

The Stela of Horemhat at Turin

The monument with the inventory number Cat. 1611⁽¹⁾ of the Egyptian Museum of Turin (Fig. 1) was acquired with the Drovetti collection (1824). It is contained in A. Fabretti, F. Rossi, R. V. Lanzone, *Catalogo generale dei musei di antichità e degli oggetti d'arte raccolti nelle gallerie e biblioteche del Regno*, ser. 1, Torino 1882, 170. It is a round-topped stela measuring 42 × 24 cm. The lunette shows two udjat-eyes flanking a shen-ring.⁽²⁾ There are two registers: pictorial depictions in the upper one, and a horizontal hieroglyphic inscription in the second.

Four vertical lines of incised inscription serve as captions for the persons depicted in the upper register.

w'b^a hr-m-h3t (2) sn.f mnw (3) hmt.f d3b (4) s3t.f t3-nt-iwnt.

The wab-priest^a *hr-m-h3t*⁽³⁾. (2) His brother *mnw*⁽⁴⁾. (3) His wife *d3b*⁽⁵⁾. (4) His daughter *t3-nt-iwnt*⁽⁶⁾.

The scene (raised relief): *hr-m-h3t* is shown facing towards the viewer's right. He is sitting on a chair with lion legs, showing his own hair and a broad necklace. He is holding a lotus blossom in his left hand up to his nose.⁽⁷⁾ *hr-m-h3t* is followed by the standing figure of his brother *mn(w)* in kilt, with wig and broad collar necklace. *Mnw* is holding a lotus bud in his left hand up to his face and a cloth in his right hand.

(1) We wish to thank Dr. Elvira D'Amicone for permission to publish the stela and for providing both the photograph and the technical data.

(2) See R. HÖLZL, *Die Giebelfelddekorlation von Stelen des Mittleren Reiches*, Beiträge zur Ägyptologie 10, Wien 1990, 16-17; 32.

(3) RANKE, PN, 248/3: Middle Kingdom and Late Period; male name.

(4) RANKE, PN, 151/14: Middle and New Kingdoms and Late Period; male name.

(5) RANKE, PN, 405/1: as a female name, Middle Kingdom and 18th Dynasty. Note that the determinative of the sitting man is placed, for lack of space, to the left of the column.

(6) RANKE, PN, 357/24: New Kingdom. Here is probably the oldest attestation of this female name.

(7) On the motif of the lotus blossom and its connotations of rebirth see: Ph. DERCHAIN, Le lotus, la mandragore et le perséa, *CdÉ* 50, 1975, 65-85; M. MALAISE, La position de la femme sur les stèles du Moyen Empire, *SAK* 5, 1977, 189-191; G. ROBINS, Problems in Interpreting Egyptian Art, *DE* 17, 1990, 50-51.

