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Middle Kingdom Studies 2
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The stela of the Thirteenth Dynasty treasurer Senebsumai,  
Turin Cat. S. 1303

Wolfram Grajetzki, Gianluca Miniaci

Abstract
This is the publication of stela Turin Cat. S. 1303. The stela belongs to the treasurer Senebsumai and is dedicated to him by the ‘master of the house for the palace’ Khentikhety-hotep, an official not yet known from other sources. The stela adds another monument to the high number of objects known from the most important Thirteenth Dynasty treasurer.

Object: Stela (Fig. 1)
Location: Egyptian Museum, Turin, inv. no. S. 1303 (previously quoted in literature as S. 1298). While the number 1298 is actually written on the stela itself (see Fig. 8), nonetheless today under the inventory number S. 1298 is recorded another object.
Material/measurements: limestone, h. 42 x w. 17 cm
Owner: Khentkhety-hotep
Main person: Senebsumai
Date: Thirteenth Dynasty, about Sobekhotep II to Neferhotep I
Provenance/acquisition: the stela was purchased by Schiaparelli in Egypt in 1900-1901.
Condition: The surface on the right side of the stela is very badly worn in many points; this makes part of the inscription on that side difficult to read. The erosion starts at the top and goes down to the bottom, while the worn area becomes broader to the bottom of the stela. Often only shapeless contours of figures and hieroglyphs remain.¹

Description
A round top stela with carved decoration and inscription, delimited by an incised border line.
The lunette is decorated with two wedjat-eyes and a shen-ring in the middle. To the left and right sides of the wedjat-eyes there are respectively the sign of the East (iHbt) and of the West (inm.t) with a protruding arm making offerings to the eyes.

¹We are indebted with the Egyptian Museum, Turin for the kind permission to publish this piece. We are grateful to Danijela Stefanovic for help with some readings, especially with names, and to Simon Connor for providing us with further information on the stela.

The main field is divided into three registers. In the first register, Senebsumai is sitting on a chair with leonine legs, high drums, and short backrest. He wears a shoulder-length wig that leaves his ear uncovered, a collar, and a long kilt. The right hand is extended forward above his knees, the palm facing down. The left hand, held against the breast, clutches a piece of cloth, in the same way as all the other individuals of the lower registers are represented. In front of the seated figure is a table of offerings with nine elongated loaves depicted upright. On the top of the table is represented a tray with three sealed jars of unguent (two cylindrical mrHt-type on the sides; one convex at the center). To the right of the table, other offerings are depicted on a tray (possibly some round loaves and, above, a bundle of onions). Below these offerings there are some tall items, not clearly visible, perhaps vessels on stands and/or lettuce.²

On the right end of the first register, stands the owner of the stela, Khentkhety-hotep, facing left. He has short-cropped hair and wears a long kilt secured by a knot. His right arm is bent and raised forward, with the hand stretched out and the palm up. His left arm hangs down. Eleven vertical lines of inscription –divided by incised lines– are carved above the whole scene of the first register.

Below the first register there are two registers of roughly equal size, each one divided into three compartments, showing men (upper row) and women (lower row) in the same position: seated with one knee raised, the left arm bent and the hand held against the chest, clutching a piece of cloth, the right arm is stretched downward.

Fig. 1 – Stele of Senebsumai, Egyptian Museum Turin, S 1303. Photo G. Miniaci © Museo Egizio, Torino
The stela of the Thirteenth Dynasty treasurer Senebsumai, Turin Cat. S. 1303

Fig. 2 – Stele of Senebsumai, Egyptian Museum Turin, S 1303. Drawing Wolfram Grajetzki
Fig. 3 – Stele of Senebsumai, Egyptian Museum Turin, S 1303. Hieroglyphic text by Wolfram Grajetzki
with the hand held just above the upright knee. Above the rows of men and women there is a horizontal line of hieroglyphs, bearing a htp-di-nswt formula. In front of each individual is a vertical line of inscription containing the name.

Two lines of hieroglyphs with a htp-di-nswt formula run below the base-line of the lower register.

