

**Materialising kinship, constructing relatedness:
kin group display and commemoration in First
Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom Egypt
(ca 2150–1650 BCE)**

Volume Two: Appendices and Plates

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APPENDICES

1 Updated ANOC list

The table below compiles previous research on ANOC groups. The Arabic numerals on the left refer to the ANOC numbers originally assigned to these groups by Simpson (1974b), while Roman numerals identify those groups added by El-Rabi'i (1977). The first column indicates those stelae and objects that Simpson put together in his seminal publication on ANOC groups. The next four columns summarise the additions, reviews and corrections that Berlev (1976), De Meulenaere (1977), El-Rabi'i (1977), and Franke (1983a) have proposed. Emendation and/or additions by other authors are less numerous and hence are presented in footnotes.

The sixth and seventh columns record dossiers in Franke (1984) and Grajetzki and Stefanović (2012) that mention people who appear on any of the objects of each ANOC group. Not all the objects included on those dossiers belong to an ANOC group – in fact, many of them come from other sites – but some people featured on ANOC objects appear on them. This information may give us the key to linking certain ANOC kin groups with other groupings outside Abydos. The eighth column provides a list of ANOC documents, which takes into account all the previous columns and my own research. Finally, I have included a column with a tentative dating for all the groups.

All objects cited in this table are stelae unless otherwise indicated. Abbreviations are as follows: Sta=Statue, Tab=Offering table, Blo=Block, Rel=Relief.

A considerable number of these objects are kept at the Cairo Egyptian Museum; these are cited by a CGC number (*Catalogue Général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*). Objects from the British Museum in London are cited as BM EA, where EA stands for Egyptian Antiquities. The inventory numbers of objects at Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden are given on the table, but the Leemans (1840) and Boeser (1909; 1910) catalogue numbers are also recorded in footnotes for ease of identification.

	Simpson (1974b)	Berlev (1976)	De Meulenaere (1977)	El-Rabi'i (1977)	Franke (1983a)	Franke (1984) for related objects	Grajetzki and Stefanović (2012)	ANOC group	Date
1	1.- Berlin Inv. 1204 2.- CGC 20038 3.- CGC 20140 4.- CGC 20310 5.- CGC 20683 6.- BM EA 202 7.- Louvre C 5 8.- Basel III 5002 9.- Geneva D 50 10.- Louvre C 33 11.- CGC 20435	This group may refer to various chapels; add CGC 20065; exclude CGC 20435, because it dates to the 13th dynasty and it mentions the same person as a fragment of a tomb wall now in Uppsala (p325)				1, 27, 94, 155, 235, 254, 543, 551, 705, 770, 779	234	1.- Berlin Inv. 1204 2.- CGC 20038 3.- CGC 20140 4.- CGC 20310 5.- CGC 20683 6.- BM EA 202 7.- Louvre C 5 8.- Basel III 5002 9.- Geneva D 50 10.- Louvre C 33 11.- CGC 20065	Senusret III to Amenemhet III
2	1.- Louvre C 35 2.- CGC 20546 3.- BM EA 162 4.- Copenhagen NM Inv. Aad 13	No. 4 is at least from the time of Amenemhet III (p325)				93, 100, 379 + see ANOC VI		1.- Louvre C 35 2.- CGC 20546 3.- BM EA 162	Amenemhet II to Senusret III
3	1.- BM EA 566 2.- Louvre C 240 3.- BM EA 830 4.- Tab CGC 23035					139, 763		1.- BM EA 566 2.- Louvre C 240 3.- BM EA 830 4.- Tab CGC 23035	Early to mid-12th dynasty
4	1.- Louvre C 167 2.- Louvre C 168 3.- CGC 20542 4.- CGC 20561		Add Sta CGC 63 (p80)			133, 137, 288, 289, 347, 760		1.- Louvre C 167 2.- Louvre C 168 3.- CGC 20542 4.- CGC 20561	Senusret I

5	1.- BM EA 572 2.- BM EA 581 3.- BM EA 562 4.- Sta BM EA 461					137, 138		1.- BM EA 572 2.- BM EA 581 3.- BM EA 562 4.- Sta BM EA 461	Senusret I
6	1.- Louvre C 19 2.- Louvre C 1 3.- Louvre C 3 4.- Berlin ÄGM 26/66					112, 276, 282		1.- Louvre C 19 2.- Louvre C 1 3.- Louvre C 3 4.- Berlin ÄGM 26/66	Amenemhet I to Senusret I
7	1.- CGC 20768 2.- Leiden Inv. L.XI.2 ¹ 3.- Tab CGC 23210					325, 401		1.- CGC 20768 2.- Leiden Inv. L.XI.2 3.- Tab CGC 23210	13th dynasty
8	1.- Louvre C 174 2.- Berlin Inv. 1188					496		1.- Louvre C 174 2.- Berlin Inv. 1188	Mid-12th dynasty
9	1.- BM EA 569 2.- Sta BM EA 570 3.- Tab CGC 23096 4.- Tab Leiden Inv. AP 82 ²					535, 536 Exclude Tab Leiden Inv. AP 82		1.- BM EA 569 2.- Sta BM EA 570 3.- Tab CGC 23096	Amenemhet II and later
10	1.- CGC 20015 2.- CGC 20101 3.- CGC 20562 4.- Sta Petrie (1903: pl. xxix)	No. 4 is CGC 520 (p325)				98, 279, 629 No. 4 is not CGC 520	38, 145	1.- CGC 20015 2.- CGC 20101 3.- CGC 20562 4.- Sta Petrie (1903: pl. xxix) 5 and 6.- Two	13th dynasty

¹ Leemans 1840: V 108; Boeser 1909: no. 50, pl. xxxviii.

² Leemans 1840: C 14; Boeser 1910: no. 1, pl. i.

								stelae in private collection ³	
11	1.- CGC 20016 2.- CGC 20017					475		1.- CGC 20016 2.- CGC 20017	Late 12th to 13th dynasty
12	1.- CGC 20039 2.- CGC 20309 3.- Leiden Inv. AP 42 ⁴					45, 129, 687		1.- CGC 20039 2.- CGC 20309 3.- Leiden Inv. AP 42	Neferhotep I to Sobekhotep IV
13	1.- CGC 20040 2.- BM EA 567 3.- Tab CGC 23019					74		1.- CGC 20040 2.- BM EA 567 3.- Tab CGC 23019	Amenemhet II
14	1.- CGC 20043 2.- MCA 892 (lost)					194 CGC 20043 = MCA 892		–	13th dynasty
15	1.- CGC 20055 2.- CGC 20679					153, 238, 519, 713, 743, 751		1.- CGC 20055 2.- CGC 20679	Late 12th to 13th dynasty
16	1.- CGC 20056 2.- CGC 20240 3.- CGC 20246					321, 352, 399 + see ANOC 52	206	1.- CGC 20056 2.- CGC 20240 3.- CGC 20246	13th dynasty
17	1.- CGC 20075 2.- CGC 20459 3.- CGC 20072 4.- CGC 20334					21, 610, 625, 667, 668	222	1.- CGC 20075 2.- CGC 20459 3.- CGC 20072 4.- CGC 20334	13th dynasty
18	1.- CGC 20089 2.- CGC 20703					215, 415, 446		1.- CGC 20089 2.- CGC 20703	13th dynasty

³ Roccati 2003.

⁴ Leemans 1840: V 116; Boeser 1909: no. 35, pl. xxv.

	3.- Berlin Inv. 7286							3.- Berlin Inv. 7286	
19	1.- CGC 20087 2.- CGC 20100 3.- Garstang (1901: pl. 12.4) = Manchester 2963 4.- Bolton 10.20/11 5.- Cairo JE 39069	Add BM EA 210 (p325)				17, 51, 52, 165, 192, 326, 350, 358, 675	8, 88	1.- CGC 20087 2.- CGC 20100 3.- Manchester 2963 4.- Bolton 10.20/11 5.- Cairo JE 39069 6.- BM EA 210	13th dynasty
20	1.- Leiden Inv. AP 63 ⁵ 2.- Munich GL WAF 35 (Old no. 40) 3.- Tab CGC 23081 (?)					205		1.- Leiden Inv. AP 63 2.- Munich GL WAF 35 (Old no. 40) 3.- Tab CGC 23081 (?)	Senusret I to Amenemhet II
21	1.- Louvre C 176 2.- Tab CGC 23048					267		1.- Louvre C 176 2.- Tab CGC 23048	Early 12th dynasty
22	1.- CGC 20104 2.- CGC 20147 3.- Berlin Inv. 7311 [destroyed in war]		Add Vienna 69 = Vienna ÄS 140 (p80)			14, 171, 328, 365, 366, 386, 389, 516, 517, 628, 674 + see ANOC 74	133, 136, 198	1.- CGC 20104 2.- CGC 20147 3.- Berlin Inv. 7311 (destroyed in war) 4.- Vienna ÄS 140	Neferhotep I to Sobekhotep IV
23	1.- CGC 20531					141, 457		1.- CGC 20531	Amenemhet II

⁵ Leemans 1840: V 4; Boeser 1909: no. 5, pl. iv.

	2.- Leiden Inv. AP 64 ⁶ 3.- Stela or chapel wall fragment Guimet 11324 (?)							2.- Leiden Inv. AP 64 3.- Stela or chapel wall fragment Guimet 11324 (?)	
24	1.- CGC 20458 2.- CGC 20033 3.- BM EA 564 (?)	No group: these stelae do not belong together (p325)				184 Exclude BM EA 564		1.- CGC 20458 2.- CGC 20033	Amenemhet III
25	1.- BM EA 215 2.- BM EA 252		Add CGC 20718 and Leiden Inv. AP 2 ⁷ (p80)			236, 287, 365, 366, 408, 460, 544, 570, 583, 625, 627, 667, 768 + see ANOC V	128, 176	1.- BM EA 215 2.- BM EA 252 3.- CGC 20718 4.- Leiden Inv. AP 2	Mid-13th dynasty
26	1.- BM EA 557 2.- BM EA 247 3.- CGC 20558	Add Guimet C5 (p325)				150A, 150B, 506		1.- BM EA 557 2.- BM EA 247 3.- CGC 20558 3.- Guimet C5	Amenemhet III
27	1.- CGC 20292 2.- CGC 20639					86A, 87		1.- CGC 20292 2.- CGC 20639	12th dynasty
28	1.- CGC 20549 2.- CGC 20580	No group: these stelae belong to different families (p325)			No group: these stelae belong to different families (p21)	196, 197, 198, 202, 484		1.- CGC 20549 2.- CGC 20431	Amenemhet III
						195, 445		1.- CGC 20580 2.- UCL 14499 3.- Sta Stockholm NME 82	Late 12th dynasty

⁶ Leemans 1840: V 5; Boeser 1909: no. 6, pl. v.

⁷ Leemans 1840: V 106; Boeser 1909: no. 14, pl. xv.

29	1.- Louvre C 2 2.- Louvre C 34 3.- Rel CGC 20473 4.- Rel CGC 20474					424		1.- Louvre C 2 2.- Louvre C 34 3.- Rel CGC 20473 4.- Rel CGC 20474	Senusret I
30	1.- CGC 20515 2.- CGC 20526 3.- CGC 20751		Add CGC 20263 (p80)			337, 338		1.- CGC 20515 2.- CGC 20526 3.- CGC 20751 4.- CGC 20263	Senusret I
31	1.- Alnwick Castle no. 1932 = Durham no. 1932 2.- Berlin, Inv. 1192					741, 776		1.- Durham no. 1932 2.- Berlin, Inv. 1192	Senusret I
32	1.- CGC 20520 2.- Florence Inv. 2561 3.- Florence Inv. 2559 4.- Rio de Janeiro 3		No. 4 does not belong to this group, but it may be related to CGC 20145 and Hermitage 1086 (p80)			325, 336, 358, 400, 447, 458, 646		1.- CGC 20520 2.- Florence Inv. 2561 3.- Florence Inv. 2559	13th dynasty
								= ANOC XXVI	
33	1.- Florence 2504 2.- CGC 20064					143	60	1.- Florence 2504 2.- CGC 20064 3.- Louvre C 313 [E.13054]	Amenemhet III
34	1.- Bl CGC 20571 2.- CGC 20748					353, 631, 721		1.- Bl CGC 20571 2.- CGC 20748	Early 13th dynasty
35	1.- Leiden Inv. AP 81		Add Louvre			439, 688	208	1.- Leiden Inv.	12th dynasty

	and Inv. AP 80 ⁸ 2.- Leiden Inv. AP 72 ⁹		C 303 (p80–1)					AP 81 and Inv. AP 80 2.- Leiden Inv. AP 72 3.- Louvre C 303	
36	1.- Leiden Inv. AP 38 ¹⁰ 2.- Leiden Inv. AP 3 ¹¹ 3.- Hermitage, Struve 13A = 1074					7, 8, 233, 602		1.- Leiden Inv. AP 38 2.- Leiden Inv. AP 3 3.- Hermitage 1074	13th dynasty
37	1.- Leiden Inv. AP 71 ¹² 2.- Leiden Inv. AP 70 ¹³					No group: these stelae belong to different families (p14)		–	
38	1.- Leiden Inv. AP 25 ¹⁴ 2.- Leiden Inv. AP 34 ¹⁵					316		1.- Leiden Inv. AP 25 2.- Leiden Inv. AP 34	13th dynasty
39	1.- CGC 20567 2.- CGC 20568					308		1.- CGC 20567 2.- CGC 20568	Early to mid-12th dynasty
40	1.- Berlin Inv. 1191					281, 468		1.- Berlin Inv.	12th dynasty

⁸ Leemans 1840: V 119 and V 120; Boeser 1909: no. 9, pl. viii.

⁹ Leemans 1840: V 90; Boeser 1909: no. 20, pl. xix.

¹⁰ Leemans 1840: V 78; Boeser 1909: no. 13, pl. xiv.

¹¹ Leemans 1840: V 100; Boeser 1909: no. 15, pl. xv.

¹² Leemans 1840: V 124; Boeser 1909: no. 39, pl. xxix.

¹³ Leemans 1840: V 125; Boeser 1909: no. 40, pl. xxx.

¹⁴ Leemans 1840: V 68; Boeser 1909: no. 43, pl. xxxiii.

¹⁵ Leemans 1840: V 95; Boeser 1909: no. 44, pl. xxxii.

	2.- Leiden Inv. AP 66 ¹⁶ 3.- Sta Rome Museo Barracco no. 11 4.- Sta Louvre N 844							1191 2.- Leiden Inv. AP 66 3.- Sta Rome Museo Barracco no. 11 4.- Sta Louvre N 844	
41	1.- Leiden Inv. AP 65 ¹⁷ 2.- BM EA 561					465, 511, 567	162	1.- Leiden Inv. AP 65 2.- BM EA 561	Amenemhet II
42	1.- BM EA 839 2.- BM EA 574					597		1.- BM EA 839 2.- BM EA 574	Senusret I to Amenemhet II
43	1.- BM EA 559 2.- BM EA 575					151		1.- BM EA 559 2.- BM EA 575	Senusret III
44	1.- Munich Gl. WAF 34 (Old no. 39) 2.- Florence 2590 3.- Louvre C 206 [E.3905]					309, 419		1.- Munich Gl. WAF 34 (Old no. 39) 2.- Florence 2590 3.- Louvre C 206 [E.3905]	Sobekhotep III
45	1.- CGC 20144 2.- BM EA 236					102, 160		1.- CGC 20144 2.- BM EA 236	Late 13th dynasty
46	1.- CGC 20809 2.- Stockholm NME 34 3.- Sta base					294, 738		1.- CGC 20809 2.- Stockholm NME 34 3.- Sta base	Neferhotep I to Sobekhotep IV

¹⁶ Leemans 1840: V 79; Boeser 1909: no. 36, pl. xxvi.

¹⁷ Leemans 1840: V 71; Boeser 1909: no. 10, pl. ix.

	Pittsburgh-Carnegie 4558-3 4.- Stela fragment Peet (1913: 37, fig. 18)							Pittsburgh-Carnegie 4558-3 4.- Stela fragment Peet (1913: 37, fig. 18) 5.- Blo Bolton no. 53.02.6 ¹⁸	
47	1.- Peet (1913: pl. 13.4) = Brussels E. 2941 2.- Tab Garstang (1901: pl. 4.3, E 238) = Philadelphia E.2941					84, 232		1.- Brussels E. 2941 2.- Tab Philadelphia E.2941	Late 12th to early 13th dynasty
48	1.- CGC 20725 2.- Sta Cairo Borchardt CGC 482 3.- Sta MCA 391		Add Stela BM EA 506 and a stela from Edfu (Alliot, Rapport, 35, no. 20 = Warsaw MN 141263) (p81)			237A, 717, 784, 785		1.- CGC 20725 2.- Sta Cairo Borchardt CGC 482 3.- Sta MCA 391 4.- BM EA 506 5.- Warsaw MN 141263	13th dynasty
49	1.- CGC 20093 2.- Avignon-Calvet Inv. 3		Add Vienna 117 = Vienna ÄS 180 and Bolton 10.20/12 (p81)			46, 304, 306, 396, 463, 541, 622		1.- CGC 20093 2.- Avignon-Calvet Inv. 3 3.- Vienna ÄS 180 4.- Bolton 10.20/12	13th dynasty
50	1.- CGC 20556	Add Louvre C			= ANOC XV	214, 246, 371,	225	1.- CGC 20556	Mid-13th

¹⁸ Thomas 1979.

	2.- CGC 20666 3.- Vienna ÄS 143 4.- BM EA 249	199 and Walters 57; exclude BM EA 249 (p325)				545, 704, 731, 732 Include BM EA 249		2.- CGC 20666 3.- Vienna ÄS 143 4.- BM EA 249 5.- Louvre C 199 6.- Walters 57	dynasty
51	1.- CGC 20570 2.- Sta Cairo CGC 427					745		1.- CGC 20570 2.- Sta Cairo CGC 427	13th dynasty
52	1.- Louvre C 16 2.- Louvre C 17 3.- Louvre C 18 4.- Vienna ÄS 198					352, 386, 492, 526, 537		1.- Louvre C 16 2.- Louvre C 17 3.- Louvre C 18 4.- Vienna ÄS 198	Amenemhet III to 13th dynasty
53	1.- Avignon-Calvet Inv. 7 2.- Avignon-Calvet Inv. 6 3.- Avignon-Calvet Inv. 5 4.- Tab CGC 23058					334, 702		1.- Avignon- Calvet Inv. 7 2.- Avignon- Calvet Inv. 6 3.- Avignon- Calvet Inv. 5 4.- Tab CGC 23058	13th dynasty
54	1.- BM EA 238 2.- Turin 161		Add Marseille 223 and Vienna 119 = Vienna ÄS 182 (p81)			477	185	1.- BM EA 238 2.- Turin 161 3.- Marseille 223 4.- Vienna ÄS 182	Late 12th to early 13th dynasty
55	1.- Sta-Tab Louvre E 11573 2.- Turin 1628 3.- Berlin Inv. 7309 4.- Toulouse-Musée Labit 1181 (S-2)		Add Guimet C 12 and graffito De Morgan, no. 166 (p81)			70, 96, 97, 115, 120, 300, 559, 599, 600, 606, 693	102	1.- Sta-Tab Louvre E 11573 2.- Turin 1628 3.- Berlin Inv. 7309 4.- Toulouse-	13th dynasty

								Musée Labit 1181 (S-2) 5.- Guimet C 12 = Louvre E.20002 4.- Graffito De Morgan, no. 166	
56	1.- Garstang (1901: pl. 6 top left) = Cambridge, Fitzwilliam E.207.1900 2.- Garstang (1901: pl. 6 top right) = Cambridge, Fitzwilliam E.273.1900					83, 531	181	1.- Cambridge, Fitzwilliam E.207.1900 2.- Cambridge, Fitzwilliam E.273.1900	13th dynasty
57	1.- Hermitage 1063 2.- Hermitage 1064 3.- Hermitage 1075 4.- Leiden Inv. AP 48 ¹⁹					173, 248, 386, 537 + see ANOC 52	229	1.- Hermitage 1063 2.- Hermitage 1064 3.- Hermitage 1075 4.- Leiden Inv. AP 48	Sobekhotep II to Khendjer
58	1.- Louvre C 11 2.- Louvre C 12 3.- Liverpool E.30					125, 173		1.- Louvre C 11 2.- Louvre C 12 3.- Liverpool E.30	Sobekhotep II to Khendjer
59	1.- New York MMA 63.154 2.- Copenhagen AEIN 964 (no. 16)	Exclude CGC 20612 (p325)				60, 179, 222, 249, 301, 373, 381, 748, 753	56, 89, 168	1.- New York MMA 63.154 2.- Copenhagen AEIN 964 (no.	13th dynasty

¹⁹ Leemans 1840: V 21; Boeser 1909: no. 42, pl. xxxii.

	3.- CGC 20612							16) 3.- CGC 20612	
60	1.- Magdeburg (?). Location and dimensions not known 2.- Stuttgart, no. 12 = Tübingen no. 462					20, 163, 332, 384, 711, 757	36, 106, 202	1.- Magdeburg 2.- Tübingen no. 462 3.- Turin suppl. 18124 ²⁰	13th dynasty
61	1.- Michailidis Photo A 2.- Michailidis Photo B					166, 209, 346		1.- Michailidis Photo A 2.- Michailidis Photo B	13th dynasty
62	1.- Oxford Queen's College 1109 2.- BM EA 243					470		1.- Oxford Queen's College 1109 2.- BM EA 243	Second quarter of 13th dynasty
63	1.- Oxford Queen's College 1111 2.- Stuttgart no. 3 = Tübingen no. 459					71, 95, 618	108	1.- Oxford Queen's College 1111 2.- Tübingen no. 459 3.- Oldenburg no. 4403 ²¹	Amenemhet III
64	1.- Oxford Queen's College 1110 2.- Stuttgart no. 2 = Tübingen no. 457		Add Hermitage 1062 and probably Sta Brussels E.2521 (p81)			375, 406		1.- Oxford Queen's College 1110 2.- Tübingen no. 457 3.- Hermitage	13th dynasty

²⁰ Stefanović 2013.

²¹ Franke 1983b.

								1062	
65	1.- BM EA 1562 2.- Rome Vatican Museo Gregoriano 170 3.- Vienna ÄS 196 4.- Berlin Inv. 7287	Exclude no. 1 and 2 (p325)	Add Durham no. 1984 (p81)			229, 230, 718		1.- BM EA 1562 2.- Rome Vatican Museo Gregoriano 170 3.- Vienna ÄS 196 4.- Berlin Inv. 7287 5.- Durham no. 1984	13th dynasty
66	1.- Bologna B.1933 2.- Bologna B.1910					554		1.- Bologna B.1933 2.- Bologna B.1910	13th dynasty
67	1.- Hannover-Kestner 2931 2.- Parma 177 3.- Parma 178					53, 260, 403		1.- Hannover-Kestner 2931 2.- Parma 177 3.- Parma 178	13th dynasty
68	1.- Tresson (1928: pl. 7) 2.- CGC 20418 3.- Sta collection Favre (Wild 1971: 114–21)					368, 452		1.- Tresson (1928: 69–70, pl. 7) 2.- CGC 20418 3.- Sta collection Favre (Wild 1971: 114–21)	
69	1.- Manchester 3306 2.- BM EA 1213					455		1.- Manchester 3306 2.- BM EA 1213	Amenemhet II to Amenemhet III
70	1.- Peet (1913: pl.6.5) 2.- Tab Peet (1913: pl. 8.2)					These are fragments from the tomb of		1.- Peet (1913: pl.6.5) 2.- Tab Peet	

	3.- Right doorjamb Peet (1913: 38–9) 4.- Left doorjamb Peet (1913: 38–9)					<i>jww</i> at Abydos - mastaba H (p14)		(1913: pl. 8.2) 3.- Right doorjamb Peet (1913: 38–9) 4.- Left doorjamb Peet (1913: 38–9)	
71	1.- Zagreb 1 [Koller 584] 2.- Zagreb 2 [Koller 585]					261		1.- Zagreb 1 2.- Zagreb 2	Early 12th dynasty
72	1.- Helsinki NM 9176 2.- Stuttgart no. 19 = Tübingen no. 461 3.- Stuttgart no. 8 = Tübingen no. 465					18, 413		1.- Helsinki NM 9176 2.- Tübingen no. 461 3.- Tübingen no. 465	13th dynasty
73	1.- CGC 20284 2.- Stockholm MM 10014					253	193	1.- CGC 20284 2.- Stockholm MM 10014	Late 12th to early 13th dynasty
74	1.- Berlin Inv. 7731 2.- Berlin Inv. 7732					516, 517 (erroneously as Berlin Inv. 7711)		1.- Berlin Inv. 7731 2.- Berlin Inv. 7732	Neferhotep I to Sobekhotep IV
75	1.- CGC 20231 2.- Florence Inv. 2506					632, 635		1.- CGC 20231 2.- Florence Inv. 2506	Amenemhet III
76	1.- Tab Leiden Inv. AM 12 ²² 2.- Base Leiden Inv.					640, 758	91	1.- Tab Leiden Inv. AM 12 2.- Base Leiden	12th dynasty

²² Leemans 1840: C 16; Boeser 1910: no. 2, pl. ii.

	AP 27 ²³ 3.- Base Leiden Inv. AP 27 ²⁴							Inv. AP 27 3.- Base Leiden Inv. AP 27	
77	1.- CGC 20373 2.- CGC 20778 3.- Lady Meux Collection no. 46					178, 584, 740		1.- CGC 20373 2.- CGC 20778 3.- Lady Meux Collection no. 46	13th dynasty
78	1.- Naos CGC 70037 2.- Sta CGC 477					339		1.- Naos CGC 70037 2.- Sta CGC 477	Late 12th dynasty
79	1.- CGC 20434 2.- CGC 20610					234, 299, 617, 618		1.- CGC 20434 2.- CGC 20610	13th dynasty
I				1.- CGC 20051 2.- CGC 20581		522	197	1.- CGC 20051 2.- CGC 20581	Late 12th dynasty
II				1.- CGC 20122 2.- CGC 20217		483, 569, 691		1.- CGC 20122 2.- CGC 20217	Late 12th to early 13th dynasty
III				1.- CGC 20128 2.- CGC 20715		154, 449, 680		1.- CGC 20128 2.- CGC 20715	13th dynasty
IV				1.- CGC 20184 2.- CGC 20290		36, 521		1.- CGC 20184 2.- CGC 20290	Late 12th dynasty
V				1.- CGC 20282 2.- CGC 20614 3.- CGC 20616 4.- Louvre C 39 5.- Leiden Inv.		54, 211, 252, 296, 355, 389, 408, 533, 579, 628, 634, 667, 671, 682	65, 133, 136, 198, 214	1.- CGC 20282 2.- CGC 20614 3.- CGC 20616 4.- Louvre C 39 5.- Leiden Inv.	Neferhotep I to Sobekhotep IV

²³ Leemans 1840: V 123; Boeser 1910: no. 41, pl. xiv. Note that AP 27 corresponds to two different numbers in the Boeser catalogue.

²⁴ Leemans 1840: V 123; Boeser 1910: no. 42, pl. xiv. Note that AP 27 corresponds to two different numbers in the Boeser catalogue.

				AP 2 ²⁵ 6.- Hermitage 1086				AP 2 6.- Hermitage 1086	
VI				1.- CGC 20296 2.- Rio de Janeiro 2417 (no. 1)		10, 93, 100, 101, 379, 480, 487, 498, 566 + see ANOC 2		1.- CGC 20296 2.- Rio de Janeiro 2417 (no. 1)	Senusret III to 13th dynasty
VII				1.- Tab CGC 23047 2.- Stockholm NME 17 3.- Leiden Inv. AP 23 ²⁶		181, 596, 630, 643, 772		1.- Tab CGC 23047 2.- Stockholm NME 17 3.- Leiden Inv. AP 23 4.- Louvre C 249 ²⁷	Late 12th to early 13th dynasty
VIII				1.- Philadelphia, University Museum E. 16012 2.- Louvre C 40		699		1.- Philadelphia, University Museum E. 16012 2.- Louvre C 40	13th dynasty
IX				1.-Tab CGC 23065 2.- Leiden Inv. AP 36 ²⁸ 3.- Hermitage 1077		159, 630, 710		1.-Tab CGC 23065 2.- Leiden Inv. AP 36 3.- Hermitage 1077	Late 12th to early 13th dynasty
X				1.- BM EA 580		510		1.- BM EA 580	Early 12th

²⁵ Leemans 1840: V 106; Boeser 1909: no. 14, pl. xv.

²⁶ Leemans 1840: V 103; Boeser 1909: no. 30, pl. xiii.

²⁷ Andreu 1980.

²⁸ Leemans 1840: V 101; Boeser 1909: no. 48, pl. xxxvii.

				2.- BM EA 577				2.- BM EA 577	dynasty
XI				1.- CGC 20022 2.- CGC 20599		58, 709		1.- CGC 20022 2.- CGC 20599	13th dynasty
XII				1.- BM EA 131 2.- BM EA 129		157, 158, 226, 466, 714, 720, 727, 728	224	1.- BM EA 131 2.- BM EA 129	Amenemhet III
XIII				1.- CGC 20039 2.- CGC 20309				= ANOC 12	
XIV				1.- CGC 20528 2.- Tab CGC 20529		603		1.- CGC 20528 2.- Tab CGC 20529	12th dynasty
XV				1.- CGC 20556 2.- CGC 20666				= ANOC 50	
XVI				1.- Leiden Inv. CI 325 ²⁹ 2.- Guimet C 13		444		1.- Leiden Inv. CI 325 2.- Guimet C 13	Early 12th dynasty
XVII				1.- CGC 20323 2.- Louvre C 185		354		1.- CGC 20323 2.- Louvre C 185	Early to mid- 12th dynasty
XVIII				1.- CGC 20566 2.- Turin 1527		140, 149A, 149B, 520, 566, 783		1.- CGC 20566 2.- Turin 1527	Early 12th dynasty
XIX				1.- CGC 20350 2.- Hermitage 1081		86, 590		1.- CGC 20350 2.- Hermitage 1081	13th dynasty
XX				1.- CGC 20540		22, 220, 314,		1.- CGC 20540	13th dynasty

²⁹ Leemans 1840: V 111; Boeser 1909: no. 21, pl. xx.

				2.- Louvre C 58 3.- Odessa 52970		479, 662, 769		2.- Louvre C 58 3.- Odessa 52970	
XXI				1.- Tab CGC 23018 2.- Sta CGC 42043		553, 759		1.- Tab CGC 23018 2.- Sta CGC 42043	Late 12th to early 13th dynasty
XXII				1.- CGC 20722 2.- CGC 20736		67, 739		1.- CGC 20722 2.- CGC 20736	13th dynasty
XXIII				1.- CGC 20578 2.- Bologna B.1927		228, 239A		1.- CGC 20578 2.- Bologna B.1927	Sobekhotep VII
XXIV				1.- CGC 20514 2.- BM EA 159	Add BM EA 152 (p281, note 1)			1.- CGC 20514 2.- BM EA 159 3.- BM EA 152	11th to 12th dynasty
XXV				1.- CGC 20106 2.- Louvre C 198		Possibly First Intermediate Period (p14)		1.- CGC 20106 2.- Louvre C 198	First Intermediate Period
XXVI				1.- CGC 20145 2.- Hermitage 1086 3.- Rio de Janeiro 629 (no. 3)		252, 320, 533, 579, 587		1.- CGC 20145 2.- Hermitage 1086 3.- Rio de Janeiro 629 (no. 3)	13th dynasty
XXVII				1.- Guimet 2851 = C 6 2.- Alnwick Castle no. 1936 = Durham no. 1936		500		1.- Guimet C 6 2.- Durham no. 1936	Senusret III
XXVIII				1.- Moscow I.1.a.5350 2.- Alnwick		85, 201		1.- Moscow I.1.a.5350 2.- Durham no.	Neferhotep I to Sobekhotep

				Castle no. 1941 = Durham no. 1941				1941	IV
XXIX				1.- Moscow I.1.a.5649 2.- Toulouse- Musée Labit 645b = S-4		28, 265, 742		1.- Moscow I.1.a.5649 2.- Toulouse S-4	13th dynasty
-		1.- CGC 20539 2.- Fragments LD II 150 and LD Text II 176 3.- Calvet Inv. 42 4.- Stela with text of Loyalist Teaching 5.- CGC 42037 6.- CGC 42044 7.- CGC 42045 8.- Sta no. Buffalo 27.14				262 Exclude Calvet Inv. 42 and Sta Buffalo no. 27.14		1.- CGC 20539 2.- Fragments LD II 150 and LD Text II 176 3.- Stela with text of Loyalist Teaching (?) 4.- CGC 42037 5.- CGC 42044 6.- CGC 42045	Senusret I to Amenemhet II
-		1.- CGC 20090 2.- Berlin 1200 (originally belonging to different people, but later reused, p325)						1.- CGC 20090 2.- Berlin 1200	
	New group suggested by Silverman (1977: 221, n. 1): 1.- Chicago Oriental Institute 18220; 2.- Cairo CG 20359								

2 Kin group terminology

The second appendix features nine tables that gather information of all the terms for kin group discussed in the lexicographic study of chapter 2. Each term is presented in a separate table, where individual attestations are divided into separate entries. These feature a transliteration, translation, and some bibliographical references. I also include an approximate dating, brief description, and a contextualisation of the passages when necessary. The transliterations and translations given in this table are my own and follow the conventions presented in volume one.

The bibliography given for the entries is not comprehensive, especially in those case in which the literature on a particular text is extensive (i.e. the *Tale of Sinuhe*, the Semna Stela), but some relevant discussions are cited together with the main edition of the text and some translations. In the case of lengthy texts, only the page(s) where the pertinent passage appears is cited, and not the full page range of the translation. The bibliography is presented in chronological order rather than alphabetical by author in order to facilitate access to the latest published sources. In addition, when a PM reference exists, this is given last because it is considered a bibliographic supplement rather than a discussion.

Attestations are presented in chronological order as far as possible, and they receive a separate, unique number that is used throughout this thesis for cross-referencing purposes (see introduction for cross-referencing conventions).

2.1 *3bt*

	Object type and museum number	Approximate date	Provenance	Selected bibliography	Comments
1	Mastaba of <i>ḥsj</i>	6th dynasty	Teti cemetery, Saqqara	Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 1999: 38, pls 33a, 59a; Strudwick 2005: 277	Inscription on east thickness of entrance. Lines 3–4
	Transliteration	<i>jnk ḥsw n jt=f jnk mrjj mwt=f nbw n 3bt=f</i>			
	Translation	‘I am one favoured of his father. I am one beloved of his mother and one who shaped his <i>3bt</i> ’			
2	Mastaba of <i>nj-k3w-ḥr</i>	6th dynasty	Unas cemetery, Saqqara	Goedicke 1970: 82–94, pl. ix; Hassan 1975: 37–44, fig. 18, pls xxv–xxx	So-called ‘long inscription’ (a funerary endowment) on the Western wall, left hand-side, line 17. The <i>3bt</i> sign is repeated thrice, surely to indicate plurality (see Hassan 1975: pl. xxix bis)
	Transliteration	<i>jw jnj.n=sn 3bt ḥmt [...] ḥr pr-ḥrw n=j m ḥrt-nṯr</i>			
	Translation	‘They brought (their) <i>3bt</i> and wife [...] upon a voice-offering for me in the necropolis’			
3	Stela Berlin 24019,3	FIP	Naga ed-Deir	Clère 1950; Schenkel 1965: 194–5, no. 286	Owner: <i>šdj-m^cwtf</i> ; stela with 8 lines of text and some depictions of people accompanied by captions. Lines 2–3
	Transliteration	<i>jnk mrjj n jt=f ḥsjj n mwt=f jm3 n 3bt=f</i>			
	Translation	‘I am one beloved of his father, praised of his mother, pleasant to his <i>3bt</i> ’			
4	Stela Boston MFA 12.1476	FIP	Mesheikh	Dunham 1937: 14–5, no. 2, pl. ii; Schenkel 1965: 191–2, no. 278	Owner: <i>rhwj</i> ; stela with 4 lines of text and some depictions of people accompanied by captions. Lines 3–4
	Transliteration	<i>jm3 n 3bt rdj t n ḥkr ḥbs n ḥ3jj</i>			

	Translation	‘Pleasant to his <i>3bt</i> , who gives bread to the hungry and clothes to the naked’			
5	Stela BM EA 1783	FIP	Naga ed-Deir?	Robins 1997: 82, fig. 79	Owner: <i>jnj-ḥrt-nḥt</i> ; stela with 5 lines of text and some depictions of people accompanied by captions. Lines 2–3
	Transliteration	<i>jnk mrjj n jt=f ḥsjj n mwt=f mrrw snwt=f jm3 n 3bt=f</i>			
	Translation	‘I am one beloved of his father, favoured of his mother, whom his siblings love, pleasant to his <i>3bt</i> ’			
6	Stela Cairo CG 1642	FIP	Mesheikh	Borchardt 1964: 105–6; Schenkel 1965: 200, no. 304	Owner: <i>jbj</i> ; stela with 6 lines of text and some depictions of people accompanied by captions. Line 5
	Transliteration	<i>jnk mrjj n jt=f ḥsjj n mwt[=f m]rr n snwt=f jm3 n 3bt=f</i>			
	Translation	‘I am one beloved of his father, praised of [his] mother, whom his siblings love, pleasant to his <i>3bt</i> ’			
7	Stela Cairo CG 1648	FIP	Mesheikh	Borchardt 1964: 109–10; Schenkel 1965: 188, no. 268	Owner: <i>rwḏ-b3w-ḥnmw</i> ; stela with 6 lines of text and some depictions of people accompanied by captions. Lines 3–4
	Transliteration	<i>jnk mrjj n jt=f ḥsjj n mwt=f mrrw snwt=f jm3 n 3bt=f</i>			
	Translation	‘I am one beloved of his father, praised of his mother, whom his siblings love, pleasant to his <i>3bt</i> ’			
8	Stela Cairo 19.11.24	FIP	Sheikh Farag, tomb 203	Dunham 1937: 74–5, no. 62, pl. xx; Schenkel 1965: 185–6, no. 264	Owner: <i>šdj-jtj=f</i> ; stela with 6 lines of text and some depictions of people accompanied by captions. The term <i>3bt</i> is restored. Lines 4–5
	Transliteration	<i>jnk mrjj n jt=f ḥsjj n mwt=f mrrw snw jm3 n [3bt=f]</i>			
	Translation	‘I am one beloved of his father, favoured of his mother, whom his siblings love, pleasant to [his <i>3bt</i>]’			
9	Stela Chicago OIM 16955	FIP	Girga district	Dunham 1937: 101–2, no. 83, pl. xxxi; Schenkel	Owner: <i>k3k3</i> ; stela with 7 lines of text and some depictions of people accompanied by captions. Lines 3–4

				1965: 186–7, no. 265; Rimmer Herrmann and Schloen 2014: 153, no. 50	
	Transliteration	<i>jnk mrjj n jt ḥsjj n mwt=f mrrw snwt=f jm3 n 3bt=f</i>			
	Translation	‘I am one beloved of his father, favoured of his mother, whom his siblings love, pleasant to his 3bt’			
10	Stela, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne (Australia)	FIP		Fischer 1981: 61–4, figs 3– 4	Owner: <i>jtj</i> ; stela with 9 lines of text and some depictions of people accompanied by captions. Lines 3–5
	Transliteration	<i>jnk ḥn jb jm3 ḥ3tj m sjn n snw=f jw rdj.n(=j) t n ḥkr ḥbsw n ḥ3 n 3bt</i>			
	Translation	‘I was a light-hearted one, pleasant of heart in engaging with his <i>snw</i> . I gave bread to the hungry and clothes to the naked of my 3bt’			
11	Stela N.3900, no. 1	FIP	Naga ed-Deir	Dunham 1937: 85–6, no. 73, pl. xxvi; Schenkel 1965: 176, no. 241	Owner: <i>jtj-ʿ3</i> ; stela with 4 lines of text and some depictions of people accompanied by captions. Lines 3–4
	Transliteration	<i>jnk mrjj n jt ḥsjj n mwt mrrw snwt=f jm3 n 3bt=f</i>			
	Translation	‘I am one beloved of his father, favoured of his mother, whom his siblings love, pleasant to his 3bt’			
12	Stela New York MMA 25.2.3	FIP	Naga ed- Deir?	Dunham 1937: 92–4, no. 78, pl. xxviii; Schenkel 1965: 183, no. 260; Lichtheim 1988: 30–1, no. 9; Robins 1990: 39, fig. 6.1; PM viii, 56 [803–022– 850]	Owner: <i>jndj</i> ; stela with 8 lines of text and some depictions of people accompanied by captions. Line 4
	Transliteration	<i>jnk mrjj n jt ḥsjj n mwt mrrw snwt=f jm3 n 3bt=f</i>			
	Translation	‘I am one beloved of his father, favoured of his mother, whom his siblings love, pleasant to his 3bt’			

13	Stela Toledo (Ohio) 47.61	FIP	Naga ed-Deir?	Clère 1950: 30, d; Schenkel 1965: 200, no. 305; Fischer 1968: 77, n. 326	Owner: <i>ssn-nht</i> ; no photograph or description of this stela is known to me
	Transliteration	<i>jm3 n 3bt=f</i>			
	Translation	‘Pleasant to his <i>3bt</i> ’			
14	Stela in the private collection of P. Steiner	FIP	Naga ed-Deir	Fischer 1981: 58–61, figs 1, 2	Owner: <i>šm3j</i> ; stela with 5 lines of text and some depictions of people accompanied by captions. Lines 4–5
	Transliteration	<i>jnk mrjj n jt=f hsjj n mwt=f mrrw snwt=f jm3 n 3bt=f</i>			
	Translation	‘I am one beloved of his father, favoured of his mother, whom his siblings love, pleasant to his <i>3bt</i> ’			
15	Block, current location unknown	FIP	Coptos	Urk. I 303.12–4; Goedicke 1967: 206–13; Strudwick 2005: 119–20	Coptos decree, K; block with 18 lines of text on a funerary endowment. Lines 13–4
	Transliteration	<i>jw wd.n hm tn.tw shd hm-k3 [...] m mrt nt dt=k ts [...] 3bt m hrwj [...]</i>			
	Translation	‘His majesty commanded that the inspector of the <i>k3</i> -priests is called [...] from the <i>mrt</i> -people of your funerary estate, call [...] the <i>3bt</i> in the nome of the double falcon [...]’			
16	Stela BM EA 159	First half of 11th dynasty	Abydos	Budge 1911: 46–7; Faulkner 1951; Schenkel 1965: 292–5, no. 497; Lichtheim 1988: 71–2, no. 29; PM v, 95	Owner: <i>rw d-ḥ3w</i> ; stela with two registers with offering scene with captions and 12 lines of text below. The term <i>pr</i> is also featured in this passage (see <i>pr</i> , appendix 2.2.3 below). Line 11
	Transliteration	<i>jnk 3 m njwt=f šps m pr=f jwn 3 n 3bt=f</i>			
	Translation	‘I was a great one in his city, a noble one in his <i>pr</i> , a great pillar for his <i>3bt</i> ’			

17	CT 136 (x2)	From late 11th dynasty		de Buck CT ii 160f, 164f; Faulkner 1973: 116–8	Two coffins from Dayr al-Barsha and two from Saqqara in de Buck
	Transliteration	<i>dmd 3bt m hrt-ntr ... rdj n=j 3bt=j msw=j snw=j jt=j</i>			
	Translation	‘Reuniting the <i>3bt</i> in the necropolis ... that my <i>3bt</i> , my children, my siblings are given to me’			
18	CT 137 (x4)	From late 11th dynasty		de Buck CT ii 165g, 166i, 167c–d; Faulkner 1973: 118–9	Two coffins from Dayr al-Barsha and one from Saqqara in de Buck
	Transliteration	<i>r rdj.tw n=j 3bt=j-tn m bw-nb ntw=s jm ... rdj.t(w) n=j 3bt=j-tn ... rdj.tw n=j 3bt=j-tn m bw-nb ntw=s jm jr s3 ht-nb m rdjt n=j 3bt=j-tn m bw-nb ntw=s jm</i>			
	Translation	‘To give to me my <i>3bt</i> wherever it may be ... that this <i>3bt</i> of mine is given to me ... That this my <i>3bt</i> is given to me wherever it may be; if it is taken away any matter about giving to me this my <i>3bt</i> wherever it may be’			
19	CT 141	From late 11th dynasty		de Buck CT ii 174c; Faulkner 1973: 120	Only one coffin in Saqqara in de Buck
	Transliteration	<i>shn N-pn 3bt=f</i>			
	Translation	‘This <i>N</i> seeks out/embraces his <i>3bt</i> ’			
20	CT 142 (x2)	From late 11th dynasty		de Buck CT ii 174f–k, 175c, g; Faulkner 1973: 120–1	Only one coffin in Saqqara in de Buck (see <i>hnw</i> , appendix 2.7.6 below)
	Transliteration	<i>jr wdf ht htm wd pw n [šswt] r rdjt n N pn r dmdt 3bt hnw nt N pn n=f m bw-nb nt sn jm ... htp hr=s rdjt hnw 3bt nt N pn n=f</i>			
	Translation	‘If a matter delays the sealing of this decree of [Shesut] to cause for this <i>N</i> to reunite the <i>3bt</i> and <i>hnw</i> of this <i>N</i> for him anywhere where they are ... May he rejoice about it, the <i>hnw</i> and <i>3bt</i> of this <i>N</i> are given to him’			
21	CT 143 (x2)	From late 11th dynasty		de Buck CT ii 176 a, i–j and 177 c–d, i–j; Faulkner 1973: 121–2	Only one coffin in Saqqara in de Buck. Newly identified: one coffin from Meir (see <i>hnw</i> , appendix 2.7.7 below)

	Transliteration	<i>dmd=f hnw n N pn n=f hn^c 3bt=f ... dmd n N pn hnw jwt 3bt nt N pn n=f ... jr tm=tn dmd hnw n N pn n=f hn^c 3bt tw m jmnt ... dmd 3bt n N n=f m hrt-ntr rdjt n=f 3bt=f m hrt-ntr</i>			
	Translation	‘May he reunite the <i>hnw</i> of this <i>N</i> for him together with his <i>3bt</i> ... Reuniting for this <i>N</i> the <i>hnw</i> so that the <i>3bt</i> of this <i>N</i> may come for him ... If you do not reunite the <i>hnw</i> of this <i>N</i> for him together with the <i>3bt</i> in the West ... Reuniting the <i>3bt</i> of <i>N</i> for him in the necropolis and giving his <i>3bt</i> to him in the necropolis’			
22	CT 145	From late 11th dynasty		de Buck CT ii 179h; Faulkner 1973: 123	Only one coffin from Asyut in de Buck
	Transliteration	<i>... rdj n=j 3bt=j ...</i>			
	Translation	‘... giving to me my <i>3bt</i> ...’			
23	CT 149 (x3)	From late 11th dynasty		de Buck CT ii 240b, 242d, 244d; Faulkner 1973: 127–9	Five coffins and one papyrus from Asyut and three from Dayr al-Barsha in de Buck
	Transliteration	<i>d3d=j-sw r-gs 3bt=f ... wdb-wj r 3bt=f ... dr.n=j 3bt=f</i>			
	Translation	‘I cut his throat next to his <i>3bt</i> ... turning me away from his <i>3bt</i> ... I have crushed his <i>3bt</i> ’			
24	CT 187	From late 11th dynasty		de Buck CT iii 91a; Faulkner 1973: 156	Four coffins from Dayr al-Barsha in de Buck
	Transliteration	<i>m rmt=j m 3bt=j m njwtjw=j m njwtjw=j šwj</i>			
	Translation	‘As my people, as my <i>3bt</i> , as my male citizens, as my female citizens are raised up’			
25	CT 214	From late 11th dynasty		de Buck CT iii 174f–h; Faulkner 1973: 171	Only one coffin from Thebes in de Buck; 174h is a dittograph from 174f
	Transliteration	<i>ḥtpw n ḥrdw=j n mrt=j jnn n=j dj j n=j ḥr=j 3bt jt=j mwt=j m ḥ3w sjp n=j db^cw jnn n=j dj j n=j ḥr=j 3bt jt=j mwt=j</i>			
	Translation	‘Offerings for my children and for my <i>mrt</i> -people that the <i>3bt</i> , my father, my mother are brought to me and placed under me for me in thousands and are			

		assigned to me in tens of thousands, that the <i>3bt</i> , my father, my mother are brought to me and placed under me for me'			
26	CT 772	From late 11th dynasty		de Buck CT vi 406o; Faulkner 1977: 302	Only one coffin from Asyut in de Buck
	Transliteration	[<i>ḥ</i> = <i>j m jt dšrt sḥm m jt ḥd</i>] <i>jw rdw n 3bt=j jt=j mwt=j</i>			
	Translation	'[I will live on red barley, I will swallow white barley,] which one gave to my <i>3bt</i> , my father and my mother'			
27	CT 131 (x3)	From Mentuhotep II?		de Buck CT ii 151a, d, 152a–b; Faulkner 1973: 113–4	Two coffins Asyut and one from Gebelein in de Buck
	Transliteration	<i>htm wd ḥr 3bt rdjt 3bt [...]</i> <i>s [...]</i> <i>ḥrt-ntr [...]</i> <i>rdj.tw n=j 3bt=j msw=j snw=j jt=j mwt=j mrt dmj=j-nb [...]</i> <i>sfh.tw n=j 3bt=j msw=j snw=j jt=j mwt=j mrt=j-nbt dmj=j-nb ḥr-ḥwj</i>			
	Translation	'Sealing the decree about the <i>3bt</i> ; giving the <i>3bt</i> [for a] man [...] in the necropolis ... My <i>3bt</i> , my children, my siblings, my father, my mother, the <i>mrt</i> -people, all of my <i>dmj</i> are given to me ... that my <i>3bt</i> , my children, my siblings, my father, my mother, all my <i>mrt</i> -people, all my <i>dmj</i> be released for me immediately'			
28	CT 132 (x2)	From Mentuhotep II?		de Buck CT ii 154h; Faulkner 1973: 114–5	Two coffins Asyut and one from Gebelein in de Buck. The list of the components of the <i>3bt</i> is the repeated in tabular format in S1C and G2T
	Transliteration	<i>jw rdj n=j 3bt msw=j snw=j jt=j mwt=j dmj=j-nb</i>			
	Translation	'May my <i>3bt</i> , my children, my siblings, my father, my mother, all my <i>dmj</i> be given to me'			
29	CT 133	From Mentuhotep II?		de Buck CT ii 158e; Faulkner 1973: 115–6	Two coffins Asyut and one from Gebelein in de Buck, but this passage is only preserved on S1C
	Transliteration	<i>rdj n=j 3bt=j-nb mdt.n=j ḥr=s</i>			
	Translation	'That all my <i>3bt</i> about which I spoke is given to me'			
30	CT 134	From		de Buck CT ii 158g–159a,	Two coffins Asyut, one from Gebelein and Papyrus Gardiner II; title only in Papyrus

		Mentuhotep II?		h; Faulkner 1973: 116	Gardiner II as a rubric
	Transliteration	<i>r3 n hmt wd n s hr 3bt=f ... htm wd hr 3bt=j-tn ... dd.tw 3bt=j</i>			
	Translation	‘Spell for sealing a decree for a man about his <i>3bt</i> ... sealing the decree about this my <i>3bt</i> ... who gives my <i>3bt</i> ’			
31	CT 135	From Mentuhotep II?		de Buck CT ii 160e; Faulkner 1973: 116	Two coffins from Asyut and one from Gebelein in de Buck
	Transliteration	<i>dd-mdw htm wd hr 3bt rdjt 3bt nt [s n]=f m hrt-ntr</i>			
	Translation	‘Recitation for sealing the decree about the <i>3bt</i> and for giving the <i>3bt</i> [of a man to] him in the necropolis’			
32	Hatnub graffito no. 12	Ahanakht (11th dynasty?), year 13	Hatnub	Anthes 1928: 28–31, pl. 15	Owner: <i>dhwtj-nht-nh</i> , hieratic graffito with 18 lines including the term <i>whjyt</i> in parallel to <i>3bt</i> (see <i>whjyt</i> , appendix 2.6.1 below). Line 10
	Transliteration	<i>jnk dmj ndm n whjyt=f pr.n 3bt=f nn 3hw=s</i>			
	Translation	‘I was a sweet harbour for his <i>whjyt</i> , an equipped one for his <i>3bt</i> without complaint’			
33	Stela Cairo JE 71901	Senusret I	Wadi el-Hudi	Rowe 1939: 187–91, pl. xxv; Sadek 1980: 84–8; Seyfried 1984; Sadek 1985: pl. xxiii; Galán 1994; Wastlhuber 2011: 90–1, no. 78; PM vii, 319	Owner: <i>hr</i> ; stela with 15 lines of text and a decorated lunette with a cartouche. Lines 2–3
	Transliteration	<i>jtj rrf h3w-nb jnj drw rswt nhsjw skj tpw 3bt h3kt jb wsh t3š pd nmtt</i>			
	Translation	‘A sovereign who surrounds the islanders, who reaches the limits of the Nubian rebels, who destroys the heads of the rebellious <i>3bt</i> , who widens the boundary, who broadens (his) step’			
34	Stela New York MMA 12.184	Senusret I, year 17	Abydos	Ransom 1913; Sethe 1924: 79–80; Lichtheim 1988:	Owner: <i>mntw-wsr</i> ; stela with 19 lines of text and some depictions of people accompanied by captions. The term <i>h3w</i> is also featured in this phrase (see <i>h3w</i> ,

