

DISCUSSION OF LATE MIDDLE KINGDOM AND EARLY SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY IN RELATION TO THE KHAYAN SEALINGS FROM TELL EDFU

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INTRODUCTION¹

Since 2005, archaeological fieldwork conducted along the eastern part of Tell Edfu has led to the discovery of an important administrative building complex, which includes a large columned hall with many traces of administrative activities, which took place here. This building was constructed during the first half of the 12th Dynasty and then continuously occupied at least until the end of the Middle Kingdom into the early Second Intermediate Period. The excavation, which developed gradually due to the complexity and the density of the preserved stratigraphic record, has now reached the southern and western limits of this administrative building, and it has been possible to record its complete evolution from its foundation to the ultimate occupation and abandonment. After it had fallen out of use, its remains were sealed by the installation of a large silo court dating to the 17th Dynasty (Fig. 3).²

During the most recent fieldwork seasons in 2010 and 2011,³ excavations continued northwards from the columned hall and led to the discovery of another large adjoining hall. 41 sealings showing the cartouche of the Hyksos ruler Khayan have been found here within a large sealing corpus together with 9 sealings naming Sobekhotep IV. These finds come from a secure and sealed archaeological context and open up new questions about the cultural and chronological evolution of the late Middle Kingdom and early Second Intermediate Period.

The discovery of the Khayan sealings becomes even more significant in view of the fact that this is the first time that evidence for a Hyksos ruler which comes from a secure archaeological context has been found south of Gebelein.⁴ This sheds new light on the nature of the relationship and contact between the Hyksos and Upper Egypt. A basic objective of this article is to present this new archaeological data in great detail because it contributes important elements to the ongoing debate about the history of the Second Intermediate Period; included is a review of the chronological issues relating to the order of the Hyksos rulers. The data presented here are not limited to the analysis of a representative sample of sealings from this context (Appendix I) but also include details of the stratigraphic evidence (see Figs. 5 and 6) and a discussion of the ceramic assemblage (Appendix II).

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT, A CASE STUDY FOR SETTLEMENT ARCHAEOLOGY IN EGYPT

As can be seen from the meticulously compiled inventory of attestations for Khayan made by K. Ryholt, the majority of objects inscribed with his name are scarab seals of unknown provenance.⁵ Recent excavations at Tell el-Dab'a focusing on the Hyksos palace have uncovered eight mud-sealings stamped with the name of Khayan from an interesting archaeological context. They were found in several offerings pits dug into the courtyard of a building that was part of the palace.⁶

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¹ The authors would like to thank Pierre Tallet for first confirming the reading of the name of Khayan and also Daphna Ben-Tor for many extremely stimulating discussions and comments.

² See MOELLER 2010, 81–111 for a detailed report presenting the results of five seasons of excavations at Tell Edfu.

³ The results described here are principally the findings from the 2010 season with some additions from 2011. This article was submitted before the 2011 season during which it has been possible to confirm almost all of the previous results.

⁴ POLZ 2006, 239–247.

⁵ RYHOLT 1997, 383–385. This is very common for the rulers of the Second Intermediate Period; apart from a very few monumental records and stelae, scarabs are the most frequently encountered objects that are inscribed with royal names during this time.

⁶ See BIETAK 2011, 40–41. These pits were filled with faunal remains and pottery as part of the feasting ceremonies conducted there and represent multiple phases of deposition. The presence of seals in these pits is surprising and probably not their primary context of discard. Hopefully more

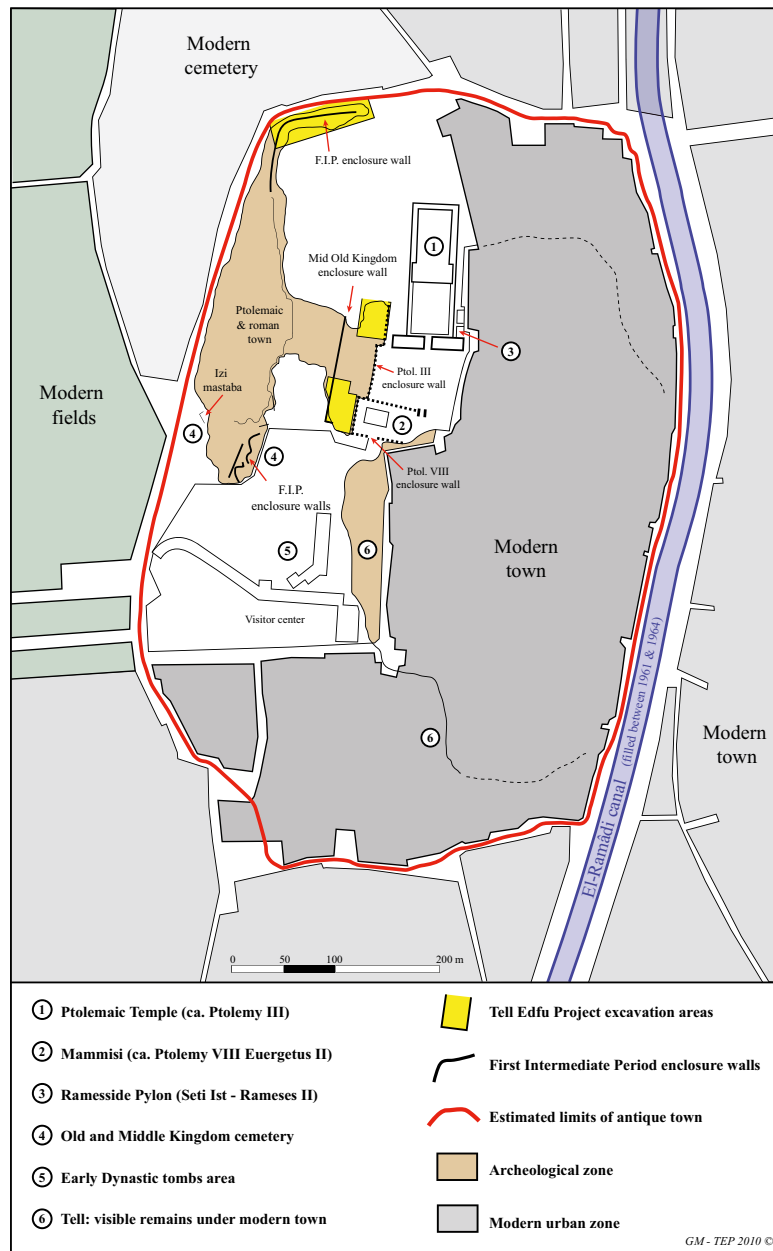


Fig. 1 General plan of Tell Edfu

Together with the examples from Tell Edfu, these new discoveries are one of the rare occasions where the name of Khayan is associated with reli-

able archaeological data. At Tell Edfu, these sealings were found together with more than a thousand other clay sealings within different zones of

details about this discovery and the archaeological context in conjunction with the pottery will become available; this will certainly shed more light on these questions.

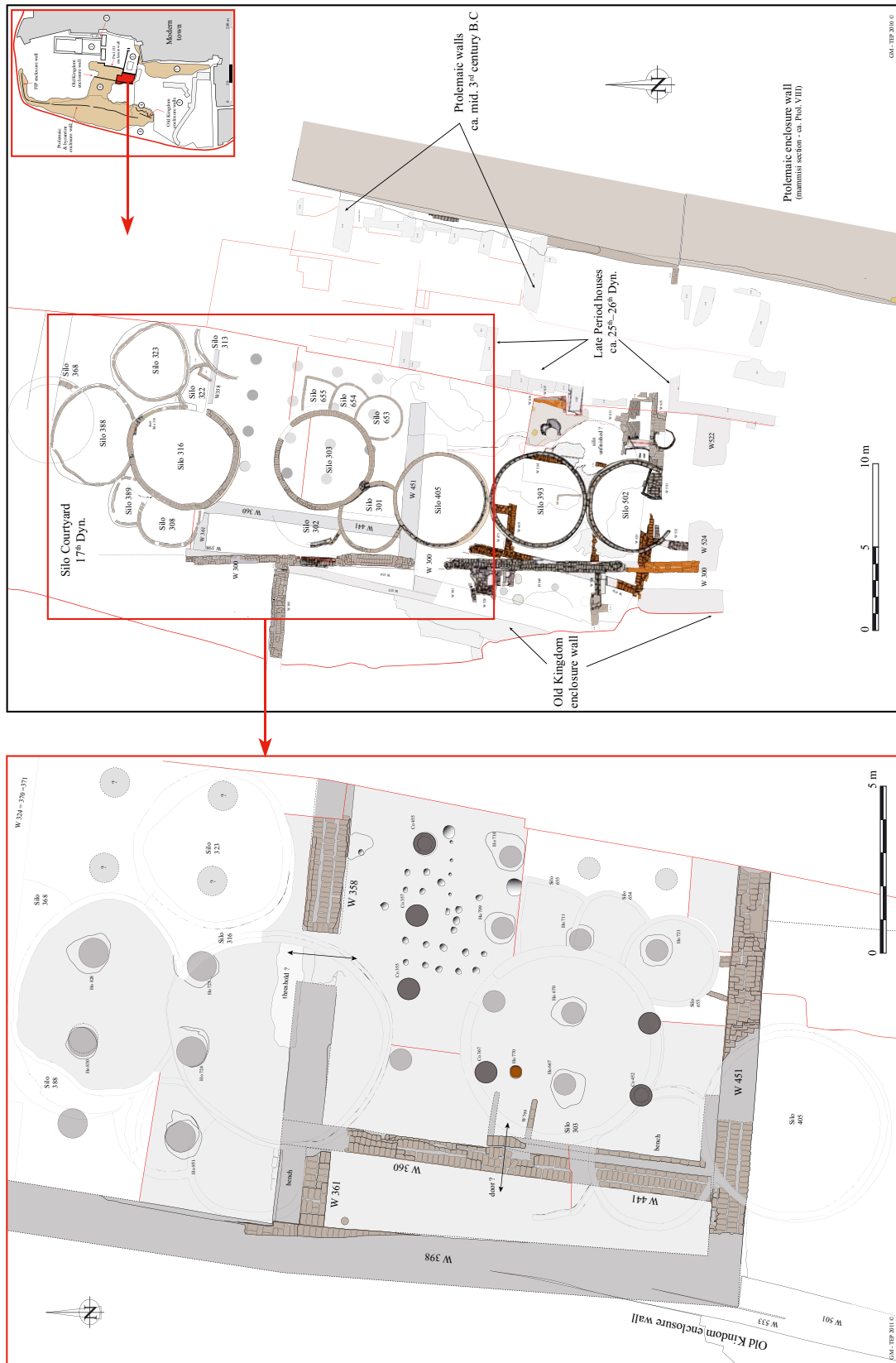


Fig 2 Detailed plan of the excavation area and the administrative complex



Fig. 3 South view of excavation area showing silos of the 17th Dynasty and underlying late Middle Kingdom columned halls



Fig. 4 West view of southern columned hall floor with column bases in situ

concentrations inside the columned hall complex where they can be firmly linked to the last phase of occupation and abandonment of this administrative building, a level sealed by an undisturbed stratigraphy that reaches in parts more than 3 meters in height dating to later periods.

Several preliminary reports have already been published in connection with this structure and the description will be limited here to a synthetic summary of its evolution.⁷ The administrative building is situated to the east and along the inside of a large enclosure wall which dates back to the Old Kingdom and follows a north-south course which clearly influenced the orientation and layout of the Middle Kingdom building even though the wall had fallen out of use by this time (Figs. 1–3).⁸ The administrative complex was founded in the first half of the 12th Dynasty and saw a long period of use until its final abandonment some time during the second half of the 13th Dynasty. It was built directly on earlier occupation levels that show signs of heavy burning and which can be dated to the First Intermediate Period and the early Middle Kingdom (see Fig. 3).

The best-known element of this large administrative building investigated since 2005 is a columned hall measuring at least 12 meters along the north-south axis (Fig. 2). Its interior was filled by a minimum of 16 octagonal columns that were probably made of wood and which once stood on round sandstone bases. Five of the latter have been found *in situ* while none of the columns was preserved because all of them had been removed when the building was dismantled (Figs. 3 and 4). So far the southern and western limits (see Fig. 2, W 451 and W 398) of this building have been identified. To the west, the columned hall was flanked by an elongated room measuring 2.3 by 11.5 meters. A small doorway was probably situated halfway along wall W441=W360 which linked this

room to the adjacent columned hall. It was later removed by the construction of silo Si 303. The presence of a narrow room adjacent to a large hall with columns is a well-known element of official building complexes.⁹

The floor of the columned hall was made of compacted mud, and it had been very well maintained during its lifetime (Fig. 4). It had been renewed on a regular basis, which can be seen by the impressive built-up of more than thirty sub-layers, which are all superimposed (Fig. 5). This is good evidence for the relatively long time of use and continuous up-keep of this structure. The current excavations, during which the last layers of the floor were excavated with great care, have permitted us to study these final occupation phases in depth. Over the past seasons several phases of floor renovation were excavated down to the fourth floor level (Fl 356e); the latter has been exposed over a considerable area and is characterized by multiple jar negatives in the form of shallow round holes between the columns (Figs. 4 and 5). Inside these negatives and sealed by the next floor layer (Fl. 356d, see Fig. 5), ten sealings with the name of Amenemhat III have been found together with pieces of pottery which are typical for the late 12th to early 13th Dynasty, such as small hemispherical drinking cups.¹⁰ This discovery contributes some information about the date of the floor layers that followed providing a *terminus post quem* for them. A ¹⁴C sample that was obtained from these layers confirms the late Middle Kingdom date and is additional proof that the sealings are contemporary with the reign of Amenemhat III.¹¹

It is nevertheless the final phase of occupation of this hall which has attracted attention for this discussion. On the surface of the last floor level of the columned hall (Fl. 356a), a layer that had already encroached upon the column bases, a rich assem-

⁷ See MOELLER 2011, 111–120; MOELLER 2010, 81–111; MOELLER 2009b, 117–125 and MOELLER 2008, 118–123.

⁸ The phenomenon of older walls, especially enclosure walls, influencing the layout of later buildings and streets is typical for *tell* sites; see MOELLER 2011, 114.

⁹ See for example the ‘Command Building’ at the Middle Kingdom fortress of Buhen in Lower Nubia, which also features a central columned hall of similar proportions as the one at Tell Edfu, EMERY 1979, pl. 16. Another example showing multiple columned halls with such elongated

rooms flanking their sides can be seen at the palace of Uronarti; see DUNHAM 1967, map IV. A detailed study of this architectural phenomenon is currently being prepared by the N. Moeller.

¹⁰ For further details see MOELLER 2009a, 150–154.

¹¹ This is important because for both Amenemhat III and Senwosret III there are also seals with their names that have been posthumously produced and used, see BEN-TOR 2007, 37–38.

blage of objects was found (layer US 2079=2059=2125=2280)¹² (Figs. 5 and 9). This layer was particularly abundant in pottery sherds, sealings and other objects (including animal bones, ceramic weights, figurines, etc.) and has been excavated over a total area of more than 125 m² (Fig. 8). In relation to the gradual demise of this building, the otherwise attested upkeep and cleaning was not carried out leaving traces of the activities which had been conducted in this large space. These objects found here are good evidence for the multi-purpose function of such spaces. Once the hall was completely abandoned, the entirety of layer US 2079 was sealed by an aeolian sand deposit (Fig. 5). At that time the structure itself remained relatively intact with the columns still *in situ*. The next phase is characterized by the almost systematic removal of the column bases (Fig. 5) and the dismantlement of the western wall W 398; this marks the partial disappearance of this building within the settlement.¹³ Thereafter a long stratigraphic sequence accumulates which is marked by several phases of inactivity during which thick layers of windblown sand and fill layers with refuse and leftovers from leveling operations were deposited (Fig. 5).

