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SOMMAIRE DE LA RdE 65 (2014)
AN UNUSUAL SHABTI FOR
A STEWARD OF DIVINE-OFFERINGS OF ABYDOS

[PLANCHE X]

BY

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This article examines a limestone shabti\(^1\) for a ‘steward of Divine-offerings of Abydos’ named Ipu that is of particular interest, firstly for its remarkable physical appearance and secondly because it bears an uncommon version of the shabti spell first identified by Pascal Vernus in an article published in this journal in 1974.\(^2\) Analyses of both aspects contribute to matters of dating and also to a broader discussion of the regional production of shabti figures and other funerary objects at Abydos during the late Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period.

Until recently, the general place of origin of Ipu’s shabti was logically assumed from the epithet ‘of Abydos’ that followed his title,\(^3\) even though a specified location is no guarantee that the object itself comes from that same place. Fortunately, the shabti’s provenance can now be confirmed beyond doubt from a photograph discovered in the archives of the School of Archaeology, Classics and Egyptology, University of Liverpool.\(^4\) The photograph was taken by John Garstang during his excavations in the North Abydos necropolis in 1907 and shows Ipu’s shabti \textit{in situ}. The low reference number of the negative indicates that the discovery was made fairly early in the 1907 season, although the photograph itself does not reveal if it was found in a tomb context or recovered from surface debris – the latter seems more likely – nor can its precise place of discovery within Garstang’s concession be established beyond the certainty that it was somewhere in an area 400 m local west

\(^1\) There are a number of variants for the name for this funerary object, for which see D. Spanel, SAK 13 (1986), pp. 249-253, but for reasons of simplicity “shabti” will be used throughout, even for figures that do not bear the shabti spell.


\(^4\) Negative A23, A07, 119 – 11A07 in the archives of the School of Archaeology, Classics and Egyptology, University of Liverpool. I am indebted to Wolfram Grajetzki for informing me about the existence of the Liverpool negative and also for his valuable comments on an early draft of this article. I would also like to thank Pat Winker for her assistance with archive material from Garstang’s excavations during my visit to the University of Liverpool. Many important details of Garstang’s excavations are lacking as can be appreciated from Barry Kemp’s analysis and overview of the 1907 season (B.J. Kemp – R.S. Merrillees, \textit{Minoan Pottery in Second Millennium Egypt}, 1980, p. 105-109).
of the metropolitan temple complex and probably just beyond the westerly limits of Mariette’s nineteenth century excavations.5

At some point after its discovery and still in the first half of the twentieth century Ipu’s shabti was acquired, presumably from the art market, by the antiquities dealer and collector Denys Eyre Bower (1905-1977) whose extensive Egyptian collection is today still preserved in his former family home, Chiddingstone Castle in Kent.6 As yet, no documentation has come to light to reveal precisely when or from whom Bower acquired the shabti or the exact route by which it travelled from Abydos into his private collection.7 It is known that a significant quantity of artefacts from Garstang’s Abydos excavations, once held in the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology, were sold during the 1920’s, although a distribution list has yet to be found and only a small proportion of this material can be accounted for.8 The most likely explanation is that the shabti was gifted by Garstang to a private benefactor who later sold it on. A number of other shabtis from his excavations at Abydos, including at least one other Middle Kingdom example, are known to have entered private collections in this way.9

Description

The shabti measures 19.9 cm high x 7.1 cm wide x 5.9 cm deep and is carved from fine-grained limestone, over-painted with a base coat of white (fig.1 and pl. X). The figure is mummiform and modelled with a tripartite wig of unusual form; the front lappets extend over each shoulder and terminate on the upper chest in the conventional fashion, but the back lappet is narrower than is usual for this wig style and forms a distinctive T-shape. Furthermore, a darkish grey pigment is painted on the upper half of the wig’s front and over

5 A plan showing the approximate areas investigated during the 1907 excavations is given in P. Whelan, in: S. Grallert – W. Grajetzki (eds.) Life and Afterlife in Ancient Egypt during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, 2007, p. 141, fig. 2.
6 The shabti bears the collection number 01.0322. For a brief overview of the collection, which also highlights the lack of information about the provenance of most of the objects, see: J. Phillips – A. Dodson, KMT 6 no. 1 (1995), p. 51-61 (in particular p. 54-59).
7 I am most grateful in the first instance to Alex Lochrane and Rebecca Lodge for their assistance during my visit to Chiddingstone Castle and to the current director Ali Ditzel, curator Maria Esain and The Trustees of the Denys Eyre Bower Bequest for permission to publish the photographs of Ipu’s shabti here. The shabti is currently on loan with many other objects from the Egyptian collection to the Houston Museum of Natural Science, Texas until 2018.
9 For example, W. Grajetzki – P. Whelan, SAK 37 (2008), p. 125-130. In addition, it should be noted that objects excavated at Abydos in 1900 by Garstang for the British School of Archaeology in Egypt also made their way into private hands by virtue of the organisation’s founder, Flinders Petrie, and some of these have entered the antiquities market e.g. one of a number of large Third Intermediate Period faience shabtis for Sheshen (J. Garstang, El-Árabah: A cemetery of the Middle Kingdom; survey of the Old Kingdom temenos; graffiti from the temple of Sety, 1901, pl. XIV) and given to a benefactor by Petrie, was sold at Bonhams, Antiquities, May 2002, p. 135 lot 410.
almost all of the back and sides. Its careful application on the front, which leaves the lower portions of the lappets white, creates an unusual angular feature. High on the forehead is a narrow blue-painted band running across the fringe of the wig. Around the outer edge of the lower left lappet is a faint red line, most likely to be the remains of draft guidelines similar to those visible on other Middle Kingdom shabtis.\(^\text{10}\) The broad and rather squat red-painted face has disproportionately large and bulging almond-shaped eyes, the rims of which are clearly modelled in relief and painted black, as are the pupils.\(^\text{11}\) The long and narrow square-ended nose terminates above a small mouth with thin tightly pursed lips all rendered in sharp relief. The ears are modelled in light relief with minimal internal detail and sit flat against the lappets. A white-painted beard strap runs from either temple diagonally across the lower jaw and below the chin.\(^\text{12}\) A second slightly narrower white-painted strap or collar/choker runs horizontally across the neck, but far enough above the top of Ipu’s garment to reveal a sliver of red “flesh” below.\(^\text{13}\) This detail, as well as the inner edges of both wig lappets, is carefully picked out with a fine black outline, now only partially preserved.

