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Herausgegeben von
Jochem Kahl und
Nicole Kloth



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A study on the procurement of offerings system for the funerary complex of Senwosret II at el-Lahun

Martina Aprile
University of Jaén

Abstract

A royal funerary complex represented an articulated system, which involved a large portion of the administration, both central and local, and numerous infrastructures. Its main objective was the maintenance of the cult of the deceased sovereign, in particularly through the procurement of offerings to be used during the rituals. This article aims to present an overview of the officials and domains associated with the pyramid complex of Senwosret II at el-Lahun, as this archaeological site has returned two large papyrological *corpora*, which shed light on how the funerary cult was organized and managed.

During the Middle Kingdom, the Fayum assumed considerable importance when the rulers of the 12th dynasty understood its potential for the economic development of the entire country, and consequentially undertook soil remediation works that made it extremely vital. These works were focused in particular in the eastern sector, which in ancient sources takes the name of *R3-ḥnt*¹, in order to manage the hydrological balance provided by the Bahr Yussef, a secondary branch of the Nile which enters the region allowing the fields to benefit from the fertilizing action of the flood.

It is possible that Senwosret II, fourth ruler of the 12th dynasty, considered the strategic importance of this area when he chose the place to build his funerary complex. This was discovered by Petrie in 1887 near the modern village of el-Lahun² and excavated during the campaign of 1889–1890. In fact, in addition to the proximity of Itj-tawy, which at the time seated the capital and the royal residence, this choice likely had ideological implications for the royal institution, as a symbol of control of the water supply for the entire region.

Roughly a 1.1 km east of the pyramid, on the edge of the desert, there is an urban settlement, originally known as Kahun³, that was the seat of the administrative sphere linked to the

¹ Most scholars agree with translating *ḥnt* as “canal”, therefore the translation of the toponym would be “The mouth of the Canal”. However, Gardiner translated it as “lake”, see A.H. Gardiner, *The Name of the Lake Moeris*, in: *JEA* 29, 1943, 37–46; and Montet as “crocodile”, relying on the importance of this animal in Fayumite theology, see P. Montet, *Géographie de l’Égypte ancienne* II, Paris 1961, 207. At last, Beinlich believes that the toponym refers to the marshy territory typical of the Fayum, see H. Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Fayum*, Wiesbaden 1991, 289–291; cf. M. Zecchi, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum: dalle origini al IV sec. a.C.*, Imola 2001, 98–99 and U. Luft, *The Ancient Town of El-Lâhûn*, in: S. Quirke (ed.), *Lahun Studies*, Reigate 1998, 1–2.

² W.M.F. Petrie/G. Brunton/M.A. Murray, *Lahun II*, London 1923, 1.

³ Petrie refers to the pyramid complex as Illahun and the settlement as Kahun, see W.M.F. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, London 1890, 11. The latter is probably the result of a misunderstanding committed by Petrie when he asked local people about the site. R. David reported this quote from Petrie’s *Journal*: “I only got this name (Medinet Kahun) from one man. No one else knows any name for it, and he only heard it from someone in his youth. It may be wrong, therefore, but it will be a name to know it by.”; see R. David, *The Pyramid Builders of Ancient Egypt: A modern investigation of pharaoh’s workforce*, London 1986, 3. Nowadays most scholars tend to use only the term el-Lahun or Illahun to refer to the entire archaeological area, see N. Moeller, *The Foundation and Purpose of the Settlement at Lahun during the Middle Kingdom: A New Evaluation*, in: R.K. Ritner (ed.), *Essays for the Library of Seshat: Studies Presented to Janet H. Johnson on the occasion of her 70th birthday*, Chicago 2018, 187 (note 1). Therefore, only the denomination of el-Lahun will be used in this article as well.

The Definition of Art and Sculpture Concerning Kai Widmaier's *Bilderwelten*

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Abstract

The point of departure for this article is Kai Widmaier's book *Bilderwelten: Ägyptische Bilder und ägyptologische Kunst. Vorarbeiten für eine bildwissenschaftliche Ägyptologie*, its invitation to assess one's own art historical definitions and methods and its assertion that Egyptian figurative culture should not be considered *art* but *images*. In response, this article presents a definition of *art as the product of the deliberate manipulation of pre-existing forms to communicate abstract meaning*. It defines art as a product of thought and as such dependent on the transcendental categories of Time-and-Space. Having defined art in general, the article goes on to apply this definition of art to sculpture from the perspective of its specific phenomenology, technique and transcendental meaning.

