

The Middle Kingdom Stelae Publication Project, exemplified by stela BM EA 226

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The present project came into being during a short visit by Vivian Davies and Renée Friedman to my home near Frankfurt Airport on the 26th of June in Summer 2000. Vivian envisaged the project of a publication of the Middle Kingdom stelae in the British Museum, and – to my surprise – asked if I would be interested in undertaking it.

The project is an ambitious one: to replace the old, inadequate and incomplete volumes on Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period stelae in the series *Hieroglyphic Texts From Egyptian Stelae, &c., In The British Museum*, edited early in the last century by Wallis Budge, and largely prepared by H.R. Hall.

I was immediately attracted by this generous request and started to prepare a basic list of objects to be included in the future publication. This list now contains 176 Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period stelae of non-royal origin, about 95 from the Twelfth Dynasty and 81 from the Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties (accepting some chronological overlap).

During an initial visit to the BM in December 2000, it was decided to begin with the stelae datable to the period of the Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties, and I soon prepared draft descriptions of several stelae. The division of work is as follows. The basic descriptions are prepared by me at home in Germany, based on good photographs, and cross-checked with the original objects during visits to the BM. The drawings, where necessary, will be done by Richard Parkinson, and additional chapters or notes on workshops, style, and date of the stelae are to be provided by Marcel Marée, who is just finishing his PhD thesis on these questions. I believe this is a very good team and a co-operative project of great promise.

During my second visit to the BM in July 2001, I started, together with Marcel Marée, to check my descriptions against the originals again. About twenty descriptions are now ready, or nearly ready, all done to the same format.

The future publication will comprise four volumes of the *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*, two volumes devoted to the stelae from the Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties (also perhaps including ten or so royal objects), and another two to the stelae of the Twelfth Dynasty. The first volume will, we hope, be ready early in 2004.

What follows is just an example (using stela BM EA 226) of the basic format of the descriptions of the stelae, including a sketch-plan of its layout, the translations, a commentary, genealogies (where useful), bibliography, and good photograph(s).

Stela BM EA 226 deserves attention because of several peculiarities: the vivid colours still existing (see Fig. 1), the manner of fashioning the human face, the special gesture of the arms with both palms facing upwards, as if holding something on them, the many hieratic signs and the hieratic graffiti in the lunette, the special design of the kilt worn by the sitting main figure, and the extraordinary ritual scene of presenting a collar in the lowermost register.

Middle Kingdom stelae are a mass of signs and symbols. They are a manifestation of unconscious



Fig. 1 Stela British Museum EA 226. Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

and conscious cultural codes and the deliberate intentions and agreements of the customer(s) and artist(s). They are monuments as well as memorials, and make visible context in all its facets: cultural history, archaeology, religion and rites, sociology and administration, art, style and technology, language and writing, and history. It is a challenge for the Egyptologist to do justice to these petrified encoded messages and to the multiplicity of approaches they offer.

Any help from readers with the description and translation, with hints for further research on certain motifs or problems, or with additional information, especially for the bibliography, is very welcome!

