

# **Votive Stelae from Salakhana Tomb , Asyut**

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### **Abstract :**

This paper is focusing on six votive stelae from Salakhana tomb in Asyut which preserved in Cairo Egyptian Museum.\*

These stelae are dedicated to Upwawet the jackal god of Asyut. The deity is usually seen upright on his standard with various adornments. The most common subject is a scene in which a worshipper stands in adoration of Upwawet.

A full publication of the stelae, scenes and the inscriptions that carved on its surface are included here.

### **Keywords:**

votive– stela– Salakhana tomb- Upwawet– Djefai-Hapy III– donor.

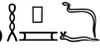
### **Introduction :**

In 1922 the British Egyptologist Wainwright<sup>1</sup> was working at Asyut under the direction of Pierre Lacau , excavated a large

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\*I am grateful to the Director of Cairo Museum, for permission to publish the stelae here in.

trove of votive stelae in the tomb which belonged to  DfAi-Hapy (Djefai-Hapy III) hereditary prince of the Lycopolitan Nome, of which Asyut was capital city during the XII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. He may well have been the grandson of Djefai – Hapy I, whose tomb is familiar for the presence of legal contracts inscribed on its walls, he probably lived during the reign of Senwosert I (XII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty)<sup>2</sup>.

Djefai – Hapy III is the owner of tomb VII (Fig.1), who probably lived under Amenemhat II. The tomb is described as the "Salakhana tomb", is so named because of its proximity to the abattoir of Asyut. Today, the tomb is inaccessible to researchers as it is part of an Egyptian military<sup>3</sup>. After the excavation of the tomb of Djefai-Hapy III in 1922, these stelae and other objects were transported to the Egyptian Museum, and now, they are stored in the Museum's basement, Terence DuQuesne has been documenting more than 500 stelae and

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<sup>1</sup>Wainwright, G., "The Aniconic Form of Amon in the New Kingdom", *ASAE* 28, 1928, pp. 175–189.

<sup>2</sup>Beinlich, H., "Djefaihapi", *LÄ* I, 1975, pp. 1105 – 1108.

<sup>3</sup>PM IV, p. 264, plan, p. 260; Montet, P., *Les tombeaux de Siout et de Deir Rifeh*, in *kêmi* 6, 1936, pp. 134–135, Capart, J., *Travels in Egypt, Letters of Charles Edwin Wilbour*, Brooklyn, 1936, p. 528; Magee, D., *Asyut to the End of the Middle Kingdom: a historical and cultural study* (unpublished PhD. thesis), Oxford, 1988, pp. 27–28; Kahl, J., *Ancient Asyut: The First Synthesis after 300 Years of Research*, Wiesbaden, 2007, pp. 92–93.

other figurines<sup>4</sup>. The votive stelae are covering the period from the New Kingdom to the 27<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. The stelae that the subject of this paper , are previously unpublished.

The stelae are dedicated to Upwawet,  wp-wAwT "opener of the ways" the patron deity of Asyut , in funerary texts Upwawet also opened the ways to lead the deceased through the netherworld and the king to ascension (PT.1009), the title could be interpreted as opening the way to the sun – god on his journey in heaven (PT.455). He seems to have a significant role in protecting the king and is seen as the son of Osiris<sup>5</sup>.

Upwawet is usually shown as a jackal upright on decorated standard. On some stelae the standard of Upwawet is supported on a carrying– shrine refers to processions of the god image through Asyut streets which were probably commissioned by donors of the stelae<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> DuQuesne, T., and other, *The Salakhana Trove votive stelae and other objects from Asyut*, London, 2009.

<sup>5</sup> LÄGGII, pp 342-346; Wilkinson, R., *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*, London, 2003, pp.190-191; Eissa, A., *Untersuchungen zum Gott Upuaut bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*, Cairo, 1989, p.85, 101, 105.

<sup>6</sup> Sadek, A., *Popular Religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom*, Hildesheim, 1987, pp.40-42; DuQuesne, T., *Documents on the Cult of the Jackal Deities at Asyut*, DE 53, 2002, pp.9-30;

one of the stelae is dedicated to the sun god Re – Horakhti , they are considerable later in date than the previous stelae, it was made between XXV<sup>th</sup> and XXVII<sup>th</sup> Dynasties, it belongs to the same tomb , and it is linked to the stelae for Upwawet by dint of its having been painted on lime stone surface.

