

TWO MIDDLE KINGDOM STELAE OF *NN-RN=F* AND *SNBJ* IN THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM CAIRO (CGC 20524- 20521)

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to publish and study two Abydos stelae preserved now in the magazine of the Middle Kingdom in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo under the numbers (CGC 20524 and 20521), with discussion of the meaning of their names and titles. Furthermore, it aims to transcribe, translate, and comment on their epigraphical features. The first stela belongs to a person named *Nn-rn=f* and his brother *Dwj*. While the second is a stela of *Snbj* son of *Ibj*. The artistic style, the orthographic and paleographic features suggest a dating to the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty for the stela of *Nn-rn=f* (the reign of Senowsret I), while the style and the epigraphical features of the stela of *Snbj* are typical of the Late Twelfth Dynasty or the Early Thirteenth Dynasty.

KEYWORDS

Middle Kingdom, *Nn-rn=f*, *Snbj*, Stela, Thirteenth Dynasty, Twelfth Dynasty.

المخلص

تهدف تلك المقالة إلى نشر ودراسة لوحتين من أبيدوس محفوظتين الآن في مخزن الدولة الوسطى بالمتحف المصري بالقاهرة، ويحملان أرقام الكتالوج 20524، 20521، بالإضافة إلى مناقشة معاني أسمائهم وألقابهم ونسخ النصوص وترجمتها والتعليق على سمات التهجئة وأشكال العلامات. اللوحة الأولى لشخص يدعى ن ن ر ن إف وأخيه جوي بينما اللوحة الثانية تخص شخص يدعى سنبي بن إبيي وقد تبين من هذه الدراسة أن الأسلوب الفني وسمات التهجئة وأشكال العلامات للوحة ن ن ر ن إف تجعلها تؤرخ بالفترة المبكرة من الأسرة الثانية عشرة (وخاصة في عهد سنوسرت الأول)، بينما أسلوب ونمط لوحة سنبي وأشكال العلامات وسمات التهجئة للنصوص المنقوشة عليها ترجح تأريخها بالفترة المتأخرة من الأسرة الثانية عشرة أو الفترة المبكرة من الأسرة الثالثة عشرة.

الكلمات الدالة

الدولة الوسطى، ن ن ر ن إف، سنبي، لوحة، الأسرة الثالثة عشرة، الأسرة الثانية عشرة.

INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with two stelae of different types which have recently been stored in the magazine of the Middle Kingdom in the Egyptian Museum Cairo. The first one is a rounded-top stela of a person named *Nn-rnꜥf* and his brother *Dwj* (CGC 20524), while the second is a stela in the shape of a false door of *Snbj* son of *Ibj* (CGC 20521). These two stelae represent two different types in the style and form. They were found in 1861 at the northern necropolis of Abydos¹, but their different styles suggest two workshops and style, despite sharing orthographical and paleographical features. When they are compared to each other, they illustrate the vast difference between the art of the Twelfth Dynasty and that of the end of the dynasty, which continues through the Thirteenth Dynasty. Both Lange and Schäfer² transcribed the hieroglyphs of these two stelae and included their images, but they did not translate their texts, describe their scenes, nor investigate their styles or inscriptions. The aim of this paper is to translate and comment these documents, by investigating their style, inscriptions as well as their iconographical and epigraphical features.

I- The Rounded-Top Stela of *Nn-rnꜥf* and his brother *Dwj*

Description and Texts

The rounded-top stela³ of *Nn-rnꜥf* is made of limestone, measuring 58 cm in height, 39 cm in width and 10 cm in thickness. Now, it is registered under the accession numbers (JE15102 = CGC 20524 = SR 3/ 10406). The inscriptions are in sunken relief, while its depictions are in raised relief. Its preservation is good, except for small parts of its top-right edge which are broken off. This stela is framed by two vertical sunken borders, except at its base. Its lunette has a curve which is not symmetrical and is divided from the main scene

¹These bric-stelae were placed in mudk offering chapels, see O'Connor, D., 'Cenotaphs' of the Middle Kingdom at Abydos', 161-177; Matlew, D. A., 'The Stela of Nacht, Son of Nemty: Contextualizing Object and Individual in Funerary Landscape at Abydos', 1.

²Lange, H. O. & Schäfer, H., *Grab und Denksteine des Mitteren Reich im Museum von Kairo* N^{os}. 20400-20780, II, 122-125; IV, pl. XXXVII.

³The rounded-top stela is a common type visible from the Middle Kingdom up to the Roman Period. Evidence from the Old Kingdom at Giza, however, shows that a pair of private rounded-top stelae were set at the entrance of a sloping ramp leading up to the nucleus mastaba G 6040. Reisner, G. A., 'The Position of Early Grave Stelae', 329, pl.51a; Reisner, G. A., 'A Family of Royal Estate Stewards of Dynasty V', 32, fig.3; I. Müller, H. W., 'Die Totendenksteine des Mittleren Reiches, ihre Genesis, ihre Darstellungen und ihre Komposition', in *MDAIK* 4, 165-206; Vandier, J., *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, II/1, 477, fig. 293; 485, fig. 295; Karl-Martin, G., 'Stele', in *LA* VI, 2; Hölzl, R., 'Rounded-Topped Stelae from the Middle Kingdom to the Late Period. Some Remarks on the Decoration of the Lunettes', 285; 'Stelae', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, 3, 320; Shaw, I & Nicholson, P., 'Stelae', in *The British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, 278.