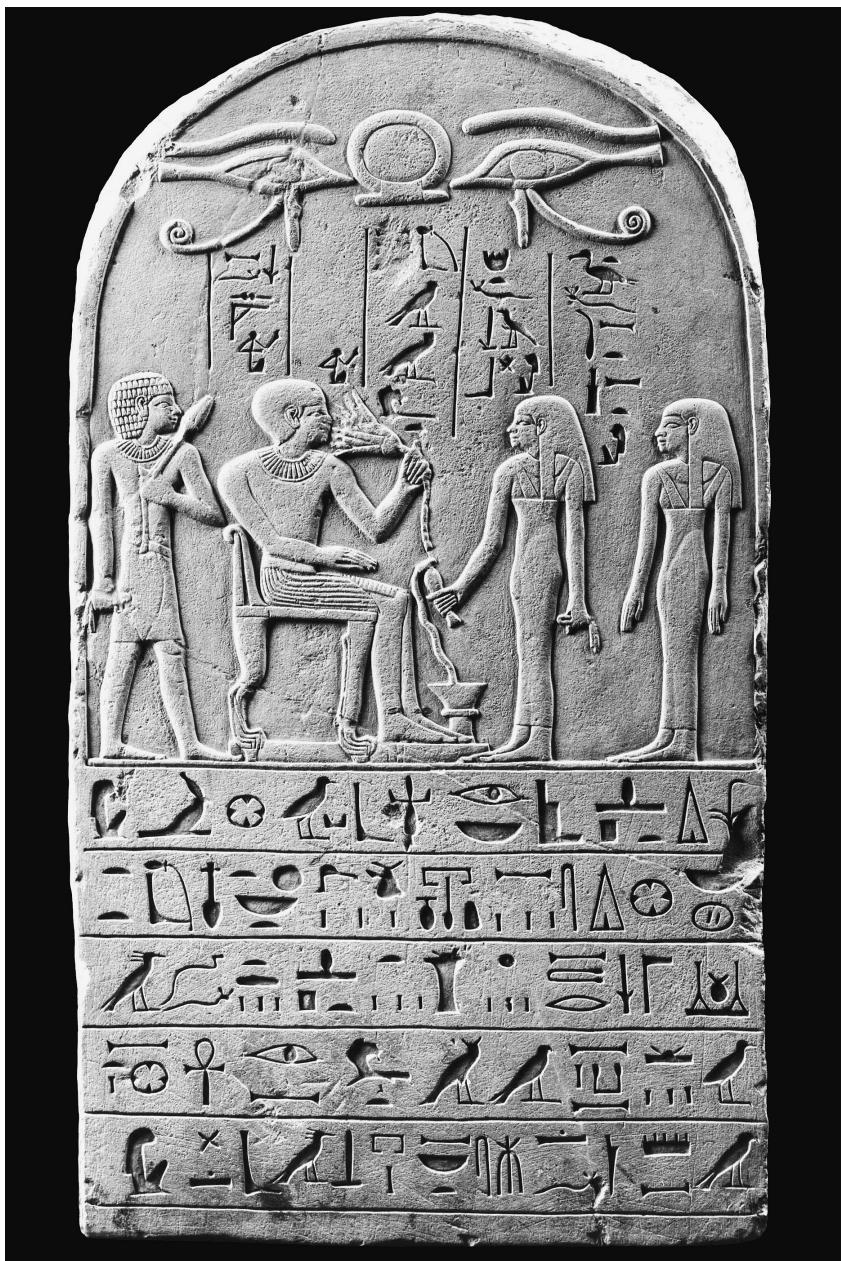


Fig. 1. — Stela Turin, Cat. 1611. © Courtesy of Museo Egizio di Torino.

Facing them toward the left are two standing women (wife and daughter of *hr-m-h3t*), the first with her right hand pouring a libation into a bowl on a stand and holding a cloth in the left. The second woman has the arms at her side. Both wear a long tight-fitting garment with both shoulder straps showing, (8) broad collars and tripartite wigs.

Stylistic similarities: Vienna, KHM ÄS 159 (decoration and depictions in raised relief, but captions incised; shen-ring with antithetic udjat-eyes; similar attitude of the (main) person; early 18th Dynasty, CAA Wien 16, 64-66); Florence 2496 (similar composition; early 18th Dynasty); Florence 2511 (similar to Vienna 159; early 18th Dynasty); Moscow 5629 (similar composition; early 18th Dynasty); Boston 05.97 (early 18th Dynasty; CAA Boston 3, 77-78); Brooklyn 07.420 (similar to Florence 2496; early 18th Dynasty); BM 466 [300], HT V/21 (17th Dynasty); BM 327 [1370], HT V/20 (early 18th Dynasty, though Budge believes it to be 13th-17th Dynasty); Leiden V 74 (early 18th Dynasty). For the inverse direction of the libation water cf. Vienna, KHM ÄS 137 and 5899 (CAA Wien 16, 43-48; 16, 113-119; 18th Dynasty).

Beneath the scene there is an engraved inscription in five horizontal lines, reading from right to left.

(5) *htp dī nswt wsīr nb 3bdw^b hr* (6) *nb nhn^c dī.sn prt-hrw t hnkt k3w 3pdw ht nbt nfrt w'bt* (7) *mnht šs sntr mrht htp-df3w^d* (8) *n k3 n hr-m-h3t^e ir.n 'nh n niwt* (9) *hr-mni.f ms.n nbt pr d3b^d*.

