

Late Middle Kingdom Stelae Workshops at Thebes*

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It is well known that numerous Middle Kingdom private memorial stelae and chapels set up at Abydos belonged to officials from all over Egypt.¹ However, it remains unclear where these monuments were produced. The range of possibilities was defined by Detlef Franke (in regard to Elephantine, but easily applicable to Abydos):²

- the stelae could be produced in Abydos by local craftsmen,
- the stelae could be produced there by non-local craftsmen (e. g., royal craftsmen), or
- the stelae could be produced elsewhere and later transported to Abydos.

The first possibility is widely accepted. Oleg D. Berlev and Ronald J. Leprohon suggested that a significant community of craftsmen resided near the Abydos necropolis to produce the private stelae.³ Rita E. Freed is inclined to consider the stelae found at Abydos to have been produced by local workshops.⁴ However, no clear evidence exists to support this view.

As already noted by many scholars,⁵ the assumption that finished stelae could be transported to Abydos is supported by the well-known passage from the Abydos stela of Nebipusenwosret (BM 101). Nebipusenwosret states: $\text{hnt.n wd pn m-}^{\text{c}} \text{hrj-hb wr jbj hft jjt wnwt hwt-ntr r m}^{\text{3}} \text{nsw m hb.f nfr dt}$ “This stela sailed upstream with the great lector-priest Ibi when the priesthood of the temple came (to the residence) to see the king in his beautiful festival forever”.⁶ Thus, the stela of a court official was transported to Abydos by a priest after being finished at the residence.

To deal with this problem, we should carefully distinguish three kinds of evidence on the geographical origin of private memorial monuments of the Middle Kingdom (such as stelae, statues, offering tables and naoi), namely the archeological, textual and artistic evidence. The archeological evidence refers to the place where a monument was installed (the installation place can also be inferred from other documental evidence such as a place of purchase and, in rare cases, from explicit textual indications⁷). The textual evidence generally refers to the origin of the owner and his family (the indications include titles, proper names and specific god names and epithets). The artistic evidence (in a wider sense, including phraseology, paleographic, iconographic and stylistic peculiarities) can be used to estab-

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¹ W. K. Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* (Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt 5; New Haven and Philadelphia, 1974), 4–5.

² D. Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine: Geschichte eines Provinzheiligtums im Mittleren Reich* (SAGA 9; Heidelberg, 1994), 108; compare R. E. Freed, *The Development of Middle Kingdom Egyptian Relief Sculptural Schools of Late Dynasty XI ... A Dissertation ... D. Phil.* (New York, 1984), 198–199.

³ O. D. Berlev, *BiOr* 33 (1976), 326; R. J. Leprohon, *The Reign of Amenemhat III. A Thesis ... D. Phil.* (Toronto, 1980), 206.

⁴ R. E. Freed, in: P. der Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* (Boston, 1996), 298.

⁵ Freed, *The Development*, 211; Franke, *Das Heiligtum*, 108; M. El-Hamrawi, *LingAeg* 12 (2004), 104.

⁶ A. M. Blackman, *JEA* 21 (1935), 1–9.

⁷ Such as the so-called $m^{\text{h}}t$ -formulae, see: Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, 10–13; M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies Chiefly of the Middle Kingdom: A Study and an Anthology* (OBO 84; Freiburg und Göttingen, 1988), 129–134; S. Grallert, *Bauen — Stiften — Weißen. Ägyptische Bau- und Restaurierungsschriften von den Anfängen bis zur 30. Dynastie* (ADAIK 18; Berlin, 2001), 477–483.

lish the place where a monument was produced. It is regrettable that this distinction is not always recognized in the existing scholarly literature and museum catalogues.

When we address the problem of stela production, we should rely on the artistic evidence. One way to use the artistic features for establishing the production place is by relating a monument to the common features of monuments from a specific location. The workshop approach pioneered by Rita E. Freed⁸ is very useful for revealing Abydene stelae produced in workshops from different regions by comparison with local products. Detlef Franke has demonstrated that some stelae produced by a late Middle Kingdom Elephantine workshop were installed at Abydos.⁹ The transportation of finished stelae was also examined by Marcel Marée who suggested that a stela found at Edfu was produced by an Abydene workshop.¹⁰ I presented my views on Abydene stelae produced by Memphite and Antaeopolite workshops elsewhere.¹¹

The other way to relate a workshop to a specific region is by establishing a common place of origin for the owners of the stelae produced by the workshop. If most owners of stelae by a specific workshop come from one and the same region, it implies that the workshop itself was most likely located in that region too. For, if a workshop was located at Abydos, it could be expected to serve officials from different regions or the Abydene officials.

Largely based on the outline of Dynasty XIII workshops by W. Grajetzki,¹² the present study aims to estimate the possible location of four Thirteenth dynasty stela workshops by establishing the origin of stela owners.

The *kheker* frieze

The *kheker* frieze was a common element in the decoration of Middle Kingdom tombs and temples; however, it occurred rarely on private stelae. The following stelae with a *kheker* frieze at the top, all framed with a border of rectangles, can be cited:¹³

- Louvre C 16 + C 17 + C 18 (C. Boreux, *BIFAO* 30 [1930], 45–48)
- Hermitage 1063 + 1064 + 1075 (I. Lourié, in: *Mél. Maspero*. I/2 [1938], 907–908)¹⁴
- Fitzwilliam E.207.1900 + E.273.1900 (J. Garstang, *El Arábah* [1901], pl. VI, top left)¹⁵
- Boston 1970.630 (W. K. Simpson, *The Connoisseur* 179, no. 720 [1972], 114)
- Toronto (R. J. Leprohon, in: *Studies in Honor of W. K. Simpson* [1996], 524)
- MMA 69.30 (H. G. Fischer, *Varia Nova* [1996], 123–129)

⁸ See: Freed, *The Development*; Freed, in: *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, 297–336. I follow the definition of stela workshop given by Freed in the latter work, page 298.

⁹ Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 108.

¹⁰ M. Marée, *BMSAES* 12 (2009), 38–39.

¹¹ A. Ilin-Tomich, *JEA* 97 (2011), 117–126; A. Ilin-Tomich, in: A. O. Bolshakov (ed.), *Петербургские египтологические чтения 2009–2010* (Saint Petersburg, 2011), 92–102.

¹² W. Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom* (BAR International series 1007; London, 2001), 60–73.

¹³ The similarity of these pieces was noted by: I. Lourié, in: *Mélanges Maspero* I/2 (MIFAO 66; Le Caire 1938), 907; W. K. Simpson, *The Connoisseur* 179, no. 720 (1972), 116–117; R. J. Leprohon, in: *Studies in Honor of W. K. Simpson* (Boston, 1996), 528; H. G. Fischer, *Varia Nova* (Egyptian Studies 3; New York, 1996), 123. The naos MMA 22.3.68 from Deir el-Bahri features a similar design.

¹⁴ See also: A. O. Bolshakov, S. G. Quirke, *The Middle Kingdom Stelae in The Hermitage* (PIRÉA 3; Utrecht and Paris, 1999), 94–104, pl. 23.

¹⁵ See also: G. T. Martin, *Stelae from Egypt and Nubia in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, c. 3000 BC—AD 1150* (Cambridge, 2005), nos. 17, 20; for a color photograph of E.207.1900, see: J. Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals. Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge, 1988), pl. I.4.

— Cairo CG 20724 (unpublished photograph from the archive of Oleg D. Berlev).¹⁶

The *kheker* frieze is not the only element suggesting that the decoration of these stelae was closely related to the decorative tradition of private tombs. Other traits that were not common for Late Middle Kingdom stelae and could be derived from tomb scenes were the depictions of various estate activities or servants bringing cattle, fowl and other products¹⁷ (Louvre C 17 + C 18, Hermitage 1064, Fitzwilliam E.207.1900, Boston 1970.630) and the portrayals of the owner standing with a stave (Louvre C 18, Hermitage 1064, Fitzwilliam E.207.1900, MMA 69.30).

