

THE JOURNAL OF  
Egyptian  
Archaeology

VOLUME 93

2007

PUBLISHED BY

THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

3 DOUGHTY MEWS, LONDON WC1N 2PG

ISSN 0307-5133

THE JOURNAL OF  
Egyptian Archaeology

VOLUME 93

2007

PUBLISHED BY  
THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY  
3 DOUGHTY MEWS, LONDON WC1N 2PG

## CONTENTS

EDITORIAL FOREWORD . . . . .	vii
TELL EL-AMARNA, 2006-7 . . . . . Barry Kemp . . . . .	I
THE DELTA SURVEY: MINUFIYEH PROVINCE, 2006-7 . . . . .	Joanne Rowland . . . . . 65
THE GEOPHYSICAL SURVEY OF NORTH SAQQARA, 2001-7 . . . . .	Ian Mathieson and Jon Dittmer . 79
AN APPRENTICE'S BOARD FROM DRA ABU EL-NAGA . . . . .	José M. Galán . . . . . 95
A NEW OLD KINGDOM INSCRIPTION FROM GIZA (CGC 57163), AND THE PROBLEM OF <i>sn-dt</i> IN PHARAONIC THIRD MILLENNIUM SOCIETY . . . . .	Juan Carlos Moreno García . . 117
A DEMOTIC INSCRIBED ICOSAHEDRON FROM DAKHLEH OASIS . . . . .	Martina Minas-Nerpel . . . . 137
THE GOOD SHEPHERD ANTEF (STELA BM EA 1628). . . . .	Detlef Franke <sup>†</sup> . . . . . 149
WORK AND COMPENSATION IN ANCIENT EGYPT	David A. Warburton . . . . 175
SOME NOTES ON THE FUNERARY CULT IN THE EARLY MIDDLE KINGDOM: STELA BM EA 1164 . . . . .	Barbara Russo . . . . . 195
ELLIPSIS OF SHARED SUBJECTS AND DIRECT OBJECTS FROM SUBSEQUENT PREDICATIONS IN EARLIER EGYPTIAN. . . . .	Carsten Peust . . . . . 211
THE EVIL STEPMOTHER AND THE RIGHTS OF A SECOND WIFE. . . . .	Christopher J. Eyre . . . . . 223
<i>BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS</i>	
FIGHTING KITES: BEHAVIOUR AS A KEY TO SPECIES IDENTITY IN WALL SCENES . . . . .	Linda Evans . . . . . 245
ERNEST SIBREE: A FORGOTTEN PIONEER AND HIS MILIEU . . . . .	Aidan Dodson . . . . . 247
AN EARLY DYNASTIC ROCK INSCRIPTION AT EL-HOSH . . . . .	Ilona Regulski . . . . . 254

MISCELLANEA MAGICA, III: EIN VERTAUSCHTER KOPF? KONJEKTURVORSCHLAG FÜR P. BERLIN P 8313 RO, COL. II, 19-20. . . . .	Tonio Sebastian Richter. . . . .	259
A SNAKE-LEGGED DIONYSOS FROM EGYPT, AND OTHER DIVINE SNAKES . . . . .	Donald M. Bailey . . . . .	263
THE TEXT OF <i>KHAKHEPERRESENEB</i> : AN ADDENDUM . . . . .	R. B. Parkinson and R. J. Demarée . . . . .	270
 <i>REVIEWS</i>		
STEPHEN QUIRKE, <i>Egyptian Literature 1800 BC: Questions and Readings</i> . . . . .	Reviewed by Fredrik Hagen. . . . .	271
JOSEFINE KUCKERTZ, <i>Gefäßverschlüsse aus Tell el-Amarna: Grabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 1911 bis 1914: Sozio- ökonomische Aspekte einer Fundgattung des Neuen Reiches</i> and GUILLAUME BOUVIER, <i>Les étiquettes de jarres hiératiques de l'Institut d'égyptologie de Strasbourg, V: Commentaire.</i> . . . . .	Dan Lines . . . . .	274
J. D. RAY, <i>Demotic Papyri and Ostraca from Qasr Ibrim</i> . . . . .	Cary J. Martin . . . . .	280
NATHALIE FAVRY, <i>Le nomarque sous le règne de Sésostris I<sup>er</sup></i> . . . . .	Wolfram Grajetzki . . . . .	282
JEAN-CLAUDE GOYON ET AL., <i>La construction Pharaonique du Moyen Empire à l'époque gréco-romaine: Contexte et principes technologiques</i> . . . . .	Dieter Eigner . . . . .	285
PASCALE BALLETT ET AL., <i>Kellia, II: L'ermitage copte QR 195, II: La céramique, les inscriptions, les décors</i> . . . . .	Peter Grossmann . . . . .	288
MICHEL REDDÉ, <i>Douch, III: Kysis: Fouilles de l'IFAO à Douch, Oasis de Kharga (1985-1990)</i> . . . . .	Peter Grossmann . . . . .	291
PIERRE GRANDET, <i>Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médîneh, X: Nos 10001-10123</i> . . . . .	R. J. Demarée . . . . .	295
JAC J. JANSSEN, <i>Grain Transport in the Ramesside Period: Papyrus Baldwin (BM EA 10061) and Papyrus Amiens</i> . . . . .	Angus Graham . . . . .	298
PETER F. DORMAN, <i>Faces in Clay: Technique, Imagery, and Allusion in a Corpus of Ceramic Sculpture from Ancient Egypt</i> . . . . .	Kasia Szpakowska . . . . .	300

<b>M. J. RAVEN AND W. K. TACONIS, <i>Egyptian Mummies: Radiological Atlas of the Collections in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden</i></b> . . . . .	Eugen Strouhal . . . . .	302
<b>PATRIK LUNDH, <i>Actor and Event: Military Activity in Ancient Egyptian Narrative Texts from Tuthmosis II to Merenptah</i></b> . . . . .	Colleen Manassa . . . . .	305
<b>ANDREW BEDNARSKI, <i>Holding Egypt: Tracing the Reception of the Description de l'Égypte in Nineteenth-century Great Britain</i></b> . . . . .	Patricia Usick . . . . .	308

# A NEW OLD KINGDOM INSCRIPTION FROM GIZA (CGC 57163), AND THE PROBLEM OF *SN-DT* IN PHARAONIC THIRD MILLENNIUM SOCIETY

By JUAN CARLOS MORENO GARCÍA

Panel CGC 57163 provides both a new inscribed monument from the poorly preserved tomb D 203 at Giza and another reference to the rather obscure term *sn-dt* 'brother of the endowment'. Study of the epigraphic evidence as well as the administrative documents from the Old Kingdom shows that the use of this term was not limited to the funerary sphere: it also refers to individuals who replaced another person in the performance of certain duties, both of a ritual and administrative nature. In a funerary context, a *sn-dt* was an administrator of institutional goods formerly granted to a particular functionary but subsequently allotted—under condition—to a secondary recipient. The probable goal of this procedure was to keep their assets separate. In any case, the *sn-dt* disappears from the epigraphic and papyrological record from the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty.

LITTLE is known about the inscriptions from the tomb of *Nfr* and *ytj-sn* (D 203), located in the Steindorff Cemetery in the West Field of Giza. Just two false-doors are recorded in Porter and Moss,<sup>1</sup> neither of which have been properly described nor published. The first consists of a panel, lintel, and drum preserved in the Oriental Institute of Chicago, where it bears the inventory numbers 10811 and 10812; only a photograph and a brief description of the panel have been published to date.<sup>2</sup> The second false-door formed part of the Egyptian collection of the Leipzig Museum (inv. no. 2556), but was destroyed during the Second World War. Some years ago Edda Bresciani published a panel of another false-door stela belonging to an Italian private collection (the 'Hatun stela') which came from the same funerary monument.<sup>3</sup> Given the scarce information concerning this tomb, publication of the panel of a further false-door preserved in the Cairo Museum (CGC 57163) may allow for better knowledge of the monuments from this tomb now dispersed world-wide, as well as allowing for a more accurate dating of the tomb, especially because it offers the opportunity to reopen the discussion of the problematic term *sn-dt* 'brother of the endowment'.

Another recent discovery relevant to the topic is the tomb of *Pttj*, with its well-known threat spell.<sup>4</sup> This important monument, which can be dated to the Fourth Dynasty, also displays a new example of an individual who declares himself to be the

<sup>1</sup> PM III/1, 116.

<sup>2</sup> Chicago Or. Inst. 10812: P. Kaplony, 'Das Papyrusarchiv von Abusir', *Orientalia* 41 (1972), 244, pl. vi.

<sup>3</sup> E. Bresciani, "'La stele Hatun': Il pannello di una falsa-porta a nome di Nefer e di It-sen, dalla necropoli dell'Antico Regno a Giza', *EVO* 18 (1995), 19–21.

<sup>4</sup> Z. Hawass, 'The Tomb of the Pyramid Builders: The Tomb of the Artisan Petety and his Curse', in G. N. Knoppers and A. Hirsch (eds), *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World: Studies in Honour of Donald B. Redford* (PdÄ 20; Leiden, 2004), 21–39.

*dt* of an official. The title published by Hawass should be read *shd nfr(w) rh nzwt Ftj-sn dt* ‘the inspector of recruit(s), the *dt* of the acquaintance of the king *Ftj-sn*’, where *Ftj-sn* was a dignitary superior in rank to *Pttj* and important enough for *Pttj* to decide to give the name *Ftj-sn nds* ‘*Ftj-sn* junior’ to one of his own sons. This example of the use of the term *dt* must be added to those already known from the Old Kingdom sources,<sup>5</sup> and it is also interesting because it shows a case of a multiple patron–client relationship, in which an individual defined as the *dt* of another turns out also to be the patron of a person of lesser status, in this case a *dt* and *mst(r)t* ‘mourner’ mentioned in *Pttj*’s tomb. Though *sn-dt* and *dt* figure prominently in the epigraphic record of the Old Kingdom, mainly from a funerary context and from the decorated tombs of the Egyptian elite, fresh evidence concerning *sn-dt*, as well as *dt* of humble status, appears in administrative documents from the Fourth Dynasty on. Taking these new documents into account, it is possible to get a better understanding of the sociological reality lying beneath these rather difficult terms.

