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-rnf 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-rnf (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-rnf, Snbj, Stela, Thirteenth Dynasty, Twelfth Dynasty.
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-rnṣf and his brother Dwj (CGC 20524), while the second is a stela in the shape of a false door of Snḥj 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 Abydos\(^1\), 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 Shäfer\(^2\) 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-rnṣf and his brother Dwj

Description and Texts

The rounded-top stela\(^3\) of Nn-rnṣf 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 lunetta has a curve which is not symmetrical and is divided from the main scene.

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\(^1\)These briс-stelae were placed in mudk offering chapels, see O’Connor, D., ‘Cenotaphs’ of the Middle Kingdom at Abydos’, 161-177; Mattew, D. A., ‘The Stela of Nacht, Son of Nemyt: Contextualizing Object and Individual in Funerary Landscape at Abydos’, 1.

\(^2\)Lange, H. O. & Shäfer, H., *Grab und Denksteine des Mitteren Reich im Museum von Kairo N¹os*. 20400-20780, II, 122-125; IV, pl. XXXVII.

by a horizontal line\textsuperscript{4}. The lunette is occupied by a horizontal line of inscription of $htp\ (r) dj(w) n(j) sw.t$ formula\textsuperscript{5} that runs from right to left:

\[
htp \ (r) dj(w) n(j) sw.t \ (n) \ Wsrj \ djf \ hz (m) \ t \ hnk.t \ jh.w \ \ipd.w \ ss \ mnh.t \ h.t \ nb(t) \ w\theta b(t) \ \tnh.t(j) \ ntr \ jm \ n \ jm\tlhhjj
\]

An offering which the king gives to Osiris. May he give a thousand of bread, beer, oxen\textsuperscript{6}, fowls, incense, alabaster, clothing and everything pure upon which the god lives to the venerated one.\textsuperscript{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: $Nn-rnf$, his mother $In.t$, his sister $%A.t-Pth$ and his two brothers $Imnj$ and $Rds$\textsuperscript{8}. Their names are written above them from the right to the left as follows:

\[
\text{The sealer } Nn-rnf \quad \text{Possessor of reverence } Nn-rnf
\]

\[
\text{His mother } In.t \quad \text{born of Nh.t}
\]

\textsuperscript{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 das Sonnenlaufes der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn, 40fl, 74fl.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{7} Pflüger pointed out that the dedication of the offering formula on stelae was usually to the honored one $n\ jm\tlhhjj$ during the Eleventh Dynasty and early of Twelfth Dynasty, while it was often dedicated to the soul of … ($n\ kl\ n$) 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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{9} Ward, W. A., Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom, 138 (1185). For the reading $sa\tlsw.tij$ 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.

\textsuperscript{10} Ranke, H., Die Ägyptischen Personennamen, I, 204 (25).

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

\textsuperscript{12} Ranke, H., Die Ägyptischen Personennamen, I, 33 (3).

\textsuperscript{13} For $ms(t)\ n$, see Obsomer, C., ‘$dfj\ prt-hrw$ el la filiation $ms(t)\ nir(t)\ n$ comme critères de datation dans les stèles du Moyen Empire’, 192-196.

\textsuperscript{14} Ranke, H., Die Ägyptischen Personennamen, I, 206 (22).
Two Middle Kingdom Stelae

Nn rnfmt is standing, facing the right, wearing a short-haired wig that reveals his ears and a long kilt with a pointed end, tightly tied to the waist. His mother In.t is standing behind him and clasping his left shoulder with her left arm. She wears the long tight-fitting tunic that starts below the chest, as well as a long-haired wig covering the whole head and the ears and hanging down to her shoulders. This wig also has a long thin lappet hanging down on the chest. Behind her, the sister of Nn rnfmt named S3.t-Pth is standing wearing the same attire as her mother. The two brothers of Nn-rnfmt called Ymnj 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 knees.

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-sif Wnwtj and S3-Pth. Their names are written above them from the right to the left as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Htmw Dwj nb jm3hw</th>
<th>The sealer Dwj Possessor of reverence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mw.t nj.t mw.tsf Nh.t</td>
<td>The mother of his mother Nh.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itsf Itw</td>
<td>His father Itw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16 Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 228 (20).
17 Cf. Lange, H. O. & Shäfer, H., *Grab und Denksteine des Mitteren Reich im Museum von Kairo* N00. 20001-20780, IV, pl. LXIII, 73; 75.
18 The mother of Nn-rnfmt comes next to him. This tradition starts from the reign of the king Senowsret I.
19 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.
20 Green, L., ‘Clothing and Personal Adornment’, 276-278.
22 Green, L., ‘Clothing and Personal Adornment’, 276-278.
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 waist. 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-rn.

Commentary and Dating

As for the dating of this stela, Rita Freed has included it in a group of stelae which she identifies as "Workshop 7": some of these are dated to the first half of the reign of Senowsret I. 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 85. On the other hand, some orthographical, paleographical, and iconographical features suggest a Twelfth Dynasty date for this stela. Orthographically, the arrangement of the sign centered above the htp-sign after the nsw-sign was common in the Twelfth Dynasty. Furthermore, the presence of djt before pr-t-hrw is typical of the period.