However, these stelae show great difference in style and layout; hence, the abovementioned features should not be considered as traits of a single workshop, but rather as signs of a specific iconographic type. Indeed, the stelae in question can be attributed to different workshops, each of them producing stelae of more common types as well.

As noted by Detlef Franke, Cairo CG 20724 is paralleled by Cairo CG 20690.¹⁸ Two workshops that produced the other *kheker* frieze stelae will be discussed below.

Workshop 1 (late Dynasty XII — early Dynasty XIII)

The first workshop is notable for the high quality of relief. Among its products are the abovementioned stelae with a *kheker* frieze:

- Fitzwilliam E.207.1900 + E.273.1900
- Boston 1970.630
- Toronto (Leprohon, *Studies ... Simpson*, 523–531),

as well as two stelae with a torus:

- Bologna KS 1904 (E. Bresciani, *Le stele egiziane* [1985], 24–25, no. 3, tav. 6).
- Berlin 23/66 (W. Kaiser, *Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin* [1967], Nr. 427).

Due to the lack of significant decorative elements, it remains uncertain whether MMA 69.30 belongs to this workshop.

All scenes and hieroglyphic inscriptions are executed in sunk relief; the depictions have inner details. The owner is wearing a bag wig. Human ears are exposed and detailed. The stelae feature uniform chairs (fig. 1). Among the offerings, the detailed depictions of lettuce and lanceolate jars with diagonal hatches at the top (fig. 2) are recognizable. Hieroglyphs are accurate; is never simplified; *k* is written as .

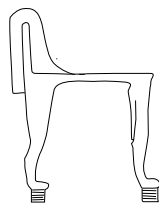


Fig. 1

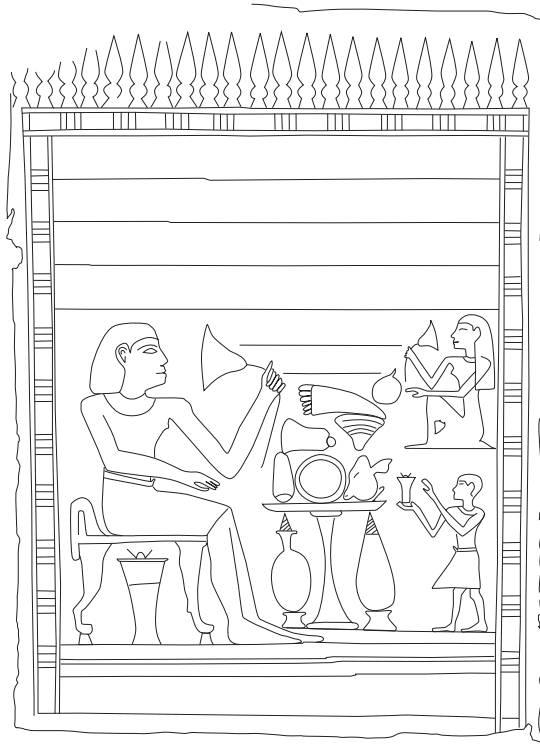


Fig. 2

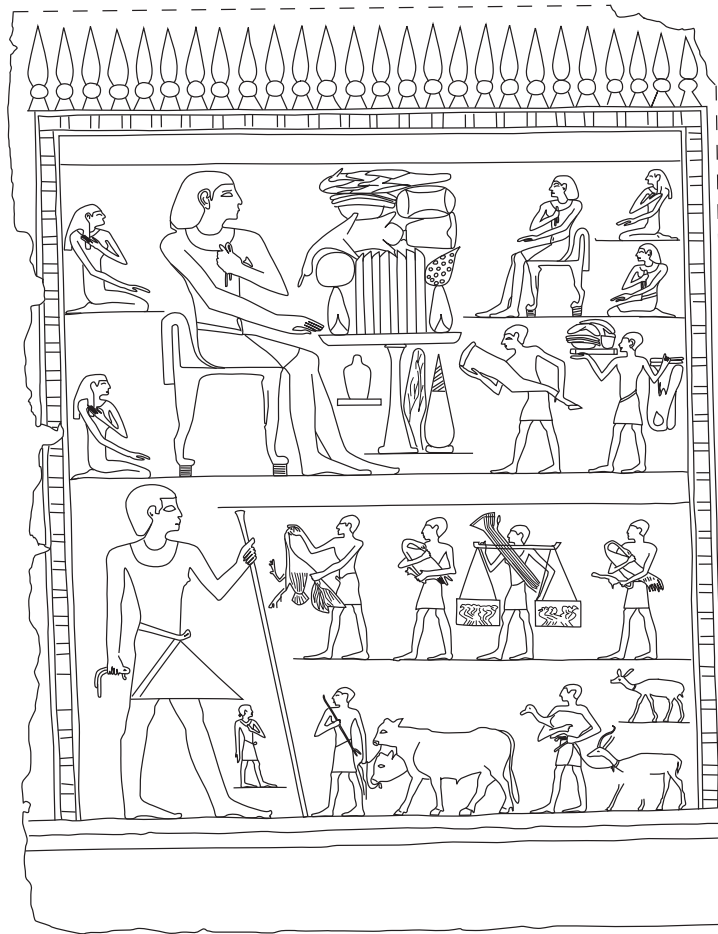
¹⁶ Courtesy of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (St. Petersburg).

¹⁷ The labels reminiscent of tomb scenes are also noticeable: *mꜣꜣ kꜣt sꜣt jn N* “Seeing the work of non-tillage lands by N” on Louvre C 18, *mꜣꜣ jnw ꜣꜣ jn N* “Seeing multiple deliveries by N” on Fitzwilliam E.207.1900. For the comparable “seeing formulae” in Old Kingdom tombs, see: A. O. Bolshakov, *Man and his Double in Egyptian Ideology of the Old Kingdom* (ÄAT 37; Wiesbaden, 1997), 143.

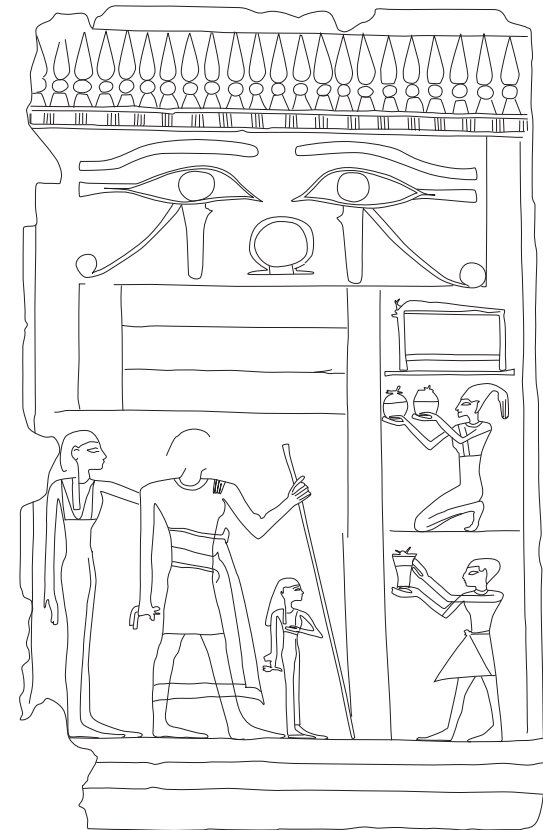
¹⁸ D. Franke, in: D. Polz, A. Seiler, *Die Pyramidenanlage des Königs Nub-Cheper-Re Intef in Dra’ Abu el-Naga: Ein Vorbericht* (SDAIK 24; Mainz am Rhein, 2003), 82, Anm. 274. I used an unpublished photograph of the latter stela from the archive of Oleg D. Berlev.