1 Introduction

Kai Widmaier's book *Bilderwelten: Ägyptische Bilder und ägyptologische Kunst. Vorarbeiten für eine bildwissenschaftliche Ägyptologie* [Image Worlds: Egyptian Images and Egyptological Art. A Preliminary Work for a Scientific Approach to Images in Egyptology] is a complex analysis of the definitions and methods that Egyptology employs to think Ancient Egyptian art.

The book is divided into three parts. Part One poses the question of the applicability of the aesthetic concept of art to Egyptian images. Part Two offers a critique of the literature which has dealt with the First Intermediate Period from a historical, literary and stylistic point of view, with excursus into the late XII and early XVIII Dynasties. Furthermore, style is discussed in relation to its uses in art historical studies, *i.e.*, as a dating criterion and as a signifier. In Part Three, Widmaier answers the questions he poses in Part One through the evidence gathered in the case studies presented in Part Two.

For the readers who are not familiar with the book, an extract taken from Widmaier's English *Abstract*, limited to Parts One and Three, which are those discussed in this article, has been included in *Appendix 1*. *Appendix 2* also presents the present author's definition of art in general and of Egyptian art in distilled form, independently of the discussion carried out in the article.

The writer of this article entirely agrees with Widmaier's critique of the museological perspective, which places (Egyptian) art objects in a sterilised environment, aesthetically isolates them and invites anachronistic comparisons between vastly different cultures. This article also supports the substitution of the museological perspective with the study of the cultural context of production.

The present author partly agrees with Widmaier's reconstruction of Protestantism as an epochal change which caused the advent of *art* through the dissociation of *images* from society and the creation of an art scene. This article considers that these changes were produced by various other auxiliary causes that developed over a longer period that lasted four hundred years. The present author also starts from the assumption that the existence of art necessarily precedes that of an art scene; that art can be thought of independently of an art scene but that

Fundamental Texts of Latopolitan Theology

The Bandeau Inscriptions from the Soubassements of the Ptolemaic Façade (Esna II, 16 and 30)

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University of Lisbon / Independent Scholar

Abstract

New text edition with translation and detailed commentary of the lower bandeau inscriptions from the Ptolemaic façade of Esna Temple (Esna II, nos. 16 and 30). These symmetric hieroglyphic texts list the chief divinities and cult locations of the Latopolite district, highlighting numerous aspects of local theology. Multiple sportive writings and mythological allusions are explained by comparing related inscriptions from throughout the pronaos.

1 Introduction

The temple of Esna in Upper Egypt is perhaps best known for its remarkably well-preserved decoration and challenging hieroglyphic inscriptions from the Roman Period.¹ Much attention has been paid to its ornate columns capitals;² the painted astronomical scenes and texts of the ceiling;³ extensive hieroglyphic texts describing local theology, regional festivals, and preserving numerous hymns;⁴ and of course the multiple enigmatic texts employing acrophony,⁵ including the two notorious hymns composed almost exclusively with rams and crocodiles.⁶

Yet it is important to remember that the surviving edifice was only the forecourt, or pronaos, of a much larger temple, now destroyed, presumably built and decorated during the Ptolemaic Period. Only the temple façade of this earlier construction remains since it

¹ See the IFAO editions by Serge Sauneron: <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/publications/catalogue/Temples-Esna/> accessed 26.05.2022. As is customary for Esna, texts are cited by volume and inscription number, not page numbers. Translations for the Roman Period texts from Esna III–VI are available in D. Klotz, *The Temple of Esna: an Evolving Translation (2021–2024)*: <https://bookdown.org/shemanefer/Esna2/>, <https://bookdown.org/shemanefer/Esna3>, <https://bookdown.org/shemanefer/Esna4/>, and <https://bookdown.org/shemanefer/Esna6/> accessed 04.02.2023.

² S. Sauneron, *Quatre campagnes à Esna*, Cairo 1959, 151–153, pl. 30.

