MINISTÈRE DE L'ÉDUCATION NATIONALE, DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPÉRIEUR ET DE LA RECHERCHE

BULLETIN
DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS
D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE

en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne

BIFAO 120 (2020), p. 129-170

Frédéric Colin

The Mortuary Stela of Tetiankh : Family Piety and Social Network

Conditions d'utilisation

L'utilisation du contenu de ce site est limitée à un usage personnel et non commercial. Toute autre utilisation du site et de son contenu est soumise à une autorisation préalable de l'éditeur (contact AT ifao.egnet.net). Le copyright est conservé par l'éditeur (Ifao).

Conditions of Use

You may use content in this website only for your personal, noncommercial use. Any further use of this website and its content is forbidden, unless you have obtained prior permission from the publisher (contact AT ifao.egnet.net). The copyright is retained by the publisher (Ifao).

Dernières publications

9782724711264	*La chapelle d'Osiris Ounnefer Neb-djefaou*	Laurent Coulon
9782724711752	*Guide du Caire Islamique*	Hadrien Collet
9782724711660	*Mélanges de l'Institut dominicain d'études orientales 41*	Adrien Candiard (éd.)
9782724711745	*Bulletin archéologique des Écoles françaises à l'étranger (BAEFE)*	
9782724711271	*Du côté de chez Zeus*	Emmanuel Botte (éd.), Hélène Cuvigny (éd.), Michel Reddé (éd.)
9782724711677	*La Description de l'Égypte*	Paul-Marie Grinevald
9782724711714	*La pensée et la pratique pharmacologiques d'Avicenne*	Sylvie Ayari
9782724711899	*BCAI 40*	

© Institut français d'archéologie orientale - Le Caire

The Mortuary Stela of Tetiankh: Family Piety and Social Network*

FRÉDÉRIC COLIN

In memory of Catherine Duvette (1966–2019)

ABSTRACT

Edition of a mortuary stela from the XVIIIth Dynasty discovered in 2018 inside the surrounding walls of Theban Tomb 33. The offering scenes on this monument of outstanding quality depict relatives of the deceased, both close kin and prominent Theban administrative officials, such as the famous Ineni, overseer of the two granaries of Amun. In addition, the commentary aims to show in what way this monument fits into a series of mortuary stelae that showcase intergenerational family piety and social network in a kind of iconogenealogical staging. From this perspective, the study of a dozen monuments from the New Kingdom highlights the patterning of mortuary rituals according to the networks of family and social solidarity.

Keywords: funerary practice, stela, offering scene, mortuary ritual, burial, domestic worship, religious festival, food offering, community, phratry, patronage, anthropology of death, family, social networks, iconology, visual studies.

* I am very pleased to thank Minister of Tourism and Antiquities of Egypt Dr. Khaled el-Enany, Secretary General of the Supreme Council of Antiquities of Egypt Dr. Moustafa el-Waziri, General Director for Upper Egypt Dr. Mohamed Abdel-Aziz, General Director for Gurna Mr. Fathy Yassin, Director of Missions Mr. Ramadan ʿAbd el-ʿAly, Director of Middle Area Mr. Ezz Ed-din Kamal, Inspector Ms. Asmaa Sayed Ahmed, Inspector Ms. Eman Hagag Yussef, Inspector Mr. Sayed Mohamed Ahmed, and Inspector Mr. Sayed Mohamed el-Qurany for their kind support and helpful collaboration in the excavation project in Asasif.
This work has benefitted from support provided by the University of Strasbourg Institute for Advanced Study (USIAS) for a Fellowship, within the French national program "Investment for the future" (IdEx- Unistra). Editorial support was provided by the Maison Interuniversitaire des Sciences de l'Homme – Alsace (MISHA) and the Excellence Initiative of the University of Strasbourg. I thank Jean-Yves Bart for his editing work on the text and two anonymous reviewers for their suggestions and comments, which helped to improve the manuscript.

BIFAO 120 (2020), p. 129-170 Frédéric Colin
The Mortuary Stela of Tetiankh : Family Piety and Social Network
© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

RÉSUMÉ

Édition d'une stèle mortuaire de la XVIII[e] dynastie découverte en 2018 à l'intérieur de l'enceinte de la tombe thébaine 33. Les scènes d'offrandes de ce monument de qualité exceptionnelle représentent non seulement de proches parents du défunt, mais aussi de hauts responsables administratifs de la région thébaine, comme le fameux Ineni, chef du double grenier d'Amon. Le commentaire vise en outre à montrer comment ce monument s'inscrit dans une série de stèles mortuaires qui valorisent la piété familiale et le réseau social tissés entre les générations, dans une sorte de mise en scène iconique et généalogique. Dans cette perspective, la structuration des rituels mortuaires en fonction des réseaux de solidarité familiale et sociale est mise en évidence dans le commentaire d'une douzaine de monuments du Nouvel Empire.

Mots-clés : pratique funéraire, stèle, scène d'offrande, rite mortuaire, sépulture, culte domestique, fête religieuse, offrande alimentaire, communauté, phratrie, clientélisme, anthropologie funéraire, famille, réseaux sociaux, iconologie, études visuelles.

1. INTRODUCTION

The mortuary stela of Tetiankh was discovered on November 1, 2018, during the first excavation season of a new archaeological project in el-Asasif, jointly undertaken by the IFAO and the University of Strasbourg, in collaboration with the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities of Egypt. The monument (stela Asasif-2018-1068-1) was reused in a small retaining wall (fig. 1) embedded in backfill inside the enclosure of the mausoleum of Petamenope (TT 33), a short distance northwest of the pylon (figs 2, 3, 8).

This article presents the stela (figs 4, 5), which required prompt publication because of its significance. In addition, the commentary aims to show how this monument fits into a series of mortuary stelae in the New Kingdom[1] that showcase intergenerational family piety and social networks in a kind of icono-genealogical staging.

1 At the end of this article is a list of stelae quoted, hereafter cited according to their inventory numbers.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

2. DESCRIPTION AND CONTEXT OF THE MONUMENT

The stela is unpublished, but since the official announcement of the discovery, a photograph taken by the author has been disseminated on various websites.[2] The archaeological context of the find was described in the mission's annual report and in a lecture at the Société française d'égyptologie, where the two upper registers were presented and commented on.[3]

Dimensions: maximum height 99 cm, maximum width at the cornice 73 cm and in the main part (below the cornice) 68.5 cm, maximum thickness at the cornice 16 cm and in the main part between 12 and 16 cm, thickness of the torus surrounding the epigraphic field about 02 cm. Dimensions of the epigraphic field 83.6 × 60.7 cm. According to these measurements, the calculated mass of the limestone stela in its original state would have reached about 228 kg.

The monument is carved in beautiful homogeneous limestone, smoothed on its decorated face, levelled on its lateral and lower edges and left rough on the back and on the upper edge. There is a small number of hard stone inclusions (shown in grey in fig. 5). The limestone is traversed by a series of fine cracks descending broadly from top left to bottom right. The direction of the cracks approximately coincides with the slope followed by significant water infiltration, which generated hydromorphic deposits that were clearly visible on the stone's surface at the time of discovery (figs 6, 7). The lower left corner of the stela, which was flush with the surface of the sloping ravine when it was unearthed, was severely eroded by environmental conditions to the point that part of the lower scene and the end of the last two lines of the long offering text were destroyed. The rest of the decoration is well preserved. No pigment is visible to the naked eye, either because the stela was unpainted or because time and humidity have caused the colours to disappear.

The decoration is sculpted in very fine raised relief (as opposed to sunken relief), whose quality suggests a high-ranking state-owned workshop (belonging to a royal department or to the domain of a tutelary deity). The sculptor superimposed several carving strata. In the lower right register, for example, the right arm of the last woman overlaps the left of the previous woman, which overlaps her own silhouette, which overlaps the previous woman's silhouette, and the process is reproduced with the first male figure of the series eventually appearing in relief against the background. The carving technique sometimes shows a concern for finely representing details, as with the leg muscles of ritual performers.

Carving corrections are noticeable. Tetiankh's back, on the upper right register, has been slimmed, as evidenced by a remnant of the belt and pelt carving. In the lower right register, the base of the open lotus in the second woman's right hand was longer before being shortened by the carving of the fingers. A few details are unfinished, such as the ears of both Tetiankh and of the first woman in the lower register right.

2 For example, <https://www.archaeology.wiki/blog/2018/11/12/archaeologists-in-egypt-found-ancient-stela-and-sarcophagus/>, accessed 18.08.2019.

3 Colin et al. 2019, pp. 238–244; Colin 2019a, pp. 121–147. See also Colin 2019b, pp. 222–227. After these reports were issued, three new sarcophagi were discovered during the 2019 field season in the same simultaneous multiple burial site as the stela and the two coffins uncovered in 2018. To date it has proved impossible to establish a prosopographic link between the three persons whose names are inscribed on three of the five sarcophagi (two of them anonymous) and the characters mentioned on the stela.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

The artist was keen to vary the body positions of the different sets of figures. Two epigraphic styles were used for the inscriptions. The hieroglyphs of the captions above the offering scenes are quite stylised and informal (smaller, irregular signs, often marked by apices), while the main offering text is carved in more detailed and ceremonial style (larger, regular, usually deeper signs, disposed in standard quadrats), albeit with some inconsistencies (e.g. omission of the dots under the sign ).

The sculptor crowned this large stela with an architectonic cornice and designed the monumental decoration to be seen from the front, probably as the focus of an axial perspective. In its original tomb context, it had to have been supported on a wall, possibly within a large niche. The feeling of axial symmetry is emphasized in the two upper registers with the fourfold reproduction of the officiating Tetiankh, represented in an offering position in front of four family groups. This rare[4] layout identifies this man as the protagonist of the mortuary monument,[5] a focal status that is confirmed by his representation as beneficiary of the offering in the lower left register (see commentary § 5).

Prosopographic clues and the archaeological context of the discovery provide reliable dating criteria. At the time of the monument's elaboration, owner of TT 81 Ineni had already passed away, since he is shown in the right upper register as the beneficiary of a mortuary offering (see commentary § 5). This overseer of the two granaries of Amun lived at least until the beginning of Hatshepsut's regency and Thutmose III's reign, as his autobiography attests.[6] The discovery's location provides a stratigraphic terminus ante quem. Indeed, we found the stela reused in the masonry of a wall stabilizing a large amount of backfill that was interpreted as a building phase of the sacred causeway leading to the temple of Thutmose III (fig. 8).[7] The precise date of this phase is unknown, but as a working hypothesis it can be assumed that the causeway was built towards the end of the reign of Thutmose III, at a date close to the construction of the temple itself, which took place from the 43rd to the 49th regnal year.[8] This last year constitutes a *terminus a quo* of the causeway's construction, and therefore of the placement of the stela in the backfill, because the avenue's fence walls were built over a dump containing hieratic ostraca,[9] the most recent of which is dated year 49. As we found the monument

4 By making comparisons with New Kingdom stelae, one can easily identify offering scenes where two ritual performers shown back to back in the center symmetrically offer to seated beneficiaries, but it is harder to find parallels for this scheme representing the same personage making four offerings in two different registers. Examples of symmetrical offering scenes show the same ritual performer making two offerings and depicted back to back in the same register (stelae München, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, Gl. 308; London, British Museum, inv. no. EA 365; Avignon, Musée Calvet, inv. no. A4), two or more distinct male performers (stelae Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. C 286 and inv. no. C 279), or female and male performers (stelae Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. C 52 and inv. no. C 53), who might be husband and wife (as in Bologna, Museo civico archeologico, inv. no. KS 1923), brother and sister, or related by another family tie, and separately assume ritual duties in a complementary scheme on either side of the central axis, sometimes combined with two additional symmetrical offerings by other family members in a further register (stela Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. C 63).

5 I follow the nomenclature proposed by Willems 2001, p. 254, about complementarity between "funerary liturgy" and "mortuary liturgy": "With mortuary rituals, I mean the celebrations that regularly took place in the tomb after the burial, when relatives or professional priests commissioned by the relatives came to the tomb" (this definition could be extended to include funeral liturgies taking place outside the grave, for example when a monument is placed in a temple).

6 Urk. IV 59.16–60.1; cf. Auenmüller 2013, pp. 723, 903; Gabler, Soliman 2018, pp. 5, 8–10, 12, 18.

7 Colin 2019a, § 6.

8 Lipińska 1967, p. 27; Barwik 2009, pp. 108, 110, 113.

9 Hayes 1960, 52.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

in a secondary position, we can guess that it was carved and erected in its original funerary context before Thutmose III planned building a new temple and causeway at Deir el-Bahari and el-Asasif, that is, before the 43rd year at the latest.

Paleographic and iconographic features are consistent with this dating of the stela carving to the reign of Thutmose III. The shape  of the moon sign, in the anthroponymic component *ỉʿḥ*, is known to have been used mainly from the end of king Ahmose's reign until the time of Thutmose III.[10] Iconographic details also are characteristic of the first part of the 18th Dynasty up to Thutmose III: low-backed seat, female tripartite hairstyle[11] and women's strapped sheath dress, tight down to the ankles; conversely, the mixed-form repertoire of transitional imagery typical of the reign of Amenhotep II is not yet apparent.[12]

Congruent chronological evidence suggests that the entire process of carving, erecting and displacing the stela took place during the very long reign of Thutmose III. For instance, Tetiankh may have died when Hatshepsut still co-ruled or when Thutmose was beginning to rule alone, and his monument may have been moved years later when the new worship facilities were built in the funerary valley.

3. INSCRIPTIONS

Upper register, left, above the offering table (fig. 9):



ḥtp-dỉ-nsw Gb[a]

"An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Geb"

Upper register, left, above the offering man (fig. 9):



ỉn sȝ=f sš[b] *Ttỉ-ʿnḫ mȝʿ-ḫrw*[c]

"by his son, the scribe Tetiankh, justified."

10 Vandersleyen 1983, p. 320; qualified by Polz 2007, pp. 14–15.
11 Tassie 2009, p. 430.
12 See Cherpion 1987, pp. 28–34.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

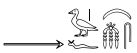
Upper register, left, above three people sitting (fig. 9):



ḥm.t=f nb(.t) pr Ỉwḥ.t-ỉb, nby Ỉ͗ʿḥ-ms mɜʿ-ḫrw, mw.t=f Tw-sp-2 (Twtw)[d] *mɜʿ.t-ḫrw*

"His wife, the mistress of the house Iuhet-ib, the goldsmith Ahmose, justified, his mother Tutu, justified."

Upper register, left, in front of a standing boy, under the third chair (fig. 9):



sɜ=f Ỉ͗ʿḥ-ms

"His son Ahmose."

Upper register, right, above the offering table (fig. 10):



ḥtp-dỉ-nsw Gb

"An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Geb"

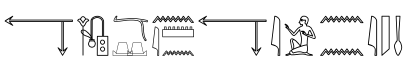
Upper register, right, above and in front of the offering man (fig. 10):



ỉn smsw=f mrr=f n[e] *s.t-ỉb=f*[f] *sš Ttỉ-ʿnḫ mɜʿ-ḫrw*[g]

"by his eldest whom he loves as his favorite, the scribe Tetiankh, justified".

Upper register, right, above the man sitting (fig. 10):



sš mr šnw.ty n Ỉmn Ỉnnỉ mɜʿ-ḫrw

"The scribe, overseer of the two granaries of Amun, Ineni, justified."

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

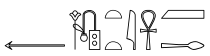
Upper register, right, above the woman sitting (fig. 10):



ḥm.t=f mr.t=f nb(.t) pr Ỉʿḥ-ḥtp ḏd n=s Twỉw mɜʿ.t-ḫrw

"His wife, his beloved, the mistress of the house Ahhotep also known as Tuyu, justified."

Middle register, left, above the offering man (fig. 11):



sš Ttỉ-ʿnḫ mɜʿ-ḫrw

"The scribe Tetiankh, justified".

Middle register, left, above and in front of three seated people (fig. 11):



sɜ.t=f Tw-sp-2 (Twtw) mɜʿ.t-ḫrw, sɜ=f Sn-ỉr=f mɜʿ-ḫrw, sɜ.t=f Nḥỉ^{h} *mɜʿ.t-ḫrw*

"His daughter Tutu, justified, his son Seniref, justified, his daughter Nehi, justified."

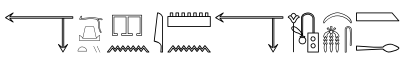
Middle register, right, above the offering man (fig. 12):



sš Ttỉ-ʿnḫ mɜʿ-ḫrw

"The scribe Tetiankh, justified."

Middle register, right, above the seated man (fig. 12):

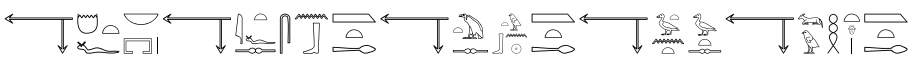


mr šnw.ty n Ỉmn sš Ỉʿḥ-ms mɜʿ-ḫrw

"The overseer of the two granaries of Amun, scribe Ahmose, justified."

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

Middle register, right, above three seated women (fig. 12):



ḥm.t=f nb(.t) pr Ỉt=s-snb mɜʿ.t-ḫrw, mw.t=s T-wbn[i] *mɜʿ.t-ḫrw, sɜ.t n.t sɜ.t=s Ỉwḥ.t-ỉb mɜʿ.t-ḫrw*

"His wife, the mistress of the house Itesseneb, justified, her mother Tuben, justified, the daughter of her daughter, Iuhetib, justified."