Toronto (private collection) after photo
in: Leprohon, in: *Studies in Honor of*
W. K. Simpson (1996), 524



Fitzwilliam E.207.1900 after photo
in: Garstang, *El Arábah* (1901), pl. VI (top left)



MMA 69.30 after photo in: Fischer,
Varia Nova (1996), 134, pl. 21

Fig. 3: Products of Workshop 1

The occurrence of the traits can be summarized as follows:

	Detailed ears	Specific form of chair	Lettuce	Lanceolate jar
Fitzwilliam E.207.1900 + E.273.1900	+	+	+	+
Boston 1970.630	+	+	+	+
Toronto	+	+	–	+
Bologna KS 1904	+	+	+	+
Berlin 23/66	+	n/a	+	+
MMA 69.30	+	n/a	n/a	n/a

Date. The products of this workshop obviously belong to the Late Middle Kingdom as indicated by occurrence of the title nbt-pr on Fitzwilliam, Boston and Bologna stelae.¹⁹ The jr.n maternal filiation used on the Fitzwilliam, Boston, Toronto, Bologna and Berlin stelae favors a date before Dynasty XIII.²⁰ However, the Toronto stela has indications of a later date: the phrases wḥm ‘nh²¹ and nb ‘nh tʿwj.²² The balance of these arguments results in dating this workshop to the very end of Dynasty XII or early Dynasty XIII.

MMA 69.30 features the ms.n maternal filiation and the phrase tʿw ndm n ‘nh²³ that indicate a date in Dynasty XIII.

Provenance. Fitzwilliam E.207.1900 and E.273.1900 come from Abydos; the provenance of other stelae is unknown.

Workshop 2 (ca. the time of the vizier Ankhu)

The workshop that produced the Louvre and Hermitage groups of *kheker*-frieze stelae has been discussed by W. Grajetzki.²⁴ He has listed the following stelae as the products of this workshop:

- Hannover 1976.80a + b (P. Munro, *ZÄS* 85 [1960], 56–70, Taf. IV–VI.)
- Cairo CG 20255 (H. O. Lange, H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, IV [1902], Taf. XIX)
- Firenze 2503 (S. Bosticco, *Le stele egiziane dall'Antico al Nuovo Regno* [1959], no. 31)
- Leiden AP 38 (P. A. A. Boeser, *Beschreibung ... Leiden*, II/1 [1909], Nr. 13)
- Leiden AP 2 (Boeser, *Beschreibung ... Leiden*, II/1, Nr. 14)
- Leiden CI.315 (Boeser, *Beschreibung ... Leiden*, II/1, Nr. 16)
- Leiden L.XI.6 (Boeser, *Beschreibung ... Leiden*, II/1, Nr. 33)
- Leiden AP 48 (Boeser, *Beschreibung ... Leiden*, II/1, Nr. 42)

¹⁹ Generally unattested before Senwosret III and Amenemhat III, C. Obsomer, in: C. Cannuyer et J.-M. Kruchten (ed.), *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'Égypte pharaonique et copte: Mélanges égyptologiques offerts au Professeur Aristide Théodoridès* (Ath, Bruxelles et Mons, 1993), 166–167; for earlier exceptions, see: Freed, in: *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, 331.

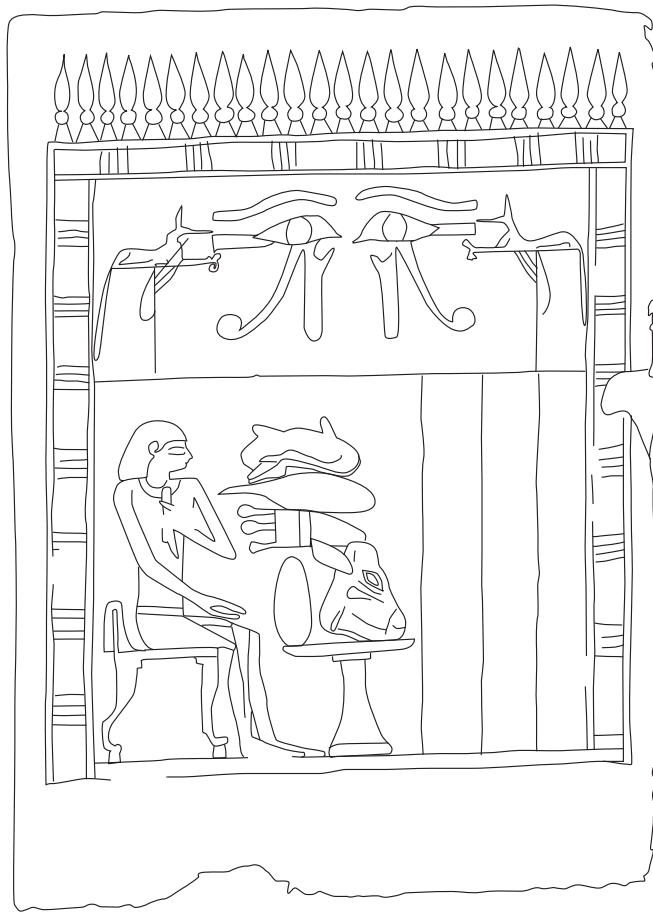
²⁰ L. Postel, in: I. Régen et F. Servajean (ed.), *Verba manent: Recueil d'études dédiées à Dimitri Meeks par ses collègues et amis* (Cahiers de l'ENiM 2; Montpellier, 2009), 331–354.

²¹ O. D. Berlev, *Общественные отношения в Египте эпохи Среднего царства. Социальный слой «царских ħmww»* (Moscow, 1978), 180; Rosati, *OrAnt* 19 (1980), 277.

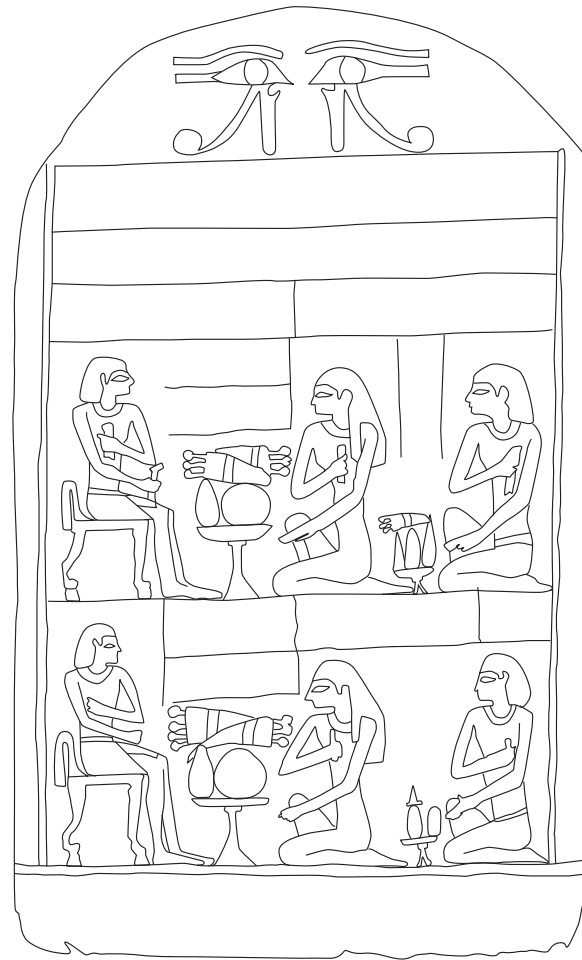
²² First attested in the reign of Amenemhat IV (Louvre C 7 and Tübingen 464), contra C. J. C. Bennett, *JEA* 27 (1941), 80–81, dating the appearance of the phrase to the reign of Amenemhat III.

²³ S. I. Hodjash, O. D. Berlev, *AoF* 3 (1975), 8; Rosati, *OrAnt* 19 (1980), 275.