³ Esna IV; A. von Lieven, *Der Himmel über Esna. Eine Fallstudie zur religiösen Astronomie in Ägypten am Beispiel der kosmologischen Decken- und Architravinschriften im Tempel von Esna*, ÄA 64, Wiesbaden 2000; D. Meeks, *Les Architraves du temple d'Esna*, Cairo 2004; H. el-Leithy/Chr. Leitz/D. von Recklinghausen, *The ancient colours of Esna return*, in: *Egyptian Archaeology* 55, 2019, 20–22; idem, *Restoration at Esna Temple: the recovery of the beautiful polychrome decoration of the temple*, in: *Ancient Egypt* 21/5, 2021, 13–21; D. Mendel, *Die Geographie des Himmels. Eine Untersuchung zu den Deckendekorationen in ägyptischen Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Zeit und zeitgleichen Darstellungen auf Särgen und in Gräbern*, SSR 37, Wiesbaden, 2022.

⁴ S. Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna aux derniers siècles du paganisme*. Esna V, Cairo 1962; H. Sternberg, *Mythische Motive und Mythenbildung in den ägyptischen Tempeln und Papyri der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, GOF 14, Wiesbaden 1985; Chr. Leitz/F. Löffler, *Chnum, der Herr der Töpferscheibe. Altägyptische Embryologie nach Ausweis der Esnatexte – Das Ritual „Darbringen der Töpferscheibe“*, SSR 26, Wiesbaden 2019; D. von Recklinghausen, *Das Land von Pfeil und Bogen. Studien zu Neith und ihren Attributen in der Theologie des Tempels von Esna*, SSR 36, Wiesbaden 2022.

⁵ S. Sauneron, *L'écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna*, Esna VIII, Cairo 1982; Chr. Leitz, *Einleitung in die Litaneien von Esna*, Esna-Studien II, SSR 38, Wiesbaden, 2023; idem, *Hieroglyphika latopolitana. Eine Studie zu mehrdeutigen Schreibungen in Esna*, Esna-Studien III, SSR 39, Wiesbaden, 2023.

⁶ Chr. Leitz, *Die beiden kryptographischen Inschriften aus Esna mit den Widdern und Krokodilen*, in: *SAK* 29, 2001, 251–76.

Markers of Non-Royal Ritual Utterances in the Pyramid Texts

Brendan Hainline
Metropolitan Museum of Art

Abstract

The Pyramid Texts were originally believed to reflect specifically royal rituals and afterlife beliefs, due to their first appearance exclusively in the royal pyramids of the late Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. It is the royal exclusivity of these religious texts in the Old Kingdom that gave rise to the theory of the “democratization of the afterlife.” This theory has since largely been dismantled by scholars such as Harold Hays and Mark Smith (among others), in part because it is now known that several of the utterances in the Pyramid Texts actually have a clear non-royal origin. In addition to problematizing the “democratization of the Afterlife” theory, the existence of these specifically non-royal utterances in the Pyramid Texts provides a textual window into the afterlife beliefs of non-royal Egyptians during the Old Kingdom. In this paper, I will summarize the methods that have been previously used to identify non-royal utterances within the Pyramid Texts corpus, and additionally will offer two new non-royal markers: (1) the deceased being the beneficiary of a *ḥtp-dj-nj-sw*; and (2) placeholder text referring to the deceased’s “local god.”

The Pyramid Texts are the oldest religious literature from Egypt and form the foundation of the rich ancient Egyptian tradition of mortuary literature, continued by the Coffin Texts, the New Kingdom Books of the Afterlife, and the Book of the Dead. At their core, the Pyramid Texts are a corpus of entextualized ritual utterances ensuring the deceased’s successful passage into the Afterlife. These texts were monumentalized as inscriptions on the walls of the burial chambers of royal pyramids in the late Old Kingdom, starting with king *Wnjs*, the last king of the Fifth Dynasty. In total, the Pyramid Texts are attested in ten royal tombs in the Old Kingdom – five kings and five queens (see table 1).