Lower register, left, above the offering table (fig. 13):



ḥtp-dỉ-nsw Gb

"An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Geb"

Lower register, left, in front of the man making the offering (fig. 13):



ỉn sn=f ḫr(y)-ʿ=f sš Ỉʿḥ-ms

"by his brother, his assistant, the scribe Ahmose."

Lower register, left, before the lacuna (fig. 13):

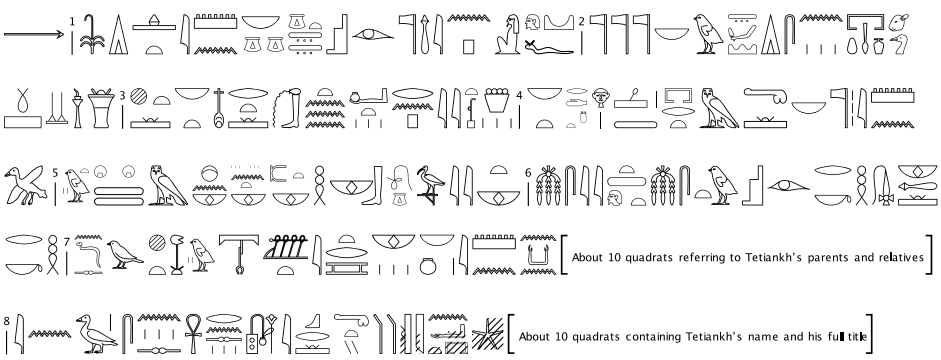


sš Tt[ỉ-ʿnḫ mɜʿ-ḫrw, ḥm.t=f nb(.t) pr ?*...]*

"The scribe Tet[iankh, justified, his wife?...]".

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

Lower register, text to the right of and beneath the offering scene (fig. 14):



ḥtp-dỉ-nsw Ỉmn nb ns.wt tꜣ.wy, Wsỉr nṯr ꜥꜣ, Ỉnpw tp(y) ḏw=f, nṯr.w nb.w tꜣ-ḏsr dỉ=sn pr.t-ḫrw (m) t ḫnq.t kꜣ.w ꜣpd.w šs mnḫ.t snṯr mrḥ.t ḥ.t nb.t nfr.t wꜥb.t ḫnk.t rnpy.t nb.t rd.t ḫr-sꜣ tꜣ prr.t m-bꜣḥ nb nṯr.w Ỉmn pꜣwty tꜣ.wy m psḏntyw, sn.t, dnỉ.t, ḥb wꜣg, Ḏḥwty.t, msy.t tp.t, msw.t Wsỉr, rkḥ ꜥꜣ, rkḥ nḏs, ḥ.t ḫꜣwy, šsp.t ỉtrw[j]*, ḥb.w nb(.w) nw Ỉmn n kꜣ n* [an expression referring to Tetiankh's parents and relatives[k]] *ỉn sꜣ=sn sꜥnḫ rn=s(n) šš ỉqr mty mꜣꜥ n ꜥ[.t] wnw.t [n pr-ꜥꜣ (?), wnwty ḫr tp-ḫw.t ꜥḥ (?), Ttỉ-ꜥnḫ mꜣꜥ-ḫrw*[l]*].*

"An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Amun Lord of the thrones of the two lands, Osiris the great god, Anubis who is on his mountain, all the gods of the necropolis, so that they give an invocation-offering consisting of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, alabaster vessels, clothing, incense, unguent, all good and pure offerings, *ḫnk.t*-offerings and all fresh plant offerings growing on earth and regularly delivered (on the altar) before the lord of the gods, Amun the primeval god of the two lands, at the New Moon festival, the Sixth Day festival, the Quarter (Moon) festival, the *Wag*-festival, the Thoth festival, the First *Msy.t*-festival, the Birthday of Osiris, the Great Burning festival, the Little Burning festival, the Evening Offering festival, the feast of Taking the River, all the festivals of Amun, for the *ka* of [*an expression referring to Tetiankh's parents and relatives*], by their son who makes their name(s) live, the excellent scribe, truly accurate, of the office of the hours [of the king (?), the horologos on the roof of the Palace (?), Tetiankh, justified]."

4. NOTES

a The identity of the particular deity receiving the rite in the three legends of offering scenes, Geb in all cases, is noteworthy. This specific choice may be related to the cult topography of the place where the stela originally stood or to the biography of Tetiankh's family. At the origins of the 18th Dynasty, Geb was first in the list of recipient deities when king Ahmose made a paradigmatic invocatory offering (*ḥtp-dỉ-nsw/dỉ nsw ḥtp*) for the benefit of his grandmother Tetisheri, on the famous stela of Abydos (Urk. IV 29.1). Geb's skills with regard to the funerary world are well known and this god is regularly incorporated into the texts decorating New Kingdom sarcophagi (see Böhme 2019, p. 120), such as one

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

of the coffins found near Tetiankh's stela (*ḏd mdw in Gb: dỉ.n=(ỉ) n=t swr mw ỉtrw, Pwỉw*, "Words spoken by Geb: 'I have given you the ability to drink the water of the river, Puyu'.").

b The scribe's palette is oriented in the same direction on the entire stela, whether the text is directed to the right or to the left.

c In all but one occurrence of the stela, the sign is oriented with the bevel to the right, in accordance with the natural direction of Egyptian writing from right to left. According to the same principle, the bevel is always turned to the right when the sign is rotated vertically, whether the text is directed to the right or to the left.

d At that time and in this context, the name Tutu does not seem to be the well-known Late Period name Tutu, "statue" (Ranke I 379.15-16, Trismegistos.org namID 1436, accessed 10 June 2019, usually with as determinative), but a hypocoristic (doubling the sound [*tw*]), like Ahhotep's nickname Tuyu.

e The stonecutter had to avoid an impurity in the limestone, which affected the arrangement of signs.

f After the last sign in the column, the near-vertical superficial trace is unintentional.

g The layout of the text combines a horizontal line and a column, so that it is possible either to read the full text by expanding the epithet vertically (*ỉn smsw=f mrr=f n s.t-ỉb=f sš Ttỉ-ˁnḫ mɜˁ-ḫrw*), or to skip the column to directly read the title and identity of Tetiankh (*ỉn smsw=f sš Ttỉ-ˁnḫ mɜˁ-ḫrw*, parallel with *ỉn sꜣ=f sš Ttỉ-ˁnḫ mɜˁ-ḫrw* in the symmetrical tableau). This pattern clearly correlates the usual genealogical noun *sꜣ* (left) with *smsw* (right) used as a substantive and expanded through affective epithets (*mrr=f n s.t ỉb=f*), in a balanced structure suggesting that Tetiankh's personal relationships with his biological father (left) and with his protector or foster father (right) are parallel. See the commentary.

h The reading of the bird was clearer at the time of discovery, when dust adhering to the limestone still enhanced the engraving (see fig. 7). This name, only attested as masculine in Ranke I, 207.15, is distinctly feminine here. On the mortuary stela New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 25.184.2 (18th Dynasty), whose date cannot be very distant from that of Tetiankh's stela according to the similar style of their carving, the name "Nehi" of one of the women is written with the same group .

i The name *T-wbn* might be understood as a phonetic spelling of *T(ꜣ-n.t)-wbn* (possessive article pronounced *[ta-]*), "That of the sunrise (or moonrise)", in other words "The woman appearing at sunrise (or moonrise)", "The one born at sunrise (or moonrise)". This name could be paralleled with other anthroponyms associating an individual with the sun- or moonrise, such as *Wbn-n=f-Ḥr*, "The (solar) Horus rose for him" (Ranke I, 77.9; Trismegistos.org namID 14599, accessed 05 June 2019) and *Wbn-n=s-ỉˁḥ*, "The moon rose for her" (Ranke I, 77.12, Trismegistos.org namID 19851, accessed 05 June 2019).

j This feast name has been interpreted diversely, as an allusion to the beginning of the inundation or to a journey on the Nile.[13]

k As to the content of the lacuna, see general commentary.

l The surface of the stone is flaked and the fragments have moved slightly, but the reading of the sign is assured, as the epithet *mty mɜˁ* is attested by 90 parallels from the New Kingdom, including 30 from the 18th Dynasty and 3 from the reigns of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III

13 Habachi 1980, p. 18 n. 8.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

(see Rickal 2005, vol. 1, pp. 41, 136–137; vol. 2, pp. 356–360, 02.18 [*non vidi*]; I thank the anonymous reviewer for this reference). On the basis of the parallel provided by stela Firenze, Museo archeologico nazionale, inv. no. 6371 (see § 8), the hypothesis of an expanded title similar to this occurrence is consistent with the length of the lacuna:



5. ICONOLOGY AND PROSOPOGRAPHY

The usual mortuary protective signs , bookended by two recumbant Anubises , extend above the whole epigraphic field.

While he is the beneficiary of the oblation from his brother in the lower register to the left, Tetiankh is shown in the active role of the officiant in the two upper registers. Rather than labeling him the "owner" of the stela, we should qualify his focal status as that of the "protagonist" of the decoration, in the proper theatrical sense. The central axis of the upper registers divides the recipients of the offerings into family groups of two main categories. On the left, the next of kin, to the right, more distant relatives who are distinguished by having a high position in the social hierarchy.[14]

Upper register, left (fig. 9): Tetiankh, dressed in a panther skin as the legitimate family cult performer, presents an offering to three seated deceased, his father, the goldsmith Ahmose, symmetrically embraced by Tetiankh's mother Iuhetib and paternal grandmother Tutu, along with a standing nude boy, Ahmose, a brother who likely died in childhood. A homonymous goldsmith Ahmose lived much later in the 18th Dynasty, as evidenced by his depiction as the officiating son on his father's mortuary stela (Tübingen, Ägyptische Sammlung der Universität, inv. no. 472), whose style suggests a date around Amenhotep III's reign.

Only the front leg of the first seat and the hind leg of the last chair are drawn, a graphic design distinctive of the first part of the 18th Dynasty up to Thutmose IV (from Amenhotep III onwards, and sometimes even earlier, the front leg of the following seats is also represented).[15] The shape, arrangement and proportions of the chairs are very similar to examples visible in tombs decorated entirely or partly under the reign of Thutmose III, such as TT 81 (Ineni) or TT 100 (Rekhmire).[16] The heap of offerings does not rest on a table but on a thin horizontal footless support, representing a tray or twined mat comparable to examples documented in contemporary iconography.[17]

Middle register, left (fig. 11): Two daughters (Tutu, Nehi) and a son (Seniref), who died before Tetiankh, are receiving his mortuary offering, the male occupying the focal position between his sisters, as does his grandfather between his own female supporters in the upper

14 See also the commentary in Colin 2019a, p. 138.

15 Cherpion 1987, p. 37 (the author understands the drawing as a single chair on which several people sit, but this interpretation, although conceivable for a seated couple, is unlikely when more than two people are present); one anonymous reviewer points to examples of the "new pattern" of front leg as early as the reign of Thuthmose III, which thus fell within a transitional period. See Vandier 1964, pp. 86–87.

16 Dziobek 1992, pl. 20, 60, 65; Cherpion 1987, p. 29, fig. 1.

17 For instance in TT 81, Dziobek 1992, pl. 21, 30; with examples carried by offering bearers, pl. 29.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

register. Seniref is the sole male recipient of an offering who is wearing neither a shoulder-length wig, nor a (usually) transparent long overskirt extending down to the ankles (see the commentary on hairstyle and clothing below).

The reversal of the natural children-parents ritual position in the structure of the mortuary-offering liturgy, with no less than three adult descendants deceased before their father, suggests that Tetiankh may have reached an advanced age. The fact that the offering performer in the lower left register is not a son or daughter, but his brother and assistant (*snꜥf ḥr(y)-ꜥꜥf*) Ahmose, confirms that he died with no surviving children.

Contrary to the upper and lower registers, the filiation expressions do not determine the officiant (**ỉt=sn*) but the recipients of the ritual (*sꜣ=f*, *sꜣ.t=f*). This structural detail is consistent with the centripetal principle of terms of kinship in ceremonial context, which supposes the subordinate's status is defined in relation to his higher-ranking counterpart, in this instance, children with respect to father.

Upper register, right (fig. 10): The seat in this register is the only one on the stela occupied by only two people, whose body position is therefore more distant in order to fill the whole space. This couple can certainly be identified with the famous owners of TT 81, because the wife is named both through her syntactic and hypocoristic names "Ahhotep" and "Tuyu", which she bears simultaneously[18] and separately ("Tuyu" alone)[19] in their tomb's scenes. This overseer of the two granaries of Amun was a prominent Theban administrator from the time of Amenhotep I until Thutmose III (see general presentation § 2), and this is the reason why his patronage or fosterage of Tetiankh is emphasized in the dominant register of the stela, on the same iconographic level as the proper biological father of the officiant.[20] To compare the two upper central representations of Tetiankh as an officiant, the layout of his title and name (*sš Tt-ỉnḫ mꜣꜥ-ḫrw*) is more or less symmetrical above his two figures, but the symmetry is broken by the genealogical formulas (*"sꜣ=f"* short and horizontal to the left, *"smsw=f*, etc.*"* long and vertical in the column to the right), clearly because on the right side the artist needed the space to expand the personal link connecting Tetiankh with Ineni (see § 4 note g). For the same reason, the engraver divided the formula above the offering table into two lines on this side of the register.

The decoration of the TT 81 funerary chapel possibly confirms Tetiankh's special relationship with the overseer Ineni, who died childless[21] and therefore was perhaps particularly open to fostering practices.[22] On the southern side of the focal offering room, at the end of the tomb's central corridor, a man named "the scribe Tetiankh" sits among siblings and other relatives of the deceased.[23] As "Tetiankh" is not a ubiquitous name, it is very tempting to identify this "scribe" and the homonymous one featured on our stela as the same man who would have been

18 Dziobek 1992, pl. 31; 61.

19 Dziobek 1992, pl. 20a; 27a; 60.

20 The principle underlying this iconological scheme has been described by Ragazzoli 2017, p. 211, regarding the focus on filial-like interaction in the context of professional relationships in Userhat's tomb (TT 56): "Les liens entre les deux personnages sont thématisés comme filiaux; or, les différents parallèles développés ici tendent à démontrer l'existence d'une filiation professionnelle qui relève de la métaphore, même si une politique d'alliance pouvait accompagner par ailleurs de telles solidarités."

21 Dziobek 1992, 143, n. 666; Shirley 2014, p. 177.

22 For the same reason Gabler, Soliman 2018, p. 12, postulate this kind of elective father-son affiliation for another official who may be featured in TT 81.

23 Dziobek 1992, 83-86; pl. 30.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

affiliated to the inner circle of Ineni's family–though this hypothesis is impossible to prove in the absence of a father's or mother's name in TT 81.

Unlike all the other male faces on the stela, Ineni's features a chin goatee. This detail echoes the depictions in TT 81: when contemplating the work in his domain as a dignitary or inspecting the activities placed under his authority, Ineni wears a similar short beard on the tip of his chin.[24] Seated elsewhere as the deceased, he appears with a hairless chin[25] or a short beard[26] (the details of his face have vanished from some other damaged representations).

Middle register, right (fig. 12): Four figures seated beside other in the same position, each holding both an open and a closed lotus flower. The last three are women (Itesseneb, Tuben and Iuhetib), while the first in the series is a man, the "Overseer of the two granaries of Amun, the scribe Ahmose", according to the caption. At first glance, it might seem that the carver made a strange mistake by depicting female clothing on the upper part of Ahmose's figure. Below the waist, he wears the same ceremonial dress as Ineni, which differentiates him from the three women alongside. But at chest height, he might appear to be dressed in the feminine strapless dress instead of simply being adorned with the *usekh* necklace like Ineni. The fact that Ahmose, unlike all the other men sitting in the offering scenes, holds the same open and closed lotus flowers as the three women he precedes could support the hypothesis of a kind of copy-and-paste error.[27] However, the proportions of the chest and the cut and height of the garment are clearly different from those of the women, and it is therefore also conceivable that the sculptor wanted to adapt Ahmose's clothing to another (older?) model, perhaps to distinguish him from his colleague Ineni. Intended or vanished colouring would probably have prevented confusion with the women's dresses.

Due to a visual synecdoche that consists of representing only one front leg of the first chair and one back of the last, the quartet Ahmose-Itesseneb-Tuben-Iuhetib appears to rest on a record-long "cluster seat".[28] The willingness to include four people in this group of beneficiaries, whereas the panels to which they are paired in the vertical and horizontal axes of symmetry include only three and two people respectively, has resulted in a series of disruptions in the balance of graphical proportions. The mat or pedestal on which the seats rest is extended to the point of passing behind Tetiankh's left ankle, producing an overlap unparalleled in the other scenes of the stela. The heap of offerings is much smaller than in the other depictions and barely fits between Ahmose's knees and elbow. The shapes of the four figures are tightly intertwined and the first of the series protrudes so far forward that his right foot practically touches the officiant's left tibia, while the open lotus flower nearly touches the nose of the deceased Ahmose.