by a horizontal line⁴. The lunette is occupied by a horizontal line of inscription of *htp (r)dj(.w) n(j)sw.t* formula⁵ that runs from right to left:



htp (r)dj(.w) n(j)sw.t (n) Wsjr djz f h3 (m) t hnk.t jh.w 3pd.w šs mnh.t h.t nb(.t) w^cb(.t) ʿnh.t(j) ntr jm n jm3hjj

An offering which the king gives to Osiris. May he give a thousand of bread, beer, oxen⁶, fowls, incense, alabaster, clothing and everything pure upon which the god lives to the venerated one.⁷

The main scene below the lunette is divided into two scenes, separated by a raised horizontal line. Five standing figures are depicted in the first scene: *Nn-rnzf*, his mother *In.t*, his sister *S3.t-Pth* and his two brothers *Imnj* and *Rds*⁸. Their names are written above them from the right to the left as follows:



htmw Nn-rnzf nb jm3hjj

The sealer⁹ *Nn-rnzf*¹⁰ Possessor of reverence¹¹



mw.tzf In.t mst (n) Nh.t

His mother *In.t*¹² born of¹³ *Nh.t*¹⁴

⁴ This stela is of the Type II according to Hölzl. Hölzl, R., 'Rounded-Topped Stelae from the Middle Kingdom to the Late Period. Some Remarks on the Decoration of the Lunettes', 285-286. Westendorf suggested that the curved top of the stela signifies the daily course of the sun. Westendorf, W., *Ägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn*, 40ff, 74ff.

⁵ For the meaning of this formula, see Satzinger, H., 'Beobachtung zur Opferformel: Theorie und Praxis, in *LingAeg* 5, 177-188; Franke, D., 'The Middle Kingdom Offering Formulas: A Challenge', in *JEA* 89, 46.

⁶ For the reading *jh.w*, see. Ilin-Tomich, A., 'Changes in the *htp-dj-nsw* Formula in the Late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period', in *ZÄS* 138, 24.

⁷ Pflüger pointed out that the dedication of the offering formula on stelae was usually to the honored one *n jm3hjj* during the Eleventh Dynasty and early of Twelfth Dynasty, while it was often dedicated to the soul of ... (*n k3 n*) in the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty and occasionally later. Pflüger, K., 'The Private Stelae of the Middle Kingdom and Their Importance for the Study of Ancient Egyptian History', in *JAOS* 67/2, 133.

⁸ Cf. Franke, D., 'Drei neue Stelen des Mittleren Reiches von Elephantine', in *MDAIK* 57, 23, Abb. 3, where the description of the scribe is limited to the names of the stela's owner without depicting them as seen in the present stela.

⁹ Ward, W. A., *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, 138 (1185). For the reading *sd3w.tjj* or *htmw*, see Ward, W. A., *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, 169 (1468). Fischer, G. H., *Egyptian Studies III. Varia Nova*, 50; Quirke, S., 'The Regular Titles of the Late Middle Kingdom', 114.

¹⁰ Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 204 (25).

¹¹ Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, I, 478 (1778).

¹² Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 33 (3).

¹³ For *ms(t) n*, see Obsomer, C., '*di.f prt-hrw* el la filiation *ms(t) n/ir(t) n* comme critères de datation dans les stèles du Moyen Empire', 192-196.

¹⁴ Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 206 (22).



sn.tꜣf S3.t-Pth

His sister *S3.t-Pth*¹⁵



snꜣf Ymnj

His brother *Ymnj*



snꜣf Rds

His brother *Rds*¹⁶

Nn rnꜣf is standing, facing the right, wearing a short-haired wig that reveals his ears¹⁷ and a long kilt with a pointed end, tightly tied to the waist. His mother *In.t* is standing behind¹⁸ him and clasping his left shoulder with her left arm. She wears the long tight-fitting tunic¹⁹ that starts below the chest, as well as a long-haired wig covering the whole head and the ears and hanging down to her shoulders²⁰. This wig also has a long thin lappet hanging down on the chest. Behind her, the sister of *Nn rnꜣf* named *S3.t-Pth* is standing wearing the same attire as her mother. The two brothers of *Nn-rnꜣf* called *Imnj* and *Rds* follow their sister. They wear a short-haired wig that also leaves their ears exposed and a short kilt with a pointed end, tightly tied on their waist and reaching above the knees²¹.

In the second scene below the previous one five standing figures also appear: a man named *Dwj*, his grandmother *Nh.t*, his father *Itw*, and his two friends *Nmtj-m-sꜣf Wnwtj* and *S3-Pth*. Their names are written above them from the right to the left as follows:



htmw Dwj nb jm3hw

The sealer *Dwj*²² Possessor of reverence



mw.t n(j).t mw.tꜣf Nh.t

The mother of his mother *Nh.t*



itꜣf Itw

His father *Itw*²³

¹⁵ Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 288 (22).

¹⁶ Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 228 (20).

¹⁷ Cf. Lange, H. O. & Schäfer, H., *Grab und Denksteine des Mittleren Reich im Museum von Kairo* N^{os}. 20001-20780, IV, pl. LXIII, 73; 75.

¹⁸ The mother of *Nn-rnꜣf* comes next to him. This tradition starts from the reign of the king Senowsret I. Pflüger, K., 'The Private Stelae of the Middle Kingdom and Their Importance for the Study of Ancient Egyptian History', in *JAOS* 67/2, 1947, 128.

¹⁹ Green, L., 'Clothing and Personal Adornment', 276-278.

²⁰ Cf. Lange, H. O. & Schäfer, H., *Grab und Denksteine des Mittleren Reich im Museum von Kairo* N^{os}. 20001-20780, IV, pl. LXV, 107-115.

