount of the Neferhotep Stela is discussed in Blumenthal's study of royal phraseology of the Middle Kingdom. This appendix has been provided to cross reference each line analysed in Blumenthal's study, with the corresponding discussion of that line in this study.

Line Number	Blumenthal Entry ⁵⁰³	Paragraph
2	A 5.21	2.4
3-4	C 2.4	2.5.1
3-4	C 2.7	2.5.1
4	A 3.11	2.5.2
4	B 6.33	2.5.2
5	A 2.3	2.5.2
5	B 6.7	2.5.2
5	D 3.6	2.5.2
6	B 5.6	2.5.2
6	G 8.49	2.6
7-8	B 6.34	2.8.1
9	A 2.4	2.8.2
9	A 3.12	2.8.2
9	B 1.11	2.8.1
9	C 4.3	2.8.1
9	C 2.8	2.8.2
10	G 8.46	2.8.2
10	G 8.83	2.8.2
10-11	C 3.7	2.8.2
12	G 8.19	2.9
13-14	D 2.5	2.1
17-18	C 2.5	2.13
18	C 2.3	2.13
19	C 2.9	2.14.1
20	C 3.16	2.14.2
21	G 1.45	2.15
22	C 2.30	2.15
22-23	C 2.26	2.15

⁵⁰³ following, Blumenthal, *Phraseologie*.

24	B 6.12	2.16
24	C 2.18	2.16
25	B 6.9	2.16
25	C 5.6	2.16
25-26	C 5.10	2.16
26	D 1.6	2.16
27	C 4.4	2.17.1
29	B 1.21	2.17.1
29	B 5.1	2.17.1
29	C 2.22	2.17.1
29-30	C 5.7	2.17.2
30	C 5.2	2.17.2
30-31	C 6.8	2.17.2
31-32	C 5.8	2.17.2
32	C 5.3	2.17.2
32	G 8.32	2.17.3
32-33	C 2.21	2.17.3
33-34	C 3.13	2.17.3
34	C 6.11	2.17.3
34-35	C 3.12	2.17.3
35	B 3.8	2.17.4
36	A 3.10	2.17.4
36	F 2.9	2.17.4
36	G 8.5	2.17.4
36-37	F 5.7	2.17.4
37	F 5.8	2.17.4
37-39	C 5.9	2.17.4
39-40	B 2.12	2.17.5
40	B 4.20	2.17.5

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Plates

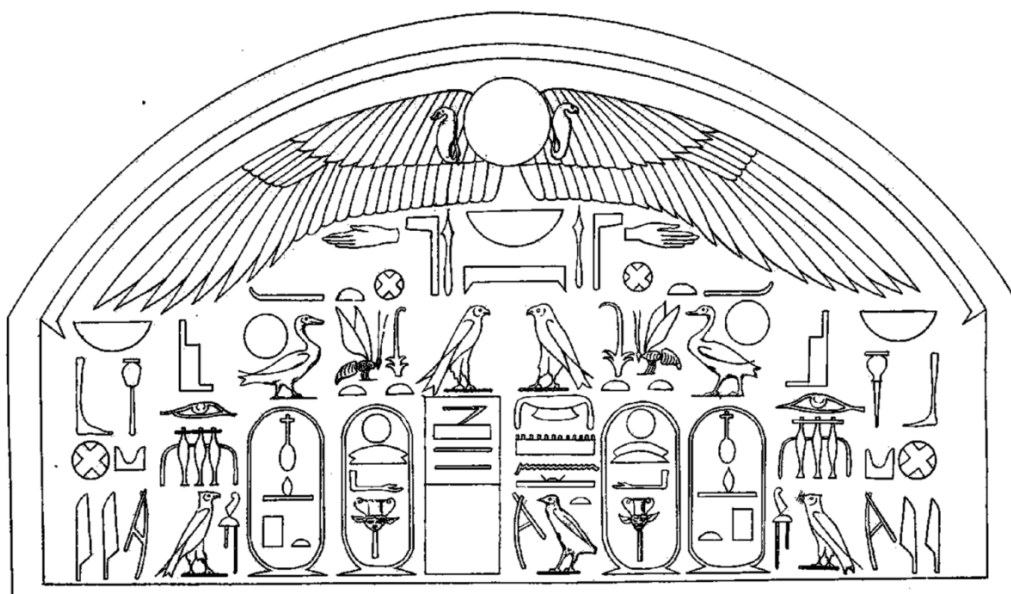


Fig. 1: the lunette as recorded by Mariette, *Abydos*, II, pl.28.



