Edfu under the Twelfth to Seventeenth Dynasties: The monuments in the National Museum of Warsaw

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From the late Old Kingdom to the beginning of the New Kingdom, a major necropolis developed on the western edges of Edfu before the distant desert hills became the town’s new chosen burial ground. The old cemetery first received systematic archaeological attention in 1933, after parts of it, along with much of the tell, had been exposed and destroyed during decades of unbridled digging by sebakbin in search of fertile soil. Most importantly, Maurice Alliot revealed in the same year the early Sixth Dynasty mastaba of the nomarch Isi, which added greatly to our knowledge of his cult as a local deity throughout the Middle Kingdom. Franco-Polish excavations in 1937–1939 brought to light a large number of further tombs, predominantly from the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. Of the many objects yielded by these various missions, a major share went to the National Museum in Warsaw, also including finds of Alliot’s that were donated by the Institut français d’archéologie orientale. Purchases from local dealers enriched this collection further. The following pages present afresh the epigraphic material from the Twelfth to Seventeenth Dynasties, aided by excellent new photography.¹ Most of the objects were first illustrated in Alliot’s excavation report,² but his photographs are not reproduced at sufficient size to enable proper study, and they are all, of course, in black and white. His discussions are only concerned with the inscriptions; the report confines itself to transcripts, a later article adds translations.³ Most subsequent publications on this and the other Warsaw pieces are in Polish and difficult to access. The present article need not, however, repeat in full what can be found in the earlier literature. While a degree of repetition is unavoidable, the emphasis lies on novel observations and points of underappreciated interest. As much as is now possible, the objects are presented in their chronological order.

1 The photographs, in part here published for the first time, are by Zbigniew Doliński; I am most grateful to him and to Monika Dolińska for permission to publish them here, and to the latter also for patiently answering my collection enquiries. As for related material elsewhere, I thank Guillaume Andreu and Catherine Bridonneau of the Louvre for providing the photographs in figs. 8 and 16, and Wafaa el-Sadiq for permission to reproduce fig. 17. My discussion of Warsaw 141281 and associated pieces has separately appeared in Maréc, Égypte, Afrique & Orient 53, 11–24 (in French), but the present version supplies further details, a few improvements, and rectifies one editorial slip (for which see n. 113 below). Omitted from the present article are a number of Edfu objects that have elsewhere been dated to the Twelfth–Seventeenth Dynasties but which are, to my mind, of a later date. One of these is block statue Warsaw 139326, dated by A. Majewska in Dobrowolski (ed.), Galeria sztuki starożytnego, 48 [136], to the Twelfth Dynasty, but in fact from the early Eighteenth Dynasty, probably temp. Ahmose (a New Kingdom date was already suggested by Michałowski et al., Tell Edfou 1938, 36 [34]). Lipińska, Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie 42, 56, has proposed a Middle Kingdom date for statues Warsaw 141275 and 142185, but these also are certainly from the early Eighteenth Dynasty, most probably temp. Amenhotep I.

2 Alliot, Tell Edfou (1933).

3 Alliot, BIFAO 37, 93–160.
Warsaw 141282 (fig. 1)

This stela fragment was acquired through purchase. Kazimierz Michalowski bought it from an Edfu dealer in 1939, and there can be little doubt that local inhabitants had found it in the tell. What survives is the upper left corner of a rectangular stela of horizontal format – wider than tall when intact. A standing couple, facing right, is represented in raised relief, originally with an assortment of offerings, and/or additional human figures, before them. An offering prayer naming the owners was, in all likelihood, inscribed above their figures but executed in paint alone, which has not survived. Alternatively, the inscription might have been confined to the missing right half of the stela, but such a layout would be highly unusual.

While the lady, presumably the wife, rests a hand on the man’s shoulder, he is shown clasping attributes of authority: a conventional long staff which would have stood on the ground and, by his side, a rather unusual type of stick of which the forward end is curved. On stelae the curved stick is only attested with certainty for the late Eleventh Dynasty and the reign of Amenemhat I, with a few examples dating possibly from the earliest years of Senwosret I. The style of our stela points to the same date range, judging especially from the solid proportions of the figures, their broad and rounded heads, and the prominent cosmetic lines around the eyes. The thickness of the raised relief might favour a late Eleventh Dynasty date over an early Twelfth Dynasty one, but this is difficult to ascertain. Parallels for the curved stick are almost invariably of Theban artistic origin; this suggests that our piece may likewise have been designed by an artist from Thebes, rather than one who was based at Edfu. In fact, Edfu appears to have seen no regular production of stelae and other monuments by local workshops until the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty. As discussed below, at least one other stela found in Edfu was commissioned and brought there from elsewhere. It cannot,

4 Limestone. Height 29 cm, width 30 cm, thickness 8.5 cm. First mentioned in the old museum guide of Michałowski, Sztuka starożytna, 176, and first illustrated with discussion by J. Lipińska in Dobrowolski (ed.) Galeria sztuki starożytniej, 88–9 [I.98] (with incorrect width of 20 cm).

5 See Fischer, MMJ 13, 9–10. To his examples of the curved stick from Thebes and Dendera, add a stela illustrated in catalogues and brochures of various art dealers: A la Reine Margot [dealer], Offrandes, no. 25 (in 1992); Galerie Günter Puhze [dealer], Kunst der Antike: Katalog 12, no. 290 (in 1997); Drouot [auctioneers], Archéologie, 134 [764] (auctioned on 1 October 1999). The stela in question bears marks of the same artistic hand as two more stelae depicting this type of stick: New York MMA 16.10.333 (Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt, I, 331, fig. 219) and Cairo JE 45625 (Saleh and Sourouzian, The Egyptian Museum, no. 85), both from the Asasif at Thebes. Further examples: New York MMA 16.10.327 (same tomb as the Cairo stela; see Freed in Der Manuelian (ed.), Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson, 301, fig. 1 [d]), Marseille 221 (Capart, Recueil de monuments égyptiens, II, pl. 56; stolen from the museum in 1957), Vienna ÂS 202 (Hein and Satzing, Stelen des Mittleren Reiches, II, 144), a stela in the Dufferin collection (Clandeboye estate, Bangor; see Edwards, JEA 51, pl. 10 [2]), Moscow I.1.a.5601 (Hodjash and Berlev, Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae, fig. on 73 [27]), Berkeley 5-351 (Lutz, Egyptian Tomb Stela and Offering Stones, pl. 47 [93]) and Frankfurt 1641 (Franke in Liebieghaus – Museum Alter Plastik: Ägyptische Bildwerke, III, fig. on 97 [24]). Add also Moscow I.1.a.5605 (Hodjash and Berlev, op. cit., fig. on 75 [28]), Berlin 19582 (unpublished) and stela ex coll. Brundage (unpublished, Bothmer negative L-68-53 in the Brooklyn Museum), all three bearing the marks of the same draughtsman and sculptor. Unless stated otherwise, the stelae here listed have no recorded provenance, but most, if not all, were certainly made in Thebes.

6 See the previous note.

7 Stela Warsaw 141265 is a clear example. Another likely instance is provided by an entire group of
however, be excluded that our piece comes from a provincial artisan who somehow could borrow from Theban examples. In their outlines, the figures are good work adhering closely to the official style of the day, but in curious contrast with this practised draughtsmanship is the crudeness of the carving work. This contrast may be evidence that at least the completion of the stela took place in provincial Edfu, not in Thebes.

Warsaw 141264 (fig. 2)

This tall round-topped stela is one of several from the mastaba of Isi, where it was placed in the north wall of chapel room B. It dates from early in the reign of Senwosret I, as shall be argued below. The offering formula invokes only the funeral god Osiris, not any of the local deities. Below this inscription are the standing figures of a man Sbk-hnw, born of Jdw, and his wife Snbt. He holds a long staff and ‘šb-sceptre. She smells a lotus and holds, unusually for women, a folded cloth. The offerings before them occupy the full height of the register. From top to bottom, these are a lettuce, an unplucked bird, a bunch of spring onions, a bovine foreleg with the animal’s heart on top, a bone with meat, two triangular cuts, a circular loaf, a rack with vessels, and on the ground a cow’s head. Facing the couple on a smaller scale stands their daughter, whose name is Ḥw(y)-Sbk. Like her mother, she clasps both a lotus and folded cloth.

Sbk-hnw was a lector-priest (ḥrj-hbt) and hence, as so often attested elsewhere, a sš mdI-ntr, ‘scribe of divine scripture’. Claiming also the titles jmj-r nwt mj-qd.f, ‘overseer of the whole town’, and sš spwšt, ‘scribe of districts’, he was clearly a man of authority in worldly as well as religious affairs. We are left in no doubt that the town where he held office was Edfu itself, as Sbk-hnw notes that he was smt ḥtpw-ntr pr Ḥr Bhdj jmjr-hwšt m pr sšh.f, ‘one who directs god’s offerings to the house (i.e. the temple) of Horus of Behdet, overseer of offering tables in the house of his noble’. Three other monuments from Edfu attest sšh, monuments made for a man Ḥr-[ṣ], including stela Warsaw 141262. Possible other candidates include Warsaw 141263 and 141295. See for each of these cases the discussions further below.

8 Limestone. Height 67 cm, width 41 cm, thickness 11 cm. Alliot, *Tell Edfou* (1933), 16 [e], 29 [2], pl. 16 [1]; id., *BIFAO* 37, 102 [9]; Halicki, *Archiv Orientální* 20, 407–9, pls. 38–9; Szafrański, *Raczyński Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 24, 41–3, fig. 10; Vernus, *Edfou*, 5–9 [2], pl. 1; M. Dolińska in Dobrowolski (ed.), *Galeria sztuki starożytnego*, 89–90 [I.99]. All the edges of the stela are damaged, but no doubt the top was also curved originally; a rectangular empty top would go unparalleled, while empty lunettes are also otherwise attested.

9 It should be noted that the last sign in her name is the same crocodile sign as employed in line 6 of the main inscription, where it forms part of the father’s name. The much smaller scale of the caption to her figure led to a simpler, more stylised rendition of the sign. The sign has not been recognised by Szafrański, *Raczyński Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 24, 43; Halicki, *Archiv Orientální* 20, 409; Vernus, *Edfou*, 6.

10 For the close connection between these titles, cf. Fischer, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, 75 [1388]; Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux*, 38–9. On our stela, the first title in line 4 is damaged but certainly.

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/online_journals/bmsaes/issue_12/maree.aspx
‘noble, dignitary’, as an epithet of the deified Isi, and as the present stela was placed in Isi’s mastaba chapel, we can be certain that the inscription refers to him and this chapel. In an inscription from the same reign on Elephantine Island, the deified official Heqaib is similarly linked to the priest charged with his cult, again with use of a suffix pronoun: $s\text{h}.f$, ‘his noble’. Alliot proposed, with query, that $s\text{h}.f$ on Warsaw 141264 describes Isi as $Sbk-\text{hnw}$’s ‘saint’, but while Isi and Heqaib rose in effect to saintly status, such a translation of $s\text{h}$ seems over-specific. The same possessive use of the term is found in connection with priests of a plurality of nobles, evidently with no implication that the latter were all worshipped as ‘saints’. Stela Cairo CG 20026, for instance, again from the reign of Senwosret I, addresses all priests of the temple of Osiris in Abydos ‘performing rituals in there for their nobles’ ($jrrw\ h t\ jm.f\ n\ s\text{h}.sn$). Also, the attestations of $s\text{h}$ as epithet of Isi juxtapose it with $T\text{Atj}$, ‘vizier’, used likewise as an epithet. This reinforces the suggestion that $s\text{h}$ must here, and indeed for Heqaib, carry its usual meaning, simply denoting a man, dead or alive, of elevated status.

Epigraphic features provide the clearest indication for the date of the present monument, as the closest comparisons are offered by stelae from the early years of Senwosret I. These features include the spelling of the toponym $D\text{dw}$ with double $d$ after the $Dd$ sign; the expansion of Osiris’ epithet $nb\ t\ Ab\ D\text{dw}$ with $m\ swt.f\ nbt\ t\ fr\ wt$, ‘in all his beautiful places’ (here unusually adding $nt\ pt$, ‘of the sky’); the extension of a kinship term (here $hmt.f$, ‘his wife’) with $m\ r\ yt.f\ n\ st\ t\ jb.f$, ‘his heartfelt beloved’; and also the shapes of such signs as the bird head in line 2 (curved beak tip, broad neck base), the $w\text{b}$ sign in line 3 (with two wide water curves), and the ‘muscular’ $k\text{A}$ sign in the same line. More typical of Eleventh Dynasty palaeography is the $m\ n\ h\ t$ sign in line 2, exhibiting three vertical fringe strands instead of two, but some examples can still be quoted from the reign of Senwosret I. Maternal filiation is expressed with $j\ r\ n$, $j\ r\ j-p\ t\ @\ o\ A-jb\ s\text{h}\ p\ n$, ‘the prince Heqaib, this noble’; see Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, 38, pl. 25, line x + ‘10’. In the same text, line x + ‘7’ states: $mr\ w\text{b}\ sm\ h\ s\text{h}.f\ r\ jt.f\ km\ s\ y\ t\ f$, which one might translate, more or less with Habachi, as ‘May a priest wish to benefit his (Heqaib’s) dignity more than (that of) his father who begot him (lit. who created his seed)’. However, based on comparison with line x + ‘10’ and with Warsaw 141264, it is preferable to interpret $s\text{h}$ again as ‘noble’ and to translate ‘May a priest wish to benefit his noble (= Heqaib) more than (benefiting) his father who begot him’. The latter interpretation approaches that favoured by Vernus, *Edfou*, 5 and 7 [c] (but see the next note).

11 *Contr* Alliot, *BIFAO* 37, 102 [9], who has been followed by Vernus, *Edfou*, 5 and 7 [c] (‘son saint patron’).

13 See n. 11 above.

16 So, e.g., Cairo CG 20274, 20407, 20410, and offering table Leiden L.XI.15 (Boeser, *Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung*, V, 5 [8], pl. 3 [8], wrongly catalogued as New Kingdom). CG 20012, with the same triple sign, is either from the very end of the Eleventh Dynasty or from the reign of Amenemhat I. 
‘whom made’, whose use is first securely attested in the first half of the same king’s reign.¹⁷

Warsaw 141261 (fig. 3)

This stela,¹⁸ recovered from a deposit in room J of Isi’s mastaba, exhibits such striking similarities to the stela of Sbk-hnw that both were certainly designed by the same draughtsman, and possibly carved by the same sculptor (whether or not one man performed both tasks). The poses, attire and attributes of the human figures are closely repeated. Among the many distinct artistic hallmarks shared by these stelae are the men’s robust b3-sceptres, the papyrus umbel crowning their staffs, the figures’ short arms (especially their lower arms), the dip at the back of the women’s wigs, the thinness of their hair tresses and shoulder straps, the high bottom edge of their dresses,¹⁹ and the fact that the women clasp folded cloths.²⁰ But correspondences are not confined to the pictorial motifs. The inscription at the top repeats the unusual extension in the Osiris epithet nb ibdw m swt.f nbt nfrwt nt pt, a predilection for filling strokes,²¹ the oblique – not vertical – upper arms of the dj and ⲩ signs,²² the mnht sign with three fringe strands,²³ the long backward extensions to the feet of the w and sḥ birds, the writing of mr-hrw with horizontal mr and vertical hrw, and very distinct renditions of the mr hoe, the ḥm sign (N 42 in ḥmt, ‘wife’) and a widely spaced vertical s. Like Warsaw 141264, the present stela must thus have been produced during the earlier part of the reign of Senwosret I.

Its shape, however, was not round-topped but originally like that of stela 141282: rectangular, low and broad. But again, while the stela preserves its full height, its right half has not survived. No doubt the woman in front once flanked a figure of her husband, the principal owner of the stela. The two would have formed a couple like that on the left, and like that on stela 141264. The first woman’s front arm is almost completely lost, but enough remains to determine that it did not hang down as with the woman on the left. Perhaps she

¹⁷ It has been tentatively suggested that the term first appeared near that king’s year 32 (Obsomer in Cannuyer and Kruchten (eds.), Individu, sociëte et spiritualité, notably pp. 180–1). However, there are certainly attestations of earlier date, based on style and/or prosopography, such as stelae London UC 14415 (Stewart, Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings, II, 13 [52], pl. 10 [2]), BM EA 187 (HTBM II, pl. 13 [right]), Cairo CG 20024 and 20172.