This general imbalance inflicted on scenic harmony shows to what extent the artist valued the presence of the two supplementary individuals accompanying the main couple. Since the family link between Tetiankh and Ahmose is not specified by a term of kinship (such as *sꜣ=f*, *sn=f*, etc.), the two "additional" seated figures very probably provided the genealogical

24 Dziobek 1992, pl. 3; 60–61; 17 (standing, holding the insignia of his office).

25 Dziobek 1992, pl. 11.

26 Dziobek 1992, pl. 26.

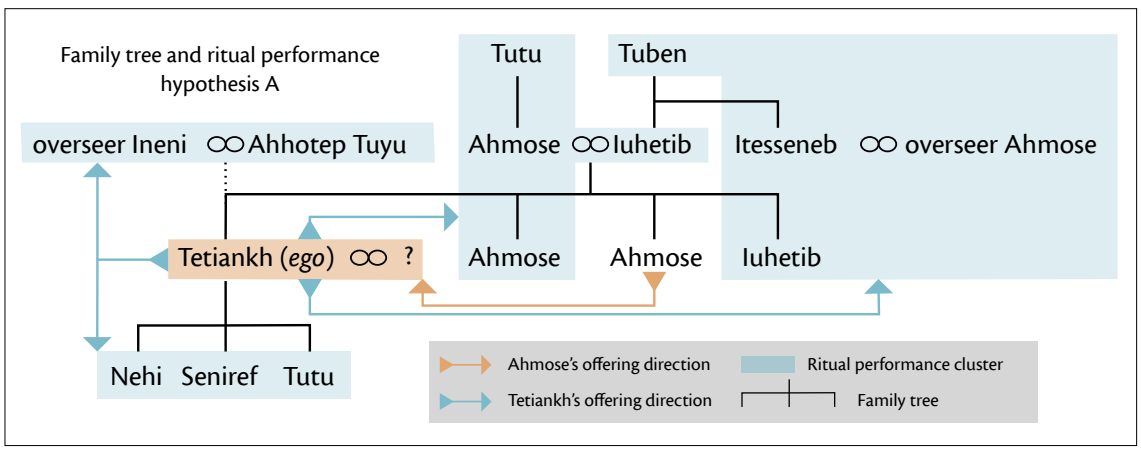
27 This kind of copy-and-paste error is attested on stela Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. C 244, where the last woman of a series of six ladies sitting on a "cluster seat" very similar to that of our stela is carved with a hand on her shoulder, as if she were followed by an additional woman outside the frame.

28 This record is surpassed by the six-seater seat represented on stela Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. C 244.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

anchoring which implicitly validated the high dignitary's inclusion among the recipients of the ritual performance. Who were they with respect to Tetiankh?

It is noteworthy that the third woman, Tuben, is not the mother of the male beneficiary of the offering but of his wife Itesseneb. More surprising is the fact that the woman next in the series is not Tuben's daughter, but her granddaughter (*s3.t n.t s3.t=s*). Clearly this woman, Iuhetib, gives us the key to Tetiankh's affiliation, while her grandmother Tuben acts as the apical ancestor tracking back the genealogical path between *ego* (Tetiankh) and the overseer Ahmose. The name "Iuhetib", identical to that of Tetiankh's mother, suggests that this woman belonged to his immediate family. Of course, as the genealogical status of this Iuhetib is not explicit for us but was probably obvious to contemporaries, different hypothetical identifications can be considered. For instance, she could be a sister of Tetiankh who died before him. In this scenario, their parents Ahmose and Iuhetib would have given their own names to some of their children, a first son Ahmose who died as a child, then another–the second-born Ahmose, and a daughter Iuhetib. By including the latter, the offering scene would indicate the parentage by alliance with the overseer Ahmose, whose wife would be Tetiankh's aunt (stemma A). However, involving a sister whose existence is not established weakens this assumption. Another more economical hypothesis[29] would be that the two female figures of Iuhetib, in the upper left and middle right registers, would represent one and the same woman, Tetiankh's mother. While honouring Tetiankh's maternal great-grandmother (Tuben), the family cluster pictured in the middle right register would thus fulfil the primary function of highlighting the prestigious relationship established between this genealogical line and the overseer Ahmose, who would be Tetiankh's great-uncle-in-law (stemma B).



Stemma A: Family tree hypothesis A.

In this scenario, Ahmose would probably have predated Ineni in the generational sequence, and would therefore have served as overseer of the two granaries of Amun before his predecessor's appointment at some point in Thutmose I's reign. This dating to the very beginning of the

29 Only this one is proposed in Colin 2019a, pp. 140–141. The fact that Iuhetib's name is not followed by the epithet *mȝʿ.t-ḫrw* in the upper left register, unlike the middle right register, is not a disqualifying argument, as it may be a simple omission.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

18th Dynasty[30] would exclude identifying Ahmose on the stela with the only homonymous man we already knew as overseer of the two granaries of Amun,[31] for the latter was active under Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. In addition, the name of the wife of this overseer Ahmose, attested in a chapel in Gebel el-Sisila, does not match Itesseneb's name.[32]

Lower register, left (fig. 13): The left side of the scene was damaged by erosion. The space originally available allows a seated couple to be restored, facing the officiating brother and the offering tray, most of which remains. Also preserved is the open lotus flower that Tetiankh smelled, as well as his title as scribe and the beginning of his name. The title *ḫr(y)-ʿ=f sš* of his brother Ahmose reflects the status of an assistant in common activities. He obviously survived the protagonist of the stela and, in the absence of child heirs, took over the role of succeeding executor of funeral duties. The ability of a sibling to assume this ritual function towards the deceased is documented in other contemporary monuments, such as the stela Avignon, Musée Calvet, inv. no. A1, where two brothers symmetrically present offerings to their brother Nebamun and their father, as well as to their step-sister and their grandmother.

All the women depicted on the monument wear the tripartite wig typical of their time. The artist's rendering of the hierarchical dress codes of the male characters in the different sub-parts of the decoration is noteworthy. In the upper register, left, as in the other three fully preserved offering scenes, Tetiankh is headdressed with a short round wig reflecting his status as junior ritual performer, as opposed to Ahmose's shoulder-length wig,[33] which embodies the seniority and primacy of the deceased father.[34] Symmetrically, Ineni's shoulder-length wig shows the same generational position and his higher social status, which the short beard on the tip of the chin might also suggest (see below § 7, Table 1.2, 1.3). This "short" *versus* "shoulder-length" complementariness significantly disappears when the officiant is not subordinate to the beneficiary of the offering: in the middle register, left, the younger Seniref, who died before his father, wears the same wig as the performer Tetiankh, because inversion of the natural intergenerational succession has neutralised the hierarchy induced by ritual performance. The lack of an ankle-length transparent overskirt on Seniref's body, contrary to the other three male deceased, could also reflect his younger age. This generational neutralisation principle applies in the lower left register as well. Indeed, officiating Ahmose does not wear the junior performer's short round wig, but the long wig of revered persons, since he belongs to the same generation as the offering's recipient,[35] his brother Tetiankh, who can be assumed to have worn the shoulder-length wig as a deceased in the lacunal part of the scene.[36] The depiction of the

30 It should be noted that this early dating is consistent with the fact that the name Itesseneb is attested in the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period, see Ranke I, 51.16; Davies 2010, p. 225, n. 17.

31 Eichler 2000, p. 236, to be completed with Müller 1966, cat. no. 40; Galán, Borrego 2006, p. 205; *The World of Funerary Cones*, 448.

32 Caminos, James 1963, pl. 18. Of course, this argument is not totally disqualifying, because women could possess a name and a surname, and men could marry more than one wife.

33 Tassie 2009, pp. 464–467 (short round); 448 (shoulder-length).

34 See Robins 1999, pp. 58–60.

35 The age difference between the two adult brothers would have been less than, for example, between Nebamun and his younger brother carrying the sidelock of youth, on the stela commented on above (Avignon, Musée Calvet, inv. no. A1).

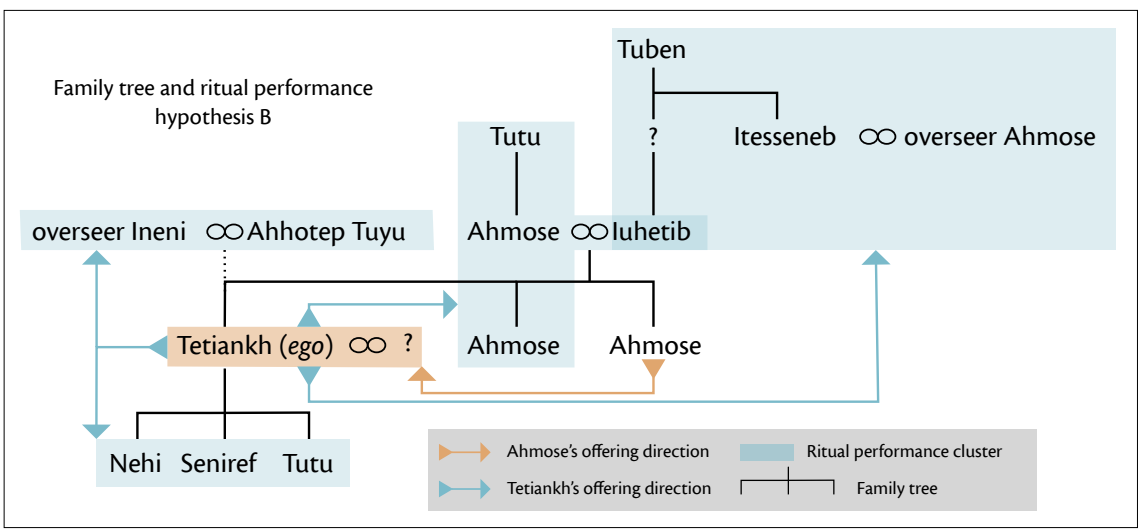
36 If this interpretation proved to be right, it would nuance the idea that "because the performer of the ritual was ideally the deceased's son, any male who enacted the part also undertook a filial (and hence junior) role in relationship to the deceased" (Robins 1999, p. 59).

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

overseer Ahmose, in the middle right register, is perhaps an exception that proves the rule. This high-ranking official does not wear the shoulder-length wig although he clearly assumes a dominant position towards the officiating scribe Tetiankh. This apparent inconsistency could be explained by the need to avoid gender confusion due to the similarity of the clothing style of Ahmose and the women alongside (whether this ambiguity comes from a carver's mistake or the intention to represent a particular type of dress). Maybe the wig was rounded towards the nape to better distinguish it from the tripartite wigs of the other three female characters.

6. DEMONSTRATING FAMILY PIETY, EMPHASIZING SOCIAL NETWORK

In the genealogical stemma B (see above), the coloured connector-arrows and membership sets underscore the systemic structure of ritual performance within the social interactions of familial mortuary practice. On the father's side, Tetiankh worships his biological progenitor and his mother, tracking back the line of honoured relatives to his paternal grandmother. At the same structural level, the offering to Ineni and his wife is addressed to Tetiankh's figurative father. On this side, no ancestry from the previous generation appears; only the iconic couple of dignitaries is shown, such as the visitor can admire when visiting TT 81. On the maternal side, middle register right, the targets of the ritual have been raised higher by a generation, to enable the protagonist to be socially valued through the female sequence. If the proposed identification is correct, Tetiankh's mother is never considered for her own sake –she is "the wife of" so and so, the "granddaughter of" so and so– but her person, honoured twice, is a pivotal figure in the social network showcased on the stela. When we move down the generational ladder, the effects of a disturbed demography force Tetiankh to perform mortuary service for his own children. The cycle of intertwined ritual duties within the family is concluded thanks to his brother Ahmose, who embodies the ceremonial function of the surviving relative.



Stemma B: Family tree hypothesis B.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

The artist has divided the family tree into subgroups linked by generational interdependence, thereby demonstrating a mental structure that was probably at work in the concrete practice of cult performers. As inaccessible as the ephemeral words and gestures of the ritual may be to us, their visual synthesis engraved in stone suggests a proper taxonomy of cult beneficiaries, united by ties of solidarity on five generational levels with both the ritualists and the co-recipients of the offering. This taxonomy values patrilineal as well as matrilineal branches, which are tied into a chain whereby concatenated women allow a genealogical connection to be established with top members of the ruling class. As a result, the interactional web built around Tetiankh demonstrates both his scrupulous respect for family duties and the prominence of his social network.

The mortuary stela of Tetiankh provides a very elaborate example of a system of multi-level family offerings, which is well evidenced on other stelae of the 18th Dynasty. As a basic principle, which can be modulated in various combinations, the protagonist of the stela, usually referred to as "owner" in the Egyptological literature, performs one or more offerings to ascendants of his immediate or extended family, while in a lower register he receives a mortuary offering from one of his real or acting descendants in return.

This process is found, for example, on stela Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. E 20357 (Table 1.5), which was carved in the first half of the 18th Dynasty[37] by a less-skilled workshop than that of Tetiankh's stela. In the upper register, the protagonist Kert, followed by his brother, presents an offering to their parents who are accompanied by an uncle and an aunt. In return, Kert, his wife and an already deceased daughter receive an offering from one of his sons, followed by two other daughters, in the lower register.

Later in the 18th Dynasty, but still before Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, stela Bologna inv. no. KS 1923 (Table 2.1), provides an outstanding example of a two-storey family offering, with the particularity that the protagonist's action is shared within a kind of gender-parity framework. At the top, before Osiris, three successive generations are offering and praying, namely a couple, their son (Pennub) and their stepdaughter (Hemetheka) and a granddaughter. Family mortuary cult is conducted on the next two registers below, which highlight both the patrilineal and matrilineal bloodlines. In the middle register, husband Pennub presents an offering to his father and mother to the left, while his wife Hemetheka symmetrically performs the ritual for her own parents to the right. Finally, both protagonists, as a couple, receive an offering from one of their sons, followed by six other children, on the lower left scene.

The registers structuring the offering network can even involve three successive mortuary cult storeys and four generations, as on stela Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. C 279, from roughly the same period. The iconographic structure of the decoration is built on a very symmetrical pattern: at the edges of the upper register, two offering men symmetrically converge toward three deities, two turned left, one turned right; at the edges of the middle register, two deceased couples receive offerings from three male performers, two turned right, one turned left. Such a balanced design underscores the notion that each generation scrupulously revives the mortuary duties which parents had taken on for their own elders. This visual language

37 Conventional design of the chair legs, strapped sheath dresses and tripartite wigs for women, the lotus flower on the forehead of one of the wives depicted as stiff-looking. Moret, *Musée Guimet*, p. 41, dated it "fin XVIII^{e} dynastie", without specifying any argument; PM VIII, 803-050-391 "Mid-Dyn. XVIII".

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

merges with the monument's other key message about the professional profile kept within the lineage of the first-born sons: as the replication of their titles reveals, they have kept the office of "Chief of the highland of the gold of Amun" in the family for at least three generations. It results from this iconographic and biographic combination that the generations' duties are carried out in the following staggered way from top to bottom: upper register, generation I (Chief Nebseny, right) and II (Chief Minemhat, left) are correspondingly worshipping the gods Ra (centre right) and Osiris with Isis (centre left). Middle register, right: generation II (Chief Minemhat) followed by generation III (one of his sons Minnakht) is offering to generation I (Chief Nebseny and his wife). Middle register, left: generation III (Chief Iuny, the protagonist) is offering to generation II (Chief Minemhat and his wife). Lower register, right: generation III (Chief Iuny and his wife) receives offerings from generation IV, which is embodied by a male adult whose name is not (yet) specified ("*sꜣ=f*"), followed by seven seated relatives.

Besides this family-offering pattern with three levels of mortuary cult performers, this period also provided monuments with a simpler decorative scheme, such as stela Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. C 53 (under Thutmose IV), where only two generations are actively involved in a single register of offerings. Possibly sometimes, the affinities that bind the protagonist to the other beneficiaries of the offering stem from professional rather than family ties, as on stela London, British Museum, inv. no. EA 365 (under Amenhotep III), where no term of kinship specifies the identity of the recipients.

These structural principles were firmly established under the reign of Ramses II, when the iconographic demonstration of family piety handed down through generations reached a climax. As before, there are still examples of family offerings with two mortuary cult storeys, such as stelae Birmingham, City Museum and Art Gallery, inv. no. 134'72, and Torino, Museo Egizio, inv. no. 50012 (Table 3) – the latter containing an impressive series of recipients of the offering from the protagonist, who addresses his parents, five brothers and sisters and a wife. Stela London, Petrie Museum, inv. no. UC 14362 (reign unspecified, 19th Dynasty) shows a mortuary offering network involving three generations of family cult performers, which reflects the same genealogical principle as stela Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. C 279, albeit with a very different scene structure. The offering scenes are divided into four registers, where the protagonist (Bakenmin, son of Minmose) is recognizable by the following facts: the representation of his figure as a ritual performer, accompanied by a sister, is the tallest amongst all (aspective principle of size-hierarchy[38]); he is featured in a focal eschatological scene behind his parents, who are drinking water dispensed by the tree goddess; he is the penultimate acting ritualist to be depicted in the genealogical series, as is customary for the protagonist. In addition, the patrilineal as well as matrilineal lines are honoured in compliance with a kind of gender parity, as in the scheme of stela Bologna inv. no. KS 1923, since Bakenmin's father and mother are both offering to their own parents in different registers.[39]

38 Subtile redefining in Nyord 2013, pp. 139, 149–150, 153–155.

39 The stela seems to display the generations in reverse order compared to the previously discussed monuments, i.e. the youngest at the top and the elders at the bottom, according to the editor's likely interpretation (as the names of the first-born sons are handed down in this family from grandfather to grandson, the two reading directions could have been considered). The hypothesis suggested by Stewart 1976, p. 32, that Bakenmin's mother would be featured three times on the stela (Takhentet = Tapakhentet), is probably correct. If so, the two pairs of grandparents would be honoured successively in the two lower registers.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

Yet the most spectacular demonstration of family piety undoubtedly appears on stela London, British Museum, inv. no. EA 166 (Ramses II). As the main beneficiary of the ritual network, its protagonist (Amenhotep) Huy receives offerings from one of his brothers in the uppermost register (I), where all the figures, standing and giving or sitting and receiving, are taller than their counterparts on the three other registers (again an aspective principle). In each of these lower registers, protagonist Huy, on the right, provides offerings to his relatives, on the left. In this acting position, Huy faces the seated couples of his parents, his paternal grandparents, his paternal great-grandparents, and his maternal grandparents[40] (register II), then nine relatives, mainly brothers and sisters (register III), and finally nine other persons including siblings (register IV, where the written names outnumber the figures depicted). Through these three crews of revered deceased, the family piety of Huy is emphasized thanks to the seriation of no less than 26 relatives (or even 28 if we count all the written names) as recipients of the offering performance.[41] This focus on trans-generational solidarity and hereditary ritual practice is again reflected in writing in the last line of the mortuary offering text: in addition to the usual main addressee Huy (with his father's and mother's names specified), the textual prayer is also intended to benefit the *ka* of "his mother's father, all his siblings, his paternal great-grandfather" (*n ỉt n mw.t=f, n sn.w=f nb.w, n ỉt n ỉt ỉt=f*).

