Rock Inscriptions from Semna and Kumma

Epigraphic Study

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Under the patronage of the Swiss Embassy

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The present study is taking part of a larger project initiated in autumn 2009 by the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museum (NCAM), under the auspices of the Swiss Embassy. The goal of the project is the restoration and presentation of rock inscriptions from the Second Cataract forts, Semna and Kumma. The project has been conceived around three axes: the conservation and restoration of the blocks, the presentation of selected blocks in the garden of the museum and the epigraphic study of the inscriptions. The last aspect was conducted by the author, in the framework of collaboration between the French Archaeological Unit (SFDAS) and the NCAM.

Many thanks should be addressed to his Excellency the ambassador of Switzerland in Sudan, Mr. Andrej Motyl, to the director of the Sudan National Museum, Abdel Rahman Ali Mohamed, and to El Hassan Ahmed Mohammed, for their constant motivation, interest, energy and help.

The corpus of rock inscriptions from Semna and Kumma arrived in the garden of the Sudan National Museum in 1968, as a corollary consequence of the UNESCO archaeological rescue campaign of Nubia. During this campaign, from 1961 to 1964, a team led by the German architect Friedrich Hinkel (†) was sent to Lower Nubia with the task of salvaging monumental archaeological remains. Temples were dismantled, packed and transferred to Khartoum in order to be reconstructed in the gardens of the future Sudan National Museum, and inscriptions were cut out and stored at the NCAM. During the progress work at the museum, F. Hinkel completed another mission in Lower Nubia during the year 1968, on sites that were still out of the growing lake’s water. At Semna and Kumma, he removed 100 inscriptions, which constitute the actual core of the collection in Khartoum.

Cutting-out a rock inscription at Kumma [reproduced from Hinkel 1978].
Since the opening ceremony of the Sudan National Museum in 1971, no project has been carried out to organize this epigraphic documentation and present it to the public. Most of the blocks are still stored in the gardens, on the back of the pavilion of the Semna East Temple, and only two inscriptions have been incorporated into the general presentation in the garden. The current project is a response to this situation.

Storage of the blocks in Sept. 2009 [photo V. Francigny].

The rock inscriptions of Semna and Kumma were first noticed by Richard Lepsius, and some of them have been published by him in his monumental Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien, vols. II and V (1849-59). After this pioneer work, D. Dunham and J.M.A. Jansen published more inscriptions in 1960, as a part of their study of the fortresses themselves, in Second Cataract forts, vol. 1, Semna-Kumma. Finally, an extensive study was carried out by the German Nubian Expedition of 1961-1963, and was published by F. Hintze and W.F. Reineke in 1989, in Felsinschriften aus dem sudanesischen Nubien.

In total, the German team found 131 rock inscriptions from Kumma and 32 from Semna. For each of them, and according to the state of conservation of the inscriptions, the following has been published: a picture, a drawing, a hand-drawing of the hieroglyphs, a translation (in German) and an epigraphic commentary. In order to make them more accessible, the present memoir intends to provide the transliteration of the texts, an English translation and a general comment of the inscriptions in their context.

Unfortunately, many misfortunes have happened to the blocks since they were carved. First of all, the erosion caused by the wind and the sand damaged or partially destroyed a great number of inscriptions, making some of them completely unreadable. Secondly, since they have been stored in the garden of the museum, the blocks have been subjected to greater climatic variations and occasional rain, which generate surface alterations and breaks. Finally, it is important to note that between the observation of the German team, the removal of the blocks from the site, the storage at the museum, and the current study, many inscriptions appear broken in several blocks or incomplete. In some cases, the majority of the inscription has been lost, and only a block fragment and the thorough examination of the published data gives us the chance to identify the inscription.
In order to overcome this problem and still get complete information, the totality of the inscriptions has been taken into account and translated in this study, the missing parts being indicated between square brackets.

Of the 131 rock inscriptions observed at Kumma by the German team, 99 have been sent to the museum at Khartoum. At the beginning of the present study, and after many years and diverse damages, the corpus of blocks counted 260 blocks and fragments. Only 3 blocks are coming from Semna, the rest from Kumma. It has been possible to form 79 groups of blocks with inscriptions, and to set aside 94 blocks and fragments bearing parts of hieroglyphic signs or very eroded text (miscellanies).
Part 1

Commentary
The rock inscriptions belong to a well-known type of Egyptian text, often called "graffiti". In Antiquity, carving inscriptions or drawings on rocks was a very common practice, performed by everyone, from the king to ordinary people. The functions, however, were very similar: to advertise events worth of memory and attest the presence of individuals on the site. The Nile valley is particularly rich in those inscriptions, especially in Nubia, which has always been one of the main routes followed by commercial and military expeditions during the history of Sudan and Egypt. The corpus of inscriptions from Semna and Kumma is comparable to other groups coming from many different locations in Nubia, and complete this rich body of information documenting the history of the region.

The inscriptions from Semna and Kumma were located on rock boulders surrounding the forts, facing the Nile or overhanging small ravines behind the forts, probably used as ancient land roads. They are dated from the Middle Kingdom, a period which saw an important expansion of the Egyptian power in Nubia, especially during the reigns of Senusret I and Senusret III. Those two pharaohs had a major impact on the development of the Second Cataract region, re-using the ancient fortresses and building many new ones.

Map showing the Second Cataract forts, with Semna and Kumma in squares
[after Sudan 1997: 72].

In this disposition, the twin forts of Semna and Kumma played an important strategic role. Both built under the reign of Senusret III, they formed an effective boundary between the Nubian territory proper and the Egyptian controlled part of Lower Nubia (Tallet 2005: 60). At this particular geographical point, the course of the Nile becomes very narrow, which permitted an efficient control of the river traffic, in order to regulate or forbid the penetration of Nubian populations north of this limit. Beside these geographic and military elements, the boundary was further marked by official stele and reinforced by an outpost at Semna-south. The system established in Nubia by the Egyptians was very strong, based on a powerful network of strong holds and a deep implication of the central administration. This policy is reflected in the Egyptian names of the fortresses: Kumma was called "opposed to the bows" and Semna "Senusret III, justified, is powerful" (ibid: 56). The two expressions, mentioning
the “bows” - term commonly used in Egypt to designate the foreigners -, and affirming the king’s power, are clear illustrations of the political program of the Egyptian conquerors towards the local populations.

After this intense period of military campaigns and building activity, the forts of the Second Cataract were the centre of a dense commercial exploitation of the Nubian territory, which led to an important installation of Egyptian settlers and the incorporation of Nubia into the Egyptian administrative sphere. Nubia remained under this particular status, in so many ways comparable to colonialism, for a great part of the Middle Kingdom, through the 12th and 13th dynasties, until the Egyptian power gradually lost the means to sustain such a vast organisation.

The rock inscriptions from Semna and Kumma were both witness to and evidence of this long period, shedding light on the Egyptian political control of Nubia, the administration and exploitation of the region, the local religious cults, and more generally, the history and culture of Egypt and Sudan.

We can distinguish three groups in the corpus of blocks from Semna and Kumma: the Nile records, the private inscriptions and the rock drawings, the last one being a sub-group formed by very few specimens. The present study will follow this classification. A fourth group will list the blocks with remains of eroded inscriptions which I have not been able to read.
I. Nile records

The first distinct group of inscriptions is formed by what we labelled “Nile records”. They were carved on the rocks edging along the Nile, at the exact point reached by the annual floods of the Nile. They are generally short stereotypical texts mentioning the expression “water-edge of”, followed by the date of the record, e.g. the regnal year of the current king: “water-edge (r) of the flood of the year X .... Under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt N.... May he live for ever and ever”. It is interesting to note that the first sign, “r”, was often placed higher than the others, so that it is crossed from side to side by the line framing the text. It could indicate the exact level reached by the flood (De Putter 1993: 267).

This kind of records were transmitted to the central Egyptian administration, which was then able to foresee the level of the inundation downstream, in Egypt, and estimate the following agricultural production. The taxes were then calculated according to the quantity of agricultural products expected. So the Nile records noted at Semna and Kumma played an important role in the Egyptian administration. They are also a supplementary illustration of the Egyptians’s chief concern in controlling the river (Tallet 2005: 71).

In total, 27 Nile records have been found at Semna an Kumma, distributed as follow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>King</th>
<th>Regnal Year</th>
<th>Semna</th>
<th>Kumma</th>
<th>Conservation number Sudan National Museum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amenemhat III</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>SNM 34382 (fragment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>SNM 34387 (fragment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>SNM 34453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>SNM 34411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>SNM 34453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>SNM 34395 (fragments)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
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<td>SNM 34353</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>SNM 34453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>SNM 34405 (fragments)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>SNM 34429 (fragment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>SNM 34453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amenemhat IV</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>√</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neferusobek</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>SNM 34390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amenemhat V-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>√</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sekhemkara</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amenemhat VII-</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sedjefakara</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sobekhotep II-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sekhemra-Khoutaouy</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td>SNM 34370</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As we can see, many inscriptions recorded in situ are unfortunately missing. Nonetheless, the thorough publication realised by F. Hintze (et al., 1989) gives us the chance to make a few observations on the overall corpus.

First of all, the series of Nile records demonstrates the continuous involvement of the Middle Kingdom kings in Nubia and their interest in controlling the river. As Amenemhat V, Amenemhat VII and Sobekhotep II are respectively the 4th, 15th and 16th kings of the 13th dynasty, this interest persisted until the late period of the Middle Kingdom.

Secondly, it is important to note the value of Semna and Kumma’s Nile records as historical documents. Indeed, many kings of the 13th dynasty are only attested by few documents and those inscriptions, mentioning a regnal year, provide a very helpful chronological marker. It is particularly true for the record dated from the year 3 of Neferusobek, since it is the only known document mentioning the name of this queen together with a regnal year. Neferusobek was the last ruler of the 12th dynasty and one of the very rare queens who ruled Egypt. Her power seems to have been well established, from the Asiatic border of the Egyptian territory to Nubia. She was probably related to her predecessors, Amenemhat III and Amenemhat IV, most likely in the close family. Her reign still remains obscure, due to the lack of available evidence, so this rock inscription constitutes a very helpful historical document, giving us the chance to situate her short reign around 1800 B.C. (Tallet 2005: 253).

![Facsimile of the inscription of the queen Neferusobek, year 3. (reproduced from Tallet 2005: 254)](image)

Finally, it is essential to note the pre-eminence of Nile records dated from the reign of Amenemhat III. They represent the majority of the Nile records corpus and cover 16 years, from the beginning to the end of the reign (this king reigned about 45 years). Moreover, we can observe that most of the records have been carved at Kumma, some of them in clusters on a precise location (e.g. years 7, 22, 37 and 43). Such a regularity and unity in the records seem to indicate a very strong and particular involvement of Amenemhat III in the control of the river.

J. Vercouter analysed the totality of the records from the reign of Amenemhat III to Sobekhotep II, a period of about 70 years, and estimated the average level of the Nile floods at about 8m above the levels registered in the 1960s (Vercouter 1966: 132). He also studied the various private inscriptions at Kumma and Semna, and thanks to lexical interpretations, determined that the water was covering a greater space than its normal course, reaching the northern side of Semna fort, at +/- 160m above sea level (ibid: 161). High levels of the river
are also attested archaeologically by a deep deposit of Nile silt covering parts of the fort glacis built under Senusret III at Semna South (*ibid*: 131). In consequence, J. Vercouter proposed the hypothesis that an artificial dam (*ibid*: 157) was built at the beginning of the reign of Amenemhat III. This would explain the regularity of the records, the high levels of the Nile, the supposed extension of the space covered by the river, and the silting of the hypothetic reservoir upstream. He justified his theory by a comparison of modern and ancient levels of the Nile, upstream and downstream the Semna area, and proposed that the Egyptians built a dam – or simply two spurs – using blocks from a nearby carrier. He supposed that the dam – or spurs – had been built on a pre-existing natural barrier. According to J. Vercouter, a wall across the eastern wadi at Kumma, and the positions of loose stones and blocks at the foot of Semna West fortress, are the remains of the now destroyed structure.