Table 1: Royal Individuals with Pyramid Texts in the Old Kingdom

Kings	
<i>Wnjs</i>	~ 2375–2345 BCE
<i>Tj</i>	~ 2345–2323 BCE
<i>Ppjj I</i>	~ 2321–2287 BCE
<i>Mr.n-R^c</i>	~ 2287–2278 BCE
<i>Ppjj II Nfr-k3-R^c</i>	~ 2278–2184 BCE
Queens	
<i>ḥnh-nꜣs-Ppjj II</i>	Wife of <i>Ppjj I</i> and (later) <i>Mr.n-R^c</i>
<i>Bhwn</i>	Wife of <i>Ppjj I</i> or <i>Ppjj II Nfr-k3-R^c</i>
<i>Jpwt II</i>	Wife of <i>Ppjj II Nfr-k3-R^c</i>
<i>Nt</i>	Wife of <i>Ppjj II Nfr-k3-R^c</i>
<i>Wdbt-n(ꜣj)</i>	Wife of <i>Ppjj II Nfr-k3-R^c</i>

« Cette pyramide est bâtie en forme de pavillon »
Zur Entdeckungsgeschichte der Pyramiden von Dahshur
in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit

Sabine Herrmann

Abstract

In the history of science, attention has so far focused primarily on the pyramids of Giza, whose visit was a central element in many travel and pilgrimage accounts from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period. The following article aims to draw attention to the four pyramids of Dahshur and their exploration from the Middle Ages to the mid-18th century. It will be asked which actors were interested in these monuments and how they were described and depicted diachronically in the sources.

Richard Lepsius (1810–1884) erstellte im Verlauf seiner Expedition nach Ägypten (1842–1845) eine Liste aller Monumente, die er als Pyramiden identifiziert hatte und publizierte eine Übersicht im ersten Band der *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (1849–1859).¹ Insgesamt zählte Lepsius 67 Pyramiden unterschiedlicher Größe und Erhaltungszustandes in ganz Ägypten.² Bisher haben in der Wissenschaftsgeschichte jedoch vornehmlich die monumentalen Pyramiden von Gizeh Beachtung gefunden, deren Besuch und empirische Erschließung in vielen Reise- und Pilgerberichten vom Mittelalter bis in die Frühe Neuzeit ein zentrales Element darstellt.³ Der folgende Beitrag möchte nun erstmals die Aufmerksamkeit auf die „anderen“ Pyramiden in Ägypten, vornehmlich die vier Pyramiden von Dahshur, und deren Erforschung vom Mittelalter bis Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts lenken. Hierbei soll gefragt werden, welche Akteure sich für diese Denkmäler interessierten und wie die Bauwerke diachron in den Quellen beschrieben und bildlich dargestellt wurden.

Europäischen Reisenden war bereits früh bewusst, dass es in Ägypten noch weitaus mehr teilweise gut erhaltene Bauwerke als die Pyramiden von Gizeh gab. So bemerkte bereits der irisch-schottische Mönch Dicuil (geb. zweite Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts) im *Liber de Mensura Orbis Terrae*, dass die Reisegruppe von Pilgern „sieben Speicher gemäß den *De mensura* Jahren, die der Heilige Joseph errichtete, vier an einem Ort und drei an einem anderen“⁴ vom Boot aus gesehen hätte.⁵ Die Gruppe habe dann die drei Pyramiden (von Gizeh) besucht und ein Mönch die Seite einer Pyramide vermessen.⁶ Der Benediktinermönch

¹ R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Leipzig 1849–1859 (zwölf Bände, sechs Abteilungen).

² Ch. Theis, Eine Konkordanz der von Karl Richard Lepsius erwähnten Pyramiden, in: *GM* 220, 2009, 99–115. Eine Übersicht über die ägyptischen Pyramiden bieten R. Stadelmann, *Die ägyptischen Pyramiden. Vom Ziegelbau zum Weltwunder*, Mainz 1997; A. Dodson, *The Pyramids of Ancient Egypt*, London 2003.

³ Zur Forschungsgeschichte vgl. etwa die Beiträge von Th. Scharff, *Die Rückkehr nach Ägypten. Prolegomena zu einer Geschichte des Ägyptenbildes im westlichen Mittelalter*, in: *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 35, 2001, 431–454; A. Amin, *Ägyptomanie und Orientalismus: Ägypten in der deutschen Reiseliteratur (1175–1663)*, Berlin 2013; A. Napp, „In terra Aegypti“ – Das Bild des Alten Ägypten von der Spätantike bis zur Frühen Neuzeit, Baden-Baden 2015.

