

THE GOOD SHEPHERD ANTEF (STELA BM EA 1628)*

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Translation and interpretation of the autobiographical self-presentation of the Overseer of a Troop of Herdsmen of Small Cattle Antef on stela British Museum EA 1628. Various criteria for dating are examined, and it is suggested that the stela was produced in the Theban area during the reign of Amenemhat I.

METAPHOR and reality seldom coincide. When, for example, a man in the Eleventh Dynasty claims to have been a ‘shepherd of his subordinate labourers’,¹ no one would assume that he had been a professional herdsman. We know that rhetorical comparison and real life are distinct. However, Antef, the owner of British Museum stela EA 1628 (figs 1–3, pl. VI),² was a chief-herdsman by profession, who cared for his family and served the common good in the council of his village. He was a top (*tꜥi*) herdsman and a good shepherd in one.

The upper part of the once beautifully coloured tall round-topped stela consists of fifteen horizontal lines of text, orientated to the right. Below it, on the left, a couple sits, facing right. The woman holds in her right hand a long-stemmed lotus; the flower points to her nose.³ Her rear arm is stretched forward and her hand rests on

* I thank Richard Parkinson for correcting my English, Marcel Marée for his comments and providing the new excellent photographs, and Vivian Davies for his permission to publish them (courtesy of and © The Trustees of the British Museum).

¹ *ink mnꜥw n mr(y)t:f* on Cairo CG 20503, which probably belonged with CG 20502 to an Abydene tomb from the reign of king Antef III, see W. Schenkel, *Memphis · Herakleopolis · Theben: Die epigraphischen Zeugnisse der 7.–11. Dynastie Ägyptens* (ÄA 12; Wiesbaden, 1965), §80 (hereafter Schenkel, *MHT*). A further example, in cryptographic writing, occurs in the tomb of Khety, Beni Hasan no. 17, according to O. D. Berlev, *Trudovoe naselenie Egipta v epochu srednego tsarstva* (Moscow, 1972), 115–17.

² Registration no. 1913.5.24.1; height: 125.5 cm, width: 51.5 cm. A drawing by E. J. Lambert was published in E. A. W. Budge (ed.), *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*, V (London, 1914), pls i–ii (hereafter *HTBM*), which has some errors. It is reproduced here as fig. 1. The stela was seen earlier on the antiquities market at Luxor and copied there for the Berlin Wörterbuch by Ludwig Borchardt on 23 May 1906 (see below). Photograph: W. V. Davies, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*, VII: *Tools and Weapons*, I: *Axes* (London, 1987), pl. xxxvii (fig. 1).

³ The whole area has been restored with (modern) plaster, probably concealing cracks. The stalk of the woman’s lotus flower meets her outstretched arm at a right angle, and as the damaged parts of that arm were never restored, one might be led to believe that the stalk makes a sharp bend, which of course it does not. The single seat shows two backrests with a smaller backrest behind Antef’s back; it is certainly part of the original carving. I know of no parallel for a couple represented so close together on two separate chairs, which each have only one visible leg; stela Cambridge E.9.1922 represents two couples next to each other on chairs with two backrests and only two legs depicted, G. T. Martin, *Stelae from Egypt and Nubia in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, c.3000 BC – AD 1150* (Cambridge, 2005), 20–2 (no. 16). Usually, comparable chairs for a couple with a single elongated seat show only one backrest. There are examples for a man and a woman seated on two separate chairs represented one behind the other: Turin Cat. no. 1447 from the reign of Nebhepetra Montuhotep I; Cairo CG 20518 from the reign of Senwosret I.

her husband's rear shoulder. Opposite them is an offering-table on a low stand, and on the right stands the little figure of a son who presents a bird to the couple. There follows a second register with the figures of four standing men, Antef on the left, and facing him three sons. These registers are cut in flat raised relief. Below a raised ridge border follows a third register with the incised figures of eight daughters, facing left. The main inscription reads (figs 1–2):

(1) *hṭp di [n]sw[t] wsiri nb d[d]w*
hnti imntiw (2) *nb 3bdw*
wp-w3wt nb t3-dsr
inpꜣw tpī-dw:f
 (3) *imi-wt nb t3-dsr*
pꜣrt-hꜣw h3 m ihꜣw 3pdw
ghs r3 mnt
ht nbt nfr(t) (4) *wꜣb(t)*
n im3hy hr ntꜣr-ꜣ nb pt
imi-r3 t(3)st^a mntꜣw-hṭp s3 in-it:f (5) *iqꜣ m3ꜣ-hꜣw*
ink imi-r3 t(3)st tpī s3 imi-r3 t(3)st tpī
hr-h3t imi-r3 nb n t(3)st
h3(6).kwi m iwꜣw diw
ink imi-r3 t(3)st tpī n mnꜣw nb ꜣwyꜣ
 (7) *ink nb bdt (r)di.n:i bdt n hꜣr*
iw grt s:ꜣnh.n:i (8) [SPACE] *s nb n h(3)w{t}:i m hꜣrꜣw n rdi:i mit*
qꜣr.n:(9)i m(w)t m qꜣrꜣw:i
iw hbs.n:i sw m hbsꜣw:i
ink (10) *ꜣš ihꜣw s3 ꜣš ihꜣw*
h3.kwi m diw <n> iwꜣw
ink (11) *nb ꜣꜣw nb hbsꜣw htyꜣw*
š3d.w n(:i) hr-ir(i)
ink grt tpī n nꜣwt:f
 (12) *wp h3 m hrꜣw n sh*
ink tšꜣw hrꜣw qnbt{t}
 (13) *ꜣrq hrꜣw ꜣrq*
iw wn rmtꜣ nt it(:i) mntꜣw-hṭp
m msꜣw (14) *n ꜣr*
m ht it:f m ht mꜣwt:f
iw wn rmtꜣ:i m mꜣtt
m ht it:i m ht mꜣwt:i
m ht (15) *dꜣs:i irt.n(:i) m gb3:i*
pꜣrt-hꜣw h3 m šs mnht
ht nbt nfr(t) wꜣb(t)
n im3hy in-it:f iq<r> m3ꜣ-hꜣw

(1) An offering which the [K]in[g] has given and Osiris, Lord of Busiris,
Foremost-of-the-Westerners, (2) Lord of Abydos,
Wepwawet, Lord of the Sacred Land,
and Anubis, Who-Is-Upon-His-Mountain,
(3) The-One-In-The-Wrapping, Lord of the Sacred Land:
an invocation-offering (of) a thousand of beef and fowl,
gazelle, goose, swallow,⁴
and everything good and (4) pure
for the venerated before the Great God, Lord of the Sky,
the Overseer of a Troop^a Montuhotep's son Antef, (5) the excellent^b (and)
vindicated.

I was the first Overseer of a Troop, the son of a first Overseer of a Troop,
superior to every Overseer of a Troop,
having descen(6)ded as the fifth heir.^c

I was the first Overseer of a Troop of all Herdsmen of small cattle.^d

(7) I was a possessor of emmer; (even) to the hungry I gave emmer.^e
Now, I kept alive (8) everybody of my relatives in periods of hunger
(and) I did not let (anyone) die,^f
(and) I buried (9) the dead in my coffin,^g
(and) I clothed him with my (mummy-)clothes.^h

I was (10) rich in cattle, the son of one rich in cattle,ⁱ
having descended as the fifth heir.^c

I was (11) a possessor of donkeys, a possessor of ploughlands and
threshing-floors,
which were dug for me in them.^j

Now, I was the leading (lit. 'first') man of his town,^k

(12) who opened the office at the day of council;^l

I was a decision-maker at the day (of the session) of the officials,

(13) who took the oath at the day of taking the oath.^m

There were people of (my) father Montuhotepⁿ
as descendants (14) of the house(hold),
from his father's possession and from his mother's possession,
(and) there were likewise my people
from my father's possession, from my mother's possession;
(and) as my (15) own possessions, which I had acquired by my (own) arm.

⁴ The offerings of gazelle, goose, and swallow are part of the detailed list of meat offerings from Old Kingdom times; see G. Lapp, *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches unter Berücksichtigung einiger späterer Formen* (SDAIK 21; Mainz, 1986), §§ 218–19 (gazelle), § 215 (goose and swallow). On an Eighth Dynasty slab-stela from the tomb of Shemai at Kom el-Momanien, an offering-bearer carries a gazelle as meat offering, see G. P. Gilbert, 'Three Recently Excavated Funerary Stelae from the Eighth Dynasty Tomb of Shemai at Kom el-Momanien, Qift', *JEA* 90 (2004), 76 (figs 4–5). In the offering formulae for Sarenput I in the sanctuary of Heqaib, offerings of gazelle are mentioned several times: Heqaib no. 9, l. (x+20), no. 1, l. 5; D. Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine: Geschichte eines Provinzheiligtums im Mittleren Reich* (SAGA 9; Heidelberg, 1994), 156–7, 216. For *Antilopinae* as part of livestock, see L. Störk, 'Antilope', in *LÄ* I, 319–23.

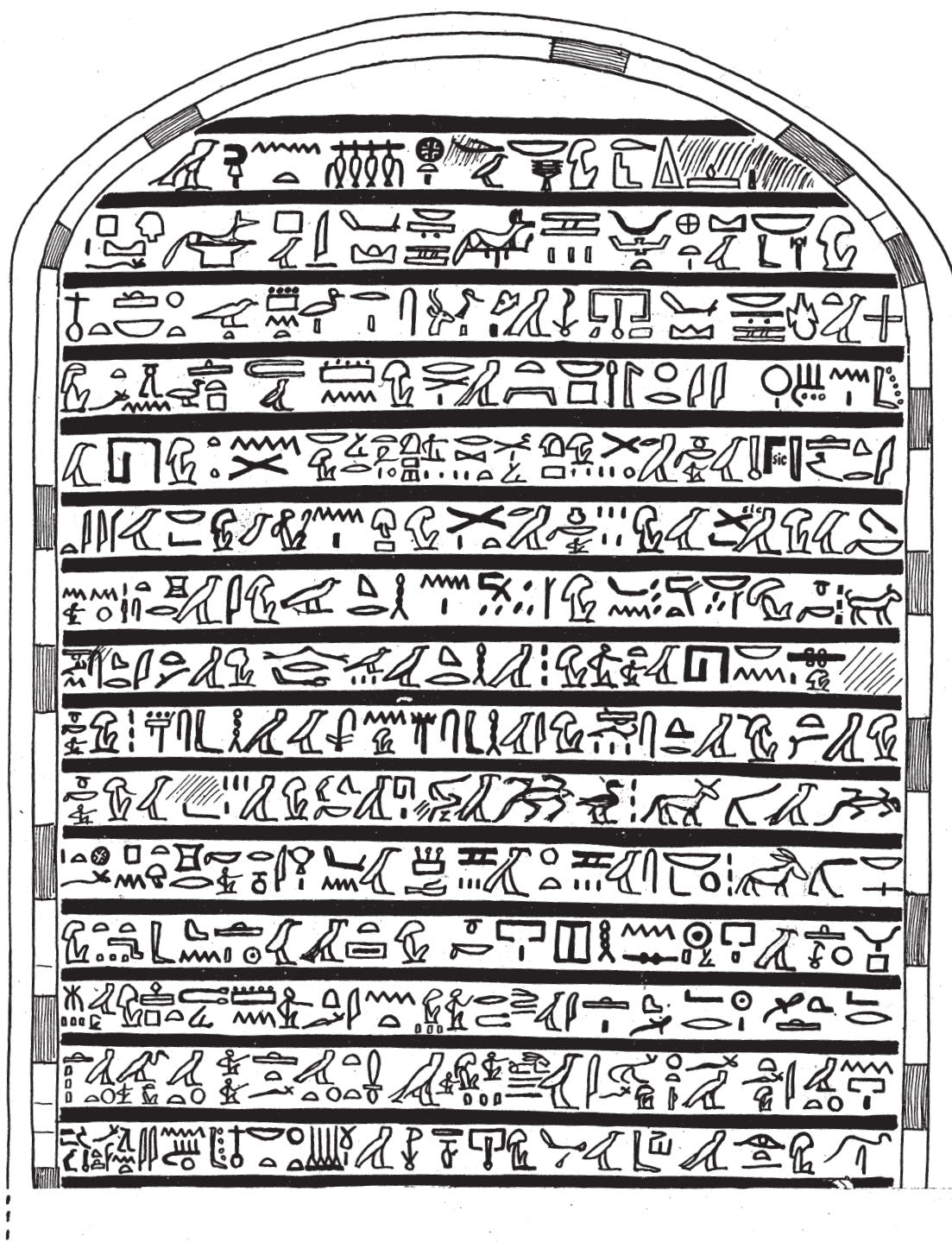


FIG. 1. E. J. Lambert's drawing of the upper part of stela BM EA 1628
(copy from *HTBM* V, pl. i).



FIG. 2. The autobiographical self-representation of Antef on stela BM EA 1628 (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).