²¹ Cf. Lange, H. O. & Schäfer, H., *Grab und Denksteine des Mittleren Reich im Museum von Kairo* N^{os}. 20001-20780, IV, pl. LXXVIII, 343-346.

²² Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 406 (2).

²³ Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 53 (2).



hnmsz Nmtj-m-s3z Wnwtj His friend *Nmtj-m-s3z Wnwtj*²⁴



hnmsz htmw S3-Pth His friend the sealer *S3-Pth*

Dwj and his two friends are standing, facing the right, wearing a short-haired wig which reveals their ears and a long kilt with a pointed end tied at the waist²⁵. The grandmother of *Dwj* named *Nh.t* is standing behind him, clasping his left shoulder with her left arm. She wears a long tight-fitting tunic and a long-haired wig that covers her whole head and ears. This wig hangs down upon her shoulders and has a long thin lappet hanging down on the chest. The father of *Dwj* comes after his grandmother, wearing a short-haired wig and a short kilt with a pointed end, tied at the waist and reaching above his knees. All these figures have almond-shaped eyes devoid of eyebrows or cosmetic lines, a small nose, and a narrow-slit mouth. They are standing with both hands hanging empty at their sides, except for the mother and the grandmother of *Nn-rnzf*.

Commentary and Dating

As for the dating of this stela, Rita Freed has included it in a group of stelae²⁶ which she identifies as "Workshop 7": some of these are dated to the first half of the reign of Senowsret I²⁷. The classification of Rita Freed is based on the relief style, shared attributes, and the facial features., characteristics which are seen on the stela in question. This stela may have been sculpted by the same craftsmen as stela Leiden V 85²⁸. On the other hand, some orthographical, paleographical, and iconographical features suggest a Twelfth

Dynasty date for this stela. Orthographically, the arrangement of $\overline{\text{𓏏}} \overline{\text{𓏏}} \overline{\text{𓏏}}$ with the Δt sign centered above the *hṭp* $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ -sign after the *nsw* $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ -sign was common in the Twelfth Dynasty²⁹. Furthermore, the presence of *djz* before *pr.t-hrw* is typical of the period³⁰.

²⁴ This name is not listed in Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*.

²⁵ Cf. Lange, H. O. & Schäfer, H., *Grab und Denksteine des Mitteren Reich im Museum von Kairo* N^{os}. 20001-20780, IV, pl. LXXV, 273.

²⁶ This group includes the stelae: CGC (20515-20751-20263- 20470- 20088- 20708- 20524- 20525- 20400), Berlin 1192, Louvre C 32, Leiden V 85 and Berkeley, Hearst 5-352. Five of them have a false door incised on their lower register.

²⁷ Freed, R. E., 'Stela Workshops of Early Dynasty 12', 317- 320.

²⁸ Freed, R. E., 'Stela Workshops of Early Dynasty 12', 319, fig. 7d.

²⁹ Smither, P. C., 'The Writing of *hṭp-di-nsw* in the Middle and New Kingdoms', in *JEA* 25/1, 34, 37; Urk. VII, 43, 6; 54, 2; Barta, W., *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, 53, 72; and see also Lange, H. O. & Schäfer, H., *Grab und Denksteine des Mitteren Reich im Museum von Kairo* N^{os}. 20001-20399, I, 5 (CG 20004), 6 (CG 2007), 10 (CG 20011), 13 (CG 20013), 24 (CG 20023), 26 (20028), 42 (CG 20033); also Lange, H. O. & Schäfer, H., *Grab und Denksteine des Mitteren Reich im Museum von Kairo* N^{os}. 20001-20780, II, 3 (CG 20400), 4 (CG 20402), 5 (CG 20403), 6 (CG 20405), 7 (CG 20405), 12 (CG 20411), 13 (CG 20413), 15 (CG 20418), 16 (CG 20419), 27 (CG 20426, 20430), 41 (CG 20444); Budge, W., *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*, I, pls. 48, 53-54, II, pls. 2-5, 10, 11-17, 19, 20, 22, 25, 27-31, 34-36, 38-39, 44; Blackman, A. M., 'Some Middle Kingdom Religious Texts', in *ZAS* 47, 116; Fischer, G. H., *Egyptian Studies* III, 134, pl. 21; 135, pl. 33a; 139, pl. 26; Simpson, W. K., *The Terrace of the Great God At Abydos*, pl. 24, ANOC 14.1 CCG 20043, ANOC 15.1 CCG 20055; pl. 25, ANOC 16.2 CCG 20240; pl. 46 ANOC 30.1 CCG 20515; Saleh, M., *Official Catalogue. The Egyptian Museum Cairo*, 91-92; Spanel, D. B., 'Paleographic and Epigraphic Distinctions between Texts of the So-called First

Although the formula $\overline{\text{Htp}} \text{D} \text{i} \text{Nsw}$ $\text{nh.t(j)} \text{ ntr jm}$ first appeared under Senowsret I³¹, the writing of the name of the god Osiris $\overline{\text{Htp}} \text{D} \text{i} \text{Nsw}$ without a determinative commonly occurs during the reign of Amenemhat III³². Moreover, the phrase $n \text{ jm} \overline{\text{Htp}} \text{D} \text{i} \text{Nsw}$ ³³ without $k3 n$ is a characteristic dating to the early Twelfth Dynasty³⁴. Paleographically, the abbreviated writing of the sign $\text{jm} \overline{\text{Htp}} \text{D} \text{i} \text{Nsw}$ placed above the vertical stroke $\overline{\text{Htp}} \text{D} \text{i} \text{Nsw}$ is typical of the Middle Kingdom³⁵. According to Pflüger, the depiction of Nn-rnzf mother, brothers and sisters suggests the dating of this stela to the Twelfth Dynasty³⁶. Furthermore, Pflüger has indicated that the tradition of depicting the mother of the owner's stela clasping his shoulder in an intimate manner, as seen in this stela, commonly occurs from the time of Amenemhat III³⁷, while the absence of his wife³⁸, sons and daughters³⁹ suggests a late Middle Kingdom date, especially the reigns of Senowsret III and Amenemhat III.