				104–5, no. 44; Freed 1996: 320–3, fig. 8a; Allen 2009; PM v, 102	appendix 2.3.5 below). Line 10
	Transliteration	<i>jnk mrrjj h[3]w=f sdmj n 3bt=f n hbs=j hr ntj m b3kw jnk jt n nmh sm h3rwt n sdr s hkrw r dmj=j</i>			
	Translation	‘I am one beloved of his <i>h[3]w</i> , one close to his <i>3bt</i> ; I did not hide the face from one in servitude. I am father to the orphan, help of widows, no man slept hungry in my district’			
35	CT 173	Senusret I		de Buck CT iii 52d; Faulkner 1973: 147–50	Three coffins from Dayr al-Barsha in de Buck
	Transliteration	<i>rdj n=j jt=j mwt=j snwt=j dmj=j 3bt=j mj kd</i>			
	Translation	‘(They) have been given to me my father, my mother, my siblings, my <i>dmj</i> , all my <i>3bt</i> ’			
36	CT 144	Uncertain, Senusret II?		de Buck CT ii 177k; Faulkner 1973: 122	Only in Papyrus Gardiner II in de Buck
	Transliteration	<i>r3 n dmd 3bt</i>			
	Translation	‘Recitation of reuniting the <i>3bt</i> ’			
37	CT 146 (x8)	From Senusret II?		de Buck CT ii 180a, 181c, 185b, 192a, 195a, 201a,c, 202a, 204c, 205b; Faulkner 1973: 123–4	Seven coffins from Dayr al-Barsha in de Buck. Variant writing of <i>3bt</i> with a pot in 181c
	Transliteration	<i>dmd 3bt nt s n=f m hrt-ntr ... shn=f 3bt=f ... jr hm wdf jnj ntjt dmd n N-pn 3bt=f ... jr-swt dmd n N-pn 3bt=f ... rdj n=k wd n 3bt=k-tn ... rdj n=f 3bt=f ... jw wrw nw 3bt N-pn h3jj h*jj ... jr b3-nb jr ntr-nb rdtj.fj nhmtj.fj 3bt nt N n m °=f ... dmd 3bt jt mwt hnms sm3 hrdw</i>			
	Translation	‘Reuniting the <i>3bt</i> of a man for him in the necropolis ... him seeking/embracing his <i>3bt</i> ... if there is delay or obstruction (in) reuniting his <i>3bt</i> for this <i>N</i> ... if his <i>3bt</i> is reunited for this <i>N</i> ... A decree has been given to you for this your <i>3bt</i> ... His <i>3bt</i> has been given to him... The great ones of the <i>3bt</i> of this <i>N</i> have descended being joyful ... as for any ba and as for any god who will cause that the <i>3bt</i> of this <i>N</i> is taken away from him ... Reuniting the <i>3bt</i> , the father, the mother, the friends, the associates, the children’			

38	Papyrus Berlin 3022	12th dynasty	Thebes	Koch 1990: 35; Parkinson 1997a: 30	Papyrus with a MK version of the <i>Tale of Sinuhe</i> ; line B60. The version on Papyrus Berlin 10499 (verso), also from the MK, has <i>h3=f j3btj</i> instead of <i>m3=f 3bt</i> ('when he descends to the Easterners')
	Transliteration	<i>wd-ḥr pw m3=f 3bt=f</i>			
	Translation	'One who is eager when he sees his <i>3bt</i> '			
39	<i>Teaching of a man for his son</i>	12th dynasty		Helck 1984: 69, xviii.1; Fischer-Elfert 1999: §24,2; Quirke 2004a: 106; Vernus 2010: 288	Although no attestations of this teaching have been found from before the SIP, it has been convincingly dated to the MK on linguistic grounds (Parkinson 2002: 319). Some versions of this passage read <i>j3btjw</i> ('Easterners'), but the context indicates that probably <i>3bt</i> is meant
	Transliteration	<i>snk-tw sw=k ḥr 3bt</i>			
	Translation	'One is greedy as you surpass the <i>3bt</i> '			
40	Stela Cairo CG 20530	Late 13th dynasty?	Edfu	Lange and Schäfer 1902b: 131–3; Franke 1984: no. 426; Kubisch 2008: 208–13; PM v, 203	Owner: <i>ḥr-mḥ-jb</i> ; stela with 20 lines of text and some depictions of people accompanied by captions. Reading uncertain, probably <i>wb3jjet</i> because term located below a seated woman in the second register
	Transliteration	<i>3bjjt=f mrt=f ḥr-ḥr-dt-n=j m3^ct-ḥrw</i>			
	Translation	'His member of the <i>3bt</i> , his beloved one <i>ḥr-ḥr-dt-n=j</i> , justified'			

2.2 *pr* and *pr jt* / *pr mwt*

	Object type and museum number	Approximate date	Provenance	Selected bibliography	Comments
1	Mastaba of <i>jbj</i>	6th dynasty	Deir el-Gebrawi	Davies 1902: pl. viii; Fischer 1976; Kanawati	Inscription on west wall of offering chapel, northern section, central part, second register. Most of this inscription is now lost; the second part is only recorded in

				2007: 36, pls 17, 50	Davies' publication
	Transliteration	<i>jnk mr ḥ3 ḥb[d n nb=f knt n ḥnwt=f msddw pr nb=f]</i>			
	Translation	'I am one who loves a thousand, [(but) whom his lord hates, whom his lady detests, whom the <i>pr</i> of his lord loathes]'			
2	Linen Cairo JE 25975	Late Old Kingdom	Saqqara	Gardiner and Sethe 1928: 1, 13–6, pls 1–1a; Gunn 1930: 148–50; Wente 1990: 211, no. 340; Willems 1991; Gestermann 2006: 299, 305 [doc. m]	Strip of linen with a hieratic letter to the dead (so called <i>Cairo linen</i>), asking the deceased husband and father to intervene in order to avoid injustice being committed against household upon the death of the head of the group. The term <i>pr</i> is used 5 times within this short passage featuring two proverbs to substantiate the writer's claim. Line 12
	Transliteration	<i>sh3 nw dd.n=k n jr.tj s3 jj prw jtw tw3w m dd=k pr s3 sp-sn grg s3=k pr=k mj grg=k pr jt=k</i>			
	Translation	'Remember this that you said to <i>jr.tj</i> 's son <i>jj</i> : "the houses of the forefathers need to be provided for", when you said "a son's house and a son's house". May your son provide for your <i>pr</i> like you provided for the <i>pr</i> of your father'			
3	Stela BM EA 159	Early 11th dynasty	Abydos	Budge 1911: 46–7; Faulkner 1951; Schenkel 1965: 292–5, no. 497; Lichtheim 1988: 71–2, no. 29; PM v, 95	Owner: <i>rwd-ḥ3w</i> ; stela with two registers with offering scene with captions and 12 lines of text below. The term <i>3bt</i> is also featured in this passage (see <i>3bt</i> , appendix 2.1.16 above). Line 11
	Transliteration	<i>jnk 3 m njwt=f šps m pr=f jwn 3 n 3bt=f</i>			
	Translation	'I was a great one in his city, a noble one in his <i>pr</i> , a great pillar for his <i>3bt</i> '			
4	Papyrus New York MMA 22.3.516	Late 11th dynasty to Senusret I	Tomb of Meseḥ, Deir el-Bahari	James 1962: 14, 30, n. 83, pls 4–4a; Goedicke 1984: 44, pl. 7; Allen 2002: 6, 16, pls 9, 28–9	Hieratic papyrus belonging to the group of letters and accounts of Heqanakht, a funerary priest of the early MK. While he was away in the north, probably to fulfil his duties, he would write letters to his household in the south, offering an insight into daily life in a rural estate. The documents include some lists of people belonging to the household with the rations allocated to each of them by Heqanakht. Letter 1, vso 16
	Transliteration	<i>ḥnḥ nd-ḥrt mwt=j ppj ḥ3 n sp ḥḥ n sp ḥnḥ nd-ḥrt ḥtpt ḥnḥ pr r-dr=f ḥnḥ nfrt</i>			

	Translation	‘And greet my mother <i>jpj</i> a thousand times and a million times. And greet <i>htpt</i> and the <i>pr</i> in its entirety and <i>nfrr</i> ’			
5	Papyrus New York MMA 22.3.516	Late 11th dynasty to Senusret I	Tomb of Meseh, Deir el-Bahari	James 1962: 14, pls 4–4a; Goedicke 1984: pl. 7; Allen 2002: 6, 15, pls 9, 28–9	Hieratic papyrus belonging to the group of letters and accounts of Heqanakht, a funerary priest of the early MK. While he was away in the north, probably to fulfil his duties, he would write letters to his household in the south, offering an insight into daily life in a rural estate. The documens include some lists of people belonging to the household with the rations allocated to each of them by Heqanakht. Letter 1, vso 19
	Transliteration	<i>dd hm-k3 hk3-nht r pr=f n nbsjt</i>			
	Translation	‘(Letter) that the ka-servant <i>hk3-nht</i> sends to his <i>pr</i> of <i>nbsjt</i> ’			
6	Papyrus New York MMA 22.3.517	Late 11th dynasty to Senusret I	Tomb of Meseh, Deir el-Bahari	James 1962: 32, pls 5–5a; Goedicke 1984: 17, pl. 1; Allen 2002: 7, 16, pls 10, 30–1	Hieratic papyrus belonging to the group of letters and accounts of Heqanakht, a funerary priest of the early MK. While he was away in the north, probably to fulfil his duties, he would write letters to his household in the south, offering an insight into daily life in a rural estate. The documens include some lists of people belonging to the household with the rations allocated to each of them by Heqanakht. Letter 2, rto 2
	Transliteration	<i>n pr r dr=f jw=tn mj-(j)h sp-sn n nh wd3 snb=tn</i>			
	Translation	‘For the whole <i>pr</i> : how are you, how is your life, prosperity and health?’			
7	Papyrus New York MMA 22.3.517	Late 11th dynasty to Senusret I	Tomb of Meseh, Deir el-Bahari	James 1962: 32, 38, n. 12, pls 5–5a; Goedicke 1984: 17, pl. 1; Allen 2002: 7, 16, pls 10, 30–1	Hieratic papyrus belonging to the group of letters and accounts of Heqanakht, a funerary priest of the early MK. While he was away in the north, probably to fulfil his duties, he would write letters to his household in the south, offering an insight into daily life in a rural estate. The documens include some lists of people belonging to the household with the rations allocated to each of them by Heqanakht. Letter 2, rto 7
	Transliteration	<i>sh n kw n pr</i>			
	Translation	‘Writing of the rations of the <i>pr</i> ’			
8	Papyrus New York MMA 22.3.517	Late 11th dynasty to	Tomb of Meseh, Deir	James 1962: 32, pls 5–5a; Goedicke 1984: 18, pl. 1;	Hieratic papyrus belonging to the group of letters and accounts of Heqanakht, a funerary priest of the early MK. While he was away in the north, probably to fulfil his

		Senusret I	el-Bahari	Allen 2002: 7, 17, pls 10, 30–1	duties, he would write letters to his household in the south, offering an insight into daily life in a rural estate. The documens include some lists of people belonging to the household with the rations allocated to each of them by Heqanakht. Letter 2, rto 25
	Transliteration	<i>mtn pr r-dr=f m-mjtt hrdw=j</i>			
	Translation	‘Look, the <i>pr</i> in its entirety is like my children.’			
9	Papyrus New York MMA 22.3.517	Late 11th dynasty to Senusret I	Tomb of Meseh, Deir el-Bahari	James 1962: 33, pls 7–7a; Goedicke 1984: pl. 3; Allen 2002: 7, 16, pls 11, 32–3	Hieratic papyrus belonging to the group of letters and accounts of Heqanakht, a funerary priest of the early MK. While he was away in the north, probably to fulfil his duties, he would write letters to his household in the south, offering an insight into daily life in a rural estate. The documens include some lists of people belonging to the household with the rations allocated to each of them by Heqanakht. Letter 2, vso 6
	Transliteration	<i>dd hm-k3 hk3-nht r pr=f n nbsjt</i>			
	Translation	‘(Letter) that the ka-servant <i>hk3-nht</i> sends to his <i>pr</i> of <i>nbsjt</i> ’			
10	Papyrus New York MMA 22.3.519	Late 11th dynasty to Senusret I	Tomb of Meseh, Deir el-Bahari	James 1962: 51, pls 9–9a; Goedicke 1984: 100, pl. 13; Allen 2002: 9, 18, pls 14, 38–9	Hieratic papyrus belonging to the group of letters and accounts of Heqanakht, a funerary priest of the early MK. While he was away in the north, probably to fulfil his duties, he would write letters to his household in the south, offering an insight into daily life in a rural estate. The documens include some lists of people belonging to the household with the rations allocated to each of them by Heqanakht. Letter 4, vso 4
	Transliteration	<i>hn^c nd-hrt pr r-3w[=f] m ^cnh wd3 snb</i>			
	Translation	‘And greet the <i>pr</i> in [its] entirety in life, prosperity and health’			
11	Papyrus BM EA 10549	Late 11th to early 12th dynasty	Thebes?	James 1962: 90, pls 24–24a; Bourriau and Quirke 1988: 78–9, no. 61; Wente 1990: 65, no. 75	Fragmentary hieratic letter with nine columns of text and one unplaced fragment on the recto and 2 extra lines of text and the addressee on the verso. The man <i>nhsj</i> addresses this letter to <i>k3jj</i> , who seems to act as the manager to the former’s state while he is away. Some provisions may have disappeared, and <i>nhsj</i> claims that rations need to be allocated as arranged by him. Recto, line 4

	Transliteration	<i>r-dd n jnj.tw n=j 'kw m [...] n pr=j</i>			
	Translation	‘That no provisions have been brought in [...] to my <i>pr</i> ’			
12	Papyrus BM EA 10549	Late 11th to early 12th dynasty	Thebes?	James 1962: 90, pls 24–24a; Bourriau and Quirke 1988: 78–9, no. 61; Wente 1990: 65, no. 75	Fragmentary hieratic letter with nine columns of text and one unplaced fragment on the recto and 2 extra lines of text and the addressee on the verso. The man <i>nhsj</i> addresses this letter to <i>k3jj</i> , who seems to act as the manager to the former’s state while he is away. Some provisions may have disappeared, and <i>nhsj</i> claims that rations need to be allocated as arranged by him. In this passage, <i>nhsj</i> accuses <i>k3jj</i> of having been manipulated by his wife. Recto, lines 8–9
	Transliteration	<i>wnn jr.n=k r sm3=s m tm rdj n3=n jt sm' jn [...] pr=j mk hrt rh.n=j kd n hmt jt jn mdd=k jb n hmt=k m sm3 pr=j</i>			
	Translation	‘You will have killed her by not giving that southern barley to my <i>pr</i> by [...]. See, now I know the character of the wife of the father. Do you follow the wish of your wife in killing my <i>pr</i> ?’			
13	Papyrus BM EA 10549	Late 11th to early 12th dynasty	Thebes?	James 1962: 90, pls 25–25a; Bourriau and Quirke 1988: 78–9, no. 61; Wente 1990: 65, no. 75	Fragmentary hieratic letter with nine columns of text and one unplaced fragment on the recto and 2 extra lines of text and the addressee on the verso. The man <i>nhsj</i> addresses this letter to <i>k3jj</i> , who seems to act as the manager to the former’s state while he is away. Some provisions may have disappeared, and <i>nhsj</i> claims that rations need to be allocated as arranged by him. Verso, line 1
	Transliteration	<i>jn wnn jb=j mh r-dd rdj.n=j 'kw n pr=j</i>			
	Translation	‘Can I be confident that I have given rations to my <i>pr</i> ?’			
14	Stela BM EA 1628	Amenemhet I to early Senusret I	Unknown, probably Thebes	Budge 1914: pls i–ii; Franke 2007; PM viii.3, 197 [803–030–277]	Owner: <i>jnj-jt=f</i> ; stela with 15 lines of text, and some depictions of people accompanied by captions. This same inscription also features the term <i>h3w</i> (see <i>h3w</i> , appendix 2.3.4 below). Lines 13–15
	Transliteration	<i>jw wn rmt nt jt(=f) mntw-htp m msw n pr m ht jt=f m ht mwt=f jw wn rmt=j m-mjtt m ht jt=j m ht mwt=j m ht ds=j jrt.n=j m gb3=j</i>			
	Translation	‘There were people of (my) father Mentuhotep as descendants of the <i>pr</i> , from his father’s possession and from his mother’s possession, and there were likewise my people from my father’s possession, from my mother’s possession, and as my own possessions, which I had acquired by my own arm’			

15	Bowl Cairo CG 25375	Early 12th dynasty		Gardiner and Sethe 1928: 7–8, 22, pls 6–6a; Gunn 1930: 152; Wente 1990: 215–6, no. 350; Gestermann 2006: 301, 304 [doc. e]; Donnat 2010: 53–5	Bowl with a hieratic letter to the dead (so called <i>Cairo bowl</i>), asking the family's deceased for health for the household's maidservant who has fallen ill. Line 6
	Transliteration	ḥ3=tw ḥr=s mjn mj-m3t grg pr=s stjt n=k mw			
	Translation	'Fight for her again today that her <i>pr</i> may be provided for and water be poured out for you'			
16	Stela Leiden Inv. AP 63	Senusret I, year 44 and Amenemhet II, year 2	Abydos	Boeser 1909: 3, no. 5, pl. iv; Sethe 1924: 73–4, no. 15a; Simpson 1974b: 18 [ANOC 20.1], pl. 30; Lichtheim 1988: 76, no. 31; Landgráfová 2011: 156–60; PM viii.3, 73–4 [803–026–410]	Owner: <i>wpw3wt-ḥ3</i> ; one of the two self-presentation stelae of <i>wpw3wt-ḥ3</i> , with 13 lines of text, and some depictions of people accompanied by captions in an offering scene. Line 7
	Transliteration	ḥ.k.n=j r pr=j r pr jt=j ḥms=j m st=j m ḥwt-ntr			
	Translation	'I entered into my <i>pr</i> and into the <i>pr</i> of my father, so that I would take seat on my place in the temple'			
17	Tomb of <i>ḥnmw-ḥtp</i> II (Beni Hasan no. 3)	Senusret II	Beni Hasan	Newberry 1893: 56–66, pl. xxv, lines 7–11; Urk vii, 26.2–4; Lloyd 1992; Simpson 2003: 420–1	Self-presentation inscription consisting of 222 small columns (so-called 'the long inscription') running as a frieze on the bottom part of the walls in the main chamber. This passage features the term <i>pr</i> with a seated man and plural strokes, and could refer to the efficient ones within the household of <i>ḥnmw-ḥtp</i> , whom he claims to promote before his servants. Lines 7–11
	Transliteration	srwd=f rn n knbt=f smnh ḥft j3wt=s n mnḥw jmjw nw pr=f tnj.n=f ḥnt mrt=f			
	Translation	'And he caused the renown of his council to endure, they being commemorated in accordance with their offices, the efficient ones within his <i>pr</i> , whom he distinguished before his <i>mrt</i> -people'			

18	Stela Cairo CG 20169	Senusret III or later	Abydos	Lange and Schäfer 1902a: 200–1; 1902c: pl. xv	Owner: <i>jnj</i> ; stela with framing inscription, 10 lines of text and and no depictions. Line 10
	Transliteration	<i>smjt nt pr jt pr mwt</i>			
	Translation	‘The necropolis of the <i>pr</i> of the father and of the <i>pr</i> of the mother’			
19	Stela Durham N.1942	Amenemhet III?, year 3	Unknown	Birch 1880: 276, pl. ii; Franke 1983a: 219–20, 260; Satzinger and Stefanović 2012: 345; PM viii.3, 300 [803–040–050]	Owner: unknown; stela with a regnal year in the lunette, 21 columns of text, and no depictions. Lines 16–22
	Transliteration	<i>rh.n=j hm.n=j sh3.n=j smh.n=j b3kt=j b3k s-nb n h3w pr jt pr mwt hnmsw=j rmt=j-nbt</i>			
	Translation	‘(Those whom) I have known, (those whom) I have not known, (those whom) I have remembered, (those whom) I have forgotten, female workers, male workers, every man of the <i>h3w</i> (of?) the <i>pr</i> of the father and the <i>pr</i> of the mother, my friends, all my people’			
20	Stela Marseille 22	Amenemhet III		Maspero 1890: 113–4; Meeks, Meeks, and Piérini 1996: 37–8	Owner: <i>s-n-wsrt-snb sbk-htp</i> ; stela with decorated lunette (with cartouche), with 2 lines of text, some depictions of people accompanied by captions, and 15 columns of text in the bottom. Formula in line 15 of bottom register
	Transliteration	<i>smjt pr jt [pr mwt]</i>			
	Translation	‘The necropolis of the <i>pr</i> of the father [and the <i>pr</i> of the mother]’			
21	Stela Cairo CG 20057	Late 12th dynasty	Abydos	Lange and Schäfer 1902a: 68–71, 1902c: pl. vi	Owners: <i>nhjtj</i> and <i>j3wj</i> ; stela with framing inscription, 3 lines of text in the top register, some depictions of people accompanied by captions, and offering list. Formula on line dividing top and bottom registers
	Transliteration	<i>smjt nt jt=j nt mwt=j</i>			
	Translation	‘The necropolis of the <i>pr</i> of my father and of my mother’			
22	Stela Cairo CG	Late 12th	Abydos	Lange and Schäfer 1900:	Owner: <i>s3-w3dt</i> ; stela with 2 lines of inscription in lunette, some depictions of people

	20184	dynasty		109; 1902a: 213–4, 1902c: pl. xvi; Spiegel 1955: 321	accompanied by captions, and table on bottom right corner. Formula at the bottom part of the table
	Transliteration	<i>smjt n pr jt n pr mwt</i>			
	Translation	‘The necropolis of the <i>pr</i> of the father and of the <i>pr</i> of the mother’			
23	Offering table Vienna ÄS 98	Late 12th dynasty	Unknown	Brunner and Zick-Nissen 1984: no. 102; Satzinger 1987a: 96; 1987b; Seipel 1993: no. 145	Owner: <i>jnj-jt=f</i> ; offering table with framing inscription. Formula in the bottom part of inscription on right edge
	Transliteration	<i>n k3 n smjt nt pr jt=f mwt=f</i>			
	Translation	‘For the ka of the necropolis of the <i>pr</i> of his father and his mother’			
24	Papyrus UCL 32198 (lot I.7)	Late 12th dynasty	Lahun	Griffith 1898: 71–2, pl. xxix; Wente 1990: 86, no. 106; Collier and Quirke 2002: 92, 95	Fragmentary hieratic letter from Lahun communicating the completion of some tasks. Recto, line 22
	Transliteration	<i>hn^c nd-hrt hrdw pr r-dr=f</i>			
	Translation	‘And greet the children and the <i>pr</i> in its entirety’			
25	Papyrus UCL 32213 (lot VI.5)	Late 12th dynasty	Lahun	Griffith 1898: 71, pl. xxxvi; Collier and Quirke 2002: 144–5	Severely damaged hieratic letter from Lahun. The main matter on the recto is a vessel that should be removed and then goes into a more personal level on the verso, reproaching the person who receives the letter for not having written back. The writer also wants to make sure that the house is safe to come and visit (see <i>hrjw</i> , appendix 2.5.17 below). The term <i>pr</i> is written only with a stroke and no collective determinative; the same writing is used in line 22 of the recto, where it means house, but here it clearly refers to the people associated to the house. Verso, line 16
	Transliteration	<i>hn^c nd-hrt m-r hwt-ntr [...] m nh wd3 snb m-r pr [s3-]k3-[jnw] m nh wd3 snb p3=n pr r-dr=f msdd=j-swt</i>			
	Translation	‘And greet the overseer of the temple [...] in life, prosperity and health, the overseer of the estate [s3-]k3-[jnw] in life, prosperity and health, our <i>pr</i> in its			

		entirety, and the one I hate'			
26	Stela with offering table Cairo CG 20232	Late 12th or early 13th dynasty	Abydos	Lange and Schäfer 1902a 252–3; 1902c: pl. xviii; Handoussa 1985	Owner: <i>mjkt</i> ; stela with offering table attached. Stela with 4 lines of text and some depictions of people accompanied by captions. Offering table with 5 lines of text and 1 line on the side, where the formula is found
	Transliteration	<i>smjt nt pr jt mwt [...]</i>			
	Translation	‘The necropolis of the <i>pr</i> of the father and mother [...]			
27	Stela Cairo CG 20268	Late 12th or early 13th dynasty	Abydos	Lange and Schäfer 1902a: 286	Owner: <i>sbk-htp</i> ; stela with 6 lines of text and some depictions of people accompanied by captions. Line 6
	Transliteration	<i>smjt nt pr jt nt pr mwt</i>			
	Translation	‘The necropolis of the <i>pr</i> of the father and of the <i>pr</i> of the mother’			
28	Stela Cairo CG 20431	Late 12th or early 13th dynasty	Abydos	Lange and Schäfer 1902b: 28–9; 1902c: pl. xxxi	Owners: <i>w3h-k3-snb</i> and <i>w3h-k3</i> ; stela with 10 lines of text in the lunette and 10 lines of text in bottom and some depictions of people accompanied by captions. Lines 1–2 of bottom inscription
	Transliteration	<i>smjt nt pr jt=f smjt nt pr mwt=f</i>			
	Translation	‘The necropolis of the <i>pr</i> of his father. The necropolis of the <i>pr</i> of his mother’			
29	Graffito on Konosso island	Late 12th or early 13th dynasty	Konosso	Petrie 1888: pl. 1, no. 24; Morgan 1894–1909: 73, no. 49; PM v, 254	Owner: <i>jnj</i> ; graffito with 8 lines and 2 columns of text surrounding a depiction. Lines 7–8
	Transliteration	<i>smjt nt pr jt nt pr mwt</i>			
	Translation	‘The necropolis of the <i>pr</i> of the father and of the <i>pr</i> of the mother’			

2.3 *h3w*

	Object type and museum number	Approximate date	Provenance	Selected bibliography	Comments
1	Tomb of <i>ppj-nh</i> called <i>hnjj-km</i>	Pepi II	Meir	Blackman and Apted 1953: 31–2, pl. 22.3; PM iv.1, 247–9	Inscription on south wall of room B, eastern section, third register. These wall features several harvesting scenes, and the third register in particular features flax harvest. The first figure in this register is captioned with the similar term <i>hw=f</i> in the sense of ‘his task’, so <i>h3w</i> may be related to that meaning, as a group of people who share the same task.
	Transliteration	<i>jr wn dj=tn wnm h3w-pn t</i>			
	Translation	‘Hurry up, let this <i>h3w</i> eat bread!’			
2	Tomb of <i>šm3j</i>	Late 8th dynasty	Kom el-Koffar, Coptos	Mostafa 1984–5: 420, pls i–ii; Strudwick 2005: 345–6, no. 249	Fragmentary inscription (so-called ‘text B’) on the tomb of <i>šm3j</i> . Line 11
	Transliteration	<i>‘m-b3h hb hrj=f[...] h3w ‘h[[...] hnw [...]</i>			
	Translation	‘in the presence of the festival, his superior [...] <i>h3w</i> stela [...] Residence’			
3	Stela Cracow MNK-XI-999	Antef Wahankh	Edfu?	Černý 1961; Fischer 1962: 333–4; Schenkel 1965: 62–4, no. 42; Roccati 1967: 70–1; Lichtheim 1973: 87; Schenkel 1978: 62–4, no. 42; Jansen-Winkeln 1988	Owner: <i>mrr</i> ; stela with one line and 10 columns of text, and some depictions of people accompanied by captions. Černý and Schenkel both read <i>mhwt</i> , but the term meant is more probably <i>h3w</i> based on the non-inclusion of other alephs in the same inscription, such as (3) <i>hwt</i> at the beginning of this passage. Lines 10–11.
	Transliteration	<i>jw htm.n(=j) (3)hwt=sn j3wt=sn-nbt m njwt m šht nn rdj mhj=sn n kjj m jrj nds jkr n nbj h(3)wt=f</i>			
	Translation	‘(I) shut off all their fields and their mounds in towns and in the country, I did not allow them to inundate for someone else as does an excellent commoner so that his <i>h[3]wt</i> can swim’			

4	Stela BM EA 1628	Amenemhet I to early Senusret I	Unknown, probably Thebes	Budge 1914: pls i–ii; Franke 2007; PM viii.3, 197 [803–030–277]	Owner: <i>jnj-jt=f</i> ; stela with 15 lines of text, and some depictions of people accompanied by captions. The writing of the term is <i>hwt</i> rather than <i>h3w</i> , but this is also known from other examples such as appendix 2.3.5. This same inscription also features the term <i>pr</i> (see <i>pr</i> , appendix 2.2.14 above). Lines 7–9
	Transliteration	<i>jw grt s^cnh.n=j s-nb n h[3]wt=j m hkrw n rdj=j mjt krs.n=j mwt m krsw=j jw hbs.n=j-sw m hbsw=j</i>			
	Translation	‘Now, I kept alive everybody of my <i>h[3]w</i> in periods of hunger and I did not let anyone die, and I buried the dead in my coffin and I clothed him with my clothes’			
5	Stela New York MMA 12.184	Senusret I, year 17	Abydos	Ransom 1913; Sethe 1924: 79–80; Lichtheim 1988: 104–5, no. 44; Freed 1996: 320–3, fig. 8a; Allen 2009; PM v, 102	Owner: <i>mntw-wsr</i> ; stela with 19 lines of text and some depictions of people accompanied by captions. The writing of <i>h3w</i> lacks the aleph, as in appendix 2.3.4. The term <i>3bt</i> is also featured in this phrase (see <i>3bt</i> , appendix 2.1.34 above). Line 10
	Transliteration	<i>jnk mrrjj h[3]w=f sdmj n 3bt=f n hbs=j hr ntj m b3kw jnk jt n nmh sm h3rwt n sdr s hkrw r dmj=j</i>			
	Translation	‘I am one beloved of his <i>h[3]w</i> , one close to his <i>3bt</i> I did not hide the face from one in servitude. I am father to the orphan, help of widows, no man slept hungry in my district’			
6	Tomb of <i>jmnjj</i> (Beni Hasan no. 2)	Senusret I	Beni Hasan	Newberry 1893: 23–7, pl. viii, a, line 6; Urk vii, 16.6–7; Lichtheim 1988: 139, no. 60	Self-presentation inscription on northern jamb of entrance. This passage is in the context of an ideal self-presentation, and the term <i>h3w</i> (‘proximity’) is contrasted to the term <i>rkj</i> (‘time’), so it is not certain that <i>h3w</i> may refer to a kin group here, especially since it has no collective determinative. However, the choice of the term <i>h3w</i> for ‘vicinity’ may have been due to a wordplay intended. Line 19
	Transliteration	<i>nn wn m3r n h3w=j nn hkr n rkj=j</i>			
	Translation	‘There was no poor one in my vicinity (or ‘among my <i>h3w</i> ’) and no hungry one in my time’			
7	Stela Durham N.1942	Amenemhet III?, year 3	Unknown	Birch 1880: 276, pl. ii; Franke 1983a: 219–20, 260; Satzinger and Stefanović 2012: 345; PM viii.3, 300 [803–040–050]	Owner: unknown; stela with a regnal year in the lunette, 21 columns of text, and no depictions. Lines 16–22

	Transliteration	<i>rh.n=j hm.n=j sh3.n=j smh.n=j b3kt b3k s-nb n h3w pr jt pr mwt hnmsw=j rmt=j-nbt</i>			
	Translation	‘(Those whom) I have known, (those whom) I have not known, (those whom) I have remembered, (those whom) I have forgotten, female workers, male workers, every man of the <i>h3w</i> (of?) the <i>pr</i> of the father and the <i>pr</i> of the mother, my friends, all my people’			
8	Graffiti of <i>s3-mntw</i>	Amenemhet III, years 6 and 9	Kumma	Dunham and Janssen 1960: 162–4, pls 101 k, 102 c–d	Owner: <i>s3-mntw</i> ; three graffiti at Kumma: RIK 112 (east face of second ravine to the east of the fort), 115 (east face of second ravine, south of RIK 112), and 116 (east face of second ravine, adjacent to the south of RIK 115). RIK 112 is dated in year 6 of Amenemhet III, and RIK 116 in year 9 of Amenemhet III. They vary in length and content, but they all include the same appeal to the passers-by. Lines 3–4, 3–6, and 3–4 respectively
	Transliteration	<i>jr sw3tj.fj-nb hr wd-pn phjt.fj pr=f*d hmt=f m ndmt jb kntj.fj h3w=f</i>			
	Translation	‘As to everyone who shall pass by this stela and who may reach his home in good condition, his wife being in joy, and who may embrace his <i>h3w</i> ’			
9	Papyrus Bibliothèque Nationale Paris 183–94 (Papyrus Prisse)	12th dynasty	Thebes?	Žába 1956: 28–9, nos 161–2, 164; Parkinson 1997a: 253; 2002: 314–5; Quirke 2004a: 92; Vernus 2010: 118	Papyrus with the <i>Teaching of Ptahhotep</i> ; lines 7,5. The version of this phrase in the NK Papyrus BM EA 10409, lines 3,5–7 has the term <i>hnw</i> instead of <i>h3w</i>
	Transliteration	<i>jr sk3=k rwd m shwt dj-st ntr wr m-ε=k m s3 r3=k r-gs h3w=k</i>			
	Translation	‘If you plough and there is flourishing in the fields, and god lets that it may be good with you, do not satisfy your mouth next to your <i>h3w</i> ’			
10	Papyrus Bibliothèque Nationale Paris 183–94 (Papyrus Prisse)	12th dynasty	Thebes?	Žába 1956: 41, nos 318–21; Parkinson 1997a: 257; 2002: 314–5; Quirke 2004a: 95; Vernus 2010: 128	Papyrus with the <i>Teaching of Ptahhotep</i> ; lines 10,6–7. There is a parallel to this phrase in the NK Papyrus BM EA 10409, lines 5,4–5, and it features the term <i>hnw</i> together with <i>h3w</i>
	Transliteration	<i>m wn jb=k r h3w=k wr tw3 n sfw r nht εnd pw prr hr r h3w=f šw n jnjt mdt</i>			
	Translation	‘Do not be greedy against your <i>h3w</i> . The claim of a gentle man is greater than (that of) a strong one, he who comes out with more than his <i>h3w</i> is a diminished one, deprived of the gift of speech’			

11	Stela Louvre C 173	Late 12th dynasty	Unknown	Gayet 1886: pl. xxix; PM viii.3, 222–3 [803–031–049]	Owner: <i>s3-jnj-ḥrt</i> ; stela with inscribed lunette (3 lines of text), some depictions of people accompanied by captions, and 75 lines of text mentioning individuals and their filiations. The expression featuring <i>h3w</i> is preceded and followed by names, so it is strangely placed in the middle of a name list with relatives and subordinates apparently mixed up. Lines 17–21
	Transliteration	<i>h3w-nb snw-nb ḥnms-nb dt-nbt nt pr m jw r bw ntj jm r^c-nb</i>			
	Translation	‘All the <i>h3w</i> , all the <i>snw</i> , all the friends, all the subordinates of the household in going to the place where one is every day’			
12	Stela Liverpool M.13846	13th dynasty	Unknown, probably Abydos	Gardiner and Sethe 1928: 10, 28, pl. 11; Gunn 1930: 155; De Meulenaere 1993:12–3, no. 1; PM viii.3, 173 [803–030–083]	Owner: <i>jjp</i> ; stela with 7 lines of text, and some depictions of people accompanied by captions. This stela was apparently lost during WWII. The writing of <i>h3w</i> is not clear as the aleph is missing and no collective determinative is included. The rest of the passage includes some uncertain signs, but the parallel to <i>jt</i> on the same line indicates that <i>h3w</i> is possibly meant. Line 6
	Transliteration	<i>sw3d(=j) ḥnh=tn tp t3 jt ḥr s[?] tn h(3)j</i>			
	Translation	‘(I) shall make flourishing your life upon earth, the father upon this [...] <i>h(3)j</i> ’			
13	Block Cairo JE 30770bis	Antef (V or VI), year 3	Coptos	Petrie 1896: 10–1, pl. 8; Sethe 1924: 98; Helck 1975: no. 106; Lorton 1977: 18–23; Martin-Pardey 1990; Wente 1990: 25–6, no. 13; Goebis 2003; PM v, 125	Block with a carved copy of a decree (so called <i>Antef’s decree</i>) found on the south side of the east entrance to the temple of Min. The block has 12 lines of text dealing with a misdeed that was committed at the temple by Teti, son of Minhotep, and describing the punishment for him and his family, who will not be allowed to inherit any properties or offices from him. The inscription includes the term <i>ḥrjw</i> together with <i>h3w</i> (see <i>ḥrjw</i> , appendix 2.5.21 below). Lines 9–10
	Transliteration	<i>jr tsw-nb ḥ3ty-^c-nb ntj r spr n nb ḥnh wd3 snb r ḥtp n=f^cḥ^c rdj rmt=f ḥt=f3ḥwt=f r ḥtp-ntr n jt=j mnw nb gbtjw ḥn^c tm rdjt jnj.tw s-nb n h3w=f n ḥrjw n jt=f n mwt=f r t3 j3wt</i>			
	Translation	‘As for any commander and any <i>ḥ3ty-^c</i> who shall petition to the lord, life, prosperity and health, to be gracious to him while he stands, assign his people, his things and his fields to the god’s endowments of my father Min, the lord of Coptos, and anyone of his <i>h3w</i> or of the <i>ḥrjw</i> of his father or of his mother shall not be let to be elevated to the office’			

14	Stela Cairo JE 52453	SIP	Karnak	Lacau 1949, Théodoridès 1957; Helck 1958: 58–60; Théodoridès 1974; Helck 1975: 65–9, no. 98; Ganley 2004; PM ii ² , 52	Owner: <i>kbsj</i> ; stela with winged solar disk in the lunette, 28 lines of text and no depictions. The stela (so called <i>Karnak legal stela</i>) is dated in year 1 of Nebireyeraw in the 17th dynasty, but refers to events that took place in the 13th dynasty and allegedly brings together copies of several decrees of that time. The stela was found in Karnak during the excavations of the hypostyle hall of the temple. The expression <i>s n h3w=f</i> features in lines 4, 6, 8 and 9, but only line 4 is transcribed here because in all the instances the ‘man of his <i>h3w</i> ’ refers to the man <i>sbk-nht</i>
	Transliteration	<i>jmjt-pr jrjt n 3t[w] n [hk3 tt kbsj n] s n h3w=f s3-nsw hmtj-bjtj m-r gs sbk-nht</i>			
	Translation	‘Deed that the attendant [of the ruler’s table <i>kbsj</i> for] the man of his <i>h3w</i> , the royal son, royal seal-bearer, overseer of the district <i>sbk-nht</i> ’			

2.4 *mhwt*

	Object type and museum number	Approximate date	Provenance	Selected bibliography	Comments
1	Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446	Amenemhet III	Thebes?	Hayes 1955: 54–7, pl. iv; Quirke 1990: 127–54; Menu 2012: esp. 20–6	Hieratic papyrus in which matters relating to the <i>hnrt wrt</i> are discussed, including lists of people associated with officials and/or institutions, and a record of fugitives who did not fulfill their work duties. It is stated that members of the <i>hrjw</i> and the <i>mhwt</i> should stand in for those who have fled (see <i>hrjw</i> , appendix 2.5.7–10 below). The term <i>mhwt</i> has been restored: the <i>m</i> and <i>h</i> are preserved, and the tail of a <i>t</i> is visible; the determinative is in a lacuna that is the right size for a man and woman determinative. Recto, line 58d
	Transliteration	<i>r-dd dj r h3 n dd-rmt mhwt shr hr dmd m r3=f</i>			
	Translation	‘Saying: the <i>mhwt</i> of the one who was driven away was given to the office of the provider of people because of uniting in his matters’			
2	<i>Teaching of a man for his son</i>	12th dynasty		Fischer-Elfert 1999: §21,2; Quirke 2004a: 105; Vernus 2010: 287	Although no attestations of this teaching have been found from before the SIP, it has been convincingly dated to the MK on linguistic grounds (Parkinson 2002: 319). The term <i>mhwt</i> is reconstructed by Fischer-Elfert on palaeographic (e.g. the presence of a collective determinative) and contextual grounds (stanza 21 includes other references

					to relatives and households)
	Transliteration	ʕw ns stkn n [m]hwt			
	Translation	‘There is no one with a tongue who is approached by a [m]hwt’			
3	Stela Cairo JE 46786	13th dynasty	Edfu	Engelbach 1921: 65–6; Franke 1993: 136, n. 407; Kubisch 2008: 216–7; PM v, 203	Owner: <i>msw</i> ; stela with 9 lines of text. Unusual writing of <i>mhwt</i> in that the <i>h</i> and the <i>m</i> have swapped places. Palaeographically it does not seem possible that the term meant is <i>hwt</i> instead, as the <i>m</i> is very different from the <i>w</i> in this stela. Lines 7–8
	Transliteration	jnk jkr n snw=f prj- ^c n mhwt=f			
	Translation	‘I was one excellent for his <i>snw</i> , active for his <i>mhwt</i> ’			
4	Stela Cairo JE 48229	13th dynasty	Edfu	Engelbach 1923: 183–4, fig. 1; Kubisch 2008: 219– 21, pl. 6c; PM v, 203	Owner: <i>r^c-ms</i> ; stela with decorated lunette, 10 lines of text, and no depictions. Although Franke suggested a 13th dynasty dating for this stelae (13th dynasty is considered within the SIP by Kubisch), Vernus proposed a 17th dynasty dating in his unpublished work on Edfu (see <i>hrjw</i> , appendix 2.5.18 below). Lines 5–6
	Transliteration	n k3 n w ^c n hrjw=f w3dt n mhwt=f			
	Translation	‘For the ka of the first of his <i>hrjw</i> , the successful one of his <i>mhwt</i> ’			
5	Stela Alliot 1933 (collection Ray Winfield Smith, currently in Houston, Texas)	13th dynasty	Edfu	Alliot 1935: 31, no. 7, pl. xv.1; 1937–38: 104; Vernus 1988a: 147–8; Franke 1993: 139, n. 426; Kubisch 2008: 191–3; PM v, 201	Owner: <i>wsr-h3t</i> ; stela with 6 lines of text and some depictions of people accompanied by captions (see <i>hrjw</i> , appendix 2.5.19 below). Lines 3–4
	Transliteration	n k3 n w ^c n hrjw=f w3d n mhwt=f			
	Translation	‘For the ka of the first of his <i>hrjw</i> , the successful one of his <i>mhwt</i> ’			
6	Stela Ashmolean	Late 13th	Buhen	Smith 1976: pl. x.2;	Owner: <i>sbk-m-hb</i> ; damaged stela with 8 lines of text of which the beginnings are

	1893.176	dynasty		Kubisch 2008: 173–5; PM vii, 131	eroded. The text is extremely fragmentary, but the expression is similar to that on appendix 2.4.4–5 (see <i>hrjw</i> , appendix 2.5.22 below). Lines 3–4
	Transliteration	<i>jnk w^c n hrjw [=f w3d n mhwt]=f</i>			
	Translation	‘I was the first one for [his] <i>hrjw</i> , [a successful one for his <i>mhwt</i>]’			

2.5 *hrjw*

	Object type and museum number	Approximate date	Provenance	Selected bibliography	Comments
1	Papyrus New York MMA 22.3.516	Late 11th dynasty to Senusret I	Tomb of Meseh, Deir el-Bahari	James 1962: 14, pls 2–2a; Goedicke 1984: 43, pl. 5; Allen 2002: 6, 15, pls 8, 26–7	Hieratic papyrus belonging to the group of letters and accounts of Heqanakht, a funerary priest of the early MK. While he was away in the north, probably to fulfil his duties, he would write letters to his household in the south, offering an insight into daily life in a rural estate. The documents include some lists of people belonging to the household with the rations allocated to each of them by Heqanakht. This passage includes instructions for the rations of Nakht on the mission to Perhaa. Letter 1, rto 16
	Transliteration	<i>mk n hbs=j n=f^ckw prw 3bd w^c m jt-mh h3r hbs=j kj snnw m jt-mh hk3t 5n hrjw=f r-tp wpw</i>			
	Translation	‘Look, I have not calculated more than one month’s salary for him, consisting of a sack of full barley, calculating a second one of 0.5 of full barley for his <i>hrjw</i> for the first day of the month’			
2	Papyrus New York MMA 22.3.517	Late 11th dynasty to Senusret I	Tomb of Meseh, Deir el-Bahari	James 1962: 32, pls 5–5a; Goedicke 1984: 17, pl. 1; Allen 2002: 7, 16, pls 10, 30–1	Hieratic papyrus belonging to the group of letters and accounts of Heqanakht, a funerary priest of the early MK. While he was away in the north, probably to fulfil his duties, he would write letters to his household in the south, offering an insight into daily life in a rural estate. The documents include some lists of people belonging to the household with the rations allocated to each of them by Heqanakht. This passage includes a list of the salary of the household. Letter 2, rto 13–4
	Transliteration	<i>ht s3 nht hn^c hrjw=f mrj-sw hrjw=f</i>			

	Translation	'Heti's son Nakht and his <i>hrjw</i> ; Merisu and his <i>hrjw</i> '			
3	Tomb of <i>jmnjj</i> (Beni Hasan no. 2)	Senusret I	Beni Hasan	Newberry 1893: 23–7, pl. viii, a, line 7; Urk vii, 16.9–10; Lichtheim 1988: 139, no. 60	Self-presentation inscription on northern jamb of entrance. This passage is in the context of an ideal self-presentation inscription after the description of years of hunger. The mention of <i>hrjw</i> may refer to a kin group or to underlings from a region. Line 20
	Transliteration	<i>ḥᶜ.n sk3.n=j 3hwt-nbt nt m3-ḥd r t3š=f rsj mḥtj sᶜnh(=j) hrjw=f jrj(=j) šbw=f n ḥpr ḥkr jm=f</i>			
	Translation	'Then I cultivated all the fields of the Oryx nome to its southern and northern limits, causing its <i>hrjw</i> to live and stocking its surplus. There existed no hungry one in it.'			
4	Stela Berlin ÄM 1157	Senusret III, year 16	Semna	Sethe 1924: 83–4; Lichtheim 1973: 119; Eyre 1990; Parkinson 1991: 43–6, 155–6; Seidlmayer 2000b; PM vii, 151	Boundary stela with decorated lunette with cartouche, 19 lines of text, and no depictions. The inscription presents a eulogy of Senusret III with special reference to his authority over the Nubians. The text has a duplicate in appendix 2.5.5. Lines 11–3
	Transliteration	<i>jw m3.n-st ḥm=j nn m jwms ḥ3k.n=j ḥmwt=sn jnj.n=j hrjw=sn</i>			
	Translation	'My person has seen it, it is not a lie, since I have captured their wives and brought away their <i>hrjw</i> '			
5	Stela Khartum no. 3	Senusret III, year 16	Uronarti	Janssen 1953: pl. lxxv; PM vii, 153; see bibliography for appendix 2.5.4	Stela with decorated lunette with cartouche, 19 lines of text, and no depictions. The text is a duplicate to appendix 2.5.4. Lines 10–1
	Transliteration	<i>jw m3.n-st ḥm=j nn m jwms ḥ3k.n=j ḥmwt=sn jnj.n=j hrjw=sn</i>			
	Translation	'My person has seen it, it is not a lie, since I have captured their wives and brought away their <i>hrjw</i> '			
6	Papyrus Cairo JE 71852 (formerly Berlin 10020)	Senusret III	Lahun	Borchardt 1899; Luft 2002	Hieratic papyrus in which a <i>ḥ3tj-ᶜ</i> requests two workmen; in case these workmen are not found, he would accept some members of their <i>hrjw</i> instead. Recto, lines 1–2
	Transliteration	<i>ḥ3tj-ᶜ m-r ḥwt-ntr nbw-k3w-rᶜ dd n m-r pr n ḥtp-ntr sbk-nḥt dd dj(=j) rḥ=k ḥr rdjt jnjt šmᶜw nfrj s3 ḥtj-m-pt ḥtj-ᶜnh s3 jtj rdj n whmw mrj jr ntj nn gm.tw=f</i>			

		<i>jw rdj.n=k jnjt s n hrjw=f st nt hrjw=f r3-pw sb3w n=sn jmj r3-pw</i>			
	Translation	‘The <i>h3tj</i> - ^c , overseer of the temple <i>nbw-k3w-r^c</i> says to the overseer of the storeroom of the divine offerings <i>sbk-nht</i> : (I) have informed to you about the carrying away of the singer <i>nfrj</i> ’s son <i>htj-m-pt</i> (and <i>htj</i> - ^c <i>nh</i> ’s son <i>jtj</i> , informed by the herald <i>mrj</i>). In relation to he who could not have been found to come, you have caused that a man from his <i>hrjw</i> is brought, or a woman from his <i>hrjw</i> or an instructor for them’			
7	Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446	Amenemhet III	Thebes?	Hayes 1955: 44–5, pl. iv; Quirke 1990: 127–54; Menu 2012: esp. 20–6	Hieratic papyrus in which matters relating to the <i>hnrt wrt</i> are discussed, including lists of people associated with officials and/or institutions, and a record of fugitives who did not fulfill their work duties. It is stated that members of the <i>hrjw</i> and the <i>mhwt</i> should stand in for those who have fled (see <i>mhwt</i> , appendix 2.4.1 above). Recto, line 54d
	Transliteration	<i>... r wh^c hrjw=f m d3d3t m 3wj r jrt hp r=f n w^crw hnrt 3</i>			
	Translation	‘... to release his <i>hrjw</i> in/from the council, being issued in order to execute against him the law of one who escapes from the great prison’			
8	Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446	Amenemhet III	Thebes?	Hayes 1955: 35–6, pl. vi; Quirke 1990: 127–54; Menu 2012: esp. 20–6	Hieratic papyrus in which matters relating to the <i>hnrt wrt</i> are discussed, including lists of people associated with officials and/or institutions, and a record of fugitives who did not fulfill their work duties. It is stated that members of the <i>hrjw</i> and the <i>mhwt</i> should stand in for those who have fled (see <i>mhwt</i> , appendix 2.4.1 above). Recto, lines 55–6d
	Transliteration	<i>3w^c n hnrt j3w rnpt sp 31 3bd 2 šnnn 3rkj r wh^c hrjw=f m d3d3t m 3wj r jrt hp r=f n tšw n w3w3 r 3bd 6</i>			
	Translation	‘An order was issued to the great prison in regnal year 31, month 2 of shemu, last day, to release his <i>hrjw</i> in/from the council, being issued in order to execute against him the law of one who deliberately deserts for 6 months’			
9	Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446	Amenemhet III	Thebes?	Hayes 1955: 52–3, pl. vi; Quirke 1990: 127–54; Menu 2012: esp. 20–6	Hieratic papyrus in which matters relating to the <i>hnrt wrt</i> are discussed, including lists of people associated with officials and/or institutions, and a record of fugitives who did not fulfill their work duties. It is stated that members of the <i>hrjw</i> and the <i>mhwt</i> should stand in for those who have fled (see <i>mhwt</i> , appendix 2.4.1 above). Recto, line 57d
	Transliteration	<i>3w^c n hnrt j3w rnpt sp 31 3bd 3 šnn 5 r rdjt n hsbw hn^c hrjw=f dt mj dd d3d3t</i>			
	Translation	‘An order was issued to the great prison in regnal year 31, month 3 of shemu day 5 to be given the quarters of aroua together with his <i>hrjw</i> and servants			

		like the council says'			
10	Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446	Amenemhet III	Thebes?	Hayes 1955: 27, 30, 44–5, pl. v; Quirke 1990: 127–54; Menu 2012: esp. 20–6	Hieratic papyrus in which matters relating to the <i>hnrt wrt</i> are discussed, including lists of people associated with officials and/or institutions, and a record of fugitives who did not fulfill their work duties. It is stated that members of the <i>hrjw</i> and the <i>mhwt</i> should stand in for those who have fled (see <i>mhwt</i> , appendix 2.4.1 above). This passage is damaged, so the context of this attestation is not clear. Recto, line 58b
	Transliteration	<i>hrjw</i> [...]			
	Translation	' <i>hrjw</i> [...]			
11	Papyrus Berlin 3022	12th dynasty	Thebes	Koch 1990: 44; Parkinson 1997a: 32	Papyrus with a MK version of the <i>Tale of Sinuhe</i> ; line B103. The version on Papyrus Harageh 1, also from the MK, has the same phrase on line 1, but the verb <i>ḥ3ḳ</i> is missing
	Transliteration	<i>ḥ3ḳ.n=j mnmnt=s jnj.n=j hrjw=s</i>			
	Translation	'I plundered its cattle and took away its <i>hrjw</i> '			
12	Papyrus Berlin 3023	12th dynasty	Thebes	Parkinson 2005 [1991]: xiii–xix, xxv–xxvi, 23; 2012: 2, 103–4	Papyrus with the <i>Tale of the Eloquent Peasant</i> ; line B1, 126
	Transliteration	<i>jn mwt mwt ḥn^c hrjw=f</i>			
	Translation	'A mortal one dies with his <i>hrjw</i> '			
13	<i>Teaching for Merikare</i>	12th dynasty		Helck 1977: 58, xxxv; Quack 1992: 185; Parkinson 1997a: 223–4; Quirke 2004a: 117; Vernus 2010: 191	Although no attestations of this teaching have been found from before the NK, it has been convincingly dated to the MK on linguistic and stylistic grounds (Parkinson 2002: 315–6). Variants of this passage are preserved in Papyrus Petersburg 1116 A vso, lines 96–7, Papyrus Moscow 4658, line vi,15, and Papyrus Carlsberg VI, line ii,6
	Transliteration	<i>jw rdj.n=j ḥw-st t3-mḥt ḥ3ḳ.n=j hrjw=s n mḥ.n=j mnmnt=s n r bwt 3mw r kmt</i>			

	Translation	'I caused the North to strike them, I have plundered their <i>hrjw</i> , and I have taken away their cattle to abominate the Asiatics (who were) against Egypt'			
14	Papyrus UCL 32116B	Late 12th dynasty	Lahun	Collier and Quirke 2004: 108–9	Fragmentary hieratic letter from Lahun, possibly of legal content. Recto, line 4
	Transliteration	<i>m hrjw=sn m knw</i>			
	Translation	'In their <i>hrjw</i> as strong men'			
15	Papyrus UCL 32118d	Late 12th dynasty	Lahun	Collier and Quirke 2002: 38–9	Fragmentary hieratic letter from Lahun. The address on verso is damaged, and the recto seems to include a complaint about gang controllers. Recto, line 2
	Transliteration	[...] <i>snt mnt-pw m hrjw</i> [...]			
	Translation	'[...] she is the <i>snt</i> of Menet among the <i>hrjw</i> [...]			
16	Papyrus UCL 32156b	Late 12th dynasty	Lahun	Collier and Quirke 2002: 84–5	Fragmentary hieratic letter from Lahun dealing with calculations of produce. Fragment ii, lines 13
	Transliteration	<i>hrjw n b3k-jm ʕ3</i> [...]			
	Translation	'My <i>hrjw</i> here [...]			
17	Papyrus UCL 32213 (lot VI.5)	Late 12th dynasty	Lahun	Griffith 1898: 81, pl. xxxvi; Collier and Quirke 2002: 142–5	Severely damaged hieratic letter from Lahun. The main matter on the recto is a vessel that should be removed and then goes into a more personal level on the verso, reproaching the person who receives the letter for not having written back. The writer also wants to make sure that the house is safe to come and visit (see <i>pr</i> , appendix 2.2.25 above). Verso, line 11
	Transliteration	<i>mk b3k-j[m...] dj.n=f wn=k hnʕ p[3y=k] hrjw</i>			
	Translation	'Look, I have caused that you are with [your] <i>hrjw</i> '			
18	Stela Cairo JE 48229	13th dynasty	Edfu	Engelbach 1923: 183–4, fig. 1; Kubisch 2008: 219–	Owner: <i>rʕ-ms</i> ; stela with decorated lunette, 10 lines of text, and no depictions. Although Franke suggested a 13th dynasty dating for this stelae (13th dynasty is

