

The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC)

Contributions on archaeology, art, religion, and written sources

Volume I

Edited by

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Middle Kingdom Studies 1

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Golden House Publications

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A catalogue record for this book is available from
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Front cover: Detail of canopic stopper from Shaft 106, Dahshur (*cf.* Baba, Yazawa: “Burial Assemblages of the Late Middle Kingdom”, pp. 18-9 © Baba, Yazawa)

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Printed in the United Kingdom
by CPI

London 2015

ISBN 978-1-906137-43-4

To hybrid creatures

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King Seankhibra and the Middle Kingdom Appeal to the Living

Alexander Ilin-Tomich

Abstract

The paper discusses an architrave from Heliopolis mentioning the king Seankhibtawy Seankhibra. Previous scholars expressed contrasting opinions regarding its date. The biographical phrase and the appeal to the leaving on the architrave may provide a key to dating it. Datable parallels to expressions used on the architrave are discussed, and on the balance of all evidence of this kind, the inscription is best placed to the early Twelfth Dynasty (from Amenemhat I to the ascension of Amenemhat II). The paper outlines the modes of the temporal and spatial distribution of the variants of the appeal to the living and supplements the catalogues of the appeals to the living compiled by O. D. Berlev and S. S. Shubert. Two stela workshops active at the royal residence under Senwosret III and Amenemhat III are discussed.

The architrave featuring the name of the king Seankhibtawy Seankhibra (Fig. 1) had long been tantalising scholars before its eventual publication in 2005 by Mey Zaki.¹ The monument, exhibited at the open-air museum² at Matariya (Cairo), should originate from some presumably undocumented rescue excavations in the neighbouring area of Ain-Shams East (ancient Heliopolis).³ The names of the architrave's owner, his mother, his brother and a servant of *ka* are effaced, but the names of the king persist: this is an otherwise unattested combination of the Horus name *S^cnh-jb-t3wj* with the throne name *S^cnh-jb-r^c*. This Horus name is otherwise attested in the Eleventh Dynasty as an early Horus name of Mentuhotep II. The same throne name is recorded twice: for Amenemhat VI of the Thirteenth Dynasty, who is known under the Horus name *Šhr-t3wj*,⁴ and for a Fourteenth Dynasty king known solely from the Turin King-list (entry 9/18).⁵

There are different opinions concerning the date of the architrave and the identity of the king. Detlef Franke originally identified Seankhibra with Amenemhat VI placing the monument in the Thirteenth Dynasty.⁶ Kim Ryholt⁷ and Mey Zaki⁸ follow this solution implying that Amenemhat VI bore two different Horus names, which is not impossible though unlikely.

Later a connection between the architrave and the false door of Heny usurped by Khety-Ankh found nearby was revealed. In a personal communication to William Kelly Simpson, Franke assumed that the effaced name of the owner on the architrave could be read *Hnj* implying that it originally belonged to the same owner as the stela.⁹ Zaki does not discuss this issue, but my observations support Franke's reading, for the final *h* and the upper part of the preceding *h* are still visible. Simpson dated the usurpation of the stela to the first reigns of the Twelfth

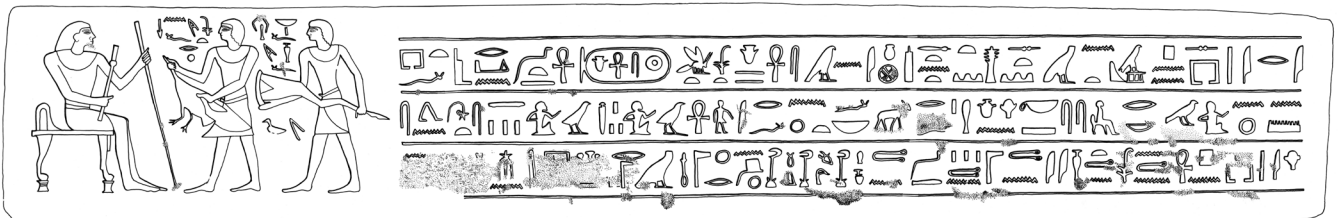


Fig. 1 - Architrave featuring the name of the king Seankhibtawy Seankhibra; drawn by Paul Whelan from photographic images

¹ ZAKI, *DE* 63, 85-94.

² I saw it there in 2006.

³ Here the architrave was found together with the false-door of Khety-Ankh, see SIMPSON, *JARCE* 38, 9.

⁴ See altar Cairo CG 23040 from Karnak, MARIETTE, *Karnak*, pls. 9-10.

⁵ RYHOLT, *The Political Situation*, 338, 379.

⁶ FRANKE, *Orientalia* 57/3, 267-8, n. 57.

⁷ RYHOLT, *The Political Situation in Egypt*, 338.

⁸ ZAKI, *DE* 63, 91.

⁹ SIMPSON, *JARCE* 38, 9-10.

Dynasty based on the name of Khety-Ankh's son *Shtp-jb-r^c-nh* with Amenemhat I's throne name written in the cartouche, thus setting a *terminus ante quem* for the architrave¹⁰ (note however that the same name in the same spelling occurs as late as the reign of Amenemhat III on stela Leiden AP 21).¹¹

The connection with the false door of Khety-Ankh had led Detlef Franke to re-evaluate the architrave, and he arrived at a very different conclusion that the architrave and the false door were originally produced for Heny "perhaps as early as the Herakleopolitan Period".¹²

Simpson himself cautiously surmised that Seankhibra could be one of the direct predecessors of Amenemhat I corresponding to the lacuna of 7 years between the Eleventh and the Twelfth Dynasties in the Turin Kinglist.¹³ Edward Brovarski analysed the layout of Khety-Ankh's false-door in comparison with other false doors from the Ninth to Twelfth Dynasties; he objected to the Herakleopolitan date suggested by Franke and attributed the monument to the Eleventh Dynasty noting that it also shares many features with Twelfth Dynasty examples.¹⁴ Harco Willems further suggested that the royal names on the architrave could present an early protocol of Amenemhat I or of his otherwise unattested rival; he referred succinctly to the artistic layout of the architrave and the stela as the grounds for dating.¹⁵

While the artistic features of Khety-Ankh's false-door have been discussed in full detail, the inscriptions on the architrave deserve further attention as they have some value for dating the monument. The architrave has three lines of text comprising a consecration text with self-laudatory epithets and an appeal to the living.

The consecration text runs as follows:



jr js pn n hrt-ntr¹⁶ nt(j) m smjt Ddt-3t nt Jwnw

¹⁰ SIMPSON, *JARCE* 38, 11.

¹¹ BOESER, *Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung*, vol. II, pl. VII.

¹² SIMPSON, *JARCE* 38, 10.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, 10. See also DEMIDCHIK, in BOLSHAKOV (ed.), *St. Petersburg Egyptological Readings 2006*, 45-55 (in Russian).

¹⁴ BROVARSKI, in SILVERMAN, SIMPSON, WEGNER (eds.), *Archaeism and Innovation*, 397-406.

¹⁵ WILLEMS, in LLOYD (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*, 90; WILLEMS, in MORENO GARCÍA (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 376-7, n. 102.

¹⁶ For the form of the sign, see FISCHER, *MMJ* 12, 8-9, fig. 3b. Franke had noted that the same form occurred on the stela of

jn Hr S^cnh-jb-t3wj nsw-bjtj S^cnh-jb-r^c nh dt rdj.n(f) st.f n mnh.j wr.k(w) spss.k(w) hr jb n hm.f r s^ch.f nb nt(j) hr.f

As for this tomb of the necropolis that is in the cemetery of Djedet-aat of Heliopolis, it was Horus Seankhibra, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Seankhibra, living forever, who gave its place, because I was splendid (or: because of my splendour), (and because) I was great (and) noble to the mind of his majesty more than any dignitary (of) his who was with him

The formulation *n mnh.j (.f)*, "because I (he) was splendid", accompanied by *hr jb*, "to the mind (of the king or a superior)", also used on the stela of Khety-Ankh,¹⁷ figures in private biographies in the reigns of Senwosret I (BM EA 572 l. 10, Leiden AP 63 l. 3, 7, 9, Munich WAF 31 l. 6,¹⁸ Wadi Hammamat G 61 l. 10¹⁹) and Amenemhat II (Louvre C 172 l. 5-6²⁰) and recurs in the late Twelfth Dynasty (as a derivative epithet *mnh hr jb n nb.f FSN 400/RIK 12 l. 5²¹*), the Thirteenth Dynasty (Cairo CG 20086 l. 3-4;²² a derivative epithet *mnh hr jb n nb.f: Wadi el-Hudi 155 l. 4²³*) and in later times. However, Louvre C 172 from the reign of Amenemhat II provides the closest parallel to our inscription: *n mnh.j n jqr.j hr jb.f r jrj-ct nb ntj hr.f*, "because I was splendid (and) I was excellent to his mind more than any chamber keeper who was with him". Even so, this comparison does not provide enough evidence for dating the architrave.

Before proceeding with the discussion of the appeal to the living, an overview of possible approaches to such texts is suitable. The distribution of different variants of the appeal to the living seems to be governed by some temporal and spatial regularities. These make certain phrases and spellings of the appeal to the living useable for dating the monuments.

The most comprehensive study of the appeal to the living in Middle Kingdom sources up to date is a paper published by Oleg D. Berlev in 1962.²⁴ It covers 184 instances of the formula from the Ninth to the Seventeenth Dynasty. Regrettably, this work had been over-

Khety-Ankh, SIMPSON, *JARCE* 38, 9.

