Une famille égyptienne au Moyen Empire (XII-XIIIème dynasties, vers 1785 avant notre ère) **: Senpou et sa famille, Abydos** (*Musée du Louvre*).

❑ Problems in Egyptology : Ancient Egyptian Kinship

Troy D. ALLEN

Abstract : *This article places itself in an attempt to highlight a vexing problem in Egyptology. It has the dual purpose of dispelling the popular albeit erroneous conception that consanguineous marriages were rampant in Pharaonic Egypt and to illustrate how the mechanical imposition of Western (Indo-European) kinship terms have altered and distorted the accurate depiction of kinship, family relations and social organization in ancient Egypt[1].*

Résumé : ***Problèmes en égyptologie : la parenté en Égypte ancienne*** - *Cet article se présente comme une tentative visant à éclairer un problème controversé en égyptologie. Il a le double objectif de montrer l'inexactitude de l'idée, très répandue, selon laquelle les mariages consanguins étaient largement pratiqués en Égypte pharaonique, et d'illustrer comment l'application mécanique des termes de parenté occidentaux (société Indo-européenne) a altéré, déformé la véritable description de la parenté, des relations familiales et de l'organisation sociale de l'ancienne Égypte.*

---

[1] **Tom B. Jones**, (Ed.) *The Sumerian Problem* (John Wiley & Sons Inc., 1969), "The problems approach, in other words is the intellectual climax to a thoroughly conceived reading program and is, indeed, the most characteristic of all approaches to historical pedagogy among the newer generation of college and university teachers." .v.

Egyptologists have produced vast amounts of data on various aspects of the ancient Egyptian society. This information has primarily been developed from ancient Egypt's Archaeological and textual records. Egyptologists believe that the data (archaeological and textual record) provide the answers to any question surrounding ancient Egyptian society; it need only to be translated or excavated (**Trigger**, 1993, p.2).[2] Since Egyptology is a combination of archaeology, philology, and linguistics, the interpretation of these data has been of great interest to other disciplines.

From the archaeological and textual record numerous studies have been produced on certain aspects of ancient Egyptian society, marriage, family, women, sexual life, and customs. But these studies deal with kinship in an allusive manner. In nineteen twenty-seven, M. **Murray** published an article in the journal *Ancient Egypt* entitle: "Genealogies of the Middle Kingdom". This article is often cited to give credibility to the popular albeit erroneous assumption that ancient Egypt (Pharaonic) was rampant with consanguineous marriages, that is brother/sister and father/daughter. Indeed, what this article illustrated was **Murray**'s unfamiliarity with the indigenous meaning of ancient Egyptian kinship terms. Consequently, **Murray** disposes of the idea that kinship terms such as *snt* (sister), and *hmt* (wife), may have different cultural connotations than those of Europe. **Murray** states emphatically :

> "*It is often argued that the terms of relationship were not as strictly applied as at the present day, and that when a woman is said to be a "sister of a man", the word may mean "wife's sister", "brother's wife", paternal or maternal aunt, niece or even cousin; but this can hardly be the case*"(**Murray**, 1927, p.45).

Although **Murray** suggests that the ancient Egyptian kinship terms may not be similar to those of European (Western) usage, these differences are still explained in the context of European kinship and family relationships.

In the polite world of Egyptology, J. Černy dismissed **Murray**'s conclusions with a footnote in an article entitled, "*Consanguineous Marriages in Pharaonic Egypt*". Černy states the following:

> "*I should like to point out that this method of establishing consanguineous marriages is not new. Miss Murray, Anc. Egypt, 1927, 45ff., has used some of my stelae and also some other in this way to indict the Egyptians for the customs of marrying not only their sisters, but also their daughters, and their mothers. Her reconstructions of genealogies seem to me incorrect and I cannot accept her conclusions. Lack of space however prevents me from refuting her assertions in detail here*"(Černy, 1954, p.27).

---

[2]**B. Trigger**, *Early Civilizations: Ancient Egypt In Context (Egypt*: American University In Cairo Press, 1993), "*The study of everyday life in ancient Egypt has not been of central concern. Its understanding has been treated as something that emerges naturally out of familiarity with data, rather than as a form of investigation that require special training... Egyptologists tend to assume that no particular expertise is needed to understand the behavior of the ancient Egyptians.*" 2.

In fact Černy's study was designed to identify whether consanguineous marriages existed in Pharaonic Egypt(**Nur El Din**, 1995, pp.9-69).[3] In his introduction Černy states:

> *"Though no serious attempt has ever been made systematically to collect evidence of consanguineous marriages Egyptologists seem always to have accepted their existence without stating clearly their reasons for such belief"* (Černy, 1954, p.29).