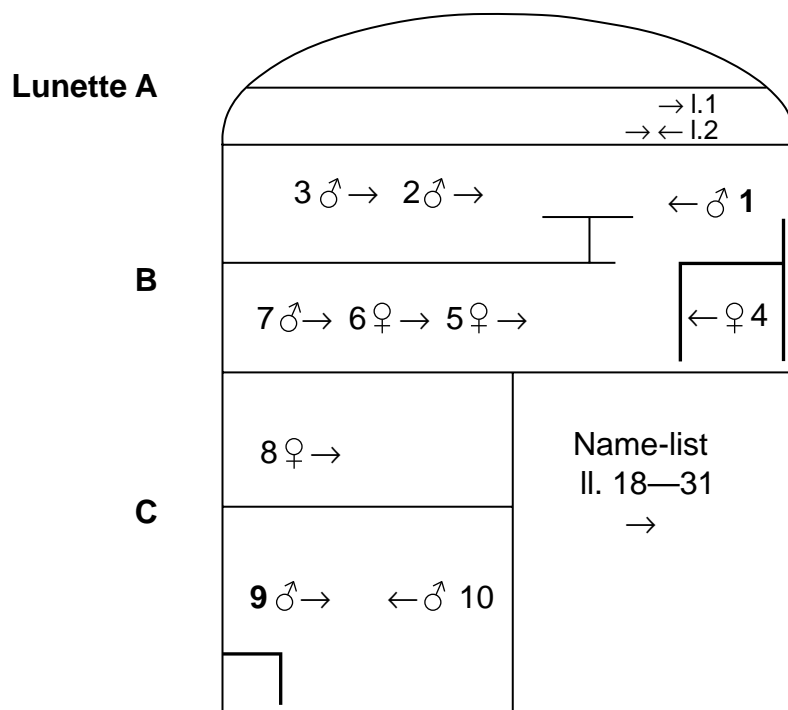


Fig. 2 Schematic diagram of EA 226

Finally, I would like to thank all the staff of the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan, and especially Vivian Davies, its Keeper, for their friendship and generosity, constant help and encouragement. Special thanks go also to Marcel Marée for his patience in answering my requests.

EA 226 Photograph Fig. 1, Schematic diagram Fig. 2

Registration Number: <none>

Main Person(s): Wadjhaw, Senwosret, Amenemhetsenbef

Origin: Unknown, but probably Abydos

Date: Second half of Thirteenth Dynasty, i.e. c. 1730–1670 BC

Material: White limestone

Measurements: Height 42.4 cm (through centre), Width c. 26.2 cm, Depth c. 5 cm (left)–6.3 cm (right)

Acquisition: Salt Collection 1835, lot 433.

I. General description

A tall rectangular, round-topped stela, divided into two registers, each with two sub-registers. Figures and hieroglyphs are incised. Right lower half with a list of names only. Many hieratic signs. Traces of a hieratic graffito in black ink on the left half of the lunette.

Modern labels: '226' in red ink in the centre of the lunette; old paper label 'Lot 433' affixed to the lunette; above it, black ink traces '25' and some illegible signs in a smaller script; top side: 'S 433'

(black ink); right side, bottom: '1835 Salt. 433' (red ink).

Treatment of sides: Roughly smoothed with an adze on the left side, much better on right, bottom and top sides.

Back: Roughly hammered straight to concave, some vertical adze- or chisel marks.

State of conservation: Quite good. Some damage on upper left edge, and lower left side under the chair.

Colours: Red: Uncovered parts of the male bodies; the two vessels, the bovine limb, and the bovine head on the table of offerings. Yellow: Uncovered bodies of the kneeling children, and of the woman on the left (figure 8); the stand of the offering table, the eight upright breads, the chair of the sitting man; traces in some hieroglyphs of the name-list. Traces of a dark residue in some hieroglyphs of the second line.

II. Scenes & Inscriptions

The stela has a lunette (A) and two registers (B, C), each divided in its left half into two sub-registers. The lower register covers nearly half of the height of the stela.

Lunette (A)

The lunette is undecorated, except for a hieratic graffito on its left half (see below §II.1). Its lower part is covered by two lines of inscription with an offering-formula in a very abridged version on behalf of three men, one in the first line (whose name is identical with that of figure 9), and two in the second line, written antithetically, and very probably naming figures 1 and 2.

→ (1) *h̄tp-(r)dj(w)-nswt wpj-wswt*

dj=fprt-hrw t hnqt ht nbt

n k3 nj w3b w3d-h3w

(2) ← *n k3 nj zj-nj-wsrt jr.n sn-^cnh m3^c-hrw*

→ *(n k3 nj) shd šmsjw jmn-m-h3t-snb=f*

(1) An offering which the King has given, and Wepwawet:

he may give an invocation-offering of bread and beer, and everything,
for the spirit of the *Wab*-priest Wadjhaw,

(2) for the spirit of Senwosret, born of Senankh, the vindicated,

(and) for the spirit of the Instructor of followers Amenemhetsenbef.

First Register (B)

The right half is covered by the large figure (1) of a sitting man facing left. The upper part of his body is naked. Some details of the face are shown like the very large narrow eye, the nose with its nasolabial wrinkle, the lips, and an incised line from the ear to the chin, indicating his jaw-bone. He has short hair, leaving the ear uncovered, and is clad in a calf-length kilt decorated in a kind of zig-zag or 'her-ring-bone' pleating design.¹ Its girdle is marked by a double line. He sits on a chair with a low backrest and leonine feet on small 'coasters'. Both arms are stretched out forward, and are bent at the elbow, showing the hands rather horizontally with the palms upward. His left arm overlaps the elbow of the right arm.

