

## The Stela of *di.tw* from Abydos: Cairo CG 20330.

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This article aims to analyze a funerary stela (CG 20330) from Abydos, dating to the late Middle Kingdom (late 12<sup>th</sup> or early 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty). It presents the stela's scenes and texts, along with their translations and commentary on the titles, names, and inscriptions featured on the stela. The stela depicts the deceased «*di.tw*» and his family, including his parents, siblings, half-siblings and his children. The titles held by these individuals, such as «*šmsw n rmn tp* first, best soldier» and «*hri n tm* soldier of the crew of the Ruler» for «*di.tw*» reveal details about the military and administrative structures of the Middle Kingdom.

**Keywords:** Stela – Middle Kingdom – Abydos – *di.tw* – CG 20330 – 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty – KE 223.

### لوحة *di.tw* من ابيدوس: Cairo CG 20330

تهدف هذه المقالة إلى تحليل لوحة جنائزية (CG 20330) من أبيدوس، يرجع تأريخها إلى أواخر عصر الدولة الوسطى. تقدم المقالة تحليلاً لمناظر ونصوص اللوحة، إلى جانب ترجمة النصوص والتعليق على الألقاب والاسماء الواردة عليها. تصور اللوحة المتوفي *di.tw* وعائلته، بما في ذلك والديه وإخوته وأخواته غير الأشقاء بالإضافة إلى ابناؤه، وتكشف الألقاب التي يحملها أفراد أسرته، مثل "الأول، أفضل جندي" و"جندي طاقم الحاكم" لـ *di.tw* تفاصيل حول الهيكل العسكري والإداري في عصر الدولة الوسطى.

الكلمات المفتاحية:

لوحة - عصر الدولة الوسطى - أبيدوس - *di.tw* - CG 20330 - الأسرة الثالثة عشرة - KE 223.

## I. Introduction

The Stela of «*di.tw*» A round-topped <sup>1</sup> stela is divided into four registers: [1] The Lunette (A) Two symmetrical figures of Anubis, standing on their standards shaped like temple façades, occupy the entire lunette, [2] The First Register (B) which consists of two lines of hieroglyphic, [3] The Second Register (C) divided into three compartments depicting three figures of the deceased with his father and mother. [4] The fourth Register (D) consists of five lines of hieroglyphic text. There are some traces of color, especially in the depiction of the men and the woman.

## II. Cairo CG 20330 Description [FIGURES 1-2]

**Registration number:** CG 20330, JE 20337, KE 233.

**Main Persons:** *di.tw*, *rn.f snb*, *mriit*, *nhii*, *sd3-ḥr*.

**Provenance:** Abydos, Mariette Central Necropolis, Eastern slope.

**Material:** Sandstone

**Measurements:** H. 41.5 cm, W. 29 cm, T. 7 cm.


**Production place:** Elephantine.

**Conservation status:** In good condition.

**Current place:** Kafr Elsheikh Museum under KE 233.

**Literature Review:** LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902a: 342-343, [20330], MARIETTE 1880b: N<sup>o</sup>. 900 [h (i)], FRANKE 1994: 77; POSTEL 2009.

### 1. The Lunette [A]

The stela is surmounted by a lunette adorned with two jackals  the emergence of jackal depictions is observed under Amenemhat III and IV <sup>2</sup>, often

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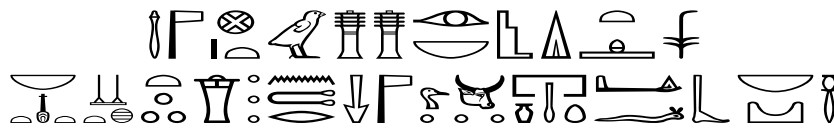
<sup>1</sup> The stela's arched shape, echoing 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty examples like King «Jet's» stela, likely draws inspiration from Upper Egyptian tomb architecture. This arch may symbolize the heavens [Nut], the earth [Geb], or ancient shrines. The "w3s" scepter, uniting these elements, signifies rebirth, mirroring the Osirian myth. This architectural motif, prevalent throughout Egyptian history, persisted into the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. MASPERO 1908: 85.; BADAWY 1948: 228 -232.; VANDIER 1952: 724 -726, fig. [48], 286.; HÖLZL: 1992: 285.; ABDEL AAL 1995: 22.; HÖLZL 2001: 320.; MARTIN 2005: 27, col. [1].

<sup>2</sup> BM 233; Budapest 51.2142; Christie's, 25.10.2012, lot 37; Firenze 2506; Haag 46/92; Louvre C 6; Louvre C 313; Marseille 222; Rio de Janeiro 645 [2435].

associated with royal names <sup>3</sup>. In 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, two jackals with eyes between them became a frequent motif <sup>4</sup>, while single jackal depictions were rare <sup>5</sup>. Conversely, the Second Intermediate Period is characterized by frequent depictions of jackals without eyes <sup>6</sup>.

The depiction of two jackals at the top funerary stelae is a recurring motif. While both Anubis <sup>7</sup> and Wepwawet <sup>8</sup> are associated with jackals, some stelae depict two jackals without specific divine names (CG 20177). In other cases, one jackal is identified as Anubis, and the other as Wepwawet (CG 20093). Some stelae only depict Wepwawet, as seen in CG 20596, while others feature two Wepwawet figures (CG 20557). This dual representation likely symbolized the combined protective power of these funerary deities, guiding the deceased into the afterlife.

