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Changes in the *hṭp-dj-nsw* Formula in the Late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period¹

In 1941, C. J. C. Bennett published a study of the *hṭp-dj-nsw* formula in the Middle Kingdom inscriptions. This study marked a new epoch in the Middle Kingdom epigraphy². Having studied 121 dated instances of the formula, Bennett established 11 dating criteria to differentiate between the Eleventh Dynasty, early Twelfth Dynasty and later Twelfth Dynasty inscriptions. His study led to a substantial development in the study of private Middle Kingdom monuments in the second half of the 20th century.

D. Franke recently argued that there are limitations in Bennett's dating system³. Franke pointed out that Bennett's work was based on a mixed set of documents, including heterogeneous monuments (stelae, tombs, rock inscriptions, coffins and one offering table). Epigraphic features do not synchronously emerge on different kinds of monuments. According to G. Lapp, the dating criteria established for coffins do not apply to other object groups⁴. P. Vernus has shown that the expedition graffiti deviate from the norm of monumental inscriptions⁵.

W. Grajetzki has likewise demonstrated the deviation of scarabs⁶.

Regional differences pose another problem to Bennett's approach. A detailed overview of the weaknesses in Bennett's method regarding provincial monuments can be found in G. Lapp's study of Middle Kingdom coffins⁷. Franke also pointed out that Bennett divided the Middle Kingdom into time periods that are too large, namely the Eleventh, early Twelfth and later Twelfth Dynasty, while excluding the periods after the Twelfth dynasty (now we know that most known Middle Kingdom monuments date from the Thirteenth dynasty or later). He further criticises Bennett's statistical approach⁸ for being too mechanistic.

A systematic overview of the *hṭp-dj-nsw* formula in the Middle Kingdom inscriptions can be found in W. Barta's study of offering formulas⁹. He divides the Middle Kingdom into four periods (the Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth/Fourteenth and Fifteenth/Seventeenth dynasties), however his chronological findings are not reliable because of an unclear basis of his datings of reference documents. A number of examples given in the Twelfth dynasty section actually belong to the Thirteenth dynasty.

¹ I am grateful to Jared McBride for correcting my English and to Elena Vorobieva for taking the photographs of Middle Kingdom stelae on display in the Louvre for me. My thanks are also due to Ivan Bogdanov for allowing me to use the photographs of the Cairo stelae preserved in the Oleg D. Berlev archive and to Gisèle Piérini for the authorisation to photograph the stelae on display in the Marseille Museum of Mediterranean Archaeology.

² C. J. C. Bennett, "Growth of the *hṭp-dj-nsw* formula in the Middle Kingdom", *JEA* 27 (1941): 77–82.

³ D. Franke, "The Middle Kingdom Offering Formulas – a Challenge", *JEA* 89 (2003): 57.

⁴ G. Lapp, *Typologie der Särge und Sargkammern von der 6. bis 13. Dynastie*, SAGA 7 (Heidelberg, 1993), S. 245.

⁵ P. Vernus, "Sur les graphies de la formule 'ḥofrande que donne le roi' au Moyen Empire et à la




Deuxième Période Intermédiaire", in: S. Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies* (New Malden, 1991), p. 143.

⁶ W. Grajetzki, "Der Schatzmeister Amenhotep und eine weitere Datierungshilfe für Denkmäler des Mittleren Reiches", *BSEG* 19 (1995): 10.

⁷ Lapp, *Typologie*, pp. 243–245.

⁸ Later revised by H. Satzinger, "Beobachtungen zur Opferformel: Theorie und Praxis", *LingAeg* 5 (1997): 177–188.

⁹ W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der alt-ägyptischen Opferformel*, ÄF 24 (Glückstadt, 1968), pp. 43–84.

The present state of research allows us to distinguish the late Middle Kingdom inscriptions (Senwosret III and later) from the early Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom documents, but establishing a more precise date within this period is often a complicated task. That is why we often meet monuments dated as just “Late Middle Kingdom” in recent studies and catalogues. The following traits emerge roughly in the reign of Senwosret III and are widely used for dating: *wꜣꜣt*-eyes in the lunette¹⁰, the writing of *šs mnḥt* with ¹¹, the title *nbt-pr* applied to women not belonging to a royal or nomarchal family¹². Further features are first utilized in the very end of the Twelfth dynasty or in the Thirteenth dynasty: the use of  instead of ¹³, *hqꜣ-dt* as an epithet of Osiris¹⁴, *whmw ꜥnh* as an epi-



thet of deceased¹⁵ and the phrases *tꜣw nꜣm n ꜥnh* and *tꜣw nꜣm n mhjtt* in the list of offerings¹⁶.

More accurate dating is possible through the study of prosopography or the groups of stylistically close stelae called workshops¹⁷. But these methods only apply to a limited number of documents with prosopographic or stylistic links to dated monuments. A review of changes in the offering formula during the late Middle Kingdom could help dating the monuments that could otherwise not be dated at all. The aim of this paper is to review the dating criteria based on the *hṯp-dj-nsw* formula already proposed in scholarly literature and to establish new approaches.


The study encompasses the documents from the reign of Senwosret III to the end of the Seventeenth dynasty. Given the limited number of documents dated precisely to a specific reign, I was able to divide the entire time-span into only three general periods: the late Twelfth dynasty (Senwosret III to Neferusobek), the Thirteenth dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period *stricto sensu*. The latter period is defined on the basis of specific epigraphic features, rather than by political history events.

In a criticism of Bennett’s system, D. Franke has suggested that “for dating stelae, only stelae should be assembled in the database”¹⁸. However, given the fact that offering-tables and statues often belonged to the same chapel as stelae and were executed at the same workshop, I decided to include these groups of monuments as well. I also include the tomb stelae and wall inscriptions in the scope of this paper because many of the stelae of unknown archaeological

¹⁰ D. Franke, “Die Stele Inv. Nr. 4403 im Landesmuseum in Oldenburg”, SAK 10 (1983): 177, n. 83; M. Marée, “A remarkable group of Egyptian stelae from the Second Intermediate Period”, OMRO 73 (1993): 8.

¹¹ For this dating criterion, see: O. D. Berlev, “Один из способов датировки стел Среднего Царства (формула ‘О живые, сущие на земле ...’)”, Краткие сообщения Института народов Азии 46 (1962): 66. Having studied 243 pre-Senwosret III Twelfth dynasty stelae I could not find any example of such a writing earlier than this reign. One example of an intermediate form can be found on stela BM 567 (Amenemhat II, photo accessible on the British Museum website) with  only partly set between the two poles of .

¹² D. Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich*, HÄB 3 (Hamburg, 1983), pp. 139–140. Some exceptional instances of this title are known from the time of Amenemhat II, see: R. E. Freed, “Stela Workshops of Early Dynasty 12”, in: P. der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* (Boston, 1996), vol. I, p. 331.

¹³ D. Franke, review of J. Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals. Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge, 1988), JEA 77 (1991): 211; O. D. Berlev and S. I. Hodge, *Sculpture of Ancient Egypt in the Collection of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts* (Moscow, 2004), p. 115. Berlev cites the toilet-box MMA 26.7.1438 (Amenemhat IV) as the earliest example. Another early example of  in the name of Osiris can be found on an offering-table from the tomb of Neferuptah (doc. 2) from the reign of Amenemhat IV or, less likely, Amenemhat III.

¹⁴ G. Rosati, “Note e proposte per la datazione delle stele del Medio Regno”, OrAnt 19 (1980): 284.

¹⁵ O. D. Berlev, *Общественные отношения в Египте эпохи Среднего царства. Социальный слой ‘царских hmww’* (Moscow, 1978), c. 180; Rosati, OrAnt 19 (1980): 277; D. Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine*, SAGA 9 (Heidelberg, 1994), p. 44.

¹⁶ S. I. Hodge and O. D. Berlev, “Several Middle Kingdom Stelae of the Moscow Fine Arts Museum”, AoF 3 (1975): 8; Rosati, OrAnt 19 (1980): 275.

¹⁷ For the concept of stela workshop, see: Freed, in: der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies ... Simpson*, I, pp. 297–336.

¹⁸ Franke, JEA 89 (2003): 57.

context could belong to tombs and not to offering chapels. In summary: the inscriptions on individual stone monuments: stelae, statues, naoi, offering tables and on tomb walls are all taken into account, while graffiti, coffins, canopic boxes, vessels, and toilet-boxes are excluded. I also exclude expedition inscriptions on stelae from Sinai, Wadi el-Hudi and other sites because it has been shown that these monuments evolve independently of other groups of inscriptions (see above).

C. J. J. Bennett relied on the monuments bearing a specific royal name and this is why he could cite only five instances of the *hṯp-dj-nsw* from the Thirteenth dynasty. To expand the corpus of dated inscriptions I have added the monuments securely dated in the prosopographical studies by D. Franke, W. Grajetzki and other scholars. This measure provides us with enough examples from the time of dynasties XII and XIII; however, the Second Intermediate Period monuments are still lacking. Therefore, I decided to add Second Intermediate Period inscriptions dated solely by epigraphic criteria. The following criteria were employed: the late writing of the *hṯp-dj-nsw*, the anomalous forms of the 𓆎 -sign and the 𓆏 -sign with cusps turned upward. P. C. Smither has noted that since the end of Dynasty XIII the traditional writing $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ is often replaced in horizontal lines by a new one $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑}$ ¹⁹. In a recent paper I have tried to show that anomalous forms of the 𓆎 -sign and namely those with crossed top, diamond-shaped top, large round top and two-petalled top are only attested after Dynasty XIII²⁰. The third criterion was proposed by C. Vandersleyen who noticed that the 𓆏 -sign with cusps turned upward is only attested under Dynasty XVII and

in the first regnal years of Ahmose²¹. These criteria underlie the present study and will not be further discussed.

I decided to exclude the inscriptions from the tomb of Awibre Hor because the place of this king in the Thirteenth dynasty was recently called into question by S. Aufrère²².

The results showed 76 documents from the late Twelfth dynasty, 139 from the Thirteenth and 264 Second Intermediate Period documents.

Bennett's article has been correctly criticised for disregarding the regional differences. The late Middle Kingdom inscriptions show a great regional discrepancy. For example, the late writing of the *hṯp-dj-nsw* which Smither believed to be a universal indicator of Second Intermediate Period inscriptions was prevalent only in the southern part of Egypt, from Nubia to el-Kab²³. However, in the present paper I am not able to pursue the regional discrepancy due to the fact that most private Late Middle Kingdom monuments either come from Abydos where stelae from different regions were installed or are of unknown provenance. That is why I had to study the offering formulas regardless of regional differences.