Černy gives three main reasons why these assumptions are held with no corroborating evidence :

1). the Greco-Roman Period,
2). testimony from classical authors, and
3). Egyptian wives of all periods were called "sisters"(**Robbins**, 1993, pp.61-62).[4]

Černy studied three hundred and fifty-eight stelae ranging from the First Intermediate Period down to the Eighteenth Dynasty, also the sixty-eight houses at Der el Medinah and concluded : *"We have no certain instances of a marriage between full brother and sister"*(Černy, 1954, p.29).While Černy's study set the standard for ancient Egyptian marriage, he does not deal directly with kinship terms or the different types of marriages in ancient Egyptian society.

Even after Černy's work had apparently lain to rest the idea of consanguineous marriages in ancient Egypt, there appeared another article on the subject by **Russell Middleton**. Middleton's article was entitled: *"Brother/Sister and Father/Daughter Marriage in Ancient Egypt"*(**Middleton**, 1962, p.203). **Middleton**'s article did not include any analysis of ancient Egyptian kinship terms in his assessment of ancient Egyptian marriage. **Middleton**'s major flaw in analyzing ancient Egyptian marriage is that he combines Pharaonic Egypt with the Greco-Roman period in Egypt without distinguishing the differences between the two Periods(**Carruthers**, 1984, p.48).[5] Also, **Middleton** cites

---

[3]Černy's study was limited to non-royal families, it is known that in the royal families brothers and sisters would sometimes marry to cement and maintain royal blood lines. Diop calls this "royal incest". However, when this happened the "sister" would always have a title such as *Snt nsw*, King's Sister, or *S3t nsw*, King's Daughter, with *Hmt nsw*, King's Wife, always coming next to King's sister. Sometimes these women were "real" sisters to their husbands and some were not. For example, Queen Tiy, wife of Amenhotep III held the title King's Sister, and in fact she was not his sister or half sister. A. Nur El Din, *The Role Of Women In The Ancient Egyptian Society.* (Cairo: S.C.A. Press, 1995), 9-69.

[4] **G. Robbins**, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), *"It is currently held that the term senet (sister) to refer to as wife emerges in the mid-eighteenth Dynasty.",* 61-62. Bohannan and Curtin, eds., *Africa and Africans* (New York: Natural History Press, 1971), *"In contemporary African societies many husbands refer to their wives as sister. "As some Africans put it, your wife of long standing becomes your sister.",* 112.

[5] Most Egyptologists recognize that ancient Egypt, that is Pharaonic Egypt begins to change dramatically after the eighteenth dynasty. See **J. Carruthers**, *Essays in Ancient Egyptian Studies.*(Berkeley: University Sankore Press, 1984),48. A. Bowman, Egypt After the Pharaohs: 332BC-AD 642. (Los Angles, University California Press, 1986), *"The first was the marriage between Philadelphius and his full sister Arsinoe and the practice was maintained until the end of the dynasty... Perhaps the Macedonian rulers were indifferent to possible outrage, perhaps they misunderstood the Egyptians habit of using 'brother' and 'sister' as a form of address between husband and wife",* 24.

Murray as his authority on Pharaonic Egyptian consanguineous marriages, a source that had already been discredited. In spite of their weaknesses **Murray**'s and **Middleton**'s articles are cited to substantiate claims of consanguineous marriages in ancient Egypt, even when it has been shown that they have a complete lack of knowledge of ancient Egyptian kinship terms and family social organization.

When marriage is dealt with directly as it was in **P. W. Pestman**'s work entitled : *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt: A Contribution to Establishing the Legal Position of Women*, the interrelatedness of kinship terms and social organization are never considered directly by **Pestman**. In fact he states :

> "*The position of children in the family law as well as the law of succession will be left out of consideration, as these subjects require special study*" (**Pestman**, 1961,p.x).

By failing to examine the law of succession **Pestman** is able to single out "women" as if they were a separate entity in society. A shortcoming of **Pestman**'s study is his failure to acknowledge that women existed as individuals and as members of a family. Although, a woman may reach a status that may be termed "adulthood", in fact, she remains a child of another group of adults (parents). Moreover, her place in the family and society could have well been established as a "child", by birth order, parental lineage, and gender. All of these could directly affect a woman's "legal" entitlement to family property. Also, since it is well known that marriage in ancient Egypt was a cultural event, not a legal or religious matter, (**Robbins**, 1993, p.56)[6] the ideal of "property" entitlement is a fascination of Western civilization's primogeniture system.