In the 17th Dynasty the entire zone was transformed into a vast silo court characterized by three or four consecutive phases of construction and renovation (Fig. 3). These silos of exceptionally large size functioned as the principal grain storage facility for the town of Edfu during the entire 17th until the early 18th Dynasty. The date for the life-time of the silos has been confirmed by the ceramic material found in the layers linked directly to their use and

also by pottery found in the exterior floor levels that were continuously growing in height over time.¹⁴

By the early 18th Dynasty, several of the silos had collapsed, especially their dome-shaped upper part which was most vulnerable, and the whole area became a zone for refuse deposit on a large scale; this can be seen in the very thick layers of ash and other accumulations of waste.¹⁵ These enormous deposits, none of which date later than the mid 18th Dynasty, are probably evidence for the presence of a large urban production center nearby that included a bakery, storage installations and metal working.¹⁶

During the two last seasons of fieldwork at Tell Edfu in 2010 and 2011, the excavation was continued along the northern side of the southern columned hall under the later silos Si 308, Si 388, Si 389, Si 323 and Si 316 (Figs. 2 and 3).¹⁷ Another large columned hall was found in this area, which has been confirmed by expanding the excavation to the north during the 2011 season. This northern hall was accessed via a doorway on the north side of the southern columned hall and it is evident that it belongs to the same administrative building complex (Figs. 2 and 3).¹⁸ Additionally, two rows of column base emplacements in the form of large round holes have been found (Fig. 2).¹⁹ These holes were left when the bases were removed from the floor into which they had been set and inside all of them a layer of clean yellow sand was found *in situ*.²⁰ The column bases that once stood here were of a larger size and probably different material than those of the southern columned hall; the sand foundation might be an indication of a

¹² These four context numbers are all equivalent to the same layer in stratigraphic terms and will be called US 2079 in the following text. From 2005 until now, parts of this layer were excavated in specific areas of the building, which were at the time of excavation not yet connectable. Therefore different stratigraphic unit numbers were assigned to them.

¹³ It is interesting to note that no traces of the roofing were found anywhere in the aeolian deposit which accumulated due to inactivity in this hall. It is very likely that the roof of the columned hall was still relatively intact until the final removal of the columns and the column bases.

¹⁴ See MOELLER 2010, 89–100 for further details on the silo court.

¹⁵ MOELLER 2010, 87–88, fig. 4.

¹⁶ Several crucibles for copper smelting have been found in these fill layers, which suggests that some metal working was carried out somewhere in the vicinity.

¹⁷ The excavation of the thick layers of demolition fill inside silo Si 316 were finished during the 2010 season, which then permitted excavating the underlying remains of the Middle Kingdom administrative complex. The fieldwork in this area is not quite finished yet but the first results are already very promising.

¹⁸ The doorway including the threshold were thoroughly dismantled and leveled by the later silo construction (Silo 316) above it. A very rough and broken patch of the mud-floor in this passage suggests that there might have originally been a stone threshold here, see Fig. 3.

¹⁹ The walls of silos Si 316 and Si 388 were built above these two holes.

²⁰ MOELLER 2011, figs. 8 and 9.

heavier column while the size of the holes suggests a larger diameter for the bases, too.²¹

Furthermore, this northern hall shows an almost identical stratigraphic sequence to the adjacent southern columned hall, from the period of use until its abandonment, indicating that these sequences are synchronous (compare Figs. 5 and 6). Here the same kind of final occupation layer which is about 10 cm thick marking the last phase of use has been excavated (see Fig. 6, US 2682=2673), too. It lies directly on top of a mud-brick floor covered by a layer of muna (Fl 792 = Fl. 726), which was the main floor level of this northern hall. The Khayan sealings were found together with sealings naming Sobekhotep IV in a layer full of pottery and sealings (US 2654), which lies above a second floor phase (Fl. 784). Latter is only present in the south-western corner of this hall. In archaeological terms US 2654 is linked to the final abandonment of this building (Fig. 6).

Thus the recently excavated areas show very clearly the continuation of the administrative complex further to the north and the final limits have not been reached yet. So far it seems that this northern columned hall with larger columns arranged in two rows of at least five each was certainly the central feature of the entire building complex.²² The architectural features and the size of the second columned hall suggest that it had certainly been a major administrative complex of palatial proportions. As mentioned above, the best contemporary example for comparison comes from Buhen where the 'Command Building' shows similar features and is comparable in size.²³ It is noteworthy that neither the large villas at Kahun nor the governor's building at Wah-Sut at Abydos-South have a matching layout.

The final occupation layer of the columned halls: Formation and content

The last phase of occupation in both halls has been well-preserved in the form of a specific stratigraphic layer which has been excavated on a large exposure especially in the southern columned hall

(US 2079=2059=2125=2280) but was also recognized in the adjoining northern hall (US 2682) (Fig. 7). It has been deposited in a synchronous way in both areas, which has been confirmed by pottery evidence (see Appendix II) as well as the stratigraphy and the architecture. The two columned halls functioned at the same time and they were abandoned in a similar manner.

This layer marking the final occupation is remarkably homogenous in the whole area, and its depth of only 5 to 10 cm remains the same throughout both halls. It is composed of a loose silt matrix with a heavy proportion of organic micro-particles, specifically pieces of fine straw with the occasional addition of ash and small accumulations of charcoal similar to what can be found in the remains of several small fireplaces on the surface of these mud-floors.

A considerable amount of objects of various types were excavated within this layer which were dispersed in particular concentrations on the floor, suggesting their discard close to where they had been used; if this is so, they provide a possible glimpse of the final activities carried out here before the abandonment of the building. Several hundred mud sealings, important concentrations of pottery sherds, often broken into smaller pieces and lying flat on the surface, were found together with other types of objects such as animal bones, small limestone chips, pieces of pigment, small lithic tools, clay figurines and weights (Figs. 8 and 9).

This distribution of objects reflects the typical discard practices generated by various activities, and such accumulations of debris were often noticed along areas which were least exposed to circulation patterns within the building, for example along the side of the halls, next to the columned bases (Fig. 8) or the bench in a corner (see Fig. 10). Concentrations of discarded sealings were often found in these locations, also.²⁴ The specific accumulation of sealings that were used for door-bolts identified by their large peg-negatives have been noticed especially near two entrance areas, indicating the presence of doors that were sealed and opened on a regular

²¹ For example, holes Ho 724 and Ho 725 have a diameter between 1.25 m and 1.44 m and the inter-column space is 2.4 m (minimum).

²² There are some indications that the newly discovered columned hall might have continued in use slightly longer than the southern one, which is suggested by some of the

pottery and sealings (see Appendices I and II for context US 2654). This would make good sense if it had been the central feature of the administrative building. Its northern limits lie under several meters of later settlement remains.

²³ See for example EMERY 1979, pl. 16.

²⁴ See Fig. 7 for the distribution within the columned halls.

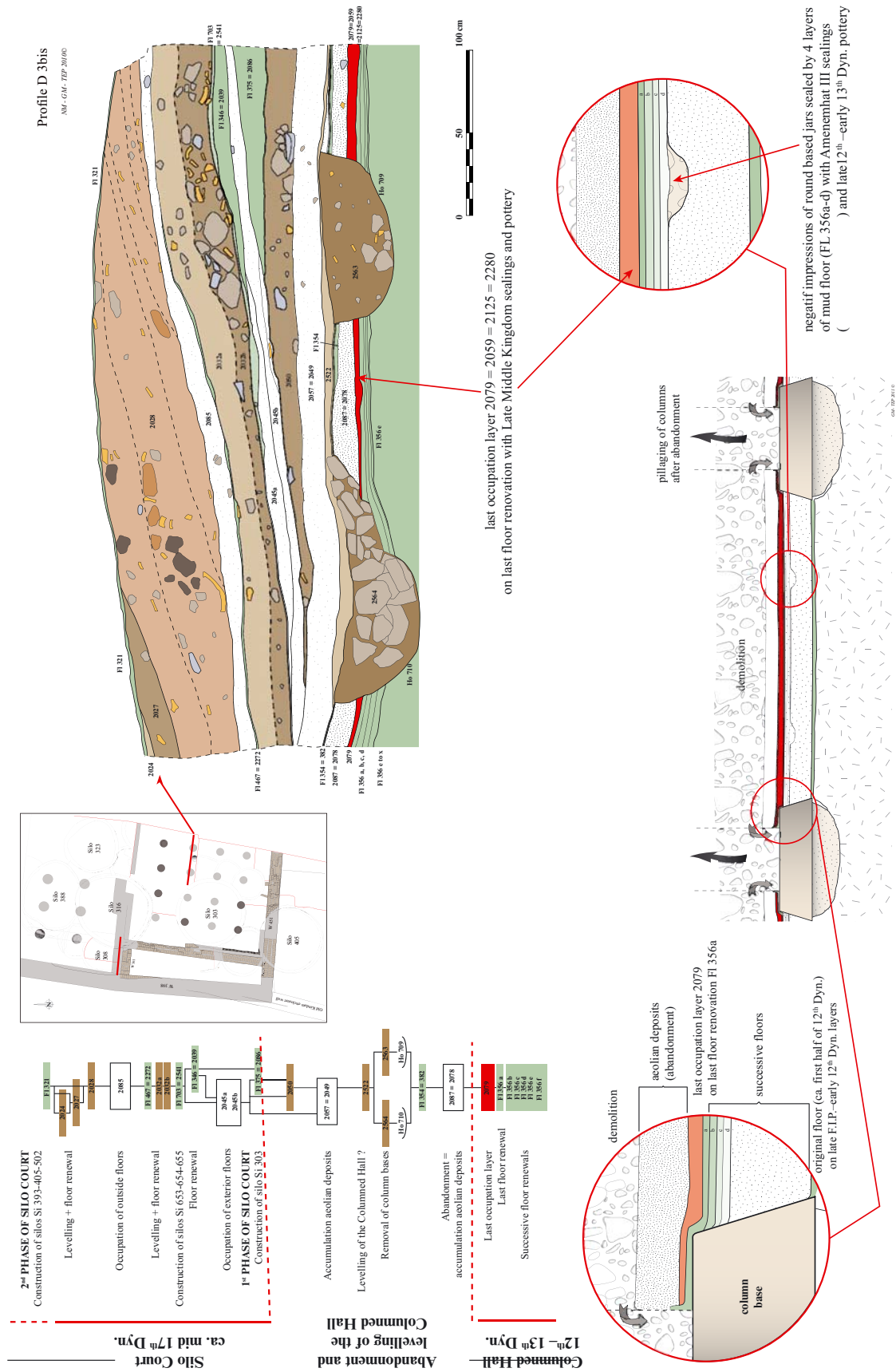


Fig. 5 South profile in southern columned hall including detailed stratigraphic analysis of the matrix

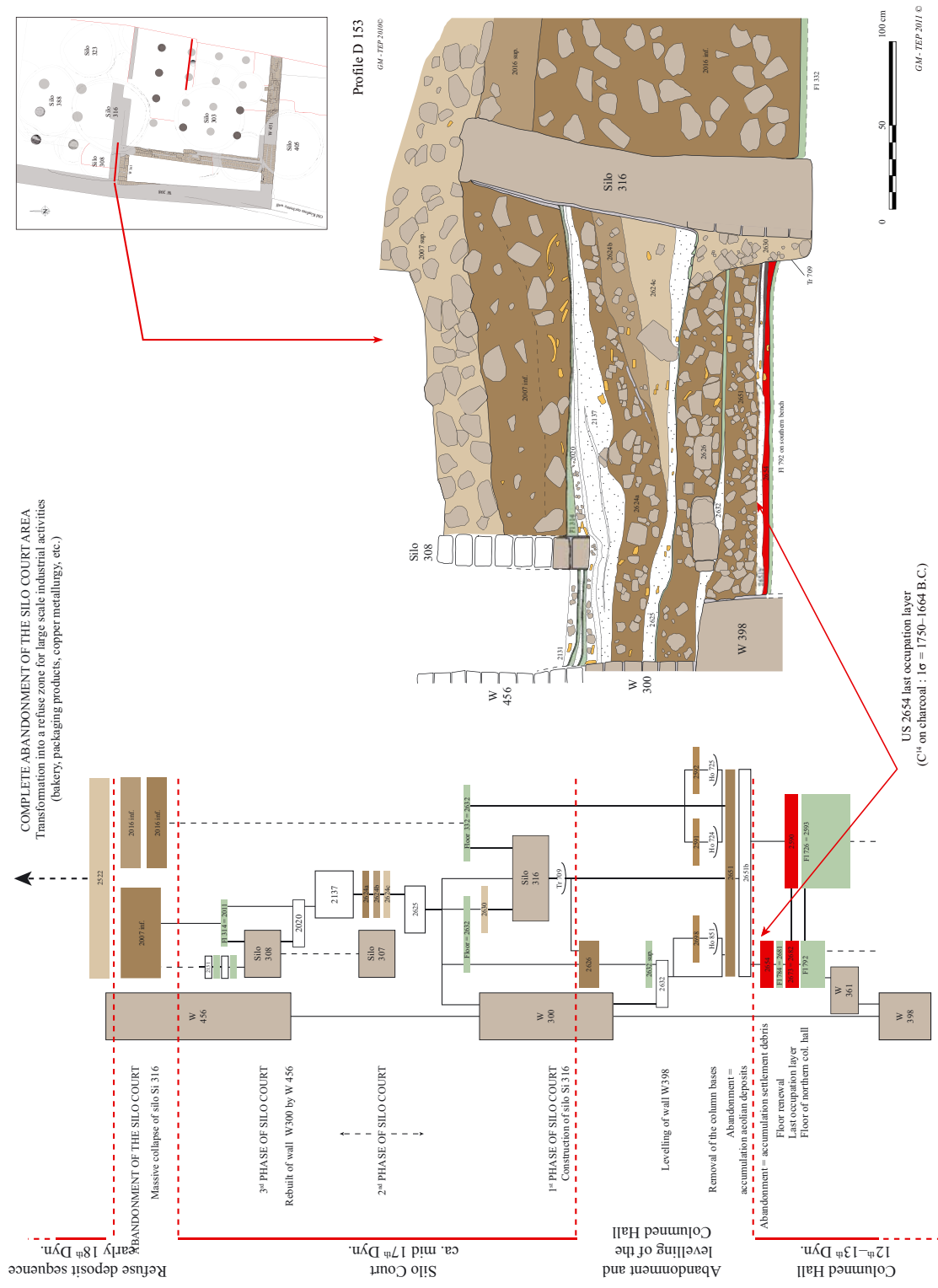


Fig. 6 Profile of south-west corner of the northern columned hall including detailed stratigraphic analysis of the matrix