				21, pl. 6c; PM v, 203	considered within the SIP by Kubisch), Vernus proposed a 17th dynasty dating in his unpublished work on Edfu (see <i>mhwt</i> , appendix 2.4.4 above). Lines 5–6
	Transliteration	<i>n k3 n w^c n hrjw=f w3dt n mhwt=f</i>			
	Translation	‘For the ka of the first of his <i>hrjw</i> , the successful one of his <i>mhwt</i> ’			
19	Stela Alliot 1933 (collection Ray Winfield Smith, currently in Houston, Texas)	13th dynasty	Edfu	Alliot 1935: 31, no. 7, pl. xv.1; 1937–38: 104; Vernus 1988a: 147–8; Franke 1993: 139, n. 426; Kubisch 2008: 191–3; PM v, 201	Owner: <i>wsr-h3t</i> ; stela with 6 lines of text and some depictions of people accompanied by captions (see <i>mhwt</i> , appendix 2.4.5 above). Lines 3–4
	Transliteration	<i>n k3 n w^c n hrjw=f w3d n mhwt=f</i>			
	Translation	‘For the ka of the first of his <i>hrjw</i> , the successful one of his <i>mhwt</i> ’			
20	Papyrus UCL 32163 (lot I.3)	13th dynasty	Lahun	Collier and Quirke 2004: 110–1	Hieratic papyrus from Lahun with a <i>wpwt</i> -document listing the members of the household of the soldier Snefru. Verso 1–2
	Transliteration	<i>ʕrk hrjw-pn m h3 n tʕtj n rnpt-sp 5 3bd 1 prt sw 8 m hrjw 3w</i>			
	Translation	‘Swearing of this <i>hrjw</i> in the office of the vizier in year 5, first month of <i>prt</i> , day 8 as the <i>hrjw</i> of a dead man’			
21	Block Cairo JE 30770bis	Antef (V or VI), year 3	Coptos	Petrie 1896: 10–1, pl. 8; Sethe 1924: 98; Helck 1975: no. 106; Lorton 1977: 18–23; Martin-Pardey 1990; Wente 1990: 25–6, no. 13; Goebis 2003; PM v, 125	Block with a carved copy of a decree (so called <i>Antef’s decree</i>) found on the south side of the east entrance to the temple of Min. The block has 12 lines of text dealing with a misdeed that was committed at the temple by Teti, son of Minhotep, and describing the punishment for him and his family, who will not be allowed to inherit any properties or offices from him. The inscription includes the term <i>hrjw</i> together with <i>h3w</i> (see <i>h3w</i> , appendix 2.3.13 above). Lines 9–10
	Transliteration	<i>jr tsw-nb h3ty-^cnb ntj r spr n nb ʕnh w3 snb r htp n=f ʕh^c rdj rmt=f ht=f 3hwt=f r htp-ntr n jt=j mnw nb gbtjw hn^c tm rdjt jnj.tw s-nb n h3w=f n hrjw n jt=f n mwt=f r t3 j3wt</i>			

	Translation	'As for any commander and any <i>ḥꜣtj-ꜥ</i> who shall petition to the lord, life, prosperity and health, to be gracious to him while he stands, assign his people, his things and his fields to the god's endowments of my father Min, the lord of Coptos, and anyone of his <i>ḥꜣw</i> or of the <i>ḥrjw</i> of his father or of his mother shall not be let to be elevated to the office'			
22	Stela Ashmolean 1893.176	Late 13th dynasty	Buhen	Smith 1976: pl. x.2; Kubisch 2008: 173–5; PM vii, 131	Owner: <i>sbk-m-ḥb</i> ; damaged stela with 8 lines of text of which the beginnings are eroded. The text is extremely fragmentary, but the expression is similar to that on appendix 2.5.18–19 (see <i>mhwt</i> , appendix 2.4.6 above). Lines 3–4
	Transliteration	<i>jnk wꜥ n ḥrjw [=f wꜣd n mhwt]=f</i>			
	Translation	'I was the first one for [his] <i>ḥrjw</i> , [a successful one for his <i>mhwt</i>]'			
23	Stela Khartum no. 18	Late 13th dynasty	Buhen	Säve-Söderbergh 1949; Helck 1975: no. 116; Smith 1976: 41; Franke 1984: no. 706; Kubisch 2008: 166–8; PM vii, 138	Owner: <i>kꜣ</i> ; stela with decorated lunette, 10 lines of text, and no depictions. Lines 9–10
	Transliteration	<i>jw=j jj.kwj [...]'d[.kwj] wꜣꜣ.kwj (n) ḥrjw(=j)</i>			
	Translation	'I have come being [safe and] sound (to my) <i>ḥrjw</i> '			

2.6 *whjtt*

	Object type and museum number	Approximate date	Provenance	Selected bibliography	Comments
1	Hatnub graffito no. 12	Ahanakht (possibly 11th dynasty), year 13	Hatnub	Anthes 1928: 28–31	Owner: <i>dhwtj-nht-ḥn</i> , hieratic graffito with 18 lines including the term <i>whjtt</i> in parallel to <i>3bt</i> (see <i>3bt</i> , appendix 2.1.32 above). Line 10
	Transliteration	<i>jnk dmj ndm n whjtt=f ḥpr.n 3bt=f nn 3hw=s</i>			
	Translation	‘I was a sweet harbour for his <i>whjtt</i> , an equipped one for his <i>3bt</i> without complaint’			
2	Papyrus Berlin 3022	12th dynasty	Thebes	Koch 1990: 22; Parkinson 1997a: 29	Papyrus with a MK version of the <i>Tale of Sinuhe</i> ; lines B28. There is a parallel to this phrase in the MK Papyrus Berlin 10499 vso (Papyrus Ramesseum A), lines R51–2, and in the NK Ashmolean ostrakon 1945.40, lines 19–20
	Transliteration	<i>šm.n=j ḥnḥ=f n whjtt=f nfr jrt=sn [n=j]</i>			
	Translation	‘I went with him to his <i>whjtt</i> , and what they did [for me] was good’			
3	Papyrus Berlin 3022	12th dynasty	Thebes	Koch 1990: 42; Parkinson 1997a: 31	Papyrus with a MK version of the <i>Tale of Sinuhe</i> ; lines B86–7. There is a parallel to this phrase in the MK Papyrus Berlin 10499 vso (Papyrus Ramesseum A), lines R113–4, and in the NK Ashmolean ostrakon 1945.40, line 38
	Transliteration	<i>rdjt=f-wj m ḥk3 whjtt m stp n ḥ3swt=f</i>			
	Translation	‘He appointed me as ruler of a <i>whjtt</i> among the choicest of the foreign land’			
4	Papyrus Berlin 3022	12th dynasty	Thebes	Koch 1990: 43; Parkinson 1997a: 32	Papyrus with a MK version of the <i>Tale of Sinuhe</i> ; lines B94. There is a parallel to this phrase in the NK Ashmolean ostrakon 1945.40, line 40
	Transliteration	<i>jr.n=j rnpwt ḥ3wt ḥrdw=j ḥpr m nḥtw s-nb m d3jr whjtt=f</i>			

	Translation	'I spent many years (there), as my children became warriors, each a chief of his <i>whjjet</i> '			
5	Papyrus Berlin 3022	12th dynasty	Thebes	Koch 1990: 46; Parkinson 1997a: 32	Papyrus with a MK version of the <i>Tale of Sinuhe</i> ; lines B113 There is a parallel to this phrase in the MK Papyrus Berlin 10499 vso (Papyrus Ramesseum A), line R138, and in the NK Ashmolean ostrakon 1945.40, line 44
	Transliteration	<i>k3j.n=f h3k mnmnt=j hr sh n whjjet=f</i>			
	Translation	'He planned to plunder my cattle under the council of his <i>whjjet</i> '			
6	Papyrus Berlin 3022	12th dynasty	Thebes	Koch 1990: 49; Parkinson 1997a: 33	Papyrus with a MK version of the <i>Tale of Sinuhe</i> ; lines B130. There is a parallel to this phrase in the NK ostrakon Gardiner 354, line 4
	Transliteration	<i>h4d.n t3 r4tnw jjet ddb4.n=s whjjet=s</i>			
	Translation	'At dawn Retjenu came and it gathered its <i>whjjet</i> '			
7	Papyrus Berlin 3022	12th dynasty	Thebes	Koch 1990: 63; Parkinson 1997a: 37	Papyrus with a MK version of the <i>Tale of Sinuhe</i> ; lines B199–200. There is a parallel to this phrase in the NK Ashmolean ostrakon 1945.40, lines 18–9
	Transliteration	<i>spr.n wd4w-pn r=j 4h4.kwj m hrj-jb whjjet(=j)</i>			
	Translation	'This envoy arrived to me as I was standing among (my) <i>whjjet</i> '			
8	Papyrus Berlin 3022	12th dynasty	Thebes	Koch 1990: 69; Parkinson 1997a: 39	Papyrus with a MK version of the <i>Tale of Sinuhe</i> ; lines B239–40. There is a parallel to this phrase in the NK Ashmolean ostrakon 1945.40, line 38
	Transliteration	<i>s3=j wr m s3 whjjet=j whjjet=j ht=j-nbt m-4=f</i>			
	Translation	'My eldest son was protector of my <i>whjjet</i> ; my <i>whjjet</i> and all my things were his'			
9	Papyrus Bibliothèque Nationale Paris	12th dynasty	Thebes?	Žába 1956: 29, nos 173–4; Parkinson 1997a: 253; 2002: 314–5; Quirke	Papyrus with the <i>Teaching of Ptahhotep</i> ; lines 7,6–7

	183–94 (Papyrus Prisse)			2004a: 92; Vernus 2010: 118	
	Transliteration	<i>jn w^c shprw ntr jw nb whjtt n nh=s smš=f</i>			
	Translation	‘It is the solitary man whom god creates, while the lord of a <i>whjtt</i> due to its prayers, he follows’			
10	<i>Teaching for Merikare</i>	12th dynasty		Helck 1977: 6, iii; Quack 1992: 165; Parkinson 1997a: 216–7; Quirke 2004a: 112; Vernus 2010: 183	Although no attestations of this teaching have been found from before the NK, it has been convincingly dated to the MK on linguistic and stylistic grounds (Parkinson 2002: 315–6). This passage is preserved only in Papyrus Petersburg 1116 A vso, lines 13–4
	Transliteration	<i>jr gm=k [...] n njwt nb-pw n whjtt hn n=k-sw</i>			
	Translation	‘If you find [a lord?] of a town, he is the lord of a <i>whjtt</i> , protect him’			

Papyrus Berlin 3022 B78 and Papyrus Berlin 10499 vso (Papyrus Ramesseum A) R104 have a fragment of the *Tale of Sinuhe* that reads *rdj.n=f-wj r h3t hrdw=f mnj.n=f-wj m s3t=f wrt* ‘he placed me at the head of his children and he joined me to his eldest daughter’, but later versions of the text (NK Ashmolean ostrakon 1945.40, line 36 and Deir el Medina ostrakon 1045 rto, lines 9–10) substitute *hrdw* (‘children’) by *whjtt*.

2.7 *hnw*

	Object type and museum number	Approximate date	Provenance	Selected bibliography	Comments
1	Stela Louvre C 167	12th dynasty	Abydos	Gayet 1886: lv; Moss 1932: 310, pl. 47; Simpson 1974b: 17 [ANOC 4.1], 23, pl. 10; Franke 1984: nos 133, 288, 347, 760; Lichtheim 1992: 33–4;	Owner: <i>jnj-jt=f</i> ; stela with 10 lines of text and some depictions of people accompanied by captions. Line 8

				Freed 1996: 320–3, fig. 8b; PM v, 98	
	Transliteration	<i>jnk [...] sḏmw hnw</i>			
	Translation	‘I am one who listens to his <i>hnw</i> ’			
2	<i>Teaching for Merikare</i>	12th dynasty		Helck 1977: 9–10, v; Quack 1992: 166–7; Parkinson 1997a: 217; Quirke 2004a: 113; Vernus 2010: 183–4	Although no attestations of this teaching have been found from before the NK, it has been convincingly dated to the MK on linguistic and stylistic grounds (Parkinson 2002: 315–6). Variants of this passage are preserved in Papyrus Petersburg 1116 A vso, lines 21–4, and Papyrus Moscow 4658, lines ii,6–9
	Transliteration	<i>jr gmj=k-sw m jwṭj hnw=f[ʕš3] n rḥ-sw njwt mrw=fʕš3 mrr-sw ḥr ḥt=f sb-w rḥ=fʕk [...] m jb ʕn-sw m ḥr dt=f r mn m jṯ-pw dr-sw sm3 ḥrdw=f sḥn rm=f sk hnw dr šḥ3=f mrw=f mrr-sw</i>			
	Translation	‘If you find him as someone without a numerous <i>hnw</i> , whom the citizens did not know but whose <i>mrw</i> are numerous and love him on account of his property in quest for his wisdom, that [he] may enter into [...] in the hearts and who makes himself pleasing to his servants as far as he is a dragger, expel him, slay his children, remove his name, destroy (his) <i>hnw</i> , expel his <i>mrw</i> who love him’			
3	<i>Teaching of a man for his son</i>	12th dynasty		Helck 1984: 49, v.2; Fischer-Elfert 1999: §4,6; Quirke 2004a: 102; Vernus 2010: 282	Although no attestations of this teaching have been found from before the SIP, it has been convincingly dated to the MK on linguistic grounds (Parkinson 2002: 319). The writing of <i>hnw</i> is clearest in oLouvre 23561 1–2, but the passage is similar in all manuscripts
	Transliteration	<i>ʕnd t3 m nb hnw</i>			
	Translation	‘One who is lacking land is still the lord of a <i>hnw</i> ’			
4	<i>Teaching of a man for his son</i>	12th dynasty		Helck 1984: 68, xvi.2; Fischer-Elfert 1999: §21,3; Quirke 2004a: 105; Vernus 2010: 287	Although no attestations of this teaching have been found from before the SIP, it has been convincingly dated to the MK on linguistic grounds (Parkinson 2002: 319). This fragment is damaged, but the contrast with ʕš3 probably indicates that <i>hnw</i> is meant
	Transliteration	<i>nn hnw n ʕš3-ḥrw</i>			

	Translation	‘There is no <i>hnw</i> for the loquacious one’			
5	Papyrus BM EA 10754 (Papyrus Ramesseum 1)	Late 12th dynasty	Thebes	Barns 1956: pl. 2, line Bi 26; Parkinson 2002: 305–6; Quirke 2004a: 19	Papyrus with the <i>Discourse of Sasobek</i> on the recto and latter accounts on the verso; line Bi, 26
	Transliteration	ʕš3-ḥrwj ʕnd hnw sbj ḥr sp [...]			
	Translation	‘The loquacious one has few <i>hnw</i> who perish [...]’			
6	CT 142	Uncertain		de Buck CT ii 174 g, k and 175 c, h, j; Faulkner 1973: 120–1	Only one coffin from Saqqara in de Buck (see <i>3bt</i> , appendix 2.1.20 above)
	Transliteration	jr wdf ḥt ḥtm wd pw n šswt r rdjt n N pn r dmdt 3bt hnw nt N pn n=f m bw-nb nt sn jm ... ḥtp ḥr=s rdjt hnw 3bt nt N pn n=f ... dmd hnw n N pn n=f ... dmd hnw n N pn n=f nt m ḥrt-ntr			
	Translation	‘If a matter delays the sealing of this decree of [Shesut] to cause for this <i>N</i> to reunite the <i>3bt</i> and <i>hnw</i> of this <i>N</i> for him anywhere where they are ... May he rejoice about it, the <i>hnw</i> and <i>3bt</i> of this <i>N</i> are given to him ... Reuniting the <i>hnw</i> of this <i>N</i> for him those who are in the necropolis’			
7	CT 143	Uncertain		de Buck CT ii 176 a, i and 177 d; Faulkner 1973: 121–2	Only one coffin from Saqqara in de Buck (see <i>3bt</i> , appendix 2.1.21 above)
	Transliteration	dmd=f hnw n N pn n=f ḥnʕ 3bt=f ... dmd n N pn hnw jwṯ 3bt nt N pn n=f ... jr tm=tn dmd hnw n N pn n=f ḥnʕ 3bt tw m jmnt			
	Translation	‘May he reunite the <i>hnw</i> of this <i>N</i> for him together with his <i>3bt</i> ... Reuniting for this <i>N</i> the <i>hnw</i> so that the <i>3bt</i> of this <i>N</i> may come for him ... If you do not reunite the <i>hnw</i> of this <i>N</i> for him together with the <i>3bt</i> in the West’			
8	Papyrus BM EA 10409	18th dynasty	Thebes?	Žába 1956: 28–9, nos 161–5; Parkinson 1997a: 253; 2002: 314–5; Quirke 2004a: 92; Vernus 2010: 118	NK copy of the <i>Teaching of Ptahhotep</i> ; lines 3,5–7. The version of this phrase in the MK Papyrus Prisse, line 7,5 has the term <i>h3w</i> instead of <i>hnw</i> (see above)

	Transliteration	<i>jr sk3=k rwd n sht rdj n=k-st ntr wr jmj=k 3w m ʿbʿ jm m tw3 n jwjtj ht=f s3w r3=k r-gs hnw=k</i>			
	Translation	‘If you plough and there is flourishing in the field and god has given wealth to you, may you not extend in boasting there and do not claim to those who do not have anything. Guard your mouth next to your <i>hnw</i> ’			
9	Papyrus BM EA 10409	18th dynasty	Thebes?	Žába 1956: 41, nos 318–21; Parkinson 1997a: 257; 2002: 314–5; Quirke 2004a: 95; Vernus 2010: 128	NK copy of the <i>Teaching of Ptahhotep</i> ; lines 5,4–5. The version of this phrase in the MK Papyrus Prisse, lines 10,6–7 does not feature the term <i>hnw</i> (see <i>h3w</i> , appendix 2.3.10 above)
	Transliteration	<i>m jr mrj h3w=k wr tw3 sfnw [...]</i> ʿnd pw pr hr hm hnw=f šw-sw m jnw n mdt			
	Translation	‘Do not act (against) what is desired of your <i>h3w</i> . The claim of a gentle man is great [...]. He who comes out ignoring his <i>hnw</i> is a diminished one, deprived of the gift of speech’			

2.8 *ht*

	Object type and museum number	Approximate date	Provenance	Selected bibliography	Comments
1	Stela in SCA magazin in Edfu	Intef II	Elkab	Gabra 1976	Owner: <i>htpj</i> ; stela with one column with titulary, 7 lines of texts, and some depictions of people accompanied by captions. The phrase includes the term <i>pr</i> , although it is not sure whether it refers to the group or the house in this case. Line 7
	Transliteration	<i>jw ms.n=s ht 12 jw sw3d.n(=f) hrdw pr=s n</i>			
	Translation	‘She gave birth to 12 <i>ht</i> . (I) caused (my) children and their <i>pr</i> to prosper’			
2	CT 158	From late 11th dynasty		de Buck CT ii: 357d–358b; Faulkner 1973: 136–7	Three coffins from Asyut and nine from Dayr al-Barsha in de Buck
	Transliteration	<i>dj.n=j hm dw3-mwt=f kbh-snw=f hnʿ(=f) s3=j-st ht-pw jtnt jb</i>			

	Translation	‘Surely I have placed Duamutef and Qebhsenuf with (me) so that I can watch over them, since it is an unsettled <i>ht</i> ’			
3	Stela Cairo CG 20538	Senusret III to Amenemhet III	Abydos	Lange and Schäfer 1902b: 145–50; 1902c: pl. xl; Lichtheim 1973: 126; Leprohon 2009	Owner: <i>sh̥tp-jb-r̥</i> ; stela inscribed on its four sides with the first part of the ‘ <i>Loyalist</i> ’ teaching. Main side has 12 lines and 9 columns of text, back has 26 lines of text, and sides have 3 lines of text each. The term <i>ht</i> occurs in line 3 of main side’s inscription
	Transliteration	<i>dd n=f ht hrt=sn ptr.n nb t3wj jkr=f</i>			
	Translation	‘To whom <i>ht</i> tell their matters, whose excellence the lord of the two lands has seen’			
4	Papyrus Berlin 3023	12th dynasty	Thebes	Parkinson 2005 [1991]: xiii–xix, xxv–xxvi, 31; 2012: 2, 184–5	Papyrus with the <i>Tale of the Eloquent Peasant</i> ; line B1, 220–1
	Transliteration	<i>mk-tw m njwt nn hk3-hwt=s mj ht nn wr=s</i>			
	Translation	‘Look, you are a town without its ruler, like a <i>ht</i> without its great one’			
5	<i>Teaching for Merikare</i>	12th dynasty		Helck 1977: 58, xxxv; Quack 1992: 193; Parkinson 1997a: 225; Quirke 2004a: 118; Vernus 2010: 193	Although no attestations of this teaching have been found from before the NK, it has been convincingly dated to the MK on linguistic and stylistic grounds (Parkinson 2002: 315–6). Variants of this passage are preserved in Papyrus Moscow 4658, line viii,3, and Papyrus Carlsberg VI, line iv,7; Papyrus Petersburg 1116 A vso, lines 123–4, has a different version that reads <i>snn ht m rmt</i> (‘a <i>ht</i> passes among men’)
	Transliteration	<i>snn ht r ht m rmt jmn.n-sw ntr [rh kdw]</i>			
	Translation	‘A <i>ht</i> passes after <i>ht</i> among men, as god, [who knows characters] has hidden himself’			
6	<i>Words of Khakheperreseneb</i>	13th dynasty	Thebes	Gardiner 1909: 95–110, pls 17–8; Lichtheim 1973: 146; Parkinson 1996; 1997b; 1997a: 144–50; Moers 2002; Parkinson 2002: 304–5; Simpson	Although the only surviving copy of this texts is in an 18th dynasty writing board BM EA 5645 rto, line 6, the text has been convincingly dated to the MK on linguistic grounds (Parkinson 2002: 304–5)

				2003: 212; Quirke 2004a: 173	
	Transliteration	<i>dd.n=j nn hft m3.n=j s3 r ht tpt nfrjt r jww hr s3 snj=sn r sw3wt</i>			
	Translation	‘I have said these things as I have seen; from the first <i>ht</i> until those who come afterwards, they will exceed what has passed’			

2.9 *wndwt*

	Object type and museum number	Approximate date	Provenance	Selected bibliography	Comments
1	CT 261	From early 11th dynasty		de Buck CT iii: 383e; Faulkner 1973: 199–201	Three coffins from Asyut and one from Dayr al-Barsha in de Buck. Newly identified: one coffin from Asyut
	Transliteration	<i>m wnn h3=f n k3 m s3 wndwt=f</i>			
	Translation	‘When his million of kas were the protection of his <i>wndwt</i> ’			
2	CT 75	From Mentuhotep II?		de Buck CT i: 376b–c; Faulkner 1973: 72–7	Three coffins from Asyut, one from Thebes, eight from Dayr al-Barsha, one from Aswan, one from Beni Hasan, one from Gebelein, one from Saqqara and seven from Meir in de Buck. Newly identified: one from Thebes (unpublished), one from Dayr al-Barsha (unpublished), and three from Meir (one unpublished). Most versions have the variant <i>m s3 wndwt=f</i> , which is similar to CT 261
	Transliteration	<i>jnk jnnw n=f 3h=f jnk 3bw n=f h3=f n k3 dj m wndwt=f</i>			
	Translation	‘I am one who brings his <i>3h</i> for himself. I am one who unites for himself his million of kas which are placed among his <i>wndwt</i> ’			
3	CT 34	From late 11th dynasty		de Buck CT i: 128b–c; Faulkner 1973: 22–5	Nine coffins from Dayr-al Barsha and one from Lisht in de Buck
	Transliteration	<i>jsk fdt=f nt 3nh w3h hr wndwt=f jm=j 3nht jnk b3=f 3nh tp t3</i>			

	Translation	‘Now, his quartette of life and endurance is upon his <i>wndwt</i> through me being alive. I am his ba who lives upon earth’			
4	CT 35	From late 11th dynasty		de Buck CT i: 129d–e, 130d–e, 131d–e, 132e–f, 133e–f, 134 e–f; Faulkner 1973: 22–5	Eight coffins from Dayr-al Barsha and one from Lisht in de Buck. This phrase is a kind of chorus that gets repeated at the end of every stanza. Some versions of this chorus have <i>jnk wndwt=k tp t3</i> (‘I am your <i>wndwt</i> upon earth’) instead
	Transliteration	<i>fdt=k hr=j nt nh nt hs wsjr NN-pn wndwt=k tp t3</i>			
	Translation	‘Your quartette of life and of praise is upon me. This Osiris <i>NN</i> , your <i>wndwt</i> upon earth’			
5	CT 36	From late 11th dynasty		de Buck CT i: 144c; Faulkner 1973: 25–7	Eight coffins from Dayr-al Barsha and one from Lisht in de Buck
	Transliteration	<i>k=s dr jw=s-nb m wndwt=f tp t3</i>			
	Translation	‘May she enter as all her complaints are dismissed through his <i>wndwt</i> upon earth’			
6	CT 37	From late 11th dynasty		de Buck CT i: 153c–e, 154a; Faulkner 1973: 27–9	Seven coffins from Dayr-al Barsha, one of them only with final part of spell, in de Buck
	Transliteration	<i>sm3=k hrw[=s] r hftjw=s wsr c=s m d3d3wt=k sbj[=f] hr wndwt=f tp t3</i>			
	Translation	‘May you vindicate [her] against her enemies, may her arm be strong in your council, as he rebels upon his <i>wndwt</i> upon earth’			
7	CT 38	From Senusret II?		de Buck CT i: 163e; Faulkner 1973: 30–1	Five coffins from Dayr-al Barsha in de Buck
	Transliteration	<i>sk-wj m sk h n=j wndwt=k hr šdt nhmjw=k</i>			
	Translation	‘Now, I am in the borders, your <i>wndwt</i> has stood for me protecting your orphans’			
8	CT 40	From Senusret II?		de Buck CT i: 175q–r, 176a; Faulkner 1973: 32–3	Two coffins from Dayr-al Barsha in de Buck, but this passages are only preserved in one of them

	Transliteration	<i>jrj n=k twt=k tp t3 shn.n n=k wndwt=k tp t3</i>			
	Translation	‘Your statue is made for you upon earth, your <i>wndwt</i> commands for you upon earth’			
9	CT 314	From Senusret II?		de Buck CT iv: 94i; Faulkner 1973: 235–7	Only in one coffin from Dayr al-Barsha in de Buck
	Transliteration	<i>n-wj wndwt=k hr</i>			
	Translation	‘I belong to your <i>wndwt</i> , Horus’			
10	‘Loyalist’ teaching	12th dynasty	Abydos	Posener 1976: 36–7 §9, 113; Parkinson 1997a: 240; 2002: 318–9; Quirke 2004a: 110; Vernus 2010: 271	The complete text is only known from the NK, but a version of the first half occurs in stela Cairo CG 20538 from the time of Amenemhet III, so a MK dating of the text may be postulated. The passage occurs in line 9.5 of the synoptic version published by Posener (1976)
	Transliteration	<i>hn n rmt s3k n wndwt</i>			
	Translation	‘Care for people, assemble the <i>wndwt</i> ’			
11	<i>Stela of Neferhotep</i>	13th dynasty	Abydos	Mariette 1880a: 28–30; Pieper 1929; Helck 1975: 21–9, no. 32; Simpson 2003: 343	Owner: <i>nfr-htp</i> ; stela with decorated lunette with cartouches and 40 lines of inscription. The term <i>wndwt</i> occurs in the context of a description of the mysteries of Osiris; the passage narrates rejoicing when the enemies of Osiris are overthrown. The current location of this stela is unknown. Lines 28–9
	Transliteration	<i>sm3 hrw=k m hnw hwt wshwt wndwt=k m hrw mrt=k m rs sp-2</i>			
	Translation	‘May you be vindicated in the Broad Hall, your <i>wndwt</i> in jubilation, your <i>mrt</i> rejoicing, rejoicing’			
12	CT 941	Uncertain		de Buck CT vii: 155d; Faulkner 1978: 80	In Papyrus Gardiner III and IV
	Transliteration	<i>[...] n=j wndwt sth [...]</i>			

	Translation	'[...] for me the <i>wndwt</i> of Seth [...]			
13	Writing board Ashmolean 1964.489a	Uncertain	Thebes?	Barns 1968; Parkinson 2002: 310; Quirke 2004a: 190; Vernus 2010: 298	Fragmentary writing board with the <i>Oxford wisdom text</i> , line 3. The date of composition is uncertain, as the hand appears to be early 18th dynasty, but the language is classical Middle Egyptian (Parkinson 2002: 310)
	Transliteration	[<i>htp?</i>] <i>r=k ntr=k mšw=fʿwj wndwt=f rdj.n=f n=k-st hr st hr=k šhrw=k</i>			
	Translation	'May your god [be satisfied] for you; his ? and the condition of his <i>wndwt</i> , as he has given them to you under your responsibility, your plans [...]			

3 Memorial chapels: a catalogue of three case studies

3.1 The chapel of *sk-wsht*

3.1.1 SqSt.1 Stela of *sk-wsht*

JE 55618 (stela 1)
Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Dimensions: H. 1.21 m; W. 0.78 m; D. 0.14 m

Material: limestone

Provenance: Teti cemetery, Saqqara

Condition: mainly good, but top left corner broken away (including top half of left jamb's inscription)

Technique: sunk relief; traces of colour

Approximate date: First Intermediate Period (Merikare to early 11th dynasty)

ANOC: -

Selected bibliography

Abdalla 1992: 95–7, no. 1, pl. xix; Daoud 2005: 90–2, no. 4.3.1, pl.xxxix

PM III², 548–9 (no. 1)

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
Stela		
Upper lintel	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wsjr nb d[dw]</i>	An offering that the king gives, and Osiris, lord of Dje[du],
Left jamb	<i>[ntr ʕ3] nb 3bdw prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw n=f jm3ḥ sk-wḥst</i>	[great god], lord of Abydos, a voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl for him, the venerable <i>sk-wḥst</i> .
Right jamb	<i>ḥp=f m ḥtp m ḥrt-ntr jm3ḥ sk-wḥst</i>	May he travel in peace in the necropolis, the venerable <i>sk-wḥst</i> .
Inner lintel	<i>sšm.tw=f jn k3w=f m jmnt jm3ḥ sk-wḥst</i>	May he be led by his kas in the West, the venerable <i>sk-wḥst</i> .
Inner jambs	<i>jm3ḥ sk-wḥst</i>	The venerable <i>sk-wḥst</i> .
Inner panel	<i>ḥ3 t ḥ3 ḥnkt ḥ3 k3 ḥ3 3pd ḥ3 šs ḥ3 mnḥt n jm3ḥ sk-wḥst</i>	A thousand bread, a thousand beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand fowl, a thousand alabaster, a thousand linen for the venerable <i>sk-wḥst</i> .
Left side		
Second register	<i>dbḥt ḥtp n k3 n jm3ḥ sk-wḥst</i>	Funerary meal for the ka of the venerable <i>sk-wḥst</i> .
Third register	<i>jpj-ʕḥw jm3ḥ sk-wḥst</i>	<i>jpj-ʕḥw</i> ; the venerable <i>sk-wḥst</i> .
Right side		
Second register	<i>spḥ ng3 mnjw n pr n dt</i>	Lassoing a bull by the herdsman of the estate.

Third register *jm³ht hr nsw n mrt sk-wsht jpj-^cn^hw*

The venerable one before the king, possessor of love *sk-wsht; jpj-^cn^hw*.

Diagram of suggested kinship

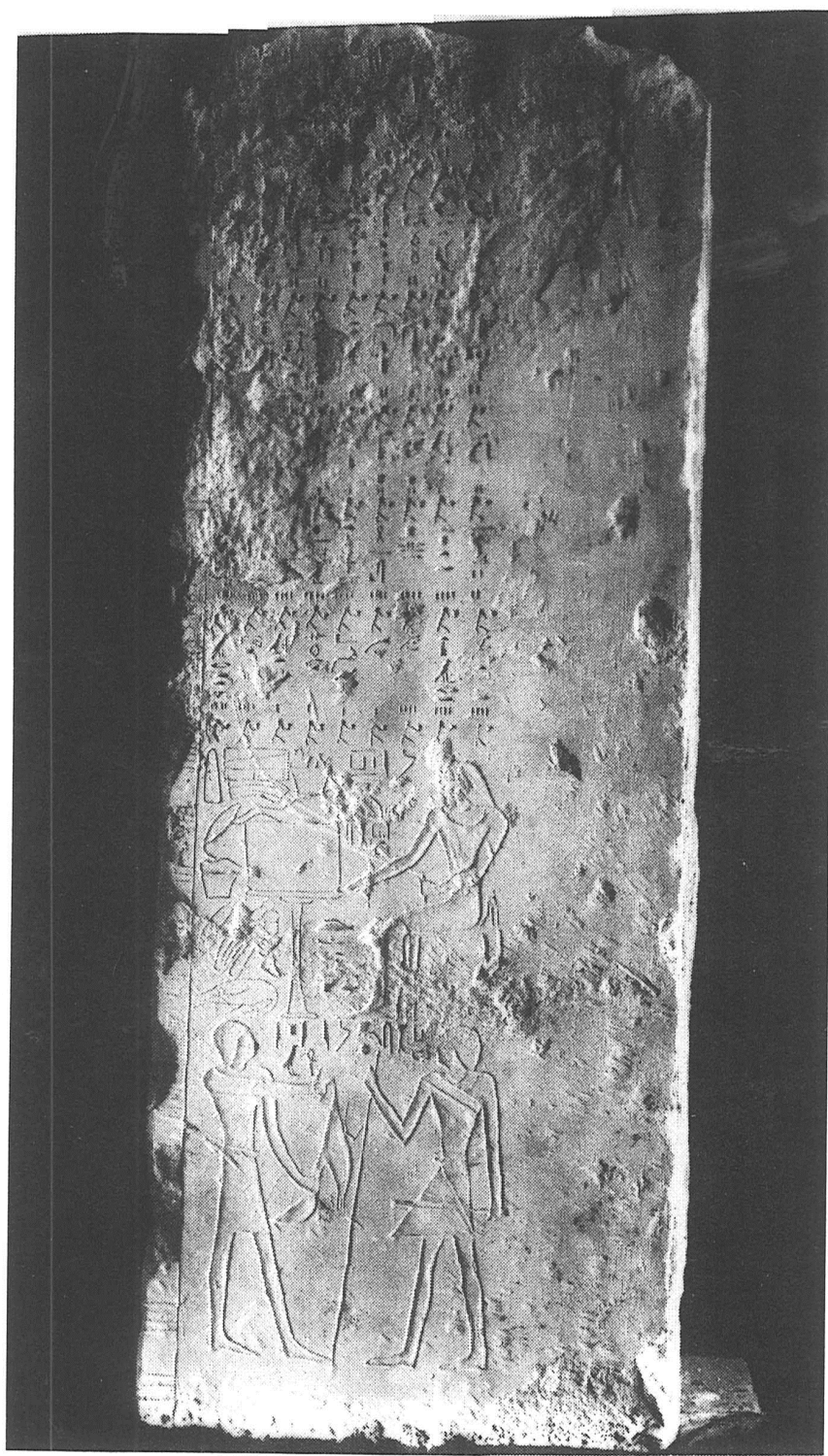
None

Remarks and unusual features

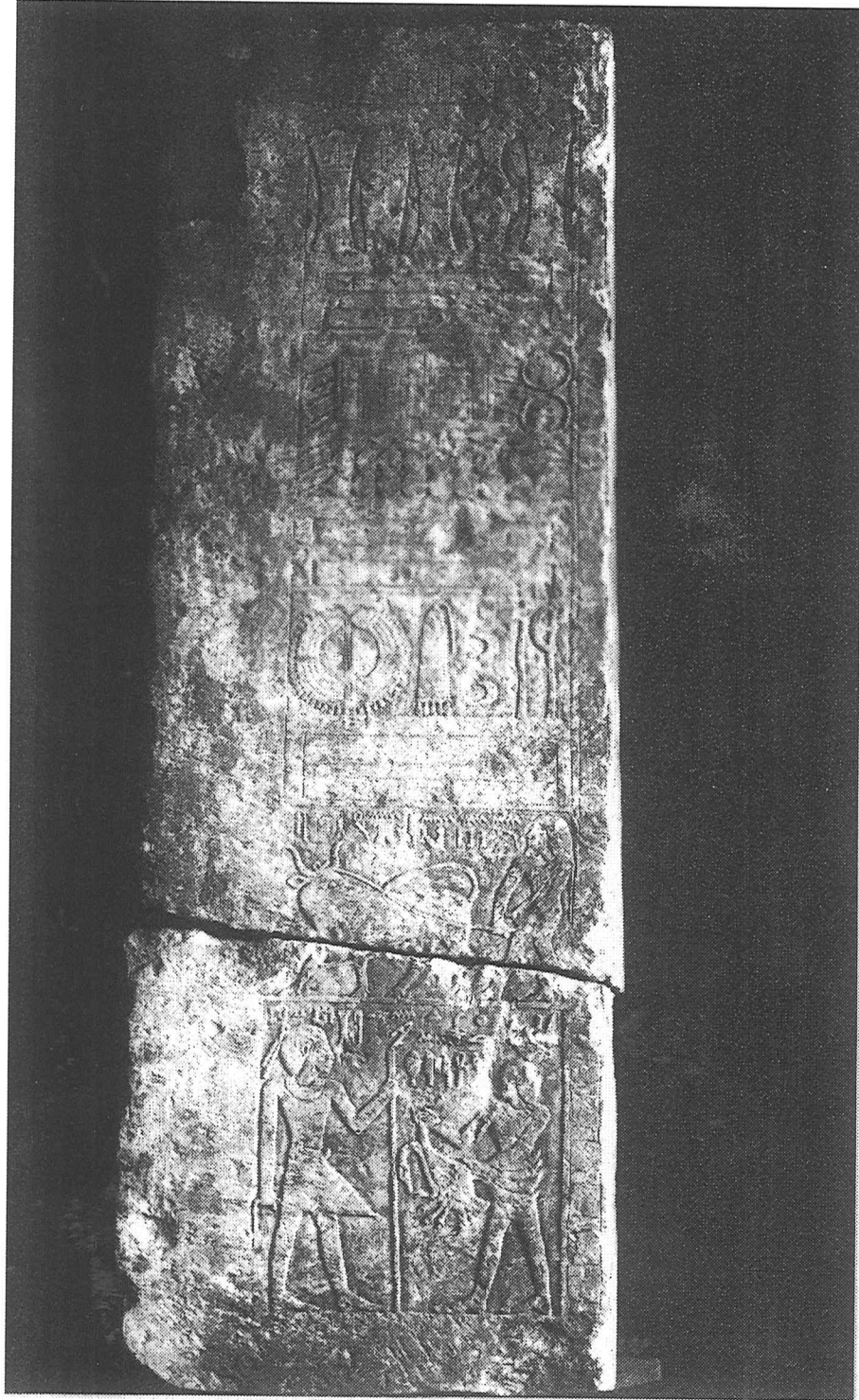
No genealogical information about *sk-wsht* is accessible through this stela, since no filiations are given. The man *jjp-^cn^hw* is mentioned and represented wringing the neck of a goose for the deceased on the bottom register of both side panels, but his relationship to *sk-wsht* is not specified.



Daoud 2005: pl. xxxix



Daoud 2005: pl. xl, left side panel



Daoud 2005: pl. xl, right side panel

3.1.2 SqSt.2 Stela of *nj-ᵐnh-ḥr* and *šdj*

JE 55618 (stela 2)
Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Dimensions: H. 1.21 m; W. 0.93 m; D. 0.15 m

Material: limestone

Provenance: Teti cemetery, Saqqara

Condition: top left corner broken away (including top half of left false-door's inscription's left column)

Technique: sunk relief with traces of colour in main panel; side panels in raised relief

Approximate date: First Intermediate Period (Merikare to early 11th dynasty)

ANOC: -

Selected bibliography

Abdalla 1992: 97–9, pl. xx; Daoud 2005: 92–4, no. 4.3.2, pl. xli

PM III², 548–9 (no. 2)

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
Main side		
Top line	<i>st ḥb ḥknw sft nhnm tw3t ḥ3tt ᵐš ḥ3tt ṯḥnw [...]</i>	<i>st</i> -oil, <i>ḥknw</i> -oil, <i>sft</i> -oil, <i>nhnm</i> -oil, <i>tw3t</i> -oil, the best of <i>ᵐš</i> -oil, the best of <i>ṯḥnw</i> oil [...]
Left false-door		
Upper lintel	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wjsr nb ḏdw</i>	An offering that the king gives and Osiris, lord of Djedu
Left jamb	<i>[ntr ᵐ3 nb] 3bdw prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw n=f nfr m js=f jm3ḥ nj-ᵐnh-ḥr</i>	[the great god, lord] of Abydos, a perfect voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, for him in his tomb, ³⁰ the venerable <i>nj-ᵐnh-ḥr</i> .
Right jamb	<i>ḥp=f m ḥtp m ḥrt-ntr sšm.tw=f jn k3w=f jm3ḥ nj-ᵐnh-ḥr</i>	May he travel in peace in the necropolis; may he be led by his kas, he venerable <i>nj-ᵐnh-ḥr</i> .
Lower lintel	<i>jm3ḥ n mrt m3ᵐ nj-ᵐnh-ḥr</i>	The venerable, possessor of true love <i>nj-ᵐnh-ḥr</i> .
Inner jambs	<i>prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw (m) 3bd n jm3ḥ nj-ᵐnh-ḥr</i>	A voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl (in) the monthly festivals to the venerable <i>nj-ᵐnh-ḥr</i> .
Inner panel	<i>ḥ3 t ḥ3 ḥnkt ḥ3 k3 ḥ3 3pd ḥ3 šs ḥ3 mnḥt n jm3ḥ jm3ḥ nj-ᵐnh-ḥr</i>	A thousand bread, a thousand beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand fowl, a thousand alabaster, a thousand linen for the venerable one, the venerable <i>nj-ᵐnh-ḥr</i> .
Right false-door		
Upper lintel	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wsjr nb ḏdw</i>	A offering that the king gives and Osiris, lord of Djedu
Right jamb	<i>ntr ᵐ3 nb 3bdw prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw n=s nfr n jm3ḥt ḥr nsw šdj</i>	the great god, lord of Abydos, a perfect voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl for her, for the venerable one before the king <i>šdj</i> .
Left jamb	<i>ḥp=s m ḥtp r jmnt nfr sšm.tw=s j(n) k3(w)=s jm3ḥ šdj</i>	May she travel in peace to the beautiful West; may she be led by her ka(s), the venerable

³⁰ The adjective *nfr* followed by an adverbial phrase directly after *prt-ḥrw* is typical of the Herakleopolitan period (Daoud 2005: 93).

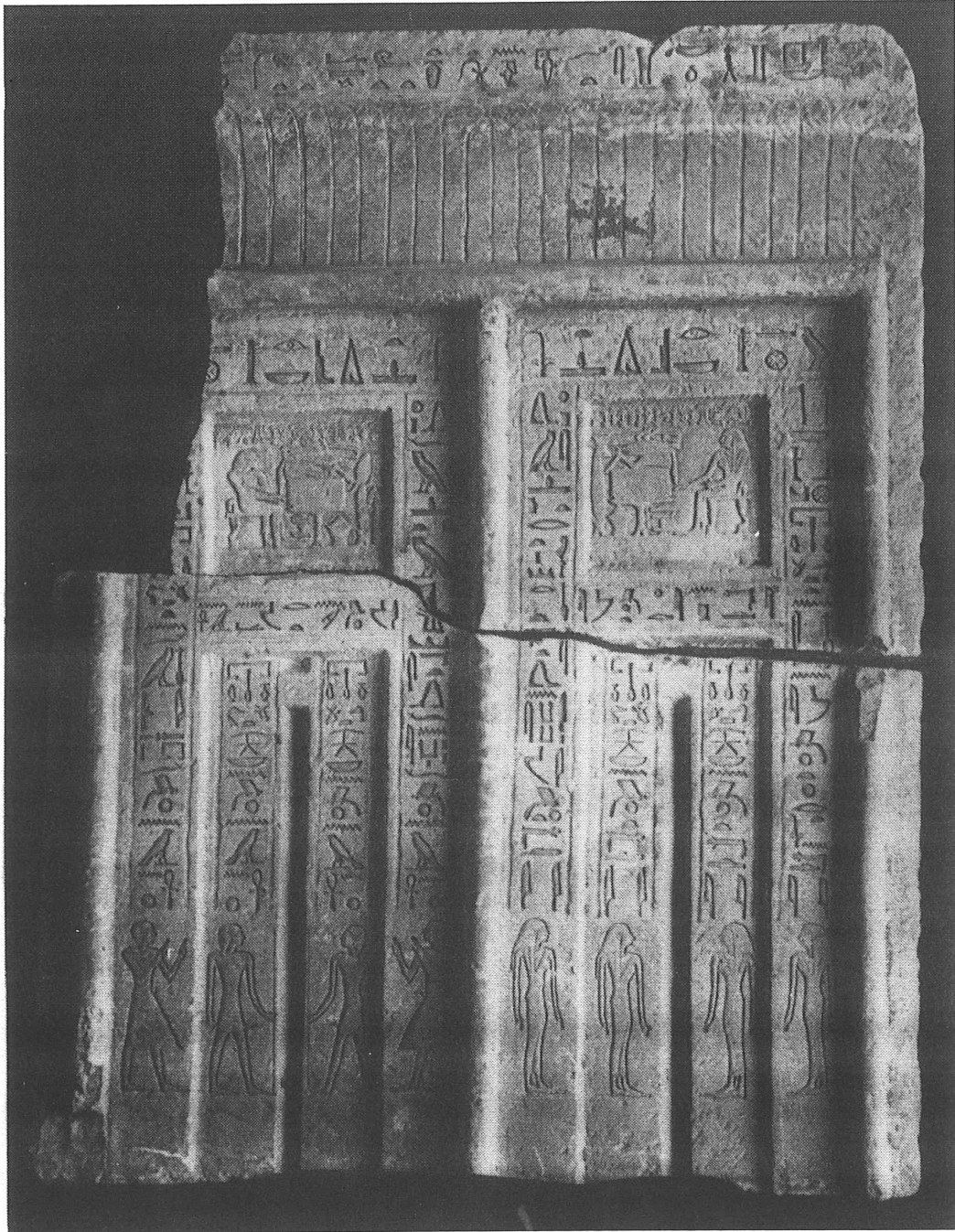
Lower lintel	<i>jm3ht hr jnpw šdj</i>	<i>šdj</i> . The venerable one before Anubis <i>šdj</i> .
Inner jambs	<i>pṛt-hrw t hnkt k3w 3pdw (m) 3bd n jm3ht šdj</i>	A voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl (on) the monthly festival for the venerable <i>šdj</i> .
First register		Left side Offering list
Second register	<i>jm3hw nj-ḥhr</i>	The venerable <i>nj-ḥhr</i> .
Bottom register	<i>jm3ht ht-hr m swt=s-nbt jm3ht šdj</i>	Right side The venerable one (before) Hathor in all her places, the venerable <i>šdj</i> .

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

No filiations are given on this stela, and thus it is difficult to reconstruct the genealogy of *nj-ḥhr* and his relationship to *sk-wsht*. Although not explicitly mentioned on the stela, *šdj* is probably his wife based on parallel layouts of similar double false-door stelae. However, the lack of filiations prevents us from being certain of this relationship, and *šdj* could be *nj-ḥhr*'s sister instead, as sometimes relationships of collaterality may be present in this type of stelae as well (see SqSt.4).



Daoud 2005: pl. xli



Daoud 2005: pl. xlii, left side panel



Daoud 2005: pl. xlii, right side panel

3.1.3 SqSt.3 Stela of *sk-wšht* the elder and *mwt-m-s3=s*

JE 55618 (stela 3)
Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Dimensions: H. 1.21 m; W. 0.96 m; D. 0.16 m

Material: limestone

Provenance: Teti cemetery, Saqqara

Condition: good

Technique: sunk relief with traces of colour in main panel; side panels in raised relief

Approximate date: First Intermediate Period (Merikare to early 11th dynasty)

ANOC: -

Selected bibliography

Abdalla 1992: 99–101, pl. xxi; Daoud 2005: 94–7, no. 4.3.3, pl. xliii

PM III², 548–9 (no. 3)

INSCRIPTIONS

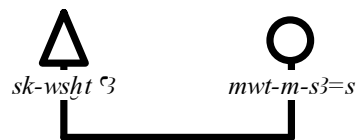
Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
Main side		
Top line	<i>st ḥb ḥknw sft [...] ḥ3tt š ḥ3tt ṯḥnw [...]</i>	<i>st</i> -oil, <i>ḥknw</i> -oil, <i>sft</i> -oil, [...], the best of <i>š</i> -oil, the best of <i>ṯḥnw</i> oil [...]
Left false-door		
Upper lintel	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wsjr nb ḏdw</i>	An offering that the king gives and Osiris, lord of Djedu
Left jamb	<i>ntr ʕ nb 3bdw prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw n=f nfr m jm3ḥ sk-wšht ʕ</i>	the great god, lord of Abydos, a perfect voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl for him, as the venerable <i>sk-wšht</i> the elder.
Right jamb	<i>ḥp=f m ḥtp r jmnt nfrt jm3ḥ sk-wšht ʕ</i>	May he travel in peace to the beautiful West, the venerable <i>sk-wšht</i> the elder.
Lower lintel	<i>jm3ḥ ḥr nb=f n mrt m3ʕ sk-wšht ʕ</i>	The venerable one before his lord, possessor of true love, <i>sk-wšht</i> the elder.
Inner jambs	<i>prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw n jm3ḥ sk-wšht ʕ</i>	A voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl for the venerable <i>sk-wšht</i> the elder.
Inner panel	<i>ḥ3 t ḥ3 ḥnkt ḥ3 k3 ḥ3 3pd ḥ3 šs ḥ3 mnḥt n jm3ḥ jm3ḥ sk-wšht ʕ</i>	A thousand bread, a thousand beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand fowl, a thousand alabaster, a thousand linen for the venerable one, the venerable <i>sk-wšht</i> the elder.
Right false-door		
Upper lintel	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wsjr nb ḏdw</i>	An offering that the king gives and Osiris, lord of Djedu
Right jamb	<i>ntr ʕ nb 3bdw prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw [n]=s nfr m ḥrt-ntr jm3ḥt mwt-m-s3=s</i>	the great god, lord of Abydos, a perfect voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl for her in the necropolis, the venerable <i>mwt-m-s3=s</i> .
Left jamb	<i>ḥp=s m ḥtp r jmnt nfrt sšm.tw=s jn k3w=s jm3ḥt mwt-m-s3=s</i>	May she travel in peace to the beautiful West, may she be led by her kas, the venerable <i>mwt-m-s3=s</i> .
Lower lintel	<i>jm3ḥ ḥr ḥt-ḥr jm3ḥt mwt-m-s3=s</i>	The venerable one before Hathor, the venerable <i>mwt-m-s3=s</i> .

Inner jambs	<i>pṛt-ḥrw t ḥnḳt k3w 3pdw (m) 3bd n jm3ḥt mwt-m-s3=s</i>	A voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl (on) the monthly festival for the venerable <i>mwt-m-s3=s</i> .
Inner panel	<i>ḥ3 t ḥ3 ḥnḳt ḥ3 k3 ḥ3 3pd ḥ3 šs ḥ3 mnḥt n jm3ḥ jm3ḥ mwt-m-s3=s</i>	A thousand bread, a thousand beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand fowl, a thousand alabaster, a thousand linen for the venerable one, the venerable <i>mwt-m-s3=s</i> .

		Left side
First register		Offering list
Second register	<i>jm3ḥw sk-wsḥt ʿ3</i>	The venerable <i>sk-wsḥt</i> the elder.

		Right side
Third register	<i>jm3ḥt mwt-m-s3=s mnʿt=s nj- mwt=s</i>	The venerable <i>mwt-m-s3=s</i> ; her nurse <i>nj- mwt=s</i> .

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

As in the case of SqSt.2, the stela of *sk-wsḥt ʿ3* is not explicit in terms of relationships, but it can be suggested that he is sharing a double false-door stela with his wife. No further genealogical information is given, although the adjective ʿ3 after ego's name indicates a relationship of seniority towards those represented on stela SqSt.4. A *mnʿt* is represented together with *mwt-m-s3=s* on the bottom register of the right side panel.



Abdalla 1992: pl. xxi [3]



Abdalla 1992: pl. xxi [1], left side panel



Abdalla 1992: pl. xxi [2], right side panel

3.1.4 SqSt.4 Stela of *sk-wsht* the middle and *sk-wsht* the younger

JE 55618 (stela 4)
Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Dimensions: H. 1.21 m; W. 0.95 m; D. 0.16 m

Material: limestone

Provenance: Teti cemetery, Saqqara

Condition: good

Technique: sunk relief; traces of colour

Approximate date: First Intermediate Period (Merikare to early 11th dynasty)

ANOC: -

Selected bibliography

Abdalla 1992: 103–5, no. 4, pl. xxii; Daoud 2005: 97–8, no. 4.3.4, pl. xlv

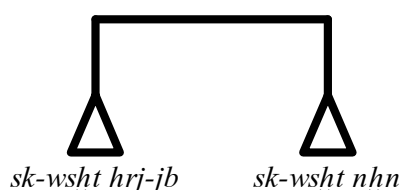
PM III², 548–9 (no. 4)

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
Main side		
Top line	<i>st ḥb ḥknw sft nhnm tw3t ḥ3tt ʕš ḥ3tt ṯhnw</i>	<i>st</i> -oil, <i>ḥknw</i> -oil, <i>sft</i> -oil, <i>nhnm</i> -oil, <i>tw3t</i> -oil, the best of ʕš-oil, the best of ṯhnw oil
Left false-door		
Upper lintel	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wsjr nd ddw</i>	An offering that the king gives and Osiris, lord of Djedu
Left jamb	<i>ntr ʕ3 nb 3bdw prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw n=f n jm3ḥ sk-wsht ḥrj-jb</i>	the great god, lord of Abydos, a voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, for him, for the venerable <i>sk-wsht</i> the middle.
Right jamb	<i>ḥp=f m ḥtp r jmnt nfrt jm3ḥ sk-wsht ḥrj-jb</i>	May he travel in peace to the beautiful West, the venerable <i>sk-wsht</i> the middle.
Lower lintel	<i>jm3ḥ ḥr nb=f n mrt sk-wsht</i>	The venerable one before his lord, possessor of love <i>sk-wsht</i> .
Inner jambs	<i>prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw jm3ḥ sk-wsht ḥrj-jb</i>	A voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, the venerable <i>sk-wsht</i> the middle.
Inner panel	<i>ḥ3 t ḥ3 ḥnkt ḥ3 k3 ḥ3 3pd ḥ3 šs ḥ3 mnḥt n jm3ḥ jm3ḥ sk-wsht ḥrj-jb</i>	A thousand bread, a thousand beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand fowl, a thousand alabaster, a thousand linen for the venerable one, the venerable <i>sk-wsht</i> the middle.
Right false-door		
Upper lintel	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wsjr nb ddw</i>	An offering that the king gives and Osiris, lord of Djedu
Left jamb	<i>ntr ʕ3 nb 3bdw prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw n=f n jm3ḥ sk-wsht nhn</i>	the great god, lord of Abydos, a voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, for him, for the venerable <i>sk-wsht</i> the younger.
Right jamb	<i>ḥp=f m ḥtp r jmnt jm3ḥw sk-wsht nhn</i>	May he travel in peace to the West, the venerable <i>sk-wsht</i> the younger.
Lower lintel	<i>jm3ḥ ḥr nb=f n mrt m3ʕ sk-wsht</i>	The venerable one before his lord, possessor of true love <i>sk-wsht</i> .
Inner jambs	<i>prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw jm3ḥ sk-wsht nhn</i>	A voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, the venerable <i>sk-wsht</i> the younger.