The Names and the Titles

The name Nn-rnzf was not listed by Franke⁴⁰, while Ranke listed and translated it as "er hat keinen Namen"⁴¹, "he has no name". Furthermore, Ranke listed the name of Dwj and

Intermediate Period and the Early Twelfth Dynasty', 780-81, figs. 4-5; Franke, D., 'Drei neue Stelen des Mittleren Reiches von Elephantine', in *MDAIK* 57, 26, Abb. 4; 'The Middle Kingdom Offering Formulas: A Challenge', in *JEA* 89, 54; El-Enany, Kh., 'Une stèle privée de la fin du Moyen Empire découverte à Karnak. Le Caire, musée égyptien JE 37515', in *BIFAO* 108, 96-97; Bazin, L., & El-Enany, Kh., 'La stèle d'un chancelier du roi et prophète d'Amon de la fin du Moyen Empire à Karnak', in *Cahiers de Karnak* 13, 2-3, figs.1-2; Rosati, G., 'A Rare Formula on a Thirteenth Dynasty Stela', 86, fig. 4. This arrangement was also common in the First Intermediate Period. Fischer, H. G., 'The Nubian Mercenaries of Geblein during the First Intermediate Period', in *Kush* 9, 47, fig. 1; 57, fig. 3; 60, fig. 4; Kubisch, S., 'Die Stelen der 1. Zwischenzeit aus Gebelin' in *MDAIK* 56, 250; Daoud, Kh., *Necropolises Memphiticae. Inscription from the Herakleopolitan Period*, 44, fig. 15; 316, fig. 120; 339, fig. 136b; 346, fig. 137.

³⁰ Bennett, C. J. C., 'Growth of the Htp-D'i-Nsw Formula in the Middle Kingdom', in *JEA* 27, 77-78.

³¹ Bennett, C. J. C., 'Growth of the Htp-D'i-Nsw Formula in the Middle Kingdom', in *JEA* 27, 80; cf. Bazin, L., & El-Enany, Kh., 'La stèle d'un chancelier du roi et prophète d'Amon de la fin du Moyen Empire à Karnak', in *Cahiers de Karnak* 13, 2-3, figs.1-2; El-Shal, O., 'La stèle d'Ioutjéni et les liturgies processionnelles de la fin du Moyen Empire CGC 20476, GEM 4439, in *BIFAO* 115, 458, figs. 1-2.

³² Bennett, C. J. C., 'Growth of the Htp-D'i-Nsw Formula in the Middle Kingdom', in *JEA* 27, 78.

³³ For the dilemma of applying the epithet $\text{jm} \overline{\text{Htp}} \text{D} \text{i} \text{Nsw}$ to both the dead and the living, see. Janssen-Winkeln, 'Zur Bedeutung von $\text{jm} \overline{\text{Htp}} \text{D} \text{i} \text{Nsw}$ ', in *BSEG* 20, 30-33; Chauvet, V., *The Conception of Private Tombs in the Late Old Kingdom*, 143-147; Helck, 'Wirtschaftliche Bemerkungen zum privaten Grabbesitz im Alten Reich', 63-75; Allen, 'Some aspects of the non-royal afterlife in the Old Kingdom', 16.

³⁴ Bennett, C. J. C., 'Growth of the Htp-D'i-Nsw Formula in the Middle Kingdom', in *JEA* 27, 79; Franke, D., 'The Middle Kingdom Offering Formulas: A Challenge', in *JEA* 89, 54; Matlew, D. A., 'The Stela of Nacht, Son of Nemty: Contextualizing Object and Individual in Funerary Landscape at Abydos', 7.

³⁵ Urk. VII, 8, 6, 18; 9, 2; 11, 11; 20, 7; 21, 15; 22, 13, 20; 23, 15; 24, 7; 28, 8, 19; 32, 4; 33, 4; 34, 7; 35, 15; 38, 2, 13; 40, 1; 41, 9; 41, 18; 51, 10, 52, 13.

³⁶ Pflüger, K., 'The Private Stelae of the Middle Kingdom and Their Importance for the Study of Ancient Egyptian History', in *JAOS* 67/2, 128. The depictions of the owner of the stela became more frequent during the reign of Amenemhat III.

³⁷ Pflüger, K., 'The Private Stelae of the Middle Kingdom and Their Importance for the Study of Ancient Egyptian History', in *JAOS* 67/2, 129.

³⁸ Cf. Pflüger, K., 'The Private Stelae of the Middle Kingdom and Their Importance for the Study of Ancient Egyptian History', in *JAOS* 67/2, 128. She kept her position on the stela as a family member up to the end of the reign of Amenemhat I, while she retreated to the background under Senowsret III and Amenemhat III.

³⁹ Cf. Pflüger, K., 'The Private Stelae of the Middle Kingdom and Their Importance for the Study of Ancient Egyptian History', in *JAOS* 67/2, 129. They also receded into the background under Senowsret III and Amenemhat III.