¹⁸ Limestone. Height 35 cm, width 31 cm, thickness 1 cm. Alliot, Tell Edfou (1933), 20 [3], 35 [18], pl. 19 [1]; id., BIFAO 37, 110 [25]; Vernus, Edfou, 10–11 [3], pl. 2 [a]; Szczeka Egiptu: Polskie badania archeologiczne nad Nilsem, 24 [2] (by M. Dolińska), 45 [1], fig. 1 on 46.

¹⁹ On 141261, the lower part of the fully preserved woman was never finished in carving, but note that the front line of her rear leg ends exactly where the bottom edge of the dress cross-sects it on 141264.

²⁰ As noted above, such cloths are normally held by men, rarely by women.

²¹ The much larger stela 141264 more often offered space for such strokes, but the stelae share the unusual presence of a stroke in the dj/f group.

²² On 141264, see dj/f in line 2 and smmr in line 4. On 141261, see dj/f in line 1 (less pronounced) and Rdj.s in line 3.

²³ Already cited with reference to Warsaw 141264. Only two strands of this sign are preserved on Warsaw 141261, but from the leftward position of the sḥ sign above it (and itself largely destroyed), we need not doubt that a third strand was lost with the edge of the stela.
held up a lotus like the woman on 141264, but no traces of a flower appear in the extant area directly in front of her nose; more probably her hand rested on her husband’s shoulder. Space before this couple would have accommodated a depiction of offerings, since originally the stela was certainly twice as wide as it is today.\(^\text{24}\) This can be inferred from the surviving part of line 1 in the inscription above the figures. Its lost beginning must have matched line 1 of stela 141264, for the remainder agrees word for word with the latter’s line 2. Thus, line 1 on 141261 may be restored to
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/online_journals/bmsaes/issue_12/maree.aspx} \\
\end{align*}
\]
With the exception of Osiris, lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos in all his beautiful places of the sky – may he give an invocation offering of bread, beer, beef, fowl, (ointment) alabasters, linen.

The man whose figure has not survived no doubt represented the principal owner, identified in the offering formula as Mr.n.f, born of Snt. The extant part of the last line mentions a woman Rdj.s or [...]rdj.s, who was almost certainly his wife and the woman depicted on the right.\(^\text{25}\) The second couple represents their son, likewise called Mr.n.f, and his wife Jpw. None of the men are given titles. Perhaps they were close relations or colleagues of Sbk-hnw, given the identical artistic and archaeological origin of their stelae. It is even possible that both works were designed by Sbk-hnw himself, for, as a lector priest, he would have possessed the knowledge and documentation needed to get the hieroglyphic work and iconography correct, and it is a well-known fact that indeed many such priests were also active as draughtsmen.\(^\text{26}\)

Warsaw 141265 (fig. 4)

This stela\(^\text{27}\) is from another deposit in the mastaba of Isi, located in room A. As it seems, the owner of this piece was also himself called Jsj, as were some other men from Edfu of the Twelfth to Sixteenth Dynasties, all named in honour of the local Old Kingdom saint.\(^\text{28}\)

\(^{\text{24}}\) Vernus, Edfoù, 10 [3], declares incorrectly that at the top one line of inscription was lost completely, along with a margin above it. In truth, while the artist left very little space between the decoration frame and the edges of the stela, most of this fragment’s top, left and bottom edges are actually preserved. Vernus also states that the losses on the right must amount to no more than one and a half hieroglyphic squares and the first woman’s front arm, but this implausibly presupposes a stela on which the principal owner himself was never depicted (see the previous paragraph).

\(^{\text{25}}\) It is possible that the wife’s name has been lost and that Rdj.s/[...]-rdj.s formed part of a filiation naming her mother, but I think this unlikely. On stela 141264 by the same artist, the owner’s wife lacks a filiation; the last line offered sufficient space for this, but the artist chose to fill it by expansively writing hmt.f mryt.f nt st jbj.f (as opposed to hmt.f mrt.f on 141261). It seems likely that he typically used filiation phrases only for the principal owners of his works. Vernus, Edfoù, 11 [d], suggests that Rdj.s/[...]-rdj.s is a daughter of the principal owner, as he assumes that her figure was never accompanied by a male’s, but see the previous note.

\(^{\text{26}}\) Vernus in Hommages à François Daumas, 590; id., BSFÉ 119, 39; Quirke, Titles and Bureaux, 38–9, 125–6.

\(^{\text{27}}\) Limestone. Height 54 cm, width 31 cm, thickness 7 cm. Alliot, Tell Edfoù (1933), 19 [1], 31 [9], pl. 15 [4] (caption confused with that of pl. 18 [1]); id., BIFAO 37, 105 [16]; Szafrański, Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie 24, 55–7, fig. 17; Vernus, Edfoù, 49–52 [17], pl. 1 [a]; Majewska, A. Religia i sztuka starożytnego Egiptu, 32 [93], fig. on 28 (wrongly as 141279); M. Dolińska in Dobrowolski (ed.), Galeria sztuki starożytnego Egiptu, 90 [I.100].

\(^{\text{28}}\) Other local men called Jsj are known from a Wadi Hammamat inscription of the time of Senwosret I (Couyat and Montet, Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques, 64–6 [87], pl. 20; Vernus, Edfoù, 379 [II]), a
However, had the stela not been found in a documented excavation, no internal evidence could have suggested that it actually stood in Edfu. The offering formula invokes only ‘Osiris, lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos’, and the stela is not, in fact, a local product. Style and epigraphic features are unparalleled in Edfu, instead linking the stela to a well-attested workshop that was active in Abydos. It flourished around the time of King Khendjer of the early Thirteenth Dynasty. Much if not all of the workshop’s output derives from one draughtsman and one sculptor, who may or may not have been a single individual, and there can be no doubt that Warsaw 141265 belongs to the same artistic dossier.29 Of the many hall-marks and other uncommon features of this workshop, a good number recur on our stela. They include the exceptional relative width of horizontal signs and of the sign squares; the spelling of Ddw with linked dd columns; the spelling of Sbdw as *sb-dw-b without a w-chick;30 the use of a plural determinative not only after jhw 3pdw but also, unusually, after t hmqt; the choice of pellets instead of strokes to mark the plural;31 the highly distinctive k3 sign with large triangular shoulders; the antithetic bisecting of text in the offering formula (here with the last line). The offerings on the tables have been depicted quite differently, but the presently unlocated stela from the time of Sobekhotep IV (Alliot, Tell Edfou (1933), 19, 33 [13], pl. 17 [2]; id., BIFAO 37, 108 [20]; Vernus, op. cit., 80–3 [26], pl. 15; statue Louvre E.14330 of somewhat later date (Delange, Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire, 72–5; Vernus, op. cit., 35–8 [11], pls. 9–10) and from a privately owned stela from the late Thirteenth/Sixteenth Dynasty (Engelbach, ASAE 22, 122–3; Vernus, op. cit., 150–2 [47], pl. 2 [b]). Another, more commonly attested name to the same effect is Nfr-Js/jj / Jsj-nfr (references with Ranke, PN I, 46 [8], II, 344 [ad 46, 8], and Vernus, op. cit., 1099–1100).

29 The workshop’s oeuvre includes also stelae: Bologna KS.1911 (Bresciani, Le stele egiziane, 28–9 [5], pl. 8); Boston 72.768 (Leprohon, Sdnd, I, 6–8; Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, ÄIN 964 (Simpson, Terrace of the Great God, ANOC 59.2; Jorgensen, Catalogue: Egypt, I, 190–1 [79]); Cairo CG 20059, 20120, 20192, 20257, 20402, 20436, 20596, 20612, 20730, 20735; Durham N.1938 (Birch, Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle, 272–3, without ill.), N.1947 (ibid., 280–2, pl. 13 facing p. 281); Leiden AP43 (Boeser, Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung, II, 8 [25], pl. 21 [25]); Liverpool, Garstang Museum E.78 (unpublished); London, World Museum 55.82.116 and M.13927 (both unpublished); London, Soane’s Museum M.447 (Davoli in Pernigotti (ed.), Ägyptische Bronzenien, I, 85, 90–3, pl. 4); Oxford QC 1113 (Smither and Dakin, JE 25, 163–5 [4], pl. 21 [4]); Louvre E.20150 (Moret, Catalogue du Musée Guimet, 13–5 [C.7], pl. 6); Trento 5220 (von Bissing, ZÄS 40, 118–20); Tübingen 457 (Brunner-Taut and Brunner, Die ägyptische Sammlung, 83–4, pl. 53); Vienna AS 104, 132, 191, 197, 198 (all published in Hein and Satzinger, Steine des Mittleren Reiches, I); Zagreb no. 5 (Koller 591; Monnet Saleh, Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb, 16–7 [5]) and a currently unlocated stela fragment (Peet, Cemeteries of Abydos, II, 116 [15], fig. 75). Different types of objects decorated by the same hand are an altar in the Aswan Museum (Habachi, The Sanctuary of Hapi, 81–4 [55], pls. 137–8), receptacle Florence 2270 (Guidotti, Vasi dell’epoca protodinastica al Nuovo Regno, 163 [210]; same owner as Louvre E.20150), statue Leiden F 1938/7.25 (unpublished), and statue Richmond 65–10 (Mayo, Ancient Art: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 12–3). It is highly likely that the draughtsman (sS-qdwf) behind all these pieces is the Ddw-Sbk named with that title on three of these objects in this artistic dossier: he is the owner of Cairo CG 20596 and dedicator of stelae CG 20059 and Durham N.1938 (add the latter to Franke, Personendaten, Dossier 749, and delete Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, ÄIN 967); no other artist (sS qdwf or gnw Publié/jstf) appears on any of these monuments. A full discussion of the workshop’s oeuvre and social context is in preparation by the present author.

30 And if the city determinative is present, it follows that group instead of joining the jhw between the sb and b (as found with certain other artists and workshops).

31 Uncommon but noted on three more stelae from this workshop, viz. Cairo CG 20730; Liverpool, Garstang Museum E.78; and Vienna AS 197. For bibliography, see n. 29 above. As it happens, pellets also follow jhw 3pdw on stela Warsaw 141263, discussed hereafter, but that piece is otherwise unrelated.

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/online_journals/bmsaes/issue_12/maree.aspx
human figures exhibit the same jagged contours, high shoulders, and elongated proportions, as well as a tendency for their torsos to lean in one direction.

Unsurprisingly, as the workshop was located at Abydos, most of its products have been found in the great necropolis of that town. However, we must conclude that Jsy picked up his stela on a journey past Abydos, not for erection there but in the cemetery of his home town. Rather than eternally attending Osiris’ annual festivals, he preferred the proximity of his local saint. Jsy’s visit to Abydos may well have been brief and occasioned by a business trip, much more than a pilgrimage. That he obtained his stela there may be another indication that, at the time, there was no permanent sculptors’ workshop in Edfu itself. As it happens, the same Abydos craftsman is recognisable in a monument discovered even further south, on Elephantine Island. A decorated altar found there bears all the marks of his distinctive hand. Thriving sculptors’ workshops did exist on Elephantine, but the altar is made of limestone, a material not available in the region. Like Jsy’s stela, the altar was found at the shrine of a local Sixth Dynasty nomarch who had been deified after his death – in this case Heqaib. The parallel does not end there. On the Warsaw stela we read that Jsy was a wr mdw Šm’, ‘chief of tens of Upper Egypt’. The man who commissioned the altar, a certain Sbk-htp, held the same office, and so did his father and father’s father. Sbk-htp’s father was called Sn’t-jb; he does not only figure prominently on the altar of his son but is also attested, as it happens, in Edfu, where he left a sandstone chapel and naos with statue. The offering formula on the chapel solely invokes the Elephantine goddesses Satis and Anukis, the latter of whom is also honoured in the name of Sn’t-jb’s mother: Dlt-ngt. This leaves no doubt that Elephantine was the family’s place of residence. Thus, Jsy and Sbk-htp, occupying the same office but linked to different, contiguous nomes, both visited Abydos, engaged the services of the same artist, and then took their monuments for set-up in their respective home towns: Edfu and Elephantine. It is unclear where Sn’t-jb obtained his own set of monuments, discovered in Edfu. As noted, the chapel is made of sandstone, which points to southern Egypt, yet its style of decoration – the naos has none – is unparalleled in Edfu or Elephantine. It hints rather at an artist from one of the great production centres further north, perhaps again Abydos. It is likely that Jsy knew Sbk-htp and Sn’t-jb. That all three ‘chiefs of tens of Upper Egypt’ travelled up and down the Nile may well relate to duties that these officials would have had towards the bureau of the vizier.

Jsy may not have had much time to await completion of his stela, for this was certainly done in haste. Much of the draughtsman’s outline sketch was never carved by the sculptor who finished the piece. Sporadic traces of the drawing work remain, chiefly near the top and

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33 Chapel Cairo TR 27/2/21/19 (JE 38998) and naos TR 27/2/21/20; see Legrain, *ASAE* 3, who does not mention the naos, and Vernus, *Edfou*, 401–6 [XIII], pls. 76–7. The statue itself has apparently not been found. On Sn’t-jb, see Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier 605 (the chapel’s door jambs are their misnamed as architraves). A statue of the same man, Boston 14,721, has been found at Kerma, no doubt brought there by Kushite soldiers who raided Egypt during the late Sixteenth or early Seventeenth Dynasty (cf. below, with n. 158). The Boston statue is too large to fit inside the Edfu naos, but it may originally have stood near the altar on Elephantine Island.
34 On the connections between the bureau of the vizier and the officials called wr mdw Šm’, see the remarks by Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux*, 87.
bottom, but where the paint has completely faded, the former existence of certain details can be suspected from the strangeness of their absence. The sculptor did not bother to carve the register baselines, the lines which divided up the inscription at the top and those which framed the entire decoration. In the lunette, he neither carved the pupils of the udjat-eyes nor the base of the shen-ring. Some hieroglyphs he carved only in part, such as the $\Upsilon$ sign in line 1 or the final $j$ in Jsj’s name (line 3). Certain other hieroglyphs he did not touch at all, such as the trivial filling stroke that must have stood below the city determinative of $Ddw$, as with $3dqw$. The sculptor even abandoned carving the name of Jsj’s wife, only completing the initial $j$ – what followed was left to stand in paint alone and has now faded, and so the rest of her name remains unknown. There is also at present no caption to the man at the bottom right. With the human figures, only random bits of interior detail were touched with the chisel, never including the facial features, while in places parts of their exterior outlines are also missing. Cloths draped over the backs of two chairs are too short in front, while the third chair has even lost the back support itself. Ovoid drink vessels with pointed stoppers once flanked the lowest table stand as in the adjacent register, but today there only remain washes of red paint, bordered by faint outlines in black. This dearth of sculptural finish is unparalleled in the carver’s extensive oeuvre, which suggests he was not so much incompetent as greatly pressed for time. These facts are reconcilable with the suggestion that the stela was not intended for set-up in Abydos, for then more time would anyway have been required to prepare an offering chapel and tomb.

Jsj and his mysterious wife are depicted directly below the offering formula, he sitting on a chair, she on the ground and facing him. Two similar pairs of figures appear in the lower two registers, but with the males and females reversed, so that the former effectively face Jsj. The second pair is also a married couple. The man on the right, called $Shk-htp$, was $3tw \Upsilon n nwt$, ‘commander-in-chief of the town (regiment)’. His wife is called $Jnt-jt.s$. Two more people are named in the same register but not depicted: a ‘guard’ ($\textit{smsw} \ Dd.tw$) and a married woman $K\textit{istj}$. The latter name, not otherwise attested, sounds un-Egyptian, perhaps suggesting Nubian descent. The bottom register names two other married women: $Snb-r.s$ and $Rdj\textit{t.n.s-n}<.j>$, the latter not depicted. As noted above, the man on the right has no surviving caption. None of the people named on this monument can be traced in other sources, and the relationships between them are mostly unclear. It has been suggested, with reservation, that the $3tw \Upsilon n nwt Shk-htp$ might be the same as one attested on stela Cairo CG 20086, but this is unlikely. As shall be demonstrated elsewhere, the latter stela is from a workshop active shortly after the reign of Sobekhotep IV, some forty years after the present piece was made.