The limited number of inscriptions and their heterogeneous character make the statistical analysis of the material very unreliable, therefore I decided not to take into account the gradual changes in the *hṯp-dj-nsw* formula expressed in

¹⁹ P. C. Smither, "Writing of *hṯp-dj-nsw* in the Middle and New Kingdoms", in: JEA 25 (1939): 34–37, see the latest critical evaluation in: Vernus, in: S. Quirke (ed.), Middle Kingdom Studies.





²⁰ A paper "The anomalous forms of the 𓆎 -sign in the Second Intermediate Period" (in Russian) was presented at the Saint Petersburg Egyptological Readings in June 2010 and is to be published in: A. O. Bolshakov (ed.), Saint Petersburg Egyptological Readings 2009–2010 (in print).

²¹ Cl. Vandersleyen, Les guerres d'Amosis, fondateur de la XVIII^e dynastie, Monographies Reine Élisabeth 1 (Bruxelles, 1971), pp. 205–228; for a revision of this dating criterion, see: D. Polz, Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches: zur Vorgeschichte einer Zeitenwende, SDAIK 31 (Berlin, 2007), pp. 14–20.

²² S. Aufrère, "Le roi Aouibrê Hor: Essai d'interprétation du matériel découvert par Jacques de Morgan à Dahchour (1894)", BIFAO 101 (2001): 1–41.

²³ As was shown in the conference paper cited above in n. 20. M. Marée comes to the same conclusion, M. Marée, "A Sculpture Workshop at Abydos from the Late Sixteenth or Early Seventeenth Dynasty", in: M. Marée (ed.), The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects, OLA 192 (Leuven, 2010), p. 249, n. 52. The present article had already been submitted when the insightful study by Marée appeared. So I could take his findings into account only to a limited extent at the very last minute.

Table 1. Writings of *Skr*.

					Total appearance of <i>Skr</i> , <i>Pth-Skr</i> and <i>Pth-Skr-Jst-Jrt</i> in the offering formula
Late Dyn. XII	5	0	0	0	5/76 docs. (7%)
Dyn. XIII	12	0	0	0	12/139 docs. (9%)
Sec. Int. Per.	22	15	5	3	46/264 docs. (17%)

varying frequencies of certain elements in different periods, but instead to focus on drastic changes expressed in the occurrence or absence of certain elements (with some exceptions, of course).






1. Min-Harnakht

Mnw-Hr-Nht appears in the offering formulas primarily in the Thirteenth dynasty. The appearance of this god in the offering formula seems to be synchronous with the appearance of ithyphallic Min figures on Abydene stelae²⁴. This god is attested in 10 Thirteenth dynasty documents (docs. 109, 139, 154, 155, 162, 164, 168, 170, 191, 201). Doc. 342 could be dated in the Second Intermediate Period by the late writing of *hṭp-dj-nsw*, however, its similarity in composition and style with a Thirteenth dynasty stela, doc. 167, suggests a Thirteenth dynasty date. The only undoubted later example, doc. 428 probably comes from Koptos (as suggested by the phrase *nṯrw jmjw hwt-Mnw*). To conclude: the mention of *Mnw-Hr-Nht* in the offering formula outside the cultic centers of Min is a sign of a Thirteenth dynasty date.

2. The spelling of Sokar



P. Vernus has already studied the spellings of the name of Sokar in the Middle Kingdom inscriptions²⁵. The results of his study were blurred

by his assertion that all monuments with old writings of *hṭp-dj-nsw* predate the Second Intermediate Period. Consequently, he has dated all such monuments in the Thirteenth dynasty. To dispute his claim, it can be shown that in the Second Intermediate Period the old writing was replaced by the new spelling, not universally, but only in some parts of Egypt (see above). Many of the monuments dated by Vernus in the Thirteenth dynasty should be dated in the later period and this is why a review of his results is necessary.

In the late Twelfth and Thirteenth dynasty the name *Skr* was only written as . In the Second Intermediate Period new spellings appear: ,  and  (see Table 1). There is also one Second Intermediate Period document spelling *Skr* as  (doc. 461).

Hence, the anomalous writings of *Skr* are a clear sign of post-Thirteenth dynasty inscriptions.

3. Additional *dj* before a god's name

D. Franke has noted that on several Second Intermediate Period stelae an additional *dj* or *dd* was added, spelled with  or ²⁶. His examples (our docs. 270, 326, 406, 428 and Khartoum 4448²⁷) can be supplemented with docs. 283, 292, 331, 379, 427, 447.

These spellings only occur in the Second Intermediate Period. Recently, M. Marée has

centenaire (1880–1980), MIFAO 104 (Le Caire, 1980), pp. 187–190.

²⁶ Franke, JEA 89 (2003): 40, n. 2.

²⁷ F. LI. Griffith, “Oxford Excavations in Nubia”, LAAA 8 (1921): 98, pl. XXIX.1. This stela was not included in our study because it does not fit the basic formal criteria. However, the style and layout of the inscriptions suggest a Second Intermediate Period date.

²⁴ For these, see: M. Malaise, “Les représentations de divinités sur les stèles du Moyen Empire”, in: Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblata, Acta Iranica 23 (Leiden, 1984), pp. 408–411.

²⁵ P. Vernus, “Trois statues de particuliers attribuables à la fin de la domination hyksos”, in: Livre du

Table 2. Writings of *Jḥw ʒpdw*.

	𓂏𓂏	𓂏𓂏 	𓂏𓂏 	𓂏𓂏 Or 𓂏𓂏 	𓂏𓂏
Late Dyn. XII	27 (36%)	25 (34%)	17 (23%)	4 (6%)	1 (1%)
Dyn. XIII	15 (15%)	46 (46%)	0 (0%)	37 (37%)	1 (1%)
Sec. Int. Per.	26 (13%)	133 (67%)	0 (0%)	8 (4%)	33 (17%)

shown that most examples belong to an Abydos workshop he has studied²⁸ (docs. 270, 283, 292, 331, 406, 427, 447, Liverpool E.610²⁹ and Firenze 1807³⁰).

4. The sign 𓂏 [U23] in the name *ʒbdw* (Abydos)

O. D. Berlev has noted the sign 𓂏 is attested in a form with a leg 𓂏 since Kamose, doc. 426³¹. An earlier example can be cited dating from the reign of Sobkhotep VII (Dynasty XVI), doc. 280. All other examples also belong to the Second Intermediate Period: docs. 236, 254, 279, 375, 395, 408, 413, 440.

5. The phrase *m swt.f nbt*

Bennett's assertion that the phrase *m swt.f nbt* after the name of Osiris appears only once in the Twelfth dynasty (in the reign of Senwosret I)³² should be corrected. Three examples are known

²⁸ Marée, in: M. Marée (ed.), *Second Intermediate Period*, pp. 250–252

²⁹ S. R Snape, "Statues and Soldiers at Abydos in the Second Intermediate Period", in: C. J. Eyre (ed.), *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A. F. Shore*, EES Occasional Publications 11 (London, 1994), pp. 304–307; it does not fit the basic formal criteria chosen for our study.

³⁰ Its publication was not accessible to me: G. Rosati, "Nuovi 'individui': statuette di XVII–inizio XVIII dinastia nel Museo Egizio di Firenze", in: P. Minà (ed.), *Imagines et iura personarum. L'uomo nell'Egitto antico. Per i novanta anni di Sergio Donadoni: Atti del IX Convegno Internazionale di Egittologia e Papirologia*, Palermo 10–13 novembre 2004 (Palermo, 2006), pp. 225–234.

³¹ Berlev, *Hodjash, Sculpture of Ancient Egypt*, p. 115.

³² Bennett, *JEA* 27 (1941): 80.

from the reign of Amenemhat III, docs. 10, 24, 46 (one further example dates from the Second Intermediate Period, doc. 355).

6. The spelling of *jḥw ʒpdw*

Jḥw ʒpdw ("oxen and fowl") is one of the most ubiquitous elements of the offering formula. It can be written with various combinations of determinatives. The most common variants 𓂏𓂏 and 𓂏𓂏 were used at all periods. The other spellings are limited to certain periods (see Table 2).

In summary: 𓂏𓂏 is not attested after Dynasty XII, 𓂏𓂏 or 𓂏𓂏 was used almost exclusively during Dynasty XIII and 𓂏𓂏 became common in the Second Intermediate Period.

Another feature in the spelling of *jḥw ʒpdw* specific for the Second Intermediate Period inscriptions can be pointed out: the large size of the "beef" and "fowl" signs (against the traditional size of a quarter of a square). One of these signs may occupy the full height of a line: 𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏 or 𓂏𓂏. The only example of such writing prior to the Second Intermediate Period is doc. 53 (Amenemhat III). M. Marée cites this feature as one of distinctive traits of a Second Intermediate Period workshop from Abydos he discovered³³ (docs. 292, 319, 406, 422, 425, 445 from our set).

However, the Second Intermediate Period examples are not limited to the Abydos monuments he studied. The following documents can be cited (ordered by geographical origin): 239 (Elephantine); 226, 227, 228, 374, 375, 383, 384, 392, 473 (Edfu); 260, 348, 400 (Gebelein/Rizeiqat); 355, 465 (Thebes); 275, 290, 295, 322,

³³ Marée, in: M. Marée (ed.), *Second Intermediate Period*, p. 255, trait 10.

351 (Abydos) as well as 15 inscriptions of unknown origin, docs. 257, 259, 264, 324, 332, 397, 403, 407, 408, 417, 426, 460, 464, 476, 478. In sum, 41 Second Intermediate Period inscriptions exhibit this feature (I cite only the examples where at least one of the two signs occupies the full height of a line; the examples having just disproportionately large signs are more numerous, but not so clearly discernible). Hence, this feature is not a trait of a specific workshop, but rather one of the signs of a Second Intermediate Period date.

7. The phrases *rnpt nbt* and *hnkt nbt*

The phrases *rnpt nbt* (“all produce” or “all yearly offerings”³⁴) and *hnkt nbt* (“all donations”) are attested in the offering formulas of Twelfth dynasty inscriptions, but do not occur later. The following late Twelfth dynasty examples can be cited: docs. 5, 6, 10, 22, 26, 35, 41, 46, 51, 53, 65, 67.

