

The Late Middle Kingdom Stela of Inpua CG 20544 in the Egyptian Museum,  
Cairo

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**Abstract:** The present paper aims to publish and study the stela of Inpua, kept at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (CG 20544). It also discusses the meanings of names and titles, copies and translates texts, and comments on the marks and artistic features of the stela. The stela under study was found by Mariette at the North necropolis of Abydos during the excavations of the Egyptian Authority of Egyptology in 1860. It is a painted limestone round-topped funerary stela (56 cm in height and 40 cm in width) divided into four parts; it features a distinctive depiction of mummified figures and a mat of offerings. The documentation of the offering formula, paleographical and artistic features of the stela concludes that it is dated to the thirteenth Dynasty.

**Keywords:** Stela – Middle Kingdom – Abydos – Inpua – CG 20544 – Thirteenth Dynasty.

لوحة انبو عا من نهاية عصر الدولة الوسطى CG 20544 بالمتحف المصري بالقاهرة

هالة مصطفى


مدرس، كلية الآثار، قسم الآثار المصرية القديمة، جامعة عين شمس، القاهرة، مصر

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**المُلخَص:** يهدف هذا البحث إلى نشر ودراسة لوحة "انبو عا" المحفوظة بالمتحف المصري بالقاهرة، والمسجلة برقم CG 20544، كما يُناقش أيضًا معاني الأسماء والألقاب المذكورة عليها، وترجمة النصوص والتعليق على العلامات والخصائص الفنية للوحة. تم العثور على هذه اللوحة بواسطة مارييت في الجبانة الشمالية بأبيدوس أثناء حفائر هيئة الآثار المصرية عام ١٨٦٠. وهي لوحة جنازية ملونة دائرية القمة، ومصنوعة من الحجر الرملي، ارتفاعها ٥٦ سم وعرضها ٤٠ سم، وتنقسم إلى أربع مستويات، وتتميز بالتصوير النادر لأشخاص في هيئة المومياء وحصيرة القرابين. وطبقًا لترتيب علامات صغية تقدمه القرابين والخصائص النصية والفنية فإن اللوحة تُؤرخ إلى عصر الأسرة الثالثة عشرة.

**الكلمات الدالة:** لوحة – الدولة الوسطى – أبيدوس – انبو عا – CG 20544 – الأسرة الثالثة عشرة.

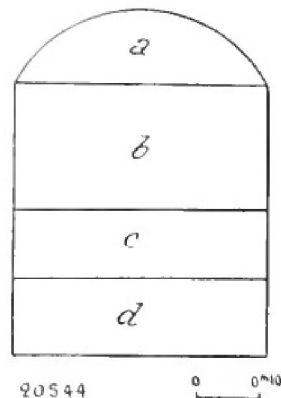
## Introduction:

The Stela of  Inpua<sup>1</sup> is a painted limestone round-topped<sup>2</sup> funerary stela<sup>3</sup> found at the northern necropolis of Abydos. It was excavated by Mariette during the Egyptian antiquity service in 1860 and was dated to the twelfth Dynasty of the Middle Kingdom; however, the stela shows features of the thirteenth Dynasty, which are discussed later.

The stela is kept at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (CG 20544 = SR 3/9651)<sup>4</sup>, and has been in multiple museum exhibitions<sup>5</sup>.

The names and titles attested on this stela were mentioned by Mariette and Millard<sup>6</sup>, and a brief description of it was made by Lange and Schäfer<sup>7</sup>.

The stela has a well-prepared surface and is in good condition; its decorations are framed by incised border lines. According to Lange and Schäfer, the stela is divided into four parts (fig. 1); the upper part contains the offering formula, the middle part depicts the owner and his wife, and finally, the lower part is decorated with two registers of seated and squatted mummified figures.



(Fig. 1) The parts of the stela according to Lange and Schäfer.

Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine II*, 168.

<sup>1</sup> PM V, 265.

<sup>2</sup> This was the most common type of stelae from Middle Kingdom to the Roman Period. Regina Hölzl, "Round Topped Stelae from the Middle Kingdom to the Late Period: Some Remarks on the Decoration of the Lunettes", in *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia: Atti*, Vol. 1, ed. Anonymous (Turin: International Association of Egyptologists, 1992), 285.

<sup>3</sup> It is also called "the memorial stela" or "Abydene stela".

<sup>4</sup> It also has the Grand Egyptian Museum number (GEM 8324).

<sup>5</sup> This information is from the EMC Database.

<sup>6</sup> Auguste Mariette, *Catalogue general des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1880), 186-187, no. 677. Also some of the names were mentioned by Millard. Anne Millard, "The Position of Women in Family and in Society in Ancient Egypt, with Special References to the Middle Kingdom," (PhD diss., Department of Egyptology, University College, London, 1976), 113.


<sup>7</sup> Hans O. Lange and Heinrich Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittlerern Reiches im Museum von Kairo. No. 20001-20780, Teil II, CGC* (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1908), 167-169.

**Description (figs. 2-3):**

Measurements: H. 56 cm, W. 40 cm.

The stela is painted with red and blue, and inscribed in sunken relief; only the middle part is in raised relief.


The upper part: It contains a text inside four incised border lines, oriented from the right to the left; the inscriptions are in sunken relief and painted blue, mentioning the offering formula:


<p>[1] <i>ḥtp di nsw di Wsir</i></p> <p>[2] <i>ḥnty-īmntyw nṯr ʿz nb ʿbdw di.f pr(t)-ḥrw t ḥnkt</i></p> <p>[3] <i>iḥw ʿpdw šs mnḥt ddt pt kmʿt tʿz innt ḥʿpi</i></p> <p>[4] <i>ʿnḥt nṯr im n kʿz n iri ʿt n pr-ḥd Inpw-ʿz ir.n Tti mʿt ḥrw</i></p>
<p>[1] An offering that the king gives<sup>(a)</sup> (and) Osiris<sup>(b)</sup> gives</p> <p>[2] the foremost of the westerns, the great god, lord of Abydos<sup>(c)</sup>, that he may give invocation offering<sup>(d)</sup> (of) bread<sup>(e)</sup>, bear,</p> <p>[3] oxen, fowls<sup>(f)</sup>, clothes, alabaster<sup>(g)</sup> and what the sky gives, the earth creates and Nile brings<sup>(h)</sup></p> <p>[4] on which the god lives<sup>(i)</sup>, for the ka of<sup>(j)</sup> the chamber keeper of the treasury<sup>(k)1</sup>, Inpua<sup>(l)2</sup> son of Teti<sup>(m)3</sup> true of voice.</p>

<sup>1</sup> “Treasury chamber keeper” according to Quirke he is a person managed commodity storage and production units i.e. chambers for the treasury, in addition to the sealed items, for example, linen, metal, oil, clothes and libations. Stephen Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC.*, GHP Egyptology 1 (London: Golden House Publications, 2004), 58.

<https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/3/title/282> (accessed: 26-7-2023); another translation mentioned by Ward is “Hall keeper of the treasury”. William A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1982), 59. 477; Jeanette A. Taylor, *An Index of Male Non-Royal Egyptian Titles, Epithets & Phrases of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty* (London: Museum Bookshop Publications, 2001), 63.584; Stephen Quirke, “The Regular Titles of the Late Middle Kingdom”, *RdÉ* 37 (1986): 112.

<sup>2</sup> The name means “Anubis is great/strong/powerful”. <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/name/4645#10602> (accessed: 25-7-2023); PN I, 37. 5.


<sup>3</sup> <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/name/301#297> (accessed: 26-7-2023); the name was mentioned in PN  without the determinative, and was written in several ways, PN I, 384.4.

The middle part: This is the only part in raised relief, probably to highlight the scene, it depicts Inpua, a woman, and different offerings above and below a mat. Inpua is facing right, seated on a low-back lion-legged chair; he is red-skinned and wears a wig painted blue, which leaves the ear uncovered; a collar painted blue; and a short apron with a belt up to his knees. His right arm is extended towards the offering table, while his left arm is folded across his chest; and he is holding the flail in his left hand.

In front of him is a large mat that carries onions, goose, different breads, an ox thigh, the head of the bull, and two drinking bowls on pedestals at both ends. Below the mat are different jars: a pitcher of water, mugs of wine, and finally an incense burner. These offerings are painted red and blue.

A woman is represented on the other side of the table, facing left; she is the wife of Inpua, even though the text does not give any information about her relation to Inpua. She is seated on a low-back lion-legged chair, and no color was applied to her figure. She wears a long tripartite wig, a collar, bracelets and a long dress with one strap on her right shoulder. The dress has a flared end. Her left arm is extended towards the offering table, while her right arm is folded across her chest, and she is holding in her right hand a lotus flower, which she smells painted blue.

There is text above her oriented from the left to the right, unlike the text in the upper part, so it would be directed towards her figure, and she can benefit from the offering formula. It mentions:

	<p><i>n k3 n ʿnht-rn irt.n Nmty-m-ḥ3t</i>                  For the ka of Ankhentren<sup>1</sup>, daughter of Nemtiemhat<sup>2</sup>.</p>
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Noteworthy, there are traces of the method used to apply the raised relief around this text and around the face and elbow of Inpua, as well as Ankhentren's, in addition to the fact that the artist did not bore the area under the chair of Ankhentren, he only sunk the area beside the legs of the chair.

