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A TWELFTH DYNASTY STELA WORKSHOP POSSIBLY FROM SAQQARA

By ALEXANDER ILIN-TOMICH

An early Twelfth Dynasty stela workshop is identified, represented by five stelae datable to the reign of Amenemhat II. Three come from the collection of Thédénat-Duvent and were probably found at either Abydos or Thebes, though the workshop itself may have been located at Saqqara. Twelfth Dynasty false doors with *wḏst*-eyes on the crossbar were probably produced in the Memphis–Fayum region (and in Beni Hasan), with some afterwards being erected at Abydos. Geminating forms of *rdj* cease being written with $\Delta\Delta$ after the reign of Amenemhat II.

THE concept of ‘stela workshops’ for private Middle Kingdom monuments was developed by Rita Freed, who identified ten workshops of the early Twelfth Dynasty.¹ The present article discusses a further workshop, briefly noted by Rita Freed in her dissertation,² but omitted from her published works. The group in question consists of the following five stelae (in a format slightly different from Freed’s):

1. Lyon H 1578 (32 × 43 cm, fig. 1),³ from the collection of François Artaud,⁴ belonging to the hall-keeper (*jrj-ḥt*) *S-n-wsrt* and the mistress of the house (*nbt-pr*) *Sḫt-Sbk*.
2. Louvre E 13079 (24 × 33 cm, fig. 2),⁵ from the collection of Thédénat-Duvent (currently in Dijon),⁶ belonging to *Mkt* and her daughter *Djw*.
3. Saint-Omer 6282 (22 × 34 cm, fig. 3),⁷ also from the Thédénat-Duvent collection. This stela is not mentioned among the pieces of Thédénat-Duvent’s

¹ R. E. Freed, ‘Stela Workshops of Early Dynasty 12’, in P. Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* (Boston, 1996), I, 297–336, especially 298 where Freed defines a stela workshop as ‘three or more stelae sharing distinctive aspects of composition or style which collectively set them apart from others’. This study draws on her earlier, much-cited dissertation, R. E. Freed, *The Development of Middle Kingdom Egyptian Relief Sculptural Schools of Late Dynasty XI with an Appendix on the Trends of Early Dynasty XII* (PhD Thesis, New York University; New York, 1984).

² Freed, *Sculptural Schools*, 205, 274 nn 747–8.

³ S. Aufrère, N. Bosson, and C. Landes, *Portes pour l’au delà: L’Égypte, le Nil et le ‘Champ des offrandes’* (Lattes, 1992), 133, 177 no. 6.

⁴ On François Artaud, the first conservator of the Lyon museum, and his *cabinet de curiosités* acquired by the city of Lyon in 1835, see S. Guichard, *Lettres de Bernardino Drovetti consul de France à Alexandrie (1803–1830)* (Paris, 2003), 601.

⁵ V. Laurent and M. Desti, *Antiquités égyptiennes: Inventaire des collections du Musée des Beaux-arts de Dijon* (Dijon, 1997), 57–8 (no. 54); PM VIII, 803–028–690.

⁶ S. Guichard, ‘Une collection d’antiquités égyptiennes méconnue: La collection Thédénat-Duvent’, *RdE* 58 (2007), 222 (no. 75).

⁷ D. Austin, P. Le Nouène, and A. Houdiquet (eds), *Les cultes funéraires en Égypte et en Nubie* (Calais, 1987), 17 (no. 5).

identified by Sylvie Guichard,⁸ nor in the catalogue of L. J. J. Dubois.⁹ Owned by the sailor (*nfw*) *Hr-mr-nht(?)* and the mistress of the house (*nbt-pr*) *Ḥw.s-n(.j)*.

4. München GL WAF 36 (26×61 cm, fig. 4),¹⁰ from the Drovetti collection, reputedly from Saqqara,¹¹ and belonging to the royal sister (*snt-nsw*) *Ddt* and her daughter, the royal sister (*snt-nsw*) *Nfrt*; erected by the retainer (*šmsw*) *Ḥmny-šrj*, son of *Nfrt*.
5. Louvre C 22 (35×57 cm, fig. 5),¹² from the Thédénat-Duvent collection, belonging to *S-n-wsrt*, son of *Ddt*, and *Syt-Hwt-Hr*, daughter of *Nfrt*; erected by the retainer (*šmsw*) *Ḥmny-šrj*.

Two of these stelae (Louvre C 22 and München GL WAF 36) belong to the same family.¹³



FIG. 1. Lyon H 1578.

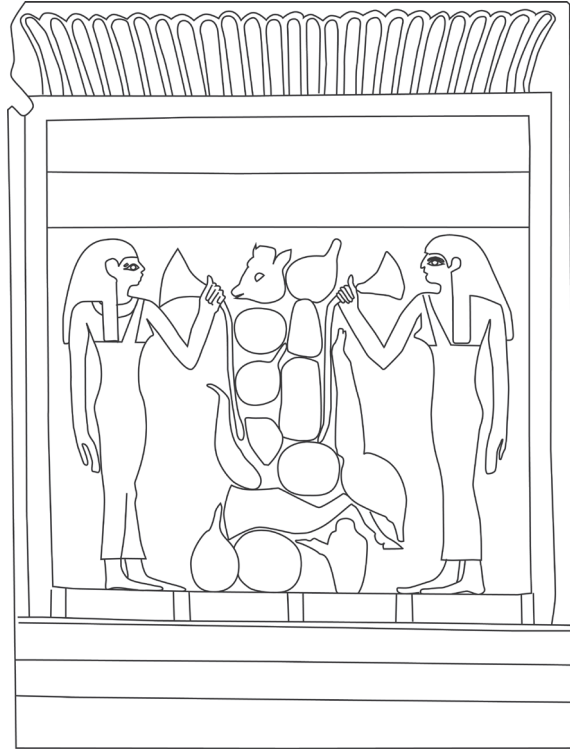


FIG. 2. Louvre E 13079.