¹⁷ SIMPSON, *JARCE* 38, line 19.4.

¹⁸ LANDGRÁFOVÁ, *It is my Good Name*, nos. 38, 49, and 79, respectively. These instances are discussed in BLUMENTHAL, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des Mittleren Reiches*, 300 (G 3.23-4).

¹⁹ FAROUT, *BIFAO* 94, 145-8, fig. 2.

²⁰ LANDGRÁFOVÁ, *It is my Good Name*, no. 55.

²¹ No. 25 in Table 1.

²² KUBISCH, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit*, 148-51 (Abydos 4).

²³ SADEK, *The Amethyst Mining Inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi*, vol. II, 5-7.

²⁴ BERLEV, *KCIHA* 46, 45-87.

looked in the subsequent study on the matter by Miriam Lichtheim²⁵ as well as in the recent dissertation on the appeal to the living by Stephen Shubert.²⁶ Accordingly, Shubert's dissertation omits many examples of the formula enumerated by Berlev, but also adds a number of sources, particularly those published after Berlev's work. To the examples of the formula listed in the works by Berlev and Shubert one can add supplemental sources listed in Table 1.²⁷

One phenomenon, which affects the distribution of the phrases, is copying from earlier samples. The well-known Abydene stela (Cairo CG 20539) of Mentuhotep, the vizier of Senwosret I, boasts a highly innovative appeal to the living featuring a tabular representation of the addressed groups and people and a number of earlier unattested phrases. It is well known that large portions of text from Cairo CG 20539 were copied under Amenemhat III for the stela of Sehotepibra (Cairo CG 20538).²⁸ Among these borrowings was the appeal to the living, and this is a rare case when the reproduction of the appeal to the living from an earlier monument and not from hypothetical common sources is more than a mere guess, because other texts from Cairo CG 20539 including the autobiographical inscription were copied as well. It had been noted²⁹ that the set of phrases from the appeal to the living of Cairo CG 20539 appears on three other later stelae, as summarised in Table 2. Most of these phrases are barely attested outside this recurring pattern presumably going back to the stela of Mentuhotep; however, as will be shown below, some of these phrases flourished within other patterns under the late Twelfth Dynasty. The possibility that the appeal to the living could be partly copied from an earlier monument should always be born in mind when establishing its evolution.

Another phenomenon is the existence of specific patterns of the appeal to the living inherent to certain artisans or workshops producing inscribed monuments. On the material of Naga ed-Dêr stelae of the First Intermediate Period, Edward Brovarski had established the fact that a stela workshop (a 'group' in his terminology) can

be characterised, among other traits, by a specific pattern of the appeal to the living: a set of phrases which appear in different combinations on stelae from the same workshop.³⁰ The same appears to be true for some Middle Kingdom stela workshops.

Among the early Twelfth Dynasty workshops established by Rita E. Freed in her seminal study was Workshop 10 active from late in the reign of Senwosret I through the reign of Amenemhat II.³¹ It appears that this workshop was responsible for the motivation formula (*mr.tn*) *hs tn Hntj-jmntjw (nb 3bdw)*, "(as you wish) that Khentiamenti (the lord of Abydos) praises you", in the appeals to the living, which was also used as the address *mrr hss sw Hntj-jmntjw nb 3bdw*, "(Oh), he who wishes that Khentiamenti, the lord of Abydos, praises him". Nine attestations of these phrases are known (Table 3): six on Twelfth Dynasty stelae, one on a mid-Twelfth Dynasty statue, one on an offering table and one on a Thirteenth Dynasty stela. A variation of the same address *mrr hss sw ntr 3 nb 3bdw*, "(Oh,) he who wishes that the Great God, the lord of Abydos, praise him", occurs on a further Twelfth Dynasty stela (Cairo CG 20523). Of these seven Twelfth Dynasty stelae, four are enumerated by Freed as products of Workshop 10. Three other stelae, Cairo CG 20046, Cairo CG 20523 and Cairo CG 20609, arguably belong to the same workshop. They share the same compositional pattern with the wife standing behind the owner, who sits on a chair before a table of offerings; the principal features of this workshop outlined by Freed are visible in the layout and execution of these stelae. It is hard to say whether the unpublished offering table BM EA 590 and statue BM EA 462 belonged to the same workshop; but the available evidence is enough to demonstrate that most Twelfth Dynasty attestations of these phrases are on monuments executed by a single workshop.

Another case concerns one of the phrases cited above as appearing first on the stela of Mentuhotep – *mr(r).tn Wp-w3wt ntr.tn bnr mrwt*, "as you love Wepwawet, your god sweet of love",³² which occurs outside the pattern set by Mentuhotep on a number of stelae from the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III. Some of these stelae also demonstrate other rare phrases (Table 4). Most of these stelae share common artistic and palaeographic features. Arguably, they were products of two inter-related stela workshops (or two departments of a single workshop) active during the late reign of Senwosret III and the early reign of Amenemhat III at the royal res-

²⁵ LICHTHEIM, *Maat in Egyptian autobiographies*, 155-90.

²⁶ SHUBERT, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*. Among other works on the Middle Kingdom appeal to the living, note also VERNUS, *RdE* 28, 139-48; VERNUS, *RdE* 34, 117-21; and LANOIT, in CANNUYER, CHERPION (eds.), *Regards sur l'orientalisme belge*, 253-62.

²⁷ Many of these examples are discussed in ULJAS, *The modal system of earlier Egyptian complement clauses* or mentioned in: HANNIG, *Lexica* 5, 62-3, 539-40, 1478-9, 2134-6, 2686-7; HANNIG, *Lexica* 4, 25-6, 278, 628, 1087, 1428.

²⁸ LEPROHON, in SILVERMAN, SIMPSON, WEGNER (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation*, 277-94.

²⁹ FRANKFORT, *JEA* 14, 241; BERLEV, *KCIHA* 46, 61.

³⁰ BROVARSKI, *The inscribed material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr*, 475 n. 153.

³¹ FREED, in DER MANUELIAN (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. I, 327-34.

³² For the attestations of this phrase, see BERLEV, *KCIHA* 46, 61.

idence. In terms of the appeal to the living, Workshop 1 is distinguished by the phrase *wnwt hwt-ntr mj qd.s*, “the priesthood of the temple in its entirety”.³³ The second workshop is differentiated by the phrase *mr.tn grg hwt-ntr tn nt (Jst-jrt) Hntj-jmntjw*, “as you wish that this temple of (Osiris) Khentiamenti is supported”; two other phrases unique for the second group are *m mr.tn ntrw.tn njwtjw*, “as you love your city gods” (the only two attestations predating the Thirteenth Dynasty), *h^c hrdw.tn hr nswt.tn*, “as you children (will) stand on your places”. For the list of attestations of all these phrases see Table 4.

It is noteworthy that the stelae belonging to the dossier of one of the most prominent officials of this time, the “treasurer” Iykhernofret, (ANOC 134) are split between the two workshops (Cairo CG 20310, Louvre C 5 and Louvre C 33 belong to the first group; BM EA 202, Berlin 1204, Cairo CG 20038, Cairo CG 20140, are attributable to the second; stela Cairo CG 20683 – ANOC 1.5–) contains similar phrases *mrr.tn Wp-w3wt nb t3-dsr ntr bnr mrwt* and *mr.tn grg hwt-ntr tn nt Jst-jrt*, but it differs in palaeography and iconography from the rest of the stelae.

The two workshops have a number of common features (Table 5). Representations and hieroglyphs are in sunk relief (an exception is Cairo CG 20748). Some of the stelae feature figures in the so-called silhouette style.³⁵ On the stelae of both Workshops 1 and 2 the owner sits on a lion-legged chair in front of a table with offerings. The shoulder-length wig often covers ears completely (Fig. 2). The owner never holds a lotus-flower or a fly-whisk. The name of the god Osiris is spelled in horizontal lines as $\overline{\text{L}}$ and ‘Abydos’ is spelled either as $\overline{\text{L}}$ or as $\overline{\text{L}}$, but never with $\overline{\text{L}}$ nor with a different determinative.

Several stelae have either mummiform figures in niches³⁶ or an empty through-niche, presumably, intended for similar figures (CM CG 20153). Another feature recurrent on some stelae of these two workshops is a border of hieroglyphic text running around the edge of a round-top stela. The stelae that do not have a hieroglyphic border are bordered by a straight line

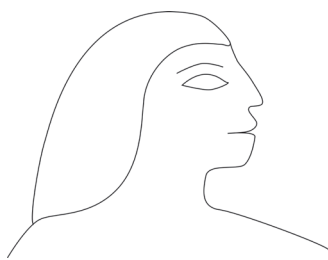


Fig. 2 - Shoulder-length wig completely covering ears

³³ For this phrase, see BERLEV, *KCIHA* 46, 57.

³⁴ SIMPSON, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, 17, 22-3.

³⁵ As defined by GRAJETZKI, *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 62-3.

³⁶ For these mummiform figures and their possible connection with shabtis, see SCHNEIDER, *Shabtis*, 63-4. For a catalogue and a general discussion of Middle Kingdom stelae with mummiform figures, see WHELAN, in GRALLERT, GRAJETZKI (eds.), *Life and Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, 130-54.

or have no border at all (only Rio de Janeiro 627 [2419] displays both a hieroglyphic border and an ornamental border).