FIG. 3. Stela BM EA 1628 of the Overseer of a Troop of Herdsmen Antef (courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

An invocation-offering (of) a thousand of (oil in) alabaster(-vessels) and linen,
(and) everything good and pure
for the venerated Antef, the excellent (and) vindicated.

Textual notes

(a) Three examples of the title are cited and translated by H. G. Fischer, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom: A Supplement to Wm. Ward's Index* (2nd edn; New York, 1997), 8 (nos 419a–c), who also points out on p. 47 (on no. 298) that W. A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut, 1982), no. 298 has to be deleted. *t(3)st*, ‘troop, crew of workmen’ (*Wb.* V, 402–403.9;⁵ Ward, *Index*, nos 418–19), derives probably from the root *t3z*, ‘to tie, knot’, compare semantically English ‘band’ and ‘bond’, German ‘Bande’, ‘Bund’, and ‘Band’, or ‘leash’ and ‘Koppel’. It is a feminine collective, and therefore sometimes written with the plural strokes, as in ll. 4 (omitted in Lambert’s drawing), 5. The different writings of the title in ll. 4–6 are semantically insignificant. The title *imi-r3 t(3)st* occurs several times in the Old Kingdom in connection with cattle-breeding,⁶ and *t(3)st* in the Old Kingdom usually means a herd of animals (with sign  E1), not a crew of men. With the seated man determinative ( A1) added to *t(3)st*, it designates crews in general (e.g. *Urk.* I, 102.7), supervised in the reign of Senwosret I by Overseers and Leaders (*tsw*), see, e.g., W. K. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner IV* (Boston, 1986), pls ix–xii (section B). In EA 1628, *t(3)st* means clearly groups of herdsmen, drovers, and cattle-hands. In l. 5 it is stated that Antef and his father were the first and best of several other Overseers of a Troop.

(b) ‘Antef’ ends with the seated man determinative, indicating that it is the complete name, followed by the two epithets *iqr*, ‘excellent’, and *m3r-hrw*, ‘vindicated’ (as in l. 15). This reading of the name, suggested by Berlev, *Trudovoe*, 259–60, is superior to that of H. R. Hall, in *HTBM* V, 5 as ‘Antefiqer’, followed (for example) by D. Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich* (HÄS 3; Hamburg, 1983), 215 (2), 265. For *iqr* as an epithet, see H. J. Polotsky, *Zu den Inschriften der 11. Dynastie* (UGAÄ 11; Leipzig, 1929), §81; J. J. Clère, ‘Une stèle de la I^{re} Période Intermédiaire comportant un hiéroglyphe nouveau’, in *Miscellanea Gregoriana: Raccolta di scritti pubblicati nel I Centenario dalla Fondazione del Pont. Museo Egizio (1839–1939)* (MVAA 6; Rome, 1941), 455, fig. 1, l. 6 (Schenkel, *MHT*, §96); W. Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien* (BOS 13; Bonn, 1962), §28a; stela Chatsworth 720/12, H. W. Müller, ‘Die Totendenksteine des Mittleren Reiches’, *MDAIK* 4 (1933), 187 (fig. 11); M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies*

⁵ The occurrences on EA 1628, ll. 5–7 are cited in *Wb.* V, 403.8–9 (Belegstellen) as ‘Stele im Handel <Var 182>’ and ‘<Var 181>’; this is now ‘Varia 182–183’. The stela was copied in 1906 by Ludwig Borchardt for the Berlin Wörterbuch, labelled as ‘mR Stele im Handel Nr. 40’ and ‘Verschiedenes Nr. 40’, with a note ‘z[ur] Z[eit] in Luksor (23/5.06)’ on the first slip; the Wörterbuchzettel are currently numbered as ‘Varia 181–188’. *Wb.* V, 403.9 (old <Var 181>, now <Var 182>) was copied incorrectly by Borchardt, who read *tsw* instead of *s3 imi-r3* in l. 5. My thanks go to S. Seidlmayer and I. Hafemann of the Berlin Wörterbuch for their kind help.

⁶ See H. G. Fischer, *Varia Nova* (Egyptian Studies 3; New York, 1996), 33 (n. g); D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom* (BAR IS 866; Oxford, 2000), I, nos 992–7; R. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch*, I: *Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit* (KAW 98 = HL 4; Mainz, 2003), 127–8; compare also the First Intermediate Period stela Cairo CG 20504 (with determinative  A1).

Chiefly of the Middle Kingdom: A Study and an Anthology (OBO 84; Freiburg and Göttingen, 1988), 67–8 (no. 26); C. Eder, 'Ägyptische Altertümer', in D. Boschung et al. (eds), *Die antiken Skulpturen in Chatsworth sowie in Dunham Massey und Withington Hall* (MonArtRom 26; Mainz, 1997), 128–30 (no. 166), fig. 13, pl. cxv.1.

(c) The stative is used here to describe a past circumstantial event, see É. Doret, *The Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian* (COr 12; Geneva, 1986), 151 n. 1801, 167 n. 2025, 179 n. 3. Berlev, *Trudovoe*, 259–60⁷ read *ṭsw*, 'leader, commander', and translated 'as I came from five commanders': there were five 'commanders' in the family, and Antef inherited his office from five ancestors.⁸ A reading of the term as *ṭsw* (≡ S24 and with the forearm ≡ D36!) is however difficult to follow (although suggested by Lambert's drawing), and Antef was not a subordinate *ṭsw* but an *imi-r3*. Schenkel proposed the reading *iwꜣw* 'heir'.⁹ From an examination of the original, the two signs in ll. 6, 10¹⁰ are clearly not a variant version of the *ṭ(3)s*-knot (≡ S24), but are the leg-bone with adjoining meat (≡ F44). However, the meaning of the phrase is difficult to grasp. Schenkel translated 'obwohl (oder: nachdem) ich unter 4(?) Erben hervorgegangen bin', and Doret, *Narrative*, 148 ex. 262: '(though) I had come from (a family with) five heirs'. However, Antef does not mention any other heirs in his family. For *h3i* 'to descend', see *Wb.* II, 472.8 (*m* 'from') and 21 (*m* 'to'). A further possibility is suggested in my translation above, reading the number not as a cardinal ('five') but as an ordinal 'the fifth'. It is not clear whether the different position of the number after and before *iwꜣw* is semantically significant, and Antef did not explicitly state how many relatives he had as predecessors in his office. Ordinal numbers were regularly formed by adding the ending *-nw/-nwt* to the root of the cardinal number, for example *dīnw*, *dīnwt* 'the fifth'. There are, however, examples, where cardinal numbers were used with an ordinal meaning or with the ordinal ending not written.¹¹ Ordinal numbers were written before the noun (l. 10: 'the fifth heir') and after the noun they modify (l. 6: 'heir five, i.e. the fifth'), while cardinal numbers usually follow the noun. The emphasis on Antef's position as the fifth heir of the office (ll. 5–6) and the cattle (ll. 9–10) then corresponds to the final statements in ll. 13–15 about his inheritance: he got possession of 'the people' from his paternal grandfather and grandmother and his parents, and his own position is the fifth in the line of possessors.

(d) Fischer, *Titles*, 8 (no. 419b). Antef's full title was probably *imi-r3 ṭ(3)st n mnīw.w ʿwyw*, 'Overseer of a Troop of Herdsmen of Small Cattle'. Herdsmen were important for cattle-breeding and are frequently mentioned in autobiographies of the period.¹²

⁷ Also O. D. Berlev, *Občestvennye otnošenija v Egipte epochi srednego tsarstva: Social'nyj sloj tsarskich ḥmww* (Moscow, 1978), 321.

⁸ For a comparable statement on stela Leiden AP.7 (reign of Senwosret I), see the General Comments below.

⁹ 'Beiträge zur mittelägyptischen Syntax, III: Sätze mit Pseudopartizip', *ZÄS* 92 (1965), 62 n. 2; cf. Doret, *Narrative*, 148 n. 1763; J. C. Moreno García, *Études sur l'administration, le pouvoir et l'idéologie en Égypte, de l'Ancien au Moyen Empire* (AegLeod 4; Liège, 1997), 40.

¹⁰ The sign in l. 10 was erroneously reproduced as destroyed in Lambert's sketch in *HTBM* V, pl. i (see fig. 1 of the current article).

¹¹ See E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* (AnOr 34, 39; Rome, 1955–64), I, §409; A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (3rd edn, Oxford, 1957), 196 (§264).

¹² See Clère, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 458–9, 462–3; W. Helck, 'Hirt', in *LÄ* II, 1220–3; J. C. Moreno García, 'Acquisition de serfs durant la Première Période Intermédiaire: Une étude d'histoire sociale dans l'Égypte du III^e millénaire', *RdE* 51 (2000), 126–7 (f). See also the General Comments below.

Herdsmen for small cattle such as sheep and most frequently goats (called also *ḥḥt*, *wṯy*)¹³ are depicted at work in several Middle Kingdom rock-tombs,¹⁴ and the little stela Liverpool SACE E.73 was owned by a late Middle Kingdom *mnḥw ṯwt*.¹⁵ Also the titles ‘Overseer of Small Cattle’ (*imi-r3 ṯwt*, Ward, *Titles*, no. 60) and *imi-r3 ḥḥw ḥḥwt* ‘Overseer of Cattle and Small Cattle’ (Naga ed-Deir stela no. 86 = Chicago Oriental Institute Museum 16958; see Schenkel, *MHT*, §266) occur.

(e) See J. Janssen, *De Traditioneele Egyptische Autobiografie vóór het Nieuwe Rijk* (Leiden, 1946), I, IV Ac14 and II Bm51; Doret, *Narrative*, 161 n. 1938 (*ink* + nominal sentence, then a nominal *sdm.n:f*); Moreno García, *Études sur l’administration*, 38–9 n. 111 (reading *bdt it*). This section was also cited by J. Vandier, *La famine dans l’Égypte ancienne* (RAPH 7; Cairo, 1936), 111.

(f) The space at the beginning of line 8 was probably never inscribed. It could be ancient damage (some kind of fossil? Compare in l. 4: *imsh[SPACE]y*) covered with (modern?) plaster; thus, one cannot restore a phrase **iḥw sḥḥ.n:i nwt:i*,¹⁶ as was suggested in Franke, *Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 215 (2). See Janssen, *Autobiografie*, I, II Dg10 and VI D38 (Doret, *Narrative*, 136–7 and n. 1617 for *n sdm:f* as the negative counterpart of the initial form *iḥw sdm.n:f*). For the term *h3w*, ‘family, relatives’, see Franke, *Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 211–30; id., ‘Kinship’, in D. B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2001), II, 246. The final *yodh* of *m(w)t* seems to result from a metathesis of the middle radical of the triliteral verb *mwt* and a sound change *w > i*; compare the example cited by Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, §§423b, 145,¹⁷ and also the spelling of the noun ‘the dead’ (*mwt > mūt > mtii*) on stela New York MMA 12.184, l. 4, cited by Janssen, *Autobiografie*, I, II Ga11. According to the rules of G. Fecht’s metrics,¹⁸ this is a four-stress ‘verse’ in divergence from the usual two- or three-stress ‘verse’ pattern; a further example is perhaps in ll. 4–5 with Antef’s title, filiation, name, and two epithets.

(g) Janssen, *Autobiografie*, I, II Ga10. Although it is possible to consider *qrs.n:i* as a nominal form (‘In my own coffin I buried the dead’), I prefer to interpret the statement as a continuation of the foregoing *iḥw sḥḥ.n:i*: Antef kept alive the living and buried the dead. This would then be an example of what Doret terms ‘gapping’ and *qrs.n:i* would be a non-initial main clause form (see Doret, *Narrative*, 133–5, 185). With *<iḥw> qrs.n:i* a new couplet also begins, and with a shift of emphasis: Antef also cares for the dead in his family. *qrsw* is the coffin; see also Franke, *Heqaib*, 189 (15).

(h) Lines 9–11 are translated by Doret, *Narrative*, 148 ex. 262. The first sentence is cited by Janssen, *Autobiografie*, I, II Bv2, and thematically it belongs closely to the

¹³ See L. Störk, ‘Ziege’, in *LÄ* VI, 1400–1; E. F. Wente, ‘A Goat for an Ailing Woman (Ostrakon Wente)’, in P. Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* (Boston, 1996), II, 855–67; E. Hauschreck, ‘Goats in Houses on Elephantine during the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period’, *GM* 202 (2004), 59–70. Antelopes (and gazelle) could also be part of small cattle breeding, see e.g. P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I (ASE 1; London, 1893), pl. xiii lower.

¹⁴ E.g. *Beni Hasan* I, pl. xxx lower; *Wb* II, 75.5; Ward, *Titles*, no. 794.

¹⁵ A. Amer, ‘The Stela of the Herdsman Pepi’, *JEA* 81 (1995), 210–12, pl. xvi.3–4.

¹⁶ As in R. Anthes, *Die Felsinschriften von Hatnub* (UGAÄ 9; Leipzig, 1928; Hildesheim, 1964), no. 24, ll. 9–10; Janssen, *Autobiografie*, I, II Dg9.

¹⁷ For another explanation, see Janssen, *Autobiografie*, II, 192.