⁸ Guichard, *RdE* 58.

⁹ L. J. J. Dubois, *Catalogue des antiquités égyptiennes qui composent la collection de M. Thédénat-Duvent* (Paris, 1822).

¹⁰ Formerly Gl. 41: K. Dyroff und B. Pörtner, *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus süddeutschen Sammlungen* (Strassburg, 1904), II: München, 10, pl. iv (no. 5); D. Ferrari (ed.), *Il senso dell'arte nell'Antico Egitto* (Milan, 1990), 72–3 (no. 24); see further bibliography in PM III/2, 745.

¹¹ 'Memphite necropolis', as stated by Dyroff und Pörtner, *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine*, II, 10.

¹² Guichard, *RdE* 58, 214–15, pl. vi (b), citing Dubois, *Catalogue*, 23–4; C. Boreux, *Musée National du Louvre: Département des antiquités égyptiennes. Guide-catalogue sommaire* (Paris, 1932), I, 146.

¹³ D. Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (20.-16. Jahrhundert v. Chr.): Dossiers 1–796* (ÄA 41; Wiesbaden, 1984), dossier 126.

FIG. 3. Saint-Omer 6282.

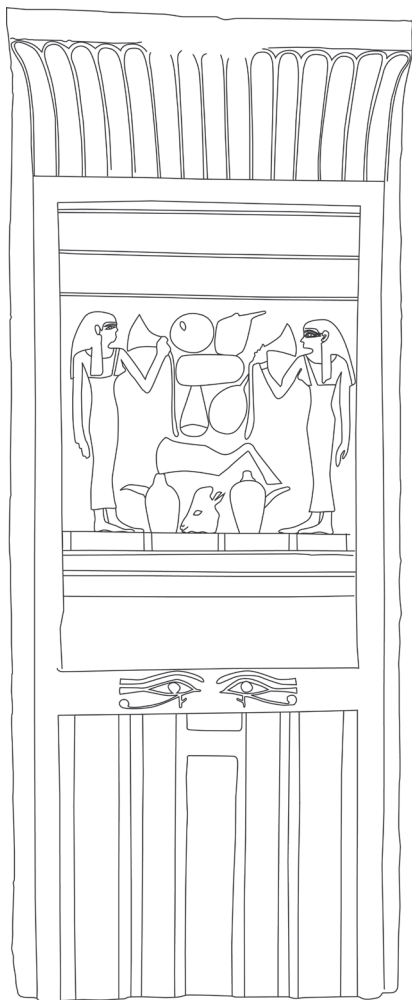
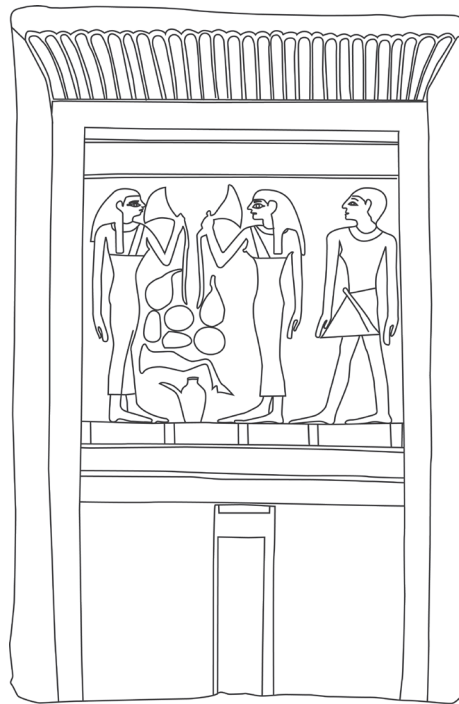


FIG. 4. München GL WAF 36.

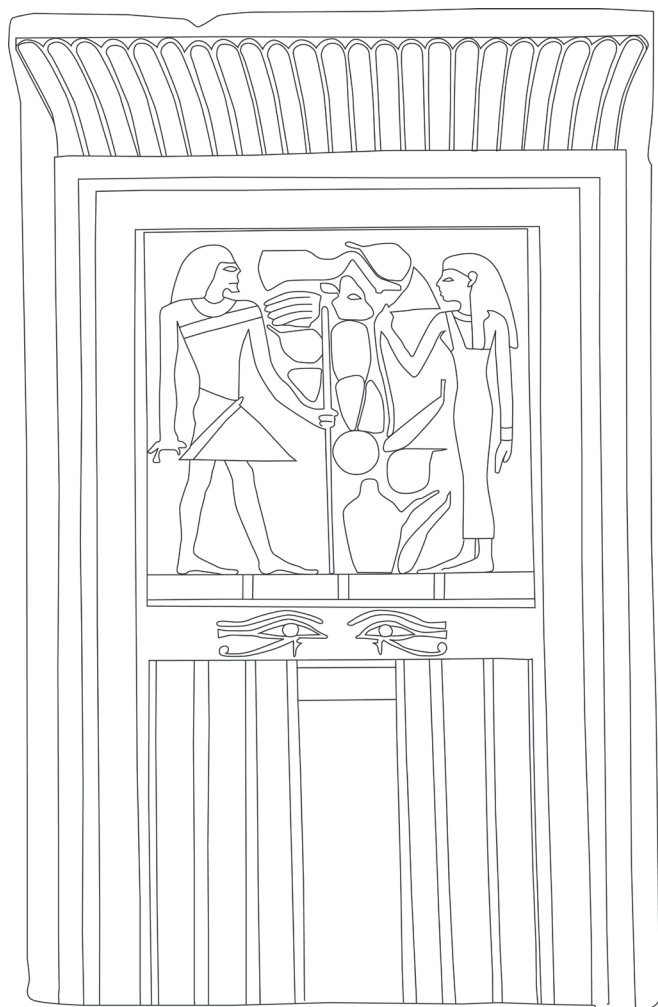


FIG. 5. Louvre C 22.

