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The scribes of the *hnrt wr* Senebeni and Sobekhotep* (Stela Edinburgh A.1951.344)

Micòl Di Teodoro

(Taf. 25–26)

Abstract

This paper presents the Middle Kingdom funerary stela Edinburgh A.1951.344, commemorating the scribe of the *hnrt wr* Senebeni, in its association with other monuments recording Senebeni and his son, the scribe of the *hnrt wr* Sobekhotep: Cairo CG 20145, Guimet C8, Marseille 228, and Tübingen 458. These stelae are important sources for the exploration of kinship ties and working relationships of individuals associated with different administrative units during the late Middle Kingdom. Special emphasis will be given to the institution *hnrt wr*, whose roles can be better defined by examining the type of function titles held by relatives and colleagues of Senebeni and Sobekhotep.

1 Description

The funerary stela with inventory number A.1951.344 is preserved in the National Museums Scotland, Egyptian Collection of the Ancient Mediterranean Department of World Cultures, Edinburgh (Tafel 25). This stela was given to the museum anonymously in 1951.¹

The owner of the monument is the ‘scribe of the *hnrt wr*’ Senebeni. It is a Middle Kingdom round-topped stela with separate lunette (L: Tafel 26). The latter displays the protective *wḏjt* eyes, each one flanked on its external side by water lines, three on the right and two on the left. In the middle the *wsh* cup is located. Eyes, water and cup are symbols of regeneration and purification.² The stela is in good condition. Made of limestone, it measures 33 x 49.5 x 7.5cm. It is well cut and executed in sunk relief with attention to inner details. Remains of the original pigments still survive in some parts of the surface. Red colour covers the skin of the male figures, while yellow characterises the women’s skin, according to the conventional gender-specific colours.³ Yellow hues and spots are particularly recognisable in the *wḏjt* eyes, the offering table, and in the central part of the stela around the hieroglyphic inscriptions. This suggests that the entire surface of the stela was originally painted in yellow. Grey-black pigment is still visible in many of the hieroglyphic signs.

* I am grateful to Margaret Maitland, Curator of the Ancient Mediterranean Department of World Cultures of the National Museums Scotland, for granting me the permission to publish this stela. I am also grateful to Gisèle Pierini of the Musée d’Archéologie Méditerranéenne of Marseilles for providing me with the image of stela Marseille 228. I would like to thank Susanne Beck, Curator of the Egyptian Collection of the Museum of the University of Tübingen, and Nina Willburger, Referatsleiterin Klassische und Provinzialrömische Archäologie of the Landesmuseum of Stuttgart, for the information about the acquisition history of stela Tübingen 458. I would also like to thank Danijela Stefanović, University of Belgrade, for the useful exchanges. My thanks are also due to my friend and colleague Andrea Lorenzoni for his diagram on scale of Edinburgh A.1951.344. Finally I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Stephen Quirke for his valuable suggestions and continuous guidance.

¹ Margaret Maitland pers. comm. 18/07/2016.

² R. Hözl, Round-Topped Stelae from the Middle Kingdom to the Late Period: Some remarks on the decoration of the Lunettes, in: *Atti Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia I*, Torino 1992, 287.

³ H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, reprinted with revisions by E. Brunner-Traut and J. Baines, Oxford 1986, 71.

Beneath the lunette are four framed registers (I–IV: Tafel 26). The vertical and horizontal lines which divide the stela are generally accurately cut, though not quite straight in some parts, and with varying thickness, notably at the wavering thicker line between lines 29–30 in the fourth register. A central line divides the second and third registers in two halves. Each half comprises two kneeling figures seated opposite one another with vertical columns of hieroglyphic captions between them (Tafel 25; C–J: Tafel 26). In each half of the second register a woman (C and E: Tafel 26) faces a man (D and F: Tafel 26), while the third register shows men only. The first register includes the owner of the stela (A: Tafel 26) on the left side and his son facing him on the right side (B: Tafel 26). The owner is depicted sitting on a lion-legged chair. He wears a short-pleated kilt with marked belt. His right arm is extended forward and the palm faces down. His left arm is bent and the hand held against his chest grasping a piece of folded cloth. His hair is short leaving the ears uncovered, shared features of all the other male figures. In front of him is the offering table with twelve half-loaves of bread on it. Neither other offerings or mat are present. On the opposite side of the register stands his son, the dedicator of the monument and performer of the ritual. He wears a calf-length kilt with knot and has both arms raised forward; he holds up a *mrḥt* ointment jar with his right hand, while the left is raised behind the jar with the palm towards the owner, in adoration pose. All the individuals, men and women, have detailed ears and wear narrow collars. The human figures of second and third registers are seated on the ground with one knee raised. All show the same pose, with one arm forward and the other bent with hand open against the chest. Only one male figure of the second register (D: Tafel 26) holds a cylindrical item which might resemble a papyrus scroll.⁴ The women's hair is depicted according to the 'tripartite style': three bundles with shoulders exposed, typical style of married women.⁵ They all wear a full-length dress. The fourth register consists of fifteen vertical columns of text.

Transliteration and translation

Register I:

↓→ (1) <i>ḥtp dī nsw wsīr</i> <i>ḥnty-īmntt nb</i>	An offering which the king has given and Osiris foremost of the west, lord of
↓→ (2) <i>ʒbdw dī.f prt-ḥrw t</i> <i>ḥnkt iḥw ʒpdw n kʒ n</i>	Abydos, may he give an invocation offerings of bread and beer, beef and fowl for the ka of
↓→ (3) <i>sš n ḥnrt wr</i>	the scribe of the <i>ḥnrt wr</i>
↓→ (4) <i>Snbnī mʒ</i> ⁶	Senebeni ⁶ true of
↓→ (5) <i>ḥrw nb imʒḥ</i>	voice and revered

⁴ I would not identify this object with a bolt of cloth, for its ends look flat rather than rounded. For the representation of folded cloths with rounded ends in depictions, and 2D and 3D sculpture see H. Fischer, An elusive shape within the fistful hands of Egyptian Statues, in: *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 10, 1975, 14–19.

⁵ G. Robins, Hair and the construction of identity in Ancient Egypt c.1480–1350, in: *JARCE* 36, 1999, 64.

⁶ Name attested in Middle Kingdom sources from the reign of Amenemhat III onwards. G. Rosati, L'onomastica del Medio Regno come mezzo di datazione, in: *Aegyptus* 60, 1980, no. 132, 52; Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* (further *PN*) I, Glückstadt 1935, no. 5, 313.

- ↓← (6) *in s3.f mr.f s'nh* it is his beloved son who keeps alive
 ↓← (7) *rn.f tp t3 sš n hnrt wr* his name on earth, the scribe of the *hnrt wr*
 ↓← (8) *sbk-htp nb im3h* Sobekhotep⁷ revered;
 ↓→ (9) *s3.f snb-n- 'nh m3 ' hrw* his son Senebenankh⁸ true of voice;
 ↓→ (10) *hmt.f mrt.f nbt-pr tnt-ib-i* his loved wife, the mistress of the house Tjenetibi;⁹

Register II:

- ↓→ (11) *mwt.f nbt-pr rn.s-rs(.w)* his mother, the mistress of the house Renesres¹⁰
 ↓→ (12) *mst.n snyt* whom Senyt has born;¹¹
 ↓← (13) *it it.f sš n whmw* the father of his father, the scribe of the reporter
 ↓← (14) *sbk-htp* Sobekhotep;
 ↓→ (15) *nbt-pr snyt* the mistress of the house Senyt;
 ↓→ (16) *s3.f rn.s-rs(w) m3 't hrw* his daughter Renesres true of voice;
 ↓← (17) *sš n whmw ib(.i)-i'(.w)* the scribe of the reporter Ibiaw;¹²
 ↓→ (18) *s3.f ib(.i)-i'(.w)-rs(w) m3 ' hrw* his son Ibiawres¹³ true of voice;
 ↓→ (19) *s3.f s3-imn-rs(w) m3 ' hrw* his son Saimenres¹⁴ true of voice;

Register III:

- ↓→ (20–21) *sn.f sš n tm3 snb.f-n-i* his brother, the scribe of fields-register Senbefeni;¹⁵
 ↓← (22) *sn.f mr.f in-(i)t.f* his loved brother Intef¹⁶
 ↓← (23) *sš 3hwt* scribe of the fields;
 ↓→ (24) *sn.f mr.(f) w3d- h3w* his loved brother Wadjhaw¹⁷
 ↓→ (25) *sš 3hwt* scribe of the fields;
 ↓← (26) *sš n whmw rh.wy m3 ' hrw* the scribe of the reporter Rehwy¹⁸ true of voice;

⁷ Common name during the Middle Kingdom. Ranke, *PN* I, no. 6, 305.

⁸ Uncommon name; Ranke lists two Middle Kingdom sources only: Ranke, *PN*, I no. 24, 312, XXIX; *PN*, II, 388.