⁴ 6.13: *Deinde in Nilo longe navigando septem horrea secundum numerum annorum habundantiae, quae sanctus Joseph fecerat de loginquo admirantes, tamquam montes viderunt, quattuor in uno loco ac tria in altero*. Vgl. zu dieser Stelle J. J. Tierney, *Liber de mensura orbis terrae*, Dublin 1967, 62 f.; J. F. Quack, *Bedeutungen von Pyramiden*, in: *Sokar* 23, 2011, 38–69, hier 60.

⁵ Amin, *Ägyptomanie und Orientalismus*, 187; 343.

⁶ 6.14–16.

The Asyut Project: Sixteenth Season of Fieldwork (2022)

Jochem Kahl, Mohamed Abdelrahiem, Anna Arpaia, Andrea Kilian,
Chiori Kitagawa, Jan Moje, Philipp Scharfenberger
(Taf. 1–4)

Abstract

The Egyptian-German joint mission of Sohag University and Freie Universität Berlin conducted its sixteenth season of fieldwork in the ancient necropolis situated in the western mountains of Asyut (Gebel Asyut al-gharbi). Fieldwork commenced on the 15th of August and lasted until the 22nd of October 2022. Fieldwork focused on Tomb I, Tomb V and mountain surveying. In addition, objects were studied in the magazine of the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities at Shutb.¹

From 15th August to 24th September 2022, the Egyptian-German joint mission of Sohag University and Freie Universität Berlin conducted its sixteenth season of fieldwork in the ancient necropolis situated in the western mountain of Asyut (Gebel Asyut al-gharbi; pl. 1).

Fieldwork focused on:

- Cleaning the entrance area of Tomb V (M11.1).
- Cleaning the floor of Tomb I (P10.1).
- Surveying different areas on Gebel Asyut al-gharbi, i.a. at Kôm el-Shukafa, “Byzantine Building” (E11.1), Wadi behind the mausoleum of Sheikh Abu Tug, Deir el-Azzam, Tomb H11.1, Tomb M10.1, Tomb of the Dogs (O11.13), Deir el-Meitin, Step 7 and 8 (northern part), Step 3 (southern part).
- Mapping the necropolis.

Objects found during the 2022 season were registered by the accompanying inspectors of the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities.

The joint mission studied objects in the magazine of the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities at Shutb, between the 26th September and 22nd October 2022.

Fieldwork focused on surveys in different areas on Gebel Asyut al-gharbi. In addition, archaeological fieldwork took place in Tomb I and Tomb V. Archaeological research in the area of the “Byzantine building” (E11.1), a mud brick structure at the entrance of a wadi leading to the desert, could not be conducted, because the Egyptian army did not give permission at short notice. The situation on the mountain became drastically worse during the time of the pandemic. Illicit diggings took place at several spots including Tomb II, the area in front of Tomb III, IV, and V as well as at Tomb M10.1.

¹ Fieldwork and studies in the magazine of the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities were part of the German-Polish project “Asyut – centre of ancient trade” founded by the German Research Foundation (project number 426702318) and Narodowe Centrum Nauki as well as part of the “Shutb Magazine Project” financed by the Freie Universität Berlin. We would like to thank Mx. Han Cope for their English proof reading. Members of the mission were: Prof. Dr. Jochem Kahl (project director; field director), Prof. Dr. Mohamed Abdelrahiem (field director), Prof. Dr. Teodozja Rzeuska (project director), Prof. Dr. Ahmed El-Nassari, PD Dr. Jan Moje, Dr. Anna Arpaia, Dr. Colline Brassard, Dr. Hesham Faheed Ahmed, Dr. Andrea Kilian, Dr. Chiori Kitagawa, Mohamed Alshafey, Fritz Barthel, Anja Buhlke, Aneta Cedro, Alix Frauchiger, Ana Sofia de Carvalho Gomes, Agata Momot, Osama Mortada Gaballah Hammam, Adel Refaat, Philipp Scharfenberger, Marina Shimizu, Paulina Wołodźko.

Seven Fragments of a Healing Statue from Heliopolis/Matareya

Florence Langermann

Universität Leipzig

(Taf. 5–8)

Abstract

The article deals with seven fragments of a so-called healing statue dating to the 4th century B.C. The fragments were found during excavations in Heliopolis/Matareya. The text of the right arm of the statue as well as the depictions that are preserved on the fragments will be discussed.