24 This name is not listed in Ranke, H., Die Ägyptischen Personennamen.
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.
28 Freed, R. E., ‘Stela Workshops of Early Dynasty 12’, 319, fig. 7d.
29 Smither, P. C., ‘The Writing of htp-di-nsw in the Middle and New Kingdoms’, in JEA 25/1, 3, 37; Urk. VII, 43, 6, 54, 2; Barta, W., Aufbau und Bedeutung der allägyptischen Opferformel, 53, 72; and see also Lange, H. O. Shäfer, H., Grab und Denksteine des Mitteren Reich im Museum von Kairo N, 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. & Shäfer, H., Grab und Denksteine des Mitteren Reich im Museum von Kairo N, 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. 5, 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; Spelist, A., ‘Paleographic and Epigraphic Distinctions between Texts of the So-called First
Although the formula \( ? \text{nhtj} \ nfr \ jm \) first appeared under Senosret I\(^{31}\), the writing of the name of the god Osiris \( \text{ntr} \) without a determinative commonly occurs during the reign of Amenemhat III\(^{32}\). Moreover, the phrase \( \text{nmjhi} \) without \( k3 \ n \) is a characteristic dating to the early Twelfth Dynasty\(^{34}\). Paleographically, the abbreviated writing of the sign \( \text{nmjhi} \) placed above the vertical stroke \( \text{i} \) is typical of the Middle Kingdom\(^{35}\). According to Pfüger, the depiction of \( \text{Nn-rn} \) mother, brothers and sisters suggests the dating of this stela to the Twelfth Dynasty\(^{36}\). Furthermore, Pfüger 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 III\(^{37}\), while the absence of his wife\(^{38}\), sons and daughters\(^{39}\) suggests a late Middle Kingdom date, especially the reigns of Senosret III and Amenemhat III.

The Names and the Titles

The name \( \text{Nn-rn} \) was not listed by Franke\(^{40}\), while Ranke listed and translated it as "er hat keinen Namenn"\(^{41}\), "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 Kasha 9, 47, fig. 1; 57, fig. 3; 60, fig. 4; Kubisch, S., ‘Die Stelen der I. Zwischenzeit aus Gebelin’ in MDAIK 56, 250; Daoud, Kh., Necropoles 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.


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 \( \text{nmjhi} \) to both the dead and the living, see. Janssen-Winkeln, ‘Zur Bedeutung von \( \text{nmjhi} \)’, 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.


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 Pfüger, 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 Pfüger, 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. Pfüger, 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 Senosret III and Amenemhat III.

39 Cf. Pfüger, 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 Senosret III and Amenemhat III.

rendered it as "der (männliche) dwj Vogel", "the (male) dwj bird". Both Nn-rnʃf and Dwj 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-rnʃf. This may also explain why the offering formula ends with the epithet jmḥhjj 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 jmḥhjj, are dedicated to both Nn-rnʃf and Dwj, the joint owners of this stela. Furthermore, they are both designated by the phrase nb jmḥhw\(^43\) "Possessor of reverence", emphasizing the joint dedication of this stela. Finally, both Nn-rnʃf and Dwj hold the title htmw, the lower rank of the two titles jmjj-r htm.tjw and jmjj-r htm\(^44\), which indicates their official rank and their relation to the treasury and the royal palace\(^45\).

The Family of Nn-rnʃf

The stela in question illustrates the genealogy of the family of Nn-rnʃf and Dwj 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  ? + Nh.t  The grandmother of Nn-rnʃf + the name of her husband is unknown.

The second generation  Itw + In.t  The father and the mother of Nn-rnʃf.

The third generation  Nn-rnʃf  and his brothers Dwj, Imnj, Rds and his sister Szung-Pth

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 sides\(^46\). According to Pflüger, this type first appeared during the reign of the king Amenemhat I\(^47\). 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.
\(^{45}\) 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 $Snbj$:

$\begin{align*}
\text{Htp} & \ (r)\text{dj.(w)}\ n(j)\text{sw.t} \ (n)\ \text{Wsjr} \ nb \ \text{snh} \ tbj\ jj \ dj\ f \ pr.t-hrw \\
jh.w \ \text{pd.w} \ h.t \ nb.t \ w\text{h(t)} \ \text{snh.tj} \ nfr \ jm \ n \ k3 \ n \\
hrjj \ pr \ Snbj \ msjj \ n \ Tbj \ m3\.t \ hrw \\
hrjj \ pr \ n \ pr \ \text{NB} \ pr \ Gsh(t)
\end{align*}$

An offering which the king gives to/and Osiris lord of $\text{snh} \ tbj\ jj$. 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 $Nbj\ pw$ 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 kilt. His right hand is extended towards the offering table, while his left one rests on his chest. 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, while her left hand is extended forward. Above the depiction of the wife of $Snbj$, $\text{nb.t pr Nb-k3}$ (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 $jrjj \ \text{t nfr(.wt)}$.

