THE STELA OF HEPU FROM THE LATE MIDDLE KINGDOM (GEM 23753/ JE 41638)

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to publish and study a round-topped limestone stela belonging to Hpw. In good condition, it is kept at the Grand Egyptian Museum (GEM 23753). This paper tackles the offering formula terminology, the artistic style, and the spelling and palaeographic features. This stela is dated to the 13th Dynasty. The stela was made by a local artist as indicated by the rough outlines in areas of the stela.

الملخص

تهدف تلك المقالة إلى نشـر ودراسـة لوحة من الحجر الجيري مسـتديرة الشـكل بحالة جيدة من الحفظ للمدعو Hpw، محفوظة حالياً فى المتحف المصــرى الكبير تحت رقم (**GEM 23753**). ومن خلال صـيغة تقديم القربان، والأسـلوب الفنى، وسـمات التهجئة، وأشـكال العلامات، تؤرخ هذه اللوحة بعصـر الأسـرة الثالثة عشرة. وهذه اللوحة من عمل فنان محلى لعدم تمكنه من تنفيذ خطوطه فى بعض مواضع اللوحة.

INTRODUCTION

A stela kept at the Grand Egyptian Museum (inventory number GEM 23753),[1] was excavated at el-Lisht by the expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1907-1908). This stela has not been fully published hitherto.[2] It was found in the south chamber of pit 412, in Lisht North (Pyramid Temple of Amenemhat I). The same pit contained another stela of Hpw, which is now in the Lowe Art Museum, University of Miami (877509),[3] and a superb royal head, possibly representing Amenemhat IV (New York, MMA 08.200.2).[4]

1. DESCRIPTION

It is a round-topped stela **(Fig.1 and Pl. I).** It is made of unpainted limestone and measures 44 cm in height, 31 cm in width and 7 cm in thickness. It is in good condition, though it is

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[1] I am grateful to the authorities of the Grand Egyptian Museum for the permission to publish this stela and for providing good photographs. The stela previously held the inventory number of the Cairo Museum (JE 41638).

[2] This stela is noted by Gauthier, H., *Le Livre des Rois d'Égypte. Recueil de tîtres et protocoles royaux, noms propres des rois, reines, princes et princesses, noms des pyramides et de temples solaires, suivi d'un index alphabétique.*Vol.2, IFAO, (1912), 130 (25); *PM*, IV, 85; Bourriau, J., 'The contribution of the excavation of Lisht North Cemetery to Middle Kingdom Studies,' in: S. Quirke(ed.), *Discovering Egypt from the Neva: The Egyptological Legacy of Oleg D. Berlev*, Berlin, (2009), 56; Stefanović, D., 'Varia Epigraphica II: The Middle Kingdom', *GM* 244, (2015), 118, n.33.

[3] Stefanović, D., *GM* 244, (2015), 118-119, pl. IX.

[4] Bourriau, J., 'The contribution of the excavation of Lisht North', 56; Stefanović, *GM* 244, (2015), 118-119, 26**.**

eroded at the bottom, and there is a crack running from the right side to the left of the stela. The back of the stela was left rough, suggesting that it was meant to be placed in a niche. The front surface was carefully cut and smoothed. The stela is executed in the silhouette style: the inscriptions and the images are cut in raised relief without further inner details. This style was popular in the Middle Kingdom, especially during the 13th Dynasty,[1] though it was already known at the beginning of the 12th Dynasty.[2]

The stela is divided into two registers: the upper register is framed by incised borders lines. It contains the main scene of the stela. It shows the seated owner facing right; there is no offering table in front of him. He sits on a chair with a high backrest and lion legs on short drums. His features and some details of the body are somewhat obscured. He wears a calf-length kilt reaching the ankles. The remains of a kilt-knot appear on the waist. His left arm holds a long staff that rests on the ground. His clenched right hand rests on his right thigh. In front of him, two vertical lines of a hieroglyphic inscription are engraved and divided by two vertical incised lines. The lower register shows the main inscription of three horizontal lines of text with borderlines.