The figure’s slender arms are carved in relief; their upper part extend tightly down the sides and each forearm rests almost perpendicular across the body; only the wrists are angled slightly upwards with hands crossed, left over right; both are painted red, the right hand grasps an ankh symbol; the left hand is empty. When viewed in profile, the figure has a straight almost vertical back interrupted only by a slight bulge indicating the back of the wig and a horizontal ledge defining the lower line of the buttocks.

The lower half of the figure is mostly covered by hieroglyphic inscriptions carved in sunk relief and arranged in eight vertical columns, each separated by an incised line; two columns on the left side of the back run from the base of the wig down to the feet, while the remaining six shorter columns start immediately beneath the arms and terminate at the feet. Traces of blue pigment are visible in the recesses of most of the hieroglyphic signs.\(^\text{14}\)

\(^{10}\) For example, similar partially preserved red guidelines can clearly be seen around the wig and hands of the limestone shabti of Renseneb from Abydos now in the British Museum (EA 49343), J.H. Taylor, *Death & the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, 2001, p. 118 fig. 78 (left), and on another example for the same individual in Brussels (E 3228) L. Speleers, *Les figurines funéraires égyptiennes*, 1923, pl. 8.

\(^{11}\) In modern times the eyes have been highlighted with what appears to be graphite pencil.


\(^{13}\) A similar narrow choker-like collar can be noticed on Middle Kingdom shabtis from Hawara (W.M.Fl. Petrie, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghaneh*, 1912, p. 36, pl. XXX); from Meir (W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt. A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, I, 1990 [rev. rep.], p. 327 and 328 fig. 216) which, from its decoration, certainly appears to be a narrow bead collar; provenance unknown (M.-P. Foissy-Aufrère, *Musée Calvet : Égypte & Province*, 1985, p. 113 no. A153, 115, 274). This has a multi-coloured collar similar to the previous shabti from Meir.

\(^{14}\) Blue-filled hieroglyphs occur on numerous Middle Kingdom shabtis made of limestone and calcite such as those of Renseneb and Bener (for references see transliteration note ii)
The original black outlines used to lay out the text are still visible around many signs and along the edges of the vertical border lines; in some places it is clear that the black outline of a sign was not followed by the sculptor. Regrettably, the plaster overspill from the statuette’s mounting upon a modern base has obscured several signs at the foot-end of the inscription.

Inscription

The hieroglyphic inscription includes the use of several incomplete signs (fig. 2 and pl. X); all of the bird signs (Gardiner G1, G17 and G43) and also that of the viper (Gardiner I9) are shown truncated, presumably to render them harmless of any potential malevolence towards the deceased. However, unlike the inscriptions on some other shabtis from Abydos

Fig. 1. The shabti of Ipu. Photographs by Paul Whelan published with the kind permission of The Trustees of the Denys Eyre Bower Bequest.

15 Most notably with the “k” in ki in line 4 and the “t” in imuut in line 7.
in which all living creatures are incomplete in some way, here the human figures have been left intact.\textsuperscript{16}

\textbf{Transliteration:}

(1) \(\text{i}r\ \text{š}b\text{t}y\ \text{i}p\text{w} \text{i}r\ \text{i}p\text{.tw} \text{i}m\text{-r} \text{p}r htp(w)-ntr\)
(2) \(n\ \text{sbdw} \text{i}p\text{w} \text{m}i\text{-hrw} ??? \text{i}r \text{h}(rt)f \text{ls} t \text{hw} s-
(3) \text{dbh} \text{m} \text{r} \text{hrt}f
(4) \(m)\text{k} \text{st} \text{k} \text{t} \text{tn} \text{i}r \text{(i)p} \text{(tw)} \text{r} \text{r} (??)\)
(5) \(r \text{nwr} \text{nb} \text{rrw} \text{lm} \text{fr}\)
(6) \(\text{shr} \text{st} \text{sr} \text{sd} \text{wdbw}\)
(7) \(\text{r} \text{hnt} \text{y} \text{n} \text{imnt} \text{n} \text{i} \text{bt}\)
(8) \(m)\text{k} \text{tn} \text{k} \text{tn} \text{k} \text{tn}\)

\footnote{G. Janes, \textit{Shabtis. A Private View}, 2002, p. 3-5 (Kemehu); shabti of Renseneb (see transliteration note ii for references).}

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Translation:

(1) As to these shabtis, if one counts the steward of Divine-offerings (2) of Abydos Ipu, justified(?), as to his duty; now (if) obstacles (3) are implanted therewith, as a man at his duties (4) “here they are” (you) shall say; if I am counted off (5) at any time which has to be passed there (6) to cultivate the fields, to make arable the riparian lands (7) (to) transport by boat the sand of the west (and) of the east (8), “here you are” you shall say, you shall say.

Notes to transliteration:

i) The preposition īr occurs in some of the earliest versions of the shabti spell, for which see: L. Speleers, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

ii) The particular writing used here, “šbty”, is not the oldest and occurs with some frequency on late Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period shabtis (H.D. Schneider, *Shabtis. An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with a Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, I, 1977, p. 136-139). The following list of shabtis with this spelling from both Lower and Upper Egypt is by no means exhaustive:

*Lower Egypt*

**Bener** (Lisht), late 12th-13th Dynasty, MMA 44.4.5 (D. Arnold, *The south cemeteries of Lisht*, I, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*, 1988, p. 36, fig. 8 and pl. 13);

**Wahneferhotep** (Lisht), late 13th Dynasty-Second Intermediate Period, MMA 14.3.70 (*ibid.*, p. 39 and pl. 15);

**Imeny** (Lisht), 12th Dynasty (H.D. Schneider, *op. cit.*, III, fig. 3).

*From Abydos*


**Nehi** (probably Abydos), 13th-17th Dynasties, Leiden 2.2.1.2 (H.D. Schneider, *op. cit.*, II, p. 30, pl. 82 and III, p. 8);

**Iti**, Turin Inv. Supl. 164, 13th Dynasty, M. Borla, *Dossiers d'Archéologie* 9 (May 2003), p. 20, 33 note 3 (unprovenanced, but considered to have come from Abydos).