Fig. 2: the lunette as given in Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, pp.21



Fig. 3: the lunette as produced for this study

Line 1

Plate II

Mariette⁴⁹⁴



Pieper⁴⁹⁵



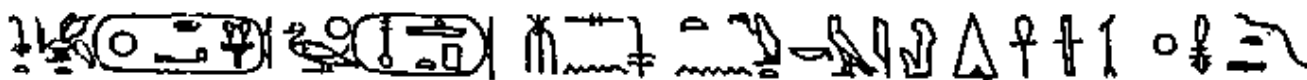
Helck⁴⁹⁶



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⁴⁹⁴ The text here is reproduced after: Mariette, *Abydos*, II, pl.28-30.

⁴⁹⁵ The text here is reproduced after: Pieper, *Grosse Inschrift*, pp.I-IX.

⁴⁹⁶ The text here is reproduced after: Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, pp.21-29.

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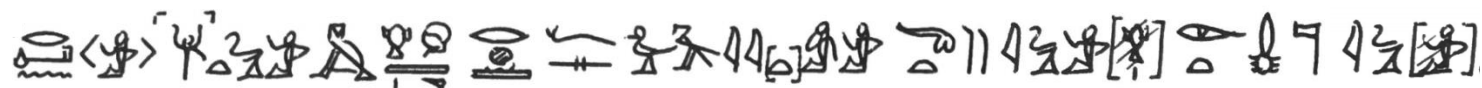
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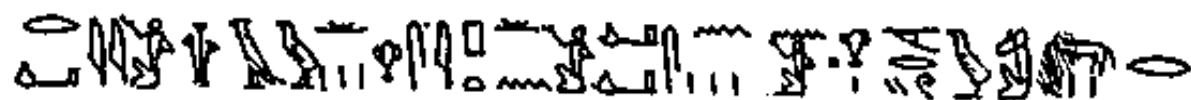
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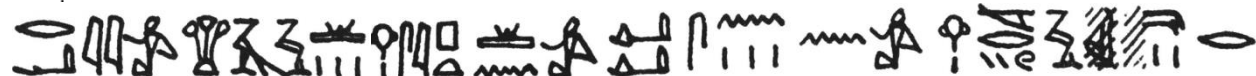