The six stelae with whom we are concerning are made of limestone , they have a conventional form with round top , one of them has preserved some of its original colours , painting was done in ochre and black. Donors are commonly found standing usually to the right and facing left before the god and offering table is frequently seen between them .

The importance of the study of these stelae is the fact that a large number of stelae from New Kingdom were deposited in a tomb of the Middle Kingdom, built four hundred years earlier.

### **1- Stela Cairo JE 99912, CM 329, (Fig.2, Pl.1)**

Round-topped limestone stela, broken in two pieces, greatly weathered at top left, measures 24 cm. height, 18 cm. width and 2.5 cm. thickness.

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DuQuesene, T., *Exalting the god: Processions of Upwawet at Asyut in the New kingdom* , DE 57 , 2003 , pp.21-45.

Facing left, a man wearing a wig and a pleated military kilt, and a woman dressed in a long diaphanous gown carrying a lotus-flower in her left hand. They stand with arms raised in adoration below Upwawet shown facing right on a short conventional divine standard decorated with a SdSd <sup>7</sup> and uraeus. Behind which are four fattened passant canids arranged vertically facing right, traces of a fifth in the top left. All figures are in sunk-relief. This stela is anepigraphic.

**Commentary:**

- Upwawet is shown accompanied by five passant canids  HTt, who indicate for sacrifice<sup>8</sup>. These canids parallel the sacred animals depicted on votive stelae from other sites<sup>9</sup>. They are shown as a plump hyena, indicate their fattening before slaughtering. It is more probable to be figures of

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<sup>7</sup> According to the Pyramid Texts, the deceased king ascends to the sky upon the shedshed which is usually seen with the royal cobra on the standard of Upwawet which was referred as "Lord of the shedshed". Urk. VII, 558-9; Sethe, K., *Die Altägyptischen Pyramiden texte*, Leipzig, 1908-1910, I, p. 440; Frankfort, H., *Kingship and the Gods*, Chicago, 1948, p. 92.

<sup>8</sup> Durisch, N., "Culte des Canidés à Assiout: trois nouvelles stèles dédiées à Oupouaout", BIFAO 93, 1993, pp. 217-219.

<sup>9</sup> DuQuesne, T., *The Salkhana Trove*, p. 34.

pregnant animals. Canids, like other creatures, are for Egyptian hypostases of a god or goddess<sup>10</sup>.

- It is most unusual on the votive stelae for Upwawet to be represented on a short traditional divine standard rather than the elevated one which is often decorated with streamers.
- The donor is shown wearing long military kilt with exaggerated front fold and point, the uniformity of clothing and hair styling on this stela suggests that the untitled donor also held high-status, social positions and occupations. The long military kilt date from the Ramesside era<sup>11</sup>.
- The woman represented wearing a long dress without a shoulder drape, one arm covered by linen and the other covered by tresses of long hair. The

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<sup>10</sup> DuQuesne, T., *Anubis, Upwawet and other Deities Personal Worship and Official Religion in Ancient Egypt*, Cairo, 2007, p.27;  
Wegner, M., "Wepwawet in context: A reconsideration of the Jackal deity and its role in the spatial organization of the north Abydos landscape", *JARCE* 34, 2007, p.144, 150.

<sup>11</sup> DuQuesne, presented a classification of military clothing of male donors on the Salakhana stelae, the clothing of the donor here classified with MKB, see DuQuesne, T., *The Salakhana Trove*, p.585.

date of this style of clothing range widely from early XIX Dynasty into XX Dynasty<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> The type of the clothes here closely resembles to categorie D2a. see DuQuesne, T., The Salakhana Trove, pp.551-552.

## 2- Stela Cairo JE 99913 , CM332,(Fig 3,Pl.2)

Bottom half of limestone stela , slightly weathered , carefully executed , measures 18 cm .height, 27cm. width and 4 cm. thickness .

According to the text , the god ptah is probably represented in the upper register<sup>13</sup> .