iii) The use of the plural masculine demonstrative īpw appears infrequently on shabtis of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period when compared to other plural pronoun forms; of the few instances known to me are the Middle Kingdom (late 12th-13th Dynasty) shabti of Senwosret from el-Lisht (H.D. Schneider, *op. cit.*, I, p. 82-82 and III, fig. 6); a crude Theban “stick” shabti of the late Second Intermediate Period (Marquis of Northampton, P.E. Newberry – W. Spiegelberg, *Report On Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis During the Winter of 1898-9*, 1908, p. 28 and pls. XX no. 20, XXII no. 33); two shabtis of the 17th or early 18th Dynasty (W.L. Nash, *PSBA* 33 [1911], p. 36). For a discussion of the grammar see A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 1957 (third revised edition), p. 85-86.
iv) The nṯr sign (Gardiner R8) is clearly visible, but the sign following it is largely obscured by excess plaster from the shabti’s mounting. This has been identified as the hwt sign (Gardiner O6) (P.J. Webb, op. cit., p. 56-57); however I cannot see the characteristic rectangular outline of this sign. Instead, there appears to be a horizontal line surmounted by a vertical stroke more closely resembling the htp sign (Gardiner R4) that most likely belongs to the title element htp(w)-nṯr, “Divine-offerings” (Wb III, 185). This aspect is discussed in more detail later.

v) The determinative of the seated man with hand to mouth (Gardiner A9) is more commonly placed after the initial i of this name for which see: PN I, 23, 16.

vi) The two signs following directly after the seated man determinative are poorly executed and not particularly clear, but may write the epithet mꜢʿ-ḫrw “justified”. The first sign loosely resembles the expected pedestal (Gardiner Aa11), though the second sign looks less like the oar (Gardiner P8) that should follow. The epithet mꜢʿ-ḫrw has chronological implications since it is rarely found in shabti spells of the Middle Kingdom (as opposed to simpler dedications and offering formulae), but occurs with more frequency from the Second Intermediate Period onwards (H.D. Schneider, op. cit., I, p. 135d).

vii) The last sign in line 2 may belong with the signs at the beginning of line 3 writing sdb “obstacle”. The sculptor appears to have misinterpreted the pitchfork sign (Gardiner U12) at the end of this word and used instead the twisted rope sign (Gardiner V28). The form of the word here using the hand sign (Gardiner D46) instead of the cobra (Gardiner I10) points to a date after the Middle Kingdom (Wb IV, 381 indicates 18th Dynasty).

viii) The owl sign (Gardiner M17) at the beginning of the word and the loaf sign (Gardiner X1) at the end are missing. These omissions are uncommon among the relatively few spells on Middle Kingdom shabtis. A slightly less abbreviated writing occurs on the shabti of Senwosret (see note iii) and also on the monument of Seneberauw (discussed further below) for which see: P. Vernus, op. cit., p. 108.

ix) mk st occurs on shabtis of the Second Intermediate Period and later (P. Vernus, op. cit., p. 110 note k).

x) This part of the inscription is unclear, but appears to be the mouth sign (Gardiner D21) followed by either the rope (Gardiner V13) or water (Gardiner N35) sign which may be superfluous signs from the beginning of the proceeding clause and the first of several blunders that appear towards the end of the inscription (see notes xiii-xv).

xi) This nw-clause construction, including nb with irrw (as participle of ỉry), is mostly associated with shabtis of the New Kingdom and later (P. Vernus, op. cit., p. 110 note l; H.D. Schneider, op. cit., I, p. 149a).

xii) The use of shr in relation to agriculture goes back to the Pyramid Texts, for which see Wb IV, 257 BII (there written with the bolt of cloth sign Gardiner S29); for a brief discussion of its use in shabti inscriptions see: L. Speelers, op. cit., p. 120-121.

xiii) For the occurrence of the more compact rhizome sign (Gardiner M31) as determinative in the writing of srd see: Wb IV, 205; also L. Speelers, op. cit., p. 120-121; P. Vernus, op. cit., p. 110-111 note m.

xiv) The writing of wджbw is not entirely clear, but the first part would fit in the gap between the determinative of srd and the clearly visible quail chick (Gardiner G43). The signs that would be expected to follow the quail chick sign may be obscured by the plaster overspill of the modern mount.
xv) The expected mouth sign (Gardiner D21) is missing.

xvi) The abbreviated writing of the word is the same as that used in line 4 (see note viii).

xvii) The repetition of kꜢ.ṯn is found on a wooden 13th Dynasty shabti also from North Abydos, albeit lacking the suffix pronoun, ṭn (A. Mariette, Catalogue général des monuments d’Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville, 1880, p. 52-53, no. 394; V. Loret, RecTrav 4 [1883], p. 94 no. 7).

**Discussion**

The closest parallel to the version of the spell on Ipu’s shabti occurs on a unique mono-bloc stone monument of Seneberauw published by Pascal Vernus almost four decades ago. The monument takes the form of a truncated rectangular-section obelisk with a niche set in each of the four vertical faces incorporating figures carved in half-round relief; the niches in both long sides are each framed by an inscribed offering formula and contain two living-form human figures; the niches in the two narrow sides are each framed with the shabti spell and incorporate a single mumiform shabti figure. With the exception of the opening ḏḏḏ.f (“he says”) and the ending with Seneberauw’s title and name, the spell has the same number and order of clauses as that on Ipu’s shabti. In addition, Seneberauw’s name is followed by the epithet “justified” (mꜢʿ-ḥrw) that also appears to be written after Ipu’s, and is further indicative of a Second Intermediate Period dating (see note vi above). Leaving aside their different openings, there are subtle variances in the grammar and composition of several words that give reason to believe Ipu’s spell was composed later than that of Seneberauw. Besides the observations already made in the transliteration notes above and summarised in fig. 6, one can add the different writing of shabti on Seneberauw’s monument which has the plural ending ṣḥḥtíw as opposed to ṣḥḥty on Ipu’s figure. The former is one of the earliest forms, first appearing in the reign of Senwosret II or III, while the latter appears from the 13th Dynasty onwards. It is also worth mentioning here a wooden shabti from Upper Egypt dating to the Second Intermediate Period (or slightly later) cited by Vernus in his study, actually has more in common with Ipu’s figure than Seneberauw’s monument, since it similarly employs incomplete hieroglyphs with truncated bird and serpent signs.