#### Panel CGC 57163 from the tomb of *Nfr* and *Ftj-sn* at Giza

This limestone panel (55 × 30.5 cm), probably belonging to a false-door stela, is currently preserved in the Cairo Museum bearing the inventory number CGC 57163.<sup>6</sup> The inscriptions read as follows (fig. 1 and pl. V.1):

##### Over the deceased:

*sn-dt Nfr jmj-r tsw Ftj-sn*

the *sn-dt* *Nfr*, the overseer of the *tsw*-ferryman<sup>a</sup> *Ftj-sn*

##### Over the attendant on the left side of the panel:

*Mrjj*

*Mrjj* (name)

##### Lintel:

*jmshw hr nb.f Ftj-sn sn-dt rh nzwt jmshw hr nb.f jmj-r hq(w) Nfr<sup>b</sup>*

the revered before his lord *Ftj-sn*; the *sn-dt*, the acquaintance of the king, the revered before his lord, the overseer of barbers *Nfr*

##### Notes:

(a) Titles formed with the element *tsw* are extremely rare in the Old Kingdom, only being attested in the tomb of *Nfr* and *Ftj-sn*, in the Abusir papyri, and on the statue of *Fntj-Šdw* at Giza.<sup>7</sup> Three variants of the title are known from the mastaba of *Nfr* and *Ftj-sn*: *jmj-r tsw* ‘the overseer of the *tsw*-ferryman’, *jmj-r tsw n wjz* ‘overseer of the *tsw*-ferryman of the bark’ and *jmj-r tsw n wjz ʿ3* ‘overseer of the *tsw*-ferryman

<sup>5</sup> D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom* (BAR IS 866; Oxford, 2000), II, 1012–15.

<sup>6</sup> I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Mahmud El-Halwagy for his kind assistance as well as for his permission to publish this monument.

<sup>7</sup> The reading *tsw* is to be preferred to *tsw-ʿ*, cf. P. Andrassy, review of D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles* (Oxford, 2000), *JESHO* 45 (2002), 397–8 with references. As for the reading of the title *nfw* ‘skipper’ which appears several times in the Gebelein papyri, it could also be read *tsw* in the absence of phonetic complements (cf. P. Gebelein I rt. D1 51; IV rt. 92; V rt. 72; V vs. A25 and 29); P. Posener-Krieger, *I papiri di Gebelein (scavi G. Farina 1935)* (SMET Gebelein 1; Turin, 2004), pls iv, xxxiv, xxxix, xl–xli.

of the great bark'. Another occurrence of the term *t3w* appears in the papyri of the funerary temple of king Neferirkare, from the Fifth Dynasty, in which an official, *Dw3-Rc*, who was a *shd t3ww* 'inspector of the *t3ww*-ferry-men' under the control of a *htm w ntr* 'treasurer of the god', was in charge of a team of three individuals defined collectively as *t3ww*, and who had the mission of *t3w[w] jnnw htp-ntr[w] m [bj3]t m hn[w]* 'ferry-men who bring the divine offerings from the Residence in a *bj3t*-bark'.<sup>8</sup> As for the title *jmj-r wdpw* read by Bresciani in the 'Hatun stela', the hieroglyph for *hcg* has perhaps been misinterpreted in the sequence *jmj-r hcg(w)*, as can be inferred from the similar writing of this title in the inscription preserved in the Cairo Museum. Finally, the title *jmj-r t3w* appears on the statues of *Jnty-Šdw* of Giza,<sup>9</sup> an official who also bore the titles of *jmj-r t3w n wj3* 'overseer of the *t3w*-ferry-men of the bark', and *rh nzw t*.<sup>10</sup>



FIG. 1. Panel CGC 57163.

(b) Another title probably carried by *Jty-sn* was *jmj-r hst* 'overseer of singers', quoted in Steindorff's excavation journal.<sup>11</sup>

The parallels from the Abusir Papyri suggest that the control over the *t3w* was of a ritual nature and was connected to service in the funerary monument of the king, more precisely to the transport of divine offerings in a special bark. Bearing in mind

<sup>8</sup> P. Posener-Kriéger and J.-L. de Cenival, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Fifth Series: The Abu Sir Papyri* (London, 1968), pl. lxxxii col. c; P. Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakai (Les papyrus d'Abusir): Traduction et commentaire* (BdE 65; Cairo, 1976), I, 110–12; II, 520 n. 2, 691.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Andrassy, *JESHO* 45, 397–8.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. JE 98945–8: Z. Hawass, 'A Group of Unique Statues Discovered at Giza, III: The Statues of *Jnty-Šdw* from Tomb GSE 1915', in N. Grimal (ed.), *Les critères de datation stylistiques à l'Ancien Empire* (BdE 120; Cairo, 1998), 193, 203 (figs 11–12).

<sup>11</sup> Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire*, I, 112 n. 1.



that the owners of the mastaba were also an overseer of singers and an overseer of barbers, doubtless at the royal palace, it can be inferred that their position in the royal entourage of Memphis allowed them to participate in the ceremonies devoted to the king and to obtain the right to build a tomb in the necropolis at Giza. The occurrence of the rare term *ṭzw* in the papyri from the Neferirkare temple archive, on the statue of *Ḳntj-Šdw*, and on the panel CGC 57163 might also have a chronological value for dating the tomb of *Nfr* and *Ḳtj-sn*, since these officials may have lived about the reign of Neferirkare or somewhat later. In fact, the only document in the Abusir Papyri mentioning the *ṭzw* is dated from the reign of Djedkare Izezi.<sup>12</sup> The building of the tomb of *Nfr* and *Ḳtj-sn* in the Fifth Dynasty seems plausible in the light of the representation of the dead on the panel in the Cairo Museum. First of all, the absence of cushions and backs in the chairs suggests a dating from the Fourth or Fifth Dynasty, down to the reign of Niuserre.<sup>13</sup> Second, the bull paw form of the foot of the chairs is frequently found in the iconographic record down to the reign of Izezi or somewhat later (Pepi I).<sup>14</sup> And, finally, the form of the offering loaves is the regular form from the reign of Khafre until Pepi I.<sup>15</sup> As for *Ḳntj-Šdw* of Giza, the pottery discovered in his tomb dates to the Fourth or Fifth Dynasties, but the architectural features of his mastaba seem typical of the Fourth Dynasty; the dating of the typological features of the statues is less clear, stretching between the Fourth and Sixth Dynasty. Considering all this evidence, it is possible that the tomb of *Nfr* and *Ḳtj-sn* might be dated to about the second half of the Fifth Dynasty.

### Corpus of *sn-dt* in the Old Kingdom sources

#### *Administrative documents*

- 1 P. Gebelein I vs. B, 5:  
*Ḳm-nzw* 'the serf of the king' and *sn-dt Ḳr*[...].  
Date: Fourth Dynasty.<sup>16</sup>
- 2 P. Gebelein IV vs. 6:  
*Sn(t)-dt Dbꜣw*.  
Date: Fourth Dynasty.<sup>17</sup>
- 3 P. Gebelein V rt. 9:  
*Sn(t)-dt X*.  
Date: Fourth Dynasty.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire*, II, 491.

<sup>13</sup> N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées d'Ancien Empire: Le problème de la datation* (Brussels, 1989), 26 (1).

<sup>14</sup> Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 34 (10); M. Baud, 'A propos des critères iconographiques établis par Nadine Cherpion', in Grimal (ed.), *Les critères de datation*, 91.

<sup>15</sup> Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 47 (18); Baud in Grimal (ed.), *Critères de datation*, 91.

<sup>16</sup> Posener-Kriéger, *I papiri di Gebelein*, pl. v.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., pl. xxxv.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., pl. xxxvii.

- 4 P. Gebelein V rt. 21:  
*Sn-dt X.*  
*Date:* Fourth Dynasty.<sup>19</sup>
- 5 P. Gebelein V vs. 6:  
*Sn-dt X.*  
*Date:* Fourth Dynasty.<sup>20</sup>
- 6 Cairo JE 66844, C 4 ('coffret de Gebelein'):  
*Sn(t)-dt Jtw.*  
*Date:* Fourth Dynasty.<sup>21</sup>
- 7 P. Berlin 15723 vs.:  
*Jrw šn pr-ꜣ Nj-mꜣꜥt-Pth sn-dt* 'the *sn-dt* of the hairdresser of the palace *Nj-mꜣꜥt-Pth*  
*Rꜥ-htp.*  
*Date:* Fifth Dynasty, reign of Izezi.<sup>22</sup>
- 8 P. BM EA 10735 frame 19:  
*Jmj-ht [hmꜣw-]ntr Wr-kꜣ sn-dt hm-ntr Jrw-n-Pth* 'the priest *Jrw-n-Pth*, the *sn-dt* of the  
 controller of priests *Wr-kꜣ*'.  
*Date:* Fifth Dynasty, reign of Izezi.<sup>23</sup>

*Epigraphic record: monuments from Giza*

- 9 CCG 1480. PM III/1, 309:  
*Sn-dt X*, mentioned together with the *rh nzwt Wtꜣ* in the monument of a third person  
 whose name is not preserved.  
*Date:* Fourth Dynasty.<sup>24</sup>
- 10 G 2184, mastaba of *šht-mr-nzwt*. PM III/1, 80; W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptischen  
 Kulturgeschichte* (Berlin, 1923–40), III, pl. lxix; *The Giza Archives Project* <<http://www.gizapyramids.org>>, photograph AAW1876:  
 A *sn.f n dt.f* is accompanied by three minor figures, each termed *sn.f*.  
*Date:* Fourth Dynasty.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Posener-Kriéger, *I papiri di Gebelein*, pl. xxxvii.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., pl. xl.