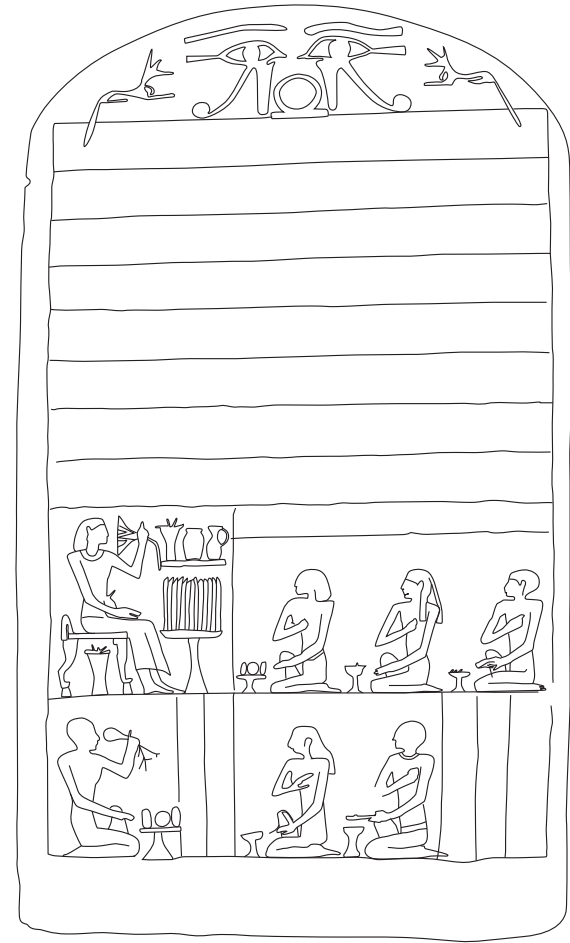
²⁴ Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 66–67 (“Long bodies”).



Hermitage 1075 after photo in: Bolshakov,
 Quirke, *The Middle Kingdom Stelae*
 in *The Hermitage* (1999), pl. 23.



Firenze 2503 after photo in: Bosticco,
Le stele egiziane dall'Antico al
Nuovo Regno (1959), no. 31



Hermitage 1075 after photo in: Hamza,
MDAIK 63 (2007), Taf. 10.

Fig. 4: Products of Workshop 2

- Leiden L.XI.2 (Boeser, *Beschreibung ... Leiden*, II/1, Nr. 50)
- Louvre C 16 + C 17 + C 18
- Rio de Janeiro 646 [2436] (K. A. Kitchen, *Catálogo ... Rio de Janeiro* [1988], no. 18)
- Hermitage 1063 + 1064 + 1075
- Wien ÄS 197 + ÄS 198 (*CAA Wien*, 4 [1989], 153–161)
- Zagreb 6 (J. Monnet Saleh, *Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb* [1979], n. 6).

But only some of these stelae share most traits outlined below; hence, it would be safer to limit the list to the following monuments:

- Cairo CG 20255
- Firenze 2503
- Leiden AP 2
- Leiden AP 48 (same person as on the Hermitage stelae)
- Leiden L.XI.2
- Louvre C 16 + C 17 + C 18
- Rio de Janeiro 646 [2436]
- Hermitage 1063 + 1064 + 1075.

I would also supplement this list of products with the following pieces:

- BM EA 209²⁵
- Cairo CG 20391 (unpublished photograph from the archive of Oleg D. Berlev)
- Louvre C 43 (same person as on Rio de Janeiro 646 [2436]; K. A. Hamza, *MDAIK* 63 [2007], Taf. 10).

The relief quality is poor as compared to the previous workshop. All texts and representations are cut in sunk relief²⁶ featuring inner details, and never executed in the silhouette style.²⁷ As noted by Grajetzki, the elongated torsos of sitting and standing figures should be recognized as the most remarkable trait associated with this workshop. Another major trait is the specific composition of an offering table with one round and one or two oval offerings on it.²⁸ Stelae owners wear bag wigs. Male and female wigs leave ears exposed, but inner details of ears are not depicted as opposed to the previous workshop. Men and women wear narrow collars. Men sitting on chairs often wear short kilts “mit Zwischenstück”²⁹ and marked belts. Male and female figures seated on the ground have one knee up. A distinctive trait of this workshop is the simplified depiction of a bunch of three or four onions (fig. 5) among the offerings. The words *jhꜣw ꜥpdw* in the offering formula are always spelled with . The name of Osiris (or Ptah-Sokar-Osiris) is spelled with the determinative . The jar in the group *pꜣrt-ḥꜣrw* has a flat top: . The sign is never simplified; *kꜣ* is written as .

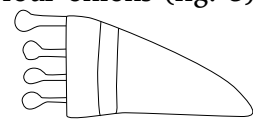


Fig. 5

²⁵ http://www.britishmuseum.org/collectionimages/AN00151/AN00151625_001_1.jpg [as of 03.2012].

²⁶ Exception: BM EA 209 where all the depictions are just outlined and only two bunches of onions are carved in sunk relief.

²⁷ Exception: three figures in the lower register on Leiden L.XI.2

²⁸ Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 67.

²⁹ H. O. Lange, H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches im Museum von Kairo*, IV (CG 20001–20780; Berlin 1902), 7–8, compare nn. 296, 297.

The occurrence of the traits can be summarized as follows:

	Elongated torsos	Stela owner wearing a bag wig	Non-detailed ears	Narrow collars	Kilts “mit Zwischenstück”	Marked belts	Figures seated on the ground with one knee up	Combination of one round with one or two oval offerings	Specific depiction of onions	Specific spelling of jḥw ʒpdw	Osiris-name with the determinative	Jar with a flat top in prt-ḥrw
Cairo CG 20255	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Firenze 2503	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	n/a	+
Leiden AP 48	+	n/a	+	+	-	+	n/a	+	+	+	+	+
Leiden L.XI.2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Louvre C 16 + C 17 + C 18	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hermitage 1063 + 1064 + 1075	+	+	+	+	+	+	±	+	+	+	±	+
Cairo CG 20391	+	+	-	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
BM EA 209	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
Leiden AP 2	+	+	-	±	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Rio de Janeiro 646 [2436]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	n/a	+	?
Louvre C 43	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	n/a	-	+	+

Date. The workshop should belong to the time of the vizier Ankhu (around the reign of Khendjer). He is mentioned on Hermitage 1063 and Leiden AP 48.³⁰ Cairo CG 20391 is dated through the mention of its owner in pBoulaq 18³¹ that also belongs to the time of Ankhu. Leiden AP 2, Rio de Janeiro 646 [2436] and Louvre C 43 are of a later date and belong to the reigns of Neferehotep I and Sobekhotep IV.³² These late stelae as well as Leiden L.XI.2 of unknown date differ in style from other products.

Provenance. Cairo CG 20255 and CG 20391 come from Abydos. The provenance of other pieces is unknown.

³⁰ W. Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches. Prosopographie, Titel und Titeldreihen*. 1. Nachdr. (Achet. Schriften zur Ägyptologie A 2; Berlin, 2003), 24–26.


³¹ D. Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (20.–16. Jahrhundert v. Chr.): Dossiers 1–796* (ÄA 41; Wiesbaden, 1984), Nr. 167.

³² Leiden AP 2 is datable through the mention of the treasurer Senebsumai (Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 14); Rio de Janeiro 646 [2436] and Louvre C 43 are datable through the mention of the high steward s3-stt (Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten*, 90; Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 33).


The origin of the *kheker* frieze stelae and the location of Workshops 1 and 2

If the stelae in question were produced by Abydene workshops, one would not expect that these workshops favored customers from any specific region with a possible exception for the dwellers of the Thinite nome. However, the *kheker* frieze stelae and other products of Workshops 1 or 2 are mostly connected to Thebes with only minor exceptions as will be shown below.

The origin of stelae owners can be indicated by specific titles, divine or private names. Elsewhere, I attempted to demonstrate that Late Middle Kingdom private names s̓(t)-jmn and ḥnsw (and their derivatives) were primarily spread in the Theban region, and four further names were principally spread in Upper Egypt (including Thebes), but not in Middle Egypt and the Memphis-Fayum region: names derived from nbw, j̓(t)-jb/jb-j̓, nfrw and rn.f-rs/rn.s-rs.³³ These findings will be used to establish the origin of the stelae owners.