## 2. The First Register [B]



[1] *ḥtp di nsw wsir nb ḏḏw nṯr ʿ3*

[2] *nb ʿ3ḏw di.f prt ḥrw t ḥnkt iḥw ʿ3ḏw snṯr mrḥt mnḥt nbt nfrt*

[1] An offering that king gives (to) Osiris, Lord of Busiris <sup>9</sup>, the Great God.

[2] Lord of Abydos, that he may give an invocation offering of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, incense, alabaster and linen, all good things.

<sup>3</sup> LLIN-TOMIC 2017: 33.


<sup>4</sup> BACKES 2007:5-13; Cairo CG 20104; Cairo CG 20160; Cairo CG 20334; Cairo CG 20716; Cairo CG 20718; Dublin UCD 1360.

<sup>5</sup> Four stelae depict a single jackal, a feature not observed in 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty examples (Cairo CG 20192; Toulouse 49.273)

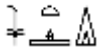









<sup>6</sup> LLIN-TOMIC 2017: 34.

<sup>7</sup> The typical epithets of Anubis, 'imiwt' and "tpi dw.f" appear on stelae dating to 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (BM 238, Marseille 223) and the Second Intermediate Period (ALLIOT 1933: Pl. XVI.; Cairo CG 20192; Toulouse 49.273).

<sup>8</sup> The 'Wepwawet of the North' and the 'Wepwawet of the South' are mentioned in the round top of stelae from 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Cairo CG 20101, Cairo CG 20616, Louvre C 43, Pittsburgh 2983-6701) and the Second Intermediate Period (Berlin 7288, Cairo CG 20143, Liverpool WM 55.82.116, Uppsala 1951).

<sup>9</sup> Abusir , the capital of the 9<sup>th</sup> Nome of Lower Egypt, is located on the West Bank of the Nile. Known as 'pr-wsir' in ancient Egyptian and 'Busiris' in Greek, it served as the primary cult center of Osiris in Lower Egypt. [ GRIFFITHS 1995: 1411; VERNER 2001: 5].

## Commentary

- The specific arrangement of the offering formula  *sw.t + htp* without phonetic complements  <sup>10</sup> and concluding with the symbol 'di' is a stylistic convention that emerged in the late 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty <sup>11</sup> and persisted into the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty <sup>12</sup>.
- The offering formula, coupled with the absence of the Osiris determinative , suggests a date for this stela within the late 12<sup>th</sup> or early 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty <sup>13</sup>, a period characterized by the omission of this determinative.
- The reduplication of the sign  within the name of Osiris, a phenomenon observed from the late 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty onwards, appears in four out of six formulas <sup>14</sup>. Notably, the first instance of an additional feminine ending after the determinative  instead of  occurred in the late 11<sup>th</sup> Dynasty <sup>15</sup>.
- According to the Bennett-Satzinger dating system, the phrase "*di.f prt hrw*" exhibits a notable chronological development. While absent in 11<sup>th</sup> Dynasty examples <sup>16</sup>, it becomes increasingly prevalent towards the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty <sup>17</sup>.
- *ntr* : The epithet *ntr*  frequently appears in ancient Egyptian religious texts, but its exact referent remains unclear. While it could refer to Ra, Osiris, or even the king, it is most likely associated with Osiris, particularly from the reign of Senusret I in the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty onwards <sup>18</sup>.
- The horizontal arrangement of the   sign is attested from the late reign of Mentuhotep II, while the vertical arrangement points to the early Middle Kingdom <sup>19</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> VERNUS 1991: 141-152; MARIE 1993: N°8: 7

<sup>11</sup> FRANKE 2003:39.

<sup>12</sup> Wb III: 186, 1.; SMITHER 1939: 34-37; BARTA 1968: 72, 85, 107,162.; VERNUS 1991: 141-52.; MARÉE 1993: 8-11. [CG 20340, CG 20668, CG 20380].

<sup>13</sup> BENNETT 1941: 78.

<sup>14</sup> BENNETT 1941: 78-79; LAPP 1993: 17, 35; COLLIER & MANLEY 1998: 41; ALLEN 2000: 16; TAYLOR & STRUDWICK 2005: 45.




<sup>15</sup> SCHENKEL 1962: 40; FRANKE 2007: 152, fig. 1.

<sup>16</sup> OBSOMER 1993: 198.

<sup>17</sup> BENNETT 1941: 77-78; OBSOMER 1993: 170.; SATZINGER 1997: 185.; SELIM 2000: 320-322, figs 1-3.; SPANEL 1996: 769, N° 13.

<sup>18</sup> FISCHER 1992: 72-75.

<sup>19</sup> ALLEN 1996: 1-26.

