The funeral stela of Chnum-iah-ren-seneb and keku

The funeral stela of Chnum-iah-ren-seneb and keku\(^{(a)}\)

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**Inventory number:** Cairo Museum, CGC 20160\(^{(1)}\).

**Bibliography:**
- Cat. Masp. Nr. 46.

**Provenance:** Its original provenance is the northern necropolis of Abydos.

**Material:** White limestone.

**Technical details:** The decorations and the texts were well executed in bas-relief. The style of the relief corresponds to the carving of the Middle Kingdom. There are some features of the carving which seem to be characteristic of a local (Abydos) workshop. The

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(1) I. am grateful to Dr. Mohamed Saleh, the former Director General of Cairo Museum, for permission to publish this Stela.
hieroglyphs and figures are in relief and have black green colour. The style is very neglected.

**Measurements (maximum):** Height: 43.5 cm, width: 32 cm.

**Description (Fig.1, Pl.1):**

The inscribed surface is well preserved. The motifs of round top and the figures are in bas-relief with incised hieroglyphs. Although simple in appearance and in a rather poor state of preservation, the stela, the object of this article, bears some details of considerable interest concerning its palaeography and artistic features.

**Representation and text:**

The stela is divided into the rounded top of motifs, and three registers of figures with their texts.

The top (a) has the two Udjat-eyes flanked by two jackals, kneeling down.\(^{(b)}\)

Under the jackal, a man (b) squats on the left, facing right. His left hand is folded over the breast and his right arm is stretched to the front. He wears a short close-
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fitting wig$^{(2)}$ reaching the shoulders and a knee-length kilt. Before him: $\text{\textit{ly}}^{(c)}$

Under the other jackal, a man (c), like the man (B), on the right, facing left. Before him:

$\text{Mnw-m-shnt}^{(d)}$

Min is in god's booth

In the first register there are four figures:

A man (d) on the left, facing right, sits on a low backed chair, whose lion's legs rest on truncated-cone support. His left hand is folded over the breast and his right arm is stretched to the front. He wears a close-fitting wig and a calf-length kilt with a small triangular fold at the front$^{(3)}$. Before him:

$\text{wpw wry hch}^{(4)} \text{ snb }^{(e)} \text{ ir(w) n wn.t (?) - n-hb}^{(f)}$. Butler and keeper of moon (?) ren - seneb, born of lunet - n-hab

(2) H. G. Fischer, A God and a general of the oasis on a Stela of the late Middle Kingdom, JNES 16 (1957), 224.

(3) The men (d), (f) only have the same style of cloth: L. Speelers, Le Costume Oriental Ancien, Bruxee, 1923, 64; J. Vandier, Manuel 3/1, 494-495.

(4) W.A. Ward, Index of Egyptian administrative and religious titles of the Middle kingdom, Beirut, 1982, 91 (756). Note that Ward do not transl. hch, but it means 'moon' in Gardiner, EG. 551; Faulkner. A concise dictionary of Middle Egyptian. Oxford, 1964, 11. It is not easy to determine which real meaning is intended. Franke transliterated it wpw Jrj hch in.
A man (e) stands before the man (d), facing left. He presents the offering (?) by his right hand. His left arm hangs by his side with empty hand. He wears a close-fitting wig and short knee-length kilt with a triangular front fold (5). A belt is shown in raised relief against the sunk surface of the garment.

Before him:

A man (f), like the man (d), sits on the right, facing left. Before him:

The child of nursery (7), born of Chenmet (8).

A man (g), like the man (e), stands before the man (f), facing right. Before him:

Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich, Wiesbaden, 1984, 174 (244), 237 (364).


(6) PNI, 137 (7): Note the sign instead of sign in and instead of in.

(7) It can be expressed in the same form, but on another Stelae of the same date: RPN1, 349 (8): m MR Cairo 20023 t, f MR Cairo 20108c. Lieblein (Dictionnaire 11, 687) added the det. to it according to what he imagined. It is noted that he is the second owner of this stela.

