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# ANALYTIC STUDY OF TWO STELAE OF *TMN-M-h3t-šNB\**

By

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[AR]

دراسة تحليلية للوحتين لأمون-إم-حات-سنب

يتناول البحث نشر ودراسة لوحتين من عصر الأسرة 13 لرجل يدعى أمون-إم-حات-سنب، نمتي-إم-وسخت، والذي تقلد الألقاب: الأمير الوراثي، الأمير، الرفيق العظيم المحبوب، حامل أختام ملك مصر السفلى، والمشرف على البيت العظيم. عُثِر على اللوحتين في الجبانة الشمالية بأبيدوس واللوحتان محفوظتان الآن في المتحف المصري بالقاهرة تحت أرقام CG 20100 و CG 20087، في الدور الأرضي قاعة رقم R 22. البحث يقدم وصف مفصل لتصوير الأفراد على اللوحتين وكذلك النصوص المسجلة عليهما. ومع ذلك، فإن التركيز على علم الانساب تسمح بإعادة بناء شجرة العائلة الخاصة بأمون-إم-حات-سنب، نمتي-إم-وسخت، وكذلك محاولة ربط بعض من بقية الأفراد المصورين على اللوحتين به.

[EN] This article presents two stelae from the 13<sup>th</sup> dynasty of *Imn-m-h<sup>c</sup>t-snb Nmtj-m-wsh.t*, who held the titles: The hereditary prince, The Nomarch, The beloved great companion, the seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, and the overseer of the great house. Both stelae were excavated from the northern necropolis of Abydos and are currently preserved in Cairo Museum as CG 20100, and CG 20087. They are currently on display on the ground floor of the Egyptian Museum (R 22). This paper gives a brief description of the stelae and deals with individual depictions and texts. The focus, however, is on the genealogy, which allows the reconstruction of *Imn-m-h<sup>c</sup>t-snb Nmtj-m-wsh.t*'s family tree and narrows the possibilities to link the depicted individuals with the owner of the stelae.

**KEYWORDS:** Stela, Middle Kingdom, Abydos, 13<sup>th</sup> dynasty, Lunette, *Imn-m-h<sup>c</sup>t-snb*, *Nmtj-m-wsh.t*.


## I. INTRODUCTION


Two 13<sup>th</sup> dynasty stelae belonging to *Imn-m-ḥ<sup>c</sup>t-snb (w) Nmtj-m-wsh.t*, an important individual who held various titles, such as the seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt and The overseer of the great house, were recovered from the northern zone of the northern necropolis of Abydos<sup>1</sup>. They are housed in the Egyptian Museum (Tahrir Square, Cairo, Room 22; CG 20100 and CG 20087). Both stelae were previously published by Lange and Schäfer (1902). Stela CG 20100 is well known and has also been discussed by Mariette<sup>2</sup>, who only copied the texts, and Younis<sup>3</sup>. The present work includes a brief description, of individual idiosyncrasies and texts with a focus on the genealogy, allowing the reconstruction of the family tree. This helps to link the depicted individuals with the owner of the stelae.

## II. STELA CG 20100 [FIGURES 1-3]

Stela CCG 20100 is a limestone stela with a rounded top. The stela measures 82 cm high and 48.5 cm wide and can be dated by the offering formulae, and its paleography, epigraphy, and iconography to the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty<sup>4</sup>. It has a lunette with *wedjat*-eyes for protection and the epithets of Anubis. The stela is carved in sunk relief. There are traces of red in the background, green on the text and scenes, and black in the line drawing. The stela is divided into two registers. The owner of the stela is *Imn-m-ḥ3t-snb Nmtj-m-wsh.t*, who held the titles: *ḥtmty-bity* (The seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt), *imy-r3 pr wr* (the overseer of the great house), *rp<sup>c</sup>ty* (the hereditary prince), *ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup>3* (the nomarch), and *smr <sup>c</sup>3 n mrwt* (the beloved great companion).

### 1. The Lunette (A)

The lunette includes two *wedjat* eyes, overlooking two jackals on shrines<sup>5</sup>. They are facing each other  and are surmounted by epithets of the god Anubis<sup>6</sup> as follows:

**Right side:**  *Inpw tp(.y) dw=f* «Anubis, who is on his mountain»<sup>7</sup>.

**Left side:**  *Inpw imy-w.t* «Anubis, who is in the embalming house»<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 121.

<sup>2</sup> MARIETTE 1880: 326, 914.

<sup>3</sup> YOUNIS 2010: 52-56.

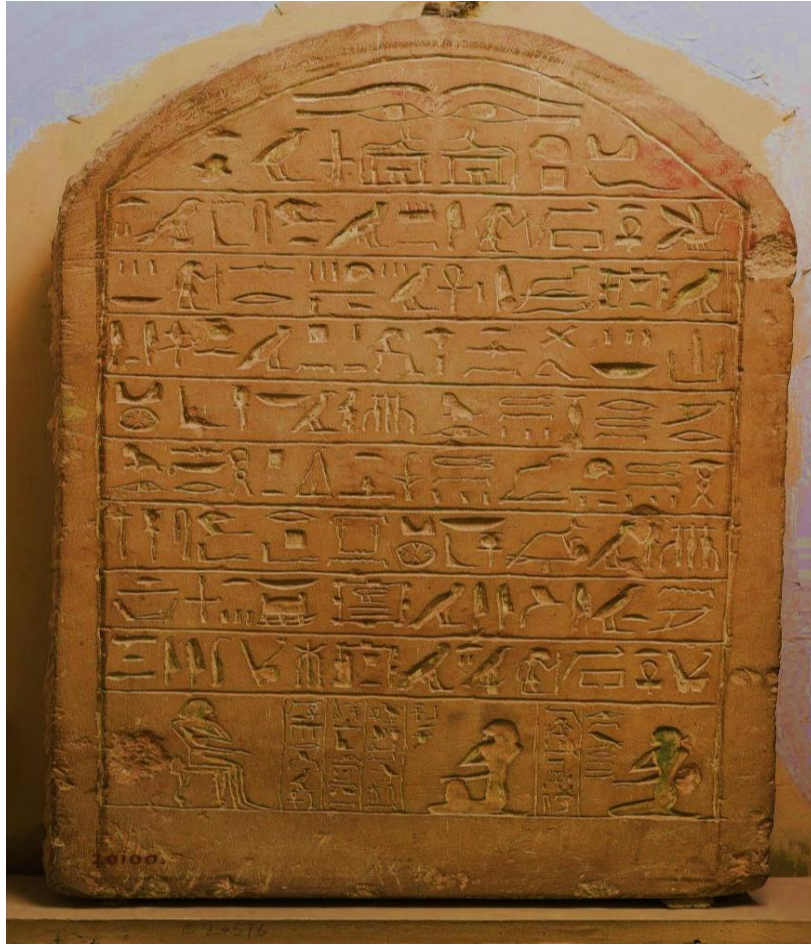
<sup>4</sup> FRANKE 1984: 217; ABDELAAL 1995: 134.