The construction of a dam – or spurs – would have resulted in the local increase of the river level. J. Vercouter expressed the feeling that the deepening of the river course was motivated by strategic and military reasons, since high waters would have make the navigation easier and facilitate the transport of troops by the river road (*ibid*: 154). Moreover, the building of such a “door” at Semna-Kumma would have eased the control of the water in order to forbid the penetration of enemies into Egyptian territory.

However, since J. Vercouter’s study, many voices contradicted the hypothesis of a dam (De Putter 1993: 262-6). Different theories tried to justify the high levels of the Nile registered at Kumma. The main hypothesis states that those high levels corresponded to an increase in Nile floods, during few decades (between 1840 and 1770 B.C.). It could be caused by climatic variation in Abyssinia and the consequent augmentation of monsoon rains or the increase of the water level of the African lakes (*ibid*: 271-4). Such a change at the sources of the Nile would have naturally caused an amplification of the floods downstream. Paleoclimatic studies support this theory, particularly with the discovery of a greater quantity of tropical plant pollens in the silt deposit of the Nile Delta, dated from the corresponding period.

T. De Putter supports the hypothesis of a climatic event which caused high inundations, about 8m above the modern level, and prove that the silt deposit at Semna South is in fact non-existent (*ibid*: 275, 285). He also observed that the rock inscriptions are carved under Kumma fort, on the North-West and North-North-West side, i.e. facing downstream. So the inscriptions could not have possibly recorded the levels of an upstream reservoir (*ibid*: 278). Moreover, T. De Putter notes the surprising lack of historical data mentioning a dam at Kumma. Indeed, such a monumental realisation, supposedly motivated by strategic and political reasons, could have naturally been emphasised by the king, as it is visible near the Sehel canal (*ibid*: 279).

So, on scientific grounds, the hypothesis of a dam at Semna-Kumma seems today fragile and it is probable that the difference between modern Nile levels and the ancient ones, under Amenemhat III and his successors, was caused by a climatic variation in the High Nile regions (probably Blue Nile) and the subsequent exceptional inundations.
The exceptional nature of the Nile floods in the second part of the Middle Kingdom could explain the important number of inscriptions recording the Nile level dating from this period, in comparison with the very few earlier ones. If suddenly the level of the Nile inundation increased, such records would have been doubly necessary. The localisation of the rock inscriptions is naturally explained by practical aspects, the Egyptian official being able to benefit from the narrowing of the Nile pass at Kumma (ibid: 282). The Nile records also convey the affirmation of the Egyptian presence in Nubia and it would have been profitable to state it on the boundary separating the two territories.

To conclude, this corpus of Nile records confirms first and foremost the Egyptian concern in the control of the river, chiefly for agricultural and so economic reasons. The great number of inscriptions dating from the reign of Amenemhat III may illustrate the particularly strong implication of this pharaoh in the agricultural development of his country, which is also attested elsewhere in Egypt.
II. Private inscriptions

The most important group of rock inscriptions from Semna and Kumma is formed by “private inscriptions”, i.e. inscriptions commissioned by Egyptian officials travelling in the region or working in the nearby forts. They could be soldiers or officials involved in military campaigns in Nubia, or civil servants working for the Egyptian central administration and participating in the management of this newly conquered region. In the literature, this type of inscription is often designated by the term “graffiti”, because of the spontaneous aspect of the texts. Graffiti can appear very rough, with crude signs, but they can also be well structured, following the same organisation than an usual stele, with lines framing the text and sometimes a pictorial representation of the commissioner. In both cases, their goal is to attest the presence of the individual on the site and address a prayer to the gods for his benefit.

It is possible to date the corpus of private rock inscriptions from the second part of the Middle Kingdom, by an observation of the epigraphy and of the kind of titles mentioned. Moreover, six dated inscriptions are corroborating this theory, making the group of private inscriptions contemporary with the Nile records. They are all dated from the reign of Amenemhat III, two from the 6th year, two from the 9th, and one from the 43rd. A last inscription doesn’t mention a particular year.

In Semna-Kumma, as in the rest of Egypt and Nubia, private rock inscriptions are constituted by the same kind of texts. They could be short mentions of the administrative title of an individual, followed by his name, but most of the time they are classical offering formulas beginning by the expression “dj nsw htp”. In those formulas, the commissioner of the inscription is appealing to the king so that he can give offerings to the gods on his behalf, in order to guarantee the permanence of his ka. Some inscriptions also combine an offering formula with an “appeal to the livings”. This type of text is typical of Middle Kingdom private literature, and consists of a funerary formula in which the owner promises peace to everyone passing by the stele and reciting the following offering formula for him. The “appeals to the livings” found at Semna-Kumma are adapted to their particular context, as they often mention the fortresses (“pass by this fortress”) and attest the constant concern of Egyptians settling in foreign countries to come back home in peace (“may he come home in peace”).

The presence of so many offering formulas on rock boulders at Semna and Kumma sheds light on the diverse religious cults observed in the region. As the individuals commissioning inscriptions are Egyptians from the lower Nile valley, they of course name common Egyptian gods, such as Ra, Isis, Sobek, Horus or Seth. Also, the original funerary character of the offering formula calls for the mention of funerary gods, such as Anubis and Osiris. The last is especially well represented in the inscriptions, with his two major epithets,
“master of Djedu” and “master of Abydos”. The pre-eminence of Osiris is a common trait in the inscriptions dating from the second part of the Middle Kingdom, a period which saw a great development of his cult and pilgrimage.

A potentially more interesting aspect of the Semna and Kumma corpus is the regular mentioning of local gods. The expression “local gods of Nubia” is even employed in one inscription. Satet “mistress of Éléphantine” is invoked one time, which attest the presence of this goddess of the First Cataract further south. The Nubian god Dedun, related to the inundation, is also mentioned twice. As for the divinised form of the king Senusret III, it represents about 10% of the religious invocations. The cult of Senusret III in Nubia seems to have developed shortly after his death, as one of the main heritage of the important action of this king in the region (Tallet 2005: 73). But first and foremost, the main god of the Second Cataract was without question Khnum. Invocations to this deity represent about 50% of the total corpus of private inscriptions from Semna-Kumma. Originally, Khnum was honoured in Éléphantine, where he was the warden of the Nile sources and responsible for the river inundations. Because the cataracts were often religiously associated with the sources of the Nile, it seems logical to find Khnum revered at the Second Cataract, mouth of the Nile and entrance door of the river to Egyptian territory.

So, the rock inscriptions describe a religious landscape where the local gods had a great importance. Naturally, those deities where also revered in the forts themselves where temples were dedicated to Dedun and Senusret III at Semna and to Khnum and Senusret III at Kumma. Khnum even assumed a particular identity, “Khnum of Kumma”, a name that he bears in most of the texts. Once again, the association of Semna-Kumma with the Nile is an essential element, here in a religious dimension through the cult of deities related to the inundation.
Finally, the cults practiced in the region of the Second Cataract are also observable in the religious titles of Egyptians present in the fortresses. In the Semna-Kumma corpus of inscriptions, c.15 mentions of religious titles can be noted:

- god’s servant
- god’s servant of Satet
- ka-priest
- lector-priest
- great-priest of Khnum
- great-priest of Satet
- pure-priest of Khnum
- pure-priest of Satet
- god-father of the temple of Anuket

While ka-priest is a title referring to the funerary cult, all the other ones designate people working in a temple, with a special rank or task. The god’s servant, the pure-priest and the god-father of the temple were the priests in charge of the temple rituals, like offerings and libations, while the lector-priest was working in everything connected to hieroglyphic texts (Quirke 2004: 124-5). In the late Middle Kingdom, the great-priest occupied a higher position in the hierarchy of the temples.

As we have seen in the invocations, the gods Khnum and Satet appear in the priest titles. Together with Anuket, they form the divine triad of Elephantine and received a cult at the First Cataract and at Sehel. The presence of such titles at Semna-Kumma is another argument demonstrating that Khnum, Satet and Anuket were revered in the Second Cataract forts, in temples or associated shrines.

Besides observations on the local religion, the most important information delivered by private rock inscriptions are not the texts themselves, as they are very stereotypical, but the prosopographical data. It is indeed possible to trace the individuals, with their administrative title and their familial information, in order to understand the administrative system set in Nubia by the Egyptians.

In the private rock inscriptions preserved in the Sudan National Museum, 44 administrative titles are mentioned as titles of Egyptian officials working in Nubia. They all belong to a particular sphere of the administration, and thus document the different departments involved in the control of Nubia. Beside the religious titles listed in the preceding paragraph, we can distinguish titles related to the Palace, the local government, the Treasury, the military sphere, the organisation of labour (?), and eventually “commissioner titles” in relation with expeditions and the vizier bureau. Finally, some titles only have a honorific value¹.

¹ The reading of all the titles, their translation, and analysis, are based on S. Quirke’s study, 2004, passim.
• Palace:

ḫrd n ḫp: child of the Inner Palace. The significance of this title remains vague. It seems to indicate an individual reared at the Palace in his childhood. Some officials involved in diverse duties could bear this title alone when they were not assuming other specific charges. It states the proximity of an official with the royal palace.

jry-t n ḫ: chamber keeper of the Palace. This official was responsible for the commodity storage and production units (=chambers) of the royal residence.

• Local government:

ḥṣy-ṯ: mayor. This title can assume two meanings, differentiated by context: “mark of an elevated status” or “leading administrative official in an urban centre”. At Kumma, this title is mentioned in a long series of titles, which will be analysed later.

• Commissioner titles:

šḥ r Ṣḥn: mouth of Ṣḥn. This title was very frequent in the Late Middle Kingdom, particularly in southern Egypt and in relation with expeditions. It seems to designate a commissioner working for the vizier bureau.

šš n ḫḥḏt: secretary of the board. The ḫḥḏt seems to be a group of officials assembled for a particular mission, such as expeditions. The secretary of the board was their administrative auxiliary.

• Treasury:

In the Middle Kingdom, the Treasury seems to have been separated in to two entities, the Treasure (= the sealed items) where cloths, metal, oil, etc., were stored, and the provisioning-sector (=šn), which aggregated the food and drink storage units and the diverse production areas. In both cases, the movement of goods was controlled by a system of repetitive sealing, on doors and on the goods themselves.

- Titles in relation with the Treasure:

jmy-r ḫntyw: overseer of sealers. This title depicted an important official in the Treasury hierarchy, just after the treasurer himself and the deputy treasurer. It seems that this official was in charge of the transportation of goods from the production area to the central administration of the Palace.

ḥtnw ḫṯ ḫb: trustworthy sealer. This official was just under the overseer of sealer in the hierarchy. He occupied an important role in the Palace and expeditions, and was in charge of the high value material and items. On that account, he could be responsible for small scale expeditions, notably to the quarries.
htm w kfs jeb n pr-hd: trustworthy sealer of the Treasury. This title is an extension of the previous one.

jry-‘t n pr-hd: treasury chamber keeper. This official was in charge of the management of all the storage and production units. Each product seems to have been stored in a particular chamber, with a dedicated staff.

jry-‘t: chamber keeper. Official responsible for a particular chamber, with the “store overseer”. The title could be assigned to a treasury chamber or a provisioning-sector chamber.