¹ For pleating designs, see B. Fay, *MDAIK* 52 (1996), 117ff, 134.

While this figure occupies the whole height of the register, the centre and left part of the register is divided into two sub-registers.

The *upper sub-register* shows a large offering-table in front of the seated man, whose hands are stretched out as if to grasp the offerings, or even to carry them in his palms. The offering-table has a base and a high stand. On its left and right edge are shown respectively four loaves of bread, as if standing upright. In the centre is a triangular loaf, and a low rectangular unidentified object above a concave vessel or bowl. On top of these objects are placed, from right to left, a bovine head, and, above a bovine limb, a concave bowl, a round loaf, and another bowl.

On the left side two men kneel on both knees facing right, without a baseline. Both have short hair, and calf-length kilts with a girdle, whose girdle-knot is visible as an erect node. The first man (figure 2) holds in his left hand a peduncle with an open lotus blossom, directed to his nose, as if he smells it. His right arm is bent at the elbow and the fist touches his breast. He and his neighbour display the same facial details as figure 1.

The man to the left (figure 3) holds in his right fist, which is placed in the height of his left shoulder, a curved peduncle with an open lotus blossom, directed to his face. His left arm is stretched out diagonally forward, and the hand lies on his knee with the palm upwards.

There is one vertical line of inscription behind him:

↓→ (l. 3) *sn=f snb-r-3w* ‘His brother Seneberaw’

The *lower sub-register* shows four kneeling children, very probably children of figure 1. Noteworthy are their elongated narrow eyes. One girl (figure 4) kneels on both knees under the chair of figure 1, facing left. She wears a calf-length close-fitting skirt, and has a young girls’ typical hairstyle with the ears uncovered, and a single pigtail tress pendant at the back of her head.² The right arm is stretched out forward, and the left arm is bent at the elbow, so that the hand is directly in front of her mouth. It appears as if she is sucking her thumb.

The space in front of her and the chairs’ seat and front leg is covered by an inscription:

↓→ (l. 4) *z3t=f nbw-hr-hnt* ‘His daughter Nubherkhent’

Directly in front of figure 1, another daughter (figure 5) kneels facing right. There are no details visible of her body, except for the narrow eye, the nose, mouth and lips, the ear, and the pointed neck-cut of her skirt. She has a peculiar hairstyle with short hair except for an fixed high tuft of hair, looking like a truncated cone or conical cap, and a smaller bun of hair protruding from the back of her head.³ Her left arm is stretched out forward, with the hand, palm downward, resting above her knee. The right hand is raised to the height of her shoulders. It looks as if she is holding something (a closed lotus blossom, or some fruit?) in her hand, presenting it to the seated man.

There is one vertical line of inscription in front of her:

↓→ (l. 5) *z3t=f jb* ‘His daughter Ib’ (written with the sign Möller, *Paläographie*, I, no. 139)

It follows a kneeling girl (figure 6) with a pigtail hairstyle. Her right hand touches the breast, and her left hand holds an object, which could be a closed lotus blossom or fruit again, as if she smells it.

² For some other examples, see Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 124f.

³ It is different from that of a female asiatic servant on stela Roanne, Musée J. Déchelette, Inv. 163 (H. De Meulenaere, *CdE* 40 (1985), 78) and the ones discussed by Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 124f.

One vertical line in front of her, above and below her left arm:

→ (l. 6) *z3t=f mntw-ḥtp* ‘His daughter Mentuhotep’

The last figure (7) in the row is a kneeling boy, wearing short hair. His gesture is the same as with figure 6, but his left fist is empty.

One line in front of him: ↓ → (l. 7) *z3=f snb=f* ‘His son Senbef’

All terms of kinship are very probably relating to the large sitting man (figure 1), who might be the ‘Senwosret’ of line 2, right.

Second register (C)

This register is divided into a name-list covering the whole right half of the register, and two sub-registers on the left half, marked by incised vertical and horizontal lines (except for the right and lower edges).