A shaven-headed man , Facing left , wearing a long kilt kneels with arms raised in adoration . In front of him an inscription of three vertical lines , behind him some individual signs in a vertical line .

### Inscription:

<sup>1</sup> rdi (t) iAw <sup>14</sup> n  
pt(H)<sup>15</sup> sn tA n

<sup>2</sup> // // // <sup>16</sup> wr di .sn  
anx -wDA- snb

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<sup>13</sup>The god ptah represented with Upwawet on CM 333 .  
DuQuesne,T., *the Salakhana trove*,p. 275.

<sup>14</sup> iAw is determined with  instead of  (A19) .

<sup>15</sup> The sign beside  is certainly  , it has been distorted by weathering , and the sign following ptH is uncertain .

<sup>16</sup> There is traces of a bird legs , perhaps the deity concerned is   
DHwty.

<sup>3</sup>n kA n hms -wAs<sup>17</sup>



<sup>4</sup> mAa -xrw<sup>18</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Giving praises to pta(h),  
kissing the earth for .....

<sup>2</sup> the great, may they give  
Life, health, and prosperity  
to

<sup>3</sup> the ka of Hemes-was

<sup>4</sup> justified

**Commentary :**

-In the Ramesside period the showing of the important male as shaven became more frequent when performing religious ritual , so it is clearly that the donor of this stela is a priest .

-The stela include an initial phrase formula where  dit iAw n<sup>19</sup>(deity 1) that means praising or adoration<sup>20</sup> , it is

<sup>17</sup> The doner's name is not clearly known and not attested in PN.

<sup>18</sup> The traces of the last signs are  mAa-xrw .

<sup>19</sup> WbI, p. 28,2-3.

<sup>20</sup> Brunner, E., "Gebet", LÄII, p. 452.

followed by sn tA n (deity 2) .this formula involving Osiris and Upwawet , is first found on stela of the second Intermediate Period.<sup>21</sup>

- the formula n kA n " for the spirit of " appeared rarely in old kingdom , is used from the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and all known 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty inscriptions use this form to introduce the recipient .<sup>22</sup>

-The stela finished by the epithet mAa-xrw<sup>23</sup> which often partially equivalent to deceased , originally applied to Osiris<sup>24</sup> , the epithet is also used in connection with Horus as the "triumphant", it is used from the old kingdom (PT689) , in the New kingdom it means the victor where refer to the victories of kings.<sup>25</sup>

### 3-Stela Cairo JE99915, CM335,(Fig.4,Pl.3)

Round – topped limestone stela and measures 30 cm. height, 24 cm. width and 5 cm. thickness. Its upper lunette is completely weathered. The upper register has traces of what

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<sup>21</sup> Hassan,S.,*Hymnes religieux du Moyen Empire*,le Caire,1928,p. 123f.

<sup>22</sup>Franke,D.,"*the middle kingdom offering formulas- A challeng*",JEA 89,2003,p. 39 ; Tomich,A., "*Changes in the Htp-di-nsw formula in the Late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period*",ZÄS,138,2011,p. 26 ; See. CG 20339,CG 20026.

<sup>23</sup> WbI, p. 15,1-7.

<sup>24</sup> LÄGG,III,pp. 215-217.

<sup>25</sup>Doxey,D.,"*Egyptian non royal epithets in the Middle Kingdom : A social and Historical analysis*",Leiden,1998,p. 91.

appears to be a group, about four standing deities facing left, one of them shown as a mummiform, apparently with a jackal's head.

The lower register has a group of six figures standing facing left with arms raised. The first is a shaven – headed man wearing a short kilt. The second is a smaller figure , he is a shaven – headed man wearing a short kilt and carrying a long stick, the third is a woman wearing a wig and a long diaphanous gown stands with arms upraised. A second woman similarly dressed holding a type of sistrum in her left hand . A smaller figure of a child , ranged one above another, the lower child carrying a lotus-flower over his shoulder. Traces of inscription erased.

**Commentary:**

- The stela represents a woman wearing the same style of dress that adapted to the Ramesside period.
- one of the female donors appeared holding a type of round sistrum that known in the Ramesside period<sup>26</sup>.