I could find only two examples of a later date: doc. 183 (time of Khendjer) and Cairo CG 20430 (dated not earlier than the Thirteenth dynasty through the use of *whmw ḥnh*).

8. The phrase *ʒh wsr mʒc-hrw*

The phrase *ʒh wsr mʒc-hrw* (“being *akb*, powerful and justified”) frequently occurs in lists of offerings of *hṯp-dj-nsw* formula and sometimes in its complete version *ʒh m pt, wsr m tʒ, mʒc-hrw m hrt-ntr* (“being *akb* in the sky, powerful on the land and justified in the necropolis”). According to W. Barta, it appeared in the Twelfth dynasty³⁵. However, all Twelfth dynasty examples cited by Barta should be attributed to a later date. Cairo CG 20322 is dated by the use of 𓆎 , Firenze 7600 [Bosticco, no. 42] is dated by the phrase *tʒw ndm n ḥnh*. Frankfort, JEA 14 (1928), no. 6

is often dated in the reign of Senwosret III through the mention of that king on the god’s place in the *hṯp-dj-nsw* formula. However, other Middle Kingdom examples of formulas mentioning specific kings date later than the reign of that king: Dra Abu el-Naga K01.12³⁶ and Geschenk des Nils³⁷, Nr. 155 mentioning Mentuhotep II both date from the Thirteenth dynasty; docs. 248 and 452 mentioning Senwosret I and Senwosret III both date from the Second Intermediate Period. Hence, the mention of Senwosret III in the offering formula is not a reason to date Frankfort, JEA 14 (1928), no. 6 in his reign.

The study shows that the phrase *ʒh wsr mʒc-hrw* appears in the Thirteenth dynasty. 16 examples are visible from the Thirteenth dynasty and 10 from the Second Intermediate Period.

9. The phrase *jmnt ḥḥpj m hṯp.f (nfrt)*

The phrase *ddt pt qmʒt tʒ jmnt ḥḥpj* (“what the sky gives, the earth creates and the Nile brings”) is present at all periods of the Middle Kingdom. Since the Thirteenth dynasty, the following words were sometimes added to the phrase: *m hṯp.f (nfrt)* (“as his (beautiful) offering”). After Barta, these words appear already in the Twelfth dynasty³⁸. However, I could find no Twelfth dynasty example supporting this view. Four examples are known from the Thirteenth dynasty and 17 from the Second Intermediate Period.

There was also a regional variant of this phrase visible on the monuments produced in Antaeopolis³⁹: *jmnt ḥḥpj m hṯp-dj-nsw* (“what the Nile brings as an offering which the king has

³⁶ D. Polz, A. Seiler, Die Pyramidenanlage des Königs Nub-Cheper-Re Intef in Dra’ Abu el-Naga: Ein Vorbericht, SDAIK 24 (Mainz am Rhein, 2003), pl. 2.

³⁷ H. A. Schlögl, Geschenk des Nils: Ägyptische Kunstwerke aus Schweizer Besitz (Basel, 1978).

³⁸ Barta, Aufbau und Bedeutung, S. 58.

³⁹ For the traits of Antaeopolite monuments, see: A. Ilin-Tomich, “Памятники жителей Антеополя в Абидосе конца XII–XIII династии: признаки и общие черты”, to be published in: A. O. Bolshakov (ed.), Saint Petersburg Egyptological Readings 2009–2010 (in print).

³⁴ On the possible meaning, see: H. G. Fischer, *Varia Nova*, Egyptian Studies 3 (New York, 1996), p. 132.

³⁵ Barta, Aufbau und Bedeutung, pp. 59–60 (Bitte 7).

given³⁹). It is attested on four stelae of Antaeopolite origin: doc. 320, BM 143⁴⁰, Cairo CG 20431 and Marseilles 230⁴¹.

10. The phrase *ḥnt ntr jm.sn*

P. Vernus has noted that the use of *ḥnt ntr jm.sn* (or *ḥnt ntr jm.s*) instead of the traditional *ḥnt ntr jm* is a sign of Second Intermediate Period inscriptions⁴². The material collected in the present study fully supports this view. 19 examples of this phrase are known from the Second Intermediate Period, docs. 226, 242, 283, 284, 347, 370, 372, 375, 376, 388, 401, 407, 422, 426, 429, 436, 460, 461, 475.

The use of this phrase in doc. 139 coinciding with a late writing of *htp-dj-nsw* suggests that we should discard its Thirteenth dynasty date suggested by Franke in PD 732 followed by Grajetzki in GHB III.18. No other examples predating the Second Intermediate Period are known.

11. Designation of the recipient of the offering formula

All known Thirteenth dynasty inscriptions use the form *n k3 n NN* (“to the ka of NN”) to introduce the recipient. A simple designation *n NN* (“to NN”) is attested primarily in the Twelfth dynasty inscriptions: 8 examples are known. It is also attested in doc. 360, an Abydene offering-table produced in Antaeopolis. A Second Intermediate Period date of this monument is suggested by the late writing of *htp dj nsw*, however, the owner of the table could be identical with the Antaeopolite mayor *Jbw* known from the Twelfth dynasty⁴³.

The phrases *n jm3hj* and *n k3 n jm3hj* appear only in the Twelfth dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period. Seven examples are known from the late Twelfth dynasty and 6 from the Second Intermediate Period.

Conclusions

The following features are characteristic of late Twelfth dynasty inscriptions: the spelling of *jhw 3pdw* with $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$, the phrases *rnpt nbt* and *hnkt nbt* and the introduction of the recipient with simple *n NN*.

The Thirteenth dynasty inscriptions can be distinguished by the mention of *Mnw-Ḥr-Nḥt* and the spelling of *jhw 3pdw* with $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$ or $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$.

The anomalous writings of *Skr*, additional *dj* or *dd* after *htp-dj-nsw* written with an arm-sign, the sign U23 with a leg $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$, the spelling of *jhw 3pdw* with $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$ or with overgrown “beef” and “fowl” signs and the phrase *ḥnt ntr jm.sn* are signs of a Second Intermediate Period date.

The following phrases are only attested after the Twelfth dynasty: *3h wsr m3c-ḥrw* and *jnnt ḥcpj m ḥipt.f (nfrt)*.

The designation of the recipient with *jm3hj* could indicate a date either in the Twelfth dynasty or in the Second Intermediate Period.

Applying these criteria to the inscriptions of Awibre Hor supports placing this king in the Thirteenth dynasty in accordance with the Turin papyrus and contra the considerations of S. Aufrère⁴⁴: his monuments Cairo JE 30952⁴⁵ and JE 30953⁴⁶ spell *jhw 3pdw* as $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$.

List of documents

Catalogue numbers are given in brackets. Dating grounds are given in parentheses: the royal name is specified if a monument is dated by the mention of a specific king; otherwise a reference to a prosopographical study is given where the date is established.

⁴⁰ HTBM II, pl. 44.

⁴¹ Seen de visu on display in the museum.

⁴² Vernus, in: S. Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, p. 149. Unfortunately, I could not access the much-cited unpublished dissertation by Pascal Vernus devoted to the inscriptions from Edfu.

⁴³ For him, see: W. Grajetzki, “Bemerkungen zu den Bürgermeistern (*ḥtj-ḥ*) von Qaw el-Kebir im Mittleren Reich”, *GM* 156 (1997): 58–59.

⁴⁴ Aufrère, *BIFAO* 101 (2001): 1–41.

⁴⁵ J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour, mars–juin 1894* (Vienne, 1895), p. 94, fig. 218.

⁴⁶ Op. cit., 95, fig. 219.

Datings based on dubious identifications were rejected.

The documents for each period are listed in alphabetical order. First, the monuments appear cited by publications, than those cited by museum numbers.

Late dynasty XII: 1. De Morgan, Dahchour, I, 33, fig. 64 (GHB I.10). 2. Farag, Iskander, *The Discovery of Neferwptah*, pl. VI–VII (Neferwptah). 3. Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, Nr. 18 (FHH, 40). 4. Op. cit., Nr. 25 (FHH, 41). 5. Op. cit., Nr. 26 (FHH, 41). 6. Op. cit., Nr. 27 (FHH, 41). 7. Op. cit., Nr. 56 (FHH, 61). 8. Op. cit., Nr. 101 (FHH, 60). 9. Petrie, *Lahun II*, pl. XXXI (PD 155). 10. Simpson, *JEA* 51 (1965), pl. XIV (Op. cit., p. 174). 11. Basel III 5002 (ANOC 1, pl. 3, PD 551). 12. Berlin 1198⁴⁷ (A III). 13. BM 101⁴⁸ (A III). 14. BM 202 (ANOC 1, pl. 3, PD 27). 15. BM 233 (A III, Web). 16. BM 247 (PD 506, Web). 17. BM 557 (A III, ANOC 26, pl. 39, Web). 18. BM 559 (ANOC 43, pl. 62, PD 151). 19. BM 563⁴⁹ (PD 147). 20. BM 805 (PD 779, Web). 21. BM 827 [HTBM II, 30] (A III). 22. BM 831⁵⁰ (S III). 23. BM 1213 (ANOC 69, pl. 31, PD 455). 24. Boston 13.3844 (A III, Web). 25. Budapest 51.2142 (1939)⁵¹ (A III). 26. Cairo CG 456 (PD 155). 27. Cairo CG 20038 (ANOC 1, pl. 2, PD 27). 28. Cairo CG 20064 (A III, ANOC 33, pl. 51). 29. Cairo CG 20065 (PD 543). 30. Cairo CG 20127 (PD 1). 31. Cairo CG 20140 (A III). 32. Cairo CG 20231 (A III). 33. Cairo CG 20235 (PD 297). 34. Cairo CG 20296 (PD 498, ArchB). 35. Cairo CG 20310 (ANOC 1, pl. 2, PD 27). 36. Cairo CG 20399 (PD 482). 37. Cairo CG 20536 (A III). 38. Cairo CG 20538 (A III). 39. Cairo CG 20558 (ANOC 26, pl. 39, PD 150 A, 506). 40. Cairo CG 20591 (A III, ArchB). 41. Cairo CG 20602 (A III). 42. Cairo CG 20683 (ANOC 1, pl. 2, PD 27). 43. Cairo CG 20686 (S III). 44. Cairo CG 20691 (A III). 45. Cairo CG 20723 (PD 528, ArchB). 46. Cairo CG 20733 (S III, ArchB). 47. Cairo CG 20773 (A III, ArchB). 48. Cairo CG 23013 (Neferwptah). 49. Cairo JE 91243⁵²