The lower part: It depicts two registers; showing figures of seated males on low-back chairs with peculiar protruding pointed toes<sup>3</sup>, and females squatted on the ground. The first register depicts four males followed by three females; the second register depicts two females followed by two males, then two females and finally a male.

All the figures are in sunken relief, painted blue, and in mummified shape; the faces are left without any details (silhouette style). All men's figures have short hair, and a short, pointed beard, while all women have long hair. Each figure is labeled with a text

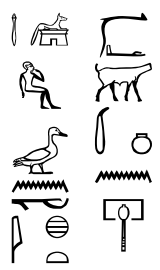
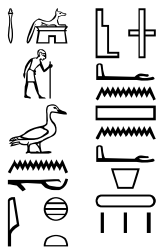
<sup>1</sup> The name means "one alive of heart". <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/name/579#679> (accessed: 24-7-2023); PN I, 68.17.

<sup>2</sup> The name means "God Nemty is in front". <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/name/531#11495> (accessed: 24-7-2023); PN I, 69.21, Katrin Scheele-Schweitzer, *Die Personennamen des Alten Reiches: Altägyptische Onomastik unter Lexikographischen und Sozio-kulturellen Aspekten*, Philippika 28 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014), 493, 206.

<sup>3</sup> Another strange shape of the chair is attested in the reign of Sobekhotep III, Alexander Ilin-Tomich, "Late Middle Kingdom Stelae Workshop at Thebes", *GM* 234 (2012): 78.

inscribed in sunken relief, oriented from the right to the left, and it is not of a high quality, as follows:

The figures in the first register are:

<p>The first figure (male)</p>	<p>[2] [1] ←</p> 	<p>[1] <i>imy-r ḥn.wty n pr-ḥd</i> [2] <i>Inpw-ḥ-šri s3 Nḥti</i></p>	<p>[1] Interior- overseer to the treasury<sup>1</sup> [2] Inpua the younger<sup>2</sup> son of Nakhti<sup>3</sup>.</p>
<p>The second figure (male)</p>	<p>[2] [1] ←</p> 	<p>[1] <i>imy-st-ḥ n šnḥ.wti</i> [2] <i>Inpw-ḥ-wr s3 Nḥti</i></p>	<p>[1] Assistant for exchange-values<sup>4</sup> [2] Inpua the elder<sup>5</sup> son of Nakhti.</p>




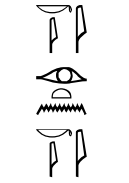

<sup>1</sup> He is a representative of the treasure bureau who was tasked with gathering supplies for the treasury. i.e. The economic arm of the palace, note the sources cited from expeditions outside the building and construction sites, the title also can be attached to a specific building within the residence or conduct royal business in particular area. Quirke, *Titles and Bureux*, 57; Quirke, “The Regular Titles”: 110, 124-125; <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/3/title/856> (accessed: 26-7-2023); Abdul Rahman Al-Ayedi, *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom* (Ismailia: Obelisk Publications, 2006), 43.79; Denise M. Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom, PdÄ 12* (Brill: Leiden: Boston: Köln, 1998), 41. And according to Ward the translation is “Chamberlain of the treasury”. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative*, 16.84; and according to Taylor it is “Keeper of the store room”. Taylor, *An Index of Male*, 16.144.

<sup>2</sup> PN I, 37. 7.

<sup>3</sup> PN I 212.1; Scheele-Schweitzer, *Die Personennamen des Alten Reiches*, 501, 2125; The name also can be read *Ḥt* and was written in several ways. <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/name/13#285> (accessed: 27-7-2023).

<sup>4</sup> He is a helper of *imy-r šnḥtyw* who probably required knowledge or relative value for every commodity transaction. This indicates that the level of trade at the location required an official with the primary responsibility of assistance for exchange values. Quirke, *Titles and Bureux*, 69; <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/3/title/1090> (accessed: 27-7-2023); Quirke, “The Regular Titles”: 112. According to Ward it was translated to “The helper of the stores” Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative*, 55.438; and was translated as Acolyte by Taylor. Taylor, *An Index of Male*, 52.560; and as Assistant by Al-Ayedi. Al-Ayedi, *Index of Egyptian*, 175.532.

<sup>5</sup> PN I p. 37 no. 5.

<p>The third figure (male)</p>		<p>[1] <i>imy-r hrp n pr- hd</i> [2] <i>Hnmw ir n Iki</i></p>	<p>[1] District overseer of the treasury<sup>1</sup> [2] Khnum<sup>2</sup> son of Iki<sup>3</sup>.</p>
<p>The fourth figure (male)</p>		<p>[1] <i>Hnmw-wr</i> [2] <i>ir.n Iki</i></p>	<p>[1] Khnum the elder<sup>4</sup> [2] son of Iki.</p>
<p>The fifth figure (female)</p>		<p>[1] <i>Nhti sst Inpw-ε3</i> [2] <i>irt.n Iki</i></p>	<p>[1] Nakhti daughter of Inpua [2] daughter of Iki.</p>
<p>The sixth figure (female)</p>		<p><i>Iki irt.n Iki</i></p>	<p>Iki daughter of Iki.</p>
<p>The seventh figure (female)</p>		<p><i>Tti irt.n mwt.s</i></p>	<p>Teti daughter of her mother.</p>

It should be noted that the letter *k* in the name “Iki” is reversed, as it should be <sup>5</sup>. This is probably a scribal error<sup>6</sup>, as this letter is commonly reversed on other stelae<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative*, 41.308.

<sup>2</sup> The name means “God Khnum”. <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/name/878#1788> (accessed: 27-7-2023); PN I. 275. 5, 427.18; Scheele-Schweitzer, *Die Personennamen des Alten Reiches*, 615.2861.

<sup>3</sup> <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/name/675#1169> (accessed: 27-7-2023); PN I, 48. 48.

<sup>4</sup> The name means “Khnum the great”. It also may read as *Wr-hnmw*, PN I, 275.11.

<sup>5</sup> Gradiner mentioned that the reversed *k* letter was regular in Hieratic but also appeared rarely in the Old Kingdom. Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar. Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. (Oxford: Oxford university press, 1957), 525.

<sup>6</sup> This is probably due to the fact that the basket could have a handle on any side, so it became regular to be written in both directions and not considered a scribal error. I would like to thank Dr. Marwa Kafafy for this suggestion.

The figures in the second register are:




The first figure (female)		[1] <i>Nmty-m-ḥꜣt</i> [2] <i>irt.n Mwt.s</i>	[1] Nemtiemhat [2] daughter of her mother.
The second figure (female)		<i>Snwt irt.n Inpw-ꜥꜣ</i>	Snut <sup>2</sup> daughter of Inpua.
The third figure (male)		[1] <i>Nmty-m-ḥꜣt</i> [2] <i>ir.n Nmty-m-ḥꜣt</i>	[1] Nemtiemhat [1] son of Nemtiemhat.
The fourth figure (male)		<i>ꜥnhw ir.n Tit</i>	Ankhu <sup>3</sup> son of Tiet <sup>4</sup> .

<sup>1</sup> Stela AP 25 in Leiden dated to the late twelfth Dynasty or the thirteenth Dynasty from Abydos. Wolfram Grajetzki, "Stela of the Overseer of Priests Iki", in *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom*, eds. Adela Oppenheim and et al. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2015), 157, no. 93; <https://pnm.unimainz.de/2/inscription/2339>; <https://www.rmo.nl/collectie/collectiezoeker/collectiestuk/?object=22614> (accessed: 28-7-2023); Statue ÄS 5046 in Vienna dated to the thirteenth – seventeenth Dynasty from Elkab. <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/inscription/3005> (accessed: 28-7-2023); <https://www.khm.at/objektdb/detail/319706/> (accessed: 28-7-2023); stela ÄS 160 at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna dated to the late twelfth Dynasty or the thirteenth Dynasty, probably from Abydos <https://www.khm.at/objektdb/detail/317451/> (accessed: 29-7-2023); <https://pnm.unimainz.de/2/inscription/1859> (accessed: 29-7-2023), stela 1970.630 in Boston dated to the reign of Amenemhat IV or the early thirteenth Dynasty, probably from Abydos <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/164241/stele-of-ameny> (accessed: 29-7-2023); <https://pnm.unimainz.de/2/inscription/1790> (accessed: 29-7-2023); Stelae ÄS 110 and ÄS 156 in Vienna from Abydos dated to the late twelfth Dynasty or the early thirteenth Dynasty. Irmgrad Hein and Helmut Satzinger, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches I, Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1989), 4,39, 4,91




<sup>2</sup> The name means "Sister". <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/name/2369#11498> (accessed: 29-7-2023); the name was mentioned in this form in PN I, 312. 6.


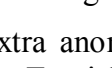

<sup>3</sup> The name means "The one alive". <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/name/5#638> (accessed: 29-7-2023); PN I, 68.6, Scheele-Schweitzer, *Die Personennamen des Alten Reiches*, 310-311. 775.

<sup>4</sup> <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/name/1063#2776> (accessed: 29-7-2023); PN I, 383. 29.