⁹ Rare feminine name. Ranke lists only one Middle Kingdom source: Cairo CG 20540. See Ranke, *PN*, I no. 9, 392.

¹⁰ Feminine name attested in five sources: Ranke *PN*, I no. 23, 223; *PN*, II, 373.

¹¹ Not listed in Ranke.

¹² Attested during the Thirteenth Dynasty from Sobekhotep II onwards. The main sources are two administrative documents known as P. Boulaq 18 (S. Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom*, New Malden 1990). See Rosati, in: *Aegyptus* 60, 1980, no. 16, 16; Ranke, *PN*, I no. 4, 19.

¹³ Rare masculine name. Ranke lists only one Middle Kingdom source: Cairo CG 20322. See Ranke, *PN*, I no. 5, 19. We cannot exclude that *-rs(w)* was Ibiaw's second name. For *-rs(w)* as Middle Kingdom name-ending and second independent name see P. Vernus, *Le surnom au Moyen Empire*, Rome 1986, 109.

¹⁴ Not listed in Ranke. Also in this case *-rs(w)* might have been a second independent name rather than a name-ending (see n. 13 above). For Saimen, a common Middle Kingdom masculine name, see Ranke, *PN*, I no. 22, 280.

¹⁵ Ranke, *PN*, I no. 9, 314.

¹⁶ The masculine form is very common during the Middle Kingdom. Less common as a feminine name. See Ranke, *PN*, I no. 1, 34 and *PN*, II, 341.

¹⁷ Common in the late Middle Kingdom. See Rosati, in: *Aegyptus* 60, 1980, nos 60 and 35, 22; Ranke, *PN*, I no. 24, 74.

¹⁸ Rare name. See Ranke, *PN*, I no. 18, 225.

Register IV:

↓→ (27) <i>sš n whmw rn.w</i>	the scribe of the reporter Renu; ¹⁹
↓→ (28) <i>mwt nt it.(f?) nbt-pr</i>	the mother of (his?) father, the mistress of the house
<i>swd3-ḥr</i>	Swdjaher; ²⁰
↓→ (29) <i>nbt-pr dd.t-imn</i>	the mistress of the house Deditimen; ²¹
↓→ (30) <i>nbt-pr ḥp.yy.w</i>	the mistress of the house Hepyw; ²²
↓→ (31) <i>nbt-pr ipt-t3</i>	the mistress of the house Ipet-ta;
↓→ (32) <i>nbt-pr s3t-ḥt-ḥr</i>	the mistress of the house Sathathor; ²³
↓→ (33) <i>nbt-pr hnyt</i>	the mistress of the house Henyt; ²⁴
↓→ (34) <i>nbt-pr s3t-ḥmn</i>	the mistress of the house Satimen; ²⁵
↓→ (35) <i>nbt-pr rns-snb(.w)</i>	the mistress of the house Renesseneb; ²⁶
↓→ (36) <i>nḥti ms.n snt</i>	Nekhete ²⁷ whom Senet has born;
↓→ (37) <i>imy-r pr imny</i>	the estate overseer Imeny;
↓→ (38) <i>wr mḏw šm 'snb.f</i>	the chief of tens of Upper Egypt Senbef; ²⁸
↓→ (39) <i>nbt-pr nbt-nḳt?</i>	the mistress of the house Nebetneqet? ²⁹
↓→ (40) <i>nbt-pr ḥ3- nḥ.s</i>	the mistress of the house Ha-ankhes; ³⁰
↓→ (41) <i>snt.f nbt-pr snbw-n(.i)?</i>	his sister, the mistress of the house Senebw-eni? ³¹

¹⁹ Ranke, *PN*, I no. 5, 224. It is worth noting the use of sign  (Gardiner A2) in *rn*. The presence of such hieroglyph in *rn* inside personal names seems attested only in New Kingdom sources from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards. See Ranke, *PN*, I no. 21, 74; no. 11, 91; no. 24, 114; no. 25, 222; no. 4, 224; no. 16, 224.

²⁰ Ranke, *PN*, I no. 6, 303.

²¹ Ranke, *PN*, I no. 7, 403.

²² Ranke, *PN*, I no. 9, 238.

²³ Common Middle Kingdom feminine name. See Ranke, *PN*, I no. 14, 291.

²⁴ Ranke records only the masculine correspondent *hnyy*. See Ranke, *PN*, I no. 30, 229.

²⁵ Common feminine name during the Middle Kingdom. See Ranke, *PN*, I no. 6, 286.

²⁶ Attested during the late Middle Kingdom under Amenemhat III and Amenemhat IV. Common during the Thirteenth Dynasty under Sobekhotep III and IV. See Rosati, in: *Aegyptus* 60, 1980, no. 38, 87; Ranke, *PN*, I no. 1, 224.

²⁷ Attested in Middle Kingdom sources since Senwosret I. See Rosati, in: *Aegyptus* 60, 1980, no. 76, 34.

²⁸ Common name during the Middle Kingdom. See Ranke, *PN*, I no. 5, 314.

²⁹ Not attested in Ranke. The reading of the name is uncertain. The sign after  seems to be  (Gardiner D42 or 41?), rather than  (Gardiner D36), since the hand palm faces down.

³⁰ Attested in sources dating between the Thirteenth and Seventeenth Dynasty. See Rosati, in: *Aegyptus* 60, 1980, 42; Ranke, *PN*, I no. 3, 232.

³¹ Reading uncertain. Not attested in Ranke.

2 Provenance and dating

Table 1: Attestations of Senebeni and Sobekhotep with indication of their ‘status’. The ‘X’ indicates that the specific person does not appear on the stela

	CG 20145	Edinburgh A.1951.344	Guimet C8	Marseille 228	Tübingen 458
“sš n <i>hnrt wr</i>” Senebeni	X	owner	X	X	recorded as father of the owner
“sš n <i>hnrt wr</i>” Sobekhotep	recorded without any kin tie with the owner’s family	dedicator	owner	owner	owner

According to Detlef Franke,³² Edinburgh A.1951.344 is associated with at least three other funerary stelae: Guimet C8,³³ Marseille 228,³⁴ and Tübingen 458,³⁵ all probably from the necropolis of Abydos. The owner of these stelae is the ‘scribe of the *hnrt wr*’ Sobekhotep, son of Senebeni, the owner of Edinburgh A.1951.344. In agreement with Stephen Quirke,³⁶ I would add stela Cairo CG 20145 from Abydos,³⁷ which records a ‘scribe of the *hnrt wr*’ Sobekhotep (Table 1).

A typical cenotaph at Abydos included one or two vaulted chambers and a forecourt. Some were solid cenotaphs (without chambers). Occasionally smaller chapels surrounded a larger chapel; in that case the owners of the smaller chapels were likely family members, colleagues or dependants of the owner of the main chapel. Stelae niches were located inside the chambers and in the forecourts wall.³⁸ As regards our stelae, I propose two different

³² Letter of Franke to the National Museums Scotland dated to 16/4/1987 (Margaret Maitland pers. comm. 28/04/2015). See also D. Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (20–16 Jahrhundert v. Chr.): Dossiers 1–796*, Wiesbaden 1984, dossier no. 587.

³³ A. Moret, *Catalogue de Musée Guimet. Galerie égyptienne: stèles, bas reliefs, monuments divers*, Paris 1909, 15–19, pl. VII.

³⁴ Unpublished. This stela is part of the Egyptian collection of the Musée d’Archéologie Méditerranéenne, Marseille.

³⁵ E. Brunner-Traut-H. Brunner, *Die Ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen*, Mainz am Rhein 1981, 87–8, pl. VII. This stela is stored in the Museum of the University of Tübingen as permanent loan from the Landesmuseum Württemberg in Stuttgart. It was part of a group of 18 stelae sent to Stuttgart in 1824 through Bernardino Michele Maria Drovetti and Antonio Lebolo (Nina Willburger pers. comm. 1/08/2016).

³⁶ S. Quirke, *State and Labour in the Middle Kingdom. A reconsideration of the term *hnrt**, in: *RdE* 39, 1988, 103–4.

³⁷ H. O. Lange-H. Schäfer, *Grab und Denksteine des mittleren Reiches in Museum von Cairo: Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, CGC Nos 20001–20780*, Berlin 1902–25, I, 170–1; IV, pl. XIII; A. Mariette, *Catalogue Général des monuments d’Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville*, Paris 1880, no. 798.

³⁸ See in particular: W. K. Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: the offering chapels of dynasties 12 and 13*, New Haven 1974, 1–14; D. O’Connor, *The “cenotaphs” of the Middle Kingdom at Abydos*, in: P. Posener-Krieger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, Bibliothèque d’étude 97, 1985, 171–6; J. Richards, *Society and death in Ancient Egypt. Mortuary landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, Cambridge 2005, 39–41; D. O’Connor, *Abydos: Egypt’s First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris*, London 2009, 94–6.

reconstructions. The first possibility is that the stelae come from three different architectural units for single beneficiaries: a chapel for the *sš n ḥnrt wr* Senebeni with stela Edinburgh A.1951.344, another chapel dedicated to the *sš n ḥnrt wr* Sobekhotep with stelae Guimet C8, Marseille 228 and Tübingen 458, and a third chapel dedicated to the *wr mḏw šm* 'Nehy, the owner of Cairo CG 20145. The second possible reconstruction sees two architectural units: a main chapel for Senebeni flanked by the chapel for his son Sobekhotep, and a separate chapel for Nehy.