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<sup>26</sup> It is one of the musical and ritual instruments of the goddess Hathor used in religious rites and has recently become a popular instrument which represented a lot on Salakhana stelae. Hickmann, H., *Ägypten musik geschichte in Bildern II*, Leipzig, 1961, p. 48f; Pinch, G., *votive offerings to Hathor*, Oxford, 1993, p. 159; Fekli, M., "Les attributs de la deesse Hathor", *ASAE* 79, 2005, pp. 103–104.

- According to the analysis of the clothing style of the donors, all the men's clothing represented on the stela was a plain sash kilt with angeled hem<sup>27</sup>. It appears to be more common in Dynasties XIX and XX, as observed on the Dynasty XIX stela of Keh from Abydos in the British Museum, an overseer of the stores of offerings to Amun, <sup>28</sup>dressed in the same style. This gown has a sloping hem that is longer at the back than the front and a leopard- skin over the top as a sign of his priestly rank rather than civilian clothing. Finally the stela can be dated probably to the Ramesside period<sup>29</sup>.

#### **4- Stela Cairo JE 99917, CM 337,( Fig5, Pl.4):**

Round – topped limestone stela with following measures : 30.5 cm . height , 24.5cm. width, 6 cm. in thickness. Its upper lunette is extremely weathered, especially at right . The donor is standing facing left , he is wearing a wig and a long kilt with two arms raising in adoration towards an offering – table with a lotus flower before Upwawet who is seated on his standard, behind whom is a tree or bush. To right of the god, are three vertical lines of

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<sup>27</sup> Vogelsang – Eastwood ,G., *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing*, Leiden, 1993, pp 65-68.

<sup>28</sup> Quirk ,S., *Ancient Egyptian Religion* , London , 1992 , p. 102 , Fig . 56.

<sup>29</sup> The style of clothing here, called *kla see*, DuQuesne, T., *The Salakhana Trove*, pp. 557-558.

text. The second and third lines which are behind the donor are too weathered to be legible<sup>30</sup>.

**Inscription:**



Wp-wAwt Smaw abA-tAwy<sup>31</sup>

Upwawet of Upper Egypt, controller of the Two Lands.

**Commentary:**

- The choice of words and the spellings suggest that the stela can be dated to the Ramesside era.

- The name and epithets of the deity Upwawet who most frequently described as: wp-wAwt Smaw, abA-tAwy .

"Upwawet of upper Egypt, controller of the two lands", he is also referred to as lord of Asyut.

- The tree represented behind the god is quite possibly a Tamarisk bush. On

a number of unpublished New Kingdom votive stelae

from Salakhana tomb, Upwawet emerged from 

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<sup>30</sup> The signs in the second and third column probably represent the donor's name and job-title.

<sup>31</sup> abA-tAwy "controller of the Two Lands" a common epithet of Upwawet from the Middle Kingdom onwards, probably read as xrp or sxm.

LÄGG, II, p.346; DuQuesne, T., *The Jackal divinities I*, p.391.





Upwawet of Upper Egypt, controller of the two lands. The priest (of) Upwawet, Ba(?).<sup>43</sup>

**Commentary:**

- The orthography of Upwawet's name occur on this stela, as noted, its abbreviated form. A writing of  with two strokes instead of three  is a fairly frequent phenomenon. This maybe a late Egyptian scribal tradition.
- The god Upwawet represented on this stela in the classical form of a passant jackal on his characteristic elevated standard. Almost invariably present are the uraeus and the SdSd<sup>44</sup> at the front of the standard.

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<sup>43</sup> The name of BA is attested once in the Middle Kingdom.

Cf. Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, Glückstadt, 1935, 89/15.

<sup>44</sup> The object before which the jackal god stands is known as the shedshed because in the Pyramid Texts an identically shaped sign is used to determine this word. Specifically to rise like Horus, who is over the shedshed of heaven (PT 800, PT 1036). In the Middle Kingdom Upwawet was referred to as nb-SdSd "Lord of the shedshed".

Wb. IV, 560-9; Hannig, R., *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I, Maniz am Rhein*, 2003, 1322-6; DuQuesne, T., *The Jackal divinities of Egypt I*, pp. 302-303; Evans, L., "The Shedshed of Wepwawet an artistic and behavioural interpretation", JEA 97, 2011, pp. 104-107.