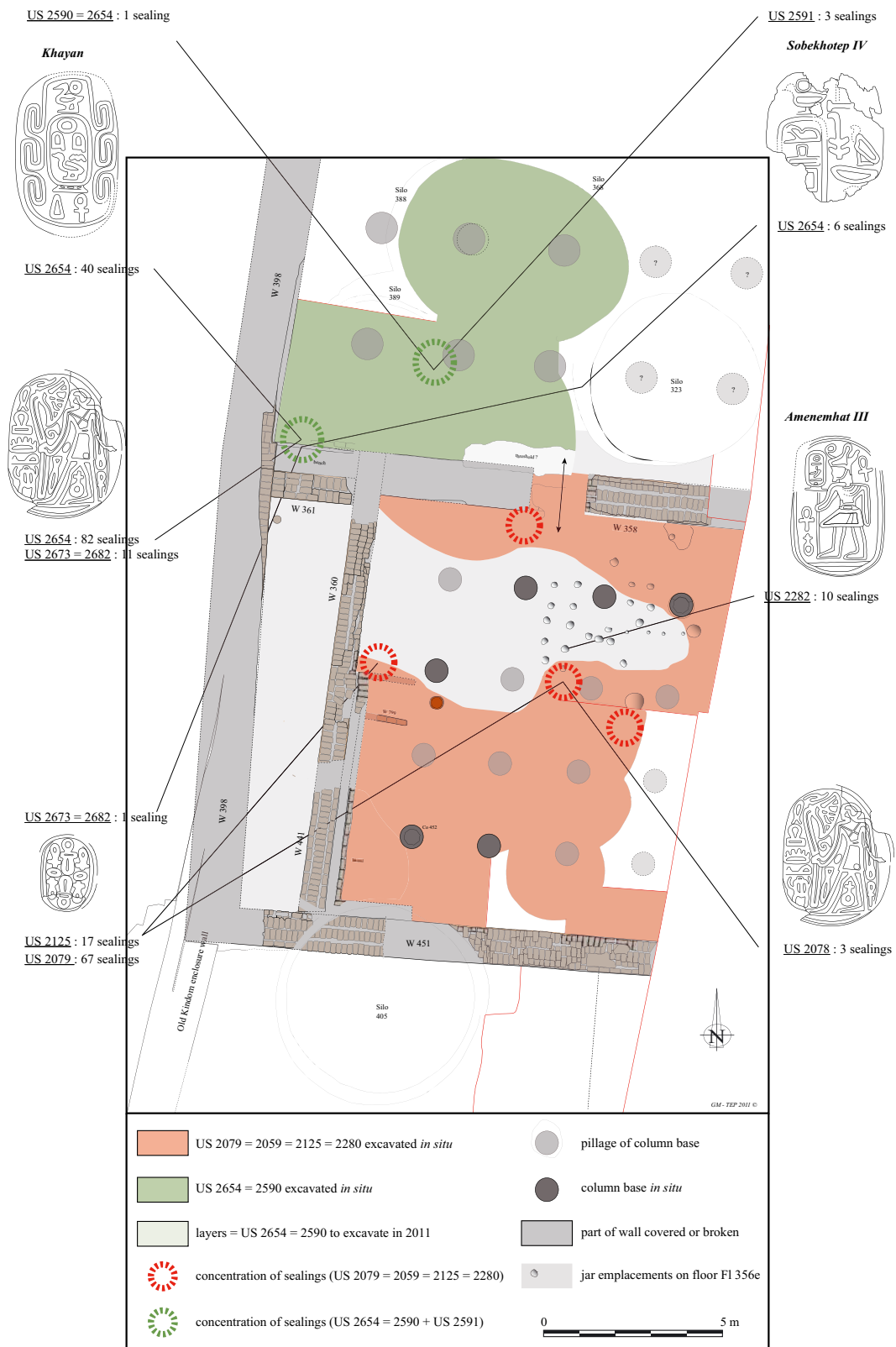


Fig. 7 Significant concentrations of sealings in the southern and northern columned hall of the administrative building complex

basis. Even though the later silo construction led to many of the walls being leveled which makes the identification of such a doorway between the elongated room next to the southern columned hall almost impossible, the heavy concentration of sealings in addition to the thin mud-brick wall (W799, see Fig. 4) here suggests strongly that there had been an entrance in the immediate vicinity. The accumulation of seals near the doorway between the two columned halls needs to be interpreted in the same manner (Figs. 3 and 7).

In purely stratigraphic and taphonomic terms, the nature of the objects as well as the composition and formation processes of this final occupation layer on the last mud-floor (US 2079 and US 2682) shows that the layers were formed during a relatively short period of time with a duration of several months up to a couple of years at the most.²⁵ It needs to be emphasized that this last level of occupation corresponds to *the last phase of use* of these spaces and is by no means to be confused with the level that relates to the final abandonment, the aeolian deposit (US 2078 = 2058, Fig. 5) which seals the ultimate occupation layer in the southern columned hall.

The final abandonment in northern columned hall happened a little bit later. Along the western side a phase of floor renewal was noted (Fl. 784 = US 2681) which lies directly above US 2682. Further towards the east, in the area underneath Silo 316, this second floor lies directly on top of the original mud-floor (Fl. 792) of this hall. Above Fl. 784 a layer of dense occupation debris (US 2654) accumulated which can be divided into three sub-phases. This layer has a thickness of about 10 cm and becomes thicker in the south-western angle of the northern columned hall and must be linked to its abandonment.²⁶ Out of a total of 333 sealings found in this layer, 40 can be attributed to Khayan and 6 to Sobekhotep IV. Both sealings were found togeth-

er in this layer; they are exclusively present in this context and not in the final occupation layer below.

From the same context several ¹⁴C samples have been obtained. One of them consists of a large piece of charcoal of the *acacia raddiana* species and was recently analyzed in the laboratory of the Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO) in Cairo.²⁷

Such evidence for the various phases of use and abandonment of an official building complex has been found at other sites with larger columned halls, too. A good example is the Middle Kingdom fortress of Uronarti in Lower Nubia, where the floor of the main administrative unit was similarly characterized by many discarded objects in the layer lying directly above the last floor level including a large amount of broken sealings.²⁸ However, such vital contexts are often not described in the necessary detail in the publications, or they have been missed altogether during the excavation, their importance having been overlooked even though these are one of the most informative contexts for the study of any type of buildings within a settlement.

During the excavations at Tell Edfu, much attention has also been paid to the recovery of all the pottery sherds from the contexts linked to the various phases of the administrative building complex. For the detailed presentation and discussion of the pottery analysis and its parallels see Appendix II.²⁹ The sherds from the last four floor layers of the southern columned hall (Fl. 356) belong to the classic Middle Kingdom repertoire and date mainly to the 12th Dynasty with some types that can be assigned to the late 12th/early 13th Dynasty pottery phase.³⁰ The pottery that has been found in connection with the final period of occupation of the two columned halls (US 2079–2280 and US 2682) is slightly later and stands firmly in the tradition of the late Middle Kingdom (Fig. 15). However, in the abandonment layer of the northern columned hall,

²⁵ For the further discussion of this matter and its important implications, see below.

²⁶ US 2654 reaches a thickness of about 20 cm against wall W398 and the mud-brick bench in this corner.

²⁷ These samples were carefully collected from the same find spot as the Khayan sealings. So far one sample has been dated and several further samples (bone and charcoal) are currently being processed in the radiocarbon laboratory of the IFAO. The date range for this sample is relatively large (1750–1664 B.C. at 65.9% (1 σ range) probability, according to the report IFAO–0422).

²⁸ For the primary archaeological reports see DUNHAM 1967, 3–112 and REISNER 1955, 26–69 who calls this building complex 'Commandant's House'. The results of these excavations have been discussed by KEMP 1986, 120–136; SMITH 1990, 197–216; RYHOLT 1997, 321–332 and RYHOLT 2010, 113–115.

²⁹ The analysis of the late Middle Kingdom to early 18th Dynasty pottery corpus from Tell Edfu is part of N. Ayers PhD dissertation.

³⁰ See Appendix II, ED Fl 356 (= US 2061) and Fl 365a.



Fig. 8 West view of the final occupation layer (US 2079) *in situ* on the floor (Fl. 356a) of the southern columned hall showing the several concentrations of objects



Fig. 9 Final phase of occupation (US 2079) lying on top of the last floor level (Fl. 356a); regular phases of floor renovation are also visible (Fl. 356b-e)

which contained the Khayan and Sobekhotep IV sealings the first appearance of new forms can be noticed even though the great majority of the ceramic assemblage continues in the late Middle Kingdom tradition (Fig. 16). For example, there is a rim from US 2654 which belongs to a marl clay bottle has good parallels in the early Second Intermediate Period.³¹ This would confirm that the newly discovered northern column hall was in use slightly longer than the southern one.

The pottery, which is characteristic for the 17th Dynasty, appears first in conjunction with the silos *but not before* which means it is impossible to date the final occupation followed by the definitive abandonment of the administrative complex to the late Second Intermediate Period.³² In fact, all the ceramics found in connection with the use and abandonment of the silos date exclusively to the *late Second Intermediate Period* probably continuing into the early 18th Dynasty and are very different from the pottery associated with the earlier administrative building complex.

There has been much discussion about the evolution of different ceramic traditions during the Second Intermediate Period and much centers around the question of how long the late Middle Kingdom pottery tradition continues in Upper Egypt, as well as what the characteristics of the early Second Intermediate Period are in terms of ceramic development. In the past ten years there has been a marked increase in the publication and analysis of pottery from sites all over Egypt; this has contributed to our understanding of the transitional period between the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period. One of the main obstacles to answering these questions for the wider region of Upper Egypt is the lack of pottery from reliable stratigraphic sequences. In this regard settlement sites offer a much tighter control for the evolution of ceramic shapes and the relative chronology, especially during periods when political changes do not occur simultaneously with the cultural changes.³³ The only Upper Egyptian settlement site other than Edfu with continuous occupation for this time frame is the site of Elephantine.

The central part of Elephantine has been investigated in great depth and the evolution of the various domestic buildings has been followed from the late Middle Kingdom to the early 18th Dynasty. A large mud-brick building situated at the north-western part of the site has been identified as an administrative institution (H84) according to its size and layout, the presence of many storage facilities and a large number of discarded mud-sealings that were found here.³⁴ The data presented in the final publication provides much detailed information about the archaeological contexts and associated finds, which belong to the same categories as those from Tell Edfu for the same period. However, the sealings were predominantly from secondary trash deposits and it has been extremely difficult to link them to any specific building phases and their use.³⁵

Additionally, the work by A. Seiler on the pottery corpus from the cemetery at Dra Abu el-Naga in the Theban region is one of the key publications about pottery of the Second Intermediate Period in Upper Egypt³⁶ and has been particularly important for the Tell Edfu corpus because of the close similarities. In fact, the Edfu assemblage has closer links to the Theban tradition than to Elephantine, which again confirms a certain degree of regionalism in the overall development of ceramic styles. Certain general lines of development have been established, although some uncertainties still remain for the identification of the early Second Intermediate Period and the transition between the end of the 17th to the early 18th Dynasty in Upper Egypt. So far there is good evidence that in this southern region the Middle Kingdom tradition continues well into the 13th Dynasty and possibly to the end of it, which makes it difficult to isolate the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period because it is obvious that the political events did not lead to immediate cultural change.³⁷ In the north, reliable sequences have been established for example at Dahshur and Tell el-Dab^a, where a clear break occurs earlier than in Upper Egypt resulting in new pottery styles being already well established by the second half of the 13th Dynasty.³⁸ However, in the south a drastic change from the late

³¹ See Appendix II, ED 2654.3.

³² See MOELLER 2010, 87–89 for further details about the silo court of the late Second Intermediate Period.

³³ Contrary to J. Bourriau's opinion that pottery from funerary contexts is more useful to solve the questions about Second Intermediate Period pottery, see BOURRIAU 2010, 11.

³⁴ VON PILGRIM 1996, 213–284.

³⁵ VON PILGRIM 1996, 254–261; BEN-TOR 2007, 46–47.

³⁶ For the latest publications on the topic see SEILER 2010, 39–54; SEILER 2005, 123–160.

³⁷ SEILER 2005, 132–134; SEILER 2010, 42.

³⁸ BOURRIAU 2010, 11–37; SEILER 2010, 39–54.

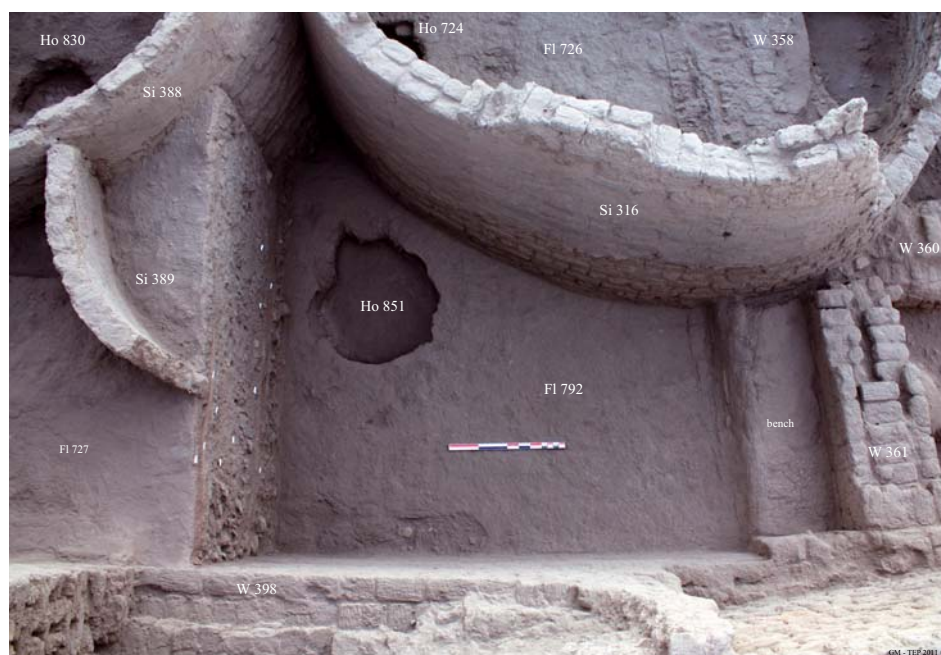


Fig. 10 South-west corner of the northern columned hall where the 40 Khayan sealings were found, showing the mud-brick bench leaning against wall W 361

Middle Kingdom tradition happens only later during the 16th /17th Dynasties.³⁹

The ceramic evidence from the administrative complex at Tell Edfu indicates that it was abandoned some time within the second half of the 13th Dynasty, which coincides with the early Second Intermediate Period. The time period between its final abandonment and the installation of the silo court during the 17th Dynasty is difficult to estimate but could have lasted several years (see details for the corresponding stratigraphy in Figs. 5 and 6).

Distribution patterns of sealings at Tell Edfu: A typical example for the preservation of an administrative cycle?

The sealing corpus of more than 1400 sealings excavated in final occupation and abandonment layers within the two columned halls not only includes some relatively original motifs but also shows a striking ‘mix’ of designs that have been assigned chronologically to different periods and

geographically to Egypt and Palestine.⁴⁰ The largest number of them was recovered in concentrated areas of this building, mostly belonging to the final phase of occupation (US 2079) (see Fig. 7).

