

fPT 746-749	A.5	sPT 1027-1034	N.1
fPT 752-756	A.5		
		sPT 1035-1043	K.2
fPT 759	B.2		
sPT 1001-1004	B.2	sPT 1049	L/M.2
sPT 1005-1009	B.3		
		sPT 1052-1056	G.2
sPT 1010-1011	C		
		sPT 1058	N.2/O
sPT 1012-1014	A.4		
sPT 1015-1022	A.6	sPT 1074-1078	M.2
sPT 1023	G.1	sPT 1079-1080	H.2
sPT 1024	J.2/J.4	N306+11-14	A.5
sPT 1025	J.2		
sPT 1026	J.2	CT 208	K.2

STELA EDINBURGH UC 52 AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR
DEIR EL MEDINA GENEALOGY¹

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Numerous two-dimensional representations from Deir el Medina, pre-eminently on tomb walls and stelae, testify to the posthumous veneration of pharaoh Amenophis I and/or his mother Ahmose Nefertari.² One of the stelae which depicts the adoration of this deified royal couple is known as stela Edinburgh UC 52 (cf. plate I).

Two Egyptological publications³ allude to the existence of this stela, but it has never been properly published. Therefore, the first aim of this paper is to provide a meticulous description of the iconography and texts of that stela. Secondly, I will list close parallels and briefly touch upon the cultural-religious *Sitz im Leben* of the stela. To conclude, I will disclose how the stela contributes to our understanding of Deir el Medina prosopography and genealogy. As regards the Egyptian personal names, I have adopted the spelling used by Davies in his 1999 monograph.⁴ Unfortunately, I was not able to scrutinize the stela itself. Nevertheless, I did have an exquisite black and white photograph (about 28 x 19 cm) at my disposal.⁵

The stela was once part of the collection of the University of Edinburgh. At present, however, the stela is kept in the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh (accession number: UC 52). When, how and by whom the stela was obtained is unfortunately unknown. Although there is no record of its original provenance, close examination of the stela inevitably leads to the conclusion that it originates from Deir el Medina (cf. below).

The stela is made of limestone and measures approximately 38 cm in height and 26 cm in width. It is a classical round-topped votive stela divided into two registers. Its condition is

¹ This paper results from a Master's thesis submitted to Leiden University in August 2006 entitled: *Amenophis I & Ahmose Nefertari. A Study of New Kingdom Stelae from Deir el Medina pertaining to the Royal Couple's Deification*. I am thankful to Dr. R.J. Demarée (Leiden University) for encouraging me in writing this article and for his numerous suggestions. Furthermore I owe thanks to Dr. Bill Manley, Senior Curator (Egyptian Scripts), for providing basic data and some starting points concerning the stela's dedicator and his family.

² Cf. Jaroslav Černý, "Le culte d'Amenophis I^{er} chez les ouvriers de la nécropole Thébaine", in: *BIFAO* 27, 1927, p. 159-203, pl. I-IX; Michel Gitton, *L'épouse du dieu Ahmes Néfertari. Documents sur sa vie et son culte posthume*, Paris, 1975, *Annales littéraires de l'université de Besançon* 172. Centre de recherches d'histoire ancienne 15, p. 43 ff.; B.J.J. Haring, *Kult und Gedächtnis Amenophis' I. auf thebanischen Grabwänden und Stelen*, Leiden, 1990 [unpublished essay]; G. Hollender, *Amenophis I. und Ahmes Nefertari. Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung ihres posthumen Kultus anhand Privatgräber der thebanischen Nekropole*, Köln, 1991 [unpublished Master's thesis, not seen].

³ Bertha Porter & Rosalind L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. I The Theban Necropolis. Part 2 Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries*, Oxford, 1964 (second edition, revised and augmented), p. 728; Gitton, *L'épouse*, 1975, p. 47: no. 41.

⁴ Benedict G. Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina? A Prosopographic Study of the Royal Workmen's Community*, Leiden, 1999, *Egyptologische Uitgaven* 13.