The fifth figure (female)		<i>Nḥtī irt.n Tīt</i>	Nakhti daughter of Tiet.
The sixth figure (female)		<i>Rḥwt-ᵚnh irt.n Tw</i>	Rehutankh <sup>1</sup> daughter of Tu <sup>2</sup> .
The seventh figure (male)		[1] <i>Ḳnpw-ᵚz ir.n</i> [2] <i>Rḥwt-ᵚnh</i>	[1] Inpua son of [2] Rehutankh.

**Comments:**

(a) According to Smither, the formula *ḥtp-dī-nsw* was written in the form  and  in the Middle Kingdom, and  from the fourteenth Dynasty and onwards<sup>3</sup>. However, Vernus and Ilin-Tomich mentioned that this form is attested during the reign of Neferhotep I – Sobekhotep IV in the thirteenth Dynasty and was used as an indicator of the pre-Second Intermediate Period date<sup>4</sup>.

Noteworthy, there was a scribal error as a  sign was added before the formula; it is written . The shape of the extra anomalous *ḥtp* sign  appeared during the thirteenth Dynasty according to Ilin-Tomich and was used as an indicator of the pre-Second Intermediate Period date<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The name can also read *ᵚnh-rḥwt*, it means “Female mates live”. <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/name/6035#11499> (accessed 29-7-2023); PN I, 225.19.




<sup>2</sup> PN I, 379. 2; <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/name/2145#3778> (accessed: 29-7-2023).




<sup>3</sup> Paul C. Smither. “The writing of *ḥtp-dī-nsw* in the Middle and New Kingdoms”, *JEA* 25 (1939): 34, 37; Alexander Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop to Sanctuary: The Production of Late Middle Kingdom Memorial Stelae*, MKS 6 (Londres: Golden House Publications, 2017), 8.


<sup>4</sup> This form is also attested on stela UCD 1365 in Dublin from Memphis dated to the reign of Neferhotep I – Sobekhotep IV, and Stela Roccati, Gs Berlev, no. 1 from unknown location dated to the thirteenth Dynasty, in addition to, stela Warszawa MN 141262 from Edfu dated to the reign of Sobekhotep IV. Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop*, 15-17; Pascal Vernus, “Sur les graphies de la formule “l’offrande que donne le roi” au Moyen Empire et la Deuxieme Periode Intermediaire”, in *Middle Kingdom Studies*, ed. Stephen Quirke (New Malden: SIA Publishing, 1991), 141-142, 146; Daniel Lines, “A Curious Middle Kingdom Stela in Birmingham”, *JEA* 87 (2001): 46.

<sup>5</sup> Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop*, 9, 14.



The additional *di*  ,  sign before the god's name, is attested in the Second Intermediate Period stela, and on stelae from the workshop of Abydos<sup>1</sup>, however, it is different on Inpua's stela as it is written with the sign .

(b) The name of the god Osiris<sup>2</sup> on Inpua's stela is written  without the determinative  which was common during the reign of Senusret III. In the early twelfth Dynasty, the name was written with the determinative . Then, in the mid-late twelfth Dynasty the determinative was often omitted<sup>3</sup>. It continued without the determinative until the early fourteenth Dynasty<sup>4</sup>.

(c) The titles of Osiris mentioned on Inpua's stela are *hnty imntyw*, *ntr ʕ3* and *nb ʕbdw*, which were commonly used during the reign of Senusret III<sup>5</sup>. Then, during the same period, the entire god's epithets are usually dropped, except *hnty-imntyw*<sup>6</sup>. The determinative  in the title *hnti-imnti* was dropped in the late Middle Kingdom<sup>7</sup>.

The title *ntr ʕ3* appeared during the reign of Senusret I, Osiris with his epithets (*ntr ʕ3 nb ʕbdw*) was very common during the twelfth and thirteenth Dynasties<sup>8</sup>. It should be noted that the horizontal position of the sign ʕ3 appeared in the eleventh Dynasty and became more frequent during the twelfth Dynasty and onwards<sup>9</sup>.

Since Osiris was related to Abydos more than any other city, the title *nb ʕbdw* spread in the twelfth Dynasty. Throughout history, Abydos was the center of the cult of Osiris. Many cult structures were dedicated to Osiris, and vast cemetery fields were developed, integrating not only the native inhabitants but also outsiders who decided to erect tombs and memorial monuments in Abydos<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Alexander Ilin-Tomich, "Changes in the *htp-dj-nsw* Formula in the Late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period", *ZÄS* 138 (2011): 21, 23-24; Vernus, "sur les graphies de la formule", 149; Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop*, 26.

<sup>2</sup> Oric Bates, "The Name "Osiris"", *JEA* 2.4 (1915): 208; Adolf Erman, "Zum Namen des Osiris", *ZÄS* 35 (1909-1910): 93, 95.

<sup>3</sup> John C. C. Bennett, "Growth of the *hnti-imnti* Formula in the Middle Kingdom", *JEA* 27.1 (1941): 78; Ahmed Y. Mohamed, "The Stela of *ʕnhw* in Sohag National Museum from The Late Middle Kingdom (GEM 23753/ JE 41638)", *JGUAA* 7/2 (2022): 29.

<sup>4</sup> Omaïma El-Shal, "La stèle d'Ioutjéni et les liturgies processionnelles de la fin du Moyen Empire (CGC 20476, GEM 4439)", *BIFAO* 115 (2016): 45.

<sup>5</sup> Bennett, "Growth of the *hnti-imnti* Formula": 80.


<sup>6</sup> Bennett, "Growth of the *hnti-imnti* Formula": 78, 80; Deltel Franke, "The Good Shepherd Antef (Stela BM EA 1628)", *JEA* 93 (2007): 170-171; Marcel Marée, "A Remarkable Group of Egyptian Stelae from the Second Intermediate Period", *OMRO* 73 (1993): 9.


<sup>7</sup> Bennett, "Growth of the *hnti-imnti* Formula": 78.


<sup>8</sup> Bennett, "Growth of the *hnti-imnti* Formula": 78, 80. Ibrahim Abd Elsattar, "Two Middle Kingdom Stelae of Nn-rnʕf and Snbi in The Egyptian Museum Cairo (CGC 20524- 20521)", *SHEDET* 6 (2019): 6.


<sup>9</sup> El-Shal, "La stèle d'Ioutjéni": 457; Hassan Selim, "Three Identical Stelae from the End of the Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty", *SAK* 29 (2001): 325.

<sup>10</sup> Hassan Selim, "The Stela of *hr-wdʕw* in Cairo Museum (JE 41332)", *SAK* 28 (2000): 254; Fatma A. Salim, "The Stela of Intf from the Middle Kingdom in Cairo Museum (C.G.20561)", *JARS* 9 (2021): 13.

(d) The form of the *dī.f* before *pṛt-hrw*  on Inpua's stela was common from the late Middle Kingdom and onwards, according to Bennet, Obsomer, and Ilin-Tomich<sup>1</sup>.


(e) The form of the bread sign  appeared in the late twelfth Dynasty and was common during the thirteenth Dynasty<sup>2</sup>.

(f)  *ihw-zpdw* “oxen and fowls” were written in this form during the whole Middle Kingdom<sup>3</sup>, and it occurs occasionally in the late twelfth Dynasty and becomes common during the thirteenth Dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period<sup>4</sup>.

(g)  *ss mnht* “alabaster and linen”, written with the *ss*-sign between the two poles of *mnht*, which appeared during the reign of Senusret III and onwards<sup>5</sup>.

(h) The phrase *ddt pt kmzt tz innt hꜥpi* is attested throughout the Middle Kingdom<sup>6</sup>.

(i) *ꜥnht nꜥr jm* appeared during the reign of Senusret I and was later combined with the phrase *ddt pt kmzt tz innt hꜥpi*. The writing of *ꜥnht nꜥr im* without the suffixes *s* or *sn* after *im* supports a dating for before the Second Intermediate Period<sup>7</sup>.

(j) The *kz* sign with loop hands  is attested in the thirteenth Dynasty and onwards<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop*, 18. Bennett, “Growth of the *ḥtp-dī-nsw* Formula”: 77-78; Claude Obsomer, “*dī.f pṛt-hrw* et la filiation *ms(t).n* / comme critères de datation dans les textes du Moyen Empire”, in *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'Égypte Pharaonique et copte, mélanges égyptologiques offerts au Professeur Aristide Théodoridès*, eds Christian Cannuyer and Jean-Marie Kruchten (Ath: Bruxelles: Mons: Association Montoise d'Égyptologie, 1993): 169; Abdalla Abdel-Raziq, “A Middle Kingdom Funerary Stela of a Woman at Al-Salam School Museum, Assiut”, *JEA* 99 (2013): 279.

<sup>2</sup> Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop*, 18.

<sup>3</sup> Ilin-Tomich, “Changes in the *ḥtp-dī-nsw*”: 24.

<sup>4</sup> Ilin-Tomich, “Changes in the *ḥtp-dī-nsw*”: 24-25; Ilin-Tomich., *From Workshop*, 20-21.

<sup>5</sup> Alexander Ilin-Tomich, “King Seankhibra and the Middle Kingdom appeal to the living”, in *The world of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC): Contributions on archaeology, art, religion, and written sources 1, MKS 1*, eds Gianluca Miniaci and Wolfram Grajetzki (London: Golden House Publications, 2015): 148; Ilin-Tomich, “Changes in the *ḥtp-dī-nsw*”: 21; Marwa kafafy, “Middle Kingdom Stela of the Wab-Priest “Senusret-Ankh” and His Wife “Sat-Hathor” in Giza Pyramid Magazine”, *BCPS* 40 (2023): 259; Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop*, 4, 21.