- **nb 3bdw**: The standard form of this title  <sup>20</sup> includes the determinative *niwt*. However, on this stela, the determinative is omitted  <sup>21</sup>. This abbreviated form becomes more prevalent in the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, as seen on the Stelae of *ir-gmt.f*, *snb*, and *snbi* <sup>22</sup>. In the New Kingdom, further abbreviations of this title occasionally occur  <sup>23</sup>.
- **di.f prt hrw**: The introduction of «*di.f* he makes offerings» marks a significant shift in the structure of offering formulas during the early Middle Kingdom <sup>24</sup>. Unlike Old Kingdom formulas, Middle Kingdom examples typically include *di.f* (may he give), introducing a request for an offering <sup>25</sup>. While *prt-hrw* is believed to have been introduced in the 11<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, its construction evolved in the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty to *di.f.l.s/.sn* <sup>26</sup>.
- **t hnkt ihw 3pdw**: Offerings traditionally included bread, symbolizing eternal life <sup>30</sup>, and beer, which first appeared on stelae in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty <sup>31</sup>. The inclusion of an ox head is significant, representing the defeat of Set and his followers in the mythical struggle with Osiris <sup>32</sup>, symbolizing the eradication of evil for the deceased in the afterlife. This element became widespread during the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and continued to be used throughout the Second Intermediate Period <sup>33</sup>.

Vernus <sup>34</sup>, in his study of Late Middle Kingdom paleography, analyzed the spellings of " *ihw 3pdw* " (oxen and fowl) based on the number of plural determinatives used. He identified three types: **(I)** without a plural determinative, **(II)** with one plural determinative after the "oxen and fowl" signs, and **(III)** with two separate plural determinatives. Vernus observed that while Type I spellings were common in 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, they became less frequent thereafter. He further noted that Type II spellings,

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<sup>20</sup> SELIM 2000: 254.

<sup>21</sup> ABDEL-RAZIQ 2013: 277.

<sup>22</sup> HEIN& SATZINGER 1989: 39-43, 48-54, 56-61.

<sup>23</sup> CLÈRE 1982: 66.

<sup>24</sup> OREL 1995: 218.

<sup>25</sup> OBSOMER 1993: 192:196.; FRANKE 2003: 46.

<sup>26</sup> BENNETT 1941: 77; LAPP 1987: 181-183.; AZAM 2008: 71.

<sup>30</sup> SAMUAL 2001: 196-198.

<sup>31</sup> SELIM 2000: 252.

<sup>32</sup> ABD ALAAL 2006: 5

<sup>33</sup> LLIN-TOMICH 2011: 23.

<sup>34</sup> VERNUS 1987: 539-44.

characterized by the presence of a single plural determinative, became more prevalent from the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty onwards. This observation is supported by the distribution of Type II spellings across various sites, including Elephantine [(DAIK L 24917/18), Edfu<sup>35</sup> [Cairo 16.2.22.22; Cairo 16.2.22.24; Cairo JE 46988], Elkab [Elkab tomb 9], Rizeikat [Cairo CG 20642; Firenze 7605; DC 14419], Armant [Cairo CG 20694], Thebes [Cairo CG 20170], and the Memphis-Faiyum region [WienAs 195].

- *sš mnht*: 'alabaster and linen' written without the *sš* sign which supposed to be between the two poles, The artist may have drawn the lines for it and forgotten to engrave it, as there is a slight trace of an engraving process that was not done in the place where it was supposed to be. this feature that emerged during the reign of Senusret III <sup>36</sup>.

### 3. The Second Register [C]

The second register is divided into three compartments. The first and second compartments each depict a standing man. The first man to the right wears a short wig revealing his ears, a small beard, a narrow collar, and a triangular kilt secured by a knotted girdle. The second man is similarly depicted, but with a long wig. The third compartment features a standing woman facing right. She wears a long wig that falls over her shoulders, leaving her ears uncovered, a narrow collar, and a close-fitting dress. The exposed skin of the men is colored red



[1] *n k3 n šmsw n rmn tp.i di.tw* [2] *it.f rn.f snb m3<sup>c</sup> hrw ir.n i.t* [3] *mwt.f mriit irt.n wi3.s*

[1] For the ka of the first, best soldier *di.tw*, [2] His father *rn.f snb* the Justified born of *i.t*, [3] His mother *mriit* born of *wi3.s*.

<sup>35</sup> ALLIOT 1933: pl. XVI.3 (right)

<sup>36</sup> LLIN-TOMICH 2015: 148; LLIN-TOMICH 2017: 4, 21.; LLIN-TOMICH 2011: 21; KAFAY 2023: 259.

## Commentary

- *n k3 n*: Bennett suggests this phrase might have existed earlier <sup>37</sup>, it likely didn't become common until after the time of King Amenemhat II <sup>38</sup>, following some changes that happened during the time of King Senusret I <sup>39</sup>. However, this way of writing didn't appear before the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty <sup>40</sup>. Many examples from this period show this phrase being used to simply state that the stela's owner would receive the offerings <sup>41</sup>.
- *šmsw n rmn tp.i*: Ward<sup>42</sup> and Quirke <sup>43</sup> translated it as «guard of the first battalion», This translation emphasizes a potential military organizational structure, suggesting that the *šmsw n rmn tp* may have commanded a specific battalion within a larger military force. Berlev, analyzed the title and its extended form «*šmsw n hk3 n rmn tp*», offered the translation «first, best soldier <sup>44</sup>». This interpretation suggests that individuals bearing this title constituted an elite unit within the broader *šmsw* group, The Hammamat Montet 17 inscription and the Louvre C85 stela, where these titles are attested <sup>45</sup>, offer insights into the organization and function of this specific group of *šmsw*. potentially involved in high-risk operations or serving as a specialized force under the «*šmsw n hk3* guard of the ruler».