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17 Schneider classified the spell as version IB in his corpus and the only example cited was Seneberauw’s monument (H.D. Schneider, op. cit., I, p. 82 and III, fig. 3).
18 D. Spanel, op. cit., p.250.
19 P. Vernus, op. cit., p. 110-111 notes k and o; the shabti is published in P. Newberry, op. cit., p. 201 no. 47673 and pl. XXIII. It is not possible to determine from the catalogue entry or plate the spelling of shabti or whether any human-form signs are truncated.
In Peter Webb’s brief comments about the figure published in 1995 Ipu’s title was given as “steward of the temple of Abydos” (ỉmy-r pr n hw.t-nṯr n ḥtpw), however this reading is problematic on two counts. Firstly, the rectangular hw.t sign expected to follow nṯr is not visible. Admittedly, this part of the inscription sits just above the modern base and is partly obscured by plaster, but even so, I can see no trace of the rectangular enclosure of the sign. Instead, there appears to be a horizontal stroke with a shorter central perpendicular stroke above more readily identifiable as the htp sign that together with the clearly visible nṯr sign following it form part of the title “steward of Divine-offerings of Abydos” (ỉmy-r pr n htp(w)-nṯr). Furthermore, since the stem of the preceding nṯr sign appears to continue into the recess of the modern base there would also be room beside it for the phonetic complements “r” and “p” that usually appear beneath the htp sign. Secondly, the title “steward of the temple of Abydos” is, as far as I am aware, unknown for the Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period, whereas “steward of Divine-offerings of Abydos” is attested for at least two known officials, Renefankh-Amenemhat (end 12th/13th Dynasty) and Aku (13th Dynasty). Renefankh-Amenemhat was buried at Abydos in a tomb located in part of the North Cemetery approximately 90 metres east of the main wadi and 350 metres southwest of the Shunet es-Zebib and, coincidentally, was another of Garstang’s discoveries made seven years before he unearthed Ipu’s shabti. Aku is likewise known from objects linked to Abydos although, unlike Renefankh-Amenemhat, he may not have been buried there. It is from the various inscribed objects belonging to these two individuals that we also know that “steward of Divine-offerings of Abydos” was the fullest writing of the title, more frequently abbreviated simply to “steward of Divine-offerings”.

20 There are two similar titles attested during the Middle Kingdom, that of “steward of (the temple of) Osiris” (ỉmy-r pr sỉr) (G.T. Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-name Seals principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period*, 1971, 31 no. 329 = W.A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, 1982, p. 23 no. 146) and “steward of (the temple of) Osiris-Khentyimentiu” (ỉmy-r pr sỉr ḫnty-ỉmntyw) are known (ibid., p. 23 no. 147 = Cairo 20326 H.O. Lange – H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, I, 1902, p. 338-339). Only the latter, however, can be firmly associated with Abydos. The “steward of (the temple of) Osiris” occurs only once in the Middle Kingdom on an object from Byblos and thus might not relate to Abydos at all, whereas the “steward of (the temple of) Osiris-Khentyimentiu” occurs on a stela with more secure internal evidence, especially the list of Abydene festivals. That being said, it is certainly attested by the early New Kingdom when the title of “steward of the temple of Abydos” appears on a stela for Nebwawy (M.P. Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, 1909, p. 36-37 CG 34017), and possibly also an 18th Dynasty shabti of Amenemhat (H.D. Schneider, *op. cit.*, I, p. 89 no. 3.2.9.1; III, pl. 108).


22 J. Garstang, *op. cit.*, p. 32, pl. IV. The tomb (E181) is indicated on Garstang’s plan of the cemetery (pl. II).

23 Franke suggests Aku’s family came from Akhmim (*op. cit.*, p. 147 doss. 193), while one of the documents, stela BM 1274, is thought to be from Koptos (E.A.W. Budge, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*, III, 1912, p. 6 and pl. IX).

24 Aku’s abbreviated title occurs on stela BM 1247 (see note 22 above); for Renefankh-Amenemhat see J. Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals: Egyptian art in the Middle Kingdom*, 1988, p. 51-52 no. 40. It is reasonable to assume that other “stewards of Divine-offerings” found at Abydos display the abbreviated version.
From the early Old Kingdom “Divine-offerings” were a distinct element of the ancient Egyptian religious cult, then consisting of primarily bread and beer. However, in the Middle Kingdom the constituents of “Divine-offerings” expanded, eventually to encompass the entire economic resources of a temple, the increased scale of which necessarily required a greater number of officials to manage. The appearance of the title of “steward of Divine-offerings” at this time (with or without an institution/region indicated) and ten other related titles, together with a number of institutional seals, probably reflect the considerable expansion of this religious tradition at that time.

The inclusion of the location of Ipu’s office given in his slightly extended title is a noted characteristic of 13th Dynasty administrative titles, and even though the god of the temple to which he was attached is not named, it is reasonable to assume it was none other than Osiris-Khentyimentiu whose temple of great renown lay within the main enclosure at North Abydos and remained the focus of cultic activity at the site for nearly three millennia. The format of Ipu’s title – religious office / general location of institution / deity’s name absent – is shared by other titles belonging to 13th Dynasty Abydene officials connected to the metropolitan temple. Of these, the best known is Amenyseneb the “regulator of the phyle of Abydos” who served in the reign of Khendjer, and upon whose command undertook extensive restoration of what was by then the 150 year old temple of Senwosret I. The deity to whom the temple is dedicated is neither specified in Amenyseneb’s title nor that of his subordinates, who are collectively referred to as the “priesthood of the temple of that province”, and thus both titles are equally as enigmatic on this point as Ipu’s. However, in the case of Amenyseneb, internal evidence from one of his two stelae strongly suggests that it was the Osiris-Khentyimentiu temple.