Common features

All five stelae show two people standing on either side of a pile of offerings.¹⁴ This composition is not unique. According to Rita Freed, the exemplars of this workshop include¹⁵ the above-mentioned München WAF 36, Louvre C 22, and Louvre E 13079, but also Cairo JE 45246 from Lisht,¹⁶ Louvre C 36,¹⁷ and Wien ÄS 95.¹⁸ Irmgard Hein and Helmut Satzinger have pointed out three early Twelfth Dynasty stelae similar to München GL WAF 36, depicting two women standing on both sides of some offerings or an offering table:¹⁹ Boston 98.1047 from Dendera,²⁰ Louvre C 36, and Wien ÄS 95. However, the stelae Boston 98.1047, Cairo JE 45246, Louvre C 36, and Wien ÄS 95 differ in style from the five stelae in question and do not share the distinctive features of the workshop that are presented below.

All stelae from this workshop are rectangular. Three are false doors framed by a torus with a curved cavetto cornice and a central niche (Saint-Omer 6282, GL WAF 36, Louvre C22). Louvre E13079 is crowned by a flat imitation of a cavetto cornice. Lyon H 1578 is a plain rectangular stela. The scenes are executed in raised relief. No incised interior detailing can be seen. The fingers of free hands are not detailed (unlike Freed's workshops 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6), but the hand holding a lotus flower (female) or a stave (male) is sometimes detailed. The hieroglyphic inscriptions are incised.

Every woman is depicted holding a lotus flower. These flowers have long fleshy stems. Unlike other early Twelfth Dynasty stelae, the lotus petals here are neither split (as in Freed's workshops 1, 2, 3, 8, and 10) nor thoroughly sculpted (as in Freed's workshops 4, 5, 7, and 9); instead they are simply painted on some of the stelae. The lotus flower is held at the stem top. The women wear long white tunics that leave the breast bare. Unlike Freed's workshops 1, 2, and 5, the tunics are single-shouldered.

The offerings form a huge pile and are not as compressed as on the stelae of Freed's workshop 5. There is no furniture, neither offering tables nor jar stands.

Two inscriptions run horizontally above the scene, symmetrically from the centre, without a delimiter (the point of division is shifted to the right on Saint-Omer 6282). No sign groups are shared by both left and right parts of the inscription, as *pṛt-hrw* is on Cairo JE 45246 and JE 45626,²¹ or *jrj-pṛt* on BM EA 577.²²

¹⁴ For Middle Kingdom stelae showing the owner standing (instead of sitting) in front of offerings or an offering table, see D. Franke, 'Die Stele des Jayseneb aus der Schachtanlage K01.12', in D. Polz und A. Seiler, *Die Pyramidenanlage des Königs Nub-Cheper-Re Intef in Dra' Abu el-Naga: Ein Vorbericht* (SDAIK 24; Mainz am Rhein, 2003), 79–80 n. 257.

¹⁵ Freed, *Sculptural Schools*, 205, 274 nn 747–8.

¹⁶ A. C. Mace, 'The Egyptian Expedition: Excavations at the North Pyramid of Lisht', *BMMA* 9/10 (1914), 119–20, frontispiece; R. Baligh, 'Three Middle Kingdom Stelae from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo', *JARCE* 44 (2008), 170–4, fig. 1; PM IV, 81. The piece was found in a pit-tomb of Ameny, dated to the early Twelfth Dynasty by a golden weight inscribed with the name of Senwosret I as stated by the publisher, though on the photograph only the nomen is visible: Mace, *BMMA* 9/10, fig. 9.

¹⁷ I am thankful to Guillemette Andreu and Catherine Bridonneau for providing me with a photograph of this stela. For hieroglyphic text, see E. Gayet, *Musée du Louvre: Stèles de la XII^e dynastie*, II (Paris, 1886), pl. li n. 8.

¹⁸ I. Hein und H. Satzinger, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches*, II: *Einschliesslich der I. und II. Zwischenzeit* (CAA Wien 7; Mainz am Rhein, 1993), 25–7.

¹⁹ Hein und Satzinger, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches* II, 26.

²⁰ R. J. Leprohon, *Stelae, I: The Early Dynastic Period to the Late Middle Kingdom* (CAA Boston 2; Mainz am Rhein, 1985), 34–6.

²¹ Freed, in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies Simpson*, I, fig. 1b.

²² E. A. W. Budge (ed.), *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*, IV (London, 1913), pl. 25.

Two stelae (Lyon H 1578 and Saint-Omer 6282) show an extremely rare spelling of *nbt-pr* without *t*: .