⁴⁰ Franke, D., *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich*, ÄA 42, Wiesbaden, 1984.

rendered it as "der (männliche) *ḏwj* Vogel"⁴², "the (male) *ḏwj* bird". Both *Nn-rnꜥf* and *Ḍwj* are related through the name of their grandmother i.e. *Nh.t*, that indicates that they were brothers. This means that *Itw* would then be the father of *Nn-rnꜥf*. This may also explain why the offering formula ends with the epithet *jmꜣhjj* without determining specifically who is described by this epithet. In that respect, it can be assumed that the invocation of the offering formula, and in turn the epithet *jmꜣhjj*, are dedicated to both *Nn-rnꜥf* and *Ḍwj*, the joint owners of this stela. Furthermore, they are both designated by the phrase *nb jmꜣḥw*⁴³ "Possessor of reverence", emphasizing the joint dedication of this stela. Finally, both *Nn-rnꜥf* and *Ḍwj* hold the title *ḥtmw*, the lower rank of the two titles *jmꜣj-r ḥtm.tjw* and *jmꜣj-r ḥtm*⁴⁴, which indicates their official rank and their relation to the treasury and the royal palace⁴⁵.

The Family of *Nn-rnꜥf*

The stela in question illustrates the genealogy of the family of *Nn-rnꜥf* and *Ḍwj* up to three successive generations. In that respect, the stela provides the names of his grandmother, his mother and father, his sister and his brothers.

The first generation	? + <i>Nh.t</i>	The grandmother of <i>Nn-rnꜥf</i> + the name of her husband is unknown.
The second generation	<i>Itw</i> + <i>In.t</i>	The father and the mother of <i>Nn-rnꜥf</i> .
The third generation	<i>Nn-rnꜥf</i>	and his brothers <i>Ḍwj</i> , <i>Imnj</i> , <i>Rds</i> and his sister <i>Sꜣ.t-Pth</i>

II- The False Door Stela of *Snbj*

Description and Texts

The stela of *Snbj* is made of limestone, measuring 42 cm in height, 28 cm in width, and 11 cm in thickness. Recently, it is registered under the accession numbers (JE 10078 = CGC 20521 = SR 3/ 10405). Imitating a false door, this stela is framed by a *cavetto cornice* at the top and torus moulding on both sides⁴⁶. According to Pflüger, this type first appeared during the reign of the king Amenemhat I⁴⁷. The inscriptions and the depictions of the stela are in sunken relief, incised by a chisel with a sharp and pointed end. The stela's surface is divided into three sections: the first consists of four hieroglyphic horizontal lines running

⁴¹ Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 204 (25).

⁴² Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 406 (2).

⁴³ Cf. *Urk.* VII, 8, 6, 18; 9, 2; 11, 11; 20, 7; 21, 15; 22, 13, 20; 23, 15; 24, 7; 28, 8, 19; 32, 4; 33, 4; 34, 7; 35, 15; 38, 2, 13; 40, 1; 41, 9; 41, 18; 51, 10, 52, 13.

⁴⁴ Cf. Grajetzki, W., *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches. Prosopographie, Titel und Titelreihen*, 74, 156-157; Allen, J. P., 'Some Theban Officials of The Early Middle Kingdom', 7, 9; Quirke, S., *Titles and bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC*, 48-55.

⁴⁵ Quirke, S., 'The Regular Titles of the Late Middle Kingdom', 114; *Titles and bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC*, 54-55.

⁴⁶ Haeny, G., 'Scheintür', in *LÄ V*, 564, fig. 2.

⁴⁷ Pflüger, K., 'The Private Stelae of the Middle Kingdom and Their Importance for the Study of Ancient Egyptian History', in *JAOS* 67/2, 128.

from right to left; the second is occupied by the main scene of the stela which shows the stela's owner and his wife; the third includes three hieroglyphic horizontal lines running from right to left.

The first section contains the *htp (r)dj(.w) n(j)sw.t* formula, the name and the titles of *Snbj*:



htp (r)dj(.w) n(j)sw.t (n) Wsjr nb ʿnh t3w.jj djzj pr.t-hrw

jh.w 3pd.w h.t nb.t wʿb(.t) ʿnh.tj ntr jm n k3 n

hrjj pr Snbj msjj n Tbj m3ʿ.t hrw

hrjj pr n pr ʿ3 Nbzj pw jrjj n nb.t pr Gsh(.t)

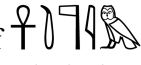
An offering which the king gives to/and Osiris lord of ʿnh t3w.jj. May he give an invocation offering (namely) bread, beer oxen, fowls and everything pure upon which the god lives, to the soul of the domestic servant (majordomo) *Snbj* born of both *Tbj* the revered, and the domestic servant (majordomo) of the palace *Nbzj pw* born of lady of the house *Gsh(.t)*.

The main scene presents *Snbj* seated on a chair with a short back and two bovine legs. He faces right, towards an offering table, wearing a short-haired wig and a tight knee-length kilt⁴⁸. His right hand is extended towards the offering table, while his left one rests on his chest⁴⁹. The table is composed of a flat top supported by a narrow stand. On it there are different types of offerings stacked upon each other. The wife of *Snbj* is kneeling in front of the offering table, facing towards her husband. She wears a long tight-fitting tunic and a shoulder-length wig, which leaves her ears exposed. She holds a lotus flower to her nose with her right hand⁵⁰, while her left hand is extended forward. Above the depiction of the wife of *Snbj* *nb.t pr Nb-k3* (the lady of the house *Nb-k3*) is written. The stela shows no distinctive facial features for either *Snbj* nor his wife such as the eyes, the eyebrows, the mouth, and the nose. Above the offering table a title is written whose reading is uncertain, due to the difficulty of determining the last sign. It could be read as *jrjj ʿ.t nfr(.wt)*.