Transliteration and translation:

First Register

\[ \text{htp di nswt Wsrir nb} \times \text{bdw di-f pret-hrw t hntk ihw} \times \text{bdw} \times n \times m\text{nnt} \times \text{nb} \times n \times \text{hnty bity smr w}^{\text{ty}} \text{iny-r hntk Snb-sw-m^{-}(i)} \times m^{2}-\text{hrw} \times \text{nb im}^{2}h \]

A king’s offering given to Osiris, lord of Abydos, may he give a voice offering consisting of bread, beer, cattle, goose, fowl, cloth, incense, oil and all good and pure things on which a god lives […] god’s offering […] Iti (?) (Fig. 7)

m ir n=f hrd mry=f m^2 hry-pr n pr-\text{\textsuperscript{13}} Hnht-hty-htp [...] nb im^2h

As made for him by his truly beloved child,\textsuperscript{(a)} the master of the house for the palace,\textsuperscript{(b)} Khentikhety-hetep\textsuperscript{(c)}

Second Register

Horizontal line:

\[ \text{[htp di nswt] Wsrir nb} \times \text{bdw di-f hnt nb.<.t> nfr.<.t> w'}^{\text{ty}} \text{b.t} \times n \times k^{2} \times hty-pr \times n \times pr-\text{\textsuperscript{13}} Hnht-hty-htp \times m^{2}-\text{hrw} \]

[A king’s offering given to] Osiris, lord of Abydos, may he give all pure things for the ka of the master of the house for the palace, Khentikhety-hetep, true of voice

Vertical columns:

1. n k\textsuperscript{3} n nw.t-f nb.t pr […] ‘n.s m^3 t-hrw nb.t im^2h

1. For the ka of his mother, the lady of the house […]\textsuperscript{(d)}

2. [n k\textsuperscript{3} n sn.t-f nb.t pr Mr.t m^3 t-hrw nb im^2h

2. For [the ka of] […] the lady of the house, Meret\textsuperscript{(e)} true of voice, lady of provisions (Fig. 6)

3. n k\textsuperscript{3} n sn.t-f nb.t pr Ndm-skr

3. For the ka of his sister, the lady of the house Nedjem-shrey (?)\textsuperscript{(f)}

Lower Horizontal Lines (Fig. 8):

\[ \text{[htp di nswt Wsrir nb} \times \text{nb} \times t \times d\text{sr pret-hrw t hntk ihw} \times \text{bdw} \times m\text{nnt} \times 

\times \text{snfr nh.t nb.t nfr.t w'}^{\text{ty}} \text{b.t} \times nfr.t nh[f.t] \times nfr \times im ... htp [...] Iti (?) m^2 hrw ms n nb.t pr Mr.t \]

A king’s offering for Osiris, lord […] lord of the sacred land, a voice offering consisting of bread, beer, cattle, fowl, cloth, incense, oil and all good and pure things on which a god lives […] god’s offering […] Iti (?),\textsuperscript{(g)} true of voice, born of the lady of the house Meret\textsuperscript{(h)}

Textual notes:

(a) smr w^ty. The treasurer is the only official of the Thirteenth Dynasty bearing regularly the ranking title ‘sole friend’ (Quirke, Administration, 69, n. 23).

(b) Snbswm\textsuperscript{t}. Ranke, PN I, 312, 21. On this official, see Grajetzki, Two treasurers, 21-5.

(c) ir n f hrd f mry.f. Khentikhety-hetep labelled himself as child (hrdf) of Senebsumai. The expression ir n f hrd f mry.f is attested in other two stela mentioning Senebsumai (stelae Roanne 163 and BM EA 215, see list below). However, such an expression, frequent in stelae of Thirteenth Dynasty, might refer to a position of subordination, see Franke, Verwaltungsbeziehungen, 304 ff. Бериев, in Канцельсон (ed.), Древний Египет, 11-14; Бериев, Общественныe отношения, 49, 210, 317; Schmitz, ZÄS 108, 53-60; Grajetzki, Two Treasurers, 74. Accordingly, Khentikhety-hetep could have been one of the officials employed under Senebsumai in the royal palace.

(d) hry-pr n pr-\text{\textsuperscript{13}}. The title was reserved for staff of the royal palace, see Quirke, Titles and bureaux, 47; Franke, Marée (ed.), Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum, vol. I/1, 47 (5a, 9a, 18); Grajetzki, Two Treasurers, 48; Бериев,
Public relations, 129-34, 150-61; list of title holders on p. 133 (no Hnt-hty-htp among them).