<sup>5</sup> HÖLZL 1990: 79–82; ABDELAAL 1995: 134, 171-173, 266; ILIN-TOMICH 2017: 33.

<sup>6</sup> LEITZ 2002a: 390.

<sup>7</sup> HART 2005: 26.

<sup>8</sup> ERMAN 2001: 43; HART 2005: 26.



[FIGURE 1]: Stela Cairo CG 20100 (Courtesy of the Egyptian Museum © Ahmed Amin.

## 2. The First Register (B)

The registered hieroglyphic text consists of eight rows, reads from right to left. The text includes the titles of the deceased, as follows:



- (1) *htm (.ty)-bity imy-r3 pr wr Imn-m-h3.t-snb (w) Nm.tj (2)-m-wsh.t dd=f i.ñhw tp.jw t3 srw nb (3) hm.w-k3 nb (.w) sw3.t (y)=sn hr špss pn m hd (m) hsfw.t (4) mrr=tn hsi tn Wsir hnt.y Imnt.yw nb 3bdw (5) w3h=tn tp t3 dd=tn htp-di-(n)sw.t (n) Pth-Skr Wsir (6) hnt.y Imnt.yw Wp-w3wt nb 3bdw n k3 n rp<sup>c</sup>.ty h3ty-<sup>c3</sup> smr <sup>c3</sup> (7) n mr.wt im3hy m it(j)-t3wy nb krs.wt jmy.t t3-dsr (8) htm(.ty)-bity imy-r3 pr wr Nmtj-m-wsh.t ms n Tjj m3<sup>c</sup>.t-hrw*

«(1) The seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt<sup>9</sup>, the overseer of the great house<sup>10</sup>, *Imn-m-ḥ3.t-snb* (*w*) *Nmtj* (2)-*m-wsh.t*<sup>(A)</sup>, he is saying: 'O, The living ones, who are on the land/ O, those who live upon the earth<sup>(B)</sup>, all the noblemen, (3) all *k3* priests, who will pass by<sup>(C)</sup> this memorial going north or south (Lit. going north or sailing upstream<sup>11</sup>); (4) you may wish that Osiris<sup>(D)</sup>, the foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos, (5) rewards you that you endure on<sup>(E)</sup> the land<sup>12</sup>. You may say: A Royal offering of<sup>(F)</sup> *Ptah-Sokar* Osiris (6) the foremost of the Westerners<sup>(G)</sup>, *Wepwawet*, Lord of Abydos, for the *k3* of the hereditary prince<sup>13</sup>, the nomarch<sup>14</sup>, the beloved great companion<sup>(7)</sup>, venerated<sup>(H)</sup> in *ity-t3wy*<sup>15</sup>, Lord of a beautiful funeral<sup>16</sup> who is in the necropolis (8) the seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt<sup>(I)</sup>, the overseer of the great house, *Nmtj-m-wsh.t*, born of<sup>(J)</sup> *Tjj*<sup>17</sup> justified».

### Commentary

(A) Ranke<sup>18</sup> read the name *Nmtj-m-wsh.t* 𓄎𓄏𓄐𓄑 (?)-*m-wsh.t* and translated it as «The god is in the Hall»<sup>19</sup>. The same name appears on seals<sup>20</sup> preceded by the titles *ḥ3ty-ꜥ3 imy-r3 ḥw.t-ntr m3ꜥ-ḥrw* [N<sup>ro</sup>. 352], and the titles *sd3w.ty bity imy-r3 pr wr* [N<sup>ro</sup>. 353, 354, 355, and 356]. Martin read the name as 𓄎𓄏𓄐𓄑-*m-wsh.t*. There is another seal with the same name [N<sup>ro</sup>. 39] preceded by the titles *ḥ3ty-ꜥ3 imy-r3 ḥw.t-ntr*. Only here, Martin<sup>21</sup> read the name as *Nmty-m-wsh.t*. The word 𓄎𓄏 and its reading as *antj* or *nmtj* is discussed by Graefe<sup>22</sup>, Koschel<sup>23</sup>, and Lembke<sup>24</sup>. The name *Imn-m-ḥ3.t-snb* (*w*) is translated by Ranke<sup>25</sup> as «Amenemhat is Healthy».

(B) The vocative particle is written as 𓄏 and followed by the 𓄎𓄏𓄐𓄑 *tp.jw t3*<sup>26</sup> to form the so-called classical appeals to the living<sup>27</sup> that appeared first in the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. It joined the *ḥtp-di-nswt* formulae during the First Intermediate Period<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> JONES 2000: 763, 2775.

<sup>10</sup> QUIRKE 1990: 119-120; JONES 2000: 118, 473.

<sup>11</sup> ERMAN & GRAPOW (EDS.) 1929: vol.3, 337, 16.

<sup>12</sup> ERMAN & GRAPOW (EDS.) 1926: vol.1, 255, 2.

<sup>13</sup> JONES 2000: 492, 1836.

<sup>14</sup> QUIRKE 1990: 69; JONES 2000: 496, 1858.

<sup>15</sup> This city's name was mentioned for the first time under the reign of Amenemhat I, it is located to the south of Memphis (MEGAHED, 2011: 36; ERMAN & GRAPOW (EDS.) 1926: vol.1, 150, 5).

<sup>16</sup> ERMAN & GRAPOW (EDS.) 1931: vol.5, 65, 2.

<sup>17</sup> RANKE 1935: 377, 22.

<sup>18</sup> RANKE 1935: 69, 19.

<sup>19</sup> FRANKE 1984: 217.

<sup>20</sup> MARTIN 1971: 33, PL.20, N<sup>ros</sup>. 352-356.

<sup>21</sup> MARTIN 1979: 221, 39, FIG. 2.

<sup>22</sup> GRAEFE 1980: 35.




<sup>23</sup> KOSCHEL 2000: 9-12.

<sup>24</sup> LEMBKE 1996: 81-86.

<sup>25</sup> RANKE 1935: 28, 13.

<sup>26</sup> ERMAN & GRAPOW (EDS.) 1926: vol.1, 201, 16

(C) Younis<sup>29</sup> read this part as *sbt.tn hr šps pn* as the substantive *s<sub>dm</sub>.f* form, but it could be considered a *s<sub>dm</sub>.ty.fy* form of the prospective active participle. The same formula appears in the inscription of Harkhuf = B I 328<sup>30</sup> as *sw<sup>3</sup>.t(y).sn hr is pn m ḥd m ḥsfwt*.

(D) The writing of Osiris's name with sign  Q2 instead of  Q1 does not occur before the reign of Senwosret III<sup>31</sup>. Ilin-Tomich<sup>32</sup> mentions that it first attested under Amenemhat IV. The determinative  A40 is usually dropped<sup>33</sup>.

(E) Younis<sup>34</sup> read this sentence as *mrr=tn ḥst=tn Wsir ḥnt.y Imnt.yw nb 3bdw w3h=tn tp ʔ* and translated it as «You love and praise Osiris, the foremost of the Westerners, lord of Abydos, and you endure on the land». He considers *ḥsi=tn ʕs ʕ s<sub>dm</sub>=f* form giving the meaning of 'you praise'. However, if one considered the noun *Wsir in ḥsi tn Wsir* to be the subject and *Tn* as the object, it should be translated as «Osiris praises/ rewards you»<sup>35</sup>.