<sup>6</sup> Ilin-Tomich, “Changes in the *ḥtp-dī-nsw*”: 25; Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop*, 30.

<sup>7</sup> Bennett, “Growth of the *ḥtp-dī-nsw* Formula”: 80; Vernus, “Sur les graphies”, 149; Ilin-Tomich, “Changes in the *ḥtp-dī-nsw*”: 26; Adel Zine Al-Abidine and Nahla F. El-Sayed, “Three Middle Kingdom Stelae at the Grand Egyptian Museum Giza (GEM 14255, 15090 and 3656)”, *SHEDET* 9 (2022): 181; Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop*, 30.

<sup>8</sup> The *kz* sign with loop hands appeared on the thirteenth Dynasty Stelae 2932 in Hannover, stela 31 in Leiden, and stelae ÄS 135, 163, and 181 in Vienna. Wolfram Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom, BAR-IS 1007* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2001), 69; Ilin-Tomich, “A late Middle Kingdom”: 80.

The thirteenth Dynasty stela in Royal Pavilion & Museums, Brighton & Hove HA282043 from Koptos. Wolfram Grajetzki, “A Middle Kingdom Stela from Koptos (Royal Pavilion & Museums, Brighton &

*n k3 n* before the name of the deceased became common in the late twelfth Dynasty<sup>1</sup>, and was usual during the thirteenth Dynasty<sup>2</sup>.

(k) *iri-ṯ n pr-ḥd* “Chamber keeper of the treasury”, *iri-ṯ* “chamber keeper” is a title related to different offices, *iri* is written with the sign , on the stela of Inpua, which is probably the sign <sup>3</sup>, however, according to Quirke, Ward, Taylor and Al-Ayedi, the title is usually written with the sign <sup>4</sup>, which is attested on other Middle Kingdom stelae<sup>5</sup>.

(l) The personal names without a determinative are attested during the late Middle Kingdom and were more common onwards<sup>6</sup>.

(m) *ir.n* appeared from the reign of Amenemhat II<sup>7</sup>, mostly referring to the mother and sometimes to the father<sup>8</sup>.

## **Discussion:**

### **Funerary/Memorial/Abydene stelae:**

These stelae were discovered at Abydos and belonged to officials from all across Egypt, they may have been made there by local or royal craftsmen, or they may have been made elsewhere and then shipped to Abydos<sup>9</sup>. By the Middle Kingdom, funerary

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Hove HA 282043”, in *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC) Contributions on archaeology, art, religion, and written sources, Vol. 1, MKS 1*, eds. Gianluca Miniaci and Wolfram Grajetzki (London: Golden House Publications, 2015), 122, fig. 1.

The thirteenth Dynasty stela GEM 23753. Tamer M. Fawzi, “The Stela of Hepu from the Late Middle Kingdom (GEM 23753/ JE 41638)”, *SHEDET* 8 (2021): 89-80.

According to Mekawy, the *k3* sign with loop hands attested on the oyster shells with the prenomen Kheperkare, is also shown on some stelae, which are dated to the thirteenth Dynasty or later.

Ahmed M. O. Mekawy, “Egyptian Middle Kingdom Oyster Shells with Royal Names Function, Chronology and Gender Issues”, *BIFAO* 119 (2019): 267.

<sup>1</sup> Bennett, “Growth of the *ḥtp-dī-nsw* Formula”: 79; Kurt Pflüger, “The Private Funerary Stelae of the Middle Kingdom and Their Importance for the Study of Ancient Egyptian History”, *JAOS* 67.2 (1947): 133.

<sup>2</sup> Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop*, 31.

<sup>3</sup> Wb I, 104, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux*, 58; Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative*, 57-61; Taylor, *An Index of Male Non-Royal*, 63-64; Al-Ayedi, *Index of Egyptian Administrative*, 180.

<sup>5</sup> For instance, stela CG 20370. Hans O.Lange and Heinrich Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittlerern Reiches im Museum von Kairo. No. 20001-20399, Teil I, CGC* (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1902), 372; stela E 20002 at the Louvre Museum. <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010029515> (accessed: 29-7-2023); stela 08.480.176 at the Brooklyn Museum. <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3245> (accessed: 29-7-2023).

<sup>6</sup> Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop*, 23-24.

<sup>7</sup> Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop*, 24.

<sup>8</sup> Obsomer, “*dī.f prt-ḥrw* et la filiation *ms(t).n*”, 172.

<sup>9</sup> Ilin-Tomich, “Late Middle Kingdom”: 69.

stelae were no longer exclusive for the elite. Instead, they were accessible to a wide range of society; anyone who could purchase a stela could establish a connection with the gods<sup>1</sup>.

The majority of these stelae, according to Ilin-Tomich, were made locally by a community of carvers who lived in Abydos, and the range of stela types is due to the existence of many workshops<sup>2</sup>.

Almost every Egyptian desired to be honored and remembered in Osiris' presence, but not everyone had the chance to travel to Abydos physically<sup>3</sup>. As a result, throughout the middle kingdom, several stelae were placed in the temple of Osiris at Abydos. The owner of a stela who placed it in an Abydene chapel would always be a part of Osiris-related festivals and rituals. In other words, the stela served as a practical replacement for their actual presence<sup>4</sup>. "Abydene stelae" is one of the names given to these stelae. Many of them are from the late Middle Kingdom, particularly those discovered in the north necropolis. Some of them are dated to the thirteenth Dynasty is when the vast majority of Abydene stelae were created<sup>5</sup>.

In addition, these stelae near the temple of Abydos were in favor of the deceased, to be next to the god with accumulated offerings around, in addition to the offerings offered by the priests and the relatives of the deceased<sup>6</sup>.

Some of these stelae were round-topped, which represents the tomb in which Osiris is buried, where the deceased will rest next to him. The base of the stela represents the ground, the top represents the sky alluding to the arch of the sky where the sun travels, and the sides represent the columns that support the sky<sup>7</sup>.

### **Names and Titles:**

Some of the names attested on Inpua's stela were common during the late Middle Kingdom, as follows:

Inpua: the name was not common; it is attested until now on another stela and a statue; both are dated to the late twelfth Dynasty or the thirteenth Dynasty<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Hayam Rawash, "The Funerary Stela of Dedow and His Wife Dedet (CG 20692)", *EJARS* 11.2 (2021): 224.

<sup>2</sup> Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop*, xii.

<sup>3</sup> Ronald J. Leprohon, "The Personnel of the Middle Kingdom Funerary Stelae", *JARCE* 15 (1978): 33-34.

<sup>4</sup> John Baines, "Society, Morality, and Religious Practice", in *Religion in Ancient Egypt: Gods, Myths, and Personal Practice*, ed. Byron E. Shafer (London: Routledge: 1991), 156-157; Randa Baligh, "Two Stelae from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, Middle Kingdom and First or Second Intermediate Period, JE 45970, JE 39755: A Linguistic and Artistic Study and Comparison", *BCPS* 31.1 (2014): 34.

<sup>5</sup> Anthony Leahy, "A Protective Measure at Abydos in the Thirteenth Dynasty", *JEA* 75 (1989): 59; Pflüger, "The Private Funerary Stelae": 128-133.

<sup>6</sup> Salim, "The Stela of Intf": 20.

<sup>7</sup> Hölzl, "Round Topped Stelae", 285.

<sup>8</sup> Stela CG 20237 mention a female named Inpua. Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine I*, 257-259. The statue of Neminakht, Genève 26035. <https://www.mahmah.ch/collection/oeuvres/statuette/026035> (accessed: 25-7-2023); <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/name/4645#10602> (accessed: 25-7-2023).

Noteworthy, Snut, who is mentioned on the stela as *irt.n* Inpua, and since the name of the mother commonly comes after *irt.n*, so this name was probably also held by women.

Teti: the name was very common and was held by males and females, it appeared in different forms of writings during the twelfth to the seventeenth Dynasty<sup>1</sup>.

Ankhetren: the name was not commonly used; it appeared during the twelfth and thirteenth Dynasties, and was held by females only<sup>2</sup>.

Nemtiemhat: the name was common, and it was held by males and females during the twelfth and thirteenth Dynasties<sup>3</sup>.

Nakhti: the name was very common, it appeared during the Middle Kingdom, and was held by males and females<sup>4</sup>.

Khnum: the name was very common during the twelfth to the seventeenth Dynasty, and was held by males and females<sup>5</sup>.

Iki: the name was very common during the twelfth to the seventeenth Dynasty, and was held by males and females<sup>6</sup>.

Snut: the name was not common, it appeared during the twelfth to the seventeenth Dynasty, and was held by females only<sup>7</sup>.

Ankhu: the name was very common in the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period, and was held by males and females<sup>8</sup>.

Tiet: the name was very common during the mid-Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period, it was held by males and females. Noteworthy, the form of the name's writing on the stela of Inpua appeared only during the late twelfth Dynasty and the thirteenth Dynasty<sup>9</sup>.

Rehutankh: the name was common; it appeared during the twelfth to the seventeenth Dynasty, and was held by males and females<sup>10</sup>.