7. MULTIPLE ADDRESSEES OF RITUAL PERFORMANCE AND EMPHASIZED SOCIAL NETWORK

This textual occurrence of plural addressees in the course of offering prayers under royal patronage ("invocatory offering" *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw/dỉ nsw ḥtp… dỉ=sn pr.t-ḫrw…*) leads us to an interesting detail in the corresponding inscription on Tetiankh's stela. The beneficiaries of the performance are named in a lacunal section at the end of line 7, where around 9 or 10 quadrats are lost (*n kꜣ n […]*), but they are referred to with plural pronouns in the performer's epithets: *ỉn sꜣ=sn sʿnḫ rn=sn* sš *ỉqr mty mꜣʿ (etc.)*, instead of the more frequent singular *ỉn sꜣ=f sʿnḫ rn=f.*

To address this issue, a representative number of occurrences of the use of plural pronouns in New Kingdom offering scenes on stelae is presented in the following tables according to three chronological groups: beginning of Dynasty 18 (from Ahmose to Thutmose III's reign), mid-Dynasty 18 (Amenhotep II to IV), and Ramses II.

40 Rather than restoring a corrupted "*ỉt n ỉt n ỉt*" (James 1970, pl. XXa), I suggest reading "*ỉt n mw.t=f*" labeling the seventh seated character, with the same spelling  (*mw.t=f*) as on line 6 of the offering text below. The name of this maternal grandfather's wife is not written above her figure: a man's name and title is engraved instead.

41 On other less elaborate monuments, the ritual performer makes offerings in several registers to family members without receiving offerings in another register, as on stela Torino, Museo Egizio, inv. no. 1465 (Ramses II), with a seriation of ten beneficiaries. Sometimes, generationally layered compositions do not represent the ritual performer of the last involved generation as a seated deceased, but as a mummy that benefits from funeral rites, as on stela Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. E 3143 (Ramses II).

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

Reference	Iconological situation	Pronouns	Persons referred to by plural pronouns
1. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum, inv. no. 1261	In the upper register, the officiant (*Q3wy*) makes offerings in front of two seated men and two standing women. The nature of their family ties is uncertain.		
	In the lower register, *Mn-ms*, a daughter of *Q3wy*, makes offerings in front of four men (including *Q3wy*) and two women. The respective family statuses of these seated relatives are again unclear.		
	The main offering text (the officiant being *Q3wy*) is written below the lower register.	About the performer: *(…) ỉn* ***sn=s<n>*** *sʿnḫ* ***rn=sn***	The THIRD person plural pronoun refers to the relatives of the performer depicted in the first register. *Q3wy* is referred to as their "brother" (literally or figuratively).
2. München, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, Gl. 308	The officiant (*Ỉrỉ-ḫ-ms*), symmetrically represented twice in the center of the register, makes offerings in front of two seated couples as beneficiaries, on the right and left. The text does not state a family relationship between performer and recipients.	*(…) n* ***k3=ṯn*** *ỉn ḥm-k3 n nsw Ỉrỉ-ḫ-ms/ỉn ḫry-ḥb tpy Ỉrỉ-ḫ-ms*	The SECOND person plural pronoun refers to influential officials (a *ḥ3ty-ʿ* and a *mr-pr wr n [ḥm.t]-nṯr*) with no explicit filiation in relation to the ritual performer.
3. New Haven, Yale Peabody Museum 98852	The officiant (*Ḥpw* aka *Nwy*) makes offerings in front of a seated man, his mother and his wife as beneficiaries. The three honoured notables are not affiliated to the performer in explicit kinship terms.	*[ỉr.t] ḥtp-[dỉ-nsw] m [offered stuff, e.g. snṯr] m ḫt [nb.t nfr.t wʿb.t n]* ***k3=tn*** *ỉ[n] ỉry-ʿ.t n Ỉmn So and so.*	The SECOND person plural pronoun refers to the triad of (probable) dignitaries. The space in the lacuna above the name of the deceased Sennefer could have contained his title in accordance with the layout of the previous stela (Table 1.2). The editor's reading of a *nsw*-sign (?) could point to a function in the king's service.
4. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 25.184.2	In the upper register, the officiant (*Ỉrỉ-ḫ-ms*) makes offerings in front of his parents and a man whose family relationship is not explicit (*Ḏḥwty* son of *Msy*, maybe an uncle), all seated as beneficiaries.	*ỉn* ***s3=sn*** *sʿnḫ* ***rn=sn***	The THIRD person plural pronoun refers to the parents of the officiant, who are designated by a plural pronoun in the expression *ỉn s3=sn sʿnḫ rn=sn.*
	In the middle register, the same officiant (*Ỉrỉ-ḫ-ms*) in front of two seated women defined as "her sister" and "her daughter". The feminine pronoun *=s* in the first woman's filiation expression perhaps refers to the lady sitting in the upper register.	*ỉn* ***sn=sn*** *sʿnḫ* ***rn=sn***	The THIRD person plural pronoun perhaps refers to a maternal aunt and a cousin of the officiant, and probably to the same man as in the upper register (*Ḏḥwty* son of *Msw-n-Ḏḥwty*), with his mother and father. The officiant is qualified as the "brother" of these relatives, who are referred to by a plural pronoun in the expression *ỉn sn=sn sʿnḫ rn=sn.*
5. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. E 20357 (formerly Musée Guimet, inv. no. 2858, catalogue C 18)	In the upper register, the officiant (*Krt*) makes offerings in front of his seated parents as beneficiaries, accompanied by their sister and brother. In the middle register, the same man is in turn seated as the beneficiary of his son's offerings.	*ỉr.t ḥtp-dỉ-nsw n* ***k3=tn*** *ỉw wʿb sp-2 sp-4 ỉn* ***s3=tn*** *sʿnḫ* ***rn=tn***	The SECOND person plural pronoun refers to the parents of the officiant, who are designated by a plural pronoun in the expression *ỉn s3=tn sʿnḫ rn=tn.*
6. Tübingen, Ägyptische Sammlung der Universität, inv. no. 466	The officiant (*Sn-ỉw*) makes offerings in front of his parents seated as beneficiaries and accompanied by a daughter.	*wʿb sp-2 n* ***k3=tn*** *ỉn s3=f*	The SECOND person plural pronoun refers to the parents of the officiant, but only his father is alluded to by the singular pronoun in the formula *ỉn s3=f.*

TABLE 1. Plural pronouns referring to deceased on stelae from beginning of Dynasty 18.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

Reference	Iconological situation	Pronouns	Persons referred to by plural pronouns
1. Bologna, Museo civico archeologico, inv. no. KS 1923	In the upper register, the couple *Ỉmn-ḥtp* and *Ỉmn-m-wsḫ.t* pray in front of Osiris. They are followed by their son *P(ȝ)-n-nwb*, his wife (*Ḥm.t-ḥqȝ*) and his daughter, all offering.		
	In the middle register, *P(ȝ)-n-nwb* and his wife *Ḥm.t-ḥqȝ* symmetrically present offerings in front of two couples seated as beneficiaries. *P(ȝ)-n-nwb* offers to his parents to the left, *Ḥm.t-ḥqȝ* to her own parents to the right.	About *P(ȝ)-n-nwb*'s offering: *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw (…) n* ***kȝ=tn*** *wʿb sp-2 ỉn* ***sȝ=sn*** *sʿnḫ* ***rn=sn*** *(…)*	The mixed sentence combining the SECOND and THIRD person plural pronouns refers to the ritual performer's parents, who are designated by a plural pronoun in the expression *ỉn sȝ=sn sʿnḫ rn=sn.*
		About *Ḥm.t-ḥqȝ*'s offering: *ỉr.t ḥtp-dỉ-nsw wʿb sp-2 n* ***kȝ=tn*** *rʿ nb ỉn sȝ.t=f mr.t=f (…)*	The SECOND person plural pronoun refers to the ritual performer's parents, but only her father is alluded to by the singular pronoun in the formula *ỉn sȝ.t=f mr.t=f.*
	In the lower register, *P(ȝ)-n-nwb* and *Ḥm.t-ḥqȝ* are in turn seated as the beneficiaries of offerings. The officiant (*Ỉmn-m-ḥȝ.t*) is one of their sons, followed by five sisters and a brother on two registers (the only boy, *Ỉmn-m-ḥȝ.t*, either has the same name as the performer, or this man is figured twice or the ambiguous pronoun "*-=f*" refers to the officiant, not to the deceased).	About *Ỉmn-m-ḥȝ.t*'s offering: *ỉr.t ḥtp-dỉ-nsw wʿb sp-2 n* ***kȝ=tn*** *ỉ<n> sȝ=f (…).*	The SECOND person plural pronoun refers to the ritual performer's parents, but only his father is alluded to by the singular pronoun in the formula *ỉn sȝ=f.*
	In the same way as on the stela of Tetiankh, the main offering text (the officiant being *P(ȝ)-n-nwb*) is written to the right of and below the lower offering scene (the performer being the son of *P(ȝ)-n-nwb*).	About *P(ȝ)-n-nwb*'s offering: *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw (…) n kȝ n* So and so (*P(ȝ)-n-nwb*'s father) *ỉn* ***sȝ=sn*** *sʿnḫ* ***rn=sn*** *(…).*	The offering is addressed to *Ỉmn-ḥtp*, *P(ȝ)-n-nwb*'s father, but both parents and probably in-laws are alluded to by the THIRD person plural pronoun in the formula *ỉn sȝ=sn sʿnḫ rn=sn.*
2. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CGC 34080	*Ỉ.nȝy*, his father and his wife pray in front of Osiris, Ahmes Nefertari and Ahmose Sapaïr.	*dỉ=k… wnn=ỉ*	
	In the middle register, the officiating *Ỉ.nȝy* (according to the formula *sʿnḫ rn=f*) is seated as beneficiary of offerings together with his parents, behind two pairs of dignitaries.	*sʿnḫ rn n ỉt(=f)*	
	In the lower register, five offering recipients are seated.		
	The main offering text (the officiant being *Ỉ.nȝy*) is written below the lower register.	*(…) qbḥ ỉrp ỉrtt n* ***kȝ=tn*** *wʿb rʿ nb ỉn* ***sȝ=tn*** *sʿnḫ* ***rn=tn***	The SECOND person plural pronoun refers to the different beneficiaries of offerings represented seated in the two median registers, namely (I) two pairs of high and middle-rank dignitaries not affiliated to the performer in explicit kinship terms, a triad composed of the performer himself and his parents, and (II) four men, including a brother and one sister.

TABLE 1. Plural pronouns referring to deceased on stelae from beginning of Dynasty 18.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

Reference	Iconological situation	Pronouns	Persons referred to by plural pronouns
3. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. C 82 = N 233	In the upper register, *Wiꜣ* and his wife *Mꜣ.n(=i)* pray in front of Osiris. Their sons *Mry* and *Tti* follow them, offering and praying.	*ỉn sꜣ=f sʿnḫ rn=f*	The epithet *sꜣ=f sʿnḫ rn=f*, whose third person pronouns refer to *Mry*'s father, is inscribed here although the scene depicts an offering to Osiris, not to the deceased father.
	In the middle register, on the right, *Wiꜣ*, *Mꜣ.n(=i)* and *Tti* seated as beneficiaries of offerings. Symmetrically seated on the left, *Mry* and his wife *Tyy* receive the same offerings. The main offering text is written beneath this scene, with *Mry* as ritual performer and *Wiꜣ* and *Mꜣ.n(=i)* as beneficiaries.	About *Mry*'s offering: *(…) ỉn* ***sꜣ=sn sʿnḫ rn=sn*** *(…)*	The THIRD person plural pronoun refers to the performer's parents, both of whom are nominally designated as beneficiaries of the offering.
4. Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung, inv. no. ÄS 141	In the upper register, the officiant (*Qꜣsy*) makes a *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw* offering in front of Osiris. In the middle register, the same man and his wife are seated as beneficiaries of mortuary offerings in front of a couple (his parents?) also seated as beneficiaries.	Offering text in the lower register: *(…) prr.t nb.t m-bꜣḥ nṯr pn*[42] *Wsỉr Wnn-nfrw Ḥr-sꜣ-Ỉs.t n* ***kꜣ=tn*** *ỉr=w* (instead of *ỉr=tn*) *ḥrw nfr m-bꜣḥ nṯr.w nb.w ꜣbḏw rʿ nb*	The SECOND person plural pronoun probably refers to the ritual performer's parents and to the other members of his family.

TABLE 2. Plural pronouns referring to deceased on stelae from mid-Dynasty 18.

Reference	Iconological situation	Pronouns	Persons referred to by plural pronouns
Torino, Museo Egizio, inv. no. 50012 (= cat. 1636)	In the upper register, the officiant (*Kꜣr*) makes an offering in front of Osiris, Ptah-Sokaris, Anubis, Harsiesis and Hathor.	*wdn ḫ.t nb.t nfr.t wʿb.t n* ***kꜣ=tn****, nb.w r-nḥḥ, m-ḏr.t (…) Kꜣr (…)*	The SECOND person plural pronoun refers to the five gods who are beneficiaries of *Kꜣr*'s offering.
	In the middle register, the officiant (*Kꜣr*), dressed in a panther skin, makes offerings in front of his parents, five brothers and sisters and his wife seated as beneficiaries.	*ỉr.t ḥtp-dỉ-nsw wʿb sp-2 n* ***kꜣ=tn*** *m-<ḏr>.t-n* ***sꜣ=tn*** *sʿnḫ* ***rn=tn*** *(…) Kꜣr (…)*	The SECOND person plural pronoun refers to the parents, brothers, sisters and wife of the officiant *Kꜣr*.
	In the lower register, *Kꜣr* is in turn seated as the beneficiary of offerings, alongside a sister and a brother, accompanied by two standing young sons. The performers are a son and two nephews of *Kꜣr*.	*ỉn sꜣ=f mr=f Ḥwy-nfr*	Only *Kꜣr* is alluded to by the singular pronoun in the formula *ỉn sꜣ=f*.

TABLE 3. Plural pronouns referring to deceased on a stela from Ramses II's reign.

42 The reading of the editors (HÜTTNER, SATZINGER 1999, 56) "*(...) m-bꜣḥ. Ḥtp-nṯr n Wsỉr*" must be corrected to "*(...) m-bꜣḥ nṯr pn Wsỉr*", and their translation should be adapted accordingly.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

The occurrence of SECOND person plural pronouns, more common than the third person pronouns, suggests that the ritual impetus underlying these apparently descriptive sentences basically consisted of textually transposing prayers that could actually be uttered in presence of the statue or figures of the addressees and which could deictically accompany the presentation of the offerings. The second person in the plural remains closer to the performative oral discourse, the third person has been adapted to the descriptive external perspective of a textual caption describing the oblation process. Stela Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CGC 34080 (Table 2.2), for instance, eloquently illustrates this deictic contextualization, using second person singular (*dỉ=k… wnn=ỉ*) or plural (*kɔ=tn … ỉn sɔ=tn sʿnḫ rn=tn*) pronouns depending on whether the ritual formula is addressed primarily to Osiris (a singular pronoun, although he is accompanied by Ahmes Nefertari and Ahmose Sapaïr) or to all the deified deceased who benefit from the mortuary rites. The same scheme is evidenced on stela Torino, Museo Egizio, inv. no. 50012 (Table 3), but in this case the second person PLURAL referring to the gods agrees in number with the multiple figures of the gods worshipped (Osiris, Ptah-Sokaris, Anubis, Harsiesis and Hathor).

Plural pronouns (second and third person) most frequently refer to the performer's immediate parents (Tables 1.4; 1.5; 1.6; 2.1; 2.3; 2.4; 3), but they can also regularly allude to other kin, such as his wife (Table 3), parents-in-law (Table 2.1), brother (Table 3), sister (Tables 1.4; 3), aunt (Table 1.4), or uncle (Table 1.4). Interestingly, the latter four kinship relationships were prone to be grouped under the term "*sn*" in a broad sense,[43] which binds the officiant and the beneficiaries of the offering into an extended category of siblings (Table 1.4).