(FHH, 62). 50. Durham N. 1936⁵³ (S III). 51. Firenze 2504 [Bosticco 23](ANOC 33, pl. 51, PD 143). 52. Firenze 2506 [32] (A III). 53. Firenze 2521 [33] (PD 255). 54. Genève D 50⁵⁴ (S III). 55. Haag 1⁵⁵ (A III). 56. København Mus. Nat. Aad 13 (ANOC 2, pl. 7, PD 101). 57. Leiden AP 21 [Boeser⁵⁶ 8] (A III). 58. Louvre C 5 (A III, ANOC 1, pl. 3). 59. Louvre C 6 (A III, Mus). 60. Louvre C 7⁵⁷ (A IV). 61. Louvre C 33 (ANOC 1, pl. 4, PD 705). 62. Louvre C 313⁵⁸ (A III). 63. Louvre E.20350⁵⁹ (PD 500). 64. Manchester 3306⁶⁰ (S III). 65. Marseille 222⁶¹ (A III). 66. MMA 62.77⁶² (S III). 67. Moscow I.1.a.5339 (Berlev, *RdE* 27, 1975, 12–16; PD 189). 68. Musée Guimet C 5⁶³ (PD 150B). 69. Rio de Janeiro 627 [2419]⁶⁴ (S III). 70. Rio de Janeiro 645 [2435]⁶⁵ (A IV). 71. Stockholm MM 32004⁶⁶ (A III). 72. Tübingen 464⁶⁷ (A IV). 73. UC 14339 [Stewart⁶⁸, 148]

⁵³ S. Birch, *Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle* (London, 1880), pl. V.

⁵⁴ A. Wiedemann, B. Pörtner, *Aegyptische Grab- und Denksteine aus verschiedenen Sammlungen*, III (Strassburg i. E., 1906), pl. I.

⁵⁵ W. Spiegelberg, *Die Aegyptische Sammlung des Museum-Meermann-Westreenianum im Haag* (Strassburg, 1896), pl. I.

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*, Abt. I. Stelen (Haag, 1909).

⁵⁷ M. Valloggia, “Amenemhat IV et sa corégence avec Amenemhat III”, *RdE* 21 (1969), pl. 12.

⁵⁸ S. Guichard, “Une collection d’antiquités égyptiennes méconnue”, *RdE* 58 (2007), pl. IVb.

⁵⁹ A. Moret, *Catalogue du Musée Guimet: Galerie Égyptienne. Stèles, bas-reliefs, monuments divers*, *Annales du Musée Guimet* 32 (Paris, 1909), pl. V (C 6).

⁶⁰ J. Baines, “The stela of Khusebek: private and royal military narrative and values”, in: J. Osing and G. Dreyer (ed.), *Form und Mass. Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des alten Ägypten. Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht zum 65. Geburtstag am 6. Februar 1987*, *ÄAT* 12 (Wiesbaden, 1987), pp. 43–61.

⁶¹ J. Capart, *Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens*, Sér. 1 (Bruxelles, 1902), pl. XXVII.

⁶² W. C. Hayes, “Egyptian Art”, *BMMA* 21 (1962): 68–69.

⁶³ Moret, *Catalogue*, pl. IV.

⁶⁴ K. A. Kitchen, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the National Museum, Rio de Janeiro* (Warminster, 1990), no. 1.

⁶⁵ Op. cit., no. 2.

⁶⁶ B. J. Peterson, “Two Egyptian Stelae”, *OrSu* 14–15 (1966): 3–8.

⁶⁷ E. Brunner-Traut, *Die Ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen* (Mainz am Rhein, 1981), pl. 56.

⁴⁷ G. Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Leipzig, 1913), Vol. I, pp. 176–177.

⁴⁸ A. M. Blackman, “The Stela of Nebipusenwosret: British Museum No. 101”, *JEA* 21 (1935), pl. I.

⁴⁹ E. A. W. Budge, *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)* (London, 1909), pl. XI.

⁵⁰ Budge, *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*, p. 50.

⁵¹ I. Nagy, *Guide to the Egyptian collection* (Budapest, 1999), p. 28, fig. 13.

⁵² W. K. Simpson, *Inscribed Material from the Pennsylvania-Yale Excavations at Abydos*, PPYEE 5 (New Haven–Philadelphia, 1995), pp. 36–35, pl. 7 (C 5).

(PD 155). **74.** UC 14429 [117] (S III). **75.** Wien ÄS 109 [CAA Wien 7, 37–44] (PD 650). **76.** Wien ÄS 164 [4, 97–102] (A III).

Dynasty XIII: **77.** Alliot, Edfou, pl. XVI.2 (Sobkhotep IV). **78.** Ayrton, Abydos III, pl. XIII (Franke, Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen, pp. 134–137). **79.** Budge, Some Account ... Lady Meux, no. 46 (PD 173, GHB I.26). **80.** Downes, Esna 267E (Franke, Verw., p. 23). **81.** Habachi, BIFAO 81 suppl. (1981), pl. VIb (PD 26, GHB I.29). **82.** Op. cit., pl. VIII–IX (PD 26, GHB I.29). **83.** Habachi, The Sanctuary of Heqaib, Nr. 40 (PD 26; FHH 72). **84.** Op. cit., Nr. 44 (PD 294; FHH 71). **85.** Op. cit., Nr. 45 (PD 738; FHH 71). **86.** Op. cit., Nr. 46 (PD 294; FHH 71). **87.** Op. cit., Nr. 50 (PD 732; FHH 66). **88.** Op. cit., Nr. 51 (PD 732; FHH 66). **89.** Op. cit., Nr. 65 (Amenemhat V). **90.** Op. cit., Nr. 66 (PD 248; FHH 65). **91.** Op. cit., Nr. 69 (FHH 65–66). **92.** Op. cit., Nr. 80 (FHH 71). **93.** Op. cit., Nr. 107 (PD 410). **94.** Newberry, PSBA, 23 (1901): 222–223 (PD 461). **95.** Petrie, Abydos II, pl. XXIX [top left] (PD 178; GHB I.26). **96.** Op. cit., pl. XXXI [bottom] (PD 88, 207, 478). **97.** Berlin 1629 and 1630⁶⁹ (PD 260). **98.** Berlin 7311 (ANOC 22, pl. 32; PD 389). **99.** Berlin 7732 (ANOC 74, pl. 40; PD 516–517). **100.** Berlin 22462 (PD 410). **101.** BM 215 (ANOC 25, pl. 38; PD 667–668; GHB II.22). **102.** BM 225 (GTT 25; Web). **103.** BM 238 (ANOC 54, pl. 76; PD 460, 591). **104.** BM 242 (PD 45; Web). **105.** BM 249 (ANOC 50, pl. 68; GTT 25). **106.** BM 252 (ANOC 25, pl. 38; PD 667–668; GHB II.22). **107.** BM 254 [HTBM, III, 26] (GTT 34). **108.** BM 428⁷⁰ (PD 634; GHB II.21; Web). **109.** BM 471 (PD 55, 767; Web). **110.** BM 506 (Marée, BMSAES 12, 41; Web). **111.** BM 903 (PD 331, 460; GTT 24; Web). **112.** BM 1348 (Ibia; Web). **113.** Bologna 1929⁷¹ (PD 227). **114.** Bolton 53.02.6⁷² (GHB, III.25). **115.** Brooklyn 08.480.176⁷³ (GTT, 34). **116.** Cairo CG 431 (PD 408). **117.** Cairo CG 482 (PD 717; Marée, BMSAES 12, 41). **118.** Cairo CG 1246 (PD 591). **119.** Cairo

CG 1247 (PD 591). **120.** Cairo CG 1263 (Rosati, in: Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century, 3, pp. 374–375). **121.** Cairo CG 20023⁷⁴ (GTT, 21–22). **122.** Cairo CG 20039 (ANOC 12, pl. 21; PD 45). **123.** Cairo CG 20058 (daughter of Neferhotep I⁷⁵). **124.** Cairo CG 20072 (ANOC 17, pl. 27; PD 21). **125.** Cairo CG 20075 (ANOC 17, pl. 26; PD 668; GHB II.22). **126.** Cairo CG 20104 (ANOC 22, pl. 32; PD 389). **127.** Cairo CG 20117 (PD 371; GTT 25; ArchB). **128.** Cairo CG 20147 (ANOC 22, pl. 32; PD 389). **129.** Cairo CG 20159 (PD 248; ArchB). **130.** Cairo CG 20160 (PD 244; GTT 25). **131.** Cairo CG 20225 (PD 634; GHB II.21; ArchB). **132.** Cairo CG 20266 (PD 212; GTT 34; ArchB). **133.** Cairo CG 20282⁷⁶ (PD 682; GTT 32). **134.** Cairo CG 20309 (ANOC 12, pl. 21; PD 45). **135.** Cairo CG 20334 (ANOC 17, pl. 27; PD 667; GHB II.22). **136.** Cairo CG 20373 (PD 584, 740 dated via doc. 79; ArchB). **137.** Cairo CG 20391 (PD 167; GHB III.17). **138.** Cairo CG 20459 (ANOC 17, pl. 27; PD 667–668; GTT 13). **139.** Cairo CG 20556 (ANOC 50, pl. 68; PD 732). **140.** Cairo CG 20560 (same workshop as doc. 141, ArchB). **141.** Cairo CG 20614 (PD 634; GHB II.21). **142.** Cairo CG 20616 (PD 408; GTT 22–23, ArchB). **143.** Cairo CG 20690 (PD 173; GHB I.26; ArchB). **144.** Cairo CG 20718 (PD 460; GTT 16). **145.** Cairo CG 20725 (ANOC 48, pl. 66; PD 717; Marée, BMSAES 12, 41). **146.** Cairo CG 20778 (PD 584, 740). **147.** Cairo CG 42034 (PD 173; GHB I.26). **148.** Cairo CG 42035 (PD 173). **149.** Cairo JE 43269⁷⁷ (PD 273). **150.** Cambridge E.1.1840⁷⁸ (PD 732). **151.** Dublin 1360⁷⁹ (GTT 21). **152.** Durham 1941⁸⁰ (PD 85). **153.** Firenze 2590 [Bosticco 24] (PD 309). **154.** Hannover 2931⁸¹ (PD 260). **155.** Hannover 2932⁸² (GHB, S. 165).