Based upon stylistic peculiarities, Wolfram Grajetzki has proposed that Edinburgh A.1951.344 and Guimet C8 were produced in a workshop active during the Thirteenth Dynasty under the kings Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV.³⁹ Alexander Ilin-Tomich has suggested that CG 20145 comes from the same workshop, which he places in Thebes.⁴⁰ According to him, the onomastics reveals a probable Theban origin of the individuals recorded on the monument. 'Diditimen', 'Satimen', and 'Saimenres' are typical Theban names, and 'Ibiaw', 'Ibiawres', and 'Renesres' were widespread in Upper Egypt including the Theban area.⁴¹

A summary of stylistic and artistic features relevant to date the monuments is offered in Table 2. Clear dating markers are the *wḏzt* eyes, which appear inside the lunette after Senwosret III,⁴² and the inversion  in the *ḥtp di nsw* sentence of the offering formula.⁴³ Furthermore, common feature of all five stelae is the presence of the hieroglyphic sign  (Gardiner Q2) replacing  (Gardiner Q1) in the name of Osiris. This feature, whose earliest example dates back to the reign of Amenemhat IV, is commonly utilised during the Thirteenth Dynasty.⁴⁴

Additional epigraphic peculiarities shared by all stelae are: the lack of determinative in the name of Osiris and Khentimenti,⁴⁵ and the presence of the name of the deceased right after the expression *n k3 n*, with the omission of *im3ḥw*.⁴⁶

³⁹ W. Grajetzki, *Two Treasures of the Late Middle Kingdom*, London 2001, 65–6.

⁴⁰ A. Ilin-Tomich, *Late Middle Kingdom Stelae Workshops at Thebes*, in: *Göttinger Miszellen: Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion* 234, 2012, 80.

⁴¹ Ilin-Tomich, *op. cit.*, 77.

⁴² Hölzl, *op. cit.*, 287; M. Marée, *A remarkable group of Egyptian stelae from the Second Intermediate Period*, Leiden 1993, 8.

⁴³ D. Franke, *Middle Kingdom Offering Formulas: A Challenge*, in: *JEA* 93, 2003; A. Ilin-Tomich, *Changes in the ḥtp di nsw formula in the Late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period*, in: *ZÄS* 138, 2011.

⁴⁴ Ilin-Tomich, in: *ZÄS* 138, 2011, 21.

⁴⁵ R. Leprohon, *A Late Middle Kingdom stela in a private collection*, in: P. De Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in honor of William Kelly Simpson* 2, Boston 1996, 528; H. Satzinger, *Beobachtungen zur Opferformel. Theorie und Praxis*, in: *LingAeg* 5, 1997, 185.

⁴⁶ Satzinger, in: *LingAeg* 5, 1997, 185–7.

Table 2: Outline of the main dating markers recognisable on the monuments of Senebeni and Sobekhotep

	CG 20145	Edinburgh A.1951.344	Guimet C8	Marseille 228	Tübingen 458
<i>wḏzt</i> eyes	✓	✓	✓	✓	
		✓			
<i>in</i> ‘Osiris’ 	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
‘Osiris’ and ‘Khentimenti’ with- out determinative	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>n k3 n</i> + name of de- ceased	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>nb ḏdw</i>					✓
<i>nbt pr</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>t3w nḏm n mḥyt</i>					✓
		✓			
long tip in <i>hṭp</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
ring shaped hands in <i>k3</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
onomastics	✓	✓	✓		
Column of text at the bottom of stela		✓			

These traits suggest a dating to late Twelfth/early Thirteenth Dynasty. The presence of the Osirian epithet *nb ḏdw*, ‘lord of Busiris’, shows the lower number of occurrences during the same timeframe. This epithet is absent in all stelae except from Tübingen 458. However, the writing of *nb ḏdw* in that stela is typical of late Twelfth Dynasty, from Amenemhat III onwards.⁴⁷ Also the feminine title *nbt-pr* ‘mistress of the house’, featured in all of the stelae, seems to appear in the mid-Twelfth Dynasty, becoming very common on stelae dated to the late Middle Kingdom.⁴⁸ Only a few exceptions dated to the beginning of the Twelfth Dyn-

⁴⁷ C. J. C. Bennett, Growth of the *hṭp di nsw* formula in the Middle Kingdom, in: JEA 27, 1941, 78–9.

⁴⁸ K. Pflüger, The private funerary stelae of the Middle Kingdom and their importance for the study of ancient egyptian history, in: JAOS 67, 1947, 129; C. Obsomer, Di.f prt-hrw et la filiation ms(t).n/ir(t).n comme critères de datation dans le textes du Moyen Empire, in: C. Cannuyer-J. Krutchen (eds), Individu, Société et Spiritualité dans l’Égypte Pharaonique et Copte. Mélanges égyptologiques offerts au Professeur Aristide Théodoridès, Bruxelles 1992, 163–200; D. Stefanović-H. Satzinger, I am a *Nbt-pr*, and I am Independent, in: G. Miniaci-W. Grajetzki (eds), The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1550 BC) I, MKSI, London 2015, 333–8.

asty are known.⁴⁹ The sentence *t3w ndm n mhyt* ‘the sweet breath of the northern wind’ in the offering formula of Tübingen 458 is additional evidence for a dating between the end of the Twelfth Dynasty and the Thirteenth Dynasty.⁵⁰ Furthermore, Edinburgh A.1951.344 presents the Thirteenth Dynasty typical spelling for *ihw 3pdw*: .⁵¹ The writing of the *hnp* sign with a simplified elongated tip is also very common during the Thirteenth Dynasty,⁵² while the *k3* sign with ring-shaped hands points directly to the time of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV.⁵³ Both those features are shared by all discussed stelae. The names substantiate the dating, since the personal names Ha-ankhes (Edinburgh A.1951.344), Renesseneb (Edinburgh A.1951.344), Renefseneb (Guimet C8), Renseneb (Guimet C8), and Nehy (Guimet C8, CG 20145) are attested in sources of the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period, from Amenemhat III onwards.⁵⁴ The name ‘Ibiaw’ also appears on monuments and papyri dated to the Second Intermediate Period.⁵⁵ Finally, the presence of columns of text at the bottom of stelae were introduced during the late Middle Kingdom and became a distinctive mark of the early Thirteenth Dynasty.⁵⁶

3 Commentary

3.1 The *hnrt wr*

Senebeni and his son Sobekhotep (A and B: Tafel 26) held the same office ‘scribe of the *hnrt wr*’ (Table 1). The research I have conducted on the institution *hnrt wr* confirmed the suggestion by Quirke that it was concerned with the management of temporary compulsory labour.⁵⁷ Its existence is limited to the Middle Kingdom, with a peak of attestations in the late Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasty. The main source is P. Brooklyn 35.1446, ‘the register of fugitives’.⁵⁸ This records a list of individuals who committed labour offences, such as the escape from the *hnrt* (building/authority)⁵⁹ and the workplace, and absenteeism.⁶⁰ In all these instances the workers failed to meet their duties.

⁴⁹ G. Rosati, Note e proposte per la datazione delle stele del Medio Regno, in: OrAnt XIX, 1980, 272; E. Freed, Stela Workshops of early Dynasty 12, in: P. Der Manuelian (ed.), Studies in honor of William Kelly Simpson 2, Boston 1996, 331.

⁵⁰ Ilin-Tomich, in: ZÄS 138, 2011, 21; D. Franke, Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum from the 13th to the 17th Dynasties. Volume 1, Fascicule 1: Descriptions, M. Marée (ed.), London 2013, 27.

⁵¹ Ilin-Tomich, in: ZÄS 138, 2011, 24.

⁵² A. Abdel-Raziq, A Middle Kingdom stela of a woman at Al-Salam School Museum, Assiut, in: JEA 99, 2013, 278.

⁵³ Ilin-Tomich, Late Middle Kingdom Stelae, 81.

⁵⁴ See nn. 26 and 30 for Renesseneb and Ha-ankhes respectively. For Renefseneb see Rosati, in: Aegyptus 60, 1980, no. 84, 38; Ranke, PN, I, no. 17, 223; for Renseneb see Rosati, in: Aegyptus 60, 1980, no. 80, 35–6; Ranke, PN, I, no. 26, 222; for Nehy see Rosati, Aegyptus 60, 1980, no. 74, 34; Ranke, PN, I, no. 15, 207.

⁵⁵ See n. 12 above.

⁵⁶ Franke, Egyptian Stelae, 61, nos 13 and 14. According to Franke the first attestations appear during the reign of Amenemhat III.