⁴⁸ Bonnet, H., *Ägyptische Tracht bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*, 25-26, figs. 18-20.

⁴⁹ This position has been known since the Old Kingdom, see Strudwick, N., *Administration in the Old Kingdom*, 19.

⁵⁰ For the motif of smelling the lotus flower, see. Pflüger, K., 'The Private Stelae of the Middle Kingdom and Their Importance for the Study of Ancient Egyptian History', in *JAOS* 67/2, 130, 6; Ilin-Tomich, A., 'A Twelfth Dynasty Stela Workshop Possibly from Saqqara', in *JEA* 79, (2011), 117-126. Harter, W. B., 'Pharmacological and Biological Properties of the Egyptian Lotus', in *JARCE* 22, 49; 'Lotus', in *Rdford, D. B. (ed.), The Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, 305.

in the late Twelfth Dynasty⁵⁷ and became characteristic of the Thirteenth Dynasty⁵⁸. Moreover, female names preceded by the epithet *nb(.t) pr* epithet (the lady of the house) first occur on stelae dating to the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, from the reigns of the kings Senowsret III and Amenemhat III⁵⁹. The writing of  *nh.tj ntr jm* without the suffixes *s* or *sn* after *jm* supports a dating for this stela before the Second Intermediate Period⁶⁰. An early Thirteenth Dynasty date may be further corroborated by the poor quality of the depictions and hieroglyphs which were incised by a sharp chisel, as well as the absence of the facial features which were not carved. The depiction of a chair with a high back covered by a scarf is also typical of this period⁶¹.

The Names and the Titles

The names of *Snbj*, his wife *Nb-k3*, his mother *Ibj*⁶² and his grandfather *Ghs(.t)* are listed in Ranke⁶³. As attested on the stela, his father named *Nbzj pw*⁶⁴ "He is my lord" bears the title *hry pr n pr 3* "The domestic servant of the Great Palace"⁶⁵, underlining that his office is related to the royal palace. The title *hry pr* "the domestic servant"⁶⁶ held by *Snbj* is most probably the lower rank of the title *hry pr n pr 3*. Therefore, both *Snbj* and his father *Nbzj pw* worked as domestic servants in the royal palace. The wife of *Snbj* holds a title which could potentially be read as *jrjj 3.t nfr(.wt)*, a title that is not listed in the index of *Ward*. However, the present author translates it as "Keeper of *nfr(.wt)* Hall", by comparing it with the similar titles *jrjj 3.t* (Hall Keeper)⁶⁷ and *j.rjj pr nfr.wt* (Keeper of Funerary Workshop)⁶⁸ which was connected to the royal palace⁶⁹.

⁵⁷ Cf. EL-Sayed, M., 'Late Middle Kingdom Stelae from Assiut', 161-199. The phrase *n k3 n* first appeared in the Pyramid Texts and others of the Sixth Dynasty. It reappeared once again in the reign of the king Intef III and occurred frequently from the reign of Senowsret I. Franke, D., 'The Middle Kingdom Offering Formulas: A Challenge', in *JEA* 89, 54; Demidchik, A. E., 'Eleventh Dynasty Written Evidence on the Relationship between the *k3* and the Cult Image', in *ZÄS* 142,1,

⁵⁸ Ilin-Tomich, A., 'Middle Kingdom Stelae Workshop at Thebes, in *GM* 234, 80; El-Shal, O., 'La stèle d'Ioutjéni et les liturgies processionnelles de la fin du Moyen Empire CGC 20476, GEM 4439, in *BIFAO* 115, 462.

⁵⁹ Pflüger, K., 'The Private Stelae of the Middle Kingdom and Their Importance for the Study of Ancient Egyptian History', in *JAOS* 67/2, 1947, 129. However, Fisher asserted that this title occurred in the Middle Kingdom tombs from the reign of the King Senowsret I. Fischer, H. G., *Egyptian Studies I, Varia*, New York 1976, 76.

⁶⁰ Vernus, P., 'Sur les graphies de la formule l'offrande que donne le roi au Moyen Empire et à la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire', 149; Ilin-Tomich, A., 'Changes in the *htp-dj-nsw* Formula in the Late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period', 26. Cf. Leprohon, R. J., 'A Late Middle Kingdom Stela in a Private Collection', 524-25, figs. 1-2.

⁶¹ Scott, N., 'Our Egyptian furniture', 140, and see also Kubisch, S., 'Biographies of the Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties', 316, fig.1; Shalaby, M., & Nassar, M., 'Unpublished Stela of *Ijj* at Cairo Museum (C.G. 10232)',

⁶² Cf. Leprohon, R. J., 'A Late Middle Kingdom Stela in a Private Collection', 524-25, figs. 1-2.

⁶³ Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 312 (15); 186 (19); 352 (19); 20 (7).

⁶⁴ Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 184 (14). Cf. *Nbzj pw-snwsrt* (British Museum EA 101. Quirke, S., *Titles and bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC*, 34.

⁶⁵ Ward, W. A., *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, 117 (983);


Quirke, S., 'The Regular Titles of the Late Middle Kingdom', 114; *Titles and bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC*, 47.

⁶⁶ Ward, W. A., *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, 116 (977);

Quirke, S., 'The Regular Titles of the Late Middle Kingdom', 114.