Origin of the workshop

The fact that three of the stelae (Louvre E 13079, Louvre C 22, and Saint-Omer 6282) come from the Thédénat-Duvent collection suggests that they could have been found in a single place. The collection of Pierre-Paul Thédénat-Duvent, a French vice-consul in Egypt, was assembled by his son Sauveur-Fortuné in Upper Egypt between 1820 and 1822. The provenances specified in the catalogue of the collection are often considered untrustworthy:²³ Louvre C 22 is said to come from Thebes,²⁴ and the provenance of Saint-Omer 6282 is ambiguous. It bears a label stating: ‘Théodonat fils, trouvée à l’Araba Ma [...] /Thèbes/Année 1821’,²⁵ leaving it unclear whether it was discovered at Araba el-Madfuna (Abydos) or Thebes. The first possibility seems more plausible, as Araba el-Madfuna is a more specific toponym than Thebes. It appears that Sauveur-Fortuné was staying in Thebes and was making trips to such sites as Abydos and Dendera from there.²⁶

It is possible that Louvre C 22 could also come from Abydos: a similar ambiguous label might have been interpreted by L. J. J. Dubois as an indication of Theban origin (see n. 12).

Thus, three pieces from the collection of Thédénat-Duvent could come from Abydos (or, alternatively, Thebes). Another stela, München GL WAF 36 is said to come from Saqqara.²⁷ The stelae were therefore erected in different regions; however, the stylistic similarity suggests they were produced at a single workshop.

It has been suggested that the diversity of styles of Abydene stelae is due to their originating from various localities in Egypt.²⁸ However, few studies have dealt with possible localities of Abydene stela production. Mahmoud el-Hamrawi has attempted to trace linguistic differences between Abydene stelae set up by local people and by ‘pilgrims’ from other regions.²⁹ Marcel Marée has also studied the possible places of production of several stelae erected at Edfu.³⁰ Elsewhere I have attempted to demonstrate that a number of Abydene stelae were produced in Antaeopolis, as suggested by stylistic and palaeographical features shared with rock tombs and other objects from Qaw el-Kebir.³¹

²³ Some pieces from this collection are listed in PM as objects of unknown provenance, despite the provenance being specified in the collection catalogue; see for example PM VIII, 801-402-573 and 803-042-910.

²⁴ Guichard, *RdE* 58, 213-14, citing the collection catalogue.

²⁵ Austin, Le Nouène, and Houdiquet (eds), *Cultes funéraires en Égypte et en Nubie*, 17 (no. 5).

²⁶ See Guichard, *RdE* 58, 227. J. Yoyotte offers a different interpretation of this label, arguing that this stela originated from Abydos and could have been bought at Thebes: C. Seillier and J. Yoyotte, *Société et croyances au temps des pharaons: Musée des Beaux-arts et d’Archéologie de Boulogne-sur-Mer, 28 juin-25 octobre 1981* (Boulogne-sur-Mer, 1981), no. 102.

²⁷ See above n. 11.

²⁸ H. W. Müller, ‘Die Totendenksteine des Mittleren Reiches, ihre Genesis, ihre Darstellungen und ihre Komposition’, *MDAIK* 4 (1933), 206.

²⁹ M. el-Hamrawi, ‘Alte-Reichs-Sprache und Mittlere-Reichs-Sprache in abydenischen Texten der 11.-12. Dynastie’, *LingAeg* 12 (2004), 89-122.

³⁰ M. Marée, ‘Edfu under the Twelfth to Seventeenth Dynasties: The Monuments in the National Museum of Warsaw’, *BMSAES* 12 (2009), 38-40, 47-49.

³¹ A. Ilin-Tomich, ‘Памятники жителей Антеополя в Абидосе конца XII-XIII династии: признаки и общие черты’, in A. O. Bolshakov (ed.), *Петербургские египтологические чтения 2009-2010* (Saint Petersburg, 2011), 92-102.

One feature of the five stelae currently in question is suggestive of the location of the workshop which produced them. A feature shared by Louvre C 22 and München GL WAF 36, the *wḏ3t*-eyes on the crossbar of a false door, could indicate that this workshop was located in the Memphis–Fayum region. This type of false door emerged in Saqqara³² or Heracleopolis³³ during the First Intermediate Period. Most Twelfth Dynasty examples come from the northern residence area,³⁴ examples including:³⁵ the stela of Heni/Khety-ankh at Matariya (Heliopolis);³⁶ Cairo CG 1409 (Saqqara);³⁷ Cairo CG 1478 and 1486 (Dahshur);³⁸ Cairo JE 45086 (Lisht);³⁹ and UC 14339 (Lahun).⁴⁰

A similar stela, Hannover 2930,⁴¹ is of unknown provenance but may be identified prosopographically with an owner of seals coming from Lisht and Lahun.⁴² Here also belong five members of the Freed's workshop 7 that include a depiction of a false door with *wḏ3t*-eyes above the niche: Berlin 1192;⁴³ Cairo CG 20088;⁴⁴ CG 20470;⁴⁵ CG 20515;⁴⁶ Berkeley, Hearst 5-352.⁴⁷ The stelae were erected at Abydos, but Cairo CG 20515 was set up by the owner's son, 'the great lector-priest, draughtsman of Amenemhat-it-taui, the revered one *Nḥt*' (*hrj-ḥbt wr sš-ḳḏwt n ḏmn-m-ḥst ḏt-t3wj jmšḥj Nḥt*).⁴⁸ This relates the whole of workshop 7 to the northern residence, and may suggest that the draughtsman *Nḥt* was responsible for its artistic production.