2. INSCRIPTION

2.1 The upper register

The inscription reads from left to right. It contains an offering formula:

(**1**) *ḥtp di nsw Wsir, nṯr ꜥꜣ, nb ꜣbḏw* (**2**) *n kꜣ n sꜣ-nsw, ḥpw mꜣꜥ- ḫrw*

(**1**) An offering-that-the-king-gives of [a] Osiris [b], the great god [c], lord of Abydos. [d]
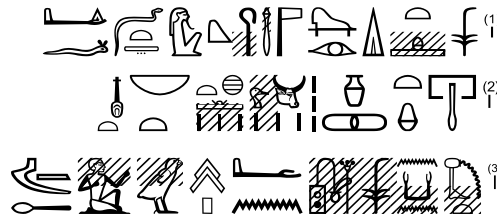
(**2**) for the ka of [e] the king's son [f] Hepu, [g] justified.

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[1] Franke, D., *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine: Geschichte eines Provinzheiligtums im Mittleren Reich. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens 9*, Heidelberg, (1994), 115; Grajetzki, W., *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*, London, (2001), 62-63; Bishoff, A & Grajetzki, W., 'A stela of the Early Middle Kingdom in the South African Cultural History Museum', *DE* 54, (2002), 37; Ilin-Tomich, A., *From Workshop to Sanctuary: The Production of Late Middle Kingdom Memorial Stelae. Middle Kingdom Studies 6*, London, (2017), 75, 78.

[2] The earliest example of silhouette style stelae is the stela Berlin 1192 dating to the reign of Senwosret I. They frequently occur from the end of the 12th Dynasty and during the 13th Dynasty. Simpson, W.K., *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13*, New Haven, (1974), 19, pl. 49 (ANOC 31.2); Freed, R.E., 'Stela Workshops of Early Dynasty 12', in: *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, I. ed.P. Der Manuelian, Boston, (1996), 318, fig. 7b; Lebedev, M.A., 'Stela Nubia Museum 59485: the last known expedition of the early Middle Kingdom beyond the Nile Valley', Вопросы эпиграфики. Вып. VII. Ч. 1: Материалы I Международной конференции «Вопросы эпиграфики». М., (2013), 209-210; Ilin-Tomich, A., *From Workshop to Sanctuary*, 76-78.

2.2 The lower register

Three horizontal lines of inscription run from right to left with borderlines and read:

(**1**) [*ḥtp*] *di nsw Wsir, nṯr ꜥꜣ, ḥḳꜣ ḏt, di.f* (**2**) *prt-ḫrw t ḥnḳt iḥw* [*ꜣbdw*] *ḫt nbt nfrt* (**3**) *wꜥb[t] n* [*kꜣ n*] [*sš*] ꜥ *n* [*nswᴵ*] *ḥpw mꜣꜥ-ḫrw*

(**1**) An [offering]-that-the-king-gives of Osiris[2], the great god, ruler of eternity[(h)] that he may give[(i)] (**2**) an invocation-offering consisting of bread and beer [(j)], oxen and [fowl][(k)], all good (**3**) and pure things[(l)], for the [ka] of [the secretary] of documents of [the king [(m)]], Hepu[(n)], justified.

3. COMMENTARY

(**a**) The *ḥtp*-sign between *nsw* and *di* ⸗ is very commonly found on the monuments of the Middle Kingdom and was attested until the 13th Dynasty.[3]

(**b**) The sign ⸗ [Q2] has unusual writing. The use of the sign ⸗ [Q2] in the name of Osiris is one of the features which were first used at the very end of the 12th Dynasty and in the 13th Dynasty[4]. Ilin-Tomich has noted that the use of this sign ⸗ [Q2] instead of ⸗ [Q1] in the name of Osiris was first attested under Amenemhat IV and its use continued during the 13th Dynasty.[5] Bennett also mentioned that the spelling of the god Osiris's name[6] was changed

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[1]*Wb*, III, 480,14; Hannig, R., *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch. Die Sprache der Pharaonne*, Mainz, (1995), 760.

[2]For this translation: Mekawy Ouda, A. M, 'The Statue of The Doorkeeper of the Palace *Piꜣy* (Louvre E 124),' *SAK* 44, (2015), 283-295.