<sup>21</sup> P. Posener-Kriéger, 'Le coffret de Gebelein', in C. Berger, G. Clerc, and N. Grimal (eds), *Hommages à Jean Leclant* (BdE 106; Cairo, 1994), I, 322 (fig. 8).

<sup>22</sup> Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *The Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. lxxxiii; Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire*, II, 397–8.

<sup>23</sup> Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *The Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. xvii.A; Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire*, II, 472–5.

<sup>24</sup> L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches (ausser den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo* (CCG Nos 1295–1808; Berlin, 1937), 167; *Urk.* I, 228.15–17.

<sup>25</sup> Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 123 n. 257.

- 11 G 4940 = LG 45, tomb of *Sšm-nfr* I. LD II, 28; PM III/1, 142-3:

*Sn-dt hrj-tp nzw*t *Sšm-nfr* 'the *sn-dt* of the chancellor of the king *Sšm-nfr* I' *Bw-nfr*; *sn-dt hrj-tp nzw*t *Sšm-nfr* 'the *sn-dt* of the chancellor of the king *Sšm-nfr* I' *Wnj*; *sn-dt hrj-tp nzw*t *Sšm-nfr* 'the *sn-dt* of the chancellor of the king *Sšm-nfr* I' *Wnn-nfr*.

*Date*: Fourth Dynasty.<sup>26</sup>

- 12 G 4520, mastaba of *Hwfw-ꜥnh*. PM III/1, 129; G. A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, I (Cambridge, 1942), 215-16 (no. 16), 503-7, pls lxxv, lxxvii; *The Giza Archives Project* <<http://www.gizapyramids.org>>, photographs AAW1990 and A 2063\_NS.

A procession of three *snw-dt* bringing offerings (*jnt prt-hrw jn sn(w)-dt* 'bringing the offerings by the *sn(w)-dt*') at the top of the left jamb of the false-door (the parallel procession on the right jamb shows three *hmw-k3* 'k3-ritualists'): *K3p*, *Hwfw-mrjj-nꜥrw*, and *ꜥw-mn-jb*; another *sn(t)-dt*, *ꜥtj*, was represented as a member of the most restricted family core of Khufuankh on the lower part of the stela, together with the father, mother, wife, son, and daughter of the owner.

*Date*: Fourth Dynasty, reign of Menkaure.

- 13 G 4920 = LG 47, mastaba of *Tntj*. LD II, 30, 31b; PM III/1, 141-2:

*Sn-dt rh nzw*t *ꜥ3zn*, *sn dt* [...] 'the *sn-dt* and acquaintance of the king *ꜥ3zn*, the *sn-dt* [...]']

*Date*: Fourth Dynasty, about the reigns of Khufu/Redjedef.

- 14 G 7948, rock-cut tomb of *Hꜥf-Rꜥ-ꜥnh*. LD II, 9; PM III/1, 207-8:

*Sn.f n dt.f smr n pr-ꜥ3 ꜥttj šꜥd wꜥb(w) n Wr-Hꜥf-Rꜥ* 'his *sn-dt* and companion of the palace *ꜥttj*, inspector of the *wꜥb*-ritualists of the pyramid of Khafre'. *ꜥttj* had also his own mastaba in the Giza necropolis (G 7391).

*Date*: end of the Fourth Dynasty or beginning of the Fifth Dynasty (from Menkaure to Sahure).<sup>27</sup>

- 15 DI17, mastaba of *Whm-k3*. PM III/1, 114-15; H. Kayser, *Die Mastaba des Uhemka: Ein Grab in der Wüste* (ZMH 15; Hannover, 1964), 24, 32:

*Rh nzw*t *šꜥd wꜥb Nfr-hr-Nmtj sn-dt* 'the acquaintance of the king and inspector of *wꜥb*-ritualists, *Nfr-hr-Nmtj*, *sn-dt*'; *sn(t)-dt rh(t)-nzw*t 'the *sn(t)-dt* and acquaintance of the king' *Dꜥst-k3*; and *ms.f sn-dt zš pr-mꜥst* 'his descendant, the *sn-dt* and scribe of the Archive' *Snb*.<sup>28</sup>

*Date*: beginning of the Fifth Dynasty.

- 16 Tomb of *Mrw-k3*. PM III/1, 118-19; H. Junker, *Giza, IX: Der Mittlefeld des Westfriedhofs* (DÖAW 73/2; Vienna, 1950), 73, 80, pl. xi.c:

The *sn.f dt Nj-k3-Rꜥ* is represented just after the sons of *Mrw-k3*. His wife *Nꜥm-pt* was *sn(t)-dt* and *rh(t) nzw*t.

*Date*: Fifth Dynasty, up to the reign of Niuserre.

<sup>26</sup> Baud, in Grimal (ed.), *Les critères de datation*, 55-6 (24).

<sup>27</sup> According to the dating criteria proposed by Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 226; Baud, in Grimal (ed.), *Les critères de datation*, 64-5, 91-2. Cf. also Y. Harpur, 'Two Old Kingdom Tombs at Giza', *JEA* 67 (1981), 24-35.

<sup>28</sup> On the title *ms.f sn-dt*, cf. *ms.f dt hm-k3 ꜥnh-m-ꜥ-k3* in the tomb of *Sšst-htp*, from the Fourth Dynasty, PM III/1, 149-50, H. Junker, *Giza, II: Die Mastabas der beginnenden V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof* (Vienna, 1934), 182 (fig. 28).

- 17 G 2370, mastaba of *Sndm-jb Jntj*. PM III/1, 85–7:  
 The *sn-dt.f hm-k3* ‘the *sn-dt* and *k3*-ritualist’ *Q3r* and *sn-dt.f hm-k3* ‘the *sn-dt* and *k3*-ritualist’ *Tzw* appear in a procession of offering bearers.  
*Date*: Fifth Dynasty, reign of Izezi.<sup>29</sup>
- 18 Tomb of the *sn-dt Nj-m3t-Rc*. PM III/1, 282–4; S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, II: 1930–1931 (Cairo, 1936), 205 (fig. 226), pl. lxxviii.2:  
 The *sn-dt jmj-r hs(w)t pr-3* ‘the *sn-dt* and overseer of palace singers’ *Nj-m3t-Rc* states that he had a chapel built for the lady *Nfr-srs* in his own tomb.  
*Date*: Fifth Dynasty, up to the reign of Izezi.
- 19 CGC 57163 + Chicago Or. Inst. 10811–2, from the tomb of *Nfr* and *Jtj-sn* (D203). PM III/1, 116:  
*Sn-dt Nfr*.  
*Date*: second half of the Fifth Dynasty.
- 20 Cairo JE 37716, statue of the *jmj-ht z3-pr* ‘controller of the palace’ *K3-pw-Pth*. H. G. Fischer, ‘Old Kingdom Inscriptions in the Yale Gallery’, *MIO* 7 (1960), 301 (fig. 2):  
 The *sn-dt Hhj* declares that she offered the statue to *K3-pw-Pth* when he was buried.  
*Date*: second half of the Fifth Dynasty.
- 21 Mastaba of *Nfr-htp*. PM III/2, 286–7; S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, IX: *The Mastabas of the Eighth Season and their Description* (Cairo, 1960), 68 (fig. 29a), pl. xxvi:  
 His wife is represented twice on a false-door stela, where she bears, among other titles, that of *sn(t)-dt*.  
*Date*: Fifth Dynasty.
- 22 G 4710 = LG 49, tomb of *Ztw*. *LD, Ergänzungsband*, pl. xxvii.b; PM III/1, 135–6:  
*zš sn-dt* ‘the scribe and *sn-dt*’ *Tntj*.  
*Date*: Fifth Dynasty.
- 23 Tomb of *Hnmw-htp*. PM III/1, 213; A. Fakhry, *Sept tombeaux à l’est de la grande pyramide de Guizeh* (Cairo, 1935), fig. 6:  
*Sn-dt z3b zš* ‘the *sn-dt* and scribe of the jackal’ *nh-wd.s(?)*.  
*Date*: end of the Fifth Dynasty.

*Epigraphic record: monuments from Saqqara*

- 24 Tomb of *K3-m-hzt*. *Urk.* I, 207.2; PM III/2, 542–3; A. McFarlane, *Mastabas at Saqqara: Kaiemheset, Kaipunesut, Kaiemsenu, Sehetepu and Others* (ACE Reports 20; Oxford, 2003), 42–4, pls xv and l:  
 The *sn-dt jmj-r qd(w)* ‘the *sn-dt* and overseer of architects’ *Htp-k3* built a funerary monument for his father and brothers in spite of being a younger son, and he received two

<sup>29</sup> E. Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex, I: The Mastabas of Senedjemib Inti (G 2370), Khnumenti (G 2374), and Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378)* (GMas 7; Boston, 2001), 75, pl. xxxviii, fig. 61 fifth register.

arouras of land, probably in exchange for the funerary offerings he was supposed to present to them.