(F) The combination of *ḥtp-di-nsw.t Wsir ... n k3 n* in addition to *di=f/sn* was used first on 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty stelae<sup>36</sup>.

(G) There are three possibilities to read this part: 1) There is a conjunctive between *Pth-Skr*, which is a construction known since the Old Kingdom<sup>37</sup> and *Wsir*, whose name is followed by *ḥnt.y Imnt.yw*; 2) *Pth-Skr-Wsir* as a divine name followed by *ḥnt.y Imnt.yw*. The first appearance of this name is dated to the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty<sup>38</sup>. However, in this latter example, the name is not followed by a title, and it is not clear if the name should be read as one or two gods. There is another example during the New Kingdom<sup>39</sup>, but here *Pth-Skr-Wsir* is followed by *nb 3bdw*, instead of *ḥnt.y Imnt.yw*; 3) *Pth-Skr-Wsir-ḥnty-imntt* as a divine name. However, the writing on the stela differs from the usual writings of this

<sup>27</sup> The vocative *i ʕnhw* was used generally after the offering formula (ABDELAAL 1995: 277). «The appeals to the living» in Ancient Egyptian is discussed in detail several times (LICHTHEIM 1992: 155; ILIN-TOMICH 2015: 145; DESCLAUX 2017: 161).

<sup>28</sup> ROMANOVA 2016: 140-141.

<sup>29</sup> YOUNIS 2010: 53.

<sup>30</sup> *Urk* I: 121, 12.

<sup>31</sup> BENNETT 1941: 78.

<sup>32</sup> ILIN-TOMICH 2017: 8.

<sup>33</sup> BENNETT 1941: 78; ILIN-TOMICH 2011: 21, 13.

<sup>34</sup> YOUNIS 2010: 53-54.



<sup>35</sup> ERMAN & GRAPOW (EDS.) 1929: vol.3, 154, 8

<sup>36</sup> SATZINGER 1997: 177-188; FRANKE 2003: 45.


<sup>37</sup> LEITZ 2002c: 175.



<sup>38</sup> LAPP 1994: 235.

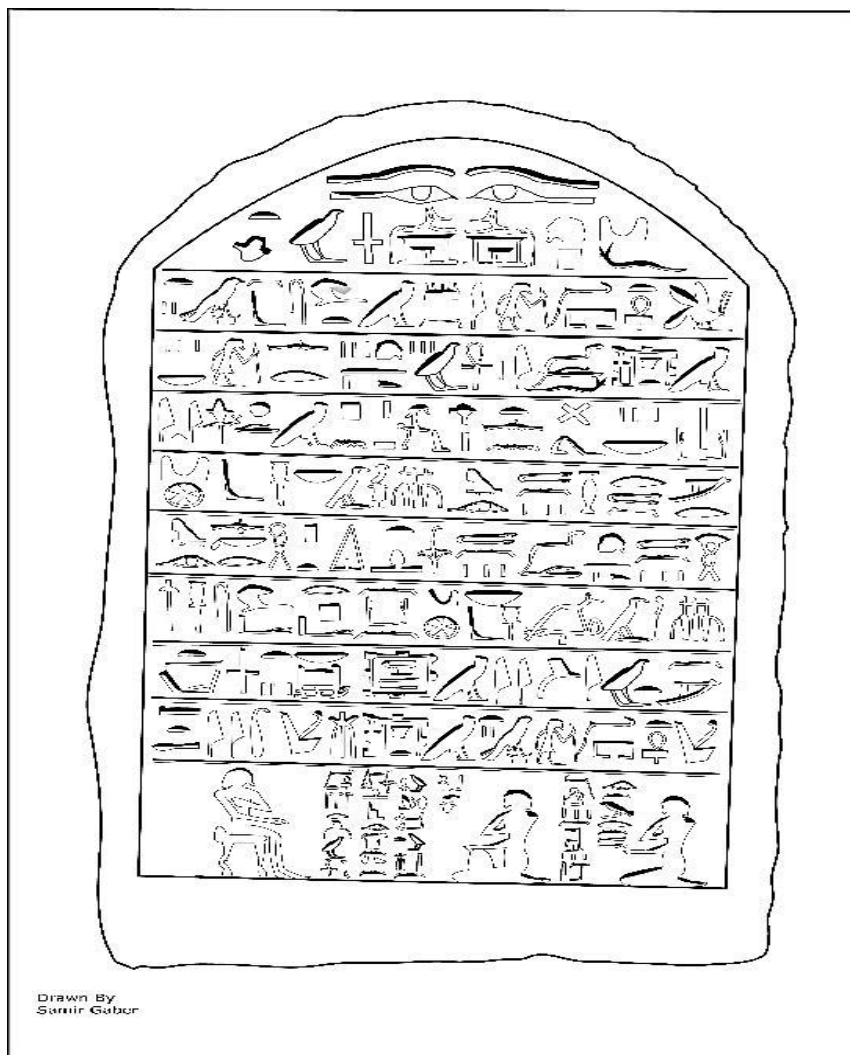
<sup>39</sup> LEITZ 2002b: 546.

divine name as  and  that appeared only during the New Kingdom<sup>40</sup>.

(H) Younis<sup>41</sup> read it as *smr-wa.ty*. However, it is much more like *smr-š*. This title appears in *Urk IV 396, 12; Urk IV 404, 8; Urk, IV 898, 6; Urk IV 963, 12; Urk IV 1129, 4; Urk IV 1860, 3*.

(I) the usage of the sign  S3 as phonetic value n instead of N35 did not appear before the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> dynasty<sup>42</sup>.

(J) the usage of the sign  S3 instead of  L2 in titles to be read as *bitj* did not occur before the 13<sup>th</sup> dynasty<sup>43</sup>.



[FIGURE 2]: Stela Cairo CG 20100 (Line drawing by © Samir Gaber)

<sup>40</sup> LEITZ 2002c: 177.

<sup>41</sup> YOUNIS 2010: 53.

<sup>42</sup> KAMAL 1916: 86; WAINWRIGHT 1926: 166; ROSATI 1980: 278; ABDELAAL 1995: 278; ILIN-TOMICH 2017: 13.

<sup>43</sup> ABDELAAL 1995: 278; ILIN-TOMICH 2017: 11.

### 3. The Second Register (C)

There are three male figures in the lower register. The seated figure on the left faces two figures sitting on the floor. They are separated by hieroglyphic texts in columns.

**C1:** The figure on the left side is *Ntr.w-r-3w*. There are still traces of green paint visible on his face and upper body. He wears a long wig and has a short beard. The clothing could not be identified. He sits on a chair with a low backrest and no arms, with animal paws set on the usual truncated coasters<sup>44</sup>. He has his left hand in front of his chest, and stretches his right hand towards two columns of text that include his title and name, reading from right to left, thus:



(1) *hṭp-di-(n)sw.t Wsir n k3 n idnw n* (2) *imy-r3 sd3.wt Ntr.w-r-3w whm ʿnh*

«(1) A Royal offering of Osiris to the *k3* of the deputy of (2) the overseer of the treasury<sup>45</sup> *Ntr.w-r-3w*<sup>46</sup> who lives again<sup>(A)</sup>»

The two other male figures sit on the floor, holding their right arm in front of their chest and stretching the left hand towards the columned hieroglyphic text.