[3]Smither, P.C.,'The Writing of *ḥtp di nsw* in the Middle and New Kingdoms,' *JEA* 25, (1939), 34 (table). See also: Barta, W., *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, ÄF 24, Gluckstadt, (1968), 43-84; Vernus, P., 'Sur les graphies de la formule 'l'offrande que donne le roi' au Moyen Empire et à la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire,' in: S. Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, New Malden, (1991), 144-145; Satzinger, H., 'Beobachtungen zur Opferformel: Theorie and Parxis,' *LinAeg* 5, (1997), 177–188; Franke, D.,'The Middle Kingdom Offering Formulas - A Challenge', *JEA* 89, (2003), 39-40; Ilin-Tomich, A., 'Changes in the *ḥtp-di-nsw* Formula in the Late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period', *ZÄS* 138, (2011), 20-34; Ilin-Tomich, A., *From Workshop to Sanctuary*, 14-17.

[4]Berlev cites the toilet box MMA 26.7.1438 (Amenemhat IV) as the earliest example of ⸗ in the name of Osiris. Another early example is cited by Ilin-Tomich on an offering table from the tomb of Neferuptah from the reign of Amenemhat IV or, less likely, Amenemhat III. Berlev, O.D & Hodjash, S.I., *Sculpture of Ancient Egypt in the Collection of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts*, Moscow, (2004), 115; Ilin-Tomich, A., *ZÄS* 138, (2011), 21, n. 13.

[5]Ilin-Tomich, A., *ZÄS* 138, (2011), 21. Franke pointed out that most attestations of the reverse sign ⸗ [Q2] date from the later part of the 13th Dynasty and the subsequent period. Ilin-Tomich argues that his study of stelae confirms Franke's conclusion. Ilin-Tomich, A., *From Workshop to Sanctuary*, 8-9.

[6]For further information about the discussion regarding the spelling of the name of Osiris and determinatives that are attached to it: Erman, A., 'Zum Namen des Osiris,' *ZÄS* 46, (1909), 92-95; Bates, O., 'The Name of Osiris,' *JEA* 2, (1915), 207-208; Leahy, A., 'The Name of Osiris Written,' *SAK* 7, (1979), 141-53; Rosati, G., 'Note e proposte per la datazione delle stele del Medio Regno,' *OrAnt* 19, (1980), 269-278.

during the Middle Kingdom. During the 11th Dynasty, and often in the early 12th Dynasty, the name of Osiris is written with the determinative [A41]. Later, the determinative is usually dropped. Instead of , [A43] often appears during the 11th Dynasty and early 12th Dynasty.[1]

(c) On the stela the sign [O29] has unusual writing. The epithet *nṯr-ꜥꜣ*[2] was used as a title for Osiris from the reign of Senwosret I.[3]

(d) The word *ꜣbḏw* was written with the sign [R15].[4] Otherwise, the writing of *ꜣbḏw* with the palm and a hand-sign [D46] only occurs from the New Kingdom.[5] According to Ilin-Tomich, the only known exception is on stela Cairo JE 91243 from the reign of Amenemhat III. No written examples for *ꜣbḏw* with the palm-sign are attested before the New Kingdom.[6]

Osiris with his epithets (*nṯr ꜥꜣ nb ꜣbḏw*) is mostly seen during the 12th and 13th Dynasties.[7] His epithets are of interest chiefly because they changed in each period; during the 11th Dynasty, they are usually *nb ḏdw*， *ḫnty imntyw*, and *nb ꜣbḏw*. In the reign of Senwosret I, the epithet *nṯr-ꜥꜣ* is added. Under Senwosret III all the god's epithets are usually dropped, except *ḫnty-imntyw*.[8]

(e) The sign of kA with ring-shaped hands is a common feature from the 13th Dynasty and later.[9] The text prefaces the name of the stela owner with *n kꜣ n* "for the ka of". The use of *n kꜣ n* NN at the end of the invocatory formula was already attested at the end of the 12th Dynasty, rather than the formulation *n imꜣḫw NN* or *n kꜣ n imꜣḫw NN*,[10] which stopped

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[1] Bennett, C.J., 'Growth of the *ḥtp di nsw* Formula in the Middle Kingdom', *JEA* 27, (1941), 80.

[2] For *nṯr-ꜥꜣ* referring to Osiris: Fischer, H.G., 'Marginalia II', *GM* 128, (1992), 72–5; Stefanović, D., 'Four Middle Kingdom stelae from the National Archaeological Museum, Athens', *JEA* 96, (2010), 209, n. 8.

[3] Bennett, C.J., *JEA* 27, (1941), 78.