Based on Berlev's analysis, the hierarchical structure of the *šmsw* during the Middle Kingdom can be summarized as follows:

- *šhd šmsw* - Commander of followers/Inspector of the guard <sup>46</sup>
- *šmsw n hk3* - Guard of the ruler<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> BENNETT 1941: 79:81.

<sup>38</sup> BARTA 1968: 33, N<sup>o</sup>. 3.

<sup>39</sup> BENNETT 1941: 79, N<sup>o</sup>.6.

<sup>40</sup> PFLÜGER 1947: 133.

<sup>41</sup> LAPP 1987: 182. Stelae BM EA 215, EA 238, EA 252; Cairo CG 20089.

<sup>42</sup> WARD 1982: 176, N<sup>o</sup>. 1524.

<sup>43</sup> QUIRKE 2004: 103.

<sup>44</sup> HODJASH& BERLEV 1975: 8.

<sup>45</sup> QUIRKE 1986: 122.

<sup>46</sup> The title *šhd šmsw* is a common military title of middle rank in the Middle Kingdom [Stela Manchester Museum 3306, Scarab Seal from Uronarti, Inscription from Wadi Hammamat], Holders of this title may have been in command of *šmsw n hk3*, *šmsw rmn tp*, and *šmsw*. [QUIRKE 1986: 122; FRANKE 2002: 14; WARD 1982: N<sup>o</sup>. 1336.; MEEKS 1980: N<sup>o</sup>. 78.4128.].

<sup>47</sup> The title *šmsw n hk3* (guard of the ruler) is considered a military title, signifying membership in an elite unit, possibly the ruler's bodyguard. Sources suggest that *šmsw n hk3* held a privileged position in royal expeditions. They ranked higher than local administration leaders and received larger daily

- *šmsw n rmn tpy* - First, best soldier
- *šmsw* - Follower/Attendant/Guard <sup>48</sup>

Berlev's assertion that the *šmsw n rmn tpy* served under the command of the *šmsw n hk3* aligns with this hierarchy, positioning the «first, best soldier» as a specialized unit within the broader *šmsw* force responsible for the ruler's security and potentially involved in military campaigns or other high-risk operations.

- The use of "*ir(t) n*" to introduce the mother's name emerges in the latter part of Senusret I's reign and becomes more prevalent thereafter <sup>49</sup>.

#### 4. The Third Register [D]



[1] *mwt.f sd3 hr irt.n nbt kbni s3.f'nh n t.t hq3 rn.f snb*, [2] *s3t.f mriit s3t.f nb inw ms n sd3 hr*, [3] *sn.f hri n tm nfr rnpwt snt.f iw snb*, [4] *snt.f wi3.s snt.f hw s inbw*, [5] *ms.n mriit snt.f nt ib irt.n nhit*

[1] His mother *sd3 hr* born from *nbt kbni*, His son the soldier of the crew of the Ruler *rn.f snb* [2] His daughter *mriit*, His daughter *nb inw* born from *sd3 hr* [3] His brother master of

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rations than ordinary expedition members [Stela Manchester Museum 3306, Inscription Wadi Hammamat 17]; BAINES 1987:43-61.

The title *šmsw*, meaning "follower" is a complex one that appears frequently in Middle Kingdom sources but can be difficult to interpret. It could refer to a military title, a servant, an epithet, or a shortened form of a title containing the word *šmsw*. Determining the specific meaning of *šmsw* in a given instance requires careful consideration of the context and other titles or information provided.

<sup>49</sup> OBSOMER 1993: 195-196.



the tm *nfr rnpwt*, His sister iw snb [4] His sister *wi3.s*, His sister *hw s inbw* [5] born from *mriit*, His sister *nt ib* born from *nhii*

## Commentary

- *nh n t.t hq3*: ward translates it as «Participant of the Ruler's Table <sup>50</sup>», suggesting a connection to the governor's household. However, Quirke proposes a military interpretation: «the soldier of the crew of the Ruler» <sup>51</sup>, associating it with the «*3tw n tt hq3* commander of the crew <sup>52</sup>», while Mahfouz believes that *hq3* who is mentioned in the title is not the king but he could be the local governor <sup>53</sup>.
- *hri n tm*: The title *hri n tm* first appeared in the late 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty <sup>54</sup> and continued to be used in the Late Middle Kingdom <sup>55</sup>. This title remains a subject of ongoing debate among Egyptologists. While Schafer's <sup>56</sup> initial interpretation linked it to land management, suggesting a translation like «chief of the cadastre». This interpretation, however, was challenged by Franke and Marée <sup>57</sup>, who argued that the «corner sign» does not necessarily support this connection and that the title's precise meaning remains uncertain. Quirke <sup>58</sup> proposed a connection to the organization of corvée labor based on the Berlin Papyrus 10470 <sup>59</sup>, suggesting that *hri n tm* officials played a crucial role in overseeing this labor force. Ilin-Tomich <sup>60</sup>, focusing on Theban officials, challenged Quirke's direct link to the *hnrt* system <sup>61</sup>,

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<sup>50</sup> WARD 1982: 75 N°. 611.