¹⁸ On which see the remarks of R. B. Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: A Dark Side to Perfection* (London, 2002), 112–17.

previous statement about the burial of the dead. The ‘clothes’ are the linen wrappings for the mummy (*Wb.* III, 65.27–8). Doret relates the statement to ‘every man’ (‘I furnished him (= every man) with clothes’); the co-text however concerns the treatment of the dead and not the provisioning of the living. The following *ink*-statement begins a new section, emphasizing Antef’s material wealth in the countryside.

(i) For the reading of the term ‘cattle’ as *ihw*, see Lapp, *Opferformel*, §§ 223–5. The goose-sign has usually been read as ‘goose, fowl’ and the twice repeated phrase *ihw* then explained as faulty and emended, e.g. by Janssen, *Autobiografie*, I, I K5 and II, 25; Schenkel, *ZÄS* 92, 62; Doret, *Narrative*, 148 ex. 262 (‘I was someone rich in cattle and in fowl, (though) I had come from (a family with) five heirs’); and Moreno García, *Études sur l’administration*, 40. Berlev, *Trudovoe*, 260 read *s3* ‘son’ (as on slip ‘Varia 184’ of the Berlin Wörterbuch, probably prepared by H. Grapow); with this reading, the whole phrase makes good sense. It recalls the earlier statement in l. 5, describing Antef as the first Overseer and the son of a first Overseer, where the following *h3.kwi*-phrase also occurs. Antef asserts that he inherited his rank, status and possessions from a line of distinguished ancestors.

(j) For the beginning of this phrase, see Janssen, *Autobiografie*, I, IV Ac10; Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*³, 423 (addition to § 115A). See the examples cited by Moreno García, *RdE* 51 (2000), 126 (e) for comparable statements about donkeys. Donkeys were used for the transport of the harvest from the fields and to the threshing-floors, for threshing itself (also cattle), and for the transport to the granaries.¹⁹ Doret, *Narrative*, 148 ex. 262 translates: ‘I was a possessor of donkeys, a possessor of ploughland (and of) threshing-floors, (and) I had dug (a canal) in it(?) (i.e., the ploughland)’. This translation is inspired by a statement in the autobiography of Khety of Asyut, tomb no. V, l. 3: ‘[...], I blocked (?) the water [course] of 10 cubits (width) which I had excavated for it on the ploughland.’²⁰ However, this interpretation involves a serious emendation to Antef’s text, and there is no need to assume that Antef is speaking about waterworks in his fields.²¹ Fischer, *Titles*, 5 (no. 174b) relates *hbsw htyw* to a sequence *hbsw htyt* which occurs on a Thirteenth Dynasty stela (Stockholm NME 19, l. 3).²² *htyw* is clearly the threshing-floor, a plain area or terrace used also for other agricultural activities such as binding flax and yarn (e.g. P. Westcar 12, 14); it is not clear whether the *htyt* of stela Stockholm NME 19 is the same term as *htyw*, or a rare designation for some kind of field. While Doret understands the following as an active *sdm.n:f* (after Siut V, l. 3), the quail chick (G43) seems to indicate that it is a passive participle: Antef did not dig the threshing-floors himself; instead, they were constructed by his subordinates. For the adverb *hr-ir(y)*, lit. ‘thereof’ (< *hr:sn* ‘upon them’, i.e. the *hbsw*-fields), see Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*³, § 113.2.

¹⁹ See W. Guglielmi, ‘Dreschen’, in *LAÄ* I, 1144–5.

²⁰ [...] *t db3.n(:i) [it]rw nw mh mdw šd.n(:i) n:f hr hbs(w)*: Schenkel, *MHT*, § 57; W. Schenkel, *Die Bewässerungsrevolution im Alten Ägypten* (Mainz, 1984), 30, 32; Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 28 (no. 8B).

²¹ However, Doret’s suggestion is presented as fact in Moreno García, *Études sur l’administration*, 13 n. 33, 40, and id., *RdE* 51, 127 (g), ex. 6 (‘et j’y ai creusé [un canal]’).

²² For Stockholm NME 19, see B. J. Peterson, ‘Ägyptische Privatstelen aus dem Mittleren Reich’, *OrSu* 17 (1968) 14 (fig. 2), 15 (II); compare S. Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850–1700 BC* (GHE 1; London, 2004), 63. For *hbsw*-fields, see also G. P. F. Van den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier: Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom* (London, 1988), 174 n. 3; Moreno García, *RdE* 51, 127 n. 32.

(k) The reading *tpi* is clear, as noted already by J. J. Clère in his review of Janssen's book in *BiOr* 4 (1947), 3. The entry in Janssen, *Autobiografie*, I, I Aa38 (reading *mnh*; followed by Doret, *Narrative*, 148 ex. 262, and Moreno García, *Études sur l'administration*, 40, 48) has accordingly to be deleted. The phrase is to be assigned to Janssen, *Autobiografie*, I, 135 (III U).

(l) This statement about Antef's role as a councillor and judge²³ was cited by Janssen, *Autobiografie*, I, II S16 ('Ik nu was iemand, die richtte in de rechtzaal op den dag van beraad'); he did not include the following two phrases in his study. Janssen's translation however supposes a wording such as **wṗ m ḥ3* 'who judges in the office'. Perhaps the basic denotation of *wṗi* 'to open' should be retained; Moreno García, *Études sur l'administration*, 54 n. 193, 74 n. 260, 97 n. 307, translates accordingly: 'un qui ouvrait le bureau le jour (de réunion) de la Chambre des dignitaires'. Antef was the first councillor who entered the council-chamber in front of the others. *wṗ* immediately recalls the theme of judgement ('to make up (a quarrel), to judge (contestants)')²⁴, and it is followed by the related key-words *sh*, 'council-chamber', *qnbt*, 'assembly of officials', and *ʿrq*, 'oath'.

(m) The term *tšw*²⁵ (an active participle) is cited in *Wb.* V, 329.21 ('Ob richtig?') with EA 1628 as the only example, following Borchardt's copy (*Wörterbuchzettel* <Varia 184>, now 'Varia 185'). It was grouped by the compilers of the *Wörterbuch* after the term *tš*, 'to split, smash' (*Wb.* V, 329.17–20). Senwosret I is called 'smasher of foreheads' in Sinuhe B55, and the German language provides a comparable twofold connotation for the verb 'fällen': 'eine Entscheidung fällen' ('to pass a judgement, to decide') and 'einen Gegner fällen' ('to fell an opponent'). *tš(3)* is probably related to *tš*, 'limit, border, boundary' and 'to fix the limit, to divide/partition off (an area)' (*Wb.* V, 236–7), usually used spatially. In *Pyr.* §797 (spell 437), *wṗi* and *tš* occur together in a juridical context: 'You judge the gods, you set bounds to the celestial expanses ...' (*Wb.* V, 237.2). Used in parallel to *wṗi*, 'to judge', *tš/tš* could perhaps convey the meaning of 'to decide' about a case, 'to give the (final) judgement' as the one with the casting vote. However, a temporal meaning of *tšw* 'to fix the limits (of the sessions)' also seems conceivable: Antef was the one who clinched arguments and matters and thus finished the council sessions. The final action in such sessions, after hearing the petitioners, was the taking of oaths. *ʿrq* is probably used here as a juridical *terminus technicus*, not in the more general meaning 'to know, to be wise'. For example, after the yearly Nile flood and before planting, boundary markers were repositioned in the presence of a board of officials and village elders who swore that the boundary-stones were in their right place.²⁶ A further cause for lawsuits and village troubles might

²³ For the role of a councillor, see Moreno García, *Études sur l'administration*, 53–5, 96–109, and D. Franke, 'Fürsorge und Patronat in der Ersten Zwischenzeit und im Mittleren Reich', *SAK* 34 (2006), 166 n. 30. The title *hrp sh* has however no relation to juridical matters; *sh* designates here a room for food preparation.

²⁴ S. Jin, '„Schlichten“ und „Richten“: Über die altägyptischen Termini *wṗi* und *wdʿ*', *SAK* 31 (2003), 225–33. Compare also the phrase *wṗi tš(wi)* 'to judge the (Two) Land(s)', which is modelled after the more frequent *wṗi smwi* 'to make up (a quarrel)/to judge (between) two persons', in Wadi Hammamat 3042, ll. 6, 11, 15, A. Gasse, 'Améni, un porte-parole sous le règne de Sésostri Ier', *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 83–94, fig. 1, pl. vi.

²⁵ The reading *ink ršw*, 'c'était moi un heureux (?)', by Moreno García, *Études sur l'administration*, 54 n. 193, 74 n. 260, 97 n. 307, is incorrect.

²⁶ As shown in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs; see W. Helck, 'Feldereinteilung und -vermessung', in *LÄ* II, 150–1. S. Allam, "Quenebete" et administration autonome en Égypte pharaonique', *RIDA* 42 (1995), 44 n. 70, 49 n. 80.

have been rights of pasture. For the meaning of the term *qnbt*, see Moreno García, *Études sur l'administration*, 73–4 n. 260, S. Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom: The Hieratic Documents* (New Malden, 1990), 54–7 ('a group of officials to deal with a variety of miscellaneous affairs'), and Allam, *RIDA* 42, 11–69 ('un groupement généralement formé d'une pluralité de personnages haut placés dans leur société'). There were no formal courts of justice and no professional judges or magistrates in the Old and Middle Kingdoms.²⁷ Antef's profession is that of a chief-herdsman, and he became a respected councillor and judge or arbitrator in the council meetings in his town or village, or of his lord, only through his abilities and reputation as an influential member of a distinguished family.

(n) This is the most frequently translated part of the inscription.²⁸ The meaning is best conveyed by translating 'My father Montuhotep had people ...' and 'and likewise I had people' (cf. Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*³, § 115). Possession of these 'people' was inherited from Antef's parents,²⁹ probably in connection with the inheritance of his father's office. The servants were part of the household over the course of several generations, and their children were born then as 'children of the household'.³⁰ The theme of 'acting with his own arm'³¹ (*gbꜥ*; usually *hꜥꜥ*) and the acquisition of wealth, including 'people', has been much discussed.³²

General comments and date

Antef was a proud chief-herdsman of small livestock, who had inherited his office, rank, and status, which were demonstrated by his economic wealth, from his paternal grandfather and his father Montuhotep. He certainly did not belong to the

and 51 n. 84 notes a long-term continuity in the role played by elder village-men in local affairs from the Pharaonic to the Graeco-Roman period (*πρεσβύτεροι*).

²⁷ See J.-M. Kruchten, 'Law', in Redford (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, II, 277–82, esp. 280–1; S. Allam, 'Richter', in *LÄ* V, 254–5; Quirke, *Administration*, 54–7; Allam, *RIDA* 42, 13; J. C. Moreno García, 'Élites provinciales, transformations sociales et idéologie à la fin de l'Ancien Empire et à la Première Période Intermédiaire', in L. Pantalacci and C. Berger-el-Naggar (eds), *Des Néferkarê aux Montuhotep: Travaux archéologiques en cours sur la fin de la VI^e dynastie et la première période intermédiaire; actes du colloque CNRS-Université Lumière-Lyon 2, tenu le 5–7 juillet 2001* (TMO 40; Lyon, 2005), 216. For some epithets with the term *qnbt*, see also D. M. Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom: A Social and Historical Analysis* (PdÄ 12; Leiden, 1998), 165–6.

²⁸ H. G. Fischer, 'Nubian Mercenaries of Gebelein during the First Intermediate Period', *Kush* 9 (1961), 54 (the translation by id., 'Notes on the Moʿalla Inscriptions and Some Contemporaneous Texts', *WZKM* 57 (1961), 72 with n. 34 is from BM EA 1372); Berlev, *Trudovoe*, 259 ff.; W. Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Alten Ägypten im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (HdO I/1/5; Leiden, 1975), 162; Franke, *Verwandschaftsbezeichnungen*, 265; Moreno García, *Études sur l'administration*, 37 n. 105; id., *RdE* 51, 129 (13). For the construction *iw wꜥn*, occurring twice, see Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*³, § 107.2.

²⁹ See the study of the term *rmꜥ* by Berlev, *Občestvennye otnošenija*, 35–48. Montuwoher gave all his possessions, including his *mr(y)t*-labourers, to his son by an *imyt-pr* 'inventory transfer document', stela Florence 6365, l. 7: H. G. Fischer, 'Shꜥ.sn (Florence 1774)', *RdE* 24 (1972), 69; Berlev, *Trudovoe*, 101–2.

³⁰ Berlev, *Trudovoe*, 259 ff. (and id., *Občestvennye otnošenija*, 40); Franke, *Verwandschaftsbezeichnungen*, 304; Moreno García, *RdE* 51, 131 n. 50, 135 n. 70.