[4] For the writing of the place name Abydos with the *iꜣb* sign: Gardiner, A.H., *Egyptian Grammar*, Oxford, (1964), 502; Franke, D., 'The Late Middle Kingdom (Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties): The Chronological Framework,' *JEH* 1.2, (2008), 280, n.48. According to Gardiner, from the Eighteenth Dynasty, confusion with the sign [U23]. El-Sayed, R., '*Documents relatifs à Sais et ses divinités*', BdE XLIX, Cairo, (1975), 151 (i). Early examples are, e.g., *Urk*. IV 11[49]; Bosticco, S., *Museo Archeologico di Firenze. Le Stele egiziane del nuovo regno*, Rome, (1965), no.4 (2496), 6 (2508), 13 (6387); Satzinger, H& Stefanović, D. 'The Stela of Horemhat at Turin', *CdE* LXXXIV, (2009), 91.

[5] Ilin-Tomich, A., 'Two Notes on Middle Kingdom Annals', *LinAeg* 18, (2010), 125.

[6] Simpson, W.K., *Inscribed Material from the Pennsylvania-Yale Excavations at Abydos*, PPYEE 6, New Haven–Philadelphia, (1995), 36–35, fig. 61, pl. 7; Gomaà, F., *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren Reiches, Beihefte zum, I. Oberägypten und des Fayyum. Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients.Reihe B (Geisteswissenschaften) 66*, Wiesbaden, (1986), 198; Ilin-Tomich, A., *LinAeg* 18, (2010), 125, n. 48.

[7] Selim, H.,'Three identical stelae from the end of the Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty,'in: *SAK* 29, (2001), 325.

[8] Bennett, C.J., *JEA* 27, (1941), 78, 80; Franke, D., 'The Good Shepherd Antef (Stela *BM EA* 1628),' *JEA* 93, (2007), 170-171, n.87.

[9] Grajetzki, W., *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 69 [Hannover 2932, Leiden 31, Vienna ÄS 135, 163, 181]; Marée, M., 'Edfu under the Twelfth to Seventeenth Dynasties: The Monuments in the National Museum of Warsaw,' *BMSAES* 12, (2009),43–50, fig. 7 [Warsaw 141262: cf. fg. 8a-b], 47–48, fig. 9 [Tübingen 463], 50, fig. 10; Ilin-Tomich, A., 'Late Middle Kingdom Stelae Workshops at Thebes,' *GM* 234, (2012), 80; Mekawy Ouda, A. M., 'Egyptian Middle Kingdom Oyster Shells with Royal Names Function, Chronology and Gender Issues,' *BIFAO* 119, (2019), 267; Mekawy Ouda, A. M., 'Two Inscribed Middle Kingdom Oyster Shells from Esna: Reconstructing Their Archaeological Context', *CdÉ* (2019), 55.

[10] The phrase *n kꜣ n imꜣḫw NN* "for ka of the favoured NN" was common during the 12th Dynasty, but disappeared after that. Ilin-Tomich, A., From Workshop to Sanctuary, 31.

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occurring after the reign of Amenemhat II.[1] Furthermore, all the inscriptions dated to the 13th Dynasty use the form *n k3 n* NN to introduce the recipient.[2]

(**f**) The stela identifies Hepu as a *s3-nsw*.[3] This title was held by non-royal individuals in the 13th Dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period, when many principalities existed side by side. Each claimed royal prerogatives and titles for their ruling families. For example, the owner of the stela Cairo CG 20537 held the title "royal son", while being the son of a "count and overseer of the priests".[4] Nevertheless, Hepu's second stela LAM 877509 also features his mother Abeteni. She has the title *ḥmt-nswt* and is depicted wearing a crown with two tall plumes,[5] suggesting that their family had claimed some level of local rulership.

(**g**) *ḥpw*: Ranke mentioned that this name was attested on the monuments of the Old, Middle and New Kingdom, mainly as a masculine name, but also occasionally as a feminine name.[6] This name was incised on a Middle Kingdom funerary stela e.g., stela Athens 4054a;[7] Cairo CG 20123; CG 20409; CG 20675.[8] Remarkably, there is a space after the name of *ḥpw*. I suggests that it was left for the determinative of the sitting man 𓀀 [A1], a common feature used to refer to personal names, which is written in the third line of the lower register.