During excavation seasons of the Egyptian/German-Mission in Heliopolis/Matareya¹ in autumn 2017 and spring 2018, seven fragments of a healing statue were found in area 200, the so-called Suq el-Khamis. Area 200 is located in the western part of the temple enclosure. In this area, amongst other objects, architectural fragments of a temple of Ramesses II and fragments of a colossal statue of Psamtik I were found. Moreover, and presented in this paper, southwards of three statue bases found *in situ*, fragments of the healing statue were discovered in a foundation pit of a temple wall. The dating of the pottery, that was found within the pit, ranges from the Predynastic Period to the Late Hellenistic Period/Roman Iron Age.²

Table 1: Preserved fragments of the statue

findnumber	excavation season	dimensions in cm (width × height × depth)	fragment
U2099-4	autumn 2017	5 × 4.2 × 2.3	back pillar
U2105-3A	spring 2018	6.4 × 6.1 × 7	kilt
U2105-3B	spring 2018	11 × 6.1 × 6.4	kilt, back pillar
U2107-3A	spring 2018	5.2 × 4.2 × 4	arm
U2107-3B	spring 2018	6.7 × 4.2 × 3.8	arm
U2109-5	spring 2018	12.2 × 8.5 × 5.5	toe
U2114-3	spring 2018	4.1 × 7 × 6.9	kilt, back pillar

Six of these seven fragments fit together. They form the central part of the back pillar, part of the kilt, and the right arm (fig. 1). The right little toe cannot be connected directly to the other fragments but is most likely part of the same statue. The proportion of the fragment conforms to the other pieces and is made of the same black hard rock.³ The fragments themselves measure just a few centimetres each (table 1). By comparing the dimensions with other known healing statues, one can assume that the statue from Heliopolis did not exceed 70 cm in height. The incised hieroglyphs and illustrations are merely 1 mm deep.

So-called healing statues are anthropomorphic statues that are incised with a large number of magical spells against poisonous animals, like serpents and scorpions, depending on

¹ I would like to thank Aiman Ashmawy and Dietrich Raue for the permission to publish the present fragments.

² A. Ashmawy/S. Connor/D. Raue, Psamtik I in Heliopolis, in: EA 55, 2019, 34.

³ The black hard rock is probably granodiorite. It was impossible to make a geological analysis, wherefore the material cannot be defined precisely.

The Identification and Sequence of the Hyksos Kings in Dynasty 15

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Abstract

The Hyksos Age is an obscure period: among its unsettled questions we count even the identities and order of its kings. The present article aims at identifying the kings of Dynasty 15 by studying the available archaeological sources, mainly artefacts from Avaris/Tell el-Dab'a and scarab seriations, and the written sources, especially Manetho, the *Memphite Genealogy*, and the *Turin King List*. The kings Sakir-Har, Sheshi, Ya'qub-Har, Khyan, and Auserra Apepi I = Aqenenra Apepi I are proposed as having ruled successively in Dynasty 15. The dynasty begins at about the same time as Dynasty 14, which was its vassal. The study presents insights obtained by previous scholars but also sheds new light on the period.

Over the last years, many studies have appeared on the Hyksos period, focusing primarily on archaeological aspects. However, notwithstanding the primacy of the contemporary, contextual material provided by archaeology, the traditional information provided by written sources should not be neglected. There is a danger in separating archaeology from historiography. Just as many questions can only be answered by archaeology, there are just as many that cannot be resolved without the aid of written sources. The composition of Dynasty 15 is a case in point. The identity and sequence of its rulers are still debated among scholars (see table 7). Kim Ryholt's study, *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800–1550 B.C.*, Copenhagen 1997, has considerably improved our understanding of the Second Intermediate Period (henceforth SIP), but his proposals for the compositions of its dynasties have not always been accepted in their entirety.

The present study attempts to respond to the need for a study of Dynasty 15 that reappraises the written sources. Three traditional sources will be of particular importance: Manetho, the *Memphite Genealogy*, and the *Turin King List*.

- Manetho¹ wrote his *Aegyptiaca* during the 3rd century BC and introduced the classification of Egypt's kings among 30 (or 31) dynasties.² Though his work is only fragmentarily preserved and of late date, it contains valuable information on Ancient Egypt.³
- The *Memphite Genealogy* (Berlin 23673, also named the *Berlin Genealogy*),⁴ found on a relief from Memphis and conserved in the Ägyptisches Museum und

¹ W.G. Waddell, *Manetho*, LCL 350, London 1940; Manetho of Sebennytyos, in: F. Jacoby (ed.), *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (FGH), vol. 3/3/1 (IIC1), Leiden 1958, 5–112 (609).