A substantial accumulation of 333 sealings was also found in the abandonment layer US 2654 (see Fig. 7) in the south-western corner of the northern columned hall. In this layer 40 sealings with the name of Khayan have been discovered together with 6 sealings naming Sobekhotep IV. The considerable concentration and homogeneity of the Khayan sealings (> 10% of all sealings found here) in this area indicate an event of opening a group of commodities that arrived together in one delivery at the site. These sealings were all impressed by the same seal and were attached to wooden boxes and bags of goods, which can be seen on the preserved back-types (see Appendix I and Fig. 11, no. 1). These commodities were probably sent from the north (possibly Tell el-Dab^a?) to the town of Edfu.

³⁹ SEILER 2010, 51.

⁴⁰ For a detailed analysis of the selected sealings, see Appendix I. We would like to thank Kathryn Bandy and Lindsey Miller for meticulously recording the sealings on site and in the magazine of Elkab as well as entering them into the Tell

Edfu database. A special ‘thank you’ goes to K. Bandy for contributing much to the analysis and organization of the sealing records including many discussions about the readings of the personal names; her work made the writing of this article considerably easier.

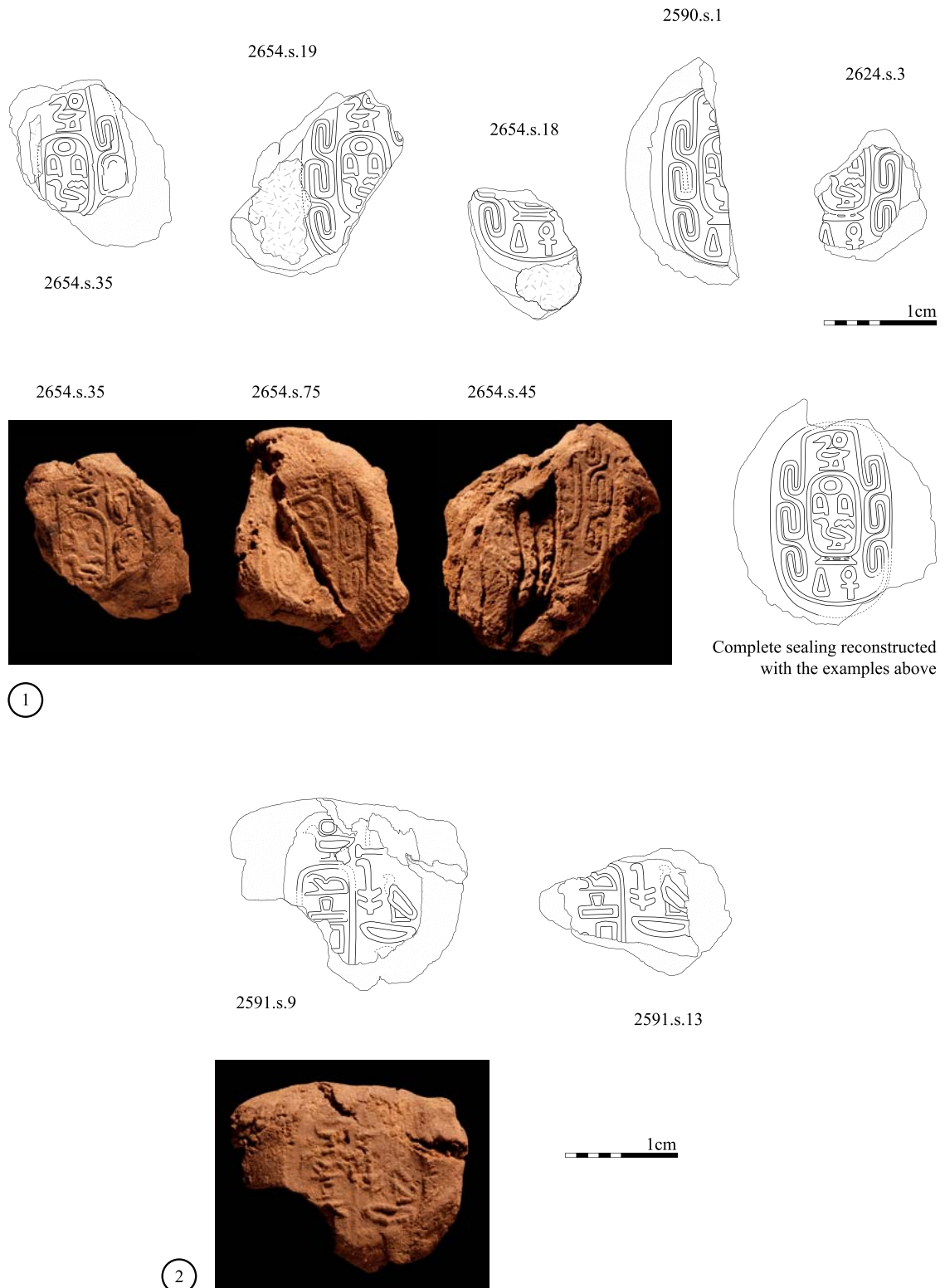


Fig. 11 Royal name sealings found in the northern columned hall (US 2654 and US 2591)



Fig. 12 Palestinian and private name sealings found in the northern columned hall (US 2654)

The Khayan sealings are not the only ones that were stamped by a scarab seal made in the north; several of the others found in the same context also show motifs of northern origin, most notably the one with a human figure holding a lotus flower (Fig. 12 no. 3). Since this motif belongs to the so-called Palestinian series, the corresponding scarab that was used to stamp the mud-seals was clearly manufactured in the Palestinian region. It displays characteristics typical of the late Palestinian series, examples of which were also found at Tell el-Dab^a, where they were assigned by Mlinar to type IV and dated to the early 15th Dynasty.⁴¹ A large number of sealings (123 in total) stamped by this seal have been found in multiple contexts related to the columned hall complex.

Of this type 82 examples in total have been discovered in US 2654, three of them were found in the associated layers of US 2078 (aeolian sand deposit) and eleven in US 2682 (last occupation phase of the northern columned hall) (see Fig. 7 for their distribution in various areas). The remarkable concentration of this type of sealing in US 2654 can be interpreted in several ways. It is possible that an official with a scarab of northern origin was living in Edfu, maybe he was even of northern origin himself. The currently most plausible possibility is that a large amount of goods were traded from the Delta to Edfu.⁴² The back-types encountered on these sealings show that they had been attached to wooden boxes, bags and baskets.

Together with those sealings of clearly northern origin, another type of royal name sealing was discovered, in this case of Upper Egyptian tradition. It shows the cartouche of a Sobekhotep and next to it his maternal filiation, which identifies him as Sobekhotep IV.⁴³ In total six sealings have been found in US 2654 and three further to the east in US 2591, close to a column base emplacement (see

Figs. 7 and 11, no. 2). Sobekhotep IV is firmly placed in the mid-13th Dynasty by the entry in *pTurin 7/27*⁴⁴. He is one of the best-attested kings of this period and ruled for at least 10 years.⁴⁵ At Tell Edfu, he is also attested on a private stela, which mentions regnal year 8, and which had been put up at the tomb of Isi in the nearby cemetery (see Fig. 1).⁴⁶

Furthermore, a considerable number of private name sealings, which stand firmly in the late Middle Kingdom tradition, have been found in US 2654, too. Among them are nine sealings naming the ‘seal-bearer, high steward and king’s retainer Redienptah’ (Fig. 12 no. 4).⁴⁷ An official with precisely these titles and the same name has been attested at various sites in Upper Egypt.⁴⁸ The fact that relatively few sealings with his name have been found at Tell Edfu suggests that he is not a local official.

Another private name sealing that fits very well to this archaeological context and which was found together with the other sealings mentioned above shows the title of ‘overseer of troops’ the personal name of the official is not preserved (Fig. 12 no. 5). Six examples of this sealing have been found in US 2654.⁴⁹ This private name sealing fits well to the late Middle Kingdom tradition of such seals; it shows a paired scroll border of three oblong pairs, which is quite common for this time period. However, the use of such scarab seals might have continued into the early Second Intermediate Period during which the use of military titles seems to become increasingly popular.⁵⁰

The last example of a private name sealing from this context which is included in this study mentions the ‘door keeper Usernebu’ (Fig. 12, no. 6).⁵¹ 17 sealings were found in US 2654 and one in US 2682.

All of these private name sealings belong to officials that are part of the late Middle Kingdom

⁴¹ MLINAR 2004, 122–129. See also the more detailed analysis of this motif in Appendix I, 2654.s.1.

⁴² For a detailed discussion on this issue, see MOELLER 2012.

⁴³ One sealing with the cartouche of Sobekhotep IV and his paternal filiation has been found at the opposite side of the administrative building complex (US 2648).

⁴⁴ RYHOLT 1997, 37, Table 9.

⁴⁵ The highest attested regnal year for this ruler is year 9, on a stela from the Wadi Hammamat; see RYHOLT 1997, 229–231.

⁴⁶ ALLIOT 1935, 33 no. 13. A second stela naming a regnal year 8 but without having the king’s name preserved is likely to have been Sobekhotep IV, too. It was found in the same context as the former one.

⁴⁷ See Appendix I, no. 2654.s.138 for additional information.

⁴⁸ MARTIN 1971, 72 no. 895, pl. 24 nos. 21–24.

⁴⁹ See Appendix I, no. 2654.s.34 for further details.

⁵⁰ QUIRKE 2004, 187.

⁵¹ Appendix I, no. 2654.s.13.

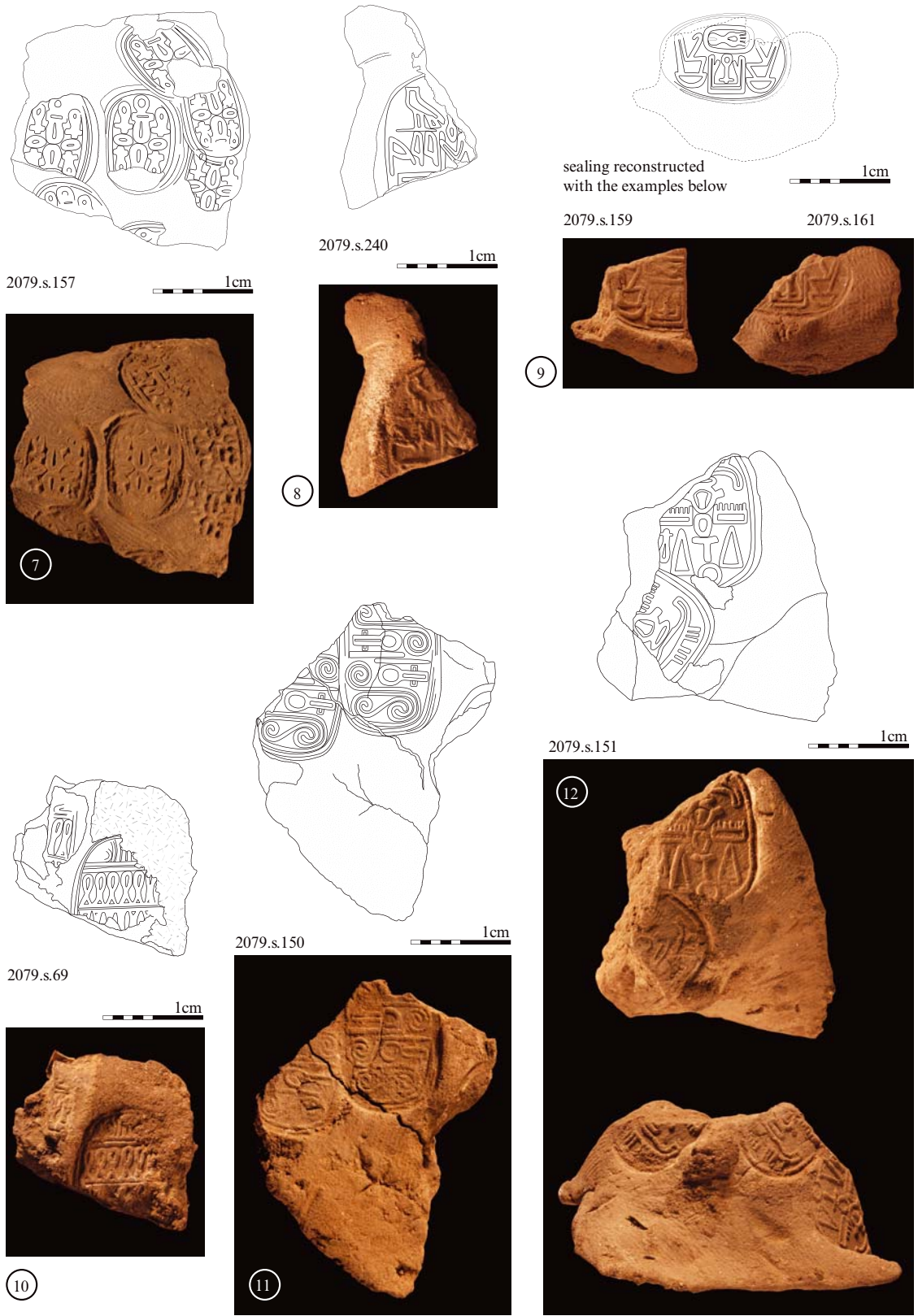


Fig. 13 Sealings found in the southern columned hall (US 2079)

administrative system. The fact that they were found in the same context as those of northern origin leads to the conclusion that this administrative system must have continued to function in the south much longer than previously assumed, at least into the early Second Intermediate Period when the Delta was already ruled separately from Tell el-Dab^{ca}.⁵² From the sealings alone, a definite date for this layer is not easily established, but in conjunction with the ceramic evidence, the situation becomes much clearer.

In the southern columned hall most sealings were found in the layer that constitutes the final phase of occupation (US 2079). A particularly dense deposit was found along the western side near wall (W 360/W441), which separates the columned hall from the elongated room to the west (Fig. 7). In this small area of less than 1 m² more than 200 sealings were discovered. This accumulation of discarded sealings is certainly related to the regular sealing of the door providing access to the elongated room.⁵³

The most common decorative motif shows a symmetric arrangement of signs (Fig. 13, no. 7).⁵⁴ In total 105 examples with this motif have been excavated of which 83 were found in the final layer of occupation (US 2079, US 2125) alone, and at least one of them was found in the same context as the one showing the standing figure holding a lotus flower (US 2682, see Fig. 12 no. 3). The impressions made by this seal show signs of wear, which suggests heavy use. The majority were peg sealings but a distinction can be made between large and small, square and round pegs probably indicating the difference between door and box sealings.⁵⁵ At least seven sealings with this motif had been attached to papyrus documents. These results show clearly that the seal used for stamping

these sealings belonged to a local official from Edfu who remained in his administrative position for a long time.

Further sealings from this context include typical late Middle Kingdom private names but also a large number of design motifs showing decorative patterns (Fig. 13 nos. 8–12).⁵⁶ The motif of a symmetrically arranged pattern of confronted red crowns (Fig. 13 no. 9) as well as a design of single line loops (Fig. 13 no. 10) are extremely common for this period. The former has good parallels from sealings found at Uronarti as well as Kahun. The design of spirals and *nefer* signs which are also arranged in a symmetric pattern (Fig. 13 no. 11) has its origins in the early Middle Kingdom but evolves into a much more elaborate style during the late Middle Kingdom, to which this example belongs to.