*Date:* Fourth Dynasty, reign of Djedefre.<sup>30</sup>

- 25 Univ. Mus. Manchester 10780, block from the tomb of *Nj-k3w-Pth*. PM III/2, 744–5; *Urk.* I, 227.11–12; N. Strudwick, 'The Overseer of the Treasury *Ny-k3w-Pth*', *RdE* 38 (1987), 139–46; H. G. Fischer, *Varia Nova* (Egyptian Studies 3; New York, 1996), 34–6 (fig. 4):

The *zš pr-hd sn.f dt* 'scribe of the treasury and his *sn-dt*' *Pth-h<sup>c</sup>.f* states that he has buried the *jmj-ht pr-hd hm-ntr Sshw-R<sup>c</sup> hm-ntr R<sup>c</sup> m Nhn-R<sup>c</sup> w<sup>b</sup> nzwt* 'controller of the treasury, prophet of Sahure, prophet of Re in the solar sanctuary *Nhn-R<sup>c</sup>*, *w<sup>b</sup>*-ritualist of the king' *Nj-k3w-Pth*.

*Date:* Fifth dynasty, reign of Sahure or later.

- 26 D 51, tomb of *Pth-htp*. PM III/2, 581–2; A. Mariette, *Les mastabas de l'ancien empire: Fragment du dernier ouvrage de A. Mariette* (Paris, 1889), 315:

The *sn-dt Nfr-hr-nj-Hntj-htj* is represented between two sons of the tomb owner; the *snt-dt Nfrt-Hwt-Hr* is also attested in the tomb.

*Date:* Fifth Dynasty, reign of Sahure or later.

- 27 D 70 = LS 15, tomb of *Ph.n-wj-k3*. LD II, 46–7; PM III/2, 491–2; *Urk.* I, 227.8–12:

*Sn.f dt z3b zš<sup>c</sup> nzwt n hft-hr z3b jmj-r zš* 'his *sn-dt*, the scribe of the jackal of the documents of the king in the presence, the overseer of the scribes of the jackal' *K3.j-tzw*, *sn-dt jmshw.f z3b jmj-r zš<sup>c</sup> nzwt hft-hr* 'the *sn-dt*, his revered one, the overseer of the scribes of the jackal of the documents of the king in the presence' *K3.j-tzw*.

*Date:* Fifth Dynasty, from Neferirkare to Niuserre.

- 28 Tomb of the singers of the palace *Nfr* and *K3-h3j*. PM III/2, 639–41; A. M. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay* (AVDAIK 5; Mainz, 1971), pl. viii.

*Sn-dt rh nzwt jmj-ht pr-3 jmj-r wpt pr-3* 'the *sn-dt*, the acquaintance of the king, the controller of the palace, the overseer of the missions of the palace' *Tntj*.

*Date:* Fifth Dynasty, from Neferirkare to Niuserre.

- 29 Tomb of *Shm-k3*. PM III/2, 596; M. A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, I (BSAE/ERA 10; London, 1905), pl. vii:

*Sn-dt w<sup>b</sup> mrjj-ntr* 'the *sn-dt*, *w<sup>b</sup>*-ritualist, and beloved of the god' *M3<sup>c</sup>tj*; *sn dt z3b zš* 'the *sn-dt* and scribe of the jackal' *Nj-k3-<sup>c</sup>nh*.

*Date:* Fifth Dynasty, from Niuserre to Izezi.

- 30 D 1 = S 901, tomb of *Ntr-wsr*. PM III/2, 485; Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, pl. xxiv:

The wife of *Ntr-wsr* was also *sn(t)-dt*.

*Date:* Fifth Dynasty, from Menkauhor to Izezi.

- 31 D 64, chapel of *3ht-htp*. PM III/2, 599–600; N. de G. Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptah-hetep and Akhetetep at Saqqara* (ASE 8–9; London, 1900–1), II, pl. xxxiv:

<sup>30</sup> Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées*, 112–15. Cf. nevertheless the recent discussion about the dating of this tomb by McFarlane, *Mastabas at Saqqara*, 19–23, who places it in the Fifth Dynasty, about the reigns of Niuserre or Izezi.

The *mdh whrt ʕ(t) pr-ʕ sn-dt mrjj.f* ‘the carpenter of the great dockyard of the palace, the *sn-dt* and his beloved’ *Sšm-nfr* is shown in a line of bearers led by the sons of *ʕht-htp*.

*Date:* end of the Fifth Dynasty.

- 32 Tomb of *Nj-ʕnh-nzwt*. PM III/2, 694–6; W. Kaiser, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin* (Berlin, 1967), 28 (no. 237):

*Hm-ntr wʕb nzwt sn-dt* ‘the prophet, *wʕb*-ritualist of the king, and *sn-dt*’ *Nj-nmtj*.

*Date:* the very beginning of the Sixth Dynasty.

- 33 D 64, chapel of *Pth-htp* II. PM III/2, 600–5; R. F. E. Paget and A. A. Pirie, *The Tomb of Ptah-hetep* (ERA 2; London, 1898), pls xxxi, xxxii, xxxiv–xxxvi, xxxviii:

Fifteen *snw-dt* are mentioned in the tomb: *ʕht-wr*; *zʕb jmj-r zš* ‘the overseer of the scribes of the jackal’ *ʕht-htp*; *zʕb zš* ‘the scribe of the jackal’ *ʕht-htp*; *ʕpj*; *Wp-m-nfrt*; *šd zš, šd hsw* ‘the inspector of scribes and inspector of singers’ *Wp-m-nfrt*; *hrj-hb* ‘the lector-priest’ *Wš-kʕ*; *zʕb šd zš* ‘the inspector of the scribes of the jackal’ *Pth-htp*; *zʕb zš* ‘the scribe of the jackal’ *Nfr-hww-Pth*; *šd hsw* ‘the inspector of singers’ *Sbk-htp*; *zʕb šd zš* ‘the inspector of the scribes of the jackal’ *Sšm-nfr Tf*; *jmj-r fnhw wʕbt* ‘the overseer of the offerings of the *wʕbt*-workshop’ *Stf*; *jmj-r šnwt jmj-r pr* ‘the overseer of the granary and administrator’ *Kʕ-hp*; *šd hsw* ‘the inspector of singers’ *Tf*; *jmj-r pr smsw whrt* ‘the administrator and elder of the dockyard’ *Ttwj*.

*Date:* the very beginning of the Sixth Dynasty.

- 34 PM III/2, 606. S. Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara, III: 1937–1938, Mastabas of Princess Hemet-Rʕ and Others* (Cairo, 1975), 9 (passage 1 and fig. 4), pl. v:

The *šd pr-ʕ* ‘inspector of the palace’, *jmj-ht pr-ʕ* ‘controller of the palace’, *jmj-r wpt* ‘overseer of missions’, and *wʕb Nfr-swt-Wnjs* ‘*wʕb*-ritualist of the pyramid of Wenis’ *Tzmw* states that he was the *sn-dt* of *Pth-htp*, probably *Pth-htp* II.

*Date:* the very beginning of the Sixth Dynasty.

#### *Epigraphic record: provincial monuments*

- 35 Tomb of *ʕj-mrjj* at Gebel el-Teyr. PM IV, 127:

The first woman in a procession of three offering bearers is described as being the *sn(t)-dt nbt jmsh hr mwt jt mjtt* ‘the *sn(t)-dt* and mistress of honour before (her) mother and (her) father’.

*Date:* probably Fourth–Fifth Dynasty.<sup>31</sup>

#### *Texts concerning the organisation of private funerary services*

- 36 CCG 57139, inscription of *Tntj* from Giza. PM III/1, 308; *Urk.* I, 163–5; H. Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich* (BWZKM 5; Vienna, 1970), 122–30, pl. xiii:

*Sn-dt hm-kʕ* ‘the *sn-dt* and *kʕ*-ritualist’ *Kʕ-m-nfrt*.

*Date:* Fifth Dynasty.

<sup>31</sup> A. Kamal, ‘Fouilles à Gebel-el-Teyr’, *ASAE* 4 (1903), 87; D. Kessler, *Historische Topographie der Region zwischen Mallawi und Samalut* (TAVO 30; Wiesbaden, 1981), 314–17.

- 37 G 2197, inscription of *Pn-mrw* from Giza. PM III/1, 82–3; B. Grdseloff, 'Deux inscriptions juridiques de l'Ancien Empire, I. — L'inscription de Khenemty. II. — L'inscription de Penmerou', *ASAE* 42 (1943), 39–43 (fig. 3); Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften*, 68–74, pl. vi; W. K. Simpson, *Mastabas of the Western Cemetery*, I (GMas 4; Boston, 1980), 24, pls xlvi.b, xlvii:

*Sn-dt hm-k3* 'the *sn-dt* and *k3*-ritualist' Neferhotep.

*Date*: end of the Fifth Dynasty.

### The *sn-dt* of the Old Kingdom: historical and sociological interpretation

The interpretation of the term *sn-dt* continues to raise many questions.<sup>32</sup> Since the most extensive texts concerning the role played by the *snw-dt* were found, unsurprisingly, in tombs and deal with the organisation of the funerary service of their owners, researchers have stressed the funerary aspects of the activities carried out by the *snw-dt*. An additional problem is the elusive signification of the term *dt*, frequently found in composite terms from the Old Kingdom, and which raises also the possibility of ambiguity since, in some contexts, it can stand for *pr-dt*. As a consequence, a *sn-dt* has sometimes been interpreted as a fiduciary agent, appointed by the king or the tomb owner in the absence of an heir, who administered the goods allocated to the funerary service of the dead, as well as being in charge of the delivery of funerary offerings.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, there are examples where a son or a close relative is also defined as a *sn-dt*, whereas in other instances the people who fulfilled this ritual duty were not described as being *snw-dt*. In other cases, the *snw-dt* appear in administrative contexts which have nothing to do with funerary activities, and the frequent existence of multiple *snw-dt* at the service of a single dignitary must be also taken into account. Even in the case of the most detailed sources from the epigraphic record, such as the inscription of *Tntj*, his wife and a *sn-dt* shared the responsibility for carrying out the ritual functions. Finally, one has to consider the availability of other means of transmission of goods and property to a third party in order to organise the funerary service of a dignitary, where the presence of a *sn-dt* was apparently not necessary, as in the *jmjt-pr* documents;<sup>34</sup> it is noteworthy that neither Niankhkhnun nor Khunmhotep are defined as *sn-dt* in the titles in their tomb or in the text regulating the organisation of their funerary service, in spite of being, in all probability, brothers.<sup>35</sup>

### *Sn-dt* in administrative documents

The oldest attested reference to a *sn-dt* is probably to be found in the onomastic domain, since an official called *ḫw-sn-dt* is known at Helwan and he certainly antedates

<sup>32</sup> Cf. W. Boochs, 'Zur Funktion des *sn dt*', *VA* 1 (1985), 3–9, with previous bibliography. Cf. also Y. Harpur, *JEA* 67, 31–5; J. J. Perepelkin, *Privateigentum in der Vorstellung der Ägypter des Alten Reichs*, tr. R. Müller-Wollermann (Tübingen, 1986), 29–62; Jones, *Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles*, II, 907–8; M. Fitzenreiter, *Zum Toteneigentum im Alten Reich* (Achet A4; Berlin, 2004), 59, 62–4, 67.