(e) Hnti-hti-htp. Ranke, PN I, 273, 1.

(f) The signs of this column are hardly detectable. A ‘t’, and a ‘f’ signs seem to be visible. Since in the lower register at the first position, ‘his mother’ is mentioned, by analogy, here it is possible to assume that the group belongs to the words ‘his father’.

(g) ...ii (?). The reading ‘his father’ is more a guess. The name of the person ends with ii; there are two long signs (Gardiner M17?) and two strokes (Gardiner Z4).

(h) Nhy (?). The name starts with a bird and there are the remains of three long signs. This could be Nehy (Ranke, PN, 207, 19), a popular name in the Thirteenth Dynasty. The three long signs look like (from the right) a ‘h’ followed by two reeds.

(i) H’tj. Not in Ranke, PN.

(j) The name of the mother is hard to read. There are three horizontal lines visible, perhaps to read ‘n s (not in Ranke, PN, but compare Ranke, PN, 61, 7; 62, 13).

(k) Mr.t. Ranke, PN I, 158, 13.

(l) ndm-shry. Not in Ranke, PN, but compare Ranke, PN, 216, 4-6. The name is partly destroyed. The first sign is perhaps ndm (Gardiner M29), while the next sign is a bird, perhaps a ‘w’. The last sign is again a bird.

(m) Iti (?). Ranke, PN I, 15, 13.
Style

The stela belongs to a group with similar composition in the uppermost section, all showing two wedja-eyes, a shen-ring in the middle, and the east and west sign making offerings to the eyes: CG 20147 (SIMPSON, The Terrace of the Great God, pl. 32, ANOC 22.2), CG 20614 (LANGE, SCHÄFER, Grab- und Denkstein, vol. II, 253-55), Leyden AP.42 (BOESER, Beschreibung, vol. II, 10 [35], pl. 25 [35]), Leyden AP.35 (BOESER, Beschreibung, II, 8 [24], pl. 23 [24]). The Turin stela is especially close in style to Chicago Field Museum of Natural History no. 31647 (alleng, Egyptian Stelae in Field Museum of Natural History, 24-5, pl. 8), Zagreb no. 4 (MONNET SALEH, Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb, 15), and Roanne 163.3 These four stelae share a certain number of features, but the main point of contact is given by the west and east signs with offering arms in the roundel. At least three of them belong to people related to Senebsumai; stelae Roanne 1623 and Turin S. 1303 directly represent the figure of Senebsumai, while the stela in Chicago belongs to the ‘cupbearer’ lauemnpt, also most likely part of the staff of the treasurer.4 These three stelae might even have been commissioned on the same occasion. The Zagreb stela is executed in a similar style, but there are no visible connections with the people on the other stelae.

Comment

The Turin stela belongs to a group of stelae showing on one side a higher official and in front of him a serving official. In these registers below the main scene six people are represented, most likely members of Khentikhety-hoteps family. Many of these stelae seem to have been set up in pairs. On one stela the serving official appears in front of the official, while the other stela of the pair shows the serving official as main person. Also several stelae that are decorated on both sides might be listed under such a type of stela. The front side is dedicated to a high official; the back side is mainly dedicated to the serving official.5

The stela was set up by Khentkhety-hetep, who was part of the entourage of the treasurer Senebsumai. Although he labelled himself as one of ‘his children’, the expression r n f lrd f mry f is regularly employed to indicate subordination in a working relation and transmits the ‘sacral’ relationship of father and son onto a master/servant dependence, as in the specific case of Senebsumai and Khentkhety-hetep. In this context the expression ‘his child’ seems to announce that Khentkhety-hetep was brought up in the house of Senebsumai, but clearly he was not one of his children.6 Khentkhety-hetep was clearly a palace official on a middle level, mainly working within the domestic parts of the royal palace.7 However, it seems that he grew up in the house of Senebsumai, a high official and was from there placed into the palace administration. This might show how much private households and palace administration were intermingled.