Inner panel	<i>ḥ3 t ḥ3 ḥnḳt ḥ3 k3 ḥ3 3pd ḥ3 šs ḥ3 mnḥt n jm3ḥ jm3ḥ sk-wsḥt nḥn</i>	A thousand bread, a thousand beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand fowl, a thousand alabaster, a thousand linen for the venerable one, the venerable <i>sk-wsḥt</i> the younger.
First register		Left side Offering list
Second register	<i>jm3ḥ sk-wsḥt ḥrj-jb dbḥt ḥtp</i>	The venerable <i>sk-wsḥt</i> the middle; funerary meal.
Bottom register	<i>jm3ḥ sk-wsḥt</i>	Right side The venerable <i>sk-wsḥt</i> .

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

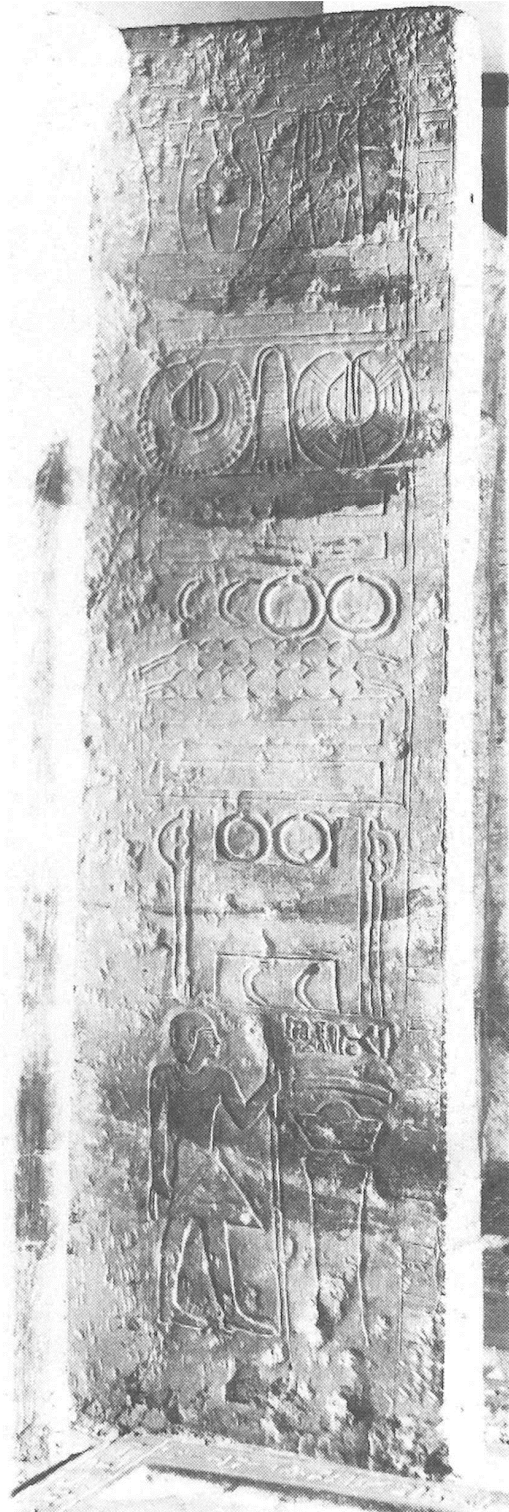
As with its counterparts, this stela is difficult to interpret from a genealogical point of view due to the lack of filiations and even titles, but the names of the egos give a clue toward their relationship. The terms ‘the middle’ (*ḥrj-jb*) and ‘the younger’ (*nḥn*) are often used by siblings bearing the same name, so it is safe to assume that they were brothers. It is also possible that *sk-wsḥt* the elder were their eldest brother, but again no further genealogical information can be extracted from the stelae to substantiate these claims.



Abdalla 1992: pl. xxii [3]



Abdalla 1992: pl. xxii [1], left side panel



Abdalla 1992: pl. xxii [2], right side panel

3.1.5 SqSt.5 Stela of *mrjj* and *ḥtp*

JE 55618 (stela 5)
Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Dimensions: H. 1.22 m; W. 0.99 m; D. 0.18 m

Material: limestone

Provenance: Teti cemetery, Saqqara

Condition: good

Technique: sunk relief with traces of colour in main panel; side panels in raised relief

Approximate date: First Intermediate Period (Merikare to early 11th dynasty)

ANOC: -

Selected bibliography

Abdalla 1992: 105–7, no. 5, pl. xxiii; Daoud 2005: 98–100, no. 4.3.5, pl. xlv
PM III², 548–9 (no. 5)

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
Main side		
Left false-door		
Upper lintel	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wsjr nb ḏdw</i>	An offering that the king gives and Osiris, lord of Djedu
Left jamb	<i>ntr ʕ3 nb 3bdw prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw n=f n jm3ḥw mrjj</i>	the great god, lord of Abydos, a voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, for him, for the venerable <i>mrjj</i> .
Right jamb	<i>ḥp=f m ḥtp r jmnt nfrt jm3ḥw mrjj</i>	May he travel in peace to the beautiful West, the venerable <i>mrjj</i> .
Lower lintel	<i>jm3ḥ ḥr nb=f mrjj</i>	The venerable one before his lord <i>mrjj</i> .
Inner jambs	<i>prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw n=f n jm3ḥ mrjj</i>	A voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl for him, for the venerable <i>mrjj</i> .
Inner panel	<i>ḥ3 t ḥ3 ḥnkt ḥ3 k3 ḥ3 3pd ḥ3 šs ḥ3 mnḥt n jm3ḥ jm3ḥ mrjj</i>	A thousand bread, a thousand beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand fowl, a thousand alabaster, a thousand linen for the venerable one, the venerable <i>mrjj</i> .
Right false-door		
Upper lintel	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wsjr nb ḏdw</i>	An offering that the king gives and Osiris, lord of Djedu
Left jamb	<i>ntr ʕ3 nb 3bdw prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw n=s nfr m ḥrt-ntr jm3ḥt ḥtp</i>	the great god, lord of Abydos, a perfect voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl for her in the necropolis, for the venerable <i>ḥtp</i> .
Right jamb	<i>ḥp=s m ḥtp ḥtp r jmnt sšm.tw=s jn k3w=s jm3ḥt ḥtp</i>	May she travel in peace peace to the West; may she be led by her kas, the venerable <i>ḥtp</i> .
Lower lintel	<i>jm3ḥ ḥr ḥthr ḥtp</i>	The venerable one before Hathor <i>ḥtp</i> .
Inner jambs	<i>prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw nfr n=s jm3ḥ ḥtp</i>	A perfect voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl for her, the venerable <i>ḥtp</i> .
Inner panel	<i>ḥ3 t ḥ3 ḥnkt ḥ3 k3 ḥ3 3pd ḥ3 šs ḥ3 mnḥt n jm3ḥ jm3ḥ ḥtp</i>	A thousand bread, a thousand beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand fowl, a thousand alabaster, a thousand linen for the venerable one, the

		venerable <i>ḥtp</i> .
	Left side	
First register	Offering list	
Second register	<i>dbḥt ḥtp jm3ḥ mrjj</i>	Funerary meal; the venerable <i>mrjj</i> .
	Right side	
Bottom register	<i>jm3ḥ (ḥr) ḥthr ḥtp nt pr-dt s3t-gmnj</i>	The venerable one (before) Hathor <i>ḥtp</i> ; the one who belongs to the funerary estate <i>s3t-gmnj</i> .

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

Following the same assumptions as in SqSt.2 and SqSt.3, *mrjj* may be *ḥtp*'s husband, but the stela itself does not mention their relationship explicitly. The way they are associated to the rest of people mentioned on monuments in the same chapel is also unclear.



Abdalla 1992: pl. xxiii [3]



Abdalla 1992: pl. xxiii [1], left side panel



Abdalla 1992: pl. xxiii [2], right side panel

3.1.6 SqOf.1 Offering table of *sk-wšḥt*

JE 55618 (offering table 1)
Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Dimensions: H. 0.60 m; W. 0.70 m; D. 0.14 m

Material: limestone

Provenance: Teti cemetery, Saqqara

Condition: good

Technique: sunk relief

Approximate date: 12th dynasty

ANOC: -

Selected bibliography

Abdalla 1992: 95–7, no. 1, pl. xix; Daoud 2005: 90–2

PM III², 548–9 (no. 1)

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
Top line	<i>jn jrj-p^ct ḥ3tj-^c s3-ḥthr-jpjj ḥr jr ḥwjjt-tn n jt=f sk-wšḥt</i>	By the <i>jrj-p^ct ḥ3tj-^c s3-ḥthr-jpjj</i> , on setting up this offering table for his <i>jt sk-wšḥt</i> .
Left column	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wsjr nb ddw prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw n=f nfr r^c-nb m jm3ḥ ḥr wsjr nb jm3ḥ sk-wšḥt</i>	An offering that the king gives and Osiris, lord of Djedu. A perfect voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl for him every day for the venerable one before Osiris, possessor of veneration <i>sk-wšḥt</i> .
Right column	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw jnpw tpj dw=f nb t3 dsrt dj=f ḥ3 t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw šs mnḥt ḥ3 m ḥt-nbt n k3 n jm3ḥ sk-wšḥt</i>	An offering that the king gives and Anubis upon his mountain, lord of the necropolis; may he give a thousand bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster and linen, a thousand of everything for the ka of the venerable <i>sk-wšḥt</i> .
Bottom line	<i>jm3ḥ (ḥr) ntr ʕ3 ḥntj šḥ-ntr nb dw3 sk-wšḥt jm3ḥ ḥr ntr ʕ3 ḥntj jmntt sk-wšḥt</i>	The venerable (before) the great god who is before the divine booth, possessor of praise <i>sk-wšḥt</i> ; the venerable one before the great god, the foremost of the West, <i>sk-wšḥt</i> .
Inner panel (left)	<i>s3-r^c ppj dd-swt ḥntj-š sk-wšḥt</i>	The attendant of the ‘enduring of places of Teti son of Ra’ <i>sk-wšḥt</i> .
Inner panel (right)	<i>s3-r^c ppj dd-swt mtj n s3 sk-wšḥt</i>	The controller of the phylae of priest of ‘enduring of places of Teti son of Ra’ <i>sk-wšḥt</i> .

Diagram of suggested kinship

None

Remarks and unusual features

As in SqSt.1, no genealogical information of *sk-wšḥt* is known. This offering table was dedicated by *s3-ḥthr-jpjj*, who addressed *sk-wšḥt* as his ‘*jt*’. This does not need to be understood as a filial relationship, as *jt* may refer to any ascendant lineal as well as to a patron in an extended sense. Detailed analysis of the chapel demonstrates that *s3-ḥthr-jpjj* was probably not the son of *sk-wšḥt*, but he was rather trying to forge a connection with him by employing terms of kinship on a monument dedicated to his memory.



Abdalla 1992: pl. xix [4]

3.1.7 SqOf.2 Offering table of *nj-^cnh-^hr* and *šdj*

JE 55618 (offering table 2)
Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Dimensions: H. 0.61 m; W. 0.89 m; D. 0.17 m

Material: limestone

Provenance: Teti cemetery, Saqqara

Condition: good

Technique: sunk relief; traces of colour

Approximate date: 12th dynasty

ANOC: -

Selected bibliography

Abdalla 1992: 97–9, no. 2, pl. xx; Daoud 2005: 92–4

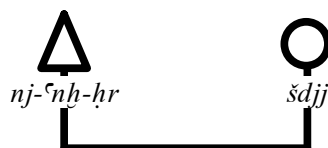
PM III², 548–9 (no. 2)

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
Left offering table		
Top line	<i>htp-dj-nsw jnpw tpj dw=f h3 t h3 hnkt h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 sš h3 mnht h3 m ht-nb nfr w^cb</i>	An offering that he king gives and Anubis who is upon his mountain, a thousand bread, a thousand beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand fowl, a thousand alabaster, a thousand linen, a thousand of everything good and pure
Left column	<i>n k3 n jm3hw hr wsjr hntj r3-st3w dj=f prt-hrw t hnkt nfr r^c-nb m ht- nb ^cnh.tj ntr jm n jm3h nj-^cnh-^hr</i>	for the ka of the venerable one before Osiris who is before Rosetau that he may give a perfect voice-offering of bread and beer every day in everything on which a god lives for the venerable <i>nj-^cnh-^hr</i> .
Right column	<i>prt-hrw t hnkt k3w 3pdw nfr r^c-nb m js n hrt-ntr m wpt-rnpt m w3g hnkt dht n jm3h nj-^cnh-^hr</i>	A perfect voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl every day in the tomb of the necropolis on the New Year festival, on the wag-festival, on the festival of offerings, on the festival of Thoth for the venerable <i>nj-^cnh-^hr</i> .
Bottom line	<i>jm3h hr wsjr nj-^cnh-^hr jm3h hr jnpw tpj dw=f n-^cnh-^hr</i>	The venerable one before Osiris <i>nj-^cnh-^hr</i> ; the venerable one before Anubis who is upon his mountain <i>nj-^cnh-^hr</i> .
Inner panel	<i>df3w htpt</i>	Provisions; offerings.
Right offering table		
Top line	<i>htp-dj-nsw jnpw tpj dw=f jmj-wt nb t3 dsr dj=f h3 t h3 hnkt</i>	An offering that the king gives and Anubis who is upon his mountain, who is in the place of embalmment, lord of the necropolis, may he give a thousand bread, a thousand beer,
Left column	<i>k3w 3pdw h3 sš mnht h3 m ht-nb nfr w^cb n k3 n jm3h hr wsjr hntj ddw dj=f prt-hrw t hnkt nfr r^c-nb n jm3hwt šdj(j)</i>	oxen and fowl, a thousand alabaster and linen, a thousand of everything good and pure for the ka of the venerable one before Osiris who is before Djedu that he may give a good voice-offering of bread and beer every day for the venerable one <i>šdj(j)</i> .

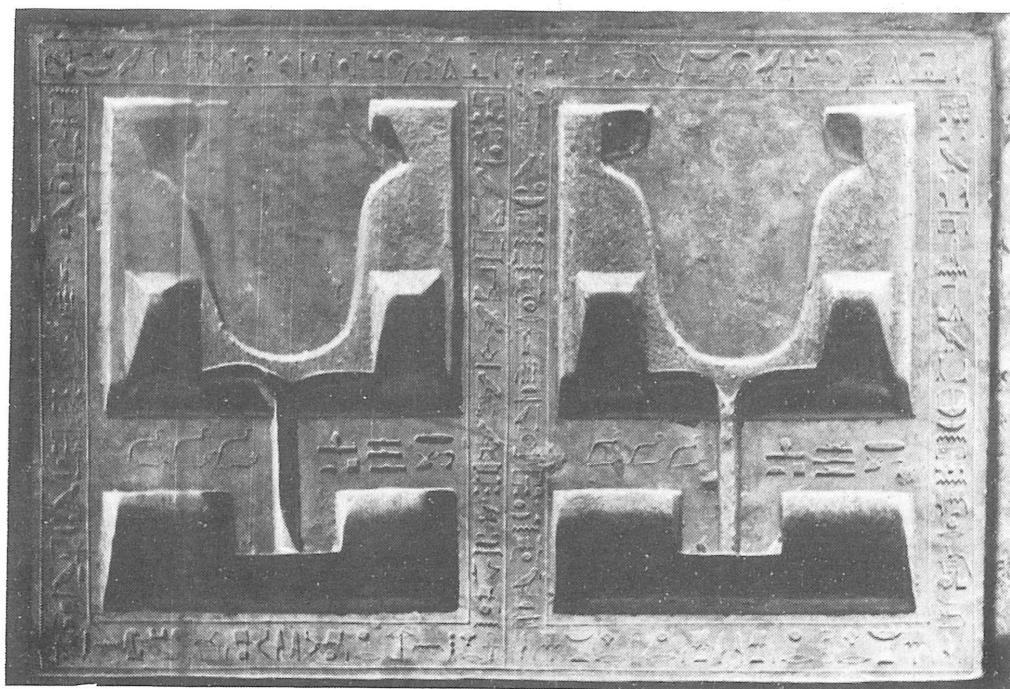
Right column	<i>pṛt-ḥrw t ḥnḳt k3w 3pdw m js=s n ḥrt-nṯr m ḥb-nb n pṛt-ḥrw t ḥnḳt n jm3ḥt ḥr jnpw tpj ḏw=f šdj</i>	A voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl in her tomb of the necropolis on every festival of offerings for the venerable one before Anubis who is upon his mountain <i>šdj</i> .
Bottom line	<i>jm3ḥt ḥr ḥt-ḥr nbt jm3ḥt šdj(j)</i>	The venerable one before Hathor, the possessor of veneration <i>šdj(j)</i> .
Inner panel	<i>ḏḃw ḥtp</i>	Provisions; offerings.

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

No extra genealogical information is added to that extracted from SqSt.2.



Abdalla 1992: pl. xx [4]

3.1.8 SqOf.3 Offering table of *sk-wsht* the elder and *mwt-m-s3=s*

JE 55618 (offering table 3)
Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Dimensions: H. 0.61 m; W. 0.90 m; D. 0.15

Material: limestone

Provenance: Teti cemetery, Saqqara

Condition: good

Technique: sunk relief; traces of colour

Approximate date: 12th dynasty

ANOC: -

Selected bibliography

Abdalla 1992: 99–101, no. 3, pl. xxi; Daoud 2005: 94–7, no. 4.3.3

PM III², 548–9 (no. 3)

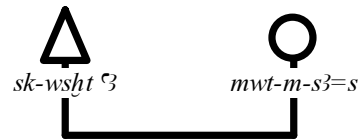
INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
Left offering table		
Top line	<i>htp-dj-nsw jnpw tpj dw=f dj=f mw hnkt sntr mrht</i>	An offering that the king gives and Anubis who is upon his mountain, may he give water, beer, incense, unguent,
Left column	<i>hnkt rnpt-nbt ht-nbt nfr r^c-nb dt n k3 n jm3ht hr ntr 3 nb pt sk-wsht nb jm3ht</i>	offerings, every plant, everything good every day eternally for the ka of the venerable one before the great god, lord of the sky, <i>sk-wsht</i> , possessor of veneration.
Right column	<i>prr-hrw t hnkt k3w 3pdw n=f nfr r^c-nb m js=f n hrt-ntr r^c-nb dt jm3ht sk-wsht 3</i>	A perfect voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl for him every day in his tomb of the necropolis every day eternally, the venerable <i>sk-wsht</i> the elder.
Bottom line	<i>jm3ht hr wsjr sk-wsht jm3ht hr jnpw sk-wsht 3</i>	The venerable one before Osiris <i>sk-wsht</i> ; the venerable one before the Anubis <i>sk-wsht</i> the elder.
Inner panel	<i>df3w htpt</i>	Provisions; offerings.
Right offering table		
Top line	<i>htp-dj-nsw dj-htp-wsjr nb jmnt dj=f h3 t h3 hnkt h3 k3w h3 3pdw h3 </i>	An offering that the king gives and an offering that Osiris gives, lord of the West, may he give a thousand bread, a thousand beer, a thousand oxen, a thousand fowl, a thousand
Left column	<i>h3 ss h3 mnht h3 ht-nbt nh.tj ntr jm n k3 n jm3ht hr jnpw tpj dw=f mwt-m-s3=s</i>	a thousand alabaster, a thousand linen, a thousand of everything on which a god lives for the ka of the venerable one before Anubis who is upon his mountain <i>mwt-m-s3=s</i> .
Right column	<i>prr-hrw t hnkt k3w 3pdw n=s nfr m js=s n hrt-ntr r^c-nb dt n jm3ht mwt-m-s3=s</i>	A perfect voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl for her in her tomb of the necropolis every day eternally for the venerable one <i>mwt-m-s3=s</i> .
Bottom line	<i>jm3ht mwt-m-s3=s nbt jm3ht jm3ht mwt-m-s3=s m3^c hrw=s</i>	The venerable <i>mwt-m-s3=s</i> , possessor of veneration; the venerable one <i>mwt-m-s3=s</i> justified.

Inner panel *df3w htpt*

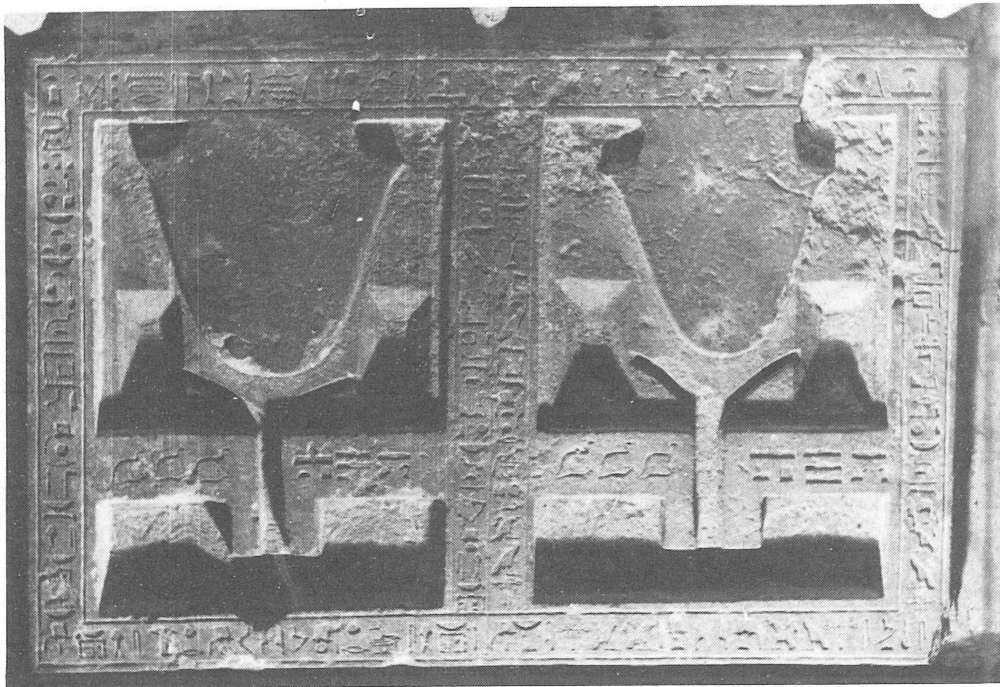
Provisions; offerings

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

No extra genealogical information is added to that extracted from SqSt.3.



Abdalla 1992: pl. xxi [4]

3.1.9 SqOf.4 Offering table of *sk-wsht* the middle and *sk-wsht* the younger

JE 55618 (offering table 4)
Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Dimensions: H. 0.60 m; W. 0.91 m; D. 0.14 m

Material: limestone

Provenance: Teti cemetery, Saqqara

Condition: bottom left corner and bottom line of left offering table broken away

Technique: sunk relief

Approximate date: 12th dynasty

ANOC: -

Selected bibliography

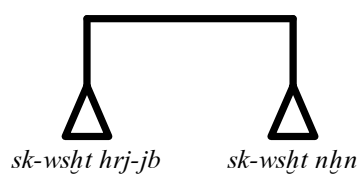
Abdalla 1992: 103–5, no. 4, pl. xxii; Daoud 2005: 97–8, no. 4.3.4

PM III², 548–9 (no. 4)

INSCRIPTIONS

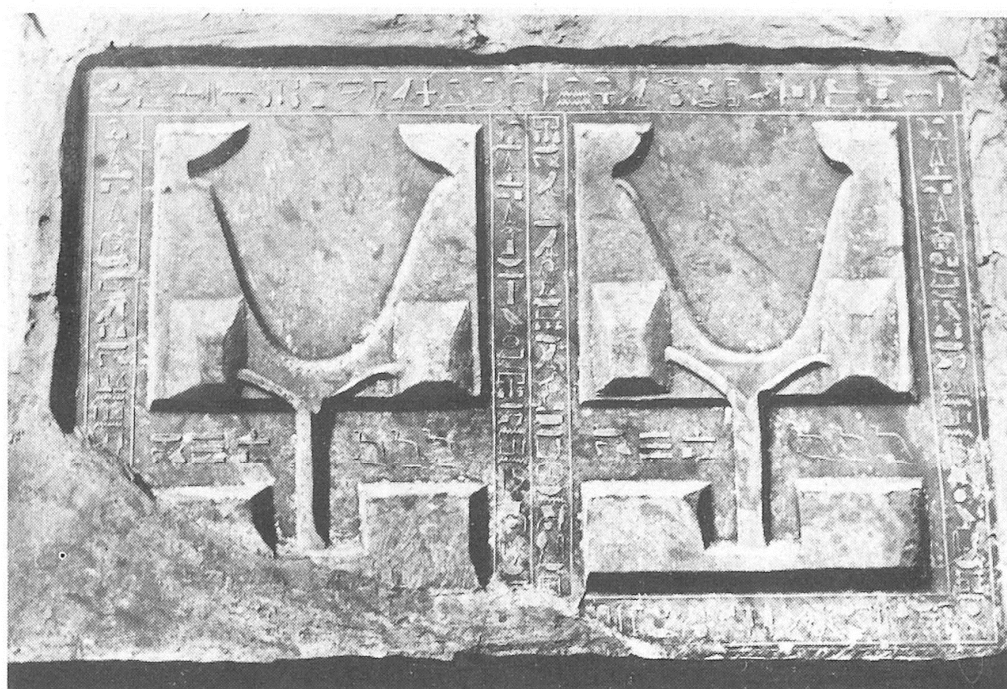
Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
Top line	<i>jn jrj-p^ct h3tj-^c s3-hthr-jpjj hrj jr hwt-tn n jtw jmj hrt-ntr n mr(w)t prt-hrw t hnkt n=sn r^c-nb</i>	By the <i>jrj-p^ct h3tj-^c s3-hthr-jpjj</i> on setting up this offering table for his ancestors who are in the necropolis for the sake of a voice-offering of bread and beer for them every day.
Left offering table		
Left column	<i>htp-dj-nsw jnpw tpj dw=f dj=f h3 m t hnkt k3w 3pdw šs mnht n k3 n jm3h [...]</i>	An offering that the king gives and Anubis who is upon his mountain, may he give a thousand bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster and linen for the ka of [...].
Right column	<i>htp-dj-nsw htp-dj-wsjr nb ddw dj=f prt-hrw t hnkt k3w 3pdw n k3 n jm3h sk-wsht [...]</i>	An offering that the king gives, and an offering that Osiris gives, lord of Djedu, may he give a voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl for the ka of <i>sk-wsht</i> [...].
Bottom line	[...]	[...]
Inner panel	<i>df3w htpt</i>	Provisions; offerings.
Right offering table		
Right column	<i>htp-dj-nsw htp-dj-jnpw tpj dw=f dj=f h3 m t hnkt k3w 3pdw šs mnht n k3 n jm3hw sk-wsht nhn</i>	An offering that the king gives, and an offering that Anubis who is upon his mountain gives, may he give a thousand bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster and linen for the ka of <i>sk-wsht</i> the younger.
Left column	<i>prt-hrw t hnkt k3w 3pdw m wpt-rnpt m w3g hnkt dhnt hb-nb n jm3h sk-wsht [...]</i>	A voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl on the New Year festival, on the wag-festival, on the festival of offerings, on the festival of Thoth on every festival for the venerable <i>sk-wsht</i> [...].
Bottom line	<i>jm3h hr ntr 3 sk-wsht nhn</i>	The venerable one before the great god <i>sk-wsht</i> the younger.
Inner panel	<i>df3w htpt</i>	Provisions; offerings.

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

No extra genealogical information is added to that extracted from SqSt.4, but it is explicitly stated that the offering table was set up by *s3-htjr-jpjj* for his ancestors. As in the case of SqOt.1, the reliability of this genealogical link is less important than the fact that *s3-htjr-jpjj* wanted to associate himself with people who lived some generations before him, and that he decided to use the vocabulary of kinship to create that relationship.



Abdalla 1992: pl. xxii [4]

3.1.10 SqOf.5 Offering table of *mrjj* and *hṭp*

JE 55618 (offering table 5)
Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Dimensions: H. 0.63 m; W. 0.92 m; D. 0.17 m

Material: limestone

Provenance: Teti cemetery, Saqqara

Condition: good

Technique: sunk relief; traces of colour

Approximate date: 12th dynasty

ANOC: -

Selected bibliography

Abdalla 1992: 105–7, no. 5, pl. xxiii; Daoud 2005: 98–100, no. 4.3.5

PM III², 548–9 (no. 5)

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
Left offering table		
Top line	<i>hṭp-dj-nsw hṭp-dj-wsjr nb ḏdw nṯr</i> [ʕ3] <i>nb 3bdw prt-hrw t hnkt</i>	An offering that the king gives, and an offering that Osiris gives, lord of Djedu, [great] god, lord of Abydos, a perfect voice-offering of bread and beer,
Left column	<i>k3w 3pdw m js=f n hrt-nṯr nfr rʕ- nb n k3 n jm3h hr jnpw tpj ḏw=f nb jm3h mrjj</i>	oxen and fowl in his tomb of the necropolis every day for the ka of the venerable one before Anubis who is upon his mountain, possessor of veneration <i>mrjj</i> .
Right column	<i>h3 t h3 hnkt k3w 3pdw h3 šs h3 mnht h3 ht-nb nfr wʕb n k3 n jm3h hr jnpw tpj ḏw=f nb jm3h mrjj m3ʕ-hrw</i>	A thousand bread, a thousand beer, oxen and fowl, a thousand alabaster, a thousand linen, a thousand of everything good and pure for the ka of the venerable one before Anubis who is upon his mountain, the venerable <i>mrjj</i> , justified.
Bottom line	<i>jm3h hr nṯr ʕ3 mrjj nb jm3h jm3h hr jnpw nb jm3h mrjj</i>	The venerable one before the great god <i>mrjj</i> , possessor of veneration; the venerable one before Anubis, possessor of veneration <i>mrjj</i> .
Inner panel	<i>ḏf3w hṭpt</i>	Provisions; offerings.
Right offering table		
Top line	<i>hṭp-dj-nsw jnpw tpj ḏw=f dj=f mw hnkt snṯr mrht n k3 n jm3h hṭp</i>	An offering that the king gives and Anubis who is upon his mountain, may he give water, beer, incense and unguent for the ka of the venerable <i>hṭp</i> .
Left column	<i>prt-hrw t hnkt k3w 3pdw n=s nfr rʕ-nb m ht-nb nfrt nṯr ʕnh.tj jm n k3 n jm3h hr nṯr ʕ3 nb pt nb jm3h hṭp m3ʕ-hrw</i>	A perfect voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl for her every day, of everything good on which a god lives for the ka of the venerable one before the great god, the lord of the sky, the possessor of veneration <i>hṭp</i> , justified.
Right column	<i>h3 t h3 hnkt k3w 3pdw h3 šs h3 mnht h3 ht-nb nfr wʕb n k3 n jm3h</i>	A thousand bread, a thousand beer, oxen and fowl, a thousand alabaster, a thousand linen, a

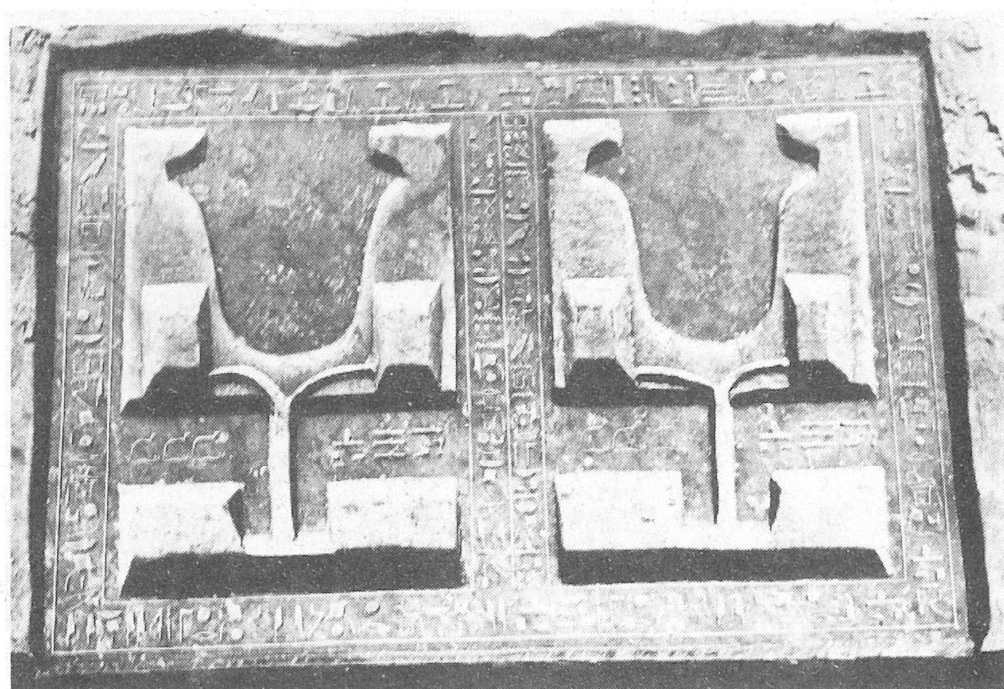
	<i>hr jnpw tpj dw=f htp m3^c-hrw</i>	thousand of everything good and pure for the ka of the venerable one before Anubis who is upon his mountain, <i>htp</i> , justified.
Bottom line	<i>jm3ht hr ntr 3 nbt pt htp jm3ht hr wsjr htp</i>	The venerable one before the great god, the lady of the sky <i>htp</i> ; the venerable one before Osiris <i>htp</i> .
Inner panel	<i>df3w htp</i>	Provisions; offerings

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

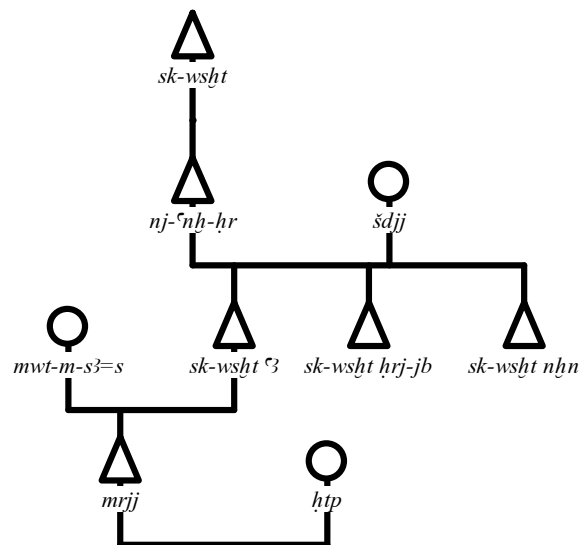
No extra genealogical information is added to that extracted from SqSt.5.



Abdalla 1992: pl. xxiii [4]

3.1.11 Chapel overview

Diagram of suggested kinship



General remarks

The diagram for this group is tentative because not enough genealogical information can be retrieved from the stelae and offering tables included in its chapel. Both Abdalla (1992: 109) and Daoud (2055: 102) attempted genealogical reconstructions of the group arriving at entirely different conclusions. Abdalla proposed that *sk-wšht*, the ego of SqSt.1, may have been the youngest member of the family, and that *sk-wšht* the elder must have been his paternal grandfather, while the other two *sk-wšht* (the middle and the younger) must have been siblings of *sk-wšht* the elder. On the contrary, Daoud considered *sk-wšht* as the first member of the family and suggested that he may have been grandfather to the siblings *sk-wšht* the elder, the middle and the younger.

It is virtually impossible to rule any of these possibilities out based on the information that the monuments yield, but I think that Daoud's interpretation may be more accurate. On the one hand, it makes sense that the choosing of the name *sk-wšht* for three siblings may have been inspired by the existence of a powerful, influential patron in an earlier generation of the kin group. The precise genealogical relationship to him is difficult to determine, but the trend to name children after their grandparents in several periods of Egyptian history may substantiate Daoud's suggestion. On the other, the order of the monuments within the chapel may be significant – especially since the structure was found almost intact according to excavation photographs. It is problematic to affirm whether the order of the stelae may have been established chronologically, as other aspects may have played a role in deciding the layout of the chapel (e.g. the extent of the contribution to the setting up of the chapel may have had a influence in the physical proximity to the stela of *sk-wšht*). Bearing this caveat in mind, the diagram assumes that the monument reflects that the stelae were added from South to North in chronological order. In addition, the location of the stela of *sk-wšht* closest to the entrance of the structure, and thus being the first one to benefit from any visitors' prayers suggests that his importance may have overridden that of the other people of the kin group.

The relationship of *s3-ḥthr-jpjj* to *sk-wšht* is unclear and has not been added to the diagram. Although he referred to him and others as ancestors, it is possible that this association with them was not real but rather constructed. In addition, SqOt.1 records two titles of *sk-wšht*, which are only known from this monument. Whether he really held these titles or not is less relevant than

the fact that *s3-ht~~h~~r-jpjj* presented him as one who had held them. Given that *s3-ht~~h~~r-jpjj* may have been linked to the mortuary cult of Pepi II himself on the basis of evidence from his tomb chapel nearby, it could be argued that he was trying to forge a link with a potent patron not only by using kinship terminology, but also by emphasising that they may have shared similar offices.

3.2 The chapel of *jj-hr-nfrt*

3.2.1 ANOC 1.1 Stela of *jj-hr-nfrt*

1204

Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung

Dimensions: H. 1.00 m; W. 0.65 m; D. 0.20 m

Material: limestone

Provenance: Abydos

Condition: mainly good, with parts of surface eroded and worn away

Technique: mainly sunk relief, with half-raised details in lunette

Approximate date: Senusret III

ANOC: 1

Selected bibliography

Schäfer 1904; Sethe 1924: 70–1; Helck 1952; Lichtheim 1973: 123–5; Anthes 1974; Simpson 1974b: 17 [ANOC 1.1], pl. 1; Leprohon 1978; Franke 1984: nos 27, 94, 254, 551; Lichtheim 1988: 98–100, no. 42; Landgráfová 2011: 204–7

PM v, 97

INSCRIPTIONS

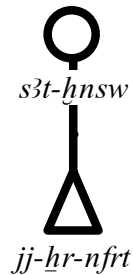
Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
Frame top	<i>bḥdtj ntr ʕ3 s3b šw nb pt hr ntr hprw ntr nfr ḥḥ-k3w-rḥ mrj wsjr ḥntj-jmntjw</i>	Bedehti, the great god, the one of multicoloured plumage, lord of the sky. Horus, Divine of Forms, the perfect god <i>ḥḥ-k3w-rḥ</i> , beloved of Osiris Khentimentiu.
Frame left column top 1+2	<i>hr ntr hprw nsw-bjtj ḥḥ-k3w-rḥ mrj wsjr wnn-nfr dj ʕnh nbtj ntr mswt mrj wsjr jtjj hr nbw hpr mrj wsjr m t3-wr</i>	Horus, Divine of Forms. Dual King, <i>ḥḥ-k3w-rḥ</i> , beloved of Osiris, Wennefer, given life. The Two Ladies, Divine of Manifestations, beloved of Osiris, the ruler. Horus of Gold, The one who becomes, beloved of Osiris in Tawer.
Frame right column top 1+2	<i>hr ntr hprw nsw-bjtj ḥḥ-k3w-rḥ mrj wsjr m t3-wr nbtj ntr mswt mrj wsjr ḥk3 ʕnhw hr nbw hpr mrj wsjr nb-r-dr</i>	Horus, Divine of Forms. Dual King, <i>ḥḥ-k3w-rḥ</i> , beloved of Osiris in Tawer. The Two Ladies, Divine of Manifestations, beloved of Osiris, lord of the living ones. Horus of Gold, The one who becomes, beloved of Osiris, lord of all.
Frame left column bottom 1+2	<i>jrj-pḥt ḥ3tj-ḥ ḥmtj-bjtj smr wḥtj jrj-pḥt jrj ḥd n gb ḥntj st r sm3 hr wr jdt m pr-nsw nb f3w m hrj-jb šnjwt m-r ḥtmt jj-hr-nfrt m3ḥ-hrw</i>	The <i>jrj-pḥt ḥ3tj-ḥ</i> , royal seal-bearer, sole companion, the <i>jrj-pḥt</i> of the white chapel of Geb, foremost of place at the <i>sm3</i> -throne of Horus, great of incense in the royal palace, possessor of magnificence among the entourage, overseer of the treasury <i>jj-hr-nfrt</i> , justified.
Frame right column bottom 1+2	<i>jrj-pḥt ḥ3tj-ḥ ḥmtj-bjtj smr wḥtj hrj-sš3 n mdw ntr m-r wdḥ mdw-nb š3 hrj-sš3 n w3dtj db3 wrt ḥk3w hrj-tp nhb m-r ḥtmt jj-hr-nfrt jr.n s3t-hnsw</i>	The <i>jrj-pḥt ḥ3tj-ḥ</i> , royal seal-bearer, sole companion, master of secrets of the divine words, overseer of all the secret judgements, master of secrets of the two goddesses, the one who adorns the Great of Magic, chief of Elkab, overseer of the treasury <i>jj-hr-nfrt</i> , made by <i>s3t-hnsw</i> .

Lunette	<i>bḥdtj ntr ʕ3 ḥʕ-k3w-rʕ dj ʕnh mj rʕ dt ntr nfr nb jrj ḥt hr ntr ḥprw bḥdtj ntr ʕ3 ḥnt-jmntjw nb 3bḏw dj=fʕnh ḏd mj rʕ</i>	Bedehti, great god, ḥʕ-k3w-rʕ, given life like Re eternally; perfect god, lord of doing things. Horus, Divine of Forms. Bedehti, great god, Khentimentiu, lord of Abydos, may he give life and stability like Re.
1	<i>ḥr ntr ḥprw nbtj ntr mswt ḥr nbw ḥpr nsw-bjtj ḥʕ-k3w-rʕ s3 rʕ s-n-wsrt dj ʕnh mj rʕ dt</i>	Horus, Divine of Forms. The Two Ladies, Divine of Manifestations. Horus of Gold, The one who becomes. Dual King, ḥʕ-k3w-rʕ. Son of Ra, Senusret, given life like Re forever.
2	<i>wḏ nsw n jrj-pʕt ḥ3tj-ʕ ḥtmtj-bjtj smr wʕtj m-r prwj nbw m-r prwj ḥḏ m-r ḥtmt jj-ḥr-nfrt nb jm3ḥ</i>	A royal command for the jrj-pʕt ḥ3tj-ʕ, royal seal-bearer, sole companion, overseer of the two treasuries of gold, overseer of the two treasuries of silver, overseer of the treasury jj-ḥr-nfrt, possessor of veneration.
3	<i>jw wḏ.n ḥm=j dj.tw ḥnt=k r t3-wr r jrt mnw n jt(=j) wsjr ḥntj-jmntjw r smnh bsw=f</i>	My person has commanded that you are made to sail south to Tawer to build a monument for (my) father Osiris Khentimentiu, to embellish his hidden image
4	<i>št3 m d3m dj.n=f jnjt ḥm=j m-ḥnt t3- stj m nḥt m m3ʕ-ḥrw jst jr=k nn m</i>	of electrum, which he caused my person to bring back out of Taseti in victory and triumph. You shall do this in
5	<i>šs m3ʕ n jrt-ḥt m s[ḥtp] jt(=j) wsjr ḏr-ntt ḥ3b-tw ḥm=j jb=j nḥt m jr=k ḥt-nb</i>	a successful way of performing acts in satisfying (my) father Osiris, because my person sends you, being confident in that you shall do everything
6	<i>r mḥ-jb n ḥm=j ḏr-ntt jnw=k js-pw m sb3tj ḥm=j jw ḥpr.n=k js m sḏtj ḥm=j</i>	to please the heart of my person, because it is as a pupil of my person that you were brought and you grew up thus as a foster-child of my person,
7	<i>sb3tj wʕ n ʕḥʕ=j jw dj.n-tw ḥm=j r smr jw=k m ḥwn n rnpt 26 jr.n ḥm(=j) nw</i>	the only pupil of my palace. My person appointed you as a courtier when you were a child of 26 years. It was (my) person who did this
8	<i>m3.n=j-tw m jkr šḥr spd ns pr m ḥt s3.tj jw-js [ḥ3]b-tw</i>	because I regarded you as excellent of plans, effective of tongue, one who came from the belly being wise. My person [se]nt you
9	<i>ḥm=j r jrt nn sj3.n ḥm=j wnt nn jrtj.fj st nb ḥr-ḥw=k js r=k jw jr.n=k mj wḏt.n-nbt ḥm=j</i>	to do this because my person knew that there is no one who could do it except you. Go and return when you have acted according to everything that my person has commanded.
10	<i>jr.kw mj wḏt.n-nbt ḥm=f m smnh wḏt.n nb=j n jt(=f) wsjr ḥntj-jmntjw nb 3bḏw šḥm ʕ3 ḥrj-jb t3-wr</i>	I acted according to everything that his person had commanded by embellishing all what my lord had commanded for (his) father Osiris Khentimentiu, lord of Abydos, great powerful one in Tawer.
11	<i>jw jr.n=j s3-mr=f n wsjr ḥntj- jmntjw smnh.n=j [wj3=f] wr nhḥ ḥnʕ dt jr.n=j n=f</i>	I acted as 'his beloved son' for Osiris Khentimentiu and I embellished [his] great [barque] forever and enduringly. I have made for him

- 12 *knjw wts nfrw hntj-jmntjw m nbw
hđ hsbđ hsmn ssndm mrw msw ntrw* a portable shrine ‘the one who lifts the beauty of Khentimentiu’ in gold, silver, lapis lazuli, bronze, *ssnd*-wood and *mrw*-wood; the images of the gods
- 13 *jmjw-ht=fjrw k3rw=sn m m3wt
dj.n=j wnwht hwt-ntr r jrt jrwt=sn
dj(=j) rh=sn* who are in his following were fashioned, and their shrines were made anew. I appointed the *wnwt*-priesthood of the temple to fulfil their duties. (I) let them know
- 14 *nt-^c nt r^c-nb hbw tp trw jw [hrp].n=j
k3t m nšmt jw ms.n=j sntj* the ritual of everyday and the seasonal festivals. I [direct]ed the works on the *nšmt*-barque and I fashioned the cabin.
- 15 *jw shkr.n=j šnbt nb 3bdw m hsbđ
hn^c mfk3t d3m ^c3tt-nbt m* I have adorned the chest of the lord of Abydos with lapis lazuli and turquoise, electrum and every precious stone as
- 16 *hkrw nw h^cw ntr db3.n=j ntr m
h^cw=f m j3t=j nt hrj-sšt3 jrt=j nt
sm3* decoration of the limbs of the god, as I donned the god his regalia in my office of master of secrets and my duty of stolist.
- 17 *jnk w^cb rmn m shkr ntr sm twr db^cw
jw jr.n=j prt wpw3wt wd3=f r nd
jt=f* I was pure of hands in adorning the god and a sem-priest clean of fingers. I conducted the procession of Wepwawet as he proceeded to protect his father.
- 18 *hsf.n=j sbjw hr nšmt shr.n=j hftjw
wsjr jw jr.n=j prt ^c3t šms=j ntr r
nmtwt=f* I repelled the rebels on the *nšmt*-barque and I overthrew the enemies of Osiris. I conducted the great procession as I followed the god on his journeys.
- 19 *dj.n=j skd dpt-ntr dhwtj hr m3^c
skdwt ^cpr.n=j wj3 h^c-m-m3^ct nb
3bdw m sntj* and I made sail the divine barque as Thoth was guiding the sailing (and) I equipped the barque as ‘appearing in truth’, the lord of Abydos being in the cabin,
- 20 *smn(=j) h3w=f nfrw wd3=f r [w]
pkr jw dsr.n=j w3wt ntr r m^ch^ct=f
hntjt pkr* his perfect regalia having been fastened as he proceeded to [the region of] Poker. I cleared the ways of the god to his tomb south of Poker.
- 21 *jw nd.n=j wnn-nfr hrw-pf n ^ch3 ^c
shr.n=j hftjw=f-nb hr tsw n ndjt
dj.n=j wd3=f* I protected Wennefer on that day of the great fight. I overthrew all his enemies on the sandbanks of *ndjt*. I caused that he proceeded
- 22 *r-hnw wrt wts.n=s nfrw=f s3w=j jb
smjwjt j3bt[t km3=j h^c]wt m smjwjt
jmntt* to the interior of the sacred barque as it displayed his beauties and I made joyful the hearts of the eastern deserts [and I created joy] in the Western deserts,
- 23 *m33=sn nfrw nšmt sm3.n=s t3 r
3bdw jnj.n=s [wsjr hntj-jmntjw nb]
3bdw n ^ch=f šms.n=j ntr r pr=f* as they saw the beauty of the *nšmt*-barque, as she had landed at Abydos and brought [Osiris Khentimentiu, lord] of Abydos, to his palace. After I had followed the god to his house
- 24 *jrww^cb=f swshw st=f wh^c=j tst m-
hnw [...] =f m šnwt=f* and his purification had been done and his place had been widened, as I had loosen what was tied in the interior of [...] in his entourage.

Bottom register left	<i>m-r htmt jj-hr-nfirt nb jm3h jr.n s3t-hnsw</i>	The overseer of the treasury <i>jj-hr-nfirt</i> , possessor of veneration, made by <i>s3t-hnsw</i> .
Bottom register upper right	<i>sn=f mrj=f jdnw n m-r htmt jmnjj nb jm3h</i>	His beloved <i>sn</i> , the deputy of the overseer of the treasury <i>jmnjj</i> , possessor of veneration.
Bottom register lower right 1	<i>s3=f mrj=f jj-hr-nfirt s3=f mrj=f s3-stjt</i>	His beloved son <i>jj-hr-nfirt</i> ; his beloved son <i>s3-stjt</i> .
Bottom register lower right 2	<i>hrj-^c m-r htmt mnw-htp sn=f mrj=f rh-nsw s3-stjt nb jm3h</i>	Assistant of the overseer of the treasury <i>mnw-htp</i> ; his beloved <i>sn</i> , the acquaintance of the king, <i>s3-stjt</i> , possessor of veneration.

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

The only certain relationship addressed in this stela is that of *jj-hr-nfirt* and his mother, as it is mentioned twice in the filiation after *jj-hr-nfirt*'s name. Other kin terms such as *sn* and *s3* are employed – the former in connection with *jmnjj* and *s3-stjt*, and the latter with *jj-hr-nfirt* and *s3-stjt* – but the lack of further filiations makes it difficult to assess these relationships, especially when other monuments of the same chapel are taken into account.

A possibility could be that there are two *s3-stjt*, sons of *jj-hr-nfirt* and *jmnjj* respectively, but this is not confirmed in other monuments. Both *jmnjj* and *s3-stjt* are called *sn* on the bottom register of ANOC 1.1, and they are presented in a position of authority. Their titles and that of *mnw-htp* – who is depicted in the same register although he is not given any kin term – suggest that a professional relationship is being emphasised in this case, as all these men hold similar offices. A metaphorical extension of kin terms can be postulated for this group on the basis of this similarity of titles and the information obtained from other stelae, so the relationship between *s3-stjt*, *jj-hr-nfirt*, and *jmnjj* may have been presented in different ways on various monuments.