**C2:** The first figure, sitting with one knee bent upwards, is called *Ddtw*. He has a long wig and a short beard. He faces two columns of hieroglyphic text, reading this time from left to right:



(1) *sd3.wty kf3-ib Ddtw ms n* (2) *3bt-ib*

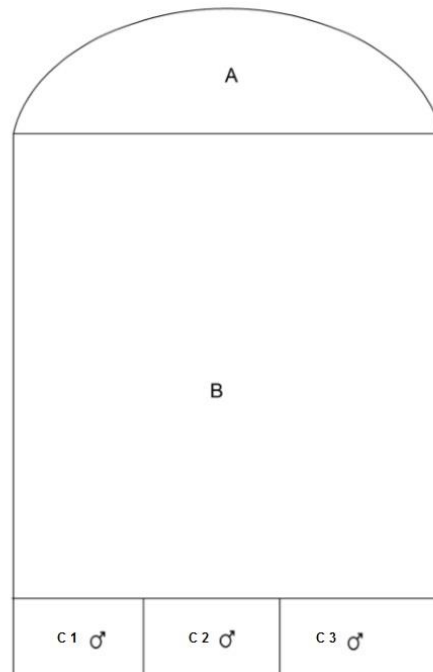
« (1)The trustworthy<sup>(B)</sup> (lit. discreet of heart<sup>47</sup>) sealer<sup>48</sup> *Ddtw*<sup>49</sup>, born of (2) *3bt-ib*<sup>50</sup> »

<sup>44</sup> KILLEN 1994: 37; DONOVAN & MCCORQUODALE 2000: 133.

<sup>45</sup> WARD 1982: 70, 576.

<sup>46</sup> GARSTANG 1901: PL.12; RANKE 1935: 214, 26; FRANKE 1984: 230, 350.





[FIGURE 3]. Stela Cairo CG 20100. Schematic by the author.

**C3:** The second figure sitting on his knees in front of *Ntr.w-r-3w* is called *Snb*. He wears a long wig and a short beard as well. He faces two columns of text, reading from left to right:



(1) *imy-r3 mš<sup>c</sup> n hrt.yw-ntr Snb* (2) *iri n Wrn m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*

«(1) Foremen of stonemasons<sup>51</sup> *Snb*<sup>52</sup> (2), the conceived<sup>(C)</sup> of *Wrn*<sup>(D)</sup> justified»

### Commentary

**(A)** Using the epithet *wḥm ḥnh*<sup>53</sup> on memorial monuments only appeared during the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty<sup>54</sup>. There is another translation for the *wḥm ḥnh* phrase as «rebirth / renewal of life»<sup>55</sup> but it could also be translated as «repeating life»<sup>56</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> ERMAN & GRAPOW (EDS.) 1931: vol.5, 120, 10.

<sup>48</sup> WARD 1982: 173, 1495; COLLIER & QUIRKE 2004: 104.

<sup>49</sup> RANKE 1935: 403, 21.

<sup>50</sup> RANKE 1935: 1, 19.

<sup>51</sup> WARD 1982: 30, 212.

<sup>52</sup> RANKE 1935: 312, 15.

<sup>53</sup> ERMAN & GRAPOW (EDS.) 1926: vol.1, 341, 3

<sup>54</sup> ILIN-TOMICH 2017: 31.

<sup>55</sup> GORDON & CALVIN 1998: 468-469.

(B) Younis<sup>57</sup> read this part as *h̄tmw P̄h-ib-ddtw* without citing the name.

(C) The verb *ir* is used instead of *ms* when it is followed by the name of the father<sup>58</sup>.

(D) Ranke mentioned that the name *Wrn* refers to a feminine name<sup>59</sup>, however, being precedent by *iri* it has to be a masculine name of the father of *Snb*, also it is followed by *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* not *m3<sup>c</sup>-t-hrw*.

### III. STELACG 20087 [FIGURES 4-6]


Stela CG 20087 is a limestone rounded top stela with a lunette and four registers. It is carved in sunken relief and rather poorly preserved. Lange and Schäfer<sup>60</sup> noted that the provenance might be Abydos but there is uncertainty. The stela measures 83 cm high and 48 cm wide, and can be dated by the offering formula, and its paleography, epigraphy, and iconography to the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty<sup>61</sup>. The owner of the stela is Imenemhat *seneb*, who held the titles: *h̄tmty-bity* (the seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt), and *imy-r3 pr wr* (the overseer of the great house). Overall, the condition is less compared to the previously discussed stela, prohibiting e.g. detailed description of the figures.

#### 1. The Lunette (A)

The lunette of CG 20087 is identical to CG 20100 presented above, including the lunette with the two *wedjat* eyes, overlooking two jackals on shrines and Epithets<sup>62</sup>.

#### 2. The First Register (B)

There are two seated male figures at either side of the register, facing each other and separated by seven columns of hieroglyphic texts:

**B1:** The figure on the left is the owner of the stela (*Imn-*) *m-h3t snb Nmtj-m-wsh.t*, who is facing a  vase. He is wearing a long wig, with a badly visible small beard. It is not clear if he wears a kilt. He sits on a chair with a low back and animal legs set on the usual truncated coasters<sup>63</sup>. His left arm is folded against his chest, while stretching his right hand towards four columns of text that includes his title and name, reading from right to left, thus:

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<sup>56</sup> DOXEY 1998: 288.

<sup>57</sup> YOUNIS 2010: 55.

<sup>58</sup> OBSOMER 1993: 170-171; SATZINGER 1997: 177-188; FRANKE 2007: 170-171.

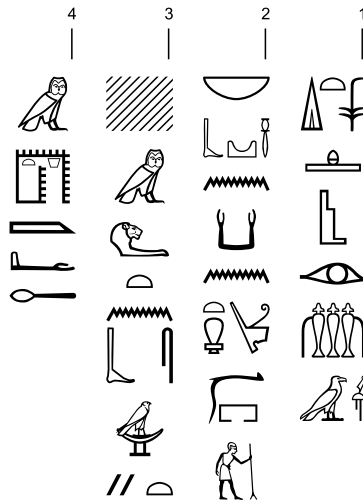
<sup>59</sup> RANKE 1953: 81, N<sup>o</sup>. 8.

<sup>60</sup> LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 104-105.

<sup>61</sup> FRANKE 1984: 217; ABDELAAL 1995: 134.

<sup>62</sup> HÖLZL 1990: 79–82; ABDELAAL 1995: 134, 171-173, 266; ILIN-TOMICH 2017: 33.

<sup>63</sup> KILLEN 1994: 37; DONOVAN & MCCORQUODALE 2000: 133.