<sup>51</sup> QUIRKE 1986: 111, 122.

<sup>52</sup> QUIRKE 1990: 81–82, 192.

<sup>53</sup> MAHFOUZ 2012:134.

<sup>54</sup> Wb V: 300,12.; HANNIG 1995: 931; WARD 1982: N°.1087-1088.

<sup>55</sup> SCHAFFER 1903: 96.; FRANKE 2013 :57.

<sup>56</sup> SCHAFFER 1903: 96.

<sup>57</sup> FRANKE 2013: 57.







<sup>58</sup> QUIRKE 1990: 203-207;

<sup>59</sup> SMITHER 1948: 31-34; HELCK 1988: 35-39.

<sup>60</sup> LLIN-TOMICH 2015: 128-129.

<sup>61</sup> The *hnrt wr*, a key institution during the Middle Kingdom, oversaw the organization and management of corvée labor. [QUIRKE 1988: 90; QUIRKE 1990: 127–54.] Primarily known from the "register of fugitives" (Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446[HAYES 1955: 123], the *hnrt wr* likely functioned as a central office, communicating with the vizier on labor regulations. [ DI-TEODORO 2018: 70.] While the precise meaning of *hnrt* remains unclear, it likely refers to an 'enclosure' associated with labor management. [ GRAJETZKI 2009: 15–41. Hayes initially translated *hnrt wr* as 'Great Prison,' suggesting it was a place of detention for corvée laborers. [HAYES 1955: 124] However, subsequent research by Quirke challenged this interpretation. Given the verb *hnr*, meaning 'to restrain,' a more fitting translation for *hnrt* might be

emphasizing the local character of the title and its potential connection to provincial administration.

The precise meaning of the term 'tm' remains unclear. The word is associated with five different determinatives, further complicating its interpretation:  [GARDINER O38] <sup>62</sup>,  [Gardiner U15],  [Gardiner O40],  [Gardiner N21] <sup>63</sup>,  [Gardiner O39] <sup>64</sup>, The reading "'tm" is confirmed by the clear reading of the biliteral sign . According to Ilin-Tomich, the full title, «*hry n tm n iwt rsy* master of the "tm" of the southern city», suggests a connection to local administration <sup>65</sup>.

The title *hri n tm* is frequently associated with officials from two primary sectors: military/security and labor. The military/security sector includes titles such as «*imi ht s3 prw* security official of estate guards» <sup>66</sup>, «*šmsw* guard», and «*šhd šmsw* controller of guards» <sup>67</sup>. Notably, two stelas (Sinopoli Egi 06 and CG 20360) reveal a close connection between «master of tem, security official of estate guards», and «scribe of the *hnrt wr* <sup>68</sup>». The labor sector includes officials associated with the provisioning area «*pr šn* <sup>69</sup>» and craftsmen such as overseers of coppersmiths and goldsmiths <sup>70</sup>."

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'enclosure. [QUIRKE 1988: 90] This interpretation aligns better with the likely function of the *hnrt wr* as an administrative body overseeing labor, rather than a physical prison. While 'main/great enclosure' could be a tempting translation, it doesn't accurately reflect the bureaucratic role of the *hnrt wr*. Therefore, it is preferable to retain the Egyptian terms *hnrt* and *hnrt wr*. [DI-TEODORO 2018: 281]

<sup>62</sup> This is the determinative of tm on Marseille 228, as well as the most attested form. List of sources in: Franke 2013: 57; LLIN-TOMICH 2015: 128–9; SCHÄFER 1903: 96.

<sup>63</sup> Only one attestation is hitherto known: CG 20430; SCHÄFER 1903: 26–7.

<sup>64</sup> Only one attestation is hitherto known: Boston 1970.630; LEPROHON 1985:160–3.

<sup>65</sup> LLIN-TOMICH 2015: 128–9.






<sup>66</sup> For example, on Cairo CG 20035, CG 20073, CG 20104, CG 20360 (SCHÄFER 1903: I, 43–4, 87–8, 127–8, 367), Boston 1970.630 (Leprohon, Stelae I), and Sinopoli Egi 06 (Roccati, Quattro stele, pl. 7).

<sup>67</sup> For example, on: Cairo CG 20073, CG 20198, CG 20330 SCHÄFER 1903: I, 87–8, 225–6, 342–3); Bologna KS 1933 (E. Bresciani, Le stele egiziane del Museo civico archeologico di Bologna, Bologna 1986, 32–3); MMA 63154 (FISCHER 1996: 96.).

<sup>68</sup> DI-TEODORO 2018: 80, source 2.4.1 J.

<sup>69</sup> SMITHER & Dakin 1939: 159, PL. XX

<sup>70</sup> On Cairo CG 20035: SCHÄFER 1903: I, 43–4.

Fischer believes that the title *hri n tm* might be related to agriculture based on the determinative  for land <sup>71</sup>, while Franke connected it brick-making based on the determinatives ,  used with the word <sup>72</sup>. This fits with the idea that they might have been involved with  «*ithw inrw* stone haulers» mentioned in the Lahun Papyri (n. 72), due to the use of in  the word *inrw* 'stones' <sup>73</sup>.