⁶⁸ H. M. Stewart, Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection, 2 (Warminster, 1979).

⁶⁹ Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften, p. 161.

⁷⁰ T. E. Peet, The Cemeteries of Abydos, Pt. II, EEF Memoir 34 (London, 1914), pl. XXIII.3.

⁷¹ E. Bresciani, Le stele egiziane del Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna (Bologna, 1985), pp. 36–37, tav. 12 (no. 9).

⁷² A. P. Thomas, “Two Monuments from Abydos in Bolton Museum”, in: J. Ruffle, G. A. Gaballa and K. A. Kitchen (ed.), Glimpses of Ancient Egypt. Studies in Honour of H. W. Fairman (Warminster, 1979), pl. I.

⁷³ J. F. Romano, “The Armand de Potter Collection of Ancient Egyptian Art”, in: der Manuelian (ed.), Studies ... Simpson, II, p. 710, fig. 4.

⁷⁴ Z. Hawass, Hidden Treasures of the Egyptian Museum: One Hundred Masterpieces from the Centennial Exhibition (Cairo and New York, 2002), p. 36.

⁷⁵ Contra: K. Ryholt, The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period (Copenhagen, 1997), pp. 249–250.

⁷⁶ M. A. Affara, “Stela from Abydos in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 20282)”, GM 200 (2004): 13–26.

⁷⁷ G. Legrain, ASAE 10 (1910): 258–259.

⁷⁸ G. T. Martin, Stelae from Egypt and Nubia in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, c. 3000 BC–AD 1150 (Cambridge, 2005), no. 28.

⁷⁹ S. Quirke, “Six hieroglyphic inscriptions in University College Dublin”, RdE 51 (2000), pl. XXXI.

⁸⁰ Birch, Catalogue ... Alnwick Castle, pl. VII.

⁸¹ M. Cramer, “Ägyptische Denkmäler im Kestner-Museum zu Hannover”, ZÄS 72 (1936): 87–88, pl. V.1.

⁸² Op. cit., p. 107.

156. Hermitage 1063⁸³ (PD 173; GHB I.26). 157. Hermitage 1075⁸⁴ (PD 173; GHB I.26). 158. Hermitage 1084⁸⁵ (PD 667; GHB II.22). 159. København Mus. Nat. Aad 10⁸⁶ (PD 332; GTT 34). 160. Leiden 1963/8.32⁸⁷ (PD 667; GHB II.22). 161. Leiden AP 2 [Boeser 14] (PD 667; GHB II.22). 162. Leiden AP 41 [Boeser 27] (GHB, S. 165). 163. Leiden AP 42 [Boeser 35] (PD 45). 164. Leiden AP 48 [Boeser 42] (PD 173). 165. Leiden H. III. RR 31 [Boeser 31] (GHB, S. 165). 166. Leiden V. L. D. J. 2 [Boeser 34] (PD 634; GHB II.21). 167. Leiden L. XI 60 [Boeser 33] (PD 227; GTT 33). 168. Liverpool M13635 (GTT 28, pl. 2). 169. Liverpool M13661 (GTT 28, pl. 1). 170. Louvre C 8⁸⁸ (Sobkhotep III). 171. Louvre C 11 (Khendjer). 172. Louvre C 12 (Khendjer). 173. Louvre C 13 (Spalinger, RdE 32, 95–116; PD 294). 174. Louvre C 29 (PD 649; Mus). 175. Louvre C 39 (PD 634; GHB II.21; Mus). 176. Louvre C 194 (PD 656; Mus). 177. Louvre C 199⁸⁹ (PD 732; GHB III.18). 178. Louvre C 206⁹⁰ (PD 309, 419; GHB, S. 122). 179. Louvre E.20909⁹¹ (PD 428). 180. Magdeburg (ANOC 60, pl. 42; GTT 34). 181. Marseille 223⁹² (PD 460; GTT 24). 182. Marseille 252⁹³ (GHB III.24). 183. MMA 63.154 (ANOC 59, pl. 81; PD 373). 184. MMA 68.14⁹⁴ (GTT 33). 185. Moscow I.1.a.5350⁹⁵ (GTT 33). 186. München Ant. 36⁹⁶ (PD 570; GTT 23). 187. München Gl. WAF 34 (ANOC 44, pl. 63; GHB IV.16). 188. Musée Guimet C 8⁹⁷ (PD 331). 189. Ny Carlsberg Gl. ÆIN 964⁹⁸ (PD 373). 190. Parma 177⁹⁹ (PD 260). 191. Parma 178¹⁰⁰ (PD 260). 192. Pittsburgh, Carnegie 2983–6701¹⁰¹ (GHB II.22). 193. Pittsburgh, Carnegie 4558–3¹⁰² (PD 294; GHB III.25). 194. Richmond 63–29 (De Meulenaere, BIFAO 69, pp. 61–64; PD 428). 195. Rio de Janeiro 637/638 [2428]¹⁰³ (PD 410). 196. Rio de Janeiro 646 [2436]¹⁰⁴ (GTT 34). 197. Roanne 163¹⁰⁵ (GTT 34). 198. Stockholm NME 18¹⁰⁶ (GTT 25). 199. Stockholm NME 34¹⁰⁷ (PD 438). 200. Torino Cat. Suppl. 1298 (PD 667; GHB II.22; Mus). 201. Torino Cat. 1620 (ANOC 54, pl. 76; PD 266, 460; GTT 24). 202. Torino Provv. 94 (Rosati, in: *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century*, 3, pp. 374–375). 203. Tübingen 462¹⁰⁸ (ANOC 60, pl. 42; GTT 34). 204. Tübingen 479¹⁰⁹ (PD 525; GTT 25). 205. Walters Art Gallery 22.190¹¹⁰ (PD 732; GTT III.18). 206. Warszawa 141262¹¹¹ (PD 428). 207. Warszawa 141263 (Marée, BMSAES, 12, 2009, 41–42, fig. 5). 208. Wien ÄS 135 [CAA Wien, 4,44–47] (PD 273). 209. Wien ÄS 140 [4,55–61] (PD 634; GHB II.21). 210. Wien ÄS 142 [4,62–67] (PD 6; GTT 63). 211. Wien ÄS 143 [4,67–74] (PD 732; GTT 25). 212.

⁸³ A. O. Bolshakov, S. Quirke, *The Middle Kingdom Stelae in The Hermitage*, PIREI 3 (Utrecht and Paris, 1999), no. 21.

⁸⁴ Op. cit., no. 23.

⁸⁵ Op. cit., no. 11.

⁸⁶ M. Mogensen, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques du Musée National de Copenhague* (Copenhagen, 1918), pl. XII, fig. 13.

⁸⁷ D. Franke, “Die Hockerstatue des Sonbso-Mei in Leiden und Statuen mit nach oben gerichteten Handflächen”, *OMRO* 68 (1988): 59–76.

⁸⁸ Z. Szafranski, “Observations on the Second Intermediate Period Relief”, in: *Festschrift Jürgen von Beckerath zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. Februar 1990*, HÄB 30 (Hildesheim, 1990), pl. 19a.

⁸⁹ Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, pl. 211.

⁹⁰ K. A. H. Awad, “Die Abydos-Stele des *Nfr-n3-ij* aus dem Mittleren Reich”, *GM* 199 (2004): 61–66.

⁹¹ M. Marée, “Edfu under the Twelfth to Seventeenth Dynasties: The monuments in the National Museum of Warsaw”, *BMSAES* 12 (2009), fig. 8.

⁹² G. Maspero, “Monuments égyptiens du Musée de Marseille”, *RecTrav* 13 (1890): 114.

⁹³ Portes pour l’au delà. *L’Égypte, le Nil et le “Champ des offrandes”* (Lattes, 1992), no. 37.

⁹⁴ H. G. Fischer, *Varia Nova*, *Egyptian Studies* 3 (New York, 1996), pl. 25.

⁹⁵ S. Hodjash, O. Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow* (Leningrad, 1982), no. 36.

⁹⁶ K. Dyroff, B. Pörtner, *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus süddeutschen Sammlungen*, II (Strassburg i. E., 1906), pl. IV (no. 7).

⁹⁷ Moret, *Catalogue du Musée Guimet*, pl. VII.

⁹⁸ H. Madsen, “Les Inscriptions Égyptiennes de la Collection Épiscopale à Copenhague”, *Revue égyptologique* 12 (1907): 218–220; M. Jørgensen, *Catalogue Egypt I (3000–1550 B. C.)* (København, 1996), pp. 190–191.

⁹⁹ G. Botti, *I cimeli egizi del Museo di antichità di Parma* (Firenze, 1964), no. 177.

¹⁰⁰ Op. cit., no. 178.

¹⁰¹ D. C. Patch, *Reflections of Greatness: Ancient Egypt at the Carnegie Museum of Natural History* (Pittsburgh, 1990), pp. 32–33 (no. 22).

¹⁰² Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos*, II, pl. XV.1–3.

¹⁰³ Kitchen, *Catalogue ... Rio de Janeiro*, no. 22.

¹⁰⁴ Op. cit., no. 18.

¹⁰⁵ M. Gabolde, *Catalogue des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée Joseph Déchelette* (Roanne, 1990), no. 1.

¹⁰⁶ B. J. Peterson, “Ägyptische Privatstelen aus dem Mittleren Reich”, *OrSu* 17 (1968): 25–26.

¹⁰⁷ Op. cit., 18–21.

¹⁰⁸ Brunner-Traut, *Brunner, Die Ägyptische Sammlung*, no. 462.

¹⁰⁹ Op. cit., no. 479.

¹¹⁰ G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946), pp. 30–31, pl. XI, CXII (no. 57).

¹¹¹ Marée, *BMSAES*, 12 (2009), fig. 7.

Wien ÄS 144 [4,75–80] (PD 684; GTT 34). **213.** Wien ÄS 163 [4,93–96] (GHB 165). **214.** Wien ÄS 182 [4,137–142] (PD 460; GTT 23). **215.** Zagreb 8¹¹² (GTT 22).