(1) *ḥtp-di-nsw (.t) Wsir ḥnt.y Imnt.yw* (2) *nb 3bdw n k3 n ḥtm.ty-bity imy-r3 pr wr* (3) *(Imn-)m-ḥ3.t snb Nmtj* (4) *-m-wsh.t m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw*

«(1) A Royal offering of Osiris, the foremost of the Westerners, (2) Lord of Abydos to the *k3* of The seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, the overseer of the great house, (3) *(Imn)-m-ḥ3t-snb(w) Nmtj(4)-m-wsh.t* justified<sup>(A)</sup>.»

**B2:** The figure on the right side, facing *(Imn-) m-ḥ3.t snb Nmtj-m-wsh.t*, represents *ḥki* and is depicted in the same way as in **(B1)** but his right arm is folded against his chest, and he stretches his left hand towards three columns of text that include his title and name, reading from left to right:



(1) *ḥtp-di-nsw (.t) Wsir ntr ʿ3 nb t3-dsr* (2) *n k3 n ḥtm.t (y)-bity imy-r3 ḥtm.tyw sdm.i šn<sup>c</sup>.w ʿki*  
(3) *ms n nb.t pr Mrw*



«(1) A Royal offering of Osiris<sup>(B)</sup>, the great God, the lord of the sacred land (2) to the *k3* of The seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, the overseer of sealers/ the chief treasurer<sup>(C)</sup> *ḥki*<sup>64</sup> (3) born of the mistress of the house<sup>(D)</sup> *Mrw*<sup>65</sup>»



<sup>64</sup> RANKE 1935: 71, 26.

<sup>65</sup> As what Franke cited, his father is called *ḥtw ni whmw w<sup>c</sup>d*; Lange and Schäfer added traces after the sign G43 LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 104 which does not seem to be right that there is no more space for any

## Commentary

(A) There is a possibility that this stela was made for *Imn-m-ḥ3.t-snbw Nmtj-m-wsh.t* after CG 20100 as his name is followed by *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*. This is not the case in CG 20100, in which *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* isn't shown connected to his name.

(B) The writing of Osiris's name  differs from that in CG 20100 ().

(C) The name *'ki*, referring to the same person, appears on seals<sup>66</sup>. Here, he holds the titles *ḥtm.t(y)-bity imy-r3 pr wr* [N<sup>o</sup>. 371, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378], *ḥtm.t (y)-bity imy-r3 pr wr whm 'nh* [N<sup>o</sup>. 372], and *ḥtm.t (y)-bity imy-r3 sd3.wtyw sdm šn<sup>c</sup>* [N<sup>o</sup>. 379]. *'ki*'s titles are not clear in the present text. However, there are two options: 1) Lange and Schäfer<sup>67</sup> suggested that it could be written as , however, it could just be sign  $\Delta$  X1 as a phonetic complement to be read as *imy-r3 ḥtm.tyw*<sup>68</sup>; 2). Franke<sup>69</sup> argues that *'ki* held other titles, such as *ḥb mr ḥtmtyw sdmi šn<sup>c</sup>w*<sup>70</sup>, if one accepts the writing as . Franke<sup>71</sup> also notes that *'ki*'s father was *3t.w nj whmw w3d*.

(D) The first appearance of the title *nbt-pr* dates to the reign of Senwosret II<sup>72</sup> or Senwosret III<sup>73</sup>.

### 3. The Second Register (C1-3)

There are three figures in this register. On the left, there is another male figure seated on a chair, followed by two male figures sitting on the floor, facing him. The figures are separated by columns of hieroglyphic texts, as follows:

**C1:** The figure on the left is *Rn (=i)-snb (w)*. He is depicted in the same position as (*Imn*) *m-ḥ3.t snb Nmtj-m-wsh.t* in (B1): the left arm is folded against his chest, while stretching his right hand towards two columns of text, reading from right to left, that include his title and name:

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new signs, however, if there were any trace of a sign it could be the *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* formula, to give the meaning of justified or maybe just a determinative? RANKE 1935: 162, 7; FRANKE 1984: 146.

<sup>66</sup> MARTIN 1971: 34, PL.27m, N<sup>o</sup>. 371-379.

<sup>67</sup> LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 104.

<sup>68</sup> WARD 1982: 47, 367.

<sup>69</sup> FRANKE 1984: 146.

<sup>70</sup> FRANKE 1982a: 16; FRANKE 1982b: 51.

<sup>71</sup> FRANKE 1984: 146.

<sup>72</sup> QUIRKE 1990: 6; OBSOMER 1993: 167.

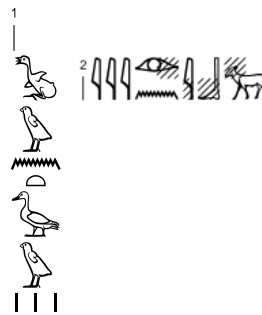
<sup>73</sup> ILIN-TOMICH 2017: 167.



(1) *ḥ3ty-š imy-r3 ḥw.t-ntr Rn (=i)-snb (w) m3c-ḥrw* (2) *s3 (..) b m3c-ḥrw*

« (1) Overseer of the temple<sup>74</sup>, *Rn (=i)-snb (w)*<sup>(a)</sup> justified, (2) son of (..) *b*<sup>(b)</sup> justified »

**C2:** The central figure is *Iii*. He sits on the floor with one knee bent upwards. His right arm is folded against his chest, while stretching his left hand towards a text that includes his title and name (the latter horizontally above him), reading from left to right, as follows:



(1) *t3.w n s3t.w* (2) *Iii ir n Ibi*

« (1) Journeyman of brick (-making)<sup>75</sup> (2) *Iii*<sup>(c)</sup> conceived of *Ibi*<sup>(d)</sup> »

**C3:** The figure to the right represents *Pth-nmtj*. Like III he sits on the floor with one knee bent upwards. He faces a small offering table that is most probably filled with tall bread, but it is not clear. His right arm is folded against his chest, while stretching his left hand towards a text that includes his title and name (the latter horizontally above him), reading from left to right, thus:



(1) *zš wr n sdm(.w) Pth-nmtj* (2) *ms n Ptw*

«(1) Chief scribe of the judges<sup>76</sup>, *Pth-nmtj*<sup>77</sup>, (2) born of *Ptw*<sup>78</sup>.»

<sup>74</sup> WARD 1982: 34, 250

<sup>75</sup> WARD 1982: 182, 1574

<sup>76</sup> WARD 1982: 159, 1373.

<sup>77</sup> RANKE 1935: 1, 139.

<sup>78</sup> RANKE 1935: 25, 137.

## Commentary

(A) The name *Rn (=i) -snb (w)* means « (My) name is healthy»<sup>79</sup>. According to Franke<sup>80</sup>, he appeared on CG 20087; CG 20520 and held the title: *h3 mr ḥw.t ntr*. His family is further unknown.

(B) Based on the available traces this name could be read as 1) *ib*<sup>81</sup> or 2) *ibi*<sup>82</sup>.