- Titles in relation to the provisioning-sector:

Every large institution in Egypt would have had a provisioning-sector, to manage the movement of goods coming from the estate or elsewhere, storage, and the processing of food and drink. Various chambers are attested, such as the chamber for bread, beer, fruit, meat, milk, drinks (or water?), and fat.

shy jmy-r pr n šn‘: counsellor of the overseer of the provisioning-sector. The overseer of the provisioning-sector was the first official in charge of the structure, and he seemed to have been assisted by a counsellor.

šn‘: [official of] the magazine. This title is incomplete.

- Titles depicting special commodities depending on the Treasury:

Groups of skilled workers were also attached to the Treasury, such as artists and artisans. The two following titles were held by one man (SNM 34372) who, according to S. Quirke, could have been responsible for the carving of the rock inscriptions, as he possessed both the skills of drawing and inscribing.

šš n kdw: scribe of the draughtsman.

gwty/m[...]: sculptor [in the temple ?].

- Military:

The military sphere of the Middle Kingdom was highly organised and was following a strict hierarchy. We can distinguish the normal military and the large group of “guards”.

- The army:

In order to make this exposé clearer, and situate the titles found at Semna-Kumma, I have drawn a hypothetic reconstruction of the regular military hierarchy, using the main titles encountered during the late Middle Kingdom (after Quirke 2004: 97).
$jmy-r\ mš$: overseer of the army. This title, combined with the prefix “seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt” (SNM 34370), designates an army general, working on a national scope. This particular general was at the head of the Semna West Fortress under the reign of Sobekhotep II.

'$nḥ\ n\ t\ hň3$: officer of the crew of the ruler. The official in charge of a battalion of soldiers, forming a military force on the river. Since most of the troop’s transportation took place on the Nile, those battalions were of great importance.

$ḥ$n\ $n\ njw\ t$: commander in chief of the town regiment. This high military official was in charge of the battalions of a large geographical division.

'$nḥ\ n\ njw\ t$: officer of the town regiment. The official in charge of a battalion of soldiers. This title became extremely common in the late Middle Kingdom.

$ḥ$n\ (n)\ mnjw\ ṭsmw$: commander of leaders of dog-packs. The official directing dog-packs teams, on surveillance missions as scouts. This title is often attested in relations with expeditions.
jmy-r ‘hîwty: overseer of soldiers. The official in charge of a group of soldiers.

- The guards:

The different titles designating guards were very frequent at the end of the Middle Kingdom. It is somewhat difficult to attribute particularities to each one, and it may be possible that some of them depict similar positions. The scope of the titles remains obscure, but it seems that some guards were assuming high responsibilities, notably in military expeditions.

slḥ $msw: controller of guards. The official in charge of a group of guards

$msw n ḫḳ: guard of the ruler. The elite guards, possibly in charge of the king’s security.

$msw n ṛmn ṭpy: guard of the first battalion. Elite guards.

$msw: guard.

- Others security titles:

$msw ‘w: guard of the foreign mercenaries. This particular guard seems to be working with a crew of foreign mercenaries, often employed in the Egyptian army. However, the word ‘w could also be translated in this context as “spokesmen” or “interpreters”. In any case, it can be understood as people who were taking part in the local populations or interacting with them.

jmy-r n ṣnt: dispute overseer. This title designates an official with authority in criminal law, similar to a judge and police official. In certain cases, he could assume a very high rank.

ṣl pr: estate guard. The activity of this particular guard is not clear. It seems that he was a security official within an estate, i.e. a domain where the production of goods was concentrated. The importance of their presence in Nubia remains a question.

● Others:

ṣḥ n ṣmdt n w’rt: scribe of the called-up labourers of the district. The scope of this title is unclear. It seems to designate a scribe related to the organisation of work. It is possible to assume that a group of people was recruited from a district to work, as peasants, in the fortress. The w’rt, translated here by “district”, was an administrative division of the Egyptian territory. In the actual state of our knowledge, it is difficult to link this title with a particular district associated with the Second Cataract region in one way or another.

$smsw: the Elder. This title remains very obscure; it probably designates a person with a certain authority and could have essentially been a honorific distinction.
tꜜw n sḥ smsw: bearer of the scribe of the Elder. The bearers were officials following their master, and carrying material. In this particular case, the bearer could have carried the writing equipment of the scribe of the Elder.

In the Semna-Kumma corpus, few officials bear a combination of two or more titles:

- **Hn (SNM 34372):** This official bears the double title of “officer of the crew of the ruler” and of “officer of the town regiment”. This combination seems to indicate that Hn was in charge of two types of battalion, one operating on the river and one on land.

- **Rn-snḥ (SNM 34370):** This official is mentioned in the Nile record of the third year of the reign of Sobekhotep II. He bears the titles “seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, overseer of the army”. The rank title “seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt” was given to the highest officials involved in the important state affairs. In the hierarchy, those dignitaries were just under the vizier and the treasurer, i.e. at the highest rank after the king. As we have seen, this particular combination of this rank title with this military distinction designates a very important army general, working on a national scope. Rn-snḥ was commanding Semna West fort at this time.

- **Sḥ-ḫtḥ (SNM 34351/34356):** This official is attested by two inscriptions where his titles and the members of his family are cited. He is “bearer of the secretary of the Elder, overseer of sealers”. His main title is naturally “overseer of sealers”, which places him on the third rank of the hierarchy of the Treasury, and designates him to be responsible for the transportation of goods between the forts of the Second Cataract region and the central administration located in Upper Egypt. In this context, the first title, “bearer of the secretary of the Elder”, appears much less important and is most likely an indicator of his rank.

- **Sn-wsr-t-snḥ (SNM 34373):** This official is mentioned as “the prince, the mayor, the great mouth of the South, the scepter of Nubia, the priest of Maat and dispute overseer”. The two first titles, “the prince, the mayor”, is a combination of rank titles designating officials working for the king in the different Egyptian provinces. Then comes the two titles “mouth of the South, scepter of Nubia”, which are probably epithets emphasizing the power of this official in the Nubian territory. The principal title of Sn-wsr-t-snḥ, “dispute overseer”, makes him a security official related to the judicial sphere. This connection with the exercise of law is re-enforced by the title “priest of Maat”. At its origin, this title was a religious title, but in the Middle Kingdom, it is associated with justice, as every judge had to apply the principles of Maat in rendering public justice. All together, this series of titles proves the importance of Sn-wsr-t-snḥ in the Second Cataract region, and certainly in the central administration.

The information provided by the titles can be completed by the observation of the titles of the members of the family mentioned. For example, the title “scribe of the called-up labourers of the district” is obscure, so the function of its bearer, Jn-jtḥ, remains unclear (SNM 34329). Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that both his father and brother were
working as scribe for different institutions, so the function of scribe was a kind of family specialty and probably the centre of In-ītāf’s activity.

Besides the administrative titles, few expressions illustrate more private aspects of the life of Egyptian officials in Nubia. Of course, the phraseology employed is extremely stereotyped, but an observation of the epithets and the very few biographical elements can be instructive. First, the epithets show the concern of many officials to demonstrate their privileged relation with the king, rather because they belong to his closest court since infancy or because they are excellent at his service:
“true confident of the king, his beloved” (SNM 34317, 34413),
“his favorite who does the pleasure of his master” (SNM 34319),
“the follower of his master’s steps” (SNM 34332),
“the king’s acquaintance, with pure hands” (SNM 34340),
“he makes his message well established in the heart of his master, his true beloved among his favorites, he has been raised as a friend (of the king) when he was still a child” (SNM 34404), and “the one who is known to the king, his true beloved, the one who knows his rank” (SNM 34422, 34429).
Some epithets indicate the proximity between an official and the king, and as such, can be used as a marker of rank.

Unlike the long funerary inscriptions of the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, the rock inscriptions at Semna-Kumma are short texts following a pre-established model: offering formula – administrative title – name of the commissioner – eventual mention of some of his family members. Only one inscription (SNM 34317) goes beyond this model and adds few biographical data concerning the action of the controller of the guards ḫgā Simpl. ḫtān.

SNM 34317. “I travelled downstream with the frontier patrol. There has been no deceased during the travel southwards and nobody has been sent to prison. I judged and killed those rebels so that the sovereign truly praised me”.

This security official exposes how well he led a patrol in the frontier area. Most of the elements belong to the “ideal autobiography” genre, where the actions of the individual mentioned are stereotyped (e.g. “nobody has been sent to prison”). Nonetheless, it is one of the rare examples recounting a precise military expedition in the region.

So, as we have seen, a short analysis of the titles attested in the Semna-Kumma corpus gives us the opportunity to identify the administrative departments present in Nubia. In this regard, the predominance of military titles is conspicuous, as it is generally in Nubia (Gratien 1995: 155-6). At Semna-Kumma, the importance of military administrators is represented both by the great number of titles attested and the number of people bearing them. We can
estimate that 46% of the administrative officials attested in the rock inscriptions belong to the military sphere, while 19% are priests, 17% are working for an institution of the Treasury and 18% for other diverse institutions. This situation was common to other Nubian forts, where military officials were involved in a wide range of activities; from the management of the structure, security of the fort, and surveillance missions, to the control of the transportation of goods, and the distribution of rations. Some of them were also in charge of the liaisons between the forts themselves and between the forts and Egypt. The command of the fort could have been assumed by different officials, belonging to the army or not, depending on the strategic role of each fort. It could be a mayor, like in other Egyptian urban centers, a commander, or, as we have seen at Semna West, an overseer of the army (ibid :153-5). Nevertheless, the predominance of military officials in the rock inscriptions, as in other types of documentation, proves that the occupation of Nubia had first and foremost a military aspect. The involvement of high officials from the Treasury highlights the second dimension of the Egyptian presence, this time oriented towards the economic exploitation of this territory.
III. Rock drawings

The last category of documents attested in the corpus of blocks from Semna and Kumma is formed by the rock drawings. Since Prehistory, the populations inhabiting the desert and the Nile Valley used to carve, on rocks, images of animals, boats, or hunting scene, i.e. the different elements constituting their lives and environment. The meaning of this type of testimony remains extremely difficult to establish, and it is also problematic to date, since the same kind of motives have been employed over a very long period. The German team who observed the rock drawings in Nubia registered a considerable corpus (Otto & Otto 1993) showing animals of the desert, cattle, boats, human beings, geometrical patterns, hieroglyphs signs (e.g. the cross ankh), etc. Compared to other sites, very few rock drawings are originally from Semna and Kumma. The corpus of the Sudan National Museum contains five examples (SNM 34310, 34347, 34327, 34368, 34421).

The blocks SNM 34310, 34347, and 34327, show the image of cattle. In the case of SNM 34310 and 34347, the animals were part of a large group of cattle, which was then partly covered by the hieroglyphic inscription.


[Images of rock drawings]
The block SNM 34368 bears part of a rock drawing, difficult to interpret as it is. Finally, block SNM 34421 bears the representation of a man, with his two arms along his body. He is wearing a triangular apron, traditional costume of the Middle Kingdom Egyptians.
To conclude, we can observe that the main categories of the documents are included in the corpus of blocks from Semna and Kumma: official records of historical events, private inscriptions often containing an offering formula, and rock drawings. They give an interesting insight into the Egyptian perception of this particular area of the Second Cataract. First, Semna and Kumma was a zone to control, (1) by human means with the installation of many Egyptian settlers in the forts and the numerous military patrols on land and on the river, and (2) by natural means by using this narrow pass to record the level of the Nile inundation or forbid the passage of any enemies on the river. Secondly, the Second Cataract was a zone to exploit, as the heavy involvement of Treasury officials proves it.