⁵⁷ Quirke, State and labour, 90; Quirke, The Administration, 127–54.

⁵⁸ W. Hayes, A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum, New York 1955. The fragments of this papyrus were acquired in Egypt by C.E. Wilbour between 1881 and 1896. After Wilbour’s death the fragments were included into the Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Brooklyn and reassembled into five main pieces.

⁵⁹ A discussion about this double interpretation is in M. Di Teodoro, Labour organisation in Middle Kingdom Egypt, London 2018, 70.

The term *hnrt wr* appears to refer to the central bureaucratic seat which, according to Hayes, may have been located at Thebes.⁶¹ Mainly, if not exclusively, involved with writing, it exchanged communications and directives with the vizier – the highest office of the country during the Middle Kingdom –⁶² about labour regulations. The *hnrt* was a branch of the central bureau in charge of the management of people employed as temporary workers at the local level. The existence of many *hnrtw* is very likely.⁶³ The central seat at Thebes and the local branches held different roles. Each entity was administered by an *imy-r* ‘overseer’.⁶⁴ The ‘employees’ of the *hnrt wr* held the titles ‘scribe’ and ‘assistant-scribe’.⁶⁵ The most attested official of the *hnrt* is the ‘overseer’;⁶⁶ other ‘employees’ were the *t3w*, ‘bearer’,⁶⁷ and the *iry-3*, ‘door-keeper’.⁶⁸ Sure attestations of scribes of the *hnrt* have not hitherto been discovered.⁶⁹

According to my interpretation, the *hnrt wr* was the institution responsible for the care of execution of labour duties associated with the obligation *h3w* of the Lahun Papyri.⁷⁰

⁶⁰ In the ‘register’ those who fled from the *hnrt* or the workplace are labelled *w’rw*, while the absentees are identified as *t3w*. The first noun derives from the homonym verb which means ‘to flee’, while the second stems from the verb *t3i* which means ‘to be absent’, ‘to desert’. I agree with Quirke’s interpretation of *t3w* as those who never started the task they had been assigned to, who failed ‘to arrive for work in the first instance’ (Quirke, *The Administration*, 135).

⁶¹ Hayes, *op.cit.*, 16.

⁶² W. Grajetzki, *Court Officials of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, London 2009, 15–41. See also G. Van Den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier: Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom*, London 1998.

⁶³ The expression *hnrt wr* was first translated by William Hayes as ‘Great Prison’. He considered the *hnrt wr* as a prison and workcamp where corvée workers were detained (Hayes, *op. cit.*, 127–44). The reexamination of P. Brooklyn 35.1446 by Stephen Quirke (*The Administration*, 127–154) and the research I conducted for my doctoral dissertation challenged the prison nature of the institution. Given the meaning of the verb *hnr* ‘to restrain’, a fair translation of the noun *hnrt* may be ‘enclosure’. Such a translation seems to fit nature and role of the local branches *hnrtw*. However, ‘main/great enclosure’ would not be an appropriate translation of *hnrt wr*, given the basic bureaucratic role of that body. For this reason I prefer to keep the Egyptian words *hnrt* and *hnrt wr*.

⁶⁴ While overseers of the *hnrt* are attested in many sources, only one attestation is hitherto known of ‘overseer of the *hnrt wr*’: the recently discovered sealing of Ptahemheb at Tell el-Daba: seal 9441T. See M. Marée, *Comments on two Tell el-Daba sealings*, in: *Ä&L* 22/23, 2012, 75–6.

⁶⁵ Only one attestation is known of *t3w n s3*, ‘assistant-scribe’: BM EA 250 (Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 130–3). For the complete list of sources see Di Teodoro, *op. cit.*, Appendix pl. III.

⁶⁶ For the complete list of sources see Di Teodoro, *op. cit.*, Appendix pl. II.

⁶⁷ Two attestations are known: Vienna ÄS 91 (I. Hein-H. Satzinger, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches I–II: Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum*. Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Mainz 1989, 7, 12–6), and Sinopoli Egi 06 (A. Roccati, *Quattro Stele del Medio Regno*, in: S. Quirke (ed.), *Discovering Egypt from the Neva: The Egyptological Legacy of Oleg D. Berlev*, Berlin 2003, pl. 7).

⁶⁸ This title is attested only in the Lahun Papyri. See Di Teodoro, *op. cit.*, Appendix pl. II.

⁶⁹ The reading ‘scribe of the *hnrt*’ on CG 20322 (Lange-Schäfer, *op. cit.*, I, 334–5), WelH 23 (A. J. Sadek, *The amethyst mining inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi*, Warminster 1980, no.23, 48, pl. XI) and Kerma 98 (G. A. Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma I–III, IV–V*, Cambridge 1923, 523, fig. 345) is highly questionable. In all concerned sources the title was probably ‘scribe of the *hnrt wr*.’ For a discussion see Di Teodoro, *op. cit.*, 67–8.

⁷⁰ Lahun, or el-Lahun, is the modern name of the village next to which in 1888 William F. Petrie discovered the pharaonic settlement known in Egyptology as Kahun. In its vicinity lies the funerary complex of Senwosret II which includes a pyramid and its Valley Temple. The hieratic papyri found in the temple area (over four hundred fragments) were identified as the temple’s archive. They are currently preserved in the Ägyptische Museum of Berlin and the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (four fragments). Only a part of them has been published so far (U. Luft, *Das Archiv von Illahun*, Berlin 1992; U. Luft, *Urkunden zur Chronologie der späten 12 Dynastie: Briefe aus Illahun*, Wien 2006). The other conspicuous group of miscellaneous fragments retrieved from within the settlement and assembled by Ludwig Borchardt is currently preserved in the Petrie Museum of Egypt-

Those registered for the obligation were officials of a ‘middle social stratum’⁷¹ who could perform the duty in person or by sending household members as replacements. People were recruited and then assigned to a wide range of menial tasks, responding to local requirements. Most of the assignments comprised work in the fields and at construction sites. Quarrying activity⁷² and work inside textile workshops and storehouses are also attested.

3.2 Kinship ties and working relationships

The father-son succession in the same office, as well as the employment of relatives in the same department or branch of administration is well attested for members of the ruling class during the late Middle Kingdom.⁷³ Besides Edinburgh A.1951.344, stela Sinopoli Egi 06⁷⁴ records father and son employed as scribes of the *hnrt wr*, while on CG 23027⁷⁵ and Walters 54⁷⁶ brothers held the office ‘overseer of the *hnrt*’.

According to Wolfram Grajetzki and Danijela Stefanović, the ‘scribe of the *hnrt*’ Ibiawres of stela Cairo CG 20322⁷⁷ might correspond to the homonym titleless individual recorded on Edinburgh A.1951.344 as *s3.f* ‘his son’ (II, 18: Tafel 26).⁷⁸ In the dossier dedicated to Ibiawres of CG 20322 the authors add a question mark in correspondence of the identification of Senebeni – owner of Edinburgh A.1951.344 – with Ibiawres’ father. As mentioned above (n. 69), the reading ‘scribe of the *hnrt*’ on CG 20322 is uncertain. Furthermore, there is not enough evidence to support that Ibiawres of CG 20322 coincided with the omonym person of Edinburgh A.1951.344. In particular, I do not think that the latter was Senebeni’s son for the following reasons. It is reasonable to think that the pairing of the kneeling figures represented in registers II and III (Tafeln 25–26) was the result of specific choices. I suggest that the four individuals recorded on the right halves of the aforementioned registers (E–F, I–J: Tafel 26) comprised two distinct family units linked to the owner by working relationships.⁷⁹

tian Archaeology, University College London, and has been fully published (M. Collier-S. Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Letters*, Oxford, 2002; M. Collier-S. Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: religious, literary, medical, legal*, Oxford 2004; M. Collier-S. Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, Oxford 2006).

⁷¹ The study of the obligation *h3w* enabled me to better define the socioeconomic groups of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom society. See Di Teodoro, *op. cit.*

⁷² Compulsory workers recruited for building projects and quarrying activities were employed in hard manual labour in support of specialised craftsmen. They were assigned as ‘stone haulers’ to drag stones (or different types of material such as clay, wood, and straw) at construction sites or blocks of material extracted from quarries to the Nile banks. See M. Di Teodoro, *The Organization of seasonal labour during the Middle Kingdom*, in: K. Accetta-R. Fellinger-P.L. Goncalves-S. Musselwhite-W.P. Van Pelt (eds), *Current Research in Egyptology (CRE) 2013: Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Symposium*, University of Cambridge 2013, Oxford 2013, 75–7; for more complete results see Di Teodoro, *Labour Organisation*, especially 53–7, and 87–8.

⁷³ W. Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt*, London 2006, 154–6; N. Favry, *The Transmission of Offices in the Middle Kingdom*, in: G. Miniaci-W. Grajetzki (eds), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1550 BC) Vol II*, London 2016.

⁷⁴ Roccati, *Quattro Stele*, pl. 7; Di Teodoro, *Labour Organisation*, 80, source 2.4.1 J.