Despite these similarities, there are tangible differences between the two workshops.

The stelae of Workshop 1 (Table 6) display exclusively tables with rectangular tops with both straight and figured stands. Many of them show an ox-head beneath the table. In contrast, the stelae of Workshop 2 (Table 7) display tables with rounded tops and figured stands or tables with rectangular tops and straight stands. Some of the stelae have jars beneath the tables, but not ox-heads (except for Cairo CG 20338).

On the stelae of Workshop 1, the inscribed border is only visually separated from the main field of the stela; on the stelae of Workshop 2, the border is raised above the main field forming a niche (the earliest known example of such a raised hieroglyphic border forming a niche is Cairo CG 20531 from the reign of Amenemhat II, belonging to Rita Freed’s Workshop 10.³⁷ Our Workshop 2 seemingly continues this tradition). Kneeling subsidiary female figures have one knee up on the stelae of Workshop 1 and kneel on both knees on the stelae of Workshop 2 (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3 - Kneeling subsidiary female figures, characteristic for Workshop 1 (left) and Workshop 2 (right)

On the stelae of Workshop 1, the sign $\overline{\text{L}}$ is distinctively lower than other tall signs (an archaising feature,³⁸ like some other features maintained by these workshops); this rule is less strictly followed by Workshop 2. Both workshops spell the words *šs mnht*, “alabaster and linen” either with two separate signs $\overline{\text{L}}$ or with a ligature. But the form of this ligature differs. Workshop 1 employs a form with *šs* only partly set between the two poles of *mnht* $\overline{\text{L}}$, which appears only during the mid to late Twelfth Dynasty. Workshop 2 uses the more compact version $\overline{\text{L}}$, which became widespread from the reign of Senwosret III onward. The stelae of Workshop 1 spell *jhw 3pdw*, “oxen and fowl” with the single food determinative $\overline{\text{L}}$ or with no determinative at all; Workshop 2 often uses the plural determinative $\overline{\text{L}}$, either alone or combined with the food determinative (Basel III 5002, Cairo CG 20338, FRANKFORT, *JEA* 14, n. 6; also Cairo

³⁷ FREED, in DER MANUELIAN (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. I, 327-34.

³⁸ FISCHER, *Ancient Egyptian calligraphy*, 10.

CG 20536, which is otherwise closer to Workshop 1), thus inventing a spelling that would later become characteristic of Thirteenth Dynasty inscriptions.³⁹

On the stelae of Workshop 2, the owner seated on a chair sometimes wears a kilt with a triangular panel (Fig. 4). This is an overall rare trait during the Twelfth Dynasty, which never occurs on the stelae of Workshop 1.

The coherence of these groups is further supported



Fig. 4 - Sitting figure wearing a kilt with a triangular panel

by the attestations of several rare elements of the offering formula on the stelae of both workshops (Table 8). The gods Khnum (*Hnmw*), Heqet (*Hqt*), and Hathor lady of the high house

(*Hwt-hr nbt pr q3*)⁴⁰ are but rarely attested on other monuments during this period, and Horus-who-protects-his-father (*Hr nd-hr jtj.f*) appears to be otherwise unattested in offering formulae during the late Twelfth Dynasty. The stelae of Workshop 2 are set off by a unique request *dj.f (.sn) m^ch^ct nfrt*, “that he (they) may give a beautiful chapel”,⁴¹ which is seemingly unattested on any monument beyond this group during the Middle Kingdom.

Dated examples among the stelae of Workshop 1 are Rio de Janeiro 635 + 636 [2427] (Senwosret III), Cairo CG 20536 (year 1 of Amenemhat III), Louvre C 5 (year 1 of Amenemhat III), Cairo CG 20691 (the coregency of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III). Stelae of the Iykhernofret dossier (Cairo CG 20310, Louvre C 33) are datable to the late reign of Senwosret III or the early reign of Amenemhat III. Cairo CG 20296 is linked prosopographically to Rio de Janeiro 635 + 636 [2427].⁴² Cairo CG 20235 is associated prosopographically with BM 101 from the reign of Amenemhat III.⁴³ The warrior Khusebek, the owner of stelae BM 1213 and Manchester 3306, served under Senwosret III and in the early years of Amenemhat III.⁴⁴

Among the stelae of Workshop 2 the dated examples are Genève D 50 (year 19 of Senwosret III), Berlin 1204 (Senwosret III), Cairo CG 20140 (year 1 of Amenemhat III). Other documents can be related to these two stelae through prosopography (stelae of the Iykhernof-

ret dossier: Basel III 5002, BM EA 202, Berlin 1204, Cairo CG 20038; linked with Cairo CG 20140 are Cairo CG 20127,⁴⁵ BM EA 805⁴⁶). Cairo CG 20338 is associated with Cairo CG 20235 datable to Amenemhat III (Workshop 1).⁴⁷

The monuments produced by both workshops can be either directly or indirectly associated with the region of the northern residence (the Memphis-Fayum region). One stela was found at Tura near Memphis (EL-KHOU-LI, *JSSEA* 8). Cairo CG 20338 and indirectly Cairo CG 20235 are associated prosopographically with BM EA 101, whose owner stated that he served at the northern residence. Numerous monuments feature characteristic northern Egyptian personal names⁴⁸ (Table 9). There are no indications suggesting a non-northern origin for any of the stelae or their owners. This evidence suggests that both workshops were active near Itjtawy late in the reign of Senwosret III and early in the reign of Amenemhat III serving local officials with stelae for subsequent installation at Abydos.

In some cases, a peculiarity in the appeal to the living can be attributed not to a single workshop, but to a certain region, where a local tradition persisted over time.

Among the Thirteenth Dynasty examples of the phrase *sw3.tj.fj (.sn)*, “he (those), who pass(es) by”, monuments of Theban and Upper Egyptian officials demonstrate abbreviated writings of *sw3* with Δ , while the monuments of officials from the northern residence spell the word phonetically with 𓆎 .⁴⁹ A list of Thirteenth Dynasty attestations of *sw3* attributable to southern Upper Egypt is given in Table 10; the attestations of *sw3* from the same period attributable to the northern residence are collected in Table 11; in all these instances, the word *sw3* is spelled according to the proposed distribution rule (except Zagreb 8, which features a different phonetic spelling *s(w) 3.t(j) 𓆎* instead of 𓆎).

Another local feature is the request to *dw3 ntr*, “hail god” (for the owner of the tomb). Of the four attestations of this phrase as a request, three are from Siut: Siut tomb III (BERLEV, *KCIHA* 46, doc. 175, SHUBERT, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*, doc. FIP.7), Siut tomb V (SHUBERT, *op. cit.*, doc. FIP.32) and statue Liverpool 1966.178 (Suppl. doc. 42, Twelfth-Thirteenth Dynasty). Thus, the use of this phrase at Siut spanned the First Intermediate Period to the advanced Middle Kingdom. Only one attestation comes from a different region, Elephantine (Qubbet

³⁹ ILIN-TOMICH, *ZÄS* 138, 24-5.

⁴⁰ For the latter, see MARÉE, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 253, n. 89.

⁴¹ BARTA, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, 65, 78, 215, 23, Bitte 80.

⁴² FRANKE, *Personendaten*, Dossier 498.

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, Dossier 297.

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, Dossier 455.

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, Dossier 1.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, Dossiers 779+543

⁴⁷ ILIN-TOMICH, *BiOr* 71, 142.

⁴⁸ ILIN-TOMICH, *Bichuk* 110, 28-30.

⁴⁹ A comparable distribution of spellings between the Upper Egyptian and northern sources of this epoch was noted by Barbara Russo for the term *w* ‘region’, see RUSSO, *The territory w*, 80.

el-Hawa tomb 36, BERLEV, *KCIHA* 46, doc. 2, SHUBERT, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*, doc. MK.57).

Finally, the appeals to the living changed over the course of time and many temporal changes were not limited to a certain region. Berlev's work⁵⁰ remains the most comprehensive study of the temporal evolution of the appeal to the living, though newly found monuments occasionally amend Berlev's conclusions. Henry George Fischer and Edward Brovarski had studied some aspects of the appeal to the living relevant for dating First Intermediate Period and Eleventh Dynasty inscriptions.⁵¹

Thus, the distribution of different versions of the appeal to the living can be analysed in terms of occasional copying from old sources, workshop-specific patterns, of local scribal and artistic traditions spanning years, and the introduction or disappearance of certain elements over time. Also noteworthy is the existence of formulations inherent to certain object types (like the phrase *m33.tj.sn twt pn*, "those who will see this statue" occurring naturally only on statues and pedestals⁵²) or to certain locations, where the inscriptions were exhibited (like references to Abydene cults on stelae from different regions set up at Abydos or the wishes to reach home safely attested only in expedition inscriptions from Nubia, Sinai and Hatnub, but also surprisingly on stela Tübingen 458⁵³ [BERLEV, *KCIHA* 46, doc. 177; SHUBERT, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*, MK.66]). These are the principal types of regularities that can serve to explain the distribution of different variants of the appeal to the living on private monuments.

Now I will turn back to the Heliopolis architrave mentioning Seankhibra (Fig. 1). Its appeal to the living runs as follows:



j nḥw tpjw-t3
sw3.t(j).sn ḥr js pn
nḥ n.tn nsw.tn
ḥsy tn ntrw.tn

⁵⁰ BERLEV, *KCIHA* 46.