People on the stela:
The main owner of the monument is the ‘master of the house for the palace’ Khentikhety-hotep.8 Khentikhety-hotep was most likely part of the entourage of Senebsumai, but to our best knowledge he seems not to be known from any other monument. Khentikhety-hotep appears three times on the stela, mentioned and represented in the top of the stela, and in the two offering formulæ that head the two registers below. Detlef Franke noted that several of the lower officials in front of a higher one played the role of a sem-priest, a role that was normally

3 For a more detailed stylistic comparison, see Graetzki, Two Treasurers, 64-5.
4 Graetzki, Court Officials, 128, fig. 50.
5 Graetzki, Two Treasurers, 69-70.
6 Franke, Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen, 304-8.
7 Берлеб, Общественные отношения, 132-58, Quirke, Titles and bureaux, 46-7.
performed by a real son. He argues that their daily service at work was “transformed and displayed for eternity in a ritual role”. The officials in these scenes wear a leopard skin, best visible from the tail hanging down from the figure of the official and hold in his hand. However, the figure of Khentikhety-hotep on the Turin stela is too much destroyed to confirm whether he was also holding a tail. The question must remain open whether Khentikhety-hotep appears here as sem-priest.

Senebsumai11 is one of the best attested officials of the Thirteenth Dynasty and he is the official with the highest numbers of Abydos stelae known. He started his career as ‘high steward’ and was later appointed ‘treasurer’. Two stelae and a statue attest him as ‘high steward’. The statue comes perhaps from Ballas. In the Petrie Notebooks of Ballas there is a copy of the inscription of the statue12 (Fig. 9). Eight stelae from Abydos were dedicated to the ‘treasurer’ Senebsumai from his subordinates and two dedicated by high-ranking officials (see Franke, Maree (ed.), Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum, vol. I/1, 50). Other monuments of Senebsumai were found all around Egypt. They include a bronze statue13—and perhaps from Hawara—and an inscribed fragment from Dahshur, most likely from his tomb. He is mentioned in papyri found at Lahun,14 and he is known in more than forty seals and sealings.15

Fig. 9 – Copy of inscription in Petrie’s Ballas notebook

Appendix

Stelae where Senebsumai is attested:

as imy-r pr wr

• Cairo CG 20075 (Lange, Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine, vol. I, 89-92)
• Cairo CG 20459 (Lange, Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine, vol. II, 58-9)

9 Franke, in Quirke, Discovering Egypt from the Neva, 75.
11 List of objects: Franke, Personendaten, 391, Doss. 667; Grajetzki, Two Treasurers, 12-25.
12 Statue, seen at Ballas (Franke, OMRO 68, 59-76; for Ballas as find spot: Grajetzki, Court officials, 191; Petrie Museum, Archives, notebook Ballas, p. 21).
13 PM VIII [1], 371 [801-426-801].
14 Grajetzki, Two Treasurers, 17-18, pls. 7-8; Collier, Quirke, The UCL Lahun Papyri, 162-3. (UC32100B), 170-1 (UC32104).
15 Grajetzki, Two Treasurers, 18-20.
16 Wegner, in Miniaci, Quirke, Bétrò (eds.), Company of Images.
17 Wegner, Cahail, JARCE 51, 123-64.
18 Cahail, JARCE 51, 121.
19 Mariette, Maspero, Les mastabas de l’Ancien Empire, 583.
as imy-r xtmt

- BM EA 215 (Franke, Maree (ed.), Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum, vol. 1/1, 45-51)
- BM EA 252 (Franke, Maree (ed.), Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum, vol. 1/1, 134-7)
- Cairo CG 20334, from Abydos (Lange, Schafer, Grab- und Denksteine, vol. I, 346-7)
- Cairo CG 20718, from Abydos (Lange, Schafer, Grab- und Denksteine, vol. II, 345-6)
- Leiden 14 (AP.2) (Boeser, Beschreibung, II, 6 [14], pl. 15 [14])
- Pittsburgh 2983-6701 (Patch, Reflections of greatness, 32-3)
- Sinopoli collection (Rome) Egi06 (Roccati, in Quirke, Discovering Egypt from the Neva, 111-4, pl. 7)
- Roanne 163 (De Meulenaere, CdE 60, 75-84)
- St. Petersburg, Hermitage 1084 (Bolskakov, Quirke, The Middle Kingdom Stelae in the Hermitage, 53-7, pl. 11)
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