² It is disputed whether Manetho's work ended with Dynasty 30 or Dynasty 31: A.B. Lloyd, *Manetho and the Thirty-First Dynasty*, in: J. Baines/Th.G.H. James/A. Leahy/A.F. Shore (eds.), *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays Presented to I.E.S. Edwards*, EES.OP 7, London 1988, 157–158; cf. J. von Beckerath, *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten: Die Zeitbestimmung der ägyptischen Geschichte von der Vorzeit bis 332 v. Chr.*, MÄS 46, Mainz am Rhein 1997, 81.

³ W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho und den ägyptischen Königslisten*, UGAÄ 18, Berlin 1956; R. Gundacker, *The Chronology of the Third and Fourth Dynasties according to Manetho's Aegyptiaca*, in: P. Der Manuelian/Th. Schneider (eds.), *Towards a New History for the Egyptian Old Kingdom: Perspectives on the Pyramid Age*, HES 1, Leiden 2015, 76–199; R. Gundacker, *Manetho*, WiBiLex, 2018, bibelwissenschaft.de/stichwort/25466.

⁴ L. Borchardt, *Die Mittel zur zeitlichen Festlegung von Punkten der ägyptischen Geschichte und ihre Anwendung*, QFZ 2, Cairo 1935, 99–100, pls. 2–2a (between pp. 96–97); R.K. Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy:*

The Stela of King Apries from El-Qantara Gharb

A Royal Journey to the Eastern Borders

Mostafa Hassan Nour / John M. Iskander / Sameh Hashem

SCA, Ismailia Antiquities Zone / Freie Universität Berlin / SCA, Ismailia Antiquities Zone
(Taf. 9–10)


Abstract


A stela of King Apries was discovered in 2021 about 6 km south-west of Tell Defenneh. It describes the king's journey to the eastern borders of Egypt with a rest taken in Heliopolis. During the journey, the king accomplished some activities, including hunting, taming his horse(s), and most importantly raising the degree of readiness of his soldiers. The text ends with a royal order for setting up the stela. Though the stela does not show any regnal year, it is assumed that it dates to the beginning of Apries' reign.

In June 2021, a stela of King Apries was unexpectedly discovered on land owned by an investor in land reclamation, during preparation for cultivation (fig. 1, pls. 9 and 10 a).¹ The discovery location is situated in el-Qantara Gharb in the territory of the Ismailia governorate with el-Sharqia about 6 km south-west of Tell Defenneh with the coordinates 30° 48' 50.0"N 32° 07' 21.2"E (fig. 2).

The site at a first impression is covered with stone fragments, which hint that it is promising for future excavations. After lifting the stela, a slab of sandstone with a curved side was uncovered (pl. 10 b), measuring 136 cm long × 85 cm wide × 62 cm thick. It might have been intended first to be a stela itself. Its position under the stela suggested that it served as a base for it, or that both of them were dumped in this place in a time after the reign of Apries. The stela has been transferred to the Ismailia Museum with the register Number 4439, where it is now displayed.

Description

The stela is made of cut sandstone, measuring 230 cm high, 103 cm wide, and 45 cm thick. Its thickness allows it to stand upright without support. Only the frontside is decorated. Since it had fallen down on its back, salts began to appear on the front side after its discovery. However, the inscriptions are almost perfectly preserved. The front side is framed at the top by a curved sky sign and at the sides and the bottom by engraved lines. The stela is divided into two sections. The upper section occupies about one third of the stela and is decorated under the arched sky sign with the winged solar disc and labelled  *Bhd.tj*, whose wings fit the round top. From the solar-disc, two uraei hang down, each with a *šn*-sign.

Under the solar-disc large-scaled hieroglyphs are arranged vertically in seven columns. The middle one includes only frontal-viewed hieroglyphs showing the name of King Apries . Below the cartouche is a *sm3*-sign, in which the papyrus and lotus-stems are knotted together as a symbol of the unification of the two lands under the reign of this king.