When more contemporary work is examined on the ancient Egyptian family we find that kinship and social organization are not dealt with in a direct manner. **Sheila Whale**'s work entitled : *The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: A Study of the Representation of the Family in Private Tombs*, is laced with the same ambiguities in regard to ancient Egyptian kinship, family and social organization. **Whale**'s study is an analysis of 93 tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty. A key aspect of **Whale**'s work is the *"Analysis of Family Relationships and Family Structure in the Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt"*, yet she realizes the problems posed by ancient Egyptian kinship terms for Eurocentric analysis. Whale addresses the problem in this manner :

> "*The oversimplified terminology of the kinship system in ancient Egypt makes it difficult at times to determine who-was-who in the extended family structure. The kinship terminology was purely descriptive but its simplicity does not imply that it was by any means a primitive system*" (**Whale**, 1989, p.239).

Whale further states that she does not seek to engage "in an in-depth discussion of kinship terms"(**Whale**, 1989, p.1). This is quite astonishing since one of the main objectives of **Whale**'s work is to :

> "*As certain whether the prominence of the mother in the tomb of her son at this time implies a matrilineal society in which the influence of the mother is paramount in the household of her son, or whether there are some other explanations for the role she plays in some tombs*" (**Whale**, 1989, p.2).

---

[6] **G. Robins**, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993), "There is no mention in our sources of any legal or religious ceremony to formalize a marriage." 56.

By discarding kinship as the central focus of her analysis **Whale** is privileged to place her own arbitrary criteria as to why the mother appears in the tombs of her sons with a higher regularity than the father.

In the literature produced on women in ancient Egypt the same ambiguity and imposition of western/European contextualization exists. In her work *Women in Ancient Egypt*, **Gay Robbins** states :

> "*It is possible that some of the families appear larger than they actually were, if some members labeled with kinship terms, sa (son) or sat (daughter), traditionally translated as son and daughter, were actually grandchildren, or the spouse's children, since these two terms also encompass these relationships.....terms sen and senet traditionally rendered as brother and sister .... could be collateral relatives, equivalent to cousins, uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces, or in laws*" (**Robbins**, 1994, pp. 98-99).

The same complications are further spelled out in **Joyce Tyldesley**'s work entitled, *Daughters of Isis: Women of Ancient Egypt*. **Tyldesley** comments on the "complicated Egyptian kinship terms in this manner:

> "*Unfortunately for modern observers, the Egyptians employed a relative restricted kinship terminology, and only the basic nuclear family was classified by precise terms. All others have to be identified in a more laborious manner*" (**Tyldesley**, 1994, p.48.).

Certainly, this idea of "laborious" kinship terminology has been imposed on the ancient Egyptians from the outside. *Life of the Ancient Egyptians* by Eugene Strouhal follows the same pattern of ambiguous references to ancient Egyptian kinship by stating :

> "*The kinship terms in old Egyptian themselves show the basic unit of society was the nuclear family. They only define relationships of the close sort-father, mother, sister, and brother. There were no names for more distant relationships and those had to be paraphrased*" (**Strouhal**, 1992, p.55).

The works cited illustrate the ambiguity that surrounds ancient Egyptian kinship terms. The lack of comprehension is clearly illustrated by statements that Egyptian kinship terms are "laborious" or have to be "paraphrased". The studies by Egyptologists on ancient Egyptian kinship show little agreement with regard to the type of system or rules of descent used by the ancient Egyptians.

In 1979, **Gay Robbins** produced a study in *Chronique d'Egypte* entitled, "*The Relationship Terms Specified By Egyptian Kinship Terminology Of The Middle and New Kingdoms*" in which she opened by stating :

> "*My description of their use does not claim to be complete, and there are many problems still to be solved; there is no comprehensive study of terms*" (Robbins, 1979, p.197).

M. L. Bierbrier followed **Robbins**' attempt with a study entitled, "*Terms of Relationship at Deir El-Medinah*", in which he concluded :

> "*Terms of Relationship in the Tombs-reliefs and stelae usually do indicate an actual relationship rather than a vague affinity, but the terms may have a wider meaning than hitherto been supposed*" (**Bierbrier**, 1980, p.7).