Second Intermediate Period: **216.** Alliot, Edfou, pl. XV.1 (*htp*). **217.** Ball, Light from the East (London, 1899), pp. 76–77 (*htp*, formula). **218.** Darussy, ASAE 18 (1918): 50–51 (formula). **219.** Downes, Esna, 81E (*htp*). **220.** Op. cit., 216E (*htp*). **221.** Op. cit., 221E (*htp*). **222.** Op. cit., 247E (*htp*). **223.** Dunham, Uronarti, Shalfak, Mirgissa, pl. LXI.a (*htp*). **224.** El-Kab, Tomb 9¹¹³ (*htp*, formula). **225.** El-Kab, Tomb 10¹¹⁴ (*htp*, formula). **226.** Engelbach, ASAE 22 (1922): 118–119 (formula). **227.** Op. cit.: 121–122 (formula). **228.** Op. cit.: 122–123 (formula). **229.** Farout, RdE 58 (2007), pl. IX (*htp*, formula). **230.** FHH, Taf. 9 (*htp*, formula). **231.** Griffith, LAAA 8 (1921), pl. XXIV.6 (*htp*, formula). **232.** Habachi, The Sanctuary of Heqaib, no. 38 (*htp*). **233.** Op. cit., no. 90 (formula). **234.** Hassan, MDAIK 29 (1973), pl. Ib (formula). **235.** Op. cit., pl. Ic (*htp*, formula). **236.** Op. cit., pl. Id (*htp*, formula). **237.** Jacquet-Gordon, Karnak-Nord VIII, Le Caire, 1999, no. 110 (*htp*, formula). **238.** Op. cit., no. 111 (*htp*, formula). **239.** Junge, Elephantine XI (AV, 49), pl. 2a (*htp*). **240.** Kuentz, BIFAO 21 (1921): 107–109 (formula). **241.** Lines, JEA 87 (2001): 43–54 (formula). **242.** Marée, BMSAES 12 (2009), fig. 16 (*htp*, formula). **243.** Michałowski, Tell Edfou 1938, pl. 7 (*htp*, formula). **244.** Petrie, Abydos I, pl. LX.1 (*htp*). **245.** Pierrat et al., Cahiers de Karnak 10 (1995): 436, fig. 26 (*htp*). **246.** Quibell, Hierakonpolis I, pl. XLVI.6 (*htp*, formula). **247.** Smith, The Fortress of Buhen. The Inscription (London, 1976), no. 262 (formula). **248.** Op. cit., 263 (formula). **249.** Op. cit., 487 (*htp*, formula). **250.** Op. cit., 588 (*htp*, formula). **251.** Op. cit., 713 (*htp*). **252.** Op. cit., 1111 (formula). **253.** Op. cit., 1434 (formula). **254.** Op. cit., 1708 (formula). **255.** Vernus, Livre du centenaire, MIFAO 104 (Le Caire, 1980), 179–182 (*htp*). **256.** Aix-en-Provence 849-1-1S¹¹⁵ (*htp*). **257.** Athens 4¹¹⁶ (*htp*). **258.** Athens

134¹¹⁷ (*htp*, formula). **259.** Athens 135¹¹⁸ (*htp*). **260.** Athens 154¹¹⁹ (*htp*). **261.** Baroda EG 92¹²⁰ (*htp*). **262.** Berlin 7282¹²¹ (formula). **263.** Berlin 7288¹²² (*htp*). **264.** BM 204 (*htp*, Web). **265.** BM 219 [HTBM III, 2] (formula). **266.** BM 228 [II, 49] (formula). **267.** BM 230 [III, 1] (formula). **268.** BM 255 (*htp*, Web). **269.** BM 489 (*htp*, Web). **270.** BM 630¹²³ (Pentjeni). **271.** BM 1163 (Sobkemsaf I; Web). **272.** BM 1247¹²⁴ (*htp*). **273.** BM 1314 [V, 17] (*j^{ch}*, formula). **274.** BM 1371 [V, 16] (*htp*, formula). **275.** BM 1653 (*htp*, Web). **276.** BM 1750 (*htp*, Web). **277.** BM 1817 (formula, Web). **278.** BM 55386 (formula, Web). **279.** BM 69673 (*j^{ch}*, formula, Web). **280.** Bologna 1927¹²⁵ (PD 228). **281.** Bolton 10.20/12¹²⁶ (*htp*). **282.** Boston 01.7303 (*htp*, Web). **283.** Bruxelles E.5263 + Liverpool E.40–42¹²⁷ (*htp*). **284.** Bruxelles E.6254¹²⁸ (*htp*, formula). **285.** Burnley Eg. 100¹²⁹ (formula). **286.** Cairo CG 451 (formula). **287.** Cairo CG 998 (formula). **288.** Cairo CG 1010 (formula). **289.** Cairo CG 20037 (formula; ArchB). **290.** Cairo CG 20049 (formula; ArchB). **291.** Cairo CG 20059 (*htp*). **292.** Cairo CG 20068 (formula). **293.** Cairo CG 20083 (formula). **294.** Cairo CG 20084 (formula). **295.** Cairo CG 20143 (*htp*; ArchB). **296.** Cairo CG 20144 (formula). **297.** Cairo CG 20164 (formula). **298.** Cairo CG 20168 (*htp*; ArchB). **299.** Cairo CG 20170 (*htp*; ArchB). **300.** Cairo CG 20173 (*htp*; formula; ArchB). **301.** Cairo CG 20183 (formula). **302.** Cairo CG 20192 (*htp*). **303.** Cairo CG 20194 (*htp*). **304.** Cairo CG 20198 (PD 4, 327). **305.** Cairo CG 20199 (*htp*). **306.** Cairo CG 20202 (formula; ArchB). **307.** Cairo CG 20206 (formula; ArchB). **308.** Cairo CG 20207 (*htp*; ArchB). **309.** Cairo CG 20213 (formula; ArchB). **310.** Cairo CG 20220 (formula). **311.** Cairo CG 20228 (*htp*;

¹¹² J. Monnet Saleh, Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb (Paris and La Haye, 1970), pp. 22–23.

¹¹³ W. V. Davies, “Renseneb and Sobeknakht of Elkab: The genealogical data”, in: M. Marée (ed.), Second Intermediate Period, p. 227.

¹¹⁴ J. J. Tylor, Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab. The Tomb of Sebeknekht (London, 1896); Davies, in: M. Marée (ed.), Second Intermediate Period, p. 233.

¹¹⁵ C. Barbotin, Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence: Collection égyptienne (Aix-en-Provence, 1995), no. 7.

¹¹⁶ B. Pörtner, Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus Athen und Konstantinopel (Strassburg i. E., 1908), pl. II (4).

¹¹⁷ Op. cit., pl. III (7).

¹¹⁸ Op. cit., pl. III (10).

¹¹⁹ Op. cit., pl. III (11).

¹²⁰ E. Bresciani, M. Betrò, Egypt in India. Egyptian Antiquities in Indian Museums (Pisa, 2004), 80, 247.2.

¹²¹ Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften, S. 192–194.

¹²² Grajetzki, Two Treasurers, pl. 6.

¹²³ Marée, in: M. Marée (ed.), Second Intermediate Period, pl. 85.

¹²⁴ P. Davoli, Il dossier di Aku, in: Aegyptiaca Bononiensia I (Pisa, 1991), pl. III.

¹²⁵ Bresciani, Le stele ... Bologna, no. 11.

¹²⁶ V. A. Donohue, E. White, Bolton Museum and Art Gallery: The Egyptian Collection (Bolton, 1967), no. 26.

¹²⁷ Marée, in: M. Marée (ed.), Second Intermediate Period, pl. 80–83.

¹²⁸ H. de Meulenaere, “Contributions à la prosopographie du Moyen Empire”, BIFAO 81 suppl. (1981), pl. XIII.

¹²⁹ A. Leahy, “A Stela of the Second Intermediate Period”, GM 44 (1981): 23–31.

- formula). **312.** Cairo CG 20229¹³⁰ (formula). **313.** Cairo CG 20246 (formula; ArchB). **314.** Cairo CG 20265 (formula). **315.** Cairo CG 20283 (formula; ArchB). **316.** Cairo CG 20286 (formula; ArchB). **317.** Cairo CG 20301 (formula; ArchB). **318.** Cairo CG 20302 (formula; ArchB). **319.** Cairo CG 20307¹³¹ (*htp*; formula). **320.** Cairo CG 20313 (formula). **321.** Cairo CG 20318 (*htp*; ArchB). **322.** Cairo CG 20324 (*htp*). **323.** Cairo CG 20325 (formula). **324.** Cairo CG 20327 (*htp*; ArchB). **325.** Cairo CG 20329 (*htp*; formula). **326.** Cairo CG 20335 (Franke, JEA 71 (1985): 176). **327.** Cairo CG 20358 (formula; ArchB). **328.** Cairo CG 20368 (formula). **329.** Cairo CG 20376 (formula; ArchB). **330.** Cairo CG 20377 (*htp*; ArchB). **331.** Cairo CG 20387¹³² (*htp*; formula). **332.** Cairo CG 20415 (*htp*). **333.** Cairo CG 20434 (formula). **334.** Cairo CG 20437 (*htp*; ArchB). **335.** Cairo CG 20440 (formula). **336.** Cairo CG 20499 (*htp*; formula). **337.** Cairo CG 20530¹³³ (*htp*; formula). **338.** Cairo CG 20537 (*htp*; formula). **339.** Cairo CG 20559 (formula). **340.** Cairo CG 20569 (formula). **341.** Cairo CG 20578 (PD 228; ArchB). **342.** Cairo CG 20598 (formula). **343.** Cairo CG 20603 (formula). **344.** Cairo CG 20610 (formula; ArchB). **345.** Cairo CG 20613 (*htp*). **346.** Cairo CG 20622 (formula). **347.** Cairo CG 20623 (formula). **348.** Cairo CG 20642 (formula). **349.** Cairo CG 20649 (*htp*). **350.** Cairo CG 20650 (formula; ArchB). **351.** Cairo CG 20656 (*htp*). **352.** Cairo CG 20666 (formula). **353.** Cairo CG 20674 (formula). **354.** Cairo CG 20687 (formula). **355.** Cairo CG 20694 (*htp*). **356.** Cairo CG 20702 (formula). **357.** Cairo CG 20711 (*htp*; ArchB). **358.** Cairo CG 20732 (formula). **359.** Cairo CG 20734 (formula; ArchB). **360.** Cairo CG 23036 (formula). **361.** Cairo JE 33480¹³⁴ (*htp*). **362.** Cairo JE 33481¹³⁵ (*htp*). **363.** Cairo JE 33507¹³⁶ (formula). **364.** Cairo JE 33509¹³⁷ (formula). **365.** Cairo JE 33510¹³⁸ (formula). **366.** Cairo JE 37515¹³⁹ (*htp*). **367.** Cairo JE 38917¹⁴⁰ (Dedumose I). **368.** Cairo JE 42201¹⁴¹ (formula). **369.** Cairo JE 42824¹⁴² (*htp*). **370.** Cairo JE 43362¹⁴³ (formula). **371.** Cairo JE 46200¹⁴⁴ (*htp*, formula). **372.** Cairo JE 46785¹⁴⁵ (*htp*, formula). **373.** Cairo JE 46786¹⁴⁶ (*htp*, formula). **374.** Cairo JE 46988¹⁴⁷ (Dedumose). **375.** Cairo JE 47927¹⁴⁸ (formula). **376.** Cairo JE 48229¹⁴⁹ (*htp*). **377.** Cairo JE 48230¹⁵⁰ (*htp*, formula). **378.** Cairo JE 49566¹⁵¹ (*htp*, formula). **379.** Cairo JE 49793¹⁵² (*htp*). **380.** Cairo JE 52456¹⁵³ (*htp*, formula). **381.** Cairo Temp. 16.2.22.20¹⁵⁴ (formula). **382.** Cairo Temp. 16.2.22.21¹⁵⁵ (*htp*, formula). **383.** Cairo Temp. 16.2.22.22¹⁵⁶ (*htp*, formula). **384.** Cairo Temp. 16.2.22.24¹⁵⁷ (*htp*, formula). **385.** Cairo Temp. 25.10.17.1¹⁵⁸ (*htp*). **386.** Cambridge E.199.1899¹⁵⁹ (*htp*). **387.** Cambridge E.SS.37¹⁶⁰ (*htp*). **388.** Cambridge UM Z 43846¹⁶¹ (formula). **389.** Dublin Na-