The Theban origin of MMA 69.30 is indicated by the occurrence of Amun-Re in the offering formula.³⁴ Two distinctive Theban names s̓t-jmn and ḥnsw testify the Theban origin of the persons mentioned on Cairo CG 20724. Moreover, a certain s̓ n ḥnrt wr(t) “scribe of the great ḥnrt” nfr-ḥtp mentioned on Cairo CG 20724 was presumably the owner of a Theban tomb.³⁵ The title s̓ n ḥnrt wr(t) spelled with  is a distinctive Theban feature.³⁶

The evidence for the Theban connections of Workshop 1 is not very strong. Three stelae have distinctive Upper Egyptian names (nbw-m-mr and j̓-jb on Boston 1970.630, ddt-nbw on Toronto and nfrw on Bologna KS 1904), but Boston 1970.630 and Fitzwilliam E.207.1900 feature a distinctive Memphis-Fayum name jmnjj as well.

The Theban location of Workshop 2 is better founded. The Hermitage group and Leiden AP 48 belonged to an administrator in the Theban estate of the vizier Ankhu.³⁷ Rio de Janeiro 646 [2436] and Louvre C 43 belonged to a šḥd s̓w n njwt rsj (senior inspector of scribes of the Southern City), obviously a Theban official. Firenze 2503 spells the title s̓ n ḥnrt wr(t) with . The distinctive Theban names are s̓t-jmn and j̓-jb on Cairo CG 20255, nfrw-ḥnsw and s̓-jmn on BM EA 209.


However, a single Memphite name snfrw is present on Leiden L.XI.2.

Two other stelae belonged to high officials of the central administration and thus feature some bureaucrats from the residence. It should be noted that high officials are often

³³ In a paper ‘Личные имена, индикаторы столичного или фиванского происхождения памятников позднего Среднего царства’ presented at the conference *Актуальні проблеми історії древнього світу* in Taras Shevchenko National University of Kiev on May 19, 2011, and in my yet unpublished doctoral thesis: A. Ilin-Tomich, *Особенности административного аппарата древнего Египта в эпоху позднего Среднего царства и II Переходного периода (по данным частных поминальных памятников)*. Дисс. ... к. и. н. (Moscow, 2011), 112–120; a number of distinctive Memphis-Fayum names have also been outlined: names derives from the Horus and throne names of the kings of the Twelfth dynasty, snfrw, ḥntj-(ḥtjj), mkt, (j)kkj/kkw, s̓(t)-sbk, jpj (and their derivatives), as well as the following names spread in Middle and Lower Egypt, but not in Upper Egypt or Thebes: jmnjj, p(j)pj, s-n-wsrt-ḥḥ/s-n-wsrt-snb/jmn-m-ḥḥt-ḥḥ/jmn-m-ḥḥt-snb, ḥtp(t), rn.f-ḥḥ/rn.s-ḥḥ (and their derivatives).

³⁴ As shown by Lilian Postel, Abydene monuments mentioning Amun-Re predominantly belonged to Thebans, see: L. Postel, *Memnonia* 11 (2000), 231.

³⁵ Franke, *Personendaten*, Nr. 319; for the tomb, see now: G. Miniaci, S. Quirke, *EVO* 31 (2008), 5–24.

³⁶ In a paper ‘Стилистические особенности абидосских стел столичного и фиванского происхождения при XIII династии’ presented at the conference *XVII Сергеевские чтения* in Lomonosov Moscow State University on February 3, 2011, and in my thesis: A. Ilin-Tomich, *Особенности административного аппарата*, 172–177, I made an effort to show that the hieroglyphic writings of ḥnrt with  were predominantly Theban.

³⁷ As noted by Stephen Quirke, two persons mentioned on Hermitage 1064 are known from the minor manuscript of pBoulaq 18 listing the personnel of that estate, S. Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom: The Hieratic Documents* (New Malden, 1990), 197.

known from monuments erected in various centers of Egypt; hence, their monuments can hardly be used for estimating the origin of the workshop. Cairo CG 20391 belonged to the high steward ʕb-m-ʕ(j) who visited Thebes with the king's court as evidenced by pBoulaq 18, XXXII.3.³⁸ Two names characteristic for the Memphis-Fayum region that occur on this stela — snfrw and kkj — should have belonged to the high steward's subordinates who accompanied him. The principal person on Leiden AP 2 was the treasurer Senebsumai known from multiple sources,³⁹ although the stela could have been commissioned by a different person.⁴⁰ This stela features a Heliopolitan priest (jt-ntr n jtm) and a number of officials from the residence.

The Theban connections of the *khaker* frieze stelae in general and particularly of Workshop 2 are well evidenced. Despite the weaker evidence in regard of Workshop 1, it is likely that both workshops discussed above were active in Thebes.

Workshop 3 (ca. the reign Sobekhotep III)

This workshop has been identified and dated by Wolfram Grajetzki.⁴¹ He has attributed the following stelae to the workshop:

- Hannover 2932 (I. Munro, *Städel Jahrbuch* N. F. 3 [1971], 24–25, Nr. 15)
- Leiden AP 41 (Boeser, *Beschreibung ... Leiden*, II/1, Nr. 27)
- Leiden H.III.RR.3 (Boeser, *Beschreibung ... Leiden*, II/1, Nr. 31)
- Wien ÄS 135 (*CAA Wien*, 4, 44–47)
- Wien ÄS 163 (*CAA Wien*, 4, 93–96).

Two other stelae are similar in a way to the products of the workshop, according to Grajetzki:

- Toulouse 49.267 (P. Ramond, *Les stèles égyptiennes ... Toulouse* [1977], pl. I)
- Wien ÄS 181 (*CAA Wien*, 4, 133–136).





I would add three more stelae to the list:

- Berlin 7300 (photograph courtesy of Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung)
- Tallinn 3 (*Muinainen Egypti: Taide ja kulttuuri* [1970], fig. 17)
- Padova Oi-1 (A. Siliotti [ed.], *Padova e l'Egitto* [1987], 101–102, no. 1).

All scenes and hieroglyphic inscriptions are executed in sunk relief; figures have inner details. The stelae are round-topped. The depiction of *ankh*-sign between the two eyes in lunette is a remarkable iconographic feature,⁴² although not present on all stelae of the workshop.



Fig. 6

Human figures have elongated skulls. Figures depicted kneeling have both knees down. The chairs have peculiar protruding toes (fig. 6). The offering tables have wide stands with bolsters above; table stands are wider at the bottom. W. Grajetzki pointed out that the rare writing of ḥtp-dj-nsw (in horizontal lines) with “t” and “p” under “ḥtp”  is present on some of the stelae of this group⁴³ (while the common arrangement was with “t” above “ḥtp”, ). Massive forms of sign [Q2], either in sunk relief  or outlined , constitute a dis-

³⁸ Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten*, 89; for the variance in the spelling of his name, see: Franke, *JEA* 87 (2001), 199.