⁶⁷ Ward, W. A., *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, 57 (452).

⁶⁸ Ward, W. A., *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, 63 (515).

The third section of this stela presents a list of male and female names whose exact relationship with *Snbj* is unknown. Listing the names of these individuals may have been an alternative to depicting them due to the restricted space available at the base of the stela. The female names of this list are preceded by the epithet *nb.t pr*⁷⁰, while the male names are occasionally preceded by the title *w^cb* (priest). The list of females includes the ladies of the house *‘kj*⁷¹, *Wn.tj*⁷², *Ip*, *Nwb*⁷³, and *Snb.tjjzsjj*⁷⁴, while that of males comprises the priests *Snbj* and *K3.w*, and the two brothers *Snbj*⁷⁵ and *Pth-htp*⁷⁶. Finally, the name of the mother of *Snbj* and *Pth-htp* which missed at least one sign , may be reconstructed as *Rmnj*⁷⁷.

The Family of *Snbj*

The family of *Snbj* can be inferred up to three generations thanks to the information provided on this stela.

The first generation ? + *Ghs.(t)* The grandmother of *Snbj* + the name of her husband is unknown.

The second generation *Nbzj pw + Ibj* The father and the mother of *Snbj*.

The third generation *Snbj+ Nb k3* *Snbj* and his wife *Nb k3*

Conclusions

The two stelae in question are genealogy stelae, but they represent their respective genealogies differently. The stela of *Snbj* shows his genealogy as a list of names, while that of *Nn-rnzf* depicts the members of his family alongside their names and titles. The stela of *Nn-rnzf* shows characteristics dating it to the early Twelfth Dynasty, while that of *Snbj* could be dated to the late Twelfth Dynasty or the early Thirteenth Dynasty. In fact, the early Thirteenth Dynasty is stylistically the extension of late Twelfth Dynasty. This makes it frequently difficult to date any object to one dynasty or the other⁷⁸. Undoubtedly, the epigraphical features of these two stelae, and the titles investigated in this paper favor a Middle Kingdom date. The poor style and the iconographical features indicate an early Thirteenth Dynasty date for the stela of *Snbj*. Although these stelae share epigraphical

⁶⁹ Quirke, S., ‘The Regular Titles of the Late Middle Kingdom’, 114.

⁷⁰ Ward, W. A., *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, 99 (823). Grajetzki suggests that this title has an economic meaning which translates the house into an economic unit under charge of the woman. Grajetzki, W., *Court Officials of Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, 158.

⁷¹ Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 71 (26).

⁷² Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 80 (10).

⁷³ Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 190 (3); cf. Leprohon, R. J., ‘A Late Middle Kingdom Stela in a Private Collection’, 524-25, figs. 1-2.

⁷⁴ Cf. Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 312 (22). For *Snb.tjjz* the mother of *Dd(w)-Sbk* the owner of stela TL 201 from Assiut, see EL-Sayed, M., ‘Late Middle Kingdom Stelae from Assiut’, 162.

⁷⁵ Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 312 (15).

⁷⁶ Lange, H. O. & H. Schäfer, *Grab und Denksteine des Mitteren Reich im Museum von Kairo* N^{os}. 20400-20780, III, 111.

⁷⁷ Cf. Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 222 (17).

⁷⁸ Grajetzki, W., ‘Notes on Administration in the Second Intermediate Period’, 305.

characteristics, the comparison between their iconographical features and style provides a clear idea of the artistic deterioration at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty and the Thirteenth Dynasty⁷⁹. This is also proved by the artistic comparison between the stela of *Snbj* and the other false door stelae of the Twelfth Dynasty⁸⁰.

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⁷⁹ Cf. Hodjash, S., & Berlev, O., The Egyptians Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, 86-87 (Stela of *Sbk nht rnef Snb*); Selim, H., 'Three Identical Stelae from the End of the Twelfth Dynasty or Thirteenth Dynasty', in *SAK* 29, 324, figs. 1-2; Grajetzki, W., *Court Officials of Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, 36; EL-Sayed, M., 'Late Middle Kingdom Stelae from Assiut', 161-199.

⁸⁰ Berman, L. M., 'The Stele of Shemai, Chief of Police, of the Early Twelfth Dynasty in the Cleveland Museum of Art', 94, fig. 1.

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Fig. 1. The stela of *Nn-rnꜥf* (Photograph: Sameh Abd el-Rahman)