Simpson 1974b: pl. 1

3.2.2 ANOC 1.2 Stela of *jj-hr-nfirt*

CG 20038
Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Dimensions: H. 0.35 m; W. 0.29 m

Material: limestone

Provenance: Abydos, north cemetery

Condition: good, although parts of the frame are worn away

Technique: sunk relief, with four statuettes in raised relief inside a niche; traces of colour

Approximate date: Senusret III to Amenemhet III

ANOC: 1

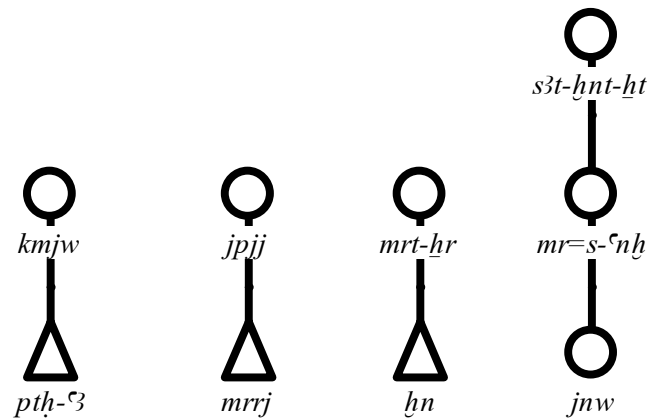
Selected bibliography

Lange and Schäfer 1902a: 46–8; 1902c: pl. iv; Simpson 1974b: 17 [ANOC 1.2], pl. 2; Franke 1984: no. 27; Whelan 2007: 151
PM v, 265

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
Frame left	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wpw3wt ḥntj t3 dsr dj=f prt-hrw t ḥnkt k3w ḥt-nbt nfr w^cb ntr ḥnh(.tj) jm r^c-nb n k3 n smjt m3^c-hrw nb jm3ḥ</i>	An offering that the king gives and Wepwawet who is in front of the necropolis, that he may give a voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen, and everything good and pure on which a god lives every day for the ka of the necropolis, justified, possessor of veneration.
Frame right	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw ntrw kmjw t3 mrjtj.fj ntr-pn sw3tj.fj hr js-pn ddtj(.fj) ḥ3 t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw n k3 n smjt m3^c-hrw nb jm3ḥ</i>	An offering that the king gives and the gods who are on earth, the one who will love this god, the one who shall pass by this tomb and (the one who will) say a thousand bread and beer, oxen and fowl for the ka of the necropolis, justified, possessor of veneration.
1.1	<i>ḥ3 t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw ḥtp-dj-nsw wsjr nb</i>	A thousand bread and beer, oxen and fowl, and offering that the king gives, and Osiris, lord of
1.2	<i>3bdw dj=f prt-hrw n k3 n m-r ḥtmt jj-hr-nfirt</i>	Abydos, that he may give a voice-offering for the ka of the overseer of the treasure <i>jj-hr-nfirt</i> .
1.3	<i>m-r st pth-^c3 jr.n kmjw</i>	The overseer of the estate <i>pth-^c3</i> , made by <i>kmjw</i> .
1.4	<i>ḥm-ntr mrrj jr.n jpjj</i>	The god's servant <i>mrrj</i> , made by <i>jpjj</i> .
1.5	<i>wdpw s-n-wsrt m3^c-hrw</i>	The butler <i>s-n-wsrt</i> , justified.
2	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wsjr nb 3bdw dj=f t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw šs mnḥt n k3 n smjt-tn</i>	An offering that the king gives and Osiris, lord of Abydos, that he may give bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster and linen, for the ka of this necropolis.
3.1	<i>n k3 n ḥn jr.n mrt-hr</i>	For the ka of <i>ḥn</i> , made by <i>mrt-hr</i> .
3.2	<i>n k3 n jnw jrt.n mr=s-^cnh</i>	For the ka of <i>jnw</i> , made by <i>mr=s-^cnh</i> .
3.3	<i>n k3 n pth-^c3 m-r st nb jm3ḥ</i>	For the ka of <i>pth-^c3</i> , the overseer of the estate, possessor of veneration.
3.4	<i>n k3 n mr=s-^cnh jrt.n s3t-ḥnt-ḥt</i>	For the ka of <i>mr=s-^cnh</i> , made by <i>s3t-ḥnt-ḥt</i> .

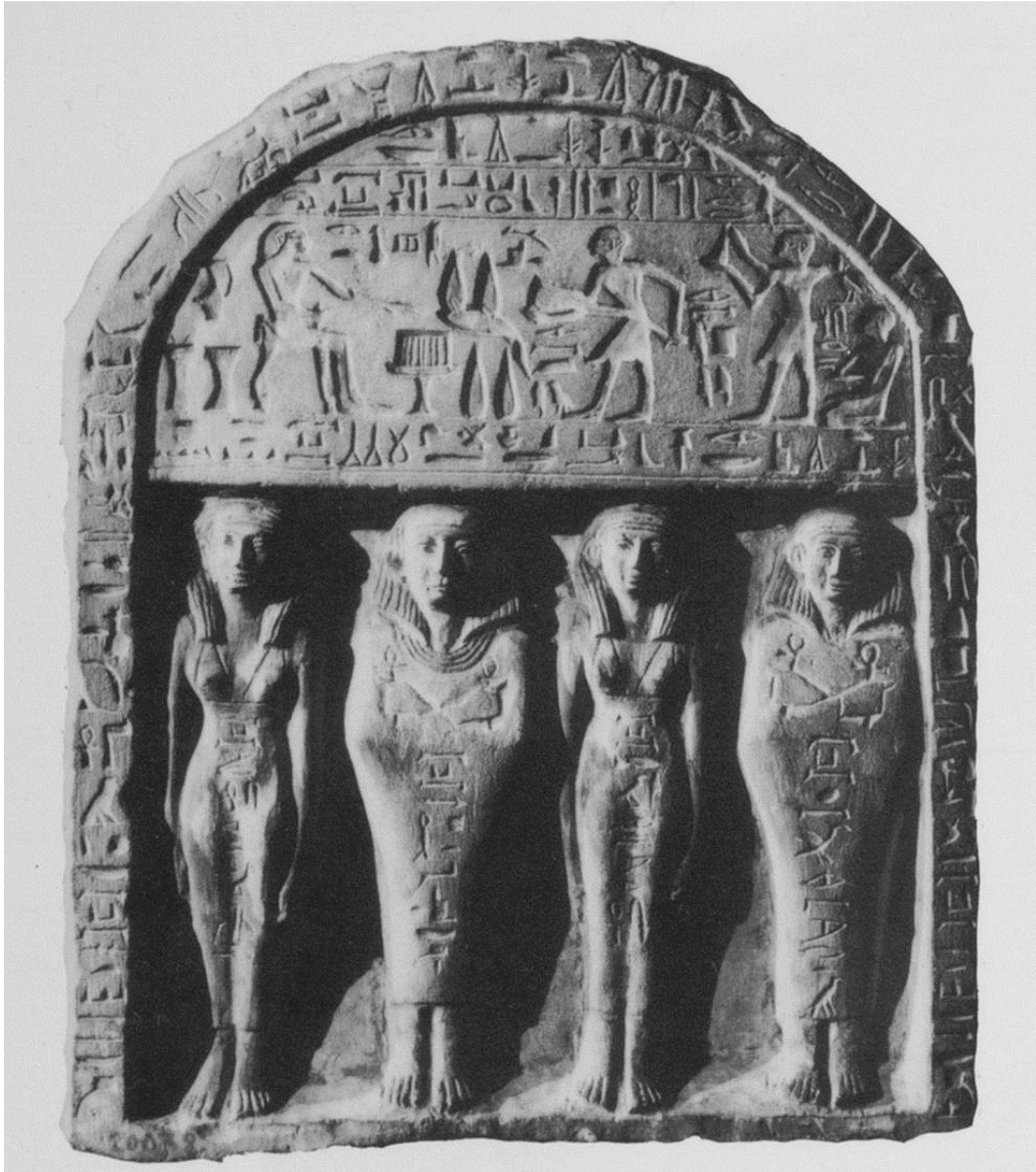
Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

The genealogical information provided by this stela is disconnected, and thus it does not build up into a single diagram. It is, thus, not clear why these people are commemorated together on the same monument, but their connection with *jj-hr-nfrt* is given relevance, especially as two men – one of them also assigned a statue in the central niche – are depicted presenting offerings for him in the lunette. It is not clear whether *jj-hr-nfrt* is regarded as the ego of this stela, or just featured in a position of authority due to his high standing.

The most remarkable feature of this stela is the use of the term *smjt* in three occasions. The *smjt* refers to a place in some instances – desert or, more specifically, necropolis – but it can also be used for a group of people that could be linked to ego either by the father's or the mother's lines (see section 2.3.2). On this stela, the ka of the *smjt* is invoked, and I suggest that a group of people next to whom one would like to be commemorated is meant. Whether this group is linked to a common burial ground or to some shared funerary duties is open to discussion, but the use of the term *js* (often translated as tomb) makes the connection with funerary practices clear.



Simpson 1974b: pl. 2

3.2.3 ANOC 1.3 Stela of *jj-hr-nfrt*

CG 20140
Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Dimensions: H. 0.41 m; W. 0.29 m
Material: limestone
Provenance: Abydos
Condition: mainly good, with a patch worn away on the top
Technique: sunk relief
Approximate date: year 1 of Amenemhet III
ANOC: 1

Selected bibliography

Lange and Schäfer 1902a: 165–6; 1902c: pl. xiii; Simpson 1974b: 17 [ANOC 1.3], pl. 2; Franke 1984: nos 1, 27, 235, 543, 705
PM v, 93

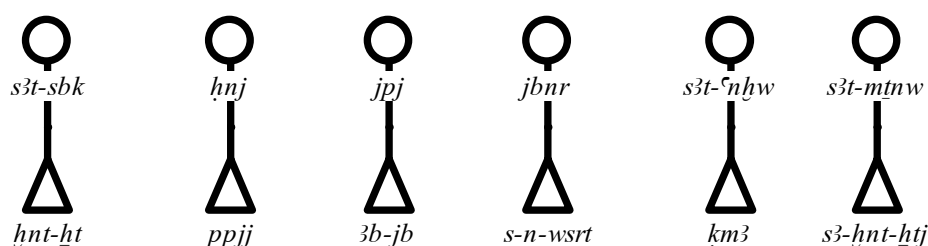
INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
Lunette left	<i>jrj ʕt wnwʔt (s3-)hnt-hʔj</i>	The hall-keeper of the <i>wnwʔt</i> -priest ³¹ (<i>s3-</i>) <i>hnt-hʔj</i> .
Lunette right	<i>jr.n s3t-sbk m3ʕ-hrw nb jm3h</i>	made by <i>s3-sbk</i> , justified, possessor of veneration.
1.1	<i>rnpt-sp 1 hr hm=f nsw-bʔtj nj-m3ʕt-rʕ ʕnh ʔt sʕhʕ.tw wʔ</i>	Regnal year 1 under his person of the Dual King <i>nj-m3ʕt-rʕ</i> , may he live eternally, as this stela was set up
1.2	<i>pn hʔp-dj-nsw wsjr nb 3bdw dj=f prt-hrw t hnkt k3w 3pdw hʔt-nbt nfrt n k3 n</i>	(as) an offering that the king gives and Osiris, lord of Abydos, that he may give a voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, everything good for the ka of
2.1	<i>hʔmtj-bʔtj smr wʕtj m-r hʔmt jj-hr-nfrt</i>	the royal seal-bearer, sole companion, the overseer of the treasure <i>jj-hr-nfrt</i> .
2.2	<i>jrj ʕt n pr-ʕ3 ppjj jr.n h(nj) m3ʕ-hrw</i>	The hall-keeper of the palace <i>ppjj</i> , made by <i>h(nj)</i> , justified.
2.3	<i>jrj ʕt n pr-ʕ3 3b-jb nb jm3h jr.n jpj</i>	The hall-keeper of the palace <i>3b-jb</i> , possessor of veneration, made by <i>jpj</i> .
3.1	<i>ʕʕmj s-n-wsrt jr.n jbnr</i>	The <i>ʕʕmj</i> ³² <i>s-n-wsrt</i> , made by <i>jbnr</i> .
3.2	<i>wnwʔt km3 jr.n s3t-ʕnhw</i>	The <i>wnwʔt</i> -priest <i>km3</i> , made by <i>s3t-ʕnhw</i> .
3.3	<i>jrj ʕt wnwʔt s3-hnt-hʔj jr.n s3t-mʔnw</i>	The hall-keeper of the <i>wnwʔt</i> -priest <i>s3-hnt-hʔj</i> , made by <i>s3t-mʔnw</i> .

³¹ Ward 1982: no. 463; see also Wild 1971: 121–5, esp. no. 5.

³² Translation uncertain (Ward 1982: no. 1508); Fischer (1997: 78) suggests it could be a personal name.

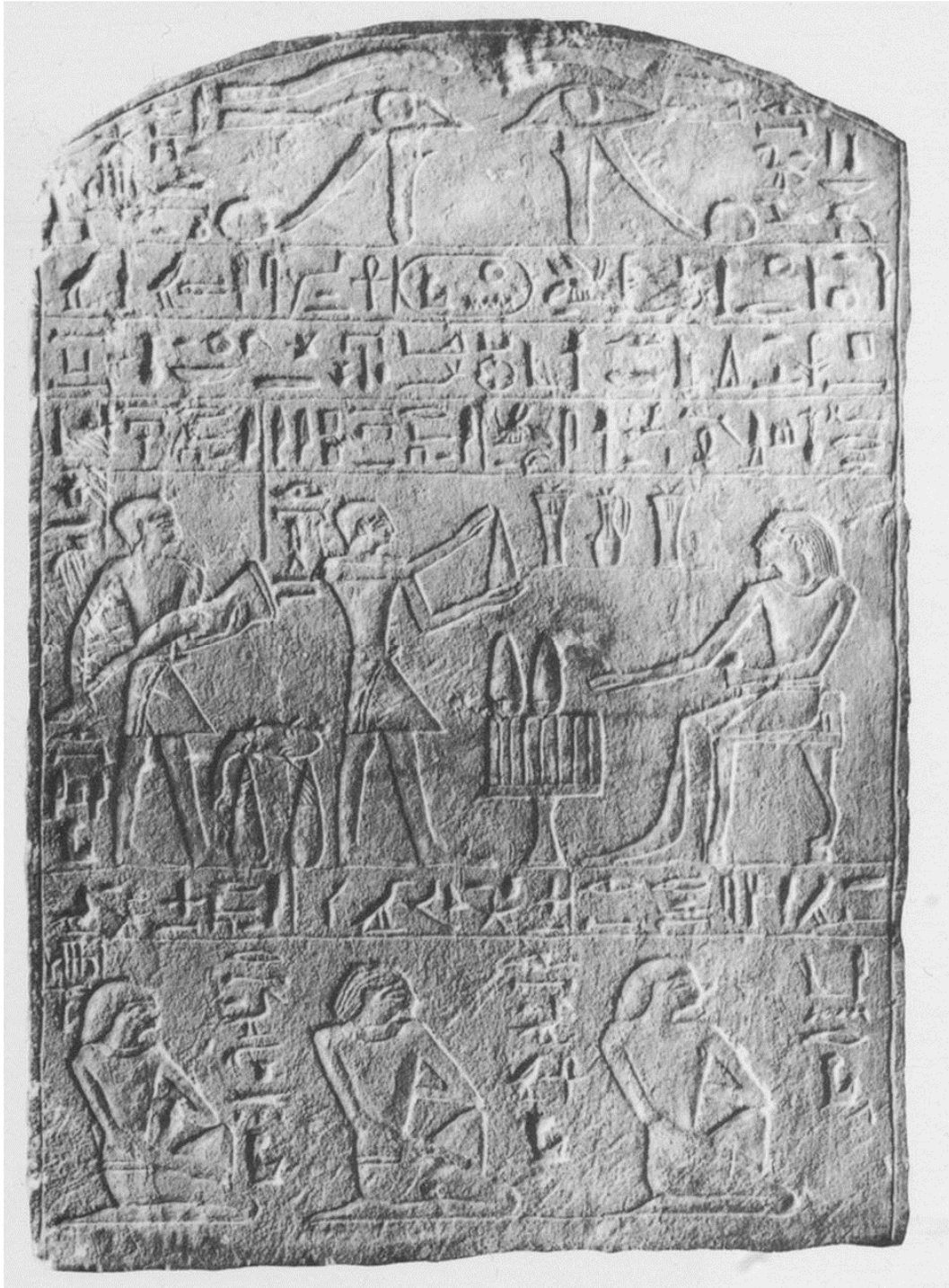
Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

Similarly to ANOC 1.2, this stela presents disconnected relations that seem to be united by their association with *jj-hr-nfrt*, who is presented in a position of authority receiving offerings in the main register. Some of the individuals depicted on this monument are also featured on other stelae of the same group; for example, *ppjj* is mentioned on ANOC 1.7 and 1.10, where the name of his father is given and the name of his mother corrected. In addition, the name of the father of *s3-hnt-htj*, *jmnpj-s3-j^ch*, is given on stela ANOC 1.11.

No kin terms are employed on this stela, and the only evident connection between most of the men featured on it is apparently a professional one, as most of them hold related titles such as hall-keeper of the *wnwt*-priesthood and *wnwt*-priest. This is relevant because *jj-hr-nfrt* mentions the *wnwt*-priesthood explicitly in his inscription on ANOC 1.1 as part of the people he would need to engage with when performing his duties in Abydos.



Simpson 1974b: pl. 2

3.2.4 ANOC 1.4 Stela of *jj-hr-nfrt*

CG 20310
Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Dimensions: H. 0.54 m; W. 0.34
Material: limestone
Provenance: Abydos, north cemetery, east section
Condition: mainly good, with some parts of the surface worn away
Technique: sunk relief
Approximate date: Senusret III to Amenemhet III
ANOC: 1

Selected bibliography

Lange and Schäfer 1902a: 322–3; Simpson 1974b: 17 [ANOC 1.4], pl. 2; Franke 1984: no. 27 PM v, 265

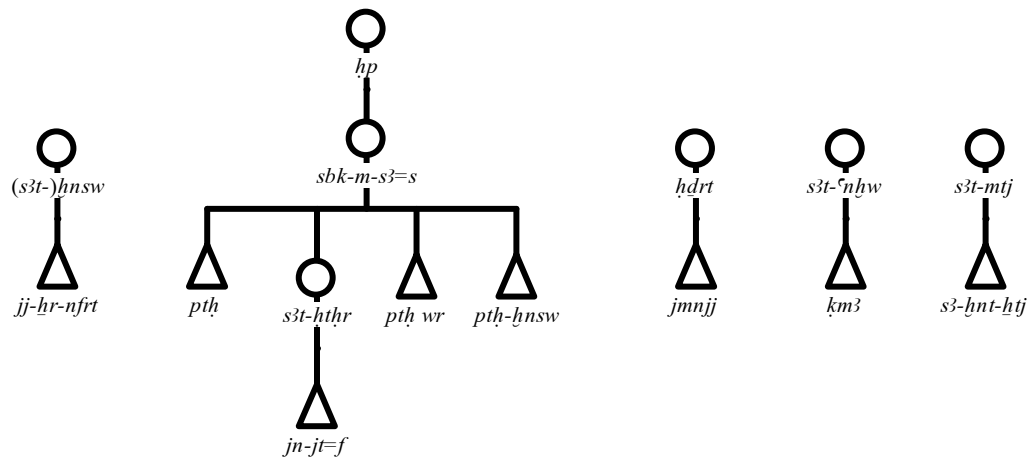
INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
1.1	<i>h3 m t hnkt k3w 3pdw h3 m šs mnht ht-nbt</i>	A thousand bread and beer, oxen and fowl, a thousand alabaster and linen, everything.
1.2	<i>htp-dj-nsw wsjr hntj-jmntjw ntr 3 nb 3bdw dj(=f)</i>	An offering that the king gives and Osiris Khentimentiu, great god, lord of Abydos, that (he) may give
1.3	<i>prt-hrw t hnkt k3w 3pdw šs mnht ht-nbt nfrt w^cbt 3nh(.tj) ntr jm nht-nb bnr [...]</i>	a voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster and linen, everything good and pure on which a god lives, all the plants [...],
1.4	<i>rnpt-nb hnkt-nb r^c-nb m 3bd mddnt³³ n k3 n htmtj-bjtj smr w^ctj m-r htmt</i>	all the vegetables, all the offerings every day on the monthly festival, on the half-monthly festival for the ka of the royal seal-bearer, sole companion, overseer of the treasure
2.1	<i>jj-hr-nfrt jr.n (s3t-)hnsu</i>	<i>jj-hr-nfrt</i> , son of (<i>s3t-</i>) <i>hnsu</i> .
2.2	<i>m-r pth jr.n sbk-(m-)s3</i>	The overseer <i>pth</i> , made by <i>sbk-(m-)s3</i> .
2.3	<i>jrj 3t jmnjj jr.n hprt</i>	The hall-keeper <i>jmnjj</i> , made by <i>hprt</i> .
2.4	<i>hr-3 m-r htmt jbjj</i>	The assistant ³⁴ to the overseer of the treasure <i>jbjj</i> .
3.1	<i>jnj-jt=f jr.n s3t-hthr</i>	<i>jnj-jt=f</i> , made by <i>s3t-hthr</i> .
3.2	<i>sbk-m-s3 jrt.n hp</i>	<i>sbk-m-s3</i> , made by <i>hp</i> .
3.3	<i>pth jr.n sbk-m-s3=s</i>	<i>pth</i> , made by <i>sbk-m-s3=s</i> .
3.4	<i>s3t-hthr jrt.n sbk-m-s3=s</i>	<i>s3t-hthr</i> , made by <i>sbk-m-s3=s</i> .
4.1	<i>pth wr jr.n sbk-m-s3=s</i>	<i>pth</i> the elder, made by <i>sbk-m-s3=s</i> .
4.2	<i>pth-hnsu jr.n sbk-m-(s3)=s</i>	<i>pth-hnsu</i> , made by <i>sbk-m-(s3)=s</i> .
4.3	<i>ddw-sbk jr.n s3t-sbk</i>	<i>ddw-sbk</i> , made by <i>s3t-sbk</i> .
4.4	<i>htp nhn jrt.n s3t-hthr</i>	<i>htp</i> the younger, made by <i>s3t-hthr</i> .

³³ The reading of this festival is uncertain, but transliterations *smdt*, *smdnt*, and *tp smdt* have been suggested (Eaton 2011: 243).

³⁴ The term reads *hr-3*, but I suggest it could be a variant writing for the title *hr-3*, ‘assistant’.

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

In line with other stelae in the group, this monument does not provide much genealogical information that can be linked to the group as a whole. It presents a few individuals, and although filiations are given kin terms are not used. As in other cases, *jj-hr-nfrt* is presented in a position of authority and the will to be linked to him through the monument is patent.

People on the two bottom registers of this stela do not bear titles, so their relationship to *jj-hr-nfrt* cannot be ascertained. Those who hold a title in the second register are presented in a position of dependence (i.e. presenting offerings) to *jj-hr-nfrt*, and *pth* could be linked with those individuals on the bottom. The writing of some names is not consistent, and this makes it more difficult to suggest identifications, but this stela could be commemorating the family of *pth* while being testimony to his professional connection with *jj-hr-nfrt*.



Simpson 1974b: pl. 2

3.2.5 ANOC 1.5 Stela of *jnpj* and *ppjj*

CG 20683 (JE 29260)
Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Dimensions: H. 0.46 m; W. 0.29 m

Material: limestone

Provenance: Gâdra, south Abydos

Condition: surface worn away; parts of right edge of stela chipped away

Technique: inscription in sunk relief; figures incised

Approximate date: Senusret III to Amenemhet III

ANOC: 1

Selected bibliography

Lange and Schäfer 1902b: 310–1; Simpson 1974b: 17 [ANOC 1.5], pl. 2; Franke 1984: nos 27, 155; Darnell 1989; Shubert 2007: 106–7
PM v, 106

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
1.1	<i>ʕnhw tpw t3 rmt-nbt hrw-ḥb-nb sh-nb</i>	Living ones upon earth, everyone, every lector-priest, every scribe
1.2	<i>sw3tj.sn hr mʕhʕt-tn m mrr=tn grg ḥwt-ntr wsjr ḥntj-jmntjw</i>	who shall pass by this chapel, as you desire to furnish the temple of Osiris Khentimentiu,
1.3	<i>nb 3bdw ntr ʕ3 hrj-jb jmjw-wr m mrr=tn wpw3wt nb t3-dsr jnpw ntr</i>	lord of Abydos, great god who is among the great ones, as you love Wepwawet, lord of the necropolis and Anubis
1.4	<i>bnr mrt m mr=t(n) ʕnh n nsw sh3=tn ʕnh smh=t(n) mwt</i>	the sweet beloved god, as you love the king's life, may you remember life and may you forget death,
1.5	<i>jr=tn ḥbw n ntrw=tn dd=tn ḥ3 m t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw sntr mrḥwt</i>	may you perform festivals for your gods, and may you say a thousand bread and beer, oxen and fowl, incense and unguent
1.6	<i>n k3 [n] ḥtmtj-bjtj smr wʕtj m-r ḥt-nbt nt nsw hrj-tp n t3 r-dr=f m-r ḥ3swt-nbt hrj [...]</i>	for the ka [of] the royal seal-bearer, sole companion, overseer of every matter of the king, chief of the land in its entirety, overseer of all the foreign lands, chief [...]
1.7	<i>r-prw sjptj ntt jm=s m-r prwj nbw m-r prwj ḥd m-r ʕb-r nsw ḥm-ntr wrt</i>	of the temples, inspector of everything that is in them, overseer of the two houses of gold, overseer of the two houses of silver, overseer of the royal repast, ³⁵ divine servant of the one Great of
1.8	<i>ḥk3w hrj-sšt3 n w3dtj m-r ḥtmt jj-ḥr-nfrt m3ʕ-ḥrw nb jm3ḥ jr.n s3t-ḥnsw [m3ʕ-ḥrw]</i>	Magic, master of secrets of the two goddesses, overseer of the treasure <i>jj-ḥr-nfrt</i> , justified, possessor of veneration, made by <i>s3t-ḥnsw</i> , [justified].
1.9	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wsjr nb 3bdw dj=f prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw n k3 n ḥtmtj-bjtj smr wʕtj</i>	An offering that the king gives and Osiris, lord of Abydos, that he may give a voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl for the ka of the royal seal-bearer, sole

³⁵ For this title see Darnell (1989: 219).

1.10	<i>m-r rwtj wrtj prwj m-r k3t-nbt nt nsw m-r rwjyt jnpj m3^c-hrw nb jm3h</i>	companion, overseer of the great double gate, overseer of every work of the king, overseer of the gate <i>jnpj</i> , justified, possessor of veneration.
1.11	<i>jm3hjj m-r ^cmrw m-r šn^ct nb jm3h ppjj jm3hjj m-r ^cmrw n m-r htmt ppjj m3^c-hrw nb jm3h</i>	The venerable one, the overseer of the bakeries for the overseer of the storehouse, ³⁶ possessor of veneration <i>ppjj</i> ; the venerable one, the overseer of the bakeries for the overseer of the treasury <i>ppjj</i> , justified, possessor of veneration.
Bottom line	<i>[...] nb jm3h jm3hjj [...] r [...] nb jm3h</i>	[...] possessor of veneration; the venerable one [...] possessor of veneration.

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

This stela does not provide any further genealogical information to that already obtained from other monuments in the group. However, it is interesting from the point of view of the strategies employed to craft relations. The stela seems to be dedicated to *jj-hr-nfrit*, but *jnpj* and *ppjj* appear depicted on it. The former is known from a mastaba at Lahun, and other artefacts from that site; the latter, however, is only known from stelae associated to ANOC 1. It is quite possible that *ppjj* were a household worker of *jj-hr-nfrit*, and he may have commissioned this stela to have his connection to this important man commemorated. In this sense, it has already been noted by Darnell that the titles of *jj-hr-nfrit* that he chose are those which are closer to his own occupations; thus, as *ppjj* is responsible for the bakeries, he decided to record *jj-hr-nfrit*'s title of 'overseer of the royal repast'.

³⁶ The translation of this and the following title are based on suggestions by Darnell (1989: 218–9). On his part, Ward (1982: nos 53 and 54) translates them as 'the overseer of the records of stewards of the overseer of a law-court' and 'overseer of records of stewards of the overseer of the treasury' respectively.



Simpson 1974b: pl. 2

3.2.6 ANOC 1.6 Stela of *mnw-ḥtp*

EA 202

London, British Museum

Dimensions: H. 0.60 m; W. 0.42 m

Material: limestone

Provenance: Abydos

Condition: surface worn away, but inscription is fully legible

Technique: sunk relief

Approximate date: Senusret III to Amenemhet III

ANOC: 1

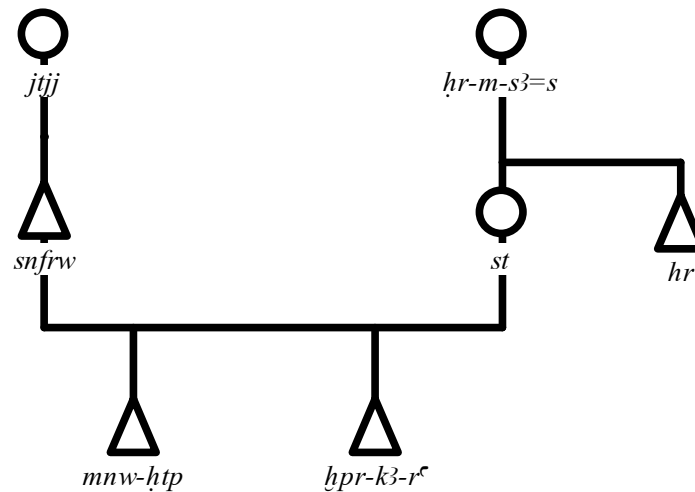
Selected bibliography

Budge 1912: 6, pl. 11; Simpson 1974b: 17 [ANOC 1.6], pl. 3; Franke 1984: nos 27, 254 PM v, 96

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
1.1	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wsjr ḥntj-jmntjw</i>	An offering that the king gives and Osiris Khentimentiu,
1.2	<i>wpw3wt nb t3 dsr jnpw tpj ḏw=f mnw ḥkt</i>	Wepwawet, lord of the necropolis, Anubis who is upon his mountain, Min, Heqet,
1.3	<i>ḥnmw ḥr nd-ḥr-jt=f ntrw ntrwt jm3w 3bdw</i>	Khnum, Horus who protects his father, the gods and goddesses who are in Abydos,
1.4	<i>dj=s n prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw šs mnḥt sntr mrḥt ḥtpt ḏ3w</i>	that they may give a voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster and linen, incense and unguent, offerings and provisions
1.5	<i>n k3 n jrj-p^ct ḥ3tj-^c ḥtmtj-bjtj smr w^ctj n mrwt m-r ḥtmt jj-ḥr-nfrt nb jm3ḥ jr.n s3t-ḥnsw</i>	for the ka of the <i>jrj-p^ct ḥ3tj-^c</i> , the royal seal-bearer, sole companion for the sake of the overseer of the treasure <i>jj-ḥr-nfrt</i> , possessor of veneration, made by <i>s3t-ḥnsw</i> .
2.1	<i>mnw-ḥtp jr.n st</i>	<i>mnw-ḥtp</i> , made by <i>st</i> .
2.2	<i>jt=f snfrw jr.n jtjj mwt=f st jrt.n ḥr-m-s3=s</i>	His father <i>snfrw</i> , made by <i>jtjj</i> ; his mother <i>st</i> , made by <i>ḥr-m-s3=s</i> .
3.1	<i>ḥpr-k3-r^c jr.n st</i>	<i>ḥpr-k3-r^c</i> , made by <i>st</i> .
3.2	<i>ḥr jr.n ḥr-m-s3=s</i>	<i>ḥr</i> , made by <i>ḥr-m-s3=s</i> .
4 (central column)	<i>rh-nsw mr=f mnw-ḥtp ḏḏ=f jn jt(=j) jrj-p^ct smr w^ctj m-r ḥtmt jj-ḥr-nfrt m3^c-ḥrw wḏ jr.t(w) n(=j) ^cb3-pn n m^cḥt=f nt m3^c-ḥrw</i>	The beloved acquaintance of the king <i>mnw-ḥtp</i> , he says: it is (my) father the <i>jrj-p^ct</i> , sole companion, overseer of the treasure <i>jj-ḥr-nfrt</i> , justified, who commanded that this stela is set up for me in his chapel of justification.

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

The genealogical relations on this stela are clearer than those on most stela on the group, as all individuals depicted or mentioned on it, with the exception of *jj-hr-nfirt*, can be linked together. The prominence of the latter, however, is evident, as a voice-offering for his ka is explicitly made in this stela. Ego uses the kin term *jt* to refer to *jj-hr-nfirt*, and this ties in with the extended usage of this term observed on other stelae of the group. The father of ego is mentioned and depicted next to ego's mother on the top register, so in this case the character of the relationship between *mnw-htp* and *jj-hr-nfirt* is beyond doubt. It is explicitly stated that *jj-hr-nfirt* allowed *mnw-htp* to have a stela (*ḥb3*) set up in the former's chapel (*mḥt*), and this is an honour that ego recorded in an outstanding position in his stela.

Out of the 24 people depicted on the bottom part of the stela 22 do not have any associated captions, so the stela could have been unfinished. However, being shown together with a large entourage may have been more important for *mnw-htp* than having those people named, so perhaps the stela as it stands was meant to be the final product.



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3.2.7 ANOC 1.7 Stela of *s3-stjt*

C 5

Paris, Musée de Louvre

Dimensions: H. 0.71 m; W. 0.51 m

Material: limestone

Provenance: Abydos

Condition: good

Technique: sunk relief with some figures *en creux*

Approximate date: year 1 of Amenemhet III

ANOC: 1

Selected bibliography

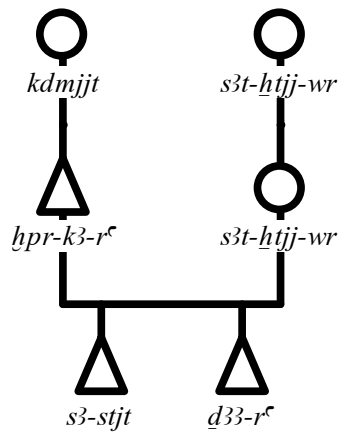
Gayet 1886: 2–3, pls viii–ix; Simpson 1974b: 17 [ANOC 1.7], pl. 3; Franke 1984: nos 94, 235, 551, 705, 770; Shubert 2007: 164–5
PM v, 98–9

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
Frame left	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wsjr ḥntj-jmntjw ntr ʕ3 dj=f prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw šs mnḥt sntr mrḥt n k3 n m-r ḥnwtj n ḥ3 n m-r ḥtmt s3-stjt jr.n s3t-htjj-wr nb jm3ḥ</i>	An offering that the king gives and Osiris Khentimentiu, great god, that he may give a voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster and linen, incense and unguent for the ka of the chamberlain of the office of the overseer of the treasure <i>s3-stjt</i> , made by <i>s3t-htjj-wr</i> , possessor of veneration.
Frame right	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wpw3wt nb t3 dsr dj=f prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw šs mnḥt sntr mrḥt n k3 n m-r ḥnwtj n ḥ3 n m-r ḥtmt s3-stjt jr.n s3t-htjj-wr nb jm3ḥ</i>	An offering that the king gives and Wepwawet, lord of the necropolis, that he may give a voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster and linen, incense and unguent for the ka of the chamberlain of the office of the overseer of the treasure <i>s3-stjt</i> , made by <i>s3t-htjj-wr</i> , possessor of veneration.
1.1	<i>rnpt-sp 1 ḥr ḥm n nsw-bjtj nj-m3ʕt-rʕ ḥnh dt r nhḥ wd jr n</i>	Regnal year 1 under the person of the Dual King <i>nj-m3ʕt-rʕ</i> , may he live eternally and forever; an stela made for
1.2	<i>m-r ḥnwtj n ḥ3 n m-r ḥtmt s3-stjt n mrwt mn rn=f r rdw n ntr ʕ3 dd=f</i>	the chamberlain of the office of the overseer of the treasure <i>s3-stjt</i> for the sake of the endurance of his name at the terrace of the great god, he says:
1.3	<i>j ḥnhw tpw t3 sw3tj.sn ḥr mʕḥʕt-tn mrr=tn wpw3wt</i>	o living ones who are upon earth who shall pass by this chapel, as you love Wepwawet,
1.4	<i>ntr=tn ndm mrwt ddtj.fj ḥ3 m t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw n k3 n m-r ḥnwtj n ḥ3 n m-r ḥtmt s3-stjt jr.n s3t-htjj-wr</i>	your sweet beloved god, he shall say a thousand bread and beer, oxen and fowl, for the ka of the chamberlain of the office of the overseer of the treasure <i>s3-stjt</i> , made by <i>s3t-htjj-wr</i> .
2.1	<i>d33-rʕ jr.n s3t-htjj-wr</i>	<i>d33-rʕ</i> , made by <i>s3t-htjj-wr</i> .
2.2	<i>mwt=f s3t-htjj-wr jrt.n s3t-htjj-wr</i>	His mother <i>s3t-htjj-wr</i> , made by <i>s3t-htjj-wr</i> .
2.3	<i>jt=f ḥpr-k3-rʕ jr.n kdmjtt</i>	His father <i>ḥpr-k3-rʕ</i> , made by <i>kdmjtt</i> .

2.4	<i>s3t ḥ3tj-^c n tp-jḥw jt jrt.n sššjt</i>	The daughter of the ḥ3tj- ^c of Atfih <i>jt</i> , made by <i>sššjt</i> .
2.5	<i>s3t ḥ3tj-^c s3t-tp-jḥw [jr]t.n kjj</i>	The daughter of the ḥ3tj- ^c <i>s3t-tp-jḥw</i> [made] of <i>kjj</i> .
2.6	<i>grt-k3 jrt.n s3t-ḥpr-k3-r^c</i>	<i>grt-k3</i> , made by <i>s3t-ḥpr-k3-r^c</i> .
3.1	<i>m-r ḥnwtj s3-stjt nb jm3ḥ</i>	The chamberlain <i>s3-stjt</i> , possessor of veneration.
3.2	<i>s3-ḥnt-ḥtjj jr.n s3t-jwnw</i>	<i>s3-ḥnt-ḥtjj</i> , made by <i>s3t-jwnw</i> .
3.3	<i>jmn-m-ḥ3t jr.n s3t-ḥpr-k3-r^c</i>	<i>jmn-m-ḥ3t</i> , made by <i>s3t-ḥpr-k3-r^c</i> .
3.4	<i>wnš jr.n ḥtp</i>	<i>wnš</i> , made by <i>ḥtp</i> .
3.5	<i>jrj ^ct n pr ḥd m3j-ḥs3-ḥtp jr.n s3t-nḥt-spdw</i>	The hall-keeper of the treasury <i>m3j-ḥs3-ḥtp</i> , made by <i>s3t-nḥt-spdw</i> .
4.1	<i>m-r ḥnwtj n ḥ3 n t3tj jmnjj jr.n st-jmnjj</i>	The chamberlain of the office of the vizier <i>jmnjj</i> , made by <i>st-jmnjj</i> .
4.2	<i>sn=f ḥm3^cw jr.n ḥmt</i>	His <i>sn ḥm3w</i> , made by <i>ḥmt</i> .
4.3	<i>jt jrt.n s3t-ḥrj-tp</i>	<i>jt</i> , made by <i>s3t-ḥrj-tp</i> .
4.4	<i>ḥ3-^cnḥ=f jr.n s3t-r^c</i>	<i>ḥ3-^cnḥ=f</i> , made by <i>s3t-r^c</i> .
4.5	<i>snt=f sbk-m-ḥ3t jrt.n s3t-nj-nk-sw</i>	His <i>snt sbk-m-ḥ3t</i> , made by <i>s3t-nj-nk-sw</i> .
4.6	<i>wnwtj ḥm3w jr.n s3t-^cnḥj</i>	The <i>wnwt</i> -priest <i>ḥm3w</i> , made by <i>s3t-^cnḥj</i> .
4.7	<i>ḥst m bjnt jt jrt.n jt nḥnt</i>	The singer with the harp <i>jt</i> , made by <i>jt</i> the younger.
5.1	<i>jrj ^ct n pr-^c3 ppjj jr.n ḥnjj</i>	The hall-keeper of the palace <i>ppjj</i> , made by <i>ḥnjj</i> .
5.2	<i>ḥdr jr.n nnjj</i>	<i>ḥdr</i> , made by <i>nnjj</i> .
5.3	<i>s3 jp</i>	<i>s3 jp</i> .
5.4	<i>jj-m-jnbt</i>	<i>jj-m-jnbt</i> .
5.5	<i>sn=f jt</i>	His <i>sn jt</i> .
5.6	<i>wj3-d3=f</i>	<i>wj3-d3=f</i> .
5.7	<i>^c3m ḥt-k3w-snb</i>	The Asiatic <i>ḥt-k3w-snb</i> .
5.8	<i>s3t-nb-jwnw</i>	<i>s3t-nb-jwnw</i> .
5.9	<i>tjtjj</i>	<i>tjtjj</i> .
5.10	<i>jmt</i>	<i>jmt</i> .

Diagram of suggested kinship

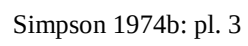


Remarks and unusual features

This stela provides similar genealogical information to that obtained from ANOC 1.8, although the name of ego's mother's mother is different. This could perhaps be a case of a double name, as the name *s3t-htjj-wr* seems to run in the family, as evidenced by ego's sister mentioned on ANOC 1.8.

Many people not genealogically connected to *s3-stjt* are mentioned on this stela, but they have not been included in the diagram because the data provided do not complement those available from other sources in the chapel. The presence of *jmnjj* is remarkable, especially because ego is presented as his son in ANOC 1.9. This stela seems to confirm that the relationship among them both was strictly professional, as they are both chamberlain of an office (of the vizier and of the treasury respectively). Another important connection that is highlighted in this monument is that with *ppjj*, the ego of stela ANOC 1.10. These three men – *s3-stjt*, *jmnjj*, and *ppjj* – are presented in a position of authority seated at the left side of each register, so probably their relationship was being emphasised visually as well.

Two daughters of nomarchs are depicted together with members of the family of *s3-stjt*. It is uncertain, however, what type of relationship there may have been between them. In addition, *jj-hr-nfirt* is also absent from this stela, although *s3-stjt*'s title indicates that he was working for him as chamberlain of the office of the treasury. Perhaps a privileged position of this stela in the chapel may have made superfluous any further reference to the connection of these two men.



3.2.8 ANOC 1.8 Stela of *s3-stjt*

III 5002

Basel, Museum für Völkerkunde

Dimensions: H. 0.65 m; W. 0.44

Material: limestone

Provenance: unknown

Condition: mainly good, but the top of the frame is eroded away

Technique: sunk relief with one statuette in raised relief inside a niche

Approximate date: Senusret III to Amenemhet III

ANOC: 1

Selected bibliography

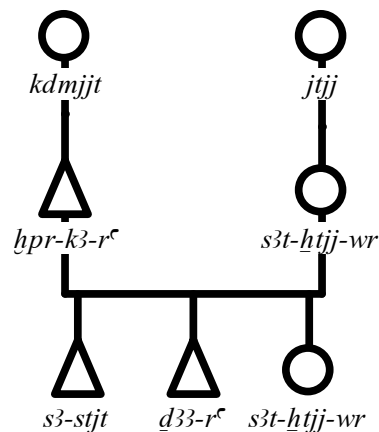
Naville 1919; Simpson 1974b: 17 [ANOC 1.8], pl. 3; Schlögl 1978: 47–8, pl. 153; Franke 1984: nos 551, 770; Schubert 2007: 163–4; Whelan 2007: 150–1
PM v, 100

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
Frame left	[<i>htp</i>]- <i>dj</i> -[<i>nsw</i>] <i>wsjr hntj</i> -[<i>jmntjw</i>] <i>nb 3bdw dj=f prt-hrw t hnkt k3w</i> <i>3pdw šs mnht n k3 n m-r ʿhnwtj</i> <i>s3-stjt m3ʿ-hrw nb jm3h</i>	[An offering that the king] gives and Osiris Khenti[mentiu], lord of Abydos that he may give a voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster and linen for the ka of the chamberlain <i>s3-stjt</i> , justified, possessor of veneration.
Frame right	[...] = <i>f mʿhʿt nfrt m smjt jmntt nt</i> <i>3bdw n jm3h m-r ʿhnwtj s3-stjt</i> <i>m3ʿ-hrw</i>	[...] a perfect chapel in the Western necropolis of Abydos for the venerable one, the chamberlain <i>s3-stjt</i> , justified.
1.1	<i>wn hr m-r ʿhnwtj s3-stjt m3ʿ=f nb</i> <i>3ht d3=f hrt dj=f</i>	May the face of the chamberlain <i>s3-stjt</i> open that he may see the lord of the horizon, that he may cross the sky, that he may cause
1.2	<i>hʿ m-r ʿhnwtj s3-stjt m ntr nb jtm</i> <i>sk nb dt m-r ʿhnwtj s3-stjt</i>	the chamberlain <i>s3-stjt</i> to appear as a god, lord of the eternal stars, lord of eternity. The chamberlain <i>s3-stjt</i> ,
1.3	<i>dd=f jr hmw-ntr-nb hrjw-hb-nb</i> <i>hntj-š-nb shw-nb ʿkw r</i>	he says: as for every divine servant, every lector-priest, every attendant, every scribe who shall enter into
1.4	<i>hwt-ntr nt wsjr hntj-jmntjw</i> <i>mr=tn grg hwt-ntr nt wsjr hntj-</i> <i>jmntjw sw3=tn hr mʿhʿt</i>	the temple of Osiris Khentimentiu, as you desire to provide for the temple of Osiris Khentimentiu, as you pass by this chapel,
1.5	<i>tn dd=tn htp-dj-nsw wsjr hntj-</i> <i>jmntjw jnpw nb 3bdw h3 t h3 hnkt</i> <i>h3 k3w 3pdw h3 sntr</i>	may you say an offering that the king gives and Osiris Khentimentiu, and Anubis, lord of Abydos; a thousand bread, a thousand beer, a thousand oxen and fowl, a thousand incense,
1.6	<i>h3 mrht h3 šs mnht h3 ht-nb nfr</i> <i>wʿb ʿnh.t(j) ntr jm n k3 n jm3hjj</i> <i>nb=f mrjj m3ʿ</i>	a thousand unguent, a thousand alabaster and linen, a thousand of everything good and pure on which a god lives for the ka of one whom his lord venerated, a truly loved one,
1.7	<i>m-r ʿhnwtj s3-stjt jr.n s3t-htjj-wr</i> <i>m3ʿ-hrw nb jm3h</i>	the chamberlain <i>s3-stjt</i> , made by <i>s3t-htjj-wr</i> , justified, possessor of veneration.
On statuette	<i>s3-stjt jr.n s3t-htjj-wr m3ʿ-hrw</i>	<i>s3-stjt</i> , made by <i>s3t-htjj-wr</i> , justified.

		Inside niche
Top left	<i>jt=f mr=f hpr-k3-r^c m3^c-hrw jr.n kdmjtt</i>	His beloved father <i>hpr-k3-r^c</i> , justified, made by <i>kdmjtt</i> .
Top right	<i>mwt=f s3t-htjj-wr jrt.n jtjj</i>	Hi mother <i>s3t-htjj-wr</i> , made by <i>jtjj</i> .
Bottom left	<i>jrt jn sn=f mrjj=f d33-r^c jr.n s3t-htjj-wr</i>	Made by his <i>sn</i> whom he loved <i>d33-r^c</i> , made by <i>s3t-htjj-wr</i> .
Bottom right	<i>snt=f mrt=f s3t-htjj-wr jrt.n s3t-htjj-wr</i>	His beloved <i>snt s3t-htjj-wr</i> , made by <i>s3t-htjj-wr</i> .

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

This stela features the family of *s3-stjt* and complements the information obtained from other monuments on which *s3-stjt* is represented. In particular, the identity of his father is clarified, and it is confirmed that he is not a natural son of *jmnjj* as claimed on ANOC 1.9. No associations with *jj-hr-nfrt* are explicitly mentioned in this inscription, but stela ANOC 1.9 confirms that *s3-stjt* accompanied him in this journey to Abydos.

The name of *s3-stjt*'s father is recorded in a cartouche, possibly because it is the same as Senusret I's Dual King name. This stela features a fairly elaborate appeal to the living in association with the term *m^ch^ct*. Whether the stela itself was denoted *m^ch^ct* or, more probably, it was said to be located inside a *m^ch^ct* is unclear because the top of the frame is worn away and its inscription cannot be read in its entirety.



Schlögl 1978: pl. 153

3.2.9 ANOC 1.9 Stela of *jmnjj*

D50

Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire

Dimensions: H. 0.59 m; W. 0.36

Material: limestone

Provenance: Abydos

Condition: mainly good, but the top right part of the stela is broken away

Technique: sunk relief with some figures *en creux*

Approximate date: Senusret III

ANOC: 1

Selected bibliography

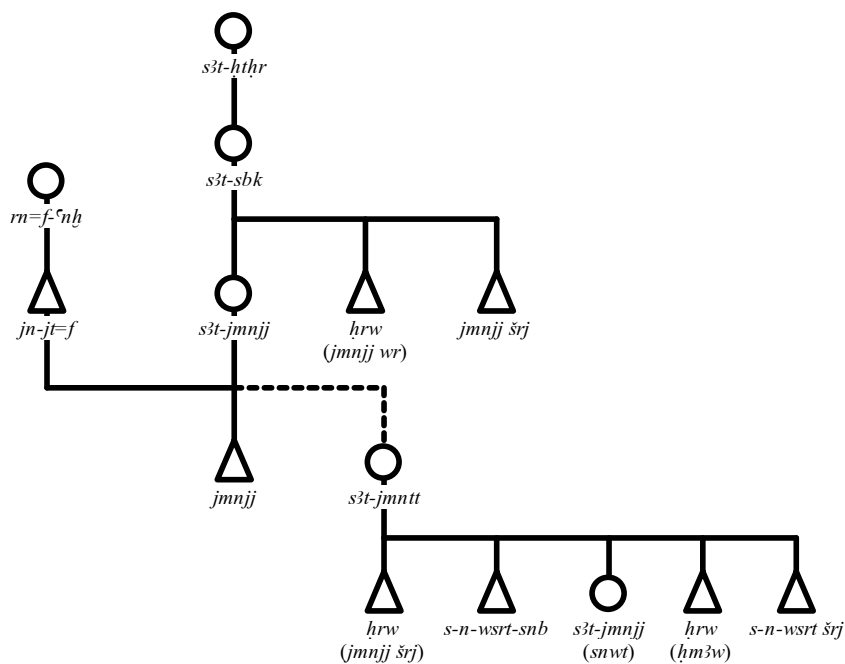
Maspero 1898; Spiegelberg et al. 1902: 1–4, pl. i; Naville 1922: esp. 47; Simpson 1974b: 17 [ANOC 1.9], pl. 4; Schlögl 1978: 48–9, pl. 154; Franke 1983a: 52–3; 1984: nos 27, 94, 551 PM v, 101

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
1.1	[<i>m-r</i> <i>ḥnwtj</i>] <i>n</i> <i>ḥ3</i> <i>t3tj</i>	[The chamberlain] of the office of the vizier
1.2	<i>jmnjj</i> <i>dd=fj</i> <i>ḥnw</i> <i>tpw</i> <i>t3</i> <i>ḥmw-ntr</i>	<i>jmnjj</i> says: o living ones upon earth, priests,
1.3	<i>ḥrjw-ḥbt</i> <i>wḥbw</i> <i>shw</i> <i>sw3tj.sn</i> <i>ḥr</i> <i>mḥt-tn</i>	lector-priests, wab-priests, and scribes who will pass by this chapel,
1.4	<i>m</i> <i>mr=tn</i> <i>grg</i> <i>hwt-ntr</i> <i>nt</i> <i>wsjr</i> <i>hntj-</i> <i>jmntjw</i> <i>nb</i> <i>3bdw</i> <i>dj=f</i>	as you desire the furnishing of the temple of Osiris Khentimentiu, lord of Abydos, may you say
1.5	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw</i> <i>wsjr</i> <i>hntj-jmntjw</i> <i>jnpw</i> <i>nb</i> <i>3bdw</i> <i>dj=f</i> <i>pṛt-ḥrw</i> <i>t</i> <i>ḥnkt</i> <i>k3w</i> <i>3pdw</i> <i>sntr</i>	an offering that the king gives, and Osiris Khentimentiu and Anubis, lord of Abydos, that he may give a voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, incense
1.6	<i>mrht</i> <i>šs</i> <i>mnḥt</i> <i>ḥt-nbt</i> <i>nfr</i> <i>wḥb</i> <i>ḥn.t(j)</i> <i>ntr</i> <i>jm</i> <i>ddt</i> <i>pṛt</i> <i>ḥm3t</i> <i>t3</i>	and unguent, alabaster and linen, and everything good and pure on which a god lives, what the sky gives and what the earth creates
1.7	<i>n</i> <i>k3</i> <i>n</i> <i>m-r</i> <i>ḥnwtj</i> <i>n</i> <i>ḥ3</i> <i>n</i> <i>t3tj</i> <i>jmnjj</i> <i>jr.n</i> <i>s3t-jmnjj</i> <i>m3ḥ-ḥrw</i>	for the ka of the chamberlain of the office of the vizier <i>jmnjj</i> , made by <i>s3t-jmnjj</i> , justified.
2.1	<i>mwt=f</i> <i>s3t-jmnjj</i> <i>jrt.n</i> <i>s3t-sbk</i>	His mother <i>s3t-jmnjj</i> , made by <i>s3t-sbk</i> .
2.2	<i>s3=f</i> <i>m-r</i> <i>ḥnwtj</i> <i>s3-stjt</i> <i>jr.n</i> <i>s3t-htjj</i> <i>wr</i>	His son the chamberlain <i>s3-stjt</i> , made by <i>s3-</i> <i>htjj-wr</i> .
2.3	<i>jt=f</i> <i>jnj-jt=f</i> <i>jr.n</i> <i>rn=f</i> <i>ḥn</i>	His father <i>jnj-jt=f</i> , made by <i>rn=f</i> <i>ḥn</i> .
2.4	<i>sn=f</i> <i>ḥrw</i> <i>jmnjj</i> <i>wr</i> <i>jr.n</i> <i>s3t-sbk</i>	His <i>sn</i> <i>ḥrw</i> <i>jmnjj</i> the elder, made by <i>s3t-sbk</i> .
2.5	<i>sn=f</i> <i>jmnjj</i> <i>šrj</i> <i>jr.n</i> <i>s3t-sbk</i>	His <i>sn</i> <i>jmnjj</i> the younger, made by <i>s3t-sbk</i> .
2.6	<i>mwt</i> <i>nt</i> <i>mwt=f</i> <i>s3t-sbk</i> <i>jrt.n</i> <i>s3t-</i> <i>ḥthr</i>	The mother of his mother <i>s3t-sbk</i> , made by <i>s3t-ḥthr</i> .
3.1	<i>s3=f</i> <i>ḥrw</i> <i>jmnjj</i> <i>šrj</i> <i>jr.n</i> <i>s3t-jmntt</i>	His son <i>ḥrw</i> <i>jmnjj</i> the younger, made by <i>s3t-</i> <i>jmntt</i> .
3.2	<i>sn=f</i> <i>s-n-wsrt-snb</i> <i>jr.n</i> <i>s3t-jmntt</i>	His <i>sn</i> <i>s-n-wsrt-snb</i> , made by <i>s3t-jmntt</i> .
3.3	<i>snt=f</i> <i>s3t-jmnjj</i> <i>snwt</i> <i>jrt.n</i> <i>s3t-jmntt</i>	His <i>snt</i> <i>s3t-jmnjj</i> <i>snwt</i> , made by <i>s3t-jmntt</i> .
3.4	<i>sn=f</i> <i>ḥrw</i> <i>ḥm3w</i> <i>jrt.n</i> <i>s3t-jmntt</i>	His <i>sn</i> <i>ḥrw</i> <i>ḥm3w</i> , made by <i>s3t-jmntt</i> .
3.5	<i>sn=f</i> <i>s-n-wsrt</i> <i>šrj</i> <i>jr.n</i> <i>s3t-jmntt</i>	His <i>sn</i> <i>s-n-wsrt</i> the younger, made by <i>s3t-</i> <i>jmntt</i> .