The *upper sub-register* shows a kneeling woman (figure 8) in front of an offering-table with an oversized bowl. She wears a long wig, leaving her ear uncovered, with the hair falling down her back and overlapping her right arm, and a close-fitting long skirt bound by (apparently two?) shoulder-straps across her shoulders. The narrow eye, nasolabial wrinkle, jaw-bone, and mouth are clearly visible. Her right hand touches her breast, while her left arm is stretched out forward, and in the fist she holds a lotus flower, pointing to her face. In front of her is a rather large drinking bowl, placed on the table-top of an offering-table with a tall stand. Between this and the woman is a jar of unguent, as if floating in the air.

To the right of the offering-table with the bowl is a short name-list with four horizontal entries (ll. 9–12), and one vertical line 8 (probably with the name of the woman depicted), marked by a vertical incised line.

Vertical line (8): ↓ → *nbt pr nfrt-jw* ‘The Lady of the house Nefretiu’

Horizontal lines with names: →

(9a) *z3=s* (9b) *nst(?)* ‘Her son Neset(?) ‘(My) seat’)

(10) *z3t=s jw<ḥ?>t-jb.w* ‘Her daughter Iu<he?>tibu’

(11) *snt=s snbt* ‘Her sister Senbet’

(12) *ḥmt tj-ḥpt* ‘The female slave Tihepet’

Above the left hand and behind the head of figure 8 is a horizontal line:

→ (13) *sn=s nmj* ‘Her brother Neni’

The *lower sub-register* shows two men: One (Wadjhaw, figure 9) sits on a chair without backrest, facing right, and his son (figure 10) stands in front of him, presenting towards him a large necklace with two counterpoises. There is no incised baseline for the scene.

The seated man wears a shoulder-length wig, leaving his ear uncovered. His nose and jaw-bone are clearly marked, and he has a short beard on the chin. The upper part of his body is naked, and he wears a calf-length kilt with its girdle marked by a double line. Both his arms are stretched forward, and are slightly bent at the elbow. The hands are open, with the palms facing downwards. His left hand touches the collar presented to him, and his right hand is raised to the height of his shoulders. The chair only consists of the foreleg and the seat, marked by a double line, while the vertical left borderline of the register takes the place of the hind legs.

Caption to the sitting man (9): → (l. 14) *wʿb w3d-h<3w>* ‘The *Wab*-priest Wadjh<aw>’

Opposite him, a man (figure 10) stands. He has short hair with the ear uncovered, and the narrow eye, the nose, mouth, and the jaw-bone are visible. He seems to wear a knee-length kilt with a girdle; but in fact, there are vestiges of two kilts of different length, one ending above the knees, and a wider knee-length one. His right leg is set forward, as if he is striding, and the right foot is overlapped by the feet of the sitting man. Both his arms are stretched forward. In his hands, he holds an oversized collar, consisting of two large long-handled counterpoises, a string of round beads, and a threefold bib, marked by short diagonal strokes in three lines.

One line in front of the head of the standing man (10):

→ (l. 15): *z3=frn-snb* ‘His son Renseneb’

Two further lines with names in rather clumsy cursive writing are scratched underneath the chair of figure 9:

→ (16) *kmst* ‘Kemeset’

→ (17) *sbk(?)=ddw* ‘Sobek(?)dedu’

The *name-list* on the right half has fourteen vertical lines (→) with fifteen names and many hieratic signs, accompanied on the left edge by only eleven determinatives in different shapes of seated human figures. They are added rather schematically, but nevertheless in relation to the gender of the names. At first, there are two females (for ll. 18–19), then follow two sitting males (without their chairs) (for ll. 20–21), another two females (for ll. 22–23), then four hieratic figures of a sitting man (for ll. 24ff.), and at last a larger male figure seated on a chair with baseline and high backrest (probably relating to the *Wab*-priest of l. 30).

The list has a typical format: the kinship terms are all justified to the right margin, followed by a proper name. They are omitted with the second proper name, etc., but nevertheless are to be read, until a new kinship term precedes a proper name. The proper names are indented with the same space from the right margin, and aligned with each other.

The list gives names of relatives of the principal person on the stela, Senwosret (figure 1).