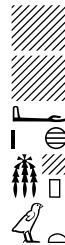
(C) According to Franke<sup>83</sup>, he held the title: *t3w ni s3tw*, which is clear on other objects that are also allotted to him<sup>84</sup>, in which his name and his family members are mentioned; his mother *nb.t-pr Kkj*, his father *ish3.w (ni) ḥr.tiw-ntr Ibi*, his wife *ḥtw*, his sons *Ibi*, and *Snfrw*, and his daughter *Kkj* (whose name is the same as his mother's name). She also mentioned that he is the same person on a seal where his name is written typically as on the stela<sup>85</sup>, with the same title followed by *m3ḥ-ḥrw*.

(D) Ranke<sup>86</sup> noted that this name is a feminine name.

## 4. The Third Register (D1-4)

This register is divided into two parts. Each part has two male figures facing each other, making a total of four figures. They are separated by columns of hieroglyphic text.

**D1:** The name of this figure is unclear as the text in front of him is much damaged. He sits on the floor, with one knee bent upwards. His left arm is folded against his chest, while his right arm is stretched towards text columns, which includes his title and name, reading from right to left, as follows:



(I) ... *ms (n) Ptw*

«(1) ...<sup>(a)</sup> born of *Ptw*.»

**D2:** The second figure facing left is *Bwbw*. He sits on the floor, with one knee bent upwards. His right arm is folded against his chest. His left arm is stretched towards the

<sup>79</sup> RANKE 1935: 26, 222.

<sup>80</sup> FRANKE 1984: 234.

<sup>81</sup> RANKE 1935: 16, 19.

<sup>82</sup> RANKE 1935: 5-6, 20.

<sup>83</sup> FRANKE 1984: 51.

<sup>84</sup> DONOHUE 1967; BOLTON: N<sup>o</sup>. 10.20/11.

<sup>85</sup> MARTIN 1971: 9, PL.6, N<sup>o</sup>. 30.

<sup>86</sup> RANKE 1935: 15, 19.

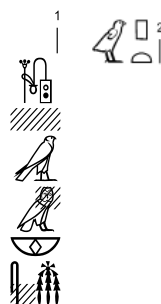
text columns, which included his title (completely damaged) and name, reading from left to right, as follows:



(1) .. *Bwbw ms n Pt*w

« (1).. *Bwbw*<sup>(b)</sup> born of *Pt*w »

**D3:** The third male figure facing right is named *Ḥr-m-ḥb* and sits on the floor his with one knee bent upwards. His left arm is folded against his chest, while stretching his right hand towards a text column that includes his title (partly damaged) and name, thus:



(1) *zš* ... *Ḥr-m-ḥb ms* (2) *Pt*w

« (1) Scribe ...<sup>(c)</sup> *Ḥr-m-ḥb*<sup>87</sup> born of (2) *Pt*w »

**D4:** The name of this right most figure is damaged. He sits on the floor with one knee bent upwards. His right arm is folded against his chest, while stretching his left hand towards the remnants of text columns that include his title (partly damaged) and name (completely damaged with only traces of one sign visible). The text reads from right to left, thus:



(1) *zš* ... *w* ...


« (1) Scribe ...<sup>(d)</sup> »



<sup>87</sup> RANKE 1935: 7, 248.

## Commentary

(A) The only suggestion that seems plausible is the name is *ḥ* (=f). However, the only example of this writing is dated to the New Kingdom<sup>88</sup>. The rest of the text was completed by Lange and Schäfer<sup>89</sup>.

(B) Ranke<sup>90</sup> mentions that the name *Bwbw* appears twice, referring to a feminine name. However, it must be masculine as the name is written in a scene that depicts a male figure. There is a small damaged space before his name most probably it contained his title.

(C) *Hr-m-ḥb* held a title, but only the sign  Y3 is still readable. However, Lange and Schäfer<sup>91</sup> added a small horizontal damaged space beneath it, and the rest of the text is not clear enough on the stela.

(D) Most of the text is damaged here except for the signs  Y3 and  G43 as Lange and Schäfer<sup>92</sup> mentioned.

## 5. The Fourth Register (E1-4)

This register resembles register three as it is divided into two parts. Each part shows two male figures facing each other, separated by columns of hieroglyphic text.

**E1:** The first figure facing right is *Nmtj-m-mr*. He sits on the floor with one knee bent upwards. His left arm is folded against his chest, while stretching his right arm towards a text column that includes, partially damaged, his title and name, reading from right to left, as follows:



(1) ... *wr n Pth Nmtj*-(2) *m-mr ms n Tjj* ...

« (1) ... the great .... of Ptah<sup>(a)</sup>, *Nmtj*-(2) *m-mr*<sup>93</sup> born of *Tjj*<sup>(b)</sup> »

**E2:** The name of the second figure is mostly damaged. The figure sits on the floor facing left, one knee bent upwards and his right arm folded against his chest. His left arm is stretched towards a text column that includes his title (partly damaged) and name

<sup>88</sup> RANKE 1935: 22, 70.

<sup>89</sup> LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 104.

<sup>90</sup> RANKE 1935: 25, 94.

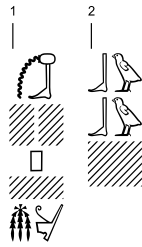
<sup>91</sup> LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 105.

<sup>92</sup> LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 105.

<sup>93</sup> RANKE 1935: 20, 69.



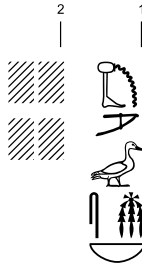
(completely damaged, leaving only traces of one sign), reading from left to right, as follows:



(1)  $w^c b n Hr P (...)$   $ms n$  (2)  $Bwbw$

« (1) Priest of Horus<sup>(c)</sup>  $P$ ...<sup>(d)</sup> born of (2)  $Bwbw$ <sup>(e)</sup> »

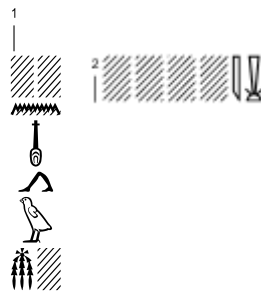
**E3:**  $Mrw$ , the third figure facing right, sits on the floor with one knee bent upwards. His left arm is folded against his chest, while stretching his right hand towards text columns that includes his title and name (completely damaged and only traces of signs are still visible), reading from right to left as follows:



(1)  $w^c b ... Mrw ms nb$  (2) ...

« (1) Priest<sup>(f)</sup> ...  $Mrw$ <sup>(g)</sup> born of Mistress (2) ...<sup>(h)</sup> »

**E4:** The last figure is  $Jw-nfr$ , who sits on the floor on both knees facing left. His right arm is folded against his chest, while stretching his left hand towards the text columns that includes his name and remnants of a title, reading from left to right, as follows:



(1)  $Jw-nfr ms ...$  (2) ...  $m^3c-hrw$

« (1)  $Jw-nfr$ <sup>(i)</sup> born of ... (2) ... justified<sup>(i)</sup> »



[FIGURE 4]: Stela Cairo CG 20087. Courtesy of Cairo Museum © Ahmed Amin.

### Commentary

(A) The title is incomplete, but it could be *imy-r3 pr wr n Pth*, as «The overseer of the great house of Ptah».