⁷⁵ A. B. Kamal, *Catalogue général des Antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Tables d’offrandes (CGC Nos. 23001–23256)*, Le Caire 1909, 22–3.

⁷⁶ G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore 1946, 30, pl. IX.

⁷⁷ Lange-Schäfer, *op. cit.*, 334–5.

⁷⁸ W. Grajetzki-D. Stefanović, *Dossiers of Ancient Egyptians: the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. Addition to Franke Personendaten*, London 2012, 13, no. 25.

⁷⁹ For the types of relationship among individuals recorded on the same monument see R. Leprohon, *The Personnel of the Middle Kingdom Funerary Stelae*, in: *JARCE* 15, 1978, 33–8.

Therefore, in one reconstruction, the person called Ibiawres in column 18 is the son of Ibiaw, ‘scribe of the reporter’ (F, 17: Tafel 26), rather than the owner’s son. The same applies to Renesres of column 16 and Saimenres of column 19, identified as *szt.f* ‘his daughter’ and *s3.f* ‘his son’ respectively. Likely Senyt (E, 15: Tafel 26), the kneeling woman facing Ibiaw, was the wife of the latter and mother of Ibiawres, Renesres and Saimenres. The reason for my interpretation lies in the different orientation of columns 16, 18 and 19 – towards Ibiaw (F) – and the place where they are inserted: to fill the empty space inside the squares intended for the depictions of Ibiaw and Senyt. I reckon that the 3rd ms personal suffix *f* ‘his’ in the expressions *s3.f* (18 and 19) and *szt.f* (16) refers to Ibiaw (F), rather than to the owner of the monument (A). In a similar way the *sn.f*, ‘his brother’,⁸⁰ Wadjhaw (III, 24-5: Tafel 26) was most likely related to the ‘scribe of the reporter’ Rehwy (J, 26: Tafel 26) seated in front of him, who does not reveal any blood tie with the family of the owner of the monument. Accordingly, Senebenankh and Tjenetibi of register I (9 and 10: Tafel 26) were directly linked to Sobekhotep (B), as his son and his wife respectively. Also in this case, the hieroglyphs of columns 9 and 10 have a different orientation compared to the caption of column 8, and the names of Senebenankh and Tjenetibi fill in the gaps of the square reserved to the representation of Sobekhotep.⁸¹ As regards the first two figures joined together on the left half of register II (C and D: Tafel 26), Grajetzki’s interpretation appears reasonable. According to him, both were directly related to the dedicator, the ‘scribe of the *hnrt wr*’ Sobekhotep (B).⁸² The ‘mistress of the house’ Renesres (C, 11: Tafel 26) is identified as *mwt.f* ‘his mother’. On monuments Guimet C8 and Tübingen 458 a homonym ‘mistress of the house’ is without any doubts Sobekhotep’s mother. Thus if those women were the same person, the 3rd ms personal suffix *f* in *mwt.f* of Edinburgh A.1951.344 should have alluded to Sobekhotep (B). The kinship relation of the paired kneeling men of the third register (G and H: Tafel 26), both identified as *sn.f* ‘his brother’, remains unclear. The 3rd ms personal suffix *f* might refer either to the owner of the monument (A) and the dedicator Sobekhotep (B). A link to Ibiaw (II, F) cannot be excluded either. The columns of inscriptions of the fourth register include some titleholders whose kinship with the owner’s family is unmentioned: the ‘scribe of the reporter Renw (27), the ‘estate overseer’ Imeny (37), and the ‘chief of tens of Upper Egypt’ Senbef (38). These were presumably friends and colleagues of Senebeni and Sobekhotep. Nine women of the same register (29–35, 39 and 40) are simply identified as *nbt-pr* ‘mistress of the house’.

⁸⁰ The primary meaning of the kinship terms *sn* (ms) and *snt* (fs) when used alone is ‘brother’ and ‘sister’ respectively. When *sn/snt* are used in compound kin-terms, they can denote a wider range of blood ties and collateral kins such as uncle and aunt, cousin, nephew and niece, sister/brother in law. For instance *sn (n) mwt(f)*, ‘brother of his mother’, is ‘uncle’. See: G. Robins, The Relationships specified by Egyptian Kinship Terms of the Middle and New Kingdoms, in: CdE 74, 1979, 202–204; H. Willems, A description of Egyptian kinship terminology of the Middle Kingdom, c.2000–1650 BC, in: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 139, 1983, 152–68; E. Froom, Social structure and daily life, in: A. B. Lloyd (ed.), A Companion to Ancient Egypt, Chichester 2010, 471–2. In specific contexts *sn* can be used with a metaphorical meaning: in its plural form it can refer to equals, and in the epistolary genre may mean ‘colleague’. See J. Revez, The Metaphorical use of the Kinship Term *sn* «Brother», in: JARCE 40, 2003, 123–31.

⁸¹ Similarly Franke has proposed that the individuals grouped in each register of BM EA 504 were household members of different families (Franke, Egyptian Stelae, 166–8).

⁸² Grajetzki, The Middle Kingdom, 155.

Nbt-pr is the most common feminine title of the Middle Kingdom.⁸³ It remains uncertain what the meaning of *nbt-pr* was, to what extent it was a status marker,⁸⁴ and whether its use was restricted to married women.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, as Danijela Stefanović and Helmut Satzinger pointed out, it was an indicator of a ‘social identity’ for adult women in charge of the management of the economic affairs of a household.⁸⁶ On Edinburgh A.1951.344 a secure reference to married status is evident for the *nbwt.pr* Tjenetib (10: Tafel 26), who is *hmt.f* ‘his wife’, Renesres (C, 11: Tafel 26), who is *mwt.f* ‘his mother’, and another ‘mother’ Sedjayher (IV, 28: Tafeln 25–26). Additionally, a married status has been suggested for the *nbt-pr* Senyt (E, 15: Tafel 26, see above). On the other hand, the *szt*, ‘daughter’, Renesres (II, 16: Tafel 26) was probably too young to hold the role of *nbt-pr*, and perhaps a non-married woman. As regards the nine *nbwt-pr* listed in the fourth register at the bottom of the stela, some of them might have been household members of the owner, maybe lower status dependants. However, the presence in the same list of male titleholders without any expressed kin tie with the owner’s family (IV: 27, 37, 38: Tafeln 25–26) does not exclude the possibility that some *nbwt-pr* were wives of those officials.

⁸³ D. Stefanović, *The non-royal regular feminine titles of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period: Dossiers*, London 2009, 7–9.

⁸⁴ See for example K. Szpakowzka, *Daily Life in Ancient Egypt*, Malden 2008. According to her, the title *nbt-pr* was conferred to wives of high status men; hypothesis challenged by the material collected by Stefanović who stated that 80% of Middle Kingdom attestations of *nbt-pr* refers to women of ‘modest status’ (Stefanović, *The non-royal*, 8). According to Ward, women of different social status could be *nbwt-pr*: W. A. Ward, *Essays on Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Related Subjects*, Beirut 1986, 24.

⁸⁵ See for example M.C. Guidotti, *Nota su uno scarabeo-sigillo del Museo Egizio di Firenze*, in: C. Mora-P. Piacentini (eds), *L’ufficio e il documento. I luoghi, i modi, gli strumenti dell’amministrazione in Egitto e nel Vicino Oriente antico. Atti delle Giornate di studio degli Egittologi e degli Orientalisti italiani*, Milano-Pavia, 17–19 Febbraio 2005, Milano 2006; Szpakowzka, op. cit., 109; Ward, op. cit., 8, 67. Contra: Stefanović-Satzinger, in Miniaci-Grajetzki (eds), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 333–338.

⁸⁶ Stefanović-Satzinger, in Miniaci-Grajetzki (eds), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 334.