The crossbar *wḏ3t*-eye feature was also adopted by the artisans of Beni Hasan,

³² H. G. Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome: Dynasties VI–XI* (AnOr 40; Rome, 1964), 40; K. A. Daoud, *Corpus of Inscriptions of the Herakleopolitan Period from the Memphite Necropolis: Translation, Commentary and Analyses* (BAR International Series 1459; Oxford, 2005), 68 n. 736, 185. The eyes on the Saqqara false doors mentioned by Fischer could, however, indicate a later date: E. J. Brovarski, 'False Doors and History: The First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom', in D. P. Silverman, W. K. Simpson, and J. Wegner (eds) *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt* (New Haven, 2009), 372.

³³ Brovarski, in Silverman et al. (eds), *Archaism and Innovation*, 393.

³⁴ Detlef Franke has related the design and layout of Twelfth Dynasty false doors with eyes from Saqqara to the traditional Old Kingdom false doors; see W. K. Simpson, 'Studies in the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty, IV: The Early Twelfth Dynasty False-Door/Stela of Khety-ankh/Heni from Matariya/Ain Shams (Heliopolis)', *JARCE* 38 (2001), 10.

³⁵ The list is partially based on the inventory of the Twelfth Dynasty false door panels by E. Brovarski, 'A Coffin from Farshūt in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston', in L. H. Lesko (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies in Memory of William A. Ward* (Providence, 1998), 67 n. 260.

³⁶ Simpson, *JARCE* 38, 9–20.

³⁷ C. M. Firth and B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* (Cairo, 1926), 283, pl. lxxxiii; L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches (ausser den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo* (CGC [97]; Berlin, 1937), I, pl. 18; D. P. Silverman, 'Non-Royal Burials in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery and the Early Twelfth Dynasty', in Silverman et al. (eds), *Archaism and Innovation*, 50 fig. 3.

³⁸ Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, I, pl. 38 (CG 1478), and pl. 41 (CG 1486).

³⁹ A. M. Lythgoe, 'The Egyptian Expedition', *BMMA* 2 (1907), 115 fig. 4.

⁴⁰ W. M. F. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara* (London, 1890), pl. xi.10; H. M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection, II: Archaic Period to Second Intermediate Period* (Warminster, 1979), pl. 36.4 (no. 148); Petrie Museum <http://www.petrie.ucl.ac.uk/detail/details/index_no_login.php?objectid=UC14339> accessed 11.02.2010.

⁴¹ M. Cramer, 'Ägyptische Denkmäler im Kestner-Museum zu Hannover', *ZÄS* 72 (1936), pl. iv.4.

⁴² Franke, *Personendaten*, dossier 627.

⁴³ Freed, in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies Simpson*, I, fig. 7b.

⁴⁴ H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches im Museum von Kairo* (CGC [7]; Berlin, 1902), IV, pl. viii.

⁴⁵ Lange und Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, IV, pl. xxxiii.

⁴⁶ Lange und Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, IV, pl. xxxv.

⁴⁷ A. B. Elsasser and V.-M. Fredrickson, *Ancient Egypt: An Exhibition at the Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley (March 25–October 23, 1966)* (Berkeley, 1966), 63; R. Fazzini, *Images for Eternity: Egyptian Art from Berkeley and Brooklyn* (New York, 1975), 54–5.

⁴⁸ For his other monuments, see Franke, *Personendaten*, dossier 337.

appearing on stelae as well as in a rock-cut tomb: Ashmolean Museum E.3978;⁴⁹ BM EA 625;⁵⁰ Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 192;⁵¹ Liverpool 55.62;⁵² Beni-Hasan tomb 2.⁵³ However, there are no other grounds to relate the workshop in question to Beni Hasan. Two further examples come from Meir: Tomb B3, stelae 1 and 2.⁵⁴

Other Twelfth Dynasty false doors with *wḏst*-eyes on the crossbar are of unknown provenance. Nothing can definitely indicate the production place of: Cairo CG 20461;⁵⁵ Leiden AP 64;⁵⁶ Louvre C 46;⁵⁷ and Turin Cat. 1612.⁵⁸

Thus, overall, the *wḏst*-eyes on the crossbar speak in favour of the northern origin of the workshop in question. It could be located in Saqqara, in It-Taui, or in the Fayum, but the fact that München GL WAF 36 is said to come from Saqqara makes a Memphite origin more probable.

It should also be noted that other Twelfth Dynasty stelae with *wḏst*-eyes in the lower part (false doors without a central niche or round-topped stelae) also tend to originate from the Memphis–Fayum region. The following examples can be cited: De Morgan, *Dahchour*, I, 40, fig. 81;⁵⁹ Cairo CG 1481 (Dahshur),⁶⁰ Cairo CG 20390;⁶¹ and Petrie, *Illahun*, pl. xii.3 (Lahun); as well as one stela each from Riqqeh⁶² and Harageh.⁶³

There are two further stelae of this type erected in Abydos whose owners clearly come from Lahun: BM EA 1638⁶⁴ (whose owner is also attested by a statue from Lahun);⁶⁵ and Ashmolean 1922.143⁶⁶ (whose owner served at the mortuary temple of Senwosret II and is known from Lahun papyri).⁶⁷ The remaining examples come from

⁴⁹ J. Garstang, *Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt as Illustrated by Tombs of the Middle Kingdom* (London, 1907), fig. 195.

⁵⁰ S. Orel, 'The Stela of Khnumhotep in the British Museum (BM 625)', in C. J. Eyre (ed.), *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A. F. Shore* (EES OP 11; London, 1994), 227–41; Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 191.

⁵¹ Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 192.