(B) The only signs of the name of the mother of *Nmtj-m-mr* that is still readable are U33 and two signs of M17 to be read as *Tjj*. Lange and Schäfer<sup>94</sup> added damaged space besides M17 and after it, which could give the possibility that her name is followed by *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*. She could be called *Tj3* if the missing sign is G1<sup>95</sup>, *Tij* if the missing sign is M17<sup>96</sup>, *Tjw* if the missing sign is G43<sup>97</sup>, or *Tjyt* if the missing sign is X1<sup>98</sup>. However, it is not clear if there is a space after the last readable sign M17, so probably there is nothing missing here, in which case the name might be read as *Tii*<sup>99</sup>.

<sup>94</sup> LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 105.



<sup>95</sup> RANKE 1935: 1, 378.


<sup>96</sup> RANKE 1935: 3, 378.

<sup>97</sup> RANKE 1935: 6, 378.


<sup>98</sup> RANKE 1935: 20, 378.



<sup>99</sup> RANKE 1935: 22, 377.


(C) Lange and Schäfer<sup>100</sup> put damaged space after the sign  D60, but there is an unclear sign of a bird that could be  G5, in which case the title could be read as *w<sup>c</sup>b-n-Hr* «The priest of Horus»<sup>101</sup>.

(D) The only trace visible is sign  Q3. However, there is a low broad sign beneath it that is not clear.


(E) The name *Bwbw* refers to a female, although the same name appears in (D3) referring to a male person. Ranke<sup>102</sup> refers to both examples as female persons, which is incorrect as *Bwbw* in (D3) is clearly male.

(F) The text here is mostly damaged, only traces of signs are still readable, although Lange and Schäfer suggested a few signs, as shown above, indicating that it could be related to the title *w<sup>c</sup>b* «priest», but this title is normally followed by sign  N35A<sup>103</sup>.

(G) The bird sign  G39, which Schäfer suggests might actually be  G43, which is much closer to the traces that are left<sup>104</sup>.

(H) The title of his mother could be *nbt-pr*, though the only traces of signs in this part are of the sign  V30. The name of the mother is completely damaged.

(i) Ilin-Tomich<sup>105</sup> suggests that this name should be read as *Jw-nfr* instead of *Nfr-jw*<sup>106</sup>, and that the sign was honorifically transposed.

(J) Lange and Schäfer<sup>107</sup> copied this sign as  T22A which has to be read as *m<sup>3c</sup>-sn*. However, it should be *m<sup>3c</sup>-hrw* that follows the name of the mother of *Jw-nf* [TABLE 1].

<sup>100</sup> LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 104.

<sup>101</sup> WARD 1982: 82, 674.

<sup>102</sup> RANKE 1935: 94, 25.

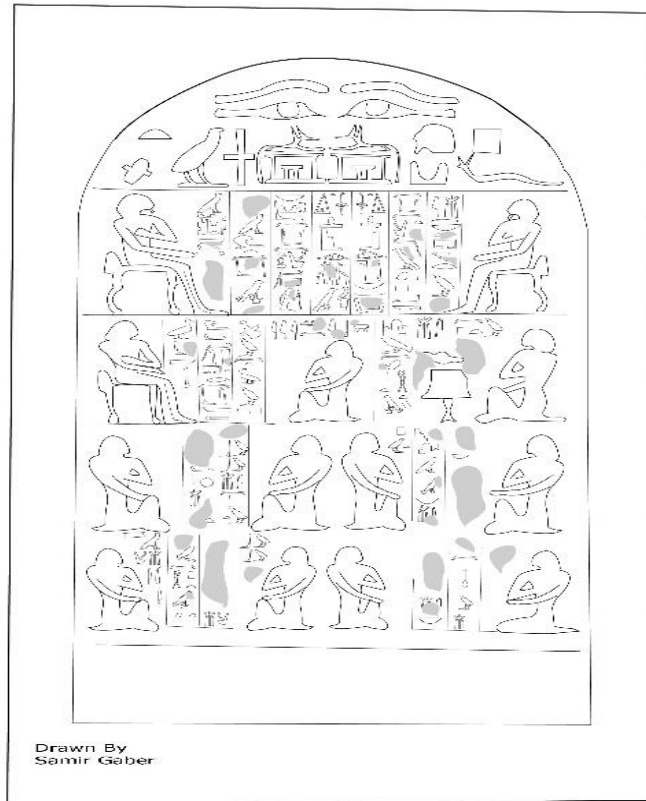
<sup>103</sup> WARD 1982: 78, 639.

<sup>104</sup> RANKE 1935: 162, 7.

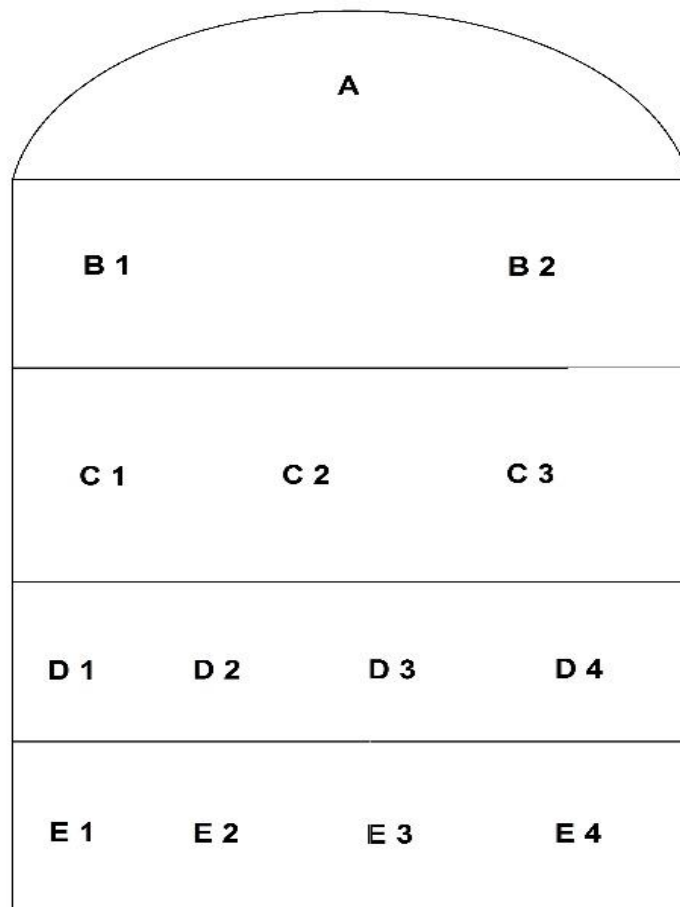
<sup>105</sup> ILIN-TOMICH 2017: 65.

<sup>106</sup> RANKE 1935: 194, 7.