As can be seen from the analysis presented above, the sealings found in association with the administrative building complex fall into two groups; those that stand completely in the tradition of the late Middle Kingdom and the others that were made with scarabs from the northern workshop(s), probably Tell el-Dab^{ca} and Palestine. These two groups have traditionally been thought of having succeeded each other when found in the context of administration. However, at Tell Edfu both types of sealings were found together in the same archaeological context that formed over a short period of time and which is extremely secure in stratigraphic terms; no pollution with later layers is possible as has been outlined above. Furthermore, it is likely that this corpus presents the preservation of one administrative cycle (see below for a discussion of such evidence from Uronarti). It is also evident that this large amount of sealings attests a continuation for the use of scarab seals for administrative purposes into the early Second Intermediate Period.⁵⁷

⁵² D. Ben-Tor already suggested this in her detailed study of Late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period scarabs, see BEN-TOR 2007, 44–45.

⁵³ For the detailed analysis see Appendix I. A representative sample of the sealings from 2079=2125 is presented in depth.

⁵⁴ See Appendix I, no. 2079.s.157.

⁵⁵ It has been deemed impossible to distinguish between sealings that were used for doors and those used to seal wooden boxes, see WEGNER 2007, 302, but the diameter of the peg could be helpful for attributing them to one or the other use.

⁵⁶ See Appendix I for further details.

⁵⁷ So far there is no conclusive evidence, even though it would be a convenient solution, for the re-use of late Middle King-

dom scarabs during the early Second Intermediate Period. Additionally, no archaeological evidence for any scarab workshop in Egypt has been discovered for the late Middle Kingdom and it is impossible to know whether scarabs would have been exclusively produced in the Fayum-Memphite region or whether further workshops existed elsewhere, see also QUIRKE 2004, 182. Quirke suggests that it is likely that there was a relatively centralized production because of the need for specialists to mark the inscriptions on the scarabs. Nevertheless, at Tell Edfu it is possible to identify several characteristics especially on sealings of the highest administration that indicate a local workshop making these scarabs.

All of the data (ceramics, stratigraphy, sealings and ¹⁴C sample⁵⁸) which have been presented so far for the administrative building complex at Tell Edfu would be completely in the norm of what is to be expected for the late Middle Kingdom and the transition to the early Second Intermediate Period if it were not for the presence of the Khayan sealings. This discovery generates many new questions as to the nature of the contact between the Hyksos and Upper Egypt but also has important chronological implications.

The significance of the Khayan sealings from Tell Edfu

Khayan is one of the best known Hyksos kings, which can be seen in the numerous attestations of his name on monuments, statuary and especially scarab and cylinder seals but the majority of these objects were not found in a good archaeological context.⁵⁹ In terms of his place within the 15th Dynasty, he has usually been assigned the position of the predecessor of Apophis, another well-attested Hyksos king who ruled probably for about 40 years.⁶⁰ The entry in the Turin kinglist which listed the rulers of the 15th Dynasty is unfortunately quite fragmentary and most names are missing apart from Khamudi, the last ruler of the Hyksos. For two of the preceding entries, only the number of regnal years has been preserved, one which gives 10+ years and the following 40+ years. Since the best attested rulers are Khayan and Apophis it has been argued that those two kings were recorded here.⁶¹ In the summary line after the entry for Khamudi, the Turin kinglist records a total of six Hyksos rulers who ruled for about 108 years. No other source has so far contributed anything more precise as to the reign order and length for any of these kings.

Furthermore, there also has been much debate on the relationship between the Hyksos kings and the southern part of Egypt prior to the Kamose wars of the 17th Dynasty. In a recent article, D. Polz has very convincingly argued that there is no firm evidence for a Hyksos presence in Upper Egypt.⁶² A variety of objects that seem to have an Upper Egyptian provenance consist mainly of weapons, a fragment of an alabaster vessel and the mathematical papyrus Rhind, all of which bear the name of the Hyksos ruler Apophis.⁶³ Again none of these items was found in a secure archaeological context. Additionally two architectural elements are known from the site of Gebelein, located ca. 75 km north of Edfu. One of them is a small granite column base inscribed with the name of Khayan and the other one a lintel, which names Apophis.⁶⁴ Both of them were found in a secondary context, especially the lintel, which had been re-used as a threshold.⁶⁵ These stone elements have in the past been interpreted as evidence for a 'fortress' or stronghold by the Hyksos at Gebelein but the evidence remains inconclusive for such a hypothesis.⁶⁶ The stone lintel shows the image of the winged sun-disk which suggests that it originally belonged to a sanctuary.⁶⁷

Now the new evidence from Tell Edfu sheds additional light on this relationship between Upper Egypt and the Hyksos. The Khayan sealings together with the other sealings showing motifs of Palestinian origin prove that there was at least a kind of economic contact between the north and south, an exchange of goods between the nome capital and temple of Edfu in the south and the Nile Delta ruled by the Hyksos. There is also the possibility that apart from purely economic relations, goods were sent as diplomatic gifts or as

⁵⁸ The date obtained for the first ¹⁴C sample (see no. 29 above) also excludes clearly any date within the second half of the 17th century and a possible 17th Dynasty date. Its range fits nicely within the mid-13th Dynasty though. Of course one ¹⁴C sample is not enough to be conclusive but the results of the other samples will shed more light on this matter.

⁵⁹ RYHOLT 1997, 383–385. To this list the recent sealings from Tell el-Dab^a need to be added, see BIETAK 2011, 38–41.

⁶⁰ See for example RYHOLT 1997, 118–119.

⁶¹ RYHOLT 1997, 119, Table 22.

⁶² Several authors in the past have brought forward the hypothesis that the Hyksos once ruled over Upper Egypt; see for example RYHOLT 1997, 133. Ryholt suggests a

southward expansion of the Hyksos which '*is reflected in the large-scale transport of monuments, which were sent from defeated towns to adorn the residence at Avaris*'. Along the same lines, Redford argues that '*at one stage in their occupation the Hyksos could claim sufficient domination over the Thebaid to erect a monumental construction at Gebelein, just south of Thebes*'; see REDFORD 1992, 113.

⁶³ POLZ 2006, 245.

⁶⁴ POLZ 2006, 239–242, see Abb. 1 and 2.

⁶⁵ FRASER 1893.

⁶⁶ For example WINLOCK 1947, 145–149 and BIETAK 1980, 96.

⁶⁷ See POLZ 2006, Abb. 2.

donations to the temple of Horus of Edfu.⁶⁸ That such trade relations were part of a longer tradition are also indicated by several pieces of Levantine Painted Ware pottery that were found in the late Middle Kingdom contexts (US 2079 and US 2280).⁶⁹

The other issue that needs to be addressed in view of the discovery at Tell Edfu is the internal chronology of the Second Intermediate Period and the overlap of various dynasties. The presence of the nine Sobekhotep IV sealings in the same closed context as the Khayan ones suggests that these two rulers reigned probably not too far apart from each other or were even contemporary.⁷⁰ Following the traditionally proposed order of reigns, Sobekhotep IV and Khayan are separated by about 100 years, but this cannot be correct in view of the stratigraphic evidence from Tell Edfu.⁷¹ It is not possible that the final occupation and the following abandonment layer of the columned hall complex accumulated during more than several years at the most! This can be seen also in the regular phases of floor renewal while the building was being used, great care being taken in its up-keep, which is necessary for any mud-brick building, and the slight thickness of the occupation layer on top of the last floor, which was followed by the abandonment. The recurring sealing motifs within these layers (see Fig. 7) and the ¹⁴C date obtained from US 2654 are strong evidence that falls in line with these observations, too.

Thus the conclusion is that Khayan must date earlier than previously thought and there might have been an overlap between the late 13th Dynasty and the early 15th Dynasty. As pointed out above, there is no secure place for Khayan within

the 15th Dynasty and there is also no evidence for a close connection or succession between Khayan and Apophis! Not a single piece of evidence has the name of both rulers occurring together. On purely stylistic grounds D. Ben-Tor has already proposed that the Khayan seals belong to the early 15th Dynasty rulers and she places him close to Yaqubhar.⁷²

The Uronarti context revisited

The presence of seal-impressions of mixed origins and the occurrence of royal names that belong to the 13th Dynasty together with sealings of rulers who have been assigned to the 14th/15th Dynasties is not an isolated phenomenon. The closest and probably most frequently discussed context in this connection comes from the fortress of Uronarti, where the archaeological data is strikingly similar to the findings at Tell Edfu.⁷³ More than one thousand mud-sealings have been found on the last floor level within the main administrative building situated in the eastern corner of the fortress near the granaries.⁷⁴

S.T. Smith correctly interpreted this phenomenon of the discarded seal-impressions as a result of an administrative cycle including the sealing of commodities as well as the breaking of seals on received items. This waste was allowed to accumulate for a certain amount of time and was then cleared out of the building followed by the next cycle of administrative work.⁷⁵ There have been numerous discussions as to the length of the time period in question. Past interpretations have ranged from over a hundred years⁷⁶ to a short period lasting between several months up to a year or two⁷⁷ and probably spanning one administrative cycle.⁷⁸

⁶⁸ This seems quite plausible in view of the stone blocks from Gebelein, which in the light of these new discoveries should be reconsidered and might be a sign for the Hyksos rulers contributing to a local Egyptian sanctuary.

⁶⁹ We would like to thank Tine Bagh who identified these sherds during her stay with us at Edfu in the 2010 season. In her forthcoming monograph, she suggests that these vessels were probably *'imported via Tell el-Dab'a as the main centre receiving the Levantine goods, which were subsequently re-distributed from one administrative centre to another'*.

⁷⁰ The possibility of a much later re-use of a Sobekhotep IV scarab for these seal-impressions has to be excluded according to the ceramic evidence as well as the ¹⁴C date (see nos. 29 and 61 above).

⁷¹ Compare table 36 with table 40 in RYHOLT 1997, 197 and 201.

⁷² BEN-TOR 2007, 106. See also BIETAK 2004, 49 who points out further similarities in the iconography of the seals.

⁷³ See no. 30 above.

⁷⁴ See SMITH 1990, pl. XXVII for the distribution pattern of the sealings.

⁷⁵ SMITH 1990, 205–207.

⁷⁶ For example TUFNELL 1975, 69.

⁷⁷ REISNER 1955, 26 followed by SMITH 1990, 206.

⁷⁸ An administrative cycle lasted between 4 and 21 months according to Papyrus E 3226 from the Louvre which dates to the reign of Thutmose III; see MEGALLY 1969, 436–437. For the Middle Kingdom no such information is currently available.

Looking at this context from a purely archaeological point of view, it can be classified as the final occupation layer within this building, identical to the context of the sealings from the administrative complex at Tell Edfu.⁷⁹ While administrative buildings were in use, there seem to have been periodical cleaning activities during which the floors were swept and the large amounts of discarded and broken sealings were deposited in heaps along the outside of these administrative structures, usually not too far from where they came from in the first place. This habit has been noticed at several other late Middle Kingdom sites and at Uronarti, too, where about 188 discarded sealings were found along the exterior of the eastern fortress wall.⁸⁰ Similar observations have been made also at the fortress of Askut situated north of Uronarti.⁸¹ For the Egyptian Nile valley, a good example for this activity comes from the settlement of Wah-Sut (South-Abydos), where the majority of sealings were found in deposits that represent ‘discard zones’.⁸² Both examples show clearly the close proximity between sealing activity and their final deposit as trash, while those still in the actual buildings stem from the final administrative work carried out here.

Most of the earlier discussions concerning Uronarti focused on the nature of the sealing deposit and the chronological implications in relation to the presence of sealings stamped by royal cylinder seals.⁸³ In total three names of 13th Dynasty rulers occur together with a kind of ‘sample sealing’ showing the seal-impression of Maaibre / Sheshi, who belongs to the group of foreign rulers from Tell el-Dab^a/Avaris.⁸⁴ The presence of the Maaibre sealing is however puzzling

and K. Ryholt proposed as a solution to move this ruler to the 14th Dynasty, which for him consists of the group of so-called ‘lesser Hyksos’, and which would have been contemporary to almost the entire span of the 13th Dynasty.⁸⁵ As stated above, Sheshi (Maaibre) is a less well-known Hyksos ruler, traditionally assigned to the 15th Dynasty but because of the few existing attestations for this king it has not been difficult to move his rule to the 14th Dynasty together with other similarly obscure rulers that have often been assigned to the group of ‘lesser Hyksos’.⁸⁶

One of the main arguments against Ryholt’s interpretation has been the ceramic evidence, which does not support an early 13th Dynasty date but a late one.⁸⁷ Since Khayan is firmly anchored in the 15th Dynasty, contrary to the less secure evidence for Sheshi, a possible explanation that fits the archaeological data is a chronological overlap between the latter part of the 13th and the early 15th Dynasty.

CONCLUSIONS

As the situation stands now, more data is needed in order to fully solve these chronological issues. New data from the ceramic material in relation to a tight stratigraphic control with additional ¹⁴C dates will be crucial but the debate needs to reconsider the current standing of the research and remain flexible in view of new discoveries.

Most problems in the current discussion arise because of a lack of clarity and definition of what the Second Intermediate Period really means. The main issue here is the difference in cultural and political changes. Politically, most scholars agree that the Second Intermediate Period starts when

⁷⁹ B. Kemp already suggested that the concentration of sealings in Building D at Uronarti was the result of the ‘final administrative act’; see KEMP 1986, 125. He deduced this from the rather sketchy description of the archaeological context that has been published. The new evidence from Tell Edfu fully supports this interpretation now.

⁸⁰ See SMITH 1990, 215, fig. XXXVII.

⁸¹ SMITH 1990, 211.

⁸² WEGNER 2001, 78–80. Of much interest is especially Deposit 4 which contains mainly discarded sealings that stem from the administrative structure at the rear of the governor’s residence.

⁸³ See RYHOLT 1997, 321–322; RYHOLT 2010, 113–115 and BEN-TOR 2007, 47–48.

⁸⁴ There is also one attestation for Sheshi from Edfu. A scarab with his name had been found by the *sebbakhin* who were digging at Tell Edfu. It had been sold by a dealer; see ENGELBACH 1921, 189.

⁸⁵ See table 1 in RYHOLT 1997, 6. There has been much debate about Ryholt’s assertion that the early 13th Dynasty was contemporary to the 14th Dynasty, which does not fit well the archaeological data; see BEN-TOR, ALLEN and ALLEN 1999, 47–74 and RYHOLT 2010, 109–126. However, this is another topic that would deserve its own article.

⁸⁶ RYHOLT 1997, 94–117.