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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.
The third section of the stela is occupied by three horizontal hieroglyphic lines running from right to left, listing male and female names.

\[ \text{nb.t pr } ^7 \text{kj nb.t pr Wn.tj nb.t pr Ip} \]
\[ \text{Snbtjjs(jj) w}^b \text{ Snbj w}^b \text{ K}^3 \text{.w nb.t pr Nwb} \]
\[ \text{Snbj snf Pth-htp ms(t) n …..} \]

The lady of the house \(^7\text{kj}\), the lady of the house \(\text{Wn.tj}\) and the lady of the house \(\text{Ip}\) and
\[ \text{Snbtjjs(jj), the priest}^{51} \text{ Snbj, the priest } K^3 \text{.w and the lady of the house } Nwb. \]

\[ \text{Snbj and his brother Pth-htp born of …….} \]

**Commentary and Dating**

Epigraphical and iconographical features of this stela suggest a date in late Twelfth Dynasty or early Thirteenth Dynasty. As mentioned above, the arrangement of \( \text{\textparagraph} \) is typical to the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties. From the end of the reign of Amenemhat III, the god Osiris frequently bears the title \( \text{nb } ^5 \text{nh t3.wjJ}^{54} \). Also, the writing of \( \text{jH.w} \) with the three strokes \( \text{\textparagraph} \) beneath the signs \( \text{\textparagraph} \) occurs occasionally in the late Twelfth Dynasty and frequently during the Thirteenth. \(^56\) The phrase \( n k3 \text{n} \) was common

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\(^{52}\) Cf. Leprohon, R. J., ‘A Late Middle Kingdom Stela in a Private Collection’, 524-25, figs. 1-2.
\(^{54}\) \( \text{\textparagraph} \) is the name of a place in the Memphite region, near the Serapium of Saqqara. Wb I, 203, 13. This title is also held by the god Ptah who is described on stela BM 428 as \( \text{rsj jnbsf nb } ^5 \text{nh tj.wjJ} \). Malaise, M., ‘Inventaire des stèles égyptiennes du Moyen Empire porteuses de représentations divines’, in *SAK* 9, 275.
\(^{55}\) Cf. Rosati, G., ‘A Rare Formula on a Thirteenth Dynasty Stela’, 87, fig. 5 and 89.
in the late Twelfth Dynasty and became characteristic of the Thirteenth Dynasty. 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 Senosret III and Amenemhat III. The writing of anx.tj nTr jm without the suffixes s or sn after jm supports a dating for this stela before the Second Intermediate Period. 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 period.

The Names and the Titles

The names of Snbj, his wife Nb-kA, his mother Ibj and his grandfather Ghst are listed in Ranke. As attested on the stela, his father named Nbj pw "He is my lord" bears the title hry pr n pr which underlines that his office is related to the royal palace. The title hry pr "the domestic servant" held by Snbj is most probably the lower rank of the title hry pr n pr. Therefore, both Snbj and his father Nbsj pw worked as domestic servants in the royal palace. The wife of Snbj holds a title which could potentially be read as jri pr t nfrwt, 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 jri pr nfrwt (Keeper of Funerary Workshop) which was connected to the royal palace.

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57 Cf. EL-Sayed, M., 'Late Middle Kingdom Stelae from Assiut', 161-199. The phrase n kA 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 Senosret 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 kA 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'outjéni 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 of the reign of the King Senosret I. Fischer, H. G., Egyptian Studies I, Farfa, New York 1976, 76.


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).


65 Quirke, S., Titles and bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC, 34.

66 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.

67 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.

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

69 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, while the male names are occasionally preceded by the title wab (priest). The list of females includes the ladies of the house ‘kj, Wn.tj, Tp, Nwb, and Snb.tijesij, while that of males comprises the priests Snbj and K3.w, and the two brothers Snbj and PtH-htp. Finally, the name of the mother of Snbj and PtH-htp which missed at least one sign, may be reconstructed as Rmnj.

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  Nbjs 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-rnef depicts the members of his family alongside their names and titles. The stela of Nn-rnef 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 other. 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 Personenamen, I, 71 (26).
72 Ranke, H., Die Ägyptischen Personenamen, I, 80 (10).
73 Ranke, H., Die Ägyptischen Personenamen, 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 Personenamen, I, 312 (22). For Snb.tijes the mother of Dd(w)-Shk the owner of stela TL 201 from Assiut, see EL-Sayed, M., ‘Late Middle Kingdom Stelae from Assiut’, 162.
75 Ranke, H., Die Ägyptischen Personenamen, I, 312 (15).
76 Lange, H. O. & H. Shäfer, Grab und Denksteine des Mitteren Reich im Museum von Kairo Nö. 20400-20780, III, 111.
77 Cf. Ranke, H., Die Ägyptischen Personenamen, I, 222 (17).
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 Dynasty. This is also proved by the artistic comparison between the stela of Snbj and the other false door stelae of the Twelfth Dynasty.

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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 ēt ḫr njrf Snbj); 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.
- Grajetzki, W., Court Officials of Egyptian Middle Kingdom, London, (2012).
Fig. 1. The stela of *Nn-rnsf* (Photograph: Sameh Abd el-Rahman)
Fig. 2. Line drawing of *Nn-nref* 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).