(8) Ranke, PNI, 276 (17): hnm. t
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IRT HTP DI NWSW IN SN.F WPW PSMW I(w) n S3T SBK presenting an offering which the king gives by his brother\(^{(m)}\), the butler\(^{(9)}\) Pesechu,\(^{(10)}\) born of SAT-SOBK\(^{(11)}\).

In the second register there are five figures: A man\((h)\), like the man \((b)\), squats on the left, facing right. He has the same hair style, clothing, and attitude of the man \((b)\). Above and before him:

Inspector of Retainers\(^{(13)}\) Iy\(^{(14)}\), born of Chenmet\(^{(15)}\).

A man \((i)\), whose prayers\(^{(n)}\) the man \((h)\) listens, like the

\(^{(9)}\) Ward, po. cit.
\(^{(10)}\) The det. \(\text{£}\) is in addition to it, not according to what is actually written, in: lieblein, op. cit. But this can be expressed in another form, see Mariette, op. cit.
\(^{(11)}\) It is on another Stelae of the same time, see PNI, 293 (9): S3.T- SBK the daughter of SOBK, Cairo. 20040, 20123, 20310.
\(^{(12)}\) Instructor (?): Gardiner, op. cit., 583.
\(^{(13)}\) It is generally on the Cairo MK Stelae, see W.A. Ward, op. cit.; Lieblein, op. cit., Mariette, op. cit.; and Ward, op. cit. have this title with little variation as following:

\(^{(14)}\) It does not occur on this Stela, but on other Stela of the same time in: Ranke, PNI, 7 (17) MR Cairo 20036. It is without det. \(\text{£}\). Is it the same man \((b)\) under the jackal on the left? Lieblein added det. \(\text{£}\) to the name.
\(^{(15)}\) PNI, 276 (17).
man (h) about the hair style, clothing, and attitude. He squats facing left. Above and before him:

\( \text{ḥry- pr}^{(16)} \text{ Sbk- ḫtp (w)}^{(17)} \text{ ir (w) n Hnmt.} \)

The domestic\(^{(18)}\) Sobk-Hetepu\(^{(19)}\), born of Chenmet\(^{(20)}\)

A man (k) stands on the midst, facing right. His left hand is folded over the breast and his right arm hangs by his side. He wears the same hair and cloth styles of the men (e.g.). Above and before him:

\( \text{sn.}^{(21)} \text{ snb ir(w) n s3t- Sbk. His brother Seneb}^{(21)}, \text{ born of sat- Sobk.} \)

A man (L), like the man (h), squats on the right, facing right. He wears the same hair and cloth styles of the man (h). Above and before him:

\(^{(16)}\) Ḫrj pr in : Franke, op. cit., 350 (586).
\(^{(17)}\) Sbk- ḫtp : Franke, op. cit.
\(^{(18)}\) Ward, op. cit., 116 (977). \(\text{ḥry- pr 'menial: Gardiner, op. cit., 582; 'majordomo: Faulkner, op. cit., 174; Ward, op. cit.}\)
\(^{(19)}\) PNI, 305 (6). It is on other stelae of the same time like Cairo 20018, 20026, 20037.
\(^{(20)}\) PNI, 276 (17).
\(^{(21)}\) It is in PNI, 312 (15) on another stelae, Cairo 20030, 20051, 20075, of MK.
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Kisty irw ckw ibw ir(w) n it

The one who belongs to Cusae, the maker of the provisions, Ibu, born of it.

A woman (m), like the man (h), on the right facing left. She wears the lappet wig and the calf-length tight-fitting dress with a single shoulder strap instead of a pair of straps, as is more usual; possibly one strap is omitted on stylistic grounds, however, to avoid confusion with the line of the long lappet of hair that falls vertically before her shoulder. Above and before her:

