

*Original article***BILINGUAL FUNERAL STELAE (EGYPTIAN-CARIAN TEXTS) FROM THE SERAPEUM OF SAQQARA DURING THE 26TH DYNASTY.**

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Abstract:

This research includes a collection of bilingual funeral stelae (Egyptian-Carian texts) that were found in Saqqara dated to the 26th dynasty, as one of the most important settlements of Carians (the inhabitants of the western Anatolia region), who were brought by King Psamtik I (664-610 B.C.) to the Delta as mercenary soldiers to help him get rid of his rivals and ascend to the throne. It delves into the analysis of the number of funeral scenes, including the lunette, the offerings, the devotees, and the representations of the Egyptian deities, to identify the influence of Egyptian art and the extent of acceptance of the Egyptian belief among foreigners, focusing on translating the Egyptian and Carian texts accompanying the inscriptions to determine the relationship between the texts. Are they two sides of the same meaning or different? The study yielded purely Egyptian influences, depicting the usual funerary and funeral scenes without any foreign additions to the scenes themselves, with some foreign influences in separate scenes below the main funeral scenes. Although the Egyptian texts appear somewhat organized in most stelae, the Carian text seems more random, different, and sometimes difficult to obtain its true values. Finally, this paper suggests how these funerary inscriptions were used as a means of expressing the personal identities of the Carian soldiers who lived in Egypt and shows the cultural relationship between the Egyptians and foreign peoples during the Saite and early Persian periods.

1. Introduction

The precise moment when Caria and Carians emerge in ancient history remains ambiguous. It is complicated by uncertainties concerning the precise geographical location of Karkisa/Karkiya (this relies on correlating classical Caria with the territory of Karkiya/Karkisa referenced in Hittite texts; this hypothesis, highly appropriate from a purely linguistic perspective, Kark^o in Karkisa, Karkiya closely resembles the Old Persian term for ‘Carian,’ *krka-*). It is an issue intricately linked to the complex Hittite geography, a subject that remains contentious with significant advancements recently [1]. Classical Caria, located in western Anatolia between Lydia and Lycia, serves as the beginning point for research on the Carian language, as most Carian inscriptions have come from Egypt, not from Caria itself [1,2]. These epigraphic materials, about 170 inscriptions, with 50 new and unedited inscriptions to be added on funerary stelae and graffiti in Memphis and Sais, as well as other locations discovered in Egypt, represent the most important part of Carian’s direct documentation [1,3-5]. The oldest datable Carian document from Egypt is a bilingual inscription on a statuette of the goddess Neith from the reign of Psamtik I (664-610 B.C.) [1,6,7], who employed Carian and Ionian mercenaries (frequently characterized as ‘barb-

arians’) to maintain his throne. They were based in the Delta near Bubastis, according to Greek sources [1,2]. Three main types of artifacts could be distinguished:

- (1) Minor inscriptions (artifacts).
- (2) Graffiti.
- (3) Stelae.

These main types also differed geographically, fig. (1). The first and third types are, so far, at least from Lower Egypt, while the second is only attested in Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia [5]. Vittmann classified the stelae (the third type) into four genres;

- (1) Egyptian funerary stelae with an Egyptian and a Carian text.
- (2) Funerary stelae with scenes in a foreign-Egyptianized style.
- (3) Funerary stelae in the shape of a false door, containing a Carian text.
- (4) Funerary stelae with a Carian text without scenes [5].

This paper examines a collection of the third type (bilingual stelae from the Serapeum of Saqqara), concentrating on their reliefs and texts while analyzing the historical and cultural context in which these stelae were created, illuminating the

exchanges between Egyptians and foreigners during the Late Period.