<sup>33</sup> Boochs, *VA* 1, 6–7; Perepelkin, *Privateigentum*, 58–9; Fitzenreiter, *Toteneigentum*, 59, 63–4.

<sup>34</sup> Cf., for example, the texts published in Goedicke, *Privaten Rechtsinschriften*, 82, 95, 108, 113, 133, 144. In general, cf. T. Logan, 'The *ḫmyt-pr* Document: Form, Function, and Significance', *JARCE* 37 (2000), 49–73.

<sup>35</sup> The inscription is published in A. M. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnun und Chnum-hotep* (AVDAIK 21; Mainz am Rhein, 1977), fig. 11, pl. xxviii.

the reign of Snefru.<sup>36</sup> But it is the administrative record which provides additional relevant evidence about the *sn-dt* from an early date, as the recent publication of the Gebelein papyri shows. This important archive can be dated to the Fourth Dynasty on a solid archaeological and palaeographical basis,<sup>37</sup> and it provides a new insight into the role played by the *sn-dt* in Egyptian society.

P. Gebelein IV vs. is an administrative book-keeping account which records a list of the inhabitants of a village committed to deliver a certain amount of textile production. Papyri dealing with similar subjects are well documented in texts from the New Kingdom,<sup>38</sup> but the particularity of P. Gebelein IV vs. is that each column of the text mentions, first, the function and name of the person supposed to deliver the garments and, second, the person who actually performed the duty—usually a woman (*z3(t)* ‘daughter’, *hm(t)* ‘wife’, or simply the feminine determinative)—although in three instances the word *jt* ‘father’ follows the name of a woman. In column 6 the scribe wrote *sn-dt* after the title and name of *Dbꜣw*.<sup>39</sup> Brief as this information may be, it nevertheless shows that the masculine name must be interpreted in a broad sense, because it does not necessarily designate the person who actually performed the task but the head of the household responsible for providing the labour work or for carrying a duty out.<sup>40</sup> It seems that when he did not accomplish the work himself, the task passed on to someone else in his family: his wife, daughter, father, or *sn-dt*. Accordingly, *sn-dt* covers two basic meanings in the context of the Gebelein papyri: on the one hand, it had an administrative meaning that went beyond the private sphere, since it was used to classify and identify a person in a bureaucratic record; and, on the other hand, it designated a close relationship to a person, to the point of being able to substitute for him or her and to be considered as the equivalent of a member of his or her family in an administrative document.

Papyrus Gebelein V rt. confirms this interpretation. The male inhabitants of two villages were to deliver certain goods and, as in the examples provided by P. Gebelein IV vs. just mentioned, their titles and names were usually followed by a brief notation: *ds* if they had accomplished their duties themselves or, more frequently, *mwt* ‘mother’, *z3(t)* ‘daughter’, *hm(t)* ‘wife’, *sn(t)-dt*,<sup>41</sup> *z3* ‘son’, *sn* ‘brother’, and *sn-dt*.<sup>42</sup> Sometimes the scribe simply wrote the names of the substitutes, without any

<sup>36</sup> P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* (ÄA 8; Wiesbaden, 1963), I, 231 (no. 19). Cf. also Fitzenreiter, *Toteneigentum*, 65 n. 233.

<sup>37</sup> For the palaeography, cf. the parallels provided by the recently discovered P. Suppl. 14062, from a Gebelein tomb of the Fourth Dynasty, which contains a list of nine persons, four of them being *mjtr*: E. Fiore Marochetti, A. Curti, S. Demichelis, F. Janot, F. Cesarini, and R. Grillo, «Le paquet»: Sépulture anonyme de la IV<sup>e</sup> dynastie provenant de Gébélein’, *BIFAO* 103 (2003), 246–8, 256 (fig. 11).

<sup>38</sup> Cf., for example, P. Brooklyn 35.1453A–B: V. Condon, ‘Two Account Papyri of the Late Eighteenth Dynasty (Brooklyn 35.1453 A and B)’, *RdE* 35 (1984), 57–82, pls iv–vii, J. J. Janssen, ‘Two Variant Accounts?’, *VA* 1 (1985), 109–12; P. Anastasi VI: A. H. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (BAe 7; Brussels, 1937), 73.10–74.9, R. A. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (BESTud 1; Oxford, 1954), 280–93; or Gurob Fragment Y: A. H. Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents* (Oxford, 1948), 24.6–26.14. For a general overview of the quota-system for textiles, cf. B. J. Kemp and G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *The Ancient Textile Industry at Amarna* (EES EM 68; London, 2001), 427–36.

<sup>39</sup> P. Gebelein IV vs. 6, Posener-Kriéger, *I papiri di Gebelein*, pl. xxxv.

<sup>40</sup> Cf., for example, the case of the woman and *hmt-nzwt Tpj*, in whose house (*pr.s*) were listed the *jrj-mdwt jrw*, the *z3 Mdw-nfr*, the *jrj ht jtn* and the *js(?) Nfr(?)* (P. Gebelein II vs. H: Posener-Kriéger, *I papiri di Gebelein*, pl. xvi).

<sup>41</sup> P. Gebelein V rt. 9, Posener-Kriéger, *I papiri di Gebelein*, pl. xxxvii.

<sup>42</sup> P. Gebelein V rt. 21, Posener-Kriéger, *I papiri di Gebelein*, pl. xxxvii.



additional qualification. The information contained in P. Gebelein V vs. is of the same nature—a number of women (*hmt*, *mwt*, *zst*) and a *sn-dt* replaced the persons who had to deliver products.<sup>43</sup> In two instances the substitutes are defined as *dt*.<sup>44</sup> The same practice is attested in personnel lists from administrative documents of the Middle Kingdom, where some individuals are stated to appear personally (*jnj hr-tp.f* ‘to bring in person’) in order to carry out their duties whereas in some other cases they were replaced by their wife or their mother.<sup>45</sup>

It is noteworthy that, as in the case of the epigraphic record, the condition of *sn-dt* encompassed both men and women; in addition the administrative texts clearly show that a *sn-dt* could also be of humble condition. The inscriptions written on the wooden box which contained the Gebelein papyri consist of a list of persons, male and female, including the *sn(t)-dt Jtw*;<sup>46</sup> and the *hm-nzwt sn-dt Jr*[...] who appears as the purchaser of a house in a sale document from the same archive.<sup>47</sup> All these documents show that the term *sn-dt* was not restricted to the private sphere and that, quite the contrary, it was used in the administrative documents to label people who replaced others in a context where members of the family might be expected. It is difficult to state precisely the nature of the close ties existing between these persons, or what is expressed by means of the term *sn-dt*, but they were considered relevant enough to be noted in official records.

References to the *sn-dt* also occur in the papyri from the funerary complex of king Neferirkare, dating from the Fifth–Sixth Dynasty, which mention ‘*R<sup>c</sup>-htp*, the *sn-dt* of the hairdresser of the palace *Nj-ms<sup>c</sup>t-Pth*’ in a list of officials in charge of certain administrative or ritual activities (doc. 83), and ‘the prophet *Jrj-n-Pth*, the *sn-dt* of the controller of prophets *Wr-k<sup>s</sup>*’ in a (probably) royal decree (doc. 17A).<sup>48</sup> The names of the officials in doc. 83 were in some instances followed by the term *ds.f*, the notation usually attested in lists of personnel in order to express that a person had himself fulfilled a certain duty or task. In other cases the name of the substitute was written after that of a worker or a ritualist, as in the case of *R<sup>c</sup>-htp*. Again it is evident that noting that somebody was a *sn-dt* of another had an administrative value, as if his own titles were insufficient to express his full identity or his presence in an official record; for example, in the case of the *sn-dt Jrj-n-Pth*, who was also a *hm-ntr*. One important aspect is that the role of substitutes is not limited to the *sn-dt* in the papyri of Neferirkare; in fact, as in the Gebelein papyri, *dt*-people or individuals only mentioned by name also played the same role.<sup>49</sup>

The general impression from the administrative documents is that they only stress some of the activities carried out by the *sn-dt*—that of substitute for another person

<sup>43</sup> P. Gebelein V vs. 6, Posener-Kriéger, *I papiri di Gebelein*, pl. xl.

<sup>44</sup> P. Gebelein V rt. 4 and 61, Posener-Kriéger, *I papiri di Gebelein*, pls xl, xlii.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. P. Berlin 10047, ll. 4, 7, 19–21, U. Luft, *Urkunden zur Chronologie der späten 12. Dynastie: Briefe aus Illahun* (DGÖAW 34 = CCEM 7; Vienna, 2006), 91–6, pl. xxix.