³¹ *Wb.* V, 163.12 ('Var 185' is presently 'Varia 186'); Janssen, *Autobiografie*, I, II F176 and II, 76; Polotsky, *Zu den Inschriften*, § 73e; see also D. Franke, '„Schöpfer, Schützer, Guter Hirte“: Zum Königsbild des Mittleren Reiches', in R. Gundlach and C. Raedler (eds), *Selbstverständnis und Realität: Akten des Symposiums zur ägyptischen Königsideologie in Mainz, 15.–17.6.1995* (ÄAT 36/1 = BAK 1; Wiesbaden, 1997), 207–9. Compare Neferti, l. 10: *nꜥꜥ ꜥw qꜥ* [n] *gbꜥ:f* (reign of Amenemhat I or Senwosret I).

³² Berlev, *Občestvennye otnošenija*, 39–41, Moreno García, *Études sur l'administration*, 36–7 n. 105; id., *RdE* 51, 123–39; Franke, *SAK* 34, 162–5.

administrative and scribal elite of Egypt; he was more likely a member of the old-established peasantry who transmitted their practical knowledge in cattle-herding from generation to generation. Cattle-breeding and herding was an important part of agricultural life, and next to grain, cattle were fundamental for the country's economy and wealth.³³ The King and the high members of the elite owned large herds of cattle, supervised by overseers (*imi-r3 iḥw*)³⁴ and the temples had large herds of cattle.³⁵ Sheep and goats (and also pigs) were of similar importance for food-production, as donkeys were for transport; these small quadrupeds benefited from the care of the officials. While cattle were a precious and valuable possession of high prestige, small cattle could also be owned by people of lesser rank and wealth.

Several autobiographies, from the late Sixth Dynasty³⁶ to the early Twelfth Dynasty, focus on the acquisition of (small) cattle and the appointment of herdsmen for the herds of sheep and goats together (*ꜣwt > ꜣwyt*) or goats alone (*ꜣnḥt, wꜣty*), and donkeys. 'I acquired cattle, goats, and herdsmen ...' said Ninebshemau,³⁷ and Rehui, the Overseer of Priests of the Theban temple of Amun, declared: 'I appointed (*iri*) a herdsman in charge of the cattle and a herdsman in charge of the goats ...'.³⁸ 'I grouped (*nḥb*)³⁹ ten herds of goats and herdsmen in charge of each herd. I acquired two herds of cattle and one herd of donkeys, and I acquired every kind of small cattle' said Iti from Rizeiqat (Cairo CG 20001, ll. 5–6).⁴⁰ Heqaib from Gebelein likewise stated: 'I placed a herdsman to a hundred head of cattle, and herdsmen to

³³ See the fundamental study by J. C. Moreno García, 'J'ai rempli les pâturages de vaches tachetées ... Bétail, économie royale et idéologie en Égypte, de l'Ancien au Moyen Empire', *RdE* 50 (1999), 241–57.

³⁴ Or 'Overseer of Horned Animals' (*imi-r3 ꜣb*) and 'Overseer of Horn, Hoof, Feather, and Scale' (*imi-r3 ꜣb wḥmt ꜣwt nḥmt*); see S. Quirke, 'Horn, Feather and Scale, and Ships: On Titles in the Middle Kingdom', in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies Simpson*, II, 668–70. Several of these officials owned stelae, e.g.: Chatsworth 720/12, Eder, in D. Boschung et al. (eds), *Die antiken Skulpturen in Chatsworth*, 128–30 (no. 166), fig. 13, pl. cxv.1; Glasgow Hunterian Museum D.1922.13, W. M. F. Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos* (BSAE 37; London, 1925), pl. xxiv, see D. Franke, 'Middle Kingdom Hymns and Other Sundry Religious Texts—An Inventory', in S. Meyer (ed.), *Egypt—Temple of the Whole World: Studies in Honour of Jan Assmann* (SHR 97; Leiden and Boston, 2003), 103–4 (§8); some of these stelae are of first-rate quality: e.g. Louvre C 15; Pittsburgh Z9-497, D. Craig Patch, *Reflections of Greatness: Ancient Egypt at The Carnegie Museum of Natural History* (Pittsburgh, 1990), 22–3 (no. 14); Turin Cat. no. 1534; Hannover Kestner Museum 2927 (Amenemhat II, year 12); also the steward Montu-woser in the reign of Senwosret I (New York MMA 12.184). A statue of an Overseer of Cattle was excavated on Elephantine; see Franke, *Heqaib*, 58 n. 181.

³⁵ See in general D. Kessler, 'Tempelbesitz', *LÄ* VI, 365–76, and compare, for example, the titles 'Overseer of Herds of Sacred Cattle' at Old Kingdom Elkab, 'Overseer of the Goodly Black Cattle of Thoth, Lord of Her-mopolis' (Cairo CG 20025), or 'Cattle Herder' (*ḥri iḥw*) of the god Herishef/of the god's offering, see S. Aufrère, 'À propos d'un bas de stèle du Musée des Antiquités de Seine-Maritime (Rouen Aeg. 348 = Inv. 1857.4)', *BIFAO* 85 (1985), 37–40 n. w.

³⁶ Probably the earliest record is from the reign of Pepi I. Qereri in tomb Q15 at el-Hawawish proudly states his acquisition of fertile female donkeys, who nourished 200 donkeys, N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim*, VI (Sydney, 1986), 47, fig. 20b–c; Doret, *Narrative*, 108 ex. 198.

³⁷ Clère, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 455–66; Schenkel, *MHT*, §96. Further comparable statements are cited by Clère, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, 462–4; Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 161; J. C. Moreno García, *Ḥwt et le milieu rural égyptien du IIIe millénaire: Économie, administration et organisation territoriale* (BEHE SHP 337; Paris, 1999), 102 n. 129; id., *RdE* 50 (1999), 244–5.

³⁸ Manchester Museum 5052, ll. 4–5; W. M. F. Petrie, *Qurneh* (BSAE 16; London, 1909), pl. x; J. J. Clère and J. Vandier, *Textes de la Première Période Intermédiaire et de la XI^{ème} Dynastie* (BAe 10; Brussels, 1948), §7 (hereafter *TPPI*); Schenkel, *MHT*, §18. The cattle probably belonged to the temple of Amun.

³⁹ A key-word of these statements is the term *nḥb*, 'to appoint, assign, equip, provide', see J. C. Moreno García, 'Administration territoriale et organisation de l'espace en Égypte au troisième millénaire avant J.-C. (V): *gs-pr*', *ZÄS* 126 (1999), 129–30, and compare the examples cited by id., *RdE* 51, 126–7 n. f.

⁴⁰ Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 31–2 (no. 10); Ninth/Tenth Dynasty.

goats and to donkeys' (BM EA 1671, ll. 7–8).⁴¹ 'I equipped a herdsman of my own with (my) goats' said another man at Dendera.⁴² Also the low-ranking *hm-ntr*-priest Montuhotep, who lived in the reign of Senwosret I, owned cattle: 'Now, though I had become an orphan, I directed (*hrp*) cattle and acquired cattle, and I developed my business (*sšm:i*) with my (male?) goats (*wʿti*) ...'.⁴³

In the late Eleventh Dynasty, Henenu even organized cattle-herding in all Upper Egypt: 'I equipped the provinces of Upper Egypt with horned cattle and small cattle ...'.⁴⁴ In the reign of Senwosret I, the nomarch and mayor Amenemhat (Ameny) of Beni Hasan managed cattle-breeding in his province for the benefit of the 'King's house' (*pr-nswt*), the royal economy: 'Then the Troop-overseer (*imi-r3 t(3)st*) of (*n*) the royal estate sections (*gs.w-pr*) of (*nw*) herdsmen of the Oryx-nome gave me (*rdi n:i*) three-thousand head of cattle as their taxable cattle (*nḥbw:sn*), so that I was praised for it in the King's house in every year of the cattle-census (*irw*)'.⁴⁵ This is almost a description of the scene in Amenemhat's tomb (*Beni Hasan* I, pl. xiii bottom), where he is shown watching the counting of the cattle, goats (including antelopes), and donkeys.⁴⁶ An unnamed *imi-r3 t(3)st* makes a bow in front of his lord. He is the chief of the herdsmen and drovers who lead the animals to a group of accountant-scribes who register the numbers.⁴⁷ The royal scribe Baqet presents to Amenemhat

⁴¹ H. J. Polotsky, 'The Stela of Ḥeka-yeb', *JEA* 16 (1930), 194–9; Ninth Dynasty.

⁴² G. Daressy, 'Une stèle de l'Ancien Empire maintenant détruite', *ASAE* 15 (1915), 207, l. 4; Moreno García, *RdE* 51 (2000), 124. Daressy's copy has *n ks n* in the main text to introduce the recipient of the offerings, a feature in contradiction to a pre-Twelfth Dynasty date. H. G. Fischer, 'Marginalia IV', *GM* 210 (2006), 28–33 published a photograph that clearly suggests a correct reading *pṛt-hrw n*, a phrase in concord with the stela's First Intermediate Period style.

⁴³ Stela of Montuhotep, Cambridge E.9.1922, l. 4: Martin, *Stelae from Egypt and Nubia*, 20–2 (no. 16); Doret, *Narrative*, 128 ex. 218.

⁴⁴ New York MMA 26.3.2177, l. 4: W. C. Hayes, 'Career of the Great Steward Henenu under Nebhepetre' Mentuhotpe', *JEA* 35 (1949), 43–9; Schenkel, *MHT*, §389; Moreno García, *RdE* 50, 254–5.

⁴⁵ *Beni Hasan* I, pl. viii, ll. 16–17; *Urk.* VII, 15.15–18. My translation follows Newberry; Breasted; C. Obsomer, *Sésostris I^{er}: Étude chronologique et historique du règne* (Brussels, 1995), 591–2 (no. 50); W. Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches: Prosopographie, Titel und Titelreihen* (Achet A2; Berlin, 2000), 201; and N. Favry, *Le nomarque sous le règne de Sésostris I^{er}* (IEA 1; Paris, 2004), 242, 350. It was translated differently by A. H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961), 129; Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 139 (no. 60); J. C. Moreno García, 'De l'Ancien Empire à la Première Période Intermédiaire: L'autobiographie de Q3r d'Edfou, entre tradition et innovation', *RdE* 49 (1998), 156; and S. M. Rabehl, 'Das Grab des Amenemhet (*ʿmnj*) in Beni Hassan, oder Der Versuch einer Symbiose', PhD thesis, Ludwig-Maximilian-Universität, München, 2006, 346, available on-line at <http://edoc.ub.uni-muenchen.de/archive/00005073/01/Rabehl_Silvia_Maria.pdf>: Amenemhat as actor and the verb is *ḥr.n rdi.n:i*. The translation of *nḥbw* as 'cattle tax' was suggested by *Wb* II, 293.14; compare W. Helck, 'Viehwirtschaft', in *LÄ* VI, 1037: 'Steuerrinder', also Moreno García, *RdE* 50, 255.

⁴⁶ Compare the Old Kingdom tomb of Ibi at Deir el-Gebrawi (no animals are shown): 'Bringing of the Overseers of Herds(?) for the great account' (*int imiw-r3 t(3)st r ḥsb 3*), N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrâwi*, I (ASE 11; London, 1902), pl. viii. For the cattle-census (*irw*), see S. Allam, 'Taxe sur le bétail dans l'Égypte ancienne', in *Stato, economia, lavoro nel vicino oriente antico* (Milan, 1988), 52 ff.; D. Valbelle, 'Les recensements dans l'Égypte pharaonique des troisième et deuxième millénaires', *CRIPEL* 9 (1987), 33–49; W. Guglielmi, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf altägyptischen Darstellungen der Landwirtschaft, Viehzucht, des Fisch- und Vogelfangs vom Mittleren Reich bis zur Spätzeit* (TÄB 1; Bonn, 1973), 120–43; W. Helck, 'Viehzählung', in *LÄ* VI, 1038–9; D. Franke, 'Anch-Userkaf und das Nildelta: Statue Frankfurt/M. Liebieghaus 1629', in N. Kloth, K. Martin, and E. Pardey (eds), *Es werde niedergelegt als Schriftstück: Festschrift für Hartwig Altenmüller zum 65. Geburtstag* (BSAK 9; Hamburg, 2003), 126 n. 35.