Nbt pr s3t- sbk ir(w)t n hnm

Mistress of a house, sat- sobk, born of Chenmet. In the third register there are four figures: A woman (n), like the woman (m), on the left, facing right. Above and before her:

rn . s snb- irtn ir(w)t n hnm

(22) PNI, 20 (22).
(24) Gardiner, op. cit., 565; Housewife: this title is found so frequently, e.g., on almost every funerary Stela, that references to specific texts are unnecessary. It is now generally felt that the title implies its holder was a married woman: Ward, op. cit., 99 (823).
Her name seneb- Irten, (r) born of Chenmet
A naked (25) girl (o) stands facing left. Her right hand is folded (n) over the breast and her left arm hangs by her side. She wears a close-fitting wig with a side lock. Above her:

\[\text{s3t. s Tt\text{\textprime} } \text{her daughter, Tety (26)}\]

A woman (p), like the woman (m), on the right, facing left. Above and before her:

\[\text{nbt pr Tt\text{\textprime} } \text{wrt ir(w)t n s3t- sbk}\]
mARRIED LADY (27) Tety- weret, (u) born of sat- Sobk

A girl (q), like the girl (o), facing right. Above her:

\[\text{Tt\text{\textprime} } \text{st\text{\textprime}t} \text{}} \text{Tety- shery (28)}\]

Finally, in the midst of these last scenes, some proper names is placed side by side.
An inscription (r) is arranged in a horizontal line and four vertical lines:

\[\text{s3 Unternehmen Tt\text{\textprime} } \text{m3c-hrw hrd n k3p Tt\text{\textprime} } \text{hw-hy m3c- Hrw iry- ct n sncw\text{\textprime}t} \text{Imny m3c-hrw ssmw smh (w) m im.}\]

(26) PNI, 384 (4) has this proper name (\text{\textemdash} ttj) on other Stela, Cairo 20023 of MK, as a feminine proper name.
(28) ttj srjt, t\text{\textprime}tj, die Junger\text{\textprime}e: PNI, 384 (8).
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Scribe of a sanctuary\(^{(29)}\), Tety\(^{(30)}\), justified; the child of nursery\(^{(31)}\), Tyu- Hy\(^{(32)}\), justified, the Hall-keeper\(^{(v)}\) of a storehouse\(^{(33)}\), Iy\(^{(34)}\), son of Imeny\(^{(w)}\), justified\(^{(x)}\); the follower\(^{(35)}\) who never \(^{(v)}\) forget\(^{(36)}\) (what is) in (it)\(^{(2)}\).

Commentary:

(a) Lange- Schafer determined the couple owners of this Stelae: Chnum- iah-ren- seneb and keku, according to, as I think, the phrases irt htp di nsw in X with them together.

(b) These protection symbols were usual in the Stelae which belong to the same period and site. A certain number of signs or symbolic images gave some analogical ideas: they are the two Wdjat-eyes which represent together the two eyes of Horus, namely the sun and the moon, and also the two real eyes which permit the deceased, from the interior of


\(^{(30)}\) This same proper name is used as male name, but on other Stelae of the same time like 20213: PNI, 384 (4).

\(^{(31)}\) Ward, op. cit., 143 (1229).

\(^{(32)}\) PN has not this name.

\(^{(33)}\) Gardiner, op. cit., 517; nscw storehouse, labour establishment: Faulkner, op. cit., 269; A nj n sncw, Hall-keeper of a storehouse: Ward, 60 (489).

\(^{(34)}\) PNI, 7 (17).

\(^{(35)}\) Gardiner, op. cit., 595; Faulkner, op. cit., 267.

\(^{(36)}\) ÊG, 590; Faulkner, op. cit., 229.
his tomb, to look at the world of the living people. The tomb is often personated by two jackals. The Egyptians considered this animal as the guardian of cemeteries where they saw him to go round continuously, and the god to whom the name of Wepwawet was originally consecrated, namely “that one who opens the roads” before the deceased, that one who guides the deceased to the roads of the other world\(^{(37)}\). These two jackals also figure the gods of north and south who open the ways of other world for the deceased\(^{(38)}\).

The significant feature of this time is the appearance of the two magic wd3.t-eyes in the upper part of Stelae. They are found already on coffins from the 6\(^{th}\) dyn. and the earlier part of the middle kingdom\(^{(39)}\).