H.H. Willems was the next to embark on a systematic study of ancient Egyptian kinship with his article, "*A Description of Egyptian Kinship Terminology of the Middle Kingdom, c.2000-1650*.". The aim of **Willems'** study was to fill the gap in the previous studies of ancient Egyptian kinship by providing formal rules governing ancient Egyptian terms.   His data are drawn strictly from Middle Kingdom stelae, which, he says, exhibit a strong "maternal bias".   **Willems** also offered strong critiques of the previous work done by **Robbins** and **Bierbrier**, especially in the area of structural interpretation of the ancient Egyptian kinship system . **Willems'** conclusion is that "It is now possible to state the rules underlying the ancient Egyptian kinship terminology"(**Willems**, 1983, p.161). **Willems'** research led him to reject the conclusions of **Jansen**, who concluded that the ancient Egyptian kinship system was "Hawaiian", and also the conclusion of **Fattovich**, that the ancient Egyptian kinship system was "**Kariera**" (**Willems**, 1985, p.186-188). **Willems'** own conclusion is that the ancient Egyptian kinship system fits into **Scheffler's** class of systems with intergeneration extension rules, together with the Maygar system (**Murdock**, 1949, pp.184-260).

To date, all studies on ancient Egyptian kinship terms fail to agree on the nature of their kinship system or social organization. Although ancient Egyptian kinship terms have been somewhat clarified, their use and the kinship system require further study. **Robbins** and **Birebrier** draw no conclusion on the type of kinship system used by the ancient Egyptians in their work. While **Fattovich** sees it as **Kariera**, and **Jensen** describes it as Hawaiian, and **Willems** describes it as a Maygar system with intergeneration extension rules (**Lustig**, 1993), **Franke** determines the system to be both Symmetrical and Bilateral (**Helck** and **Westendorf**, 1986, pp.1031-1035). Consequently, since there is no agreement as to the nature of ancient Egyptian kinship that clarifies its social organization, further study of this topic is needed.

More importantly, Egyptologists have imposed Western (Indo-European) kinship terminology upon ancient Egyptian society by mechanically following Western kinship terms. For example :

sn n mwt. i, which is literally "brother of my mother" or "mother's brother", is typically referred to as "Uncle".

This type of imposition of Western kinship terminology alters the comprehension and reality of ancient Egyptian kinship terms and social organization. For example, **Annie Forgeau** states:
> " *rule of succession, from brother to brother until the branch became extinct, and from* **uncle** *to son of the eldest brother is further evidence of the greater importance attached to* **patrilinearity** *(Emphasis mine)*" (**Forgeau**, 1996, p.135).

In Western/European kinship terminology, the term uncle has several components, one is that it designates a male, and could encompass generations above and below that of a related relative. Consequently, it could be one's Mother's Brother, or Mother's Sister's Husband, or Husband's Father Brother, or Father's Sister's Husband (**Schneider**, 1968, pp.21-30). By re-examining **Forgeau**'s statement without the Western imposition of kinship terminology, a different reality appears:

> "*The succession, from brother to brother until the branch became extinct, and from* **mother's brother** *to son of the eldest brother is further evidence of the greater importance attached to patrilinearity.(emphasis mine)*"

The change in kinship terminology from uncle to mother's brother, alters the entire context of **Forgeau**'s assumptions and makes the question of patrilinearity dubious at best. In fact, the term mother's brother could be said to demonstrate the importance attached to

matrilinearity. This type of imposition of western kinship terminology alters the comprehension and reality of ancient Egyptian kinship family and social organization **E.L. Schusky** in his work *Manual for Kinship Analysis* states "A translation of the foreign term into the nearest English categories distorts the meaning" (**Schusky**, 1983, p.16).

Indeed, kinship and social organization are primarily patterns of behavior determined by culture. By proceeding from a Western/European perspective, Egyptologists not only impose Western/European kinship terms on ancient Egyptian society, they also impose cultural connotations and values to these terms. In effect removing ancient Egyptian civilization from its African cultural context.

❒References

Bierbrier, M.L. (1980). Terms of Relationship at Deir El-Medinah. Journal of Egyptian Archaeology,Volume 66, 100-107.

Bohannan P. ,and M. Curtin (Eds.) , (1971). Africa and Africans. New York: Natural History Press.

Bowman, A. (1986). Egypt after the Pharaohs: 332 BC-AD 642. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Černy, J. (1954). "Consanguineous Marriages in Pharaonic Egypt." *Journal of EgyptianArchaeology*", Volume 40, 23-29.

Clayton, P. (1994). Chronicle of the Pharaohs: The Reign-By-Reign Record Of The Rulers and Dynasties Of Ancient Egypt. London: Thames and Hudson.

Diop, C.A. (1974). *African Origin of Civilization: Myth or Reality?* Chicago: Lawerence Hill and Company.