⁵² C. Lilyquist, *Ancient Egyptian Mirrors from the Earliest Times through the Middle Kingdom* (MÄS 27; Munich, 1979), 36, fig. 147; Garstang, *Burial Customs*, fig. 193; D. van der Plas, *Egyptian treasures in Europe, IV: National Museums & Galleries on Merseyside, Liverpool* (Utrecht, 2001).

⁵³ P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan* (ASE 1; London, 1893), I, pl. xii. The stylistic similarity of the false door in Tomb 2 and BM EA 625 has been noted by Orel, in C. J. Eyre (ed.), *The Unbroken Reed*, 239.

⁵⁴ A. M. Blackman and M. R. Apted, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, VI (ASE 29; London, 1953), pl. vi, vii, xxxiv.1.

⁵⁵ Lange und Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, IV, pl. xxxii.

⁵⁶ P. A. A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden*, II: *Die Denkmäler der Zeit zwischen dem Alten und Mittleren Reich und des Mittleren Reiches*, I: *Stelen* (The Hague, 1909), pl. v (Nr. 6).

⁵⁷ *Louvre Atlas Database* <http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=3573> accessed 16.02.2010.

⁵⁸ A. M. Donadoni Roveri, *Egyptian Civilization: Religious Beliefs* (Turin, 1988), fig. 141.

⁵⁹ J. De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour, mars-juin 1894* (Vienna, 1895), 40, fig. 81.

⁶⁰ Borchartd, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, I, pl. 38.

⁶¹ W. M. F. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob, 1889–90* (London, 1891), pl. xi.

⁶² R. Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis*, VI (BSAE ERA 19; London, 1915), 19, pl. xxi.5.

⁶³ R. Engelbach and B. Gunn, *Harageh* (BSAE ERA 28; London, 1923), 27, pl. xxiv.1, lxxii.2.

⁶⁴ T. E. Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* (EEF EM 34; London, 1914), II, pl. xxiii.2.

⁶⁵ Franke, *Personendaten*, dossier 437.

⁶⁶ W. M. F. Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos* (BSAE 37; London, 1925), pl. xii.7; J. Baines, 'Society, Morality and Religious Practice', in B. E. Shafer (ed.), *Religion in Ancient Egypt: Gods, Myths and Personal Practice* (London, 1991), 157.

⁶⁷ M. Zecchi, *Prosopografia dei sacerdoti del Fayyum: Dall'Antico Regno al IV secolo a. C.* (Archeologia e storia della civiltà egiziana e del Vicino Oriente antico, Materiali e studi 4; Imola, 1999), 29–30 (no. 135); Franke, *Personendaten*, dossier 764.

Abydos or are of unknown provenance: Cairo CG 20116;⁶⁸ CG 20553;⁶⁹ CG 20554;⁷⁰ CG 20710;⁷¹ CG 20723;⁷² Leiden AP 21;⁷³ and Moscow I. I. a. 1136.⁷⁴

Dating

The writing of the name *Ddt* with the group $\Delta\Delta$ on München GL WAF 36 could provide a dating criterion for the workshop. Writings of the geminated forms of *rdj* with $\Delta\Delta$ were usual in the Old Kingdom.⁷⁵ The Middle Kingdom monuments generally spell these forms $\frac{\Delta}{\Delta}$,⁷⁶ with only a few archaising Twelfth Dynasty monuments showing the Old Kingdom orthography. Most such monuments can be dated to the first three reigns of the dynasty. Examples include: Abydos C 13 (Senwosret I, Abydos);⁷⁷ Aix-en-Provence 6 (early Twelfth Dynasty);⁷⁸ coffins Berlin 9 and 11 (Twelfth Dynasty, Thebes);⁷⁹ BM EA 462 (early–mid Twelfth Dynasty);⁸⁰ Boston 25.659 (Freed’s workshop 2, Amenemhat I, Sheikh Farag);⁸¹ Cairo CG 20024 (to be added to Freed’s workshop 8, Senwosret I, Akhmim);⁸² CG 20026 (Freed’s workshop 8, Senwosret I, Abydos);⁸³ CG 20138 (Twelfth Dynasty, Abydos);⁸⁴ CG 20425 (Freed’s workshop 9, Amenemhat II, Abydos);⁸⁵ CG 20539 (Senwosret I);⁸⁶ CG 20568 (Freed’s workshop 10, Senwosret I or Amenemhat II, Abydos);⁸⁷ CG 20571 (c. Amenemhat II,⁸⁸

⁶⁸ Photo from the archive of O. D. Berlev, courtesy of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, St Petersburg.

⁶⁹ Lange und Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, IV, pl. xlv.

⁷⁰ Lange und Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, IV, pl. xlv.

⁷¹ Lange und Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, IV, pl. liv.

⁷² Photo from the archive of O. D. Berlev, courtesy of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, St Petersburg.

⁷³ Boeser, *Beschreibung der ägyptischen Sammlung*, II/1, pl. vii (Nr. 8).

⁷⁴ O. D. Berlev attributed this stela to Gebelein, apparently through the mention of *Sbk-R^c nb Swmnw* in the offering formula. However, the offering formula on this stela is in many ways comparable to the statue Cairo CG 405 from Lahun.

⁷⁵ E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* (AnOr 34; Rome, 1955), 15*.

⁷⁶ *Wb.* II, 464.

⁷⁷ W. K. Simpson, *Inscribed Material from the Pennsylvania-Yale Excavations at Abydos* (PPYE 6; New Haven, 1995), 42–3; J. Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2005), 168.