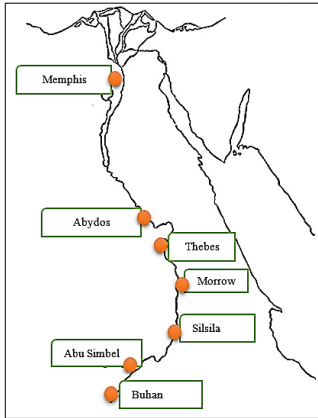


Figure (1) geographical distribution of the Carian inscriptions in Egypt

2. Methodological Study

2.1. Description

2.1.1 Stela JE 49060

The stela was discovered in the Serapeum of Saqqara. It was registered with the Egyptian Museum under accession number JE 49060 (the stela was still listed under No.701 in the various exhibition catalogues published before 1910 [8,9]. Then, it received its current inventory number in JE in 1925 [6]. It was briefly described for the first time by Maspero [10], while the Carian inscription was shortly published afterwards [11]. It is a round-topped limestone stela with hieroglyphic and Carian texts in sunken reliefs in bad condition [6,10]. Its height is 27 cm, and its length is 21 cm. The top of the stela displays numerous cracks that extend to various positions. The damage has an impact on the text and the entire scene, fig. (2) [6,8,10].

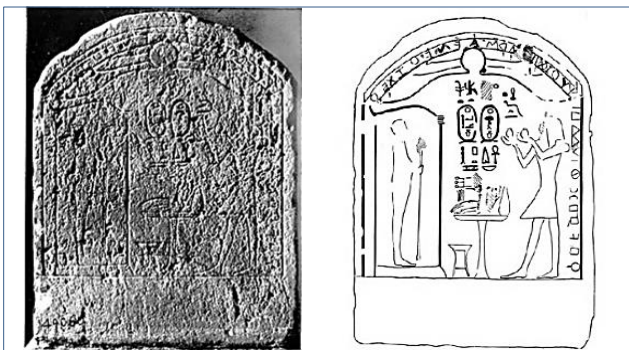


Figure (2) the stela, JE 49060, discovered in the Serapeum of Saqqara

Significantly, a winged sun disc is on the top; it follows the shape of the rounded lunette. Then, a scene depicts King Apries (588-568 B.C.) in a customary votive pose. He wears a decorated short kilt, exposes the upper part of his body, and presents two of *mw* vases in front of the god Ptah, who stands in his chapel (Maspero and Mallet consider that the god depicted is the funerary form ‘Ptah-Sokar-Osiris’, but nothing authorizes such precision) [10,12]. A pedestal table abundantly loaded with food products and a small libation holder are placed on the ground between them. The lower part of the stela, to a height of 5 cm, has not been engraved (Compare

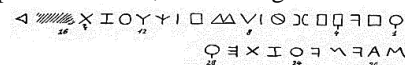
with the almost identical stela, Berlin 2111) [13]. The hieroglyphic text was arranged in three columns above the offering table, specifying the identity of the king:



Nsw-Bity h^{cc}-ib-R^c mry Pth, [s3-R^c] W3h-ib-R^c di nb ^cnh dt mi R^c

“The King Haaibre, beloved of Ptah, the son of Re Wahibre gifted with all life forever like Re”.

Then, the Carian text begins in the lower right corner to the top of the scene. Due to the friable material of the stela and its rather poor condition, the reading is difficult [6,14]:



Adiego translates it [1]:

←
teréyzs | upc | nuolḱ [—]sarmroλḱyt

2.1.2. Lausanne stela N° 4727

The stela was discovered in the Serapeum of Saqqara (The Egyptian collection of Jérôme Napoléon was constituted by Mariette in 1857-1858, during the excavations specially carried out on behalf of this prince) [6,15]. It was first cited in the catalogue in 1868, which was written by W. Froehner for the sale of the collection of Prince Napoleon [16]. Then, it was registered with N° 4727 at the *Cantonal Museum of Archaeology and History* in Lausanne, Switzerland, after A. Morel-Fatio donated it to the Museum, giving a copy to the Academy of Inscriptions in the notice given on this occasion [6]. It is a rectangular limestone stela with hieroglyphic and Carian texts in sunken reliefs. Its height is 59 cm, and its length is 35.5 cm (the Carian text was defined as an ancient Greek inscription) [6]. It can be dated to the end of the Saite Period (after 568 B.C.) to the first Persian Domination (the 4th-5th Centuries), fig. (3) [6,16].