By way of contrast, there are number of other titles held by several Abydene officials of the late Middle Kingdom that include the specific institution WꜢḥ-swt – the abbreviated form of the name for Senwosret III’s memorial temple and associated settlement area at South Abydos. In addition, among the many institutional seal impressions recovered from

30 Osiris-Khentyimentiu occurs in the ḥtp-di-nsw formula and as a label for the god’s image in the lunette of C12.
this complex several bear the name of “the storehouse of the delivered-goods and Divine-offerings of Khakharae”, where commodities from other institutions as well as those produced “in house” were received and destined for the temple’s own consumption. Interestingly, from the same area come other seals bearing the more ambiguous legend “storehouse of Divine-offerings of Abydos”, presumably belonging to a different production centre that perhaps belonged to the main Osiris-Khentyimentiu temple.32 Indeed, a similar distinction may be understood from the inscriptive material recovered from Senwosret II’s mortuary temple complex at Lahun, where “Divine-offerings” derived from the temple’s own resources are clearly distinguished from those sent by other named religious institutions.33 Therefore, it seems that seals specifying Senwosret III’s institution were necessary in order to distinguish them from others with less precise local designations because it was taken for granted that “of Abydos” could only ever mean the main metropolitan temple. If this were the case, one might wonder if such a distinction became necessary only after Senwosret III’s mortuary complex was built because the economic impact of the latter was far greater than that of any earlier foundation at Abydos. This explanation makes less tenable the contrasting view that at some point Senwosret III’s institution had actually superseded the Osiris-Khentyimentiu temple by becoming the “default” religious institution in the titles of local officials.34 Either way, if this kind of differentiation was necessary it was probably long-lasting since Senwosret III’s mortuary complex functioned throughout the 13th and possibly into the reign of Sewadjenre Nebiriau I of the 16th Dynasty, as royal seals discovered there indicate.35

In addition to the chronologically sensitive elements in the inscription (fig. 6), the physical appearance of Ipu’s shabti is sufficiently uncommon to warrant further consideration not only for the matter of dating, but also for identifying definable traits that I believe can be attributed to local Abydene workshops. Of these, the most unusual single element is Ipu’s wig with its distinctive narrow “tab”-like rear lappet.36 It has reasonably been proposed that

32 Ibid., p. 102-103 (however, it is my suggestion that “of Abydos” could refer specifically to the main metropolitan temple); for examples of the seal impressions p. 318-319.
34 St. Quirke, Titles and bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC, 2004, p. 119-120.
36 One of the main limitations facing a comparative study of this kind, duly acknowledged here, is the lack of published shabtis/statuettes photographed from the back. Also, in considering comparable wigs, mention should be made here of another type with a similar, albeit somewhat broader, rear projection which occurs on a number of Middle Kingdom statues (not shabtis). Instead of a head cloth, these statues sport carefully styled coiffures with two front lappets formed by parting the hair at the back and draping one bunch over either shoulder while leaving a central slender bunch at the rear to form a third lappet. Crucially however, all of the Middle Kingdom statuettes with this type of wig belong to women. Examples
this wig represents a hybrid of the khat (ḥꜢt) or afnet (ʿfnt) styled head cloth and the royal nemes-wig (nms), both of which can sport a narrow rear projection. However, whereas this feature is always displayed on the nemes-wig, it does not occur consistently on the khat/afnet. In fact, most Middle Kingdom two- and three-dimensional representations of the latter, including those on shabtis, while emphasising the distinctive pendulous bag-like aspect, rarely include a rear projection as can be seen for example on another limestone shabti found by Garstang at Abydos belonging to Nekhta and now in the Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire, Brussels (fig. 3). When Ipu’s wig is compared to this, one can see that actually there is very little similarity between them; certainly Ipu’s displays none of the characteristic bag-like voluptuousness of Nekhta’s.

Similar issues can be raised with the comparison made between Ipu’s wig and another Abydene limestone shabti belonging to Renseneb the “overseer of ships of the temple/palace approach” (ǐmy-r ḫw n ʿrryt) that was found by Mariette in the “nécropole du nord” (fig. 4, no. 2). Renseneb’s shabti does indeed sport an unusual wig that resembles a khat/afnet-nemes hybrid, with a rounded khat/afnet element complete with a slightly flared “cloth flap” at the back as well as the modelled lower portions of two front lappets and an angular “fold” in each upper front corner reminiscent of the nemes-wig; however, the same cannot be said for Ipu’s wig.

include: L. Borchardt, Statuen und statuetten von Königen und privatleuten, 1925, p. 59 no. 473 (Luxor), p. 80 no. 523 (Giza); É. Delange, Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire 2060-1560 av. J.-C., 1987, N 3892 p. 106-107, E 3517 p. 114-115, E 10850 p. 129, and E 26917 p. 208-209; J-Cl. Goyon – L. Postel, Fasteuse Égypte, 2011, p. 45; indeed the feminine association is further emphasised on some by their use of hathoric-curl terminals. This style continued into the New Kingdom, although by then the rear lappet had become less realistically modelled, as attested by the coffin of the 17th/18th Dynasty Queen Merytamun which has a boldly modelled rectangular projection at the back (H.E. Winlock, The Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amūn at Thebes, 1932, pl. XXIII). Lacking any feminine connection, Ipu’s shabti can be discounted from this wig type.


38 For an example of a seated statue see: J. Bourriaux, op. cit., p. 28 no. 18. Two-dimensional representations of the wig also occur with some frequency (ibid., p. 50-52 nos. 39 and 40).

39 J. Garstang, op. cit., p. 7, 34, pl. VI.


41 If one leaves aside the lower portion of the front lappets, Renseneb’s wig closely resembles the khat-wig of a shabti for the 18th Dynasty king Amenhotep III even down to the slight flaring of the “tail” at the back (J.-L. Bovot, Les serviteurs funéraires royaux et principiers de l’Ancienne Égypte, 2003, p. 49-50 no. 6 [N 2247]).
Also challenging the *khat*/afnet-nemes hybrid explanation is the partially painted section on the front of Ipu’s wig. The care by which the grey paint has been applied in so precise and symmetrical a fashion cannot easily be dismissed as an artist’s blunder, but appears to have been a deliberate attempt to de-emphasise the relief-modelled front lappets, the lower portions of which were also left white so as to blend with the rest of the body. The result looks remarkably similar to the prominent diagonal element of a duplex wig, which has a helmet-like element of striated or curled locks of which the front portion is swept diagonally back over the shoulders – equating to the grey painted part of Ipu’s wig – to reveal tightly curled locks hanging beneath (indicated by the lower portion of the lappets?).