35 The hieroglyphic transcription by Alliot, <i>Tell Edfou (1933)</i>, 32 [9, g], and id., <i>BIFAO</i> 37, 105 [16], shows only damage after the $s$, and Vernus, <i>Edfou</i>, 50, chose simply to read the name as $Rd.t.ns$, which is indeed also attested. However, a terminal $n$ is clearly visible in our plate. It cannot be seen in Alliot, <i>Tell Edfou (1933)</i>, pl. 15 [4], which is too small, nor in Szafranski, <i>Roczniak Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie</i> 24, 56, fig. 17, due to bad lighting (straight from the left, which obscures most horizontal lines).

36 Franke, <i>Personendaten</i>, Dossier 574.
Warsaw 141263 (fig.5)

This stela\(^{37}\) is another from the deposit in room J of Isi’s mastaba. Curiously, it bears not one but two offering formulae for the same man, both invoking Ptah-Sokar-Osiris. The formula on the right, however, adds the epithet ‘lord of Ankhawy’, whereas that on the left adds ‘Horus of Behdet’. The commemorated man sits on a chair, facing a table with elongated bread loaves. An oil vessel stands below it, while above it are depicted two mats covered with numerous further offerings. On the upper one, the centre is occupied by a vertical loaf of bread, which combines with the mat to resemble the \(\text{Htp}\) sign. The lower mat is covered with an alternation of lettuce and drink vessels, a popular design during the first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty (compare the previous stela).

The owner is identified as an \(\text{jry} \, \text{jrj} \, \text{n} \, \text{t} \, \text{hnt} \, \text{wt}\), ‘doorkeeper of the chamber of incoming goods’. As such he would have been a palace official, involved with one of its provisioning ‘chambers’. He has the rare name \(Kmhw\) and is well known from other monuments, of which he is always the principal owner.\(^{38}\) Their style and a web of prosopographical connections date his career around the time of Kings Sobekhotep III and Neferhotep I. \(Kmhw\) is attested at Abydos by stela Cairo CG 20725, statue CG 482, and by a shabti that has long been without trace but briefly resurfaced in an auction at Drouot, Paris, in 1997.\(^{39}\) He is also known from a black granite stela in the British Museum (EA 506), which is unusually decorated on all sides as well as on top; it, too, is almost certainly from Abydos, where \(Kmhw\) – in view of the shabti – was evidently buried. The Abydene monuments all assign to him the title \(\text{jry} \, \text{jrj} \, \text{sbjy} \, \text{n} \, \text{t} \, \text{hnt} \, \text{wt}\), ‘chamber keeper and instructor (of the chamber of incoming goods)’. The element \(\text{sbjy}\) is attested for no one else as part of the present title. Some Egyptologists have translated it as ‘apprentice’, but more likely it means ‘instructor’ in view of \(Kmhw\)’s apparent wealth.

The Warsaw stela is the only object which calls him, not a ‘chamber keeper’, but ‘door-keeper’ of the \(\text{t} \, \text{hnt} \, \text{wt}\). The somewhat lower title implies that Warsaw 141263 is his earliest surviving monument. That it should have been found in Edfu, dedicated by \(Kmhw\) in the ‘shrine’ of a local saint before he completed a tomb in Abydos, suggests that \(Kmhw\) came from Edfu originally – which clearly did not prevent his career in the central government. In fact, despite its discovery in Edfu, even the Warsaw stela may have a northern artistic origin, for its style is much less paralleled by other finds from Edfu.

It is noteworthy that a ‘brother’ (\(\text{sn}\)), like \(Kmhw\) employed in the palace provisioning sector, had the theophorous name \(\text{Hr-Rc}\),\(^{40}\) assimilating the god of Edfu with the Heliopolitan Ra. On the present stela, \(\text{Hr-Rc}\) is named without title under \(Kmhw\)’s chair, but he recurs on BM EA 506, where we learn that he was an \(\text{jry} \, \text{jrj} \, \text{t} \, \text{n} \, \text{h}, \text{‘chamber-keeper of the palace’}\). It is somewhat surprising that \(\text{Hr-Rc}\) should be the only person named on Warsaw 141263 apart from \(Kmhw\) himself, but the latter apparently never married; no wife or children of his are

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37 Limestone. Height 33 cm, width 22 cm, thickness 5 cm. Alliot, *Tell Edfou* (1933), 20 [1], 35 [20], pl. 18 [2]; id., *BIFAO* 37, 111 [27]; Szafrański, *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 24, 43–5, fig. 11; Vernus, *Edfou*, 18–9 [6], pl. 4; Majewska and Dolińska, *Wierzenia grobowe starożytnych Egipcjan*, no. 53, fig. on [15]; M. Dolińska in Dobrowolski (ed.), *Galeria sztuki starożytna*, 91–2 [I.103].

38 Conveniently brought together in Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier 717.

39 See catalogue Drouot [auctioneers], *Archäologie*, 102 [714] (auctioned on 30 September 1997).

40 Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier 784.
named on any of his objects.

Warsaw 141487 (fig. 6)

This fragment preserves part of the right side of an offering table and is another purchase of Michałowski’s from a dealer in Edfu; the year of acquisition is uncertain but ‘possibly 1938’. Originally two offering formulae ran antithetically along the outer edges, departing from the middle at the back edge and ending either side of the spout that would have been present at the centre front. Only part of the right-hand formula survives, reading [...] *qhbw snt r mrHt n k3 [n ...], ‘[...] cool water, incense and ointment for the *ka [of ...].’ Two symmetrically arranged rectangular basins were present near the front edge; a trace of one is visible at the bottom of the fragment, where the surface slopes inward. The inner area adjacent to these basins was covered with depictions of offerings against a slightly sunk background. Of these there remain a bovine foreleg, a round loaf and, at the upper left, a curved element that must be the spout of a tall water vessel. The offerings are placed on a reed-mat. No doubt its centre was occupied by a tapering loaf of bread which combined with the mat to form the *Htp sign, thus evoking the notion of ‘offerings’. Horizontal lines of inscription frame this representation. The traces at the top I am at a loss to interpret. Those at the bottom read [...] *mAa-xrw, the *j being the end of a name (*Hrj?), not necessarily that of the principal owner himself.

With so little of the monument preserved, it is difficult to suggest a precise date. I know of no striking parallels for its overall design, but the palaeography of the hieroglyphs seems to favour a Thirteenth rather than Twelfth Dynasty date. Features of note include the hollow *h with just its upper loop clearly defined, the lack of details at the top of the *mrHt jar (where one expects some indication of the seal with tied ends), and also the ‘cross-hatched’ *n signs; all of these became common during the first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty. The accidental reversal of some sign groups (*mə’n in *mAa-xrw, and the whole of *mrHt) seems to point in the same direction.

41 Limestone. Length 11.5 cm, width 17 cm, thickness 5 cm. Rekucki, *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 21, 60–1 [4], fig. 43.

42 Personal communication from Monika Dolińska.

43 All that remains of the *k3 sign is a trace of one hand.

44 Rekucki, *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 21, 61, reads here falsely the word *jm3*. The hieroglyph below *mAa is not the *jm but *mA3 sign. The spelling of *mAa-xrw with book-roll determinative is unexpected, but this was solely employed to fill the terminal space; had this space been slightly wider, an *w would have been preferred.

45 For the treatment of the *n, compare, e.g., stela Warsaw 141262, discussed hereafter.

46 Reversal of the *mr sign alone is not uncommon, but here this affected the rest of the word below it.
Warsaw 141262 (fig. 7)

This stela stood in a niche in the south wall of room J. Two men, the principal owners, are represented at the top. Their figures mirror one another exactly, both being seated on high-backed chairs and sharing their hairstyle, attire and pose. The strong insistence on symmetry also applies to the offerings laid on a reed-mat between the men; round loaves alternate with conical ones, flanked by two stylised bundles of spring onions. Most of the space above the mat is occupied by an inscription panel. This encloses two antithetic offering formulae, each for the benefit of one man. Both formulae depart from one central group of signs that spell the opening words *htp dj nswt*. Interestingly, the artist arranged these signs in the preferred writing direction from right to left, but he placed them in the first column of the formula that reads from left to right, alerting the reader that the group does duty in both directions. He also realised that, while the *t, dj* and *htp* signs are all conveniently symmetrical and so admit of both reading directions, the same is not true of a normal *sw* sign (**`). It prompted him to adjust the latter's shape by simply doubling its curving tip: **`. This curious variant is twice repeated in the stela’s lower registers. We shall shortly have occasion to discuss it in greater detail, because the artist saw fit to use it elsewhere as well. As for the present register, let it be noted that both its formulae invoke the deified nomarch Isi, and no other god beside him. This neatly reflects the stela’s findspot, even though many other finds from Isi’s mastaba do not actually invoke him. The formula on the left calls him ‘the vizier Isi, the god, alive’, that on the right ‘Isi, the noble’.

The man on the left is identified as *Hr*-53, a palace official who held the post of *smsw hsyt*, ‘elder of the portal’, and born of a woman *Rn-snb*. A horizontal line directly above the offering mat makes clear that it is he who commissioned the stela; in this manner, *Hr*-53 ‘keeps alive the name’ of the man depicted on the right, of whom he was a son. The father was called *Hr-htp* and a military figure who served as *shd smswy*, ‘inspector of guards’; like his son, he had probably close connections to the palace. *Hr-htp*’s filiation mentions his mother *FnDt*, but the hieroglyphs forming her name have been chaotically arranged. Below her title *nbt pr*, ‘lady of the house’, the artist could only fit in the *f*. Eager to keep the following signs within the inscription panel, he crammed them into a tiny space still extant at the bottom of the

47 Limestone. Height 52 cm, width 33 cm, thickness 7 cm. Alliot, *Tell Edfou* (1933), 15 [c], 30–1 [6], pls. 7 [3, right], 18 [1] (caption confused with that of pl. 15 [4]); id., *BIFAO* 37, 103–4 [13]; Michałowski, *Sztuka starożytna*, 177; Szafrański, *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 24, 58–60, fig. 18; id. in Eggebrecht (ed.), *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum*, 136–42; Vernus, *Edfou*, 63–8 [23], pl. 13; *Sztuka Egiptu: Polskie badania archeologiczne nad Nilem*, 24 [4] (by M. Dolińska), 45 [2], 47, fig. 2; M. Dolińska in Dobrowolski (ed.), *Galeria sztuki starożytny*, 90–1 [I.101].

48 Fig. 7 shows this form of the sign less clearly in the register immediately below, but see other photographs where the angle of lighting is different, notably Szafrański in Eggebrecht (ed.), *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum*, fig. on 142, and *Sztuka Egiptu: Polskie badania archeologiczne nad Nilem*, 47, fig. 2.

49 For reasons of economy, further offering formulae in the lower registers have been reduced to the *htp dj nswt* phrase, followed immediately by *n k3 n*. They may probably be regarded as abbreviated recaps, where the invocation of Isi remains intended but has been left implicit.
preceding column, below the plural dots that conclude Hr-htp’s title; he made these final signs face right to show the inverted direction of reading. It would have been better to omit the nbt pr title or to put the final signs outside the inscription panel, in a short extra column on the right, but the artist employed that space to write c> m3c-hrw. This is a misplaced – and quite needless – continuation of the aforementioned dedication phrase above the offering mat, ending as it does with the mention of Hr-53.

The next register down is likewise antithetically organised. The dominant position on the left, hence matching that of Hr-53, is occupied by a married woman (nbt pr) called Nbw-m-s3. From the inscriptions it can be deduced that not only was she Hr-53’s wife but also his paternal half-sister. This is an irrefutable example of brother-sister marriage outside the royal sphere. That the couple were half-siblings is shown by a double filiation phrase in which the mother of Nbw-m-s3 is identified as one Rddt (not Rn-snb, the mother of Hr-53), and her father as the ‘inspector of guards’ Hr-htp (the father of Hr-53). The marital link between Hr-53 and Nbw-m-s3 is clear from the inscriptions adjoining two figures of younger women sitting in front of Nbw-m-s3. For one of them a filiation names the mother, Nbw-m-s3, and both are called daughters of the ‘elder of the portal’ Hr-53. As a matter of fact, Hr-53 left two more stelae and a naos (fig. 8) with statue in the mastaba of Isi, and they corroborate his wedlock with Nbw-m-s3.31

Rddt, the mother of Nbw-m-s3, is nowhere depicted on Hr-53’s monuments. She is only mentioned on Warsaw 141262, in the filiation of Nbw-m-s3, the latter being her sole recorded offspring Rn-snb, in contrast, is fully present on our stela, sitting opposite Nbw-m-s3; like Nbw-m-s3’s position, that of Rn-snb matches her husband’s (Hr-htp) in the register above. As opposed to Rddt’s only child, Rn-snb’s offspring totalled no less than four sons (Hr-53 included) and two daughters.32 These observations suggest that Rddt was Hr-htp’s first wife but that she died prematurely, perhaps as she gave birth to Nbw-m-s3. Only of his second wife Rn-snb do we know the mother, whom a filiation phrase calls Ji.

We spoke already of two daughters of Hr-53 and Nbw-m-s3 who are depicted in front of

50 The dots are not so clear in our fig. 7, but see Szafirowski in Eggebrecht (ed.), Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum, fig. on 142.
51 Frankie, Personendaten, Dossier 428, lists all known monuments of Hr-53. For one of these stelae, with statue niche and lost since its transfer from Edfu to the Cairo museum in 1975, see Alliot, Tell Edfou (1933), 19 [2, b], 33 [13], pl. 17 [2]; id., BIFAO 37, 108 [20]; Vernus, Edfou, 80–3 [26], pl. 15. Nbw-m-s3 is there explicitly called Hr-53’s ‘wife’, and once again she appears at far left, immediately below her husband (Hr-53 himself was represented by an inserted statuette). For the third stela, also lost since its 1975 transfer to Cairo, see Alliot, Tell Edfou (1933), 19 [1, b], 32–3 [10], pl. 16 [2]; id., BIFAO 37, 106–7 [17]; Vernus, Edfou, 84–9 [27], pl. 16; id., BSFE 119, 40, pl. 2. Nbw-m-s3 stands there by Hr-53’s side in receipt of offerings. On naos Louvre E.20909 (Alliot, Tell Edfou (1933), 19 [1, c], 36–7 [1–2], pl. 17 [1]; id., BIFAO 37, 112–3 [30]; Vernus, Edfou, 69–77 [24]), she is named in the filiation of Hr-53’s son Nfr-htp; see fig. 8 [c] (Nfr-htp figures also on the stela with niche cited at the beginning of this footnote). The statue that once must have stood inside the naos, but whose inscriptions name only Hr-53 and his parents, is Richmond 63-29 (de Meulenaere, BIFAO 69, 61–4, pls. 10–2; Ancient Art in the Virginia Museum, 28–9 [22]; Vernus, Edfou, 78–9 [25]).
52 All Hr-53’s brothers are represented on the Warsaw stela, in the bottom register, and two of them recur on the stela with niche first cited in the previous note. His two sisters are depicted on naos Louvre E.20909 (fig. 8 [c], bottom register). There is nothing to suggest that Rn-snb married also more than once, so probably all these children were engendered by Hr-htp.
their mother. Their names are Jw-n.s-jt<.s> and Nbt-sb3w. In further demonstration of the artist’s creativity with text orientation, he wrote the inscriptions concerning these daughters in retrograde columns – a most unusual device on sculptured monuments. He did this to make the hieroglyphs agree in orientation with that of the parents, even while the text had to run from left to right (from a htp df nsyt group shared with the caption to the mother), and despite one daughter facing left for layout symmetry. It is further noteworthy that both daughters are depicted as girls with their hair in plaits, even though the text identifies the two as married women (nbt pr). It might be thought that they married young, but the plaits may only betoken comparative youth. Three of the other monuments left by Hr-53 depict his children – one son and three daughters in all. On two or perhaps all three of them, again they wear their hair in plaits, yet with no further suggestion that any of them had married then: neither are they given the nbt pr title, nor assigned any spouses or offspring (the same is true of Warsaw 141262).53 However, on one of the inner faces of Hr-53’s naos (fig. 8 [c]), his two sisters also wear braids, and they too are identified as married women (nbt pr). On the same slab, his son Nfr-htp wears plaits and even holds a finger in his mouth – that archetypal pose of children – but is given a function title, inherited from his father: smsw h3yr. It is difficult to believe that function titles and the title for married women could be given in anticipation of future events, even on the same monument; neither practice has yet been attested otherwise.