3.3 Administrative titles

Table 3 The male titleholders recorded on the monuments of Senebeni and Sobekhotep, grouped on the basis of their functions and the branches of administration they belonged to. Stela Tübingen 458 is not included, as the only titleholders recorded on it are Sobekhotep and his father Senebeni. The numbers in brackets refer to the amount of individuals holding the office on the same monument. The title in bold indicates the owner of the stela

		CG 20145	Edinburgh A.1951.344	Guimet C8	Marseille 228
<u>Central and local administration</u>	Palace	wr mḏw šm ‘	sš n wḥmw (4) wr mḏw šm ‘	smsw ‘rryt imy-r ḥnwty	
	Vizier			wr mḏw šm ‘	
	Treasury			imy-r pr-wr [...] n imy-r ḥtmt (2)	
<u>Military and security</u>	Military	šmsw iry pḏt		šmsw (2) iry pḏt imy-r mš ‘	‘nh n niwt šmsw
	Security			s3-pr	ḥry n tm (3)
<u>Economic dimension</u>	Estate		imy-r pr sš n tm3 sš n 3ḥwt (2)		
	Fields				
<u>Temple administration</u>			w ‘b ‘3 n niwt [...]wdḥw Wsir		w ‘b n Ḥmn

Four individuals of Edinburgh A.1951.344 held the title sš n wḥmw ‘scribe of the reporter’ (Table 3). As intermediary between central government and local administration, the wḥmw was in charge of conveying the directives of the vizier to regions, settlements or local departments.⁸⁷ The bureau of the ‘reporter’ at Thebes seems to have been the mediator between the vizier and the institution *hnrt wr* in the matter of labour issues dealing with the

⁸⁷ Hayes, op. cit., 77, 139. Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 40. The main sources for the role of ‘reporter’ are: the Tomb of Rekhmira: N. Davies, *Paintings from the tomb of Rekh-mi-re at Thebes*, London 1935, 32–6; P. Berlin 10470: P. Smither, *The Report Concerning the Slave-Girl Senbet*, in: JEA 34, 1948; Cairo CG 20102: Lange-Schäfer, op. cit., I, 123–5; Cairo J.52453: P. Lacau, *Une stèle juridique de Karnak*, in: ASAE 13, 1949; P. Brooklyn 35.1446: Hayes, op. cit.

management of coerced labour at the local level.⁸⁸ As Grajetzki stresses, specific offices were linked to ranking titles, meaning that these people were often or ‘regularly promoted to the highest circle around the king’;⁸⁹ *whmw* was one of them. According to Quirke, the ‘reporter’ at Thebes ‘may have enjoyed special status’,⁹⁰ mirroring the role of that town as second capital during the late Middle Kingdom.

As presented above, according to Ilin-Tomich Thebes could be the place where the stela was produced and where most of Senebeni’s relatives and colleagues lived. Additionally, the seat of the institution *hnrt wr* was located at Thebes. Hence, we can fairly conclude that the owner of Edinburgh A.1951.344, his son, and their colleagues were based in the Theban area. Apart from this stela, the title *sš n whmw* recurs on other two monuments only: Cairo CG 20547 and CG 20695.⁹¹ This might indicate that *sš n whmw* was a short-lived title rather than a regular Middle Kingdom title.⁹² The unusual number of *sšw n whmw* on Edinburgh A.1951.344 substantiates a close collaboration between the bureau of the ‘reporter’ and the secretaries of the *hnrt wr* Senebeni and Sobekhotep, and more broadly between that bureau and the institution *hnrt wr* itself.

The ‘scribe of the reporter’ Sobekhotep (II, D, 13–14: Tafel 26) is the only seated man grasping in his hand what I speculated is a papyrus scroll (n. 4 above). His scribal occupation may support this hypothesis. Thus the scroll in that instance might be considered a professional marker. However, neither the other *sšw n whmw* nor the other ‘scribes’ recorded on the monument (G, H, I: Tafel 26) are identified by the same cylindrical item. Sobekhotep’s kinship as ‘father of his father’ points to old age. Hence, seniority may have been the reason for the scroll; possibly Sobekhotep was honoured as an elder within his group. Alternatively, his social background might have granted him prime importance compared to his colleagues. A personal and deliberate choice of the sculptor cannot be excluded, either. Sobekhotep is the only *sš n whmw* explicitly related to the owner’s family: he is the paternal grandfather of the dedicator (so the owner’s father). As suggested above, the other *sšw n whmw* Ibiawres (F), Rehwy (J), and Renw (IV, 27) were likely Senebeni’s colleagues.

⁸⁸ The text of the copies of two royal decrees – ‘Inserts B and C’ – recorded on P. Brooklyn 35.1446 informs that these documents were brought to the bureau of the reporter at Thebes. Both were petitions addressed to the vizier Ankhw (probably the homonym vizier named in P. Boulaq 18 and active under Sobekhotep II). ‘Insert B’ dealt with questioning of fugitives. ‘Insert C’ focussed on a case of missing workers. See Quirke, *The Administration*, 140–6.

⁸⁹ Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 96–7.

⁹⁰ S. Quirke, *Titles and bureaux of Egypt 1850–1700 BC*, London 2004, 112–3, 116–8.

⁹¹ W. A. Ward., *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom: with a glossary and phrases used*, Beirut 1982, no. 1376; H.G. Fischer, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom. A supplement to Wm. Ward’s Index*, New York 1997, no. 75.

⁹² I follow Quirke’s definition of ‘regular title’ as the official and socially approved administrative position held by an individual. Regular titles involved specific functions, responsibilities and pay, and at the death of their holder they passed to new individuals. According to Quirke, the Egyptian word which denoted such regular office was *igt*. See S. Quirke, *The Regular Titles of the Late Middle Kingdom*, in: *RdE* 37, 1986, 107–9; S. Quirke, *Horn, Feather and Scale, and Ships: On Titles in the Middle Kingdom*, in: P. Der Manuelian–R. E. Freed (eds), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson II*, Boston 1996, 670–1; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 2.

The title *wr mḏw šm* ‘chief of tens of Upper Egypt’ appears on three out of four stelae (Table 3). On CG 20145, dedicated to the *wr mḏw šm* Nehy, Sobekhotep is listed without any expressed kinship to the owner’s family (Table 1). This may suggest that the tie between those individuals was one between working colleagues. The *wr mḏw šm* is the most attested office of central administration among those mentioned on monuments in association with personnel of the institution *hnrt wr*.⁹³ It shares this place with *s3b* ‘dignitary’. The offices *wr mḏw šm* and *s3b* belonged to the bureau of the vizier, and likely denoted generalised titles. As such, they were identified by their attachment to the vizierate rather than to specific roles or functions.⁹⁴

Titleholders affiliated to the economic dimension of administration and the security/military field are largely attested on monuments in association with officials of the institution *hnrt wr*.⁹⁵ This reflects the range of roles of the *hnrt wr* and the variety of duties of the officials who worked under its management. Given the coercive nature of the activities which people were recruited for, and the evidence of defaulters, it is reasonable to imagine a web of security guards responsible, for example, for monitoring the movements of workers, fetching the fugitives, and patrolling the enclosures *hnrtw*. Titleholders of the security/military field are attested on all concerned stelae with the scribe of the *hnrt wr* Sobekhotep,⁹⁶ but do not appear on Edinburgh A.1951.344 (Table 3). This might be simply contingent on the sources. Despite that, I cannot exclude that Sobekhotep’s circle of colleagues was more ‘militarised’ compared to his father’s one. The small network of titleholders recorded on Edinburgh A.1951.344 is economy-oriented (Table 3). The main offices of the fields bureau are in registers III and IV (Tafel 26): an *imy-r pr* ‘estate overseer’ (37), two *sšw n 3ḥwt* ‘scribes of the fields’ (23, 25), and a *sš n tm3* ‘scribe of the fields register’ (20). Hypothetically, in the course of their career, the scribes of the *hnrt wr* Senebeni and Sobekhotep dealt with activities which led each one of them to collaborate with specific sectors to different degrees. Supposedly, Senebeni was much more in contact with secretarial representatives of the management of human resources for work in fields and estates, while Sobekhotep with officials involved in the various steps of the *hnrt wr* supervision process.

The security/military offices mentioned in association with Sobekhotep are: *šmsw* ‘guard’, *iry-pḏt* ‘bowman’, *imy-r mš* ‘overseer of a force’, *nḥ n niwt* ‘soldier of the town’, *s3-pr* ‘estate guard’ and perhaps⁹⁷ *hry n tm* ‘master of tem’ (Table 3). It is important to mention the dual military and non-military role of the *imy-r mš*, as overseer of a force of sol-

⁹³ Di Teodoro, Labour Organisation, 75. Under the label ‘Central administration’ I included Palace and king, vizier bureau and treasury.

⁹⁴ Quirke has proposed that the *wr mḏw šm* in its connection with the vizier was the ‘direct counterpart to the «one known to the king» on the side of the treasurer’, this mirroring the division of the administration of late Middle Kingdom into ‘two operational sectors, treasury and vizierate’: S. Quirke, Four Titles: what is the difference?, in: D. P. Silverman-W. K. Simpson-J. Wegner (eds), *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, New Haven 2009, 310, 312. See also Quirke, *The Administration*, 79–80.

⁹⁵ See Di Teodoro, Labour Organisation, 74–82.

⁹⁶ With the exception of Tübingen 458: see caption of table 3.