(**h**) The epithet *ḥk3-ḏt* "ruler of eternity"[9] as an epithet of Osiris is attested no earlier than the 13th Dynasty.[10] For examples, see: Stela Berlin 7311;[11] Cairo CG 20039; CG 20050; CG 20614.[12]

(**i**) The attestation of di.f after the formula *ḥtp di nsw* and before *prt-ḫrw* indicates the 12th Dynasty or later. According to Bennett,[13] the term *prt-ḫrw* "an invocation" is in offering formulas of the 11th Dynasty, whereas in the 12th Dynasty, the formula *di.f prt-ḫrw* "that he may give an invocation" is preferred. Obsomer also emphasises the importance of *di.f prt-*

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[1]Bennett, C.J., *JEA* 27, (1941), 79 (6); Pflüger, K., 'The Private Funerary Stelae of the Middle Kingdom and their importance for the study of Ancient Egyptian History,' *JAOS* 67, (1947), 133.

[2]Ilin-Tomich, A., *ZÄS* 138, (2011), 26.

[3]Ward, W., *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom: with a Glossary of words and Phrases Used*, Beirut, (1982), 145, no.1245.

[4]Frankfort, H., 'The Cemeteries of Abydos: Work of the Season 1925-26,' *JEA* 14, (1928), 238.

- For further information and references about the title *s3-nsw*: Schmitz, B., *Untersuchungen zum Titel s3-nsw "Königssohn"*, Bonn, (1976), 186-190; 228-244; Quirke, S., 'Identifying the Officials of the Fifteenth Dynasty', in M. Bietak, E. Czerny (eds.), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC from Egypt, Nubia, Crete and the Levant: Chronological and Historical Implications. Papers of a Symposium*, Vienna, 10th-13th of January 2002, Wien, (2004), 171-193.

[5]Stefanović, D., *GM* 244, (2015), 119,126, pl. IX.

[6]Ranke, *PN* I, 238.14.

[7]Ilin-Tomich, A., *From Workshop to Sanctuary*, pl. 16 (left).

[8]Lange, H.O & H. Schäfer, H., *Grab und Denksteine des Mitteren Reich im Museum von Kairo*, Vol. I, 145-146; Vol. II, 9-11, 301-302.

[9]For the epithet, see *LAGG* V, 531-532.

[10]Spiegel, J., *Die Götter von Abydos; Studien zum ägyptischen Synkretismus*, Wiesbaden, (1973), 174; G. Rosati, G., *OrAnt* 19 (1980), 274; Ilin-Tomich, A., *ZÄS* 138, (2011), 21; Id., *From Workshop to Sanctuary*, 27.

[11]Simpson, W.K., *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 32, ANOC 22.

[12]Lange, H.O & Schäfer, H., *Grab und Denksteine des Mitteren Reich im Museum von Kairo*, Vol. I, 48-49, 59-60; Vol. II, 253-255.

[13]Bennett, C.J., *JEA* 27, (1941), 77–78.

ẖrw as a dating criterion, arguing that it was not attested in offering formulas before the 12th Dynasty.[1]

(j) An unusual writing of the *ḥnkt*-sign. Ilin-Tomich pointed out that the spelling of the word `Hnkt` "beer" in the offering formula with the sign having two crossing lines, can be classified as [W20] or [W59], first occur in the Thirteenth Dynasty

And become widespread in the Second Intermediate Period.[2]

(k) The writing of *iḥw-ȝbdw* "oxen and fowl" occurs occasionally in the late 12th Dynasty and becomes common during the 13th Dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period[3].

(l) The word *ḫt* "things" is written with the determinative [Y1]. This writing occurs occasionally in the 13th Dynasty and becomes common in the Second Intermediate Period.[4]

(m) Most of the first half of the third line is destroyed, whereas only a few traces remain of some hieroglyphic signs [N35] and the two top ends of the sign. These traces could be completed as follows:. After this part, the owner's name and titles would typically follow, as in the second line of the upper register. The title of *ḥpw* is gone except the word. I would suggest that this destroyed space should be filled with the title [ ] *sš ꜥ n nswt* "the secretary of documents of the king",[5] compared to a similar text which was found on the second stelae of `Hpw` LAM 877509.[6] Quirke mentioned that this title is known in the early Middle Kingdom. In contrast in the late Middle Kingdom, most sources are more specific, differentiating between the person present at court with the king and those with responsibility for "assembly" and "lands".[7] In Hepu's second stela, his full title is given as *sš ꜥ n nswt n smȝyt* "the secretary of the documents of the king of the assembly".