<sup>46</sup> Cairo JdE 66844 (C 4), Posener-Kriéger, in Berger, Clerc, and Grimal (eds), *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, I, 322 (fig. 8).

<sup>47</sup> P. Gebelein I vs. B, 5, Posener-Kriéger, *I papiri di Gebelein*, pl. v.

<sup>48</sup> Documents 83 and 17A respectively: Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *The Abu Sir Papyri*, pls xvii.A, lxxxiii; Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire*, II, 398, 472–3.

<sup>49</sup> Document 82 mentions some *dt*: Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *The Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. lxxxii; Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire*, I, 109.

in the fulfilling of a task. It might be expected that documents of a different nature or from a different context (such as funerary inscriptions) will show other sets of activities carried out by the *sn-dt*. Taking into consideration all the areas in which the *sn-dt* intervened can provide a more balanced picture of the role they played, and avoid the risk of getting too restricted a picture by relying exclusively on a rather limited and specific set of documents. The papyri also show that the role of the *sn-dt* as substitutes was not exclusive to this group of people. Nevertheless, they were tied to other persons to the point of being considered more or less as members of their families, and their social background could be an elite or a humble one. The difference between *sn-dt*, *dt*, and people simply mentioned by their names, without any title or family indication, points to a bureaucratic relevance for the fact of being a *sn-dt*. Finally, papyrus Gebelein V rt. shows that a *sn* 'brother' and a *sn-dt* could replace another person, and from this fact it can be inferred that the two terms were not similar and that, consequently, they designate two distinct kinds of social links.

### The *sn-dt* in funerary dispositions

Several inscriptions from funerary dispositions provide information about the activities performed by the *sn-dt* in the organisation of the funerary service or the building of a tomb for another person.

The inscription in the tomb of *Nj-m3ct-Rc* (no. 18) contains the following statement: *jn sn.s dt jmj-r hs(w)t pr-3 Nj-m3ct-Rc jr n.s jz pn dt.s sk s(j) m hnw m jpt-nzwt m-šwj jmsh.s nfr hr nzwt r nb* 'it was her *sn-dt*, the overseer of the palace singers *Nj-m3ct-Rc*, who built this tomb of her endowment for her when she was at the Residence, in the royal harem, due to her perfect condition of being revered before the king every day'.<sup>50</sup> It is of particular note that the tomb (*jz*) of the lady *Nfr-srs* mentioned in this text consists in fact of a chapel built in the tomb of her *sn-dt* *Nj-m3ct-Rc*. That the tomb belonged to the endowment of *Nj-m3ct-Rc* is explicitly stated in several other inscriptions in his tomb: *jz pn dt(.j)* 'this tomb of my endowment',<sup>51</sup> *jr jz pn jr.n(.j) sw m-šwj jmsh(.j)* [...] 'as for this tomb, I have built it because of my condition of being revered [...]',<sup>52</sup> and *jr jz n dt(.j) jr.n(.j) sw m-šwj* [...] *rdj.n(.j) n hm(w)t* [...] 'as for the tomb of my endowment, I have built it due to [...] and I have given to the artisans [...]'.<sup>53</sup> Another interesting inscription mentions one of the sources of the offerings at the disposal of *Nj-m3ct-Rc*: *jn.sn wdb-rd htp(t)-ntr* [...] *n mwt nzwt mwt bjtj* [...] *n jmj-r* [...] 'it is [...] to the mother of the king of Upper Egypt and mother of the Lower Egypt that they bring reversion offerings (consisting of) divine offerings [...] to the overseer [...]'.<sup>54</sup> These texts reveal the rather anomalous existence of two different *dt* 'endowments' involved in a single monument: the tomb of *Nj-m3ct-Rc* (*jz n dt(.j)* 'the tomb of my endowment') and the chapel of *Nfr-srs* built inside his mastaba (*jz pn dt.s* 'this tomb of her endowment'). Since Egyptian inscriptions state that a (*pr-*)*dt*

<sup>50</sup> Hassan, *Excavations at Giza II*, 205 (fig. 226).

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 213 (fig. 231).

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 205 (fig. 226).

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 240; A. M. Roth, 'The Practical Economics of Tomb-Building in the Old Kingdom: A Visit to the Necropolis in a Carrying Chair', in D. P. Silverman (ed.), *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer* (SAOC 55; Chicago, 1994), 231 (fig. 16.3).

<sup>54</sup> Hassan, *Excavations at Giza II*, 214 (fig. 232).

was granted by the king to an official,<sup>55</sup> it can be inferred that the building of the chapel of *Nfr-srs* may have posed some administrative problems, particularly because there is no reference to a family link between *Nj-m3ʿt-Rʿ* and *Nfr-srs*.<sup>56</sup> The only relationship apparent from the texts was a professional one, because both of them were involved with the control of dancers and singers in the royal palace. Another problem could be the fact that the endowment of a royal mother and a temple were involved in the delivering of funerary offerings to the tomb of *Nj-m3ʿt-Rʿ*.<sup>57</sup> The use of the term *sn-dt* may indicate, in this context, a procedure whereby a person (the secondary recipient) could benefit from the goods not originally granted to him or her, but allocated to another dignitary (the original recipient). The intervention of a *sn-dt* as a middleman allowed the secondary recipient to benefit from the goods originally conferred to another person, but without considering these goods as his own. So, *Nfr-srs* was the secondary recipient of the offerings and the monument granted to or built by *Nj-m3ʿt-Rʿ*. As her chapel is stated to belong to her (*pr-dt*), even if it was built inside the funerary monument of another person, one can infer that *Nj-m3ʿt-Rʿ* administered or had access to the goods of *Nfr-srs*' (*pr-dt*) in order to build her chapel in his tomb. If this interpretation is correct, the *sn-dt* procedure allowed the goods which constituted two different (*pr-dt*), those of the original and secondary recipients, to be kept clearly separate. And the use of the term *sn* 'brother' emphasized both the closeness of the persons involved in this operation as well as the sharing of their goods.

The case of *Htp-k3* (no. 24) further fleshes out the procedure just described. An inscribed wooden door leaf found near the tomb of the architect *K3-m-hzt* mentions his father, *Sn.f-ʿnh*, as well as *Sn.f-ʿnh*'s five sons: *K3-m-hzt* himself, *K3-pw-nzwt*, *Mmj*, *Htp-k3*, and *K3-hnt*. It must be stressed that the wooden door leaf was not found in the mastaba of *K3-m-hzt* but on the east side of an unexcavated tomb immediately to the west; Gunn thought that although *K3-m-hzt* was the donor of the door, it did not belong to him or his tomb, but perhaps to another member of the same family.<sup>58</sup> In fact, the tomb of *K3-m-hzt* belongs to a large family complex together with the tombs of two of his brothers, a fact that could explain the presence of some monuments commissioned by members of this family in order to honour the most prestigious member and builder of the first and largest tomb of the group. Nevertheless it might be kept in mind that in spite of the prominent figure of *K3-m-hzt*, the only brother represented together with him was *Htp-k3*. An inscription running in front of *K3-m-hzt* and *Htp-k3* states: *jr(.j) nzw n jt(.j) n snw(.j) n-mrwt prt-hrw n.sn hnʿ(.j) m jšt(.j)* 'it was in order that they might have invocation offerings together with me, from my (own)

<sup>55</sup> J. C. Moreno García, *Hwt et le milieu rural égyptien du III<sup>e</sup> millénaire: Economie, administration et organisation territoriale* (BEHE SHP 337; Paris, 1999), 210–22.

<sup>56</sup> The tomb of *Nj-m3ʿt-Rʿ* contains textual and iconographic evidence about his wife and sons, but there is no family information about *Nfr-srs* in her chapel. Cf. the contrast with *Htp-hr.s Hnw*, who was *Nj-m3ʿt-Rʿ*'s wife and who bears the epithets *mrt hj.s* 'beloved of her husband' and *jmsh(w)t hr hj.s* 'revered by her husband' on her own false-door stela (Hassan, *Excavations at Giza II*, 210 fig. 230).

<sup>57</sup> The use of the term *hpt(t)-ntr* 'divine offerings' suggests that a temple delivered offerings to *Nj-m3ʿt-Rʿ*, perhaps directly or perhaps through the endowment of the royal mother. For some parallels, cf. Moreno García, *Hwt et le milieu rural égyptien*, 110–11.

<sup>58</sup> McFarlane, *Mastabas at Saqqara*, 42.

property, that I built this for my father and my brothers' (*Urk.* I, 206.14–15). But another inscription, running just below the representations of *K3-m-hzt* and *Htp-k3*, says: *sn-dt jmj-r qd Htp-k3 rdj n.f m N'rt grgt Hm-df3 šht st3t 2* 'the *sn-dt* and overseer of architects *Htp-k3*: the *grgt*-domain Hemdjefa in the province of Naret (= nomes 20–21 of Upper Egypt) has been given to him (consisting of) a field of two arouras' (*Urk.* I, 207.2–3).<sup>59</sup> I interpret this sentence as a continuation and a specification of the contents of the previous one, which would make *Htp-k3* the donor of the door as a means of honouring his elder brother: the dimensions of the hieroglyphs of the second sentence (which concerns *Htp-k3*) would be difficult to explain if the door had been ordered by *K3-m-hzt*. Considering the texts and scene, it seems reasonable to think that the inscribed door leaf was a commemorative monument commissioned by *Htp-k3*, since he stressed that he had obtained a domain, and that the monument was consecrated to the father and brothers of the protagonist of these activities. Moreover, the monument appears near the tomb of a person—*K3-m-hzt*—who was not the main protagonist of the inscriptions. The identity of the person with whom *Htp-k3* maintained a *sn-dt* relationship is therefore problematic. Perhaps he was the *sn-dt* of his father and brothers; in fact, parallels reveal that a person could be the *sn(t)-dt* of a father, brother, or husband (cf. nos 15, 16, 21, and 30 in the repertory). As the text mentions that he received a field and that he delivered offerings from his own property to the other members of his family, the general context seems rather similar to that discussed for *Nj-m3't-Rc*. It would seem that, once again, an official (*Htp-k3*) used, at least partially, his own resources to finance activities on behalf of people who were not the original recipients of the endowment (the brother and the father of *Htp-k3*). In spite of the absence of any indication of the origin of the donation, the area of the fields (two arouras)<sup>60</sup> and the verb employed (*rdj* instead of, for example, *jrj* or *jn*, the verbs then used to express the acquisition of land),<sup>61</sup> suggest an official, royal donation instead of a private purchase. If *Htp-k3* was effectively the *sn-dt* of his father and brothers, we would have another example of the role played by the *sn-dt* as intermediary in transactions where indirect usufructs and official income were involved.