Duplex wigs feature on statues from the Old Kingdom onwards, but are not found on

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42 It is unlike the other common wig style found on statues (not shabtis) of the 12th and 13th Dynasties which displays distinctly triangular-pointed lappets on the front (for examples see: J. Bourriaux, *op. cit.*, p. 55 no. 42 and p. 59-60 no. 46).

shabtis until the New Kingdom, which would therefore make Ipu’s the earliest and most bizarrely rendered example of this wig\textsuperscript{44}. Of course, what this interpretation does not account for is the differences in the overall carved shape, most significantly the rear “tab” that one would not expect to find with the duplex style. This can only be adequately explained if one considers the wig to be a hybrid form – but something other than the *khat/afnet-nemes* combination – almost certainly the common tri-partite wig with a narrower than usual rear lappet fused with a rudimentary duplex. The tri-partite element can be compared with a more detailed example on a limestone shabti for a “soldier of the city regiment” (‘nh n niwt) Senebtyfy of unknown provenance now in the Egyptian Museum Turin (fig. 5)\textsuperscript{45}.

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{shabti.png}
\caption{The shabti of Senebtyfy (CE 2584). Photographs by Gianluca Miniaci and Elena Tiribilli published with the kind permission of the Museo Egizio di Torino.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{44} While the duplex wig appears on shabtis around the time of Amenhotep III (H.D. Schneider, *op. cit.*, I, p. 165) a simpler form of daily life wig is attested for “stick shabtis” of the late 17\textsuperscript{th}-beginning of the 18\textsuperscript{th} Dynasty (P. Whelan, *Mere Scraps of Rough Wood? 17th - 18th Dynasty Stick Shabtis in the Petrie Museum and other Collections*, 2007, p. 28 fig. 18, 5 and p. 29).

\textsuperscript{45} CE 2584 (provenance unknown), A. Fabretti – F. Rossi – R.V. Lanzone, *Regio Museo di Torino: Antichità egizie*, 1882, p. 366; M. Borla, *op. cit.*, p. 20; D. Stefanović, *The Holders of Regular Military Titles in the Period of the Middle Kingdom: Dossiers*, 2006, p. 39 no. 223 (who dates it to the late Middle Kingdom). I am indebted to Gianluca Miniaci and Elena Tiribilli for providing me with the fine photographs of this figure and to the Museo Egizio di Torino for permission to publish them here.
On this, the rear lappet - although slightly less narrow than that of Ipu’s - is detailed enough to reveal that it is no cloth or tightly plaited braids (as would be expected for a khat/afnet-nemes type), but the usual bunch of straight tresses of a tri-partite wig.

The peculiarity of this shabti wig was not lost on Mariette who remarked in his Abydos catalogue that “(c’est) seulement sous le Moyen Empire que, par derrière, elles avaient exceptionnellement cette forme”\(^{46}\). From the comments he made in a few entries, it seems he had encountered several shabtis with this wig during his excavations, though only a small selection was illustrated (fig. 4)\(^{47}\). While Mariette believed that these belonged to the Middle Kingdom, I would go further and suggest that they first appeared in the advanced 13\(^{th}\) Dynasty or even slightly later, and that their distinctive styling was exclusive to Abydos. What underlying reasons compelled the production of these seemingly hybrid wigs is unlikely to be known for sure, but the relevance in the funerary sphere of all of the styles so far mentioned can be readily accounted for. The nemes-wig’s association with the practice of the deceased’s “Osirianisation”, manifest in the provision of distinctly royal/divine funerary equipment from the late 12\(^{th}\) Dynasty onwards in the so-called ‘court-type’ burials and tomb chambers arranged to represent the setting for the “hourly vigil”, served to emphasise the connection with the king of the Underworld.\(^{48}\) Osirian symbols frequently provided in the funerary equipment included models of royal regalia such as sceptres and flails as well as painted depictions of uraei and crowns/headdresses, including the nemes, on the inner faces of rectangular coffins.\(^{49}\) By the Middle Kingdom the afnet had also established a place within funerary culture appearing in Coffin Text spells as an element associated with gods concerned with the journey of the solar bark.\(^{50}\) The tripartite or lappet and the duplex were to become the most common wig styles found on shabtis.\(^{51}\) The former had divine connotations being an attribute worn by gods and even occurs on the very earliest forerunners of shabtis,\(^{52}\) while the duplex wig of daily life came significantly later in their development and represented the appearance of the revivified deceased as he was

\(^{46}\) A. Mariette, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

\(^{47}\) Mariette does not make it clear in the rather vague entries, such as “Troisième statuette funéraire exécutée dans le même style” (p. 48, no. 385), whether the overall style of the wig was the same, or specifically the rear tab-like element. Presumably, these shabtis will be in the Cairo Museum, since it appears that none of this type are in the Louvre - the main museum outside Egypt to have greatly profited from artefacts derived from Mariette’s excavations. I am most grateful to Jean-Luc Boivot for checking this information.


\(^{51}\) H.D. Schneider, *op. cit.*, I, p. 165-166.

\(^{52}\) W.C. Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 327 fig. 215.
in life. It would seem that Ipu’s shabti displays a somewhat muddled interpretation of certain shabti attributes that were to become firmly adopted in the early New Kingdom.

Besides the wig, the ankh held by Ipu’s shabti is also worthy of consideration. As one of several symbols associated with shabtis, the ankh can be depicted singly, as on Ipu’s figure, or paired with a matching or different symbol. The earliest firmly datable funerary figurines (i.e., those not bearing the shabti spell) holding ankh symbols appear in the reign of Senwosret III/Amenemhat III and were incorporated in the niche of a stela found at Abydos (and probably produced locally) that belonged to the well-known official Lykhernofret. The Abydene origin for this shabti attribute also comes from four 13th Dynasty stelae unique to Abydos that display prominent pierced-work ankh symbols; one also incorporates three mumiform shabti-like figures carved in the half round and another was originally set up in front of a freestanding shabti figure. It is not difficult to imagine that stylistic experimentation employing various symbols of resurrection of this kind could have begun in Abydene workshops serving the cult of Osiris. These included the hes-vase that first appears on shabtis in the 13th Dynasty and is also believed to have originated at Abydos.