(l. 18) *mwt=fsn-ʿnh* ‘His mother Senankh’

(19) *hmt=fmwt-snt* ‘His wife Mutsenet’

(20) *sn=frh<w>-ʿnh* ‘His brother Reh<u>ankh’

(21) (*sn=f*) *wsr* ‘(His brother) Woser’

(22) *snt=fjb-rs* ‘His sister Ibres’

(23) (*snt=f*) *jʿt-jb* ‘(His sister) Iatib’

(24) *sn=fyiw-ʿ3* ‘His brother Yew-the-elder’

(25) (*sn=f*) *yiw-<hrj?>-jb* ‘(His brother) Yew-the-middle’

(26) (*sn=f*) *yiw-nds* ‘(His brother) Yew-the-younger’ (with Möller, *Paläographie*, I, no. 197)

(27) (*sn=f*) *mntw-sw* ‘(His brother) Monthusu’

(28) (*sn=f*) *ʿnhw* ‘(His brother) Ankhu’

(29) *jtj=fjst* ‘His father Ishetek’

(30) *wʿb rn-snb z3 hrw-ʿ3* ‘The *Wab*-priest Renseneb, son of Horaa’

(31) *sbk(?)=htp* ‘Sobekhotep’

II.1. The hieratic graffito in the lunette (Fig. 3)

The hieratic signs are rather faint, and difficult to decipher. Very probably the graffito gives some more names, and finishes with a female name ending in ...-*z3t* ‘Daughter of ...’. Hieratic graffiti and captions are frequently found on Middle Kingdom stelae, but unfortunately, many of them have disappeared or were washed away by modern cleaning, and others are in such a bad state that they are almost unreadable.

III. Textual notes

- 2 *shd šmsjw*: The title, translated by W. Ward, *Titles*, no. 1336, as ‘Inspector of retainers’, is a common military title of middle rank, see S. Quirke, *RdE* 37 (1986), 122; Berlev, *OOE*, 221ff. The ‘followers (of the ruler)’ are a kind of picked troop and the soldiers of the royal guard. It is difficult to differentiate the tasks of a *shd* ‘instructor, or inspector’ from those of an *3tw* ‘trainer-commander’ of troops, but perhaps the first was predominantly an administrative title, the second more practical. This is the only title here with a military touch, the others being priestly titles of low rank.
- 12 *hmt*: Very probably, the element *hm(w)t* does not belong to the proper name, but is a status marker and title. The fullest account on ‘female servants’ as counterpart of the male *hmw-nswt* ‘servant of the King’ is still O.D. Berlev, *Trudovoe naselenie Egipta v epochu srednego carstva. Social’nyi sloj ‘Carskich hmw’* (Moscow 1972), 45ff. These servants were of egyptian origin – as opposed to the foreign ‘asiatic servants’ – and members of richer households with specific functions or occupations, like spinners and weavers, gardeners and hairdressers. They were rather frequently depicted in tombs or on stelae. Note, that on the stela Napoli 1018 from the same workshop (see below), three sons of the stela’s owner are occupied with food-production (Berlev, *Trudovoe*, 263f.).

IV. General comments, style and date

This stela attracts attention because of several peculiarities: the still extant vivid colours, the manner of fashioning the human face, the many hieratic signs and the formatted name-list, the special design of the kilt worn by figure 1, and the extraordinary ritual scene of presenting a collar in the lowermost register.

The manner of fashioning the human face with the large elongated narrow eyes and the sharp-cut jaw-bone, the special gesture of the arms with both palms facing upwards, as if holding something on them, and the ‘presenting-a-collar’-scene, are quite innovative features, due to the abilities of a certain artist. The idiosyncrasy of these features permits us to ascribe easily two other stelae to the same workshop and even the same hand, as P. Vernus has noted:⁴ stela BM EA 220 (*HTIV*, pl. 43; **Fig. 4** here), and stela Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, no. 1018.⁵ Marcel Marée has brought a fourth stela

⁴ *Le Surnom*, 10

⁵ G. Botti, *Studi Orientali V* (Studies Francesco Gabrieli, Roma 1964), 41–44, pl. I; G. Hölbl, *Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli: Le Stele funerarie della collezione Egizia* (Roma 1985), 8–10 (no. 4), pl. IV; R. Cantilena and P. Rubino, *La Collezione Egiziana del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli* (Napoli 1989), 158f. [21]. – A Mentu-aa, son of the Lady Mentuhotep and engendered by Nisumonthu, owns the roughly contemporary stela Berlin 7296 (*ÄIB*, I, 200), made in a very different style. It is quite uncertain, if he was the son of the owner of the stela at Napoli.