⁸⁷ See the detailed discussion of the ceramic evidence by S. ALLEN in: BEN-TOR, ALLEN and ALLEN 1999, 55–58.

the Egyptian kings no longer rule over a unified country. Although that statement is fairly straightforward, the actual evidence is much less clear. J. Bourriau explained in her synopsis of the Second Intermediate Period that this break seems to have happened after Merneferre Ay, the last ruler who is attested to have had monuments in Upper and Lower Egypt.⁸⁸

However, when looking more closely at the currently available source material, the sketchy nature of most evidence becomes fairly obvious; this is in fact one of the main contributing factors for the difficulties one is facing when dealing with this period of history. A lot of evidence is inconclusive which leads to constantly changing interpretations without final answers.⁸⁹

Archaeological evidence from Edfu as well as the Delta region, however, does seem to be getting somewhat closer to the goal and should be taken as a starting point for any in-depth discussion of the Second Intermediate Period. The new results from the Tell Edfu excavations provide a good source for such a revision and re-evaluation. The preliminary conclusions that can be drawn from these discoveries can be summarized as follows:

- The Khayan sealings from Tell Edfu are the first pieces of secure evidence for a (non-violent ?!) contact between the Hyksos and Upper Egypt.
- These sealings indicate economic, diplomatic or even cultic relations between important urban centers in the south and Tell el-Dabca / Avaris in the north, probably even as far as the Levant.
- The sealings of Khayan were found in a secure archaeological context that has been identified

as the last phase of activity and subsequent abandonment of an important administrative complex, which can be securely dated by the ceramic evidence to the late Middle Kingdom (mid 13th Dynasty)—early Second Intermediate Period.

- The presence of Khayan in the same context together with the other sealings of the late Middle Kingdom tradition, especially Sobekhotep IV, and those of the Palestinian series combined with the ceramic evidence and the ¹⁴C date is very strong evidence for a chronological overlap of the late 13th and early 15th Dynasties. This discovery has certainly consequences for the overall length of the Second Intermediate Period.
- It is not possible that Khayan is the immediate predecessor of Apophis. The latter ruler is firmly linked to the late 15th Dynasty and was contemporary to the Theban rulers of the 17th Dynasty.

APPENDIX I: SELECTION OF SEALINGS FOUND AT TELL EDFU IN ASSOCIATION WITH THE FINAL OCCUPATION AND ABANDONMENT OF THE COLUMNED HALL (US 2079, US 2280, US 2590, US 2654)⁹⁰

2654.s.18, 19, 35, 45 and 75; 2590.s.1; 2624.s.3
(Fig. 11, no. 1)

Sealings inscribed with *s3 R^c Hy3n di ʿnh*
'son of Ra, Khayan, given life'

*Back type:*⁹¹ 10 peg sealings, 15 flat sealings showing string and wood grain on back, 4 fabric sealings

Date: 15th Dynasty

Parallels: BEN-TOR 2007, design class 7B3, 106, pl. 43 no. 8.

⁸⁸ BOURRIAU 2003, 172. See RYHOLT 1997, 354–356. Most of the evidence for his name comes from scarab seals, five of which have been found at Lisht. More reliable evidence comes from architectural elements such as a pyramidion that was found in Qantir in the Delta and was probably brought there from Memphis as well as a lintel at Karnak; for a discussion of the pyramidion, see also HABACHI 1952, 69–77, pls. XVI, XVII. However, the very limited nature for archaeological evidence of the 13th Dynasty in general needs to be considered, and the absence of evidence is mainly a reflection of the current state of the available data.

⁸⁹ See for example the discussion on who is the first ruler of the 13th dynasty in RYHOLT 1997, 315–316, which demonstrates this problem nicely. None of the arguments brought forward by him or others can be taken as solid evidence; much remains a matter of conjecture.

⁹⁰ The numbering system for small finds from the Tell Edfu excavations has been chosen in a way to preserve the context number, which corresponds to the first four digits of the object number.

⁹¹ Only those backtypes were counted for which it was possible to identify a precise type. There always remains a number of unidentifiable ones because of bad reservation.

Comments: So far a total of 44 sealings with the name of Khayan have been identified in this context but there might be more. Ben-Tor points out the close stylistic similarity between Khayan and Yaqubhar, which favors an early 15th Dynasty for this group, which fits well to the early Second Intermediate Period date of the ceramic evidence.⁹²

2591.s.9 and 13 (Fig. 11, no. 2)

Sealings inscribed with *s3 R^c (Sbk-ḥtp) / (mt).n mw.t-ny-swt K(mj)*

‘Son of Ra, Sobekhotep (IV), whom the royal mother Kemi bore’

Back type: 7 peg sealings and 1 bag sealing have been identified

Date: 13th Dynasty

Parallels: BEN-TOR 2007, 38–39, pl. 21 nos. 6–7; RYHOLT 1997, 34–36, fig. 1.

Comments: A total of 3 sealings have been found so far in this context (see also Fig. 7 for the find spot), and another 6 were found in US 2654.

2654.s.1 (Fig. 12, no. 3)

Standing human figure holding a lotus flower

Back-Type: 36 peg sealings, 15 flat sealings showing string and wood grain on back, 13 basket sealings and 18 fabric sealings have been identified.

Date: Second Intermediate Period (early 15th Dynasty after MLINAR 2004).

Parallels: BEN-TOR 2007, Design class 10A, 178–179, pl. 102; MLINAR 2004, 122–129: Type IV.

Comments: This seal-impression shows a mix of Egyptian and Near Eastern features which indicate that it was made by a scarab that had been manufactured in Palestine. The human figure holds a lotus flower in his right hand and wears an Egyptian style loin cloth but the crossed bands on his chest are linked to Near Eastern glyptic.⁹³ The *nr^c*-style hieroglyphs in front of the human figure and the degenerated *nefer* sign are all elements that date this particular motif to the beginning of the Hyksos time.⁹⁴ Out of a total of 333 sealings in this layer, 82 of them show this seal-impression (almost 25 %!). There is an ongoing debate about the exact date and

division into an early group and late group. According to Ben-Tor, the example from Tell Edfu belongs to the late Palestinian series, which she dates to 1650–1500 B.C. This design class appears first in the early series but becomes very popular in the late Palestinian series to which most examples have been assigned to by Ben-Tor and which are contemporary to the 15th Dynasty.⁹⁵ This is further supported by the fact that scarabs of the early series are almost completely absent in Egypt itself while this changes considerably for the late series for which scarabs have been found at many Egyptian sites.⁹⁶ Another observation that needs to be emphasized is the extremely good quality and excellent condition of the scarab leaving these impressions that show much detail. None of the examples represented by BEN-TOR is similarly well carved.

2654.s.138 (Fig. 12, no. 4)

Private name sealing inscribed with *ḥtm.ty bj.ty imy-r^c pr wr šmsw-ny-swt Rdi-n-Pth*

‘seal-bearer, high steward, king’s retainer, Redi-entpah’

Back-Type: 8 peg sealings and 1 basket sealing.

Date: late Middle Kingdom

Parallels: MARTIN 1971, 72 no. 895, pl. 24 nos. 21–24.

Comments: This official seems to be attested at various places throughout Egypt and the Levant. Only nine sealings with the impression of his name have been found at Tell Edfu indicating that he is not a local official.

2654.s.34 (Fig. 12, no. 5)

Private name sealing inscribed with the title *Imy-r3 mš^c* ‘overseer of troops’

Back-Type: 4 peg sealings and 1 basket sealing

Date: late Middle Kingdom

Parallels: BEN-TOR 2007, design class 7B3 (ii), 29, pls. 16, 17.

Comments: 6 sealings have been found in US 2654. The paired scroll border of three oblong pairs is typical for the late Middle Kingdom and found mainly on private name scarabs.

⁹² BEN-TOR 2007, 106–107.

⁹³ MLINAR 2004, 114.

⁹⁴ MLINAR 2004, 122–129, Type IV.

⁹⁵ See BEN-TOR 2007, 117–120. Ben-Tor provides a convincing outline of the appearance in Egypt of scarabs from Canaanite workshops, which seems to coincide with the

beginning of the Second Intermediate Period and the presence of the Asiatic population at Tell el-Dab’a that might have facilitated the commercial contacts between the rest of Egypt and southern Palestine.

⁹⁶ BEN-TOR 2007, 155.

2654.s.13 (Fig. 12, no. 6)

Private name sealing inscribed with *iry-ꜣ Wsr-nbw* ‘Door keeper Usernebu’

Back-type: 12 peg sealings, 1 basket and 1 bag sealing have been identified

Date: late Middle Kingdom

Parallels: BEN-TOR 2007, design class 7B4(i), 29, pl. 17.

Comments: 17 examples of this sealing have been found in US 2654 and one in US 2682.

2079.s.157 (Fig. 13, no. 7)

Sealing made with a design scarab showing a symmetric arrangement of signs

Back-type: 62 peg sealings, 16 flat sealings showing string and wood grain on the back, 7 papyrus sealings, and 2 fabric and 1 basket sealings.

Date: late Middle Kingdom

Parallels: BEN-TOR 2007, design class 3A3, 16, pl. 7, nos. 1–14.

Comments: This sealing was stamped nine times, it is very common at Tell Edfu. 105 sealings in total have been found of which 83 come from US 2079 = US 2125. Some of them were also found in the northern columned hall (one in US 2682 and one in US 2591). All of the seal-impressions made by this scarab show signs that it had a quite weathered surface indicating frequent use over a long period of time and most likely belonged to a local official.

2079.s.240 (Fig. 13, no. 8)

Private name sealing (?) inscribed with *mry*; most of the inscription is missing

Back type: peg sealing

Date: Late Middle Kingdom ?

Parallels: –

Comments: This sealing is double stamped.

2079.s.159 and 161 (Fig. 13, no. 9)

Sealings made with a design scarab showing a symmetric pattern with confronted red crowns and other signs and symbols

Back type: 1 papyrus sealing and 1 peg sealing, 1 flat sealing showing wood grain and string

Date: late Middle Kingdom

Parallels: BEN-TOR 2007, design class 3B3, 18–19, pl. 8 type c – ‘confronted’

Comments: Many of the parallels for this motif have been found at Uronarti and Kahun where it seems to have been very popular.⁹⁷ Three sealings stamped with this seal have been found at Tell Edfu.

2079.s.69 (Fig. 13, no. 10)

Sealing made with a design scarab showing single line loops.

Back-Type: peg sealing

Date: Late Middle Kingdom

Parallels: BEN-TOR 2007, design class 6A2, pl. 13 nos. 25–53.

Comments: This is a relatively common motif for the late Middle Kingdom. The sealing was double stamped.

2079.s.150 (Fig. 13, no. 11)

Sealing made with a design scarab showing spirals and *nfr* signs in a symmetric arrangement.

Back type: 3 peg sealings

Date: Late Middle Kingdom

Parallels: BEN-TOR 2007, design class 2A, 13, pl. 2.

Comments: In total 3 sealings with this motif have been found. This design class has its origins in the early Middle Kingdom where it occurs mainly in combination with floral motifs while in the late Middle Kingdom this design becomes more elaborate including signs and symbols. This sealing was double stamped.

2079.s.151 (Fig. 13, no. 12)

Sealing made with a design scarab showing signs arranged in symmetrical pattern

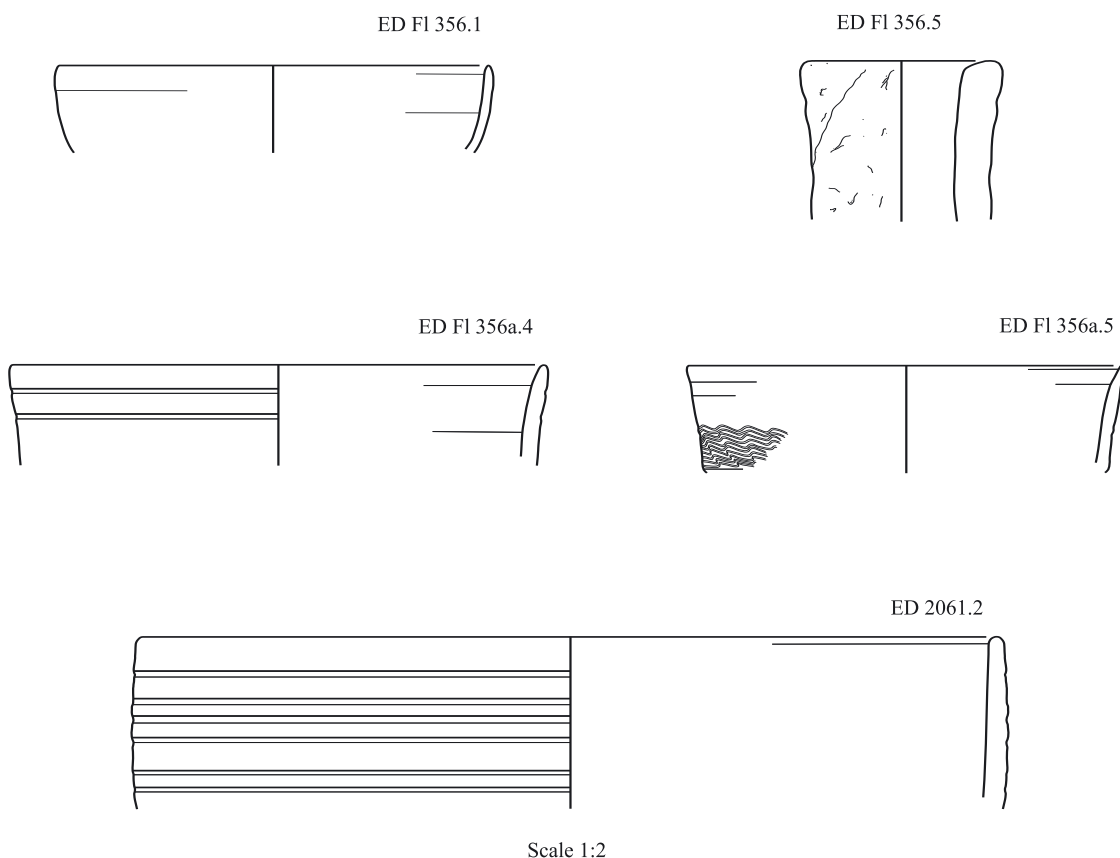
Back type: 6 peg sealings

Date: Late Middle Kingdom

Parallels: REISNER 1955, 50, Fig. 16 no. 411–173; BEN-TOR 2007, Design class 3A3, pl. 7.

Comments: This sealing was triple stamped. In total 6 examples of this sealing have been found, all of them in US 2079.

⁹⁷ BEN-TOR 2007, 18.



Scale 1:2
Fig. 14 Pottery from the southern columned hall floor (Fl. 356)

APPENDIX II: SELECTION OF POTTERY FOUND IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE BUILDING COMPLEX AT TELL EDFU

by *Natasha Ayers*

The recording and study of the pottery excavated in the area of the columned hall is not complete yet; therefore, the results presented here are preliminary and further study will be necessary before a more comprehensive picture of the ceramic corpus at Edfu can be attained. However, enough material has been studied to understand the shapes, fabrics, methods of production and surface treatments present, in addition to establishing the dating for these archaeological layers. A selection of pottery from

three contexts representing the main use (Fl 356 = US 2061) and final occupation of the southern columned hall (US 2079 = US 2280), as well as the abandonment of the northern columned hall (US 2654)⁹⁸ is shown on Figs. 14–16 and described in detail after a brief overview of these contexts.⁹⁹

Pottery from the southern columned hall floor: Fl 356 = US 2061 (Fig. 14)

Pottery was found on four successive floor levels of the columned hall (Fl. 356a–d, Fig. 14). No discernible difference could be identified in the dating or shapes found within the last phases of renovation of floor Fl 356, so these floor levels are discussed here as one corpus.

⁹⁸ US 2654 can be divided into three subphases (US 2732, US 2733, US 2734) which contained identical pottery assemblages showing that there is no noticeable chronological difference between them.

⁹⁹ All of the drawings are at a scale of 1:2 except ED 2079.54, which is presented at 1:3.