The epigraphic record of the singer of the palace *Hwfw-ḥnh* (cf. no. 12) points in the same direction, since his son states that he had also built a monument—a stela—to honour another member of his family, *Hwfw-ḥnh*. *Hwfw-ḥnh* came from a family of *hntjw-š* (his father, mother, and he himself bore this title) and he also had close ties with the royal circle because of his functions of singer of the palace and

<sup>59</sup> Alternatively, one can also read this sentence as *sn-dt jmj-r qd Htp-k3 rdj n.f m N'rt grgt Hm-df3 šht st3t 2* 'it is the *sn-dt* and overseer of architects *Htp-k3* who gave him the *grgt*-domain Hemdjefa in the province of Naret (= nomes 20–1 of Upper Egypt) (consisting of) a field of two arouras' (J. C. Moreno García, 'Administration territoriale et organisation de l'espace en Égypte au troisième millénaire avant J.-C.: *grgt* et le titre '(n)d-mr grgt', *ZAS* 123 (1996), 117).

<sup>60</sup> This quantity appears both in private and ritual texts (cf., for example, *Urk.* I, 25.4, 163.14; *CT* III, 88h, 118g, 137g, 153c; VI, 248d; VII, 505a, 506a), as if it was considered a kind of minimal standard landed endowment devoted to the production of offerings.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. the contrast in the use of the verbs *jn* and *rdj* concerning the acquisition of land in *Urk.* I, 2.8–9. For the terms employed in texts relating to land purchase in the third millennium, cf. J. C. Moreno García, 'Acquisition de serfs durant la Première Période Intermédiaire: Une étude d'histoire sociale dans l'Égypte du III<sup>e</sup> millénaire', *RdE* 51 (2000), 123–39.

chief of flautists responsible for the entertainment for the king. The inscriptions on the false-door in his mastaba stress the fact that the king himself furnished the funerary equipment for his tomb: *jr.n n.f hm.f nzw r jmh.f hr hm.f sk szw nh hr rdwj.f* ‘it was when he was alive on his feet that His Majesty did this for him because of his condition of being honoured before His Majesty’, and *jr gs nzwt ds.f hr pgz n dzdw* ‘done in the presence of the king himself at the entrance of the audience-hall’. By contrast, his own son could only dedicate a stela to him: *rh nzwt Hwfw-nh jr.n n.f nzw sz.f [...]* ‘the acquaintance of the king *Hwfw-nh*, his son [...] built this for him’. The presence of at least four *snw-dt* in his funerary monument, including a *snt-dt* very close to the inner core of *Hwfw-nh*’s family, points to an important official who managed to obtain invocation offerings from *snw-dt*; one of these, *Kzp*, is probably one of the homonymous *hntj-s* (*pr-3*) whose statues were found in the tomb of *Hwfw-nh* and, consequently, he was a colleague of his.

The inscriptions of *Pn-mrw* (no. 37) and *Tntj* (no. 36) doubtless provide the richest information about the role played by the *sn-dt* in a funerary context. *Tntj* was a middle rank official who received invocation offerings from the *pr-nzwt*, which were administered by his wife: ‘with regard to the invocation offerings which have come to me from the house of the king in the form of barley, wheat, and clothing, it is my wife, the royal acquaintance *Tp-m-nfrt*, who will provide my invocation offerings, for she is an honoured one for me’ (*Urk.* I, 163.11–13).<sup>62</sup> But the main concern of the funerary dispositions in his tomb was to participate in the funerary endowment originally granted to his mother, the *rh(t) nzwt Bbj*, consisting of two fields. The measures taken by *Tntj* were twofold. On the one hand, he asked royal permission to dispose of one field from *Bbj*’s endowment, apparently invoking his status as eldest son who had accomplished the pious act of burying his mother: ‘I am her eldest son, her heir. It was I who buried her in the necropolis’ (*Urk.* I, 164.2–3). This field was to be administered by his wife, and its income devoted to the remuneration of several *hmw-k3* in charge of the funerary service for *Tntj* and *Bbj*: ‘with regards to the first of two fields which provide the invocation offerings for my mother, the royal acquaintance *Bbj*, it now belongs to my wife, the royal acquaintance *Tepemnefret*. She is the one who shall make the invocation offerings for me and my mother, the royal acquaintance *Bbj*. It was I who begged them (= the plots of land) from the king because of my condition of being honoured’ (*Urk.* I, 163.14–164.1). On the other hand, some other institutional offerings formerly granted to *Tntj*’s mother, *Bbj*, as well as another field, were to be administered by the *sn-dt K3j-m-nfrt* in order to provide invocation offerings for *Tntj* and his mother: ‘with regard to the invocation offerings for my mother, the royal acquaintance *Bbj*, consisting of barley and wheat from the granary, and clothing from the treasury, it is my *sn-dt*, the ka priest *K3j-m-nfrt*, who shall provide the invocation offerings there for my mother, the royal acquaintance *Bbj*, and for myself. As regards the second of these two fields which provide the invocation offerings for my mother, the royal acquaintance *Bebi*, it shall belong to my *sn-dt*, the *k3*-ritualist *K3j-m-nfrt*. It is he who shall provide the invocation offerings there for

<sup>62</sup> For a recent translation of this text, see N. C. Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age* (WAW 16; Atlanta, 2005), 202–3 (no. 115).

my mother, the royal acquaintance *Bbj*, and for myself'. (*Urk.* I, 164.13–165.2). The inscription in the tomb of *Pn-mrw* describes the measures he took in order to ensure that invocation offerings originally delivered to the vizier *Sšm-nfr* subsequently reverted to him through the *sn-dt Nfr-ḥtp* (lines 2–4): 'with regard to my *sn-dt*, the *k3*-ritualist *Nfr-ḥtp*, and his children of father and mother, they are to be the *k3*-ritualists of my personal endowment responsible for the invocation offerings for my tomb of my endowment in the necropolis of the pyramid of Khufu; they are also those who bring to me the reversion offerings of my sovereign, the vizier *Sšm-nfr*'.<sup>63</sup> In exchange for this service, *Nfr-ḥtp* was paid with a field over which the descendants of *Pn-mrw* would not have any rights (lines 4–8): 'with regard to the one *kha* (= 10 arouras) field which I have given to him and these his children, I do not empower any person to have authority over him and these his children; I do not empower any son of mine or any children of mine to have authority'. A final disposition in the texts protects a field granted to *Pn-mrw*'s wife, the *rh(t) nzwt Mrt-jt.s*, from any reallocation that could be made by their descendants (line 9): 'he shall give 5 *ta* measures of land as invocation offerings of the royal acquaintance *Mrt-jt.s*'.

These two texts have some important elements in common. In both cases, the recipients of the invocation offerings received goods which had not originally been granted to them, and which did not belong to their own patrimonies; they had been allocated to a vizier and to the mother of one of them. It seems as if the fact of having access to these goods implied some kind of restriction in their use or administration for the secondary beneficiaries, as other persons intervened as mediators (the *sn-dt* as well as the wife of one of them). Although *Tntj* and *Pn-mrw* did benefit from these goods, they continued to be considered as belonging to a separate sphere, distinct from the possessions of *Tntj* and *Pn-mrw*. The role played by the *sn-dt* as mediator or representative for the secondary beneficiary was recompensed with a remuneration, even when he was a close member of the family of the final recipient of the goods. Another common aspect of the texts cited seems to be that the goods which were transferred had an official, institutional origin (state remuneration, royal endowment, reversion offerings from a temple or a high official, even a member of the royal family), and that they were not private property. In some cases the context suggests that they came from royal grants (such as the fields of *Ḥtp-k3*), or allocations (such as the *dt* of *Nj-m3t-Rc* and *Nfr-srs*), but in other examples it is clearly stated that royal permission was necessary to enjoy them.

The inscription of the *zš pr-ḥd Ḥc f-Pth* in the tomb of the *jmj-ḥt pr-ḥd Nj-k3w-Pth* is more difficult to interpret from a sociological point of view. It states: *jn sn.f dt jr n.f sk sw qrs(w) m jmntt nfrt m-m jmshww* 'it was when he was buried in the beautiful west, among the revered, that his *sn-dt* made (this) for him'. Nothing is said about the details of the *sn-dt* relationship between these two officials. But since they worked for the same administrative branch (the *pr-ḥd*), it is possible that their case might show some parallels with that of *Nj-m3t-Rc* and *Nfr-srs*, two dignitaries involved in the same professional activities, the control of dancers and singers in the royal palace. Nevertheless, in the absence of further evidence this interpretation of the

<sup>63</sup> Cf. a recent translation of this text in Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 200–1 (no. 112).

relationship between *H<sup>c</sup>.f-Pth* and *Nj-k3w-Pth* is purely speculative. Finally, the *sn-dt Hhj* declares that she had offered a statue to the *jmj-ht z3-pr K3-pw-Pth* when he was buried. These two examples further confirm that a *sn-dt* could provide a funerary monument for another person.