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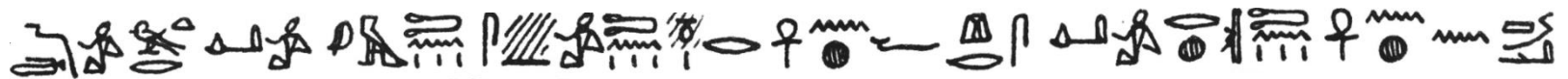
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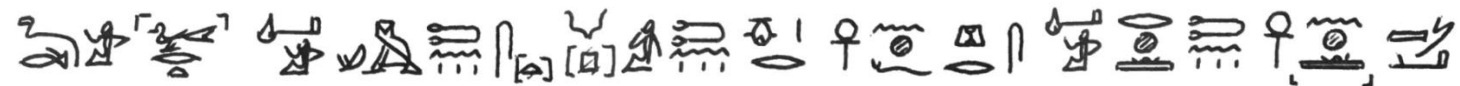
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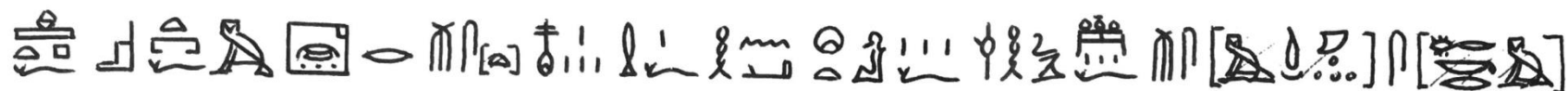
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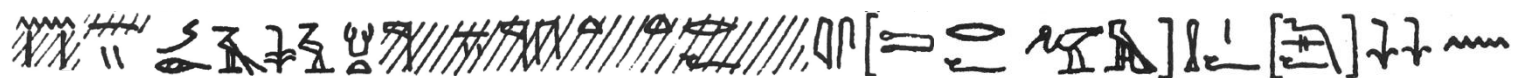
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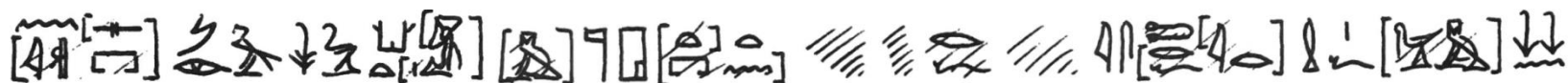
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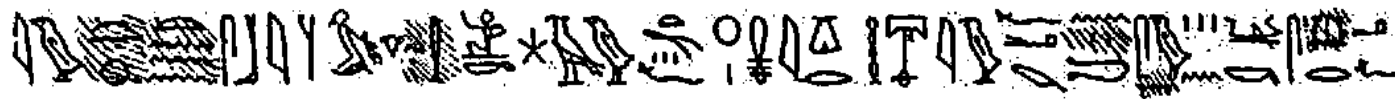
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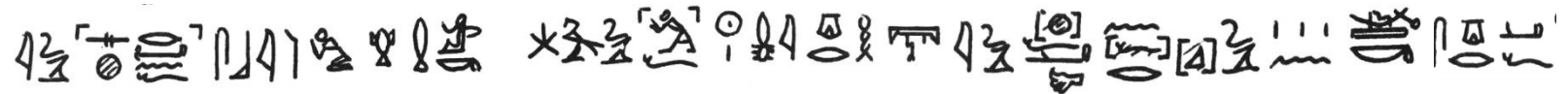
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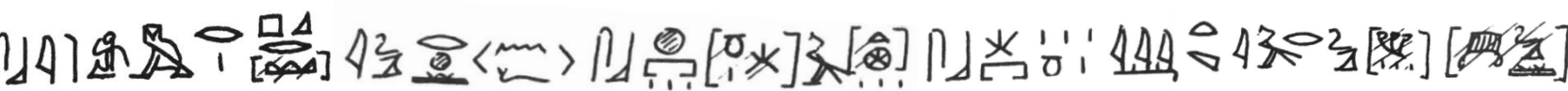