Diop.C. .A. (1987). *The Cultural Unity of Black Africa*. Chicago: Third World Press.

Diop, C.A. (1981). *Civilization or Barbarism: An Authentic Anthropology*. New York: Lawerence Hill Books.

Forgeau, A. (1996). "The Survival of the Family Name and the Pharaonic Order". In F. Zonabend, ed.et al. *A History of the Family*. Massachusetts: Belknap Press.

Fox, R. (1971*) Kinship and Marriage*. Maryland: Penguin Books.

Franke, D. (1983). *Altagyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im mittleren Reich.* Hamburg:Borg.

Gardiner, A. (1994). *Egyptian Grammar*. 3rd Edition. England: Griffith Institute.

Helck,H. , and W. Westendorf, (Eds). (1986). *Lexikon Der Agyptology, Band VI*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Hoffman, A. (1979*). Egypt Before The Pharaohs*. New York: Barnes and Noble Books.

Jones, Tom, B. (Ed.), (1969). *The Sumerian Problem*. New York: John Wiley & Sons

Keesing, R. (1972. *Kin Groups and Social Structure*. Florida: Holt, Rhinehart, and Winston.

Kemp, B., et al. (1983). *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*. Great Britain: Cambridge University Press.

Lustig. J. (1993*). Ideologies of Social Relations in the Middle Kingdom Egypt: Gender, Kinship, Ancestors*. Ph.D. dissertation , Department of Anthropology Temple University. Ann Arbor MI. University Microfilms.

Middleton, R. (1962). "Brother-Sister and Father-Daughter Marriage in Ancient Egypt." American Sociological Review, Volume 27 no.(October) 603-622.

Murdock, G. (1949). *Social Structure*. New York: Macmillian.

Murray, M. (1927). "Genealogies of the Middle Kingdom." Ancient Egypt, June 1927 Part II. 45-51.

Murray, M (1949). *The Splendour That Was Egypt: A General Survey of Egyptian Culture and Civilization*. New York: Philosophical Library.

Nur El Din, A (1995). *The Role of Women in Ancient Egyptian Society*. Cario: S.C.A. Press

Obenga, T. (1992). *Ancient Egypt and Black Africa: A Student's Handbook For The Study of Ancient Egypt In Philosophy, Linguistics, and Gender Relations*. London: Karnak House.

Pestman, P. (1961). *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt.* Germany: Leiden.

Radcliffe-Brow̦n, A (1950). *Structure and Function in Primitive Society: Essays and Addresses*. New York: Free Press.

Radcliffe-Brown, A., and D. Forde, eds. (1950).*African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Robbins, G. (1979). "The Relationship Terms Specified by Egyptian Kinship Terminology of the Middle and New Kingdoms". Chronique d' Egypte, Volume 54, 197-217.

Robbins, G. (1993). *Women in Ancient Egypt*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Schneider, D. (1968). *American Kinship: A Cultural Account*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall   Inc.

Schusky, E. (1983). *Manual For Kinship Analysis*. 2nd ed. Lanham: University Press of America.

Simpson, K. (1974). "Polygamy In Egypt In The Middle Kingdom?" Journal Of Egyptian Archaeology. Volume 60, 100-105.

Strouhal, E. (1992). *Life of the Ancient Egyptians.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press

Tyldesley, J. (1994*). Daughters Of Isis: Women of Ancient Egypt*. London: Penguin Books.

Whale, S. (1989). *The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt*. Sydney: The Australian Centre for Egyptology.

Willems, H. (1983). "A Description of Egyptian Kinship Terminology Of The Middle Kingdom c.2000-1650 BC." Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en-Volenkunde. Volume 139, no 1, 161.

Willems, H. (1985). "Review of Detlef Franke, Altagyptische Verwandtschftsbezeichnungen im mittleren Reich". Hamburg: Borg. Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en-Volenkunde 141: 186-188.

Zonabend, F., et al. (1996). *A History of the Family Volume 1: Distant Worlds, Ancient Worlds*. Cambridge: Belknap Press.

Symbols on the following kinship drawings

⬭ ➔ **woman**

△ ➔ **man**

Figure 1. Statuette-Group of Sebek-Hotep and his womenfolk. Grey Granite. W:32cm. XII Dynasty. Provenance: Madinet el-Fayum. (from Annales Du Service Des Antiquities De L'Egypte, Tome XXXV. 1935, p.203-205).

Man

im3ḫw iry sm3t sbk-ḥtp ir n s3t-ḥwt-ḥr

The revered one, he who is attached to the *semat*, Sobekheotep, engendered by Sat-Hathor.