(5) An offering which the king has given and/to (9) Osiris, Lord of Abydos^b, and (to) Horus, (6) Lord of Hierakopolis:^c may they give an invocation offering consisting of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, all good and pure things, (7) cloth, alabaster, incense, unguent and food-offerings (8) for the *ka* of *hr-m-h3t^e* begotten of the '*nh n niwt*' (9) *hr-mni.f*, (10) born of the Lady of the house *d3b*.

NOTES

^a To the left of the *w'b* sign, a group has been erased. It is obviously the three water lines, serving as determinative, plus a low, slightly oblique sign.

(8) Both in the Middle and New Kingdoms, only one shoulder strap is usually shown in relief.

(9) Cf. H. SATZINGER, Beobachtungen zur Opferformel: Theorie und Praxis, *LingAeg*, 5, 1997, 177-188, D. FRANKE, The Middle Kingdom Offering Formulas — A Challenge, *JEA* 89, 2003, 45ff; also cf. W. BARTA, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, ÄF 24, Glückstadt 1968, 57ff.

(10) RANKE, PN, 248/22: only this instance (dated to Middle Kingdom).

^b For the writing of the place name Abydos with the *i3b* sign, Gardiner R15 (A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Oxford 1964, 502), from Dyn. XVIII on, cf. R. El-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Sais et ses divinités*, BdE XLIX, Le Caire 1975, 151 (i). Early examples are, e.g., Urk. IV 11/49 and S. Bosticco, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze. Le Stele egiziane del nuovo regno*, Rome 1965, no. 4 (2496), 6 (2508), 13 (6387).

^c C. Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, Band III, OLA 112, Leuven 2002, 670.

^d  with three feathers on the head. Note that this is a naturalistic feature of the neophron percnopterus, see Fig. 2.



Fig. 2. — *Neophron percnopterus*.

^e For the form of  (G 17) cf. the hieratic form in Möller, *Paläographie I*, 196. Good parallels from early 18th Dynasty are BM 283 [833] (HT IV/24), Brooklyn 07.420 (T.G.H. James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum I: From Dynasty I to the End of Dynasty XVIII*, Brooklyn 1974, no 164) and Bologna KS 1926 (E. Bresciani, *Le stele egiziane del Museo civico archeologico di Bologna*, Bologna 1985, 26-27).⁽¹¹⁾

^f The term '*nḥ n niwt*' belongs to the corpus of the regular military titles of the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period.⁽¹²⁾ During the New Kingdom

(11) The stela belongs to the early 18th Dynasty.

(12) O.D. BERLEV, Les prétdenus “citadins” au Moyen Empire, *RdE* 23, 1971, 23-48; W. WARD, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, Beirut 1982, no. 614; S. QUIRKE, The Regular Titles of the Late Middle Kingdom, *RdE* 37, 1986, 113; Id., *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom*, New Malden 1990, 78-79ff; Id., *Titles and bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC.*, GHP Egyptology 1, London 2004, 112-113; D. STEFANOVIĆ, *The Army of Pharaonic Egypt in the Period of the Middle Kingdom* (in Serbian), PhD Diss. (unpublished), Belgrade University, 2006, Chap. V.

and later, merely its feminine form occurs, as a women's title.⁽¹³⁾ In the literature, '*nḥ n niwt*' is usually rendered as a term that defines a "soldier" of the city regiment,⁽¹⁴⁾ a view that is based on the conclusions of O.D. Berlev. According to him, the title does not refer to the inhabitants of the towns (*niwt!*) but rather reveals a unique military organization of the Middle Kingdom — armed forces in which units of young people ('*nhw*') were organized in the frame of a specific territory.⁽¹⁵⁾ These '*nhw nw niwt*' could also have been engaged, when needed, in non-military tasks.⁽¹⁶⁾ Berlev pointed out that holders of the title in question belonged to a lower stratum of society.⁽¹⁷⁾ The argumentation of Berlev is basically accepted.⁽¹⁸⁾ However, a few further notes may be added regarding the holders of the title. We know of 279 attestations of '*nḥ n niwt*'. It is, however, just in three cases that this is associated with another title, and never with more than one title.⁽¹⁹⁾ The titles of the members of the families of the '*nhw nw niwt*', many of them bearing the same title, refer to various sectors of the administration.