⁵ This black and white print was provided by the Picture Library of the National Museums of Scotland (image no. 31063).

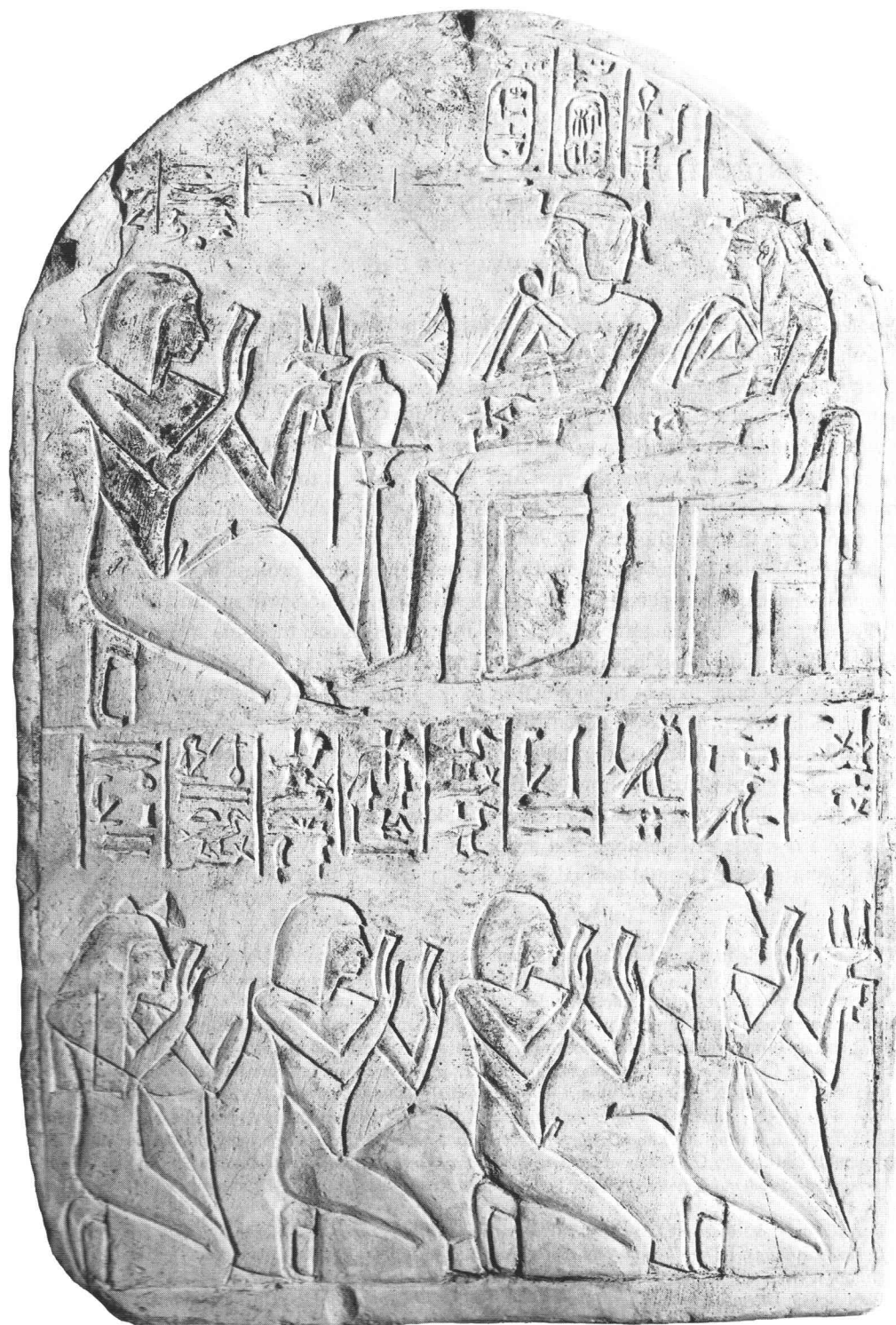


Plate I. Stela Edinburgh UC 52.

quite reasonable. There is a small piece of limestone missing in the lower left corner and its edges are somewhat irregular. The columns in the upper left corner of the stela are partly illegible because the surface has worn off. There are traces of paint visible, most notably on the bodies of some of the figures.