⁵¹ FISCHER, *Dendera*, 87-9; BROVARSKI, *The inscribed material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr*, particularly, 511-4, 527-8, 577-8, 625 n. 359, 910 n. 306.

⁵² Liverpool 1966.178 (Suppl. doc. 42) from Siut, Brooklyn 57.140 (SHUBERT, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*, MK.6) presumably from Fayum and Dahshur Exc. no. 129 (SHUBERT, *op. cit.*, MK.15) from Dahshur.


⁵³ The case is discussed by SHUBERT, *op. cit.*, 423.

dd.tn

ḥ3 t ḥnqt ḥ3 ḥw 3pdw ḥ3 šs mnḥt
n jm3ḥ ḥr ntr 3 (j)m(j)-r3 [...]-ntr [... Hn]j ms.n [...]

O you, living on earth,
 those who will pass by this tomb,
 (as) your king may live for you,
 (as) your gods may praise you,
 (so) you shall say:

"A thousand (of) bread (and) beer, a thousand (of) oxen
 (and) fowl, a thousand (of) alabaster (and) linen
 for the favoured by the Great God, the overseer of [...
 Heni], born of [...]"

As noted by Berlev, the spellings of *tpjw* with  occur in the northern part of Egypt from the late Old Kingdom to the reign of Amenemhat II⁵⁴ and are unattested in the south.⁵⁵ A further attestation not included in Berlev's study fits into this pattern: Fitzwilliam E.6.1909 (SHUBERT, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*, FIP.26; late OK or early FIP, presumably from Busiris), though one of the non-dated mid-Twelfth Dynasty examples cited by Berlev could belong to a slightly later time than the reign of Amenemhat II: Cairo CG 20348 (BERLEV, *KCIHA* 46, doc. 68).

For the phrase *nḥ n.tn nsw.tn*, "(as) your king may live for you", Berlev cites only three examples all datable to the late Twelfth Dynasty.⁵⁶ However, additional examples widen the chronological range of its usage: Louvre C 300 (Suppl. doc. 46) dates from the First Intermediate Period, BM EA 1236 (Berlev, *KCIHA* 46, doc. 38) belongs to year 30 of Amenemhat II, Munich ÄS 5361+ÄS 7211 (Suppl. doc. 53) dates from mid-Twelfth Dynasty and only Mendes 2MI4 (Suppl. doc. 49) is datable to the late Twelfth Dynasty.⁵⁷ No examples postdating the Twelfth Dynasty are known.

The phrase *ḥsy tn ntrw.tn*, "(as) your gods may praise you" without the addition of *njwjtjw*, "city-(gods)" is attested from early Twelfth Dynasty onwards. The earliest examples are BM EA 579 (BERLEV, *KCIHA* 46, doc. 32; SHUBERT, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*, MK.24) arguably belonging to the latter years of Senwosret I,⁵⁸

⁵⁴ BM EA 567 (BERLEV, *KCIHA* 46, doc. 30) and BM EA 829 (BERLEV, *op. cit.*, doc. 35; SHUBERT, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*, MK.29).

⁵⁵ BERLEV, *KCIHA* 46, 52-3.

⁵⁶ BERLEV, *op. cit.*, 60-1.

⁵⁷ Through the use of the ligature *šs mnḥt* (BERLEV, *KCIHA* 46, 66) and the title *nbt-pr* suggesting the reign of Senwosret III as a *terminus a quo* and the filiation formula 'jr.n+mother's name' indicating that this northern Egyptian monument predated the Thirteenth Dynasty (POSTEL, in RÉGEN, SERVAJEAN (eds.), *Verba manent*, vol. II, 331-54).

⁵⁸ As suggested by the similarity of subsidiary standing figures with those on stelae from Freed's Workshop 10, which

Berlin 1188 (BERLEV, *KCIHA* 46, doc. 14) attributed by Freed to Workshop 10 dating from late in the reign of Senwosret I and the reign of Amenemhat II,⁵⁹ Cairo CG 20458 attributed by Freed to Workshop 9 active from late in the reign of Senwosret I to early in the reign of Amenemhat II.⁶⁰ Other examples belong to the late Twelfth Dynasty, Thirteenth Dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period.

The offerings listed in the appeal to the living are quite usual, but as Berlev noted, the expression ‘a thousand of’ was spelled with the thousand sign placed after the offering only on several early Twelfth Dynasty monuments.⁶¹ Correcting Berlev’s list of attestations one may cite the following examples besides the architrave under consideration: Berlin 1183 (BERLEV, *KCIHA* 46, doc. 13; year 3 of Amenemhat II; Freed’s Workshop 10); BME EA 584 (BERLEV, *op.cit.*, doc. 33; SHUBERT, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*, MK.48; c. Senwosret I), Cairo CG 20518 (BERLEV, *KCIHA* 46, doc. 78; SHUBERT, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*, MK.51; year 7 of Senwosret I).

To sum up, the spelling of *tpjw* with $\overline{\text{I}}$ favours a date not later than Amenemhat II, the phrase “(as) your king may live for you” supports a date not later than the Twelfth Dynasty, the phrase “(as) your gods may praise you” suggests that the inscription does not antedate the early Twelfth Dynasty, and the spelling of “a thousand of” speaks for a date in the early Twelfth Dynasty. Finally, the filiation formula ‘*ms.n*+mother’s name’ favours a date either not earlier than Mentuhotep II and before the reign of Amenemhat II⁶² or after Amenemhat III.⁶³ On the balance of these arguments, a date in the early Twelfth Dynasty advocated by William Kelly Simpson and Harco Willems⁶⁴ seems the most plausible, suggesting that Seankhibra could be an unsuccessful rival to Amenemhat I, Senwosret I or Amenemhat II or simply an early name of any of these kings.⁶⁵ A date in the Thirteenth Dynasty or in the First Intermediate Period is highly unlikely.

emerged late in the reign of Senwosret I (see next note), and the use of the filiation formula ‘*ms.n*+mother’s name’, which disappeared after Senwosret I (OBSOMER, in CANNUYER, KRUCHTEN (eds.), *Individu, société et spiritualité*, 163-200).

⁵⁹ FREED, in DER MANUELIAN (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. I, 327-34.

⁶⁰ *Op. cit.*, 323-7.

⁶¹ BERLEV, *KCIHA* 46, 66.

⁶² OBSOMER, in CANNUYER, KRUCHTEN (eds.), *Individu, société et spiritualité*, 163-200.

⁶³ POSTEL, in RÉGEN, SERVAJEAN (eds.), *Verba manent*, vol. II, 331-54.

⁶⁴ See nn. 14 and 16 above.

⁶⁵ It should be noted that the pair of names *Hr S^cnh-jb-t3wj nsw-bjtj S^cnh-jb-r^c* resembles formally the names of Mentuhotep IV *Hr Nb-t3wj nsw-bjtj Nb-t3wj-r^c*, and the early names of Amenemhat I, *Hr Shtp-jb-t3wj nsw-bjtj Shtp-jb-r^c*.

Acknowledgment

This paper was originally presented at the Readings Dedicated to the Memory of Oleg D. Berlev (The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Saint Petersburg, May 27, 2013). I am most indebted to Arkadi E. Demidchik for an intense discussion on the matter of this contribution in 2012 and for bringing to my attention an important study on the architrave in question by Dietrich Raue,⁶⁶ regrettably too late to include it in the present paper. I am also thankful to Ivan V. Bogdanov and Timofey Shmakov for discussions and to Dmitri Sychev for valuable help. My thanks are also due to Evgeniya A. Kokina, who kindly copied some necessary literature inaccessible in Russia and to all other friends and colleagues assisting in my research.

⁶⁶ RAUE, in BACKES (ed.), *Kulturelle Kohärenz durch Prestige*, 179-200.



Fig. 5 - Amherst 554, THE GRIFFITH INSTITUTE ARCHIVE, *Williams rubbings*, vol. IV, 58. Copyright: Griffith Institute, University of Oxford



20153

Fig. 6 - Cairo CG 20153. From LANGE, SCHÄFER, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, pl. 14



Fig. 7 - MMA 65.120.1. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1965. Open Access for Scholarly Content www.metmuseum.org

Table 1Attestations of the appeal to the living: a supplement to the lists by BERLEV, *KCIHA* 46 and SHUBERT, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*