(n) Notice that the determinative sign [A1] was written in cursive hieroglyphs.[8] The use of determinatives with cursive hieroglyphs after the individuals' names was common in the late 12th and 13th Dynasties. For examples, see: (JE 52453[9]); (JE 20458[10]); (JE 91244); (JE 91249)[11]; (BM EA 220); (BM EA 226[12]). According to Ilin-Tomich, in the Middle Kingdom,

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[1]Obsomer, C., 'ꜥdi.f prt ẖrw et la filiation *ms(t).n/ ir(t).n* comme critères de datation dans les textes du Moyen Empire,' in: Ch. Cannuyer, J.-M. Kruchten (eds.), *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'Égypte pharaonique et copte: Mélanges égyptologiques offerts au Professeur Aristide Théodorides*, Brussels, (1993), 169–170, 196-197. See also: Satzinger, H., *LinAeg* 5, (1997), 177–188; Selim, H., *SAK* 29, (2001), 325-326; Metawi, R., 'The Stela of the Chief Interior-Overseer to the Treasurer Hrw-nfr (Cairo Museum CG 20563) ,' *JARCE* 44, (2008), 148.

[2]Cf. Ilin-Tomich, A., *From Workshop to Sanctuary*, 20, (Table 11).

[3]Ilin-Tomich, A., *ZÄS* 138, (2011), 24-25, (Table 2); Id., *From Workshop to Sanctuary*, 20-21, (Table 12).

[4]Ilin-Tomich, A., *From Workshop to Sanctuary*, 22-23, (Table 14).

[5]*Wb*, I, 158,20; Ward, W., *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles*, 158, no.1363; Quirke, S., *Titles and bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC*, London, (2004), 43.

[6]Stefanović, D., *GM* 244, (2015), 119,126, pl. IX.

[7]For further information and references about this title: Quirke, S., *Titles and bureaux*, 42-44.

[8]The palaeography of cursive hieroglyphic script is common from the 12th Dynasty and later. Caminos, R. & Fischer, H.G., *Ancient Egyptian epigraphy and paleography*, New York, (1976), 42-43.

[9]Davies, W.V., '*The tomb of a Governor of Elkab of the Second Intermediate Period.*' In *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC), Middle Kingdom Studies 2,* London, (2016), 80 fig.10.

[10]Simpson, W.K., *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 36, ANOC 24.

[11]Simpson, W.K., *Inscribed Material from the Pennsylvania-Yale Excavations at Abydos*, 40-41, figs. 66, 69.

[12]Budge, W., *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*, III, pl.3; IV, pl. 43.

the determinatives for the seated men or women are not used after names. Only a limited number of examples are derived from the 12th and 13th Dynasties. On the other hand, during the Second Intermediate Period, this usage became increasingly common.[1]

4. CONCLUSION

The stela does not contain a royal name or dateline. However, the approximate date of this stela, based on its artistic style, the palaeographic features and orthographic criteria mentioned above, is the 13th Dynasty. The 13th Dynasty artistic style may be further corroborated by the relatively poor quality of the depictions and hieroglyphs executed in the so-called silhouette style. This technique was prevalent in the late Middle Kingdom, especially in the 13th Dynasty. Furthermore, the silhouette style was characteristic of craftsmen from the Memphite and Fayum regions.[2] Linguistic evidence points to the 13th Dynasty, such as the use of the sign ⌒ [Q2] in the divine name of Osiris and his title "ruler of eternity". Both indicate a date, not before the 13th Dynasty.[3] On the other hand, according to Vernus, the stela's date must not be later than the 13th Dynasty due to the order of the offering formula.[4] The writing of the word *ḥnḳt* "beer" with a sign having two crossing lines and the word *ḫt* "thing" was written with the abstract determinative [Y1] in the offering formula in the 13th Dynasty and became common in the Second Intermediate Period. All these criteria point to a 13th Dynasty date or later.

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[1]For further information: Ilin-Tomich, A., *From Workshop to Sanctuary*, 23-24.

[2]Grajetzki, W., *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 62; Ilin-Tomich, A., *From Workshop to Sanctuary*, 76-78.