Iconographical Description

The upper register of the stela portrays the adoration of Amenophis I and Ahmose Nefertari by a servant in the Place of Truth named Nebsmen. The servant Nebsmen (→), dressed in an apron to his ankles, kneels before the king and queen (←) who are both seated on cubic thrones. The small altar between them displays two material offerings: a jar intended for some liquid and a lotus flower. Nebsmen offers a lighted portable brazier to the royal couple with his left hand, while his other hand is raised in adoration.

Amenophis I wears a short capsular wig which is complemented by a fillet tied at the back of his head. A single uraeus adorns the king's forehead and a petite beard protrudes from his chin. With his right hand the king presses two common royal insignia, viz. the crook and the *nh3h3*-flail, against his chest. His left hand, like that of his mother, clings to an ankh-sign. This indicates that the deceased royal couple is able to dispense life to their devotees.⁶

The queen's coiffure consists of three elements: a tripartite wig and vulture headdress are surmounted by a modius or calathos. The absence of the matching straight feathers is without a doubt due to the lack of register space.⁷ In my opinion the royal attribute in the queen's right hand can best be denoted with the term lily sceptre.⁸

The identification of the royal couple's attire is more problematic. It appears that the king wears the short *šndy.t*-apron and that his mother is represented with a tight fitting dress which reaches down to her ankles.

The second register depicts four kneeling members of Nebsmen's family (→): his wife, two sons and his daughter respectively. His offspring raises both arms in adoration, but his spouse Tanehsy offers, identical to her husband in the top register, a lighted brazier to the king and queen. The two sons are dressed after their father, whereas the two females are clothed in long robes. Both mother and daughter are represented with a perfume cone and a lotus flower on top of their head.

Texts

The texts of stela UC 52, apart from a few minor orthographic peculiarities, do not pose many difficulties to the reader. The texts simply identify the figures depicted and can, therefore, be classified as identification captions (title/epithet plus royal/personal name).

The four columns above the figure of Amenophis I read as follows (←): ⁽¹⁾ [*nb t3.w.y Dsr-k3-R*] *m3'* ⁽²⁾ *nb h'.w 'Imn-htp hrw* ⁽³⁾ *hm.t n-sw.t 'Ih-ms Nfr.t-ir.y* ⁽⁴⁾ *'nh.ti dd.ti*. In transla-

⁶ Erik Hornung (translated by John Baines), *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt. The One and the Many*, London & Melbourne & Henley, 1983, p. 121.

⁷ Gitton, *L'épouse*, 1975, p. 72.


⁸ Gitton prefers to use the less neutral *chasse-mouche* "fly whisk" instead: Gitton, op. cit., p. 73. A more detailed three-dimensional representation of this kind of sceptre justifies my designation: Guillemette Andreu, *La statuette d'Ahmès Néfertari*, Paris, 1997, Collection solo 8. Département des Antiquités égyptiennes, p. 13: fig. 16. Here it clearly shows that the handle terminates in the heraldic lily flower.

tion: "(1) [The lord of the Two Lands Djoserkare], (2) lord of crowns Amenophis, justified; (3) the king's wife⁹ Ahmose Nefertari, (4) may she live and be stable." Notice the distribution of *m3' hrw*: *m3'* follows after the king's prenomens; *hrw* succeeds to his nomen.

The kneeling dedicator is likewise identified by four columns (→): (1) [...] (2) [*sdm*] š *m* (3) [*s.t*] *m3'.t Nb-Swn.w*¹¹ (4) [*m3' hrw*]. To be translated as: "(1) [...] (2) the [servant] in (3) the [Place] of Truth Nebsmen, (4) [justified.]"