Small dishes and bowls are the most common shapes. The so-called hemispherical cups occur in Nile B1 and B2 fine fabrics. Rim diameters of 9 cm, 10 cm, and 13 cm have been found within the last phase of renovation of Fl 356. All of the hemispherical cups recorded so far have a red band painted at the rim. Although the well-known method of dating hemispherical cups by their Vessel Index (VI) works unquestionably well in the Memphis-Fayum region, the wide range in diameters and shape contours found within a single closed context make vessel indices of limited use at Edfu.¹⁰⁰ These findings at Edfu mirror those for hemispherical cups in the Theban region.¹⁰¹

Carinated bowls with incised lines in Nile B1 fabric are common on the columned hall floor (ED Fl 356a.4, Fl 356a.5). A large bowl with steep vertical walls and incised lines below the rim (ED 2061.2) is also made of Nile B1. Parallels to the Edfu bowl are often identified as cooking pots due to the soot and burning on the exterior surface.¹⁰² There is a noticeably higher occurrence of Nile B1 in the contexts associated with the main use of the columned hall than in the contexts associated with its final occupation.

Small dishes with direct rims and red slip on the interior surface are well represented and appear in Nile B2 fabric. Many cylindrical bread moulds (ED Fl 356.5) with rounded and flat bases in Nile C were discovered in association with the floor of the southern columned hall.

Marl A3 vessels were found on the southern columned hall floor. Two of these are small dishes (ED Fl 356.1) with very thin walls and diameters of 9 cm and 13 cm respectively. Sherds of Marl A3 jars/bottles with incised decoration on the shoulder came from this context. This type of incised decoration on marl vessels is known from the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period.¹⁰³

The pottery corpus associated with the main use of the southern columned hall dates predominantly to Dynasty 12, with some material that extends into the late Dynasty 12–early Dynasty 13 pottery phase.

Pottery from the final occupation layer of the southern columned hall (Fig. 15)

The pottery from the final phase of occupation of the southern columned hall (US 2079 = US 2280, Fig. 15) has many parallels with the material from the main use of this structure, but now late Dynasty 12–early Dynasty 13 pottery dominates the corpus.

Hemispherical cups in Nile B1 and B2 fine fabrics both with and without red rims, are present. Diameters range from 10 cm to 13 cm and the contour of the body can be nearly vertical (ED 2079.34) or curved (ED 2079.50). Another shape found in Nile B1 is a carinated bowl similar to those from Fl 356 = US 2061.

Dishes and bowls in Nile B2 fabric are well represented. Direct rim dishes and bowls, as well as carinated bowls (ED 2079.47), were excavated along with rounded bases and ring bases (ED 2079.42). Most of these vessels exhibit a red slip and many are burnished on the interior surface. Other bowls in the corpus are decorated with finely incised lines below the rim (ED 2079.23). Incised decoration of wavy lines and straight, parallel lines occur on Nile B2 sherds.

Another common shape from this layer is a large Nile C semi-restricted bowl or basin (ED 2079.54) with the distinctive, thick rolled rim found on cooking pots of the late Middle Kingdom. It is unclear if the Edfu example is indeed a cooking pot. Nevertheless, the rim is characteristic of the late Middle Kingdom. Cylindrical Nile C bread moulds occur frequently in the final occupation layer. Narrow, flattened bases (ED 2079.36) are far more common than pierced bases (ED 2280.3).

The type of bottle colloquially termed a ‘beer bottle’ is found in abundance. Two main types are identifiable: those with a vertical neck contour (ED 2079.1) and those with a sloping neck contour (ED 2079.31). They are highly fired and made of coarse Nile B2 or C fabric with a red slip on the exterior

¹⁰⁰ ARNOLD 1988, 128, fig. 65, 140–141. Moreover, a large enough sample is not available within this context from Tell Edfu to test if a mean VI would become apparent.

¹⁰¹ SEILER 2010, 42 no. 3. She states that “the regional character of the pottery development at Dra^c Abu el-Naga is confirmed by the impossibility here of using any of the well-established tools for dating pottery from the Middle King-

dom and early Second Intermediate Period.” This includes the development of beer bottles and vessel indices for hemispherical cups.

¹⁰² KAISER 1999, 198–199, Abb. 43.6.

¹⁰³ WODZINSKA 2009, pl.11 no.1 shows a selection of incised decoration on Marl A3 sherds from the Middle Kingdom at Elephantine.

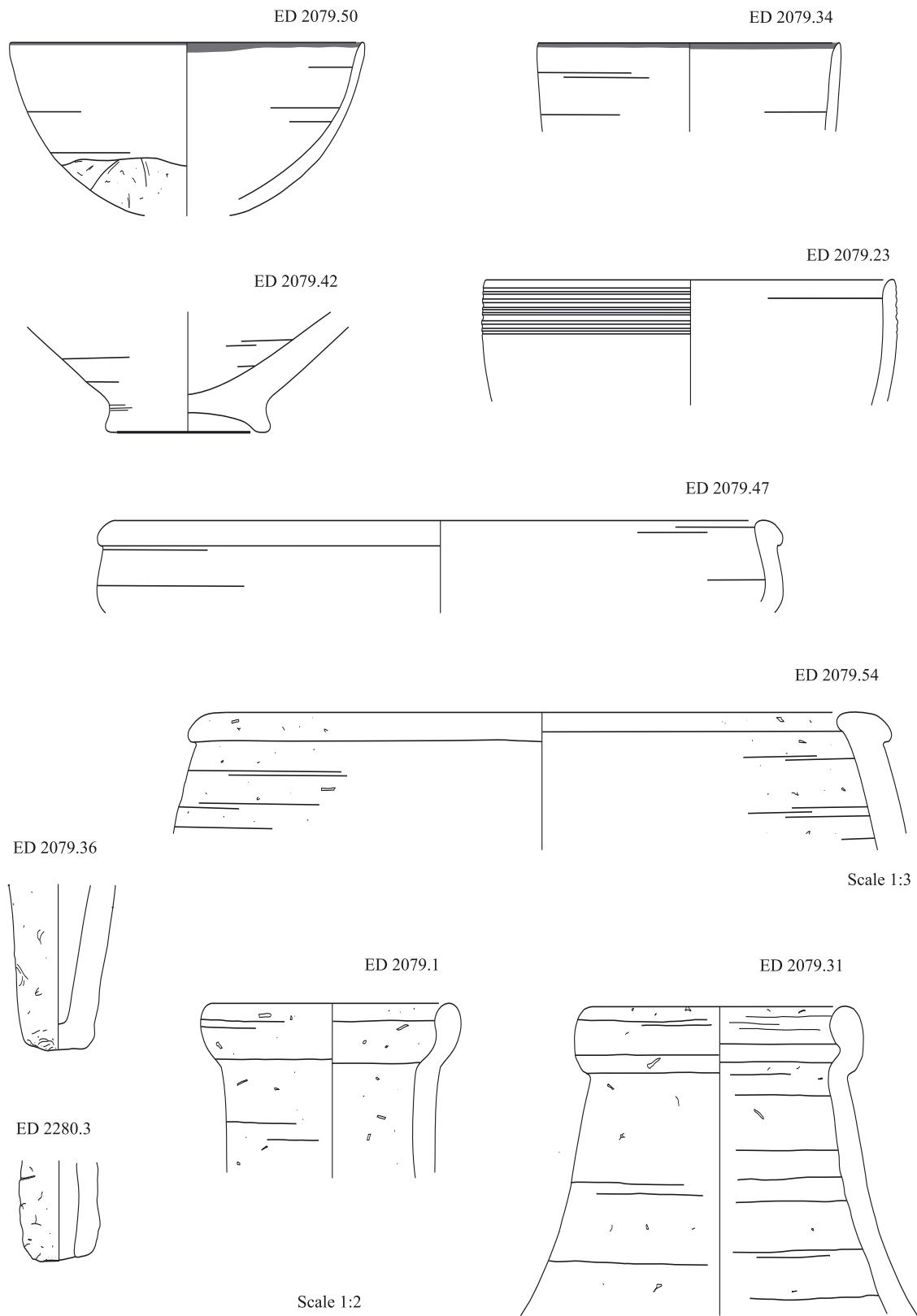


Fig. 15 Pottery from the final occupation layer of the southern columned hall (US 2079)

surface. Although the term ‘kettle neck’ is applied to the Edfu beer bottles, the form differs from those found in the north of Egypt and even from the variant produced in Thebes.¹⁰⁴ It should not be surprising to find regional variation with shapes produced in large quantities, especially when produced locally.

The marl shapes from US 2079 = US 2280 include sherds of Marl A3 jars/bottles and a ring base of a dish or bowl. Additionally, the base of a Marl C *zir* was recovered from the final phase of occupation. Marl C is not an Upper Egyptian fabric; rather it belongs to the Memphis-Fayum region and those vessels were imported to the south.¹⁰⁵ To date, all of the Marl C sherds from Edfu belong to the ubiquitous Middle Kingdom *zir*. Sherds of Nubian Pan-grave cooking pots are not common but present, as they occur in all late Middle Kingdom contexts at Edfu.

Pottery from the abandonment layer of the northern columned hall (Fig. 16)

The study of the pottery from this newly excavated context is still in progress. Many of the shapes from the pottery assemblage found in the abandonment layer of the northern columned hall parallel those found in the final occupation layer (US 2079 = US 2280) and show a clear continuation of this late Middle Kingdom pottery style. This continuity includes a variety of small to large dishes and bowls in Nile B2 and C fabrics, bread moulds, and thin body sherds of Marl A3 jars/bottles displaying finely incised designs of horizontal, diagonal, and wavy lines. Kettle neck beer jars are still present, yet in a markedly reduced number than in the late Middle Kingdom layers. A small number of Nubian sherds come from the US 2654 context, including the base of a coarse cooking pot with

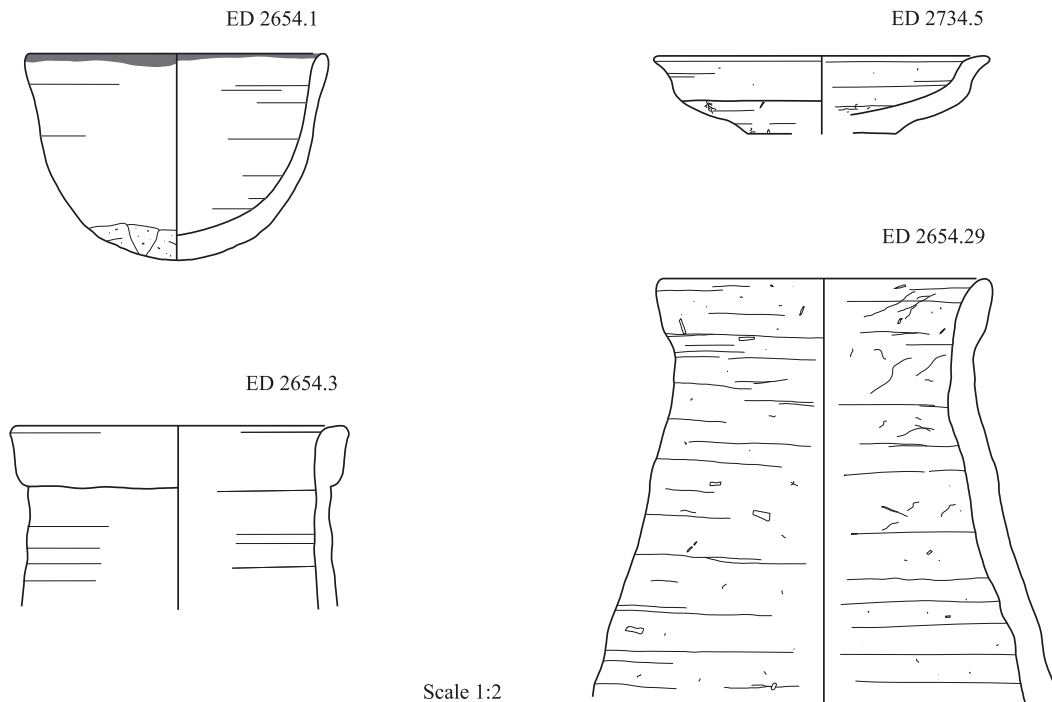


Fig. 16 Selection of pottery from the abandonment layer of the northern columned hall (US 2654)

¹⁰⁴ ASTON 2004, 82–85; SEILER 2005, 70–75, Abb. 24–29, Faltafel 2.

¹⁰⁵ ARNOLD, BOURRIAU and NORDSTRÖM 1993, 180.

incised concentric circles. This design is well attested in contexts with pottery of the late Middle Kingdom tradition at Edfu and Elephantine.¹⁰⁶

However, important developments are noticeable among this predominantly late Middle Kingdom style pottery. Hemispherical cups with red rims are still present in Nile B1 and B2 fine fabrics; however, the majority of these cups have a diameter of 9 cm or 10 cm (ED 2654.1). Small carinated dishes in Nile B2 fabric with string-cut bases and flared rims (ED 2734.5) are numerous and do not appear in the earlier occupation layers of the administrative building complex or in the contexts of the late Second Intermediate Period – early Dynasty 18 silo court.

Two developments concerning the closed forms excavated from this abandonment context are of note. The first is a marl bottle with modeled rim (ED 2654.3). This bottle belongs to the early Second Intermediate Period and is the antecedent of the bottle showing a more pronounced indentation on the rim that is commonly found in late Second Intermediate Period–early Dynasty 18 contexts at Tell Edfu and other sites in Egypt.¹⁰⁷ A Nile C jar with slightly flared neck and externally thickened rim (ED 2654.29) is also common and appears to be confined to the early Second Intermediate Period at Edfu, too. It is important to note that no pottery shape or fabric type from this context suggest a late Second Intermediate Period date.

When all of the archaeological evidence, including the pottery, well-stratified layers, sealings and other small finds is considered together it becomes clear that the late Middle Kingdom pottery tradition continues well into the second half of the 13th Dynasty (–early Second Intermediate Period) at Tell Edfu, but not without important additions and changes.¹⁰⁸

CATALOGUE OF POTTERY VESSELS

Fl 356 = US 2061 (Fig. 14)

ED Fl 356.1 Dish

Rim diam: 13.0 cm, 12%; H: 2.6 cm

Fabric: Marl A3; Surface: 5Y 8/2 pale yellow

Description: Turned, direct rim, very thin walls, surface well smoothed.

Date: Dynasty 12

Parallels: WEGNER 2007, 245–246, fig. 103 nos. 51, 52.

Comments: This very fine Marl A3 fabric with few visible inclusions is found only in contexts with Dynasty 12 pottery at Edfu.

ED Fl 356.5 Cylindrical bread mould

Rim diam: ~6.0 cm, 26%; H: 4.7 cm

Fabric: Nile C; Surface: burned

Description: Handmade, greyish-white firing skin on exterior surface, orange coating on interior surface, the top of rim is nearly flat.

Date: late Middle Kingdom

Parallels: VON PILGRIM 1996, 352–353, Abb. 157: j (Bauschicht 14); JACQUET-GORDON 1981, 16, fig. 4: Type C.

Comments: This type of bread mould appears at Edfu in contexts with Dynasty 12 and Dynasty 13 pottery.