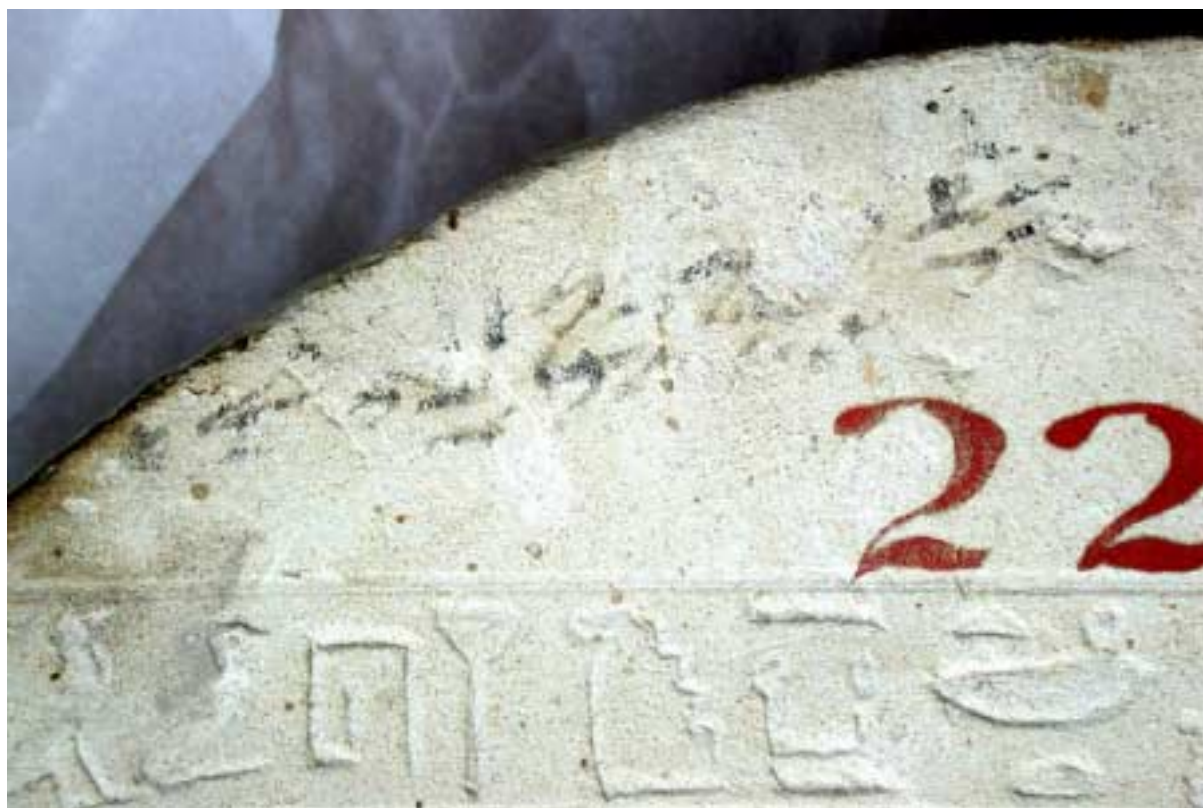


Fig. 3 Detail of hieratic on stela EA 226.
Photograph courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum. Drawing by R.B. Parkinson



Fig. 4 Stela British Museum EA 220. Photograph courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum

to my attention which very probably was produced by the same workshop: CCG 20297, owned by a 'Workman of *Djerti/ el-Tod*' (*k3wtj nj d3rtj*), found at Abydos. The style of the hieroglyphs in the offering-formula is very similar to that of the other three stelae, as well as the rather cursive writings in the name-list, but the layout of the list and the modelling of the human figures is a little bit different.

There are some reasons for the statement 'Peculiar crude style' of H.R. Hall (in *HTIII*, p. 5, *sub* pl. III, Exh. no. 303), because it is peculiar indeed, and the abundant cursive, hieratic writings are 'crude' in a certain way. Certainly, the quality of the stelae should be classified as 'second rate'.