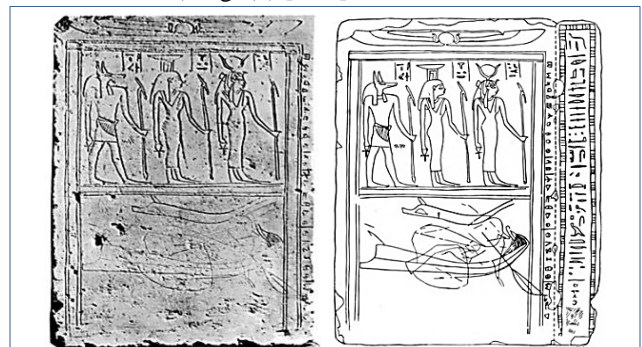

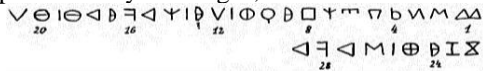


Figure (3) Lausanne Stela, N° 4727, discovered in the Serapeum of Saqqara

The top of the stela is decorated with a winged sun-disc and a couple of uraei. The scenes and texts are divided into two equal parts by an identical double ribbon: *) The upper part represents the full-length image of three divinities (Isis, Nephthys, and Anubis) [16]. The two companions of the funerary god Anubis are heading towards the right with the *W3s* scepter in their left hands, while the ^cnh sign in their

right hands. Furthermore, their legends are engraved: ‘3st wrt’, ‘nbt-hwt’ above their heads and the name of ‘Inpw’ in front of his face: . The lower part of the stela is occupied by double graffiti. The Carian inscription is oddly placed on the right side of the stela (signs go from right to left), between the second ribbon of the frame and the edge. It comprises twenty-nine signs, with four vertical bars [5,6]:



Uncertainties prevail regarding the remaining words, which could potentially represent proper names, ‘Psmškúneit... [1, 5]. On the thickness of the stone, we read a prayer in hieroglyphic signs [16]:



*dd mdw in wsir ntr 3 nb r-st3w di.f k̄rst nfr(t) (n) Imh̄w
Psm̄tk-^cwy-Nit [s3] W3h-ib-R^c nb[-k̄n]
“Words spoken by Osiris, the great god, the lord
of Rostau, may he give a beautiful burial to the revered
Psmatik-^cawy-Neith, son of Wahibre[neb-qen].*

2.1.3. Sydney Stela N° 1141

The stela came to Australia with the collection of Sir Charles Nicholson during a trip to Egypt in 1854-1855. Sayce reported that it came from Memphis, as its acquisition was approx. contemporary with the major excavations of the Serapeum (1851-1854) [6,11]. It was introduced in the Catalogue of the Museum of the University of Sydney [11]. Later, the stela was mentioned by Nicholson himself in his Aegyptiaca [17-19]. The curved limestone stela measures about 73 cm high and 32.4 cm long. It is inscribed with hieroglyphic and Carian texts in sunken reliefs, fig. (4).

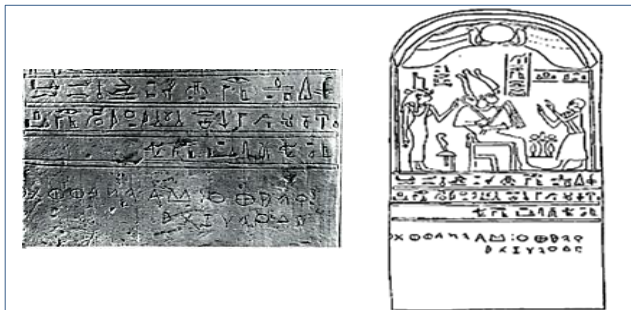


Figure (4) Sydney Stela N° 1141 presents a funerary scene in front of the divine couple (Osiris and Isis).

The stela is divided into three registers; the first one covers the upper half of the stone, where the Behedete dominates a funerary scene, and the divine couple (Osiris and Isis) appear on the left side. The god Osiris is seated on a throne, and he is supposed to speak to the dead:




dd mdw in wsir nb r-st3w. Words spoken by Osiris, Lord of Rostau

Whereas his wife is standing behind him, addressing with her left hand a gesture of protection to Osiris, while her right hand holds the ^cnh-sign. She is designated as:



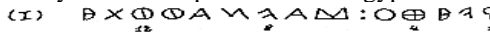
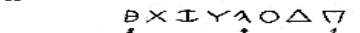
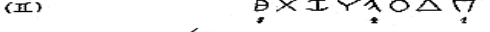
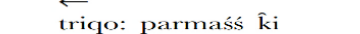
3st nb(t) pt Isis, Lady of Heaven.