(13) J. ČERNÝ, The Will of Naunakhte and the related Documents, *JEA* 31, 1945, 44; S.L.D. KATARY, Land-Tenure in the New Kingdom: The Role of Women Smallholders and the Military, in: *Agriculture in Egypt*, ed. by A.K. BOWMAN & E. ROGAN, Oxford 1998, 61-82; J. JANSSEN, A Marital Title from the New Kingdom, in: *Gold of Praise. Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of E.F. Wente*, ed. by E. TEETER and J.A. LARSON, Chicago 1999, 185-192.

(14) BERLEV, *RdE* 23, 1971, 23-48. Rendered by H.G. FISCHER as *townsman, citizen* (A God and a General of the Oasis on a Stela of the Late MK, *JNES* 16, 1957, 225, n. 16; cf. R.O. FAULKNER, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford 1962, 44; D. MEEKS, *Année Lexicographique. Égypte Ancienne I*, Paris 1980, 66; WARD, *Index MK*, 604) and *stalwart of the town* (*Egyptian Studies III. Varia Nova*, New York 1996, 131, n.o.).

(15) BERLEV, *RdE* 23, 1971, 40-42.

(16) BERLEV, *RdE* 23, 1971, 45; cf. О.Д. БЕРЛЕВ, Египетский военный флот в эпоху Среднего царства, *ПС* 17, 1967, 10-11.

(17) BERLEV, *RdE* 23, 1971, 47. See D. STEFANOVIĆ, *The Holders of the Regular Military Titles in the Period of the Middle Kingdom: Dossiers*, GHP Egyptology 4, London 2006, Doss. 97 and 119. The '*nḥ n niwt nḥy*', attested on stela Rio 637 / 638, was the grandfather of Neferhotep I and Sebekhotep IV (K. RYHOLT, *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800-1550 B.C.*, København 1997, 225-226; D. FRANKE, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (20.-16. Jahrhundert v. Chr.). Dossiers 1-796* (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 41, Wiesbaden 1984, no. 410). The father of the treasurer *snbi* was also '*nḥ n niwt*' (Franke, Doss. 296; W. GRAJETZKI, *Two treasurers of the late Middle Kingdom*, London 2001, 28ff).

(18) Cf. S.-A. NAGUIB, A Middle Kingdom Stela in Oslo, *CdE* 55, 1980, 21; D. FRANKE, Die Stele Inv. Nr. 4403 im Landesmuseum in Oldenburg. Zur Lebensmittelproduktion in der 13. Dynastie, *SAK* 10, 1983, 167-168; QUIRKE, *Administration*, 82, n. 8; QUIRKE, *RdE* 37, 1986, 122, n. 604; R.J. LEPROHON, The Late MK Stelae of the Soldier Sobekemhat, *JSSEA* 17/3, 1987, 80; QUIRKE, *Titles and Bureaux*, 97, 99ff; RYHOLT, *Second Intermediate Period*, 225-226; C. VOGEL, *Ägyptische Festungen und Garnisonen bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches*, Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 46, Hildesheim 2004, 81, 105-107.

(19) STEFANOVIĆ, *Military Titles*, Doss. 52, 166 and 370 (cf. VOGEL, *Festungen und Garnisonen*, 107, n. 39), 241. The case of Sa-Montu discussed by R.J. LEPROHON (A Late Middle Kingdom Stela in a Private Collection, in: *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, Boston 1996, 523-531), is not convincing.

As for the prosopography of the holders of this title as contained in the works of O.D. BERLEV (*RdE* 23, 1971,) and D. STEFANOVIĆ, (*Military Titles*, Doss. 1-275), there can

Members of the families of the 'nḥw nw niwt:

Titles	Father	Son	Brothers
<i>ȝtw</i> //		X	
<i>ȝtw</i>		X	
<i>ȝtw</i> 'n n̄iwt			5X
<i>ȝtw</i> n <i>t̄smw</i>		X	
<i>ȝtw</i> n <i>tt</i> <i>hk3</i>			X
<i>imy-ht</i> s3-prw			3X
<i>iry-</i> 't n pr-'3			X
<i>iry-</i> 't n //			X
<i>idnw</i> n <i>mr</i> <i>ḥtmt</i>			X
<i>'nḥ</i> n n̄iwt	>10X	>5X	>15X
<i>'nḥ</i> n <i>tt</i> <i>hk3</i>	2X		X
<i>wr</i> <i>m̄dw</i> ſm'	2X	X	3X
<i>wr</i> ſm̄sw			X
<i>w̄hmw</i>			X
<i>mr</i> ḫnwty	X		
<i>mr</i> ḫnwty <i>ḥrp</i> n k3t			X
<i>mr</i> <i>pr</i> ḥsb it			X
<i>mr</i> <i>pr</i> <i>wr</i>			X
<i>mr</i> mſ'	X		
<i>mr</i> ḫtmt		X	
<i>mr</i> lkdwil n pth-skr		X	
<i>mti</i> n s3	X		
<i>ḥm-ntr</i>			X
<i>ḥrp</i> wsht			X
<i>s3-nsw</i>			X

be added five more persons: *imn-*'3 (Stela Cairo SN 527; M. ATALLAH, Eine Stele aus dem Mittleren Reich im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo, in: *Studies in Honor of Ali Radwan*, ed. by K. DAOUD, S. BEDIER and S. ABD EL-FATAH, Supplément ASAE: Cahier No 34, Le Caire 2005, 151-158; D. STEFANOVIĆ, A Note on the Stela Cairo SN 527, *GM* 213, 2007, 8-9); *pth-*'nḥ (Stela; Liverpool Museum, M13869; CD, Egyptian Treasures in Europe, Vol. 4: Liverpool); *rsw* (Stela; Liverpool Museum, Inv. no. M13927; CD, Egyptian Treasures in Europe, Vol. 4: Liverpool); *mry* (W.M.F. PETRIE, *A season in Egypt* 1887, London 1888, no. 152); *snb-tifl* and *srw* (H. SATZINGER, Felsinschriften aus dem Gebiet von Sayāla (Ägyptisch-Nubien), in: *Timelines. Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak*, Vol. III, ed. by E. CZERNY et all., OLA 149, Leuven 2006, 142, no 10).

Titles	Father	Son	Brothers
<i>s3b r nhn</i>	X		2X
<i>smsw h3yt</i>	X	X	X
<i>shd šmsw</i>			5X (20)
<i>srw</i>			X
<i>sš hwt-ntr</i>	X		
<i>sš n h3l(.t) rmw</i>	X		
<i>šmsw</i>			5X

Rank titles	Father	Sons	Brothers
<i>rp' h3ty-</i>	X		X
<i>rp' h3ty- htmtby-bity smr w'ty</i>		X	
<i>htmtby-bity itf-ntr</i>			X
<i>htmtby-bity</i>			X

In the dossiers of the ‘*nhw nw niwt*’ it can be observed that in some of their families “military titles”, including the title in question, were very frequent and even transferred from one generation to the next. For example, in a family attested on an inscription from Aswan, five relatives hold the title ‘*nh n niwt*. (21) Three brothers with the title ‘*nh n niwt*’ are recorded on the fragments of a stela from Elephantine, (22) as well as on the base of a statue from Dahshur. (23)

Within the family attested on the stelae Turin 1629 and Vienna ÄS 204, five brothers were engaged in the “city regiments”: four of them as ‘*nh n niwt*’, and one as ‘*3tw 3 n niwt*. (24) A similar “family grouping” of military

(20) All of them are attested within the same family.

(21) PETRIE, *A Season in Egypt*, no. 152; STEFANOVIĆ, *Military Titles*, Doss. 24, 159, 222 and 231.

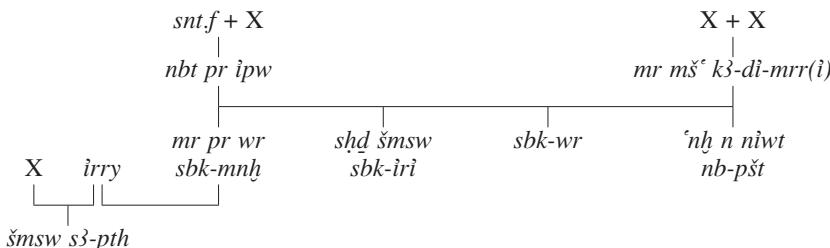
(22) L. HABACHI, *Elephantine IV: The Sanctuary of Hegaib*, Mainz am Rhein 1985, no 87 (K 8130) and D. FRANKE, *Drei neue Stelen des Mittleren Reiches von Elephantine*, MDAIK 57, 2001, 25-30; STEFANOVIĆ, *Military Titles*, Doss. 12, 13, 91, 182.