Furthermore, in a legal document (P. Berlin 10470) <sup>74</sup>, a 'master of tem' was involved in a legal decision. This suggests they might have had some judicial responsibilities <sup>75</sup>. The use of a symbol associated with 'court' or 'magistrates' supports this idea, possibly linking them to the *hnrt wr* 's role in dealing with people who broke the rules' <sup>76</sup>.

In conclusion Quirke proposed that the *hri n tm* might have served as a security official within the *hnrtw* enclosures <sup>77</sup>. Di Teodoro <sup>78</sup> suggests a more nuanced role as overseeing the security of temporary workers on-site. This would involve coordinating with security officials from various sectors – such as estate, field bureau, construction, and food production and liaising with the local *hnrt* administration.

- ***ms.n***: The formula '*ms.n*' (born by), typically followed by the mother's name, was prevalent in the early Middle Kingdom until the late reign of Senusret I <sup>79</sup>. This formula experienced a resurgence during the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty <sup>80</sup>.

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<sup>71</sup> FISCHER 1996: 96.

<sup>72</sup> FRANKE 2013: 57.

<sup>73</sup> DI-TEODORO 2018: 289.

<sup>74</sup> SMITHER 1948: 32–34.

<sup>75</sup> QUIRKE 1991: 146.

<sup>76</sup> QUIRKE 1988: 89.

<sup>77</sup> QUIRKE 2004: 95.

<sup>78</sup> DI-TEODORO: 290.

<sup>79</sup> SCHÄFER 1903: II, 114; CG. 20518.

<sup>80</sup> OBSOMER 1993: 170-180; LLIN-TOMICH 2017: 24-26.

## Personal Names:

Name	Gender	Writing	Appearance	Attestations
<i>di.tw</i> <sup>81</sup>	Both		Early 13 <sup>th</sup> Dyn. Up to Neferhotep I	Cairo CG 20330 (M.)
				Bologna EG 1921(F.), Stela Bolton 1920.10:11(F.), Cairo JE 39069 (F.)
<i>rn.f snb</i> <sup>82</sup>	Male		Late Middle Kingdom - Second Intermediate Period	Stela Berlin ÄM 7309, Stela BM EA209, Stela BM EA844, Cairo CG 20018, Cairo CG 20036, Cairo CG 20437, Cairo JE 91253.
				Berlin ÄM 32544, BM EA69534, Brooklyn 37.1345E, Rodin 953.
<i>i.t</i> <sup>83</sup>	Female		12 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty - Thutmose III	Aberdeen ABDUA:21642, Amsterdam Bijbels 34, BM EA238, Cairo CG 20135, Cairo CG 20169, Cairo CG 20260.
<i>mriit</i> <sup>84</sup>	Female		First Intermediate Period - New Kingdom	BM EA1203, Cairo CG 20023, Cairo CG 20196, Cairo CG 20733, Cairo CG 20744.
				Tomb equipment Beni Hasan 717, BM EA100, Cairo CG 613, Cairo CG 20144, Cairo CG 20260.
<i>wi3.s</i> <sup>85</sup>	Female		13 <sup>th</sup> - 17 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.	Cairo CG 20330
			Mid-12 <sup>th</sup> Dyn - 17 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.	Stela BM EA207, Cairo CG 20330
<i>sd3 hr</i> <sup>86</sup>	Both		Late Middle Kingdom - Second Intermediate Period	Cairo CG 20330(f.), Hieratic text P. Boulaq 18, larger manuscript (M.)
				Stela Aberdeen ABDUA:21642(M.), Cairo CG 20115 (F.), Cairo CG 20183 (F.).
<i>nbt kbni</i> <sup>87</sup>	Female		12 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty - Thutmose III	BM EA905, Cairo CG 20330, Martin 694.
				Cairo CG 20678, Wien ÄS 111, Wien ÄS 129.

<sup>81</sup> PN I: 59 N<sup>o</sup>.16, 398 N<sup>o</sup>.6.; TLA N<sup>o</sup>. 710913, 709441.

<sup>82</sup> PN I: 223 N<sup>o</sup>.17.; TLA N<sup>o</sup>. 704200, 400377.

<sup>83</sup> PN I: 49, N<sup>o</sup>.5, 6.; 48 N<sup>o</sup>.29.; TLA N<sup>o</sup>. 400436, 710579, 710588, 400222.

<sup>84</sup> PN I: 161, N<sup>o</sup>.14., 159, N<sup>o</sup>.20.; TLA N<sup>o</sup>. 702191, 702308, 702231

<sup>85</sup> PN I: 76, N<sup>o</sup>. 4; TLA N<sup>o</sup>. 711461.

<sup>86</sup> PN I: 303, N<sup>o</sup>. 6., 88, N<sup>o</sup>. 25; TLA N<sup>o</sup>. 706611, 711828.

<sup>87</sup> PN I: 189, N<sup>o</sup>. 17., 189, N<sup>o</sup>. 18; TLA N<sup>o</sup>. 703195, 703196.