The upward palms of the seated human figure. The gesture of the arms held forward with the palms upward, displayed on BM EA 220, EA 226 and Napoli 1018 only (the gesture of the main person on CCG 20297 is a little bit different), is a two-dimensional version of the gesture shown by the so-called ‘beggar-statues’ with the upward palms, prepared to receive food-offerings.⁶ The gesture with both arms raised, as shown with the kneeling woman on BM EA 220, is also comparable to the gesture of offering-bearers, rarely shown on other stelae, e.g. very like the gesture of a standing woman who presents a bread and a cup to the owner on stela Aberdeen, Marischal Museum no. 15651 (late Thirteenth/Sixteenth Dynasty, from Elkab?).

Though the four stelae certainly belong to the same workshop, and were ordered by people probably of the same family-clan or peer-group, there are no direct or secure family-ties between the families and the individuals of the name-lists on the stelae – except for the *Wab*-priest Renseneb, son of Horaa (BM EA 226, l. 30),⁷ who is also mentioned on stela CCG 20297, l. 6 (*sic*). Perhaps a ‘missing link’ stela is yet to be recognised. But there are some onomastic parallels (*mwt-snt* (see below), *nfrt-jw*, *jj-mrw*, *njsw-mntw*, *btw*, *yjw*, *z3t-jjj*, *rhw-ꜥnh*, *pzšw*), and the stelae are all featuring different *Wab*-priests of low rank (Wadjhaw, Ankhu-Senwosret, Nisumonhu, and Renseneb).

The scene of presenting a collar. An unique feature on BM EA 226 is the ritual scene of representing a collar to a (probably dead) man by his son. This is a scene normally restricted to temple ritual or tomb decoration,⁸ and, as such, it was never before depicted on a stela. There are some scenes of presenting collars by women,⁹ and even men are shown in tomb reliefs with counterpoises in their hands, using them like castanets for clattering.¹⁰ The ‘hathoric’ context in tomb B no. 1 at Meir is quite obvious. In some reliefs at the Sinai, Hathor is shown presenting collars to king Amenemhet III (*Sinai* nos. 56, 116).¹¹ Collars (*wsb*) and its counterpoises (*mnjt*, *mꜥnh*) are regularly depicted in the object friezes on Middle Kingdom coffins,¹² and broad collars belong to the ornament of ‘osirian’ mummy masks.¹³ The gift of a collar, and the rattling with its counterpoises provides the dead with his proper equipment to acquire the status of an Osiris, and the powers of regeneration and life.

The motif of the bowl on a tall stand in the upper sub-register of the second register (C) has numerous parallels on other stelae from the early Twelfth Dynasty on. The bowl, though rather oversized here, was used for liquids, as some examples demonstrate: On stelae Durham N.1947, Habachi, *Heqaib*, no. 46, and Vienna ÄS 104 for example, men are shown pouring out water from *ḥz* water-pots into a bowl on a tall stand. Sometimes, the bowl looks like a drinking cup on a stand (*en vogue* in the reign

⁶ See D. Franke, *OMRO* 68 (1988), 59ff., and add to the catalogue two further statues from the Sinai: BM EA 14367 (J.D. Cooney, *JEA* 58 (1972), 284, pl. XLV, left), and another one published by R. Giveon, *IEJ* 34 (1984), 154f., pl. 19. Both date very probably to the reign of Amenemhet III.

⁷ For this kind of direct filiation see O.D. Berlev, ‘Sposoby ukazaniia filiacii v pišmennosti srednego carstva’, *Pal-estinskij Sbornik* 9(72) (1962), 13–42.

⁸ Some examples in New Kingdom theban tombs: TT73 (scene 3: PM I, 143f.; *Urk.* IV, 455ff.); TT96 (PM I, 200(25), 203[H]); TT182 (PM I, 289[1]); TT192 (PM I, 299[8]); TT226 (PM I, 327[4]).

⁹ *Meir* I, pl. II; on the back of the New Kingdom chair of Satamun [CCG 51113: PM I, 563].

¹⁰ *Meir* I, pl. II; XVIII, 2; Davies and Gardiner, *Antefoker*, pl. XVIII [TT 60]; *LÄ* III, 447ff.

¹¹ For Hathor with collars, see too *Sinai* nos. 125, 126 from the reign of Amenemhet IV.