No.	Document	Origin	Date
1	Amherst 554 ¹		Senwosret III - Amenemhat III
2	Ashmolean 1889.1022 ²	Hawara	c. Amenemhat III
3	Aswan 1322 ³	Elephantine	Early Twelfth Dynasty
4	Aswan 1376 ⁴	Elephantine	Early Twelfth Dynasty
5	Berlin 97/66 ⁵	Presumably Naga ed-Dêr ⁶	Late FIP - Eleventh Dynasty
6	Berkeley Hearst Museum of Anthropology 6-11470 ⁷	Naga ed-Dêr	FIP
7	BM EA 248 ⁸		Thirteenth Dynasty
8	Boston 1972.17+ Cairo 1.6.24.11 ⁹		Twelfth Dynasty (?)
9	Buhen 355 ¹⁰	Buhen	Thirteenth Dynasty
10	Cairo CG 1642	Mesheikh	FIP
11	Cairo CG 1648	Mesheikh	FIP
12	Cairo CG 20303	Produced at Antaeopolis, set up at Abydos ¹¹	Late Twelfth Dynasty
13	Cairo JE 26437 ¹²		Twelfth Dynasty (?)
14	Cairo JE 55605 ¹³	Naga ed-Dêr	FIP
15	Dahshur Exc. no. 4 ¹⁴	Dahshur	Late Twelfth Dynasty
16	Dahshur Exc. no. 46 ¹⁵	Dahshur	Twelfth Dynasty
17	Dahshur Exc. no. 128, 136, 142 ¹⁶	Dahshur	Early Thirteenth Dynasty
18	Dahshur Exc. no. 137 ¹⁷	Dahshur	Mid to late Twelfth Dynasty
19	Dahshur shrine 3 ¹⁸	Dahshur	Twelfth Dynasty (?)
20	El Kab tomb 10, entrance to inner hall ¹⁹	El Kab	Sixteenth Dynasty
21	El Kab tomb 10, frieze of the outer hall ²⁰	El Kab	Sixteenth Dynasty
22	Florence 2500 ²¹		Early (?) Thirteenth Dynasty
23	Florence 2571 ²²	Presumably produced at Itjtawy	Senwosret III - Amenemhat III
24	Florence 7599 ²³	Thebes	Late Twelfth - early Thirteenth Dynasty
25	<i>FSN</i> 400/RIK 12 ²⁴	Kumna	Not earlier than Senwosret III (likely, late Twelfth Dynasty)
26	<i>FSN</i> 410/RIK 22 ²⁵	Kumna	Late Middle Kingdom (likely, late Twelfth Dynasty)
27	<i>FSN</i> 420/RIK 420 ²⁶	Kumna	Not earlier than Senwosret III (likely, late Twelfth Dynasty)
28	<i>FSN</i> 429/RIK 104 ²⁷	Kumna	Not earlier than Senwosret III (likely, late Twelfth Dynasty)
29	<i>FSN</i> 485/RIK 53 ²⁸	Kumna	Not earlier than Senwosret III (likely, late Twelfth Dynasty)
30	<i>FSN</i> 486/RIK 51 ²⁹	Kumna	Thirteenth Dynasty
31	<i>FSN</i> 494/RIK 118 ³⁰	Kumna	Amenemhat III, year 9
32	<i>FSN</i> 496/RIK 113 ³¹	Kumna	Amenemhat III (around year 43)
33	<i>FSN</i> 499/RIK 116 ³²	Kumna	Amenemhat III, year 9

34	FSN 524/RIS 14 ³³	Semna	Late Middle Kingdom (likely, late Twelfth Dynasty)
35	FSN 530 ³⁴	Semna	Late Middle Kingdom (likely, late Twelfth Dynasty)
36	FSN 531 ³⁵	Semna	Late Middle Kingdom (likely, late Twelfth Dynasty)
37	FSN 532 ³⁶	Semna	Not earlier than Senwosret III
38	GAUTHIER, <i>BIFAO</i> 12, 128 (5)	Presumably produced in or near the Fayum	Late Twelfth Dynasty
39	Geneva 19583 ³⁷		Thirteenth Dynasty
40	KAMAL, <i>ASAE</i> 12, 97-8	Meir	Early Twelfth Dynasty
41	Lacock Abbey 50028 ³⁸		Late Twelfth Dynasty
42	Liverpool 1966.178 ³⁹	Presumably from Siut	Twelfth-Thirteenth Dynasty
43	Liverpool M.13905 ⁴⁰	Presumably produced at Thebes	Thirteenth Dynasty
44	Los Angeles CMAA002-E0020 ⁴¹		Mid to late Twelfth Dynasty
45	Louvre C 43 ⁴²	Produced at Thebes	Thirteenth Dynasty
46	Louvre C 300 ⁴³	Presumably from Abydos or Naga ed-Dêr	FIP
47	Louvre E.20909 ⁴⁴	Edfu	Sebekhotep IV
48	Manchester 2933 ⁴⁵	Dendereh	Eleventh Dynasty
49	Mendes 2MI4 ⁴⁶	Mendes	Late Twelfth Dynasty
50	Mersa Gawasis WG 146 ⁴⁷	Mersa Gawasis	Mid to late Twelfth Dynasty
51	MMA 65.120.1+65.120.2 ⁴⁸	Presumably produced at Itjtawy	Senwosret III - Amenemhat III
52	MMA 65.269 ⁴⁹		Early Twelfth Dynasty
53	Munich ÄS 5361 + ÄS 7211 ⁵⁰	Ezbet-Rushdi (?)	c. Senwosret II (?)
54	Naga ed-Dêr N 2093 ⁵¹	Naga ed-Dêr	FIP
55	Naga ed-Dêr N 3737 ⁵²	Naga ed-Dêr	FIP
56	Naga ed-Dêr N 3973 ⁵³	Naga ed-Dêr	FIP
57	OIM 5028 ⁵⁴	Dendereh	FIP ⁵⁵
58	Oldenburg 4403 ⁵⁶		Thirteenth Dynasty
59	PETRIE, <i>Dendereh 1898</i> , pl. 7A, 4 th from bottom in the middle	Dendereh	FIP/Eleventh Dynasty
60	PETRIE, <i>Dendereh 1898</i> , pl. 11B, 2 nd from top on the left	Dendereh	FIP/Eleventh Dynasty
61	PETRIE <i>et al.</i> , <i>Lahun II</i> , pl. 29 ⁵⁷	Illahun	c. Amenemhat III
62	PETRIE, <i>Season</i> , no. 91 = DE MORGAN <i>et al.</i> , <i>Catalogue</i> , vol. I, p. 17, no. 84 [right]	near Aswan	Senwosret I, year 41
63	PETRIE, <i>Season</i> , no. 134 ⁵⁸	near Aswan	Late Middle Kingdom (likely, late Twelfth Dynasty)
64	PETRIE, <i>Season</i> , no. 147 ⁵⁹	near Aswan	Late Middle Kingdom (likely, late Twelfth Dynasty)
65	PILLON, <i>RdE</i> 62, 115-39	Presumably Naga ed-Dêr	FIP
66	Pittsburgh Z9-497 ⁶⁰		Eleventh Dynasty
67	Rifeh tomb VII ⁶¹	Rifeh	Early to mid-Twelfth Dynasty (?)
68	Rio de Janeiro 627 [2419] ⁶²	Presumably produced at Itjtawy	Senwosret III
69	Rodin 275 ⁶³	Probably produced at Antaeopolis ⁶⁴	
70	Saqqara block of Ipy ⁶⁵	Saqqara	FIP

71	SELIM, <i>SAK</i> 35, 295-300		FIP - Eleventh Dynasty
72	Sinai 413 ⁶⁶	Sinai	Late Twelfth Dynasty
73	Siut tomb VI ⁶⁷	Siut	Early Twelfth Dynasty
74	Siut tomb VII ⁶⁸	Siut	Early Twelfth Dynasty
75	Siut tomb VIII ⁶⁹	Siut	Mid Twelfth Dynasty
76	Sohag III ⁷⁰		Thirteenth Dynasty
77	Stockholm MM 11444 ⁷¹		Thirteenth Dynasty
78	Toledo 25.520 ⁷²	Naga ed-Dêr	FIP
79	Turin Suppl. 12349 ⁷³	Gebelein	Thirteenth Dynasty
80	Toulouse 49.273 ⁷⁴		SIP
81	TPC 289, no. 4 ⁷⁵	Saqqara	Early Twelfth Dynasty
82	VERNUS, <i>Edfou</i> , no. 43 ⁷⁶	Probably from Edfu	
83	VERNUS, <i>RdE</i> 28, pl. 11	Saqqara	Late Twelfth - early Thirteenth Dynasty
84	Wadi Abu Agag AG02 ⁷⁷	Near Aswan	Twelfth Dynasty
85	Wadi el-Hudi 154 ⁷⁸	Wadi el-Hudi	Senwosret I
86	Vienna ÄS 166 ⁷⁹	Presumably produced at Thebes	Thirteenth Dynasty
87	Vienna ÄS 168 ⁸⁰		Thirteenth Dynasty
88	Vienna ÄS 186 ⁸¹	Presumably produced at or near Itjtawy	Thirteenth Dynasty
89	Zagreb 7 ⁸²	The owner from Akhmim	Thirteenth Dynasty
90	Zagreb 8 ⁸³	Presumably produced at or near Itjtawy	Thirteenth Dynasty
91	Unpublished Liverpool Negative H.119 ⁸⁴	Hierakonpolis	SIP
5A	Berlin 31210 (10/66) ⁸⁵	Presumably from Fayum	Thirteenth dynasty (?)
84A	Wadi el-Hôl 6 ⁸⁶	Between Thebes and Abydos	

¹ WIEDEMANN, *PSBA* 11, 420-21 (7); THE GRIFFITH INSTITUTE ARCHIVE, *Williams rubbings*, vol. IV, 58.

² FIORE-MAROCCHETTI, *JEA* 86, 45-6, pl. 8; PETRIE, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*, pl. 11.4.

³ HABACHI, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, no. 48.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, no. 61.

⁵ KAISER, *Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin*, 33-4 (300).

⁶ BROVARSKI, *The inscribed material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr*, 753-5.