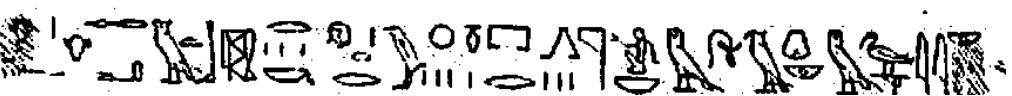


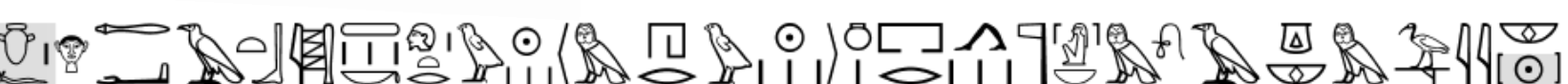


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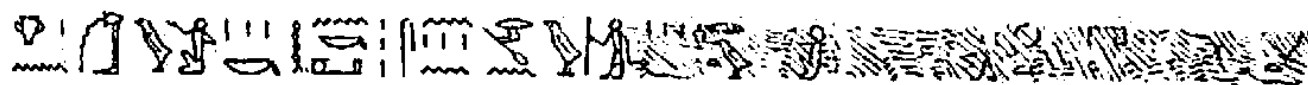
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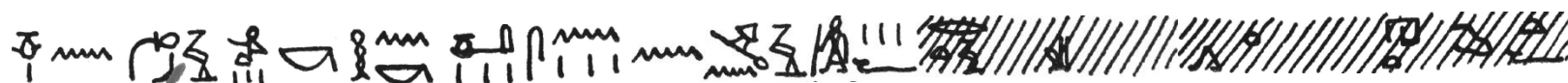
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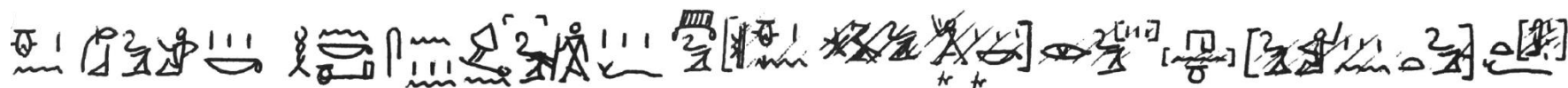
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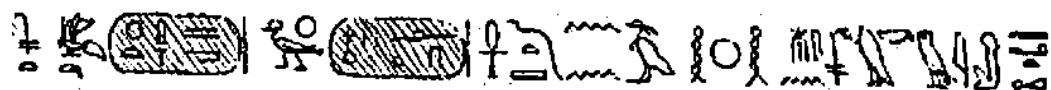
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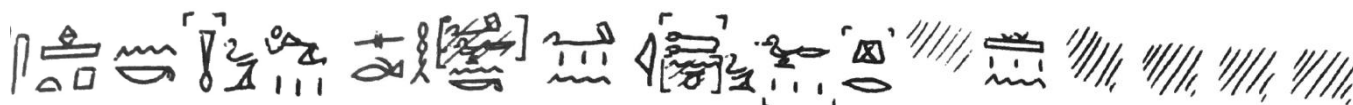
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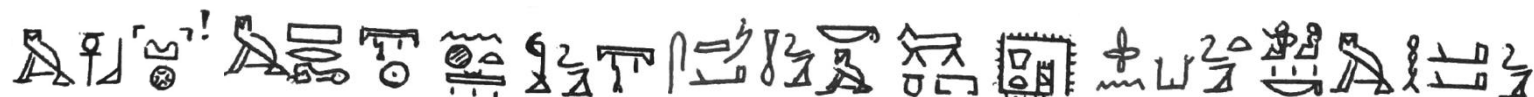
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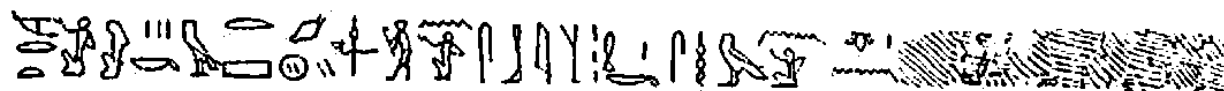
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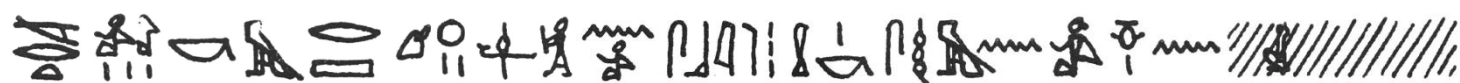
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M.



P.



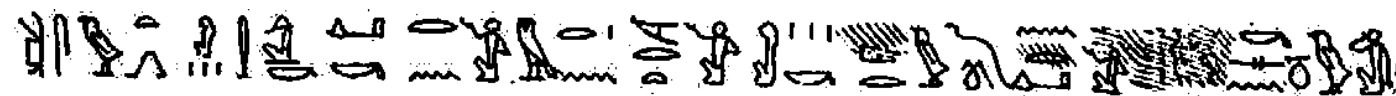
H.



N.



M.



P.



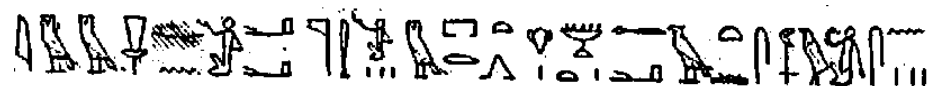
H.



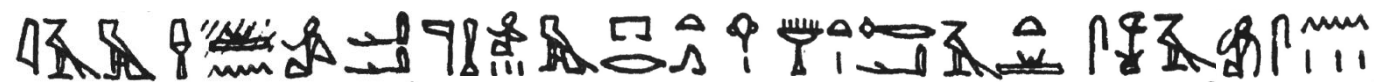
N.