The lower register contains nine columns of text above the four kneeling figures (→): (1) *sn.t=f mr(.t)=f* (2) *nb.t pr T3-(3)Nhs.y* (4) *m3'(t) hrw* (5) *s3=f S3-(6)W3d.y(.t) m3' hrw* (7) *s3=f Hwv-(8)nfr m3' hrw s3.t=f* (9) *Šri.t-R' m3'(t) hrw*. In translation: "(1) His beloved wife, (2) the mistress of the house Ta⁽³⁾nehsy, (4) justified; (5) his son Si⁽⁶⁾wadjet, justified; (7) his son Huy⁽⁸⁾nefer, justified; his daughter (9) Sheritre, justified."



The curious spelling  (transliterated *Nb-Swn.w*) of the name of the primary worshipper in the top register deserves some attention. First to notice is the reversal of the *swn*-arrow. Secondly, the artist wrongly depicted the ring-stand (Gardiner W 11) where one would expect the *nw*-bowl instead. If one searches the Deir el Medina database¹² for documents containing the name *Nb-Swn.w* it merely yields one hit: O. Cairo CG 25789.¹³ The reverse of this ostraccon records a date in the first month of the *pr.t*-season — unfortunately of an unspecified regnal year — followed by the name of the workman in question. As the compilers of the database already suggest, the name is probably a variant spelling of the anthroponym *Nb-Swmm.w*.¹⁴

When one searches the Deir el Medina ostraca for the personal name Nebsmen, this merely adds to the confusion. It seems that at the end of the 19th dynasty there existed a workman of the right side Nebsmen, father of Huynefer, alternately spelled *Nb-smn* (e.g. O. Ashmolean 232, O. DeM 918, O. IFAO 288) and *Nb-Swmm.w* (e.g. O. Cairo 25527, O. DeM 353, O. IFAO 1076). Nevertheless, the latter spelling slightly outnumbers the first. Ostraccon Varille 22 beautifully demonstrates a scribe's struggle with this: the obverse (line 3, palimpsest) shows the proper name *Nb-smn* written over the red *Nb-Swmm.w*. The section *Genealogy* will continue on the issue of Nebsmen's next of kin.

Parallels

Stela Edinburgh UC 52 forms part of a small corpus of New Kingdom private (i.e. non-royal) stelae from Deir el Medina depicting the deified couple Amenophis I and Ahmose Nefertari being worshipped and/or offered to by a Deir el Medina inhabitant who is either represented alone, or accompanied by several members of his family and/or fellow workmen. Thirteen parallel stelae can be distinguished:¹⁵

⁹ "The king's (principal) wife" is one of the four most common titles of the queen: Gitton, *L'épouse*, 1975, p. 69.

¹⁰ This first column appears to contain the suffix pronoun =*k* (Gardiner V 31) at the end, most probably the remnant of some formula of worship and praise ending in *n k3=k*, "for your ka", i.e. for king Amenophis I.

¹¹ Spelled with the *swn*-arrow (Gardiner T 11), but the name *Nb-Swmm.w* is most likely meant. Cf. below.

¹² [Http://www.leidenuniv.nl/nino/dmd/dmd.html](http://www.leidenuniv.nl/nino/dmd/dmd.html) (consulted: 10 August 2008).

¹³ Jaroslav Černý, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Nos 25501-25832. Ostraca hiératiques*, Tome premier *Texte et transcriptions*, Le Caire, 1935, p. 89, 111*.

¹⁴ Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* I, Glückstadt, 1935, p. 186: no. 8.

¹⁵ Only stelae known to have come from Deir el Medina, besides stelae that can be ascribed with high probability to the same place, are included in the enumeration below.