⁷ Unpublished; translation in BROVARSKI, *op. cit.*, 565; unreadable excavation photograph: <<http://pahma.berkeley.edu/delphi/modules/browser/details.php?onum=6-11470>>, accessed 21.16.2014; see also PILLON, *RdE* 62, 128, n. 102.

⁸ FRANKE, MARÉE (ed.), *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*, Vol. I/1, 123-5.

⁹ SIMPSON, *RdE* 24, 169-73, pl. 15.

¹⁰ SMITH, *The Fortress of Buhen*, 4-6, pl. 1 (3), 57 (4).

¹¹ ILIN-TOMICH, in BOLSHAKOV (ed.), *St. Petersburg Egyptological Readings 2009-2010*, 92-102.

¹² SIMPSON, *RdE* 24 (1972), 173-4, pl. 15.

¹³ BROVARSKI, *The inscribed material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr*, 688-90, 1190, fig. 143. In the copy of the dissertation available to me, the photograph is illegible.

¹⁴ FAKHRY, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur*, vol. II/2, 51-2, pls. 65, 66.a.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, 27, pl. 60b.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, 63-9, pls. 68-9.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, 17-8, pls. 53-4.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, 74-5.

¹⁹ DAVIES, in MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*, 233; TYLOR, *The Tomb of Sebeknekht*, pl. 11.

²⁰ TYLOR, *The Tomb of Sebeknekht*, pls. 2-5.

²¹ BOSTICCO, *Le stele egiziane dall'antico al nuovo regno*, no. 30.

²² *Op. cit.*, no. 38.

²³ *Op. cit.*, no. 41.

²⁴ HINTZE, REINEKE, *Felsinschriften aus den sudanesischen Nubien*, 109-10.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, 112-4.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, 117.

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, 120.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, 139-40.

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, 140.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, 143.

³¹ *Op. cit.*, 144.

³² *Op. cit.*, 146-7.

³³ *Op. cit.*, 157-8.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, 160-1.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, 161-2.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, 162.

- ³⁷ VALLOGGIA, *Genava* 20, 55-60.
- ³⁸ SATZINGER, STEFANOVIĆ, in BECHTOLD, GULYÁS, HASZNOS (eds.), *From Illahun to Djeme*, 241-46.
- ³⁹ BOURRIAU, *Pharaohs and mortals*, 69-70 (55).
- ⁴⁰ SAMS, *Ancient Egypt*, pl. 18.
- ⁴¹ WIEDEMANN, *PSBA* 11, 419 (3).
- ⁴² HAMZA, *MDAIK* 63, 53-9.
- ⁴³ FISCHER, *BES* 9, figs. 1-2.
- ⁴⁴ MARÉE, *BMSAES* 12, 44, fig. 8.
- ⁴⁵ PETRIE, *Dendereh 1898*, pl. 7A (bottom middle).
- ⁴⁶ SOGHOR, *JARCE* 6, 30-1, pl. 18 (bottom).
- ⁴⁷ PIRELLI, *RdE* 58, 99-105, pl. 18.
- ⁴⁸ FREED *et al.*, *The secrets of Tomb 10A*, 62, figs. 31-2.
- ⁴⁹ <<http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/545875>>, accessed 09.02.2011.
- ⁵⁰ FISCHER-ELFERT, GRIMM, *ZÄS* 130, 60-80.
- ⁵¹ Unpublished; translation in BROVARSKI, *The inscribed material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr*, 631-2.
- ⁵² PECK, *Some Decorated Tombs of the First Intermediate Period*, pl. 13.
- ⁵³ Unpublished; translation in BROVARSKI, *The inscribed material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr*, 569-70.
- ⁵⁴ PETRIE, *Dendereh 1898*, pl. 2A (bottom left).
- ⁵⁵ For the date, see FISCHER, *Dendera in the Third Millennium BC*, 85-91.
- ⁵⁶ FRANKE, *SAK* 10, 157-78.
- ⁵⁷ PETRIE, BRUNTON, MURRAY, *Lahun II*, pl. 29.
- ⁵⁸ PETRIE, *A Season in Egypt*, pl. 6 (134).
- ⁵⁹ PETRIE, *A Season in Egypt*, pl. 6 (147); DE MORGAN *et al.*, *Catalogue des monuments*, vol. I/1, 15 (70 [bottom left]).
- ⁶⁰ PATCH, *Reflections of Greatness*, 22-3 (14).
- ⁶¹ GRIFFITH, *The inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, pl. 18.
- ⁶² KITCHEN, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the National Museum, Rio de Janeiro*, 15-23 (1).
- ⁶³ GOLDSCHIEDER (ed.), *Rodin Collectionneur*, pl. 19 (59).
- ⁶⁴ As betrayed by the phrase *ddt pt qm3t t3 jnnt H'pj m htp dj nsw* in the offering formula, ILIN-TOMICH, *ZÄS* 138, 25-6.
- ⁶⁵ DAoud, *Corpus of Inscriptions of the Herakleopolitan Period*, 147, pl. 81 (6.2.2).
- ⁶⁶ GARDINER, PEET, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, pl. 68.
- ⁶⁷ MONTET, *Kêmi* 6, 132.
- ⁶⁸ *Op. cit.*, 134.
- ⁶⁹ *Op. cit.*, 136. 70 EL-MASRY, in ENGEL, MÜLLER, HARTUNG (eds.), *Zeichen aus dem Sand*, 93-6.
- ⁷¹ <http://collections.smvk.se/pls/mm/rigby.VisaObjekt?pin_masidn=3011101>, accessed 25.09.2011.
- ⁷² BROVARSKI, *The inscribed material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr*, 642-3, 1182, fig. 138.1.
- ⁷³ <<http://collezioni.museoegizio.it/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=105107&viewType=detailView>>, accessed 05.08.2012.
- ⁷⁴ RAMOND, *Les stèles égyptiennes du Musée G. Labit à Toulouse*, n. 6.
- ⁷⁵ FIRTH, GUNN, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 289 (4).
- ⁷⁶ VERNUS, *Edfou du début de la XIIe Dynastie au début de la XVIIIe Dynastie*, 139 (43), pls. 23-4. I render my thanks to Pascal Vernus, who has graciously allowed his PhD thesis to be copied, and I owe much to the selflessness of Lana Martyshcheva for copying this voluminous work for me in Paris.
- ⁷⁷ ROTHE, MILLER, RAPP, *Pharaonic inscriptions from the southern Eastern Desert*, 386.
- ⁷⁸ SADEK, *The Amethyst Mining Inscriptions of Wadi el-Huddi*, vol. II, 3-4.
- ⁷⁹ HEIN, SATZINGER, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. I, 103-6.
- ⁸⁰ *Op. cit.*, 114-7.
- ⁸¹ HEIN, SATZINGER, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. II, 112-27.
- ⁸² MONNET SALEH, *Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb*, 20-1.
- ⁸³ *Op. cit.*, 22-3.
- ⁸⁴ The document was accessible to me though a print in the Griffith Institute archive MSS Clère 02 made from Clère neg. T.06-305. I am grateful to Steven Snape (Garstang Museum of Archaeology, University of Liverpool) for the information on the original negative from John Garstang's excavations at the Temple/Town site at Hierakonpolis.
- ⁸⁵ Unpublished photograph courtesy of Klaus Finneiser (The Egyptian Museum and Papyrus collection of Berlin).
- ⁸⁶ DARNELL, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, vol. I, 102-4.

Table 2

Appeals of the living copied from Cairo CG 20538. Sources: BERLEV, *KCIHA* 46; SHUBERT, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*

Source	Reference	Date	Tabular representation of the addressed groups	<i>hmn-ntr 3, hmn-ntr 3^c</i>	<i>ḥꜣ nb n njwt</i>		<i>hpr.tj: sn wꜣ pn</i>	<i>hpr.tj: sn wꜣ pn</i>	<i>hpr.tj: sn wꜣ pn</i>	<i>hpr.tj: sn wꜣ pn</i>	<i>hpr.tj: sn wꜣ pn</i>	<i>hpr.tj: sn wꜣ pn</i>	<i>hpr.tj: sn wꜣ pn</i>
CG 20539	BERLEV, doc. 83; SHUBERT, MK.32	Senwosret I	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
CG 20040	BERLEV, doc. 51	Amenemhat II ¹	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
CG 20538	BERLEV, doc. 82; SHUBERT, MK.77	Amenemhat III	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
CG 20536	BERLEV, doc. 81	Year 1 of Amenemhat III	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
FRANKFORT, <i>JEA</i> 14, n. 6	BERLEV, doc. 105	Not earlier than the reign of Senwosret III	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
Attested elsewhere				-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+

¹ FRANKE, *Personendaten*, Dossier 74.