Wife

ḥmt.f mrit.f nbt pr s3t-ḥwt-ḥr-mr irt n rḫwt-ᶜnḫ

His wife beloved of him,(i.e. his beloved wife), the lady of the house, Sat-Hathor-mer, engendered by Rehut-ankh.

Mother's Sister

snt mwt.f kkw irt n s3t-ḥwt-ḥr m3ct-ḫrw

The sister of his mother, Keku, engendered by Sat-Hathor, true of voice (justified).

Mother
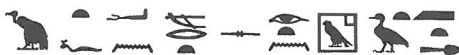
mwt.f ᶜn-mrt-s irt n s3t-ḥwt-ḥr m3ct ḫrw

His mother An-mert-es, engendered by Sat-Hathor, true of voice.

Mother's Mother

mwt n mwt.f s3t-ḫwt-ḥr irt n kkw

The mother of his mother, Sat-Hathor, engendered by Keku.

Kinship diagram of Statuette-Group of Sobekhotep

Keku + X

Sat-Hathor + X

Keku   An-mert-es + X
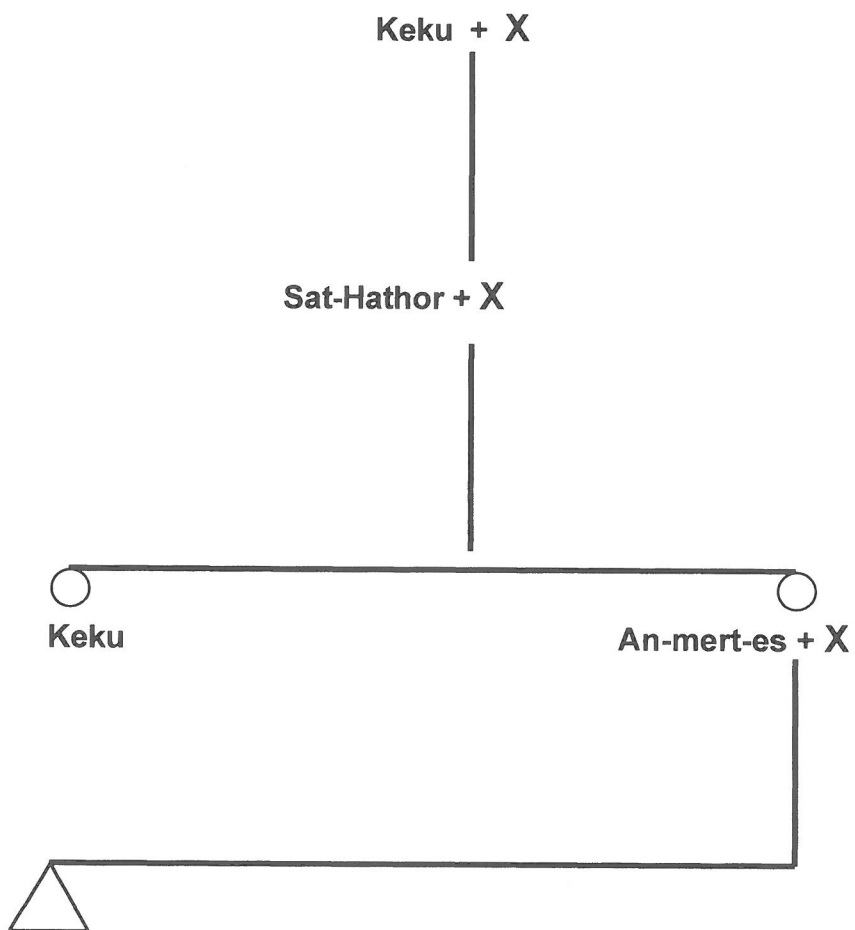
Sobekhotep + Sat-Hathor, daughter of Rehut-ankh
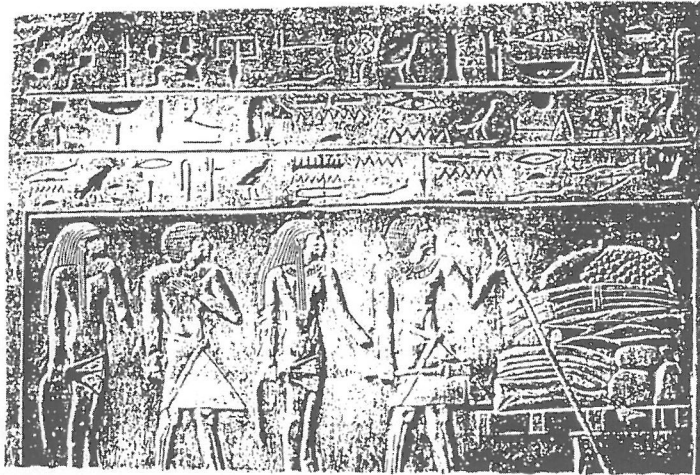
Figure 2. Khui and his Family. Limestone. Middle Kingdom. Provenance: Not Recorded. (from <u>Beschreibrung der Aegyptischen Sammlung.</u> Haas, Martimus Nijhoff, 1910, Plate XXIX).