Three stelae in the series (Tables 1.2; 1.3; 2.2) contain scenes of offerings to high dignitaries who are not explicitly linked to the performer of the ritual by any mention of filiation. These examples typically stage a mimetic scenography of professional hierarchy on the model of a filial-paternal interaction, according to a process of ostentatious demonstration of loyalty that has been recently labeled as *l'hommage au patron*.[44] Only a fragment of the rounded top of stela München, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, Gl. 308 has been preserved. But this is enough to observe that the monument was carved by a highly-skilled workshop whose craftsmanship was very close to that which produced Tetiankh's stela, judging by the symmetrical structure of the scenes and by the style of the images and inscriptions. On either side of the central axis, the ritual performer Ahmose, represented twice back to back like Tetiankh on his monument, gives offerings to two pairs of seated notables converging towards the center. The performer's titles, divided between the captions of the two scenes, identify him as a funerary priest of the king and as a chief ritualist (*ḫm-kɔ n nsw, ḫry-ḥb tpy*). Among the paired addressees to the right, the husband was a high-ranking official, the *ḫɔty-ʿ* Any, while his wife was related to the king's service through her title of "ornament of the king" (*ḫkr.t nsw*). The symmetrical couple, to the left, was interpreted in former commentaries as a reduplication of their counterparts on the right,[45] which could be supported by the fact that the title *ḫɔty-ʿ* sounds like a *Rangtitel*, while the title of the corresponding official, *mr-pr wr n [ḥm.t-]nṯr*, is clearly a title of function. Nonetheless, the parallel provided with Tetiankh's stela invites us to also

43 About "*sn*" in a broad sense and other terms of kinship in extended or figurative sense, BIERBRIER 1980, pp. 100–107; BRYAN 1986, pp. 24, 26–27; BRYAN 1989-1990, p. 30; LOPRIENO-GNIRS 2018, pp. 114–115.

44 RAGAZZOLI 2017, pp. 210–214.

45 SPIEGELBERG 1930, p. 53; GRIMM, SCHOSKE 1999, p. 112.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

consider the possibility that the recipients of the offerings on the left side were other upper-class officials highlighted in the social network of protagonist Ahmose. It can be assumed that the latter embodied the function of revered deceased in another lost register, as confirmed by his qualification as "justified" (*mꜣʿ-ḫrw*). On stela New Haven, Yale Peabody Museum 98852, as well, middle-rank administrator[46] Hepu also known as Nuy probably received an offering in a now lost part of the monument, while honoring senior officials in the upper register. The poorly preserved lower register, at any rate, shows a woman assuming the role of ritual performer in front of recipients whose figures have disappeared.

Both fragmentary stelae München, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, Gl. 308 (Table 1.2) and New Haven, Yale Peabody Museum 98852 (Table 1.3) were produced by a highly skilled workshop, as Tetiankh's monument was. They are more or less contemporary with the stela from el-Asasif, one coming from Deir el-Bahari (Table 1.3), the other, acquired in Luxor (Table 1.2), originating from the Theban area as well. They also have in common the absence of any figure of a god being worshipped, since the whole scene focuses on human mortuary cult. Lastly, they share an iconographic detail: Ineni, on the stela of Tetiankh, and Sennefer and Any, all wear a small beard on the tip of the chin as part of their portrait as venerable dignitaries.

Finally, stela Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CGC 34080 (Table 2.2), is slightly more recent, but it probably reflects a similar showcasing of professional piety. As beneficiaries of the mortuary offering, the protagonist (the royal scribe Inay) and his parents are preceded by two other couples of beneficiaries who are not explicitly linked to them by a kinship term: the first pair of recipients held the prestigious positions of governor of Thinis (*ḫꜣty-ʿ n Ṯny*) and royal nurse (*mnʿ.t nsw*). Considering this highlighting, the stela's protagonist likely used to interact with the governor in the course of his duties as royal scribe. The other couple, whose family ties with Inay are not specified, assumed functions within the estate of Onuris,[47] the tutelary deity of Thinis, where the protagonist was working.

Stela Bologna, Museo civico archeologico, inv. no. KS 1923 (Table 2.1), provides a good structural parallel for the lower register of the Tetiankh stela. On the left, the protagonist couple, Pennub and Hemetheka, receive offerings from their son Amenemhat, just like Tetiankh from his brother Ahmose. The main offering text (*ḥtp-dỉ-nsw/dỉ nsw ḥtp… dỉ=sn…*) is carved below and in front of this lower scene, on the stela in Bologna as well as on the stela from el-Asasif (but on the latter the inscription is written leftward in horizontal lines, while on the stela of Bologna it is in left-to-right columns, then reverting to right-to-left horizontal lines as a kind of boustrophedon). On both monuments, the officiating person in the main offering text is the protagonist of the stela even though this same man is represented in the recipient's position in the lower left scene – Tetiankh and Pennub being simultaneously referred to as *sꜣ=sn sʿnḫ rn=sn* and depicted as revered deceased in the adjoining scene. This dual active-passive ritual status is perfectly consistent with the scheme that emphasizes hereditary family piety.

The ten or so quadrats in the lacuna of line 7 after "*n kꜣ n*", on the Tetiankh stela, necessarily contained more than a single name. In the light of the reviewed documents, we can assume that at least the name of the dedicator's father was included, perhaps accompanied by that of other members of his immediate family. The general structure of the decoration also implies that the

46 Eichler 2000, pp. 181–183.
47 Head of the cattle of Onuris and Great of the harem (probably of Onuris as well), *mr ỉḫ.w n Ỉn-ḥr.t, wr.t ḫnr*.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

deceased addressees, alluded to by a plural (*sꜣ=sn sˁnḫ rn=sn*), consisted of the extended family of children, parents, maternal grandmothers and two couples of senior dignitaries with distant or figurative genealogical ties. It is even possible that an encompassing expression following the anthroponym mentioned in the lacuna collectively referred to this family extension (as on stela London, British Museum, inv. no. EA 166, commented on above).

8. WHO WAS TETIANKH?

The comparison of the stela with other known monuments shows the high standard of the workshop that produced it, both in terms of carving and elaborating the decorative program. Yet, "scribe" Tetiankh is assigned a very unspecific title in all the preserved scenes.[48] His special relationship with high-level administrative officials may be one reason for access to highly skilled public workshops. But in what particular department did Tetiankh work as a scribe? Beside the minimalist term indicating his profession as a "scribe" in the diverse scenes, his expanded title obviously stood at the end of the offering text, on line 8, where about 10 quadrats are lost. A series of funerary objects on behalf of people named Tetiankh are known,[49] but any connection to the protagonist of our stela is difficult to establish, either for chronological or geographical reasons, or simply because of a lack of prosopographical clues.

One exception, however, deserves full attention. A "scribe Tetiankh" is depicted on stela Firenze, Museo archeologico nazionale, inv. no. 6371, which was purchased in Luxor and thus probably originates from the Theban area. The man stands in prayer before an adoration text to the rising sun. The first editor assigned it a 12th Dynasty date, but later commentators rightly dated it to the 18th Dynasty according to the style.[50] Identification is not facilitated by any parent name. The style and workmanship clearly indicate a different workshop or hand from those who produced the stela from el-Asasif: it is not carved in raised relief, but in sunken relief. The slender aspect of Tetiankh's neck contrasts with the figures on stela Asasif-2018-1068-1, where the base of the round wig reaches the subject's shoulder. In addition, the wig is adorned with curls, which are invisible on the Asasif stela. But on the latter, details could have been painted on the flat and smooth surface of the limestone to render the texture of rows of braids or curls. Despite these differences, the style of the images and the engraving characteristics of the hieroglyphs would be compatible with dating the stela Firenze, Museo archeologico nazionale, inv. no. 6371 under Thutmose III, and the workmanship is very well executed. The distinctive rendering of the engraved buckles of the wig on the stela in Florence is for example

48 This generic title serves here as a marker of status labelling the membership in a literate community, see Ragazzoli 2013, p. 279.

49 Lange, Schäfer 1902-1908, nos. 20556c, 20666a, 20052c (three stelae from Abydos, Middle Kingdom, mentioning male and female Tetiankh); Carnarvon, Carter 1912, pp. 15–16 (women and men born from father Tetiankh, "Early dyn. XVIII"); Newberry 1930, p. 273, no. 47926 (ushabti and model sarcophagus on behalf of Tetiankh, "XVIIth Dynasty"); Smither, Dakin 1939, pp. 164–165, pl. 21; PM VIII, 803-030-602 (Tityankh, woman, Middle Kingdom); Simpson 1984, col. 558 (Old Kingdom chapel of Tetiankh-Imhotep in Sheikh Said necropolis); Dobrev 1996, pp. 108–109 (Old Kingdom, in Saqqara); Jørgensen 1996, pp. 190–191, no. 79 (Tityankh, woman, Middle Kingdom; *non vidi*); Bazin, El-Enany 2010, p. 8 (Middle Kingdom stela from Karnak). See *Persons and names of the Middle Kingdom*, name/113.

50 Schiaparelli 1887, p. 491; Černý 1962, p. 173; Bosticco 1965, p. 42.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

very similar on stela München, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, Gl. 308, which one might be inclined to attribute to the reign of Thutmose III and which in any case certainly dates back to the beginning of Dynasty 18.

There are also striking analogies between the stelae from Florence and el-Asasif. The layout of the titles and epithets identifying Tetiankh in front of Ineni and in front of the prayer to Re is similar: the hieroglyphs are displayed first in a column, then in a short line, both looking to the right like Tetiankh (), so that the reader could horizontally read the abbreviated label (Asasif *smsw=f sš Tti-ʿnḫ mɜʿ-ḫrw*, Florence *sš Tti-ʿnḫ*) or the developed title (Asasif *smsw=f mrr=f n s.t-ỉb=f sš Tti-ʿnḫ mɜʿ-ḫrw*, Florence *sš n ʿ.t wnw.t n pr-ʿɜ, wnwty ḫr tp-ḫw.t ʿḥ*) (see § 4, note g). This similar mind structure of the two scribes who authored the ink versions of the carved texts may be a coincidence. The comparable way of writing the two  of the name Tetiankh by slightly shifting the one above backwards from the one below is also likely to be coincidental. But remains of signs still visible at the beginning of the lacuna on line 8 show more interesting resemblances with the title written on the Florence stela. A sign , the two extremities of an arm  and at least two branches of a probable star  are readable despite the damage on the stone. These signs and their position in the quadrats could fit with the beginning of the extended title of the scribe owning the stela of Florence, *(sš) n ʿ.t wnw.t […]* (see § 4 note l).

In such a case, our Tetiankh would have been a specialised scribe appointed to the observation of stars and measurement of time, an "hour-watcher", "astronomer", or "star-gazer" according to the interpretation of Alan Gardiner, Jaroslav Černý (1962) and Sergio Bosticco (1965).[51] The epithets "excellent scribe, truly accurate" (*sš ỉqr mty mɜʿ*, l. 7) are suitable for a highly reliable astronomer, like meticulous Tetiankh enthusing about the perfect punctuality of the sun at its rising time: "Hail to you, Ra, when you arise being skilled, right and punctual[52]" (*ỉnḏ ḫr=k Rʿ m wbn=k spd.tỉ mɜʿ.tỉ tr.tỉ*).

This office of hour-watcher, usually related to a god, is here attached to the administration of the Royal Palace (*… n pr-ʿɜ… ḫr tp-ḫw.t ʿḥ*). Belonging to a high-level department of the king's house could have involved regular interaction with high-grade dignitaries such as Ineni and may explain admission to the services of highly qualified workshops. The difference in workmanship style could have resulted from the fact that the two funeral monuments would have been commissioned at different points in Tetiankh's lifetime, which was perhaps a long one since he survived all his children.

To sum up, a connection between the scribes Tetiankh in both stelae, while intellectually satisfying, is by no means conclusively demonstrable in the current state of documentation. But clues suggest the possibility is reasonable and it is hoped that future evidence will emerge to settle the issue definitively.

51 See previous note and *AEO* I, 62*.

52 For *tr.tỉ* "being punctual", I adopt Bosticco's translation (1965, p. 42).

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

9. COMPREHENSIVE FULFILMENT OF THE MORTUARY DUTIES ACCORDING TO THE FEAST CALENDAR

Echoing the constant highlighting of family piety manifested in the monuments commented on above and the offering program developed on the three registers of the Asasif stela, the main offering text minutely lists the festivals during which Tetiankh performs the invocatory offering on Amun's altar. The timely and exhaustive performance of the ritual is emphasized enumeratively. The content of this ceremonial sequence is in line with the typical lists of the 18th Dynasty, which are already attested in Ahmose's famous text honouring his grandmother Tetisheri and which were particularly well documented during the reigns of Hatshepsut and/or Thutmose III, with about a dozen occurrences, half of which come from the Theban region.[53] The eleven-item enumeration of Tetiankh belongs to the longer lists of the period, when the most extensive catalogues reach the number of 12,[54] 14,[55] or even 15[56] feast names. Alongside the funerary generalists Osiris and Anubis, the main divine addressee of the offering prayer is Amun ("Amun Lord of the thrones of the two lands", l. 1, "the Lord of the gods, Amun the primeval god of the two lands", l. 4–5) by virtue of his local prominence in the mortuary rites in the Theban necropolis and especially in Deir el-Bahari. Tellingly, the encompassing formulation that summarizes the extensive feast list, "all the festivals of Amun" (*ḥb.w nb.w nw Ỉmn*, line 7), refers to the local tutelary deity, in el-Asasif[57] as well as in el-Khokha East,[58] Sheikh Abd el-Gurna,[59] and more generally Thebes,[60] while the wording shifts to Osiris (*ḥb.w nb.w nw Wsỉr*) when the prayer is issued in the context of his proper sacred territory (such as Abydos or other Osirian sites), although the text quotes the exact same festival names.[61]

The list on the stela of Tetiankh has ten festival names in common with a coherent set of documents ranging from Hatshepsut to the reign of Amenhotep IV.[62] Our stela therefore seems to be linked in some way to this group, but only partly because it clearly differs in three respects. First, it is shorter by three or four elements. Second, the order of the items has been inverted at some point of the sequence (reference group "*m psḏntyw, (1 item), sn.t, (3 or 4 items), ḥb w3g, Ḏḥwty.t, rkḥ ʿ3, rkḥ nḏs, msy.t tp.t, msw.t Wsỉr, ḫ.t ḫ3wy, šsp.t ỉtrw*"; Tetiankh "*m psḏntyw, sn.t, dnỉ.t, ḥb w3g, Ḏḥwty.t, msy.t tp.t, msw.t Wsỉr, rkḥ ʿ3, rkḥ nḏs, ḫ.t ḫ3wy, šsp.t ỉtrw*", inverted nouns are underlined). Third, stela Asasif-2018-1068-1 involves a feast name,

53 Spalinger 1999, pp. 58–63, where a date around the reign of Thutmose III could be assigned to no. 16 (Avignon, Musée Calvet, inv. no. A1).

54 Avignon, Musée Calvet, inv. no. A1; Urk. IV, 1518A and D 5-13.

55 Urk. IV, 112.7–11; 469.16–470.2; 482.17–483.4; Säve-Söderbergh 1963, p. 169, fig. 5.

56 Epigraphic Survey 1980, pl. 83.

57 Stela of Tetiankh; Epigraphic Survey 1980, pl. 83.

58 Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pl. 60.

59 Urk. IV, 1518A.5-13.

60 Urk. IV, 1034.9.

61 Compare Urk. IV, 1518A.13 (Thebes, but divine name in lacuna) with Avignon, Musée Calvet, inv. no. A1 (Abydos) and Urk. IV, 1518D (Akhmim).

62 Urk. IV, 469.16–470.2 (Hatshepsut); 482.17–483.4 (Hatshepsut); Säve-Söderbergh 1963, p. 169, fig. 5 (mid-Dynasty 18; high backrest of the chair, female hairstyle and type of women's dresses converge to suggest a date later than Thutmose III); Säve-Söderbergh 1957, pl. 60 (Amenhotep III, cf. Kampp 1996, p. 248); Epigraphic Survey 1980, p. 17–18; pl. 83B (Amenhotep IV).

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

"*dnỉ.t*", that Anthony Spalinger characterised as "extremely rare".[63] From the origins to the New Kingdom, this feast is included in only two other lists, both inscribed in ritual scenes showing Thutmose III offering to Amun (Karnak) or Amun and Khnum (Elephantine).[64]

A very late occurrence provides a quite puzzling parallel. Petamenope's tomb (TT 33) contains the only list that exactly reproduces the sequence written in line 5 of our stela, including the rare *dnỉ.t* (*m ḫ.t ḫɜwy, m psḏntyw, m sn.t, dnỉ.t, m ḥb wɜg, Ḏḥwty.t*; the group *m ḫ.t ḫɜwy* is placed before the series, as in the offering of Thutmose III in Elephantine[65]). A. Spalinger had already identified the 18th Dynasty catalogues as the inspiration for this detail in the tomb of the erudite priest.[66] The new document, which was discovered only a few dozen meters away, now allows us to confirm this link with even greater accuracy. As the stela of Tetiankh was no longer visible when the mausoleum was built, Petamenope could not have copied the list from there. But he probably collated it on a monument genetically related to Tetiankh's text (perhaps through a common archetype) and still open to visitors at the time of Petamenope. This monument, which perhaps did not lie very far away, could have been destroyed in the meantime or might remain to be uncovered.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF QUOTED STELAE, CITED ACCORDING TO THEIR INVENTORY NUMBER

Avignon, Musée Calvet, inv. no. A1 (ca. Thutmose III?), Moret 1910, pp. 137–160 (part. 154-159 and pl. IV); Favard-Meeks 1985, p. 34, § 43, fig. 12; Aufrère 1992, pp. 168–169, 210; PM VIII, 803-047-250 ("mid-Dyn. XVIII").

Avignon, Musée Calvet, inv. no. A4 (Ramses II), Ruffle, Kitchen 1979, pp. 57–58, 66–67 (pl. 5).