- 3.6 *s3t h3tj-^c s3t-tp-jhw jrt.n s3t-hntj-htjj* The daughter of the *h3tj-^c s3t-tp-jhw*, made by *s3t-hntj-htjj*.
- 4.1 *s3=s s-n-wsrt nhjj jr.n s3t-tp-jhw* Her son *s-n-wsrt nhjj*, made by *s3t-tp-jhw*.
- 4.2 *njt mnt jrt.n s3t-jmntt* *njt mnt*, made by *s3t-jmntt*.
- 4.3 *m-r ^chnwtj s3-stjt dd=fjj.n(=j) r 3bdw* The chamberlain *s3-stjt*, he says: (I) went to Abydos
- 4.4 *hn^c m-r htmt jj-hr-nfrr r mst* together with the overseer of the treasure *jj-hr-nfrr* to fashion (a statue of)
- 4.5 *wsjr hntj-jmntjw nb 3bdw hft wd3* Osiris Khentimentiu, lord of Abydos in the time of
- 4.6 *nsw-bjtj h^c-k3w-r^c ^cnh dt hr shrt k3s hst m rpnt-sp 19* the Dual King *h^c-k3w-r^c*, may he live eternally overthrowing vile Kush in the regnal year 19.

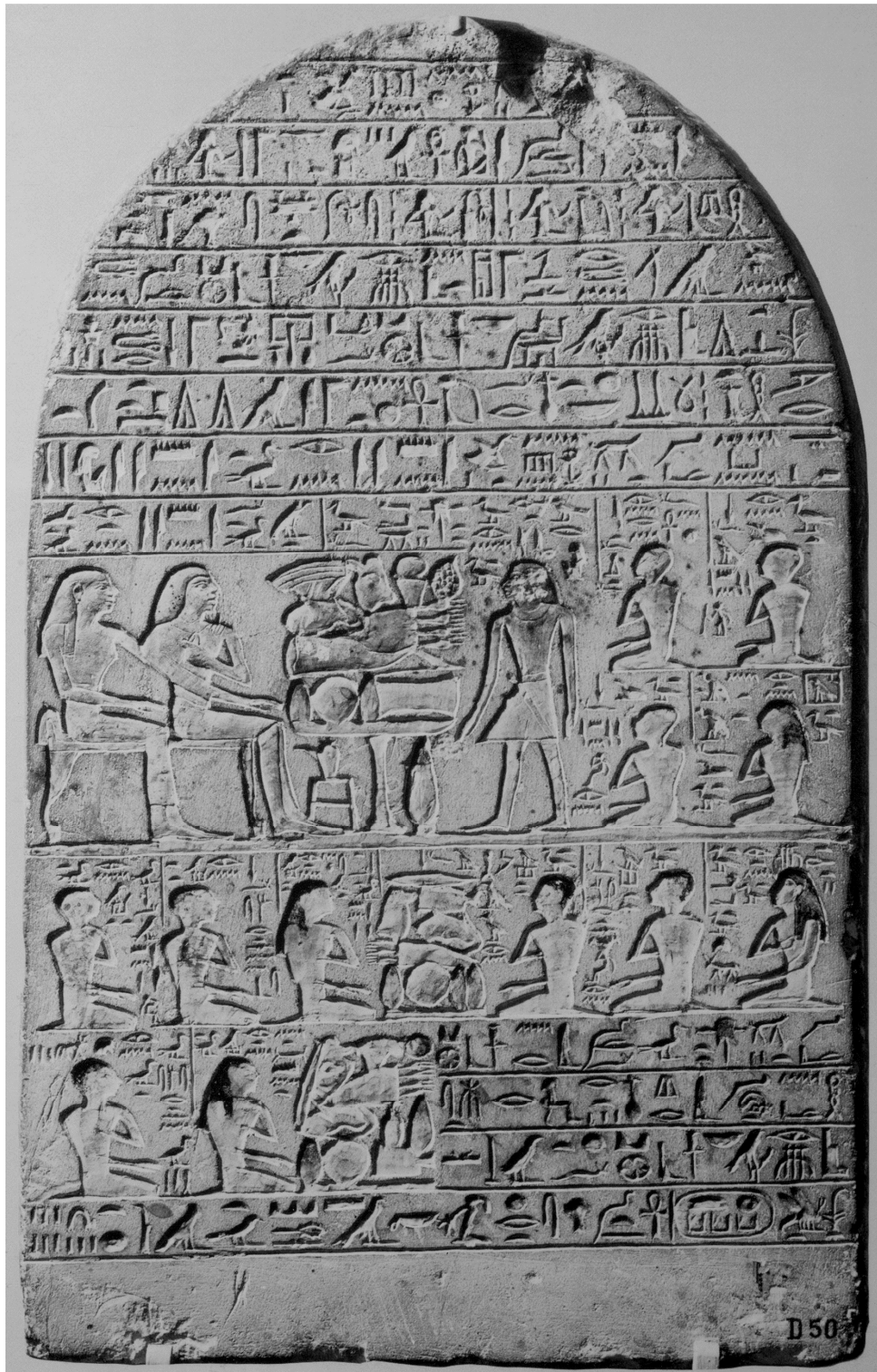
Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

Although the ego of this stela is *jmnjj*, *s3-stjt* seems to have a more relevant role, especially since he states that he accompanied *jj-hr-nfrr* to Abydos. The relationship of *s3-stjt* to *jmnjj* is not clear: although the former is mentioned as the latter's son, *s3-stjt*'s father is a certain *hpr-k3-r^c* on both ANOC 1.7 and 1.8. Given that other monuments of the same group make use of metaphorical extensions of kin terms, their relationship could be regarded as one of subordination, like a master and his pupil or a patron and this workman.

The relationship of *jmnjj* to *s3-jmntt* is not clear either, as some of her children are captioned as *jmnjj*'s lineal descendants, and others as collaterals. There are other cases in which a collateral is captioned as a lineal descendant when performing ritual duties that would correspond to a son (e.g. ANOC XII), so this could be another instance of this trend. In any case, all the relationships below the generation of ego in this diagram of suggested kinship are tentative.



Schlögl 1978: pl. 154

3.2.10 ANOC 1.10 Stela of *ppjj*

C 33
Paris, Musée du Louvre

Dimensions: H. 0.38 m; W. 0.30 m
Material: not recorded, probably limestone
Provenance: unknown, probably from Abydos
Condition: scratched surface
Technique: sunk relief with traces of colour
Approximate date: Senusret III to Amenemhet III
ANOC: 1

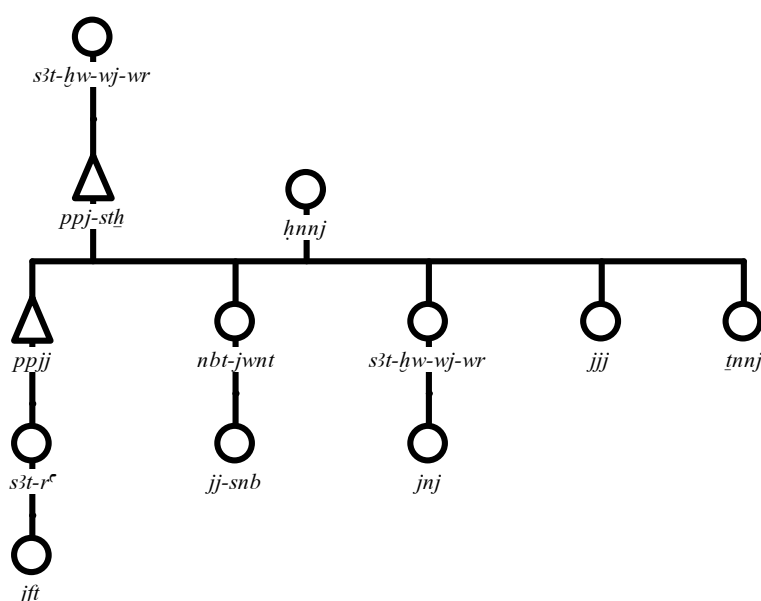
Selected bibliography

Gayet 1886: 13, pl. lviii; Simpson 1974b: 17 [ANOC 1.10], pl. 4; Franke 1984: nos 235, 705
PM viii.3, 218–9 [803–031–004]

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
1.1	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wsjr ḥntj-jmntjw ḥr nd-ḥr-jt=f dj=f prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw</i>	An offering that the king gives and Osiris Khentimentiu and Horus who protects his father, that he may give a voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl,
1.2	<i>šs mnḥt sntr mrḥt ḥt-nb nfrt w^cbt ḥnḥ.tj</i>	alabaster and linen, incense and unguent, everything good and pure on which
1.3	<i>ntr jm n k3 n jm3ḥ jrj ʿt n pr-ʿ3 ppjj jr.n ḥnnj m3^c-ḥrw nb jm3ḥ</i>	a god lives for the ka of the venerable hall-keeper of the palace <i>ppjj</i> , made by <i>ḥnnj</i> , justified, possessor of veneration.
2.1	<i>jt=f ppj-stḥ jr.n s3t-ḥw-wj-wr</i>	His father <i>ppj-stḥ</i> , made by <i>s3t-ḥw-wj-wr</i> .
2.2	<i>mwt=f ḥnnj</i>	His mother <i>ḥnnj</i> .
2.3	<i>s3t=s s3t-r^c</i>	His daughter <i>s3t-r^c</i> .
3.1	<i>s3t=s nbt-jwnt jrt.n ḥnnj s3t=s s3t-ḥw-wj-wr s3t=s</i>	Her daughter <i>nbt-jwnt</i> , made by <i>ḥnnj</i> ; her daughter <i>s3t-ḥw-wj-wr</i> ; her daughter
3.2	<i>jjj s3t=s tnnj s3t=s jft jrt.n s3t-r^c s3t=s jjt-n-ḥb</i>	<i>jjj</i> ; her daughter <i>tnnj</i> ; her daughter <i>jft</i> , made by <i>s3t-r^c</i> ; her daughter <i>jjt-n-ḥb</i> ;
3.3	<i>ḥtj jr.n s3t-wsrt jj-snb jr.n nbt- jwnt st-r^c</i>	<i>ḥtj</i> , made by <i>s3t-wsrt</i> ; <i>jj-snb</i> , made by <i>nbt-jwnt</i> ; <i>st-r^c</i>
3.4	<i>jrt.n ḥnnj ppjj-sbk jr.n nt-mwt jnj jrt.n s3t-ḥw-wj-wr</i>	made by <i>ḥnnj</i> ; <i>ppjj-sbk</i> , made by <i>nt-mwt</i> ; <i>jnj</i> , made by <i>s3t-ḥw-wj-wr</i> ;
3.5	<i>ḥr jr.n st-mrt-ḥr snbw jr.n s3t-jmn ḥnḥw jr.n s3t</i>	<i>ḥr</i> , made by <i>st-mrt-ḥr</i> ; <i>snbw</i> , made by <i>s3t-jmn</i> ; <i>ḥnḥw</i> , made by <i>s3t-</i>
3.6	<i>k3-jwnw jrj ʿt wnwjt km3j jr.n st- ḥnḥj</i>	<i>k3-jwnw</i> ; the hall-keeper of the <i>wnwt</i> -priest <i>km3j</i> , made by <i>st-ḥnḥj</i> ;
3.7	<i>jt=f jrj ʿt n pr-ʿ3 snb=f jr.n jtj- wsrt</i>	his father the hall-keeper of the palace <i>snb=f</i> , made by <i>jtj-wsrt</i> .

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

Stela ANOC 1.10 is unusual in that most of the people mentioned on it are women. Ego appears seated opposite his parents and daughter in a typical funerary meal scene. The lower half of the stela presents seven lines of inscription in which 14 people are mentioned out of whom 12 are women. A filiation to the mother is also given for most of them. In addition, the kin term refers not to ego, but to a woman, as the suffix pronoun is in the feminine singular. This phenomenon of mentioning a woman's children on a stela in which ego is a man is not unique, as it has been observed on a number of monuments analysed by Stefanović (2011: esp. 22). A possibility – and the one presented in the above diagram – is that they all refer to lineal descendants of *ḥnnj* (daughters and granddaughters), so some of the women in the filiations could have been the wives of *ḥnnj*'s sons not mentioned. The lack of detailed filiations, however, prevents from defining conclusions.

No link with *jj-ḥr-nfṛt* or *s3-stjt* is evident from this stela, but *ḥm3w*, who features in ANOC 1.3 and 1.7, is also mentioned, showing that they could have been related by affinal links or that professional relationships were not so different from genealogical ones, and it was not considered inappropriate to mix them up on the same monument.



Simpson 1974b: pl. 4

3.2.11 ANOC 1.11 Stela of *s3-ḥnt-ḥtj*

CG 20065 [JE 20398]
Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Dimensions: H. 0.35 m; W. 0.20 m
Material: limestone
Provenance: Abydos, north cemetery
Condition: good; unfinished lunette
Technique: sunk relief with figures *en creux*; traces of colour
Approximate date: Senusret III to Amenemhet III
ANOC: 1

Selected bibliography

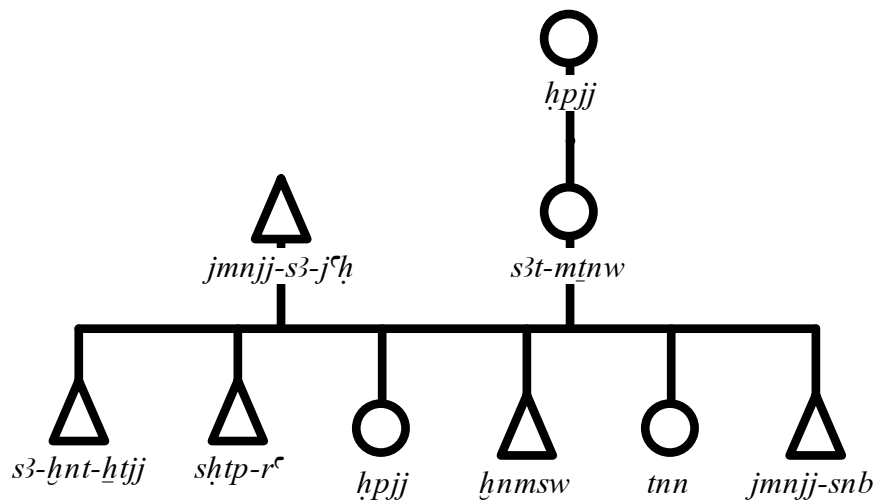
Lange and Schäfer 1902a: 80–1; 1902c: pl. vii; Franke 1984: nos 543, 779
PM v, 265a

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
1.1	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wsjr nb 3bdw dj=f prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw šs mnḥt n k3n</i>	An offering that the king gives and Osiris, lord of Abydos, that he may give a voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster and linen for the ka of
2.1 (left)	<i>jrj ʕt s3t-ḥnt-ḥtj jr.n s3t-mtnw</i>	the hall-keeper <i>s3-ḥnt-ḥtj</i> , made by <i>s3t-mtnw</i> .
2.1 (right)	<i>ʕnh n njwt jmnjj-s3-jʕh</i>	The citizen <i>jmnjj-s3-jʕh</i> .
2.2	<i>ḥmt=f s3t-mtnw jrt.n ḥpjj m3ʕ-ḥrw</i>	His wife <i>s3t-mtnw</i> , made by <i>ḥpjj</i> , justified.
3.1	<i>jm3ḥ ḥr ntr ʕ3 nb 3bdw šḥtp-rʕ jr.n s3t-mtnw</i>	The venerable one before the great god, lord of Abydos <i>šḥtp-rʕ</i> , made by <i>s3t-mtnw</i> .
3.2	<i>ḥpjj jrt.n s3t-mtnw</i>	<i>ḥpjj</i> , made by <i>s3t-mtnw</i> .
3.3	<i>ḥnmsw jr.n s3t-mtnw</i>	<i>ḥnmsw</i> , made by <i>s3t-mtnw</i> .
3.4	<i>tnn jr.n s3t-mtnw m3ʕ-ḥrw</i>	<i>tnn</i> , made by <i>s3t-mtnw</i> , justified.
5.1	<i>jrj ʕt n w3ḥ s3-ḥnt-ḥtj jr.n s3t-mtnw</i>	The hall-keeper of the columned forecourt ³⁷ <i>s3-ḥnt-ḥtj</i> , made by <i>s3t-mtnw</i> .
5.2	<i>šmsw n m-r st dḥwtj nb jm3ḥ m3ʕ-ḥrw nb jm3ḥ</i>	The retainer of the overseer of the estate <i>dḥwtj</i> , possessor of veneration, justified, possessor of veneration.
5.3	<i>sn=f jmnjj-snb jr.n s3t-mtnw</i>	His <i>sn jmnjj-snb</i> , made by <i>s3t-mtnw</i> .

³⁷ Ward 1982: no. 460.

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

This stela is not part of the original ANOC group proposed by Simpson. On his list (Simpson 1974b: 17, pl. 4), Cairo CG 20435 was included instead as ANOC 1.11. The connection of this stela to the group, however, is not clear to me, as the owner of CG 20435 is a certain *jmnjj* called *kms*, and such a name is not recorded in the group otherwise. The ego of stela Cairo CG 20065, however, is also mentioned on ANOC 1.3, where his filiation is also given and agrees with his mother's names as mentioned on ANOC 1.11.

ANOC 1.11 is centred on the family of *s3-hnt-htjj*, with his parents and his siblings depicted on the second and third registers respectively. No connections with *jj-hr-nfrr* or *s3-stjt* are mentioned, and the only non-genealogically related person, *dhwtj* is not depicted, but only mentioned on the bottom register together with one of ego's brothers who could have been added at a later stage.

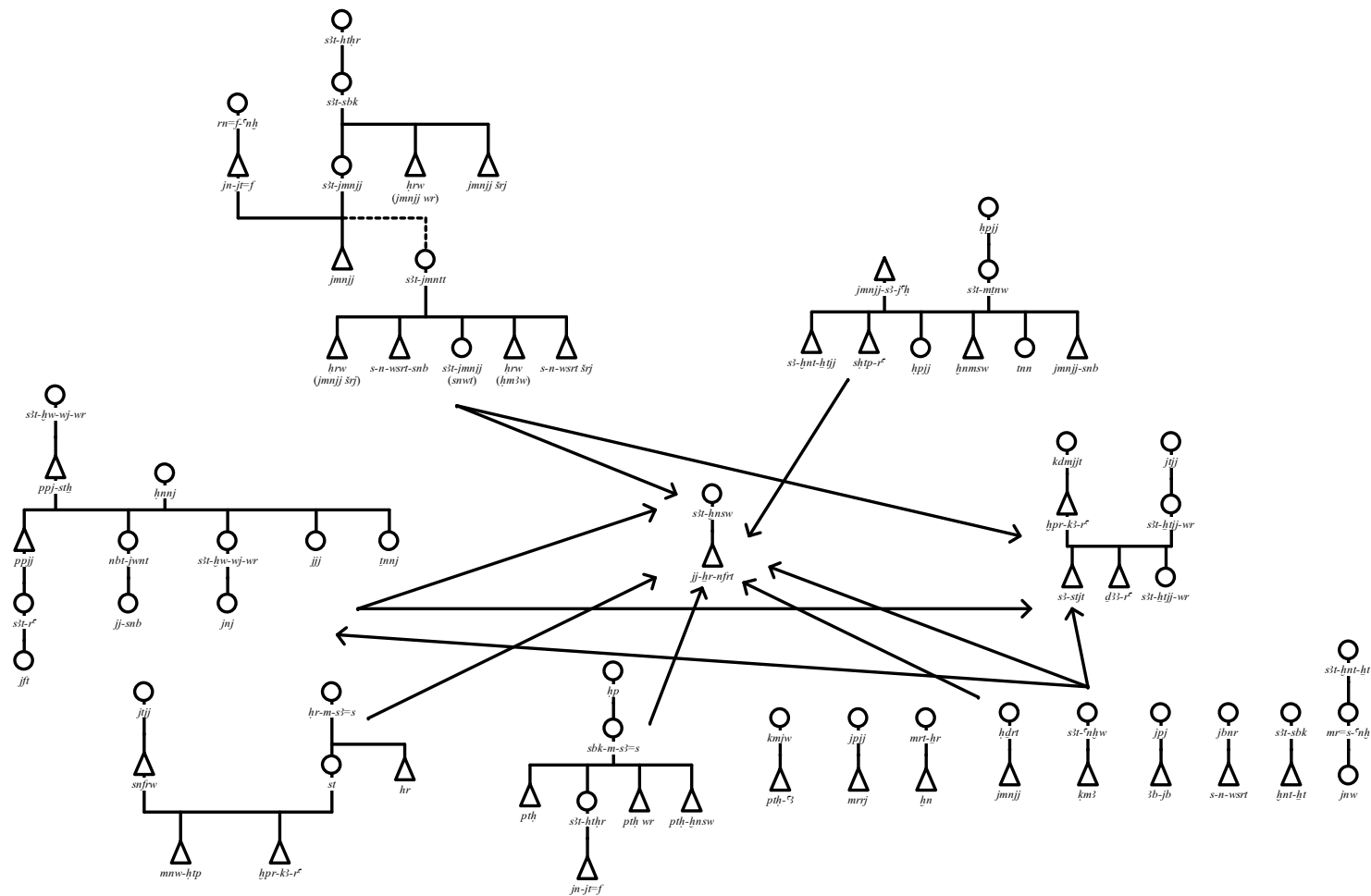
The title of ego on this monument, *jrj ^t n w3h*, differs slightly from the one on ANOC 1.3, where he is presented as a *jrj ^t wnw*. The reason for this may lie in that ANOC 1.3 seems to be dedicated to people whose office was related to the *wnw*-priesthood, so *s3-hnt-htjj* may have needed to use that title in order to be commemorated together with *jj-hr-nfrr* in ANOC 1.3. The man *dhwtj* is allegedly also known from stela EA 805 at the British Museum, but the *dhwtj* on this latter monument he holds a different title, *rh nsw m-r st*, and the identification of these two men is not clear in my opinion.



Lange and Schäfer 1902c: pl. vii

3.2.12 Chapel overview

Diagram of suggested kinship



General remarks

This group is arguably the most complicated among the ANOC groups in terms of social relations. In the above diagram I have included not only the genealogical information obtained from the analysis of individual objects, but also the ways in which a sub-unit interacts with others. Thus, while most of the sub-units are explicitly related to *jj-hr-nfrit*, the group of *s3-stjt* is also quite popular since several monuments claim an association with this individual rather than to *jj-hr-nfrit*. From the diagram is obvious, however, that the group of *s3-stjt* is secondary to the sub-unit of *jj-hr-nfrit*: it may seem that some people claim association only with the former without mentioning the latter (see ANOC 1.7), but that is because connections with *jj-hr-nfrit* may have been stated in a separate monument.

Genealogical information on *jj-hr-nfrit* is remarkably absent, and the reason for this may lie in the nature of the relationships that are being emphasised in this case study. Even when kin terms are used, they mainly function in an extended metaphorical sense, where subordination and patronage is being emphasised. The singular standing and importance of *jj-hr-nfrit* must have fostered these relationships, in which a metaphor based on kinship was chosen to show their professional connections as organic.

3.3 The chapel of *nfr-n3-jjj*

3.3.1 ANOC 44.1 Stela of *nfr-n3-jjj*

Gl. WAF 34

Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst

Dimensions: H. 0.60 m; W. 0.35 m

Material: limestone

Provenance: unknown; probably from Abydos

Condition: good

Technique: sunk relief; traces of colour

Approximate date: Sobekhotep III

ANOC: 44

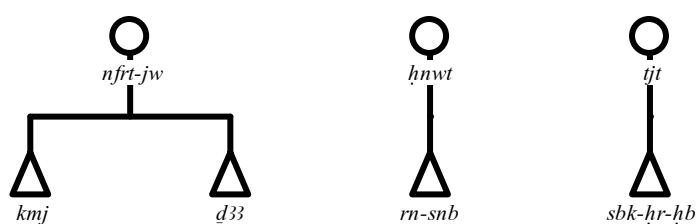
Selected bibliography

Lauth 1865: 43, no. 26; Lieblein 1871: no. 415; Dyroff and Pörtner 1904: 13, no. 8, pl. v; Wolters 1912: 13, no. 39; Müller 1966: no. 32 [as Gl. WAF 39]; Wildung 1976: 78, no. 51; Franke 1984: no. 309; Grajetzki 2000: 122, IV.16; Stefanović 2006: no. 919
PM VIII.3, 210 [803–030–436]

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
1.1	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wsjr ḥntj-jmntjw nb 3bdw dj=f prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw šs mnḥt sntr mrḥt t3w ndm n ḥḥ n k3 n jrj pḏt nfr-n3-jjj m3ḥ- ḥrw</i>	An offering that the king gives, and Osiris Khentimentiu, lord of Abydos, that he may give a voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster and linen, incense and unguent and the sweet breeze of life for the ka of the bowman <i>nfr-n3-jjj</i> , justified.
1.2	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wsjr nb ḥḥ ḥk3 dt dj=f prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw 3ḥ wsr n m3ḥ-ḥrw ḥtpt dḥw n k3 n mnḥt nb-jdr-n-ḥ3</i>	An offering that the king gives, and Osiris, lord of life, ruler of eternity, that he may give a voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl; (what is) effective and powerful for the justified, offerings and provisions for the ka of the nurse <i>nb-jdr-n-ḥ3</i> .
2.1	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw n k3 n ḥtmtj-bjtj m-r m3ḥ wr sbk-ḥr-ḥb ms.n tjt</i>	An offering that the king gives for the ka of the royal seal-bearer, great overseer of the troops, <i>sbk-ḥr-ḥb</i> , born of <i>tjt</i> .
2.2	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw n k3 n ḥḥ rn-snb ms.n nbt pr ḥnwt</i>	An offering that the king gives for the ka of the attendant <i>rn-snb</i> , born of the lady of the house <i>ḥnwt</i> .
3.1	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw n k3 n šmsw kmj ms.n nbt pr nfrt-jw</i>	An offering that the king gives for the ka of the retainer <i>kmj</i> , born of the lady of the house <i>nfrt-jw</i> .
3.2	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw n k3 n šmsw d33 ms.n nfrt-jw</i>	An offering that the king gives for the ka of the retainer <i>d33</i> , born of the lady of the house <i>nfrt-jw</i> .

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

The distribution of people on this stela is striking, as two low ranking people (a bowman and a nurse) occupy the first register, while an overseer of the seal of Lower Egypt is in the second register. Although some filiations are given, it is not possible to state the relationship among most people depicted on this stela. The only person who is not given a filiation is actually the stela owner, who is also the only one who is given the epithet 'justified'. One possible interpretation of the stela – though impossible to prove – is that *nb-jdr-n-h3* might have been a nurse for *sbk-hr-hb*; this would explain the prominent position that she is given in the first register.



Dyroff and Pörtner 1904: pl. v

3.3.2 ANOC 44.2 Stela of *nfr-n3-jjj*

2590

Florence, Museo Archeologico

Dimensions: H. 0.565 m; W. 0.30 m

Material: limestone

Provenance: unknown; probably from Abydos

Condition: good

Technique: sunk relief; traces of colour

Approximate date: Sobekhotep III

ANOC: 44

Selected bibliography

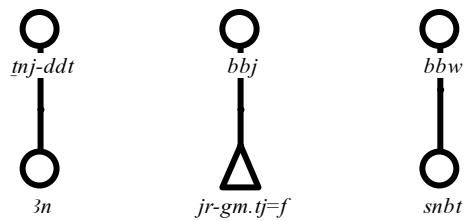
Lieblein 1871: nos 554, 1892: suppl. 960; Berend 1882: 88; Schiaparelli 1887: 239–41, no. 1540; Sethe 1924: 88, f; Bosticco 1959: 29, pl. 24; Franke 1984: no. 309
PM VIII.3, 150 [803–028–930]

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
1.1	<i>jrj pḏt nfr-n3-jjj ḏd=f j ʕnhw tpw t3 sh-nb hrj-hbt</i>	The bowman <i>nfr-n3-jjj</i> , he says: o living ones upon earth, every scribe, every lector-priest,
1.2	<i>nb sr-nb sw3tj.sn hr šps-pn mr=tn w3h n=tn wsjr</i>	every official who shall pass by this stela ³⁸ , as you desire that Osiris is merciful for you,
1.3	<i>nb ʕnh hk3 ḏt ḏd=tn h3 m t hnkt h3 m k3w 3pdw h3 m htpt ḏf3w</i>	lord of life, ruler of eternity, may you say a thousand bread and beer, a thousand oxen and fowl, a thousand offerings and provisions
1.4	<i>hr wdhw n nb ḏt n k3 n jrj pḏt nfr-n3-jjj ḏr-ntt 3h</i>	upon the offering table of the lord of eternity for the ka of the bowman <i>nfr-n3-jjj</i> , because it is more beneficial
1.5	<i>n jr r jr w n=f t3w n r3 3h n s3h nn nw</i>	for the one who acts than for the one for whom one acts. The breath of the mouth is beneficial for the blessed one, but one does not become
1.6	<i>m wrḏt hr=s jnk</i>	tired from it. I am
1.7	<i>s3h n sdm n=f</i>	a blessed one to whom one should listen,
1.8	<i>ḏb3 nfr n jr-sw</i>	as there is a good reward for the one who does it.
2.1	<i>nbt pr 3n mst.n tnj-ddt</i>	The lady of the house 3n, born of <i>tnj-ddt</i> .
2.2	<i>snbt mst.n bbw m3ʕt-hrw</i>	<i>snbt</i> , born of <i>bbw</i> , justified.
2.3	<i>jr-gm.tj=f ms.n bbj</i>	<i>jr-gm.tj=f</i> , born of <i>bbj</i> .
2.4	<i>m-r s3 n hrtjw-ntr k3 m3ʕt-hrw</i>	The overseer of the phylae of stonemasons <i>k3</i> , justified.

³⁸ Wb 5, 451.7.

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

This stela features an appeal to the living. The owner is not given a filiation, and the other people mentioned on it cannot be linked to him genealogically. Only one other man, also without filiation, holds a title on this stela, and his office is related to work in the necropolis. This might be the only point in common with the people accompanying *nfr-n3-jjj* in stela ANOC 44.1.

A special feature of this stela is the use of the term *šps* for ‘stela’ with an O20 determinative rather than the more usual stone determinative (N39). The O20 is used for word denoting sanctuary (especially *jtrt*, row of sanctuaries) or shrine, so it could be argued that it was chosen because this stela was erected in the vicinity of other monuments. The possibility of passing by this stela when visiting other chapels or stelae nearby may account for the reason why an appeal to the living was carved on this stela.



Bosticco 1959: pl. 24

3.3.3 ANOC 44.3 Stela of *nfr-n3-jjj*

C 206 [E.3905]
Paris, Musée du Louvre

Dimensions: H. 0.61 m; W. 0.34 m

Material: limestone

Provenance: unknown; probably from Abydos

Condition: small chips in the lunette and the right corner that do not affect the inscriptions or the depictions

Technique: sunk relief; no traces of colour

Approximate date: Sobekhotep III

ANOC: 44

Selected bibliography

Lieblein 1871: no. 921; 1892: suppl. 974; Pierret 1878: 42; Franke 1984: nos 309, 419; Awad 2004

PM VIII.3, 230 [803–031–080]

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
1	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wnn-nfr ḥr m3^c-ḥrw dj=f j3wt nfrt kṛst w3ḥt n k3 n jm3ḥj šms skr jrj pḏt nfr-n3-jjj</i>	An offering that the king gives, and Wennefer Horus, justified, that he may give a perfect old age and a durable burial for the ka of the venerable one, the follower of Sokar, the bowman <i>nfr-n3-jjj</i> .
2.1	<i>nbt pr ḥnwt mst.n tjtj m3^ct-ḥrw</i>	The lady of the house <i>ḥnwt</i> , born of <i>tjtj</i> , justified.
2.2	<i>nbt pr tjtj mst.n nfrt-jw</i>	The lady of the house <i>tjtj</i> , born of <i>nfrt-jw</i> .
2.3	<i>ḥ3pjj-mnw-m-sbk</i>	<i>ḥ3pjj-mnw-m-sbk</i> .
3.1	<i>ḥrj n ʿt jr-n=f m3^c-ḥrw</i>	The superior of the chamber <i>jr-n=f</i> , justified.
3.2	<i>nbt pr nfrt-jw m3^ct-ḥrw</i>	The lady of the house <i>nfrt-jw</i> , justified.
3.3	<i>jmj-ḥt s3w prw ḥrj m3^c-ḥrw</i>	The controller of police officers ³⁹ <i>ḥrj</i> , justified.

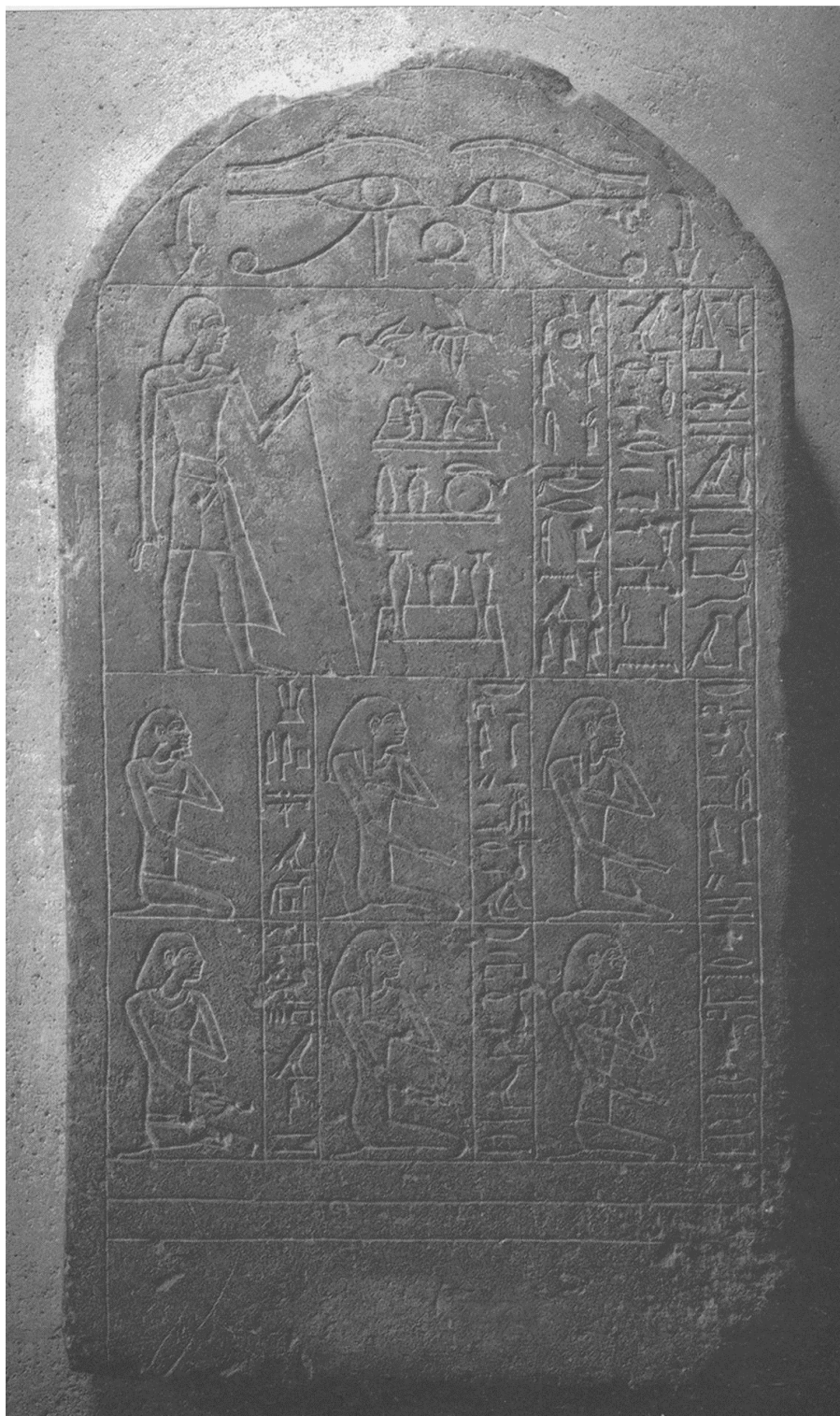
³⁹ Ward 1982: no. 431.

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

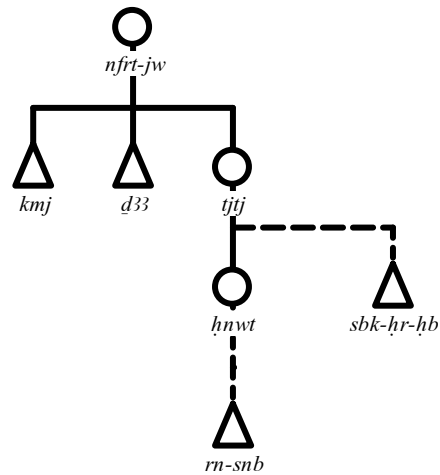
The filiation of the owner of the stela *nfr-n3-jjj* is not given. In addition, he holds a second title (follower of Sokar) besides his usual ‘bowman’, which appears on all his other monuments. As in other stelae of *nfr-n3-jjj*, he is depicted together with people who do not seem to have a clear genealogical connection with him. The three individuals on the bottom register of the stela also lack filiation, but *hwt* (line 3.3) connects this stela with other monuments through his name and title.



Awad 2004: 66

3.3.4 Chapel overview

Diagram of suggested kinship



General remarks

This group consists of three objects that commemorate the bowman *nfr-n3-jjj* (and follower of Sokar in ANOC 44.3). Two other objects are related to this group, but they have not been considered in this catalogue because they may be part of *nfr-n3-jjj*'s KG but not strictly of his ANOC group, as *hrj* is the only person that connects these monuments. The filiation of *nfr-n3-jjj* is never given and his relation with other people mentioned on his stelae is not clear. In fact, it has not been possible to include him in the diagram of suggested kinship of this group. *rn-snb* and *sbk-hr-hb* from (ANOC 44. 1, lines 2.1 and 2.2) have been inserted for completion, but it is uncertain whether their mothers are the same as those mentioned on ANOC 44.3 (lines 2.1 and 2.2).

In ANOC 44.1, *nfr-n3-jjj* is depicted with the nurse *nb-jdr-m-h3* in a privileged position, possibly hinting towards a close relation with the high-ranking officials depicted in other registers. It is also possible to access the genealogy of *hrj* through stela Leiden Inv. AP 41, where it is apparent that his father was a high-ranking official. The featuring of some of these people on his stelae show that *nfr-n3-jjj* may have been well connected and enhanced his own status by being related to these individual through his monuments. In addition, the stela Leiden Inv. AP 41 has been grouped together with others on purely stylistic grounds (Grajetzki 2000: 165). As Vienna ÄS 135 in the same group may be dated to the reign of Sobekhotep III, I adopt this dating for the rest of stelae in this kin group rather than Sobekhotep IV as suggested by Franke in his dossiers.

The use of an appeal to the living in ANOC 44.2 with a determinative O20 may indicate that his monument was erected next to other chapels or stelae. Therefore, an appeal to the living acquires significance, because visitors may have been expected in the area. In addition, the fact that no family members of *nfr-n3-jjj* are mentioned may suggest that he did not have any close relatives and, thus, had to resort to a more elaborate appeal to the living in order to be catered for in the afterlife.

4 Kin groups: a catalogue of three case studies

4.1 The kin group of $jw=f-n-r=sn$ and $jnj-^c dwt$

4.1.1 KG 12.1 Stela of $jw=f-n-r=sn$

CG 20039

Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Dimensions: H. 0.37 m; W. 0.49 m

Material: limestone

Provenance: Abydos, north cemetery

Condition: good

Technique: sunk relief; traces of colour

Approximate date: Neferhotep I-Sobekhotep IV

ANOC: 12

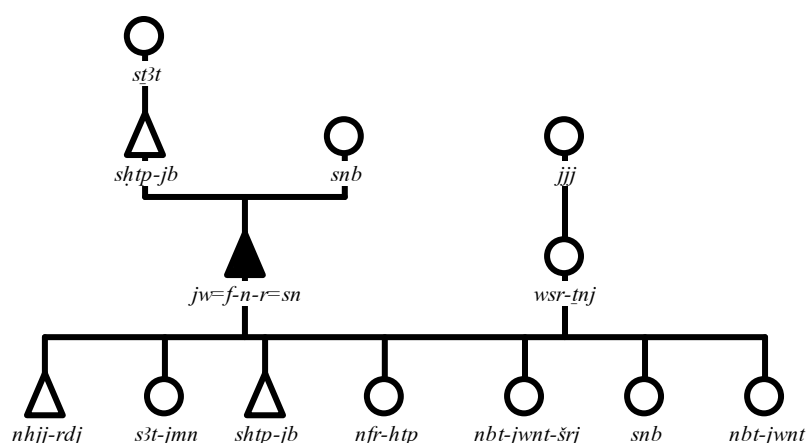
Selected bibliography

Lieblein 1871: no. 1766; Mariette 1880b: no. 801; Lange and Schäfer 1902a: 48–9; 1902c: pl. iv; Simpson 1974b: 18 [ANOC 12.1], pl. 21; Franke 1984: nos 45, 687; Grajetzki 2001: 63
PM v, 265 (index)

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
1.1	<i>htp-dj-nsw wsjr nb ^nh hk3 dt dj=f t3w n ^nh n m-r 3tw n sh kdwt jw=f-n-r=sn m3^c-hrw jr.n shtp-jb m3^c-hrw ms.n snb</i>	An offering which the king gives, and Osiris, lord of life, ruler of eternity, that he may give the breath of life to the overseer of the guild of draftsmen $jw=f-n-r=sn$, justified, made by $shtp-jb$, justified, born of snb .
1.2	<i>hmt=f nbt pr wsr-tnj mst.n jjj m3^c-t-hrw</i>	His wife, the lady of the house $wsr-tnj$, born of jjj , justified.
1.3	<i>s3=f nhjj-rdj ms.n wsr-tnj</i>	His son $nhjj-rdj$, born of $wsr-tnj$.
1.4	<i>s3t=f nbt pr s3t-jmn mst.n nbt pr wsr-tnj m3^c-hrw</i>	His daughter, the lady of the house $s3t-jmn$, born of the lady of the house $wsr-tnj$, justified.
1.5	<i>s3=f shtp-jb ms.n wsr-tnj m3^c-hrw</i>	His son $shtp-jb$, born of $wsr-tnj$, justified.
2.1	<i>dw3 wsjr jn m-r 3tw n sh kdwt jw=f-n-r=sn ms.n snb jr.n shtp-jb</i>	Adoring Osiris by the overseer of the guild of draftsmen $jw=f-n-r=sn$, born of snb , made by $shtp-jb$.
2.2	<i>jt=f tsw n sh kdwt shtp-jb ms.n st3t m3^c-hrw</i>	His father, the commander of draftsmen $shtp-jb$, born of $st3t$, justified.
2.3	<i>s3t=f nfr-htp mst.n wsr-tnj m3^c-t- hrw</i>	His daughter $nfr-htp$, born of $wsr-tnj$, justified.
2.4	<i>s3t=f nbt-jwnt-srj mst.n wsr-tnj</i>	His daughter $nbt-jwnt-srj$, born of $wsr-tnj$.
2.5	<i>s3t=f snb mst.n wsr-tnj</i>	His daughter snb , born of $wsr-tnj$.
2.6	<i>s3t=f nbt-jwnt mst.n wsr-tnj m3^c-t- hrw</i>	His daughter $nbt-jwnt$, born of $wsr-tnj$, justified.

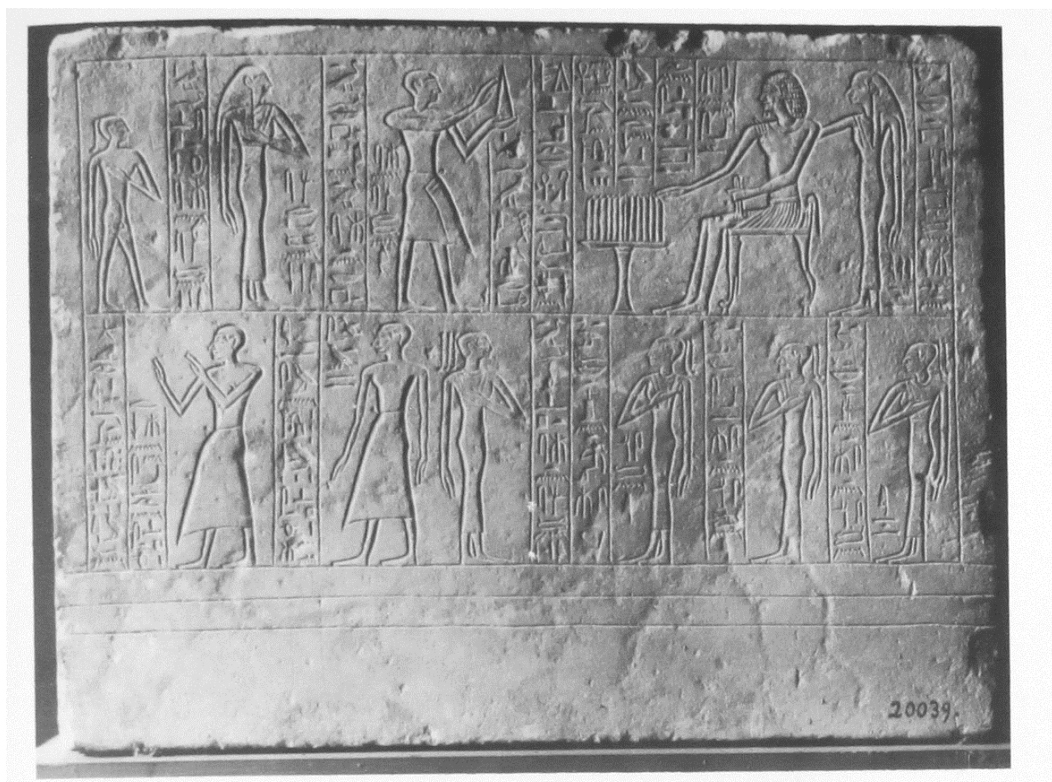
Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

Every single person mentioned on this block may be directly linked to the family tree of *jw=f-n-r=sn*, as no other individuals related to this kin groups are included.

The use of the filiation in this object is strict, as *jr.n* is exclusively used for paternal filiation, while *ms.n* corresponds to maternal filiation. Osiris is the only deity on this block, although the use of the name *wsr-tnj* may suggest devotion for Heqaib of Elephantine (see discussion in section 5.5). Some names are transmitted through the paternal line skipping a generation (e.g. ego's father to ego's son).



Simpson 1974b: pl. 21

4.1.2 KG 12.2 Stela of *šḥtp-jb* and *jw=f-n-r=sn*

CG 20309
Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Dimensions: H. 0.365 m; W. 0.50 m

Material: limestone

Provenance: Abydos, north cemetery

Condition: good

Technique: half-raised relief (figures), sunk relief (inscriptions); no traces of colour

Approximate date: Neferhotep I-Sobekhotep IV

ANOC: 12

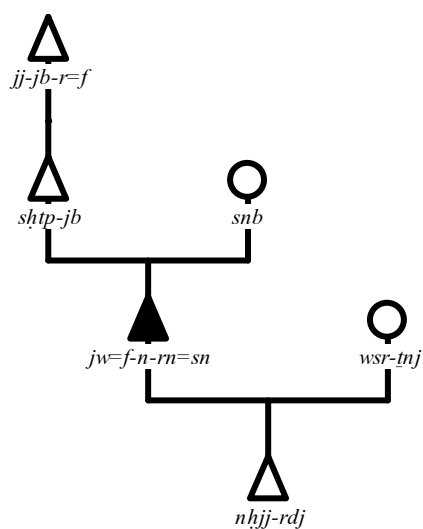
Selected bibliography

Lieblein 1871: no. 1765; Mariette 1880b: no. 795; Lange and Schäfer 1902a: 321–2; 1902c: pl. xxiii; Simpson 1974b: 18 [ANOC 12.2], pl. 21; Franke 1984: nos 45, 687; Grajetzki 2001: 63 PM v, 268 (index)

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
1.1	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wsjr n k3 n tsw n šḥ ḳdwt šḥtp-jb s3 šḥ ḳdwt jj-jb-r=f m3^c-ḥrw</i>	An offering which the king gives, and Osiris, for the ka of the commander of draftsmen <i>šḥtp-jb</i> , son of the draftsman <i>jj-jb-r=f</i> , justified.
1.2	<i>s3=f m-r 3tw n šḥ ḳdwt jw=f-n- r=sn ms.n snb m3^ct-ḥrw</i>	His son, the overseer of the guild of draftsmen <i>jw=f-n-r=sn</i> , born of <i>snb</i> , justified.
2.1	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw ntrw ntrwt jmjw 3bdw n k3 n m-r 3tw n šḥ ḳdwt jw=f-n- r=sn m3^c-ḥrw</i>	An offering which the king gives, and the gods and the goddesses who are in Abydos for the ka of the overseer of the guild of draftsmen <i>jw=f-n-r=sn</i> , justified.
2.2	<i>s3=f nhjj-rdj m3^c-ḥrw ms.n wsr- tnj</i>	His son <i>nhjj-rdj</i> , justified, born of <i>wsr-tnj</i> .
Above tables	<i>sm3 ḥt ḥr wdḥw</i>	Receiving offerings on the offering table.

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

This block emphasises the paternal line of $jw=f-n-r=sn$, and how he has surpassed the position of his ancestors; the titles are here used as a tool of display in order to highlight personal accomplishment. Whether these individuals actually held those titles is not relevant in this case, as the message of improvement in position that the owner is trying to convey is clear.

The spatial distribution of the figures and display of signs of status (such as the folded cloth) reinforce the ideas of continuity and social advancement of the kin group.



Simpson 1974b: pl. 21

4.1.3 KG 12.3 Stela of *snb=f-n*

Inv. AP 42⁴⁰

Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden

Dimensions: H. 0.41 m; W. 0.245 m

Material: limestone

Provenance: unknown; probably from Abydos

Condition: good, with only some slight wear in the bottom right corner

Technique: sunk relief (some figures *en creux*); no traces of colour

Approximate date: Neferhotep I-Sobekhotep IV

ANOC: 12

Selected bibliography

Leemans 1840: 297, V 116; Boeser 1907: 46 [51]; Boeser 1909: 10, no. 35, pl. xxv; Simpson 1974b: 18 [ANOC 12.3], pl. 21; Franke 1984: nos 45, 129; Grajetzki 2001: 63; Stefanović 2008 PM viii.3, 162 [803–030–007] (only one side of the stela is described and the other one is not mentioned)

INSCRIPTIONS

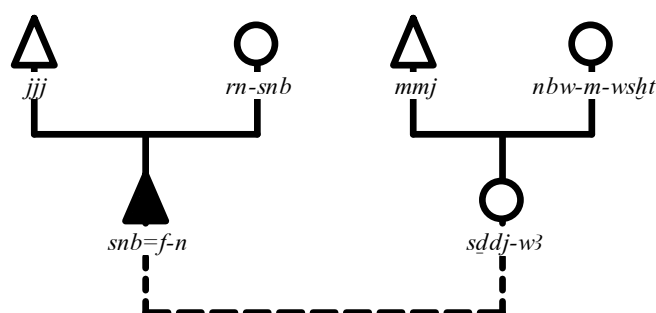
Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
Recto		
1	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wsjr ntr ʕ3 nb 3bdw n k3 n jrj ʕt n k3p snb=f-n m3ʕ-hrw jr.n jjj nb jm3ḥ ms.n nbt pr rn-snb m3ʕ-hrw</i>	An offering which the king gives, and Osiris, great god, lord of Abydos for the ka of the hall-keeper of the private apartments ⁴¹ <i>snb=f-n</i> , justified, made by <i>jjj</i> , possessor of veneration, born of the lady of the house <i>rn-snb</i> , justified.
Verso		
Lunette	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wpw3wt-rʕ nb 3bdw dj=f prt-hrw t hnkt k3w 3pdw n k3 n nbt pr sddj-w3 m3ʕt-hrw mst.n nbw-m-wsḥt jrt.n mmj</i>	An offering which the king gives, and Wepwawet-Re, lord of Abydos, that he may give a voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl for the ka of the lady of the house <i>sddj-w3</i> , justified, born of <i>nbw-m-wsḥt</i> , made by <i>mmj</i> .
1.1	<i>ḥrj-k3p⁴² snb=f-n m3ʕ-hrw ms.n rn-snb jr.n jjj m3ʕ-hrw nb jm3ḥ</i>	The chief of the private apartments <i>snb=f-n</i> , justified, born of <i>rn-snb</i> , made by <i>jjj</i> , justified, possessor of veneration.
2.1	<i>m-r 3tw n kstjw jnj-ʕdwt m3ʕ-hrw</i>	The overseer of the guild of sculptors <i>jnj-ʕdwt</i> , justified.
2.2	<i>m-r 3tw n sh kdwt jw=f-n-r=sn</i>	The overseer of the guild of draftsmen <i>jw=f-n-r=sn</i> .

⁴⁰ Formerly in G. Anastasi collection; then Leiden Rijksmuseum van Oudheden with inventory number AP 42. Catalogue numbers: Leemans 1840: V 116; Boeser 1909: no. 35, pl. xxv.

⁴¹ Ward 1982: no. 493.

⁴² Although Ward (1982: no. 1087) suggests that this title should be read *ḥrj n tm*, I propose that it could be a way of writing *ḥrj-k3p*, so that it would parallel the title on the recto of the stela. Stefanović (2008: 82) follows Ward's reading, and thus considers that the recto and the verso of the stela feature two different men born of the same parents.

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

This double-sided stela belongs to a different kin group, but *jnj-^cdwt* and *jw=f-n-r=sn* are mentioned in the bottom part of the verso with no epithets or filiation. They are the only people on this stela whose filiation is not made explicit and this may indicate that they were part of a different kin group; therefore, this stela could have been erected in association with a different chapel. Strictly speaking, thus, they should constitute two different kin groups, but the relationship between people of this stela is not clear and, to my knowledge, they cannot be linked to any other individuals or kin groups. In addition, the fact that *jnj-^cdwt* and *jw=f-n-r=sn* were depicted (rather than only mentioned) on a family stela indicates that they had an important relationship with them.

Stefanović (2008) has interpreted the stela in a completely different way suggesting that *sddj-w3* is its owner, while *snb=f-n* is depicted in the back. In addition, she argues that the man next to the woman is the brother of the one on the other side. In my opinion, it makes better sense to think that the figure carved in residential style is the owner of the stela, while a member of his family (probably his wife, although this cannot be certain) is depicted on the verso together with the sculptors that may have taken part in the production of the stela.

jnj-^cdwt and *jw=f-n-r=sn* hold their highest ranking titles and they are depicted with the same gesture as some other people on the stela. It may be argued that displaying their connections with an important kin group (judging from the high-ranking title of the owner of this stela) was a way to accrue and demonstrate status.