© This name was in another form ḫq§ jjj (Iy) of a woman, the owner of a Stela in Boston Museum, which has been dated to the later first intermediate


\(^{(38)}\) M. Foissy, P. Aufrere, Egypte et provence: Civilisation, survivances et “Cabinetz de Curiositez”, Avignon, 1985, p. 34.

\(^{(39)}\) K. Pfluger, The private funerary Stelae of the Middle Kingdom and their importance for the study of ancient Egyptian history, in: JAOS 67 (1947), p.134.n. 35.
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period\(^{(40)}\). It is in PN\(^{(41)}\) without det\(_{\text{c}}\), on other stela
of the same time, like the man (h) in 2\(^{\text{nd}}\) register.
(d) In disagreement with WB and Ranke\(^{(42)}\) this phrase
is sh- ntr according to Gardiner and Faulkner\(^{(43)}\). It is
very difficult to determine which relation of the two
persons, under the jackals, is intended of deceased. In
Mariette's reference\(^{(44)}\), \(\frac{\text{masta}}{\text{cm}}\) may be an
error for the name of Man(c).
(e) This man is the owner of the Stela on basis of
presenting the offerings to him instead of the
offering-formula, like the man(f). \(\frac{\text{masta}}{\text{cm}}\) may be an error for his title and name\(^{(45)}\). This name
in PNI, 222 (26) is rn (j?) – snbw “der (mein?)
Name ist gesund”, but on other stelae, not mine, like
Cairo 20023, 20030, 20087, 20102.
(f) It is the name of first owner's mother. It is strange to
use the word itr(w) instead of ms(w) which is usual

\(^{(40)}\) R. J. Leprohon, Boston MFA 2, Stelae, I, 103 (nr. 25.
627).
\(^{(41)}\) \(\Delta\frac{\text{masta}}{\text{cm}}\) tij, Cairo 20036: RPN I, 7 (17).
\(^{(42)}\) shn.t \(\frac{\text{masta}}{\text{cm}}\) the one who is standing on the
mountain, title of Min and Amun on the pedestal:
WB4, 218; \(\frac{\text{masta}}{\text{cm}}\) mn.w- m- shn.t Min
ist in der shn. t: Ranke, PNI, 151 (25).
\(^{(43)}\) var. \(\frac{\text{masta}}{\text{cm}}\) divine booth, shrine of Anubis:
Gardiner, EG, 495 (021), 5\(\frac{\text{masta}}{\text{cm}}\) \(\frac{\text{masta}}{\text{cm}}\) ‘god’s booth’ of
Anubis: Faulkner, A concise dictionary of Middle
Egyptian, 237.
\(^{(44)}\) A. Mariette, op. cit. The same error \(\frac{\text{masta}}{\text{cm}}\)
in: Lieblein, op. cit.
\(^{(45)}\) Lieblein, op. cit.
with the mother\(^{(46)}\). It may mean: Denderah (is) in (?) feast. It is in PNI, 17 (28), but in Franke, op. cit., 237 (364): Jwnt- nj- h3b.

(g) The men \((g)\), \((k)\) have the same short kilt with a triangular fold at the front\(^{(47)}\), but without a belt.

(H) It is important to note the two special phrases before the men \((e)\), \((g)\) which both mean “presenting an offering which the king gives by......”:

\[
\text{irt htp-nswtj-dj in: man(e)}
\]
\[
\text{irt htp-dj- nsw in: man(g)}
\]

There are two methods to translate, this formula:

- “An offering which the king gives”, this translation is usual in the classic Egyptian in the same period.
- I suggest another translation for this formula “The royal gift which was given” : htp nswtj dj in which the word nswt is a nisba form as an adjective for the noun htp and the following form

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\(^{(46)}\) \(\text{iwn.t(\text{-})-n-hb: RPNI, 17(28).}\)

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dj is a passive relative form attributes the antecedent htp(48).

(i) Franke(49) transliterated wdpw nj cjt dqrw, where the spelling of dkrw is different: ḫmr ḫmr ḫmr ḫmr.

(j) It seems that the signs  was intentionally ignored for the sake of providing enough space for the feet of the man (d) and it is not enough to write them in the limited area below the right arm of man (e).