It thus here seems likelier that the iconography of children has only been loosely employed to mark a lower, not necessarily pre-marital, age than that of the principal owner.54 Of the four large figures in the bottom register, all except the one in front represent the brothers of Hr-53, born of Rn-snb. Two of them, Hr-htp (named after their father) and Snb-mj-jw, were ‘town soldiers’ (nḥ n mwt). The third, Rs-snb, was a ‘guard’ (smsw), which reminds us that his father had been an ‘inspector of guards’ (shed smsw).

The man in front was a ‘libationer’ (qbhwr); no other source attests this title for the Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period. There is no evidence to suggest that he was a relative of Hr-53, and he does not recur on the family’s other monuments. Nor was he a colleague, as neither Hr-53 nor his kin held jobs in the religious sphere. More likely this man was a local priest under contract with Hr-53, tasked with performing libation rites before the latter’s stelae and statues. Probably, the priest’s inclusion on the stela was in part a reward for his services, and in part proof of a binding business agreement. He was called Jt(.j), born of a woman *Dtt-Tnn(?). The signs after the introductory n ktn group were partly rubbed.

53 One of Hr-53’s other stelae (Alliot, Tell Edfou (1933), 19 [b], 33 [13], pl. 17 [2]; id., BIEAO 37, 108 [20]; Vernus, Edfou, 80–3 [26], pl. 15) shows all four of his children, all wearing plaits. Naos Louvre E.20909 (Alliot, Tell Edfou (1933), 19 [c], 36–7 [1–2], pl. 17 [1]; id., BIEAO 37, 112–3 [30]; Vernus, Edfou, 69–77 [24]; our fig. 8) depicts only his son, again with plaits, and with a finger in his mouth. The son and two of the daughters reappear on the third stela (Alliot, Tell Edfou (1933), 19 [b], 32–3 [10], pl. 16 [2]; id., BIEAO 37, 106–7 [17]; Vernus, Edfou, 84–9 [27], pl. 16; id., BIFÉ 119, 40, pl. 2), but there their iconography cannot unfortunately be verified, as the stela is currently unlocated and the relevant fragment has never been adequately illustrated.

54 For another male depicted rather like a child (holding hands with his sister) but with a function title (ṣš, ‘scribe’), see the discussion below of stela Warsaw 141281 (fig. 15).

55 Ranke, PN II, 333 [19], with n. 3, considered the possibility that here we might have a variant writing of the name Dtt-Tnj, in which case this woman would have been from Elephantine; for Tnj, ‘the elevated one’, as designation for the deified Heqaib, see Franke, Das Heiligtum des Heqaib, 140, 209. However, the reading...
out, and the last ones are so crude as to be illegible. Rather puzzling are also two signs carved
above Jt(j)'s foot, right under the filiation of the man behind him – the younger Hr-htp.

Vernus has taken these signs for an f and erroneous ⲟ ⲙ instead of ⲝ ⲟ; he views them
as part of the libationer's name, reading this as Jt-j-rs. What argues against his proposal is
that the signs would be placed out of sequence, and rs cannot be written without the rs
sign itself (?)

Instead, the two signs seem to be ⲝ ⲟ; the flattened d mimics the hieratic
form, encountered occasionally in hieroglyphic texts. In fact, there can be no doubt that the
signs belong to the caption concerning Hr-htp; this follows not only from their position but
from the presence of signs before his head that must be the text's continuation: ⲝ ⲟ. Taken
together, the signs suggest the reading dd <n>f, 'also known as' (lit. 'to whom is said'),
followed by an elusive name whose spelling looks corrupted. Interestingly, one of the other
Hr-3 stelae bears a crude secondary inscription that likewise supplies a person's second name,
again introduced by dd n.f.

But who is represented in the minuscule figure on the far left, squeezed so discreetly into
one of the little boxes that are normally meant for text concerning the figures underneath?
Here, too, we encounter a man without stated kinship ties to the family of Hr-3, and just
like Jt(j), he does not return on the other monuments of Hr-3. Called Tnn and born of a
woman Ddj, he is identified as a sS nTr, 'god's scribe' – another job in the religious sphere. It
thus seems likely that Tnn's presence, like that of Jt(j), was in acknowledgement of services
he rendered to Hr-3. Tnn's title classifies him as a scribe of religious writings. Rarely attested,
it is undoubtedly a short form of the title sS mdît-nTr, 'scribe of divine scripture'. The latter
was held by lector priests, and it is important to recall that, as guardians of sacral hieroglyphic
culture, these often worked also as draughtsmen. Indeed, I would suggest that Tnn was

on our stela is far from certain and the name may continue further down; the terminal signs, rather
than representing the epithet mPr-hrw, would seem to include an f. As it happens, this stela names also a man
called Tnn; see the next paragraph.

56 Vernus, Edfou, 66, 68 [ll];
57 Compare the spelling of the same word on the far left in this register, as part of the name Rs-snḫ.
58 See the stela with niche, concerning a 'cupbearer' (wdpw) who carries offerings to a table: Alliot, Tell Edfo
(1933), 33 [13], pl. 17 [2]; id., BIFAO 37, 108 [20]; Vernus, Edfou, 80–3 [26], pl. 15. The man's formal name
is to be read as MPr-hrw-Hr, but his second name remains a puzzle due to the poor style of carving, apart
from an initial h.
59 On sS mdít-nTr, see Ward, Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom, no. 1388;
Fischer, Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom, 75 [1388]; Quirke, Titles and Bureaucracies, 38–9. On sS nTr, see Ward,
op. cit., no. 1396, adding stela Leiden AP70 (Boeser, Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung, II, pl. 30 [40];
Simpson, Terrace of the Great God, ANOC 37.2), while deleting 'RT 12, 13' (Vienna ÄS 142; nTr belongs to the
name Npr-j-pw), 'BMMA 28/I1, 15, fig. 16' and 'Guimet C4' (cast of stela Rennes 871.8.1; this and the previous
item are both really examples of Ward's no. 1388). Another short variant of sS mdít-nTr is the title sS mdîtnt,
'scribe of books', for which see Ward, op. cit., no. 1387; Fischer, op. cit., 75 [1387] (but delete Fischer's reference
to 'BIFAO 10/2, p. 29' = Warsaw 141264; see n. 10 above).
60 Cf. n. 26 above.
the artist who designed the present stela. His unobtrusive figure, with tiny separate offering formula, is in effect his signature.

This stela is not the only work that can be attributed to Tnn. From a wealth of recurrent diagnostic features, his hand is apparent in other monuments. Before discussing these features, it is convenient to list the monuments concerned. To begin with, our artist not only decorated Warsaw 141262 but all the known monuments of Hr-\(\ddot{\text{r}}\)-3\(\ddot{\text{r}}\), as cited already, with one apparent exception: his stela with statue niche. The pieces that do compare favourably with Warsaw 141262 are a third stela, a statue naos (figs. 8 [a–d]) and the statue itself.\textsuperscript{61} All were set up in the mastaba of Isi, who is invoked on most of his pieces.\textsuperscript{62} The second and third stelae of Hr-c3 are both dated to year 8 of Sobekhotep IV.\textsuperscript{63} These year dates, highly unusual for a Thirteenth Dynasty monument, establish the time of manufacture for the entire group of objects, which Hr-c3 may well have commissioned on a single occasion. It holds no surprise that an artist should have worked on various pieces for the same customer. More remarkably, no other finds from Edfu bear his mark. This may well indicate that the artist was based – or normally based – at some other location. Perhaps he had briefly come to Edfu to work only, or chiefly, for Hr-c3, but it is more probable that the monuments themselves were brought from elsewhere, all finished and ready for set-up; the practice is amply demonstrable for other monuments, especially at Abydos, and is also textually documented.\textsuperscript{64} Based on other finds from Edfu, we have already noted more than once an apparent lack of regular sculpture workshops in Edfu itself before the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty. True, the family of Hr-c3 was certainly native to this town, as shown by their names in honour of Horus and by his wish to leave a major stamp on the shrine of a local saint. Still, it must be recalled that Hr-c3, if not his father, held posts connected to the palace. Hr-c3 could thus have obtained his monuments from a workshop in the Memphis–Fayum region, or in Abydos on a southward journey to his home town.

Tantalising support for this idea comes from yet another stela, which does not belong to Hr-c3 but which, as shown in the next paragraph, was clearly made by our artist as well: Tübingen 463 (fig. 9).\textsuperscript{65} It has no documented provenance, but none of its content points to Edfu; instead it was most probably discovered in Abydos. Although the stela bears no less than six offering formulae, they all invoke either Osiris or his syncretistic alter ego Ptah-Sokar. Commemorated on the stela are fifteen people, whose names and titles point also to northern, not southern, Egypt. Of five theophorous names, three are in honour of Ptah and a fourth of Bastet, both deities from the north. Only the fifth name honours Horus, reading

\textsuperscript{61} For bibliography and locations of these items, see n. 51 above.

\textsuperscript{62} His name is only missing from the stela with niche (which has no offering formula). On the third stela (see notably Vernus, BIFAO 119, pl. 2), he was mentioned at the lost end of the first line of the main offering formula and at the beginning of the next line: [\(\text{Jsj nfr}\) \(\text{nfr}\).

\textsuperscript{63} The king’s identity is only preserved on the stela with niche, but can with confidence be restored on the other one.

\textsuperscript{64} Most famously on an Abydos stela from the reign of Amenemhat III, London BM EA 101 (Blackman, JE 21, 4–5, pl. 1; Strudwick, Masterpieces, 94–5).

\textsuperscript{65} Limestone. Height 63 cm, width 42.5 cm. See Brunner-Traut and Brunner, Die ägyptische Sammlung, 92–3, pl. 60.
apparently $Hr<-m>-hb$; this name was, however, in widespread use. While none of the individuals on Tübingen 463 are connected by kinship terms, they were clearly connected through work at least. Five of them were ‘store overseers’ ($jmj-r\ st$; twice linked explicitly to the ‘$t\ hntq$, ‘chamber of beer’). A sixth was ‘confectioner’ ($jrw\ bnrrwt$), hence likewise employed in the provisioning sector of the palace. It is unlikely that these people worked on some provincial estate, as then this stela would surely have named at least one superior provincially based official. Quite the opposite is true: a further man on this stela held the title of ‘interior-overseer’ ($jmj-r\ t\ hntwjt$), which was only held by certain central government officials. Yet another man on the stela was ‘bodyguard of the high steward’ ($jmj-s\ t\ jmj-r\ pr\ wr$), so he served one of the highest ministers of state. Only the aforementioned $Hr<-m>-hb$ had no title with topographical implications; as a ‘soldier of the ruler’s crew’ ($nh\ n\ t\ t-hq\$), he was a member of elite troops that could be found throughout the country. In sum, the Tübingen stela and most of those commemorated have strong links with northern Egypt, and none with Edfu. The artist who made the stela was thus most probably based either at the capital or else at Abydos, the latter being in any case the likeliest site of discovery.

So what are the diagnostic traits that bring these monuments together in a single artistic dossier? How can we tell that four of $Hr$’s monuments plus the Tübingen stela all formed part of $Tnn$’s creative oeuvre? We may start with a closer look at the Tübingen stela (fig. 9), as this shows the largest number of recurrent idiosyncrasies. With Warsaw 141262 it shares a pair of sizeable, droopy $udjat$-eyes in the lunette, with outer canthi pointing down. Eyes and $shen$-ring do not float but stand on the bottom line of the lunette. In the uppermost principal register, also the Tübingen stela depicts two men. Their poses and attire now differ, but they, too, sit face to face on high-backed chairs, which at the time were still depicted much less frequently than low-backed ones. As for the figure on the right, had it not been for the accompanying inscription naming a man, one would have thought that it represents a woman in close-fitting dress. The figure displays, in fact, a rather female-looking breast, unlike the figure on the left – curiously the same contrast exists between $Hr$ and $Hr-htp$ at the top of Warsaw 141262! It should further be noted that the Tübingen stela repeats the use of antithetic offering formulae. In two instances, again the opening words do double duty in both directions, while in a third (second register from the bottom) we note even the return of the adapted $sw$-sign. Again the sign must be read both ways – but just as on Warsaw 141262, it does not occupy a perfectly central position between the paired texts. Use of the adapted sign is rare in the extreme. For the whole of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, the twin-tipped $sw$ is attested just four more times (in perfectly central position), and this on products of different artists; one at least dates also from the time of Sobekhotep IV, and all were found in Abydos – a possible hint that $Tnn$, too, had

$66$ Rather than the non-existent name $^*Hb-wr$ proposed by Brunner-Traut and Brunner, Die ägyptische Sammlung, 93. As noted by Ranke, PN1, 248 [7], the preposition in the name is sometimes left out in writing.

$67$ The highest register with figures has the entire central column act this way, but in the lowest register, the final word in the central column ($bdw$) does not spill equally into both adjacent columns. The same dissymmetry occurs on stela Warsaw 141262, in the first and second principal registers.

$68$ Stela CG 20036 and 20491 (both first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty); niche frame Philadelphia E.9189 (Garstang, EL Arábah, 8, 34, 46, pl. 8 [left]; first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty); offering table Pittsburgh.
his workshop there. What we also see on the Tübingen stela is again the use of retrograde columns, now applied more generally to most of the texts on the right half of the stela, no doubt for better coordination between paired offering formulae that share one central, right-facing column (still, in the second principal register, no such sharing occurs). The Tübingen stela includes moreover an instance of the words htp dj nswt followed immediately by n k3 n, as noted on the Warsaw stela, the dated stela without niche, and on the roof slab of the naos (fig. 8 [a]). Twice the Tübingen stela invokes Osiris with the epithets nb ‘nh hqt dt, ‘lord of life, ruler of eternity’, noted rarely before the New Kingdom; with these epithets the god appears again on Hr-57’s statue. In the offering formulae on the Tübingen stela, several times dj.f, ‘he gives’, is not followed as usual by prt-hrw t hmq tjhw 3pdw etc., but by nh wsr m3-hrw and/or tw ndm n ‘nh, or by htp<w> dfsw, in each case then followed immediately by n (k3 n) NN. All three phrases are lent the same prominence on the insides of the statue naos (figs. 8 [c–d]), again with the defective spelling htp<w>, while on the front of the statue itself this happens with tw ndm n ‘nh. In filiation phrases, the vertical s in ms(t).n is inversed with remarkable frequency: so on the Warsaw stela, the statue naos and the statue itself. (The word does not appear on Tübingen 463 and cannot be verified from photos for the lower part of Hr-57’s dated stela without niche.) Another feature worth noting concerns the word snTr, ‘incense’, which both on Tübingen 463 and the Hr-57 statue is spelled as

\[\text{snTr} \text{, with all possible phonograms, an inversed determinative (the smoke plume points the wrong way), and with two plural strokes over one instead of vice versa. (The word does not appear on the other objects.) Many other connections exist between the inscriptions on the objects concerning us here, but the same is true of the pictorial motifs. For instance, on the Tübingen stela as well as on two of the Hr-57 stelae (Warsaw 141262 and the dated stela without niche), seated figures have the hems of their garments interrupting the back of their legs, which would normally continue till the edge of the seat, without the garment touching the chair before; the normal situation is only noted with the right-hand figure on Tübingen 463. Furthermore, with some of the figures sitting on the ground, the line separating the flat upper and lower leg rarely runs all the way to the back of the knee, its path again terminating at the point of the garment’s hem – so on Tübingen 463, the Warsaw stela and on the naos (the only ones where such figures occur). The same legs are often much too long at the foot end, especially on the Tübingen and Warsaw stelae. And both on Warsaw 141262 and the naos, one of the women wears anklets. Due to inadequate publication and different inscriptive content, Hr-57’s dated stela without a niche can only partly be compared with

\[4558-1 \text{ (Peet, } \text{Cemeteries of Abydos, II, 113–4 [9], pl. 23 [4]; Patch, } \text{Reflections of Greatness, 31 [20]); temp. Sobekhotep IV, on the basis of combined stylistic and prosopographical data which space here forbids presenting).}

\[69 \text{ See n. 49 above.}

\[70 \text{ The naos has dj.f htp<w> dfsw tw ndm n ‘nh n k3 n NN and dj.f nh wsr m3-hrw n k3 n NN.}

\[71 \text{ Most of the figures on the Tübingen stela have no interior detail at all, but note the situation with the woman on the right in the second register from the bottom!} \]
the other pieces, but on the upper part (the only part that has been properly illustrated), the inscriptions exhibit convincingly the palaeography of Ṭnn’s hand.