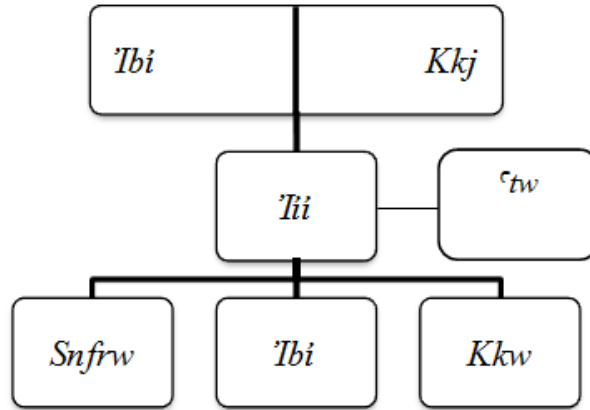
<sup>107</sup> LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 105.



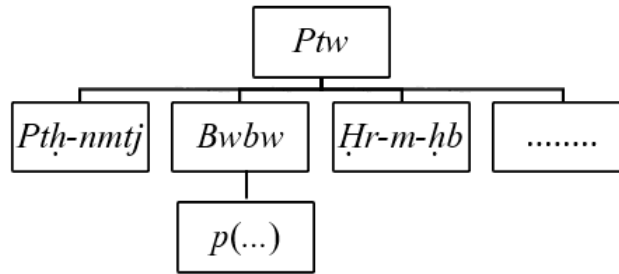
[FIGURE 5]: Stela Cairo CG 2087. Line drawing by © Samir Gaber.



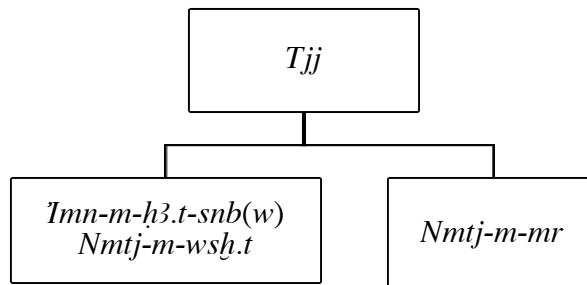
[FIGURE 6]: Stela Cairo CG 2087. Schematic by © the author.



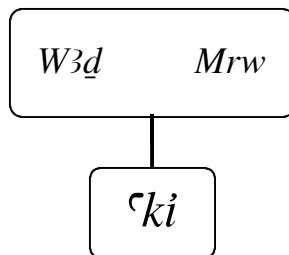
[FIGURE 7]: The family tree of *Tii*



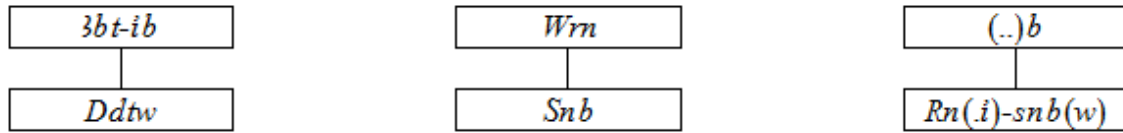
[FIGURE 8]: The family tree of *Ptw*



[FIGURE 9]: The family tree of *Imn-m-h3.t snb(w) Nmtj-m-wsh.t*



[FIGURE 10]: The family tree of *ʿki*



[FIGURE 11]: Other's individuals with their relatives as can be inferred from the stelae.

Name	Title
<i>Nmtj-m-nr</i>	<i>... wr n Pth</i>
<i>Bwbw</i>	.....
<i>w3d</i>	<i>3tw nj whmw</i>
<i>Rn(=i)-snb(w)</i>	<i>h3ty-3 imy-r3 hw.t-ntr</i>
<i>Ntr.w-r-3w</i>	<i>idnw n imy-r3 sd3wt</i>
<i>Snb</i>	<i>imy-r3 m8c n hr.tyw-ntr</i>
<i>Mrw</i>	<i>nb.t pr</i>
<i>Kkj</i>	<i>nb.t-pr</i>
<i>Kkj</i>	<i>nb.t-pr</i>
<i>Ddtw</i>	<i>sd3.wty kf3-ib</i>
<i>Pth-nmtj</i>	<i>s8 wr n sdm.w</i>
<i>Ibi</i>	<i>sh3.w (ni) hr.tiw-ntr</i>
<i>Tii</i>	<i>t3.w n s3t.w</i>
<i>P (...)</i>	<i>wcb n Hr</i>
<i>Mrw</i>	<i>wcb....</i>
<i>ki</i>	<i>htm.t(y)-bity imy-r3 htm.tyw sdm.i sn8.w</i>
<i>Hr-m-hb</i>	<i>z8 ...</i>

[TABLE 1]. A name list of other individuals with no clear relationship with the others © the Author

Finally, there are several deities' names that appeared within the text on the stelae as well, with epithets with depictions [TABLE 2].

Name	Title	Stela
<i>Tnpw</i>	<i>tp(y) dw=f / who is on his mountain</i>	CG 20100
	<i>Imy-w.t / who is in the embalming house</i>	CG 20100
<i>Wsir</i>	<i>hnt.y Imnt.yw / The foremost of the Westerners</i>	CG 20100
		CG 20087
	<i>nb 3bdw / Lord of Abydos</i>	CG 20100
	<i>ntr 3 / The Great God</i>	CG 20087
	<i>nb t3-dsr / Lord of the Sacred land</i>	CG 20087
<i>Pth-Skr</i>	NON	CG 20100
<i>Wp-w3wt</i>	<i>nb 3bdw / Lord of Abydos</i>	CG 20100

[TABLE 2]. Deities name list with titles as they appeared in the stelae © the Author.

## IV. CONCLUSION

There are a few remarkable points. The owner of both stelae perhaps is the same person but with two names: *Imn-m-ḥ3.t-snb*, and *Nmtj-m-wsh.t*. He holds the following titles: The hereditary prince, The Nomarch, The beloved great companion, the seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, and the overseer of the great house. Furthermore, usually the owner of a stela is shown seated on a chair on the left, facing right, in front of an offering table (or just a text). However, in these stelae, the owner does not face any tables, but rather only the *ḥtp-di-nsw.t* formula and his own titles. Two persons on CG 20100 are shown smaller than the owner of the stela, both sitting on the floor in front of him and facing him, with the name and, title of one of his parents. Although there are 12 persons, besides the owner, included on CG 20087, two of them are sitting on a chair that is similar to that of *Imn-m-ḥ3.t-snb/Nmtj-m-wsh.t*. This might be confusing, as to who the real owner of the stela is (or perhaps both).

It is remarkable that the depicted persons on CG 20087 are represented in an order in which the high ranked persons are sitting on a chair at the upper part of the stela, then come 9 persons lower ranked than him so they are sitting on the floor with a bent knee (semi-squatting), and finally the lowest ranked person is squatting on the floor with both knees bent. The information on the stelae allows us to compile four family trees: 1- *Iii* for three generations, 2- *Ptw* for three generations, 3- *Imn-m-ḥ3.t-snb/Nmtj-m-wsh.t* for two generations, and 4- *ʿki* for two generations.

Some further family relationships can be inferred from the stelae, but it is unclear how these family groups are related to *Imn-m-ḥ3.t-snb/Nmtj-m-wsh.t*. Still, there are a few individuals who appear on these stelae that do not have a clear relationship to any of the others.

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