Boeser 1909: pl. xxv

4.1.4 KG 12.4 Stela of *s3-rrwt*

EA 242
London, British Museum

Dimensions: H. 0.455 m; W. 0.285 m

Material: limestone

Provenance: unknown; probably from Abydos

Condition: badly worn away, which makes some parts very difficult to read

Technique: sunk relief (some figures *en creux*); traces of red

Approximate date: Neferhotep I-Sobekhotep IV

ANOC: -

Selected bibliography

Williams Rubbings iv (unpublished: 46); Budge 1909: 91 [315]; 1912: 8, pl. 27; Franke 1984: nos 45, 129; 2002

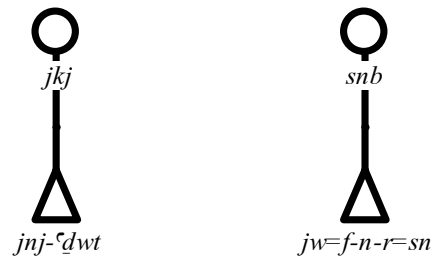
PM viii.3, 184 [803–030–153]

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
1.1	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw pth-skr-wsjr ntr ʕ3 nb 3bdw dj=f prt-ḥrw t ḥnkt k3w 3pdw n k3 n jdnw n m-r ḥmtj s3- rrwt ms.n nbt pr ṣḥwrjj</i>	An offering which the king gives, and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, great god, lord of Abydos, that he may give a voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, for the ka of the deputy of the overseer of the seal <i>s3-rrwt</i> , born of the lady of the house <i>ṣḥwrjj</i> .
1.2	<i>sbk-ʕ3 ms.n tjrj</i>	<i>sbk-ʕ3</i> , born of <i>tjrj</i> .
2.1	<i>nbt pr nbt-kbntj m3ʕt-ḥrw</i>	The lady of the house <i>nbt-kbntj</i> , justified.
2.2	<i>ḥrj-pr n pr-ʕ3 jnnj m3ʕ-ḥrw</i>	The domestic servant of the palace <i>jnnj</i> , justified.
2.3	<i>nbt pr ḥjnjt m3ʕt-ḥrw</i>	The lady of the house <i>ḥjnjt</i> , justified.
3.1	<i>ḥrj-pr n pr-ʕ3 ʕ3w m3ʕ-ḥrw</i>	The domestic servant of the palace ʕ3w, justified.
3.2	<i>jj-jb ms.n mwt=f</i>	<i>jj-jb</i> , born of his mother.
3.3	<i>ʕtj wr-nb</i>	The brewer <i>wr-nb</i> .
3.4	<i>kfnj wr-nb</i>	The baker <i>wr-nb</i> .
3.5	<i>ʕḥwtj ḥkr-ttj m3ʕ-ḥrw</i>	The cultivator <i>ḥkr-ttj</i> , justified. ⁴³
3.6	<i>jry ḥnkijt sbk-nḥt</i>	The keeper of the products <i>sbk-nḥt</i> .
3.7	<i>wdpw nb-snb</i>	The butler <i>nb-snb</i> .
3.8	<i>ptj-jp m3ʕ-ḥrw</i>	<i>ptj-jp</i> , justified.
3.9	<i>rḥtj rn=f-ʕnḥ [ʔ] ʕnḥw</i>	The baker <i>rn=f-ʕnḥ</i> , the [ʔ] ʕnḥw.
4.1	<i>sh ḳdwt jw=f-n-r=sn ms.n snb</i>	The draftsman <i>jw=f-n-r=sn</i> , born of <i>snb</i> .
4.2	<i>ḳstj jnj-ʕdwt ms.n jkj</i>	The sculptor <i>jnj-ʕdwt</i> , born of <i>jkj</i> .
4.3	<i>ḳdw jdj jr.n snb</i>	The builder <i>jdj</i> , born of <i>snb</i> .

⁴³ The title is difficult to read, but I suggest that it could be phonetic writing of ʕḥwtj starting with *ayn*. Similar writings have been recorded with an initial *yod* instead (see Ward 1982: no. 627).

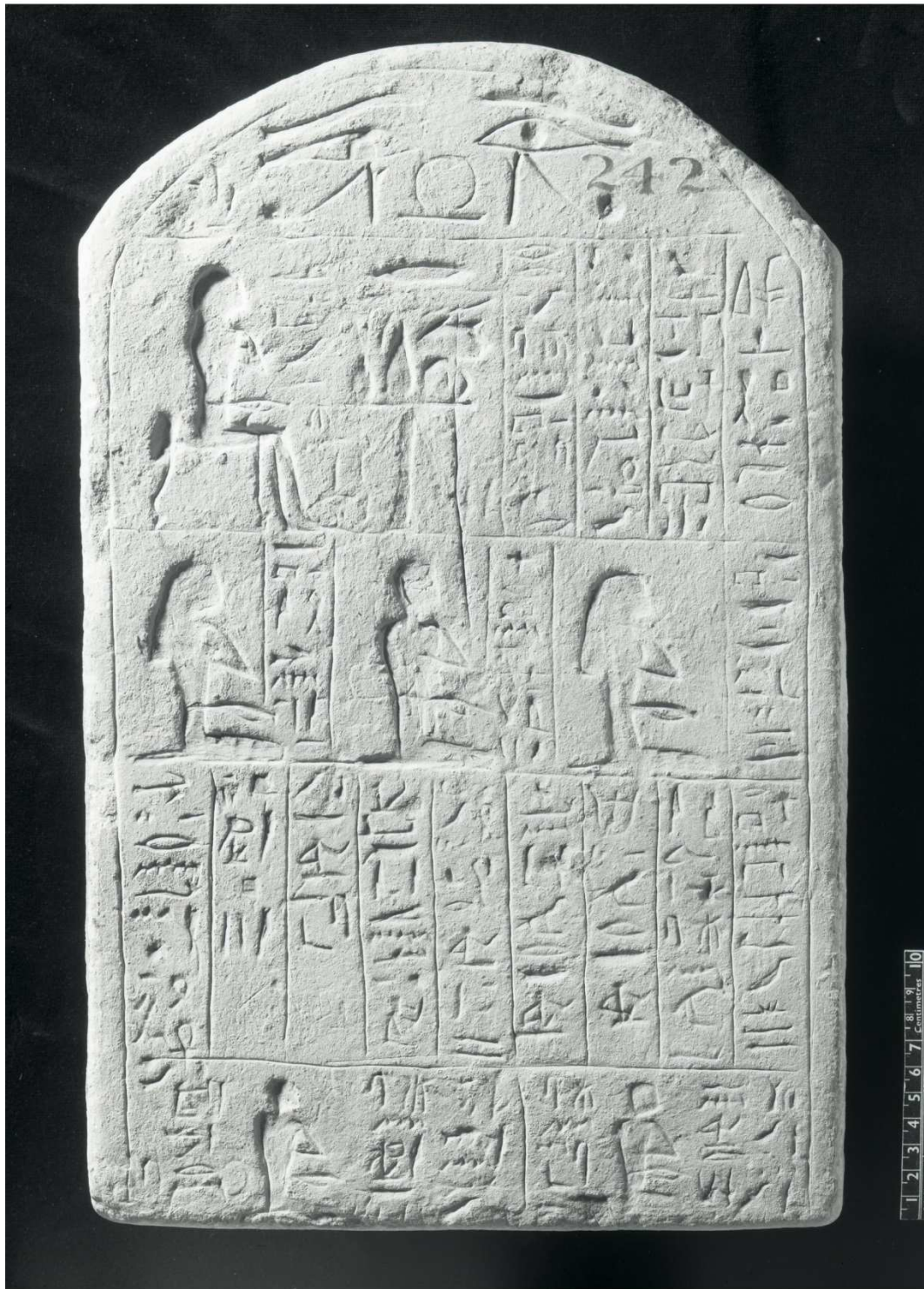
Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

The filiation of most of the individuals depicted on the stela is not mentioned explicitly, but it is interesting to note that the names of the mothers of *jnj-ḥdwt* and *jw=f-n-r=sn* are given, setting them apart from most people on the stela. In addition, they are depicted rather than just mentioned.

The titles they hold are less prestigious than the ones they have on other stelae. This may indicate that this object was fashioned earlier in their career. Although the person to whom the stela is dedicated holds a high-ranking title, the names on the third register correspond to household workers, while those on the fourth register refer to people engaged with artistic and creative activities.



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4.1.5 KG 12.5 Stela of *ḥꜥ-k3w-rꜥ-snb*

Heqaib 47
Aswan (?)⁴⁴

Dimensions: H. 0.89 m; W. 0.49 m

Material: sandstone

Provenance: sanctuary of Heqaib (Elephantine)

Condition: upper half very fragmented with part of the inscription missing; lower half in good state of preservation with only the corners chipped away.

Technique: sunk relief (figures *en creux*); no traces of colour

Approximate date: Neferhotep I-Sobekhotep IV

ANOC: -

Selected bibliography

Habachi 1980: 51–3, figs 9–10, pls 2a–2b; Franke 1984: nos 45, 129, 331, 332, 451, 611;

Habachi 1985: 73–5, pl. 123, plan D; Franke 1993: 45–6, 71, 115

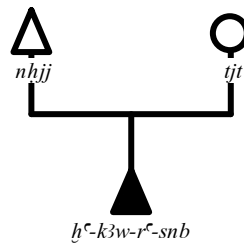
INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
Recto		
1.1	<i>m-r ḥntj ḥrp k3wt ḥꜥ-k3w-rꜥ-snb ms.n [tjt jr.n nhj]j m3ꜥ-ḥrw</i>	The chamberlain, controller of the works <i>ḥꜥ-k3w-rꜥ-snb</i> , born of [tjt, made by nhj]j, justified.
1.2	<i>ḥ3tj-ꜥ m-r ḥmw-ntr ḥnmw-ḥtp jr.n ḥ3tj-ꜥ m-r ḥmw-ntr ḥꜥ-k3w m3ꜥ- ḥrw ms.n nbt pr snt-snb</i>	The <i>ḥ3tj-ꜥ</i> , overseer of priests <i>ḥnmw-ḥtp</i> , made by the <i>ḥ3tj-ꜥ</i> , overseer of priests <i>ḥꜥ-k3w</i> , justified, born of the lady of the house <i>snt-snb</i> .
2.1	<i>sh n pr ḥd snb ms.n rn-snb</i>	The scribe of the treasury <i>snb</i> , born of <i>rn-snb</i> .
2.2	<i>m-r 3tw kstjw jnj-ꜥdwt</i>	The overseer of the guild of sculptors <i>jnj-ꜥdwt</i> .
2.3	<i>m-r jrjw ꜥntjj</i>	The overseer of the guardians <i>ꜥntjj</i> .
2.4	<i>m-r 3tw n sh kdwt jw=f-n-r=sn</i>	The overseer of the guild of draftsmen <i>jw=f-n-r=sn</i> .
3.1	<i>nbt pr jtj jrt.n snbb</i>	The lady of the house <i>jtj</i> , made by <i>snbb</i> .
3.2	<i>nbt pr mnt m3ꜥ-ḥrw</i>	The lady of the house <i>mnt</i> , justified.
3.3	<i>nbt pr ḥrt-jb</i>	The lady of the house <i>ḥrt-jb</i> .
3.4	<i>nbt pr snbbw</i>	The lady of the house <i>snbbw</i> .
Verso		
1.1	<i>m-r pr wr nhjj ms.n nbt pr ḥrt-jb</i>	The great overseer of the estate <i>nhjj</i> , born of the lady of the house <i>ḥrt-jb</i> .
1.2	<i>sh ꜥt dkrwt ḥpr-k3 ms.n nbt pr ḥnwt [...]</i>	The scribe of the hall of offerings <i>ḥpr-k3</i> , born of the lady of the house <i>ḥnwt</i> [...].
1.3	<i>m-r ḥnwtj ḥrp k3wt ḥꜥ-k3w-rꜥ- s[nb ms.]n nbt pr tj[t jr.n] nhjj [...]</i>	The chamberlain, controller of the works <i>ḥꜥ-k3w-rꜥ-s[nb, born]</i> of the lady of the house <i>tj[t, made by] nhjj</i> [...].
2.1	<i>m-r pr w3h-k3 m3ꜥ-ḥrw</i>	The overseer of the estate <i>w3h-k3</i> , justified.
2.2	<i>jttj n w ḥꜥ-k3w</i>	The possessor of the district <i>ḥꜥ-k3w</i> .
2.3	<i>snfrw m3ꜥ-ḥrw</i>	<i>snfrw</i> , justified.
2.4	<i>m-r pr nhjj</i>	The overseer of the estate <i>nhjj</i> .

⁴⁴ When this stela was first published by Habachi (1980: 51–3), it was kept in the Aswan Museum without an assigned number. Then, it received catalogue number 47 in the publication of the sanctuary of Heqaib (Habachi 1985: 73–5, plan D and pl. 123). I have not been able to locate this object, although I suspect it might be in the storerooms of the Elephantine Museum (currently being refurbished).

3.1	<i>šmsw nb-ḥr-rn m³ᶜ-ḥrw</i>	The retainer <i>nb-ḥr-rn</i> , justified.
3.2	<i>ᶜnh njwt s-n-wsrt</i>	The citizen <i>s-n-wsrt</i> .
3.3	<i>šmsw ms-jw-wsr</i>	The retainer <i>ms-jw-wsr</i> .
3.4	<i>nbt pr s³t-sbk</i>	The lady of the house <i>s³t-sbk</i> .
4.1	<i>ḥtmw ḥr-ᶜ n m-r ḥtmtw sn-pw</i> <i>m³ᶜ-ḥrw</i>	Sealed by the overseer of the seal <i>sn-pw</i> , justified.
4.2	<i>ḥrtjj sbk-ḥtp m³ᶜ-ḥrw šrj=f pth-</i> <i>wr</i>	The stonemason <i>sbk-ḥtp</i> , justified, and his son <i>pth-wr</i> .

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

This diagram corresponds to the genealogy of the stela owner only, since the filiation of most of the individuals depicted on the stela is not mentioned explicitly.

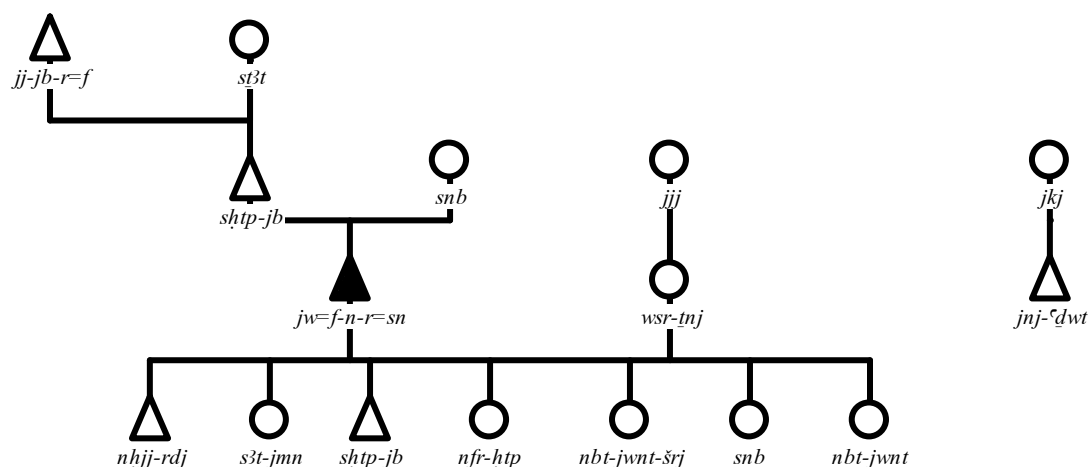
This stela lacks an offering formula, and this sets it apart from the others in his group in terms of function. The owner of the stela and a few people depicted on it hold high-ranking titles, and virtually no relatives of the stela owner are mentioned. It could have been used as a networking tool bringing together people from different backgrounds to celebrate the memory of Heqaib in the courtyard of his sanctuary.



Habachi 1985: pl. 123

4.1.6 Kin group overview

Diagram of suggested kinship



General remarks

This group consists of five stelae (two ANOC, two related and one uncertain). It could be regarded as an example of a group in the initial stages of its developmental cycle. While the two ANOC stelae assert the continuity and progression in status of *fw=f-n-r=sn*'s kin group, all the others connect them with high-ranking individuals and may, thus, be considered networking tools. This example demonstrates how high status kin groups attract others who hope to accrue status themselves.

The two main people in this example (*fw=f-n-r=sn* and *jnj-^cdwt*) seem to have a similar status, as they are usually presented in the same position. However, the later is not mentioned on the family blocks of the former, as they may have been colleagues not related by biological ties. Although it is known that sometimes kinship may be constructed in the Egyptian context (thus, ignoring 'blood bonds' in favour of flexibility of relatedness), this example shows that in certain cases there is a marked distinction between family and colleagues.

4.2 The kin group of *w3h-k3* and *w3h-k3-snb*

4.2.1 KG 28a.1 Stela of *w3h-k3*

CG 20549

Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Dimensions: H. 0.62 m; W. 0.36 m

Material: -

Provenance: Abydos, north cemetery

Condition: good

Technique: half-raised relief (figures), sunk relief (inscriptions); traces of colour

Approximate date: Amenemhet III

ANOC: 28a

Selected bibliography

Lieblein 1871: no. 541; 1892: no. 1551; Mariette 1880b: no. 699; Lange and Schäfer 1902b: 177–9; Simpson 1974b: 19 [ANOC 28.1], pl. 41; Franke 1984: nos 197, 198

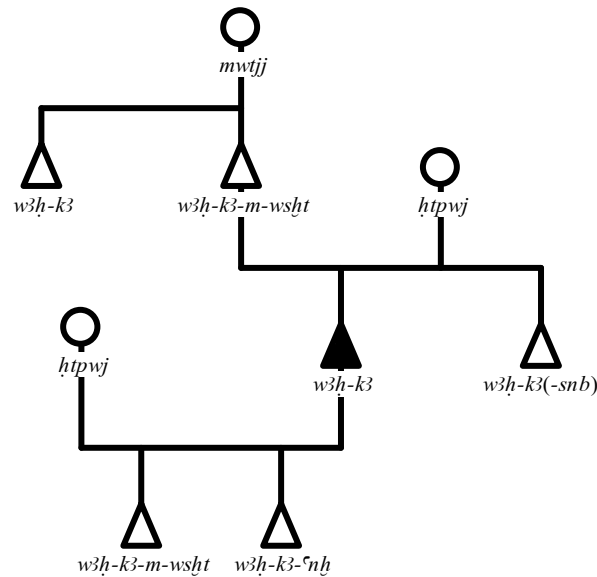
PM v, 58

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
1.1	<i>h̄tp-dj-ns̄w h̄3tj-^c w3h-k3 m3^c-h̄rw n m-r pr w3h-k3 m3^c-h̄rw jr.n h̄tpwj [m3^c]-h̄rw</i>	An offering that the king gives and <i>w3h-k3</i> , justified, for the overseer of the estate <i>w3h-k3</i> , justified, made by <i>h̄tpwj</i> , [just]ified.
1.2	<i>h̄tp-dj-ns̄w wsjr n jt=f šmsw w3h-k3-m-ws̄ht jr.n mwtjj</i>	An offering that the king gives and Osiris, for his father the retainer <i>w3h-k3-m-ws̄ht</i> , made by <i>mwtjj</i> .
1.3	<i>h̄mt=f mrt=f nt st-jb=f nbt pr h̄tpwj m3^ct-h̄rw nb jm3h</i>	His beloved wife of his affection the lady of the house <i>h̄tpwj</i> , justified, possessor of veneration.
1.4	<i>^c3mt w3h-k3</i>	The Asiatic <i>w3h-k3</i> .
1.5	<i>h̄mt=f mrt nbt pr h̄tpwj m3^c-h̄rw</i>	His beloved wife the lady of the house <i>h̄tpwj</i> , justified.
2.1	<i>sn=f m-r sd3wtj w3h-k3 m3^c-h̄rw jr.n mwtjj m3^c-h̄rw</i>	His <i>sn</i> the overseer of the treasure <i>w3h-k3</i> , justified, made by <i>mwtjj</i> , justified.
2.2	<i>mwt=f nbt pr mwtjj m3^ct-h̄rw</i>	His mother the lady of the house <i>mwtjj</i> , justified.
2.3	<i>sn=f jrj h̄bsw w3h-k3</i>	His <i>sn</i> the overseer of clothing <i>w3h-k3</i> .
2.4	<i>sn=f m-r hp w3h-k3 m3^c-h̄rw</i>	His <i>sn</i> the overseer of the <i>hp w3h-k3</i> , justified.
2.5	<i>sn=f šmsw w3h-k3-jj-snb m3^c-h̄rw</i>	His <i>sn</i> the retainer <i>w3h-k3-jj-snb</i> , justified.
3.1	<i>snt=f mwtjj m3^ct-h̄rw</i>	His <i>snt mwtjj</i> , justified.
3.2	<i>snt=f h̄nw(t)</i>	His <i>snt h̄nw(t)</i> .
3.3	<i>snt=f h̄nwt-m-pt</i>	His <i>snt h̄nwt-m-pt</i> .
3.4	<i>s3=f w3h-k3-m-ws̄ht m3^c-h̄rw</i>	His son <i>w3h-k3-m-ws̄ht</i> , justified.
3.5	<i>s3=f n h̄t=f sh̄ w3h-k3-^cnh̄ m3^c-h̄rw</i>	His son of his body the scribe <i>w3h-k3-^cnh̄</i> , justified.
4.1	<i>sn=f h̄tw</i>	His <i>sn h̄tw</i> .
4.2	<i>snt=f h̄tpwj m3^ct-h̄rw</i>	His <i>snt h̄tpwj</i> , justified.
4.3	<i>sn=f sh̄ kdwt jnj m3^c-h̄rw</i>	His <i>sn</i> the draftsman <i>jnj</i> , justified.
4.4	<i>snt=f h̄tpwj m3^ct-h̄rw</i>	His <i>snt h̄tpwj</i> , justified.

4.5	<i>hmt jtj s3 w3h-k3</i> ⁴⁵	The servant <i>jtj</i> . Son <i>w3h-k3</i>
5.1	<i>hmt htpwj</i>	The servant <i>htpwj</i> .
5.2	<i>hmt ttj</i>	The servant <i>ttj</i> .
5.3	<i>hmt rhw-ꜥnh</i>	The servant <i>rhw-ꜥnh</i> .
5.4	<i>ꜥmt nt-ḥd-nbw</i>	The Asiatic <i>nt-ḥd-nbw</i> .
5.5	<i>ꜥmt htpwj</i>	The Asiatic <i>htpwj</i> .
5.6	<i>ꜥmt hrj</i>	The Asiatic <i>hrj</i> .
5.7	<i>ꜥmt rn=s-snb</i>	The Asiatic <i>rn=s-snb</i> .

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

This stela commemorates a kin group from Qaw el-Kebir that had links with the community of Wah-Sut in Abydos (see section 5.6 in the thesis for a detailed analysis). The names, including the component *w3h-k3*, seem to be transmitted patrilineally and, although several women are called *htpwj* a clear pattern of transmission is not evident within this kin group. The offering formula highlights the connection with Qaw el-Kebir, since the local nomarch is mentioned in a place otherwise reserved for deities.

A peculiarity of this stela is the inclusion of a large number of servants (*hmt*) and Asiatics (*ꜥmt*). Although servants were probably a significant part of households, they are often omitted in commemorative monuments of the Middle Kingdom. The fact that they were mentioned and depicted on several registers of this stela may hint towards the stability and solidity of this kin group on the top of its developmental cycle: they celebrate and display they regional identity and the composition of their household with no need of finding links with other kin groups.

⁴⁵ Addition in ink.



Simpson 1974b: pl. 41

4.2.2 KG 28a.2 Stela of *w3h-k3* and *w3h-k3-snb*

CG 20431
Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Dimensions: H. 0.47 m; W. 0.31 m

Material: Limestone

Provenance: unknown

Condition: good in general. However, the lower part of the stela has suffered some damage, due to which the last signs of the inscriptions in this area have been erased.

Technique: sunk relief; no traces of colour

Approximate date: Amenemhet III

ANOC: 28a

Selected bibliography

Lieblein 1892: no. 1552; Lange and Schäfer 1902b: 28–9; 1902c: pl. xxxi; Franke 1983a: 21; Willems 1983: 165, genealogy vi; Franke 1984: nos 196, 197, 202, 484 PM viii.3, 121 [803–028–152]

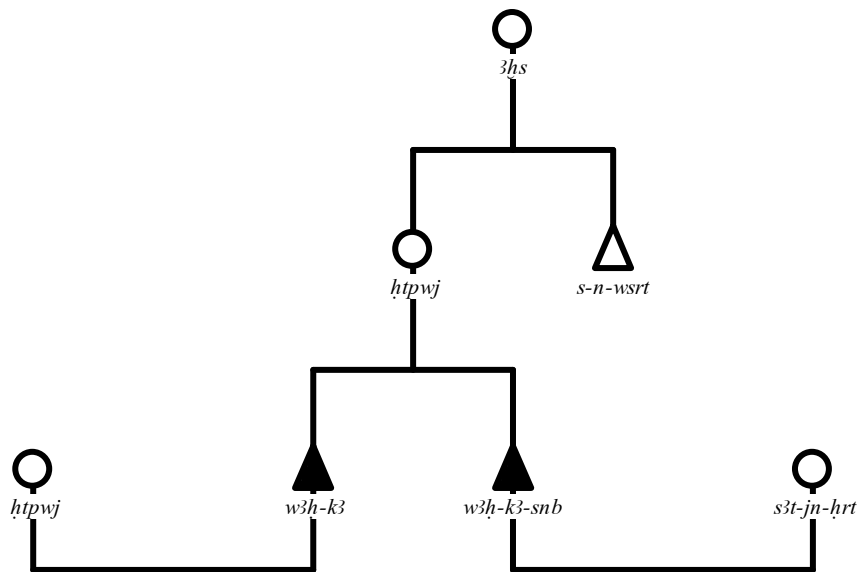
INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
1.1	<i>htp-dj-nsw wsjr hntj-jmntjw nb 3bdw dj=f prt-hrw t hntj k3w 3pdw ht-nbt nfrt w^cbt n^h(.tj) ntr jm n jm3h jrj hbsw w3h-k3-snb m3^c-hrw jr.n htpwj m3^ct-hrw</i>	An offering which the king gives, and Osiris Khentimentiu, lord of Abydos, that he may give a voice-offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, everything good and pure on which a god lives for the venerable one, the overseer of clothing <i>w3h-k3-snb</i> , justified, made by <i>htpwj</i> , justified.
1.2	<i>htp-dj-nsw wpw3wt nb dsr dj=f ddt pt km3t t3 jnn h^cpjj m htp-dj- nsw jm3h m-r st w3h-k3 m3^c-hrw jr.n htpwj m3^ct-hrw nb jm3h</i>	An offering that the king gives, and Wepwawet, lord of the necropolis, that he may give what the sky gives what the earth creates, what the flood brings as an offering that the king gives for the venerable one, the overseer of the estate <i>w3h-k3</i> , justified, made by <i>htpwj</i> , justified, possessor of veneration.
1.3	<i>hmt=f s3t-jn-hrt⁴⁶ m3^ct-hrw</i>	His wife <i>s3t-jn-hrt</i> , justified.
1.4	<i>hmt=f htpwj m3^ct-hrw</i>	His wife <i>htpwj</i> , justified.
2.1	<i>sn=f m-r js htp-k3-r^c m3^c-hrw jr.n jbj m3^ct hrw</i>	His <i>sn</i> the overseer of the tomb <i>htp-k3-r^c</i> , justified, made by <i>jbj</i> , justified.
2.1 under chair	<i>snt=f jbj</i>	His <i>sn jbj</i> .
2.2	<i>sn=f m-r pr s-n-wsrt m3^c-hrw jr.n 3hs m3^ct-hrw</i>	His <i>sn</i> the overseer of the estate <i>s-n-wsrt</i> , justified, made by <i>3hs</i> justified.
2.3	<i>sn=f m-r mrw w3h-k3 m3^c-hrw jr.n kmw m3^ct-hrw</i>	His <i>sn</i> the overseer of <i>mrw</i> -servants <i>w3h-k3</i> , justified, made by <i>kmw</i> , justified.
2.4	<i>sn=f m-r mrw w3h-k3 m3^c-hrw jr.n nfrt m3^ct-hrw</i>	His <i>sn</i> the overseer of <i>mrw</i> -servants <i>w3h-k3</i> , justified, made by <i>nfrt</i> , justified.
3.1	<i>snt=f nfrt m3^ct-hrw</i>	His <i>snt nfrt</i> , justified.
3.2	<i>snt=f nhtj</i>	His <i>snt nhtj</i> .
3.3	<i>mwt nt mwt=f 3hs m3^c-hrw</i>	The mother of his mother <i>3hs</i> , justified.

⁴⁶ There seems to be a *pt* sign (N1) under the *jn* (W25), although according to Lange and Schäfer it is a *w3t* sign (N31).

3.4	<i>snt=f kmw m3^c-hrw sn=f^cnh</i>	His <i>snt kmw</i> , justified. His <i>sn^cnh</i> .
3.5	<i>snt=f gft m3^ct-hrw</i>	His <i>snt gft</i> , justified.
3.6	<i>snt=f htpwj m3^ct-hrw</i>	His <i>snt htpwj</i> , justified.
3.7	<i>snt=f mrrt m3^ct-hrw</i>	His <i>snt mrrt</i> , justified.
3.8	<i>snt=f kšmt</i>	His <i>snt kšmt</i> .
4.1	<i>smjt nt pr mwt(=f) [...]</i>	The <i>smjt</i> of the <i>pr</i> of (his) mother [...]
4.2	<i>smjt nt pr jt=f [...]</i>	The <i>smjt</i> of the <i>pr</i> of his father [...]
4.3	<i>sn=f jrj^c t htp[...] -r^c</i>	His <i>sn</i> the hall-keeper <i>htp</i> -(...)- <i>r^c</i> .
4.4	<i>sn=f sh sbk-^c3 m3^c-[hrw]</i>	His <i>sn</i> the scribe <i>sbk-^c3</i> , [justified].
4.5	<i>sn=f hrj-hbt jbjj m3^c-[hrw]</i>	His <i>sn</i> the lector-priest <i>jbjj</i> , [justified].
4.6	<i>sn=f sh sr m3^c-[hrw.]</i>	His <i>sn</i> the scribe <i>sr</i> , [justified].
4.7	<i>sn=f m-r kstjw w3h-mnw [...]</i>	His <i>sn</i> the overseer of sculptors <i>w3h-mnw</i> [...].
4.8	<i>sn=f m-r st jmnjj m3^c-hrw</i>	His <i>sn</i> the overseer of the estate <i>jmnjj</i> , justified.
4.9	<i>sn=f m-r mhjtt w3h-k3 m3^c-hrw</i>	His <i>sn</i> the overseer of the papyrus-plant <i>w3h-k3</i> , justified.
4.10	<i>sn=f m-r kstjw s-n-wsrt [...]</i>	His <i>sn</i> the overseer of sculptors <i>s-n-wsrt</i> [...].
4.11	<i>sn=f hrj-hrjw s-n-wsrt [...]</i>	His <i>sn</i> the controller of controllers <i>s-n-wsrt</i> [...].
4.12	<i>snt=f w3dt m3^ct-[hrw]</i>	His <i>snt w3dt</i> justified.

Diagram of suggested kinship

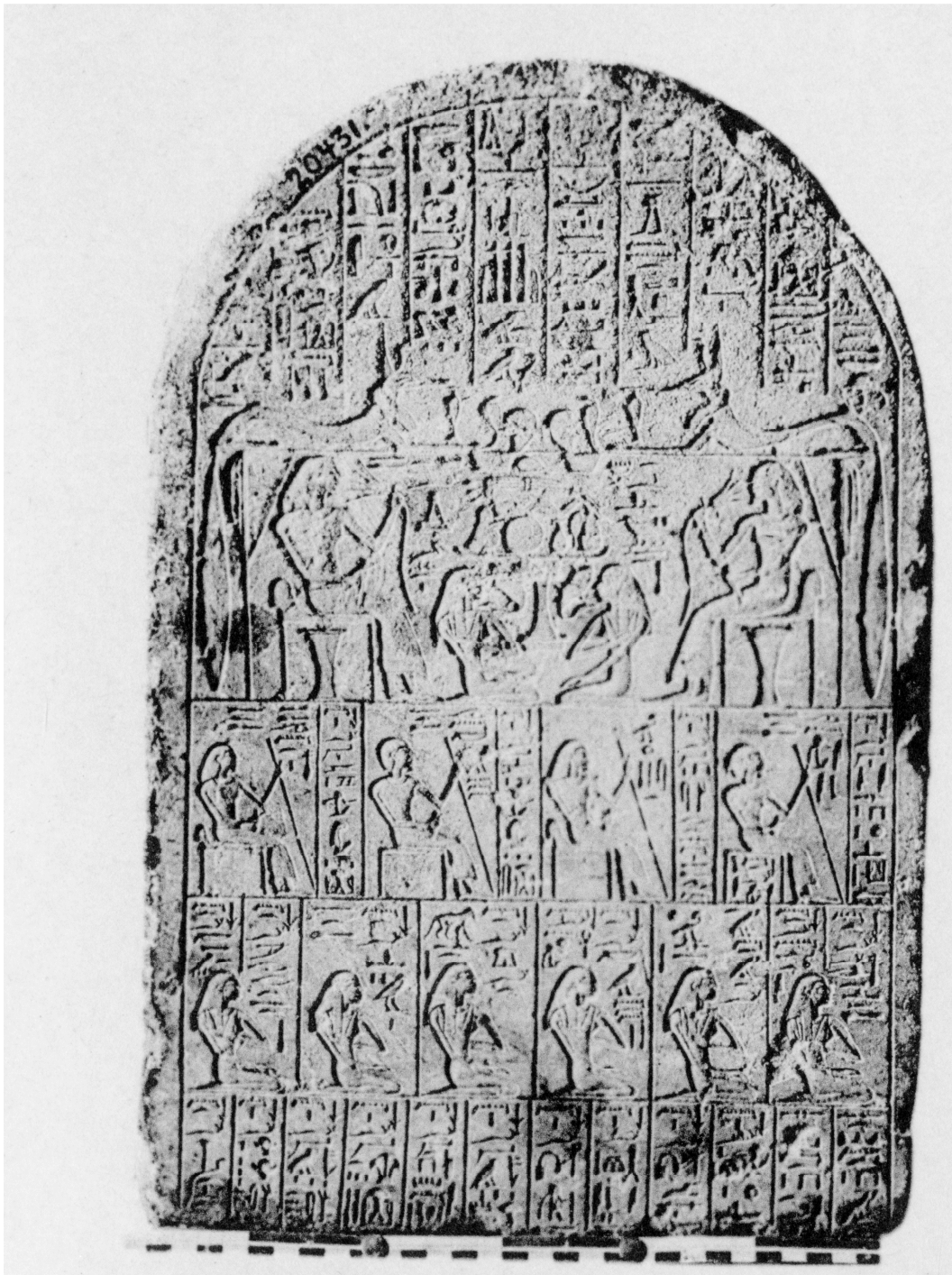


Remarks and unusual features

The use of the concept *sn* is very difficult in this stela. Many people with different mothers are called *sn*, which makes it very difficult to elaborate a comprehensive diagram. However, we can be certain that the owners are brothers *w3h-k3* and *w3h-k3-snb*, whose relationship is clarified by means of KG 28a.1. The title of the former is different on both stelae, maybe due to a desire for integration within a peer group. This may explain the use of the term *sn* in this stela, as the owners are represented with colleagues whose titles hint towards a funerary role (e.g. overseer of the tomb, lector-priest)

w3h-k3 son of *kmw* (line 2.3 above) has not been included in the diagram, as his relation with the rest of the family members is not clear, but he is mentioned on CGC 20245 and thus serves as a point of connection between two kin groups. A *s-n-wsrt*, made by *s3t-hwt-hr* is mentioned on CGC 20704 and Franke assumes he is the same man that is mentioned in line 4.10 of this stela (1984: no. 484); however, the name of the mother of this person is damaged, and his name and title are too common to presuppose they are the same person. Therefore, CGC 20704 has not been included in this group.

A peculiarity of this stela is the use of the elusive and significantly Abydene *smjt*-formula (see section 2.3.2). Based on other examples of this formula, it could be postulated that the last register of KG 28a.2 should be read from left to right, even though the hieroglyphs face right. Although this stela may have been used to strengthen links between colleagues working in Wah-Sut, the fact that *w3h-k3* and *w3h-k3-snb* chose to commemorate their relatives in this context may bear witness to the high status of their kin group.



Lange and Schäfer 1902c: pl. xxxi

4.2.3 KG 28a.3 Stela of *jj-nj*

CG 20245
Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Dimensions: H. 0.24 m; W. 0.165 m
Material: limestone
Provenance: Abydos, middle cemetery (northern section)
Condition: good
Technique: sunk relief; no traces of colour
Approximate date: Amenemhet III
ANOC: -

Selected bibliography

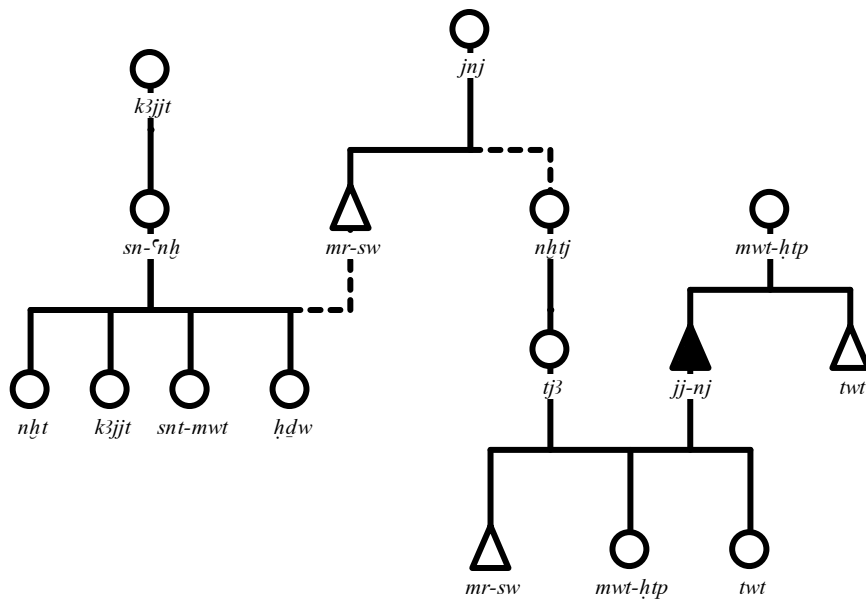
Mariette 1880b: no. 830; Lieblein 1892: no. 1716; Lange and Schäfer 1902a: 267–8; Willems 1983: 164, genealogy iv; Franke 1984: no. 196
PM v, 265 (index)

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
1.1	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wsjr ḥntj-jmntjw ntr ʕ3 nb 3bdw dj=f ḥt-nbt nfrt wʕbt ʕnh.t(j) ntr jm n k3 jm3ḥ jrj ḥt jj-nj m3ʕ-ḥrw</i>	An offering that the king gives, and Osiris Khentimentiu, great god, lord of Abydos, that he may give everything good and pure on which a god lives for the ka of the venerable one the keeper of things <i>jj-nj</i> , justified,
2.1	<i>jr.n mwt-ḥtp m3ʕ-ḥrw ḥmt=f tj3 jr.n nḥtj</i>	made by <i>mwt-ḥtp</i> , justified. His wife <i>tj3</i> , made by <i>nḥtj</i> .
2.2	<i>s3=f mr-sw m3ʕ-ḥrw s3t=f mwt-ḥtp m3ʕ-ḥrw</i>	His son <i>mr-sw</i> , justified. His daughter <i>mwt-ḥtp</i> , justified.
2.3	<i>s3t=f twt m3ʕ-ḥrw sn=f mr-sw jr.n nbt-jt=f</i>	His daughter <i>twt</i> , justified. His <i>sn mr-sw</i> , made by <i>nbt-jt=f</i> .
3.1	<i>nḥt jrt.n jnj m3ʕ-ḥrw sn-ʕnh jr.n k3jyt</i>	<i>nḥt</i> , made by <i>jnj</i> , justified. <i>sn-ʕnh</i> , made by <i>k3jyt</i> .
3.2	<i>nḥt jrt.n sn-ʕnh m3ʕ-ḥrw</i>	<i>nḥt</i> , made by <i>sn-ʕnh</i> , justified.
3.3	<i>k3jyt jrt.n sn-ʕnh m3ʕ-ḥrw</i>	<i>k3jyt</i> , made by <i>sn-ʕnh</i> , justified.
4.1	<i>snt-mwt jrt.n sn-ʕnh m3ʕ-ḥrw</i>	<i>snt-mwt</i> , made by <i>sn-ʕnh</i> , justified.
4.2	<i>ḥdw jrt.n sn-ʕnh m3ʕ-ḥrw</i>	<i>ḥdw</i> , made by <i>sn-ʕnh</i> , justified.
4.3	<i>sn=f twt jr.n mwt-ḥtp sn=f mr-sw jr.n jnj</i>	His <i>sn twt</i> , made by <i>mwt-ḥtp</i> . His <i>sn mr-sw</i> , made by <i>jnj</i> .
Right	<i>mr-sw jr.n jnj ḥnms smsw=f w3ḥ-k3 jr.n kmw m3ʕ-ḥrw</i>	<i>mr-sw</i> , made by <i>jnj</i> . His patron ⁴⁷ <i>w3ḥ-k3</i> , made by <i>kmw</i> , justified.
Left	<i>ḥnms smsw=f nmtjwj-nḥt jr.n bbj m3ʕ-ḥrw</i>	His patron <i>nmtjwj-nḥt</i> , made by <i>bbj</i> , justified.

⁴⁷ On the use of *ḥnms* as patron see Franke (1983a: 356).

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

As outlined in the remarks of KG 28a.2 above, this stela belongs to a different kin group and that is the reason why it is not included in the 28a ANOC groups although it comes from Abydos. However, there is a link between this kin group and that of *w3h-k3*, as one of his collateral relatives (*w3h-k3*, made by *kmw*) is mentioned on the right edge of the stela. The title he is given is *hnms*, which indicates that he is regarded as a high-ranking individual by members of this kin group. In addition, this title may be used in the context of funerary rituals (Franke 1983a: 356), which supports my interpretation of KG 28a.2 as a monument commemorating colleagues who were engaged in the funerary cult. A further connection with Qaw el-Kebir may exist, as the name of the other individual referred to as *hnms* may derive from the god Nemty, who is a local Tjebite deity.

It could be argued that this is a kin group of minor relevance as none of its members bear titles with the exception of *jj-nj*; they may be showing their connection with *w3h-k3*'s kin group in order to accrue status. The relationship between all the people mentioned on this stela is not certain, especially since it is not possible to ascertain how *sn-ñh* is related to the main group; one option is that she could be *mr-sw*'s wife, and thus one of her daughters may have been named *nh* after her FZ.

No image or line drawing of this stela is known to me.

4.2.4 KG 28a.4 Statue of *w3h-k3*

Suppl. 4281
Turin, Museo Egizio

Dimensions: H. 0.32 m; W. 0.12 m; D. 0.322 m
Material: black granite
Provenance: Qaw el-Kebir, tomb of the nomarch Wahka II
Condition: only bottom half of statue preserved
Technique: no traces of colour
Approximate date: Amenemhet III
ANOC: -

Selected bibliography

Steckeweh 1936: 48–9, 4a; Franke 1984: no. 198
Egyptian Museum of Turin Online Database (with further bibliographical references):
<http://collezioni.museoegizio.it/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=105261&viewType=detailView>
PM v, 14

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
1	<i>h̄tp-dj-nsw sth nht n m-r njwt w3h-k3 m3^c-hrw jr.n mwtjj</i>	An offering that the king gives, and Seth, the strong one for the overseer of the city <i>w3h-k3</i> , justified, made by <i>mwtjj</i> .
2	<i>h̄tp-dj-nsw h3tj-^c jbw m3^c-hrw dj=f [...]</i>	An offering that the king gives, and the nomarch Ibu, justified, that he may give [...]
3	<i>m-r njwt w3h-k3 m3^c-hrw ms.n mwtjj m3^ct-hrw m-r sd3wtj [w3h-k3]</i>	The overseer of the city <i>w3h-k3</i> , justified, born of <i>mwtjj</i> , justified, the overseer of the treasure [<i>w3h-k3</i>].

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

The inscription on this statue features a collateral relative of *w3h-k3* mentioned on stela KG 28a.1, line 2.1. As this statue was found in the tomb of Wahka II in Qaw el-Kebir, it supports the hypothesis that this was a high status kin group that had connection with the nomarchs of Qaw el-Kebir.



Egyptian Museum of Turin online database

4.2.5 KG 28a.5 Fragment of kilt of wooden statue

-
Current location unknown

Dimensions: H. 0.11 m; W. 0.65 m

Material: wood

Provenance: Qaw el-Kebir, tomb of Wahka II

Condition: left upper part broken

Technique: no traces of colour

Approximate date: Amenemhet III

ANOC: -

Selected bibliography

Steckeweh 1936: 49, no. 5, pl. 14a; Franke 1984: no. 198

PM v, 14

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
1	[<i>jr.n=f</i>] <i>mnw=f n m-r sd3wtj w3h-k3 m3^c-hrw nb jm3h</i>	[He built] his monuments for the overseer of the treasure <i>w3h-k3</i> , justified, possessor of veneration.

Diagram of suggested kinship

None

Remarks and unusual features

This object does not clarify the genealogy of kin group 28a, but it reinforces its links with Qaw el-Kebir in the same way as KG 28a.4.



Steckeweh 1936: pl. 14a

4.2.6 KG 28a.6 Stela of *w3h-k3(-snb)*

21822

Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum

Dimensions: H. 0.50 m; W. 0.225 m; D. 0.22 m

Material: limestone

Provenance: uncertain, probably Abydos

Condition: the verso is badly worn and parts of the sides have been chipped away

Technique: no traces of colour

Approximate date: Amenemhet III

ANOC: -

Selected bibliography

Steckeweh 1936: 53–4, no. 2, pl. 18; Franke 1984: no. 202; Schäfer 1986 [1919]: 303, fig. 313 [right]

PM v, 14 (as 21823)

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
		Recto
1	[...]	[...]
2	[...] <i>3h m pt wsr m t3 m3^c-hrw m hrt-ntr</i>	[...] an effective spirit in the sky, a powerful one on earth, a justified one in the necropolis.
3	<i>htp-dj-nsw h3tj-^c jbw m3^c-hrw dj=f htpw ntr nfr w^cb prr hr wdhw ntr [...] jm3h nb=f</i>	An offering that the king gives, and the <i>h3tj-^c</i> Ibu, justified, that he may give sacred offerings good and pure that come on the sacred altar [...], who venerates his lord,
4	<i>šms nb=f sdr r ššp wn</i>	who follows his lord, who sleeps until daytime, who exists
5	<i>n=f m jwjtj [...] =f^c k</i>	for him as one who does not [...], who enters in
6	<i>šm r^c-nb whmw w3h-k3</i>	and comes out everyday, the herald <i>w3h-k3</i> ,
7	<i>m3^c-hrw jr.n htpwj m3^ct-hrw nb jm3h</i>	justified, made by <i>htpwj</i> , justified, possessor of veneration.
		Verso
1	<i>rdj j3w n wsjr sn t3 n [...] pkr dhwtj hr s^c3 sh3w</i>	Adoring Osiris, kissing the earth for [...] Poker, as Djehuti makes great the massacre
2	<i>r hsf sbj hr nšmt</i>	to repel the enemies on the <i>nšmt</i> -barque
Bottom	<i>hr ntr ^c3 nb pt whmw w3h-k3-snb m3^c-hrw</i>	under the great god, lord of the sky, the herald <i>w3h-k3-snb</i> , justified.

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

According to Franke (1984: no. 202), the owner of this stela is the brother of *w3h-k3*, *w3h-k3-snb*, mentioned in line 1.2 of KG 28a.2. This same man is called *w3h-k3* in line 2.3 of KG 28a.1. Although it could be argued that the owner of KG 28a.6 is a different person unrelated to this kin group, the fact that *w3h-k3*'s brother is also given two names suggests that it may be the same person.

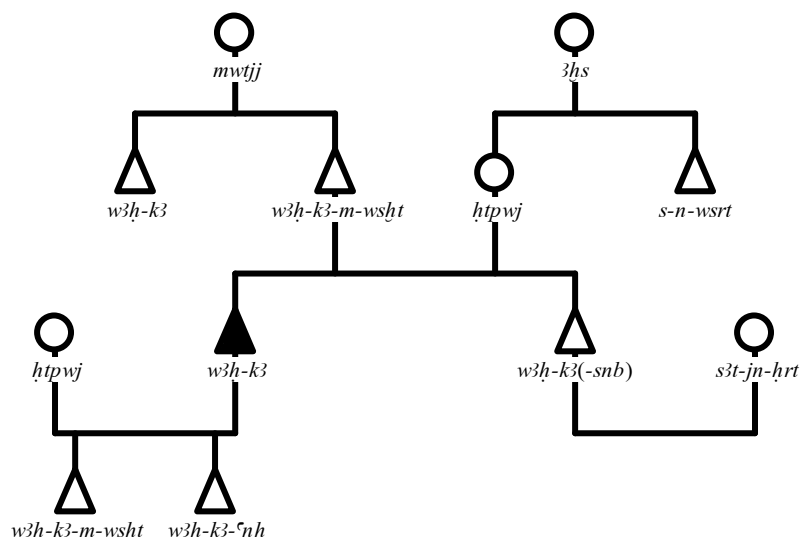
Although this stela was published in Steckeweh's work on Qaw el-Kebir, its provenance is not secure. The verso of the stela, though badly worn, features references to the *nšmt*-barque and to places in Abydos like Poker. Franke (2003a: 130) suggested that it could be a hymn describing the festival of Abydos, and, thus, this may have been the site where the stela was probably erected.



Steckeweh 1936: pl. 18

4.2.7 Kin group overview

Diagram of suggested kinship



General remarks

ANOC group 28 originally consisted of CGC 20549 and CGC 20580 (Simpson 1974b: 19). Lange and Schäfer (1902b: 177, n. 1) first proposed that these objects belonged to members of the same family on a purely onomastic basis. However, it was noted by Berlev (1976: 325) and later confirmed by Franke (1983a: 21; 1984: 14) that these stela belong to two different families. In a recent analysis of these and other stela, Wegner holds that CGC 20549 and CGC 20580 feature the same man (2010: esp. 441–4 and 456 fig. 6; he does not mention Berlev or Franke in his discussion). Both stela are dedicated to *w3h-k3*, husband of *htpwj*, but the father's name is different in each case (*w3h-k3-m-wsht* in the former and *hnw* in the latter), a fact that leads me to accept Berlev's and Franke's hypothesis.

Only two stela (KG 28a.1 and KG 28a.2) belong to the ANOC groups strictly speaking, as they belong to the same kin group and where found in Abydos. Franke (1984: no. 484) added CGC 20704 to this group, but the connection of the owner of this stela with the main kin group is not certain (see 'remarks and unusual features' of stela KG 28a.2). KG 28a.4 and KG 28a.5 were both found in the tomb of Wahka II in Qaw el-Kebir, a fact that indicates a dating close to Amenemhet III this kin group.

This case study illustrates how a kin group in the summit of their developmental cycle may present itself. No other groups as such are represented together with them. Conversely, members of this kin group have been mentioned on the stela of a different kin group (KG 28a.3), who intended to accrue status by pointing at their mutual relations with KG 28a, even if they played a subordinate role.

A joint analysis of all the objects that constitute this case study shows a tension between reaffirmation of the origins and integration in a new milieu. On the one hand, KG 28a.1 emphasises the self-sufficiency and unity of the group by reinforcing its Tjebite roots (e.g. a quasi-deification of a nomarch from Qaw el-Kebir) and by including household servants. KG 28a.2, on the other, embraces a purely Abydene nature by including gods such as Wepwawet and Osiris, as well as a funerary formula whose meaning is anchored in the landscape of this necropolis (the *smjt*-formula). This latter stela, thus, may be concerned with the integration of this elite kin group and their colleagues in Abydos, as all the individuals depicted on the stela hold a high-ranking title related to funerary cult. The significant role of the site of Abydos is further confirmed by the presence of a hymn describing the mysteries of Osiris in the verso of KG 28a.6.

4.3 The kin group of *s3-w3dt* and *s3-w3djtt jw-snb*

4.3.1 KG IV.1 Stela of *s3-w3dt*

CG 20184

Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Dimensions: H. 0.35 m; W. 0.26 m

Material: limestone

Provenance: Abydos, north cemetery

Condition: good

Technique: sunk relief; traces of colour

Approximate date: late 12th dynasty

ANOC: IV

Selected bibliography

Mariette 1880b: no. 935; Lieblein 1892: no. 1868; Lange and Schäfer 1902a: 213–4; 1902c: pl. xvi; Franke 1983a: 259; 1984: nos 36, 521

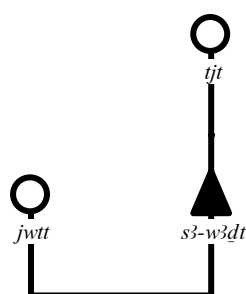
PM v, 269 (index)

INSCRIPTIONS

Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
1.1	<i>ḥtp-dj-nsw wsjr nb 3bdw dj=f prt- ḥrw n k3 n sh ḳdwt s3-w3dt ms(.n) tjt</i>	An offering that the king gives, and Osiris, lord of Abydos, that he may give a voice-offering for the ka of the draftsman <i>s3-w3dt</i> , born (of) <i>tjt</i> .
1.2	<i>n k3 n jwtt ms(.n) tjt</i>	For the ka of <i>jwtt</i> born (of) <i>tjt</i> .
1.3	<i>w3dj</i>	<i>w3dj</i>
2.1	<i>sh rn=f-snb</i>	The scribe <i>rn=f-snb</i> .
2.2	<i>wt rn=f-ḥnh</i>	The embalmer <i>rn=f-ḥnh</i> .
2.3	<i>sh ppw</i>	The scribe <i>ppw</i> .
2.4	<i>wt gbw-r-3w</i>	The embalmer <i>gbw-r-3w</i> .
2.5	<i>sh jw-snb</i>	The scribe <i>jw-snb</i> .
3.1	<i>jrj ʕ3 n t3tj ḳm3</i>	The door keeper of the vizier <i>ḳm3</i> .
3.2	<i>s3t=f shm-ḥtp</i>	His daughter <i>shm-ḥtp</i> .
4.1	<i>tjt</i>	<i>tjt</i> .
4.2	<i>ḥnh njwt snbb</i>	The citizen <i>snbb</i> .
4.3	<i>shṯ ḥt mntw-ḥnt-ḥr</i>	The weaver ⁴⁸ <i>mntw-ḥnt-ḥr</i> .
4.4	<i>rn-sḥnh</i>	<i>rn-sḥnh</i> .
4.5	<i>smjt n pr jt n pr mwt</i>	The <i>smjt</i> of the <i>pr</i> of the father and of the mother.