⁹⁷ The uncertainty does not relate to the reading of the title on Marseille 228, but rather to the unclear role of the *hry n tm*.

diers, or a force of workers at quarries and construction sites.⁹⁸ The cross-sector activities in economy and security is implicit in the office *s3-pr* ‘estate guard’. The *s3-prw* were a sort of economic police in charge of the security on estates.⁹⁹ The office *šmsw* ‘guard’, recorded on three stelae with Sobekhotep (Table 3), is the most attested security title in association with the *hnrt wr* and the temporary workers of the Lahun Papyri.¹⁰⁰ In the same way as *imy-r mš*‘, the *šmsw* could hold either military and non-military functions. Such a title is widely attested on rock inscriptions left by expeditions towards quarries and mines, and in Lower Nubia as part of garrisons at Egyptian fortresses, but also as a bodyguard or simple ‘follower’ of higher officials.¹⁰¹

The office hry n tm

Three officials bearing the title *hry n tm* ‘master of tem’ are recorded on Marseille 228, dedicated to Sobekhotep (Table 3). The remaining offices listed on that stela are a *nh n niwt*, ‘soldier of the town’, and his *šmsw*, ‘guard’ or ‘follower’. Two out of three ‘masters of tem’ are the owner’s brothers. The third ‘master of tem’ was probably Sobekhotep’s friend or colleague, as the title is not preceded by any kinship terminology. The predominance of such an office on a monument dedicated to a ‘scribe of the *hnrt wr*’, along with the presence of individuals holding that office within the family unit of a ‘scribe of the *hnrt wr*’, suggest the existence of a strong bond between the *hnrt wr* and the ‘master of tem’.¹⁰²

Roles and duties of the ‘master of tem’ are unclear.¹⁰³ The very meaning of the word *tm* is obscure. The variants of the word number five determinatives:  (Gardiner O38),¹⁰⁴  (Gardiner U15),  (Gardiner O40),  (Gardiner N21),¹⁰⁵ and  (Gardiner O39).¹⁰⁶

⁹⁸ For example on Leiden 50 the ‘necropolis workers’ were under the command of an *imy-r mš*‘ *n hrtyw-ntr* ‘overseer of a force of necropolis workers’: P. A. A. Boeser, Die Denkmäler der Zeit zwischen dem Alten und Mittleren Reiche und des Mittleren Reiches, in: A. E. J. Holwerda-P. A. A. Boeser-J. H. Holwerda (eds), Beschreibung der Ägyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden, Haag 1909–10. According to Kóthay that category of workers was assigned to the extraction of blocks of raw material from quarries: K. A. Kóthay, Phyles of Stone-Workers in the Phyle system of the Middle Kingdom, in: ZÄS 134, 2007, 141. The *imy-r mš*‘ is often recorded among the expedition members towards quarries and mines. See P.M. Chevereau, Contribution à la prosopographie des cadres militaires du Moyen Empire, in: RdE 42, 1991, 46–56; H. G. Fischer, A scribe of the Army in a Saqqara Mastaba of the Early Fifth Dynasty, in: JNES 18, 1959.

⁹⁹ J. Yoyotte, Un corps de police de l’Égypte pharaonique, in: RdE 9, 1952. See also: J. C. Darnell, Theban Desert Road Survey in the Egyptian Western Desert, Vol.I: Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 1–45 and Wadi el-Hol Rock Inscriptions 1–45, Chicago 2002, 60–1; Quirke, Titles and Bureaux, 109.

¹⁰⁰ Di Teodoro, Labour Organisation, 76, 79, 151–3.

¹⁰¹ Chevereau, Contribution à la prosopographie, 71–7; D. Stefanović, Šmsw. Soldiers of the Middle Kingdom, in: WZKM 98, Wien 2008, 233–248.

¹⁰² The attestations of *hry n tm* are limited to the late Middle Kingdom and early Second Intermediate Period, matching the span of activity of the institution *hnrt wr*.

¹⁰³ See for example Franke, Egyptian Stelae, 58; A. Ilin-Tomich, Theban Administration in the Late Middle Kingdom, in: ZÄS 142 (2), 2015, 128.

¹⁰⁴ This is the determinative of *tm* on Marseille 228, as well as the most attested form. List of sources in: Franke, Egyptian Stelae, 57; Ilin-Tomich, in: ZÄS 142 (2), 2015, 128–9; H. Schäfer, Eine neue Lesung (*tm*) für , in: ZÄS 40, 1903, 96.

¹⁰⁵ Only one attestation is hitherto known: CG 20430; Lange-Schäfer, op. cit. II, 26–7.

The reading ‘*tm*’ is provided by the sure reading of the bilitteral sign . According to Ilin-Tomich, the complete version of the title, *hry n tm niwt rsy* ‘master of tem of the Southern city’ alludes to local administration.¹⁰⁷

Most occurrences of *hry n tm* are associated with officials belonging to the sectors ‘military/security’ and ‘labour’. Among the first group are: *imy-ht sz-prw* ‘security official of estate guards’,¹⁰⁸ *šmsw* ‘guard’ and *shd šmsw* ‘controller of guards’ (see above).¹⁰⁹ Two monuments, Sinopoli Egi 06 and CG 20360, reveal a close relationship between the offices ‘master of tem’, ‘security official of estate guards’, and ‘scribe of the *hnrt wr*’.¹¹⁰ The ‘labour’ group includes: the staff of the provisioning area (*pr šn*), and craftsmen such as the ‘overseer of coppersmiths’¹¹¹ and the ‘overseer of goldsmiths’.¹¹² Furthermore, a *hry n tm* and a ‘scribe of the *hnrt wr*’ joined an expedition towards the amethyst mines of Wadi el-Hudi for the procurement of precious stones (n. 69). The determinative for land  led Fischer¹¹³ to propose a connection between the title *hry n tm* and agricultural activities, while Franke¹¹⁴ suggested an involvement with brick-making on the basis of the determinative for stone/brick . As far as the latter is concerned, I would not exclude a link with the *ithw inrw* ‘stone haulers’  of the Lahun Papyri (n. 72), due to the use of  in the word *inrw* ‘stones’. This may substantiate the involvement of the ‘master of tem’ in the organisation of temporary labour, giving ground for the presence of ‘masters of tem’ on stela Marseille 228 dedicated to Sobekhotep. Additionally, a ‘master of tem’ presided over a legal act in P. Berlin 10470.¹¹⁵ The official asked the ‘servant’ Senbet to be given to him or to the town in agreement with her masters, probably to serve on temporary basis.¹¹⁶ The use of the determinative  which characterises the word *knbt*, ‘court’ or ‘magistrates’, might count, adding a juridical nuance to the office *hry n tm*. Thus we may establish a connection with those cases of transgressors to be interrogated, which the institution *hnrt wr* – and in particular the enclosures *hnrtw* – dealt with.¹¹⁷ On the basis of the previous consider-

¹⁰⁶ Only one attestation is hitherto known: Boston 1970.630; R.J. Leprohon, *Stelae I: The Early Dynastic Period to the Late Middle Kingdom. Corpus antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum. Museum of Fine Arts Boston, Mainz 1985*, 160–3.

¹⁰⁷ Ilin-Tomich, in: *ZÄS* 142 (2), 2015, 128–9. He supports his argument by comparing the higher amount of attestations from the Theban area with those from the Memphis region.

¹⁰⁸ For example on Cairo CG 20035, CG 20073, CG 20104, CG 20360 (Lange-Schäfer, op. cit. I, 43–4, 87–8, 127–8, 367), Boston 1970.630 (Leprohon, *Stelae I*) and Sinopoli Egi 06 (Roccati, *Quattro stele*, pl. 7).

¹⁰⁹ For example on: Cairo CG 20073, CG 20198, CG 20330 (Lange-Schäfer, op. cit. I, 87–8, 225–6, 342–3); Bologna KS 1933 (E. Bresciani, *Le stele egiziane del Museo civico archeologico di Bologna*, Bologna 1986, 32–3); MMA 63154 (H.G. Fischer, *Varia Nova*, in: *Egyptian Studies III*, 1996); AEIN 964 (J. Mogensen, *Catalogue Egypt I (3000–1550 BC)*. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen 1996, 15–7 no. 16).

¹¹⁰ For a detailed discussion of both monuments see Di Teodoro, *Labour organisation*, 80, source 2.4.1 J.

¹¹¹ On Queen’s College Oxford 1111: P. C. Smither-A. Dakin, *Stelae in the Queen’s College, Oxford*, in: *JEA* 25 (2), 1939, 159, pl. XX.

¹¹² On Cairo CG 20035: Lange-Schäfer, op. cit. I, 43–4.

¹¹³ Fischer, *Egyptian Studies III*, 96.

¹¹⁴ Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 57.

¹¹⁵ Smither, in: *JEA* 34, 1948, 32–34.

¹¹⁶ S. Quirke, *Townsmen in the Middle Kingdom; on the term s n niwt tn in the Lahun Temple Accounts*, in: *ZÄS* 118, 1991, 146.

¹¹⁷ I refer to the text of Insert B of P. Brooklyn 35.1446 (see n. 88 above); P. Berlin 10067 (unpublished; see U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften I*, VOHD 19/, Wiesbaden und Stuttgart 1971, 31, no. 52; Quirke,

ations, I support Quirke's conjecture that the *hry n tm* could have been a security official of the *hnrtw* enclosures.¹¹⁸ I propose that he may have been responsible for the security of temporary workers on site, as an intermediary between the security officials of different sectors – such as estate,¹¹⁹ fields bureau, building and quarrying, and food production area – and the local *hnrt*.