1. Copenhagen Aad 9 (18th dynasty: post-Amarna, but usurped in the subsequent 19th dynasty);¹⁶
2. BM EA 277 (19th dynasty);¹⁷
3. BM EA 1347 (19th dynasty);¹⁸
4. Louvre C 204 (19th dynasty);¹⁹
5. Turin CGT 50034 (19th dynasty: Seti I. The sketch on the verso, however, must have been applied somewhere between the reigns of Merenptah-Siptah (19th dynasty) and Ramesses III (20th dynasty));²⁰
6. Turin no.? (19th dynasty: Ramesses II?);²¹
7. Berlin ÄMP 21538 (19th dynasty, Ramesses II);²²
8. Louvre C 315 (19th dynasty: Ramesses II);²³
9. New York MMA 59.93 (19th dynasty: Ramesses II);²⁴
10. BM EA 1516 (19th dynasty: Ramesses II-Seti II);²⁵
11. Turin CGT 50041 (19th dynasty: Merenptah-Siptah);²⁶
12. BM EA 317 (late 19th, early 20th dynasty);²⁷
13. BM EA 811 (20th dynasty).²⁸

All the stelae above testify to the personal piety of the Deir el Medina inhabitants. Their devotion or faith is materialized as it were by the erection of a stela. Was it pure altruism then which induced the workmen? Surely not, such votive stelae above all served to obtain the deity's attention and favour. The adage *do ut des* should come into force.²⁹ The workmen tried to establish a fruitful personal relationship with a god who appealed to them, in this case Ahmose Nefertari and her son.

The dedicators of stelae 1, 6 and 10 explicitly supplicate for certain favours (e.g. praise, love or a good lifetime); in these cases their impetus is apparent. The Edinburgh stela though,

¹⁶ I will only refer to one — either the most recent and/or the most complete — publication. As for this stela from Denmark: Maria Mogensen, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques du Musée national de Copenhague*, Copenhagen, 1918, p. 30-31, pl. XIV: fig. 18.

¹⁷ M.L. Bierbrier (ed.), *The British Museum. Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.*, Part 12, London, 1993, p. 18: pl. 54-55: no. 2, pl. 54: no. 2, 55: no. 2.

¹⁸ Bierbrier, *HTBM* 12, 1993, p. 14: pl. 38-39: no. 1, pl. 38: no. 1, 39: no. 1.

¹⁹ Porter & Moss, *Bibliography* I2, 1964, p. 729-730.

²⁰ Mario Tosi & Alessandro Roccati, *Stele e altre Epigrafi di Deir el Medina. N. 50001-n. 50262*, Torino, 1972, CGT I, p. 67-68, 274 (lower pls).

²¹ J.-F. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie. Notices Descriptives*, II, Paris, 1844, p. 698-699: no. 15.

²² Alfred Grimm & Sylvia Schoske, *Im Zeichen des Mondes. Ägypten zu Beginn des Neuen Reiches*, München, 1999, *Schriften aus der ägyptischen Sammlung* 7, p. 48: no. 62, 113: no. 62.

²³ Bernard Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1929)*, Le Caire, 1930, *FIFAO* VII/2, p. 39-40: no. 1, 53: no. 8, pl. IX.

²⁴ Nora E. Scott, "A Stela and an Ostraccon: Two Acquisitions from Deir el Médineh", in: *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, N.S., vol. 21: no. 4, 1962, p. 149-153.

²⁵ M.L. Bierbrier (ed.), *The British Museum. Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.*, Part 10, London, 1982, p. 27: pl. 64, pl. 64.

²⁶ Tosi & Roccati, *Stele*, 1972, p. 75-76, 277 (upper pl.).

²⁷ T.G.H. James (ed.), *The British Museum. Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.*, Part 9, London, 1970, p. 20-21: no. 1, pl. XVIa: no. 1, XVI: no. 1.

²⁸ Bierbrier, *HTBM* 12, 1993, p. 17-18: pl. 52-53: no. 1, pl. 52: no. 1, 53: no. 1.