Table 3

The attestations of the motivation (*mr.tn ḥs tn Hntj-jmntjw nb 3bdw*), “(as you wish) that Khentiamenti (the lord of Abydos) praises you” and the address *mrr ḥss sw Hntj-jmntjw nb 3bdw*, “(Oh.) he who wishes that Khentiamenti, the lord of Abydos, praises him”. Sources: BERLEV, *KCIHA* 46; SHUBERT, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*

Source	Reference	Notes	Appeal
Berlin 1183	BERLEV, doc. 13	FREED, Workshop 10	<i>mrr ḥss sw Hntj-jmntjw nb 3bdw</i>
BM EA 462	BERLEV, doc. 27	Statue, early to mid-Twelfth Dynasty	<i>mrr ḥss sw Jst-jrt Hntj-jmntjw nb 3bdw Wp-w3wt hrp t3wj</i>
BM EA 590	SHUBERT, MK.52	Unpublished offering table, mid to late Twelfth Dynasty	<i>mr tn nsw ḥs tn Hntj-jmntjw</i>
CG 20046 ¹	BERLEV, doc. 53; SHUBERT, MK.60		<i>mrr ḥss sw Hntj-jmntjw nb 3bdw</i>
CG 20523	BERLEV, doc. 79		<i>mrr ḥss sw ntr 3 nb 3bdw</i>
CG 20567	BERLEV, doc. 86; SHUBERT, MK.79	FREED, Workshop 10	<i>mrr ḥss sw Hntj-jmntjw nb 3bdw</i>

CG 20609 ²	BERLEV, doc. 89		<i>m mry.tn nsw.tn swd (?) .tn n hrdw.tn hs tn Hntj-jmntjw ntr 3 nb 3bdw</i>
Louvre C 172	BERLEV, doc. 123	FREED, Workshop 10 Amenemhat II, year 3	<i>m mrj.tn hss tn Hntj-jmntjw nb 3bdw</i>
Louvre C 181	BERLEV, doc. 125	FREED, Workshop 10	<i>m mr.tn rnp.tn nh msw.tn hs tn Hntj-jmntjw</i>
CG 20100	BERLEV, doc. 57	Thirteenth Dynasty	<i>mrr.tn hs tn Jst-jrt Hntj-jmntjw nb 3bdw</i>

¹ Cairo CG stelae that are not reproduced photographically in LANGE, SCHÄFER, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, or in SIMPSON, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, were accessible to me as photographs in the archive of Oleg D. Berlev at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (Saint Petersburg) through the kindness of Ivan V. Bogdanov.

² TRAPANI, in HAWASS (ed.), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century*, vol. III, 414-6.

Table 4






The attestations of the phrases *mr(r).tn Wp-w3wt ntr.tn bnr mrwt*, “as you love Wepwawet, your god sweet of love”, *wnwt hwt-ntr mj qd.s*, “the priesthood of the temple in its entirety”, *mr.tn grg hwt-ntr tn nt (Jst-jrt) Hntj-jmntjw*, “as you wish that this temple of (Osiris) Khentamenti is supported”, *hc hrdw.tn hr nswt.tn*, “as you children stand on your places”, and all Twelfth Dynasty attestations of the phrase *m mr.tn ntrw.tn njwtjw*, “as you love your city gods”. Sources: BERLEV, *KCIHA* 46; SHUBERT, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*

Source	Reference	Date	Notes	<i>mr(r).tn Wp- w3wt ntr.tn bnr mrwt</i>	<i>wnwt hwt-ntr mj qd.s</i>	<i>mr.tn grg hwt- ntr tn nt (Jst- jrt)Hntj-jmntjw</i>	<i>hc hrdw.tn hr nswt.tn</i>	<i>m mr.tn ntrw.tn njwtjw</i>
Cairo CG 20539	BERLEV, doc. 83; SHUBERT, MK.32	Senwosret I		+				
Cairo CG 20040	BERLEV, doc. 51	Amenemhat II	sequence copied from Cairo CG 20539	+				
Cairo CG 20538	BERLEV doc. 82; SHUBERT MK.77	Amehemhat III	sequence copied from Cairo CG 20539	+	<i>wnwt hwt-ntr. tn jmjw njwt.tn</i>			
FRANKFORT, <i>JEA</i> 14, n. 6	BERLEV, doc. 105	Not earlier than the reign of Senwosret III	sequence copied from Cairo CG 20539	+	+			
Amherst 554 (Fig. 5)	Suppl. doc. 1		Workshop 1		+			
BM EA 1213	BERLEV, doc. 37		Workshop 1	+				
Cairo CG 20153 (Fig. 6)	BERLEV, doc. 60		Workshop 1	+	+			
Cairo CG 20401	BERLEV, doc. 71; SHUBERT, MK.23		Workshop 1	+				

Cairo CG 20497	BERLEV, doc. 74; SHUBERT, MK.7		Workshop 1	+	+			
Cairo CG 20691	BERLEV, doc. 91		Workshop 1	+	+			
Louvre C 5	BERLEV, doc. 119; SHUBERT, MK.63		Workshop 1	+				
MMA 65.120.1+ 65.120.2 (Fig. 7)	Suppl. doc. 51		Workshop 1	+	+			
Rio 627 [2419]	Suppl. doc. 68		Workshop 1	+				
Cairo CG 20119	BERLEV, doc. 58		Workshop 2	+		+	+	+
Rio 627 [2419]	Suppl. doc. 68		Workshop 1	+				
Cairo CG 20119	BERLEV, doc. 58		Workshop 2	+		+	+	+
BM EA 805	BERLEV, doc. 34		Workshop 2	+		+	+	+
CG 20748	BERLEV, doc. 92; SHUBERT, MK.41		Workshop 2	±	± <i>wnwt hwt-ntr nt ntj-jmntjw Wp-w3wt ntr.tn bnr mrwt</i>	+	+	
Florence 2571	Suppl. doc. 23		Workshop 2			+		
Basel III 5002	SHUBERT, MK.62		Workshop 2			+		
Geneva D 50	BERLEV, doc. 103; SHUBERT, MK.10		Workshop 2			+		
Louvre C 169	BERLEV, doc. 154	Amenemhat II - Senwosret II		+				
BM EA 101	BERLEV, doc. 20; SHUBERT, MK.36	Amenemhat III			+			
Cairo CG 20141	BERLEV, doc. 59	Mid to late Twelfth Dynasty				+		
Cairo CG 20683	BERLEV, doc. 90	Senwosret III - Amenemhat III		+		+		
Dahshur shrine 3	Suppl. doc. 19	Twelfth Dynas- ty (?)					+	

Table 5

Common traits of Workshops 1 and 2 active at the royal residence in the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III

Stela	Workshop	The owner holds neither a lotus-flower nor a fly-whisk	Long male wigs covering ears completely	'Osiris' spelled as  in horizontal lines	'Abydos' spelled as  or  (and) 	 is lower than other tall signs	Some (all) figures in the silhouette style	Niche and (or) mummiform figures
Amherst 554 (Fig. 5)	1	+	+	n/a	+	+	-	-
BM EA 1213	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Cairo CG 20153 (Fig. 6)	1	+	+	+	++	+	-	+
Cairo CG 20310	1	+	n/a	+	+	+	-	-
Cairo CG 20401	1	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
Cairo CG 20497	1	n/a	n/a	n/a	+	+	n/a	+
Cairo CG 20536	1	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
Cairo CG 20691	1	+	-	n/a	+	+	-	-
Louvre C 5	1	+	-	+	n/a	n/a	+	-
MMA 65.120.1+ 65.120.2 (Fig. 7)	1	+	+/-	n/a	+	+	-	+
Rio de Janeiro 627 [2419]	1	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Cairo CG 20629	1	+	short wigs only	+	+	+	+	-
EL-KHOULI, JSSEA 8 ¹	1	+	?	+	n/a	+	-	-
Cairo CG 20067	1	+	+	+	+	n/a	-	-
Cairo CG 20217	1	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Cairo CG 20235	1	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Cairo CG 20296	1	+	+	+	n/a	?	-	-
Cairo CG 20713	1	+	+	+	n/a	-	+	-
Manchester 3306 ²	1	+	silhouette figures only	+	n/a	+	+	-
Rio de Janeiro 635 + 636 [2427] ³	1	n/a	-	+	+	+	-	+
Louvre C 33 ⁴	1	+	+	+	n/a	n/a	-	-

Cairo CG 20119	2	+	+	+	+	n/a	-	-
BM EA 805	2	+/-	+	+	+	-	-	-
CG 20748	2	+	short wigs only	+	n/a	+ (?)	-	+
Florence 2571	2	+	+	+	n/a	n/a	-	-
FRANKFORT, <i>JEA</i> 14, n. 6	2	+	?	+	+	+	-	-
Berlin 1204 ⁵	2	+	-	+	+	-	-	-
BM EA 202 ⁶	2	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Basel III 5002 ⁷	2	n/a	n/a	+	+	+	-	+
Cairo CG 20028	2	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Cairo CG 20038	2	+	-	+	+	±	-	+
Cairo CG 20127	2	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
Cairo CG 20140	2	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
Cairo CG 20338	2	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Geneva D 50	2	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Cairo CG 20122	2	+	+	+	+	+	-	-

¹ EL-KHOULI, *JSSEA* 8, 46-7.

² SIMPSON, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 4.

³ *Op. cit.*, pl. 31.

⁴ KITCHEN, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the National Museum, Rio de Janeiro*, pls. 25-6.



⁵ SIMPSON, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 1.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pl. 3.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pl. 3.