Birmingham, City Museum and Art Gallery, inv. no. 134'72 (Ramses II), Ruffle, Kitchen 1979, pp. 55–56, 60–61; pl. I; K*RI* III, 193-194; mentioned in Staring 2015, p. 74.

Bologna, Museo civico archeologico, inv. no. KS 1923, no. catalogue 20 (mid-Dynasty 18), Bresciani 1985, pp. 58–59; pl. 24; PM VIII, 803-055-039H ("mid-Dyn. XVIII").

Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CGC 34080 (mid-Dynasty 18, ca. Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III), Lacau 1926, pp. 127–129; Vandersleyen 1983, p. 321; Vandersleyen 2005, pp. 40 (doc. 5), 63.

Firenze, Museo archeologico nazionale, inv. no. 6371 (antique market in Luxor, ca. Thutmose III), Schiaparelli 1887, pp. 491–492; *AEO* I, 62*; Černý 1962, p. 173; Bosticco 1965, pp. 42–43 (no. 35); see also *Griffith Institute Archive*, petrie-3-1-30.

63 Spalinger 1999, p. 79.

64 Pécoil, Baud, Beaux 2000, pl. 49, cf. *SITH: Projet Karnak*, scene KIU 2365; Wells 1985, pp. 282–283.

65 Dümichen 1884–1894, pl. 2, 17.

66 Spalinger 1999, pp. 79–80. One of the two quoted occurrences must be deleted. When the author writes "The final mention of festivities is the second case where a New Kingdom (Dynasty 18) influence can be observed" (note 37), he is actually referring for a second time to an occurrence he cited earlier (note 35). The confusion arose from the fact that Johannes Dümichen (1884-1894) grouped on his Tafel II several feast lists copied on different parts of the tomb, for the sake of comparison. Accordingly, the list "c" shown in plate 2 and that of plate 17 are one and the same. Inversely, the occurrence of "*dnỉ.t*" in the offering scene in Karnak (see above) may be added to the corpus gathered by A. Spalinger.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

Hildesheim, Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, inv. no. 1261 (beginning of Dyn. 18), Gutgesell 1987, pp. 352–354, no. 304; PM VIII, 803-049-000.

London, British Museum, inv. no. EA 166 (Ramses II), James 1970, pp. 26–27, pl. XXIIa-XXII; PM VIII, 803-045-445 ("Ramesses II (probably year 37)").

London, British Museum, inv. no. EA 365 (Amenhotep III), Hall 1925, p. 13; pl. XLVI. *Collection online*, EA 365.

London, Petrie Museum, inv. no. UC 14362 (Dynasty 19), Stewart 1976, pp. 31–32; pl. 22.2.

München, Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, Gl. 308 (beginning of Dyn. 18, ca. Thutmose III?), Grimm, Schoske 1999, p. 112; Spiegelberg 1930, pp. 51–53, pl. IVa.

New Haven, Yale Peabody Museum 98852 (Deir el-Bahari, beginning of Dyn. 18, ca. Thutmose III?), Scott 1986, pp. 94–95.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 25.184.2 (ca. Thutmose III? The moon sign 𓇼 appears in this form since the reign of Hatshepsut, see Vandersleyen 1983, p. 320, note 42), Grimm, Schoske 1999, pp. 39; 113 (Kat. 63); *MMA web site*, 25.184.2; see Hayes 1959, p. 170.

Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. C 52 – N 206 (mid-Dyn. 18), see *Atlas. Base des œuvres exposées*, C 52; PM VIII, 803-055-832.

Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. C 53 – N 207 (Thutmose IV), see *Atlas. Base des œuvres exposées*, C 53; Pierret 1878, pp. 14–15; Bryan 1991, pp. 262, 264, 275, 286–287, pl. XVIII; fig. 49a and b; Spieser 2000, pp. 65, 235, 329, no. 157; PM V, p. 99.

Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. C 63 =N 217 (mid-Dyn. 18, ca. Amenhotep II?), see *Atlas. Base des œuvres exposées*, C 63; Pierret 1878, p. 2; Andreu 2009, pp. 44–45, no. 25; PM VIII, 803-050-286 ("mid-Dyn. XVIII").

Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. C 82 = N 233 (mid-Dyn. 18, ca. Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III?), *Atlas. Base des œuvres exposées*, C 82; Pierret 1878, p. 19; PM VIII, 803-50-303 ("probably late Dyn. XVIII").

Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. C 244 (beginning of Dyn. 18, ca. Thutmose III?), see *Atlas. Base des œuvres exposées*, C 244; PM VIII, 803-050-345 (I thank the anonymous reviewer for pointing out to me the parallel of this currently unexhibited monument).

Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. C 279 = E 11649 (ca. Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III?), Ziegler, pp. 125–132 (as reign of Thutmose IV); PM VIII, 803-050-358 ("mid-Dyn. XVIII").

Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. C 286 = E 13482 bis (beginning/mid-Dyn. 18), Moret 1930, pp. 725–750, pl. 1–3; PM VIII, 803-050-360 ("probably temp. Tuthmose III").

Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. E 3143 (Ramses II), Ruffle, Kitchen 1979, pp. 57, 64, pl. 4.

Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. E 20357 (formerly Musée Guimet, inv. no. 2858, catalogue C18) (beginning of Dyn. 18), Moret 1909, pp. 39–41; Andreu 2009, pp. 140–142, no. 151; PM VIII, 803-050-391 ("mid-Dyn. XVIII").

Torino, Museo Egizio, inv. no. 1465 (Ramesses II), Ruffle, Kitchen 1979, pp. 56–57, 63, pl. 3.

Torino, Museo Egizio, inv. no. 50012 (= cat. 1636) (Deir el-Medina, Ramses II), Tosi, Roccati 1972, pp. 47–49; fig. 266.

Tübingen, Ägyptische Sammlung der Universität, inv. no. 466 (beginning of Dyn. 18), Brunner-Traut, Brunner 1981, p. 95; pl. 10.

Tübingen, Ägyptische Sammlung der Universität, inv. no. 472 (ca. Amenhotep III), Brunner-Traut, Brunner 1981, pp. 97–98; pl. 67; PM VIII, 803-056-006 ("probably temp. Amenophis III").

Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung, inv. no. ÄS 141 (mid-Dyn. 18, ca. Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III?), Hüttner, Satzinger 1999, 16.55-60. PM VIII, 803-050-780 ("temp. Tuthmosis IV to Amenophis III").

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ANDREU 2009

Andreu, G. (dir.), *L'enfant dans les collections du musée du Louvre*, Tokyo, 2009.

Atlas. Base des œuvres exposées, C 52; C 53; C 63; C 82; C 244.

Atlas. Base des œuvres exposées, C 52; C 53; C 63; C 82; C 244, online database, <http://cartelfr.louvre.fr>, accessed 30 August 2019, 14 September 2019 and 22 February 2020.

AUFRÈRE 1992

Aufrère, S., "Stèle du gouverneur du grand fleuve, Nebamon, fils du juge Pa-ahâ, et né de la dame Hénout-Tehemy", in S. Aufrère, N. Bosson, C. Landes (eds), *Catalogue de l'exposition Portes pour l'au-delà. L'Égypte, le Nil et le "Champ des offrandes"*, Lattes, 1992, pp. 168–169; 210.

AUENMÜLLER 2013

Auenmüller, J.S.G., *Die Territorialität der Ägyptischen Elite(n) des Neuen Reiches*, PhD Thesis, Freie Universität Berlin, 2013.

BARWIK 2009

Barwik, M., "Building Ostracon from Deir el-Bahari", *ZÄS* 136, 2009, pp. 107–113.

BAZIN, EL-ENANY 2010

Bazin, L., El-Enany, K., "La stèle d'un « chancelier du roi et prophète d'Amon » de la fin du Moyen Empire à Karnak (Caire JE 37507)", *Karnak* 13, 2010, p. 1-23.

BIERBRIER 1980

Bierbrier, M.L., "Terms of Relationship at Deir el-Medîna", *JEA* 66, 1980, pp. 100–107.

BÖHME 2019

Böhme, I., "Botschafter der kosmischen Ordnung: Thot, Geb, Horus und G148/G144 und Tb 161 auf den privaten Sarkophagen des Neuen Reiches", in M. Brose, P. Dils, F. Naether, L. Popko, D. Raue (eds), *En détail – Philologie und Archäologie im Diskurs: Festschrift für Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert*, 1, ZÄS-B 7, Berlin, Boston, 2019, pp. 103–131.

BOSTICCO 1965

Bosticco, S., *Museo Archeologico di Firenze. Le stele egiziane del Nuovo Regno*, Roma, 1965.

BRESCIANI 1985

Bresciani, E., *Le stele egiziane del Museo civico archeologico di Bologna*, Bologna, 1985.

BRUNNER-TRAUT, BRUNNER 1981

Brunner-Traut, E., Brunner, H., *Die Ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen*, Mainz-am-Rhein, 1981.

BRYAN 1986

Bryan, B., "The Career and Family of Minmose, High Priest of Onuris", *CdE* 61, 1986, pp. 5–30.

BRYAN 1989-1990

Bryan, B., "An Early Eighteenth Dynasty Group Statue from the Asasif in the Johns Hopkins University Archaeological Collection", *BES* 10, 1989–1990, pp. 25–38.

BRYAN 1991

Bryan, B., *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, Baltimore, London, 1991.

CAMINOS, JAMES 1963

Caminos, R.A., James, T.G.H., *Gebel es-Silsilah*, vol. I: *The Shrines*, ASEg 31, London, 1963.

CARNARVON, CARTER 1912

Carnarvon, G.E., Carter, H., et al., *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes. A Record of Work Done 1907-1911*, London, 1912.

Černý 1962

Černý, J., "A possible Egyptian Word for 'Astronomer'", *JEA* 49, 1962, p. 173.

CHERPION 1987

Cherpion, N., "Quelques jalons pour une histoire de la peinture thébaine", *BSFE* 110, 1987, pp. 27–47.

COLIN 2019a

Colin, F., "Archéologie urbaine dans une nécropole monumentale : Assassif 2017-2018 (Ifao/Université de Strasbourg)", *BSFE* 201, 2019, pp. 121–147.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

COLIN 2019b
Colin, F., "Assassif", in L. Coulon, M. Cressent (eds), *Archéologie française en Égypte. Recherche, coopération, innovation,* BiGen 59, Cairo, 2019, pp. 222–227.
COLIN et al. 2019
Colin, F., Gavazzi, B., Hartenstein, C., Marchand, S., Quiles, A., "Le temple funéraire de Padiamenopé dans l'environnement de l'Assassif", in *Rapport d'activité 2018*, BIFAO-Suppl. 118, Cairo, 2019, pp. 238–244.
Collection online, EA 365
Collection online, EA 365, online database, <https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx>, accessed 15 June 2020.
DAVIES 2010
Davies, V., "Renseneb and Sobeknakht of Elkab: The Genealogical Data", in M. Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth–Seventeenth Dynasties). Current Research, Future Prospects*, OLA 192, Leuven, 2010, pp. 223–240.
DOBREV 1996
Dobrev, V., "Les marques sur pierres de construction de la nécropole de Pépi I[er]. Étude prosopographique", *BIFAO* 96, 1996, pp. 103–132.
DÜMICHEN 1884-1894
Dümichen, J., *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap in der thebanischen Nekropolis*, Leipzig, 1884-1894.
DZIOBEK 1992
Dziobek, E., *Das Grab des Ineni Theben Nr. 18*, AV 68, Mainz-am-Rhein, 1992.
EICHLER 2000
Eichler, S.S., *Die Verwaltung des „Hauses des Amun" in der 18. Dynastie*, BSAK 7, Hamburg, 2000.
EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY 1980
Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef. Theban Tomb 192*, OIP 102, Chicago, 1980.
FAVARD-MEEKS 1985
Favard-Meeks, C., "Stèle funéraire de Nebamon", in M.-P. Foissy-Aufrère, S. Aufrère, C. Loury (eds), Égypte & Provence. *Civilisation, survivances et "cabinetz de curiositez"*, Avignon, 1985, pp. 32–35.
GABLER, SOLIMAN 2018
Gabler, K., Soliman, D., "P. Turin Provv. 3581: An Eighteenth Dynasty Letter from the Valley of the Queens in Context", *Riv. del Museo Egizio* 2, 2018, p. 1–26 <https://doi.org/10.29353/rime.2018.1671> accessed 15 June 2020.
GALÁN, BORREGO 2006
Galán, J.M., Borrego, F.L., "Funerary Cones from Dra Abu el-Naga", *Memnonia* 17, 2006, pp. 195–208.
Griffith Institute Archive, petrie-3-1-30
Griffith Institute Archive, <http://archive.griffith.ox.ac.uk/index.php/petrie-3-1-30>, accessed 15 June 2020.
GRIMM, SCHOSKE 1999
Grimm, A., Schoske, S., *Im Zeichen des Mondes. Ägypten zu Beginn des Neuen Reiches*, SÄS 7, München, 1999.
GUTGESELL 1987
Gutgesell, M., "Stele des Kawi", in A. Eggebrecht (ed.), *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht*, Mainz-am-Rhein, 1987, pp. 352–354, no. 304.
HABACHI 1980
Habachi, L., "The Owner of the Tomb", in Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef. Theban Tomb 192*, OIP 102, Chicago, 1980, pp. 17–26.
HALL 1925
Hall, H.R., *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum*, VII, London, 1925.
HAYES 1959
Hayes, W.C., *The Scepter of Egypt. A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, II: *The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom (1675-1080 B.C.)*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1959.
HAYES 1960
Hayes, W.C., "A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Dēr El-Baḥri", *JEA* 46, 1960, pp. 29–52.
HÜTTNER, SATZINGER 1999
Hüttner, M., Satzinger, H., *Stelen, Inschriftsteine und Reliefs aus der Zeit der 18. Dynastie*, CAA 16, Mainz-am-Rhein, 1999.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

James 1970
James, T.G.H., *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum*, London, 1970.
Jørgensen 1996
Jørgensen, M., *Catalogue Egypt I (3000-1550 B. C.). Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, 1996, pp. 190–191.
Kampp 1996
Kampp, F., *Die Thebanische Nekropole: Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*, Mainz-am-Rhein, 1996.
Lacau 1926
Lacau, P., *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, I, 2, CGC 34065-34186, Cairo, 1926.
Lange, Schäfer 1902-1908
Lange, H.O., Schäfer, H., *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo*, I, II, IV, CGC 20001-20780, Berlin, 1902-1908.
Lipińska 1967
Lipińska, J., "Names and History of the Sanctuaries Built by Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Baḥri", *JEA* 53, 1967, pp. 25–33.
Loprieno-Gnirs 2018
Loprieno-Gnirs, A., "Creuser une tombe dans la colline thébaine : Le projet archéologique *Life Histories of Theban Tombs* de l'université de Bâle", *BSFE* 199, 2018, pp. 100–126.
MMA web site, 25.184.2
MMA web site, 25.184.2, online database, <https://www.metmuseum.org/search-results#!/search?q=25.184.2> accessed 15 June 2020.
Moret 1909
Moret, A., *Catalogue du Musée Guimet. Galerie égyptienne. Stèles, bas-reliefs, monuments divers*, *AMG* 32, 1909.
Moret 1910
Moret, A., "Monuments égyptiens du Musée Calvet à Avignon", *RecTrav* 32, 1910, pp. 137–160.
Moret 1930
Moret, A., "La légende d'Osiris à l'époque thébaine d'après l'hymne à Osiris du Louvre", *BIFAO* 30, 1930, pp. 725–750.
Müller 1966
Müller, H.W., *Die Ägyptische Sammlung des Bayerischen Staates*, München, 1966.
Newberry 1930
Newberry, P.E., *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi*, I, CGC 46530-48575, Cairo, 1930.
Nyord 2013
Nyord, R., "Vision and Conceptualization in Ancient Egyptian Art", in R. Caballero, J.E. Díaz-Vera (eds), *Sensuous Cognition. Explorations into Human Sentience: Imagination, (E)motion and Perception*, Applications of Cognitive Linguistics 22, Berlin, 2013, pp. 135–168.
Pécoil, Baud, Beaux 2000
Pécoil, J.F., Baud, R., Beaux, N., *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak. La Heret-ib et les chapelles attenantes. Relevés épigraphiques*, Paris, 2000.
Persons and names of the Middle Kingdom, name/113
Persons and names of the Middle Kingdom, name/113, online database, <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/i/name/113>, accessed 15 June 2020.
Pierret 1878
Pierret, P., *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée égyptien du Louvre,* II, Paris, 1878.
Polz 2007
Polz, D., *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches. Zur Vorgeschichte einer Zeitenwende*, SDAIK 31, Berlin, 2007.
Ragazzoli 2013
Ragazzoli, C., "The Social Creation of a Scribal Place: The Visitors' Inscriptions in the Tomb Attributed to Antefiqer (TT 60) (with Newly Recorded Graffiti)", *SAK* 42, 2013, pp. 269–323.
Ragazzoli 2017
Ragazzoli, C., "L'hommage au patron en Égypte ancienne. Sur la présentation de soi du scribe comptable du grain Amenemhat (TT 82) et d'autres administrateurs intermédiaires à la XVIII^{e} dynastie", in N. Favry, C. Ragazzoli, C. Somaglino, P. Tallet (eds), *Du Sinaï au Soudan : itinéraires d'une égyptologue. Mélanges offerts au Professeur Dominique Valbelle*, Orient & Méditerranée 23, Paris, 2017, pp. 195-217.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