4 Genealogies

In monumental context the expressions of filiation are the most reliable sources of information to reconstruct the owner's descent. However, when large family units are concerned, the vagueness of some kinship expressions can cause difficulties in making genealogies.¹²⁰ Sometimes the restricted surface space of the stela does not allow for adequate specification of kinship. Additional constraints can be: homonymy, the limited number of regular kinship terms, and the range of meanings of *sn* 'brother' (n. 80). The pronoun *his* in the expressions *s3.f* 'his son', and *sn.f* 'his brother', may cause further uncertainty, for it can refer to the main ego of the monument, as well as to other previously named male individuals. As far as stela Edinburgh A.1951.344 is concerned, the ambiguous *his*-relation occurs in the expressions of kinship for Renesres (II, 16), Saimenres (II, 18), Ibiawres (II, 19), and Wadjhaw (III, 24-5). As I previously proposed, those individuals were most likely related to different egos rather than to the owner of the monument.

On the basis of the information provided by kinship expressions on Edinburgh A 1951.344, Cairo CG 20145, Guimet C8, Marseille 228, and Tübingen 458, and taking into account the risks and limitations discussed above, I offer the following genealogies (figs. 1–3).

in: RdE 39, 1988, 89); P. Berlin 10303 (unpublished; see Kaplony-Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften I*, 164–5, no. 403); UC 32209 (Collier-Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Letters*, 128). See Di Teodoro, *Labour organisation*, for a detailed discussion of the above sources.

¹¹⁸ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 95.

¹¹⁹ In this case the person concerned could be the *imy-ht s3-prw* 'security official of estate guards'.

¹²⁰ See Robins, in: CdE 74, 1979, 199; D. Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich*, Hamburg 1983; Willems, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 139, 1983, 153–8; Frood, in Lloyd (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*, 472.

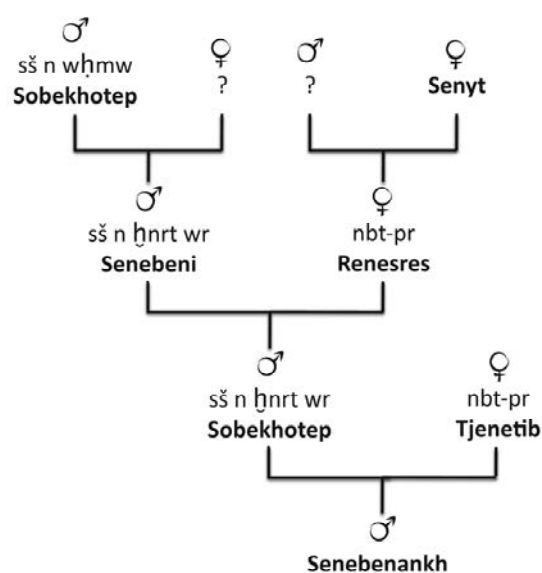


Fig. 1. The family tree of the 'scribes of the *hnrt wr*' Senebeni and Sobekhotep.

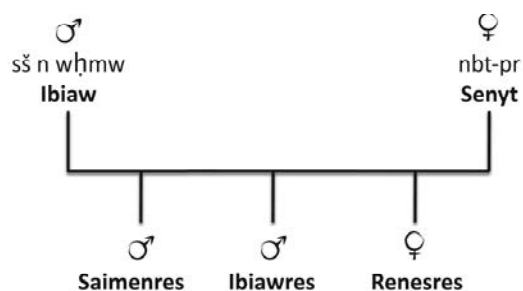


Fig. 2. The family tree of the 'scribe of the reporter' Ibiaw.

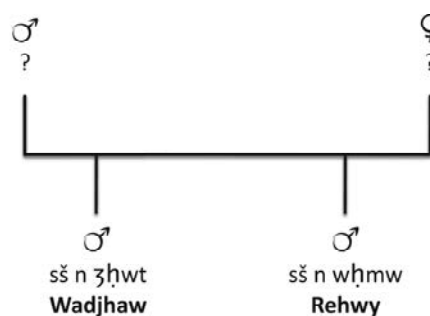


Fig. 3. The collateral relation between the 'scribe of the fields' Wadjhaw and the 'scribe of the reporter' Rehwy.

5 Final remarks

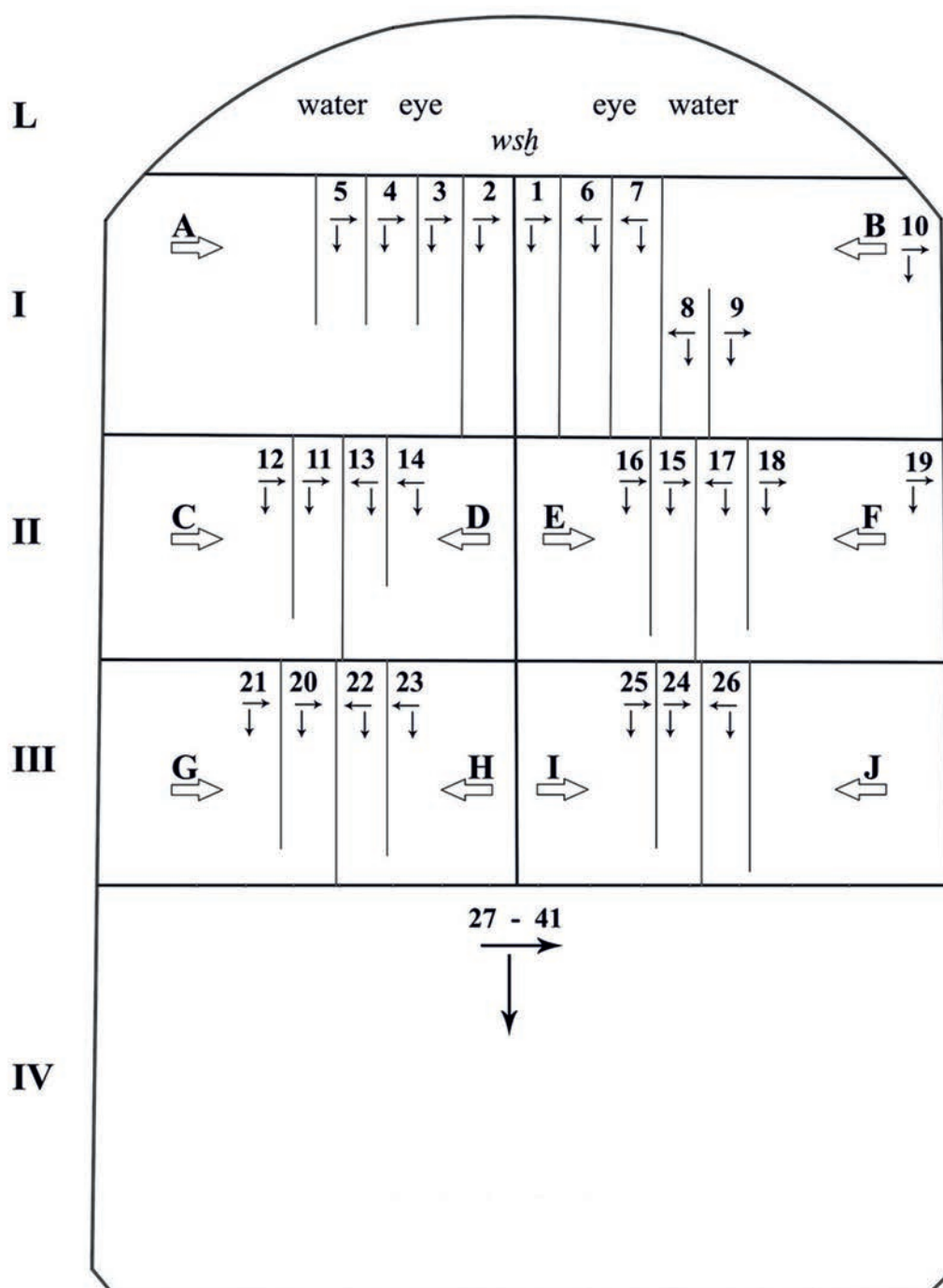
The network of kin ties and working relations shown on stela Edinburgh A.1951.344, in its association with the monuments dedicated to the 'scribe of the *hnrt wr*' Sobekhotep, has

proven to be a useful source to enhance our knowledge of late Middle Kingdom titles, especially in their relationship with the *ḥnrt wr* institution. Singular is the presence of four ‘scribes of the reporter’, office attested on another two monuments only. The economy-oriented titles recorded on Edinburgh A.1951.344 may suggest an active role of the bureau of the ‘reporters’ at Thebes in local labour issues related to work in fields. Speculatively, the network of offices recorded on the monument were involved in the same project. Interestingly, the titles recorded on the monuments dedicated to Senebeni’s son Sobekhotep are more ‘security-oriented’. This paper has also given the opportunity to further explore the functions and sphere of activity of the debated title *ḥry n tm*.

Tafeln



Taf. 25: Photograph of Edinburgh A.1951.344 (©National Museums Scotland).



Taf. 26: Diagram of the layout of Edinburgh A.1951.344

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