²⁹ The Instruction for King Merikare phrases this process of exchange (reciprocity) as follows: "(...) act for the god, in order that he may act in a similar way for you (...) god is aware of the one who acts for him (...)". Papyrus Petersburg 1116A, lines 129-130.

does not contain texts which can divulge the circumstances leading up to its erection (cf. below for a tentative suggestion). When such explanatory texts are entirely absent, likewise for parallels 2-5, 7-9 and 11-13, one has to focus on the iconography instead. The submissive posture of the Deir el Medina family suggests that they seek protection and salvation from Ahmose Nefertari and her son; as their humble servants they are entitled to this.³⁰

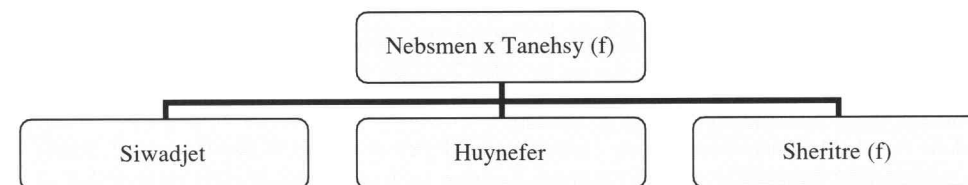
The gods could be 'won over' by presenting both material and spiritual offerings.³¹ The material offerings are either depicted on top of an altar in the top register, and/or presented by the primary worshipper and/or secondary worshipper(s). These particular stelae represent incense (offered by using a portable brazier), sistra, aliments, liquids and papyrus stems. Of course the erection of a stela *an sich* can be regarded as a material offering. Submissive body positions and similar formulae should be counted among spiritual offerings.

Why then did the dedicators of the stelae choose Amenophis and his mother as objects of veneration? The most plausible explanation for Amenophis I's deification still remains the one advocated by Černý in 1927 which is based on a (supposed) personal merit: he was the king who founded the Deir el Medina village and/or community. The association of Ahmose Nefertari with her son and/or husband Ahmose, the pharaoh who expelled the Hyksos, most probably led to her deification. She was allotted the role of the prototype mother: supportive and protective of her son. Her popularity in the Theban area can largely be explained by her relationship with Amun as his first and foremost god's wife (*hm.t ntr*).

Clearly the Edinburgh stela depicts the posthumous veneration of Amenophis I and his mother Ahmose Nefertari. The following section however, discusses a more secular aspect of this stela: its value for our understanding of Deir el Medina genealogy.

Genealogy

Analysis of the texts of the Edinburgh stela leads to the pedigree below:



When Davies attempted to reconstruct the family of his Siwadjet (iv)³² he did not have this genealogical data at his disposal. He was merely able to determine the blood ties between Siwadjet, his mother Tanehsy (O. Petrie 16)³³ and his brother Huynefer (stela Clère 8).³⁴ A

³⁰ Hellmut Brunner, *Grundzüge der altägyptischen Religion*, Darmstadt, 1983, Grundzüge 50, p. 104.

³¹ Ashraf Iskander Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom*, Hildesheim, 1987, Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge 27, p. 199-217.

³² Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, p. 264-265, charts 17-18.

³³ Jac. J. Janssen & P.W. Pestman, "Burial and Inheritance in the Community of the Necropolis Workmen at Thebes (Pap. Bulaq X and O. Petrie 16)", in: *JESHO* 11, 1968, p. 153 (obv. l. 6-rev. l. 6).

³⁴ J.J. Clère, "Monuments inédits des serviteurs dans la Place de Vérité", in: *BIFAO* 28, 1929, p. 188-189: no. 8, pl. II: no. 8 (lower register: col. 1-8).

previous attempt at reconstruction of the family's composition was made by Janssen and Pestman in the 1960's.³⁵ They mistakenly incorporated Nebsmen in their diagram as the father of Tanehsy.

The genealogical data above facilitates the dating of the Edinburgh stela. The primary dedicator Nebsmen can most probably be put on a par with Davies's deputy Nebsmen (i).³⁶ Considering the worshipper's title though (i.e. *sdm* 'š), at the time of the stela's erection Nebsmen had not been promoted to deputy yet. As village records indicate that Nebsmen was a deputy by year six of Siptah,³⁷ the stela must have been commissioned sometime earlier.