Furthermore, the emblem of the West (kingdom of the dead) appears between the gods. A horizontal inscription gives the name of the worshipper,  P3-di-Ist, who appears with very short hair and a long kilt with one shoulder strap. He stands in adoration, raising both hands to the god, behind a small offering table accompanied by two jars placed on supports [5]. The second register demonstrates a classic formula of the funeral offering, which occupies three lines placed immediately below the funerary scene:



[1] *htp (r)di(w) nsw wsir hntt imntt wnn nfr di.f*
[2] *p̄rt hrw K3 3pd sntr šs mnht ht nfr(t) im3hw wsir P3-di*
[3] *Ist ms(w) t3-di(t)-wsir*
‘Offering that the King gives for Osiris, foremost of the west, Onnophris: that he gives funeral offerings be made: ox and fowl, incense, alabaster vases, closing and any beautiful thing to the revered, the deceased Padiese born of Taditw̄sr’.

The third register represents two lines of the Carian text placed immediately below and parallel to the Egyptian text [6]:

(I)  : 
(II)  : 
←
triqo: parmaśś ki
kloruā ki

This text reads [1,5]:

2.1.4. Berlin stela ‘Staatliche museum N° 21615’

According to the Museum register (reviewed by S. Morenz), the stela was purchased by Borchardt in 1914 after being obtained from Saqqara. Yet, the original is currently not accessible [19]. It is a curved limestone stela 43 cm high and 31 cm wide. It dates to the 6th-5th century after 568 B.C. [6, 19]. The stela is practically identical to the Sydney stela, where Behedete dominated the funerary scene. Osiris is seated on the left, and Isis stands, protecting her husband with her hands. Between the feet of the goddess and the throne of the god stands the ensign of the West. An offering table, supporting a heap of offerings, is flanked by two jars, separating the worshipper from the divine couple. The deceased, who

is in adoration, is dressed in a long kilt folded in front and a large transparent robe (its sleeves are visible around the wrists) with a beaded necklace around his neck in addition to his unusual hairstyle (a helmet or hair of a particular cut), fig. (5).



Figure (5) Berlin Stela ‘Staatliche Museum N° 21615’.

We can hardly read near the deceased [6]:




Imhw wsir [.....] t̄i-ḥp-Imw
“The revered before Osiris [.....], Tiah-H(a)pi-maw”.

Where can we read near the god:



dd mdw in wsir nb r-st̄w. Words spoken by Osiris, Lord of Rostau

Near the goddess:  *st̄* ‘Isis’.

The frame of the stela extends downwards to delimit the three lines of the offering formula:



[1] *ḥtp (r)di(w) nsw wsir ḥntt imntt ntr ʕ nbt? ʕbdw*
 [2] *di.fprt ḥrw [K3w ʕpdw] sntr šs mnḥt [...mw] ḥt*
 [3] *nbt nfr(t) w^cb(t) ʕnhw ntr im imʕhw wsir [t̄i-ḥp-[Imw]*
s̄ʕ t̄ʕ-

“Offering that the King gives for Osiris, Foremost of the West, the great god, lord of Abydos: may he gives funeral offerings; oxen and fowls, incense, alabaster vases, closing, [..... water], and every good and pure thing which the god lives on, (to) the revered, the deceased Tai-ḥ(a)pi-maw, son of Tai...(?).

The Carian text is located immediately under the hieroglyphic inscription [6,19]:



tamou ‘jamo’ [5]

3. Results

These stelae are rare and distinctive examples of the religious and cultural interaction between ancient Egyptians and foreign residents in Egypt, specifically during the Saite Period and beyond. This interaction was manifested in the incorporation of Carian texts alongside hieroglyphs on the stelae’s surfaces, which share formal and iconographic features, such as the traditional funerary scene depicting the god Osiris seated on a throne, with the goddess Isis standing behind him in a protective and benevolent gesture. The symbol of the West is positioned between them, reinforcing the stela’s funerary significance and highlighting its votive function, aiming to ensure the afterlife of the Carian deceased. The unique aspect of this collection is the Carian texts, which, although in poor condition or challenging to read, are clear evidence of the contribution of foreigners (especially Carians) to Egyptian funerary rituals and their insistence on using their native language in harmony with Egyptian rituals, highlighting the duality of belonging and identity within the Egyptian religious system. These stelae are significant not only because of their archaeological value, but also of their ability to reconstruct the image of the multicultural society in Egypt during the Late Saite period and the early Persian Period, when religion was not the exclusive domain of Egyptians alone, but rather a means of cultural interaction that transcended the boundaries of language and origin.