It is interesting to note that the Egyptians living in the Second Cataract forts imported their cultural practices in those military structures, practising their religious cults and adapting them to the region, and living behind so many traces of their presence. In observing closely those private records, we encounter the Egyptian settlers of the Nubian fortresses who give us information on their family and their work, and we understand the administrative system created in Nubia.

As part of the restoration project, 15 blocks have been selected to be exhibited in the garden of the Sudan National Museum, of which four provide records of the Nile inundation level.

**List of blocks exhibited in the garden:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nile Records:</th>
<th>Private Inscriptions:</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SNM 34353</td>
<td>SNM 34310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNM 34370</td>
<td>SNM 34316</td>
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<tr>
<td>SNM 34390</td>
<td>SNM 34327 a.b.c</td>
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<tr>
<td>SNM 34453 a.b.c</td>
<td>SNM 34329 a.b</td>
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<td>SNM 34331 a.b.c.d</td>
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<td>SNM 34397</td>
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<td>SNM 34452</td>
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All together, these blocks represent each type of official or private records and give a complete view of the kind of information collected from the entire corpus. Thus, we hope to present to the public a comprehensive group of objects, which richly enlighten a particular period and region of Sudan.
Part 2

List of main blocks with inscriptions

Are listed here the blocks bearing an inscription or fragment of inscription. The blocks which are too eroded to present a readable text will be listed afterward, in the miscellanies. The pictures used here have been taken by the author at the beginning of the study, as working tools. True professional pictures will necessitate important technical means, to move and position all the very heavy blocks, and to provide correct lightning.
Transliteration: dj nsw htp Hnmw (n) Jtmw-pdwt n k3 n `nh n tt hk3 Htr jrn Ptnw m3`t Hrw hmnt D3w jtn Wtj jt D3f m3` Hrw [s3t.f] Jb-j`w ms.n [Nfrw (s3t.f) D3jjt (mst.n Nfrw) snf W3t]

Translation: May the king give an offering to Khnum of Kumma, for the ka of the officer of the crew of the ruler Htr, born of Ptnw, justified. His wife, D3w, born of Wtj. His father, D3f, justified. His daughter Jb-j`w, born of Nfrw, his daughter, D3jjt, born of Nfrw, his sister W3t.

**SNM 34313**  
Kumma

Transliteration:

\[\text{šms\(w\) } \text{Nnj \(s\(3\)} (n) \text{ḥ\(3\)ty-\(\)} \\
\text{Sn\(b\) m\(3\) hrw} \\
\text{ms.\(n\) nbt pr J\(w\)t m\(3\)\(î\) hrw} \\
\text{ḥ\(n\)t.\(f\) m\(ry\)t.\(f\) nbt pr […] sn\(b\)} \\
\text{m\(3\)î hrw sn f ḫ\(3\)ty-\(\) Nnj m\(3\) hrw}\]

Translation: The guard Nnj, son of the mayor Sn\(b\), justified, and born of the mistress of the house J\(w\)t, justified. His wife, his beloved, the mistress of the house […] sn\(b\), justified. His brother, the mayor Nnj, justified.


**SNM 34316**  
Kumma

Transliteration:

\[\text{dj ns\(w\) ḫ\(p\) \(t\) l\(n\)tk jlw 3\(p\)d\(w\) sn\(t\)r […]} \\
\[n\] k\(3\) n j\(m\)\(3\)\(h\)y M\(n\)t\(w\)-\(h\(p\) \(m\)\(3\) hrw} \\
\(j\)h \(w\)n \(m\) sn \(m\)\(n\) \(m\)} \\
\(3\)bw (n) T\(3\)-st\(y\} \\
\[w^\text{b} \(n\) Sn (nbt 3bw} \\
\(M\(r\)y \(n\)b j\(m\)\(3\)h [jr.\(n\) \(n\)k\(t\)-g\(3\)w\(t\}]

Translation:

\[\text{May the king give an offering of bread and beer, oxen and birds […] to the ka of the revered one M\(n\)t\(w\)-\(h\(p\), justified. Then, their names will therefore be established in Elephantine of Nubia.} \\
\[\text{The pure priest of Satet, mistress of Elephantine, } M\(r\)y, master of veneration, born of } \text{\(n\)k\(t\)-g\(3\)w}\(t\}.

SNM 34317
Kumma

Transliteration:
\[ h\textsuperscript{3}t-sp \left( 9 \right) hr \left( \text{hm} \right) n nsw \left( t \right) bjtj Nj-m\textsuperscript{3}t-r\textsuperscript{4} \left( \text{nh(w)} \right) \left( \text{dt nh} \right) \text{rj swly} hr-n jnrw pn phl.fy pr.f \left( m \right) hlp hmt.f \text{m ndmt-jb knyf} h\text{h}w.f dd.f \text{rsw hnkw jhw} \left( \text{3pdw dj nsw} Jnpw n k3 \text{n} s3b r \text{Nhn} Sj-mntw nb jm3h Jr.n Sj-fpj m3\text{t hwr h\text{d}.n(j)} h\text{n}\text{e phrt nn jm3jw} \text{jm m hnty} \text{tn rdy r hurt} h\text{b.n.j sm3.n.j nfr sb(j) r hs n.j jty m m3\text{t}} \]

Translation: Year 9 under the Majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ne-maat-ra (Amenemhat III), may he live for ever and ever. The true confident of the king, his beloved, the mouth of Nhn Sj-mntw, justified. Everybody passing by this stone, may he come in peace, may his wife (be) joyful, may he embrace his kindred, and may he say “bread and beer, oxen and birds, may the king give an offering to Anubis, for the ka of the mouth of Nhn, Sj-mntw, master of veneration, born of Sj-fpj, justified”.

I travelled downstream with the frontier patrol. There has been no deceased during the travel southwards and nobody has been sent to prison. I judged and killed those rebels so that the sovereign truly praised me.


SNM 34319
Kumma

Transliteration:
Translation: Under the Majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Ne-maat-ra (Amenemhat III), may he live forever. Real protection for his favorite (who) does the pleasure (of) his master, the overseer of soldiers Htpj, born of Nnw, justified.


Transliteration:

dj nswt htp Hnmw (n) Jtnw-pdwt
nswt bity (H'j-k3-w-r') m3' hrw d.sn prt-hrw t hnkt
jhw 3pdw snr mrht h nbt nfrt
n k3 n htsw kb jb n pr-hd Sn-wsrt, (so-called) '3-jdjjw
ms (n) Wrt m3't hrw hsw.tn ntrw.tn
qd.tn 1000 t hnkt n htsw kb3 jb n pr-hd '3-jdjjw

Translation: May the king give an offering to Khnum of Kumma and to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Kha-kau-ra (Senusret III), justified, that they may give invocation-offerings consisting of bread and beer, oxen and birds, incense and ointment, and all good things, to the ka of the trustworthy sealer of the Treasury, Sn-wsrt (called) '3-jdjjw, born of Wrt, justified. May you praise your gods and may you say: "1000 breads and beers to the trustworthy sealer of the Treasury '3-jdjjw".

Transliteration:
dj nsw htp Wsjr nb Ddw
Hnmw (n) Jmw-pdw nb kblw
d.sn prt-hrw (jh)w 3pdw n k3 n slqd šmsw
Nn[j]
jr.n [‘nhwt m3(t) hrw]

Translation: May the king give an offering to Osiris, master of Djedu, and Khnum of Kumma, master of libations, that they may give invocation-offerings consisting of oxen and birds to the ka of the controller of guards Njr, born of ‘nhwt, justified.


SNM 34327
Kumma

Transliteration:
dj nsw htp Hnmw (n) Jmw-pdw nb hjty (H5j-k3w-R5) m3 hrw
d.snprt-hrw t ḫnk t ḫw 3pdw n k3 n 3w (n) mnjw tšmw S-(n)-Sbk jr n nbt pr Jpj šmsw.f ‘nh n njwt Nb-sšnw jr.n n.f s3.f P3

Translation: May the king give an offering to Khnum of Kumma and to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Kha-kau-ra (Senusret III), justified, that they may give invocation-offerings consisting of bread and beer, oxen and birds, to the ka of the commander of leaders of dog-packs S-(n)-Sbk, born of the mistress of the house Jpj, and his follower, the officer of the city regiment Nb-sšnw. Realised by his son P3.


SNM 34328
Kumma

Transliteration: The majority of the inscription is missing.
s3[-pr Sn-wsrt s3] Jmnw [nb jm3h]
snt f [Snb-htp mst.n] Mryt nbt [jm3j]
snt s3[-pr Kmtw] nb jm3j mwt f [nbt pr]

Translation: The estate guard, son of Sn-wsrt, Jmny, justified. His sister Snb-htp, born of Mryt, mistress of veneration. His brother, the estate guard Kmtw, mister of veneration. His mother, the mistress of the house.


SNM 34329
Kumma

Transliteration:
dj nsw htp Wsjr nb Djdw d.f
prt-hrw tw lmkht jhw 3pdw sntr ht nbt nftrt
n k3 n ss n smdt n w`rt Jn-htj f ss s3 n q3dlt
Nbw m3` htw snf ss n q3dlt Mnw-m-h`t m3` htw nb jm3j
snf ss n smdt n w`rt Sbk-htp Rn.f-snbd m3` htw
snf j3t (?) Tn-nht Jw.f-snb m3` htw nb jm3j
mwt.f Snt-hmw mst n Jnj-šrj m3`(t) htw nb jm3j
s3f Nj-nk-sw Snb jr n Nb-hr-s3hw m3` htw nbt jm3j
snt f mwt f Sbk-htp M33-jrt f m3` htw

Translation: May the king give an offering to Osiris, master of Djedu, that he may give invocation-offerings consisting of breads and beers, oxen and birds, incense and all good things, to the ka of the scribe of the called-up labourers of the district Jn-htj, son of the scribe of the q3dlt Nbwt, justified.

His brother, the scribe of the q3dlt Mnw-m-h`t, justified, master of veneration. His brother, the scribe of the called-up labourers of the district Sbk-htp Rn.f-snbd, justified. His brother, the manager (?) Tn-nht Jw.f-snbd, justified, master of veneration. His mother Snt-hmw, born of Jnj-šrj, justified, master of veneration. His son Nj-nk-sw Snb, born of Nb-hr-s3hw, justified, master of veneration. The sister of his mother Sbk-htp M33-jrt f, justified.

Transliteration:
\[ s^3 \text{ pr} \, Jw\text{-}snb \, s^3 \, Jwj \, ms.n \, Sstjnjjt \, nb \, jm3\]h 

Translation: The estate guard, son of \( Jw\text{-}snb, Jwj, \) born of \( Sstjnjjt, \) master of veneration.