¹² Jéquier, *Frises d’objets*, 62ff.; *LÄ* II, 934; IV, 52f. See too S.L. Gosline, *DE* 30 (1994), 37ff., and note, that Ankhu, a late Twelfth Dynasty courtier, had the title of *frj mnjt* ‘Keeper of the *Menit*-counterpoise’ (Boston MFA 1971.403, l. (x+6), see Franke, in: H. Altenmüller and R. Germer (eds.), *Miscellanea Aegyptologica* (Festschrift Helck; Hamburg 1989), 76, 87).

¹³ E.g. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* I, 310 fig. 201.

of Amenemhet III and later, see comments on BM EA 209); an early Twelfth Dynasty example is on stela Hannover 2929. There are several examples with lotus flowers laid upon the bowl, but more often, the bowl is shown without lotus and on a low stand (see also comments on BM EA 361).

The date of the four stelae is not easy to fix. The shape of the hieratic signs is that of late Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties handwritings. BM EA 226 and Napoli 1018 have the 'late' variant of the offering-formula,¹⁴ while BM EA 220 and CCG 20297 have its 'early' variant (type I). There are also females with a male proper name (BM EA 226, l. 6: Mentuhotep; like on Napoli 1018 the donors' wife), a custom met sometimes in the late Thirteenth Dynasty, and later.

These observations favour a date in the second or third quarters of the Thirteenth Dynasty (c. 1730–1670 BC), according to Ryholt's segmentation of the dynasty.¹⁵

The common names in the families built on the element 'Mentu-', and the female double-name *Renseneb/Nebhepetre* (i.e. with the prenomen of the famous Eleventh Dynasty king) on Napoli 1018 could favour an origin of the families in the theban area. This suggestion is confirmed by the origin of the owner of stela CCG 20297, who worked at the town of *Djerti*, modern el-Tod, about twenty kilometres south of Luxor.

V. Genealogies

The main person and probable donor of the stela is the seated man in register B, right (figure 1), I presume, a man without title named *Senwosret*, son of *Senankh*, according to line 2. Because Lady *Senankh* is called 'his mother' in the first line of the name-list in C (l. 18), all the relationships on the stela, where specified, should refer to *Senwosret* (except for l. 15).

Accordingly, his father was *Ishetek* (l. 29), his wife was *Mutsenet* (l. 19), and his four children are depicted in the lower sub-register of B. The name-list in C has the names of seven brothers and two sisters (ll. 20–28), and some colleagues (ll. 30–31).

There is the faint possibility that *Senwosret's* wife *Mutsenet* (BM EA 226, l. 19) could have been identical with woman of the same name mentioned on stela BM EA 220 (last l. 13b upper left; a sister of the stela's owner *Ankhu-Senwosret?*).

It is difficult to make out the exact relationship of the other four men (figures 2, 3, 9, 10) and the single woman (figure 8) to *Senwosret*. If 'his brother' of l. 3 (referring to figure 3) relates to *Senwosret* as well and not only to *Amenemhatsenbef*, the 'instructor of followers' *Amenemhatsenbef* and *Seneberaw* (figures 2 and 3) were brothers of *Senwosret*, too.

The Lady *Neferetiu* (figure 8, l. 8), with her 'own' name-list of relatives, including a female servant (l. 9–12), and her brother *Neni* (l. 13), and the Priest *Wadjhaw* (who is mentioned in l. 1, too) with his son *Renseneb* (l. 15, not *Senwosret's* son, I presume) are not explicitly related to any other person on the stela. Perhaps *Wadjhaw* is a colleague of *Senwosret*.

A diagram of the genealogies for the different families seems to be not warranted at present because of the many uncertainties.

¹⁴ Vernus in Quirke, *Middle Kingdom Studies*, type II.

¹⁵ *The Political Situation In Egypt During The Second Intermediate Period* (Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications, Vol. 20. University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen 1997), 296 ff.

VI. Bibliography

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 P. Vernus, *Le Surnom* (Roma 1986), 10, sub no. [31]
 P. Vernus, in: S. Quirke (ed.): *Middle Kingdom Studies* (New Malden, Surrey 1991), 147f.

Abbreviated References

Abbreviations are those of the 'Lexikon der Ägyptologie' (W. Helck and E. Otto (eds.), Wiesbaden 1972ff.; abbr. *LÄ*), and:

- ÄIB: *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*. 2 Vols. Leipzig 1913–1924.
 CCG: Cairo, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire.
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