4. Discussion

4.1. Stela ‘JE 49060’

According to Maspero [10], it is not possible to determine either when the stela ‘JE 49060’ was discovered (Mariette 1851-1854?) or the exact location of it or its surroundings. Yet, the representation of Ptah, the divine patron of Memphis [20], confirms the Memphis origin of the stela [6]. The shape represents an Egyptian donation stela, which can be clearly demonstrated as follows: **1)** The lunette of stela [21] with the sun-winged disc [22]. **2)** The depiction scene (the king, the divinity, and the offering table) (compare with Apries’s stela EA. 7780 in the British Museum) [23-26]. These features confirmed that the stela had been diverted from its original use. Additionally, the Egyptian text was the original text arranged in three columns, as demonstrated in kings’ stelae, even in amulets with the same order of the king’s titles (E. 22358 and E. 22359 in the Louvre Museum) (see the stela of Wahibre E. 405 in the Louvre Museum) [27-29]. (Compare with the stela of Ramses III in the British museum EA1784) [30] and the stela of Thutmose IV EA1515) [31]. The existence of Wahibre fixes the date when the object was made. Still, it is possible that the Carian legend was engraved after Wahibre ‘Apries’ (588-568 B.C.) [12] (*The friendship of the Greeks had been one of the principal causes of the fall of Apries, the humiliation to which he was subjected*) [12],





supported by the fact that Carian text were not carefully arranged as the same as the Egyptian text or even occupy the lower register below the depiction scene. Randomly, it started from the lower right corner of the scene, running along its edge and continuing to the top between the lunette and the winged disk. Vittmann agreed that the Carian text was the name of the owner, excluding the relationship between it and the votive scene [5]. Friedrich provided a transcription, which was later improved by Olivier Masson and Jean Yoyotte [6,14]. Later, both were rejected after Adiego gave his translation. He also considered the reading of the text after the second division mark to be doubtful, and the photography in Masson-Yoyotte was not helpful. Moreover, the ending in 𓆎 was unexpected. Could it simply be a 𓆎 ? [1]. The general structure of the inscription remains obscure. Additionally, Mullet considered the Carian text, running in the arch from the god to the king, still relates the name of a Carian to that of his father and his native city [12]. Finally, the stela was classified as a bilingual inscription. It was expected that the Egyptian text would be translated into the Carian language, but both texts were completely different; the first one represented the name of the Egyptian king, while the second one was added later by the Carian devotee to represent the name of a Carian with his father's name and his native city, as Mallet proposed.

4.2. Lausanne stela N° 4727

The stela is a normal funeral stela. It starts with the Egyptian rectangular lunette stela (see the lunette of the stela JE 43564; SR 4/13563 in the Egyptian Museum) [32,33]. It has the simple form of the sun-disc 𓏏 with a couple of uraei, making the form 𓏏 . The funeral scene appears in the middle (the presence of Egyptian deities in their sacred forms and symbols) (see the representation of Isis, Nephthys, and Anubis in the stela of Shenu No. 7458, in the Museo Archeologico, Florence) [34]. However, there are many exceptions, including 1) Carelessness and omissions inscribed in the divinities' names; 2) The Egyptian text in a column on the left edge, framed by a striped line at regular intervals, occupying a completely abnormal position; the words are not obvious enough or may be transcribed wrongly. The bad condition of the stone made it difficult to determine several signs (for example, $\text{nb r-st}^3\text{w}$ is written in ambiguous signs). It would be 𓏏 , or 𓏏 , or 𓏏 [35] ($\text{nb r-st}^3\text{w}$ was a common title of the god Osiris in most funeral stelae, meaning 'the lord of the afterlife' or 'lord of the netherworld,' as in the Book of the Dead. The precise location of Rostau (which may be the birthplace of Osiris) is unknown; it is most likely situated close to the core of the Giza Plateau. It could be near the modern villages of Nazlet El-Semman and Kafr El-Batran) [36-39]. 3) Spelling errors appeared, such as the inversions of signs in nr^3 (𓏏 was a criterion determinative in Osiris' name in the Late period, especially during the Saite and post-Saite periods [40,41]. There were more simplifications as 𓏏 on the stelae of this period (26th dynasty, the stela Nr.18459, 24-year Taharqa) [37], krst [42], and Im^3hw [43-49]. 4) The name of the deceased was mentioned $\text{Psm}^3\text{k-}^c\text{wy-Nit}$, son of $\text{W}^3\text{h-Ib-R}^c$ -[...]. The first name corresponded clearly to 'Psmšküneit-' (Psm^3k = akkad Pi-ša-me-(iš)-ki). It