Most interestingly, the names Nebsmen and Siwadjet appear in conjunction – albeit not in patronymic form – on several occasions in the second half of the 19th dynasty: e.g. in TT 216 of Neferhotep the younger and on ostracon DeM 353.³⁸ In addition Siwadjet (or perhaps his brother Huynefer?) might be the author of the aforementioned O. Petrie 16, although he is nowhere explicitly mentioned. The ostracon speaks of "(...) the workman Nebsmen, my father (...)" (recto, line 1), whereas line 6 of the recto and lines 1 and 2 of the verso state: "List of objects, which the workman Siwadjet made in order to bury the lady Tanehsy, his mother (...)". Moreover line 4 of the recto contains an interesting detail: Nebsmen's son apparently addresses the deified king Amenophis I ("my lord") to do justice in the dispute the ostracon records.

Possibly, the son Huynefer was named so as a result of his parents' devotion to Amenophis I, the alleged founder of the Deir el Medina community.³⁹ Theophoric personal names including the hypocorism "Huy", of which Huynefer is just one of the many examples, could refer to Amenophis I.⁴⁰

Papyrus Bulaq 10 (P. Cairo JdE 58092) might elucidate the reason behind the erection of the Edinburgh stela. It speaks of a precedent in which Siwadjet was awarded the inheritance of his mother Tanehsy: *hr iw in n-sw.t 'Imn-htp 'nh wd3 snb i.di.t=s n=f m t3 knb.t* "For it was king Amenophis, life, prosperity and health, who gave it [landed property] to him [Siwadjet] in the court".⁴¹ Too good to be true maybe, but it is possible that this particular event led to the erection of the Edinburgh stela. By commissioning this stela – assuming Nebsmen died before his wife did, but still represented as primary dedicator – Siwadjet would express his gratitude towards the king. One would have expected him though, to use his father's later title 'deputy' instead of the lower rank 'servant in the Place of Truth' ...

All discussed (written) sources at the very least testify to the special connection and devotion of Nebsmen's family to king Amenophis I; stela Edinburgh UC 52 in the lead.

³⁵ Janssen & Pestman, "Burial and Inheritance", 1968, p. 157.

³⁶ Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, p. 62-63.

³⁷ Davies, *Who's Who*, 1999, p. 63 (contra Černý: year six of Seti II, cf. p. 62: esp. note 5).

³⁸ Jaroslav Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, Tome V (N^{os} 340 à 456), Le Caire, 1951, p. 4, pl. IV (obv. l. 5).

³⁹ Černý, *BIFAO* 27, 1927, p. 160-161. Other scholars consider Thutmose I to be the founder of the workmen's community instead: e.g. Raphael Ventura, "Snefru in Sinai and Amenophis I at Deir el-Medina", in: Sarah Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Pharaonic Egypt. The Bible and Christianity*, Jerusalem, 1985, p. 279-280; Alexandra von Lieven, "Kleine Beiträge zur Vergöttlichung Amenophis' I. II: Der Amenophis-Kult nach dem Ende des Neuen Reiches", in: *ZÄS* 128, 2001, p. 41: note 2. Cf. also Ann H. Bomann, *The Private Chapel in Ancient Egypt. A Study of the Chapels in the Workmen's Village at El Amarna with Special Reference to Deir el Medina and Other Sites*, London & New York, 1991, *Studies in Egyptology*, p. 72: esp. note 102.

⁴⁰ One has to keep in mind though, that the "Huy" just as well can be a nickname for Amenophis, the son of Hapu: Teresa R. Moore, "Any as an Element in Theophoric Names", in: *JARCE* 33, 1996, p. 140-141.

⁴¹ Janssen & Pestman, "Burial and inheritance", 1968, p. 140-141, 144, pl. I (recto, line 15).