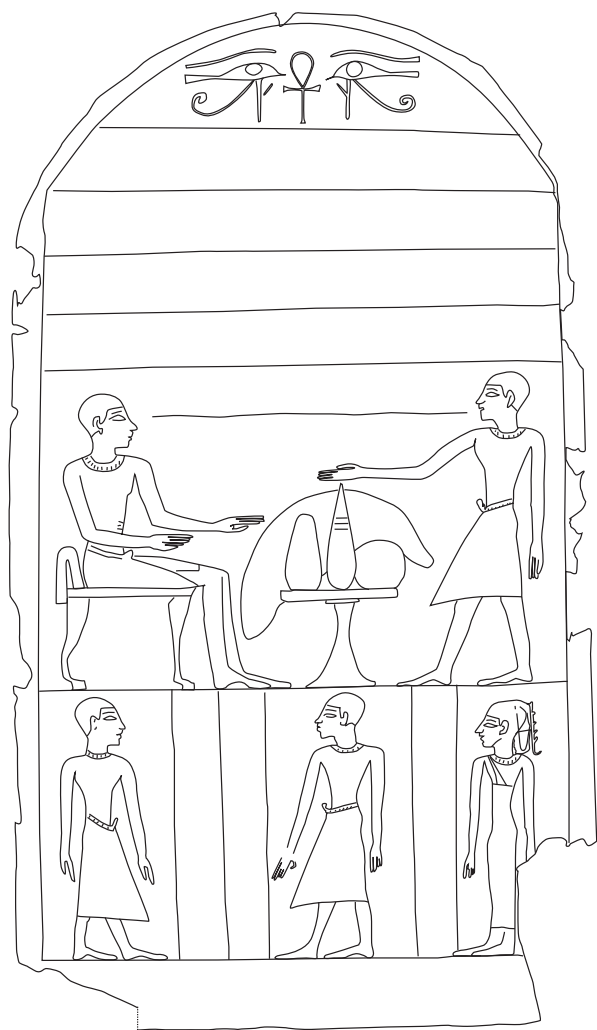
³⁹ Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 12–21.

⁴⁰ Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 14; W. Grajetzki, *IBAES* 5 (2005), 62.

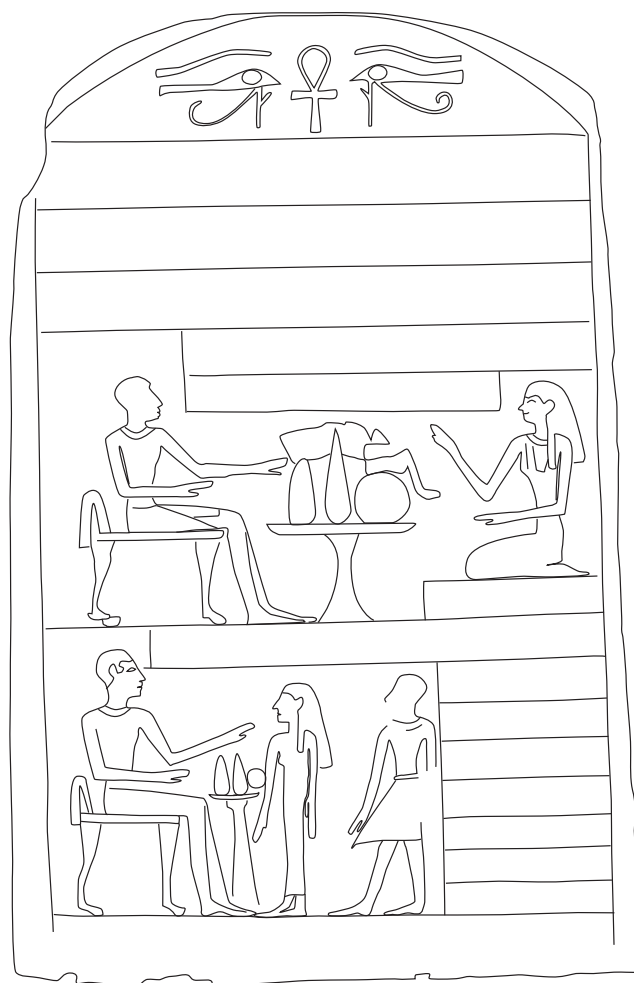
⁴¹ Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten*, 165; Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 67–69 (Ankh sign in roundel).

⁴² For Late Middle Kingdom stelae with this motif, see also: R. Hölzl, *Die Giebelfelddekoration von Stelen des Mittleren Reiches* (Beiträge zur Ägyptologie 10; Wien, 1990), 17, 27, 37, 45.

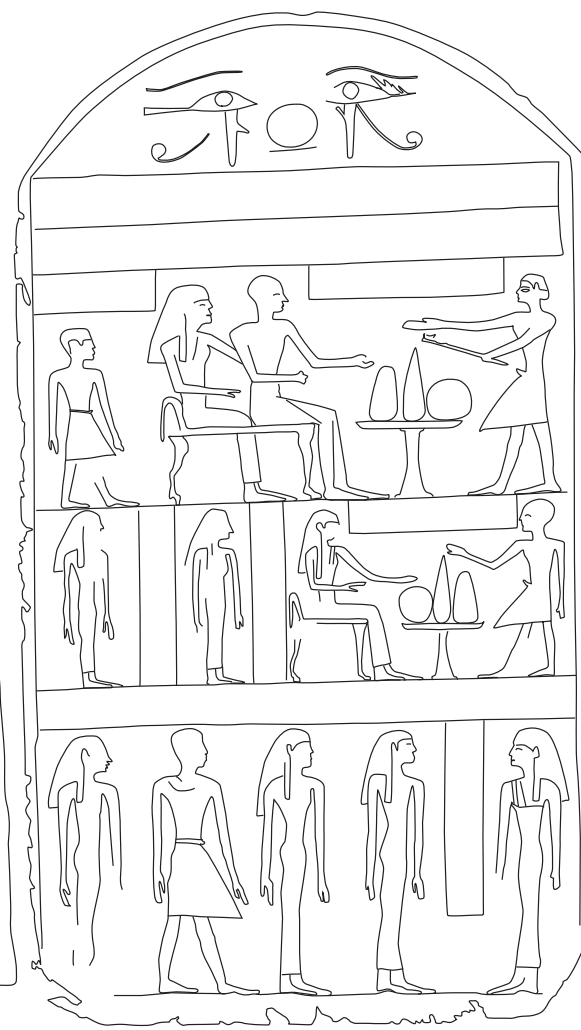
⁴³ Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 67.



Leiden H. III. RR 3 after photo in: Boeser, *Beschreibung ... Leiden*, II/1 (1909), Taf. XX



Tallinn 3 after photo in: Muinainen *Egypti: Taide ja kulttuuri* (1970), fig. 17



Padova Oi-1 after photo in: Siliotti (ed.), *Padova e l'Egitto* (1987), 102

Fig. 7: Products of Workshop 3

tinctive paleographic trait of this workshop. The simplified forms of $\text{ḥnt} \text{𓆎}$ (exception: Hannover 2932) and k^3 -signs with ring-shaped hands 𓆏 (exceptions: Leiden AP 41 and Tallinn 3) were quite common in the mid-Dynasty XIII as well as the simplified forms of 𓆑 that occur on these stelae along with the full forms.

The occurrence of the traits can be summarized as follows:

	Ankh-sign in the lunette	Elongated skulls	Protruding chair toes	𓆑 in horizontal lines	Massive form of [Q2]
Hannover 2932	+	+	n/a	+	+
Leiden AP 41	–	+	n/a	n/a	n/a
Leiden H.III.RR.3	+	+	+	+	+
Wien ÄS 135	+	+	n/a	+	+
Wien ÄS 163	+	+	+	+	+
Berlin 7300	+	+	n/a	+	+
Tallinn 3	+	+	+	+	+
Padova Oi-1	–	+	+	+	+
Toulouse 49.267	–	+	–	–	–
Wien ÄS 181	–	+	n/a	–	–

Date. W. Grajetzki pointed out that the owner of Wien ÄS 135 was a brother of Sobekhotep III; thus, the workshop was active around his reign.⁴⁴ Nothing in the layout and content of other stelae contradicts this dating.

Provenance. The provenance of all the ten stelae is unknown (however, the Abydene provenance is likely for Leiden AP 41 from G. Anastasi collection).

Origin. The Theban origin of Tallinn 3 is evidenced by the title $\text{ḥm-k}^3 \text{ 𓆑 n pr Jn-jtj.f}$ “great servant of *ka* of the temple of Inyotef” obviously related to the cult of one of the Theban rulers of Dynasty XI bearing that name.⁴⁵ This attribution is supported by the names ḥnsw and nfrw . Three other stelae feature distinctive names rn.f-rs (Padova Oi-1 and Wien ÄS 163) and rn.s-rs (Berlin 7300). The name ddt-nšmt attested on Berlin 7300 is also indicative of Theban origin.⁴⁶

Workshop 4 (ca. the reign Neferhotep I/Sobekhotep IV)

This workshop has also been identified and dated by Wolfram Grajetzki.⁴⁷ He has attributed the following stelae to the workshop:

- Cairo CG 20677 (Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, IV, Taf. LI)
- Cairo JE 43461 (Simpson, *The Terrace*, pl. 64)

⁴⁴ Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten*, 165.