⁴⁸ Ward 1982: no. 1343.

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

This stela is difficult to interpret given the lack of filiations except for the owner of the stela and the woman represented next to him in the upper register. In my opinion, this may be his wife *jwtt*, who is later mentioned on KG IV.2 as mother of a *s3-w3djjt*. The transcription by Lange and Schäfer in the Cairo Catalogue suggests that *jwtt* and *s3-w3dt* have the same mother, but on close inspection this does not seem the case. One possibility is that the woman behind *jwtt* be her mother, as she is depicted just below the filiation.

The men on the second register are not given filiations, but one of them could be ego's son *jw-snb* (who has in fact two names, as evident from KG IV.2). Two of them hold the title 'embalmer', and this links this kin group with the funerary cult. This fact is interesting, since the elusive *smjt*-formula is present on the bottom part of the stela. In KG 28a.2, where this formula is also used, most people present on the stela seem to be linked by their holding of funerary offices. The man *km3* is depicted with his daughter, who married a son of the owner of KG IV.1, in the last register.

The bottom right part of the stela includes four names without filiation (although one of them could be that of ego's mother) and the *smjt*-formula in a tabular format.



Lange and Schäfer 1902c: pl. xvi

4.3.2 KG IV.2 Stela of *s3-w3djyt*, called *jw-snb*

CG 20290
Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Dimensions: H. 0.16 m; W. 0.24 m

Material: limestone

Provenance: Abydos, north cemetery

Condition: good

Technique: half-raised relief (figures), sunk relief (inscriptions); traces of colour

Approximate date: late 12th dynasty

ANOC: IV

Selected bibliography

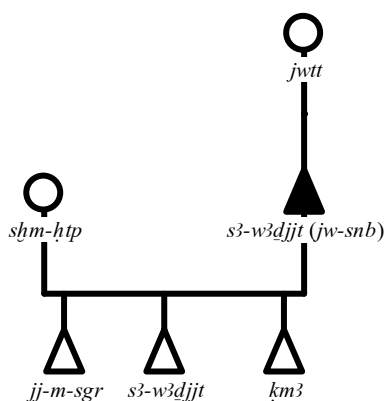
Mariette 1880b: no. 710; Lange and Schäfer 1902a: 304; 1902c: pl. xxii; Franke 1984: nos 36, 521

PM v, 265 (index)

INSCRIPTIONS

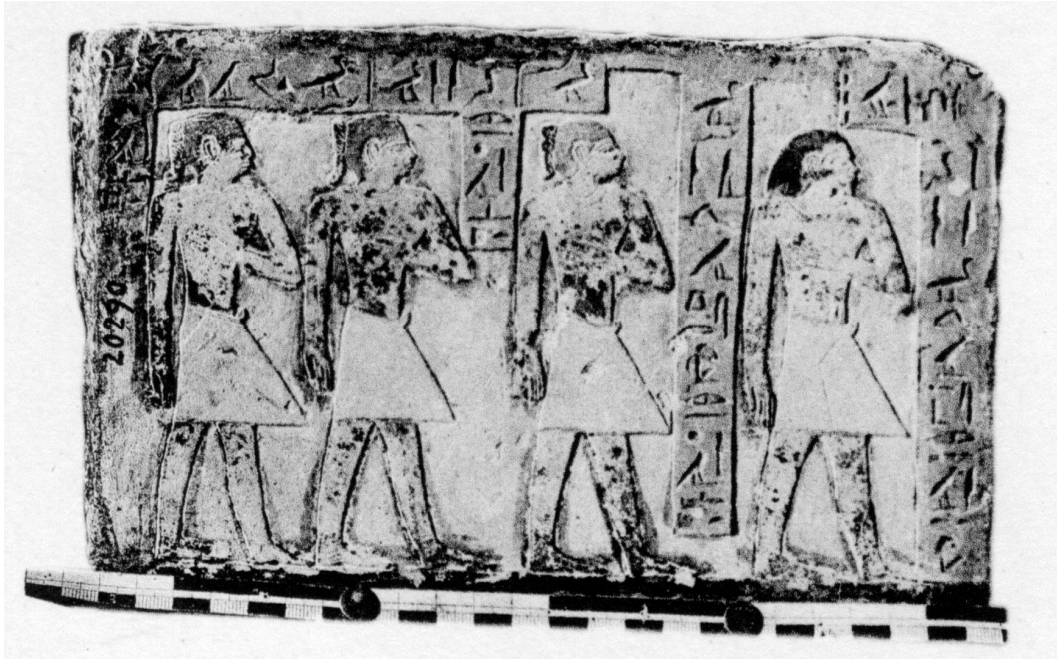
Register and line	Transliteration	Translation
1	<i>sh kdwt s3-w3djyt jw-snb jr.n jwtt</i>	The draftsman <i>s3-w3djyt jw-snb</i> , made by <i>jwtt</i> .
2	<i>s3=f jj-m-sgr jr.n shm-htp</i>	His son <i>jj-m-sgr</i> , made by <i>shm-htp</i> .
3	<i>s3=f s3-w3djyt jr.n shm-htp</i>	His son <i>s3-w3djyt</i> , made by <i>shm-htp</i> .
4	<i>s3=f km3 jr.n shm-htp</i>	His son <i>km3</i> , made by <i>shm-htp</i> .

Diagram of suggested kinship



Remarks and unusual features

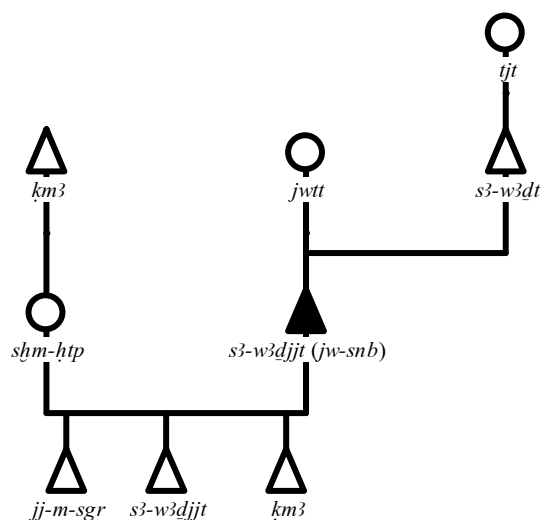
This stela (or block relief) is reminiscent of KG 12.2 in that only male members of a family linked patrilineally are present. They do not receive any epithets, but their maternal filiation is given. Ego's name is spelled with honorific anteposition, whereas his father's name on KG IV.1 is not.



Lange and Schäfer 1902c: pl. xxii

4.3.3 Kin group overview

Diagram of suggested kinship



General remarks

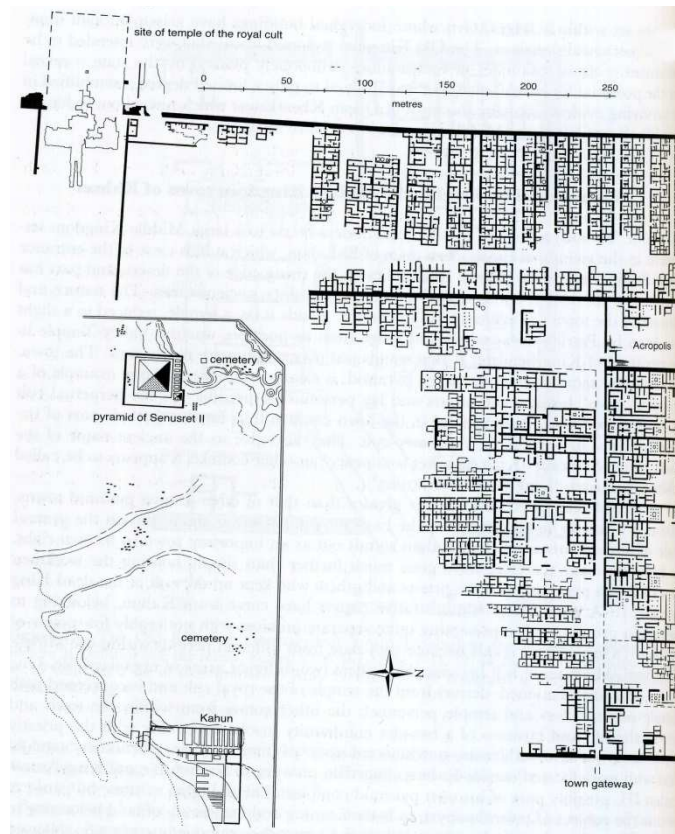
The two stelae in this group are aimed at different purposes. While KG IV.2 only includes family members, KG IV.1 features other people without filiation whose relation with the main kin group is not clear. The latter may have been used as a means of integration with colleagues, but this is difficult to prove. The provenance of the kin group cannot be ascertained, but the usage of the goddess Wadjet in the names may hint towards a northern origin.

The owner of KG IV.2 may have been mentioned on KG IV.1 with his second name ($jw-snb$). If this is the case, he held a lower ranking title (sh) in his father's stela, and he may have been promoted to his father's position at a later stage.

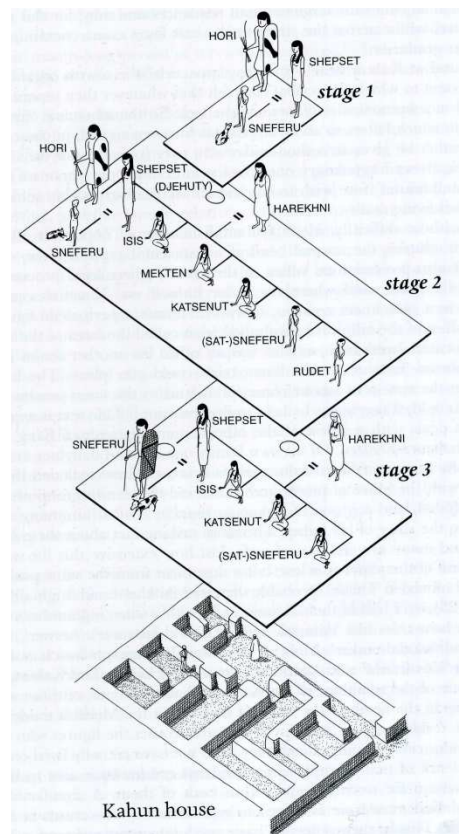
An interesting feature of this group is how the role of $s3-w3djjt$ $jw-snb$'s wife's father was emphasised by being depicted next to his daughter in $s3-w3dt$'s stela. His high-ranking title may indicate that the stela owner was marrying his son up and wanted to commemorate this event. There are no further documents concerning $\dot{k}m3$, but one could suggest that his kin group was no longer on its highest developmental point, as he acceded to marry his daughter to a member of an apparently minor kin group.

PLATES

Plate 1

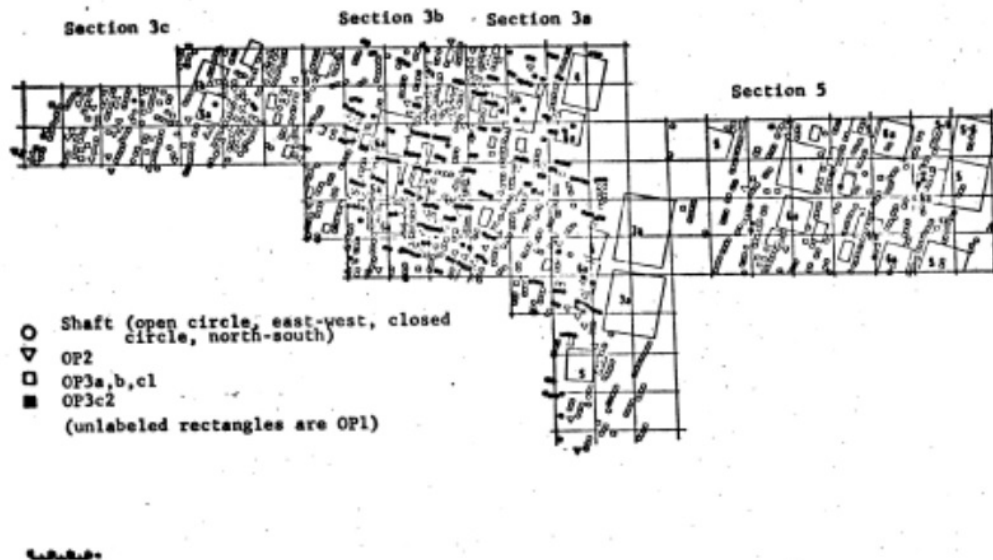


1. Plan of Lahun (Kemp 2006: 212, fig. 76)



2. Diagram of Hori's household (Kemp 2006: 219, fig. 79)

Plate 2



1. Plan of FIP tomb clusters at Dendera (Slater 1974: 510, fig. 35)

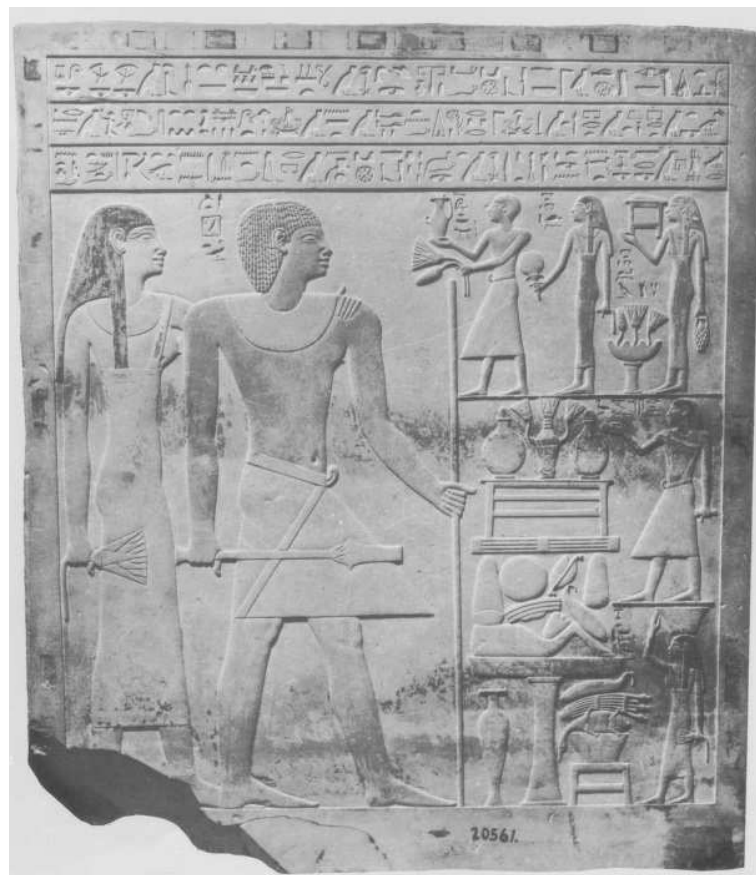


2. Offering altar with associated tombs in Dendera (Fisher 1916: 232, fig. 91.a)

Plate 3

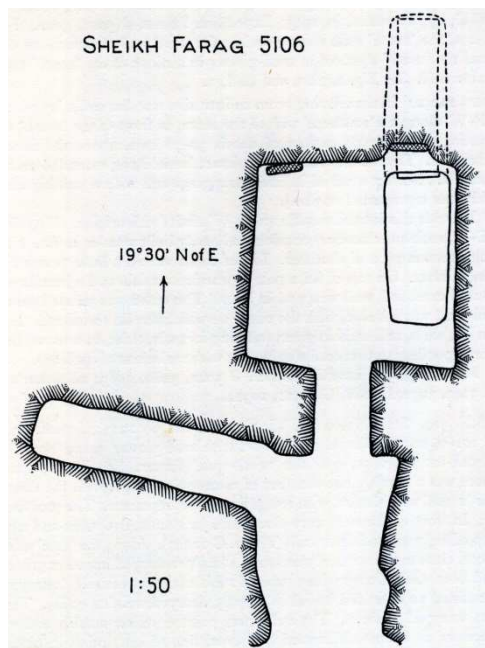


1. Wife and *hzw* of the deceased in the tomb of Roy (TT 255) (Foucart 1928: 11, fig. 6)

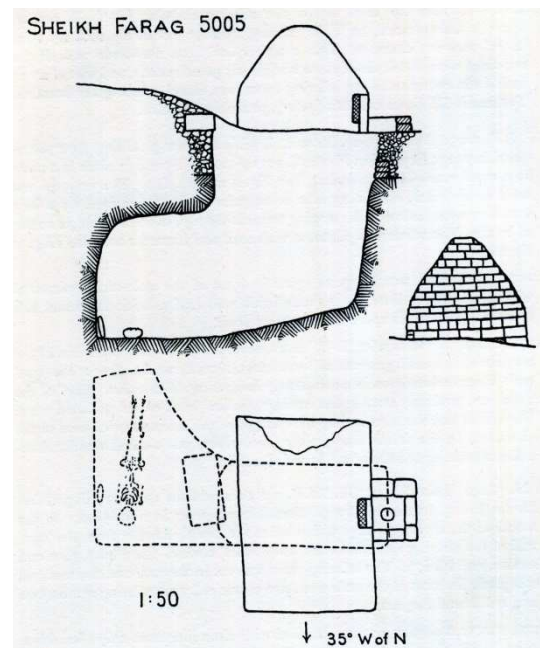


2. ANOC 4.4: Cairo CG 20561 (Simpson 1974b: pl. 11)

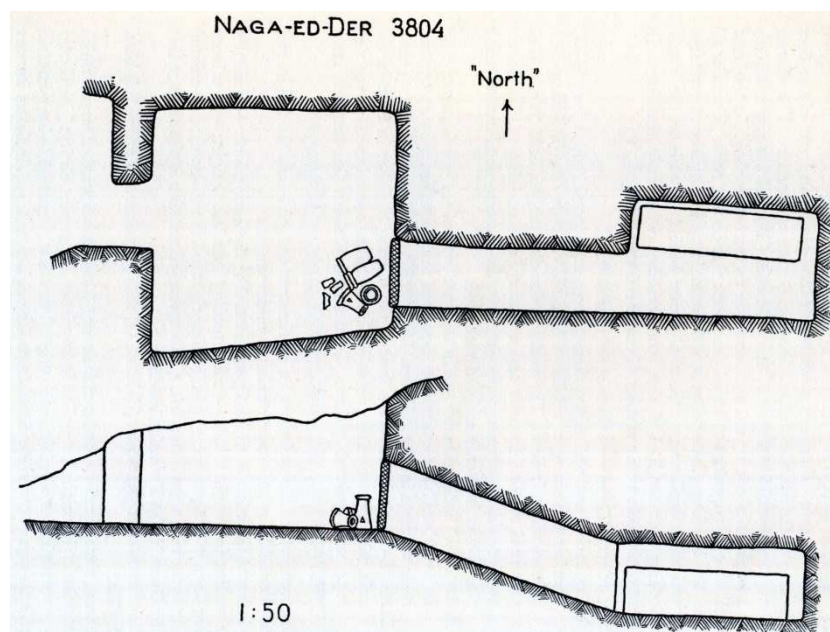
Plate 4



1. Sheikh Farag 5106 (Dunham 1937: fig. 1)



2. Sheikh Farag 5005 (Dunham 1937: fig. 4)



3. Naga ed-Deir 3804 (Dunham 1937: fig. 5)

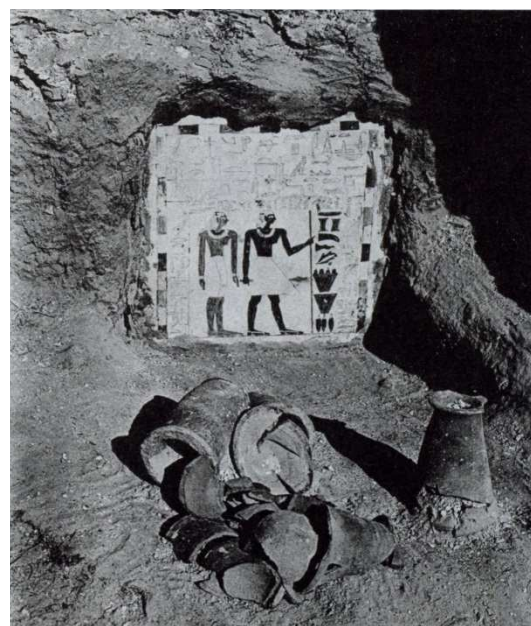
Plate 5



1. Stela in situ in SF 5106 (Dunham 1937: pl. i [1])

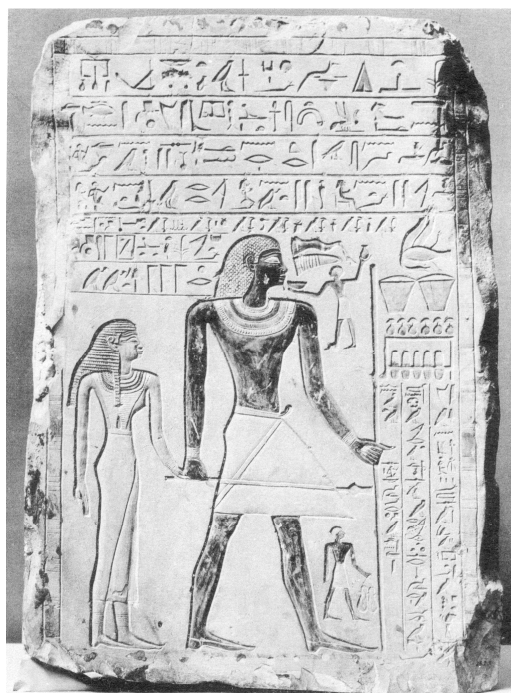
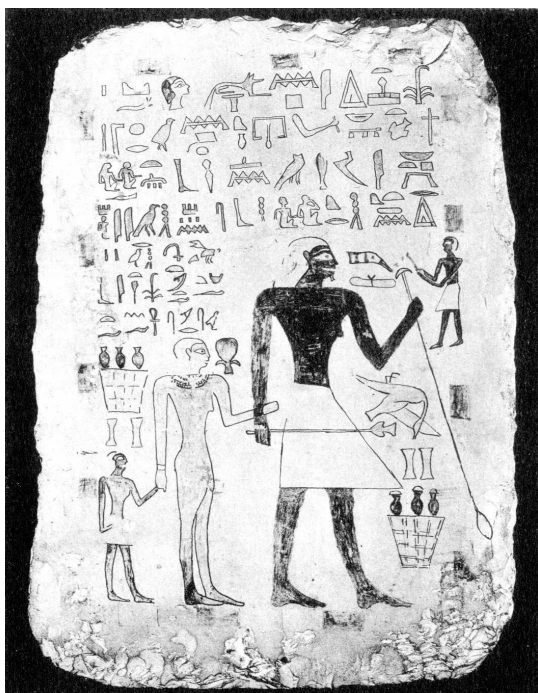


2. Stela in situ in SF 5005 (Dunham 1937: pl. i [2])

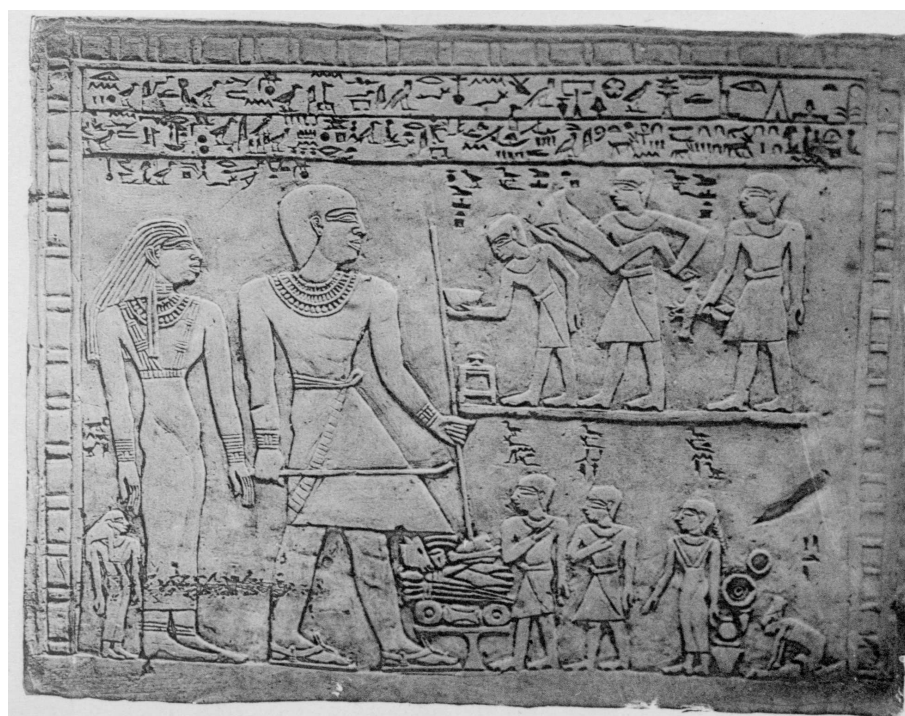


3. Stela in situ in NeD 3804 (Dunham 1937: pl. i [3])

Plate 6

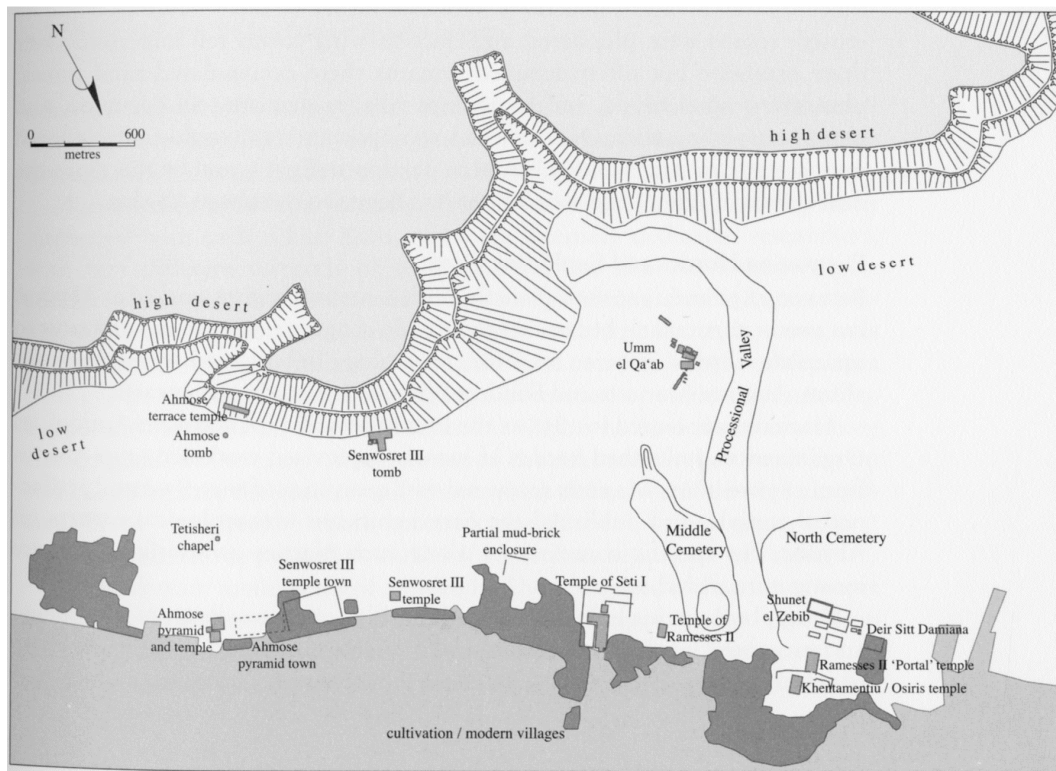


1. Boston MFA 12.1476 (Dunham 1937: no. 2, pl. ii [2]) 2. NY 25.2.3 (Dunham 1937: no. 78, pl. xxviii [2])

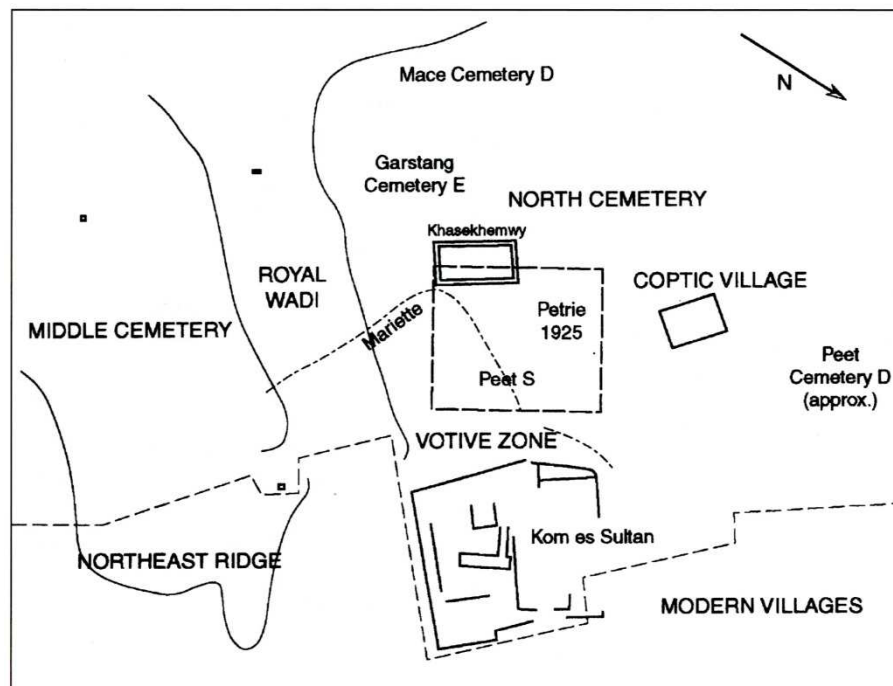


3. Stela Ashmolean E.3927 (Petrie and Griffith 1900: pl. xi)

Plate 7

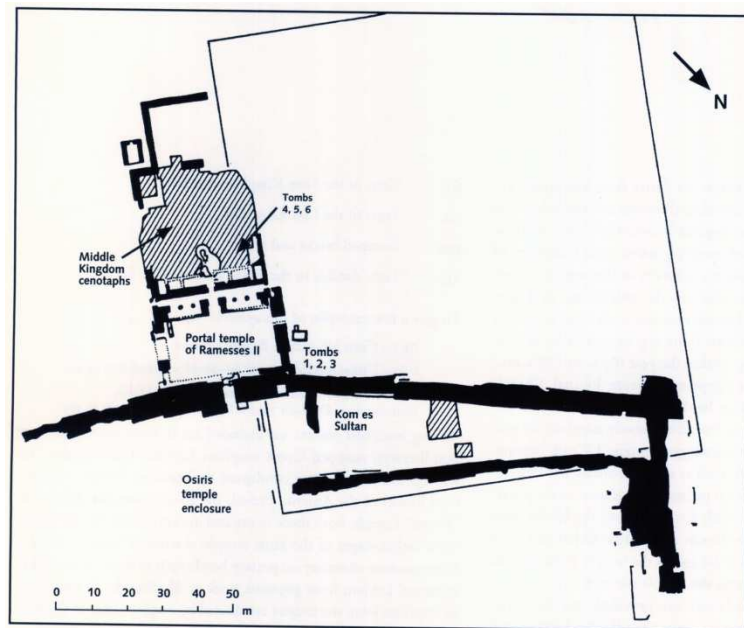


1. Map of Abydos (O'Connor 2009: 25)

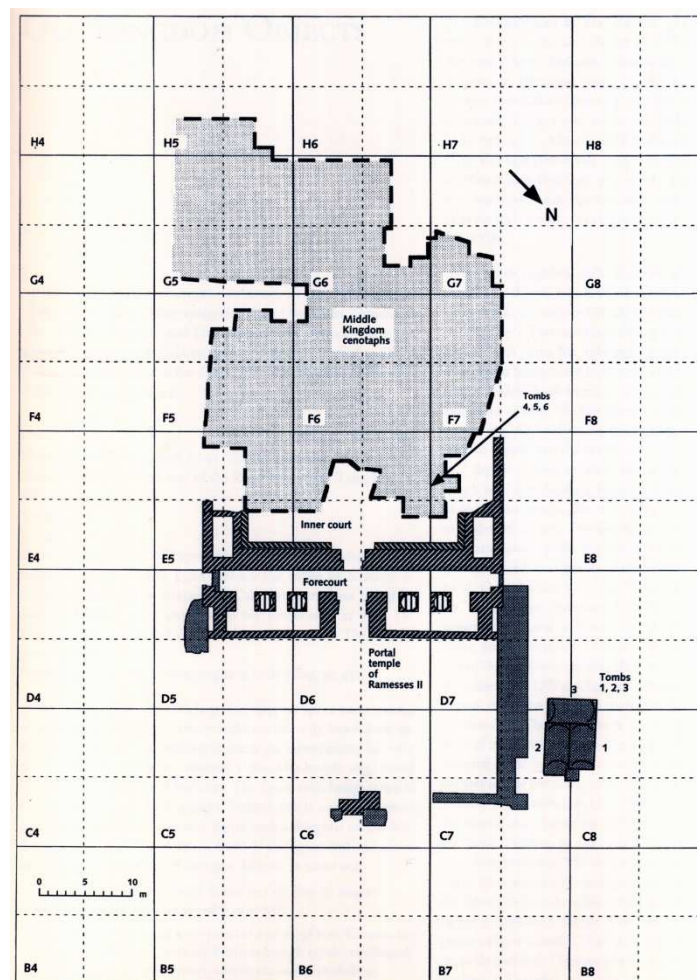


2. Composite map of Abydos (Richards 2005: 140, fig. 61)

Plate 8

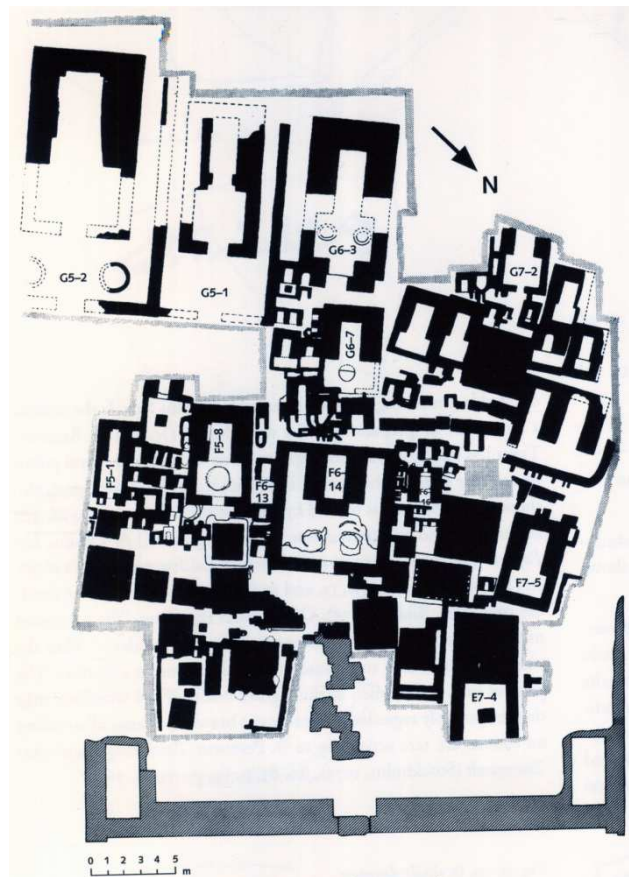


1. Plan of Pennsylvania-Yale excavation area (Simpson 1995: 2, fig. 2)

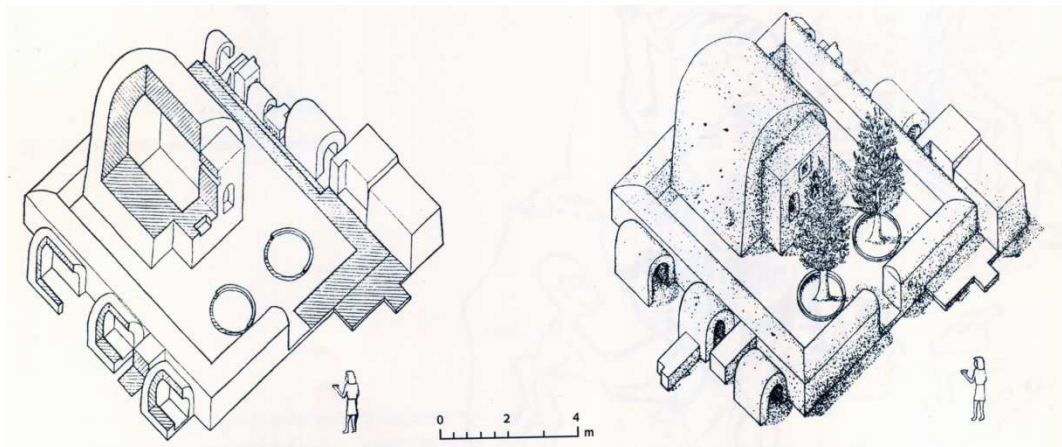


2. Detailed plan of Pennsylvania-Yale excavation area (Simpson 1995: 3, fig. 3)

Plate 9



1. Plan of Abydos chapels (Simpson 1995: 32, fig. 54)



2. Reconstruction of chapel F 6-14 (Simpson 1995: 32, fig. 55)

Plate 10



1. Mudbrick chapels at Abydos (O'Connor 1985: pl. i [a])



2. Votive zone at Abydos (O'Connor 2009: 92, fig. 43)

Plate 11



1. Votive zone and portal of Ramesses II (Simpson 1995: pl. 1a)



2. Stela in situ in forecourt of chapel E-7 (Simpson 1995: pl. 6b)

Plate 12



1. Stela in situ excavated by Garstang in 1908 (Snape 2011: 123, fig. 8.1)



2. Stela in situ excavated by Garstang in 1907 (Snape 2011: 124, fig. 8.2)

Plate 13



1. Overview of Teti cemetery (Firth 1926: pl. 1)

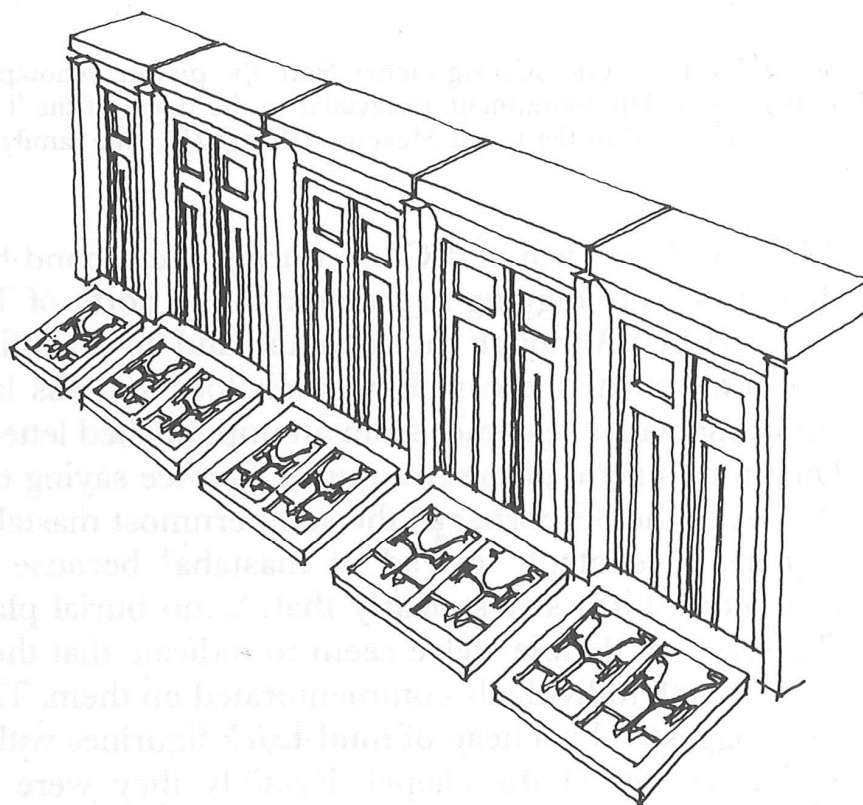


2. Chapel of *sk-wsht* (Posener 1940: fig. 2)

Plate 14

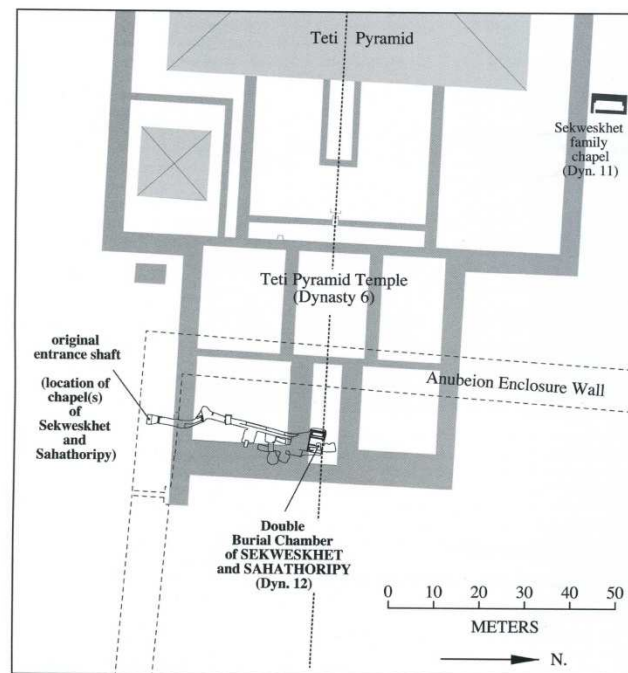


1. Stelae and offering tables of chapel of *sk-wsht* (Daoud 2005: 277, pl. xlvi [4.3])

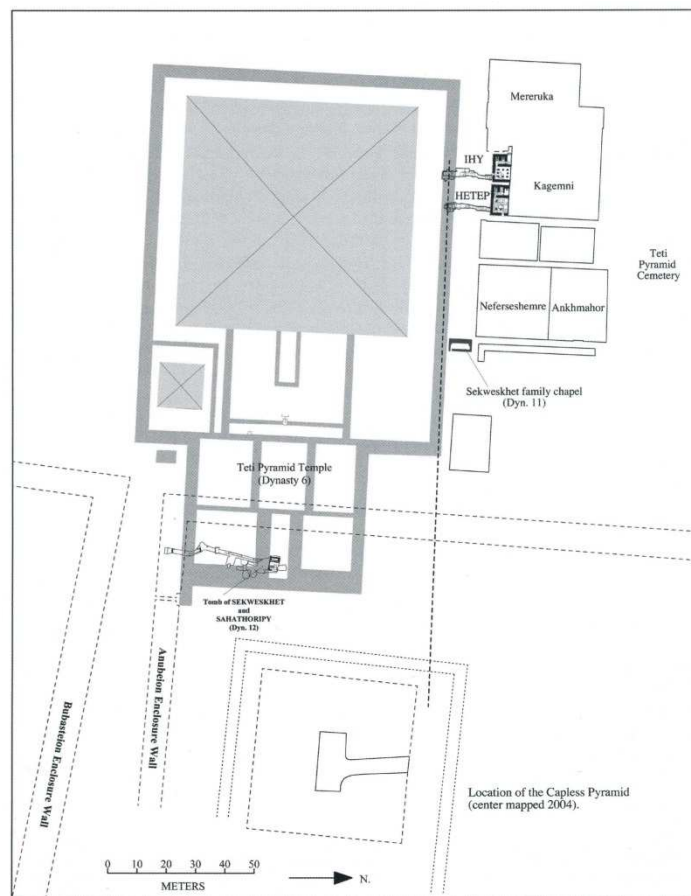


2. Line drawing of chapel of *sk-wsht* (Abdalla 1992: 94, fig. 1b)

Plate 15



1. Tombs of *sk-wsht* and *s3-htjr-jpjj* (Silverman 2009: 82, fig. 24)

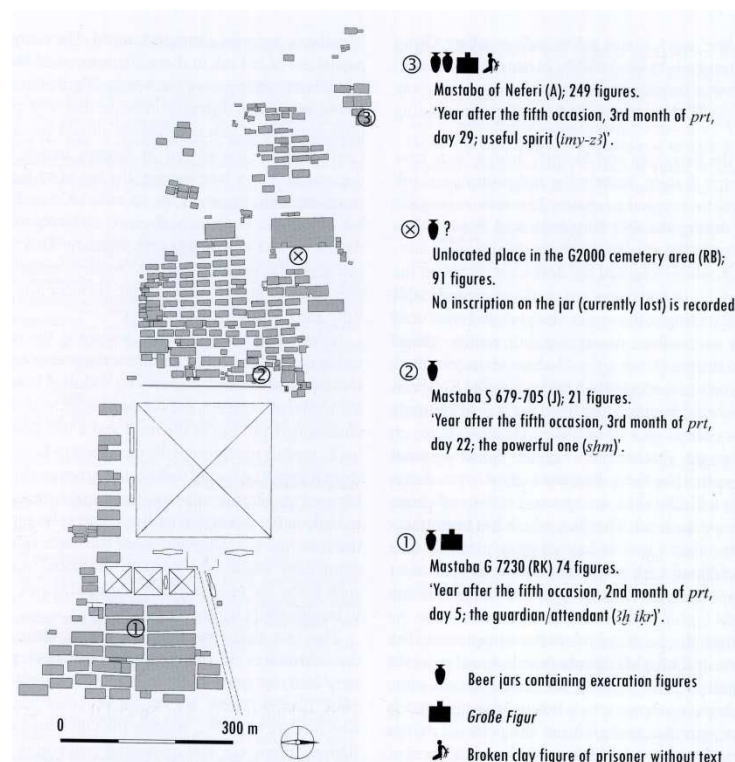


2. Plan of Teti cemetery with chapel of *sk-wsht* (Silverman 2009: 95, fig. 31)

Plate 16



1. Execration figure Brussels E.7442 (Posener 1940: fig. 1)



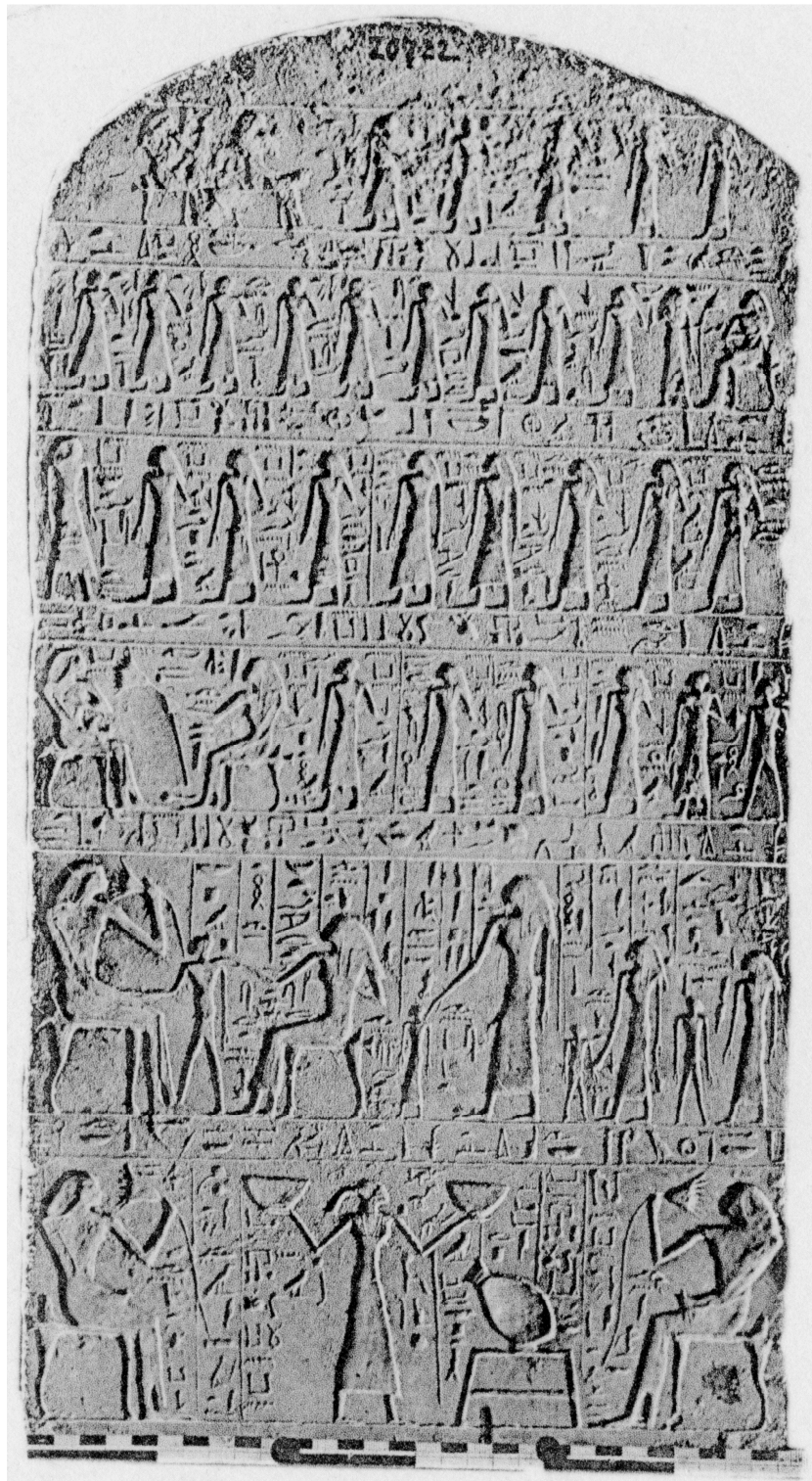
2. Findspots of execration figures in Giza (Diego Espinel 2013: 30, fig. 3)

Plate 17



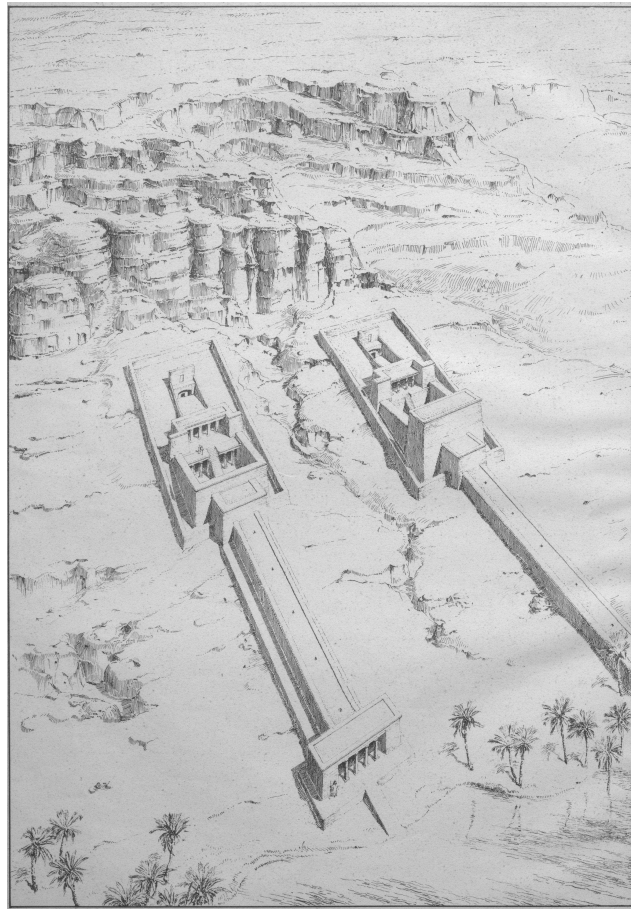
Stela Durham N.1942 (Reproduced by Durham University museums, photograph Kate Weightman)

Plate 18

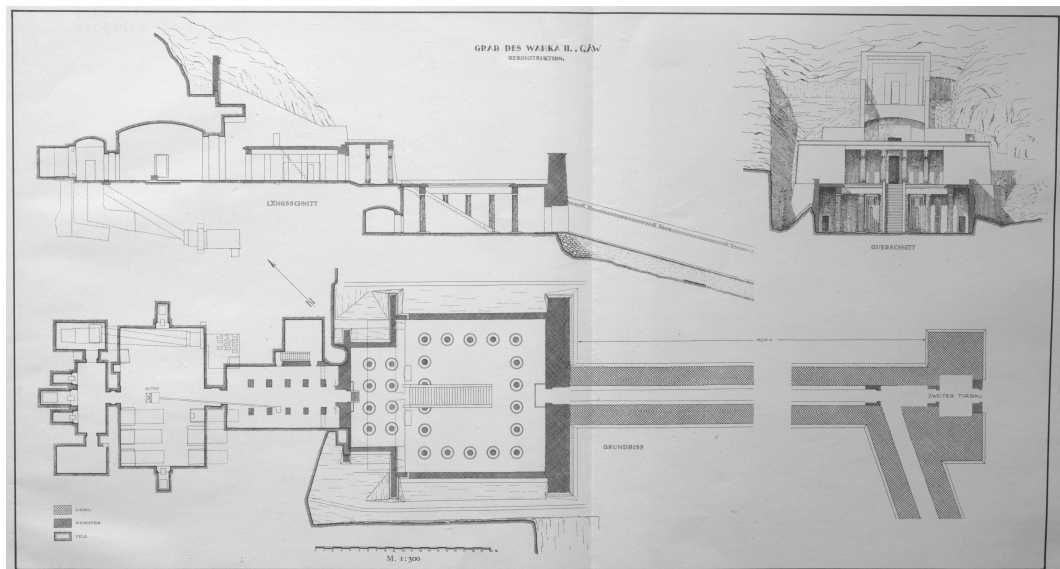


ANOC XXII.1: Stela Cairo CG 20722 (Lange and Schäfer 1902c: pl. liv)

Plate 19



1. Reconstruction of nomarchal tombs in Qaw el-Kebir (Steckeweh 1936)



2. Plans of nomarchal tombs in Qaw el-Kebir (Steckeweh 1936: plan vi)

Plate 20



Stela Chicago OIM 16955 (Dunham 1937: no. 83, pl. xxxi)