Name	Gender	Writing	Appearance	Attestations
<i>nb inw</i> <sup>88</sup>	Both		late 12 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty- 17 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.	Cairo CG 20330 (F.).
				Hieratic text UC 32143 A (M.).
<i>nfr rnpwt</i> <sup>89</sup>	Male		Senusret III- 18 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.	Cairo CG 20330
				BM EA563
				Louvre N 1457
<i>iw snb</i> <sup>90</sup>	Both		Late Middle Kingdom - Second Intermediate Period	Aswan 1119 (F.), Berlin ÄM 31037 (F.), BM EA131 (M.), BM EA1750 (M.), Brooklyn 08.480.176 (M.), Cairo CG 20066 (M.), Cairo CG 20115 (M.).
<i>hw s inbw</i> <sup>91</sup>	Female		13 <sup>th</sup> - 17 <sup>th</sup> Dyn.	Cairo CG 20330, Drouot, 1-2.10.2000, no. 574
				Cairo CG 20464, Hermitage 8729
<i>nt ib</i> <sup>92</sup>	Both		late 12 <sup>th</sup> Dyn. - Neferhotep I	Cairo CG 20330 (F.), Amherst 445 (F.), Berlin P. 10286 (F.), Louvre C 29 (F.), Louvre C 40 (F.), Rouen AEg. 348 (F.), P. Boulaq 18 (M.).
				Cairo JE 59484 (F.).
<i>nhii</i> <sup>93</sup>	Both		Late 12 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty - Thutmose III	Amherst 445 (F.), Avignon A 5 (M.), Berlin ÄM 7312 (F.), Berlin ÄM 8815 (M.), BM EA220 (F.), Cairo CG 20030 (M.), Cairo CG 20056 (M.).
				BM EA40668 (M.), Cairo CG 47624 (M.), Cairo JE 75161 (M.), Zagreb 577 (M.).
				Berlin ÄM 32522 (M.), Cairo CG 20030 (M.), Cairo CG 20229 (M.), Cairo CG 20677 (M.), Tomb Elkab tomb 7 (F.), MMA 25.184.2 (F.).

<sup>88</sup> PN I: 188, N<sup>o</sup>. 3; TLA N<sup>o</sup>. 703178.

<sup>89</sup> PN I: 197, N<sup>o</sup>. 19; TLA N<sup>o</sup>. 703442.

<sup>90</sup> PN I: 15, N<sup>o</sup>. 22.; 13 N<sup>o</sup>.27.; TLA N<sup>o</sup>. 550036, 701364, 701946, 401098.

<sup>91</sup> PN I: 267, N<sup>o</sup>. 8; TLA N<sup>o</sup>. 705532.

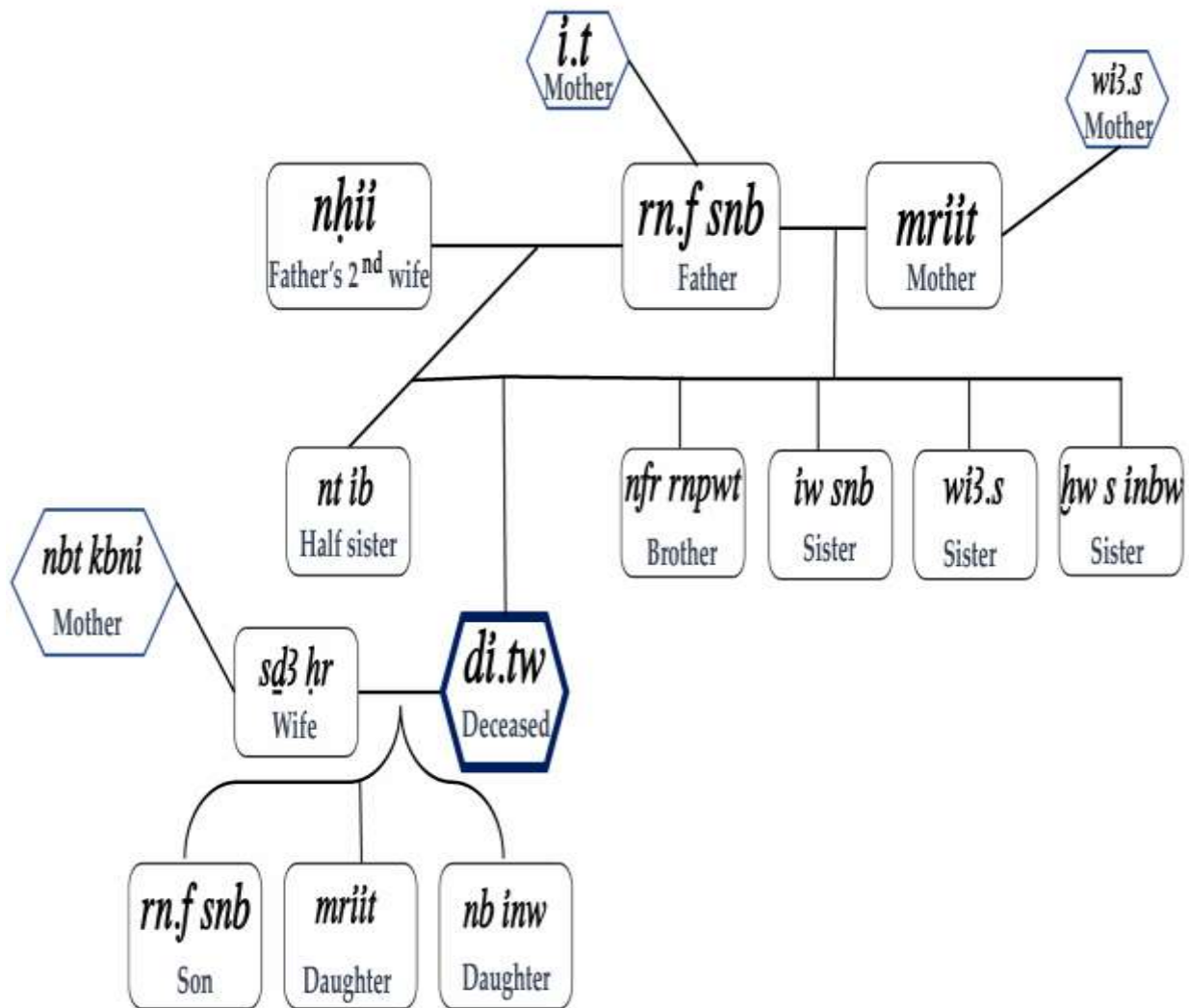
<sup>92</sup> PN I: 181, N<sup>o</sup>. 1; TLA N<sup>o</sup>. 702944.