It is difficult to determine which determinatives are intended in the damaged place of pssw. It is possible that they are  to be  according to its complete writing in inscription before man (g). It may be written as  according to Mariette, Cat. d’Abyd., 243.

(k) It is better to read  s3t- Sbk because sbk is the antecedent for glorification of the god sobk to mean “daughter of Sobk”. Lieblein(50) added det. to this proper name.

(L) Although lange- Schafer(51) and Mariette(52) have written this title according to what is actually written,

(48) P.C. Smither, The writing of htp dj nsw in the Middle and New Kingdoms, JEA 25 (1939), 34-37; C. Bennett, Growth of the htp dj nsw formula in the Middle Kingdom, JEA 27 (1941), 77- 82.

(49) Franke, op. cit., 174 (244).

(50) Lieblein, op. cit.

(51) Lange- Schafer, CGC V. 188:  .

(52) Mariette, op. cit.:  .
not according to what they imagined as Lieblein⁵³. Gardiner⁵⁴ has k3p as "nursery". In Ward⁵⁵:

Contrary to WB⁵⁶ there is no evidence for the existence of such a title. The true reading in all Middle Kingdom occurrences is hrđ n k3p for which at least one example is known with hrđ fully spelled out.

The title hrđ n kp appears to indicate that the bearer, now of course no longer a child, had been brought up together with the Royal children. In his article (BIFAO 38, 222) de Linage throws doubt on the reading hrđ, but I (namely Gardiner) think certainly wrongly. It is true that one example of iḥms with the "child"-determinative does exist (Cairo 20143), but not followed by n kp. For the reading hrđ n kp, on the contrary, there is indisputable testimony⁵⁷. It is noted that Gardiner⁵⁸ transliterated k3p in EG, but in this article he transliterated just kp.

The word k3p has another translation⁵⁹ in this title:

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(53) Lieblein, op. cit.: istry.
(54) Gardiner, op. cit., 501.
(55) Ward, op. cit., 143 (1229).
(56) WBI, 122, 14.
(57) A.H. Gardiner, "Ramesside texts on taxation, etc., of corn", JEA 27 (1941), p. 57, n.l.
(58) Gardiner, op. cit.
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Iry-c.t wr n k3p, chief Hall- keeper of the (King's) Private Apartments.

(m) It is not difficult to determine which relation of man (g) is intended in this title with the man (f), while no title indicate the relation between the men (d), (e).

(n) According to Mariette\(^{60}\) the man (h) listens the prayers of man (i). I ask: where are these prayers?.

(o) Cusae\(^{61}\) is the same El-Kuṣiyyah according to Gardiner\(^{62}\). Kṣiṣy as I have seen it in some titles\(^{63}\). Is it possible to mean "Gift of god of Cusae"? The titles "The one who belongs to Cusae" and "The maker of the provisions" are not in Ward, Index.

(p) Ranke has this name (PNI, 49 (5)): \[\text{[graphic]}\] He wrote it according to what he imagined, not according to what is actually written. According to Mace\(^{64}\), this name is on a glazed seattite scarab of a date ranging between XII dyn. and XIV dyn. where it is \[\text{[graphic]}\].

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(60) A. Mariette, op. cit.
(61) Ward, op. cit., p. 36 (269).
(62) \[\text{[graphic]}\] kṣi (Dyn. XII): Gardiner, op. cit., 446, 596.
(63) PNI, 333 (13-15); Ward, op. cit.
(64) A.C. Mace, A group of hitherto unpublished scarabs in the Metropolitan museum, New York, JEA 7 (1921), 37 (24), pl. 8 (24).
(q) It is interesting to note that the inscriptions were running just before the figures of 1st register but they run above and before them in 2nd register. In 3rd register, they run above and before the women (n), (p), while just above the girls (0) and (q).

(r) It could be snb-ḥry- n-.t “the health which was given to her” on basis of the name being female. In this respect, and in agreement with Lieblein and Mariette\(^{(65)}\), I believe that it may be just snb and ḫrtn is wrong, because it is sic written in the inscription. PN has not this proper name in this form. According to Mariette, this lady receives the offerings of her daughter Tety. I ask: where are these offerings? He imagined what is not actually pictured.