means "Let Psmatik be the charge of Neith". It was attested several times in the Saite-Persian Period. Ranke gave four examples [50] in addition to our stela (see 𓏏 on the base of a coffin box, which was bought in Paris, E. 6662, in the Royal Museums of Art and History) [51] (Unpublished artifacts; shabtis in the Louvre Museum E. 3973-3975: 𓏏 and situla with floral background E. 5693: 𓏏 (compare with $\text{Psm}^3\text{k-m-}^c\text{wy-}^3\text{st}$, Let Psmatik be the charge of Isis) [35]. 5) Both vertical hieroglyphs and Carian texts indicated the owner of the stela, who had the purely Egyptian name Psmatik-'awy-Neith, son of Wahibre[neb-qen]. With the absence of the Carian text and the foreign ship, there would be no definitive evidence to suggest that these individuals were anything other than Egyptians [5]. 6) Since the Carian presence in Egypt had a primarily military background (though this does not mean that every Carian was a soldier), it is likely that the commander Wahibre-neb-qen son of the commander Psmatik-'awy-Neith, who was mentioned on a bronze badge with cartouches of Psamtik II, mostly belonged to the aforementioned Carian Dynasty [5]. 7) Vittmann added that the phonetic sound of the owner's name was transformed into Psmatik-'awy-Neith in the Carian text to 'Psmšküneit', while his father's name remained untranslated from hieroglyphic to Carian [5]. The lower part of the stela was a rather superficial and confused that drawing appeared to end towards the right with the profile of an ibex head in the center (compare with the stern of the divine boat in the form of ibex head in the Hathor chapel, Deir el Bahri temple), and the stern of the solar ship in the form of an ibex horn-19th Dynasty E. 5043, Brussels Museum) [52,53]. In the deeply drawn graffiti, a silhouette can be compared to a dolphin, but which could rather be a sketch of a Greek ship having the shape of this cetacean [6]. A beautiful drawing of a Greek ship appeared in the middle. Unfortunately, it was unfinished and overloaded in its middle part. Yet, certain elements were more carefully highlighted [6] (compare these ship drawings with the Egyptian objects E. 10687, acquired by the Louvre Museum in 1897; these are two gold necklace clasps, in the shape of a ship, of which a relevant description has been given. These objects have no common features with Egyptian boats, as they exhibit several elements completely foreign to Egypt: the attachment of the oars to the rudder at the planking, near the rear, and the spur at the prow. But, comparing these forms to those of archaic Greek boats, on the contrary, reveals a perfect analogy) [6,54-56]. Furthermore, several scenes and texts could be observed, such as a funeral text like the offering formula, another depiction scene, or more than one scene occupying the lower part of the stela instead of this double graffiti (compare the scenes of the stela JE 43565; SR 4/13557, the scenes of the stela JE 43569; SR 4/13574, and the lower part in the stela JE 43566; SR 4/13554 [32,33, 57]. Finally, the presence of a commemorative graffiti in the place normally intended for the Egyptian formula of the offering and the strangely marginal arrangement of the two-lexis helped conclude that the monument of Lausanne was one of those stelae that were mass-produced to be inscribed at the last moment, but that the purchaser used it in a somewhat "barbaric" manner.