Tu: the name was not common and attested during the twelfth Dynasty<sup>11</sup>. Even though the stela mentions *irt.n* after *Rhwt-ꜥnh* supposing that it is the name of the mother, however, it ends with the male determinative, making it a name of a male.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/name/301#297> (accessed: 25-7-2023).

<sup>2</sup> <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/name/579#679> (accessed: 25-7-2023).

<sup>3</sup> <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/name/531#11495> (accessed: 25-7-2023).

<sup>4</sup> <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/name/13#285> (accessed: 25-7-2023).

<sup>5</sup> <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/name/878#1788> (accessed: 25-7-2023).

<sup>6</sup> <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/name/675#1169> (accessed: 25-7-2023).

<sup>7</sup> <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/name/2369#11498> (accessed: 25-7-2023).

<sup>8</sup> <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/name/5#638> (accessed: 25-7-2023).

<sup>9</sup> <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/name/1063#2776> (accessed: 25-7-2023).

<sup>10</sup> <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/name/6035#11499> (accessed: 25-7-2023).

<sup>11</sup> <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/name/2145#3778> (accessed: 25-7-2023).

The names Inpua the elder, Inpua the younger, and Khnum the elder, until now, are only attested on this stela.

All names do not have a determinative except for the name “Tu”. This was common during the late Middle Kingdom and onwards<sup>1</sup>.

As for the titles attested on Inpua’s stela, they were related to the treasury. Four titles are mentioned: chamber keeper of the treasury (Inpua), interior-overseer to the treasury (Inpua the younger), assistant for exchange-values (Inpua the elder), and district overseer of the treasury (Khnum).

According to Grajetzki, officials related to the treasury were some of the most significant officials of the Middle Kingdom, and as a result, they had the most significant ranking titles. In the late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period, these officials were also some of the most significant in the royal court. Under such officials, there were a small number of people with high-ranking positions who worked on construction projects and gathered raw materials from across the nation<sup>2</sup>.

### Figures:

#### 1- Inpua:

Inpua is depicted seated on a low-back lion-legged chair. The seating position is the phase between death and resurrection, so the person will be able to stand again and participate in daily life actions. The lion-legged chairs are associated with Ruty as well as Shu and Tefnut, assuring resurrection.<sup>3</sup>

The shape of the flail held by Inpua appeared during the twelfth Dynasty, and was common in the thirteenth Dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop*, 23-24.

<sup>2</sup> Wolfram Grajetzki, *Court Officials of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom* (London: Duckworth, 2009), 46, 67, 69. Also see notes on the titles: the chamber keeper of the treasury, interior-overseer to the treasury, assistant for exchange-values and district overseer of the treasury in this paper.

<sup>3</sup> عائشة عبد العال، "لوحات أفراد الدولة الوسطى (مجموعة المتحف المصري بالقاهرة)" (رسالة ماجستير غير منشورة، قسم الآثار المصرية، كلية الآثار، جامعة القاهرة، الجيزة، مصر، ١٩٩٥)، ٢٢٧-٢٢٨.

<sup>4</sup> Stela CG 20043 dated to the late twelfth Dynasty or the early thirteenth Dynasty, stela 7732 in Berlin dated to the thirteenth Dynasty, and stela CG 20093 dated to the thirteenth – seventeenth Dynasty. William K. Simpson, *The terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13, Yale Expedition to Egypt 5* (New Haven: Philadelphia: Yale University: University of Pennsylvania, 1974), pl. 24, 40, 67,

Stela CG 20091 dated to the reign of Amenemhat IV, stela MNK--XI-490 in Kraków dated to the thirteenth Dynasty, and stela BM EA 143 dated to the twelfth Dynasty. Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop*, pl.6, 13, 22.

Stela 7311 in Berlin dated to the thirteenth Dynasty. Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers*, pl. 3.

Stela CG 20056 dated to the thirteenth Dynasty. Paul Whelan, “On the Context and Conception of Two ‘Trademark’ Styles from Late Middle Kingdom Abydos”, in *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC) II, MKS 2*, eds. Gianluca Miniaci, Wolfram Grajetzki (London: Golden House Publications, 2016), fig. 14.

In front of Inpua are offerings above and below a mat, which are essential to attracting the soul to return to its owner. The extending hand gesture to the offering table is a metaphor of rebirth, in addition to eating these offerings, which contain symbols of the elimination of Seth, enemies, and evil<sup>1</sup>.

The offerings are usually depicted on different shapes of offering tables, however, on Inpua's stela the offerings are depicted above and below a mat which was not very common. The offering mat started to appear during the end of the twelfth Dynasty and attested several times on the thirteenth Dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period stelae<sup>2</sup>.

## 2- Ankhetren:

Ankhetren is depicted facing Inpua. And even though it is not mentioned that she is *hmt.f*, but her privileged place allows her to be recognized as his wife<sup>3</sup>.

According to Malaise's study, in which three positions of women on Middle Kingdom stelae were mentioned, as follows:

- 1- The woman is standing, or more often seated, next to her spouse or her son, clasping his arm, generally, the two characters share the same seat.
- 2- The woman stands or sits beside the man, whom she does not, however, touch.
- 3- The woman, standing or seated, is represented facing the husband or the son, or is sometimes even represented in another part of the stela.

The position of Ankhetren on inpua stela is number three. Malaise mentioned that this pose was uncommon, and its first appearance was during the reign of Amenemhat II

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Stela ÄS 167 in Vienna dated to the late twelfth Dynasty or the thirteenth Dynasty. Hein and Satzinger, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches I*, 4,107-4,113.

<sup>1</sup> عائشة عبد العال، "لوحات أفراد الدولة الوسطى"، ٢٢٩، ٢٣٢-٢٣٣.

<sup>2</sup> Stela CG 20435 dated to the late twelfth Dynasty or the early thirteenth Dynasty. Simpson, *The terrace*, pl. iv.

Stela CG 20055 dated to the reign of Amenemhat III-IV. Hans O. Lange and Heinrich Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches im Museum von Kairo, Teil IV. Tafeln, CGC* (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1908), pl. vi.

Stela AP 39 in Leiden dated to the late twelfth Dynasty. Pieter A. A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden: die Denkmäler der Zeit zwischen dem alten und mittleren Reich und des mittleren Reiches. I. Stelen*, (Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1909), pl. xxxvi.47.

Stela in Royal Pavilion & Museums, Brighton & Hove HA282043 dated to the thirteenth Dynasty. Grajetzki, "A Middle Kingdom Stela from Koptos", 122, fig. 1.

Stelae ÄS 110 and ÄS 132 in Vienna, the first is dated to the thirteenth Dynasty and the second is dated to the Second Intermediate Period. Hein and Satzinger, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches I*, 4,29, 438.

Stelae BM EA 245 and 249 dated to the Second Intermediate Period. Detlef Franke, *Egyptian stelae in the British Museum from the 13th to 17th dynasties. Volume I. Fascicule I. Descriptions*, ed. Marcel Marée (London: British Museum, 2013), pl. 27, 29

<sup>3</sup> The same position of the wife is attested on stela JE 37515. Khaled El-Enany, "Une stèle privée de la fin du Moyen Empire découverte à Karnak. Le Caire, Musée égyptien JE 37515", *BIFAO* 108 (2008): 108, 111.

Stela CG 20232 dated to the late twelfth Dynasty from Abydos, stela CG 20613 dated to the thirteenth Dynasty from Abydos, and stela CG 20641 dated to the reign of Amenemhat II from Abydos. Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine IV*, pl. xviii, xlvi, xlix.

and was subsided during the reign of Amenemhat III. Then it was used again in the thirteenth Dynasty<sup>1</sup>.

Ankhetren smells a lotus painted blue. The motif of smelling the lotus does not appear on dated stelae earlier than Senusret I, only in connection with women. Later, it seems to have become somewhat rarer. From the reign of Amenemhat II and onwards, men, too, are represented as smelling the lotus<sup>2</sup>.

Both Inpua and Ankhetren are depicted with elongated skulls; the forehead is on one line to the nose; Ankhetren wears a wig that starts from the middle of her forehead; the ears are detailed and uncovered; and so is Inpua's ear. Furthermore, they are depicted with thin, long arms, hands, legs and feet. These were the common features of the figures during the thirteenth Dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period<sup>3</sup>.

### 3- Family members:

They are depicted on Inpua's stela in sunken relief without any details; this is known as silhouette style, which was usual on Abydene stelae from the thirteenth Dynasty<sup>4</sup>.

Squatted figures, which were rarely depicted before the reign of Amenemhat III, were found on some stelae resembled the chessboard depicting the parents, wives, siblings, and children in incised squares<sup>5</sup>.

The lower part of many stelae, including up to three registers of the family members represented in seated position, these stelae are dated to the end of the twelfth Dynasty and the thirteenth Dynasty<sup>6</sup>.

The members depicted on Inpua stela; the males are seated on a chair, and the females are squatting on the ground, all in mummified shape; this appearance is actually unusual and rare. Since the squatted figures on Middle Kingdom stelae are typically shown with one knee up across the chest and the other bended under, revealing the feet,

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<sup>1</sup> Michel Malaise, "La position de la femme sur les stèles du Moyen Empire", *SAK* 5 (1977): 185-186.

<sup>2</sup> Pflüger, "The Private Funerary Stelae": 130.