Transliteration:
\[ j \; \text{nhw} \; \text{tp(yw)} \; t\; s\; s\; hry\text{-}hbt \; w^\dagger b \; \text{nb} \; \text{wnt(y).sn} \; \text{mnsw} \; \text{pn} \; \text{m} \; \text{mr.tn} \; \text{ph.tn} \; \text{m} \; \text{htp} \; \text{m} \; \text{dd.tn} \; \text{dj} \; \text{nsw} \; \text{htp} \; \text{wnm(t)} \; \text{tsw} \; \text{hnktw} \; \text{jhw} \; \text{3pdw} \; \text{n} \; \text{k3} \; \text{n} \; \text{snsw} \; \text{\‘w} \; \text{Jj-jb} \; s^3(f) \; \text{Rn.f-sn} \; \text{mns n} \; \text{sn} \; \text{m3} \; \text{hrw} \; \text{hmt.f Jj-jb} \; \text{sn.f Snfrw} \]

Translation: Oh, the livings who are on earth, every scribe, every lector-priest and every pure priest who will pass by this fortress, if you want to attain peace, so you may say: “May the king give an offering of food, breads and beers, oxen and birds, to the \text{ka} of the follower of the foreign mercenaries \( Jj\text{-}jb, \) and (his) son \( \text{Rn.f-sn}, \) born of \( Snb, \) justified. His wife \( Jj\text{-}jb, \) his brother \( Snfrw. \)"

SNM 34332
Kumma

Transliteration:
šms nb.f r nmnt.f ʿnh n njwt Mngw-sw Snb-tj-fj jr.n Hnw t nb(t) jmnḥ
šms nb.f r nmnt.f ʿnh n njwt Hkḥ-snḥ jr.n Ptw nb(t) jmnḥ

Translation: The follower of his master’s steps, the officer of the city regiment Mngw-sw; (son of) Snb-tj-fj, born of Hnw, mistress of veneration. The follower of his master’s steps, the officer of the city regiment Hkḥ-snḥ, born of Ptw; mistress of veneration.


SNM 34333
Kumma

Transliteration:
sḥḥ šmsw Ddw-hṭp mšr ḥrw
sḥ pr Wkn ms.n
Jw.f jr.n Jpy ḥmr.f
Jṭ sḥ.f Sṭḥ

Translation: The controller of guards Ddw-hṭp, justified. The estate guard Wkn, born of Jw.f; born of Jpy. His wife Jṭ, his son Sṭḥ.


SNM 34334
Kumma

Transliteration:
sḥḥ šmsw Jmny
jr. n Rns-‘nh m” hrw nb jm3h

Translation: The controller of guards, Jmny, born of Rns-‘nh, true of voice, master of veneration.


SNM 34335
Kumma

Transliteration:
dj nsw htp n k3 n s1 pr Jnpw-htp
jr. n Bbwt hmt f Jkj
jt f Ty-sn nb jrt. n Rn-s-nb

Translation: May the king give an offering to the ka of the estate guard Jnpw-htp, born of Bbwt. His wife Jkj, his father Ty-sn nb, born of Rn-s-nb.


SNM 34336
Kumma

Transliteration:
dj nsw htp Hn mw (n) Jtnw-p’dwt d. sn prt-hrw
t hnt k h rpd n k3 n tw n mnjw tsmw S-sbk jr. n nbt pr Jpj

Translation: May the king give an offering to Khnum (of) Kumma, that he may give invocation-offerings consisting of bread and beer, oxen and birds, to the ka of the commander of leaders of dog packs S-sbk, born of the mistress of the house Jpj.

**SNM 34337**  
Kumma

**Transliteration:**
dj nsw htp Hnmw (n) Jtnw-pdwt d.sn prt-hrw t hnkt jhw 3p-d n k3 n s3 pr Dj-sn whm `nh ms.n [...two other lines, very eroded]

**Translation:** May the king give an offering to Khnum of Kumma, that they may give invocation-offerings consisting of bread and bear, oxen and bird, for the ka of the estate guard Dj-sn, repeating life, born of [...].


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**SNM 34339**  
Kumma

**Transliteration:**
dj nsw htp Hnmw (n) Jtnw-pdwt  
n k3 n sgd 3msw Jg3j-htp  
jr.n nbt pr Wh’r m3’t hrw  
j.t.f jm3hy `nh-rh y m3’t hrw  
3mt.f nbt pr Rn-snb s3t.f  
Wh’r s3t.f Rn-snb  
3n f Nht  
`nhw  
Jm  
Rn-snb

**Translation:** May the king give an offering to Khnum of Kumma to the ka of the controller of guards Jg3j-htp, born of the mistress of the house Wh’r, justified. His father, the revered one `nh-rh, justified. His wife, the mistress of the house Rn-snb, his daughter Wh’r, his daughter Rn-snb. His brother Nht. `nhw, Jm, Rn-snb.

SNM 34340
Kumma

Transliteration:

 [...] rḥ-nswt ḫw nb ḫḥ d k3 n k3p s3 nsw [...] 

Translation: [...] the king's acquaintance, with pure hands, the child of the Inner Palace, the prince [...] 


SNM 34341
Kumma

Transliteration:

dj nsw ḫtp Rˁ 3st Ḥnwm Sbk n k3 n 'nh n njwt Rˁ-sbk 'pr-nfr mn.n Snbtj-sj mš(t) ḫrw 

Translation: May the king give an offering to Ra, Isis, Khnum, and Sobek, to the ka of the officer of the city regiment, son of Rˁ-sbk, 'pr-nfr; born of Snbtj-sj, justified. 


SNM 34342
Kumma

Transliteration:

dj nsw ḫtp Wsr Tv ḫwn ḫw nb ḫḥ [3pdw] 
n k3 n jryt pr-ḥḏ Nb-ššbt 
ms.n Nt-mn(?) mš ḫrw nb jmš ḫh 

Translation: May the king give an offering to Osiris and Khnum, that they may give invocation-offerings consisting of bread and beer, oxen and birds to the ka of the treasury chamber keeper Nb-ššbt, born of Nt-mn(?), justified, master of veneration.

**SNM 34343**

Kumma

Transliteration:

\[ \text{rnp}t \, 13 \]

\[ \text{hr \, hm \, nswt \, hjy (Nj-m^f \, 3t-r^f) \, m^3 \, hrw} \]

(4 other lines, too eroded to be read).

Translation: Year 13 under the Majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Ne-maat-ra (Amenemhat III), justified. [...]  


**SNM 34345**

Kumma

Transliteration:

\[ \text{jry-} \, ^t \, n \, pr-h} \]

\[ \text{Wnh} \]

\[ \text{ms.n \, Ddt} \]

\[ \text{snt.f \, Rmn-} \, c^f \]

\[ \text{hmt.f \, Npy(?)} \]

Translation: The treasury chamber keeper Wnh, born of Ddt. His sister Rmn-\(c^f\), his wife Npy(?)

**Transliteration:**

\[ Hn\text{mw} \]
\[ dj\ nsw\ htp \]
\[ n\ k\k n [\ldots] \]
\[ Jt [\ldots] \]

**Translation:** Khnum [\ldots] may the king give an offering to the ka of [\ldots], Jt.

**Bibliography:** Hintze 1989: n° 489, p. 141.

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**Transliteration:**

\[ dj\ nsw\ htp\ Hn\text{mw}\ (n)\ Jtnw-p\dot{d}wt\]
\[ n\ k\k n\ htmty\ bjt\y\ [\ldots] \]
\[ Sn\b,\ Hr\w-nfr\ jr.n\]
\[ nbt\ pr\ Nfr\ m\k m\ \hrw\]

**Translation:** May the king give an offering to Khnum of Kumma, for the ka of the seal-bearer of the king of Lower Egypt [\ldots] Sn\b, (son of) Hr\w-nfr, born of the mistress of the house Nfr, justified.

dj nsw htp Hnmw [(n) Jtmw-pdw] n k3 n hm k3 Mntw-htp
jr.n Sjt-sj(?)

Translation: May the king give an offering to Khnum of Kumma to the ka of the ka-priest Mntw-htp, born of Sjt-sj(?).

Bibliography: Dunham 1960: RIK 32a, p. 146 ; Hintze 1989: n°389, p.104 ; Lepsius, DÄA II, n°1440 ; MFA 27, p. 68, fig. 5.

SNM 34350
Kumma

Transliteration:
dj nsw htp Wsjr nb Ḟdw Hnmw (n) Jtmw-pdw d.f prt-hrw
ṯ hnkṯ jḥ ḫpt snr wrḥt n k3 (n) jṛy-hḥ n pr-hdj Sṛjj nb jmḥḥ ms.n Sš(j)-Hr-Hr nbt jmḥḥ

Translation: May the king give an offering to Osiris, lord of Djedu, and to Khnum of Kumma, that he [they] may give invocation-offerings consisting of bread and beer, oxen and birds, incense and ointment, to the ka [of] the treasury chamber keeper Sṛjj, justified, master of veneration, born of Sš(j)-Hr-Hr, master of veneration.


SNM 34351
Kumma

Transliteration:
dj nsw htp Hnmw (n) Jtmw-pdw d.f prt-hrw t hnkṯ jḥw ḫpt
n k3 n ṭw n sš smsw jmy-r ḫmntyw
Sš-jw ṭf Rn-snb (sn.f) Jš-h (sn.f) Rn-snb snt.f Rry
jr.n nbt pr Ḥtp mšt ḥrw
jt.f Wr-bw.s jr.n nbt pr Rṛj ḫnt.f Hnṭy jr.t.n Wr-bw.s sš f jmy-r pr n pr-hdj S-snb-n.f jr.n Hnṭy sšt.f Ḥtp

Translation: May the king give an offering to Khnum of Kumma, that he may give invocation-offerings consisting of bread and beer, oxen and birds, to the ka of the bearer of the secretary of the follower,
the overseer of sealers, Sfr. His brother Rn-snb, (his brother) Jfr, (his brother) Rn-snb, his sister Rry. Born of the mistress of the house Hnp, justified. His father Wr-biw.s, born of the mistress of the house Rry. His wife Hnyn, born of Wr-biw.s. His brother, the estate overseer of the treasury, S-snb-n.f, born of Hnyn. His sister Hnp.


**SNM 34352**

Kumma

**Transliteration:**
‘nh n njwt Jmny s'[ (n) Ddw]  
tsnt f Mr-snb.s mst n Ddw

**Translation:** The officer of the city regiment Jmny, son of Ddw. His sister Mr-snb.s, born of Ddw.


**SNM 34353**

Kumma

**Transliteration:**
r n hpy hsr-sp 32 hr hm n  
nswn hty (Nj-Mf’t-R) ‘nh(w) dt  
r nhb

**Translation:**  
Water-edge of the flood of the year 32, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nimaat-ra (Amenemhat III), may he be granted life for ever and ever.

**Bibliography:** Dunham 1960: RIK 30, p. 145 : Hintze 1989, n° 377, p. 100-1 ; Lepsius, DÄÄ II, n°139n.
Block bearing six inscriptions or fragments of inscriptions.

Transliteration:
♦ $\text{s}m\text{sw Hpw jr.n Hdj}$
♦ $\text{hr}-\text{ht w}'b (n) \text{Hnmw}$
$\text{Nnw Sbk-}$
$-\text{htp jr.n nbt [pr] […]}$
♦ $\text{jt-ntr hwt-ntr 'nkt Sn-wsrt}$
$\text{jr.n Jts-sn}b \text{m3't h}rw$
♦ $[\text{hm-k3 S'nh-k3-r4-sn}b] \text{(on the block SNM 34386)}$
$\text{jt.f [hr}-\text{ht Hnmw Htp m3ʾ h}rw]$}
$\text{jr.n Htp-stt m3ʾ h}rw$
$[\text{jr.n 'nkt-g3wt m3ʾ t h}rw]$}
♦ $[\text{3 hm-ntr n Hnmw} S'\text{nh-k3-r}4\text{-sn}b [m3ʾ h}rw]$}
♦ $[\text{dj nsw htp Hnmw hm-ntr n Stt Šnkw […] j}t.f '3 hm-ntr] n Stt […]$}

Translation:
♦ The guard Hpw, born of Hdj.
♦ The lector-priest, the pure priest of Khnum, $\text{Nnw's son, Sbk-htp, born of the mistress of the house […]}$
♦ The god's father of the temple of Anukis, Sn-wsrt, born of Jts-sn𝑏, justified.
♦ [The ka-priest S'nh-k3-r4-sn𝑏] born of [the lector priest of Khnum Htp, justified,] born of Htp-stt,
justified, [born of 'nkt-g3wt, justified,] [justified].
♦ [The great priest of Khnum] S'nh-k3-r4-sn𝑏, [justified].
♦ [May the king give an offering to Khnum, for the priest of Satet […] His father, the great priest] of
Satet […]

p. 110-111.
Transliteration:

♦ sn.f S-n-sbk ms Nb-pw
♦ dj nsw htp n k3 n
t3w n s8 smsw
jmy-r hmtyw S3-j3’h
m3’ hrw jr.n
Htp
jt.f Wr-b3w.s jr.n Rry m3’ hrw
mw.f Htp jrt.n Hjft m3’t hrw
hmt.f Hnty jrt.n Wr[-b3w.s] m3’t hrw

Translation:

♦ His brother S-n-sbk, born of Nb-pw.
♦ May the king give an offering for the ka of the bearer of the secretary of the Elder (?), overseer of sealers S3-j3’h, justified, born of Htp. His father Wr-b3w.s, born of Rry, justified. His mother Htp, born of Hjft, justified. His wife Hnty, born of Wr[-b3w.s], justified.