⁷⁸ C. Barbotin, *Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence: Collection égyptienne* (Aix-en-Provence, 1995), 42–5; O. D. Berlev, *Трудовое население Египта в эпоху Среднего царства* (Moscow, 1972), 221, dates it in the reign of Amenemhat II.

⁷⁹ G. Steindorff, *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reichs in den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, I: *Das Grab des Mentuhotep* (Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen 8; Berlin, 1896), 6, 12.

⁸⁰ Budge (ed.), *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae*, V (London, 1914), pl. 5.

⁸¹ R. E. Freed, ‘A Private Stela from Naga ed-Der and Relief Style of the Reign of Amenemhat I’, in W. K. Simpson and W. M. Davies (eds), *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan: Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham on the Occasion of his 90th Birthday, June 1, 1980* (Boston, 1981), 68–76.

⁸² E. Grébaut, *Le Musée Égyptien* (Cairo, 1890), I, pl. xviii; D. Wildung, *Sesostris und Amenemhet: Ägypten im Mittleren Reich* (Munich, 1984), Abb. 1. Franke, *Personendaten*, dossier 132, dates this stela to the reign of Amenemhat I, but there are good reasons to believe that it cannot be earlier than Senwosret I; see D. Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib aus Elephantine: Geschichte eines Provinzheiligtums im Mittleren Reich* (SAGA 9; Heidelberg, 1994), 212; C. Obsomer, *Sesostris I^{er}: Étude chronologique et historique du règne* (Brussels, 1995), 361 n. 1.

⁸³ Photo from the archive of O. D. Berlev, courtesy of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, St Petersburg.

⁸⁴ Lange und Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, IV, pl. xii.

⁸⁵ Lange und Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, IV, pl. xxx.

⁸⁶ Lange und Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, IV, pl. xli–xlii.

⁸⁷ Lange und Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, IV, pl. xlv; W. K. Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* (PPYE 5; New Haven, 1974), pl. 57.

⁸⁸ Contra Franke, *Personendaten*, dossier 353, and P. Vernus, *Le surnom au Moyen Empire: Répertoire, procédés d’expression et structures de la double identité du début de la XII^e dynastie à la fin de la XVII^e dynastie* (StudPohl 13; Rome, 1986), 34 no. 146, who date this stela late in the Twelfth Dynasty or in the Thirteenth Dynasty. Their opinion seems to be based on the use of *nbt-pr* on Cairo CG 20748 belonging to the same person. However, the

Abydos);⁸⁹ JE 42949 (Amenemhat II, Meir);⁹⁰ JE 71901 (Senwosret I);⁹¹ Dahshur, Mastaba 2 (Senwosret II–III);⁹² Leiden AP 65 (possibly Amenemhat II);⁹³ MMA 16.10.333 (Freed’s workshop 2, Amenemhat I, Asasif);⁹⁴ MMA 46.3.1 (Amenemhat I or Senwosret I, Lisht);⁹⁵ Siut, Tomb I (Senwosret I);⁹⁶ Siut, Tomb VI (c. Amenemhat II or Senwosret II);⁹⁷ Turin Cat. 1534 (Freed’s workshop 8, Senwosret I);⁹⁸ stela of Heni/Khety-ankh at Matariya (early Twelfth Dynasty, Heliopolis).⁹⁹

It should also be noted that nearly all the coffins that use the spelling $\triangle\triangle$ in the Coffin Texts more or less systematically (defined as at least twice)¹⁰⁰ can be dated to the Eleventh or early Twelfth Dynasties: B1Bo (CT III, 148f; CT VI, 282t; CT VI, 284j; Amenemhat I),¹⁰¹ B1P (CT IV, 296b; CT VII, 504d; Senwosret II or Senwosret III),¹⁰² S1C (CT III, 147d; CT III, 351b; CT III 374e; CT III 390d; Eleventh Dynasty),¹⁰³ L1NY (CT IV, 296b; CT IV, 300b; Amenemhat II),¹⁰⁴ S2C (CT III, 147d; CT III, 374e; CT III, 390d; CT IV, 111b; CT V, 307b; Eleventh Dynasty),¹⁰⁵ S3C (CT III, 374e; CT IV, 111b; Eleventh Dynasty),¹⁰⁶ T1C (CT IV, 254b; CT IV, 296B; CT IV, 322b; late Eleventh Dynasty),¹⁰⁷ Sq4C (CT VI, 251g; CT VIII, 356; late Eleventh or early Twelfth Dynasty),¹⁰⁸ Sq6C (CT VI, 251g; CT VIII, 356; late Eleventh or early Twelfth Dynasty).¹⁰⁹

The latest Middle Kingdom monuments with such spellings date to the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III: Genève D 50;¹¹⁰ Rio de Janeiro 627 [2419];¹¹¹ and style of the stela suggests a date around the reign of Amenemhat II. See below for the definite examples of *nbt-pr* under Amenemhat II.

⁸⁹ Lange und Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, IV, pl. xlvi; Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God*, pl. 52.

⁹⁰ A. Kamal, ‘Rapport sur les fouilles exécutées dans la zone comprise entre Déirout, au nord, et Déir-el-Ganadlah, au sud’, *ASAE* 14 (1914), 61; H. Willems, *Chests of Life: A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins* (MEOL 25; Leiden, 1988), 98–9.

⁹¹ A. I. Sadek, *The Amethyst Mining Inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi* (Warminster, 1980), I, 84 (no. 143).

⁹² De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour, mars–juin 1894*, 19 fig. 23.

⁹³ Boeser, *Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung*, II, Abt. I, pl. ix (Nr. 10); PM VIII, 803–030–020.