ED Fl 356a.4 Carinated bowl

Rim diam: 16.0 cm, 3.5%; H: 2.8 cm

Fabric: Nile B1; Surface: burned

Description: Turned, carinated body, direct rim, two incised lines below the rim, reddish-brown slip on interior and exterior surfaces.

Date: Dynasty 12

Parallels: CHARLOUX 2007, 250, pl. II: Coupes à carène. He states that these bowls are the same date as M. Millet's Phase 5a, i.e. Dynasty 12 at Karnak; VON PILGRIM 1996, 362–363, Abb. 162: a–b. (Bauschicht 15).

ED Fl 356a.5 Carinated bowl

Rim diam: 12.0 cm, 4.5%; H: 3.1 cm

Fabric: Nile B1; Surface: discolored

Description: Turned, carinated body, direct rim, combed decoration above carination, surface well smoothed.

Date: Dynasty 12

¹⁰⁶ MOELLER and AYERS, forthcoming, 5, fig. 7: ED 2078.N.1; VON PILGRIM 1996, 342–343, Abb. 152: a Bauschicht 13.

¹⁰⁷ SEILER 2005, 150, Faltafel 5 no. 7; KAISER 1999, 220–221, Abb. 52 no. 2; VON PILGRIM 1996, 326–327, Abb. 144: c. This is a globular jar with a comparably modeled rim.

¹⁰⁸ This continuation of the late Middle Kingdom pottery tradition is attested elsewhere in Upper Egypt; see SEILER 2010, 42–43; SEILER 2005, 27.

Parallels: VON PILGRIM 1996, 356–357, Abb. 159: o. (Bauschicht 14–15). The incised decoration is not an exact parallel for the Edfu bowl; MILLET 2008, 692, pl. XVIII: 8186.8, 8186.2. These bowls are larger than the Edfu example, but they are the same type of carinated bowl with decoration of combed, wavy lines (Phase 5B = late Dynasty 12).

ED 2061.2 Bowl

Rim diam: 26.0 cm, 7.0%; H: 5.2 cm
Fabric: Nile B1, small inclusions Slip: 2.5YR 4/3 reddish brown

Description: Turned, steep vertical walls, direct rim, a group of six (extant) deeply incised lines starting just below the rim, reddish-brown slip on interior and exterior surfaces.

Date: Dynasty 12–early Dynasty 13

Parallels: MILLET 2008, pl. CCLVIII: Phase 6 (8666.9). (Phase 6 = late Dynasty 12–early Dynasty 13; KAISER 1999, 198–199, Abb. 43.6. (Bauschicht 15); ARNOLD 1988, 110–111, fig. 55a no. 8. (early Dynasty 12).

Comments: No soot or burning appears on the Edfu rim; however like examples of this type at other sites, likely functioned as a cooking pot. No exact parallels for the steep, vertical walls of the Edfu bowl could be identified. The best parallels, in regard to the incised lines and large diameter, have a slightly incurved rim.

Final occupation layer of the southern columned hall complex: US 2079=US 2280 (Fig. 15)

ED 2079.50 Hemispherical cup

Rim diam: 13.0 cm, 10.5%; H: 6.3 cm
Fabric: Nile B1; Surface: 7.5 YR 6/3 light brown
Rim: 10R 5/6 red

Description: Wheelmade, direct rim, rounded base finished by trimming, red band painted at the rim.

Date: late Dynasty 12–Dynasty 13

Parallels: WEGNER 2007, 260, fig. 110: especially nos. 1–2, 4–7. These cups have the same wall contour, base finishing, and very close measurements to the Edfu example. Parallels were found in the West block refuse deposits, which contained pottery dating from late Dynasty 12–mid Dynasty 13; MILLET 2008, 693, pl. XXVII: 8081.18. (Phase 6 = late Dynasty 12–Dynasty 13); LOYRETTE, NASR *et al.* 1993–1994, 121–122, fig. 4: b–e. The pottery in this tomb dates to the late Dynasty 12–early Dynasty 13; ARNOLD 1988, 128, fig. 65, which is most similar to no. 1, p. 141.

ED 2079.34 Hemispherical cup

Rim diam: 11.0 cm, 4%; H: 3.25 cm
Fabric: Nile B1; Surface: 7.5 YR 6/3 light brown
Rim: 10R 5/6 red

Description: Turned, direct rim, red band painted at the rim.

Date: late Dynasty 12–early Dynasty 13

Parallels: SEILER 2005, 53–54, Abb. 12: ZN 01/661, 01/663 and 02/67. These Dynasty 13 cups have the same nearly vertical walls of the Edfu cup; WEGNER 2007, 233–234, fig. 98 no. 1; MILLET 2008, pl. CCLVII: Phase 6 (8084.11), which dates to late Dynasty 12–early Dynasty 13.

ED 2079.42 Bowl

Base diam: 6.0 cm, 95%; H: 4.3 cm
Fabric: Nile B2 fine; Surface: burned, slip crazed
Description: Turned, applied ring base, reddish brown slip on interior and exterior surfaces that does not cover the bottom of the ring base.

Date: late Dynasty 12–Dynasty 13

Parallels: This ring base probably belongs to one of the many red-slipped bowls with rolled rims found in late Middle Kingdom contexts at Edfu. They are often burnished on the interior and exterior rim. For an example see WEGNER 2007, 235, 237, fig. 99 no. 21. These bowls have shallow ring bases. Wegner states that most of the bowls from Abydos date to Dynasty 13, but the shape is already present in late Dynasty 12.

ED 2079.23 Hemispherical bowl

Rim diam: 15.0 cm, 4%; H: 4.6 cm
Fabric: Nile B2

Description: Turned, direct rim, a group of seven finely incised lines starting just below the rim, red slip on interior and exterior surfaces.

Date: Dynasty 12–Dynasty 13

Parallels: VON PILGRIM 1996, 336–337, Abb. 149: k (Bauschicht 13); MILLET 2008, pl. XXX: 8044.2 The shape of the Karnak bowl is not the same as the Edfu bowl, but the same group of incised lines appear on both examples. (Phase 6 = late Dynasty 12–early Dynasty 13); KAISER 1999, 213–214, Abb. 49 1. The Edfu bowl has additional parallels from Elephantine in Bauschicht 12; however, the Elephantine bowls have a slightly larger rim diameter.

ED 2079.47 Carinated bowl

Rim diam: 25.0 cm, 5.0%; H: 3.4 cm
Fabric: Nile B2 Slip: 10R 5/6 red

Description: Turned, carinated bowl, wheelmade, rolled rim, thick reddish-brown slip on interior and

exterior surfaces, burnishing on entire interior surface and exterior rim.

Date: late Dynasty 12–early Dynasty 13

Parallels: MILLET 2008, pl. CCLXXIII: 8690.26. (Phase 6 = late Dynasty 12 to early Dynasty 13).

ED 2079.54 Semi-restricted bowl or basin

Rim diam: 38.0 cm, 7.5%; H: 7.6 cm

Fabric: Nile C

Description: Turned thick rolled rim, slightly restricted shape, red slip on the entire exterior surface and interior neck.

Date: late Middle Kingdom

Parallels: WEGNER 2007, 239, fig. 101 no. 31a, 241. These late Middle Kingdom cooking pots exhibit the thick, rolled rim of the Edfu vessel. See also ASTON 2004, 81, pls. 37, 38 (Group 47). At Tell el-Dab'a, these 'Holemouth' cooking pots are usually made of Nile E clay, but "the earliest examples are often made of a Nile C1 clay. The Nile C pots are distinctly less restricted than the Nile E vessels."; JACQUET-GORDON 1992, 15–16, fig. 1 no. 7. It is important to note that some of these bowls were found to have a red slip like the Edfu example.

Comments: This rim shape is found on late Middle Kingdom restricted and semi-restricted bowls often identified as cooking pots. The addition of a red slip makes this example unusual, but not exceptional (see JACQUET-GORDON *op.cit.*). No soot or burning was found on the Edfu example. was on the sherd, so it is not certain that the Edfu example actually functioned as a cooking pot. Nevertheless, the rim is a distinctive late Middle Kingdom shape.

ED 2079.36 Cylindrical bread mould

Base diam: 2.4–2.6 cm, 100%; H: 6.0 cm

Fabric: Nile C; Surface: 5Y 7/2 light gray

Int. coating: 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow

Description: Handmade, greyish-white firing skin on exterior surface, orange coating on interior surface, base is nearly flat.

Date: late Middle Kingdom

Parallels: WEGNER 2007, 239, fig. 101 no. 33, 241; JACQUET-GORDON 1981, 16, fig. 4: Type C 6, 7.

ED 2280.3 Cylindrical bread mould

Base diam: 2.5–2.7 cm, 100%; H: 3.7 cm

Fabric: Nile C

Description: Handmade, greyish-white firing skin on exterior surface, orange coating on interior surface, hole intentionally pierced through the base.

Date: Dynasty 12–13 (more common in Dynasty 12)

Parallels: WEGNER 2007, 276, fig. 125 no. 94; MILLET 2007, 691, pl. XVI: 8237.3 (Phase 5A = Dynasty 12); MILLET 2008, pl. CCLI: Phase 5 (8237.3), Phase 6 (8187.17), pl. CCLII: Phase 8 (8081.10, flat base); BOURRIAU and QUIRKE 1998, 67, fig. 5 nos. H. 6–8, 71; JACQUET-GORDON 1981, 16, fig. 4: Type C 10, 12.

Comments: This type of bread mould is rare at Edfu.

ED 2079.1 'Kettle neck' beer bottle

Rim diam: 9.5 cm, 21%; H: 6.3 cm

Fabric: Nile C, very highly fired

Description: Wheelmade, rim folded inward leaving a prominent indentation on the interior ('kettle neck'), vertical contour of the neck, reddish-brown slip on exterior surface.

Date: late Dynasty 12–early Dynasty 13

Parallels: LOYRETTE, NASR *et al.* 1993–1994, 122, fig. 4 no. 123. This beer bottle was found in a late Dynasty 12–early Dynasty 13 tomb; WEGNER 2007, 243, fig. 102 no. 49, p. 245, 265, fig. 115. The parallels come from the refuse deposit of the West Block of the Senwosret III mortuary temple, which dates from late Dynasty 12–mid Dynasty 13. The 'kettle neck' of the Edfu bottles is not as deep or recessed as those of the Abydos examples. Further examples come from Tell el-Dab'a. See ASTON 2004, 82–85, fig. 12a: Type 7b, fig. 12b: Type 10. Type 7b dates to the early Dynasty 13 while Type 10 was dated to Dynasty 13. The example from Edfu falls in between the two types since the indentation on the interior of the rim is more pronounced than Type 7b, but with a less angular indentation than Type 10.

ED 2079.31 'Kettle neck' beer bottle

Rim diam: 10.6 cm, 55%; H: 11.2 cm

Fabric: Nile C, very highly fired; Surface: 2.5 YR 5/6 red

Slip: 2.5 YR 6/8 light red

Description: Turned, rim folded inward leaving a prominent indentation on the interior ('kettle neck'), sloping contour of the neck, orange-red slip on exterior surface.

Date: late Middle Kingdom

Comments: The distinctive sloping neck contour of this type of beer bottle departs from the type with vertical neck contour found commonly across Egypt. Variation between regions and even between sites within the same region should not be unexpected with forms that probably belong to local production. This type of beer bottle is common at Edfu.

Abandonment layer of the northern columned hall: US 2654 (Fig. 16)*ED 2654.1 Hemispherical cup*

Rim diam: 9.0 cm, 27%; H: 6.1 cm
 Fabric: Nile B2 fine; Surface: 10YR 5/3 brown
 Rim: 10R 5/8 red

Description: Turned, direct rim, rounded base finished by trimming, red band painted at the rim.

Date: Early Second Intermediate Period

Parallels: VON PILGRIM 1996, 334–335, Abb. 148 no. n. The Elephantine cup, from Bauschicht 12 is a nice parallel for the shape of the Edfu cup; although it has a diameter of 11.0 cm.

ED 2654.3 Bottle

Rim diam: 10.0 cm, 30%; H: 5.4 cm
 Fabric: Marl A; inclusions of sand, tiny stones and a brown inclusion that burned out during firing. Possibly comparable to Seiler's Marl E9 but further study is necessary.¹⁰⁹
 Surface: 5Y 8/3 pale yellow

Description: Turned, folded, modeled rim with slight indentation on the exterior, prominent rilling lines on the neck, surface well smoothed.

Date: early Second Intermediate Period

Parallels: SEILER 2005, 150, Falttafel 5 no. 2 early SIP. These earliest bottles with modeled rim have the tall, vertical neck and prominent rilling lines of the Edfu example, but the indentation of the rim is more pronounced than on the Edfu example; KAISER 1999, 220–221, Abb. 52 no. 1. Bauschicht 12. The Elephantine bottles are Marl A3 fabric.

Comments: Seiler dates the earliest bottles with this type of modeled rim and vertical neck to the early

Second Intermediate Period in Thebes, but to the late Second Intermediate Period at Elephantine.¹¹⁰ Bottles with a much more pronounced indentation on the modeled rim (see SEILER 2005, 150 Falttafel 5 no. 3 and KAISER 1999, 220–221, Abb. 52 no. 2) are found in only the late Second Intermediate Period-early Dynasty 18 contexts at Edfu and this more subtle modeling of the rim on ED 2654.3 has not been found in those later levels. Moreover, all of the late Second Intermediate Period-early Dynasty 18 bottles with this type of modeled rim are only in Nile B2 fabric.

ED 2734.5 Carinated dish

Rim diam: 10.0 cm, 27%; Base diam: 4.6 cm, 45%
 H: 6.1 cm; Fabric: Nile B2

Description: Turned, carinated body, flared rim, exterior surface scraped below carination and not well smoothed.

Date: early Second Intermediate Period

Comments: This is a very common shape in the early Second Intermediate Period layers from Edfu.

ED 2654.29 Jar

Rim diam: 10.0 cm, 52%; H: 12.5 cm; Fabric: Nile C, highly fired

Surface: 5YR 5/4–6 reddish brown to yellowish red
Description: Turned, slightly flared neck, externally thickened rim.

Date: early Second Intermediate Period

Parallels: VON PILGRIM 1996, 326–327, Abb. 144e. The Elephantine example from Bauschicht 11 is similar but not an exact parallel for the Edfu jar. This type of jar appears to be confined to the early Second Intermediate Period at Edfu.

¹⁰⁹ SEILER 2005, 37. Marl E9 has the hardness, density and uniform green color of a Marl A3, but the inclusions of a Marl A4.

¹¹⁰ SEILER 2005, 150; KAISER 1999, 220, 223. The preliminary report by A. Seiler in which she presents the evolution of five significant pottery types from Bauschicht 12 to 10 includes some inconsistencies between the presentation of the data and the final conclusions. In the published charts the various developments of pottery types is shown, from the early version to the fully developed style indicating the

growth in popularity and subsequent decline. However, in her conclusions she states that the pottery from Bauschicht 12 and 11 is the same and both belong to the Second Intermediate Period. Do. Arnold who also examined the published pottery from these contexts agrees with Seiler to attribute both phases to one period, but makes a further precision. Due to the predominant presence of late Middle Kingdom style vessels, Arnold dates both, Bauschicht 12 and 11 to the *early* Second Intermediate Period, see BENTON 2007, 46–47.

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