[3]Ilin-Tomich, A., *From Workshop to Sanctuary*, 8, 27.

[4]Vernus, P., Sur les graphies de la formule 'l'offrande que donne le roi', 151-152; EL-Sayed, M., "Late Middle Kingdom Stelae from Assiut', in *Fischer-Elfert, H. W., & Parkinson, R. B., (eds.), Studies on the Middle Kingdom in Memory of Detlef Franke,* Philippika 41, Wiesbaden, (2013),166.

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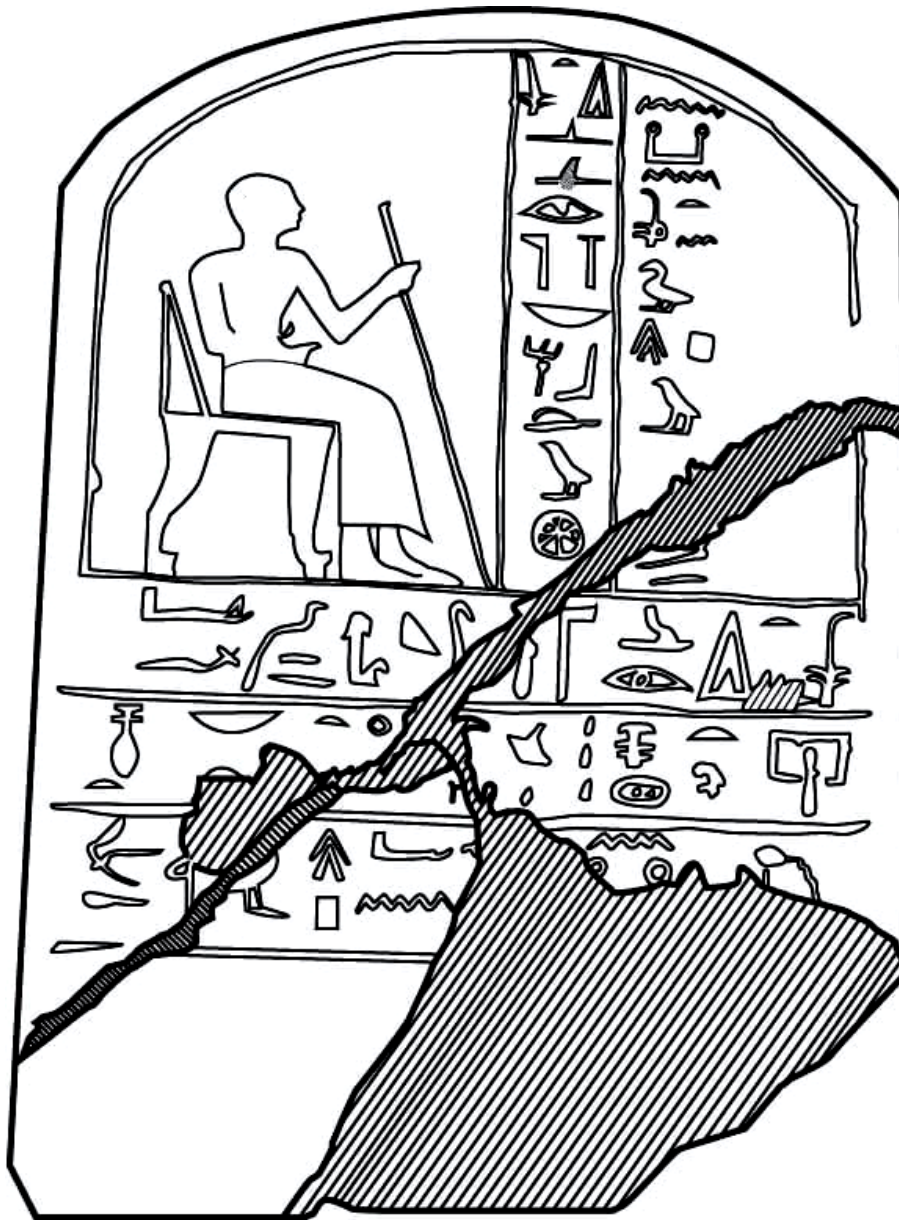
Pl. I Stela of Hepu, Grand Egyptian Museum, Cairo (GEM 23753/JE 41638)
(Photograph by the author).

Fig. 1. Line drawing of Hepu stela (by Ali Elfiky).