⁹⁴ W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1953), I, 331, fig. 219; Freed, in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies Simpson*, I, 301 fig. 1a.

⁹⁵ D. Arnold, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht* (PMMA 28; New Haven, 2008), 89–93, pl. 33; J.-E. Gautier and G. Jéquier, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht* (MIFAO 6; Cairo, 1902), 63.

⁹⁶ F. Ll. Griffith, *The inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh* (London, 1889), pls 4 and 6.

⁹⁷ P. Montet, ‘Les tombeaux de Siout et de Deir Rifeh’, *Kêmi* 6 (1936), 133; for dating, see D. Franke, ‘The Career of Khnumhotep III of Beni Hasan and the so-called “Decline of the Nomarchs”’, in S. Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies* (New Malden, 1991), 54.

⁹⁸ Donadoni Roveri, *Egyptian Civilization: Religious Beliefs*, figs 144–5.

⁹⁹ W. K. Simpson, *JARCE* 38, 9–20.

¹⁰⁰ D. van der Plas and J. F. Borghouts, *Coffin Texts Word Index* (PIREI 6; Utrecht, 1998), was consulted to locate the instances of the verb *rdj*.

¹⁰¹ Willems, *Chests of Life*, 70–2.

¹⁰² Willems, *Chests of Life*, 75–7.

¹⁰³ G. Lapp, *Typologie der Särge und Sargkammern von der 6. bis 13. Dynastie* (SAGA 7; Heidelberg, 1993), 294.

¹⁰⁴ Willems, *Chests of Life*, 104.

¹⁰⁵ Lapp, *Typologie der Särge*, 294, and R. Hannig, *Zur Paläographie der Särge aus Assiut* (HÄB 47; Hildesheim, 2006), 101.

¹⁰⁶ Lapp, *Typologie der Särge*, 292, and Hannig, *Zur Paläographie*, 101.

¹⁰⁷ Willems, *Chests of Life*, 113, and Lapp, *Typologie der Särge*, 310.

¹⁰⁸ Willems, *Chests of Life*, 105–6, and Lapp, *Typologie der Särge*, 304.

¹⁰⁹ Willems, *Chests of Life*, 105–6, and Lapp, *Typologie der Särge*, 304.

¹¹⁰ A. Wiedemann und B. Pörtner, *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus verschiedenen Sammlungen* (Strassburg, 1906), III, pl. I; H. A. Schlögl, *Geschenk des Nils: Aegyptische Kunstwerke aus Schweizer Besitz* (Basel, 1978), no. 154.

¹¹¹ K. A. Kitchen, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the National Museum, Rio de Janeiro* (Warminster, 1990), no. 1.

Cairo CG 20538 (the latter archaising stela owes much to Cairo CG 20539, from the reign of Senwosret I).¹¹² These represent an exception: as has been shown above, such spellings generally disappear after the reign of Amenemhat II. Thus the use of $\Delta\Delta$ on München GL WAF 36 indicates that it was most likely executed no later than the reign of Amenemhat II.

This dating is supported by the phrase *jmshj hr ntr ʕ*, with *ntr ʕ* as a separate deity rather than just an epithet, which occurs on all of the stelae except Saint-Omer 6282. As pointed out by Oleg D. Berlev, it is uncommon after the first half of the Twelfth dynasty.¹¹³ However, the title *jrj-ʕt* on Lyon H 1578 is first attested only in the reign of Amenemhat II,¹¹⁴ which might suggest that this group of stelae dates to this reign rather than any earlier.

Another pointer towards this dating may be the title *nbt-pr*, which occurs on stelae München GL WAF 36, Lyon H 1578, and Saint-Omer 6282. The use of this title before Amenemhat III is generally thought to be limited to royal women of the Eleventh Dynasty, and wives of provincial nobles.¹¹⁵ Detlef Franke has provided some attestations on private monuments that could predate the reign of Amenemhat III,¹¹⁶ and the study of Rita Freed seems to confirm that at least two occurrences of *nbt-pr* should be dated to the reign of Amenemhat II (Berlin 1188 and Guimet 11324).¹¹⁷ No examples earlier than the reign of Amenemhat II are known.

The balance of the above arguments suggests a date in the reign of Amenemhat II, rather than any earlier or later. This newly identified workshop was therefore active in the region of Saqqara or Lisht during his reign.

¹¹² See R. J. Leprohon, 'The Cairo Stela of Schetepibre (CG 20538): Borrowings and Innovation', in Silverman et al. (eds) *Archaism and Innovation*, 277–92, and further works cited by Leprohon.

¹¹³ S. Hodjash and O. D. Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow* (Leningrad, 1982), 74.

¹¹⁴ O. D. Berlev, *Общественные отношения в Египте эпохи Среднего царства. Социальный слой «царских жмшв»* (Moscow, 1978), 235.

¹¹⁵ C. Obsomer, '*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 et J.-M. Kruchten (eds), *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'Égypte pharaonique et copte: Mélanges égyptologiques offerts au Professeur Aristide Théodoridès* (Ath, 1993), 166–7; M. Malaise, 'La position de la femme sur les stèles du Moyen Empire', *SAK* 5 (1977), 187–8.

¹¹⁶ D. Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich* (HÄB 3; Hamburg, 1983), 139–40.

¹¹⁷ Freed, in Der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies Simpson*, I, 331. Another early Twelfth Dynasty stela with *nbt-pr* is Cairo CG 20729 (Lange und Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, IV, pl. lv). It can be dated to early Twelfth Dynasty by relief style, most notably by the sculpted leg muscles.