Table 6



Peculiar traits of Workshop 1

Stela	Rectangular table-top	An ox head beneath the table	The ligature 'alabaster and linen' has the form 	The inscribed border is flat	<i>jhw 3pdw</i> only with the food determinative	 is lower than other tall signs	Kneeling female figures with one knee up
Amherst 554 (Fig. 5)	+	+	separate signs	n/a	no determinative	+	+
BM EA 1213	+	+	+	n/a	no det.	+	+
Cairo CG 20153 (Fig. 6)	+	-	sep. signs	n/a	+	+	n/a
Cairo CG 20310	+	-	sep. signs	n/a	+	+	+
Cairo CG 20401	+	-	+	+	no det.	+	+

Cairo CG 20497	n/a	n/a	sep. signs	n/a	no det.	+	n/a
Cairo CG 20536	+	-	- _	+	+	+	+
Cairo CG 20691	+	+	sep. signs	n/a	+	+	+
Louvre C 5	+	+	+	+	no det.	n/a	+
MMA 65.120.1+ 65.120.2 (Fig. 7)	+	-	+	n/a	+	+	n/a
Rio de Janeiro 627 [2419]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Cairo CG 20629	+	-	+	+	- (plural)	+	+
EL-KHOULI, JSSEA 8	+	-	n/a	n/a	no det.	+	+
Cairo CG 20067	+	+	sep. signs	n/a	no det.	n/a	n/a
Cairo CG 20217	+	+	+	n/a	n/a	+	n/a
Cairo CG 20235	+	+	sep. signs	n/a	+	+	n/a
Cairo CG 20296	+	+	+	n/a	no det.	?	+
Cairo CG 20713	+	+	+	n/a	no det.	-	+
Louvre C 33	+	+	sep. signs	n/a	+	n/a	+
Manchester 3306	+	+	sep. signs	n/a	+	+	+
Rio de Janeiro 635 + 636 [2427]	n/a	-	sep. signs	n/a	+	+	n/a

Table 7

Distinctive traits of Workshop 2

Stela	Rectangular table-top with a straight stand	Table top with rounded edges	The ligature 'alabaster and linen' has the form 	Female figures kneeling on both knees	A kilt with a triangular panel (seated figures)	The inscribed border is raised	<i>jhw 3pdw</i> with the plural determinative	 is lower than other tall signs
Cairo CG 20119	+ -	-	+	+	+	+	no determinative	n/a
BM EA 805	+	+	+	+	+	+	no det.	-
CG 20748	n/a	n/a	+	n/a	+	n/a	no det.	+ (?)
Florence 2571	+	-	+	+	-	n/a	no det.	n/a
FRANKFORT, <i>JEA</i> 14, n. 6	+	-	+	n/a	-	n/a	+	+
Berlin 1204 ¹	+	+	n/a	n/a	+	+	n/a	-
BM EA 202 ²	+ -	-	separate signs	+	+	n/a	no det.	+
Basel III 5002 ³	n/a	n/a	+	n/a	n/a	+	+	+
Cairo CG 20028	+	-	sep. signs	+	-	n/a	no det.	+
Cairo CG 20038	-	-	sep. signs	n/a	-	+	-	±
Cairo CG 20127	+	-	n/a	n/a	-	n/a	+	-
Cairo CG 20140	-	+	n/a	n/a	-	n/a	-	+
Cairo CG 20338	-	+	sep. signs	n/a	-	n/a	+	+
Geneva D 50	-	-	sep. signs	+	-	n/a	+	+
Cairo CG 20122	-	+	n/a	+	-	n/a	no det.	+

¹ SIMPSON, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 1.

² *Op. cit.*, pl. 3.

³ *Op. cit.*, pl. 3.

Table 8

Rare elements in the offering formulae on the stelae produced by Workshops 1 and 2

Stela	Workshop	<i>Hnmw</i>	<i>Hqt</i>	<i>Hr nd-hr jtj.f</i>	<i>Hwt-hr nbt pr q3</i>	<i>dj.f m^ch^t nfrt</i>
BM EA 1213	1	+	+	+	+	
CG 20713	1				+	
Louvre C 33	1			+		
MMA 65.120.1+ 65.120.2	1	+	+	+	+	

FRANKFORT, <i>JEA</i> 14, n. 6	2	+	+	+		+
Basel III 5002	2					+
BM EA 202	2	+	+	+		
BM EA 805	2	+	+	+		+
CG 20028	2	+	+	+		
CG 20748	2			+	+	+
Florence 2571	2	+	+			

Table 9

Characteristic northern Egyptian personal names on the stelae produced by Workshops 1 and 2

Stela	Workshop	Names
BM EA 202	2	<i>Hpr-k3-r^c, Snfrw</i>
CG 20028	2	<i>Hntj-hty, Jmny</i>
CG 20119	2	<i>Shtp-jb-r^c, Kkj</i>
CG 20122	1	<i>Shtp-jb-r^c, Htp</i>
CG 20127	2	<i>H^c-k3w-r^c, Jmny, Htp</i>
CG 20140	2	<i>Hntj-hty, Ppj</i>
CG 20153	1	<i>S3t-snfrw, S3t-hntj-hty</i>
CG 20217	2	<i>Shtp-jb-r^c, Htp</i>
CG 20296	1	<i>Rn.f-^cnh, Jmny</i>
CG 20338	2	<i>Shtp-jb-r^c, Snfrw, Jmny</i>
CG 20401	1	<i>Hpr-k3-r^c, Ppj</i>
CG 20713	1	<i>Shtp-jb-r^c, Nbw-k3w-r^c, S3t-hntj-hty, Rn.f-^cnh, Snfrw, Jmny-w3h</i>
Florence 2571	2	<i>Shtp-jb-r^c, Mkt</i>
Geneva D 50	2	<i>Jmny, Rn.f-^cnh, S3t-hntj-hty</i>
Louvre C 5	1	<i>Jmny, Ppj, H^c-k3w-r^c-snb, Hpr-k3-r^c, Wr-hntj-hty</i>
MMA 65.120.1+65.120.2	1	<i>Shtp-jb-r^c, Hntj-hty-r^c, Rn.s-^cnh</i>
Rio de Janeiro 627 [2419]	1	<i>Shtp-jb-r^c, S3-hntj-hty, Rn.f-^cnh, Htpt, Jmny</i>
Rio de Janeiro 635 + 636 [2427]	1	<i>Hntj-hty-htp, Jmny</i>

Table 10

Thirteenth Dynasty attestations of *sw3* attributable to southern Upper Egypt. References: BERLEV, *KCIHA* 46; SHUBERT, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*

Document	References	Geographical attribution
ALLIOT, <i>Tell Edfou</i> 1933, 32 n. 10	SHUBERT, SIP.5	From Edfu
Berlin 7311	BERLEV, doc. 15; SHUBERT, MK.43	Another stela of the same person was produced by a Theban workshop; ¹ Berlin 7311 should possibly be added to the same artistic dossier
Berlin 7732	BERLEV, doc. 17	Theban origin is indicated by the mention of Amun-Ra in the offering formula
Berlin 19500	BERLEV, doc. 19	From Elephantine
BM EA 471	BERLEV, doc. 28	The owner was a priest of Montu at Medamud according to his title on his other monument, Vienna ÄS 5897 ²
CG 20100	BERLEV, doc. 57	While the owner of the stela was a high official of the central administration, a high steward, four officials mentioned on this and related stelae are known from seal impressions from the town of Wahsut, ³ suggesting that they could have served at Abydos
Liverpool M.13905	Suppl. doc. 43	The owner is likely identical with the reporter of the vizier Senwosret, who is known from stelae Louvre C 16, C 17 and C 18, produced at Thebes ⁴
Ny Carlsberg ÆIN 964	BERLEV, doc. 147	Theban origin is indicated by the mention of Amun-Ra in the offering formula
Tübingen 458	BERLEV, doc. 177; SHUBERT, MK.66	The stela was likely executed at a Theban workshop, ⁵ and an <i>wab</i> -priest of Amun figures on another monument of the same official, Marseille 228 ⁶
Zagreb 7	Suppl. doc. 89	The owner was a lector-priest of Min at Akhmim

¹ Cairo CG 20104 (FRANKE, *Personendaten*, Dossier 389), for the workshop, see ILIN-TOMICH, *GM* 234, 73-8.

² FRANKE, *Personendaten*, Dossier 767.

³ WEGNER, in HAWASS, DER MANUELIAN, HUSSEIN (eds.), *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt*, 438-41, 454.

⁴ ILIN-TOMICH, *GM* 234, 73-8; compare FRANKE, *Personendaten*, Dossier 492.

⁵ ILIN-TOMICH, *GM* 234, 80-4.

⁶ FRANKE, *Personendaten*, Dossier 587.

Table 11

Thirteenth Dynasty attestations of *sw3* attributable to the northern part of Egypt. References: BERLEV, *KCIHA* 46; SHUBERT, *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth*

Document	References	Geographical attribution
ENGELBACH, <i>Harageh</i> , pl. LXXII.1	SHUBERT, MK.34	From Harageh
Florence 2561	BERLEV, doc. 102	The owner figures on stela Cairo CG 20520, ¹ naming a god's father of Ptah, which makes a Memphite origin likely
Ny Carlsberg ÆIN 1539	BERLEV, doc. 148; SHUBERT, MK.69	From Harageh
Vienna ÄS 156	BERLEV, doc. 184	Two characteristic northern names: <i>Snfrw</i> and <i>Kkj</i> ²

Vienna ÄS 186	Suppl. doc. 88	Four characteristic northern names: <i>Snfrw</i> , <i>S3t-Snfrw</i> , <i>Shtp-jb</i> and <i>Jppj</i>
Zagreb 8	Suppl. doc. 90	Two characteristic northern names: <i>Jmny</i> and <i>Snfrw</i>

¹ FRANKE, *Personendaten*, Dossier 447.

² ILIN-TOMICH, *Вісник* 110, 28-30.

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