According to spell 255 of the Pyramid texts, "(the deceased) appears like Nefertum as a lotus flower on the nose of Re". Rehab Elsharnouby, "Unpublished Funerary Stela from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (CG34131)", *Minia Journal of Tourism and Hospitality Research* 6.2/2 (2018): 11.

<sup>3</sup> For instance, stela CG 20712 from Thebes, Stelae CG 20537, CG 20499, and CG 20815 from Edfu. Sabine Kubisch, "Biographies of the Thirteenth to the Seventeenth Dynasties", in *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties. Current Research, Future Prospects, OLA* 192, ed. Marcel Marée (Leuven: Paris: Walpole: MA: Peeters, 2010), 316, 318, 321, 324, figs. 1-4; <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/1/inscription/1336> (accessed: 28-7-2023); <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/3/inscription/571> (accessed: 28-7-2023); <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/1/inscription/1734> (accessed: 28-7-2023); <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/1/inscription/2906> (accessed: 28-7-2023).

<sup>4</sup> Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop*, 75.

<sup>5</sup> Pflüger, "The Private Funerary Stelae": 132-133. The squatting family members appeared during the reign of Senusret III and onward according to Ilin-Tomich. Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop*, 5.

<sup>6</sup> Hisham Faheed, "The Late Middle Kingdom Stela of the District Official Pesesh", *EJARS* 1.2 (2011): 93-94.

Stela CG 20055 dated to the reign of Amenemhat III-IV from Abydos. Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine IV*, pl. vi.



and the arms folded across the chest, raised, or clutching a lotus<sup>1</sup>. On Inpua stela the figures appear as if they are wrapped with a tight garment, even if the women have a protruded part but they are not believed to be kneeling because the feet are not shown behind the figures.

According to that, could the stela depict the world of the livings in the middle part, as Inpua and Ankhretren are depicted alive, and the world of the dead in the lower part, where the mummified figures are dead?

Pflüger mentioned that the Osirian image of the deceased as a mummy, which is found on stelae from the reign of Amenemhat III, is how owners of stelae are identified with Osiris, albeit he did not mention any examples of such stelae<sup>2</sup>.

These examples were very rare; the author was able to track only two stelae: a false door stela in Vienna ÄS 167 dated to the late twelfth Dynasty or the thirteenth Dynasty from Abydos, in which eighteen mummified figures are depicted in three registers<sup>3</sup>; and the stela F 95/8.3 in Leiden dated to the thirteenth – seventeenth Dynasty from unknown location in which eight mummified figures are depicted<sup>4</sup>.

Mummified figures appeared on some Middle Kingdom stelae; however, they were carved in half-round relief inside a niche. This type of stelae depicted one or more figures in mummified shape, some stelea depict women with wigs resembling the wigs of the figures on Inpua stela<sup>5</sup>. Most of these stelae are dated to the thirteenth Dynasty, even though the figures on Inpua's stela are not in half-round relief but in mummified shape, which is attested on the above mentioned type of stelae, making the stela of Inpua unique with the rare depiction of these figures.

### **Coloring:**

Regarding the coloring of the Middle Kingdom's stelae, the hieroglyphs were colored black, red, and yellow in the eleventh Dynasty. The artist tended to copy natural colors so the writings and inscriptions seemed natural. During the reign of Senusret I, other colors, such as blue and green, were added<sup>6</sup>. During the thirteenth Dynasty and the

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<sup>1</sup> Stelae CG 20062 dated to the thirteenth – seventeenth Dynasty from Abydos. Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine IV*, pl. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Pflüger, "The Private Funerary Stelae": 134.

<sup>3</sup> Hein and Satzinger, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches I*, 4,107-4,113; <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/3/inscription/1828> (accessed: 29-7-2023).

<sup>4</sup> <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/3/inscription/837> (accessed: 29-7-2023); Boeser, *Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung*, 7, pl. xvii.

<sup>5</sup> Stela E.4860 in Brussels, Stelae 65.120.1 and 65.120.2 at the Metropolitan Museum, New York, Stela 1630 at the Egyptian Museum in Turin, Stela EA 8893 at the British Museum, London, Stela UC 14347 at the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College, London, stela C44 at the Louvre Museum, all are dated to the thirteenth Dynasty, Stela CG 20097 dated to the twelfth Dynasty, Stelae CG 20497 and CG 20569 dated to the twelfth or the thirteenth Dynasty, and others see: Paul Whelan, "An Unfinished Late Middle Kingdom Stela From Abydos", in *Life and Afterlife in Ancient Egypt during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period*, *GHP Egyptology 7*, eds. Silke Grallert and Wolfram Grajetzki (London: Golden House Publications, 2007), 130, 136, 144-155.

<sup>6</sup> Pflüger, "The private funerary stelae": 128, 135; Salim, "The Stela of Intf": 20. Blue was used as a pigment for incised Hieroglyphs in the Pyramid texts of Unas and other funerary texts that assist the deceased in ascending heaven. Lorelei H. Corcoran, "The Color Blue as an 'Animator' in Ancient

Second Intermediate Period, not only the hieroglyphs were painted blue but the figures as well<sup>1</sup>.

### Workshop:

It is difficult to determine the workshop of the stela of Inpua, as studies on workshops are divided according to general features and not the whole layout and shape of the stela, so the study assumes the following:

- 1- The stela of Inpua resembles stelae from workshop number seven in Freed's study, which is dated to the early reign of Senusret I, only in the layout, the distribution of the scenes, and some features, for instance, the combination of the raised relief with sunken relief, most of these stelae have one or more registers of figures<sup>2</sup>. However, even though some features of the workshop are attested on Inpua's stela, it is not likely to put Inpua stela under this type since it is dated to the thirteenth Dynasty except if the workshop was still producing stelae until the end of the Middle Kingdom.
- 2- According to Ilin-Tomich's study about the workshops of the stelae from Abydos, the stela of Inpua has some features of products from workshop number one, for instance, the use of three dots instead of strokes for the plural determinative, the sign *n* is replaced with a straight line, oxen and fowls are usually written with the plural determinative, painted human figures with no details in silhouette style, kneeling figures, and a figure smelling lotus with short, thin, straight stem. This workshop is dated to the late twelfth Dynasty<sup>3</sup>.

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Egyptian Art", in *Essay in Global Color History. Interpreting the Ancient Spectrum*, ed. Rachael Goldman (New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2016), 48.

<sup>1</sup> Pflüger, "The Private Funerary Stelae": 135. For instance, stelae 36.3.270 and 22.3.308 at the Metropolitan Museum from Thebes dated to the thirteenth Dynasty. [https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/100000613?ft=\\* &ao=on&pg=8&rpp=60&pos=436&depts=10&fbclid=IwAR0rfvLWXhMv3W0KCni5wKfL1cQVkfj7ave68vg16sGm2hSvlgiWLkgo88](https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/100000613?ft=* &ao=on&pg=8&rpp=60&pos=436&depts=10&fbclid=IwAR0rfvLWXhMv3W0KCni5wKfL1cQVkfj7ave68vg16sGm2hSvlgiWLkgo88) (accessed: 25-7-2023); [https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544349?fbclid=IwAR1cEq35uaBqoL1O-9K50UTc5kYP\\_7Vy\\_n4bxeGATpy5AHbcy3wN0bvEo0](https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544349?fbclid=IwAR1cEq35uaBqoL1O-9K50UTc5kYP_7Vy_n4bxeGATpy5AHbcy3wN0bvEo0) (accessed: 25-7-2023); William C. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt I: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art: From the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom* (New York: Harper & Brothers: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953), 335-336, fig. 222, 227.

Stela GEM 4439 from Thebes dated to the thirteenth Dynasty. El-Shal, "La stèle d'Ioutjéni": fig. 1.

Blue was related to rebirth, fertility, and resurrection; it was related to mother goddess Hathor "queen of the sky". Blue turquoise was one of the precious materials used by officials during the twelfth Dynasty; one of the names of blue is *irtyw*, which also used to refer to "mourners" the color of funeral dresses. In addition, blue is also the color of the most effective natural elements in the lives of the ancient Egyptians: the sky and the Nile symbolizing inundation and supernaturalism. George D. Hornblower, "Blue and Green in Ancient Egypt", *Ancient Egypt* 1 (1932): 47-48, 51; Tarneem Bayoumy and Zainab Elsokaily, "Highlighting Some Important Gemstones in Ancient Egypt (From Predynastic till end of Graeco-Roman Period)", *JFTH* 17.2 (2020): 183.

<sup>2</sup> Rita E. Freed, "Stelae Workshops of Early Dynasty 12", in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson I*, ed. Peter Der Manuelian (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1996), 317-320.

<sup>3</sup> Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop*, 142.

- 3- According to Ilin-Tomich's study about the workshops of the stelae from Thebes, the stela of Inpua has some features of products from workshop number three dated to the reign of Sobekhotep III, the thirteenth Dynasty. According to some features, for instance, the stelae are round-topped, inscriptions in sunken relief, human figures with elongated skulls, kneeling figures, chairs with protrude toe, the form of the *hṯp di nsw* with the *di* sign in the middle, the *k3* sign with loop hands, and the sign *n* is simplified<sup>1</sup>. If that is correct, then Inpua's stela was produced at Thebes and then shipped to Abydos. This is the most likely opinion.