Top Register

ḫtp dí nsw wsír nb Ddw dí.f prt-ḫrw t ḥnḵt k3w 3pdw n im3ḫw

A boon which the King gives (to) Osiris, lord of Busiris, that he may give invocation-offerings of bread and beer, oxen, fowl, to the revered one.
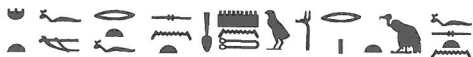
Middle Register

ímy-r ḫrp ḫwi ir n snt m3c-ḫrw nb im3ḫ

The overseer of the district, Khui, made by Senet, (he who is) justified, lord of honor.

Bottom Register

ḥmt.f mrt.f snt sn.f mntw-wsr mwt.f snt

Kinship Diagram of Khui and his family
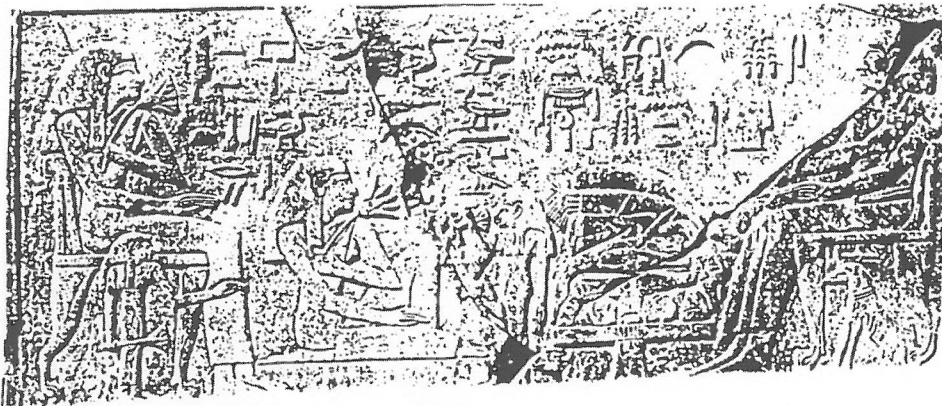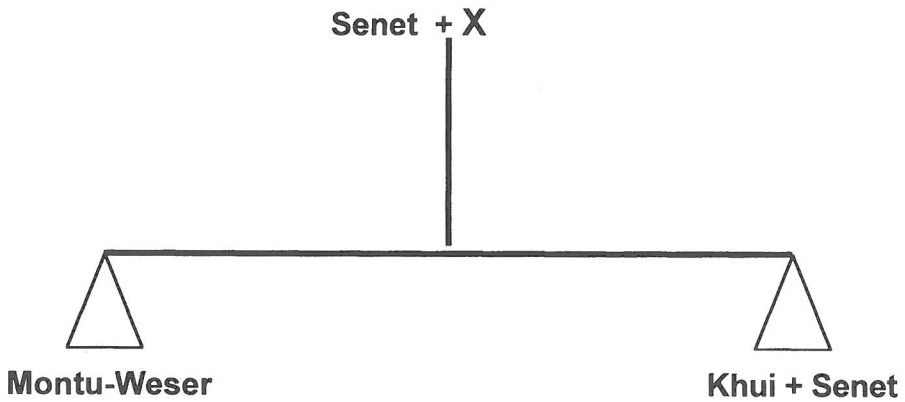
Senet + X

Montu-Weser Khui + Senet

Figure 3. Detail of Stela J.E. 59636 in *Cairo Museum. Limestone*. XVIII Dynasty. Provenance: Thebes. (from *Melanges Mariette*, Cairo. <u>IFAO</u>. 1961, p.211-227, Detail Third Register)

Left Side

nbt pr tti s3t.s nfrt-iry

The lady of the house, Teti, her daughter, Nefertary.

Middle Left

s3t.s 'Iḫ-ms

Her daughter, Ahmosis.

Right Side

sš 'ich-ms ms n ttí

The scribe Ahmosis, born to Teti.