- The donor represented on the stela with a longer plain sash kilt, it has a straight hem, which usually comes to mid-calf, as exemplified by two stelae from XIX Dynasty, one of Aapehty "deputy of gang of workmen" from Deir-el Madina in the British Museum, and the second stela of Aapanefu, from Deir –el Madina in the Turin Museum<sup>45</sup>.

### **6-Stela Cairo JE99923, CM 345,(Fig.7,Pl.6)**

Painted round-topped limestone stela, much weathered, damaged at bottom left. Measures 30 cm. height, 21.5 cm. width and 3.5 cm. thickness. In the lunette, a carefully rendered and unusual sun-disk with two pairs of wings with traces of Horus' eyes.

Beneath is an ochre horizontal border divided by vertical lines. Below, to left, deity facing right standing mummiform falcon-headed with the sun-disk and

carrying a was scepter  who is probably Ra-Hr-Axty. Before him stands an offering-table with four loaves and

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<sup>45</sup> Qurike, S., *Ancient Egyptian*, Fig.55.

lotus. At right an incense-cone  snTr on a stand<sup>46</sup>, in the middle, two vertical lines.

At the bottom, there are remains of two horizontal bands painted in ochre pigment, there was probably an inscription, but is entirely effaced.

### **Commentary:**

- The horizontal bars and vertical lines suggest that the offerings for the deity Re-Horakhti is placed in an enclosed area probably a shrine.

- On this stela the lunette is occupied by a winged sun-disk, no worshippers appear to be present, the stela do not include representation of jackals. The deity depicted as a mummiform with a falcon's head and a solar disk, carrying a was-sceptre who is probably Re-Horakhti. The stela maybe dated approximately by reference to objects of the same style from other sites in Egypt. This stela is closely

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<sup>46</sup> Wb.IV,180-181;Bonnet,H.,*"Die Bedeutung der Raucherungen im Ägyptischen Kult"*, ZÄS 67, 1931,pp.20-24; Beinlich,H.,*"Altägyptischen Raucheram"*,MDAIK,1987,pp.24-25.

resemble the funerary stelae from Abydos which date from Dynasties XXV to XXVII<sup>47</sup>.

- the stela is possible comes from Abydos instead of Asyut. It is possible also that the artistic styles may have been adapted from one place for use in the other, where the two towns are close geographically<sup>48</sup>.

- Lotus was often represented on the votive stelae from Salakhana tomb, either on the offerings tables or in the hands of the donors<sup>49</sup>.

- The round bread  *psn*<sup>50</sup> appeared on this stela, it was one of the most important elements of life and was connected to the eyes of Horus, which represented all kinds of bread performed on the offerings tables<sup>51</sup>

## Conclusion

Study of the stelae is showing that they refer to the deity Upwawet rather than to Djefaihapy III, the tomb- owner, this

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<sup>47</sup> Munro, P., *Die Spadtagyptischen Toten-Steeln*, Glückstadt, 1973, I, p. 90, pp. 263-265, II, Figs. 103-108.

<sup>48</sup> DuQuesne, T., *the Salakhana Trove*, p. 45.

<sup>49</sup> Weidner, S., *Lotos im alten Ägypten*, Pfaffenweiler, 1985, p. 43, 76-77; Louise, M., *L'offrande du Lotus*, Bruxelles, 1986, p. 3.