Warsaw 141295 (fig. 10)

This stela \(^{72}\) was found in a third deposit in the mastaba of Isi, located in room B. Below two human eyes (occasional alternative to the udjat-eyes) is inscribed an offering formula, which only invokes ‘Osiris, lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos’. It was made in honour of an ṣnḥ n nwt, ‘soldier of the town (regiment)’, with the unusual name Ḫqj. His figure stands at the bottom left, before a table with elongated bread loaves. A dual filiation names Ḫqj’s father of the same name, and his mother Ṣfr-wrt. The latter is depicted at the bottom right, identified by the adjoining caption. The caption to the woman in the middle calls her a ‘sister’ (snwt) of the owner; her name is Ḥtp-Sjt, in honour of the goddess Satet of Elephantine. The dedicator of the stela was, however, a ‘brother’ (sn), the Ḥm-nTr Ṣrrj, ‘god’s servant Ṣrrj’.

These people cannot at present be traced in other sources, but the indubitable provenance of the stela suggests that they were locals of Edfu. The senior priest who commissioned the piece may have held office at the local Horus temple.

The overall quality of this piece is good. Style and epigraphy suggest a date in the second half of the Thirteenth Dynasty, but are not reminiscent of other pieces found in Edfu. Perhaps this stela was rather produced in Thebes. The human figures are carved in raised relief, as is noted occasionally on products from Edfu workshops\(^ {73}\) but it is unusual that their hieroglyphic captions have been treated the same way. This is seen nowhere else at Edfu, nor anywhere else after the early Twelfth Dynasty, except on some late Thirteenth or Sixteenth Dynasty monuments from Thebes.\(^ {74}\) Might our priest have brought the stela from there on a business trip?

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\(^ {73}\) The other examples are Cairo CG 20537 of the end of the Sixteenth or early Seventeenth Dynasty (Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, II, 144–5, IV, pl. 39; Vernus, *Edfou*, 180–5 [55], pl. 28 [b]), Cairo TR 16/2/22/23 from the early 17th Dynasty (Engelbach, *ASAE* 22, 116, pl. facing p. 138, no. 6; Vernus, op. cit., 230–3 [69], pl. 42.), and an unlocated further stela fragment from the Seventeenth Dynasty (Engelbach, op. cit., 116–7, pl. facing p. 138, no. 7; Vernus, op. cit., 251–2 [76], pl. 47 [a]), leaving aside here examples from the New Kingdom. A final example is stela Louvre E.20908 (Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, pl. 19 [3]; id., *BIFAO* 37, 110 [26]; Vernus, op. cit., 132–4 [39], pl. 22 [a]; id., *L’Information Historique* 50 [1], fig. on 18). Vernus dates this piece to the late Thirteenth Dynasty, but its clean and meticulous carving style and the artist’s clumsy but clear attempt to imitate early Middle Kingdom art may rather point to the very beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. This is also suggested by the absence of a t between the nswt and following dj sign (see my discussion of Warsaw 141281 further below, with nn. 124–5). Its repetition of dj in *nswt dj Ḥtp dj* recalls further examples of which the majority, if not all, date from the late Second Intermediate Period; see Marée in id. (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*.

\(^ {74}\) Stelae Cairo JE 37507 (Legrain, *RecTrav* 24, 213), Cairo JE 37515 (Legrain, *RecTrav* 23, 61–2) and London UC 14418 (Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings*, II, 27 [113], pl. 28 [3]); the latter can be attributed to one and the same artisan.
Warsaw 141266 (fig. 11)

This stela\(^75\) was found in the same niche in the south wall of Isi’s mastaba room J as 141262 (fig. 7), but placed on the left. It is certainly the later of both pieces; its poor style points to the late Thirteenth/Sixteenth Dynasty. The offering formula invokes ‘Osiris, the great god, lord of Abydos’, no Horus, and is dedicated to a w\(^h\,\{\,t\}\) q, ‘pure-priest with (right of) entry’, whose name was Pth-htp.\(^76\) Holding up a lotus flower, he is seated in company of his wife Dd(t)-nbw. Facing them, on the other side of a table of offerings, stands a man who is presumably identified by the hieroglyphs that stand forlornly below his figure in the bottom register. These call him PtH-Htp; his relation to them is not expressed. The remaining three figures are children of the couple: a son Hr-f.\( t\)-fjb(\( j\)), a daughter Rs-snb, and another daughter Hnwt.sn. No other sources appear to document these people.

The decoration of the stela exhibits numerous curious features. In the main inscription the f viper is always reversed, but not in the captions to the figures in the bottom register. The \( h \) sign displays an inner dot, which must have been influenced by its hieratic equivalent. The phrase \( nh(t) \, nfr(t) \, w\, nb \), ‘all things good and pure’ is followed by ‘\( nh(t) \, ntr \)’, instead of ‘\( nh(t) \, ntr \, jm \), ‘which a god lives on’. The mistaken terminal group \( ntr \) ‘great god’, was undoubtedly induced by the presence of the same group in the top line, where it correctly represents one of Osiris’ epithets. The principal owner’s title displays a redundant t joined to the w\(^h\) sign, which was induced by the same group in the preceding line, where it forms part of ‘\( nh(t) \, nfr(t) \, w\, nb \). The pictorial motifs are also very clumsily drawn, as is the pleating of the clothes of Pth-htp and Pt\(-\)\(^\text{3m}\). Most remarkable of all, however, is the representation of the offerings, where a pottery stand is curiously placed atop the mat where one would rather expect the reverse. The offerings themselves, including a bovine foreleg, further pieces of meat, loaves of bread and a beer vessel, ‘float’ around.

Warsaw 139936 (fig. 12)

This offering table\(^77\) was found outside the mastaba of Isi, to the west of its false door stela. Two offering formulae surround a central panel with depiction of offerings upon a mat. That on the left invoked ‘Osiris, who resides in Behdet’ (still fully preserved at the time of discovery), that on the right the deified Isi.

\(^75\) Limestone. Height 42 cm, width 29 cm, thickness 10 cm. Alliot, Tell Edfou (1933), 15 [c], 30 [5], pls. 7 [3, left], 15 [3]; id., BIFAO 37, 103 [12]; Michałowski, Sztuka starożytna, 171; Szafraniski, Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie 24, 51–3, fig. 15; Vernus, Edfou, 108–11 [32], pl. 18 [a].

\(^76\) Rather than reading a strange and unparalleled name *Wr-Pth-htp, as proposed by Vernus, Edfou, 109–10 [d], or an equally unparalleled title *w\(^h\) wr, I suggest that the bird sign is a poorly executed q.

\(^77\) Limestone. Depth 26 cm, width 16.5 cm, thickness 10 cm. Ibrahim, ASAE 33, 131, pl. facing p. 134, no. 1; Alliot, Tell Edfou (1933), 18 [c, 1], 38 [3]; pl. 13 [1]; id., BIFAO 37, 114 [34]; Rekucki, Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie 21, 61–3 [5], fig. 44; Vernus, Edfou, 95–7 [29]; Majewska and Dolińska, Wierzenia grobowe starożytnych Egipcjan, no. 109, fig. on [14].
The table belongs to a mayor (ḥ3tj-ś, jmjr r hmw-nṯr) called Jb-jśw, whose filiations name as father another mayor called Ḥṛj, and as mother a woman whose name may have begun with Nb-[...] (again, a trace of this was still visible at the time of discovery).78 Jb-jśw may also be attested by a false door fragment recently published by Farout (Tell Edfu B 118),79 especially as this may well bear the mark of the same artistic hand. That fragment names as principal owner a mayor Jb-jśw, and preserves on the right a maternal filiation ms.n jmjr-pšt Nbt-Jwnt, ‘born of the noblewoman Nbt-Jwnt’. It is unclear if this woman was Jb-jśw’s mother; this is only possible if the governor Ḥṛj married both her and a certain Nfrw (see the discussion of the next offering table, Warsaw 138796), or if Edfu saw two different governors Ḥṛj around the same time – neither option is very attractive. Alternatively, Nbt-Jwnt may have been the Jb-jśw’s wife. In fact, another stela from Edfu, now in a private collection, belonged to a ‘commander of the ruler’s crew’ (ṯtw n ṭt-hq) named Jb-jśw, who was married in fact to a Nbt-Jwnt80 – maybe the future mayor. Alas, stela Cairo JE 46199 attests a mayor Jb-jśw of more or less identical date who was married to an jmjr-pšt (‘noblewoman’) called 3ṣt, not Nbt-Jwnt.81 For lack of new data, deciding between the various possible connections remains a conundrum.82 This makes it also difficult to date the offering table with some precision; from style, it is either from the late Thirteenth/Sixteenth Dynasty or the early Seventeenth Dynasty.

Warsaw 138796 (fig. 13)

This fragment of an offering table83 was found in 1937 in the ‘central kom’ due west of the Ptolemaic temple pylon. It preserves part of its right-hand rectangular basin, of the central conduit to which it is linked, and of the spout. Above and below the basin are the remains of horizontal lines of inscription. Very little remains of the upper one, but it may well have to be read Ḥ3tj-ś [jmjr r hmw-nṯr84 ...], ‘the mayor [and overseer of god’s servants ...]’, based on comparison with the same words in the lower line. The latter must be a direct continuation of the upper line and presents a dual filiation: jmjr-ḥ3tj-ś jmjr r hmw-nṯr Ḥṛj ms[.n ...], ‘produced by the mayor and overseer of god’s servants Ḥṛj and born [to ...]’. Several authors have

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78 This trace cannot be taken for part of the title nbt pr, as then there would be no room for reconstruction of the actual name.
79 Farout, RdÉ 58, 48–50, pl. 12.
80 Engelbach, ASAE 22, 121–2; Vernus, Edfou, 217–9 [65], pl. 38.
81 Daressy, ASAE 17, 240–1 [III]; Vernus, Edfou, 195–8 [59], pl. 31.
82 See also Farout, RdÉ 58, 44–50, for a similar overview of the data available. He also deems stela Cairo CG 20404, owned by a governor Jb-jśw, of possible relevance, but from artistic evidence it is certainly from a workshop of the early Thirteenth Dynasty, so can be omitted from the discussion. See also the following discussion of offering table Warsaw 138796.
83 Limestone. Length 21 cm, width 15 cm, thickness 5.5 cm. Bruyère et al., Tell Edfou 1937, 104 [19], pl. 26 [13]; Rekucki, Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie 21, 63–4 [6], fig. 45; Vernus, Edfou, 186–7 [56].
84 No traces of the second title remain, but the lower ends of the ṣnr and Ḥmr signs would neatly fit within the outlines of damage.
wrongly dated this monument to the New Kingdom.\textsuperscript{85} The palaeography of its uneven and ill-proportioned hieroglyphs points clearly to the late Thirteenth or Sixteenth Dynasty. This argues against reading a name \textit{Hrj-ms},\textsuperscript{86} rather than two separate words \textit{Hrj} and \textit{ms}.\textsuperscript{87} Before the New Kingdom, the name form \textit{Hr-ms} is attested for three men (all but one from material found in Edfu) and two women,\textsuperscript{88} but the variant \textit{Hrj-ms} (with reed after falcon sign) just for one woman (from Edfu),\textsuperscript{89} a great many more examples being all from the New Kingdom.\textsuperscript{90} On our fragment, the small, narrow proportions of the \textit{ms} sign and its distance from the \textit{j} confirm that it must have stood above a broad sign at the bottom of the square, which can only have been an \textit{n}.\textsuperscript{91}

From this reading of the inscriptional remains, perhaps the identity of the owner, and certainly his father’s, can be proposed. Our mayor, son of another mayor called \textit{Hrj}, may have been a certain \textit{Hr-hr-hwtf}, known from various stelae found in Edfu. He appears as \textit{jfrj-p’t}, \textit{h3tj-s}, \textit{htmjt-bjtj}, \textit{jmj-r gs-pr} on a currently unlocated stela, discovered \textit{in situ} in the mastaba of Isi, in the north wall of room B.\textsuperscript{92} A dual filiation names as his father the \textit{h3tj-s}, \textit{jmj-r hmw-ntr Hrj}, and as his mother the \textit{jmj-r hmr-ntr} (‘noblewoman’) \textit{Nfrw}. He has himself become a \textit{h3tj-s}, \textit{jmj-r hmw-ntr} on stela Cairo CG 20537,\textsuperscript{93} which again names both his parents, and on stela Chicago, Field Museum 31664.\textsuperscript{94} The parents are named a third time on stela Cairo

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\textsuperscript{85} Bruyère \textit{et al.}, \textit{Tell Edfou} 1937, 104 [19]; Rekucki, \textit{Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie} 21, 64 [6].
\textsuperscript{86} As has been proposed by ibid., 64 [6].
\textsuperscript{87} Vernus, \textit{Edfou}, 186 [56], rightly favours the latter reading.
\textsuperscript{88} The men appear on stela Cairo CG 20179 (Twelfth Dynasty), a Thirteenth Dynasty offering table from Edfu of unknown present location (Alliot, \textit{Tell Edfou} (1933), 37 [1], pl. 12 [2]; id., \textit{BIFAO} 37, 113 [32]; Vernus, \textit{Edfou}, 53–7 [18], pl. 12 [a]); and perhaps on a further fragmentary stela from Edfu (not apparent from Alliot, \textit{Tell Edfou} (1933), 36 [22] and id., \textit{BIFAO} 37, 111–2 [29], but see Vernus, op. cit., 213–6 [64]; present location unknown). For the Middle Kingdom, Ranke, \textit{PN} I, 249 [1] cites two Edfu women who are likewise called \textit{Hr-ms} (stela Cairo JE 46200 and another seen with the dealer Tadross, Luxor, in 1972; see Vernus, op. cit., nos. 86 and 100), but both are already from the early Eighteenth Dynasty. For his two female references, however, substitute stela World Museum Liverpool 1977.109.37 (unpublished) of the late Thirteenth/Sixteenth Dynasty and stela London UC 14469 (Stewart, \textit{Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings}, II, 29 [122], pl. 31 [1]), the latter naming a woman who would have been born at the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty.
\textsuperscript{89} On a statuette in Linköping, Smith Collection no. 156 (Björkman, \textit{Selection of the Objects}, 25–6 [156], pl. 1 [2]), following the reading proposed by Vernus, \textit{Edfou}, 136–7 [h]. It dates from the late Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties.
\textsuperscript{90} Ranke, \textit{PN} I, 249 [1], 251 [14], II, 376 [ad 251, 14].
\textsuperscript{91} Hardly a horizontal \textit{s}. As phonetic complement, a vertical \textit{s} would certainly have been preferred for reasons of space economy.
\textsuperscript{92} Alliot, \textit{Tell Edfou} (1933), 16 [e], 30 [4], pl. 16 [3, right]; id., \textit{BIFAO} 37, 103 [11]; Vernus, \textit{Edfou}, 176–9 [54], pl. 28 [a].
\textsuperscript{93} Lange and Schäfer, \textit{Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches}, II, 144–5, IV, pl. 39; Vernus, \textit{Edfou}, 180–5 [55], pl. 28 [b].
\textsuperscript{94} The stelae are conveniently brought together in Franke, \textit{Personendaten}, Dossier 433 (\textit{Hr-hr-hwtf}), there is no separate Dossier on \textit{Hrj}. Franke’s query with the unlocated stela, on account of the different title, may be removed, as the career path from \textit{jmj-r gs-pr} to mayor is well-attested in the Second Intermediate Period; see also n. 143 below.
\end{flushright}
CG 20329, which belongs to a brother of Hr-hr-hwt.f, the ‘king’s son’ (s²-nswt) Hrj. This Hrj was evidently no true king’s son but a titular prince, in which capacity he must have held prime authority over military forces based at Edfu.65

However, another mayor, whose name was Jb-jw, was likewise born to a mayor called Hrj and to a woman who may or may not have been the aforementioned Nfrw; he may have been a brother of Hr-hr-hwt.f – unless we are to assume that there were two different mayors called Hrj, of which there is currently no good evidence. This Jb-jw was already discussed above, as owner of the offering table Warsaw 139936; it is therefore not so likely that he also owned the present table, with no table known for Hr-hr-hwt.f.