M.



P.



H.



N.



M.

[illegible]

P.

H.

[illegible]

N.

M.

𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝

P.

[illegible]

H.

♀ 𐎶𐎵𐎧𐎺𐎠𐎥𐎢𐏁𐎡𐏃𐎣𐎲𐎤𐎴𐎫𐎪𐎭𐎮𐎬𐎰𐎱𐎽𐎳

N.

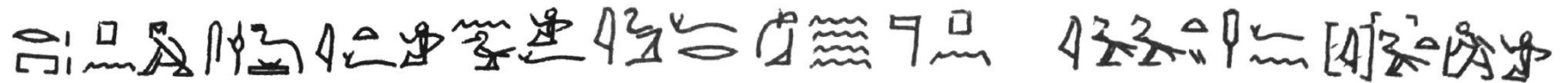
M.



P.



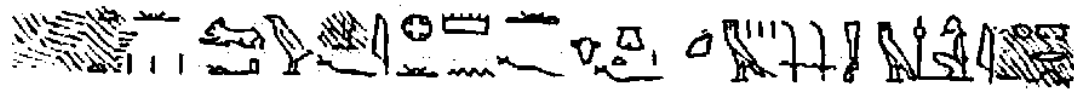
H.



N.



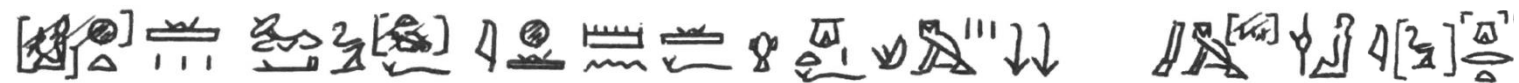
M.



P.



H.



N.



M.

A horizontal row of Egyptian hieroglyphs, likely part of a larger inscription. The symbols include various birds, lotus flowers, and other traditional motifs.

P.

H.

[illegible]

N.

M.

A horizontal sequence of approximately 18 Egyptian hieroglyphs, including symbols for birds, lotus flowers, and other standard characters.

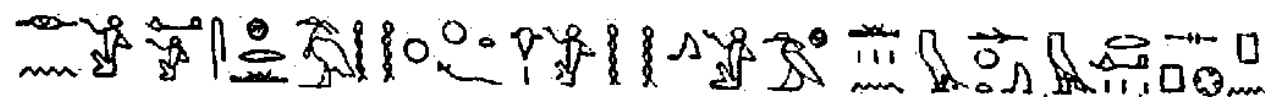
P.

[illegible]

H.

N.

M.



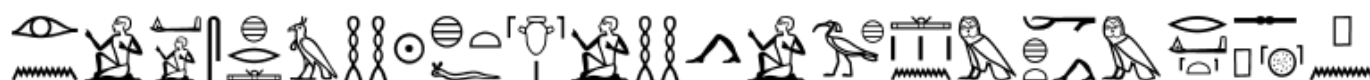
P.



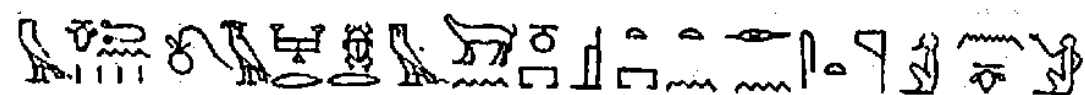
H.



N.



M.



P.



H.



N.



M.

P.

[illegible]

H.

N.

M.

P.

H.

[illegible]

N.

M.

[illegible]

P.

H.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

N.

M.

[illegible]

P.

H.

Handwritten musical notation on a single staff, featuring various rhythmic values and accidentals.

N.

M.

P.

H.

Amor, [192] 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 8

N.

[illegible]

M.

二 廿 三 四 五 六 七 八 九 十

P.

Handwritten musical notation on a single staff, featuring various rhythmic values and accidentals.

H.

N.

M.

P.

H.

N.

M.

P.

H.

N.

M.

[illegible]

P.

Handwritten musical notation on a single staff, featuring various rhythmic values and a key signature of one sharp (F#).

H.

[illegible]

N.

M.

[illegible]

P.

H.

N.