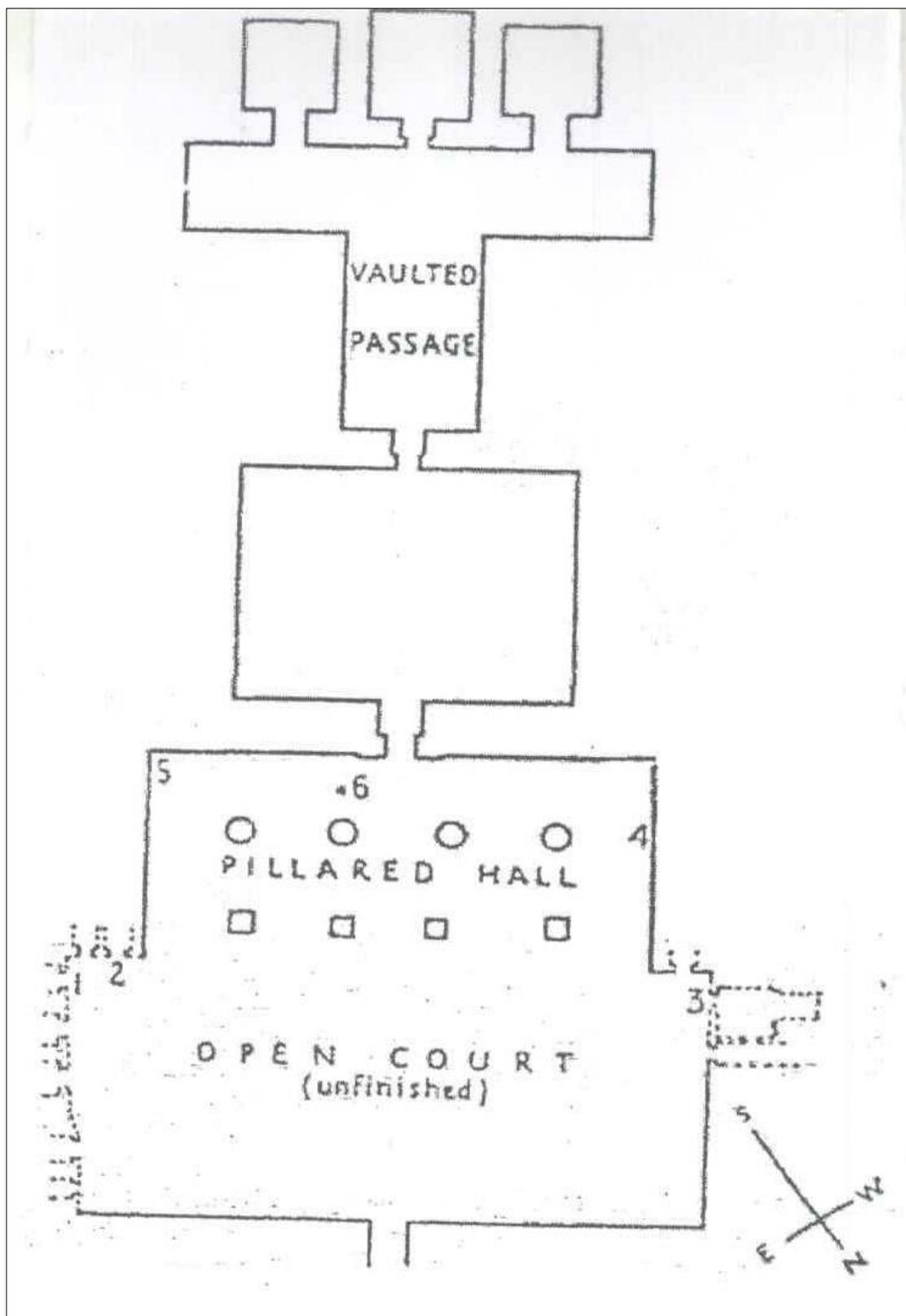
<sup>50</sup> Wb I, p. 549, 18-20.

<sup>51</sup> Leek, F., "Further Studies concerning Ancient Egyptian Bread", JEA 59, 1973, p. 199; Wilson, H., *A Recipe for offering Loaves*, JEA 74, 1988, p. 216.

means that the apparent re-use of the Middle Kingdom tomb was used as a shrine for personal devotion.

Hence, it may be possible that people visited the tomb for prayer and to donate stelae for Upwawet and other popular deities in New Kingdom. Study of the names recorded on the Salakhana stelae might indicate that people travelled to the Western Mountain of Asyut as a site of pilgrimage.