### **Genealogy:**

The Middle Kingdom stelae from Abydos, which include extensive lists of names, have historically been a significant source of genealogical data. But in addition to the clear family connections that can typically be seen on any stela, there are frequently other names that cannot be made to fit into the primary family group and whose precise link with the family group is difficult to determine. However, it turns out that there is a relationship between the two groups that can be created when these names are accompanied by titles, and that relationship is frequently between colleagues at work<sup>2</sup>.

From the thirteenth to the seventeenth Dynasties, biographical inscriptions became less common, according to Grajetzki<sup>3</sup>. During that period, the stela owner is frequently pictured with coworkers, including officials from the same social class as him as well as coworkers from lower administrative levels.<sup>4</sup>

Leprohon made an attempt to justify the inclusion of coworkers on a family stela by arguing that one may inquire with various acquaintances about their need for space on one's own stela and thereby help cover the cost of such a stela<sup>5</sup>. He also mentioned that some craftsmen who are mentioned on family stelae but do not appear to be related to the family may have been included due to their work on the stela, or a craftsman may have agreed to lower his fee in exchange for being allowed to engrave his own name on the stela.<sup>6</sup>

As for family members, the emergence of their names on the funerary stela is in order to keep them in memory with Osiris. In addition, it was more common among the lower classes because not all of them could afford a stela by themselves, so one of them erected the stela and added the names of the rest of his family because each member of the family was unable to do so on his own<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Ilin-Tomich, "Late Middle Kingdom Stelae": 78-80.

<sup>2</sup> Leprohon, "The Personnel of the Middle Kingdom": 33.

<sup>3</sup> For more see: Kubisch, "Biographies of the Thirteenth", 313-329.

<sup>4</sup> Wolfram Grajetzki, "Late Middle Kingdom", *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles, 2013), 4.

<sup>5</sup> Leprohon, "The Personnel of the Middle Kingdom": 36.

<sup>6</sup> Leprohon, "The Personnel of the Middle Kingdom": 36.

<sup>7</sup> Rawash, "The Funerary Stela of Dedow": 225.

According to the above mentioned, the first three men on the first register of the lower part of Inpua's stela: Inpua the younger, Inpua the elder, and Khnum are addressed with titles related to the treasury as well as Inpua, so these men are his work colleagues<sup>1</sup>.

As for the rest of the figures, the stela does not give any information about the relation of the persons depicted in the lower part; generally, stelae mention before the name *hmt.f*, *s3.f*, *sn.f*, etc.<sup>2</sup> but that is not the case on this stela, so the author tried to determine the relation only from the names, which maybe will not be totally accurate.

The fourth figure in the first register of the lower part is "Khnum the great", son of "Iki" i.e., the second wife of Inpua, who are mentioned as the parents of the fifth figure "Nakhti". The sixth figure "Iki" is also their daughter.

That is acceptable since plurality of spouses is documented during the Middle Kingdom, and the officials may have been widowed or divorced and subsequently remarried, and there are cases of polygamy that are attested on other stelae<sup>3</sup>.

The seventh figure is called "Teti", probably the mother of Inpua, who is mentioned in the text of the upper part.

The second register also depicts seven figures; the first one is called "Nemtiemhat", probably the mother of Ankhetren, who is also mentioned in the text in the upper part, followed by "Snut", daughter of Inpua and probably his daughter from Ankhetren?. The third figure is "Nemtiemhat", brother of Ankhetren.

The following two figures, "Ankhu" and "Nakhti", are siblings, and children of "Tiet". And the final two figures are "Rehutankh", daughter of "Tu", followed by her son "Inpua". It is hard to determine the relation of these four persons to the family; the study assumes three suggestions as follows:

- 1- They are maybe siblings and father of Inpua, which is usually mentioned on Middle Kingdom stelae.
- 2- They can be members of Ankhetren's family, since the upper register is dedicated to the family of Inpua; maybe the second register is dedicated to Ankhetren's family.

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<sup>1</sup> The same idea is attested on stela CG 20310 dated to the twelfth Dynasty. Leprohon, "The Personnel of the Middle Kingdom": 34.

<sup>2</sup> For instance, stela JE 39069 from Abydos. Randa Baligh, "Three Middle Kingdom Stelae from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo", *JARCE* 44, 2008, p.174-181.

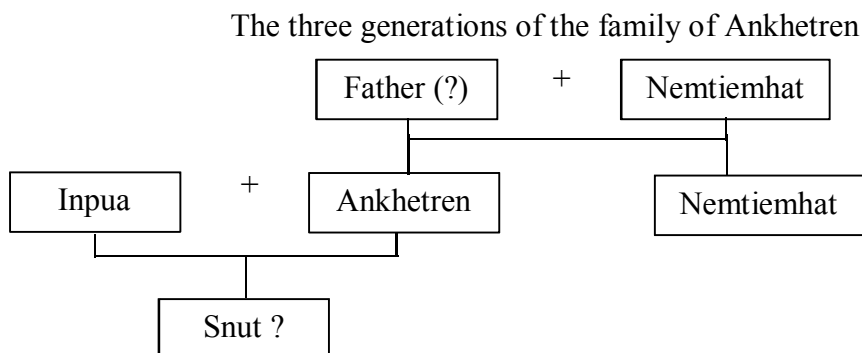
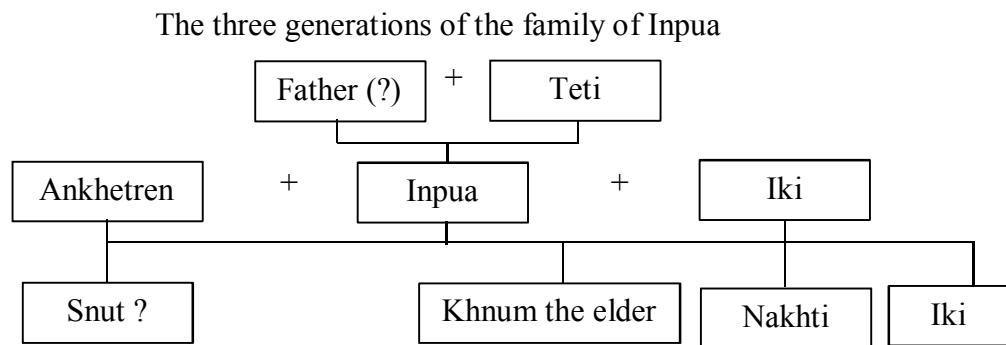
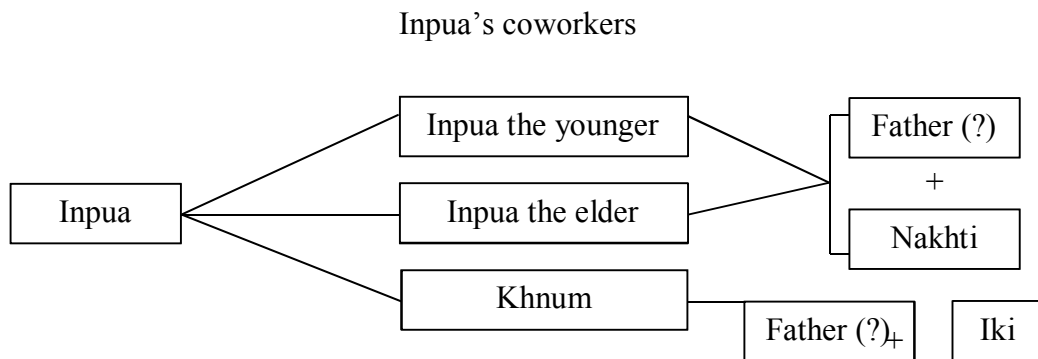
Stela CG 20692. Rawash, "The Funerary Stela of Dedow": 225-226.

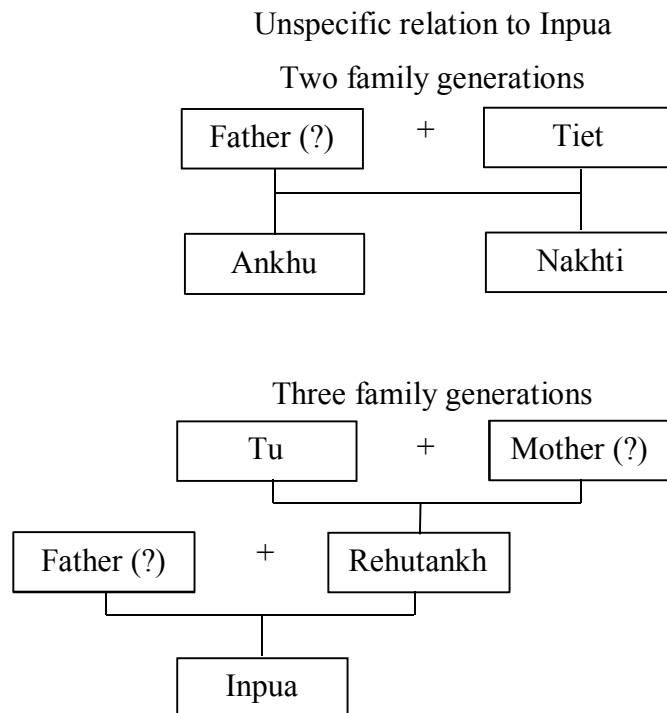
Stela L132 at the National Archaeological Museum, Athens, probably from Abydos. Danijela Stefanović, "Four Middle Kingdom stelae from the National Archaeological Museum, Athens", *JEA* 96 (2010): 212-213.

