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.

\[ w^b h^r-m-h^3t (2) sn.f mnw (3) hmt.f \delta^b (4) s^t.f t\bar{3}-nt-\bar{w}nt. \]

The wab-priest* \( h^r-m-h^3t (\bar{3}). (2) \) His brother \( mnw (\bar{4}). (3) \) His wife \( \delta^b (\bar{5}). (4) \) His daughter \( t\bar{3}-nt-\bar{w}nt (\bar{6}). \)

The scene (raised relief): \( h^r-m-h^3t \) 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) \( h^r-m-h^3t \) 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.
(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.

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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 ḫr-m-ḥṣḥt), 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; šen-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) ḥtp di nswt wsir nb ḥbdw b ḫr (6) nb nhfr di.sn prt-ḥrw t ḫnḥt ksw ṣpdw ḫt nbt nfrt wʾbt (7) mnḥt šḥ sntr mnḥt ḥḥpt-ḏḥw (8) n ʾš n ḫr-m-ḥṣḥt fr ᱖n ᱖nh n niwt (9) ḫr-ṃnīḫ ms.n nbt pr ḏḥb.

(5) An offering which the king has given and/to (9) Osiris, Lord of Abydos, and (to) Horus, (6) Lord of Hierakonpolis: 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 ḫr-m-ḥṣḥt begotten of the ᱖nh n niwt (9) ḫr-ṃnīḫ, (10) born of the Lady of the house ḏḥb.

NOTES

a To the left of the wʾb 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.


(10) RANKE, PN, 248/22: only this instance (dated to Middle Kingdom).
(11) The stela belongs to the early 18th Dynasty.

and later, merely its feminine form occurs, as a women’s title. (13) In the literature, ‘nh n ntwt 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 (ntwt) 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 mw ntwt 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 ‘nh n ntwt. 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 mw ntwt, many of them bearing the same title, refer to various sectors of the administration.


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


(19) STEFANOVIC, 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. STEFANOVIC, (Military Titles, Doss. 1-275), there can
Members of the families of the 'nḥw nw niwt:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Titles</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Son</th>
<th>Brothers</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṣfw ///</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣfw</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ṣfw '3 n niwt</td>
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<td>5X</td>
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<tr>
<td>ṣfw n ʾṣmwr</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>ṣfw n ʾḥ k3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3X</td>
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<td>ʾny-ḥt ʾṣ-ʾṣpw</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>ʾry-ʾḥ n ʾḥwty</td>
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<td>ʾnh n niwt</td>
<td>&gt;10X</td>
<td>&gt;5X</td>
<td>&gt;15X</td>
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<tr>
<td>ʾnh n ḫ k3</td>
<td>2X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>wr ʾmdw ʾšn</td>
<td>2X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>3X</td>
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<td>wr ʾšmwr</td>
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<td>wr ṣmwr</td>
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<td>ṣwr ʾḥwty</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>ṣwr ʾḥwty ʾḥrp n k3t</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>ṣwr ʾḥb ḫt</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>ṣwr ʾḥr wr</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣwr mš†</td>
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</table>

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 ṣlw 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 Heqaib, 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.
titles is attested on the stela Vienna ÄS 180 dedicated to the š3b r nḥn ḫnsw. Among the descendants (?) of his father, the wr mdw šm’ nb-swmmw, we can see that two of his sons were “soldiers”: the ’nḥ n niwt nb-pry and the šmsw s’nh-sbk. lm-n-m-wsḥt, ’mmw and ini-hr-ɪr.f, who also wear the title šmsw, have no family link with the š3b r nḥn ḫnsw: 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:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{nbt pr ipw} & \quad \text{mr mš’ kš-di-mrr(} i) \\
\text{mr pr wr} & \quad \text{sḥd šmsw} \\
\text{irry} & \quad \text{sbk-mnh} \quad \text{sbk-ɪr} \\
\text{štsw sšt-πth} & \quad \text{’nḥ n niwt nb-pšt}
\end{align*}\]


(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 Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, Copenhague 1948, no 16; LANGE-SCHAFFER, CCG II, 251-252 (= ANOC 59.3); FRANKE, Doss., sq; STEFANOVIC, Military Titles, sq.

(30) LANGE-SCHAFFER, CCG I, 63-64; FRANKE, Doss., 549; STEFANOVIC, Military Titles, Doss. 187, 310 (cf. 67, 366, 388).

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)

\[ \text{wr mdw šm' pnw} \]

\[ \text{mr mš' n whšt inw = htpi} \]

\[ 'nh n niwt wnn' \]

\[ 'nh n niwt htpwi' \]

\[ 'nh n niwt sth = nbt pr ipl-’nh} \]

\[ 'nh n niwt wnw' \]

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 'hwny hrp kšt īmny. 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 iš-ib, 'nh n ūt ḫkš nni, 'nh n ūt ḫkš i'bni, 'nh n ūt ḫkš īw, 'nh n ūt ḫkš sdw(?)-hṭp-ib and 'nh n ūt ḫkš sḥtp-ib. (36)

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

(33) Kitchen, Catalogue Rio, no 7, p. 37-39; Stefanović, Military Titles, Doss. 23, 50, 147, 224, 434, 733.
(35) Stefanović, Military Titles, Doss. 78.
(36) Stefanović, Military Titles, Doss. 6, 331, 332, 354, 380, 387.
(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 ÄŚ 204 is his title. On the stela Edfou n° 13 there are, beside mntw-ḥtp, six more holders of military titles: 'nh n niwt snb-m-\(\text{ḥ}w\), 'nh n niwt is-\(\text{n}\), 'nh n niwt is\(\text{i}\), šmsw rsw-snb, šmsw is\(\text{i}\) and šḥḏ šmsw ḡrw-ḥtp. (40)

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

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, ḡr-m-ḥṣt, is known, according to Ranke, from the Middle Kingdom only. But his daughter’s name, tḥ-n-ḥwnt, cannot be earlier than the 18th dynasty. The title 'nh n ni\(\text{w}\), 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.
(42) Lange-Schäfer, CCG II, 200-202; and two 'nh n tt ḡkṣ 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).
(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.
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, ḫỉ-r-mnī.f, was probably the last bearer of the title ʾnh n niwt.

Not only the second god invoked, ḫỉ-r-nb nḥn, but also the names of the owner and his father, ḫỉ-r-mḥšt and ḫỉ-r-mnī.f, respectively, point to Elkab as the home town of the owner and his family.

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