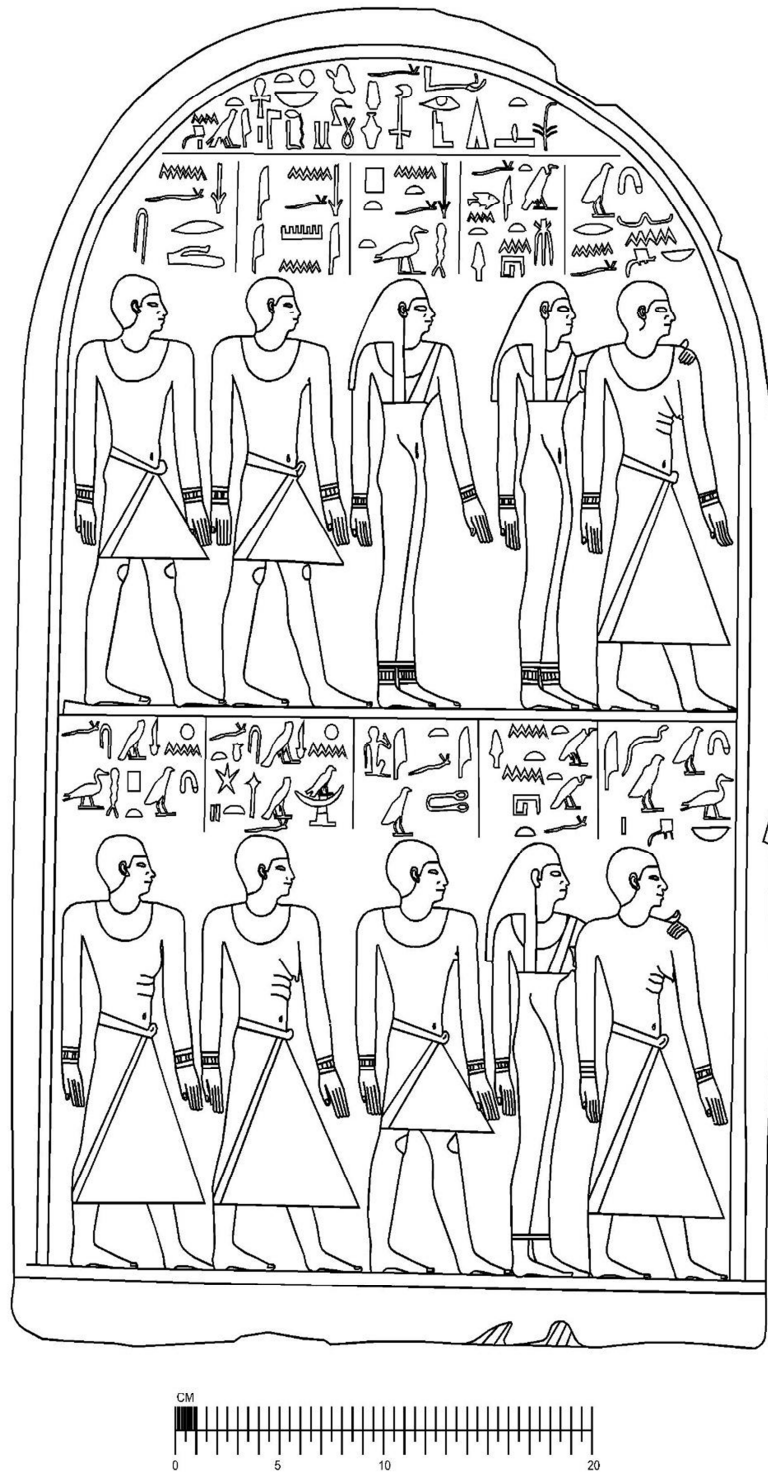


Fig. 2. Line drawing of *Nn-rnḥf* stela (by Mohamed Ibrahim).



Fig. 3. The stela of *Snbj* (Photograph: Sameh Abd el-Rahman)

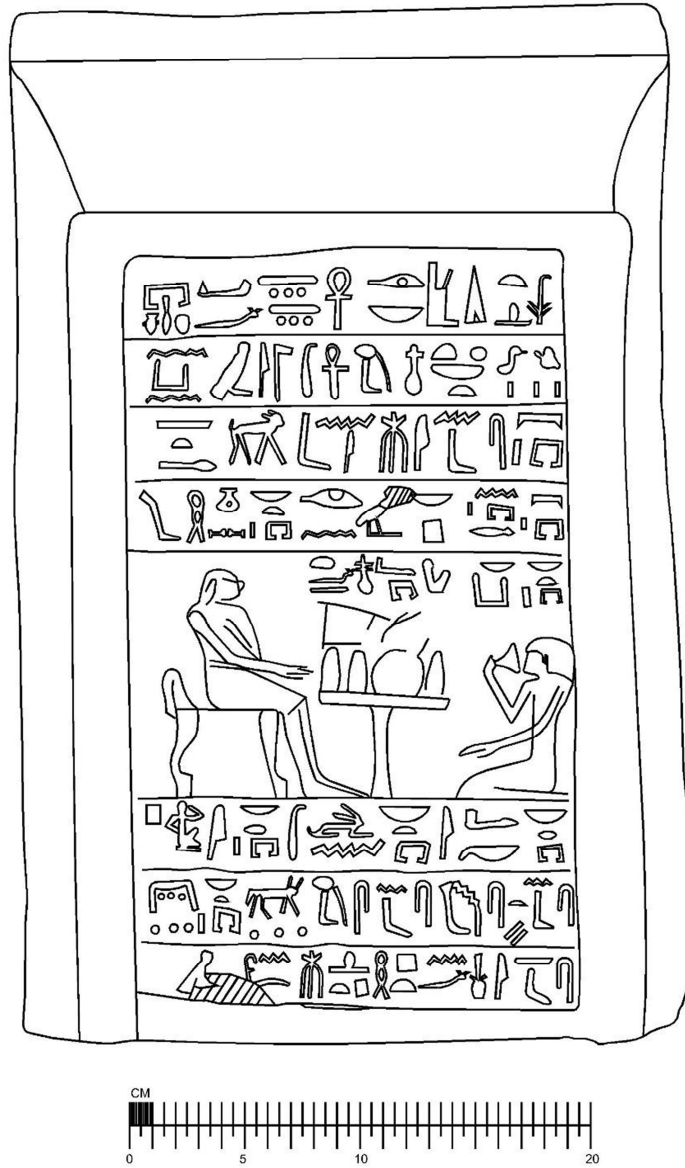


Fig. 4. Line drawing of *Snbj* stela (by Mohamed Ibrahim).