(23) A. FAKHRY, *The Excavations of Snefru's Monuments at Dahshur: Second Preliminary Report*, ASAE 52, 1954, 591, pl. XXVI B; A. VERBOVSEK, «*Als Gunsterweis des Königs in den Tempel gegeben...» Private Tempelstatuen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*», Wiesbaden 2004, 315-319; STEFANOVIĆ, *Military Titles*, Doss. 145, 228, cf. 343.

(24) H. SATZINGER, *Zur Namen der Göttin Thermouthis*, *Or.Ant.*, XXII, 1983, 233-245; I. HEIN - H. SATZINGER, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches I, einschließlich der I. und II Zwischenzeit*, CAA, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien 4, Mainz 1989, 162-166; STEFANOVIĆ, *Military Titles*, Doss. 55, 70, 207, 251, 299 (cf. 265, 328); FRANKE, *Doss.*, 752, 786.

titles is attested on the stela Vienna ÄS 180 dedicated to the *s3b r nhn hns*w. Among the descendants (?) of his father, the *wr mdw šm' nb-swmnw*, we can see that two of his sons were “soldiers”: the *'nh n niwt nb-pḥr* and the *šmsw s'nh-sbk. imn-m-wsht*, *'mmw* and *ini-hr-ir.f*, who also wear the title *šmsw*, have no family link with the *s3b r nhn hns*w: they may have been employed in his household or they belonged to his office.⁽²⁵⁾ A similar feature is attested on the stelae CCG 20086;⁽²⁶⁾ Moscow 5649; (⁽²⁷⁾) Liverpool Museum, M13869; (⁽²⁸⁾) MMA 63.154, Copenhagen AEIN 964 and CCG 20612; (⁽²⁹⁾) CCG 20054 (⁽³⁰⁾) and Bologna 1910. (⁽³¹⁾)

Bologna KS 1910:



(25) I. HEIN - H. SATZINGER, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches II, einschließlich der I. und II Zwischenzeit*, CAA, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien 7, Mainz 1993, 103-110; STEFANOVIĆ, *Military Titles*, Doss. 509, 537, 555, 703.

(26) H.O. LANGE - H. SCHÄFFER, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches im Museum von Kairo. No. 20001-20780. I-II*, Berlin 1902-1908, I 101-103; FRANKE, *Doss.*, 135b; STEFANOVIĆ, *Military Titles*, Doss. 37 (cf. 301, 792); W. GRAJETZKI, *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches*, Schriften zur Ägyptologie, Berlin 2000, 187ff.

(27) S. HODJASH - O.D. BERLEV, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts*, Moscow-Leningrad 1982, n° 35; FRANKE, *Doss.*, 265, 742; STEFANOVIĆ, *Military Titles*, Doss. 87, 249.

(28) CD Egyptian Treasures in Europe, Vol. 4: Liverpool.

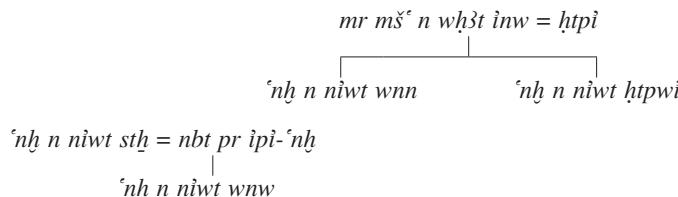
(29) FISCHER, *Egyptian Studies III*, 130-133, pl. 26 (= ANOC 59.1); O. KOEFOED-PETERSEN, *Les Stèles égyptiennes. Publications de la Glyptotheque Ny Carlsberg*, Copenhagen 1948, n° 16; LANGE-SCHÄFFER, CCG II, 251-252 (= ANOC 59.3); FRANKE, *Doss.*, sq; STEFANOVIĆ, *Military Titles*, sq.