SNM 34357
Kumma

Transliteration:

8msw Kms jr.n Nt-nbw jt.f W3d-h3w
hmt.f Py st.f W3d-h3w st.f W3d-h3w
s3f Snbw s3f Snbw

Translation: The guard Kms, born of Nt-nbw. His father W3d-h3w, his wife Py, his sister W3d-h3w; his sister W3d-h3w, his brother Snbw, his brother Snbw.


SNM 34358
Kumma

Transliteration:
**SNM 34359**

**Kumma**

**Transliteration:**

Inscription composed of 6 lines. Only the last 3 lines are partly readable.

[...] Jwjj nb jm3h
[...] Mntw-htp nb jm3h
[...] nsut bjty (Hʹj-kʹw-rʹ)  m3ʹ hrw

**Translation:** [...] Jwjj, master of veneration. [...] Mntw-htp, master of veneration. [...] the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Kha-kau-ra (Senusret III), justified.


**SNM 34417**

**Kumma**

**Transliteration:**

dj nsw htp Hnmw nb kbw
n k3 n [...] snb m3ʹ hrw

**Translation:** May the king give an offering to Khnum, master of libation, for the ka of [...] snb, justified.

**Bibliography:** Dunham 1960: RIK 60, p. 149; Hintze 1989: n°473, p. 133.
**SNM 34363**

Kumma

Transliteration:
dj nsw htp Hnvw [(n) Jtmw-pdwt n k3 n]
smsw Jj-jb [m3 фр w jr n]
Snb hmt.f Jj-jb [jrt n]
St-t hj st.f [Snb st.f]
St-hd-wr (?) [st.f Hmt nw]
sn.f Jmny [sn.f]
Nbt-pw sn.f Nbt-pw [sn.f]
rt-htp Nb[-pw]
Shtp-jb

Translation: May the king give an offering to Khnum of Kumma, for the ka of the elder Jj-jb, justified, born of Snb. His wife Jj-jb, born of St-t hj. His daughter Snb, his daughter St-hd-wr (?), his son Hmt nw, his brother Jmny, his brother Nbt-pw, his brother Nbt-pw, his sister Jtj-htp, Nbt[-pw Shtp-jb].


**SNM 34366**

Kumma

Transliteration:
dj nsw htp Hnvw (n) Jtmw-pdwt nswt bjty H’ j-k3m-r m3 фр w dt.prt-fr w t hntj jhw 3pdw n k3 n htmw kf3 jb Nfr-jw m3 фр w [jrt Shtp-jb jr n ‘nh.tj.sj nb(t) jm3’ m3 t фр w mwt f nb t Prjt jr n ‘nh sn.f[.]
sn.f Shtp-jb sn.f Mnt sn.f Htp m3 фр w]

Translation: May the king give an offering to Khnum of Kumma and to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Kha-kau-ra (Senusret III), justified, that they may give invocation-offerings consisting of bread and beer, oxen and birds, for the ka of the trustworthy sealer Nfr-jw, justified. His father, Shtp-jb, born of ‘nh.tj.sj, justified, master of veneration. His mother, the mistress of the house Prjt, born of ‘nh. His sister [...]. His brother Shtp-jb, his sister Mnt, his brother Htp, justified.

SNM 34369
Kumma

Transliteration:
\(dj\ ns\ w\ htph\ Hnmw\ n\ Jrnw-\p\ dt\ n\ k3\ n\ htsw\ k3\ jb\ Jw\ -\ snb\ jr.n\ nb\ pr\ [Tp-trw\ nb\ jm3\ h]\)

Translation: May the king give an offering to Khnum of Kumma, for the ka of the trustworthy sealer Jw-snb, born of the mistress of the house Tp-trw; mistress of veneration.


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SNM 34370
Semna

Transliteration:
\(\text{r\ n\ k3'w}\ \text{hr-sp\ 3}\ \text{hr\ lm\ n\ nswt\ hjy}\ (\text{Shm-R'}-\text{hwj-t3w})\ \ dj\ 'nh\ dt\ \text{hr\ fnn\ hjt\ hjy}\ \text{jmy-r}\ m3\ '\ \text{Rn-snb}\ \text{hr\ ts\ m\ mnnw}\ \text{Shm-(H'j-k3w-R')}\ \text{-m3'-hrw}\)

Translation: Water-edge of the flood of the year 3, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sekhem-ra Khau-tau (Sobekhotep II), may he be granted life for ever, when the seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt and overseer of the army Rn-snb was commanding the fortress Shm-(H'j-k3w-R') -m3'-hrw.

Transliteration:

SNM 34371
Semna

Transliteration:

\[\text{j sr nb swt(y).sn hr jur pn}
(m) \text{mr\.tn ntrw\.tn njwy ph\.tn m htp r prw\.tn dd\.tn}
dj nsw htp D\text{\'}wnt \text{\'}nty T3-sty Hr brj
knb\text{\'}f nswt bfy (H\text{\'}j-k\text{\'}w-R\text{\'}) \text{\textasciimac{m}}\text{\textasciimac{3}}^\prime \text{ hrw d.sn prt-hrw t hntt jhw 3pdw sntr mrtl ht nbt nfrt w\text{\'}br}
n k3 n snsw n rnm tpy J\text{\textasciimac{w}}f-nj jr.n nbt pr J\text{\textasciimac{y}} m3\text{\textasciitilde{8}}(t) \text{ hrw}

Translation: Oh, all noblemen who will pass by this stone, as true as you love your local gods, may you come home in peace, and may you say: ‘May the king give an offering to Dedun, who is at the head of Nubia, to Horus, who is upon his court, and to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kha-kauru (Senusret III), justified, that they may give invocation-offerings consisting of bread and beer, oxen and birds, incense and ointment, and all things good and pure, to the ka of the guard of the first battalion J\text{\textasciimac{w}}f-nj, born of the mistress of the house J\text{\textasciimac{y}}, justified’.


SNM 34372
Semna

Transliteration:

\[\text{dj nsw htp D\text{\'}wnt \text{\'}nty T3-sty n k3 n ‘n\text{\’}h n t\text{\’} t\text{\’} hk3 ‘n\text{\’}h n njwt Hn}
\text{Jy jr.n Bt nb jm3h ‘n\text{\’}h n njwt Jb[…]}
\text{‘n\text{\’}h n t\text{\’} t\text{\’} hk3 Nb-sw-mnw jr.n Sn[…]}
\text{s\$ n kdwt gnwtj m […]}
\text{Rn.f-snb whm ‘n\text{\’}h nb jm3h jr.n jmy-r pr […]}

Translation: May the king give an offering to Dedun, who is at the head of Nubia, for the ka of the officer of the crew of the ruler, officer of the city regiment, H\text{\textasciimac{\textasciitilde{\textasciitilde{n}}}}, [son of] J\text{\textasciimac{y}}, born of Bt, master of veneration. The officer of the city regiment J\text{\textasciimac{b}}[…], the officer of the crew of the ruler Nb-sw-mnw, born of Sn[…]. The scribe of the draughtsman and sculptor [in the temple ?…]. Rn.f-snb, repeating life, master of veneration, born of the estate overseer […]

SNM 34373
Kumma

Transliteration: 
[jry-p’t] h3ty-< r3-s3-sm3 w3s (n) T3-sty hm-ntr M3’t jmy-r šnt Sn-wsrt-snḥ m3ḥ hrw

Translation: The prince, the mayor, the great mouth of the South, the scepter of Nubia, the priest of Maat and dispute overseer, Sn-wsrt-snḥ, justified.


SNM 34376
Kumma

Lot of gaps, only a fragment preserved.

Transliteration: 
[snt nt mwtf]
Hpyw m3ṭ hrw
s3.s Hjį]
Rn.f-snḥ-[ṣrj m3ṭ hrw]


SNM 34377
Kumma

Transliteration: 
[dj nsw ḫtp] Hnmw (n) Jtnw-pdwtn k i n jry-ʿt n pr-hd
[ʾnkf] j r n Bby ms.n Jṭj
Translation: May the king give an offering to Khnum of Kumma, for the ka of the treasury chamber keeper ‘nḫj, born of Bḥy and born of ḫṬj.


SNM34379
Kumma

Transliteration:
♦ [jry-‘t Jb]-jꜥ w nº hrw
[sn.f ] Nj-jb.j
[jr.n] Bbbt
♦ beginning of an inscription continuing on block SNM 34355 (Hintze 1989: n°407):
dj nsw htp Hnmw […]
hm-nṯr […]

Translation: The chamber keeper Jb-jꜥ; justified. His brother Nj-jb.j, born of Bbbt.
(See block SNM 34355 for the translation of the second inscription fragment.)


SNM 34380
Kumma

Transliteration:
[šmsw n ḫk3 Jmj] ms.n Ddt-nbw nb(t) jm3ḥ

Translation: The guard of the ruler Jmj, born of Ddt-nbw, mistress of veneration.


SNM 34381
Kumma
Transliteration:
[ḫt̬w] kfi-jb Ḥdr
jr.n Ht-hr-jjtj nb jm3ḥ

Translation: The trustworthy sealer Ḥdr; born of Hr-hr-jjtj, justified.


SNM 34382
Kumma

Transliteration:
[r n ḫly p' t-sp] l
[hr ḫm nswt bjty (Nj-m3t-r) ḫnh(tr) τ nh(w) dtr (n)ḥḥ

Translation: Water-edge of the flood of the year 1, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ne-maat-ra (Amenemhat III), may he be granted life for ever and ever.


SNM 34383
Kumma

Transliteration:
jr nmt [nbt sš nb]
w̱ nb hṟy-hbr nb šrj nb
sw3t.sn (hr) ṣ̱n pr mr(.sn) ḫn(w.sn) ph(.sn)
m3dt w̱t (?) kfi jb n nh
m htp mj ḏd(.sn) nswt
[Ṟḥwj(?)] (m3) ḫrw jr.n nbt pr ḫr.s-sn(? ) m3 ḫrw

Translation: Oh, everybody, all scribes, all the elders, all the lector-priests, all the youth, passing by this stela, if you wish to come back to your native land, be obedient and trustworthy, without desire and in peace, so you may say: “the king [for the ka of] ḫwḥ(?), justified, born of the mistress of the house ḫr.s-sn(? ), justified”.


SNM 34385
Kumma

Transliteration:
shd šmsw Jmny s3 Rs.f m3ɛ hrw
s3.f mry.f[s3b r Nh:n Snb-hnɛ.ʃ]

Translation: The controller of guards, Jmny's son, Rs.f, justified. His beloved son, the dignitary, mouth of Nh:n, Snb-hnɛ.ʃ.