⁴⁷ Compare the earlier scene in tomb 15, P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, II (ASE 2; London, 1894), pl. vii. The hierarchy of officials and professions becomes more transparent in tomb 3 from the reign of Senwosret II (*Beni Hasan* I, pl. xxx bottom): the regional cattle-census was performed by a *imi-r3 iḥw*, followed by a single *imi-r3 t(3)st*. Several herdsmen (*mnw*) (of cattle, small cattle, and donkeys) and 'Overseers' and 'Foremen of a Thousand

the results of the account of the cattle ‘coming from the pasturage’ (*prī m s3-pr*) on a writing-tablet (*Beni Hasan*, I, pl. xxi.3): Baqet had received (*iti*) the (ideal) total of 30,000 head of cattle, 300,000 small cattle, and 3000 donkeys, according to the account (*hsb*) of the stables of Amenemhat’s own estate and the government-owned stable of the province.⁴⁸

The statements of Henenu and Amenemhat are revealing. Cattle-breeding and herding were organized locally by the town or provincial administration for the benefit of the institution of the royal economy: the herds were owned by the King’s house (*pr-nswt*), in contrast to the privately possessed herds of the nomarch’s own household (*pr-dt*).⁴⁹ The local provincial administration appointed overseers to the troops of herdsmen who were in charge of (*m-s3*) these herds.⁵⁰ These herdsmen and the royal herds were attached to local sections of the royal estate, the so-called *gs-pr*, ‘section of the royal estate’, supervised by the mayors of the towns or a *imi-r3 gs-pr*.⁵¹ Montuwyser in the reign of Senwosret I describes in detail his different responsibilities as a Majordomo or Steward of an ‘economic unit’ or estate (*imi-r3 pr*), who worked for the benefit of the King’s house: ‘... I was Overseer of People in excess of thousands. I was Overseer of Cattle, Overseer of Goats (*wt*), Overseer of Donkeys, Overseer of Sheep, and Overseer of Pigs ...’.⁵² Presumably, Antef of EA 1628 was one of the overseers of a troop of herdsmen, who himself was supervised and controlled by an overseer of cattle, and who worked with herds owned by the government, a temple, or a high official. He worked, then, for the cattle of others; nevertheless he owned his own (horned) cattle and donkeys, and must have had grazing places and fields to feed his animals.

He was a descendant of a family of herdsmen which had been able to hand down their profession, office, and possessions over several generations. Two sons of Antef

(head of cattle)’ (*imi-r3/hst h3*) lead the animals. Scribes register their numbers, supervised by a ‘Scribe of the Royal Documents’ and a ‘Steward of the *dt.f*’. The last mentioned title occurs only at Beni Hasan for a member of the nomarch’s household. As an accountant-scribe, he co-operated with the *imi-r3 pr n pr-dt* at the cattle-census and droving (*Beni Hasan* I, pls xvii bottom right, xxxv fourth register right) and at the grain-account in the granaries (*Beni Hasan* I, pl. xxix top right). *ds(t).t* does not mean ‘nome’ (which is *spst*) nor ‘estate’ (which is *pr*); perhaps ‘Steward of the Board of Officials (*dsdt*, of the nomarch’s estate)?’ See Berlev, *Trudovoe*, 233 ff.; Quirke, *Administration*, 55 n. 17.

⁴⁸ *Beni Hasan* I, pl. xxi.3; *Urk.* VII, 23.1–9; Berlev, *Trudovoe*, 198; Obsomer, *Sésostri I^r*, 593 n. k.

⁴⁹ See P. E. Newberry, *El Bersheh*, I (ASE 3; London, 1895), pl. xviii top: The nomarch Djehutihotep came for the ‘great census’ (*tnwt 3t*) of his herds by the King and his own herds in the Hare-nome; in the bottom register, the cattle were lead by an ‘Overseer of the King’s Herds’ and an ‘Overseer of [the Herds?] of the Personal Estate’ (*imi-r3 [idr w?] n pr-dt*). Earlier, Heqaib reported: ‘(My) ruler counted (my) cattle, and he found an increase of (my) possessions’ (BM EA 1671, l. 10), see Polotsky, *JEA* 16, 194–9, Moreno García, *RdE* 50, 245 (4); another such inspector on the King’s behalf was Khety ‘who controlled the cattle-lists (*ip r3-idr.w*) in Upper Egypt’ (Cairo JE 45058, ll. 4–5, 9–10), see A. H. Gardiner, ‘The Tomb of a Much-Travelled Theban Official’, *JEA* 4 (1917), 33–4, pl. viii; PM I, 617; Schenkel, *MHT*, §476.

⁵⁰ Probably the *imi-r3 pr n spst* (Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, pl. xiii, and Fischer, *Egyptian Titles*, 30–1; Newberry, *El-Bersheh* I, pls xviii, xxvii bottom) and their subordinate *imi-r3 ihw* and *imi-r3 wt* (Newberry, *El-Bersheh* I, pl. xvii). The close relationship between herdsmen and their flock probably explains why they were ‘controlled, assessed’ together, as the epithets of Hotepeni on his late Sixth Dynasty statue indicate: ‘One who takes stock of the troops of men and cattle’ (*ip t(3)st ihw*: Berlin 1/83 (*sic*); see Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 32–3 and pl. vi). Workers and cattle were attached to land, the fundamental source of wealth, as several texts state from the Old Kingdom on; compare, for example, Moreno García, *RdE* 50, 242, 244.

⁵¹ Already in the Sixth Dynasty, *imi.w-r3 gs-pr* are ‘superior to’ (*hr-hst t(3)st*-crews (Weni: *Urk.* I, 102.6–7).

⁵² New York MMA 12.184, ll. 6–7; Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 104 (no. 44). These animals occur in the cattle-census scene in the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Pahari: J. J. Tylor and F. Ll. Griffith, *The Tomb of Pahari at El Kab* (MEEF 11; London, 1894), pl. iii bottom left. For pigs, see Moreno García, *RdE* 50, 251–4.

were probably also herdsmen: Itjy leans on a long staff in a posture which recalls that of a herdsman watching his flock,⁵³ and Montuhotep carries a curved stick, perhaps a shepherd's staff (see below). A roughly contemporaneous example for such a transmission of office is the report of the 'Scribe of Fields' Antefiqer on his stela from the reign of Senwosret I: 'Now, there had served as Scribe of the Fields in the region (*m mw*)⁵⁴ of the Thinite Abydos (already) my father's grandfather, since the time of Horus Wahankh, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Son of Re Antef', and at least three generations of ancestors are depicted on Antefiqer's stela.⁵⁵

A boast of noble descent occurs in several other autobiographical inscriptions of the Tenth, Eleventh, and early Twelfth Dynasties.⁵⁶ Inheritance from one's parents was a cultural norm, which, however, was not always adhered to; for example, a man at Naga ed-Deir claims: 'Although the possession of my father was taken from me, I was able to build this, my own tomb, having acted as one sturdy of limb and with a strong arm (*hps*) even as a child'.⁵⁷ Antef, son of Tjefi, tells us that he was exceptionally appointed to his position by the King when he was still in his youth, and at a time when the King used to put a man in his office only when the man acceded (also) to the office of his father.⁵⁸ The same royal favour was experienced by the royal Reporter (*whmw*) Ameny in the reign of Senwosret I. His father Montuhotep was probably born late in the reign of Montuhotep I, and was later appointed by Amenemhat I to the office of *wr-mdw-šm^cw* in all Upper Egypt and then by Senwosret I to the office of a member of (state) officialdom (*nti m sryt*) in the whole country. After Ameny's father had spent fifty-four years in office, Senwosret I gave Ameny, just eighteen years old, his father's two offices, while his father was still alive.⁵⁹

⁵³ Compare, for example, the posture of the Overseer of a Troop (with determinative A1) on Cairo CG 20504; for similar scenes, see B. Dominicus, *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches* (SAGA 10; Heidelberg, 1994), 143–7. However, from the Old Kingdom the tomb owner can be found in the posture of watching, see Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in Orientation and Scene Content* (London, 1987), 127–8, 323–6; compare also that of Nakhty on stela Chatsworth 720/12 top right, Eder, in D. Boschung et al. (eds), *Die antiken Skulpturen in Chatsworth*, 128–30 (no. 166), fig. 13, pl. cxv.1.

⁵⁴ Compare the repeated statements about the repositioning of boundary-stones and 'causing to know the water (*rh mw*)' because the officials and towns 'do not know their water' in the inscription of Khnumhotep II: Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pls xxv–xxvi, ll. 43, 148; *Urk.* VII, 27.15, 32.5, etc.; see also D. Franke, 'Amarna—Grenzen und Stadt im Alten Ägypten', in M. Jansen and P. Johaneck (eds), *Grenzen und Stadt* (Aachen, 1997), 31 ff.

⁵⁵ Leiden AP.7 (often cited as V3). If there is any truth in this statement, Antefiqer's ancestor served Antef II after the conquest of Abydos. The stela is dated to regnal year 33 of Senwosret I (c.1921 BC). Between this year and the reign of Antef II (c.2112–2061) are c.140–190 years, comprising the reigns of seven kings. This interval could hardly be covered by only three generations, as the translation 'my father and the father of my father' of Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.*³, § 507.3 and Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 73–4 (no. 30) proposes. Antefiqer inherited his office of 'Scribe of Fields' from his great-grandfather, the 'Scribe of Fields' Ameny (his father Imsu and his grandfather Ameny had instead the title *sh n tms*, 'Scribe of the Mat', and *imi-r3 iht*, 'Overseer of Fields' in the Thinite nome). The office, then, was handed down over four generations, with an average of 35–40 years per generation.

⁵⁶ See D. Franke, 'Qrht—Geschöpf des "Ersten Tages": Eine Assoziationstechnik zur Statuserhöhung in der 10. und 11. Dynastie', *GM* 164 (1998), 63–70; Moreno García, in Pantalacci and Berger-el-Naggar (eds), *Des Néferkarê aux Montouhotep*, 224 ff.

⁵⁷ Stela Boston MFA 25.629, ll. 2–4: Doret, *Narrative*, 158 ex. 279; c. Tenth/Eleventh Dynasty.

⁵⁸ *m dd nswt s r it:f/m h3 s m st it:f*, New York MMA 57.95, l. 5; Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 50 (no. 20) (Montuhotep I). Antef did not inherit his office from his father: he was, like e.g. Sarenput I, a *homo novus*. My interpretation follows Berlev, *Trudovoe*, 185 ff.; compare also Franke, *Heqaib*, 10–14.

⁵⁹ Wadi Hammamat 3042: Gasse, *BIFAO* 88, 83–94, fig. 1, pl. vi; Obsomer, *Sésostri I^{er}*, 691–3 (doc. 148); D. Farout, 'La carrière du *whmw* Ameny et l'organisation des expéditions au Ouadi Hammamat au Moyen Empire', *BIFAO* 94 (1994), 143–72; P. Vernus, 'L'Intertextualité dans la culture pharaonique: L'Enseignement de Ptahhotep et le graffito d'*jmn*y (Ouâdi Hammâmât n° 3042)', *GM* 147 (1995), 103–9.

Antef of EA 1628 was, however, not appointed to his office by the King; he omits any mention of an authority above him. His pride derives mainly from the fact that he was able to inherit rank and status. Antef inherited his 'people' from his parents and his grandparents (whose names he does not mention),⁶⁰ as the fifth in a sequence of heirs, and it can be assumed that this workforce, augmented by his own acquisitions, was the source of his wealth, in combination with his own cattle and fields.

Antef was probably the most prominent member of his family,⁶¹ proud of being of distinguished parentage and having at his disposal considerable wealth and prestige-goods such as cattle and fields. In fact he is almost the only Overseer of a Troop of Herdsmen so far known who could afford a stela.⁶² He belonged to a 'middle class of minor officials, professionals, craftsmen, and prosperous servants', and shows that in Middle Kingdom Egypt 'there was room for private property, interests, and enterprise, even within the households of extended families and their servants' ... 'There were various interwoven economic levels from family and village to temple and the royal palace, with different economic modes in coexistence, ranging from redistribution to free commerce'.⁶³ In Antef's life, the state sector and private enterprise meet. He was superior to his colleagues in office; his wealth allowed him to create surplus to provide for even the poorer relatives of his family, and he could loan his cattle and threshing-floors to others, who then were indebted to him. He was highly esteemed in his village as a member of the local council of elders,⁶⁴ and was a truly 'good shepherd'.⁶⁵

Although the styles of writing, with many hieratic intrusions, and of relief were certainly not produced by a first-rate artist, the inscription and his autobiographical self-presentation are well structured. It consists of seven parts, beginning with a

⁶⁰ The names of Antef's mother and grandparents remain unknown, and there is no *ms.n* filiation.

⁶¹ His wife Renefankhu (an early example of a woman with a masculine name) was a *hmt-ntr*-priestess of the goddess Hathor. Curiously, there is an early Twelfth Dynasty namesake with the same title on stela Cairo CG 20546, see W. K. Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* (PPYE 5; New Haven and Philadelphia, 1974), pl. vi (ANOC 2). 'Priestess of Hathor' as a title of ladies of the elite occurs frequently in the First Intermediate Period, Eleventh, and early Twelfth Dynasty, e.g. BM EA 152 (*HTBM* II, pl. xxxiv), Cairo CG 20780, Louvre C 1, Turin Cat. no. 1534. The epithet *imhyt* of Renefankh also occurs frequently in this period (see Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, §16b), and it was used less frequently during the reign of Senwosret I (e.g. on Louvre C 3). Antef had three (or four) sons (Itjy, Montuhotep and Antef) and eight daughters (Sobeksenet, Montusenet, Senet, Imu, Renefankhu, Satmontu, a second Imu, and ...-Renefankhu).

⁶² Except for the owner of the First Intermediate Period stela Cairo CG 1632, an *imi-r3 tst* (of herds?).

⁶³ D. Franke, 'Middle Kingdom', in Redford (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, II, 395–6. Hornakht (Cairo JE 46048) in the later reign of Montuhotep I was a member of the same social stratum, see Franke, *SAK* 34, 167–72, pl. iv.