(30) LANGE-SCHÄFFER, CCG I, 63-64; Franke, *Doss.*, 549; STEFANOVIĆ, *Military Titles*, Doss. 187, 310 (cf. 67, 366, 388).

(31) E. BRESCIANI, *La Stele Egiziane del Museo civico archeologico di Bologna*, Bologna 1985, 34-35 (= ANOC 66); FRANKE, *Doss.*, 554; STEFANOVIĆ, *Military Titles*, 94, 882, 1063 (cf. 693).

In a number of stelae, there is a higher concentration of persons holding the title *'nh n niwt*. They are probably neither servants nor relatives of the main person on the monument. In many cases, the holders of other regular military titles are attested on the same monuments. Four *'nh n niwt* are recorded on a stela Pennsylvania 54.33.1: (32)

wr mdw šm' pnw



There is no genealogical link between the two families. *sth* and *wnw* could have been friends or colleagues of *htpi*'s sons, or belonged to his “office”.

The stela Rio 631 [2423] (33) records six holders of the military titles. Four of them are *'nh n niwt*: *it.f*, *hri*, *ippi* and *snb-ty.fy*. They were not relatives of the dedicators. A similar feature is attested on stela Rio 634 [2426]. (34) The monument was dedicated to the *mr hnwt htp k3t imny*. One of his brothers (*ppi*) bears the title *'nh n niwt*. (35) Beside the family members, the stela records 30 other persons. Six of them hold *'nh*-titles: *'nh n niwt iib*, *'nh n tt hk3 nni*, *'nh n tt hk3 i bni*, *'nh n tt hk3 iw*, *'nh n tt hk3 sdw(?)-htp-ib* and *'nh n tt hk3 shtp-ib*. (36)

The stela Turin 1620 belongs to the *rh nswt hnms*. (37) On the same monument we can find the *'nh n niwt mntw-htp* and the *'nh n niwt hri*. (38) *mntw-htp* is attested on two other monuments (Vienna, KHM ÄS 204 and Edfou n° 13). (39) The only link between *mntw-htp* and the family

(32) FISCHER, *JNES* 16, 1957, 223-225, pl. XXXII; BERLEV, *RdE* 23, 1971, 39; STEFANOVIĆ, *Military Titles*, Doss. 63, 64, 156, 233, 993.

(33) KITCHEN, *Catalogue Rio*, n° 7, p. 37-39; STEFANOVIĆ, *Military Titles*, Doss. 23, 50, 147, 224, 434, 733.

(34) KITCHEN, *Catalogue Rio*, n° 10, p. 44-45.

(35) STEFANOVIĆ, *Military Titles*, Doss. 78.

(36) STEFANOVIĆ, *Military Titles*, Doss. 6, 331, 332, 354, 380, 387.

(37) G. MASPERO, Rapport sur une mission en Italie, *RT* 3, 1882, 118-119 (= ANOC 54.2); cf. FRANKE, *Doss.*, 460.

(38) STEFANOVIĆ, *Military Titles*, Doss. 88, 150, (see 329).

(39) HEIN - SATZINGER, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches I*, 162-166; ALLIOT, *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Tell Edfou (1933)*, FIFAO 10/2, Cairo 1935, no 13; FRANKE, *Doss.*, 266.

recorded on KHM ÄS 204 is his title. On the stela Edfou n° 13 there are, beside *mntw-htp*, six more holders of military titles: ‘*nḥ n niwt snb-m-iww*, ‘*nḥ n niwt is-n*, ‘*nḥ n niwt is-i*, šmsw rsw-snb, šmsw is-i and *shd šmsw hrw-htp*.⁽⁴⁰⁾

A similar grouping of ‘*nḥ n niwt* is attested on the stelae Berlin 7312⁽⁴¹⁾ (seven ‘*nḥw nw niwt*'); CCG 20565⁽⁴²⁾ (two ‘*nḥw nw niwt*'); CCG 20349 (three ‘*nḥw nw niwt*');⁽⁴³⁾ Leiden 27 (three ‘*nḥw nw niwt*');⁽⁴⁴⁾ Petrie, *Season*, 270 (three ‘*nḥw nw niwt*');⁽⁴⁵⁾ London, BM 428 (five ‘*nḥw nw niwt*');⁽⁴⁶⁾ Rio 633 [2425]⁽⁴⁷⁾ (four ‘*nḥw nw niwt*').