⁴⁵ For a detailed discussion of this title, see: 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, 1998), 39–41.

⁴⁶ To my knowledge, the names with nšmt are exclusively attested on Theban monuments in the Late Middle Kingdom (Firenze 2553 from Thebes; UC 14457, Theban origin supported by the title $\text{w}^b \text{ n ḥnsw}$; Louvre C 139, Theban origin indicated by the names rn.f-rs and $\text{s}^3\text{-jmn}$; Cairo CG 20690, Theban origin indicated by the names ḥnsw and nbw-ḥr-ḥwt.s) as well as in the Second Intermediate Period (Luxor J 43 [Second Stela of Kamose] from Karnak; H. Jacquet-Gordon, *Karnak-Nord VIII. Le trésor de Thoutmosis Ier: Statues, stèles et blocs réutilisés* [FIFAO 39; Le Caire, 1999], no. 110, from Karnak; and *A catalogue of the Egyptian antiquities in the possession of F. G. Hilton Price* [London, 1897], no. 2010, from Qurna).


⁴⁷ Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 65–66 (Group D).

- Edinburgh A.1951.344 (H. G. Fischer, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom. A Supplement to Wm. Ward's Index* [1997], frontispiece)
- Guimet C 8⁴⁸ (A. Moret, *Catalogue du Musée Guimet ... Stèles* [1909], pl. VII)
- Hermitage 1086 (Bolshakov, Quirke, *The Middle Kingdom Stelae*, no. 8)
- Oxford QC 1111 (Smither, Dakin, *JEA* 25 [1939], pl. XX.2).

I would add several more stelae to his list:

- Cairo CG 20104 (Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, IV, Taf. X)
- Cairo CG 20145 (Lange, Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, IV, Taf. XIII)
- Cairo CG 20491 (unpublished partial photograph from the archive of Oleg D. Berlev)
- Marseille 228 (author's photograph taken at the museum)
- OIM 6739 (J. Garstang, *El Arábah* [1901], pl. XII, bottom right)⁴⁹
- Roma, Private coll. 3 (A. Roccati, in: S. Quirke (ed.), *Discovering Egypt from the Neva: The Egyptological Legacy of Oleg D Berlev* [2003], no. 3)
- Roma, Private coll. 4 (A. Roccati, in: *Discovering Egypt from the Neva*, no. 4)
- Stockholm NME 34 (B. J. Peterson, *OrSu* 16 (1969), Abb. 5)
- Trieste 150 (C. Dolzani, *Aegyptus* 30 [1950], 221–224, no. 6)
- Tübingen 458 (E. Brunner-Traut, H. Brunner, *Die Ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen* [1981], 87–88, Taf. 57; same person as on the Guimet and Marseille stelae⁵⁰)
- Tübingen 459 (Brunner-Traut, Brunner, *Die Ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen*, 85–86, Taf. 55; same persons as on the Oxford stela⁵¹)
- Tübingen 462 (Brunner-Traut, Brunner, *Die Ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen*, 88–90, Taf. 10)

All texts and representations are cut in sunk relief featuring inner details, and never executed in the silhouette style.

As noted by W. Grajetzki,⁵² among the principal traits of this group are: the depiction of a  cup⁵³ and water lines in roundel; the depiction of offerings on a mat above the offering-table with loaves; and pleated garments.

Futher distinctive features can be pointed out. Minor figures often form pairs of persons seating opposite one another. Vertical columns of text are between them. A distinctive feature of this workshop is that only the central lines dividing the column runs the full length of the register,



Fig. 8

while the outside dividing lines hover above the knees of the seated figures (see fig. 8). A specific form of the t^{w} -sign occurs on these stelae: t^{w} (with two dashes above and a crossing line below the sail). k^{3} -signs with ring-shaped hands and simplified forms of hnt are typical for these stelae, but these forms were quite common in the time of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV and should not be considered as distinctive. The phrase $\text{j}^{\text{h}}\text{w}-\text{p}^{\text{d}}\text{w}$ (oxen and fowl) in the offering formula is spelled with the round loaf sign [X6]: X6^{1} .

The occurrence of the traits on stelae can be summarized as follows:

⁴⁸ For the present location, see: PM VIII, 803-030-371.

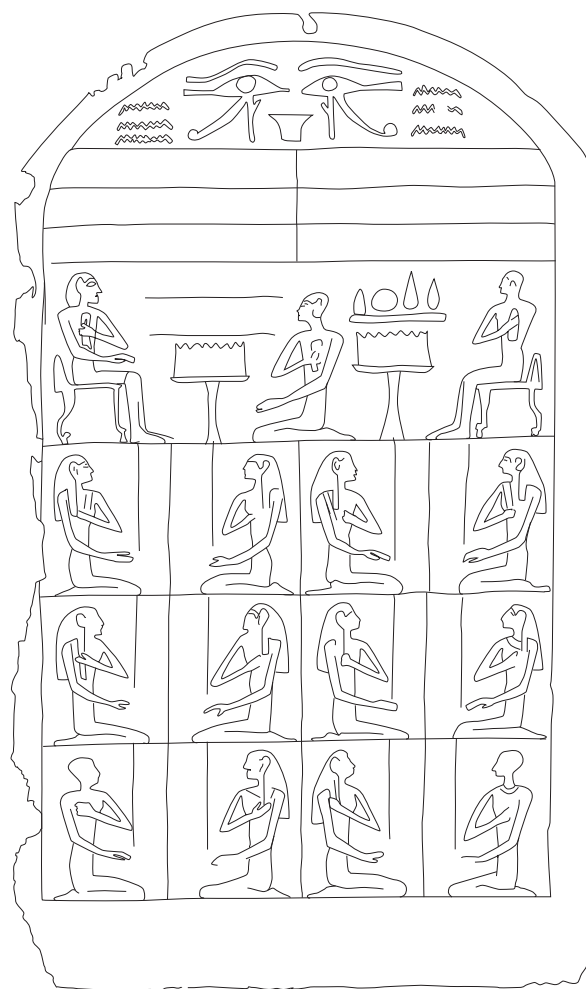
⁴⁹ See also a modern photograph in: E. Teeter, *Ancient Egypt. Treasures from the Collection of The Oriental Institute* (Chicago, 2003), 38 n. 15.

⁵⁰ Franke, *Personendaten*, Nr. 587.

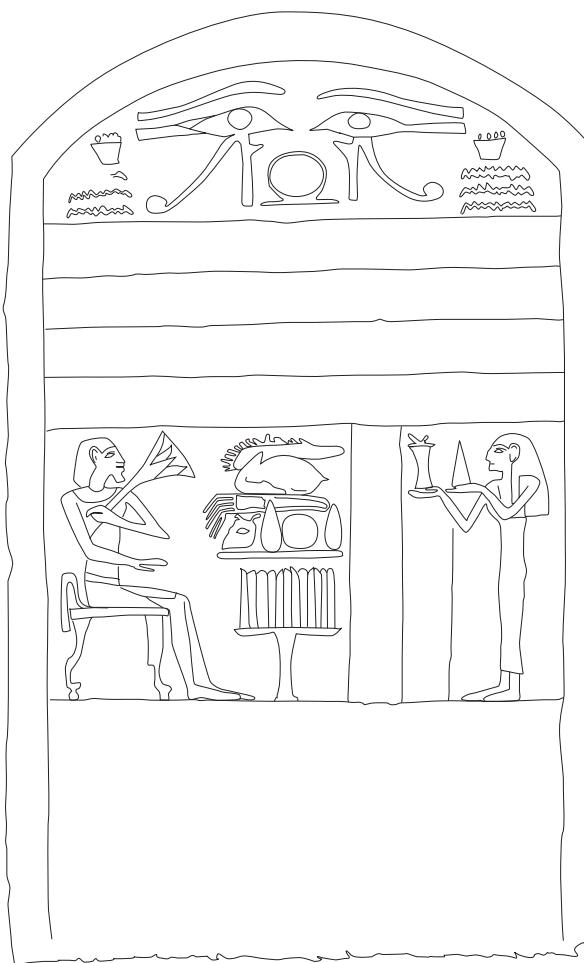
⁵¹ Franke, *Personendaten*, Nr. 71, 95.