⁶⁴ A man's role in the assembly of officials, in the council, or as a councillor of his lord, is frequently mentioned in autobiographical texts of the period; see textual notes l, m. Montuwoser presents himself as an impartial listener in matters of strife: 'I am an examiner in very deed (*sdmw r wn-ms*) who leans not to him who can pay (*nb dbw*)' (New York MMA 12.184, ll. 13–4). The same idea is probably expressed by the nomarch Neheri I who was summoned to the council (at the royal court) together with the officials as someone 'who was not known by the people' (*in:f r sh hn' qnbt/iwtw rh:f in rmt*: Anthes, *Hatnub*, nos 25, l. 3 = 26, l. 5), i.e. as a man from outside supposed to be an arbitrator who is neutral in his judgement.

⁶⁵ The good shepherd metaphor occurs first as a comparison in Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts, see D. Müller, 'Der gute Hirte: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte ägyptischer Bildrede', *ZÄS* 86 (1961), 126–44. For Middle Kingdom attestations, see E. Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des Mittleren Reiches, I: Die Phraseologie* (ASAW 61.1; Berlin, 1970), 323 G4.36–8; Franke, in Gundlach and Raedler (eds), *Selbstverständnis und Realität*, 175–7, 192, and for its use in literary texts, see Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture*, 124, 209.

longer offering formula (10 verses), and ending with a short call for the invocation-offering (3 verses).

Antef's narration is in five sections or 'stanzas' (comprising 22 verses), and is not introduced by the usual *dd* or *dd:f*, 'he says'.⁶⁶ The sections are bound together by repetitions and content. It begins with an *ink tpi* phrase, 'I am the first', which is repeated in the fourth section. While the first section is about Antef's leading position in his professional group, the herdsmen, the fourth section emphasizes his leading position in his community as a councillor in the council meetings. Both sections present Antef's first-class 'official' and 'public' activities, for the administration and for his village. The second, third, and fifth sections emphasize Antef's 'private' role within his household: the care for his relatives at home, his activities as a landlord in agriculture, and his legal possession of his own work-force.

Three times Antef states that he is member of a prominent family who inherited his professional rank and his material wealth from his family: in the first and third section with a term of filiation ('I was ... the son of the first Overseer of a Troop' in l. 5, and 'I was ... the son of one rich in cattle' in ll. 9–10), and in the final section about the inheritance of his dependants. The same theme is addressed with the twice repeated expression 'having descended as the fifth/from five heirs' (ll. 5–6, 10: *h3.kwi m iwꜣw diw*), using a stative.

Somewhat monotonously, and typically for self-representations of the period, he uses seven *ink*-sentences⁶⁷ to express his position and possession of grain, cattle, donkeys, fields, and threshing-floors. The fifth section ends with the proud statement of acquisition of 'people' with his own means (ll. 14–15). Only the second section, where he speaks about provisioning his family and burying the dead, has a more pronounced narrative structure with the nominal *sdm.n:f* in *rdi.n:i bdt n hqr* (l. 7) and the initial forms *iw sdm.n:f* (ll. 7–9).⁶⁸ The general structure of his biography is as follows (repeated elements are underlined):

I	4	3	<u><i>ink imi-r3-tst-tpi s3 imi-r3-tst-tpi</i></u> <u><i>h3.kwi m iwꜣw diw</i></u>	First-ranking in his profession
		1	<u><i>ink imi-r3 t(3)st tpi</i></u> ...	
II	4	1	<u><i>ink nb-bdt</i></u> + nominal <i>rdi.n:i-bdt</i> ...	Status: Material wealth and care
		1	<i>iw-grt-sꜣnh.n:i</i> ... + negation <i>n-rdi:i</i> ...	
		2	<i>qrs.n:i</i> ...	
			<i>iw-hbs.n:i</i> ...	
III	4	2	<u><i>ink š3-ihꜣw s3 š3-ihꜣw</i></u> <u><i>h3.kwi m diw jwꜣw</i></u>	Status: Wealth in cattle and land
		2	<u><i>ink nb</i></u> ...	
IV	4	2	<u><i>ink grt tpi n-nwt:f</i></u>	Rank: First in his community-council
		2	<u><i>ink tšꜣw</i></u> ...	

⁶⁶ As also on stelae New York MMA 57.95 (reign of Montuhotep I), and Louvre C 1, C 34, Leiden AP.7, and Berlin 1199 (reign of Senwosret I).

⁶⁷ Compare, for example: BM EA 1203, *TPPI*, §23; Louvre C 1, C. Obsomer, 'La date de Nésou-Montou (Louvre C 1)', *RdE* 44 (1993), 123; New York MMA 12.184, Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 104–5 (no. 44); esp. BM EA 581, Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 110–11 (no. 47).

⁶⁸ Compare Doret, *Narrative*, 142, 161 n. 1938, 130–2.

V 6 3 *ḫw-wn rmt nt it.i ...*
 3 *ḫw-wn rmt.i ...*

Status: Possessor of dependants

Towards a date for EA 1628

Many features of the stela are chronologically relevant: the palaeography and phrasing of the offering formula, the palaeography and idiosyncrasies of the autobiographical text, the style of the writing, several iconographic details, and the general design and style.

H. R. Hall dated EA 1628 to the Eleventh Dynasty (in *HTBM* V, 5), and this date has been widely accepted, e.g. by J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, II: *Les grandes époques (l'architecture funéraire)* (Paris, 1954), 475 n. 1, and, earlier, also by myself. H. G. Fischer noted the many hieratic intrusions as a criterion for a date 'after the reunion of Egypt', and, comparing EA 1628 with 'stela' EA 1724, which 'can hardly be earlier than the very end of Dyn. XI', stated that EA 1628 'is probably the same date'.⁶⁹ A date earlier than the Twelfth Dynasty was taken for granted by É. Doret, and he included EA 1628 in his *Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian* (1986) among the sources from the First Intermediate Period (see p. 137 n. 1617).⁷⁰ Berlev, *Trudovoe* (1972), 259 dated the stela more cautiously to the Eleventh–Twelfth Dynasty; Moreno García, *Études sur l'administration* (1997), 92 (28) cites it, together with London UC 14333, as sources of the Middle Kingdom ('fin XIe–début XIIe dynastie'). W. Schenkel did not consider EA 1628 to be from the Eleventh Dynasty, and did not include it in his *Memphis·Herakleopolis·Theben* (1965). In Schenkel's earlier dissertation *Frühmittelägyptische Studien* (1962) (*Fmäs* in the listing below), he dated it to the early Twelfth Dynasty (e.g. on pp. 33, 38 'etwa Ses. I') and adduced several arguments in favour of this date. Of the many significant features of EA 1628, not all have yet been properly studied in a wider context, and it is often difficult to balance and assess them. Features that are inconclusive for a decision between (late) Eleventh and early Twelfth Dynasty are:

- (1) The vertical arrangement of the ʕ-sign in *ntr ʕ nb pt* (*Fmäs*, §4b; examples occur even late in the reign of Senwosret I).⁷¹
- (2) The papyrus scroll without ties (= Y2) still occurs in the reign of Senwosret II.⁷²
- (3) The frequent use of the stroke as a mere space filler (*Fmäs*, §5d).
- (4) The writing of *imi-r3* (*Fmäs*, §7), and the writing of *tpi-dw:f* (*Fmäs*, §9).

⁶⁹ H. G. Fischer, 'Archaeological Aspects of Epigraphy and Palaeography', in R. Caminos and H. G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography* (New York, 1976), 43 and n. 56. BM EA 1724 is published by T. G. H. James, 'Egyptian Funerary Stelae of the First Intermediate Period', *BMQ* 20 (1955–6), 89, pl. xxx.b.

⁷⁰ He also includes Cambridge E.9.1922 and London UC 14333, both certainly from the Twelfth Dynasty.

⁷¹ The 'new' horizontal arrangement of the ʕ sign in *ntr-ʕ nb ʕdw* occurs very late in the reign of Montuhotep I at the earliest on stelae Cairo JE 45057 and 45058 and on the coffin of Meru from TT 240; cf. J. Allen, 'Some Theban Officials of the Early Middle Kingdom', in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies Simpson*, I, 10 n. 43.

⁷² See Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, §2; Franke, *Heqaiḫ*, 211–12; D. Spanel, 'Palaeographic and Epigraphic Distinctions between Texts of the so-called First Intermediate Period and the Early Twelfth Dynasty', in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies Simpson*, II, 779–84. Unfortunately, Lambert's copy of the scroll in l. 3 in *HTBM* V, pl. i is incorrect: it definitely has no ties, as throughout the inscription. The reproduction with a single tie was surely a strong argument in favour of Schenkel's dating of the stela to the early Twelfth Dynasty (Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, 129 §52a). The other criteria adduced by Schenkel are, however, still valid.

- (5) The additional feminine ending after the determinative *nwt* (*FmäS*, § 10d) (cf. no. 10).
- (6) The determinative of *wt* in *im̄i-wt* (*FmäS*, § 11).
- (7) The sign of the seated man (A1, also in a unique variant), used as the first person singular suffix pronoun (also in the stative) and in the independent pronoun *ink* (*FmäS*, § 13d–e, g–h).
- (8) The sound change *w > i* (*FmäS*, § 14d: *wt > wy*, also in Anthes, *Hatnub*, no. 22, l. 18; *FmäS*, §§ 16b, 18d: *im̄shw > im̄shy*).
- (9) The formula *im̄shy hr ntr-3 nb-pt*, which occurs frequently in the Eleventh Dynasty but disappears on stelae during the early Twelfth Dynasty.⁷³
- (10) The double feminine ending in *qnbt* (l. 12) (*FmäS*, § 22b) (cf. nos 5 and 12).
- (11) The phrase *t hnqt n k3:k*, ‘bread and beer for your spirit!’ Comparable labels occur as a recitation accompanying the presentation (or preparation) of food offerings to the stela or tomb owner, or in front of him and next to a table with offerings, in the Eleventh and early Twelfth Dynasty.⁷⁴ On EA 1628, however, the text is ‘spoken’ by the son in front of his standing father, without any immediate co-text with a scene of food-presentation; the main text contains no ‘*n k3 n*’ phrase.
- (12) The addition of a seemingly superfluous feminine ending in the otherwise masculine kinship term *hzw* (l. 8) could be significant, compared with the examples provided by Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, § 22d, which are attested only from the early reign of Senwosret I (compare nos 5, 10, 20). However, the occurrence of the term in the certainly earlier autobiography of Merer from Gebelein/Edfu shows a similar spelling.⁷⁵
- (13) The epithets *iqr m3'-hrw* after the name occur in the tomb of Ankhtifi (pillar VII, l. 2), and from the reign of Wahankh Antef (*TPPI*, § 18, l. 9) to early Senwosret I (stela München ÄS 33; see Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, § 28a, and above textual note b).⁷⁶
- (14) The design of the stela with a round top occurs in the Eleventh Dynasty dur-

⁷³ Chatsworth 720/12; New York MMA 57.95; Berlin 1197; New York MMA 16.10.327 (R. Freed, ‘Stela Workshops of Early Dynasty 12’, in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies Simpson*, I, 301 fig. 1d) are examples from the Eleventh Dynasty; Cairo JE 36420 (Freed in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies Simpson*, I, 313 fig. 5c) and Cairo CG 20518 are from the early Twelfth Dynasty.

⁷⁴ See also D. Franke, ‘The Middle Kingdom Offering Formulas—A Challenge’, *JEA* 89 (2003), 54. Variant versions of these recitations are on stelae BM EA 1671, Berlin 14334, and BM EA 614, Cairo CG 20543, Moscow I.1.a.1137 and I.1.a.5603 from the reigns of Antef II–III, and BM EA 152, Louvre C 15, New York MMA 26.3.217 (Hayes, *JEA* 35, 44 fig. 1, pl. iv), Turin Cat. no. 1447, and Cairo JE 45058 (PM I, 617) from the later Eleventh Dynasty. Examples from the reign of Senwosret I are on stelae Cairo CG 20024, 20516, and Louvre C3, also perhaps BM EA 52881 (*HTBM* V, pl. iii; PM I, 650) and Cairo CG 20552.

⁷⁵ Stela Cracow MNK-XI-999, l. 11: *h(3)w.t:f* (Ninth Dynasty), see Franke, *Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen*, 215 (1). The earliest occurrence of the fully spelled term, in the tomb of Shemai and Idi at Kom el-Momanien from the Eighth Dynasty, is however masculine, without a *-t* ending: Text B, l. 11, M. F. Mostafa, ‘Erster Vorbericht über einen Ersten Zwischenzeit Text aus Kom el-Koffar—Teil 1’, *ASAE* 70 (1984–5), 419–29, pl. ii; id., ‘Kom el-Koffar, Teil II: Datierung und historische Interpretation des Textes B’, *ASAE* 71 (1987), 169–85, pl. i. On the stela of Montuwoser, reign of Senwosret I, (New York MMA 12.184, l. 10), *h(3)w.f* is spelled with omission of the 3 (Aleph), as with Merer and Antef, and with the suffix pronoun before the determinatives, as with Antef.