For the date of the monument, one may consider the Second Intermediate Period and the first half of the 18th Dynasty.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The range of attestations of the personal names is from Middle Kingdom to New Kingdom (apart from the Late Period): the owner's name, *hr-m-h3t*, is known, according to Ranke, from the Middle Kingdom only. But his daughter's name, *t3-nt-iwnt*, cannot be earlier than the 18th dynasty. The title ‘*nḥ n niwt*', typical of the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate period, points to the 17th dynasty; but note that its bearer is one generation older. Depictions in raised relief are normal on New Kingdom stelae, but rare in the time before. In lunette decorations consisting of a shen-ring and flanking udjat-eyes, these elements are on the same base level on stelae of the late Middle Kingdom,⁽⁴⁹⁾ though they are not in the following

(40) STEFANOVIĆ, *Military Titles*, Doss. 44, 45, 210, 547, 637, 774; FRANKE, *Doss.* 654, 397, 434.

(41) *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen / Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Leipzig 1913, I 194-195; there are also four ‘*nḥ n tt hk3*' and one šmsw *n hk3* (cf. STEFANOVIĆ, *Military Titles*, Doss. 19, 79, 169, 230, 248, 264, 341, 353, 383, 837, 372).

(42) LANGE-SCHÄFER, CCG II, 200-202; and two ‘*nḥ n tt hk3*' and one šmsw (cf. STEFANOVIĆ, *Military Titles*, Doss. 143, 188, 359, 379, 616).

(43) LANGE-SCHÄFER, CCG I, 361 (cf. STEFANOVIĆ, *Military Titles*, Doss. 16, 133, 185).

(44) P.A.A. BOESER, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden. De monumenten van den tijd tusschen het Oude en het Middelrijk en van het Middelrijk. Eerste afdeeling: Stèles*, Gravenhage 1909, II 27 (L V 22) (cf. STEFANOVIĆ, *Military Titles*, Doss. 114, 193, 260).

(45) PETRIE, *Season*, 270 (cf. STEFANOVIĆ, *Military Titles*, Doss. 28, 30, 98 and 739).

(46) HT VI, pl. 26 (cf. STEFANOVIĆ, *Military Titles*, Doss. 97, 107, 203, 208, 258 and 937). The stela belongs to the dossier of *nb.(i)-pw*.

(47) KITCHEN, *Collection Rio*, no 9; and one šmsw.

(48) According to BERLEV (*RdE* 23, 1971, 48), Middle Kingdom; for G. ROBINS (*Women in Ancient Egypt*, London 1993, 140/56, 201) it is 18th Dynasty.

(49) H.G. FISCHER, Archaeological Aspects of Epigraphy and Paleography, in: *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Paleography*, New York 1976, 46-47.

period. An arrangement like here, with the upper lines of the three elements on the same level, is typical of the 18th dynasty. Also, the captions in vertical lines are a feature of this period, though not of the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period. Furthermore, “no Middle Kingdom private stela... displays the complete separation of figures and text, with text below. This arrangement becomes common in the New Kingdom...”.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Summing up, one may conclude that the stela was produced early in the 18th dynasty. Although the stela has much in common with works of the Late Middle Kingdom including the symbols in the lunette, it has features that should not be earlier than the beginning of the New Kingdom. The owner’s father, *hr-mnīf*, was probably the last bearer of the title ‘*nh n niwt*.

Not only the second god invoked, *hr nb nhn*, but also the names of the owner and his father, *hr-m-h3t* and *hr-mnīf*, respectively, point to Elkab as the home town of the owner and his family.

Helmut SATZINGER - Danijela STEFANOVIĆ

(50) A. LEAHY, Taniy: A Seventh Century Lady (Cairo CG 20564 and Vienna 192), *GM* 108, 1989, 45-46.