RICKAL 2005
Rickal, E., "Les épithètes dans les autobiographies de particuliers du Nouvel Empire égyptien", PhD Thesis, Paris IV-Sorbonne, 2005 (*non vidi*).
ROBINS 1999
Robins, G., "Hair and the Construction of Identity in Ancient Egypt, c. 1480-1350 B.C.", *JARCE* 36, 1999, pp. 58–60.
RUFFLE, KITCHEN 1979
Ruffle, J., Kitchen, K.A., "The Family of Urhiya and Yupa, High Stewards of the Ramesseum", in J. Ruffle, G.A. Gaballa, K.A. Kitchen (eds), *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt. Studies in Honour of H.W. Fairman*, Warminster, 1979, pp. 55–74.
SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH 1957
Säve-Söderbergh, T., *Private Tombs at Thebes*, vol. I: *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, Oxford, 1957.
SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH 1963
Säve-Söderbergh, T., "The Tomb of the Prince of Teh-khet, Amenemhet", *Kush* 11, 1963, pp. 159–174.
SCHIAPARELLI 1887
Schiaparelli, E., *Museo archeologico di Firenze. Antichità Egizie*, I, Roma, 1887.
SCOTT 1986
Scott, G.D., *Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale*, Yale, 1986.
SHIRLEY 2014
Shirley, J.J., "The Power of the Elite: The Officials of Hatshepsut's Regency and Coregency", in J.M. Galán, B.M. Bryan, P.F. Dorman (eds), *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut*, SAOC 69, Chicago, 2014, pp. 173–245.
SIMPSON 1984
Simpson, W.K., *LÄ* V, 1984, cols. 557–559, s.v. "Scheich Said".
SITH: Projet Karnak, scene KIU 2365
Biston-Moulin, S., in *SITH: Projet Karnak*, scene KIU 2365, <http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak/2365>, accessed 15 June 2020.
SMITHER, DAKIN 1939
Smither, P.C., Dakin, A.N., "Stelae in the Queen's College, Oxford ", *JEA* 25, 1939, pp. 157–165.
SPALINGER 1999
Spalinger, A.J., *The Private Feast Lists of Ancient Egypt*, ÄA 57, Wiesbaden, 1999.
SPIEGELBERG 1930
Spiegelberg, W., "Eine Stele aus dem Anfang des Neuen Reiches", *ZÄS* 65, 1930, pp. 51–53.
SPIESER 2000
Spieser, C., *Les noms du Pharaon comme êtres autonomes au Nouvel Empire*, OBO 174, Freiburg, 2000.
STARING 2015
Staring, N., "The Personnel of the Theban Ramesseum in the Memphite Necropolis", *JEOL* 45, 2015, pp. 51–92.
STEWART 1976
Stewart, H.M., *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*, vol. I: *The New Kingdom*, Warminster, 1976.
TASSIE 2009
Tassie, G.J., "Hairstyles represented on the Salakhana Stelae", in T. DuQuesne (ed.), *The Salakhana Trove: Votive Stelae and Other Objects form Asyut*, OCE 7, London, 2009, pp. 459–536.
The World of Funerary Cones, 448
The World of Funerary Cones, 448, online database, <https://sites.google.com/view/funerarycones/catalogue/448>, accessed 15 June 2020.
TOSI, ROCCATI 1972
Tosi, M., Roccati, A., *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina n. 50001-n. 50262*, Torino, 1972.
VANDERSLEYEN 1983
Vandersleyen, C., "L'identité d'Ahmès Sapair", *SAK* 10, 1983, pp. 311–324.
VANDERSLEYEN 2005
Vandersleyen, C., *Iahmès Sapaïr fils de Séqénenré Djéhouty-Aa (17e dynastie) et la statue du Musée du Louvre E 15682*, Connaissance de l'Égypte ancienne 8, Bruxelles, 2005.
VANDIER 1964
Vandier, J., *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne IV. Bas-reliefs et peintures, scènes de la vie quotidienne*, Paris, 1964.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

Wells 1985
Wells, R.A., "Sothis and the Satet Temple on Elephantine: A Direct Connection", *SAK* 12, 1985, pp. 255–302.
Willems 2001
Willems, H., "The Social and Ritual Context of a Mortuary Liturgy of the Middle Kingdom (CT Spells 30-41)", in H. Willems (ed.), *Social Aspects of Funerary Culture in the Egyptian Old and Middle Kingdoms. Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Leiden University 6-7 June, 1996*, OLA 103, Leuven, 2001, pp. 253–372.
Ziegler 1981
Ziegler, C., "Une famille de « grands des djebels de l'or » d'Amon", *RdE* 33, 1981, pp. 125–132.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net



F. Colin, 2018

Fig. 1: Stela AS-2018-1068-01 inserted in a coarse wall made of unbound mudbricks and small blocks.



F. Colin, 2018

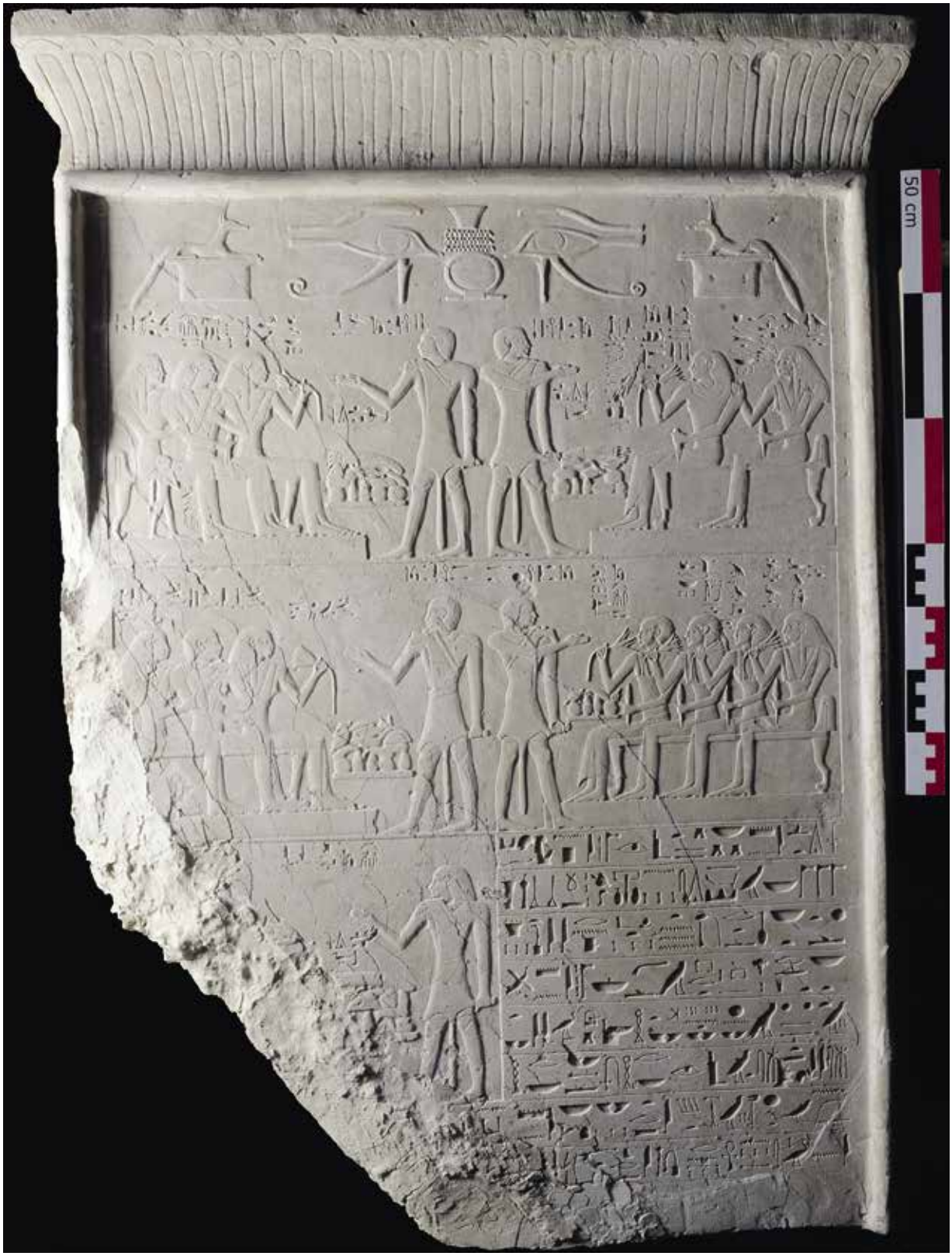
Fig. 2: The stela *in situ*. A. Position of the stela found in a dog terrier. B. New Kingdom earthwork. C. New Kingdom retaining wall. D. Filling of foundation trench of the pylon. E. Rubble layer from the pylon.



F. Colin, 2018

Fig. 3: Overall context of finding, looking north. A. Position of the stela. B. New Kingdom earthwork. C. New Kingdom retaining walls. D. New Kingdom floor level. E. North part of the pylon of Padiamenope. F. Filling of foundation trench of the pylon. G. Late Period debris (ca. 26th Dynasty). H. Rubble layer from the pylon.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net



F. Colin, 2018

Fig. 4: The stela after cleaning and consolidation.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

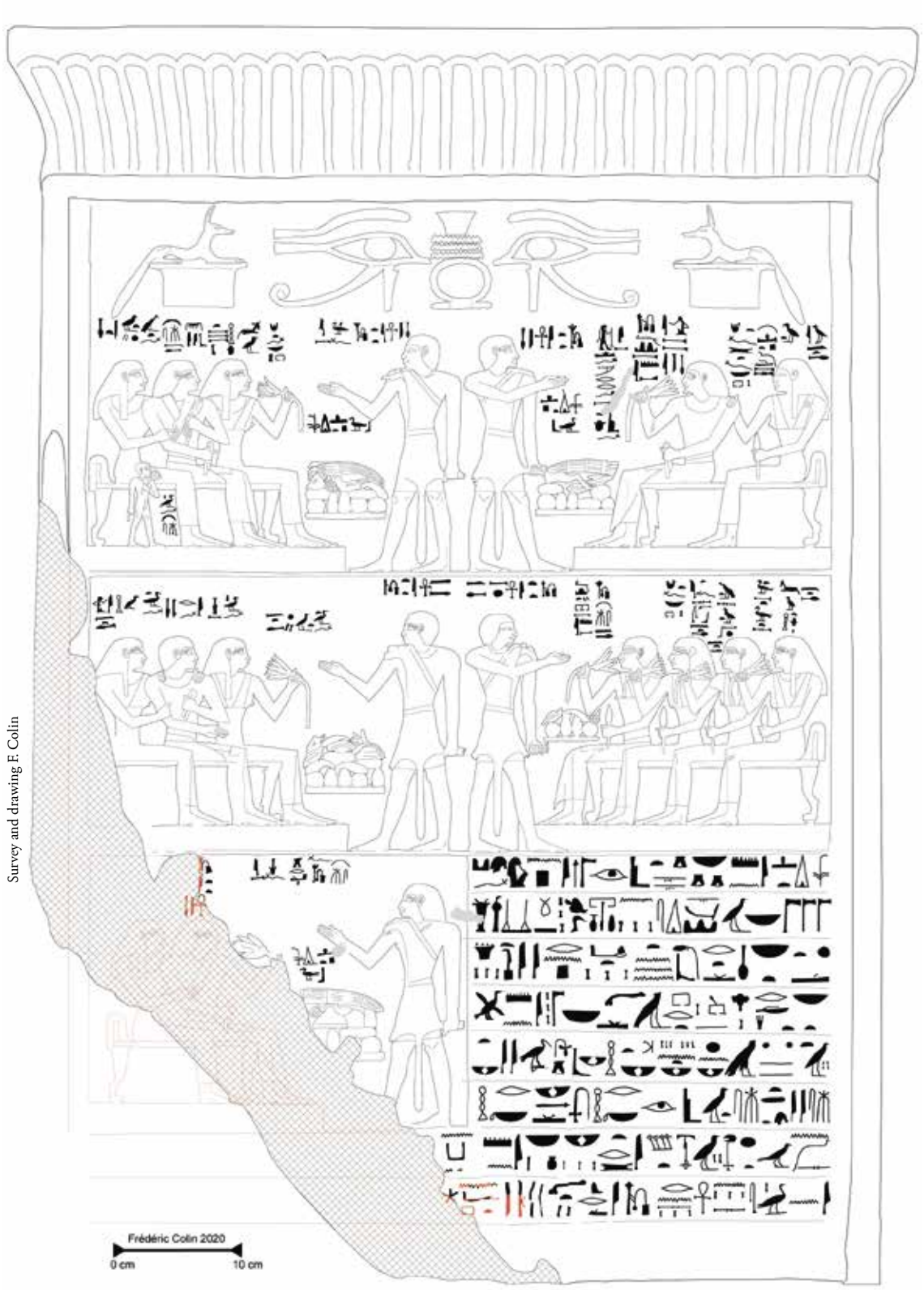


Fig. 5: Facsimile of the stela based on orthophotography.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net



F. Colin, 2018

Fig. 6: Detail of the stela *in situ* showing hydromorphic deterioration (surface concretions and cracks) following the natural slope of the ground.



F. Colin, 2018

Fig. 7: Detail of stone surface at the time of discovery.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

BIFAO 120 (2020), p. 129-170 Frédéric Colin
The Mortuary Stela of Tetiankh : Family Piety and Social Network
© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net