Another reason why the mayor Jb-jw is less likely to have been the owner of Warsaw 138796, and why Hr-hr-hwt.f is a more likely candidate, is that this piece is stylistically different from Warsaw 139936 and the false door fragment. By contrast, Warsaw 138796 is certainly from the same workshop, and partly from the same hand, as stelae Cairo CG 20537 (of Hr-hr-hwt.f), Cairo CG 20329 (of a brother of Hr-hr-hwt.f), and stela Chicago Field Museum 31664 and offering table Tell Edfu B 18. The last two monuments both belong to a son of Hr-hr-hwt.f, the ‘king’s son’ Jb-jw, who is also named on stela Cairo CG 20537 (for the offering table, see the next paragraph). Note also that Warsaw 139936 has still the old writing of the htp dj nswt phrase (*nswt htp dj), while the pieces from the workshop of Warsaw 138796 have the new spelling (*nswt dj htp). Thus, it seems best to date Warsaw 139936 before Warsaw 138796, and so to assume that between Hrj and Hr-hr-hwt.f, Edfu had a mayor Jb-jw, the brother of Hr-hr-hwt.f.

As just noted, not only a brother of Hr-hr-hwt.f, called Hrj, is attested as ‘king’s son’, but also a son of Hr-hr-hwt.f, named Jb-jw – perhaps Hrj’s direct successor. It was mentioned that Jb-jw is the owner of stela Chicago, Field Museum 31664 and offering table Tell Edfu B 18,66 but he is also known from his father’s stela Cairo CG 20537.67 Offering table Tell Edfu B 18 may originally have complemented the Chicago stela in the same funerary chapel. That they belonged to the same ‘prince’ Jb-jw need not be doubted; traces of Jb-jw’s name at the bottom of the vertical right side are apparently to be followed horizontally by traces

\[ j.r.n \, [h]tj-\] Hr-hr-hwt.f ms.n [... (3½ sq.) ...], ‘produced by the governor Hr-hr-hwt.f, born to […].’68 Inspection of the original has suggested to me that the j.r.n group is partly preserved above the middle of the square that precedes the name of Hr-hr-hwt.f.69 If this is correct, the lower half of the square can only have contained the

65 Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches, I, 342, IV, pl. 24; Vernus, Edfou, 191–5 [58], pl. 30.
66 See the discussion of this title further below, in connection with stela Warsaw 141281.
67 For the offering table, see Farout, RdÉ 58, 41–5, pl. 9 [b]; id., Égypte, Afrique & Orient 53, 5, fig. 2, and 7. It must be added to Franke, Personendaten, Dossier 59.
68 It is possible, but cannot be proved, that Jb-jw also recurs as king’s son and garrison commander (bw) on a roughly contemporary doorway found on Elephantine Island (Junge, Elephantine XI, 13–4, pl. 2 [c–f]).
69 Farout, RdÉ 58, 45, first suggested the reading of this name with reservation, but later accepted it (id., Égypte, Afrique & Orient 53, 5, fig. 2). I came independently to this reading from study of an image and the original.
70 When lit at none too excessive a raking angle from above or below, one can clearly see a horizontal remnant
title $\text{HAtj-a}$, with no room for $\text{jmj-r Hmw-nTr}$, but this is omission is well paralleled – so, for example, in the paternal filiation on $\text{Hr-hr-hwt.f}$’s own stela Cairo CG 20537, and in that on offering table Warsaw 139936, discussed above. Further traces are visible after $\text{ms.n}$ but are difficult to interpret. If, as I believe, the right-hand text provided a dual filiation naming both parents of $\text{Jb-jf’w}$, a possible bird among the signs that followed $\text{ms.n}$ remains a puzzle, for one would expect here the name of $\text{Hr-hr-hwt.f}$’s wife $\text{Sbk-nht}$, which contains no bird sign.

Some might want to suggest that, between prince $\text{Jb-jf’w}$’s name and $\text{Hr-hr-hwt.f}$ lost title, we must not reconstruct the filiation term $\text{jr.n}$ but the kinship term $\text{jt.f}$, ‘his father’, in which case the filiation after the father’s name would not have named the mother of $\text{Jb-jf’w}$ but that of $\text{Hr-hr-hwt.f}$. The latter woman’s name, however, was $\text{Nfrw}$, which as a rule is spelled with three $\text{nfr}$ signs or, on occasion, with plural strokes, whereas a spelling with $\text{w}$ chick would certainly be abnormal. I would hold that we have truly here a dual filiation ($\text{jr.n}$ … $\text{ms.n}$ …), especially as it would be extraordinary for the offering table to mention $\text{Jb-jf’w}$’s father but not his mother. On the left side, I believe $\text{Jb-jf’w}$’s name is followed by the group $\text{hmt.f}$, which would thus have introduced $\text{Jb-jf’w}$’s wife. Based on the Chicago stela, we are to reconstruct the name $\text{Sbk-m-s:nt}$ in the following lacuna.

$\text{Hr-hr-hwt.f}$’s wife was called $\text{Sbk-nht}$. She appears with the titles $\text{jtjt-p’t}$ and $\text{s:it-nswt}$ (‘noblewoman and king’s daughter’) on her husband’s stela Cairo CG 20537. She may or may not have been a true princess. There is at least one clear attestation of a purely titular ‘king’s daughter’ from the Thirteenth Dynasty.

A clue on the date of $\text{Hr-hr-hwt.f}$’s $\text{floruit}$ is provided by stela fragment Cairo TR 16/2/22/23, which names a combination of people matched closely on the monuments discussed in the foregoing paragraphs. The stela was dedicated by a mayor ($\text{HAtj-a}$, $\text{jmj-r Hmw-nTr}$) whose identity is lost, but it also mentions, possibly as his mother, a $\text{s:it-nswt, jtjt-p’t […]-nht}$ – conceivably $\text{Sbk-nht}$, the wife of our $\text{Hr-hr-hwt.f}$. Therefore, $\text{Hr-hr-hwt.f}$ himself may well have been the stela’s principal owner. Other people named include two of
the owner’s daughters, the first called *Shb-m-sďf*, the second *Nfrw*; two like-named daughters of *Hr-hr-hwt.f* do appear on Cairo CG 20537, in the same order. On Cairo TR 16/2/22/23, *Shb-m-sďf* name is placed in a cartouche, which marks her as a queen; it has generally been assumed that she is identical with the wife of King Nubkheperra Antef of the Seventeenth Dynasty. Preceding her on the same stela is a king’s son *Hr-shr*, whose title and most of the *Hr* sign are lost, but who is almost certainly identical with the *sď-nswt Hr-shr* named in a crude inscription scratched secondarily on Cairo CG 20537, upon the legs of *Sbk-nht*; this makes him likely to have been the direct successor of the titular prince *Jb-fw*. The name *Hr-shr* is otherwise attested only for an unrelated man (no title is given) on a roughly contemporary stela from Buhen106 and, more significantly, for a ‘king’s son’ who owned stela Cairo JE 46988, discovered in Edfu.107 The latter monument may very well concern the same man as named on Cairo TR 16/2/22/23 and CG 20537. He is now called *sď-nswt n hq3 nht sď Rē Dwms*, ‘king’s son of the strong ruler, son of Ra, Dedumose’. This means, of course, that the intended King Dedumose, whose exact chronological position remains obscure, ruled close to Nubkheperra Antef. Accordingly, our offering table fragment, Warsaw 138796, may be dated between the very end of the Sixteenth and the early Seventeenth Dynasty.

Warsaw, without number (fig. 14)

This lower fragment of a stela was lost in World War II; all that survives is a black and white photograph. The piece was probably bought by Michałowski, but no information is available on its provenance, except that the word ‘Edfu’ is written on the old negative, apparently since before the war.108 It seems *a priori* likely that this is a local find, but the style of the stela recalls no other material from Edfu. What is more, none of the names of the people depicted was locally popular, and none is in honour of Horus, Isi or even Hathor.109 In the upper surviving register, the man in front is called *Sn(j)-rs*, the next one presumably [Mnt]w-htp. The lower row of figures is led by a man *Kṣ-ms* and his wife *J(t)-jb*. They are followed by a man *Mnty<−m>hšt*; then a *ṛ Nhń*, ‘mouth of Nekhen’, whose name I fail to recognise; and finally another *[r] Nhń*, whose name was *Snfrw* but whose figure has been lost. No prosopographical connections with other sources suggest themselves at present. On the base of its crude workmanship and the monotonous rows of figures, the stela is probably from the late Sixteenth or early Seventeenth Dynasty.


108 Negative no. 244. Personal communication from Monika Dolińska.

109 It is presumably for these reasons that the stela was not included in Vernus, *Edfou*. 

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/online_journals/bmsaes/issue_12/maree.aspx
Warsaw 141281 (fig.15)\textsuperscript{110}

This crudely executed stela was bought in Edfu by Michałowski in 1938, but it is unknown where it was found. It came undoubtedly from Tell Edfu, not from some more distant site. Its offering formula first invokes the local god ‘Horus of Behdet’, and only then the inconclusive, widely worshipped ‘Osiris, lord of Busiris’. Style and epigraphy date the stela to the late Seventeenth Dynasty, and we shall see that prosopographical links point in the same direction.

The principal owner is a man with the curious name Nb-jtj, which literally means ‘possessor (lit. lord) of a father’.\textsuperscript{111} His name was in use throughout the Middle Kingdom, but sources from the late Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties attest it only for people from Edfu – and with a certain regularity. This constitutes additional evidence, if we still need it, for the stela’s local origin. A hint of the close association of the name with Edfu is first detected in the late Twelfth Dynasty, as a text from year 10 of Amenemhat III mentions a <s>n</s> Dbj, ‘<man of> Edfu’, with a father called Nb-jtj.\textsuperscript{112} The name is not to be translated as ‘(my) lord is (my) father’, as would in theory be possible. This is excluded by the equivalent female name Nbt-jtj, whose only possible translation is ‘(female) possessor of a father’.\textsuperscript{113} Conversely, the related female name Nbt-mwt does not mean ‘(my) lady is (the goddess) Mut’\textsuperscript{114} but ‘possessor of a mother’, this being the only option with its male equivalent Nb-mwt.\textsuperscript{115} Names of the pattern Nb(t) + god’s name are not, in fact, attested at all, apart from the New Kingdom name Nb-Jmn.\textsuperscript{116}

As the present Nb-jtj is the stela’s principal owner, the bottom register depicts him seated on a chair, holding a lotus flower while his other hand is extended to imaginary offerings – for none are here depicted. As expected, his figure faces to the right in agreement with the preferred orientation of the hieroglyphs in the offering formula. It is curious, however, that he should be positioned at the far right, with the figures of a son and daughter standing behind him instead of opposite, as was the usual arrangement. This has been deemed a compositional

\textsuperscript{110} Limestone. Height 40 cm, width 27 cm, thickness 7 cm. Szafrański, \textit{Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie} 24, 47–9, fig. 13; Vernus, op. cit., 272–4 [81].

\textsuperscript{111} Ranke, PN I, 183 [19–20] (without translaron).

\textsuperscript{112} Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446, \textit{recto}, 18; see Hayes, \textit{A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom}, p. 20, pl. 1 [18].

\textsuperscript{113} Ranke, PN I, 188 [7–8] (without translation). In \textit{Marée, Égypte, Afrique & Orient} 53 (March–May 2009), 12, this comment has been obscured through accidental editorial deletion of the first \textit{t} in Nbt-jtj – the sole distinction between the male and female forms.

\textsuperscript{114} Contra ibid., 188 [16].

\textsuperscript{115} Not cited by Ranke, \textit{PN I–II}, but found on the spout of offering table Louvre D.27 = N.369 from the reign of Amenemhat III (formerly on loan to the Musée d’Aquitaine in Bordeaux, where the inventory number was D.85.1.22); see Orgogozo et al., \textit{Égypte et Méditerranée}, fig. on 30 [bottom].

\textsuperscript{116} Ranke, PN I, 183 [10]. The names Nbt-mjr and Nbt-nbw are no exceptions, contra ibid., 188 [17–8]. Nbt-mjr is to be translated ‘possessor of truth’, as borne out by its male equivalent Nb-mjr (ibid., 184 [25]). Nbt-nbw, which Ranke cites from Cairo CG 20763, is an abbreviation of Nbt.j-m-nbw, as shown by stela Louvre C 13, which refers to the same woman (Spalinger, \textit{RdÉ} 32, pl. 8, second register from bottom, line 13); its meaning is therefore ‘my lady is (made of) gold’, not ‘my lady is the Golden One (= Hathor)’. 
error on the part of an ill-trained artisan,117 but we shall see that the distribution of the figures is quite deliberate and sensible. The son is identified as a ‘scribe’ (šš) called Dhwtj, a name that gained popularity during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties—as did the cult of the god it refers to: Thoth. The daughter’s name is Jb. Brother and sister are depicted smaller than their father and stand, unusually, hand in hand. Dhwtj clasps also what can only represent a folded cloth.118 The offering formula is also for the benefit of Nb-jtj’s wife, a certain Jwbw, but unlike the others she is not depicted.

It is remarkable that a title should be recorded for the son but not for the principal owner. This strongly suggests that the monument was not commissioned by Nb-jtj himself. One might think that it was Dhwtj who had it made, observing the moral obligation to commemorate his father. However, no dedication formula describes him as the son who keeps his father’s name alive (jn sš f s’nḫ ṭn幸福感), nor is he shown in the role of cult performer. In taking Nb-jtj’s orientation and standing behind him, Dhwtj and Jb assume as much as their father the role of cult recipients, albeit of lower status. Another candidate will shortly present himself as, I believe, the actual dedicator. That Nb-jtj did hold an important office is certain, for luckily we meet him again on another monument from Edfu, and there his title is duly included.