4.3. Sydney stela N° 1141

The stela depicted an Egyptian funeral scene in the upper half of the stone with the Behedete in the lunette. The divine couple, Osiris and Isis, share a common form of funeral inscriptions, with the lower half divided between an Egyptian text and a Carian text. Based on its style, the piece could be attributed to the Saite Period or, at the latest, the first Persian domination (7th-5th centuries); according to its provenance, it would be later than 568 B.C. [6,19, 58]. Several key points could be highlighted in this stela. **1)** The hieroglyphic legends presented some omissions or negligence. **2)** The funerary formula was so clumsily composed that line 3 did not fill the entire width of the stela [6]. **3)** Signs were inverted in *pt*, *h̄tp*, *R3-st3w*, etc. (it was commonly to use the syntax of the *h̄tp di nsw* formula in both the Late and Ptolemaic periods as *nsw di h̄tp*) [40] (for *h̄tp di nsw*, which Smither noted since the late Dynasty XIII with its traditional writing  that was often replaced in horizontal lines by a new one  [59-65]. **4)** *Prt hrw*: This paleographical writing was verbal offerings, followed either by a stated event or place, rarely by both [40, 66] (for the verbal and nominal offerings) [61]. **5)** The masculine proper name *P3-di-Ist* (Padiese) means ‘He whom Isis gave’; the feminine *3-di(t)-Wsir* (Tadiwesrt) means ‘She whom Osiris gave’. Both were common during the Late period [6,40,50]. **6)** Linguistic error appeared in using the masculine determinative  in the feminine name *3-di(t)-wsir* instead of . Regarding the Carian text, there were some notes, as follows: **1)** The engraving Carian text was not neat, but the whole was quite legible. **2)** The Egyptian name of the stela's owner was not indicated with Carian phonetic connotations; rather, the Carian text reads, ‘Triqo, (son of) Parmas, the Chlorolide (title?)’ [5]. Thus, we did not address here a duplicate use of a name, but with the usage of two names for the same person: **a)** An Egyptian name was written in hieroglyphic signs, and **b)** A Carian name was written in Carian decipherments. During the Ptolemaic period, this shared Greek and Egyptian culture was often viewed in parallel [5]. Therefore, either the stela was probably reused, or a double denomination could be accepted, ‘Egyptian and Carian,’ at least in the case of the deceased [1,5]. In addition, such poor workmanship was not rare on mass-produced stelae for ordinary people. One cannot use this as an argument to attribute the entire engraving of the monument to a foreigner, as Rowe has done [6,18].

4.4. Berlin stela ‘Staatliche museum N° 21615’

The stela is visibly contemporary with the Sydney stela, as they shared several aspects (Behedete in the lunette, the divine couple, Osiris and Isis with their common appearance in the Egyptian Funeral inscriptions, the dedication scene, and the name of the devotee, which was divided into two parts, horizontal and vertical lines, due to the space). The following key notes are highlighted: **1)** The engraving of hieroglyphs was quite neglected, as the name of the devotee and his father seemed to be added at the last moment, when the stela was purchased. **2)** The signs were even cruder and more deeply incised than the others, and the father's name was rejected,

for lack of space, under the frame of the inscription. However, it does not seem that a usurpation can be assumed [6]. **3)** The father's name began with *ḫ* rather than with *p*. The quadrant placed behind *ḫ* could represent the end of the name (The last sign, too linear, does not seem to be an *a*, as was suggested by Eilers [18]; it is not excluded, however, that one simply has the final group *m3^c hrw* just of voices, so often carelessly engraved. The father's name would then be *ḫi* [50]. **4)** On the other hand, the imprecatory name [*ḫi*]-*h̄p*-[*imw*] ‘Tai-*h*(a)pi-maw’ ‘Let Apis seize them’ (i.e. the enemies) is clear; it was widely distributed in late Egypt [50]; but in the present case, the invocation to Apis fits perfectly with the Memphite origin of the monument (the Akkad name of it is *Sah* (*sih*)-pi-ma-a-u) [6] (aram. טשהפיש), also the abbreviated form of this type of name: *ḫi-im-w=gr*. Σαμαυς, Ταμως, Θαμους [50]. **5)** An interesting coincidence could be noted with the onomastic elements of the Egyptian part. If the first sign of Carian names is indeed the conventionally read sign *t*, an unexpected confirmation of a dental value for this sign would be provided because the two Egyptian names began with *ḫ*. Is this a coincidence? Would we tackle Carians whose Egyptian names were chosen to recall the first syllable, T-a(?) of their native names? [6]. Finally, the owner was called by his full name in the Egyptian text but by a common shortened name in the Carian text, *tamou* ‘jamo’, which was a full name, not an abbreviation [5].