⁵² Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 66.

⁵³ For this feature, see also: Hölzl, *Die Giebfelddekoration von Stelen des Mittleren Reiches*, 19, 38.



Trieste 150 after photo in: Dolzani,
Aegyptus 30 (1950), 221–224, no. 6



Roma, Private coll. 3 after photo in:
 Roccati, in: *Discovering Egypt from
 the Neva* (2003), no.3



OIM 6739 after photo in: Garstang,
El Arábah (1901), pl. XII, bottom right

Fig. 9: Products of Workshop 4

	Cup and water lines in the roundel	Mat with offerings above the table	Pleated garment	Specific layout of lines between the seated figures	Tꜣw as ꜣ	Jḥw ꜣpdw as ꜣꜣꜣ
Cairo CG 20677	+	+	+	+	+	+
Cairo JE 43461	+	–	+	n/a	+	n/a
Edinburgh A.1951.344	+	–	+	+	n/a	+
Guimet C 8	+	+	+		n/a	–
Hermitage 1086	+	+	–	+	+	+
Oxford QC 1111	+	+	+	+	+	+
Cairo CG 20104	–	+	–	+	–	–
Cairo CG 20145	+	+	+	+	n/a	+
Cairo CG 20491	+ ⁵⁴	+	–	±	n/a	–
Marseille 228	+	+	–	+	n/a	–
OIM 6739	+	+	–	+	+	+
Roma 3	+	+	–	n/a	+	–
Roma 4	+	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	+
Stockh. NME 34	+	+	–	+	n/a	–
Trieste 150	+	+	–	+	n/a	+
Tübingen 458 ⁵⁵	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	+	+
Tübingen 459	–	+	–	+	+	+
Tübingen 462	± ⁵⁶	–	+	+	n/a	±

Date. W. Grajetzki has identified a number of persons mentioned on these stelae with officials known from the reign of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV.⁵⁷

Provenance. Cairo CG 20491 comes from Qurna. Cairo stelae CG 20145, CG 20677, JE 43461 and OIM 6739 are from Abydos.

Origin. W. Grajetzki relates these stelae to the so-called residential style⁵⁸ suggesting that the stelae of this style were executed at the residence or at Abydos.⁵⁹ However, several stelae of this group show features indicating the Theban origin of their owners.

The Theban origin of Cairo CG 20491 is supported by its provenance. Three monuments contain titles connected to the Theban cults of Amun and Khonsu: sš ḥtmw-nṯr n jmn on Cairo CG 20677; wꜣb n jmn on Marseille 228; ḥm-nṯr n ḥnsw on Trieste 150. Cairo CG 20145 belonged to a brother of the owner of a Theban tomb, TT 316.⁶⁰

Prosopographical connections with Cairo CG 20145 and Marseille 228 suggest a Theban

⁵⁴ “Räuchergefäß” according to the textual description of the upper part of this stela in: H. O. Lange, H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches im Museum von Kairo*, II (CG 20001–20780; Berlin 1908), 84. For this type of cup, compare Roma, Private coll. 3 (fig. 9).

⁵⁵ This stela is filled with 18 lines of text and has no depictions.

⁵⁶ Only the water lines.

⁵⁷ Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 65–66, 34 (for Tübingen 462).

⁵⁸ Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 65–66.

⁵⁹ Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 61.

⁶⁰ Franke, *Personendaten*, Nr. 320.

origin for Hermitage 1086,⁶¹ Guimet C 8 and Tübingen 458,⁶² Edinburgh A.1951.344.⁶³ Tübingen 462 features the same persons as Magdeburg (Simpson, *The Terrace*, pl. 42);⁶⁴ the latter stela mentions a Theban priest holding the title ḥrj-sšꜣ n jmn. A possible connection of Oxford QC 1111 and Tübingen 459 with Oldenburg 4403⁶⁵ purchased at Luxor should also be noted.

On the present evidence, at least nine stelae (Cairo CG 20145, Cairo CG 20491, Cairo CG 20677, Edinburgh A.1951.344, Hermitage 1086, Marseille 228, Trieste 150, Tübingen 458, Tübingen 462; possibly also Oxford QC 1111 and Tübingen 459; see below for Guimet C 8) can be related to Theban officials.

It should be noted that three of the stelae from this workshop mention high officials whose names also occur on monuments from different regions (the high steward nhjj⁶⁶ on Guimet C 8, the high steward nb-ꜥnh⁶⁷ on CM JE 43461 and the king's acquaintance rhw-ꜥnh, an assistant of treasurer snbj⁶⁸ on Cairo CG 20104). As stated above, the mention of high officials cannot evidence the origin of a monument, since such officials appear on monuments from various regions of Egypt (these three are particularly known from Fayum, Wadi Hammamat, Wadi el-Hudi and Elephantine).

The four Theban workshops discussed above were active in the timespan from the end of Dynasty XII to the reign of Sobekhotep IV. Thus, Thebes were a significant center of artistic production throughout Dynasty XIII. Unlike the Antaeopolite workshops,⁶⁹ the Theban workshops seem not to share any specific "Theban" traits.

Another Theban workshop is known from the end of Dynasty XIII or the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period; it was described by Marcel Marée,⁷⁰ then mentioned by Detlef Franke,⁷¹ and later independently discovered by Danijela Stefanović⁷² (the following monuments can be added to the lists of stelae produced by this workshop according to these scholars: Christie's London, April 20, 2005, lot 382;⁷³ Cairo CG 20110 (Rizeiqat), CG 20647 (Thebes), CG 20319, CG 20403, CG 20413, CG 20660⁷⁴). But whereas the products of the four former workshops are known from Abydos, the stelae made by the latter were found at Thebes (CM CG 20647, Firenze 6372, Firenze 6377, Firenze 7601) and in the Theban nome (Cairo CG 20110 from Rizeiqat). It is tempting to explain this change by the historical circumstances of the early Second Intermediate Period forcing Theban officials to set up their monuments at local necropoleis instead of Abydos. But such an interpretation would be a mere speculation without further evidence.

The material studied in this paper supports the idea that Late Middle Kingdom Abydene stelae were largely produced outside Abydos in a variety of cultural centers including Thebes, Antaeopolis and the Memphis region.

⁶¹ Franke, *Personendaten*, Nr. 587.

⁶² Franke, *Personendaten*, Nr. 533.

⁶³ S. Quirke, *RdE* 39 (1988), 104–105.

⁶⁴ Franke, *Personendaten*, Nr. 20, 163, 711, 757.

⁶⁵ Franke, *Personendaten*, Nr. 95.

⁶⁶ Franke, *Personendaten*, Nr. 331; Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten*, 91.

⁶⁷ Franke, *Personendaten*, Nr. 294; Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten*, 93–94

⁶⁸ Franke, *Personendaten*, Nr. 389; Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten*, 76.

⁶⁹ Ilin-Tomich, in: *Петербургские египтологические чтения 2009–2010*, 92–102

⁷⁰ M. Marée, *OMRO* 73 (1993), 7–22.

⁷¹ Franke, in: D. Polz, A. Seiler, *Die Pyramidenanlage des Königs Nub-Cheper-Re Intef*, 83, Anm. 275

⁷² D. Stefanović, *JEA* 96 (2010), 214.

⁷³ http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=4470271 [as of 03.2012].

⁷⁴ All unpublished, known to me from the photographs from the archive of Oleg D. Berlev.