It has been suggested that our Nb-jtj be identical with a like-named ‘disputes overseer and lector-priest’ (brj-hbt, jmj-r šnt), who was the owner of a statue119 and offering table120 found at Tell Edfu in the mastaba of Isi. However, there can be no doubt that these two monuments concern a different man. The only correspondence rests in his name, which, as noted above, was rather common in Edfu; the name of his wife was Jb, which is not a variant of Jwbw. On stylistic and epigraphic grounds, the statue and table must be dated to the later Thirteenth Dynasty (post-Sobekhotep IV), well before the Nb-jtj of Warsaw 141281 from the late Seventeenth Dynasty.121 We are, however, on better ground with an important further stela (fig. 16), which has been missed in previous studies but can with confidence be attributed to the Nb-jtj who occupies us at the moment. That stela was seen and recorded by the Egyptologist J.J. Clère on a visit to the dealer Mohareb Todrous in 1935; what became of it since is unknown.122 That Warsaw 141281 and the ‘Clère stela’ are of closely similar date is quite clear. Both show the much increased impact of documentary scribal culture on

117 Vernus, Edfou, 272, 274.
118 Not a bird, as proposed (with query) by Vernus, Edfou, 272. The hand is not fisted, so the thumb and other fingers can easily be mistaken for the legs of a bird—the rest of which would then, however, be missing. Vernus’ impression that the man is holding an offering ties in with his assumption that the placement of brother and sister behind the father is a mistake.
119 Louvre E.14330: Alliot, Tell Edfou (1933), p. 15, 28 [B], pl. 11; id., BIFAO 37, 98 [6], 137; Vernus, Edfou, 35–8 [11], pls. 9–10; Delange, Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire, 72–5; Seipel, Gott, Mensch, Pharao, 203–4 [66].
120 Louvre E.14410: Alliot, Tell Edfou (1933), 15–6, 29 [C], pl. 12 [1]; id., BIFAO 37, 99 [7], 137; Vernus, Edfou, 39–41 [12], pls. 11 [b]; Seipel, Gott, Mensch, Pharao, 204–5 [67].
121 Stela Warsaw 141281 must thus be removed from Franke, Personendaten, Dossier 290.
122 Limestone. Height 42 cm, width 24 cm, thickness unknown. Clère’s notes on the stela are among his papers in the Louvre and at the Griffith Institute in Oxford, and bear the incomplete serial number ANT-35-[vacant], shared with further objects he saw on the market in 1935. Clère also took photographs: negatives A 12/29, A 18/43, /44. Our fig. 16 is from negative A 18/44.
monumental inscriptions at the end of the Second Intermediate Period. Typical features include the expansive writings of ṭ nṯq, ‘bread and beer’, on the Warsaw stela (detached from the prt-hrw group) and of jḥw ḫḏw, ‘beef and fowl’, on the Clère stela (both words have their own plural strokes, instead of sharing them in a single square). Also symptomatic is the writing on both stelae of ḫt, ‘things’. One notes the vertical arrangement of ḫ and ṭ as in the hieratic ligature, and the word is concluded by both the book-roll and plural strokes, rather than one or none of these determinatives. The same scribal tradition is manifest in the opening phrase of the offering formula: ‘an offering that the king gives’. On our two stelae this is no longer written *nsṯ ḫt ḫḏw but *nsṯ ḫḏw ḫṯp, as now had for some time become the norm. Most diagnostic as dating criterion, however, is that both times the late form is accompanied by absence of the t as phonetic complement in nsṯ (where this t was no longer pronounced). This graphic omission was normal in the New Kingdom, but apart from the present pair of stelae, the only pre-New Kingdom attestation in Edfu appears on stela Cairo JE 49566 from the reign of Kamose, last king of the Seventeenth ‘Dynasty’. The style of Nb-ḥjṯ’s stelae permits neither a much later nor a much earlier date. They must have been made under, or very close to, Kamose’s reign.

Although the Clère stela was seen with a Luxor dealer, we can be certain of its discovery at Tell Edfu. This is again immediately evident from the gods named in the offering formula. This invokes ‘Horus of Behdet, the great god, lord of the sky’, ‘Osiris, lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of Abydos’ and ‘the god Isi, alive’. The last-named deity is, of course, the Old Kingdom nomarch of Edfu. This is, in fact, his latest mention in the surviving historical record; there is no more trace of Isi in inscriptions from the New Kingdom, nor have monuments of that period been discovered at his mastaba tomb.

Also the second stela belongs primarily to Nb-ḥjṯ, but only now are we informed of his profession. Witness his title ḫmn-nṯr n ḫr ḫḥḏṯj, ‘god’s servant of Horus of Behdet’, Nb-ḥjṯ was once the senior priest in the temple of Edfu. The bottom register depicts him seated, this time in company of his wife, whose name is here written as ḫwḥ. It is no coincidence that

123 On this phenomenon, see notably Vernus, BSFÉ: 119; id., in Quirke (ed.), Middle Kingdom Studies, 141–52.

124 Černý, MDAIK 24, 87–92; see now also Morenz, Ägypten & Levante 15, 169–80. A further Edfu stela that shows this omission is Louvre E.20908, but there the opening words of the offering formula are written *’nṣṯ ḫḏw ḫḏw ḫṯp ḫḏw ḫḏw ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫṯp ḫᵗ}
the Clère and Warsaw stelae appeared on the market around the same time – the former seen in Luxor in 1935, the latter bought in Edfu in 1938. They must have adorned the same tomb chapel and were likely found closely together. The Clère stela, while only marginally taller and somewhat narrower than the Warsaw one, was likely the chapel’s centrepiece. This may be judged from its slightly better workmanship by a different artisan, its more elaborate content, the inclusion of Nb-jiy’s title, the depiction of his wife and, last but not least, that of a cult performer, whom a dedication formula identifies at length. The dedicatory, a certain Hrj, is shown standing before the couple while burning incense and proffering a bird. As Dhwtj and Jb are absent here, the Warsaw stela can be regarded as a logical extension to the Clère stela, and was most likely once placed to the latter’s left. The arrangement of Dhwtj and Jb on the Warsaw stela presents them as additional beneficiaries of the offering cult that Hrj established for their parents. Indeed there can be little doubt that Hrj commissioned both stelae, and that Dhwtj and Jb were already dead or as yet too young to make the necessary arrangements. A possible hint at their relative youth, either in life or at premature death, may be that the Warsaw stela depicts them holding hands, as children might. That it assigns to Dhwtj the title s3, ‘scribe’, need not speak against the idea. The title is plain and unspecific, and while as such it is remarkably common in the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties, it cannot be ruled out that Dhwtj was still an apprentice scribe of limited means. It should be noted that Hrj was not, in any case, a true son of Nb-jiy and Jwbw, and so he must have fulfilled his cultic role for lack of better candidates. The dedication formula does relate him to Nb-jiy with the kinship term sA, ‘son’, but this must here have been employed in some broader or purely figurative sense, for Hrj’s filiation names as his father a ‘king’s son’ (s3-nswt) Rc-msw, and as his mother a ‘lady of the house’ Nfrt-wbn{n}.s.

While Nb-jiy and Jwbw wear long garments, Hrj is clad in a simple sndyt-kilt. Unlike the principal owner, he was a man of the army. His title is 3tw n tt-hq3, ‘commander of the ruler’s crew’, denoting an officer who commanded a naval squad that served the Crown and who was quartered at some major town, in his case no doubt at Edfu. While not a real ‘son’ of Nb-jiy and Jwbw, he might have been a son-in-law (married to Jb?) or perhaps a grandson, for s3 is attested with these meanings. As for the second option, Hrj could only have descended from the couple via his mother Nfrt-wbn{s}, whose parentage remains unknown. Indeed she might have been a daughter of Nb-jiy’s, but then it would be odd that neither of his stelae depicts her. In any case, Nb-jiy and Jwbw were certainly not the parents of Hrj’s father, the ‘king’s son’ Rc-msw, for another document from Edfu rules this out: stela Cairo JE 48229 (fig. 17). Its principal owner has the same rare name Rc-msw, and I propose that he is none other than Hrj’s father. On his own stela, Rc-msw is identified with dual filiation, naming a Hr-hw-hwt.f and 3st as his father and mother respectively.

The Cairo stela makes clear that Rc-msw was not a real ‘king’s son’ but a titular one. Title 126 The Clère stela is 42 x 24 cm, while the Warsaw stela is 40 x 27 cm.
127 For s3 used with reference to fictitious sons, see Franke, Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen, 43–5, 49, 52–3. See also the following note.
128 For its use with reference to sons-in-law, see ibid., p. 151, with n. 3. For its application to grandsons and descendants in general, see Robins, CdÉ 54201–2; Franke, Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen, 43, 46–7, 49, 54–6.
129 Engelbach, ASAE 23, 183–4 [1], fig. 1; Vernus, Edfou, 244–6 [74], pl. 46 [a].
combinations and the contexts of attestations suggest such officials formed the highest tier of military command at the regional level, appointed at important towns where large numbers of soldiers were stationed. The ‘king’s son’ had clearly a different remit from the mayor, although some people are known to have held both posts. The literal translation of \textit{s3-nswt} suggests that ‘king’s sons’ were nominated by the king and directly answerable to him. They were selected from local elites, as a means for the central government to ensure good relations with the provinces, as well as a measure of direct control. Titular princes are already attested from the early Thirteenth Dynasty, but it seems that their influence increased in the late Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties, when towns appear to have gained greater autonomy. Naval commanders and other local forces all would fall under their authority.

Significantly, on his own stela, \textit{Rc-msw} is as yet only a ‘commander of the ruler’s crew’, just like his son \textit{Hrj} on the Clère stela, made after \textit{Rc-msw} had been promoted to ‘king’s son’. That the Cairo stela truly concerns the same \textit{Rc-msw}, despite the different titles, is confirmed by the fact that it, too, names as his wife one \textit{Nfrt-wbn.s}. This time she appears with the title \textit{hkr-nswt}, ‘king’s ornament’, providing eloquent further evidence of close ties between this family and the royal court at Thebes. The absence of that title on the Clère stela, where she is simply called \textit{nbtp r}, ‘lady of the house’, is not in conflict with the suggested chronology of both stelae. It has often been suggested that \textit{nbtp r} is a ‘lower’ female title than ones such as \textit{hkr-nswt}, but this is incorrect, for they denote different things that do not permit of direct comparison. \textit{Nbt	pr} indicates that a woman is married, and \textit{hkr-nswt} defines a woman’s place among members of the elite; the two are not mutually exclusive, and usage of either is optional. In support of the prosopographical link, it is further important to note that on the Cairo stela, with \textit{Rc-msw} still as naval commander, it is in turn his father \textit{Hr-hr-hwt.f} who is identified as ‘king’s son’. We are thus presented with a veritable dynasty of military officers with similar careers. \textit{Hr-hr-hwt.f}, \textit{Rc-msw} and \textit{Hrj} might all have started off as \textit{3tw n tt-hq3}, commanding the local fleet (though perhaps along with more such officers), and with each consecutively promoted to the town’s next \textit{s3-nswt}. At present the full trajectory is only ascertained for \textit{Rc-msw}, but it is also attested outside this Edfu family for at least one close contemporary. On a late Sixteenth or early Seventeenth Dynasty niche frame from Abydos, a prominent resident of that city twice describes himself as \textit{<s3->nswt}, but only once, where space permitted it, this is followed by the title \textit{3tw n tt-hq3} – the latter post was clearly less important, and he probably attained it at an earlier stage of his career.

\footnote{For the military importance of titular princes, cf. the comments of Schmitz, \textit{Untersuchungen zum Titel s3–njswt „Königssohn”}, 228–34, 255–7; Hafemann, \textit{AaF} 19, 217–8; Farout, \textit{RdÉ} 58, 52; Marée in id. (ed.), \textit{The Second Intermediate Period}.}

\footnote{See n. 146 below.}

\footnote{Rather than under the ‘overseer of the army’ (\textit{jmj-r mS}), as suggested for earlier centuries by Quirke, \textit{Tiles and Bureaux of Egypt}, 97 (but he nowhere discusses the ‘king’s sons’). ‘Overseers of the army’ appear remarkably seldom in sources from the late Thirteenth–Seventeenth Dynasties, which may or may not reflect a shift in military organisation.}

\footnote{The designation \textit{nbtp r}, ‘lady of the house’, evidently relates to the expression for ‘marriage’ itself: \textit{grg	pr}, ‘establishing a house’.}

\footnote{Lintel Brussels E.5263 (Speleers, \textit{Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes}, 32 [101]) + jambs Liverpool GM E.40–42 (unpublished); the complete monument is published later this year in Marée in id. (ed.), \textit{The Second Intermediate Period}, with pls. 77–80.}
perhaps still was, an $3w\ n \ tt-hq\j$. A stela found purportedly in Moalla, and from the same
general period, names a ‘king’s son’ as father of yet another $3w\ n \ tt-hq\j$.$^{135}$ A true king’s son
who served as $3w\ n \ tt-hq\j$ is known, incidentally, from the reign of King $Shm-Rc\wild-h\w $
Sobekemsaf (end of the Sixteenth or early Seventeenth Dynasty).$^{136}$

As for our family from Edfu, the relative chronology of $Hr-hr-hwt.f \to Rc\-msw \to Hrj$ is
neatly reflected by a change in one significant epigraphic detail on the monuments involved:
on $Rc\-msw$’s stela Cairo JE 48229, the opening phrase of the offering formula is still written
archaically as *$nswt\ htp\ dj*$, while on the Clère and Warsaw stelae, probably both dedicated by
$Hrj$, this takes the new form *$nswt\ dj\ htp*$ The old orthography of $htp\ dj\ nswt*$ is sporadically
attested in the late Second Intermediate Period and after, but was largely replaced towards
the end of the Sixteenth Dynasty.$^{137}$ $Hr-hr-hwt.f$ may well have been born during the late
Sixteenth Dynasty (near the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty? $^{138}$), while the lives of $Rc\-msw$ and
$Hrj$ must together have coincided with most of the Seventeenth Dynasty. $Hrj$ was certainly
a contemporary of Kamose and likely served as officer during the latter’s reign, given our
earlier observations on the date of $Nbj-ijj$’s two stelae.

As for $Rc\-msw$, in the whole of Egypt his name is only twice more attested before the
New Kingdom, and in one of these cases$^{139}$ the same man is probably intended again. On
stela Cairo JE 46785 (fig. 18), again from Edfu and of late Seventeenth Dynasty date,$^{140}$ it
appears in the paternal filiation of a $wrb\ q$, ‘pure-priest with (right of) entry’. $Rc\-msw$ is cited
without title, but the priest’s name is $Hr-Hr-xwt.f$. To all appearances, therefore, our
$Rc\-msw$ chose to name a son after his own father, thus following a well-established practice. The
younger $Hr-hr-hwt.f$ would have been a brother of our $Hrj$, and he was married to a woman
called $Jw.f$ – which in Edfu, both with men and women, became an increasingly popular
name, notably at the end of the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasty.$^{141}$

$^{135}$ Formerly in the Ball collection (Ball, Light from the East, 76 and fig. on 77). Newberry (PSBA 25, 135–6 [44]) falsely dated this stela to the early Thirteenth Dynasty on the assumption that it names a true prince, the future king of Turin King-list, line 7.9. Its style dates it certainly to the late Sixteenth or Seventeenth Dynasty.

$^{136}$ Stela London UC 14326 + Moscow I.1.b.32; Stewart, Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings, II, 18 [79], pl. 15 [2] (drawing); Hodjash and Berlev, The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae, 86–93 [41].

$^{137}$ On this development and questions of date, first addressed in detail by Vernus in Quirke (ed.), Middle Kingdom Studies, 141–52, see now Marée in id. (ed.), The Second Intermediate Period, first section.

$^{138}$ On a possible overlap between the late Thirteenth and Sixteenth Dynasties, see the remarks at the end of Marée in id. (ed.), The Second Intermediate Period, and those by J.P. Allen in the same volume.

$^{139}$ The other concerns a ‘mouth of Nekhen’ ($rA\ xn$) on stela London UC 14455 from the 16th or early 17th Dynasty, and by its style from the region between Thebes and Gebelein; Stewart, Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings, II, 26 [110], pl. 27 [2].

$^{140}$ Engelbach, ASAE 21, 66–7 [5]; id., ASAE 22, pl. facing p. 138, no. 3; Vernus, Edfou, 267–9 [79], pl. 47 [b].

$^{141}$ See, for example, stelae Cairo CG 20329 (man; Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches, I, 342, IV, pl. 24; Vernus, Edfou, 191–5 [58], pl. 30); JE 63949 = TR 16/2/22/24 (man; Engelbach, ASAE 22, 114–5, pl. facing p. 138, no. 4; Vernus, op. cit., 227–9 [68], pl. 41), both end 16th / early 17th Dynasty. Examples from the early Eighteenth Dynasty include stela Princeton y1993-151 (man and woman, temp. c. Ahmose; Engelbach, ASAE 22, 118–9; Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University 53 [1], fig. on 80 [left], 81; Vernus, op. cit., 287–91 [86], pl. 57), stela Cairo JE 46200 (man and woman; Daressy, ASAE 17 237–9 [I]; Vernus, op. cit., 287–91 [86], pl. 54), offering table JE 46203 (same man as previous and a woman; Daressy,
According to the Cairo stela, Re-msw’s mother 3st was a ‘mayor’s daughter’ (sīt htiṣ-). Her father would have headed the town’s civilian administration and overseen temple-related affairs. It is unclear if he is one of the currently known mayors of Edfu. Several other women from Edfu, all from the Second Intermediate Period, are known to have borne 3st’s name, but she cannot be positively identified in any other sources. Nor can, alas, Re-msw’s father Hr-hr-hwt.f, paternal grandfather of Hrj. Outside Cairo JE 48229, his name is not encountered in combination with the title of ‘king’s son’, and never with that of 3tw n ṭḥ-hq3.