⁷⁶ Also on the coffin of lady Myt from the early reign of Montuhotep I (Brooklyn 52.127; PM II, 386–7).

ing the earlier part of the reign of Montuhotep I, probably first at Abydos and later at Thebes.⁷⁷

- (15) A further peculiar feature is the staff with an upturned end carried by Antef's son Montuhotep; curved sticks appear several times on stelae from Thebes (and rarely from Dendera) from the Eleventh and early Twelfth Dynasty.⁷⁸

Also noteworthy are the following features:

- (16) Antef carries a battle-axe.⁷⁹
 (17) His wife smells a long-stemmed lotus.⁸⁰
 (18) Her hair and the clothes of the women show a peculiar wavy 'zigzag' pattern to indicate curls or pleats.⁸¹

The following arguments might be chronologically more significant:

- (19) *rmt* as a feminine noun (*rmt nt it(:i)*, l. 13) occurs only in the early Twelfth Dynasty (Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, §26b, cites Leiden AP.67, l. 9; Cairo CG 20516, l. 6; New York MMA 12.184, l. 16 f.; Siut I, ll. 223, 225).
 (20) The peculiar spelling of the toponym 'Busiris' (*ḏdw*) in l. 1, with a feminine ending, occurs elsewhere only on statue Aswan Museum 1339 (Heqaib no. 4)

⁷⁷ The earliest round top stelae are the stela of Nakhty (surely from Abydos; now at Chatsworth 720/12), Turin Cat. no. 1513, Pittsburgh Z9-497, Copenhagen ÆIN 963 (bought at Luxor), and, from the second half of Montuhotep's reign, Turin Cat. no. 1447 and Louvre C 14 (both probably from Abydos). From the same reign is Cairo TR 3/6/25/1, found at el-Tarif: PM I, 596 (12); *TPPI*, §30; Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* II, 475 n. 1, 477 (fig. 293). Stela Florence 6364 (from Luxor; said to be from Edfu) is not dated. From the end of the Eleventh Dynasty are BM EA 159 (R. O. Faulkner, 'The Stela of Rudj'ahau', *JEA* 37 (1951), pl. vii) and EA 152 (*HTBM* II, pl. xxxiv) from Abydos.

⁷⁸ See D. Franke, in E. Bayer-Niemeier et al. (eds), *Liebieghaus-Museum Alter Plastik: Ägyptische Bildwerke*, III: *Skulptur, Malerei, Papyri und Särge* (Frankfurt am Main, 1993), 97–101 (on Cat. no. 24). Seventeen occurrences on stelae are known so far, to which should be added a scene with hunters from the tomb of Khety from the reign of Montuhotep I, TT 311: W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* (New York, 1953), I, 165 (fig. 101); PM I, 387). Several of the stelae are included in R. Freed's workshops nos 1 and 2 (in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies Simpson*, I, 299–307). Early Twelfth Dynasty examples are probably BM EA 1201 (*HTBM* II, pl. xiii), Berkeley 5-351, Cairo JE 45625, Clandeboy Hall no. 1, Vienna ÄS 202, Berlin 19582, a stela-fragment in the collection of A. Brundage in Santa Barbara, and others. An earlier variant, holding the stick with a curved end is shown on stela Cairo CG 1651 (S. Kubisch, 'Die Stelen der I. Zwischenzeit aus Gebelein', *MDAIK* 56 (2000), 256–60, pl. xxxiii) and BM EA 1203.

⁷⁹ See Davies, *Axes*, 37, pl. xxxvii (fig. 2). Khetyankh/Heni wears the garment of a warrior and carries battle-axe and bow, W. K. Simpson, 'Studies in the Twelfth Dynasty, IV: The Early Twelfth Dynasty False-Door/Stela of Khety-ankh/Heni from Matariya/Ain Shams (Heliopolis)', *JARCE* 38 (2001), 11–15 (figs 2, 3b right), usurped in the early Twelfth Dynasty?; also Henenu on a stela from the Wadi el-Hudi quarry area from the reign of Senwosret I (Cairo JE 71899), A. Rowe, 'Three New Stelae from the South-Eastern Desert', *ASAE* 39 (1939), pl. xxvib. This feature is of course comparable to the more frequent earlier depictions of warriors with bow and arrows on stelae from, e.g., Naqada and Gebelein, or on the stela of Nakhty (Chatsworth 720/12).

⁸⁰ See, for example, Pittsburgh Z9-497, Berlin 1197, Turin Cat. no. 1513, Louvre C 15, Turin Cat. no. 1447, BM EA 152; held by males: Copenhagen ÆIN 963, New York MMA 57.95, Cairo CG 20514, 20507; cf. C. Obssomer, 'Di.f prt-hrw et la filiation *ms(t).n/ir(t).n* comme critères de datation dans les textes du Moyen Empire', in C. Cannuyer and J.-M. Kruchten (eds), *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'Égypte pharaonique et copte: Mélanges égyptologiques offerts au Professeur Aristide Théodorides* (Ath, 1993), 186–9. From the early Twelfth Dynasty are: stela Cairo CG 20516; 20559; 20756; Durham N.1932; Leiden EG-ZM10, cf. Freed, in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies Simpson*, I, 319 (fig. 7d), 320; Louvre C 32; C 166; Chatsworth stela 720/13, Eder, in Boschung et al. (eds), *Die antiken Skulpturen in Chatsworth*, 131 (no. 167), pl. cxv.2. Stelae Cairo CG 20291 and 20408, with standing men smelling long-stemmed lotus, are probably also from the Twelfth Dynasty, as is Cairo CG 20552, showing standing figures with long-stemmed papyrus (also on the slightly earlier stela Cairo CG 20012).

⁸¹ Compare stela Pittsburgh Z-9497 from the first half of the reign of Montuhotep I, and also on Cairo CG 20014, 20664, Berlin 22820, and Florence 6378 from the early Twelfth Dynasty.

of Hapi, the father of Sarenput I, and on stela Louvre C 34 from the reign of Senwosret I.⁸²

- (21) The spelling of the term *sst*, ‘daughter’, in an abbreviated variant as $\overline{\text{—o—}}_{\Delta}$ ‘*zt*’ (O34 + XI) in the name ‘Satmontu’ of the sixth daughter in the bottom register, is a writing typical in the reign of Senwosret I.⁸³
- (22) The theme of provisioning in periods of famine is typical for the so-called First Intermediate Period (Ninth/Tenth and early Eleventh Dynasty); the key-words of these earlier texts, such as *tsw* or *rnpt* (*qsnt*) *nt snb-ib*, are, however, missing (Schenkel, *FmäS*, 128 ff. § 52). There are as yet no securely dated reports about famine from the reign of Montuhotep I.⁸⁴ The accounts of providing for the hungry in the rock-inscriptions at Hatnub from the time of Neheri I date probably from the early Twelfth Dynasty, and the term *tsw* also occurs here (Anthes, *Hatnub*, nos 20, ll. 8–9, 11; 23, ll. 5–6; 24, ll. 9–10). In the tomb of Amenemhat at Beni Hasan, there is mention of a famine in the reign of Senwosret I, and contemporaneous occurrences of the theme include the stela of Montuhotep (London UC 14333) and in the Heqanakht Papyri.⁸⁵

A possible aid to dating EA 1628 might be the method developed by John Bennett and later refined by Helmut Satzinger.⁸⁶ It is, however, based only on variables of the offering formula. According to this method, and re-checked with my enhanced database, EA 1628 dates unequivocally to the Eleventh Dynasty, possibly even to the period before the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt in the reign of Montuhotep I. Relevant features are:

- (23) The writing of the god’s name Osiris with determinative (Bennett’s criterion no. 2).
- (24) The writing of the god’s name/epithet *hnti-imntiw* with determinative (Bennett’s no. 3).
- (25) The occurrence of Osiris’ epithet *nb ddw* (Bennett’s no. 4).

⁸² Also attested on the undated sandstone stela München ÄS 34. There are occurrences on coffins, e.g. from Beni Hasan, G. Lapp, *Typologie der Särge und Sargkammern von der 6. bis 13. Dynastie* (SAGA 7; Heidelberg, 1993), Blatt 8: BH8, BH14, and Asyut, Blatt 18: S22, S29, S76, probably from the Twelfth Dynasty.

⁸³ See D. Franke, ‘Tochter’, in *LÄ* VI, 611; the earliest dated examples are on: Louvre C 3, Simpson, *Terrace*, pl. xv (ANOC 6), Senwosret I year 9; Cairo CG 20542, Simpson, *Terrace*, pl. xi (ANOC 4), Senwosret I year 24. Other occurrences from the early Twelfth Dynasty are on Cairo CG 20314, 20592. A probably earlier occurrence is on stela Cairo CG 20012, b in the owner’s wife’s name *z(i)t-sbk*.

⁸⁴ As noted already by H. Willems, ‘The Nomarchs of the Hare Nome and Early Middle Kingdom History’, *JEOl* 28 (1983–4), 99 n. 138. Hornakht from Dendera, whose stela dates probably to the later reign of Montuhotep I, speaks of provisioning his city during times of war as a past event: Cairo JE 46048, see Franke, *SAK* 34, 167–72, pl. iv.

⁸⁵ For the date of London UC 14333, see W. Schenkel, ‘Eine neue Weisheitslehre?’, *JEA* 50 (1964), 6–12; Berlev, *Občestvennye otnošenija*, 96–100; Willems, *JEOl* 28, 99 n. 138; W. K. Simpson, ‘Studies in the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty, III: Year 25 in the Era of the Oryx Nome and the Famine Years in Early Dynasty 12’, *JARCE* 38 (2001), 8. For the date of the Heqanakht Papyri, see J. P. Allen, *The Heqanakht Papyri* (PMMA 27; New York, 2002), 127–33.

⁸⁶ See J. Bennett, ‘Growth of the *hṭp-di-nsw* Formula in the Middle Kingdom’, *JEA* 27 (1941), 77–82; id., ‘Motifs and Phrases on Funerary Stelae of the Later Middle Kingdom’, *JEA* 44 (1958), 120–1; H. Satzinger, ‘Die Abydos-Stele des *ḥpwy* aus dem Mittleren Reich’, *MDAIK* 25 (1969), 125–6; id., ‘Beobachtungen zur Opferformel: Theorie und Praxis’, *LingAeg* 5 (1997), 184–8, and my review: Franke, *JEA* 89, 56–7.

- (26) Osiris' epithets *nb-ddw hnti-imntiw nb-3bdw* (abbreviation *dka*; Bennett's no. 11).⁸⁷
- (27) The 'bare' *prt-hrw* (Bennett's no. 1).⁸⁸
- (28) The introduction of the deceased with *n imshy* (Bennett's no. 6).

The most obvious indication of an early date is the peculiar sequence of epithets of Osiris (*dka*, criterion no. 26), which is as yet attested only once on a dated stela from the reign of Senwosret I.⁸⁹ Since there is a lack of explicitly dated sources from the very end of the Eleventh Dynasty and the reign of Amenemhat I, it is uncertain whether the 'earlier' sequence of Osiris' epithets was really absent during this period, and which sequence was preferred. There were probably many features on stelae⁹⁰ and other inscribed objects that were congruous and overlapping with late Eleventh Dynasty products, especially during Amenemhat's earlier reign when the king still resided at Thebes; only during the reign of Senwosret I does a radical change become observable.⁹¹

The sequence *dka* occurs also on the coffin of Heqata from Qubbet el-Hawa, Aswan. This coffin offers a good parallel to EA 1628 with regard to dating problems. Although the models for the decoration of the coffin are clearly from the Eleventh Dynasty (coffins T3C, G1T), Heqata's burial, coffin, and stela (which shows the same sequence *dka*) can be dated to the early Twelfth Dynasty, probably before the reign

⁸⁷ Eleventh Dynasty occurrences, in chronological order, are stelae Cairo JE 41437, *TPPI*, § 18; Claudioboye Hall no. 2, I. E. S. Edwards, 'Lord Dufferin's Excavations at Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 51 (1965), 22–3, pl. xi.1; Cairo CG 20543; BM EA 614; New York MMA 14.2.6, *TPPI*, § 22; Moskau I.1.a.5603; and BM EA 1164, *TPPI*, § 33; Louvre C 14; BM EA 159; Cairo CG 20514. The abbreviations used for the epithets are d: *nb-ddw*, k: *hnti-imntiw*, n: *ntr-3*, a: *nb-3bdw*.

⁸⁸ The earliest dated stelae with *di:sn prt-hrw* ... are Los Angeles 50.33.31 (old no. A.5141.50-876), R. O. Faulkner, 'The Stela of the Master-Sculptor Shen', *JEA* 38 (1952), 3–5, pl. i; and Cairo CG 20515, 20516.