SNM 34386
Kumma

Transliteration:
♦ '3 hm-ntr n Stt Nbj-pw jr.n Nfr-hswt
[jt.f] hm-ntr Šnkw m3ɛ hrw
♦ First line of an inscription continuing on block SNM 34355 (cf translation of the block SNM 34355):
hm-k3 S'nh-k3-rɛ-snb
[jt.f hry-hbt Hnmw Htp m3ɛ hrw
jr.n Htp-stt m3ɛ hrw
jr.n 'ntk-g3wt m3ɛ hrw]

Translation: The great priest of Satet Nbj-pw, born of Nfr-hswt. His father, the priest Šnkw, justified.


SNM 34387
Kumma
Transliteration:  
*r n hapy h't-sp 5 [hṛ hm n nswt bjty (Nj-m*j-t-rt’)  ‘nhw ḏt]*

Translation: Water-edge of the flood of the year 5, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ne-maat-ra (Amenemhat III), may he live for ever and ever.  


SNM 34389  
Kumma

Transliteration:  
*hm ntr [Snḥ-ty.f]*  
*jr(n) nbḥ pr Ṣḥ-ḥtp*

Translation: The priest Snḥ-ty.f, born of the mistress of the house Ṣḥ-ḥtp.  


SNM 34390  
Kumma

Transliteration:  
*r n hapy hʾt-sp 3 hʾm n  
nswt bjty (Nfrw-sbk)  ‘nh(.w) ḏt r nhḥ*

Translation: Water-edge of the flood of the year 3, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferu-sobek, may he live for ever and ever.  


SNM 34391  
Kumma

Transliteration:
jry-‘t n pr-ḥd Npw
ms.n T3-bnrt

Translation: The treasury chamber keeper Npw, born of T3-bnrt.


SNM 34393
Kumma

Transliteration:
dj nsw htp n k3 n hm-ntr n Stt
Ṣn-k3w ms(n) Btt m3ʾ ħrw
[ (...) Mnh-hr.f]

Translation: May the king give an offering for the ka of the priest of Satet Ṣn-k3w, born of Btt, justified. [...] Mnh-hr.f.


SNM 34394
Kumma

Transliteration:
dj nsw ḫtp ḫnmw (n) ḫnw-pḏwt
n k3 n ‘nh n ḫḥk3 [...] ‘nh nb jmḥ
jš.n ḫpt m3ʾ ṣḥw jtf [...] nt.f m3ʾ ṣḥw
Ṣnb-ḥtp jrt.n ṭj m3ʾ ṣḥw nb jmḥ

Translation: May the king give an offering to Khnum of Kumma, for the ka of the officer of the crew of the ruler [...] ‘nh, master of veneration, born of ḫḥp, justified. His father [...] nt.f, justified. [His wife] Ṣnb-ḥtp, born of ṭj, justified, mistress of veneration.

**SNM 34395**
Kumma

Transliteration:
\[ r\ n\ h'py\ h3t-sp\ 23\ hr\ hm\ n \]
\[ ns\ w\ hty\ (Nj-m3t-r')\ s3\ R\ (Jmn-m-h3t)\ dj\ 3nh\ dt\ w3s \]
\[ [mj\ R\ dt\ r]\ nhh \]

Translation: Water-edge of the flood of the year 23, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ne-maat-ra, the son of Ra Amenemhat (Amenemhat III), may he be granted life, stability and power like Ra for ever and ever.


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**SNM 34397**
Kumma

Transliteration:
\[ dj\ nsw\ htp\ Wsjr\ nb\ Ddw \]
\[ n\ k3\ (n)\ sky\ jmy-r\ pr\ n\ sn\ Jmny\ m3t\ hrw \]

Translation: May the king give an offering to Osiris, master of Djedu, for the ka of the counsellor of the overseer of the provisioning-sector Jmny, justified.


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**SNM 34398**
Kumma
N.B. The two small blocks on the left are completing the one on the right, on each side.

**Transliteration:**
‘nh n njwt  R‘-sbk ‘pr-nfr nb jm3h  S(n)b-tj-sy mwt.f
Dḫy jt.f ‘pr-ty sn.f  Sḫt-jpy sn.t.f  Bbw
Hrt-jb hmt.f  S(n)b-tj-sy  Dḫy hrd.f  Whm-nfrwt

**Translation:** The officer of the city regiment, R‘-sbk's son, ‘pr-nfr, master of veneration. S(n)b-tj-sy, his mother. Dḫy, his father. ‘pr-ty, his brother. Sḫt-jpy [and] Bbw, his sisters. Hrt-jb, his wife. S(n)b-tj-sy, Dḫy, [and] Whm-nfrwt, his children,

**Bibliography:** Hintze 1989: n°490, p. 141.

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**SNM 34401**
Kumma

**Transliteration:**
Hnmw
dj nsw htp
n k3 n [...] 
Jt[...]

**Translation:** Khnum. May the king give an offering for the ka of [...] Jt[...].

**Bibliography:** Hintze 1989: n°489, p. 141.

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**SNM 34404**
Kumma
Transliteration:
j `nhw tpyw t3 s$ hry-hbt w$b wnty.sn mnnw pn m mr.tn
hd.tn mj dd.tn dj nsw htp Hnmm (n) Jm-pdwt nswt btjy H j-k3w-r$ St$t njwty ntrw
jm T3-sty d.sn wnm t jh spd mnht ht nfrt w$b dt(w)t pt
[n k3 n s]hd $msw Jg3j-htp m$r htw jr n nbt pr Wh$t m$t t htw
jnk njt ` fr wpwt.f [mnh hr jb n nb.f] mry.f m$r n st jb.f
wts(w)t r smr jw.f m hrd

Translation: Oh, the livings who are on earth, every scribe, every lector-priest and every pure priest
who will pass by this fortress, if you want to travel downstream, so you may say: "May the king give
an offering to Khnum of Kumma, to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kha-kau-ra (Senusret III), to
Seth, and to the local gods of Nubia, that they may give food, bread, oxen, birds, pieces of clothes
and pure and good things given by the sky and earth, and brought by the Nile, to the ka of the
controller of guards Jg3j-htp, justified, born of the mistress of the house Wh$t, justified". He makes
his message well-established in the heart of his master, his true beloved among his favourites, he
has been raised as a friend [of the king] when he was still a child.


SNM 34405
Kumma

Transliteration:
r n h`py h$t-sp [40 h$j]
[hm n nswt btjy] (Nj-m$r-t-r$) `nh gt

Translation: Water-edge of the flood of the year 40, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and
Lower Egypt, Ne-maat-ra (Amenemhat III), may he live for ever and ever.

**SNM 34411**

Kumma

**Transliteration:**

r n h'py h3t-sp 14
hr hm nswt bhty (Nj-m3't-r')  ‘nhw dt r nhh

**Translation:** Water-edge of the flood of the year 14, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ne-maat-ra (Amenemhat III), may he live for ever and ever.


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**SNM 34412**

Kumma

**Transliteration:**

dj nsw htp
[n kî n] s3 pr
[Hr-dhw]tj jr.n
Jmny sn.f
Bbw jr.n
St-hn[sw]( ?)

**Translation:** May the king give an offering for the ka of the estate guard [Hr-dhw]tj, born of Jmny. His brother Bbw, born of St-hn[sw]( ?).


---

**SNM 34413**

Kumma

**Transliteration:**
Translation: Year 6 under the Majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ne-maat-ra (Amenemhat III), may he live for ever and ever. The true confidant of the king, his beloved, the mouth of Nḫn S3-mntw, master of veneration. Everybody passing by this stone, may he come home in peace, may his wife (be) joyful, may he embrace his kindred, and may he say “bread and beer, oxen and birds, may the king give an offering for the ka of the mouth of Nḫn, S3-mntw; justified.


SNM 34414
Kumma

Transliteration:
[Nj-nk-sw] Snb m3‰ hrw
[sn.f psj] Sbk Hr-(m)-š-rhwj
šn‰ Nḥb-nḥt

Translation: Nj-nk-sw [so-called?] Snb. His brother, the cook Snb, [son of?] Hr-(m)-š-rhwj. The official of the magazine (?) Nḥb-nḥt.


SNM 34419
Kumma

Transliteration:
‘nh n njwt ‘pr[-nfr nb jm3h]
Translation: The officer of the city regiment, ‘pr-ḥfr, master of veneration.


**SNM 34420**

Kumma

Translation: May the king give an offering to Khnum of Kumma, for the ka of the officer of the crew of the ruler, Bbj, justified, born of ‘ṣwt, justified. [...]


**SNM 34422**

Kumma

Translation: Year 9 under the Majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Ne-maat-ra (Amenemhat III), may he live for ever. The one who is known to the king, his true beloved, the one who knows his rank, the messenger, the chamber keeper of the Palace, Ḫwty-ḥtp, justified. Everybody passing by this memorial, if they want to attain peace, so they may say: "invocation offering consisting of oxen and birds to the ka of the chamber keeper of the Palace, Ḫwty-ḥtp, justified".

**SNM 34428**
Kumma

**Transliteration:**

$hitr-sp\; 6\; hr\; hm\; n\; nswt\; bjty\; (Nj-m3't-r')\; 'nhw\; dt$

$rh\; nswt\; m3'\; pry.f\; s2b\; r\; Nh.n\; [S3-mntw\; nb\; jm3h]$

$jr\; sw\t.fy\; nb\; hr\; jnrw\; pn\; ph.t.fy\; [pr.f\; (m)\; htp\; hmt\; f\; m$

$ndmt-jb\; kny.fy\; h3w.f\; dd.f\; t3w\; hntw\; jhw\; spdw$

$dd\; nsw\; htp\; n\; s2b\; r\; Nh.n\; S3-mntw\; nb\; jm3h$

**Translation:** Year 6 under the Majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Ne-maat-ra (Amenemhat III), may he live for ever. The one who is known to the king, his true beloved, the mouth of Nh.n S3-mntw; justified. Everybody passing by this stone, may he come home in peace, may his wife (be) joyful, may he embrace his kindred, and may he say: “may the king give an offering for the mouth of Nh.n S3-mntw; justified”.

**Bibliography:** Dunham 1960: RIK 112, p. 162; Hintze 1989: n°495, p. 143-4; Lepsius, DÄA II, 139c.

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**SNM 34429**
Kumma

**Transliteration:**

$r\; n\; hpy\; hitr-sp\; [41\; hr\; hm\; n]$

$nswt\; bjty\; (Nj-m3't-r')\; 'nhw\; [dt\; r\; nh]$

**Translation:** Water-edge of the flood of the year 41, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ne-maat-ra (Amenemhat III), may he live for ever and ever.

**SNM 34430**

Kumma

Transliteration:
\[ Hnmw \text{ nb } kbhw \text{ ntr '3 } \]

Translation: *Khnum, master of libations, the great god.*


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**SNM 34441**

Kumma

Transliteration:
\[ [snt.f \text{ Jw.} s-\dd wj \\
(snt.f) \text{ Hnw} \\
(snt.f) \text{ Hwjt} \\
\text{ sn.f hry-pr J3} \\
[(snt.f) 'kw] \]

Translation: *His sister Jw.s-\dd wj, his sister Hnw, his sister Hwjt, his brother, the domestic servant J3, his brother 'kw.*


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**SNM 34444**

Kumma
Transliteration:
<snt f Rrj m3t (t) hrw nb(t) jm3h
dj nsw htp] Hnmw nb kbbw df prt-hrw t3 hntk
jhw 3pdw n k3 n s$ n d3d3t Dw-w-sbk
jr.n Sbk-[htp m3t hrw (...) Wd3 (...) m3t hr]
hmt.f Htpjw stf Dw-sbk

Translation: His sister Rrj, justified, mistress of veneration. May the king give an offering to Khnum, master of libations, so that he may give invocation-offerings consisting of bread and beer, oxen and birds, for the ka of the scribe of the Djadjat Dw-sbk, born of Sbk-htp, justified. [...]Wd3 [...] justified. His wife Htpjw, his son Dw-sbk.