A further striking aspect of Ipu’s shabti is the exaggerated and rather comical facial features, particularly the narrow pursed lips and bulging eyes with prominent rims, which can be compared to other examples from Abydos. Indeed, a shabti for “the lady of the house” Imit discovered by Mariette, has a face so similar to Ipu’s that it may belong to the œuvre of the same sculptor or local workshop (fig. 4, no. 3). Such extreme portraiture contrasts the more naturalistically rendered and sometimes serene or even bland faces found on many Middle Kingdom shabtis from Abydos and elsewhere. It is therefore worth considering the possibility that other unprovenanced shabtis with comparable portraiture, especially if displaying one or more of the other distinctive attributes described above, are likely to be the products of an Abydene workshop. Take for example the already mentioned

56 Ibid. (for the first example); H.O. Lange – H. Schäfer, op. cit., p. 363 (20353) suggest that the pierced-ankh-stela now in Cairo was set up in front of a shabti discovered and published by Mariette (op. cit., p. 55 no. 399; see also p. 56 no. 400 for an identical shabti for the same individual).
57 J. Moje, op. cit., p. 9.
58 A. Mariette, op. cit., p. 48 no. 385, fig. 3 and p. 49 no. 386. Although only one shabti shown in the published plate, Mariette states that there is a second identical figure for the same individual. Another example with an equally extreme visage from Abydos has been dated to the 11th or early 12th Dynasty: H. Frankfort, JEA 14 (1928), p. 240 and pl. XXII 3. H.D. Schneider, op. cit., I, p. 66, 160.
59 For example: J. Bourriau, op. cit., p. 98-100 nos. 81-83; J-F. Aubert – L. Aubert, Statuettes égyptiennes, Chaouabtis, ouchebitis, 1974, pl. 1 n. 1.
(unprovenanced) shabti for the “soldier of the city regiment” Senebtyfy (fig. 5) that not only sports a wig with a fairly narrow rear lappet, but also a painted beard strap and rather exaggerated facial features with large oval-shaped eyes reminiscent of Ipu’s shabti.\(^{60}\)

The late 13\(^{th}\) Dynasty – Second Intermediate Period dating suggested by the analysis presented so far and summarised in the accompanying chart (fig. 6) finds additional support from the particular style of incomplete hieroglyphic script used in the composition of Ipu’s shabti spell. First appearing in the north of the Egypt around the end of Amenemhat III’s reign when it was used in royal and elite burials, the tradition gradually spread to other parts of the country. It was not until the 13\(^{th}\) Dynasty that the script was adopted in Upper Egyptian burials, initially at Thebes and then at other sites, including Abydos\(^{61}\). In its earliest form, all potentially threatening creatures including human figures are shown truncated in some way.\(^{62}\) The principal vehicle for this trend is coffins, but it also features in inscriptions on other types of funerary equipment such as offering tables and shabtis. At Abydos, the small number of shabtis displaying the early version of the script all belong to the 13\(^{th}\) Dynasty and thus confirm the proposed time-lag in the southward transmission of this tradition.\(^{63}\)

Towards the end of the 13\(^{th}\) Dynasty it seems that the original reasons behind the practise were no longer fully understood and inscriptions with erratic versions of the script began to appear, in which not all of the animate signs were truncated and/or the spelling of certain words was adapted to avoid their use, both of which are apparent on Ipu’s shabti\(^{64}\). Since the latest date for an Abydene shabti bearing the earliest phase of incomplete hieroglyphs is considered to be “the advanced 13\(^{th}\) Dynasty”, the inconsistent version used for

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\(^{60}\) The potential fruits of such research can be seen from Marcel Marée’s recent stylistic analysis of 40 stelae which has revealed the discernible traits of one or more Abydene workshops in the Second Intermediate Period (M. Marée, in M. Marée [ed.] The Second Intermediate Period [Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties]. Current Research, Future Prospects [OLA 192], 2010, p. 241-281). It may be of significance that the faces of human figures depicted on many of the stelae cited in his study have exaggerated features, including large oval-shaped eyes similar to those of Ipu’s shabti.

\(^{61}\) G. Miniaci, RdE 61 (2010), p. 120. Though it seems that there is the odd late 12\(^{th}\) Dynasty exception (ibid., p. 120-121).

\(^{62}\) This finds an interesting parallel from the Abydos tomb of the Old Kingdom official Weni the Elder in which the human figure in his title, shown complete in many parts of his tomb, is contrastingly shown significantly truncated in inscriptions close to where his body lay (J. Richards, JARCE 39 [2002], p. 98 and fig. 23).

\(^{63}\) The three shabtis of Renseneb (see transliteration note ii for bibliography) have been dated to the “advanced 13\(^{th}\) Dynasty” on account of pottery found with them (J. Bourriau, in: St. Quirke [ed.], Middle Kingdom Studies, 1991, p. 20). The calcite shabti of Kemehu (G. Janes, op. cit., 2002, p. 3-5) can be dated to the 13\(^{th}\) Dynasty from associated artefacts for the same individual, not least by the style of his stela now in Cairo (H.O. Lange – H. Schäfer, op. cit., p. 338-339; see also D. Franke, Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (20.-16. Jahrhundert v. Chr). Dossiers I-796 [AB 41], 1984, p. 416 doss. 717).

\(^{64}\) G. Miniaci, op. cit., p. 128-130. It may be worth noting here that the spelling of sḏb(w) on Ipu’s shabti avoids using the cobra sign (Gardiner I10) in favour of the hand (Gardiner D46).
Ipu’s inscription may be placed sometime after. A similar chronological progression is evident from the inscriptions on another class of small-scale funerary object found at Abydos – heart-scarabs.

The oldest firmly dateable heart-scarab bearing chapter 30b from the Book of the Dead is written using the earliest “correct” form of incomplete hieroglyphs with all animate signs truncated. It belonged to the “high steward” Nebankh who died in the reign of the mid-13th Dynasty king Khanefera Sobekhotep IV.65 The provenance of the scarab is not known for sure, but it almost certainly came from Nebankh’s Abydos tomb on account of an inscribed lintel found at the site.66 Several unprovenanced heart-scarabs with similarly treated hieroglyphs have also been dated to sometime in the first half of the 13th Dynasty rather than Second Intermediate Period.67 In contrast, a gold baseplate from a heart-scarab of a title-less individual named Hepet-rehu, discovered by John Garstang at Abydos in 1907, should be considered later because its version of chapter 30b is composed with truncated bird signs, but with human and serpent signs left intact.68 Therefore, if Nebankh’s heart-scarab represents the earliest and most “correct” phase of the incomplete hieroglyph system on this class of object, then Hepet-rehu’s is closer in date to the final stages of the script when animate signs were inconsistently truncated, for which the elaborate heart-scarab belonging to the 17th Dynasty king Sobekemsaef serves as a firm chronological marker.69 These criteria would place Ipu’s shabti70 somewhere between the reign of the 13th Dynasty king Sobekhotep V and the end of the Second Intermediate Period. The same dating can be proposed for two other Abydene shabtis; a limestone figure of Ahmose71 and another for Nehi (see again note ii for references), since both bear inscriptions written with

65 St. Quirke, *JEOL* 37 (2001-2002), p. 31-40; also W. Grajetzki, *Court Officials of the Middle Kingdom*, 2009, p. 78-79 and fig. 35.