⁸⁹ W. K. Simpson, *Inscribed Material from the Pennsylvania-Yale Excavations at Abydos* (PPYE 6; New Haven and Philadelphia, 1995), 42–3 (fig. 70, C13). It occurs also in the early Twelfth Dynasty on the stela (Cairo JE 36420) and the coffin (Cairo CG 28127; sigle A1C) of Heqaib-aa/Heqata (see below); on Cairo CG 20374, 20408, 20410, 20488, 20552; Chatsworth 720/13; on Louvre C 169 (E 3107), A. H. Gardiner, 'Notes on Some Stelae', *RT* 19 (1897), 85 (II); on offering table Cairo JE 91220, Simpson, *Inscribed Material*, 43, 45, (fig. 72, C15); and only once later, in the reign of Amenemhat II on stela BM EA 567, Simpson, *Terrace*, pl. xxii (ANOC 13). In the reign of Senwosret I *ntr-3* was often introduced after *hnti-imntiw*, and a usual sequence is *nb-ddw hnti-imntiw ntr-3 nb-3bdw* (*dkna*): e.g. Louvre C 1, C 3, C 34, Turin Cat. no. 1534, and already on the late Eleventh Dynasty stela Cairo JE 45058; or *dna*: Cairo CG 20024, 20515; also already on BM EA 1203, *TPPI*, § 23; E. R. Russmann (ed.), *Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum* (London, 2001), 81 (no. 12); also Cairo JE 45057 and BM EA 1724; or *hnti-imntiw* (and *nb-3bdw*): e.g. Cairo CG 20518, Leiden AP.67, Louvre C 2; already on Turin Cat. no. 1447.

⁹⁰ A good example is stela Cairo CG 20003, see Freed, in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies Simpson*, I, 302 n. 17, and Spanel, in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies Simpson*, II, 773 n. 25. The rather repellent slab-stela BM EA 1724 (James, *BMQ* 20, pl. xxx.b) has an unusual 'biographical' inscription and shows a fascinating mixture of 'early' (*prt-hrw nt*, *imshw*, *m swt:f nbt*) and 'late' (horizontal 3 in *ntr-3*, *ink* with determinative A1, *dna*) features. For its formula *prt-hrw ... nfrt nt* ..., which has a parallel only on Cairo CG 20480, see Spanel, in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies Simpson*, II, 768 n. 11; L. Postel, 'Une variante septentrionale de la formule d'offrande invocatoire à la Première Période Intermédiaire: *prt-hrw nt*', in Pantalacci and Berger-el-Naggar (eds), *Des Néferkaré aux Montouhotep*, 255–78. Also the stela of Dedu from Abydos (C13; Simpson, *Inscribed Material*, 43 fig. 70) combines in its offering formula 'old' (Geb Osiris *dka*) with 'new' (*di:f prt-hrw*) elements; if it had no cartouche, it would hardly be dated to the reign of Senwosret I.

⁹¹ See Spanel, in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies Simpson*, II, 771–2, 767; he attributes these changes to the reign of Amenemhat I. Most of the sources Spanel adduces on pp. 779–86 date, however, from the reign of Senwosret I, assuming that there was no coregency with his father. There are no single-dated non-royal stelae from the reign of Amenemhat I; stelae such as Cairo JE 45625, 45626, BM EA 52881 (PM I, 650), Brooklyn Museum 37.1346E, or Berlin 22820 might date to his reign.

of Senwosret I.⁹² The sequence *dka* of Osiris' epithets occurs, for example, also on the stela of Renu at Chatsworth (no. 720/13) and on the apparently 'early' stela Cairo CG 20408, which, however, has the 'late' feature *di:f prt-hrw*. Both might date also to the reign of Amenemhat I. Certainly several other stelae from this period exist which have only resisted attempts to date them more precisely in this short interval of about forty years between the late reign of Montuhotep I (c.2053–2002 BC) and the early reign of Amenemhat I (c.1983–1954 BC). The rock inscriptions at Hatnub from the time of Neheri I are also dated by Willems to the early reign of Amenemhat I.⁹³

All other features of the offering formula on EA 1628 noted above still occur also during Senwosret I's reign.⁹⁴ On the other hand, certain typical features of Eleventh Dynasty stelae are missing, such as the phrase *m swt:f nbt*, 'in all his places (of worship)',⁹⁵ or the formula *mrrt 3hw wnm im*, 'which the spirits love to eat'.⁹⁶

Considering these arguments and the criteria listed above, EA 1628 seems to be of a date later than some inscriptions from the end of the Eleventh Dynasty, such as the two stelae of Khety⁹⁷ and the fine stela of Meru (Turin Cat. no. 1447), and perhaps older than stela London UC 14333 and many of the stelae from the workshops presented by Freed, in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies Simpson*, I, 297–336. There are, however, also several similarities with seemingly slightly earlier stelae, such as Cairo CG 20012 and BM EA 1724. Early features, such as the sequence of the epithets of Osiris (no. 26) and the epithets *iqr m3-hrw* (no. 13), are outweighed by late features,⁹⁸ such as the writing of *ddw*, 'Busiris', and *s3t*, 'daughter' (nos 20–1). As yet there is admittedly no 'hard' evidence for a date of EA 1628 in the early Twelfth Dynasty, no later than the end of the first decade of the reign of Senwosret I.

⁹² For coffin A1C, see H. Willems, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418): A Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom* (OLA 70; Leuven, 1996); also Lapp, *Typologie der Särge*, §600. For the stela of Heqaib-aa (son of Mesenu) > Heqata (Cairo JE 36420), see Freed, in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies Simpson*, I, 312–3, fig. 5c, and Willems, *Heqata*, chapter 2. It is interesting to note in view of the 'oscillating' date of EA 1628, between (late) Eleventh and early Twelfth Dynasty, that Willems encountered the same problems in dating the burial equipment of Heqata. Initially, he dated it to the reign of Montuhotep I ('Ein bemerkenswerter Sargtyp aus dem frühen Mittleren Reich', *GM* 67 (1983), 83, 85–6), but later, in his *Heqata*, 21–5, he concluded 'that Heqata lived into the reign of Amenemhat I', with a certain margin of error since the dating criteria are all rather indirect. See also Postel, in Pantalacci and Berger-el-Naggar (eds), *Des Néferkarê aux Montouhotep*, 269, 274–5. A further comparable example is the discussion about the date and setting of the so-called 'Neheri I-texts' at Hatnub (see next note).

⁹³ Anthes, *Hatnub*, nos 14–30; see Willems, *JEOl* 28, 80–102. The offering-table of Kay, the son of Neheri I, has the sequence *dkna* but no *di:f* (Cairo CG 23069); in Neheri's tomb at Deir el-Bersha, no. 4, only *dk[...]* remained, F. Ll. Griffith and P. E. Newberry, *El Bersheh*, II (ASE 4; London, 1895), pl. xi.6.

⁹⁴ For many sites the charts of Lapp, *Typologie der Särge*, Blatt 1–35, with copies of the offering formulae on the eastern (front) side of a large number of coffins, show a clear development in the use of the epithets of Osiris from 'older' *dka* to *dkna* to 'younger' *dna* (often combined with *di:f prt-hrw* ...), e.g. at Beni Hasan, Meir, Asyut (Tomb IV from the Tenth Dynasty 'already' shows *dna*), and Thebes. At Deir el-Bersha, the typical sequence is invariably *dkna*. These variations provide no clear indication for a more precise dating; note that Lapp's types only roughly coincide chronologically with the period indicated in their type names, see also H. Willems' review of Lapp, *Typologie der Särge*, *BiOr* 54 (1997), 112–22.

⁹⁵ *m swt:f nbt* still occurs in the reign of Senwosret I: Cairo CG 20756, Freed, in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies Simpson*, I, 308 (fig. 3c); BM EA 162; Cairo CG 20546 and Louvre C 35 of ANOC 2; Glasgow Hunterian Museum D.1922.13, Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers*, pl. xxiv; Leiden AP.67. See also G. Rosati, 'Note e proposte per la datazione delle stele del Medio Regno', *OrAnt* 19 (1980), 271.

⁹⁶ Replaced by *nh3t ntr im*, 'on which a god lives', during the reign of Senwosret I.

⁹⁷ Gardiner, *JEA* 4, 33–6. (Cairo JE 45057 and 45058; PM I, 617; Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, 114, §42g; Schenkel, *MHT*, §§476–7); Postel, in Pantalacci and Berger-el-Naggar (eds), *Des Néferkarê aux Montouhotep*, 272–3.

⁹⁸ Compare the statements of Fischer, cited by Franke, *JEA* 89, 56.

The layout of EA 1628 is remarkable; it shows features of both rectangular stelae and round-topped stelae. Although it is round-topped, it was obviously carved from a high rectangular limestone block whose upper right corner was not cut away, and it was intended to be fixed to a wall.⁹⁹ It has only a narrow undecorated lunette, and the rest of the top is covered by the horizontal lines of inscriptions.¹⁰⁰ The second and third registers form a complete 'rectangular' scene of their own: on the left stands the owner of the stela, Antef, carrying a long stick and a battle-axe (he is thus depicted twice); in front of him stand his sons and (in the bottom register) his daughters. Rows of standing people are a typical feature of rectangular stelae from the late Eleventh and early Twelfth Dynasty.¹⁰¹ The figures of the first and second register are in raised relief, and are divided from the third register by a raised borderline (like a torus-moulding), while the third register is carved in sunk relief. The bottom register as the stela's base looks like an addition to the 'complete' (i.e. surrounded by a broad division line) round-topped stela above.¹⁰²

The style of writing with the many hieratic intrusions, together with the somewhat provincial quality and the style of carving the figures¹⁰³ may be explained by the hypothesis that—in comparison to the many stelae produced by royal craftsmen at Thebes and Abydos (for which compare Freed, in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies Simpson*, I, 297–336)—the stela was not produced by a royal workshop or residence-trained artist.¹⁰⁴ I have the impression that the stela 'imitates', in a kind of 'afterglow', the style of earlier Eleventh Dynasty stelae, such as Pittsburgh Z9-497;¹⁰⁵ it is certainly deeply rooted in this tradition. Antef's stela is not touched by northern 'canonic' influences. Antef himself explicitly stands in a tradition that reaches backwards at least to the generation of his grandfather, that is to the reign of Montuhotep I. Because of the 'Theban' curved stick feature (no. 15) and the fact that the stela was seen in 1906 at Luxor, the stela was perhaps produced at Thebes, or at least in the Theban area, for Antef's tomb, and in the very last years of the Eleventh Dynasty or, more probably, during the reign of Amenemhat I.

These factors would also explain why Antef did not draw on the stock of otherwise well-known phrases, although in his self-presentation he employs several themes that were in vogue during the First Intermediate Period, Eleventh and early Twelfth Dynasty, such as his outstanding rank and status, and the provisioning and care theme.

⁹⁹ Compare stelae Cairo CG 20458 and 20033, Simpson, *Terrace*, pl. xxxvi (ANOC 24).

¹⁰⁰ This is typical for Eleventh Dynasty round-topped stelae (Vandier, *Manuel II*, 477 fig. 293), and some early Twelfth Dynasty stelae, e.g.: Cairo CG 20033, Freed, in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies Simpson*, I, 325 (fig. 9d) (ANOC 24); and CG 20542, Simpson, *Terrace*, pl. xi (ANOC 4).

¹⁰¹ Compare, e.g., stelae Leiden AP.70 and AP.71 from the early Twelfth Dynasty, Simpson, *Terrace*, pl. lv (ANOC 55). Also the painted rectangular stela New York MMA 19.3.33 is probably from this period, not from the Seventeenth Dynasty, W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* (Cambridge, 1959), II, 18–19 (fig. 7); PM I, 625. On round-topped stelae the rows of standing people are usually represented in the bottom register(s).

¹⁰² See also Vandier, *Manuel II*, 476. Stela Cairo CG 20012 shows a comparable juxtaposition of raised and sunk relief.

¹⁰³ Especially the elongated slender high-waisted bodies of the women in the bottom register.

¹⁰⁴ Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, 21–2, 112 already noted that so-called bad or provincial quality is not a valid criterion for dating.

¹⁰⁵ The raised relief of the figures, accompanied by labels in raised bands or 'banderol', recalls older models, such as the Theban stela of Wahankh Antef (New York MMA 13.182.3) and BM EA 1203 (Russmann (ed.), *Eternal Egypt*, 81 no. 12); a later, Twelfth Dynasty example, is Cairo CG 20555.

He adds new phrasings, for example in the section concerning the local council and councillors, and he sounds a new accent in the section about ‘his people’. He thus seems to be narrating his achievements partly in his own words. The unique variant *irt.n(:i) m gb3:i*, used to describe his own acquisitions, has a noteworthy parallel in the early Twelfth Dynasty literary text known as the *Words of Neferti*, where the wise Lector-priest Neferti was characterized as:

a strong armed ‘little man’ (*nds pw qn [n] gb3:f*),
 a scribe with clever fingers;
 he is a rich man, who has greater possessions than any of his equals’
 (*Neferti*, ll. 10–11).¹⁰⁶

The chief-herdsman Antef was no priest, and we do not know how ‘clever’ he was in writing, but he would almost certainly have welcomed such a flattering description.

¹⁰⁶ See W. Westendorf, ‘Die Qualitäten des Weisen Neferti (zu Neferti 10–11)’, *GM* 4 (1973), 41–4.