<sup>3</sup> Stela BM EA 1203 dated to the eleventh Dynasty mentions the names of the owner's three wives, Stela C 15 at the Louvre Museum dated to the eleventh Dynasty mentions two wives of the owner, Stela C 167 at the Louvre Museum dated to the twelfth Dynasty mentions the names of the owner's two wives, Stela JE 52456 dated to the thirteenth Dynasty mentions *kt.(i) hmt* "(my) other wife", and other examples mentioned on stelae and tombs. William K. Simpson, "Polygamy in Egypt in the Middle Kingdom?", *JEA* 60 (1974): 100-104.

3- They are maybe another coworkers or craftsmen worked on the stela, but that is a week possibility.

Thus, the stela of Inpua shows a genealogy of three generations of the family of Inpua: the first is Teti, i.e. the mother of Inpua; the second is the son, Inpua; and the third is his children. As well as three generations of Ankheteren's family: the first is her mother, Nemtiemhat; the second is the daughter, Ankheteren and her brother Nemtiemhat; and the third is Ankheteren's daughter.





### Dating:

The artistic features of the stela indicate dating to the thirteenth Dynasty, with features from the twelfth Dynasty that continued in the thirteenth Dynasty, as follows:

Features from the twelfth Dynasty that continued through the thirteenth Dynasty:

- The decorations in the lunette started to appear in the twelfth Dynasty.
- The writing of the name of Osiris without the determinative is attested during the mid-twelfth Dynasty until the fourteenth Dynasty.
- The titles of Osiris are attested from the mid-twelfth Dynasty.
- The title “Lord of the westerns” without the determinative is attested from the late Middle Kingdom.
- The title “The great god” was common during the twelfth and thirteenth Dynasties.
- The horizontal ʕ sign was common during the twelfth Dynasty and onwards.
- *di.f* before *pri-hrw* was common during the late Middle Kingdom and onwards.
- The shape of the bread sign on Inpua’s stela is attested in the twelfth Dynasty and was common during the thirteenth Dynasty.
- The plural determinative in *ihw ʕpdw* is attested during the late twelfth Dynasty and was common during the thirteenth Dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period.
- The writing of *šs mnht* is attested during the mid-twelfth Dynasty and onwards.
- The use of *n kʕ n* before the name appeared in the twelfth and thirteenth dynasties.
- The names without a determinative are attested from the late twelfth Dynasty and onwards.
- Some of the names mentioned on the stela are attested in the twelfth and thirteenth dynasties: Inpua, Ankhetren, Nemtiemhat, and Tiet.

- The shape of the flail on Inpua's stela appeared in the twelfth Dynasty and was common during the thirteenth Dynasty and onwards.
- The mat of offering was rare and appeared from the late twelfth Dynasty until the Second Intermediate period.
- The position of the woman facing the owner was rare during the reign of Amenemhat III and was common in the late twelfth and thirteenth Dynasties.
- The lower part; divided into horizontal registers and depicting the owner's family, is attested from the reign of Amenemhat IV to the thirteenth Dynasty.
- The figures represented with pointed beards appeared from the reign of Amenemhat IV to the thirteenth Dynasty.
- The use of sunken relief with raised relief is attested during the reign of Amenemhat II, while in the thirteenth Dynasty, the use of raised relief was common.
- The depiction of the squatting family members appeared during the late twelfth Dynasty, and their numbers increased during the thirteenth Dynasty.

Features from the thirteenth Dynasty:

- The form of the *ḥtp di nsw* with the *di* sign in the middle is typical of the thirteenth Dynasty and onwards.
- The anomalous *ḥtp* sign is attested in the thirteenth Dynasty.
- The *k3* sign with loop hands is a thirteenth Dynasty feature.
- Elongated skulls and long, thin arms, hands, legs, and feet are thirteenth – seventeenth Dynasty features.
- The depiction of mummified figures was rare and unusual, but it is attested on another two stelae, probably from the thirteenth Dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period.
- The depiction of the figures without details (silhouette style) was common on thirteenth Dynasty Abydene stelae.
- During the thirteenth Dynasty, the figures were painted blue.

### **Conclusion:**

The stela of Inpua was dated to the late twelfth Dynasty because it has paleographical and artistic features of this period, however, these features continued in the thirteenth Dynasty, in addition to new features, for instance, the arrangement of the form of *ḥtp di nsw*, the *k3* sign with loop hands, mummified figures, the use of blue paint on the figures, etc. according to which the study concludes that the stela of Inpua CG 20544 is dated to the thirteenth Dynasty.

Furthermore, some of the names attested on the stela were common during the thirteenth Dynasty, especially the name "Inpua". And the position of the figures in mummified shape is unusual and, until now, was attested on the thirteenth Dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period stelae.

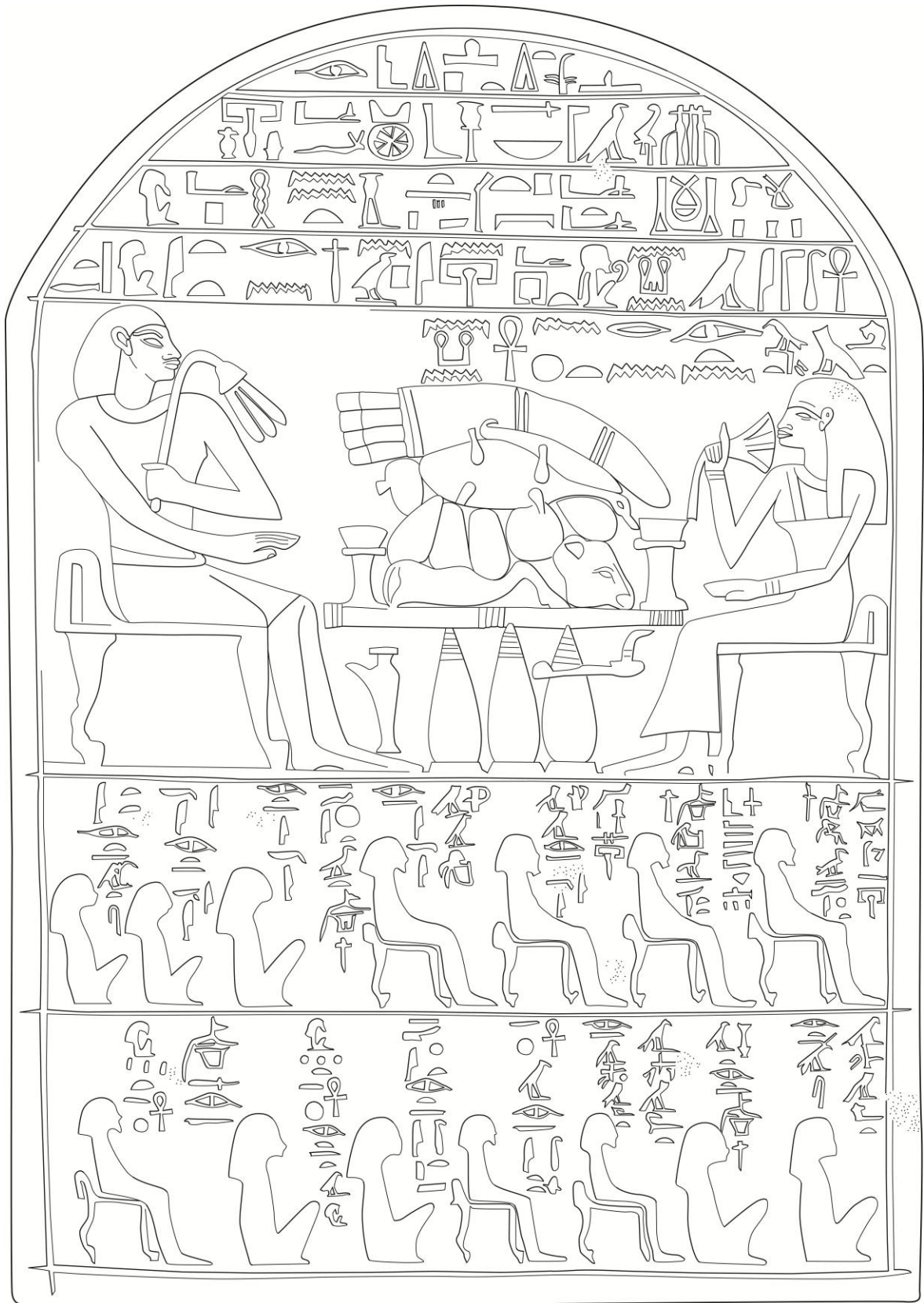
The stela mentions work colleagues of Inpua whose roles were related to the treasury, some of the most significant officials of the Middle Kingdom with significant ranking titles. Along with three generations of Inpua's family: his mother, Inpua, and his children, and three generations of Ankhretren's family: her mother, Ankhretren, and her daughter, in addition to some individuals whose relations to Inpua or Ankhretren were hard to track.

Figures



(Fig. 2) The stela of Inpua CG 20544  
Photo by Sameh Abdelmohsen, EMC.





(Fig. 3) Line drawing of the stela of Inpua  
Line drawing by Ahmed Abdelhalim.

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