70 D. Lorand, *CdE* LXXXIII/165-166 (2008), p. 23. It should be noted that the chronological framework suggested by analysis of heart-scarab inscriptions finds support from at least one (possibly two) known rectangular coffins from Abydos with texts displaying both truncated animal and intact human signs, for which see: W. Grajetzki, *The coffin of Zemathor*, 2010, p. 6-8 Zemathor (c. Sobekhotep II-IV or later); p. 42 Sobekhotep (late 17th-early 18th Dynasty).

71 H.D. Schneider, *op. cit.*, II, p. 29 n. 2.2.1.1 and fig. 82.
truncated bird signs, but with human figures intact. In the case of Ahmose’s shabti, a more precise dating to the late 17th – very beginning of the 18th Dynasty is possible on account of the writing šꜢwꜢbt.t (with feminine ending) on the figure instead of šꜢbty – the former being a variant appearing no earlier than the 17th Dynasty.

The chronological interpretations presented so far also find accord with a number of seeming contradictions presented by Ipu’s shabti. Bearing on the one hand a spell clearly expressing the servant/worker aspects and on the other hand employing incomplete hieroglyphs and an ankh symbol more readily associated with notions of the deceased’s protection and revivification, Ipu’s shabti reveals a degree of religious confusion more fitting with the end of the 13th Dynasty when a break-down of state-defined cultural traditions might be expected. Such is evident from the funerary equipment belonging to “the mouth of Nekhen” Senebhenaeft from his Abydos tomb which also displays inconsistencies. While the inscriptions on Senebhenaeft’s coffin are written with all the animate signs truncated – as one might imagine for an object so central to the protection of the deceased – these are contrasted by the erratic composition of the spells on Senebhenaeft’s canopic jars which employ signs that are either entirely complete or inconsistently applied incomplete signs. Senebhenaeft’s burial has been dated to sometime between the late 13th and 16th/17th Dynasties, with the likelihood that it belongs later in this range rather than earlier. A break-down of rigid cultural traditions may have been the catalyst for experimentation and innovation – as well as a degree of confusion – in regional funerary art, of which Senebhenaeft’s burial and Ipu’s shabti appear to stand as prime examples.

Now that Garstang’s photograph verifies an Abydene provenance for the uncommon version of the spell on Ipu’s shabti, one might wonder if Seneberauw’s unprovenanced monument also came from the site. The dedication to Hathor of Gebelein on the latter cannot be taken as conclusive proof for its place of origin, since this regional variant of the goddess also occurs on monuments at Thebes. Furthermore, the mention of a local cult

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72 Non-Abydene shabtis with inconsistently applied incomplete hieroglyphs include Wahneferhotep and Imeny from Lisht (see note ii for references).
73 H.D. Schneider, op. cit., I, p. 137-138; D. Spanel, op. cit., p. 250 (although both refer to the version with plural ending “šꜢwꜢbty”). For an example of šꜢwꜢbt on an early 18th Dynasty shabti of Nebeseny see: J-F. Aubert – L. Aubert, Statuettes funéraires, 2005, p. 68-69.
74 J. Moje, op. cit., p. 15-17.
76 G. Miniaci, op. cit., p. 127 and n.74.
could indicate nothing more than the dedicatee’s birth-place or some other personal connection rather than where the monument itself was erected, as is clearly the case for other objects found at Abydos which mention regionally-sensitive non-local cults. It is also worth reiterating here that the hes-vases held by the two shabtis on Seneberauw’s monument is a characteristic considered to have originated at Abydos. Additionally, this object also belongs to a small corpus of sixteen stone monobloc monuments and slabs/stelae of Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period date that incorporate mummiform figures in niches, of which all those with a firm provenance come from Abydos while internal

79 Take, for instance, another monobloc shrine discovered at Abydos but inscribed with a dedication connecting the owner to the Memphite region: D. Wildung, Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewußtsein ihrer Nachwelt, I (MAS 17), 1969, p. 139.
80 See n. 57.
evidence for several of the unprovenanced examples suggests that they too were originally set up there.\textsuperscript{81}

While Vernus cautiously dated Seneberauw’s remarkable monument to the 13\textsuperscript{th} Dynasty and “peut-être plus près de la XII\textsuperscript{e} dynastie que la Deuxième Période intermédiaire”,\textsuperscript{82} I would suggest that the balance of analysis presented in this study and shown in fig. 6 favours the placing of Ipu’s shabti somewhat later, either at the very end of the 13\textsuperscript{th} Dynasty or into the Second Intermediate Period.

Résumé / Abstract

Cet article examine un chabti de la XIII\textsuperscript{e} dynastie - Deuxième Période intermédiaire appartenant à un « administrateur des offrandes divines d’Abydos ». Cette statuette découverte par John Garstang au début du XX\textsuperscript{e} siècle est d’un intérêt particulier en raison de son aspect inhabituel et parce qu’elle offre une version rare de formule de chabti, deux caractéristiques que l’on propose d’attribuer à un atelier abydéen.

This article examines a 13\textsuperscript{th} Dynasty – Second Intermediate Period shabti statuette belonging to a “Steward of the Divine-offerings of Abydos” discovered by John Garstang in the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century. It is of particular interest for its unusual appearance and for bearing a rare version of the shabti spell, both of which it is proposed are characteristics of an Abydene workshop.

\textsuperscript{81} For a summary catalogue of these objects with bibliography see: P. Whelan, in: S. Grallert – W. Grajetzki (eds.) \textit{Life and Afterlife in Ancient Egypt during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period}, 2007, p. 144-154.

\textsuperscript{82} P. Vernus, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 114.
P. Whelan, *An Unusual Shabti for a Steward of divine-offerings of Abydos*