(s) According to what he imagined, not according to what is actually pictured, Mariette\(^{(66)}\) points out that the woman (m) receives the gift of the men (k) and (l). Where is this gift?

(t) In disagreement with lange- Schäfer, I believe that the familiar attitude of the hand, either right or left, over the breast is not opened, but folded.

(u) Mariette and Lieblein have the name א b not according to what is actually written with sign א after det. א. The writer used det. א to point that this lady may be old-aged woman according to Ranke\(^{(67)}\).

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\(^{(65)}\) Lieblein, op. cit., 687; Mariette, op. cit., 243.

\(^{(66)}\) A. Mariette, op. cit.

\(^{(67)}\) א b ttj wr.t, ttj, die Ältere: PNI, 384 (6).
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(v) In disagreement with lange- Schäfer, I believe that the sign \( \text{𓊞} \) must be \( \text{𓊞𓊞} \) according to \( \text{𓊞𓊞} \) 𓊞𓊞 𓊞𓊞 “hall- Keeper” \(^{(68)}\).

(w) PN has not this name, but it has just \( \text{𓊞𓊞} \) 𓊞𓊞 𓊞𓊞 𓊞 𓊞 s3.t- imn.jj, the daughter of imn. jj. \(^{(69)}\). On basis of PN\(^{(70)}\), I used partly its transliteration for the first part of the name. According to Faulkner\(^{(71)}\), it is suggested to translate this name like \( \text{𓊞𓊞} \) 𓊞𓊞 𓊞𓊞 𓊞 s3ty-Gb “son of Geb”.

(X) It is important to notice that the epithet m3c- ḫrw\(^{(72)}\) was just after the proper names: Tty, Tyu- Hy and Imeny.

(y) In agreement with Gardiner\(^{(73)}\) and Faulkner\(^{(74)}\), I suggest that \( \text{𓊞𓊞} \) is a negating imperative.

(z) In agreement with Dr. Zbigniew\(^{(75)}\), I believe that Marietta’s and Lieblein’s reading of this title:

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\(^{(69)}\) PN1, 286 (8).
\(^{(70)}\) \( \text{𓊞𓊞} \text{s3.t-wj (\(?\)): PN1, 287 (24).} \)
\(^{(71)}\) Faulkner, op. cit., 207.
\(^{(72)}\) Gardiner, op. cit., 50, par. 55.
\(^{(73)}\) Ibid, 567.
\(^{(74)}\) Faulkner, op. cit., 100.
\(^{(75)}\) On Feb. 4, 2000, through the personal communication, this is the opinion of Dr. Zbigniew E. Szafranski, the member of Polish- Egyptian Mission of Hatshpsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari.
Dating:

The above described and discussed epigraphic and iconographic elements of the Stela indicate a date ranging from the beginning of the Middle Kingdom to the end of the thirteenth Dynasty.

In conclusion, taking into consideration the results of the palaeographic and epigraphic study on the one hand, and the study of the artistic features on the other, a date at the end of the twelfth dynasty is suggested. However, the pair of Horus-eyes in the lunette of the Stela might limit the date to the twenty-fifth year of Amenemhet III and probably to be dated according to fischer, 223. We should notice that the sign (EG 529, W 17), which was common in Dyn. XII, but it is not infrequent in M.K., might limit the date to the twelfth Dynasty.

But according to Franke(76), it could be dated through the middle 13 dynasty. He might also limit the date to reign of Neferhotep I (Sobekhotep II-IV), specially in the pages 237 (364) and 350 (586) of his reference. Finally, Zbigniew(77) points out that as a result of the examination of the inscriptions' signs and

(76) D. Franke, op. cit., 174 (244), 237 (364), 350 (586), 426 (735).

(77) On March 25, 2000, this is the opinion of Dr. Zbigniew E. Szafranski, through the personal communication.
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The presentation, it is evident that this stela belongs to Middle kingdom or 13th dynasty.
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