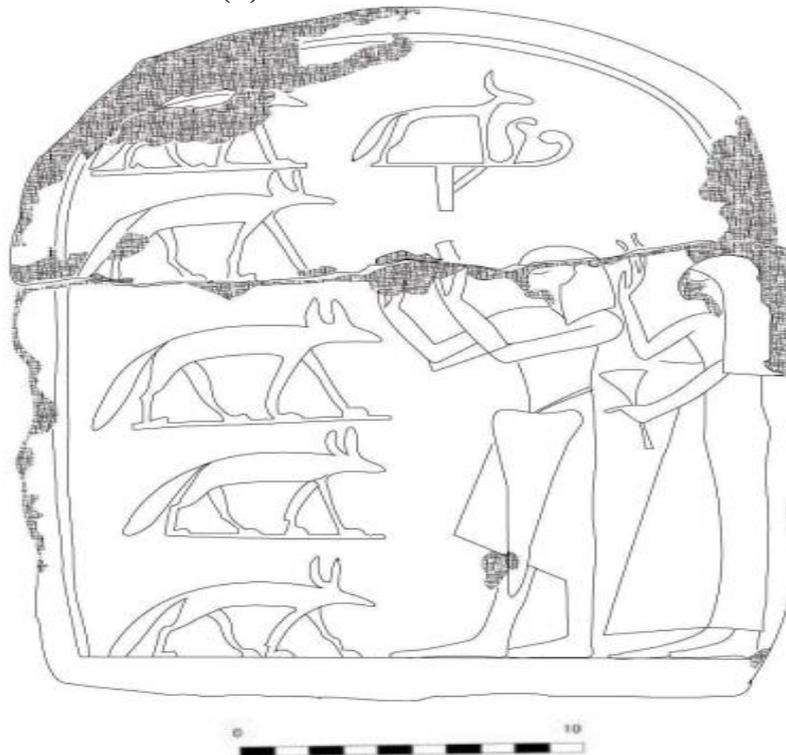
It seems probable that Djefaihapy III was regarded with great distinction, so his tomb provided a depository for votive offerings.



Fig(1) : plan of the Salakhana Tomb  
Adapted from:PM,IV,P. 260.



**Pl. (1): Stela Cairo JE 99912**



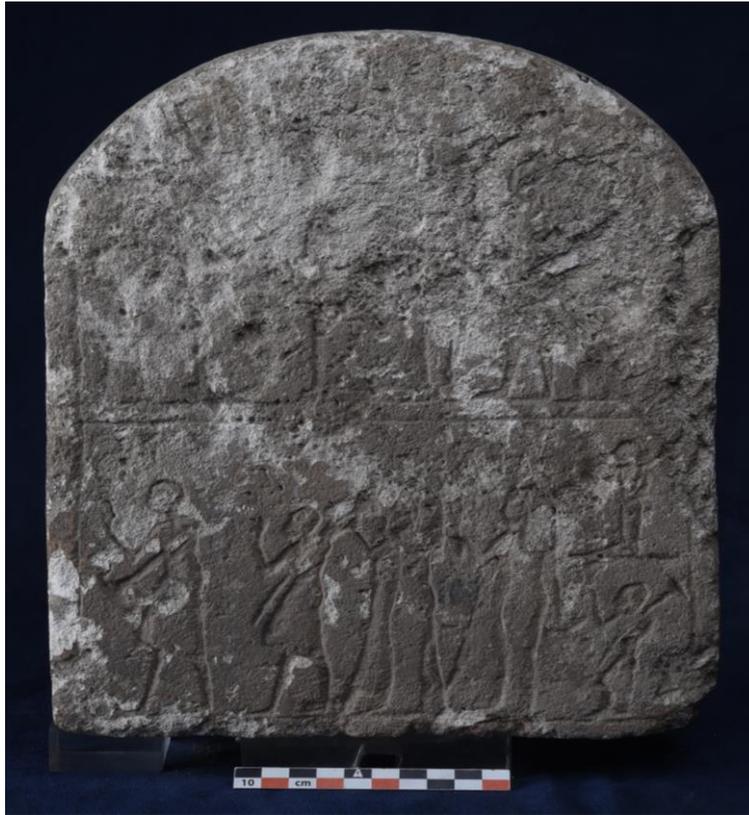
**Fig(2): Facsimiles of Stela Cairo JE 99912**