4.5. Relation between the Carians and the Egyptians

Significantly, the Carian inscriptions discovered in Caria are fewer than those found in Egypt. These inscriptions were obtained from several Egyptian cities [1]. Differences were highlighted in the Carian writing system used in Egypt, and the system or systems employed in Abu Simbel and Abydos differed from the one eventually adopted by the Caro-Memphite settlement in Saqqara (The Greeks called the Carians who were transported by Amasis to the Memphis region, called Καρομεμφίται, i.e., Caro-Memphite/Caricon) [5]. It cannot be concluded from this that there were not some of them in Memphis before that time, although the archaeological material refutes such a supposition. According to Herodotus (book II), Apries had an army of 30,000 Ionian and Carian mercenaries. After the Persians annexed the Kingdom of Lydia in 546, the situation in Asia Minor resulted in a new influx of Carians into Lower Egypt, so that at that time there were migrations of large [4,5]. Ionian and Carian colonies were relocated from the Delta to Memphis during Amasis' reign (568-526), where a 'Carian quarter' (Καρικόν) and a 'Greek quarter' (Ελληνικόν) flourished [1]. Although Carian mercenaries in Egypt came from various regions, the Egypto-Carian script appears notably uniform, unlike the diverse and regionally distinct Carian alphabets used in Caria itself. This homogeneity may be due to several factors [67]: **1)** When the earliest Carian mercenaries arrived in Egypt in the 7th century BCE, the Carian alphabet might not have yet diversified significantly or become strongly associated with specific cities. **2)** A particular variant of the script may have gained prominence, perhaps due to the higher status of a certain city or the larger number of mercenaries originating

from there. Thus, the Carian texts from Caria proper were left on one side (they were written in a quite different alphabet, or series of alphabets, from the one that appears at Saqqara) [1,4]. Epigraphical evidence, specifically the funerary stelae found in Saqqara, links this incident as follows: 1) In terms of typology, funerary and funeral inscriptions could be distinguished from graffiti. The first group was the best source for deciphering Carian, owing to the relatively low number of reading issues, the regularity of the scheme used, and the great editions of the inscriptions that followed [1]. 2) These texts were typically short due to their typology. (e.g., onomastic formulae in burial inscriptions, Carians' laconic epitaphs, and graffiti) [1,58].

5. Conclusion

Although the stelae seem normal Egyptian stelae (the lunette of stelae, the sun-disc with the couple of uraei, and the funeral scenes with the presence of Egyptian deities in their sacred forms and symbols, carelessness and omissions are noticed in the divinities' names because those bilingual stelae were mass-produced to be inscribed at the last moment, then the purchaser used them in a somewhat "barbaric" manner. The same finding can be concluded, as evidenced by the Carian inscriptions, which were oddly placed and had a strangely marginal arrangement, or the presence of commemorative graffiti in a place typically intended for the Egyptian formula of the offering. The Egyptian text sometimes occupies an entirely abnormal position, where the words are illegible or may be transcribed incorrectly, due to the poor condition of the stone material. Furthermore, these bilingual stelae which included a couple of texts; the hieroglyphic text always represented an offering formula with the Egyptian name of the person who dedicated the stela, while the Carian text was added later to represent the phonetic sound of the devotee in Carian language, such as in the case of Psmatik-'awy-Neith who transformed into 'PsmSküneit', while his father's name remained untranslated from hieroglyphic to Carian, or the owner had a common shortened name in the Carian text, such as in the case of 'tamou' 'jamo', or we must accept a double denomination 'Egyptian and Carian' at least in some cases such as the deceased of Sydney Stela N° 1141. This phenomenon suggests a distinct form of cultural interaction between the Egyptians and the Carians, represented in textual and iconic practices with a clear mark on the archaeological record.

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