There is, however, a remote possibility that he is to be equated with the well-known Hr-hr-hwt.f who served in Edfu, first as administrator of state-owned estates in the area (jmj-r gs-pr, ‘overseer of the half-domain’), and then as mayor (ḥtiṣ-, jmj-r hmw-npr) at the very end of the Sixteenth and/or early Seventeenth Dynasty. Two other titular princes are known to have been jmj-r gs-pr at some point in their careers, and we know also of individuals who have been titular prince as well as mayor. In fact, the mayor Hr-hr-hwt.f had a son Jb-j’w who did become ‘king’s son’, but if this Hr-hr-hwt.f was really the same as the grandfather of our Hrj, then Hr-hr-hwt.f would have had two wives, for the wife of the mayor Hr-hr-hwt.f is always identified as a ‘noblewoman and king’s daughter’ (ṣjt-p’ṭ, sīt-mswt) called Sbk-nht, while the wife of the ‘king’s son’ Hr-hr-hwt.f is identified as a ‘mayor’s daughter’ (sīt htiṣ-) called 3st.

We may finish discussion of this prosopographical dossier by returning to Hrj himself, the dedicator of the Warsaw and Clère stelae, and descendant of two ‘king’s sons’ in a row. His name and title were common, but only a few more sources attest them combined. As it is, an 3tw n ṭḥ-hq3 called Hrj is known from a further stela, at present also untraced, but unearthed at Tell Edfu and again from the Seventeenth Dynasty. It names Hrj as father of
the stela owner, a ‘garrison commander’ (gs) called Jr. It is tempting to think that Hrrj, son of R^c-msw, was the same man as Hrrj, father of Jr. A possible obstacle might be that the stela of R^c-msw – Cairo JE 48229 – and that of Jr can, in fact, be attributed to one and the same draughtsman, which does not favour a lapse of two generations between their dates of manufacture. It cannot, however, be excluded that Hrrj inherited R^c-msw’s post of fleet commander soon after JE 48229 was made, and that a son of his was already old enough to become Edfu’s garrison commander within another few years. No more than a decade need lie between both stelae. That they bear the mark of the same artist is not, in any case, in doubt. The handwritings on both stelae are closely akin, despite a somewhat better treatment of seated men signs on the stela of Jr. Common traits of special note include two dashes inside the h sign, a q without straight side, and the hooked fingers of arm signs except the ayin. These and other salient features recur in a third piece from the same artisan. An 3tw n tt-hq3 called Hrrj, again potentially identical with the son of R^c-msw, became the owner of statuette Barcelona E-280, it was originally made for an official of the late Thirteenth Dynasty, but at a later stage of the Second Intermediate Period it was usurped and dedicated to Hrrj by a daughter of his. Unfortunately there is no record of its provenance, while the offering formula on the back-pillar invokes only, inconclusively, ‘Osiris, the great god, lord of Abydos’.

Bearing in mind that Hrrj might possibly have succeeded R^c-msw as ‘king’s son’, it should be noted that several ‘king’s sons’ called Hrrj are known from the Second Intermediate Period. One is documented in Esna and another in Edfu itself, but both have different parents

149 Engelbach, ASAE 22, 116–7, pl. facing p. 138, no. 7; Vernus, Edfou, 251–2 [76], pl. 47 [a]. The commander’s name, written Jr, is probably to be read as Jr rather than *Jrr, for unambiguous spellings elsewhere only support existence of the former name, never the latter. Contra Engelbach, and following Vernus, op. cit., 251 and 252 [a], it is this man, not Hrrj, who owned the stela in question, as shown by the caption to the figure in the main panel; the mention of Hrrj in the damaged offering formula at the top must be part of a filiation, originally preceded by the mention of Jr himself.

150 It is also worth noting that various officials are known to have combined the titles ‘king’s son’ (sA-nswt) and ‘garrison commander’ (gs); see Marée in id. (ed.), The Second Intermediate Period, with nn. 170–4. Perhaps both titles were effectively synonymous designations for the same position. This raises, of course, the possibility that, after R^c-msw’s tenure as ‘king’s son’, it is not Hrrj but Jr who next headed Edfu’s military forces.

151 An offering table from Tell Edfu whose present location is, again, unknown (Engelbach, ASAE 22, 17, pl. 1 [9]; Vernus, Edfou, 247–50 [75], pl. 46 [b]). The shared artistic origin of all three monuments was first recognised by ibid., 246, 250, 252, 469–70.

152 Ex Toledo 25.642: Sotheby’s [auctioneers], Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and Western Asiatic Antiquities and Islamic Works of Art (sold in New York on 25 June 1992), lot 28 (with illustration). Examined from the original.

153 The original owner was identified on top of the base, in front of the feet. This inscription was erased when the figure was usurped, but extant traces bear out that his name was Jn-jff. Following the name are traces of a personal determinative (seated man A 1), not of a possible extension to the name (correcting Marée, Égypte, Afrique & Orient 53, 24, n. 40).

154 On a stela of unknown present whereabouts: Downes, Excavations at Esna 1905–1906, 76–7 [224E], fig. 40.

155 Stela Cairo CG 20329 (Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches, I, 342, IV, pl. 24; Vernus, Edfou, 191–5 [58], pl. 30).

http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/online_journals/bmsaes/issue_12/maree.aspx
and are indeed of earlier date (Sixteenth to early Seventeenth Dynasty). There is, however, one possible candidate for equation with our Hrj, if this naval commander truly did rise to the post of ‘king’s son’ in his father’s and grandfather’s footsteps. Coincidentally or not, the candidate in question is again the second owner of an old, usurped statuette Brussels E. 6947, made under the late Thirteenth or Sixteenth Dynasty. Is this the same man as the second owner of the Barcelona figure and/or perhaps the dedicator of the Clère and Warsaw stelae? The Brussels piece was discovered in Kawa, Sudan, far from territory controlled by the Egyptians in the days of its respective Egyptian owners. It came to light with further pieces of similar date, including a statuette of queen Nbw-m-hit, wife of the late Sixteenth or early Seventeenth Dynasty king Shm-R’-w’d-h’w Sobekemsaf. Like the many Egyptian sculptures found in the royal tombs at Kerma, those found at nearby Kawa must have been looted by Kushite troops during the late Second Intermediate Period, either as they seized hold of Egyptian fortresses in Nubia or during raids into Egypt proper. That the Nubians invaded Egypt on at least one dramatic occasion has now been confirmed by an inscription in the late Sixteenth Dynasty tomb of Sobeknakht II in Elkab, which describes an attack by an alliance of southern people during the reign of an unnamed pharaoh. Sobeknakht’s lifetime almost certainly overlapped with the reign of the above-named Sobekemsaf, who indeed has left us with the only monument showing a Sixteenth–Seventeenth Dynasty king defeating Nubian enemies: Jwntjw people of the (south-)eastern desert and ‘wretched Kush’ itself.

The historicity of the scene is suggested by the fact that the monument did not bear a parallel scene showing the king defeating Asians, as might be expected of purely symbolic scenes. However, if the Brussels statuette came into Nubian possession at the time of Sobekemsaf and not at some subsequent time of conflict, it can hardly represent the Hrj of the Warsaw and Clère stelae, as these are certainly of later date. Indeed it cannot be known when and whence the statuette was looted, though certainly it was in southernmost Egypt or already in one of Egypt’s Nubian fortresses before its usurpation by the second Egyptian owner, a st-nswt Hrj. This is suggested by the fact that the first owner was an overseer of Nubian auxiliaries (jmj-r ëÂww), hence involved with military activity beyond the First Cataract. If the Kushites took the statuette from one of the fortresses, the second Egyptian owner might still have been our Hrj of Edfu after his possible promotion from naval commander to ‘king’s son’. In discussing the stelae that he commissioned for Nb-jtj, we have noted that Hrj served very probably under Kamose, in which case he must have been involved in that king’s war effort against Kush. This saw the Egyptians regain control of the Nubian fortresses...

156 Macadam, *Temples of Kawa*, I, 82, pls. 35–6, no. XVI [A].
157 Brussels E 6985; see ibid., 82, no. XVI [B]. For the date of King Shm-R’-w’d-h’w Sobekemsaf, see now Maré in id. (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*.
158 See Davies, *BSFÉ* 157, 38–44; id., *EA* 23, 5–6; id. in Welshy and Anderson (eds.), *Sudan: Ancient Treasures*, 101 [75]; id. in Roehrig et al. (eds.), *Hatshepsut*, 49–50.
159 For the date of Shm-R’-w’d-h’w Sobekemsaf, most probably in the late Sixteenth Dynasty or else the earliest Seventeenth Dynasty, see Maré in id. (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period*. For the date of Sobeknakht II in the late Sixteenth Dynasty, see now Davies in Maré (ed.), op. cit.
160 In relief representations at Medamud, which the king caused to be added on the inside of a gateway from the reign of Senwosret III, now reconstructed in the Open Air Museum in Karnak; see Bisson de la Roque, *Médamoud (1929)*, 96–7, figs. 86–7, pl. 10.
as far south as Buhen. If the same Hrj owned, and then lost, the Brussels statuette while being quartered at one of the fortresses, this would obviously imply that the Kushites could temporarily re-enter and plunder it. All this is possible in theory, but without new evidence it remains beyond our ken how Hrj concluded his career.

Warsaw 139935 (fig. 19)

This stela fragment derives from the necropolis area to the immediate south of the mastaba of Isi. It only preserves the top half of the stela, with the offering formula. The gods invoked are ‘Horus of Behdet’ and ‘Osiris, lord of Busiris’. The owner of the stela is a woman called Hrj; her name was most widely used by men, but is also surprisingly often attested for women, including several more from Edfu. The inscription ends with a dedication phrase indicating that the stela was commissioned by ‘her brother’ (sn) called Msw, for whom no title is given. The lower half of the stela, now completely lost, would have been occupied by a figurative scene, which likely depicted these people.

The name Msw (var. Ms) became popular, both with men and women, in the course of the Seventeenth Dynasty and is widely attested in the New Kingdom. Epigraphic features corroborate that this stela is from the very end of the Seventeenth Dynasty – or perhaps even from the early years of the reign of Ahmose, which followed it. An advanced Second Intermediate Period date is apparent from the spelling of the opening phrase of the offering formula as *nswt dj htp, the defective writing of ‘they give’ as dj.s<n>, and the vertical arrangement of the signs in ht, ‘things’. Vernus has rightly noted that the stela’s epigraphy is, in fact, closely akin to that of Warsaw 141281, which, we have just seen, is itself from the late Seventeenth Dynasty. He draws attention to the curious fact that both spell the place name Dw, ‘Busiris’, with a Dw sign, evidently borrowed from the orthography of AbDw, ‘Abydos’, for the original difference in pronunciation between the endings of these place names had

161 Limestone. Height 20 cm, width 18 cm, thickness 6 cm. Michałowski et al., Tell Edfou 1939, 166 [27], pl. 9 [2]; Szafranski, Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie 24, 50–1, fig. 14; Vernus, Edition, 275–6 [82], pl. 50 [b].

162 See Ranke, PN I, 251 [8]; Vernus, Edition, 240 [h]. The other pre-New Kingdom examples from Edfu appear on a Thirteenth Dynasty offering table of unknown present location (Alliot, Tell Edfou (1933), 37 [1], pl. 12 [2]; id., BIFAO 37, 113 [32]; Vernus, op. cit., 53–7 [18], pl. 12 [a]), and on stelae Cairo TR 11/11/31/1 (ibid., 238–41 [72]) and CG 20537 (Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches, II, 144–5, IV, pl. 39; Vernus, op. cit., 180–5 [55], pl. 28 [b]), both of late Sixteenth or early Seventeenth Dynasty date.

163 An apparent Twelfth Dynasty example of the form Ms occurs on a crude hieratic stela, Cairo JE 91283 (number shared with other pieces): Simpson, Inscribed Material, 41 [C 11], 42, fig. 68. A Ms occurs on stela Cairo JE 46786 from Edfu of late Thirteenth/Sixteenth Dynasty or early Seventeenth Dynasty date (Engelbach, ASÆÆ 21, 65–6 [4]; id., ASÆÆ 22, pl. facing p. 138, no. 2; Vernus, Edition, 225–6 [67], pl. 40), and more examples of Ms in Elkab tomb no. 8 bis of Bjr from the late Sixteenth/early Seventeenth Dynasty (unpublished), and on stelae Philadelphia E.10983 (Smith, The Fortress of Buhen: The Inscriptions, 54–5, 74–8, pl. 71 [4]) and E.10989 (ibid., 56–8, 76, pl. 72 [2]), both from Seventeenth Dynasty Buhen when the fort’s commanders served the ruler of Kush. Numerous other examples date from the New Kingdom; cf. Ranke, PN I, 164 [18], 165 [11] (the latter entry citing also one Msw from the Old Kingdom).
long since disappeared. No other monuments from Edfu exhibit the same confusion. It is also noteworthy that both stelae have ‘bread’ and ‘beer’ written after, not under, the prt-hrw group. And immediately after jhw 3pdw, ‘beef and fowl’, their lists of desired offerings already conclude with ht nbt, ‘everything’, omitting the habitual adjectives nfrt wbt, ‘good and pure’. The two stelae show also a lack of concern with the rule to leave no unsightly gaps in arranging the squares, several of which contain low yet solitary hieroglyphs. It is interesting to note, however, that whereas Warsaw 141281 displays the unsatisfactory group $\text{prt-hrw}$, Warsaw 139935 converted this to $\text{jHw}\ j\text{Apdw}$ rather than writing $\text{jHw}\ j\text{Apdw}$. Thus, while the two stelae may or may not be attributable to the same draughtsman (irrespective of who the sculptors were), there can be little doubt that they were made in the same workshop, and around the same time.

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\[164\] Vernus, *Edfou*, 272 [a], 275 [c]. *I would not, however, concur with his suggestion that the first dd sign on the present stela was effaced in an attempt to completely change the name to 3bdw*. There are only some patches of general abrasion that continue into the next two lines.


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Fig. 1: Stela fragment Warsaw 141282. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.
Fig. 2: Stela Warsaw 141264. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.
Fig. 3: Stela Warsaw 141261. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.
Fig. 4: Stela Warsaw 141265. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.
Fig. 5: Stela Warsaw 141263. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.
Fig. 6: Offering table fragment Warsaw 141487. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.
Fig. 7: Stela Warsaw 141262. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.
Fig. 8 [a]: Statue naos, front of roof slab. Louvre E.20909 c. Courtesy of the Musée du Louvre.

Fig. 8 [b]: Statue naos, front of side slabs. Louvre E.20909 b and a. Courtesy of the Musée du Louvre.
Fig. 8 [c]: Statue naos, inside of left slab. Louvre E.20909 b. Courtesy of the Musée du Louvre.

Fig. 8 [d]: Statue naos, inside of right slab. Louvre E.20909 a. Courtesy of the Musée du Louvre.
Fig. 9: Stela Tübingen 463. After Brunner-Traut and Brunner, *Die ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen*, pl. 60.
Fig. 10: Stela Warsaw 141295. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.
Fig. 11: Stela Warsaw 141266. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.
Fig. 12: Offering table Warsaw 139936. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.
Fig. 13: Offering table fragment Warsaw 138796. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.
Fig. 14: Stela fragment Warsaw, without number (now lost). Courtesy of the National Museum.
Fig. 15: Stela Warsaw 141281. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.
Fig. 16: Stela seen by J.J. Clère with the dealer Mohareb Todrous in Luxor, 1935. Photograph from the Clère papers in the Louvre.
Fig. 17: Stela Cairo JE 48229. Courtesy of the Egyptian Museum; photograph by the author.
Fig. 18: Stela Cairo JE 46785. After Engelbach, ASAE 22, plate facing p. 138, no. 3.
Fig. 19: Stela Warsaw 139935. Courtesy of the National Museum; photograph by Z. Doliński.