**Pl. (2): Stela Cairo JE 99913**



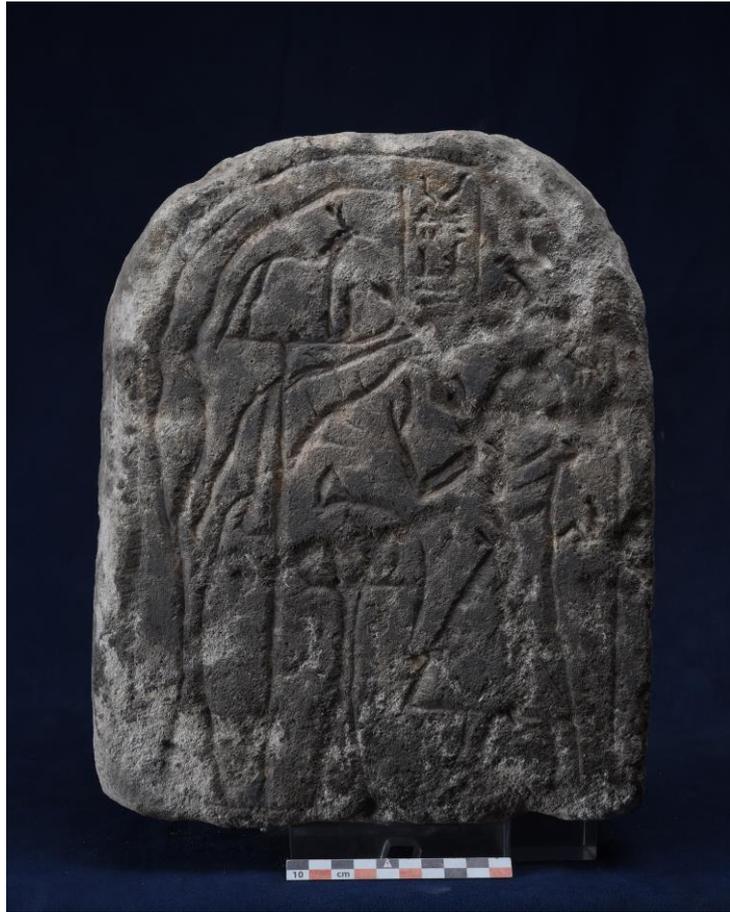
**Fig. (3): Facsimiles of Stela Cairo JE 99913**



**Pl. (3): Stela Cairo JE 99915**



**Fig. (4) : Facsimiles of Stela Cairo JE 99915**



**Pl. (4): Stela Cairo JE 99917**



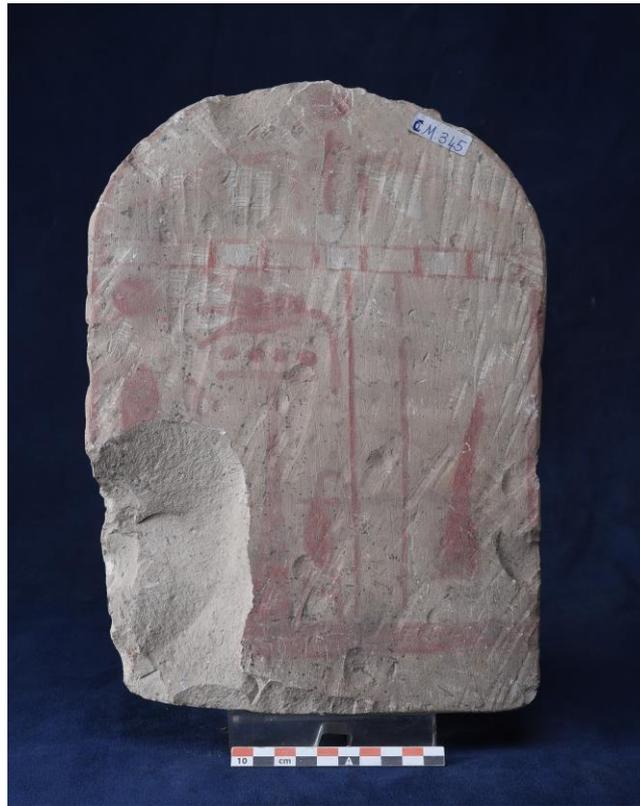
**Fig. (5) : Facsimiles of Stela Cairo JE 99917**



**Pl. (5): Stela Cairo JE 99919**



**Fig. (6) : Facsimiles of Stela Cairo JE 99919**



**Pl. (6): Stela Cairo JE 99923**



**Fig. (7): Facsimiles of Stela Cairo JE 99923**