### The titles of the *sn-dt* and of their 'patrons'

The titles of *sn(w)-dt* usually belong to the same administrative sphere of those borne by the 'patrons' in whose tombs they were represented. It seems as if they were colleagues working in the same administrative branches, with the obvious exception of the *sn(w)-dt* who were at the service of a vizier, the highest official in the country. *Jttj*, for example, was *smr n pr-3* and *shd w<sup>b</sup>(w)* of the pyramid of Khafre, whereas his 'patron', *H<sup>c</sup>.f-R<sup>c</sup>-nh*, exerted exactly the same functions. *Pth-h<sup>c</sup>.f* was a scribe of the treasury, whereas his 'patron', *Nj-k3w-Pth*, displays titles concerning the same institution. And the *sn-dt Snb* was *zš pr-mdst*, like his father *Whm-k3*. This example shows the fictional nature of the sibling relationship evoked by the term *sn-dt*, as it was displayed by wives (cf. nos 16, 21, and 30) or sons (cf. nos 15 and 24) of the owners of the tombs. Sometimes, the *sn(w)-dt* possessed their own tombs (nos 14, 18, and 34) or they were represented at the same scale as their 'patrons' in the funerary monuments of the latter, as in the case of the fragment of the stela of *Jtj-sn* and *Nfr* in the Cairo Museum.

From a chronological point of view, it is interesting to observe that *sn(w)-dt* are only attested in monuments dated from the Fourth to the end of the Fifth Dynasty or the very beginning of the Sixth, with a slight difference between Giza and Saqqara: there were more *sn(w)-dt* from the Fourth Dynasty at Giza, whereas the title survived at Saqqara until the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty. Another important element to be considered is the fact that from about the middle of the Fifth Dynasty the 'patrons' of the *sn(w)-dt* known at Saqqara were viziers (*Ph-n-w(j)-k3*, *3ht-htp*, *Pth-htp* II), or officials involved in the administration of the vizier's bureau (*hwt-wrt: Ntr-wsr*, *Shm-k3*). The latest of them, *Pth-htp* II, had by far the largest number of *sn(w)-dt* at his service (fifteen), and probably even more: the official *Tzmw* claimed to be the *sn-dt* of *Pth-htp* (probably *Pth-htp* II), even though he was not represented in the tomb of this well-known vizier. The case of *Pth-htp* II is exceptional when compared to other 'patrons' of many *sn(w)-dt*: in four or, perhaps, five cases two *sn(w)-dt* were mentioned in the tomb of an official, and there are only three cases in which three of them appear at the service of a single dignitary. The commonest situation was, then, that only one *sn-dt* was connected to a 'patron'. It is also worth noting that there was no correlation between the display of high titles by an official and the mention of a number of *sn-dt* in his tomb. Since the *sn(w)-dt* appear as substitutes for their 'patrons' in the performance of rituals (cf. nos 7–8),<sup>64</sup> or as intermediaries between their 'patrons' and a source of revenues, one can reasonably infer that the *sn(w)-dt* at the service of a member of the elite reveal that these people accumulated important sources of

<sup>64</sup> Many owners of the tombs where *sn(w)-dt* were represented were *w<sup>b</sup>*-ritualists of the king or a pyramid (cf. nos 9, 10, 14, 16, 29, 34, and 37), or *hm-ntr* of a king (cf. nos 25, 26, and 29).

institutional revenues by participating in a number of official activities. The case of *Pth-htp* II, with his (at least) fifteen or sixteen *snw-dt*, suggests an exceptionally prominent economic and social position, which probably led to the suppression of the *sn-dt* institution just after him, since his tomb is quite probably the last one to show individuals bearing the title *sn-dt*. It is also remarkable that the 'patrons' of the *snw-dt* attested at Giza were courtiers of middle rank involved in ritual activities in the palace, whereas their colleagues at Saqqara had a more prominent administrative profile as viziers and high officials; the *snw-dt* represented in their tombs also display a richer set of titles, many of them of administrative nature.

#### Conclusion: the status and role of the *sn-dt*

Several *snw-dt* were the owners of the tombs where they were buried, as was the case for *Jttj*, *Nj-mꜣt-Rꜥ*, *Tꜣmꜣw*, and, probably, *Nfr* (in his case it was a double tomb, built for *Jttj-sn* and *Nfr* himself). This circumstance stresses the fact that they were usually rich enough to possess their own funerary monuments and that their relationship with their 'patrons' did not imply a full dependence, but some kind of close relationship. Moreover, some *snw-dt* were represented at the same size as their 'patrons' in the tombs of the latter, and they usually display important titles which confirm their social status as members of the Egyptian elite.

If we examine the range of their activities, they were usually of the kind where the intervention of an elder son would have been expected, like the building of a tomb for a deceased person, or the replacement of the chief of the family in the accomplishment of works or in the provision of offerings and rituals for the dead. *Tntj*, for example, stated that he had received a field from the funerary endowment of his mother as a pious elder son who had buried her; as for another field originally granted to his mother, it was administered by a *sn-dt* for the benefit of *Tntj*. The activities carried out by the *snw-dt* were of a very specific nature, independent from any true sibling or family relationship between them and their 'patrons'. Brothers, sons, or wives of the 'patron' could also be designated by this term despite being his true relations, just as in the cases when a *sn-dt* did not belong to the family of the dead.

In certain other instances, a *sn-dt* played the role of representative of, or substitute for, another official or worker, as in the ceremonial activities which took place in the funerary complexes of the pharaohs, or in the lists of personnel from administrative documents such as the Gebelein papyri. Unfortunately, the scarcity of the sources at our disposal impedes the formulation of a thorough definition of the social role played by a *sn-dt*, but it seems to me that a common aspect to their documented activities is the fact of being a substitute for a 'patron' both in the public and the private sphere. The most detailed inscriptions concern the organisation of the funerary ritual service of the 'patron' or the building of his tomb, where the *sn-dt* mediated in the transfer of goods to the 'patron', goods which had not been originally granted to him. This procedure allowed both the enlargement of the range of goods at the disposal of a 'patron' and, perhaps more importantly, the accumulation of a number of ritual functions which, probably, he would not otherwise have been able to fulfil effectively.



This procedure could also turn out to be an important way of creating clientele between members of the elite,<sup>65</sup> because of the restricted access to certain ritual functions in the funerary complexes of the Pharaohs, where royal permission and decrees were needed, and which were, for this reason, reserved for high officials.<sup>66</sup> This circumstance could explain why high officials, like the viziers, were the last officials to have *snw-dt* at their service.

But the most important documented role played by the *sn-dt* as a substitute or middleman was to administer the goods belonging to the *pr-dt* of a dignitary for the benefit of the holder of another *pr-dt*, a procedure which allowed the two *pr-dt* to be kept clearly separated. As the term (*pr-*)*dt* designated the goods granted by the state to an official as remuneration or recompense for his services, the literal meaning of *sn-dt* 'brother of the *dt*' implies the idea of a person external but complementary to the (*pr-*)*dt* of an official, especially in the performance of certain duties. The *sn-dt* institution was perhaps one of the many 'fictional family' procedures which enabled the transfer of goods between individuals leaving aside the family rules of inheritance.<sup>67</sup>

With all these considerations in mind the differences between a *sn-dt* and a *dt* can be better appreciated. The term *dt* implies the existence of some kind of patron/client relationship, as in the recently discovered case of *Pttj* quoted at the beginning of this article.<sup>68</sup> He was the *dt* of the official *Jtj-sn: shd nfr(w) rh nzwt Jtj-sn dt* 'the inspector of recruit(s), the *dt* of the acquaintance of the king *Jtj-sn*'. But, on the other hand, *Pttj* was the patron of another person of lesser status, a *dt* and *m3t(r)t* 'mourner'. People also identified themselves as being a *pr-dt* or *n(j) dt* '(member) of a (*pr-*)*dt*' as, for example, in a number of inscriptions at Elkab or Saqqara.<sup>69</sup> The nature of the *sn-dt* institution was by contrast quite different since it expressed mainly a specific administrative status/function in which the notions of substitution or representation were implied, and not primarily a patron/client relationship.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. the rhetorical claim by *Hxzj* of having progressed in his career without the support of any backer, N. Kanawati and M. Abder-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, V: The Tomb of Hesi* (ACE Reports 13; Warminster, 1999), 37–8, pls xxxiii.b, lix.b.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. the lists of officials who carried out rituals at the funerary complex of Pharaoh Neferirkare: Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire*, passim. As for the royal decrees, cf. P. Posener-Kriéger, 'Décrets envoyés au temple funéraire de Rêneferéf', in P. Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* (BdE 97; Cairo, 1985), II, 195–210.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. J. C. Moreno García, review of N. Kanawati and M. Abder-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara*, III (Warminster, 2001), *BiOr* 60 (2003), 346 n. 25, and S. Allam, 'Papyrus Turin 2021: Another Adoption Extraordinary', in C. Cannuyer and J.-M. Kruchten (eds), *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'Égypte pharaonique et copte: Mélanges égyptologiques offerts au Professeur Aristide Théoridès* (Ath, 1993), 23–8. Cf. also P. Rylands 28, where a man and his family become the sons of a ritualist. Similar procedures are well attested in Near Eastern juridical documents; cf., for instance, B. Lion, 'Les adoptions d'hommes à Nuzi (XIV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.)', *RHD* 82 (2004), 537–76.

<sup>68</sup> Hawass, in Knoppers and Hirsch (eds), *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World*, 21–39.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. *LD* II, 117.1, p, u; G. Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II* (Cairo, 1929), 101 (fig. 116). Cf. also titles like *hwt-3t* '(member) of the *hwt-3t*', *pr-3* '(member) of the palace', and so on.