¹⁴⁰ R. El-Sayed, “Quelques précisions sur l’histoire de la province d’Edfou à la IIe Période Intermédiaire (étude des stèles JE 38917 et 46988 du musée du Caïre)”, BIFAO 79 (1979): 167–186.

¹⁴¹ G. Daressy, ASAE 17 (1917): 240–241 (III).

¹⁴² Carnarvon, H. Carter, Five Years’ Exploration at Thebes (Oxford, 1912), pl. LIV.

¹⁴³ Daressy, ASAE 17 (1917): 242–243 (V).

¹⁴⁴ S. Kubisch, “Biographies of the Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties”, in: M. Marée (ed.), Second Intermediate Period, pl. 72

¹⁴⁵ Engelbach, ASAE 22 (1922), pl. I.3.

¹⁴⁶ Op. cit., pl. I.2.

¹⁴⁷ El-Sayed, BIFAO 79 (1979): 186–207.

¹⁴⁸ <http://www.egiptomania.com/antiguoegipto/museos/fotografias.asp?foto=karanis0028.jpg> [accessed on 02. 06. 2010].

¹⁴⁹ Marée, BMSAES 12 (2009), fig. 17.

¹⁵⁰ R. Engelbach, “Two Steles of the Late Middle Kingdom from Tell Edfu”, ASAE 23 (1923): 185–186.

¹⁵¹ J. Černý, “Stela of Emhab from Tell Edfu”, MDAIK 24 (1969): 87–92.

¹⁵² H. Frankfort, “The Cemeteries of Abydos: Work of the Season 1925–26: II. Description of Tombs”, JEA 16 (1930), pl. XXXVIII.

¹⁵³ B. Gunn, “A Middle Kingdom Stela from Edfu”, ASAE 29 (1929): 5–14.

¹⁵⁴ Engelbach, ASAE 22 (1922): 117–118, pl. I.9.

¹⁵⁵ Op. cit., pp. 115–116, pl. I.5.

¹⁵⁶ Op. cit., p. 117, pl. I.8.

¹⁵⁷ Op. cit., pp. 114–115, pl. I.4.

¹⁵⁸ A. M. Abdalaal, “A Late Middle Kingdom offering table, Cairo Temp. No. 25.10.17.1”, MDAIK 62 (2006): 1–6.

¹⁵⁹ Martin, Stelae from Egypt and Nubia, no. 25.

¹⁶⁰ Op. cit., no. 29

¹⁶¹ A. Dodson, “Stelae of the Middle and New Kingdoms in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge”, JEA 78 (1992): 274–279.

¹³⁰ B. Russo, The territory *w* and related titles during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, GHP Egyptology 13 (London, 2010), pl. V.

¹³¹ Marée, in: M. Marée (ed.), Second Intermediate Period, pl. 72.

¹³² Op. cit., pl. 88.

¹³³ P. Vernus, “Les inscriptions d’Edfou, du début de la XII dynastie au début de la XVIII dynastie”, L’information historique 50 n. 1 (1988): 14–19.

¹³⁴ W. C. Northampton, et al., Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis During the Winter of 1898–9 (London, 1908), pl. 15 [2,5], 16 [1,2].

¹³⁵ Op. cit., pl. XV [4], XVI [10, 11].

¹³⁶ Op. cit., pl. XVII [5], XVI [4].

¹³⁷ Op. cit., pl. XVII [6], XVI [5].

¹³⁸ Op. cit., pl. XVII [9], XVI [8].

¹³⁹ K. El-Enany, “Une stèle privée de la fin du Moyen Empire découverte à Karnak. Le Caïre, Musée égyptien JE 37515”, BIFAO 108 (2008): 95–113.

tional Museum 1920: 273¹⁶² (*htp*). **390.** Durham 1947¹⁶³ (*htp*). **391.** Durham 1964/186¹⁶⁴ (formula). **392.** Field Museum 31664¹⁶⁵ (*htp*, formula). **393.** Field Museum 31679¹⁶⁶ (*htp*). **394.** Firenze 1808¹⁶⁷ (*htp*). **395.** Firenze 2547 [Bosticco 49] (*htp*, formula). **396.** Firenze 6383 [58] (formula). **397.** Firenze 6384 [62] (*htp*, formula). **398.** Firenze 7400 [59] (*htp*, formula). **399.** Firenze 7603 [43] (*htp*). **400.** Firenze 7605 [61] (formula). **401.** Firenze 7606¹⁶⁸ (formula). **402.** Genève D 51¹⁶⁹ (*htp*). **403.** Grenoble 1952¹⁷⁰ (*htp*, formula). **404.** Hermitage 1080¹⁷¹ (*htp*). **405.** Hildesheim 4589¹⁷² (*htp*). **406.** Ithaca 967.3.75¹⁷³ (formula). **407.** Karlsruhe H 366¹⁷⁴ (*jch*). **408.** Karlsruhe H 413¹⁷⁵ (*htp*, formula). **409.** Kendal KMA 1993.245¹⁷⁶ (*htp*). **410.** Khartoum 18¹⁷⁷ (*htp*, formula). **411.** Khartoum 365¹⁷⁸ (*htp*, formula). **412.** Khartoum 370¹⁷⁹ (*htp*, formula). **413.** Khartoum 372a¹⁸⁰ (formula). **414.** Khartoum

5320¹⁸¹ (PD 595). **415.** København Mus. Nat. s. n.¹⁸² (same workshop as doc. 427). **416.** Kraków MNK-XI-951¹⁸³ (*htp*). **417.** Lausanne 3379¹⁸⁴ (formula). **418.** Leiden F 1939/2.48¹⁸⁵ (*htp*, formula). **419.** Leipzig 3616¹⁸⁶ (*htp*, formula). **420.** Liège I/631¹⁸⁷ (*htp*). **421.** Liverpool 55.82.116¹⁸⁸ (*htp*). **422.** Liverpool 1977.109.36¹⁸⁹ (*htp*, formula). **423.** Liverpool E.73¹⁹⁰ (formula). **424.** Liverpool E.75¹⁹¹ (*htp*). **425.** Louvre C 193¹⁹² (*htp*). **426.** Louvre C 201¹⁹³ (Kamose). **427.** Louvre E.10525¹⁹⁴ (*htp*). **428.** Louvre E.13057 (Franke, JEA 71, 1985, 175–176). **429.** Louvre E.15682¹⁹⁵ (Seqenenre). **430.** Louvre E.20370¹⁹⁶ (*htp*). **431.** Louvre N 1587¹⁹⁷ (*htp*). **432.** Manchester 3997¹⁹⁸ (*htp*). **433.** Manchester 7964¹⁹⁹ (*htp*). **434.** Marseille

¹⁶² <http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/detail.aspx?id=2646> [accessed on 02. 07. 2010].

¹⁶³ Birch, Catalogue ... Alnwick Castle, pl. XIII.

¹⁶⁴ H. S. Smith, The Fortress of Buhen. The Inscriptions, EES 48 (London, 1976), pl. VIII.1, LX.2 (no. 1716)

¹⁶⁵ T. G. Allen, Egyptian Stelae in Field Museum of Natural History (Chicago, 1936), pl. V.

¹⁶⁶ Op. cit., pl. VII.

¹⁶⁷ G. Rosati, "A statuette of the Seventeenth Dynasty in Florence", in: M. Marée (ed.), Second Intermediate Period, pl. 101–103.

¹⁶⁸ A. Pellegrini, "Glanures", RecTrav 19 (1891): 217 (4).

¹⁶⁹ Wiedemann, Pörtner, Op. cit., pl. III.3.

¹⁷⁰ G. Kueny, J. Yoyotte, Grenoble, musée des Beaux-Arts: Collection égyptienne, Inventaire des collections publiques françaises 23 (Paris, 1979), no. 17.

¹⁷¹ Bolshakov, Quirke, Op. cit., no. 6.

¹⁷² H. Kayser, Die ägyptischen Altertümer im Roemer-Pelizaus-Museum in Hildesheim, Pelizaus-Museum zu Hildesheim. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung 8 (Hildesheim, 1973), 52, fig. 42.

¹⁷³ Peet, The Cemeteries of Abydos, II, pl. XXIV.2,4; Marée, in: M. Marée (ed.), Second Intermediate Period, pl. 79.

¹⁷⁴ W. Spiegelberg, B. Pörtner, Aegyptische Grab- und Denksteine aus süddeutschen Sammlungen, I (Strassburg i. E., 1902), pl. III.6.

¹⁷⁵ Op. cit., pl. XII.21.

¹⁷⁶ S. Snape, in: C. J. Eyre (ed.), The Unbroken Reed, pp. 308–311.

¹⁷⁷ T. Säve-Söderbergh, "A Buhen Stela from the Second Intermediate Period (Khartūm no. 18)", JEA 35 (1949): 50.