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Transliteration:
<dj nsw htp Hnmw n] Jtnw-pdwt ntr 3 nb kbbw

Translation: May the king give an offering to Khnum of Kumma, the great god, master of libations.


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Transliteration:
<h3t-sp 43 dj nsw htp Wsr nb 3bdw
df prt-hrw t3 hntk jh 3pd n k3 (n) 3tw 3 n njw Ntr J-pw s$ Wlmw
jr.n Nt-jb m3t hrw nb jm3h

Translation: Year 43. May the king give an offering to Osiris, master of Abydos, so that he may give invocation-offerings consisting of bread and beer, oxen and birds for the ka of the commander-in-
chief of the city regiment Nfr-j-pw, son of Wḥnw; born of Nfr-jḥ, justified, master of veneration.


**SNM 34451**
Kumma

Transliteration:
[dj nsw htp] Wṣjr nb Ddw dj pṛt-hrw tḥ hŋt
jḥ 3pd snt ṅ ḳ ṅ ḳ msrw Kmḥw (?) ḥr.ŋ
Jj-m-ṣnb ms⁻ ḥrw
jt ḥry n tm ḳsr ms⁻ ḥrw

Translation: May the king give an offering to Osiris, master of Djedu, so that he may give invocation-offerings consisting of bread, beer and incense, to the guard Kmḥw(?), born of Jj-m-ṣnb, justified. His father, the master of the tm ḳsr; justified.


**SNM 34452**
Kumma
Transliteration:
dj nsw htp Wsir nb Đdw ntr '3 nb 3bdw Hnmw
nb ̣kbhw Hnmw (n) Jtnw-pdwt Hnmw
nht štyt nswt bjty (H'j-kšw-r') mš ̣hrw Stt nbt
3bw d.sn prt-hrw tš ūntk jhw 3pdu snfr mhrwt mnhš
ḥt nbt nfr(t) wšb(t) 'nh(wt) ntr jm n kš n nhš šmsw
Jmny mš ̣hrw nb jm'ḥj
rmš nbt 'k(t)sn r mnw pr mfr(y)
nfrs njwtn mn.tn bhr nst.tn šd.tn 1000 m tšw ūntkw jhw 3pdu mnḥš ḫt nbt nfr(t) wšb(t) jm ntr
'nḥ(wt) n kš n ṣẖḏ šmsw Jmny

Translation: May the king give an offering to Osiris, master of Djedu, the great god, master of Abydos,
to Khnum, master of libation, to Khnum of Kumma, to Khnum, to the strong Majesty of the king of
Upper and Lower Egypt, Kha-kau-ra (Senusret III), justified, and to Satet, mistress of Elephantine, so
that they may give invocation-offerings consisting of bread and beer, oxen and birds, incense,
ointments and pieces of clothes, and all things good and pure on which a god lives, for the ka of
the controller of guards, Jmny, justified, master of veneration. Oh, everybody who will enter this fortress,
as you are beloved of your local gods and established on your throne, you may say: “1000 bread and
beer, oxen and birds, pieces of clothes and all things good and pure on which a god lives, for the ka
of the controller of guards Jmny”.


SNM 34453
Kumma

Transliteration:
(mt n'py ḫr-sp 22 ḫr ḫm n nswt bjty (Nj-Mššt-Rš) šš rš (Jmn-m-h't) dj 'nḥ ḥdt wšš nj
Rš dh r nhš
(mt n'py ḫr-sp 43
(mt n'py ḫr-sp ḫr ḫm n nswt bjty (Nj-Mššt-Rš) 'nh(w) ḥdt
(mt n'py ḫr-sp 37 ḫr ḫm n nswt bjty (Nj-Mššt-Rš) 'nh(w) ḥdt r nhš

Translation:
(mt Water-edge of the flood of the year 22, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt,
Ne-maat-ra, son of Ra, Amenemhat (Amenemhat III), may he be granted life, stability and power, like
Ra, for ever and ever.
Water-edge of the flood of the year 43.
Water-edge of the flood of the year 7 (?), under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Ne-maat-ra (Amenemhat III), alive for ever.
Water-edge of the flood of the year 37, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ne-maat-ra (Amenemhat III), alive for ever and ever.

Part 3

Miscellaneities
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Block with few signs visible at the bottom corner (ḫntr).</th>
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<td>Fragment of block, showing the inscription sn.f W</td>
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<td>SNM 34338</td>
<td>Fragment of block, showing the corner of an inscription with delimitation lines.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| SNM 34344 | Block bearing four lines of an eroded and fine inscription (offering formula *dj nsw htp*).  
<p>| SNM 34354 | Block bearing a rough and eroded inscription, of 2 or 3 lines. Not readable. |
| SNM 34360 | Fragment of block, showing a delimitation line. |
| SNM 34361 | Fragment of block, showing a delimitation line. |
| SNM 34362 | Block bearing a very eroded inscription, in a frame. |
| SNM 34364 | Block bearing a completely eroded inscription (3 lines). |</p>
<table>
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<td>Block bearing a completely eroded inscription, maybe in columns (only few sign visible).</td>
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<td>34367</td>
<td>Block bearing one line of rough and eroded text.</td>
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<td>34374</td>
<td>Fragment of block, with two lines of text (the name <em>Bbw</em> is clearly readable).</td>
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<td>Block bearing the beginning of an offering formula (<em>dj nsw htp</em>).</td>
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<td>34388</td>
<td>Fragment of block bearing a fragment of inscription (<em>rnp (?) n (?))</em></td>
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<td>Fragment of block bearing a small part of an inscription (the sign <em>jr</em> (?)) is maybe recognisable.</td>
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<td>SNM 34400</td>
<td>Fragment of block, bearing a fragment of the bottom line of an inscription (signs ‘t’, ‘h’, ‘h’ visible).</td>
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<td>SNM 34402</td>
<td>Fragment of block, with a very eroded sign ‘n’.</td>
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<td>Fragment of block, showing a delimitation line.</td>
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<td>Block bearing a very eroded inscription. Eventually a sign ‘nbw’ readable.</td>
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<td>Block bearing the top of a very eroded inscription, not possible to read (one or two lines).</td>
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<td>Fragment of block, with a very eroded and rough text. A sign ‘n’ is visible.</td>
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<td>Fragment of block, showing a fragment of the top of an inscription (three long signs visible).</td>
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<td>Block showing a fragment of an eroded inscription, with three(?) ‘n’ signs.</td>
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<td>SNM 34416</td>
<td>Fragment of block, bearing the beginning of an inscription line (a long sign, <em>nb [...] n</em>).</td>
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<td>Fragment of block with title ‘ḫḫ n njwt, officer of the city regiment’.</td>
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<td>SNM 34425</td>
<td>Fragment of block, with a bird <em>w</em>.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| SNM 34426 | Fragment of block, bearing a very rough and eroded inscription. The signs are not really visible, except the word \textit{rh(?)}.
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| SNM 34432 | Fragment of block, with few signs (\textit{k3 n} + two long signs).
| SNM 34433 | Fragment of block, showing few very rough and eroded signs.
| SNM 34434 | Fragment of block, with the beginning of an offering formula (\textit{dj nsw htp}).
| SNM 34435 | Fragment of block, with a fragment of eroded inscription (few signs visible, e.g. \textit{h}).
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| SNM 34440 | Fragment of block, with the ending part of two lines. The first shows the end of a name, and the expression “justified” ([...]$\text{lw} \text{mt} \text{trw}$). |
| SNM 34442 | Fragment of a block, bearing in its bottom right corner the word “his mother” ($\text{mtw.f}$). |
| SNM 34443 | Fragment of a block, showing a seated man sign, after the sign ‘$\text{f}$’. |
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| SNM 34446 | Block bearing 3 lines of inscriptions. The first line is the beginning of an offering formula to Khnum, and the two others are very eroded. |</p>
<table>
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<th>SNM 34448</th>
<th>Fragment of bock, showing a corner of delimitation lines.</th>
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<td>Fragment of block, bearing the end of an inscription line, with two signs (long sign + ‘nḫ).</td>
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<td>SNM 34454</td>
<td>Fragment of block, showing a delimitation line.</td>
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<td>SNM 34455</td>
<td>Fragment of block, showing a delimitation line.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SNM 34456</td>
<td>Fragment of block, with the beginning of an inscription. The first word seems to be “the year” (rνpt).</td>
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</table>
| SNM 34457 | Block showing the beginning of an offering formula ([d] j nsw htp).  
<p>| SNM 34458 | Fragment of block bearing the end of a very fine and eroded line of text. The sign of a seated person (name determinative ?) and the expression mššt hrw, “justified”, are visible. |
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| SNM 34460 | Fragment of block, showing a delimitation line. |
| SNM 34461 | Fragment of block, showing fragment of signs. |
| SNM 34462 | Fragment of block, bearing the word “his father” (jt.f). |
| SNM 34463 | Fragment of block, showing fragments of signs. |
| SNM 34464 | Fragment of block, showing fragments of signs. |
| SNM 34465 | Fragment of block, showing a delimitation line. |
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| SNM 34467 | Fragment of block, showing fragments of signs. |
| SNM 34468 | Fragment of block, showing fragments of signs. |
| SNM 34469 | Fragment of block, showing fragments of signs. |
| SNM 34470 | Fragment of block, showing fragments of signs. |
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| SNM 34472 | Fragment of block, showing fragments of signs. |
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| SNM 34474 | Block bearing a very eroded line of text, on its bottom part. |
| SNM 34475 | Fragment of block, showing a bird (‘w’ ?). |
| SNM 34476 | Fragment of block, showing few signs at the top left corner (seated man and the expression $m\text{'}3 \ hrw$, “justified”). |
| SNM 34477 | Fragment of block, showing the beginning of a line (fragment of signs). |</p>
<table>
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<th>SNM 34478</th>
<th>Block bearing two lines of very fine and eroded inscription.</th>
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<td>Fragment of block, showing a part of a column. The sign ‘ph’ is visible.</td>
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<td>SNM 34480</td>
<td>Fragment of block, showing a delimitation line.</td>
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<td>SNM 34481</td>
<td>Fragment of block, showing a sign of a seated woman.</td>
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<td>SNM 34482</td>
<td>Fragment of block, clearly showing two seated men.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SNM 34483</td>
<td>Fragment of a block, bearing a rough sign ‘nfr’ (?).</td>
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<tr>
<td>SNM 34484</td>
<td>Fragment of block, showing fragments of signs.</td>
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<td>SNM 34485</td>
<td>Fragment of block, showing fragments of signs.</td>
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<td>SNM 34486</td>
<td>Fragment of block, showing a delimitation line.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SNM 34487</td>
<td>Fragment of block, showing 3 lines of text, very eroded and apparently framed by lines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
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<tr>
<td>SNM 34488</td>
<td>Fragment of block, showing fragments of signs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SNM 34489</td>
<td>Fragment of block, showing a sign ‘ḥ’ or ‘ṛ’, on its left top corner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNM 34490</td>
<td>Fragment of block, showing a sign ‘nfrw’. Maybe part of the inscription Dunham 1960: RIK 83, 155; Hintze 1989: n°455.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNM 34491</td>
<td>Fragment of block, bearing few very eroded signs on its right side (on the picture).</td>
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