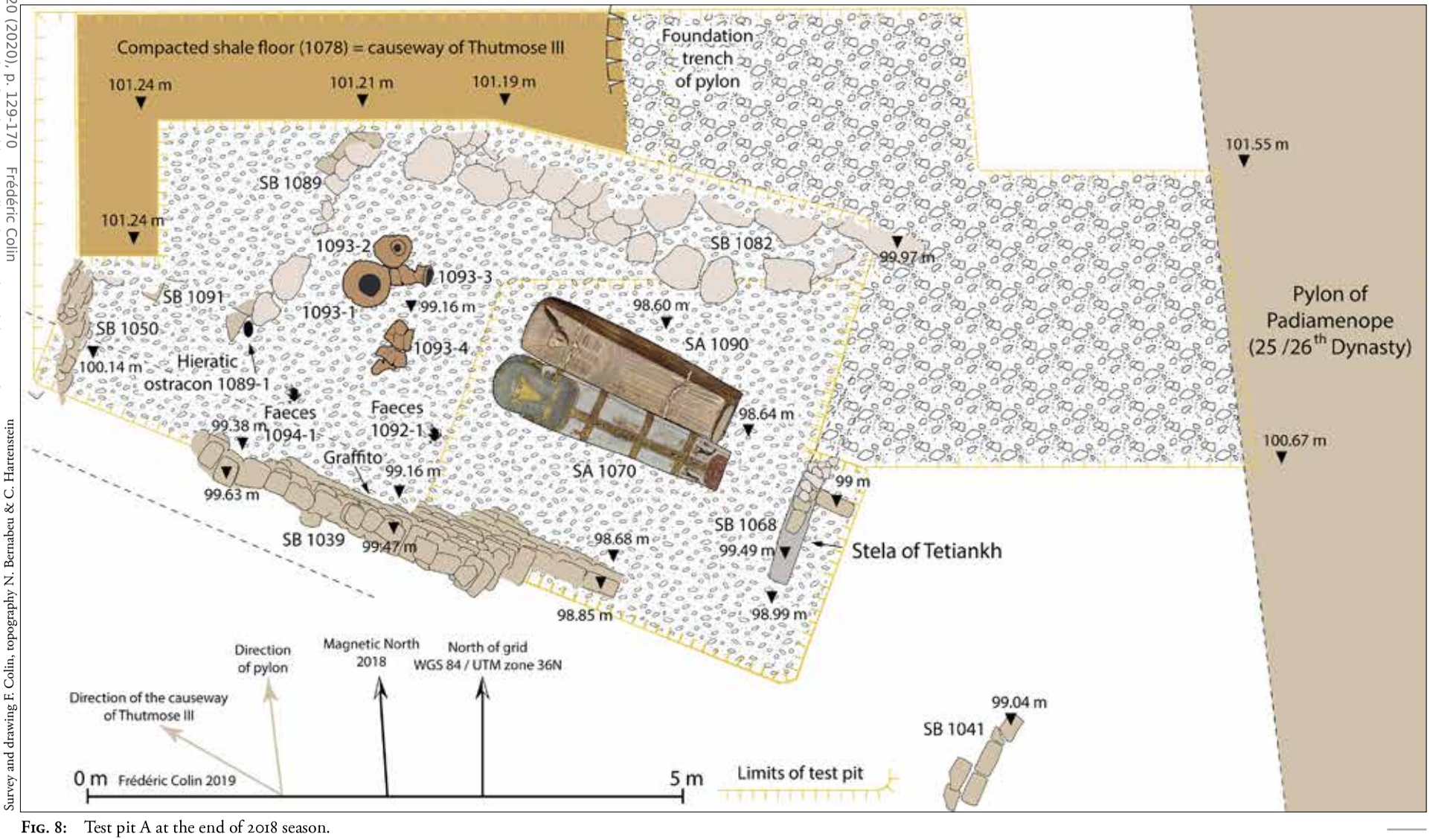
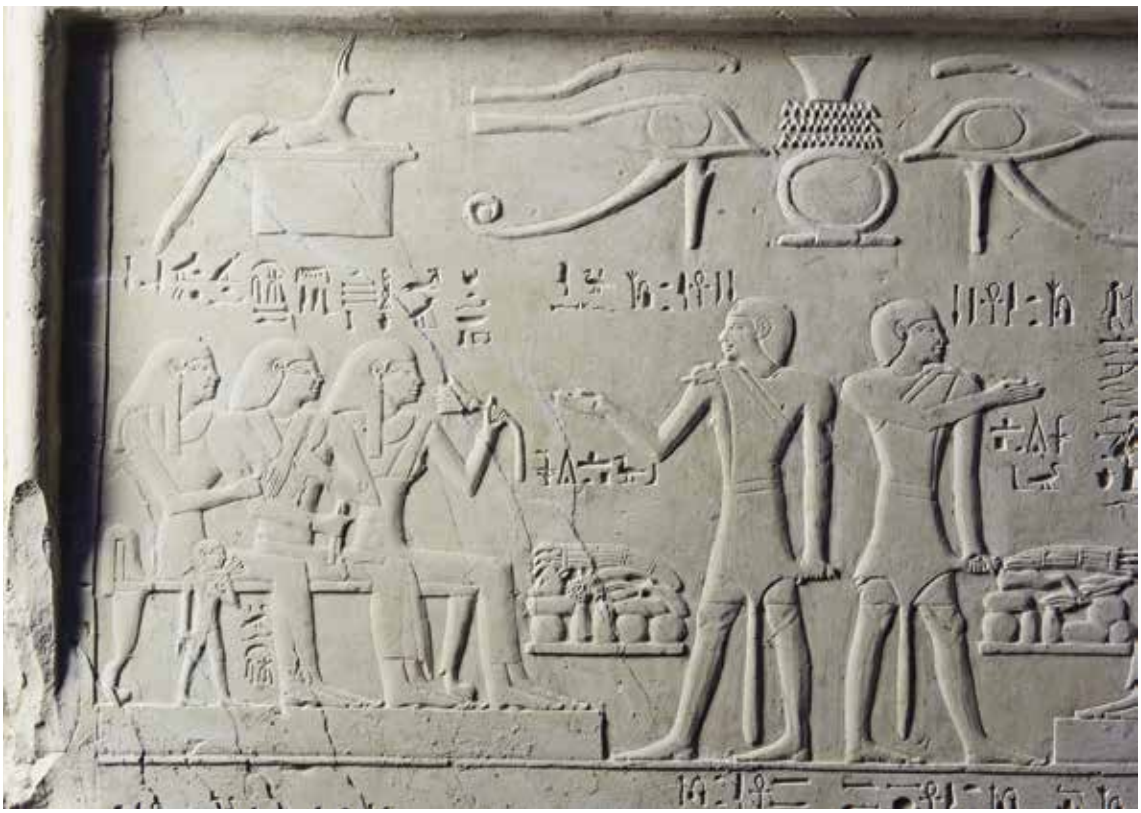
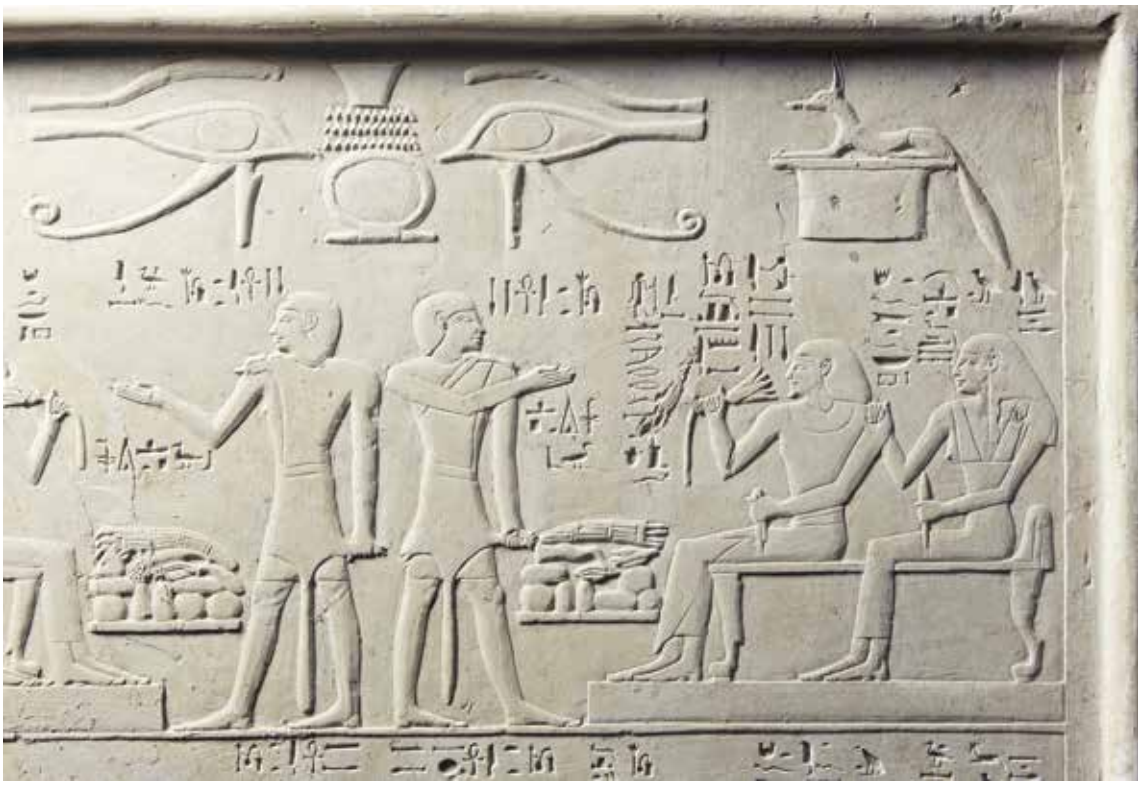


Fig. 8: Test pit A at the end of 2018 season.



F. Colin, 2018

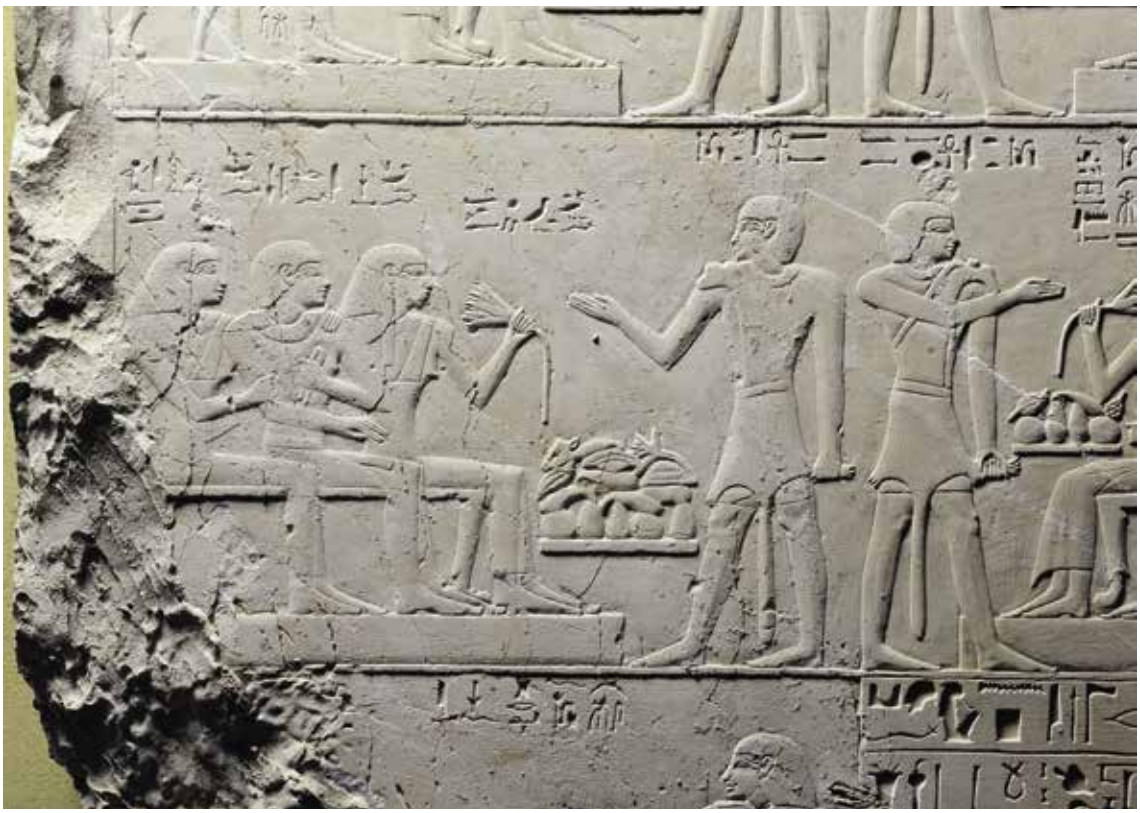
Fig. 9: Upper register, left.



F. Colin, 2018

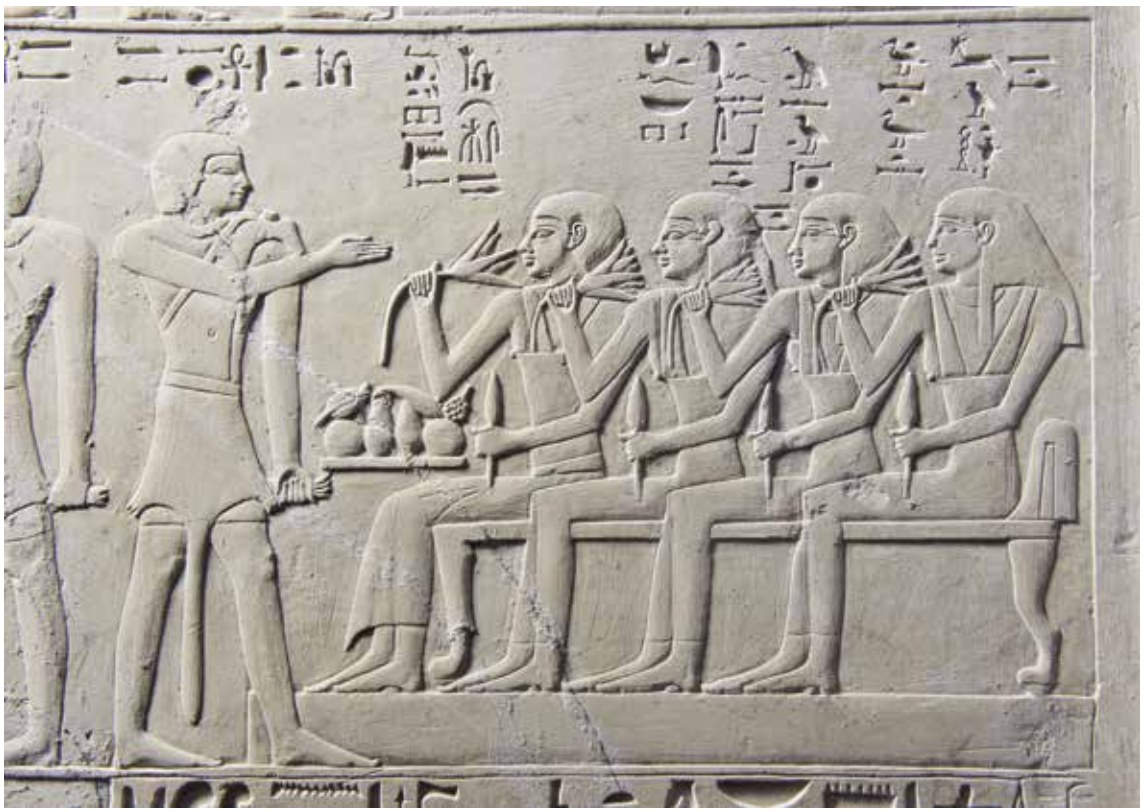
Fig. 10: Upper register, right.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net



F. Colin, 2018

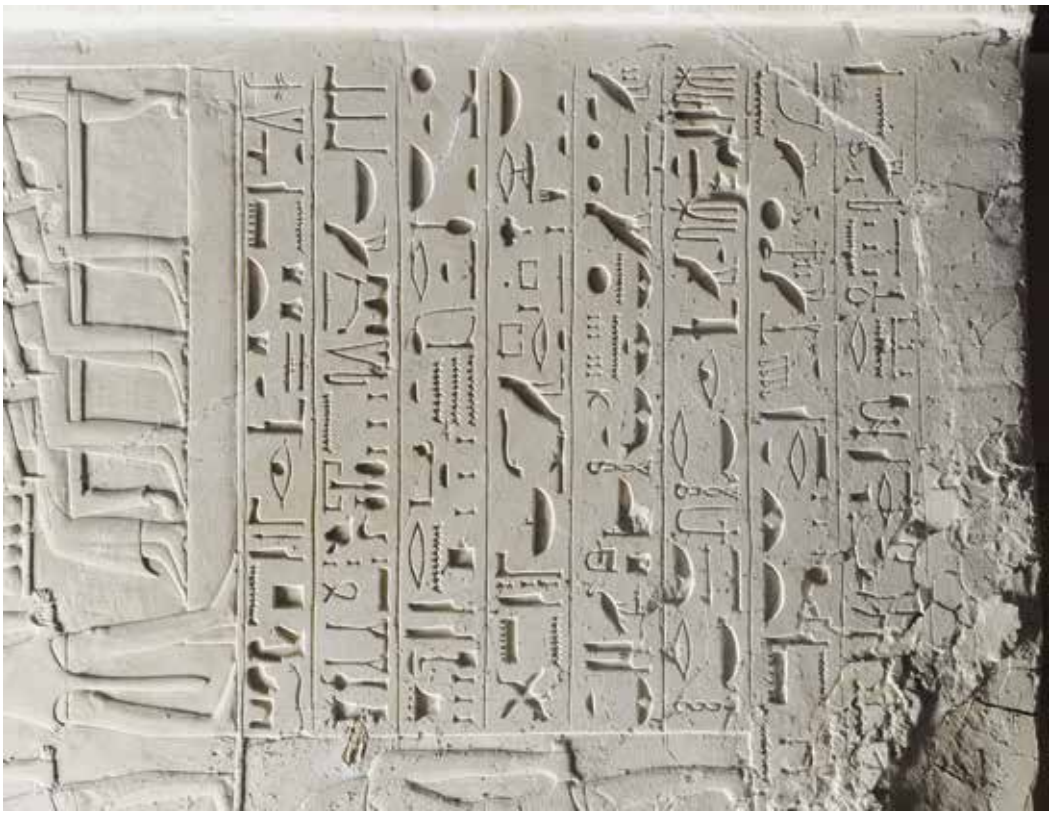
Fig. 11: Middle register, left.



F. Colin, 2018

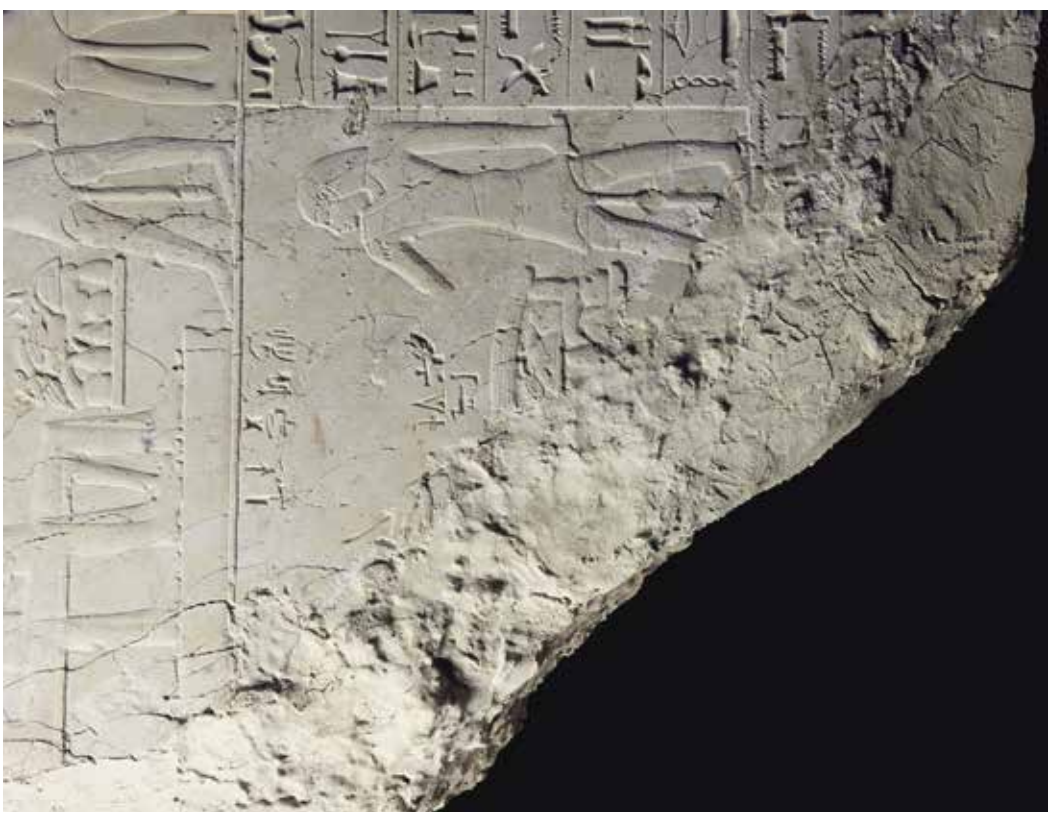
Fig. 12: Middle register, right.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net



F. Colin, 2018

Fig. 13 : Lower register, left.



F. Colin, 2018

Fig. 14: The main offering text.

© IFAO 2026 BIFAO en ligne https://www.ifao.egnet.net