Middle Right

s3t s3t.s T3-nt-nbw

The daughter of her daughter, Ta-net-Nebu
The name of the dog under Ahmosis's chair reads *Kn-Imn* "Qen-Amon".

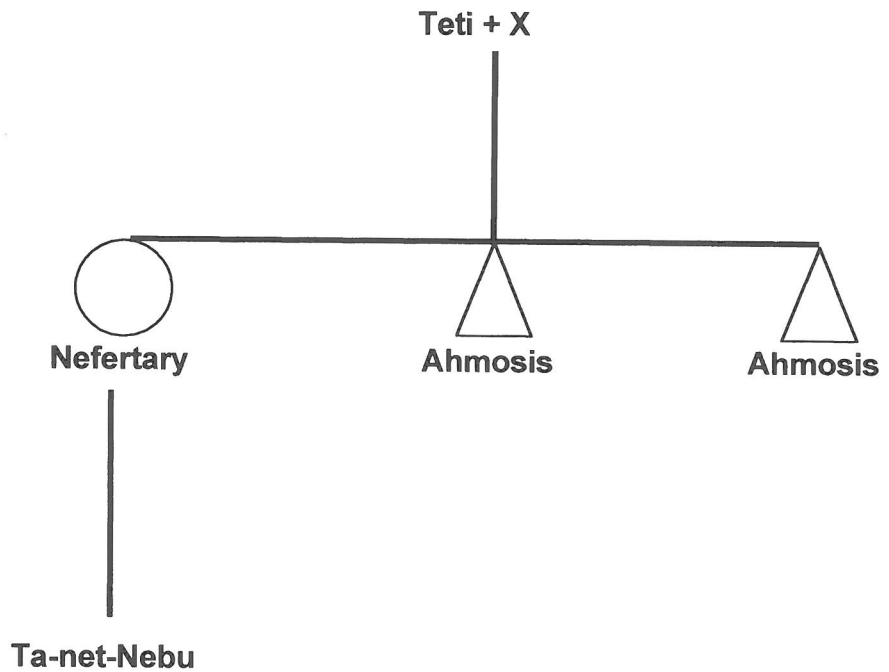**Kinship diagram of the Stelae J.E. 59636**

Figure 4. Stela of Iteti and his wives. Limestones. 50x30 cm. XI Dynasty. Provenance: Dendara. (from <u>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</u>. Volume 79, 1983, Plate XXIV).

ḥtp di nsw wsir

A boon which the King gives (to) Osiris

Smr wᶜty 'itti

The sole companion Iteti

s3t.f bb
His daughter Bebi

s3t.f bbit

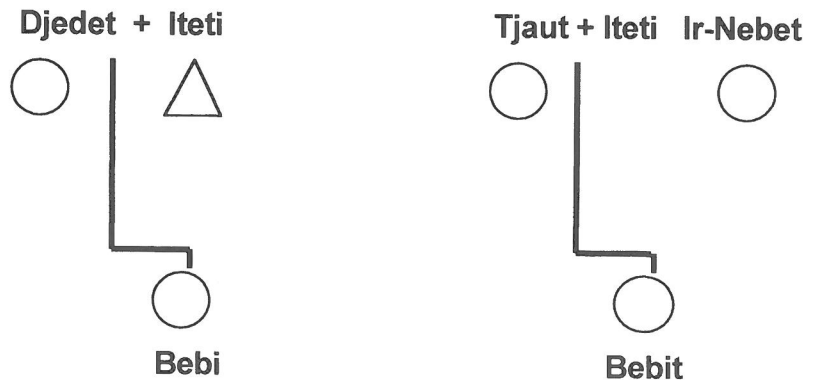His daughter Bebit

ḥmt.f mrt 'ir-nbt

His beloved wife Ir-Nebet

ḥmt.f mrt ṯȝwt

His beloved wife Tjaut

ḥmt.f mrt ḏdt

His beloved wife Djedet

Kinship diagram of the stela of Iteti and his wives.

Djedet + Iteti

○ △

Bebi

Tjaut + Iteti Ir-Nebet

○ ○

Bebit

❏The author

Troy D Allen is an Assistant Professor of Africana Studies at the University of Pittsburgh. Where he teaches Introduction to Africana Studies, Pan-Africanism, Black Social Movements of the 20th Century. His research interests include the Ancient Egyptian family and social organization, social theories and social change, and comparative history.

Publications (http://www.ankhonline.com)

T. D. ALLEN, M. BEATTY, G. K. CARR, V. WATKINS, *The Celestial Sphere in Ancient Egypt,* *ANKH* n°4/5, 1995-1996, pp. 215-221.