¹ We would like to thank Dr. Ayman Ashmawy, Head of the Ancient Egyptian Antiquities sector and Dr. Nashwa Gaber, Director of the Permanent Committee and Missions Affairs for the permission of the Supreme Council of Antiquities to publish this monument. Our deep appreciation goes to Prof. Dr. Jochem Kahl and the advisory board of the SAK for their very valuable comments, which enriched the content of this paper.

Chariot Wheels

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(Taf. 11–16)

Abstract

A discussion of the pictorial evidence for the chariots wheels of Egyptian war vehicles in the first half of Dynasty XVIII. The theme will center upon the presence of eight spokes in the historical record, infrequent to be sure, and conclude by referring back to the influence of Western Asia.

1 Background and Development

This study is a by-product of one of Henry Fischer's many brief remarks on Egyptian writing.¹ His discussion of the Egyptian writing for "chariot" (Gardiner T 17, for *wrrjt*) was the Aristotelian efficient cause for my work.² He stated that the sign "shows the earlier New Kingdom type of chariot, with the wheel located beneath the center of gravity rather than (as in the Amarna Period and after) behind it." Fischer had placed the spokes, four in this case, at degrees 0, 90, 180, and 270. They were made from single rods and heat-bent in the middle. Thus they were set in the "position of rest."

A second, equally significant study on two wheeled vehicles is to be found in Bryan Lawton's volume on early mechanical engineering.³ This brief yet detailed physical analysis had already been referenced by me in another context, but a few additional remarks are needed here as they will be developed later.⁴ He emphasizes the ancient Egyptian pictorial evidence for the location of the chariot axle and concludes that "the warrior and his driver normally took up a position slightly between the axle and the yoke and for travel over sand this is a

¹ H. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Calligraphy. A Beginner's Guide to Writing Hieroglyphs*, New York 1988, 42. For chariots and their parts, see especially A. Herold, *Streitwagentechnologie in der Ramses-Stadt. Bronze an Pferde und Wagen*, FoRa 2, Mainz 1999. The sumptuous and excellent volume of A. Veldmeijer/S. Ikram (eds.), *Chariots in Ancient Egypt. The Tano Chariot, A Case Study*, Leiden 2018, does not cover the combined aspects of engineering-physics. Hence, the study is not useful for the analysis presented here. The older study of A. Herold, *Funde und Funktionen – Streitwagentechnologie im Alten Ägypten*, in: M. Fansa-S. Burmeister (eds.), *Rad und Wagen. Der Ursprung einer Innovation. Wagen im Vorderen Orient und Europa*, Mainz am Rhein, 2004, 123–142, is still very useful to consult, but we can add R. Hernández, *The Role of the War Chariot in the Formation of the Egyptian Empire in the Early 18th Dynasty*, in: SAK 43, 2014, 109–122, who seems to feel that war chariots had been neglected in Egyptological scholarship. See now A.-L. Mourad, *Transforming Egypt into the New Kingdom. The Impact of the Hyksos and Egyptian Near Eastern Relations*, CAENL 10, Wiesbaden 2021, 229–242, which is a summary. I am in debt to my Classical colleague, Prof. Anne Mackay, for a considerable amount of work on wheel-spoke evaluation, remarks on horses and chariots, and the excellent drawings which she supplied to me. I particularly signal figures 1–2 and pls. 8–9.

² Dr. Jonathan Stringer in the Faculty of Engineering, University of Auckland, has helped me a great deal in overcoming my Egyptological training when outside scientific data were needed. See T. Schneider, *Zur Herkunft der ägyptischen Bezeichnung wrryt „Wagen“*. Ein Indiz für den Lautwert von <r> vor Beginn des Neuen Reiches, in: GM 173, 1999, 155–158; and the detailed discussion of O. Herslund, *Chronicling Chariots. Texts, Writing and Language of New Kingdom Egypt*, in: Veldmeijer/Ikram (eds.), *Chariots in Ancient Egypt. The Tano Chariot, A Case Study*, 150–199. But R. Partridge, *Transport in Ancient Egypt*, London 1996, chapters e) and f) is always useful.

³ B. Lawton, *The Early History of Mechanical Engineering. Volume One: Power Generation and Transport*, Leiden and Boston, 2004, 463–479.

⁴ A. Spalinger, *Leadership under Fire. The Pressures of Warfare in Ancient Egypt*, Paris, 2020, 65 note 50.