<sup>93</sup> PN I: 207, N<sup>o</sup>. 15,19,20,23.; TLA N<sup>o</sup>. 703740, 400389, 703748, 703745.

### III.GENEALOGY

The stela of *di.tw* provides a valuable window into family structures and social customs of the Middle Kingdom. The following chart provides a visual representation of the four Generations depicted on the stela.






The stela clearly shows that *di.tw*'s father, *rn.f snb*, had two wives: *sd3 hr-di.tw*'s mother- and *nhii*. This may indicate to the practice of polygamy, which was not uncommon in ancient Egypt<sup>94</sup>. However, the deceased's mother's death seems to be the primary reason for the second marriage.



<sup>94</sup> SIMPSON 1974: 100.

## IV. Dating

Stela CG 20330 can securely date to the late 12<sup>th</sup> or early 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty based on a combination of paleographic, artistic evidence

- The writing of Osiris' name without a determinative  is a common from the mid-12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty to the 14<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.
- The reduplication of the sign  within the name of Osiris, a phenomenon observed from the late 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty onwards
- The use of Osiris titles attested from the mid-12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty onwards.
- The title "The great god" frequently used during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasties.
- The horizontal  sign is common from the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty onwards.
- The shape of the bread sign on *dw.tw* stela: Attested in the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and common in the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.
- The plural determinative in *ihw 3pdw* attested in the late 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and common during the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and Second Intermediate Period.
- The use of 'n k3 n' before a name: Appeared in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasties."
- According to P. Vernus, the stela's dating must not go further than the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty in depending on the order of the offering's formula <sup>95</sup>
- The inclusion of '  *di:f* ('he gives') after the '*hnp-di-nsw*' formula and before the mention of  '*prt hrw*' (invocation-offerings) is a characteristic of stelae dating to the late 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty <sup>96</sup>.
- The artistic style of the three figures, characterized by elongated limbs, high waists, small heads, and awkward proportions, aligns with the stylistic conventions of the late 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasties. This stylistic analysis is further supported by the facial features of the figures, which exhibit almond-shaped eyes lacking cosmetic lines or eyebrows, pointed noses, and narrow chins, characteristics typical of this period.

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<sup>95</sup> VERNUS 1991:144.

<sup>96</sup> LEPROHON 1996: 528, N<sup>o</sup>.26.; BRIGHT 2005: 9; for example; ABDEL-RAZIQ 2013: 278 – 280.

## V. Conclusion

Stela CG 20330, dating from the late Middle Kingdom (late 12<sup>th</sup> or early 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty), offers a fascinating glimpse into ancient Egyptian families and social structures. The detailed family tree depicted on the stela highlights the importance of extended family networks and social status during this period. The central figure *di.tw* a "Soldier of the crew of the Ruler" is shown alongside his parents, siblings, and children. This complex family structure suggests the practice of polygamy or remarriage, as evidenced by *nḥii*, the second wife of *rn.f snb*, *dl.tw*'s father.

The stela also reveals the family's elite status through the inclusion of military and administrative titles. For example, *rn.f snb* held the position of "Guard of the first battalion", while another family member *nfr rnpwt* was the "Master of the tm." The presence of women like *sd3 ḥr* (mother) and *nbt kbni* (grandmother) emphasizes the importance of matrilineal connections in maintaining family identity and funerary practices. The meticulous recording of three generations on the stela further underscores the significance of lineage and family memory preservation in the Middle Kingdom. This practice not only ensured the deceased's legacy but also reinforced social hierarchies and familial bonds within the community.





[Figure 1]: The stela of *di.tw* CG 20330 @Photo taken by Researcher.



[Figure 2]: Line drawing of the stela of *dl.tw* CG 20330 @ facsimile done by Sherif Mahmoud

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