¹⁷⁸ Smith, The Fortress of Buhen, pl. LXX.2.

¹⁷⁹ Op. cit., pl. LXX.4.

¹⁸⁰ J. Vercoutter, "Upper Egyptian Settlers in Middle Kingdom Nubia", Kush 5 (1957): 36, pl. XIII.

¹⁸¹ J. W. Barns, "Four Khartoum Stelae", Kush 2 (1954): 19–25.

¹⁸² Mogensen, Inscriptions ... Copenhagen, pl. XIII.

¹⁸³ H. Brandys, "Female Statuette of Prince's Servant named *Nbw-n-ib* from the Collection of the National Museum in Cracow", in: Études et travaux 2, Prace Zakładu Archeologii Sródziemnomorskiej Polskiej Akademii Nauk 6 (Warszawa, 1968), pp. 99–106.

¹⁸⁴ A. Wiese, Ägyptische Kunst im Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig (1998), no. 39.

¹⁸⁵ Marée, OMRO 73 (1993): 7–22.

¹⁸⁶ FHH, pl. 10.

¹⁸⁷ M. Malaise, Antiquités égyptiennes et Verres du Proche-Orient ancien des Musées Curtius et du Verre à Liège (Liège, 1971), pp. 50–51, fig. 17.

¹⁸⁸ D. van der Plas, Egyptian Treasures in Europe, 4: National Museums & Galleries on Merseyside, Liverpool (Utrecht, 2001).

¹⁸⁹ J. R. Ogdon, "Observaciones sobre una estela del Reino Medio tardío procedente de Abydos (Merseyside County Museum Liverpool 1977.109.36)", Revista de la sociedad uruguaya de Egiptología 19 (2002): 7–12.

¹⁹⁰ A. A. M. A. Amar, "The Stela of the Herdsman Pepi", JEA 81 (1995): 210–212.

¹⁹¹ Marée, in: M. Marée (ed.), Second Intermediate Period, pl. 61.

¹⁹² Op. cit., pl. 66.

¹⁹³ P. Pierret, Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée Égyptien du Louvre, 1, Études égyptologiques 2 (Paris, 1874), pp. 59–62.

¹⁹⁴ E. Delange, Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire (2060–1560 avant J.-C.) (Paris, 1987), pp. 126–127.

¹⁹⁵ H. E. Winlock, "The tombs of the kings of the Seventeenth dynasty at Thebes", JEA 10 (1924), pl. XVIII–XX.

¹⁹⁶ Moret, Catalogue du Musée Guimet, pl. X.

¹⁹⁷ Delange, Catalogue, pp. 100–101.

¹⁹⁸ Marée, in: M. Marée (ed.), Second Intermediate Period, pl. 92–93.

¹⁹⁹ H. Frankfort, "The Cemeteries of Abydos: Work of the Season 1925–26", JEA 14 (1928), pl. XXI.3.

- 224²⁰⁰ (formula). **435.** Marseille 225²⁰¹ (*htp*). **436.** Marseille 231 (*j^ch*, Mus). **437.** MMA 21.2.68²⁰² (*htp*). **438.** MMA 22.3.309²⁰³ (formula). **439.** MMA 35.7.55²⁰⁴ (*htp*, formula). **440.** Moscow I.1.a.4760²⁰⁵ (*htp*). **441.** Moscow I.1.a.5606²⁰⁶ (*htp*, formula). **442.** Moscow I.1.a. 5731²⁰⁷ (*htp*). **443.** Moscow I.1.b. 32 + UC 14326²⁰⁸ (Sobkemsaf II). **444.** Napoli 1018²⁰⁹ (formula). **445.** New Haven YPM 6848²¹⁰ (formula). **446.** Ny Carlsberg Gl. ÆIN 961²¹¹ (*htp*). **447.** Odessa 50508²¹² (*htp*, formula). **448.** Oriental Institute 64²¹³ (Antef VII). **449.** Oslo EM 2383²¹⁴ (*htp*). **450.** Philadelphia E.878²¹⁵ (PD 291, after doc. 381). **451.** Philadelphia E.9182²¹⁶ (*htp*). **452.** Philadelphia E.10984²¹⁷ (*htp*, formula). **453.** Rio de Janeiro 632 [2424]²¹⁸ (formula). **454.** Stockholm NME 39²¹⁹ (*htp*). **455.** Stockholm NME 59²²⁰ (formula). **456.** Torino Cat. 1582 (*htp*, Mus). **457.** Torino Suppl. 18130²²¹ (formula). **458.** UC 14413 [Stewart, 106] (*htp*, Web). **459.** UC 14418 [113] (formula, Web). **460.** UC 14419 [138] (*htp*, formula, Web). **461.** UC 14450 [143] (*htp*, formula, Web). **462.** UC 14452 [105] (*htp*, Web). **463.** UC 14453 [142] (*htp*, Web). **464.** UC 14456 [136] (*htp*, Web). **465.** UC 14459 [103] (*htp*, Web). **466.** UC 14564 [141] (*htp*, Web). **467.** UC 14624²²² (*htp*). **468.** UC 16666²²³ (*htp*). **469.** Uppsala VM 1951²²⁴ (*htp*). **470.** Warszawa 139935²²⁵ (*htp*, formula). **471.** Warszawa 139936²²⁶ (*htp*). **472.** Warszawa 141265²²⁷ (*htp*). **473.** Warszawa 141266²²⁸ (*htp*). **474.** Warszawa 141281²²⁹ (formula). **475.** Wien ÄS 91 [CAA Wien, 7,12–16] (formula). **476.** Wien ÄS 96 [4,1–4] (*htp*). **477.** Wien ÄS 132 [4,34–38] (*htp*). **478.** Wien ÄS 195 [7,128–132] (formula). **479.** Wien ÄS 5084 [4,168–173] (*htp*, formula).

²⁰⁰ Capart, Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, Sér. 1, pl. XXXII.

²⁰¹ Op. cit., pl. XXXI.

²⁰² W. C. Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt, I (New York, 1953), p. 346, fig. 227 [upper right].

²⁰³ Op. cit., 346, fig. 227 [bottom center].

²⁰⁴ W. C. Hayes, "Horemkhauef of Nekhen and his Trip to It-Towe", JEA 33 (1947): 3–11.

²⁰⁵ Berlev, Hodjash, Sculpture of Ancient Egypt, pp. 114–117.

²⁰⁶ Hodjash, Berlev, The Egyptian Reliefs, no. 43.

²⁰⁷ Berlev, Hodjash, Sculpture of Ancient Egypt, 109–111.

²⁰⁸ Hodjash, Berlev, The Egyptian Reliefs, no. 41.

²⁰⁹ G. Hölbl, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli: Le Stele funerarie della collezione Egizia (Roma, 1985), no. 4.

²¹⁰ Peet, The Cemeteries of Abydos, II, pl. XXV.5; Marée, in: M. Marée (ed.), Second Intermediate Period, pl. 68.

²¹¹ O. Koefoed-Petersen, Les stèles égyptiennes (Copenhagen, 1948), no. 17.

²¹² O. Berlev, S. Hodjash, Catalogue of the monuments of Ancient Egypt. From the Museums of the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Bielorusia, Caucasus, Middle Asia and the Baltic States, OBO Series Archaeologica 17 (Friburg und Göttingen, 1998), no. IV.6, pl. 74.

²¹³ W. M. F. Petrie, Abydos I, EEF Memoir 22 (London, 1902), pl. LV.8, LVII.

²¹⁴ S.-A. Naguib, "A Middle Kingdom Stela in Oslo", CdE 55 (1980): 17–22.

²¹⁵ H. Ranke, "Ein ungewöhnlicher Statuentypus des Mittleren Reiches", in: Miscellanea Gregoriana (Roma, 1941), pp. 161–171.

²¹⁶ J. Garstang, El Arábah: A Cemetery of the Middle Kingdom, ERA 6 (London, 1901), pl. XIII [upper right].

²¹⁷ Säve-Söderbergh, JEA 35 (1949): 54.

²¹⁸ Kitchen, Catalogue... Rio de Janeiro, no. 8.

²¹⁹ Peterson, OrSu 17 (1968), no. 1.

Abbreviations

A – Amenemhat.

ArchB – I have used a photograph of this monument from the archive of Oleg D. Berlev (Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Saint Petersburg).

Mus – I rely on a photograph of an object on display in a museum.

FHH – D. Franke, Das Heiligtum des Heqaib aus Elephantine, SAGA 9 (Heidelberg, 1994).

Formula – late writing of *htp-dj-nsw*.

htp – anomalous form of $\overline{\text{h}}\text{t}$.

GHB – W. Grajetzki, Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches. Prosopographie, Titel und Titelreihen (Berlin, 2000).

GTT – W. Grajetzki, Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom, BAR International series 1007 (London, 2001).

j^ch – $\overline{\text{h}}\text{t}$ written for $\overline{\text{h}}\text{t}$.

²²⁰ M. Mogensen, Stèles égyptiennes au Musée national de Stockholm (Copenhagen, 1919), p. 29.

²²¹ A. M. Donadoni Roveri, "Una stela di Hekaib al Museo di Torino", OrAnt 13 (1974): 53–56.

²²² Marée, in: M. Marée (ed.), Second Intermediate Period, pl. 96–97.

²²³ A. Page, Egyptian Sculpture. Archaic to Saite (Warminster, 1976), no. 52.

²²⁴ Marée, in: M. Marée (ed.), Second Intermediate Period, pl. 62.

²²⁵ Marée, BMSAES 12 (2009), fig. 19.

²²⁶ Op. cit., fig. 12.

²²⁷ Op. cit., fig. 4.

²²⁸ Op. cit., fig. 11.

²²⁹ Op. cit., fig. 15.

PD – D. Franke, Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (20.–16. Jahrhundert v. Chr.): Dossiers 1–796, ÄA 41 (Wiesbaden, 1984).

S – Senwosret.

Web – Photograph from a museum website.

(Senwosret III to Neferusobek), the Thirteenth dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period. On the basis of a study of the offering formulas on 479 datable monuments, the existing dating criteria are reviewed and new approaches are established.

An early date of the king Awibre Hor proposed by S. Aufrère is also disputed.

Summary

The paper focuses on the formal criteria to date the inscriptions currently attributed to the “Late Middle Kingdom” more precisely. This time-span is divided into three periods: the late Twelfth dynasty

Keywords

offering formula – epigraphy – stela MK – stela SIP – palaeography